

# PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES  
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)  
I

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## PREFACE TO VOLS. I. AND II.

THE number of persons who have read or will read Philo's works from beginning to end is probably very small, but there are many more who may wish to refer to them occasionally and in both these classes there is always likely to be a large proportion who will welcome a translation. And if this be granted, it will hardly be disputed that the time has come for a new version. The only English version known to us is that of C. D. Yonge (1854), and this is out of print and copies appear to be scarce. Yonge's work has considerable merits, but there is much that requires correction, and he had before him a less trustworthy text than that which is available at the present day. Moreover, his way of reproducing Philo's long and involved sentences in the exact form of the Greek seems to us to make the treatises duller and heavier than they need be. We have adopted a somewhat different method, without, we hope, sacrificing faithfulness to the original.

We must not, however, omit to mention the German translation by various hands, edited till his death by Cohn, which is still in progress. We have found this useful in many ways, but our chief debt is to the notes and the references which they give to Plato and the later Greek philosophers. Though a translation is not a commentary, the reader of Philo is not fairly dealt with, if his attention is not called to the fact that the author is constantly quoting or adapting Plato and

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the Stoic writers. Our account of these quotations and adaptations is probably very incomplete, but it would have been far more so without the help which the German translators have given us.

The publication of the great edition of Cohn and Wendland (1896–1914), which has now superseded that of Mangey, has left us little difficulty with regard to the text. Generally speaking, we have both of us adopted the readings of this edition, even when we have felt some hesitation, though where that hesitation has amounted to something like conviction, we have occasionally with the aid of the very complete apparatus criticus supplied by the editors adopted readings which they had rejected, and in such cases our text is often nearer to the mss. than theirs. We have also introduced a few emendations of our own, all of which are indicated in the footnotes.

It should be understood that our translation is not a collaboration in the fullest sense of the word. Each of us has carefully read and criticized the work of the other, and many of these criticisms have been accepted as improvements or corrections. But on the whole each of us remains responsible for his own work both in text and translation and not for that of his colleague. In Volume I. the whole of the translation is by Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Colson's contribution, apart from the criticisms and suggestions just mentioned, is confined to the General Introduction, a share in the Tables of Reference and a considerable part of the notes in the Appendices. In Volume II. the three treatises *De Cherubim*, *De Sacrificiis* and *De Gigantibus* are translated by Mr. Colson and the other two by Mr. Whitaker.

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It has probably seldom happened that the characteristics of a man's home and birthplace have been so faithfully reflected in his writings as they are in the writings of Philo of Alexandria. A citizen of the place which was at once the chief home of the Jewish Dispersion and the chief centre of Hellenistic culture, he owes his position in the history of religious thought mainly to that remarkable fusion of Hellenism and Judaism which we find in his voluminous writings. He has many other claims on our consideration—he is one of the most spiritually-minded of thinkers—but this is the first and most obvious.

It is not necessary to discuss the little that is known of Philo's life. It will be enough to say that he came of a rich and influential Jewish family and was trained in Greek as well as Jewish learning. The one public event in his life was his taking part in an embassy sent by the Jews of Alexandria to Caligula to complain of the persecutions which they had been suffering. This is dated A.D. 39-40, and as Philo in writing his account of the mission at some time later speaks of himself as an old man,<sup>a</sup> it has been generally held that he was born about 20 B.C. The date of his death is uncertain, but it will be seen that his lifetime

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. ad Gaium* 31 ; *cf. ibid.* 182.

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covers the lifetimes of Jesus Christ and John Baptist, and much of that of St. Paul. There is no intimation that he knew anything of their life or work.

The present introduction is intended to serve mainly for the first three of the six volumes of Cohn's text.<sup>a</sup> These three volumes containing twenty-two treatises will probably occupy five volumes of this translation. These treatises, which are fairly homogeneous, do not aim at any continuous or systematic body of thought. They are expositions of what Philo conceives to be the inner and spiritual meaning of various incidents and texts in Genesis. So far his method is consistent enough. Unfortunately, perhaps—though it is a fault which is rather lovable—he is an inveterate Rambler. This word does not mean that the thoughts are disconnected. In fact it is the mark of the true Rambler that his points are always connected, and that he is unable to restrain

<sup>a</sup> But it may be well to indicate the contents of the remaining three volumes of Cohn :

(a) Biographical treatises, *viz.*, On Abraham. On Joseph. Two books on the Life of Moses (vol. iv.).

(b) Treatises on the Mosaic Legislation, *viz.*, On the Decalogue (vol. iv.). Four books on the Special Laws (vol. v.).

(c) Philosophical treatises, *viz.*, On the Virtues. On Rewards, Punishments and Curses (in vol. v.). On " Goodness is Freedom " (" Quod omnis probus liber sit "). On the Contemplative Life (a work largely on the Therapeutae, which has given rise to much controversy). On the Eternity of the World (sometimes regarded as spurious). The last two make up vol. vi., together with the following :

(d) Political treatises, *viz.*, Against Flaccus. On the Embassy to Gaius.

[Besides these there are " On Providence " and " Questions on Genesis and Exodus." As these only survive in the Armenian and are only known through the Latin translation by Aucher, they will not form part of this translation.]

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himself from following up each connexion as it occurs. Philo takes his text and expounds its philosophical meaning and proceeds to illustrate it from some other text, in which he discerns the same idea. But this second text generally contains some other words in which he finds some other idea, too valuable to be passed over. The process might, of course, go on indefinitely, but even Philo feels that there must be some limit to it and ultimately returns to his main subject.

It may be well to illustrate this characteristic by a single specimen, neither worse nor better than hundreds of others. Let the reader turn to p. 409 of this volume, *i.e.* *Leg. All.* iii. lv. § 161, where Philo has arrived at the words of the Lord to the serpent, interpreted as the evil principle of pleasure, "earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." That Philo should pass at once to the implied contrast between the lower and the higher food of the soul is natural enough, and thus we are at once switched off to the Manna story of Ex. xvi. All the details of this are worked out; for instance, how the command to the wanderers to gather only the day's portion for the day suggests that humanity cannot receive God's gifts all at once, but only in due measure and proportion, and other thoughts which the reader may observe for himself. But then let him note how in 169, taking the text "this is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat; this is the word which the Lord prescribed," Philo at once identifies the "word" with the "bread" and extracts a new set of thoughts about the "word." So far, though the primary "serpent" has been forgotten, the secondary "manna" has on the whole held the field. But in

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177 we are again switched off by the thought of the "word" or "logos" to one of Philo's more mystical ideas, that God Himself is greater than His Word, and this is supported by the prayer of Jacob where the phrase "*God who feeds me*" coupled with "*the Angel who delivers me from evils*" teaches us that health, bodily and spiritual, is God's direct gift, while rescue from evil comes to us indirectly. Then in 179, another transition, Jacob's prayer acknowledges God and is in contrast with the words of that inferior character Joseph,<sup>a</sup> "*I will nourish thee (Jacob).*" And so too Joseph's mother Rachel erred when she said to Jacob "give me children," and thus what has begun as an exposition of "earth shalt thou eat" ends with one of Philo's favourite ideas that God is the parent of virtue in the soul, though, unlike earthly parents, He begets not for Himself, but for us.

The above may serve to illustrate, not only Philo's method, but the nature and value of his deductions from Scripture. Their ingenuity is undeniable; so also is their fancifulness and even perversity, when measured by the canons of sound exegesis; and the estimates of readers will vary according as they are attracted by the first or repelled by the second. But if we would appreciate Philo fully we must remember that he combines the strongest possible belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures with the freest possible criticism. Every word of the Scriptures, particularly

<sup>a</sup> Philo's constant depreciation of Joseph and Rachel in favour of Judah and Leah is a curious feature and shows us how little consciousness he had of the charm which we feel in the story of the former pair. Was there some national or tribal prejudice at the bottom of it?



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those which he attributes to the "all-wise" Moses,<sup>a</sup> is to him inspired, and quite as much in the God-guided translation of the Seventy as in the original Hebrew, which he knew but little, if at all. This belief is part of his very nature, and his patriotic instincts served to confirm it. But at the same time he is profoundly conscious that the sacred words, when taken in their literal sense, are occasionally incredible, and not infrequently trivial, or at any rate inadequate, and therefore *must* conceal some "underlying thought,"<sup>b</sup> which patient meditation, aided by God's grace, cannot fail to extract.

It follows that the statements of fact in these inspired narratives need not be literally true. Creation cannot, he says, have taken place in six natural days, for days are measured by the sun's course and the sun is but a portion of creation.<sup>c</sup> The literal story of Adam's rib being made into Eve he flatly calls "mythical."<sup>d</sup> Sometimes perhaps he is over-critical. The account of Joseph being sent by his father to visit his brethren is incredible, for why should a great chief like Jacob send his favourite son on such an errand instead of one of his numerous servants?<sup>e</sup> If we ask whether in a broad sense he accepted the historicity of the narratives, the answer is that he probably did. Certainly his treatment of the lives of Abraham, Joseph and Moses in the books which deal with them biographically, books in which he shows that the lives have a lesson for

<sup>a</sup> A glance at the table of references to the O.T. on pp. xxviii-xxxiv will show how vast is the preponderance of quotations from the Pentateuch over those from the other books.

<sup>b</sup> ὑπόνοια.

<sup>d</sup> μυθῶδες, *Leg. All.* ii. 19.

<sup>c</sup> *Leg. All.* i. 2.

<sup>e</sup> *Quod Det.* 13.

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edification apart from allegory, indicates that he took them as historical, though it is suspicious to find elsewhere the statement that "*perhaps*<sup>a</sup> there has been an actual man, Samuel, but we understand by him a mind devoted to God's service." On the whole, a still better answer is that he did not much care about the matter. But while in his eyes it is permissible to doubt the literal, if we accept the spiritual truth, to deny both is a deadly sin, and he records with some triumph how one such scoffer was shortly by God's judgement driven to suicide.<sup>b</sup> Further, though the law is allegorical, its literal injunctions must not be disobeyed. Sabbath and circumcision have their inner meaning, but the actual rites are to that inner meaning as body to soul, and the body demands our care as the dwelling of the soul.<sup>c</sup>

If we realize this and also make due allowance for the unfamiliarity of the Platonic and Stoical dress in which his thoughts are clothed, we shall find in them not a little richness and substance. The rambling<sup>d</sup> sermon, half-analysed above, would be better described as a mosaic of sermonettes, some eight or ten in number. When set forth in such a brief analysis as is here given, they may, perhaps, appear poor things. But if studied in full they will be found, each of them, to contain an idea or ideas, which to some minds will appear fanciful, to others profound,

<sup>a</sup> Or "probably" (*twos*), *De Ebr.* 144.

<sup>b</sup> *De Mut. Nom.* 62.

<sup>c</sup> *De Mig.* 82 f.

<sup>d</sup> Though in justice it should be said that these expositions in spite of their kaleidoscopic character often have some *motif* which does not exactly run through them, but always tends to re-appear. Thus in the one noticed the idea of "feeding" is never long absent.

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but to hardly any, trivial. And these ideas will be none the worse for their exegetical setting. The profoundest thoughts, when stated in the abstract, are apt to seem bald and dull. They are seen at their best when set in beautiful verse as Wordsworth's, or failing this when they are brought into association with some familiar and venerated saying, which we had not suspected of bearing any such meaning. Few forms of eloquence are more effective than that in which "a mere mustard-seed of a text grows into a many-branched discourse."<sup>a</sup> And it may perhaps be said that much of Philo's exegesis is of a kind which a modern preacher might easily adapt, not indeed as expressing the intention of the original, but as showing how "fresh truth and light may break out of the Word."<sup>b</sup>

Philo is, as is here suggested, quite independently of his merits as a thinker, interesting from the mere fact that he interprets the Old Testament in terms of Greek philosophy and thus makes a link between Judaism and Hellenism. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this was his purpose. His purpose was the same as Bunyan had in *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Holy War*, and Dante to some extent in his *Divine Comedy*, namely, to set forth an allegory of the history of the human soul and its relations to God. But while Scripture to Bunyan and mediaeval eschatology to Dante were merely foundations on which they could rear the fabric which their own imagination

<sup>a</sup> George Eliot, *Felix Holt*, ch. iv.

<sup>b</sup> The oft-quoted words of Pastor John Robinson's farewell address to the Pilgrim Fathers, "I am very confident that the Lord has more truth and light yet to brake out of His Holy Word," would have pleased Philo well.

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created, Philo, entirely devoid of creative genius,<sup>a</sup> could never get away from the rôle of interpreter. The fact that he clothed these interpretations in the language of Greek philosophy is merely incidental. The educational ideas, the logic, physics, psychology and ethics of his day were part of his mental make-up, and he necessarily expressed himself in their terms. But incidental as they are, it is necessary to understand them, if we are to understand Philo at all.

Underlying Philo's philosophy is the conviction of the value of general education as a stepping-stone to higher things. He accepts without question the ordinary course of education of his time, commonly called the Encyclicia, consisting of literature, rhetoric, mathematics, music and logic. He enlarges several times on its value as mental training. The Encyclicia are the ornaments of the soul conceived of as the house which is being fitted to receive the Divine Lodger,<sup>b</sup> the saplings which must be planted in young minds,<sup>c</sup> the milk which must precede the meat,<sup>d</sup> the source of that spiritual strength, the "much substance" which Israel must take for its sustenance, as it journeys out of the spiritual Egypt.<sup>e</sup> But above all the Encyclicia are symbolized by Hagar,<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> When he attempts an allegory of his own, as in *De Sac.* 20-44, it is poor stuff.

<sup>b</sup> *De Cher.* 101 f.

<sup>c</sup> *De Agr.* 18.

<sup>d</sup> *ibid.* 9.

<sup>e</sup> *Quis Rer.* 272.

<sup>f</sup> *e.g. De Cher.* 5 f. It is noteworthy that this comparison has a close parallel in one of the Homeric allegories, which were common in the philosophical schools. Some philosopher (the name is variously given) said that those who dwelt too long over the Encyclicia were like the suitors of Penelope, who, when unable to win the mistress, contented themselves with the maids. How far such allegorizing of Homer influenced Philo in his treatment of the Old Testament is an interesting problem.

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for as Abraham, when Sarah bore him no child, took the handmaiden, so the young soul as yet unable to mate with philosophy must have union with the school subjects, the lower or secular education.<sup>a</sup> True, this is only useful as a stepping-stone to philosophy. If it is persisted in too long or misused, as it well may be, particularly the rhetorical branch, it breeds the sophist Ishmael and must be cast out, as he and his mother were. But in its proper place it is valuable, and Philo's insistence on this makes him one of our chief authorities on the educational ideas of his time.

In philosophy proper Philo is an eclectic, drawing from nearly all the schools.<sup>b</sup> His insistence on the significance of particular numbers, 4, 7, 6, 10 and others, which to our minds is the most fantastic part of his system, is an inheritance from the Pythagoreans. He owes something to Aristotle, notably the fourfold nature of causation,<sup>c</sup> and the doctrine of the virtues as means between extremes.<sup>d</sup> His profound sense of human ignorance and weakness make him not

<sup>a</sup> μέση παιδεία. The translators have had considerable doubt as to how to render this important phrase. In strict Stoic usage μέσα = ἀδιάφορα, i.e. things which are neither good nor bad. Still sometimes the word seems to acquire the rather different force of things midway between good and bad and therefore having a definite value, though not the highest. Philo seems to use it in this way. To translate μέση παιδεία by "intermediate" or "secondary" education would be clearly impossible in view of the modern professional use of these words.

<sup>b</sup> We need not conclude from this (though some have done so) that his philosophy is a mere chaos taking at random from the different schools. His position is rather that Moses is the primary source of philosophy, and that the "little systems" of the schools are but "broken lights" of him.

<sup>c</sup> *De Cher.* 125.

<sup>d</sup> e.g. *Quod Deus* 162.

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disinclined to borrow from the Sceptics.<sup>a</sup> Platonism is a more important element. The most famous of all Plato's doctrines, the theory of Ideas, is an essential part of Philo's cosmology, and like many others he was greatly fascinated by the mysterious theories of the *Timaeus*. Above all it was chiefly from Plato that he learned to think of the body as the tomb or prison-house of the soul, and the putting off of material things as the true freedom. There is also a vast amount of Stoicism in Philo, though whether the Stoic outweighs the Platonist would be a difficult question to decide. To take a few instances out of many, the doctrines of the four passions,<sup>b</sup> of the sevenfold division of bodily functions,<sup>c</sup> of the fourfold classification of material things,<sup>d</sup> of sense, "presentation" and "impulse" as the three sources of consciousness and activity in living beings and of the manner in which they work,<sup>e</sup> are all Stoic. So too he recognizes the value of freedom from passion (*ἀπάθεια*), of "living according to nature," and of the "indifference" of neutral things (*ἀδιάφορα*). He accepts as a worthy expression of his ideal of virtue the Stoic phraseology that "the morally beautiful" (*τὸ καλόν*) is the only good.<sup>f</sup> But on the whole he is opposed to the Stoic materialism, and in what is perhaps the kernel of Stoic ethics he is profoundly anti-Stoic. Though he adapts the famous para-

<sup>a</sup> See particularly *De Ebr.* 154 f.

<sup>b</sup> Grief, fear, desire, pleasure. Cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 99, "passion is four-legged."

<sup>c</sup> Five senses, speech and reproductive power. See *Leg. All.* i. 11.

<sup>d</sup> Inorganic matter, plants, animal, reasoning. See *Leg. All.* ii. 22 f.

<sup>e</sup> *ibid.* 23.

<sup>f</sup> See particularly *De Post.* 133.

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doxes of the wise man as the truly free man, the truly rich, the true king and true citizen,<sup>a</sup> he will have none of the Stoic apotheosis of the Sage. The creed which proclaims that "man is master of his fate and captain of his soul," which pictures the just and firm-willed man as standing unmoved among the ruins of the universe,<sup>b</sup> which Lucan expressed by declaring that Pompey's cause had as much moral support as Caesar's because, while the latter had heaven on his side, the former had the true Stoic Cato<sup>c</sup>—that creed had no attraction for Philo, or rather it was blasphemy. For there is nothing on which he harps more than on the sinfulness of ascribing any faculty or virtue to ourselves instead of to God.

In fact when Philo once begins to speak of the nature of God and our relations to Him—and seldom is there a chapter without some such meditation—the Hellene gives way almost entirely to the Hebrew, and what there is of Hellenic is much more Platonic than Stoic. His more mystical side, his absorption in the thought of the Divine and our union with it, are matters on which one can hardly enlarge here. But the ruling idea of his theology is that while God is absolutely removed from us, incomprehensible and only known as absolute being, He is also infinitely close to us, in fact at once transcendent and immanent. As is well known, Philo solved this antinomy by postulating, as intermediaries between the uncreated and the created, the Logos or Divine Reason, and also "Powers" or "Potencies," the two chief of which are goodness and sovereignty represented in the Old Testament by the names of "God" and

<sup>a</sup> *De Sobr.* 56 f.

<sup>b</sup> Hor. *Odes*, iii. 3. 1-8.

<sup>c</sup> *Phars.* i. 128, "Victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni."

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“ Lord ” respectively. Of these intermediaries, the Logos has attracted more attention than any other Philonic question, mainly, no doubt, because of the similarity—and dissimilarity—of Philo’s conception to that of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. Whether either the Logos or the Potencies are thought of as distinct personalities, or as emanations or attributes, cannot be discussed here.

If Philo is a link between Judaism and Hellenism, he is also a link between Judaism and Christianity, and that in two different ways. In the first place, quite apart from the relation of his Logos to the Johannine there is a certain affinity between Philonism and the New Testament, which will at once attract and disappoint the student. Philo’s conceptions of Conscience as the inward Judge, of the Spirit, of Faith, of Sonship, of Immortality,<sup>a</sup> and many other conceptions of the same kind, are sufficiently like the uses of the same terms in the Epistles to make comparison fruitful. But except perhaps in the case of the first-named, where his attitude shows a great advance above his Stoic predecessors and a remarkable approximation to the Christian view, there are differences which to many will seem to outweigh the likeness. The same may be said of the comparatively few cases where Old Testament incidents are treated allegorically in both.<sup>b</sup> The same again of the far more numerous cases, where a word or phrase or an incidental thought seem to find an echo in the New Testament.<sup>c</sup> So far the connexion between Philo

<sup>a</sup> For a discussion of these conceptions see H. A. A. Kennedy, *Philo’s Contribution to Religion* (Hodder and Stoughton).

<sup>b</sup> *e.g.*, the Brazen Serpent, Manna, the Rock, Melchisedek.

<sup>c</sup> *e.g.*, “hungering and thirsting after excellence” (*De*



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and Christian thought is one that springs from their common heritage and atmosphere, and their common ideals and temperament. There is no direct contact or conscious borrowing. But when the first century or so of Christianity is passed we find something more. Philo becomes something of a power in the Church. It is true that the Christian mind eager to find in the Old Testament figures and types of Christ could not altogether welcome his kind of exegesis, and indeed Augustine, while acknowledging his acuteness, deploras this deficiency.<sup>a</sup> Still otherwise his treatment of the books made a great impression on some of the Fathers, and his Logos doctrine was, superficially at least, sufficiently like that of the Fourth Gospel to suggest that his was an "anima naturaliter Christiana." His influence is probably to be seen in Justin, and is obvious in the two great liberal Christians of Alexandria, Clement and Origen. Among the Latin Fathers, Ambrose uses him very considerably. Doubtless this feeling of his affinity to Christianity helped to preserve his works, when

*Fuga* 139 with Matt. v. 6); "to call the things that are not into being" (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 187 with 1 Cor. i. 28); "the true wealth is stored up in heaven" (*De Praem.* 104 with Matt. vi. 20); "God swears by no other than Himself, for there is nothing greater than Him" (*Leg. All.* iii. 203 with Heb. vi. 13); the epithet "cutter" (*τομεύς*) applied to the Word or Reason (*Quis Rer. Div.* 130 with Heb. iv. 12 where the word is sharper (*τομωτέρα*) than any sword); the bridled or unbridled tongue (*Som.* ii. 275 with James i. 26); the sadness of the thought that the same tongue utters good and evil (*De Dec.* 93 with James iii. 10). These resemblances are particularly common in the Epistle of James, Mayor's edition gives over seventy such. A collection of parallels of this kind to the New Testament as a whole is given in Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 303-330.

<sup>a</sup> *Contra Faustum*, xii. 39.

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so much of the post-Aristotelian philosophy has perished.

Philo, as a writer, has many faults besides those which have been already mentioned. He is sometimes painfully pedantic. He has an annoying way of piling up examples in support of a platitude, and the rhetorical speeches, which particularly in the biographical treatises he puts into the mouths of his personages, are stilted and frigid to the point of absurdity.<sup>a</sup> Yet, even when he is most pedantic, we have glimpses of a fine spiritual mind, and scattered throughout the books are passages of much beauty and eloquence. The translators hope that if they are spared to complete this version it may serve to win him some admirers among those to whom hitherto he has been little more than a name.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> As an example of the first we may take the examples of truth or falsehood in *Leg. All.* iii. 121; of the second the address of Joseph to Potiphar's wife in *De Jos.* 41 ff. The former of these might almost remind one of the discourse of the Rev. Mr. Chadband in *Bleak House* on "What is terewth." Of the latter Edersheim remarks that "it would have extinguished the most ardent passion."

<sup>b</sup> The translators think that an apology is due to one section of their prospective readers. They have not felt themselves capable of indicating in any way how far and where Philo shows dependence on the Palestinian tradition, which in its two different aspects is known as the Haggada and Halacha. Even if their combined knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish lore was much greater than it is, the absence of any written record of this tradition till a long time after Philo puts his dependence on these sources on a totally different footing from his dependence on the Greek philosophers, for which we can so often give chapter and verse. The Jewish scholar to whom this subject will naturally be of considerable interest will find some discussion of it in the article on Philo in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* and a fuller treatment in Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 142-159.

## TABLES OF REFERENCE

THE student of Philo constantly finds that the treatment of some Old Testament personage or text recalls a similar treatment in some earlier book or some earlier part of the same book. But the author's rambling method renders it anything but easy to trace these earlier handlings. Accordingly, since it may be a long time before the translators are in a position to give a general index to the whole of Philo, they have compiled the subjoined tables from the indexes added by Leisigang as a seventh volume to Cohn and Wendland's text. It should be carefully noted that as these tables are intended for purposes of comparison merely, they do not contain any names or texts which only occur once. Furthermore this principle has been extended to cases where, though the name or text is repeated, the repetition belongs to the same context or treatment. Thus the sections numbered are merely those in which such treatment begins, and to make a proper comparison the student will constantly have to read several sections beyond those referred to.

### ABBREVIATIONS USED

*Abr.* = De Abrahamo.

*Aet.* = De Aeternitate Mundi.

*Agr.* = De Agricultura.

*Cher.* = De Cherubim.

*Conf.* = De Confusione Linguarum.

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### ABBREVIATIONS USED (*continued*)

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|---|--|
| <p><i>Cong.</i> = De Congressu Eru-<br/>ditionis gratia.</p> <p><i>Cont.</i> = De Vita Contempla-<br/>tiva.</p> <p><i>Decal.</i> = De Decalogo.</p> <p><i>Det.</i> = Quod Deterius Potiori<br/>insidiari solet.</p> <p><i>Deus</i> = Quod Deus sit Immu-<br/>tabilis.</p> <p><i>Ebr.</i> = De Ebrietate.</p> <p><i>Exs.</i> = De Exsecrationibus.</p> <p><i>Fug.</i> = De Fuga et Inventione.</p> <p><i>Gig.</i> = De Gigantibus.</p> <p><i>Her.</i> = Quis rerum divinarum<br/>heres sit.</p> <p><i>Jos.</i> = De Josepho.</p> <p><i>L.A.</i> i. ii. iii. = Legum Alle-<br/>goriarum.</p> <p><i>Mig.</i> = De Migratione Abra-<br/>hami.</p> | <p><i>Mos.</i> i. ii. = De Vita Mosis<br/>i. ii.</p> <p><i>Mut.</i> = De Mutatione Nomi-<br/>num.</p> <p><i>Op.</i> = De Opificio Mundi.</p> <p><i>Plant.</i> = De Plantatione.</p> <p><i>Post.</i> = De Posteritate Caini.</p> <p><i>Praem.</i> = De Praemiis et<br/>Poenis.</p> <p><i>Prob.</i> = Quod omnis probus<br/>liber.</p> <p><i>Sac.</i> = De Sacrificiis Abelis et<br/>Caini.</p> <p><i>Sob.</i> = De Sobrietate.</p> <p><i>Som.</i> i. ii. = De Somniis i. ii.</p> <p><i>Spec.</i> = De Specialibus Legi-<br/>bus.</p> <p><i>Virt.</i> = De Virtutibus.</p> |
|---|--|

**NOTE.**—Explanatory words in italics in the following list give Philo's etymology of the name.

**Aaron** generally = uttered thought, also "mountainous" and therefore "lofty." *L.A.* iii. 45, 103, 125, *Det.* 132, *Ebr.* 128, *Mig.* 78, 169, *Mut.* 208.

**Abel** = the mind which "refers all to God." *Sac.* and *Det. passim*, *Mig.* 74.

**Abihu**, v. Nadab.

**Abram** or **Abraham**. Besides a great number of references to him as "the wise," "the faithful," etc., illustrated by many texts and incidents, note particularly the interpretation of Abram = *the uplifted father*, Abraham = *the elect father of sound*, and for Philo's explanation of these phrases, *L.A.* iii. 83, *Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 62, *Mut.* 66, 71, *Abr.* 82. Abraham also stands for "virtue gained by instruction." *Cong.* 35, *Mut.* 12, *Som.* i. 160, 168, *Abr.* 52, *Mos.* i. 76.

**Adam** = the (earthly) mind contrasted with Eve = sense-perception. *Op.* 165, *L.A.* i. 25, ii. 13, iii. 50, 246, *Cher.* 10, 57, *Plant.* 46, *Her.* 52, *Som.* ii. 70. See also Eve.

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- Amalek = *people licking up*. *L.A.* iii. 186, *Mig.* 143.  
 Amorites = *vain talkers*. *L.A.* iii. 232, *Her.* 302, 308.  
 Asher = *material wealth*. *Mig.* 95, *Som.* ii. 35.  
 Baal-Peor = *solid hide*. *Conf.* 55, *Mut.* 107.  
 Balaam = *foolish people*. *Cher.* 32, *Det.* 71, *Deus* 181,  
*Conf.* 64, 159, *Mig.* 115.  
 Benjamin = *son of days*. *Mut.* 92, *Som.* ii. 36.  
 Bezalel = *in God's shadow*. *L.A.* iii. 95, *Plant.* 26, *Som.* i. 206.  
 Bilhah = *swallowing*. *L.A.* ii. 96, iii. 146, *Cong.* 30.  
 Cain = *possession*, and thus the self-asserting principle. *Cher.*  
 from 40 to end, *Sac.* and *Det. passim*, *Post.* 33, *Conf.* 122.  
 Canaan = *tossing*—land of. *Sac.* 90, *Cong.* 83. The son of  
 Ham. *L.A.* ii. 62, *Sob.* 44.  
 Cherubim. *Cher.* 1-40 *passim*, *Fug.* 100.  
 Dan = *judgement*. *L.A.* ii. 94, *Agr.* 95, *Som.* ii. 35.  
 Dinah = *judgement*. *Mig.* 223, *Mut.* 194.  
 Dothan = *thorough quitting*. *Det.* 28, *Fug.* 128.  
 Eden = *delight*. *L.A.* i. 64, *Cher.* 12, *Post.* 32, *Plant.* 32.  
 Edom = *earthly*. *Deus* 144, *Mig.* 146.  
 Egypt and Egyptians = *the body, passim*. For "the king of  
 Egypt" see Pharaoh.  
 Enoch = *thy gift*. *Post.* 35, *Conf.* 122, *Abr.* 17.  
 Enos = *man*. *Det.* 138, *Abr.* 8, *Praem.* 14.  
 Ephraim and Manasseh = *memory (fruit-bearing) and recol-*  
*lection respectively*. *L.A.* iii. 90, *Sob.* 28, *Mig.* 205,  
*Cong.* 40, *Mut.* 98.  
 Er = *leathern*. *L.A.* iii. 69, *Post.* 180.  
 Esau, a type of folly in general, nearly always in contrast to  
 Jacob. *L.A.* iii. 2, 88, *Sac.* 17, 120, 135, *Det.* 45, *Ebr.* 9,  
*Sob.* 26, *Mig.* 153, *Her.* 252, *Cong.* 61, 175, *Fug.* 39.  
 Euphrates = (*fruitfulness*), justice. *L.A.* i. 72, *Som.* ii. 255.  
 Eve (often called "the woman") = *sense-perception*. *Op.* 165,  
*L.A.* ii. 38, 70, iii. 50, 200, *Cher.* 57. = *life*. *Agr.* 95,  
*Her.* 52. (Other passages where "mind" is regarded  
 as male, "sense" as female, without specified reference  
 to Adam and Eve.)  
 Hagar = *the lower education or learning of the schools*  
 (see General Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii). *L.A.* iii. 244.  
*Cher.* 3, *Sac.* 43, *Post.* 130, *Cong.* 12 and *passim*,  
*Fug.* 202, *Mut.* 255.  
 Hannah = *her (i.e. Wisdom's) grace*. *Deus* 5, *Ebr.* 145,  
*Mut.* 143, *Som.* i. 254.

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- Haran**=*hole*, and thus the place of outward sense. *Mig.* 188, *Fug.* 45, *Som.* i. 41, *Abr.* 72.
- Hebron**=companion, and so the body. *Det.* 15, *Post.* 61.
- Isaac**=laughter, joy, happiness. *L.A.* i. 82, *Cher.* 7, 106, *Det.* 46, 124, *Plant.* 168, *Mut.* 131, 157, *Abr.* 201, *Praem.* 31. As the self-taught = virtue given by nature, or taught by God or Virtue's self, very frequent, see particularly *Cong.* 36, *Abr.* 52.
- Ishmael**=the sophist. *Cher.* 8, *Sob.* 8. = *hearing* (as lower than seeing). *Fug.* 208, *Mut.* 201.
- Israel**=*seeing God*, whether of the man or the nation, very frequent. Often "He who sees" without the name.
- Issachar**=*reward*, and thus worker. *L.A.* i. 80, *Plant.* 134, *Ebr.* 94, *Som.* ii. 34.
- Jacob**—particularly = the *supplanter*; or the Practiser; very common. Often by either of these titles without the name.
- Jethro**=the uneven or worldling. *Sac.* 50 (see Note), *Ebr.* 36, *Mut.* 103.
- Joseph**=political, generally indicating a plane of life lower than the philosophical and sometimes even materialistic. *L.A.* iii. 179, 237, *Cher.* 128, *Det.* 5, *Deus* 119, *Conf.* 71, *Mig.* 203, *Her.* 256, *Mut.* 89, 215, *Som.* i. 78, 219, ii. 1-109 *passim*, *Jos.* *passim*.
- Judah**=he who *confesses* (and *praises*) God. *L.A.* i. 80, ii. 95, iii. 26, 146, *Plant.* 134, *Cong.* 125, *Mut.* 136, *Som.* ii. 34.
- Laban**=white, the lover of transient brightness. *L.A.* iii. 16, *Cher.* 67, *Det.* 4, *Agr.* 42, *Ebr.* 47, *Mig.* 28, 213, *Her.* 43, *Fug.* 9, 44, *Som.* i. 225.
- Leah**=toiling virtue. *L.A.* iii. 180, *Cher.* 41 (see Note), *Post.* 135, *Sob.* 12, *Mig.* 145, *Cong.* 25, *Mut.* 254.
- Levi and Levites.** *L.A.* ii. 51, *Sac.* 119-139 *passim*, *Det.* 132, *Ebr.* 65, *Plant.* 62, *Her.* 124, *Fug.* 88, *Som.* ii. 34, 273.
- Lot**=*turning away*; (his daughters = Counsel and Assent). *Post.* 175, *Ebr.* 164, *Mig.* 13, 148, 175.
- Manasseh**, see Ephraim.
- Midian**=(*from*) *judgement*. *L.A.* iii. 12, *Conf.* 55, *Mut.* 106.
- Miriam**=sense. *L.A.* ii. 66, iii. 103, *Agr.* 80.
- Moses**—*passim*. (Cohn's index gives nearly 300 references.)
- Nadab and Abihu** (whose destruction for presumption Philo strangely construes as an exaltation). *L.A.* ii. 57, *Mig.* 168, *Her.* 309, *Fug.* 59, *Som.* ii. 67.

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- Noah = *rest*. The story of his life is the basis of the treatises *Deus* from 70, *Agr.*, *Plant.*, *Ebr.*, *Sob*. Besides these, *L.A.* ii. 60, iii. 77, *Det.* 105, *Gig.* 1, *Cong.* 90, *Her.* 260, *Abr.* 27.
- Nod = *tossing*. *Cher.* 12, *Post.* 32.
- Onan. *Post.* 180, *Deus* 16.
- Passover. *L.A.* iii. 154, *Sac.* 63, *Mig.* 25, *Her.* 192, *Cong.* 106.
- Pharaoh = the *dispenser* (of the good), or as king of Egypt = the earthly mind as king of the body. *L.A.* iii. 12, 212, 236, *Sac.* 48, *Ebr.* 111, 208, *Conf.* 88, *Her.* 60, *Som.* ii. 183, 211, 279, *Abr.* 103.
- Phinehas. *L.A.* iii. 242, *Post.* 182, *Conf.* 57, *Mut.* 108, *Mos.* i. 301.
- Rachel = superficiality. *L.A.* ii. 46, *Post.* 135, *Ebr.* 54, *Sob.* 12, *Cong.* 25.
- Rebecca = patience. *L.A.* iii. 88, *Cher.* 41, *Sac.* 4, *Det.* 30, 45, *Post.* 132, *Plant.* 169, *Mig.* 208, *Cong.* 37, *Fug.* 23, 194, *Som.* i. 46.
- Reuben = excellence of nature. *Sac.* 119, *Mut.* 98, *Som.* ii. 33.
- Samuel = appointed for God. *Deus* 5, *Ebr.* 144, *Mig.* 196, *Som.* i. 254.
- Sarah = sovereignty, Sarai = my sovereignty; the former is interpreted as generic sovereign wisdom or virtue, the latter as the same personal or specific. *L.A.* ii. 82, iii. 217, 244, *Cher.* 7, 41, *Det.* 59, *Post.* 28. See *Ebr.* 59, *Mig.* 126, *Her.* 258, *Cong.* 24, *Fug.* 128, *Mut.* 77, 255, *Abr.* 99, 206.
- Seth = *watering*. *Post.* 10, 124, 170.
- Shechem = *shoulder*, and so toil. *L.A.* iii. 25, *Det.* 9, *Mig.* 221, *Mut.* 193.
- Shem = generic good. *Sob.* 51, *Mut.* 189.
- Simeon = *hearing*. *Ebr.* 94, *Mig.* 224, *Mut.* 99.
- Sodom = blindness and barrenness. *Ebr.* 222, *Conf.* 27, *Fug.* 144, *Som.* ii. 192.
- Syria = *lofty*. *L.A.* iii. 18, *Cong.* 41, *Fug.* 44.
- Zipporah = *bird*. *Cher.* 41, *Mut.* 120.

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xix. 15. *Det.* 103, *Conf.* 167.  
xxi. 8. *L.A.* ii. 79, *Agr.* 95.  
16-18. *Ebr.* 113, *Som.* ii. 271, *Mos.* i. 255.  
xxii. 31. *Cher.* 35, *Deus* 18.  
xxiii. 19. *Sac.* 94, *Deus* 53, *Conf.* 98, *Mig.* 113, *Som.* i. 237.  
xxv. 3. *Conf.* 55, *Mut.* 107.  
7-13. *L.A.* iii. 242, *Post.* 182, *Ebr.* 73, *Conf.* 57,  
*Mut.* 108.  
xxviii. 2. *L.A.* iii. 196, *Cher.* 84, *Sac.* 111, *Deus* 6,  
*Mig.* 142.  
xxix. 13 f. *Mig.* 202, *Fug.* 186.  
xxx. 4-10. *L.A.* ii. 63, *Det.* 147, *Spec.* ii. 24.  
xxxi. 28 f. *Mig.* 139, *Her.* 120, *Som.* ii. 29.  
49, 50. *Ebr.* 114, *Conf.* 55, *Mut.* 109.  
xxxv. 25. *Fug.* 116, *Spec.* i. 161.

## DEUTERONOMY

- Deut. i. 31. *Sac.* 101, *Deus* 54.  
iv. 4. *Fug.* 56, *Spec.* i. 31, 345.  
39. *L.A.* iii. 4, 32, *Mig.* 182.  
v. 5. *Her.* 206, *Som.* ii. 229.  
31. *Sac.* 8, *Post.* 28, *Gig.* 48, *Deus* 23, *Conf.* 31,  
*Som.* ii. 227.  
vi. 10, 11. *Deus* 94, *Fug.* 175.  
viii. 15, 16. *L.A.* ii. 84, *Som.* ii. 222.  
17, 18. *Sac.* 56, *Agr.* 172, *Virt.* 165.  
x. 9. *L.A.* ii. 51, *Plant.* 63, *Cong.* 134, *Fug.* 102,  
*Som.* i. 159.  
xiv. 1. *Conf.* 145, *Spec.* i. 318.  
xvi. 20. *Cher.* 15, *Det.* 18, *Spec.* iv. 66, 169.  
xix. 14. *Post.* 89, *Spec.* iv. 149.  
xx. 1. *Agr.* 78, *Mig.* 62.  
5-7. *Agr.* 148, *Virt.* 28.

## INTRODUCTION

- Deut. xx. 20. *Agr.* 12, *Spec.* iv. 229.  
xxi. 15-17. *L.A.* ii. 48, *Sac.* 19, *Sob.* 21, *Her.* 49, *Spec.* ii. 136.  
18-21. *Ebr.* 14, 28, 93, *Mut.* 206, *Spec.* ii. 232.  
xxii. 8. *Agr.* 170, *Spec.* iii. 149.  
xxiii. 1, 2. *Deus* 111, *Ebr.* 213, *Conf.* 144, *Mig.* 69,  
*Mut.* 205, *Som.* ii. 184, *Spec.* i. 326.  
12, 13. *L.A.* ii. 27, iii. 151.  
15, 16. *L.A.* iii. 194, *Virt.* 124.  
17. *Mig.* 224, *Jos.* 43, *Spec.* i. 326, iii. 51.  
xxv. 11, 12. *Som.* ii. 68, *Spec.* iii. 175.  
13-16. *Her.* 162, *Som.* ii. 193.  
xxvii. 9. *Her.* 10, *Som.* i. 193, ii. 263.  
17. *L.A.* iii. 107, *Post.* 84.  
xxviii. 12. *L.A.* iii. 104, *Deus* 156, *Her.* 76, *Praem.* 107.  
xxx. 11-14. *Post.* 85, *Mut.* 237, *Som.* ii. 180, *Virt.* 183,  
*Praem.* 80.  
15. *Deus* 50, *Fug.* 58.  
19, 20. *Post.* 12, 69, *Deus* 50, *Cong.* 134, *Fug.* 58.  
xxxii. 4. *Sob.* 10, *Mut.* 182.  
7-9. *Post.* 89, *Plant.* 59, *Cong.* 58.  
15. *Post.* 121, *Cong.* 160.  
32, 33. *Ebr.* 222, *Som.* ii. 191.  
xxxiii. 1. *Mut.* 25, 125.  
9. *L.A.* ii. 51, *Ebr.* 72, *Fug.* 89.

### I SAMUEL

- 1 Sam. i. 28. *Deus* 6, *Som.* i. 254.  
ii. 5. *Deus* 10, *Mut.* 143.  
ix. 9. *Deus* 139, *Mig.* 38, *Her.* 78.

### PSALMS

- Ps. xxiii. (xxii.) 1. *Agr.* 50, *Mut.* 115.  
xxxvii. (xxxvi.) 4. *Plant.* 39, *Som.* ii. 242.

### PROVERBS

- Prov. viii. 22. *Ebr.* 31, *Virt.* 62.

### HOSEA

- Hos. xiv. 9, 10. *Plant.* 138, *Mut.* 139.

ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE  
WORLD'S CREATION GIVEN  
BY MOSES  
(DE OPIFICIO MUNDI)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

A Book of Laws, says Philo, is fitly prefaced by a Cosmogony. The theme dealt with by a Cosmogony is, indeed, too lofty for adequate treatment. In Moses' treatment of it, two salient points at once meet the eye. The world's origin is ascribed to a Maker, who is Himself *unoriginate*, and who *cares* for what He has made.

By "six days" Moses does not indicate a space of time in which the world was made, but the principles of *order* and *productivity* which governed its making.

Before the emergence of the material world there existed, in the Divine Word or Reason, the incorporeal world, as the design of a city exists in the brain of the designer.

The efficient cause of the universe (we must remember) is Goodness; and Goodness, to be attained by it as its capacity permits, is its final cause.

The incorporeal world may be described as "the Word of God engaged in the act of creating." And the Word is the Image of God. In that, man (the part), and therefore the universe (the whole) was created.

"In the beginning" means for Philo the precedence of the incorporeal heaven and invisible earth. The pre-eminence of Life-breath and Light are shown,



## ON THE CREATION

he says, by the one being called " the Spirit of God," and the other pronounced " good " or " beautiful." He sees darkness severed from light by the barrier of twilight ; and the birth of Time on " Day One." Philo strangely infers that a whole day was devoted to the creation of the visible heaven from the mention of a " second day " *after* that creation. Land and sea are then formed by the briny water being withdrawn from the sponge-like earth and the fresh water left in it ; and the land is bidden to bring forth trees and plants. It is bidden to do so *before* sun and moon are made, that men may not attribute its fruitfulness to these.

Coming now to the work of the fourth day, Philo brings out the significance of the number 4, and points to the boons conferred on body and mind by Light, which has given rise to philosophy by drawing man's vision upward to the heavenly bodies. He sees the purposes of these in their giving light, fore-showing coming events, marking the seasons, and measuring time.

The fifth day is fitly given to the creation of creatures endowed with five senses.

In connexion with the creation of man, Philo points out (a) the beauty of the *sequence*, ascending (in living things) from lowest to highest ; (b) the reference, not to body, but to *mind*, in the words " after our image " ; (c) the implication of *exactness* in the addition " after our likeness " ; (d) the co-operation of other agents implied in " let *us* make," such co-operation accounting (so Philo suggests) for the possibility of sin ; (e) four reasons for man coming last, viz.—

- (1) that he might find all ready for him ;

## PHILO

- (2) that he might use God's gifts as such ;
- (3) that Man, a miniature Heaven, might correspond to the Heaven whose creation came first ;
- (4) that his sudden appearance might over-awe the beasts.

His place in the series is no sign of inferiority.

Turning to the Seventh Day, Philo notes its dignity, and enlarges on the properties of the number 7, (*a*) in things incorporeal (89-100) ; (*b*) in the material creation : (*a*) the heavenly bodies (101 f.) ; (*β*) the stages of man's growth (103-105) ; (*γ*) as 3 + 4 (106) ; (*δ*) in the progressions (107-110) ; (*ε*) in all visible existence (111-116) ; (*ξ*) in man, and all that he sees (117-121) and experiences (121-125) ; (*η*) in grammar and music (126 f.).

After speaking of the honour paid by Moses to the number 7, Philo, treating Gen. ii. 4 f. as a concluding summary, claims it as a proof that Gen. i. records a creation of incorporeal ideas. After a disquisition on the subject of fresh water, to which he is led by Gen. ii. 6, he goes on to deal with the earth-born man (Gen. ii. 7), whom he distinguishes from the man made after God's image. The being of the former is composite, earthly substance and Divine Breath. Proofs and an illustration are given of his surpassing excellence. The title of " the only world-citizen " is claimed for him, and its significance brought out. His physical excellence can be guessed from the faint traces of it found in his posterity. It is to call out his intelligence that he is required to name the animals. Woman is the occasion of his deterioration.

The Garden, the Serpent, the Fall and its con-

## ON THE CREATION

sequences are dealt with in §§ 153-169. The Garden, we are told, represents the dominant power of the soul, and the Serpent represents Pleasure, and is eminently fitted to do so. His use of a human voice is considered. The praise of the "snake-fighter" in Lev. xi. 22 is referred to. Stress is laid on the fact that Pleasure assails the man through the woman. The effects of the Fall on the woman and on the man are traced.

The treatise ends with a short summary of the lessons of the Cosmogony. These are :

- (1) the eternal existence of God (as against atheism) ;
- (2) the unity of God (as against polytheism) ;
- (3) the non-eternity of the world ;
- (4) the unity of the world ;
- (5) the Providence of God.

ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ  
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΩΥΣΕΑ ΚΟΣΜΟΠΟΙΙΑΣ

[I. 1] <sup>1</sup> I. Τῶν ἄλλων νομοθετῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ γυμνὰ τὰ νομισθέντα παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι δίκαια διετάξαντο, οἱ δὲ πολὺν ὄγκον τοῖς νοήμασι προσπεριβαλόντες, ἐξετύφωσαν τὰ πλήθη, μυθικοῖς <sup>2</sup> πλάσμασι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπικρύψαντες. Μωυσῆς δ', ἐκότερον ὑπερβάς, τὸ μὲν ὡς ἄσκεπτον καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον καὶ ἀφιλόσοφον, τὸ δ' ὡς κατεψευσμένον καὶ μεστὸν γοητείας, παγκάλην καὶ σεμνοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἐποίησατο τῶν νόμων, μήτ' εὐθὺς ἂ χρὴ πράττειν ἢ τοῦναντίον ὑπειπὼν μήτ', ἐπειδὴ προτυπῶσαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν χρησομένων τοῖς νόμοις ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, μύθους πλασάμενος ἢ <sup>3</sup> συναινέσας τοῖς ὑφ' ἐτέρων συντεθεισῖν. ἢ δ' ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἔφην, ἐστὶ θαυμασιωτάτη, κοσμοποιίαν περιέχουσα, ὡς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ νόμου τῷ κόσμῳ συνάδοντος, καὶ τοῦ νομίμου ἀνδρὸς εὐθὺς ὄντος κοσμοπολίτου, πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως τὰς πράξεις ἀπευθύνοντος, καθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διοικεῖται.

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<sup>a</sup> "World" means, of course, the "Universe" or "Kosmos." See App. p. 475.

## ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S CREATION GIVEN BY MOSES

I. WHILE among other lawgivers some have nakedly and without embellishment drawn up a code of the things held to be right among their people, and others, dressing up their ideas in much irrelevant and cumbersome matter, have befogged the masses and hidden the truth under their fictions, Moses, disdaining either course, the one as devoid of the philosopher's painstaking effort to explore his subject thoroughly, the other as full of falsehood and imposture, introduced his laws with an admirable and most impressive exordium. He refrained, on the one hand, from stating abruptly what should be practised or avoided, and on the other hand, in face of the necessity of preparing the minds of those who were to live under the laws for their reception, he refrained from inventing myths himself or acquiescing in those composed by others. His exordium, as I have said, is one that excites our admiration in the highest degree. It consists of an account of the creation of the world, implying that the world is in harmony with the Law, and the Law with the world, and that the man who observes the law is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world,<sup>a</sup> regulating his doings by the purpose and will of Nature, in accordance with which the entire world itself also is administered.

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- 4 τὸ μὲν οὖν κάλλος τῶν νοημάτων τῆς κοσμοποιίας  
οὐδεὶς, οὔτε ποιητῆς οὔτε λογογράφος, ἀξίως ἂν  
[2] ὑμνῆσαι δύναίτο· καὶ γὰρ | λόγον καὶ ἀκοὴν ὑπερ-  
βάλλει, μείζω καὶ σεμνότερα ὄντα ἢ ὡς θνητοῦ  
5 τινος ὀργάνοις ἐναρμοσθῆναι. οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦθ'  
ἡσυχαστέον, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ ὑπὲρ  
δύναμιν ἐπιτολμητέον λέγειν, οἴκοθεν μὲν οὐδέν,  
ὀλίγα δ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν, ἐφ' ἃ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην  
διάνοιαν φθάνειν εἰκὸς ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ σοφίας  
6 κατεσχημένην. ὡς γὰρ τῶν κολοσσιαίων μεγεθῶν  
τὰς ἐμφάσεις καὶ ἡ βραχυτάτη σφραγὶς τυπωθεῖσα  
δέχεται, οὕτως τάχα που καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀναγραφείσης  
ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κοσμοποιίας ὑπερβάλλοντα κάλλη,  
καὶ ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων  
ψυχὰς ἐπισκιάζοντα, βραχυτέροις παραδηλωθή-  
σεται χαρακτῆρσιν, ἐπειδὴν ἐκείνο μνηυθῆ πρό-  
τερον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄξιον ἀποσιωπῆσαι.
- 7 II. Τινὲς γάρ, τὸν κόσμον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κοσμο-  
ποιὸν θαυμάσαντες, τὸν μὲν ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ αἰδίον  
ἀπεφήναντο, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πολλὴν ἀπραξίαν ἀνάγκως  
κατεψεύσαντο, δέον ἔμπαλιν, τοῦ μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις  
ὡς ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καταπλαγῆναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ  
8 πλεον ἀποσεμνῦναι τοῦ μετρίου. Μωυσῆς δέ, καὶ  
φιλοσοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσας ἀκρότητα, καὶ  
χρησιμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν τῆς  
φύσεως ἀναδιδασθεῖς, ἔγνω δὴ ὅτι ἀναγκαιότατόν  
ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς οὐσι τὸ μὲν εἶναι δραστήριον αἷτιον,

## ON THE CREATION, 4-8

Now it is true that no writer in verse or prose could possibly do justice to the beauty of the ideas embodied in this account of the creation of the kosmos. For they transcend our capacity of speech and of hearing, being too great and august to be adjusted to the tongue or ear of any mortal. Nevertheless they must not on this account be passed over in silence. Nay, for the sake of the God-beloved author we must be venturesome even beyond our power. We shall fetch nothing from our own store, but, with a great array of points before us, we shall mention only a few, such as we may believe to be within reach of the human mind when possessed by love and longing for wisdom. The minutest seal takes in under the graver's hand the contours of colossal figures. So perchance shall the beauties of the world's creation recorded in the Laws. transcendent as they are and dazzling as they do by their bright gleams the souls of readers, be indicated by delineations minute and slight. But first we must draw attention to a matter which ought not to be passed over in silence.

II. There are some people who, having the world in admiration rather than the Maker of the world, pronounce it to be without beginning and everlasting, while with impious falsehood they postulate in God a vast inactivity; whereas we ought on the contrary to be astonished at His powers as Maker and Father, and not to assign to the world a disproportionate majesty. Moses, both because he had attained the very summit of philosophy, and because he had been divinely instructed in the greater and most essential part of Nature's lore, could not fail to recognize that the universal must consist of two parts, one part

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- τὸ δὲ παθητόν· καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν δραστήριον ὁ τῶν ὄλων νοῦς ἐστὶν εἰλικρινέστατος καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος, κρείττων ἢ ἀρετῆ, καὶ κρείττων ἢ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ κρείττων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν·
- 9 τὸ δὲ παθητόν, ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, κινήθην δὲ καὶ σχηματισθὲν καὶ ψυχωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, μετέβαλεν εἰς τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· ὃν οἱ φάσκοντες ὡς ἔστιν ἀγένητος λελήθασιν τὸ ὠφελιμώτατον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν ὑποτεμνόμενοι, τὴν πρόνοιαν.
- 10 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ γεγονότος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν αἰρεῖ λόγος· καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐκγόνων καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν δημιουργηθέντων στοχάζεται τῆς διαμονῆς, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐπιζήμια καὶ βλαβερὰ μηχανῇ πάσῃ διωθεῖται, τὰ δὲ ὅσα ὠφέλιμα καὶ λυσιτελεῖ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐκπορίζει ἐπιποθεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ γεγονὸς οἰκείωσις οὐδεμία τῷ μὴ
- 11 πεποιηκότι. ἀπεριμάχητον δὲ δόγμα καὶ ἀνωφελές, ἀναρχίαν ὡς ἐν πόλει κατασκευάζον τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, τὸν ἔφορον ἢ βραβευτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν οὐκ ἔχοντι, ὑφ' οὗ πάντ' οἰκονομεῖσθαι καὶ πρυτανεύεσθαι θέμις.
- 12 ἀλλ' ὁ γε μέγας Μωυσῆς  
 [3] ἀλλοτριώτατον τοῦ | ὄρατοῦ νομίσας εἶναι τὸ ἀγένητον—πᾶν γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητόν, ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολαῖς, οὐδέποτε κατὰ ταῦτα ὄν—τῷ μὲν ἀοράτῳ καὶ νοητῷ προσέειμεν ὡς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενὲς



## ON THE CREATION, 8-12

active Cause and the other passive object ; and that the active Cause is the perfectly pure and unsullied Mind of the universe, transcending virtue, transcending knowledge, transcending the good itself and the beautiful itself ; while the passive part is in itself incapable of life and motion, but, when set in motion and shaped and quickened by Mind, changes into the most perfect masterpiece, namely this world. Those who assert that this world is unoriginate unconsciously eliminate that which of all incentives to piety is the most beneficial and the most indispensable, namely providence. For it stands to reason that what has been brought into existence should be cared for by its Father and Maker. For, as we know, it is a father's aim in regard of his offspring and an artificer's in regard of his handiwork to preserve them, and by every means to fend off from them aught that may entail loss or harm. He keenly desires to provide for them in every way all that is beneficial and to their advantage : but between that which has never been brought into being and one who is not its Maker no such tie is formed. It is a worthless and baleful doctrine, setting up anarchy in the well-ordered realm of the world, leaving it without protector, arbitrator, or judge, without anyone whose office it is to administer and direct all its affairs.

Not so Moses. That great master, holding the unoriginate to be of a different order from that which is visible, since everything that is an object of sensible perception is subject to becoming and to constant change, never abiding in the same state, assigned to that which is invisible and an object of intellectual apprehension the infinite and undefinable as united with it by closest tie ; but on that which

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αἰδιότητα, τῷ δ' αἰσθητῷ γένεσιν οἰκείον ὄνομα ἐπεφήμισεν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὄρατός τε καὶ

αἰσθητός ὃδε ὁ κόσμος, ἀναγκαίως ἂν εἶη καὶ γενητός· ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοῦ, μάλα σεμνῶς θεολογήσας.

- 13 III. Ἐξ δὲ ἡμέραις δημιουργηθῆναί φησι τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσεδεῖτο χρόνων μήκους ὁ ποιῶν—ἅμα γὰρ πάντα δρᾶν εἰκὸς θεόν, οὐ προστάττοντα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοούμενον—, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς γινομένοις ἔδει τάξεως. τάξει δὲ ἀριθμὸς οἰκείον, ἀριθμῶν δέ, φύσεως νόμοις, γεννητικώτατος ὁ ἕξ· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος πρῶτος τέλειός ἐστιν, ἰσούμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι καὶ συμπληρούμενος ἕξ αὐτῶν, ἡμίσεους μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυάδος, ἕκτου δὲ μονάδος, καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἄρρην τε καὶ θῆλυς εἶναι πέφυκε, καὶ τῆς ἑκατέρου δυνάμεως ἡρμοσται· ἄρρην μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὐσι τὸ περιττόν, τὸ δ' ἄρτιον θῆλυ· περιττῶν μὲν οὖν ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὴ τριάς, δυὰς δ' ἀρτίων, ἡ δ'
- 14 ἀμφοῖν δύναμις ἕξάς. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κόσμον, τελειότατον μὲν ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων, κατ' ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγῆναι τὸν ἕξ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ δ' ἔχειν μέλλοντα τὰς ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ γενέσεις, πρὸς μικτὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρτιοπέριττον τυπωθῆναι,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Republic* viii. 546 b, St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, bk. xi. ch. 30.

## ON THE CREATION, 12-14

is an object of the senses he bestowed "genesis," "becoming," as its appropriate name.

Seeing then that this world is both visible and perceived by the senses, it follows that it must also have had an origin. Whence it was entirely to the point that he put on record that origin, setting forth in its true grandeur the work of God.

III. He says that in six days the world was created, not that its Maker required a length of time for His work, for we must think of God as doing all things simultaneously, remembering that "all" includes with the commands which He issues the thought behind them. Six days are mentioned because for the things coming into existence there was need of order. Order involves number, and among numbers by the laws of nature the most suitable to productivity is 6, for if we start with 1 it is the first perfect number, being equal to the product of its factors (*i.e.*  $1 \times 2 \times 3$ ), as well as made up of the sum of them (*i.e.*  $1 + 2 + 3$ ), its half being 3, its third part 2, its sixth part 1.<sup>a</sup> We may say that it is in its nature both male and female, and is a result of the distinctive power of either. For among things that are it is the odd that is male, and the even female. Now of odd numbers 3 is the starting-point, and of even numbers 2, and the product of these two is 6. For it was requisite that the world, being most perfect of all things that have come into existence, should be constituted in accordance with a perfect number, namely six; and, inasmuch as it was to have in itself beings that sprang from a coupling together, should receive the impress of a mixed number, namely the first in which odd and even

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περιέξοντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σπείροντος ἄρρενος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου τὰς γονὰς θήλεος, ἰδέαν.

15 Ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπένειμεν ἓνια τῶν τοῦ παντός τμημάτων, τὴν πρώτην ὑπεξελόμενος, ἣν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ πρώτην, ἵνα μὴ ταῖς ἄλλαις συγκαταριθμηῆται, καλεῖ, μίαν δ' ὀνομάσας ὀνόματι εὐθυβόλῳ προσαγορεύει, τὴν μονάδος φύσιν καὶ πρόσρησιν ἐνιδῶν τε καὶ ἐπιφημίσας αὐτῇ.

IV. λεκτέον δὲ ὅσα οἶόν τέ ἐστι τῶν ἐμπεριεχομένων, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἀμήχανον· περιέχει γὰρ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἐξαίρετον, ὡς ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος  
 16 |μηνύει. προλαβὼν γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἅτε θεός, ὅτι  
 [4] μίμημα καλὸν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δίχα καλοῦ παραδείγματος, οὐδέ τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀνυπαίτιον, ὃ μὴ πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον καὶ νοητὴν ἰδέαν ἀπεικονίσθη, βουληθεὶς τὸν ὄρατὸν κόσμον τουτονὶ δημιουργῆσαι, προεξετύπου τὸν νοητὸν, ἵνα, χρώμενος ἄσωμάτῳ καὶ θεοειδεστάτῳ παραδείγματι, τὸν σωματικὸν ἀπεργάσῃται, πρεσβυτέρου νεώτερον ἀπεικόνισμα, τοσαῦτα περιέξοντα αἰσθητὰ  
 17 γένη ὅσαπερ ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητὰ. τὸν δ'

ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ λέγειν ἢ ὑπονοεῖν οὐ θεμιτόν· ἥ δὲ συνέστηκεν εἰσόμεθα, παρακολουθήσαντες εἰκόνι τινὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν. ἐπειδὴν πόλις κτίζηται, κατὰ πολλὴν φιλοτιμίαν βασιλέως ἢ τινος ἡγεμόνος, αὐτοκρατοῦς

<sup>a</sup> Gen. i. 5: "And there was evening and there was morning, one day."

## ON THE CREATION, 14-17

were combined, one that should contain the essential principle both of the male that sows and of the female that receives the seed.

Now to each of the days He assigned some of the portions of the whole, not including, however, the first day, which He does not even call "first," lest it should be reckoned with the others, but naming it "one"<sup>a</sup> He designates it by a name which precisely hits the mark, for He discerned in it and expressed by the title which He gives it the nature and appellation of the unit, or the "one."

IV. We must recount as many as we can of the elements embraced in it. To recount them all would be impossible. Its pre-eminent element is the intelligible world, as is shown in the treatise dealing with the "One." For God, being God, assumed that a beautiful copy would never be produced apart from a beautiful pattern, and that no object of perception would be faultless which was not made in the likeness of an original discerned only by the intellect. So when He willed to create this visible world He first fully formed the intelligible world, in order that He might have the use of a pattern wholly God-like and incorporeal in producing the material world, as a later creation, the very image of an earlier, to embrace in itself objects of perception of as many kinds as the other contained objects of intelligence.

To speak of or conceive that world which consists of ideas as being in some place is illegitimate ; how it consists (of them) we shall know if we carefully attend to some image supplied by the things of our world. When a city is being founded to satisfy the soaring ambition of some king or governor, who lays claim to despotic power and

## PHILO

- ἐξουσίας μεταποιουμένου καὶ ἅμα τὸ φρόνημα λαμπροῦ, τὴν εὐτυχίαν συνεπικοσμοῦντος, παρελθὼν ἔστιν ὅτε τις τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἀρχιτεκτονικὸς καὶ τὴν εὐκρασίαν καὶ εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου θεασάμενος, διαγράφει πρῶτον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποτελεῖσθαι πόλεως μέρη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, ἱερά, γυμνάσια, πρυτανεῖα, ἀγοράς, λιμένας, νεωσοίκους, στενωπούς, τειχῶν κατασκευάς, ἰδρύσεις οἰκιῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἄλλων οἰκο-
- 18** δομημάτων· εἶθ' ὡσπερ ἐν κηρῷ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ τοὺς ἐκάστων δεξάμενος τύπους, ἀγαλματοφορεῖ νοητὴν πόλιν, ἧς ἀνακινήσας τὰ εἶδωλα μνήμη τῇ συμφύτῳ καὶ τοὺς χαρακτήρας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνσφραγισάμενος, οἷα δημιουργὸς ἀγαθός, ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸ παράδειγμα, τὴν ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἀρχεται κατασκευάζειν, ἐκάστη τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν τὰς σωματικὰς ἐξομοιῶν οὐσίας.
- 19** τὰ παραπλήσια δὴ καὶ περὶ θεοῦ δοξαστέον, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κτίζειν διανοηθεὶς ἐνενόησε πρότερον τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧν, κόσμον νοητὸν συστησάμενος, ἀπετέλει καὶ τὸν αἰσθητόν, παραδείγματι χρώμενος ἐκείνῳ.
- 20** V. καθάπερ οὖν ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀρχιτεκτονικῷ προδιατυπωθεῖσα πόλις χώραν ἐκτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεσφράγιστο τῇ τοῦ τεχνίτου ψυχῇ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἂν ἔχοι τόπον ἢ τὸν θεῖον λόγον τὸν ταῦτα διακοσμήσαντα· ἐπεὶ τίς ἂν εἴη τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ τόπος ἕτερος,

## ON THE CREATION, 17-20

being magnificent in his ideas would fain add a fresh lustre to his good fortune, there comes forward now and again some trained architect who, observing the favourable climate and convenient position of the site, first sketches in his own mind wellnigh all the parts of the city that is to be wrought out, temples, gymnasia, town-halls, market-places, harbours, docks, streets, walls to be built, dwelling-houses as well as public buildings to be set up. Thus after having received in his own soul, as it were in wax, the figures of these objects severally, he carries about the image of a city which is the creation of his mind. Then by his innate power of memory, he recalls the images of the various parts of this city, and imprints their types yet more distinctly in it : and like a good craftsman he begins to build the city of stones and timber, keeping his eye upon his pattern and making the visible and tangible objects correspond in each case to the incorporeal ideas.

Just such must be our thoughts about God. We must suppose that, when He was minded to found the one great city, He conceived beforehand the models of its parts, and that out of these He constituted and brought to completion a world discernible only by the mind, and then, with that for a pattern, the world which our senses can perceive.

V. As, then, the city which was fashioned beforehand within the mind of the architect held no place in the outer world, but had been engraved in the soul of the artificer as by a seal ; even so the universe that consisted of ideas would have no other location than the Divine Reason, which was the Author of this ordered frame. For what other place could there be for His powers sufficient to receive and

## PHILO

- ὅς γένοιτ' ἂν ἰκανός, οὐ λέγω πάσας ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἄκρατον ἠντινοῦν δέξασθαι τε καὶ χωρῆσαι;
- 21 δύναμις δὲ καὶ ἡ κοσμοποιητικὴ, πηγὴν  
 [5] ἔχουσα | τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθόν. εἰ γὰρ τις ἐβελήσειε τὴν αἰτίαν ἧς ἔνεκα τότε τὸ πᾶν ἐδημιουργεῖτο διερευνᾶσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι μὴ διαμαρτεῖν σκοποῦ φάμενος, ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἶπέ τις, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν· οὐ χάριν τῆς ἀρίστης αὐτοῦ φύσεως οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν οὐσία, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐχούση καλόν, δυναμένη δὲ πάντα
- 22 γίνεσθαι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄτακτος, ἄποιος, ἄψυχος, <ἀνόμοιος>, ἑτεροϊότητος, ἀναρμοστίας, ἀσυμφωνίας μεστή· τροπὴν δὲ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐδέχετο τὴν εἰς τὰναντία καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, τάξιν, ποιότητα, ἐμψυχίαν, ὁμοιότητα, ταυτότητα, τὸ εὐάρμοστον, τὸ σύμφωνον, πᾶν ὅσον τῆς κρείττονος ἰδέας.
- 23 VI. Οὐδενὶ δὲ παρακλήτω—τίς γὰρ ἦν ἕτερος;—μόνῳ δὲ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος, ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν, ἀταμιεύτοις καὶ πλουσiais χάρισι, τὴν ἄνευ δωρεᾶς θείας φύσιν οὐδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ δυναμένην ἐπιλαχεῖν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς. ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εὐεργετεῖ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χαρίτων—ἀπερίγραφοι γὰρ αὐταί γε καὶ ἀτελεύτητοι—, πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῶν εὐεργετουμένων δυνάμεις· οὐ γὰρ ὡς πέφυκεν ὁ θεὸς εὖ ποιεῖν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ γινόμενον εὖ πάσχειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱ δυνάμεις ὑπερβάλλουσι, τὸ δ', ἀσθενέστερον ὄν ἢ ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸ μέγεθος

<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 29 E.



## ON THE CREATION, 20-23

contain, I say not all but, any one of them whatever uncompounded and untempered? Now just such a power is that by which the universe was made, one that has as its source nothing less than true goodness. For should one conceive a wish to search for the cause, for the sake of which this whole was created, it seems to me that he would not be wrong in saying, what indeed one of the men of old did say, that the Father and Maker of all is good; and because of this He grudged not a share in his own excellent nature to an existence which has of itself nothing fair and lovely, while it is capable of becoming all things. For of itself it was without order, without quality, without soul, (without likeness); it was full of inconsistency, ill-adjustment, disharmony: but it was capable of turning and undergoing a complete change to the best, the very contrary of all these, to order, quality, life, correspondence, identity, likeness, perfect adjustment, to harmony, to all that is characteristic of the more excellent model.<sup>a</sup>

VI. Now God, with no counsellor to help Him (who was there beside Him?) determined that it was meet to confer rich and unrestricted benefits upon that nature which apart from Divine bounty could obtain of itself no good thing. But not in proportion to the greatest of His own bounties does He confer benefits—for these are without end or limit—but in proportion to the capacities of the recipients. For it is not the nature of creation to receive good treatment in like manner as it is the nature of God to bestow it, seeing that the powers of God are overwhelmingly vast, whereas creation, being too feeble to entertain their abundance, would

## PHILO

- αὐτῶν, ἀπέειπεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ διεμετρήσατο σταθ-  
 μησάμενος εὐαρμόστως ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον.
- 24 εἰ δέ τις ἐθελήσειε γυμνοτέροις χρή-  
 σασθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲν ἄν ἕτερον εἴποι τὸν  
 νοητὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμο-  
 ποιούντος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἕτερόν τί ἐστιν  
 ἢ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς ἤδη τὴν [νοητὴν]  
 25 πόλιν κτίζειν διανοουμένου. τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτο  
 Μωυσέως ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐμόν· τὴν γοῦν ἀνθρώπου  
 γένεσιν ἀναγράφων ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα διαρρηθῆναι  
 ὁμολογεῖ, ὡς ἄρα κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ διετυπώθη  
 (Gen. i. 27). εἰ δὲ τὸ μέρος εἰκῶν εἰκόνας, δῆλον  
 ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὅλον· εἰ δ' ὁ σύμπας αἰσθητὸς οὐτοσὶ  
 κόσμος, ὃ μείζον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστίν, μίμημα  
 θείας εἰκόνας, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγίς,  
 ὃν φαμεν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, αὐτὸς ἄν εἴη [τὸ  
 παράδειγμα, ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν] ὁ θεοῦ  
 λόγος.
- 26 VII. Φησὶ δ' ὡς “ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν  
 οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν,” τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνων,  
 [6] | οὐχ ὡς οἴονται τινες, τὴν κατὰ χρόνον· χρόνος  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν  
 ἢ μετ' αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου  
 κινήσεώς ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος, προτέρα δὲ τοῦ κινου-  
 μένου κινήσις οὐκ ἄν γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον  
 αὐτὴν ἢ ὕστερον ἢ ἅμα συνίστασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἄρα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἰσῆλικά κόσμου γεγονέναι  
 ἢ νεώτερον ἐκείνου· πρεσβύτερον δ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι  
 27 τολμᾶν ἀφιλόσοφον. εἰ δ' ἀρχὴ μὴ παραλαμβάνεται

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 475.

## ON THE CREATION, 23-27

have broken down under the effort to do so, had not God with appropriate adjustment dealt out to each his due portion.

Should a man desire to use words in a more simple and direct way, he would say that the world discerned only by the intellect is nothing else than the Word of God when He was already engaged in the act of creation. For (to revert to our illustration) the city discernible by the intellect alone is nothing else than the reasoning faculty of the architect in the act of planning to found the city. It is Moses who lays down this, not I. Witness his express acknowledgement in the sequel, when setting on record the creation of man, that he was moulded after the image of God (Gen. i. 27). Now if the part is an image of an image, it is manifest that the whole is so too, and if the whole creation, this entire world perceived by our senses (seeing that it is greater than any human image) is a copy of the Divine image, it is manifest that the archetypal seal also, which we aver to be the world descried by the mind, would be the very Word of God.<sup>a</sup>

VII. Then he says that "in the beginning God made the heaven and the earth," taking "beginning" not, as some think, in a chronological sense, for time there was not before there was a world. Time began either simultaneously with the world or after it. For since time is a measured space<sup>a</sup> determined by the world's movement, and since movement could not be prior to the object moving, but must of necessity arise either after it or simultaneously with it, it follows of necessity that time also is either coeval with or later born than the world. To venture to affirm that it is elder born would be to do violence to philosophic sense. And since the word "beginning"

## PHILO

- τανῦν ἢ κατὰ χρόνον, εἰκὸς ἂν εἶη μηνύεσθαι τὴν κατ' ἀριθμὸν, ὡς τὸ "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν" ἴσον εἶναι τῷ πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ γὰρ εὐλογον τῷ ὄντι πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ἄριστόν τε ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας παγέντα, διότι θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἔμελλεν οἶκος ἕσεσθαι ἱερώτατος.
- 28 καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνθ' ἅμα ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει, τάξιν οὐδὲν ἦττον εἶχε τὰ καλῶς γινόμενα· καλὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἀταξία. τάξις δ' ἀκολουθία καὶ εἰρμός ἐστι προηγουμένων τινῶν καὶ ἐπομένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοι ταῖς τῶν τεκταινομένων ἐπινοίαις· οὕτως γὰρ ἔμελλον ἠκριβῶσθαι τε καὶ ἀπλαγεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀσύγχυτοι.
- 29 Πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον, καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον, καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν, καὶ κενοῦ· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπεφήμισε σκότος, ἐπειδὴ μέλας ὁ ἀῆρ τῇ φύσει, τὴν δ' ἄβυσσον, πολὺβυθον γὰρ τό γε κενὸν καὶ ἀχανές· εἶθ' ὕδατος ἀσώματον οὐσίαν, καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐβδόμου φωτός, ὁ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν καὶ νοητὸν ἡλίου παράδειγμα, καὶ πάντων ὅσα φωσφόρα ἄστρα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν
- 30 ἔμελλε συνίστασθαι. VIII. προνομίας δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ φῶς ἤξιοῦτο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα, ζωῆς δὲ θεὸς

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 114 τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας οὐρανοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> Or "divine beings."

## ON THE CREATION, 27-30

is not here taken as the chronological beginning, it would seem likely that the numerical order is indicated, so that "in the beginning He made" is equivalent to "He made the heaven first": for it is indeed reasonable that it should come into existence first, being both best of created things and made from the purest of all that is,<sup>a</sup> seeing that it was destined to be the most holy dwelling-place of manifest and visible gods.<sup>b</sup> For, even if the Maker made all things simultaneously, order was none the less an attribute of all that came into existence in fair beauty, for beauty is absent where there is disorder. Now order is a series of things going on before and following after, in due sequence, a sequence which, though not seen in the finished productions, yet exists in the designs of the contrivers; for only so could these things be fashioned with perfect accuracy, and work without leaving their path or clashing with each other.

First, then, the Maker made an incorporeal heaven, and an invisible earth, and the essential form of air and void. To the one he gave the name of "Darkness," since the air when left to itself, is black. The other he named "abyss," for the void is a region of immensity and vast depths. Next (He made) the incorporeal essence of water and of life-breath and, to crown all, of light. This again, the seventh in order, was an incorporeal pattern, discernible only by the mind, of the sun and of all luminaries which were to come into existence throughout heaven. VIII. Special distinction is accorded by Moses to life-breath and to light. The one he entitles the "breath" of God, because breath is most life-giving, and of life God is the author, while

## PHILO

- αἴτιος, τὸ δὲ φῶς <φησιν> ὅτι ὑπερβαλλόντως καλόν (Gen. i. 4). τοσοῦτω γὰρ τὸ νοητὸν τοῦ ὄρατου λαμπρότερόν τε καὶ αὐγοειδέστερον, ὅσῳ περ ἥλιος, οἶμαι, σκότους, καὶ ἡμέρα νυκτός, καὶ [τὰ κριτήρια] νοῦς, ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, ὀφθαλ-
- 31 μῶν σώματος. τὸ δὲ ἄορατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς [7] ἐκείνο θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκὼν τοῦ | διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔστιν ὑπερουράνιος ἀστήρ, πηγὴ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων· ἦν οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καλέσειεν ἂν τις παναύγειαν· ἀφ' ἧς ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλάνητές τε καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀρύτονται, καθ' ὅσον ἐκάστῳ δύναμις, τὰ πρόποντα φέγγη· τῆς ἀμιγοῦς καὶ καθαρᾶς αὐγῆς ἐκείνης ἀμαυρουμένης, ὅταν ἄρξῃται τρέπεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ νοητοῦ πρὸς αἰσθητὸν μεταβολήν· εἰλικρινές γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.
- 32 IX. Εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι ὅτι “σκότος ἦν ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου” (Gen. i. 2). τρόπον γὰρ τινα ὁ ἀήρ ὑπὲρ τὸ κενόν ἔστιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀχανῆ καὶ ἐρήμην καὶ κενὴν χώραν ἐπιβὰς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν, ὅση πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ σελήνην
- 33 καθήκει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀνάλαμψιν, ὃ πρὸ ἡλίου γέγονεν, ὑπεχώρει τὸ ἀντίπαλον σκότος, διατειχίζοντος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ καὶ διστάντος θεοῦ, τοῦ τὰς ἐναντιότητος εὖ εἰδότης καὶ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως αὐτῶν διαμάχην. ἴν' οὖν μὴ αἰεὶ συμφερόμεναι στασιάζωσι καὶ πόλεμος ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἐπικρατῇ, τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἐν κόσμῳ τιθεῖς, οὐ μόνον ἐχώρισε φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρους ἐν μέσοις ἔθετο διαστήμασιν, οἷς

## ON THE CREATION, 30-33

of light he says that it is beautiful pre-eminently (Gen. i. 4) : for the intelligible as far surpasses the visible in the brilliancy of its radiance, as sunlight assuredly surpasses darkness and day night, and mind, the ruler of the entire soul, the bodily eyes. Now that invisible light perceptible only by mind has come into being as an image of the Divine Word Who brought it within our ken : it is a supercelestial constellation, fount of the constellations obvious to sense. It would not be amiss to term it "all-brightness," to signify that from which sun and moon, as well as fixed stars and planets draw, in proportion to their several capacity, the light befitting each of them : for that pure and undiluted radiance is be-dimmed so soon as it begins to undergo the change that is entailed by the passage from the intelligible to the sensibly discerned, for no object of sense is free from dimness.

IX. Right too is his statement that "darkness was above the abyss" (Gen. i. 2). For in a sense the air is over the void, inasmuch as it has spread over and completely filled the immensity and desolation of the void, of all that reaches from the zone of the moon to us. After the kindling of the intelligible light, which preceded the sun's creation, darkness its adversary withdrew : for God, in His perfect knowledge of their mutual contrariety and natural conflict, parted them one from another by a wall of separation. In order, therefore, to keep them from the discord arising from perpetual clash, to prevent war in place of peace prevailing and setting up disorder in an ordered universe, He not only separated light and darkness, but also placed in the intervening spaces boundary-marks, by which He held back each

## PHILO

- ἀνείρξε τῶν ἄκρων ἐκάτερον· ἔμελλε γὰρ γειτνιῶντα σύγχυσις ἀπεργάζεσθαι, τῷ περὶ δυναστείας ἀγῶνι κατὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄπαστον φιλονεικίαν ἐπαποδύμενα, εἰ μὴ μέσοι παγέντες ὄροι διέζυξαν καὶ
- 34 διέλυσαν τὴν ἀντεπίθεσιν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐσπέρα τε καὶ πρωῖα, ὧν ἡ μὲν προευαγγελίζεται μέλλοντα ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν, ἡρέμα τὸ σκότος ἀνείργουσα, ἡ δ' ἐσπέρα καταδύντι ἐπιγίνεται ἡλίῳ, τὴν ἀθρόαν τοῦ σκότους φορὰν πράως ἐκδεχομένη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, πρωῖαν λέγω καὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν θετέον· ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰδέαι καὶ μέτρα καὶ τύποι καὶ σφραγίδες, εἰς γένεσιν ἄλλων
- 35 ἀσώματα σωμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς μὲν ἐγένετο. σκότος δ' ὑπεξέστη καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὄροι δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ διαστήμασιν ἐπάγησαν ἐσπέρα καὶ πρωῖα, κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον τοῦ χρόνου μέτρον ἀπετελεῖτο εὐθύς, ὃ καὶ ἡμέραν ὃ ποιῶν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἡμέραν οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἣ λέλεκται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου μόνωσιν μοναδικὴν ἔχοντος φύσιν.
- 36 X. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀσώματος κόσμος ἤδη πέρασ εἶχεν ἰδρυθεὶς ἐν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ, ὃ δ' αἰσθητὸς
- [8] | πρὸς παράδειγμα τούτου ἐτελειογονεῖτο. καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν μερῶν, ὃ δὴ καὶ πάντων ἄριστον, ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανὸν ὃ δημιουργός, ὃν ἐτύμως στερέωμα προσηγόρευσεν ἅτε σωματικὸν ὄντα· τὸ γὰρ σῶμα φύσει στερεόν, ὅτι περ καὶ τριχῇ διαστατόν· στερεοῦ δὲ καὶ σώματος ἔννοια



## ON THE CREATION, 33-36

of their extremities : for, had they been actual neighbours, they were sure to produce confusion by engaging with intense and never-ceasing rivalry in the struggle for mastery. As it was, their assault on one another was broken and kept back by barriers set up between them. These barriers are evening and dawn. The latter, gently restraining the darkness, anticipates the sunrise with the glad tidings of its approach ; while evening, supervening upon sunset, gives a gentle welcome to the oncoming mass of darkness. We must, however, place these, dawn and evening I mean, in the category of the incorporeal and intelligible : for there is in these nothing whatever patent to the senses, but they are simply models and measuring-rules and patterns and seals, all of these being incorporeal and serving for the creation of other bodies. When light had come into being, and darkness had moved out of its way and retired, and evening and dawn had been fixed as barriers in the intervals between them, as a necessary consequence a measure of time was forthwith brought about, which its Maker called Day, and not " first " day but " one," an expression due to the uniqueness of the intelligible world, and to its having therefore a natural kinship to the number " One."

X. The incorporeal world, then, was now finished and firmly settled in the Divine Reason, and the world patent to sense was ripe for birth after the pattern of the incorporeal. And first of its parts, best of them all, the Creator proceeded to make the Heaven, which with strict truth he entitled firmament, as being corporeal : for the body is naturally solid, seeing that it has a threefold dimension. What else

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τίς ἑτέρα πλὴν τὸ πάντῃ διεστηκός; εἰκότως οὖν ἀντιθεῖς τῷ νοητῷ καὶ ἄσωμάτῳ τὸν αἰσθητὸν  
 37 καὶ σωματοειδῆ τοῦτον στερέωμα ἐκάλεσεν. εἴτ' εὐθέως οὐρανὸν προσεῖπεν αὐτόν, εὐθυβόλως καὶ πάνυ κυρίως, ἥτοι διότι πάντων ὄρος ἢ διότι πρῶτος τῶν ὄρατῶν ἐγένετο. ὀνομάζει δὲ καὶ ἡμέραν μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ δευτέραν, ὅλον ἡμέρας διάστημα καὶ μέτρον ἀνατιθεῖς οὐρανῷ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αἰσθητοῖς ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ τιμὴν.

38 XI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύμπαν ὕδωρ εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀνεκέχυτο, καὶ διὰ πάντων αὐτῆς ἐπεφοιτῆκει τῶν μερῶν, οἷα σπογγίᾳς ἀναπεπωκυίας ἰκμάδα, ὡς εἶναι τέλματα καὶ βαθὺν πηλόν, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στοιχείων ἀναδεδευμένων καὶ συγκεχυμένων τρόπον φυράματος εἰς μίαν ἀδιάκριτον καὶ ἄμορφον φύσιν, προστάττει ὁ θεὸς τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ, ὅσον ἄλμυρόν καὶ ἀγονίας αἴτιον ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι σπαρτοῖς καὶ δένδρεσιν, ἐπισυναχθῆναι συρρυνὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀπάσης γῆς ἀραιωμάτων, τὴν δὲ ξηρὰν ἀναφανῆναι, τῆς τοῦ γλυκέος νοτίδος ἐναπολειφθείσης εἰς διαμονὴν—κόλλα γάρ τίς ἐστίν ἢ μεμετρημένη γλυκεῖα νοτὶς τῶν διεστηκότων—καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀφανασθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀγονον καὶ στεῖραν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅπως οἷα μήτηρ μὴ μόνον θάτερον εἶδος τροφῆς βρῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκάτερον ὡς ἂν ἐκγόνοις βρῶσιν τε

\* οὐρανός = "heaven," ὄρος = "boundary," ὄραν = "see."

## ON THE CREATION, 36-38

indeed do we conceive a solid object and a body to be, but that which extends in each direction? Fitly then, in contradistinction to the incorporeal and purely intelligible, did He call this body-like heaven perceived by our senses "the solid firmament." After so designating it He went on forthwith to speak of it as "heaven." He did so with unerring propriety, either because it is the "boundary" of all things, or because it came into being first of things "visible."<sup>a</sup> When the heaven had been created he names a second day, thus assigning to heaven the whole space and interval of a day. He does this by reason of the position of dignity which heaven occupies among the objects of sense.

XI. At this stage, then, water in all its volume had been poured forth over all the earth, and had found its way through all its parts, as through a sponge saturated with moisture. It had produced swamps and deep mud, earth and water being mingled together and kneaded, like a mass of dough, into a single element without shape or distinction of its parts. So God next bids all the briny water, which would have been the cause of barrenness to crops and trees, to be gathered together by flowing to the same point from the pores of the whole earth, and the dry land to appear. The moisture of the fresh sweet part was left behind to secure its permanence, since, when supplied in fit quantity, this sweet moisture served as a cohesive to the separate parts. This was to prevent it from being entirely dried up, and so becoming unproductive and barren, and enable it like a mother to provide, as for offspring, not one only of the two kinds of nourishment, namely solid food, but both kinds, food and

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καὶ πόσιν, παρέχῃ· διὸ φλέβας μαστοῖς ἑοικυίας ἐπλημμύρει, αἱ στομωθεῖσαι ποταμοὺς καὶ πηγὰς  
 39 ἔμελλον ἀναχεῖν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς ἐνίκμους διαφύσεις εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ἀρετῶσαν καὶ βαθύγειον ἀπέτεινε πρὸς εὐφορίαν ἀφθονωτάτην καρπῶν. ταῦτα διαταξάμενος, ὄνόματ' αὐτοῖς ἐτίθετο, τὴν μὲν ξηρὰν καλῶν γῆν, τὸ δ' ἀποκριθὲν  
 40 ὕδωρ θάλασσαν. XII. εἶτα διακοσμεῖν ἄρχεται τὴν γῆν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν χλοηφορεῖν καὶ σταχυοφορεῖν, παντοίας βοτάνας ἀνιείσαν καὶ πεδία εὐχόρτα, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα χιλὸς μὲν κτήνεσιν ἀνθρώποις δ' ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι τροφή. προσέτι μέντοι καὶ τὰς δένδρων ιδέας ἀπάσας ἀνέφυεν. οὐδὲν, οὔτε τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας, οὔτε τῶν τῆς ἡμέρου λεγομένης ὕλης, παρείς. ἐβεβρίθει δὲ πάντα καρποῖς  
 [9] | εὐθύς ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει, κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον  
 41 τρόπον ἢ τὸν νυνὶ καθεστῶτα. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν μέρει γίννεται τὰ γιγνόμενα χρόνοις διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀθρόα καιρῶ ἐνί· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὶ σπορὰ καὶ φυτεία, δεῦτερον δὲ τῶν σπαρέντων καὶ φυτευθέντων αὔξησις, ἣ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάτω ρίζας ἀποτείνουσα οἰοῖναι θεμελίους, ἣ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄνω πρὸς ὕψος αἰρομένων καὶ στελεχομένων; ἔπειτα βλαστοὶ καὶ πετάλων ἐκφύσεις, εἶτ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι καρποῦ φορά· καὶ πάλιν καρπὸς οὐ τέλειος, ἀλλ' ἔχων παντοίας μεταβολάς, κατὰ τὴν ἐν μεγέθει ποσότητα, καὶ τὰς ἐν πολυμόρφοις ιδέαις ποιότητας· ἀποτίκτεται μὲν γὰρ ὁ καρπὸς ἑοικῶς ἀμερέσει ψήγμασιν ὑπὸ βραχύτητος μόλις ὄρατοῖς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ φαίη τις ἂν εἶναι πρῶτα αἰσθητά. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐποχτευομένης τροφῆς, ἣ ἄρδει τὸ  
 30

## ON THE CREATION, 38-41

drink. Wherefore the earth had abounding veins like breasts. These when opened would pour forth rivers and springs. No less did He cause the hidden courses of moisture also to penetrate to the rich deep loam with a view to unstinted fertility. Having thus ordered these elements He gave them names. The dry land he called "earth," and the water separated from it "sea." XII. He next begins to put the earth in order: for he bids it bear grass and corn, and send forth herbs of all kinds, and rich pastures, and whatsoever would be provender for cattle and food for men. Beside these he caused all kinds of trees to grow, leaving out no tree at all, whether of wild growth or what we call garden trees. And, after a fashion quite contrary to the present order of Nature, all were laden with fruit as soon as ever they came into existence. For now the processes take place in turn, one at one time, one at another, not all of them simultaneously at one season. For everyone knows that sowing and planting come first, the growth of the things sown and planted second, the former causing roots to reach downwards like foundations, the latter taking place as they rise upwards, grow tall, and develop trunks and stems. After this come sproutings and puttings forth of leaves, and then to crown all, bearing of fruit; and here again fruit not full grown, but subject to all manner of changes both in quantity and quality, that is to say, in the matter of size and of ever varying character. For the first shape it takes is that of indivisible flakes so small that they can scarcely be seen, which a man would not be wrong in describing as "first perceptibles." After this as the result of gradual growth and as the result of nourishment conveyed

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δένδρον, κακ τῆς εὐκρασίας τῶν πνευμάτων, ἃ ψυχραῖς ἅμα καὶ μαλακωτέραις αὔραις ζωπυρεῖται καὶ τιθηνεῖται, συναύξεται πρὸς ὄγκον ἐπιδιδούς τελειότατον· σὺν δὲ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τὰς ποιότητας ἀλλάττει, καθάπερ ὑπὸ γραφικῆς ἐπιστήμης χρώμασι διαφόροις ποικιλλόμενος.

- 42 XIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν ὄλων, καθάπερ ἔφην, ὁ θεὸς ἅπασαν τὴν τῶν φυτῶν ὕλην ἐκ γῆς ἀνεδίδου τελείαν, καρποὺς ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἀτελεῖς ἀλλ' ἀκμάζοντας, εἰς ἐτοιμοτάτην καὶ ἀνυπέρθετον χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ζώων τῶν
- 43 αὐτίκα γενησομένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ προστάττει τῇ γῆ ταῦτα γεννηῆσαι· ἡ δ', ὡσπερ ἐκ πολλοῦ κυοφοροῦσα καὶ ὠδίνουσα, τίκτει πάσας μὲν τὰς σπαρτῶν, πάσας δὲ τὰς δένδρων, ἔτι δὲ καρπῶν ἀμυθῆτους ιδέας. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἦσαν οἱ καρποὶ τροφαὶ ζώοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων αἰεὶ γένεσιν, τὰς σπερματικὰς οὐσίας περιέχοντες, ἐν αἷς ἄδηλοι καὶ ἀφανεῖς οἱ λόγοι τῶν ὄλων εἰσὶ, δῆλοι καὶ φανεροὶ γινόμενοι καιρῶν
- 44 περιόδου. ἐβουλήθη γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δολιχεύειν τὴν φύσιν, ἀπαθανατίζων τὰ γένη, καὶ μεταδιδούς αὐτοῖς αἰδιότητος· οὐ χάριν καὶ ἀρχὴν πρὸς τέλος ἦγε καὶ ἐπέσπευδε, καὶ τέλος ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνακάμπτειν ἐποίει· ἔκ τε γὰρ φυτῶν ὁ καρπός, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τέλος, καὶ ἐκ καρποῦ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάλιν τὸ φυτόν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τέλους ἀρχή.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 475.

## ON THE CREATION, 41-44

by irrigation, which waters the tree, and as the result of the well-tempered breezes which are quickened by cold and softened by milder temperature, it develops towards its complete size : and as it becomes larger, it becomes different in appearance as well, as though it were being ever made to take varied hues by a painter's cunning hand.

XIII. Now in the original creation of all things, as I have said already, God caused all shrubs and plants to spring out of the earth perfect, having fruits not unripe but at their prime, to be perfectly ready for the immediate use and enjoyment of the animals that were forthwith to come into being. God then enjoins the earth to give birth to all these, and the earth, as though it had been long pregnant and in travail, brings forth all kinds of things sown, all kinds of trees, and countless kinds of fruits besides. But not only were the several fruits nourishment for animals, but also a provision for the perpetual reproduction of their kind, containing within them the seed-substances. Hidden and imperceptible in these substances are the principles or nuclei<sup>a</sup> of all things. As the seasons go round these become open and manifest. For God willed that Nature should run a course that brings it back to its starting-point, endowing the species with immortality, and making them sharers of eternal existence. For the sake of this He both led on the beginning speedily towards the end, and made the end to retrace its way to the beginning. For it is the case both that the fruit comes out of the plants, as an end out of a beginning, and that out of the fruit again, containing as it does the seed in itself, there comes the plant, a beginning out of an end.

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45 XIV. Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν γῆν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐποίκιλλε διακοσμῶν· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον ἐν ὑστέρω γῆς ἔταπτε, τῇ μὲν ἐλάττονι φύσει προνομίαν διδούς, τὴν δὲ κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν δευτερείων ἀξιῶν· ἀλλ' εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἐναργεστάτην κράτους ἀρχῆς. προλαβὼν γὰρ περὶ τῶν οὕτω

[10] γεγονότων | ἀνθρώπων, οἳοι τὰς γνώμας ἔσονται, στοχασταὶ τῶν εἰκότων καὶ πιθανῶν, ἐν οἷς πολὺ τὸ εὐλογον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς ἀληθείας· καὶ ὅτι πιστεύσουσι μᾶλλον τοῖς φαινομένοις ἢ θεῶ, σοφιστείαν πρὸ σοφίας θαυμάσαντες· κατιδόντες τε αὖθις τὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης περιόδους, δι' ὧν θέρη χειμῶνες καὶ ἔαρος καὶ μετοπώρου τροπαί· τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος φυομένων καὶ γιγνομένων ἀπάντων αἰτίας ὑπολήψονται τὰς τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων περιπολήσεις· ἵνα μηδενὶ γενητῶ τὰς πρώτας ἀνατιθέναι τινὲς τολμῶσιν, ἢ διὰ θράσος ἀναίσχυντον, ἢ δι' ἀμαθίαν ὑπερβάλ-

46 λουσαν, “ ἀναδραμέτωσαν,” φησί, “ ταῖς διανοίαις ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν, ὅτε πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης παντοῖα μὲν φυτά, παντοίους δὲ καρποὺς ἤνεγκεν ἡ γῆ· καὶ, θεασάμενοι ταῖς διανοίαις, ἐλπίζέτωσαν ὅτι καὶ αὖθις οἴσει κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ πατρός, ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, μὴ προσδεηθέντι τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἐκγόνων, οἷς δυνάμεις μὲν ἔδωκεν, οὐ μὴν αὐτοκρατεῖς. οἷα γὰρ ἡνίοχος ἡνιῶν, ἢ κυβερνήτης οἰάκων ἐνεληγμένους, ἄγει ἢ ἂν ἐθέλη κατὰ νόμον καὶ δίκην ἕκαστα, μηδενὸς



## ON THE CREATION, 45-46

XIV. On the fourth day, the earth being now finished, he ordered the heaven in varied beauty. Not that He put the heaven in a lower rank than the earth, giving precedence to the inferior creation, and accounting the higher and more divine worthy only of the second place ; but to make clear beyond all doubt the mighty sway of His sovereign power. For being aware beforehand of the ways of thinking that would mark the men of future ages, how they would be intent on what looked probable and plausible, with much in it that could be supported by argument, but would not aim at sheer truth ; and how they would trust phenomena rather than God, admiring sophistry more than wisdom ; and how they would observe in time to come the circuits of sun and moon, on which depend summer and winter and the changes of spring and autumn, and would suppose that the regular movements of the heavenly bodies are the causes of all things that year by year come forth and are produced out of the earth ; that there might be none who owing either to shameless audacity or to overwhelming ignorance should venture to ascribe the first place to any created thing, ' let them,' said He, ' go back in thought to the original creation of the universe, when, before sun or moon existed, the earth bore plants of all sorts and fruits of all sorts ; and having contemplated this let them form in their minds the expectation that hereafter too shall it bear these at the Father's bidding, whensoever it may please Him.' For He has no need of His heavenly offspring on which He bestowed powers but not independence : for, like a charioteer grasping the reins or a pilot the tiller, He guides all things in what direction He pleases as law and right demand,

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προσδεόμενος ἄλλου· πάντα γὰρ θεῶ δυνατά.

47 XV. ἥδ' ἐστὶν αἰτία δι' ἣν προτέρα μὲν ἐβλάστησε καὶ ἐχλοηφόρησεν ἡ γῆ. ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς διεκοσμεῖτο αὐθις ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ, τετράδι, ἣν δεκάδος τῆς παντελείας οὐκ ἂν δι-αμάρτοι τις ἀφορμὴν εἶναι λέγων καὶ πηγῆν· ὁ γὰρ ἐντελεχεία δεκάς, τοῦτο τετράς, ὡς ἔοικε, δυνάμει· εἰ γοῦν οἱ ἀπὸ μονάδος ἄχρι τετράδος ἐξῆς συντεθείεν ἀριθμοί, δεκάδα γεννήσουσιν, ἥτις ὄρος τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐστὶ, περὶ ὃν ὡς καμπτήρα εἰλοῦνται καὶ ἀνακάμπουσι.

48 Περιέχει δ' ἡ τετράς καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν συμφωνιῶν, τῆς τε διὰ τεττάρων, καὶ διὰ πέντε, καὶ διὰ πασῶν, καὶ προσέτι δις διὰ πασῶν· ἐξ ὧν σύστημα τὸ τελειότατον ἀπο-γεννᾶται. τῆς μὲν διὰ τεττάρων ὁ λόγος ἐπίτριτος, τῆς δὲ διὰ πέντε ἡμιόλιος, διπλάσιος δὲ τῆς διὰ πασῶν, τετραπλάσιος δὲ τῆς δις διὰ πασῶν· οὓς ἅπαντας ἡ τετράς ἔχει περιλαβοῦσα, τὸν μὲν ἐπί-τριτον ἐν τῷ τέσσαρα πρὸς τρία, τὸν δ' ἡμιόλιον  
[11] ἐν τῷ | τρία πρὸς δύο, τὸν δὲ διπλάσιον ἐν τῷ δύο πρὸς ἓν ἢ τέσσαρα πρὸς δύο, τὸν δὲ τετρα-  
49 πλάσιον ἐν τῷ τέσσαρα πρὸς ἓν.

XVI. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δύναμις ἄλλη τετράδος, λεχθῆναί τε καὶ νοηθῆναι θαυμασιωτάτη. πρώτη γὰρ αὕτη τὴν τοῦ στερεοῦ φύσιν ἔδειξε, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀριθμῶν τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις ἀνακειμένων· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐν τὰττεται τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ σημεῖον, κατὰ δὲ τὰ δύο γραμμῆ, διότι ῥύσει μὲν ἐνὸς δυάς, ῥύσει δὲ σημείου συνίσταται γραμ-μῆ· γραμμῆ δ' ἐστὶ μῆκος ἀπλατές· πλάτους δὲ προσγενομένου γίνεται ἐπιφάνεια, ἣ τέτακται κατὰ

## ON THE CREATION, 46-49

standing in need of no one besides : for all things are possible to God.

XV. This is the reason why the earth put forth plants and bore herbs before the heaven was furnished. But the heaven was afterwards duly decked in a perfect number, namely four. This number it would be no error to call the base and source of 10, the complete number ; for what 10 is actually, this, as is evident, 4 is potentially ; that is to say that, if the numbers from 1 to 4 be added together, they will produce 10, and this is the limit set to the otherwise unlimited succession of numbers ; round this as a turning-point they wheel and retrace their steps.

4 also contains the ratios of the musical consonances, that produced by an interval of four notes, and that produced by an interval of five, and the octave and double octave as well. And it is out of these that the most perfect concord is produced. Of that produced by an interval of four notes the ratio is  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , of that produced by an interval of five  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , of the octave 2, of the double octave 4. All these the number 4 embraces in itself,  $1\frac{1}{3}$  in the ratio 4 : 3 ;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in the ratio 6 : 4 ; 2 in the ratio 4 : 2 ; 4 in the ratio 4 : 1.

XVI. There is also another property of the number 4 very marvellous to state and to contemplate with the mind. For this number was the first to show the nature of the solid, the numbers before it referring to things without actual substance. For under the head of 1 what is called in geometry a point falls, under that of 2 a line. For if 1 extend itself, 2 is formed, and if a point extend itself, a line is formed : and a line is length without breadth ; if breadth be added, there results a surface, which comes under the category of 3 : to



## ON THE CREATION, 49-52

bring it to a solid surface needs one thing, depth, and the addition of this to 3 produces 4. The result of all this is that this number is a thing of vast importance. It was this number that has led us out of the realm of incorporeal existence patent only to the intellect, and has introduced us to the conception of a body of three dimensions, which by its nature first comes within the range of our senses. Anyone who does not understand what I am saying will catch my meaning if he calls to mind a very familiar game. Players with nuts are in the habit of setting out three nuts all on one level and of adding one to these, thus forming a pyramidal figure. The figure of the triangle on the level only reaches the number 3; the added nut produces, in numbers 4, but in figures a pyramid, a body rendered solid by its accession. In addition to these points we must remember also that first among numbers 4 is a square, made up of equal factors multiplying into one another, a measure of rightness and equality, and that alone among them it is such as to be produced from the same factors whether added or multiplied together, by addition out of 2 and 2, and by multiplication again out of twice 2, thus exhibiting a right fair form of consonance, such as has fallen to none of the other numbers; for example—6, sum as it is of two 3's, is not (as in the case of 4) produced by their being multiplied together, but a different number, 9, results.

There are several other powers of which 4 has the command, which we shall have to point out in fuller detail in the special treatise devoted to it. Suffice it to add just this, that 4 was made the starting-point of the creation of heaven and the world; for the four elements, out of which

ἔδημιουργήθη, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἑρρῦή τῆς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς τετράδος· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὦραι τέτταρες αἱ ζῶων καὶ φυτῶν αἴτιαι γενέσεως, τετραχῆ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ διανεμηθέντος εἰς χειμῶνα καὶ ἔαρ καὶ θέρος καὶ μετόπωρον.

- 53 XVII. Τοσαύτης οὖν ἀξιοθέντος ἐν τῇ φύσει προνομίας τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀριθμοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὁ ποιητῆς διεκόσμηκε τὸν οὐρανὸν τετράδι, παγκάλῳ καὶ θεοειδεστάτῳ κόσμῳ, τοῖς φωσφόροις ἄστροις· εἰδὼς τε ὅτι τῶν ὄντων ἄριστον [12] τὸ φῶς ἐστίν, ἢ ὄργανον αὐτὸ τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὀράσεως ἀπέφαινε· ὅπερ γὰρ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦτ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν σώματι· βλέπει γὰρ ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν τὰ νοητά, ὁ δὲ τὰ αἰσθητά· χρεῖος δὲ ὁ μὲν νοῦς ἐπιστήμης εἰς τὸ γνωρίσαι τὰ ἀσώματα, ὀφθαλμὸς δὲ φωτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀντίληψιν, ὃ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῦ
- 54 μεγίστου, φιλοσοφίας. ὑπὸ γὰρ φωτὸς ἄνω παραπεμφθεῖσα ἢ ὄρασις, καὶ κατιδοῦσα φύσιν ἀστέρων καὶ κίνησιν αὐτῶν ἐναρμόνιον, ἀπλανῶν τε καὶ πλανήτων εὖ διατεταγμένας περιφοράς, τῶν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ ὡσαύτως περιπολούντων, τῶν δ' ἀνομοίως τε καὶ ὑπεναντίως διτταῖς περιόδοις χρωμένων, χορείας τε πάντων ἐμμελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς μουσικῆς τελείας διακεκοσμημένας, ἄλεκτον ἐμπαρεῖχε τῇ ψυχῇ τέρψιν τε καὶ ἡδονήν· ἢ δ' ἐστιωμένη θεαμάτων ἐπαλλήλων, ἐξ ἑτέρων γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα, πολλὴν ἀπληστίαν εἶχε

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 475.

## ON THE CREATION, 52-54

this universe was fashioned, issued, as it were from a fountain, from the numeral 4 ; and, beside this, so also did the four seasons of the year, which are responsible for the coming into being of animals and plants, the year having a fourfold division into winter and spring and summer and autumn.

XVII. The aforesaid numeral, then, having been deemed worthy of such high privilege in nature, it was a matter of course that its Maker arrayed the heaven on the fourth day with a most divine adornment of perfect beauty, namely the light-giving heavenly bodies ; and, knowing that of all things light is best, He made it the indispensable means of sight, the best of the senses ; for what the intellect is in the soul, this the eye is in the body ; for each of them sees, one the things of the mind, the other the things of sense ; and they have need, the mind of knowledge, that it may become cognisant of incorporeal objects, the eye of light, for the apprehending of bodily forms.

Light has proved itself the source of many other boons to mankind, but pre-eminently of philosophy, the greatest boon of all. For man's faculty of vision, led upwards by light, discerned the nature of the heavenly bodies and their harmonious movement.<sup>a</sup> He saw the well-ordered circuits of fixed stars and planets, how the former moved in unchanging orbit and all alike, while the latter sped round in two revolutions out of harmony with each other. He marked the rhythmic dances of all these, how they were marshalled by the laws of a perfect music, and the sight produced in his soul an ineffable delight and pleasure. Banqueting on sights displayed to it one after another, his soul was insatiate in beholding.

## PHILO

τοῦ θεωρεῖν· εἶθ', οἷα φιλεῖ, προσπεριειργάζετο,  
 τίς ἢ τῶν ὄρατῶν δὴ τούτων οὐσία, καὶ εἰ ἀγένητοι  
 πεφύκασιν ἢ γενέσεως ἔλαβον ἀρχήν, καὶ τίς ὁ  
 τρόπος τῆς κινήσεως, καὶ τίνες αἱ αἰτίαι δι' ὧν  
 ἕκαστα οἰκονομεῖται· ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτων ζητήσεως  
 τὸ φιλοσοφίας συνέστη γένος, οὐδ' τελειότερον ἀγαθὸν  
 55 οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. XVIII. πρὸς  
 δὴ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἰδέαν ἐκείνην ἀπιδῶν,  
 ἢ λέλεκται κατὰ τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, ἐδη-  
 μιούργει τοὺς αἰσθητοὺς ἀστέρας, ἀγάλματα θεῖα  
 καὶ περικαλλέστατα, οὓς ὥσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ καθα-  
 ρωτάτῳ τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας ἴδρυε τῷ οὐρανῷ,  
 πολλῶν χάριν· ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ φωσφορεῖν, ἐτέρου δὲ  
 σημείων, εἶτα καιρῶν τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐτησίους  
 ὥρας, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμερῶν, μηνῶν, ἐνιαυτῶν, ἃ  
 δὴ καὶ μέτρα χρόνου γέγονε καὶ τὴν ἀριθμοῦ  
 56 φύσιν ἐγέννησεν. οἷαν δ' ἕκαστον παρέχεται τῶν  
 εἰρημένων χρεῖαν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν, δῆλον μὲν ἐκ  
 τῆς ἐναργείας, πρὸς δ' ἀκριβεστέραν κατάληψιν  
 οὐκ ἄτοπον ἴσως καὶ λόγῳ τάληθές ἱχνηλατῆσαι.  
 τοῦ δὴ σύμπαντος χρόνου διανεμη-  
 θέντος εἰς δύο τμήματα, ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα,  
 τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας τὸ κράτος ὁ πατὴρ ἀνεδίδου τῷ  
 ἡλίῳ, οἷα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς σελήνῃ  
 57 καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος  
 τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμφανε-  
 στατήν (πίστιν ἔχει τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ἡδη· εἰς γὰρ ὧν  
 καὶ μόνος, ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἡμῖς τμήμα τοῦ  
 [13] σύμπαντος χρόνου | κεκλήρωται τὴν ἡμέραν, οἱ δ'



## ON THE CREATION, 54-57

And then, as usually happens, it went on to busy itself with questionings, asking What is the essence of these visible objects? Are they in nature unoriginate, or had they a beginning of existence? What is the method of their movement? And what are the principles by which each is governed? It was out of the investigation of these problems that philosophy grew, than which no more perfect good has come into the life of mankind. XVIII. It was with a view to that original intellectual light, which I have mentioned as belonging to the order of the incorporeal world, that He created the heavenly bodies of which our senses are aware. These are images divine and exceeding fair, which He established in heaven as in the purest temple belonging to corporeal being. This He did that they might serve many purposes. One purpose was to give light; another to be signs; a third duly to fix seasons of the year; and lastly for the sake of days, months, years, which (as we all know) have served as measures of time and given birth to number. The kind of useful service rendered by each of the bodies mentioned is self-evident; yet that the truth may be more precisely apprehended it may not be out of place to follow it step by step in a reasoned account.

All time having been divided into two portions, day and night, the Father assigned the sovereignty of the day to the sun, as to a great king, and that of the night to the moon and the host of the other stars. The greatness of the sway and government pertaining to the sun finds its clearest proof in what has been already mentioned: one and alone it has by itself separately had day apportioned to it, half of the whole of time; while all the rest with the moon have

## PHILO

ἄλλοι πάντες μετὰ σελήνης θάτερον ὃ κέκληται  
 νύξ· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνατείλαντος, αἱ φαντασίαι τῶν  
 τοσοῦτων ἀστέρων οὐκ ἀμαυροῦνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἀφανίζονται τῇ τοῦ φέγγους ἀναχύσει, κατα-  
 δύντος δέ, τὰς ἰδίας ἄρχονται διαφαίνειν ἀθρόοι  
 ποιότητας.

58 XIX. γεγόνασι δ' ὅπερ  
 αὐτὸς εἶπεν οὐ μόνον ἵνα φῶς ἐκπέμπωσιν ἐπὶ  
 γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως σημεῖα μελλόντων προ-  
 φαίνωσιν· ἢ γὰρ ἀνατολαῖς αὐτῶν, ἢ δύσεσιν, ἢ ἐκ-  
 λείψεσιν, ἢ πάλιν ἐπιτολαῖς ἢ ἀποκρύψεσιν, ἢ  
 ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ τὰς κινήσεις διαφοραῖς, ἄνθρωποι  
 τὰ ἀποβησόμενα στοχάζονται, καρπῶν φοράς καὶ  
 ἀφορίας, ζώων τε γενέσεις καὶ φθοράς, αἰθρίας  
 καὶ νεφώσεις, νηνεμίας καὶ βίας πνευμάτων,  
 ποταμῶν πλημμύρας καὶ κενώσεις, θαλάττης ἡρε-  
 μίαν καὶ κλυδωνά, ὡρῶν τῶν ἐτησίων ὑπαλλαγάς,  
 ἢ θέρους χειμαίνοντος, ἢ χειμῶνος φλέγοντος, ἢ  
 ἔαρος μετοπωρίζοντος, ἢ μετοπώρου ἐαρίζοντος·  
 59 ἢ δὲ καὶ κλόνον καὶ σεισμὸν γῆς ἐκ τῶν κατ'  
 οὐρανὸν κινήσεων στοχασμῶ προεσήμηνάν τινες,  
 καὶ μυρία ἄλλα τῶν ἀθεστέρων, ὡς ἀψευδέστατα  
 λελέχθαι ὅτι “ γεγόνασιν εἰς σημεῖα ” οἱ ἀστέρες·  
 προσέτι μέντοι καὶ “ εἰς καιροὺς ”  
 (Gen. i. 14), καιροὺς δὲ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ὑπ-  
 εἶληφεν εἶναι, καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· ἔννοια γὰρ  
 καιροῦ τίς ἂν εἴη πλὴν χρόνος κατορθώσεως; αἱ  
 δ' ὥραι πάντα τελεσφοροῦσαι κατορθοῦσι, σποράς,  
 καὶ φυτείας καρπῶν, καὶ ζώων γενέσεις τε καὶ  
 60 αὐξήσεις. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ πρὸς μέτρα

“ Or “ Moses himself declared.”

## ON THE CREATION, 57-60

had allotted to them the other half, which has received the name of night. And when the sun has risen, all that multitude of stars which were visible but now is not merely dimmed but becomes actually invisible through the pouring forth of its light ; and upon its setting they begin all of them to shine out in their own true characters.

XIX. The purpose of their existence is, as the Lord Himself pronounced,<sup>a</sup> not only to send forth light upon the earth, but also to give timely signs of coming events. For either by their risings or settings or eclipses, or again by the seasons of their appearance or disappearance, or by other alterations in their movements, men conjecture future issues, good harvests and bad, increase and decay of animal life, fair weather and foul, gales and calms, floodings and shrinkings of rivers, seas smooth and rough, irregularities of the seasons, either wintry summers, or scorching winters, or springs like autumn, or autumns like spring. Indeed it has happened that, by conjecture based on the movements of the heavenly bodies, men have notified in advance a disturbance and shaking of the earth, and countless other unusual occurrences, proving the complete truth of the words, "the stars were made for signs."

It is added, moreover, "and for appointed times" (Gen. i. 14). By "appointed times" Moses understood the four seasons of the year, and surely with good reason. For what idea does "appointed time" convey but "time of achievement"? Now the four seasons of the year bring about achievement by bringing all things to perfection, all sowing and planting of crops, and the birth and growth of animals.

The heavenly bodies were

## PHILO

χρόνων· ἡλίου γὰρ καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεταγμέναις περιόδοις ἡμέραι καὶ μῆνες καὶ ἔνιαυτοὶ συνέστησαν. εὐθύς τε τὸ χρησιμώτατον, ἢ ἀριθμοῦ φύσις, ἐδείχθη, χρόνου παραφήναντος αὐτήν· ἐκ γὰρ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τὸ ἓν, καὶ ἐκ δυοῖν τὰ δύο, καὶ ἐκ τριῶν τὰ τρία, καὶ ἐκ μηνὸς τὰ τριάκοντα, καὶ ἐξ ἔνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἰσάριθμον ταῖς ἐκ δώδεκα μηνῶν ἡμέραις πλήθος, καὶ ἐξ ἀπείρου

61 χρόνου ὁ ἀπείρος ἀριθμὸς. εἰς τοσαύτας καὶ οὕτως ἀναγκαίᾳς διατείνουσιν ὠφελείας αἱ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φύσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις ἀστέρων· εἰς πόσα δ' ἄλλα φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε τῶν ἡμῖν μὲν ἀδηλουμένων—οὐ γὰρ πάντα τῷ θνητῷ γένει γνώριμα—πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὄλου συνεργούντων διαμονήν, ἃ θεσμοῖς καὶ νόμοις, οὓς ὤρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀκινήτους ἐν τῷ παντί, συμβαίνει πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

62 XX. Γῆς δὲ καὶ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμηθέντων τοῖς προσήκουσι κόσμοις, τῆς μὲν τριάδι, τοῦ δ' ὡς ἐλέχθη τετράδι, τὰ θνητὰ γένη ζωοπλαστεῖν ἐνεχείρει, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνύδρων ποιούμενος

[14] ἡμέρα | πέμπτη, νομίσας οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ συγγενὲς ὡς ζώοις πεντάδα. διαφέρει γὰρ ἔμφυχα ἀψύχων οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ αἰσθήσει· πενταχῇ δὲ τμητὸν αἰσθησις, εἰς ὄρασιν, εἰς ἀκοήν, εἰς γεῦσιν, εἰς ὄσφρησιν, εἰς ἀφήν· ἐκάστη μέντοι προσένειμεν ὁ ποιῶν καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ὕλας καὶ κριτήριον ἴδιον, ᾧ δικάσει τὰ ὑποπίπτοντα·

## ON THE CREATION, 60-62

created also to furnish measures of time : for it is by regular revolutions of sun, moon, and the other bodies that days and months and years were constituted. This in itself involved the showing of their most useful service of all ; I mean number as part of the world's order, time by its mere lapse indicating it. For out of one day came " one," out of two " two," out of three " three," out of a month " thirty," out of a year the number equivalent to the days made up of twelve months, and out of infinite time came (the conception of) infinite number.

So many and so essential are the benefits within the scope of the constitutions and movements of the heavenly bodies. To how vast a number of other operations of nature, methinks, do they extend ! Operations obscure to us—for all things are not within the ken of mortals—yet working together for the permanence of the whole ; operations which are invariably carried out under ordinances and laws which God laid down in His universe as unalterable.

XX. Earth and heaven having been equipped with the array appropriate to either—earth on the third day, heaven, as has been recounted, on the fourth—the Creator took in hand to form the races of mortal creatures, beginning with aquatic creatures on the fifth day, deeming that there is no kinship so close as that between animals and the number 5. For living creatures differ from those without life in nothing more than in ability to apprehend by the senses ; and sense has a fivefold division, into sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch ; and to each of these their Maker assigned special aspects of matter, and an individual faculty of testing it, with which to assay objects coming under its notice. Colours are tested by

## PHILO

- χρώματα μὲν [ἡ] ὄρασις, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοή, χυλοὺς  
 δὲ γεύσις, καὶ ὄσφρησις ἀτμούς, μαλακότητος δὲ  
 καὶ σκληρότητος καὶ ὅσα θερμὰ ἢ ψυχρὰ λειό-
- 63 **τητάς τε καὶ τραχύτητος ἀφή.** παντοῖα  
 οὖν ἰχθύων γένη καὶ κητῶν κελεύει συνίστασθαι,  
 κατὰ τόπους διαφέροντα, καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσι, καὶ  
 ταῖς ποιότησιν· ἄλλα γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις πελάγεσιν,  
 ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ταῦτά· πλὴν οὐ πανταχοῦ πάντα  
 διεπλάττετο, καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· χαίρει γὰρ τὰ  
 μὲν τινα τεναγῶδει καὶ οὐ πάνυ βαθεῖα θαλάττη,  
 τὰ δ' ὑποδρόμοις καὶ λιμέσι, μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνέρπειν  
 μήτε πόρρω γῆς ἐπινήχεσθαι δυνάμενα, τὰ δὲ  
 κατὰ μέσον καὶ βαθὺ πέλαγος διαιτώμενα τὰς  
 προκεχυμένας ἄκρας ἢ νήσους ἢ πέτρας ἐκτρέπεται·  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνη σφριγᾶ, τὰ δὲ κλύδωνι  
 καὶ κυματώσει· ταῖς γὰρ συνεχέσι πληγαῖς γυμνα-  
 ζόμενα, καὶ βία τὴν φορὰν ἀνωθοῦντα, κραταιότερά  
 τέ ἐστι καὶ πιαίνεται μᾶλλον. εὐθύς  
 δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν πτηνῶν ἐδημιούργει ὡς  
 ἀδελφὰ τῶν καθ' ὕδατος—ἐκάτερα γὰρ νηκτά—  
 μηδεμίαν ἰδέαν τῶν ἀεροπόρων ἀτελῆ καταλιπών.
- 64 **XXI.** Ἦδη δ' ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος τὰ προσήκοντα  
 τῶν ζῶων γένη, καθάπερ τινὰ κληῖρον οἰκεῖον,  
 ἀπειληφότων, πάλιν ἐκάλει τὴν γῆν εἰς τὴν τοῦ  
 ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους γένεσιν—ὑπολέλειπτο δὲ  
 μετὰ τὰ φυτὰ ζῶων τὰ χερσαῖα—καὶ φησιν·  
 ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ κτήνη καὶ θηρία καὶ ἔρπετὰ  
 καθ' ἕκαστον γένος (Gen. i. 24). ἡ δὲ τὰ προσ-  
 ταχθέντα αὐτίκα ἀνίησι, τῇ τε κατασκευῇ δια-  
 φέροντα, καὶ ταῖς ῥώμασι, καὶ ταῖς ἐνυπαρχού-  
 σαις βλαπτικαῖς ἢ ὠφελητικαῖς δυνάμεσιν.

## ON THE CREATION, 62-64

sight, sounds by hearing, savours by taste, perfumes by smell, while touch assays the softness and hardness of various substances, their smoothness and roughness, and recognizes things hot or cold.

So then he bids all kinds of fish and sea-monsters to take shape, creatures differing in their habitats and their sizes and qualities ; for different seas produce to some extent different fish ; not everywhere were all kinds formed. This is as we should have expected, for some kinds delight in a lagoon and not in a really deep sea, some in harbours and roadsteads. These can neither crawl up on to the land, nor swim far out from the land ; and those that haunt the depths of the open seas avoid jutting headlands or islands or rocks. Some thrive in calm unruffled waters, others in those that are stormy and broken by waves ; for, through the exercise of bearing their constant blows and of thrusting back their onset by sheer force, they put on flesh and grow lusty.

Directly after these He made all kinds of birds, as sister kinds to those in the waters, both being things that float. And He left incomplete no form of creature that travels in air.

XXI. Water and air having now duly received as a sort of lot of their own the living creatures appropriate to them, He again called upon the earth for the production of the portion that had been left out. When the plants had been created the land-animals had been wanting. So He saith " Let the earth bring forth cattle and wild beasts and creeping things after each kind " (Gen. i. 24). The earth forthwith puts forth, as it was bidden, creatures all differing in build and in the varying strength and capacity to hurt or to serve that was inherent in them.

## PHILO

- 65 ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐποίει τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὃν δὲ τρόπον, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐρῶ, πρότερον ἐκεῖνο δηλώσας, ὅτι παγκάλῳ τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰρμῷ κέχρηται, καθ' ἣν ὑφηγήσατο ζωογονίαν. ψυχῆς γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀργοτάτη καὶ ἥκιστα τετυπωμένη τῷ γένει τῶν ἰχθύων προσκεκλήρωται, ἡ δ' ἀκριβεστάτη καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἀρίστη τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡ δ' ἀμφοῖν μεθόριος τῷ τῶν χερσαίων καὶ ἀεροπόρων· αὕτη γὰρ αἰσθητικώτερα μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐν ἰχθύσιν,
- [15] 66 ἀμυδροτέρα δὲ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις. διὸ | τῶν ἐμψύχων πρῶτους ἐγέννησεν ἰχθύας, πλέον μετέχοντας σωματικῆς ἢ ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, τρόπον τινὰ ζῶα καὶ οὐ ζῶα, κινητὰ ἄψυχα, πρὸς αὐτὸ μόνον τὴν τῶν σωμάτων διαμονὴν παρασπαρέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ψυχοειδοῦς, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς ἄλλας τοῖς κρέασιν, ἵνα μὴ ῥαδίως φθείρουντο· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἰχθύας τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ χερσαῖα· ἥδη γὰρ ταῦτα αἰσθητικώτερα, καὶ διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐμφαίνοντα τρανοτέρας τὰς τῆς ψυχώσεως ιδιότητας· ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ᾧ νοῦν ἐξαίρετον ἔδωρεῖτο, ψυχῆς τινα ψυχὴν καθάπερ κόρην ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην οἱ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβέστερον ἐρευνῶντες ὀφθαλμοῦ λέγουσιν ὀφθαλμὸν εἶναι.
- 67 XXII. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἅμα πάντα συνίστατο. συνισταμένων δ' ὁμοῦ πάντων, ἡ τάξις ἀναγκαίως



## ON THE CREATION, 65-67

To crown all he made man, in what way I will say presently, when I have first pointed out the exceeding beauty of the chain of sequence which Moses has employed in setting forth the bringing in of life. For of the forms of animal life, the least elaborately wrought has been allotted to the race of fish ; that worked out in greatest detail and best in all respects to mankind ; that which lies between these two to creatures that tread the earth and travel in the air. For the principle of life in these is endowed with perceptions keener than that in fishes, but less keen than that in men. Wherefore, of the creatures that have life, fishes were the first which he brought into being, creatures in whose being the body predominates over the soul or life-principle. They are in a way animals and not animals ; lifeless beings with the power of movement. The seed of the principle of life has been sown in them adventitiously, with a view only to the perpetuation of their bodies, just as salt (we are told) is added to flesh that it may not easily decay.

After the fishes He made the birds and land-creatures ; for, when we come to these, we find them with keener senses and manifesting by their structure far more clearly all the qualities proper to beings endowed with the life-principle.

To crown all, as we have said before, He made man, and bestowed on him mind *par excellence*, life-principle of the life-principle itself, like the pupil in the eye : for of this too those who investigate more closely than others the nature of things say that it is the eye of the eye.

XXII. At that time, indeed, all things took shape simultaneously. But, though all things took shape together, the fact that living organisms were after-

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λόγω ὑπεγράφετο, διὰ τὴν ἐσομένην αὐθις ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος γινόμενοις τάξις ἥδ' ἐστίν, ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου τὴν φύσιν, λήγειν δ' εἰς τὸ πάντων ἄριστον· τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστι, δηλωτέον. τὸ σπέρμα τῶν ζώων γενέσεως ἀρχὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε· τοῦθ' ὡς ἔστι φαυλότατον εἰκοὸς ἀφρῶ, θεωρεῖται· ἀλλ' ὅταν εἰς τὴν μήτραν καταβληθὲν στηρίξη, κίνησιν εὐθὺς λαβὼν εἰς φύσιν τρέπεται· φύσις δὲ βέλτιον σπέρματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ κίνησις ἡρεμίας ἐν γενητοῖς· ἢ δ' οἶα τεχνίτης, ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίληπτος τέχνη, ζωοπλαστεῖ, τὴν μὲν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν εἰς τὰ τοῦ σώματος μέλη καὶ μέρη διανέμουσα, τὴν δὲ πνευματικὴν εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, τὴν τε θρεπτικὴν καὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ τανῦν ὑπερθετέον, διὰ τοὺς φάσκοντας θύραθεν αὐτὸν ἐπεισιέναι, θεῖον καὶ

68 αἶδιον ὄντα. οὐκοῦν ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ σπέρματος εὐτελοῦς ἢ φύσις, ἔληξε δ' εἰς τὸ τιμιώτατον, τὴν ζώου καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευήν. ταῦτό δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως συμβέβηκεν· ἠνίκα γὰρ ζῶα διαπλάττειν ἔδοξε τῷ δημιουργῶ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῇ τάξει φαυλοτέρως ἦν, ἰχθύες, τὰ δ' ὕστατα ἄριστα, ἄνθρωποι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μέσα τῶν ἄκρων, ἀμείνω μὲν τῶν

## ON THE CREATION, 67-68

wards to come into existence one out of another rendered necessary an adumbration of the principle of order in the narrative. Now in particular creatures the order we find is this, that they begin at what is lowest in its nature, and end in the best of all ; what this best of all is we must go on to show. Now seed is the original starting-point of living creatures. That this is a substance of a very low order, resembling foam, is evident to the eye. But when it has been deposited in the womb and become solid, it acquires movement, and at once enters upon natural growth.<sup>a</sup> But growth is better than seed, since in created things movement is better than quiescence. But nature, or growth, like an artificer, or (to speak more properly) like a consummate art, forms living creatures, by distributing the moist substance to the limbs and different parts of the body, the substance of life-breath <sup>b</sup> to the faculties of the soul, affording them nourishment and endowing them with perception. We must defer for the present the faculty of reasoning, out of consideration for those who maintain that it comes in from without, and is divine and eternal.

Well, then, natural-growth started from so poor a thing as seed, but it ended in that which is of greatest worth, the formation of the living creature and of man. Now we find that this selfsame thing has occurred in the case of the creation of the universe also. For when the Creator determined to form living creatures, those first in order were inferior, if we may so speak, namely fishes, while those that came last in order were best, namely men ; and coming between the two extremes, better than those

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 480, note on *L.A.* ii. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Or "air."

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προτέρων, χείρω δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων, χερσαῖα καὶ πτηνά.

- 69 XXIII. Μετὰ δὴ τὰλλα πάντα, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, τὸν ἄνθρωπον φησι γεγενῆσθαι, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν (Gen. i. 26)· πάνυ καλῶς, ἐμφερέστερον γὰρ οὐδὲν γηγενὲς ἀνθρώπου θεῶ. τὴν δ' ἐμφέρειαν μηδεὶς εἰκαζέτω σώματος χαρακτῆρι· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος ὁ θεός, οὔτε [16] θεοειδὲς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον | σῶμα. ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν λέλεκται κατὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμόνα νοῦν· πρὸς γὰρ ἓνα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἐκείνον ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπον, ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπεικονίσθη, τρόπον τινα θεὸς ὢν τοῦ φέροντος καὶ ἀγαλματοφοροῦντος αὐτόν· ὃν γὰρ ἔχει λόγον ὁ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτον ὡς ἔοικε καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ· ἀόρατός τε γὰρ ἐστίν, αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ὁρῶν, καὶ ἄδηλον ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν, τὰς τῶν ἄλλων καταλαμβάνων· καὶ τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις πολυσχιδεῖς ἀνατέμνων ὁδοὺς, λεωφόρους ἀπάσας, διὰ γῆς ἔρχεται καὶ θαλάττης,
- 70 τὰ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ φύσει διερευνώμενος· καὶ πάλιν πτηνὸς ἀρθεῖς, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰ τούτου παθήματα κατασκευάμενος, ἀνωτέρω φέρεται πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους, πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν χορείαις συμπεριποληθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς μουσικῆς τελείας νόμους, ἐπόμενος ἔρωτι σοφίας ποδηγετοῦντι, πᾶσαν τὴν αἰσθητὴν οὐσίαν ὑπερ-
- 71 κύψας, ἐνταῦθα ἐφίεται τῆς νοητῆς· καὶ ὢν εἶδεν

that preceded them, but inferior to the others, were the rest, namely land creatures and birds of the air.

XXIII. After all the rest, as I have said, Moses tells us that man was created after the image of God and after His likeness (Gen. i. 26). Right well does he say this, for nothing earth-born is more like God than man. Let no one represent the likeness as one to a bodily form ; for neither is God in human form, nor is the human body God-like. No, it is in respect of the Mind, the sovereign element of the soul, that the word " image " is used ; for after the pattern of a single Mind, even the Mind of the Universe as an archetype, the mind in each of those who successively came into being was moulded. It is in a fashion a god to him who carries and enshrines it as an object of reverence ; for the human mind evidently occupies a position in men precisely answering to that which the great Ruler occupies in all the world. It is invisible while itself seeing all things, and while comprehending the substances of others, it is as to its own substance unperceived ; and while it opens by arts and sciences roads branching in many directions, all of them great highways, it comes through land and sea investigating what either element contains. Again, when on soaring wing it has contemplated the atmosphere and all its phases, it is borne yet higher to the ether and the circuit of heaven, and is whirled round with the dances of planets and fixed stars, in accordance with the laws of perfect music, following that love of wisdom which guides its steps. And so, carrying its gaze beyond the confines of all substance discernible by sense, it comes to a point at which it reaches out after the intelligible world, and on descrying in that world

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ἐνταῦθα αἰσθητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ τὰς ἰδέας θεασάμενος, ὑπερβάλλοντα κάλλη, μέθη νηφαλίῳ κατασχεθεῖς ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες ἐνθουσιᾶ, ἑτέρου γεμισθεῖς ἡμέρου καὶ πόθου βελτίονος, ὑφ' οὗ πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀψίδα παραπεμφθεῖς τῶν νοητῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι δοκεῖ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα· γλιχομένου δ' ἰδεῖν, ἀθρόου φωτὸς ἄκρατοι καὶ ἀμιγεῖς αὐγαὶ χειμάρρου τρόπον ἐκχέονται, ὡς ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὄμμα σκοτοδιναῖν.

ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ σύμπασα εἰκῶν ἐμφορῆς ἀρχετύπῳ παραδείγματι, πολλαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀνόμοιοι, προσεπεσημήνατο ἐπειπῶν<sup>1</sup> τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, εἰς ἔμφασιν ἀκριβοῦς ἐκμαγείου τρανὸν τύπον ἔχοντος.

- 72 XXIV. Ἀπορήσειε δ' ἂν τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, τί δήποτε τὴν ἀνθρώπου μόνου γένεσιν οὐχ ἐνὶ δημιουργῷ καθάπερ τᾶλλα ἀνέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ πλείοσιν· εἰσάγει γὰρ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ταυτὶ λέγοντα· “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.” μὴ γὰρ χρεῖός ἐστιν, εἴποιμ' ἂν, οὐτινοσοῦν, ᾧ πάντα ὑπήκοα; ἢ τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν ἠνίκα ἐποίει καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, οὐδενὸς ἐδεήθη τοῦ συνεργήσοντος, ἄνθρωπον δὲ βραχὺ ζῶον οὕτως καὶ ἐπικῆρον οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν δίχα συμπράξεως ἑτέρων αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι; τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτην αἰτίαν θεὸν ἀνάγκη μόνον εἰδέναί, τὴν  
73 δ' εἰκότι στοχασμῷ πιθανὴν καὶ εὐλογον εἶναι  
[17] δοκοῦσαν οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον. | ἔστι δὲ ἦδε. τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Wendland for εἰπῶν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 475.

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sights of surpassing loveliness, even the patterns and the originals of the things of sense which it saw here, it is seized by a sober intoxication, like those filled with Corybantic frenzy, and is inspired, possessed by a longing far other than theirs and a nobler desire. Wafted by this to the topmost arch of the things perceptible to mind, it seems to be on its way to the Great King Himself; but, amid its longing to see Him, pure and untempered rays of concentrated light stream forth like a torrent, so that by its gleams the eye of the understanding is dazzled.

And, since images do not always correspond to their archetype and pattern, but are in many instances unlike it, the writer further brought out his meaning by adding "after the likeness" to the words "after the image," thus showing that an accurate cast, bearing a clear impression, was intended.

XXIV. "One may not unfitly raise the question what reason there could be for his ascribing the creation in the case of man only not to one Creator as in the case of the rest but, as the words would suggest, to several. For he represents the Father of the universe as speaking thus, "Let us make man after our image and likeness." 'Can it be,' I would ask, 'that He to whom all things are subject, is in need of anyone whatever? Or can it be that when He made the heaven and the earth and the seas, he required no one to be his fellow-worker, yet was unable apart from the co-operation of others by His own unaided power to fashion a creature so puny and perishable as man?' The full truth about the cause of this it must needs be that God alone knows, but the cause which by probable conjecture seems plausible and reasonable we must not conceal. It

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ὄντων τὰ μὲν οὐτ' ἀρετῆς οὔτε κακίας μετέχει,  
 ὥσπερ φυτὰ καὶ ζῶα ἄλογα, τὰ μὲν ὅτι ἄψυχά τέ  
 ἔστι καὶ ἀφαντάστῳ φύσει διοικεῖται, τὰ δ' ὅτι  
 νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἐκτέμνηται· κακίας δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς  
 ὡς ἂν οἶκος νοῦς καὶ λόγος, ᾧ πεφύκασιν ἐνδiciaitā-  
 σθαι· τὰ δ' αὖ μόνης κεκοινώνηκεν ἀρετῆς ἀμέτοχα  
 πάσης ὄντα κακίας, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀστέρες· οὔτοι γὰρ  
 ζῶά τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ ζῶα νοερά, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 νοῦς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος, ὅλος δι' ὅλων σπουδαῖος  
 καὶ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτος κακοῦ· τὰ δὲ τῆς μικτῆς  
 ἔστι φύσεως, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἐπιδέχεται  
 τὰναντία, φρόνησιν καὶ ἀφροσύνην, σωφροσύνην  
 καὶ ἀκολασίαν, ἀνδρείαν καὶ δειλίαν, δικαιοσύνην  
 καὶ ἀδικίαν, καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά,  
 74 καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρά, ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν. τῷ δὲ  
 πάντων πατρὶ θεῷ τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖα δι' αὐτοῦ  
 μόνου ποιεῖν οἰκειότατον ἦν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 συγγενείας, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα οὐκ ἀλλότριον, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἐχθρᾶς αὐτῷ κακίας ἀμοιρεῖ, τὰ  
 δὲ μικτὰ τῇ μὲν οἰκεῖον τῇ δ' ἀνοίκειον, οἰκεῖον  
 μὲν ἔνεκα τῆς ἀνακεκραμένης βελτίονος ἰδέας,  
 75 ἀνοίκειον δὲ ἔνεκα τῆς ἐναντίας καὶ χείρονος. διὰ  
 τοῦτ' ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεώς φησιν  
 ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς “ ποιήσωμεν,” ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει  
 συμπαράληψιν ἐτέρων ὡς ἂν συνεργῶν, ἵνα ταῖς  
 μὲν ἀνεπιλήπτοις βουλαῖς τε καὶ πράξεσιν ἀν-



## ON THE CREATION, 73-75

is this. Among existences some partake neither of virtue nor of vice, like plants and animals devoid of reason; the one sort because they are without animal life and furnished with a nature incapable of consciously receiving impressions; the other sort because from them mind and reason have been eliminated: for mind and reason are as it were the dwelling-place of vice and virtue, which are by nature constituted to make their abode in them. Others again have partnership with virtue only, and have no part or lot in vice. Such are the heavenly bodies; for these are said to be not only living creatures but living creatures endowed with mind, or rather each of them a mind in itself, excellent through and through and unsusceptible of any evil. Others are of mixed nature, as man, who is liable to contraries, wisdom and folly, self-mastery and licentiousness, courage and cowardice, justice and injustice, and (in a word) to things good and evil, fair and foul, to virtue and vice. Now it was most proper to God the universal Father to make those excellent things by Himself alone, because of their kinship to Him. To make those which are neither good nor bad was not alien to Him, since those too are free from vice which is hateful to Him. To make those of mixed nature was in one respect proper to Him, in another not so; proper, so far as the better principle which forms an ingredient in them is concerned, alien, in virtue of the contrary and worse principle. So we see why it is only in the instance of man's creation that we are told by Moses that God said "Let us make," an expression which plainly shows the taking with Him of others as fellow-workers. It is to the end that, when man orders his course aright, when his thoughts

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θρώπου κατορθοῦντος ἐπιγράφηται θεὸς ὁ πάντων ἡγεμών, ταῖς δ' ἐναντίαις ἕτεροι τῶν ὑπηκόων ἔδει γὰρ ἀναίτιον εἶναι κακοῦ τὸν πατέρα τοῖς ἐκγόνοις· κακὸν δ' ἢ κακία καὶ αἱ κατὰ κακίαν

76 ἐνέργειαι. πάννυ δὲ καλῶς, τὸ γένος ἄνθρωπον εἰπών, διέκρινε τὰ εἶδη φήσας ἄρρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ δεδημιουργῆσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἐν μέρει μορφὴν λαβόντων, ἐπειδὴ τὰ προσεχέστατα τῶν εἰδῶν ἐνυπάρχει τῷ γένει, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν κατοπτρῷ διαφαίνεται τοῖς ὀξὺ καθορᾶν δυναμένοις.

77 XXV. | Ἐπιζητήσῃε δ' ἂν τις τὴν αἰτίαν, δι'  
 [18] ἣν ὑστατόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως· ἐφ' ἅπασιν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸν ὁ ποιητῆς καὶ πατήρ, ὡσπερ αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαὶ μνηύουσιν, εἰργάσατο. λέγουσιν οὖν οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμβαθύναντες, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα μετὰ πάσης ἐξετάσεως ἀκριβοῦντες, ὅτι τῆς αὐτοῦ συγγενείας μεταδοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς λογικῆς, ἣτις ἀρίστη δωρεῶν ἦν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκειοτάτῳ καὶ φιλτάτῳ ζῶντι τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ πάντα προητοιμάσατο, βουλευθεὶς γενόμενον αὐτὸν μηδενὸς ἀπορηῆσαι τῶν πρὸς τε τὸ ζῆν καὶ τὸ εἶ ζῆν· ὧν τὸ μὲν παρασκευάζουσιν αἱ χορηγίαι καὶ ἀφθονίαι τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, τὸ δὲ ἢ θεωρία τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν, ἀφ' ἧς πληχθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἔσχε τῆς τούτων ἐπιστήμης· ὅθεν τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀνεβλάστησε γένος, ὑφ' οὗ καίτοι θνητὸς ὢν ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθανατί-

## ON THE CREATION, 75-77

and deeds are blameless, God the universal Ruler may be owned as their Source ; while others from the number of His subordinates are held responsible for thoughts and deeds of a contrary sort : for it could not be that the Father should be the cause of an evil thing to His offspring : and vice and vicious activities are an evil thing.

And when Moses had called the genus " man," quite admirably did he distinguish its species, adding that it had been created " male and female," and this though its individual members had not yet taken shape. For the primary species are in the genus to begin with, and reveal themselves as in a mirror to those who have the faculty of keen vision.

XXV. It is obvious to inquire why man comes last in the world's creation ; for, as the sacred writings show, he was the last whom the Father and Maker fashioned. Those, then, who have studied more deeply than others the laws of Moses and who examine their contents with all possible minuteness, maintain that God, when He made man partaker of kinship with Himself in mind and reason best of all gifts, did not begrudge him the other gifts either, but made ready for him beforehand all things in the world, as for a living being dearest and closest to Himself, since it was His will that when man came into existence he should be at a loss for none of the means of living and of living well. The means of living are provided by the lavish supplies of all that makes for enjoyment ; the means of living well by the contemplation of the heavenly existences, for smitten by their contemplation the mind conceives a love and longing for the knowledge of them. And from this philosophy took its rise, by which man, mortal though he be, is

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- 78 ζεται. καθάπερ οὖν οἱ ἐστιάτορες οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλοῦσιν, ἢ τὰ πρὸς εὐωχίαν πάντα εὐτρεπίσαι, καὶ οἱ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκηνικοὺς τιθέντες, πρὶν συναγαγεῖν τοὺς θεατὰς εἰς τε τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ στάδια, εὐτρεπίζουσιν ἀγωνιστῶν καὶ θεαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων πλῆθος· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμῶν, οἶά τις ἀθλοθέτης καὶ ἐστιάτωρ, ἄνθρωπον καλεῖν μέλλων ἐπὶ τε εὐωχίαν καὶ θεωρίαν, τὰ εἰς ἑκάτερον εἶδος προετρεπίσατο· ἵν' εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσελθὼν εὐθύς εὔρη καὶ συμπόσιον καὶ θέατρον ἱερώτατον, τὸ μὲν ἀπάντων πλήρες ὅσα γῆ καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ ἀῆρ φέρουσιν εἰς χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, τὸ δὲ παντοίων θεαμάτων, ἃ καταπληκτικωτάτας μὲν ἔχει τὰς οὐσίας, καταπληκτικωτάτας δὲ τὰς ποιότητας, θαυμασιωτάτας δὲ τὰς κινήσεις καὶ χορείας, ἐν τάξεσιν ἡρμοσμέναις καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀναλογίαις καὶ περιόδων συμφωνίαις· ἐν αἷς ἀπάσαις τὴν ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ παραδειγματικὴν μουσικὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τις εἶναι λέγων, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι, γραψάμενοι <ἐν> ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς τὰς εἰκόνας ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτην τέχνην τῷ βίῳ παρέδοσαν.
- 79 XXVI. Ἦδε μὲν αἰτία πρώτη, δι' ἣν ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ἅπασιν γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖ· δευτέραν δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ λεκτέον. ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τὰς εἰς τὸ ζῆν παρασκευὰς ἀπάσας εὔρεν ἄνθρωπος, εἰς διδασκαλίαν τῶν ἔπειτα, μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς βούσεως τῆς φύσεως, ὅτι, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τοῦ γένους, ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐν

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rendered immortal. Just as givers of a banquet, then, do not send out the summonses to supper till they have put everything in readiness for the feast ; and those who provide gymnastic and scenic contests, before they gather the spectators into the theatre or the stadium, have in readiness a number of combatants and performers to charm both eye and ear ; exactly in the same way the Ruler of all things, like some provider of contests or of a banquet, when about to invite man to the enjoyment of a feast and a great spectacle, made ready beforehand the material for both. He desired that on coming into the world man might at once find both a banquet and a most sacred display, the one full of all things that earth and rivers and sea and air bring forth for use and for enjoyment, the other of all sorts of spectacles, most impressive in their substance, most impressive in their qualities, and circling with most wondrous movements, in an order fitly determined always in accordance with proportion of numbers and harmony of revolutions. In all these one might rightly say that there was the real music, the original and model of all other, from which the men of subsequent ages, when they had painted the images in their own souls, handed down an art most vital and beneficial to human life.

XXVI. Such is the first reason for which apparently man was created after all things : but we must mention a second that is not improbable. Directly he came into existence man found there all provisions for life. This was for the instruction of future generations. Nature seemed almost to cry aloud in so many words that like the first father of the race they were to spend their days without toil or trouble sur-

- ἀφθονωτάτη τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορία διάξουσιν.  
 [19] τουτὶ δὲ συμβήσεται, | ἐὰν μήτε αἱ ἄλογοι ἡδοναὶ  
 ψυχῆς δυναστεύσωσι, γαστριμαργίαν καὶ λαγνείαν  
 ἐπιτειχίσασαι, μήτε αἱ δόξης ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἀρχῆς  
 ἐπιθυμίαι τὸ τοῦ βίου κράτος ἀνάψωνται, μήτε  
 στείλωσι καὶ κάμψωσι διάνοιαν αἱ λῦπαι, μήθ' ὁ  
 κακὸς σύμβουλος φόβος τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα τῶν  
 ἔργων ὄρμᾶς ἀναχαιτίσῃ, μήτ' ἀφροσύνη καὶ δειλία  
 καὶ ἀδικία καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν ἀμήχανον  
 80 πλήθος ἐπιθῆται. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ πάντων ὅσα  
 λέλεκται παρενημερησάντων, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀνέδην ἐκκεχυμένων εἰς τε τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ ἀκρά-  
 τορας καὶ ὑπαιτίους ἄς οὐδ' εἰπεῖν θέμις ὀρέξεις,  
 ἀπαντᾶται δίκη προσήκουσα τιμωρὸς ἀσεβῶν ἐπι-  
 τηδευμάτων· ἔστι δ' ἡ δίκη τὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
 δυσπόριστον· μόλις γὰρ ἀνατέμνοντες τὴν πεδιάδα,  
 καὶ πηγῶν ρεῖθρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐποχτετεύοντες,  
 σπείροντές τε καὶ φυτεύοντες, καὶ τὸν γεωπόνων  
 κάματον μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἀτρύτως ἐκ-  
 δεχόμενοι δι' ἔτους, συγκομίζουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ  
 ταῦτ' ἔστιν ὅτε λυπρὰ καὶ οὐ πάνυ διαρκῆ διὰ  
 πολλὰς βλαβέντα αἰτίας· ἢ γὰρ ὄμβρων ἐπαλ-  
 λήλων φοραὶ κατέσυραν, ἢ χαλάζης βάρος ἐπεν-  
 εχθείσης ἀθρόως κατέκλασεν, ἢ χιῶν περιέψυξεν, ἢ  
 βία πνευμάτων ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνέτρεψε· πολλὰ γὰρ  
 ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ εἰς ἀγονίαν καρπῶν νεωτερίζουσιν.  
 81 εἰ δὲ σωφροσύνη μὲν ἐξευμαρισθεῖεν αἱ ἄμετροι  
 τῶν παθῶν ὄρμαί, δικαιοσύνη δὲ αἱ περὶ τὰδικεῖν  
 σπουδαῖ τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαι, καί, συνελόντι φράσαι,  
 ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἀρετὰς ἐνεργείαις αἱ

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 475, 476.

rounded by lavish abundance of all that they needed. And this will be so if irrational pleasures do not get control of the soul, making their assaults upon it through greediness and lust, nor the desires for glory or wealth or power arrogate to themselves the control of the life, nor sorrows lower and depress the mind ; and if fear, that evil counsellor, do not dispel high impulses to noble deeds, nor folly and cowardice and injustice and the countless host of other vices assail him. For in sooth as things now are, when all these evils which have been recounted have won the day, and men have flung themselves unrestrainedly into the indulgence of their passions and left uncontrolled their guilty cravings, cravings which it were sinful even to name, a fitting penalty is incurred, due punishment of impious courses. That penalty is difficulty in obtaining the necessaries of life. For men plough the prairie and irrigate it from spring and river ; they sow and plant ; and through the livelong year<sup>a</sup> unweariedly take up by day and night the ever renewed toil of the tiller of the earth ; and yet they are hard put to it to gather in their requisite supplies, and these at times of poor quality and barely sufficient, having suffered injury from many causes : either they were ravaged by recurring rainfalls, or beaten down in masses by the weight of hail that fell on them, or half frozen by snow, or torn up roots and all by violent winds ; for water and air can in many ways change the fruitfulness of crops into barrenness. But if the unmeasured impulses of men's passions were calmed and allayed by self-mastery, and their earnestness and eager striving after the infliction of wrongs were checked by righteousness ; if, in a word, the vices and the fruitless

## PHILO

κακίαι καὶ αἱ κατ' αὐτὰς ἀνήνυτοι πράξεις, ἀνηρη-  
 μένου μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν, ὃς ἀψευδῶς  
 ἔστι πολέμων ἀργαλεώτατος καὶ βαρύτερος, εἰρή-  
 νης δ' ἐπισχούσης, καὶ ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεσιν  
 εὐνομίαν παρασκευαζούσης ἡσυχῇ τε καὶ πράως,  
 ἐλπίς ἂν ἦν τὸν θεόν, ἅτε φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόκαλον  
 καὶ προσέτι φιλόανθρωπον, τὰγαθὰ αὐτόματα παρα-  
 σχεῖν ἐξ ἑτοίμου τῷ γενεῖ· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εὐμαρέ-  
 στερον τοῦ τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγεῖν τὸ  
 τῆν ἐκ τῶν ὄντων φοράν ἄνευ τέχνης γεωργικῆς  
 ἐπιδαφιλεύσασθαι.

- 82 XXVII. Δευτέρα μὲν αἰτία ἦδε λελέχθω, τρίτη  
 δ' ἔστι τοιάδε. ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος τῶν γεγονότων  
 ὁ θεὸς ἀρμόσασθαι διανοηθεὶς ὡς ἀναγκαῖα καὶ  
 φίλτατα, ἀρχὴν μὲν οὐρανὸν ἐποίει, τέλος δὲ  
 ἄνθρωπον, τὸν μὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθητοῖς ἀφθάρτων  
 τελειότατον, τὸν δὲ τῶν γηγενῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν  
 [20] ἄριστον, βραχύν, | εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, οὐρανόν,  
 πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῷ φύσεις ἀστεροειδεῖς ἀγαλματο-  
 φοροῦντα, τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τοῖς καθ'  
 ἑκάστην ἀρετὴν ἀοιδίμοις θεωρήμασιν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ  
 ἐναντία φύσει τό τε φθαρτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀφθαρτον,  
 εἶδους ἑκατέρου τὸ κάλλιστον ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλει προσ-  
 ἐνειμεν, ἀρχῇ μὲν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τέλει δὲ  
 ἄνθρωπον.

- 83 XXVIII. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι μέντοι κάκεινο λέγεται πρὸς  
 ἀπόδοσιν αἰτίας ἀναγκαίας· ἔδει, πάντων γεγο-



## ON THE CREATION, 81-83

practices to which they prompt were to give place to the virtues and their corresponding activities, the warfare in the soul, of all wars veritably the most dire and most grievous, would have been abolished, and peace would prevail and would in quiet and gentle ways provide good order for the exercise of our faculties, and there would be hope that God, being the Lover of virtue and the Lover of what is good and beautiful and also the Lover of man, would provide for our race good things all coming forth spontaneously and all in readiness. For it is clear that it is easier without calling in the husbandman's art to supply in abundance the yield of growths already existing than to bring into being things that were non-existent.

XXVII. Let what has been said suffice for an account of the second reason. A third is this. God, being minded to unite in intimate and loving fellowship the beginning and end of created things, made heaven the beginning and man the end, the one the most perfect of imperishable objects of sense, the other the noblest of things earthborn and perishable, being, in very truth, a miniature heaven. He bears about within himself, like holy images, endowments of nature that correspond to the constellations. He has capacities for science and art, for knowledge, and for the noble lore of the several virtues. For since the corruptible and the incorruptible are by nature contrary the one to the other, God assigned the fairest of each sort to the beginning and the end, heaven (as I have said) to the beginning, and man to the end.

XXVIII. Finally, this is suggested as a cogent reason. Man was bound to arise after all created

## PHILO

νότων, ὕστατον φῦναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα τελευταῖος  
 ἕξαπιναίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις ἐπιφανεῖς ἐμποιήσῃ  
 κατάπληξιν· ἔμελλε γὰρ ἰδόντα πρῶτον τεθηπέναι  
 καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνα φύσει καὶ δεσπότην·  
 διὸ καὶ θεασάμενα πάντα διὰ πάντων ἡμερώθη,  
 καὶ ὅσα τὰς φύσεις ἀγριώτατα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην  
 εὐθύς πρόσοψιν ἐγένετο χειροηθέστατα, τὰς μὲν  
 ἀτιθάσους λύττας ἐπιδεικνύμενα κατ' ἀλλήλων,  
 84 εἰς δὲ μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τιθασειόμενα. παρ' ἣν  
 αἰτίαν καὶ γεννήσας αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ ἡγεμονικὸν  
 φύσει ζῶον, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ διὰ  
 λόγου χειροτονία καθίστη τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀπάν-  
 των βασιλέα χερσαίων καὶ ἐνύδρων καὶ ἀεροπόρων·  
 ὅσα γὰρ θνητὰ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις, γῆ, ὕδατι,  
 ἀέρι, πάντα ὑπέταττεν αὐτῷ, τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν ὑπ-  
 εξελόμενος, ἅτε θειοτέρας μοίρας ἐπιλαχόντα.  
 πίστις δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐναργεστάτη τὰ φαινόμενα·  
 θρεμμάτων ἔστιν ὅτε πλήθη μυρία πρὸς ἀνδρὸς  
 ἐνὸς ἄγεται τοῦ τυχόντος, οὔθ' ὄπλοφοροῦντος  
 οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε τι τῶν ἀμυντηρίων ἐπιφερο-  
 μένου, διφθέραν δ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἔχοντος σκεπα-  
 στήριον καὶ βακτηρίαν ἕνεκα τοῦ διασημῆναί τε  
 85 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις εἰ κάμοι στηρίσασθαι· τὰς  
 γοῦν πολυζώους ἀγέλας προβάτων, αἰγῶν, βοῶν,  
 ἄγει ποιμὴν αἰπόλος βουκόλος, ἄνθρωποι μὴδὲ  
 τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ σφριγῶντες, ὡς ἕνεκα  
 γοῦν εὐεξίας ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ἰδοῦσι κατάπληξιν·  
 καὶ αἱ τοσαῦται τῶν τοσοῦτων ἀλκαί τε καὶ  
 δυνάμεις εὐοπλοῦντων—ἔχουσι γὰρ τὰς ἐκ φύσεως  
 68

things, in order that coming last and suddenly appearing to the other animals he might produce consternation in them ; for they were sure, as soon as they saw him, to be amazed and do homage to him as to a born ruler or master : and so on beholding him they were all tamed through all their kinds, those who were most savage in their natures at the first sight of him becoming at once most manageable, displaying their untamed pugnacity one against another, but to man and man alone showing gentleness and docility. On this account too the Father, when he had brought him into existence as a living being naturally adapted for sovereignty, not only in fact but by express mandate appointed him king of all creatures under the moon, those that move on land and swim in the sea and fly in the air. For all things mortal in the three elements of land and water and air did He make subject to men, but exempted the heavenly beings as having obtained a portion more divine. The clearest proof of man's rule is afforded by what goes on before our eyes. Sometimes vast numbers of cattle are led by one quite ordinary man neither wearing armour nor carrying an iron weapon nor anything with which to defend himself, with nothing but a sheepskin to cover him and a staff wherewith to show them which way to go and to lean on should he grow weary on his journeys. See, there is a shepherd, a goatherd, a cowherd leading flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of kine. They are men not even strong and lusty in body, unlikely, so far as healthy vigour goes, to create consternation in those who see them. And all the prowess and strength of all those well-armed animals, who possess the equipment which nature provides

## PHILO

παρασκευὰς αἷς ἀμύνονται—καθάπερ δούλοι δεσπό-  
 την κατεπτήχασι, καὶ τὰ προσταττόμενα δρῶσι·  
 ταῦροι μὲν καταζεύγνυνται πρὸς ἄροτον γῆς, καὶ  
 βαθείας αὐλακας ἀνατέμνοντες δι' ἡμέρας, ἔστι δ'  
 ὅτε <καὶ νυκτός>, μακρὸν δόλιχον ἀποτείνουσι,  
 γεωπόνου τινὸς ἐφεστῶτος· κριοὶ δὲ βρίθοντες  
 βαθέσι μαλλοῖς, ὑπόποκοι κατὰ τὴν ἔαρος ὥραν,  
 ὑπὸ ποιμένος κελευσθέντες ἴστανται μετ' ἡρεμίας,  
 ἢ καὶ ἡσυχῇ κατακλινέντες ἐμπαρέχουσι ἀπο-  
 κείρασθαι, τὸ ἔριον ἐθιζόμενοι καθάπερ αἱ πόλεις  
 [21] τὸν ἐτήσιον ἀποδιδόναί | δασμὸν τῷ φύσει βασιλεῖ·  
 86 καὶ μὴν τό γε θυμικώτατον ζῶον ἵππος ῥαδίως  
 [ἄγεται] χαλιναγωγηθεῖς, ἵνα μὴ σκιρτῶν ἀφηνιάζη,  
 καί, τὰ νῶτα κοιλάνας εὖ μάλα πρὸς τὸ εὐέδρον,  
 δέχεται τὸν ἔποχον, καὶ μετέωρον ἀναβαστάσας  
 ὀξύτατα θεῖ σπουδάζων, εἰς οὓς ἂν ἐπείγεται  
 γίνεσθαι τόπους ἐκείνος, ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ δια-  
 κομίζειν· ὁ δ' ἐφιδρυμένος ἄνευ καμάτων κατὰ  
 πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐτέρου σώματι καὶ ποσὶν ἀνύτει  
 τὸν δρόμον.  
 87 XXIX. Πολλὰ δ' ἂν ἔχοι τις λέγειν ἕτερα,  
 βουλόμενος ἀπομηκύνειν, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ μηδὲν  
 ἀπελευθεριάζειν ὑπεξηρημένον τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἡγε-  
 μονίας· δείγματος δ' ἔνεκα καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα ἀρκεῖ.  
 χρῆ μέντοι μηδ' ἐκείνο ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι οὐ παρ' ὅσον  
 ὕστατον γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὴν τάξιν ἡλάτ-  
 88 τωται. μάρτυρες δ' ἡνίοχοι καὶ κυβερνήται· οἱ  
 μὲν γάρ, ὑστερίζοντες τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ κατόπιν  
 αὐτῶν ἐξεταζόμενοι, ἢ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν αὐτὰ ἄγουσι,  
 τῶν ἡνιῶν ἐνειλημμένοι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐφίεντες πρὸς

and use it in self-defence, cower before him like slaves before a master, and do his bidding. Bulls are harnessed to plough the land, and cutting deep furrows all day long, sometimes all night as well, accomplish a long bout with some farm-hand to direct them : rams laden with thick fleeces of wool, when spring-time comes, stand peacefully or even lie down quietly at the shepherd's bidding, and offer their wool to the shears, growing accustomed, just as cities do, to render their yearly tribute to him whom nature has given them for king. Nay, even the horse, most spirited of all animals, is easily controlled by the bit to prevent his growing restive and running away. He hollows his back, making it a convenient seat, takes his rider on it and bearing him aloft gallops at a great pace intent on bringing himself and his rider to the destination which the latter is eager to reach. As for his rider, firmly seated on him, without trouble and in much composure, he gets through his journey using the body and feet of another.

XXIX. Anyone who wished to enlarge on the subject would have plenty more to say tending to prove that nothing whatever has been emancipated and withdrawn from the domination of men : this is sufficiently indicated by what has been said. There is a point, however, as to which ignorance must be avoided. The fact of having been the last to come into existence does not involve an inferiority corresponding to his place in the series. Drivers and pilots are evidence of this. The former, though they come after their team and have their appointed place behind them, keep hold of the reins and drive them just as they wish, now letting them fall into a

## PHILO

ὄξυν δρόμον, τοτὲ δ' ἀναχαιτίζοντες, εἰ φορᾶ τοῦ δέοντος πλείονι θεοί· οἱ δ' αὖ κυβερνήται, πρὸς τὸ τῆς νεῶς ἔσχατον χωρίον πρῦμναν παρελθόντες, πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν εἰσιν ἄριστοι τῶν ἐμ-  
 πλεόντων, ἄτε τῆς νεῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐν χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. ἡνίοχον δὴ τινα καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφ' ἅπασιν ὁ ποιητῆς ἐδημιούργει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα ἡνιοχῇ καὶ κυβερνᾷ τὰ περίγεια, ζώων καὶ φυτῶν λαβῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, οἷά τις ὑπαρχος τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

- 89 XXX. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐτελειώθη κατὰ τὴν ἐξάδος ἀριθμοῦ τελείου φύσιν, τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐβδόμην ἐσέμνυνεν ὁ πατήρ, ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἀγίαν προσειπών· ἑορτῇ γὰρ οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως ἢ χώρας ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντός, ἣν κυρίως ἄξιον καὶ μόνην πάνδημον ὀνομάζειν καὶ τοῦ κόσμου
- 90 γενέθλιον. τὴν δ' ἐβδομάδος φύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' εἶ τις ἰκανῶς ἂν ὑμνήσαι δύναίτο, παντὸς οὖσαν λόγου κρείττονα· οὐ μὴν ὅτι θαυμασιωτέρα τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένων ἐστί, διὰ τοῦθ' ἡσυχαστέον, ἀλλ' ἐπιτολημητέον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα μηδὲ τὰ κυριώτατα οἶόν τε, τὰ γοῦν ταῖς ἡμετέραις δια-
- 91 νοίαις ἐφικτὰ δηλώσαι. διχῶς ἐβδομάς λέγεται, ἥ μὲν ἐντὸς δεκάδος, ἥτις ἐπτάκις μονάδι μόνῃ μετρεῖται, συνεστῶσα ἐκ μονάδων ἐπτά· ἥ δ' ἐκτὸς δεκάδος, ἀριθμὸς οὐ πάντως ἀρχὴ μονάς, κατὰ τοὺς διπλασίους ἢ τριπλασίους ἢ συνόλως ἀνα-

sharp trot, now pulling them up should they go with more speed than is necessary. Pilots again, taking their way to the stern, the hindmost place in the ship, are, one may say, superior to all on board, for they hold in their hands the safety of the ship and those on board it. So the Creator made man after all things, as a sort of driver and pilot, to drive and steer the things on earth, and charged him with the care of animals and plants, like a governor subordinate to the chief and great King.

XXX. Now when the whole world had been brought to completion in accordance with the properties of six, a perfect number, the Father invested with dignity the seventh day which comes next, extolling it and pronouncing it holy; for it is the festival, not of a single city or country, but of the universe, and it alone strictly deserves to be called "public" as belonging to all people and the birthday of the world. I doubt whether anyone could adequately celebrate the properties of the number 7, for they are beyond all words. Yet the fact that it is more wondrous than all that is said about it is no reason for maintaining silence regarding it. Nay, we must make a brave attempt to bring out at least all that is within the compass of our understandings, even if it be impossible to bring out all or even the most essential points. Now, 7 or 7th is a term used in two different senses. There is the 7 inside the number 10. This consists of 7 units, and is determined by the sevenfold repetition of the unit. There is the 7 outside the number 10. This is a number starting throughout from the number 1 and formed by doubling it and going on doubling (7 times) or trebling, or multiplying by any other number in regular pro-

## PHILO

- λογοῦντας ἀριθμούς, ὡς ἔχει ὁ ἑξήκοντατέσσαρα |  
 [22] καὶ ὁ ἑπτακόσια εἰκοσιεννέα, ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ  
 μονάδος διπλασίον παραυξηθεῖς, ὁ δ' αὖ κατὰ τὸν  
 τριπλασίον. ἑκάτερον δὲ εἶδος οὐ παρέργως ἐπι-  
 92 σκεπτέον. τὸ μὲν δὴ δεύτερον ἐμφανεστάτην ἔχει  
 προνομίαν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπὸ μονάδος συντιθέμενος  
 ἐν διπλασίοις ἢ τριπλασίοις ἢ συνόλως ἀνα-  
 λογοῦσιν ἑβδομος ἀριθμὸς κύβος τε καὶ τετράγωνός  
 ἐστίν, ἀμφοτέρω τὰ εἶδη περιέχων τῆς τε ἀσωμάτου  
 καὶ σωματικῆς οὐσίας, τῆς μὲν ἀσωμάτου κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐπίπεδον ἢ ἀποτελοῦσι τετράγωνοι, τῆς δὲ  
 σωματικῆς κατὰ τὴν στερεὰν ἢ ἀποτελοῦσι κύβοι.  
 93 σαφειστάτη δ' οἱ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοὶ πίστις· αὐτίκα  
 ὁ ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐν διπλασίονι λόγῳ παραυξηθεῖς  
 ἑβδομος, ὁ τέσσαρα καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τετράγωνος μὲν  
 ἐστὶν ὀκτάκις ὀκτῶ πολυπλασιασθέντων, κύβος δὲ  
 τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τέσσαρα τετράκις· καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐν  
 τριπλασίονι λόγῳ παραυξηθεῖς ἀπὸ μονάδος ἑβ-  
 94 δομος, ὁ ἑπτακόσια εἰκοσιεννέα, τετράγωνος μὲν  
 πολυπλασιασθέντος ἐφ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπτά καὶ εἴκοσι,  
 κύβος δὲ τοῦ ἐννέα ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἐννάκις. καὶ αἰεὶ,  
 τὸν ἑβδομον ποιούμενός τις ἀντὶ μονάδος ἀρχήν,  
 καὶ παραύξων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν ἄχρις  
 ἑβδομάδος, εὐρήσει πάντως τὸν παραυξηθέντα  
 κύβον τε καὶ τετράγωνον· ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ ἑξήκοντα-  
 τέσσαρα ὁ συντεθεῖς ἐν διπλασίονι λόγῳ γεννήσει  
 ἑβδομον τὸν τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἐνενηκοντάξ, τετρά-  
 95 γωνον ὁμοῦ καὶ κύβον, τετράγωνον μὲν αὐτὸν  
 πλευρὰν ἔχοντα τὸν ἑξήκοντατέσσαρα, κύβον δὲ  
 τὸν ἑκκαίδεκα.
- 95 XXXI. Μεταβατέον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θάτερον ἑβδο-  
 μάδος εἶδος τὸ περιεχόμενον ἐν δεκάδι, θαυμαστήν



## ON THE CREATION, 91-95

gression ; as, for example, the number 64 is the product of doubling from 1 onwards, and the number 729 that of trebling. Each of these forms claims more than casual notice. The second form, clearly has a very manifest superiority. For invariably the 7th term of any regular progression, starting from unity and with a ratio of 2, 3, or any other number, is both a cube and a square, embracing both forms, that of the incorporeal and that of the corporeal substance, the form of the incorporeal answering to the surface which is formed by squares, that of the corporeal answering to the solid which is formed by cubes. The plainest evidence of this are the numbers already mentioned : for instance, the 7th from 1 reached by going on doubling, *i.e.* 64, is a square, being 8 times 8, and a cube, being 4 times 4, again multiplied by 4 : and again the 7th from 1 reached by progressive trebling, 729, is a square, being the product of 27 multiplied by itself, and the cube of 9, *i.e.* 9 times 9, again multiplied by 9. And invariably if one takes the 7th number for his starting-point instead of the unit, and multiplies in corresponding fashion up to a (fresh) 7th, he is sure to find the product both a cube and a square : for instance starting from 64 the number formed by continuous doubling will give us seventh 4096. This is at once a square and a cube—a square with 64 as its side and a cube with 16.

XXXI. We must pass on to the other kind of 7th, that which is contained within the decade. It

## PHILO

ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττονα τοῦ προτέρου φύσιν. αὐτίκα συνέστηκε τὰ ἑπτὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ δυοῖν καὶ τεττάρων ἐχόντων δύο λόγους ἀρμονικωτάτους, τὸν τε διπλάσιον καὶ τετραπλάσιον, τὸν μὲν τὴν διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν, τὸν δὲ τετραπλάσιον τὴν δις διὰ πασῶν ἀποτελοῦντα. περιέχει δὲ καὶ διαιρέσεις ἄλλας, ζυγάδην τρόπον τινὰ συνεστῶσας, ἑβδομάς· διαιρεῖται γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς μονάδα καὶ ἐξάδα, ἔπειτα εἰς δυάδα καὶ πεντάδα, καὶ τελευταῖον εἰς τριάδα καὶ τετράδα.

96 μουσικωτάτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων ἀναλογία τῶν ἀριθμῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ πρὸς ἓν ἔχει λόγον ἐξαπλάσιον, ὁ δ' ἐξαπλάσιος λόγος τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι ποιεῖ διάστημα, ᾧ διέστηκε τὸ ὀξύτατον ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρυτάτου, καθάπερ ἀποδείξομεν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριθμῶν μετέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν ἀρμονίαις λόγον· τὰ δὲ πέντε πρὸς δύο πλείστην ἐν ἀρμονία δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυται, σχεδὸν ἐνάμιλλον τῇ διὰ πασῶν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ θεωρίᾳ σαφέστατα [23] παρίσταται· τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα πρὸς τρία | τὴν πρώτην ἀρμονίαν ἀποτελεῖ, τὴν ἐπίτριτον, ἣτις ἐστὶ διὰ

97 τεσσάρων. XXXII. ἐπιδείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἕτερον κάλλος αὐτῆς ἑβδομάς ἱερώτατον νοηθῆναι. συνεστῶσα γὰρ ἐκ τριάδος καὶ τετράδος, τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν ἀκλινές καὶ ὀρθὸν φύσει παρέχεται· ὃν δὲ τρόπον, δηλωτέον. τὸ ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ποιότητων, ἐξ ἀριθμῶν συνέστηκε τοῦ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ πέντε· τὰ δὲ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἑβδομάδος οὐσία, τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλεῖα καὶ ὀξεία τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἄτακτον καὶ ἄνισον ἐμφαίνουσιν· ἀμβλυτέρα γὰρ καὶ ὀξυτέρα γίνεται ἑτέρα ἑτέρας·

## ON THE CREATION, 95-97

exhibits a marvellous nature, not at all inferior to that of the former kind. For instance 7 consists of 1 and 2 and 4, which have two relations making specially for harmony, the twofold and the fourfold, the one producing the diapason harmony, while the fourfold relation produces double diapason.<sup>a</sup> 7 admits of other divisions besides these, in pairs like animals under a yoke. It is divided first into 1 and 6, then into 2 and 5, and last of all into 3 and 4. Most musical is the proportion of these numbers also : for 6 to 1 is a sixfold proportion, but the sixfold proportion makes the greatest distance that there is (in music), the distance from the highest to the lowest note, as we shall prove, when we pass from numbers to the proportion in harmonies. 5 : 2 exhibits the fullest power in harmonies, all but rivalling the diapason, a fact which is most clearly established in theoretical music. 4 : 3 yields the first harmony, the sesquitercian or diatessaron. XXXII. 7 (or "7th") exhibits yet another beauty belonging to it, a most sacred object for our mind to ponder. Being made up as it is of 3 and 4 it is a presentation of all that is naturally steadfast and upright in the universe. How it is this, we must point out. The right-angled triangle, the starting-point of figures of a definite shape, is made up of certain numbers, namely 3 and 4 and 5 : 3 and 4, the constituent parts of 7, produce the right angle : for the obtuse and acute angle are manifestations of irregularity and disorder and inequality : for one such angle can be more obtuse or more acute than another : whereas one right angle

<sup>a</sup> See *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, article "Musica."

ὀρθή δ' οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται σύγκρισιν, οὐδ' ὀρθοτέρα γίνεται παρ' ἑτέραν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένει, τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν οὐποτ' ἀλλάττουσα. εἰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον σχημάτων καὶ ποιότητων ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τούτου δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν, ἣ οὐσία τῆς ἑβδομάδος παρέχεται, τριάς ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράς, νομίζοιτ' ἂν εἰκότως ἦδε πηγὴ παντὸς σχήματος καὶ πάσης ποιότητος.

98 πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις κακεῖνο λέγοιτ' ἂν δεόντως, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τρία ἐπιπέδου σχήματός ἐστιν ἀριθμός—ἐπειδὴ σημεῖον μὲν κατὰ μονάδα, γραμμὴ δὲ κατὰ δυάδα, ἐπίπεδον δὲ κατὰ τριάδα τέτακται—τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα στερεοῦ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς πρόσθεσιν, βάθους ἐπιπέδῳ προστεθέντος· ἐξ οὗ δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἑβδομάδος οὐσία γεωμετρίας καὶ στερεομετρίας ἀρχὴ καί, συνελόντι φράσαι, ἀσωμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ σωμάτων.

99 XXXIII. Τοσοῦτο δ' ἐν ἑβδομάδι πέφυκεν εἶναι τὸ ἱεροπρεπές, ὥστ' ἐξαιρετόν ἔχει λόγον παρὰ τοὺς ἐν δεκάδι πάντας ἀριθμούς· ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ μὲν γεννῶσιν οὐ γεννώμενοι, οἱ δὲ γεννῶνται μὲν, οὐ γεννῶσι δέ, οἱ δὲ ἀμφότερα καὶ γεννῶσι καὶ γεννῶνται· μόνη δ' ἑβδομάς ἐν οὐδενὶ μέρει θεωρεῖται. τὴν δ' ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποδείξει βεβαιωτέον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν γεννᾷ τοὺς ἐξῆς ἅπαντας ἀριθμούς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς γεννώμενον τὸ παράπαν· τὰ δ' ὀκτῶ γεννᾶται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δις τέσσαρα, γεννᾷ δ' οὐδένα τῶν ἐν δεκάδι· ὁ δ' αὖ τέσσαρα τὴν ἀμφοῖν καὶ γονέων καὶ ἐγγόνων ἔχει τάξιν· γεννᾷ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀκτῶ δις γενόμενος, γεννᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δις

100 δύο. μόνος δ' ὡς ἔφην ὁ ἑπτὰ οὔτε γεννᾶν  
[24] πέφυκεν οὔτε γεννᾶσθαι. δι' ἣν | αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν

## ON THE CREATION, 97-100

does not admit of comparison with another, nor can it be more "right" than another, but remains as it is, never changing its proper nature. Now if the right-angled triangle is the starting-point of figures of a definite kind, and the essential factor in this triangle, namely the right angle, is supplied by the numbers which constitute 7, namely 3 and 4 together, 7 would reasonably be regarded as the fountain-head of every figure and every definite shape.

In addition to what we have already said we are bound to mention this further point, namely that 3 is the number belonging to a superficies—for a point falls under the head of 1, a line under that of 2, and a superficies of 3—while 4 belongs to a solid, by means of the addition of 1, depth being added to superficies. From this it is manifest that 7 is so constituted as to be the starting-point of all plane and solid geometry, or (to put it concisely) alike of things corporeal and incorporeal.

XXXIII. So august is the dignity inherent by nature in the number 7, that it has a unique relation distinguishing it from all the other numbers within the decade: for of these some beget without being begotten, some are begotten but do not beget, some do both these, both beget and are begotten: 7 alone is found in no such category. We must establish this assertion by giving proof of it. Well then, 1 begets all the subsequent numbers while it is begotten by none whatever: 8 is begotten by twice 4, but begets no number within the decade: 4 again holds the place of both, both of parents and of offspring; for it begets 8 by being doubled, and is begotten by twice 2. It is the nature of 7 alone, as I have said, neither to beget nor to be begotten. For this reason

## PHILO

ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἐξομοιοῦσι τῇ ἀμήτορι Νίκη καὶ Παρθένῳ, ἣν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναφανῆναι λόγος ἔχει, οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· τὸ γὰρ μήτε γεννῶν μήτε γεννώμενον ἀκίνητον μένει· ἐν κινήσει γὰρ ἡ γένεσις, ἐπεὶ <καὶ τὸ γεννῶν> καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον οὐκ ἄνευ κινήσεως, τὸ μὲν ἵνα γεννήσῃ, τὸ δὲ ἵνα γεννηθῇ· μόνον δ' οὔτε κινοῦν οὔτε κινούμενον ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἄρχων καὶ ἡγεμών, οὗ λέγοιτ' ἂν προσηκόντως εἰκὼν ἑβδομάς. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Φιλόλαος ἐν τούτοις· “Ἔστι γάρ, φησίν, ἡγεμών καὶ ἄρχων ἀπάντων θεὸς εἰς αἰὲ ὦν, μόνιμος, ἀκίνητος, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὅμοιος, ἕτερος τῶν ἄλλων.”

- 101 XXXIV. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς νοητοῖς τὸ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ἐπιδείκνυται ἑβδομάς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς μεγάλην καὶ συνεκτικωτάτην δύναμιν, \* \* \* οἷς τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα πέφυκε βελτιοῦσθαι, σελήνης τε περιόδοις. ὃν δὲ τρόπον, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἀπὸ μονάδος συντεθεὶς ἐξῆς ὁ ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸς γεννᾷ τὸν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλειον καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν ἰσοῦμενον· ὁ δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἀριθμὸς ἀποκαταστατικός ἐστι σελήνης, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο σχήματος λαμβάνειν αὐξήσιν αἰσθητῶς, εἰς ἐκείνο κατὰ μείωσιν ἀνακαμπτούσης· αὐξεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης μηνοειδοῦς ἐπιλάμψεως ἄχρι διχοτόμου ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ, εἶθ' ἑτέραις τοσαύταις πλησιφαῆς γίνεται, καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέφει διαυλοδρομοῦσα τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πλησιφαοῦς

<sup>a</sup> Or “Sovereign of the Universe.” Observe the sequel.

<sup>b</sup> A Pythagorean philosopher of the 5th century B.C.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 476.

## ON THE CREATION, 100-101

other philosophers liken this number to the motherless and virgin Nikè, who is said to have appeared out of the head of Zeus, while the Pythagoreans liken it to the chief of all things <sup>a</sup>: for that which neither begets nor is begotten remains motionless; for creation takes place in movement, since there is movement both in that which begets and in that which is begotten, in the one that it may beget, in the other that it may be begotten. There is only one thing that neither causes motion nor experiences it, the original Ruler and Sovereign. Of Him 7 may be fitly said to be a symbol. Evidence of what I say is supplied by Philolaus <sup>b</sup> in these words: "There is, he says, a supreme Ruler of all things, God, ever One, abiding, without motion, Himself (alone) like unto Himself, different from all others."

XXXIV. In the region, then, of things discerned by the intellect only, 7 exhibits that which is exempt from movement and from passion; but in that of sensible things a most essential force [in the movements of the planets] from which all earthly things derive advantage, and in the circuits of the moon. How this is we must consider. Begin at 1 and add each number up to 7 and it produces 28. This is a perfect number and equal to the sum of its own factors.<sup>c</sup> And the number produced is the number which brings the moon back to her original form, as she retraces her course by lessening till she reaches the shape from which she began to make perceptible increase; for she increases from her first shining as a crescent till she becomes a half-moon in seven days, then in as many more she becomes full-moon, and again returns the same way like a runner in the double race-course, from the

## PHILO

ἐπὶ τὴν διχότομον ἑπτὰ πάλιν ἡμέραις, εἶτ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν μηνοειδῆ ταῖς ἴσαις· ἐξ ὧν ὁ λεχθεὶς ἀριθμὸς συμπεπλήρωται.

- 102 Καλεῖται δ' ἡ ἑβδομάς ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εἰωθότων χρῆσθαι καὶ τελεσφόρος, ἐπειδὴ ταύτη τελεσφορεῖται τὰ σύμπαντα. τεκμηριώσαιτο δ' ἂν τις ἐκ τοῦ πᾶν σῶμα ὀργανικὸν τρισὶ μὲν κεχρῆσθαι διαστάσεσι, μήκει πλάτει καὶ βάθει, τέτταρσι δὲ πέρασι, σημείῳ καὶ γραμμῇ καὶ ἐπιφανεῖα καὶ στερεῳ, δι' ὧν συντεθέντων ἀποτελεῖται ἑβδομάς. ἀμήχανον δ' ἦν τὰ σώματα ἑβδομάδι μετρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ διαστάσεων τριῶν καὶ περάτων τεττάρων σύνθεσιν, εἰ μὴ συνέβαινε τὰς τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν ἰδέας ἐνὸς καὶ δυοῖν καὶ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων, οἷς θεμελιούται δεκάς, ἑβδομάδος φύσιν περιέχειν· οἱ γὰρ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοὶ τέσσαρας μὲν ἔχουσιν ὄρους, τὸν πρῶτον, τὸν δευτέρον, τὸν τρίτον, τὸν τέταρτον, διαστάσεις [25] δὲ τρεῖς· πρώτη μὲν διάστασις | ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐπὶ τὰ δύο, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν δυοῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τρία, τρίτη δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα.

- 103 XXXV. Δίχα δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐναργέστατα παριστᾶσι τὴν τελεσφόρον δύναμιν ἑβδομάδος καὶ αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι γήρως ἀνθρώπων ἡλικίαι μετρούμεναι ταύτη· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἑπταετίαν ἔκφυσις ὀδόντων ἐστί· κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν καιρὸς τοῦ δύνασθαι προῖεσθαι σπέρμα γόνιμον· τρίτη δὲ γενεῖων αὔξησης καὶ τετάρτη πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἐπίδοσις· πέμπτη δ' αὐτῶν γάμων ὥρα· ἕκτη δὲ συνέσεως ἀκμὴ· τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ βελτίωσις ἀμφοῖν καὶ συναύξησης νοῦ καὶ λόγου· ὀγδόη δὲ ἡ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τελείωσις· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην



## ON THE CREATION, 101-103

full to the half-moon in seven days as before, then from the half to the crescent in an equal number of days : these four sets of days complete the aforesaid number.

Now by those who are in the habit of giving words their proper force seven is called also "perfection-bringing," because by this all things in the material universe are brought to perfection. Proof of this may be derived from the circumstance that every organic body has three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth, and four limits, point, line, surface, and solid ; by adding which together we get seven. It would have been impossible that bodies should be measured by seven in accordance with their formation out of the three dimensions and the four limits,<sup>a</sup> had it not been that the forms of the first numbers (1, 2, 3, and 4), the foundation of 10, already contained the nature of 7, for the numbers named have three intervals, that from 1 to 2, that from 2 to 3, and that from 3 to 4 ; and the four limits between which these intervals lie, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

XXXV. Beside the proofs already mentioned, the perfecting power of the number 7 is also shown by the stages of men's growth, measured from infancy to old age in the following manner : during the first period of seven years the growth of the teeth begins ; during the second the capacity for emitting seed ; in the third the growing of the beard ; and in the fourth increase of strength ; in the fifth again ripeness for marriage ; in the sixth the understanding reaches its bloom ; in the seventh progressive improvement and development of mind and reason ; in the eighth the perfecting of both these ; during the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 476.

## PHILO

ἐπιείκεια καὶ πραότης τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ πλεόν  
 ἡμερωθέντων· κατὰ δὲ τὴν δεκάτην τοῦ βίου τὸ  
 εὐκταῖον τέλος, ἔτι τῶν ὀργανικῶν μελῶν συν-  
 εστηκότων· φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ μακρὸν γῆρας ἕκαστον  
 104 ὑποσκελιζεῖν καὶ παραιεῖσθαι. τὰς ἡλικίας ταύ-  
 τας ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σόλων ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νόμο-  
 θέτης ἐλεγεία ποιήσας τάδε·

Παῖς μὲν ἄνηβος ἐὼν ἔτι νήπιος ἔρκος ὀδόντων  
 φύσας ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον ἐν ἔπτ' ἔτεσιν·  
 τοὺς δ' ἐτέρους ὅτε δὴ τελέση θεὸς ἔπτ' ἐνιαυτούς,  
 ἧβης ἐκφαίνει σήματα γιγνομένης·  
 τῇ τριτάτῃ δὲ γένειον ἀεξομένων ἔτι γυίων  
 λαχνοῦται, χροίης ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης·  
 τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πᾶς τις ἐν ἑβδομάδ' ἐστὶν ἄριστος  
 ἰσχύν, ἣν τ' ἄνδρες σήματ' ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς·  
 πέμπτῃ δ' ὠριον ἄνδρα γάμου μεμνημένον εἶναι  
 καὶ παίδων ζητεῖν ἔξοπίσω γενεήν·  
 τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἀνδρός,  
 οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὁμῶς ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει·  
 ἐπτὰ δὲ νοῦν καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐν ἑβδομάσιν μέγ'  
 ἄριστος  
 ὀκτώ τ', ἀμφοτέρων τέσσαρα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη·  
 τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἔτι μὴν δύναται, μαλακώτερα δ' αὐτοῦ  
 πρὸς μεγάλην ἀρετὴν γλῶσσά τε καὶ σοφίη·  
 τὴν δεκάτην δ' εἴ τις τελέσας κατὰ μέτρον ἴκοιτο,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἐὼν μοῖραν ἔχοι θανάτου.

105 XXXVI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σόλων ἑβδομάσι δέκα ταῖς  
 εἰρημέναις καταριθμεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. ὁ  
 δ' ἰατρὸς Ἰπποκράτης ἡλικίας ἐπτὰ εἰναί φησι,  
 [26] παιδίου, | παιδός, μειρακίου, νεανίσκου, ἀνδρός,  
 πρεσβύτου, γέροντος, ταύτας δὲ μετρεῖσθαι μὲν

## ON THE CREATION, 103-105

ninth forbearance and gentleness emerge, owing to the more complete taming of the passions ; during the tenth comes the desirable end of life, while the bodily organs are still compact and firm ; for prolonged old age is wont to abate and break down the force of each of them. These ages of men's life were described by Solon the lawgiver of the Athenians among others in the following lines :

In seven years the Boy, an infant yet unfledged,  
Both grows and sheds the teeth with which his tongue is  
hedged.

When heaven has made complete a second week of years,  
Of coming prime of youth full many a sign appears.  
In life's third term, while still his limbs grow big apace,  
His chin shows down ; its early bloom now quits his face.  
In the fourth heptad each one full of strength doth seem—  
Strength, which of manly worth best earnest all men deem.  
Let him in his fifth week of years a bride bespeak,  
Offspring to bear his name hereafter let him seek.  
The sixth beholds the man good sense all round attain ;  
Not now can reckless deeds as once his fancy gain.  
Now see him seventh and eighth, fresh heptads, duly reach  
In insight strongest now, strongest in power of speech.  
In his ninth week of years, strong still but softer far  
For high achievement's venture speech and wisdom are.  
Then should the man, ten bouts complete, attain life's end  
Fate, no untimely gift, death's call may fitly send.

XXXVI. Solon, then, reckons the life of man by the aforesaid ten weeks of years. And Hippocrates the physician, says that there are seven ages, those of the little boy, the boy, the lad, the young man, the man, the elderly man, the old man, and that these

## PHILO

ἐβδομάσιν, οὐ μὴν ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς. λέγει δ' οὕτως· “Ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει ἑπτὰ εἰσιν ὦραι, ἃς ἡλικίας καλέουσι, παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεανίσκος, ἀνὴρ, πρεσβύτης, γέρον· καὶ παιδίον μὲν ἐστὶν ἄχρις ἑπτὰ ἐτέων ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς· παῖς δ' ἄχρι γονῆς ἐκφύσιος, ἐς τὰ δις ἑπτὰ· μειράκιον δ' ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσιος, ἐς τὰ τρις ἑπτὰ· νεανίσκος δ' ἄχρις αὐξήσιος ὄλου τοῦ σώματος, ἐς τὰ τετράκις ἑπτὰ· ἀνὴρ δ' ἄχρις ἐνὸς δέοντος ἐτέων πενήκοντα, ἐς τὰ ἑπτὰκις ἑπτὰ· πρεσβύτης δ' ἄχρι πενήκοντα ἕξ, ἐς τὰ ἑπτὰκις ὀκτώ· τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν γέρον.”

106 Λέγεται δὲ κακείνῳ πρὸς διασύστασιν ἑβδομάδος ὡς θαυμαστὴν ἐχούσης ἐν τῇ φύσει τάξιν, ἐπεὶ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων· τὸν μὲν τρίτον ἀπὸ μονάδος, εἰ διπλασιάζοι τις, εὐρήσει τετράγωνον, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον κύβον, τὸν δ' ἕξ ἀμφοῖν ἑβδομον κύβον ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράγωνον· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ μονάδος τρίτος ἐν διπλασίῳ λόγῳ, <τέτταρα>, τετράγωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος, ὀκτώ, κύβος, ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος, τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς ἕξήκοντα, κύβος ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράγωνος· ὡς εἶναι τελεσφόρον ὄντως τὸν ἑβδομον ἀριθμόν, ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἰσότητας καταγγέλλοντα τὴν τ' ἐπίπεδον διὰ τετραγώνου κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τριάδα συγγένειαν, καὶ τὴν στερεὰν διὰ κύβου κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τετράδα οἰκειότητα· ἐκ τριάδος δὲ καὶ τετράδος ἑβδομάς.

107 XXXVII. Ἔστι δὲ οὐ τελεσφόρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀρμονικωτάτη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πηγὴ τοῦ καλλίστου διαγράμματος, ὃ πάσας μὲν τὰς ἀρμονίας, τὴν διὰ τεττάρων, τὴν διὰ

## ON THE CREATION, 105-107

ages are measured by multiples of seven though not in regular succession. His words are : " In man's life there are seven seasons, which they call ages, little boy, boy, lad, young man, man, elderly man, old man. He is a little boy until he reaches seven years, the time of the shedding of his teeth ; a boy until he reaches puberty, *i.e.* up to twice seven years ; a lad until his chin grows downy, *i.e.* up to thrice seven years ; a young man until his whole body has grown, till four times seven ; a man till forty-nine, till seven times seven ; an elderly man till fifty-six, up to seven times eight ; after that an old man."

The following is also mentioned to commend the number 7 as occupying a wonderful place in nature, since it consists of  $3 + 4$  : if we multiply by 2, we shall find that the third number, counted from 1, is a square, and the fourth a cube, while the seventh (and 7 is made up of 3 and 4), is at once a square and a cube : for the third number in this multiplication by 2, namely 4, is a square, the fourth, 8, is a cube ; the seventh, 64, is at once a cube and a square. Thus the seventh number does indeed bring with it perfection, claiming both correspondences, that with the superficies by means of the square, in virtue of its kinship with 3, and that with the solid body by means of the cube, in virtue of its relationship with 4 ; and 3 and 4 make 7.

XXXVII. It is however not only a bringer of perfection, but, one may say, absolutely harmonious, and in a certain sense the source of the most beautiful scale, which contains all the harmonies, that yielded by the interval of four, by the interval of five, by

## PHILO

- πέντε, τὴν διὰ πασῶν, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀναλογίας, τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν, τὴν γεωμετρικὴν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀρμονικὴν περιέχει. τὸ δὲ πλινθίον συνέστηκεν ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἕξ ὀκτῶ ἐννέα δώδεκα· ὁ μὲν ὀκτῶ πρὸς ἕξ ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ λόγῳ, καθ' ὃν ἢ διὰ τεττάρων ἀρμονία ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ ἐννέα πρὸς ἕξ ἐν ἡμιολίῳ, καθ' ὃν ἢ διὰ πέντε· ὁ δὲ δώδεκα πρὸς ἕξ ἐν διπλασίῳ, καθ' ὃν ἢ διὰ πασῶν.
- 108 ἔχει δὲ ὡς ἔλεγον καὶ τὰς ἀναλογίας πάσας· ἀριθμητικὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἕξ καὶ ἐννέα καὶ δώδεκα· οἷς γὰρ ὑπερέχει ὁ μέσος τοῦ πρώτου τρισίν, τούτοις ὑπερέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου· γεωμετρικὴν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων· ὃν γὰρ λόγον ἔχει
- [27] τὰ ὀκτῶ πρὸς ἕξ, | τοῦτον τὰ δώδεκα πρὸς ἐννέα· ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπιτρίτος· ἀρμονικὴν δὲ ἐκ τριῶν, τοῦ
- 109 ἕξ καὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ δώδεκα. ἀρμονικῆς δ' ἀναλογίας διττὴ κρίσις· μία μὲν, ὅταν ὃν λόγον ἔχει ὁ ἔσχατος πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον τοῦτον ἔχη ἢ ὑπεροχὴν ἢ ὑπερέχει ὁ ἔσχατος τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἢ ὑπερέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ μέσου ὁ πρῶτος. ἐν-αργεστάτην δὲ πίστιν λάβοι τις ἂν ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων ἀριθμῶν, τοῦ ἕξ καὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ δώδεκα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τελευταῖος τοῦ πρώτου διπλάσιος, ἢ δ' ὑπεροχὴ πάλιν διπλασία· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δώδεκα τῶν ὀκτῶ τέτταρσιν ὑπερέχει, τὰ δὲ ὀκτῶ τῶν ἕξ δυσί· τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα τῶν δυοῖν διπλάσια.
- 110 ἑτέρα δὲ βάσανος τῆς ἀρμονικῆς ἀναλογίας, ὅταν ὁ μέσος τῶν ἄκρων ἴσῳ μορίῳ <καὶ> ὑπερέχη καὶ ὑπερέχηται· ὁ γὰρ ὄγδοος μέσος ὢν ὑπερέχει μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τρίτῳ μορίῳ· ὑφαιρεθέντων γὰρ τῶν ἕξ, τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τρίτον ἐστὶ τοῦ πρώτου· ὑπερέχεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου τῷ ἴσῳ· εἰ γὰρ

## ON THE CREATION, 107-110

the octave<sup>a</sup>; and all the progressions, the arithmetic, the geometric, and the harmonic as well. The scheme is formed out of the following numbers: 6, 8, 9, 12. 8 stands to 6 in the proportion 4:3, which regulates the harmony of 4; 9 stands to 6 in the proportion 3:2, which regulates the harmony of 5; 12 stands to 6 in the proportion 2:1, which regulates the octave. And, as I said, it contains also all the progressions, the arithmetic made up of 6 and 9 and 12—for as the middle number exceeds the first by 3, so it in its turn is exceeded to the same amount by the last; the geometric, made up of the four numbers (6, 8, 9, 12); for 12 bears the same proportion to 9 that 8 does to 6, and the proportion is 4:3; the harmonic, made up of three numbers (6, 8, and 12). There are two modes of testing harmonic progression. One is this. (Harmonic progression is present) whenever the relation in which the last term stands to the first is identical with that in which the excess of the last over the middle term stands to the excess of the middle term over the first. A very clear proof may be obtained from the numbers before us, 6 and 8 and 12: for the last is double the first, and the difference or excess is also double; for 12 exceeds 8 by 4, and 8 exceeds 6 by 2, and 4 is twice 2. Another way of detecting the presence of harmonic proportion is this. (It is present) whenever the middle term exceeds the one extreme and is itself exceeded by the other by the same fraction; for 8 being the middle term exceeds the first by one-third of the latter, for when we subtract 6 (from 8) the remainder, 2, is one-third of the first number, and 8 is exceeded by the last number by

<sup>a</sup> See note on 95.

## PHILO

ὑφαιρεθείη τῶν δώδεκα τὰ ὀκτώ, τὰ λοιπὰ τέσσαρα γίνεται τοῦ τελευταίου τρίτον.

- 111 XXXVIII. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκαίως περὶ σεμνό-  
 τητος, ἣν ἔχει τὸ διάγραμμα, ἢ πλινθίον, ἢ ὅ τι  
 χρὴ καλεῖν, προειρήσθω· τοσαύτας ἰδέας καὶ ἔτι  
 πλείους ἑβδομάς ἐν ἄσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἐπι-  
 δείκνυται. διατείνει δ' αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ὄρατὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν, τὰ  
 πέρατα τοῦ παντός, φθάσασα. τί γὰρ οὐ φιλ-  
 ἑβδομον τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μέρος, ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ
- 112 δαμασθὲν ἑβδομάδος; αὐτίκα τὸν οὐρανὸν φασιν  
 ἑπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις, ὧν ὀνόματα εἶναι τάδε·  
 ἀρκτικόν, ἀνταρκτικόν, θερινὸν τροπικόν, χει-  
 μερινὸν τροπικόν, ἰσημερινόν, ζωδιακόν, καὶ προσ-  
 ἔτι γαλαξίαν· ὁ γὰρ ὀρίζων πάθος ἐστὶν ἡμέτερον,  
 ὡς ἂν ὀξυωπίας ἔχη τις ἢ τούναντίον, ἀποτεμνο-  
 μένης τῆς αἰσθήσεως τοτὲ μὲν ἐλάττω τοτὲ δὲ
- 113 μείζω περιγραφῆν. οἳ γε μὴν πλάνητες, ἢ ἀντίρ-  
 ροπος στρατιὰ τῇ τῶν ἀπλανῶν, ἑπτὰ δια-  
 κοσμοῦνται τάξεσι, πλείστην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι συμ-  
 πάθειαν πρὸς ἀέρα καὶ γῆν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς  
 ἔτησίους ἐπικαλουμένας ὥρας τρέπουσι καὶ μετα-  
 βάλλουσι, καθ' ἐκάστην μυρίας ὅσας ἐμποιοῦντες  
 μεταβολάς, νηνεμίας, αἰθρίας, νεφώσεσι, βίαις  
 ἑξαισίοις πνευμάτων· πάλιν τε ποταμοὺς πλημ-  
 μυροῦσι καὶ μειοῦσι, καὶ πεδία λιμνάζουσι, καὶ  
 τούναντίον ἀφαναίνουσι· καὶ πελαγῶν ἐργάζονται  
 τροπὰς ἑξαναχωρούντων ἢ παλιρροίαις χρωμένων·  
 εὐρεῖς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅτε κόλποι θαλάττης ὑποσυρείσης  
 ἀμπώτεσι, βαθὺς ἑξαίφνης αἰγιαλός εἰσι, καὶ  
 μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναχυθείσης, πελάγη βαθύτατα,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 475, note on 54.



## ON THE CREATION, 110-113

the same fraction, for if 8 be subtracted from 12, the remainder 4 is one-third of the last number.

XXXVIII. Let what has been said suffice as a bare outline of the dignity pertaining to the figure or scheme or whatever we ought to call it : all these qualities and more still does 7 discover in the incorporeal and intellectual sphere. But its nature reaches further, extending to all visible existence, to heaven and earth, to the utmost bounds of the universe. For what part of the world's contents is not a lover of seven, overcome by passion and desire for it? Let us give some instances. They tell us that heaven is girdled by seven zones, whose names are these : arctic, antarctic, that of the summer solstice, that of the winter solstice, equinox, zodiac, and beside these the milky way. The horizon is not one of these, for it is a thing of subjective observation, our eyesight, as it is keen or the reverse, cutting off, now a smaller, now a larger, circumference. Moreover, the planets, the heavenly host that moves counter to the fixed stars,<sup>a</sup> are marshalled in seven ranks, and manifest large sympathy with air and earth. The one (the air) they turn and shift for the so-called annual seasons, producing in each of these seasons a thousand changes by times of calm, or fair weather, of cloudy skies, of unusually violent storms : they flood rivers and shrink them ; they turn plains into marshes, and dry them up again : they produce tides in the sea, as it ebbs and flows : for at times broad gulfs, through the sea's being withdrawn by ebbing, suddenly become a far-reaching stretch of sand, and a little later, as it is poured back, they become deep seas navigable not merely by small

## PHILO

[28] οὐ βραχείαισι | ὀλκάσιν ἀλλὰ μυριοφόροις ναυσὶν ἐμπλεόμενα· καὶ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα, ζῶα τε αὖ καὶ φυτὰ καρποὺς γεννῶντα, αὖξουσι καὶ τελεσφοροῦσι τὴν ἐν ἐκάστοις φύσιν δολιχεύειν παρασκευάζοντες, ὡς νέα παλαιοῖς ἐπανθεῖν καὶ ἐπακμάζειν πρὸς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους τῶν δεομένων.

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XXXIX. Ἄρκτος γε μὴν, ἣν φασὶ

πλωτήρων εἶναι προπομπόν, ἐξ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων συνέστηκεν· εἰς ἣν ἀφορῶντες κυβερνήται τὰς ἐν θαλάττῃ μυρίας ὁδοὺς ἀνέτεμον, ἀπίστω πράγματι καὶ μείζονι ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθέμενοι· στοχασμῶ γὰρ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀστέρων τὰς πρὶν ἀδηλουμένας χώρας ἀνεύρον, νήσους μὲν οἱ τὴν ἡπειρον οἰκοῦντες, νησιῶται δὲ ἡπείρους· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας οὐρανοῦ ζῶω τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ γῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ θαλάττης

115

ἀναδειχθῆναι τοὺς μυχοὺς ἀνθρώπων γένει· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοισι καὶ ὁ τῶν πλειάδων χορὸς ἀστέρων ἑβδομάδι συμπεπλήρωται, ὧν αἱ ἐπιτολαὶ καὶ ἀποκρύψεις μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἷται γίνονται πᾶσι· δυομένων μὲν γὰρ αὖλακες ἀνατέμνονται πρὸς σπόρον· ἠνίκα δ' ἂν μέλλωσι ἐπιτέλλειν, ἄμητον εὐαγγελίζονται, καὶ ἐπιτείλασαι χαίροντας γεωπόνους πρὸς συγκομιδὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐγείρουσι· οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι τὰς τροφὰς ἀποτίθενται

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πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν χρῆσιν· ὁ τε μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἡμέρας ἥλιος διττὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποτελῶν ἰσημερίας, ἔαρι καὶ μετοπώρῳ, τὴν μὲν ἔαριν ἔν κριῶ, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινὴν ἐν ζυγῶ, ἐναργεστάτην παρέχεται πίστιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἑβδόμην θεοπρεποῦς· ἑκατέρα γὰρ τῶν ἰση-

## ON THE CREATION, 113-116

barges but by ships of many tons burden. Yes, and the planets cause all things on earth, living creatures and fruit-yielding plants, to grow and come to perfection, enabling, as they do, the natural power in each of them to run its full round, new fruits blossoming and ripening on old trees, to supply abundantly those who need them.

XXXIX. The Great Bear, moreover, which is called the mariners' escort, consists of seven stars. Fixing their eyes on this, pilots cut those countless paths in the sea, undertaking an enterprise surpassing belief and human powers. For by keeping their eyes on the stars we have named they discovered countries hitherto unknown, dwellers on the continents discovering islands, and islanders continents. For it was meet that by heaven, purest of all things existing, should be revealed to the living creature best loved by God, even the human race, the secret recesses both of land and sea. Beside the cases already mentioned, the full tale of the band of Pleiades is made up of seven stars, whose appearances and disappearances are fraught with vast benefits to all men : for when they are setting, furrows are opened for sowing, and when they are about to rise, they announce reaping-time ; and when they have risen, they make glad the workers on the land and rouse them to gather in the crops that meet their needs ; and they blithely store up their food for daily use. The sun, too, the great lord of day, bringing about two equinoxes each year, in Spring and Autumn, the Spring equinox in the constellation of the Ram, and the Autumn equinox in that of the Scales, supplies very clear evidence of the sacred dignity of the 7th number, for each of the equinoxes occurs in a 7th

## PHILO

μεριῶν ἐβδόμῳ γίνεται μηνί, καθ' ἃς καὶ ἑορτάζειν διείρηται νόμῳ τὰς μεγίστας καὶ δημοτελεστάτας ἑορτάς, ἐπειδήπερ ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ὅσα ἐκ γῆς τελειογονεῖται, ἔαρι μὲν ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα σπαρτά, μετοπώρῳ δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείστων ἀκροδρῦων.

- 117 XL. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν οὐρανίων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἤρτηται κατὰ τινα φυσικὴν συμπάθειαν, ὁ τῆς ἐβδόμαδος λόγος ἀνωθεν ἀρξάμενος κατέβη καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῖς θνητοῖς γένεσιν ἐπιφοιτήσας. αὐτίκα τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἐπταχῆ σχίζεται, εἰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον· ἃ δὴ πάντα, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ νευροσπαστούμενα, τοτὲ μὲν ἡρεμῆι τοτὲ δὲ κινεῖται τὰς ἀρμοττούσας σχέσεις καὶ
- 118 κινήσεις ἕκαστον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος εἴ τις ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειρήσειε τὰ τ' ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐντὸς μέρη, καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐπτὰ εὐρήσει· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν φανερωῶ ταῦτ' ἐστί· κεφαλή, στέρνα, γαστήρ, |
- [29] διτταὶ χεῖρες, διτταὶ βάσεις· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς λεγόμενα σπλάγχνα στόμαχος, καρδία, πνεύμων, σπλήν,
- 119 ἦπαρ, νεφροὶ δύο. πάλιν δ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἡγεμονικώτατον ἐν ζώῳ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐπτὰ χρῆται, δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀκοαῖς ἴσαις, αὐλοῖς μυκτῆρος δυσὶν, ἐβδόμῳ στόματι, δι' οὗ γίνεται θνητῶν μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Πλάτων, εἴσοδος, ἔξοδος δ' ἀφθάρτων· ἐπεισέρχεται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ σιτία καὶ ποτά, φθαρτοῦ σώματος φθαρταὶ τροφαί, λόγοι δ' ἐξίασιν ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς ἀθάνατοι νόμοι, δι' ὧν ὁ λογικὸς βίος κυβερνᾶται.

<sup>a</sup> Philo seems to have shared the belief of the later Jews

## ON THE CREATION, 116-119

month, and during them there is enjoined by law the keeping of the greatest national festivals, since at both of them all fruits of the earth ripen, in the Spring<sup>a</sup> the wheat and all else that is sown, and in Autumn the fruit of the vine and most of the other fruit-trees.

XL. As, however, in accordance with a certain natural sympathy the things of the earth depend on the things of heaven, the principle of the number 7, after having begun from above, descended also to us and visited the races of mortals. For instance, if we leave the understanding out of sight, the remainder of our soul is divided<sup>b</sup> into seven parts, namely five senses, the faculty of speech, last that of generation. All these, as in marionette shows, are drawn with strings by the understanding, now resting, now moving, each in the attitudes and with the movements appropriate to it. In like manner, should a man go on to examine the outer and inner parts of the body, he will find seven under each head. The visible parts are head, breast, belly, two hands, two feet. The inward parts, called entrails, are stomach, heart, lung, spleen, liver, two kidneys. Once more, the head, the most princely part in an animal, employs seven most essential parts, two eyes, as many ears, two nostrils, seventhly a mouth. Through this, as Plato says,<sup>c</sup> mortal things have their entrance, immortal their exit; for foods and drinks enter it, perishable nourishment of a perishable body, but words issue from it, undying laws of an undying soul, by means of which the life of reason is guided.

that their sacred year began in the spring, and their civil year in the autumn.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 476.

<sup>c</sup> *Timaeus* 75 D. Plato's contrast, however, is between ἀναγκαῖα and ἀρίστα.

## PHILO

- 120 **XLI.** Τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄψεως κρινόμενα μετέχει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ κατὰ γένος· ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἔστι τὰ ὀρώμενα, σῶμα, διάστασις, σχῆμα, μέγεθος, χρῶμα, κίνησις, στάσις, καὶ
- 121 παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἕτερον. συμβέβηκε μέντοι καὶ τὰς τῆς φωνῆς μεταβολὰς ἀπάσας ἐπτὰ εἶναι, τὴν ὀξεῖαν, τὴν βαρεῖαν, τὴν περισπωμένην, καὶ τέταρτον δασὺν φθόγγον, καὶ ψιλὸν πέμπτον, καὶ μακρὸν
- 122 ἕκτον, καὶ βραχὺν ἑβδομον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κινήσεις ἐπτὰ εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὴν ἄνω, τὴν κάτω, τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὴν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα, τὴν πρόσω, τὴν κατόπιν, τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ, ἃς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τρα-
- 123 νοῦσιν οἱ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐκκρίσεις ὑπεστάλθαι τῷ λεχθέντι ἀριθμῷ· διὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν δάκρυα προχεῖται, διὰ δὲ μυκτῆρων αἱ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καθάρσεις, διὰ δὲ στόματος ὁ ἀποπτύομενος σίελος· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ διτταὶ δεξαμεναὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν περιττωμάτων ἀποχετεύσεις, ἡ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, ἡ δὲ κατόπιν· ἕκτη δ' ἔστιν ἡ δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος ἐν ἰδρῶτι πρόχυσις, καὶ <ἑβδόμη> ἡ φυσικωτάτη σπέρματος πρόεσις διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν.
- 124 φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτης, ὁ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιγνώμων, ἐν ἑβδομάδι κρατύνεσθαι καὶ τὴν πῆξιν τῆς γονῆς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπλασιν τῆς σαρκός. πάλιν δ' αὖ γυναιξὶν ἡ φορὰ τῶν καταμηνίων εἰς ἐπτὰ τὰς πλείστας ἡμέρας χορηγεῖται. καὶ τὰ κατὰ γαστρὸς βρέφη μῆσιν ἐπτὰ τελειογονεῖσθαι πέφυκεν, ὡς παραδοξότατόν τι συμβαίνειν· γίνεται γὰρ τὰ

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<sup>a</sup> Literally, "according to kind." The objects of sight, he means, are of seven *kinds*.

## ON THE CREATION, 120-124

XLI. The objects which are distinguished by sight, the noblest of the senses, participate in the number of which we are speaking, if classified by their kinds <sup>a</sup> : for the kinds which are seen are seven—body, extension,<sup>b</sup> shape, size, colour, movement, quiescence, and beside these there is no other. The varieties of the voice too are seven in all, the acute, the grave, the circumflex, and fourthly the rough (or “ aspirated ”), and fifthly the thin (or “ unaspirated ”) utterance, and sixthly the long, and seventhly the short sound. Likewise there are seven movements, upward, downward, to the right, to the left, forward, backward, in a circle. These come out most distinctly in an exhibition of dancing. The discharges from the body also (it has been pointed out) are limited to the number named : for through the eyes tears pour out, through the nostrils purgings from the head, through the mouth expectorations of phlegm : there are also two receptacles for excretion of superfluities, one in front, one behind ; and in the sixth place there is perspiration exuding through the whole body, and in the seventh place the natural normal emission of seed through the genital organs.

Further Hippocrates, that expert in the processes of nature, says that in seven days both the solidifying of the seed and the formation of the embryo take place. Once again, for women the duration of the monthly cleansing is at the most seven days. Moreover the fruit of the womb is brought by nature to full ripeness in seven months, with a most strange result, namely that seven months’ children come

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, “ of how many dimensions.” The word may, perhaps, mean “ distance ” or “ separation,” *i.e.* from other bodies.

## PHILO

- 125 ἐπτάμηνα γόνιμα, τῶν ὀκτωμηνιαίων ὡς ἐπίπαν  
 ζωογονεῖσθαι μὴ δυναμένων. αἶ τε βαρεῖαι νόσοι  
 σωμάτων, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ἐκ δυσκρασίας τῶν  
 ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεων πυρετοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπισκῆψωσιν,  
 ἐβδόμη μάλιστά πως ἡμέρα διακρίνονται· δικάζει  
 γὰρ ἀγῶνα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς, τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίαν  
 ψηφίζομένη, τοῖς δὲ θάνατον.
- 126 XLII. Ἡ δὲ δύναμις αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον τοῖς  
 εἰρημένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀρίσταις τῶν ἐπιστημῶν  
 ἐπιπεφοίτηκε, γραμματικῇ τε καὶ μουσικῇ. λύρα  
 μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐπτάχορδος, ἀναλογούσα τῇ τῶν πλα-  
 νήτων χορεία, τὰς ἐλλογίμους ἀρμονίας ἀποτελεῖ,  
 σχεδόν τι τῆς κατὰ μουσικὴν ὀργανοποιίας ἀπάσης  
 [30] | ἡγεμονὶς οὖσα. στοιχείων τε τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ  
 τὰ λεγόμενα φωνήεντα ἐτύμως ἐπτά ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔοικε φωνεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 συνταττόμενα φωνὰς ἐνάρθρους ἀποτελεῖν· τῶν  
 μὲν γὰρ ἡμιφώνων ἀναπληροῖ τὸ ἐνδέον ὀλο-  
 κλήρους κατασκευάζοντα τοὺς φθόγγους, τῶν δ'  
 ἀφώνων τρέπει καὶ μεταβάλλει τὰς φύσεις ἐμ-  
 πνέοντα τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως, ἵνα γένηται τὰ  
 127 ἄρρητα ῥητά. διό μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ὀνόματα  
 τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιφημίσαντες ἅτε σοφοὶ  
 καλέσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπτά ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν  
 σεβασμοῦ καὶ τῆς προσούσης σεμνότητος· Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι δὲ καὶ προστιθέντες τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν ὑφ' Ἑλ-  
 λήνων στοιχείον τὸ Σ τρανοῦσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν  
 ἔμφασιν, ἐτυμώτερον σέπτεμ προσαγορεύοντες ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ σεμνοῦ, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, καὶ σεβασμοῦ.

\* ἐπτά is Greek for "seven."



## ON THE CREATION, 124-127

to the birth, whereas eight months' children as a rule fail to do so alive. Severe bodily sicknesses too, especially persistent attacks of fever due to internal disorder, generally reach the crisis on the seventh day ; for this day decides the struggle for life, bringing to some recovery, to others death.

XLII. The number 7 exerts its influence not only in the spheres that have been mentioned, but also in those noblest of sciences, grammar and music. For the seven-stringed lyre, corresponding to the choir of the Planets, produces the notable melodies, and it is not going too far to say that the lyre is the rule to which the making of all musical instruments conforms. And among the letters in grammar there are seven properly called vowels or "vocals," since as is obvious they can be sounded by themselves, and when joined with the others can produce articulate sounds ; for on the one hand they fill up what is lacking to the "semi-vowels," rendering the sounds full and complete, and on the other hand they change the nature of the "voiceless" (the consonants) by breathing into them something of their own power, that it may now be possible to pronounce letters before incapable of pronunciation. On these grounds I hold that those who originally fitted names to things, being wise men, called this number "seven" because of the "reverence" (σεβασμός) which it deserves, and the heavenly "dignity" (σεμνότης) pertaining to it. The Romans, who add the letter σ left out by the Greeks,<sup>a</sup> make this appear still more clearly, since they, with greater accuracy, call the number *septem*, owing to its derivation, as I have said, from σεμνός (reverend) and σεβασμός ("reverence").

128 XLIII. Ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω λέγεται καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται περὶ ἑβδομάδος, ὧν ἕνεκα τιμᾶς μὲν ἔλαχεν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰς ἀνωτάτω, τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, οἳ τὴν μαθηματικὴν ἐπιστήμην διαπονοῦσιν, ἐκτετίμηται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλαρέτου Μωυσέως, ὃς τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀνέγραψεν ἐν ταῖς ἱερωτάταις τοῦ νόμου στήλαις, ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἐνεχάραξε, δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν κελεύσας ἄγειν ἱερὰν ἑβδόμην, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντας ἔργων, ὅσα κατὰ ζήτησιν βίου καὶ πορισμόν, ἐνὶ μόνῳ σχολάζοντας τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν εἰς βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν καὶ τὸν τοῦ συνειδότος ἔλεγχον, ὃς ἐνιδρυμένος τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ δικαστῆς ἐπιπλήττων οὐ δυσωπεῖται, τὰ μὲν σφοδροτέραις ἀπειλαῖς τὰ δὲ καὶ μετριωτέραις νουθεσίαις χρώμενος, περὶ μὲν ὧν ἔδοξεν ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖν ἀπειλαῖς, περὶ δ' ὧν ἀκούσια, διὰ τὸ ἀπροοράτως ἔχειν, νουθεσίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ὀλισθεῖν.

129 XLIV. Ἐπιλογιζόμενος δὲ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν κεφαλαιώδει τύπῳ φησίν· “ Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἧ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἄγρου πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἄγρου πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι ” (Gen. ii. 4, 5). ἄρ' οὐκ ἐμφανῶς τὰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ νοητὰς ἰδέας παρίστησιν, ἃς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων σφραγίδα εἶναι συμβέβηκε; πρὶν γὰρ

XLIII. These and yet more than these are the statements and reflections of men on the number 7, showing the reasons for the very high honour which that number has attained in Nature, the honour in which it is held by the most approved investigators of the science of Mathematics and Astronomy among Greeks and other peoples, and the special honour accorded to it by that lover of virtue, Moses. He inscribed its beauty on the most holy tables of the Law, and impressed it on the minds of all who were set under him, by bidding them at intervals of six days to keep a seventh day holy, abstaining from other work that has to do with seeking and gaining a livelihood, and giving their time to the one sole object of philosophy with a view to the improvement of character and submission to the scrutiny of conscience. Conscience, established in the soul like a judge, is never abashed in administering reproofs, sometimes employing sharper threats, sometimes gentler admonitions; threats, where the wrongdoing appeared to be deliberate; admonitions, to guard against a like lapse in the future, when the misconduct seemed unintentional and the result of want of caution.

XLIV. In his concluding summary of the story of creation he says: "This is the book of the genesis of heaven and earth, when they came into being, in the day in which God made the heaven and the earth and every herb of the field before it appeared upon the earth, and all grass of the field before it sprang up" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). Is he not manifestly describing the incorporeal ideas present only to the mind, by which, as by seals, the finished objects that meet our senses were moulded? For before the earth put forth its

## PHILO

- χλοῆσαι τὴν γῆν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν  
 πραγμάτων χλόη, φησίν, ἦν, καὶ πρὶν ἀνατεῖλαι  
 130 χόρτον ἐν ἀγρῶ, χόρτος ἦν οὐχ ὄρατός. ὑπο-  
 νοητέον δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἄλλων ἃ δικά-  
 [31] ζουσιν αἰσθήσεις τὰ πρεσβύτερα | εἶδη καὶ μέτρα,  
 οἷς εἰδοποιεῖται καὶ μετρεῖται τὰ γινόμενα, προὔπ-  
 ἦρχε· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κατὰ μέρος <ἀλλ' > ἄθροα  
 πάντα διεξελήλυθε φροντίζων εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος  
 βραχυλογίας, οὐδὲν ἦττον τὰ ῥηθέντα ὀλίγα δείγ-  
 ματα τῆς τῶν συμπάντων ἐστὶ φύσεως, ἥτις ἄνευ  
 ἁσωμάτου παραδείγματος οὐδὲν τελεσιουργεῖ τῶν  
 ἐν αἰσθήσει.
- 131 XLV. Τῆς δ' ἀκολουθίας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὸν  
 εἰρμὸν τῶν ἐπομένων πρὸς τὰ ἡγούμενα διατηρῶν  
 ἐξῆς λέγει· “πηγὴ δ' ἀνέβαιεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ  
 ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς” (Gen. ii. 6).  
 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι τὸ σύμπαν ὕδωρ ἐν στοι-  
 χεῖον εἶναι φασὶ τῶν τεττάρων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος  
 ἐδημιουργήθη. Μωυσῆς δ', ὀξυωπεστέροις ὄμμασι  
 καὶ τὰ μακρὰν εἰωθὼς εὖ μάλα θεωρεῖν καὶ κατα-  
 λαμβάνειν, στοιχεῖον μὲν οἶεται εἶναι τὴν μεγάλην  
 θάλατταν, μοῖραν τετάρτην τῶν συμπάντων, ἦν  
 οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν Ὀκεανὸν προσαγορεύοντες τὰ παρ'  
 ἡμῖν πλωτὰ πελάγη λιμένων ἔχειν μεγέθη νομί-  
 ζουσι, τὸ δὲ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον ὕδωρ διέκρινεν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου, προσκατατάξας αὐτὸ τῇ γῇ  
 καὶ μέρος ταύτης ὑπολαβῶν, οὐκ ἐκείνου, διὰ τὴν  
 λεχθεῖσαν αἰτίαν πρότερον, ἵν' ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ  
 συνέχηται γλυκεῖα ποιότητι κόλλης τρόπον ἐνούσης·  
 ξηρὰ γὰρ ἀπολειφθεῖσα, μὴ παραδουμένης νοτίδος

## ON THE CREATION, 129-131

young green shoots, young verdure was present, he tells us, in the nature of things without material shape, and before grass sprang up in the field, there was in existence an invisible grass. We must suppose that in the case of all other objects also, on which the senses pronounce judgement, the original forms and measures, to which all things that come into being owe shape and size, subsisted before them ; for even if he has not dealt with everything in detail but in the mass, aiming as he does at brevity in a high degree, nevertheless what he does say gives us a few indications of universal Nature, which brings forth no finished product in the world of sense without using an incorporeal pattern.

XLV. Keeping to the sequence of the creation and carefully observing the connexion between what follows and what has gone before, he next says : " and a spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth " (Gen. ii. 6). Other philosophers say that all water is one of the four elements out of which the world was made. But Moses, wont as he is with keener vision to observe and apprehend amazingly well even distant objects, does indeed regard the great sea as an element, a fourth part of the whole, which his successors, reckoning the seas we sail to be in size mere harbours compared to it, call Ocean ; but he distinguished sweet drinkable water from the salt water, assigning the former to the land and looking on it as part of this, not of the sea. It is such a part, for the purpose already mentioned, that by the sweet quality of the water as by a uniting glue the earth may be bound and held together : for had it been left dry, with no moisture making its way in and spreading by many

## PHILO

- διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων πολυσχιδῶς ἐπιφοιτώσης,  
 κὰν διελέλυτο· συνέχεται δὲ καὶ διαμένει τὰ μὲν  
 πνεύματος ἐνωτικῆς δυνάμει, τὰ δὲ τῆς νοτίδος  
 οὐκ ἐώσης ἀφαναινομένην κατὰ τρύφη μικρὰ καὶ  
 132 μεγάλα θρύπτεσθαι. μία μὲν αἰτία ἦδε, λεκτέον  
 δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν στοχαζομένην ὥσπερ σκοποῦ τῆς  
 ἀληθείας· οὐδὲν τῶν γηγενῶν ἄνευ ὑγράς οὐσίας  
 συνίστασθαι πέφυκε· μηνύουσι δ' αἱ καταβολαὶ  
 τῶν σπερμάτων, ἅπερ ἢ ὑγρά ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ τῶν  
 ζώων, ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ ὑγρότητος βλαστάνει, τοιαῦτα  
 δὲ τὰ τῶν φυτῶν ἐστίν· ἐξ οὗ δῆλον ὅτι ἀνάγκη  
 τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν μέρος εἶναι γῆς τῆς  
 πάντα τικτούσης, καθάπερ ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν φορὰν  
 τῶν καταμηνίων· λέγεται γὰρ οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς  
 ἀνδρῶν φυσικῶν οὐσία σωματικὴ βρεφῶν εἶναι.  
 133 τῶν δ' εἰρημένων οὐκ ἀπάδει καὶ τὸ μέλλον  
 λέγεσθαι· πάσῃ μητρὶ καθάπερ ἀναγκαιότατον  
 μέρος ἢ φύσις πηγάζοντας ἀνέδωκε μαστοὺς προ-  
 ευτρεπισαμένη τροφὰς τῷ γεννησομένῳ· μήτηρ δ'  
 ὡς ἔοικε καὶ ἡ γῆ, παρὸ καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἔδοξεν  
 αὐτὴν Δήμητραν καλέσαι τὸ μητρὸς καὶ γῆς  
 [32] ὄνομα συνθεῖσιν· οὐ | γὰρ γῆ γυναικα, ὡς εἶπε  
 Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γῆν μεμίμηται, ἣν ἐτύμως τὸ  
 ποιητικὸν γένος παμμήτορα καὶ καρποφόρον καὶ  
 πανδώραν εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν, ἐπειδὴ πάντων αἰτία  
 γενέσεως καὶ διαμονῆς ζώων ὁμοῦ καὶ φυτῶν  
 ἐστίν. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ γῆ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ καὶ  
 γονιμωτάτῃ μητέρων ἀνέδωκεν ἢ φύσις οἶα μα-  
 στοὺς ποταμῶν ρεῖθρα καὶ πηγῶν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ  
 104

## ON THE CREATION, 131-133

channels through the pores, it would have actually fallen to pieces. It is held together and lasts, partly by virtue of the life-breath that makes it one, partly because it is saved from drying up and breaking off in small or big bits by the moisture. This is one reason, and I must mention another which is a guess at the truth. It is of the nature of nothing earth-born to take form apart from wet substance. This is shown by the depositing of seeds, which either are moist, as those of animals, or do not grow without moisture: such are those of plants. From this it is clear that the wet substance we have mentioned must be a part of the earth which gives birth to all things, just as with women the running of the monthly cleansings; for these too are, so physical scientists tell us, the bodily substance of the *fetus*. And what I am about to say is in perfect agreement with what has been said already. Nature has bestowed on every mother as a most essential endowment teeming breasts, thus preparing in advance food for the child that is to be born. The earth also, as we all know, is a mother, for which reason the earliest men thought fit to call her 'Demeter,' combining the name of 'mother' with that of 'earth'; for, as Plato<sup>a</sup> says, earth does not imitate woman, but woman earth. Poets quite rightly are in the habit of calling earth 'All-mother,' and 'Fruit-bearer' and 'Pandora' or 'Give-all,' inasmuch as she is the originating cause of existence and continuance in existence to all animals and plants alike. Fitly therefore on earth also, most ancient and most fertile of mothers, did Nature bestow, by way of breasts, streams of rivers and springs, to the end that both the plants might be

<sup>a</sup> *Menexenus* 238 A.

## PHILO

φυτὰ ἄρδοιτο καὶ ποτὸν ἄφθονον ἔχοι πάντα τὰ ζῶα.

134 XLVI. Μετὰ δὲ ταυτὰ φησιν ὅτι “ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς ” (Gen. ii. 7). ἐναργέστατα καὶ διὰ τούτου παρ-  
 ἴστησιν ὅτι διαφορὰ παμμεγέθης ἐστὶ τοῦ τε νῦν πλασθέντος ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονότος πρότερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαπλασθεὶς αἰσθητὸς ἤδη μετέχων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστῶς, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, φύσει θνητός· ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἰδέα τις ἢ γένος ἢ σφραγίς, νοητός, ἀσώματος, οὐτ’ ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, ἀφθαρτος  
 135 φύσει. τοῦ δ’ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀνθρώπου τὴν κατασκευὴν σύνθετον εἶναι φησιν ἕκ τε γεώδους οὐσίας καὶ πνεύματος θείου· γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ τὸ μὲν σῶμα, χοῦν τοῦ τεχνίτου λαβόντος καὶ μορφήν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαπλάσαντος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς γενητοῦ τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνος τῶν πάντων· ὁ γὰρ ἐνεφύσησεν, οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον, ἀπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος φύσεως ἐκείνης ἀποικίαν τὴν ἐνθάδε στειλάμενον ἐπ’ ὠφελεία τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἵν’ εἰ καὶ θνητόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ὀρατὴν μερίδα, κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἀόρατον ἀθανα-  
 τίζηται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἂν τις εἴποι τὸν ἄνθρωπον θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου φύσεως εἶναι μεθόριον, ἐκατέρας ὅσον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μετέχοντα, καὶ γεγενῆσθαι θνητὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀθάνατον, θνητὸν μὲν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀθάνατον.

136 XLVII. Ἐκεῖνος δ’ ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ὁ



## ON THE CREATION, 133-136

watered and all animals might have abundance to drink.

XLVI. After this he says that " God formed man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life " (Gen. ii. 7). By this also he shows very clearly that there is a vast difference between the man thus formed and the man that came into existence earlier after the image of God : for the man so formed is an object of sense-perception, partaking already of such or such quality, consisting of body and soul, man or woman, by nature mortal ; while he that was after the (Divine) image was an idea or type or seal, an object of thought (only), incorporeal, neither male nor female, by nature incorruptible.

It says, however, that the formation of the individual man, the object of sense, is a composite one made up of earthly substance and of Divine breath : for it says that the body was made through the Artificer taking clay and moulding out of it a human form, but that the soul was originated from nothing created whatever, but from the Father and Ruler of all : for that which He breathed in was nothing else than a Divine breath that migrated hither from that blissful and happy existence for the benefit of our race, to the end that, even if it is mortal in respect of its visible part, it may in respect of the part that is invisible be rendered immortal. Hence it may with propriety be said that man is the borderland between mortal and immortal nature, partaking of each so far as is needful, and that he was created at once mortal and immortal, mortal in respect of the body, but in respect of the mind immortal.

XLVII. That first man, earth-born, ancestor of

## PHILO

γηγενής, ὁ παντὸς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγέτης,  
 ἑκάτερον ἄριστος ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα γεγενῆσθαι  
 μοι δοκεῖ καὶ μακρῶ τινι τοὺς ἔπειτα διενεγκεῖν  
 κατὰ τὰς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ὑπερβολάς· ὁ γὰρ ἀληθεία  
 καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὗτος ὄντως ἦν. τεκμηριώ-  
 σαιτο δ' ἂν τις τὴν μὲν τοῦ σώματος εὐμορφίαν  
 ἐκ τριῶν, ὧν ἔστι πρῶτον τόδε· ἄρτι τῆς γῆς  
 [33] νεοκτίστου φανείσης κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ | ὕδατος  
 διάκρισιν, ὃ προσερρήθη θάλαττα, τὴν ὕλην συν-  
 ἔβαινε τῶν γινομένων ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὰν  
 ἔτι δ' ὄλκον καὶ εὐεργὸν εἶναι, ἐξ ἧς τὰ ἀπο-  
 137 τελούμενα εἰκότως ἦν ἀνυπαίτια. δεύ-  
 τερον δέ, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος μέρους τῆς γῆς  
 ἔοικεν ὁ θεὸς χοῦν λαβὼν τὸν ἀνθρωποειδῆ τοῦτον  
 ἀνδριάντα πλάττειν ἐθελήσῃ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω  
 σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ διακρίνας ἐξ ἀπάσης τὸ βέλτιστον,  
 ἐκ καθαρᾶς ὕλης τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ διηθημένον  
 ἄκρως, ὃ πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν μάλιστα ἤρμοζεν·  
 οἶκος γάρ τις ἢ νεὼς ἱερὸς ἐτεκταίνετο ψυχῆς  
 λογικῆς, ἣν ἔμελλεν ἀγαλματοφορήσειν ἀγαλ-  
 138 μάτων τὸ θεοειδέστατον. τρίτον δέ, ὃ  
 μηδὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα, ὃ δημιουρ-  
 γὸς ἀγαθὸς ἦν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ὡς  
 ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καθ'  
 αὐτὸ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλοντας ἔχειν ἀριθμοὺς καὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν τοῦ ὄλου κοινωνίαν εὐαρμόστως ἀπηκριβῶσθαι·  
 μετὰ δὲ τῆς συμμετρίας καὶ εὐσαρκίαν προσαν-  
 ἔπλαττε καὶ εὐχροίαν ἠθογράφει βουλόμενος, ὡς  
 ἔνι μάλιστα, κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι τὸν πρῶτον ἀν-  
 139 θρωπον. XLVIII. ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄριστος

\* “ Beautiful and good ” meant to a Greek “ perfect,”  
 “ as it should be.”

## ON THE CREATION, 136-139

our whole race, was made, as it appears to me, most excellent in each part of his being, in both soul and body, and greatly excelling those who came after him in the transcendent qualities of both alike : for this man really was the one truly " beautiful and good." <sup>a</sup> The fair form of his body may be gathered from three proofs. The first is this. When, at the severing of the great mass of water, which received the name of " sea," the newly formed earth appeared, the material of the things to come into existence was, as a result, pure and free from mixture or alloy, and also supple and easy to work, and the things wrought out of it naturally flawless.

Secondly, God is not likely to have taken the clay from any part of the earth that might offer, or to have chosen as rapidly as possible to mould this figure in the shape of a man, but selecting the best from it all, out of pure material taking the purest and most subtly refined, such as was best suited for his structure ; for a sacred dwelling-place or shrine was being fashioned for the reasonable soul, which man was to carry as a holy image, of all images the most Godlike.

The third proof, incomparably stronger than the two that have been given, is this, that the Creator excelled, as well as in all else, in skill to bring it about that each of the bodily parts should have in itself individually its due proportions, and should also be fitted with the most perfect accuracy for the part it was to take in the whole. And together with this symmetry (of the parts) He bestowed on the body goodly flesh, and adorned it with a rich complexion, desiring the first man to be as fair as could be to behold. XLVIII. That in soul also he was most excellent is manifest ;

## PHILO

ἦν, φανερόν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐτέρῳ παραδείγματι τῶν ἐν γενέσει πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῆς ἔοικε χρῆσασθαι, μόνῳ δ' ὡς εἶπον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ. διὸ φησιν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα γεγενῆσθαι τούτου τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐμπνευσθέντα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον, ἔνθα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ τόπος, αἷς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐψύχωσεν ὁ δημιουργός, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λογισμὸν ἐνιδρυσάμενος τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ παρέδωκε δορυφορεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς χρωμάτων καὶ φωνῶν χυλῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀτμῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ἀντιλήψεις, ἃς ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου καταλαβεῖν οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν. ἀνάγκη δὲ παγκάλου παραδείγματος πάγκαλον εἶναι τὸ μίμημα. θεοῦ δὲ λόγος καὶ αὐτοῦ κάλλους, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ φύσει κάλλος, ἀμείνων, οὐ κοσμούμενος κάλλει, κόσμος δ' αὐτός, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, εὐπρεπέστατος ἐκείνου.

- 140 XLIX. Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν γεγενῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, τοὺς τε νῦν ὄντας καὶ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν διενεγκῶν ἅπαντας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρα γένεσις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τὸν δὲ θεὸς ἐδημιούργησεν· ἐφ' ὅσον δὲ κρείττων ὁ ποιῶν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἄμεινον· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἀκμάζον αἰεὶ τοῦ παρηβηκότος βέλτιόν ἐστιν, εἴτε ζῶον εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε καρπὸς εἴτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει τυγχάνοι, οὕτως ἔοικεν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος διαπλασθεὶς ἄνθρωπος ἀκμὴ τοῦ ἡμετέρου παντὸς ὑπάρξει γένους, οἱ δ' ἔπειτα μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐπακμάσαι, τῶν κατὰ γενεὰν ἀμαυροτέρας αἰεὶ τὰς
- 141 τε μορφὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις | λαμβανόντων· ὅπερ  
[34] ἐπὶ τε πλαστικῆς καὶ ζωγραφίας γινόμενον εἶδον· ἀποδεῖ γὰρ τὰ μιμήματα τῶν ἀρχετύπων, τὰ δ'

## ON THE CREATION, 139-141

for the Creator, we know, employed for its making no pattern taken from among created things, but solely, as I have said, His own Word (or Reason). It is on this account that he says that man was made a likeness and imitation of the Word, when the Divine Breath was breathed into his face. The face is the seat of the senses. By the senses the Creator endowed the body with soul. To the senses, when He had installed the sovereign Reason in the princely part of man's being, He delivered it to be by them escorted to the apprehension of colours and sounds, as well as of flavours and scents and the like. The Reason, apart from perception by the senses, was unable by itself alone to apprehend these. Now the copy of a perfectly beautiful pattern must needs be of perfect beauty. But the Word of God surpasses beauty itself, beauty, that is, as it exists in Nature. He is not only adorned with beauty, but is Himself in very truth beauty's fairest adornment.

XLIX. Such was the first man created, as I think, in body and soul, surpassing all the men that now are, and all that have been before us. For our beginning is from men, whereas God created him, and the more eminent the maker is, so much the better is the work. For as that which is in bloom is always better than that whose bloom is past, be it animal or plant or fruit or aught else in nature, so the man first fashioned was clearly the bloom of our entire race, and never have his descendants attained the like bloom, forms and faculties ever feebler having been bestowed on each succeeding generation. I have observed the same thing happening in the case of sculpture and painting: the copies are inferior to the originals, and what is painted or moulded

## PHILO

ἀπὸ τῶν μιμημάτων γραφόμενα καὶ πλαττόμενα πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἅτε μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτα τῆς ἀρχῆς· παραπλήσιον δὲ πάθος καὶ ἡ μαγνητὶς λίθος ἐπιδείκνυται· τῶν γὰρ σιδηρῶν δακτυλίων ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς ψαύσας βιαιότατα κρατεῖται, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ψαύσαντος ἦττον, ἐκκρέματα δὲ καὶ τρίτος δευτέρου, καὶ τέταρτος τρίτου, καὶ πέμπτος τετάρτου, καὶ ἑτέρων ἕτεροι, κατὰ μακρὸν στοῖχον, ὑπὸ μιᾶς ὀλοῦ δυνάμεως συνεχόμενοι, πλὴν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· αἰεὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρρω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηρητημένοι χαλῶνται, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὀλκὴν ἀνίσθαι μηκέθ' ὁμοίως σφίγγειν δυναμένην. ὅμοιον δὴ τι πεπονθέναι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαίνεται, καθ' ἑκάστην γενεὰν ἀμυδροτέρας λαμβανόντων τὰς τε τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις καὶ ποιότητας.

142 Τὸν δ' ἀρχηγέτην ἐκείνον οὐ μόνον πρῶτον ἀνθρωπον ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνον κοσμοπολίτην λέγοντες ἀψευδέστατα ἐροῦμεν· ἦν γὰρ οἶκος αὐτῷ καὶ πόλις ὁ κόσμος, μηδεμιᾶς χειροποιήτου κατασκευῆς δεδημιουργημένης ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ὕλης, ὧ καθάπερ ἐν πατρίδι μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἐνδιητᾶτο, φόβου μὲν ἐκτὸς ὄν, ἅτε τῆς τῶν περιγείων ἡγεμονίας ἀξιωθείς, καὶ πάντων ὅσα θνητὰ κατεπτηχότων καὶ ὑπακούειν ὡς δεσπότη δεδιδαγμένων ἢ βιασθέντων, ἐν εὐπαθείαις δὲ ταῖς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπολέμῳ ζῶν ἀνεπιλήπτως.

143 Ἰ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πόλις εὐνομος ἔχει πολιτείαν, ἀναγκαίως συνέβαινε τῷ κοσμοπολίτῃ χρῆσθαι πολιτεία ἢ καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος, ὃς κυριωτέρα κλήσει προσονομάζεται θεσμός, νόμος θεῖος ὢν, καθ'

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 476.

## ON THE CREATION, 141-143

from the copies still more so, owing to their long distance from the original. Much the same appears in the case of the magnet: for the iron ring which touches it is held most forcibly, but that which touches this one less so. A third hangs on to the second, and a fourth on to the third, and a fifth on to the fourth, and so on in a long series, all held together by one attracting force, only not all alike, for those removed from the starting-point get looser all the time, owing to the attraction being relaxed and losing its power to grip as it did before. Mankind has evidently undergone something of the same kind. As generation follows generation the powers and qualities of body and soul which men receive are feebler.

If we call that original forefather of our race not only the first man but also the only citizen of the world<sup>a</sup> we shall be speaking with perfect truth. For the world was his city and dwelling-place. No building made by hand had been wrought out of the material of stones and timbers. The world was his mother country where he dwelt far removed from fear, inasmuch as he had been held worthy of the rule of the denizens of the earth, and all things mortal trembled before him, and had been taught or compelled to obey him as their master. So he lived exposed to no attack amid the comforts of peace unbroken by war.

L. Now since every well-ordered State has a constitution, the citizen of the world enjoyed of necessity the same constitution as did the whole world: and this constitution is nature's right relation, more properly called an "ordinance," or "dispensation," seeing it is a divine law, in accordance with which there was duly appor-

## PHILO

- ὄν τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντα ἐκάστοις ἀπενεμήθη. ταύτης τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολιτείας ἔδει τινὰς εἶναι πρὸ ἀνθρώπου πολίτας, οἱ λέγοντ' ἂν ἐνδίκως μεγαλοπολίται, τὸν μέγιστον περίβολον οἰκεῖν λαχόντες, καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ τελειοτάτῳ
- 144 πολιτεύματι ἐγγραφέντες. οὗτοι δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ὅτι μὴ λογικαὶ καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις, αἱ μὲν ἀσώματοι καὶ νοηταί, αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ σωμάτων, ὁποίους συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τοὺς ἀστέρας; οἷς προσομιλῶν καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος εἰκότως ἐν ἀκράτῳ διέτριβεν εὐδαιμονία· συγγενῆς τε καὶ ἀγχίσπορος ὢν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἅτε δὴ πολλοῦ ῥυέντος εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, πάντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐσπούδαζεν εἰς ἀρέσκειαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως, ἐπόμενος κατ' ἴχνος αὐτῷ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἃς λεωφόρους
- [35] ἀνατέμνουσιν ἀρεταί, διότι μόναις ψυχαῖς θέμις προσέρχεσθαι τέλος ἡγουμέναις τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεννήσαντα θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν.
- 145 LI. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν πρώτου φύντος ἀνθρώπου τὸ καθ' ἑκάτερον ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα κάλλος, εἰ καὶ πολλῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔλαττον, ἀλλ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν εἶρηται. τοὺς δ' ἀπογόνους τῆς ἐκείνου μετέχοντας ἰδέας ἀναγκαῖον εἰ καὶ ἀμυδροὺς ἀλλ' οὖν ἔτι σώζειν τοὺς τύπους τῆς πρὸς τὸν προπάτορα συγγενείας· ἢ δὲ συγγένεια τίς; πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ὑκείωται λόγῳ θεῷ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκέκρται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκ-



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tioned to all existences that which rightly falls to them severally. This State and polity must have had citizens before man. These might justly be termed people of the Great City, having had allotted to them as their dwelling-place the greatest compass, and having been enrolled in the greatest and most perfect commonwealth. And who should these be but spiritual and divine natures, some incorporeal and visible to mind only, some not without bodies, such as are the stars? Conversing and consorting with these man could not but live in unalloyed bliss, and being of near kin to the Ruler, since the divine Spirit had flowed into him in full current, he earnestly endeavoured in all his words and actions to please the Father and King, following Him step by step in the highways cut out by virtues, since only for souls who regard it as their goal to be fully conformed to God who begat them is it lawful to draw nigh to Him.

LI. Of the beauty of the first-made man in each part of his being, in soul and body, we have now said what falls perhaps far short of the reality but yet what for our powers was possible. It could not but be that his descendants, partaking as they did in the original form in which he was formed, should preserve marks, though faint ones, of their kinship with their first father. Now what is this kinship? Every man, in respect of his mind, is allied to the divine Reason, having come into being as a copy or fragment or ray of that blessed nature, but in the structure of his body he is allied to all the world, for he is compounded of the same things, earth, water, air, and fire, each of the elements having contributed the share that falls to each, to complete

## PHILO

πλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν  
 δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσῃ τὴν ὄρατὴν ταύτην  
 147 εἰκόνα· καὶ προσέτι πᾶσι τοῖς λεχθεῖ-  
 σιν ὡς οἰκειοτάτοις καὶ συγγενεστάτοις χω-  
 ρίοις ἐνδαιατᾶται, τόπους ἀμείβων καὶ ἄλλοτε  
 ἄλλοις ἐπιφοιτῶν, ὡς κυριώτατα φάναι τὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον πάντα εἶναι, χερσαῖον, ἔνυδρον, πτηνόν,  
 οὐράνιον· ἥ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖ καὶ βέβηκεν ἐπὶ γῆς,  
 χερσαῖον ζῶόν ἐστιν, ἥ δὲ δύεται καὶ νήχεται καὶ  
 πλεῖ πολλάκις, ἔνυδρον—ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι  
 καὶ πορφυρεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τὴν ἐπ' ὀστρέοις καὶ ἰχθύ-  
 σιν ἄγραν μετίασι τοῦ λεχθέντος εἰσὶ σαφειστάτη  
 πίστις—ἥ δὲ μετέωρον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνώφοιτον  
 ἐξῆρται τὸ σῶμα, λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐνδίκως ἀεροπόρον  
 εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οὐράνιον, διὰ τῆς ἡγεμονικω-  
 τάτης τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄψεως ἡλίω καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ  
 ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν  
 συνεγγίζων.

148 **LI.** Παγκάλως δὲ καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων  
 ἀνήψε τῷ πρώτῳ (Gen. ii. 19)· σοφίας γὰρ καὶ  
 βασιλείας τὸ ἔργον, σοφὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτομαθῆς  
 καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος, χερσὶ θείαις γενόμενος, καὶ  
 προσέτι βασιλεύς· ἐμπρεπὲς δ' ἡγεμόνι προσ-  
 αγορεύειν ἕκαστον τῶν ὑπηκόων. ὑπερβάλλουσα δ'  
 [36] ὡς εἰκὸς | δύναμις ἀρχῆς ἦν περὶ τὸν πρῶτον  
 ἐκεῖνον ἄνθρωπον, ὃν σπουδῆ διαπλάσας ὁ θεὸς  
 ἡξίου δευτερείων, ὑπαρχον μὲν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δ'  
 ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνα τιθείς, ὅποτε καὶ οἱ  
 τοσαύταις γενεαῖς ὕστερον φύντες, ἤδη τοῦ γένους  
 διὰ μακρὰς χρόνων περιόδους ἐξιτήλου ὄντος,  
 οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔτι δεσπόζουσι τῶν ἀλόγων, καθάπερ

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a material absolutely sufficient in itself for the Creator to take in order to fashion this visible image.

Moreover, man is at home in all the elements named, as in places fully congenial and akin to him, ever changing his sphere and haunting now one, now another of them. Thus we can say with strict propriety that man is all four, as being of land and water and air and sky. For in so far as he dwells and moves upon the ground, he is a land-animal ; so far as he often dives and swims and often sails, he is a water-creature—merchants and ship-masters and fishers for purple-fish and oyster-dredgers and fishermen generally are the clearest evidence of what I have said—; so far as his body ascends and is raised aloft from the earth, he would justly be said to be an air-walker. He may besides be said to be heavenly, for by means of sight, the most dominant of his senses, he draws near to sun and moon and each of the other planets and fixed stars.

LII. Quite excellently does Moses ascribe the bestowal of names also to the first man (Gen. ii. 19) : for this is the business of wisdom and royalty, and the first man was wise with a wisdom learned from and taught by Wisdom's own lips, for he was made by divine hands ; he was, moreover, a king, and it befits a ruler to bestow titles on his several subordinates. And we may guess that the sovereignty with which that first man was invested was a most lofty one, seeing that God had fashioned him with the utmost care and deemed him worthy of the second place, making him His own viceroy and lord of all others. For men born many generations later, when, owing to the lapse of ages, the race had lost its vigour, are none the less still masters of the creatures that are

- λαμπάδιον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου  
 149 διαδοθὲν φυλάττοντες. φησὶν οὖν ὅτι  
 πάντα τὰ ζῶα ἤγαγεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ,  
 ἰδεῖν βουλόμενος τίνας θήσεται προσθήσεις ἐκά-  
 στοις, οὐχ ὅτι ἐνεδοίαζεν—ἄγνωστον γὰρ οὐδὲν  
 θεῷ—ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤδει τὴν λογικὴν ἐν θνητῷ φύσιν  
 κατεσκευακῶς αὐτοκίνητον, ὅπως ἀμέτοχος αὐτὸς  
 ἦ κακίας. ἀπεπειράτο δ' ὡς ὑφηγητῆς γνωρίμου,  
 τὴν ἐνδιάθετον ἔξιν ἀνακινῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν  
 τῶν οἰκείων ἀνακαλῶν ἔργων, ἵν' ἀπαυτοματίση  
 τὰς θέσεις μὴτ' ἀνοικείους μὴτ' ἀναρμόστους, ἀλλ'  
 ἐμφαινούσας εὖ μάλα τὰς τῶν ὑποκειμένων ιδιό-  
 150 τητας. ἀκράτου γὰρ ἔτι τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ὑπ-  
 αρχούσης ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀρρωστήματος ἢ  
 νοσήματος ἢ πάθους παρεισεληλυθότος, τὰς φαν-  
 τασίας τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἀκραιφνε-  
 στάτας λαμβάνων, εὐθυβόλους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς κλήσεις,  
 εὖ μάλα στοχαζόμενος τῶν δηλουμένων, ὡς ἅμα  
 λεχθῆναί τε καὶ νοηθῆναι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν.  
 οὕτως μὲν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς καλοῖς διέφερον ἐπ' αὐτὸ  
 τὸ πέρασ φθάνων τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας.
- 151 LIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν γενέσει βέβαιον,  
 τροπὰς δὲ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀναγκαίως τὰ θνητὰ  
 δέχεται, ἐχρῆν καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνθρωπον ἀπολαῦ-  
 σαί τινος κακοπραγίας. ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ὑπαιτίου  
 ζωῆς αὐτῷ γίνεται γυνή. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἦν,  
 ὁμοιοῦτο κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν κόσμῳ καὶ θεῷ,  
 καὶ τῆς ἐκατέρου φύσεως ἐναπεμάττετο τῇ ψυχῇ

<sup>a</sup> Sec App. p. 476.

## ON THE CREATION, 148-151

without reason, keeping safe a torch<sup>a</sup> (as it were) of sovereignty and dominion passed down from the first man.

So Moses says that God brought all the animals to Adam, wishing to see what appellations he would assign to them severally. Not that he was in any doubt—for to God nothing is unknown—but because He knew that He had formed in mortal man the natural ability to reason of his own motion, that so He Himself might have no share in faulty action. No, He was putting man to the test, as a teacher does a pupil, kindling his innate capacity, and calling on him to put forth some faculty of his own, that by his own ability man might confer titles in no wise incongruous or unsuitable, but bringing out clearly the traits of the creatures who bore them. For the native reasoning power in the soul being still unalloyed, and no infirmity or disease or evil affection having intruded itself, he received the impressions made by bodies and objects in their sheer reality, and the titles he gave were fully apposite, for right well did he divine the character of the creatures he was describing, with the result that their natures were apprehended as soon as their names were uttered. So greatly did he excel in all noble traits, thus attaining the very limit of human happiness.

LIII. But since no created thing is constant, and things mortal are necessarily liable to changes and reverses, it could not but be that the first man too should experience some ill fortune. And woman becomes for him the beginning of blameworthy life. For so long as he was by himself, as accorded with such solitude, he went on growing like to the world and like God, and receiving in his soul the impres-

## PHILO

τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, οὐ πάντας ἀλλ' ὅσους χωρῆσαι δυνατόν θνητὴν σύστασιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλάσθη καὶ γυνή, θεασάμενος ἀδελφὸν εἶδος καὶ συγγενῆ μορφήν ἠσμένισε τῇ θεᾷ καὶ προσιῶν ἠσπάζετο.

152 ἡ δ' οὐδὲν ἐκείνου προσβλέπουσα ζῶον ἐμφερέστερον ἑαυτῇ γάνυται τε καὶ ἀντιπροσφθέγγεται μετ' αἰδοῦς· ἔρως δ' ἐπιγενόμενος καθάπερ ἐνὸς ζώου διττὰ τμήματα διεστηκότα συναγαγὼν εἰς ταῦτόν ἀρμόττεται, πόθον ἐνιδρυσάμενος ἑκατέρω τῆς πρὸς θάτερον κοινωνίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου γένεσιν· ὁ δὲ πόθος οὗτος καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἡδονὴν ἐγέννησεν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ [37] παρανομημάτων | ἀρχή, δι' ἣν ὑπαλλάττονται τὸν θνητὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βίον ἀντ' ἀθανάτου καὶ εὐδαίμονος.

153 LIV. Ἐτι δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μονήρη βίον ζῶντος, μήπω διαπλασθείσης τῆς γυναικός, φυτευθῆναι λόγος ἔχει παράδεισον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν προσεοικότα (Gen. ii. 8 f.)· τῶν μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αἴψυχος ἢ ὕλη, παντοίων δένδρων κατάπλεως, τῶν μὲν αἰιθαλῶν πρὸς τὴν ὄψεως ἀδιάστατον ἡδονὴν, τῶν δὲ ταῖς ἔαριναῖς ὥραις ἡβώντων καὶ βλαστανόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμερον καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις φερόντων, οὐ πρὸς ἀναγκαίαν μόνον χρῆσιν τροφῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιττὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἀβροδιαίτου βίου, τῶν δ' οὐχ ὅμοιον, ὡς ἀναγκαίως θηρίοις ἀπενεμήθη· κατὰ δὲ τὸν θεῖον παράδεισον ἔμψυχα καὶ λογικὰ φυτὰ πάντ' εἶναι συμβέβηκε, καρπὸν φέροντα τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ προσέτι τὴν ἀδιάφθορον σύνεσιν καὶ ἀγχίνοιαν, ἣ ἄγνωρίζεται τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ, ζωὴν τ' ἄνοσον καὶ

## ON THE CREATION, 151-153

sions made by the nature of each, not all of these, but as many as one of mortal composition can find room for. But when woman too had been made, beholding a figure like his own and a kindred form, he was gladdened by the sight, and approached and greeted her. She, seeing no living thing more like herself than he, is filled with glee and shamefastly returns his greeting. Love supervenes, brings together and fits into one the divided halves, as it were, of a single living creature, and sets up in each of them a desire for fellowship with the other with a view to the production of their like. And this desire begat likewise bodily pleasure, that pleasure which is the beginning of wrongs and violation of law, the pleasure for the sake of which men bring on themselves the life of mortality and wretchedness in lieu of that of immortality and bliss.

LIV. While the man was still leading a life of solitude, the woman not having been yet formed, a park or pleasaunce, we are told, was planted by God, quite unlike the pleasaunces with which we are familiar (Gen. ii. 8 f.) : for in them the wood is soulless ; they are full of trees of all sorts, some ever-blooming to give uninterrupted joy to the eye, some bursting forth with young life every spring : some again bearing cultivated fruit for man, not only for use by way of necessary nourishment, but also for his superfluities, for the enjoyment of a life of luxury ; while others yield a different kind of fruit, supplied to the wild beasts to satisfy their actual needs. But in the divine park or pleasaunce all plants are endowed with soul or reason, bearing the virtues for fruit, and beside these insight and discernment that never fail, by which things fair and ugly are recog-

## PHILO

ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ πᾶν εἶ τι τούτοις ὁμοίτροπον.  
 154 ταῦτα δέ μοι δοκεῖ συμβολικῶς μάλ-  
 λον ἢ κυρίως φιλοσοφείσθαι· δένδρα γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς  
 οὔτε πέφηνέ πω πρότερον οὔτ' αὐθις εἰκὸς φανεί-  
 σθαι ζωῆς ἢ συνέσεως· ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν αἰνίττεται  
 διὰ μὲν τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν,  
 ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατάπλεων οἶα φυτῶν μυρίων ὅσων  
 δοξῶν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δένδρου τῆς ζωῆς τὴν μεγίστην  
 τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἧς ἀθανατίζεται ἡ  
 ψυχὴ, διὰ δὲ τοῦ καλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν γνωριστικοῦ  
 φρόνησιμ τὴν μέσην, ἣ διακρίνεται τᾶναντία  
 155 φύσει. LV. θέμενος δὲ τούτους τοὺς  
 ὅρους ἐν ψυχῇ καθάπερ δικαστῆς ἐσκόπει, πρὸς  
 πότερον ἐπικλινῶς ἕξει. ὡς δὲ εἶδε ρέπουσαν  
 μὲν ἐπὶ πανουργίαν, εὐσεβείας δὲ καὶ ὁσιότητος  
 ὀλιγωροῦσαν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀθάνατος ζωὴ περιγίνεται,  
 προὔβαλετο κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐκ  
 τοῦ παραδείσου, μηδ' ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰσαυθις ἐπανόδου  
 δυσίατα καὶ ἀθεράπευτα πλημμελοῦση ψυχῇ  
 παρασχῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀπάτης πρόφασις  
 ἐπίληπτος ἦν οὐ μετρίως, ἦν οὐκ ἄξιον παρα-  
 156 σιωπῆσαι. λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἰοβόλον καὶ  
 γηγενὲς ἔρπετον [ὄφεις] ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν προῖεσθαι,  
 καὶ ποτε προσελθὸν τῇ τοῦ πρώτου φύντος  
 ἀνδρὸς γυναικὶ τῆς βραδυτήτος καὶ τῆς ἄγαν  
 εὐλαβείας ὀνειδίσαι, διότι μέλλει καὶ ὑπερτίθεται  
 πάγκαλον ὀφθῆναι καὶ ἥδιστον ἀπολαυσθῆναι  
 καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον,  
 ᾧ δυνήσεται γνωρίζειν ἀγαθὰ τε αὐ καὶ κακὰ·

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<sup>a</sup> Or "the cause of their deception," *i.e.* the serpent, Pleasure.



## ON THE CREATION, 153-156

nized, and life free from disease, and incorruption, and all that is of a like nature.

This description is, I think, intended symbolically rather than literally; for never yet have trees of life or of understanding appeared on earth, nor is it likely that they will appear hereafter. No, Moses evidently signifies by the pleasaunce the ruling power of the soul which is full of countless opinions, as it might be of plants; and by the tree of life he signifies reverence toward God, the greatest of the virtues, by means of which the soul attains to immortality; while by the tree that is cognisant of good and evil things he signifies moral prudence, the virtue that occupies the middle position, and enables us to distinguish things by nature contrary the one to the other.

LV. Having set up these standards in the soul, He watched, as a judge might, to see to which it would tend. And when He saw it inclining to wickedness, and making light of holiness and godly fear, out of which comes the winning of immortal life, He cast it forth, as we might expect, and drove it from the pleasaunce, giving the soul which committed offences that defy the healer's skill, no hope of a subsequent return, inasmuch as the reason given for their deception<sup>a</sup> was in a high degree blameworthy. This we must not leave unexplained. It is said that in olden time the venomous earthborn crawling thing could send forth a man's voice, and that one day it approached the wife of the first man and upbraided her for her irresoluteness and excessive scrupulosity in delaying and hesitating to pluck a fruit most beauteous to behold and most luscious to taste, and most useful into the bargain, since by its means she would have power to recognize

## PHILO

τὴν δὲ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀβεβαίου καὶ  
 [38] ἀνιδρύτου συναινέσασαν, ἐμφαγεῖν | τοῦ καρποῦ  
 καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μεταδοῦναι—καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξαπιναίως  
 ἀμφοτέρους ἐξ ἀκακίας καὶ ἀπλότητος ἡθῶν εἰς  
 πανουργίαν μετέβαλεν—· ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πατέρα  
 χαλεπήναντα—ἢ γὰρ πράξις ὀργῆς ἀξία, ἐπεὶ  
 παρελθόντες τὸ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου φυτόν, τὴν ἀρετῆς  
 παντέλειαν, ὑφ' ἧς μακραίωνα καὶ εὐδαίμονα βίον  
 ἐδύναντο καρποῦσθαι, τὸν ἐφήμερον καὶ θνητὸν  
 οὐ βίον ἀλλὰ χρόνον κακοδαιμονίας μεστὸν εἵλοντο  
 —κολάσεις ὀρίσαι κατ' αὐτῶν τὰς προσηκούσας.

157 LVI. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα οὐ μύθου πλάσματα, οἷς  
 τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ σοφιστικὸν χαίρει γένος, ἀλλὰ  
 δείγματα τύπων ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν παρακαλοῦντα  
 κατὰ τὰς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεις. ἐπόμενος δέ  
 τις εἰκότι στοχασμῷ φήσει προσηκόντως τὸν  
 εἰρημένον ὄφιν ἡδονῆς εἶναι σύμβολον, ὅτι πρῶτον  
 μὲν ζῶον ἄπουν ἐστὶ καὶ πρηνὲς πεπτωκὸς ἐπὶ  
 γαστέρα, δεύτερον δ' ὅτι γῆς βώλοισι σιτίῳ χρῆται,  
 τρίτον δ' ὅτι τὸν ἰὸν ἐπιφέρεται τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν, ᾧ  
 158 τοὺς δηχθέντας ἀναιρεῖν πέφυκεν. οὐδενὸς δὲ  
 τῶν λεχθέντων ὁ φιλήδονος ἀμοιρεῖ· μόλις τε  
 γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπαίρει βαρυνόμενος καὶ καθ-  
 ελκόμενος, ἐκτραχηλιζούσης καὶ ὑποσκελιζούσης  
 τῆς ἀκρασίας· σιτεῖται τε οὐκ οὐράνιον τροφήν,  
 ἣν ὀρέγει τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσι διὰ λόγων καὶ δογμάτων  
 σοφία, τὴν δ' ἀναδιδομένην ἐκ γῆς κατὰ τὰς  
 ἐτησίους ὥρας, ἐξ ἧς οἰνοφλυγίαι καὶ ὀψοφαγίαι

## ON THE CREATION, 156-158

things good and evil. It is said that she, without looking into the suggestion, prompted by a mind devoid of steadfastness and firm foundation, gave her consent and ate of the fruit, and gave some of it to her husband ; this instantly brought them out of a state of simplicity and innocence into one of wickedness : whereat the Father in anger appointed for them the punishments that were fitting. For their conduct well merited wrath, inasmuch as they had passed by the tree of life immortal, the consummation of virtue, from which they could have gathered an existence long and happy. Yet they chose that fleeting and mortal existence which is not an existence but a period of time full of misery.

LVI. Now these are no mythical fictions, such as poets and sophists delight in, but modes of making ideas visible, bidding us resort to allegorical interpretation guided in our renderings by what lies beneath the surface. Following a probable conjecture one would say that the serpent spoken of is a fit symbol of pleasure, because in the first place he is an animal without feet sunk prone upon his belly ; secondly because he takes clods of earth as food ; thirdly because he carries in his teeth the venom with which it is his nature to destroy those whom he has bitten. The lover of pleasure is exempt from none of these traits, for he is so weighted and dragged downwards that it is with difficulty that he lifts up his head, thrown down and tripped up by intemperance : he feeds not on heavenly nourishment, which wisdom by discourses and doctrines proffers to lovers of contemplation, but on that which comes up out of the earth with the revolving seasons, and which produces drunkenness, daintiness, and greed-

## PHILO

καὶ λαιμαργίαι, <αἱ> τὰς γαστροὺς ἐπιθυμίας  
 προσαναρρηγνῦσαι καὶ ἀναρριπίζουσαι [καὶ ἀνδρα-  
 ποδιζουσαι] πρὸς γαστριμαργίαν συναύξουσι καὶ  
 ἀναρρηγνύουσι καὶ τοὺς ὑπογαστρίους οἴστρους·  
 σιτοπόνων τε γὰρ καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν κάματον ἐπι-  
 λιχνεύει, καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἡδυσμάτων κνίσσης  
 ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν περιάγων μεταλαμβάνειν  
 [τῆς εἰδεχθείας] ὀρέγεται, καὶ ὁπότε πολυτελῆ  
 τράπεζαν θεάσαιτο, καταβαλὼν αὐτὸν ὄλον ἐπὶ  
 τὰ εὐτρεπισθέντα ἐκχεῖται, πάντων ἀθρόων σπου-  
 δάζων ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τέλος οὐ κόρον ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδὲν  
 ὑπολείπεσθαι τῶν εὐτρεπισθέντων ποιούμενος.  
 ὅθεν οὐχ ἦττον ὄφειως ἐν τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἐπιφέρεται  
 159 τὸν ἰόν· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν ἀπληστίας ὑπηρέται καὶ  
 ὑπουργοί, πάνθ' ὅσα πρὸς ἔδωδὴν τέμνοντές τε  
 καὶ λεαίνοντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γλώττη παρα-  
 διδόντες τῇ χυλοῦς δικαζούσῃ πρὸς ἐπικρίσιν,  
 [39] ἔπειτα δὲ φάρυγγι· | σιτίων δὲ ἀμετρία θανατῶδες  
 φύσει καὶ ἰοβόλον, ἅτε πέψιν οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων  
 διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπεισιόντων φορὰν, ἣ γίνεται πρὶν  
 160 ἐξικμασθῆναι τὰ πρότερα. φωνὴν δ' ἀνθρώπειον  
 ὄφιν λέγεται προῖεσθαι, διότι μυρίοις ὑπερμάχοις  
 καὶ προαγωνισταῖς ἡδονὴν χρεῖται τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν  
 καὶ προστασίαν αὐτῆς ἀνειληφόσιν, οἱ τολμῶσιν  
 ἀναδιδάσκειν ὅτι πάντων τὸ κράτος ἀνήπται  
 μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, οὐδενὸς ὑπεξηρημένου τὸ  
 161 παράπαν. LVII. ἀλλ' αἱ τε πρῶται  
 τοῦ ἄρρενος πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ σύνοδοι ξιναγὸν ἔχουσι  
 ἡδονήν, αἱ τε σποραὶ καὶ γενέσεις διὰ ταύτης  
 συνίστανται, τὰ τε γεννώμενα οὐδενὶ πρῶτον

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Somniis* i. 49 ἐν κύκλῳ <κινῶν> περιάγει τὴν κεφαλὴν.

## ON THE CREATION, 158-161

ness. These, causing the cravings of the belly to burst out and fanning them into flame, make the man a glutton, while they also stimulate and stir up the stings of his sexual lusts. For he licks his lips over the labour of caterers and confectioners, and twisting his head<sup>a</sup> about all round strains to catch some of the steam and savour of the delicacies. Whenever he beholds a richly spread table, he flings down his whole person and tumbles upon the dishes set out, eager to devour all at once. His aim is not to sate his hunger, but to leave nothing that has been set before him undevoured. Hence we see that no less than the serpent he carries his poison in his teeth. These are the agents and ministers of excess, cutting and chewing all eatables, handing them over first to the tongue, the judge of savours, for its decision, then to the gullet. Immoderate eating is by its nature deadly and poisonous, for what is eaten has no chance of being assimilated, owing to the rush of the fresh viands which takes place before those already swallowed have been digested. Again the serpent is said to emit a human voice.<sup>b</sup> This is because pleasure employs ten thousand champions and defenders, who have undertaken to look after her and stand up for her, and who dare to spread the doctrine that she has assumed universal sovereignty over small and great, and that no one whatever is exempt therefrom.

LVII. And certainly the first approaches of the male to the female have pleasure to guide and conduct them, and it is through pleasure that begetting and the coming of life is brought about, and the offspring is

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 476.

## PHILO

- οικειοῦσθαι πέφυκεν ἢ ταύτη, χαίροντα μὲν ἡδονῇ, τὴν δ' ἐναντίαν ἀλγηδόνα δυσχεραίνοντα· παρὸ καὶ ἀνακλαίεται τὸ βρέφος ἀποκηθέν, ἀλγῆσαν ὡς εἰκὸς τῇ περιμύξει· ἐκ γὰρ θερμοτάτου καὶ πυρωδεστάτου χωρίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν μήτραν, ᾧ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιητήθη, προελθὼν ἕξαπιναίως εἰς ἀέρα, ψυχρὸν καὶ ἀσυνήθη τόπον, ἐπλήχθη καὶ τῆς ὀδύνης καὶ τοῦ δυσχεραίνειν ἀλγηδόνι τὰ κλαύματα δεῖγμα παρέσχεν ἔναρ-
- 162 γέστατον. σπεύδει τε, φασί, πᾶν ζῶον ὡς ἐπ' ἀναγκαιότατον καὶ συνεκτικώτατον τέλος ἡδονῆν καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωπος· τὰ μὲν γὰρ διὰ γεύσεως μόνον καὶ τῶν γεννητικῶν ἐφίεται ταύτης, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων, ὅσα θεάματα ἢ ἀκούσματα τέρψιν δύναται παρασχεῖν
- 163 ὡσί καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς μεταδιώκων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παμπληθῆ πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὡς ἔστιν οικειότατον καὶ συγγενέστατον ζώοις· LVIII. ἀπόχρη δὲ δείγματος ἔνεκα καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα, ὧν χάριν ἀνθρωπίνην φωνὴν ἔδοξεν ὁ ὄφιν προΐεσθαι. διό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος νόμοις, οὗ περὶ ζῶων ἔγραψεν ἃ τε χρὴ προσφέρεσθαι καὶ τὸναντίον, ἐπαινέσαι μάλιστα τὸν ὄφιομάχην ἐπικαλούμενον (Lev. xi. 22) —έρπετον δ' ἐστὶν ἔχον ἀνωτέρω σκέλη τῶν ποδῶν, οἷς ἀπὸ γῆς πέφυκε πηδᾶν καὶ μετέωρον
- 164 αἶρεσθαι καθάπερ τὸ τῶν ἀκρίδων γένος— ὁ γὰρ ὄφιομάχης οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συμβολικῶς ἐγκράτεια εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, μάχην ἀκαθαίρετον καὶ πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἐκφέρουσα πρὸς ἀκρασίαν καὶ ἡδονῆν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ εὐτέλειαν καὶ ὀλιγοδεῖαν καὶ ὅσον ἀναγκαῖον φιλαυστήρῳ καὶ σεμνῷ βίῳ διαφερόντως

## ON THE CREATION, 161-164

naturally at home with nothing sooner than pleasure, delighting in it and feeling distress at pain its contrary. This is why the infant when born actually weeps aloud, chilled most likely by the cold all round it ; for when, leaving a place of fiery warmth in the womb, which for a long time it has tenanted, it suddenly issues into the air, a cold and unaccustomed place, it is taken aback and utters cries, a most clear sign of its pain and its annoyance at suffering. And they tell us that every living creature hastens after pleasure as its most necessary and essential end, and man above all : for while other creatures seek pleasure only through taste and the organs of reproduction, man does so through the other senses as well, pursuing with ears and eyes all such sights and sounds as can afford delight.

A very great deal more is said in praise of pleasure, and of the great closeness of its connexion and kinship with living creatures. LVIII. But what has now been said is enough to show why the serpent seemed to utter a human voice. It is for this reason, I think, that even in the detailed laws, where the lawgiver writes about animals, laying down which may be eaten and which may not, he especially praises the " snake-fighter " as it is called (Lev. xi. 22). This is a reptile with legs above its feet, with which it springs from the ground and lifts itself into the air like a grasshopper. For the snake-fighter is, I think, nothing but a symbolic representation of self-control, waging a fight that never ends and a fruitless war against intemperance and pleasure. Self-control welcomes beyond measure simplicity and abstemiousness and so much as is requisite for a severe and lofty mode of life ;

PHILO

ἀσπάζεται, ἢ δὲ περιεργίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν, ἃ  
 χλιδῆς καὶ θρύψεως αἷτια γίνεται ψυχῇ καὶ  
 σώματι, δι' ὧν τὴν ὑπαίτιον καὶ θανάτου χαλε-  
 πωτέραν ζωὴν παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι συμβέβηκε  
 γίνεσθαι.

- 165 LIX. Τὰς δὲ γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτας αὐτῆς ἡδονὴν  
 τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐ τολμᾷ προσφέρειν, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ  
 [40] καὶ | διὰ ταύτης ἐκείνῳ, πάνυ προσφυῶς καὶ  
 εὐθυβόλως· ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν ἔχει λόγον ὁ  
 νοῦς, γυναικὸς δ' αἰσθήσεις· ἡδονὴ δὲ προτέραις  
 ἐντυγχάνει καὶ ἐνομιλεῖ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, δι' ὧν  
 καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φενακίζει· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ  
 ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων τοῖς φίλτροις αὐτῆς  
 ὑπαχθῆ, χαίρουσαι τοῖς προτεινομένοις, ἐπὶ χρω-  
 μάτων μὲν καὶ σχημάτων ποικιλίαις ὄψις, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ φωνῶν ἐμμελείαις ἀκοή, ἐν δὲ χυλῶν ἡδύτησι  
 γεύσις, κὰν ταῖς τῶν ἀναθυμιωμένων ἀτμῶν  
 εὐωδίαις ὄσφρησις, δεξάμεναι τὰ δῶρα θερα-  
 παινίδων τρόπον προσφέρουσιν οἷα δεσπότη τῷ  
 λογισμῷ, παράκλητον ἐπαγόμεναι πειθῶ περὶ  
 τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπώσασθαι τὸ παράπαν· ὁ δ' αὐτίκα  
 δελεασθεὶς ὑπήκοος ἀνθ' ἡγεμόνος καὶ δούλος  
 ἀντὶ δεσπότη καὶ ἀντὶ πολίτου φυγὰς καὶ θνητὸς  
 166 ἀντ' ἀθανάτου γίνεται. συνόλως γὰρ οὐκ ἀγνοη-  
 τέον ὅτι, οἷα ἑταίρις καὶ μαλχὰς οὔσα, ἡδονὴ  
 γλίχεται τυχεῖν ἔραστοῦ καὶ μαστροποῦς ἀναζητεῖ,  
 δι' ὧν τοῦτον ἀγκιστρεύσεται· μαστροπεύουσι δ'  
 αὐτῇ καὶ προξενούσι τὸν ἐρῶντα αἰσθήσεις, ἃς  
 δελεάσασα ῥαδίως ὑπηγάγετο τὸν νοῦν, ὧ τὰ  
 φανέντα ἐκτὸς εἴσω κομίζουσαι διαγγέλλουσι  
 καὶ ἐπιδεικνυνται, τοὺς τύπους ἐκάστων ἐνσφρα-  
 γιζόμεναι, καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐνεργαζόμεναι πάθος·



## ON THE CREATION, 164-166

intemperance gives a like welcome to superfluity and extravagance, which induce softness and voluptuousness in soul and body, and these result in the culpable life, the life that in the view of right-minded people is worse than death.

LIX. Pleasure does not venture to bring her wiles and deceptions to bear on the man, but on the woman, and by her means on him. This is a telling and well-made point : for in us mind corresponds to man, the senses to woman ; and pleasure encounters and holds parley with the senses first, and through them cheats with her quackeries the sovereign mind itself : for when each sense has been subjugated to her sorceries, delighting in what she proffers, the sense of sight in variegated colours and shapes, that of hearing in harmonious sounds, that of taste in delicate savours, and that of scent in the fragrance of perfumes which it inhales, then all of them receive the gifts and offer them like handmaids to the Reason as to a master, bringing with them Persuasion to plead that it reject nothing whatever. Reason is forthwith ensnared and becomes a subject instead of a ruler, a slave instead of a master, an alien instead of a citizen, and a mortal instead of an immortal. In a word we must never lose sight of the fact that Pleasure, being a courtesan and a wanton, eagerly desires to meet with a lover, and searches for panders, by whose means she shall get one on her hook. It is the senses that act as panders for her and procure the lover. When she has ensnared these she easily brings the Mind under her control. To it, dwelling within us, the senses convey the things seen without, reporting them fully and making them manifest, impressing on it the forms of the several objects, and producing in it

## PHILO

κηρῶ γὰρ εἰκῶς δέχεται τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φαντασίας, αἷς τὰ σώματα καταλαμβάνει δι' αὐτοῦ μὴ δυνάμενος, καθάπερ εἶπον ἤδη.

- 167 LX. Τὰ δ' ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἡδονῆς εὐθὺς εὐραντο οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι δοῦλοι χαλεποῦ καὶ δυσιάτου πάθους· ἡ μὲν γυνή σφοδρὰς ἀνίας ἐνδεξαμένη τὰς ἐν ὠδίσι, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον λύπας ἐπαλλήλους, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἐπὶ τέκνοις γεννωμένοις καὶ τρεφομένοις καὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, εἶτ' ἀφαίρεσιν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνόντος ἀνδρὸς δεσποτείαν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πειθαρχεῖν ἀναγκαῖον· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἐν μέρει πόνους καὶ ταλαιπωρίας καὶ συνεχεῖς ἰδρῶτας ἔνεκα πορισμοῦ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ στέρησιν μὲν τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν, ἅπερ ἐδιδάχθη φέρειν ἢ γῆ δίχα γεωργικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἀτρύτων δὲ μετουσίαν καμάτων εἰς ζήτησιν βίου καὶ τροφῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λιμῶ παραπολέσθαι·
- 168 οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ὥσπερ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην αἰεὶ φωσφορεῖν ἅπαξ κελευσθέντας ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὸ θεῖον πρόσταγμα διατηρεῖν
- [41] οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου χάριν ἢ ὅτι | τῶν ὄρων οὐρανοῦ μακρὰν κακία πεφυγάδευται· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν βαθεῖαν καὶ καρποφόρον, ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ συμπράξεως γεωπόνων ἀνδρῶν, φέρειν ἂν πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας. νυνὶ δὲ αἱ ἀέναοι πηγαὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων ἐπεσκέθησαν, ὅτε ἤρξατο κακία τὰς ἀρετὰς

## ON THE CREATION, 166-168

the corresponding affection. For it resembles wax, and receives the images that reach it through the senses, by which it apprehends material substances, being incapable, as I have said before, of doing this by itself.

LX. Those who were the first to become slaves to a passion grievous and hard to heal at once had experience of the wages paid by Pleasure. The woman incurred the violent woes of travail-pangs, and the griefs which come one after another all through the remainder of life. Chief among them are all those that have to do with children at birth and in their bringing up, in sickness and in health, in good fortune and evil fortune. In the next place she tasted deprivation of liberty, and the authority of the husband at her side, whose commands she must perforce obey. The man, in his turn, incurred labours and distress in the unceasing sweat of his brow to gain the necessaries of life. He was without those good things which the earth had been taught to bear of itself independently of all skill in the husbandman. His life was spent in unbroken toils in the pursuit of food and livelihood to save him from perishing by famine. For I imagine that, just as sun and moon always give their light after once for all being bidden to do so when the universe was first created, and continue to keep the divine ordinance for no other reason than that evil has been sent into exile far away from heaven's frontiers ; even so would earth's deep and fertile soil, unaided by the skill of agricultural labourers, bear rich abundance as the seasons come round. As it is, when evil began to get the better of the virtues, the ever-flowing springs of the bounties of God were closed, that they might not

## PHILO

παρευημερεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἀναξίοις χορηγῶσιν.  
 169 ἔδει μὲν οὖν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, εἰ τὴν  
 ἀρμόττουσαν ἔμελλε δίκην ὑπομένειν, ἠφανίσθαι  
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα θεὸν  
 ἀχαριστίαν· ὁ δ', ἅτε τὴν φύσιν ἔλεως, οἶκτον  
 λαβὼν ἐμετρίασε τὴν τιμωρίαν, τὸ μὲν γένος  
 ἑάσας διαμένειν, τὰς δὲ τροφὰς οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως  
 ἐξ ἑτοίμου παρασχών, ἵνα μὴ δυσὶ κακοῖς, ἀργίᾳ  
 καὶ κόρῳ, χρώμενοι πλημμελῶσι καὶ ὑβρίζωσι.

170 LXI. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος τῶν ἐν  
 ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀκακία καὶ ἀπλότῃτι χρωμένων, αὐθις  
 δὲ κακίαν ἀντ' ἀρετῆς προτιμώντων.

Διὰ δὲ τῆς λεχθείσης κοσμοποιίας πολλὰ μὲν  
 καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκει, πέντε δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα  
 καὶ πάντων ἄριστα· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι  
 ἔστι τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπάρχει, διὰ τοὺς ἀθέους, ὧν  
 οἱ μὲν ἐνεδοίασαν ἐπαμφοτερίσαντες περὶ τῆς  
 ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ τολμηρότεροι καὶ κατ-  
 εθρασύναντο φάμενοι μηδ' ὄλως εἶναι, λέγεσθαι  
 δ' αὐτὸ μόνον πρὸς ἀνθρώπων πλάσμασι μυθικοῖς  
 171 ἐπισκiasάντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· δεύτερον

δ' ὅτι θεὸς εἷς ἐστι, διὰ τοὺς εἰσηγητὰς τῆς  
 πολυθεοῦ δόξης, οἱ οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι τὴν φαυλοτάτην  
 τῶν κακοπολιτειῶν ὀχλοκρατίαν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς  
 οὐρανὸν μετοικίζοντες· τρίτον δ' ὡς ἤδη  
 λέλεκται ὅτι γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος, διὰ τοὺς οἰομένους  
 αὐτὸν ἀγένητον καὶ αἰδιον εἶναι, οἱ πλέον οὐδὲν  
 ἀπονέμουσι θεῷ· τέταρτον δ' ὅτι καὶ  
 εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἷς ὁ δημιουργὸς  
 <ὁ> ἐξομοιώσας αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν τὸ ἔργον,

## ON THE CREATION, 168-171

bring supplies to those felt to be undeserving of them. If the human race had had to undergo the fitting penalty; it must needs have been wiped out by reason of its ingratitude to God its benefactor and preserver. But He being merciful took pity on it and moderated the punishment, suffering the race to continue, but no longer as before supplying it with food ready to its hand, that men might not, by indulging the twin evils of idleness and satiety, wax insolent in wrongdoing. LXI. Such is the life of those who at the outset are in enjoyment of innocence and simplicity of character, but later on prefer vice to virtue.

By his account of the creation of the world of which we have spoken Moses teaches us among many other things five that are fairest and best of all.

Firstly that the Deity is and has been from eternity. This with a view to atheists, some of whom have hesitated and have been of two minds about His eternal existence, while the bolder sort have carried their audacity to the point of declaring that the Deity does not exist at all, but that it is a mere assertion of men obscuring the truth with myth and fiction.

Secondly, that God is one. This with a view to the propounders of polytheism, who do not blush to transfer from earth to heaven mob-rule, that worst of evil polities.

Thirdly, as I have said already, that the world came into being. This because of those who think that it is without beginning and eternal, who thus assign to God no superiority at all.

Fourthly, that the world too is one as well as its Maker, who made His work like Himself in its uniqueness, who

## PHILO

ὅς ἀπάσῃ κατεχρήσατο τῇ ὕλῃ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὄλου  
γένεσιν· ὄλον γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὄλων  
ἐπάγη καὶ συνέστη τῶν μερῶν. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ  
πλείους ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι κόσμους, οἱ δὲ  
καὶ ἀπείρους, ἄπειροι καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες αὐτοὶ  
πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντες ὧν καλὸν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν·  
πέμπτον δ' ὅτι καὶ προνοεῖ τοῦ  
κόσμου ὁ θεός· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς  
172 τοῦ γενομένου φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἀναγ-  
[42] καῖον, καθ' οὓς καὶ γονεῖς τέκνων | προμηθοῦνται.  
ὁ δὴ ταῦτα μὴ ἀκοῇ μᾶλλον ἢ διανοίᾳ  
προμαθὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ψυχῇ σφραγισάμενος  
θαυμάσια καὶ περιμάχητα εἶδη, καὶ ὅτι ἔστι καὶ  
ὑπάρχει θεὸς καὶ ὅτι εἰς ὃ ὧν ὄντως ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι  
πεποίηκε τὸν κόσμον καὶ πεποίηκεν ἕνα, ὡς  
ἐλέχθη, κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐξομοιώσας ἑαυτῷ,  
καὶ ὅτι αἰεὶ προνοεῖ τοῦ γεγονότος, μακαρίαν καὶ  
εὐδαίμονα ζωὴν βιώσεται, δόγμασιν εὐσεβείας  
καὶ ὁσιότητος χαραχθεῖς.

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<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 476.

## ON THE CREATION, 171-172

used up for the creation of the whole all the material that exists ; for it would not have been a whole had it not been formed and consisted of parts that were wholes. For there are those who suppose that there are more worlds than one, while some think that they are infinite in number. Such men are themselves in very deed infinitely lacking in knowledge of things which it is right good to know.<sup>a</sup> Fifthly, that God also exercises forethought on the world's behalf. For that the Maker should care for the thing made is required by the laws and ordinances of Nature, and it is in accordance with these that parents take thought beforehand for children.

He that has begun by learning these things with his understanding rather than with his hearing, and has stamped on his soul impressions of truths so marvellous and priceless, both that God is and is from eternity, and that He that really is is One, and that He has made the world and has made it one world, unique as Himself is unique, and that He ever exercises forethought for His creation, will lead a life of bliss and blessedness, because he has a character moulded by the truths that piety and holiness enforce.





ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETA-  
TION OF GENESIS II., III.  
(LEGUM ALLEGORIA)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK I.

IN 1-18 Philo deals with Gen. ii. 1-3, which tells first of the completion of Heaven and Earth. He takes these to mean the originals of Mind and Sense-perception, and bases on the Greek version a contrast between the numbers 6 and 7, making the former represent things earthly, and the latter things heavenly.

In Gen. ii. 2 he finds the origin of Mind and Sense-perception ascribed first to a Book and then to a Day, both Book and Day signifying the Mind or Reason of God. (19-21.)

In the repetition of the word "field" in Gen. ii. 5; he sees two fields yielding, respectively, what is intellectually and what is sensibly perceptible: in the rain the power given to the senses of apprehending objects presented to them, a power not needed when material objects did not exist, and in whose absence the Mind is without employment. (22-27.)

Gen. ii. 6 tells how Mind, the "spring," waters the senses, "the face of the earth," and shows the interdependence of Mind, Sense-perception, and object of sense, and the dependence of Mind on God; as well as the superiority of the living creature in being able to take in and go out to external object. (28-30.)

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I.

Going on to Gen. ii. 7, he contrasts the earthy man, moulded of clay by the Divine Artificer, with the heavenly Man, stamped with the image of God, and dwells on the change wrought in the former by the inbreathing of Life. He then answers four questions.

To the question why the Divine Breath is given, *not* to the heavenly, but to the earthy Man, he answers (a) that God loves to give, even to the imperfect; (b) that the inbreathing is on a par with the enjoining of a "positive" duty, which is a duty only because it is enjoined.

To the question as to the meaning of "inbreathed" he answers that it is a pregnant term for "inspired," and that its aim is to enable us to conceive of God.

To the question why the inbreathing is "into the face," he answers (a) that the face is the part where the senses are chiefly situated; (b) that the face represents the mind, which acts as God's deputy in inspiring organs and senses. Such was Moses to Pharaoh. He is thus led to speak of God's use of agents. Lastly, he says that *πνοή* intimates a less powerful gift than would have been intimated by *πνεῦμα*. (31-42.)

We now come to Gen. ii. 8. God planting a Garden shows earthly wisdom to be a copy of heavenly wisdom, for it means God causing excellence to strike root on earth. The "Garden" is Virtue. "Eden" tells of its luxuriant yield of happiness. It is "toward the sunrising," for right reason or virtue ever rises to dispel darkness. Man is placed in the Garden "to tend it," *i.e.* to give his whole mind to virtue.

## PHILO

God planting does not justify man in planting a grove by the altar, which is forbidden in Deut. xvi. 21, for (a) man cannot, like God, plant virtues in the soul; (b) a grove contains some wild trees; (c) what is prohibited is planting "to ourselves" (cf. 2nd Commandment).

It is somewhat startling to be told that the Man placed in the Garden in Gen. ii. 15 is *not* the Man of Gen. ii. 8, but the Man of Gen. i. 27. Only the latter can till and guard the virtues. The former sees them only to be driven from them. The one is "made," the other is "moulded." The Man of ii. 8 has but facility in *apprehending* (as is signified by the words "placed in the Garden"). The Man of ii. 15 has also persistence in *doing* ("to till it"), and tenacity in *keeping* ("to guard it"). (43-55.)

Gen. ii. 9 tells of the Trees, which are particular virtues, and their activities. Theoretical virtue is denoted by "fair to behold"; practical virtue by "good for food." The Tree of Life is goodness, virtue, *not* (as physicians might suppose) the heart. It is "in the midst of the Garden." Where "the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil" is, we are not told. *Actually* it is in the Garden, *virtually* outside it, for our dominant part is actually in God's Garden through receiving the impress of goodness, *virtually* outside by receiving that of wickedness. Just so, my body can be here, my mind elsewhere. (56-62.)

The theme of Gen. ii. 10-14 is the Rivers. The four Rivers are the particular Virtues, effluxes of generic Virtue, the River that issues from "Eden," which is the Wisdom or Reason of God. "Heads" implies the sovereignty of the Virtues: "separated";

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I.

their limited, defining, action. "Pheison" is Prudence, God's fairest treasure, gleaming like gold, and encircling "Evilat" or Graciousness. "Geon" is Courage, beleaguering Ethiopia, which is Lowness or Cowardice. "Tigris" is Self-mastery, set against "Assyria," the directing force claimed by Desire. Prudence, Courage, and Self-mastery occupy places in the soul corresponding to their spheres of action in the body, head, breast, and abdomen, the seats of Reason, High Spirit, and Lust. "Euphrates" (= fruitfulness) is Justice, or the harmony of the three parts of the soul.

We are then shown another way of reaching the same truth about the four Rivers. "Pheison" signifies "change of mouth," *i.e.* transformation of speech into action, the true sign of Prudence. "Evilat" signifies "in travail," as Folly in its futility always is. (63-76.)

The next eight sections (Gen. ii. 12) are a Note on the Gold and Precious Stones. Prudence, the gold, is still God's, Philo taking "where" (*οὗ*) as "whose". "The gold of that land" is *universal*, as distinguished from *particular*, Prudence, and to it belongs the epithet "good." The "ruby" and the "emerald" represent respectively having and exercising good sense. Or the two stones are, perhaps, Judah and Issachar, representing, the one, thankfulness, the other, noble deeds. So in the High-priestly robes, the ruby must, from its position, have borne the name of Judah, and the sapphire that of Issachar. "Stone" is not added after "ruby," because praise and thanksgiving lift a man out of himself and all that is of earth. Red befits Judah, green Issachar. (77-84.)

## PHILO

Now comes a short Note on Compassing (Gen. ii. 11 and 13). "Pheison" and "Geon" are said to "compass" countries, for Prudence and Courage enclose and capture Folly and Cowardice. "Tigris" is said to be "over against the Assyrians," for Self-mastery can but face and fight Pleasure. "Euphrates," or Justice, neither encircles nor withstands but makes awards. (85-87).

In 88 f. we see the heavenly Man, the Man whom God had "made" not "moulded," placed in the garden. This pure and less material Mind is set amid the Virtues ("plants") to practise ("till") and remember ("guard") them.

The remainder of the treatise deals with the injunction to "Adam" in Gen. ii. 16 ff.

Since "Adam," a name *not* self-imposed, signifies "earth," probably the "moulded, earthy man" is meant. Moreover the heavenly Man needs no injunction to till and guard; still less does he need prohibition or exhortation.

The command is given by "the Lord God." Obedience to the "Lord" or 'Master' prepares us for boons from "God" the 'Benefactor.' So in Gen. iii. 23 punishment is inflicted by "the Lord God" in kind severity.

"Every tree" signifies *all* virtues. The addition of "feedingly" to "eat" signifies spiritual mastication. Eating represents perfunctory obedience: "feeding on," thoughtful, hearty obedience.

Anent the position of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, illustrations of actual and virtual presence are given in 100.

The fact that the prohibition is addressed to more than one is explained by saying that (a) inferior men

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I.

are very numerous ; (*b*) the inferior man devoid of concentration is not a unity.

The treatise ends with the drawing of a distinction between the death which all die and the death of the soul.

ΝΟΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑΣ  
ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ  
ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

<sup>1</sup>  
[43] I. “Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ  
καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν” (Gen. ii. 1). νοῦ καὶ  
αἰσθήσεως γένεσιν εἰπὼν πάλαι, νῦν δὴ ἀμφοτέρων  
τελείωσιν διασυνίστησιν. οὔτε δὲ νοῦν τὸν ἄτομον  
οὔτε αἴσθησιν τὴν ἐν μέρει πέρας εἰληφέναι φησίν,  
ἀλλ’ ἰδέας, τὴν μὲν νοῦ, τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσεως· συμ-  
βολικῶς μὲν γὰρ τὸν νοῦν οὐρανόν, ἐπειδὴ αἶ-  
νοηταὶ φύσεις ἐν οὐρανῷ, τὴν δὲ αἴσθησιν καλεῖ γῆν,  
ὅτι σύστασιν σωματοειδῆ καὶ γεωδεστέραν ἔλαχεν  
αἴσθησις· κόσμος δὲ νοῦ μὲν τὰ ἀσώματα καὶ  
νοητὰ πάντα, αἰσθήσεως δὲ τὰ ἐνσώματα καὶ  
ὅσα συνόλως αἰσθητά.

<sup>2</sup>  
[44] II. “Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ  
τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησεν” (Gen. ii. 2). εὐήθες  
πάνυ τὸ οἶεσθαι ἐξ ἡμέραις ἢ καθόλου χρόνῳ  
γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον· διὰ τί; ὅτι πᾶς χρόνος  
ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν ἐστι σύστημα, ταῦτα δὲ  
ἡλίου κίνησις ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν ἰόντος ἐξ

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<sup>a</sup> κόσμος = “order” or “world.” Philo takes it in the latter sense. E.V. “host.”

<sup>b</sup> 6th. So LXX. E.V. 7th.



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS II., III.

### BOOK I

I. "And the heaven and the earth and all their world were completed" (Gen. ii. 1). He had already told of the creation of mind and sense-perception; he now fully sets forth the consummation of both. He does not say that either the individual mind or the particular sense-perception have reached completion, but that the originals have done so, that of mind and that of sense-perception. For using symbolical language he calls the mind heaven, since heaven is the abode of natures discerned only by mind, but sense-perception he calls earth, because sense-perception possesses a composition of a more earthly and body-like sort. "World,"<sup>a</sup> in the case of mind, means all incorporeal things, things discerned by mind alone: in the case of sense-perception it denotes things in bodily form and generally whatever sense perceives.

II. "And God finished on the sixth<sup>b</sup> day His works which He had made" (Gen. ii. 2). It is quite foolish to think that the world was created in six days or in a space of time at all. Why? Because every period of time is a series of days and nights, and these can only be made such by the movement of the sun as it goes over and under the earth: but

## PHILO

ἀνάγκης ἀποτελεῖ· ἥλιος δὲ μέρος οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν, ὥστε χρόνον ἀνομολογεῖσθαι νεώτερον κόσμου. λέγεται ἂν οὖν ὀρθῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ γέγονε κόσμος, ἀλλὰ διὰ κόσμου συνέστη χρόνος· ἡ γὰρ  
**3** οὐρανοῦ κίνησις χρόνου φύσιν ἔδειξεν. ὅταν οὖν λέγη “συνετέλεσεν ἕκτη ἡμέρα τὰ ἔργα,” νοητέον ὅτι οὐ πλήθος ἡμερῶν παραλαμβάνει, τέλειον δὲ ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἕξ, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτος ἴσος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν, ἡμίσει καὶ τρίτῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτερομήκους συνίσταται τοῦ δις τρία· δυὰς μέντοι καὶ τριάς ἐκβέβηκε τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἀσωματότητα, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὕλης ἐστὶν εἰκῶν, διαιρουμένη καὶ τεμνομένη καθάπερ ἐκείνη, τριάς δὲ στερεοῦ  
**4** σώματος, ὅτι περὶ τριχῆ τὸ στερεὸν διαιρετόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενῆς ἐστὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀργανικῶν ζώων κινήσεσιν· ἐξαχῆ γὰρ τὸ ὀργανικὸν σῶμα πέφυκε κινεῖσθαι, πρόσω καὶ κατόπιν, ἄνω καὶ κάτω, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα. βούλεται οὖν τά τε θνητὰ γένη καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰ τὰ ἄφθαρτα κατὰ τοὺς οἰκειοὺς ἐπιδείξαι συστάνα ἀριθμούς, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ ὡς ἔφην παραμετρῶν ἐξάδι, τὰ δὲ  
**5** μακάρια καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἑβδομάδι. πρῶτον οὖν ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα καταπαύσας τὴν τῶν θνητῶν σύστασιν ἀρχεται ἐτέρων θειοτέρων διατυπώσεως· III. παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἴδιον τὸ καίειν πυρὸς καὶ χιόνος τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτως καὶ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν· καὶ πολὺ γε

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 477.

<sup>b</sup> Aristotle, *Ethics* iii. 1. 6, and Grant's note.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 2-5

the sun is a part of heaven, so that time is confessedly more recent than the world. It would therefore be correct to say that the world was not made in time, but that time was formed by means of the world, for it was heaven's movement that was the index of the nature of time. When, then, Moses says, "He finished His work on the sixth day," we must understand him to be adducing not a quantity of days, but a perfect number, namely six, since it is the first that is equal to the sum of its own fractions  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ , and  $\frac{1}{6}$ , and is produced by the multiplication of two unequal factors,<sup>a</sup>  $2 \times 3$ ; and see, the numbers 2 and 3 have left behind the incorporeal character that belongs to 1, 2 being an image of matter, and being parted and divided as that is, while 3 is the image of a solid body, for the solid is patient of a threefold division. Nay more, the number 6 is akin to the movements of animals provided with instrumental limbs,<sup>b</sup> for the body equipped with such instruments is so constituted by nature that it can move in six directions, forwards and backwards, upwards and downwards, to the right and to the left. Moses' wish, therefore, is to exhibit alike the things created of mortal kind and those that are incorruptible as having been formed in a way corresponding to their proper numbers. As I have just said, he makes mortal things parallel with the number six, the happy and blessed things with the number seven.

First of all, then, on the seventh day the Creator, having brought to an end the formation of mortal things, begins the shaping of others more divine. III. For God never leaves off making, but even as it is the property of fire to burn and of snow to chill, so it is the property of God to make: nay more so

## PHILO

μᾶλλον, ὅσω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ  
 6 δρᾶν ἔστιν. εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι “κατέπαυσεν,”  
 οὐχὶ “ἐπαύσατο”· παύει μὲν γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα  
 ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐνεργοῦντα, οὐ παύεται δὲ ποιῶν αὐτός.  
 διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει “κατέπαυσεν ὧν ἤρξατο”· ὅσα  
 μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμετέραις τέχναις δημιουργεῖται,  
 τελειωθέντα ἴσονται καὶ μένει, ὅσα δὲ ἐπιστήμη  
 θεοῦ, περατωθέντα πάλιν κινεῖται· τὰ γὰρ τέλη  
 αὐτῶν ἐτέρων εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, οἷον ἡμέρας τέλος  
 νυκτὸς ἀρχή, καὶ μῆνα δὲ καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνισταμένους  
 [45] | πέρατα δῆπου τῶν ἐξηκόντων ὑποληπτέον·  
 7 γένεσις τε αὐτῶν φθειρομένων ἐτέρων καὶ φθορὰ γεννω-  
 μένων ἄλλων ἀποτελεῖται, ὥστε ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ  
 λεγόμενον ὅτι

θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,  
 διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο  
 μορφήν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.

8 IV. Χαίρει δὲ ἡ φύσις ἐβδομάδι· πλάνητές τε  
 γὰρ ἑπτὰ γεγόνασιν, ἀντίτροποι τῇ κατὰ ταῦτά  
 καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσῃ φορᾷ· καὶ ἄρκτος ἑπτὰ  
 ἄστροις συμπληροῦται, κοινωνίας καὶ ἐνώσεως  
 ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἐπιμιξίας αὐτὸ μόνον, οὔσα αἰτία·  
 καὶ τροπαὶ δὲ σελήνης ἐβδομάσι γίνονται, συμ-  
 παθεστάτου πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια ἄστρου, καὶ ἄς κατὰ  
 τὸν αέρα μεταβολὰς ἐργάζεται, μάλιστα τοῖς  
 9 καθ' ἐβδομάδα σχηματισμοῖς ἀποτελεῖ. τά γε μὴν

<sup>a</sup> Eurip. fr. 839.

<sup>b</sup> 8-16. Cf. *De Op.* 89-128.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 5-9

by far, inasmuch as He is to all besides the source of action. Excellently, moreover, does Moses say "caused to rest" not "rested"; for He causes to rest that which, though actually not in operation, is apparently making, but He Himself never ceases making. For this reason Moses adds after "He caused to rest" the words "from what He had begun." For whereas things produced by human arts when finished stand still and remain as they are, the products of divine skill, when completed, begin again to move; for their endings are the beginnings of other things, as the end of day is the beginning of night, and the openings of a month and of a year must naturally be regarded as limits which close those which have elapsed: birth again is accomplished through other things decaying, and decay through fresh births, showing the truth of the saying:

Naught that is born doth ever die,  
Its severed parts together fly,  
And yield another shape.<sup>a</sup>

IV. <sup>b</sup> Nature takes delight in the number seven. Thus there are seven planets, the counterpoise to the uniform movement of the fixed stars. It is in seven stars that the bear reaches completeness, and gives rise not to commerce only but to fellowship and unity among men. The changes of the moon, again, occur by sevens: this is the luminary most sympathetic to earthly matters. And such changes as Nature produces in the atmosphere, she effects mainly by the influence of figures dominated by seven.<sup>c</sup> Indeed,

<sup>a</sup> The reference is to the Planets (*De Op.* 113), to the Pleiades (115), whose settings and risings rule sowing and reaping, and to the Equinoxes (116). The subject of *ἐργάζεται* is ἡ φύσις at the opening of the section.

## PHILO

- θητά, σπάσαντα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θείαν ἀρχήν, καθ' ἑβδομάδα σωτηρίως κινεῖται· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τῶν βρεφῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπτάμηνα γόνιμα, τὰ δὲ πλείω χρόνον προσλαβόντα, ὡς ὀκτῶ μῆνας ἐνδια-
- 10 τηθῆναι γαστρί, κατὰ τὸ πλείστον ἄγονα; λογικόν τέ φασιν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἑπταετίαν γίνεσθαι, ὅτε ἤδη ἱκανός ἐστιν ἐρμηνεύς εἶναι τῶν συνήθων ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, τὴν λογικὴν ἕξιν περιπεποιημένος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἑπταετίαν ἄκρως τελειοῦσθαι· τελείωσις δὲ ἐστὶ δύναμις τῆς τοῦ ὁμοίου σπορᾶς· περὶ γὰρ τὴν τετταρεσκαί-δεκαετῆ ἡλικίαν τὸ ὅμοιον γεννᾶν δυνάμεθα· τρίτη πάλιν ἑπταετία πέρασ ἐστὶν αὐξήσεως· ἄχρι γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐπιδίδωσιν εἰς μέγεθος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ καλεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς ὁ χρόνος
- 11 οὗτος ἀκμή· ψυχῆς γε μὴν τὸ ἄλογον ἑπταμερές, αἰσθήσεις πέντε καὶ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ τὸ διῆκον ἄχρι παραστατῶν, ὃ δὴ γόνιμόν ἐστι.
- 12 πάλιν αὖ σώματος ἑπτὰ κινήσεις, ὀργανικαὶ μὲν ἕξ, ἑβδόμη δὲ ἡ κύκλω· σπλάγχνα γε μὴν ἑπτὰ· στόμαχος, καρδία, σπλήν, ἥπαρ, πνεύμων, νεφροὶ δύο· μέλη δὲ σώματος ὁμοίως ἰσάριθμα· κεφαλὴ, τράχηλος, στέρνον, χεῖρες, κοιλία, ἦτρον, πόδες· τό τε ἡγεμονικώτατον τοῦ ζώου πρόσωπον ἑπταχῆ κατατέτρηται, δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ὡσὶ δυσὶν,
- 13 ἴσοις μυκτῆρσιν, ἑβδόμῳ στόματι· αἶ τε ἀποκρίσεις ἑπτὰ· δάκρυα, μύξαι, σίελος, σπέρμα, διττοὶ περιττωμάτων ὄχετοί, καὶ δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος ἰδρώς· ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς νόσοις κριτικωτάτῃ ἑβδομάς· καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ αἱ καταμήνιοι καθάρσεις ἄχρι ἑβδομάδος παρατείνουσιν.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 9-13

all that concerns us mortals has a divine origin drawn from heaven and is for our weal when its movement is ruled by seven. Who does not know that seven months' infants come to the birth, while those that have taken a longer time, remaining in the womb eight months, are as a rule still-born? And they say that man becomes a reasoning being during his first seven years, by which time he is already capable of expressing ordinary nouns and verbs through having acquired the reasoning faculty; and that during his second period of seven years he reaches complete consummation; consummation meaning the power of reproducing his like; for at about the age of fourteen we are able to beget offspring like ourselves. The third period of seven years, again, is the end of growth, for till the age of twenty-one years men increase in height, and by many this time is called his prime. Furthermore the unreasoning side of the soul consists of seven parts, five senses, and the organ of speech, and the genital organ. The body again has seven movements, six mechanical, the seventh circular. Seven also are the internal organs, stomach, heart, spleen, liver, lung, two kidneys. Of equal number in like number are the divisions of the body—head, neck, breast, hands, belly, abdomen, feet. And the face, the living creature's noblest part, is pierced by seven apertures, by two eyes, and two ears, as many nostrils, and the mouth, which make up seven. The excrements are seven—tears, mucus, spittle, seed, superfluities discharged by two ducts, and the sweat that oozes from all over the body. Once again in diseases the seventh is the most critical day. And the monthly purgings of women extend to seven days.

V. The power

## PHILO

- <sup>14</sup>  
[46] V. διελέλυθε δὲ ἡ | δύναμις αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς  
ὠφελιμωτάτας τῶν τεχνῶν· ἐν γοῦν γραμματικῇ  
τὰ ἄριστα τῶν στοιχείων καὶ πλείστην δύναμιν  
ἔχοντα ἑπτὰ ἐστὶν ἀριθμῶ, τὰ φωνήεντα· κατὰ τε  
μουσικῆν ἢ ἑπτάχορδος λύρα πάντων σχεδὸν  
ὀργάνων ἀρίστη, διότι τὸ ἑναρμόνιον, ὃ δὴ τῶν  
μελωδουμένων γενῶν ἐστὶ τὸ σεμνότατον, κατ'  
αὐτὴν μάλιστα πως θεωρεῖται· τὰς τε τῶν φθόγγων  
τάσεις ἑπτὰ εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὄξύν, βαρύν, περι-  
15 σπώμενον, δασύν, ψιλόν, μακρόν, βραχύν. ἔτι  
πρώτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τελείου τοῦ ἕξ καὶ μονάδι κατὰ  
τινα λόγον ὁ αὐτός. οἱ τε ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμοὶ  
ἢ γεννῶνται ἢ γεννῶσι τοὺς ἐντὸς δεκάδος καὶ  
αὐτήν, ἢ δὲ ἑβδομάς οὔτε γεννᾷ τινα τῶν ἐντὸς  
δεκάδος ἀριθμῶν οὔτε γεννᾶται ὑπὸ τινος· παρὸ  
μυθεύοντες οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τῇ ἀειπαρθένῳ καὶ  
ἀμήτορι αὐτὴν ἀπεικάζουσιν, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπεκνήθη  
οὔτε ἀποτεξεται.
- 16 VI. “ Κατέπαυσεν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ  
πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησε ” (Gen. ii. 2).  
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτο· τὰ θνητὰ γένη παύεται  
πλάττων ὁ θεός, ὅταν ἀρχῆται ποιεῖν τὰ θεῖα καὶ  
ἑβδομάδος φύσει οἰκεῖα. ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἦθος  
ἀπόδοσίς ἐστι τοιαύτη· ὅταν ἐπιγένηται τῇ ψυχῇ  
ὁ κατὰ ἑβδομάδα ἅγιος λόγος, ἐπέχεται ἢ ἐξᾶς  
καὶ ὅσα θνητὰ ταύτη<sup>1</sup> ποιεῖν δοκεῖ.

VII. “ Καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ταύτη (sc. τῇ ἑξάδι) conj. Cohn : τουτὶ mss.



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 14-16

of this number reaches also to the most beneficent of the arts : in grammar, for instance, the best and most effective of the letters, namely the vowels, are seven in number : in music we may fairly call the seven-stringed lyre the best of instruments, because the enharmonic genus, which as we know is the most dignified of those used in melodies, is best brought out when that instrument renders it. Sevenfold are the modulations in pronunciation—acute, grave, circumflex, aspirated and unaspirated, long, short. Further, seven is the first number after the perfect number six, and the same in some sort with the number one. Whereas other numbers within the decade are either produced by or produce those within the decade and the decade itself, the number seven neither produces any of the numbers within the decade nor is produced by any. By reason of this the Pythagoreans, indulging in myth, liken seven to the motherless and ever-virgin Maiden, because neither was she born of the womb nor shall she ever bear.

VI. “He rested<sup>a</sup> therefore on the seventh day from all His works which He had made” (Gen. ii. 2). This is as much as to say that God ceases moulding the masses that are mortal, whenever He begins to make those that are divine and in keeping with the nature of seven. But the interpretation of the statement in accordance with its bearing on human life and character is this, that, whenever there comes upon the soul the holy Reason of which Seven is the keynote, six together with all mortal things that the soul seems to make therewith comes to a stop.

VII. “And God blessed the seventh day and

<sup>a</sup> Literally, “caused to rest.”

- 17 ἐβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν” (Gen. ii. 3). τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἑβδομον καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς φῶς κινή-  
θέντας τρόπους εὐλογεῖ τε ὁ θεὸς καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγίους  
ἀποφαίνει· συγγενέστατοι γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ὁ εὐλό-  
γιστός τε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν  
μεγάλην εὐχὴν εὐξαμένου φησὶν ὅτι, ἐὰν τροπὴ  
κατασκήψασα αἰφνίδιον μιάνη τὸν νοῦν, οὐκέτ’  
ἔσται ἅγιος (cf. Num. vi. 9)· ἀλλ’ “ αἱ ἡμέραι αἱ  
πρότεραι ἄλογοι ” (ib. vi. 12)· κατὰ τὸ εἰκός·  
ἀλόγιστος γὰρ ὁ μὴ ἅγιος τρόπος, ὥστε ὁ εὐλό-  
18 γιστος ἅγιος. ὀρθῶς οὖν ἔφη ὅτι τὴν ἐβδόμην  
εὐλόγησέ τε καὶ ἡγίασεν, “ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν  
ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἤρξατο ποιεῖν ὁ  
θεός ” (Gen. ii. 3). αἰτία δ’ ἢ δι’ ἣν εὐλόγιστός  
τε καὶ ἅγιος γέγονεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἑβδομον καὶ  
τέλειον φῶς ἄγων ἑαυτόν, ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φύσει  
παύεται ἢ τῶν θνητῶν σύστασις. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως  
ἔχει· ὅταν ἀνατείλῃ φέγγος τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ λαμ-  
πρότατον καὶ θεῖον ὄντως, ἐπέχεται τῆς ἐναντίας  
φύσεως ἢ γένεσις. ἐδηλώσαμεν δὲ ὅτι παύων  
[47] ὁ | θεὸς οὐ παύεται ποιῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρων γενέσεως  
ἄρχεται, ἅτε οὐ τεχνίτης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ  
ὦν τῶν γινομένων.
- 19 VIII. “ Αὕτη ἢ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ  
γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο ” (Gen. ii. 4). οὗτος ὁ κατὰ

<sup>a</sup> Philo dwells on the connexion between εὐλογεῖν (lit. “say well done” or “well be it,” εὖ) and εὐλόγιστος (“happy in the use of reason or of speech”) and builds an ethical interpretation of the passage on this connexion.

<sup>b</sup> See Numb. vi. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Such is Philo’s interpretation of the Nazirite touching a corpse.

<sup>d</sup> “Not reckoned” (ἄλογος) suggests “not taken into

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 17-19

hallowed it" (Gen. ii. 3). God both blesses and forthwith makes holy the dispositions set in motion in harmony with the seventh and truly Divine light, for closely akin are the character that is charged with benediction<sup>a</sup> and the character that is holy. That is why, when treating of him who has vowed the great vow,<sup>b</sup> he says that, if a change suddenly befall him and defile his mind,<sup>c</sup> he shall no longer be holy, but "the preceding days are not reckoned."<sup>d</sup> Rightly enough, for the character that is not holy is vile, of no account, so that the character well accounted of is holy. Rightly, then, did he say that God both blessed and hallowed the seventh day, "because in it He ceased<sup>e</sup> from all His works which God began to make" (Gen. ii. 3). But the reason why the man that guides himself in accordance with the seventh and perfect light is both of good understanding<sup>f</sup> and holy, is that the formation of things mortal ceases with this day's advent. For, indeed, the matter stands thus; when that most brilliant and truly divine light of virtue has dawned, the creation of that whose nature is of the contrary kind comes to a stop. But we pointed out that God when ceasing or rather causing to cease, does not cease making, but begins the creating of other things, since He is not a mere artificer, but also Father of the things that are coming into being.<sup>g</sup>

VIII. "This book is that of the origin of heaven and earth, when it came into being"<sup>h</sup> (Gen. ii. 4).

account" (*ἀλόγιστος*), which is the direct opposite of "well accounted of," a meaning that might be given to *εὐλόγιστος*.

<sup>e</sup> Strictly "caused to cease."

<sup>f</sup> Or "blessed."

<sup>g</sup> This ceaseless action of God as Father, by the operation of the all-permeating Spirit, Philo finds implied in Gen. ii. 3.

## PHILO

ἑβδομάδα κινούμενος τέλειος λόγος ἀρχὴ γενέσεως τοῦ τε κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας νοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας τεταγμένης νοητῆς, εἰ οἶόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αἰσθήσεως. βιβλίον δὲ εἶρηκε τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, ᾧ συμβέβηκεν ἐγγράφεσθαι καὶ 20 ἐγχαράττεσθαι τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συστάσεις. ἵνα δὲ μὴ καθ' ὠρισμένας χρόνων περιόδους ὑπολάβῃς τὸ θεῖόν τι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰδῆς ἄδηλα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα τῷ θνητῷ γένει τὰ δημιουργούμενα, ἐπιφέρει τὸ "ὅτε ἐγένετο," τὸ πότε κατὰ περιγραφὴν οὐ διορίζων· ἀπεριγράφως γὰρ γίνεται τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰτίου. ἀνήρηται τοίνυν τὸ ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις γεγενῆσθαι τὸ πᾶν.

21 IX. "Ἡ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐπάνω βίβλον εἶρηκεν, εἴ γε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπογράφει γένεσιν· τῷ γὰρ περιφανεστάτῳ καὶ τηλαυγεστάτῳ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ὁ θεὸς ἀμφοτέρα ποιεῖ, τὴν τε ἰδέαν τοῦ νοῦ, ὃν συμβολικῶς οὐρανὸν κέκληκε, καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἣν διὰ σημείου γῆν ὠνόμασεν. 22 ἀγροῖς δὲ ἀπεικάζει δυσὶ τὴν τε ἰδέαν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως· φέρει γὰρ ὁ μὲν νοῦς καρπὸν τὰ ἐν τῷ νοεῖν, ἣ δὲ αἴσθησις τὰ

<sup>a</sup> Philo can identify the Book with Reason, since λόγος can mean Reason as well as Word.

<sup>b</sup> "Sense-perception" has its function in the material sphere. It cannot strictly be spoken of as acting in the domain of mind or pure intellect.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 19-22

(That is to say): " This perfect Reason,<sup>a</sup> moving in accord with the number 7, is the primal origin both of mind ordering itself after the original patterns, and of sense-perception in the domain of mind <sup>b</sup> (if the expression is permissible) ordering itself after those originals." " Book " is Moses' name for the Reason of God, in which have been inscribed and engraved the formation of all else. But that you may not suppose that the Deity makes anything in definite periods of time, but may know that to mortal kind the process of creation is unobserved, undescried, incomprehensible, he adds, " When it came into being," not defining " when " by a determining limit, for the things that come into being under the hand of the First Cause come into being with no determining limit. There is an end, then, of the notion that the universe came into being in six days.

IX. " In the day in which God made the heaven and the earth and every green thing of the field before it appeared upon the earth and all grass of the field before it sprang up; for God had not sent rain on the earth, and there was no man to till the earth " (Gen. ii. 4, 5). Above he has called this day a book, for he delineates the creation of heaven and earth as wrought in both: for by His own supremely manifest and far-shining Reason God makes both of them, both the original of the mind, which in symbolic language he calls " heaven," and the original of sense-perception, to which by a figure he gave the name of " earth." And he compares the original of the mind and the original of sense-perception to two fields; for they bear fruit, the mind all that is done in thinking, sense-perception all that is done in per-

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ἐν τῷ αισθάνεσθαι. ὁ δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ὡσπερ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ἀτόμου νοῦ προϋπάρχει τις ἰδέα, ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπος καὶ παράδειγμα τούτου, καὶ πάλιν τῆς κατὰ μέρος αισθήσεως <ιδέα τις αισθήσεως>, σφραγίδος λόγον ἔχουσα εἶδη τυπούσης, οὕτως πρὶν μὲν γενέσθαι τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους νοητά, ἦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν νοητόν, οὐ κατὰ μετοχὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὠνόμασται, πρὶν δὲ γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος αισθητά, ἦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν αισθητόν, οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αισθητά

23 γέγονε. χλωρὸν μὲν οὖν ἀγροῦ τὸ νοητόν εἶρηκε  
[48] | τοῦ νοῦ· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὰ χλωρὰ βλαστάνει καὶ ἀνθεῖ, οὕτως βλάστημα τοῦ νοῦ τὸ νοητόν ἐστι. πρὶν οὖν τὸ κατὰ μέρος νοητόν γενέσθαι, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο νοητόν ἀποτελεῖ γενικὸν ὄν, ὃ δὴ καὶ “ πᾶν ” κέκληκεν ὑγιῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μέρος νοητόν ἀτελὲς ὄν οὐ πᾶν, τὸ δὲ γενικὸν

24 ἅπαν, ἅτε πλήρες ὄν. X. “ καὶ πάντα ” φησί “ χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι,” τουτέστι πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος αισθητά ἦν τὸ γενικὸν αισθητόν προμηθεΐα τοῦ πεποιηκότος, ὃ δὴ πάλιν “ πᾶν ” εἶρηκεν. εἰκότως μέντοι χόρτω τὸ αισθητόν ἀπέικασεν· ὡς γὰρ ὁ χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφή, οὕτως τὸ αισθητόν τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρει ψυχῆς

160

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 22-24

ceiving. What he means is something of this sort. As before the particular and individual mind there subsists a certain original as an archetype and pattern of it, and again before the particular sense-perception, a certain original of sense-perception related to the particular as a seal making impression is to the form which it makes; just so, before the individual objects of intellectual perception came into being, there was existing as a genus the 'intellectually-perceptible' itself, by participation in which the name has been given to the members of the genus; and before the individual objects of sense-perception came into existence, there was existing as a genus the 'sensibly-perceptible' itself, by sharing in whose being all other objects of sense have become such. "Green of the field," then, is what he terms the "intellectually-perceptible" of the mind; for as in a field the green things spring up and bloom, even so the 'intellectually-perceptible' is a growth springing from the mind. Before, then, the particular 'intellectually-perceptible' came into being, the Creator produces the solely abstract 'intellectually-perceptible,' as a generic existence. This he rightly calls "all," for the particular 'intellectually-perceptible,' being a fragment, is not all, but the generic is so, being a full whole.

X. "And all the grass of the field" he says, "before it sprang up," that is to say, before the particular objects of sense sprang up, there existed by the Maker's forethought the generic 'sensibly-perceptible,' and that it is that he again calls "all." Natural enough is his comparison of the 'sensibly-perceptible' to grass. For as grass is the food of a creature devoid of reason, so has the

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προσκεκλήρωται· ἐπεὶ διὰ τί προειπὼν “χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ” ἐπιφέρει “καὶ πάντα χόρτον,” ὡς οὐ γινόμενου χόρτου χλωροῦ τὸ παράπαν; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀγροῦ χλωρὸν τὸ νοητὸν ἐστίν, ἐκβλάστημα νοῦ, ὁ δὲ χόρτος τὸ αἰσθητὸν, τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς ψυχῆς  
25 καὶ αὐτὸ βλάστημα. “οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς” φησὶν “ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν.” φυσικώτατα· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ἐπομβρήσῃ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι τὰς ἀντιλήψεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὁ θεός, οὐδ’ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάσεται καὶ πραγματεύσεται τι περὶ αἰσθησιν· ἄπρακτος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ὡσπερ ὕοντος καὶ ἐπιψεκάζοντος ὁράσει μὲν χρώματα, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοῆ, γεύσει δὲ χυλοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὰ οἰκεία τοῦ  
26 αἰτίου. ὅταν δὲ ἄρδῃ ὁ θεὸς ἄρξῃται τὴν αἰσθησιν αἰσθητοῖς, τημικαῦτα καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάτης οἷα πίνονος γῆς ἀνευρίσκειται. ἢ δ’ ἰδέα τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐ δεῖται τροφῆς· τροφή δὲ αἰσθήσεως, ἦν κατὰ σύμβολον βροχὴν εἴρηκεν, τὰ ἐπὶ μέρος αἰσθητά, ἃ δὴ σώματά ἐστιν· ἰδέα δὲ σωμάτων ἀλλότριον. πρὶν οὖν γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος συγκρίματα, οὐκ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἦν εἴρηκε γῆν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστίν, τροφήν οὐ παρέσχεν αὐτῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο αἰσθητοῦ τὸ  
27 παράπαν οὐδενός. τὸ δὲ “καὶ ἄνθρωπος



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 24-27

'sensibly-perceptible' been assigned to the un-reasoning part of the soul. Else why, after saying before "green of the field," does he go on to say, "and all grass," as if it were impossible for green of the field to come up as grass? The fact is, "the green of the field" is the 'intellectually-perceptible,' an outgrowth of the mind, but the "grass" is the 'sensibly-perceptible,' it in turn being a growth of the unreasoning part of the soul.

He goes on "for God had not rained upon the earth, and there was no man to work the ground." These words discover a deep knowledge of the laws of being. For if God does not shower upon the senses the means of apprehending objects presented to them, neither will the mind have anything to "work" or take in hand in the field of sense-perception. For the mind by itself is without employment when the Cause of all things does not pour down, like rain and moisture, colours on the sight, sounds on the hearing, savours on the taste, and that which is proper to them on the other senses. But as soon as God has begun to water sense with objects of sense, that moment the mind also is found to be a tiller of rich soil, so to speak. The original of 'sense-perception' has no need of nourishment; but the nourishment of 'sense-perception,' which he figuratively calls "rain," is the particular objects of sense, which of course are bodies; whereas an original has nothing to do with bodies. Thus before the creation of particular concrete substances, God did not rain on the original idea of sense-perception, which Moses calls "earth," and this means that He supplied it with no food: for indeed it was in absolutely no need whatever of a sensible object of perception. The

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οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν” τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ νοῦ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐκ εἰργάζετο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς καὶ σὸς νοῦς ἐργάζεται τὴν αἰσθησιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ ἰδέα, ἅτε δὴ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ μέρος οἰκείου σώματος, οὐκ ἐργάζεται τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως· εἰ γὰρ εἰργάζετο, διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἂν εἰργάζετο, αἰσθητὸν δὲ ἐν ἰδέαις οὐδέν.

- 28 XI. “ Πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς ” (Gen. ii. 6). τὸν μὲν  
 [49] νοῦν εἴρηκε | γῆς πηγὴν, τὰς δὲ αἰσθήσεις πρόσ-  
 ωπον, ὅτι χωρίον αὐταῖς ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος  
 πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ἐπιτηδειότατον ἢ πάντα  
 προμηθουμένη φύσις ἀπένειμε τοῦτο· πηγῆς δὲ  
 τρόπον ἄρδει τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁ νοῦς, ἐπιπέμπων τὰ  
 πρόσφορα ἐκάστη ρεύματα. ἴδε οὖν, πῶς ἀλύσεως  
 τρόπον αἰ τοῦ ζώου δυνάμεις ἀλλήλων ἔχονται·  
 νοῦ γὰρ καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἔτι δὲ αἰσθητοῦ τριῶν  
 ὄντων μέσον μὲν ἐστὶν αἰσθησις, ἄκρον δὲ ἐκότερον  
 29 ὁ τε νοῦς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν. ἀλλ’ οὐθ’ ὁ νοῦς  
 δυνατὸς ἐργάσασθαι, τουτέστιν ἐνεργῆσαι κατὰ  
 αἰσθησιν, ἐὰν μὴ βρέξῃ καὶ ὕσῃ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὁ  
 θεός, οὔτε ὑσθέντος αἰσθητοῦ ὄφελός ἐστιν, ἐὰν  
 μὴ πηγῆς τρόπον ὁ νοῦς, τείνας ἑαυτὸν ἄχρι τῆς  
 αἰσθήσεως, κινήσῃ τε αὐτὴν ἡρεμοῦσαν, καὶ ἀγάγῃ  
 πρὸς ἀντίληψιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου· ὥστε ἀντίδοσιν ὁ  
 νοῦς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν αἰεὶ μελετῶσι, τὸ μὲν προ-  
 ὑποκείμενον αἰσθήσει ὡς ἂν ὕλη, ὁ δὲ κινῶν τὴν

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 27-29

meaning of the words, " and there was not a man to work the ground," is this : the original idea of the mind did not work the original idea of sense-perception : for my mind like yours works the sense-perception through the objects of the senses, but the original idea of the mind, as there was of course no particular body in existence proper to it, does not work the original idea of 'sense-perception' : for were it working, it would be working it by means of the objects of sense, but among original ideas there is no such thing as an object of sense.

XI. " And a spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth " (Gen. ii. 6). He calls the mind a " spring " of the earth, and the senses its " face," because Nature, exercising forethought in all things, assigned this place to them out of all the body as most suitable for their special activities : and the mind like a spring waters the senses, sending to each of them the streams suitable to it. See then, how, like links in a chain, the powers of the living creature hold on to each other ; for mind and 'sense-perception' and object of sense being three, 'sense-perception' is in the middle, while mind and object of sense occupy each extreme. But neither has the mind power to work, that is, to put forth its energies by way of 'sense-perception,' unless God send the object of sense as rain upon it ; nor is any benefit derived from the object of sense when so rained down, unless, like a spring, the mind, extending itself to reach the 'sense-perception,' stir it out of its repose to grasp the object presented to it. Thus the mind and the object of sense are always practising a reciprocity of giving, the one lying ready for sense-perception as its material, the

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- αἰσθησιν πρὸς τὸ ἔκτος ὡς ἂν τεχνίτης, ἵνα γένηται  
 30 ὄρμη· τὸ γὰρ ζῶον τοῦ μὴ ζῶου δυσὶ προὔχει,  
 φαντασία καὶ ὄρμη· ἡ μὲν οὖν φαντασία συνίσταται  
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔκτος πρόσοδον τυποῦντος νοῦν δι'  
 αἰσθήσεως, ἡ δὲ ὄρμη, τὸ ἀδελφὸν τῆς φαντασίας,  
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ τονικὴν δύναμιν, ἣν τείνας δι'  
 αἰσθήσεως ἄπτεται τοῦ ὑποκειμένου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ  
 χωρεῖ γλιχόμενος ἐφικέσθαι καὶ συλλαβεῖν αὐτό.
- 31 XII. “Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν  
 λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ  
 πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν” (Gen. ii. 7). διττὰ  
 ἀνθρώπων γένη· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος,  
 ὁ δὲ γήϊνος. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος ἄτε κατ’ εἰκόνα  
 θεοῦ γεγωνὸς φθαρτῆς καὶ συνόλως γεώδους  
 οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης,  
 ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν, ἐπάγη· διὸ τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον  
 φησὶν οὐ πεπλάσθαι, κατ’ εἰκόνα δὲ τετυπῶσθαι  
 θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ γήϊνον πλάσμα, ἀλλ’ οὐ γέννημα,  
 32 εἶναι τοῦ τεχνίτου. ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν ἐκ γῆς  
 λογιστέον εἶναι νοῦν εἰσκρινόμενον σώματι, οὕτω  
 [50] | δ’ εἰσκεκριμένον. ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὗτος γεώδης ἐστὶ  
 τῷ ὄντι καὶ φθαρτός, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐμπνεύσειεν  
 αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς· τότε γὰρ γίνεται,  
 οὐκέτι πλάττεται, εἰς ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἄργον καὶ  
 ἀδιατύπτων, ἀλλ’ εἰς νοερὰν καὶ ζῶσαν ὄντως·

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 477.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 29-32

other, like a craftsman, moving sense-perception in the direction of the external object, to produce an impulse towards it. For the living creature excels the non-living in two respects, in the power of receiving impressions and in the active impulse<sup>a</sup> towards the object producing them. The impression is produced by the drawing nigh of the external object, as it stamps the mind through sense-perception; while the active impulse, close of kin to the power aforesaid, comes about by way of the mind's power of self-extension, which it exercises through sense-perception, and so comes into touch with the object presented to it, and goes towards it, striving to reach and seize it.

XII. "And God formed the man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face a breath of life, and the man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). There are two types of men; the one a heavenly man, the other an earthly. The heavenly man, being made after the image of God, is altogether without part or lot in corruptible and terrestrial substance; but the earthly one was compacted out of the matter scattered here and there, which Moses calls "clay." For this reason he says that the heavenly man was not moulded, but was stamped with the image of God; while the earthly is a moulded work of the Artificer, but not His offspring. We must account the man made out of the earth to be mind mingling with, but not yet blended with, body. But this earthlike mind is in reality also corruptible, were not God to breathe into it a power of real life; when He does so, it does not any more undergo moulding, but becomes a soul, not an inefficient and imperfectly formed soul, but one

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- “ εἰς ψυχὴν ” γάρ φησι “ ζῶσαν ἐγένετο ὁ ἄν-  
 33 θρωπος.” XIII. ζητήσαι δ’ ἄν τις, διὰ  
 τί ἠξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς ὄλως τὸν γηγενῆ καὶ φιλο-  
 σώματον νοῦν πνεύματος θείου, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τὸν κατὰ  
 τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ· δεύ-  
 τερον δέ, τί ἐστι τὸ “ ἐνεφύσησε ”· τρίτον, διὰ τί  
 εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνεῖται· τέταρτον, διὰ τί  
 πνεύματος ὄνομα εἰδώς, ὅταν λέγῃ “ καὶ πνεῦμα  
 θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος ” (Gen. i. 2),  
 34 πνοῆς νῦν ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ πνεύματος μέμνηται. πρὸς  
 μὲν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον λεκτέον ἐν μὲν, ὅτι φιλόδωρος  
 ὢν ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς μὴ  
 τελείοις, προκαλούμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ  
 ζῆλον ἀρετῆς, ἅμα καὶ τὸν περιττὸν πλοῦτον ἐπι-  
 δεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τοῖς μὴ λίαν  
 ὠφεληθησομένοις. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἐμφαντικώτατα παρίστησιν. ὅταν γὰρ ὕη μὲν  
 κατὰ θαλάττης, πηγὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις  
 ἀνομβρῆ, τὴν δὲ λεπτόγεων καὶ τραχείαν καὶ  
 ἄγονον γῆν ἄρρη ποταμοὺς ἀναχέων ταῖς πλημ-  
 μύραις, τί ἕτερον παρίστησιν ἢ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ  
 τε πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἑαυτοῦ; ἢ δ’  
 ἐστὶν αἰτία δι’ ἣν ἄγονον οὐδεμίαν ψυχὴν ἐδημι-  
 ούργησεν ἀγαθοῦ, κἂν ἢ χρῆσις ἀδύνατος ἐνίοις  
 35 ἢ αὐτοῦ. ἕτερον δὲ λεκτέον ἐκεῖνο·  
 βούλεται τὰ θέσει δίκαια εἰσαγαγεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 μὴ ἐμπνευσθεὶς τὴν ἀληθινὴν ζωὴν, ἀλλ’ ἀπειρος  
 ὢν ἀρετῆς, κολαζόμενος ἐφ’ οἷς ἡμάρτανεν εἶπεν  
 ἂν ὡς ἀδίκως κολάζεται, ἀπειρία γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ

endowed with mind and actually alive ; for he says, " man became a living soul." XIII.

The question might be asked, why God deemed the earthly and body-loving mind worthy of divine breath at all, but not the mind which had been created after the original, and after His own image ; in the second place, what " breathed in " means ; thirdly, why the breathing is " into the face " ; fourthly, why, though he shows his knowledge of the word ' spirit ' when he says " and the Spirit of God was borne above the water " (Gen. i. 2), he now says " breath " not " spirit." In answer to the first query, one thing to be said is that God loves to give, and so bestows good things on all, even those who are not perfect, at the same time encouraging them to a zeal for virtue, and a participation in it, by displaying His own overflowing wealth, and how there is abundance even for those who will derive no great benefit from it. This characteristic He shows very clearly in other instances also. For when He rains upon the sea, and causes springs to gush forth in the depths of the desert, and waters the poor and rough and barren soil, pouring on it rivers with their overflowings, what else does He prove save the exceeding greatness of His own wealth and goodness ? This is the reason for which He created no soul barren of virtue, even if the exercise of it be to some impossible.

A second thing to be said is this. It is His will to make compliance with positive ordinances part of duty. One, then, into whom real life had not been breathed, but who was without experience of virtue, when punished for his transgressions would have said that he is unjustly punished, for that it was through inexperience

## PHILO

σφάλλῃσθαι περὶ αὐτό, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τὸν μηδεμίαν ἐμπνεύσαντα ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ· τάχα δὲ μηδὲ ἀμαρτάνειν φήσει τὸ παράπαν, εἴ γε τὰ ἀκούσια καὶ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν οὐδὲ ἀδικημάτων ἔχειν λόγον φασί

36 **τινες.** τό γε μὴν “ἐνεφύσησεν” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ἐνέπνευσεν ἢ ἐψύχωσε τὰ ἄψυχα· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτης ἀτοπίας ἀναπλησθείημεν, ὥστε νομίσαι θεὸν στόματος ἢ μυκτῆρων ὀργάνοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐμφυσῆσαι· ἄποιος γὰρ ὁ θεός, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφος. ἐμφαίνει δέ τι καὶ φυσικώτερον

37 ἢ προφορά. τρία γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ, τὸ ἐμπνέον, τὸ δεχόμενον, τὸ ἐμπνεόμενον· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμπνέον ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, τὸ δὲ δεχόμενον ὁ νοῦς, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνεό-

[51] **μενον** τὸ πνεῦμα. τί | οὖν ἐκ τούτων συνάγεται; ἔνωσις γίνεται τῶν τριῶν, τεῖναντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος ἄχρι τοῦ ὑποκειμένου — τίνος ἔνεκα ἢ ὅπως ἔννοιαν αὐ-

38 **τοῦ λάβωμεν;** ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἐνόησεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεόν, εἰ μὴ ἐνέπνευσε καὶ ἤψατο αὐτῆς κατὰ δύναμιν; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπετόλμησε τοσοῦτον ἀναδραμεῖν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὡς ἀντιλαβέσθαι θεοῦ φύσεως, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀνέσπασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐνῆν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ἀνασπασθῆναι, καὶ ἐτύπωσε κατὰ τὰς ἐφικτὰς νοηθῆναι δυνάμεις.

39 **εἰς δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνέει** καὶ φυσικῶς καὶ ἠθικῶς· φυσικῶς μὲν, ὅτι ἐν προσώπῳ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐδημιούργει· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα τοῦ σώματος τὸ μέρος ἐψύχεται [καὶ ἐμπέπνευσται].



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 35-39

of good that he failed in respect of it, and that the blame lay with Him who had failed to breathe into him any conception of it. Nay, he will perhaps say that he does not sin at all, if (as some say) involuntary acts and acts done in ignorance do not count as wrong deeds.

“Breathed into,” we note, is equivalent to “inspired” or “be-souled” the soulless ; for God forbid that we should be infected with such monstrous folly as to think that God employs for inbreathing organs such as mouth or nostrils ; for God is not only not in the form of man, but belongs to no class or kind. Yet the expression clearly brings out something that accords with nature. For it implies of necessity three things, that which inbreathes, that which receives, that which is inbreathed : that which inbreathes is God, that which receives is the mind, that which is inbreathed is the spirit or breath. What, then, do we infer from these premises ? A union of the three comes about, as God projects the power that proceeds from Himself through the mediant breath till it reaches the subject. And for what purpose save that we may obtain a conception of Him ? For how could the soul have conceived of God, had He not breathed into it and mightily laid hold of it ? For the mind of man would never have ventured to soar so high as to grasp the nature of God, had not God Himself drawn it up to Himself, so far as it was possible that the mind of man should be drawn up, and stamped it with the impress of the powers that are within the scope of its understanding.

The breathing “into the face” is to be understood both physically and ethically : physically, because it is in the face that He set the senses ; for this part of the body is beyond other parts endowed with soul :

## PHILO

ἠθικῶς δὲ οὕτως· ὥσπερ σώματος ἡγεμονικόν ἐστι τὸ πρόσωπον, οὕτως ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς· τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐμπνέει ὁ θεός, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις μέρεσιν οὐκ ἄξιοι, ταῖς τε αἰσθήσεσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ  
 40 καὶ τῷ γονίμῳ· δεύτερα γάρ ἐστι τῇ δυνάμει. ὑπὸ τίνος οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐνεπνεύσθη; ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ δηλονότι· οὐ γὰρ μετέσχεν ὁ νοῦς παρὰ θεοῦ, τούτου μεταδίδωσι τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε τὸν μὲν νοῦν ἐψυχῶσθαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ· ὡσανεὶ γὰρ θεός ἐστι τοῦ ἀλόγου ὁ νοῦς, παρὸ καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐκ ὤκνησεν  
 41 εἰπεῖν “θεὸν τοῦ Φαραώ” (Exod. vii. 1). τῶν γὰρ γινομένων τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γίνεται καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν, οὐ δι’ αὐτοῦ δέ· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄριστα καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γέγονε καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ· προελθὼν γοῦν ἐρεῖ ὅτι “ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον” (Gen. ii. 8)· τούτων καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἄλογον ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν γέγονεν, οὐ διὰ θεοῦ δέ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ λογικοῦ τοῦ ἄρχοντός τε καὶ βασι-  
 42 λεύοντος ἐν ψυχῇ. “πνοήν” δέ, ἀλλ’ οὐ πνεῦμα, εἶρηκεν, ὡς διαφόρᾳς οὔσης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πνεῦμα νενόηται κατὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ εὐτονίαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἡ δὲ πνοὴ ὡς ἂν αὐρὰ τίς ἐστι καὶ ἀναθυμίασις ἡρεμαία καὶ πραεῖα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονώς καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν νοῦς πνεύματος ἂν λέγοιτο κεκοινωνηκέναι—ῥώμην γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ—ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τῆς κούφης καὶ ἐλαφροτέρας αὔρας ὡς ἂν ἀποφορᾳς τινος,

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 39-42

but ethically, on this wise. As the face is the dominant element in the body, so is the mind the dominant element of the soul: into this only does God breathe, whereas He does not see fit to do so with the other parts, whether senses or organs of utterance and of reproduction; for these are secondary in capacity. By what, then, were these also inspired? By the mind, evidently. For the mind imparts to the portion of the soul that is devoid of reason a share of that which it has received from God, so that the mind was be-souled by God, but the unreasoning part by the mind. For the mind is, so to speak, God of the unreasoning part. In like manner he does not hesitate to speak of Moses as "a God to Pharaoh" (Exod. vii. 1). For of the things which come into being some come into being both by God's power and through God's agency, while others come into being by God's power but not by His agency. The most excellent things were made both by God and through God. For example, he will presently say, "God planted a pleasaunce" (Gen. ii. 8): to these the mind belongs; but the part devoid of reason was made by God's power but not by God's agency, but by that of the reasonable power which rules and holds dominion in the soul.

He uses the word 'breath' not 'spirit,' implying a difference between them; for 'spirit' is conceived of as connoting strength and vigour and power, while a 'breath' is like an air or a peaceful and gentle vapour. The mind that was made after the image and original might be said to partake of spirit, for its reasoning faculty possesses robustness; but the mind that was made out of matter must be said to partake of the light and less substantial air, as of some exhalation,

## PHILO

ὅποια γίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρωμάτων· φυλαττο-  
μένων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ μὴ ἐκθυμιωμένων  
εὐωδία τις γίνεται.

- 43 XIV. “Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν  
Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
ὃν ἔπλασε” (Gen. ii. 8). τὴν μετάρσιον καὶ  
οὐράνιον σοφίαν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι πολυώνυμον  
[52] οὖσαν | δεδήλωκε· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ  
ὄρασιν θεοῦ κέκληκε. ταύτης δ’ ὡς ἂν ἀρχετύπου  
μίμημα τὴν ἐπίγειον σοφίαν νυνὶ παρίστησι διὰ  
τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου φυτουργίας· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτη  
κατάσχοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν ἀσέβεια, ὡς  
ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι θεὸς γεωπονεῖ καὶ φυτεύει παρα-  
δείσους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα εὐθὺς διαπορήσομεν·  
οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἀναπαύλας εὐδιαγώγους καὶ ἡδονὰς  
ἑαυτῷ πορίζῃ—μηδὲ εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι ποτέ τὸν  
44 ἡμέτερον ἢ τοιαύτη μυθοποιΐα—· θεοῦ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ  
σύμπας κόσμος ἄξιον ἂν εἶη χωρίον καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα,  
ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τόπος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πλήρης  
καὶ ἱκανὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιδεᾶ  
καὶ ἔρημα καὶ κενὰ ὄντα πληρῶν καὶ περιέχων,  
αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου περιεχόμενος, ἅτε  
45 εἰς καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ὢν. τὴν οὖν  
ἐπίγειον ἀρετὴν σπεῖρει καὶ φυτεύει τῷ θνητῷ  
γένει ὁ θεὸς μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα οὖσαν τῆς  
οὐρανόου· ἐλεήσας γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸ γένος καὶ κατιδὼν  
ὅτι ἐξ ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων κακῶν συνέστηκεν,  
ἐπίκουρον καὶ ἀρωγὸν τῶν ψυχῆς νόσων ἀρετὴν  
ἐπίγειον ἐρρίζου, μίμημα, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς οὐρανόου  
καὶ ἀρχετύπου, ἣν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλεῖ. παρά-  
δεισος μὲν δὴ τροπικῶς εἴρηται ἢ ἀρετή, τόπος

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 42-45

such as those that rise from spices : for if they are kept and not burned for incense there is still a sweet perfume from them.

XIV. " And God planted a pleasaunce in Eden toward the sun-rising, and placed there the man whom He had formed " (Gen. ii. 8). By using many words for it Moses has already made it manifest that the sublime and heavenly wisdom is of many names ; for he calls it " beginning " and " image " and " vision of God " ; and now by the planting of the pleasaunce he brings out the fact that earthly wisdom is a copy of this as of an archetype. Far be it from man's reasoning to be the victim of so great impiety as to suppose that God tills the soil and plants pleasaunces. We should at once be at a loss to tell from what motive He could do so. Not to provide Himself with pleasant refreshment and comfort. Let not such fables even enter our mind. For not even the whole world would be a place fit for God to make His abode, since God is His own place, and He is filled by Himself, and sufficient for Himself, filling and containing all other things in their destitution and barrenness and emptiness, but Himself contained by nothing else, seeing that He is Himself One and the Whole.

Well then, God sows and plants earthly excellence for the race of mortals as a copy and reproduction of the heavenly. For pitying our race and noting that it is compact of a rich abundance of ills, Hé caused earthly excellence to strike root, to bring succour and aid to the diseases of the soul. It is, as I said before, a copy of the heavenly and archetypal excellence, to which Moses gives many names. Virtue is figuratively called " pleasaunce," and the locality specially suited to the pleasaunce

## PHILO

- δὲ οἰκείος τῷ παραδείσῳ Ἐδέμ, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι  
 τρυφή· ἀρετῇ δὲ ἀρμόττον εἰρήνη καὶ εὐπάθεια καὶ  
 46 χαρά, ἐν οἷς τὸ τρυφᾶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι. καὶ μὴν  
 κατὰ ἀνατολάς ἐστιν ἡ φυτουργία τοῦ παραδείσου·  
 οὐ γὰρ δύεται καὶ σβέννυται, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πέφυκεν  
 ἀνατέλλειν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, καὶ ὡσπερ, οἶμαι,  
 ἀνατείλας ἥλιος τὸν ζόφον τοῦ ἀέρος φωτὸς  
 ἐνέπλησεν, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀνατείλασα ἐν ψυχῇ  
 τὴν ἀχλὺν αὐτῆς ἐναυγάζει καὶ τὸν πολὺν σκότον  
 47 σκεδάννυσι. “καὶ ἔθετο” φησὶν “ἐκεῖ  
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν.” ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ὁ  
 θεὸς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὡς οἰκειότατον ἔργον ἀσκῶν  
 τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν τίθησιν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἵνα  
 δηλονότι μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ταύτην καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς  
 γεωργὸς τημελῇ καὶ περιέπη. XV.
- 48 ζητήσῃς δ' ἂν τις, διὰ τί, τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι θεοῦ τὰ  
 ἔργα ὄντος ὁσίου, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπηγόρευται φυτεύειν  
 ἄλλος παρὰ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, τὸν δὲ παράδεισον  
 ὁ θεὸς φυτεύει; φησὶ γάρ· “οὐ φυτεύσεις σεαυτῷ  
 ἄλλος, πᾶν ξύλον παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου  
 [53] τοῦ θεοῦ σου οὐ | ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ” (Deut. xvi.  
 21). τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὅτι πρέπει τῷ θεῷ φυτεύειν  
 49 καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ τὰς ἀρετάς. φίλαυτος δὲ  
 καὶ ἄθεος ὁ νοῦς, οἰόμενος ἴσος εἶναι θεῷ καὶ  
 ποιεῖν δοκῶν ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἐξεταζόμενος· θεοῦ  
 δὲ σπεύροντος καὶ φυτεύοντος ἐν ψυχῇ τὰ καλά,  
 ὁ λέγων νοῦς ὅτι “ἐγὼ φυτεύω” ἀσεβεῖ. οὐ  
 φυτεύσεις οὖν, ὅταν ὁ θεὸς φυτουργῇ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ  
 φυτὰ ἐν ψυχῇ καταβάλλῃ, ὧ διάνοια, καρποτόκα  
 φύτευε πάντα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλος, ἐν ἄλλει γὰρ καὶ  
 ἀγρίας ὕλης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμέρου δένδρα· κακίαν δὲ

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 45-49

“Eden,” which means “luxury”; excellence to be sure has for its fit adjuncts peace and welfare and joy, in which true luxury consists. Again the planting of the pleasaunce is “towards the sun-rising,” for right reason does not set nor is quenched, but its nature is ever to rise, and, I take it, just as the sun when it has risen fills the gloom of the atmosphere with light, so virtue also, when it has risen in the soul, illumines its mist and disperses its deep darkness.

“And He placed there” it says, “the man whom He had formed.” For God, being good and training our race to virtue as the operation most proper to it, places the mind amid virtue, evidently to the end that as a good gardener it may spend its care on nothing else but this.

XV. Now the question might be asked, “Why, seeing that to imitate God’s works is a pious act, am I forbidden to plant a grove by the altar, while God plants the pleasaunce?” For it says, “Thou shalt not plant thyself a grove: thou shalt not make to thyself any wood by the side of the altar of the Lord thy God” (Deut. xvi. 21). What then are we to say? That it becomes God to plant and to build virtues in the soul, but that the mind shows itself to be without God and full of self-love, when it deems itself as on a par with God; and, whereas passivity is its true part, looks on itself as an agent. When God sows and plants noble qualities in the soul, the mind that says “I plant” is guilty of impiety. Thou shalt not plant, therefore, whensoever God is tending His plants. But if thou *dost* set plants in the soul, O mind, set only fruit-bearing plants. Set not a grove, for in a grove there are both wild and cultivated trees. And to plant in the soul barren wicked-

## PHILO

- τὴν ἄγονον ἐν ψυχῇ μετὰ τῆς ἡμέρου καὶ καρπο-  
 τόκου φυτεύει ἀρετῆς λέπρας ἐστὶ τῆς διφυοῦς  
 50 καὶ μιγάδος οἰκείου. ἐὰν μέντοι γε τὰ ἄμικτα  
 καὶ σύγκλυδα εἰς ταῦτὸν ἄγης, χωρίζε καὶ διάκρινε  
 τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως τῆς ἀναφερούσης  
 τὰ ἄμωμα τῷ θεῷ, αὕτη δέ ἐστὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον·  
 τούτου γὰρ ἀλλότριον τὸ λέγειν ἔργον τι εἶναι  
 ψυχῆς, ἐπὶ θεὸν πάντων λαμβανόντων τὴν ἀνα-  
 φοράν, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἄκαρπα τοῖς καρποτόκοις  
 ἀναμιγνύναι· μῶμος γὰρ τοῦτό γε, τὰ δὲ ἄμωμα  
 51 τῷ θεῷ προσάγεται. ἐὰν οὖν τι τούτων παραβῆς,  
 ᾧ ψυχῇ, σαυτὴν βλάβεις, οὐ θεόν· διὰ τοῦτό  
 φησιν· “οὐ φυτεύσεις σεαυτῷ”· θεῷ γὰρ οὐδεὶς  
 ἐργάζεται, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ φαῦλα· καὶ ἐπιφέρει  
 πάλιν· “οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ.” λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν  
 ἑτέροις· “οὐ ποιήσετε μετ’ ἐμοῦ θεοὺς ἀργυροῦς,  
 καὶ θεοὺς χρυσοῦς οὐ ποιήσετε ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς”  
 (Exod. xx. 23)· ὁ γὰρ ἢ ποιότητα οἰόμενος ἔχειν  
 τὸν θεὸν ἢ μὴ ἓνα εἶναι ἢ μὴ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄ-  
 φθαρτον ἢ μὴ ἄτρεπτον ἑαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ, οὐ θεόν·  
 “ἑαυτοῖς” γὰρ φησιν “οὐ ποιήσετε”· δεῖ γὰρ  
 ἠγείσθαι καὶ ἄποιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἓνα καὶ ἄφθαρτον  
 καὶ ἄτρεπτον· ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτως διανοούμενος ἑαυτοῦ  
 τὴν ψυχὴν ψευδοῦς καὶ ἀθέου δόξης ἀναπίμπλησιν.  
 52 οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι, κὰν εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν  
 καὶ εἰσαχθέντες φυτεύσωμεν ἄκαρπον μὲν οὐδὲν  
 “πᾶν δὲ ξύλον βρώσιμον,” κελεύει “περικαθ-  
 ἀρίσαι τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ” (Lev. xix. 23);

<sup>a</sup> Philo plays on the two senses of ἀναφέρειν, “offer” and “refer”



ness by the side of cultivated and fruit-yielding virtue is like leprosy with its twofold growths and blending of discordant hues. If, however, thou *dost* bring into the same place things heterogeneous and incapable of mixture, let them be separate and distinct from the pure and unsullied growth that offers up fruits free from blemish to God. And it is such a growth that is meant by the altar of sacrifice : for it is a violation of this to say that anything is the (independent) work of the soul, since there is nothing there that has not reference <sup>a</sup> to God. To say that is to mingle the barren with the fruit-bearing. And this is a blemish, whereas only things without blemish are offered to God. If then thou transgress in any of these respects, O soul, thou wilt injure thyself, not God ; that is why it says " thou shalt not plant *to thyself*" ; for to God no one does such tillage, above all when the plants are bad ones ; and it goes on to say, " thou shalt not make *to thyself*." It says also in another case, " Ye shall not make together with Me gods of silver, and gods of gold ye shall not make to yourselves " (Exod. xx. 23). For he that thinks either that God belongs to a type, or that He is not one, or that He is not unoriginate and incorruptible, or that He is not incapable of change, wrongs himself not God ; for it says, " to yourselves ye shall not make " ; for we must deem that He belongs to no type, and that He is One and incorruptible and unchangeable. He that does not so conceive infects his own soul with a false and godless opinion. Do you not see that, even if He bring us into virtue and even if, when brought in, we plant no fruitless thing but " every tree good for food," He yet commands us " thoroughly to cleanse its uncleanness "

## PHILO

τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ δοκεῖν φυτεῦειν· ἀποτεμεῖν οἷσιν γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλεται, οἷσις δὲ ἀκάθαρτον 53 φύσει.

XVI. ὃν δὲ ἔπλασεν ἄνθρωπον τιθέναι φησὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ νυνὶ μόνον· τίς οὖν ἐστίν, ἐφ' οὗ ὕστερόν φησιν ὅτι “ ἔλαβε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν ” (Gen. ii. 15); μήποτ' οὖν ἕτερός ἐστίν ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, ὁ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγωνός, ὥστε δύο ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσάγεσθαι, τὸν μὲν πεπλασμένον, τὸν 54 δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγωνός [54] οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς φυτουργίαις τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐξετάζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργάτης ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ φύλαξ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μνήμων ὧν ἤκουσε καὶ ἤσκησεν· ὁ δὲ πλαστός οὔτε ἐργάζεται τὰς ἀρετὰς οὔτε φυλάττει, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰσάγεται εἰς τὰ δόγματα ἀφθονία θεοῦ, μέλλων αὐτίκα φυγὰς ἀρετῆς 55 ἔσεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ὃν μὲν μόνον τίθησιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, πλαστὸν καλεῖ, ὃν δὲ καὶ ἐργάτην καὶ φύλακα ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὐ πλαστόν, ἀλλὰ “ ὃν ἐποίησε ”· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν λαμβάνει, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκβάλλει. ὃν δὲ λαμβάνει, τριῶν ἀξιοῖ, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ἡ εὐφυΐα, εὐθυξίας, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης· ἡ μὲν οὖν εὐθυξία θέσις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἡ δὲ ἐπιμονὴ πρᾶξις τῶν κιλῶν [τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ καλά], ἡ δὲ μνήμη φυλακὴ καὶ διατήρησις τῶν ἁγίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ πλαστός νοῦς οὔτε μνημο-

<sup>1</sup> We must suppose that Philo found *ποίησε* in his text of LXX.

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(Lev. xix. 23)? And this means the notion that we are planting, for it is the cutting away of self-conceit that He demands, and self-conceit is in its nature unclean.

XVI. Speaking here of the man whom God moulded, it merely says that He "placed him in the garden." Who then is it of whom it says later on "The Lord God took the man whom He had made, and placed him in the garden to till it and to guard it" (Gen. ii. 15)? It would seem then that this is a different man, the one that was made after the image and archetype, so that two men are introduced into the garden, the one a moulded being, the other "after the image." The one then that was made according to the original has his sphere not only in the planting of virtues but is also their tiller and guardian, and that means that he is mindful of all that he heard and practised in his training; but the "moulded" man neither tills the virtues nor guards them, but is only introduced to the truths by the rich bounty of God, presently to be an exile from virtue. For this reason in describing the man whom God only places in the garden, Moses uses the word "moulded," but of the man whom He appoints both tiller and guardian he speaks not as "moulded," but he says "whom He had made"; and the one He receives, and the other He casts out. And He confers on him whom He receives three gifts, which constitute natural ability, facility in apprehending, persistence in doing, tenacity in keeping. Facility in apprehending is the placing in the garden, persistence in doing is the practice of noble deeds, tenacity in keeping the guarding and retaining in the memory of the holy precepts. But the "moulded" mind neither keeps in mind nor

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νεύει τὰ καλὰ οὔτε ἐργάζεται, μόνον δὲ εὐθικτός ἐστι· παρὸ καὶ τεθείς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἐκβάλλεται.

- 56 XVII. “Καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ” (Gen. ii. 9). ἃ φυτεύει ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δένδρα ἀρετῆς, νῦν ὑπογράφει· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα αἶτε κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἶ κατ’ αὐτὰς ἐνέργειαι, καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παρὰ τοῖς
- 57 φιλοσοφοῦσι καθήκοντα· ταῦτά ἐστι τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ φυτά. χαρακτηρίζει μέντοι γε αὐτὰ ταῦτα, δηλῶν ὅτι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὀφθῆναι κάλλιστόν ἐστι καὶ ἀπολαυσθῆναι· ἔναι γὰρ τῶν τεχνῶν θεωρητικαὶ μὲν εἰσιν, οὐ πρακτικαὶ δέ, γεωμετρία, ἀστρονομία, ἔναι δὲ πρακτικαὶ μὲν, οὐ θεωρητικαὶ δέ, τεκτονικὴ, χαλκευτικὴ, καὶ ὅσαι βάνουσαι λέγονται· ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ καὶ θεωρητικὴ ἐστὶ καὶ πρακτικὴ· καὶ γὰρ θεωρίαν ἔχει, ὅποτε καὶ ἡ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ὁδὸς φιλοσοφία διὰ τῶν τριῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν, τοῦ λογικοῦ, τοῦ ἠθικοῦ, τοῦ φυσικοῦ, καὶ πράξεις· ὅλου γὰρ τοῦ βίου ἐστὶ τέχνη ἡ
- 58 ἀρετὴ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἶ σύμπασαι πράξεις. ἀλλὰ καίτοι θεωρίαν ἔχουσα καὶ πράξιν, πάλιν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ὑπερβάλλει κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον· καὶ γὰρ ἡ θεωρία τῆς ἀρετῆς παγκάλῃ, καὶ ἡ πράξις καὶ ἡ χρῆσις περιμάχητος. διὸ καὶ φησιν ὅτι καὶ “εἰς ὄρασιν ἐστὶν ὠραῖον,” ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ σύμβολον, καὶ “καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν,” ὅπερ ἐστὶ

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* i. 3. 8, iii. 3. 14, κατορθώματα are honesta or recta; τὰ καθήκοντα are media or communia.

carries out in action the things that are noble, but has facility in apprehending them and no more than this. Accordingly after being placed in the garden he soon runs away and is cast out.

XVII. "And God caused to spring out of the ground every tree fair to behold and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil" (Gen. ii. 9). Moses now indicates what trees of virtue God plants in the soul. These are the several particular virtues, and the corresponding activities, and the complete moral victories, and what philosophers call *καθήκοντα* or common duties.<sup>a</sup> These are the plants of the garden. These very plants he characterizes, showing that what is good is also most fair to be seen and enjoyed. For some of the arts and sciences are theoretical indeed but not practical,<sup>b</sup> such as geometry and astronomy, and some are practical, but not theoretical, as the arts of the carpenter and coppersmith, and all that are called mechanical; but virtue is both theoretical and practical; for clearly it involves theory, since philosophy, the road that leads to it, involves it through its three parts,<sup>b</sup> logic, ethics, physics; and it involves conduct, for virtue is the art of the whole of life, and life includes all kinds of conduct. But while virtue involves theory and practice, it is furthermore of surpassing excellence in each respect; for indeed the theory of virtue is perfect in beauty, and the practice and exercise of it a prize to be striven for. Wherefore he says that it is both "beautiful to look upon," an expression signifying its aspect as theory, and "good to eat,"

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 477.

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τοῦ χρηστικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ σημείου.

- 59 XVIII. τὸ δὲ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἡ γενικωτάτη ἀρετή, ἣν τινες ἀγαθότητα καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' ἧς αἱ κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταὶ συνίστανται. τούτου χάριν καὶ μέσον ἱδρύεται τοῦ παραδείσου, τὴν συνεκτικωτάτην χώραν ἔχον, ἵνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, [55] βασιλέως | τρόπον, δορυφορῆται. οἱ δὲ λέγουσι τὴν καρδίαν ξύλον εἰρῆσθαι ζωῆς, ἐπειδὴ αἰτία τε τοῦ ζῆν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν μέσσην τοῦ σώματος χώραν ἔλαχεν, ὡς ἂν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡγεμονικὸν ὑπάρχουσα. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἰατρικὴν δόξαν ἐκτιθέμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φυσικὴν μὴ λαυθανέτωσαν, ἡμεῖς δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐλέχθη, τὴν γενικωτάτην
- 60 ἀρετὴν ξύλον εἰρῆσθαι ζωῆς λέγομεν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ῥητῶς φησὶν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ξύλον, τὸ τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, οὐ δεδήλωκεν οὔτε εἰ ἐντὸς οὔτε εἰ ἐκτὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν οὕτως “ καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ ” εὐθύς ἠσύχασεν οὐ δηλώσας ὅπου τετύχηκεν ὄν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος τὸν τόπον<sup>1</sup> τῆς
- 61 ἐπιστήμης θαυμάζῃ. τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; ὅτι τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐσία μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ, δυνάμει δὲ ἐκτὸς. πῶς; τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν πανδεχές ἐστὶ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Reading *τόπον* for *δυνα*, as Cohn (after Jost) suggests. See note *b*, on p. 36 of Heinemann's translation, signed “L. C.,” and App. p. 478.

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. II. App. p. 492, note on *De Sac.* 136.

<sup>b</sup> Philo apparently means that Moses refrained from mentioning where the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil was situated, lest its locality should become an object of awe and wonder to the ignorant. *φυσιολογία* is the *naturae species*

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words which point to its excellence in exercise and practice.

XVIII. Now the tree of life is virtue in the most comprehensive sense, which some term goodness. From it the particular virtues derive their existence. That is why it is also set in the midst of the garden, occupying the central all-embracing position, that it may, like a king, be attended by those on either side as by body-guards. But some say that it is the heart that is called the tree of life, since it is the cause of life and has been allotted the central place in the body, as it naturally would, being in their view the dominating principle.<sup>a</sup> But these people should remember that they are setting forth a view worthy of the physician rather than of the philosopher, while we, as we have said, maintain that virtue in its most generic aspect is called the tree of life. Of this he expressly says that it is in the midst of the garden, but as to the other tree, that of knowing good and evil, he has not made it clear whether it is within or without the garden, but immediately after the words, "and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," he comes to a stop without making it clear where it was. His silence is due to his desire to prevent the man unversed in natural philosophy from regarding with wonder the spot where that knowledge dwells.<sup>b</sup> What then must we say? That this tree is both in the garden and outside it, in literal fact in it, virtually outside it. How so? Our dominant part is all-receptive and *ratioque* of Lucretius (i. 147, ii. 58, iii. 91, vi. 38) which *terrorem animi et nebrasque necesse est Discutiat*. So Plutarch says "Philosophic reason does away with the *wonder and awe* (*θαύμα και θάμβος*) due to unenlightenment and ignorance." ("On the Student at Lectures," § 44, Tucker's Translation.) See App. pp. 477, 478.

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- ἔοικε κηρῷ πάντας τύπους καλοῦς τε καὶ αἰσχροῦς δεχομένῳ· παρὸ καὶ ὁ πτερνιστῆς Ἰακῶβ ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων “ Ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο πάντα ταῦτα ” (Gen. xlii. 36)· ἐπὶ γὰρ μίαν οὔσαν τὴν ψυχὴν αἱ ἀμύθητοι τυπώσεις ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀναφέρονται· ὅταν μὲν οὖν δέξῃται τὸν τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς χαρακτήρα, γέγονε τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον, ὅταν δὲ τὸν τῆς κακίας, γέγονε τὸ τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ· ἡ δὲ κακία πεφυγάδευται θείου χοροῦ· τὸ δεδεγμένον οὖν αὐτὴν ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς χαρακτήρ οἰκείος ὧν τῷ παραδείσῳ, δυνάμει δὲ πάλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ τύπος ὁ κακίας ἀλλότριός
- 62 ἐστὶ θείων ἀνατολῶν. ὁ δὲ λέγω, καὶ οὕτως ἄν τις καταμάθοι. νῦν ἐν τῷ σώματί μου τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ ἐν Ἰταλία ἢ Σικελία, ὅποτε περὶ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων ἐπιλογίζεται, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅποτε περὶ οὐρανοῦ σκοπεῖ· παρὸ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν βεβήλοις ὄντες χωρίοις τινὲς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν ἱερωτάτοις ὑπάρχουσι, φαντασιούμενοι τὰ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἔμπαλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὑπάρχοντες ἄλλοι τὴν διάνοιάν εἰσι βεβήλοι, τῷ τροπᾷ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τύπους αὐτὴν λαμβάνειν φαύλους· ὥστε οὔτε ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἢ κακία ἐστὶν οὔτε οὐχὶ ἐστὶ· δύναται μὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατ’ οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ οὐ δύναται.
- 63 XIX. “ Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς [56] τέσσαρας ἀρχάς. ὄνομα | τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 61-63

resembles wax that receives all impressions fair and ugly; accordingly the supplanter Jacob makes acknowledgement saying, "Upon me came all these things" (Gen. xlii. 36); for upon the soul, one as it is, the countless impressions of all things in the universe are borne. Whenever, then, it shall have received the stamp of perfect virtue, it straightway becomes the tree of life, but when it receives that of wickedness, it straightway becomes the tree of knowledge of good and evil. But wickedness has been exiled from the divine choir.<sup>a</sup> The ruling part in us therefore that has received it is actually in the garden, for it has in it likewise the stamp of virtue, properly belonging to the garden; but on the other hand it is virtually not in it, because the impress of wickedness is alien to a place of divine sunrising. You may grasp what I mean in this way. At this moment my ruling part is in literal fact in my body, but virtually in Italy or Sicily, when it is pondering on these countries, and in heaven, when it is considering heaven. Accordingly it often happens that people who are actually in unconsecrated spots are really in most sacred ones, when they are forming images of all that pertains to virtue. Others, on the other hand, who are in consecrated spots are in mind profane, owing to their mind admitting bad impressions and inclinations to what is unworthy. Thus wickedness neither *is* in the garden, nor is it *not* in it, for it can be there actually, but virtually it cannot.

XIX. "A river goes forth from Eden to water the garden: thence it is separated into four heads; the name of the one is Pheison; this is that which encircles all the land of Evilat, there where the gold

<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 A.

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χρυσίον· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν·  
 καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος.  
 καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηών· οὗτος  
 κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας. καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς  
 ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι  
 Ἀσσυρίων. ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης”  
 (Gen. ii. 10–14). διὰ τούτων βούλεται τὰς κατὰ  
 μέρος ἀρετὰς ὑπογράφειν· εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 τέτταρες, φρόνησις σωφροσύνη ἀνδρεία δικαιο-  
 σύνη. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγιστος ποταμὸς, οὗ αἱ τέτταρες  
 ἀπόρροιαὶ γεγόνασιν, ἡ γενικὴ ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ, ἣν  
 ἀγαθότητα ὠνομάσαμεν, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες ἀπόρροιαὶ  
 64 αἱ ἰσάριθμοι ἀρεταί. λαμβάνει μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς  
 ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐδέμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ  
 σοφίας, ἣ χαίρει καὶ γάννυται καὶ τρυφᾷ ἐπὶ  
 μόνῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ἀγαλλομένη καὶ σεμνυ-  
 νομένη θεῷ, αἱ δὲ ἐν εἴδει τέτταρες ἀπὸ τῆς  
 γενικῆς, ἣτις ποταμοῦ δίκην ἄρδει τὰ κατορθώματα  
 ἐκάσταις πολλῷ ρεύματι καλῶν πράξεων.  
 65 ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς λέξεις. “ ποταμὸς δὲ ” φησὶν  
 “ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον.”  
 ποταμὸς ἡ γενικὴ ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ, ἡ ἀγαθότης· αὕτη  
 ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τῆς Ἐδέμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας·  
 ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ θεοῦ λόγος· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον πεποιήται  
 ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ. τὸν παράδεισον δὲ ποτίζει ἡ  
 γενικὴ ἀρετὴ, τουτέστι τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρετὰς  
 ἄρδει. “ ἀρχὰς ” δὲ οὐ τὰς τοπικὰς λαμβάνει,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς· ἐκάστη γὰρ τῶν ἀρετῶν  
 ἡγεμονὶς καὶ βασιλὶς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ  
 “ ἀφορίζεται ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ὄροις πεπεράτωται·  
 ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὄρους αὐτοῖς  
 τιθεῖσα, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῖς ὑπομενετέοις, ἡ δὲ

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 63-65

is ; and the gold of that land is good ; and there is the ruby and the emerald. And the name of the second river is Geon ; this encompasses all the land of Aethiopia. And the third river is Tigris ; this is that whose course is in front of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates ” (Gen. ii. 10-14). By these rivers his purpose is to indicate the particular virtues. These are four in number,<sup>a</sup> prudence, self-mastery, courage, justice. The largest river, of which the four are effluxes, is generic virtue, which we have called “ goodness. ” The four effluxes are the virtues of the same number. Generic virtue takes its start from Eden, the wisdom of God, which is full of joy, and brightness, and exultation, glorying and priding itself only upon God its Father ; but the specific virtues, four in number, are derived from generic virtue, which like a river waters the perfect achievements of each of them with an abundant flow of noble doings.

Let us look too at the particular words used. “ A river, ” it says “ issues forth from Eden to water the garden. ” “ River ” is generic virtue, goodness. This issues forth out of Eden, the wisdom of God, and this is the Reason of God ; for after that has generic virtue been made. And generic virtue waters the garden, that is, it waters the particular virtues. “ Heads ” he takes not in the sense of locality but of sovereignty. For each of the virtues is in very deed a sovereign and a queen. “ Is separated ” is equivalent to ‘ has boundaries to define it. ’ Prudence, concerned with things to be done, sets boundaries round them ; courage round things to be endured ; self-mastery

<sup>a</sup> The four cardinal virtues belong, of course, to Platonism, though adopted by later philosophers.

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σωφροσύνη τοῖς αἰρετέοις, ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῖς ἀπονεμητέοις.

- 66 XX. “Ὀνομα τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐϊλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὐ ἔστι τὸ χρυσίον, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος.” τῶν τεττάρων ἀρετῶν ἐν εἰδός ἐστιν ἡ φρόνησις, ἣν Φεισῶν ὠνόμασε παρὰ τὸ φεῖδεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ἀδικημάτων. χορεύει δὲ καὶ κύκλῳ περίεισι τὴν γῆν Εὐϊλάτ, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστι, τὴν εὐμενῆ καὶ πραεῖαν καὶ ἕλεων κατάστασιν [57] περιέπει· καθάπερ δὲ | τῆς χυτῆς οὐσίας ἡ κρατίστη, καὶ δοκιμωτάτη χρυσός ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ ψυχῆς 67 ἡ δοκιμωτάτη ἀρετὴ φρόνησις γέγονε. τὸ δὲ “ἐκεῖ οὐ ἔστι τὸ χρυσίον” οὐκ ἔστι τοπικὸν τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ οὐ κτῆμά ἐστιν ἡ χρυσαυγῆς καὶ πεπυρωμένη καὶ τιμία φρόνησις· κτῆμα δὲ θεοῦ κάλλιστον ἦδε ἀνωμολόγηται. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τόπον τῆς φρονήσεως δύο εἰσὶ ποιοί, ὃ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, οὓς ἄνθρακι καὶ λίθῳ πρασίῳ παραβέβληκεν.
- 68 XXI. “Καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηῶν· οὗτος κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας.” συμβολικῶς ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἡ ἀνδρεία· ἐρμηνευθὲν γὰρ τὸ Γηῶν ὄνομά ἐστι στήθος ἢ κερατίζων· ἐκάτερον δὲ ἀνδρείας μηνυτικόν· περὶ τε γὰρ τὰ στήθη, ὅπου καὶ ἡ καρδιά, διατρίβει καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρέπισται· ἐπιστήμη γάρ ἐστιν ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐδετέρων. περικυκλοῖ δὲ καὶ περικάθηται προσπολεμοῦσα τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἐρμηνευθὲν τοῦνομα

<sup>a</sup> φεῖδεσθαι = “to spare.”

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 65-68

round things to be chosen ; justice round things to be awarded.

XX. "The name of the one is Pheison. This is that which encompasseth all the land of Evilat, there where the gold is ; and the gold of that land is good ; and there is the ruby and the emerald." One species of the four virtues is prudence, which he has called "Pheison," owing to its 'sparing'<sup>a</sup> and guarding the soul from deeds of wrong. And it encircles in its roundel the land of Evilat ; that is to say, it cherishes with care the kindly and gentle and gracious disposition ; and, as of all smelted substance the most excellent and most approved is gold, so of the soul too the most approved virtue is prudence. And the words, "there where (or 'whose') the gold is" are not a mere piece of local information, there where the gold is, but there (is He) whose is the treasure, even prudence gleaming like gold, tried by the fire, and precious ; and prudence is acknowledged to be God's fairest treasure. And in the place where prudence dwells are two corresponding concretes, the man who is prudent, and the man who exercises prudence. These he likens to ruby and emerald.

XXI. "And the name of the second river is Geon ; this encircles all the land of Ethiopia." This river figuratively represents courage ; for the word Geon is 'breast' or 'butting' ; and each of these indicates courage ; for it has its abode about men's breasts, where the heart also is, and it is fully equipped for self-defence ; for it is the knowledge of things that we ought to endure and not to endure, and of things that fall under neither head.<sup>b</sup> And it encompasses and beleaguers Ethiopia, whose name being inter-

<sup>b</sup> This definition of *ἀνδρεία* is Stoic (*S. V. F.* iii. 262 ff.).

## PHILO

ταπεινώσις· ταπεινὸν δὲ ἢ δειλία, ἢ δὲ ἀνδρεία  
ταπεινώσει καὶ δειλία πολέμιον.

- 69 “ Καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις, οὗτος ὁ  
πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων.” τρίτη ἐστὶν  
ἀρετὴ σωφροσύνη, ἀντιστατοῦσα τῇ κατευθύνειν  
δοκούσῃ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἡδονῇ· Ἀσ-  
σύριοι γὰρ εὐθύνοντες Ἑλλάδι γλώττη καλοῦνται.  
τίγριδι δὲ τῷ ἀτιθασωτάτῳ ζῷῳ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν  
εἶκασε, περὶ ἣν ἢ σωφροσύνη πραγματεύεται.
- 70 XXII. ἄξιον μέντοι ἀπορηῆσαι, διὰ τί δευτέρα  
μὲν ἀνδρεία, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, πρώτη δὲ  
φρόνησις εἴρηται, καὶ οὐχ ἑτέραν τῶν ἀρετῶν  
τάξιν δεδήλωκε. νοητέον οὖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡμῶν  
τριμερῆς ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἔχει μέρος τὸ μὲν λογικόν,  
τὸ δὲ θυμικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν. καὶ συμ-  
βέβηκε τοῦ μὲν λογικοῦ χωρίον εἶναι καὶ ἐν-  
διαίτημα τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοῦ δὲ θυμικοῦ τὰ στέρνα,  
τοῦ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τὸ ἦτρον, ἀρετὴν δὲ ἐκάστῳ  
τῶν μερῶν οἰκείαν προσηρμόσθαι, τῷ μὲν λογικῷ  
φρόνησιν, λογισμοῦ γάρ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν  
ὧν τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὧν μὴ, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ ἀνδρείαν,  
[58] τῷ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ σωφροσύνην, | σωφροσύνη γὰρ  
71 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκούμεθα καὶ ἰώμεθα. ὥσπερ οὖν  
κεφαλὴ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ ζώου καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ μέρος  
ἐστί, δεύτερον δὲ στέρνα, τρίτον δὲ ἦτρον, καὶ  
πάλιν ψυχῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λογικόν, δεύτερον  
δὲ τὸ θυμικόν, τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, οὕτως  
καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν πρώτη μὲν ἢ περὶ τὸ πρῶτον  
μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃ δὴ λογικόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ  
σώματος διατρίβουσα κεφαλὴν φρόνησις, δευτέρα

• See App. p. 478.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 68-71

preted is 'lowness'; and cowardice is a low thing, while courage is a foe to lowness and cowardice.

"And the third river is Tigris; this is that whose course is over against the Assyrians." Self-mastery is the third virtue, and takes its stand against pleasure, which thinks that it can direct the course of human weakness; for expressed in the Greek tongue "Assyrians" is 'directing.' He further compares desire, with which self-mastery is occupied, to a tiger, the animal least capable of being tamed. XXII. It is worth inquiring why courage is mentioned in the second place, self-mastery in the third, and prudence in the first, and why he has not set forth a different order of the virtues. We must observe, then, that our soul is threefold,<sup>a</sup> and has one part that is the seat of reason, another that is the seat of high spirit, and another that is the seat of desire. And we discover that the head is the place and abode of the reasonable part, the breast of the passionate part, the abdomen of the lustful part; and that to each of the parts a virtue proper to it has been attached; prudence to the reasonable part, for it belongs to reason to have knowledge of the things we ought to do and of the things we ought not; courage to the passionate part; and self-mastery to the lustful part. For it is by self-mastery that we heal and cure our desires. As, then, the head is the first and highest part of the living creature, the breast the second, and the abdomen the third, and again of the soul the reasoning faculty is first, the high-spirited second, the lustful third: so too of the virtues, first is prudence which has its sphere in the first part of the soul which is the domain of reason, and in the first part of the body, namely the head; and second is courage, for it has its seat in high

δὲ ἀνδρεία, ὅτι περὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος ψυχῆς μὲν θυμόν, σώματος δὲ τὰ στέρνα φωλεύει, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, ὅτι περὶ τὸ ἡῆτρον, ὃ δὴ τρίτον ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὃ τρίτην εἴληχε χώραν ἐν ψυχῇ, πραγματεύεται.

- 72 XXIII. "Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς" φησὶν "ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης." καρποφορία καλεῖται ὁ Εὐφράτης, ἔστι δὲ συμβολικῶς ἀρετὴ τετάρτη, δικαιοσύνη, καρποφόρος τῷ ὄντι καὶ εὐφραίνουσα τὴν διάνοιαν. πότε οὖν γίνεται; ὅταν τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς συμφωνίαν ἔχῃ· συμφωνία δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡγεμονία, οἶον ὅταν τὰ δύο, τὸ τε θυμικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ἡνιοχῶνται καθάπερ ἵπποι ὑπὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ, τότε γίνεται δικαιοσύνη· δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὲν κρείττον ἄρχειν ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἄρχεσθαι· κρείττον μὲν δὴ τὸ λογικόν, χεῖρον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν καὶ τὸ θυμικόν.
- 73 ὅταν δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἀφηνιάσῃ καὶ ἀναχαιτίσῃ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον, λέγω δὲ τὸν λογισμόν, τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ὀρμῆς κατασύρῃ καὶ ὑποζεύξῃ, ἐκάτερον δὲ πάθος λάβηται τῶν ἡνιῶν, ἀδικία κρατεῖ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἀπειρία καὶ κακία <τοῦ> ἡνίοχου τὰ ὑπεξευγμένα κατὰ κρημνῶν φέρεσθαι καὶ βαράθρων, ὥσπερ ἐμπειρία καὶ ἀρετὴ διασώζεσθαι.

- 74 XXIV. "Ἐτι καὶ οὕτως ἴδωμεν τὸ προκείμενον. Φεισῶν ἐρμηνεύεται στόματος ἀλλοίωσις, Εὐλάτ δὲ ὠδίνουσα· καὶ διὰ τούτων ἡ φρόνησις ἐμφαίνεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ φρόνιμον νομίζουσι τὸν εὐρετὴν λόγων σοφιστικῶν καὶ δεινὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι τὸ νοηθέν, Μωυσῆς δὲ λογοφίλην μὲν αὐτὸν

<sup>a</sup> See Plato, *Phaedrus* 253 D.



spirit, the second part of the soul, and in the breast, the corresponding part of the body ; and third self-mastery, for its sphere of action is the abdomen, which is of course the third part of the body, and the lustful faculty, to which has been assigned the third place in the soul.

XXIII. "The fourth river," he says, "is Euphrates." "Euphrates" means 'fruitfulness,' and is a figurative name for the fourth virtue, justice, a virtue fruitful indeed and bringing gladness to the mind. When, then, does it appear? When the three parts of the soul are in harmony. Harmony for them is the dominance of the more excellent ; for instance, when the two, the high-spirited and the lustful, are guided by the reasoning faculty as horses by their driver, then justice emerges ; for it is justice for the better to rule always and everywhere, and for the worse to be ruled : and the reasoning faculty is better, the lustful and the high-spirited the inferior. Whenever, on the other hand, high spirit and desire turn restive and get out of hand, and by the violence of their impetus drag the driver, that is the reason, down from his seat and put him under the yoke, and each of these passions gets hold of the reins, injustice prevails. For it cannot but be that owing to the badness and want of skill of the driver, the team is swept down precipices and gullies, just as by experience and skill it must needs be brought safely through.<sup>a</sup>

XXIV. Now let us go on to look at our subject in this way. "Pheison" signifies 'alteration of mouth,' and "Évilat" 'in travail' : and by these prudence is plainly indicated. For while most people deem the man prudent who can find sophistical arguments, and is clever at expressing his ideas, Moses knows such

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- οἶδε, φρόνιμον δὲ οὐδαμῶς. ἐν ἀλλοιώσει γὰρ τοῦ στόματος, τουτέστι τοῦ ἑρμηνευτικοῦ λόγου, ἢ φρόνησις θεωρεῖται· ὅπερ ἦν μὴ ἐν λόγῳ τὸ φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργῳ θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ σπουδαίαις
- 75 πράξεσι. κύκλον δὲ περιτίθῃσι καὶ ὡσανεὶ τεῖχος ἢ φρόνησις τῇ Εὐιλὰτ τῇ ὠδινούσῃ ἀφροσύνη πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καὶ καθαίρεισιν· ἀφροσύνη δὲ
- [59] κύριον ὄνομά ἐστιν | ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι ὁ ἀφρων νοῦς ἀνεφίκτων ἐρῶν ἐκάστοτε ἐν ὠδίσιν ἐστιν, ὅτε χρημάτων ἐρᾶ, [ὠδίνει,] ὅτε δόξης, ὅτε ἡδονῆς,
- 76 ὅτε ἄλλου τινός. ἐν ὠδίσι δὲ ὧν οὐδέποτε τίκτει· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε γόνιμον οὐδὲν τελεσφορεῖν ἢ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχῆ· ἃ δ' ἂν καὶ δοκῇ προφέρειν, ἀμβλωθρίδια εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἐκτρώματα, κατεσθίοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς, ἴσα θανάτῳ ψυχικῷ. παρὸ καὶ δεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Ἁαρῶν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς Μωυσέως ἰάσασθαι τὴν τροπὴν τῆς Μαρίας, ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἐν ὠδίσι κακῶν ἢ ψυχῆ, διὸ καὶ φησι· “μὴ γένηται ὡς ἴσον θανάτῳ, ὡς ἐκτρωμα ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ μήτρας μητρός, καὶ κατεσθίει τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς” (Num. xii. 12).
- 77 XXV. “Ἐκεῖ” οὖν φησιν “οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσίον” (Gen. ii. 11). οὐ λέγει ἐκεῖ εἶναι τὸ χρυσίον μόνον, ἀλλὰ “ἐκεῖ οὐ ἐστίν.” ἢ γὰρ φρόνησις, ἦν εἴκασε χρυσίῳ, ἀδόλω καὶ καθαρᾷ καὶ πεπυρωμένῃ καὶ δεδοκιμασμένῃ καὶ τιμία φύσει, ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐσα οὐκ ἐστὶ τῆς σοφίας κτῆμα, ἀλλὰ οὐ καὶ ἡ σοφία ἐστὶν αὐτή, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, transference of the matter from the sphere of theory to that of practice.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 74-77

an one to be a lover of words indeed, but a prudent man by no means. For prudence is discerned in "alteration of the mouth,"<sup>a</sup> that is in the word of utterance undergoing a transformation. This comes to the same thing as saying that prudence is not seen in speech but in action and earnest doings. And prudence surrounds with an encircling wall Evilat, or "folly in travail," to besiege and overthrow it. "Travailing" is a name strictly appropriate to folly, because the foolish mind, being enamoured of things out of its reach, is evermore in travail pangs. This is so when it is enamoured of money, when of glory, when of pleasure, when of anything else. But, though in travail, it never brings to the birth, for the soul of the worthless man has not by nature the power to bring forth any offspring. What it seems to produce turn out to be wretched abortions and miscarriages, devouring half of its flesh, an evil tantamount to the death of the soul. Accordingly Aaron, the sacred word, begs of Moses, the beloved of God, to heal the change in Miriam, that her soul may not be in travail with evils; and so he says "Let her not become as one dead, as an abortion coming forth from the womb of a mother; consuming half of her flesh" (Num. xii. 12).

XXV. To resume. "There," it says, "where (or 'whose') the gold is" (Gen. ii. 11). It does not merely say that the gold is there, but "there (is He) 'whose' it is." For prudence, which he has likened to gold, a substance free from alloy and pure and cleansed by fire and tested and precious, is there in the wisdom of God, but, being there, is not a possession of wisdom, but of Him whose is wisdom itself also, even God Who created it and makes it His.

## PHILO

78 κτωμένου θεοῦ. “ τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν ” (Gen. ii. 12). οὐκοῦν ἔστιν ἕτερον χρυσίον οὐχὶ καλόν; πάνυ γε· διττὸν γὰρ φρονήσεως γένος, τὸ μὲν καθόλου, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους· ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνησις ἐκ μέρους οὔσα οὐ καλή, φθαρέντος γάρ μου συμφθείρεται· ἢ δὲ καθόλου φρόνησις ἢ οἰκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καλή, ἀφθαρτος γὰρ ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ οἴκῳ διαμένει.

79 XXVI. “ Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος ” (ib.) οἱ δύο ποιοί, ὃ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, ὁ μὲν συνιστάμενος κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ὁ δὲ φρονῶν κατὰ τὸ φρονεῖν· τούτων γὰρ ἔνεκα τῶν ποιῶν ἔσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς <ἐν> τῷ γηγενεῖ φρόνησίν τε καὶ ἀρετήν· τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἦν αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ οἱ δεξόμενοι λογισμοὶ ὑπῆρχον καὶ τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς ἐναπομαζόμενοι; ὥστ' εἰκότως ἐκεῖ ἔστιν, ὅπου ἢ φρόνησις, ὃ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, οἱ δύο λίθοι. μήποτε δὲ ὁ

80 Ἰούδας ἔστι καὶ ὁ Ἰσάχαρ· ὁ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φρονήσεως ἀσκητῆς ἐξομολογεῖται εὐχαριστικῶς τῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀφθόνως δωρησαμένῳ, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα ἐργάζεται· τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐξομολογουμένου ὁ Ἰούδας σύμβολον, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἴσταται τίκτουσα ἡ Λεία (Gen. xxix. 35), τοῦ δὲ ἐργαζομένου τὰ καλὰ ὁ Ἰσάχαρ, “ ὑπέθηκε γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> In *De Sobr.* 34 ff. this distinction between the adjective or noun and the verb, the one representing *ἔξις* and the other *ἐνέργεια*, is worked out at length. Thus *ζῶγραφος* signifies a man who can paint, while *ζωγραφεῖν* means the act of painting. Philo goes on to show that the same distinction applies to the virtues.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 478.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 78-80

“Now the gold of that land is good.” “Is there, then, other gold that is not good?” Yes, indeed, for prudence is of two kinds, the one universal, the other particular. The prudence that is in me, being particular, is not good, for when I perish, it perishes together with me. But the universal prudence, which has for its abode the wisdom of God and His dwelling-place, is good, for, itself imperishable, it abides in an imperishable dwelling-place.

XXVI. “And there is the ruby and the greenstone (*ibid.*), the two concrete embodiments of this virtue, the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense: the determining quality in the one is potential good sense, that in the other good sense exercised. For it was for the sake of these concretes that God sowed in the earth-born man good sense (in particular) and virtue (in general). For what benefit had there been in virtue had there not been ready for it the activities of reason to welcome it and receive its impressions?” So that, naturally, there where good sense is, there is both the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense, the two precious stones.<sup>a</sup>

Judah and Issachar<sup>b</sup> seem to be these. For the man who exercises himself in the practical wisdom of God, makes thankful acknowledgement to Him who bestowed good without stint; while the representative of the other aspect is furthermore engaged in noble and worthy works. Now of the man who makes confession of thankfulness Judah is the symbol, with whose birth Leah leaves off bearing (Gen. xxix. 35); but of him who is engaged in noble deeds Issachar is the figure, “for he submitted his shoulder to labour

## PHILO

τὸν ὤμον εἰς τὸ πονεῖν καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ γεωργός ”  
 (Gen. xlix. 15), ἐφ’ οὗ φησι Μωυσῆς σπαρέντος  
 καὶ φυτευθέντος ἐν ψυχῇ “ ἔστι μισθός ” (Gen.  
 xxx. 18), ὅπερ ἦν οὐκ ἀτελής ὁ πόνος ἀλλὰ  
 [60] στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ μισθοδοτούμενος. |  
 81 ὅτι δὲ τούτων ποιεῖται μνήμην, δι’ ἐτέρων δηλοῖ,  
 ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδῆρους φῆ· “ καὶ συνυφανεῖς ἐν  
 αὐτῷ λίθον τετράστιχον· στίχος λίθων ἔσται,  
 σάρδιον τοπάζιον σμάραγδος ὁ στίχος ὁ εἰς ”—  
 ‘Ρουβὴν Συμεὼν Λευί—“ καὶ ὁ στίχος ” φησὶν  
 “ ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθραξ καὶ σάπφειρος ” (Exod.  
 xxviii. 17, 18)· ὁ δὲ σάπφειρος πράσινος λίθος  
 ἐστίν. ἐγγέγλυπται δὲ τῷ μὲν ἄνθρακι ὁ Ἰούδας,  
 τέταρτος γάρ, τῷ δὲ σαπφείρῳ ὁ Ἰσάακ.  
 82 διὰ τί οὖν οὐχ ὥσπερ λίθον πράσινον  
 εἶρηκεν, οὕτως καὶ λίθον ἀνθράκινον; ὅτι ὁ μὲν  
 Ἰούδας ὁ ἐξομολογητικὸς τρόπος αὐλός ἐστι καὶ  
 ἀσώματος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τὸ τῆς ἐξομο-  
 λογήσεως ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὁμολογίαν·  
 ὅταν γὰρ ἐκβῆ ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνεύγκη  
 θεῷ, ὥσπερ ὁ γέλως Ἰσαάκ, τηνικαῦτα ὁμολογίαν  
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ποιεῖται· ἕως δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὑπο-  
 τίθεται ὡς αἰτίον τινος, μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε τοῦ παρα-  
 χωρεῖν θεῷ καὶ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ  
 τοῦτο τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι νοητέον ὅτι ἔργον ἐστὶν  
 οὐχὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φαίνοντος αὐτῇ θεοῦ τὸ  
 εὐχάριστον. αὐλος μὲν δὴ ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος

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<sup>a</sup> “Judah” is derived from a verb meaning “to thank”:  
 “Issachar” from a noun meaning “reward.” That thankful  
 acknowledgement of God’s goodness is the crowning virtue  
 is typified by Leah ceasing to bear when she had given  
 birth to Judah (Heinemann).

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 80-82

and became a tiller of the soil " (Gen. xlix. 15). In his case, as Moses says, when he has been sown and planted in the soul " there is a reward " (Gen. xxx. 18),<sup>a</sup> that is to say his labour is not in vain, but crowned by God and awarded a recompense. That he is referring to these patriarchs he shows elsewhere when he says of the high-priestly garment, " And thou shalt weave together in it precious stones in fourfold order : there shall be a row of precious stones, sardius, topaz, smaragdus, making the one row "—Reuben, Simeon, Levi—" and the second row " it says " ruby and sapphire " (Exod. xxviii. 17 f.) : but the sapphire is a green stone. Now Judah is engraved in the ruby, for he is fourth in order, and Issachar on the sapphire.

Why then, while saying " a green stone," does he not also say, " a ruby stone " ?<sup>b</sup> Because Judah, the disposition prone to make confession of praise, is exempt from body and matter. For indeed the very word denoting confession (of praise) vividly portrays the acknowledgement that takes a man out of himself. For whenever the mind goes out from itself and offers itself up to God, as Isaac or " laughter," does, then does it make confession of acknowledgement towards the Existent One. But so long as the mind supposes itself to be the author of anything, it is far away from making room for God and from confessing or making acknowledgement to Him. For we must take note that the very confession of praise itself is the work not of the soul but of God who gives it thankfulness.<sup>c</sup> Incorporeal assuredly is Judah with his confession of praise.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, in Gen. ii. 12.

<sup>c</sup> *φαίνειν*, " cause to appear " = " give." Cf. *Odyssey*, iv. 12, xv. 26.

## PHILO

- 83 Ἰούδας. τῷ δὲ ἐκ πόνου προεληλυθότι Ἰσάαχαρ δεῖ καὶ ὕλης σωματικῆς· ἐπεὶ πῶς ἀναγνώσεται χωρὶς ὀμμάτων ὁ ἀσκητής; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσεται τῶν προτρεπτικῶν λόγων χωρὶς ἀκοῆς; πῶς δὲ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν ἐφίξεται δίχα γαστρὸς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν τερατουργίας; διὰ τοῦτο λίθῳ ἀπ-
- 84 εικάσθη. καὶ τὰ χρώματα μέντοι διάφορα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐξομολογητικῶ οἰκεία χροιά ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρακος, πεπύρωται γὰρ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ μεθύει τὴν νήφουσαν μέθην, τῷ δὲ ἔτι πονοῦντι ἢ τοῦ πρασίνου λίθου, ὠχροὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἀσκήσει διὰ τε τὸν τρύχοντα πόνον καὶ διὰ δέος τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ἂν ἴσως τοῦ κατ' εὐχὴν τέλους.
- 85 XXVII. Ἄξιον δὲ διαπορῆσαι, διὰ τί οἱ μὲν δύο ποταμοὶ ὁ Φεισῶν καὶ ὁ Γηῶν κυκλοῦσι χώρας, ὁ μὲν τὴν Εὐιλιάτ, ὁ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδέτερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τίγρις κατ-έναντι Ἀσσυρίων λέγεται εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης οὐδενός· καίτοι γε πρὸς τὸ ἀληθές ὁ Εὐφράτης καὶ περιρρεῖ τινὰς χώρας καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἔχει πολλὰς· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ
- 86 περὶ ἧθους ἐπανορθώσεως. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἢ μὲν φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία δύνανται κύκλον καὶ τεῖχος βαλέσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων κακιῶν, ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ δειλίας, καὶ ἐλεῖν αὐτάς· ἀσθενεῖς γὰρ καὶ εὐάλωτοι ἀμφότεροι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων εὐληπτος τῷ φρονίμῳ καὶ ὁ δειλὸς ὑποπέπτωκε τῷ ἀνδρείῳ·
- [61] ἢ δὲ σωφροσύνη ἀδυνατεῖ κυκλώσασθαι | τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἡδονήν· χαλεπαὶ γὰρ ἀντίπαλοι καὶ δυσκαθαίρετοι· οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐγκρατέστατοι



But for Issachar who has advanced through labour there is need accordingly of a material body. For how shall the keen endeavourer read without eyes? How shall he hear the words of encouragement without ears? How shall he eat food and drink without a stomach and its wonderful processes? That is why he is likened to a stone. Yes, and the colours differ. To him who makes confession of praise the hue of the ruby belongs, for he is permeated by fire in giving thanks to God, and is drunk with a sober drunkenness. But to him who is still labouring the hue of the green stone is proper, for men in exercise and training are pale, both by reason of the wearing labour and by reason of the fear that they may perchance not obtain the result that accords with their prayer.

XXVII. It is worth inquiring why, while the two rivers Pheison and Geon encompass countries, the one Evilat, the other Ethiopia, neither of the others does so; but of the Tigris it is said that it is over against the Assyrians, and the Euphrates is not said to be over against anything; and yet as a matter of fact the Euphrates both flows round many countries and has many facing it. But the subject of the passage is not the river, but amendment of character. We must observe, then, that prudence and courage are able to construct an enclosing wall against the opposite vices, folly and cowardice, and capture them; for they are both of them weak and easy to take, for the foolish man falls an easy victim to the prudent man, and the coward lies at the mercy of the brave man; self-mastery on the contrary is powerless to encircle desire and pleasure; for they are hard to wrestle with and difficult to overthrow. Mark you not that

## PHILO

ἀνάγκη τοῦ θνητοῦ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ σιτία καὶ ποτά, ἐξ ὧν αἱ γαστροὶ ἡδοναὶ συνεστᾶσιν; ἀγαπητὸν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀντιβῆναι καὶ μαχέσασθαι τῷ  
 87 γένει τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. διὸ καὶ κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων ἐστὶν ὁ Τίγρις ποταμὸς, ἡ σωφροσύνη τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἡ δέ γε δικαιοσύνη, καθ' ἣν ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς συνίσταται, οὔτε πολιορκεῖ καὶ περιτειχίζει τινὰ οὔτε ἀντιστατεῖ· διὰ τί; ὅτι ἀπονεμητικὴ τῶν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τέτακται οὔτε κατὰ τὸν κατήγορον οὔτε κατὰ τὸν ἀπολογούμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν δικαστήν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ δικαστὴς οὔτε νικῆσαί τινος προήρηται οὔτε πολεμῆσαί τισι καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι, γνώμην δὲ ἀποφηνάμενος βραβεύει τὸ δίκαιον, οὔτως ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐδενὸς οὔσα ἀντίδικος ἀπονέμει τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστω πράγματι.

88 **XXVIII.** “Καὶ ἔλαβε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησε καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν” (Gen. ii. 15). τοῦ πλασθέντος διαφέρει ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον, ὡς εἶπον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλασθεὶς νοῦς ἐστὶ γεωδέστερος, ὁ δὲ ποιηθεὶς ἀυλότερος, φθαρτῆς ὕλης ἀμέτοχος, καθαρωτέρας καὶ εἰλικρινε-  
 89 στέρας τετυχηκῶς συστάσεως. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν καθαρὸν νοῦν λαμβάνει ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐὼν ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ βαίνειν, καὶ λαβὼν τίθησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐρριζωμέναις καὶ βλαστανούσαις ἀρεταῖς, ἵνα ἐργάζεταιται αὐτὰς καὶ φυλάττη. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀσκηταὶ γενόμενοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους μετέβαλον· ὧ δὲ παρέχει ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστήμην βεβαίαν, τούτῳ δίδωσιν ἀμφοτέρα, ἐργάζεσθαι τε τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ

<sup>a</sup> The Stoic definition of justice, *S. V. F.* iii. 262.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 86-89

even the most self-controlled of men under compulsion of the mortal element in them resort to food and drink, out of which the pleasures of the appetite develop? So we must be content to face and fight lust as a principle. That is why the river Tigris is over against the Assyrians, self-mastery over against pleasure. Justice, however, the characteristic of the river Euphrates, neither besieges and encircles anyone with a palisade, nor withstands any in conflict. Why? Because it is the function of justice to assign to each what he deserves,<sup>a</sup> and justice sustains the part neither of prosecutor nor of defendant but of judge. Even as the judge, therefore, makes it his business neither to conquer any persons, nor to wage war on any and oppose them, but pronounces a judgement and awards what is just, so too justice, being nobody's opponent, accords to each matter what it merits.

XXVIII. "And the Lord God took the man whom He had made, and placed him in the garden to till and to guard it" (Gen. ii. 15). "The man whom God made" differs, as I have said before, from the one that "was moulded": for the one that was moulded is the more earthly mind, the one that was made the less material, having no part in perishable matter, endowed with a constitution of a purer and clearer kind. This pure mind, then, God takes, not suffering it to go outside of Himself, and, having taken it, sets it among the virtues that have roots and put forth shoots, that he may till them and guard them. For many, after beginning to practise virtue, have changed at the last: but on the man to whom God affords secure knowledge, He bestows both advantages, both that of tilling the virtues, and also

## PHILO

μηδέποτε αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ταμιεύειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐκάστην. τὸ μὲν οὖν “ ἐργάζεσθαι ” ἀντὶ τοῦ πράττειν, τὸ δὲ “ φυλάττειν ” ἀντὶ τοῦ μνημονεύειν.

- 90 XXIX. “ Καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων· ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἢ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανείσθε ” (Gen. ii. 16, 17). ποιῶ
- Ἀδὰμ ἐντέλλεται καὶ τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος, διαπορητέον· οὐ γὰρ μέμνηται πρότερον αὐτοῦ, νυνὶ δὲ πρῶτον ὠνόμακεν αὐτόν. μήποτ' οὖν βούλεται σοι τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραστήσαι τοῦνομα. κάλει|
- [62] δῆ, φησὶν, αὐτὸν γῆν· τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἐρμηνεύεται, ὥστε ὅταν ἀκούῃς Ἀδὰμ, γῆνον καὶ φθαρτὸν νοῦν εἶναι νόμιζε· ὁ γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα οὐ
- 91 γῆνιος, ἀλλ' οὐράνιος. ζηητέον δέ, διὰ τί πᾶσιν ἐπιτιθεῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐπιτέθεικεν ἑαυτῷ. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δύναται καταλαβεῖν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ γνωρίσαι ἀδυνάτως ἔχει· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὄρα, ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐχ ὄρα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ νοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα νοεῖ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνει· εἰπάτω γάρ, τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ποταπός, πνεῦμα ἢ αἷμα ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀήρ ἢ ἕτερόν τι [σῶμα], ἢ τοσοῦτόν γε ὅτι σῶμά ἐστιν ἢ πάλιν ἀσώματον. εἶτ' οὐκ εὐήθεις οἱ περὶ θεοῦ σκεπτόμενοι οὐσίας; οἱ γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἴσασι, πῶς ἂν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ψυχῆς ἀκριβώσαιεν; ἢ

<sup>a</sup> “Feedingly” is a rough representation of the Hebrew idiom. E.V. “freely.”

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 89-91

that of never desisting from them, but of evermore husbanding and guarding each one of them. So "tilling" represents practising, while "guarding" represents remembering.

XXIX. "And the Lord God commanded Adam saying : From every tree that is in the garden thou shalt feedingly <sup>a</sup> eat, but of the tree of knowing good and evil ye shall not eat of it : and in the day that ye eat of it ye shall surely die " (Gen. ii. 16, 17).

We must raise the question *what* Adam He commands and who this is ; for the writer has not mentioned him before, but has named him now for the first time. Perchance, then, he means to give us the name of the man that was moulded. "Call him earth" he says, for that is the meaning of "Adam," so that when you hear the word "Adam," you must make up your mind that it is the earthly and perishable mind ; for the mind that was made after the image is not earthly but heavenly. And we must inquire why when assigning their names to all the other creatures Adam did not assign one to himself. What, then, are we to say ? The mind that is in each one of us can apprehend other objects, but is incapable of knowing itself. For just as the eye sees other objects but does not see itself, so the mind too perceives other objects, but does not apprehend itself. Can it say what it is and of what kind, breath or blood or fire or air or anything else ? Can it even say that it is a body or else that it is incorporeal ? Are not they simpletons, then, who inquire about God's substance ? For how should those, who know not the substance of their own soul, have accurate ideas about the soul of the universe ? For

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- γὰρ τῶν ὄλων ψυχὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ κατὰ ἔννοιαν.
- 92 XXX. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Ἀδάμ, τουτέστιν ὁ νοῦς, τὰ ἄλλα ὀνομάζων καὶ καταλαμβάνων, ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτι ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν. ἐντέλλεται δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ιδέαν γεγονότι· ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ δίχα προτροπῆς ἔχει τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτομαθῶς, οὗτος δ' ἄνευ διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἂν φρο-
- 93 νήσεως ἐπιλάχοι. διαφέρει δὲ τρία ταῦτα· πρόσταξις, ἀπαγόρευσις, ἐντολὴ καὶ παραίνεσις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπαγόρευσις περὶ ἀμαρτημάτων γίνεται καὶ πρὸς φαῦλον, ἡ δὲ πρόσταξις <περὶ> κατορθωμάτων, ἡ δὲ παραίνεσις πρὸς τὸν μέσον, τὸν μήτε φαῦλον μήτε σπουδαῖον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀμαρτάνει, ὡς ἀπαγορεύειν ἂν τινα αὐτῷ, οὔτε κατορθοῖ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου πρόσταξιν, ἀλλὰ χρεῖαν ἔχει παραινέσεως τῆς ἀπέχειν<sup>1</sup> μὲν τῶν φαύλων διδασκουσύης, προτρεπούσης δὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἀστειῶν.
- 94 τῷ μὲν οὖν τελείῳ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα προστάττειν ἢ ἀπαγορεύειν ἢ παραινεῖν οὐχὶ δεῖ, οὐδενὸς γὰρ τούτων ὁ τέλειος δεῖται, τῷ δὲ φαύλῳ προστάξεως καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως χρεῖα, τῷ δὲ νηπίῳ παραινέσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας, ὥσπερ τῷ τελείῳ γραμματικῷ ἢ μουσικῷ οὐδενὸς δεῖ παρραγγέλματος τῶν εἰς τὰς τέχνας, τῷ δὲ σφαλλομένῳ περὶ τὰ θεωρήματα ὡσανεὶ τινῶν νόμων προστάξις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐχόντων, τῷ δὲ ἄρτι μαθάνοντι

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέχειν has three mss. and, apparently, the Armenian version on its side, as against ἀνέχειν = "cease from," which would fit the *bad* man, but not the *neutral* man. In Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. xxxiii., to which L. and S. (1925) refer, ἀνέχων is probably transitive. For ἀπέχειν see especially Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 62, for ἀνέχειν *De Opif.* 128.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 91-94

we may conceive of God as the soul of the universe.<sup>a</sup> XXX. Quite naturally, therefore, Adam, that is the Mind, though he names and apprehends other things, gives no name to himself, since he is ignorant of himself and his own nature. Now it is to this being, and not to the being created after His image and after the original idea, that God gives the command. For the latter, even without urging, possesses virtue instinctively; but the former, independently of instruction, could have no part in wisdom. There is a difference between these three—injunction, prohibition, command accompanied by exhortation. For prohibition deals with wrongdoings and is addressed to the bad man, injunction concerns duties rightly done, and exhortation is addressed to the neutral man, the man who is neither bad nor good: for he is neither sinning, to lead anyone to forbid him, nor is he so doing right as right reason enjoins, but has need of exhortation, which teaches him to refrain from evil things, and incites him to aim at things noble. There is no need, then, to give injunctions or prohibitions or exhortations to the perfect man formed after the (Divine) image, for none of these does the perfect man require. The bad man has need of injunction and prohibition, and the child of exhortation and teaching. Just so the perfect master of music or letters requires none of the directions that apply to those arts, whereas the man who stumbles over the subjects of his study does require what we may call laws or rules with their injunctions and prohibitions, while one who is now beginning to learn requires teaching.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 478.

## PHILO

- [63] | διδασκαλίας. εικότως οὖν τῷ γήινῳ νῶ  
 95 μήτε φαύλῳ ὄντι μήτε σπουδαίῳ ἀλλὰ μέσῳ τὰ  
 νῦν ἐντέλλεται καὶ παραινεί. ἡ δὲ παραίνεσις  
 γίνεται δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλήσεων καὶ τοῦ  
 κυρίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, “ ἐνετείλατο ” γὰρ “ κύριος  
 ὁ θεός,” ἵνα, εἰ μὲν πείθοιτο ταῖς παραινέσεσιν,  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν ἀξιωθείη, εἰ δὲ ἀφηγιάζοι,  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὡς δεσπότης καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας  
 96 σκορακίζοιτο. διόπερ καὶ ὅτε ἐκβάλλεται τοῦ  
 παραδείσου, τὰς αὐτὰς κλήσεις παρείληφε, λέγει  
 γάρ· “ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ὁ θεός ἐκ  
 τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς, ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν  
 ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη ” (Gen. iii. 23), ἵνα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὡς  
 δεσπότης ὁ κύριος καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτης ὁ θεός ἐνετέλ-  
 λετο, πάλιν ὡς ἀμφοτέρα ὦν τὸν παρακούσαντα  
 τιμωρῆται· δι' ὧν γὰρ προὔτρεπε δυνάμειν, διὰ  
 τούτων τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα ἀποπέμπεται.
- 97 XXXI. “ Ἄ δὲ παραινεί, ταῦτά ἐστιν· “ ἀπὸ  
 παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παράδεισῳ βρώσει  
 φάγη ” (Gen. ii. 16). προτρέπει τὴν τοῦ ἀν-  
 θρώπου ψυχὴν μὴ ἀφ' ἐνὸς ξύλου μηδ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς  
 ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ὠφελείσθαι·  
 τὸ γὰρ φαγεῖν σύμβολόν ἐστι τροφῆς ψυχικῆς·  
 τρέφεται δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀναλήψει τῶν καλῶν καὶ  
 98 πράξει τῶν κατορθωμάτων. μὴ μόνον δέ φησι  
 “ φάγη,” ἀλλὰ καὶ “ βρώσει,” τουτέστι κατ-  
 αλέσας καὶ ἐπιλεάνας μὴ ἰδιώτου ἀλλ' ἀθλητοῦ  
 τρόπον τὴν τροφήν, ἵνα ἰσχὺν καὶ δύνάμειν περι-



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 95-98

Quite naturally, then, does God give the commandments and exhortations before us to the earthly man who is neither bad nor good but midway between these. To enforce the exhortation, both Divine titles are employed, both "Lord" and "God," for it says "God the Lord commanded him." This is in order that, should he obey the exhortations, he may be deemed worthy by God of His benefactions ; but that, should he rebel, he may be driven from the presence of the Lord who has a Master's authority over him. For this reason again, when he is being cast out of the garden, the sacred writer has introduced the same titles, for he says, "And the Lord God sent him forth out of the garden of delight, to till the ground, out of which he was taken" (Gen. iii. 23). This is to show that, since "the Lord" as Master and "God" as Benefactor had issued the commands, so in both capacities does He inflict punishment on him who had disobeyed them. For he dismisses the disobedient by the exercise of the very powers which He had exercised in urging him to obedience.

XXXI. The charge which he gives is this : "From every tree that is in the garden thou shalt eat feedingly thereon" (Gen. ii. 16). He moves the soul of the man to get benefit, not from a single tree or from a single virtue but from all the virtues : for eating is a figure of soul-nourishment : and the soul is nourished by the acquisition of things noble, and the practice of things rightful. And He says not merely "shalt eat," but also "feedingly," that is, chewing and masticating the nourishment, not like an ordinary person, but like an athlete, that you may

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ποιήσῃ· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς οἱ ἀλείπται παραγγέλλουσι μὴ κάπτειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν λεαίνειν, ἵνα πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἐπιδιδῶσιν· ἐτέρως γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ἀθλητῆς τρεφόμεθα, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα τοῦ ζῆν μόνον, ὁ δὲ ἀθλητῆς καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦ πιαίνεσθαι καὶ ῥώννυσθαι, παρὸ καὶ ἓν τι τῶν ἀσκητικῶν ἐστὶ τὸ λεαίνεσθαι τροφήν. τὸ “ βρώσει φαγεῖν ” ἐστὶ 99 τοιοῦτον. ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον διατυπώσωμεν αὐτό. τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς γονεῖς ἐδώδιμον καὶ τρόφιμόν ἐστίν· ἀλλ’ ἐτέρως οἱ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι τιμῶσιν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἔθος, οἷτινες οὐ βρώσει ἐσθίουσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐσθίουσι· πότε οὖν καὶ βρώσει; ὅταν ἀναπτύξαντες καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνήσαντες κρίνωσιν ἐκουσίως, ὅτι καλὸν τοῦτ’ ἐστίν· αἱ δὲ αἰτίαι τοιαῦται· ἐγέννησαν ἡμᾶς, ἔθρεψαν, ἐπαίδευσαν, πάντων αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν ἀγαθῶν. πάλιν ἐδώδιμον <τὸ> τὸν ὄντα τιμᾶσθαι· τότε δὲ “ βρώσει,” ὅταν καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἀναπτύξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰτιῶν ἀποδόσεως.

100 XXXII. “ Ἄπο δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ” (Gen. ii. 17). οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ [64] ξύλον | τοῦτο· εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐσθίειν παραγγέλλει τῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου μὴ φαγεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ φυσικῶς· ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, οὐσία καὶ οὐκ ἔστι δυνάμει. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κηρῷ δυνάμει μὲν εἰσι πᾶσαι αἱ σφραγίδες, ἐντελεχεία δὲ μόνῃ ἡ

gain strength and power : for, as we know, the trainers charge the athletes not to bolt their food, but to masticate it slowly, in order that they may grow stronger. For the athlete and I take nourishment with different objects ; I, just to sustain life, the athlete, for the further purpose of growing brawny and strong ; and so mastication of food is a special point in training. Such is the meaning of " thou shalt eat feedingly thereon."

Let us try to form a yet more precise conception of it. To honour our parents is something eatable and nutritious : but good and bad sons honour them differently, the latter in compliance with custom, and these do not " eat feedingly," but simply eat. When, then, eat they feedingly too ? When, after exploring the precept and searching for the grounds on which it rests, they freely determine that such conduct is noble. The grounds for it are such as these : they gave us birth, nurtured us, educated us, have been authors of all good things to us. Honour again shown to the Existent One is something eatable ; it is shown " feedingly," when the honour we show is coupled with close search into the precept, and with a due appreciation of its motives.<sup>a</sup>

XXXII. " But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye shall not eat " (Gen. ii. 17). Therefore this tree is not in the garden : for if He bids them to eat of every tree in the garden, but not to eat of this one, it is evident that it is not in the garden : and this is quite naturally so : for actually, as I have said, it is there, and virtually it is not. For as all the impressions are virtually in the wax, but actually only the one that has been made, so in the

<sup>a</sup> Or " rendering of our reasons."

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τετυπωμένη, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κηροειδεῖ ὑπαρχούσῃ πάντες οἱ τύποι περιέχονται δυνάμει, οὐκ ἀποτελέσματι, κρατεῖ δὲ ὁ εἰς χαραχθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ, ἕως μὴ ἀπαλήλιπται ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἐναργέστερον καὶ ἐκδήλως μᾶλλον ἐπιχαράζαντος.

- 101 ἐξῆς καὶ κεῖνο διαπορητέον· ὅτε μὲν παραινεῖ ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου ἐσθίειν, ἕνα προτρέπει, ὅτε δὲ ἀπαγορεύει χρῆσθαι τῷ πονηροῦ καὶ καλοῦ αἰτίῳ, πλείοσι διαλέγεται· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ φησιν “ ἀπὸ παντὸς φάγη,” ἐνταῦθα δὲ “ οὐ φάγεσθε ” καὶ “ ἦ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε,” οὐχὶ
- 102 φάγῃς, καὶ “ ἀποθανεῖσθε,” οὐχὶ ἀποθανῆ. λεκτέον οὖν τάδε, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν σπάνιόν ἐστι τὰγαθόν, τὸ δὲ κακὸν πολύχουν· διὰ τοῦτο σοφὸν μὲν εὐρεῖν ἕνα μόνον ἔργον, φαύλων δὲ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον· εἰκότως οὖν ἐνὶ παραγγέλλει ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐντρέφεισθαι, πολλοῖς δὲ περὶ τοῦ πανουρ-
- 103 γίας ἀπέχεσθαι, ταύτῃ γὰρ μυρίοι χρῶνται. δευτέρον <δέ>, εἰς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν ἐνὸς μόνου δεῖ τοῦ λογισμοῦ· τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐχ οἶον οὐ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖ· σχεδὸν γὰρ σοφίας ἔργον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλοτριουῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ· εἰς δὲ ἀπόλαυσιν κακίας οὐ μόνον δεῖ πως ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ τὸν λόγον
- 104 καὶ τὸ σῶμα· ὁ γὰρ φαῦλος δεῖται τούτων ἀπάντων πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἰδίας κακίας· ἐπεὶ πῶς

<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Phaedo* 65 A.

soul, whose nature is waxlike, all the types are contained virtually, but not in actual execution, and the single one engraved in it is in possession, so long as it has not been obliterated by another seal which has made over it a clearer and bolder impression.

Next there is this further question to be raised. When He is giving the charge to eat of every tree of the garden, He addresses the command to a single person, but when He issues the prohibition against making any use of that which causes evil and good, He speaks to more than one : for in the former case He says, " Thou shalt eat from every tree " ; but in the latter, " ye shall not eat, and in the day that ye eat " not " that thou eatest," and " ye shall die " not " thou shalt die." We must accordingly remark in the first place that the good is scarce, the evil abundant. Hence it is hard to find a single wise man, while of inferior men there is a countless multitude. Quite fitly, therefore, does He bid a single man to find nourishment in the virtues, but many to abstain from evil-doing, for myriads practise this. In the second place, for the acquisition and practice of virtue a single thing only, namely our understanding, is requisite : but the body not only fails to co-operate to this end, but is an actual hindrance ; for we may almost make it an axiom that the business of wisdom is to become estranged from the body and its cravings<sup>a</sup> : but for the enjoyment of evil it is necessary not only that the mind be in a certain condition, but also the power of perception and of speech, in fact the body ; for all these the inferior man requires for the full satisfaction of his particular form of wickedness. For how shall he divulge sacred and hidden truths

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ἐκλαλήσει μυστήρια φωνητήριον οὐκ ἔχων ὄργανον; πῶς δὲ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς χρήσεται γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων στερόμενος; δεόντως οὖν ἐνὶ μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ διαλέγεται περὶ κτήσεως ἀρετῆς, μόνου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ χρεία πρὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς, περὶ δὲ κακίας πλείοσι, ψυχῇ, λόγῳ, αἰσθήσεσι, σώματι, διὰ πάντων γὰρ τούτων ἐμφαίνεται.

- 105 XXXIII. Λέγει γε μὴν· “ ἦ ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε ” (Gen. ii. 17). καὶ φαγόντες οὐχ οἶον οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδοποιοῦνται καὶ ἑτέροις τοῦ ζῆν αἰτιοὶ καθίστανται. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὅτι διττός ἐστι
- [65] θάνατος, ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπου, | ὁ δὲ ψυχῆς ἴδιος· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπου χωρισμός ἐστι ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ὁ δὲ ψυχῆς θάνατος ἀρετῆς μὲν φθορά
- 106 ἐστὶ, κακίας δὲ ἀνάληψις. παρὸ καὶ φησιν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ “ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν,” δηλῶν οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἴδιον καὶ κατ’ ἐξοχὴν θάνατον, ὅς ἐστι ψυχῆς ἐντυμβευομένης πάθει καὶ κακίαις ἀπάσαις. καὶ σχεδὸν οὗτος ὁ θάνατος μάχεται ἐκείνῳ· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ διάκρισις ἐστὶ τῶν συγκριθέντων σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς, οὗτος δὲ τοῦναντίον σύνοδος ἀμφοῖν, κρατοῦντος μὲν τοῦ χειρόνος σώματος, κρατουμένου δὲ τοῦ
- 107 κρείττονος ψυχῆς. ὅπου δ’ ἂν λέγῃ “ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν,” παρατήρει ὅτι θάνατον τὸν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παραλαμβάνει, οὐ τὸν φύσει γινόμενον· φύσει μὲν

<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Phaedo* 64 c.

<sup>b</sup> Or “ of elements which had been in combination.”

unless he have an organ of speech? And how is he to indulge in pleasures, if he be bereft of a stomach and the organs of taste? So it is in accordance with the necessities of the case that He addresses the understanding alone about gaining virtue; for, as I said, it alone is needed for its acquisition; whereas in the pursuit of evil several faculties are needed, soul, speech, senses, body, for wickedness employs all these in displaying itself.

XXXIII. And further he says, "In the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall die the death" (Gen. ii. 17). And yet after they have eaten, not merely do they *not* die, but they beget children and become authors of life to others. What, then, is to be said to this? That death is of two kinds, one that of the man in general, the other that of the soul in particular. The death of the man is the separation of the soul from the body,<sup>a</sup> but the death of the soul is the decay of virtue and the bringing in of wickedness. It is for this reason that God says not only "die" but "die the death," indicating not the death common to us all, but that special death properly so called, which is that of the soul becoming entombed in passions and wickedness of all kinds. And this death is practically the antithesis of the death which awaits us all. The latter is a separation of combatants that had been pitted against one another,<sup>b</sup> body and soul, to wit. The former, on the other hand, is a meeting of the two in conflict. And in this conflict the worse, the body, overcomes, and the better, the soul, is overcome. But observe that wherever Moses speaks of "dying the death," he means the penalty-death, not that which takes place in the course of nature. That one is in the course

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οὐν ἐστι, καθ' ὃν χωρίζεται ψυχὴ ἀπὸ σώματος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμωρία συνίσταται, ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν 108 ἀρετῆς βίον θνήσκη, τὸν δὲ κακίας ζῆ μόνον. εὖ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τοῦτο Μωυσέως ἀκολουθήσας τῷ δόγματι, φησὶ γάρ· “ Ζῶμεν τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων βίον,” ὡς νῦν μὲν, ὅτε ζῶμεν, τεθνηκυίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐν σήματι τῷ σώματι ἐντετυμβευμένης, εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοιμεν, τῆς ψυχῆς ζώσης τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης κακοῦ καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου τοῦ σώματος.



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 107-108

of nature in which soul is parted from body ; but the penalty-death takes place when the soul dies to the life of virtue, and is alive only to that of wickedness. That is an excellent saying of Heraclitus, who on this point followed Moses' teaching, " We live," he says, " their death, and are dead to their life." He means that now, when we are living, the soul is dead and has been entombed in the body as in a sepulchre ; whereas, should we die, the soul lives forthwith its own proper life, and is released from the body, the baneful corpse to which it was tied.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For *σῆμα*—*σῶμα* cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 493 A, *Cratylus* 400 B.

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK II

THIS treatise deals with Genesis ii. 18–iii. 1. Let us mark its *mode* of dealing with the Sacred Text in salient instances.

The story of the creation of Eve, we are told, is not meant to be taken literally. It is a “Myth,” showing forth the origin of Sense-perception, which becomes active when Mind is asleep (Gen. ii. 21). The bringing of Woman to Man is the introduction of Sense-perception to Mind, which hails it as its own (ii. 22 f.). (19 ff., 40 ff.)

That Adam and Eve were both naked (ii. 25) means that they were without either good or evil; for nakedness of soul can show itself as (a) freedom from passions; (b) loss of virtue; (c) neutrality. Adam and Eve were inactive both in mind and sense-perception, and were “unashamed,” *i.e.* without either the shamelessness of the worthless man, or the shamefastness of the man of worth. (53 ff.)

The entry of the Serpent (Gen. iii. 1) is due to the need of some means of uniting Mind and Sense-perception for their joint apprehension of objects, and of eliciting their activities. (71 ff.)

Let us notice next the extent to which Philo dwells on *single words*.

The word “alone” in Gen. ii. 18 draws out the reminder that God only is alone, self-contained,

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II.

needing naught, not composite ; while the heavenly Man ever *yearns* to be with God, and the earthy man always *is* with his passions. (1-4.)

The word "help" or "helper" suggests to him the created, later-born helpers given to the earthy man. These "wild beasts" are the senses and passions, such as desire, fear, anger, given to Mind (Gen. ii. 19)—our helpers, but often our foes. (5 ff.)

The word "moreover" (in the Greek version of Gen. ii. 19) is taken by Philo to mean a *second* creation of senses and passions ; and this further creation is accounted for by the observation that evils are numerous, and by the suggestion that Gen. i. 24 refers to *genera*, and Gen. ii. 19 to *species*, a suggestion in support of which evidence is adduced. (11 f.)

In the account of the giving of names to the creatures, the words "what he would call" are taken as meaning "*why* he would *invite*." (14 f.)

In the story of the creation of Eve, "ribs" or "sides" are understood as "strength" ; "took" as meaning "entered on the roll," "registered," *i.e.* brought into active service (this on the strength of Numb. xxxi. 26, "take the sum") ; "filled up flesh in its stead" means "fulfilled" sense-perception, and "filled" the body "with it" ; and woman is "buided" (Gen. ii. 22, R.V. margin) because she is moved to activity from without. (19 f., 35, 38 f.)

A striking example of single words pressed into the service of allegory is Adam's welcome to Eve, "This is now bone of my bones." "*This*" is Sense-perception no longer passive but become active ; and "*now*" is indicative of Sense-perception being affected only by the *present*. (42 f.)

We pass on to observe the examples afforded by

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this treatise of Philo's fondness for drawing illustrations and adducing parallels from the story of the patriarchs and the early history of Israel.

In 46 f. Philo maintains that, though active Sense-perception, being an extension of the potential Sense-perception inherent in Mind, may be said to come *from* Mind, yet to suppose that anything whatever is, in the strict sense of the word, derived from Mind is to be guilty of shallow thinking, and illustrates the truth of what he says by the contrast between Rachel addressing to Jacob the appeal "Give me children," and "the Lord opening Leah's womb" (Gen. xxix. 31 and xxx. 1 f.).

In 51 f. the danger of the drawing down of Mind from the love of God by its cleaving to Sense-perception is brought out by a reference to Levi's noble choice (Deut. xxxiii. 9) making the Lord his portion (x. 9), and to the two goats of Lev. xvi. 8.

Freedom from passions (one of the meanings of "nakedness") is illustrated by Moses setting up the Tent of Witness *outside the Camp* (Exod. xxxiii. 7); by Aaron entering unrobed (!) into the Holy of Holies (*cf.* Lev. xvi. 1 ff.); by Nadab and Abihu leaving their coats (or irrational parts) for Mishael and Elzaphan (Lev. x. 5); by Abraham leaving his country (Gen. xii. 1); by Isaac being forbidden to go down into Egypt (*i.e.* the body, Gen. xxvi. 2); and by Jacob's smoothness (Gen. xxvii. 11). (54 ff.)

Loss of virtue (another meaning given to "nakedness") is illustrated by Noah's lapse (Gen. ix. 21). And the indications which Philo finds in the narrative that the lapse was not irretrievable are illustrated by the provision in the Law that vows made only in intent may be rescinded (Numb. xxx. 10). (60 ff.)

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II.

The assaults of pleasure and the healing virtue of Self-mastery are illustrated by the deadly serpents and the brazen serpent of the wilderness journey (Numb. xxi.). Distraction, Pleasure's agent, is like the scorpion (= "scattering") of the desert. The soul-thirst of "Egypt" is quenched by the Wisdom ("Water") as is hunger by the Word ("Manna") of God. A sign of the great daring of Pleasure, in attacking even Moses, is found in the story of his rod. Like Jacob's, it is "discipline." Shrinking from this, Moses casts it away, and is then bidden to grasp it by its tail (Exod. iv. 1 ff.). (78 ff., 87 ff.)

Pleasure is again pointed at in the Prayer of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16-18), where Dan (= "distinguishing") is the principle of self-mastery, who is to become a serpent biting the horse (*sc.* passions), and saving from them Mind (the "horseman"), who "waits for" God's "salvation"; and in the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 1), where horse and rider, *i.e.* the four passions with Mind mounted on them, are cast into the sea.

## Β΄

<sup>1</sup> [66] I. “Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεός Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν” (Gen. ii. 18). διὰ τί τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς προφήτα, οὐκ ἔστι καλὸν εἶναι μόνον; ὅτι, φησί, καλὸν ἔστι τὸν μόνον εἶναι μόνον· μόνος δὲ καὶ καθ’ αὐτόν εἰς ὧν ὁ θεός, οὐδὲν δὲ ὅμοιον θεῷ· ὡστ’ ἐπεὶ τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν ὄντα καλὸν ἔστι—καὶ γὰρ περὶ μόνον αὐτόν τὸ καλόν—οὐκ ἂν εἴη <sup>2</sup> καλὸν τὸ εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον. τὸ δὲ μόνον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἔστι μὲν ἐκδέξασθαι καὶ οὕτως, ὅτι οὔτε πρὸ γενέσεως ἦν τι σὺν τῷ θεῷ οὔτε κόσμου γενομένου συντάττεται τι αὐτῷ· χρήζει γὰρ οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν. ἀμείνων δὲ ἦδε ἡ ἐκδοχή· ὁ θεός μόνος ἔστι καὶ ἓν, οὐ σύγκριμα, φύσις ἀπλή, ἡμῶν δ’ ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα γέγονε πολλά· οἷον ἐγὼ πολλά εἰμι, ψυχὴ σῶμα, καὶ ψυχῆς ἄλογον λογικόν, πάλιν σώματος θερμὸν ψυχρὸν βαρὺ κοῦφον ξηρὸν ὑγρόν· ὁ δὲ θεός οὐ σύγκριμα οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστῶς, ἀλλ’ ἀμιγῆς

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## BOOK II

I. " And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone, let us make for him a helper corresponding to him " (Gen. ii. 18). Why, O prophet, is it not good that the man should be alone ? Because, he says, it is good that the Alone should be alone : but God, being One, is alone and unique, and like God there is nothing. Hence, since it is good that He Who is should be alone—for indeed with regard to Him alone can the statement " it is good " be made—it follows that it would not be good that the man should be alone. There is another way in which we may understand the statement that God is alone. It may mean that neither before creation was there anything with God, nor, when the universe had come into being, does anything take its place with Him ; for there is absolutely nothing which He needs. A yet better interpretation is the following. God is alone, a Unity, in the sense that His nature is simple not composite, whereas each one of us and of all other created beings is made up of many things. I, for example, am many things in one. I am soul and body. To soul belong rational and irrational parts, and to body, again, different properties, warm and cold, heavy and light, dry and moist. But God is not a composite Being, consisting of many parts,

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<sup>3</sup> [67] ἄλλω· ὁ γὰρ ἂν προσκριθῆ | θεῶ, ἢ κρείσσον ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἔλασσον ἢ ἴσον αὐτῷ· οὔτε δὲ ἴσον οὔτε κρείσσον ἔστι θεοῦ, ἔλασσόν γε μὴν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσκρίνεται· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαττωθήσεται· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ φθαρτὸς ἔσται, ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις νοῆσαι. τέτακται οὖν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὴν μονάδα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ μονὰς κατὰ τὸν ἓνα θεόν· πᾶς γὰρ ἀριθμὸς νεώτερος κόσμου, ὡς καὶ χρόνος, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πρεσβύτερος κόσμου καὶ δημιουργός.

4 Π. Οὐδένα δὲ ἄνθρωπον καλὸν ἔστιν εἶναι μόνον. δύο γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένη, τό τε κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονὸς καὶ τὸ πεπλασμένον ἐκ γῆς· οὔτε δὲ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπῳ καλὸν ἔστιν εἶναι μόνω—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνας· ἢ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστί· πᾶν δὲ μίμημα ποθεῖ τοῦτο, οὐπὲρ ἔστι μίμημα, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τάττεται—οὔτε τῷ πλαστῷ πολὺ μᾶλλον καλὸν ἔστιν εἶναι μόνω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον, καὶ γὰρ αἰσθήσεις καὶ πάθη καὶ κακίαι καὶ μυρία ἄλλα

5 τούτῳ τῷ νῶ συνέζευκται καὶ συνήρμοσται. τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ βοηθὸς συνίσταται, πρῶτον μὲν γενητός, “ποιήσωμεν” γὰρ φησιν “αὐτῷ βοηθόν,” ἔπειτα δὲ νεώτερος τοῦ βοηθουμένου· πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔπλασε τὸν νοῦν, μέλλει δὲ πλάττειν τὸν βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα φυσικῶς ἀλληγορεῖ· ἢ γὰρ αἴσθησις καὶ τὰ πάθη



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 3-5

nor is He mixed with aught else. For whatever is added to God, is either superior or inferior or equal to Him. But there is nothing equal or superior to God. And no lesser thing is resolved into Him. If He do so assimilate any lesser thing, He also will be lessened. And if He can be made less, He will also be capable of corruption ; and even to imagine this were blasphemous. The "one" and the "monad" are, therefore, the only standard for determining the category to which God belongs. Rather should we say, the One God is the sole standard for the "monad." For, like time, all number is subsequent to the universe ; and God is prior to the universe, and is its Maker.

II. It is not good that *any* man should be alone. For there are *two* races of men, the one made after the (Divine) Image, and the one moulded out of the earth. For the man made after the Image it is not good to be alone, because he yearns after the Image. For the image of God is a pattern of which copies are made, and every copy longs for that of which it is a copy, and its station is at its side. Far less is it good for the man moulded of the earth to be alone. Nay, it is impossible. For with the mind so formed, linked to it in closest fellowship, are senses, passions, vices, ten thousand other presences. With the second man a helper is associated. To begin with, the helper is a created one, for it says, "Let us *make* a helper for him" ; and, in the next place, is subsequent to him who is to be helped, for He had formed the mind before and is about to form its helper. In these particulars again, while using terms of outward nature he is conveying a deeper meaning. For sense and the passions are helpers

## PHILO

τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσι βοηθοὶ νεώτεροι τῆς ψυχῆς. πῶς μὲν οὖν βοηθοῦσιν, ὁψόμεθα· ὅτι δὲ εἰσι νεώτεροι, 6 θεασώμεθα. III. ὥσπερ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ φυσικῶν δοκεῖ τοῦ ὄλου σώματος προπλάττεσθαι ἢ καρδία, θεμελίου τρόπον ἢ ὡς ἐν νηὶ τρόπις, ἐφ' ἣ οἰκοδομεῖται τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα—παρὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἔτι ἐμπηδᾶν φασιν αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ πρώτην γινομένην καὶ ὑστέραν φθειρομένην—οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς πρεσβύτερον τῆς ὅλης εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἄλογον νεώτερον, οὗ τὴν γένεσιν οὐπω μὲν δεδήλωκε, μέλλει δὲ ὑπογράφειν. τὸ δὲ ἄλογον αἰσθησίς ἐστι καὶ τὰ ταύτης ἔκγονα πάθη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μὴ κρίσεις εἰσὶν ἡμέτεραι. καὶ νεώτερος οὖν οὗτος ὁ βοηθὸς [θεοῦ] καὶ γενητὸς εἰκότως.

7 τὸ δ' ὑπερτεθὲν ἴδωμεν, πῶς βοηθεῖ.  
 [68] | πῶς ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ὅτι τουτὶ λευκὸν ἢ μέλαν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ βοηθῶ χρησάμενος ὀράσει; πῶς δὲ ὅτι ἠδεῖα ἢ τοῦ κιθαρωδοῦ φωνὴ ἢ τούναντίον ἐκμελής, εἰ μὴ βοηθῶ χρησάμενος ἀκοῇ; πῶς δὲ ὅτι εὐώδεις ἢ δυσώδεις οἱ ἀτμοί, εἰ μὴ συμμάχῳ χρησάμενος ὀσφρήσει; πῶς δὲ δοκιμάζει τοὺς χυλοὺς, εἰ μὴ διὰ βοηθοῦ τῆς 8 γεύσεως; πῶς δὲ αὐτὰ μαλακὰ καὶ τραχέα, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀφῆς; ἔστι τοίνυν ἕτερον εἶδος βοηθῶν, ὡς ἔφην, τὰ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ ἠδονὴ βοηθεῖ πρὸς διαμονὴν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ λύπη μέντοι καὶ φόβος δάκνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὴν μηδενὸς ὀλιγωρεῖν, ὀργὴ τε

• See App. p. 479.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 5-8

of the soul and come after the soul. In what way they help we shall see : let us fix our attention on their coming later than the soul. III. In the view of the best physicians and natural philosophers the heart is thought to be formed before the whole body, by way of a foundation, or as the keel in a ship, the rest of the body being built upon it ; and they assert that accordingly even after death it still beats, and decays after the body, as it came into existence before it. In just the same way, it is thought, the princely part of the soul is older than the soul as a whole, and the irrational portion younger. The creation of this the prophet has not as yet related, but he is going to describe it. The irrational portion is sense and the passions which are the offspring of sense, unquestionably so if they are not the result of any choice of our own.<sup>a</sup> This helper then is later born and of course created.

Now let us consider the point which we deferred, *how* the help is given. How does our mind apprehend the fact that an object is white or black, except by using sight as a helper ? How does it become aware that the musician's voice is sweet or on the other hand out of tune, save by using the sense of hearing as a helper ? How does it recognize that perfumes are pleasant or disagreeable, except by using as an ally the sense of smell ? How does it distinguish savours, except by means of the taste acting as its helper ? Things smooth and rough, again, how but by touch ? Moreover, there are, as I have said, helpers of another kind, namely the passions. For pleasure and desire contribute to the permanence of our kind : pain and fear are like bites or stings warning the soul to treat nothing carelessly : anger

## PHILO

ἀμυντήριον ὄπλον [ἦ] μεγάλα πολλοὺς ὠφέλησε, καὶ τὰλλα ταύτη. διὸ καὶ εὐθυβόλως εἶπε “κατ’ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βοηθόν”. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι οἰκειὸς οὗτος ὁ βοηθός ἐστι τῷ νῶ ὡς ἂν ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὄμαιμος· μιᾶς γάρ ἐστι ψυχῆς μέρη καὶ γεννήματα ἢ τε αἰσθησις καὶ τὰ πάθη.

- 9 IV. Τοῦ δὲ βοηθοῦ ἐστι διττὸν τὸ εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἐν πάθεσι, τὸ δ’ ἐν αἰσθήσει. τό γε νῦν μόνον τὸ πρότερον εἶδος γεννήσει, λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά· καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτοῦ” (Gen. ii. 19). ὁρᾶς, τίνες εἰσὶν ἡμῶν οἱ βοηθοί, τὰ θηρία, τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ πάθη· εἰπὼν γάρ “ποιήσωμεν βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν” ἐπιφέρει τὸ “ἔπλασε τὰ θηρία,” ὡς
- 10 τῶν θηρίων ὄντων βοηθῶν ἡμῖν. οὐ κυρίως δὲ οὗτοι βοηθοὶ ἀλλὰ καταχρηστικῶς λέγονται, εὐρίσκονται γέ τοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν <καὶ> πολέμιοι, ὡσπερ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐστὶν ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι προδόται καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις οἱ κόλακες ἀντὶ ἐταίρων ἐχθροί. οὐρανὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγρὸν συνωνύμως κέκληκεν ἀλληγορῶν τὸν νοῦν· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἀγρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ βλάστας ἔχει μυρίας ὄσας καὶ ὡς οὐρανὸς πάλιν λαμπρὰς
- 11 καὶ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις. θηρίοις δὲ καὶ πτηνοῖς ἀπεικάζει τὰ πάθη, ὅτι σίνεται τὸν νοῦν ἀτίθασα καὶ ἀνήμερα ὄντα καὶ ὅτι πτηνῶν τρόπον ἐπιποτᾶται τῇ διανοίᾳ· ὀξεῖα γὰρ ἢ τούτων καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Or “his.” See 18. αὐτοῦ can be masculine or neuter.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 8-11

is a weapon of defence, which has conferred great boons on many : and so with the other passions. This shows also that the prophet was perfectly right in saying that the helper must be one " corresponding to him." For in very deed this helper is intimately allied to the mind, as though a brother of one blood with it : for sense-perception and passions are parts and offspring of one soul with it.

IV. There are two species of this helper : the one has its sphere in the passions, the other in sense-perception. At present He will produce the former only, for he says, " And God moulded moreover out of the earth all the wild beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, and led them to Adam, to see what he would call them : and whatever Adam called a living soul, this was its <sup>a</sup> name " (Gen. ii. 19). You see who are our helpers, the wild beasts, the soul's passions : for after saying, " Let us make a helper corresponding to him," he adds the words, " He moulded the wild beasts," implying that the wild beasts are our helpers. These are not properly called our helpers, but by a straining of language ; in reality they are found to be our actual foes, just as the allies of states sometimes turn out to be traitors and deserters, and in private friendships flatterers prove enemies instead of comrades. He uses the terms " heaven " and " field " as synonyms, meaning the mind. For the mind is like the field in having countless sproutings and upgrowths, and like heaven again in having natures brilliant and godlike and blessed. The passions he likens to wild beasts and birds, because, savage and untamed as they are, they tear the soul to pieces, and because like winged things they light upon the understanding;

## PHILO

- ἀνεπίσχετος ὄρμη. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται τῷ “ ἔπλασε ” τὸ “ ἔτι.” διὰ τί; ὅτι καὶ
- [69] ἐπάνω πεπλάσθαι | τὰ θηρία φησὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως, <ὡς> καὶ δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων ἐν ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ. “ καὶ εἶπεν Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα καὶ ἔρπετὰ καὶ
- 12 θηρία ” (Gen. i. 24). τί παθῶν οὖν ἄλλα πλάττει θηρία νῦν οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς τοῖς προτέροις; λεκτέον οὖν ἠθικῶς μὲν τοῦτο· πλούσιόν ἐστι τὸ κακίας γένος ἐν τῷ γεννητῷ, ὥστε αἰεὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὰ φαυλότατα ἐν τούτῳ· φυσικῶς δὲ ἐκείνο· πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἕξαήμερῳ τὰ γένη τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὰς ἰδέας εἰργάζετο, νυνὶ δὲ τὰ
- 13 εἶδη προσπλάττει· διὸ φησιν “ ἔπλασεν ἔτι.” ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάλαι κατασκευασθέντα γένη ἦν, φανερόν ἐξ ὧν φησιν “ ἔξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ” οὐ κατ’ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ “ κατὰ γένος.” καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἅπασιν εὐρίσκεται· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν εἰδῶν ἀποτελεῖ τὰ γένη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· προτυπώσας γὰρ τὸν γενικὸν ἀνθρωπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ γένος φησὶν εἶναι, ὕστερον τὸ εἶδος ἀπεργάζεται τὸν Ἀδάμ.
- 14 V. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ εἶδος τῶν βοηθῶν εἴρηκε, τὸ δ’ ἕτερον ὑπερτίθεται τὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἔστ’ ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ πλάττειν τὴν γυναῖκα· ἐκείνο δ’

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 11-14

for the assault of the passions is violent and irresistible. The addition of "further" to "formed" is by no means otiose. How do we see this? Because above also he mentions the forming of the wild beasts before the creation of man, as we see from these words referring to the sixth day: and He said, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul after its kind, four-footed animals and creeping things and wild beasts" (Gen. i. 24). How comes He, then, to form other wild beasts now, and not to be satisfied with those former ones? From the ethical point of view what we must say is this. In the realm of created things the class or kind of wickedness is abundant. It follows that in this the worst things are ever being produced. From the philosophical point of view our answer must be, that on the former occasion, when engaged in the Work of the six days, He wrought the genera or kinds and the originals of the passions, whereas now He is fashioning the species as well. This is why he says, "He fashioned moreover." That what were created in the first instance were genera, is evident from the words employed, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul," not according to species but "according to kind." And we find Him in every instance working in this way. Before the species He completes the genera. He does so in the case of man. Having first fashioned man as a genus, in which the prophet says that there is the male and the female genus, He afterwards makes Adam, the finished form or species.

V. Helpers of this sort the prophet has now dealt with; the other sort he defers, that of sense-perception, I mean, until the Creator takes in hand to

## PHILO

ὑπερθέμενος περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεως  
 τεχνολογεί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ ἡ ῥητὴ  
 ἀπόδοσις ἀξία τοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι· ἡ μὲν ῥητὴ,  
 παρόσον τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων προσῆψε τῷ  
 15 πρῶτῳ γενομένῳ ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρ'  
 Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφοῦντες εἶπον εἶναι σοφοὺς τοὺς  
 πρῶτους τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ ὀνόματα θέντας·  
 Μωυσῆς δὲ ἄμεινον, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ τισι τῶν  
 πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρῶτῳ γενομένῳ, ἵνα ὡσπερ  
 αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσεως ἐπλάσθη, οὕτως  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι νομισθῆ—μὴ  
 γὰρ ὄντων ὀνομάτων, οὐδ' ἂν διάλεκτος ἦν—  
 ἔπειτα ὅτι πολλῶν μὲν τιθέντων ὀνόματα διάφωνα  
 καὶ ἄμικτα ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, ἄλλων ἄλλως τιθέν-  
 των, ἑνὸς δὲ ὄφειλεν ἡ θέσις ἐφαρμόττειν τῷ  
 πράγματι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι σύμβολον ἅπασιν τὸ  
 αὐτὸ τοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἢ τοῦ σημαινομένου.  
 16 VI. ὁ δὲ ἠθικὸς λόγος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν· τὸ “ τί ”  
 πολλάκις τίθεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ “ διὰ τί,” οἷον τί  
 λέλουσαι, τί περιπατεῖς, τί διαλέγῃ, πάντα γὰρ  
 ταῦτα ἀντὶ τοῦ “ διὰ τί.” ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ “ ἰδεῖν  
 τί καλέσει,” ἄκουε ἴσον τῷ, διὰ τί καλέσει καὶ  
 προσκαλέσεται καὶ ἀσπάζεται τούτων ἕκαστον  
 ὁ νοῦς· πότερον ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀναγκαίου μόνον, ὅτι

\* See App. p. 479.



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 14-16

fashion woman. Having deferred that subject, he goes on to a systematic treatment of the giving of names. Here his literal statement and his symbolic interpretation alike claim our admiration. What we admire in the Lawgiver's literal statement is his ascription to the first man of the fixing of names. Indeed Greek philosophers<sup>a</sup> said that those who first assigned names to things were wise men. Moses did better than they, first of all in ascribing it not to some of the men of old but to the first man created. His purpose was that, as Adam was formed to be the beginning from which all others drew their birth, so too no other than he should be regarded as the beginning of the use of speech: for even language would not have existed, if there had not been names. Again, had many persons bestowed names on things, they would inevitably have been incongruous and ill-matched, different persons imposing them on different principles, whereas the naming by one man was bound to bring about harmony between name and thing, and the name given was sure to be a symbol, the same for all men, of any object to which the name was attached or of the meaning attaching to the name.

VI. What he says in the domain of ethics is to this effect. We often use "τί" (= "what") for "διὰ τί"<sup>a</sup> ("by reason of what"), as "what (*i.e.* why) have you bathed?" "What (*i.e.* 'why') are you walking?" "What (*i.e.* 'why') are you conversing?" In all these cases "what" stands for "because of what." When the prophet says "to see *what* he would call them" you should understand something equivalent to 'why the mind would call and invite to it and greet' each of these objects, whether only for the

PHILO

- κατέζευκται τὸ θνητὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πάθεισι καὶ κακίαις, ἢ καὶ ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀμέτρου καὶ περιττοῦ· καὶ πότερον διὰ τὰς τοῦ γηγενοῦς χρείας ἢ διὰ
- 17 τὸ κρίνειν αὐτὰ βέλτιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα· οἶον
- [70] ἡδονῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖ τὸ γεγονός· ἀλλ' ὁ | μὲν φαῦλος ὡς ἀγαθῶ τελείῳ χρήσεται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ὡς μόνον ἀναγκαίῳ· χωρὶς γὰρ ἡδονῆς οὐδὲν γίνεται τῶν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει. πάλιν τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσιν ὁ μὲν <φαῦλος> τελειότατον ἀγαθὸν κρίνει, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον αὐτὸ μόνον. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ καταμαθεῖν βούλεται, πῶς ἕκαστον τούτων προσκαλεῖται καὶ ἀποδέχεται ὁ νοῦς, εἴτε ὡς ἀγαθὰ εἴτε ὡς
- 18 ἀδιάφορα ἢ ὡς κακὰ μὲν, χρειώδη δὲ ἄλλως. διὸ καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν προσεκαλέσατο καὶ ἠσπάσατο ὡς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ἰσότημον αὐτὸ ἡγησάμενος ψυχῇ, τοῦτο ὄνομα οὐ τοῦ κληθέντος ἐγένετο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ καλέσαντος· οἶον, εἰ ἀπεδέξατο ἡδονήν, ἐκαλεῖτο ἡδονικός, εἰ ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐπιθυμητικός, εἰ ἀκολασίαν, ἀκόλαστος, εἰ δειλίαν, δειλός, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὁ κατ' αὐτὰς ποιὸς καλεῖται φρόνιμος ἢ σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἢ ἀνδρείος, οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν κακιῶν ἄδικος καὶ ἄφρων καὶ ἀνανδρος, ἐπειδὴν τὰς ἐξείς προσκαλέσεται καὶ δεξιώσεται.
- 19 VII. “Καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἕκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνωσε· καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (Gen. ii. 21). τὸ ῥητὸν ἐπὶ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 479.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 16-19

sake of that which it cannot dispense with, seeing that all that is mortal is necessarily bound up with passions and vices, or also for the sake of what is in excess of reasonable needs; and whether to satisfy the needs of flesh and blood, or because it deems them good and admirable above all things. For example. A created being cannot but make use of pleasure. But the worthless man will use it as a perfect good, but the man of worth simply as a necessity, remembering that apart from pleasure nothing in mortal kind comes into existence. Again the worthless man accounts the acquisition of wealth a most perfect good; the man of worth regards it as just necessary and serviceable and no more. No wonder then that God wishes to see and ascertain how the mind invites and welcomes each of these, whether as good, or as indifferent, or as bad but at all events as serviceable. Hence it came about that everything which he called to himself and greeted as living soul, reckoning it equal in worth to the soul, this became the name not only of the thing called but of him who called it.<sup>a</sup> For example, if he welcomed pleasure, he was called pleasure-loving; if desire, desire-ridden; if licence, licentious; if cowardice, cowardly; and so on. For, just as the man whose quality is determined by the virtues is from them called wise or sober-minded or just or brave, so from the vices is he called unjust and foolish and unmanly, whensoever he has invited to himself and given a hearty welcome to the corresponding dispositions.

VII. "And God brought a trance upon Adam, and he fell asleep; and He took one of his sides" and what follows (Gen. ii. 21). These words in

## PHILO

τούτου μυθῶδές ἐστι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν παραδέξαιτό τις, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἀνδρὸς γυνή ἢ συνόλως ἄνθρωπος; τί δὲ ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρα ἐδημιούργει τὸ αἴτιον, οὕτως καὶ γυναῖκα δημιουργήσαι; ὃ τε γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν ἢ τε ὕλη σχεδὸν ἄπειρος, ἐξ ἧς πᾶσα ποιότης κατεσκευάζετο. διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου μέρους, τοσοῦτων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐτύπου τὴν γυναῖκα; ποτέραν δὲ πλευρὰν <ἔλαβεν>—ἵνα καὶ δύο μόνas ἐμφαίνεσθαι φῶμεν, πρὸς γὰρ ἀλήθειαν οὐδὲ πλήθος αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσεν—; ἄρα γε τὴν εὐώνυμον 20 ἢ τὴν δεξιάν; εἴ γε μὴν ἀνεπλήρου σαρκὶ τὴν ἑτέραν, ἢ ἀπολειπομένη οὐκ ἦν σαρκίνη δήπου; καὶ μὴν ἀδελφαί γ' εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν αἱ ἡμῶν πλευραὶ καὶ σαρκὸς γεγόνασι.

21 τί οὖν λεκτέον; πλευρὰς ὁ βίος ὀνομάζει τὰς δυνάμεις· λέγομεν γὰρ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἴσον τῷ δυνάμεις, καὶ εὐπλευρον εἶναι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυρόν, καὶ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν

22 ἀντὶ τοῦ δύνανται ἐρρωμένην ἐν τῷ ἄδειν. τούτου 71] προειρημένου κάκεινο λεκτέον, | ὅτι ὁ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀνένδεται σώματι νοῦς—περὶ γὰρ τοῦ μήπω ἐνδεδεμένου ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος—πολλὰς ἔχει δυνάμεις, ἐκτικὴν φυτικὴν ψυχικὴν<sup>1</sup> διανοητικὴν, ἅλλας μυρίας κατὰ τε εἶδη καὶ γένη. ἢ μὲν ἕξις κοινή καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς μετέχει

<sup>1</sup> λογικὴν is omitted with the Armenian version.

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 479, 480.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 480.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 19-22

their literal sense are of the nature of a myth. For how could anyone admit that a woman, or a human being at all, came into existence out of a man's side? And what was there to hinder the First Cause from creating woman, as He created man, out of the earth? For not only was the Maker the same Being, but the material too, out of which every particular kind was fashioned, was practically unlimited. And why, when there were so many parts to choose from, did He form the woman not from some other part but from the side? And which side did he take? For we may assume that only two are indicated, as there is in fact nothing to suggest a large number of them. Did he take the left or the right side? If He filled up with flesh (the place of) the one which He took, are we to suppose that the one which He left was *not* made of flesh?<sup>a</sup> Truly our sides are twin in all their parts and are made of flesh. What then are we to say? "Sides" is a term of ordinary life for "strength." To say that a man has "sides" is equivalent to saying that he is strong, we say of a powerful athlete "he has stout sides," and to say that a singer has "sides" is as much as to say that he has great lung power in singing. Having said this, we must go on to remark that the mind when as yet unclothed and unconfined by the body (and it is of the mind when not so confined that he is speaking) has many powers. It has the power of holding together,<sup>b</sup> of growing, of conscious life, of thought, and countless other powers, varying both in species and genus. Lifeless things, like stones and blocks of wood, share with all others the power of holding together, of which the bones in us, which are not unlike stones,

## PHILO

καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκότα λίθοις ὄστέα. ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτὰ· καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δέ ἐστιν εἰκότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες· ἔστι δὲ ἡ  
 23 φύσις ἕξις ἤδη κινουμένη. ψυχὴ δὲ ἐστὶ φύσις προσειληφύια φαντασίαν καὶ ὄρμην· αὕτη κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐστίν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς ἀναλογοῦν τι ἀλόγου ψυχῆ. πάλιν ἡ διανοητικὴ δύναμις ἰδία τοῦ νοῦ ἐστὶ, καὶ<sup>1</sup> κοινὴ μὲν τάχα καὶ τῶν θειοτέρων φύσεων, ἰδία δὲ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς ἀνθρώπου· αὕτη δὲ διττὴ, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἣν λογικοὶ ἐσμεν νοῦ μετέχοντες, ἡ δὲ καθ' ἣν διαλεγόμεθα.  
 24 ἐστὶν <οὖν καὶ> ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν ψυχῇ τούτων ἀδελφὴ, ἡ αἰσθητικὴ, περὶ ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο νῦν ὑπογράφει ἢ γένεσιν τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθήσεως· καὶ κατὰ λόγον· VIII. μετὰ γὰρ νοῦν εὐθὺς ἔδει δημιουργηθῆναι αἰσθησιν βοηθὸν αὐτῷ καὶ σύμμαχον. τελεσιουργήσας οὖν ἐκείνον τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πλάττει δημιουργήμα, τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθησιν, πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
 25 τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀντίληψιν. πῶς οὖν γεννᾶται; ὡς αὐτὸς πάλιν φησίν, ὅταν ὑπνώσῃ ὁ νοῦς· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὑπνώσαντος νοῦ γίνεται αἰσθησις, καὶ γὰρ ἔμπαλιν ἐγρηγορότος νοῦ σβέννυται· τεκ-

<sup>1</sup> The words ἡ λογικὴ are omitted. See Leopold Cohn's Note in Heinemann's translation (p. 61).

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 22-25

partake. "Growth" extends to plants, and there are parts in us, such as our nails and hair, resembling plants; "growth" is coherence capable of moving itself. Conscious life is the power to grow, with the additional power of receiving impressions and being the subject of impulses. This is shared also by creatures without reason. Indeed our mind contains a part that is analogous to the conscious life of a creature without reason. Once more, the power of thinking is peculiar to the mind, and while shared, it may well be, by beings more akin to God, is, so far as mortal beings are concerned, peculiar to man. This power or faculty is twofold. We are rational beings, on the one hand as being partakers of mind, and on the other as being capable of discourse. Well, there is also another power or faculty in the soul, closely akin to these, namely that of receiving sense-impressions, and it is of this that the prophet is speaking. For his immediate concern is just this, to indicate the origin of active sense-perception. And logical sequence leads him to do so. VIII. For it was requisite that the creation of mind should be followed immediately by that of sense-perception, to be a helper and ally to it. Having then finished the creation of the mind He fashions the product of creative skill that comes next to it alike in order and in power, namely active sense-perception, with a view to the completeness of the whole soul, and with a view to its apprehension of objects presented to it. How is it, then, produced? As the prophet himself again says, it is when the mind has fallen asleep. As a matter of fact it is when the mind has gone to sleep that perception begins, for conversely when the mind wakes up perception is quenched.

## PHILO

μήριον δέ· ὅταν τι βουλόμεθα ἀκριβῶς νοῆσαι, εἰς ἔρημίαν ἀποδιδράσκομεν, καταμύομεν τὰς ὄψεις, τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράττομεν, ἀποταπτόμεθα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν. οὕτως μὲν, ὅταν ἀναστῆ καὶ ἐγρηγόρσει χρῆται ὁ νοῦς, φθείρεται αἴσθησις.

- 26 Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ θάτερον, πῶς ὑπνω χρῆται ὁ νοῦς. περιαναστάσης καὶ ζωπυρηθείσης αἰσθήσεως, ὅταν ἢ ὄψις γραφῶν ἢ πλαστῶν ἔργα εὖ δεδημιουργημένα καθορᾶ, οὐχ ὁ νοῦς ἄπρακτός ἐστι νοητὸν ἐπινοῶν οὐδέν; τί δ' ὅταν ἢ ἀκοὴ προσέχη φωνῆς ἐμμελεία, δύναται ὁ νοῦς λογίζεσθαι τι τῶν οἰκείων; οὐδαμῶς. καὶ μὴν πολὺ πλέον ἄπρακτος γίνεται, ὅταν ἢ γεῦσις ἐξανασταῖσα λάβρως ἐμπιπλῆται τῶν γαστρὸς ἡδονῶν.
- 27 Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φοβηθεῖς, μή ποτε ὁ νοῦς μὴ μόνον κοιμηθῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελείως ἀποθάνῃ, φησὶν [72] ἐν | ἐτέροις· “καὶ πάσσαλος ἔσται σοι ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου· καὶ ἔσται, ὅταν διακαθιζάνῃς, ὀρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπαγαγῶν καλύψεις τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου” (Deut. xxiii. 13), πάσσαλον συμβολικῶς φάσκων τὸν ἐξορύσσοντα λόγον τὰ κρυμμένα τῶν πραγμάτων. κελεύει δ' αὐτὸν φορεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὃ ἀνεζῶσθαι χρῆ καὶ μὴ εἶν κεχαλάσθαι καὶ ἀνεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ πρακτέον, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ τόνου τῶν νοητῶν ἀποστάς ὑφίηται πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ διακαθιζάνῃ ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 25-28

A proof of this is afforded by the fact that whenever we wish to get an accurate understanding of a subject we hurry off to a lonely spot ; we close our eyes ; we stop our ears ; we say "good-bye" to our perceptive faculties. So then, we see that, when the mind is astir and awake, the power of perception is suppressed.

There is the other point to be noticed. Let us see what happens to the mind in sleep. When the perceptive faculty has been set astir and aflame, owing to the eye contemplating the masterpieces of painters or sculptors, does not the mind remain inactive, and cease to exercise itself on objects of thought? And when the ear is intent on the tunefulness of a voice, can the mind be employing its reasoning power upon any of the subjects belonging to its sphere? Of course not. And in good sooth the mind finds itself still more completely out of work when the sense of taste has fully roused itself and is gorging itself with all that delights the appetite.

And this is the reason why Moses, fearing lest the mind should not only go to sleep but absolutely die, says in another place, "And thou shalt have a shovel upon thy belt ; and it shall be, when thou sittest down abroad, thou shalt dig therewith and cover over thine unseemliness" (Deut. xxiii. 13). He uses the term "shovel" figuratively for the reason that digs out hidden matters. And he bids the man wear it upon his passion, which must be girded up and which he must not allow to be loose and slack. And this girding must be put into practice whenever the mind, relaxing from the strain of its own objects, lowers itself to the passions, and "sits down abroad," giving itself up to be drawn

## PHILO

- 29 ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· ὅταν ἐν ταῖς ἀβροδιαίτοις συνουσίαις ἐπιλάβηται ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ κρατηθεὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἄγουσι, δεδουλώμεθα καὶ ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ χρώμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἰσχύσῃ ἀνακαθᾶραι τὸ πάθος, οὔτε πίνοντες μεθυσκόμεθα οὔτε ἐσθιοντες ἐξυβρίζομεν διὰ κόρον, ἀλλὰ δίχα
- 30 τοῦ ληρεῖν νηφάλια σιτούμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἢ τε τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐγρήγορσις ὕπνος ἐστὶ <τοῦ> νοῦ ἢ τε τοῦ νοῦ ἐγρήγορσις ἀπραξία τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος μὲν ἀφανεῖς αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων λάμψεις, καταδύντος δὲ ἔκδηλοι· ἡλίου δὲ τρόπον ὁ νοῦς ἐγρηγορῶς μὲν ἐπισκιάζει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, κοιμηθεὶς δὲ αὐτὰς ἐξέλαμψε.
- 31 IX. Τούτων εἰρημένων ἐφαρμοστέον τὰς λέξεις. “ἐπέβαλε” φησὶν “ὁ θεὸς ἕκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὕπνωσεν” (Gen. ii. 21). ὀρθῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἕκστασις καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ νοῦ ὕπνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ· ἐξίσταται δέ, ὅταν μὴ πραγματεύηται τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ νοητά· ὅτε δ’ οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ ταῦτα, κοιμᾶται. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι ὅτι ἐξίσταται, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ τρέπεται, οὐ παρ’ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἐπιφέροντα καὶ ἐπι-
- 32 πέμποντα τὴν τροπὴν θεόν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ γοῦν παρ’ ἐμὲ ἦν τὸ τρέπεσθαι, ὁπότε ἐβουλόμην, ἂν ἐχρώμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε μὴ ἐπροηροῦμην, ἄτρεπτος διετέλουν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφλονεικεῖ μοι ἢ τροπή, καὶ πολλάκις βουλόμενος καθῆκόν

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 29-32

by bodily necessity. And this is how the matter stands. Whenever the mind forgets itself amid the luxuries of a festive gathering and is mastered by all that conduces to pleasure, we are in bondage and we leave our "unseemliness" uncovered. But if the reason prove strong enough to purge the passion, we neither go on drinking till we are drunk, nor eat so greedily as to wax wanton, but we banish folly and take our food soberly. Thus the wakefulness of the senses means sleep for the mind, and the wakefulness of the mind a time of leisure for the senses; just as, when the sun has risen, the lights of the other heavenly bodies are invisible; when it has set, they show themselves. The mind, like the sun, when awake, throws the senses into the shade, but if it goes to sleep, it causes them to shine out.

IX. Having said this, we must show how the terms employed accord with it. "God cast," he says, "a trance upon Adam, and he went to sleep" (Gen. ii. 21). Quite correctly does he use this language. For the mind's trance and change is its sleep, and it falls into a trance when it ceases to be engaged with the objects appropriate to it; and when it is not at work at these, it is sleeping. Rightly also does he say that this change or turning which he undergoes is not of his own motion but of God's; that it is God who "casts it on him," that is, brings and sends it on him. For the case is this. For if the change were in our hands I should have recourse to it, when I wished, and when it was not my deliberate choice I should then continue unturned. But as it is, the change is actually repugnant to me, and many a time when wishing to entertain some fitting thought, I am

## PHILO

- τι νοῆσαι ἐπαντλοῦμαι ταῖς παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἐπιρροίαις, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἔννοιάν τινος λαμβάνων αἰσχροῦ ποτίμοις ἐννοίαις ἀπερρυψάμην ἐκείνο, θεοῦ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χάριτι γλυκὺ νᾶμα ἀντὶ ἀλμυροῦ
- 33 ἐπεισχέαντος τῇ ψυχῇ. πᾶν μὲν οὖν τὸ γενητὸν ἀναγκαῖον τρέπεσθαι, ἴδιον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῦ, ὡσπερ θεοῦ τὸ ἄτρεπτον εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τραπέντες κατέμειναν ἄχρι παντελοῦς φθορᾶς, οἱ δ' ὅσον μόνον παθεῖν τὸ θνητόν, οὗτοι δ' εὐθὺς
- 34 ἀνεσώθησαν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι “ οὐκ | [73] ἔάσει τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ὑμῶν πατάξαι ” (Exod. xii. 23). ἔᾶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα—ὄλεθρος δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἢ τροπή—εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα τὸ ἴδιον ἐνδείξῃται τοῦ γενητοῦ· οὐκ ἀφήσει δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τοῦ ὀρώντος ἔγγονον Ἰσραὴλ οὕτως τραπήναι, ὥστε πληγῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ ἀνακύψαι ὡσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ἀνασωθῆναι βιάσεται.
- 35 X. “ Ἐλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ ” (Gen. ii. 21). τῶν πολλῶν τοῦ νοῦ δυνάμεων μίαν ἔλαβε τὴν αἰσθητικὴν. τὸ δὲ “ ἔλαβεν ” οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφεῖλεν ἀκουστέον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηρίθμησεν, ἐξήτασεν, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις “ λάβε τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν σκύλων τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ” (Num. xxxi. 26).
- 36 τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ βούλεται παραστήσαι; διχῶς αἰσθησις λέγεται, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἑξίν, ἣτις καὶ κοιμωμένων ἡμῶν ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν. τῆς μὲν

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\* Philo is adapting Plato, *Phaedrus* 243 D ποτίμω λόγῳ οἶον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 32-36

drenched by a flood of unfitting matters pouring over me ; and conversely when on the point of admitting a conception of something vile, I have washed the vile thing away with wholesome thoughts,<sup>a</sup> God having by His grace poured upon my soul a sweet draught in place of the bitter one. Now every created thing must necessarily undergo change, for this is its property, even as unchangeableness is the property of God. But, while some, after being changed, remain so until they are entirely destroyed, others continue so only so far as to experience that to which all flesh is liable, and these forthwith recover. This is why Moses says, "He will not permit the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you" (Exod. xii. 23) : for He does indeed permit the destroyer—"destruction" being the change or turning of the soul)—to enter into the soul, that He may make it evident that what is peculiar to created things is there ; but God will not let the offspring of "the seeing" Israel be in such wise changed as to receive his death-blow by the change, but will force him to rise and emerge as though from deep water and recover.

X. "He took one of his sides" (Gen. ii. 21). Of the many faculties of the mind He took one, the faculty of perception. "Took" must not be understood as equivalent to "removed," but as equivalent to "enrolled," "registered," as we find it elsewhere "take the sum of the spoils of the captivity" (Numb. xxxi. 26). What idea is it, then, that he wants to convey ? The word "perception" is used in two ways, first in that of a condition, in which sense it is ours when we are asleep, secondly in the sense of an activity. From perception in the

## PHILO

- οὖν προτέρας τῆς καθ' ἕξιν ὄφελος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν, διὰ γὰρ ταύτης
- 37 ποιούμεθα τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀντιλήψεις. γεννήσας οὖν τὴν προτέραν τὴν καθ' ἕξιν αἴσθησιν, ὅτε καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐγέννα—σὺν γὰρ πολλαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἡρεμούσαις αὐτὸν κατεσκεύαζε—νῦν βούλεται τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἀποτελέσαι· ἀποτελεῖται δὲ ἢ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, ὅταν ἢ καθ' ἕξιν κινήθῃσα ταθῆ μέχρι τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἀγγείων· ὡσπερ γὰρ φύσις ἀποτελεῖται κινήθentos σπέρματος,
- 38 οὕτως καὶ ἐνέργεια κινήθεις ἕξεως. XI. “ἀνεπλήρου δὲ σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς” (Gen. ii. 21), τουτέστι συνεπλήρου τὴν καθ' ἕξιν αἴσθησιν ἄγων εἰς ἐνέργειαν καὶ τείνων αὐτὴν ἄχρι σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐπιφανείας. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι “ὠκοδόμησεν εἰς γυναῖκα” (Gen. ii. 22), διὰ τούτου παριστὰς ὅτι οἰκειότατον καὶ εὐθυβολώτατον ἐστὶν ὄνομα αἰσθήσεως γυνή· ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ δρᾶσαι<sup>1</sup> θεωρεῖται, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν ἢ γυνή, οὕτως ἐν μὲν τῷ δρᾶν ὁ νοῦς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν
- 39 γυναικὸς τρόπον ἢ αἴσθησις ἐξετάζεται. μαθεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐναργείας ῥάδιον· ἢ ὄψις πάσχει ὑπὸ τῶν κινούντων αὐτὴν ὄρατῶν, τοῦ λευκοῦ, τοῦ μέλανος, τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ ἀκοή πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν φωνῶν καὶ ἢ γεῦσις ὑπὸ τῶν χυλῶν διατίθεται, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτμῶν ἢ ὄσφρησις, ὑπὸ τραχέος καὶ μαλακοῦ ἢ ἀφή· καὶ ἡρεμοῦσί γε αἱ αἰσθήσεις

<sup>1</sup> ? τῇ δράσει.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 36-39

former sense, as it is a state, we derive no benefit, for it does not enable us to apprehend the objects about us. It is from the second kind of perception, as an activity, that we get benefit, for our apprehension of the objects of sense-perception is made possible by this. Having, then, brought into being the former sort of perception as a quiescent condition, at the time when He was bringing the mind itself into being—for He made the mind with many faculties lying dormant—now it is His wish to produce perception as an activity. Active perception is brought to pass when quiescent perception has been set in motion and extended to reach the flesh and the perceptive organs. For, just as growth is effected by seed being set in motion, so is activity or actuality by a quiescent condition being set in motion. XI. “And he filled up flesh in its stead” (Gen. ii. 21), that is to say He fulfilled perception that was only a state by leading it on to be an activity, and extending it till it reached the flesh and the whole surface of the body. And so he adds the words, “He built it to be a woman” (Gen. ii. 22), proving by this that the most proper and exact name for sense-perception is “woman.” For just as the man shows himself in activity and the woman in passivity, so the province of the mind is activity, and that of the perceptive sense passivity, as in woman. It is easy to learn this from what is before our eyes. Sight is in a passive relation to the objects of sight that set it moving, white, black, and the rest. Hearing, again, is affected by sounds, and the sense of taste by savours, the sense of smell by odours, that of touch by things rough and smooth; and the faculties of perception are all dormant, until

## PHILO

ἅπασαι, μέχρις ἂν προσέλθῃ ἐκάστη τὸ κινήσου  
ἔξωθεν.

- 40 XII. “ Καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ· καὶ εἶπεν Ἀδάμ· Τοῦτο νῦν ὄστουν ἐκ τῶν ὀστών μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου ” (Gen. ii. 22, 23). τὴν κατ’ ἐνέργειαν αἴσθησιν ἄγει ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν
- [74] νοῦν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀνακάμπτειν | δεῖ τὴν κίνησιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐπὶ νοῦν. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος ἦν πρότερον εἶχε δύναμιν καὶ καθ’ ἕξιν ἡρεμοῦσαν νῦν ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ ἐνέργειαν γεγεννημένην καὶ κινουμένην, θαυμάζει τε καὶ ἀναφθέγγεται φάσκων ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλοτρία αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα οἰκεία·
- 41 “ τοῦτο, ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐστὶν ὄστουν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ὀστών, ” τουτέστι δύναμις ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν δυνάμεων —ἐπὶ γὰρ δυνάμεως καὶ ἰσχύος νῦν παρείληπται τὸ ὀστέον—καὶ πάθος ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν, “ καὶ σὰρξ ” φησὶν “ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου ”· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα πάσχει ἢ αἴσθησις, οὐκ ἄνευ νοῦ ὑπομένει, πηγὴ γὰρ οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτῇ καὶ θεμέλιος ᾧ ἐπ-
- 42 ερείδεται. ἄξιον δὲ σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τὸ “ νῦν ” προσετέθη· “ τοῦτο ” γάρ φησι “ νῦν ὄστουν ἐκ τῶν ὀστών μου. ” ἢ αἴσθησις φύσει νῦν ἐστι, κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα χρόνον ὑφισταμένη μόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νοῦς τῶν τριῶν ἐφάπτεται χρόνων, καὶ γὰρ τὰ παρόντα νοεῖ καὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων
- 43 μέμνηται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προσδοκᾷ· ἢ δὲ αἴσθησις οὔτε μελλόντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται οὐδ’ ἀνάλογόν τι πάσχει προσδοκία ἢ ἐλπίδι οὔτε παρεληλυθότων μέμνηται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤδη κινουίντος καὶ παρόντος μόνου πάσχειν πέφυκεν, οἷον ὀφθαλμὸς λευκαίνει-



there draws near to each of them from outside that which is to set it in motion.

XII. "And he led her to Adam; and Adam said, This is now bone out of my bones and flesh out of my flesh" (Gen. ii. 22, 23). God leads active perception to the mind, knowing that its movement and apprehensive power must revert to the mind as their starting-point. The mind, on beholding that, which it had before as a potentiality and as a dormant state, now become a finished product, an activity, and in motion, marvels at it, and cries aloud declaring that it is not foreign to it but in the fullest sense its own, for it says, "This is bone out of my bones," that is, power out of my powers, for "bone" is here used as "power and strength", "and feeling out of my feelings"; "and flesh," he says, "out of my flesh"; for not without the mind does the perceptive faculty bear anything that it feels, for the mind is to it a fountain-head and a basis on which it rests. It is worth our while to consider why the word "now" was added: for what he says is, "This is *now* bone out of my bones." Perception by itself is *now*, subsisting only in relation to the present time. For whereas past, present, and future are within the scope of the mind, as it grasps things present, remembers things past, and looks forward to things future, perception, on the other hand, has no power either to reach out to future things by experiencing something corresponding to hope or expectation, nor does it remember things past, but it is so constituted as to be affected only by that which is present and sets it in motion at the moment. For instance, the eye has a sensation of white now under the influence of the

## PHILO

ται νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λευκοῦ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ παρόντος οὐδὲν πάσχει. ὁ δὲ νοῦς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παρόντι κινεῖται, παρεληλυθότι μὲν κατὰ μνήμην, μέλλοντι δὲ ἐπελπίζων καὶ προσδοκῶν.

- 44 XIII. “ Ταύτη καὶ κληθήσεται γυνή ” (Gen. ii. 23), ἀντὶ τοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ αἴσθησις γυνή προσρηθήσεται, “ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός ” τοῦ κινουόντος αὐτήν “ λαμβάνεται αὕτη ” φησί. διὰ τί οὖν τὸ “ αὕτη ” πρόσκειται; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἕτερα αἴσθησις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ λαμβανομένη, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ γεγενημένη· δύο γάρ, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, εἰσὶν αἰσθή-
- 45 σεις, ἡ μὲν καθ’ ἕξιν, ἡ δὲ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν· ἡ μὲν οὖν καθ’ ἕξιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, τουτέστι τοῦ νοῦ, λαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ φύεται· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, καθάπερ ἐδήλωσα, ὅτε ἐγενῆτο, σὺν πολλαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ἕξεσιν ἐγενῆτο, λογικῇ ψυχικῇ φυτικῇ, ὥστε καὶ αἰσθητικῇ· ἡ δὲ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἐν νῷ καθ’ ἕξιν οὔσης αἰσθήσεως ἐτάθη, ἵνα γένηται κατ’ ἐνέργειαν, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὴν δευτέραν
- 46 καὶ κατὰ κίνησιν. μάταιος δὲ ὁ νομίζων πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τι συνόλως γενῆσθαι ἢ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐχ ὀραῖς ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰδώλων καθεζομένη αἰσθήσει τῇ Ῥαχήλ νομιζούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τὰ κινήματα εἶναι ἐπιπλήττει ὁ
- [75] βλέπων; ἡ | μὲν γάρ φησι· “ δός μοι τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τελευτήσω ἐγώ ” (Gen. xxx. 1)· ὁ δὲ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 480.

<sup>b</sup> I. xx. εἶδωλα, E. V. ‘teraphim.’

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 43-46

white that is present, but from that which is not present it feels no-effect. The mind, on the contrary, is set in motion by occasion of that which is not present as well, if past, by way of memory, if future, by building hopes and expectations on it.

XIII. "To this one shall be given the title<sup>a</sup> 'woman'" (Gen. ii. 23), as much as to say, for this cause shall perception be called "woman" because out of man that sets it in motion "this one is taken." Why, then is "this one" put in? Because there is another perception, not taken from the mind, but brought into being together with it. For there are, as I have said already, two perceptions, one existing as quiescent condition, the other as activity. The one, then, that exists as quiescent condition, is not taken out of the man, that is to say the mind, but comes into being with it. For the mind, as I have pointed out, when it came into existence, came into existence in association with many potentialities and conditions, those of reason, animal life, and growth, and so with that of perception also. But the one that exists as an activity comes out of the mind. For it was extended out of the perception which is in the mind as a condition, that it might come to be an activity. Thus the second one, the one that is characterized by movement, has been produced out of the mind itself. But he is a shallow thinker who supposes that in strict truth anything whatever derives its birth from the mind or from himself. Do you not see that perception in the person of Rachel<sup>a</sup> who sits upon the teraphim,<sup>b</sup> is rebuked by "the seeing one," when she imagines that movements have their source in mind? For she says, "Give me children; if you do not, I shall die" (Gen.

## PHILO

- ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι, ὡ ψευδοδοξοῦσα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ νοῦς αἴτιον οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸ τοῦ νοῦ θεός· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὃς ἐστέρησέ σε καρπὸν κοιλίας” (ib. 2); ὅτι δὲ ὁ γεννῶν ὁ θεός ἐστι, μαρτυρήσει ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας, ὅταν φῆ· “ἰδὼν δὲ κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς, ‘Ραχὴλ δὲ ἦν στείρα” (Gen. xxix. 31). ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἴδιον τὸ μήτραν ἀνοιγνύναι. φύσει δὲ μισεῖται παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ <γένει> ἢ ἀρετῇ, διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὴν τετίμηκε καὶ παρέχει
- 47 τὰ πρωτοτόκια τῇ μισουμένῃ. λέγει δ' ἐν ἑτέροις· “ἐὰν δὲ γένωνται ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, μία αὐτῶν ἡγαπημένη καὶ μία αὐτῶν μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ γένηται υἱὸς πρωτότοκος τῆς μισουμένης, . . . οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτοτοκεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἡγαπημένης, ὑπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον” (Deut. xxi. 15, 16)· πρῶτιστα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τελειότατα τὰ τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς γεννήματα, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης ἡδονῆς ἔσχατα.
- 49 XIV. “Ἔνεκα τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν” (Gen. ii. 24). ἔνεκα τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ νοῦς, ὅταν αὐτῇ δουλωθῇ, καταλείπει καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων θεὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν συμπάντων, τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ προσκολλᾶται καὶ ἐνοῦται τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀναλύεται εἰς αἴσθησιν, ἵνα γένωνται μία σὰρξ καὶ
- 50 ἐν πάθος οἱ δύο. παρατήρει δ' ὅτι οὐχ ἡ γυνή

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 46-50

xxx. 1) ; but he answers, " O woman, full of false fancies, the mind is the origin of nothing, but God who is antecedent to the mind is the only cause " ; and so he adds, " Am I in the place of God who deprived thee of the fruit of the womb ? " (*ibid.* 2). But that it is God who brings about birth, Scripture will give evidence in the case of Leah, when it says, " And the Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb, but Rachel was barren " (Gen. xxix. 31). The opening of the womb is man's proper function. But mortal kind is prone of itself to hate virtue, and accordingly God has bestowed honour upon it and vouchsafes to her that is hated to bear the first-born. He says elsewhere, " If a man have two wives, one of them beloved and one of them hated, and they shall bear children to him and the first-born son be the son of the hated wife . . . he shall not be able to give the right of the first-born to the son of the beloved wife, overlooking the son of the hated one who is the first-born " (Deut. xxi. 15, 16) : for first of all and most perfect of all are the offspring of the hated virtue, while the offspring of the well-loved pleasure are last of all.

XIV. " For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and the twain shall be one flesh " (Gen. ii. 24). For the sake of sense-perception the Mind, when it has become her slave, abandons both God the Father of the universe, and God's excellence and wisdom, the Mother of all things, and cleaves to and becomes one with sense-perception and is resolved into sense-perception so that the two become one flesh and one experience. Observe that it is not the woman that cleaves to the man,

## PHILO

- κολλᾶται τῷ ἀνδρί, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ  
 γυναικί, ὁ νοῦς τῇ αἰσθήσει· ὅταν γὰρ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 ὁ νοῦς ἐνωθῇ τῷ χεῖρονι τῇ αἰσθήσει, ἀναλύεται  
 εἰς τὸ χεῖρον τὸ σαρκὸς γένος, τὴν παθῶν αἰτίαν  
 αἰσθησιν· ὅταν δὲ τὸ χεῖρον ἢ αἰσθησις ἀκολουθήσῃ  
 τῷ κρεῖττονι τῷ νῷ, οὐκέτι ἔσται σάρξ, ἀλλὰ  
 ἀμφοτέρα νοῦς. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος, τὸ φιλο-  
 51 παθὲς προκρίνων τοῦ φιλοθέου. ἔστι δέ τις ἕτερος  
 τούναντίον ἡρημένος ὁ Λευὶ ὁ “ λέγων τῷ πατρὶ  
 καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Οὐχ ἐώρακά σε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς  
 οὐκ ἐπέγνω, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπέγνω ” (Deut.  
 xxxiii. 9)· πατέρα καὶ μητέρα οὗτος [τε], τὸν  
 νοῦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕλην, καταλείπει ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ κληρὸν ἔχειν τὸν ἕνα θεόν, “ κύριος γὰρ αὐτὸς  
 52 κληρὸς αὐτῷ ” (Deut. x. 9). γίνεται δὴ τοῦ μὲν  
 φιλοπαθοῦς κληρὸς τὸ πάθος, τοῦ δὲ <φιλοθέου>  
 τοῦ Λευὶ κληρὸς ὁ θεός. οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι καὶ τῇ  
 δεκάτῃ τοῦ <ἐβδόμου> μηνὸς κελεύει δύο τράγους  
 [κληρὸν] προσάγειν, “ κληρὸν ἕνα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ  
 κληρὸν ἕνα τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ ” (Lev. xvi. 8); τοῦ γὰρ  
 φιλοπαθοῦς ἔστι κληρὸς ὄντως τὸ ἀποπόμπιμον  
 πάθος.
- 53 XV. “ Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ  
 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἦσχύνοντο. Ὁ δὲ ὄφεις  
 ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 [76] γῆς, ὧν | ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός ” (Gen. ii. 25,  
 iii. 1). γυμνός ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς ὁ μήτε κακία μήτε  
 ἀρετῇ ἀμπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρου γεγυμνωμένος  
 ὄντως, οἷον ἢ τοῦ νηπίου παιδὸς ψυχὴ ἀμέτοχος  
 οὔσα ἑκατέρου, ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, ἀπημφιάσται

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 50-53

but conversely the man to the woman, Mind to Sense-perception. For when that which is superior, namely Mind, becomes one with that which is inferior, namely Sense-perception, it resolves itself into the order of flesh which is inferior, into sense-perception, the moving cause of the passions. But if Sense the inferior follow Mind the superior, there will be flesh no more, but both of them will be Mind. The man, then, of whom the prophet speaks is such as has been described; he prefers the love of his passions to the love of God. But there is a different man, one who has made the contrary choice, even Levi, who "said to his father and his mother 'I have not seen thee,' and knew not his brethren, and disclaimed his sons" (Deut. xxxiii. 9). This man forsakes father and mother, his mind and material body, for the sake of having as his portion the one God, "for the Lord Himself is his portion" (Deut. x. 9). Passion becomes the portion of the lover of passion, but the portion of Levi the lover of God is God. Do you not see again that he prescribes that on the tenth day of the seventh month they should bring two goats, "one portion for the Lord and one for the averter of evil"? (Lev. xvi. 8). For in very deed the portion of the lover of passion is a passion that needs an averter.

XV. "And the two were naked, Adam and his wife, and were not ashamed." "Now the serpent was the most subtil of all the beasts that were upon the earth, which the Lord God had made" (Gen. ii. 25, iii. 1). The mind that is clothed neither in vice nor in virtue, but absolutely stripped of either, is naked, just as the soul of an infant, since it is without part in either good or evil, is bared and

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τὰ καλύμματα καὶ γεγύμνωται· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν  
 ἐσθήματα ψυχῆς, οἷς σκεπάζεται καὶ συγ-  
 κρύπτεται, τῆς μὲν σπουδαίας τὸ ἀγαθόν, τῆς δὲ  
 54 φαύλης τὸ κακόν. τριχῶς δὲ [καὶ] ψυχὴ γυμνοῦται·  
 ἅπαξ μὲν ὅτε ἄτρεπτος διατελεῖ καὶ πασῶν μὲν  
 ἠρήμωται κακιῶν, πάντα δὲ τὰ πάθη ἀπημφίασται  
 καὶ ἀποβέβληκε. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ “ Μωυσῆς ἔξω  
 τῆς παρεμβολῆς πήγνυσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν,  
 μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἐκλήθη σκηνή  
 55 μαρτυρίου ” (Exod. xxxiii. 7). τοῦτο  
 δ’ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον· ἡ φιλόθεος ψυχὴ ἐκδύσα τὸ σῶμα  
 καὶ τὰ τούτῳ φίλα καὶ μακρὰν ἔξω φυγοῦσα ἀπὸ  
 τούτων πῆξιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν καὶ ἴδρυσιν ἐν τοῖς  
 τελείοις ἀρετῆς δόγμασι λαμβάνει· διὸ καὶ μαρ-  
 τυρεῖται ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὅτι καλῶν ἐρεῖ, “ ἐκλήθη γὰρ  
 σκηνή μαρτυρίου ” φησί· καὶ τὸν καλοῦντα παρ-  
 εσιώπησεν, ἵνα συγκινηθεῖσα ἡ ψυχὴ σκέψηται,  
 τίς ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῖς φιλαρέτοις διανοίαις ἐστί.  
 56 τούτου χάριν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων  
 οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐν τῷ ποδήρει (cf. Lev. xvi.  
 1 ss.), ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς δόξης καὶ φαντασίας ψυχῆς  
 χιτῶνα ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ καταλιπὼν τοῖς τὰ  
 ἐκτὸς ἀγαπῶσι καὶ δόξαν πρὸ ἀληθείας τετιμηκόσι  
 γυμνὸς ἄνευ χρωμάτων καὶ ἤχων εἰσελεύσεται  
 σπείσαι τὸ ψυχικὸν αἷμα καὶ θυμιάσαι ὄλον τὸν  
 57 νοῦν τῷ σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ. καὶ  
 μὲν δὴ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιουδ (cf. Lev. x. 1) οἱ  
 ἐγγίσαντες θεῷ καὶ τὸν μὲν θνητὸν βίον κατα-  
 λιπόντες, τοῦ δ’ ἀθανάτου μεταλαχόντες, γυμνοὶ  
 θεωροῦνται τῆς κενῆς καὶ θνητῆς δόξης· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἂν ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ κομίζοντες ἔφερον



stripped of coverings: for these are the soul's clothes, by which it is sheltered and concealed. Goodness is the garment of the worthy soul, evil that of the worthless. Now there are three ways in which a soul is made naked. One is when it continues without change and is barren of all vices, and has divested itself of all the passions and flung them away. For this reason "Moses fixes his tent outside the camp, a long way from the camp, and it was called the tent of testimony" (Exod. xxxiii. 7).

What this means is this. The soul that loves God, having disrobed itself of the body and the objects dear to the body and fled abroad far away from these, gains a fixed and assured settlement in the perfect ordinances of virtue. Wherefore witness is also borne to it by God that it loves things that are noble; "for," says he, "it was called the tent of witness." He leaves unmentioned who it is that calls it so, in order that the soul may be stirred up to consider who it is that bears witness to virtue-loving minds. This is why the high priest shall not enter the Holy of Holies in his robe (Lev. xvi. 1 ff.), but laying aside the garment of opinions and impressions of the soul, and leaving it behind for those that love outward things and value semblance above reality, shall enter naked with no coloured borders or sound of bells, to pour as a libation the blood of the soul and to offer as incense the whole mind to God our Saviour and Benefactor.

Nadab and Abihu, too, who had drawn nigh to God and had forsaken the mortal life and become partakers of the life immortal are beheld naked of vain and mortal glory. For those who carried them away would not have borne them in their

## PHILO

(Lev. x. 5), εἰ μὴ γεγύμνωστο πάντα δεσμὸν πάθους καὶ σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης διαρρήξαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἡ γύμνωσις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσωματότης ἀθέων ἐπεισὸδω λογισμῶν κιβδηλευθῆ· οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρεπτέον τὰ θεοῦ καθορᾶν ἀπόρρητα, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς

58 δυναμένοις αὐτὰ περιστέλλειν καὶ φυλάττειν. διὸ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μισαδαὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἰδίους χιτῶσιν αἴρουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν ἐκπυρωθέντων καὶ ἀναληφθέντων Ναδαβ καὶ Ἀβιούδ· ἀποδυσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ ἐπικαλύπτοντα πάντα τὴν μὲν γύμνωσιν τῷ

[77] θεῷ | προσήνεγκαν, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας τοῖς περὶ Μισαδαὶ κατέλιπον· χιτῶνες δ' εἰσὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀλόγου, ἃ τὸ λογικὸν ἐπεσκίαζε. καὶ Ἀβραὰμ

59 γυμνοῦται, ὅταν ἀκούσῃ· “ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου” (Gen. xii. 1). καὶ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ οὐ γυμνοῦται μὲν, ἀεὶ δὲ γυμνός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος· πρόσταγμα γὰρ αὐτῷ δέδοται, μὴ καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον (Gen. xxvi. 2), τουτέστι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ Ἰακώβ γυμνότητος ἐρᾷ ψυχικῆς— ἡ γὰρ λειότης αὐτοῦ γύμνωσις ἐστίν— ἦν γὰρ Ἡσαῦ ἀνὴρ δασύς, Ἰακώβ δέ, φησὶν, ἀνὴρ λείος (Gen. xxvii. 11), παρὸ καὶ τῆς Λείας ἀνὴρ ἐστι.

60 XVI. Μία μὲν ἀρίστη γύμνωσις ἐστίν αὕτη, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα ἐστὶν ἐναντία, ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσις ἐκ τροπῆς γινομένη, ὅταν ληραίνῃ καὶ παρανοῇ ἡ ψυχὴ. ταύτη χρῆται ὁ Νῶε γυμνούμενος, ὅταν πῖν τοῦ οἴνου· χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἡ τροπὴ καὶ ἡ γύμνωσις τοῦ νοῦ κατ' ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσιν οὐκ

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<sup>a</sup> The Greek for 'Leah' (λεῖα) is the feminine of λείος, 'smooth.'

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 57-60

coats (Lev. x. 5), had they not become naked by bursting every bond of passion and of bodily constraint, in order that their nakedness and freedom from the body should not be debased by the irruption of impious thoughts. For not to all must leave be given to contemplate the secret things of God, but only to those who are able to hide and guard them. And so Mishael and Elzaphan do not take them up in their own coats, but in those of Nadab and Abihu, who had been devoured by fire and been taken up (into heaven). For having stripped themselves of all that covered them, they offered their nakedness to God, but their coats they left behind for Mishael and Elzaphan. Now coats are those parts of the irrational by which the rational was hidden. Abraham too becomes naked when the words have been spoken to him, "Go forth out of thy country and thy kindred" (Gen. xii. 1). Isaac also does not indeed become naked, but is always naked and without body, for an injunction has been given him not to go down into Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2), and "Egypt" is the body. Jacob, again, loves nakedness of the soul, for his smoothness signifies nakedness. "For Esau," we read, "was a hairy man, but Jacob a smooth man" (Gen. xxvii. 11), and accordingly he has "Leah"<sup>a</sup> as wife.

XVI. This is one form, the noblest form, of stripping or becoming naked. The other is of a contrary nature, a deprivation of virtue due to a turning or change of condition, when the soul becomes foolish and deranged. This kind of stripping is experienced by Noah, who is made naked when he has drunk wine. But, thanks be to God, the change of condition and the stripping of the mind

## PHILO

ἄχρι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐχύθη, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ·  
 φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι “ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ”  
 (Gen. ix. 21)· καὶ γὰρ ἀμάρτη ὁ σοφός, οὐχ οὕτως  
 ἐξώκειλεν ὡς ὁ φαῦλος, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κέχυται ἢ  
 κακία, τοῦ δὲ συνέσταλται· διὸ καὶ ἀνανήφει,  
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ ὡσπερ ἐκ νόσου  
 61 ἀναλαμβάνει. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ τὸ ἐν  
 τῷ οἴκῳ γίνεσθαι τὴν γύμνωσιν θεασώμεθα·  
 ἐπειδὴν ἢ ψυχὴν τραπέισα μόνον ἐνοηθῆ τι τῶν  
 ἀτόπων καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθη, ὥστε αὐτὸ ἔργῳ τε-  
 λειῶσαι, ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς χωρίῳ καὶ οἴκῳ γέγονε  
 τὸ ἀμάρτημα· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τῷ μοχθηρόν τι λογί-  
 σασθαι καὶ ἐπανύσῃται, ὥστε ἐργάσασθαι, κέχυται  
 62 καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἀδίκημα. παρὸ καὶ τῷ  
 Χαναὰν καταρᾶται, ὅτι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς τροπὴν  
 ἔξω ἀπήγγειλε, τουτέστι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἔτεινε  
 καὶ ἐπεξεργάσατο προσθεῖς τῷ κακῷ βουλήματι  
 κακὸν τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀποτέλεσμα· Σὴμ δὲ  
 καὶ Ἰάφεθ ἐπαινοῦνται μὴ ἐπιθέμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ,  
 63 ἀλλὰ τὴν τροπὴν αὐτῆς περικαλύψαντες. διὰ  
 τοῦτο καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ καὶ οἱ ὀρισμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἐπιλύονται, ὅταν ἐν οἴκῳ γένωνται πατρὸς ἢ  
 ἀνδρός (Num. xxx. 4 ff.), μὴ ἡσυχάζοντων τῶν  
 λογισμῶν μηδὲ ἐπιτιθεμένων τῇ τροπῇ, ἀλλὰ  
 περιαιρούντων τὸ ἀμάρτημα· τότε γὰρ καὶ ὁ  
 δεσπότης ἀπάντων “καθαριεῖ αὐτήν.” εὐχὴν δὲ  
 χήρας καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης ἀναφαίρετον ἐᾷ· “ὅσα  
 γὰρ ἂν εὐξῆται” φησὶ “κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς,

° See App. pp. 480, 481.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 60-63

which ensued upon the deprivation of virtue, did not spread out abroad and reach those outside, but stayed in the house, for what is said is "he was made naked in his house" (Gen. ix. 21): for the wise man, if he do commit sin, does not run riot, as does the bad man. The evil of the one has been spread forth; that of the other has been held in check; so he becomes sober again, that is to say, he repents and recovers as from an illness.

Let us contemplate more in detail the fact that the stripping takes place in the house. When the soul in its perversion only purposes some outrage, but does not follow it up so as to complete it in action, the sin has been committed in the soul's abode and house. But if, in addition to designing the bad deed, it goes on to carry out its design and do the thing, the unrighteous act has been spread out of doors as well. It is in accordance with this that a curse is pronounced on Canaan, because he reported abroad the change of the soul. This means that he gave it fuller scope and wrought it out further, adding a further evil to the evil wish, even its accomplishment by deeds. Shem and Japhet on the other hand receive praise for not joining in the soul's act but covering over its sad change. For this reason also the vows and determinations of the soul are annulled, when they have been made in the house of father or husband (Numb. xxx. 4 ff.<sup>a</sup>), if the reason and reflection do not hold their peace and so add their weight to the soul's failure, but remove the offence; for in that case the Lord of all also "shall cleanse her." But he leaves with no removal the vow of a widow or of her that is cast off: "for whatever vows she shall have vowed,"

## PHILO

μένει αὐτῇ” (Num. xxx. 10)· κατὰ λόγον· εἰ γὰρ ἄχρι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκβληθεῖσα προελήλυθεν, ὡς μὴ τρέπεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀθεράπευτος μένει ἀνδρείου τε λόγου μὴ μετασχούσα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρηγορίας στερηθεῖσα.

- 64 Τρίτη γύμνωσις ἐστὶν ἡ μέση, καθ’ ἣν ὁ νοῦς ἄλογός ἐστι μῆτε ἀρετῆς πω μῆτε κακίας μετέχων. περὶ ταύτης ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἧς καὶ ὁ νήπιος
- [78] κοινωνεῖ, ὥστε | τὸ λεγόμενον “ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ” τοιοῦτον εἶναι· οὔτε ὁ νοῦς ἐνόει οὔτε ἡ αἴσθησις ἠσθάνετο, ἀλλ’ ἦν ὁ μὲν τοῦ νοεῖν ἔρημός τε καὶ γυμνός, ἡ
- 65 δὲ τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι. XVII. τὸ δὲ “οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο” πάλιν ἴδωμεν. τρία κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐστίν· ἀναισχυντία, αἰδώς, τὸ μῆτε ἀναισχυντεῖν μῆτε αἰδεῖσθαι· ἀναισχυντία μὲν οὖν ἴδιον φαύλου, αἰδώς δὲ σπουδαίου, τὸ δὲ μῆτε αἰδεῖσθαι μῆτε ἀναισχυντεῖν τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἀσυγκαταθέτως, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· ὁ γὰρ μηδέπω κατάληψιν ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ λαβὼν οὔτε
- 66 ἀναισχυντεῖν οὔτε αἰδεῖσθαι δύναται. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀναισχυντίας παραδείγματα αἱ ἀσχημοσύναι πᾶσαι, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκαλύπτῃ τὰ αἰσχροῦ, συσκιάζειν δέον, ἐπαυχῶν καὶ σεμνυνόμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς. λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Μαρίας, ὅτε κατελάλει Μωσῆ· “εἰ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς πτύων ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἐντραπήσεται ἐπὶ τὰ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 481.

he says, "against her soul, abide for her" (Numb. xxx. 10). And this is reasonable. For if she has been cast off and gone forth to the parts outside, not turning merely but sinning by overt deeds, she abides incurable with no part in a husband's admonition and deprived of her father's persuasion.

A third form of producing nakedness is the middle or neutral one. Here the mind is irrational and has no part as yet either in virtue or in vice. It is of this form that the prophet is speaking. In this the infant too is partaker. Accordingly the words, "The two were naked, both Adam and his wife," amount to this: neither mind nor sense was performing its functions, the one being bare and barren of mental action and the other of the activity of sense-perception.

XVII. Let us look again at the words, "they were not ashamed."<sup>a</sup> The words suggest three points for consideration: shamelessness, and shamefastness, and absence of both shamelessness and shamefastness. Shamelessness, then, is peculiar to the worthless man, shamefastness to the man of worth, to feel neither shamefastness nor shamelessness to the man who is incapable of right apprehension and of due assent thereto, and this man is at this moment the prophet's subject. For he who has not yet attained to the apprehension of good and evil cannot possibly be either shameless or shamefast. Examples of shamelessness are all those unseemly actions, when the mind uncovers shameful things which it ought to hide from view, and vaunts itself in them and prides itself on them. Even in the case of Miriam, when she spoke against Moses, it is said, "If her father had but spat in her face, should she not feel shame seven days?"

## PHILO

- 67 ἡμέρας;” (Num. xii. 14) ὄντως γὰρ ἀναίσχυντος καὶ θρασεῖα ἢ αἰσθησις, ἢ ἐξουθενηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν πιστὸν ἐν ὄλω τῷ οἴκῳ (ib. 7), ᾧ τὴν Αἰθιοπίσσαν, τὴν ἀμετάβλητον καὶ κατακορῆ γνώμην, αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἠρμόσατο, τολμᾶ καταλαλεῖν Μωυσῆ καὶ κατηγορεῖν, ἐφ’ ᾧ ὄφειλεν ἐπαινεῖσθαι (ib. 1). τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ μέγιστον, ὅτι τὴν Αἰθιοπίσσαν ἔλαβε, τὴν ἄτρεπτον καὶ πεπυρωμένην καὶ δόκιμον φύσιν· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ βλέπον μέλαν ἐστίν, οὕτως τὸ ὄρατικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς Αἰθιοπίσσα
- 68 κέκληται. διὰ τί οὖν, πολλῶν ὄντων κακίας ἔργων, ἐνὸς μόνου μέμνηται τοῦ κατὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν εἰπὼν “οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο,” ἀλλ’ <οὐκ> οὐκ ἠδίκουν ἢ οὐχ ἠμάρτανον ἢ οὐκ ἐπλημμέλουν; παράκειται δὲ ἡ αἰτία. μὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ μόνον θεὸν οὐδὲν οὕτως αἰσχρὸν ἠγοῦμαι ὡς τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν
- 69 ὅτι νοῶ ἢ ὅτι αἰσθάνομαι. ὁ ἐμὸς νοῦς αἴτιος τοῦ νοεῖν; πόθεν; ἑαυτὸν γὰρ οἶδεν, ὅστις ὢν τυγχάνει ἢ πῶς ἐγένετο; ἢ δὲ αἰσθησις αἰτία τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι; πῶς ἂν λέγοιτο, μήθ’ ὑφ’ αὐτῆς μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ γνωριζομένη; οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι ὁ δοκῶν νοεῖν νοῦς εὐρίσκεται πολλάκις ἄνους, ἐν τοῖς κόροις, ἐν ταῖς μέθαις, ἐν ταῖς παραφροσύναις; ποῦ δὴ τὸ νοεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν; ἢ δὲ αἰσθησις οὐ πολλάκις ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; ὁρῶντες ἔστιν ὅτε οὐχ ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούομεν,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 481.



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 67-69

(Numb. xii. 14). For veritably shameless and bold was sense-perception in daring to decry and find fault with Moses for that for which he deserved praise. In comparison with him, who was "faithful in all God's house" (*ibid.*), sense-perception was set at naught by the God and Father; and it was God Himself who wedded to Moses the Ethiopian woman, who stands for resolve unalterable, intense, and fixed.<sup>a</sup> For this Moses merits high eulogy, that he took to him the Ethiopian woman, even the nature that has been tried by fire and cannot be changed. For, even as in the eye the part that sees is black, so the soul's power of vision has the title of woman of Ethiopia.<sup>a</sup>

Why then, seeing that results of wickedness are many, has he mentioned only one, that which attends on conduct that is disgraceful, saying "they were not shamed," but not saying "they did not commit injustice," or "they did not sin," or "they did not err"? The reason is not far to seek. By the only true God I deem nothing so shameful as supposing that I exert my mind and senses. My own mind the author of its exertion? How can it be? Does it know as to itself, what it is or how it came into existence? Sense-perception the origin of the perceiving by sense? How could it be said to be so, seeing that it is beyond the ken either of itself or of the mind? Do you not observe that the mind which thinks that it exercises itself is often found to be without mental power, in scenes of gluttony, drunkenness, folly? Where does the exercise of mind show itself then? And is not perceptive sense often robbed of the power of perceiving? There are times when seeing we see not and hearing

## PHILO

ἐπειδὴν ὁ νοῦς μικρὸν ὅσον ἐτέρῳ νοητῷ προσ-  
 70 ενεχθῆ παρενθυμούμενος. ἕως οὖν γυμνοὶ εἰσιν,  
 ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ νοεῖν, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι,  
 [79] οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἰσχρόν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ | ἄρξωνται  
 καταλαμβάνειν, ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ ὕβρει γίνονται,  
 εὐρεθήσονται γὰρ εὐηθεία καὶ μωρία πολλάκις  
 χρώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑγιαίνουσα ἐπιστήμη, οὐ  
 μόνον ἐν κόροις καὶ μελαγχολίαις καὶ παρα-  
 φροσύναις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ βίῳ· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ  
 ἡ αἴσθησις κρατεῖ, ὁ νοῦς ἠνδραπόδισται μηδενὶ  
 προσέχων νοητῷ, ὅτε δὲ ὁ νοῦς κρατεῖ, ἡ αἴσθησις  
 ἄπρακτος θεωρεῖται μηδενὸς ἀντίληψιν ἰσχουσα  
 αἰσθητοῦ.

71 XVIII. “ Ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων  
 τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν ἐποίησε κύριος  
 ὁ θεός ” (Gen. iii. 1). δυεῖν προγεγονότων νοῦ  
 καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τούτων γυμνῶν κατὰ τὸν  
 δεδηλωμένον τρόπον ὑπαρχόντων, ἀνάγκη τρίτην  
 ἡδονὴν συναγωγὸν ἀμφοῖν ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
 νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἀντίληψιν· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ νοῦς  
 δίχα αἰσθήσεως ἠδύνατο καταλαβεῖν ζῶον ἢ  
 φυτὸν ἢ λίθον ἢ ξύλον ἢ συνόλως σῶμα οὔτε ἡ  
 αἴσθησις δίχα τοῦ νοῦ περιποιησαὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι.

72 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἄμφω ταῦτα συνελθεῖν ἔδει πρὸς  
 κατάληψιν τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τίς αὐτὰ συνήγαγεν  
 ὅτι μὴ δεσμὸς τρίτος ἔρωτος καὶ ἐπιθυμίας,  
 ἀρχούσης καὶ δυναστευούσης ἡδονῆς, ἦν συμ-

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 69-72

hear not, whenever the mind, breaking off its attention for a moment, is brought to bear on some other mental object. So long then as they are naked, the mind without self-exertion, the perceptive sense without perceiving, they have nothing shameful: but when they have begun to apprehend, they fall into shameful and wanton conduct, for they will be found often showing silliness and folly rather than healthy knowledge, not only in times of loathsome surfeit and depression and mad fooling but also in the rest of their life. For when bodily sense is in command, the mind is in a state of slavery heeding none of its proper objects; but when the mind is in the ascendant, the bodily sense is seen to have nothing to do and to be powerless to lay hold of any object of sense-perception.

XVIII. "Now the serpent was the most subtle of all the beasts on the earth, which the Lord God had made" (Gen. iii. 1). Two things, mind and bodily sense, having already come into being, and these being in nakedness after the manner that has been set forth, it was necessary that there should be a third subsistence, namely pleasure, to bring both of them together to the apprehension of the objects of mental and of bodily perception. For neither could the mind apart from bodily sense apprehend an animal or a plant or a stone or a log or any bodily shape whatever, nor could the bodily sense apart from the mind maintain the act of perceiving. Since then it was necessary that both of these should come together for the apprehension of the objects about them, who was it that brought them together save a third, a bond of love and desire, under the rule and dominion of pleasure, to which

## PHILO

- 73 βολικῶς ὄφιν ὠνόμασε; πάνυ καλῶς ὁ ζωοπλάστης θεὸς ἐδημιούργησε τὴν τάξιν· νοῦν πρῶτον τὸν ἄνδρα, πρεσβύτατον γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, εἶτα αἰσθησιν τὴν γυναῖκα, εἶτα ἐξῆς τρίτον ἡδονήν. δυνάμει δέ εἰσιν αὐτῶν αἱ ἡλικίαι διάφοροι νοούμεναι μόνον, χρόνῳ δὲ ἰσηλικες· ἅμα γὰρ ἑαυτῇ ψυχῇ πάντα ἐπιφέρεται, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐντελεχεία, τὰ δὲ τῷ δύνασθαι γενέσθαι, εἰ καὶ μήπω προσείληφε
- 74 τὸ τέλος. εἰκάσθη δὲ ὄφει ἡδονὴ διὰ τὸδε· πολὺπλοκος γὰρ καὶ ποικίλη ὥσπερ τοῦ ὄφεως ἡ κίνησις, οὕτως καὶ ἡδονῆς· πενταχῇ γέ τοι πρῶτον εἰλεῖται, καὶ γὰρ δι' ὀράσεως ἡδοναὶ συνίστανται καὶ δι' ἀκοῆς καὶ διὰ γεύσεως καὶ διὰ ὀσφρήσεως καὶ δι' ἀφῆς· γίνονται δὲ αἱ σφοδρόταται καὶ σύντονοι αἱ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίαι, δι' ὧν γένεσις ἢ τοῦ ὁμοίου πέφυκεν ἀποτελεῖσθαι.
- 75 Καὶ μὴν οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ποικίλην φαμέν τὴν ἡδονήν, ὅτι περὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς ψυχῆς εἰλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον μέρος πολὺπλοκός ἐστιν· εὐθέως δι' ὀράσεως ἡδοναὶ γίνονται ποικίλαι, γραφικὴ πᾶσα, πλαστικὴ, τᾶλλα ὅσα κατὰ τέχνας τεχνικὰ δημιουργήματα τέρπει τὴν ὄρασιν· πάλιν φυτῶν βλαστανόντων ἀνθούτων καρποτοκούντων διαφοραί, ζώων εὐμορφίαι πολυσχιδεῖς· ὁμοίως τὴν ἀκοὴν αὐλὸς ἡδύνει, κιθάρα, [80] πᾶσα ὀργάνων ἰδέα, | ζώων ἀλόγων ἐμμελεῖς

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 73-75

the prophet gave the figurative name of a serpent ? Exceeding well did God the Framer of living beings contrive the order in which they were created. First He made mind, the man, for mind is most venerable in a human being, then bodily sense, the woman, then after them in the third place pleasure. But it is potentially only, as objects of thought, that they differ in age ; but in actual time they are equal in age. For the soul brings all together with herself, some parts in virtue of actual existence, others in virtue of the potentiality to arrive, even if they have not yet reached their consummation.

The reason pleasure is likened to a serpent is this. The movement of pleasure like that of the serpent is tortuous and variable. To begin with it takes its gliding course in five ways, for pleasures are occasioned by sight and by hearing and by taste and by smell and by touch ; but those connected with sexual intercourse prove themselves the most violent of all in their intensity, and this is the method ordained by Nature for the reproduction of the type.

Furthermore the fact that pleasure insinuates itself about all the organs of the irrational portion of the soul is not the only reason for our calling her variable ; for we call her so also because she glides with many a coil about each part. For instance variegated pleasures come through sight, those afforded by every kind of painting and of sculpture, and by all other artistic creations which in one art after another charm the eye ; by the changes too that plants go through as they shoot up, bloom, and bear fruit ; by the beauty of animals seen in so many forms. Similarly the ear gets pleasure from the flute, from the harp, from every kind of instrument, from the

## PHILO

φωναί, χελιδόνων, ἀηδόνων, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα φύσις μεμούσωκε, λογικῶν εὐφωνία, κιθαρῳδῶν κωμῳδίαν τραγωδίαν τὴν ἄλλην ὑποκριτικὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένων.

- 76 XIX. Τί <δὲ> δεῖ περὶ τῶν γαστροῦς ἡδονῶν διδάσκειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅσαι τῶν ὑποκειμένων χυλῶν προσηνῶν διαφοραὶ καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν κινούντων, τосαῦται καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἄρ' <οὖν> οὐ δεόντως ποικίλον οὐσα ἡδονὴ ποικίλῳ ζῳῳ
- 77 ὄφει παρεβλήθη; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ λαῶδες καὶ ὄχλον ἔχον ἐν ἡμῖν μέρος, ὅτε τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τουτέστι τῷ σωματικῷ ὄγκῳ, οἰκιῶν ἐφίεται, ἡδοναῖς περιπίπτει θάνατον ἐπαγούσαις, οὐ χωρισμὸν ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ὑπὸ κακίας φθοράν· φησὶ γάρ· “καὶ ἀπέστειλε κύριος εἰς τὸν λαὸν τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς θανατοῦντας, καὶ ἔδακνον τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀπέθνησκε λαὸς πολὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ” (Num. xxi. 6). ὄντως γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως θάνατον ἐπάγει ψυχῆ, ὡς ἀμετρία τῶν
- 78 ἡδονῶν. τὸ δὲ ἀποθνήσκον οὐ τὸ ἄρχον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχόμενον τὸ λαῶδες, καὶ μέχρι τούτου θάνατον ἐνδέξεται, μέχρις ἂν μετανοία χρησάμενον ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν τροπὴν· προσελθόντες γὰρ ἔλεγον Μωυσῆ “ὅτι ἡμαρτήκαμεν, ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν κατὰ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ σοῦ· εὐξαι οὖν πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἀφελέτω ἀφ’ ἡμῶν τοὺς ὄφεις” (ib. 7). εἶ τὸ φάναι, οὐχ ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν, ἡμάρτομεν, ἀλλ’ “ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν, κατελαλήσαμεν”· ὅταν γὰρ ἀμάρτη καὶ ἀπαρτηθῆ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 481.

<sup>b</sup> Or “‘Because we spoke, we sinned’ but ‘because we sinned, we spoke.’”

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 75-78

tuneful voices of creatures without reason, swallows, nightingales, other birds which Nature has made musical; from the euphonious speech of beings endowed with reason, from musicians as they exercise their histrionic powers in comedy, tragedy, and all that is put on the stage.

XIX. What need to illustrate my point from the pleasures of the table? There are, we may roughly say, as many varieties of pleasure, as there are of dishes set before us stirring our senses with their delicious flavours. Pleasure being, then, a thing so variable, was it not fitly compared to a tortuous animal, the serpent? For this reason, too, when the part of us that corresponds to the turbulent mob of a city, pines for the dwellings in Egypt, that is, in the corporeal mass, it encounters pleasures which bring death, not the death which severs soul from body, but the death which ruins the soul by vice. For we read, "And the Lord sent among the people the deadly serpents, and they bit the people, and much people of the children of Israel died" (Numb. xxi. 6). For verily nothing so surely brings death upon a soul as immoderate indulgence in pleasures. That which dies is not the ruling part in us, but the part that is under rule, the part that is like the vulgar herd. And so long will it incur death, as it fails to repent and acknowledge its fall. For they came to Moses saying, "We have sinned in that we spake against the Lord, and against thee. Pray therefore to the Lord, and let Him take away the serpents from us" (*ibid.* 7). 'Tis well that they say,<sup>a</sup> *not* "We spake against, we sinned" *but* "We sinned, we spake against."<sup>b</sup> For it is when the mind *has* sinned and ceased to

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ὁ νοῦς ἀρετῆς, αἰτιᾶται τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἰδίαν τροπὴν προσάπτων θεῶ.

- 79 XX. Πῶς οὖν γίνεται ἴσως τοῦ πάθους; ὅταν ἕτερος ὄφιν κατασκευασθῆ τῷ τῆς Εὐσας ἐναντίος, ὁ σωφροσύνης λόγος· ἡδονῇ γὰρ ἐναντίον σωφροσύνη, ποικίλῳ πάθει ποικίλη ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀμυνομένη πολεμίαν ἡδονήν. τὸν κατὰ σωφροσύνην οὖν ὄφιν κελεύει ὁ θεὸς Μωυσεῖ κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ φησὶ· “ποιήσον σεαυτῷ ὄφιν καὶ θές αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου” (ib. 8). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτον ὁ Μωυσῆς τὸν ὄφιν ἢ ἐαυτῷ, προστᾶττει γὰρ ὁ θεός “ποιήσον σεαυτῷ,” ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι οὐ παντός ἐστι κτῆμα σωφροσύνη,
- 80 ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς. σκεπτέον  
 δέ, διὰ τί Μωυσῆς χαλκοῦν ὄφιν κατασκευάζεται, οὐ προσταχθέν αὐτῷ περὶ ποιότητος. μήποτ’
- [81] | οὖν διὰ τὰδε· πρῶτον μὲν ἄυλοί εἰσιν αἱ θεοῦ χάριτες [ιδέαι αὐται] καὶ ἄπιοι, αἱ δὲ τῶν θνητῶν σὺν ὕλῃ θεωροῦνται· δεύτερον δὲ Μωυσῆς μὲν ἀσωμάτων ἐρᾷ ἀρετῶν, αἱ δ’ ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ οὐ δυνάμεναι ἐκδῦναι τὰ σώματα σωματικῆς ἐφίενται
- 81 ἀρετῆς. δυνατῇ δὲ καὶ στερεᾷ οὐσίᾳ τῇ χαλκοῦ ἀπέικασται ὁ κατὰ σωφροσύνην λόγος εὐτονος καὶ ἀδιάκοπος ὢν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ παρόσον ἢ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ σωφροσύνη τιμιωτάτη ἐστὶ καὶ χρυσῷ ἐοικυῖα, δευτερεύουσα δὲ ἢ ἐν τῷ κατὰ προκοπὴν σοφίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντι. ὃν ἂν οὖν “δάκη ὄφιν, πᾶς ὁ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται” (ib.). πάνυ



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 78-81

cleave to virtue, that it blames God's ways, fastening its own defection on God.

XX. How, then, is a healing of their suffering brought about? By the making of another serpent, opposite in kind to that of Eve, namely the principle of self-mastery. For self-mastery runs counter to pleasure, a variable virtue to a variable affection, and a virtue that defends itself against pleasure its foe. So then God bids Moses make the serpent that expresses self-mastery, and says: "Make for thyself a serpent and set it upon a standard" (*ibid.* 8). You notice that Moses makes this serpent for no one else, but for himself, for God's bidding is "Make it for thyself." This is that you may know that self-mastery is not a possession of every man, but only of the man beloved of God.

We must consider why Moses makes a brazen serpent, no direction having been given him as to material. Possibly these are the reasons. In the first place, matter is not an element in God's gifts making them to be of this or that sort; but the gifts of us mortals are always looked upon embodied in matter. A second reason: Moses loves excellences without bodily form, whereas our souls, being unable to get out of our bodies, crave for excellence in bodily shape. But the principle of self-mastery, being forcible and unyielding, is likened to the strong and firm substance of brass, perhaps also because, whereas the self-mastery found in the man beloved of God is most precious and like gold, that which is found in him who has absorbed wisdom by gradual progress holds the second place. Everyone, then, "whom a serpent shall have bitten, when he looks on it shall live" (*ibid.*). This is quite true. For if the

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- ἀληθῶς· ἐὰν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς δηχθεὶς ἡδονῇ, τῷ τῆς  
 Εὐσας ὄφει, ἰσχύσει κατιδεῖν ψυχικῶς τὸ σωφρο-  
 σύνης κάλλος, τὸν Μωυσέως ὄφιν, καὶ διὰ τούτου  
 τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ζήσεται· μόνον ἰδέτω καὶ κατα-  
 82 νοησάτω. XXI. οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἄρ-  
 χουσα σοφία Σάρρα φησὶν· “ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ,  
 συγχαρεῖται μοι” (Gen. xxi. 6); ἀλλὰ φέρε  
 τινὰ ἰσχύσαι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι τέτοκεν ἡ ἀρετὴ τὴν  
 εὐδαιμονίαν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ εὐθύς συγχαρητικὸν ὕμνον  
 ὑμνήσει. ὡς οὖν τοῦ ἀκούσαντός ἐστι <τὸ>  
 συγχαίρειν, οὕτως τοῦ σωφροσύνην καὶ θεὸν  
 83 ἰδόντος εἰλικρινῶς τὸ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν. πολλαὶ  
 δὲ καρτερίας καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐρασθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ  
 καὶ ἐρημωθεῖσαι παθῶν ὅμως κράτος ὑπέμειναν  
 θεοῦ καὶ τροπὴν τὴν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐδέξαντο,  
 διασυνιστάντος αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ  
 δεσπότου, ἑαυτὸν μὲν, ὅτι ἀκλινῆς ἕστηκεν αἰεί,  
 τὴν δὲ γένεσιν, ὅτι ταλαντεύει καὶ πρὸς τὰναντία  
 84 ἀντιρρέπει· φησὶ γάρ· “τοῦ ἀγαγόντος σε διὰ  
 τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἐκείνης,  
 οὗ ὄφιος δάκνων καὶ σκορπίος καὶ δίψα, οὗ οὐκ  
 ἦν ὕδωρ, τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σοι ἐκ πέτρας ἀκρο-  
 τόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος, τοῦ ψωμίσαντός σε τὸ  
 μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ὃ οὐκ ἤδειςαν οἱ πατέρες  
 σου” (Deut. viii. 15, 16). ὄρας ὅτι οὐ μόνον  
 τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παθῶν ἐφιεμένη ἡ ψυχὴ περι-  
 πίπτει τοῖς ὄφεισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε ἐστὶν ἐν ἐρήμῳ  
 δάκνεται ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς, τοῦ ποικίλου καὶ ὀφιώδους  
 πάθους· οἰκειότατον δὲ ὄνομα εἴληχε τὸ ἡδονῆς  
 85 ἔργον, δηγμὸς γὰρ καλεῖται. ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον οἱ  
 ἐν ἐρήμῳ δάκνονται ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 481.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 81-85

mind, when bitten by pleasure, the serpent of Eve, shall have succeeded in beholding in soul the beauty of self-mastery, the serpent of Moses, and through beholding this, beholds God Himself, he shall live ; only let him look and mark well. XXI. Do you not notice that Sarah, that is dominant wisdom, says : " For whosoever shall hear of it shall rejoice with me " (Gen. xxi. 6) ? Just suppose that someone has succeeded in hearing that Virtue has given birth to Happiness (Isaac). Straightway he will sing a hymn of sympathetic joy. As then fellowship in joy is his who has heard of Isaac's birth, so is escape from death his who has looked with clear vision on self-mastery and God. " But many souls, after being enamoured of endurance - and self-mastery and divested of passions, nevertheless do experience the might of God and receive the turning to the lower way, the Master making a sharp distinction between Himself and His creation. He Himself stands ever steadfast, while His creation wavers and inclines in opposite directions. For the prophet says : " Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, where there was biting serpent and scorpion and drought, where there was no water, who brought out a spring of water for thee from the hard rock, who fed thee with manna in the wilderness, which thy fathers knew not " (Deut. viii. 15 f.). You see that it is not only when attracted by the passions of Egypt that the soul falls in with the serpents, but when it is in a wilderness too it is bitten by pleasure, that subtle and snake-like passion. And pleasure's mode of action has received a most appropriate name, for it is here called a biting. But not those in a wilderness only are bitten by pleasure, but those

ἔσκορπισμένοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πολλάκις καταλιπὼν  
 μὲν ἀνθρώπους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πατρίδα  
 καὶ εἰς ἐρημίαν ἐλθὼν, ἵνα τι τῶν θέας ἀξίων  
 κατανοήσω, οὐδὲν ὦνησα, ἀλλὰ σκορπισθεὶς ὁ  
 νοῦς ἢ πάθει δηχθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰναντία·  
 ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐν πλήθει μυριάνδρῳ ἡρεμῶ τὴν  
 [82] διάνοιαν, | τὸν ψυχικὸν ὄχλον σκεδάσαντος θεοῦ  
 καὶ διδάξαντός με, ὅτι οὐ τόπων διαφοραὶ τό τε  
 εὖ καὶ χεῖρον ἐργάζονται, ἀλλ' ὁ κινῶν θεὸς καὶ  
 ἄγων ἦ ἢ ἂν προαιρηῆται τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα.

86 πλὴν περιπίπτει σκορπίῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ  
 σκορπισμῶ, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ δύσα καταλαμβάνει  
 ἢ τῶν παθῶν, μέχρις ἂν ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀκροτόμου  
 σοφίας ἑαυτοῦ τὸ νῆμα ἐπιπέμψῃ καὶ ποτίσῃ τὴν  
 τραπέισαν ψυχὴν ἀμεταβλήτῳ ὑγείᾳ· ἢ γὰρ  
 ἀκρότομος πέτρα ἢ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἣν  
 ἄκραν καὶ πρωτίστην ἔτεμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δυ-  
 νάμεων, ἐξ ἧς ποτίζει τὰς φιλοθέους ψυχὰς·  
 ποτισθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ μάννα ἐμπίπλανται τοῦ  
 γενικωτάτου—καλεῖται γὰρ τὸ μάννα “τί,” ὁ  
 πάντων ἐστὶ γένος—, τὸ δὲ γενικώτατόν ἐστιν ὁ  
 θεός, καὶ δεύτερος ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα λόγῳ  
 μόνον ὑπάρχει, ἔργοις δὲ ἐστίν οὐ ἴσα τῷ οὐχ  
 ὑπάρχοντι.

87 XXII. Ἴδε νῦν διαφορὰν τοῦ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τρεπο-  
 μένου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς θανα-  
 τοῦσιν ὄφεισι χρῆται, τουτέστιν ἀπλήστοις ἡδοναῖς

<sup>a</sup> Or “supremely generic.”

also who are a prey to scattering. For many a time have I myself forsaken friends and kinsfolk and country and come into a wilderness, to give my attention to some subject demanding contemplation, and derived no advantage from doing so, but my mind scattered or bitten by passion has gone off to matters of the contrary kind. Sometimes, on the other hand, amid a vast throng I have a collected mind. God has dispersed the crowd that besets the soul and taught me that a favourable and unfavourable condition are not brought about by differences of place, but by God who moves and leads the car of the soul in whatever way He pleases.

To return to what I was saying, the soul falls in with a scorpion, which is "scattering," in the wilderness, and the drought of the passions seizes upon it, until God send forth the stream from His strong wisdom and quench with un failing health the thirst of the soul that had turned from Him. For the flinty rock is the wisdom of God, which He marked off highest and chiefest from His powers, and from which He satisfies the thirsty souls that love God. And when they have been given water to drink, they are filled also with the manna, the most generic of substances, for the manna is called "somewhat," and that suggests the *summum genus*. But the primal existence<sup>a</sup> is God, and next to Him is the Word of God, but all other things subsist in word only, but in their active effects they are in some cases as good as non-subsisting.

XXII. Note now a difference between him who turns aside in the wilderness and him who does so in Egypt. The one has experience of deadly serpents, that is to say insatiable pleasures inflicting

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- θάνατον ἐπιφερούσαις, ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς δάκνεται μόνον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς καὶ σκορπίζεται, οὐ θανατοῦται· κακείνος μὲν σωφροσύνη, χαλκῶ ὄφει, θεραπεύεται γενομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ Μωυσέως, οὗτος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ποτίζεται κάλλιστον ποτὸν σοφίαν ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ἣν αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
- 88 σοφίας. οὐδὲ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου Μωυσέως ἀπέχεται ἢ ὀφιώδης <ἡδονή>, λέγεται δὲ ὧδε· “ἐὰν οὖν μὴ πιστεύσωσί μοι μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσι τῆς φωνῆς μου—ἐροῦσι γάρ, οὐκ ὤπταί σοι ὁ θεός—, τί ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς; καὶ εἶπε κύριος Μωυσεῖ· τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ῥάβδος. καὶ εἶπε· ῥίψον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένετο ὄφεις, καὶ ἔφυγε Μωυσῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπε κύριος Μωυσεῖ· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς κέρκου. ἐκτείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπελάβετο τῆς κέρκου, καὶ ἐγένετο ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ <αὐτοῦ>· ἵνα πιστεύσωσί σοι” (Exod. iv. 1 ff.).
- 89 πῶς ἂν τις πιστεύσαι θεῶ; ἐὰν μάθῃ, ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τρέπεται, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀτρεπτός ἐστι. πυνθάνεται οὖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σοφοῦ, τί ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρακτικῶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ βίω· ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ σύμβολον πράξεως· ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι παιδεία, ἣν ῥάβδον καλεῖ. διὸ καὶ ὁ πτερνιστῆς τῶν παθῶν Ἰακώβ φησιν· “ἐν γὰρ τῇ ῥάβδῳ μου διέβην τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῦτον” (Gen. xxxii. 10).
- [83] Ἰορδάνης | δὲ κατάβασις ἐρμηνεύεται· τῆς δὲ κάτω καὶ γήινης καὶ φθαρτῆς φύσεώς ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ κακίαν καὶ πάθος· διαβαίνει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀσκητῆς νοῦς ἐν παιδείᾳ· ταπεινὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐκδέχεσθαι, ὅτι βακτηρίαν ἔχων ποταμὸν διέβαινε.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 87-89

death ; but the disciplined one is only bitten and scattered, not done to death, by pleasure. And while the one is cured by self-mastery, even the brazen serpent made by the wise Moses, the other is caused by God to drink a draught most excellent, even wisdom out of the fountain which He drew out from His own wisdom. Not even from Moses, most beloved of God, does Pleasure, the serpent-like one, refrain, but this is what we read : " If therefore they say, ' God has not appeared to thee,' and believe me not and hearken not to my voice, what shall I say to them ? And the Lord said unto Moses, ' What is that in thine hand ? ' And he said, ' A rod.' And He said, ' Cast it upon the ground.' And he cast it upon the ground, and it became a serpent, and Moses fled from it. And the Lord said unto Moses, ' Stretch forth thine hand and lay hold of its tail' (and he stretched forth his hand and took hold of its tail, and it became a rod in his hand) : that they may believe thee " (Exod. iv. 1 ff.).

How should one come to believe God ? By learning that all other things change but He is unchangeable. Therefore God asks the wise man what there is in his hand or in the active life of his soul, for the hand represents activity ; and he answers, " Schooling," giving it the name of a rod. So Jacob also, the supplanter of the passions, says, " For in my rod I crossed this Jordan " (Gen. xxxii. 10). The meaning of Jordan is " descent " or " coming down." And to the nature that is down below, earthly, corruptible, belongs all that is done under the impulse of vice and passion. Over these Mind, the disciplined One, crosses in schooling himself. To take the words to mean that he crossed the river with a staff in

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- 90 XXIII. καλῶς οὖν καὶ ὁ θεοφιλῆς Μωυσῆς ἀποκρίνεται· ὄντως γὰρ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ σπουδαίου παιδεία ὡς ἂν ῥάβδῳ ἐπερείδονται, τὸν κλόνον καὶ σάλον τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδρύνονται. αὕτη ἡ ῥάβδος ἀπορριφθεῖσα γίνεται ὄφισ· εἰκότως· ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπορρίψῃ τὴν παιδείαν, γέγονε φιλήδονος ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς
- 91 ἀποδιδράσκει ὁ φιλάρετος. ἀλλὰ τοί γε ὁ θεὸς τὴν φυγὴν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ· σοὶ μὲν γάρ, ὦ διάνοια, μήπω τελειωθείση φυγὴν καὶ δρασμὸν τῶν παθῶν ἀρμόζει μελετᾶν, Μωυσεῖ δὲ τῷ τελείῳ παραμένειν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰ πολέμῳ καὶ ἀντιστατεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαμάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀδείας καὶ ἐξουσίας λαβόμενα μέχρι τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀναβάντα πᾶσαν ἐκπολιορκήσει καὶ λεηλατήσει τυράννου
- 92 τρόπον τὴν ψυχὴν. διὸ καὶ προστάττει ὁ θεὸς “λαβέσθαι τῆς κέρκου,” τουτέστι τὸ ἀντίδικον τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀτίθασον αὐτῆς μὴ φοβεῖτω σε, ἀλλὰ τούτου μάλιστα λαβοῦ καὶ κατάσχεσ καὶ περικράτησον· ἔσται γὰρ πάλιν ἀντὶ ὄφεως ῥάβδος, τουτέστιν ἀντὶ ἡδονῆς γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ
- 93 παιδεία. ἀλλὰ γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, ἐν τῇ πράξει τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι· λαβέσθαι δὲ καὶ περικρατῆσαι ἡδονῆς ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐκταθείῃ ἡ χεὶρ, τουτέστιν εἰ μὴ τὰς πράξεις καὶ προκοπὰς ἀπάσας ὁμολογήσειεν ἡ ψυχὴ κατὰ θεὸν εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναγάγοι. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν ὄφιν ἀποδιδράσκειν ὁ βλέπων δι-



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 90-93

his hand would be tame. XXIII. Good, therefore is the reply of Moses beloved of God ; for in truth the conduct of the virtuous man leans on discipline as on a rod, settling and allaying the tumult and tossing of the soul. This rod when cast away becomes a serpent ; naturally ; for if the soul casts away discipline, it at once becomes a lover of pleasure in place of a lover of virtue. And so Moses flies from it ; for the lover of virtue runs away from passion and pleasure. But, mark you, God does not applaud his flight. For while it well befits thee, O my mind, who art not yet made perfect, to get practice by flying and running away from the passions, it befits Moses, the perfect one, not to desist from the warfare against them, but to resist them and fight it out. Otherwise, finding nothing to alarm or to stop them, they will make their way up to the very citadel of the soul, and storm and plunder the whole soul after the fashion of a lawless ruler. Wherefore also God bids him " lay hold of the tail." This means, " Let not pleasure's opposition and her savagery daunt thee. That is the very part to make for. Grip it fast and quell it ; for then there shall be once more a rod instead of a serpent ; that is to say, instead of pleasure there shall be in thy hand discipline." But it is " in the *hand*," in the *doing* of the wise man, that this shall come to pass. This is quite true. It would be impossible to lay hold of pleasure and get the mastery of it if the hand were not first stretched out, that is to say, if the soul were not first to acknowledge that all its achievements and successes are due to God's impelling force and to refer nothing to itself. The man whose eyes are open determines to run away from

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ἐγνωκεν· ἕτερον δὲ τὸν σωφροσύνης λόγον κατασκευάζει, τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐκείνον, ἵνα ὁ δηχθεὶς ὑφ' ἠδονῆς ἰδὼν σωφροσύνην ζήσῃ τὸν ἀληθῆ βίον.

- 94 XXIV. Τοιοῦτον ὄφιν εὔχεται ὁ Ἰακώβ γενέσθαι τὸν Δάν καὶ φησιν οὕτως· “ Δάν κρινεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαόν, ὡσεὶ καὶ μία φυλὴ Ἰσραήλ, καί· Γενέσθω Δάν ὄφισ ἐφ' ὁδοῦ, ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου, δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππευς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου ” (Gen. xlix. 16-18). ἐκ μὲν τῆς Λείας πέμπτος υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰσάακ γνήσιος τοῦ Ἰακώβ, συγκαταριθμουμένων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ζέλφας δυεῖν ἑβδομος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰακώβ πέμπτος ἐστὶν ὁ Δάν ἐκ τῆς Βάλλας τῆς παιδίσκης Ῥαχήλ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐξευρήσομεν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Δάν
- 95 πάλιν κατανοητέον. δύο γένη φορεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ, τὸ μὲν θεῖον, τὸ δὲ φθαρτόν· τὸ μὲν οὖν κρείττον κεκύηκεν ἤδη καὶ ἴσταται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· ὅτε γὰρ
- [84] ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ | θεῷ καὶ παραχωρῆσαι πάντα ἴσχυσεν ἡ ψυχὴ, κτήμα κρείσσον λαβεῖν οὐκέτ' εἶχε· διὰ τοῦτ' ἔστη τοῦ τίκτειν τὸν Ἰούδαν, τὸν
- 96 ἐξομολογητικὸν τρόπον, ἐνεγκοῦσα. τὸ δὲ θνητὸν γένος νῦν ἄρχεται διαπλάττειν. ὑφέστηκε δὲ τὸ θνητὸν καταπόσει· θεμελίου γὰρ τρόπον ἡ γεῦσις, ἡ αἰτία τῆς τῶν ζώων διαμονῆς ἐστὶ· Βάλλα δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται κατάποσις· ἐκ ταύτης οὖν γίνεται ὁ Δάν, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κρίσις· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γένος διακρίνει καὶ χωρίζει τὰ ἀθάνατα ἀπὸ τῶν θνητῶν. εὔχεται οὖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι σωφροσύνης ἐραστήν,
- 284

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 93-96

this serpent, and he fashions another, the principle of self-mastery, that serpent of brass, in order that the man who has been bitten by pleasure may, on seeing self-mastery, live the real life.

XXIV. Such a serpent does Jacob pray that Dan may become, and speaks on this wise :

“ Dan shall judge his people,  
As if indeed one tribe of Israel,” and  
“ Let Dan become a serpent in the way,  
Seated on the beaten track, biting the horse’s heel,  
And the horseman shall fall backward,  
Waiting for the salvation of the Lord.”

(Gen. xlix. 16-18.)

Of those born of Leah Issachar is Jacob’s fifth genuine son, or if Zilpah’s two sons are reckoned in, he is the seventh. But Jacob’s fifth son is Dan, by Bilhah Rachel’s handmaid. The occasion of this remark we shall discover in my special treatise on the subject. The subject of Dan demands further study. The soul bears two kinds of offspring, the one divine, the other perishable. The better kind she has already conceived, and with it she ceases to bear. For when the soul had attained to making full submission and acknowledgement to God there was no better possession for it to go on to gain. This is why she ceased when she had borne Judah, the spirit of praise and acknowledgement. The soul now goes on to the fashioning of the mortal race. The mortal subsists by swallowing. For the taste, like a foundation, is the cause of living creatures continuing to live. And Bilhah means “ swallowing.” From this woman there springs Dan, whose name signifies sifting or distinguishing : for this race distinguishes and separates things immortal from those that are mortal. So his father prays that he may



## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 96-99

prove a lover of self-mastery. But for Judah he will offer no such prayer, for Judah already has the property of praising and pleasing God. So he says, "Let Dan become a serpent on the road." The soul is our road ; for as on the roads it is possible to see the distinction of existences, lifeless, living ; irrational, rational ; good, bad ; slave, free ; young, or older ; male, female ; foreign, or native ; sickly, healthy ; maimed, entire ; so in the soul too there are lifeless, incomplete, diseased, enslaved, female, and countless other movements full of disabilities ; and on the other hand movements living, entire, male, free, sound, elder, good, genuine, and, in a real sense, of the fatherland.

Let then the principle of self-mastery become a serpent upon the soul whose road lies through all the circumstances of life and let it seat itself upon the well worn track. What is this ? The path of virtue is unworn, for few tread it, while that of vice is well worn. He calls on him to beset with his ambuscade and to lie in wait upon the beaten road of passion and vice, on which reasoning powers that flee from virtue wear out their life.

XXV. "Biting the horse's heel." It is quite in keeping that the character which upsets the stability of created and perishable life attacks the heel. The passions are likened to a horse. For passion, like a horse, is a four-legged<sup>a</sup> creature, impulsive, full of wilfulness, and naturally restive. But the principle of self-mastery loves to bite and wound and destroy passion. When passion with its heel bitten has stumbled "the horseman shall fall backwards." We must understand by "the horseman" the mind that is mounted on the passions,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 481.

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- τῶν παθῶν, ὅταν αὐτὰ συλλογισθῆ καὶ πτερισθῆ.
- 100 εὖ δ' ὅτι εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν οὐ πίπτει ἢ ψυχὴ·  
 μὴ γὰρ προερχέσθω τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλ' ὑστεριζέτω  
 τούτων, καὶ σωφρονισθήσεται. καὶ δογματικόν  
 ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει· ἐὰν γὰρ ὀρμήσας ὁ νοῦς ἀδικῆσαι  
 ὑστερήσῃ καὶ πέσῃ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, οὐκ ἀδικήσῃ·  
 ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ πάθος κινηθεῖς ἄλογον μὴ ἐπεκδράμῃ,
- [85] ἀλλὰ | κατόπιν μείνῃ, ἀπάθειαν, τὸ κάλλιστον,  
 101 καρπώσεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κατόπιν πτώμα ἀποδεχό-  
 μενος τῶν κακιῶν ἐπιφέρει· “ τὴν σωτηρίαν περι-  
 μένων κυρίου.” ὄντως γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σώζεται ὁ  
 ἀποπίπτων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ὑστερίζων τῆς ἐν-  
 εργείας αὐτῶν. πέσοι τοιοῦτόν μου πτώμα ἢ ψυχὴ  
 καὶ μηδέποτε ἀνασταίῃ ἐπὶ τὸ ἵππειον καὶ σκιρτη-  
 τικόν πάθος, ἵνα θεοῦ σωτηρίαν περιμείνασα εὐδαι-
- 102 μονήσῃ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι  
 ὑμνεῖ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι “ ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν  
 εἰς θάλασσαν” (Exod. xv. 1), τὰ τέσσαρα πάθη  
 καὶ τὸν ἐποχοῦμενον αὐτοῖς ἄθλιον νοῦν εἰς τὴν  
 φθορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὸν ἀνήνυτον βυθόν·  
 καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦ ᾄσματος ὅλου τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτ'  
 ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὃ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀναφέρεται, καὶ οὕτως  
 ἔχει· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπάθεια κατὰσχῃ τὴν ψυχὴν, τελέως  
 εὐδαιμονήσῃ.
- 103 XXVI. Ζητητέον δέ, τίνος ἕνεκα ὁ μὲν Ἰακώβ  
 φησιν, ὅτι “ πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω”  
 (Gen. xlix. 17), Μωυσῆς δὲ ἄδει, ὅτι ἵππος καὶ  
 ἀναβάτης κατεποντώθησαν. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ὁ  
 μὲν καταποντούμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιός ἐστι τρόπος, ὅς,  
 κὰν φεύγῃ, ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τὴν φθορὰν

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 99-103

which falls off the passions when they are brought to a reckoning and overthrown. 'Tis well that the soul does not fall forwards : let him not get in advance of the passions, but be behind them, and he shall learn self-control. And there is sound principle in what is said here. For if the mind, after starting out to do wrong, drops behind and falls backwards, it will not do the wrong deed ; and if, after experiencing an impulse to an irrational passion, it does not follow it up, but stays behind, it will reap the fairest reward, even exemption from passion. That is why the prophet, understanding the falling backwards to be escape from the passions, adds the words, " waiting for the salvation of the Lord " : for he is indeed saved by God who falls away from the passions and comes short of realizing them in act. May my soul have such a fall, and never mount the beast of passion, wild like a bounding capering horse, that, having waited for God's salvation, it may attain to bliss. This explains why Moses in the Song praises God, that " He cast horse and rider into the sea " (Exod. xv. 1). He means that God cast to utter ruin and the bottomless abyss the four passions and the wretched mind mounted on them. This is indeed practically the chief point of the whole Song, to which all else is subsidiary. And it is true ; for if the soul be won by exemption from passion, it will have perfect bliss.

XXVI. But we must inquire why, whereas Jacob says, " the horseman shall fall backwards " (Gen. xlix. 17), Moses sings of the drowning of horse and rider. We must remark then, that, whereas he that is to perish by drowning is the Egyptian character, which, even if it flees, flees under the water, that is, under

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- τῶν παθῶν φεύγει, ὁ δὲ πίπτων ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια οὐκ ἔστι τῶν φιλοπαθῶν· τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι οὗτος μὲν ἔστιν ἵππεύς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀναβάτης·
- 104 ἵππέως μὲν οὖν ἔργον δαμάζειν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἀφηγιάζοντα ἐπιστομίζειν, ἀναβάτου δὲ φέρεσθαι ἢ ἂν τὸ ζῶον ἄγῃ· καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ τοῦ μὲν κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἄγειν τὸ σκάφος καὶ εὐθύνειν καὶ ὀρθοῦν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιβάτου πάσχειν ὅσα ἂν ἡ ναῦς ὑπομένη· παρὸ καὶ ὁ δαμάζων τὰ πάθη ἵππεὺς οὐ καταποντοῦται, ἀλλὰ ἀποβὰς αὐτῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένει τοῦ δεσπότου.
- 105 Παραίνει μέντοι ὁ ἱερός λόγος ἐν Λευιτικῷ “ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔρπετῶν, ἃ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, ἃ ἔχει σκέλη ἀνώτερον τῶν ποδῶν, ὥστε πηδᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ” σιτεῖσθαι (Lev. xi. 21), ὧν ἔστιν ὁ βροῦχος καὶ ὁ ἄττακός καὶ ἀκρίς καὶ τέταρτον ὁ ὄφιομάχης· καὶ δεόντως· εἰ γὰρ ἄτροφον καὶ βλαβερὸν πρᾶγμα ὀφιώδης ἡδονή, τροφιμώτατον ἂν καὶ σωτήριοι γένοιτο ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν διαμαχομένη φύσις· αὕτη δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνη ἐστί· μάχου δὴ καὶ σύ, ὦ διάνοια, πρὸς πᾶν πάθος καὶ διαφερόντως πρὸς ἡδονήν, καὶ γὰρ “ φρονιμώτατός ἐστιν ὁ ὄφιος πάντων θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν
- 107 ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός ” (Gen. iii. 1)· τῶν γὰρ πάντων πανουργότατόν ἐστιν ἡδονή· διὰ τί; ὅτι πάντα ἡδονῆς δούλα καὶ ὁ βίος ὁ τῶν φαύλων δεσπόζεται ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς· τὰ γοῦν ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς εὐρίσκεται διὰ πανουργίας πάσης, χρυσὸς ἄργυρος
- [86] δόξα τιμαὶ ἀρχαί, αἱ ὕλαι τῶν | αἰσθητῶν, καὶ τέχνηαι αἱ βάνανσοι καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι κατασκευαί·



the current of the passions ; the horseman who falls backwards does not belong to the lovers of the passions. A proof of this is that he is called " horseman," whereas the other is called " rider." A horseman's business is to subdue his horse and use the bit when it disregards the rein, whereas a rider's business is to be carried wherever the animal takes him. On the sea, too, the helmsman's business is to guide the boat and keep it upright and in its course, but it is for the passenger to experience all that the ship undergoes. Accordingly the horseman who subdues the passions is not drowned but, dismounting from them, awaits the salvation that comes from the Master.

Now the sacred word in Leviticus directs them to feed " on creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, so as to leap with them " (Lev. xi. 21). Such are the locust, the wild locust, the grasshopper, and in the fourth place the cricket. And this is as it should be. For if serpentlike pleasure is a thing un-nourishing and injurious, self-mastery, the nature that is in conflict with pleasure, must be wholesome and full of nourishment. Do thou also contend, O my mind, against all passion and above all against pleasure, for indeed " the serpent is the most subtle of all beasts upon the earth, which the Lord God made " (Gen. iii. 1) ; for pleasure is the most cunning of all things. Why is this ? Because all things are enthralled to pleasure, and the life of bad men is under the dominion of pleasure. The things that yield pleasure are obtained by means of cunning of every kind ; gold, silver, glory, honours, offices, the materials of objects of sense, the mechanical arts, and all other

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στικά ἡδονῆς πάνυ ποικίλαι. καὶ ἀδικοῦμεν δι'  
ἡδονήν, τὰ δὲ ἀδικήματα οὐκ ἄνευ πανουργίας  
108 τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστίν. τὴν ὀφιομάχον οὖν γνώμην  
ἀντίταπτε καὶ κάλλιστον ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διάβλησον  
καὶ σπούδασον στεφανωθῆναι κατὰ τῆς τοῦς  
ἄλλους ἅπαντας νικώσης ἡδονῆς καλὸν καὶ εὐ-  
κλεᾶ στέφανον, ὃν οὐδεμία πανήγυρις ἀνθρώπων  
ἐχορήγησεν.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 107-108

arts in great variety that minister to pleasure. It is for the sake of pleasure that we do wrong, and wrong deeds are ever associated with desperate cunning. Therefore set judgement, the serpent-fighter, against it, and contend to the end in this noblest contest, and strive earnestly, by defeating pleasure that conquers all others, to win the noble and glorious crown, which no human assembly has ever bestowed.



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK III

### A. MAN EXILED. Gen. iii. 8 (1-48).

#### (a) Man hiding from God (1-27).

Contrasted with *Moses* (12-14),  
who is open before God, and shuns Distraction  
("Pharaoh").

Contrasted with *Jacob* (15-23),  
who flies from Material Temptation ("Laban"),  
to heights of Virtue and Witness ("Gilead").

Contrasted with *Abraham* (24-27),  
who, loyal to God, refuses the offer of the World  
(King of Sodom).

#### (b) Man taking refuge in Self (28-47).

Exod. xxii. 1 f. Rejection of God, that comes to  
nothing, far less heinous than thorough-going  
Self-exaltation (32-35).

Deut. xxvii. 15. Evil of secretly holding false opinions  
(36).

Exod. ii. 12. Evil of being buried in our own loose  
mind (37).

Gen. xv. 5. Bliss of flying from Self to God (39).

Gen. xxiv. 7—and of quitting the mortal body to be  
with God (42).

Exod. ix. 29—and our own mind to open all to God  
(43).

Exod. xxxiii. 7—of going out of Self, and seeking  
God, even if we fail (46 f.).

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### B. THE CALL. Gen. iii. 9-13 (49-64).

*The Call* is addressed to Mind, for Mind is capable of instruction. (Sense-perception receives no special call.)

*The Question*, "Where art thou?" capable of being taken in other ways.

*The Answer of Mind* comes to this, "There where fear is, and hiding from Thee, and nakedness of virtue" (49-55).

The words "gavest with me" imply the freedom of Sense-perception, which apprehends simultaneously with Mind, and gives it occasions of apprehending ("She gave it me") (56-58).

*The Answer of Sense-perception* is pertinent, though she says "I ate," when asked about Adam's eating, for Mind concurs at once with Sense-perception. And she rightly says "beguiled," for, while Sense-perception gives without any guile, Pleasure falsifies the object (59-64).

### C. PLEASURE, EVIL IN ORIGIN. Gen. iii. 14 (65-106)

God cursing the serpent (viz. Pleasure), without giving him an opportunity to defend himself, is paralleled with God slaying Er (Gen. xxxviii. 7), without bringing an open charge against him. Slain Er is the Body, a corpse from the first, and the soul knows itself best to be a corpse-bearer when perfected (65 ff.).

How the God of Goodness came to create Er and the Serpent, we are not told. We *are* told that creation is due to the goodness of God (75 ff.).

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III.

And the Book of the Law affords many examples of wide divergence in original endowments. *Noah* "finds grace in the sight of the Lord," and *Melchizedeck* is made His "Priest" and "King of peace," no previous merit being mentioned in either case (79 ff.). (Philo stops to contrast M. with the Moabites and Ammonites, who failed to bring forth bread and *water*, Deut. xxiii. 3 f.) *Abram* was created good, and led to a better city. *Isaac*, who is compared with Hope, was richly endowed before birth. The lots of *Jacob* and *Esau* were told when they were unborn (82). *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* have names denoting, the one Memory and its Fruitfulness, the other escape only from Forgetfulness (94). *Bezalel* called to a position, which he is not said to have earned, bears a name meaning "In the shadow of God" and is taught by Moses, while Moses is taught by God. In view of all this we must pray and ponder God's goodness (95-103).

#### D. THE CURSE ON PLEASURE. Gen. iii. 14 (107-199).

Its Ground, 107-110.

Its Fitness, 111-114.

Its Content, 115-199.

*Content of the Curse*—115-159. Posture and Motion.

##### (a) *On the Breast* (115-137).

The Breast the seat of high spirit—the Urim and Thummim there point to Aaron's control of high spirit which Moses wholly *excinds* (Lev. viii. 29).

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### (b) *On the Belly.*

(a) Appropriate to Pleasure whose lover goes "on" or "after" the belly and the four passions (138 f.).

(β) The perfect man contrasted with the man of gradual improvement in their dealing with self-indulgence (140-144).

(γ) The belly the basis of all passions (145-150).

*Note.*—Breast *cut out*, while the belly is *washed*, for it is indispensable (147).

(δ) Bodily necessity compels us to go forth from the house of wisdom—girded with Reason—putting out of sight all that is unreasonable (151-158).

### 161-181. Food.

The earthy body feeds on earth.—

Contrast of the "Bread out of Heaven," "the day's portion for the day," like dew—prolific as coriander-seed—like hoar-frost, called "What is it?" (Deut. viii. 3).

Contrast "The God who feedeth me," said by *Jacob*, with "I will nourish thee," by Joseph—true son of Rachel ("Give me children").

### Enmity (182-199).

The Combatants (185-187).

Their Warfare (188).

Jacob grips the heel of Esau, the man who says "Mine," a word for God only to use (189-199).

## E. THE DISCIPLINE. Gen. iii. 16-19 (200-253).

(a) Of the Woman (Gen. iii. 16) (200-245).



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III.

(a) Grief the lot of Sense-perception (200).

Contrast God confirming *good* to Abraham by an oath (201-203).

Discussion of oath taken by God (204-208).

Groaning—good and bad (211 continued from 200).

(β) Subjection to her husband (220 ff.).

Num. xxi. 27 ff., the women adding to the fire.

*Potiphar's wife* contrasted with Joseph and Phinehas. *Sarah*. *Hagar* (224 ff.).

(b) Of the Man (Gen. iii. 17 ff.) (246-253).

Due to Serpent. Thorns. Grass. Return to Earth.

## Γ

- <sup>1</sup>  
 [87] I. “Καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὁ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου” (Gen. iii. 8). δόγμα εἰσηγείται διδάσκον, ὅτι ὁ φαῦλος φυγὰς ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεία τῶν σοφῶν ἢ ἀρετῆς, ταύτης ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος μετέχειν ἀπελήλαται πόλεως, ἥς ἀδυνατεῖ μετέχειν ὁ φαῦλος· ἀπελήλαται ἄρα καὶ πεφυγάδευται μόνος ὁ φαῦλος. ὁ δ’ ἀρετῆς φυγὰς εὐθύς ἀποκέκρυπται θεόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐμφανεῖς οἱ σοφοὶ θεῷ, ἅτε ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, δῆλον ὡς ἀποκρύπτονται καὶ καταδύονται πάντες οἱ φαῦλοι, ὡς  
 2 ἂν ἐχθροὶ καὶ δυσμενεῖς ὄντες ὀρθῶ λόγῳ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἄπολις καὶ ἄοικος ὁ φαῦλός ἐστι, μαρτυρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ δασέος καὶ ποικίλου τὴν κακίαν Ἡσαῦ, ὅτε φησὶν· “ἦν δὲ Ἡσαῦ εἰδὼς κυνηγεῖν, ἀγροῖκος” (Gen. xxv. 27). οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἡ τῶν παθῶν θηρευτικὴ κακία τὴν ἀρετῆς πόλιν οἰκεῖν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης μεταδιώκουσα. ὁ δέ γε σοφίας  
 [88] μεστός Ἰακῶβ καὶ πολίτης | ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν κατοικεῖ· φησὶ γοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ· “Ἰακῶβ δὲ ἄπλαστος ἄνθρωπος οἰκῶν οἰκίαν” (ib.).

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<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 482.

## BOOK III

I. " And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God in the midst of the forest of the garden " (Gen. iii. 8). He introduces a doctrine showing that the bad man is an exile. For if virtue is a city peculiar to the wise, the man who has no capacity to partake of virtue has been driven away from the city, in which the bad man is incapable of taking part. It is accordingly the bad man only who has been driven away and sent into exile. But the exile from virtue has by incurring such exile hidden himself from God. For if the wise, as being His friends, are in God's sight, it is evident that all bad men slink away and hide from Him, as is to be expected in men who cherish hatred and ill-will to right reason. The prophet, moreover, finds proof that the bad man is without city or dwelling-house, in the account of Esau, the hairy man, crafty in wickedness, when he says, " Esau was skilled in hunting, a countryman " (Gen. xxv. 27); for vice, that hunts after the passions, is by nature unfit to dwell in the city of virtue. Rather, in utter senselessness, it follows after rustic<sup>a</sup> grossness, the life of the untrained. Jacob, the man full of wisdom, belongs to a city, and as a dwelling-house he occupies virtue. The prophet says of him: " But Jacob was a simple man dwelling in a house "

## PHILO

3 παρὸ καὶ “ αἱ μαῖαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐφοβοῦντο τὸν θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας ” (Exod. i. 21). αἱ γὰρ ζητητικαὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν θεοῦ μυστηρίων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ “ ζωογονεῖν τὰ ἄρσена,” οἰκοδομοῦσι τὰ ἀρετῆς πράγματα, οἷς καὶ ἐνοικεῖν προήρηνται. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐπιδέδεικται, πῶς ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἄπολις τέ ἐστι καὶ ἄοικος, φυγὰς ἀρετῆς ὢν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος καὶ πόλιν ἔχειν καὶ οἶκον σοφίαν κεκλήρωται.

4 II. Ἰδωμεν δὲ ἐξῆς, πῶς καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τις θεὸν λέγεται. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀλληγορήσειέ τις, ἀδύνατον παραδέξασθαι τὸ προκείμενον· πάντα γὰρ πεπλήρωκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ διὰ πάντων διελήλυθεν καὶ κενὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑαυτοῦ. ποῖον δὴ τις τόπον ἐφέξει, ἐν ᾧ οὐχὶ θεὸς ἐστι; μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις λέγων “ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν αὐτοῦ ” (Deut. iv. 39). καὶ πάλιν· “ ὦδε ἔστηκα πρὸ τοῦ σε ” (Exod. xvii. 6)· πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς γενητοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐστι, καὶ εὐρίσκεται πανταχοῦ, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν δύναιτό τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι.

5 καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν; τῶν γὰρ γενομένων τὰ συνεκτικώτατα οὐδ’ ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο, ἐκφεύγειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι δυνηθείημεν, οἷον γῆν φυγέτω τις ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἀέρα ἢ οὐρανὸν ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔξω

6 γέ τις τοῦ κόσμου φεύγειν δυνησεται. εἶτα <μὴ> τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου μηδὲ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν δυναμένός τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἂν ἰσχύσαι

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 3-6

(*ibid.*). It accords with this too that the midwives, since they feared God, made houses for themselves (Exod. i. 21); for such (souls) as make a quest of God's hidden mysteries—and this is what is meant by "saving the males' lives" or "bringing the males to the birth"—build up the cause of virtue, and in this they have elected to have their abode. By these instances it has been made clear how the bad man is without a city or home, being an exile from virtue, while the good man has received it as his lot to have wisdom for both city and dwelling.

II. Let us see next how a man is said actually to hide himself from God. Were one not to take the language as figurative, it would be impossible to accept the statement, for God fills and penetrates all things, and has left no spot void or empty of His presence. What manner of place then shall a man occupy, in which God is not? The prophet elsewhere bears witness of this saying, "God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath and there is none else but He" (Deut. iv. 39). And again, "Here stand I before thou (wert made)" (Exod. xvii. 6); for before every created thing God is, and is found everywhere, so that no one could possibly hide himself from God. And why should we marvel at this? Whatever should happen, we could never escape or hide ourselves from those, even among things created, that are essential elements of creation. For instance, let a man fly, if he can, from earth or water or air or sky or the world at large. A man must needs have all these round him, for no one shall ever be able to escape out of the world. Then, seeing a man is powerless to hide himself from the parts of the world or from the world itself, would he

## PHILO

λανθάνειν; οὐδαμῶς. τί οὖν τὸ “ἐκρύβησαν”; ὁ φαῦλος δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τόπῳ, μὴ περιέχοντα, ἀλλὰ περιεχόμενον· οὐ χάριν καὶ οἶεται ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, ὡς κατ’ ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ αἰτίου, καθ’ ὃ φωλεύειν διέγνωκεν.

- 7 III. ἔστι δὲ οὕτως ἐκδέξασθαι· ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ ἢ ἀληθῆς περὶ θεοῦ δόξα ἐπεσκίασται καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται, σκότους γὰρ πλήρης ἐστὶ μηδὲν ἔχων ἐναύγασμα θεῖον, ᾧ τὰ ὄντα περισκέφεται· ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος πεφυγάδευται θεῖου χοροῦ, καθάπερ ὁ λεπρὸς καὶ γονορρυῆς, ὁ μὲν θεὸν καὶ γένεσιν, ἀντιπάλους φύσεις, δύο χρωμάτων ὄντων, ἀγαγὼν εἰς ταῦτὸ ὡς αἷτια, ἐνὸς ὄντος αἰτίου τοῦ δρῶντος, ὁ δὲ γονορρυῆς ἐκ κόσμου πάντα καὶ εἰς κόσμον ἀνάγων, ὑπὸ θεοῦ δὲ μηδὲν οἰόμενος γεγονέναι, Ἡρακλει-
- [89] τείου δόξης ἑταῖρος, κόρον | καὶ χρησιμοσύνην καὶ
- 8 ἐν τὸ πᾶν καὶ πάντα ἀμοιβῆ εἰσάγων. διό φησι καὶ ὁ θεὸς λόγος· “ἐξαποστειλάτωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγίου ψυχῆς πάντα λεπρὸν καὶ πάντα γονορρυῆ καὶ πάντα ἀκάθαρτον ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀπὸ ἀρσενικοῦ ἕως θηλυκοῦ” (Num. v. 2), καὶ τοὺς θλαδίας καὶ ἀποκεκομμένους τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πόρνους τὴν ἐνὸς ἀρχὴν ἀποδιδράσκοντας, οἷς ἀντικρυς ἀπείρηται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ φοιτᾶν
- 9 (Deut. xxiii. 2). οἱ δὲ γε σοφοὶ λογισμοὶ οὐχ οἷον ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ’ ἐμφανεῖς εἶναι γλίσχονται. οὐχ ὀραῖς ὅτι ὁ Ἀβραὰμ “ἔτι ἦν ἐστηκὼς ἐνώπιον

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 482.

<sup>b</sup> Literally “there being two colours.” See Lev. xiii. 9-17. ‘Raw flesh’ and ‘white’ would seem to be the “two colours.”

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 6-9

be able to escape the eye of God? By no means. Why then does it say "they hid themselves"? The bad man thinks that God is in a place, not containing but contained; and for this reason he imagines that he can hide from Him, fancying that God, the Author of all things, is not in that part, which he has chosen for his lurking-place. III. It is possible to take it in this way. In the bad man the true opinion concerning God is hidden in obscurity, for he is full of darkness with no divine radiance in him, whereby to investigate realities. Such an one is in banishment from the divine company, like the leper and the man with an issue.<sup>a</sup> The former combines as joint causes God and creation, which are natures mutually hostile, for he shows two different colours,<sup>b</sup> whereas there is one single Cause, even He who doeth all. The man with an issue, on the other hand, deriving everything from the world, and making it return into the world, imagines that nothing has been created by God, associating himself with the opinion of Heracleitus, in his advocacy of such tenets as "fullness and want," "the universe one," and "all things interchange." So the divine word saith, "Let them send forth out of the holy soul every leper, and everyone that hath an issue, and everyone that is unclean in soul, both male and female (Numb. v. 2), and eunuchs with the generative organs of the soul cut away, and fornicators, deserters from the rule of One, to whom entrance into the assembly of God is absolutely forbidden (Deut. xxiii. 2). But wise reasonings, so far from hiding themselves, are keenly desirous to be manifest. Do you not see that Abraham "was still standing before the Lord and drew nigh and

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- κυρίου καὶ ἐγγίσας εἶπε Μὴ συναπολέσῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς" (Gen. xviii. 22, 23), τὸν ἐμφανῆ σοι καὶ γνώριμον μετὰ τοῦ φεύγοντός σε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντος; οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβής, δίκαιος δὲ ὁ ἔστηκώς ἐναντίον σου καὶ μὴ φεύγων· σὲ
- 10 γάρ, ὦ δέσποτα, τιμᾶσθαι δίκαιον μόνον. οὐχ ὥσπερ δὲ ἀσεβής, οὕτω καὶ εὐσεβής τις εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, εἰ δίκαιος, οὐ χάριν φησί· "μὴ συναπολέσῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς." ἀξίως γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θεὸν τιμᾶ, ἀλλὰ δικαίως μόνον· ὅποτε γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἴσας ἀποδοῦναι χάριτας ἐνδέχεται—ἀντιγεννηῆσαι γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε τούτους—πῶς οὐκ ἀδύνατον τὸν θεὸν ἀμείψασθαι ἢ ἐπαινεῖσαι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸν τὰ ὅλα συστησάμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων; πᾶσαν γὰρ ἀρετὴν παρέσχετο.
- 11 IV. Τρεῖς οὖν καιροῦς, ὦ ψυχῆ, τουτέστι τὸν τριμερῆ χρόνον σύμπαντα ἐμφανῆς αἰεὶ γίνου θεῷ, μὴ τὸ θῆλυ αἰσθητὸν πάθος ἐφελκομένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καρτερίας ἀσκητὴν λογισμὸν ἐκθυμῶσα· τρισὶ γὰρ καιροῖς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀφθῆναι πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
- 12 ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος προστάττει (Deut. xvi. 16). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς, ὅτε ἐμφανῆς καθίσταται θεῷ, φεύγει τὸν διασκεδαστὴν τρόπον Φαραῶ, ὃς αὐχρὲ λέγων μὴ εἰδέναι τὸν κύριον (Exod. v. 2)· "ἀνεχώρησε" γὰρ φησί "Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραῶ καὶ κατώκησεν ἐν γῆ Μαδιάμ" (Exod. ii. 15), τῇ κρίσει



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 9-12

said, ' Destroy Thou not the just man together with the impious one ' " (Gen. xviii. 22 f.), the one that is manifest and known to Thee together with him who shuns and avoids Thee ? For this one is impious, but he that stands before Thee and avoids Thee not is just. For the only justice is that Thou, O Master, shouldst be honoured. A pious man is not found with the same ease as an impious one. We have to be content with a just man. This is why he says, " Destroy not a just together with an impious man." For no one honours God as He deserves but only as is just. It is impossible to requite even our parents with boons equal to those which we have received from them—for it is out of the question to requite by becoming their parents. How must it not be impossible to recompense or to praise as He deserves Him who brought the universe out of non-existence ? For it was an exercise towards us of every virtue.

IV. Through three seasons, then, O soul, that is throughout the whole of time with its threefold divisions, make thyself ever manifest to God, not dragging after thee the weak feminine passion of sense-perception, but giving forth as incense the manly reasoning schooled in fortitude. For the sacred word (Deut. xvi. 16) enjoins that at three seasons of the year every male is to show himself before the Lord the God of Israel. For this reason Moses also, when he is being established as one standing open before God, avoids Pharaoh, the symbol of dispersion, for he boasts saying that he knows not the Lord (Exod. v. 2). " Moses," we read, " withdrew from Pharaoh's presence and settled in the land of Midian " (Exod. ii. 15), or

## PHILO

- τῶν φύσεως πραγμάτων, “καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος,” ἐκδεχόμενος τί ὁ θεὸς ἀνομβρήσει πότιμον τῇ διψώσῃ καὶ ποθούσῃ ψυχῇ τὸ ἀγαθόν.
- 13 ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ ἡγεμονίδος τῶν παθῶν δόξης Φαραώ, ἀναχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς Μαδιάμ, τὴν κρίσιν, ἐξετάζων πότερον ἡρεμητέον αὐτῷ |
- [90] ἐστὶν ἢ δικαστέον πάλιν πρὸς τὸν φαῦλον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ· σκέπτεται δέ, εἰ ἐπιθέμενος ἰσχύσει νικηφορῆσαι, παρὸ καὶ κατέχεται ὑπομένων, ὡς ἔφην, εἰ ἀναδώσει ὁ θεὸς τῷ βαθεῖ καὶ μὴ κούφῳ λογισμῷ πηγὴν ἰκανὴν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν φορὰν τοῦ
- 14 Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως, τῶν παθῶν αὐτοῦ. ἀξιούται μέντοι τῆς χάριτος· στρατευσάμενος γὰρ στρατείαν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς οὐ παύεται πολεμῶν, πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν πρηνεῖς καὶ ἀπράκτους τὰς ἡδονάς. οὐδὲ χάριν οὐ φεύγει Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαραώ, ἀνεπιστρεπτι γὰρ ἂν ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ἀλλ’ ἀναχωρεῖ, τουτέστιν ἀνακωχὴν ποιεῖται τοῦ πολέμου ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον διαπνέοντος καὶ συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα, μέχρις ἂν ἐγείρας τὴν φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς συμμαχίαν διὰ λόγων θείων μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐρρωμενεστάτης ἐπίθῃται.
- 15 Ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ, περηνιστῆς γὰρ ἐστὶ, μεθόδοις καὶ τέχναις τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀκονιτὶ κτώμενος—οὐ γὰρ μετωνόμαστό πω εἰς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ—ἀποδιδράσκει τῶν κατὰ Λάβαν πραγμάτων, τουτέστι χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ συνόλως σωματῶν, ἃ τὸν νοῦν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τιτρώσκειν πέφυκεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὰ νικῆσαι παρῶν κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 12-15

in the examination of the things of nature, "and sat on the well," waiting to see what draught God would send to quench the thirst of his soul in its longing for that which is good. So he withdraws from the godless opinion of Pharaoh, which the passions follow as their leader, and withdraws into Midian, the sifting-place, to inquire whether he is to be still or to dispute again with the evil man for his destruction; he considers whether, if he attack him, he shall prevail to win the victory, and so he is kept there waiting upon God, as I have said, to see whether He will bestow upon a deep reasoning faculty free from shallowness a stream sufficient to drown the onrush of the king of the Egyptians, the onrush, that is, of his passions. And he is deemed worthy of the boon: for, having taken the field in the cause of virtue, he does not abandon the warfare till he beholds the pleasures prostrate and out of action. This is why Moses does not fly from Pharaoh, for that would have been to run away and not return, but, like an athlete taking an interval to regain his breath, "withdraws," that is, brings about a cessation of arms, until he shall by divine words have raised forces of wisdom and every other virtue to aid him in renewing the attack with irresistible power.

But Jacob, "Supplanter" that he is, acquiring virtue with great toil by wiles and artifices, his name having not yet been changed into "Israel," runs away from Laban and all his belongings, tints and shapes and material bodies generally, whose nature it is to inflict wounds on the mind through the objects of sense. For since when facing them he was not able completely to vanquish them, he

## PHILO

οὐκ ἠδύνατο, φεύγει δεδιὼς τὴν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἤτταν  
καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαίνων ἄξιος· “ εὐλαβεῖς ” γάρ φησι  
Μωυσῆς “ ποιήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ ὀρώντος ”  
(Lev. xv. 31), ἀλλ’ οὐ θρασεῖς καὶ τῶν μὴ καθ’  
16 αὐτοὺς ἐρώντας. V. “ καὶ ἔκρυψεν Ἰακώβ Λάβαν  
τὸν Σύρον τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀπο-  
διδράσκει. καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα,  
καὶ διέβη τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὤρμησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος  
Γαλααδ ” (Gen. xxxi. 20, 21). φυσικώτατόν ἐστι  
τὸ κρύπτειν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ μὴ ἀναγγέλλειν  
τῷ ἠρτημένῳ τῶν αἰσθητῶν λογισμῷ Λάβαν· οἶον  
ἐὰν κάλλος ἰδὼν αἰρεθῆς αὐτῷ καὶ μέλλης πταίειν  
περὶ αὐτό, φύγε λαθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς φαντασίας αὐτοῦ  
καὶ μηκέτι ἀναγγείλης τῷ νῶ, τουτέστι μὴ ἐπι-  
λογίση πάλιν μηδὲ μελετήσης· αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς  
ὑπομνήσεις τύπους ἐγχαράττουσαι τρανοὺς βλάπ-  
τουσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν <πολλάκις>  
17 περιτρέπουσιν. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων  
τῶν καθ’ ἡντινοῦν αἰσθησιν ὀλκῶν· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις  
σώτεια ἢ λαθραία φυγή, τὸ δ’ ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι  
καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν καὶ ἀναπολεῖν κρατεῖ καὶ δου-  
λοῦται βιαίως τὸν λογισμὸν. μηδέποτ’ οὖν, ὦ  
διάνοια, τὸ φανὲν αἰσθητόν, εἰ μέλλεις ἀλίσκεσθαι  
πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀναγγείλης σαυτῇ μηδὲ ἀναπολήσης  
αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ κρατηθεῖσα κακοδαιμονῆς· ἀλλ’  
ἄφетος ὀρμήσασα ἀπόδραθι ἐλευθερίαν ἀτίθασον  
δουλείας χειροθήτους προκρίνουσα.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 482.

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 15-17

flies, fearing defeat at their hands. And in doing so he is thoroughly deserving of praise ; for Moses says, " Ye shall make the sons of the seeing one cautious " (Lev. xv. 31), not bold and aiming at what is beyond their capacity. V. " And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.<sup>a</sup> So he fled with all that he had ; and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead " (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). It is thoroughly in accordance with true principles that he is said to have concealed the fact that he is running away and not made it known to Laban, who represents the way of thinking governed by objects of sense. For instance, if thou hast caught sight of beauty and been captivated by it, and if it is like to be a cause of stumbling to thee, fly secretly from the vision of it, and give no further report of it to thy mind, that is to say, do not give it another thought or ponder it : for to keep on recalling anything is the way to engrave on the mind distinct outlines of it, which injure the mind and often bring it to ruin against its will. The same principle holds in the case of every kind of attraction by the avenue of whatever sense it may reach us ; for here safety lies in secret flight ; but recalling the attractive object in memory, telling of it, turning it over, spells conquest and harsh slavery for our reasoning faculty. If, therefore, O my mind, thou art in imminent danger of falling a prey to some object of sense that has shown itself, never report it to thyself, never dwell on it, lest thou be overcome and plunged into misery. Nay, rush forth at large, make thy escape, choose the freedom of the wild rather than the slavery of the tame.

## PHILO

- 18 VI. Διὰ τί δὲ νῦν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὅτι Σύρος ὁ Λάβαν ἐστί, φησὶν “ ἔκρυψε δὲ Ἰακώβ [91] Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον”; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ | πάρεργον λόγον· Συρία γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται μετέωρα· ὁ ἀσκητῆς οὖν Ἰακώβ νοῦς, ὅτε μὲν ὄρᾳ ταπεινὸν τὸ πάθος, περιμένει λογιζόμενος αὐτὸ νικήσειν κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε δὲ μετέωρον καὶ ὑψαυχενοῦν καὶ ὑπέρογκον, ἀποδιδράσκει τε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀσκητῆς πρῶτος, εἶτα καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα μέρη τῆς ἀσκήσεως, ἀναγνώσεις, μελέται, θεραπείαι, τῶν καλῶν μνημαί, ἐγκράτεια, τῶν καθηκόντων ἐνέργειαι, καὶ διαβαίνει τὸν τῶν αἰσθητῶν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπικλύζοντα καὶ βαπτίζοντα τῇ φορᾷ τῶν παθῶν τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ὄρμᾳ διαβάς εἰς τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον <τόπον> τὸν λόγον τῆς τελείας
- 19 ἀρετῆς· “ ὤρμησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαλαᾶδ,” ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ μετοικία μαρτυρίας, τοῦ θεοῦ μετοικίσαντος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Λάβαν παθῶν καὶ μαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῇ μετανάστασιν, ὅτι λυσιτελεῖς καὶ συμφέρουσα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ χαμαίζηλον ἀπεργαζομένων τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶν εἰς ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς προ-  
άγοντος.
- 20 Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ φίλος τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ κατ’ αὐτὰς ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργῶν Λάβαν ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ διώκει καὶ φησιν· “ ἵνα τί κρυφῆ ἀπέδρας” (Gen. xxxi. 26), ἀλλ’ οὐ παρέμεινας τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολαύσει καὶ τῷ δόγματι τῷ <τᾷ> περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ κρίνοντι; ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγων ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐσύλησάς

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 18-20

VI. Now (let us ask) why, as though Jacob were not aware that Laban was a Syrian, does he say, "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark"? In this likewise there is a point not without pertinence. For "Syria" means "Highlands." Jacob, therefore, the mind in training, when he sees passion grovelling low before him, awaits its onset calculating that he will master it by force, but when it is seen to be lofty, stately, weighty, the first to run away is the mind in training, followed by all his belongings, being portions of his discipline, readings, ponderings, acts of worship, and of remembrance of noble souls, self-control, discharge of daily duties; he crosses the river of objects of sense, that swamps and drowns the soul under the flood of the passions, and, when he has crossed it, sets his face for the lofty high-land, the principle of perfect virtue: "for he set his face towards the mountain of Gilead." The meaning of this name is "migration of witness"; for God caused the soul to migrate from the passions that are represented by Laban, and bore witness to it how greatly to its advantage and benefit its removal was, and led it on away from the evil things that render the soul low and grovelling up to the height and greatness of virtue.

For this reason Laban, the friend of the senses and the man whose actions are regulated by them and not by the mind, is vexed, and pursues him, and says, "Why didst thou run away secretly" (Gen. xxxi. 26), but didst not remain in the company of bodily enjoyment and of the teaching that gives the preference to bodily and external good things? But in addition to fleeing from this view of life, thou

## PHILO

- μου καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν, Λείαν τε καὶ Ῥαχὴλ· αὐται γάρ, ἤνικα παρέμενον τῇ ψυχῇ, φρένας ἐνεποιοῦν ταύτῃ, μεταναστᾶσαι δὲ ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῇ κατέλιπον· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι “ ἐκλοποφόρησάς με ” (ib.), τουτέστι τὸ φρονεῖν ἔκλειψας.
- 21 VII. τί οὖν ἦν τὸ φρονεῖν, ἐξηγήσεται· ἐπιφέρει γάρ· “ καὶ ἀπήγαγες τὰς θυγατέρας μου ὡς αἰχμαλώτιδας· καὶ εἰ ἀνήγγειλάς μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἄν σε ” (ib.). οὐκ ἂν ἐξαπέστειλας τὰ μαχόμενα ἀλλήλοις· εἰ γὰρ ἐξαπέστειλας ὄντως καὶ ἡλευθέρους τὴν ψυχὴν, περιεῖλες ἂν αὐτῆς τοὺς σωματικούς καὶ αἰσθητικούς ἅπαντας ἤχους· οὕτως γὰρ ἀπολυτροῦται κακιῶν καὶ παθῶν διάνοια· νυνὶ δὲ λέγεις μὲν, ὡς ἐξαποστέλλεις ἐλευθέραν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὁμολογεῖς, ὅτι κατέσχεσ ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ· εἰ γὰρ “ μετὰ μουσικῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας ” καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην αἰσθησιν ἡδονῶν προὔπεμπες, οὐκ ἂν ὄντως ἐξ-
- 22 ἀπέστειλας. οὐ γὰρ μόνον σέ, ὦ σωματίων καὶ χρωμάτων ἑταῖρε Λάβαν, ἀποδιδράσκομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ σά, ἐν οἷς καὶ αἱ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φωναὶ ταῖς τῶν παθῶν ἐνεργείαις συνηχοῦσαι· μεμελετήκαμεν γάρ, εἴ γε ἀρετῆς ἐσμεν ἀσκηταί, μελέτην ἀναγκαίαν, ἣν καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐμελέτησεν,
- [92] ἀπολλύναι καὶ διαφθείρειν | τοὺς ἄλλοτρίους τῆς

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<sup>a</sup> Both in Hebrew and in Greek “to steal the mind” means “to deceive.” Philo probably knew that in Gen. xxxi. 20 “stole away unawares to” is in the Hebrew “stole the mind of.” In v. 26 (27) the LXX. renders by ἐκλοποφόρησάς με the Hebrew “didst steal me,” which in E.V. is rendered “didst steal away from me.” Philo can hardly have got τὸ φρονεῖν except from the Hebrew phrase of v. 20, or its Greek equivalent.



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 20-22

didst carry off my soundness of sense<sup>a</sup> as well, Leah and Rachel to wit. For these, while they remained with the soul, produced in it sound sense, but when they removed elsewhere they left behind to it ignorance and indiscipline. This is why he adds the words "thou didst rob me" (*ibid.*), that is, didst steal my good sense. VII. What, then, his good sense was, he is going to explain; for he adds "and didst carry away my daughters as prisoners of war: and if thou hadst told me, I would have sent thee forth" (*ibid.*). Thou wouldst not have sent forth those at variance one with another; <sup>b</sup> for hadst thou really sent forth and liberated the soul, thou wouldst have stripped from it all voices belonging to the body and senses: for it is in this way that the understanding is delivered from vices and passions. But as it is, thou *sayest* that thou art ready to send her forth free, but by thy actions thou ownest that thou wouldst have detained her in prison; for if thou hadst sent her on her way with "music and tabrets and harp" and the pleasures that suit each several sense, thou wouldst not really have sent her forth at all. For it is not from thee only, O Laban, friend of bodies and of tints, that we are running away, but from all too that is thine: and this includes the voices of the senses sounding in harmony with the operations of the passions. For we have made our own, if so be that we are under virtue's training, a study absolutely vital which was Jacob's study also, to consign to death and destruction the gods that

<sup>b</sup> The things mutually at variance are true "well-being" and the lower delights, represented by the "music and tabrets and harp," which, as Philo takes it, are to go with those released.

## PHILO

ψυχῆς [τούς] θεούς, τοὺς χωνευτοὺς θεούς, οὓς ἀπηγόρευκε Μωυσῆς δημιουργεῖν (Lev. xix. 4). οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἀρετῆς μὲν καὶ εὐπαθείας διάλυσις, κακίας δὲ καὶ παθῶν σύστασις τε καὶ πῆξις, τὸ γὰρ χεόμενον διαλυθὲν αὖθις πῆγνυται.

- 23 VIII. Λέγει δὲ οὕτως· “καὶ ἔδωκαν Ἰακώβ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οἳ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ κατέκρυψεν αὐτὰ Ἰακώβ ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβινθον τὴν ἐν Σικίμοις” (Gen. xxxv 4). οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν φαύλων θεοί. ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ οὐ λέγεται λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ κρύπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύναι· πάντη διηκριβωμένως· ὁ γὰρ ἀστείος οὐδὲν λήψεται πρὸς περιουσίαν τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας, ἀλλὰ κρύψει καὶ ἀφανιεῖ
- 24 λάθρα· καθάπερ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Σοδόμων βασιλεῖ τεχνάζοντι ἀλόγου φύσεως ποιήσασθαι ἀντίδοσιν πρὸς λογικὴν, ἵππου πρὸς ἄνδρας, φησὶ μηδὲν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' “ἐκτενεῖν” τὴν ψυχικὴν πράξιν, ὅπερ διὰ συμβόλου “χεῖρα” ὠνόμασε, “πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον” (Gen. xiv. 22), μὴ γὰρ λήψεσθαι “ἀπὸ σπαρτίου ἕως σφαιρωτῆρος ὑποδήματος” ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου, ἵνα μὴ εἴπη πλούσιον πεποιηκέναι τὸν ὀρώντα πενίαν ἀρετῆς τῆς πλουσίας ἀντιδιδούς.
- 25 κρύπτεται μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ φυλάττεται τὰ πάθη ἐν Σικίμοις—ὠμιάσις δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται, ὁ γὰρ πονούμενος περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς φυλακτικὸς τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐστίν—ἀπόλλυται δὲ καὶ διαφθείρεται παρὰ τῷ

\* In Gen. xiv. 21 the word rendered “goods” in E.V. can mean “cattle,” and is translated in LXX. by τὴν ἵππον (collective for “horses”). See 197.

<sup>b</sup> *De Migratione Abrahami* 221.

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 22-25

are alien to the soul, the gods moulded in metal, the making of which Moses has forbidden (Lev. xix. 4); and these are a means of dissolving virtue and well-being, and a means of forming and giving fixity to wickedness and passions, for that which undergoes moulding, if dissolved, grows fixed and firm again.

VIII. We read as follows: "And they gave Jacob the strange gods, which were in their hands, and the ear-rings which were in their ears, and Jacob hid them under the terebinth that was in Shechem" (Gen. xxxv. 4). These are bad men's gods. And Jacob is not said to receive them, but to hide and destroy them. This is in every point perfectly accurate. For the man of sterling worth will take nothing to make him rich in the products of evil, but will hide them secretly and do away with them. In like manner when the king of Sodom is artfully attempting to effect an exchange of creatures without reason for reasonable beings, of horses for men,<sup>a</sup> Abraham says that he will take none of the things that are his but will "stretch out" his soul's operation, which he figuratively called his "hand," "to the Most High God" (Gen. xiv. 22), for that he would not take of all that was the king's "from a cord even to a shoelace," in order that he may not say that he has conferred wealth on the man whose eyes were open, by giving him poverty in return for his wealth of virtue. The passions are always hidden away and placed under guard in Shechem<sup>b</sup>—"shoulder"<sup>c</sup> is the meaning of the name—for he that devotes toil to pleasures is prone to keep pleasures well guarded. But in the case of the wise man the passions perish and are destroyed, not for

<sup>c</sup> Or "shouldering," *i.e.* 'toil.'

## PHILO

- σοφῶ, οὐ πρὸς βραχὺν τινα χρόνον, ἀλλ' "ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας," τουτέστιν αἰεὶ· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ἅπας τῷ σήμερον παραμετρεῖται, μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ
- 26 παντὸς χρόνου ὁ ἡμερήσιος κύκλος. διὸ καὶ ἐξαίρετον δίδωσι τῷ Ἰωσήφ τὰ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακώβ (Gen. xlviii. 22), τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ αἰσθητικά, μετιόντι τὸν ἐν τούτοις πόνον, τῷ δ' ἐξομολογουμένῳ Ἰουδα οὐχὶ δόσεις, ἀλλὰ αἴνεσιν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ᾠδὰς πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν (Gen. xlix. 8). τὰ δὲ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακώβ λαμβάνει οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' "ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ τόξοις," λόγοις τμητικοῖς καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις· ὑποτάττει γὰρ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἑαυτῷ ὁ σοφός, ὑποτάξας δὲ οὐ φυλάττει,
- 27 ἀλλὰ χαρίζεται τῷ πεφυκότι πρὸς αὐτά. οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δοκῶν λαμβάνειν οὐκ [93] εἴληφεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπέκρυψε | καὶ ἠφάνισε καὶ διέφθειρε τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ; τίνι οὖν ψυχῇ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν κακίαν ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ ἦ ὁ θεὸς ἐνεφανίσθη, ἣν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων ἠξίωσε; φησὶ γάρ· "μὴ κρύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ παιδός μου ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ;" (Gen. xviii. 17) εὖ, σῶτερ, ὅτι τὰ σεαυτοῦ ἔργα ἐπιδείκνυσαι τῇ ποθούσῃ τὰ καλὰ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τῶν σῶν ἔργων ἐπικέκρυψαι. τούτου χάριν ἰσχύει φεύγειν κακίαν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ συσκιαίνειν καὶ ἀπολλύναι αἰεὶ τὸ βλαβερόν πάθος.
- 28 IX. "Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον φυγὰς τέ ἐστιν ὁ φαῦλος καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται θεόν, δεδηλώκαμεν· νυνὶ δὲ

<sup>a</sup> LXX. Σίκιμα ἐξαίρετον. R.V. (text) "one portion"; R.V. (margin) "one mountain slope." Heb. "Shechem" = "shoulder."

<sup>b</sup> See Gen. xxxv. 4.

some short period but "even to this day," that is, always. For the whole age of the world is made commensurate with to-day, for the daily cycle is the measure of all time. For this reason too Jacob gives as a special portion to Joseph Shechem (Gen. xlviii. 22),<sup>a</sup> the things of the body and of the senses, as he is occupied in toiling at these things, but to Judah who openly acknowledges God he gives not presents, but praise and hymns and hallowed songs from his brethren (Gen. xlix. 8). Jacob receives Shechem not from God, but by dint of "sword and bow," words that pierce and parry. For the wise man subjects to himself the secondary as well as the primary objects, but, having subjected them, does not keep them, but bestows them on him to whose nature they are akin. Mark you not that, in the case of the gods also, though apparently receiving them, he has not really done so, but hid them and did away with them and "destroyed" them for ever from himself?<sup>b</sup> What soul, then, was it that succeeded in hiding away wickedness and removing it from sight, but the soul to which God manifested Himself, and which He deemed worthy of His secret mysteries? For He says: "Shall I hide from Abraham My servant that which I am doing?" (Gen. xviii. 17). It is meet, O Saviour, that Thou displayest Thine own works to the soul that longs for all beautiful things, and that Thou hast concealed from it none of Thy works. That is why it is strong to shun evil and always to hide and becloud and destroy passion that works cruel havoc.

IX. In what manner, then, the bad man is in banishment and hiding himself from God we have

## PHILO

- σκεψώμεθα, ὅπου ἀποκρύπτεται. “ ἐν μέσῳ ”  
 φησί “ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου ” (Gen. iii. 8),  
 τουτέστι κατὰ μέσον τὸν νοῦν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μέσος  
 ἐστὶν ὡσανεὶ παραδείσου τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς· ὁ γὰρ  
 29 ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν καταφεύγει εἰς ἑαυτόν. δυοῖν  
 γὰρ ὄντων τοῦ τε τῶν ὄλων νοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶ θεός,  
 καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου, ὁ μὲν φεύγων ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ’ αὐτὸν  
 καταφεύγει ἐπὶ τὸν συμπάντων—ὁ γὰρ νοῦν τὸν  
 ἴδιον ἀπολείπων ὁμολογεῖ μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ κατὰ  
 τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν, ἅπαντα δὲ προσάπτει θεῷ—  
 ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν τὸν μὲν οὐδενὸς  
 αἰτιὸν φησιν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἀπάντων  
 30 ἑαυτόν· λέγεται γοῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς, ὅτι τὰ ἐν  
 τῷ κόσμῳ πάντα φέρεται χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος ἀπ-  
 αυτοματίζοντα, τέχνας δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ  
 νόμους καὶ ἔθη καὶ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἴδια καὶ κοινὰ  
 δίκαια πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα  
 31 ζῶα ἔθετο μόνος ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. ἀλλ’ ὄρας,  
 ὦ ψυχῆ, τῶν δοξῶν τὸ παραλλάττον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ  
 τὸν ἐπὶ μέρους τὸν γενητὸν καὶ θνητὸν ἀπολιποῦσα  
 τὸν τῶν ὄλων καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἐπι-  
 γράφεται ὄντως, ἡ δὲ πάλιν θεὸν ἀποδοκιμάζουσα  
 τὸν μηδ’ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι ἰκανὸν νοῦν σύμμαχον  
 ἐπισπᾶται πλημμελῶς.
- 32 X. Τούτου χάριν καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι “ ἐὰν  
 <ἐν> τῷ διορύγματι εὐρεθῆ ὁ κλέπτης καὶ πληγείς  
 ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 ἥλιος ἀνατείλῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν, ἀνταπο-

° See App. pp. 482, 483.

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 28-32

shown; let us consider now where he hides himself. "In the midst," it says, "of the wood of the garden" (Gen. iii. 8), that is in the centre of the mind, which in its turn is the centre of what we may call the garden of the whole soul: for he that runs away from God takes refuge in himself. There are two minds, that of the universe, which is God, and the individual mind. He that flees from his own mind flees for refuge to the Mind of all things. For he that abandons his own mind acknowledges all that makes the human mind its standard to be naught, and he refers all things to God. On the other hand he that runs away from God declares Him to be the cause of nothing, and himself to be the cause of all things that come into being. The view, for instance, is widely current that all things in the world tear along automatically independently of anyone to guide them, and that the human mind by itself established arts, professions, laws, customs, and rules of right treatment both of men and animals on the part of the state and in our conduct whether as individual persons or as members of communities. But thou perceivest, O my soul, the difference of the two opinions; for the one turns its back on the particular being, created and mortal mind, and whole-heartedly puts itself under the patronage of the universal Mind, uncreate and immortal; the other opinion on the contrary, rejects God, and by a grievous error calls in to share its warfare the mind that is insufficient even to help itself.

X. This is the ground for Moses' words, "If the thief be found where he has just broken through and be smitten and die, there is no blood-guiltiness for him<sup>a</sup>: but if the sun have risen upon him, (then he)

θανείται" (Exod. xxii. 1, 2). ἐὰν γὰρ τις τὸν ἐστῶτα καὶ ὑγιῆ καὶ ὀρθὸν διακόψῃ καὶ διέλη λόγον, ὃς θεῶ μόνῳ τὸ πάντα δύνασθαι μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ εὐρεθῆ ἐν τῷ διορύγματι τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ τετρημένῳ καὶ διηρημένῳ, ὃς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν ἐνεργοῦντα οἶδεν, ἀλλ' οὐ θεόν, κλέπτῃς ἐστὶ τὰ

33 ἀλλότρια ἀφαιρούμενος· θεοῦ γὰρ τὰ πάντα κτήματα, ὥστε ὁ ἑαυτῷ τι προσνέμων τὰ ἑτέρου νοσφίζεται καὶ πληγὴν ἔχει παγχάλεπον καὶ δυσίατον, οἷσιν, πρᾶγμα ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας συγγενές. τὸν δὲ πλήττοντα παρησύχασεν· οὐ

[94] γὰρ ἐστὶν ἕτερος τοῦ πληττομένου· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ὁ τρίβων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τρίβεται καὶ ὁ ἐκτείνων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐκτείνεται—τὴν τε γὰρ τοῦ δρῶντος δύναμιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπομένουτος πάθος αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> ἐκδέχεται—οὕτως ὁ κλέπτων τὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιγράφων ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀθεότητός τε καὶ

34 οἰήσεως αἰκίζεται. εἴθε μέντοι πληχθεὶς ἀποθάνοι, τουτέστιν ἄπρακτος διατελέσειεν· ἦττον γὰρ ἀμαρτάνειν δόξει. τῆς γὰρ κακίας ἢ μὲν ἐν σχέσει θεωρεῖται, ἢ δὲ ἐν κινήσει θεωρεῖται· νεύει δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐκπληρώσεις ἢ ἐν τῷ κινεῖσθαι, διὸ καὶ χείρων τῆς κατὰ σχέσιν

35 ἐστίν. ἐὰν οὖν ἢ διάνοια ἀποθάνῃ ἢ δοξάζουσα αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ θεόν, τουτέστιν ἡρεμήσῃ καὶ συσταλῆ, οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ φόνος· οὐκ ἀνήρηκε τελέως τὸ ἔμψυχον δόγμα τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ? αὐτὸς.

<sup>a</sup> Or "comes to pass."



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 32-35

is liable, he shall die in requital" (Exod. xxii. 1 f.). For if a man cleave and break through the tenet that stands firm in its soundness and uprightness, testifying of unlimited power as belonging to God alone, and he be found where he has broken through, that is, in the pierced and cloven doctrine that is conscious of a man's own mind at work but not of God, he is a thief abstracting what belongs to another ; for all things are God's possessions, so that he who assigns anything to himself is appropriating what is another's, and he receives a blow grievous and hard to be healed, even self-conceit, a thing akin to boorish ignorance. Moses does not make distinct mention of the man who strikes, for he is no other than the man who is struck ; just as the man who rubs himself is also rubbed, and the man who stretches himself is also stretched ; for in his own person he is at the same time active and passive, employs the force and submits to its effect. Even so he that steals what is God's and assigns it to himself, is the victim of the outrage inflicted by his own impiety and self-conceit. A good thing it would be should he die when struck, that is to say permanently fail of the accomplishment of his purpose ; for he must then be held to be less a sinner. For wickedness presents itself now as stationary, now as moving. It is wickedness in motion that is ripe for filling up its full measure by carrying its designs to completion, and so it is worse than stationary wickedness. If, therefore, the understanding which fancies itself and not God to be the cause of all that comes into existence <sup>a</sup> die, that is, shrink into inactivity, blood-guiltiness does not pertain to it ; it has not gone the full length of

## PHILO

θεῶ τὰς ἀπάσας δυνάμεις ἐπιγράφον· ἐὰν δὲ ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος, τουτέστιν ὁ φαινόμενος λαμπρὸς νοῦς ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ δόξῃ πάντα διορᾶν καὶ πάντα βραβεύειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκφεύγειν ἑαυτόν, ἔνοχός ἐστιν, ἀνταποθανεῖται τοῦ ἐμφύχου δόγματος ὃ ἀνείλε, καθ' ὃ μόνος αἰτιός ἐστιν ὁ θεός, εὐρισκόμενος ἄπρακτος καὶ νεκρὸς ὄντως αὐτός, ἀψύχου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ πλημμελοῦς δόγματος εἰσηγητῆς γεγενημένος.

36 XI. Παρὸ καὶ καταρᾶται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τιθέντι ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ γλυπτὸν ἢ χωνευτόν, ἔργον χειρῶν τεχνίτου (Deut. xxvii. 15). τί γὰρ τὰς φαύλας δόξας, ὅτι ποιός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ ὁ ἄποιος, ὅτι φθαρτὸς ὡς τὰ χωνευτὰ ὁ ἄφθαρτος, ταμιεύεις καὶ θησαυρίζεις, ὦ διάνοια, ἐν σαυτῇ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μέσον προφέρεις, ἵν' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσκητῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἂ χρῆ διδαχθῆς; οἷε μὲν γὰρ τεχνική τις εἶναι, ὅτι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀμούσους πιθανότηας μεμελέτηκας, ἄτεχνος δὲ ἀνευρίσκη νόσον χαλεπὴν ψυχῆς ἀμαθίαν οὐκ ἐθέλουσα θεραπεύεσθαι.

37 XII. "Ὅτι δὲ ὁ φαῦλος εἰς τὸν σποράδα νοῦν ἑαυτοῦ καταδύεται φεύγων τὸν ὄντα, μαρτυρήσει Μωυσῆς ὁ "πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ κρύψας ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ" (Exod. ii. 12), ὅπερ ἦν, συλλογισάμενος τὸν προστατεῖν λέγοντα <τὰ> τοῦ

abolishing the living doctrine which ascribes to God the totality of powers. But if the sun shall have risen, that is the mind that shines so brilliantly in us, and shall have conceived the notion that it discerns all things, and decides all things, and that nothing ever escapes it, he is guilty, he shall die in requital for the living doctrine which he destroyed, which acknowledges God as the sole Cause. For he is found futile and dead indeed in himself; he has come forward as the author of a lifeless, mortal, and erroneous doctrine.

XI. In keeping with this the sacred word pronounces a curse on one setting up in secret a graven or molten image, the work of the hands of the craftsman (Deut. xxvii. 15). For why, O mind, dost thou hoard and treasure in thyself those wrong opinions, that God is as the graven images are, of this or that kind, God the Being that is without kind, and that He the incorruptible is, as the molten images are, corruptible? Why dost thou not rather bring them forth into the open, to the end that thou mayest be taught the things which it behoves thee to learn from those who study the truth? For thou fanciest thyself one versed in science because thou hast conned over methods of persuasion unworthy of an educated man, wherewith to combat the truth. But thy science proves itself no science, in that thou refuseth to submit to healing treatment of thy soul's sore malady of ignorance.

XII. That the bad man sinks down into his own incoherent mind as he strives to avoid Him that is, we shall learn from Moses who "smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand" (Exod. ii. 12). This means that he took full account of the man who maintains

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σώματος καὶ μηδὲν τὰ ψυχῆς νομίζοντα καὶ τέλος  
 38 ἡγούμενον τὰς ἡδονάς· κατανοήσας γὰρ τὸν πόνον  
 τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὀρώντος, ὃν ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ ὁ βασι-  
 λεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἢ τῶν παθῶν ἡγεμονίς κακία,  
 ὄρα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἄνθρωπον, τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ  
 ἐπίκτηρον πάθος, τύπτοντα καὶ αἰκιζόμενον τὸν  
 ὀρώντα, περιβλεψάμενος δὲ τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν ὡδε  
 κάκεισε καὶ μηδένα ἰδὼν ἐστῶτα, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ὄντα  
 θεόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κλονούμενα καὶ σαλευόμενα, |  
 [95] πατάξας καὶ συλλογισάμενος τὸν φιλήδονον κρύπτει  
 ἐν τῷ σποράδι καὶ συμπεφορημένῳ<sup>1</sup> νῷ, ὃς συμ-  
 φυΐας καὶ ἐνώσεως τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐστέρηται.  
 39 οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀποκέκρυπται εἰς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ  
 ἐναντίος τούτῳ φεύγει μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, κατα-  
 φεύγει δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὄντων θεόν. XIII. διὸ καὶ  
 φησιν· “ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω καὶ εἶπεν Ἄνα-  
 βλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς  
 ἀστέρας” (Gen. xv. 5), οὓς ἐβουλόμεθα μὲν  
 περιλαβεῖν καὶ περιαιθρῆσαι ἅπληστοι τῶν ἀρετῆς  
 ὄντες ἐρώτων, ἀδυνατοῦμεν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀνα-  
 40 μετρήσαι θεοῦ. ἀλλ' ὁμως χάρις τῷ φιλοδώρῳ,  
 ὅτι οὕτω σπέρματα ἐν ψυχῇ βαλέσθαι φησὶ  
 τηλαυγῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ καὶ δι' ὅλων νοερά ὡς τοὺς  
 ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται  
 τῷ “ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν” τὸ “ἔξω”; τίς γὰρ  
 ἔνδον ἐξάγεται; ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὁ λέγει τοιοῦτόν  
 ἐστίν· ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐξωτάτω χωρίον,  
 οὐκ εἰς τι τῶν ἐκτός, ὃ δύναται ὑπ' ἄλλων περι-  
 ἔχεσθαι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τοῦ θαλάμου

<sup>1</sup> συμπεφ. from Mangey's conjecture.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Exod. ii. 11.

that the things of the body have the pre-eminence and holds the things of the soul to be naught, and regards pleasures as the end and aim of life. For having noted the toil<sup>a</sup> imposed by the king of Egypt on him who sees God—and the king is wickedness whose lead the passions follow—he sees the Egyptian man, that is, human and perishable passion, beating and outrageously treating the seeing one; and having looked round upon the whole soul in this direction and in that, and seen no one standing, save God who is, but all other things tossing in wild confusion, after smiting and thoroughly reckoning up the lover of pleasure, he hides him in his mind, which is a congeries of disconnected grains, devoid of cohesion and union with the beautiful and noble. So this man has been hidden away in himself. But the man of a character the reverse of his flies indeed from himself but takes refuge in the God of those that are. XIII. And for this reason he says, “He led him forth abroad and said, Look up to heaven and count the stars” (Gen. xv. 5). These we would fain take in in one all-encompassing view, being insatiable in our love of virtue, but we are powerless to take the measure of the riches of God. Yet thanks be to the Lover of Giving, for telling us in this way that He has set for Himself in the soul seeds far-shining, radiant, full charged with meaning, as he has set the stars in heaven. But is not “abroad” a superfluous addition to “led him forth”? For who is ever led forth within? But it may be that this is what he means; He led him forth to outermost space, not just to one of the outside spaces, one that can be encompassed by others. For just as in our houses the women’s apartments have the men’s

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- ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔστιν ὁ ἀνδρῶν, ἐντὸς δὲ ὁ αὐλῶν, καὶ ἡ αὐλειος ἐκτὸς μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς, εἴσω δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς δύναται τὸ ἐκτὸς
- 41 τινος ἐντὸς εἶναι [τοῦ] ἑτέρου. οὕτως οὖν ἀκουστέον· τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὸ ἐξώτατον ἐξήγαγε. τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἦν καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα, καταφυγεῖν δὲ ἐπ' αἰσθησιν; τί δὲ αἰσθήσει μὲν ἀποτάξασθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὑποστεῖλαι τῷ γεγωνῶ; χρῆ γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα νοῦν ἐξάγεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀφίεσθαι πάντων ὑπεκστῆναι, σωματικῶν ἀναγκῶν, αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων, λόγων σοφιστικῶν, πιθανοτήτων, τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ.
- 42 XIV. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αὐχεῖ λέγων· “ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς γῆς, ὃς ἔλαβέ με ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς μου ” (Gen. xxiv. 7)· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι <τὸν> κατοικοῦντα ἐν σώματι καὶ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δυνατὸν θεῷ συγγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν <ὄν> ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου θεὸς διαρρύεται.
- 43 οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρὰ Ἰσαάκ, ὅταν ἀδολεσχῆ καὶ ἰδιάζῃ θεῷ, ἐξέρχεται ἀπολείπων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν· “ ἐξῆλθε ” γάρ φησιν “ Ἰσαάκ ἀδολεσχῆσαι εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς δείλης ” (Gen. xxiv. 63). καὶ Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος φησὶν· “ ὅταν ἐξέλθω τὴν πόλιν, ” τὴν ψυχὴν—πόλις γὰρ ἔστι καὶ αὕτη τοῦ ζώου νόμους διδοῦσα καὶ ἔθη—“ ἐκπετάσω τὰς χεῖρας ” (Exod. ix. 29), καὶ ἀναπετάσω καὶ ἐξαπλώσω πάσας τὰς πράξεις θεῷ μάρτυρα καλῶν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐκάστης, ὃν κακία κρύπτει

quarters outside them and the passage inside them, and the courtyard door is outside the court but inside the gateway, even so, in the case of the soul too, that which is outside one part can be inside another part. We must take what he says in this way ; He led forth the mind to the outermost bound. For what advantage would it have been for it to leave the body behind and take refuge in sense-perception ? What gain in renouncing sense-perception and taking shelter under the uttered word ? For it behoves the mind that would be led forth and let go free to withdraw itself from the influence of everything, the needs of the body, the organs of sense, specious arguments, the plausibilities of rhetoric, last of all itself.

XIV. For this reason he glories elsewhere saying " The Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, who took me out of my father's house " (Gen. xxiv. 7) ; for it is not possible that he whose abode is in the body and the mortal race should attain to being with God ; this is possible only for him whom God rescues out of the prison. For this reason Isaac also, the soul's gladness, when he meditates and is alone with God, goes forth, quitting himself and his own mind ; for it says, " Isaac went forth into the plain to meditate as evening was drawing near " (Gen. xxiv. 63). Yes, and Moses, the word of prophecy, says, " When I go forth out of the city," the soul to wit (for this too is the city of the living being giving him laws and customs), " I will spread out my hands " (Exod. ix. 29), and I will spread open and unfold all my doings to God, calling Him to be witness and overseer of each one of them, from whom evil cannot hide itself,

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[96] τεσθαι οὐ πέφυκεν, | ἔξαπλοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ φανερώσ  
 ὄρασθαι.

44 "Όταν μέντοι διὰ πάντων ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ λόγων καὶ  
 ἔργων ἔξαπλωθῆ καὶ ἐκθειασθῆ, παύονται τῶν  
 αἰσθήσεων αἱ φωναὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ ὀχληροὶ καὶ  
 δυσώνυμοι ἤχοι· φωνεῖ γὰρ καὶ καλεῖ τὸ μὲν  
 ὄρατὸν τὴν ὄρασιν ἐφ' ἑαυτό, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν  
 ἀκοήν, ὁ δὲ ἀτμὸς τὴν ὄσφρησιν, καὶ συνόλως τὸ  
 αἰσθητὸν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ προσκαλεῖται·  
 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα παύεται, ὅταν ἐξελθοῦσα τὴν  
 ψυχῆς πόλιν ἡ διάνοια θεῶ τὰς ἑαυτῆς πράξεις  
 45 καὶ διανοήσεις ἀνάψῃ. XV. καὶ γὰρ εἰσιν "αἱ  
 χεῖρες Μωυσεῖ βαρεῖαι" (Exod. xvii. 12)· ἐπειδὴ  
 γὰρ αἱ τοῦ φαύλου πράξεις ἀνεμιαῖοί τε καὶ  
 κοῦφαι, γένοιντ' ἂν αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ βαρεῖαι καὶ  
 ἀκίνητοι οὐδ' εὐσάλευτοι· παρὸ καὶ στηρίζονται  
 ὑπὸ τε Ἄαρών, τοῦ λόγου, καὶ Ὡρ, ὃ ἐστι φῶς·  
 οὐδὲν <δὲ> τῶν πραγμάτων φῶς ἐναργέστερόν  
 ἐστὶν ἀληθείας· βούλεται οὖν διὰ συμβόλων σοὶ  
 παραστήσαι, ὅτι αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ πράξεις στηρίζονται  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων λόγου τε καὶ ἀληθείας.  
 διὸ καὶ Ἄαρὼν ὅταν τελευτᾷ, τουτέστιν ὅταν  
 τελειωθῆ, εἰς Ὡρ, ὃ ἐστι φῶς, ἀνέρχεται (Num.  
 xx. 25)· τὸ γὰρ τέλος τοῦ λόγου ἀλήθειά ἐστὶν ἡ  
 φωτὸς τηλαυγεστέρα, εἰς ἣν σπουδάζει ὁ λόγος  
 ἔλθειν.

46 Οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνὴν  
 (Exod. xxxiii. 7) λαβών, τουτέστι σοφίαν, ἐν ἣ  
 κατασκηνοῖ καὶ ἐνοικεῖ ὁ σοφός, ἔπηξε καὶ ἐβε-  
 βαιώσατο καὶ κραταιῶς ἰδρύσατο, οὐκ ἐν τῷ  
 σώματι, ἀλλ' ἐξω τούτου; παρεμβολῆ γὰρ αὐτὸ  
 ἀπεικάζει, στρατοπέδῳ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ὅσα



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 43-46

but is forced to remove all disguises and be plainly seen.

When the soul in all utterances and all actions has attained to perfect sincerity and godlikeness, the voices of the senses cease and all those abominable sounds that used to vex it. For the visible calls and summons the sense of sight to itself, and the voice calls the sense of hearing, and the perfume that of smell, and all round the object of sense invites the sense to itself. But all these cease when the mind goes forth from the city of the soul and finds in God the spring and aim of its own doings and intents.<sup>a</sup> XV. For truly are "the hands of Moses heavy" (Exod. xvii. 12); for inasmuch as the bad man's doings are light and windy, those of the wise man will be weighty and immovable and not easily shaken. Accordingly they are steadied by Aaron, the Word, and Hor, which is "Light"; and life has no clearer light than truth. The prophet's aim therefore is to show thee by means of symbols that the doings of the wise man are upheld by the most essential of all things, the Word and Truth. And so, when Aaron dies, that is, when he is made perfect, he goes up into Hor, which is "Light" (Numb. xx. 25); for the end of the Word is Truth, which casts a beam more far-reaching than light. To this it is the earnest endeavour of the Word to attain.

Mark you not, that when he had received from God (Exod. xxxiii. 7) the Tent, namely, wisdom, in which the wise man tabernacles and dwells, he fixed and made it fast and strongly established it, not in the body, but outside it? For to represent the body he uses the figure of a camp, the quarters of an army full of wars and all the evils that war

<sup>a</sup> Exod. ix. 29 is still being handled.

## PHILO

- πόλεμος ἐργάζεται πληρεῖ, μετουσίαν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔχοντι. “καὶ ἐκλήθη ἡ σκηνη μαρτυρίου,” σοφία μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ “πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν
- 47 κύριον ἐξεπορεύετο,” παγκάλως· εἰ γὰρ ζητεῖς θεόν, ὦ διάνοια, ἐξελθοῦσα ἀπὸ σαυτῆς ἀναζήτηι, μένουσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὄγκοις ἢ ταῖς κατὰ νοῦν οἰήσεσιν ἀζητήτως ἔχεις τῶν θείων, κἂν ἐπιμορφάζῃς ὅτι ζητεῖς· εἰ δὲ ζητοῦσα εὐρήσεις θεόν, ἄδηλον, πολλοῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ἀτελῆ τὴν σπουδὴν ἄχρι παντὸς ἔσχον· ἐξαρκεῖ μέντοι πρὸς μετουσίαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ψιλὸν τὸ ζητεῖν μόνον, αἰ γὰρ αἰ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ὄρμαί, κἂν τοῦ τέλους ἀτυχῶσι, τοὺς
- 48 χρωμένους προευφραίνουσιν. οὕτως ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἀρετὴν γε φεύγων καὶ θεὸν ἀποκρυπτόμενος ἐπ’ ἀσθενῆ βοηθὸν καταφεύγει τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδιδράσκων ἀνα-
- [97] στρέφει πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐπίγνωσιν, | καλὸν δρόμον καὶ πάντων ἄριστον ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο νικῶν.
- 49 XVI. “Καὶ ἐκάλεσε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ποῦ εἶ;” (Gen. iii. 9) διὰ τί μόνος καλεῖται ὁ Ἀδὰμ, συγκεκρυμμένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικός; λεκτέον οὖν πρῶτον, ὅτι καλεῖται ὁ νοῦς ὅπου ἦν, ὅταν ἔλεγχον λαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐπίστασιν τῆς τροπῆς· οὐ μόνον <δ’> αὐτὸς καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι, ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ νοῦς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν γυμνὸς καὶ οὐδὲ ὧν εὐρίσκεται· μία δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἡ

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* ‘in the case in which it was.’ The sequel describes its case.

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 46-49

produces, a place that has no part in peace. "And it was called 'the tent of testimony,'" wisdom testified to by God. Yes, for "everyone that sought the Lord went out to it." Right finely is this said. For if thou art seeking God, O mind, go out from thyself and seek diligently; but if thou remainest amid the heavy encumbrances of the body or the self-conceits with which the understanding is familiar, though thou mayest have the semblance of a seeker, not thine is the quest for the things of God. But whether thou wilt find God when thou seekest is uncertain, for to many He has not manifested Himself, but their zeal has been without success all along. And yet the mere seeking by itself is sufficient to make us partakers of good things, for it always is the case that endeavours after noble things, even if they fail to attain their object, gladden in their very course those who make them. Thus it is that while the bad man, who shuns virtue and hides himself from God, takes refuge in his own mind, a sorry resource, the good man, on the other hand, who runs away from himself, returns to the apprehension of the One, thus winning a noble race and proving victor in this grandest of all contests.

XVI. "And the Lord God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou?'" (Gen. iii. 9). Why is Adam alone called, his wife having hid herself with him? Well, first of all we must say, that the mind is called even there where it was,<sup>a</sup> when it receives reproof and a check is given to its defection. But not only is the mind itself called, but all its faculties as well, for without its faculties the mind by itself is found naked and not even existent; and one of the faculties is sense-perception, the

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50 αἰσθησις, ἣτις ἐστὶ γυνή. συγκέκληται οὖν τῷ Ἄδαμ τῷ νῶ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αἰσθησις· ἰδίᾳ δ' αὐτὴν οὐ καλεῖ· διὰ τί; ὅτι ἄλογος οὖσα ἔλεγχον ἐξ ἑαυτῆς λαμβάνειν οὐ δύναται· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὄρασις οὔθ' ἡ ἀκοή οὔτε τις τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων διδακτὴ, ὥστε οὐ δύναται κατάληψιν πραγμάτων ποιήσασθαι· μόνων γὰρ σωμάτων διακριτικὴν εἰργάσατο αὐτὴν ὁ ἐργασάμενος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὁ διδασκόμενός ἐστιν, οὗ χάριν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν αἰσθησιν προκέκληται.

51 XVII. Τὸ δὲ “ποῦ εἶ” πολλαχῶς ἐστὶν ἀποδοῦναι· ἄπαξ μὲν οὐ τὸ πευστικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποφαντικόν τὸ ἴσον τῷ “ἐν τόπῳ ὑπάρχεις” βαρυντονομένου τοῦ “ποῦ εἶ.” ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὠήθης τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περιπατεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου περιέχεσθαι, μάθε ὅτι <οὐκ> εὖ τοῦτο πέπονθας, καὶ ἄκουσον παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισταμένου θεοῦ ῥῆσιν ἀληθεστάτην, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐχὶ που—οὐ γὰρ περιέχεται ἀλλὰ περιέχει τὸ πᾶν—τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἐν τόπῳ, περιέχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀλλ' οὐ

52 περιέχειν ἀναγκαῖον. δεῦτερον δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ· ποῦ γέγονας, ὦ ψυχὴ; ἀνθ' οἷων ἀγαθῶν οἶα ἦρῃσαι κακά; καλέσαντός σε τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς μετουσίαν ἀρετῆς κακίαν μετέρχῃ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον, τουτέστι σοφίας ἢ δυνήσῃ ζῆν, παρασχόντος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀμαθίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐνεφορήθης, κακοδαιμονίαν τὸν ψυχῆς θάνατον εὐδαιμονίας τῆς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς προ-

which is woman. Included then in the call of Adam, the mind, is that of sense-perception, the woman ; but God does not call her with a special call ; why ? because, being irrational, she has no capacity derived from herself to receive reproof. For neither sight nor hearing nor any of the senses is susceptible of instruction, so that it cannot perform the act of apprehending subjects. But He who made sense-perception made it capable of distinguishing between material forms only : but the mind it is that receives instruction, and that is why He challenged it but not sense-perception.

XVII. The words  $\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}$ , "Where art thou?" can be accounted for in many different ways, first as not being interrogative but declarative, as equivalent to "thou art in a place,"  $\pi\omicron\upsilon$  receiving the grave accent. For whereas thou thoughtest that God walked in the garden and was contained by it, learn that there was something amiss with thee in thinking this, and listen to a most true utterance from the mouth of God who knoweth, to the effect that God is not somewhere (for He is not contained but contains the universe), but that which came into being is in a place, for it must of necessity be contained but not contain.

A second account is this : What is said is equivalent to "Where hast thou arrived, O soul?" In the place of how great goods, what evils hast thou chosen for thyself? When God had invited thee to participate in virtue, art thou going after wickedness, and when He had provided for thy enjoyment the tree of life, that is of wisdom, whereby thou shouldst have power to live, didst thou gorge thyself with ignorance and corruption, preferring misery the soul's death to

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- 53 κρίνασα; τρίτον ἐστὶ τὸ πειστικόν, πρὸς  
 ὃ δύο γένοιτ' ἂν ἀποκρίσεις· μία μὲν πυνθανο-  
 μένω “ ποῦ εἶ ” ἢ “ οὐδαμοῦ, ” τόπον γὰρ οὐδένα  
 ἔχει ἢ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχῆ, ᾧ ἐπιβήσεται ἢ ἐφ'  
 οὗ ἰδρυθήσεται, παρὸ καὶ ἄτοπος λέγεται εἶναι ὁ  
 φαῦλος—ἄτοπον δέ ἐστι κακὸν δύσθετον— τοιοῦτος  
 δ' ὁ μὴ ἀστεῖος, σαλεύων καὶ κλονούμενος ἀεὶ καὶ  
 πνεύματος τρόπον ἀστάτου διαφερόμενος, βεβαίου  
 54 τὸ | παράπαν οὐδεμιᾶς γνώμης ἑταῖρος ὢν· ἑτέρα  
 [98] δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόκρισις τοιάδε, ἧ κέχρηται καὶ ὁ  
 Ἄδάμ· ποῦ εἶμι ἄκουε· ὅπου οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἰδεῖν  
 ἀδυνατοῦντες, ὅπου οἱ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀκούοντες, ὅπου  
 οἱ τὸ αἴτιον ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, ὅπου οἱ φεύγοντες  
 ἀρετήν, ὅπου οἱ γυμνοὶ σοφίας, ὅπου οἱ φοβού-  
 μενοι καὶ τρέμοντες ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας καὶ δειλίας  
 ψυχικῆς· ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ “ τῆς φωνῆς σου ἤκουσα  
 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθην, ὅτι γυμνός εἶμι,  
 καὶ ἐκρύβην ” (Gen. iii. 10), πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα  
 παρίστησιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις διὰ μακρο-  
 55 τέρων λόγων ἀπεδείξαμεν. XVIII. καίτοι γυμνὸς  
 οὐκ ἔστι νῦν ὁ Ἄδάμ· “ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς περι-  
 ζώματα ” ὀλίγω πρότερον εἴρηται· ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ  
 τούτου βούλεται σε διδάξαι, ὅτι γυμνότητα οὐ  
 τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν ὁ  
 νοῦς ἄμοιρος καὶ γυμνὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκεται.  
 56 “ Ἡ γυνή ” φησὶν “ ἦν ἔδωκας μετ' ἐμοῦ, αὕτη  
 μοι ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἔφαγον ” (Gen.

happiness the real life? Thirdly, there is the interrogative sense, to which two answers might be made. One answer to the question, "Where art thou?" is "Nowhere," for the soul of the bad man has no place where to find footing or upon which to settle. Owing to this the bad man is said to be "placeless"—"placeless" is used of an evil that defies *placing* (in any known category). Such is the man that is not good, always restless and unstable, drifting this way and that like a chopping wind, attaching himself absolutely to no fixed principle whatever. A second answer might be given to this effect. Adam in fact gave it. "Hear where I am; where those are who are incapable of seeing God; where those are who do not listen to God; where those are who hide themselves from the Author of all things; where are those that shun virtue, where are the destitute of wisdom, where those are who owing to unmanliness and cowardice of soul live in fear and trembling. For when Adam says, "I heard Thy voice in the garden and was afraid, because I am naked, and I hid myself" (Gen. iii. 10), he discovers all the traits just enumerated, as I have fully shown in former sections. XVIII. Nevertheless Adam is not naked now: "they made for themselves girdles" are the words that occur a little further back. Even by this it is the prophet's wish to teach thee, that he understands by nakedness not that of the body, but that by which the mind is found unprovided and unclothed with virtue.

"The woman," he says, "whom Thou gavest with me, she gave me of the tree, and I ate" (Gen. iii. 12). It is well his not saying, "the

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iii. 12). εὖ τὸ μὴ φάναι, ἢ γυνὴ ἦν ἔδωκας ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ “ μετ’ ἐμοῦ” οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὡς κτῆμα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφήκας ἄνετον καὶ ἐλευθέραν, κατὰ τινα τρόπον οὐχ ὑπείκουσαν τοῖς τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας ἐπιτάγμασιν· ἐὰν γοῦν βουλευθῆ ὁ νοῦς προστάξει τῇ ὁράσει μὴ ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἦττον αὕτη τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὄψεται· καὶ ἡ ἀκοὴ μέντοι προσπεσούσης φωνῆς ἀντιλήψεται πάντως, κἂν ὁ νοῦς φιλονεικῶν διακελεύηται αὐτῇ μὴ ἀκούειν· καὶ μὴν ἢ γε ὄσφρησις ἀτμῶν χωρησάντων εἰς αὐτὴν ὄσφρήσεται, κἂν ὁ νοῦς ἀπ-  
 57 αγορευῆ μὴ ἀντιλαβέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔδωκεν αἴσθησιν τῷ ζώῳ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ζώου· τὸ δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐστίν· ἅπαντα αἴσθησις μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοῦ γνωρίζει καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ· οἷον ἡ ὄρασις ἅμα τῷ νῷ ἐπιβάλλει τῷ ὁρατῷ· εἶδέ τε γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ εὐθύς ὁ νοῦς κατέλαβε τὸ ὁραθέν, ὅτι μέλαν ἢ λευκὸν ἢ ὠχρὸν ἢ φοινικοῦν ἢ τρίγωνον ἢ τετράγωνον ἢ στρογγύλον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα χρώματά τε καὶ σχήματα· καὶ πάλιν ἡ ἀκοὴ ἐπλήχθη ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ὁ νοῦς· τεκμήριον δέ, ἔκρινεν εὐθύς τὴν φωνήν, ὅτι λεπτὴ ἢ μέγεθος ἔχουσα ἢ ἐμμελῆς καὶ εὐρυθμος καὶ πάλιν εἰ ἐκμελῆς τε καὶ οὐκ ἑναρμόνιος· καὶ ταῦτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων εὐρίσκεται.  
 58 πάνυ δὲ καλῶς καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι τὸ “ αὕτη μοι ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου”· τὸν γὰρ ξύλινον καὶ αἰσθητὸν ὄγκον τῷ νῷ οὐδεὶς δίδωσιν, ὅτι μὴ αἴσθησις· τίς γὰρ ἔδωκε τῇ διανοίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὸ λευκόν; οὐχ ἡ ὄψις; τίς δὲ τὴν



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 56-58

woman whom Thou gavest to me," but "with me"; for Thou gavest not sense to me as a possession, but it too Thou didst leave free and at large, in some respects not subservient to the behests of my understanding. For instance, should the mind choose to bid the sight not to see, the sight will none the less see what lies before it. The hearing again, when a sound has reached it, will assuredly give it entrance, even if the mind resolutely command it not to hear. And the sense of smell, when odours have found their way in to it, will smell them, even though the mind forbid it to welcome them. Owing to this God did not give sense-perception *to* the living being, but *with* the living being. What "giving with" means is this. Sense becomes aware of all things with our mind and simultaneously with it. For instance, the visible object arrests simultaneously the attention of the sight and of the mind; for the eye caught sight of the material substance, and at once the mind took in the thing that had been seen, took in that it was black or white or yellow or red or triangular or square or round, or some other colour or shape. Again the hearing received the impression of the sound and the mind with it: in proof that it did, it immediately judged of the sound, pronouncing it weak or loud, tuneful and rhythmical, and on the other hand whether it is out of tune and a discord. We find the same thing in the case of the other senses. Quite excellent is the addition of the words "*she* gave me of the tree." For no one, except sense-perception, ever gives to the mind the tree with its sensibly-discerned bulk. For who gave to the mind the possibility of recognizing the body or whiteness? Did

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φωνήν; οὐχ ἡ ἀκοή; τίς δὲ τὸν ἀτμόν; οὐχ ἡ  
 [99] ὄσφρησις; τίς δὲ τὸν χυλόν; οὐχ ἡ γεῦσις; | τίς  
 δὲ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ μαλακόν; οὐχ ἡ ἀφή; ὀρθῶς  
 οὖν καὶ πάνυ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτι  
 τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ἀντιλήψεις δίδωσί μοι μόνη ἡ  
 αἴσθησις.

59 XIX. “Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ γυναικί Τί τοῦτο  
 ἐποίησας; καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ ὄφιν ἠπάτησέ με, καὶ  
 ἔφαγον” (Gen. iii. 13). ἄλλο μὲν πυνθάνεται  
 τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ θεός, ἄλλο δὲ αὐτῇ ἀποκρίνεται·  
 πυνθάνεται μὲν γάρ τι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἡ δὲ οὐ  
 περὶ τούτου φησίν, ἀλλά τι περὶ ἑαυτῆς, λέγουσα  
 60 ὅτι ἔφαγον, οὐχ ὅτι ἔδωκα. μήποτ’ οὖν ἀλλη-  
 γοροῦντες λύσομεν τὸ ἀπορηθὲν καὶ δεῖξομεν τὴν  
 γυναικα εὐθυβόλως πρὸς τὸ πύσμα ἀποκρиво-  
 μένην. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς φαγούσης καὶ  
 τὸν ἄνδρα φαγεῖν· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπιβάλ-  
 λουσα τῷ αἰσθητῷ πληρωθῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ φαντασίας,  
 εὐθύς καὶ ὁ νοῦς συμβέβληκε καὶ ἀντελάβετο καὶ  
 τρόπον τινὰ τροφῆς τῆς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου πεπλήρωται.  
 τοῦτ’ οὖν φησιν· ἄκουσα δέδωκα τῷ ἀνδρί· προσ-  
 βαλούσης γάρ μου τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, ὄξυκίνητος  
 61 ὢν αὐτὸς ἐφαντασιώθη καὶ ἐτυπώθη. XX. παρα-  
 τήρει δ’ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ λέγει τὴν γυναικα δεδω-  
 κέναι, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ οὐχὶ τὸν ὄφιν δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ  
 ἠπατηκέναι· ἴδιον γὰρ αἰσθήσεως μὲν τὸ διδόναι,  
 ἡδονῆς δὲ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ ὀφιώδους τὸ ἀπατᾶν  
 καὶ παρακρούεσθαι· οἷον τὸ λευκὸν τῇ φύσει καὶ

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\* Or “ Why didst thou do this ? ”

not sight? Who gave it the sound? Did not the hearing? Who the odour? Did not the sense of smell? Who the savour? Did not the taste? Who the rough and the soft? Did not the touch? Rightly and with perfect truth was it said by the mind 'sense-perception alone gives me opportunities of apprehending bodies.'

XIX. "And God said to the woman, 'What is this thou hast done?'<sup>a</sup> And she said, 'The serpent beguiled me and I ate'" (Gen. iii. 13). God puts a question to sense-perception touching one point; she gives an answer touching another point: for God asks something about the man; she speaks not about him, but says something about herself, for her words are "I ate," not "I gave." Perhaps, then as we read the passage figuratively, we shall solve the puzzle and show that the woman gives a very pertinent answer to the question put to her. For it is a matter of necessity that when she ate, the man too should eat. For when sense-perception, meeting with the object of sense, is filled with the presentation of it, forthwith the mind also is in contact, takes hold and in a way absorbs the sustenance which it provides. This, then, is what she says: My giving it to the man was by no act of will, for even as I struck upon the object, he (so swift is he to move) received the image and impression of it himself. XX. Now observe that, whereas the man says that the woman gave, the woman says not that the serpent gave but that he beguiled; for to give is characteristic of sense-perception but to cheat and beguile of pleasure with its serpent-like subtilty. For instance, sense-perception gives to the mind that which is by its nature white and that which is

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τὸ μέλαν καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δίδωσιν ἢ  
 αἰσθησις τῷ νῷ, οὐχὶ ἀπατώσα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειαν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα, οἷα καὶ ἡ  
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσπίπτουσα φαντασία, κατὰ τοὺς  
 πλείστους τῶν μὴ φυσικώτερον φυσιολογούντων·  
 ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ οὐχ οἶόν ἐστι τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τοιοῦτον  
 αὐτὸ γνωρίζει τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιψεύδεται τέχνη  
 τὸ ἀλυσιτελὲς εἰς συμφέροντος τάξιν ἐμβιβάζουσα·  
 62 ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἐταιρῶν τὰς εἰδεχθεῖς ἰδεῖν ἔστι  
 φαρματτούσας καὶ ὑπογραφομένας τὴν ὄψιν, ἵνα  
 τὸ περὶ αὐτὰς αἰσχος ἐπικρύψωσι, καὶ τὸν ἀκρατῆ  
 ἐπὶ τὴν γαστρὸς νενευκότα ἡδονήν· οὗτος τὸν  
 πολὺν ἄκρατον καὶ τῶν σιτίων τὴν παρασκευὴν  
 ἀποδέχεται ὡς ἀγαθόν, βλαπτόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 63 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν· πάλιν τοὺς ἐρώοντας  
 ἰδεῖν ἔστι πολλάκις ἐπὶ γυναιῶν αἰσχίστων ὀφθῆναι  
 ἐπιμεμηνότας, τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπατώσεως καὶ μονονουχί  
 διεξιούσης, ὅτι εὐμορφία καὶ εὐχροια καὶ εὐσαρκία  
 καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἀναλογία περὶ τὰς πάντα τὰ ἐναντία  
 [100] τούτοις ἐχούσας ἐστί· τὰς γοῦν πρὸς | ἀλήθειαν  
 ἀμέμπτω κεχρημένας κάλλει παρορῶσιν, ἐκείνων  
 64 δὲ ὧν εἶπον κατατήκονται. πᾶσα οὖν ἀπάτη  
 οἰκειοτάτη ἡδονῇ, δόσις δὲ αἰσθήσει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ  
 σοφίζεται καὶ παράγει τὸν νοῦν, οὐχ ὅποια τὰ  
 ὑποκείμενά ἐστι δηλοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὅποια οὐκ ἔστιν,  
 ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις ἀκραιφνῶς δίδωσι τὰ σώματα οὕτως,  
 ὡς ἔχει φύσεως ἐκείνα, πλάσματος καὶ τέχνης  
 ἐκτός.

<sup>a</sup> "I should say the reference is to the philosophers in the succession who held that αἰσθησις was true, Empedocles, probably Leucippus, and Epicurus himself, but not (e.g.) Parmenides or Democritus."—CYRIL BAILEY. In this case perhaps φυσικώτερον may be understood in the same sense as  
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### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 61-64

black, that which is hot and that which is cold, quite truthfully and with no deception.<sup>a</sup> For, in the opinion of most people who do not overdo precision in their natural philosophy, objects are such as the appearance of them which meets the eye. But pleasure does not report the object to the mind such as it is, but artfully falsifies it, representing as something advantageous that which is of no benefit at all : even as it is possible to see repulsive courtesans applying pigments to their faces and painting under their eyes to conceal their ugliness. We can note also the immoderate man inclined to gluttony : this man welcomes as a good thing the abundance of strong drink and the well-spread board, though taking harm from them both in body and soul. Again we may see those who are in love, often quite crazy over women most hideous to behold, while pleasure beguiles them ; you might almost say that she assures them of the beauty of form and colouring, the fullness and symmetry, that mark those who are characterized by traits the very reverse of these. Indeed they overlook those endowed with really faultless beauty, and pine for those whom I have mentioned. All kinds of consummate deception, then, are most proper to pleasure, while giving is the characteristic of sense-perception : pleasure outwits and misleads the mind, showing objects not as they are, but as they are not, whereas sense-perception simply gives the material forms just as nature has made them, without trickery or counterfeit.

in *De Post.* 7 (see note), where *φυσικοί ἄνδρες* are those who can discern the higher truths that underlie nature. Thus the whole phrase (*τῶν μὴ φυσικώτερον φυσιολογούντων*) means something like "materialistic philosophers."

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- 65 XXI. " Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄφει "Οτι ἐποίησας τοῦτο, ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ, καὶ γῆν φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν" (Gen. iii. 14, 15). διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν χωρὶς ἀπολογίας καταρᾶται τῷ ὄφει, κελεύων ἐν ἑτέροις <ὡς> εἰκὸς " στήναι τοὺς δύο, οἷς ἔστιν ἡ ἀντιλογία" (Deut. xix. 17)
- 66 καὶ μὴ τῷ ἑτέρῳ προπιστεύειν; καὶ μὴν ὀρᾷς ὅτι τῷ Ἀδὰμ οὐ προπεπίστευκε κατὰ τῆς γυναικός, ἀλλὰ δίδωσιν αὐτῇ εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἀφορμὴν, ὅταν πυνθάνηται " τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας;" (Gen. iii. 13) ἡ δέ γε ὁμολογεῖ πταίσει παρὰ τὴν τῆς ὀφιδίου καὶ ποικίλης ἡδονῆς ἀπάτην. τί οὖν ἐκώλυε, καὶ τῆς γυναικός εἰπούσης ὅτι ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησέ με, πυθέσθαι τοῦ ὄφεως, εἰ οὗτος ἠπάτησεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀκρίτως χωρὶς ἀπολογίας καταρᾶσθαι;
- 67 λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ αἴσθησις οὔτε τῶν φαύλων οὔτε τῶν σπουδαίων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μέσον τι αὕτη καὶ κοινὸν σοφοῦ τε καὶ ἄφρονος, καὶ γενομένη μὲν ἐν ἄφρονι γίνεται φαύλη, ἐν ἀστείῳ δὲ σπουδαία. εἰκότως οὖν, ἐπειδὴ φύσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς μοχθηρὰν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζουσα νεύει πρὸς ἑκάτερα τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον, οὐ καταδικάζεται πρὶν ὁμολογήσαι, ὅτι ἠκολούθησε τῷ χείρονι.

\* See App. p. 483.

XXI. "And the Lord God said to the serpent, 'Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth. Upon thy breast<sup>a</sup> and thy belly shalt thou go, and earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. He shall watch for thy head, and thou shalt watch for his heel'" (Gen. iii. 14 f.). For what reason does He curse the serpent without giving it the opportunity to defend itself, though elsewhere, as seems reasonable, He commands that "the two parties between whom the dispute is should stand forth" (Deut. xix. 17) and that credit be not given to the one till the other be heard? Yet you see, no doubt, that He did not thus give credit to Adam, and prejudge the case against the woman, but gives her opportunity to defend herself, when He inquires "What is this that thou hast done?" (Gen. iii. 13), and she acknowledges that she failed owing to the deception practised on her by subtle serpent-like pleasure. When, then, the woman said "the serpent beguiled me," what was there to prevent His inquiring here too from the serpent, whether he beguiled her, instead of prejudging the case and pronouncing the curse without listening to any defence? We have to say, then, that sense-perception comes under the head neither of bad nor of good things, but is an intermediate thing common to a wise man and a fool, and when it finds itself in a fool it proves bad, when in a sensible man, good. Reasonably then, since it has no evil nature on its own account, but halts between good and evil, inclining to either side, it is not pronounced guilty till it has owned that it

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68 ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἢ ἡδονὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐστὶ μοχθηρά· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μὲν σπουδαίῳ οὐχ εὐρίσκεται τὸ παράπαν, μόνος δ' αὐτῆς ὁ φαῦλος ἀπολαύει. κατὰ τὸ οἰκείον οὖν μὴ διδοὺς ἀπολογίαν αὐτῇ καταρᾶται ὁ θεός, σπέρμα ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἐχούση, ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐπιλήπτω καὶ μιαρᾷ καθεστῶση.

- 69 XXII. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Εἴρ χωρὶς αἰτίας περιφανοῦς πονηρὸν οἶδεν ὁ θεός (Gen. xxxviii. 7) καὶ ἀποκτείνει· τὸν γὰρ δερμάτινον ὄγκον ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα—Εἴρ γὰρ δερμάτινος ἐρμηνεύεται— πονηρὸν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ τεθνηκὸς αἰεὶ· μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι [101] νοήσης ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ποιεῖν ἢ νεκροφορεῖν, | τὸ νεκρὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐγειρούσης καὶ ἀμοχθὶ φερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ τὴν εὐτονίαν αὐτῆς, εἰ 70 βούλει, κατανόησον. ὁ μὲν ἐρρωμενέστατος ἀθλητῆς οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀνδριάντα κομίσει, ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ μέχρις ἑκατονταετίας ἐστὶν ὅτε τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φέρει κούφως ἀνδριάντα μὴ κάμνουσα· οὐ γὰρ νῦν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς νεκρὸν τὸ σῶμα ἀπ- 71 ειργάσατο. πονηρὸν δὲ φύσει μὲν, ὡς εἶπον, ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπίβουλον, οὐ φαίνεται δὲ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ καὶ εἴ τις θεῷ φίλος· “ἐναντίον” γάρ φησι “κυρίου πονηρὸς Εἴρ.” ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς μετεωροπολῆ καὶ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου μυστήρια μνηται, πονηρὸν καὶ δυσμενὲς κρίνει τὸ σῶμα· ὅταν δὲ ἀποστῆ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐρεύνης, φίλον 346



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followed evil. But the serpent, pleasure, is bad of itself ; and therefore it is not found at all in a good man, the bad man getting all the harm of it by himself. Quite appropriately therefore does God pronounce the curse without giving pleasure an opportunity of defending herself, since she has in her no seed from which virtue might spring, but is always and everywhere guilty and foul.

XXII. For this reason in the case of Er also God knows him to be wicked and puts him to death without bringing an open charge against him (Gen. xxxviii. 7). For He is well aware that the body, our "leathern" bulk ("leathern" is the meaning of "Er"), is wicked and a plotter against the soul, and is even a corpse and a dead thing. For you must make up your mind that we are each of us nothing but corpse-bearers, the soul raising up and carrying without toil the body which of itself is a corpse. And note, if you will, how strong the soul is. The most muscular athlete would not have strength to carry his own statue for a short time, but the soul, sometimes for as long as a hundred years, easily carries the statue of the human being without getting tired ; for it is not now (at the last) that God slays Er ; nay, but the body which He made and which Er represents was a corpse to begin with. By nature, as I have said, it is wicked and a plotter against the soul, but it is not evident to all that it is so, but to God alone and to anyone who is dear to God ; for we read "Er was wicked in the sight of the Lord." For when the mind soars aloft and is being initiated in the mysteries of the Lord, it judges the body to be wicked and hostile ; but when it has abandoned the investigation of things

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αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενῆς καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἡγείται, κατα-  
 72 φεύγει γοῦν ἐπὶ τὰ φίλα τούτῳ. διὰ τοῦτο  
 ἀθλητοῦ ψυχὴ καὶ φιλοσόφου διαφέρει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀθλητῆς πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίαν  
 ἀναφέρει καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν πρόοιτ' ἂν ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτοῦ ἄτε φιλοσώματος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος  
 ἐραστῆς ὢν τοῦ καλοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ  
 κήδεται ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ νεκροῦ ὄντως σώματος  
 ἀλογεῖ μόνον στοχαζόμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κακοῦ  
 καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου πλημμελῆται τὸ ἄριστον ἢ  
 73 ψυχῆ. XXIII. ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὸν Εἰρ ἀποκτείνει οὐχ  
 ὁ κύριος, ἀλλ' ὁ θεός· οὐ γάρ, καθὸ ἄρχει καὶ  
 ἡγεμονεύει δυναστείᾳ κράτους αὐτεξουσίῳ χρώ-  
 μενος, ἀναιρεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καθὸ ἀγαθότητι  
 καὶ χρηστότητι χρῆται—ὁ θεὸς γὰρ ἀγαθότητός  
 ἐστι τοῦ αἰτίου ὄνομα—ἵνα εἰδῆς ὅτι καὶ τὰ  
 ἄψυχα οὐκ ἐξουσία πεποίηκεν ἀλλ' ἀγαθότητι, ἣ  
 καὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα· ἔδει γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν βελτιόνων  
 δήλωσιν γένεσιν ὑποστῆναι καὶ τῶν χειρόνων  
 ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ αἰτίου,  
 74 ἣτις ἐστὶν ὁ θεός. πότε οὖν, ὦ ψυχῆ,  
 μάλιστα νεκροφορεῖν σαυτὴν ὑπολήψῃ; ἀρά γε οὐχ  
 ὅταν τελειωθῆς καὶ βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ἀξιω-  
 θῆς; ἔση γὰρ τότε φιλόθεος, οὐ φιλοσώματος.  
 τεύξῃ δὲ τῶν ἄθλων, ἐὰν γυνή σου γένηται  
 ἢ τοῦ Ἰούδα νύμφη Θάμαρ, ἣτις ἐρμηνεύεται

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 71-74

divine, it deems it friendly to itself, its kinsman and brother. The proof of this is that it takes refuge in what is dear to the body. On this account there is a difference between the soul of an athlete and the soul of a philosopher. For the athlete refers everything to the well-being of the body, and, lover of the body that he is, would sacrifice the soul itself on its behalf; but the philosopher being enamoured of the noble thing that lives in himself, cares for the soul, and pays no regard to that which is really a corpse, the body, concerned only that the best part of him, his soul, may not be hurt by an evil thing, a very corpse, tied to it. XXIII. You see that Er is slain not by the Lord, but by God. For it is not as Ruler and Governor employing the absolute power of sovereignty that He destroys the body, but in the exercise of goodness and kindness. For "God" is the name of the goodness pertaining to the First Cause, and is so used that thou mayest know that He hath made the inanimate things also not by exercising authority but goodness, even as by goodness He hath made the living creatures. For it was necessary with a view to the clear manifestation of the superior beings that there should be in existence an inferior creation also, due to the same power, even the goodness of the First Cause. And that goodness is God.

When, then, O soul, wilt thou in fullest measure realize thyself to be a corpse-bearer? Will it not be when thou art perfected, and accounted worthy of prizes and crowns? For then shalt thou be no lover of the body, but a lover of God. And thou shalt win the rewards if Judah's daughter-in-law become thy wife, even Tamar, which means a palm-tree, the sign of

## PHILO

φοῖνιξ, σύμβολον νίκης· τεκμήριον δέ· ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀγάγηται ὁ Εἶρ, εὐθύς πονηρός τε εὐρίσκειται καὶ κτείνεται· λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰούδας γυναῖκα Εἶρ τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ αὐτοῦ, ἣ ὄνομα Θάμαρ” (Gen. xxxviii. 6), καὶ εὐθύς ἐπιλέγει· “καὶ ἐγένετο Εἶρ πονηρὸς ἔναντι κυρίου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός” (ib. 7)· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἀρετῆς ἀπενέγκηται νικητήρια, θάνατον

75 καταψηφίζεται τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος. ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὸν ὄφιν ἄνευ ἀπολογίας καταρᾶται, ἡδονὴ γάρ ἐστι, καὶ τὸν Εἶρ χωρὶς αἰτίας περιφανοῦς

[102] | ἀποκτείνει, ἔστι γὰρ σῶμα. καὶ σκοπῶν, ὧ γενναίε, εὐρήσεις τὸν θεὸν πεποιηκότα φύσεις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλήπτους τε καὶ ὑπαιτίους ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι σπουδαίας καὶ ἐπαινετάς, ὥσπερ ἔχει

76 καὶ ἐπὶ φυτῶν καὶ ζώων. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ μὲν ἡμερα καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ σωτήρια κατεσκευάκεν ὁ δημιουργός, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια καὶ βλαβερὰ καὶ νόσων καὶ φθορᾶς αἷτια, καὶ ζῶα ὁμοίως; καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ὄφιν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, φθοροποιὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῶον καὶ ἀναιρετικὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὴ διατίθησιν ἄνθρωπον ὄφιν, τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν ἡδονή, παρὸ καὶ ἀπεικάσθη ὄφιν ἡδονῇ.

77 XXIV. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἡδονὴν καὶ σῶμα ἄνευ μεμίσηκεν αἰτιῶν ὁ θεός, οὕτω καὶ φύσεις ἀστείας χωρὶς περιφανοῦς αἰτίας προαγήσεν, ἔργον οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτῶν ὁμολογήσας. εἰ γὰρ τις ἔροιτο, διὰ τί φησι τὸν Νῶε χάριν εὐρεῖν ἔναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ (Gen. vi. 8) μηδὲν πρότερον ἐργασάμενον, ὅσα γε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίγνωσιν, ἀστείον, ἀποκρινόμεθα δεόντως ὅτι

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### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 74-77

victory. Here is a proof of it. When Er has married her, he is immediately found to be wicked and slain. For we read, " And Judah took for Er his firstborn a wife whose name was Tamar " (Gen. xxxviii. 6), and the next words are, " And Er was wicked before the Lord, and God slew him " (*ibid.* 7). For when the mind has carried off the rewards of victory, it condemns the corpse-body to death. Thou seest that God both curses the serpent without allowing him to defend himself—for he is pleasure—and slays Er without bringing an open charge against him; for he is the body. And if thou wilt consider, my friend, thou wilt find that God has made in the soul some natures faulty and blameworthy of themselves, and others in all respects excellent and praiseworthy, just as is the case with plants and animals. Seest thou not that among the plants the Creator has made some repaying cultivation and useful and wholesome, and others wild and injurious and productive of disease and destruction, and the same with animals? As, doubtless, He has made the serpent, our present subject, for the creature is of itself destructive of health and life. What a serpent does to a man, that pleasure does to the soul, and therefore the serpent was taken to represent pleasure.

XXIV. Exactly, then, as God has conceived a hatred for pleasure and the body without giving reasons, so too has he promoted goodly natures apart from any manifest reason, pronouncing no action of theirs acceptable before bestowing his praises upon them. For should anyone ask why the prophet says that Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord God (Gen. vi. 8) when as yet he had, so far as our knowledge goes, done no fair deed, we shall give a suitable

## PHILO

ἐπαινετῆς ἐλέγχεται συστάσεως καὶ γενέσεως, ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Νῶε ἀνάπαυσις ἢ δίκαιος· ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν παυόμενον ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀναπαυόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ καὶ δικαιοσύνη συζῶντα, χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

78 τὸ δὲ χάριν εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἔστι μόνον, ὡς νομίζουσί τινες, ἴσον τῷ εὐαρεσθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτον ζητῶν ὁ δίκαιος τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἐν τούτῳ εὑρίσκει ἄριστον εὐρημα, χάριν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα, γενέσεως δὲ οὐδὲν χάρισμα, ὅτι γε οὐδὲ κτῆμα, θεοῦ δὲ κτῆμα τὰ πάντα, διὸ καὶ μόνου τὴν χάριν οἰκεῖον· τοῖς γοῦν ζητοῦσι, τίς ἀρχὴ γενέσεως, ὀρθότατα ἂν τις ἀποκρίνοιτο, ὅτι ἀγαθότης καὶ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν ἐχαρίσατο τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν γένει· δωρεὰ γὰρ καὶ εὐεργεσία καὶ χάρισμα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἐστί.

79 XXV. Καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλέα τε τῆς εἰρήνης —Σαλήμ τούτο γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται— <καὶ> ἱερέα [103] ἑαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ὁ θεός (Gen. xiv. 18), | οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῦ προδιατυπώσας, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον ἐργασάμενος βασιλέα καὶ εἰρηναῖον καὶ ἱερωσύνης ἄξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πρώτον· καλεῖται γὰρ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐχθρὸν τυράννω, ὅτι ὁ μὲν 80 νόμων, ὁ δὲ ἀνομίας ἐστὶν εἰσηγητής· ὁ μὲν οὖν τυράννος νοῦς ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττει τῇ τε ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι βίαια καὶ βλαβερὰ καὶ σφοδρὰς λύπας ἐργαζόμενα, τὰς κατὰ κακίαν λέγω πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἀπολαύσεις· ὁ δὲ [δεύτερος] βασιλεὺς πρώτον μὲν [οὖν] οὐκ ἐπιτάττει μᾶλλον

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 77-80

answer to the effect that he is shown to be of an excellent nature from his birth, for Noah means "rest" or "righteous." But it cannot but be that he who rests from sinful and unrighteous acts and rests upon what is noble and lives in fellowship with righteousness, should find favour with God. Now *finding favour* is not as some suppose equivalent only to being well-pleasing, but something of this kind besides. The righteous man exploring the nature of existences makes a surprising *find*, in this one discovery, that all things are a *grace* of God, and that creation has no gift of grace to bestow, for neither has it any possession, since all things are God's possession, and for this reason grace too belongs to Him alone as a thing that is His very own. Thus to those who ask what the origin of creation is the right answer would be, that it is the goodness and grace of God, which He bestowed on the race that stands next after Him. For all things in the world and the world itself is a free gift and act of kindness and grace on God's part.

XXV. Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace, for that is the meaning of "Salem," and His own priest (Gen. xiv. 18). He has not fashioned beforehand any deed of his, but produces him to begin with as such a king, peaceable and worthy of His own priesthood. For he is entitled "the righteous king," and a "king" is a thing at enmity with a despot, the one being the author of laws, the other of lawlessness. So mind, the despot, decrees for both soul and body harsh and hurtful decrees working grievous woes, conduct, I mean, such as wickedness prompts, and free indulgence of the passions. But the king in the first place resorts to persuasion rather

- ἢ πείθει, ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα παραγγέλλει, δι' ὧν ὡσπερ σκάφος τὸ ζῶον εὐπλοία τῇ τοῦ βίου χρήσεται κυβερνώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ [καὶ τεχνίτου] κυβερνήτου, οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ὀρθὸς
- 81 λόγος. καλείσθω οὖν ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἄρχων πολέμου, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμὼν εἰρήνης, Σαλήμ, καὶ προσφερέτω τῇ ψυχῇ τροφὰς εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς πλήρεις· ἄρτους γὰρ καὶ οἶνον προσφέρει, ἅπερ Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται τῷ βλέποντι παρασχεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, οὗ χάριν ἐκκλησίας εἴργονται καὶ συλλόγου θείου· Ἀμμανῖται γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αἰσθήσεως καὶ Μωαβῖται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς νοῦ φύντες τρόποι δύο ταῦτα τῶν ὄντων συνεκτικὰ νομίζοντες νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἔννοιαν, “οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται” φησὶ Μωυσῆς “<εἰς ἐκκλησίαν> κυρίου, . . . παρὰ τὸ μὴ συναντῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν μετ' ἄρτων καὶ ὕδατος” (Deut. xxiii. 3, 4) ἐξιούσιν
- 82 ἐκ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου. **XXVI.** ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀντὶ ὕδατος οἶνον προσφερέτω καὶ ποτιζέτω καὶ ἀκρατιζέτω ψυχὰς, ἵνα κατάσχετοι γένωνται θεία μέθη νηφαλεωτέρα νήψεως αὐτῆς· ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ λόγος κληρὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄντα καὶ ὑψηλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς λογιζόμενος· τοῦ γὰρ ὑψίστου ἐστὶν ἱερεὺς (Gen. xiv. 18), οὐχ ὅτι ἐστὶ τις ἄλλος οὐχ ὑψιστος—ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἰς ὧν “ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔτι πλην αὐτοῦ” (Deut. iv. 39)—, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ταπεινῶς καὶ χαμαιζήλως ὑπερμεγέθως δὲ καὶ ὑπεραῦλως καὶ ὑψηλῶς νοεῖν περὶ θεοῦ ἔμφασιν τοῦ ὑψίστου κινεῖ.
- 83 **XXVII.** Τί δὲ εἰργάσατο ἤδη καλὸν ὁ Ἀβράμ,



than decrees, and in the next place issues directions such as to enable a vessel, the living being I mean, to make life's voyage successfully, piloted by the good pilot, who is right principle. Let the despot's title therefore be ruler of war, the king's prince of peace, of Salem, and let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness; for he brings bread and wine, things which Ammonites and Moabites refused to supply to the seeing one, on which account they are excluded from the divine congregation and assembly. These characters, Ammonites deriving their nature from sense-perception their mother, and Moabites deriving theirs from mind their father, who hold that all things owe their coherence to these two things, mind and sense-perception, and take no thought of God, "shall not enter," saith Moses, "into the congregation of the Lord, because they did not meet us with bread and water" (Deut. xxiii. 3 f.) when we came out from the passions of Egypt. XXVI. But let Melchizedek instead of water offer wine, and give to souls strong drink, that they may be seized by a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself. For he is a priest even Reason, having as his portion Him that is, and all his thoughts of God are high and vast and sublime: for he is priest of the Most High (Gen. xiv. 18), not that there is any other not Most High—for God being One "is in heaven above and on earth beneath, and there is none beside Him" (Deut. iv. 39)—but to conceive of God not in low earthbound ways but in lofty terms, such as transcend all other greatness and all else that is free from matter, calls up in us a picture of the Most High.

XXVII. What good thing had Abram already done,

## PHILO

- ὅτι κελεύει αὐτῷ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης  
 ξενουῖσθαι καὶ γῆν οἰκεῖν, ἣν <ἂν> αὐτὸς δῶ ὁ  
 θεός (Gen. xii. 1); πόλις δέ ἐστιν ἀγαθὴ καὶ  
 πολλή καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, τὰ γὰρ δῶρα τοῦ  
 θεοῦ μεγάλα καὶ τίμια. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν  
 τρόπον ἐγέννησε τύπον ἔχοντα σπουδῆς ἄξιον.  
 [104] ἔρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ “πατὴρ | μετέωρος,”  
 84 δι’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπαινετός· ὁ γὰρ  
 νοῦς, ὅταν μὴ δεσπότου τρόπον ἀπειλῇ τῇ ψυχῇ,  
 ἀλλ’ ὡς πατὴρ ἄρχῃ, μὴ τὰ ἡδέα χαριζόμενος  
 αὐτῇ, τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀκούσῃ διδούς, καὶ  
 ἐπίπαν τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τὰ θνητὰ  
 ἀποστὰς μετεωροπολῇ καὶ συνδιατρίβῃ θεωρήμασι  
 τοῖς περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον ἐπανιῶν ἐρευνᾷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου  
 φύσιν δι’ ἔρωτα ἐπιστήμης ἄλεκτον, μένειν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δογμάτων οὐ δύναται, ἀλλὰ μετοικίαν  
 ζητεῖ βελτιούμενος ἀμείνω.  
 85 XXVIII. Ἐνίους δὲ ὁ θεός καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέ-  
 σεως καλῶς διαπλάττει καὶ διατίθεται καὶ κλῆρον  
 ἔχειν ἄριστον προήρηται. οὐχ ὄρας, τί περὶ τοῦ  
 Ἰσαάκ φησι τῷ Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἐλπίσαντι, ὅτι  
 γενήσεται τοιούτου γεννήματος πατὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 γελάσαντι ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποσχέσει καὶ εἰπόντι “Εἰ τῷ  
 ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται, καὶ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα  
 ἐτῶν οὔσα τέξεται;” (Gen. xvii. 17) καταφάσκει  
 καὶ ἐπινεύει λέγων “Ναί, ἰδοὺ Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ σου  
 τέξεταιί σοι υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ  
 Ἰσαάκ, καὶ στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς αὐτὸν

<sup>a</sup> The favourable interpretation of “Abram” given here should be compared with those given in *De Cherubim* 4, and *De Gigantibus* 62. Cf. *De Mutatione Nominum* 66.

that he bids him estrange himself from fatherland and kindred there and dwell in whatever land God Himself may give him? (Gen. xii. 1). And that is a city good and large and very prosperous, for great and precious are God's gifts. But this character also did God create in such a shape as to merit esteem, for "Abram" means "father high-soaring,"<sup>a</sup> and both epithets are grounds for praise. For when the mind does not, like a master, frighten the soul with threats, but governs it as a father, not granting it the things that are pleasant to it, but giving it even against its will the things that are good for it; when, in all matters turning away from what is base and from all that draws it to things mortal, it soars aloft and spends its time in contemplation of the universe and its different parts; when, mounting yet higher, it explores the Deity and His nature, urged by an ineffable love of knowledge; it cannot continue to entertain the principles it imbibed originally, but in its desire to improve itself seeks to change its abode for a better one.

XXVIII. Some even before their birth God endows with a goodly form and equipment, and has determined that they shall have a most excellent portion. Dost thou not see what He says concerning Isaac to Abraham when unable to trust that he shall ever become the father of such an offspring, nay when he actually laughed at the promise and said, "Shall it come to pass to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear a child?" (Gen. xvii. 17). He ratifies and confirms it saying, "Yes, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My covenant with Him for an everlasting

- 86 εἰς διαθήκην αἰώνιον" (ib. 19). τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ καὶ τοῦτον πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπαινεῖσθαι πεποιηκός; ἔνια τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενα καὶ παρόντα ὠφελεῖ, οἷον ὑγεία, εὐαισθησία, πλοῦτος εἰ τύχοι, δόξα—λεγέσθω γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καταχρηστικώτερον ἀγαθὰ—ἔνια δ' οὐ γενόμενα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσπισθέντα ὅτι γενήσεται, ὥσπερ ἡ χαρὰ—εὐπάθεια ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἥδε—[γὰρ] οὐχ ὅταν παρούσα δραστηρίως ἐνεργῇ μόνον εὐφραίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐλπίζεται προγανοῖ· ἐξαίρετον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ ἰδίᾳ ἐνεργεῖ, ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἴδιον καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν· ἐπιγίνεται γοῦν ἅπασι, χαίρομεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑγείᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε κυρίως εἰπεῖν μηδὲν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ᾧ μὴ πρόσεστι.
- 87 χαρὰ. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ προγεγενημένοις ἤδη τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ παροῦσι χαίρομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μέλλουσι καὶ προσδοκωμένοις, οἷον ὅτε ἐλπίζομεν πλουτήσῃν ἢ ἄρξῃν ἢ ἐπαινεθήσῃσθαι ἢ νόσων ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρήσῃσθαι ἢ εὐτονίας καὶ ῥώμης κοινωνήσῃν ἢ ἐπιστήμονες ἀντ' ἀνεπιστημόνων ἔσῃσθαι, γεγήθαμεν οὐ μετρίως. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ χαρὰ οὐ παρούσα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπίζομένη ἀναχεῖ τε καὶ εὐφραίνει τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰκότως τὸν Ἰσαὰκ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ὀνόματός τε καὶ δωρεᾶς μεγάλης ἠξίωσε· γέλως γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη διερμηνεύεται οὗτος.

covenant" (*ibid.* 19). What is it, then, that has made this one too to be praised before his birth? Some good things benefit us when they have reached us and are present, as health, excellence of bodily senses, wealth perhaps, fame—for even these may be loosely called "good things";—some again not only when they have come, but when their coming has been foretold. For instance joy, a happy condition of the soul, gladdens not only when it is present and in active operation, but, when still an object of hope, brings an anticipatory brightness. For here again is a peculiar advantage which it possesses. While other good things take effect in virtue of their own particular goodness only, joy is both a particular and a general good. See how it comes to add to and enrich them all. We rejoice over health, and over liberty, and over honour, and over the other good things, so that we say with literal truth that nothing is good unless joy be attached to it. But we rejoice over the other good things not only when they have already come about beforehand and are present, but also when they are looked for in the future, as when we hope that we shall grow rich, or shall obtain office, or shall win praise, or shall discover a way of getting rid of disease, or shall obtain our share of health and strength, or shall be no longer ignorant, but men of knowledge, we are glad in no small measure. Seeing then, that joy, not only when present but when hoped for, causes the soul to overflow with gladness, God fitly held Isaac, even before he was begotten, worthy of his great name and therein of a vast endowment: for "Isaac" means laughter of soul and joy and gladness.

88 XXIX. Πάλιν δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν  
 [105] δὲ Ἡσαῦ ὑπήκοον καὶ | δούλον ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς  
 ὄντας φησὶν εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ ζωοπλάστης θεὸς ἐπί-  
 σταται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς δημιουργήματα καὶ πρὶν  
 αὐτὰ εἰς ἄκρον διατορεῦσαι, τὰς τε δυνάμεις,  
 αἷς αὐθις χρῆσονται, καὶ συνόλως τὰ ἔργα τούτων  
 καὶ πάθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πορεύεται ἡ ὑπομονητικὴ  
 ψυχὴ Ῥεβέκκα πυθέσθαι παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀποκρίνεται  
 αὐτῇ, ὅτι “ δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρί σου ἔστι, καὶ  
 δύο λαοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται, καὶ  
 λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει, καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ  
 89 ἐλάσσονι ” (Gen. xxv. 23). φύσει γὰρ δούλον  
 παρὰ θεῷ τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἄλογον, ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ  
 καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀστείον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἄμεινον,  
 καὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἤδη γένηται ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τέλειον  
 ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδοιάζηται· ὅλως γὰρ καὶ  
 μικρά τις αὖρα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν,  
 οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν μόνον, ἐμφαίνει, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἡ  
 τυχοῦσα κακίας γένεσις δουλοῖ τὸν λογισμὸν, καὶ  
 μήπω τέλειον αὐτῆς ἐκφοιτήσῃ τὸ γέννημα.

90 XXX. Τί δὲ παθὼν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰακώβ, τοῦ  
 Ἰωσήφ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς προσαγαγόντος τὸν πρε-  
 σβύτερον Μανασσῆν καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ἐφραῖμ,  
 ἐναλλάττει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπιτίθησι  
 τῷ νεωτέρῳ Ἐφραῖμ, τὴν δ' εὐνυμον τῷ πρε-  
 σβυτέρῳ Μανασσῆ, καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγήσα-  
 μένου τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ οἰηθέντος τὸν πατέρα ἄκοντα  
 σφαλῆναι περὶ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν, φησὶν·  
 οὐ διήμαρτον, ἀλλ' “ οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα, καὶ οὗτος  
 ἔσται εἰς λαὸν καὶ οὗτος ὑψωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ

\* The words “ and better ” are perhaps an intrusion.

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 88-90

XXIX. Once again, of Jacob and Esau, when still in the womb, God declares that the one is a ruler and leader and master, but that Esau is a subject and a slave. For God the Maker of living beings knoweth well the different pieces of his own handiwork, even before He has thoroughly chiselled and consummated them, and the faculties which they are to display at a later time, in a word their deeds and experiences. And so when Rebecca, the soul that waits on God, goes to inquire of God, He tells her in reply, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be separated from thy belly, and one people shall be above the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger" (Gen. xxv. 23). For in God's judgement that which is base and irrational is by nature a slave, but that which is of fine character and endowed with reason and better<sup>a</sup> is princely and free. And this not only when either is full-grown in soul, but even if their development is still uncertain. For it is universally the case that even a slight breath of virtue is an evidence not of liberty merely but of leadership and sovereignty, and on the other hand that the most casual beginning of wickedness enslaves the reasoning faculty, even if its offspring have not yet come forth fully developed.

XXX. What led this same Jacob, when Joseph brought to him his two sons, the elder Manasseh and the younger Ephraim, to cross his hands and place his right hand on Ephraim the younger son and his left hand on Manasseh the elder; and when Joseph was distressed by it and imagined that his father had made an unintentional mistake in so placing his hands, to say it was no error, but "I know, my child, I know, this one too shall be a people,

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- ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ νεώτερος μείζων αὐτοῦ ἔσται”
- 91 (Gen. xlvi. 19). τί οὖν χρή λέγειν ἢ τοῦτο, ὅτι δύο φύσεις ἐδημιουργήθησαν ἐν ψυχῇ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖαι, μνήμη τε καὶ ἀνάμνησις; ἀμείνων μὲν ἡ μνήμη, χείρων δὲ ἡ ἀνάμνησις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐναύλους ἔχει καὶ ἐναργεῖς τὰς καταλήψεις, ὡς μηδὲ<sup>1</sup> ἀγνοία διαμαρτεῖν, ἀναμνήσεως δὲ λήθη πάντως προηγείται, πηρὸν καὶ τυφλὸν
- 92 πρᾶγμα. πρεσβύτερον δὲ τὸ χείρον ἢ ἀνάμνησις εὐρίσκεται μνήμης τοῦ κρείττονος· \* \* \* συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιάστατον· οἱ γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς τέχνας εἰσαγόμενοι περικρατῆσαι τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς θεωρημάτων ἀδυνατοῦμεν εὐθύς· λήθη οὖν κατ’ ἀρχὰς χρώμενοι πάλιν ἀναμνησκομεθα, ἕως ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις μὲν ἐκλαθέσθαι πολλάκις δὲ ἀναμνησθῆναι βέβαιος αὐθις μνήμη κρατήσῃ, παρὸ καὶ νεωτέρα—ὀψίγονος γάρ ἐστι—συνίσταται τῆς ἀναμνήσεως.
- 93 συμβολικῶς οὖν ὁ μὲν Ἐφραΐμ λέγεται μνήμη, καρποφορία γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται, τῆς τοῦ φιλομαβοῦς ψυχῆς τὸν οἰκεῖον <καρπὸν> ἐνηνοχίας, ὅποτε |
- [106] διὰ μνήμης ἔχοι βεβαιοῦν τὰ θεωρήματα· ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς ἀνάμνησις, μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ “ἐκ λήθης” εἶναι λέγεται, ὁ δὲ λήθην ἐκφεύγων ἀναμνησκειται πάντως. ὀρθότατα οὖν ὁ πτερινιστῆς τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἀσκητῆς ἀρετῆς Ἰακώβ δεξιούται τὴν καρποφόρον μνήμην Ἐφραΐμ, δευτερείων δὲ ἀξιοῦ τὴν ἀνάμνησιν Μανασσῆν.

<sup>1</sup> μηδὲν conj. Wendland.



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 90-93

this one too shall be exalted, but his younger brother shall be greater than he " ? (Gen. xlviii. 19). What, then, does it behove us to say but this, that two exceedingly necessary faculties were created in the soul by God, memory, and recollection? Of these memory is the better, recollection the inferior. For while the former keeps everything that it has apprehended fresh and distinct, so as to go wrong in nothing owing to ignorance, recollection is in all cases preceded by forgetfulness, a maimed and blind affair. But the inferior of these, recollection, is discovered to be older than the superior one, memory : [while recollection has many gaps of forgetfulness, memory is] unbroken and uninterrupted. For when we are being first introduced to the various arts we are unable at once to master their principles ; so finding ourselves liable to forgetfulness at the outset, we afterwards recollect, until as the result of repeated forgetting and repeated recollecting an unfailing memory shall subsequently win the day. Accordingly memory, being late-born, is formed as recollection's younger sister. So then Ephraim is the figurative name of Memory, meaning " fruit-bearing," for the soul of the student has borne its proper fruit when it is able by means of memory to hold securely the principles of the art that is being learned. Manasseh, however, represents recollection, for the name is said to mean " out of forgetfulness " when translated, and he who escapes from forgetfulness necessarily recollects. Most rightly, therefore, does Jacob, the overthrower of the passions and the trained seeker of virtue, lay his right hand on Ephraim as fruitful memory, and count Manasseh, who is recollection, worthy of the second place.

## PHILO

- 94 Καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τῶν θυόντων τὸ Φασέκ τοὺς μὲν <τὸ> πρότερον θύσαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖ, ὅτι διαβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου ἐπέμειναν τῇ διαβάσει καὶ οὐχ ὤρμησαν ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον δευτερείων ἀξιοῖ (Num. ix. 6 ff.), τραπέντες γὰρ ἀνέδραμον τὴν τροπὴν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν πρακτέων πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ὤρμησαν αὐτά, οἱ δὲ πρότεροι ἄτρεπτοι διετέλεσαν. ἔοικεν οὖν τοῖς μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Πάσχα θύουσι ὁ ἐκ λήθης Μανασσῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὸ πρότερον ὁ καρποφόρος Ἐφραΐμ.
- 95 XXXI. Ὅθεν καὶ Βεσελεὴλ ἀνακαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ φησιν αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι σοφίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην, καὶ δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονα πάντων τῶν τῆς σκηνῆς, τουτέστι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργων, ἀποδείξειν (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), μηδὲν ἔργον, ὃ κὰν ἐπαινέσειέ τις, προὔποδείξας αὐτοῦ. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐντετύπωκεν ὁ θεὸς νομίσματος δοκίμου τρόπον. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ χαρακτήρ εισόμεθα, εἰάν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν πρότερον
- 96 τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀκριβώσωμεν. ἐρμηνεύεται οὖν Βεσελεὴλ ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ· σκιά θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὄργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ. αὕτη δὲ ἡ σκιά καὶ τὸ ὠσανεὶ ἀπικόνισμα ἐτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παρά-

<sup>a</sup> i.e., "in the first month."

<sup>b</sup> i.e., "in the second month."

<sup>c</sup> In Numb. ix. 6 ff. Philo interprets ἀκάθαρτοι of moral,

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 94-96

Moses also, to take another case, awards special praise among the sacrificers of the Passover to those who sacrificed the first time,<sup>a</sup> because when they had separated themselves from the passions of Egypt by crossing the Red Sea they kept to that crossing and no more hankered after them, but to those who sacrificed the second time<sup>b</sup> he assigns the second place, for after turning they retraced the wrong steps they had taken and as though they had forgotten their duties they set out again to perform them, while the earlier sacrificers held on without turning. So Manasseh, who comes "out of forgetfulness," corresponds to those who offer the second Passover, the fruit-bearing Ephraim to those who offer the earlier one.<sup>c</sup>

XXXI. This, moreover, is the reason of God's proclaiming Bezalel by name, and saying that He has given him wisdom and knowledge, and that He will appoint him artificer and chief craftsman of all the works of the Tabernacle, that is of the soul (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), though He has so far pointed to no work or deed of Bezalel's, such as to win him even commendation. We must say, then, that here too we have a form which God has stamped on the soul as on the tested coin. What, then, the image impressed on it is we shall know if we first ascertain accurately the meaning of the name. Bezalel means, then, "in the shadow of God"; but God's shadow is His Word, which he made use of like an instrument, and so made the world. But this shadow, and what we may describe as the representation, is the archetype for further creations. For just as God is the not ceremonial, uncleanness, as excluding from the keeping of the Passover in the first month.

- δειγμα τῆς εἰκόνας, ἦν σκιὰν νυνὶ κέκληκεν, οὕτως ἢ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, ὡς καὶ ἐναρχόμενος τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐδήλωσεν εἰπών· “καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ” (Gen. i. 27), ὡς τῆς μὲν εἰκόνας κατὰ
- [107] τὸν θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου | κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα λαβοῦσαν δύναμιν παραδείγματος.
- 97 XXXII. Τίς οὖν ὁ ἐπιγινόμενος χαρακτήρ, θεασώμεθα. ἐζήτησαν οἱ πρῶτοι, πῶς ἐνοήσαμεν τὸ θεῖον, εἶθ’ οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄριστα φιλοσοφεῖν ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐνυπαρχουσῶν τούτοις δυνάμεων ἀντί-
- 98 ληψιν ἐποιησάμεθα τοῦ αἰτίου· ὥσπερ γάρ, εἴ τις ἴδοι δεδημιουργημένην οἰκίαν ἐπιμελῶς προ-  
 πυλαίοις στοαῖς ἀνδρῶσι γυναικωνίτισι τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκοδομήμασιν, ἐννοίαν λήψεται τοῦ τεχνίτου—οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ δημιουργοῦ νομιεῖ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποτελεσθῆναι—τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως καὶ νεῶς καὶ παντὸς ἐλάττονος ἢ μείζονος
- 99 κατασκευάσματος, οὕτως δὴ καὶ εἰσελθὼν τις ὥσπερ εἰς μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον καὶ θεασάμενος οὐρανὸν μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπολοῦντα καὶ πάντα ἐντὸς συνειληφότα, πλανή-  
 τας δὲ καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὡσαύτως κινουμένους ἐμμελῶς τε καὶ ἐναρμονίως καὶ τῷ παντὶ ὠφελίμως, γῆν δὲ τὸν μέσον χῶρον λαχοῦσαν, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος χύσεις ἐν μεθορίῳ τεταγμένας, ἔτι δὲ ζῶα θνητά τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἀθάνατα καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν διαφοράς, λογίζεται δήπου, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης παντελοῦς δεδημι-  
 ούργηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.

Pattern of the Image, to which the title of Shadow has just been given, even so the Image becomes the pattern of other beings, as the prophet made clear at the very outset of the Law-giving by saying, " And God made the man after the Image of God " (Gen. i. 27), implying that the Image had been made such as representing God, but that the man was made after the Image when it had acquired the force of a pattern.

XXXII. Let us observe therefore what the character impressed is. The first men sought to find how we came to conceive of the Deity. Next those whose philosophy<sup>a</sup> was reputed the best declared that it was from the world and its constituent parts and the forces subsisting in these that we gained our apprehension of the First Cause. Should a man see a house carefully constructed with a gateway, colonnades, men's quarters, women's quarters, and the other buildings, he will get an idea of the artificer, for he will be of opinion that the house never reached that completeness without the skill of the craftsman ; and in like manner in the case of a city and a ship and every smaller or greater construction. Just so anyone entering this world, as it were some vast house or city, and beholding the sky circling round and embracing within it all things, and planets and fixed stars without any variation moving in rhythmical harmony and with advantage to the whole, and earth with the central space assigned to it, water and air flowing in set order as its boundary, and over and above these, living creatures, mortal and immortal beings, plants and fruits in great variety, he will surely argue that these have not been wrought without consummate art, but that the Maker of this

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παντὸς δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἐπι-  
 λογιζόμενοι διὰ σκιᾶς τὸν θεὸν καταλαμβάνουσι,  
 διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν τεχνίτην κατανοοῦντες.

100 XXXIII. Ἔστι δέ τις τελεώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον  
 κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια μνηθεῖς,  
 ὅστις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν γεγονότων τὸ αἴτιον γνωρίζει,  
 ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τὸ μένον, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύψας τὸ  
 γενητὸν ἔμφασιν ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λαμβάνει,  
 ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν σκιὰν  
 αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἦν τὸν τε λόγον καὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον.

101 οὗτός ἐστι Μωυσῆς ὁ λέγων “ Ἐμφάνισόν μοι  
 σαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω σε ” (Exod. xxxiii. 13). μὴ  
 γὰρ ἐμφανισθείης μοι δι' οὐρανοῦ ἢ γῆς ἢ ὕδατος  
 ἢ ἀέρος ἢ τινος ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν γενέσει, μηδὲ  
 κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν  
 σοὶ τῷ θεῷ, αἱ γὰρ ἐν γενητοῖς ἐμφάσεις δια-  
 λύνονται, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ μόνιμοι καὶ βέβαιοι  
 καὶ αἰδίοι <ἂν> διατελοῖεν. διὰ τοῦτο Μωυσῆν

102 ἀνακέκληκε καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. καὶ  
 Βεσελεὴλ ἀνακέκληκεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ  
 τὸν μὲν τὴν ἔμφασιν τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνοντα ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἰτίου, τὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τῶν  
 γενομένων τὸν τεχνίτην ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ κατα-  
 νοοῦντα. διὰ τοῦθ' εὐρήσεις τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ  
 σκεύη πάντα αὐτῆς πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Μωυσέως,

[108] αὐθις δ' ὑπὸ | Βεσελεὴλ κατασκευαζόμενα·  
 Μωυσῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀρχέτυπα τεχνιτεύει, Βεσελεὴλ  
 δὲ τὰ τούτων μιμήματα· χρῆται μὲν γὰρ Μωυσῆς

whole universe was and is God. Those, who thus base their reasoning on what is before their eyes, apprehend God by means of a shadow cast, discerning the Artificer by means of His works.

XXXIII. There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed, which has undergone initiation into the great mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the First Cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated One, so as from Him to apprehend both Himself and His shadow. To apprehend that was, we saw, to apprehend both the Word and this world. The mind of which I speak is Moses who says, "Manifest Thyself to me, let me see Thee that I may know Thee" (Exod. xxxiii. 13); 'for I would not that Thou shouldst be manifested to me by means of heaven or earth or water or air or any created thing at all, nor would I find the reflection of Thy being in aught else than in Thee Who art God, for the reflections in created things are dissolved, but those in the Uncreate will continue abiding and sure and eternal.' This is why God hath expressly called Moses and why He spake to Him. Bezalel also He hath expressly called, but not in like manner. One receives the clear vision of God directly from the First Cause Himself. The other discerns the Artificer, as it were from a shadow, from created things by virtue of a process of reasoning. Hence you will find the Tabernacle and all its furniture made in the first instance by Moses but afterwards by Bezalel, for Moses is the artificer of the archetypes, and Bezalel of the copies of these. For Moses has God for

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- ὑφηγητῇ τῷ θεῷ, ὡς φησι· “κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα  
 τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει πάντα ποιήσεις”  
 103 (Exod. xxv. 40), Βεσελεὴλ δὲ Μωυσεῖ· καὶ εἰ-  
 κότης· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε Ἀαρὼν ὁ λόγος καὶ Μαριὰμ  
 ἡ αἰσθησις ἐπανίστανται, ῥητῶς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι,  
 “ἐὰν γένηται προφήτης κυρίῳ, ἐν ὄραματι αὐτῷ  
 γνωσθήσεται” καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐναργῶς,  
 Μωυσεῖ δέ, ὅστις “πιστὸς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ,  
 στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσει, ἐν εἶδει καὶ οὐ δι’  
 αἰνιγμάτων” (Num. xii. 6-8).
- 104 XXXIV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν δύο φύσεις εὔρομεν  
 γενομένας καὶ πλαττομένας καὶ ἄκρως τετορευ-  
 μένας ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς βλαβερὰν καὶ  
 ἐπίληπτον καὶ κατάρατον, τὴν δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ  
 ἐπαιετήν, καὶ ἔχουσαν τὴν μὲν κίβδηλον, τὴν δὲ  
 δόκιμον χαρακτῆρα, καλὴν καὶ ἀρμόπτουσαν εὐχὴν  
 εὐξώμεθα, ἣν καὶ Μωυσεῖς, “ἴν’ ἡμῖν ἀνοίξῃ ὁ  
 θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θησαυρὸν” (Deut. xxviii. 12)  
 καὶ τὸν μετάρσιον καὶ ἐγκύμονα θείων φώτων  
 λόγον, ὃν δὴ κέκληκεν οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν  
 105 κακῶν ἐπισφίγξῃ. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡσπερ ἀγαθῶν οὕτω  
 καὶ κακῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ θησαυροί, ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ  
 φησὶν ὠδῇ· “οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα συνήκται παρ’ ἐμοί,  
 καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
 ἐκδικήσεως, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ πούς αὐτῶν;” (Deut.  
 xxxii. 34, 35) ὁρᾷς ὅτι κακῶν εἰσι θησαυροί·  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς—ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς  
 εἰς, καὶ ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸς <εἰς>—πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν  
 κακῶν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἄπειροι τὸ πλήθος.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.



Instructor, as He says "thou shalt make all things according to the pattern that was shown to thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv. 40), but Bezalel is instructed by Moses. And all this is just as we should expect. For on the occasion likewise of the rebellion of Aaron, Speech, and Miriam, Perception, they are expressly told "If a prophet be raised up unto the Lord, God shall be known unto him in a vision" and in a shadow, not manifestly; but with Moses, the man who is "faithful in all His house, He will speak mouth to mouth in manifest form and not through dark speeches" (Numb. xii. 6-8).

XXXIV. Seeing then that we have found two natures created, undergoing moulding, and chiselled into full relief by God's hands, the one essentially hurtful, blameworthy, and accursed, the other beneficial and praiseworthy, stamped the one with a counterfeit, the other with a genuine impression, let us offer a noble and suitable prayer, which Moses offered before us, "that God may open to us His own treasury" (Deut. xxviii. 12) and that sublime reason pregnant with divine illumination,<sup>a</sup> to which He has given the title of "heaven"; and that He may close up the treasuries of evil things. For there are with God treasuries as of good things so also of evil things, as He saith in the great Song,<sup>b</sup> "Are not these laid up in store with Me, sealed up in My treasuries in the day of vengeance, when their foot shall have slipped?" (Deut. xxxii. 34 f.). You see that there are treasuries of evil things. And the treasury of good things is one, for since God is One, there is likewise one treasury of good things. But of evil things there are many treasuries, for countless too

<sup>b</sup> Philo often refers to Deuteronomy xxxii. under this title.

PHILO

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σκόπει τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἀγα-  
 θότητα· τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸν ἀνοίγει,  
 τοὺς δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἐπισφίγγει· θεοῦ γὰρ ἴδιον  
 τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ προτείνειν καὶ φθάνειν δωρούμενον,  
 106 τὰ δὲ κακὰ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπάγειν. Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ  
 ἐπιτείνων τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλόδωρον καὶ χαριστικὸν  
 οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ φησὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς  
 τῶν κακῶν ἐσφραγίσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ  
 σφαλῆ κατὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου, ὅποτε  
 καὶ ἀξίον ἦν αὐτὴν δίκης ἀξιούσθαι· ἐν> ἡμέρα  
 γὰρ φησιν ἐκδικήσεως ἐσφραγίσθαι τοὺς τῶν  
 κακῶν θησαυροὺς, δεικνύντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου,  
 ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν εὐθὺς ἐπέξεισιν ὁ θεός,  
 ἀλλὰ δίδωσι χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 σφάλματος ἴασίν τε καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν.

- 107 XXXV. “Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄφει  
 Ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ  
 ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς” (Gen. iii. 14).  
 ὡσπερ ἡ χαρὰ εὐπάθεια οὐσα εὐχῆς ἐστὶν ἐπαξία,  
 οὕτως κατάρως ἡδονή, τὸ πάθος, ἡ μεταθεῖσα  
 τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατασκευάσασα αὐτὴν  
 [109] ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου | φιλοπαθῆ· φησὶ δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐν  
 ταῖς ἀραῖς, ἐπικατάρατον εἶναι τὸν μετατιθέντα  
 τὰ ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον (Deut. xxvii. 17)· ὄρον γὰρ  
 ἔθηκε καὶ νόμον ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῇ ψυχῇ, τὸ  
 τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον· τοῦτον δὲ μετατέθεικεν <ὁ>  
 108 πῆξας ὄρον κακίαν, ξύλον θανάτου. “ἐπικατ-  
 άρατος μέντοι καὶ ὁ πλανῶν τυφλὸν ἐν ὁδῷ”  
 (Deut. xxvii. 18), “καὶ ὁ τύπτων τὸν πλησίον  
 δόλω” (ib. 24). καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἐργάζεται ἡ  
 ἀθεωτάτη ἡδονή· τυφλὸν γὰρ φύσει ἡ αἰσθησις

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. II., App. p. 495, note on *Quod et.* 120.

are those that sin. But here too observe the goodness of Him who is. The treasury of good things He opens, those of evil things He closes. For it is God's property to hold out good things and to be beforehand in bestowing them, but to be slow to inflict evil things. But Moses, magnifying God's love of giving gifts and granting favours, says that the treasuries of evil things are sealed up not only at other times, but also when the soul fails to direct its steps in keeping with the right principle; and yet then it might justly have been deemed worthy of punishment. For he says that the treasuries of evil things were sealed in the day of vengeance, the sacred word thus showing that not even against those who sin will God proceed at once, but gives time for repentance and for the healing and setting on his feet again of him who had slipped.

XXXV. "And the Lord God said to the serpent, Cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth" (Gen. iii. 14). Just as joy, being a good condition of soul,<sup>a</sup> deserves prayer, so pleasure, the passion *par excellence*, deserves cursing; it shifts the standards of the soul and renders it a lover of passion instead of a lover of virtue:—"Accursed," says Moses in the Curses, "is he who removes his neighbour's landmarks" (Deut. xxvii. 17):—for God set as a landmark and law for the soul virtue, the tree of life. This is removed by the man who has fixed as landmark in its stead wickedness, the tree of death. "Cursed again is he who causes a blind man to go astray in the way" (Deut. xxvii. 18), "and he that smiteth his neighbour craftily" (*ibid.* 24). And these also are acts of pleasure, the utterly godless one; for sense by itself

## PHILO

- ἄτε ἄλογος οὔσα, ἐπεὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐξομματοῦται παρὸ καὶ μόνῳ τούτῳ τὰ πράγματα καταλαμβάνομεν, αἰσθήσει δ' οὐκέτι, μόνα γὰρ τὰ σώματα
- 109 φαντασιούμεθα δι' αἰσθήσεως. τὴν οὖν πηρὰν αἴσθησιν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλήψεως ἐξηπάτηκεν, εἴ γε δυναμένην ἐπὶ νοῦν τρέπεσθαι καὶ ἠνιοχεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκώλυκεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ λίχνον αὐτὴν ἀπεργασαμένη τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ποιητικοῦ, ἵνα ἢ μὲν αἴσθησις πηρὸς οὔσα ἀκολουθῇ τυφλῷ ποδηγῷ τῷ αἰσθητῷ, ὃ δὲ νοῦς, ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ποδηγούμενος οὐ βλεπόντων, ἐκτραχηλίζεται καὶ ἀκρατῆς ἑαυτοῦ γίνηται.
- 110 εἰ γὰρ τις ἦν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία, τῷ βλέποντι λογισμῷ τὰ πηρὰ ἐχρῆν ἔπεσθαι, οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τὰ βλαβερὰ ἐπεκουφίζετο· νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἔστησε μηχανήματα κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτὴν χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς ἠνάγκασε, παρακρουσαμένη καὶ ἀναπέισασα κακῶν ἀρετὴν ἀλλάξει καὶ ἀντιδοῦναι πονηρῶν ἀκακίαν. XXXVI. ἀπείρηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀντίδοσιν ὃ ἱερός λόγος, ὅταν φῆ· “οὐκ ἀλλάξεις καλὸν πονηρῷ” (Lev.
- 111 xxvii. 33). ἐπικατάρατος δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἢ ἡδονή. ἃ δὲ καταρᾶται αὐτῇ, ἴδωμεν ὡς προσφυᾶ. ἀπὸ πάντων φησὶ τῶν κτηνῶν ἐπάρατον εἶναι (Gen. iii. 14). οὐκοῦν κτηνῶδες μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄλογον καὶ αἰσθητικόν, ἐκάστη δὲ αἰσθησις

is a blind thing, inasmuch as it is irrational, for it is the reasoning faculty that confers sight. Accordingly it is with the reason only that we apprehend matters; sense does not carry us so far; for by means of sense we gain impressions only of the material forms of things. Pleasure, then, has cheated poor maimed sense of the power of apprehending matters, inasmuch as, when it could have had recourse to mind and have secured it for its charioteer, it has prevented it, leading it to what can be perceived externally only, and by giving it a craving for that which produces pleasure, to the end that sense, being a maimed thing, may follow a blind guide, namely that which sense can perceive, and that the mind, led by this pair of blind guides, may be brought to the ground and robbed of self-control. For if there had been any correspondence with what nature prescribes, it would have been incumbent upon the maimed faculties to follow the reasoning faculty which has eyes, for in this way the damage incurred would have been diminished. As it is, pleasure has organized such a shrewd device against the soul, that it has compelled it to employ blind guides, inducing it by delusive wiles to change virtue for evil things, and to surrender its innocence and receive wickedness in lieu of it. Such an exchange too is forbidden by the holy word, when it says, "Thou shalt not change good with evil" (Lev. xxvii. 33).

Accursed on these grounds is pleasure. Let us see how appropriate the curses are which He pronounces upon it. He says that it is cursed from all cattle (Gen. iii. 14). Our irrational faculty of sense-perception, then, is of the cattle kind, and each of our senses curses

## PHILO

- ἡδονῇ καταρᾶται ὡς πολεμιωτάτῃ καὶ ἐχθίστῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι πολέμιος αἰσθήσει· τεκμήριον δέ, ὅταν ἡδονῆς ἀμέτρου κορεσθῶμεν, οὐθ' ὄραν οὐτ' ἀκούειν οὐτ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι οὔτε γεύεσθαι οὐθ' ἄπτεσθαι εἰλικρινῶς δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀμυδρὰς
- 112 καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ποιούμεθα τὰς προσβολάς. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὅταν ἐπίσχωμεν τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, πάσχομεν· ἐν αὐταῖς δ' ὄντες ταῖς τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύσεις κατὰ τὸ παντελές καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν συνεργουσῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀντίληψιν ἀφαιρούμεθα, ὡς δοκεῖν πεπηρῶσθαι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως
- 113 ἀρὰς θεῖτο αἰσθησις τῇ πηρούσῃ αὐτὴν ἡδονῇ;
- [110] XXXVII. | ἐπικατάρατος δέ ἐστι καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία, λέγω δὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τούτους γὰρ νοῦς τιτρώσκεται καὶ διαφθείρεται. διὰ τί οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν χεῖρων εἶναι δοκεῖ; ὅτι σχεδὸν ὑποβέβληται πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ τις ἀρχὴ καὶ θεμέλιος· ἢ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία γέγονε δι' ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς, ἢ τε λύπη συνίσταται κατὰ τὴν ταύτης ἀφαίρεσιν, φόβος τε αὐτῆς γεννᾶται δι' εὐλάβειαν ἀπουσίας αὐτῆς· ὥστε δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἐφορμεῖ τὰ πάθη τῇ ἡδονῇ, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν συνέστη τὸ παράπαν ἴσως ἐκεῖνα, εἰ μὴ προκατεβλήθη τὸ οἰστικὸν αὐτῶν ἡδονῇ.
- 114 XXXVIII. “Ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ” (Gen. iii. 14). περὶ γὰρ ταῦτα φωλεύει τὰ μέρη τὸ πάθος, τὰ τε στέρνα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα, ὅταν μὲν ἔχῃ τὰ ποιητικὰ καὶ τὰς ὕλας ἢ ἡδονῇ, περὶ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτήν, ὅταν <δ> ἀπορῇ, περὶ τὰ στήθη, ὅπου ὁ θυμός· οἱ γὰρ

pleasure as a most deadly enemy : for it is in very deed hostile to sense, as is proved by the fact that, when we have glutted ourselves with immoderate pleasure, we cannot see nor hear nor smell nor taste nor feel with clearness, but our contact with objects of sense is dim and feeble. This is what we experience when we have ceased from indulging in pleasure ; but when we are in the very midst of the enjoyments it affords, we find ourselves utterly deprived of the support that we obtain through the co-operation of the senses, to such an extent that we seem to have been maimed. How, then, should not sense rightly lay curses on pleasure that maims it ? XXXVII. It is cursed also beyond all the wild beasts. By these I mean the passions of the soul, for by these the mind is wounded and destroyed, Why, then, is it accounted worse than the other passions ? Because it is, we may say, at the bottom of them all, like a kind of starting-point and foundation. Lust comes into play through love of pleasure ; pain arises as pleasure is withdrawn ; fear again is engendered owing to a dread of being without pleasure. It is clear, then, that all the passions depend on pleasure, and these would perchance never have taken shape at all, if first there had not been deposited that which is productive of them, pleasure.

XXXVIII. " On thy breast and belly shalt thou go " (Gen. iii. 14). For passion has its lair in these parts of the body, the breast and the belly. When pleasure has the materials it needs to produce it, it haunts the belly and the parts below it. But when it is at a loss for these materials, it occupies the breast where wrath is ; for lovers of pleasure when

## PHILO

φιλήδονοι στερόμενοι τῶν ἡδονῶν ὀργίζονται καὶ  
 115 παραπικραίνονται. ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἴδωμεν τὸ  
 δηλούμενον. τριμερῆ συμβέβηκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν  
 εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν μέρος μὲν ἐν λογιστικόν, δεύτερον  
 δὲ θυμικόν, τρίτον δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν. ἔνιοι μὲν  
 οὖν τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰ μέρη ταῦτα δυνάμει μόνον  
 διέκριναν ἀλλήλων, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τόποις· εἶτα  
 ἔνειμαν τῷ μὲν λογιστικῷ τὸν περὶ κεφαλὴν χῶρον  
 εἰπόντες, ὅπου ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι,  
 δορυφόροι δὲ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τοῦ νοῦ περὶ κεφαλὴν  
 οὔσαι, ὥστε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη ἂν ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ  
 ἄκραν ἐν πόλει λαχὼν οἰκεῖν, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ τὰ  
 στέρνα, παρὸ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀχυρῶσαι τὸ μέρος  
 πυκνότητι καὶ κραταιότητι συνεχῶν ὀστέων ὥσπερ  
 στρατιώτην ἀγαθὸν καθοπλίσασαν θώρακι καὶ  
 ἀσπίδι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἄμυναν, τῷ  
 δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ τὸν περὶ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν  
 τόπον, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ κατοικεῖ ἐπιθυμία, ὄρεξις  
 116 ἄλογος.

XXXIX. ἐὰν οὖν ποτε ζητῆς,  
 ὧ διάνοια, τίνα χῶρον ἡδονὴ κεκλήρωται, μὴ  
 σκέπτου τὸν περὶ κεφαλὴν τόπον, ὅπου τὸ λογι-  
 στικόν, οὐ γὰρ μὴ εὐρήσεις, ἐπεὶ μάχεται ὁ λόγος  
 τῷ πάθει καὶ ἐν ταῦτῳ μένειν οὐ δύναται· κρατοῦν-  
 τος μὲν γὰρ λόγου φρουρὸς ἢ ἡδονή, νικώσης δὲ  
 ἡδονῆς φυγὰς ὁ λόγος· ζήτει δ' ἐν στήθει καὶ  
 κοιλίᾳ, ὅπου ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, μέρη τοῦ  
 ἀλόγου· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἢ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 478, note on *L.A.* i. 70.



deprived of their pleasures grow bitter and angry. Let us look still more carefully at the thing signified. Our soul consists of three parts, and has one part given to reasoning, a second to high spirit, a third to desire. Some philosophers<sup>a</sup> have distinguished these parts from each other in regard to function, some in regard also to the places which they occupy. These have gone on to assign to the reasoning part the region of the head, saying that, where the king is, there are also his bodyguards, and that the senses which are in the region of the head are bodyguards of the mind, and that it follows that the king must be there too, having had it allotted to him, like a castle in a city, for his dwelling. To the spirited part they assign the breast, pointing out that nature has given that part firmness by means of a strong and solid array of continuous bones, as though she were arming a good soldier with shield and breastplate for defence against opponents. To the lustful portion of the soul they assign the quarter about the abdomen and the belly, for there it is that lust, irrational craving, has its abode.

XXXIX. If, therefore, O mind, thou art ever inquiring what quarter pleasure has for her portion, do not consider the place occupied by the head, where the reasoning faculty resides, for thou wilt assuredly not find it there, since reason is at war with passion, and cannot remain in the same place with it. For when reason prevails pleasure is gone, and when pleasure conquers, reason is an exile. But look for it in the breast and belly, where high spirit and desire are, portions of the irrational: for in the irrational is to be found alike our faculty of

PHILO

- 117 ἡμετέρα καὶ τὰ πάθη. οὐ κεκώλυται οὖν νοῦς ἐκβὰς τῶν νοητῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἐπιβολῶν ἐκδοθῆναι τῷ χεῖρονι· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει, ὅταν ὁ ψυχῆς κρατήση πόλεμος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ δορυάλωτον
- [111] γίνεσθαι τὸν μὴ μάχιμον | ἀλλ' εἰρηναῖον [τὸν] ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμόν.
- 118 XL. Εἰδὼς γοῦν ὁ ἱερός λόγος ὅσον ἢ ἐκατέρου δύναται ὀρμὴ πάθους, θυμοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, ἐκάτερον ἐπιστομίζει, ἡνίοχον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφιστὰς τὸν λόγον. καὶ πρότερον περὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν καὶ ἰώμενος, διαλέγεται οὕτως·
- 119 “ καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῶν κρίσεων τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους Ἰσαράων, ὅταν εἰσέρχηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐναντίον κυρίου ” (Exod. xxviii. 30). λόγιον οὖν ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον, ὅπερ ἔστιν ὁ γεγωνῶς λόγος· οὗτος δὲ ἢ ἀκριτόμυθος ἔστι καὶ ἀδόκιμος ἢ κεκριμένος καὶ δόκιμος· εἰς ἔννοιαν δ' ἡμᾶς ἄγει λόγου τοῦ κατὰ διάκρισιν· τὸ γὰρ λόγιόν φησιν οὐ τὸ ἄκριτον ἢ κίβδηλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν κρίσεων, ἴσον τῷ διακεκριμένον καὶ ἐξητασμένον.
- 120 τούτου δὲ τοῦ δοκίμου λόγου δύο ἀρετὰς φησιν εἶναι τὰς ἀνωτάτω, σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα, καὶ πάνυ ὀρθῶς· ὁ γὰρ λόγος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρήκε τοῦ σαφῆ ποιῆσαι καὶ δῆλα τὰ πράγματα τῷ πλησίον, μὴ δυνηθέντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἐγγενόμενον τῇ

<sup>a</sup> By emphasizing “our” Philo perhaps means that the faculties of the Soul of the Universe are not hampered, as are ours, in choosing what course to take, by desire or ambition or shrinking from pain. Plutarch says that in face of the fact that human faculties are thus hampered, some philosophers said that our *πάθη* are *λόγοι* or *κρίσεις*, i.e. exercises of reason in choosing; while others said that every virtue has in it an

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 117-120

choice <sup>a</sup> and the passions. Well, there is nothing to prevent the mind from going out from the purely intellectual interests which are proper to it and giving itself up to its inferior. This happens when war prevails in the soul; <sup>b</sup> for then reason, that is in us not as a combative but as a peaceful inmate, cannot fail to become a prisoner of war.

XL. For look now: the Sacred Word knowing how strong is the impulse of either passion, of both high spirit and lust, puts a curb on each of them, by setting over them reason as a charioteer and pilot. And in the first place this is how it discourses concerning high spirit, aiming at curing and healing it: "And thou shalt put on to the oracle of the judgements the Showing and the Truth, and it shall be upon Aaron's breast, whenever he enters into the Holy Place before the Lord" (Exod. xxviii. 30). The "oracle," then, is in us the organ of speech, which is the uttered word: and this may either be rejected as spoken at random or may be approved as well-judged: but the sacred writer is leading us to think of the word spoken with judgement and discernment; for he tells us that the oracle is not the untested or counterfeit one, but "the oracle of the judgements," an expression tantamount to "well tested and examined." To this approved word he says that the two virtues belong, the highest possible, clearness and truthfulness. Quite rightly does he say so. For reason at the outset fell short of making matters clear and evident to another, since we have no power to exhibit the affection called out in the element of fear, or desire for pleasure or for gain. See Plutarch, *De Animæ Procreatione in Timæo*, 26 (=ii. 1025 D).

<sup>b</sup> Literally "when the soul's war shall have prevailed" (over peace).

## PHILO

- ψυχῇ πάθος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπιδείξασθαι οὐδ' οἶον ἦν παραστῆσαι· **XLI.** διόπερ ἠναγκάσθημεν ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὰ διὰ φωνῆς σύμβολα, ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ἃ δεῖ πάντως εἶναι γνώριμα, ἵνα σαφῶς καὶ ἐκδήλως ὁ πλησίον ἐκλάβηται· ἔπειτα τοῦ
- 121** ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· τί γὰρ ὄφελος τρανῆν μὲν καὶ σαφῆ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ποιεῖσθαι, ψευδῆ δὲ ἄλλως; ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὕτως ἐχόντων ἀπατᾶσθαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ μεγίστην καρποῦσθαι συμφορὰν, μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἀπαιδευσίαν· τί γάρ, ἂν λέγω τῷ παιδὶ τρανῶς καὶ σαφῶς δεῖξας τὸ ἄλφα στοιχείον ὅτι ἐστὶ γάμμα ἢ τὸ ἦτα ὅτι ἐστὶν ᾠ; ἢ ὁ μουσικὸς λέγῃ τῷ πρῶτα εἰσαγομένῳ δεικνὺς τὸ ἐναρμόνιον ὅτι χρωμά ἐστίν, ἢ τὸ χρωματικὸν ὅτι διατονικόν, ἢ τὴν ὑπάτην ὅτι μέση, ἢ τὸ συνημμένον ὅτι διεζευγμένον, ἢ τὴν ὑπερβολαίαν ὅτι
- 122** προσλαμβανόμενος; τρανῶς μὲν ἴσως καὶ σαφῶς ἐρεῖ, οὐκ ἀληθῶς δέ, ἀλλὰ ταύτη κακίαν ἐργάσεται τὴν ἐν λόγῳ· ὅταν δὲ ἀμφότερα καὶ σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα ποιῆται, ὠφέλιμον παρέξει τῷ μανθάνοντι τὸν λόγον, χρησάμενος ταῖς δυσὶν ἀρεταῖς αὐτοῦ, ἃς καὶ μόνας σχεδὸν εἶναι συμβέβηκέ που.
- 123** **XLII.** Φησὶν οὖν ἰδρῦσθαι τὸν κεκριμένον λόγον ἔχοντα τὰς ἰδίας ἀρετὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους δηλονότι Ἄαρών, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἵν' οὗτος ἠνιοχῆται λόγῳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ

\* Or "which need to be thoroughly known."

soul by external things nor to convey an idea of its character. XLI. Wherefore we were compelled to resort to signs given by means of the voice, nouns and verbs, which cannot fail to be intelligible,<sup>a</sup> that the other may get a clear and unmistakable idea of our meaning. (This was reason's first inadequacy.) In the second place, it was inadequate to report things truly. For what is the good of giving a clear and distinct expression, if it be in other respects false? For under these circumstances the hearer must needs be deceived and incur a very great misfortune, being not merely ignorant but ill-taught into the bargain. For what if, pointing to the letter alpha I say to the boy clearly and distinctly that it is gamma, or to eta and tell him that it is omega? Or what if the music-master tells the beginner as he points to the enharmonic genus that it is the chromatic, or says of the chromatic that it is the diatonic, or of the note on the highest string that it is the central, or of the conjunct that it is the disjunct tetrachord, or of the highest tone in the tetrachord scale that it is the lowest? He will speak clearly and distinctly, it may be, but not truly. But in this way he will be a doer of evil—of the evil that belongs to speech. But when he attains both of these requisites, both clearness and truthfulness, he will render the word beneficial to the pupil, bringing into play its two virtues, perhaps the only virtues indeed which it possesses.

XLII. It says, then, that the tested word, having the virtues which are peculiarly its own, was enthroned upon the breast (Aaron's namely), that is, upon the spirited element, that this might first of all be guided by reason, and not injured by its own

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ἀλογίας βλάβπηται, εἶτα δὲ σαφηνεῖα, οὐ πέφυκε  
 [112] γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς σαφηνεῖας εἶναι φίλος· τῶν | γούν  
 ὀργιζομένων οὐ μόνον ἢ διάνοια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ  
 ῥήματα παραχῆς καὶ συγχύσεως γέμει· οἰκείον  
 οὖν ἦν τὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀσάφειαν ἐπανορθωθῆναι  
 124 σαφηνεῖα· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀληθότητι, μετὰ γὰρ τῶν  
 ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο ἔχει ὁ θυμὸς ἴδιον, τὸ ψεύδεσθαι·  
 τῶν γούν χρωμένων τῷ πάθει τούτῳ σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς  
 ἀληθεύει, ἅτε μέθη κεκρατημένος ψυχῆς, οὐ σώ-  
 ματος· ταῦτα ἀλεξιφάρμακα τοῦ θυμικοῦ μέρος  
 ἐστί· λόγος, σαφήνεια λόγου, ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ· ἐν  
 γὰρ ἐστί δυνάμει τὰ τρία, λόγος σὺν ἀρεταῖς  
 ἀληθότητι καὶ σαφηνεῖα θυμὸν νόσημα χαλεπὸν  
 ψυχῆς ἰώμενος.

125 XLIII. Τίνος οὖν ἐστί φέρειν ταῦτα; οὐχὶ τῆς  
 ἐμῆς ἢ τῆς <τοῦ> τυχόντος διανοίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς  
 ἱερωμένης καὶ θουούσης καθαρῶς, τῆς Ἀαρών·  
 καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης αἰεί, πολλάκις γὰρ τρέπεται, ἀλλ'  
 ὅταν ἀτρέπτως διάγη, ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ  
 ἅγιον, ὅταν συνεισπορεύηται ὁ λογισμὸς ταῖς  
 ἀγίαις γνώμαις καὶ μὴ τούτων ἀποδιδράσκη.

126 ἀλλὰ πολλάκις συνεισέρχεται μὲν ὁ νοῦς εἰς ἱεράς  
 καὶ ὀσίους καὶ κεκαθαρμένας δόξας, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρω-  
 πείους ταύτας, οἷον τὰς περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων,  
 τὰς περὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τὰς περὶ τῶν θέσει  
 νομίμων, τὰς περὶ τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῆς·  
 οὐδ' ὁ τοῦτον διακεείμενος τὸν τρόπον ἰκανός ἐστί

irrationality ; in the next place by clearness, for it is not the nature of anger to be a friend of clearness. Do we not see in those who are enraged how not their understanding only but their words also are full of disturbance and confusion ? It was appropriate therefore that anger's lack of clearness should be set right again by clearness. It must be guided in the third place by truthfulness, for together with its other faults anger has this one also as peculiarly its own, that of lying. As a matter of experience, of those who give way to this passion, hardly one speaks the truth. They are victims of an intoxication not of body but of soul. These are antidotes for the region of anger ; reason, clearness of speech, truth of speech. For the three are virtually one, since reason, accompanied by the two virtues of truthfulness and distinctness, acts as a healer of anger, that sore sickness of the soul.

XLIII. To whom, then, does it pertain to bear these ? Not to my understanding or to that of any chance comer, but to that which exercises its priesthood and offers sacrifices in purity, that of Aaron, and not even to this always, for many a time it turns and fails, but when it continues free from turning, when it enters into the Holy Place, when the reasoning faculty enters in together with holy resolves and does not abandon these. But full often does the mind enter with these into sacred and holy and purified opinions, but these are mere human opinions, as for instance those concerning simple duties, those concerning high-standard actions, those concerning usages resting on human enactment, those concerning virtue conforming to human standards. Not even he who is in such case as this

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τὸ λόγιον φέρειν ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους μετὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὁ ἐναντίον κυρίου εἰσιών, τουτέστιν ὁ ἕνεκα θεοῦ πάντα πράττων καὶ μηδὲν τῶν μετὰ θεὸν ὑπερτιμῶν, ἀλλὰ νέμων μὲν καὶ τούτοις τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν, μὴ ἰστάμενος μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνατρέχων ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐπι-

127 στήμην καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ἐνός· τῷ γὰρ οὕτως διακειμένῳ ἡνιοχηθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς ὑπὸ τε λόγου κεκαθαυμένου τὸ ἄλογον αὐτοῦ περιαιρουίντος καὶ ὑπὸ σαφηνείας τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ συγκεχυμένον θεραπευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ ἀληθότητος τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπο-

128 κοπτούσης. XLIV. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀαρῶν—δεύτερος γὰρ ἐστὶ Μωυσῆ ἐκτέμνοντος τὸ στήθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸν θυμόν—οὐκ ἔα αὐτὸν ἀκρίτοις ὄρμαῖς ἐκφέρεσθαι, δεδιὼς μὴ ποτε ἀφεθεῖς ἵππου τρόπον ἀνασκιρτήσας ὄλην πατήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύει καὶ ἐπιστομίζει τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγῳ, ἵνα ἡνιόχῳ χρώμενος ἀρίστῳ μὴ σφόδρα ἀφηνιάσῃ, ἔπειτα δὲ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ λόγου, σαφηνεῖα καὶ ἀληθεία· εἰ γὰρ παιδευθεῖη ὁ θυμὸς οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ λόγῳ εἴκειν καὶ σαφηνεῖα καὶ τὸ ἀψευδὲς ἀσκεῖν, ἑαυτὸν τε τῆς πολλῆς ζέσεως ἀπαλλάξει τὴν θ' ὄλην ψυχὴν ἴλεων κατασκευάσει.

129 XLV. Ἄλλ' οὗτος μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχων τὸ πάθος ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸ πειράται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι σωτηρίοις φαρ-  
[113] μάκοις, Μωυσῆς δὲ ὅλον τὸν | θυμόν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ ἀποκόπτειν οἶεται δεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ μετριοπάθειαν ἀλλὰ συνόλως ἀπάθειαν ἀγαπῶν. μαρτυρεῖ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.



is sufficient to bear the oracle upon his breast with the virtues that belong to it, but he only who goes in in the sight of the Lord, that is he who does all things for God's sake, and overvalues none of the things that are of less importance than God, but accords to these also all they deserve, not, however, stopping at them, but mounting up in the endeavour to acquaint himself with and know and honour the One. For he who is in this case will have his spirited element charioteered by purified reason, which will abolish all that is irrational in him, and by clearness, which will heal all that is uncertain and confused, and by truthfulness, which will eliminate falsehood. XLIV. Aaron, then, being inferior to Moses who cuts the breast, that is the spirited element, clean out—suffers it not to be carried away by random impulses, for he is afraid that, if it be given the rein, it may some day get unmanageable, as a horse does, and trample down all the soul. No, he curbs and controls it, first by reason, that being driven by an excellent charioteer it may not get too restive ; next he employs the virtues of speech, distinctness, and truth. For if high spirit be trained in this manner, so as to yield to reason and distinctness, and also to exercise itself in eschewing falsehood, it will not only rid itself of much ferment, but will render the whole soul gentle.

XLV. Well, Aaron, as I have said, having this passion, attempts to cure it by the saving medicines that have been mentioned. Moses, on the other hand, thinks it necessary to use the knife on the seat of anger in its entirety, and to cut it clean out of the soul, for no moderation of passion <sup>a</sup> can satisfy him ; he is content with nothing but complete

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δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ ὁ ἱερώτατος χρησμός· “ λαβὼν ” γάρ φησι “ Μωυσῆς τὸ στηθύμιον ἀφείλεν αὐτὸ ἐπίθεμα ἐναντίον κυρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως, καὶ ἐγένετο Μωυσεὶ ἐν μερίδι ” (Lev. viii. 130 29)· πάνυ καλῶς· τοῦ γὰρ φιλαρέτου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἔργον ἦν τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν θεασάμενον λαβέσθαι τοῦ στηθους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ ἀφελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκόψαι, ἵνα τοῦ πολεμικοῦ μέρους ἐκτμηθέντος εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν ἄγῃ. ἀφαιρεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος ζώου, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως, καίτοι καὶ μόσχος ἱεουργήθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν κριὸν ἦλθε, διότι κρουστικὸν φύσει ζῷον ἐστὶ καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ ὀρμητικόν, παρὸ καὶ οἱ μηχανοποιοὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πο- 131 λεμιστηρίων ὀργάνων κριοὺς κατασκευάζουσι. τὸ κριῶδες οὖν καὶ ὀρμητικὸν καὶ ἄκριτον ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐριστικὸν εἶδος· ἔρις δὲ μήτηρ ἐστὶ θυμοῦ· παρὸ καὶ οἱ φιλονεικότεροι ἐν τε ταῖς συζητήσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὀμιλίαις ῥᾶστα ὀργίζονται. τῆς οὖν ἐριστικῆς καὶ φιλονείκου ψυχῆς πλημμελὲς γέννημα θυμὸν ἐκτέμνει δεόντως, ἵνα στερωθεῖσα παύσῃται βλαβερὰ τίκτουσα καὶ γένηται μερὶς τοῦτο ἀρμόζουσα τῷ φιλαρέτῳ, οὐ τὸ στηθός οὐδ’ ὁ θυμός, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀφελεῖν αὐτά· μοῖραν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐνεμεν ἀρίστην τῷ σοφῷ τὸ ἐκτέμνειν τὰ πάθη δύνασθαι. ὀρᾶς πῶς ὁ τέλειος τελείαν ἀπάθειαν

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<sup>a</sup> Philo perhaps wrote κριοῖς. That battering-rams were “adorned with” a ram’s head may be seen in the illustration in Seyffert’s *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 64 a.

absence of passion. That what I say is true Holy Writ testifies : for it says, " Moses took the breast and removed it as a crowning offering before the Lord from the ram of consecration and it became Moses' portion " (Lev. viii. 29). Very good ; for it was the business of the man who loved virtue and was beloved of God, when he had contemplated the entire soul, to seize the breast, which is the spirited element, and to cut it off and take it away, in order that, through the excision of the warlike part, the remainder might have peace. He removes it, not from this or that animal, as it may happen, but from the ram of consecration, although there was a heifer offered too. But he passed this by and went to the ram, because it is a creature naturally prone to butt, owing to its being full of spirit and ready for the fray. It is owing to this that engineers make most of the engines of war in the shape of rams.<sup>a</sup> The part of us, then, that resembles a ram in his reckless readiness for a fight is the wrangling species ; and wrangling is the mother of anger ; accordingly it is those who contend most eagerly in debates and other gatherings that most easily lose their tempers. So Moses cuts out, as he needs must, anger, discordant offspring of the soul that loves wrangling and contention. He does this that she may be rendered barren, and cease bearing hurtful progeny, and that *this* may become a portion befitting the lover of virtue, not the breast nor the seat of high spirit, but the removal of these : for God assigned to the wise man a share of surpassing excellence, even the power to cut out the passions. You observe how the perfect man always makes perfect freedom from passion his study. But Aaron,

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- 132 αἰεὶ μελετᾷ. ἀλλ' ὁ γε προκόπτων δεύτερος ὢν Ἰσαρῶν μετριοπάθειαν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀσκεῖ, ἐκτεμεῖν γὰρ ἔτι τὸ στήθος καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀδυνατεῖ· φέρει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἡνίοχον σὺν ταῖς προσφυέσιν ἀρεταῖς λόγον, τὸ λόγιον, ἐφ' οὗ δῆλωσις ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλήθεια.
- 133 XLVI. Παραστήσει δὲ σαφέστερον τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ διὰ τούτου· “ τὸ γὰρ στηθύμιον ” φησὶ “ τοῦ ἐπιθέματος καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τοῦ ἀφαιρέματος εἴληφα παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ σωτηρίου ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὰ Ἰσαρῶν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ” (Lev. vii. 34). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν οὗτοι ἱκανοὶ τὸ στήθος μόνον λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ βραχίονι, Μωυσῆς δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ βραχίονος. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τέλειος ὢν βραχὺ καὶ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν φρονεῖ οὐδὲ μετριοπαθεῖν βούλεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιουσίας ὅλα τὰ πάθη δι' ὅλων ἀπέκοψεν, οἱ δὲ βραχέως καὶ οὐ μεγάλως ὀρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν παθῶν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καταλλάττονται καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς
- [114] αὐτὰ τίθενται τὸν συμβατήριον λόγον | προτείνοντες, ἵν' οὗτος ἡνίοχου τρόπον ἐπιστομίζῃ τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον
- 135 αὐτῶν φοράν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ὁ βραχίων πόνου καὶ κακοπαθείας· τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁ θεραπευτῆς καὶ λειτουργὸς τῶν ἀγίων, ἀσκήσει καὶ πόνῳ χρώμενος· ἄπρονος δ' ἐστὶν ὃ ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τέλεια· βραχύτερος δ' εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἀτελέστερος ὁ πόνῳ κτώμενος τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀπόνως καὶ εὐμαρῶς αὐτὴν παρὰ θεοῦ λαβόντος Μωυσῆ· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ πονεῖν βραχύ-
- 390

the man who is making gradual progress, holding a lower position, practises moderation, as I have said ; for his power does not go so far as to enable him to cut out the breast and the high-spirited element, but he brings to it, as charioteer and guide, reason with the virtues attached to it, and this is the oracle on which is Clear-showing and Truth.

XLVI. But he shall bring out the difference more clearly by means of the following words : “ The breast of the offering put on, and the shoulder of the part removed, I have taken at the hands of the children of Israel from the sacrifices of your salvation, and have given to Aaron and his sons ” (Lev. vii. 34). You see that these are not capable of taking the breast by itself, but must take it with the shoulder, whereas Moses takes it without the shoulder. Why is this ? Because he, being perfect, has no small or petty aims, nor any desire to moderate his passions, but goes so far as to cut off all passions everywhere ; while those others set out to wage war on the passions on an insignificant, not on a grand, scale, but seek to come to terms and arrange a truce with them, putting forward the word of pacification, that this like a charioteer may curb their excessive impetuosity. Furthermore the shoulder is a symbol of toil and hardship ; and this is the character of him who attends to and ministers in holy things, subject to toil and discipline. But the man on whom God bestows in overflowing measure his good things in perfection is free from toil. He who acquires virtue by toil is found to come short of full achievement, as compared with Moses, who received it easily and without toil from the hands of God. For, as toiling itself falls short of the toilless achieve-

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- τερον καὶ ἔλαττόν ἐστι τοῦ ἀπόνου, οὕτω καὶ το ἀτελὲς τοῦ τελείου καὶ τὸ μανθάνον τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς. διὰ τοῦτο σὺν μὲν βραχίονι λαμβάνει τὸ στήθος
- 136 Ἄαρών, ἄνευ δὲ βραχίονος Μωυσῆς. τὸ στηθύνιον δὲ ἐπιθέματος καλεῖ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐπικεῖσθαι δεῖ τῷ θυμῷ καὶ ἐφιδρῦσθαι τὸν λόγον ὡσανεὶ τινα ἡνίοχον εὐθύνοντα σκληραύχενα καὶ ἀφηνιαστὴν ἵππον· τὸν δὲ βραχίονα οὐκέτι ἐπιθέματος ἀλλ' ἀφαιρέματος διὰ τόδε, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς πόνον μὴ ἑαυτῇ προσάγειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' ἀφελεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ θεῷ ἀνενεγκεῖν, ὁμολογοῦσαν ὅτι οὐχ ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ἡ δύναμις περιεποίησε τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὰ ὁ καὶ
- 137 τὸν ἔρωτα χαρισάμενος. οὔτε δὲ στηθύνιον οὔτε ὁ βραχίον λαμβάνεται πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ σωτηρίου· κατὰ τὸ εἰκός· τότε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σῶζεται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἡνιοχηθῇ ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ ὁ πόνος μὴ οἴησιν ἐγκατασκευάσῃ ἀλλὰ παραχώρησιν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ.
- 138 XLVII. Τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύεσθαι τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶπομεν ἤδη, οἰκειότατον δηλοῦντες ἡδονῇ χωρίον τὴν γαστέρα, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀγγεῖον τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀπασῶν αὕτη ἐστὶ· πληρωθείσης γὰρ τῆς γαστρὸς ὀρέξεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν γίνονται σύντονοι, κενωθείσης δὲ
- 139 ἡρεμαῖαι καὶ σταθηρότεραι. διὸ καὶ φησιν ἐτέρωθι·

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\* *i.e.*, taught directly by God or by Virtue's self.

ment and is inferior to it, so does the imperfect fall short of the perfect, and that which learns of that which is self-taught.<sup>a</sup> This is why Aaron takes the breast with the shoulder, but Moses without the shoulder. The reason why he calls it the breast of "the special offering put on" is that it is necessary that the reason should be put and set firmly on the seat of anger, as though it were a kind of charioteer keeping straight a stiff-necked and restive horse. But when he comes to the shoulder he speaks of it not as in the case of the breast, as belonging to "the offering put on," but as belonging to "that which was removed." The reason he does so is this. It is necessary that the soul should not ascribe to itself its toil for virtue, but that it should take it away from itself and refer it to God, confessing that not its own strength or power acquired nobility, but He who freely bestowed also the love of it. Neither breast nor shoulder is taken except from the sacrifice of salvation. That is fitting. For only then does the soul begin to be saved, when the seat of anger has received reason as its charioteer, and toil has come to create in it, not self-satisfaction, but a readiness to yield the honour to God, the Bestower of the boon.

XLVII. We have already mentioned that pleasure goes not only on its breast but also on its belly, and pointed out that the stomach is a place most appropriate to pleasure, for we may almost describe it as a reservoir of all the pleasures. For when the belly has been filled, cravings after the other pleasures also become vehement, but when it has been emptied, these are quieted and become more still. And so the prophet says in another passage, "Whatsoever

## PHILO

“ πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ κοιλία καὶ πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διὰ παντός, ὃς πολυπληθεὶ ποσίν, ἀκάθαρτός ἐστι ” (Lev. xi. 42). τοιοῦτος δ’ ὁ φιλήδονος αἰὲ χωρῶν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταύτην ἡδονάς. τῷ δὲ ἔρποντι ἐπὶ κοιλίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τεσσάρων βαδίζοντα ἤνωκεν· εἰκότως· τέτταρα γάρ ἐστι τὰ πάθη τῶν ἐν ἡδονῇ, ὡς τις κατ’ ἐξαιρέτον λόγος μέμνηται. ἀκάθαρτος οὖν καὶ ὁ τῷ ἐνὶ χρώμενος τῇ ἡδονῇ καὶ ὁ πᾶσιν ἐφορμῶν τοῖς τέσσαρασι.

- 140 Τούτων εἰρημένων ἴδε διαφορὰν πάλιν τελείου καὶ προκόπτοντος. ὥσπερ οὖν πρότερον εὐρίσκετο ὁ μὲν τέλειος ὄλον ἐκτέμνων τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἐριστικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τιθασὸν καὶ χειροθήτη καὶ εἰρηναίαν καὶ ἴλεων πρὸς πάντα ἔργω
- [115] τε καὶ λόγῳ, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων | οὐ δυνάμενος μὲν ἀποκόψαι τὸ πάθος—φέρει γὰρ τὸ στήθος—παιδύων δὲ αὐτὸ λόγῳ κεκριμένῳ, ἔχοντι δύο ἀρετάς, σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, XLVIII. οὕτως καὶ νῦν εὐρεθήσεται ὁ μὲν σοφὸς τέλειος ἡδονὰς ἀπορρυπτόμενος καὶ ἀποσειόμενος Μωυσῆς, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ ἀπλὴν προσιέμενος, τὴν δὲ περίεργον καὶ περιττὴν κατὰ τὰς ἐπεντρώσεις παραιτούμενος·
- 141 ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέως φησὶν οὕτως· “ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἔπλυνεν ὕδατι τοῦ ὀλοκαυτώματος ” (Lev. ix. 14). πάνυ καλῶς· ὄλην γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν

<sup>a</sup> ἐπί with dative.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπί with accusative.

<sup>c</sup> ἐπί with genitive.

<sup>d</sup> This treatise was never written or is lost.

<sup>e</sup> Lev. vii. 3. Literally “ for he bears away the breast.”



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 139-141

goeth upon <sup>a</sup> the belly, and whatsoever goeth all the time upon four feet, which hath many feet, is unclean" (Lev. xi. 42). The lover of pleasure answers to this description, always going after <sup>b</sup> the belly and the pleasures of the adjoining parts. With that which creepeth after <sup>b</sup> the belly he has associated that which walketh upon <sup>c</sup> four feet; and quite naturally; for the passions that come under the head of those in the realm of pleasure are four in number, as has been mentioned in a treatise specially devoted to that subject.<sup>d</sup> Accordingly a man is unclean who is given up to the one thing, pleasure, as well as the man who has all four passions for his stay.

Now that we have said this, note once more how a perfect man differs from one making gradual progress. We have already discovered the perfect man cutting out the seat of anger entirely from the wrangling soul, and so rendering it gentle and submissive and peaceable, and cheerfully ready to face every demand both in act and word; while the man of gradual improvement was found powerless to cut away the passion, for the breast is Aaron's portion,<sup>e</sup> but schooling it by well-tested speech, attended by two virtues, clearness and truth. XLVIII. In a corresponding manner we shall now find Moses, the wise man, in his perfection, scouring away and shaking off pleasures, but the man of gradual improvement not so treating pleasure in its entirety, but welcoming simple and unavoidable pleasure, while declining that which is excessive and over-elaborate in the way of delicacies. For in the case of Moses he uses this language: "And he washed with water the belly and the feet of the whole burnt-offering" (Lev. ix. 14). It is excellently said; for

## PHILO

- ἀξίαν οὖσαν θεῷ προσάγεσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν μήθ' ἐκούσιον μήτ' ἀκούσιον μῶμον ὁ σοφὸς καθ-  
 αγιάζει· οὕτως δὲ διακείμενος ὄλην τὴν γαστέρα  
 καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἡδονὰς ἐκπλύνει καὶ  
 ἀπολούεται καὶ ἀπορρύνεται, οὐχὶ μέρος τι, ἀλλ'  
 οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς ἔσχηκεν αὐτῆς, ὥστε οὐδὲ  
 τὰ ἀναγκαῖα σιτία ἢ ποτὰ προσίεται θεωρία τῶν  
 142 θείων τρεφόμενος. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις μαρτυρεῖται  
 αὐτῷ· “ τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας ἄρτου οὐκ ἔφαγε καὶ  
 ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔπιεν ” (Exod. xxxiv. 28), ὅτε ἐν τῷ  
 θείῳ ὄρει γενόμενος χρησμῶν θεοῦ νομοθετοῦντος  
 ἤκουεν. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ὄλη τῇ γαστρὶ ἀποτάττεται,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῇ συναπορρύνεται,  
 τουτέστι τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς ἡδονῆς· ἐπιβάσεις δὲ  
 143 ἡδονῆς εἰσι τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς· ὁ [τε] γὰρ προ-  
 κόπτων λέγεται τὰ ἐγκοίλια καὶ τοὺς πόδας λούειν  
 (Lev. i. 9), οὐ τὴν ὄλην κοιλίαν· ἰκανὸς γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἔστι πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν διώσασθαι, ἀγαπητὸν δέ, ἐὰν  
 τὰ ἐγκοίλια αὐτῆς τουτέστι τὰ ἐπεντρώματα, ἃ  
 φασιν οἱ φιλήδονοι ἐπιλεάνσεις εἶναί τινος τῶν  
 προηγουμένων ἡδονῶν, ἃ γίνεται ὀψαρτυτῶν καὶ  
 144 σιτοπόνων λίχνων περιεργία. XLIX. καὶ προσεπι-  
 τείνει τὴν τοῦ προκόπτοντος μετριοπάθειαν τῷ  
 τὸν μὲν ἄνευ προστάξεως παραιτεῖσθαι ὄλην τὴν  
 γαστρός ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα μετὰ προσ-  
 τάξεως· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σοφοῦ λέγεται οὕτως·  
 “ τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ὕδατι ἔπλυνεν ”  
 (Lev. ix. 14), ἀνεπικελεύστως κατὰ τὴν ἐκούσιον

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\* Or “ means of approach.”

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 141-144

the wise man consecrates his whole soul as being worthy to be offered to God, owing to its freedom from voluntary or involuntary blemish ; and, being in this condition, he washes out and bathes away and scours off the whole belly and the pleasures that it and the parts adjoining it yield, not so dealing with some part of it, but filled with such contempt for the whole, that he rejects even necessary food and drink, being fed by the contemplation of things divine. And therefore witness is borne to him in another place also : “ for forty days he ate no bread and drank no water ” (Exod. xxxiv. 28), when he was in the holy mount and listened to the divine communications made by God as He declared His laws. But not only does he renounce the whole belly, but with it he scours away the feet, that is, the supports<sup>a</sup> of pleasure ; but the things that create pleasure are its supports,<sup>a</sup> for the man of gradual improvement is said to wash the inwards and the feet (Lev. i. 9), not the whole belly : for he is not sufficient to thrust from him pleasure in its completeness, but is content if he can get rid of its inwards, that is, of the delicacies, produced by the elaborate skill of dainty cooks and confectioners, of which we are told by the epicures that they serve, if we may so speak, as a means of giving succulence to the principal pleasures. XLIX. He lays further stress upon the mere moderating of passion in the man of gradual advance, by representing the wise man as declining without any bidding all the pleasures of the belly, while the man of gradual advance acts under orders ; for in the wise man’s case what is said is “ he washed with water the belly and the feet ” (Lev. ix. 14), spontaneously and unbidden,

## PHILO

γνώμην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων οὕτως· “ τὰ δὲ ἐγκοίλια καὶ τοὺς πόδας ” οὐχὶ ἔπλυναν, ἀλλὰ “ πλυνουσί ” (Lev. i. 9)· σφόδρα παρατετηρημένως· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν τέλειον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐνεργείας, τὸν δὲ ἀσκητὴν μετὰ τοῦ ὑφηγουμένου τὰ πρακτέα λόγου, ᾧ προστάττοντι πείθεσθαι καλόν.

<sup>145</sup>  
[116] Οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι Μωυσῆς | ὄλην τὴν κοιλίαν τουτέστι τὴν γαστρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν παραιτούμενος σχεδὸν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάθεισιν ἀποτάττεται, τοῦ νομοθέτου ἀπὸ μέρους ἑνὸς τὸ σύμπαν ἐναργῶς παριστάντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεκτικωτάτου περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἠσύχασε, δυνάμει διεξιόντος· L. συνεκτικώτατον <γὰρ> ἢ γαστρὸς ἐκπλήρωσις καὶ ὡσανεὶ θεμέλιός τις τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν· οὐδὲν γοῦν ἐκείνων δύναται συστήναι μὴ ἐπερειδόμενον

146 γαστρί, ἣ πάντα ἐφίδρυκεν ἢ φύσις. διὰ τοῦτο, γεννηθέντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λείας προτέρων τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ στάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως Ἰούδα (Gen. xxix. 35), μέλλων ὁ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὰς σώματος προκοπὰς Βάλλαν τὴν Ῥαχὴλ παιδίσκην καὶ πρὸ τῆς δεσποίνης τίκτειν παρασκευάζει· Βάλλα δ’ ἐστὶν ἐγκατάποσις· ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σωματικῶν ἄνευ καταπόσεως καὶ γαστρὸς ὑποστήναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ αὕτη κρατεῖ καὶ ἡγεμονεῖει παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν ψιλὸν ὄγκου.

147 παρατῆρει δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν λεπτολογίαν, οὐδὲν γὰρ  
398

but in the case of the priests it is on this wise : " the inwards and the feet," not " they washed " but " they shall wash " (Lev. i. 9). This shows great exactness. For it must needs be that while the perfect man moves of himself towards virtuous actions, the man who is practising should do so with the aid of reason which gives him guidance what he should do, obedience to whose directions is a noble thing.

We must not fail to notice that Moses, when he refuses the entire belly, that is the filling of his stomach, practically renounces the other passions too. The lawgiver uses one portion to give from it a clear presentation of the whole ; and having mentioned the most essential matter, virtually treats of the rest about which he has been silent. L. For the filling of the belly is the most essential matter, and the foundation, so to speak, of the other passions. None of them, as we see, can take shape unless it have the belly to support it, for nature has made the belly the basis of all things. Hence it comes that when Leah's sons, the good things of the soul, had been born before Jacob's other sons, and had ceased with Judah, who is " praise " (Gen. xxix. 35), God, being about to create representatives of the forward striving of the body as well, causes Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, to bear children even before her mistress. Now Bilhah is " swallowing." For the prophet knew that no part or organ of the body can subsist without " swallowing " and the belly, but this holds sway and sovereignty over all the body and over all the material frame whose concern is with mere living.

Do not let any subtle point escape your notice, for you will not find a

## PHILO

λεχθὲν παρέργως εὐρήσεις. Μωυσῆς τὸ μὲν στηθύ-  
νιον ἀφαιρεῖται, τὴν δὲ κοιλίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖ μὲν,  
πλύνει δέ (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14)· διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ  
τέλειος σοφὸς ὅλον μὲν τὸν θυμὸν ἰσχύει παραιτή-  
σασθαι καὶ ἀποκόψαι ὀργῆς κατεξαναστάς, τὴν δὲ  
κοιλίαν ἐκτεμεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ· τοῖς γὰρ ἀναγκαίοις  
σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἢ φύσις βιάζεται χρῆσθαι καὶ  
τὸν ὀλιγοδέεστατον καὶ καταφρονητικὸν αὐτῶν  
τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀσιτίαν αὐτῶν μελετῶντα.  
πλυνέτω οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ καθαιρέτω ἀπὸ τῶν  
περιττῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων παρασκευῶν· ἱκανὴ  
γὰρ καὶ αὕτη παρὰ θεοῦ τῷ φιλαρέτῳ δωρεά.

148 ΛΙ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπονοηθείσης διεφθάρθαι  
ψυχῆς φησιν (Num. v. 27), ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀπολελοιπιῦα  
τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ὃς ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ νόμιμος, εὐρεθῆ  
προσκεχωρηκυῖα τῷ μαιίνοντι τὴν ψυχὴν πάθει,  
“πρησθήσεται τὴν γαστέρα,” ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπληρώτους  
καὶ ἀκορέστους ἕξει τὰς γαστρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ  
ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσεται ἄπληστος οὔσα  
δι’ ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀμυθῆτων ἐπιρρεόντων αἰδίων

149 ἕξει τὸ πάθος. οἶδα γοῦν πολλοὺς οὕτω πταίοντας  
περὶ τὴν τῆς γαστρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥστ’ ἐμέτοις  
χρησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄκρατον καὶ τᾶλλα  
ᾤρμησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναλογεῖ τοῖς σωματικοῖς  
ὄγκοις ἢ τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμία, ἀλλ’  
οἱ μὲν ἄτε ἀγγεῖα ὄντες μεμετρημένα ἄμετρον  
οὐδὲν προσίενται, ἀλλὰ τὸ περιττὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν,  
ἢ δὲ ἐπιθυμία πληροῦται μὲν οὐδέποτε, μένει δὲ

150 ἐνδεὴς καὶ διψαλέα αἰεί. |

παρὸ καὶ τὸ

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 147-150

single pointless expression. Moses removes the breast; the belly he does not remove, but washes (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14). Why is this? Because the perfect wise man can, by wholly renouncing anger, utterly avert and drive off the uprising of the spirited element in him, but to excise the belly he is powerless. Even the man of fewest needs who scorns the very necessities of life and trains himself in abstinence from them, is forced by nature to take necessary food and drink. Let him therefore wash the belly and cleanse it from superfluous and unclean provisions; for this too is a sufficiently great gift from God to the lover of virtue. LI. It is owing to this <sup>a</sup> that when treating of the soul suspected of adultery he says (Num. v. 27), that if it have forsaken the right principle, which is the lawful husband, and be discovered to have had intercourse with soul-defiling passion, "it will swell up in the belly," which signified that it will have ever unfilled and insatiable the pleasures and desires of the belly, and will never cease to be insatiate owing to gross stupidity, but, with a countless throng of them pouring in, will keep its passion for ever. To cite an instance, I know many brought to such disaster over the craving of the belly, that after resorting to emetics they fly back again to strong drink and all the rest. For the craving of the soul that is out of control is not restricted as the bodily organs are by their size. These are vessels of a fixed capacity admitting nothing that exceeds it, but ejecting all that is superfluous. Desire is never filled up, but continues always thirsty and in want of more.

<sup>a</sup> δὲ τούτο seems to refer to § 146. The intervening § 147 is of the nature of a note.

## PHILO

ἀκόλουθον προστίθεται τῷ πρησθῆναι τὴν γαστέρα τὸ “ διαπεσεῖν τὸν μηρόν ”· διαπίπτει γὰρ τότε τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὁ σπερματικὸς καὶ γεννητικὸς τῶν καλῶν λόγος ὀρθός· “ ἔαν ” γοῦν φησι “ μὴ μιανθῇ καὶ καθαρὰ <ῆ>, καὶ ἀθῶος ἔσται <καὶ> ἔκσπερματιεῖ σπέρμα ” (Num. v. 28), ἔαν ὑπὸ πάθους μὴ μιανθῇ, καθαρεύση δὲ πρὸς τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν ὑγιῆ καὶ ἡγεμόνα λόγον, γόνιμον ἔξει ψυχὴν καὶ καρποφόρον, φέρουσαν γέννημα φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς συμπάσης ἀρετῆς.

- 151 LII. Ἄρ' οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐνδεδεμένους σώματι οἶόν τε σωματικαῖς ἀνάγκαις μὴ χρῆσθαι; καὶ πῶς ἔνεστιν; ἀλλ' ὅρα. ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὸν τρόπον παραγγέλλει τῷ ἀγομένῳ ὑπὸ σωματικῆς χρείας αὐτῷ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ. πρῶτον μὲν φησι “ τόπος ἔστω σοι ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ” (Deut. xxiii. 12), παρεμβολὴν καλῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐν ἣ ἔστρατοπέδευκεν ἡ ψυχὴ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται τὸν αὐτὸν κρατεῖν χώρον φρόνησις καὶ σωματικῆς
- 152 ἀνάγκης ἀπόλαυσις. εἶτα “ ἐξελεύση ” φησὶν “ ἐκεῖ ἔξω ”· διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡ ψυχὴ καταμένουσα μετὰ φρονήσεως καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ διατρίβουσα τῆς σοφίας χρῆσθαι τινι τῶν φίλων σώματος· τρέφεται γὰρ τότε θειοτέραις τροφαῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις, δι' ἃς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμελεῖ· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐξέλθη τῶν ἱερῶν ἀρετῆς οἴκων, τῆνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὰς τὸ σῶμα πλημμελούσας καὶ πιεζούσας ὕλας τρέπεται. πῶς οὖν αὐταῖς χρή-

<sup>a</sup> See on *De Op.* 43.



This explains "the breaking up of the thigh," being added as the sequel to the swelling of the belly. For then it is that the soul experiences the breaking up of the right principle, the principle that is the seed<sup>a</sup> whence all noble things are begotten. We see this from the words that follow, "If she have not been defiled and be pure, she shall be free and shall conceive seed" (Numb. v. 28), if she have not been defiled by passion, but have been chaste and faithful to her lawful husband, the princely and wholesome principle, she will have a soul fruitful and productive, yielding the offspring of sound sense and righteousness and all excellence.

LII. Is it possible, then, that we, tied as we are to a body, should not comply with bodily requirements? How *can* it be possible? But look. The sacred guide tells the man who feels the pressure of bodily necessity the way to deal with it, namely, to comply with it only so far as he is actually obliged to do so. First he says, "Let there be to thee a place outside the camp" (Deut. xxiii. 12), meaning by "the camp" virtue, in which the soul has pitched its camp. For good sense and indulgence of a bodily necessity cannot occupy the same quarters. Next he says, "Thou shalt go forth there without." Why go forth? Because the soul cannot have dealings with any of the body's friends while it abides with good sense and spends its days in the house of wisdom. For then it is nourished by food more divine, which it finds in all knowledge, and for the sake of this it actually disregards the flesh. For when it has gone forth from the sacred dwellings of virtue, it is then that it turns to material things which treat the body ill and weigh it down. How

## PHILO

- 153 σομαι; “πάσσαλος ἔστω σοι” φησὶν “ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου, καὶ ὀρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ” (Deut. xxiii. 13), τουτέστι λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐξορύττων καὶ ἀναστέλλων καὶ ἀπαμφιεννῶν αὐτό· ἀνεζῶσθαι γὰρ βούλεται ἡμᾶς τὰ πάθη, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνειμένα
- 154 καὶ κεχαλασμένα φορεῖν. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαβάσεως αὐτῶν, ὃ καλεῖται Πάσχα, προστάττει τὰς “ὀσφῦς περιεζῶσθαι” (Exod. xii. 11), ἧτοι συνεστάλθαι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. πάσσαλος οὖν, τουτέστι λόγος, ἐπέσθω τῷ πάθει, κωλύων αὐτὸ χεῖσθαι· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς μόνοις χρῆσόμεθα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ἀφεξόμεθα. LIII.
- 155 κἂν ἐν συνουσίαις ὄντες καὶ μέλλοντες εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χρῆσιν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐλθεῖν σὺν λόγῳ παραγενώμεθα ὥσπερ ὄπλῳ τινὶ ἀμυντηρίῳ, οὔτε πέραν τοῦ μετρίου σιτίων ἐμφορηθησόμεθα αἰθυιῶν τρόπον οὔτ’ ἀκράτου ἀμέτρου κορεσθέντες μέθη ληραίνειν ἀναγκαζούση χρῆσόμεθα· ἐπιστομιεῖ
- [118] γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐγχαλινώσκει τὴν ῥύμην | καὶ
- 156 φορὰν τοῦ πάθους. ἐγὼ γοῦν αὐτὸ πολλάκις παθὼν οἶδα· εἰς γὰρ ἀδιάγωγον συνουσίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ πολυτελεῖ δαίψνα, ὅποτε μὴ ἀφικοίμην σὺν λόγῳ, δούλος ἐγενόμην τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ δεσποτῶν ἀτιθᾶσων, θεαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὅσα διὰ μυκτηῆρος καὶ γεύσεως ἡδονὰς ἀπεργάζεται· ὅποτε δὲ μετὰ τοῦ αἰροῦντος λόγου, δεσπότης ἀντὶ δούλου γίνομαι καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος νικῶ καλὴν νίκην κικερτερίας

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\* Or “ ill-regulated.”

then shall I deal with them? "Let there be to thee, he says, a shovel upon thy girdle, and thou shalt dig with it" (Deut. xxiii. 13), that is to say, reason shall be upon the passion digging it out, tucking it up, not suffering it to clothe thee about. For God would have us gird up our passions, not wear them flowing and loose. So at the crossing over from them, which is called Passover, He bids that their "loins should be girded up" (Exod. xii. 11), in other words that their desires should be restrained. Let a shovel then, that is, reason, follow the passion, preventing it from spreading abroad, for by this means we shall comply only with demands which are urgent, but from all that goes beyond this we shall abstain. LIII. When we are present at entertainments and are about to take and enjoy the viands provided, if we take our places at table with reason like some weapon to parry blows, we shall neither gorge ourselves with food beyond measure like cormorants, nor overdosed with unlimited strong drink shall we succumb to intoxication with its resultant foolish talk; for reason will curb and bridle the impetuous rush of the passion. I, to mention myself in proof of what I say, know by frequent experience how true it is. Many a time have I been present at a gathering with little that was sociable about it<sup>a</sup> or at costly suppers. When I did not arrive with reason for my companion, I found myself the slave of the enjoyments provided, at the mercy of harsh masters, entertainments for eye and ear and all that brings pleasure by way of taste or smell. But whenever I arrive with convincing reason at my side, I find myself a master not a slave, and, putting forth all my strength, win

## PHILO

- καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἀντιβαίνων καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικῶν  
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναρρηγνῦσι τὰς ἀκράτορας ἐπιθυμίας.
- 157 “διορύξεις” φησὶ γοῦν “τῷ πασσάλῳ” (Deut.  
 xxiii. 13), τουτέστιν, ἣν ἕκαστον ἔχει φύσιν, τὸ  
 φαγεῖν, τὸ πιεῖν, τὸ τοῖς μετὰ γαστέρα χρῆσθαι,  
 τῷ λόγῳ γυμνώσεις καὶ διαστελεῖς, ἵνα διακρίνας  
 γνῶς τᾶληθές· τότε γὰρ εἶση, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ τούτων  
 ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον μόνον καὶ
- 158 χρήσιμον. “καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν καλύψεις τὴν ἀσχη-  
 μοσύνην σου” (ib.)· πάνυ καλῶς· ἔπαγε γάρ,  
 ᾧ ψυχῇ, τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πάντα, ᾧ καλύπτεται καὶ  
 συσκιάζεται καὶ συγκρύπτεται πᾶσα ἀσχημοσύνη  
 σαρκὸς καὶ πάθους· τὰ γὰρ μὴ σὺν λόγῳ πάντα
- 159 αἰσχρά, ὥσπερ τὰ σὺν λόγῳ κόσμια. οὐκοῦν ὁ  
 μὲν φιλήδονος ἐπὶ κοιλίαν βαδίζει, ὁ δὲ τέλειος  
 τὴν κοιλίαν ὄλην ἐκπλύνει, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων τὰ  
 ἐν κοιλίᾳ, ὁ δὲ ἄρτι ἀρχόμενος παιδεύεσθαι ἔξω  
 πρόεισιν, ὅταν μέλλῃ τῆς γαστρὸς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις  
 ἐπιφερόμενος λόγον ἐπιστομιεῖν τὸ πάθος, ὃς  
 εἴρηται συμβολικῶς πάσσαλος.
- 160 LIV. Εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι· “πορεύσῃ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ” (Gen. iii. 14)· ἡ  
 γὰρ ἡδονὴ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἡρεμούντων καὶ ἰστα-  
 μένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κινουμένων καὶ ταραχῆς γεμόν-  
 των· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ φλόξ ἐν κινήσει, οὕτως φλογμοῦ  
 τινα τρόπον τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κινούμενον  
 ἡρεμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔᾶ. διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι

<sup>a</sup> Strictly “after.” See 139.

the noble victory of endurance and self-mastery, in a vigorous and pertinacious encounter with everything that excites the unruly desires. "Thou shalt dig," you see he says, "with the shovel" (Deut. xxiii. 13), that is, thou shalt lay bare and distinguish by means of reason, the nature which each passion possesses, eating, drinking, sexual indulgence, that thou mayest discern them and learn the truth about them. For then shalt thou know that in none of these is there the thing which is good, but that which is useful only and necessary. "And bringing the shovel to bear on it then shalt thou cover thine unseemliness" (*ibid.*). 'Tis well said. Bring then, O soul, reason to bear on all things, wherewith all unseemliness of flesh and passion is covered, and hidden, and put out of sight. For all that is unaccompanied by reason is unsightly, just as that with which reason is present is comely. We get this result. The lover of pleasure moves on<sup>a</sup> the belly; the perfect man washes out the entire belly; the man who is making gradual progress washes out the contents of the belly, the man who is just beginning his training will go forth without, when he intends to curb passion by bringing reason (figuratively called a shovel) to bear upon the demands of the belly.

LIV. There is an excellent point in the next words too: "*Thou shalt go upon thy breast and thy belly*" (Gen. iii. 14). For pleasure does not belong to the category of things becalmed and stationary, but to that of things moving and full of turmoil. For as the flame is in movement, so, not unlike a blazing thing, passion moving in the soul does not suffer it to be calm. Thus the prophet does not agree

καταστηματικὴν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν οὐ συμφέρεται· ἡρεμία γὰρ λίθω μὲν καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ παντὶ ἀψύχῳ οἰκεῖον, ἀλλότριον δὲ ἡδονῇ· γαργαλισμοῦ γὰρ καὶ σπασμώδους ἐφίεται καὶ ἐπ' ἐνίων οὐκ ἡρεμίας ἀλλὰ συντόνου καὶ σφοδρᾶς κινήσεώς ἐστι χρεία.

- 161 LV. Τὸ δὲ “ γῆν φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου ” (Gen. iii. 14), τοῦτο προσφυῶς  
 [119] εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ | σώματος τροφῆς ἡδοναὶ γήιναι· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· δύο <γάρ> ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν συνέσταμεν, ψυχὴ τε καὶ σῶμα· τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα ἐκ γῆς δεδημιούργηται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αἰθέρος ἐστίν, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον· “ ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ” (Gen. ii. 7). εὐλόγως οὖν τὸ μὲν ἐκ γῆς διαπλασθὲν σῶμα συγγενεῖς ἔχει τροφὰς ἃς ἀναδίδωσιν ἢ γῆ, ἡ δὲ αἰθερίου φύσεως μοῖρα οὐσὰ ψυχὴ πάλιν αἰθερίους καὶ θείας· ἐπιστήμαις γὰρ τρέφεται καὶ οὐ σιτίοις ἢ ποτοῖς, ὧν ἐπιδεές ἐστι τὸ σῶμα.

- 162 LVI. “ Ὅτι δὲ οὐ γήινοι ἀλλ' οὐράνιοι αἱ ψυχῆς τροφαί, μαρτυρήσει διὰ πλειόνων ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος· “ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὕψω ὑμῖν ἄρτους <ἐκ> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ὁ λαὸς καὶ συνάξουσιν τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν, ὅπως πειράσω αὐτούς, εἰ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὐ ” (Exod. xvi. 4). ὁρᾶς ὅτι οὐ γηίνοις καὶ φθαρτοῖς τρέφεται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὀμβρήσῃ λόγοις ἐκ τῆς μεταρσίου  
 163 καὶ καθαρᾶς φύσεως, ἣν οὐρανὸν κέκληκεν· ἐξίτω

<sup>a</sup> καταστηματικὴν. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, x. 136 ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ περὶ αἰρέσεων οὕτω λέγει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία καταστηματικά ἐῖσιν ἡδοναί· ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη κατὰ κίνησιν ἐνεργεῖα βλέπονται. See App. p. 483.

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 160-163

with those who say that pleasure is tranquil.<sup>a</sup> For stillness pertains to a stone and a log and to everything without life, but it is alien to pleasure. For pleasure hankers after an excitement that is actually convulsive, and in some people so far from its being an experience of tranquillity, it is an indulgence in intense and violent movement.

LV. The sentence "Earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life" (Gen. iii. 14) is an apt one. For the food of the body brings pleasures of earth; and fitly so, it would seem. For there are two things of which we consist, soul and body. The body, then, has been formed out of earth, but the soul is of the upper air, a particle detached from the Deity: "for God breathed into his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). It is in accordance with reason, therefore, that the body fashioned out of earth has food akin to it which earth yields, while the soul being a portion of an ethereal nature has on the contrary ethereal and divine food; for it is fed by knowledge in its various forms and not by meat and drink, of which the body stands in need.

LVI. That the food of the soul is not earthly but heavenly, we shall find abundant evidence in the Sacred Word. "Behold I rain upon you bread out of heaven, and the people shall go out and they shall gather the day's portion for a day, that I may prove them whether they will walk by My law or not" (Exod. xvi. 4). You see that the soul is fed not with things of earth that decay, but with such words as God shall have poured like rain out of that lofty and pure region of life to which the prophet has given the title of "heaven." To

## PHILO

μέντοι ὁ λεῶς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σύστημα  
 καὶ συναγαγέτω καὶ ἀρχέσθω τῆς ἐπιστήμης,  
 μὴ ἀθρόως ἀλλὰ “ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν ”·  
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀθρόον οὐ χωρήσει τὸν πολὺν  
 πλοῦτον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φορᾷ  
 χειμάρρου τρόπον ἐπικλυσθήσεται· ἔπειτ’ ἐστὶν  
 ἄμεινον τὰ αὐτάρκη λαβόντας ἀγαθὰ καὶ μεμε-  
 164 τρημένα τῶν λοιπῶν ταμίαν οἰηθῆναι τὸν θεόν. ὁ  
 δὲ πάντα μετιῶν ἀθρόα δυσελπιστίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν  
 μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνοίας κτᾶται· δύσελπις μὲν <γίνεται>,  
 εἰ νῦν μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ αὖθις ἐλπίζει τὸν θεὸν  
 ὀμβρήσειν αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ, ἄπιστος δέ, εἰ μὴ πε-  
 πίστευκε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας  
 ἀφθόνως τοῖς ἀξίοις προσνέμεσθαι, ἄνους δέ, εἰ  
 οἴεται τῶν συναχθέντων ἱκανὸς ἔσεσθαι φύλαξ  
 ἄκοντος θεοῦ· μικρὰ γὰρ ῥοπή τὸν ἀσφάλειαν  
 καὶ βεβαιότητα περιάπτοντα νοῦν ὑπὸ μεγα-  
 λαυχίας ἑαυτῷ ἄκυρον καὶ ἀβέβαιον ὧν ἐδόκει  
 165 φύλαξ εἶναι πάντων ἐποίησε.

LVII.

σύναγε οὖν, ὦ ψυχῆ, τὰ αὐτάρκη καὶ καθήκοντα  
 καὶ μήτε πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν μήτε  
 ἐλάττω πάλιν ὡς ἐνδεῖν, ἵνα μέτροις δικαίοις  
 χρωμένη μὴ ἀδικῆς. καὶ γὰρ διάβασίν γε μελε-  
 τῶσαν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὸ Πάσχα θύουσαν  
 δεῖ τὴν προκοπὴν, τὸ πρόβατον, λαμβάνειν μὴ

\* The Greek for “sheep” is *ποῦβατον*, which properly means *anything that walks forward*.



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 163-165

proceed. The people, and all that goes to make the soul, is to go out and gather and make a beginning of knowledge, not all at once but "the day's portion for a day." For to begin with it will be unable to contain all at once the abundant wealth of the gracious gifts of God, but will be overwhelmed by them as by the rush of a torrent. In the second place it is better, when we have received the good things sufficient of themselves as duly measured out to us, to think of God as Dispenser of those that still remain. He that would fain have all at once earns for himself lack of hope and trust, as well as great lack of sense. He lacks hope if he expects that now only but not in the future also will God shower on him good things; he lacks faith, if he has no belief that both in the present and always the good gifts of God are lavishly bestowed on those worthy of them; he lacks sense, if he imagines that he will be, though God will it not, a sufficient guardian of what he has gathered together; for the mind that vaingloriously ascribes to itself sureness and security has many a time been rendered by a slight turn of the scale a feeble and insecure guardian of all that it looked on as in its safe-keeping.

LVII. Gather together, therefore, O soul, what is adequate of itself and suitable, and neither more than sufficient so as to be excessive, nor on the other hand less so as to fall short, that dealing in right measures thou mayest do no wrong. For thou art required also, when making it thy study to cross over from the passions and when sacrificing the Passover, to take the forward step, whose symbol is the lamb,<sup>a</sup> not without measure, for he

## PHILO

ἀμέτρως· “ἕκαστος” γάρ φησι “τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναριθμησεται<sup>1</sup> εἰς πρόβατον” (Exod. xii. 4).

- 166 Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάννα οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης δωρεᾶς,  
 [120] ἦν ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται | τῷ γένει ἡμῶν, καλὸν τὸ ἐνάριθμον καὶ μεμετρημένον καὶ μὴ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς λαμβάνειν· πλεονεξίας γὰρ τοῦτό γε. τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας οὖν εἰς ἡμέραν συναγαγέτω ἡ ψυχὴ (Exod. xvi. 4), ἵνα μὴ ἑαυτὴν φύλακα τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 167 ἀλλὰ τὸν φιλόδωρον θεὸν ἀποφήνη. LVIII. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ τὸ προκείμενον λέγεσθαι· σύμβολον φωτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα, φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ παιδεία. πολλοὶ οὖν τὰ ἐν ψυχῇ φῶτα ἐκτήσαντο εἰς νύκτα καὶ σκότος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς, οἷον τὰ προπαιδεύματα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια λεγόμενα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν τρυφῆς ἕνεκεν ἢ ἀρχῆς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. ὁ δὲ γε ἀστείος τὴν ἡμέραν ἕνεκα ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ φῶς ἕνεκα φωτὸς καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ κτᾶται μόνου, οὐχ ἕνεκα ἄλλου τινός. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “ὅπως πειράσω αὐτούς, εἰ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὐ” (Exod. xvi. 4). νόμος γὰρ  
 168 θεῖος οὗτος, τὴν ἀρετὴν δι’ ἑαυτὴν τιμᾶν. τοὺς οὖν ἀσκητὰς ὡσπερ νόμισμα δοκιμάζει ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, πότερα κεκηλίδωνται ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀναφέροντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὸν ἢ ὡς δόκιμοι<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> συναριθμησεται (as in LXX.) is restored in accordance with Mangey’s conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> δόκιμοι is substituted for δόκιμον (conj. Tr.)

<sup>a</sup> Or “than luxurious living.”

<sup>b</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. πρὸς seems to be used as in the phrase πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν, ‘to live with reference to, dependent

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 165-168

says " each man shall reckon what suffices for him as a lamb " (Exod. xii. 4).

Both in the case of manna then, and in the case of every boon which God confers upon our race, it is good to take what is fixed by strict measure and reckoning and not that which is above and beyond us ; for to do this is to be over-reaching. Let the soul, then, gather the day's portion for a day (Exod. xvi. 4), that it may declare not itself but the bountiful God guardian of the good things. LVIII. And the reason for the injunction we are considering seems to me to be this. The day is a symbol of light, and the light of the soul is training. Many, then, have acquired the lights in the soul for night and darkness, not for day and light ; all elementary lessons for example, and what is called school-learning and philosophy itself when pursued with no motive higher than parading their superiority,<sup>a</sup> or from desire of an office under<sup>b</sup> our rulers. But the man of worthy aims sets himself to acquire day for the sake of day, light for the sake of light, the beautiful for the sake of the beautiful alone, not for the sake of something else. And this is why he goes on with the words : " that I may prove them whether they will walk in My law or no " (Exod. xvi. 4) ; for this is the divine law, to value excellence for its own sake. The right principle, therefore, tests all aspirants as one does a coin, to see whether they have been debased in that they refer the soul's good to something external, or whether, as tried and approved men, they distinguish

upon, at the beck and call of, another' (Cope, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, i. 9. 27). "A life of luxury or office-holding at the will of the powers that be."

## PHILO

διαστέλλουσιν ἐν διανοίᾳ μόνη τοῦτο διαφυλάττοντες. τούτοις συμβέβηκε μὴ τοῖς γηίνοις ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐπιστήμαις τρέφεσθαι.

- 169 LIX. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων, ὅταν φῆ· “ τὸ πρῶν ἐγένετο καταπαυομένης τῆς δρόσου κύκλω τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς ἐρήμου <λεπτὸν> ὡσεὶ κόριον, λευκὸν ὡσεὶ πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἶπον ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ Τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο; οὐ γὰρ ἤδεισαν, τί ἦν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Μωυσῆς Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν κύριος τοῦ φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συνέταξε κύριος ” (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). ὄρας τῆς ψυχῆς τροφήν οἷα ἐστὶ λόγος θεοῦ συνεχῆς, εἰκῶς δρόσω κύκλω πᾶσαν περιειληφῶς καὶ μηδὲν
- 170 μέρος ἀμέτοχον αὐτοῦ ἔων. φαίνεται δ' οὐ πανταχοῦ ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐρήμον παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν, καὶ ἔστι λεπτὸς νοῆσαί τε καὶ νοηθῆναι καὶ σφόδρα διαυγῆς καὶ καθαρὸς ὄραθῆναι, καὶ ἔστιν ὡσεὶ κόριον. φασὶ δὲ οἱ γεωπόνοι τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ κορίου διαιρεθὲν εἰς ἄπειρα καὶ τμηθὲν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν καὶ τμημάτων σπαρὲν βλαστάνειν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὄλον ἡδύνατο· τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, καὶ δι' ὄλων ὠφελητικὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέρους καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος.
- 171 μήποτε δὲ ὁμοιοῦται καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κόρῃ· ὡς γὰρ αὕτη βραχύτατον οὔσα μέρος τὰς τῶν ὄντων ὄρα ζώνας ὄλας καὶ θάλατταν ἄπειρον

<sup>a</sup> The κόριον, coriander-seed, suggests the κόρη (*purilla*) of the eye.

and guard this treasure as belonging to thought and mind alone. Such men have the privilege of being fed not with earthly things but with the heavenly forms of knowledge.

LIX. He gives a further elucidation of this point, when he says, "in the early morning when the dew ceased it appeared all round the camp, and lo! upon the face of the wilderness a fine thing as it were coriander seed, white like hoar-frost on the ground. And when they saw it, they said one to another, 'What is this?' for they knew not what it was. And Moses said unto them, 'This bread, which the Lord hath given us to eat, is this word, which the Lord hath prescribed'" (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). You see of what sort the soul's food is. It is a word of God, continuous, resembling dew, embracing all the soul and leaving no portion without part in itself. But not everywhere does this word show itself, but on the wilderness of passions and wickednesses, and it is fine and delicate both to conceive and be conceived, and surpassingly clear and transparent to behold, and it is as it were coriander seed. Tillers of the soil say that if you cut a coriander seed and divide it into countless pieces, each of the portions into which you cut it, if sown, grows exactly as the whole seed could have done. Such too is the word of God, able to confer benefits both as a whole and by means of every part, yes any part you light upon.

It is possible that a resemblance between the word of God and the pupil<sup>a</sup> of the eye, is also intended. For as the pupil of the eye is a very small part of it and sees the zones of the universe in their completeness,

## PHILO

[121] καὶ | ἀέρος μέγεθος καὶ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ ὅσον ἀνατέλλων καὶ δυόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ὀρίζει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος ὀξυδερκέστατός ἐστιν, ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾶν εἶναι ἰκανός, \* \* \* ὧ τὰ θεᾶς ἄξια κατ-ὀψονται· παρὸ καὶ λευκόν ἐστι· τί γὰρ ἂν εἶη λαμπρότερον ἢ τηλαυγέστερον θείου λόγου, οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλὺν καὶ τὸν ζόφον ἀπελαύνει φωτὸς κοινωνῆσαι ψυχικοῦ γλιχόμενα;

172 LX. Ἴδιον δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον συμβαίνει πάθος. ὅταν γὰρ καλέσῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ψυχὴν, πῆξις ἀνεγείρει τῷ γεώδει καὶ σωματικῷ καὶ αἰσθητικῷ παντί· διὸ λέγεται τὸ “ ὡσεὶ πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ” (Exod. xvi. 14)· καὶ γὰρ ἡνίκα ὁ τὸν θεὸν ὀρών φυγὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν μελετᾷ, πῆγνυται τὰ κύματα, τουτέστιν ἢ φορὰ καὶ αὐξήσις καὶ τὸ μεγάλαυχον αὐτῶν· “ ἐπάγη γὰρ τὰ κύματα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ” (Exod. xv. 8),

173 ἵνα διαβῆ τὸ πάθος ὁ βλέπων τὸν ὄντα. πυνθάνονται οὖν ἀλλήλων αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ πεπονθυῖαι μὲν ἤδη τὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἔχουσαι δ’ εἰπεῖν τὸ “ τί ἐστι ” (Exod. xvi. 15)· καὶ γὰρ γλυκανθέντες πολλάκις τὸν κενηκότα χυμὸν ἀγνοοῦμεν καὶ ἠδέων ἀτμῶν ὀσφραϊνόμενοι τίνες εἰσὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν· οὕτως οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ γανωθεῖσα πολλάκις εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχει, τί τὸ γανῶσαν αὐτὴν ἐστι· διδάσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως, ὅς

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and the boundless ocean, and the vast expanse of air and of the infinite heaven, all that is bounded by the rising and the setting sun, so the word of God also has keenest sight, and is able to survey all things, . . . wherewith they shall clearly see all that is worth beholding. Accordingly it is also white ; for what could be brighter or more far-shining than the divine word, by communion with which even other things dispel their mist and their gloom, eagerly desiring to become sharers in the light of the soul ?

LX. An affection peculiar to it is produced by this word. When it has summoned the soul to itself, it brings about a congealment in all that part of us that is earthly, bodily, sense-bound ; and this accounts for the words “ as it were hoar-frost on the earth ” (Exod. xvi. 14). For we also find that when he that sees God is studying flight from the passions, the waves become fixed as if frozen, that is to say the rush and growth and vainglory of the passions ; “ for the waves became solid in the midst of the sea ” (Exod. xv. 8), in order that he that seeth Him that is might pass beyond passion. The souls, therefore, that have indeed already had experience of the word, but are not able to answer the question, inquire one of another “ What is it ? ” (Exod. xvi. 15). For it often happens that on finding a sweet taste in our mouths we are uncertain as to the flavour which has given rise to it, and that when we catch the scent of pleasant odours we do not know what they are. In the same way then the soul, when it has been gladdened, is often unable to say what the thing that gladdens it is. But it is taught by the hierophant and prophet Moses : he will tell it, This

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ἐρεῖ· “οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος” (ibid.), ἡ τροφή, ἣν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, προσενέγκασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ῥῆμα καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον· “οὗτος” γὰρ “ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα.”

174 LXI. Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ· “καὶ ἐκάκωσέ σε καὶ ἐλιμαγχόνησέ σε, καὶ ἐψώμισέ σε τὸ μάννα, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες σου, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι <τῷ> ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ” (Deut. viii. 3). ἡ κάκωσις αὕτη ἰλασμός ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ κακῶν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἰλάσκειται (Lev. xvi. 30). ὅταν γὰρ τὰ ἡδέα περισυλᾶται, δοκοῦμεν κακοῦσθαι, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἴλεων τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν.

175 περιποιεῖ δ’ ἡμῖν καὶ λιμόν, οὐχ ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ πάθους καὶ κακίας συνισταμένων· τεκμήριον δέ, διατρέφει γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῷ γενικωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ· τὸ γὰρ μάννα ἐρμηνεύεται “τί,” τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ γενικώτατον τῶν ὄντων· καὶ ὁ λόγος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπεράνω παντός ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες, οὐχ οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ’ οἱ χρόνῳ πολιοὶ οἱ λέγοντες· “δῶμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποστρέψωμεν εἰς” τὸ

176 πάθος “Αἴγυπτον” (Num. xiv. 4). ἀναγγελλέτω [122] οὖν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, ὅτι | “οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος” [κατ’ εἰκόνα], “ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ,” τουτέστι καὶ διὰ παντός τοῦ λόγου τραφή-

<sup>a</sup> As Heinemann points out, *De Congressu eruditionis*



bread (*ibid.*) is the food which God hath given to the soul, for it to feed on His own utterance and His own word; for this bread, which He hath given us to eat, is "this word."

LXI. He says in Deuteronomy also: "And He afflicted thee and made thee weak by hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that He might proclaim to thee, that not on bread alone shall man live, but on every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God" (Deut. viii. 3). This afflicting is propitiation; for on the tenth day also by afflicting our souls He makes propitiation (Lev. xvi. 30). For when we are being deprived of pleasant things, we think we are being afflicted, but in reality thereby we have God propitious to us. He occasions famine also to us, not a famine of virtue, but a famine of the creations<sup>a</sup> of passion and wickedness. We have a proof of this in His feeding us with His own most "generic"<sup>b</sup> word; for "manna" means "something,"<sup>c</sup> and this is the most generic of all terms. And the word of God is above all the world, and is eldest and most all-embracing of created things. This word "the fathers knew not." This does not mean the real forefathers, but those whose hair was grey from age who said, "Let us appoint a leader and let us return to Egypt," that is, "to passion" (Numb. xiv. 4). Let God then proclaim to the soul, "Not on bread only shall men live, but on every utterance that goeth forth through the mouth of God," that is to say he shall be fed *gratia* 172 proves that Philo wrote not τὸν συνισταμένον but τῶν συνισταμένων. <sup>b</sup> Or "all-embracing."

<sup>c</sup> Philo audaciously substitutes the indefinite for the interrogative pronoun ("something" for "what?"). See App. p. 483.

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σεται καὶ διὰ μέρους αὐτοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα σύμβολον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα μέρος αὐτοῦ. τρέφεται δὲ τῶν μὲν τελειοτέρων ἢ ψυχὴ ὄλω τῷ λόγῳ· ἀγαπήσαιμεν δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ μέρει τραφείημεν αὐτοῦ.

- 177 LXII. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν εὔχονται θεοῦ λόγῳ τραφῆναι. ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπερκύψας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι τρέφεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγει δ' οὕτως· “ὁ θεός, ᾧ εὐηρέστησαν οἱ πατέρες μου Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ, ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, εὐλογῆσαι τὰ παιδία ταῦτα” (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16). ὠραῖος οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· τροφέα τὸν θεόν, οὐχὶ λόγον, ἡγεῖται, τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον, ὅς ἐστι λόγος, ὥσπερ ἰατρὸν κακῶν· φυσικώτατα· ἀρέσκει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν προηγούμενα ἀγαθὰ αὐτοπροσώπως αὐτὸν τὸν ὄντα διδόναι, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ λόγους αὐτοῦ· δεύτερα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα περιέχει κακῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν.
- 178 διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαι καὶ ὑγείαν μὲν τὴν ἀπλήν, ἧς οὐ προηγείται νόσος ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὴν δὲ γινομένην κατὰ νόσου φυγὴν καὶ διὰ τέχνης καὶ διὰ ἰατρικῆς, ἐπιγράφων καὶ ἐπιστήμη καὶ τεχνίτη τὸ δοκεῖν ἰᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ τούτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἰώμενος. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, τὰς τροφάς, αὐτὸς χαρίζεται δι' ἑαυτοῦ, διὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων καὶ λόγων ὅσα ἀπαλλαγὴν περιέχει κακῶν.

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\* Or “verb.”

both by all the word and by a part of it ; for the mouth is a symbol of utterance or speech, and the statement <sup>a</sup> is a part of speech. The soul of the most perfect is fed by the word as a whole ; we may well be content should we be fed even by a portion of it.

LXII. Now those of whom we have been speaking pray to be fed with the word of God. But Jacob, looking even higher than the word, says that he is fed by God Himself. He speaks on this wise : “ The God to Whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac were well-pleasing, the God Who feedeth me from my youth up unto this day, the Angel who delivereth me out of all my ills, bless these boys ” (Gen. xlviii. 15 f.). How beautiful is his tone and temper ! He looks on God as feeding him, not His Word ; but the Angel, who is the Word, as healer of ills. This is the language of a true philosopher. He thinks it meet and right that He that is should Himself in His own Person give the principal boons, while His Angels and Words give the secondary gifts ; and secondary are such as involve riddance from ills. For this reason, I think, God bestows health in the simplest sense, preceded by no illness in our bodies, by Himself only, but health that comes by way of escape from illness He bestows both through medical science and through the physician’s skill, letting both knowledge and practitioner enjoy the credit of healing, though it is He Himself that heals alike by these means and without them. Now His mode of dealing is the same in the case of the soul. The good things, the food, He Himself bestows with His own hand, but by the agency of Ange’s and Words such as involve riddance of ills.

- 179 LXIII. Ταῦτα δ' ἠϋξάτο αἰτιώμενος τὸν πολιτικὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ ἐκθρέψω σε ἐκεῖ ”. “ σπεύσαντες ” γάρ φησιν “ ἀνάβητε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ εἶπατε αὐτῷ Ἵάδε λέγει ” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, εἶτα “ κατὰβηθι πρὸς μὲ καὶ μὴ μείνης, ” ἐπὶ πᾶσι “ καὶ ἐκθρέψω σε ἐκεῖ, ἔτη γὰρ πέντε λιμός ” (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). ἐπιμεμφόμενος οὖν ἅμα καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δοκησίσοφον λέγει· ὦ οὗτος, ἴσθι τὰς ψυχῆς τροφὰς ἐπιστήμας ὑπαρχούσας, ἃς οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητὸς λόγος ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται, ὁ τρέφων ἐκ νεότητος καὶ πρώτης ἀκμῆς <με> μέχρι τελείου φωτὸς (cf. Gen. xlvi. 15) αὐτὸς
- 180 ἐμπλήσει. ἔπαθεν οὖν ταῦτόν ὁ Ἰωσήφ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥαχήλ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἐνόμισε δύνασθαί τι τὸ γενητόν, διὸ λέγει· “ δός μοι τέκνα ” (Gen. xxx. 1)· ἀλλ' ὃ γε περνηστὴς αὐτὴν μωμησάμενος ἐρεῖ· πλάνον πεπλάνησαι πολύν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγώ |
- [123] εἶμι τοῦ μόνου δυναμένου τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας ἀνοιγνύναι καὶ σπεῖρειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρετὰς καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας καὶ τικτούσας τὰ καλά· κατὰμαθέ γέ τοι τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου Λείαν καὶ εὐρήσεις ἐξ οὐδενὸς γενητοῦ λαμβάνουσας τὴν σπορὰν καὶ τὴν γονὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· “ ἰδὼν γὰρ κύριος, ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς· Ῥαχήλ δὲ ἦν στείρα ” (Gen. xxix. 31).
- 181 ἀλλ' ὄρα πάλιν τὴν ἐν τούτῳ λεπτοουργίαν· τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ θεὸς τὰς μήτρας ἀνοίγει, σπεῖρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις, ἡ δὲ μήτρα, παραδεξαμένη τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ, οὐ τίκτει τῷ θεῷ—χρεῖος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὢν—ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τῷ Ἰακώβ υἱοῦ· ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἔνεκα ἔσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς

LXIII. In offering this prayer Jacob passed a censure on Joseph the statesman, who had ventured to say "I will nourish thee there." His words were, "Make haste and go up to my father and say to him 'thus saith'" and so on, and then "come down to me and tarry not," finishing with "and I will nourish thee there, for there shall be famine for five years" (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). So Jacob at once chides and instructs the man wise in his own conceit when he says: "You must know, fine Sir, that the foods which nourish the soul are various forms of knowledge, and that these are not bestowed by the word of bodily sense but by God. He who reared me from youth and early prime to full-grown manhood (*cf.* Gen. xlvi. 15) will Himself satisfy my needs." Joseph therefore went through the same experience as his mother Rachel. She too imagined that a created being has some power, for she says "Give me children" (Gen. xxx. 1). But the Supplanter will find fault with her and say, 'Thou hast greatly erred, for I am not in the place of God, who alone hath power to open the wombs of souls, and to sow virtues in them, and to make them pregnant with noble things, and to give birth to them. Take note of Leah thy sister, and thou wilt find her receiving seed and offspring out of no created being but by God's own gift'; "for the Lord, when he saw that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Gen. xxix. 31).

But note again the delicate subtilty here. God opens the wombs of virtue, sowing in them noble doings, but the womb, after receiving virtue at God's hand, does not bear to God—for He that is in need of no one—but bears sons to me Jacob; for it may well be that it

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ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ τάχα, οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐκοῦν ἄλλος μὲν ἀνὴρ τῆς Λείας ὁ ἡσυχάζόμενος εὐρίσκεται, ἄλλος δὲ πατὴρ τῶν ἐκ Λείας τέκνων· ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὴν μήτραν ἀνοίγων, πατὴρ δὲ τῶν τέκνων, ᾧ ταῦτα τίκτειν λέγεται.

- 182 LXIV. “Καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός” (Gen. iii. 15). ὄντως ἐστὶν ἡδονὴ ἔχθρὸν αἰσθήσει, καίτοι δοκοῦν ἐνίοις μάλιστα εἶναι φίλον· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τὸν κόλακα οὐκ ἂν τις ἐταῖρον εἶποι—νόσος γὰρ φιλίας ἢ κολακεία—οὐδὲ τὴν ἐταῖραν εὔνου ἐραστῇ—τοῖς γὰρ διδομένοις, οὐκ αὐτῷ, προσπέπονθεν—οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐξετάζων εὐρήσεις νόθον οἰκειότητα ὑπο-
- 183 δυομένην πρὸς αἴσθησιν. ὅταν γέ τοι κορεσθῶμεν ἡδονῆς, ἐκπίπτει τῶν τόνων ἡμῶν τὰ αἰσθητήρια· ἢ τοὺς οἴνω ἢ ἔρωτι μεθύοντας οὐ καταμανθάνεις, ὅτι ὀρώντες οὐχ ὀρώσι καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἀφήρηται τὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐνεργείας; ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ διὰ πλήθος ἄμετρον τροφῆς ἅπαντες οἱ τόνοι τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑφέιθησαν ὑπνου καταλαμβάνοντος, ὃς καὶ τοῦνομα ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑφέσεως αὐτῶν· χαλᾶται γὰρ τότε τὸ αἰσθητικὸν ὄργανον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσιν ἐπιτείνεται, μηκέτι κωφὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτὸς πλήξεις δεχόμενον ἀλλὰ γεγωνυίας καὶ ἐναργεῖς τὴν τε ἡχὴν ἄχρι τοῦ νοῦ διαδιδούσας· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν πληχθέντα γνωρίσαι τὸ ἐκτὸς καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ

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<sup>a</sup> Philo connects ὑφεις (“relaxing”) with ὑπνος (“sleep”).

was for my sake, not for His own sake that God sowed seed in virtue. Accordingly One is found to be husband to Leah, who is passed over in silence, and another to be father of the children born of Leah. For He that openeth the womb is husband, but father of the children is he to whom she is said to bear these.

LXIV. "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman" (Gen. iii. 15). In reality pleasure is a foe to sense, albeit thought by some to be a close friend. But just as no one would call the flatterer a comrade, since flattery is friendship diseased, and no one would say that the courtesan is kindly to her lover, since her tenderness is not for him but for his presents, so when you put pleasure to the test you will find that she is disguised under a counterfeit semblance of friendship with sense. You know how when we have surfeited ourselves with pleasure, our organs of sense relax their vigour. Or do you not observe men intoxicated with wine or love, how seeing they do not see and hearing they do not hear and how they are deprived of the power to exercise their other senses with any precision? It sometimes happens that owing to much overeating the vigour of all the senses is relaxed as sleep overtakes the man. Indeed sleep got its name from this relaxing<sup>a</sup> of the senses. For at such a time the organ of perception grows slack, just as when we wake up its intensity is heightened, and the impressions which we receive from without are no longer dull, but are clear and ringing, and carry the sound all the way to the mind; for the mind has to become cognizant of what is without by receiving a blow, and so to gain

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- 184 τύπον ἐναργῆ. LXV. τήρει δ' ὅτι οὐκ  
 εἶπεν “ ἔχθραν θήσω σοὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικί,” ἀλλὰ  
 “ ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ τῆς γυναικός.” διὰ τί δέ;  
 ὅτι περὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐν μεθορίῳ κείμενον  
 ἡδονῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως γίνεται τούτων ὁ πόλεμος.
- [124] τὸ δὲ μέσον ἀμφοῖν | ἐστὶ τὸ πότιμον, τὸ ἐδώδιμον,  
 τὸ εὐτρεπὲς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὧν ἕκαστον  
 αἰσθητὸν τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ποιητικὸν ἡδονῆς. ὅταν οὖν  
 ἀπλήστως ἐμφορηθῇ τούτων ἡ ἡδονή, βλάβην
- 185 εὐθύς εἰργάσατο αἰσθήσει. τὸ δ' “ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ  
 σπέρματός σου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς ” εἴρηται  
 πάλιν φυσικῶς· σπέρμα γὰρ πᾶν ἐστὶ γενέσεως  
 ἀρχή· ἀρχὴ δὲ ἡδονῆς μὲν [οὐ] τὸ πάθος, [ἀλλ']  
 ἄλογος ὄρμη, αἰσθήσεως δὲ ὁ νοῦς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου  
 καθάπερ τινὸς πηγῆς αἱ αἰσθητικαὶ τείνονται  
 δυνάμεις, μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν, ὃς  
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἰαδὰμ πεπλάσθαι φησὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τὴν  
 αἰσθησιν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ. ὅπερ οὖν ἡδονὴ πρὸς  
 αἰσθησιν, τοῦτο πάθος πρὸς νοῦν, ὡστ' ἐπειδὴ  
 ἐκείνα ἐχθρά, καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη πολέμια.
- 186 LXVI. καὶ περιφανῆς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶνδε πόλεμος· κατὰ  
 γοῦν τὰς ἐπικρατείας τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτε τοῖς νοητοῖς καὶ  
 ἀσωμάτοις παραβάλλει, φυγαδεύεται τὸ πάθος· καὶ  
 ἔμπαλιν ὅταν τοῦτο νικήσῃ νίκην κακὴν, εἴκει ὁ  
 νοῦς κωλυόμενος προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ  
 πᾶσιν ἔργοις. φησὶ γοῦν ἐν ἑτέροις, ὅτι “ ὅταν  
 μὲν ἐπῆρε τὰς χεῖρας Μωυσῆς, κατίσχυεν Ἰσραὴλ,  
 ὅταν δὲ καθῆκε, κατίσχυεν Ἀμαλῆκ ” (Exod. xvii.  
 11), τοῦτο παριστὰς ὅτι ὁ νοῦς ἐπειδὴ μὲν  
 ἐξάρη αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θνητῶν καὶ μετεωρισθῆ,



a vivid impression of it. LXV. Observe that the words are not "I will set enmity for thee and the woman," but "between thee and the woman." Now why is it put so? Because it is over that which is *between* pleasure and sense, over that which lies in their boundary so to speak, that the warfare of these two arises. But what is between them both are drinkables, eatables, what is adapted to all such purposes, each one of them being both an object of sense and a thing productive of pleasure. When pleasure, therefore, has indulged immoderately in these, it forthwith inflicts injury on sense. The expression again "between thy seed and her seed" is full of philosophical truth: for every seed is a starting-point of existence, but the starting-point of pleasure is passion, an irrational impulse, that of sense the mind; for from the mind as from a fountain the faculties of sense flow forth and extend. This is certainly taught by Moses, the holy prophet, who says that the woman was fashioned out of Adam, sense (that is) out of mind. What pleasure, then, is to sense, that passion is to mind. Since, therefore, the former pair are mutually hostile, the latter must also be at war with each other.

LXVI. And their warfare is patent. When mind is victorious, devoting itself to immaterial things its proper object, passion quits the scene: and on the other hand; when passion has won an evil victory, mind gives in, being prevented from giving heed to itself and to all its own occupations. Moses elsewhere says, "Whenever Moses lifted up his hands, Israel prevailed, but when he dropped them, Amalek prevailed" (Exod. xvii. 11), showing that when the mind lifts itself up away from mortal things and is

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- ῥώννυται τὸ ὄρων τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἰσραήλ,  
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ καθῆ τούς ἰδίους τόνους καὶ ἐξασθενήσῃ,  
 αὐτίκα τὸ πάθος ἰσχύσει, ὃ Ἀμαλήκ, ὃς ἐρμηνεύε-  
 ται λαὸς ἐκλείχων· ὄντως γὰρ διεσθίει τὴν ὅλην  
 ψυχὴν καὶ ἐκλιχμάται, μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ σπέρμα ἢ  
 187 ζώπυρον ἀρετῆς ὑπολείπων. παρὸ καὶ λέγεται  
 “ἀρχὴ ἐθνῶν Ἀμαλήκ” (Num. xxiv. 20), ὅτι  
 τῶν μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων καὶ πεφυρμένων  
 ἀβουλεῖ τὸ πάθος ἄρχει καὶ κυριεύει. διὰ τούτου  
 πᾶς ὁ ψυχῆς ἀναρριπίζεται πόλεμος· αἷς γοῦν  
 χαρίζεται διανοίαις ὃ θεὸς εἰρήνην, ταύταις  
 ὁμολογεῖ ἀπαλείψει “τὸ μνημόσυνον Ἀμαλήκ ἐκ  
 τῆς ὑπ’ οὐρανόν” (Exod. xvii. 14).
- 188 LXVII. Τὸ δὲ “αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν,  
 καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν” (Gen. iii. 15)  
 τῇ μὲν φωνῇ βαρβαρισμός ἐστι, τῷ δὲ σημαίνο-  
 μένω κατόρθωμα· τῷ γὰρ ὄφει λέγεται περὶ τῆς  
 γυναικός, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ “αὐτὸς” οὐκ ἐστίν, ἀλλ’  
 “αὐτή.” τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τῆς  
 γυναικὸς λόγου μετελήλυθεν ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ  
 [125] τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς· ἀρχὴ δὲ ἦν αἰσθήσεως | ὃ νοῦς·  
 οὗτος δὲ ἄρρηγ, ἐφ’ οὗ χρὴ λέγειν αὐτὸς καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὀρθῶς οὖν τῇ ἡδονῇ  
 λέγεται, ὅτι ὃ νοῦς σου τηρήσει τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ  
 ἡγεμονικὸν δόγμα, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ, τοῦ  
 νοῦ, τὰς ἐπιβάσεις καὶ ἐφιδρύσεις τῶν ἀρεσκόν-  
 των, αἷς αἱ πτέρναι κατὰ λόγον εἰκάσθησαν.
- 189 LXVIII. τὸ δὲ “τηρήσει” δύο δηλοῖ· ἐν μὲν τὸ  
 οἶον διαφυλάξει καὶ διασώσει, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἴσον

<sup>a</sup> The technical term for an error affecting a single word.

borne aloft, that which sees God, which is Israel, gains strength, but when it has lowered its special powers and grown weak, immediately passion, named "Amalek," which means "a people licking out," will become strong: for in very deed it eats up the whole soul and licks it out, leaving behind in it no seed or spark of virtue. In keeping with this are the words "Amalek the first of the nations" (Numb. xxiv. 20), because passion rules and lords it over promiscuous hordes that have drifted together without purpose or meaning. Through passion all the war of the soul is fanned into flame, and so God promises to minds to which He vouchsafes the gift of peace, that He will blot out "the memorial of Amalek from under heaven" (Exod. xvii. 14).

LXVII. The sentence "he shall watch thy head, and thou shalt watch his heel" (Gen. iii. 15) is a barbarism,<sup>a</sup> but has a perfectly correct meaning. It is addressed to the serpent concerning the woman, but the woman is not "he" but "she." What is to be said then? He has left off speaking about the woman and passed on to her seed and origin; but the mind is the origin of sense; and mind is masculine, in speaking of which we should use the pronouns "he" and "his" and so on. Rightly, then, is it said to Pleasure, "the Mind shall watch thy chief and principal doctrine, and thou shalt watch it, the Mind, as it acts and rests upon its accepted tenets."<sup>b</sup> This basing of conduct and principle on tenets is naturally represented by the word "heels." LXVIII. The word "shall watch" has two meanings, one like "shall guard and preserve," the other equivalent to "shall watch for to

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 483.

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- τῷ ἐπιτηρήσει πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἢ φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον εἶναι· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄφρων φύλαξ καὶ ταμίας ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἡδονῆς, χαίρει γὰρ αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἐχθρός, καταδοκῶν ὅτε ἐπιθέμενος ἰσχύσει καθελεῖν αὐτὴν εἰσάπαν. καὶ μὴν ἔμπαλιν ἢ ἡδονὴ τοῦ μὲν ἄφρονος διατηρεῖ τὴν ἐπίβασιν, τοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ λύειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὴν ἔνστασιν, ἡγουμένη τὸν μὲν κατά-  
 190 λυσιν αὐτῆς μελετᾶν, τὸν δ' ἄφρονα δι' ὧν μάλιστα σωθήσεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως πτερνίζειν δοκοῦσα καὶ ἀπατᾶν τὸν ἀστεῖον αὐτὴ πτερνισθήσεται πρὸς τοῦ πάλην ἡσκηκότος Ἰακώβ—πάλην δ' οὐ τὴν σώματος ἀλλ' ἦν παλαίει ψυχὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τρόπους αὐτῆς πάθει καὶ κακίαις μαχομένη— καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήσει πτέρναν τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ πάθους, πρὶν ἀπειπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ὁμολογήσαι, ὅτι ἐπτέρνισται καὶ νενίκηται δῖς, ἔν τε τοῖς πρωτοτοκίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν.  
 191 “δικαίως” γὰρ φησιν “ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἐπτέρνικέ με γὰρ ἤδη δεύτερον· τότε τὰ πρωτοτόκιά μου εἴληφε, καὶ νῦν εἴληφε τὴν εὐλογίαν μου” (Gen. xxvii. 36). πρεσβύτερα δὲ ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἡγεῖται τὰ σώματος, ὁ δ' ἀστεῖος τὰ ψυχῆς, ἃ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν, οὐ χρόνω ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ ἀξιώματι πρεσβύτερα καὶ πρῶτα ὄντως, ὡς καὶ ἄρχων ἐν πόλει· ἡγεμονίς δὲ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἢ ψυχῆ.  
 192 LXIX. Εἴληφεν οὖν τὰ πρῶτα ὁ πρῶτος κατ' ἀρετὴν, ἃ καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτῷ· εἴληφε γὰρ καὶ <τὸ>

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.

destroy." Now the mind must needs be either bad or good. The foolish mind will show itself a guardian and steward of pleasure, seeing that its delight is in pleasure ; but the good mind will prove its enemy, watching eagerly for the moment when it shall set upon it and achieve its utter destruction. And mark this : Pleasure on the other hand watches over and preserves the procedure of the foolish mind, but endeavours to break up and destroy the way of life<sup>a</sup> of the wise mind, holding that the latter is planning her ruin, while the former is devising the best means to preserve her. But in spite of her expecting to throw and cheat the good mind, she shall herself be thrown by Jacob who is practised in wrestling, not the bodily wrestling but that in which the soul engages against dispositions that are her antagonists, fighting as she does with passions and wickednesses. And Jacob shall not let go the heel of his adversary, passion, till it has given in, and acknowledged that it has been twice thrown and vanquished, both in the matter of the birthright and in the blessing. For says Esau, "Rightly was his name called Jacob, for he hath supplanted me twice already ; then he took my birthright, and now he has taken my blessing" (Gen. xxvii. 36). The bad man regards bodily things as more worshipful, the good man the things of the soul, as they are in reality, not in age but in value and dignity more worshipful, and really first, as is a magistrate in a city ; and it is the soul that is sovereign over our composite being.

LXIX. He therefore that is first in virtue has received the things that are first, which indeed were his portion ; for he has received the blessing also

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εὐλογιστεῖν σὺν εὐχαῖς τελείαις. μάταιος δὲ καὶ οἰησίσοφος ὁ λέγων “ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρωτοτόκια εἴληφεν ”· οὐ γὰρ τὰ σά, ὦ οὗτος, λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σοῖς τὰ ἐναντία· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σὰ δουλείας, τὰ δ’ ἐκείνου δεσποτείας ἠξίωται·

- 193 καὶ εἰ ἀγαπήσεις δούλος γενέσθαι τοῦ σοφοῦ, νουθεσίας καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ κοινωνήσεις, ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν κῆρας ψυχῆς ἀποβαλὼν· εὐχόμενος γὰρ ὁ πατήρ σοί φησιν, ὅτι “ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου δουλεύσεις ” (Gen. xxvii. 40)· ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ νῦν —οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεταιί σε ἀφηνιάζοντα—ἀλλ’ ὅταν “ ἐκλύσης τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου ” (ib.), τὸ αὔχημα καὶ φρύαγμα ἀποβαλὼν ὃ
- [126] ἐκτήσω ὑποζεύξας | σεαυτὸν ὀχήματι παθῶν, ἡνιο-  
 194 χούσης ἀφροσύνης. νυνὶ μὲν δούλος εἰ χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀφορήτων τῶν ἐν σαυτῷ δεσποτῶν, οἷς νόμος ἐστὶ μηδένα ἐλεύθερον ποιεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ τούτους δρασμῷ χρησάμενος καταλίπης, ὑποδέξεταιί σε φιλόδουλος δεσπότης ἐπ’ ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἐλευθερίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσει ἔτι τοῖς προτέροις δεσπότηαις, μαθὼν παρὰ Μωυσέως δίδαγμα καὶ δόγμα ἀναγκαῖον, “ μὴ παραδιδόναι παῖδα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὃς προστέθειται αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· μετὰ γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατοικήσει ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ὃ ἐὰν ἀρέσκη
- 195 αὐτῷ ” (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16). LXX. ἀλλ’ ἕως οὐκ ἀποδέδρακας, ἔτι δ’ ἐγκεχαλίνωσαι ταῖς ἐκείνων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡνίαις, ἀνάξιος εἰ δουλεύειν σοφῷ τεκμήριον μέγιστον ἦθους ἀνελευθέρου καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς παρέχεις, ὅταν λέγῃς “ τὰ ἐμὰ

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accompanied by perfect prayers. But vainly deeming himself wise is he who says, " My blessings and my birthright hath he taken " : not thine, man, does he take, but those which are opposite to thine ; for those which are thine have been accounted meet for slavery, but his for lordship. And if thou shalt consent to become a slave of the wise one, thou shalt cast from thee ignorance and boorishness, plagues of the soul, and be partaker of admonition and correction. For in his prayer thy father says to thee, " To thy brother shalt thou be a slave " (Gen. xxvii. 40) ; but not now shall this be, for he will not put up with thy restiveness, but when thou shalt have loosed the yoke from thy neck " (*ibid.*), casting from thee vaunting and insolence which thou didst acquire by yoking thyself to a chariot of passions, of which folly was the driver. Now indeed thou art a slave of the harsh and insufferable masters within thee, to whom it is a fixed law to set no one free. But if thou escape and abandon these, a master to whom his slaves are dear shall welcome thee, holding out bright hopes of liberty and shall not give thee up again to thy former masters. For he has learned from Moses a lesson and rule inviolable, " that a man deliver not up to his master a servant who has been handed over to him by the Lord ;<sup>a</sup> for he shall dwell with him in whatever place it liketh him best " (Deut. xxiii. 15 f.). LXX. But so long as thou hast not run away, but art still governed by the bit and bridle of thine old masters, thou art unworthy to be slave to a wise man. Thou affordest most sure proof of a servile character unworthy of a free man by saying

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, " has taken refuge in Israel from a hard heathen master."

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- πρωτοτόκια καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐλογίας” (Gen. xxvii. 36). εἰς ἄμετρον γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κεχωρηκότων αἶδε αἱ φωναί, ἐπειδὴ μόνῳ ἀρμόττει θεῷ λέγειν τὸ ἐμόν, αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὄντως κτήματα μόνου τὰ πάντα.
- 196 διὸ καὶ μαρτυρήσει, ὅταν φῆ “ τὰ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου διατηρήσεις ” (Num. xxviii. 2), ὅτι δῶρα δομάτων διαφέρει· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔμφασιν μεγέθους τελείων ἀγαθῶν δηλοῖ, ἃ τοῖς τελείοις χαρίζεται ὁ θεός, τὰ δ’ εἰς βραχύτατον ἔσταλται, ὧν μετέχουσιν οἱ εὐφυεῖς ἀσκηταὶ
- 197 οἱ προκόπτοντες. οὗ χάριν καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἀκολουθῶν τῷ θεοῦ θελήματι τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα, ἅπερ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ θεοῦ, κατέχει, ἀποπέμπεται δὲ τὴν ἵππον τοῦ βασιλέως Σοδόμων (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπαρκτὰ τῶν παλλακῶν. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τὰ μέγιστα δικαιονομεῖν ἀξιοὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, τὰ δὲ βραχέα τῶν κριμάτων ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς δευτερεύουσι σκοπεῖν (cf. Exod.
- 198 xviii. 26). ὅστις δὲ τολμᾷ λέγειν ἑαυτοῦ τι εἶναι, δούλος τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγράφεται, ὥσπερ ὁ λέγων “ ἠγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ παιδιά μου· οὐκ ἀποτρέχω ἐλεύθερος ” (Exod. xxi. 5). εὖ γε τὸ ἑαυτῷ ὁμολογήσαι δουλείαν· πῶς γὰρ ὁ λέγων οὐ δούλος Ἐμὸς ὁ κύριος νοῦς ἐστι, κύριος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ· ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις, αὐταρκες τῶν σωμάτων κριτήριον· ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔκγονα, τοῦ μὲν νοῦ τὰ νοητά, τῆς δ’ αἰσθήσεως τὰ αἰσθητά· ἐπ’

<sup>a</sup> See note on 24.

<sup>b</sup> A reference to Gen. xxv. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Literally, “ do not run away.”



“ my birthright and my blessings ” (Gen. xxvii. 36) ; for these utterances are those of men who are sunk in boundless ignorance, seeing that to speak of “ Mine ” befits God only, for all things are in reality the property of Him alone. For this reason He shall also testify, when he says, “ Thou shalt preserve My gifts, My grants, My fruits ” (Numb. xxviii. 2), that “ gifts ” excel “ grants.” For the term “ gifts ” brings out the sense of great and perfect boons, which God bestows upon the perfect ; “ grants ” have shrunk to a very meagre compass : these are for those of natural excellence who practise and make progress.

Because this is so, Abraham also in harmony with the will of God retains the property which had come to him from God, but gets rid of the horses <sup>a</sup> of the king of Sodom (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), as also of the possessions of the concubines.<sup>b</sup> Moses, moreover, thinks fit to judge the weightiest cases and issues, but the investigation of the insignificant questions he commits to inferior officers (cf. Exod. xviii. 26). Whoever dares to say that anything is his own will thereby have registered himself a slave in perpetuity, even as the man who says “ I have come to love my master and my wife and my children : I decline to go away free ” <sup>c</sup> (Exod. xxi. 5). It is well that he acknowledged himself a slave ; for how can the man be other than a slave who says “ mine is the master, even mind,” that is its own master and absolute lord ; “ mine also is sense-perception,” a means of judging material forms that is dependent upon none ; “ mine also are the offspring of these,” Mind’s proper objects being Mind’s offspring, and sensible objects the offspring of sense ; “ for in my power it is to exercise mind and

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- 199 ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖτω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταδικασθεῖς αἰωνίαν καὶ βεβαιοτάτην ὑπομένετω δουλείαν κελεύοντος τό τε οὖς τρυπᾶσθαι, ἵνα μὴ παραδέξῃται λόγους ἀρετῆς, καὶ δουλεύειν τὸν αἰῶνα τῷ νῶ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει, κακοῖς καὶ ἀνηλεέσι δεσπόταις.
- 200 LXXI. “Καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ εἶπε Πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὸν στεναγμὸν σου” (Gen. iii. 16). τῆς γυναικός, ἣτις αἰσθησις ἦν, [127] ἰδιὸν ἐστὶν ἀλγηδὼν πάθος, ἢ λύπη καλεῖται· περὶ ὃ γὰρ γίνεται τὸ ἠδεσθαι, περὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀλγεῖν· ἠδόμεθα δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ὥστε ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν δι’ αὐτῶν. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν σπουδαῖος καὶ κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς ἐλάχιστα ἀλγεῖ, ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῷ αἱ αἰσθήσεις· τῷ δ’ ἄφρονι περιττεῖται τὸ πάθος οὐδὲν ἔχοντι ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ᾧ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων
- 201 καὶ αἰσθητῶν κῆρας ἀμυνεῖται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐτέρως τύπτεται ὁ ἀθλητῆς καὶ ὁ δοῦλος, ὁ μὲν καθ’ ὑπόπτωσιν ἐνδιδούς πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας καὶ ὑπέικων, ὁ δ’ ἀθλητῆς ἀντέχων καὶ ἀντιστατῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας <πληγὰς> ἀποσειόμενος, καὶ κείρεις ἐτέρως μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ἐτέρως δὲ τὸ κῶδιον—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πάσχει μόνον ἐξετάζεται, ὁ δ’ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀντιδρᾷ καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιπέπονθε
- 202 σχηματίζων ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ κείρεσθαι—οὕτως ὁ μὲν ἀλόγιστος ἀνδραπόδων δίκην ἐτέρω ὑπέικει καὶ ὑποπίπτει ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν ὡς ἀφορήτοις δεσποῖναις ἀντιβλέψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀδυνατῶν, ἄρρενας

° 201 ff. are reproduced in an expanded form in *De Cher.* 79 ff.

to exercise the senses." But let him not only give evidence against himself. Let him be condemned also by God, and submit to a slavery eternal and inexorable when God bids his ear to be pierced, in order that it may not admit words of virtue, and bids him be slave for ever to Mind and to Sense, bad and pitiless masters.

LXXI. And to the woman He said, " I will greatly multiply thy sorrows and thy groaning " (Gen. iii. 16). Woman, who is, as we have seen, Sense, is the subject of an experience peculiarly her own, namely grief, which is called " sorrow " ; for there is a quarter of our being in which gladness takes rise, and in that same quarter does grief also take rise : but it is through the senses that we feel gladness, so that of necessity we feel grief also through them. But the excellent and cleansed Mind grieves least, for the senses assail him least. But the foolish Mind experiences grief abundantly, having no antidote in the soul, with which to repel the deadly ills that come from the senses and their objects.<sup>a</sup> The athlete and the slave take a beating in different ways, the one submissively giving in and yielding to the stripes, while the athlete opposes and withstands and shakes off the blows that are falling upon him. You crop a man in one way, a (sheep's) fleece in another. The sheep has the rôle of mere passivity, whereas, in the man's case, there is not only an active reciprocity, but his very submission is, so to speak, also reciprocal, as he adapts his position and posture to the process of being cropped. Just in the same way the man who does not reason yields to another as slaves do, and submits to sorrows as intolerable mistresses, and is powerless to look them in the face, not able to

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καὶ ἐλευθέρους σπᾶν μὴ δυνάμενος λογισμούς, παρὸ δὴ καὶ πλήθος ἄπειρον διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων αὐτῷ τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἐπαντλείται, ὁ δ' ἐπιστήμων ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ῥώμης καρτερᾶς ἀντιβᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα ἀντιπνεῖ, ὡς μὴ τιτρώσκεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξαδιαφορεῖν ἕκαστον, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ νεανιευσάμενος ἂν ἐπιφωνῆσαι τὸ τραγικὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀλγηδόνα οὕτως·

<Πίμπρη>, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου  
πίνουσα κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω  
γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα, γῆ δ' ἄνεισ' ἐς αἰθέρα,  
πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ' ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.

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LXXII. ὥσπερ δὲ τῇ αἰσθήσει τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα παραυξήσας τέθεικεν ὁ θεός, οὕτω τῇ σπουδαίᾳ ψυχῇ πλήθος ἄφθονον ἀγαθῶν δεδώρηται. φησὶ γοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ τελείου Ἀβραὰμ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “κατ' ἐμαντοῦ ὤμοσα, λέγει κύριος· οὐ εἶνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι' ἐμέ, ἦ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης” (Gen. xxii. 16, 17). εὖ καὶ τὸ ὄρκω βεβαιῶσαι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ ὄρκω θεοπρεπεῖ· ὄρᾳς γὰρ ὅτι οὐ καθ' ἑτέρου ὀμνύει θεός, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρείττον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὃς ἐστι πάντων ἄριστος.

204 [128] Ἔφασαν δέ τινες, ὡς ἀνοίκειον ἦν ὀμνύναι· ὁ ὄρκος γὰρ πίστεως ἔνεκα παραλαμβάνεται, | πιστὸς δὲ μόνος ὁ θεός καὶ εἴ τις θεῷ φίλος, καθάπερ

<sup>a</sup> A Fragment of Euripides.

<sup>b</sup> By οὐ ἔνεκα LXX. means “because.” Philo ignores this un-Attic idiom. Cf. 209.

draw forth free and manly reasonings, and accordingly a vast mass of painful experiences pours in upon him through the senses. The man of knowledge on the contrary, stepping out like an athlete to meet all grievous things with strength and robust vigour, blows a counter-blast to them, so that he is not wounded by them, but regards each of them with absolute indifference ; and, methinks, he might with youthful spirit address to grief the proud vaunt in the play, saying :

Burn me, consume my flesh, drink my dark blood,  
 Take fill of me ; for sooner shall the stars  
 Go 'neath the earth, and earth go up to sky,  
 Than thou shalt from these lips hear fawning word.<sup>a</sup>

LXXII. Now as for sense God has appointed all woeful things in larger measure, so on the earnest soul has He bestowed without stint an abundance of good things. For example in the case of perfect Abraham He speaks in this wise : “ By Myself I have sworn, saith the Lord, for Whose sake<sup>b</sup> thou hast done this thing, and on My account hast not spared thy son, thine only son, verily blessing will I bless thee, and multiplying will I multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is by the sea shore ” (Gen. xxii. 16 f.). Good is it both that He confirmed the promise by an oath, and that He did so by an oath befitting God ; you mark that God swears not by some other thing, for nothing is higher than He, but by Himself, who is best of all things.

Some have said, that it was inappropriate for Him to swear ; for an oath is added to assist faith, and only God and one who is God's friend is faithful,

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Μωυσῆς λέγεται, “ πιστὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ ”  
γεγενῆσθαι (Num. xii. 7). ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ λόγοι  
τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν ὄρκοι καὶ νόμοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
θεσμοὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατοι· τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ἰσχυ-  
ρότητος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἂν εἴπη γίνεται, ὅπερ ἦν οἰκειό-  
τατον ὄρκω· ὥστ’ ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅτι  
πάντες οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι εἰσιν ὄρκοι βεβαι-  
205 ούμενοι ἔργων ἀποτελέσμασι. LXXIII. φασί γε  
μὴν ὄρκον εἶναι μαρτυρίαν θεοῦ περὶ πράγματος  
ἀμφισβητουμένου· εἰ δὴ ὄμνυσιν ὁ θεός, ἑαυτῷ  
μαρτυρεῖ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄτοπον, ἕτερον γὰρ δεῖ  
εἶναι τὸν ποιούμενον τὴν μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ  
οὗ γίνεται. τί οὖν λεκτέον; πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐκ  
ἔστιν ὑπαίτιον ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν τὸν θεόν· τίς γὰρ  
ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο ἰκανὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι; ἔπειτα  
πάντ’ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ τιμιώτατα, συγγενῆς  
οἰκεῖος φίλος ἀρετῇ εὐδαιμονία μακαριότης ἐπι-  
στήμη σύνεσις ἀρχὴ τέλος ὅλον πᾶν δικαστῆς  
206 γνώμη βουλὴ νόμος πρᾶξις ἡγεμονία. ἄλλως τε  
ἂν τὸ “ κατ’ ἑμαυτοῦ ὤμοσα ” ὄν χρή τρόπον  
ἐκδεξώμεθα, παυσόμεθα τῆς ἄγαν σοφιστείας.  
μήποτ’ οὖν ἐστι τοιοῦτον· οὐδὲν τῶν δυναμένων  
πιστοῦν δύναται παγίως περὶ θεοῦ πιστῶσαι,  
οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀόρατον  
αὐτὴν παντὶ τῷ γένει παρεσκεύασε· τίς ἂν ἰσχύσαι  
ἢ ὅτι ἀσώματον ἢ ὅτι σῶμα ἢ ὅτι ποιὸν ἢ ὅτι  
ἄποιον τὸ αἴτιον εἰπεῖν ἢ συνόλως περὶ οὐσίας ἢ  
ποιότητος ἢ σχέσεως ἢ κινήσεως αὐτοῦ βεβαίως  
ἀποφήνασθαι; ἀλλὰ περὶ γε ἑαυτοῦ μόνος ἰσχυ-

\* See App. p. 483.

even as Moses is said to have been found "faithful in all His house" (Numb. xii. 7). Moreover, the very words of God are oaths and laws of God and most sacred ordinances; and a proof of His sure strength is that whatever He saith cometh to pass, and this is specially characteristic of an oath. It would seem to be a corollary from this that all God's words are oaths receiving confirmation by accomplishment in act. LXXIII. They say indeed that an oath is a calling God to witness to a point which is disputed; so if it is God that swears, He bears witness to Himself, which is absurd, for he that bears the witness must needs be a different person from him on whose behalf it is borne. What then must we say? First that there is nothing amiss in God bearing witness to Himself. For who else would be capable of bearing witness to Him? Secondly He Himself is to Himself all that is most precious, kinsman, intimate, friend, virtue, happiness, blessedness, knowledge, understanding, beginning, end, whole, everything, judge, decision, counsel, law, process, sovereignty. Besides if we once take "by Myself have I sworn" in the right way, we shall quit this excessive quibbling. Probably then the truth of the matter is something like this. Nothing that can give assurance can give positive assurance touching God, for to none has He shown His nature, but He has rendered it invisible to our whole race. Who can assert of the First Cause either that It is without body or that It is a body, that It is of such a kind or that It is of no kind?<sup>a</sup> In a word who can make any positive assertion concerning His essence or quality or state or movement? Nay He alone shall affirm anything regarding Himself since

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ριείται, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ἀψευδῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν  
 207 ἠκρίβωσε. βεβαιωτῆς οὖν ἰσχυρότατος ἑαυτοῦ τὸ  
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ μόνος ὁ  
 θεός, ὥστ' εἰκότως ὤμνυε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ πιστού-  
 μενος ἑαυτόν, ὃ μὴ δυνατὸν ἦν ἄλλῳ.

διὸ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἂν νομισθεῖεν οἱ φάσκοντες ὀμνύναι  
 κατὰ θεοῦ· εἰκότως γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὀμνυσι κατ' αὐτοῦ,  
 ὅτι γε οὐ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διαγνῶναι  
 δύναται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, ἔαν <κατὰ> τοῦ ὀνόματος  
 αὐτοῦ δυνηθῶμεν, ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ ἐρμηνέως λόγου·  
 οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀτελῶν ἂν εἴη θεός, τῶν δὲ  
 208 σοφῶν καὶ τελείων ὁ πρῶτος. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι  
 τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσας τοῦ ἀγενήτου φησίν·  
 “ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὀμῆ ” (Deut. vi. 13),  
 οὐχὶ αὐτῷ· ἱκανὸν γὰρ τῷ γενητῷ πιστοῦσθαι καὶ  
 μαρτυρεῖσθαι λόγῳ θείῳ· ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτοῦ πίστις

[129] ἔστω καὶ μαρτυρία | βεβαιοτάτη.

209 LXXIV. Τὸ δὲ “ οὐ εἶνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα  
 τοῦτο ” (Gen. xxii. 16) σύμβολόν ἐστιν εὐσεβείας·  
 τὸ γὰρ ἔνεκα θεοῦ μόνου πάντα πράττειν εὐσεβές·  
 παρὸ καὶ ἀφειδοῦμεν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τέκνου τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς, τοῦ εὐδαιμονῆσαι, παραχωροῦντες αὐτὸ  
 τῷ δημιουργῷ, ἄξιον τὸ γέννημα κρίνοντες κτῆμα  
 θεοῦ νομίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ γενητοῦ τινος. εὖ δὲ  
 210 τὸ φάναι “ εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω ” (ib. 17)· πολλὰ  
 γὰρ εὐλόγιστα δρῶσί τινες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εὐλογίαις,



He alone has unerringly exact knowledge of His own nature. God alone therefore is the strongest security first for Himself, and in the next place for His deeds also, so that He naturally swore by Himself when giving assurance as to Himself, a thing impossible for another than He.

It follows that men who say that they swear by God should be considered actually impious ; for naturally no one swears by Him, seeing that he is unable to possess knowledge regarding His nature. No, we may be content if we are able to swear by His Name, which means (as we have seen) the interpreting word. For this must be God for us the imperfect folk, but, as for the wise and perfect, the primal Being is their God. Moses too, let us observe, filled with wonder at the transcendancy of the Uncreate, says, " and thou shalt swear by His Name " (Deut. vi. 13), not " by Him," for it is enough for the created being that he should be accredited and have witness borne to him by the Divine word : but let God be His own most sure guarantee and evidence.

LXXIV. The words, " for Whose sake thou hast done this thing " (Gen. xxii. 16) are a token of piety ; for it is pious to do all things for the sake of God only. That is why we are unsparing of that only child of virtue, even the happiness we have attained, surrendering it to the Creator, deeming such offspring meet to be reckoned a possession of God, but not of any created being. Beautifully significant are the words, " blessing I will bless " (*ibid.* 17) ; for there are some people who do many things that are of the nature of benedictions, when their underlying character is not fraught with

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ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ φαῦλος ἔνια δρᾷ τῶν καθηκόντων οὐκ ἀφ' ἕξεως καθηκούσης, καὶ ὁ μεθύων μέντοι καὶ μεμηνῶς ἔστιν ὅτε νηφάλια φθέγγεται τε καὶ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ νηφούσης διανοίας, καὶ οἱ ἔτι κομιδῇ νήπιοι παῖδες οὐκ ἀπὸ λογικῆς ἕξεως — οὐπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἢ φύσις λογικοὺς πεπαίδευκε — πολλὰ πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ὧν οἱ λογικοί. βούλεται δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν σοφὸν μὴ σχετικῶς καὶ εὐαλώτως καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τύχης εὐλόγιστον δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἕξεως καὶ διαθέσεως εὐλόγιστου.

- 211 LXXV. Οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν οὖν τῇ βαρυδαίμονι αἰσθήσει χρῆσθαι πλουσίως ταῖς λύπαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ “ τῷ στεναγμῷ.” ἔστι δὲ στεναγμὸς σφοδρὰ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένη λύπη· πολλάκις γὰρ ἀλγοῦμεν οὐχὶ στένοντες· ὅταν δ' ἐπιστένωμεν, ἀνιαρῶς καὶ πάνυ ὀμβρηρῶς χρώμεθα ταῖς λύπαις. τὸ δὲ στένειν ἐστὶ διττόν· ἐν μὲν ὃ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας καὶ ὀρεγομένους τῶν ἀδικιῶν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας, ὃ δὴ καὶ φαῦλόν ἐστιν· ἕτερον δὲ ὃ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς μετανοοῦντας καὶ ἀχθομένους ἐπὶ τῇ πάλαι τροπῇ καὶ λέγοντας Κακοδαίμονες ἡμεῖς, ὅσον ἄρα χρόνον ἐλελήθειμεν νοσοῦντες ἀφροσύνης νόσον καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ ἀδικίας
- 212 ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται, ἔαν μὴ τελευτήσῃ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς

<sup>a</sup> οὐκ ἐπ' εὐλογίαις. Cf. *De Vita Mosis*, i. 283, 2 Cor. ix. 6. In all three places the preposition probably marks the *ground* or  *motive*. This is made clear here by ἀπό ('from') taking the place of ἐπὶ in each of the examples which follow. God *meant* blessing not cursing when He suffered Balaam to go to Balak. The giver in 2 Corinthians gives *out of an overflowing heart*. Those here in view might seem, if

blessing.<sup>a</sup> Why, even the bad man does some things that it is his duty to do without acting from a dutiful character.<sup>b</sup> Yes, and the drunken man and the madman now and then utter sober words and do sober deeds, but not from a sober mind ; and those who are still quite young children not from a fixedly rational state (for nature has not yet trained them to be rational), do and say many things that rational men do and say. But the lawgiver wishes the wise man to be accounted a man of benediction not as the outcome of a passing mood, or of being easily led by others, or as though by chance, but as the result of a fixed state and disposition charged with benediction.

LXXV. To return to our text. It was not enough for ill-starred sense to experience sorrows in large measure, it must indulge in "groaning" also. Groaning is intense and excessive sorrow. For we often grieve without groaning ; but when we groan over them, we let our sorrows bring on us a very storm of trouble and distress. Now groaning is of two kinds. One kind is found in men who desire and long for opportunities of wrongdoing and cannot get them, and this a bad kind. Another kind is that which is seen in those who repent and are vexed over their defection in former days and cry " Hapless we, how long a time had we, as is now evident, been ill all unaware of it with the illness of folly and senselessness and unrighteousness in our conduct." But this does not come about unless the king of Egypt, the godless and pleasure-loving

judged by isolated acts, to be *drawing upon a rich store of blessings*, but are not really doing so.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 483, 484.

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- τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ ἄθεος καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος·  
 “μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας ἔτε-  
 λεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου”. εἴτ’ εὐθὺς  
 ἀποθανούσης κακίας στενάζει ὁ ὄρων τὸν θεὸν  
 [καὶ] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τροπὴν, “κατεστέναξαν γὰρ οἱ  
 υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτιακῶν  
 ἔργων” (Exod. ii. 23). ἐπεὶ ζῶν γε ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος ἐν ἡμῖν γεγηθέναι τὴν  
 ψυχὴν ἀναπείθει ἐφ’ οἷς ἀμαρτάνει, ὅταν δὲ
- 213 τελευτήσῃ, στένει. διὸ καὶ ἐκβοᾷ πρὸς τὸν δε-  
 σπότην ἱκετεύουσα, μηκέτι τραπήναι μηδὲ ἀτελῆ  
 τὴν τελείωσιν λαβεῖν· πολλὰς γὰρ ψυχαῖς μετανοία  
 χρῆσθαι βουλευθείσαις οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ’  
 ὡσπερ ὑπὸ παλιρροίας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἀνεχώρησαν
- [130] τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Λῶτ | γυναικὸς (Gen. xix. 26)  
 τῆς λιθουμένης διὰ τὸ Σοδόμων ἐρᾶν καὶ εἰς τὰς  
 κατεστραμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεις ἀνατρέχειν.
- 214 LXXVI. Ἄλλὰ νυνὶ γέ φησιν ὅτι “ἀνέβη ἡ  
 βοή αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν” (Exod. ii. 23), μαρ-  
 τυρῶν τῇ τοῦ ὄντος χάριτι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ δυνατῶς  
 πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλεσε τὸν ἱκέτην λόγον, οὐκ ἂν  
 ἀνέβη, τουτέστιν οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβιβάσθη καὶ ηὐξήθη  
 καὶ μετεωρεῖν ἤρξατο φυγῶν τὴν ταπεινότητα  
 τῶν γηίνων. διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς φησιν· “ἰδοὺ  
 κραυγὴ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἦκει πρὸς μέ” (Exod.
- 215 iii. 9). πάνυ καλῶς τὸ φθάσαι μέχρι θεοῦ τὴν  
 ἱκεσίαν· οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἔφθασεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ καλῶν χρηστὸς  
 ἦν. ἐνίαις δὲ ψυχαῖς προαπαντᾷ· “ἦξω πρὸς σέ  
 καὶ εὐλογήσω σε” (Exod. xx. 24). ὁρᾷς ὄση  
 τοῦ αἰτίου ἢ χάρις φθάνοντος τὴν ἡμετέραν μέλ-

disposition, shall have met his end and died out of the soul: "for after those many days the king of Egypt died." Then straightway when wickedness has died, he that seeth God groans over his own failure, "for the children of Israel groaned by reason of their material and Egyptian works" (Exod. ii. 23). For while the king and pleasure-loving temper is alive in us it induces the soul to rejoice over the sins it is committing, but when he has died, it groans. And thus it is that it cries out to the Master beseeching that it may turn no more nor receive its consummation imperfectly. For many souls have desired to repent and not been permitted by God to do so, but have gone away backward as though drawn by a change of current. This befell Lot's wife, who became stone owing to her being enamoured of Sodom and reverting to the characters that had been overthrown by God.

LXXVI. Now, however, he says "their cry ascended to God" (Exod. ii. 23), bearing witness by so saying to the grace of the existent One; for had He not powerfully called to Himself the suppliant word, it would not have ascended, that is, it would not have been caused to mount, and have grown in volume and begun to soar on high after escaping from the baseness of the things of the earth. Wherefore in the sequel He says, "Behold, the cry of the children of Israel hath come to Me" (Exod. iii. 9). Very beautiful is it that the entreaty reached as far as God: but it would not have reached so far, but for the kindness of Him that called. Some souls He anticipates and goes forth to meet: "I will come to thee and will bless thee" (Exod. xx. 24). Thou seest how great is the grace of the First Cause, as He is

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- λησιν καὶ προαπαντῶντος εἰς εὐεργεσίαν παντελῆ τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ χρησμός ἐστι δογματικὸς τὸ λεγόμενον· ἐὰν γὰρ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἔννοια θεοῦ, εὐθὺς εὐλογιστεῖ τε καὶ πάσας τὰς νόσους
- 216 αὐτῆς ἰᾶται. ἡ δέ γε αἴσθησις αἰεὶ λυπεῖται καὶ στένει καὶ τίκτει μετ' ὀδύνης καὶ ἀλγηδόνων ἀνηκέστων τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν· “ ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα ” (Gen. iii. 16)· τίκτει δὲ ἡ μὲν ὄρασις τὸ ὄραν, ἡ δὲ ἀκοή τὸ ἀκούειν, ἡ δὲ γεῦσις τὸ γεύεσθαι, καὶ συνόλως ἡ αἴσθησις τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνευ χαλεπῆς ἀνίας τῷ ἄφρονι ἕκαστον τούτων ποιεῖται, ἐπιλύπως γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὄρα καὶ ἀκούει καὶ γεύεται καὶ ὀσφραίνεται καὶ κοινῶς αἰσθάνεται.
- 217 LXXVII. “ Ἐμπαλιῶν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐρήσεις μετὰ χαρᾶς ὑπερβαλλούσης [καὶ] κνοφοροῦσαν καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον σὺν γέλωτι καὶ εὐθυμίᾳ γεννῶντα καὶ τὸ γέννημα ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸ γέλωτ' ὄν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ὁ σοφὸς χαίρων ἀλλ' οὐ λυπούμενος γεννᾷ, μαρτυρήσει λέγων οὕτως ὁ θεῖος λόγος· “ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Σάρα ἡ γυνὴ σου οὐ κληθήσεται Σάρα, ἀλλὰ Σάρρα αὐτῆς ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα· εὐλογήσω αὐτὴν καὶ δώσω σοι ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνον ” (Gen. xvii. 15, 16)· εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει· “ καὶ ἔπεσεν Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν Εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται, καὶ ἡ Σάρρα
- 218 ἐνενήκοντα ἔτων οὔσα τέξεται; ” (ib. 17) οὗτος μὲν δὴ φαίνεται γεγηθὼς καὶ γελῶν, ὅτι μέλλει γεννᾶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸν Ἰσαάκ· γελᾷ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα, μαρτυρήσει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς λέγων ὧδε· “ ἐξέλιπε Σάρρα γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεῖα, καὶ ἐγέλασε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἶπεν Οὐπω μοι γέγονε τὸ εὐ-

beforehand with our hesitation, and anticipates and meets us, bringing unlimited gain to the soul. And what is said is a divine intimation full of instruction. For if a thought of God come into the mind, He forthwith blesses it and heals all its sicknesses. Sense, however, is always sorrowing and groaning, and with pangs and incurable pain bringing forth perception, as God Himself says, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children" (Gen. iii. 16); sight brings forth seeing, the ear hearing, taste tasting, in a word sense perceiving: but not without sore distress to the foolish one does she do each of these things, for to such an one pain is caused as he sees and hears and tastes and smells and generally exercises any sense.

LXXVII. On the other hand, you will find virtue full of exceeding joy at her pregnancy, and the good man begetting with laughter and a glad heart, and the offspring of them both laughter itself. That the wise man begets with joy not sorrow, the Divine word shall testify in these words, "God said to Abraham, Sarai thy wife shall not be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name: I will bless her and will give thee a child of her" (Gen. xvii. 15 f.); then he says further, "And Abraham fell on his face and laughed and said, Shall he that is a hundred years old have a son, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear?" (*ibid.* 17). Abraham evidently rejoices and laughs, because he is to beget Isaac (who is), Happiness; and Sarah, who is Virtue, laughs also.<sup>a</sup> The same book shall witness to this when it says, "It ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, and she laughed in her mind and said, Not

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 484.

## PHILO

- δαιμονεῖν ἕως τοῦ νῦν· ὁ δὲ κύριός μου” θεῖος λόγος “πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν” (Gen. xviii. 11, 12), ᾧ προσεῖναι τοῦτο ἀνάγκη καὶ πιστεύειν καλὸν ὑπισχνουμένῳ. καὶ τὸ γέννημα δ’ ἐστὶ γέλως καὶ χαρά· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ἐρμηνεύεται. |
- [131] λυπέισθω τοιγαροῦν αἰσθησις, ἀρετὴ δ’ αἰεὶ χαι-  
 219 ρέτω· καὶ γὰρ γεννηθέντος τοῦ εὐδαιμονεῖν φησι σεμννομένη· “γέλωτα ἐποίησέ μοι ὁ κύριος· ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖται μοι” (Gen. xxi. 6). ἀναπετάσαντες οὖν ὦτα, ᾧ μύσται, παραδέξασθε τελετὰς ἱερωτάτας· ὁ γέλως ἐστὶν ἢ χαρά, τὸ δὲ “ἐποίησεν” ἴσον τῷ ἐγέννησεν, ὡστ’ εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον· Ἰσαὰκ ἐγέννησεν ὁ κύριος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πατὴρ ἐστὶ τῆς τελείας φύσεως, σπείρων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ γεννῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν.
- 220 LXXVIII. “Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου” φησὶν “ἢ ἀποστροφή σου” (Gen. iii. 16). δύο αἰσθήσεως ἄνδρες εἰσὶν, ὁ μὲν νόμιμος, ὁ δὲ φθορεὺς· ἄνδρὸς μὲν γὰρ <φθορέως> τρόπον τὸ μὲν ὄρατὸν κινεῖ τὴν ὄρασιν, ἢ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν ἀκοήν, ὁ δὲ χυλὸς τὴν γεῦσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον· ταῦτα δ’ ἀποστρέφει καὶ καλεῖ τὴν ἄλογον αἰσθησιν πρὸς ἑαυτὰ καὶ κατακρατεῖ καὶ κυριεύει· τό τε γὰρ κάλλος τὴν ὄρασιν ἐδουλώσατο ὃ τε ἡδὺς χυλὸς τὴν γεῦσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον αἰσθητῶν τὴν
- 221 κατ’ αὐτὸ αἰσθησιν· ἴδε γέ τοι τὸν λίχνον, ὡς δουλεύει ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῶν ὄσα ὀψαρτυταὶ καὶ σιτοπόνοι τεχνιτεύουσι, καὶ τὸν σεσοβημένον περὶ μέλος, πῶς ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπὸ κιθάρας ἢ αὐλοῦ ἢ καὶ ἄδειν ἐπισταμένου. τῇ δέ γε πρὸς τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν νοῦν, ἀποστραφείσῃ μεγίστη ἐστὶν ὠφέλεια αἰσθήσει.



yet hath happiness befallen me till now but my Lord (the divine Word) is greater <sup>a</sup> (Gen. xviii. 11 f.), to whom this <sup>b</sup> must needs belong and whom I must believe when he promises good." Moreover, the offspring is laughter and joy, for that is what "Isaac" means. Let sense-perception therefore be sorrowful, but let virtue always rejoice: for again when Happiness has been born she says with pride "the Lord hath made laughter for me; for whosoever shall hear of it will rejoice with me" (Gen. xxi. 6). Therefore, O ye initiate, open your ears wide and take in holiest teachings. The "laughter" is joy, and "made" is equivalent to "beget," so that what is said is of this kind, the Lord begat Isaac; for He is Himself Father of the perfect nature, sowing and begetting happiness in men's souls.

LXXVIII. "And to thy husband," He says, "shall be thy resort" (Gen. iii. 16). Sense has two husbands, the one lawful, the other a seducer. After the fashion of a seducing husband the thing seen acts on the sight, the sound on the hearing, the flavour on the palate, and so with the rest one by one. And these turn away and invite to themselves the irrational sense and get the mastery of it and domineer over it. Beauty enslaves the sight, the pleasant savour the palate, and the several objects of sense enslave the sense corresponding to them. Look at that glutton, what a slave he is to the dishes prepared by the skill of cooks and confectioners. Mark that one wild with excitement over music, how he is swayed and held spellbound by harp or flute or it may be by a good singer. But to sense that has been turned from all else to Mind, her lawful husband, vast benefit befalls.

<sup>a</sup> Literally, "elder."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, happiness.

PHILO

- 222 LXXIX. Ἰδωμεν οὖν ἐξῆς, τίνα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοῦ διεξέρχεται παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κινουμένου. “ τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν ὁ θεός “Οτι ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου” (Gen. iii. 17). ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστιν ἀκούειν αἰσθήσεως νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αἰσθησιν νοῦ· αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ κρεῖττον ἄρχειν, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἄρχεσθαι δεῖ.
- 223 νοῦς δὲ κρεῖττον αἰσθήσεως. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄρχοντος μὲν ἡνίοχου καὶ ταῖς ἡνίαις τὰ ζῶα ἄγοντος ἢ βούλεται ἄγεται τὸ ἄρμα, ἀφημιασάντων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ κρατησάντων ὃ τε ἡνίοχος κατεσύρη πολλάκις τὰ τε ζῶα ἔστιν ὅτε τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς εἰς βόθρον κατηνέχθη πλημμελῶς τε πάντα φέρεται, καὶ ναῦς εὐθύδρομει μὲν, ἡνίκα τῶν οἰάκων λαβόμενος ὁ κυβερνήτης ἀκολούθως πηδαλιουχεῖ, περιτρέπεται δ’ ὅτε πνεύματος ἐναντίου περιπνεύσαντος τῇ
- 224 θαλάττῃ ὁ κλύδων ἐνώκησεν, οὕτως ἐπειδὴν μὲν
- 132] ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡνίοχος ἢ κυβερνήτης | ὁ νοῦς ἄρχῃ τοῦ ζώου ὅλου καθάπερ ἡγεμῶν πόλεως, εὐθύνεται ὁ βίος, ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἄλογος αἰσθησις φέρηται τὰ πρωτεῖα, σύγχυσις καταλαμβάνει δεινῇ, οἶα δούλων δεσπόταις ἐπιτεθειμένων· τότε γάρ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἐμπίπραται φλεγόμενος ὁ νοῦς, τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὴν φλόγα ἐγειρουσῶν τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὑποβεβλημένων. LXXX. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι δηλοῖ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπρήσεως, ἣ γίνεται διὰ τῶν
- 225 αἰσθήσεων, τοῦ νοῦ, ὅταν λέγῃ: “ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐν Μωάβ” —ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> Heb. “for thy sake.”

LXXIX. Let us observe in the next place how he discourses respecting Mind itself when acted upon in violation of the right principle. "To Adam God said, 'Because thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee not to eat [of it thou hast eaten], cursed is the ground in respect of thy labours<sup>a</sup>'" (Gen. iii. 17). Most profitless is it that Mind should listen to Sense-perception, and not Sense-perception to Mind: for it is always right that the superior should rule and the inferior be ruled; and Mind is superior to Sense-perception. When the charioteer is in command and guides the horses with the reins, the chariot goes the way he wishes, but if the horses have become unruly and got the upper hand, it has often happened that the charioteer has been dragged down and that the horses have been precipitated into a ditch by the violence of their motion, and that there is a general disaster. A ship, again, keeps to her straight course, when the helmsman grasping the tiller steers accordingly, but capsizes when a contrary wind has sprung up over the sea, and the surge has settled in it. Just so, when Mind, the charioteer or helmsman of the soul, rules the whole living being as a governor does a city, the life holds a straight course, but when irrational sense gains the chief place, a terrible confusion overtakes it, just as when slaves have risen against masters: for then, in very deed, the mind is set on fire and is all ablaze, and that fire is kindled by the objects of sense which Sense-perception supplies. LXXX. Moses, moreover, gives intimations of such a conflagration of the mind as this, occasioned by the senses, when he says: "And the women kindled yet further a fire in Moab."

## PHILO

“ ἐκ πατρός,” ὁ τε πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς ἐστι—  
 “ τότε ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐροῦσιν οἱ αἰνιγματισταὶ  
 Ἐλθετε εἰς Ἐσεβῶν, ἵνα οἰκοδομηθῇ καὶ κατα-  
 σκευασθῇ πόλις Σηῶν. ὅτι πῦρ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ἐσε-  
 βῶν, φλόξ ἐκ πόλεως Σηῶν, καὶ κατέφαγεν ἕως  
 Μωάβ καὶ κατέπιε στήλας Ἀρνῶν. οὐαὶ σοι,  
 Μωάβ· ἀπώλου, λαὸς Χαμῶς. ἀπεδόθησαν <οἱ>  
 υἱοὶ αὐτῶν σφύζεσθαι, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν  
 αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀμορραίων Σηῶν, καὶ τὸ  
 σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπολείται Ἐσεβῶν ἕως Δεβῶν,  
 καὶ <αἱ> γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ  
 226 Μωάβ ” (Num. xxi. 27-30). Ἐσεβῶν ἐρμηνεύε-  
 ται λογισμοί· οὗτοι δ’ εἰσὶν αἰνίγματα ἀσα-  
 φείας γέμοντα. ἴδε λογισμὸν ἰατροῦ· κενώσω τὸν  
 κάμνοντα, θρέψω, φαρμάκοις ἰάσομαι <καὶ> διαίτη,  
 τεμῶ, καύσω· ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἢ φύσις καὶ ἄνευ  
 τούτων ἰάσατο καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἀπώλεσεν, ὡς  
 τοὺς ἰατροῦ πάντας ἐπιλογισμοὺς ἐνύπνια εὔρε-  
 θῆναι ἀσαφείας καὶ αἰνιγμάτων πλήρη. πάλιν ὁ  
 227 γεωπόνος φησί· σπέρματα βαλοῦμαι, φυτεύσω,  
 αὐξήσει τὰ φυτά, καρποὺς ταῦτα οἶσει, οἱ οὐ  
 μόνον εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσονται χρήσιμοι τὴν ἀναγ-  
 καίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιουσίαν ἀρκέσουσιν· εἴτ’  
 ἐξαίφνης φλόξ ἢ ζάλη ἢ ἐπομβρίαὶ συνεχεῖς  
 διέφθειραν πάντα· ἔστι δ’ ὅτε τὰ μὲν ἐτελεσιουργ-  
 γήθη, ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λογισάμενος οὐκ ὤνατο, ἀλλὰ  
 προαπέθανε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν πονηθέντων καρποῖς  
 μάτην ἀπόλαυσιν ἐμαντεύσατο.

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 225-227

For "Moab" means "out of a father," and our father is the Mind. His words are, "Then shall they that propound riddles say, Come to Heshbon that it may be built, and that the city of Sihon may be constructed. For a fire hath gone forth from Heshbon and a flame from the city of Sihon, and it devoured as far as Moab and drank up the boundaries of Arnon. Woe to thee, Moab, thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. Their sons were given up as fugitives,<sup>a</sup> and their daughters as prisoners of war to Sihon, king of the Amorites, and their seed shall perish, Heshbon unto Dibon, and their women yet further kindled a fire against Moab" (Numb. xxi. 27-30). "Heshbon" means "reasonings": and "reasonings" are riddles full of obscurity. Look at a doctor's reasonings: "I will purge the patient, I will feed him up, I will prescribe medicines and put him on a diet that will make him well, I will operate, I will cauterize." But many a time has nature either brought recovery without these means being used, or brought death when these have been resorted to, proving all the doctor's calculations to be vain dreams, nothing but guesswork in the dark. Again, the farmer says, "I will sow, I will plant, the plants will grow, seeds and plants will yield crops, not only useful as affording food that we cannot do without, but so abundant as to give us enough and to spare." Then all of a sudden a fire, or a storm, or persistent rain spoils everything. Sometimes all that he had reckoned on comes to pass, but the reckoner dies first without having had the benefits of them, and his expectation of enjoying the fruits of his toil proves a vain one.

<sup>a</sup> Literally, "to save themselves" (by flight).

## PHILO

- 228 LXXXI. "Ἀριστον οὖν τῷ θεῷ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀσασφῆσι λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀβεβαίοις εἰκασίαις· "Ἄβραάμ γέ τοι ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομήσθη" (Gen. xv. 6)· καὶ Μωυσῆς ἄρχει μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἐστὶ "πιστὸς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ" (Num. xii. 7). εἰ δὲ ἀποπιστεύσωμεν τοῖς ἰδίῳις λογισμοῖς, κατασκευάσομεν καὶ οἰκοδομήσομεν τὴν πόλιν τοῦ διαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν νοῦ· Σηῶν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται διαφθείρων.
- 229 παρὸ καὶ ἀναστάς, παρ' ᾧ ἦν ἐνύπνια, εὗρεν, ὅτι  
 [133] αἱ κινήσεις | ἅπασαι καὶ αἱ διατάσεις τοῦ ἄφρονός εἰσιν ἐνύπνια ἀληθείας ἀμέτοχα—αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐνύπνιον εὗρέθη—, ὅτι ἀληθές μὲν ἐστὶ δόγμα τὸ πιστεύειν θεῷ, ψεῦδος δὲ τὸ πιστεύειν τοῖς κενοῖς λογισμοῖς. ἄλογος δὲ ὄρμη ἐξέρχεται καὶ φοιτᾷ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν τε λογισμῶν καὶ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ διαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν· διὸ καὶ φησιν, ὅτι "πῦρ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ἑσεβῶν, φλόξ ἐκ πόλεως Σηῶν" (Num. xxi. 28)· οὕτως γὰρ ἄλογον τὸ πιστεύειν ἢ λογισμοῖς πιθανοῖς ἢ νῶ διαφθεύροντι
- 230 τὸ ἀληθές. LXXXII. "κατεσθίει γέ τοι καὶ ἕως Μωάβ," τουτέστιν ἕως τοῦ νοῦ· τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ἄθλιον νοῦν ἢ ψευδῆς δόξα ἀπατᾷ; κατεσθίει καὶ βιβρώσκει καὶ μέντοι καὶ καταπίνει τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στήλας, τουτέστι τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνθυμήματα, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν στήλῃ τετύπῳται καὶ ἐγκεχάρακται. Ἄρνων δ' εἰσὶν αἱ στήλαι, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται "φῶς αὐτῶν," ἐπεὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
- 231 ἕκαστον ἐν λογισμῶ σαφηνίζεται. ἄρχεται μὲν οὖν θρηνεῖν τὸν αὐθάδη καὶ φίλαντον νοῦν οὕτως· "οὐαὶ σοι, Μωάβ, ἀπώλον"· εἰ γὰρ αἰνίγμασι προσέχεις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν εἰκότων ἐπιβολήν,

LXXXI. So then it is best to trust God and not our dim reasonings and insecure conjectures: "Abraham believed God and was held to be righteous" (Gen. xv. 6); and the precedence which Moses takes is testified to by the words he is "faithful<sup>a</sup> in all My house" (Numb. xii. 7). But if we repose our trust in our own reasonings, we shall construct and build up the city of Mind that corrupts the truth: for "Sihon" means "corrupting." Accordingly the dreamer finds on rising up that all the movements and exertions of the foolish man are dreams void of reality. Yea Mind itself turned out to be a dream. And this is so, because to trust God is a true teaching, but to trust our vain reasonings is a lie. An irrational impulse issues forth and goes its rounds, both from our reasonings and from Mind that corrupts the truth; wherefore also he says, "There went forth a fire from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon" (Numb. xxi. 28). In this way trust in plausible reasonings or in Mind corrupting that which is true, is irrational. LXXXII. "It devours even as far as Moab," that is to say as far as Mind. For whom else does false opinion deceive but wretched Mind? It devours and eats up yea and swallows down the boundary-stones in it, that is, each particular thought or judgement, which are graved and chiselled as though upon a boundary-stone. The stones are Arnon, which means "their light," since it is in reasoning that each matter is elucidated. This is how he begins the dirge over the headstrong and selfish Mind: "Woe to thee, Moab: thou art undone"; for if thou heedest guesses made according to what is probable, thou

<sup>a</sup> Philo takes πιστός actively, "believing."

PHILO

ἀπολώλεκας ἀλήθειαν. “λαὸς Χαμῶς” τουτέστιν ὁ λαὸς σου καὶ ἡ δύναμις εὐρηται πηρὸς καὶ τετυφλωμένος· Χαμῶς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται “ὡς ψηλάφημα”. ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὀρώντος τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο.

232 τούτοις οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ <οἱ> κατὰ μέρος λογισμοὶ φυγάδες, αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι θυγατέρων ἔχουσαι δύναμιν αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀμορραίων, τουτέστι τῷ σοφιστῇ λαλούντων· οἱ γὰρ Ἀμορραῖοι ἐρμηνεύονται λαλοῦντες, τοῦ γεγωνότος λόγου σύμβολον ὄντες· ὁ δὲ τούτων ἡγεμὼν ὁ σοφιστής ἐστι καὶ δεινὸς λόγων ἀνερευνᾶν τέχνας, ὑφ’ οὗ κατασοφίζονται οἱ τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερβαίνοντες. LXXXIII. Σηῶν οὖν ὁ διαφθεῖρων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἀπολείται καὶ Ἐσεβῶν τὰ αἰνίγματα τὰ σοφιστικὰ ἕως Δεβῶν, ὃ καλεῖται δικασμὸς· πάνυ προσφυῶς· τὰ γὰρ εἰκότα καὶ πιθανὰ οὐκ ἔχει περὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ δίκην καὶ ἀμφισβήτησιν καὶ ἐριστικὴν ἄμιλλαν καὶ φιλονεικίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

234 Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε τῷ νῶ τὰς ἰδίας καὶ νοητὰς ἔχειν κῆρας, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ, αἱ αἰσθήσεις, πυρκαϊᾶν πολλὴν ἐπ’ αὐτόν. ἴδε μέντοι τὸ λεγόμενον οἶόν ἐστι. πολλάκις νύκτωρ οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐνεργοῦντες ἀτόπους περὶ πολλῶν καὶ διαφερόντων λαμβάνομεν [134] | ἐνοίας, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀεικινήτου ὑπαρχούσης καὶ μυρίας τροπὰς ἐνδεχομένης. ἦν οὖν ἱκανὰ πρὸς



hast lost truth. "The people of Chemosh," that is thy people and its power has been found to be maimed and blinded; for "Chemosh" means "as a groping," and groping is characteristic of one who cannot see. These find their sons, each particular reasoning, fugitives, while their judgements, corresponding to daughters, are captives of war to the king of the Amorites, that is "the lecturer of men fond of talking"; for the Amorites, if we translate the name, are "men fond of talking," being a figure of the uttered word, and the prince of these is the lecturer or sophist clever at searching after verbal artifices, and those who transgress the boundary of truth place themselves at the mercy of his quibbling. LXXXIII. Sihon, therefore, the corrupter of the healthy rule of the truth, "and his seed shall perish together with Heshbon" (that is) the quibbling riddles "as far as Dihon," a name given to going to law, and quite appropriately, for probabilities and plausible arguments involve no knowledge concerning truth, but trial and disputation and wrangling conflict and contentiousness and everything of that sort.

It was not, however, enough for Mind to have the troubles that are peculiar to it and belong to its own sphere, but over and above these the women, the senses, that is, lit a fire, a huge conflagration, to add to its disasters. Prythee see what I mean by this. It often happens in the night when we are actively employing no single one of our senses, that we entertain strange notions on many different subjects, for the soul is perpetually in movement and can turn ten thousand different ways. This being so, what it produces by itself would have been

## PHILO

- διαφθορὰν αὐτῆ, ὅσα αὐτὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐγέννησε.  
 235 νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλος ἐπεισωδίασεν  
 αὐτῆ κηρῶν ἀμήχανον πλῆθος, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν  
 ὄρατῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῶν φωνῶν, εἶτα χυλῶν  
 <καὶ> ἀτμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁσμὴν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἢ  
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν φλόξ χαλεπώτερον τὴν ψυχὴν διατίθησι  
 τῆς ἐγγινομένης ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνευ συμ-  
 παραλήψεως αἰσθητηρίων.
- 236 LXXXIV. Τούτων μία τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ἡ  
 Πεντεφρῆ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἀρχιμαγείρου (Gen. xxxix.  
 1 ff.). ὃς πῶς ἔχει γυναῖκα εὐνοῦχος ὢν, ἐπι-  
 σκεπτέον· τοῖς γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ νόμου πραγ-  
 ματευομένοις πρὸ ἀλληγορίας ἀκολουθήσει τὸ  
 δοκοῦν ἀπορεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος καὶ ἀρχι-  
 μάγειρος ὄντως νοῦς μὴ ταῖς ἀπλαῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ταῖς περιτταῖς χρώμενος ἡδοναῖς εὐνοῦχος  
 κέκληται καὶ ἄγονος σοφίας, ὢν εὐνοῦχος οὐκ  
 ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ τῶν καλῶν Φαραῶ·  
 ἐπεὶ τοι κατ' ἄλλον λόγον ἄριστον ἂν εἴη τὸ  
 εὐνοῦχον γενέσθαι, εἰ δυνήσεται ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχὴ  
 237 κακίαν ἐκφυγοῦσα ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος. διὸ καὶ  
 Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἐγκρατῆς τρόπος τῆ λεγούσῃ ἡδονῇ  
 “Κοιμήθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ (Gen. xxxix. 7) καὶ  
 ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρωποπάθησον καὶ ἀπόλαυσον  
 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τερπνῶν” ἐναντιοῦται φάσκων·  
 “ἀμαρτήσομαι εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν φιλάρετον, εἰ  
 γενοίμην φιλήδονος· πονηρὸν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔργον.”
- 238 LXXXV. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀκροβολίζεται, ἤδη δὲ καὶ  
 καρτερῶς ἀπομάχεται, ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς

sufficient for its corruption. But as it is, the mob of the senses has introduced into it from outside an untold host of mischiefs, drawn partly from visible objects, partly from sounds, as well as from savours and scents that touch the sense of smell ; and we may say that the flame arising from them affects the soul more disastrously than the flame that is kindled in it by the soul itself without calling in the organs of sense to assist it.

LXXXIV. One of these women is the wife of Potiphar, Pharaoh's head-cook (Gen. xxxix. 1 ff.). How, being a eunuch, he comes to have a wife, is a point to be considered : for those, who are occupied with the literal wording of the law rather than with its figurative interpretation, will find that it involves what appears to such a difficulty. For the Mind, that is really an eunuch and chief cook, dealing not in the simple pleasures only but in excessive ones also, deserves the title of eunuch as one who is incapable of begetting wisdom, seeing that he serves as eunuch none other than Pharaoh, the disperser of noble things. For you must bear in mind that from another point of view to become an eunuch would be a very good thing, if so our soul should be able to escape wickedness and unlearn passion. So Joseph too, the self-controlling character, when pleasure says to him " Sleep with me " (Gen. xxxix. 7) ' and being human indulge human passions and enjoy the delights that come in life's course,' refuses to comply with her saying, ' I shall be sinning against God the Lover of virtue, were I to show myself a lover of pleasure ; for this is a wicked deed.' LXXXV. And now he is merely skirmishing, but before long he is stoutly fighting it out, when the

## PHILO

οἶκον ἢ ψυχὴν καὶ ἀναδραμοῦσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς  
 τόνους ἀποτάξεται τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ  
 ἴδια ὡς ψυχῆς ἔργα ἐργάσεται· οὐτ' εἰς τὸν  
 οἶκον Ἰωσήφ οὔτε Πεντεφέρῃ, ἀλλ' " εἰς τὴν  
 οἰκίαν "—καὶ οὐ προστίθῃσι τὴν τίνος, ἵνα σκεπτι-  
 κῶς ἀλληγορῆς—" ποιεῖν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ " (Gen.  
 239 xxxix. 11). ἢ μὲν οὖν οἰκία ἐστὶν ἢ ψυχὴ, εἰς ἣν  
 ἀνατρέχει καταλιπὼν τὰ ἐκτός, ἵνα τὸ λεγόμενον  
 ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ γένηται· τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦς ἔργα  
 μήποτε θεοῦ βουλήματι<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς  
 ἦν ἀλλότριος λογισμὸς τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν τῇ  
 ψυχῇ κατοικεῖν εἶσω. πλὴν οὐκ ἀφίσταται ζυγο-  
 μαχοῦσα ἢ ἡδονή, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱματίων λαβομένη  
 φησί " Κοιμήθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ." σκεπάσματα δὲ  
 ὡσπερ σώματος τὰ ἐσθήματά ἐστιν, οὕτως τοῦ  
 ζώου σιτία καὶ ποτά. τοῦτο δὴ φησι· τί παραιτῇ  
 240 τὴν ἡδονήν, ἧς ἄνευ οὐ δύνασαι ζῆν; ἰδοὺ ἐκ-  
 λαμβάνομαι τῶν ποιητικῶν αὐτῆς καὶ φημί σε μὴ  
 ἂν δυνηθῆναι ὑποστῆναι, εἰ μὴ τι τῶν ποιητικῶν  
 χρήσαιο. τί οὖν ὁ ἐγκρατής; εἰ μέλλω, φησί,  
 [135] δουλεύειν πάθει διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν | ὕλην, καὶ  
 ἐξελεύσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔξω· " καταλιπὼν  
 γὰρ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς ἔφυγε καὶ  
 241 ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω " (Gen. xxxix. 12). LXXXVI. τίς

<sup>1</sup> ? βουλήματα. See note on translation.

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<sup>a</sup> θεοῦ βουλήματι. Cf. *De Posteritate Caini* 73 τῷ μὴ κατὰ βούλημα τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντι, *De Vita Mosis* 287 οὐ συνάδει τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήματι. The absence of an article in our passage is suspicious; and the dative is somewhat harsh with ἐστὶ. These difficulties would be got over, and a stronger sense gained, by reading βουλήματά. The man of self-control carries out in act purposes of God learned in  
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soul has entered into her own house, and falling back on her own energies has renounced all that is regulated by the body, and has set to work at business properly belonging to her inasmuch as they are activities of the soul. He goes neither into Joseph's house nor into that of Potiphar, but "into the house." He does not go on to say *whose* house, that you may think and interpret. He simply adds, "to do his business" (Gen. xxxix. 11). The house then is the soul, into which he retires, abandoning all that is outside, to the end that he may, as we say, get within himself. The "business" of the man of self-control is, we may take it, done by God's will<sup>a</sup>; for indeed, among all the reasonings wont to have their abode in the soul within, there was not one such uncongenial reasoning<sup>b</sup> found there. Meanwhile pleasure does not desist from struggling, but laying hold of his garments says "Sleep with me." As clothes are coverings of the body, so are food and drink of the living being. This is what she says, "Why do you decline pleasure, without which you cannot live? See, I seize and carry off part of what goes to produce her, and I declare that you would be unable to exist without using something productive of pleasure." What does the man of self-control do? "If," he says, "I am going to be a slave to passion for the sake of the matter that is productive of it, I will even leave passion behind and go forth outside"; for "leaving his garments in her hands he fled and went forth outside" (Gen. xxxix. 12). LXXXVI. "Who,"

communion with his own heart. The following sentence seems intended to justify so high a claim.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 484.

## PHILO

δὲ ἔνδον, φαίη τις ἄν, ἐξέρχεται; οὐ πολλοί; ἢ οὐ φυγόντες τινὲς τὸ ἱεροσουλεῖν ἐξ ἰδιωτικῆς ἔκλεψαν οἰκίας, καὶ οὐκ ὄντες πατροτύπται ἀλλότριον ὕβρισαν; οὗτοι ἐξέρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, εἰς ἕτερα δὲ εἰσέρχονται· τὸν δὲ τελείως ἐγκρατῆ δεῖ πάντα φεύγειν τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι τὸ παράπαν.

242 Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰωσήφ—νεὸς τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ σώματι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν ἡδονήν—[καὶ] ἀποδιδράσκει. Φινεὲς δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ζηλώσας τὸν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ζῆλον οὐ φυγῆ τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν πεπόρισται, ἀλλὰ τὸν “σειρομάστην” τουτέστι τὸν ζηλωτικὸν λόγον λαβὼν οὐκ ἀποστήσεται, πρὶν ἢ “ἐκκεντῆσαι τὴν Μαδιανῆτιν” τὴν ἐκκεκριμένην θείου χοροῦ φύσιν “διὰ τῆς μήτρας αὐτῆς” (Num. xxv. 7, 8), ἵνα μηδέποτε ἰσχύσῃ φυτὸν ἢ σπέρμα κακίας ἀνατεῖλαι. LXXXVII. οὐ χάριν ἐκκοπίσης ἀφροσύνης ἀθλον καὶ κλῆρον ἢ ψυχὴ λαμβάνει διττόν, εἰρήνην καὶ ἱερωσύνην (ib. xii. 13), συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφὰς ἀρετᾶς.

243 Τοιαύτης μὲν οὖν γυναικὸς οὐκ ἀκουστέον, αἰσθήσεως μοχθηρᾶς λέγω, ἐπεὶ καὶ “τὰς μαίας εὖ ἐποίει θεός” (Exod. i. 20), ὅτι τῶν προστάξεων τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ Φαραὼ ἠλόγουν “τὰ ἄρρενα” τῆς ψυχῆς “ζωογονοῦσαι,” ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἤθελε διαφθεῖρειν τῆς θηλείας ὕλης ἐραστῆς ὦν, τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἀγνοῶν καὶ λέγων ὅτι “οὐκ οἶδα αὐτόν” (Exod. v. 2). ἑτέρα δὲ πειστέον γυναικί, οἶαν συμβέβηκε Σάρραν εἶναι, τὴν ἄρχουσαν ἀρετῆν·

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someone may ask, "goes forth *within*?" Do not many? Or have not some who have avoided the robbing of temples stolen goods from a private house, and some who have not been father-beaters, committed violence on a stranger? These people do indeed come forth from the sins mentioned, but they come into others. But he that exercises perfect self-control must shun all sins, both the greater and the lesser, and be found implicated in none whatever.

Joseph, however, being but a youth and lacking strength to contend with the Egyptian body and vanquish pleasure, runs away. But Phinehas the priest, who was zealous with the zeal for God, has secured his own safety, not by flight, but grasping the "spear," *i.e.* the spirit of zeal, he will not desist before he has "pierced the Midianitish woman," the nature that has been sifted out of the sacred company, "through her womb" (Numb. xxv. 7 f.), that she may never be able to cause plant or seed of wickedness to shoot up: LXXXVII. in recompense for this, for the cutting out of folly, the soul obtains a twofold portion as its reward, peace and priesthood (*ibid.* 12 f.), virtues as near of kin as sisters.

To such a woman, therefore, we must not hearken, wicked sense I mean. For "God dealt well with the midwives" (Exod. i. 20), because disregarding the injunctions of Pharaoh, the scatterer, they "saved alive" the male offspring of the soul which he wished to destroy; for, enamoured of what is material and female, he knows not the First Cause and says, "I know Him not" (Exod. v. 2). Quite a different woman claims our compliance, a woman such as Sarah is seen to have been, even paramount

## PHILO

- καὶ πείθεται γε ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ αὐτῇ παρ-  
 αινούσῃ ἃ δεῖ· πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ὅτ' οὐπω τέλειος  
 ἐγεγένητο, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὶν μετονομασθῆναι τὰ  
 μετέωρα ἐφιλοσόφει, ἐπισταμένη ὅτι οὐκ ἂν  
 δύναιτο γεννᾶν ἐξ ἀρετῆς τελείας, συμβουλεύει  
 ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης τουτέστι παιδείας τῆς ἐγκυκλίου  
 παιδοποιεῖσθαι τῆς Ἄγαρ (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.), ὃ  
 λέγεται παροίκησις· ὁ γὰρ μελετῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ  
 τελεία κατοικεῖν, πρὶν ἐγγραφῆναι τῇ πόλει αὐτῆς,  
 τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι παροικεῖ, ἵνα διὰ τούτων  
 245 πρὸς τελείαν ἀρετὴν ἀφέτως ὀρμήσῃ· ἔπειτα ὅταν  
 ἴδῃ τετελειωμένον αὐτὸν καὶ ἤδη δυνάμενον σπεί-  
 ρειν, \* \* \* κἂν ἐκεῖνος εὐχάριστος ὦν πρὸς τὰ  
 παιδεύματα, δι' ὧν ἀρετῇ συνεστάθῃ, χαλεπὸν  
 ἠγῆται παραιτήσασθαι αὐτά, χρησμῶ πραῦνθή-  
 σεται θεοῦ τῷ κελεύοντι· “πάντα ὅσα ἂν εἶπη  
 Σάρρα, ἄκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς” (Gen. xxi. 12).  
 [136] νόμος ἡμῶν ἔστω | ἐκάστῳ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀρετῇ· εἰ  
 γὰρ πάντων ὅσα παραινεῖ ἢ ἀρετῇ βουλόμεθα  
 ἀκούειν, εὐδαιμονήσομεν.
- 246 LXXXVIII. Τὸ δὲ “καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου  
 οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν”  
 ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ συγκατέθου κακία, ἣν χρή σε ἀνά  
 κράτος ἀπείργειν· διὰ τοῦτο “ἐπικατάρατος”  
 οὐχὶ σύ, <ἀλλ' > “ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου”  
 (Gen. iii. 17). τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία τούτων; ὁ ὄφεις  
 ἦν ἡδονή, ἔπαρσις ἄλογος ψυχῆς· αὕτη κατάρατος  
 ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, μόνῳ γέ τοι τῷ φαύλῳ προσγίνεται,

• See App. p. 484.



virtue. The wise Abraham complies with her when she recommends the course to follow. For at an earlier time, when he had not yet become perfect but, before his name had been changed, was still only inquiring into supramundane things, being aware that he could not beget seed out of perfect virtue, she advises him to beget children out of the handmaiden, that is school-learning, even Hagar (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.). This name means "Sojourning," for he that is studying to make his home in perfect virtue, before he is registered as a member of her city, sojourns with the subjects learned in the schools, that he may be led by these to apply his unfettered powers to virtue.<sup>a</sup> Afterwards, when she sees him brought to perfection, and capable now of begetting . . . And if he, filled with gratitude towards the education by means of which he was brought into union with virtue, thinks it harsh to reject it, he shall be brought to compliance by an oracle of God bidding him, "In all that Sarah saith to thee listen to her voice" (Gen. xxi. 12). Let that which seems good to virtue be law for each one of us; for if we choose to hearken to all that virtue recommends, we shall be happy.

LXXXVIII. The words "and thou didst eat of the tree of which alone I commanded thee not to eat" are equivalent to "thou didst consent to wickedness, which it is thy duty to keep off with all thy might": because of this "cursed"—not "art thou" but "is the earth in thy works" (Gen. iii. 17). What then was the reason of this? The serpent, we saw, was pleasure, an irrational elation of soul. She is accursed on her own account, but mark well that she attaches herself only to the worthless man, not

## PHILO

- σπουδαίω δ' οὐδενί. ὁ Ἀδὰμ δὲ ὁ μέσος ἐστὶ νοῦς, ὃς τοτὲ μὲν ἀμείνων τοτὲ δὲ χείρων ἐξετάζεται· ἢ γὰρ νοῦς ἐστίν, οὔτε φαῦλος οὔτε σπουδαῖος εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ κακία πρὸς τὸ εὖ καὶ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον εἴωθε μεταβάλλειν.
- 247 εἰκότως οὖν οὐκ ἔστι κατάρατος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς οὔτε κακία ὦν οὔτε κατὰ κακίαν πράξις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ ἢ γῆ κατάρατος· αἱ γὰρ πράξεις αἱ διὰ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς, ἣν κέκληκε γῆν, ἐπιληπτοὶ καὶ ὑπαίτιοι κατὰ κακίαν ἕκαστα δρῶντός εἰσι. παρὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, ὅτι “ἐν λύπῃ φάγεσαι αὐτήν,” ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἴσον τῷ ἀπολαύσει τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιλύπως· ἐπωδύνως γὰρ ὁ φαῦλος πάντα τὸν βίον χρῆται τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ μηδὲν ἔχων χαρᾶς αἴτιον, ὃ πέφυκε γεννᾶν δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις καὶ αἱ σύνθρονοι ταύτης ἀρεταί.
- 248 LXXXIX. “Ἀκάνθας οὖν καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι” (Gen. iii. 18). ἀλλὰ τί φύεται καὶ βλαστάνει ἐν ἄφρονος ψυχῇ, πλὴν τὰ κεντοῦντα καὶ τιτρώσκοντα αὐτὴν πάθη; ἃ διὰ συμβόλων ἀκάνθας κέκληκεν, οἷς ἢ ἄλογος ὄρμη πυρὸς τὸν τρόπον πρώτοις ἐντυγχάνει, μεθ' ὧν ταχθεῖσα πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς καταφλέγει καὶ διαφθείρει. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· “ἐὰν δὲ ἐξελθὼν πῦρ εὖρη ἀκάνθας καὶ προσεμπρήση ἄλωνα ἢ στάχνας ἢ πεδίον, ἀποτίσει ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκκαύσας” (Exod. xxii. 6).
- 249 ὁρᾶς ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ἐξελθὼν, ἢ ἄλογος ὄρμη, οὐκ ἐμπίρησι τὰς ἀκάνθας, ἀλλὰ εὕρισκει· ζητητικῇ

to any good man. Adam is the neutral mind, which now proves better, now worse. For in so far as he is mind, his nature is neither bad nor good, but under the influence of virtue and vice it is his wont to shift towards good and bad. It is then just as we should expect, that he is not accursed on his own account, inasmuch as he is neither wickedness nor conduct with wickedness for its rule, but the earth is accursed in his works ; for the doings of which the whole soul, to which is here given the name of " earth," is the means and occasion, are blameworthy and faulty when he allows wickedness to regulate them in each case. Accordingly he goes on " in sorrow shalt thou eat of it." This is tantamount to " thou shalt sorrowfully get the benefit of being alive." For in pain does the bad man all his life long avail himself of his own vitality. He has no motive for joy. Such a motive is in the nature of things supplied by righteousness and good sense and the virtues that share her throne.

LXXXIX. " Thorns therefore and burrs shall it cause to spring up for thee " (Gen. iii. 18). Nay, what *does* grow and shoot up in the soul of a foolish man, but the passions which goad and wound it ? To these, using figures, he has given the name of thorns. These the irrational impulse like a fire meets first, and ranging herself with them burns up and consumes all the soul's possessions. For this is what is said : " If a fire break out and find thorns and go on to burn threshing-floor or standing corn or field ; he that kindled the fire shall make restitution " (Exod. xxii. 6). You see that the fire, the irrational impulse, when it has broken out does not burn the thorns but finds them ; for being a

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γὰρ τῶν παθῶν οὐσα ἃ ἐπόθει λαβεῖν εὗρεν· ὅταν δὲ εὕρη, καταφλέγει τρία ταῦτα, ἀρετὴν τελείαν, προκοπὴν, εὐφυΐαν· ἀρετὴν μὲν οὖν παραβέβληκε τῇ ἄλλῳ, συγκεκριόμεσται γάρ, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ὁ καρπός, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχῇ τὰ καλά· στάχυσι δὲ τὴν προκοπὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐκάτερον ἀτελὲς ἐφ-  
 [137] <sup>250</sup> εὐπαράδεκτος σπερμάτων ἀρετῆς ἐστίν. | ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν παθῶν τριβόλια εἶρηκεν, ἐπειδὴ τριττά ἐστίν, αὐτό τε καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων ἀποτέλεσμα, οἶον ἡδονή, ἡδύ, ἡδεσθαι· ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμητόν, ἐπιθυμεῖν· λύπη, λυπηρόν, λυπεῖσθαι· φόβος, φοβερόν, φοβεῖσθαι.

251 XC. “Καὶ φάγεσαι τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ· ἐν ἰδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου <φάγεσαι τὸν ἄρτον σου>” (Gen. iii. 18, 19). χόρτον καὶ ἄρτον καλεῖ συνωνύμως, πρᾶγμα ταυτόν· χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφή ἐστίν· ἄλογον δὲ <ὁ> φαῦλος ἐκτετμημένος τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ἄλογοι δὲ καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσαι μέρος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐφιεμένος τῶν αἰσθη-  
 τῶν διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων αἰσθήσεων οὐκ ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἰδρῶτος ἐφίεται· σφόδρα γὰρ ὀδυνηρὸς καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ὁ τοῦ ἄφρονος βίος μετιόντος καὶ ἐπι-  
 λιχνεύοντος τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῶν  
 252 ὅσα κακία ἀπεργάζεσθαι φιλεῖ. καὶ μέχρι τίνος; “μέχρι” φησὶν “ἀποστρέψεις εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς

### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 249-252

searcher after the passions it finds what it wanted to get; and when it has found them it burns up these three things, perfect virtue, gradual progress, goodness of natural disposition. Virtue he likens to the contents of the threshing-floor, for as the grain has been gathered together on it, so in the soul of the wise man have been gathered noble things. To the standing corn he likens gradual advance, since either is incomplete and is earnestly set on its completeness. He likens goodness of natural disposition to the field, because it is receptive of the seeds of virtue. He calls each of the passions "burrs" or "three-spiked caltrops," because they are threefold, the passion itself, that which produces it, and the finished result of these. For instance, pleasure, the pleasant, feeling pleasure; desire, the desirable, desiring; sorrow, the sorrowful, feeling sorrow; fear, the fearful, fearing.

XC. "And thou shalt eat the grass of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread" (Gen. iii. 18 f.). He uses the terms grass and bread as synonyms; the thing meant is the same. Grass is food of an irrational creature; and such is a bad man with the right principle cut out of him; irrational also are the senses, being a part of the soul. But the mind striving to attain the objects of sense by means of the irrational senses, makes this striving not without toil and sweat. For exceeding painful and burdensome is the life of the foolish man, as he pursues with greedy desire all things that are productive of pleasures and of all things that wickedness loves to bring about. And how long is this to be? "Until," He says, "thou shalt turn back into the earth, from which thou wert taken" (Gen. iii.

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ἐλήφθης” (Gen. iii. 19). νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γεώδεσι καὶ ἀσυστάτοις ἐξετάζεται τὴν οὐράνιον σοφίαν καταλιπών; πῆ οὖν ἔτι ἀποστρέφεται, σκεπτόν. ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὁ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὁ ἄφρων νοῦς ἀπέστραπται μὲν αἰεὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, εἴληπται δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς μεταρσίου φύσεως, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς γεωδεστέρας ὕλης, καὶ μένων δὲ καὶ κινούμενος ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ἐφιέμενός τε τῶν αὐτῶν. 253 διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, “ ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση ” (ibid.), ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ἡ ἀρχὴ σου καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἐστιν· ἤρξω τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν φθειρομένων γῆς σωμάτων, τελευτήσεις δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ βίου τρίψας ὁδὸν οὐ λεωφόρον ἀλλὰ τραχεῖαν, βάτων καὶ τριβόλων κεντεῖν τε καὶ τιτρώσκειν πεφυκότων μεστήν.

19). For, having forsaken the wisdom of heaven, is he not now ranked with things earthly and chaotic? How then he turns back yet further, we have to consider. But perhaps what he means is of this kind, that the foolish mind has indeed always turned back from the right principle, but has been taken not from the sublime nature but from the more earthly substance, and, whether staying still or in movement, is the same and devoted to the same interests. And that is why he goes on to say, "Earth thou art and into earth shalt thou depart" (*ibid.*), which amounts to what I have already said. It signifies this also, "thine origin and thine end are one and the same, for thou tookest thine origin from earth's decaying bodies, and into them shalt thou again come to thine end, after treading the way of life that comes between, along no high road but on a rough path, full of brambles and burrs whose nature is to prick and wound."





## APPENDIX TO ON THE CREATION

(N.B.—S.V.F. = Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*. The references are to sections in Arnim.)

§ 3. Philo starts off with two leading Stoic ideas, "living according to nature" and the "world-citizen." For the former cf. Diogenes Laertius vii. 87, "Zeno was the first to designate a (man's) end 'living according to nature.'" For the latter see S.V.F. i. 262. The first use of the actual word *κοσμοπολιτης* is ascribed to Diogenes the Cynic, who, when "asked whence he came, replied 'I am a citizen of the world'" (Diog. Laert. vi. 63).

§ 25. The words bracketed by Cohn are left so bracketed in the text but untranslated.

§ 26. *Time is a measured space*, etc. This is the accepted definition of the Stoics. See S.V.F. ii. 509 f. Philo refers to it as Stoic, *De Aet.* 4, and elsewhere in that treatise.

§ 43. *Principles or nuclei*, or perhaps "seed-powers"; *οι λογοι* is equivalent to *οι σπερματικοι λογοι*. The Stoics conceived of a single *λογος σπερματικος* manifesting itself in innumerable *λογοι σπερματικοι*, which give things their form. See S.V.F. Index, p. 93a.

§ 54. The thought of this section is based on *Timaeus* 47 A, B, where Plato says that "God bestowed sight on us that we might observe the orbits of reason which are in heaven, and make use of them for the revolutions of thought which are in our souls" (Archer-Hind's translation).

§§ 72 ff. The idea of these sections is suggested by, or at least receives support from, *Timaeus* 41, 42, where God creates "young gods" or subordinate ministers to carry on the work for the same reason as is given here, *viz.* that He might not be responsible for evil.

§ 80. *And through the livelong year*, or, putting the

## APPENDICES

comma after *ἐκδεχόμενοι*, "at the end of each year (at intervals of a year) they gather in."

§ 101. *Equal to the sum of its own factors.* Like 6 (see 13), 28 is the sum of its factors (1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14), as are 496 and 8128. The word "perfect" is in strictness applied to such numbers only (Nicomachus i. 10).

§ 102. *Limits, or "terms."* Ὄρος is the technical word for a "term" in a series. In fact, having been translated into Latin as *terminus*, it is the progenitor of our own word.

§ 117. *The remainder of our soul is divided, etc.* This classification is Stoic. It is more usually stated in the form that the soul has eight parts, the *ἡγεμονικόν* being reckoned as one. See *S. V. F.* ii. 827 ff.

§ 142. *Citizen of the world.* See especially 3 and note. The first man fulfilled the Stoic ideal. This view of the superiority of early mankind, though not confined to the Stoics, was strongly held by them. The Golden Age, said Posidonius, was when "regnum fuit penes sapientes" (Seneca, *Epistle* 90. 5).

§ 148. *Torch.* The figure of the torch-race is very common. Considering, however, Philo's love for Plato, it is reasonable to suppose that he is thinking of the mention of it at the beginning of the *Republic*, 328 A. Cf. *Laws* 776 B.

§ 160. *A human voice.* Philo is here attacking Epicureanism. For the Epicurean doctrine that pleasure is the end aimed at by every living creature see Diogenes Laertius x. 128. Thus the serpent's use of a human voice is interpreted as an allegory showing how vocal and popular that School was. Philo, like most of its opponents, ignores the fact that Epicurus expressly refused to identify pleasure with material pleasures.

§§ 170, 171. The opinions here assailed are (1) that God's existence is doubtful, held by the Sceptics; (2) that the world is without beginning (*ἀγένητος*), held, according to Philo's own statement in *De Aet.* 10, by Aristotle; the contrary was maintained by Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics (*S. V. F.* ii. 575); (3) the plurality of worlds, originally held by Democritus (see *Timaeus* 31 A, and Archer-Hind's note), and afterwards by the Epicureans; (4) that there is no such thing as Providence. This Epicurean tenet is too familiar from Lucretius and other writers to need illustration, but see Diogenes Laertius x. 77, 113, 139.

## APPENDIX TO ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I

§ 3. *Multiplication of two unequal factors.* Ἐτερομήκης, though often used more widely by general writers, is a term reserved by the mathematicians for numbers of the form  $x(x+1)$ , *i.e.*  $1 \times 2, 2 \times 3, 3 \times 4$ , etc. (See Nicomachus ii. 17.) This restricted use of the word obviously fits the present passage.

§ 30. *Impressions . . . active impulse.* The φαντασία, translated now by "presentation," now by "mental picture," conceived of as an imprint (τύπωσις) on the mind, is a thoroughly Stoic idea. (See *e.g.* Diog. Laert. vii. 45; *S. V. F.* ii. 52 ff.) So also is ὄρμη, "impulse" or "appetite." The sense of this section is given more fully and clearly in *Quod Deus* 43.

§ 57. *Theoretical . . . practical.* A more careful classification of the arts is given by Aristotle, *Met.* v. 1, *viz.*—θεωρητικαί, πρακτικαί and ποιητικαί ("productive"). Thus rhetoric and dancing are πρακτικαί, sculpture and poetry ποιητικαί. Cf. Quintilian ii. 18.

*ibid.* *Its three parts.* This division is claimed for the Stoics by Diogenes Laertius (vii. 39), though actually it appears incidentally in Aristotle, *Topica* i. 14, 105 b 20. The comparison quoted by Diogenes in vii. 40 of τὸ λογικόν to the hedge (φραγμός), τὸ φυσικόν to the field or trees, and τὸ ἠθικόν to the fruit is adopted by Philo in *De Agr.* 14.

§ 60. Another suggestion may be made for emending this passage. Elsewhere Philo explains unexpected silences on Moses' part by his desire to stimulate the mystic to discover some high truth for himself. *E.g.* *L. A.* ii. 55, iii. 239. Note in particular *De Cherubim* 121 *fn.*, where the likeness of diction to this passage is significant. There the silence is stated to be ἵνα ὁ μὴ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος εἰς

## APPENDICES

ἐπιστήμην ὠφελῆται. The stimulus to thought, that is to say, will be an actual assistance to the philosophical mind in its quest for knowledge. Here if we change the order of ὁ and μὴ we may perhaps leave the text otherwise undisturbed, translating "that the man versed in natural philosophy may <discover the truth for himself and> revere Him that is for His knowledge." Or we might read (for τὸν ὄντα) τὸν <μεταδ>όντα τῆς ἐπιστήμης. The sense conveyed will then be that the stimulus to thought will lead to a higher knowledge, and so to reverence for Him who has imparted it.

§ 70. *Our soul is threefold*, etc. This theory is familiar to readers of Plato from the famous myth of the soul's chariot in the *Phaedrus* 246 ff., where τὸ λογικόν appears as the charioteer, τὸ θυμικόν and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν as the nobler and baser horses respectively. Cf. *Timaeus* 69 c; *Republic* 439 d. Philo, in fact, reproduces the figure in 72 f., but without Plato's distinction of the character of the two horses. The location of the three in different parts of the body here mentioned is taken from *Timaeus* 69 ε, 90 α.

§ 80. *Judah and Issachar*. The idea seems to be that Judah, the mystic representing φρόνησις as a spiritual or mental condition, is ὁ φρόνιμος, while Issachar, who represents the same as carried into practical life, is ὁ φρονῶν. The somewhat unexpected use of ἀσκητής as applied to the mystic may perhaps be explained by laying stress on θεοῦ. He is a "practiser," but of a wisdom higher than that of practisers in general.

§ 91. *We conceive of God as the soul of the universe*. It is implied that it is not an accurate or adequate expression. Cf. *De Migr.* 179, where the possible danger of this expression, as tending to suggest that God is contained in the universe, is pointed out, and *ibid.* 181, where the thought is further developed. The expression is Stoic (*S.V.F.* ii. 774). The equivalent ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ is attributed to Cleanthes himself (*S.V.F.* i. 532).

## APPENDIX TO ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II

§ 6. Philo is alluding to the Stoic view that the πάθη are mental judgements. See Diogenes Laertius vii. 111 δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν· ἢ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψις ἐστὶ τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. Here he may mean that he accepts this view in some cases, but not in all; or, perhaps, that his statement that the πάθη are ἀλογα might be doubted if the view that they are κρίσεις be accepted, but is certainly true if that view be rejected.

§ 15. *Greek philosophers.* Presumably this includes (a) Plato; see *Cratylus* 401 B, where we are told that the first name-givers must have been considerable persons. Cf. *ibid.* 390 D. (b) Pythagoras. In *Tusc. Disp.* i. 62 Cicero, speaking of the greatness of the task of assigning names, says "summae sapientiae Pythagorae visum est."

§§ 16, 18. Having in 16 prepared the way for his interpretation of Gen. ii. 19 by observing that τί = διὰ τί, "why," Philo goes on to make καλεῖν = "invite," "welcome," to treat ψυχὴν ζῶσαν as predicative, putting ὡς before it in his paraphrase, practically to ignore αὐτί as an otiose accusative, πᾶν δ' ἐάν being the sufficient object of ἐκάλεσεν. The verse for him has to do, not with assigning names, but with proclaiming affinities. To welcome pleasure, desire, or cowardice as living souls is to proclaim affinity with them, and so to share their title or name.

§ 20. εἰ γὰρ μὴν . . . σαρκίνη δῆπου; "if one of the two sides was filled up with flesh, are we to presume that the one not so treated was *not* made of flesh?" Philo captiously presses the words of Gen. ii. 21, ἀνεπλήρωσεν

## APPENDICES

σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς, to mean that in the filling up a different material, namely flesh, was substituted (ἀντί) for the material which was there before; which would of course imply that the other side was of a material other than flesh.

§ 22. *The power of holding together*, etc. This fourfold classification is Stoic (see *S. V. F.* ii. 457-460). It is explained more fully in *Quod Deus* 35 ff. It is difficult to see at first sight how the "naked" mind can have these powers, at any rate that of *ἔξις*, which is the characteristic of inorganic matter. But in *Quod Deus* 35 we find that the *ἔξις* which holds together a stone or a piece of wood is a breath or spirit, which extends itself from the centre of the body in question to its extremes and then reverses its course. Thus *ἔξις* and the others are conceived of as powers distinct from the objects or persons in which they are found. In fact we are told (Themistius, *De anima* 72 B) that the Stoics held that God *ποῦ μὲν εἶναι νοῦν, ποῦ δὲ ψυχὴν, ποῦ δὲ φύσιν, ποῦ δὲ ἔξιν*. Seneca translates *ἔξις* when used in this way by *unitas*. The sense seems different, and perhaps has a different origin, from that of "state" or "disposition" (Lat. *habitus*). Zeller, however, equates the two by regarding the *ἔξις* of this passage as = simple quality without any further characteristic (*Stoics*, p. 208).

§ 44. For the construction *ταύτη κληθήσεται* cf. Jer. xix. 6 *οὐ κληθήσεται τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἐτι Διάπτωσις*. In Judges xviii. 12 A has *ἐκλήθη ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ Παρεμβολὴ Δάν*, omitting *ἐν* found in some mss. before *ἐκείνῳ*. (Or, as the words that follow perhaps suggest, Philo may have taken *ταύτη* as an adverb and explained it as = *διὰ τοῦτο*.)

§ 46. Rachel, who represents sense-perception (or superficiality), takes her seat upon idols (E. V. "teraphim," Gen. xxxi. 33), and is rebuked by Jacob (or "Israel," the man of vision) when her words show that she imagines that mind is the author and originator of movements.

§ 63. The actual meaning of Num. xxx. 4 ff. is that a woman's vows hold if her father or husband silently acquiesce, but not if they forbid them; whereas those of a widow, seeing there is no such person to prohibit them, must hold. By taking "husband" or "father" to represent reason, Philo extracts the thought that our wishes are not guilty if our reasoned thoughts prohibit them, so that we do not translate them into action. The "widow" stands for the soul, which

## ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II

has cut itself off from any such controlling influence, and whose guilt is abiding.

§ 65. *They were not ashamed.* The real meaning of the story is of course that they did not *feel* shame, but in 68 ff. Philo gives the words a sense, which they are capable of bearing, "they were not shamed," *i.e.* "brought to do anything shameful."

§ 67. *Intense and fixed*, or "full (or 'deep') coloured." The word *κατακόρης* may be used of any colour. But as in the *Timaeus*, which Philo knew so well, it is associated (68 c) with *μέλαν* (= "intense black"), he probably uses it here with reference to the complexion of the Ethiopian woman. There may also be a play on its similarity to *κόρη* in the sense of "a pupil of the eye."

§ 78. *'Tis well that they say*, etc. A clearer meaning could be obtained by reading *οὐχ ὅτι "κατελαλήσαμεν ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν,"* ἀλλ' ὅτι "ἡμάρτομεν ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν." "It is well that they say, *not* 'we spake against the Lord (laying it to His charge) that we sinned,' *but* 'we sinned (in) that we spake against the Lord.'" This harmonizes with the next words. It was easy for scribes to confuse the *ὅτι*'s.

§§ 83-87. The meaning of these sections seems to be as follows. We here deal with souls which are more blessed than those mentioned above, yet are subjected to a *τροπή* by God to convince them of their frailty and that of human kind (§ 83). These souls Philo takes to be described in Deut. viii. They are in contrast with those of Num. xxi. in the following ways. First these (the historical situation being ignored) are in Egypt (87 *init.*). As they were "craving for the habitations of Egypt," they are *virtually* (*cf. L.A. i. 61*) in Egypt. The others are in the wilderness, which is the reverse of Egypt. They too, indeed, are bitten by the serpent of pleasure and the scorpion of scattering, yet these bites are not deadly like those of Numb. xxi. And they do not need the brazen serpent of *καρτερία* to cure them; for they are already *καρτερίας ἐρασταί* (83). They have the higher spiritual food of the manna and the rock-water, and are thus brought back from their *τροπή* spiritually enriched. Philo evidently associates himself with these souls.

§ 99. *Four-legged.* The reference is to the four passions, grief, fear, desire, pleasure. See *S.V.F.* iii. 381 ff.

## APPENDIX TO ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III

§ 2. *Rustic*. For the Stoic idea that the bad man or fool was essentially ἀγροίκος cf. *S. V. F.* iii. 169 ff.

§ 7. *The man with an issue* (γονορρύης). Philo clearly alludes to the most famous of the *dicta* of Heraclitus, πάντα (or τὰ δλα) ῥεῖ. For illustrative quotations to this see Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 11 n.; for ἀμοιβῆ *ibid.* pp. 27-29. The phrase κόρος καὶ χρησιμοσύνη is somewhat obscure, and the evidence conflicting. See Zeller, *op. cit.* pp. 17 n. 3, 38 n., 46 n. 1, 78 n. 1; Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil. Graec.* 36 a. Philo, who repeats the phrase in *Spec. Leg.* i. 208, evidently uses it here as another example of Heraclitus's belief that the world was a combination of opposites passing into each other without Divine agency.

§ 16. *Jacob stole away*, etc. So E.V. More literally "Jacob kept Laban in the dark, so that he did not tell him." For the genitive of the infinitive in LXX. and N.T. see Moulton's translation of Winer's *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, pp. 410 ff.

§ 32. *There is no blood-guiltiness for him*. Or rather "to him" as in 35, "he shall be put to death for what he has done." This more than usually perverse piece of allegorizing has a slight justification in the elliptical character of the Greek. Of course αὐτῷ really refers to the slayer of the thief, and this slayer is also the ἐνοχος who ἀνταποθανέεται, and the lawgiver's meaning is that the homicide of a thief in open daylight is murder. To get the allegorical interpretation which he wants Philo has to give a different sense to ἀποθανεῖν in the two clauses. To Philo the whole passage means that the self-exalting thought which claims what is God's is a thief. Such a thought is self-wounded, but if it is not carried into action it may be said to have died and in



### ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III

that case is comparatively guiltless; but if it is brought into open daylight, *i.e.* is definitely accepted and acted on, it incurs spiritual death in the fullest sense.

§ 65. *Upon thy breast.* These words, which are interpreted allegorically in 114 ff., are not in the Hebrew.

§ 97. *Those whose philosophy,* etc. For the Stoic argument to the same effect see *S.V.F.* ii. 1009. Philo reproduces much of what he says here in *Spec. Leg.* i. 32-35.

§ 104. *Divine illumination* or "luminaries," *i.e.* the heavenly bodies, often regarded as divine beings.

§ 129. *Moderation of passion.* For the Stoic ideal of *ἀπάθεια* see *S.V.F.* iii. 443 ff. On the other hand, according to Diogenes Laertius v. 31, Aristotle *ἔφη τὸν σοφὸν ἀπα(ῆ μὲν μὴ εἶναι, μετριοπαθῆ δέ.*

§ 160. *With those who say,* etc. Philo probably alludes to the Epicureans, particularly as he uses their distinctive word for the excitation of bodily pleasure (*γαργαλισμός*). See Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. 279-281, 288. Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*, i. 113) translates it by *titillatio*, and adds *Epicuri enim hoc verbum est*). Philo, however, misrepresents them, as the quotation in the footnote shows. Epicurus distinguished between "static" or "negative" and "kinetic" or "positive" pleasure.

§ 175. "*Manna*" means "*something*." For the Stoic phraseology which adopted *τι*, *i.e.* "quiddity," as the most generic and all-embracing of terms in place of the Platonic *ἐν* and the Aristotelian *ὄν* see *S.V.F.* ii. 333 and 329. Seneca translated it by *quid* (*ibid.* 332).

§ 188. Philo treats "seed" as synonymous with "origin." For *ἐπιβάσεις καὶ ἐφιδρύσεις* cf. *L.A.* iii. 53 *τόπον . . . ὃ ἐπιβήσεται ἢ ἐφ' οὗ ἰδρυθήσεται*, "find footing or settle himself."

§ 189. *Way of life.* "Ἐνστάσις, a Stoic or Cynic term for a life lived according to principle, or the need to repeat the *ἐφιδρύσεις* of the previous section. Julian (*Or.* 6, p. 201 A) contrasts the *ἐνστάσις* of the true Cynic with the "wallet" and "beard" which were his outward marks.

§ 206. *Who can assert,* etc. Heinemann rightly notes that Philo in this section voices the Sceptical school rather than his usual views. Elsewhere he passionately affirms that God is *ἀσώματος* and *ἄποιος*.

§ 210. This thought of the necessity of a right motive for a right action, though common to all ethics, was especially

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insisted upon by the Stoics (*S.V.F.* iii. 516, 517). Philo recurs to it in *De Cherubim* 14 ff. and elsewhere.

§ 218. See Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, pp. 72 f., for this and other references to Gen. xviii. 12.

§ 239. *There was not one such uncongenial reasoning.* Philo is allegorizing the last words of Gen. xxxix. ff. *καὶ οὐθεις ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἶσω.*

§ 244. In this interpretation of Hagar's name, Philo echoes the common philosophical view that the study of the Encyclia must not be permanent. Thus the author of the treatise on Education, which is placed at the beginning of Plutarch's *Moralia*, and is written from a Stoic point of view, lays down that such subjects must be taken *ἐκ παραδρομῆς*, and goes on to say that "it is well to travel round many cities, but to make our residence in the best" (*i.e.* philosophy), *De Liberis Educandis*, 10.

# PHILO

## VOLUME II

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.  
<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

ON THE CHERUBIM, AND THE  
FLAMING SWORD, AND  
CAIN THE FIRST MAN  
CREATED OUT OF MAN  
(DE CHERUBIM)



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS fine treatise divides itself into two parts, the first (1-39) a homily on Genesis iii. 24—

“ And He cast forth Adam and set over against<sup>a</sup> the Garden of Pleasure the Cherubim and the sword of flame which turns every way.”

The second (40—end) on Genesis iv. 1—

“ And Adam knew Eve, his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and he<sup>b</sup> said ‘ I have gotten a man through God.’ ”

I. In the first part we open (1-10) with a disquisition on the difference between the phrases “ cast forth ” and “ sent forth,” which was used in Genesis iii. 23: the former indicates a permanent, the latter a temporary expulsion (1-2). These different meanings are illustrated (3-9) by the earlier expulsion of Hagar, as described in Genesis xvi., and the later and permanent expulsion of Genesis xxi. In this, as often in Philo, Hagar stands for the lower and secular education, and Sarah for philosophy.<sup>c</sup>

We then have a discussion (11-20) of the meaning of “ over against.” While it is pointed out that the phrase may sometimes indicate hostility (12-13), and

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's reading of the text see note on § 1.

<sup>b</sup> For Philo's view that “ Adam ” is the subject of “ said ” see note on § 40.

<sup>c</sup> See General Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii.

## PHILO

sometimes the position of the accused before his judge (14-17), in which the text "the priest shall set the (accused) woman before the Lord and uncover her head" leads to an interpretation of the last three words as meaning "reveal the real motives," it is decided that the words in Genesis are used in the same sense of friendliness, as in the text "Abraham was standing before (opposite to) the Lord" (18-20).

From 21-39 we have mainly a discussion of what is intended by the two Cherubim and the Flaming Sword. Two physical explanations are suggested: (a) the planetary sphere on the one hand, with its seven zones in which each of the planets move, and that of the fixed stars on the other, the revolution of the whole heaven being the sword (21-24); (b) the two "hemispheres" of the heaven, with the sun as sword (25-26). But Philo's personal preference is for a more profound interpretation (27-30), which finds in the Cherubim the two chief 'Potencies' of God, His 'goodness' or lovingkindness, and His majesty or sovereignty, while the sword is the reason or Logos which unites the two. This last leads to the reflection that Balaam, the foolish one, was rightly made swordless, as is shown in his words to the ass, "if I had a sword, I would have pierced thee" (32). And these particular words in their turn suggest a short meditation on those who, when disappointed in worldly affairs lay the blame on the affairs themselves (33-38). The whole homily concludes with a section emphasizing reason as the source of human happiness (39).

II. The main idea that runs through the second part is that Adam signifies mind, Eve sense (*i.e.* sense-perception), and Cain (whose name means 'posses-

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sion ') the impious idea engendered by Mind and Sense, that what we have is our own and not God's. But we must first consider the words " Adam knew his wife." The absence of any such phrase in connexion with the great saints of the Pentateuch indicates that their wives (unlike Adam's) are Virtues which receive seed *from* God Himself, though they bear offspring *to* the persons who possess them, a lesson which is declared to be one for higher understandings, and too spiritual for profane ears (40-52). Next we have to ask why " Cain " is not more fully described as ' first-born son ' (53-55), and the explanation of this point <sup>a</sup> merges into an exposition of the way in which Mind, helpless in itself, by mating with Sense, comes to comprehend phenomena and supposes that this comprehension is its own doing (56-64). The folly of this supposition is emphasized (65-66), and illustrated first from the words of Laban, " The daughters are my daughters, the sons my sons, and the cattle my cattle, and all that thou seest are mine." The allegorizing of daughters, sons, and cattle as arts or sciences, reasonings, and sense-perceptions respectively, leads to an impassioned outburst on human fallibility and its slavery to delusions (67-71), a slavery which resembles that of the slave of Ex. xxi. who " loved his master " and rejected freedom (72-74). A second illustration is drawn from the vain boasting of Pharaoh, as described in Moses' song in Ex. xv. (74-76). The failure of the Pharaoh mind to realize that God alone acts, while it is for man to be passive (77), leads to a remarkable digression on the right form of human passiveness—not, that is, a helpless passiveness, but

<sup>a</sup> For this see note to § 53, App. pp. 483, 484.

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one which braces itself to accept and co-operate with the Actor (78-83).

In contrast with the idle claims of the Mind, we have the Divine claim that "all things are Mine . . . in My feasts." The last few words suggest a meditation on the sense in which God keeps feast, how His resting is an eternal activity, which unlike the activity of the world knows no weariness (84-90). Man indeed can in no true sense feast, and there follows a powerful denunciation of the vanity, licence, and sinfulness of the popular festivals (91-97). The last few words of this denunciation deplore the pagan blindness to the truth that God sees into the recesses of the soul, and thus we pass, by a somewhat forced transition, to the thought of the soul as God's house, and the nature of the preparations needed to fit it for His reception is described in a fine passage, in the course of which Philo gives a signal example of the high value he sets on the secular education and culture of his day <sup>a</sup> (98-105).

The soul thus fitted for God's reception will inevitably find its chief joy in acknowledging God's sovereignty and ownership (106-107). Thus we return to the main theme, which is once more illustrated by the text "The land shall not be sold . . . for all the land is Mine, because ye are sojourners and aliens before Me." Spiritually the "land" is the world of creation, every part of which is a loan from Him to every other part, and here Philo dwells eloquently on the interdependence of created things (108-113). It is also ourselves, for, inconstant creatures that we are (113-114), ignorant of our whence and whither (114-115), our minds ever subject to

<sup>a</sup> See General Introduction, p. xvi.

## ON THE CHERUBIM

delusion and seduction (116-117), we cannot be said to own ourselves, a thought which may well teach us resignation (118-119). The last words of the text, "ye are sojourners," suggest the thought of God as the true 'citizen,' in contrast to ourselves who are at best immigrants (120-121), and once more the phrase "shall not be sold" reminds us that the benefits men exchange are at bottom a matter of sale and purchase, and that God alone is the real giver (121-123).

Finally we have a disquisition on the error involved in the words "I have gotten a man *through* God." Philo, on the lines of Aristotle, names four causes of things, and shows that the "by whom," or agent, and not the "through whom," or instrument, is applicable to God (124-127); and this he illustrates by comparing the erroneous use by Joseph of the latter with the right use of the former by Moses (128-130).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΜ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΦΛΟ-  
ΓΙΝΗΣ ΡΟΜΦΑΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣ-  
ΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΕΞ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ  
ΚΑΙΝ

- <sup>1</sup>  
[138] I. "Καὶ ἐξέβαλε τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ κατώκισεν ἀπέναντι τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς [καὶ ἔταξε]<sup>1</sup> τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ρομφαίαν τὴν στρεφομένην, φυλάσσειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς" (Gen. iii. 24). νῦν μὲν "ἐξέβαλε" φησί, πρότερον δ' εἶπεν "ἐξαπέστειλεν" (ib. 23), οὐ παρέργως τὰ ὀνόματα θεῖς, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ἐφ' ὧν κυρίως καὶ <sup>2</sup>  
[139] εὐθυβόλως | πραγμάτων αὐτὰ τάττει. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀποστελλόμενος ἐπανόδου τυχεῖν οὐ κεκώλυται, ὁ δ' ἐκβληθεὶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ τὴν αἰδίου φυγὴν ὑπομένει· τῷ μὲν γὰρ μήπω κραταιῶς ὑπὸ κακίας καταληφθέντι δέδοται μετανοήσαντι καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀφ' ἧς ἐξέπεσε κατελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ πιεσθέντα καὶ ὑποβεβλημένον σφοδρᾶ καὶ ἀνιάτῳ νόσῳ φέρειν ἀνάγκη τὰ δεινὰ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀθάνατα σκορακισθέντα εἰς ἀσεβῶν χώρον, ἢν' ἄκρατον καὶ συνεχῆ βαρυνδαιμονίαν ὑπομένη· <sup>3</sup>  
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν μέσσην παιδείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις χορεύουσιν ὁρώμεν "Ἄγαρ δις μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn excludes καὶ ἔταξε on the grounds that though they appear in the text of the LXX., it is assumed in § 11

## ON THE CHERUBIM, AND THE FLAMING SWORD, AND CAIN THE FIRST MAN CREATED OUT OF MAN

I. "And he cast forth Adam and set [him] over against the Garden of Pleasure [and posted] the Cherubim and the sword of flame which turns every way, to guard the way of the Tree of Life" (Gen. iii. 24). Observe the word "cast forth" instead of the earlier "sent forth" (*ib.* 23). The words are not set down at random, but chosen with a knowledge of the things to which he applies them in their proper and exact sense. He who is sent forth is not thereby prevented from returning. He who is cast forth by God is subject to eternal banishment. For to him who is not as yet firmly in the grip of wickedness it is open to repent and return to the virtue from which he was driven, as an exile returns to his fatherland. But to him that is weighed down and enslaved by that fierce and incurable malady, the horrors of the future must needs be undying and eternal: he is thrust forth to the place of the impious, there to endure misery continuous and unrelieved.

And thus we see that Hagar or the lower education, whose sphere is the secular learning of the schools,<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See General Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii.

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that the Cherubim and not Adam are placed opposite the Garden.

ἐξιοῦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχούσης ἀρετῆς Σάρρας, ἅπαξ δὲ τὴν προτέραν ὁδὸν ὑποστρέφουσιν, ἢ τότε μὲν ἀποδρᾶσα, οὐ φυγαδευθεῖσα, κατάγεται ὑπαντήσαντος ἀγγέλου, ὃς ἐστὶ θεῖος λόγος, εἰς τὸν δεσποτικὸν οἶκον (Gen. xvi. 6 ff.), αὐθις δὲ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀνεπάνακτος ἐκβάλλεται (Gen. xxi. 14).

- 4 Π. Τας δὲ αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ προτέρου δρασμοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐθις αἰδίου φυγῆς λεκτέον. μέχρι μὲν οὐπω μετωνομάσθησαν, ὅπερ ἦν μετεχαράχθησαν τοὺς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον βελτιούμενοι χαρακτῆρας, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἦν ὁ μὲν Ἀβρὰμ πατὴρ μετέωρος τὴν μετάρσιον τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα συμβαινόντων καὶ τὴν μετέωρον τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπαρχόντων φιλοσοφίαν μετιῶν, ἣν φυσιολογίας τὸ
- 5 κράτιστον εἶδος ἀποτέμνηται μαθηματικῆ, Σάρα δὲ σύμβολον ἀρχῆς ἐμῆς—καλεῖται γὰρ ἀρχή μου—γενικὴ μὲν οὐκ ἔφθη μεταβαλοῦσα ἀρετὴ γενέσθαι—γένος γὰρ πᾶν ἀφθαρτον—, ταῖς δὲ ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος ἐξητάζετο, ἢ δὲ αὐτὴ φρόνησίς τ' ἦν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, φθαρταὶ δὲ αὐταί, ὅτι καὶ τὸ
- 6 δεξάμενον αὐτὰς χωρίον ἐγὼ φθαρτός, "Ἄγαρ ἢ μέση καὶ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, κἂν τὸν αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκυθρωπὸν τῶν φιλαρέτων ἀποδρᾶσαι βίον σπουδᾶσιν, πάλιν ὑποστρέψει πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν μήπω τὰς γενικὰς καὶ ἀφθάρτους ἀκρότητας ἔχειν δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος ἐφαπτόμενον,

° Philo draws a distinction between μετάρσιος (perhaps deriving it from ἀήρ) and μετέωρος.

ᵇ Or "which astronomy, the noblest branch of nature-study, claims as its own."



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 3-6

while she twice departs from sovereign virtue in the person of Sarah, does once retrace her steps. On this first occasion hers was a voluntary flight, not a banishment, and when she met the angel or divine reason, she returned to her master's house (Gen. xvi. 6 ff.). The second time she is cast forth utterly, never to return (Gen. xxi. 14).

II. Here we must speak of the reasons for this first flight and that second eternal banishment. On the first occasion Abraham and Sarah had not yet received their change of names, that is they had not yet been changed in character to the betterment of soul, but one was still Abram "the uplifted father," pursuing the philosophy of the super-terrestrial, the philosophy which treats of air and the ways in which it is affected, pursuing too the sublimer <sup>a</sup> philosophy of the heaven and the beings existing therein, which mathematics claims as the noblest branch of "physic" or nature-study <sup>b</sup>; and Sarah was still Sarai, the type of personal sovereignty (her name means "my sovereignty"); she had not yet undergone the change to generic virtue; for all that is generic must be imperishable. She still had her place with the particular and specific virtues. She was still <sup>c</sup> prudence, as shown in the "I," and similarly temperance, courage, justice, all perishable, because the sphere in which they move is the perishable "I." And therefore Hagar the lower or secular culture, though she has hastened to escape the stern and gloomy life of the virtue-seekers, <sup>d</sup> will return to that same life which as yet is unable to hold the heights of the generic and imperishable, still clinging to the particular and specific region in which the

<sup>c</sup> Or "in her single self."

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 481.

ἐν οἷς πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὰ μέσα αἰρετά.

7 ὅταν δὲ ἦδη ὁ μὲν Ἀβρὰμ ἀντὶ φυσιολόγου γένηται  
σοφὸς καὶ φιλόθεος μετονομασθεὶς Ἀβραάμ, ὃς  
[140] ἐρμηνεύεται πατήρ | ἐκλεκτὸς ἡχοῦς—ἡχεῖ μὲν γὰρ  
ὁ γεγωνὸς λόγος, πατήρ δὲ τούτου ὁ νοῦς ἐπειλημ-  
μένος τοῦ σπουδαίου<sup>1</sup>—, Σάρα δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς  
μου γένηται Σάρρα, ἧς ἐστὶν ἡ κλῆσις ἄρχουσα,  
ὅπερ ἦν ἴσον τῷ ἀντὶ εἰδικῆς καὶ φθαρτῆς ἀρετῆς  
8 γενικὴν καὶ ἀφθαρτον γενέσθαι, ἐπιλάμψη δὲ καὶ τὸ  
εὐδαιμονίας γένος, ὃ Ἰσαάκ, ἐκλιπόντων τὰ γυναικεῖα  
(Gen. xviii. 11) καὶ ἀποθανόντων<sup>2</sup> τὰ πάθη χαρᾶς  
καὶ εὐφροσύνης, καὶ παιδιάς, οὐ τὰς παίδων, ἀλλὰ  
τὰς θείας οὐκ ἄνευ σπουδῆς μεταδιώκων, ἐκβληθή-  
σεται μὲν τὰ ἐπώνυμα τῆς Ἄγαρ προπαιδεύματα,  
ἐκβληθήσεται δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφιστῆς αὐτῶν υἱὸς ἐπί-  
9 κλησιν Ἰσμαήλ.

III. ἐνδύσονται δὲ τὴν  
φυγὴν αἰδίων, βεβαιούντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἔλασιν  
αὐτοῖς, ὅταν κελεύῃ τῷ σοφῷ ὑπακούειν τῶν λεγο-  
μένων ὑπὸ Σάρρας· λέγει δὲ ἄντικρυς “ἐκβαλεῖν  
τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱόν” (Gen. xxi. 10).  
ἀρετῇ δὲ πείθεσθαι καλὸν καὶ μάλιστα τοιοῦτον  
εἰσηγουμένην δόγμα, ὅτι αἱ τελειόταται φύσεις τῶν  
μέσων ἕξων πάμπολυ διεστᾶσι καὶ ὅτι σοφία σοφι-  
στείας ἀλλότριον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὰ πιθανὰ ἐπὶ κατα-  
σκευῇ ψευδοῦς δόξης, ἥτις λυμαίνεται ψυχὴν, ἐκ-

<sup>1</sup> So mss., but perhaps read according to a citation of the passage in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 8 ἐξελεγμένος δὲ ὁ τοῦ σπουδαίου, i.e. “the chosen mind is that of the good man”; cf. *De Gig.* 64.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read ἀπομαθόντων. For other suggestions see App. pp. 481, 482. Cf. *L.A.* iii. 236.

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Gen. xxvi. 8 where Isaac “sported” with Rebecca. See also App. p. 482.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 6-9

lower is preferred to the highest. But at the later stage Abram leaves the study of nature for the life of the wise, the lover of God. His name is changed to Abraham, meaning "the chosen father of sound," for to "sound" is the function of the uttered word or reason, whose father is the mind when it has grasped the good. Sarai again quits personal sovereignty to become Sarah, whose name is "sovereign," and this means that instead of being specific and perishable virtue she has become generic and imperishable. Then too there shines upon them the light of Isaac—the generic form of happiness, of the joy and gladness which belongs to those who have ceased from the manner of women (Gen. xviii. 11) and died to the passions—Isaac, whose heart is in the pursuit of no childish sports, but those which are divine.<sup>a</sup> When all this is come to pass, then will be cast forth those preliminary studies which bear the name of Hagar, and cast forth too will be their son the sophist named Ishmael.

III. The banishment on which they enter will be for ever, for the sentence of expulsion is confirmed by God when he bids the wise man hearken to the words of Sarah, who charges him expressly to cast forth the bondwoman and her son (Gen. xxi. 10). It is well to listen to the voice of virtue, above all when she sets before us such a doctrine as this, because the most perfect types of being and the secondary acquirements<sup>b</sup> are worlds apart, and wisdom has no kinship with the sophist's culture. For the latter has for the fruits of all its labour only those persuasions which tend to establish the false opinion, which destroys the soul; but wisdom

<sup>b</sup> See note on § 62.

πεπόνηκε, σοφία δὲ διὰ μελέτης τῶν ἀληθῶν τὸ μέγα διανοίας ὄφελος, ἐπιστήμην ὀρθοῦ λόγου, πεπόρισται.

- 10 Τί οὖν θαυμάζομεν, εἰ καὶ Ἄδὰμ τὸν νοῦν ἀφροσύνην ἀνίατον νόσον κτησάμενον ἐκβέβληκεν εἰς-άπαν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν χωρίου μὴ ἐπιτρέψας ἔτι κατελθεῖν αὐτῷ; ὅποτε καὶ <κατὰ> πάντα<sup>1</sup> σοφιστὴν καὶ μητέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν τῶν προπαιδευμάτων διδασκαλίαν, ἐλαύνει καὶ φυγαδεύει ἀπὸ σοφίας καὶ σοφοῦ, ὧν ὀνόματα Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ Σάρραν καλεῖ.
- 11 IV. Τότε καὶ ἡ φλογίνη ῥομφαία καὶ τὰ Χερουβὶμ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ παραδείσου τὴν οἴκησιν ἴσχει. λέγεται δὲ “ἀντικρὺ” τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀντιστατοῦν, τὸ δὲ ἀρμόττον τοῖς εἰς ἐπίκρισιν, ὡς ὁ κρινόμενος τῷ δικαστῇ, τὸ δὲ ὡς φίλον τοῦ κατανοηθῆναι χάριν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκριβεστερας προσόψεως μᾶλλον οἰκειωθῆναι, ὡς γραφαί τε καὶ ἀνδριάντες
- 12 ἀρχέτυποι γραφεῦσι καὶ πλάσταις. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἀντιτεταγμένου παραδείγματος τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κάιν εἰρημένον, ὅτι “ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ᾤκησεν ἐν γῆ Ναὶδ κατέναντι Ἐδέμ” (Gen. iv. 16). ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Ναὶδ μὲν σάλος, Ἐδέμ δὲ τρυφή, τὸ μὲν κακίας κλονούσης ψυχῆν
- [141] σύμβολον, τὸ δὲ | ἀρετῆς εὐπάθειαν αὐτῆς περιποιούσης καὶ τρυφήν, οὐχὶ τὴν δι’ ἀλόγου πάθους ἡδονῆς θρύψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ πολλῆς εὐμαρείας

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps with Mangey ὅποτε καὶ παῖδα σοφιστὴν.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 9-12

studies truth and thus obtains that great source of profit to the mind, knowledge of right reason.

Since then the sophist, who is ever sophist, and his mother, the instruction in the preliminary learning, are expelled and banished by God from the presence of wisdom and the wise, on whom he confers the titles of Sarah and Abraham, can we wonder that he has cast forth Adam, that is the mind, which is sick with the incurable sickness of folly, from the dwelling-place of virtue for ever and permits him not to return?

IV. Then too it is that the flaming sword and the Cherubim find their dwelling-place "over against" Paradise. The word "opposite" or "over against" may be used in three senses. First there is a hostile sense; a thing placed "over against" may be in opposition; and there is also a sense applicable to persons who are so placed to be judged, as when the accused is placed over against the juror. And thirdly there is the friendly sense. An object may be so placed to be fully observed, and, in consequence of this more accurate inspection, to be brought into closer connexion, just as painters and sculptors have the picture or statue which serve them as models.

Of the first sense, that of hostility, we find an example in what is said of Cain that "he went out from the face of God and dwelt in Nod over against Eden" (Gen. iv. 16). The meaning of Nod is "tossing" and Eden is "delight." The former is the symbol of the vice that creates tumult in the soul; the latter of the virtue which wins it well-being and delight, not the weak and wanton sort, which the brute passion pleasure brings, but that sense of profound content and joy, which knows

- 13 ἄπονον χαρὰν καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον. ἀνάγκη δέ, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φαντασίας ἐξέλθῃ διάνοια, ἣ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον ἦν ἐπερηρεῖσθαι, νεὼς αὐτίκα θαλαττευούσης τρόπον, ἀντιστατούντων βιαίων πνευμάτων, ὧδε κἀκέισε φέρεσθαι πατρίδα καὶ οἰκίαν λαχοῦσαν <σάλον καὶ> κλόνον, ἅπερ ἐναντιώ-  
τατά ἐστι βεβαιότητι ψυχῆς, ἣν περιποιεῖ χαρὰ συνώνυμος Ἐδέμ.
- 14 V. Τοῦ δὲ εἰς ἐπίκρισιν ἐναντίου παράδειγμα τὸ τῆς ζηλοτυπουμένης μεμοιχεῦσθαι. “ στήσει ” γάρ φησιν “ ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν γυναῖκα ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ” (Num. v. 18). τί δὲ βούλεται διὰ τούτου παριστάνειν, ἐρευνή-  
σωμεν. τὸ δέον πολλάκις δεόντως οὐκ ἐνεργεῖται καὶ τὸ μὴ καθῆκον ἔστιν ὅτε δρᾶται καθηκόντως· οἶον ἢ μὲν τῆς παρακαταθήκης ἀπόδοσις ὅταν μὴ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὑγιοῦς γίγνηται ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ἢ ἐπ’ ἐνέδρα τῆς περὶ μείζονα πίστιν ἀρνήσεως, καθῆκον ἔργον οὐ δεόντως ἐπιτελεῖται.
- 15 τὸ δὲ τῷ κάμνοντι μὴ ἀληθεῦσαι τὸν ἰατρὸν κενοῦν ἢ τέμνειν ἢ καίειν διεγνωκότα ἐπ’ ὠφελεία τοῦ νοσοῦντος, ἵνα μὴ προλαβὼν τὰ δεινὰ φύγῃ τὴν θεραπείαν ἢ ἐξασθενήσας ἀπέιπῃ πρὸς αὐτήν, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν σοφὸν ψεύσασθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πατρίδος σωτηρίᾳ, δείσαντα μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀλη-  
θεῦσαι ῥωσθῆ τὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, οὐ καθῆκον ἔργον δεόντως ἐνεργεῖται. παρὸ καὶ φησι Μωυσῆς “ δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώκειν ” (Deut. xvi. 20), ὡς ἐνὸν καὶ ἀδίκως, ὅταν μὴ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὑγιοῦς ὁ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 482.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 13-15

not toil or trouble. But when the mind goes forth from the vision of God, whereon it was good and profitable for it to be anchored, it must needs, like a ship at sea, battling with boisterous winds, straightway be borne hither and thither, and its only home and country is wild commotion, the very opposite of that constancy of the soul, which is the gift of the joy that bears the name of Eden.

V. For the second sense when the word means set opposite for judgement, we have an example in the account of the woman suspected by her husband of adultery. "The priest," so he says, "shall place the woman in front of, or 'over against,' the Lord and uncover her head" (Numb. v. 18). What scripture would indicate by these last words, let us investigate. An action right in itself may often be wrong in the doing, and things contrary to duty in themselves may be done in the spirit of duty. For instance the restoration of a deposit when it is done not from any honest motive but either to injure the recipient, or to lead up treacherously to the repudiation of a greater trust, is a duty in itself, yet in its actual execution wrong. On the other hand, if the physician who purposes to use purge or knife or hot iron to benefit his patient, conceals the truth from him, that he may not shirk the treatment through anticipation of its terror, or collapse and faint when exposed to it, we have an action contrary to duty in itself yet in its actual execution right. So too with the wise man who, fearing that the truth may strengthen the enemy's position, gives them false information to save his country.<sup>a</sup> And thus Moses says "follow justice justly" (Deut. xvi. 20), implying that it is possible to do so unjustly, when the judge brings no

- 16 δικάζων προσέχη. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν λεγόμενον ἢ πραττόμενον φανερώς γνώριμον πᾶσιν, ἢ δὲ διάνοια οὐ γνώριμος, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα λέγεται καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα πράττεται, ἀλλ' ἄδηλον εἴτε ὑγιαίνει καὶ καθαρεύει εἴτε νοσεῖ μιάσμασι κεχρωσμένη πολλοῖς, γενητὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς γνώμης ἀφανοῦς κατιδεῖν ἐνθύμημα, μόνος δὲ ὁ θεός, παρὸ καὶ λέγει Μωυσῆς ὅτι "τὰ κρυπτά κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, τὰ δὲ φανερὰ γενέσει γνώριμα" (Deut. xxix. 29), προστέτακται τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ
- 17 προφήτῃ λόγῳ, τὴν ψυχὴν "ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ στῆσαι" ἀποκαλύψῃ τῇ κεφαλῇ (Num. v. 18), τουτέστι τὸ κεφάλαιον δόγμα γυμνωθεῖσαν καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἢ κέχρηται ἀπαμφιασθεῖσαν, ἢ ὄψει ταῖς ἀκριβεστάταις ἐπικριθεῖσα τοῦ ἀδεκάστου |
- [142] θεοῦ ἢ τὴν ὑποτυφομένην εἰρωνεῖαν, κίβδηλον νόμισμα, διελεγχθῆ <ἢ> πάσης οὔσα κακίας ἀμέτοχος ἐκνήφεται τὰς καθ' αὐτῆς διαβολὰς μάρτυρι χρησαμένη τῷ μόνῳ γυμνὴν ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν δυναμένῳ.
- 18 VI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἐπίκρισιν ἐναντίον τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τὸ δ' εἰς οἰκειώσιν, ὃ ἐπὶ τοῦ πανσόφου λέλεκται Ἀβραάμ· "ἔτι," γάρ φησιν, "ἦν ἑστηκὸς ἐναντίον κυρίου" (Gen. xviii. 22)· καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς οἰκειώσεως τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον ὅτι "ἐγγίσας εἶπεν" (ib. 23)· ἀλλοτριουμένῳ γὰρ ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαζεύγνυσθαι, οἰκειουμένῳ δὲ
- 19 συνεγγίζειν ἀρμόττει. τὸ δὲ στῆναι καὶ ἄτρεπτον κτήσασθαι διάνοιαν ἐγγύς ἐστι βαίνειν θεοῦ δυνάμεως, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἄτρεπτον, τὸ δὲ

° Literally "smouldering."



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 16-19

honest mind to bear upon the case. Now words spoken openly and deeds done openly are known to all, but the inward thought which prompts them in either case is not known. We cannot tell whether it is wholesome and pure, or diseased and stained with manifold defilement. No merely created being is capable of discerning the hidden thought and motive. Only God can do so, and therefore Moses says "things hidden are known to the Lord God, but things manifest are known to the Creature" (Deut. xxix. 29). Now we see the cause why Reason, the priest and prophet, is bidden to set the soul "over against the Lord" with her head uncovered (Numb. v. 18), that is with the dominant principles, which constitute her head, laid bare, and the motives which she has cherished stripped of their trappings, so that, being judged by the all-penetrating eye of God the incorruptible, she may either like counterfeit coinage have her lurking<sup>a</sup> dissimulation revealed, or being innocent of all evil may, by appealing to the testimony of Him who alone can see the soul naked, wash away the charges brought against her.

VI. So much for the second sense of "over against." But the third where the object sought is closer intimacy we find in the words used of the wholly-wise Abraham, "He was still standing before (or over against) the Lord" (Gen. xviii. 22). And a proof of this closer intimacy is the further saying that "he drew nigh and said" (*ibid.* 23). Those who desire estrangement may stand aloof and separate themselves; it is for those who seek intimacy to draw nigh to each other. To stand fast and acquire an unswerving mind is to be stepping nigh to the power of God. For with the divine there is no

γενόμενον φύσει μεταβλητόν. εἴ τις οὖν τὴν γενέσεως οἰκείαν φορὰν ἔρωτι ἐπιστήμης ἐγγαλιωσάμενος ἐβιάσατο στῆναι ποιήσας, μὴ λανθανέτω  
 20 θείας εὐδαιμονίας ἐγγὺς ὢν. τοῖς δὲ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τῇ φλογίνῃ ῥομφαίᾳ τὴν ἀντικρὺ τοῦ παραδείσου πόλιν οἰκείως δίδωσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἐχθροῖς μέλλουσιν ἀντιστατεῖν καὶ διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκειοτάτοις καὶ φιλτάτοις, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς ὁμοῦ προσόψεως καὶ συνεχοῦς περιαιθήσεως πόθον αἱ δυνάμεις ἴσχωσιν ἀλλήλων, καταπνέοντος εἰς αὐτὰς τὸν πτηνὸν ἔρωτα καὶ οὐράνιον τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ.

21 VII. Τίνα δέ ἐστιν ἃ διὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ τῆς στρεφομένης ῥομφαίας φλογίνης αἰνίττεται, νῦν ἐπισκεπτέον. μήποτε οὖν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ φορὰν δι' ὑπονοιῶν εἰσάγει· κίνησιν γὰρ αἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν σφαῖραι τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔλαχον ἀλλήλαις, ἢ μὲν τὴν ἀπλανῆ ταυτοῦ κατὰ δεξιὰ, ἢ δὲ τὴν  
 22 πεπλανημένην θατέρου κατ' εὐώνυμα. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐξωτάτω, τῶν λεγομένων ἀπλανῶν, μία, ἢ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια εἰλείται περίοδον, αἱ δ' ἐντὸς ἐπτὰ, τῶν πλανήτων, ἐθελοσύσιόν τε καὶ βεβιασμένην, ὑπεναντίους ἅμα καὶ διττὰς ἴσχουσαι κινήσεις· καὶ ἐστὶν αὐταῖς ἢ μὲν ἀκούσιος ὁμοία τῇ τῶν ἀπλανῶν, φαίνονται γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν ἰοῦσαι, ἢ δὲ οἰκεία ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἐῶα, καθ' ἣν συμβέβηκε τὰς περιόδους τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀστέρων καὶ μήκη χρόνων προσειληφέναι, τὰς

<sup>a</sup> Or "with fitness"; there is a play on the double sense of the word.

<sup>b</sup> Philo takes these terms, and indeed the whole passage, from Plato, *Timaeus* 36, on which see Archer-Hind's notes as also on *ib.* 38 D.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 19-22

turning : variableness belongs to the nature of the created. He then, who with the love of knowledge as his bridle checks the onward course which is natural to created being and compels it to stand still, may be sure that he is not far from the divine happiness. It is with this thought of intimacy<sup>a</sup> that he assigns to the Cherubim and the flaming sword the abode in front of Paradise, not as to foes destined to contend in hostility with each other, but as to the dearest and closest of friends; that thus the Potencies ever gazing at each other in unbroken contemplation may acquire a mutual yearning, even that winged and heavenly love, wherewith God the bountiful giver inspires them.

VII. We must now examine what is symbolized by the Cherubim and the sword of flame which turns every way. I suggest that they are an allegorical figure of the revolution of the whole heaven. For the movements assigned to the heavenly spheres are of two opposite kinds, in the one case an unvarying course, embodying the principle of sameness,<sup>b</sup> to the right, in the other a variable course, embodying the principle of otherness,<sup>b</sup> to the left. The outermost sphere, which contains what are called the fixed stars, is a single one and always makes the same revolution from east to west. But the inner spheres, seven in number, contain the planets and each has two motions of opposite nature, one voluntary, the other under a compelling force. Their involuntary motion is similar to that of the fixed stars, for we see them pass every day from east to west, but their own proper motion is from west to east, and it is in this that we find the revolutions of the seven governed also by certain lengths of time. These lengths are

- μὲν ἰσοδρόμους ἴσα, ἡλίου καὶ ἑωσφόρου καὶ  
 στίλβοντος ἐπίκλησιν — τρεῖς γὰρ τῶν πλανήτων |  
 [143] ἰσοταχεῖς οὗτοι —, τὰς δὲ ἀνισοδρόμους<sup>1</sup> ἄνισα  
 μὲν, ἀναλογίαν δ' ἔχοντα πρὸς τε ἀλλήλας καὶ τὰς  
 23 τρεῖς ἐκείνας. γίνεται οὖν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον  
 τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἢ ἐξωτάτω, τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ  
 <ὁ> ἔσχατος, ἀψὶς ἐν ἧ τὴν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ  
 ὡσαύτως ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀπλανεῖς θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς  
 χορείαν χορεύουσι τάξιν οὐ λείποντες, ἦν ὁ γεν-  
 νήσας πατὴρ αὐτοὺς ἔταξεν ἐν κόσμῳ· θάτερον  
 δ' ἢ ἐντὸς περιεχομένη σφαῖρα, ἦν ἐξαχῆ σχίσας  
 ἑπτὰ κύκλους ἀναλογοῦντας ἑαυτοῖς εἰργάζετο  
 τῶν πλανήτων ἕκαστον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀρμοσάμενος·  
 24 καὶ καθάπερ ἔποχον ἐν ὀχλήματι ἀστέρα ἐν οἰκείῳ  
 κύκλῳ θεῖς τὰς ἡνίας ἐπίστευσε τῶν ἐπόχων  
 οὐδενί, πλημμελῆ δείσας ἐπιστασίαν, ἀπάσας δ'  
 ἐξήρτησεν ἑαυτοῦ, νομίσας ἐναρμόνιον τῆς κινήσεως  
 μάλιστα οὕτως τάξιν γενήσεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ σὺν θεῷ  
 πᾶν ἐπαινετόν, τὸ δ' ἄνευ θεοῦ ψεκτόν.  
 25 VIII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ Χερουβὶμ καθ' ἓνα τρόπον  
 οὕτως ἀλληγορεῖται· ῥομφαίαν δὲ φλογίνην καὶ  
 στρεφομένην τὴν κίνησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ παντὸς  
 οὐρανοῦ τὴν αἰδίον φορὰν ὑποτοπητέον λέγεσθαι.  
 μήποτε δὲ καθ' ἑτέραν ἐκδοχὴν τὰ μὲν Χερουβὶμ  
 δηλοῖ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἑκάτερον· καὶ γὰρ ἀντι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μεσοδρόμοις οἱ μὴ μεσοδρόμοις.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of the heaven. Thus in *De Decalogo* 56, 57, Philo speaks of the two hemispheres, one above the earth and one below it. "For as the heaven is ceaselessly revolving, the two hemispheres daily take their position in turn one above

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 22-25

the same in the case of three whose course is equal, and these three which have the same rate of speed are known as the Sun, the Morning-star, and the Sparkler (or Mercury). The others have unequal courses and different lengths of time in revolution, though these too preserve a definite proportion to each other and the above-named three.

One of the Cherubim then symbolizes the outermost sphere of the fixed stars. It is the final heaven of all, the vault in which the choir of those who wander not move in a truly divine unchanging rhythm, never leaving the post which the Father who begat them has appointed them in the universe. The other of the Cherubim is the inner contained sphere, which through a sixfold division He has made into seven zones of regular proportion and fitted each planet into one of them. He has set each star in its proper zone as a driver in a chariot, and yet He has in no case trusted the reins to the driver, fearing that their rule might be one of discord, but He has made them all dependent on Himself, holding that thus would their march be orderly and harmonious. For when God is with us all we do is worthy of praise; all that is done without Him merits blame.

VIII. This then is one interpretation of the allegory of the Cherubim, and the flaming turning sword represents, we must suppose, their movement and the eternal revolution of the whole heaven. But perhaps on another interpretation the two Cherubim represent the two hemispheres.<sup>a</sup> For we read that the Cherubim stand face to face with their

the earth and the other below it, as it seems, though in reality there is no 'up' or 'down' in the spherical heaven." See App. pp. 482, 483.

- πρόσωπά φησιν εἶναι νεύοντα πρὸς τὸ ἰλαστήριον  
 πτεροῖς (Exod. xxv. 19), ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἀντικρὺ  
 μὲν ἐστὶν ἀλλήλων, νένευκε δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν τὸ μέσον  
 26 τοῦ παντός, ᾧ καὶ διακρίνεται· ἡ δὲ μόνη τῶν τοῦ  
 κόσμου μερῶν ἐστῶσα παγίως Ἐστία πρὸς τῶν  
 παλαιῶν εὐθυβόλως ὠνόμασται, ἵνα περί τι  
 βεβαίως ἰδρυμένον ἢ ἐκατέρων τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων  
 ἐμμελεστάτη γίγνηται περιπόλησις. ἡ δὲ φλογίνη  
 ῥομφαία σύμβολον ἡλίου· φλογὸς γὰρ ὢν πύλημα  
 πολλῆς ὠκυδρομώτατον γέγονε τῶν ὄντων, ὡς  
 ἡμέρα μῆ τὸν σύμπαντα περιδιεῖσθαι κόσμον.
- 27 IX. Ἐκουσα δέ ποτε καὶ σπουδαιοτέρου λόγου  
 παρὰ ψυχῆς ἐμῆς εἰωθυίας τὰ πολλὰ θεοληπτεῖσθαι  
 καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδε μαντεύεσθαι· ὄν, ἐὰν δύνωμαι,  
 ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐρῶ. ἔλεγε δέ μοι κατὰ τὸν ἕνα  
 ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν δύο τὰς ἀνωτάτω εἶναι καὶ πρώτας  
 [144] δυνάμεις | ἀγαθότητα καὶ ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ἀγαθότητι  
 μὲν τὸ πᾶν γεγεννηκέναι, ἐξουσία δὲ τοῦ γεν-  
 28 νηθέντος ἄρχειν, τρίτον δὲ συναγωγὸν ἀμφοῖν  
 μέσον εἶναι λόγον, λόγῳ γὰρ καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ  
 ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν· ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀγα-  
 θότητος τῶν δυεῖν δυνάμεων τὰ Χερουβὶμ εἶναι  
 σύμβολα, λόγου δὲ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν· ὄξυ-  
 κινήτοτατον γὰρ καὶ θερμὸν λόγος καὶ μάλιστα  
 ὁ τοῦ αἰτίου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ πάντα φθάσαν παρ-  
 ημείψατο καὶ πρὸ πάντων νοούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι  
 φαινόμενον.
- 29 Ἐκατέρου δὴ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, ᾧ διάνοια, δέξιαι  
 τύπον ἀκιβδήλευτον, ἵνα περί τε ἀρχῆς τοῦ αἰτίου  
 καὶ ἀγαθότητος ἐναργῶς ἀναδιδαχθεῖσα καρπώση  
 κληῖρον εὐδαίμονα· γνώση γὰρ εὐθύς καὶ τὴν τῶν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 25-29

wings inclining to the mercy-seat (Exod. xxv. 19). And so, too, the hemispheres are opposite to each other and stretch out to the earth, the centre of all things, which actually parts them. And as this alone in all the universe stands firm, it has been rightly named by men of old the standing-place,<sup>a</sup> and it stands thus, that the revolution of each of the hemispheres may circle round one fixed centre and thus be wholly harmonious. The flaming sword on this interpretation is the Sun, that packed mass of flame, which is the swiftest of all existing things and whirls round the whole universe in a single day.

IX. But there is a higher thought than these. It comes from a voice in my own soul, which oftentimes is god-possessed and divines where it does not know. This thought I will record in words if I can. The voice told me that while God is indeed one, His highest and chiefest powers are two, even goodness and sovereignty. Through His goodness He begat all that is, through His sovereignty He rules what He has begotten. And in the midst between the two there is a third which unites them, Reason, for it is through reason that God is both ruler and good. Of these two potencies sovereignty and goodness the Cherubim are symbols, as the fiery sword is the symbol of reason.<sup>a</sup> For exceeding swift and of burning heat is reason and chiefly so the reason of the (Great) Cause, for it alone preceded and outran all things, conceived before them all, manifest above them all.

O then, my mind, admit the image unalloyed of the two Cherubim, that having learnt its clear lesson of the sovereignty and beneficence of the Cause, thou mayest reap the fruits of a happy lot. For

- ἀκράτων δυνάμεων σύνοδόν τε καὶ κρᾶσιν, ἐν οἷς ἀγαθὸς μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐμφαινομένου τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξιώματος, ἐν οἷς δὲ ἀρχῶν ἐμφαινομένης τῆς ἀγαθότητος· ἵνα τὰς ἐκ τούτων ἀπογεννωμένας ἀρετὰς φιλοφροσύνην καὶ εὐλάβειαν θεοῦ κτήσῃ, μήτε ἐν οἷς εὖ πάσχεις ὑψηγορούσα διὰ τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ βασιλέως μέγεθος μήτε ἐν οἷς ὑπομένεις τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἀπογινώσκουσα τὰς ἀμείνους ἐλπίδας δι' ἡμερότητα τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ
- 30 φιλοδώρου θεοῦ. φλογίνη δὲ ῥομφαία, διότι χρῆ τούτοις παρακολουθεῖν τὸν μέτρον ὄντα<sup>1</sup> τῶν πραγμάτων ἔνθερμον καὶ πυρώδη λόγον, ὃς οὐδέποτε λήγει κινούμενος σπουδῇ πάσῃ πρὸς αἵρεσιν μὲν τῶν καλῶν, φυγὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων.
- 31 X. οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ σοφός, ἠνίκα ἤρξατο μετρεῖν κατὰ θεὸν πάντα καὶ μηδὲν ἀπολείπειν τῷ γεννητῷ, λαμβάνει τῆς φλογίνης ῥομφαίας μίμημα “ πῦρ καὶ μάχαιραν ” (Gen. xxii. 6), διελεῖν καὶ καταφλέξαι τὸ θνητὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γλιχόμενος, ἵνα γυμνῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ μετάρσιος πρὸς
- 32 θεὸν ἀναπτῆ; τὸν δέ γε Βαλαὰμ μάταιον λαὸν ὄντα ἐξωπλισμένον εἰσαγεῖ Μωυσῆς ἀστράτευτον καὶ λιποτάκτην, εἰδὼς πόλεμον ὃν ἀρμόττει ψυχῇ περὶ ἐπιστήμης ποιεῖσθαι· λέγει γὰρ ὄνῳ, τῇ ἀλόγῳ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου, ἧ πᾶς ἀφρων ἐπιβέβηκεν, ὅτι “ εἰ μάχαιραν εἶχον, ἦδη ἂν ἐξεκέντησά σε ” (Num. xxii. 29)· καὶ μεγίστη

<sup>1</sup> μέτρον ὄντα conj. Trs.; cf. μετρεῖν, 31: mss. μέτα: Cohn μέσον.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 29-32

straightway thou shalt understand how these un-mixed potencies are mingled and united, how, where God is good, yet the glory of His sovereignty is seen amid the beneficence, how, where He is sovereign, through the sovereignty the beneficence still appears. Thus thou mayest gain the virtues begotten of these potencies, a cheerful courage and a reverent awe towards God. When things are well with thee, the majesty of the sovereign king will keep thee from high thoughts. When thou sufferest what thou wouldest not, thou wilt not despair of betterment, remembering the loving-kindness of the great and bountiful God.

And for this cause is the sword a sword of flame, because in their company reason the measure of things must follow, reason with its fierce and burning heat, reason that ever moves with unswerving zeal, teaching thee to choose the good and eschew the evil. X. Remember how Abraham the wise, when he began to make God his standard in all things and leave nothing to the created, takes a copy of the flaming sword—"fire and knife" it says (Gen. xxii. 6)—desiring to sever and consume the mortal element away from himself and thus to fly upward to God with his understanding stripped of its trammels.

And thus too Balaam ("foolish people" that is) is represented by Moses as disarmed, one who neither fights nor keeps the ranks,<sup>a</sup> for Moses knew well that war which the soul should wage for knowledge as its guerdon. Balaam says to the ass, who signifies the unreasoning rule of life, which is ridden by every fool: "If I had a sword I would have ere now pierced thee through" (Numb. xxii. 29). Well may we thank the great

χάρις τῷ τεχνίτῃ, ὅτι τὴν ἀφροσύνης λύτταν εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτῇ, καθάπερ ξίφος μεμηνοῦτι, δύναμιν λόγων, ἵνα μὴ πολλὴν καὶ ἄδικον ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐνεργάσῃται φθοράν.

33  
[145] ἃ δὲ Βαλαάμ, | ταῦθ' ἕκαστος τῶν μὴ κεκαθα-  
μένων αἰὲ ματαιάζων αἰτιᾶται πως, ἐμπορικὸν ἢ γεωργικὸν ἢ τιν' ἄλλον τῶν ποριστικῶν ἐπι-  
τηδεύσας βίον· ἕως μὲν αἴσια ἅπαντᾶ τὰ ἀφ' ἐκάστου, γεγηθῶς ἐπιβέβηκε καὶ ἐποχεῖται καὶ ἐνειλημμένος ἀπρίξ ἔχεται μεθέσθαι τὸ παράπαν οὐ δικαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀφίστασθαι λέγουσι καὶ μέτρα ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις περιθεῖναι διὰ τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀτέκμαρτον βασκανίαν ὀνειδίζει καὶ φθόνον, οὐκ ἀπ' εὐνοίας εἰσηγεῖσθαι ταῦτα φάσκων·

34 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀβούλητος κακοπραγία συμβῆ, τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἀγαθοὺς μάντις ἀποδέχεται καὶ προφυλάξασθαι δυνατωτάτους τὰ μέλλοντα, τὰ δ' οὐδενὸς αἴτια κακοῦ τὸ παράπαν αἰτιᾶται, τὴν γεωργίαν, τὴν ἐμπορίαν, τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιτηδεύσεις, αἷς πρὸς

35 ἀργυρισμὸν ἠξίου χρῆσθαι. XI. αἱ δὲ καίτοι φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων ἀμοιροῦσαι τὴν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ῥήξουσι φωνὴν ἐναργεστέραν οὐσαν τῆς διὰ γλώττης “ Ἄρά γε, ὦ συκοφάντα, οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν ἐκεῖναι ” λέγουσαι “ αἷς καθάπερ ὑποζυγίοις ὑψαυχενῶν ἐπεβεβήκεις; μὴ καθ' ὑπεροψίαν ἄλλως εἰργασάμεθά σοι κακοπραγίαν; (cf. Num. xxii. 30) ἴδε τὸν ἀνθεστῶτα ἐξεναντίας θεοῦ λόγον ἐνωπλισμένον ἄγγελον (ib. 31), παρ' ὃν τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ μὴ συμβέβηκε τελειοῦσθαι

<sup>a</sup> Or “ applaud as . . . ”

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 32-35

Contriver, that, knowing the madness of folly, he did not put into its hands, as into the hands of a madman, the sword of the power of words, to wreak widespread and unrighteous carnage among all who came in his way.

And this angry cry of Balaam is ever the cry of each of the unpurified in his vanity, if he has followed the life of the merchant or the farmer or other business that men pursue for gain. Each, while good fortune encounters them in their several walks of life, sits his beast with cheerful mood and keeps a tight grip of the reins and scouts the thought of letting them drop from his hands. And all those who bid him desist, and set limits to his desires, because the future is uncertain, he charges with malice and envy, and will have it that their warning is not of goodwill. But when disappointment and misfortune befall him he does indeed recognize <sup>a</sup> that these were true prophets, fully competent to guard against the chances of the future, but he lays all the blame on wholly guiltless objects, the farming, the trading, the other pursuits, which of his own judgement he followed for lucre.

XI. And these pursuits, though they have no vocal organs, will utter the language which speaks in the reality of facts, a language which is plainer than the language of the tongue. "False slanderer," they will cry, "are we not they on whom you rode proud-necked as on some beast of burden? Have we ever in mere insolence <sup>b</sup> brought disaster on you? (Numb. xxii. 30). Behold the armed angel, the reason of God, standing in the way against you (*ibid.* 31), the source through whom both good and ill

<sup>b</sup> Or "heedlessness." In the LXX. the ass asks Balaam  
*μη̄ ὑπεροράσει ὑπεριδοῦσα ἐποίησά σοι οὕτως;*

36 οὐχ ὄρας; τί οὖν νῦν ἡμᾶς αἰτιᾶ πρότερον, ὅτε εὐώδει σοι τὰ πράγματα, οὐχὶ μεμψάμενος; μένομεν γὰρ αἱ αὐταὶ μηδὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως μεταβάλλουσαι τὸ παράπαν στιγμῆν· σὺ δὲ κριτηρίοις χρώμενος οὐχ ὑγιέσιν ἀλόγως σφαδάζεις· εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔμαθες, ὅτι οὐχ ἄττ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύης ἀγαθῶν μετουσίας ἢ κακῶν ἐστὶν αἷτια, ἀλλ' ὁ δίοπος<sup>2</sup> καὶ κυβερνήτης τοῦ παντὸς λόγος θεῖος, ῥᾶον ἂν ἔφερες τὰ συμπίπτοντα παυσάμενος τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἐπιγράφειν ἡμῖν ἅ μὴ δυνάμεθα.

37 ἔαν οὖν πάλιν καθελῶν ἐκείνος τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ συννοίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ κατηφείας σκεδάσας εἰρήνην ἐπικηρυκεύσεται βίου, φαιδρὸς καὶ γεγηθῶς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλεῖς ἡμῖν ταῖς ἐν ὁμοίῳ μενούσαις· ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτ' εὐμενεῖα τῇ σῆ φυσώμεθα οὔτ' ἔαν δυσμεναίνης ἐπιστρεφόμεθα, ἴσμεν γὰρ ἑαυτὰς μῆτ' ἀγαθῶν μῆτε κακῶν αἰτίας οὔσας, κἂν σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα δοξάζῃς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν θάλατταν εὐπλοίας ἢ τῶν συμβαινόντων ναυαγίων ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων διαφορὰς τοτὲ μὲν ἐπιεικῶς τοτὲ δὲ μετὰ βιαιοτάτου συρμοῦ καταπνεόντων αἰτιατέον· φύσει γὰρ  
 38 παντὸς ὕδατος | ἠρεμίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαχόντος, ὅταν  
 [146] μὲν πνεῦμα οὖριον κατ' οἰάκων ἐπιγένηται, παντὸς ἀνασεισθέντος κάλου, πλησίστιοι μέχρι λιμένων αἱ νῆες καταίρουσιν, ὅταν δὲ αἰφνίδιον κατὰ πρῶρας ἐξεναντίας κατασκήψῃ, πολὺν σάλον καὶ κλόνον ἐγείρει καὶ ἀνατρέπει· καὶ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἢ μηδὲν αἷτια θάλαττα τὴν πρόφασιν ἴσχει, φανερώς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μηδὲν.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn from δίοπος of F. The other mss. have πηδαλιούχος.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐννοίας.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 36-38

come to fulfilment. See where he stands. Why then blame us now, on whom you cast no blame before, when things fared well with you? We stay the same, we change not a jot of our nature. But the tests you use are false and your impatience is without reason. If you had learnt from the first that it is not your life-pursuits which bring your share in good or ill, but the divine reason, the ruler and steersman of all, you would bear with more patience what befalls you, and cease from slandering and ascribing to us what we have no power to bring about.

If then that ruler should in turn subdue those warring elements,<sup>a</sup> scatter the thoughts of disheartenment which war brings, and send a message of peace<sup>a</sup> to your life, you will give us the hand of friendship with a bright and cheerful face, though we are what we ever were. But we are not elated at your goodwill, nor care we for your anger. We know that we cause not good or ill, though you imagine such things of us. It were as foolish to lay a prosperous voyage or the disasters of shipwreck to the charge of the sea itself instead of to the changes of the winds, which sometimes blow gently, sometimes in fiercest riot. For stillness is the natural self-engendered quality of all water, but when the favouring breeze follows behind the rudder and every reef is let out, the ship with full sail goes safely to the harbour, and again when a head-wind swoops suddenly down against the prow it raises a wild commotion, and overturns the bark. And all this is laid to the charge of the guiltless sea, though

<sup>a</sup> Or "put an end to the war . . . and proclaim peace."

- ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σφοδρότησι τῶν ἀνέμων ἢ γαληνιάζουσα ἢ κυμαίνουσα.”
- 39 Διὰ τούτων οὖν ἀπάντων ἱκανῶς οἶμαι δεδηλωσθαι, ὅτι λόγον ἢ φύσιν δυνατώτατον σύμμαχον ἀνθρώπῳ δημιουργήσασα τὸν μὲν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενον ὀρθῶς ἀπέδειξεν εὐδαίμονα καὶ λογικὸν ὄντως, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνάμενον ἀλογόν τε καὶ κακοδαίμονα.
- 40 XII. “ Ἀδὰμ δὲ ἔγνω τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνέλαβε καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Κάιν, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐκτεσάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ προσέθηκε τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ ” (Gen. iv. 1, 2). οἷς ἀρετὴν μεμαρτύρηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης, τούτους γνωρίζοντας γυναῖκας οὐκ εἰσάγει, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ, τὸν Μωυσῆν,
- 41 καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ὁμόζηλος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φαμεν εἶναι γυναῖκα τροπικῶς αἰσθησιν, ἀλλοτριώσει δ’ αἰσθήσεως καὶ σώματος ἐπιστήμη συνίσταται, τοὺς σοφίας ἐραστὰς αἰσθησιν<sup>1</sup> ἀποδοκιμάζοντας μᾶλλον ἢ αἵρουμένους ἐπιδείξεται· καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· αἱ γὰρ τούτοις συνοικοῦσαι λόγῳ μὲν εἰσι γυναῖκες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀρεταί, Σάρρα μὲν ἄρχουσα καὶ ἡγεμονίς, Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ἐπιμονὴ τῶν καλῶν, Λεῖα δὲ ἀνανευμένη καὶ κοπιῶσα ἐπὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, ἣν ἐκνένευκε καὶ ἀποστρέφεται πᾶς ἄφρων ἀρνούμενος, Σεπφώρα δὲ ἢ Μωυσέως ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις κατανοοῦσα, καλεῖται δὲ ὀρνίθιον.
- 42 Ἴνα δὲ τὴν ἀρετῶν κύησιν καὶ ὠδῖνα εἴπωμεν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔστησεν.<sup>a</sup> That Philo perversely takes the subject of εἶπεν to be

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 38-42

plainly it is calm or stormy according to the lightness or the violence of the winds."

Surely all this is sufficient proof that nature who has provided for men a mighty champion in reason makes him who can use this champion aright a truly happy and reasonable being. Him who cannot use it aright she leaves to unreason and misery.

XII. "And Adam knew his wife and she conceived and bare Cain, and he said, 'I have gotten a man through God,' and He added to this that she bore his brother Abel" (Gen. iv. 1, 2).<sup>a</sup> The persons to whose virtue the lawgiver has testified, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses, and others of the same spirit, are not represented by him as knowing women. For since we hold that woman signifies in a figure sense-perception, and that knowledge comes into being through estrangement from sense and body, it will follow<sup>b</sup> that the lovers of wisdom reject rather than choose sense. And surely this is natural. For the helpmeets of these men are called women, but are in reality virtues. Sarah "sovereign and leader," Rebecca "steadfastness in excellence," Leah<sup>c</sup> "rejected and faint" through the unbroken discipline, which every fool rejects and turns from with words of denial, Zipporah, the mate of Moses, whose name is "bird," speeding upwards from earth to heaven and contemplating there the nature of things divine and blessed.

The virtues have their conception and their birth-

Adam and that of *προσέθηκε* to be God appears from § 124 and *De Sac.* 10.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "it" or "he" will show. If "it," the subject is either "the fact that women symbolize sense," or perhaps "knowledge"; if "he," the legislator.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 483.

## PHILO

ἀκοὰς ἐπιφραξάτωσαν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες τὰς ἑαυτῶν  
ἢ μεταστήτωσαν· τελετὰς γὰρ ἀναδιδάσκομεν  
θείας τοὺς τελετῶν ἀξίους τῶν ἱερωτάτων μύστας,  
οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ οὖσαν ὄντως  
ἀκαλλώπιστον εὐσέβειαν μετὰ ἀτυφίας ἀσκοῦντες·  
ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐχ ἱεροφαντήσομεν κατεσχημένοις  
ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τύφῳ, ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων  
γλισχρότητι καὶ τερθρείαις ἔθῳ ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ  
[147] τὸ εὐαγὲς καὶ ὄσιον | παραμετροῦσιν.

43 XIII. ἀρκτέον οὖν τῆς τελετῆς ᾧδε. ἀνὴρ μὲν  
γυναικί, ἄνθρωπος δ' ἄρρην ἀνθρώπῳ θηλείᾳ τὰς  
ἐπὶ γενέσει παίδων ὀμιλίας ἐπακολουθῶν τῇ φύσει  
συνέρχεται ποιησόμενος· ἀρεταῖς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ  
τέλεια τικτούσαις θέμις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιλαχεῖν  
θνητοῦ· μὴ δεξάμεναι δὲ παρά τινος ἑτέρου γονήν,<sup>1</sup>

44 ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μόνον οὐδέποτε κηήσουσι. τίς οὖν ὁ  
σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ καλὰ πλὴν ὁ τῶν ὄντων  
πατήρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος θεὸς καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν;  
σπεῖρει μὲν οὖν οὗτος, τὸ δὲ γέννημα τὸ ἴδιον, ὁ  
ἔσπειρε, δωρεῖται· γεννᾷ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ,  
χρεῖος ἅτε ὢν οὐδενός, πάντα δὲ τῷ λαβεῖν  
45 δεομένῳ. παρέξω δὲ τῶν λεγομένων

ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιόχρεων τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν· τὴν  
γὰρ Σάρραν εἰσάγει τότε κύουσαν, ὅτε ὁ θεὸς  
αὐτὴν μονωθεῖσαν ἐπισκοπεῖ (Gen. xxι. 1), τί-  
κτουσαν δ' οὐκέτι τῷ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πεποιημένῳ,  
ἀλλὰ τῷ σοφίας τυχεῖν γλιχομένῳ, οὗτος δὲ  
46 Ἀβραὰμ ὀνομάζεται. γνωριμώτερον δ'

ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας ἐκδιδάσκει λέγων, ὅτι τὴν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιγονήν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 42-46

pangs, but when I purpose to speak of them let them who corrupt religion into superstition close their ears or depart. For this is a divine mystery and its lesson is for the initiated who are worthy to receive the holiest secret, even those who in simplicity of heart practise the piety which is true and genuine, free from all tawdry ornament. The sacred revelation is not for those others who, under the spell of the deadly curse of vanity, have no other standards for measuring what is pure and holy but their barren words and phrases and their silly usages and ritual.<sup>a</sup>

XIII. Thus then must the sacred instruction begin. Man and Woman, male and female of the human race, in the course of nature come together to hold intercourse for the procreation of children. But virtues whose offspring are so many and so perfect may not have to do with mortal man, yet if they receive not seed of generation from another they will never of themselves conceive. Who then is he that sows in them the good seed save the Father of all, that is God unbegotten and begetter of all things? He then sows, but the fruit of His sowing, the fruit which is His own, He bestows as a gift. For God begets nothing for Himself, for He is in want of nothing, but all for him who needs<sup>b</sup> to receive.

I will give as a warrant for my words one that none can dispute, Moses the holiest of men. For he shows us Sarah conceiving at the time when God visited her in her solitude (Gen. xxi. 1),<sup>a</sup> but when she brings forth it is not to the Author of her visitation, but to him who seeks to win wisdom, whose name is Abraham.

And even clearer is Moses' teaching of

<sup>b</sup> Or "prays."

- μήτραν ἀνέωξεν αὐτῆς ὁ θεός (Gen. xxix. 31)—  
 ἀνοιγνύναι δὲ μήτραν ἀνδρὸς ἴδιον—, ἢ δὲ συλ-  
 λαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν οὐ θεῶ—ϊκανὸς γὰρ μόνος καὶ  
 αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῷ—, ἀλλὰ τῷ κάματον ἀνα-  
 δεχομένῳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὥστε τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν παρὰ τοῦ αἰτίου τὰ θεῖα  
 σπέρματα, τίκτειν δὲ τινι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἐραστῶν,  
 ὃς ἂν τῶν μνηστήρων ἀπάντων προκριθῆ. πάλιν  
 47 Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πανσόφου τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύσαντος, ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἱκετευθέντος ἔγκυος ἢ ἐπιμονῆ Ῥεβέκκα  
 γίνεται (Gen. xxv. 21). χωρὶς δὲ ἱκετείας καὶ  
 δεήσεως τὴν πτηνὴν καὶ μετάρσιον ἀρετὴν Σεπ-  
 φώραν Μωυσῆς λαβὼν εὕρισκει κύουσαν ἐξ  
 οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ τὸ παράπαν (Exod. ii. 22).
- 48 XIV. ταῦτα, ᾧ μύσται κεκαθαρμένοι  
 τὰ ὦτα, ὡς ἱερὰ ὄντως μυστήρια ψυχαῖς ταῖς  
 ἑαυτῶν παραδέχεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων  
 ἐκλαλήσητε, ταμιευσάμενοι δὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς φυ-  
 λάττετε θησαυρόν, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος,  
 οὐσίαι φθαρταί, κατάκεινται, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄντων  
 κτημάτων τὸ καλλιστεῦον, ἢ περὶ τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ  
 ἀρετῆς καὶ τρίτου τοῦ γεννήματος ἀμφοῖν ἐπι-  
 στήμη. εἰ δὲ τινι τῶν τετελεσμένων ἐντυγχά-  
 νητε, λιπαρῶς ἐγκείμενοι περιέχεσθε, μὴ τινα ἄρα  
 καινοτέραν εἰδῶς τελετὴν ἐπικρύπτηται, μέχρις ἂν  
 49 αὐτὴν σαφῶς ἀναδιδαχθῆτε. καὶ γὰρ  
 ἐγὼ παρὰ Μωυσεῖ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ μνηθεὶς τὰ μεγάλα  
 [148] μυστήρια ὅμως αὐθις Ἰερεμίαν τὸν | προφήτην  
 ἰδὼν καὶ γνοὺς, ὅτι οὐ μόνον μύστης ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἱεροφάντης ἱκανός, οὐκ ὤκνησα φοιτῆσαι πρὸς  
 αὐτόν· ὁ δ' ἄτε τὰ πολλὰ ἐνθουσιῶν χρησμόν τινα

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 46-49

Leah, that God opened her womb (Gen. xxix. 31). Now to open the womb belongs to the husband. Yet when she conceived she brought forth not to God (for He is in Himself all-sufficing for Himself), but to him who endures toil to gain the good, even Jacob. Thus virtue receives the divine seed from the Creator, but brings forth to one of her own lovers, who is preferred above all others who seek her favour. Again Isaac the all-wise besought God, and through the power of Him who was thus besought Steadfastness or Rebecca became pregnant (Gen. xxv. 21). And without supplication or entreaty did Moses, when he took Zipporah the winged and soaring virtue, find her pregnant through no mortal agency (Exod. ii. 22).

XIV. These thoughts, ye initiated, whose ears are purified, receive into your souls as holy mysteries indeed and babble not of them to any of the profane. Rather as stewards guard the treasure in your own keeping, not where gold and silver, substances corruptible, are stored, but where lies that most beautiful of all possessions, the knowledge of the Cause and of virtue, and, besides these two, of the fruit which is engendered by them both. But, if ye meet with anyone of the initiated, press him closely, cling to him, lest knowing of some still newer secret he hide it from you; stay not till you have learnt its full lesson.

I myself was initiated under Moses the God-beloved into his greater mysteries,<sup>a</sup> yet when I saw the prophet Jeremiah and knew him to be not only himself enlightened, but a worthy minister of the holy secrets, I was not slow to become his disciple. He out of his manifold inspiration gave forth

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.

ἔξεῖπεν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντα πρὸς τὴν εἰρηνικωτάτην ἀρετὴν ταῦτα· “ οὐχ ὡς οἶκόν με ἐκάλεσας καὶ πατέρα καὶ ἄνδρα τῆς παρθενίας σου; ” (Jer. iii. 4) ἐμφαντικώτατα παριστάς ὅτι ὁ θεὸς καὶ οἶκός ἐστιν, ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν ἀσώματος χώρα, καὶ τῶν συμπάντων πατήρ, ἅτε γεγεννηκῶς αὐτά, καὶ σοφίας ἀνὴρ σπέρμα τῷ θνητῷ γένει καταβαλλόμενος εὐδαιμονίας εἰς ἀγαθὴν καὶ παρ-  
 50 θένον γῆν. ἀμιάντῳ γὰρ καὶ ἀψαύστῳ καὶ καθαρᾷ φύσει, τῇ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν παρθένῳ, διαλέγεσθαι πρεπῶδες θεόν, ἐναντίως ἡμῖν· ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἐπὶ γενέσει τέκνων σύνοδος τὰς παρθένους γυναῖκας ἀποφαίνει· ὅταν δὲ ὀμιλεῖν ἄρξῃται ψυχῇ θεός, πρότερον αὐτὴν οὔσαν γυναῖκα παρθένον αὐθις ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἀνάνδρους ἐπιθυμίας, αἷς ἐθελύνετο, ἐκποδῶν ἀνελῶν τὰς αὐθυγενεῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους ἀρετὰς ἀντεισάγει· Σάρρα γοῦν οὐ διαλέξεται, πρὶν ἐκλιπεῖν ἐκείνην τὰ γυναικεῖα πάντα (Gen. xviii.  
 11) καὶ ἀναδραμεῖν εἰς ἀγεννεούσης παρθένου  
 51 τάξιν. XV. ἀλλ’ ἐνδέχεται τάχα πού καὶ παρθένον ψυχὴν πάθεισιν ἀκολάστοις μινανθεῖσαν αἰσχυρῆσθαι· διόπερ ὁ χρησμὸς πεφύλακται θεὸν ἄνδρα εἰπῶν οὐ παρθένου—τρεπτὴ γὰρ ἦδε καὶ θνητὴ—ἀλλὰ “ παρθενίας ” (Jer. iii. 4), τῆς αἰεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσης ἰδέας· γενέσει γὰρ καὶ φθορὰν ἐνδεχομένων φύσει τῶν ποιῶν, ἄφθαρτον αἰ τυποῦσαι δυνάμεις τὰ<sup>1</sup> ἐν μέρει  
 52 κλῆρον εἰλήχασιν. τὸν οὖν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον

<sup>1</sup> So Wendland: mss. τῶν (which Cohn retains), or τὸν. The former, which makes the ideas belong to the particulars, seems hardly intelligible.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 49-52

an oracle spoken in the person of God to Virtue the all-peaceful. "Didst thou not call upon Me as thy house, thy father and the husband<sup>a</sup> of thy virginity?" (Jer. iii. 4). Thus he implies clearly that God is a house, the incorporeal dwelling-place of incorporeal ideas, that He is the father of all things, for He begat them, and the husband of Wisdom, dropping the seed of happiness for the race of mortals into good and virgin soil. For it is meet that God should hold converse with the truly virgin nature, that which is undefiled and free from impure touch; but it is the opposite with us. For the union of human beings that is made for the procreation of children, turns virgins into women. But when God begins to consort with the soul, He makes what before was a woman into a virgin again, for He takes away the degenerate and emasculate passions which unmanned it and plants instead the native growth of unpolluted virtues. Thus He will not talk with Sarah till she has ceased from all that is after the manner of women (Gen. xviii. 11), and is ranked once more as a pure virgin.

XV. Again even a virgin soul may perchance be dishonoured through the defilement of licentious passions. Therefore the oracle makes itself safe by speaking of God as the husband not of a virgin, for a virgin is liable to change and death, but of virginity, the idea which is unchangeable and eternal. For particulars within a class are of their nature such as to come into being and pass out of it again, but to the potencies which give their form to these particulars is allotted an existence indestructible. It is meet and right therefore that

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.

θεὸν ἀθανάτων καὶ παρθένων ἀρετῶν σπείρειν  
 ιδέας μηδέποτε εἰς γυναικὸς μεταβαλλούση σχῆμα  
 παρθενία προεπέδωκε. τί οὖν, ὦ ψυχή,  
 δέον ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ παρθενεύεσθαι καὶ ἐπιστήμης  
 περιέχεσθαι, τούτων μὲν ἀποστατεῖς, αἴσθησιν δὲ  
 ἀσπάζῃ τὴν ἐκθηλύνουσάν σε καὶ μαιίνουσαν;  
 τοιγάρτοι γέννημα πάμφυρτον καὶ πανώλεθρον  
 ἀποτέξῃ τὸν ἀδελφοκτόνον καὶ ἐπάρατον Κάιν,  
 κτῆσιν οὐ κτητῆν· λέγεται γὰρ ὁ Κάιν κτῆσις.

- 53 XVI. Θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις τὸν τῆς ἑρμηνείας  
 τρόπον, ὧς πολλάκις ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὁ νομοθέτης  
 [149] χρῆται | τὸ σύνηθες ἐξαλλάττων. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς  
 φύντας ἐκ γῆς ἀρχόμενος δηλοῦν τὸν γεννηθέντα  
 πρῶτον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, περὶ οὗ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν  
 εἴρηκεν, ὡς ἤδη πολλάκις τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ προειπῶν  
 ἀλλὰ μὴ νῦν αὐτὸ κατατάττων εἰς τὴν ἐν λόγῳ  
 χρήσιν, φησὶν ὅτι ἔτεκε τὸν Κάιν. ποῖον, ὦ  
 τεχνῖτα; περὶ οὗ τί μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πάλαι δεδή-  
 54 λωκας; καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς τὴν οἰκίαν θέσιν  
 τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἤδη γοῦν προελθὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 δηλώσεις προσώπου φάσκων, ὅτι “ ἔγνω Ἀδὰμ  
 Εὐάν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν  
 υἱὸν καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Σήθ ” (Gen.  
 iv. 25). οὐκοῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐχρήν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 πρωτοτόκου, ὃς ἦν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐξ ἀλλήλων γενέσεως  
 ἀνθρώπων, τὴν τε φύσιν τοῦ ἀποκυηθέντος δηλῶσαι  
 πρῶτον ὅτι ἄρρεν, εἶτα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄνομα θέσθαι,  
 55 Κάιν εἰ τύχοι. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀπειρία τρόπων,

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 483, 484.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 52-55

God the uncreated, the unchanging, should sow the ideas of the immortal and virgin virtues in virginity which changes not into the form of woman.

Why then, soul of man, when thou shouldst live the virgin life in the house of God and cling to knowledge, dost thou stand aloof from them and embrace outward sense, which unmans and defiles thee? For this thou shalt bring forth that thing of ruin and confusion, Cain, the fratricide, the accursed, the possession which is no possession. For the meaning of Cain is "possession."

XVI. We may note<sup>a</sup> with surprise the form of expression, which, contrary to the usual practice, the lawgiver often employs and in the case of many persons. For when after speaking of the earth-born pair he begins the story of the first-born child of man, though he has said nothing at all of him hitherto, he says simply "she brought forth Cain." It is as though the name had been often mentioned before, instead of being now for the first time introduced for use in the narrative. We may ask the author "Who or what is this Cain?" What has he told us small or great about him in the past? Surely he is not ignorant how the names of persons should be given. We see indeed that later on he will show his knowledge plainly in speaking of this same person Eve. "Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived and brought forth a son, and called his name Seth" (Gen. iv. 25). Surely it was far more necessary in the case of the firstborn, who was the beginning of human generation through two parents, first to state the male sex of the child, and then to give his personal name, Cain, as it might be. Since then it was clearly not because he was ignorant how

## PHILO

ὡς ὀνόματα δεῖ τίθεσθαι, φαίνεται τὴν ἡθελήσασθαι ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Κάλιν ἀνελῶν, σκεῶν ἢ εἴη, τίνος αἰτίας ἕνεκα οὕτως ἐκάλεσε ὡς ἐκ τῶν πρώτων παραδηγήσεως μᾶλλον ἢ σεως ὀνομάτων τύπῳ χρησάμενος. ἔστι δ', ὡς μοιγε τοχαζομένῳ καταφαίνεται, ἡ αἰτία ἦδε.

XVII. ὁ μὲν ἄλλος ἅπας ἀνθρώπων ὄμιλος ὀνόματα τίθεται πράγμασι διαφέροντα τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥσθ' ἕτερα μὲν εἶναι τὰ τυγχάνοντα, ἑτέρας δὲ κλήσεις τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· παρὰ Μωυσεῖ δὲ αἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεις ἐνάργεια<sup>1</sup> πραγμάτων εἰσὶν ἐμφαντικώταται, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξ ἀνάγκης εὐθὺς εἶναι τοῦνομα καὶ <τοῦνομα καὶ> καθ' οὗ τίθεται διαφέρειν μηδέν. μάθοις δ' ἂν σαφέστερον κακ τοῦ προτεθέντος ὃ λέγω.

57 ὅταν ὁ ὅς ἡμῖν νοῦς—κεκλήσθω δὲ Ἀδάμ—ἐντυχὼν αἰσθήσει, παρ' ἣν ζῆν δοκεῖ τὰ ἔμψυχα (Gen. iii. 20) —καλεῖται δὲ Εὐά—, [συνουσίας ἴσης ὀρεχθεῖς]<sup>2</sup> πλησιάξῃ, ἡ δὲ συλλαμβάνῃ καθάπερ δικτύῳ καὶ θηρεύῃ φυσικῶς τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητόν, διὰ μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ χρῶμα, διὰ δὲ ὠτων φωνήν, διὰ δὲ μυκτῆρων ἀτμόν, χυλόν γε μὴν διὰ τῶν γεύσεως ὀργάνων, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀφῆς ἅπαν σῶμα, συλλαβοῦσα ἐγκύμων τε γίνεται καὶ εὐθὺς ὠδίνει καὶ τίκτει κακῶν ψυχῆς τὸ μέγιστον, οἷσιν· ὥθη γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντ' εἶναι κτήματα, ὅσα εἶδεν, ὧν ἤκουσεν, ὧν ἐγεύσατο, ὧν ὠσφρήσατο, ὧν ἤψατο, καὶ πάντων ὑπέλαβεν εὐρετὴν καὶ τεχνίτην ἑαυτόν.

58 XVIII. ἔπαθε δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀλόγως· ἦν γὰρ ποτε χρόνος, ὅτε νοῦς οὐ διελέγετο αἰσθήσει οὐδ' εἶχεν αἰσθησιν, πάμπλου διεστῶς τῶν συννόμων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐνέργειαί.

<sup>2</sup> Bracketed by Cohn as otiose.



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 55-58

names should be given, that he rejects the usual method in the case of Cain, we must consider why he speaks thus of the children of our first parents and uses the form natural to an incidental mention of the names, rather than that which is usual when names are originally assigned. I conjecture that the reason is as follows.

XVII. Elsewhere the universal practice of men as a body is to give to things names which differ from the things, so that the objects are not the same as what we call them. But with Moses the names assigned are manifest images of the things, so that name and thing are inevitably the same from the first and the name and that to which the name is given differ not a whit. My meaning will be seen more clearly from the case before us.

The Mind in us—call it Adam—having met with outward Sense, called Eve, the source, we hold, of life to all living bodies (Gen. iii. 20) approaches her for their mutual intercourse. She for her part takes in and catches as in a net the external objects of sense, as nature bids. Through the eyes comes colour, through the ears sound, through the nostrils smell, through the organs of taste flavours and through the touch all solid matter. Thus conceiving and being made pregnant, she straightway becomes in labour and bears the worst evil of the soul, vanity of thought. For the Mind thought that all these were his own possessions, all that he saw or heard or smelt or tasted or touched—all his own invention and handiwork.

XVIII. That it should have been so with the Mind was not strange. For there was a time when Mind neither had sense-perception, nor held converse with it, but a great gulf divided it from associated inter-

- [150] ἀγελαίων, εἰκὼς τοῖς | μονοτρόποις καὶ μονω-  
 τικοῖς ζῴοις· τότε δὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξεταζόμενος  
 σώματος οὐκ ἐφήπτετο, ἀθρόον<sup>1</sup> <οὐκ> ἔχων  
 ὄργανον περὶ ἑαυτὸν, ᾧ θηρεύσει τὸ ἐκτός, ἀλλ'  
 ἦν τυφλὸς καὶ ἀδύνατος, οὐχ ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν,  
 ὅταν πηρωθέντα τὰς ὄψεις θεάσωνται· μίαν γὰρ  
 οὗτος αἰσθησιν ἀφαιρεθεὶς τῶν ἄλλων ἄγει πολλήν  
 59 περιουσίαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ πάσας τὰς αἰσθητικὰς  
 δυνάμεις περικεκομμένος, ἀδύνατος ὄντως, ἡμισυ  
 ψυχῆς τελείας, ἐνδέων δυνάμεως, ἣ καταλαμ-  
 βάνεσθαι σώματα πέφυκε, τμήμα καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
 στερόμενον τοῦ συμφυοῦς οὐκ εὐτυχές, [οὐκ] ἄνευ  
 βάκτρων τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων ἐτύγχανεν,  
 οἷς ἰκανὸς ἦν σκηρίπτεσθαι κραδαινόμενος· παρ'  
 ἦν αἰτίαν καὶ πολὺ σκότος πάντων κατεκέχυτο  
 τῶν σωμάτων, οὐδενὸς φανῆναι δυναμένου· ᾧ γὰρ  
 γνωρίζεσθαι ἐμελλεν, αἰσθησις οὐκ ἦν.  
 60 βουληθεὶς οὖν ὁ θεὸς μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀσωμάτων  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ στερεῶν σωμάτων κατάληψιν αὐτῷ παρα-  
 σχεῖν, ἐξεπλήρου τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν τὸ ἕτερον τῷ  
 προειργασμένῳ τμήμα συνυφαίνων, ὃ κέκληκε  
 προσηγορικῶς μὲν γυναικα ὀνομαστικῶς δὲ Εὐαν  
 61 αἰνιττόμενος αἰσθησιν. XIX. ἣ δὲ εὐθύς  
 γενομένη δι' ἐκάστου τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς ὡσπερ διὰ  
 τινων ὁπῶν ἀθρόον φῶς εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐπεισέχεε καὶ  
 τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀποσκεδάσασα τηλαυγῶς καὶ σφόδρα

<sup>1</sup> Cohn ἀθρόον (part. of ἀθρέω), "a discerning instrument." This seems a very strange expression, though it is true that "all-collecting" is an unusual sense for ἀθρόος. Perhaps read with Markland ἀρκοῦν, or possibly σώματος οὐκ ἐφήπτετο ἀθρόως, <οὐκ> ἔχων. Cf. below, 62.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 58-61

dependent things.<sup>a</sup> Rather was it then like the solitary ungregarious animals. At that time it formed a class by itself; it had no contact with body, no all-collecting instrument in its grasp wherewith to bring into its power the external objects of sense. It was blind, incapable, not in the common meaning of blindness as applied to those whom we observe to have lost their eyesight, for they though deprived of one sense have the others more abundantly. No, the Mind was docked of all its powers of sense-perception, thus truly powerless. It was but half the perfect soul, lacking the power whereby it is the nature of bodies to be perceived, a mere unhappy section bereft of its mate without the support of the sense-perceiving organs, whereby it could have propped as with a staff its faltering steps. And thus all bodily objects were wrapped in profound darkness and none of them could come to the light. For sense, the means whereby they were to become the objects of knowledge, was not.<sup>b</sup>

God then, wishing to provide the Mind with perception of material as well as immaterial things, thought to complete the soul by weaving into the part first made the other section, which he called by the general name of "woman" and the proper name of "Eve," thus symbolizing sense.

XIX. This Eve or sense from the very moment of coming into being through each of her parts as through orifices poured multitudinous light into the Mind, and purging and dispersing the mist set it as it were in

<sup>a</sup> Literally "things that dwell together and belong to a herd."

<sup>b</sup> Or "for he to whom they were to be made known lacked sense."

- ἐκδήλως τὰς φύσεις τῶν σωμάτων ἰδεῖν καθάπερ  
 62 δεσπότην παρεσκευάσεν. ὁ δ' ὡσπερ ἐκ νυκτὸς  
 ἡλιακῶ φέγγει καταυγασθεὶς ἀπαστράπτουσι ἢ ἐκ  
 βαθέος ὕπνου περιαναστὰς ἢ οἷα τυφλὸς ἐξαίφνης  
 ἀναβλέψας ἐνετύγχανε πᾶσιν ἀθρώως ὧν γένεσις  
 ἐστίν, οὐρανῶ, γῆ, ὕδατι, ἀέρι, φυτοῖς, ζώοις,  
 σχέσεσιν αὐτῶν, ποιότησι, δυνάμεσιν, ἕξεσι, δια-  
 θέσεσι, κινήσεσιν, ἐνεργείαις, πράξεσι, μεταβολαῖς,  
 φθοραῖς, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑώρα, τῶν δὲ ἤκουε, τῶν δὲ  
 ἐγεύετο, τῶν δὲ ὠσφραίνετο, τῶν δὲ ἤπτετο· καὶ  
 πρὸς ἃ μὲν ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν, ἡδονὰς ἐργαζόμενα,  
 τῶν δὲ ἀπεστρέφετο, ἐμποιούντων ἀλγηδόνας.  
 63 περιβλεψάμενος οὖν ὧδε κάκεισε καὶ  
 περιαθρήσας ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐτόλ-  
 μησε ταῦτόν αὐχῆμα αὐχῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Μακε-  
 δόνων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν φασιν, ἡνίκα  
 Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας ἔδοξεν ἀνάψασθαι τὸ κράτος,  
 ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ χώρῳ στάντα καὶ πάντα περιαθρή-  
 σαντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι "καὶ τὰ τῆδε καὶ τὰ τῆδε ἐμά,"  
 μειρακιώδους καὶ νηπίας καὶ ἰδιωτικῆς τῷ ὄντι  
 ψυχῆς, οὐ βασιλικῆς, ἐπιδειξάμενον κουφότητα.  
 64 πρότερος δ' ὁ νοῦς τὴν αἰσθητικὴν δύναμιν ἐξ-  
 αιψάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν θηρεύσας  
 σώματος, ὑποπλησθεὶς ἀλόγου φρονήματος, ἐφυ-  
 [151] σῆθη, ὡς τὰ πάντα ἑαυτοῦ νομίσαι κτήματα | καὶ  
 μηδενὸς ἄλλου τὸ παράπαν μηδέν.  
 65 XX. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν χαρακτηρίσας Μωσῆς  
 τρόπον ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπεφήμισε Κάιν, ἐρμηνευόμενον  
 κτήσι, εὐθηλείας μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσεβείας μεστὸν ὄντα·

<sup>a</sup> In Stoic terminology *ἐξις* is something less permanent than *διάθεσις*. Thus the mastery of the arts is a *ἐξις* (and therefore *μέση*, see 9), while virtue is a *διάθεσις*.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 61-65

the place of a master, able to see in luminous clearness the natures of things bodily. And the Mind, like one enlightened by the flash of the sun's beam, after night, or as one awakened from deep sleep, or like a blind man who has suddenly received his sight, found thronging on it all things which come into being, heaven, earth, air, water, the vegetable and animal world, their phases, qualities, faculties, dispositions whether temporary or permanent,<sup>a</sup> movements, activities, functions, changes, extinctions. Some it saw, some it heard, some it tasted, some it smelt, and some it touched; and to some it was attracted, because they work pleasure, from others it was averse because they cause pain.

So then it gazed around on every side and, beholding itself and its powers, feared not to utter the same boast as the Macedonian king Alexander. For the story is that, when he seemed <sup>b</sup> to have gained the mastery of Europe and Asia, he stood in some commanding spot and, looking at the view around, said "this way and that all are mine." The words showed the lightness of an immature and childish soul, the soul of a common man in truth and not of a king. But before Alexander's day the Mind, having acquired the faculty of sense and through its agency laid hold of every form of bodily things, was filled and puffed up with unreasoning pride, and thus thought that all things were its own possessions and none belonged to any other.

XX. It is this feeling in us which Moses expresses under the name of Cain, by interpretation Possession, a feeling foolish to the core or rather

<sup>b</sup> Or "he thought."

ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ νομίσει θεοῦ πάντα κτήματα, ὑπέλαβεν ἑαυτοῦ, μηδ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν βεβαίως δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ὅστις ἐστὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εἰδώς. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰ πεπίστευκε ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ὡς ἱκαναῖς θηρεῦσαι τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητόν, εἰπάτω, πῶς παρορᾶν ἢ παρακούειν ἢ κατὰ τινα ἄλλην αἴσθησιν μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν  
 66 ἔτι δυνήσεται. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ὀλίσθους ἀνάγκη τούτους περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἀεὶ συμβαίνειν, κἂν τὰ μάλισθ' ἡμεῖς ἠκριβωμένοις τοῖς ὀργάνοις χρώμενοι τυγχάνωμεν· τὰς γὰρ φυσικὰς κήρας καὶ τὸν ἀκούσιον πλάνον εἰσάπαν ἐκδῦναι χαλεπὸν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀμήχανον, ἀπείρων ὅσων ψευδοῦς δόξης ποιητικῶν ἐν τε ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἡμῶν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ θνητῷ γένει ὑπαρχόντων. οὐκ ἄρα ὑγιῶς κτήμαθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπέλαβε τὰ πάντα, κἂν φρναττόμενος ὑψαυχενῆ.

67 XXI. Γέλωτά μοι πλατὺν καὶ Λάβαν ὁ τῶν ποιότητων ἠρτημένος δοκεῖ παρασχεῖν Ἰακώβ τῷ πρὸ τούτων τὴν ἄποιον φύσιν ὀρῶντι, ἠνίκα ἐτόλμα πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅτι “ αἱ θυγατέρες θυγατέρες μου καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ υἱοὶ μου καὶ τὰ κτήνη κτήνη μου καὶ πάντα ὅσα σὺ ὀρᾶς ἐμά ἐστι καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων μου ” (Gen. xxxi. 43). ἐφ' ἑκάστου γὰρ οὗτος τὸ “ ἐμὸν ” προστιθεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἅμα καὶ  
 68 σεμνομυθῶν οὐ παύεται. τὰς θυγατέρας, εἰπέ μοι,—τέχνηαι δέ εἰσι καὶ ἐπιστήμαι ψυχῆς—θυγατέρας σαυτοῦ λέγεις εἶναι; τίνα τρόπον; οὐ πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ τοῦ διδάξαντος αὐτὰς νοῦ παρα-

<sup>a</sup> The construction is confused. Perhaps (a) transfer the *μη* to before *παρορᾶν* (as in the translation) or (b) omit it. In this case the sense will be “ let him tell us how it is that

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 65-68

impious. For instead of thinking that all things are God's possession, the Mind fancied that they were its own, though it cannot possess even itself securely, or even know what its own real being is. Yet if it trusts in the senses and their ability to lay hold of the objects of sense, let it tell us how it thinks to have power to avoid error in sight or hearing or any other sense.<sup>a</sup> Indeed these errors must always befall us in each of our doings, to whatever pitch of accuracy the organs we use are brought. For to free ourselves altogether from natural sources of decay or involuntary delusions is hard or rather impossible, so innumerable in ourselves and around us and outside us throughout the whole race of mortals are the causes which produce false opinion. How foolish then, be its boasting ever so loud and its bearing ever so high, is the Mind's thought that all things are its own possessions.

XXI. Surely Laban, whose heart was fixed on particular qualities, must have made Jacob laugh loud and long, Jacob who discerns rather than these the nature which is outside class or category. Laban dared to say to him "the daughters are my daughters, the sons are my sons, the cattle are my cattle, and all that thou seest are mine and my daughters'" (Gen. xxxi. 43). In each case he adds the "my," and his proud talk about himself goes on without ceasing. The daughters, tell me—daughters, you know, are the arts and branches of knowledge in the soul—do you say they are *your* daughters? How yours? Why in the first place you only received them from the mind that taught them to you.

(as he knows is the case) he will still be capable of sense-error."

λαβὼν ἔχεις; εἶτα καὶ πέφυκας ἀποβάλλειν, ὡσπερ ἄλλ' ἄττα, καὶ ταύτας ἢ διὰ μέγεθος ἐτέρων φροντίδων ἐκλαθόμενος ἢ διὰ χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀνηκέστους<sup>1</sup> ἀρρωστίας σώματος ἢ διὰ τὴν ὠρισμένην τοῖς πρεσβύταις ἀθεράπευτον νόσον γῆρας ἢ δι' ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν ἀριθμὸν ἄπορον εὐρεῖν.

69 τί δέ; τοὺς υἱοὺς—υἱοὶ δέ εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς λογισμοί—φάσκων εἶναι σαυτοῦ σωφρονεῖς ἢ μέμηνas τοιαῦτα δοξάζων; αἱ γὰρ μελαγχολίαι σου καὶ παράνοιαὶ καὶ φρενῶν ἐκστάσεις καὶ εἰκασίαι ἀβέβαιοι καὶ φαντασίαι πραγμάτων ψευδεῖς καὶ κενοὶ τινες ἐννοημάτων ὀνειροῖς εἰκότες ἔλκυσμοί<sup>2</sup> σπασμοὺς ἐνδιδόντες ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἡ σύντροφος ψυχῆς νόσος λήθη καὶ ἄλλα τῶν εἰρημένων πλείω τὸ ἐχυρόν σου τῆς δεσποτείας ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ἐπιδείκνυται ταῦτα ἐτέρου τινός,

70 οὐχὶ σά, κτήματα. πῶs δὲ τὰ κτήνη—

κτήνη δέ εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, ἄλογον γὰρ καὶ [152] κτηνῶδες αἰσθησιs—σαυτοῦ | λέγειν εἶναι τολμᾶs; παρορῶν, εἶπέ μοι, παρακούων αἰεὶ, τοὺς γλυκεῖς χυλοὺς ἀλμυροὺς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἔμπαλιν τοὺς πικροὺς γλυκεῖς ἠγούμενος καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰσθησιν πλείω τῶν κατορθουμένων εἰωθῶs διαμαρτάνειν οὐκ ἐρυθριᾶs, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἀπταιστοῖs κεχρημένος ταῖs περὶ ψυχὴν ἀπάσαιs δυνάμεσί τε καὶ ἐνεργείαιs

71 γαυριᾶs καὶ πεφύσῃσαι; XXII. ἀλλ' εἰάν μεταβάλῃs καὶ ὧν χρῆι φρενῶν μοιραθῆs, ἐρεῖs πάντα τοῦ θεοῦ κτήματα, οὐχὶ σαυτοῦ, τὰs διανοήσεις, τὰs ἐπιστήμαs, τὰs τέχναs, τὰ θεωρήματα,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μηκίστους.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn prints εἰκότες <λογισμοί> ἔλκυσμοὺs καὶ. The MSS. vary between ἔλκυσμοί and ἔλκυσμοὺs καὶ. See App. p. 484.



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 68-71

Secondly, it is in the course of nature that like other things you should lose them too, perhaps through the burden of other thoughts which drive them from your memory, or through cruel and incurable infirmities of the body, or that disease which is the doom of advancing years and no treatment can heal—old age—or a host of other causes, which no man can number.

The sons—sons are the particular reasoned thoughts—when you say they are yours are you sane or mad to suppose such a thing? Fits of melancholy and insanity, bursts of frenzy, baseless conjectures, false impressions of things, mere notions, which are but unsubstantial will-o'-the-wisps<sup>a</sup> made of the stuff of dreams, with their self-engendered throes and throbbings, loss of memory, the curse which so besets the soul, and other things more numerous than these, sap the security of your lordship, and show that these things are not your possessions but another's.

As for the cattle—the senses, that is, for sense is unreasoning and bestial—do you dare to say that they are yours? Consider your constant errors in sight and hearing, how you sometimes think bitter flavours sweet and sweet bitter, and in every sense are more often wrong than right. Surely a matter for blushing rather than for boasting and elation, as though you found all the faculties and activities of your soul infallible.

XXII. But, if you reform and obtain a portion of the wisdom that you need, you will say that all are God's possessions and not yours, your reflections, your knowledge of every kind, your arts, your conclusions, your reasonings on particular questions, your sense-perceptions, in fact

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 484.

- τοὺς ἐν μέρει λογισμούς, τὰς αἰσθήσεις, τὰς διὰ τούτων καὶ ἄνευ αὐτῶν ψυχῆς ἐνεργείας· ἐὰν δὲ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπαιδαγώγητον καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἑάσης σεαυτὸν, δουλεύσεις τὸν αἰῶνα χαλεπαῖς δεσποίναις, οἰήσεσιν, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, ἀδικίαις, ἀφρο-  
 72 σύναις, ψευδέσι δόξαις. “εἰ” γάρ φησιν “ἀποκριθεὶς εἶποι ὁ παῖς Ἠγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ παιδιά, οὐκ ἄπειμι<sup>1</sup> ἐλεύθερος,” ἄχθεις πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δικαστοῦ τυχῶν αὐτοῦ βέβαιον σχήσει ὃ ἡτήσατο, πρότερον τρυπηθεὶς τὸ οὖς ὀπητίῳ (Exod. xxī. 5, 6), ἵνα μὴ δέξηται θείαν ἀκοήν ὑπὲρ ἐλευ-  
 73 θερίας ψυχῆς· ἐκκεκριμένου γάρ ἐστιν ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀγῶνος ἱεροῦ καὶ ἀποδοδοκιμασμένου παιδὸς ὄντως νηπίου κομιδῆ λογισμοῦ σεμνολογεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν νοῦν ἡγαπηκέαι καὶ τὸν νοῦν νομίζειν ἑαυτοῦ κύριον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αἴσθησιν σφόδρα στέργειν καὶ κτῆμα ἴδιον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὸ μέγιστον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀμφοῖν παιδιά, τοῦ μὲν τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ λογίζεσθαι, τὸ διανοεῖσθαι, τὸ βουλευέσθαι, τὸ στοχάζεσθαι, τῆς δὲ τὸ ὄραν, τὸ ἀκούειν, τὸ γεύεσθαι, τὸ ὀσφραίνεσθαι, τὸ ἄπτεσθαι, κοινῶς τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι.
- 74 XXIII. ἀνάγκη μέντοι τὸν τούτοις οἰκειούμενον μηδ’ ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ἐπησθῆθαι· φυγῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλλοτριώσει μεταποιούμεθα ἀδείας. ἄλλος δέ τις πρὸς τῷ φιλαύτῳ καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες ἐπιδεικνύμενός φησιν ὅτι, κὰν ἀφαιρῆται μέ τις,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐκέτ <οὐκ ἔτ’> εἰμι or οὐκ ἐξελεύσομαι. Cohn’s conjecture agrees with the citation of the text in *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 38. The LXX. has οὐκ ἀποτρέχω, in which form Philo quotes it, *L.A.* iii. 198.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 71-74

the activities of your soul, whether carried on through the senses or without them. But if you leave yourself for ever unschooled and untaught, you will be eternally enslaved to hard mistresses, vain fancies, lusts, pleasures, promptings to wrongdoing, follies, false opinions. For if, says Moses, the servant should answer and say "I have come to love my master, my wife and my children, I will not go out free," he shall be brought to the tribunal of God, and with God as judge shall have his request ratified, having first had his ear bored with an awl (Exod. xxi. 5, 6), that he may not receive the divine message of the freedom of the soul. For lofty words like these of having come to love the mind and thinking it his master and benefactor are worthy of a reasoning disqualified and rejected as it were from the sacred arena, a slave<sup>a</sup> in very truth and wholly childish. And so too when he speaks of his exceeding affection for outward sense and his belief that she is his own possession and the greatest of blessings. So too with the children of these two, the children of mind—reflection, reasoning, judging, deliberating, conjecturing—the children of sense—sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, in fact sense-perception in general. XXIII. He who seeks intimacy with these can have had no perception, cannot even have dreamt, of freedom. For it is only by flight and estrangement from these that we can make a claim to the lot of the fearless. We read of another<sup>b</sup> who crowns his self-love with madness, and declares that, though what I have be taken from me, I will contend

<sup>a</sup> Or "boy." Philo plays with the double sense of *παῖς*.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, Pharaoh.

ὡς περὶ οἰκείων ἀγωνισάμενος οἶσομαι τὸ κράτος·  
 “διώξας” γάρ φησιν “καταλήψομαι, μεριῶ σκῦλα,  
 ἐμπλήσω ψυχὴν μου, ἀνελῶ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ μου,  
 κυριεύσει ἡ χεὶρ μου” (Exod. xv. 9).

- 75 πρὸς ὃν εἶπομι' ἄν· λέληθέ σε, ὦ μωρέ, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ  
 δοκῶν ἐν γενέσει διώκειν διώκεται· νόσοι γὰρ καὶ  
 γῆρας καὶ θάνατος μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν ἐκουσίων  
 καὶ ἀκουσίων <κακῶν> πληθύς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν  
 ἐλαύνουσι καὶ στροβοῦσι καὶ διώκουσι, καὶ ὁ  
 νομίζων καταλαμβάνειν ἢ κρατεῖν καταλαμβάνεται  
 καὶ κρατεῖται, καὶ τις λαφυραγωγῆσειν ἐλπίσας  
 καὶ μοίρας λείας διατιθεῖς ἠττηθεῖς ὑπὸ κεκρατη-  
 [153] κόσιν ἐχθροῖς | ἐγένετο, κένωσιν ἀντὶ πλησμονῆς  
 καὶ δουλείαν ἀντὶ δεσποτείας ψυχῇ δεξάμενος τῇ  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνελεῖν ἀναιρεθεῖς καὶ πάνθ'  
 ὅσα δράσειν ἐνενόησε παθῶν ἀνὰ κράτος.
- 76 ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐχθρὸς οὗτος αἰροῦντος  
 λόγου καὶ φύσεως αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν  
 ἅπαντα περιάπτων αὐτῷ καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ  
 πάσχειν ἔτι μεμνημένος, ὡς τὰς ἀφ' ἐκάστου
- 77 κῆρας ἀθρόας ἐκδεδυκώς. XXIV. “εἶπε” γάρ  
 φησιν “ὁ ἐχθρὸς Διώξας καταλήψομαι.” τίς οὖν  
 ἂν γένοιτο δυσμενέστερος ψυχῇ πολέμιος τοῦ διὰ  
 μεγαλαυχίας τὸ ἴδιον θεοῦ προσκληροῦντος ἑαυτῷ;  
 ἴδιον μὲν δὴ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὃ οὐ θέμις ἐπιγρά-  
 78 ψασθαι γενητῷ, ἴδιον δὲ γενητοῦ τὸ πάσχειν. ὁ  
 προλαβὼν μὲν τις ὡς οἰκείον καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι,  
 ῥαδίως οἶσει τὰ προσπίπτοντα, κὰν ἦ βαρύτερα,  
 νομίσας δὲ ἀλλότριον ἀνηνύτω πιεζόμενος ἄχθει  
 Σισύφειον τιμωρίαν ἀναδέξεται, μηδ' ὅσον ἀνα-

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 74-78

for it as my own and win the victory. "I will pursue," he says, "I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; I will satisfy my soul; I will destroy with my sword; my hand shall have the mastery" (Exod. xv. 9).

To such a one I would say "Fool, is it hidden from you that every created being, who thinks he pursues, is pursued?" For maladies and old age and death, with all the other host of evils voluntary and involuntary, drive and hustle and pursue each one of us, and he who thinks to overtake and conquer is overtaken and conquered, and many a one who thinks to spoil and is already in his thoughts parcelling out the booty has fallen under the foot of victorious enemies. He receives into his soul emptiness for satisfaction, slavery for lordship, he is killed instead of killing, and all that he thought to do to others falls with full measure upon himself.

For in very truth this man was the enemy of convincing reason and of nature herself, when he took to himself all active functions and forgot the passive, as though he was secure from the mass of calamities which these severally bring. XXIV. For it was "the enemy," as we read, who said "I will pursue and overtake." What deadlier foe to the soul can there be than he who in his vainglory claims to himself that which belongs to God alone? For it belongs to God to act, and this we may not ascribe to any created being. What belongs to the created is to suffer, and he who accepts this from the first, as a necessity inseparable from his lot, will bear with patience what befalls him, however grievous it may be. He who thinks it a strange and alien thing will incur the penalty of Sisyphus, crushed by a vast and hopeless burden, unable even to lift his head, over-

κῦψαι δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιτρέχουσι καὶ  
 τραχηλίζουσι δεινοῖς ὑποβεβλημένους καὶ προσ-  
 τιθεῖς ἐκάστω τὸ ὑπέικον καὶ εὐένδοτον, ἀγεννοῦς  
 καὶ ἀνάνδρου ψυχῆς πάθη· τλήναι γὰρ ἔδει καὶ  
 ἀντιτάξασθαι καὶ ἀντερείσασθαι γνώμην ὀχυρωσά-  
 μενον καὶ ἀναφραξάμενον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καρτερίᾳ καὶ  
 79 ὑπομονῇ, δυνατωτάταις ἀρεταῖς. ὡσπερ  
 γὰρ τὸ κείρεσθαι διττόν, τὸ μὲν ὡς ἀντιπεπονθὸς  
 κατὰ ἀντέρεισιν, τὸ δὲ ὡς ὑπέικον καθ' ὑπόπτωσιν  
 —πρόβατον μὲν γὰρ ἢ δέρμα ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον  
 κώδιον οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάσχον δὲ μόνον  
 ὑφ' ἑτέρου κείρεται, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος συνδρῶν καὶ  
 σχηματίζων καὶ ἐπιτήδειον παρέχων ἑαυτόν, ἀνα-  
 κερνὰς τῷ πάσχειν τὸ ποιεῖν—, οὕτως καὶ τὸ  
 80 τύπτεσθαι· τὸ μὲν ὁ συμβέβηκε πληγῶν ἄξια  
 ἡδίκηκότητι οἰκέτη ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ διὰ ῥαδιουργίαν ἐπὶ  
 τροχοῦ κατατεινομένῳ ἢ τινι τῶν ἀψύχων—τύπτον-  
 ται γὰρ λίθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ χρυσοὶ καὶ ἄργυρος  
 καὶ ὅσαι ἐν χαλκοτυπείῳ ἐλαυνόμεναι ὑλαὶ ἢ  
 διαιρούμεναι—, τὸ δὲ <ὁ> συμβέβηκεν ἀθλητῇ  
 81 ἀγωνιζομένῳ· οὗτος μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπιφερομένας  
 πληγὰς ἐκατέρα τῶν χειρῶν ἀποσειέται καὶ τὸν  
 αὐχένα περιάγων ὧδε κἀκέισε τὸ μὴ τυφθῆναι  
 φυλάσσειται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δακτύλοις ποδῶν  
 ἄκροισ ἐπιβεβηκῶς καὶ πρὸς ὕψος αὐτὸν ἐξάρας ἢ  
 στείλας καὶ συναγαγὼν ἔμπαλιν κατὰ κενοῦ φέρειν  
 τὰς χεῖρας τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἠνάγκασε σκιαμαχία τι  
 παραπλήσιον δρῶντα ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης ἢ ὁ χαλκὸς  
 μηδὲν ἀντιδρῶν ὑπέρριπται πάντα πεισόμενος, ὅσα  
 ἂν ὁ διατιθεῖς ἐργάσασθαι διανοήται.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 484.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 78-81

whelmed by all the terrors which beset and prostrate him, and increasing each misery by that abject spirit of surrender, which belongs to the degenerate and unmanly soul. Rather should he bravely bear, take his place firmly in the opposing ranks, and with those mightiest of virtues, which he himself contributes, patience and endurance, fortify his resolution and close the gates against the foe.

There are two ways of undergoing shearing or shaving; one when there is reaction <sup>a</sup> and reciprocity by the object, the other when there is complete submission or subjection. A sheep or a fleece <sup>a</sup> or a "fell" puts forth no activity of itself, but is merely passive to the shearing process in the hands of another, but the man who is shaved acts with the barber, places himself in position, and accommodates himself, thus combining the active with the passive. So too with receiving blows. There is one kind which befalls a slave, whose wrongdoing has deserved it, or a free man who is stretched on the wheel for his crimes, or any lifeless things, such as stones or wood or gold or silver and all materials which are beaten or divided in a forge. The other kind we find in the case of an athlete in a boxing-match or pancratium for a crown of victory. As the blows fall upon him he brushes them off with either hand, or he turns his neck round this way and that and thus evades the blows, or often he rises on his tip-toes to his full height, or draws himself in and compels his adversary to lay about him in empty space, much as men do when practising the movements. But the slave or the metal lies impotent and irresponsive, passive to endure whatever the agent may determine to execute. This is a condition we should

## PHILO

- 82 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ πάθος μήτε σώματι μήτε πολὺ μάλλον ψυχῇ δεξώμεθ' ἄ ποτε, τὸ δ' ἀντιπεπονθὸς ἐκείνο—ἐπειδὴ πάσχειν ἀνάγκη τὸ θνητόν—, ἵνα μὴ καθάπερ οἱ θηλυδρίαὶ κεκλασμένοι καὶ παρ-  
 [154] εἰμένοι | καὶ προαναπίπτοντες μετ' ἐκλύσεως ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων ἐξασθενῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἐρρωμένοι τοῖς διανοίας τόνοις ἐπελαφρίζειν κάπικουφίζειν ἰσχύωμεν τὴν φορὰν τῶν ἐπαρτωμένων δεινῶν.
- 83 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν θνητὸς οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἐπιδέδεικται παγίως καὶ βεβαίως κύριος, οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι δεσπότηαι δόξῃ μόνον, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ὀνομάζονται, ἀνάγκη δ' ὡς ὑπήκοον καὶ δοῦλον, οὕτως ἡγεμόνα ἐν τῷ παντὶ εἶναι καὶ κύριον, γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ τῷ ὄντι ἄρχων καὶ ἡγεμὼν· εἰς ὃ θεός, ᾧ λέγειν ἦν πρεπῶδες, ὅτι πάντα αὐτοῦ κτήματα.
- 84 XXV. Καὶ ὡς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἅμα καὶ θεοπρεπῶς διεξέρχεται περὶ τούτων, κατανοήσωμεν.<sup>1</sup> “ὅλα μου, φησὶν, ἐστίν.” ὅλα δ' ἐστὶν ἃ φησι “δῶρα καὶ δόματα καὶ καρπώματα, ἃ διατηροῦντες προσοίσετε ἐν ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἑορταῖς ἐμοί” (Num. xxviii. 2), πάνυ ἐκδήλως παριστὰς ὅτι τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν χάριτος μέσης ἡξίωται, ἣ καλεῖται δόσις, τὰ δὲ ἀμείνονος, ἧς ὄνομα οἰκεῖον δωρεά, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα γέγονεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον δύνασθαι καρποφορεῖν ἀρετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὅλων ἤδη πεφυκέναι καρπὸς ἐδώδιμος, ᾧ μόνω ψυχῇ τοῦ φιλοθεά-  
 85 μονος τρέφεται. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα διδαχθεὶς καὶ διατη-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn has κατανοήσωμεν τό, ὅλα μου, φησὶν, ἐστίν. There is much confusion in the mss. here. The insertion of τό makes κατανοήσωμεν have two objects and though the article prefacing a quotation is common enough it hardly suits a quotation where φησὶν is inserted in the middle.



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 82-85

never admit into our bodies, much less into our souls. As mortals we must suffer, but let our suffering be that other kind which is the reaction of our own activity. Let us not like womanish folk, nerveless and unstrung, flagging ere the struggle begin, with all our spiritual forces relaxed, sink into utter prostration. Rather let the tension of our minds be firm and braced, that so we may be strong to relieve and lighten the force and onset of the misfortunes which menace us.

Since then it has been shown that no mortal can in solid reality be lord of anything, and when we give the name of master we speak in the language of mere opinion, not of real truth; since too, as there is subject and servant, so in the universe there must be a leader and a lord, it follows that this true prince and lord must be one, even God, who alone can rightly claim that all things are His possessions.

XXV. Let us mark how sublime and worthy of the Deity is the enumeration of those possessions. "All things," God says, "are Mine."<sup>a</sup> And these "all things" are the "bounties, and gifts and fruits which ye shall observe and offer to Me at My feasts" (Numb. xxviii. 2). Here Moses clearly shows that among existing things there are some which rank lower as benefits, and this benefit is called "giving." In others the benefit is of a higher kind and this has the special name of "bounty." Others again are such that not only can they bear virtue as their fruit, but in their very nature through and through they are fruit meet for eating, even that one and only fruit which feeds the soul of him whose quest is the Vision. He who has learnt this lesson, and

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 484, 485.

ρεῖν καὶ διαφυλάττειν ἐν διανοίᾳ δυνάμενος ἄμωμον  
 καὶ κάλλιστον ἱερεῖον οἷσει θεῷ πίστιν ἐν οὐ θνητῶν  
 ἑορταῖς· ἑαυτῷ γὰρ τὰς ἑορτὰς προσκεκλήρωκε  
 δόγμα τιθεὶς ἀναγκαιότατον τοῖς φιλοσοφίας θιασώ-  
 86 ταις. τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ· μόνος ὁ  
 θεὸς ἀψευδῶς ἑορτάζει· καὶ γὰρ μόνος γήθει καὶ  
 μόνος χαίρει καὶ μόνος εὐφραίνεται καὶ μόνῳ τὴν  
 ἀμιγῆ πολέμου συμβέβηκεν εἰρήνην ἄγειν· ἄλυπός  
 ἐστὶ καὶ ἄφοβος καὶ ἀκοινωνήτος κακῶν, ἀνένδοτος,  
 ἀνώδυνος, ἀκμῆς, εὐδαιμονίας ἀκράτου μεστός—  
 τελειοτάτῃ ἢ τούτου φύσις—· μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς ἄκρα  
 καὶ τέλος καὶ ὄρος εὐδαιμονίας ὁ θεός, μετέχων  
 μὲν οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου πρὸς βελτίωσιν, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον  
 μεταδεδωκὼς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν μέρει τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ  
 πηγῆς, ἑαυτοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ καλὰ οὐποτ' ἂν  
 ἐγεγένητο τοιαῦτα, μὴ πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον τὸ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν καλὸν τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ μακάριον καὶ  
 87 ἄφθαρτον ἀπεικονισθέντα. XXVI. καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ “σάββατον”—ἐρμηνεύεται δ'  
 ἀνάπαυσις—“θεοῦ” φησὶν εἶναι Μωυσῆς πολ-  
 λαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας (Exod. xx. 10 al.), οὐχὶ  
 ἀνθρώπων, ἀπτόμενος φυσιολογίας ἀναγκαίας—τὸ  
 [155] γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὔσιν ἀναπαυόμενον, | εἰ δεῖ τάληθές  
 εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἐστὶν ὁ θεός—, ἀνάπαυλαν δὲ οὐ τὴν  
 ἀπραξίαν καλῶν, ἐπειδὴ φύσει δραστήριον τὸ τῶν  
 ὄλων αἴτιον παῦλαν οὐδέποτε ἴσχον τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ  
 κάλλιστα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄνευ κακοπαθείας μετὰ πολλῆς  
 88 εὐμαρείας ἀπονωτάτην ἐνέργειαν· ἥλιον μὲν γὰρ  
 καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν τε καὶ

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 85-88

can keep and ponder it in his heart, will offer to God the blameless and fairest sacrifice of faith at feasts which are no feasts of mortals. For God has claimed the feasts for Himself, and herein He lays down a principle which they who belong to the company of the philosophers must not fail to know.

The principle is this. God alone in the true sense keeps festival. Joy and gladness and rejoicing are His alone ; to Him alone it is given to enjoy the peace which has no element of war. He is without grief or fear or share of ill, without faint-heartedness or pain or weariness, but full of happiness unmixed. Or rather since His nature is most perfect, He is Himself the summit, end and limit of happiness. He partakes of nothing outside Himself to increase His excellence. Nay He Himself has imparted of His own to all particular beings from that fountain of beauty—Himself. For the good and beautiful things in the world could never have been what they are, save that they were made in the image of the archetype, which is truly good and beautiful, even the uncreate, the blessed, the imperishable.

XXVI. And therefore Moses often in his laws calls the sabbath, which means 'rest,' God's sabbath (Exod. xx. 10, etc.), not man's, and thus he lays his finger on an essential fact in the nature of things. For in all truth there is but one thing in the universe which rests, that is God. But Moses does not give the name of rest to mere inactivity. The cause of all things is by its nature active ; it never ceases to work all that is best and most beautiful. God's rest is rather a working with absolute ease, without toil and without suffering. For the sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe, since they are

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κόσμον, ἅτε καὶ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτεξούσια καὶ κινού-  
 μενα καὶ φερόμενα συνεχῶς, θέμις εἰπεῖν κακο-  
 παθεῖν· καὶ τοῦ καμάτου μαρτύριον ἐναργέστατον  
 αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὥραι· τά τε γὰρ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν ἐν  
 οὐρανῷ τὰς κινήσεις ἐναλλάττει, τοτὲ μὲν βορείους  
 τοτὲ δὲ νοτίους τοτὲ δὲ ἀλλοίας ποιούμενα τὰς  
 περιφοράς, ὃ τε ἀῆρ ἀλεινόμενος καὶ ψυχόμενος  
 καὶ πάσας τροπὰς τρεπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων παθη-  
 μάτων ἐλέγχεται κάμνων, ἐπεὶ τὸ συνεκτικώτατον  
 89 μεταβολῆς αἴτιον κάματος· εὐῆθες δ' ἐστὶ περὶ  
 τῶν χερσαίων ἢ καθ' ὕδατος μακρηγορεῖν τὰς  
 καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρη τροπὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον  
 διεξιόντα· ταῦτα γὰρ πολὺ πλείω τῶν μεταρσίων  
 κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀσθένειαν ἐνδέχεται, ἅτε πλείστον  
 μετέχοντα τῆς ὑστάτης καὶ γεώδους οὐσίας.

90 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὰ μὲν τρεπόμενα καμάτῳ πέφυκε  
 μεταβάλλειν, ἄτρεπτος δὲ καὶ ἀμετάβλητος ὁ θεός,  
 ἀκμῆς ἂν εἴη φύσει· τὸ δ' ἀσθενείας ἀμέτοχον,  
 κἂν πάντα ποιῆ, δι' αἰῶνος ἀναπαυόμενον οὐποτε  
 λήξει· ὥστε οἰκειότατον μόνῳ θεῷ τὸ ἀναπαύεσθαι.

XXVII. ἐδείχθη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐορτάζειν  
 ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ· μόνου ἄρα καὶ ἐβδόμαι καὶ ἐορταὶ  
 91 τοῦ αἰτίου, ἀνθρώπων δὲ συνόλως οὐδενός ἴθι  
 γάρ, εἰ θέλεις, συνεπίσκειψαι τὰς ἀοιδίμους πανη-  
 γύρεις ἡμῶν. ὅσαι μὲν δὴ κατ' ἔθνη βαρβαρικά  
 τε καὶ ἐλληνικὰ ἐκ μυθικῶν πλασμάτων συνέστησαν  
 ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλοις κενὸν τῦφον ἔχουσαι τὸ τέλος,  
 ἀφείσθωσαν· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας ἀνθρώπων  
 βίος ἐξαρκέσει πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἐνυπαρχούσας ἀτοπίας  
 ἐκάσταις ἀκριβῶσαι· ἃ δ' <ἂν> ἀντὶ πολλῶν εἴποι

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 88-91

not self-mastering and move and revolve continually, we may rightly say do suffer. Their labouring is most clearly seen by the seasons of the year. For of the heavenly bodies the chiefest change their courses, sometimes revolving to the south, sometimes to the north, sometimes elsewhere; and the air grows colder and warmer and undergoes all manner of changes; and these changes in condition peculiar to it prove that it labours and is weary. For weariness is the principal cause of change. It were folly to pursue the subject through the creatures of air and water and enumerate at length their general and particular changes: for these are naturally liable to far greater weakness than the creatures of the upper world, since they in largest measure partake of the lowest form of substance, namely the earthly. Since then weariness is the natural cause of change in things that turn and vary, and since God turns not and changes not, He must be by nature unwearying. But a being that is free from weakness, even though he be making all things, will cease not to all eternity to be at rest, and thus rest belongs in the fullest sense to God and to Him alone.

XXVII. Now we showed that keeping festival pertained to Him and therefore we see that all such festivals, whether they be weekly sabbaths or (the occasional) feasts, are His, who is the Cause, and pertain not to any man at all. Let us consider our famous festal assemblies. Different nations, whether Greek or barbarian, have their own, the product of myth and fiction, and their only purpose is empty vanity. We need not dwell on them, for the whole of human life would not suffice to tell in detail of the follies inherent in them. Yet, without over-

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τις ἐφ' ἀπάσας ὀλίγα στοχαζόμενος τοῦ καιροῦ,  
 92 λεκτέον. πάσης ἑορτῆς τε καὶ πανηγύρεως τῶν  
 παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ θαυμαστά καὶ περιμάχητα ἔργα  
 ταῦτα· ἄδεια ἄνεσις ἐκεχειρία μέθη παροιμία κῶμοι  
 χλιδὴ θρύψις θυραυλῖαι παννυχίδες, ἀπρεπεῖς  
 ἡδοναί, μεθημερινοὶ γάμοι, βιαιόταται ὕβρεις,  
 ἀσκήσεις ἀκρασίας, ἀφροσύνης μελέται, ἐπιτη-  
 δεύσεις αἰσχυρῶν, φθορὰ παντελῆς τοῦ καλοῦ, νυκτ-  
 [156] εγερσίαι πρὸς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας, | ὕπνος ἐν  
 ἡμέρᾳ, ὅποτε καιρὸς ἐγρηγόρσεως, φύσεως ἔργων  
 93 ἐναλλαγῆ· τότε ἀρετὴ μὲν ὡς βλαβερὸν γελᾶται,  
 κακία δὲ ὡς ὠφέλιμον ἀρπάζεται, τότε τὰ μὲν  
 πρακτέα ἄτιμα, τὰ δὲ μὴ πρακτέα ἐπίτιμα, τότε  
 μουσικὴ μὲν καὶ φιλοσοφία καὶ πᾶσα παιδευσις,  
 τὰ τῆς θείας ψυχῆς θεῖα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγάλματα,  
 ἀφωνίαν ἴσχει, αἱ δὲ μαστροπεύουσαι καὶ προ-  
 ξενοῦσαι <τέχναι> τὰς ἡδονὰς γαστρὶ καὶ τοῖς  
 μετὰ γαστέρα ῥητορεύουσι.

### XXVIII.

94 τοιαῦται τῶν λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων αἱ ἑορταί.  
 καὶ μέχρι μὲν <ἐν> οἰκίαις ἢ χωρίοις βεβήλοις  
 ἀσχημονοῦσιν, ἤττον ἁμαρτάνειν μοι δοκοῦσιν·  
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὡσπερ χειμάρρου φορὰ πάντῃ νεμη-  
 θεῖσα καὶ ἱερῶν τοῖς ἀγιωτάτοις προσπελάσασα  
 βιάσῃται, τὰ ἐν τούτοις εὐαγῆ πάντα εὐθὺς ἔρριψεν,  
 ὡς ἀπεργάσασθαι θυσίας ἀνιέρους, ἱερεῖα ἄθυτα,  
 εὐχὰς ἀτελεῖς, ἀμυήτους μυήσεις, ἀνοργιάστους  
 τελετάς, νόθον εὐσέβειαν, κεκιβδηλευμένην ὀσιό-

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 91-94

stepping the right limit, a few words, to serve for many, may be said to cover them all. In every feast and gathering in our country what is it that men admire and seek so eagerly? Freedom from the fear of punishment, from sense of restraint, from stress of business; drunkenness, tipsy rioting, routs and revels, wantonness, debauchery; lovers thronging their mistresses' doors, nightlong carouses, unseemly pleasures, daylight chamberings, deeds of insolence and outrage, hours spent in training to be intemperate, in studying to be fools, in cultivating baseness, wholesale depravation of all that is noble: the works to which nature prompts us are turned upside down: men keep vigil by night to indulge their insatiable lust: the day time, the hours given for wakefulness, they spend in sleep. At such times virtue is jeered at as mischievous, vice snatched at as profitable. At such times right actions are dishonoured, wrong actions honoured. At such times music, philosophy, all culture, those truly divine images set in the divinely given soul, are mute. Only the arts which pander and minister pleasure to the belly and the organs below it are vocal and loud-voiced.

XXVIII. Such are the feasts of those whom men call happy. And so long as they confine their unseemly doings to houses or unconsecrated places, their sin seems less to me. But when their wickedness like a rushing torrent spreads over every place and invades and violates the most sacred temples, it straightway overturns all that is venerable in them, and as a result come sacrifices unholy, offerings unmeet, vows unfulfilled, their rites and mysteries a mockery, their piety but a bastard growth, their holiness debased, their

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τητα, ἀγνείαν ἀναγνον, κατεψευσμένην ἀλήθειαν,  
 95 βωμολόχον θεραπείαν θεοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι  
 τὰ μὲν σώματα λουτροῖς καὶ καθαρσίοις ἀπορ-  
 ρύπτονται, τὰ δὲ ψυχῆς ἐκνύσασθαι πάθη, οἷς  
 καταρρυπαίνεται ὁ βίος, οὔτε βούλονται οὔτε  
 ἐπιτηδεύουσι· καὶ λευχειμονοῦντες μὲν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ  
 βαδίζουσιν σπουδάζουσιν ἀκηλιδῶτους ἐσθῆτας ἀμ-  
 πεχόμενοι, διάνοιαν δὲ κεκληιδωμένην ἄχρι τῶν  
 96 ἀδύτων εἰσάγοντες οὐκ αἰδοῦνται. κὰν μὲν τι τῶν  
 θρεμμάτων μὴ παντελὲς καὶ ὀλόκληρον εὐρίσκηται,  
 ἕξω περιρραντηρίων ἀπελαύνεται βωμοῖς οὐκ  
 ἐώμενον προσαχθῆναι, καίτοι ταῖς σωματικαῖς  
 λώβαις ἀπάσαις κεχρημένον ἀκουσίοις· κατατετρω-  
 μένοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ νοσημάτων χαλεπῶν, ἃ  
 κακίας ἀμήχανος δύναμις προσέβαλε, μᾶλλον <δὲ>  
 ἠκρωτηριασμένοι καὶ ἐκτετμημένοι τὰ κάλλιστα,  
 φρόνησιν καρτερίαν δικαιοσύνην εὐσέβειαν, τὰς  
 ἄλλας ὅσας τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος χωρεῖν πέφυκεν  
 ἀρετάς, καὶ καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην ἐνδεδεγμένοι  
 τὰς λύμας, ὅμως ἱεουργεῖν τολμῶσι νομίζοντες  
 τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν τὰ ἐκτὸς μόνον ὄραν ἡλίου  
 συνεργοῦντος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐμφανῶν τὰ  
 97 ἀφανῆ καταθεᾶσθαι φωτὶ χρώμενον ἑαυτῷ· ὁ γὰρ  
 τοῦ ὄντος ὀφθαλμὸς φωτὸς ἐτέρου πρὸς κατά-  
 ληψιν οὐ δεῖται, αὐτὸς δ' ὢν ἀρχέτυπος ἀγγή  
 μυρίας ἀκτῖνας ἐκβάλλει, ὧν οὐδεμία ἐστὶν αἰσθητή,  
 νοηταὶ δ' ἅπασαι· παρὸ καὶ μόνος ὁ νοητὸς θεὸς  
 αὐταῖς χρῆται, τῶν δὲ γενέσεως μεμοιραμένων



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 94-97

purity impure, their truth falsehood, their worship a sacrilege. Furthermore they cleanse their bodies with lustrations and purifications, but they neither wish nor practise to wash off from their souls the passions by which life is defiled. They are zealous to go to the temples white-robed, attired in spotless raiment, but with a spotted heart they pass into the inmost sanctuary and are not ashamed. And if an animal be found to be blemished or imperfect, it is driven out of the consecrated precincts<sup>a</sup> and not suffered to approach the altar, though it is through no will of its own that it has any of these bodily defects. But they themselves—their souls are a mass of wounds from the hideous maladies with which the irresistible power of vice has smitten them, or rather they are mutilated, docked of their noblest parts, prudence, courage to endure, justice, piety and all the other virtues of which human nature is capable. And though it is with free deliberate judgement that they have imbibed the mischief, yet they dare to handle the holy thing, and think that the eye of God sees nothing but the outer world through the co-operation of the sun. They do not know that He surveys the unseen even before the seen, for He Himself is His own light. For the eye of the Absolutely Existent needs no other light to effect perception, but He Himself is the archetypal essence of which myriads of rays are the effluence, none visible to sense, all to the mind. And therefore they are the instruments of that same God alone, who is apprehended by mind, not of any who have part and lot

<sup>a</sup> Literally "the boundaries (of the *ἀγορά*) marked out by the sprinkling of the lustral water."

οὐδείς· αἰσθητὸν γὰρ τὸ γενόμενον, αἰσθήσει δὲ ἀκατάληπτος ἢ νοητὴ φύσις.

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[157] XXIX. | Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀοράτως τὸδε τῆς ψυχῆς χωρίον εἰσδύεται, παρασκευάζωμεν τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ὡς ἔνεστι κάλλιστον, ἀξιοχρεῶν ἐνδιαίτημα θεοῦ γενησόμενον· εἰ δὲ μή, λήσεται μεταναστὰς εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον, ὃς ἂν ἄμεινον αὐτῷ 99 δοκῆ δεδημιουργῆσθαι. εἰ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ὑποδέχεσθαι μέλλοντες λαμπροτέρας κατασκευάζομεν τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς κόσμον ὀλιγορῶντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀφθόνως χρώμενοι, τοῦ τὴν καταγωγὴν ἠδίστην ἅμα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος ἀξιώματος αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι στοχαζόμενοι, τῷ βασιλέων βασιλεῖ καὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἡγεμόνι θεῷ δι' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἀξιώσαντι τὸ γενητὸν ἐπισκέψεως καὶ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ περάτων μέχρι γῆς ἐσχάτων ἐπ' εὐεργεσία τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν κατελθόντι ποδαπὸν οἶκον ἄρα χρῆ 100 κατασκευάζεσθαι; λίθων μὲν ἢ ξυλίνης ὕλης; ἄπαγε, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰπεῖν εὐαγές· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πᾶσα γῆ χρυσὸς ἢ τι χρυσοῦ τιμαλφέστερον μεταβαλοῦσα ἐξαίφνης γένοιτο κᾶπειτα δημιουργῶν τέχναις στοᾶς καὶ προπύλαια καὶ ἀνδρῶνας καὶ προτεμενίσματα καὶ νεῶς κατασκευαζόντων ἀναλωθεῖη, γένοιτ' ἂν βᾶσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσίν· ἀξιοχρεῶς μέντοι 101 γε οἶκος ψυχῆ ἐπιτήδειος. XXX. οἶκον οὖν ἐπίγειον τὴν ἀόρατον ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ λέγοντες ἐνδίκως καὶ κατὰ νόμον φήσομεν.

Ἴνα δὲ βέβαιος καὶ περικαλλέστατος εἴη ὁ οἶκος, θεμέλιοι μὲν ὑποβεβλήσθωσαν εὐφυῖα καὶ διδασκαλία, ἀρεταὶ δὲ μετὰ καλῶν πράξεων ἐποικοδομείσθωσαν αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ προκοσμῆματα ἔστω

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 97-101

in the world of creation. For the created is approached by sense, which can never grasp the nature which is apprehended by mind.

XXIX. Seeing then that our souls are a region open to His invisible entrance, let us make that place as beautiful as we may, to be a lodging fit for God. Else He will pass silently into some other home, where He judges that the builder's hands have wrought something worthier. When we think to entertain kings we brighten and adorn our own houses. We despise no embellishment, but use all such freely and ungrudgingly, and make it our aim that their lodging shall have every delight and the honour withal that is their due. What house shall be prepared for God the King of kings, the Lord of all, who in His tender mercy and loving-kindness has deigned to visit created being and come down from the boundaries of heaven to the utmost ends of earth, to show His goodness to our race? Shall it be of stone or timber? Away with the thought, the very words are blasphemy. For though the whole earth should suddenly turn into gold, or something more precious than gold, though all that wealth should be expended by the builder's skill on porches and porticos, on chambers, vestibules, and shrines, yet there would be no place where His feet could tread. One worthy house there is—the soul that is fitted to receive Him. XXX. Justly and rightly then shall we say that in the invisible soul the invisible God has His earthly dwelling-place.

And that the house may have both strength and loveliness, let its foundations be laid in natural excellence and good teaching, and let us rear upon them virtues and noble actions, and let its external

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- 102 ἡ ἀνάληψις τῶν ἐγκυκλίων προπαιδευμάτων· ἐκ  
 μὲν γὰρ εὐφύτας εὐθιξία ἐπιμονὴ μνήμη, ἐκ  
 δὲ διδασκαλίας εὐμάθεια προσοχὴ καθάπερ τινὸς  
 ῥίζαι δένδρου μέλλοντος ἡμέρους καρποὺς ἀπο-  
 κυΐσκειν συνίστανται, ὧν ἄνευ τελεσιουργηθῆναι  
 103 διάνοιαν ἀμήχανον· ἐκ δὲ ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν κατ'  
 αὐτὰς πράξεων τὸ ἐχυρὸν καὶ βέβαιον τῆς ἀσφαλούς  
 ἰδρύσεως περιγίνεται, τοῦ διαστήσαι καὶ φυγα-  
 δεῦσαι καὶ μετανάστιν ἀπεργάσασθαι τοῦ καλοῦ  
 ψυχὴν ἐγνωκότος πρὸς οὕτως καρτερὰν ἰσχύν  
 104 ἐξασθενούντος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου τῶν προ-  
 παιδευμάτων μελέτης τὰ πρὸς κόσμον τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ὡς ἐστίας ἤρτηται· καθάπερ γὰρ κο-  
 νιάματα καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ πινάκια καὶ λίθων πολυ-  
 [158] τελῶν διαθέσεις, αἷς οὐ μόνον τοίχους ἀλλὰ | καὶ  
 τὰ ἐδάφη ποικίλλουσι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πρὸς  
 μὲν ἰσχύν οὐ συμβάλλεται, τέρψιν δὲ περιποιεῖ  
 105 μόνον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, οὕτως ἡ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων  
 ἐπιστήμη τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον ἅπαντα διακοσμεῖ,  
 γραμματικῆ<sup>1</sup> μὲν ποιητικὴν ἐρευνῶσα καὶ παλαιῶν  
 πράξεων ἱστορίαν μεταδιώκουσα, γεωμετρία δὲ  
 τὴν κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἰσότητα περιποιούσα, τὸ δὲ ἐν  
 ἡμῶν ἄρρυθμον καὶ ἄμετρον καὶ ἐκμελὲς ῥυθμῶ  
 καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ μέλει διὰ μουσικῆς ἀστείου θερα-  
 πεύουσα, ῥητορικὴ δὲ τὰς τε ἐν ἐκάστοις δεινότητος  
 ἐξετάζουσα καὶ πᾶσιν τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐρμηνείαν  
 ἐφαρμόζουσα, τονώσεις καὶ περιπαθήσεις καὶ ἔμ-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suggests γραμματικῆ . . . γεωμετρία . . . ῥητορικῆ.

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking ἤρτηται ἐκ τῆς μελέτης together, "on the study . . . depend." But the form of the sentence and the fuller sense given to ἤρτηται suggest the way adopted in the transla-

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 102-105

ornaments be the reception of the learning of the schools. The first of these, natural excellence, brings quickness of apprehension, perseverance and memory. From teaching are borrowed readiness to learn and concentration. They are like the roots of the tree that will bring forth good fruit, and without them the mind cannot be brought to its fullness. Virtues and the good actions that follow them provide the stability and firmness that make the structure secure, so that all that purposes to banish or sever or draw away the soul from good is powerless against such steadfastness and strength. From the study of the introductory learning of the schools come the ornaments of the soul, which are attached to it as to a house.<sup>a</sup>

For as stuccoes, paintings, and tablets and arrangements of precious stones and the like, with which men adorn pavements as well as walls, contribute nothing to the strength of the building, but only serve to give pleasure to the inmates, so the knowledge of the schools adorns the whole house of the soul. Grammar or literature <sup>b</sup> makes research into poetry and pursues the study of the doings of old time. Geometry gives us the sense of equality produced by proportion. It also heals by the means of fine music <sup>b</sup> all that is harsh and inharmonious or discordant in the soul, under the influence of rhythm, metre, and melody. Rhetoric <sup>b</sup> seeks out and weighs the materials for shrewd treatment in all the subjects which it handles, and welds them to the language that befits them. Sometimes it raises us to a pitch of strong emotion,<sup>c</sup> at other times. Philo often uses ἀπρᾶσθαι with the simple genitive, e.g. τῶν ποιητῶν ἡρημένος, 67.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 485.

<sup>c</sup> Or "procures us the means of expressing."

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παλιν ἀνέσεις καὶ ἡδονὰς μετὰ στωμυλίας καὶ τῆς περὶ γλῶτταν καὶ τὰ φωνητήρια ὄργανα εὐπραγίας περιποιούσα.

- 106 XXXI. Τοιούτου κατασκευασθέντος οἴκου παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει, χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων τὰπίγεια πάντα ἀναπλησθήσεται κάθοδον δυνάμεων θεοῦ προσδοκήσαντα· αἱ δὲ νόμους ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ θεσμοὺς ἐπιφερόμεναι τοῦ καθαγιασάσαι καὶ καθιερώσαι χάριν ἀφίξονται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικέλευσιν· εἶθ' ὁμοδίαιτοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι ταῖς φιλαρέτοις γενόμεναι ψυχαῖς σπείρουσιν ἐν αὐταῖς γένος τὸ εὐδαιμον, καθὰ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ σοφῷ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ καταγωγῆς τὸν Ἰσαὰκ τελειοτάτην
- 107 χάριν δεδώρηται. χαίρει δ' ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κεκαθαρμένη διάνοια ἢ τῷ δεσπότην ἔχειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα πάντων ὁμολογεῖν· τὸ γὰρ δουλεύειν θεῷ μέγιστον αὔχημα καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ πάντων ὅσα τὸ θνητὸν ἀσπάζεται γένος τιμιώτερον.
- 108 τῆς δὲ τοῦ ὄντος ἡγεμονίας ὁ χρησμὸς ἀληθῆς μάρτυς λέγων ὧδε· “καὶ ἡ γῆ οὐ πραθήσεται εἰς βεβαίωσιν· ἐμὴ γάρ ἐστι πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, διότι προσήλυτοι καὶ πάροικοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ” (Lev. xxv. 23). ἀρ' οὐκ ἐναργέστατα παρίστησιν,
- 109 ὅτι κτήσει μὲν τὰ πάντα θεοῦ, χρήσει δὲ μόνον γενέσεώς ἐστι; βεβαίως, γάρ φησιν, οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ πεπράσεται τῶν ἐν γενέσει, ὡς [ἄν] ἐνὸς ὄντος οὐ κυρίως βεβαία ἢ τῶν ὄλων κτήσις·
- [159] | κέχρηκε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ γενητὰ πάντα πᾶσιν, οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ μέρος τέλειον ἐργασάμενος, ὃ μὴ πάντως χρεῖον ἄλλου, ἢν' οὐ δεῖται τυχεῖν γλιχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῷ παρασχεῖν δυναμένῳ πλησιάζῃ

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 105-109

times the tension is relaxed in a sense of pleasure. With all this it gives fluency and facility in using our tongues and organs of speech.

XXXI. If such a house be raised amid our mortal race, earth and all that dwells on earth will be filled with high hopes, expecting the descent of the divine potencies. With laws and ordinances from heaven they will descend, to sanctify and consecrate them on earth, according to their Father's bidding. Then,<sup>a</sup> joined in commonalty of daily life and board with virtue-loving souls, they sow within them the nature of happiness, even as they gave to wise Abraham in Isaac the most perfect thank-offering for their stay with him. The purified mind rejoices in nothing more than in confessing that it has the lord of all for its master. For to be the slave of God is the highest boast of man, a treasure more precious not only than freedom, but than wealth and power and all that mortals most cherish.

To this sovereignty of the Absolutely Existent the oracle is a true witness in these words, "and the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for all the land is mine, because ye are strangers and sojourners before me" (Lev. xxv. 23). A clear proof surely that in possession all things are God's, and only as a loan do they belong to created beings. For nothing, he means, will be sold in perpetuity to any created being, because there is but One, to whom in a full and complete sense the possession of all things is assured.

For all created things are assigned as a loan to all from God, and He has made none of these particular things complete in itself, so that it should have no need at all of another. Thus through the desire to obtain

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Gen. xviii. 5 ff.

## PHILO

- 110 καὶ ἐκεῖνο τούτῳ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ἀλλήλοις· οὕτως γὰρ ἐπαλλάττοντα καὶ ἐπιμιγνύμενα λύρας τρόπον ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡρμοσμένης φθόγγων εἰς κοινωνίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἐλθόντα συνηχῆσειν ἔμελλεν, ἀντίδοσίν τινα καὶ ἀντέκτισιν πάντα διὰ πάντων ὑπομένοντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐκ-
- 111 πλήρωσιν· ταύτη καὶ ἄψυχα ἐμψύχων καὶ ἄλογα λογικῶν καὶ δένδρα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρωποφυτῶν καὶ ἡμέρων ἀτίθασα καὶ ἀγρίων χειροθήτη καὶ ἄρρεν θήλεος καὶ θῆλυ ἄρρενος καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι χερσαῖα ἐνύδρων καὶ ἐνυδρα ἀεροπόρων καὶ πτηνὰ τῶν προειρημένων καὶ προσέτι γῆς μὲν οὐρανός, οὐρανοῦ δὲ γῆ, ἀῆρ δὲ ὕδατος, ὕδωρ δὲ πνεύματος, καὶ πάλιν αἱ μεταξύ φύσεις ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ αἱ ἄκραι τῶν μέσων καὶ
- 112 ἑαυτῶν ἐρώσι· χειμῶν γε μὴν θέρους καὶ θέρος χειμῶνος καὶ ἕαρ ἀμφοῖν καὶ μετόπωρον ἕαρος καὶ ἕκαστον ἐκάστου καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντα πάντων ἐπίδεᾶ τε καὶ χρεῖα, ἵνα τὸ ὄλον, οὐ μέρη ταῦτα, παντελὲς ἔργον ἀξιόν τε εἶη τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ὅδε ὁ κόσμος.
- 113 XXXII. Οὕτως οὖν αὐτὰ συνθεῖς τὸ μὲν κράτος ἀπάντων ἀνῆψεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπολαυσιν ἐνεῖμε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἀλλήλων· καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆσιν ἔχομεν· ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστῶς, νοῦν λόγον αἰσθησιν ἔχειν δοκῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἴδιον
- 114 εὐρίσκω· ποῦ γάρ μου τὸ σῶμα πρὸ γενέσεως ἦν; ποῖ δὲ καὶ χωρήσει μεταστάντος <μου>; ποῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ὑφεστάναι τῶν ἡλικιῶν αἱ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 485.

<sup>b</sup> Or "all our surroundings."

<sup>c</sup> Literally, "as a thing to be used" or "a loan."



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 110-114

what it needs, it must perforce approach that which can supply its need, and this approach must be mutual and reciprocal. Thus through reciprocity and combination, even as a lyre is formed of unlike notes, God meant that they should come to fellowship and concord and form a single harmony, and that an universal give and take should govern them, and lead up to the consummation of the whole world. Thus love draws lifeless to living, unreasoning to reasoning, trees to men, men to plants, cultivated to wild, savage to tame, each sex to the other ; so too, in a word, the creatures of the land to the creatures of the water, these to the fowls of the air and those to both : so again heaven to earth, earth to heaven, air to water, and water to air. So natures intermediate yearn for each other and those at either extreme ; these too for their fellows and the intermediate beings. Winter needs summer, summer winter, spring both, and autumn spring. Thus each, we may say, wants and needs each ; all need all, that so this whole, of which each is a part, might be that perfect work worthy of its architect, this world.<sup>a</sup>

XXXII. In this way combining all things He claimed the sovereignty of all for Himself ; to His subjects He assigned the use and enjoyment of themselves and each other. For indeed we have ourselves and all that go to make these selves<sup>b</sup> for use.<sup>c</sup> I am formed of soul and body, I seem to have mind, reason, sense, yet I find that none of them is really mine. Where was my body before birth, and whither will it go when I have departed ? What has become of the changes produced by life's various stages in the seemingly permanent self ? Where is

- διαφοραί; ποῦ τὸ βρέφος, ποῦ ὁ παῖς, ποῦ ὁ ἀντίπαις, ποῦ ὁ ἄρτι ἡβῶν, ποῦ τὸ μειράκιον, ὁ πρωτογένειος, ὁ νεανίας, ὁ τέλειος ἀνὴρ; πόθεν δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ, ποῖ δὲ χωρήσει, πόσον δὲ χρόνον ἡμῖν ὁμοδαίτος ἔσται; τίς δὲ ἐστὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν; πότε δὲ καὶ ἐκτησάμεθα αὐτήν; πρὸ γενέσεως; ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπῆρχομεν· μετὰ τὸν θάνατον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσόμεθα οἱ μετὰ σωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί, ἀλλ' εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ὀρμήσομεν
- 115 οἱ μετὰ ἀσωμάτων ἀσύγκριτοι ἄποιοί.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ νῦν  
 [160] ὅτε ζῶμεν κρατούμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄρχομεν καὶ γνωρίζομεθα μᾶλλον ἢ γνωρίζομεν· οἶδε γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐ γνωριζομένη πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττει, οἷς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπηρετοῦμεν ὡς οἰκέται δεσποίνῃ· ἀπόλειψίν τε ὅταν ἐθέλῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα χρηματίσασα μεταναστήσεται ἔρημον καταλιπούσα ζωῆς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον, κὰν ἐπιμένειν βιαζόμεθα, διαλύσεται· λεπτομερῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἐμπαρέχειν λαβὴν
- 116 σώματι. XXXIII. ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐμόν ἐστὶν ἴδιον κτῆμα<sup>2</sup>; ὁ ψευδῶν εἰκαστικός, ὁ πλάνης οἰστικός,<sup>3</sup> ὁ παρανοῶν, ὁ μωραίνων, ὁ εὐρισκόμενος ἄνους ἐν ἐκστάσει καὶ μελαγχολία καὶ μακρῶ γήρα; ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος κτῆμα ἐμόν; ἢ τὰ φωνῆς ὄργανα; μικρὰ νόσου πρόφασις οὐ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπήρωσεν, οὐ τὸ στόμα καὶ τῶν πάντων λογίων ἀπέρραψεν; οὐχὶ δεινοῦ προσδοκία καταπλήξασα
- 117 μυρίους ἀχανεῖς ἐποίησε; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἡγεμῶν εὐρίσκομαι, τάχα δὲ που καὶ δοῦλος ἀκολουθῶν ἢ ἂν ἄγῃ, πρὸς χρώματα, πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μετὰ (ἀ)σώματα ἀσωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί: Cohn retains σύγκριτοι ποιοί. See App. p. 485.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 114-117

the babe that once I was, the boy and the other gradations <sup>a</sup> between boy and full-grown man? Whence came the soul, whither will it go, how long will it be our mate and comrade? Can we tell its essential nature? When did we get it? Before birth? But then there was no "ourselves." What of it after death? But then we who are here joined to the body, creatures of composition and quality, shall be no more, but shall go forward to our rebirth,<sup>a</sup> to be with the unbodied, without composition and without quality. Even now in this life, we are the ruled rather than the rulers, known rather than knowing. The soul knows us, though we know it not; it lays on us commands, which we must fain obey, as a servant obeys his mistress. And when it will, it will claim its divorce in court <sup>b</sup> and depart, leaving our home desolate of life. Press it as we may to stay, it will escape from our hands. So subtle is it of nature, that it affords no grip or handle to the body.

XXXIII.

Is my mind my own possession? That parent of false conjectures, that purveyor of delusion, the delirious, the fatuous, and in frenzy or melancholy or senility proved to be the very negation of mind. Is my utterance my own possession, or my organs of speech? A little sickness is a cause sufficient to cripple the tongue and sew up the lips of the most eloquent, and the expectation of disaster paralyses multitudes into speechlessness. Not even of my sense-perception do I find myself master, rather, it may well be, its slave, who follows it where it leads,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 485.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 486.

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<sup>2</sup> Conj. Cohn: mss. *δαιτήμα*.

<sup>3</sup> Conj. Mangey: mss. *οιητικός*: Cohn *ὁ πλάνης* <ὁ> *οιητικός*.

σχήματα, πρὸς φωνάς, πρὸς ὀσμάς, πρὸς χιλοῦς, πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα σώματα.

- Δι' ὧν ἀπάντων δεδηλώσθαι νομίζω, ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κτήμασι χρώμεθα, καὶ οὔτε δόξαν οὔτε πλοῦτον οὔτε τιμὰς οὔτε ἀρχὰς οὔθ' ὅσα περὶ σῶμα ἢ ψυχὴν ἴδια κεκτήμεθα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ
- 118 ζῆν· χρῆσιν δὲ ἔχοντες εἶν μὲν γινώμεν, ἐπιμελησόμεθα ὡς θεοῦ κτημάτων, προλαβόντες ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ νόμος ὅταν θέλῃ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίζεσθαι· οὔτως γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀφαιρέσεσιν ἀνίας ἐπικουφιοῦμεν· νυνὶ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζοντες ἑαυτῶν πάντα κτήματα κατὰ τὴν τινος ἀπουσίαν καὶ
- 119 ἔνδειαν εὐθὺς περιπαθοῦσι. γίνεται οὖν οὐ μόνον ἀληθές ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μάλιστα συντεινόντων εἰς παρηγορίαν τὸ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἔργα τε εἶναι καὶ κτήματα. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τὸ ἴδιον ὁ κεκτημένος δεδώρηται, ὅτι οὐ δεῖται ὁ δὲ χρώμενος οὐχὶ κεκτηται, ὅτι κύριος εἰς ἀπάντων καὶ δεσπότης ἐστίν, ὃς ὀρθότατα ἐρεῖ· “ἐμὴ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἢ γῆ” —ἴσον τῷ, τὸ γενητὸν ἅπαν ἐμόν—, “ὕμεις δὲ προσήλυτοι καὶ πάροικοι ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ” (Lev. 120 xxv. 23). XXXIV. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ γενόμενοι πάντες αὐτοχθόνων καὶ εὐπατριδῶν ἔχουσι λόγον, πάντες ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καρπούμενοι, πρὸς δὲ θεὸν ἐπηλύτων καὶ παροίκων
- [161] ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν | ὥσπερ εἰς ξένην πόλιν ἀφίκται τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ἧς πρὸ γενέσεως οὐ μετεῖχε, καὶ ἀφικόμενος παροικεῖ, μέχρις ἂν τὸν ἀπο-
- 121 νεμηθέντα τοῦ βίου χρόνον διαντλήσῃ. ἅμα μέντοι

<sup>a</sup> Aborigines and nobles—two well-known terms in Athenian use. See Dictionary.

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 117-121

to colours, shapes, sounds, scents, flavours, and the other material things.

All this surely makes it plain that what we use are the possessions of another, that nor glory, nor wealth, nor honours, nor offices, nor all that makes up body or soul are our own, not even life itself. And if we recognize that we have but their use, we shall tend them with care as God's possessions, remembering from the first, that it is the master's custom, when he will, to take back his own. The thought will lighten our sorrow when they are taken from us. But as it is, with the mass of men, the belief that all things are their own makes their loss or absence at once a source of grief and trouble.

And so the thought that the world and all that therein is are both the works and the possessions of Him that begat them becomes not only a truth but a doctrine most comfortable.

But this work which is His own He has bestowed freely, for He needs it not. Yet he who has the use does not thereby become possessor, because there is one lord and master of all, who will most rightly say "all the land is mine (which is the same as 'all creation is mine'), but ye are strangers and sojourners before me" (Lev. xxv. 23). XXXIV. In relation to each other all created beings rank as men of longest descent and highest birth<sup>a</sup>; all enjoy equal honour and equal rights, but to God they are aliens and sojourners. For each of us has come into this world as into a foreign city, in which before our birth we had no part, and in this city he does but sojourn, until he has exhausted his appointed span of life. And there is another lesson of wisdom

## PHILO

καὶ δόγμα εἰσηγεῖται πάνσοφον, ὅτι μόνος κυρίως ὁ θεὸς πολίτης ἐστὶ, πάροικον δὲ καὶ ἐπήλυτον τὸ γενητὸν ἅπαν, οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι πολῖται καταχρήσει μᾶλλον ὀνόματος ἢ ἀληθεία προσαγορεύονται· δωρεὰ δὲ ἀποχρῶσα σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι πρὸς τὸν μόνον πολίτην θεὸν ἀντεξετασθεῖσιν, ἐπηλύτων καὶ παροίκων λαβεῖν τάξιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἔπηλυσ μὲν ἢ πάροικος ἀπλῶς οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλει γίνεται, φυγὰς δὲ πάντως ἀνευρίσκεται.

- οἶον δὴ καὶ προσανεφθέγξατο ὡς δογματικώτατον. “πράσει” φησὶν “οὐ πραθήσεται ἡ γῆ”· καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἠσύχασεν, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ παρασιωπηθέντος ὁ μὴ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος εἰς
- 122 ἐπιστήμην ὠφελῆται. εὐρήσεις τοίνυν σκοπῶν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους χαρίζεσθαι πιπράσκοντας μᾶλλον ἢ δωρουμένους καὶ οὓς οἴομεθα λαμβάνειν χάριτας πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὠνουμένους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ διδόντες, ἀμοιβὴν ἔπαινον ἢ τιμὴν θηρώμενοι, ζητοῦντες χάριτος ἀντίδοσιν, εὐπρεπεῖ δωρεᾶς ὀνόματι κυρίως πράσιν ἐργάζονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς πωλοῦσιν ἀνθ’ ὧν ἂν παράσχωσιν ἔθος λαμβάνειν ἐστίν· οἱ δὲ προσιέμενοι τὰς δωρεάς, μελετῶντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ καιρὸν ἀποδιδόντες, ἔργον ὠνουμένων δρῶσι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ὡσπερ
- 123 λαβεῖν ἴσασι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ πωλητὴρ ἐπευωνίζων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα, δωρητικὸς δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων, ἀενάους χαρίτων πηγὰς ἀναχέων, ἀμοιβῆς οὐκ ἐφίεμενος· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιδεῆς αὐτὸς οὔτε τις τῶν γεγονότων ἱκανὸς ἀντιδοῦναι δωρεάν.
- 124 XXXV. Πάντων οὖν ἀνωμολογημένων θεοῦ κτημάτων λόγοις τε ἀληθέσι καὶ μαρτυρίαις, ἃς

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 121-124

that he teaches in these words, even this—God alone is in the true sense a citizen, and all created being is a sojourner and alien, and those whom we call citizens are so called only by a licence of language.<sup>a</sup> But to the wise it is a sufficient bounty, if when ranged beside God, the only citizen, they are counted as aliens and sojourners, since the fool can in no wise hold such a rank in the city of God, but we see him an outcast from it and nothing more.

Such a lesson too He has proclaimed to us in an utterance of deepest meaning. "The land shall not be sold at all."<sup>a</sup> No word of the seller there, that through this very silence he, who has access to the secrets of nature-truth, may profit in the quest of knowledge. Look round you and you shall find that those who are said to bestow benefits sell rather than give, and those who seem to us to receive them in truth buy. The givers are seeking praise or honour as their exchange and look for the repayment of the benefit, and thus, under the specious name of gift, they in real truth carry out a sale; for the seller's way is to take something for what he offers. The receivers of the gift, too, study to make some return, and do so as opportunity offers, and thus they act as buyers. For buyers know well that receiving and paying go hand in hand. But God is no salesman, hawking his goods<sup>a</sup> in the market, but a free giver of all things, pouring forth eternal fountains of free bounties, and seeking no return. For He has no needs Himself and no created being is able to repay His gift.

XXXV. Thus we have agreed that all things are God's possessions on the strength of true reasonings

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 486.

PHILO

- οὐ θέμις ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἀλῶναι—χρησιμοὶ γάρ, οὓς ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις Μωυσῆς ἀνέγραψεν, οἱ μαρτυροῦντές εἰσι—, παραιτητέον τοίνυν τὸν νοῦν, ὃς τὸ γεννηθὲν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αἴσθησιν σύνοδον κτῆμα ἴδιον ᾤθη τε καὶ ἐκάλεσε [τὸν] Κάιν καὶ εἶπεν· “ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ,” καὶ
- 125 κατὰ τοῦτο διαμαρτῶν· τί δήποτε; ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αἴτιον, οὐκ ὄργανον, τὸ δὲ γινόμενον δι’ ὄργανου μὲν ὑπὸ δὲ αἰτίου πάντως γίνεται. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν
- [162] τίνος γένεσιν πολλὰ δεῖ συνελθεῖν, | τὸ ὑφ’ οὗ, τὸ ἐξ οὗ, τὸ δι’ οὗ, τὸ δι’ ὃ· καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν ὑφ’ οὗ τὸ αἴτιον, ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἡ ὕλη, δι’ οὗ δὲ τὸ ἐργαλεῖον,
- 126 δι’ ὃ δὲ ἡ αἰτία. φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ἀνέροιτο, οἰκία καὶ πόλις πᾶσα ἵνα κατασκευασθῇ, τίνα συνελθεῖν δεῖ; ἄρ’ οὐ δημιουργὸν καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ ὄργανα; τί οὖν ἔστι δημιουργὸς πλὴν τὸ αἴτιον ὑφ’ οὗ; τί δὲ λίθοι καὶ ξύλα πλὴν ἡ ὕλη, ἐξ ἧς ἡ κατασκευή; τί δὲ τὰ ὄργανα πλὴν τὰ δι’ ὧν;
- 127 τίνος δὲ ἔνεκα πλὴν σκέπης καὶ ἀσφαλείας, τὸ <δὲ><sup>1</sup> δι’ ὃ τοῦτό ἐστι; μετελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν μέρει κατασκευῶν ἴδε τὴν μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· εὐρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὑφ’ οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ δι’ οὗ κατεσκευάσθη, τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς αἰτίαν τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. φιλαλήθων ἦδε διάκρισις ἐπιστήμης ἀληθοῦς καὶ ὑγιоῦς ἐφειμένων· οἱ δὲ φάσκοντες διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τι κεκτῆσθαι

<sup>1</sup> <δὲ> ins. Tr.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 486.



## ON THE CHERUBIM, 124-127

and testimonies which none may convict of false witness, for our witnesses are the oracles which Moses wrote in the sacred books. And therefore we must make our protest against the Mind, which thought the offspring engendered by union with sense his own possession, called it Cain and said "I have *gotten* a man through God." Even in these last two words he erred. You ask how? Because God is the cause not the instrument, and that which comes into being is brought into being *through* an instrument, but *by* a cause. For to bring anything into being needs all these conjointly, the "by which," the "from which," the "through which," the "for which,"<sup>a</sup> and the first of these is the cause, the second the material, the third the tool or instrument, and the fourth the end or object. If we ask what combination is always needed that a house or city should be built, the answer is a builder, stones or timber, and instruments. What is the builder but the cause "by which"? What are the stones and timber but the material "from which"? What are the instruments but the means "through which"? And what is the end or object of the building but shelter and safety, and this constitutes the "for which." Let us leave these merely particular buildings, and contemplate that greatest of houses or cities, this universe. We shall see that its cause is God, by whom it has come into being, its material the four elements, from which it was compounded, its instrument the word of God, through which it was framed, and the final cause of the building is the goodness of the architect. It is thus that truth-lovers distinguish, who desire true and sound knowledge. But those who say that they

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- τὸ μὲν αἷτιον ὄργανον τὸν δημιουργόν, τὸ δ' ὄργανον αἷτιον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ὑπολαμ-  
 128 βάνουσιν. αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος  
 καὶ Ἰωσήφ εἰπόντα, διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν σαφήνειαν  
 εὔρεθήσεσθαι τῶν ἐνυπνίων (Gen. xl. 8). ἔχρη  
 γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰτίου τὴν τῶν ἀφανῶν  
 ἀνάπτυξίν τε καὶ ἀκρίβειαν δεόντως ἔσεσθαι.  
 ὄργανα γὰρ ἡμεῖς, δι' ὧν αἱ κατὰ μέρος ἐνέργειαι,  
 ἐπιτεινόμενα καὶ ἀνιέμενα, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ τὴν  
 πληξίν ἐργαζόμενος τῶν σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς  
 δυνάμεων, ὑφ' οὗ πάντα κινεῖται.
- 129 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πραγμάτων διαφορὰς ἀδυνατοῦντας  
 διαστέλλειν ὡς ἀμαθεῖς ἀναδιδακτέον, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ  
 φιλονεικίας τὰς τῶν σημαινομένων τάξεις ἐναλ-  
 λάττοντας ὡς ἐριστικούς φευκτέον, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ  
 τῆς τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης ἐκάστῳ  
 τῶν εὔρεθέντων τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν προσνέμοντας  
 ὡς ἀψευδῆ φιλοσοφίαν μετιόντας ἐπαινετέον.
- 130 Μωυσῆς γοῦν τοῖς δεδιόσι, μή ποτε πρὸς τοῦ  
 φαύλου πανστρατιᾶ διώκοντος ἀπόλωνται, φησί·  
 “στῆτε καὶ ὀράτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ  
 κυρίου, ἣν ποιήσει ὑμῖν” (Exod. xiv. 13), ἐκ  
 διδάσκων ὅτι οὐ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς  
 αἰτίου τὸ σώζεσθαι.

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<sup>a</sup> The LXX. has οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ διασάφησις αὐτῶν ἐστι ;

## ON THE CHERUBIM, 127-130

possess something through God, suppose the Cause, that is the Maker, to be the instrument, and the instrument, that is the human mind, they suppose to be the cause.

Right reason too would not hold Joseph free from blame, when he said that *through* God would the true meaning of dreams be found (Gen. xl. 8).<sup>a</sup> He should have said that *by* Him as cause the unfolding and right interpretation of things hidden would fitly come to pass. For we are the instruments, wielded in varying degrees of force, through which each particular form of action is produced ; the Craftsman it is who brings to bear on the material the impact of our forces, whether of soul or body, even He by whom all things are moved.

There are those who have not of themselves the capacity to distinguish differences in things ; these we must instruct as ignorant. There are those who through contentiousness reverse and confuse the thoughts which their words express : these we must eschew as mere lovers of strife. But there are also those, who with careful search into what comes before them, assign to each as it is presented its proper place : these we must praise as the followers of a philosophy that cannot lie. And these Moses supports, when he says to those who feared to perish at the hands of the wicked one and his pursuing host, "Stand fast and see the salvation from the Lord, which he will accomplish for you" (Exod. xiv. 13). Thus he showed that not through God, but from Him as cause does salvation come.



ON THE BIRTH OF ABEL AND  
THE SACRIFICES OFFERED  
BY HIM AND BY HIS  
BROTHER CAIN

(DE SACRIFICIIS ABELIS ET CAINI)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THE main theme of this treatise is the interpretation of Gen. iv. 2-4.

v. 2 I. (1-10). He added to this that she brought forth his brother Abel.

II. (11-49). And Abel became a shepherd of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the land.

v. 3 III. (50-87). And it came to pass after some days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth as a sacrifice to the Lord.

v. 4 IV. (88-end). And Abel brought also himself of the first-born of his sheep and of their fats.

In I. Philo principally meditates on the word "added," the subject of which he assumes to be God. He holds that addition always implies a removal of something and thus the birth of the Abel attitude of mind, which refers all things to God, implies the removal of the opposite Cain attitude. His thought then passes (5) to the phrase used of the patriarchs "he was added to his people." He makes comparisons in this respect between Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, thought of as the three who learn respectively by teaching, nature, and practice, and finally contrasts them (8) with Moses, who is not "added" but translated to God's presence.

The treatment of II. opens (11) with a discussion as to why Abel the younger is mentioned in v. 2

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN

before his elder brother, the answer being that vice is older in point of time, but virtue in point of worth. This is illustrated (15) from experience of life, for the philosophical calm comes later than the passions of youth, then (17) from the story of Jacob and Esau, and finally (19) by the law of Deut. xxi. 15-17, that the first-born who is the child of the hated wife (*i.e.* Virtue) is not to be disinherited in favour of the younger child of the beloved wife (*i.e.* Vice). This leads Philo on to the elaborate allegory (20-44) of the two, as courtesan and chaste woman, pressing their claims upon the mind. Virtue's harangue, beginning 28, which contains what is probably the most formidable catalogue of bad qualities ever drawn up (32), includes an impassioned eulogy of toil (35-41) and ends with some loosely connected thoughts (43-44) on the inferior value of the secular learning. Her pleading prevails with the mind (45), which becomes what Abel was—a shepherd, and thus we resume the real consideration of the text. The true shepherd controls the unreasoning, but not vicious, faculties (46) and the greatness of the calling is illustrated from various verses in the Pentateuch (48-51). We should here expect some similar interpretation of Cain's occupation, but Philo dismisses this with the remark that he has treated it in an earlier book (51).

III. The charges brought against Cain in *v.* 3 are (*a*) that he offered only "after some days," (*b*) that he offered of the fruits, but not of the first-fruits. The first naturally leads to a homily (53) on the duty of ready service. The causes of tardiness are discussed and rebuked by appropriate texts (54-57), and an example of ready thankfulness is found (59) in

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the story of Abraham, when he bids Sarah *hasten* to prepare a meal for the angelic visitors of Gen. xviii. Two side thoughts are suggested by this story, (1) an interpretation of the three measures of meal (59), (2) of the phrase "buried cakes" (*i.e.*, cakes baked in the ashes (60) which Philo explains as the duty of reticence about sacred truths; and as this phrase is also used of the dough brought out of Egypt, we are led on to some thoughts about the symbolism of the passover (60-63). We return (64) to the duty of avoiding delay, and Philo dwells on the timelessness of God's actions, which we should imitate in our worship (64-68). This is contrasted (69) with Pharaoh's postponement of Moses' prayers on his behalf, which again is compared with the human tendency to seek help in misfortune from earthly remedies rather than from God (70-71).

The second charge brought against the Cain spirit necessitates an examination of what "first-fruits" are. They must be first in "value," *i.e.* virtues (73), but the ἀπαρχή or "first offering" of these is rather an εὐχαριστητικὸς λόγος or body of pious meditation. At this point (74-75) Philo, remembering that in Lev. ii. 14 the offering is to be "new, roasted, sliced, pounded," passes on to an examination of these four, which are treated with much richness of thought. The substance of our meditation must be fresh inspired thoughts (76-79) which will supersede the old-world learning of the schools, dear as that is to Philo (78). It must be hardened by the fire of close reasoning (80-81). It must be "sliced" or divided by careful analysis and classification of the thoughts under their proper headings (82-85), and finally it must be "pounded," *i.e.* made part of



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ourselves by the discipline of repeated meditation (85-87).

IV. The introduction of the subject of Abel's offering of the first-born of his sheep is immediately followed by a quotation of the directions with regard to the offering of the first-born in Exod. xiii. 11-13, and the sections 90-117 are almost entirely short homilies on the different parts of this passage. Thus (a) the time of the offering is put at the entrance to Canaan, the "wavering reasoning" from which God means us to escape (90); (b) we have then an apologetic discussion of the words "God swear," showing that such expressions are a concession to the human tendency to anthropomorphism (91-96); (c) by reading an "if" into the words "and shall give thee," he draws his favourite moral that we can only give what God has given (97); (d) dwelling on the words "thou shalt set apart" or "separate," he argues that the ideas of God which we offer to Him must be kept apart from lower and profane conceptions of Him (98-101); (e) "the males to the Lord" means that while the male offspring of the soul are the virtues, those of the "beasts" or senses are such as are kept under control of the mind (102-106); (f) we have an illustrative digression on the similar command in Numb. xv. 19-20, to make offering from the "mixture," *i.e.* our compound being, and a contrast with the offerings of perfection, in which there is no setting apart (107-112); (g) on the last verse of Exod. xiii. 11-13, "all that openeth the womb of the ass, thou shalt exchange it for a sheep, but if thou dost not exchange it, thou shalt redeem it," we are told that the ass is labour, the sheep progress, and that labour, at least in the case of things indifferent,

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is futile, unless it brings progress, and if futile must be "redeemed," *i.e.* set free (112-116).

At this point the word "redeemed" seems to lead Philo to a different line of thought. What is meant by the saying that the Levites were a ransom or redemption for the first-born? Levi—'sanctified Reason,' Israel's first-born, is accepted by God before Reuben, Jacob's first-born, 'natural ability' (118-121). But it means also that the wise are the ransom for the fools. This was shown in God's willingness to spare Sodom for the sake of ten righteous, and we see it in the saving influence of good men in a commonwealth, and so in the commonwealth of the individual virtuous thoughts redeem the evil (121-126). This last explains the saying that the cities of the Levites are "ransomed for ever," for this ransom of the soul is a perpetual process (127). This again leads on to a discussion why these cities were assigned as a refuge for the homicide. The Levite like the homicide is a fugitive—from natural ties (129). He too has slain—wicked doctrines as in Exod. xxxii. (130), and he represents the merciful side of God's legislative power, as the homicide does the punitive, for he slew "whom the Lord delivered into his hand" (131-133). Finally, when the sanctification of the Levite is assigned to the day when God smote Egypt, we are taught that since that smiting is perpetual, the sanctification is also perpetual (134-135).

We return for a moment to Abel and his offering of the fat, but pass at once to a comment on the fact that neither heart nor brain, the seat of the dominant principle, appear in the sacrificial ritual. Only when this mind of ours has been purged of its tendency to lapses will it be admitted as a proper

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN

part of the *ὄλοκαύτωμα* or "whole burnt offering" (136-end).

There are two special points in connexion with the text which require mention.

The first is that we have for this treatise and that of *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* the valuable help of a papyrus discovered in Upper Egypt in 1889. Not only is this papyrus considerably older than the other mss. to which it is most akin, but the analysis given by Cohn goes far to justify his opinion that it presents on the whole a better text.

The other is the history of the sections 21-32, which do not appear in this place in Mangey's edition nor in Yonge's translation. These sections containing the allegory of the two women had been incorporated in an otherwise spurious treatise, *De Mercede Meretricis*. In consequence the archetype of the mss. from which Turnebus made his edition of 1552 omitted <sup>a</sup> them here, and this was followed in subsequent editions. That their proper place is in this treatise is shown not only by their presence in other mss., but also by the evidence that Ambrose, whose treatise on Cain and Abel draws largely from Philo, evidently had these sections before him.

<sup>a</sup> "Inepte," says Cohn. But most people will feel that except for the harshness of the connexion of 20 with 33, though it was patched up in a way by the mss. which omitted it, the treatise is improved by their absence. The picture has a certain vigour, but is not on the whole in Philo's best vein, and the catalogue of vices with which it concludes is surely ridiculous.

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ ΑΒΕΛ ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ  
 ΤΕ ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΝ  
 ΙΕΡΟΥΡΓΟΥΣΙΝ

<sup>1</sup>  
 [163] I. “Καὶ προσέθηκε τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ  
 τὸν “Αβελ” (Gen. iv. 2). ἡ τινὸς πρόσθεσις  
 ἀφαίρεσις ἐστὶν ἑτέρου, ὡς ἀριθμητικῆς μορίων,  
 καὶ ψυχῆς λογισμῶν. εἰ δὴ τὸν “Αβελ προσ-  
 τίθεσθαι φατέον, τὸν Κάιν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι νομιστέον.  
 ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀσύνητες ἐπισκοτῆ  
 πολλοῖς, τὴν ἐμφαινομένην φιλοσοφίαν ἀκριβοῦν  
<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἢ πειρασόμεθα. δύο τοίνυν δόξαι  
 εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίας καὶ μαχομένας ἀλλήλαις,  
 τὴν μὲν τῷ νῶ πάντα ἐπιγράφουσαν ὡς ἡγεμόνι  
 τῶν ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι ἢ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἢ κινεῖσθαι ἢ  
 ἴσχεσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐπομένην ὡς αὐτοῦ  
 δημιουργίαν οὔσαν<sup>1</sup> τῆς μὲν προτέρας ἐκτύπωσις  
 ἐστὶν ὁ Κάιν καλούμενος κτῆσις παρὰ τὸ πάντα

<sup>1</sup> These words are regarded by Cohn as corrupt and the result of an attempt to complete a sentence, the real ending of which was illegible. His reasons are (1) that to describe the δόξα as believing itself to be God's handiwork is illogical; (2) more important, that Ambrose, who translates the passage almost literally, has “altera quae tamquam operatori et creatori omnium Deo defert et eius tamquam parentis atque rectoris subdit omnia gubernaculo.” Following this Cohn supposes something as follows: τὴν δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐπομένην καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πάντα ἀναφέρουσαν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἡγέμονα.

## ON THE BIRTH OF ABEL AND THE SACRIFICES OFFERED BY HIM AND BY HIS BROTHER CAIN

I. AND He <sup>a</sup> added to this that she brought forth Abel his brother (Gen. iv. 2). The addition of one thing implies the removal of some other, as in the case of arithmetical quantities or of our successive inward thoughts.<sup>b</sup> If we must say that Abel was added we must suppose that Cain was taken away. In case these unfamiliar terms may cause perplexity to many, I will attempt to give as clear an account as I can of the underlying philosophical thought. It is a fact that there are two opposite and contending views of life, one which ascribes all things to the mind as our master, whether we are using our reason or our senses, in motion or at rest, the other which follows God, whose handiwork it believes itself to be. The first of these views is figured by Cain who is called Possession, because he

<sup>a</sup> That Philo takes the subject to be God appears clearly in 10; see note on *De Cher.* 40.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning is shown in Ambrose's (see p. 93) adaptation: "addito enim numero fit alius numerus, aboletur superior, et cogitatio nova excludit superiorem." Possibly some equivalent of this has fallen out of the text.

- [164] κεκτῆσθαι δοκεῖν, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρας ὁ "Αβελ, | ἔρμη-  
 3 νεύεται γὰρ ἀναφέρων ἐπὶ θεόν. ἀμφοτέρας μὲν  
 οὖν τὰς δόξας ὠδίνει μία ψυχὴ· ἀνάγκη δὲ αὐτάς,  
 ὅταν ἀποκουηθῶσι, διακριθῆναι· συνοικεῖν γὰρ πολε-  
 μίους ἄχρι παντὸς ἀμήχανον. ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐκ  
 ἔτεκεν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ φιλόθεον δόγμα τὸν "Αβελ,  
 διητᾶτο τὸ φίλαυτον ὁ Κάιν <ἐν> αὐτῇ· ὁπότε δὲ  
 τὴν πρὸς τὸ αἴτιον ὁμολογίαν ἐγέννησε, τὴν πρὸς  
 4 τὸν δοκησίσοφον νοῦν ἐξέλιπε. II. δηλώσει δὲ  
 ἐναργέστερον ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῇ ὑπομονῇ χρησιμω-  
 δηθὲν 'Ρεβέκκα (Gen. xxv. 21 ff.). τὰς γὰρ μαχο-  
 μένας δύο φύσεις ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ συλλαβοῦσα  
 καὶ ἑκατέραν ἄκρως φαντασιωθεῖσα κατὰ τὴν τῆς  
 φρονήσεως ἐπικέλευσιν, ἀνασκιρτώσας αὐτὰς ἰδοῦσα  
 καὶ τινα τοῦ μέλλοντος πολέμου δι' ἀκροβολισμῶν  
 προάγωνα ποιουμένας, ἰκετεύει τὸν θεόν, τί τέ  
 ἐστι τὸ πάθος αὐτῇ παραστῆσαι καὶ τίς ἂν ἴασις  
 αὐτοῦ γένοιτο· ὁ δὲ πυνθανομένη φησί· "δύο  
 ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρί σου ἐστι"—τὸ μὲν πάθος τοῦτο,  
 ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ γένεσις—, ἀλλὰ "καὶ δύο λαοὶ  
 ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται"—ἡ ἴασις ἦδε,  
 διασταλῆναι καὶ χωρισθῆναι ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων  
 καὶ μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον οἰκῆσαι.  
 5 Προσθεῖς οὖν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ καλὸν δόγμα τὸν  
 "Αβελ ἀφείλεν αὐτῆς δόξαν ἄτοπον τὸν Κάιν. καὶ  
 γὰρ 'Αβραὰμ ἐκλιπὼν τὰ θνητὰ "προστίθεται τῷ  
 θεοῦ λαῶ" (Gen. xxv. 8), καρπούμενος ἀφθαρ-  
 σίαν, ἴσος ἀγγέλοις γεγονώς· ἄγγελοι γὰρ στρατός

<sup>a</sup> Or "received a vivid impression of each," which agrees better with the general meaning of φαντασιῶσθαι, though not so well with κατὰ τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως ἐπικέλευσιν.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 2-5

thinks he possesses all things, the other by Abel, whose name means "one who refers (all things) to God." Now both these views or conceptions lie in the womb of the single soul. But when they are brought to the birth they must needs be separated, for enemies cannot live together for ever. Thus so long as the soul had not brought forth the God-loving principle in Abel, the self-loving principle in Cain made her his dwelling. But when she bore the principle which acknowledges the Cause, she abandoned that which looks to the mind with its fancied wisdom. II. This will be shown still more clearly by the oracle which was given to Rebecca or Patience (Gen. xxv. 21 ff.). She had conceived the two contending natures of good and evil and considered earnestly, as wisdom bade her, the character of both,<sup>a</sup> when she perceived them leaping and as in a skirmish preluding the war that should be between them. And therefore she besought God to show her what had befallen her, and how it might be remedied. He answered her question thus: "two nations are in thy womb." That was what had befallen her—to bear both good and evil. But again "two peoples shall be separated from thy womb." This is the remedy, that good and evil be separated and set apart from each other and no longer have the same habitation.

So then when God added the good conviction Abel to the soul, he took away the foolish opinion Cain. So too, when Abraham left this mortal life, "he is added to the people of God"<sup>b</sup> (Gen. xxv. 8), in that he inherited incorruption and became equal to the angels, for angels—those unbodied and blessed souls

<sup>b</sup> The LXX. has *προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.*

εἰσι θεοῦ, ἀσώματοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες ψυχαί· ὁ τε ἀσκητῆς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον Ἰακώβ λέγεται προστίθεσθαι τῷ βελτίονι (Gen. xlix. 33), ὅτε ἐξ-  
 6 ἔλιπε τὸ χεῖρον. ὁ δὲ αὐτομαθοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀξιωθείς Ἰσαὰκ ἐκλείπει μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσον σωματοειδές αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ συνύφαντο, προστίθεται δὲ καὶ προσκληροῦται οὐκέθ' ὡς οἱ πρότεροι λαῶ, "γένει" δέ, καθάπερ φησὶ Μωυσῆς (Gen. xxxv. 29)· γένος μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀνωτάτῳ,  
 7 λαὸς δὲ ὄνομα πλειόνων· ὅσοι μὲν οὖν μαθήσει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ προκόψαντες ἐτελειώθησαν, προσκληροῦνται πλείοσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ ὑφηγήσεως μαυθανόντων, οὓς λαὸν ὠνόμασεν· οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὑφηγήσεις ἀπολελοιπότες, μαθηταὶ δὲ εὐφυνεῖς θεοῦ γεγονότες, τὴν ἄπονον ἐπιστήμην ἀνειληφότες, εἰς τὸ ἀφθαρτον καὶ τελεώτατον γένος μετανίστανται  
 [165] κληρον ἀμείνω τῶν | προτέρων ἐνδεδεγμένοι, ὧν ὁ Ἰσαὰκ θιασώτης ἀνωμολόγηται.

8 III. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τοιοῦτον \* \* \* [νοῦν ἀθάνατον.]<sup>1</sup> εἰσὶ δὲ οὓς ἀνωτέρω προαγαγὼν εἶδη μὲν καὶ γένη πάντα ὑπερπτήναι παρεσκεύασεν, ἴδρυσεν δὲ πλησίον ἑαυτοῦ, καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ᾧ φησι· "σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ' ἐμοῦ" (Deut. v. 31). ἡνίκα γοῦν τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν οὗτος, οὐκ ἐκλιπὼν προστίθεται ὡσπερ οἱ πρότεροι μήτε πρόσθεσιν μήτε ἀφαίρεσιν κεχωρηκῶς, ἀλλὰ "διὰ ῥήματος" τοῦ αἰτίου μετανίσταται (Deut. xxxiv.

<sup>1</sup> The sentence does not make sense as it stands. In the Papyrus there is a lacuna of four lines after τοιοῦτον followed by ἣν θανατον.

<sup>a</sup> LXX. προσετέθη πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ. See App. p. 488.



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 5-8

—are the host and people of God. In the same way again the Practiser Jacob, we read, is added to something better, when he left the worse (Gen. xlix. 33).

Once more there is Isaac to whom was granted the higher gift of self-learnt knowledge. He too abandoned all such bodily elements as had been interwoven with the soul, and is added and allotted to another company; but not this time, with the others, to a people, but to a 'race' or 'genus,' as Moses says (Gen. xxxv. 29).<sup>a</sup> For genus is one, that which is above all, but people is a name for many. Those who have advanced to perfection as pupils under a teacher have their place among many others; for those who learn by hearing and instruction are no small number, and these he calls a people. But those who have dispensed with the instruction of men and have become apt pupils of God receive the free unlaboured knowledge and are translated into the genus of the imperishable and fully perfect. Theirs is a happier lot than the lot of the people, and in this sacred band Isaac stands confessed as a chorister.

III. A further thought of the same nature is revealed to us. . . . There are still others, whom God has advanced even higher, and has trained them to soar above species and genus alike and stationed them beside himself. Such is Moses to whom He says "stand here with Me"<sup>b</sup> (Deut. v. 31). And so when Moses was about to die we do not hear of him "leaving" or "being added" like those others. No room in him for adding or taking away. But through the 'Word' of the Supreme Cause he is trans-

<sup>b</sup> The context perhaps slightly suggests that Philo took these words, which he quotes several times, as "stand with Me Myself."

5), δι' οὗ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο· ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι τὸν σοφὸν ἰσοτίμον κόσμῳ ὁ θεὸς ἡγείται τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τὸν τέλειον ἀπὸ τῶν περιγείων ἀνάγων ὡς  
 9 ἑαυτὸν. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, ὅτε τοῖς περιγείοις χρήσας αὐτὸν εἴασεν ἐνομιλεῖν, ἄρχοντας ἢ βασιλέως κοινὴν τινα ἀρετὴν ἀνῆπτεν αὐτῷ, καθ' ἣν ἀνὰ κράτος ἡγεμονεύσει τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παθῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐχειροτόνει πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα χώραν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῆς νοῦν ὑπήκοα καὶ δοῦλα ἀποφύνας· “ δίδωμι γάρ σε” φησί “ θεὸν Φαραώ” (Exod. vii. 1). θεὸς δὲ ἔλλειψιν ἢ πρόσθεσιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται πλήρης καὶ  
 10 ἰσαίτατος ὢν ἑαυτῷ. παρὸ καὶ τὴν ταφὴν λέγεται μηδὲ εἰς εἰδέναι τούτου (Deut. xxxiv. 6). τίς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο ἱκανὸς τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα μετανάστασιν ψυχῆς τελείας κατανοῆσαι; οὐδὲ αὐτὴν οἶμαι τὴν τοῦθ' ὑπομένουσαν εἰδέναι τὴν βελτίωσιν αὐτῆς, ἅτε κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιθειάζουσαν· τῷ γὰρ εὖ πάσχοντι συμβούλω ὁ θεὸς περὶ ὧν μέλλει χαρίζεσθαι οὐ χρῆται, μὴ προλαβόντι δὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀφθότους εἴωθεν ὀρέγειν.

Τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ προσθεῖναι θεὸν γένεσιν ἀγαθοῦ τελείου διανοία· τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὀσιότης ἐστίν, ἧς ὄνομα Ἄβελ.

11 IV. “ Καὶ ἐγένετο Ἄβελ ποιμὴν προβάτων, Κάιν δὲ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν” (Gen. iv. 2). τί δήποτε πρεσβύτερον εἰσαγαγὼν τοῦ Ἄβελ τὸν Κάιν νυνὶ τὴν τάξιν μετατέθεικεν, ὡς τοῦ νεω-

<sup>a</sup> LXX. ἐτελεύτησε διὰ ῥήματος Κυρίου, A.V. “ according to the word of the Lord.”

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 488.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 8-11

lated (Deut. xxxiv. 5),<sup>a</sup> even through that Word by which also the whole universe was formed. Thus you may learn that God prizes the Wise Man as the world, for that same Word, by which He made the universe, is that by which He draws the perfect man from things earthly to Himself.

And even when He sent him as a loan to the earthly sphere and suffered him to dwell therein, He gifted him with no ordinary excellence, such as that which kings and rulers have, wherewith to hold sway and sovereignty over the passions of the soul, but He appointed him as god, placing all the bodily region and the mind which rules it in subjection and slavery to him. "I give thee," He says, "as god to Pharaoh"<sup>b</sup> (Exod. vii. 1); but God is not susceptible of addition or diminution, being fully and unchangeably himself. And therefore we are told that no man knows his grave (Deut. xxxiv. 6). For who has powers such that he could perceive the passing of a perfect soul to Him that "is"? Nay I judge that the soul itself which is passing thus does not know of its change to better things, for at that hour it is filled with the spirit of God. For God does not consult with those whom He blesses as to the gifts He means to bestow. His wont is to extend His loving-kindness unstinted to those who have no thought of them.

Such is the meaning of the words that God added to the mind the birth of the perfect good. The good is holiness and the name of holiness is Abel.<sup>b</sup>

IV. "And Abel became a shepherd of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground" (Gen. iv. 2). Why is it that while he showed us Cain as older than Abel, he has now changed the order and mentions the

- τέρου μεμνησθαι πρότερον κατὰ τὴν τῶν βίων προαίρεσιν; εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτατον πρότερον ἐπὶ γεωργίαν ἐλθεῖν, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον
- 12 αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν. ἀλλὰ  
 [166] γὰρ οὐ τὰ εἰκότα καὶ πιθανὰ | Μωυσῆς ἀσπάζεται, τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν ἀκραιφνή μεταδιώκει· καὶ ὅταν γε μόνος ἰδίᾳ τῷ θεῷ προσέρχηται, μετὰ παρρησίας φησὶ μὴ εἶναι εὐλογος—ἴσον τῷ μὴ τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἐφίεσθαι—, πεπονθέναι δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἐχθρῆς καὶ τρίτης, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν θεὸν ἄρξασθαι διαλέγεσθαι ὡς θεράποντι αὐτῷ
- 13 (Exod. iv. 10). τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸν τοῦ βίου σάλον καὶ κλύδωνα παρεληλυθόσιν ἐπινηχομένοις ἀνάγκη φορεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς ἐχυροῦ τῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐνειλημμένοις, εἰκότων δὲ καὶ πιθανῶν ἠρτημένοις· τῷ δὲ θεοῦ θεραπευτῇ πρεπῶδες ἀληθείας περιέχεσθαι, τὴν τῶν εὐλόγων εἰκαστικὴν καὶ
- 14 ἀβέβαιον μυθοποιίαν χαίρειν ἐῶντι. τί οὖν καὶ τὸ ἐν τούτοις ἀληθές; κακίαν ἀρετῆς χρόνῳ μὲν εἶναι πρεσβυτέραν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ ἀξιώματι νεωτέραν. ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἡ γένεσις ἀμφοῖν εἰσάγηται, προεκτρεχέτω ὁ Κáιν· ὅταν δὲ ἐπιτηδεύσεων σύγκρισις ἐξετάζηται, φθανέτω ὁ
- 15 Ἄβελ. γενομένῳ γὰρ τῷ ζῳῷ συμβέβηκεν εὐθὺς ἔτ' ἐκ σπαργάνων, ἄχρις ἂν ἡ νεωτεροποιὸς ἀκμῆς ἡλικία τὸν ζέοντα φλογμὸν τῶν παθῶν σβέση, συντρόφους ἔχειν ἀφροσύνην ἀκολασίαν ἀδικίαν φόβον δειλίαν, τὰς ἄλλας συγγενεῖς κῆρας, ὧν ἐκάστην ἀνατρέφουσι καὶ συναύξουσι τιτθαὶ καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 488, 489.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 11-15

younger first, when he comes to speak of their choice of occupations? For the probability was that the elder proceeded to his husbandry first, and the younger at a later time to his charge of the flock. But Moses sets no value on probabilities and plausibilities, but follows after truth in its purity. And when he comes alone to God apart from all, he frankly says that he has no gift of speech (by which he means that he has no desire for eloquence or persuasiveness), and this he says has been his condition from a few days ago when God first began to talk with him as His servant (Exod. iv. 10).<sup>a</sup> Those who have fallen into the surge and stormy sea of life must needs float on, not holding firmly to any strong support which knowledge gives, but trailed along by the flotsam of the probable and the plausible. But for the servant of God it is meet to hold fast to truth and spurn the fabulous inventions of eloquence, which are but baseless guesswork.<sup>b</sup>

What then is the special truth which here he brings before us? Surely that in point of time vice is senior to virtue, but that in point of value and honour the reverse is the case. And therefore when the birth of each is brought before us, Cain may have the precedence. When we make a comparison of the occupations of the two, Abel should take the lead.

<sup>b</sup>For when the life of man begins, from the very cradle till the time when the age of maturity brings the great change and quenches the fiery furnace of the passions, folly, incontinence, injustice, fear, cowardice, and all the kindred maladies of soul are his inseparable companions, and each of them is fostered and increased by nurses and tutors and by

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 489.

εὐσέβειαν μὲν ἐλαυνόντων δεισιδαιμονίαν δὲ πρᾶγμα ἀδελφὸν ἀσεβεία κατασκευαζόντων εἰσηγήσεις καὶ  
 16 θέσεις. ὅταν δὲ ἤδη παρηβήσῃ καὶ ἡ τῶν παθῶν παλμώδης νόσος χαλάσῃ, καθάπερ νηνεμίας ἐπιγενομένης, ἄρχεται τις γαλήνην ἄγειν ὅψε καὶ μόλις βεβαιότητι ἀρετῆς ἰδρυθεῖς, ἢ τὸν ἐπάλληλον καὶ συνεχῆ σεισμόν, βαρύτατον κακὸν ψυχῆς, ἐπράυνεν.

Οὕτως μὲν δὴ τὰ χρόνου πρεσβεία οἴσεται κακία, τὰ δὲ ἀξιώματος καὶ τιμῆς καὶ εὐκλείας ἢ ἀρετῆς. πιστὸς δὲ τούτου μάρτυς ὁ νομοθέτης  
 17 αὐτός· τὸν γὰρ ἀφροσύνης ἐπώνυμον Ἡσαῦ εἰσαγαγὼν χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερον τῷ γενέσει μὲν νεωτέρῳ ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ ἀσκήσεως τῶν καλῶν Ἰακώβ χαρίζεται τὰ πρεσβεία· ὁ δὲ οὐ πρότερον αὐτὰ  
 [167] φέρεσθαι | διαγνώσεται, ἢ καθάπερ ἐν ἀγῶνι τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀπειπεῖν χεῖρας ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καθέντα καὶ τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ τὸν στέφανον παραχωρήσαι τῷ πόλεμον ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πρὸς τὰ πάθη πεποιημένῳ· “ἀπέδοτο” γὰρ φησι “τὰ  
 18 πρωτοτόκια τῷ Ἰακώβ” (Gen. xxv. 33), ὁμολογήσας ἀντικρυσ, ὅτι τὰ δυνάμει πρῶτα καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τίμια φαύλου μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδενός, μόνου δὲ τοῦ σοφίας ἐραστοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ λύρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μουσικῆς ὄργανα μόνου τοῦ μουσικοῦ.  
 19 V. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου καὶ νόμον ἀναγράφει πάννυ καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως τιθεῖς. ἔχει δὲ ὡδε· “ἐὰν γένωνται ἀνθρώπων δύο γυναῖκες,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 489.

<sup>b</sup> Literally, dropped his hands.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 15-19

the fact that the rules and customs which impress and exercise their authority upon him expel piety and set up in its stead that superstition which is the sister of impiety. But when the prime is past, and the throbbing fever of the passions is abated, as though the storm winds had dropped, there begins in the man a late and hard-won calm. Virtue has lulled to rest the worst enemy of the soul, that commotion whose waves of passion follow each other in swift succession, and in that firm support of virtue he stands secure.<sup>a</sup>

Thus vice will carry off the honour of precedence in time, virtue the precedence in repute and honour and good name. And to this truth we have a faithful witness in the legislator himself. For he shows us Esau, who is named after his folly,<sup>a</sup> as elder in point of age, but it is to the younger brother named from his discipline and practice of things excellent, even Jacob, that he awards the prize of precedence. Yet Jacob will not judge himself worthy to accept this prize until, as in some contest of the arena, his adversary has surrendered<sup>b</sup> in exhaustion and yielded up the victor's crown to him who has waged war without parley or quarter against the passions. For Esau 'sold,' we read, the 'birth-right to Jacob' (Gen. xxv. 33), in full admission that as the flute and lyre and the other instruments of music belong only to the musician, so all that is supreme in value, and all to which virtue gives its place of honour, belong not to any of the wicked, but to the lover of wisdom only.

V. Again the same lesson is taught in a law which Moses enacts, a law both excellent and profitable. It runs thus. "If a man have two wives, one loved

PHILO

μία αὐτῶν ἡγαπημένη καὶ μία μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ ἢ ἡγαπημένη καὶ ἢ μισουμένη καὶ γένηται ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μισουμένης πρωτότοκος, καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἂν κληροδοτῇ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ, οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτοτοκεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἡγαπημένης ὑπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρωτότοκον υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης ἐπιγνώσεται δοῦναι αὐτῷ διπλᾶ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν ἂν εὗρεθῇ αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτῳ καθήκει τὰ πρωτοτόκια" (Deut. xxi. 15-

20 17). ἐπίγνωθι, ὦ ψυχῆ, καὶ γνώρισον,

[II. 265] τίς ἐστιν ἡ μισουμένη καὶ τίς ὁ τῆς μισουμένης υἱός, καὶ εὐθύς αἰσθήσῃ, ὅτι ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενί, μόνῳ δὲ τούτῳ καθήκει τὰ πρεσβεῖα. | δύο γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ συνοικοῦσι γυναῖκες ἐχθραὶ καὶ δυσμενεῖς ἀλλήλαις, τῶν ζηλοτυπίας τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον ἀναπιμπλάσαι φιλονεικιῶν· τούτων τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ἀγαπῶμεν χειροθήτη καὶ τιθασὸν καὶ φιλιτάτην καὶ οἰκειοτάτην αὐτοῖς νομίζοντες, καλεῖται δὲ ἡδονή· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐχθαίρομεν ἀτίθασον ἀνήμερον ἐξηγριωμένην πολεμιωτάτην ἡγούμενοι, 21 ὄνομα δὲ [καὶ] ταύτης ἐστὶν ἀρετή. ἡ

μὲν οὖν προσέρχεται πόρνης καὶ χαμαιτύπης τὸν τρόπον τεθρυμμένη, κεκλασμένῳ τῷ βαδίσματι ὑπὸ τρυφῆς τῆς ἄγαν καὶ χλιδῆς, σαλεύουσα τὸ ὄφθαλμῷ, οἷς τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγκιστρεύεται ψυχὰς, θράσος μετ' ἀναισχυντίας ἐμβλέπουσα, τὸν αὐχένα ἐπαίρουσα, πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἑαυτὴν ἐνορθιάζουσα,<sup>1</sup> σεσαρυῖα καὶ κιχλίζουσα, περιέργῳ ποικιλίᾳ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπεπλεγμένη, ὑπογεγραμμένη τὴν ὄψιν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένη τὰς ὀφρῦς,



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 19-21

and the other hated, and each bear a son to him, and the son of her that is hated is the first-born, it shall be that on the day on which he allots his goods to his sons he shall not be able to give the right of the first-born to the son of her whom he loves, and set aside the first-born, the son of her whom he hates, but he shall acknowledge the first-born, the son of her whom he hates, to give him a double portion of all that he has gotten; for he is the beginning of his children, and to him belong the rights of the first-born" (Deut. xxi. 15-17).

Mark well then, my soul, and understand who is she that is hated, and who is her son, and thou wilt straightway perceive that to this last alone and to none other belong the honours of the elder. For each of us is mated with two wives, who hate and loathe each other, and they fill the house of the soul with their jealous contentions. And one of these we love, because we find her winning and gentle, and we think her our nearest and dearest. Her name is pleasure. The other we hate; we think her rough, ungentle, crabbed and our bitter enemy. Her name is virtue.

<sup>a</sup> So Pleasure comes languishing in the guise of a harlot or courtesan. Her gait has the looseness which her extravagant wantonness and luxury has bred; the lascivious roll of her eyes is a bait to entice the souls of the young; her look speaks of boldness and shamelessness; her neck is held high; she assumes a stature which Nature has not given her; she grins and giggles; her hair is dressed in curious and elaborate plaits; under her eyes are pencil lines; her eyebrows are smothered

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<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 489, 490.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἐξορθ. or ἐπορθ.

- [II. 266] θερμολουσίαις ἐπαλλήλοις | χρωμένη, ἔρευθος εἰργασμένη, πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτας ἐπηγθισμένας ἄκρωσ ἀμπεχομένη, περιβραχιόνια καὶ περιαιυχένια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν δημιουργηθέντα κόσμος ἐστὶ γυναικείος περικαθειμένη, μύρων εὐωδεστάτων ἀποπνέουσα, τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκίαν νομίζουσα, τριοδίτις σοβάς, χήτει γνησίου
- 22 κάλλους τὸ νόθον μεταδιώκουσα. συν-  
ομαρτοῦσι δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν συνηθεστάτων πανουργία  
προπέτεια ἀπιστία κολακεία φενακισμὸς ἀπάτη  
ψευδολογία ψευδορκία ἀσέβεια ἀδικία ἀκολασία,  
ὧν ἐν μέσῳ καθάπερ ἡγεμῶν χοροῦ σταῖσά φησι  
πρὸς τὸν νοῦν τάδε· “εἰσὶν, ὦ οὗτος, θησαυροὶ  
πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὅσα ἀνθρώπεια παρ’ ἐμοί—τὰ γὰρ  
θεῖα ἐν οὐρανῶ—, ὧν ἐκτὸς οὐδὲν εὐρήσεις· τού-  
τους, ἣν ἐθέλης μοι συνοικεῖν, τοὺς θησαυροὺς  
ἀναπετάσασα χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἐνότων
- 23 ἀφθονωτάτην εἰσαεὶ παρέξω. βούλομαι δέ σοι  
προειπεῖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ταμιευομένων ἀγαθῶν,  
ἵνα κὰν συναινῆς ἐκὼν ἀσμενίζης, κὰν ἀποστρέφῃ  
μὴ ἀγνοῶν ἀρνή· ἀνεσίς ἐστι παρ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄδεια  
καὶ ἐκεχειρία καὶ πόνων ἀμελετησία καὶ χρω-  
μάτων ποικιλία καὶ κλάσεις ἐμμελέσταται φωνῆς,  
σιτία πολυτελῆ καὶ ποτά, ὄσμων ἡδίστων παμ-  
πληθεῖς διαφοραί, συνεχεῖς ἔρωτες, ἀπαιδαγωγῆ-  
τοι παιδιαί, μίξεις ἀνεξέταστοι, ἀνουθέτητοι λόγοι,  
ἔργα ἀνυπεύθυνα, ἀφρόντιστος βίος, μαλακώτατος
- 24 ὕπνος, κόρος ἀπλήρωτος. ἐὰν οὖν ἐθε-  
λήσης σὺν ἐμοὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διατριβάς, ἐκ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 21-24

in paint ;<sup>a</sup> she revels perpetually in the warmth of the bath ; her flush is artificial ; her costly raiment is broidered lavishly with flowers ; bracelets and necklaces and every other feminine ornament wrought of gold and jewels hang round her ; her breath is laden with fragrant scents ; a strumpet of the streets, she takes the market-place for her home ; devoid of true beauty, she pursues the false.

In her train come a sample of her closest friends, villainy, recklessness, faithlessness, flattery, imposture, deceit, falsehood, perjury, impiety, injustice, profligacy ; and taking her stand in their midst, like the leader of a chorus, she speaks thus to the Mind. " See here," she says, " I have coffers containing all human blessings—such as belong to the gods are in heaven—and outside these coffers you will find no good thing. These I will open, if you will dwell with me, and give you unceasing and unstinted use and enjoyment of all that is therein. But first I wish to recount to you the multitude of joys within my store, so that if you assent it may be with willingness and gladness, and if you turn from them it will not be through ignorance that you refuse. With me you will find freedom from the sense of restraint, from the fear of punishment, from the stress of business, from the discipline of labour ; you will find colours all and sundry, sweet modulations of melodious sounds, costly kinds of food and drink, abundant varieties of delicious perfumes, amours without ceasing, frolics unregulated, chamberings unrestricted, language unrepressed, deeds uncensored, life without care, sleep soft and sweet, satiety ever unfilled.

If then you are willing to pass your time with me, I will be your cateress

## PHILO

πάντων εὐτρεπίσασά σοι τὰ ἀρμόζοντα δωρη-  
 σομαι, συνεπισκοποῦσα τί ἂν φαγῶν ἢ πιῶν  
 γανωθείης ἢ τί τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδῶν ἢ τοῖς ὠσίν  
 ἀκούσας ἢ μυκτῆρσιν ὀσφρόμενος ἤσθειης· ἐλλείψει  
 δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσης, πλείω γὰρ τῶν ἀνα-  
 25 λισκομένων εὐρήσεις τὰ γεννώμενα. φυτὰ γάρ  
 ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσι θησαυροῖς ἀειθαλῆ, βλαστά-  
 νοντα καὶ τίκτοντα καρποὺς ἐπαλλήλους, ὡς τὴν  
 τῶν ὠραίων καὶ νέων ἀκμὴν ἐπιτρέχειν καὶ κατα-  
 λαμβάνειν τοὺς ἤδη πεπανθέντας· πόλεμος οὐδὲ  
 εἰς ἐμφύλιος ἢ ξενικὸς τὰ φυτὰ ταῦτα πώποτε  
 ἔτεμεν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὰ γῆ παρέλαβεν,  
 ὡσπερ ἀγαθὴ τροφὸς τιθηνεῖται, ῥίζας μὲν οἰονεὶ  
 θεμελίους εἰς τὸ κάτω βαλλομένη κραταιοτάτας,  
 τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔρνος οὐρανόμηκες ἀνατείνασα,  
 κλάδους δὲ ἐκφύσασα τῶν ἐν ζώοις χειρῶν καὶ  
 ποδῶν ἀναλογοῦντα μιμήματα, πέταλα δὲ οἶον  
 κόμας σκέπην ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ κόσμον ἐπανθῆσαι  
 παρασκευάσασα, καρποὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὧν ἕνεκα  
 κακεῖνα."

[II. 267] Τούτων ἀκούσασα ἢ ἑτέρα—καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ  
 26 μὲν ἐν ἐπηκόῳ δὲ εἰστήκει—, δείσασα μὴ ποτε  
 λαθῶν ὁ νοῦς αἰχμάλωτος ἀνδραποδισθεὶς ἀπαχθῆ  
 τοσαύταις δωρεαῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν, ἔτι καὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδούς εὖ καὶ ποικίλως ἐπὶ ἀπάτη  
 τετεχνιτευμένην—διὰ γὰρ τῶν περιάπτων καὶ  
 μαγγανειῶν ἔνυττεν, ἐκλήλει, γαργαλισμοὺς ἐνειργά-  
 ζετο—, παρελθοῦσα ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφαίνεται ἐλευθέρως  
 καὶ ἀστῆς προσφερομένη πάντα, σταθερὸν βάδισμα,

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 24-26

and give you from them all what accords with your wishes. I will join you in considering what food and drink would charm your palate, what sight would please your eyes, what sound your ears, what perfume your nostrils. And of all that you desire nothing shall fail, for you shall find fresh sweets ever springing up to replace and more than replace those which are consumed. For in the treasure-houses I have spoken of are evergreen plants, which bloom and bear fruit in constant succession, so that the fullness of the fresh fruit, each in their season, ever pursues and overtakes those that have already ripened. These plants never once have known the ravages of civil or foreign war, but from the day that earth took them to her bosom, she cherishes them like a kindly nurse. She makes their roots dive deep and fast below like foundations, she extends the growth above the ground till it soars to heaven. She brings forth branches, which imitate and answer to the hands and feet of living creatures. She causes leaves to bloom like hair, at once to shelter and adorn, and then at the last she gives the fruit, the crowning purpose of the whole process."

When the other heard this, standing as she was, hidden from sight, yet within earshot, she feared lest the Mind should unawares be made captive and enslaved, and carried away by this wealth of gifts and promises. She feared too lest he should yield to the spell of that countenance so well and cunningly dressed to deceive, for by her talismans and witchcrafts the sorceress was pricking him, and working in him the itch of desire. So suddenly coming forward she appeared with all the marks of a free-born citizen, a firm tread, a serene counte-

## PHILO

ἡρεμαιοτάτην ὄψιν, χρῶμα καὶ τὸ αἰδοῦς καὶ τὸ  
 σώματος ἀκιβδηλεύτον, ἀψευδὲς ἦθος, ἀνόθευτον  
 βίον, ἀποίκιλον γνώμην, λόγον οὐ φένακα, διανοίας  
 ὑγιоῦς ἀληθέστατον μίμημα, σχέσιν ἄπλαστον, οὐ  
 σεσοβημένην κίνησιν, μετρίαν ἐσθῆτα, τὸν χρυσοῦ  
 27 τιμιώτερον φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς κόσμον. συν-  
 εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῇ εὐσέβεια ὀσιότης ἀλήθεια θέμις  
 ἀγιστεία εὐορκία δικαιοσύνη ἰσότης εὐσυνθεσία  
 κοινωνία ἐχεθυμία σωφροσύνη κοσμιότης ἐγκράτεια  
 πραότης ὀλιγοδεία εὐκολία αἰδῶς ἀπραγμοσύνη  
 ἀνδρεία γενναιότης εὐβουλία προμήθεια φρόνησις  
 προσοχή διόρθωσις εὐθυμία χρηστότης ἡμερότης  
 ἡπιότης φιλάνθρωπία μεγαλοφροσύνη μακαριότης  
 ἀγαθότης· ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα λέγοντα τὰ τῶν  
 28 κατ' εἶδος ἀρετῶν ὀνόματα. αὗται παρ' ἐκάτερα  
 σταῖσαι μέσσην αὐτὴν ἔδορυφόρουν· ἡ δὲ σχῆμα τὸ  
 σύνηθες ἑαυτῇ λαβοῦσα λόγων ἤρξατο τοιῶνδε·  
 “τὴν τερατουργὸν καὶ μάχλον καὶ  
 μυθολόγον εἶδον ἡδονὴν τραγικώτερον ἐνεσκευ-  
 ασμένην καὶ λιπαρῶς θαμινά σοι προσομιλοῦσαν,  
 ὥστε—εἰμὶ γὰρ μισοπόνηρος φύσει—, δείσασα μὴ  
 λάθης ἀπατηθεῖς καὶ συναινέσας κακοῖς μεγίστοις  
 ὡς ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἤξιῶσα τὰ προσόντα  
 τῇ γυναικὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας προειπεῖν, ἵνα  
 μηδὲν ἀγνοία τῶν συμφερόντων ἀπωσάμενος ἀ-  
 29 βούλητον ἐμπορεύσῃ κακοπραγίαν. τὴν μὲν οὖν  
 σκευὴν ἣ κέχρηται πᾶσαν ἀλλοτρίαν ἴσθι· τῶν γὰρ

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 26-29

nance, her person and her modesty alike without false colouring, her moral nature free from guile, her conduct from stain, her will from craft, her speech from falsehood, reflecting faithfully the honesty of her thoughts. Her carriage was unaffected, her movements quiet, her clothing plain, her adornment that of good sense and virtue, which is more precious than gold. And in her company came piety, holiness, truth, justice, religion, fidelity to oaths and bonds, righteousness, equity, fellow-feeling, self-control, temperance, orderliness, continence, meekness, frugality, contentment, modesty, a quiet temper, courage, nobility of spirit, good judgement, foresight, good sense, attentiveness, desire for amendment, cheerfulness, kindness, gentleness, mildness, humanity, high-mindedness, blessedness, goodness. The daylight will fail me while I recount the names of the specific virtues. Ranged on each side with her in their midst they formed her body-guard. She assuming her wonted mien thus began.

"I see yonder Pleasure, that lewd dealer in magic and inventor of fables, tricked out as for the stage, importunately seeking parley with you, and as it is my nature to hate evil, I feared lest being off your guard you should be deceived and consent to the worst of ills as though they were the highest good. Therefore, that you may not through sheer ignorance put from you aught that is to your advantage and purchase for yourself unwelcome misfortune, I judged it well to proclaim to you, before it was too late, the full truth of all that attaches to this woman. Know then that the finery with which she is bedizened is all borrowed. For of such things as make for true beauty she brings

## PHILO

εἰς γνήσιον κάλλος οὐδὲν οἰκείον ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐπιφέρεται, περιῆπται δὲ δίκτυα καὶ πάγας ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ θήρα, νόθην καὶ κίβδηλὸν εὐμορφίαν, ἃ προἰδόμενος, ἦν εὖ φρονήσης, ἀτελῆ τὴν ἄγραν αὐτῇ παρασκευάσεις· ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν γὰρ φανείσα ἠδύνει, ὦτα δὲ φθεγξαμένα λιγαίνει, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸ πλείστων ἄξιον κτῆμα καὶ διὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μερῶν πέφυκε λυμαίνεσθαι.

τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ἃ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἀκούσαντί σοι  
 [II. 268] | προσηγῆ γενήσεσθαι διεξῆλθε, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα μὴ ῥαστώνην εἶχεν ἀμύθητα ὄντα ἐβελοκακοῦσα ἐπεκρύψατο, οἷς οὐκ ἂν τινα συναινέσειν εὐχερῶς  
 30 προσεδόκησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαμφιάσασα ἀναδείξω καὶ οὐ μιμήσομαι τρόπους ἡδονῆς, ὡς ὅσα μὲν ἐπαγωγὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνα ἐπιδείξασθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα δυσκολίαν συσκιάσαι καὶ περιστεῖλαι, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον τὰ μὲν τέρψιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καὶ χαρὰν ἐνδιδόντα ἡσυχάσω, εἰδυῖα ὅτι φωνὴν ῥήξει τὴν δι' ἔργων, τὰ δ' ἐπαχθῆ καὶ δυσυπομόνητα κυρίως ἐρμηνεύσω τοῖς ὀνόμασι γυμνοῖς κὰν μέσῳ τιθεῖσα αὐτά, ὡς ἔκδηλον τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀμυδρῶς ὀρώσι προφαίνεσθαι· τῶν γὰρ ἡδονῆς μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ μέγιστα δοκοῦντα εἶναι κακὰ καλλίω καὶ τιμιώτερα τοῖς  
 31 χρωμένοις ἐξελεγχθήσεται. πρὶν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἄρξασθαι, ὅσα ἂν ἐνδέχεται τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνης ἡσυχασθέντων ὑπομνήσω· εἰποῦσα γὰρ περὶ ὧν ἐθησαυρίσατο χρωμάτων φωνῶν ἀτμῶν χυλῶν ποιότητων δυνάμεων τῶν κατὰ ἀφήν καὶ



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 29-31

nothing—nothing that comes from herself and is indeed her own. But she has habited herself with a false and spurious comeliness, which is mere nets and snares to take you as her prey, and these, if you are wise, you will see in time and thus make her hunting of none effect. The sight of her is sweetness to your eyes, her voice like music ringing in your ears, but to the soul, the most precious of possessions, her nature is to work mischief through these and all other avenues.

Of what she has to give, she set before you in full such things as were bound to be pleasant hearing, but the innumerable others which do not make for ease and comfort, in malice prepense she hid from you, expecting that none would accept them lightly. But these too I will strip bare and set before you, and will not follow Pleasure's way, to lay before you only what in me is attractive, and slur over and conceal what involves discomfort. Rather all such things as of themselves offer joy and delight I will pass in silence, for I know that they will speak for themselves in the language of facts, but all that spells pain and hardship I will set out in plain terms, without figure of speech, and show them openly, so that the nature of each may be clearly visible, even to those who see but dimly. For what of mine seems most to partake of ill shall be found by those who make trial thereof to be more beautiful and precious than the greatest goods which Pleasure has to give.

But before I begin to speak of me and mine, I will bring to your mind as much as I can of what she left unsaid. For she told you of her treasured stores, of colours, sounds, scents, flavours, and all varieties, of the faculties born of touch and

PHILO

πασαν αἰσθησιν καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἐφηδύνασα  
 προσαγωγῷ τὰς ἄλλας νόσους καὶ κῆρας ἑαυτῆς  
 οὐκ ἐμήνυσεν, αἷς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖνα αἰρούμενος  
 χρήσῃ, ἵνα αὖρα τινὸς ὠφελείας ἐπαρθεῖς ἐντὸς  
 32 ἀρικύων ληφθῆς. ἴσθι οὖν, ὦ οὔτος, ὅτι γενόμενος  
 φιλήδονος πάντ' ἔσει ταῦτα·

πανούργος	ἄπολις	ἀλαζῶν
θρασύς	στασιώδης	δοκησίσοφος
ἀνάρμοστος	ἄτακτος	αὐθάδης
ἄμικτος	ἀσεβῆς	βάνασος
δύσχρηστος	ἀνίερος	βάσκανος
ἔκθεσμος	ἀνίδρυτος	φιλεγκλήμων
ἀργαλέος	ἄστατος	δύσερις
ἀκρόχολος	ἀνοργίαστος	διάβολος
ἀνεπίσχετος	βέβηλος	χαῦνος
φορτικὸς	ἐναγῆς	ἀπατεῶν
	βωμολόχος	ἀγύρτης
ἀνουθέτητος	ἀλάστωρ	εἰκαῖος
εὐχερῆς	παλαμναῖος	ἀμαθῆς
κακότεχνος	ἀνελεύθερος	ἀναίσθητος
ἀδιάγωγος	ἀπότομος	ἀσύμφωνος
ἄδικος	θηριώδης	[ἄπιστος]
ἄνισος	ἀνδραποδώδης	ἀπειθῆς
ἀκοινώνητος	δειλὸς	ἀφηνιαστής
ἀσύμβατος	ἀκόλαστος	γόης
ἄσπονδος	ἄκοσμος	εἴρων
πλεονέκτης	αἰσχροουργὸς	κέρκωψ
κακονομώτατος	αἰσχροπαθῆς	δυσυπονόητος
	ἄχρώματος	δυσώνυμος
[II. 269] ἀφίλος	ἄμετρος	δυσεύρετος
ἄοικος	ἄπληστος	δυσέφικτος

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 31-32

all forms of sense, and she heightened this sweetness with the seductiveness of her discourse. But there are other things which are part and parcel of her, the maladies and plagues which you must needs experience if you choose her gifts, and these she did not tell you, that carried off your feet by windy thoughts of some gain or other you might be caught in her net. Know then, my friend, that if you become a pleasure-lover you will be all these things :

unscrupulous	without city	braggart
impudent	seditions	conceited
cross-tempered	disorderly	stubborn
unsociable	impious	mean
intractable	unholy	envious
lawless	wavering	ensorious
troublesome	unstable	quarrelsome
passionate	excommunicate	slanderous
headstrong	profane	vainglorious
coarse	accursed	deceitful
impatient of re- buke	a buffoon	cheating
reckless	unblest	aimless
evil-planning	murder-stained	ignorant
ill to live with	low-minded	stupid
unjust	rude	dissident
inequitable	beast-like	[faithless]
unfriendly	slavish	disobedient
irreconcilable	cowardly	unruly
implacable	incontinent	a swindler
covetous	unseemly	dissembling
amenable to no law	shame-working	mischievous
without friend	shame-enduring	mistrustful
without home	unblushing	ill-reputed
	immoderate	skulking
	insatiable	unapproachable

PHILO

ἐξώλης	διχόνους	ὑποπτος
κακόνους	δίγλωσσος	ἄπιστος
ἄσύμμετρος	ἐπίβουλος	δύσλυτος
ἀκαιρολόγος	ἐνεδρευτικός	καχυπόνους
μακρήγορος	ῥαδιουργός	δύσελπις
ἄδολέσχης	ἄδιόρθωτος	ἀρίδακρυς
ἀερόμυθος	ἐνδεής	ἐπιχαιρέκακος
κόλαξ	ἄει ἀβέβαιος	λελυττηκῶς
νωθής	ἄλητης	παρακεκομμένος
ἀπερίσκεπτος	ἐπτοημένος	ἀδιατύπτως
ἀπροόρατος	φορᾶ χρώμενος	κακομήχανος
ἀπρονόητος		αισχροκερδής
ὀλίγωρος	εὐεπιχείρητος	φίλαντος
ἀπαράσκευος	ἐπιμανής	ἐθελόδουλος
ἀπειρόκαλος	ἀψίκωρος	ἐθέλεχθρος
πλημμελής	φιλόζωος	δημοκόπος
σφαλλόμενος	δοξοκόπος	
διαπίπτων	βαρύμηνις	κακοικονόμος
ἀδιοίκητος	βαρύσπλαγχνος	σκληραύχην
ἀπροστασίαστος	βαρύθυμος	θηλυδρίας
λίχνος	βαρυπενθής	ἐξίτηλος
ἀγόμενος	δυσόργητος	ἐκκεχυμένος
διαρρέων	ψοφοδεής	σκωπτικός
εὐένδοτος	ὑπερθετικός	τρῶκτης
δολιώτατος	μελλητής	ἠλίθιος
	βαρυδαιμονίας ἐμπεφορημένος ἀκράτου.	

33 “Τοιαῦτα τῆς περικαλλοῦς καὶ περιμαχίτου ἡδονῆς ἐστι τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια· ἅπερ ἔκουσα ἀπεκρύψατο δέει τοῦ μὴ γνόντα σε ἀποστραφῆναι τὴν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σύνοδον αὐτῆς. τῶν δὲ παρ’ ἐμοὶ θησαυριζομένων ἀγαθῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἢ μέγεθος

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 32-33

abandoned	double-minded	suspicious
evil-minded	double-tongued	faithless
inconsistent	plot-hatching	stubborn
prating	treacherous	evil-thinking
garrulous	rascally	a pessimist
a babbler	incorrigible	lacrimose
windy-worded	dependent	malicious
a flatterer	ever insecure	maniacal
dull-minded	vagrant	deranged
unconsidering	agitated	unformed
unforeseeing	a creature of im-	mischief-plotting
improvident	pulse	filthy-lucre-loving
negligent	an easy victim	selfish
unpreparing	frenzied	servile
tasteless	fickle	feud-loving
erring	clinging to life	truckling to the
tripping	a glory-hunter	mob
utterly failing	violent-tempered	ill-managing
unregulated	ill-conditioned	stiff-necked
unchampioned	sullen	womanish
lickerish	disconsolate	decadent
easily led	quick to wrath	dissolute
flaccid	timorous	a scoffer
pliable	dilatory	a glutton
full of cunning	dawdling	a simpleton
a mass of misery and misfortune without relief.		

“Such then is the true story of that grand pageant which Pleasure, the lovely, the much coveted reveals. This truth she purposely concealed for fear lest, if you knew it, you should eschew association with her. But the riches of goodness that I have stored in my

[167] τίς ἂν ἀξίως εἰπεῖν δυνηθεῖη; | ἴσασιν οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες ἤδη καὶ οἷς ἰλεως ἢ φύσις πάλιν γινώσκονται κληθέντες εἰς μετουσίαν θοίνης, οὐκ ἐξ ἧς αἱ γαστροὶ ἠδοναὶ πιμπλαμένης τὸ σῶμα παιίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς διάνοια ἐντρεφομένη καὶ ἐγχορεύουσα  
34 ἀρεταῖς γήθει τε καὶ εὐφραίνεται. VI.

διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πάλαι λεχθέν, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν φωνὴν ἀφιέναι, καὶ ἡσυχάζηται, τὰ  
[168] ὅσα ἄτε<sup>1</sup> ὄντως ἀγαθὰ, τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν | λόγον ἐῷ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἥλιος ἢ σελήνη χηρῆζουσιν ἐρμηνέως, ὅτι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ὁ μὲν ἡμέρας, ἡ δὲ νυκτὸς ἀνασχόντες, φωτὸς ἐμπιπλάσιν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπιλαμψις ἀμάρτυρος πίστις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὥτων ἐναργεστέρῳ κριτηρίῳ βεβαιουμένη.

35 τὸ δὲ δοκοῦν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ μάλιστα δυσκολίαν ἔχει καὶ χαλεπότητα οὐδὲν ὑποστειλαμένη μετὰ παρρησίας λέξω· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό που φαντασία μὲν κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἐντευξίν ἀργαλέον εἶναι δοκεῖ, μελέτη δὲ ἡδιστον καὶ ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ συμφέρον. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ῥαστώνης ἐχθρὸς πόνος, πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, προσφερόμενος τὸν ἀκήρυκτον πρὸς ἠδονὴν πόλεμον· ἀρχὴν γάρ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθὲς εἰπεῖν, παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης ὁ θεὸς ἀνέδειξεν ἀνθρώποις πόνον, οὗ χωρὶς τῶν καλῶν παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει συνιστάμενον οὐδὲν εὐρήσεις.

36 καθάπερ γὰρ ἄνευ φωτὸς ἀμήχανον ἰδεῖν, μήτε χρωμάτων μήτε ὀμμάτων ἱκανῶν ὄντων πρὸς τὴν δι' ὄψεως ἀντίληψιν—δεσμὸν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν προ-

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Wendland τὰ ὅσα παρ' ἐμοὶ.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 33-36

treasuries are such in number and greatness that none can tell of them as is their due. They who have already had part in them know them, and they too whose nature is attuned to them shall in their time know them, when they are bidden to sit down at that banquet, where you shall not find the pleasures that only bring the crammed belly and the bloated body, but where the mind ranging amid the virtues and nourished therewith rejoices and is glad.

VI. For this cause and because, as I said before, things holy in virtue of their essential goodness cannot but through their very nature have speech for us, though we pass them by in silence, I say no more about them. For neither do sun and moon need an interpreter, because their rising by day or night fills the whole world with light. Their shining is a proof that needs no further witness, established by the evidence of the eyes, an evidence clearer than the ears can give.

But in my store there is one thing<sup>a</sup> which seems especially to involve hardship and discomfort, and this I will tell you frankly without concealment; for though at the first encounter it seems on the surface painful to the imagination, practice makes it sweet and reflection shows it to be profitable. This thing is toil, the first and greatest of blessings, the enemy of ease, waging war to the death against pleasure. For in very truth, God has appointed toil as the beginning of all goodness and true worth to men, and without it you shall find that nothing excellent takes shape amongst mortal men. Toil is like light. Without light we cannot see, and neither the eye nor the colour is capable without the other of creating sight-perception; for before either, Nature created light

ὑπειργάσατο τὸ φῶς ἢ φύσις, ᾧ συνάγεται καὶ ἀρμόζεται πρὸς χρῶμα ὀφθαλμός, ἐπὶ σκότους δὲ ἢ δύναμις ἀνωφελῆς ἑκατέρου—, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι ἀδυνατεῖ μὴ προσχρησάμενον ὡσπερ φωτὶ συνεργῶ τῷ πόνῳ· μέσος γὰρ διανοίας ἰδρυθεὶς καὶ οὐδ' ἀνοία ὀρέγεται καλοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν τῆν δὲ ἔνθεν ἐπισπασάμενος ἑκατέρᾳ χειρὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν αὐτὸς ἀγαθὰ τέλεια ἐργάζεται.

37 VII. ὁποῖον γὰρ ἂν ἐθέλης ἐλοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦθ' εὐρήσεις πόνῳ περιγινόμενόν τε καὶ βεβαιούμενον· εὐσέβεια καὶ ὁσιότης ἀγαθὰ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνευ θεραπείας θεοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτῶν δυνάμεθα, θεραπεία δὲ ταῖς ἐν πόνοις φιλοτιμίαις συνέζευκται· φρόνησις καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καλαὶ πᾶσαι καὶ τέλεια ἀγαθὰ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ ῥαστώνῃ ταῦτα ληπτὰ, ἀγαπητὸν δέ, εἰ συνεχέσι ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐξευμενισθήσονται<sup>1</sup>. τὴν πρὸς θεὸν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀρέσκειαν ὡσπερ τινὰ ἔντονον καὶ σφοδρὰν ἀρμονίαν οὐ δυνηθὲν τὸ πάσης ψυχῆς ὄργανον ἐνεγκεῖν ἀνείθη καὶ ἐχαλάσθη πολλάκις, ὡς ἀπὸ  
38 τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰς μέσας καταβῆναι τέχνας· ἀλλ' ὅμως κἂν ταῖς μέσαις πολὺς ὁ κάματος· ἴδε τοὺς τῶν ἐγκυκλίων καὶ τῶν λεγομένων προπαιδευμάτων ἀσκητὰς ἅπαντας· ἴδε τοὺς γεωπόνους καὶ ὅσοι τὸν βίον ἐκ τινων ἐπιτηδεύσεων πορίζουσιν· οὗτοι τῶν φροντίδων οὐ μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐ νύκτωρ ἀφίστανται, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ  
[169] τοῦτο χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ | πάσῃ δυνάμει κακοπαθοῦντες οὐ παύονται, ὡς καὶ θάνατον ἀντικα-  
39 ἀλλάττεσθαι πολλάκις. VIII. ἀλλ' ὡσπερ

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Mangey ἐξευμαρισθήσονται.



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 36-39

to be a link between the two, a link which unites and connects the colour and the eye, while in the darkness each is powerless. And so the eye of the soul cannot grasp the practices of virtue, unless it take toil, like light, to co-operate with it. Toil stands midway between the mind and the excellence which the mind desires : with its right hand it draws to it the one, with its left the other, and of itself it creates that perfection of goodness, friendship and harmony between the two.

VII. Choose any good thing whatsoever, and you will find that it results from and is established through toil. Piety and holiness are good, but we cannot attain to them save through the service of God, and service calls for earnest toil as its yoke-fellow. Prudence, courage, justice, all these are noble and excellent and perfectly good, yet we cannot acquire them by self-indulgent ease. It is much indeed if by constant care and practice there arise a kindliness between us and them. Service pleasing to God and to virtue is like an intense and severe harmony,<sup>a</sup> and in no soul is there an instrument capable of sustaining it, without such frequent relaxation and unstringing of the chords that it descends from the higher forms of art<sup>a</sup> to the lower. Yet even these lower forms demand much toil. Consider all who practise the school-learning, the so-called preparatory culture. Consider the labourers on the soil and all who get their living by some trade or profession. Neither by day nor night do they cast their cares aside, but always and everywhere they cease not to bear affliction, as the saying goes, in hand and foot and every faculty, so that often they choose death in its stead.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

τοῖς ψυχὴν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἔλεων σπουδάζουσι λαβεῖν  
 θεραπευτέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰς ψυχῆς ἀρετάς, οὕτως  
 καὶ τοῖς ἔλεων τὸ σῶμα ἔχειν προαιρουμένοις  
 θεραπευτέον ὑγίειαν καὶ τὰς συγγενεῖς αὐτῇ  
 δυνάμεις, καὶ δῆτα θεραπεύουσι μετ' ἀνηνύτων καὶ  
 ἀπαύστων πόνων οἷς φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται τῶν ἐν  
 αὐτοῖς δυνάμεων, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθησαν.

- 40 “ Πάντ' οὖν ὄρας τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκ πόνου καθάπερ ἐκ  
 ῥίζης μιᾶς ἐκπεφυκότεα καὶ βλαστάνοντα· ὃν  
 μήποτε ὑπομείνης μεθέσθαι, λήση γὰρ ἅμ' αὐτῷ  
 καὶ σωρὸν ἀθρόον<sup>1</sup> ἀγαθῶν μεθέμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡγεμῶν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου  
 καὶ ἔχει καὶ παρέχει οἷς ἂν ἐθέλη τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ  
 πάσης εὐμαρείας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον κόσμον  
 ἄνευ πόνων πάλαι μὲν εἰργάζετο, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ  
 εἰσαεὶ συνέχων οὐδέποτε λήγει—θεῶ γὰρ τὸ  
 ἀκάματον ἀρμοδιώτατον—, θνητῶ δὲ οὐδενὶ κτήσιν  
 ἀγαθοῦ δίχα πόνων ἢ φύσις δεδωρήται, ἵνα καὶ  
 ταύτῃ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι μόνον ὁ θεὸς  
 41 εὐδαιμονίζηται. IX. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι

πόνος τὴν αὐτὴν προσφέρεισθαι δύναμιν τροφῆ·  
 καθάπερ γοῦν αὕτη τὸ ζῆν ἐξήρτηκεν ἑαυτῆς  
 συναρτήσασα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἅπαντα ἔργα τε  
 καὶ πάθη, οὕτως καὶ πόνος ἐκκεκρέμακεν ἑαυτοῦ  
 τὰ ἀγαθὰ. ὥσπερ οὖν τοῦ ζῆν τοῖς γλιχομένοις  
 τροφῆς οὐκ ἀμελητέον, οὕτως τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 κτήσεως ἐφιεμένοις πόνου προνοητέον· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς  
 τὸ ζῆν τροφή, τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ καλὸν πόνος.

- “ Ἐνὸς οὖν ὄντος αὐτοῦ μηδέποτε ὀλιγωρήσης,  
 42 ἵνα τὰ πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἀθρόα καρπώση. οὕτως καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἀθρόων with Pap.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 34. 1 “generosos animos labor nutrit.”

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 39-42

VIII. But just as those who desire to have their soul attuned and favourable must needs cultivate the virtues of the soul, so those who purpose to gain the same qualities for their body must cultivate health and the powers that accompany health ; and indeed all who take thought for the faculties within them, which combine to make them what they are, do so cultivate them with constant and unremitting toil.

“ You see then how good things spring and grow from toil as from a single root. Never therefore suffer yourself to lose your hold of toil, for with it will be lost, though you little know it, a vast heap of blessings. The Ruler indeed of all heaven and the world possesses and provides to whom He wills good things in ease absolute. Without toil He made this vast universe long ages ago, and now without toil He holds it in perpetual existence, for to know no weariness is an attribute most fitting to God. But it is not so with mortals. To them Nature has given no good thing to be acquired without toil, that here too God may alone be accounted happy—the one and only blessed being.

IX. Toil, it seems to me, assumes a function similar to that of food.<sup>a</sup> As food has made itself a necessity to life and has joined in the same connexion with itself all the conditions active or passive that are involved in life, so toil has made all good things dependent on itself. And therefore just as those who seek to live must not neglect food, so those who desire the acquisition of the good must make provision for toil, for it bears to the noble and excellent the same relation as food does to life.

“ Never then despise toil, that from the one you may reap a multitude, even the harvest of every

γενέσει νεώτερος ὢν πρεσβύτερος νομισθήσῃ καὶ τῶν πρεσβείων ἀξιωθήσῃ· ἔαν δὲ βελτιούμενος αἰεὶ πρὸς τέλος ἀφίκη, οὐ μόνον σοι τὰ πρεσβεῖα ὁ πατήρ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πατρῶα χαριεῖται πάντα, καθάπερ καὶ τῷ τὰς ἔδρας τοῦ πάθους καὶ βάσεις πτερινίζοντι Ἰακώβ, ὃς ὠμολόγησεν ὃ ἔπαθεν εἰπὼν ὅτι ἠλέησέ με ὁ θεός, καὶ ἔστι μοι πάντα' (Gen. xxxiii. 11), δογματικῶς ἅμα καὶ παιδευτικῶς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλέω τὰ πάντα ὀρμεῖ.

- 43 X. μεμάθηκε δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας<sup>1</sup> Ἀβραάμ, ὃς τῷ πανσόφῳ Ἰσαὰκ δίδωσι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα (Gen. xxv. 5), οὐδὲν ὑπολειπόμενος τῶν ὑπαρκτῶν τοῖς νόθοις καὶ πλαγίοις τῶν παλλακῶν λογισμοῖς, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ χαρίζεται καὶ μικροῖς ἐκείνοις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπαρκτά, αἱ τέλειοι ἀρεταί, μόνου τοῦ τελείου καὶ γνησίου κτήματα, τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν καθηκόντων  
 170] ἐφαρμόττει καὶ τοῖς | ἀτελέσι μέχρι τῶν ἐγκυκλίων προπαιδευμάτων ἐλθοῦσιν, ὧν Ἄγαρ καὶ Χεττοῦρα κατάρχουσιν, ἡ μὲν Ἄγαρ παροίκησις, ἡ δὲ  
 14 Χεττοῦρα θυμιῶσα· ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μόνοις ἐπανεχῶν παροικεῖ σοφία, οὐ κατοικεῖ, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀδμὴν ἠδεῖαν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν θεωρίαν γλαφυρότητος ἐπιπέμπων τῇ ψυχῇ· τροφῶν δὲ οὗτος, οὐκ ὀσμῶν, δεῖται πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν· ὄσφρησις δὲ ὑπηρέτιν γεύσεως καθάπερ βασιλίδος προγευστρίδα ὑπήκοον λέγεται ἢ φύσις εὐμηχάνως δημιουργῆσαι·

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Mangey παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ ἑαυτοῦ παιδευθεῖς: Cohn πάππῳ <καὶ διδασκάλῳ> τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας.

\* If the text is right, the idea may be that the father is the father of his children's education, and his father of  
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## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 42-44

good thing. And so though you be the younger in birth you shall be accounted the elder and judged worthy of the elder's place. And if your life to the end be a progress to the better, the Father will give you not only the birthright of the elder, but the whole inheritance, even as He did to Jacob, who overthrew the seat and foundation of passion—Jacob who confessed his life's story in the words 'God has had mercy on me and all things are mine' (Gen. xxxiii. 11), words of sound doctrine and instruction for life, for on God's mercy, as a sure anchor, all things rest.

X. He had learnt this lesson under Abraham, who stood as grandfather to his early training,<sup>a</sup> who gave to wise Isaac all his wealth (Gen. xxv. 5), leaving nothing for the false bastard thoughts bred of his concubines, save little gifts for those of little worth. For the real wealth, the perfect virtues, are the possessions of the perfect and true-born only. But the secondary things of the daily duties are fitting to the imperfect, who have risen only to the primary learning of the schools. These have Hagar and Keturah for their source, Hagar meaning 'sojourning,'<sup>b</sup> and Keturah 'incense-burning.' For he who contents himself with the secular learning only does but sojourn and is not domiciled with wisdom. He sheds indeed over the soul, as it were, a sweet fragrance from the exquisite niceties of his studies, but yet it is food, not fragrance, that he needs for his health. The sense of smell is but the minister of the sense of taste; she is as the slave who tastes each dish before the monarch; we call her indeed a useful

his, and that therefore the grandfather's influence extends to his grandson.

<sup>b</sup> See on *L.A.* iii. 244.

τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίδας πρὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀεὶ θεραπευτέον καὶ τὰς αὐτόχθονας πρὸ τῶν παροίκων ἐπιστήμας.”

- 45 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ νοῦς ἀποστρέφεται μὲν ἡδονήν, ἀρμόζεται δὲ ἀρετῇ, τὸ κάλλος ἄπλαστον καὶ γνήσιον καὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατον αὐτῆς κατανοήσας. τότε καὶ γίνεται ποιμὴν προβάτων, τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀλόγων δυνάμεων ἡνίοχός τε καὶ κυβερνήτης, οὐκ ἔων αὐτὰς ἀτάκτως φέρεσθαι καὶ πλημμελῶς δίχα ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μὴ καθάπερ τινὰ ἀπροστασίαστον καὶ ἀνεπιτρόπευτον ὄρφανίαν ὑποστάντες ἐρημίᾳ συμμάχων οἱ ἀφηνιασταὶ τρόποι παραπόλωνται. XI.

- 46 οἰκειότατον γοῦν ὁ ἀσκητῆς ὑπολαβὼν ἀρετῇ τὸ ἔργον ὑπομένει “ ποιμαίνειν τὰ πρόβατα Λάβαν ” (Gen. xxx. 36), τοῦ χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ συνόλως ἀψύχοις σώμασι ἐγκειμένου, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαντα ἀλλὰ “ τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα ” (ib.). τί δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ; διττὸν εἶναι πέφυκε τὸ ἄλογον, τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὸν αἰροῦντα λόγον, ὡς ἄλογον τὸν ἄφρονά φασί τινες, τὸ δὲ κατ’ ἐκτομὴν λόγου, ὡς τῶν ζώων τὰ
- 47 μὴ λογικά. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀλόγους αὐτοῦ φοράς, λέγω δὲ τὰς παρὰ τὸν αἰροῦντα λόγον δυνάμεις, οἱ υἱοὶ Λάβαν “ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀποστάντες ὁδὸν ” (ib.) τημελοῦσι, συμβολικῶς ἅπαντα χωρισθέντες τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ σπουδαίου· τριμερῆς γὰρ ὁ χρόνος, ἐκ παρεληλυθότος καὶ ἐνεστώτος καὶ μέλλοντος συνεστώσ· τὰς δὲ καθ’ ἑτέραν ἐκδοχὴν ἀλόγους,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 44-47

contrivance of nature, yet only an underling. And the sovereign forms of knowledge must ever be served above the subject, and the native-born above the alien sojourner."

After hearing this <sup>a</sup> the mind turns away from pleasure and cleaves to virtue, for it apprehends her loveliness, so pure, so simple, so holy to look upon. Then too it becomes a shepherd of the sheep, one who guides the chariot and controls the helm of the unreasoning faculties of the soul, who does not suffer them to be swept away in disorder and discord, without a master or a guide, lest their unbridled instincts come to perdition, when they lack the protection and control of a father's hand, and help is far away.

XI. Surely when the Practiser submitted to "shepherd the sheep of Laban" (Gen. xxx. 36), of him, that is, whose thoughts are fixed on colours and shapes and lifeless bodies of every kind, he felt that it was a task most congenial to virtue. And note that he does not tend all the sheep, "but those that were left" (*ibid.*). What does this mean? Unreasonableness is of two kinds. One is the unreasonableness that defies convincing reason, as when men call the foolish man unreasonable. The other is the state from which reason is eliminated, as with the unreasoning animals. The first of these, the unreasoning movements of the mind, I mean the activities which defy convincing reason, are the charge of the sons of Laban, who were "three days' journey away" (*ibid.*), a parable which tells us that they were severed for all time from a good life; for time has three divisions, compounded as it is of past, present and future. But the forces which are unreasonable in the other

οὐχ αἶ παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον εἰσὶν ἀλλ' ὅσαι μὴ λογικαί, ὧν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα κοινωνεῖ, ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀξιῶσει, τὰ σφάλματα αὐταῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ κακίας πανούργου μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας ἀν-  
 48 αγωγῆς προσγεγενῆσθαι νομίζων. ἀμαθία μὲν οὖν, ἀκούσιον καὶ κοῦφον πάθος, θεραπείαν οὐ δύσεργον ἔχει διδασκαλίαν· πανουργία δέ, ἐκούσιον ψυχῆς ἀρρώστημα, χαλεπὴν εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντως ἀνίατον ἐργάζεται τὴν ἀποτροπὴν.

[171] Ἄτε οὖν παρὰ πανσόφῳ | πατρὶ παιδευθέντες οἱ τοῦδε νιεῖς, κἂν εἰς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον φιλοπαθὲς σῶμα καταβῶσι καὶ τῷ σκεδαστῇ τῶν καλῶν ἐντύχωσι Φαραῶ, ὃς βασιλεὺς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦ συγκρίτου ζώου, μηδὲν καταπλαγέστες τῆς ἀφθόγου παρασκευῆς ὁμολογήσουσιν ὅτι "ποιμένες προβάτων εἰσὶν, οὐ μόνον αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν"

49 (Gen. xlvii. 3). XII. καίτοι γε οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπ' ἀρχῇ καὶ δυναστείᾳ τοσοῦτον αὔχημά ποτε αὐχῆσαι, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμένες εἶναι οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι. τοῖς μέντοι δυναμένοις λογίζεσθαι σεμνότερον βασιλείας ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἰσχυῖσαι, καθάπερ πόλεως ἢ χώρας, σώματός τε καὶ αἰσθήσεων καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδονῶν καὶ παθῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ γλώττης καὶ συνόλως ἅπαντος τοῦ συγκρίματος εὐτόνως καὶ σφόδρα ἐρρωμένως καὶ πάλιν ἐπιεικῶς ἀφηγήσασθαι· πῆ μὲν γὰρ ἐπανιέναι δεῖ καθάπερ ἡνίοχον τοῖς ὑπεξευγμένοις τὰς ἡνίας, πῆ δὲ ἀντισπᾶν καὶ ἀναχαιτίσειν, ὅποτε πλείων ἢ πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ῥύμη<sup>1</sup> καὶ φορὰ σὺν ἀφημισμῶ γίνουτο.

50 Ἄγαμαι καὶ τοῦ θεσμοφύλακος Μωνσέως, ὃς

<sup>1</sup> mss. ῥώμη (some ὀρμη).



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 47-50

sense, not those which defy right reason, but merely lack reason (and in these the unreasoning animals participate), the Man of Practice will not disdain to tend. He feels that error has befallen them not so much through sinful wickedness, as through untutored ignorance. Ignorance is an involuntary state, a light matter, and its treatment through teaching is not hopeless. But wickedness is a wilful malady of the soul, and its action is such that to remove it is hard, if indeed it is not hopeless.

Thus Jacob's sons, trained under an all-wise father, may go down into Egypt the passion-loving body, and meet with Pharaoh the disperser of the good, who deems himself the sovereign of the animal and the composite; yet they will not be dazzled by his lavish pomp and splendour, but will confess that they are shepherds of sheep, and not only they, but their fathers also (Gen. xlvii. 3). XII.-And indeed no one could in power and sovereignty find so lofty a cause for boasting as these can in their office as shepherds. Surely to those who can reason it is a prouder task than kingship to have the strength to rule, as a king in a city or country, over the body and the senses and the belly, and the pleasures whose seat is below the belly, and the other passions and the tongue and in general all our compound being—aye and to rule them with vigour and with a right strong yet ever-gentle hand. For like the charioteer he must sometimes give the rein to his team, sometimes pull them in and draw them back, when they rush too wildly in unreined career towards the world of external things.

How admirable again is the example of Moses

μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ ποιμαίνειν περι-  
 ἤψεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἔργον· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ περιττοῦ Ἰσθὸρ  
 ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ ἀφηγεῖται δογμάτων, ἄγων αὐτὰ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχλικῶν τῆς πολιτείας σπουδασμάτων  
 εἰς ἔρημίαν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν· “ ἦγε γὰρ τὰ πρόβατα  
 51 ὑπὸ τὴν ἔρημον ” (Exod. iii. 1). παρὸ καὶ  
 ἀκολουθεῖ “ βδέλυγμα Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι πάντα  
 προβάτων ποιμένα ” (Gen. xlii. 34)· τὸν γὰρ  
 κυβερνήτην καὶ ὑφηγητὴν τῶν καλῶν ὀρθὸν λόγον  
 βδελύττεται πᾶς φιλοπαθής, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν παίδων  
 ἀφρονέστατοι τοὺς διδασκάλους καὶ παιδαγωγούς  
 καὶ πάντα νουθετητὴν καὶ σωφρονιστὴν λόγον.  
 Μωυσῆς δὲ “ τὰ βδελύγματα Αἰγύπτου θύσειν τῷ  
 θεῷ ” (Exod. viii. 26) φησί, τὰς ἀρετάς, ἄμωμα  
 καὶ πρεπωδέστατα ἱερεῖα, ἃ βδελύττεται πᾶς  
 ἄφρων.

“ Ὡστ’ εἰκότως ὁ τὰ ἄριστα ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀναφέρων  
 Ἄβελ ποιμὴν κέκληται, ὁ δὲ ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν  
 ἴδιον νοῦν γῆς ἐργάτης ὁ Κάιν. τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ  
 γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι (Gen. iv. 2), διὰ τῶν προτέρων  
 βιβλίων ἐδηλώσαμεν.

52 XIII. “ Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ’ ἡμέρας, ἤνεγκε Κάιν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ ”  
 (Gen. iv. 3). δύο ἐγκλήματα τοῦ φιλαύτου· ἐν  
 μὲν τὸ “ μεθ’ ἡμέρας ” ἀλλ’ οὐκ εὐθύς εὐχαρι-  
 στήσαι θεῷ, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ “ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν ”  
 [172] ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων | καρπῶν, ὧν σύνθετον  
 ὄνομα πρωτογεννήματα. ἑκατέραν δὲ τῶν αἰτιῶν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

<sup>b</sup> The LXX. has τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Note that this verse does not assist the argument, which shows the nature of the shepherd's calling, but is introduced and explained merely because of its close resemblance to Gen. xlii. 34.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 50-52

the guardian of the laws, who, judging the business of a shepherd to be a great and glorious task, took it upon himself. For we find him ruling and leading the thoughts and counsels of the worldling <sup>a</sup> Jethro and drawing them away from the absorbing crowd and tumult of the citizen's life into the lonely land where injustice is not; for he "led his sheep down into the wilderness" (Exod. iii. 1). It is a natural consequence of what we have said, that "every shepherd of sheep is an abomination to the Egyptians" (Gen. xlvi. 34). For the right reason which is our pilot and guide to things excellent is an abomination to all who love the passions, just as really foolish children hate their teachers and tutors and every form of reason which would warn them and bring them to wisdom. And we find Moses saying that "he will sacrifice to God the abominations of Egypt" (Exod. viii. 26),<sup>b</sup> meaning thereby the virtues, these offerings unblemished and most worthy, which are the abominations of every fool.

With good reason then is Abel who refers all that is best to God called a shepherd, while Cain who refers them to himself and his own mind is called a tiller of the soil. But what is meant by a tiller of the soil (Gen. iv. 2) I have shown in earlier books.<sup>c</sup>

XIII. "And it came to pass after some days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth as an offering to God" (Gen. iv. 3). There are two charges against the self-lover: one that he made his thank-offering to God "after some days," instead of at once; the other that he offered of the fruits and not of the earliest fruits, or in a single word the first-fruits. Let us

<sup>c</sup> See App. pp. 490, 491.

- ἔρευνησωμεν, καὶ προτέραν γε τὴν προτέραν τῆ  
 53 τάξει. φθάνοντας καὶ προεκτρέχοντας δεῖ πράττειν  
 τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων βραδυτῆτα καὶ μέλλησιν  
 ἐκποδῶν ποιουμένους· ἔργον δὲ ἄριστον ἢ πρὸς  
 τὸ πρῶτον καλὸν ἀνυπέρθετος ἀρέσκεια. διὸ καὶ  
 προστέτακται· “ἐὰν εὕξη εὐχὴν, μὴ χρονίσῃς<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀποδοῦναι αὐτήν” (Deut. xxiii. 21). εὐχὴ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐστὶν αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν παρὰ θεοῦ,<sup>2</sup> ἢ δὲ πρόσ-  
 ταξις τυχόντα τῶν ἐλπισθέντων στεφανῶσαι θεόν,  
 μὴ ἑαυτόν, καὶ εἰ οἶόν τε ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀμελλητῆ  
 54 στεφανῶσαι. τῶν δὲ μὴ κατορθούντων  
 ἐν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν διὰ λήθην ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασιν  
 μεγάλου κτήματος εὐχαριστίας ἐσφάλησαν, οἱ δὲ  
 ὑπὸ σφοδρᾶς οἰήσεως ἑαυτοὺς τῶν συμβεβηκότων  
 ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἐνόμισαν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸ ὄντως αἴτιον,  
 τρίτοι δ’ εἰσὶν οἱ τούτων μὲν κουφότερον ἀμάρτημα  
 τῶν δὲ προτέρων βαρύτερον δρῶσιν· ἀναγράφοντες  
 γὰρ αἴτιον τῶν καλῶν τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φασιν  
 εἰκότως τυχεῖν αὐτῶν, εἶναι γὰρ φρόνιμοι καὶ  
 ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ δίκαιοι, ὥστε ἄξιοι διὰ  
 ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ θεῷ χαρίτων νομισθῆναι.
- 55 XIV. πρὸς ἕκαστον οὖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἀντιταχθεὶς  
 φησὶ πρώτῳ τῷ μνήμην μὲν ἀνηρηκότι λήθην δὲ  
 ζωπυροῦντι· “μὴ φαγών, ὧ οὗτος, καὶ ἐμπλησθεὶς  
 καὶ οἰκίας καλᾶς οἰκοδομήσας καὶ κατοικήσας καὶ  
 τῶν προβάτων σου καὶ βοῶν ἀξυθέντων καὶ  
 ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ πάντων ὅσα σοὶ ἐστί

<sup>1</sup> mss. μὴ χρονίσαι (some οὐ χρονίσαις).

<sup>2</sup> After θεοῦ perhaps a lacuna is to be supplied from Ambrose who has “votum est autem postulatio bonorum a deo cum solvendi promissiono.”

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 52-55

examine each of the charges, taking first that which is first in order. Our good deeds should be done in the spirit of eagerness to anticipate the call, and with slackness and hesitation put right away; and the best of deeds is to do without delay the pleasure of the Primal Good. And therefore it is commanded "if thou vowest a vow, delay not to pay it" (Deut. xxiii. 21). Now the vow is a request of good things from God, and this commandment bids him, whose hopes have been fulfilled, to give the crown of honour to God and not to himself, and to give that crown, if it may be, without delay or loss of time.

Those who fail in this fall into three classes. The first are those who through forgetfulness of their blessings have lost that great treasure, the spirit of thankfulness. The second are those who through overweening pride think that they themselves have caused the good things which have fallen to them, and not He who is the true cause. But there is also a third class who are guilty of an error less blameworthy than these last, but more so than the first named. They accept the Ruling Mind as the cause of the good, yet they say that these good things are their natural inheritance. They claim that they are prudent, courageous, temperate, and just, and are therefore in the sight of God counted worthy of His favours.

XIV. To each of these the sacred pages have their counterword. To the first, with whom memory is dead and oblivion strong and living, the scripture says: "When thou hast eaten and art filled, and hast built fair houses and dwelt in them, and thy sheep and oxen are increased, and thy silver and gold and all that thou hast is multiplied, take heed lest thou

πληθυνθέντων ὑψωθῆς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάβῃ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου" (Deut. viii. 12-14). πότε οὖν οὐκ ἐπιλήσῃ θεοῦ; ὅταν μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ σεαυτοῦ· μεμνημένος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίου περι πάντα οὐδενείας μεμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περι πάντα ὑπερβολῆς.

56 τὸν δὲ ἑαυτὸν νομίζοντα τῶν συμβαινόντων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον σωφρονίζει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "μὴ εἴπῃς," φησὶν "ἡ ἰσχὺς μου ἢ τὸ κράτος τῆς χειρός μου ἐποίησέ μοι πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην· ἀλλὰ μνεία μνησθήσῃ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ δίδόντος σοι ἰσχὺν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν"

57 (Deut. viii. 17, 18). ὁ δὲ ἀξιόχρεων ἑαυτὸν ὑπολαμβάνων κτήσεως καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἀγαθῶν χρησιμῶ μεταδιδαχθήτω λέγοντι· "οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὀσιότητα τῆς καρδίας σου εἰσπορεύῃ τὴν γῆν κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ" πρῶτον μὲν "διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν τῶν ἔθνῶν τούτων," ὄλεθρον κακίαις ἐπάγοντος θεοῦ, ἔπειθ' "ἵνα στήσῃ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν" (Deut. ix. 5). διαθήκη δ' ἐστὶ

[173] θεοῦ συμβολικῶς | αἱ χάριτες αὐτοῦ, θέμις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀτελὲς αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, ὥσθ' ὀλόκληροι καὶ παντελεῖς αἱ τοῦ ἀγενήτου δωρεαὶ πᾶσαι· ὀλόκληρον δὲ ἐν τοῖς οὔσις ἀρετῇ καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεις.

58 Ἐὰν οὖν λήθῃν καὶ ἀχαριστίαν καὶ φιλαυτίαν καὶ τὴν γεννητικὴν τούτων κακίαν<sup>1</sup> ἀνέλωμεν οἴησιν, οὐκέτι διαμέλλοντες ὑστεριοῦμεν γνησίου θεραπείας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτροχάζοντες καὶ ὑπερπηδῶντες τὰ ἐν γενέσει, πρὶν ἀσπάσασθαι τι τῶν θνητῶν, ἐν-τευξόμεθα τῷ δεσπότῃ παρεσκευακότες ἐτοιμοὺς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suggests τούτων τῶν κακιῶν.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 55-58

be uplifted in thy heart and forget the Lord thy God" (Deut. viii. 12-14). When then wilt thou not forget God? Only when thou dost not forget thyself. For if thou rememberest thine own nothingness in all things, thou wilt also remember the transcendence of God in all things.

But him that believes himself to be the cause of the good things which befall him the scripture recalls to wisdom thus: "Say not 'my strength or the might of my hand hath gotten me all this power,'<sup>a</sup> but thou shalt keep ever in remembrance the Lord thy God who gave thee strength to get power" (Deut. viii. 17 f.).

The third, he, that is, who thinks himself worthy of the possession and enjoyment of good, may learn a better lesson from the oracle which says "Not for thy righteousness nor for the holiness of thy heart dost thou go into the land to inhabit it," but first "because of the iniquity of these nations," since God visited their wickedness with destruction, and next "that he might establish the covenant which he swore to our fathers" (Deut. ix. 5). Now the covenant of God is an allegory of His gifts of grace, and it may not be that any of His gifts should be imperfect. Thus, all the bounty of the Uncreated must be perfect and complete. But amongst all existing things the one that is complete is virtue and virtuous actions.<sup>b</sup>

If then we destroy forgetfulness and ingratitude and self-love and their parent vice, vainglory, we shall no longer through backwardness fall short of true service, but passing over things created, and staying not to embrace aught that is mortal, we shall run and leap to meet our Master, having made

<sup>a</sup> Or "wealth."

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 491.

59 κελευόμενα ποιεῖν ἑαυτούς. XV. καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τάχους καὶ προθυμίας πάσης ἔλθων παρακελεύεται τῇ ἀρετῇ Σάρρα σπεύσαι καὶ φυρᾶσαι τρία μέτρα σεμιδάλεως καὶ ποιῆσαι ἐγκρυφίας (Gen. xviii. 6), ἥνικα ὁ θεὸς δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ δυεῖν τῶν ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεων ἀρχῆς τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἀγαθότητος εἰς ὧν ὁ μέσος τριττὰς φαντασίας ἐνειργάζετο τῇ ὁρατικῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν ἑκάστη μεμέτρηται μὲν οὐδαμῶς—ἀπερίγραφος γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἀπερίγραφοι δὲ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ—, μεμέτρηκε δὲ τὰ ὅλα· ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀγαθότης αὐτοῦ μέτρον ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ ἐξουσία μέτρον ὑπηκόων, ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν αὐτὸς ἀπάντων καὶ σωματίων καὶ ἀσωμάτων, δι' ὃν καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις κανόνων καὶ παραπηγμάτων λαβοῦσαι λόγον τὰ μεθ' αὐτὰς  
 60 ἐσταθμήσαντο. τὰ δὲ τρία μέτρα ταῦτα καλὸν ἐν ψυχῇ ὥσπερ φυραθῆναι τε καὶ συνενεχθῆναι, ἵνα πεισθεῖσα τὸν ἀνωτάτω εἶναι θεόν, ὃς ὑπερκέκυφε τὰς δυνάμεις ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν ὁρώμενος καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐμφαινόμενος, δέξεται χαρακτῆρας ἐξουσίας τε καὶ εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τελείων μύστις γενομένη τελετῶν μηδενὶ προχείρως ἐκλαλῆ τὰ μυστήρια, ταμειομένη δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐχεμυθοῦσα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττη·  
 [174] γέγραπται γὰρ | “ἐγκρυφίας ποιεῖν,” ὅτι κεκρύφθαι δεῖ τὸν ἱερόν περὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ μύστην λόγον, ἐπεὶ θείων παρακαταθήκην  
 61 ὀργίων οὐ παντός ἐστι φυλάξαι. XVI. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς νᾶμα ἔξω ῥέον διὰ στόματός τε καὶ γλώττης πάσαις ἀκοαῖς ἐπ-

<sup>a</sup> Philo deduces an allegory from ἐγκρυφίας (so the LXX.) which means “cakes baked in the ashes.”



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 59-61

ourselves ready to do His bidding. XV. For Abraham went with all zeal and speed and eagerness and bade Sarah (that is Virtue) hasten and knead three measures of meal and make "buried"<sup>a</sup> cakes (Gen. xviii. 6), when God came attended by His two highest potencies, sovereignty and goodness, and He, the one between the two, called up before the eye of the soul, which has power to see, three separate visions or aspects. Each of these aspects, though not subject itself to measurement—for God and His potencies are alike uncircumscribed—is the measure of all things. His goodness is the measure of things good, His sovereignty of its subjects, and the Ruler Himself is the measure of all things corporeal and incorporeal, and it is to serve Him that these two potencies assume the functions of rules and standards, and measure what lies within their province.<sup>b</sup>

It is well that these three measures should be as it were kneaded and blended in the soul, that she, convinced that God who is above all exists—God who overtops His potencies in that He is visible apart from them and yet is revealed in them—may receive the impression of His sovereignty and beneficence. Thus too, being admitted into the inmost mysteries, she will learn not to blab or babble them thoughtlessly, but to store them up and guard them in secrecy and silence. For it is written "make buried cakes," because the sacred story that unveils to us the truth of the Uncreated and His potencies must be buried, since the knowledge of divine rites is a trust which not every comer can guard aright.

XVI. The stream that issues through the mouth and tongue of the ill-controlled soul floods in wherever

<sup>b</sup> Or "the things below them."

αντλείται, ὧν αἱ μὲν εὐρυχώρους δεξαμενὰς ἔχουσαι τὸ ἐπεισχεόμενον φυλάττουσιν, αἱ δὲ διὰ στενότητα πόρων ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἄρδεσθαι· τὸ δ' ὑπερβλύζον ἀκατασχέτως ἐκχεόμενον σκίδνεται πάντη, ὡς ὑπαναπλεῖν καὶ ἐπινήχεσθαι τὰ κεκρυμμένα καὶ φορντοῦ τρόπον εἰκαίου τὰ πάσης ἄξια σπουδῆς

- 62 μετὰ συρμοῦ καταφέρεσθαι. παρὸ μοι δοκοῦσιν ὀρθῶς βεβουλευθῆναι οἱ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια μνηθέντες· “ἐπιεσαν γὰρ τὸ σταῖς αὐτῶν, ὃ ἐξήνεγκαν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ἐγκρυφίας ἀζύμους” (Exod. xii. 39), τουτέστι τὸ ἀτίθασον καὶ ὠμόν πάθος κατειργάσαντο ὡσπερ τροφήν λόγῳ πεπαίνοντι, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς πεπάνσεως καὶ βελτιώσεως ἐκ τινος θείας κατοκωχῆς γεγεννημένον οὐκ ἐξελάλησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις αὐτὸν ἐθησαυρίσαντο, οὐκ ἐπαρθέντες τῇ τελετῇ, ὑπενδόντες δὲ καὶ ταπεινωθέντες τὸ
- 63 αὐχῆμα. XVII. πρὸς οὖν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος εὐζωνοὶ καὶ εὐτρεπεῖς ἀεὶ γινώμεθα μέλλησιν παραιτούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα, τὴν ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς διάβασιν, προστέτακται ποιεῖσθαι “τὰς ὀσφύς περιεζωσμένους” ἐτοιμῶς πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν σάρκινον ὄγκον, “τὰ ὑποδήματα” λέγω,<sup>1</sup> περιεληφότας ἀκλινῶς καὶ παγίως ἐστῶσι<sup>2</sup> “τοῖς ποσὶ,” καὶ τὴν παιδείαν “διὰ χειρὸς” ἔχοντας “ῥάβδον” πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων πάντων ἄπταιστον κατόρθωσιν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον “μετὰ σπουδῆς” ἐντραφήναι (Exod.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. λόγῳ.

<sup>2</sup> Pap. ἐστῶτες, from which Wendland conj. ἐστῶτας.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 61-63

there are ears to hear. Some of these have spacious cisterns which retain the influx. Others, because the passages are narrow, cannot imbibe the stream, and the overflow pouring forth unchecked is dispersed in all directions, while to its surface rise and float the secret truths, and thus like a mass of flotsam our most precious treasures are borne away in the current.

And therefore they, who became partakers in the lesser before the greater mysteries,<sup>a</sup> judged wisely, as I think, for they "baked<sup>b</sup> their dough which they brought out of Egypt into buried unleavened cakes" (Exod. xii. 39), that is, they kneaded the savage untamed passion with aid of reason that softened it as though it were food. And the method by which they softened it and wrought it to something better was revealed to them by divine inspiration, and they did not utter it aloud, but treasured it in silence. Their hearts were not lifted up by the revelation; rather they were bowed in submission, and all proud thoughts were humbled.

XVII. Let us then say nay to all hesitation, and present ourselves ever up-girded and ready to give thanks and honour to the Almighty. For we are bidden to keep the Passover, which is the passage from the life of the passions to the practice of virtue, "with our loins girded" ready for service. We must grip the material body of flesh, that is the sandals,<sup>a</sup> with "our feet," that stand firm and sure. We must bear "in our hands the staff" of discipline, to the end that we may walk without stumbling through all the business of life. Last of all we must eat our

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 491.

<sup>b</sup> Philo in the following words plays with the double sense of *πέσσω*, (a) bake, (b) ripen and thus soften.

xii. 11)· διάβασις γάρ ἐστιν οὐ θνητή, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου τὸ Πάσχα εἶρηται· καὶ σφόδρα προσηκόντως· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν καλῶν, ὃ μὴ θεοῦ τε καὶ θεῖον.

- 64 Ταχέως οὖν αὐτὸ ἀναζήτησον, ὡς ψυχῇ, καθάπερ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ, ὃς πυνθανομένου τοῦ πατρὸς “ τί τοῦτο ὃ ταχὺ εὔρες, ὡς τέκνον; ” δογματικῶς ἀποκρίνεται “ ὃ παρέδωκε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ ” (Gen. xxvii. 20)· πολλῶν γὰρ ἔμπειρος
- [175] πραγμάτων γεγονῶς | ἠπίστατο, ὅτι ἅ μὲν ἂν διδῶ γενεσις ψυχῇ χρόνῳ μακρῶ βεβαιούται, ὡσπερ οἱ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν παραγγέλματα τοῖς μανθάνουσι παραδιδόντες· οὐ γὰρ εὐθύς<sup>1</sup> ὡσπερ οἱ προχέοντες εἰς ἄγγος ἰσχύουσιν ἀποπληρῶσαι τὴν τῶν εἰσαγομένων διάνοιαν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ πηγὴ τῆς σοφίας, ὁ θεός, παραδιδῶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας τῷ θνητῷ γένει, παραδίδωσιν ἀχρόνως· οἱ δ’ ἄτε τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ μαθηταὶ γεγονότες εὐφυεῖς ταχέως τὰς εὐρέσεις ὧν ἐζήτησαν ἔλαβον.
- 65 XVIII. πρώτη δὲ τῶν εἰσαγομένων ἀρετὴ τὸ διδάσκαλον ὡς ἔνεστι τέλειον ἀτελεῖς μιμῆσθαι γλίχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος φθάνει καὶ τὸν χρόνον οὐδ’ ὅτε τὸ πᾶν ἐγέννα συνεργήσαντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς γινομένῳ τῷ κόσμῳ συνυφίστατο· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίει, μηδὲν μεταξύ ἀμφοῖν τιθεῖς· εἰ δὲ χρή δόγμα κινεῖν ἀληθέστερον, ὁ λόγος ἔργον ἦν αὐτοῦ. λόγου δὲ ὀξυκινήτοτερον οὐδὲν καὶ παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει, παραμείβεται γὰρ ἡ ῥύμη τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς
- 66 φθάνουσα κατάληψιν. ὡσπερ οὖν τὰ διὰ κρουνῶν

<sup>1</sup> To avoid the loose construction Cohn suggests παραδιδόντες οὐ [γὰρ] εὐθύς.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 63-66

meal "in haste" (Exod. xii. 11). For it is no mortal passage, since it is called the passover of the Uncreate and Immortal one. And right fitly is it so called, for there is no good thing which is not divine and is not of God.

Be this then thy quest, my soul, and that quickly, even as it was with the Practiser Jacob. He, when his father asked him "What is this that thou hast found so quickly, my son?" replied (and the words convey an important truth), "It is what the Lord God set before me" (Gen. xxvii. 20). Long experience had taught him that what the world of creation gives <sup>a</sup> to the soul it makes secure <sup>a</sup> only after long time, as it is with those who impart the arts and their rules to their pupils. They cannot at once fill to the brim the mind of the beginners,<sup>b</sup> as one fills a vessel. But when the fountain of wisdom, God, imparts each form of knowledge to the mortal race, He needs not time for the work. Such persons become apt disciples of the only wise Being and discover quickly what they seek.

XVIII. Now the first virtue of beginners<sup>b</sup> is to desire that their imperfection may imitate as far as possible the perfection of the teacher. But the divine Teacher is swifter even than time, for not even when He created the Universe did time co-operate with Him, since time itself only came into being with the world. God spake and it was done—no interval between the two—or it might suggest a truer view to say that His word was deed. Now even amongst us mortals there is nothing swifter than word, for the outrush of the parts of speech leaves behind the hearer's understanding of them. As the perennial streams which pour through the

<sup>a</sup> Or "offers . . . carries out."

<sup>b</sup> Or "pupils."

ἐκχεόμενα ἀέναα ρεῖθρα ἄληκτον ἔχει τὴν φορὰν, ἐπικαταλαμβάνοντος αἰὲ τὴν λήξιν τοῦ ἐπιόντος ρεύματος, οὕτως ἢ τοῦ λόγου πλήμμυρα, ὅταν ἄρξηται φέρεσθαι, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τῷ ὀξύκνητοτάτῳ διανοίᾳ, ὃ καὶ τὰς πτηνὰς παραμείβεται φύσεις, συντρέχει. καθάπερ οὖν ὁ ἀγέννητος φθάνει πᾶσαν γένεσιν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λόγος παραθεῖ τὸν γενέσεως, κὰν ὀξύτατα ἐπὶ νεφῶν καταφέρηται· διὸ καὶ παρρησιάζεται φάσκων· “ἦδη ὄψει, εἰ ἐπικαταλήψεταιί σε ὁ λόγος μου ἢ οὐ” (Num. xi. 23), ὡς πάντα ἐφθακότος καὶ κατειληφότος τοῦ  
 67 θείου λόγου. εἰ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐφθακε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὁ λέγων αὐτός, καθάπερ ἐν ἐτέροις μαρτυρεῖ φάσκων· “ὦδε ἐγὼ ἔστηκα ἐκεῖ πρὸ τοῦ σέ” (Exod. xvii. 6)· δηλοῖ γὰρ ὅτι πρὸ παντός ὑφέστηκε τοῦ γενομένου καὶ ὁ ἐνταῦθα ὢν κἀκεῖ καὶ ἀλλαχόθι καὶ πανταχοῦ πεπληρωκῶς πάντα διὰ πάντων καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἑαυτοῦ καταλελοιπῶς  
 68 ὑπάρχει· οὐ γὰρ φησιν “ὦδε ἐγὼ στήσομαι καὶ ἐκεῖ,” ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ὅτε πάρεμι ἔστηκα κατὰ τὸν  
 [176] αὐτὸν | χρόνον κἀκεῖθι, ἀλλ’ οὐ μεταβατικῶς κινούμενος, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐπιλαμβάνειν τὸν δὲ ἀπολείπειν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τονικῇ χρώμενος τῇ κινήσει.

Δεόντως οὖν μιμούμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φύσιν οἱ ὑπήκοοι παῖδες ἀμελλητὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης τὰ καλὰ δρῶσιν, ὢν ἔργον ἐστὶ κάλλιστον ἢ  
 69 ἀνυπέρθετος θεοῦ τιμῆ. XIX. Φαραῶ

<sup>a</sup> Literally, “overtakes their cessation.”

<sup>b</sup> The LXX. has ὦδε for ὦδε and of course does not intend the meaning which Philo deduces of the omnipresence of God. Similarly the elliptical phrase πρὸ τοῦ σέ means “before

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 66-69

outlets of their springs never cease their motion, and cannot rest, for the oncoming flow ever impels them,<sup>a</sup> so the current of words, when it begins to move, keeps pace with that swiftest of things in us—swifter than the flight of birds—the understanding. Thus as the Uncreated anticipates all created being, so the word of the Uncreated outruns the word of the created, though that ride with all speed upon the clouds. Therefore it is that He does not hesitate to say, “now thou shalt see if my word shall overtake thee or not” (Numb. xi. 23), implying that the divine word has outrun and overtaken all things.

But if the word has proved swifter than all, much more is it so with Him who speaks, as He testifies in another place. “Here I stand there before thou wast” (Exod. xvii. 6).<sup>b</sup> He shows hereby that His subsistence is before all created being, and that He who is here exists also there and elsewhere and everywhere, for He has filled all wholly and entirely and left nothing where His presence is not. For He does not say “I will stand here and there,” but even now, when I am present here, I stand at the same time there also. My motion is not one of transference in space, where the traveller leaves one place when he occupies another, but it is a motion of self-extension<sup>c</sup> and self-expansion.

Necessarily then do His loyal children imitate their Father's nature and, with a forwardness that brooks no delay, do what is excellent, and the most excellent deed of all is before aught else to honour God.

XIX. But Pharaoh the “Disperser

thou comest,” but the next words show that Philo took it as in the translation. Cf. *L.A.* iii. 4.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 491.

δὲ ὁ σκεδαστῆς τῶν καλῶν ἀχρόνων δυνάμεων φαντασίαν οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν δέξασθαι, τὰ ψυχῆς ὄμματα πεπηρωμένος, οἷς μόνοις αἱ ἀσώματοι καταλαμβάνονται φύσεις, οὐδὲ ὠφεληθῆναι δι' ἀχρόνων ὑπομένει, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀψύχοις δόξαις, λέγων δὲ “βατράχοις,” πιεσθεὶς ἤχον καὶ ψόφον ἔρημοι καὶ κενὸν πραγμάτων ἀποτελούσαις, εἰπόντος Μωυσέως “τάξαι πρὸς μέ, πότε εὕξομαι περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων σου, ἀφανίσαι τοὺς βατράχους” (Exod. viii. 9), δέον ἐν ἀνάγκαις σφοδραῖς ὄντα εἰπεῖν “εὐθύς εὐχου,” ὑπερτίθεται λέγων “εἰς αὔριον,” ἵνα διὰ πάντων τὴν ὁμαλότητα

70 τῆς ἀθεότητος διαφυλάξῃ. τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἅπασι παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς ἐπαμφοτερισταῖς, κἂν μὴ διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ὁμολογῶσιν· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ συμβῆ ἢ τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, ἅτε μὴ πεπιστευκότες παγίως τῷ σωτήρι θεῷ πρότερον καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν γενέσει βοηθείας, ἰατρούς, βοτάνας, φαρμάκων συνθέσεις, δίαιται ἠκριβωμένην, τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει βοηθήματα· κἂν ἄρα εἶπη τις “καταφεύγετε. ὦ μάταιοι, ἐπὶ τὸν μόνον ἰατρὸν ψυχῆς ἀρρωστημάτων μεθέμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως τῆς παθητῆς ψευδώνυμον ὠφέλειαν,” γελῶσι καὶ χλευάζουσιν ἐπιφωνοῦντες “ταῦτα εἰς αὔριον,” ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο περὶ τῆς τῶν παρόντων κακῶν

71 ἀποτροπῆς ἰκετεύσοντες τὸ θεῖον· ἀλλ' ὅταν γε τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν μηδὲν ἀρκῆ, πάντα δὲ εὐρίσκηται καὶ τὰ παιώνια βλαβερά, τηνικαῦτα ἐξ ἀμηχανίας πολλῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὠφέλειαν ἀπογνόντες, ἄκοντες οἱ δεῖλαιοι καταφεύγουσιν ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ἐπὶ τὸν μόνον σωτήρα θεόν· ὁ δ' ἅτε εἰδὼς τὰ ἐν



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 69-71

of the excellent" cannot receive the vision of timeless values, for the eyes of the soul, whereby alone incorporeal natures are apprehended, are blinded in him, nor will he bring himself to get help through what is timeless. When he is plagued by the frogs, those soulless opinions and conjectures, which produce noise and sound destitute and devoid of all reality, Moses said to him, "Appoint with me a time, when I shall pray for thee and thy servants, to take away the frogs" (Exod. viii. 9). Though in that dire strait he should have said "Pray for me at once," he puts it off with the word "to-morrow." He must needs maintain to the end the unchanging level of his godlessness.

This is the case with almost all the Facing-both-ways, even though they do not admit it in so many words. When anything befalls them which they would not, since they have never had any firm faith in God their Saviour, they first flee to the help which things created give, to physicians, herbs, drug-mixtures, strict rules of diet, and all the other aids that mortals use. And if one say to them, "Flee, ye fools, to the one and only physician of soul-sickness and cast away the help, miscalled as such, of the created and the mutable," they laugh and mock, and all their answer is "to-morrow for that," as though, whatever may befall, they would never supplicate God to save them from the ills that beset them. But when no human help avails, and all things, even healing remedies, prove to be but mischievous, then out of the depths of their helplessness, despairing of all other aid, still even in their misery reluctant, at this late hour they betake themselves to the only saviour, God. He, for He

ἀνάγκαις ἄκυρα οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων χρήται τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὧν καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον χρήσθαι.

Πᾶς οὖν λογισμὸς κτήματα ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πάντα ἡγούμενος καὶ ἑαυτὸν προτιμῶν θεοῦ—τὸ γὰρ “ μεθ' ἡμέρας θύειν ” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν— ἔνοχος ὢν ἀσεβείας ἴστω γραφῆ.

- 72 XX. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἔγκλημα τοῦ Κάιν ἀποχρώντως ἐπεξήλθομεν. τὸ δ' ἕτερον τοιοῦτον ἦν· τί δήποτε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ [177] τῶν πρώτων καρπῶν φέρει τὴν ἀπαρχήν; μήποτε διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, ἵνα τὰ μὲν πρεσβεία γενέσει δῶ, τοῖς δὲ δευτερείοις ἀμείψηται τὸ θεῖον· ὡσπερ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες οἱ ψυχῆς προκρίνουσι σῶμα, τῆς δεσποίνης τὸ δοῦλον, οὕτως εἰσὶν οἱ γένεσιν μᾶλλον θεοῦ τετιμῆκασι, πρόσταγμα τεθεικότος τοῦ νομοθέτου, ἵνα “ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν πρωτογεννημάτων τῆς γῆς εἰσφέρωμεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ” (Exod. xxiii. 19), ἀλλὰ μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιγράφωμεν· καὶ γὰρ δίκαιον τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματων ὅσα πρῶτα ἢ τάξει ἢ δυνάμει θεῷ ὁμολογεῖν.
- 73 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῇ τάξει πρῶτα τοιαυτὰ ἔστιν, οἷς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν εὐθὺς ἐκοινωνήσαμεν, τροφή αὔξησις ὄρασις ἀκοή γεῦσις ὄσφρησις ἀφή λόγος νοῦς, μέρη ψυχῆς, μέρη σώματος, αἱ τούτων ἐνέργειαι, συνόλως κινήσεις αὐτῶν καὶ σχέσεις αἱ κατὰ φύσιν· τὰ δὲ ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει τὰ κατορθώματα, αἱ ἀρεταί, αἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς
- 74 πράξεις. δίκαιον οὖν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπαρχεσθαι, αἱ δὲ ἀπαρχαὶ λόγος ἔστιν ἐκ διανοίας

<sup>a</sup> A strange use of νόμος, but neither Mangey's εὐμενεία nor Wendland's δυνάμει are satisfactory.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 71-74

knows that what is done under stress of necessity has no sure foundation, does not in all cases follow His law (of mercy),<sup>a</sup> but only when it may be followed for good and with profit.

So then every imagination which counts that all things are its own possession and honours itself before God—and such a mind is shown by the words “to sacrifice after some days”—may know that it stands in danger to be brought to the judgement-bar for impiety.

XX. We have now sufficiently considered the first charge against Cain. The second was as follows. Why does he make his offering of firstlings from the fruits instead of from the first-fruits? Surely for the same reason, namely to give the first honour to created being and render only the second to God. For as there are some who prefer the body to the soul, the slave to the mistress, so there are those who have honoured the created rather than God. And yet the Lawgiver laid down that we should bring “the firstlings of the first-fruits of the land into the house of the Lord God” (Exod. xxiii. 19), and not ascribe them to ourselves. For it is right that we should acknowledge as belonging to God all the movements of the soul that come first either in order or in value.

The first in order are those in which we became at once participators, when we came into existence, taking nourishment, growth, sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, reason, mind, the parts of the soul, the parts of the body, their activities, in general their natural movements and states. The first in worth and value are righteous conduct, virtues, and virtuous actions.

Of these then it is right to offer the firstlings, and the

- ἀληθοῦς ἀναπεμπόμενος εὐχαριστητικός· τέμνε δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας τομὰς, ὄνπερ τρόπον ἢ λύρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μουσικῆς ὄργανα τέτμηται· τῶν γὰρ ἐν τούτοις φθόγγων καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἤρμοσται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέρου συμφωνίαν μάλιστα ὤκείωται, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ στοιχείων τὰ λεγόμενα φωνήεντα, ἃ καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ φωνεῖται καὶ σὺν ἑτέροις ὀλόκληρον ἀποτελεῖ
- 75 φωνήν. πολλὰς γὰρ δυνάμεις αἰσθητικὰς τε καὶ λογικὰς καὶ νοητὰς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἢ φύσις δημιουργήσασα καὶ πρὸς τι τῶν οἰκείων ἑκάστην τείνασα ἔργων καὶ πάλιν πάσας ἀρμοσαμένη δι' ἀναλογίας κοινωνία καὶ συμφωνία τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὀρθότατα ἂν καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστη καὶ ἐφ' ἀπάσαις εὐδαιμονίζουτο.
- 76 XXI. Διόπερ “ἐὰν προσφέρῃς θυσίαν πρωτογεννημάτων,” οὕτως διαίρει, ὡς ὑφηγεῖται ὁ ἱερός λόγος (Lev. ii. 14)· “νέα” τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα “πεφρυγμένα,” ἔπειτα “χίδρα,” καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν “ἐρικτά.” “νέα” μὲν διὰ τὸδε· τοὺς τὸν παλαιὸν καὶ γέροντα καὶ μυθώδη χρόνον ἀσπαζομένους, ταχεῖαν δὲ καὶ ἄχρονον θεοῦ δύναμιν μὴ συνεωρακότας ἐκδιδάσκει νέα καὶ ἐπακμάζοντα καὶ ἀνηβῶντα προτρέπων ἐνθύμια λαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ παλαιαῖς ἐντρεφόμενοι μυθο-
- [178] ποίαις, | ὡς ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ θνητοῦ παραδέδωκε, ψευδοδοξῶσιν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ αἰετῶ ἀγήρω [νέου] θεοῦ τὰ νέα καὶ καινὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ πάσης ἀφθονίας λαμβάνοντες ἐκδιδάσκονται μηδὲν ἠγγεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ παλαιὸν ἢ συνόλως

<sup>a</sup> That Philo gives this meaning to χίδρα is clear from 82 ff., but it is difficult to see what process he is thinking

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 74-76

firstlings are the word of thanksgiving, sent up out of a true and sincere mind. This thank-offering we should divide into its proper sections, just as the lyre and other musical instruments have their parts. There each of the notes has music in itself and also is fully adapted to make harmony with another. Or again in the alphabet the vocals or vowels are each sounded by themselves and also with the consonants form entire and single sounds. So with ourselves, for nature has framed in us manifold powers of sense-perception and reason and intelligence, each attuned to some function of its own, and also she has so adjusted them all in due proportion, that they work in unity and harmony with each other. Whether we consider each severally or all together, we may justly say that nature has indeed been happy in her work.

XXI. Wherefore, "if you bring an offering of first-fruits," make such division as Holy Writ prescribes (Lev. ii. 14). First the new, then the roasted, then the sliced,<sup>a</sup> and last the ground. The new is for the following reason. To those who cling to the old-world days with their fabled past and have not realized the instantaneous and timeless power of God, it is a lesson bidding them accept ideas that are new and fresh and in the vigour of youth. It bids them feed no more on effete fables, which the long course of the ages has handed down for the deception of mortal kind, and thus be filled with false opinions, but rather receive in full and generous measure new, fresh, blessed thoughts from the ever ageless God. So shall they be schooled to understand that with Him nothing is ancient, nothing

of. In the LXX. the word properly means "groats" and is the substantive to which the other three are adjectives.

παρῆλυθός, ἀλλὰ γινόμενόν τε ἀχρόνως καὶ ὑφ-  
77 εστηκός.

XXII. οὐ χάριν καὶ δι' ἑτέρων  
φησίν· “ ἀπὸ προσώπου πολιουῦ ἐξαναστήσῃ, καὶ  
τιμήσεις πρόσωπον πρεσβυτέρου ” (Lev. xix. 32),  
ὡς παμμεγέθους διαφορᾶς οὔσης· πολὺς μὲν γὰρ  
ὁ μηδὲν ἐνεργῶν ἐστι χρόνος, ἀφ' οὗ μετανίστασθαι  
καὶ ἀποδιδράσκεν δεῖ τὴν μυρίουσ ἀπατῶσαν  
ἐκκλίνοντας ὑπόληψιν, ὡς ἄρα τι ποιεῖν οὗτος  
πέφυκε· πρεσβύτερος δὲ ὁ τιμῆς καὶ γέρως καὶ  
πρεσβείων ἐπάξιος ὢν, ὃν Μωυσῆ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ  
δοκιμάζειν ἐπιτέτραπται· “ οὗς γὰρ σὺ οἶδας,”  
φησίν “ οὗτοί εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι ” (Num. xi. 16),  
ὡς ἂν μηδεμίαν ἀποδεχομένου νεωτεροποιίαν,  
ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἀξίω  
78 δογμάτων εἰωθότος ἐρᾶν.

ὠφέλιμον μὲν  
οὖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν τελείας, ἀλλὰ  
τοι πρὸς πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ παλαιαῖς καὶ ὠγγυίοις  
ἐντρέφεσθαι δόξαις καὶ ἀρχαίαν ἀκοὴν ἔργων  
καλῶν μεταδιώκειν, ἅπερ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ σύμπαν  
τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος τοῖς τε καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς  
ἔπειτα μνήμη παραδεδώκασιν. ἀλλ' ὅταν γε μὴ  
προϊδομένοις μηδὲ ἐλπίσασι φέγγος αἰφνίδιον ἐπι-  
λάμψῃ τὸ αὐτομαθοῦς σοφίας, ἥ δὲ τὸ μεμυκὸς ὄμμα  
ψυχῆς διοίξασα ἀντὶ ἀκροατῶν θεατὰς ἐπιστήμης  
ἐργάσῃται τὴν ὠκυδρομωτάτην αἰσθήσεων ὄψιν  
πρὸ τῆς βραδυτέρας ἀκοῆς ἐν διανοίᾳ θείσα,  
79 μάταιον ἔτι διὰ λόγων ὦτα γυμνάζειν. XXIII.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps “ using another figure,” literally “ through other things.”

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 76-79

at all past, but all is in its birth and existence timeless.

XXII. And therefore in another place <sup>a</sup> we find, "thou shalt rise up away from the head of the hoary <sup>b</sup> and thou shalt honour the head of the elder" (Lev. xix. 32). He suggests a vast contrast between the two words. For by "hoary" is meant time which has no activity, from whose presence we must hurry to depart and shun the illusion which deceives the multitude, that time is capable of effecting anything. By "elder" is meant he that is worthy of honour and privilege and high place, and to approve such was the task entrusted to Moses, the friend of God. For "whom thou knowest," it runs, "these are the elders" (Numb. xi. 16), meaning that he would welcome no mere innovation, but his wont is to love the truths that come from older days and are worthy of the highest reverence.

No doubt it is profitable, if not for the acquisition of perfect virtue, at any rate for the life of civic virtue, to feed the mind on ancient and time-honoured thoughts, to trace the venerable tradition of noble deeds, which historians and all the family of poets <sup>c</sup> have handed down to the memory of their own and future generations. But when, unforeseen and un hoped for, the sudden beam of self-inspired wisdom has shone upon us, when that wisdom has opened the closed eye of the soul and made us spectators rather than hearers of knowledge, and substituted in our minds sight, the swiftest of senses, for the slower sense of hearing, then it is idle any longer to exercise the ear with words. XXIII. And

<sup>b</sup> The LXX. no doubt means, as in our version, "thou shalt rise up before the hoary head."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. description of *γραμματική* in *De Cher.* 105 and note in App. p. 485.

διὸ καὶ λέγεται· “ φάγεσθε παλαιὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιὰ ἐκ προσώπου νέων ἐξοίσετε ” (Lev. xxvi. 10), ὡς δέον πολιὸν μὲν μάθημα χρόνῳ μηδὲν ἀρνεῖσθαι πειρωμένους καὶ γράμμασι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ γνώμαις καὶ διηγήσεσιν ἀρχαιολογούντων παρεῖναι καὶ φιλοπευστεῖν αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πραγμάτων, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀγνοεῖν ὄντος ἡδίστου, νέας δὲ ὅταν ἀνατείλῃ βλάστας αὐτοδιδάκτου σοφίας ὁ θεὸς ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ ἐκ διδασκαλίας εὐθὺς περιγράφειν καὶ περισύρειν ὑπονοστοῦντα καὶ ὑπορρέοντα ἐξ ἑαυτῶν· τὸν γὰρ θεοῦ φοιτητὴν ἢ γνώριμον ἢ μαθητὴν ἢ ὃ τί ποτε χρῆ θεμένους ὄνομα καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀμήχανον ἔτι θνητῶν ὑφ-γγήσεως ἀνέχεσθαι.

- 80 XXIV. “ Ἐστω δὲ ἡ νέα<sup>1</sup> ψυχῆς ἀκμὴ “ πεφρυγ-  
 [179] μένη,” τουτέστιν, | ὡς πυρὶ χρυσός, λόγῳ δυνατῶ  
 βεβασανισμένη· τοῦ δὲ βεβασανίσθαι καὶ δεδοκι-  
 μάσθαι σημεῖον τὸ πεπηγέναι· καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ τῶν  
 τεθηλότων ἀσταχῶν καρπός, ἵνα μηκέτι πλαδᾶ,  
 φρύγεται, τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ ἄνευ πυρὸς πέφυκε συμ-  
 βαίνειν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν νέαν πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἀκμὴν  
 ἀνάληψιν<sup>2</sup> δυνατῶ καὶ ἀνικῆτῳ λόγῳ χρῆ πάγιον  
 καὶ σταθερωτάτην ἀπεργάζεσθαι· πέφυκε δὲ ὁ  
 λόγος οὐ μόνον πῆττειν ἐν ψυχῇ τὰ θεωρήματα  
 διαρρεῖν αὐτὰ κωλύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀλόγου  
 81 πάθους ὄρμην εὐτόνως ἐκλύειν. ἴδε γέ τοι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νέας.

<sup>2</sup> Conj. Mangey ἀνάληψιν ἀκμὴν.

<sup>a</sup> Literally “ old of old.” The real meaning of the verse



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 79-81

so we read "ye shall eat the old and older yet,"<sup>a</sup> but also bear out the old from the face of the new" (Lev. xxvi. 10). The meaning is this. We must not indeed reject any learning that has grown grey through time, nay, we should make it our aim to read the writings of the sages and listen to proverbs and old-world stories from the lips of those who know antiquity, and ever seek for knowledge about the men and deeds of old. For truly it is sweet to leave nothing unknown. Yet when God causes the young shoots of self-inspired wisdom to spring up within the soul, the knowledge that comes from teaching must straightway be abolished and swept off. Ay, even of itself it will subside and ebb away. God's scholar, God's pupil, God's disciple, call him by whatever name you will, cannot any more suffer the guidance of men.

XXIV. Again, let the fresh ripeness of the soul be "roasted," that is tested by the might of reason, as gold is tested by the furnace. The sign that it has been tested and approved is its solidity. For as the grain in the full-grown ears is roasted, that it may no longer be soft and flaccid, and this result can only be attained by fire, so too young aspirations to the ripeness of virtue must be made solid and steadfast by the invincible power of reason. Reason indeed not only can harden<sup>b</sup> within the soul the principles it has acquired and save them from looseness and dissolution, but it also has the vigour<sup>c</sup> to reduce to weakness the impulses of unreasoning passion. Behold the Practiser Jacob "seething"

presumably is "you shall have so much old corn, that you will cast it away when the new is ready."

<sup>b</sup> Or "fix."

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 491.

ἀσκητὴν Ἰακώβ ἔφοντα αὐτήν, ὅτε καὶ “ Ἡσαῦ ἐκλείπων ” (Gen. xxv. 29) εὐθύς εὐρίσκεται· θεμέλιος γὰρ τῷ φαύλῳ κακία καὶ πάθος, οἷς ἐπερηρισμένος, ὅταν ἐξήττημένα καὶ παρειμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰρούντος αὐτὰ λόγου θεάσῃται, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐκλύεται τοὺς ἰσχύος δεσμούς.

- 82 Ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος μὴ συγκεχυμένος, ἀλλ’ εἰς οἰκείους τετμήσθω τομάς· τὸ “ χίδρα ” ποιῆσαι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἐν ἅπαντι μὲν γὰρ ἀταξίας ἄμεινον ἢ τάξις, μάλιστα δ’ ἐν ὀξύτατα ρεούσῃ φύσει, τῷ λόγῳ. XXV. διαιρετέον οὖν αὐτὸν εἰς κεφάλαια προηγούμενα, τὰ λεγόμενα ἐμπίπτοντα, καὶ ἐφαρμοστέον ἐκάστῳ τὰς οἰκείους κατασκευάς, μιμουμένους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν τοξοτῶν, οἳ σκοπόν τινα προθέμενοι τὰ βέλη πάντα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι πειρῶνται· σκοπῷ μὲν γὰρ τὸ κεφάλαιον, βέλεσι
- 83 δὲ ἔοικεν ἡ κατασκευή. οὕτως τὸ πάντων ἀριστον ἐσθημάτων ὁ λόγος ἀρμονίως συνυφαίνεται· καὶ γὰρ τὰ πέταλα τοῦ χρυσοῦ κατατέμνει ὁ νομοθέτης εἰς τρίχας, ὥστε συνυφῆναι τὰ οἰκεία ἐπιμόνως (Exod. xxxvi. 10)· οὕτως ὁ τιμιώτερος χρυσοῦ λόγος ποίκιλμα ὢν ἐκ μυρίων ἰδεῶν ἐπαινετῶς τελεσιουργεῖται, ὅταν ἄχρι τῶν λεπτοτάτων κεφαλαίων τμηθεὶς τρόπον τινὰ νήματος δέξῃται
- 84 καθάπερ κρόκην ἀποδείξεις ἐναρμονίους. προστέτακται μέντοι καὶ “ τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμα δείραντας εἰς μέλη διανεῖμαι ” (Lev. i. 6), ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρῶτον μὲν γυμνὴν ἄνευ σκεπασμάτων, ὅσα περιποιούσιν αἱ

<sup>a</sup> The whole verse in the LXX. is ἦλθε δὲ Ἰακώβ ἔφημα, ἦλθε δὲ Ἡσαῦ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἐκλείπων. Philo deduces from the juxtaposition of Jacob's "seething" and Esau's "fainting" that the bad man's power is destroyed by the fire of reason, which subdues passion.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 491.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 81-84

these impulses, and then the next moment we find Esau "fainting" (Gen. xxv. 29).<sup>a</sup> For the bad man is based on vice and passion and, when he sees the props on which he rests conquered and robbed of strength by the reason which convicts them, he must in natural consequence find the bonds loosened which knit his strength together.

But again this reason <sup>b</sup> must not be a confused mass, but divided into its proper sections. This is the meaning of "slicing" the offering. Order is better than disorder everywhere, but especially in that nature of swiftest outflow, reason. XXV. It must therefore be divided into main or leading thoughts, the so-called 'relevant topics,' and each of these must be provided with its properly constructed development. In this way we shall imitate the skilled archers, who set up a target and aim all their arrows at it. For the main thought is like the target and the developments like the arrows. In this way we weave into a harmonious whole that noblest of garments, reason; for the lawgiver cuts the plate of gold into threads, to weave them each in its fitting place into a lasting whole (Exod. xxxvi. 10). And so reason, which is more precious than gold, the rich and manifold union of myriad forms, is brought to its excellent perfection, if first it be shredded into the utmost nicety of leading thoughts and points, and then through these the arguments and demonstrations which they need are passed like wool through the warp. Further, there is the command that, when the victim destined to be burnt whole has been flayed, it shall be divided into its limbs (Lev. i. 6), in order that first the soul should be seen in its nakedness without the covering with

κεναὶ καὶ ψευδεῖς ὑπολήψεις, τὴν ψυχὴν φανῆναι, εἶτα δέξασθαι διαιρέσεις ἐμμελεῖς· τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ ἐν γένει ἢ ἀρετῇ, ἢ κατὰ εἶδη τὰ προσεχῆ [180] τέμνεται, φρόνησιν καὶ σωφροσύνην | καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον εἰδότες διαφορὰς ἐκούσιον ὑπομένωμεν λατρείαν καὶ καθ' 85 ὅλα καὶ κατὰ μέρη. σκοπῶμεν δὲ ὅπως τὴν τε ψυχὴν γυμνάσομεν, μὴ ὀλοσχερέσι καὶ ἀτυπώτοις φαντασίαις ὑποσυγχύτως ἀπατᾶσθαι, τομὰς δὲ καὶ διαιρέσεις ποιουμένην τῶν πραγμάτων διακύπτειν εἰς ἕκαστον ἔρευναν μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ληψομένην, τὸν τε λόγον, ὃς [οὐκ] ἀτάκτῳ ῥύμῃ φερόμενος ἀσάφειαν ἐργάζεται, τμηθεὶς δὲ εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κεφάλαια καὶ τὰς εἰς ἕκαστον ἀποδείξεις ὥσπερ ζῶον ἐκ τελείων μερῶν συμπαγεῖς ἀρμοσθήσεται.

Χρῆ δέ, εἰ μέλλει ταῦτα παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιουῦσθαι, μελέτην καὶ ἀσκήσιν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι συνεχῆ· ὡς τό γε ἀψαμένους ἐπιστήμης μὴ ἐπιμεῖναι ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ γευσασμένους σιτίων ἢ ποτῶν εἰς κόρον 86 κωλυθῆναι τραφῆναι. XXVI. μετὰ τὸ “ χίδρα ” οὐδὲν ἀρμόττει ποιεῖν “ ἐρικτά,” τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐνδιατρίβειν καὶ ἐνσχολάζειν τοῖς ἐπινοηθεῖσι· συνεχῆς γὰρ ἀσκήσις ἐπιστήμην πάγιον ἐργάζεται, ὡς ἀμαθίαν ἀμελετησία· μυριοὶ γοῦν ἀθλήσεως ὄκνω καὶ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἰσχύον ἐξέλυσαν, οὓς οὐκ ἐμμήσαντο οἱ τροφῆ θείᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν τρα-

<sup>a</sup> γυμνάζω in ordinary use means simply “exercise.” But there is perhaps a play on its derivation from γυμνός.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 84-86

which false and idle conjectures invest it, and then be divided as the limbs demand. It is virtue which is the whole and is seen as a genus, and it is then divided into its primary species, prudence, temperance, courage, and justice, so that observing the distinctions between each of these we may undertake willing service to them both severally and together.

Let us see to it that we exercise our soul stripped of its encumbrances,<sup>a</sup> that it be not confused and deceived by vague, wholesale, indiscriminate ideas of things, but may divide and classify such things as come before it, and look closely into each, so that it may make its scrutiny with strictest care. And so too we must train our reason, which so long as it flows in disordered current can only create obscurity, but when divided into its proper heads, with the arguments and demonstrations suited to each, will like a living animal be compacted of parts complete in themselves, and made into a harmonious whole.

Once more, if these things are to be our lasting possession we must continually exercise and discipline ourselves therein. For contact with knowledge without abiding in it is as if we should taste food or drink, and then be barred from receiving its nourishment to the full. XXVI. So after the "slicing" must come the "pounding," that is, after division and classification we must continually dwell in and linger over the thoughts presented to our minds. Continued exercise makes solid knowledge, as its absence makes ignorance. We see how great is the multitude of those who, through shirking bodily training, have enfeebled their natural strength. Not such an example did those follow who fed their

φέντες τῷ λεγομένῳ μάννα· οὗτοι γὰρ ἤλουν καὶ ἔτριβον αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες ἐγκρυφίας (Num. xi. 8), τὸν οὐράνιον ἀρετῆς λόγον ἀνατρίβειν καὶ ἐπιλαίειν ἔνεκα τοῦ τυπῶσαι βεβαιότερον τὴν διάνοιαν ἐγνωκότες.

87 "Ὅταν οὖν "νέα" τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ "πεφρυγμένα" τὸν πεπυρωμένον καὶ ἀνίκητον λόγον καὶ "χίδρα" τὴν τομὴν καὶ διαίρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ "ἐρικτὰ" τὴν τριβὴν καὶ μελέτην τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων ὁμολογῆς κατὰ θεόν, πρωτογεννημάτων οἴσεις θυσίαν, ὧν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων ἐγέννησεν ἡ ψυχὴ. καὶ ἡμεῖς μέντοι βραδύνωμεν, αὐτὸς οὐ βραδύνει τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς θεραπείαν λαβεῖν ἑαυτῷ· "λήψομαι" γὰρ φησιν "ὑμᾶς ἑμαυτῷ λαὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός" (Exod. vi. 7) "καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαός· ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος" (Lev. xxvi. 12).

88 XXVII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Κάλω μεθ' ἡμέρας φέροντος θυσίαν ἐγκλήματα τοιαῦτα ἦν. "Ἄβελ δὲ ἤνεγκεν οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν ἀψύχων ἔμψυχα, ἀντὶ δὲ νεωτέρων καὶ δευτερείων πρεσβύτερα καὶ πρῶτα, ἀντὶ δὲ ἡσθενηκότων ἐρρωμένα καὶ πιότερα· "ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν" φησὶ τὴν θυσίαν ποιήσασθαι

89 (Gen. iv. 4), κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτατον διάταγμα· ἔστι [181] δὲ τοιούδε· "καὶ ἔσται" | φησὶν "ὡς ἂν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν Χανααναίων, ὃν τρόπον ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσι σου, καὶ δῶ σοι αὐτήν, καὶ ἀφελεῖς πᾶν διανοῖγον μῆτραν, τὰ

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 86-89

soul with the heavenly food called manna. They ground and chafed it and made of it "buried" cakes (Numb. xi. 8), judging it right to crush and grind virtue's heaven-sent discourse, that its impress on their understanding might be the firmer.

When then you acknowledge as God wills these four things, the 'new,' that is the blossom or vigour; the 'roasted,' that is the fire-tested and invincible reason; the 'sliced,' that is the division of things into their classes; the 'pounded,' that is the persistent practice and exercise in what the mind has grasped, you will bring an offering of the first-fruits, even the first and best offspring of the soul. Yet even if we are slow to do this, He Himself is not slow to take to Himself those who are fit for His service. "I will take you," He says, "to be My people and I will be your God (Exod. vi. 7), and ye shall be to Me a people. I am the Lord" (Lev. xxvi. 12).

XXVII. Such were the charges brought against Cain who made his offering after many days. But Abel brought other offerings and in other manner. His offering was living, Cain's was lifeless. His was first in age and value, Cain's but second. His had strength and superior fatness, Cain's had but weakness.<sup>a</sup> For we are told that Abel offered of the firstlings of the sheep and of their fat (Gen. iv. 4). And thus he fulfilled the sacred ordinance, "It shall be when the Lord thy God has brought thee into the land of the Canaanites, as He sware to thy fathers, and shall give it unto thee, thou shalt separate everything that opens the womb that is

<sup>a</sup> If the tense of ἡσθενηκότων is to be pressed the idea may be that Cain's fruits, not being first-fruits, had lost their strength.

ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ, πᾶν διανοίγον <μήτραν> ἐκ τῶν βουκολίων ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ὅσα ἂν γένηται σοι, τὰ ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ. πᾶν διανοίγον μήτραν ὄνου ἀλλάξεις προβάτω· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀλλάξης, λυτρώση αὐτό" (Exod. xiii. 11-13). τὸ γὰρ διανοίγον μήτραν τὸ "Ἀβελ δῶρόν ἐστι πρωτότοκον, ὃ τότε καὶ πῶς δεῖ φέρειν ἐρεύνησον.

90 καιρὸς μὲν δὴ ἐπιτηδειότατος, ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ σε ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν σαλεύοντα λόγον, τὴν τῶν Χανααίων γῆν, οὐχ ὄν τύχοι τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὄν ὤμοσεν αὐτός· οὐχ ἵνα σάλον καὶ τροπὴν καὶ κλύδωνα ὧδε κάκεισε φορούμενος ἀστάτως ὑπομένης, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ σάλου παυσάμενος αἰθρίαν καὶ γαλήνην ἀγάγῃς καὶ ὡσπερ εἰς ὑπόδρομον ἢ ὑφορμον ἢ ναυλοχώτατον λιμένα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀφικόμενος βεβαίως ἰδρυθῆς.

91 XXVIII. "Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ τὸν θεὸν ὀμνύειν, σκεπτέον εἰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὡς ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀποφαίνεται, ἐπεὶ μυρίοις ἔδοξεν ἀνοίκειον εἶναι· ὄρκου γὰρ ἔννοιά ἐστι μαρτυρία θεοῦ περὶ πράγματος ἀμφισβητουμένου· θεῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄδηλον οὐδὲ ἀμφισβητούμενον, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐναργῶς ἐπιδέδειχε· μάρτυρός γε μὴν οὐδενὸς δεῖται, οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν  
92 ἄλλος θεὸς ἰσότημος αὐτῷ. ἐῷ λέγειν ὅτι ὁ μαρτυρῶν, παρόσον μαρτυρεῖ, κρείττων ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐκμαρτυρουμένου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεῖται, ὁ δὲ ὠφελεῖ, τὸ δὲ ὠφελοῦν ἀξιονικότερον<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ τοῦ δεομένου.

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn from Pap. ἀξιοκότερον. Other mss. ἀξιοπιστότερον.

<sup>a</sup> In the Hebrew "Thou shalt break its neck."



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 89-92

male unto the Lord; everything that opens the womb from thy herds among thy cattle, all that are born to thee, the males to the Lord. All that opens the womb of an ass, thou shalt exchange for a sheep; but if thou dost not exchange it, thou shalt redeem it" <sup>a</sup> (Exod. xiii. 11-13). That which opens the womb is the first-born, that is Abel's gift, and the time and method of this offering is a matter for thy search.

The fittest time indeed is when God has brought thee where reason is tossed to and fro, that is to the land of the Canaanites. He brought thee there in no random manner, but according to His own oath. And He brought thee there not to be carried hither and thither, ever passive amid the surge and eddy and swirl, but that quit of the wild sea thou shouldst spend thy days under clear sky and in calm water, and reaching virtue as an anchorage or roadstead, or haven of most sure shelter, mightest there find a stable resting-place.

XXVIII. But, when he tells us that God swore an oath, we must consider whether he lays down that such a thing can with truth be ascribed to God, since to thousands it seems unworthy of Him. For our conception of an oath is an appeal to God as a witness on some disputed matter. But nothing is uncertain or open to dispute with God. He it is who has shown to all others plainly the signs whereby they may know the truth. Truly He needs no witness, for there is no other god to be His peer. I need not argue that he who bears witness, in so far as he is a witness, is superior to him for whom the witness is given. For the one craves help, the other renders it, and the latter condition is always more excellent than the former. But there is

ἄμεινον δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι θέμις τοῦ αἰτίου, ὅποτε  
 οὐδὲ ἴσον αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὀλίγω καταδεέστερον,  
 ἀλλ' ὅλω γένει καταβεβηκὸς ἅπαν τὸ μετὰ θεὸν  
 93 εὐρίσκεται. τοῦ γε μὴν πιστευθῆναι χάριν ἀ-  
 πιστούμενοι καταφεύγουσιν ἐφ' ὄρκον ἄνθρωποι· ὁ  
 δὲ θεὸς καὶ λέγων πιστὸς ἔστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς  
 λόγους αὐτοῦ βεβαιότητος ἕνεκα μηδὲν ὄρκων  
 διαφέρειν. καὶ συμβέβηκε τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν γνώ-  
 μην ὄρκω, τὸν δὲ ὄρκον αὐτὸν θεῷ πεπιστώσθαι·  
 οὐ γὰρ δι' ὄρκον πιστὸς ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸν  
 94 καὶ ὁ ὄρκος βέβαιος. **XXIX.** τί οὖν  
 ἔδοξε τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ παρεισαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ὀμνύντα;  
 ἵνα τὴν ἀσθένειαν διελέγξῃ τοῦ γενητοῦ καὶ  
 διελέγξας ἅμα παρηγορήσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθα  
 διηνεκῶς τὸ ἄξιον τοῦ αἰτίου κεφάλαιον ἐν ψυχῇ  
 ταμιεύεσθαι τῇ ἑαυτῶν, τὸ “ οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ  
 θεός ” (Num. xxiii. 19), ἵνα πάντα τὰ ἀνθρωπο-  
 95 λογούμενα ὑπερκύψωμεν· ἀλλὰ πλείστον μετ-  
 [182] ἔχοντες τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ χωρὶς ἑαυτῶν | ἐπινοῆσαι  
 μηδὲν δυνάμενοι μηδὲ ἐκβῆναι τὰς ἰδίους κῆρας  
 ἰσχύοντες, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ θνητὸν εἰσδύομενοι καθάπερ  
 οἱ κοχλῖαι καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὥσπερ οἱ ἐχῖνοι  
 σφαιρηδὸν εἰλούμενοι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ  
 ἀφθάρτου τὰ αὐτὰ ἅ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν δοξάζομεν  
 τὴν μὲν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι ἀνθρωπόμορφον  
 τὸ θεῖον, ἀποδιδράσκοντες, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις  
 96 ἀσέβειαν, ὅτι ἀνθρωποπαθές, ἐπαναιρούμενοι. διὰ  
 τοῦτο χεῖρας πόδας εἰσόδους ἐξόδους ἐχθρας ἀπο-  
 στροφὰς ἀλλοτριώσεις ὄργας προσαναπλάττομεν,

<sup>a</sup> Literally “ everything which comes after God is found  
 to have descended by a whole genus.”

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 92-96

nothing better than the Cause—even to think the thought were blasphemy—since there is nothing equal to Him, or even but a little below. The gulf that separates God from what comes next to Him is one of kind and nature.<sup>a</sup> Now men have recourse to oaths to win belief, when others deem them untrustworthy; but God is trustworthy in His speech as elsewhere, so that His words in certitude and assurance differ not a whit from oaths. And so it is that while with us the oath gives warrant for our sincerity, it is itself guaranteed by God. For the oath does not make God trustworthy; it is God that assures the oath.

XXIX. Why then did it seem well to the prophet and revealer to represent God as binding Himself by an oath? It was to convince created man of his weakness and to accompany conviction with help and comfort. We are not able to cherish continually in our souls the thought which sums so worthily the nature of the Cause, that "God is not as man" (Numb. xxiii. 19), and thus rise superior to all the human conceptions of Him. In us the mortal is the chief ingredient. We cannot get outside ourselves in forming our ideas; we cannot escape our inborn infirmities. We creep within our covering of mortality, like snails into their shells, or like the hedgehog we roll ourselves into a ball, and we think of the blessed and the immortal in terms of our own natures. We shun indeed in words the monstrosity of saying that God is of human form, but in actual fact we accept the impious thought that He is of human passions. And therefore we invent for Him hands and feet, incomings and outgoings, enmities, aversions, estrangements, anger, in fact such parts and passions as can never

## PHILO

- ἀνοίκεια καὶ μέρη καὶ πάθη τοῦ αἰτίου· ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ὄρκος τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπίκουρος ἀσθενείας.
- 97 “ Ἐὰν οὖν δῶ σοι ὁ θεός, ἀφελεῖς ” (Exod. xiii. 11) λέγει Μωυσῆς ὀριζόμενος· μὴ δόντος γὰρ οὐχ ἕξεις, ἐπεὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ κτήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκτός καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις καὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ αἱ πάντων ἐνέργειαι καὶ οὐ σὺ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄδε ὁ κόσμος· ὅ τι ἂν ἀποτέμνη καὶ διαιρῆ, τοῦτ’ ἀλλότριον εὐρήσεις· καὶ γὰρ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀστέρας καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν ἀφθάρτων τε καὶ φθαρτῶν ἰδέας ἀπάσας οὐκ ἴδια κέκτησαι, ὥσθ’ ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῶν ἱερείου τρόπον προσάγης, τὸ θεοῦ προσάξεις κτήμα, οὐ τὸ σαντοῦ.
- 98 XXX. Παρατῆρει δὲ ὡς πάνυ εὐαγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν δοθέντων ἀφελεῖν διείρηται, οὐχ ὅλα προσάγειν τὰ δοθέντα. μυρία γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις ἐπιβάλλοντα ἀνθρώπων γένει δεδώρηται, ὧν ἀμέτοχος ἀπάντων ἐστὶν αὐτή, γένεσιν ἀγέννητος οὔσα, τροφήν τροφῆς οὐ δεομένη, αὔξησιν ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένουσα, τὰς κατὰ χρόνον ἡλικίας ἀφαίρεσιν ἢ πρόσθεσιν οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένη, σῶμα ὀργανικὸν ᾧ λαβεῖν, ᾧ δοῦναι, προελθεῖν, ἰδεῖν, ἀκοῦσαι, προσενέγκασθαι τροφήν, τὴν ἐξικμασθεῖσαν ἀποπέμψασθαι πάλιν, ἀτμῶν ἐπικρῖναι διαφοράς, λόγῳ χρήσασθαι γεγωνῶ, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἅμα καὶ ὠφελί-  
99 μους ὑπηρεσίας ἔνεστιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀδιάφορα ἂν τις εἴποι, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογούμενα

<sup>a</sup> Nature here, as often in Philo, is practically identified with the Divine Agency in things. Thus it is called in 100 “the uncreated.” Philo’s point is that, if blessings are bestowed on us by nature, it does not follow that they are worthy as offerings to the power behind nature.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 96-99

belong to the Cause. And of such is the oath—a mere crutch for our weakness.

So to resume, "if God gives such and such to thee, thou shalt separate them" (Exod. xiii. 11). Thus does Moses condition his command. Yes, for unless He gives, thou shalt not have, since all things are His possessions, all things outside thee, and the body, the senses, the reason, the mind, and the functions of them all; and not thyself only, but this world also. And whatsoever thou severest or dividest from it for thy use, thou shalt find to be not thine but Another's. Earth and water, air, sky, stars, all forms of living creatures and plants, things that perish and things that perish not, thou dost not hold in ownership. Therefore whatsoever thou bringest as an offering, thou wilt offer God's possession and not thine own.

XXX. Again note the true sense of holiness shown in the command to separate from what has been given us, not to bring all. For numberless are the gifts assigned by nature<sup>a</sup> to mankind as their portion, in none of which does she herself participate. She is unborn yet gives birth, needs no nourishment yet gives it, changes not yet gives growth, admits neither of diminishment nor increase yet gives the ages of life in succession; she gives that bodily organization which has the power to take and give, advance, see, hear, absorb food, cast it forth when digested, distinguish flavours, utter speech, and do the many other things which belong to those offices which are at once useful and necessary. Perhaps it may be said that, while these are but indifferent things, nature must have taken for her own undoubted forms

ἀγαθὰ δεῖν ἀνῆφθαι τὴν φύσιν. φέρ' οὖν ἐξετάσω-  
 μεν καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μάλιστα  
 παρ' ἡμῖν θαυμαζόμενα, ὧν ἀπάντων μὲν τυχεῖν  
 κατὰ καιροὺς τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας εὐχόμεθα, τυχόντες  
 100 δὲ εὐδαιμονέστατοι νομιζόμεθα. τίς οὖν ἀγνοεῖ  
 ὅτι εὐγηρία καὶ εὐθανασία μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρω-  
 πείων ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδετέρου κοινωνὸς ἡ  
 φύσις ἀγήρως τε καὶ ἀθάνατος οὔσα; καὶ τί  
 [183] παράδοξον, εἰ τὸ | ἀγένητον γεννητῶν ἀγαθοῖς οὐκ  
 ἀξιοῖ προσχρῆσθαι, ὅποτε καὶ τὸ γενόμενον αὐτὸ  
 κατὰ τὰς τῶν εἰδῶν εἰς ἃ τέμνεται διαφορὰς  
 ἀνομοίων μεταποιεῖται ἀρετῶν; ἄνδρες γοῦν <οὐ>  
 γυναιξίν οὐδὲ γυναῖκες ἀνδράσιν ἀμιλλήσαιντο ἂν  
 περὶ ὧν μόνοις τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀρμόττει προσεῖναι·  
 ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν γυνάνδρων, εἰ ζηλώσαιεν τὰ ἀνδρῶν,  
 οἱ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων, εἰ τοῖς γυναικῶν ἐπίθοιντο  
 101 ἐπιτηδεύμασι, δύσκειαν οἴσονται. ἐνίας δὲ ἀρετὰς  
 ἡ φύσις οὕτως διακέκρικεν, ὡς μηδὲ ἐξ ἐπιτη-  
 δεύσεως εἰς κοινωνίαν ἀχθῆναι δύνασθαι· τὸ γοῦν  
 σπεῖρειν καὶ γεννᾶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀνδρῶν ἴδιον,  
 οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τοῦτό γε γυνή· καὶ μὴν ἀγαθὸν οὔσαν  
 γυναικῶν εὐτοκίαν ἀνδρὸς οὐ δέχεται φύσις. ὥστε  
 οὐδὲ τὸ "ὡς ἄνθρωπος"<sup>1</sup> (Deut. i. 31) ἐπὶ θεοῦ  
 κυριολογεῖται, κατάχρησις δὲ ὀνομάτων ἐστὶ παρ-  
 ηγοροῦσα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν. ἀφελεῖς οὖν, ὧ  
 ψυχῇ, πᾶν γενητὸν θνητὸν μεταβλητὸν βέβηλον  
 ἀπὸ ἐννοίας τῆς περὶ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὰ ὅσα ἀνθρώποις with variations.

<sup>a</sup> This sentence is added as another illustration of the truth that what are ἀγαθὰ with men cannot necessarily be predicated of God.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 486, note on *De Cher.* 121.

<sup>c</sup> The word 'separate' is clearly used with reference to its  
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## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 99-101

of good. Let us test then, among these truly named "good" things, those which in our judgment are most admired, all of which we pray to attain at their proper seasons, and whose attainment is counted our greatest happiness. Such are a happy old age and a happy death. We all know that they are the greatest blessings that can befall mankind, and yet in neither has nature any share, for she knows neither old age nor death. And why should we count it strange that the uncreated does not deign to use the good which belongs to the created, when even the created itself lays claim to virtues varying according to the different species into which it is divided? Men could not contest with women, nor women with men, the functions which fitly belong only to the other sex. If women should affect the practices of men, or men attempt those of women, they will in each case be held to belie their sex and win an ill name thereby. And some virtues and excellences nature has so discriminated, that not even long practice could make them common property. To sow and beget belongs to the man and is his peculiar excellence, and no woman could attain to it. Again welfare in child-bearing is a good thing belonging to women, but the nature of man admits not of it. Thus even the phrase<sup>a</sup> "as a man" (cherisheth his son) (Deut. i. 31) is not used of God in its literal sense, but is a term used in figure,<sup>b</sup> a word of help to our feeble apprehension. Separate,<sup>c</sup> therefore, my soul, all that is created, mortal, mutable, profane, from thy conception of God the uncreated, the

use in Ex. xiii. 11, though there properly the thing set apart or separated was to be offered, not as here, discarded.

ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἀγίου καὶ μόνου μακαρίου.

- 102 XXXI. Τὸ δὲ “ παντὸς διανοίγοντος μήτραν τὰ ἀρσενικά τῷ κυρίῳ ” (Exod. xiii. 12) φυσικώτατα ἔχει. ὡσπερ γὰρ ταῖς γυναιξὶ πρὸς ζώων γένεσιν οἰκειότατον μέρος ἢ φύσις ἔδωκε μήτραν, οὕτως πρὸς γένεσιν πραγμάτων ὤρισεν ἐν ψυχῇ δύναμιν, δι’ ἧς κυφορεῖ καὶ ὠδίνει καὶ ἀποτίκτει
- 103 πολλὰ διάνοια. τῶν δὲ ἀποκουμένων ἐννοημάτων τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα, τὰ δὲ θήλεα, καθάπερ ἐπὶ ζώων εἶναι συμβέβηκε· θήλυ μὲν οὖν ἔγγονον ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κακία καὶ πάθος, οἷς καθ’ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκθηλυνόμεθα, ἄρρεν δὲ εὐπάθεια καὶ ἀρετή, ὑφ’ ὧν ἐγειρόμεθα καὶ ῥωννύμεθα. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀνδρωνίτιν ἐστὶαν πᾶσαν ἀνιερωτέον θεῷ, τὴν δὲ γυναικωνίτιν ἀπονεμητέον ἑαυτοῖς· διὸ καὶ προστέτακται· “ πᾶν διανοίγον μήτραν, τὰ ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ.”
- 104 XXXII. Ἀλλὰ καὶ “ παντὸς ” φησὶ “ διανοίγοντος μήτραν ἐκ τῶν βουκολίων ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ὅσα ἂν γένηται σοι τὰ ἀρσενικά τῷ κυρίῳ ” (Exod. xiii. 12). εἰπὼν περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ γεννημάτων ἄρχεται διδάσκειν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀλόγου, ὅπερ αἱ αἰσθήσεις κεκλήρωνται, ἃς κτήνεσιν ἀπεικάζει. θρεμμάτων δὲ ὅσα ἐν βουκολίοις ἀνατρέφεται τιθασὰ καὶ χειροθήη, ἅτε ὑπὸ ἐπιστάτου φροντίδος ἀγόμενα βουκόλου· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄφετα καὶ ἀπελευθεριάζοντα ἐρημία τοῦ πρᾶυνοντος ἐξαγριαίνεται, ὧν δὲ ἡγέμονες αἰπόλοι βουκόλοι νομεῖς, τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστον εἶδος ἐπιστάται

<sup>a</sup> Or, “ a state of good affections ”; see App. p. 495, note on *Quod Det.* 120.



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 101-104

unchangeable, the immortal, the holy and solely blessed.

XXXI. The words "of all that openeth the womb, the males to the Lord," are indeed true to nature. For as nature has given the womb to women as the proper part for generation of living offspring, so she has set in the soul for the generation of things a power by which the understanding conceives and travails and is the mother of many children. Of the thoughts thus brought to the birth some are male and some female, just as in the case of living beings. The female offspring of the soul is vice and passion, that emasculating influence which affects us in each of our pursuits. The male offspring is health of soul<sup>a</sup> and virtue, by which we are stimulated and strengthened. Of these the men's quarters must be dedicated wholly to God, the women's quarters must be set to our own account, and therefore we have the command "all that openeth the womb, the males to the Lord."

XXXII. But we also find "everything which openeth the womb from thy herds amongst thy cattle, all that are born to thee, the males to the Lord" (Exod. xiii. 12). Having spoken of the offspring of the ruling element he proceeds to instruct us as to the offspring of the unreasoning element, the element allotted to the senses, which he likens to cattle. Now the younglings that are reared among the herd are tame and docile, because they are guided by the care of the herdsman who rules them. For those that roam at large and in liberty become wild for want of one to tame them, but those who are led by goatherd, neat-herd, shepherd, and the like, the herdsman, that is, who tends whatever kind of animal it

- 105 ζώων, ταῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡμεροῦται. πέφυκεν  
 [184] οὖν καὶ τὸ αἰσθήσεων γένος τῇ μὲν ἀτίθασον τῇ  
 δ' εἶναι χειρόηθες· ἀτίθασον μὲν ὅταν ἀφηνιάσαν  
 ὡσπερ βουκόλου τοῦ νοῦ φέρηται πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς  
 ἀλόγως αἰσθητά, ἡμερον δὲ ὅταν ὑπεῖξαν πειθηνίως  
 τῷ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡγεμόνι λογισμῶ κυβερνᾶται  
 τε καὶ ἡνιοχῆται πρὸς αὐτοῦ. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἂν ἴδη  
 ἢ ἀκούσῃ ἢ συνόλως αἰσθηται κατὰ τὴν ἐπικέλευσιν  
 τοῦ νοῦ, πάντα ἐστὶν ἄρρενα καὶ τέλεια, προσγίνεται  
 106 γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τὸ εἶ· ὅσα δ' ἂν χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος, ὑπὸ  
 ἀναρχίας ὡσπερ πόλιν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν διόλλυσι.  
 πάλιν οὖν καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὰς μὲν ἐπομένας  
 τῷ νῷ κινήσεις, αἵπερ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀμείνους εἰσὶν,  
 ὁμολογητέον κατὰ θεὸν συμβαίνειν, τὰς δὲ ἀφηνια-  
 ζούσας ἀναθετέον ἑαυτοῖς ἀλόγως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν  
 ἐκτὸς αἰσθητῶν φορᾶς ἀγομένοισι.
- 107 XXXIII. Ἄλλ' οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φυράματος ὄλου προστέταχεν ἀφαιρεῖν.  
 ἢ δὲ πρόσταξις ἐστὶ τοιάδε· “καὶ ἔσται, ὅταν  
 ἐσθήητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρτων τῆς γῆς, ἀφελεῖτε ἀφαίρεμα  
 ἀφόρισμα τῷ κυρίῳ· ἀπαρχὴν φυράματος ὑμῶν  
 ἄρτον, ἀφαίρεμα ἀφελεῖτε αὐτόν· ὡς ἀφαίρεμα  
 ἀπὸ ἄλωνος, οὕτως ἀφελεῖτε” (Num. xv. 19-20).
- 108 τὸ τοίνυν φύραμα κυρίως, εἰ χρὴ τάλθηθές εἰπεῖν,  
 ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν αὐτοί, συμπεφορημένων καὶ συγ-  
 κεκκριμένων πλείστων οὐσιῶν, ἵνα ἀποτελεσθῶμεν·  
 ψυχρὸν γὰρ θερμῷ καὶ ξηρὸν ὑγρῷ, δυνάμεις  
 ἐναντίας, ἀναμίξας καὶ ἀνακερασάμενος ὁ ζωο-

<sup>a</sup> The R. V. has “so shall ye heave it,” and above “heave-offering.”

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 105-108

may be, must needs be tame and gentle. So then, the senses also as a kind may be either wild or tame. They are wild when, throwing off the control of their herdsman the mind, they are carried away in their unreason into the outer sphere of things perceptible by them. They are tame when they respond submissively to reflection, the ruling element in our compound nature, and accept its guidance and control. Whatsoever then sense sees or hears or in general perceives under the direction of the mind is male and perfect, for each perception is made under good conditions. But whatsoever lacks that guide works destruction in our body, as anarchy does in a city. So then here, as in the former case, we must admit that the motions of the senses, which obey the mind and necessarily are of the better kind, come to pass through God's will, but those which reject control must be held to belong to ourselves, when propelled by the external objects of sense we are carried away in unreasoning course.

XXXIII. Again we are bidden to set apart not only from these but from the "whole mixture." The words of the commandment are as follows, "and it shall be that when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall set apart a portion marked out for the Lord: a loaf as the first offering of your mixture, ye shall set it apart as a portion. As ye do with a portion from the threshing-floor, so shall ye set it apart" (Numb. xv. 19-20). The "mixture" then is ourselves, and indeed in a literal sense, so many substances are brought together and compounded in us, to make our complete selves. Cold and heat, wet and dry, such opposite forces as these were blended and combined by the moulder of living creatures to produce

## PHILO

πλάστης ἐν ἑκ πασῶν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἀπειργάζετο  
 συμφόρημα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ φύραμα εἶρηται.

τούτου τοῦ συμφορήματος, ὃ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα δύο  
 τὰ ἀνωτάτω τμήματα κεκλήρωται, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς

109 ἀνιερωτέον. ἀπαρχαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἅγιοι κινήσεις αἱ  
 κατ' ἀρετὴν ἑκατέρου, διὸ καὶ ἄλλω παραβέβληται·  
 καθάπερ οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἄλωσι πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ  
 ὅσα τοιαῦτα καθ' ἑαυτὰ χωρίζεται, ἀθέρεις δὲ καὶ  
 ἄχυρα καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος φορυτὸς ἐτέρωσε σκίδναται,  
 οὕτως καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἄριστα καὶ  
 ὠφέλιμα καὶ τὰς ἀληθεῖς τροφὰς παρέχοντα, δι'  
 ὧν ὁ ὀρθὸς ἀποτελεῖται βίος, ἄπερ ἀναθετέον θεῷ,  
 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα μὴ θεία ὑπολειπτέον ὥσπερ

110 ἀφαιρετέον. εἰσὶ δὲ δυνάμεις ἀμιγεῖς  
 κακίας ὅλαι δι' ὄλων, ἃς οὐ θέμις ἀκρωτηριάξιν  
 διαιροῦντας, αἱ ἐοικυῖαι ταῖς ἀμερίστοις θυσίαις,  
 ὀλοκαυτώμασιν, ὧν ἐναργὲς παράδειγμα ὁ Ἰσαάκ,

[185] ὃν ἱερείου τρόπον ἀνάγειν | προστέτακται μηδενὸς

111 πάθους φθοροποιῦ μεμοιραμένον. λέγεται δὲ καὶ  
 δι' ἐτέρων· “ τὰ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπῶ-  
 ματά μου διατηρήσετε προσφέρειν ἐμοὶ ἐν ταῖς  
 ἑορταῖς μου ” (Num. xxviii. 2), οὐκ ἀφαιροῦντες  
 οὐδὲ διανεμόντες, ἀλλ' ἔμπλεα καὶ ὀλόκληρα καὶ  
 τέλεια προσάγοντες· ἑορτὴ γὰρ ψυχῆς ἢ ἐν ἀρεταῖς  
 εὐφροσύνη τελείαις, τέλειαι δὲ αἱ κηρῶν ἀμέτοχοι,  
 ὅσας τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος χωρεῖ. μόνος δὲ  
 ἑορτάζει τὴν τοιαύτην ἑορτὴν ὁ σοφός, τῶν δὲ

<sup>a</sup> Philo supposes that *φύραμα* is derived from *συμφόρημα*.

<sup>b</sup> Or “ the impulses of either which accord with virtue.”

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 108-111

that single congeries the individual, and it is from this that it is here called a "mixture."<sup>a</sup>

Of this congeries, in which soul and body hold the place of primary divisions, we must dedicate the firstlings. These firstlings are the sacred impulses which accord with the excellence of either,<sup>b</sup> and therefore also we have the comparison with the threshing-floor. For as on the threshing-floor the wheat, barley, and other grain are gathered apart, while the chaff and husk and any other refuse are scattered elsewhere, so too in us there are the best, the profitable elements which provide that true nourishment, whereby right living is brought to its fullness. These it is which must be dedicated to God, while the rest which has nothing of the divine must be left as refuse to mortality. It is from the former then that we must take for our offering.

But there are some powers which are pure from evil through and through, and these we must not mutilate by severing into their parts. These are like the undivided sacrifices, the whole burnt-offerings of which Isaac is a clear example, whom God commanded to be offered in victim's fashion, because he had no part or lot in any passion which breeds corruption. And the same truth is taught in another passage, "my gifts, my offerings, my fruits ye shall observe to offer me at my feasts" (Numb. xxviii. 2). No word here of setting apart or dividing: they are to be brought full, perfect, and complete. For the soul's feast is the joy and gladness which the perfect virtues bring, and by perfect is meant virtues unspotted by all the tainting evils to which the human race is liable. Such a feast the wise man<sup>c</sup> only can keep and save him none

<sup>a</sup> Or "the wise being," *i.e.* God.

ἄλλων οὐδὲ εἰς· ἄγευστον γὰρ παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν ψυχὴν εὐρεῖν σπανιώτατον.

- 112 XXXIV. Ἀποδοὺς οὖν τὸν περὶ τῶν μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς λόγον ἡγεμονικοῦ τε καὶ ὑπηκόου καὶ τί ἐστὶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ ἄρρεν ἢ θῆλυ, μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν ἐκδιδάσκει. σαφῶς γὰρ εἰδὼς ὅτι δίχα πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας οὐχ οἷόν τε γενεᾶς τῆς ἄρρενος ἐπιλαχεῖν, φησὶν ἐξῆς· “πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν ὄνου ἀλλάξεις προβάτω” (Exod. xiii. 13), ἴσον τῷ πάντα πόνον ἀντικαταλλάττου προκοπῆς· πόνου μὲν γὰρ ὄνος—τλητικὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῶον—, προκοπῆς δὲ πρόβατον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ
- 113 δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, σύμβολον. ἴθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα διδακτὰ μελέτην, μὴ ὀλιγώρως μηδὲ ῥαθύμως ἀλλὰ μετὰ φροντίδος τῆς πάσης παρεσκευακῶς τὴν σαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ὑποστήναι καρτερῶς πάντα κάματος, καὶ σπούδαζε μὴ ὑπὸ ἀτελοῦς κατασχεθῆναι πόνου, προκοπὴν δὲ καὶ βελτίωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐκλεέστατον ἄγοντα τέλος εὐρέσθαι· προκοπῆς
- 114 γὰρ χάριν οἰστὸς ὁ πόνος. εἰάν δὲ ἄρα σὺ μὲν ἀναδέχη τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν κάματος, ἢ δὲ φύσις μηδὲν ἐπιδιδῶ πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον ἐναντιουμένη ταῖς ἐκ προκοπῆς βελτιώσεσι, μετατραπόμενος ἡρέμει· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐναντιοῦσθαι φύσει. διὸ καὶ προστίθησιν· “εἰάν δὲ” φησί “μὴ ἀλλάξης, λυτρώση αὐτό” (Exod. xiii. 13), ὅπερ ἐστίν, εἰάν μὴ δυνηθῆς προκοπὴν ἀλλάξασθαι τοῦ πονεῖν, μέθες καὶ τὸν πόνον· τὸ γὰρ λυτρώσασθαι τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, ἐλευθερώσαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνηνύτου

<sup>a</sup> Philo absurdly derives ὄνος from πόνος and πρόβατον (probably correctly) from προβαίνω.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 111-114

other. For hardly ever shall you find a soul which has never tasted of passions or vices.

XXXIV. Having given us the doctrine of the parts of the soul, of the ruling part and the subject part, and having shown also in each of these what is the masculine and what the feminine element, Moses proceeds to teach us the lesson that follows next. He knows well that without toil and care it is not possible for male offspring to fall to our lot. Thus his next words are "all that openeth the womb of an ass, thou shalt exchange for a sheep" (Exod. xiii. 13). It is as much as to say exchange all toil for progress. For the ass is the symbol of toil—he is a patient beast—and the sheep of progress,<sup>a</sup> as the very name shows. Come then to the study of the arts, or the trades, or whatever else can be taught and learnt, not with disdain or slackness, but with all care and attention, with your mind braced to endure patiently all manner of drudgery, and at the same time be at pains not to be held in bondage by fruitless toil, but to bring your labour to the most honourable conclusion and win progress and betterment. For toil is to be borne for the sake of progress. But if it should chance that with all your acceptance of labour and its drudgery your nature gains nothing, but refuses the improvement which progress should bring, turn from it and desist. It is a weary task to oppose nature. And therefore it is that he adds "if thou dost not exchange it, thou shalt redeem it" (Exod. xiii. 13): that is, if you cannot gain progress in exchange for your labour, let the labour go as well, for the word "redeem" suggests such a meaning, namely that you shall free your soul from the care that has no end and accomplishes nothing.

- 115 καὶ ἀτελοῦς φροντίδος. XXXV. λέγω  
 δὲ ταῦτα οὐ περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν  
 μέσων τεχνῶν καὶ ὧν ἄλλων ἀναγκαίων περὶ τε  
 σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐκτὸς περιουσίαν  
 πραγματεύονται, ἐπεὶ ὁ γε περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν  
 [186] τελείων πόνος, | καὶ ὑστερίζῃ τοῦ τέλους, ἱκανὸς  
 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προωφελῆσαι τοὺς χρωμένους, τὰ δὲ  
 ὅσα ἐκτὸς ἀρετῆς, εἴαν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ πέρασ,  
 ἀνωφελῆ πάντα· ὡσπερ ἐπὶ ζώων, εἴαν ἀφέλης  
 κεφαλῆν, οἴχεται τᾶλλα· κεφαλὴ δὲ πραγμάτων  
 ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν, ἃ ζῆ μὲν τρόπον τινὰ ἐφαρ-  
 μοζομένου, θνήσκει δέ, εἴαν ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ ἀκρωτηριά-  
 116 ζειν ἐθέλης. ὥστε καὶ ἀθληταὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι  
 νικηφορεῖν, αἰεὶ δὲ ἡττώμενοι, καταλυέτωσαν· καὶ  
 εἴ τις ἔμπορος ἢ ναύκληρος θαλαττεύων ἐπαλλήλοις  
 κακοπραγίαις χρήται, μετατραπόμενος ἡρεμείτω·  
 ὅσοι τε τὰς μέσας ἐπιτηδεύσαντες τέχνας μηδὲν  
 ἡδυνήθησαν διὰ σκληρότητα φύσεως μάθημα  
 παραδέξασθαι, ἐπαινετοὶ καταλύοντες· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἔνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἀσκεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ  
 117 πρὸς ὃν ἀναφέρεται σκοποῦ. εἴαν οὖν ἐμποδοστατῆ  
 πρὸς τὰς ἀμείνους ἐπιδόσεις ἢ φύσις, μὴ ἀνόνητα  
 ἀντιτείνωμεν, συμπραττούσης δὲ ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ  
 τιμαῖς γεραίρωμεν τὸ θεῖον, αἱ λύτρα τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 ψυχῆς εἰσι, δεσποτῶν ἀνημέρων αὐτὴν ἀπαλλάτ-  
 τουσαι καὶ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξαιρούμεναι.
- 118 XXXVI. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Λευίτας ὁμολογεῖ  
 Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν πρωτοτόκων γενομένους  
 θεραπευτὰς τοῦ μόνου ἀξίου θεραπεύεσθαι λύτρα  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων εἶναι· “κἀγὼ” γὰρ φησιν

° Literally, “for the superfluity of external things.”



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 115-118

XXXV. But these words do not apply to the virtues, but only to the secondary arts and any necessary trades which men practise to provide for the needs of the body, or to procure additional and material comforts.<sup>a</sup> Labour undertaken for the perfectly good and excellent in any form, even though it fail to attain its end, is of itself strong to benefit the labourer from the first. It is those things which lie outside virtue which are all profitless, unless the result crown the work. It is just as it is with animals. If you take from them the head, all else goes with it. And the head of actions is their end or object. While it is in its place they live in some sort. If you choose to cut it off or amputate it, they die. So athletes who cannot win a victory, but are always defeated, will do well to retire. Merchants or shipmen who meet with perpetual disasters at sea should desist and change their occupation. Those who have studied the lower subjects, but have been unable through dullness of nature to imbibe any knowledge, will deserve praise if they abandon them. For exertion in such matters is not engaged in for the sake of the exercise, but for the sake of the object at which they aim. If then our nature opposes our efforts for progress in them, let us not fruitlessly resist her. If she forwards those efforts, let us do homage to God with those firstlings and honours which are the ransom of our souls, for they rescue it from cruel task-masters and redeem it into liberty.

XXXVI. We have it indeed on the authority of Moses that the Levites, who in place of the first-born were appointed to the service of Him who alone is worthy of service, were a ransom for all the others. "And behold I have taken," he says, "the Levites

- “ ἰδοὺ εἴληφα τοὺς Λευίτας ἐκ μέσου <τῶν> υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἀντὶ παντὸς πρωτοτόκου διανοίγοντος μήτραν παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ· λύτρα αὐτῶν ἔσονται, καὶ ἔσονται ἐμοὶ οἱ Λευῖται. ἐμοὶ γὰρ πᾶν πρωτότοκον· ἐν ἣ ἡμέρα ἐπάταξα πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἡγίασα ἐμοὶ πᾶν πρωτότοκον
- 119 ἐν Ἰσραὴλ” (Num. iii. 12, 13). ὁ καταπεφευγὸς ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ ἰκέτης αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς λόγος ὀνομάζεται Λευίτης· τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ μεσαιτάτου καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτου τῆς ψυχῆς λαβῶν, τουτέστι προσλαβόμενος καὶ προσκληρώσας ἑαυτῷ, τῆς τῶν πρεσβείων ἡξίωσε μερίδος· ὥστε ἐνθένδε δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ῥουβὴν τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὁ δὲ Λεὺὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πρωτότοκός ἐστιν, ὁ μὲν τὰ χρόνου, ὁ δὲ τὰ ἀξιώματος καὶ δυνάμεως φερόμενος
- 120 πρεσβεῖα· πόνου μὲν γὰρ καὶ προκοπῆς, ὧν Ἰακώβ σύμβολον, τὸ εὐφυνὲς ἀρχή, καθ’ ὃ Ῥουβὴν καλεῖται, θεωρίας δὲ τῆς τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ, καθ’ ἣν Ἰσραὴλ τέτακται, πηγὴ τὸ θεραπευτικῶς ἔχειν αὐτοῦ, θεραπείας δὲ ὁ Λεὺὶ ἐστὶ σημεῖον. καθάπερ οὖν τῶν Ἡσαῦ προτοτοκίων κληρονόμος
- [187] Ἰακώβ ἀνευρίσκεται, | τῆς περὶ κακίαν σπουδῆς ἡττωμένης τοῦ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν πόνου, οὕτως καὶ τὰ Ῥουβὴν πρεσβεῖα τοῦ εὐφυοῦς ὁ κεχρημένος ἀρετῇ τελεία Λεὺὶ οἴσεται· τῆς δὲ τελειότητος δεῖγμα ἐναργέστατον πρόσφυγα γενέσθαι θεοῦ καταλιπόντα τὴν τῶν ἐν γενέσει πραγματείαν.
- 121 XXXVII. Ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν τὰ ψυχῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐφιεμένης σῶστρά τε καὶ λύτρα. μήποτε δὲ καὶ δόγμα εἰσηγείται σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 491.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 118-121

from the midst of the sons of Israel, in place of every first-born that opens the womb from among the sons of Israel. They shall be their ransom and the Levites shall be mine, for every first-born is mine. On the day when I smote every first-born in the land of Egypt, I hallowed to myself every first-born in Israel" (Numb. iii. 12, 13). It is Reason, who has taken refuge with God and become His suppliant, that is here given the name of Levite. This Reason God took from the midmost and most sovereign part of the soul, that is He drew it and allotted it to Himself and adjudged to it the portion of the eldest son. And thus it is clear from this that, while Reuben is the first-born of Jacob, Levi is the first-born of Israel. The former has the precedence in years, the latter in honour and value. For labour and progress of which Jacob is the symbol have their source in natural ability<sup>a</sup> which gives Reuben his name, but the fountain of that devout contemplation of the only wise being, on which Israel's rank is based, is the habit of service to God, and this service is symbolized by Levi. So then, just as Jacob appears as inheritor of the birthright of Esau, when labour striving for the good was victorious over the craving that pursues evil, so too Reuben the man of natural gifts must yield the rights of the elder to Levi, whose life is one of perfect virtue. And this perfection is shown most clearly in that he makes God his refuge and forsakes all dealing with the world of created things.

XXXVII. This is the primary meaning of the price which the soul that craves liberty pays for its deliverance and ransom. But it may be that the prophet also means to show another truth and one

- ὅτι πᾶς σοφὸς λύτρον ἐστὶ τοῦ φαύλου, μηδ' ἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐξαρκέσαντος, εἰ μὴ ἔλέω καὶ προμηθείᾳ χρώμενος ἐκείνος προϋνόει τῆς διαμονῆς αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς τοῦ νοσοῦντος ἀντιτεταγμένος τοῖς ἀρρωστήμασι καὶ πραότερα κατασκευάζων αὐτὰ ἢ συνόλως ἀναιρῶν, εἰ μὴ που μετὰ φορᾶς ἀνεπισχέτου βιασάμενα καὶ τὴν τῆς θερα-
- 122 πείας ὑπερβάλλοι φροντίδα. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ Σόδομα φθειρεται, μηδενὸς οἶα ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀμυθῆται πλήθει κακῶν ἀντιρρέψαι δυνηθέντος ἀγαθοῦ· ὡς εἶ γε ὁ πεντηκοστὸς λόγος εὐρέθη, καθ' ὃν ἄφεις ψυχῇ δουλείας καὶ παντελῆς ἐλευθερίας προκηρύττεται (Lev. xxv. 10), ἢ τις τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἀριθμῶν, οὓς ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ καταλέγεται μέχρι τῆς κατὰ παιδείαν ὀρίζων δεκάδος τὴν ὕφεσιν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἀκλεῶς ὁ νοῦς ἐφθάρη (Gen. xviii.
- 123 24 ff.). πειρᾶσθαι μέντοι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφθαρησομένους κακίας ὡς οἶόν τε διασώζειν μιμουμένους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἰατρῶν, οἳ, κἂν ὀρώσιν ἀδύνατον τοῖς κάμνουσι τὸ σῶζεσθαι, προσφέρουσι τὴν θεραπείαν ὅμως ἄσμενοι, τοῦ μὴ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὀλιγωρίᾳ δοκεῖν συμβῆναί τι τῶν παρὰ γνώμην· εἰ δέ τι καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ὑγείας σπέρμα ἐμφαίνοιτο, τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐμπύρευμα πάσαις ἐπιμελείαις ζωπυρητέον· ἐλπίς γὰρ μηκυνθέντος καὶ συναυξηθέντος ἀμείνουσι καὶ ἀπταιστοτέρῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ βίῳ.
- 124 ἔγωγ' οὖν ὅταν τινὰ τῶν σπουδαίων διαιτώμενον κατ' οἰκίαν ἢ κατὰ πόλιν θεάσωμαι,

<sup>a</sup> Where the fiftieth year is decreed as the year of Jubilee.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "limiting the diminution at": cf. μέχρι τοῦδε ὠρίσθω ἢ βραδυτής, Thuc. i. 71. See also App. pp. 491, 492.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 121-124

that we could ill spare, namely that every wise man is a ransom for the fool, whose existence could not endure for an hour, did not the wise provide for his preservation by compassion and forethought. The wise are as physicians who fight against the infirmities of the sick, alleviate them or altogether remove them, unless the violence of the malady's impetuous course overpower the careful treatment of the physician. It was such overpowering evil that destroyed Sodom, when no good could balance the vast sum of evil that weighed down the scale. If there had been found in Sodom the number fifty, the number which brings the message of redemption from slavery and full liberty to the soul (Lev. xxv. 10<sup>a</sup>), or any of the numbers which wise Abraham named in succession from fifty downwards till he reached the lower limit <sup>b</sup> of ten, the number sacred to education,<sup>c</sup> the mind would not have perished in such shameful downfall (Gen. xviii. 24 ff.).

Yet we should try, as well as we may, to save even those whom the evil within them is bringing to certain ruin, and follow the example of the good physicians, who, though they see that there is no hope for the patient, yet render their services gladly, lest others should think, in the event of some disaster which they did not expect, that it is due to the physician's neglect.<sup>d</sup> And if some seed of recovery should appear in him, however little, it should be cherished as we fan an ember with every care. For we may hope that the germ may grow and spread, and that thus the man may lead a better and more stable life.

For my own part, when I see a good man living in a house or city, I hold that house or

<sup>c</sup> See App. pp. 491-492.

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 492.

- τὴν οἰκίαν ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην εὐδαιμονίζω καὶ οἶομαι τὴν τε τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν βέβαιον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπόντων προσδοκίαν τελεσφορουμένην σχήσειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀπεριόριστον καὶ ἀπερίγραφον πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ διὰ τοὺς ἀξίους καὶ τοῖς ἀναξίοις δωρουμένου· καὶ εὐχομαι ὡς πολυχρονιωτάτους αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴ ἀγήρως οὐκ ἔνεστι, γενέσθαι, νομίζων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραμένειν ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν οὗτοι
- [188] 125 χρόνον ζῆν | δυνηθῶσιν. ὅταν οὖν ἢ ἴδω ἢ ἀκούσω τινὰ αὐτῶν τεθνεῶτα, σφόδρα κατηφῶ καὶ ἄχθομαι καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον αὐτούς ἢ τοὺς ζῶντας ὀλοφύρομαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκολουθία φύσεως τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀποβῆναι τέλος, βίον μὲν εὐδαιμόνα εὐκλεᾶ δὲ θάνατον ἐνδεξαμένοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους μεγάλης καὶ δυνατῆς χειρός, δι' ἣν ἐσώζοντο, ἀπολειφθέντας ταχὺ δὴ μάλα τῶν ἰδίων αἰσθήσεσθαι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἢ φύσις ὥσπερ δένδρῳ τοὺς ἤδη πεπανθέντας καρποὺς ἀποβάλλοντι νέους ἐτέρους ἀναβλαστῆσαι παρασκευάσει πρὸς τροφήν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν χρῆσθαι
- 126 δυναμένων. ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν πόλεων τὸ ἐχυρώτατον εἰς διαμονὴν ἄνδρες εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί, οὕτως καὶ τῆς περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν πόλεως, ἣ συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τὸ βεβαιότατον εἰς ἴδρυσιν ἔλαχον οἱ φρονήσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐρασταὶ λόγοι, οὓς ὁ νομοθέτης μεταφορᾷ χρώμενος λύτρα καὶ πρωτοτόκους καλεῖ δι' αἷς εἶπον αἰτίας ἤδη.
- 127 Ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Λευιτῶν “λυτρωτὰς διὰ παντὸς” εἶναί φησιν (Lev. xxv. 32), ὅτι ὁ θεοῦ θεραπευτῆς αἰώνιον ἐλευθερίαν κεκάρπωται

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 124-127

city happy and believe that their enjoyment of their present blessings will endure, and that their hopes for those as yet lacking will be realized. For God for the sake of the worthy dispenses to the unworthy also His boundless and illimitable wealth. I know indeed that they cannot escape old age, but I pray that their years may be prolonged to the utmost. For I believe that, as long as they may live, it will be well with the community. So when I see or hear that any of them are dead, my heart is sad and heavy. Not for them. They have reached in the due course of nature the end we all must reach. They have lived in happiness and died in honour. It is for the survivors that I mourn. Deprived of the strong protecting arm, which brought them safety, they are abandoned to the woes which are their proper portion, and which they soon will feel, unless indeed nature should raise up some new protectors to replace the old, as in the tree which sheds its now ripened fruit, her agency makes other fruits grow up to give sustenance and pleasure to those who can pluck them.

As then in a city good men are the surest warrant of permanence, so in the commonwealth of the individual composed of soul and body, the strongest force to ensure stability belongs to those aspirations of the reason to wisdom and knowledge, which the lawgiver in his parable calls on grounds already stated "ransom" and "first-born."

And thus too he speaks of the cities of the Levites as "ransomed for ever" (Lev. xxv. 32), because the worshipper of God has reaped eternal freedom, and,

κατὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τροπὰς τῆς ἀεικινήτου ψυχῆς  
 ἰάσεις δεχόμενος ἐπαλλήλους· τὸ γὰρ λυτρωτὰς  
 μὴ ἀπαξ ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός, ὡς φησι, γίνεσθαι  
 τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, αἰὲ μὲν τρέπεσθαι, αἰὲ  
 δὲ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, τῆς μὲν τροπῆς διὰ τὸ φύσει  
 θνητὸν ἐγγυνομένης, τῆς δὲ ἐλευθερίας χάριτι τοῦ  
 εὐεργέτου, ὃν κλῆρον ἔλαχεν, βεβαιουμένης.

- 128 XXXVIII. "Ἄξιον δὲ μὴ παρέργως σκέψασθαι,  
 τί δὴ ποτε τὰς πόλεις τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀνῆκε τοῖς  
 φυγάσι, τοῖς ἱερωτάτοις τοὺς ἀνιέρους εἶναι  
 δοκοῦντας συνοικεῖν ἀξιώσας· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ  
 τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες. λεκτέον οὖν πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν τὰκόλουθον τῷ πάλαι λεχθέντι, ὅτι ὁ  
 σπουδαῖος τοῦ φαύλου λύτρον, ὡστ' εἰκότως πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἱερωμένους οἱ διαμαρτάνοντες ἀφίξονται τοῦ  
 καθαρθῆναι χάριν· ἔπειθ' ὅτι φυγάδας  
 οἱ Λευῖται προσίενται καὶ αὐτοὶ δυνάμει φυγάδες  
 129 ὄντες· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν πατριδῶν ἐλαύνονται,  
 οὕτως καὶ οὗτοι καταλελοίπασιν τέκνα, γονεῖς,  
 ἀδελφούς, τὰ οικειότατα καὶ φίλτατα, ἵνα ἀντὶ  
 θνητοῦ τὸν ἀθάνατον κλῆρον εὕρωται· διαφέρουσι  
 δὲ ὅτι ἐκεῖνοις μὲν ἀβούλητος ἢ φυγὴ δι' ἔργον  
 ἀκούσιον, τούτοις δὲ ὁ δρασμὸς ἐκούσιος δι'  
 ἔρωτα τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οἱ Λευῖται  
 καταφυγῇ, τοῖς δὲ Λευίταις ὁ πάντων ἡγεμῶν  
 [189] ἔστιν, ἵν' οἱ | μὲν ἀτελεῖς νομὸν<sup>1</sup> ἔχωσι τὸν ἱερόν

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Tr. : Cohn and mss. νόμον : perhaps μόνον.

<sup>a</sup> Or "error succeeds error."



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 127-129

while in the continuous flux of the soul change<sup>a</sup> succeeds change, healing also succeeds healing in him. For the saying that the cities may be redeemed not once for all, but for ever, suggests the thought that for the worshipper with perpetual change goes perpetual liberation. The one is incidental to mortal nature, the other stands firm through the grace of the Benefactor, who is that worshipper's portion and possession.

XXXVIII. And here we may turn to another matter, which deserves more than a passing consideration. Why did he throw open the cities of the Levites to the fugitives from vengeance and deem fit that there the holiest should live side by side with men reckoned unholy, namely those who had committed involuntary homicide? The first answer is one that follows from what has been already said. We showed that the good are a ransom for the bad, and therefore it is with good reason that the sinners come to the consecrated to get purification.

Secondly, as they whom the Levites receive are exiles, so too the Levites themselves are virtually exiles. For as the homicides are expelled from the home of their nativity, so too the Levites have left children, parents, brothers, their nearest and dearest, to win an undying portion in place of that which perishes. The two differ in that the flight of these is not of their own desire, but for an involuntary deed, while those have fled of their own free will in loving quest of the highest. Again, the homicides find their refuge in the Levites, the Levites in Him who is ruler of all. The former in their imperfection think to have for their allotted province the holy word, the latter to have the God

λόγον, οὗτοι δὲ τὸν ᾧ ἱερῶνται θεόν.

- 130 ἔτι γε μὴν οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς Λευίταις πόλεις ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι διὰ φόνον ὅσιον προνομίας ἠξιώθησαν· ὅτε γοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ τραπεῖσα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον θεόν, τὸ σῶμα, ὡς χρυσὸν ἐξετίμησε, τόθ' οἱ ἱεροὶ λόγοι πάντες αὐτοκέλευστοι μεθ' ὄπλων ὀρμήσαντες ἀμυντηρίων, τῶν κατ' ἐπιστήμην ἀποδείξων, ἡγεμόνα προστησάμενοι καὶ στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ προφήτην καὶ φίλον τοῦ θεοῦ Μωυσῆν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐπολέμου<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἢ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναντιομένων δόγματα καταλύσαι (Exod. xxxii. 26-28)· ὥστ' εἰκότως σύνοικοι γεγόνασιν οἱ τὰς ὁμοίας εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἐργασάμενοι.
- 131 XXXIX. "Αδεται δέ τις καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἀπορήτοις λόγος, ὃν ἀκοαῖς πρεσβυτέρων παρακατατίθεσθαι χρὴ νεωτέρων ὦτα ἐπιφράξαντας. τῶν γὰρ περὶ τὸν θεὸν δυνάμεων ἀρίστων πασῶν μία οὔσα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἰσότημος ἢ νομοθετικῇ—νομοθέτης γὰρ καὶ πηγὴ νόμων αὐτός, ἀφ' οὗ πάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος νομοθέται—διχῇ πέφυκε τέμνεσθαι, τῇ μὲν εἰς εὐεργεσίαν κατορθούντων, τῇ δὲ εἰς
- 132 κόλασιν ἀμαρτανόντων. τοῦ μὲν οὖν προτέρου τμήματος ὑπηρέτης ὁ Λευίτης ἐστί· τὰς γὰρ λειτουργίας ἀπάσας ἀναδέχεται, ὅσαι πρὸς ἱερωσύνην ἀναφέρονται τελείαν, καθ' ἣν διασυνίσταται καὶ γνωρίζεται τὸ θνητὸν θεῷ, ἢ δι' ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἢ διὰ σωτηρίων ἢ διὰ μετανοίας ἀμαρτη-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πολεμοῦσι.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 129-132

to whom they have been consecrated. And, once more, they who slew involuntarily were granted the right of living in the same cities as the Levites, because these too were privileged as a reward for slaying in a righteous cause. We find that when the soul fell and honoured the god of Egypt, the body, as gold, with an honour which was not its due, the holy thoughts with one accord of their own motion rushed to the defence in arms. These arms were the proofs and arguments which knowledge gives. And they set before them as their captain and leader the high priest and prophet and friend of God, Moses. They waged war to the death for true religion, and held not their hands till they had made an end of all the false doctrines of their enemies (Exod. xxxii. 26-28). And thus it is natural that Levite and homicide should dwell together, for their deeds though not the same are alike.

XXXIX. There is another interpretation current of this matter, though not for vulgar knowledge. It may be entrusted to the hearing of the elders: younger ears may well be sealed against it. It is this. Amongst all the highest powers that attach to God, there is one excelled by none, the legislative. For He Himself is the lawgiver and the fountain of laws, and on Him depend all particular lawgivers. This legislative power is such as to be divided into two parts, one for rewarding those who do well, the other for the punishment of evil-doers. Of the first of these divisions the Levite is the minister. For he undertakes all the rites that belong to that perfect priesthood, by which mortality is commended to and recognized by God, whether it be through burnt-offering or peace-offering or repentance of sins. But

- μάτων· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου καὶ κολαστηρίου τμήματος οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρῶντες ὑπηρεταὶ γεγόνασι.
- 133 καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Μωυσῆς φάσκων· “ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἑκών, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ” (Exod. xxi. 13), ὥστε τὰς μὲν τούτου χεῖρας ὀργάνων τρόπον παραλαμβάνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ διὰ τούτων ἀοράτως ἐνεργοῦντα ἕτερον εἶναι, τὸν ἀόρατον. συνοικείτωσαν οὖν δύο θεράποντες τῶν νομοθετικῆς ὑπηρεταὶ δυεῖν εἰδῶν, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν ὁ Λευίτης, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς κόλασιν ὁ ἀκουσίως ἀνελών.
- 134 “Ἐν ἧ” δέ φησιν “ἡμέρα ἐπάταξα πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἡγίασα ἐμοὶ πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν Ἰσραὴλ” (Num. iii. 13), οὐχ ἵνα τοῦθ’ ὑποτοπήσωμεν, ὅτι κατ’ ἐκείνον μόνον τὸν χρόνον, καθ’ ὃν ἐπλήγη τὴν μεγάλην πληγὴν φθορᾶ τῶν πρωτοτόκων Αἰγυπτῶν, οἱ Ἰσραὴλ πρωτότοκοι ἐγένοντο ἅγιοι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν καὶ αὖθις καὶ αἰεὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει ἐπὶ ψυχῆς πέφυκεν· ὅταν τὰ τοῦ τυφλοῦ πάθους ἡγεμονικώτατα διαφθαρῆ, τῆνικαῦτα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀξυδερκῶς ὀρῶντος
- [190] πρεσβύτερα καὶ | τίμια ἔκγονα γίνεται ἅγια.
- 135 κακίας γὰρ ἕξοδος ἀρετῆς εἴσοδον ἐργάζεται, ὡς καὶ τὸναντίον ὑπεκστάντος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἐφεδρεῖον κακὸν ἐπεισέρχεται· ὅσον οὐδέπω γοῦν ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακώβ (Gen. xxvii. 30), καὶ πάρεστιν ἐπὶ τὴν πανδεχῆ διάνοιαν Ἡσαῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρετῆς τύπων ἐνσφραγιούμενος κακίας, ἣν δύνηται, χαρακτῆρας· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι τοῦτ’ ἐργάσασθαι, πτερυσθεῖς γὰρ καὶ κληρονομηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ λήσεται φθάσαντος πρὶν ἢ παθεῖν ἀμύνασθαι.

## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 132-135

of the second division, whose function is to punish, they who shed blood involuntarily have thereby become the ministers. To this Moses testifies in the words "he did it not of intention, but God delivered him into his hands" (Exod. xxi. 13). The slayer's hands we see were used as instruments, but He who worked invisibly by these was another, even the Invisible One. It is well then that the two should dwell together who are the ministers of the two forms of law-giving, the Levite serving that which bestows reward, the involuntary slayer that which executes vengeance.

When we read "on the day that I smote all the first-born in Egypt, I sanctified to myself all the first-born in Israel" (Numb. iii. 13), we must not suppose that at that time only when Egypt was dealt that mighty blow by the destruction of her first-born did the first-born of Israel become holy. No, the lesson is that in the past, in the present, in the future, that hallowing may be for ever repeated in the soul. When the most dominant elements of blind passion are destroyed then comes the sanctification of the elder and precious offspring of Israel who has the clear vision of God. For the exodus of evil works the entrance of virtue, and the opposite is true also. When good withdraws, the evil that is biding its time takes its place. Hardly has Jacob gone out (Gen. xxvii. 30) when Esau is with our mind, which is open to all that come. He thinks to efface the image of virtue and impress in its stead, if he can, the stamp of vice. Yet he shall not be able to accomplish his purpose. The wise man will ward off the blow before it fall, and Esau shall wake to find himself tripped, sup-  
planted, and his inheritance passed to the other.

- 136 XL. Προσάγει δ' οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων, ἐμφαίνων ὅτι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς γεγηθότα καὶ πίονα καὶ φυλακτικά καὶ χαρτὰ πάντα θεῷ παραχωρητέον. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν θυσιῶν διατάξεσι τρία προστεταγμένον ἀναφέρειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων τὰ πρῶτα, στέαρ καὶ νεφροὺς καὶ λοβὸν ἥπατος (Lev. iii. 3 ff.), περὶ ὧν κατ' ἰδίαν λέξομεν, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἐγκέφαλον ἢ καρδίαν, ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καθαγιῆσθαι, εἴ γε καὶ κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τούτων τὸ
- 137 ἡγεμονικὸν ἀνωμολόγηται. ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὁσίως πάνυ κἂκ περισκέψεως ἀκριβοῦς αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ βωμὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν κατὰ ἀμερῆ χρόνων διαστήματα πολλὰς<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἐκάτερον τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον τροπὰς λαμβάνον καὶ διαλλάττοντας αἰεὶ τύπους δέχεται τοτὲ μὲν καθαροῦ καὶ δοκίμου τοτὲ δὲ παρακεκομμένου καὶ
- 138 κιβδηλοῦ νομίσματος. τὴν δεδεγμένην οὖν χώραν ἄμφω τὰ μαχόμενα καλὸν τε καὶ αἰσχρὸν καὶ πρὸς ἐκάτερον ὠκείωμένην καὶ τὴν ἴσην τιμὴν ἀμφοτέροις ἀπονέμουσαν οὐχ ἤττον ἀναγνον ἢ εὐαγῆ κρίνας ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου βωμοῦ κατεβίβασε· τὸ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν βέβηλον, τὸ δὲ βέβηλον
- 139 πάντως ἀνίερων. τοῦτο δὲ<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν διακεχώρικεν<sup>3</sup>. εἰ δ' ἀπόκρισιν<sup>4</sup> πάσχοι, τῆνικαῦτα πάντων τῶν μερῶν κεκαθαρμένων ἀ-

<sup>1</sup> Ins. Cohn from Pap. πολλὰ εἰ; mss. omit.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn suggests διὰ τοῦτο δή.

<sup>3</sup> mss. διακεχώρηκεν.

<sup>4</sup> Conj. Tr., lit. "separation"; cf. Plato, *Def.* 415 D κάθαρσις, ἀπόκρισις χειρόνων ἀπὸ βελτιόνων; mss. ἐπίκρισιν, which, though a common word in Philo, is unsuitable here.

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XL. But Abel offers the firstlings not only from the first-born, but from the fat, showing that the gladness and richness of the soul, all that protects and gives joy, should be set apart for God.

I note that also in the ordering of the sacrifices the worshipper is bidden to bring from the victims these three first, the fat, the kidneys, and the lobe of the liver (Lev. iii. 3 ff.). Of these I will speak separately. But nowhere is there a word of the brain or the heart,<sup>a</sup> which we should have supposed would be offered before all, seeing that also in the Lawgiver's words<sup>a</sup> it is acknowledged that the ruling principle resides in one or other of these.

Yet perhaps it was in true piety and after careful thought that he excluded them from the altar of God, because this ruling principle from moment to moment is subject to many changes either way, to good and bad. And thus it is ever assuming different impressions : sometimes that of a coin pure and approved by the test, sometimes of one that is base and adulterated. This region then which admits both contending elements, the noble and the shameful, which is familiar with both, and honours both alike, seemed no less unholy than holy to the lawgiver, and therefore he dismissed it from the altar of God. For the shameful is profane, and the profane is surely unholy.

It is this profaneness which has excluded the ruling principle. But if that should undergo purgation, then, when all the parts have been cleansed, there shall be given to the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 492.

## PHILO

κηλίδωτον ἄχραντον ὀλοκαυτωθήσεται· νόμος γὰρ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων οὗτος, μηδὲν ἔξω τροφῆς σκυβάλων καὶ δέρματος, ἃ σωματικῆς ἀσθενείας δείγματα, οὐχὶ κακίας, ἐστίν, ὑπολείπεσθαι τῷ γενητῷ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα ψυχὴν ὀλόκληρον κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη παρέχεται ὀλοκαυτοῦν θεῷ.



## THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN, 139

sacrificial fire a whole offering free from stain and pollution. For this is the law of burnt-offerings, that nothing save the excrement and hide<sup>a</sup> which are the tokens of bodily weakness, not of wickedness, should be left to created being, but the rest, which show a soul wholly complete in all its parts, should be given in their entirety as a burnt-offering to God.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 492.



THAT THE WORSE IS WONT  
TO ATTACK THE BETTER  
(QUOD DETERIUS POTIORI  
INSIDIARI SOLEAT)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

CAIN and Abel signify to Philo opposing principles, love of self and love of God (32). The call to Abel to go out into the "plain" is a challenge to a disputation. The opening of the Treatise is mainly occupied in showing that in Genesis "plain" suggests a contest of opposing principles. Why does Jacob call Leah and Rachel to the *plain*? Because it is there that he "tends his flocks," *i.e.* disciplines his lower impulses. The *plain* is the obvious place for Joseph, the wearer of a many-coloured patchwork of inconsistent tenets, to be sent to by his father that he may be taught better by his brethren, who are there becoming proficient in the work of disciplining their lower nature (their flocks). Even Isaac, going out into the *plain* to meditate is, in Philo's eyes, the peerless champion, who finds the field emptied by the retirement of all his adversaries. "The *plain*," says Philo in 32, "has now been shown to be a figure of a contest," and so he passes on to his next point.

Abel was ill-advised to accept Cain's challenge. Self-love can plead for itself (33 f.) with an eloquence which can be met only by one versed in dialectic, and Abel lacked such training. Moses was wiser in shrinking from meeting the sophists of Egypt,

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acknowledging himself to be without eloquence, nay, devoid of speech itself, and waiting for "Aaron," who commonly represents for Philo the uttered word. Thought should ever be wedded to speech. Glib fools are contemptible, but dumb wise men are ineffective (44 ff.). This is a theme to which Philo returns later on (126 ff.), where he enlarges on the joy of speech in interpreting thought.

Yet the seeming victory of the false view is really a defeat (47), as is evident when we consider well what is implied in the words, "the *voice* of thy brother's *blood*." Here is the great truth, which is plainly stated in Lev. xvii. 11, that "the Life is in the Blood." The Life which is Life indeed emerges from seeming death no longer "speechless." It has now a "voice," which God hears (47 ff. and 92 f.). This theme is taken up again in 70 ff., where the question put to Cain, "What hast thou done?" is treated as equivalent to "Thou hast effected nothing," and as signifying the futility of sophism, 'clothing itself with' Balaam or anyone else, in contrast with the undying life of virtue.

The seeming victor, moreover, brings on himself a curse which comes to him "from the earth," *i.e.* the senses which are his chosen field (98 ff.). He may *toil* at it, but can never *till* it (104 ff.). It will never second his efforts (112 f.). He must go "groaning and trembling" (119, 129 f.), never finding *rest* with 'Noah,' or *laughter* with 'Isaac,' or *joy in himself* with 'Aaron,' or *hope* with 'Enos' (120 ff.). He will taste abandonment (141 ff.) and the shame of exposure to the eyes of God (158 ff.).

## PHILO

A few points may be noticed—

- (a) Suggestions illustrated by the New Testament.
- (a) God asks questions to convict men out of their own mouths, and to elicit an utterance of the heart's desire (58-60). We are reminded of our Lord's way with men.
- (β) Blood is distinguished, as the essence of our animal vitality, from the inbreathed breath of our reason (79-91). Our thoughts go to the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 St. John.
- (b) Philo's habit of going off at a word.
- (a) The word "keeper" in Cain's insolent question leads to 'guardianship': this to Levites, guardians of the oracles of God. Their active service from the age of twenty-five to that of fifty, when they become guardians, leads to Memory, guarding what it has learned, and assisted in the high task of teaching by Utterance ("His *brother* shall minister," Numb. viii. 26) (62-68).
- (β) The words "God hath made me to laugh" (literally "hath made laughter for me") leads to the thought of God as "Poet" ("Maker") whose Poetry produces gladness (123 ff.).
- (γ) Joseph is sent *from* "Hebron," the place of "hollows," which at once suggests the differences of level and colour which are a symptom of leprosy, and are therefore suited to mark the unhealthy state which Joseph must be rid of (15 f.).
- (δ) Joseph, having lightly started in the right direction, is presently found "*wandering*."

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We may, with a right but superficial intention, go wrong, mistaking forced asceticism for healthy self-control, and outward piety for true religion (17-21).

- (ε) The two stages of education are reached by way of the two cakes made of Manna, which is a synonym for the Rock, from which flows the spring of Divine wisdom (117 f.).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΧΕΙΡΟΝ ΤΩΙ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝΙ  
ΦΙΛΕΙΝ ΕΠΙΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ

- <sup>1</sup>  
[191] I. “ Καὶ εἶπε Κάιν πρὸς Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη Κάιν ἐπὶ Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν ” (Gen. iv. 8). ὁ βούλεται ὁ Κάιν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἐκ προκλήσεως τὸν Ἀβελ εἰς συζήτησιν ἀγαγὼν εἰκόσι καὶ πιθανοῖς σοφίσμασιν ελεῖν ἀνὰ κράτος· τὸ γὰρ πεδίον, εἰς ὃ προτρέπεται παραγενέσθαι, σημεῖον ἀμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης εἶναι φαμεν ἀπὸ τῶν προφανῶν τεκμαιρόμενοι περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων.
- <sup>2</sup> ὀρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀγώνων κατὰ τε πόλεμον καὶ κατ’ εἰρήνην ἐν πεδίοις συνισταμένους· ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν οὖν ὅσοι τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἄθλους διαθλοῦσι, στάδια καὶ λεωφόρα πεδία μεταδιώκουσι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τὰς πεζομαχίας καὶ ἵππομαχίας οὐκ ἐν γεωλόφοις ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖσθαι· πλείους γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀνεπιτηδειότητος τῶν χώρων αἱ βλάβαι, ὧν ἀντεπιφέρουσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐχθροί,
- <sup>3</sup> γένοιντ’ ἄν. II. σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον, ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐπιστήμης τὴν ἐναντίαν διάθεσιν πολεμῶν ἀμαθίαν, ὅταν τὰς ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεις ἀλόγους τρόπον τινὰ ποιμαίνῃ νουθετῶν καὶ σωφρονίζων, ἐν πεδίῳ θεωρεῖται· “ ἀποστείλας γὰρ Ἰακώβ ἐκάλεσε Λεῖαν



## THAT THE WORSE IS WONT TO ATTACK THE BETTER

I. "And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us make our way to the plain." And it came to pass when they were on the plain that Cain rose up against his brother Abel and killed him" (Gen. iv. 8). What Cain is aiming at is by means of a challenge to draw Abel into a dispute, and to gain the mastery over him by plausible sophistries that have the appearance of truth. For, drawing our conclusions about things that are obscure from things that are manifest, we say that the plain, the rendezvous to which he summons him, is a figure of contest and desperate battle. For we see that most contests both in war and peace take place on plains. In peace those who contend in athletic sports look out for race-courses and spacious plains; and in war it is not usual to fight infantry or cavalry battles on hills; for the casualties arising from the unfavourable nature of the ground would outnumber those inflicted on each other by the combatants. II. Here is a signal proof of this. The earnest seeker of knowledge, at war with ignorance, the contrary condition, when shepherding (so to speak) with admonition and correction the irrational powers in the soul, is presented to us on a plain: for "Jacob sent and called Leah

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 493.

καὶ 'Ραχὴλ εἰς τὸ πεδίον, οὐ τὰ ποιμνία" (Gen. xxxi. 4), παριστὰς ἐναργῶς ὅτι φιλονεικίας σημεῖον  
 4 τὸ πεδίον | ἐστὶ. καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς <διὰ τί>; "ὄρῳ  
 [192] τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν" ἔφη "ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἔστι πρὸς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐχθρὸς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν· ὁ δὲ  
 θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἦν μετ' ἐμοῦ" (Gen. xxxi. 5).  
 διὰ τοῦτο γάρ, εἴπομι' ἄν, ὁ Λάβαν οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς  
 σοῦ, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ὁ θεός· ἐν ἧ μὲν γὰρ ψυχῇ τὸ  
 ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τετίμηται,  
 ἐν ταύτῃ λόγος ἀστείος οὐχ εὐρίσκεται· ἡ δ' ἐμ-  
 περιπατεῖ ὁ θεός, τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἀγαθὸν οὐχ  
 ὑπείληπται, καθ' ὃ νενόηται καὶ προσηγόρευται  
 5 Λάβαν. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἐν μέρει λόγου τοῦ προ-  
 κόπτοντος κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κοσμοῦνται, τὰς ψυχῆς  
 ἀλόγους φοράς μεταδιδάσκουσιν ἐκλεξάμενοι ἐπι-  
 τήδειον τόπον τὸ πεδίον. λέγεται γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσήφ·  
 "οὐχ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ποιμαίνουσιν ἐν Συχέμ;  
 δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ἴδου  
 ἐγώ. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ Πορευθεὶς ἴδε, εἰ ὑγιαίνουσιν  
 οἱ ἀδελφοί σου καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ ἀνάγγειλόν  
 μοι. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς κοιλάδος τῆς  
 Χεβρών, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Συχέμ. καὶ εὔρεν αὐτὸν  
 ἄνθρωπος πλανώμενων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ· ἠρώτησε δὲ  
 αὐτὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος Τί ζητεῖς; ὁ δὲ εἶπε Τοὺς  
 ἀδελφούς μου ζητῶ, ἀνάγγειλόν μοι ποῦ βόσκουσιν.  
 εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν·  
 ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτῶν λεγόντων Πορευθῶμεν εἰς  
 6 Δωθαεῖμ" (Gen. xxxvii. 13-17). III. ὅτι μὲν  
 οὖν ἐν πεδίῳ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλόγων δυνάμεων  
 ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν, δηλὸν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν  
 εἰρημένων. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ πέμπεται πρὸς αὐτούς,

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and Rachel to the plain, where the flocks were" (Gen. xxxi. 4), making it clear that the plain is a figure for contentiousness. And what is his motive for calling them? "I see your father's face," he said, "that it is not toward me as it used to be: but the God of my father has been with me" (Gen. xxxi. 5). 'The reason,' I should be inclined to say, 'that Laban is not on thy side, is that God is with thee; for in a soul in which the outward object of sense is valued as a supreme good, in that soul excellent reason is not found: but in one in which God walks, the outward object of sense is not regarded as a good thing: and it is to this that the conception and name of Laban corresponds.' And such men as order themselves by the principle of gradual progress in accordance with their father's rule, have chosen the plain as a suitable place for their task of teaching the soul's irrational impulses a better way. For the words addressed to Joseph are: "Do not thy brethren tend their flocks in Sychem? Come let me send thee to them." And he said "Here am I." And he said to him "Go see, whether thy brethren are in good health and the sheep, and bring me word." And he sent him out of the valley of Hebron, and he came to Sychem. And a man found him wandering in the plain: and the man asked him "What seekest thou?" And he said "I seek my brethren, tell me where they feed their flocks." And the man said to him "They have departed hence, for I heard them saying 'Let us go to Dothaim.'" (Gen. xxxvii. 13-17). III. It is evident from these words that they are in the plain, caring for the irrational powers within them. And, because he is unable to bear the too great severity

## PHILO

ἐπεὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιστήμην αὐστηροτέραν  
οὐσαν ἀδυνατεῖ φέρειν, ἵνα μάθῃ παρὰ τιθασωτέροις  
ὑφηγηταῖς τὰ πρακτέα καὶ συνοίσοντα· κέχρηται  
γὰρ δόγματι ἐκ διαφερόντων συνυφασμένῳ, πάνυ  
ποικίλῳ καὶ πολυπλόκῳ, παρὸ καὶ χιτῶνα κατ-  
εσκευάσθαι ποικίλον φησὶν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῷ  
(Gen. xxxvii. 3), δηλῶν ὅτι λαβυρινθώδους καὶ  
7 δυσεκλύτου δόξης ἐστὶν εἰσηγητής· πρὸς γὰρ  
πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν φιλοσοφῶν τὰ  
τρία γένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὰ τε ἐκτὸς καὶ περὶ σῶμα  
καὶ ψυχὴν, ὅλαις φύσεσιν ἀλλήλων διηρημένα εἰς  
τὸ αὐτὸ ἄγει καὶ συνείρει, χρεῖον ἕκαστον ἑκάστου  
καὶ πάντα πάντων ἀποφαίνειν ἀξιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐξ  
ἀθρόων συντεθὲν ἄρτιον καὶ πλήρες ὄντως ἀγαθόν,  
τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν τοῦτο ἐπάγῃ μέρη μὲν ἢ στοιχεῖα  
[193] 8 ἀγαθῶν, | ἀγαθὰ δ' οὐκ εἶναι τέλεια· καθάπερ γὰρ  
μήτε πῦρ μήτε γῆν μήτε τι τῶν τεττάρων, ἐξ ὧν  
ἐδημιουργήθη τὸ πᾶν, κόσμον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν  
στοιχείων εἰς ταῦτο σύνοδόν τε καὶ κρᾶσιν, τὸν  
αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον μήτε ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς  
ιδία μήτε ἐν τοῖς περὶ σῶμα μήτε ἐν τοῖς περὶ  
ψυχὴν καθ' αὐτὰ ἐξετάζεσθαι—τῶν γὰρ εἰρημένων  
ἕκαστον μερῶν τινα καὶ στοιχείων λόγον ἔχειν—  
9 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἄθροισμα. IV. ταύτην

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 493.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 6-9

of his father's knowledge, Joseph is sent to them, that in the hands of more lenient instructors he may learn what he ought to do and what will be beneficial ; for the creed he has hitherto followed is one woven of incongruous elements, multifarious and complex in the highest degree. This is why the lawgiver says that a coat of many colours was made for him (Gen. xxxvii. 3), indicating by this that he is the promulgator of a doctrine full of mazes and hard to disentangle. He is one who moulds his theories with an eye to statecraft rather than to truth. This appears in his treatment of the three kinds of good things,<sup>a</sup> those pertaining to the outside world, to the body, and to the soul. These, though separated from each other by complete diversity of nature, he brings together and combines into one, claiming to show that each is in need of each and all of all, and that the aggregate resulting from taking them all together in a body is a perfect and really complete good ; but that the constituents out of which this is compacted, though indeed parts or elements of good things, are not good things in perfection. He points out that neither fire nor earth nor any of the four elements, out of which the universe was formed, is a world, but the coming together and blending of the elements into one ; and argues that in precisely the same way happiness is found to be neither a peculiar property of the things of the outside world, nor of the things pertaining to the body, nor of those pertaining to the soul, taken by themselves. He argues that each of the three classes mentioned has the character of a part or element and that it is only when they are all taken together in the aggregate that they produce happiness. IV. In order, then, that he

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- οὖν τὴν δόξαν πέμπεται μεταδιδασκῆσόμενος πρὸς ἄνδρας μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν νομίζοντας, ὁ ψυχῆς ὡς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἴδιον, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς καὶ περὶ σῶμα πλεονεκτήματα λεγόμενα μόνον, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντα, ἀγαθὰ πεπιστευκότας. “ἰδοὺ” γὰρ φησιν “οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ποιμαίνουσι” καὶ ἄρχουσι παντὸς ἀλόγου μέρους τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς “ἐν Συχέμ” (Gen. xxxvii. 13). ὤμος δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται, τλητικοῦ σημεῖον πόνου· βαστάζουσι γὰρ ἄχθος μέγιστον οἱ φιλάρετοι, τὴν πρὸς σῶμα καὶ τὴν σώματος ἡδονὴν καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγγυνομένας τέρψεις ἀντίταξιν.
- 10 “δεῦρο οὖν ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς αὐτούς” (ib.), τουτέστι μετακλήθητι καὶ πρόσελθε τῇ διανοίᾳ λαβὼν ὄρμην ἐκούσιον εἰς τὸ τὰ ἀμείνω μαθεῖν. ἀλλ' ἄχρι γε τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιμορφάζεις ὡς παιδείαν δεξάμενος τὴν ἀληθῆ· μήπω γὰρ παρὰ σαυτῷ τοῦτο ὠμολογηκῶς ἔτοιμος εἶναι λέγεις ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι, ὅταν φῆς “ἰδοὺ ἐγώ,” ἐξ οὗ μοι δοκεῖς εἰκαιότητα καὶ εὐχέριαν ἀπελέγχειν σεαυτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν ἐτοιμότητα μηνύειν. τεκμήριον δέ, εὐρήσει σε μικρὸν ὕστερον ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος πλανώμενον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ (Gen. xxxvii. 15), οὐκ ἂν πλανηθέντα, εἰ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὑγιοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν
- 11 ἄσκησιν ἦλθες. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε προτρεπτικὸς λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτίθησιν οὐδεμίαν, ἵνα ἐθελουργὸς καὶ αὐτοκέλευστος ἐπιτηδεύῃς τὰ βελτίω, φησὶ γάρ· “πορευθεὶς ἴδε,” θέασαι καὶ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 493.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 9-11

may be taught better ideas than these, he is sent to men who hold that nothing is a good thing "but what has true beauty, and that this is a property belonging to the soul as soul; men who are convinced that advantages pertaining to things outside and to the body are good things in name only, not in reality. For it says "Behold thy brethren tend their flocks," and govern every irrational element of their being "in Sychem". (Gen. xxxvii. 13). "Sychem" means "shoulder," a symbol of patient toil; for lovers of virtue carry a very great burden, namely resistance to the body and bodily pleasure, and in addition to these resistance to external things and the delights which they afford us. "Come then let me send thee to them," (*ibid.*), that is, 'submit to be summoned elsewhere, and draw nigh and entertain in thine understanding a ready eagerness for the receiving of better teaching. Up to the present time thou deludest thyself with the idea that thou hast welcomed the true education. For thou professest to be ready to be taught otherwise, though thou hast not yet in thine own heart acknowledged thy need of this. Thy cry "Here am I" seems to me to convict thee of rash and reckless compliance, rather than to indicate readiness to learn. A proof of this is that soon afterwards the real man will find thee wandering in the way (Gen. xxxvii. 15), whereas thou never wouldst have lost the way hadst thou with a healthy resolve come to be trained. And mark, the words in which thy father urges thee to go put no compulsion on thee, in order that thou mayest follow the better course at thine own prompting and by thine own spontaneous action. His words are: "Go see," contemplate and observe and

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- κατανόησον καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς περίσκεψαι τὸ πρᾶγμα· εἶδέναι γάρ σε δεῖ περὶ ὃ μέλλεις πονεῖσθαι πρότερον, εἴτ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ
- 12 χωρεῖν. ὅταν μέντοι διακύψῃς καὶ περιαγαγὼν ὄμμα ὄλον δι' ὄλων καταθεάσῃ, προσεξέτασον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους ἤδη καὶ ἀσκητὰς αὐτοῦ γεγονότας, εἰ τοῦτο δρῶντες "ὕγιαίνουσιν" ἀλλὰ μὴ μεμήνασι, καθάπερ οἱ φιλήδονοι διασύροντες καὶ ἐπιχλευάζοντες νομίζουσι. μήτε δὲ τὴν θέαν τοῦ πράγματος μήτε τὴν περὶ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς ἀσκητὰς διάγνωσιν βεβαιώσῃ παρὰ σεαυτῶ, πρὶν "ἀναγγεῖλαι" καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν τῷ πατρί· γινῶμαι γὰρ αἱ μὲν τῶν ἄρτι μανθάνειν ἀρχομένων ἄστατοι καὶ ἀνίδρυτοι, πάγιοι δ' αἱ τῶν προκεκοφόντων, |
- [194] ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ἀκλινὲς κἀκείνους λαμβάνειν ἀναγκαῖον.
- 13 V. Τοῦτον, ᾧ διάνοια, τὸν τρόπον ἔαν ἐρευνᾷς τοὺς ἱεροφαντηθέντας λόγους μὲν θεοῦ, νόμους δὲ ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλῶν, οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν οὐδ' ἀνάξιον τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῶν ἀναγκασθήσῃ παραδέχεσθαι. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, πῶς ἂν τις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων παραδέξαιτο; ἄρα τοσαύτην σπάνιν οἰκετῶν ἢ ὑπηρετῶν εἰκὸς εἶναι τῷ βασιλέως ἔχοντι περιουσίαν Ἰακώβ, ὡς υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην ἐκπέμπειν διαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων παίδων, εἰ ὑγιαίνουσιν, καὶ προσέτι
- 14 τῶν θρεμμάτων; ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ χωρὶς τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὓς ἐννέα βασιλεῖς καθελὼν ἀπήγαγεν, ὑπὲρ τριακοσίουσ ἐσχεν οἰκότριβας· μεμείωται δὲ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου

° The word is that for "it be well with" in Gen. xxxvii. 14.



## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 11-14

with perfect exactness consider the matter ; for thou must first know that at which thou art about to labour, and then afterwards proceed to attend to it. When however thou hast surveyed it and with comprehensive glance obtained a complete view of it in all its parts, go on further to examine those who have already applied themselves to it and become its devotees. Thou must find out whether in pursuing this course they are of sound mind,<sup>a</sup> and not mad, as those who love pleasure imagine in their mocking depreciation of them. Consider the matter, I say, and judge whether they be sane who practise this discipline ; and yet let not thy judgement be final till thou hast brought word and made a report to thy father : for the judgements of those who are beginning to learn are unsettled and unstable, while in those who have made much progress they are firmly fixed ; and the only way is for the others to acquire stedfastness from these.'

V. If, O my understanding, thou searchest on this wise into the oracles which are both words of God and laws given by men whom God loves, thou shalt not be compelled to admit anything base or unworthy of their dignity. Why, how could any sensible person admit the very narrative of which we are now speaking ? Is it likely that Jacob, who had the wealth of a king, was so badly off for household servants or attendants as to send a son out abroad to bring word about his other children, whether they are in good health, and about the cattle to boot ? His grandfather, apart from the multitude of prisoners of war whom he carried off after defeating nine kings, had over three hundred home-bred servants ; and since then there has been no curtailing of his menage,

- προϊόντος πάντα διὰ πάντων ἔλαβεν αὐξήσιν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἀφθόνου θεραπείας ὑπαρχούσης υἷον ἡξίου πέμπειν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐκήδετο, ἐπὶ πράξιν, ἦν καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων ἂν τις ῥαδίως κατώρθωσεν.
- 15 VI. ἀλλ' ὄρας ὅτι καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὅθεν αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει, περιττῶς ἀναγράφει μόνον οὐκ ἐναργῶς προτρέπων ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ ῥητοῦ· “ ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κοιλάδος τῆς Χεβρών ” (Gen. xxxvii. 14)· συζυγὴ δὲ καὶ συνεταιρὶς Χεβρῶν καλεῖται συμβολικῶς ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα, ὅτι συνέζευκται καὶ ὡσπερ ἑταιρίαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ψυχὴν τέθειται· κοιλάδας δὲ ἔχει τὰ αἰσθητήρια, μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ἀπάντων ὅσα ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, ἃ τὰς παμπληθεῖς ποιότητας ἐπαντλοῦντα καὶ διὰ τῶν δεξαμενῶν ἐπεισχέοντα τῇ διανοίᾳ κατακλύζει καὶ βύθιον αὐτῆν
- 16 ἀπεργάζεται. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς λέπρας, ὅταν ἐν οἰκίᾳ κοιλάδες χλωρίζουσαι ἢ πυρρίζουσαι φανῶσι, διείρηται τοὺς λίθους, ἐν οἷς γεγόνασιν, ἐξελόντας ἐτέρους ἀντιτιθέναι (Lev. xiv. 37 ff.)· τούτέστιν, ὅταν διαφέρουσαι ποιότητες, ἃς ἔδημιούργησαν ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ τὰ ἀδελφὰ τούτων πάθη, βαρύνασαι καὶ πῖεσασαι τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν κοιλοτέραν καὶ ταπεινοτέραν αὐτῆν ἑαυτῆς ἐργάσωνται, τοὺς τῆς ἀσθενείας αἰτίους λόγους ἀνελεῖν, ὑγιεινοὺς δὲ δι' ἀγωγῆς νομίμου ἢ καὶ παιδεύσεως ὀρθῆς ἀντισταγαγεῖν.
- 17 VII. Τὸν Ἰωσήφ οὖν ὅλον εἰς τὰς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων κοιλότητας εἰσdedυκότα ὄρω·

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 493.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 14-17

but as time went on it has in every way grown greater. Having then an abundant supply of servants he would never have thought fit to send a son, of whom he was specially fond, on a business which could easily have been carried out quite well even by one of the least valuable of his dependents.

VI. Now you notice that Scripture goes out of its way to record even the place from which he dispatches him, all but giving the reader a plain hint to avoid the literal interpretation. For it says "out of the vale of Hebron" (Gen. xxxvii. 14). Now "Hebron," a "coupling" and "comradeship," is a figurative title for our body, because it is "coupled" with a soul, and has established a friendship and "comradeship" with it. As "vales" it has organs of sense, great receivers of all objects of sense outside it. These pump over the understanding the countless qualities of things, and pour them in upon it through the receivers, flooding it and totally submerging it. This is why in the Law of Leprosy, when greenish or reddish depressions show themselves in a house, an injunction is given to remove the stones in which they have appeared and to put others in their place (Lev. xiv. 57 ff.). That is to say, when diverse qualities, the handiwork of pleasures and desires and passions akin to these, press and weigh down the whole soul, hollowing it out and lowering its level, we are to get rid of the principles which cause the infirmity, and introduce in their place good healthy principles by means of a training under the law or indeed of a good education.<sup>a</sup>

VII. Seeing, therefore, that Joseph has utterly sunk into the hollows of the body and the senses,

προκαλείται τῶν φωλεῶν ἔξω προελθόντα ἐλευ-  
 θέρου σπάσαι τοῦ καρτερίας πνεύματος φοιτήσαντα  
 πρὸς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν ἀσκητὰς νυνὶ δὲ διδασκάλους  
 αὐτῆς. ὁ δὲ προεληλυθέναι δόξας πλανώμενος  
 εὐρίσκεται. “εὖρε” γάρ φησιν “αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπος  
 [195] | πλανώμενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ” (Gen. xxxvii. 15),  
 δηλῶν ὅτι οὐχ ὁ πόνος καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀλλ’ ὁ μετὰ  
 18 τέχνης ἀγαθόν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οὔτε μουσικὴν ἀμούσως  
 οὔτε γραμματικὴν ἀγραμμάτως οὐδὲ συνόλως  
 φράσαι τέχνην ἀτέχνως ἢ κακοτέχνως ἀλλὰ  
 τεχνικῶς ἐκάστην ἐπιτηδεύειν προσήκειν, οὕτως  
 οὐδὲ φρόνησιν πανούργως οὐδὲ σωφροσύνην φει-  
 δωλῶς καὶ ἀνελευθέρως οὐδὲ θρασέως ἀνδρείαν  
 οὐδὲ δεισιδαιμόνως εὐσέβειαν οὐδ’ ἄλλην τινα  
 κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀνεπιστημόνως· ἀνοδία  
 γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ταῦτα πάντα. παρὸ καὶ  
 νόμος κείμενος “δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώκειν”  
 (Deut. xvi. 20), ἵνα δικαιοσύνην καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν  
 τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἔργοις αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἐναν-  
 19 τίοις μετερχώμεθα. εἴαν οὖν τινα θεάσῃ σῖτα καὶ  
 ποτὰ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ προσιέμενον ἢ λουτρά καὶ  
 ἀλείμματα παραιτούμενον ἢ τῶν περὶ σῶμα  
 σκεπασμάτων ἀμελοῦντα ἢ χαμευνίαις καὶ δυσ-  
 αυλίαις χρώμενον, εἴτ’ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιμορφάζοντα  
 ἐγκράτειαν, οἴκτον λαβὼν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν πλάνης  
 τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς ἐγκρατείας ὁδὸν δεῖξον· ἃ γὰρ  
 ἐπετήδευσεν, ἀνήνυτοι καὶ ἄτρυτοι πόνοι λιμῶ  
 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κακώσεσι ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἐκτρα-  
 20 χηλίζοντες. μὴδ’ εἴ τις περιρραντηρίοις ἢ καθαρ-

\* Omitting τῶν after τινα with HL. If τῶν be read with

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he challenges him to quit his lurking-place and go forward and draw a free draught of the spirit of stedfastness by resorting to those who were once aspirants after it, and are now teachers of it. But he, though he fancied that he had made a move forward, is found wandering: for he says, "a man found him wandering in the plain" (Gen. xxxvii. 15), showing that toil by itself is not good, but toil accompanied by skill. For just as it is our business not to practise music unmusically or grammar ungrammatically, or, to say it in a word, any art without art or with bad art, but to practise each art in the way which that art requires, so neither is it our business to practise good sense with cunning, or self-mastery with stinginess and meanness, or courage with rashness, or piety in a superstitious way, or any other virtue-governed knowledge in a spirit of ignorance;<sup>a</sup> for everyone knows that these are trackless regions. Accordingly there is a law bidding us "follow what is just in a just way" (Deut. xvi. 20), that we pursue justice and all virtue by doing the deeds akin to it, but not those that are contrary to it. If then thou observest anyone not taking food or drink when he should, or refusing to use the bath and oil, or careless about his clothing, or sleeping on the ground, and occupying wretched lodgings, and then on the strength of all this fancying that he is practising self-control, take pity on his mistake, and show him the true method of self-control; for all these practices of his are fruitless and wearisome labours, prostrating soul and body by starving and in other ways maltreating them. A man may submit

Cohn, render "nor any other pursuit of the proper understanding of the implications of virtue, without real understanding."

σίοις χρώμενος διάνοιαν μὲν ρυπαίνει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα φαιδρύνει, μηδ' εἰ πάλιν ὑπὸ περιουσίας νεῶν ἰδρύεται λαμπροτάταις χορηγίαις καὶ δαπάναις χρώμενος ἢ ἑκατόμβας ἀνάγει καὶ βουθυτῶν οὐ παύεται ἢ πολυτελέσιν ἀναθήμασι κοσμεῖ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφθόνουσ μὲν ὕλας τέχνας δὲ παντὸς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ τιμιωτέρας εἰσάγων, μετ' 21 εὐσεβῶν ἀναγεγράφθω. πεπλάνηται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ὁδοῦ, θρησκείαν ἀντὶ ὁσιότητος ἠγούμενος καὶ δῶρα τῷ ἀδεκάστῳ διδοὺς οὐδέποτε ληψομένῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ κολακεύων τὸν ἀκολάκευτον, ὃς γνησίους μὲν θεραπείας ἀσπάζεται—γνήσιοι δ' εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχῆς ψιλῆν καὶ μόνην θυσίαν φερούσης ἀλήθειαν—τὰς δὲ νόθους ἀποστρέφεται· νόθοι δ' ὅσαι διὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονιῶν ἐπιδειξίεις.

- 22 VIII. Τοῦ δὲ εὐρόντος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πλανώμενον αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου (Gen. xxxvii. 15) τὸ κύριον ὄνομα οὗ φασὶ τινες δεδηλώσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ πεπλανημένοι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργῶς ὄραν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα ἐπεπήρωντο, ἔγνωσαν ἂν ὅτι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἰδιαίτατον καὶ εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομά ἐστιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος, ἡρθρωμένης καὶ λογικῆς διανοίας 23 οἰκειοτάτη πρόσρησις. οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν [196] ἐκάστου τῆ ψυχῇ | κατοικῶν τοτὲ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς εὐρίσκεται τοτὲ δὲ δικαστῆς καὶ βραβευτῆς τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀγώνων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε 216

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to sprinklings with holy water and to purifications, befouling his understanding while cleansing his body ; he may, having more money than he knows what to do with, found a temple, providing all its furniture on a scale of lavish magnificence ; he may offer up hecatombs, and never cease sacrificing bullocks ; he may adorn the sacred building with costly votive offerings, employing on them rich material in abundance, and skilled craftsmanship that is more priceless than silver and gold ; yet shall he not be inscribed on the roll of the pious. No, for this man, like those others, has gone astray from the road that accords with piety, deeming it to be ritual instead of holiness, and offering gifts to Him who cannot be bribed and will not accept such things, and flattering Him who cannot be flattered, who welcomes genuine worship of every kind, but abhors all counterfeit approaches. Genuine worship is that of a soul bringing simple reality as its only sacrifice ; all that is mere display, fed by lavish expenditure on externals, is counterfeit.

VIII. Some say that the proper name of the man who found him wandering on the plain has not been mentioned (Gen. xxxvii. 15). Those who say so are themselves, too, in some sort astray, owing to their inability to see clearly the right way in matters generally. For had they not been smitten with partial blindness of the soul's eye, they would have recognized that the name which most correctly describes the real man and most thoroughly belongs to him is simply " man," the most proper title of a mind endowed with reason and articulate utterance. This " man," dwelling in the soul of each of us, is discovered at one time as king and governor, at another as judge and umpire of life's contests.

μάρτυρος ἢ κατηγοροῦ λαβὼν τάξιν ἀφανῶς ἡμᾶς  
 ἔνδοθεν ἐλέγχει μηδὲ διαῖραι τὸ στόμα ἑῶν, ἐλλαμ-  
 βανόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπιστομίζων ταῖς τοῦ συνειδότης  
 ἡνίας τὸν αὐθάδη μετὰ ἀφηνιασμοῦ δρόμον  
 24 γλώττης ἐπέσχευ. οὗτος ὁ ἔλεγχος ἐπύθετο τῆς  
 ψυχῆς, ἡνίκα τὴν πλάνην εἶδεν αὐτῆς· “ τί ζητεῖς  
 (Gen. xxxvii. 15);” ἄρα γε φρόνησιν; τί οὖν ἐπὶ  
 πανουργίας βαίνεις; ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνην; ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ  
 φειδωλίαν ἢ τρίβος ἄγει· ἀλλὰ ἀνδρείαν; θρασύ-  
 τῆς προσέρχεται ταύτῃ· ἀλλ’ εὐσέβειαν μετέρχη;  
 25 δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ὁδός. ἐὰν δὲ φάσκη ζητεῖν τοὺς  
 ἐπιστήμης λόγους καὶ ποθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω  
 γένους ἀδελφούς, μὴ πάνυ πιστεύωμεν αὐτῇ· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἂν ἐπυνθάνετο “ ποῦ βόσκουσιν” (ib. v. 16),  
 ἀλλὰ “ ποῦ ποιμαίνουσιν”· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βόσκοντες  
 τροφὰς τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα παρέχουσι τῷ τῶν  
 αἰσθήσεων ἀλόγῳ καὶ ἀπλήστῳ θρέμματι, δι’ ἃς  
 ἀκράτορες ἑαυτῶν γινόμενοι καὶ κακοδαιμονοῦμεν,  
 οἱ δὲ ποιμαίνοντες ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἔχοντες  
 δύναμιν τὰ ἐξηγηριωμένα ἡμεροῦσι στέλλοντες τὸ  
 26 τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν μέγεθος. εἴπερ οὖν ἐζήτει τοὺς  
 ἀρετῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀσκητάς, ἐσκέπτει’ ἂν  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν βασιλεύσειν, οὐκ ἐν οἰνοχόοις ἢ σιτο-  
 ποιοῖς ἢ μαγεύοις· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὰς  
 εὐτρεπιζουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡδονῶν ἄρχουσι. IX.  
 διὸ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται ὀρθῶς ὁ τὴν ἀπάτην ἰδὼν  
 ἄνθρωπος· “ ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν” (Gen. xxxvii.  
 27 17). δείκνυσιν δὲ τὸν σωματικὸν ὄγκον δηλῶν ὅτι  
 πάντες, οἷς ὑπὲρ κτήσεως ἀρετῆς πόνος διαθλεῖ-

a “Elenchus,” used of the Word and Angel and Priest of  
 God; of Conscience; of our real self. See especially *De  
 Fuga et Inventione* 131.



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Sometimes he assumes the part of witness or accuser, and, all unseen, convicts us from within, not allowing us so much as to open our mouth, but, holding in and curbing the tongue with the reins of conscience, checks its wilful and rebellious course. This challenger <sup>a</sup> inquired of the soul when he saw it wandering, "What seekest thou?" (Gen. xxxvii. 15). 'Is it sound sense thou art seeking? Why then dost thou walk upon the path of cunning? Is it self-mastery? But this road leads to stinginess. Is it courage? Rashness meets thee by this way. Is it piety thou art in quest of? This road is that of superstition.' But if it says that it is seeking the principles of science and longs after them as its brethren nearest of kin, let us not believe it at all; for its inquiry would not have been "where do they feed" (*ibid.* v. 16), but "where do they tend" their flocks? For those who feed us supply nourishment in the shape of all objects of sense to the irrational and insatiable flock of the senses, nourishment which robs us of self-control and plunges us in misery; whereas those who tend, having the power of rulers and governors, tame what has become wild by repressing the vehemence of the desires. Had the soul, then, been seeking the real devotees of virtue, it would have looked for them among kings, not among cup-bearers or confectioners or cooks; for whereas these prepare the things that minister to pleasures, those rule over pleasures. IX. So it is a right answer that the man gives who has seen the deceit: "they have departed hence" (Gen. xxxvii. 17). He points to the material frame, showing that all who maintain a toilsome contest for the winning

## PHILO

ται, τὸν περίγειον καταλελοιπότες χῶρον μετεωρο-  
πολεῖν ἐγνώκασιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν σωματικῶν  
ἐφελκόμενοι κηρῶν· καὶ γὰρ λεγόντων ἀκηκοέναι  
28 φησὶν αὐτῶν· “ εἰς Δωθαεῖμ πορευθῶμεν ” (ib.)  
—ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ ἔκλειψις ἱκανή—παριστάντων  
ὅτι οὐ μέσως ἀλλ’ ἄκρως ἀπόλειψιν καὶ ἔκλειψιν  
τῶν ἃ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν συνεργεῖ μεμελετήκασι,  
καθὰ καὶ “ Σάρρα ἔτι γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεῖα  
ἐξέλιπε ” (Gen. xviii. 11)· θήλεα δὲ φύσει τὰ  
πάθη, ὧν ἔκλειψιν ἐπιτηδευτέον παρὰ τοὺς ἄρ-  
ρενας τῶν εὐπαθειῶν χαρακτῆρας.

Οὐκοῦν “ ἐν πεδίῳ ” τουτέστιν ἐν ἀμίλλῃ λόγων  
εὐρίσκεται καὶ ὁ ποικίλου δόγματος εἰσηγητῆς  
πρὸς πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀληθείας τύπον  
29 χρησίμου πλανώμενος Ἰωσήφ. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες τῶν  
ἀγωνιστῶν οἱ διὰ σώματος εὐεξίαν, ἀπειπόντων  
τῶν ἀντιπάλων, ἐστεφανώθησαν ἀμαχὶ μηδ’ αὐτὸ  
[197] μόνον κονισάμενοι ἀσυγκρίτου | ῥώμης εὐράμενοι  
τὰ πρωτεῖα. τοιαύτη δυνάμει χρησάμενος περὶ  
τὸ θειότατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διάνοιαν Ἰσαὰκ  
“ ἐξέρχεται μὲν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ” (Gen. xxiv. 63),  
ἀμίλλησόμενος δ’ οὐδενί, πάντων κατεπτηχότων  
τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν τὸ μεγαλεῖον καὶ ὑπερβάλλον  
ἐν ἅπασιν τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ, μόνον δὲ ἰδιάσαι  
βουλόμενος καὶ ἰδιολογήσασθαι τῷ συνοδοιπόρῳ  
καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῆς τε ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς θεῷ.  
30 τεκμήριον δὲ ἐναργέστατον τοῦ μηδένα προσ-  
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of virtue quit the earthly region and are resolved to mount the skies, carrying in their train no bodily disabilities. For the man says that he also heard them saying, "Let us go to Dothaim" (*ibid.*). Now "Dothaim" means "thorough quitting." So their words are a guarantee that, not in any half-and-half way but out-and-out, have they set themselves to study how to forsake and quit all that does not contribute to virtue. In like manner we read, "Sarah was quit of her experience of what belongs to women" (Gen. xviii. 11); and the passions are by nature feminine, and we must practise the quitting of these for the masculine traits that mark the noble affections.

Well, then, it is on a plain, that is, amid a contest of words, that Joseph is found wandering, the advocate of a subtle form of doctrine serving to inculcate statecraft rather than truth. Among those who contend in the sports there are some whose bodies are in such splendid condition that their opponents withdraw from the contest, and they are crowned without having to fight, winning the prize on the score of their incomparable strength, without so much as having had themselves sprinkled with dust in preparation for the combat. Endowed in mind, the divinest part of us, with a strength such as that of these athletes, Isaac "goeth out into the plain" (Gen. xxiv. 63), not to contend with anyone, for those who would oppose him have cowered before the greatness of his nature, so far beyond them in all ways. No, he goes forth desiring only to be alone with God, the Guide and Fellow-traveller of his path and of his soul, and to have converse with Him. We have a very plain proof that it was no mortal talking

- ομιλοῦντα τῷ Ἰσαὰκ θνητὸν εἶναι· Ῥεβέκκα γὰρ ἢ ὑπομονὴ πεύσεται τοῦ παιδὸς ἕνα ὄρῳσα καὶ ἑνὸς μόνου λαμ<sup>α</sup>άνουσα φαντασίαν· “ τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος εἰς συνάντησιν ἡμῶν (ib. v. 65); ” ἢ γὰρ ἐπιμένουσα τοῖς καλοῖς ψυχὴ ἱκανὴ μὲν ἐστὶ τὴν αὐτομαθῆ σοφίαν καταλαμβάνειν, ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἰσαὰκ, οὐπω δὲ δυνατὴ τὸν
- 31 τῆς σοφίας ἡγεμόνα θεὸν ἰδεῖν. παρὸ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι καταλαβεῖν τὸν αἰετὴ καὶ προσομιλοῦντα ἀοράτως φησὶν· “ οὗτος ὁ κύριός μου ” (ib.), τὴν δεῖξιν φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ μόνον· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς προφανέντων δυεῖν ἕνα δεικνύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄδεικτον οὐκ εἶδε πᾶσι τοῖς μέσοις ἀόρατον ὄντα.
- 32 X. Ὡς μὲν τοῖνον τὸ πεδίον, εἰς ὃ προκαλεῖται τὸν Ἀβελ ὁ Κάιν ἐλθεῖν, σύμβολον ἀμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης ἐστίν, ἱκανῶς δεδηλωσθαι νομίζω. διαπορητέον δὲ ἐξῆς, περὶ τίνων ποιοῦνται τὰς ζητήσεις προελθόντες. ἢ δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ἐναντίων καὶ μαχομένων δοξῶν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀβελ ἀναφέρων ἐπὶ θεὸν πάντα φιλόθεον δόγμα, ὁ δὲ Κάιν ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν—κτῆσις γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται—φίλαυτον· φίλαυτοι δέ, ὅταν τοῖς ἀρετὴν τιμῶσιν ἐπαποδυσάμενοι κονίσωνται, [καὶ] παγκρατιάζοντες οὐ παύονται πρὶν ἢ ἀπειπεῖν βιάσασθαι ἢ παντελῶς διαφθεῖραι.
- 33 πάντα γάρ, τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, κινουσι λίθον φάσκοντες· οὐκ οἰκία ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα; διὰ τί οὖν οἰκίας, ὡς μὴ γένοιτο ἐρείπιος, οὐκ ἐπιμελησόμεθα;

<sup>a</sup> Called “Pancratium.”

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to Isaac. For Rebecca, who is persistence, will presently inquire of the servant as seeing one and receiving an impression of one only, "Who is this man who is coming to meet us?" (*ibid.* v. 65). For the soul that persists in noble courses is indeed capable of apprehending self-taught wisdom, which is represented by the title "Isaac," but is unable as yet to see God the Ruler of wisdom. In keeping with this the servant, confirming her inability to apprehend Him who is unseen and who is invisibly conversing with him, says, "this is my master" (*ibid.*), pointing at Isaac only; for it is not likely that if two had been visible he would have pointed at one. No, he did not see Him who cannot be pointed at, for He is invisible to all who are but midway on their course.

X. Well, I think it has been made sufficiently clear that the plain on to which Cain challenges Abel to come is a figure of a contest to be fought out. We must next endeavour to discover what the subjects of their investigations are when they have gone forth. It is evident that they are to investigate opposing views clean contrary to each other. For Abel, referring all things to God, is a God-loving creed; but Cain, referring all to himself—his name means "acquisition"—a self-loving creed. And lovers of self, when they have stripped and prepared for conflict with those who value virtue, keep up the boxing and wrestling<sup>a</sup> until they have either forced their opponents to give in, or have completely destroyed them. For they leave no stone unturned, as the saying is, while they ply their questions. 'Is not the body the soul's house?' Why, then, should we not take care of a house, that it may not

οὐκ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὄτα καὶ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων χορὸς  
 αἰσθήσεων ψυχῆς ὥσπερ τινὲς δορυφόροι καὶ  
 φίλοι; συμμάχους οὖν καὶ φίλους οὐκ ἐν ἴσῳ  
 τιμητέον ἑαυτοῖς; ἡδονὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσεις καὶ  
 τὰς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον τέρψεις τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἢ  
 [198] τοῖς | μηδὲ γενομένοις τὸ παράπαν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς  
 ζῶσιν ἢ φύσις ἐδημιούργει; πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ δόξαν  
 καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα τί  
 παθόντες οὐ ποριούμεθα, ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον τὸ  
 ἀσφαλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαιμόνως ζῆν περιγίνεται;  
 34 μάρτυς δὲ ὁ βίος τούτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λεγόμενοι  
 φιλάρετοι ἄδοξοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, εὐκαταφρόνητοι,  
 ταπεινοί, τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς, ὑπηκόων μᾶλλον  
 δὲ καὶ δούλων ἀτιμότεροι, ῥυπῶντες, ὠχροί, κατ-  
 εσκελετευμένοι, λιμὸν ὑπ' ἀσιτίας ἐμβλέποντες,  
 νοσερώτατοι, μελετῶντες ἀποθνήσκειν· οἱ δ' αὐτῶν  
 ἐπιμελούμενοι ἔνδοξοι, πλούσιοι, ἡγεμόνες, ἐπ-  
 αινούμενοι, τιμώμενοι, [πάλιν] ὑγιεινοί, πίονες, ἐρρω-  
 μένοι, ἀβροδίατοι, θρυπτόμενοι, πόνον οὐκ εἰδότες,  
 ἡδοναῖς συζῶντες διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπὶ  
 35 τὴν πανδεχῆ ψυχὴν τὰ ἡδέα φερούσαις. XI. τοιου-  
 τονί τινα δόλιχον ἀπομηκύναντες λόγῳ νικᾶν τοὺς  
 οὐκ εἰωθότας σοφιστεύειν ἔδοξαν. αἰτία δὲ τῆς  
 νίκης οὐχ ἢ τῶν περιγεγενημένων ἰσχύς, ἀλλ' ἢ  
 περὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀσθένεια. τῶν γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> μελετῶντες ἀποθνήσκειν. See Plato, *Phaedo* 67 E, and App. pp. 493-494.

fall into ruins? Are not eyes and ears and the band of the other senses bodyguards and courtiers, as it were, of the soul? Must we not then value allies and friends equally with ourselves? Did nature create pleasures and enjoyments and the delights that meet us all the way through life, for the dead, or for those who have never come into existence, and not for the living? And what is to induce us to forgo the acquisition of wealth and fame and honours and offices and everything else of that sort, things which secure for us a life not merely of safety but of happiness? The mode of life of these two classes is a witness to the truth of what I say. The so-called lovers of virtue are almost without exception obscure people, looked down upon, of mean estate, destitute of the necessaries of life, not enjoying the privileges of subject peoples or even of slaves, filthy, sallow, reduced to skeletons, with a hungry look from want of food, the prey of disease, in training for dying.<sup>a</sup> Those, on the other hand, who take care of themselves are men of mark and wealth, holding leading positions, praised on all hands, recipients of honours, portly, healthy and robust, revelling in luxurious and riotous living, knowing nothing of labour, conversant with pleasures which carry the sweets of life to the all-welcoming soul by every channel of sense.' XI. When they have covered the dreary length of a long-distance course of talk like this, they are held to have defeated men unaccustomed to quibbling arguments. But their victory lies not in the strength of those who have won, but in their opponents' weakness at this sort of thing. For those who apply themselves to the pursuit of virtue may be placed in

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ἐπιτηδευόντων ἀρετὴν οἱ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ μόνῃ τὸ  
 καλὸν ἐθησαύρισαντο πράξεων ἐπαινετῶν ἀσκηταὶ  
 γενόμενοι, τερθρείας λόγων ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπ-  
 ησθημένοι, τοῖς δὲ ἀμφότερα ἐξεγένετο, τὴν μὲν  
 διάνοιαν εὐβουλίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις, τοὺς δὲ  
 λόγους ταῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς τέχναις μάλιστα ὀχυρώ-  
 36 σασθαι· τούτοις μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς ἐριστικὰς ἐνίων  
 ἀμίλλας ἀπαντᾶν ἐμπρεπές, οἷς τοὺς ἐναντίους  
 ἀμύνονται πεπορισμένοι ἐξ ἐτοίμου, τοῖς δὲ  
 προτέροις οὐδεμία ἀσφάλεια· γυμνοὶ γὰρ πρὸς  
 ὤπλισμένους τίνες ἂν ἰσοκρατῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι  
 δυνηθεῖεν, ὁπότε καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι ἀγῶν  
 37 ἄνισος; ὁ τοίνυν "Ἀβελ τέχνας μὲν λόγων οὐκ  
 ἔμαθε, διανοία δὲ μόνῃ τὸ καλὸν οἶδεν· οὐ χάριν  
 τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἀφίξιν ἐχρῆν παραιτήσασθαι καὶ  
 τῆς τοῦ δυσμενοῦς προκλήσεως ἀλογῆσαι· ἤττης  
 γὰρ πᾶς ὄκνος ἀμείνων· τὸν δὲ ὄκνον τοῦτον οἱ μὲν  
 ἐχθροὶ δειλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν δ' οἱ φίλοι προσαγο-  
 ρεύουσι· φίλοις δὲ πρὸ δυσμενῶν ἄτε ἀψευδοῦσι  
 38 πιστευτέον. XII. οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἐν  
 Αἰγύπτῳ τῷ σώματι σοφιστάς, οὓς φαρμακείας  
 ὀνομάζει, παραιτεῖται—σοφισμάτων γὰρ τέχναις  
 καὶ ἀπάταις ἦθη χρηστὰ τρόπον τινὰ φαρμακεύεται  
 [199] καὶ διαφθείρεται— | φάσκων μὴ εἶναι "εὐλόγος"  
 (Exod. iv. 10), ἴσον τῷ μὴ πεφυκέναι πρὸς τὴν  
 τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν εἰκαστικὴν ῥητορείαν,  
 ἔπειθ' ἐξῆς διαβεβαιούμενος, ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ  
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two classes. Some, making the soul alone the treasure-house of the good at which they aim, devote themselves to praiseworthy actions, without having so much as dreamt of jugglery with words. The others are doubly successful; their mind is secured by wisdom in counsel and good deeds, their speech by the arts of eloquence. Now to encounter the wranglings in which some folk delight is eminently fitting for these latter, ready and equipped as they are with the means of withstanding their enemies, but for the former class it is not at all safe to do so. For who are there that unarmed could meet armed men, and fight them on equal terms, seeing that, even were they fully equipped, the combat would be an unequal one? Now Abel has never learned arts of speech, and knows the beautiful and noble with his mind only. For this reason he should have declined the meeting on the plain, and have paid no regard to the challenge of the man of ill-will: for any shrinking back is better than defeat, and such shrinking back as this, though our enemies call it cowardice, is called caution by our friends; and since they are free from falsehood, we should believe friends in preference to men who have ill-will towards us. XII. Do you not see that Moses fights shy of the sophists in "Egypt," that is, in the body? He calls them "magicians," because good morals are spoiled by the tricks and deceptions of sophistry acting on them like the enchantments of magic. Moses' plea is that he is not "eloquent" (Exod. iv. 10), which is equivalent to saying that he has no gift for the oratory which is but specious guesswork at what seems probable. Afterwards he follows this up by emphatically stating that he is not merely

- εὐλογος ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς “ ἄλογός ” ἐστὶν (Exod. vi. 12); ἄλογος δέ, οὐχ ὡς φαμεν τὰ μὴ λογικὰ τῶν ζώων, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὴ δικαίων τῷ διὰ τοῦ φωνητηρίου ὄργανου γεγωνῶ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι, μόνῃ δὲ σημειούμενος καὶ ἐνσφραγιζόμενος διανοία τὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς σοφίας, ἣτις ἀντίθετός ἐστι ψευδεῖ
- 39 σοφιστεία, θεωρήματα. καὶ οὐ βαδιεῖται πρότερον εἰς Αἴγυπτον οὐδ’ εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἀφίξεται τοῖς αὐτῆς σοφισταῖς, πρὶν ἢ τὸν προφορικὸν ἄκρως ἀσκηθῆναι λόγον, τὰς πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν ἀπάσας ἰδέας ἀναδείξαντος καὶ τελειώσαντος θεοῦ διὰ τῆς Ἁαρὼν χειροτονίας, ὃν ἀδελφὸν Μωυσέως ὄντα “ στόμα ” καὶ ἐρμηνέα καὶ “ προφήτην ” (Exod.
- 40 iv. 16, vii. 1) εἶωθε καλεῖν· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ συμβέβηκεν, ὃς ἀδελφός ἐστι διανοίας· πηγῇ γὰρ λόγων διάνοια καὶ στόμιον αὐτῆς λόγος, ὅτι τὰ ἐνθυμήματα πάντα διὰ τούτου καθάπερ νάματα ἀπὸ πηγῆς εἰς τοῦμφανές ἐπιρρέοντα ἀναχεῖται· καὶ ἐρμηνεύς ἐστὶν ὢν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς βουλευτηρίῳ βεβούλευκεν· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ προφήτης καὶ θεοπρόπος ὢν ἐξ ἀδύτων καὶ ἀοράτων χρησμοφδοῦσα οὐ παύεται.
- 41 XIII. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν τρόπον ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὰ δόγματα ἐριστικοῖς χρήσιμον· γεγυμνασμένοι γὰρ περὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων ἰδέας οὐκέτ’ ἀπειρία σοφιστικῶν παλαισμάτων ὀκλάσομεν, ἐξαναστάντες δὲ καὶ διερεισάμενοι τὰς ἐντέχνους αὐτῶν περιπλοκάς εὐμαρῶς ἐκδυσόμεθα. οἱ δ’

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 494.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 38-41

not eloquent but absolutely "speechless" (Exod. vi. 12). He calls himself "speechless," not in the sense in which we use the word of animals without reason, but of him who fails to find a fitting instrument in the language uttered by the organs of speech, and prints and impresses on his understanding the lessons of true wisdom, the direct opposite of false sophistry. And he will not go to Egypt nor engage in conflict with its sophists, until he has been fully trained in the word of utterance, God having shown and perfected all the qualities<sup>a</sup> which are essential to expression of thought by the election of Aaron who is Moses' brother, and of whom he is wont to speak as his "mouth" and "spokesman" and "prophet" (Exod. iv. 16; vii. 1); for all these titles belong to Speech or Word, which is brother of Mind. For mind is the fountain of words and speech is its outlet. For all the thoughts of the heart, like streams from a spring, well up and flow forth into the open through speech; and Speech is the expounder of the plans which Understanding has formed in its own council-chamber. Speech, moreover, is the spokesman and prophet of the oracles which the understanding never ceases to utter from depths unseen and unapproachable.

XIII. It will be well for us to counter in this manner those who are pugnacious over the tenets which they maintain; for when we have been exercised in the forms which words take, we shall no more sink to the ground through inexperience of the tricks of the sophistic wrestling, but we shall spring up and carry on the struggle and disentangle ourselves with ease from the grips which their art has taught them. And when we have once found

ἀπαξ εὐρεθέντες σκιαμάχων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγωνιστῶν  
 ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δόξουσι δύναμιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καθ'  
 ἑαυτοὺς μὲν χειρονομοῦντες εὐδοκιμοῦσι, πρὸς δ'  
 42 ἄμιλλαν ἐλθόντες οὐ μετρίως ἀδοξοῦσιν. εἰ δέ τις  
 τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἀρεταῖς ἀπάσαις κεκόσμηται, τέχνας  
 δὲ λόγων οὐκ ἐμελέτησεν, ἡσυχία χρώμενος  
 ἀσφάλειαν γέρας ἀκίνδυνον εὐρήσεται, παρελθὼν  
 δ' ὡς Ἄβελ εἰς σοφιστικὸν ἀγῶνα πρὶν διερηρεῖ-  
 43 σθαι πεσεῖται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἰατρικῇ τινες μὲν  
 θεραπεύειν εἰδότες πάντα σχεδὸν πάθη καὶ νοσή-  
 ματα καὶ ἀρρωστήματα λόγον οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν οὔτε  
 ἀληθῆ οὔτ' εἰκότα ἀποδοῦναι δύνανται, οἱ δ'  
 ἔμπαλιν τὰ μὲν περὶ λόγους εἰσὶ δεινοί, σημείων  
 καὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ θεραπειῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ τέχνη συνέστη-  
 κεν, ἐρμηνεῖς ἄριστοι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς καμνόντων ἐπι-  
 [200] μέλειαν σωμάτων φαυλότατοι, τῶν εἰς ἴασιν | ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ τὸ μικρότατον παρασχεῖν ἱκανοί, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον οἱ μὲν τῆς δι' ἔργων ἀσκηταὶ σοφίας  
 πολλάκις λόγων ἠμέλησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν λόγῳ  
 τέχνας ἀναδίδαχθέντες οὐδὲν ἐν ψυχῇ παιδεύμα  
 44 καλὸν ἐθησαυρίσαντο. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀχαλίνῳ  
 κεκρημένους γλώττη μετ' αὐθαδείας θρασύνεσθαι  
 παράδοξον οὐδέν, ἀπόνοϊαν γὰρ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἐμελέτησαν ἐπιδείκνυνται· ἐκείνοις δ' ὡς περ ἰατροῖς  
 τὸ ὑγιάζον τὰς ψυχῆς νόσους τε καὶ κῆρας ἀνα-  
 διδαχθεῖσι μέρος ἐπέχειν ἀναγκαῖον, μέχρις ἂν ὁ

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 41-44

them out, they will be seen to be exhibiting the prowess of men sparring for practice, not that of men engaged in a real combat. For they are boxers who win admiration in a mock encounter among themselves and are thought very little of when they engage in a match. But if a man, though equipped in soul with all the virtues, has had no practice in rhetoric, so long as he keeps quiet he will win safety, a prize that entails no risk, but, when like Abel he steps out for a contest of wits, he will fall before he has obtained a firm footing. For, just as in medicine there are some practitioners who know how to treat almost all afflictions and illnesses and cases of impaired health, and yet are unable to render any scientific account either true or plausible of any one of them; and some, on the other hand, who are brilliant as far as theories go, admirable exponents of symptoms and causes and treatment, the subject matter of the science, but no good whatever for the relief of suffering bodies, incapable of making even the smallest contribution to their cure : in just the same way, those who have given themselves to the pursuit of the wisdom that comes through practice and comes out in practice have often neglected expression, while those who have been thoroughly instructed in the arts that deal with speech have failed to store up in soul any grand lesson which they have learned. It is in no way surprising that these latter should discover an arrogant audacity in the unbridled use of their tongue. They are only displaying the senselessness which has all along been their study. Those others, having been taught, as doctors would be, that part of the art which brings health to the sicknesses and plagues of the soul, must be content to wait, until

θεὸς καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐρμηνεῖα κατασκευάσῃ τὰς  
 τοῦ λέγειν πηγὰς ἀνομβρήσας καὶ ἀναδείξας αὐτῷ.  
 45 XIV. Σύμφορον οὖν ἦν εὐλαβεῖα σωτηρίῳ ἀρετῇ  
 χρησάμενον τὸν "Αβελ οἴκοι καταμεῖναι τῆς εἰς  
 τὸν ἐριστικὸν καὶ φιλόνεικον ἀγῶνα προκλήσεως  
 ἀλογήσαντα, μιμησάμενον 'Ρεβέκκαν τὴν ὑπομονήν,  
 ἣτις ἀπειλοῦντος 'Ἡσαῦ τοῦ κακίας θιασώτου τὸν  
 ἀρετῆς ἀσκητὴν 'Ἰακῶβ <ἀποκτενεῖν> ἀναχωρήσαι  
 τῷ μέλλοντι ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι παραγγέλλει, μέχρις  
 46 ἂν ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ σχετλίου λύττης ἀνῆ. καὶ  
 γὰρ ἀφόρητόν τινα ἀπειλὴν ἐπανατείνεται φάσκων·  
 "ἐγγισάτωσαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πένθους τοῦ πατρὸς  
 μου, ἵνα ἀποκτείνω 'Ἰακῶβ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου"  
 (Gen. xxvii. 41). εὐχεται γὰρ τὸ μόνον ἀπαθὲς  
 εἶδος ἐν γενέσει τὸν 'Ἰσαάκ, ᾧ χρησμός ἐστι "μὴ  
 καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον" (Gen. xxvi. 2), ἀλόγῳ  
 πάθει χρῆσθαι, ἵνα, δοκῶ, ἡδονῆς ἢ λύπης ἢ τινος  
 ἄλλου πάθους κέντροις τρωθῆ, δηλῶν ὡς ὁ ἀτελέ-  
 στερος καὶ ἐπιπόνῳ προκοπῇ χρώμενος οὐ τραῦμα  
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῆ φθορὰν δέξεται· ὁ μέντοι  
 χρηστός θεὸς οὔτε ἀλωτὸν πάθει τὸ ἀτρώτου  
 γένους εἶδος ἐργάσεται οὔτε τὴν ἀρετῆς ἀσκησιν  
 47 ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ φονῶντι καὶ δαιμονῶντι ἐκδώσει. διὸ  
 καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον "ἀνέστη Κάιν ἐπὶ "Αβελ τὸν  
 ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν" (Gen. iv. 8)  
 κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρόχειρον φαντασίαν ὑποβάλλει, ὅτι  
 "Αβελ ἀνήρηται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκριβεστέραν  
 ἐξέτασιν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Κάιν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὡσθ' οὕτως

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 494.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER. 44-47

God shall have equipped in addition the most perfect interpreter, pouring out and making manifest to him the fountains of utterance.

XIV. It would have been well, then, for Abel to have exercised the saving virtue of caution, and to have stayed at home taking no notice of the challenge to the contest in wrangling. He should have imitated Rebecca, who represents patient waiting. When Esau, the votary of wickedness, threatens to murder Jacob, the devotee of virtue, she charges him against whom the plot was being hatched to go away, until Esau's cruel madness against him be allayed. For it is indeed an insufferable threat that he holds over him, when he says: "Let the days of my father's mourning<sup>a</sup> draw near, that I may slay Jacob my brother" (Gen. xxvii. 41); for he prays that Isaac, the only example of freedom from passion beneath the sun, who receives the divine warning "not to go down into Egypt" (Gen. xxvi. 2), may become the subject of irrational passion, desiring him, I take it, to be wounded by the darts of pleasure or sorrow or some other passion. By so desiring he makes it clear that the man who falls short of perfection and knows only toilsome progress will be liable not to be wounded only but to be utterly destroyed. God, however, in His loving-kindness will neither cause a being of an inviolable kind to be the victim of a passion, nor will He hand over the pursuit of virtue to a mad murderer for ruin.<sup>b</sup> So the words that follow "Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him" (Gen. iv. 8), suggest, so far as superficial appearance goes, that Abel has been done away with, but when examined more carefully, that Cain has

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, "neither will Isaac fall nor Jacob perish."

## PHILO

- ἀναγνωστέον· “ἀνέστη Κάιν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν  
 48 ἑαυτὸν,” ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἕτερον. εἰκότως δὲ τοῦτο  
 ἔπαθεν· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνελοῦσα ψυχὴ τὸ φι-  
 ἄρετον καὶ φιλόθεον δόγμα τὸν ἀρετῆς τέθνηκε βίον·  
 ὥσθ’ ὁ “Ἀβελ, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἀνήρηται τε καὶ  
 ζῆ· ἀνήρηται μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἄφρονος διανοίας, ζῆ  
 δὲ τὴν ἐν θεῷ ζωὴν εὐδαίμονα. μαρτυρήσει δὲ τὸ  
 χρησθὲν λόγιον, ἐν ᾧ “φωνῆ” χρώμενος καὶ  
 “βοῶν” (Gen. iv. 10) ἂ πέπονθεν ὑπὸ κακοῦ  
 συνδέτου τηλαυγῶς εὐρίσκεται· πῶς γὰρ ὁ μηκέτ’  
 ὢν διαλέγεσθαι δυνατός;
- 49 XV. Ὁ μὲν δὴ σοφὸς τεθνηκέαι δοκῶν τὸν  
 [201] φθαρτὸν | βίον ζῆ τὸν ἄφθαρτον, ὁ δὲ φαῦλος ζῶν  
 τὸν ἐν κακίᾳ τέθνηκε τὸν εὐδαίμονα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ  
 τῶν διεστηκότων ζῶων τε καὶ κοινῶς σωμάτων  
 ἕτερα μὲν τὰ ποιοῦντα, ἕτερα δ’ εἶναι τὰ πάσχοντα  
 δυνατόν καὶ ῥάδιον· ὁπότε γὰρ πατήρ υἱὸν τύπτει  
 σωφρονίζων ἢ διδάσκαλος γνώριμον, ἕτερος ὁ  
 τύπτων καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τυπτόμενός ἐστιν· ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τῶν ἠνωμένων περὶ ὃ τὸ ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ πάσχειν  
 εὐρίσκεται, καὶ οὔτε ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρόνῳ οὔτε ἕτερον,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ αὐτό· ἐπειδὴν γοῦν  
 ἀθλητῆς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ γυμνάσασθαι χάριν ἀνατρίβη,  
 πάντως τρίβεται, καὶ εἴ τις μέντοι παίζει ἑαυτὸν  
 ἢ τιτρώσκει, παίεται τε καὶ τιτρώσκειται, καὶ γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 494.



## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 47-49

been done away with by himself. It must be read in this way, "Cain rose up and slew himself," not someone else. And this is just what we should expect to befall him. For the soul that has extirpated from itself the principle of the love of virtue and the love of God, has died to the life of virtue. Abel, therefore, strange as it seems, has both been put to death and lives: he is destroyed or abolished out of the mind of the fool, but he is alive with the happy life in God. To this the declaration of Scripture shall be our witness, where Abel is found quite manifestly using his "voice" and "crying out" (Gen. iv. 10) the wrongs which he has suffered at the hands of a wicked brother. For how could one no longer living speak?

XV. What we arrive at is this: the wise man, when seeming to die to the corruptible life, is alive to the incorruptible; but the worthless man, while alive to the life of wickedness, is dead to the life happy. For, when we are thinking of living beings, or material forms generally, which are separate from one another, it is possible, nay easy, for the active to be one set and the passive another. For, when a father beats a son by way of correction or a teacher a pupil, he that beats is one, and he that is beaten another. But when we are thinking of beings or bodies which are not separate,<sup>a</sup> then action and passivity are found in the same subject. And they are found not at different times and in relation to different subjects, but at the same time and in relation to the same subject. For example, whenever an athlete rubs himself down for purposes of training, there is no question that he is rubbed down; and if a man strikes or wounds himself, he is struck or

## PHILO

- ὁ πηρῶν ἢ κτείνων ἑαυτὸν πηροῦται καὶ κτείνεται.
- 50 πρὸς τί δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπον; ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν οὐχὶ τῶν διεσθηκότων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἠνωμένων οὖσαν ἀνάγκη πάσχειν ὃ ποιεῖν δοκεῖ, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν· δόξασα γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὸ θεοφιλέστατον δόγμα ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρηκε. μάρτυς δὲ Λάμεχ ὁ τῆς Κάιν ἀσεβείας ἔκγονος, ὃς φησι γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ, δυσὶ γνώμαις ἀγνώμοσιν· “ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα εἰς τραῦμα ἐμοί, καὶ νεανίσκον εἰς μῶλωπα ἐμοί”
- 51 (Gen. iv. 23). δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, εἴ τις τὸν ἀνδρείας λόγον κτείνει, ἑαυτὸν ἐναντία νόσῳ τιτρώσκει δειλίας, καὶ εἴ τις τὴν ἀνηβῶσαν ἰσχὺν ἐν ἀσκήσει τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρεῖ, πληγὰς καὶ μεγάλας αἰκίας μετ' οὐ μετρίας αἰσχύνῃς ἐπιφέρει ἑαυτῷ. λέγει μέντοι καὶ ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀσκησις ἀναιρεθῆ καὶ προκοπὴ, οὐχ ἔν μόνον ἔκγονον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀποβάλλει, ἀτεκνίαν ἐνδεξαμένη παντελῆ (Gen. xxvii. 45).
- 52 XVI. “Ὡσπερ δ' ὁ βλάπτων τὸν ἀστείον ἐπιδέδεικται ζημιῶν ἑαυτὸν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ προνομίας τοὺς ἀμείνους ἀξιῶν λόγῳ μὲν ἐκείνοις, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περιποιεῖται ἀγαθόν. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ ἀκολουθῶσα αὐτῇ νομοθετηθέντα, διείρηται γὰρ ἀντικρυς καὶ σαφῶς οὕτως· “τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται” (Exod. xx. 12). οὐχὶ τοῖς τιμωμένοις, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ “σοί”. ἐάν τε γὰρ τὸν νοῦν ὡς πατέρα τοῦ συγκρίματος ἐάν τε τὴν αἴσθησιν ὡς

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 494.

<sup>b</sup> i.e., Jacob.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 49-52

wounded, for even he who maims and kills himself is maimed and killed. What am I driving at in saying this? That the soul, not coming under the head of persons or things distinct and separate from each other but under that of those which form a single whole, must needs suffer what it seems to do, as of course in the present instance; for when it seemed to destroy the doctrine most dear to God, it turns out to have destroyed itself. This is proved by Lamech, the offspring of Cain's impiety, who, addressing his wives, who are two ill-judging judgements,<sup>a</sup> says: "I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my scourging myself" (Gen. iv. 23). For it is clear that if a man slays the principle of courage, he wounds himself with the opposite disease of cowardice, and if a man does away with the strength that is attaining its prime in a training for noble deeds, he inflicts upon himself blows and great indignities with no small shame. Indeed she who represents patient waiting (Rebecca) says that, if training and gradual progress<sup>b</sup> be done away with, she loses not one progeny only but the rest as well, and incurs complete childlessness (Gen. xxvii. 45).

XVI. Just as the man who injures the man of lofty character has been shown to inflict loss on himself, so correspondingly he who recognizes the dignity of his betters gains something good, nominally for them, actually for himself. Nature and the commandments given in harmony with nature testify to what I say. For we have this plain and direct injunction: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee" (Exod. xx. 12): it does not say "with those who are honoured" but "with thee"; for if we hold in honour the mind as father of our

## PHILO

μητέρα διὰ τιμῆς ἔχωμεν, εὖ πρὸς ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ  
 53 πεισόμεθα. τιμὴ δὲ τοῦ μὲν νοῦ <τὸ> διὰ τῶν  
 συμφερόντων ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἡδέων θεραπεύεσθαι  
 —πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς συμφέροντα—τῆς δὲ  
 αἰσθήσεως τὸ μὴ ἀφεθῆναι ῥύμη μιᾷ φέρεσθαι  
 πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, ἐγχαλινωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ  
 νοῦ κυβερνᾶν καὶ ἡνιοχεῖν τὰς ἀλόγους ἐν ἡμῖν  
 54 δυνάμεις ἐπισταμένου. εἰάν μὲν οὖν ἦς εἶπον  
 ἐκάτερον λάχῃ τιμῆς αἰσθησίς τε καὶ νοῦς, ἀνάγκη  
 τὸν κεχρημένον ἀμφοτέροις ἐμὲ εὐεργετεῖσθαι· εἰάν  
 δὲ πόρρω τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως  
 ἀπαγαγὼν πατέρα μὲν τὸν γεννήσαντα <τὸν>  
 [202] κόσμον, | μητέρα δὲ τὴν σοφίαν, δι' ἧς ἀπ-  
 ετελέσθη τὸ πᾶν, τιμῆς ἀξιώσεως, αὐτὸς εὖ πείσῃ·  
 δεῖται γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὔτε ὁ πλήρης θεὸς οὔτε ἡ  
 ἄκρα καὶ παντελής ἐπιστήμη, ὥστε τὸν θερα-  
 πευτικὸν τούτων μὴ τοὺς θεραπευομένους ἀνεν-  
 55 δεεῖς ὄντας ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ὠφελεῖν. ἵππικὴ  
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκυλακευτικὴ, ἐπιστήμη θεραπείας  
 ἢ μὲν ἵππων ἢ δὲ σκυλάκων οὔσα, πορίζει τοῖς  
 ζώοις τὰ ὠφέλιμα, ὧν ἐκεῖνα δεῖται· μὴ πορίζουσα  
 δὲ ἀμελεῖν ἂν δοκοίη. τὴν δὲ εὐσέβειαν θεοῦ  
 θεραπείαν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐ θέμις ποριστικὴν εἰπεῖν  
 τῶν ὠφελησόντων τὸ θεῖον· ὠφελεῖται γὰρ ὑπ'  
 οὐδενός, ἅτε μήτε ἐνδεὲς ὄν μήτε τινὸς τὸ ἐν  
 ἅπασιν αὐτοῦ κρεῖττον πεφυκότος ὄνησαι, τοῦ-  
 ναντιὸν δὲ τὰ σύμπαντα συνεχῶς καὶ ἀπαύστως  
 56 ὠφελεῖ. ὥστε ὅταν τὴν εὐσέβειαν λέγωμεν εἶναι

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 52-56

complex being, and sense as mother, we ourselves shall receive good treatment at their hands. Now honour is shown to the mind when it is cared for by the provision not of things that give it pleasure but of things that do it good, and all things that have their source in virtue do it good. To sense honour is shown when it is not left free to be borne with concentrated force towards its objects in the outer world, but is reined in by the mind, which has skill to direct the irrational powers within us like a pilot or a charioteer. If each, then, sense and mind, obtains such honour as I have described, it must needs be that I to whom they belong derive benefit from it. Let us drop altogether the application to mind and sense. If you accord a father's honour to Him who created the world, and a mother's honour to Wisdom, by whose agency the universe was brought to completion, you will yourself be the gainer. For neither God, Who is full, nor supreme and consummate knowledge, need anything. It follows that he, who cares for these, confers benefits not on the objects of his care, since they lack nothing, but on himself chiefly. Horse-training and dog-fancying, being skill in caring for horses and dogs respectively, provide the animals with the things good for them which they require. Should they fail to provide them they would be held guilty of neglect. But it would be impiety to say that religion, which is a caring for God, is a way of providing what will benefit the Deity ; for He gains benefit from nothing, seeing that He is neither in need of anything nor does any exist capable of adding to His superiority in all things. Nay, He constantly and unceasingly benefits the universe. So that when we say that

θεοῦ θεραπείαν, ὑπηρεσίαν τινὰ τοιαύτην φαμέν, ὁποῖαν δούλοι δεσπόταις τὸ κελευόμενον ἀόκνως ποιεῖν ἐγνωκότες ὑπηρετοῦσι. διοίσει δὲ πάλιν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν δεσπόται ὑπηρεσίας ἐνδεεῖς, ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ χρεῖος· ὥστε ἐκείνοις μὲν τὰ ὠφελήσοντα αὐτοὺς ὑπηρετοῦσι, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν ἕξω φιλοδεσπότου γνώμης παρέξουσι· βελτιῶσαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν εὐρήσουσι, τῶν δεσποτικῶν πάντων ἕξ ἀρχῆς ὄντων ἀρίστων, μέγала δ' αὐτοὺς ὀνήσουσι γνωρισθῆναι θεῷ προμηθούμενοι.

- 57 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς εἰρησθαι νομίζω πρὸς τοὺς εὖ ἢ κακῶς ἑτέρους ποιεῖν δοκοῦντας· εὐρέθησαν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάτερον δρῶντες. τὰ δ' ἕξῆς ἐρευνήσωμεν. ἔστι δὲ πεῦσις τοιαύτη· “ ποῦ ” Ἀβελ ὁ ἀδελφός σου (Gen. iv. 9);” πρὸς ἣν ἀποκρίνεται· “ οὐ γινώσκω, μὴ φύλαξ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου εἰμι ἐγώ (ib.);” οὐκοῦν ἄξιον διαπορηῆσαι, εἰ κυρίως ἐνδέχεται πυνθάνεσθαι θεόν· ὁ γὰρ ἐρωτῶν ἢ πυνθανόμενος περὶ ὧν ἀγνοεῖ ἐρωτᾷ τε καὶ πυνθάνεται ζητῶν ἀπόκρισιν, ἕξ ἧς ὁ μὴ οἶδεν εἴσεται· πάντα δὲ θεῷ γνώριμα, οὐ τὰ παρόντα μόνον καὶ παρεληλυθότα ἀλλὰ καὶ  
58 τὰ μέλλοντα. τί οὖν καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ὄφελος μὴ μελλούσης τινὰ περιποιεῖν τῷ πυνθανομένῳ κατάληψιν; ἀλλὰ ῥητέον, ὅτι τοιαῦτα οὐ πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου κυριολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ψεῦδος λέγειν ἔστι μὴ ψευδόμενον, οὕτως καὶ ἐρώτημα

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 494.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 56-58

religion is a caring for God, we mean some such service as slaves render to their masters when they are set on doing promptly what they are told to do. But here again the parallel is not perfect; for the masters are in want of service, but God does not need it. It follows that, while to masters their slaves render services that will benefit them, to God men can bring nothing except a disposition full of love to their Master. For they will find nothing which they can improve, everything that their Master has being perfect to start with; but themselves they will vastly benefit by taking steps to be admitted to intimacy with God.

XVII. I think that I have now said enough as to those who seem to do good or evil to others. For we have found that it is to themselves that they do the one or the other. Let us investigate what follows. A question is put thus, "Where is Abel thy brother?" (Gen. iv. 9). To this question Cain replies, "I know not. Am I my brother's keeper?" (*ibid.*). This requires us to consider the point, whether God can strictly be said to ask a question. For he that makes an inquiry or asks a question<sup>a</sup> does so in regard to matters about which he is ignorant, looking for an answer, as the result of which he will know what now he does not know. But all things are known to God, not only things present and things past, but also things future. What advantage then does an answer confer, when it is not going to bring about for the inquirer any acquisition of knowledge? The fact is that such expressions cannot be used in their strict sense in the case of the First Cause (*i.e.* God). Just as it is possible to tell a verbal lie without lying, so it is

- καὶ πύσμα προφέρεσθαι μήτε ἐρωτῶντα μήτε  
 πυνθανόμενον. τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα, φήσει τις ἴσως,  
 λέγεται τοιαῦτ ; ἴν' ἢ μέλλουσα τὰς ἀποκρίσεις  
 ποιεῖσθαι ψυχὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐλέγχηται περὶ ὧν εἶ  
 ἢ κακῶς ἀποφαίνεται, μήτε κατηγορῶ μήτε  
 59 συναγωνιστῆ χρωμένῃ ἑτέρῳ. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν  
 [203] ὁπότε | ἀνερωτᾷ " ποῦ ἐστὶ σοι ἡ ἀρετή;" (Gen.  
 xviii. 9)—τὸν Ἀβραάμ λέγω περὶ Σάρρας—  
 οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἐρωτᾷ, ἀλλὰ δεῖν οἰόμενος αὐτὸν  
 ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἔνεκα τοῦ τὸν ἔπαινον τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ λέγοντος παραστήσαι· φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι εἶπεν·  
 " ἴδου ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ " τουτέστι τῇ ψυχῇ. τί οὖν  
 τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐπαινετόν; ἴδου τὴν ἀρετὴν,  
 φησὶν, ἔχω παρ' ἑμαυτῷ καθάπερ τι κειμήλιον,  
 60 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' <οὐκ><sup>1</sup> εὐθὺς εὐδαιμονῶ. χρήσις γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀπόλαυσις ἀρετῆς τὸ εὐδαιμον, οὐ ψιλὴ μόνον  
 κτήσις· χρῆσθαι δ' οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην, εἰ μὴ σὺ  
 καθεὶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὰ σπέρματα ἀπεργάσαιο αὐτὴν  
 ἐγκύμονα, ἢ δὲ εὐδαιμονίας γένος ἀποτέκοι τὸν  
 Ἰσαάκ—εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς τελείας ἐν  
 βίῳ τελείῳ νενόηκα—. παρὸ καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως  
 ἀγάμενος αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖ τελεσφορήσειν καιρίως  
 ἂ ἤτήσατο.
- 61 XVIII. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ ἀπόκρισις ἔπαινον  
 ἤνεγκεν ὁμολογοῦντι μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄνευ θείας  
 ἐπιφροσύνης ἱκανὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ὠφελεῖν εἶναι, τῷ  
 δὲ Κάιν ἀκολουθῶς ψόγον φάσκοντι μὴ εἰδέναι,

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ is inserted from conjecture (Tr.).



## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER. 58-61

possible to propound a question or inquiry without either asking or inquiring. What then, someone will perhaps say, is the object of the use of such expressions? That the soul that is to give the answers may be convicted by itself touching its good or evil utterances, with no other, either to accuse it or to plead on its behalf. When God puts a question to the wise one, "Where is thy virtue?" (Gen. xviii. 9)—(I refer to the question put to Abraham about Sarah), He asks not because He is ignorant, but because He thinks it necessary that Abraham should answer, with a view to set in bold relief the praise shown by the speaker's own words to be due. We are told, you see, that he said "Lo, she is in the tent," that is, in the soul. What matter for praise, then, is it that springs out of the answer? What he says is, "Lo, I have virtue laid up by me as some precious treasure, and this by itself does not make me happy. For happiness consists in the exercise and enjoyment of virtue, nor in its mere possession. But I could not exercise it, shouldst Thou not send down the seeds from heaven to cause her to be pregnant, and were she not to give birth to Isaac, *i.e.* happiness in its totality, and I have made up my mind that happiness is the exercise of perfect virtue in a perfect life." Accordingly God is well pleased with the motive of his answer, and consents to bring to pass in due season what he had requested.

XVIII. To Abraham, then, his answer brought praise, acknowledging as he did that even virtue, without God's directing care, is insufficient of itself to do us good: while to Cain, correspondingly, his answer brought blame, since he said that he did not know

ποῦ ὁ δολοφονηθεὶς ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ· ἔδοξε<sup>1</sup> γὰρ  
 τὸν ἀκούοντα ἀπατήσῃν ὡς οὐ πάντα διορῶντα  
 καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην ἢ μέλλει χρῆσθαι προκατειληφότα·  
 ἔκθεσμος δὲ καὶ ἔκφυλος πᾶς ὁ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 62 ὀφθαλμὸν οἰόμενός τι παρορᾶν. ὁ δέ γε καὶ  
 ἐπινεανιεύεται φάσκων· “ μὴ φύλαξ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 μου εἶμι ἐγὼ (Gen. iv. 9); ” πάνυ γάρ, εἴπομι'  
 ἄν, ἀθλίως ἔμελλε βιώσεσθαι, εἰ σὲ φρουρὸν καὶ  
 φύλακα ἢ φύσιν ἀγαθοῦ τοσοῦτου κατέστησεν. ἢ  
 οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι τὴν τῶν ἀγίων διατήρησίν τε καὶ  
 φυλακὴν οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀλλὰ  
 τοῖς τὰς γνώμας ἱερωτάτοις Λευίταις ἐπιτρέπει;  
 ὧν ἀνάξιος κλῆρος γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ ἔτι δὲ  
 οὐρανὸς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος ἐνομίσθη, μόνος δ'  
 ἀξιόχρεως ὁ δημιουργός, ᾧ προσπεφεύγασιν ἰκέται  
 γνήσιοι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ γινόμενοι, τὸ  
 φιλοδέσποτον διὰ τῆς συνεχοῦς ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν ἐπιτραπέντων ἀοκνοτάτης ἐπιδεικνύμενοι φυ-  
 63 λακῆς. XIX. καὶ οὐδ' ἅπασιν ἐξεγένετο τοῖς  
 ἰκέταις γενέσθαι φύλαξιν ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' εἴ τινες  
 ἀριθμὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἔλαχον ἄφεςιν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν  
 παντελῆ καὶ ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας λήξεις  
 προκηρύττοντα. “ τοῦτο ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐστὶ τὸ  
 περὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν· ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν  
 [204] εἰσελεύσεται | ἐνεργεῖν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου,  
 καὶ ἀπὸ πενήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀποστήσεται τῆς  
 λειτουργίας, καὶ οὐκ ἐργάσεται ἔτι, λειτουργήσει  
 δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ φυλάξει φυλακάς, ἔργα.  
 64 δὲ οὐκ ἐργάσεται ” (Num. viii. 24-26). οὐκοῦν  
 τῷ μὲν ἡμίσει τὴν τελειότητα—τέλειος γὰρ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> ἔδοξε from Mangey's conjecture.

<sup>a</sup> See *De Sac.* 122.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 494.

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 61-64

where his brother was whom he had treacherously slain : for he imagined that he would deceive Him to whom he gave the answer, as though He did not clearly see all things, and had not anticipated the deception to which he was going to resort : but everyone who thinks that anything escapes the eye of God is an outlaw and an outcast. Cain has the insolence to say, moreover, " Am I my brother's keeper ? " (Gen. iv. 9). ' Wretched indeed was his life likely to be,' I should say, ' had nature constituted thee the guardian and keeper of so great a good.' Or seest thou not that the lawgiver commits the keeping and guardianship of the holy things not to ordinary persons, but to Levites, men fully consecrated in their minds ? For these earth and sea and air, yea, moreover, heaven and all the world, was deemed a portion of too little worth. The Creator alone was deemed meet for them, with Whom they have taken refuge as genuine suppliants and become His attendants, discovering their love for their Master by constant service and untiring guardianship of the sacred things committed to their care. XIX. Nor was it to all the suppliants that it fell to become guardians of sacred things, but to such as obtained by lot the number 50, announcing release<sup>a</sup> and complete freedom and return to their portions of old time. For we read " This is that which concerneth the Levites : from twenty and five years old shall he go in to do active service in the Tabernacle of witness ; and from (the age of) fifty years shall he cease from the ministry, and shall work no more, but his brother shall minister. He shall keep watch, but shall not work " (Numb. viii. 24-26). Remembering, then, that the number 50 is perfect,<sup>b</sup> and that 25 is

## PHILO

πεντηκοστὸς λόγος, ὁ δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
 ἡμισυ μέρος—ἐνεργεῖν ἐπιτρέπει καὶ δρᾶν τὰ  
 ἅγια τὴν δι' ἔργων ἀρέσκειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ—  
 ἀρχὴ δέ, ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν πάλαι, τοῦ παντὸς  
 ἡμισυ μέρος—, τῷ δὲ τελείῳ μηκέτι πονεῖν, τὰ  
 δ' ὅσα ἐκ μελέτης καὶ πόνου περιεποιήσατο  
 φυλάττειν· μὴ γὰρ γενοίμην ἀσκητῆς ὧν μὴ  
 85 φύλαξ αὐθις. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀσκησις μέσον, οὐ  
 τέλειον, γίνεται γὰρ ἐν οὐ τελείαις μὲν ἀκρότητος  
 δὲ ἐφιεμέναις ψυχαῖς· ἡ δὲ φυλακὴ παντελής,  
 μνήμη τὰ<sup>1</sup> ἀσκή<σει περιποιη>τὰ παραδοῦναι  
 θεωρήματα τῶν ἀγίων, ἐπιστήμης καλὴν παρα-  
 καταθήκην φύλακι πιστῇ, ἡ μόνη τῶν λήθης  
 πολυμηχάνων δικτύων ἀλογεῖ· ὥστε τὸν μνήμονα  
 ὧν ἔμαθεν ὑγιῶς καὶ εὐθυβόλως καλεῖ φύλακα.  
 86 οὗτος δὲ πρότερον ὅτε ἐγυμνάζετο μαθητῆς ἦν  
 διδάσκοντος ἐτέρου· ὅποτε δὲ ἰκανὸς φυλάττειν  
 ἐγένετο, διδασκάλου δύναμιν καὶ τάξιν ἔλαχε,  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τῆς διδασκαλίας  
 χειροτονήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προφορικὸν λόγον· λέγεται  
 γὰρ ὅτι “ λειτουργήσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ” (Num.  
 viii. 26)· ὥστε ὁ μὲν τοῦ ἀστείου νοῦς φύλαξ καὶ  
 ταμίας τῶν ἀρετῆς ἔσται δογμάτων, ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς  
 αὐτοῦ λόγος λειτουργήσει τοῖς παιδείαν μετιούσι  
 διεξιῶν τὰ σοφίας δόγματά τε καὶ θεωρήματα.  
 87 διὸ καὶ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις Λευὶ πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> Following Wendland's conjecture.

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<sup>a</sup> For the antithesis of ἀσκητῆς and φύλαξ cf. *L.A.* i. 54 ff.  
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half this, and that the beginning as one of the ancients said, is the half of the whole, we note that he charges him who is but half perfect to set to work and do holy actions, showing active obedience ; while he charges the perfect one to labour no more, but to keep watch over all that he has acquired as the result of toilsome practice. May I indeed never devote study and pains to anything of which I am not afterwards to be a guardian. Study or practice is a mean, a half-way stage, not a perfect final achievement. It is seen in souls that are not perfect, but bent on reaching the summit. Watching or guarding is something complete, consisting in entrusting to memory those principles of holy things which were acquired by practice. To do this is to commit a fair deposit of knowledge to a trustworthy guardian,<sup>a</sup> to her who alone makes light of the nets of forgetfulness with all their cunning devices. "Guardian" is therefore the sound and appropriate name which he gives to the man who remembers what he had learnt. At an earlier stage, when he was in training, this man was a pupil with another to teach him, but when he became capable of watching and guarding, he obtained the power and position of a teacher, and appointed for the subordinate duties under the teacher his own brother, the word of utterance : for it is said "his brother shall minister" (Numb. viii. 26). Accordingly the mind of the truly noble man will be guardian and steward of the teachings of virtue, while his brother, utterance, will minister to those who are seeking education, going over with them the doctrines and principles of wisdom. This is the reason why Moses, in the blessings which he pronounces on Levi, crowns many marvellous

- καὶ θαυμάσια προειπὼν ἐπιφέρει· “ ἐφύλαξε τὰ λόγια σου, καὶ τὴν διαθήκην σου διετήρησεν”· εἰθ’ ἐξῆς· “ δηλώσουσι τὰ δικαιώματά σου Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν νόμον σου Ἰσραήλ” (Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10).
- 68 οὐκοῦν ὅτι καὶ λόγων καὶ διαθήκης θεοῦ φύλαξ ὁ ἀστείος ἐστίν, ἐναργῶς παρίστησι· καὶ μὴν ὅτι δικαιωμάτων καὶ νόμων ἐρμηνεύς καὶ ὑφηγητῆς ἄριστος, πάλιν δεδήλωκε, τῆς μὲν ἐρμηνείας διὰ συγγενικοῦ ὄργανου, τοῦ φωνητηρίου δήπου, συνισταμένης, τῆς δὲ φυλακῆς περὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐξεταζομένης, ὃς μέγα ταμεῖον ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθεὶς τὰς ἀπάντων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐννοίας εὐμαρῶς κεχώρηκεν. ἐλυσιτέλει δὴ καὶ τῷ φιλαύτῳ Κάιν φυλάξαι τὸν Ἀβελ· εἰ γὰρ διετήρησεν αὐτόν, κεκραμένου<sup>1</sup> καὶ μέσου βίου μετεποιήσατ’ αὐν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀμιγοῦς καὶ ἀκράτου κακίας ἐνεφορήθη.
- 69 [205] XX. | “ Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Τί ἐποίησας; φωνῆ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου βοᾶ πρὸς μέ ἐκ τῆς γῆς” (Gen. iv. 10). τὸ “ τί ἐποίησας” καὶ ἀγανάκτησιν ἐμφαίνει ἐπὶ οὐκ εὐαγεῖ πράξει καὶ χλευασμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δολοφονῆσαι δοκοῦντι. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀγανάκτησις ἐπὶ <τῇ> τοῦ δεδρακότος γνώμη γίνεται, ὅτι τὸ καλὸν ἀνελεῖν ἐβούλευσεν· ἢ δὲ χλεύη διὰ τὸ οἶεσθαι μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι τῷ κρείττονι, ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι δ’ οὐκ ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον
- 70 ἢ ἑαυτῷ· ζῆ μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ὁ τεθνάναι δοκῶν, εἴ γε καὶ ἰκέτης ὢν θεοῦ καὶ φωνῆ χρώμενος εὐρίσκεται, τέθνηκε δὲ ὁ περιεῖναι

<sup>1</sup> Mangey's conjecture for κεκριμένου.

eulogies by saying " he guarded Thine oracles, and Thy covenant did he diligently keep "; then immediately afterwards " they shall expound Thy judgements to Jacob and Thy law to Israel " (Deut. xxxiii. 9 f.). So he expressly avouches that the fully accomplished man is guardian of the words and covenant of God. Furthermore he has made it clear that he is the best utterer and setter forth of judgements and laws. For utterance is an operation of the organ of speech which is akin to it, and watchful guardianship is found to be the function of the mind, which was created by nature to be a vast storehouse, and has ample room for the conceptions of all substances and all circumstances. It would have been to the advantage even of Cain, the lover of self, to have guarded Abel; for had he carefully preserved him, he would have been able to lay claim only to a mixed <sup>b</sup> " half and half " life indeed, but would not have drained the cup of sheer unmitigated wickedness.

XX. " And God said, ' What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to Me out of the ground ' " (Gen. iv. 10). The words " What hast thou done? " express as well indignation at an unrighteous act, as mockery of the man who thought that his treachery had accomplished his brother's death. Indignation is kindled by the intention of the doer of the deed, at his having purposed to destroy that which was noble; the mockery is occasioned by his thinking that his evil design was against him who was better than he, whereas it had been against himself rather than his brother: for, as I said before, he that seems to be dead is alive, since he is found acting as God's suppliant and using His voice; whereas he who is supposed to survive

- νομιζόμενος τὸν ψυχικὸν θάνατον, ἀρετῆς καθ' ἣν ἄξιον μόνην ἐστὶ ζῆν ἀποσχοινοισθείς· ὥστε καὶ τὸ “ τί ἐποίησας ” ἴσον εἶναι τῷ “ οὐδὲν ἐποίησας,”
- 71 οὐδὲν ἤνυσας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ σοφιστῆς Βαλαάμ, μάταιος ὢν ὄχλος ἐναντίων καὶ μαχομένων δοξῶν, βουλευθεὶς ἀρὰς τίθεσθαι καὶ βλάπτειν τὸν ἀστεῖον ἴσχυσε, τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς κατάρας εἰς εὐλογίαν τρέποντος (Num. xxiii. 8), ἵνα καὶ τῆς πανουργίας ἀπελέγξῃ τὸν ἄδικον καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ φιλάρετον
- 72 παραστήσῃ. ΧΧΙ. πεφύκασι δὲ οἱ σοφισταὶ πολέμοιοι χρησθαι ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς δυνάμεσι, λόγων ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ βουλευμάτων λόγοις ἀντιστατούντων καὶ μηδαμῆ μηδαμῶς συναδόντων· ἀποκναίουσι γοῦν ἡμῶν τὰ ὄψα, τὴν δικαιοσύνην κοινωνικόν, τὴν σωφροσύνην συμφέρον, τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀστεῖον, τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὠφελιμώτατον, τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ὑγιεινιώτατόν τε καὶ σωτήριον ἀποφαίνοντες, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἀδικίαν ἄσπονδον, τὴν ἀκολασίαν νοσερόν, τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἔκθεσμον, τὴν ἄλλην κακίαν
- 73 βλαβεριώτατον διεξιόντες· καὶ ὁμῶς τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς λεγομένοις φρονοῦντες οὐ παύονται, ἀλλ' ὅταν φρόνησιν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν ὑμνῶσι, τότε δὴ μάλιστα ἀφραίνοντες ἀκολασταίνοντες ἀδικοῦντες ἀσεβοῦντες πάνθ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπεια καὶ θεῖα συγχέοντές τε καὶ
- 74 ἀνατρέποντες εὐρίσκονται. πρὸς οὓς εἶποι τις ἂν ὀρθῶς, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ἔφη τῷ Κάλῳ· τί



has died the death of the soul, being debarred from virtue, the only worthy rule of life. Hence the question, "What hast thou done?" is tantamount to "You have done nothing, accomplished nothing." It was so with Balaam also. He was a sophist, an empty conglomeration of incompatible and discordant notions. It was his desire to do harm to the goodly one by laying curses upon him. But he could not, for God turned his curses into a blessing (Numb. xxiii. 8), in order that He might at once convict the unrighteous one of his villainy, and at the same time make good his own love of virtue. XXI. Sophists are bound to find the powers within them at strife, words running counter to ideas and wishes to words, in absolute and utter discord. They make our ears ache with their demonstrations of the social character of righteousness, the advantageous nature of moderation, the nobility of self-control, the great benefits conferred by piety, the power of every kind of virtue to bring health and safety. On the other hand they dwell at great length on the unsociability of injustice, on the loss of health entailed by a licentious life, and prove *ad nauseam* that irreligion makes you a pariah, and that serious harm is occasioned by all other forms of wickedness. And nevertheless they entertain all the time sentiments quite at variance with the things which they say. At the very moment when they are singing the praises of good sense and moderation and righteousness and piety, they are found to be more than ever practising foolishness, licentiousness, injustice, and impiety, to be confounding and overturning, you may wellnigh say, every ordinance of God or man. To these men one might rightly put the question put to Cain in the

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ἐποιήσατε; τί εἰργάσασθε αὐτοὺς ἀγαθόν; τί οἱ τοσοῦτοι περὶ ἀρετῆς λόγοι τὴν ὑμετέραν ψυχὴν ὠφέλησαν; τί τοῦ βίου μικρὸν ἢ μέγα μέρος ἐπληρωθῶσασθε; τί δ'; οὐχὶ τὰναντία διαβολὰς καθ' αὐτῶν ἀληθεῖς ἠρانیσατε, ὅτι συνιέντες τὰ καλὰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ φιλοσοφοῦντες ἐρμηνεῖς μὲν ἄριστοι γεγόνατε, τὰ δ' αἰσχιστα καὶ φρονοῦντες καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοντες αἰεὶ ἀλίσκεσθε; οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς τέθνηκε τὰ καλὰ, ζωπυρῆθέντων κακῶν; διὰ τοῦτο ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ 75  
 [206] περιέστω. ὥσπερ γὰρ μουσικοῦ τινος ἢ γραμματικοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἢ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι μουσικὴ καὶ γραμματικὴ συνέφθαρται, αἱ δὲ τούτων ιδέαι μένουσι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ βιοῦσιν ἰσοχρόνιοι τῷ κόσμῳ, καθ' ἃς οἳ τε ὄντες καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες διαδοχαῖς ταῖς εἰσαεὶ μουσικοὶ τε καὶ γραμματικοὶ γενήσονται, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐν τινι φρόνιμον ἢ σῶφρον ἢ ἀνδρεῖον ἢ δίκαιον ἢ συνόλως σοφὸν ἂν ἀναιρεθῆ, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἀθανάτῳ φύσει φρόνησις ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀρετὴ σύμπασα ἄφθαρτος ἐστηλίτευται, καθ' ἣν καὶ νῦν 76  
 εἰσὶν ἀστείοι τινες καὶ αἰθῆς γενήσονται· εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς τῶν ἐν μέρει θάνατον φθορὰν ἐργάσασθαι φήσομεν ἀνθρωπότητι, ἣν εἶτε γένος

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<sup>a</sup> Philo now gives another turn to the words spoken to Cain, taking "What hast thou done?" as equivalent to "How little hast thou accomplished in killing not goodness but a good man."

sacred record, "What have you done?" What have you wrought that has done you good? What benefit have all these harangues on the subject of virtue conferred on your own souls? What portion, great or small, of life have you set right? Nay, have you not done the reverse? Have you not furnished true charges against yourselves, in that, while you have shown yourselves lecturers of the highest order as far as understanding of beautiful things and philosophical discourses are concerned, you are invariably caught cherishing sentiments and indulging in practices that are utterly base? May we not go further and say that in your souls all noble qualities have died, while evil qualities have been quickened? It is because of this that not one of you is really still alive.<sup>a</sup> When a musician or a scholar has died, the music or scholarship, that has its abode in individual masters, has indeed perished with him, but the original patterns of these remain, and may be said to live as long as the world lasts; and by conforming to these the men of this generation, and those of all future generations in perpetual succession, will attain to being musicians or scholars. In exactly the same way, if what is sensible or modest or brave or just or, to say it in one word, wise, be destroyed, none the less does there stand, inscribed on the undying tablets of the universe, good sense with a life that dies not, and all virtue exempt from decay; and it is by having part in this excellence that men are truly wise to-day, and will be so in days to come. It must be so, unless we are to say that the death of some individual man has wrought destruction on mankind. What "mankind" is, whether a class, or an original pattern, or a con-

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- εἴτε ἰδέαν εἴτε ἐννόημα εἴθ' ὃ τί ποτε χρῆ καλεῖν οἱ  
 ζητητικοὶ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων εἴσονται. μία  
 σφραγὶς πολλάκις μυρίας ὄσας ἀπείρους οὐσίας  
 τυπώσασα πάντων ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν τύπων ἐξιτήλων  
 αὐταῖς οὐσίαις γενομένων ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς φύσει μηδὲν  
 77 βλαβεῖσα κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν. εἰτ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα  
 τὰς ἀρετάς, κἂν πάντες οἱ χαρακτῆρες, οὓς ἐν-  
 εσημήναντο ταῖς τῶν προσεληλυθότων ψυχαῖς, ὑπὸ  
 μοχθηρᾶς διαίτης ἢ τινος ἐτέρας ἐξ αἰτίας ἐξιτήλοι  
 γένωνται, τὴν ἀκήρατον ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἄφθαρτον  
 φύσιν εἰσαεὶ σχήσειν; οὐκ εἰδότες οὖν οἱ παιδείας  
 ἀμύητοι διαφορὰς οὐθ' ὄλων πρὸς μέρη οὔτε γενῶν  
 πρὸς εἶδη οὔτε τὰς ἐν τούτοις ὁμωνυμίας πάντα  
 78 διὰ πάντων συγχέουσι καὶ φύρουσι. διὸ πᾶς  
 φίλαυτος, ἐπίκλησιν Κάιν, διδαχθήτω ὅτι τὸ  
 ὁμώνυμον τοῦ "Αβελ ἀνήρηκε, τὸ εἶδος, τὸ μέρος,  
 τὸν ἀπεικονισθέντα τύπον, οὐ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, οὐ τὸ  
 γένος, οὐ τὴν ἰδέαν, ἅπερ οἴεται μετὰ ζώων ἄφθαρτα  
 ὄντα συνεφθαρκεῖναι. λεγέτω δὴ τις κατακερτομῶν  
 αὐτὸν κἀπιχλευάζων· τί πεποίηκας, ὦ κακόδαιμον;  
 οὐχ ἦν μὲν δοκεῖς ἀνηρηκεῖναι φιλόθεον δόξαν, ζῆ  
 παρὰ θεῷ; σαυτοῦ δὲ γέγονας αὐθέντης, ὦ μόνω  
 βιοῦν ἀνυπαιτίως ἠδύνασο ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀνελῶν.
- 79 XXII. Πάνυ δὲ πεφώνηται καὶ πρὸς κάλλος  
 ἐρμηνείας καὶ πρὸς νοημάτων εὔρεσιν τὰ ἐπι-  
 254

ception, or whatever we may call it, is a matter for the decision of those who make exactness in the use of terms their study. A single seal has often left its impress on innumerable substances, and it has sometimes happened that all the impressions have vanished with the very substances on which they were made, while the seal has in its own nature taken no hurt but remains just as it was to begin with. In the face of a fact like this, must we not believe that the virtues will retain for ever their own nature, incapable of damage or decay, even if all the characters which they have stamped on the souls of those who have come under their influence have become faint, owing to a bad life or from some other cause? We see, then, that those who are devoid of culture being uninitiated into the difference between wholes and parts and between classes and species, and know not how, though different, they may bear the same name, completely mix up and confound all things. Wherefore let every lover of self, surnamed "Cain," be taught that he has slain that which shares Abel's name, the specimen, the part, the impression stamped to resemble him, not the original, not the class, not the pattern, though he fancies that these, which are imperishable, have perished together with the living beings. Let some one say, taunting and ridiculing him: What have you done, poor wretch? Does not the God-loving creed, which you imagine you have annihilated, live with God? You have proved to be your own murderer, having slain by guile that which alone had the power to enable you to live a guiltless life.

XXII. The words which follow are an utterance of great richness, whether we look at the beauty of

- λεγόμενα ταῦτα· “ φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου βοᾷ πρὸς με ἐκ τῆς γῆς ” (Gen. iv. 10). ἡ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν φράσιν ὑψηγορία πᾶσι τοῖς μὴ λόγων ἀμυήτοις γνώριμος· τὰ δ’ ἐμφαινόμενα νοήματα, ὡς ἂν οἰοί τε ὦμεν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα, καὶ πρότερόν
- 80 γε περὶ τοῦ αἵματος. πολλαχοῦ μὲν γὰρ τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποφαίνεται τὸ αἷμα λέγων ἀντικρυς· “ ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἱμᾶ ἐστίν ” (Lev. xvii. 11 al.)· ὁπότε δὲ πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν μεταξὺ γένεσιν
- [207] ἐδημιούργει | <τὸν> ἄνθρωπον ὁ ζωοπλάστης, φησὶν ὅτι “ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ” (Gen. ii. 7), πάλιν διὰ τούτου παριστάς, ὅτι
- 81 πνεῦμά ἐστίν ἡ ψυχῆς οὐσία. καὶ μὴν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεων ἄκρως εἴωθε διαμεμνήσθαι, τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ὁμολογούμενα τοῖς προτέροις δικαίων ἐφαρμοττεῖν· οὐκ ἂν οὖν πνεῦμα ψυχῆς οὐσίαν προειπὼν αἷμα διαφέρον σῶμά τι αἰθίς ἔλεγεν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ συνεκτικω-
- 82 τάτων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐποιεῖτο. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἕκαστον ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς προσεχεῖς τομὰς ἀριθμῶ δύο εἶναι συμβέβηκε, ζῶόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον· ἑκατέρῳ δὲ τούτων συγγενῆς δύναμις τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀποκεκλήρωται, τῷ μὲν ἡ ζωτικὴ, καθ’ ἣν ζῶμεν, τῷ δ’ ἡ λογικὴ, καθ’ ἣν λογικοὶ γεγόναμεν· τῆς μὲν οὖν ζωτικῆς μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἄλογα, τῆς δὲ

<sup>a</sup> Literally, “ of those which have soul as their principle.”

expression or at the thoughts conceived. The words are : "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to Me from out of the ground" (Gen. iv. 10). The loftiness of the phrasing is patent to all who are conversant with literature. Let us examine, according to our ability, the ideas expressed. And first, as to the blood. In many passages of the Law Moses pronounces the blood to be the essence of the life, saying in plain words, "for the life of all flesh is the blood" (Lev. xvii. 11 etc.). Yet, when first after the creation of heaven and earth and of what lies between them, the Framers of living beings fashioned man, we read, "He breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7), showing hereby, on the contrary, that the essence of life is breath. Now we must notice that it is the writer's invariable habit never to forget for a moment the principles which he has laid down at the outset ; he is scrupulously careful to let his later statements be such as follow from and agree with what he has said before. He would not therefore, having already said that the essence of life is breath, have said further on that it is some different substance, namely blood, had he not been bringing the matter under some most vital and essential principle. What then are we to say ? Each one of us, according to the primary analysis, is two in number, an animal and a man. To either of these has been allotted an inner <sup>a</sup> power akin to the qualities of their respective life-principles, to one the power of vitality, in virtue of which we are alive, to the other the power of reasoning, in virtue of which we are reasoning beings. Of the power of vitality the irrational creatures partake with us ; of the power of reasoning

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λογικῆς οὐ μετέχει μὲν, ἄρχει δὲ ὁ θεός, ἢ τοῦ  
 83 πρεσβυτάτου λόγου πηγῆ. XXIII. ἢ μὲν οὖν  
 κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα δύνάμις οὐσίαν ἔλαχεν αἷμα, ἢ  
 δὲ ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς ἀπορρνεῖσα πηγῆς τὸ πνεῦμα,  
 οὐκ ἀέρα κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ τύπον τινὰ καὶ χαρα-  
 κτήρα θείας δυνάμεως, ἣν ὀνόματι κυρίῳ Μωυσῆς  
 εἰκόνα καλεῖ, δηλῶν ὅτι ἀρχέτυπον μὲν φύσεως  
 λογικῆς ὁ θεός ἐστι, μίμημα δὲ καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα  
 84 ἀριστον εἶδος, ὃ νοῦς καὶ λόγος κέκληται. διὰ  
 τοῦτο σαρκὸς μὲν ψυχὴν φησι τὸ αἷμα, εἰδὼς ὅτι  
 ἢ σαρκῶν φύσις νοῦ μὲν οὐ μεμοίραται, ζωῆς δὲ  
 καθάπερ καὶ ὄλον ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα μετέχει, ἀνθρώ-  
 που δὲ ψυχὴν πνεῦμα ὀνομάζει, ἀνθρωπον οὐ τὸ  
 σύγκριμα καλῶν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεοειδὲς ἐκείνο  
 δημιούργημα, ᾧ λογιζόμεθα, οὗ τὰς ρίζας εἰς  
 οὐρανὸν ἔτεινε καὶ τῆς ὑστάτης τῶν λεγομένων  
 85 ἀπλανῶν ἀψίδος ἐξῆψε. μόνον γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ  
 γῆς φυτὸν οὐράνιον ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρωπον εἰργάσατο,  
 τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰς κεφαλὰς πηξάμενος ἐν χέρσῳ  
 —κατωκάρῃ γὰρ πάντα—ἀνθρώπου δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄνω  
 προαγαγών, ἵνα τὰς τροφὰς ὀλυμπίους καὶ ἀφθάρ-  
 τους ἀλλὰ μὴ γεώδεις καὶ φθαρτὰς ἔχοι· παρὸ καὶ  
 τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν ὅσον ἀναισθητότατον  
 πλείστον ἀποστήσας λογισμοῦ τὰς βάσεις γῆ  
 προσερρίζου, τὰς δὲ νοῦ δορυφόρους αἰσθήσεις καὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἐκείνον πορρωτάτω μὲν τῶν περὶ γῆν  
 [208] ἐξώκισε, ταῖς δὲ | ἀέρος καὶ οὐρανοῦ περιόδοις

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 494, 495.

<sup>b</sup> *Timaeus* 91 E.



## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 82-85

God is, not indeed partaker, but originator, being the Fountain of archetypal reason. XXIII. To the faculty which we have in common with the irrational creatures blood has been given as its essence ; but to the faculty which streams forth from the fountain of reason breath has been assigned ; not moving air, but, as it were, an impression stamped by the divine power, to which Moses gives the appropriate title of " image," thus indicating that God is the Archetype of rational existence, while man is a copy and likeness. By " man " I mean not the living creature with two natures, but the highest form in which the life shows itself ; and this has received the title of " mind " and " reason." This is why he says that the blood is the life of the flesh, being aware that the fleshly nature has received no share of mind, but partakes of vitality just as the whole of our body does ; but man's life he names " breath," giving the title of " man " not to the composite mass, as I have said, but to that God-like creation with which we reason, whose roots He caused<sup>a</sup> to reach even to heaven and come forth from the outmost circles of the so-called fixed stars. For God made man, alone of things on the earth, a heavenly growth, fixing on the ground the heads of all others ; for they all have the head bending downwards<sup>b</sup> ; but raising man's upward, that his nourishment may be celestial and imperishable, not perishable and earthly. In accordance with this He attached our feet to the earth, thus removing as far as possible from the reasoning faculty that part of our body which is least capable of feeling, but our senses, which are satellites of the mind, and our mind itself he set at the greatest distance from the ground, linking them with the

- 86 ἀφθάρτοις οὐσαις ἐνεδήσατο. XXIV. μηκέτ' οὖν ἀπορῶμεν, πῶς ἔννοϊαν ἔλαβεν ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ τοῦ αἰδιούδης, οἱ Μωυσέως γνώριμοι· τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν χρησμῶ μαθὼν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὑφηγήσατο. ἔλεγε δὲ ᾧδε· ψυχὴν οὐδεμίαν τῷ σώματι ὁ ποιῶν εἰργάζετο ἱκανὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς τὸν ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν, λογισάμενος δὲ μεγάλα ὀνήσειν τὸ δημιούργημα, εἰ λάβοι τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἔννοϊαν—εὐδαιμονίας γὰρ καὶ μακαριότητος ὄρος οὗτος—ἄνωθεν ἐνέπνει τῆς ἰδίου θειότητος· ἢ δ' ἀόρατος ἀοράτῳ ψυχῇ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς τύπους ἐνεσφραγίζετο, ἵνα μηδ' ὁ περίγειος
- 87 χῶρος εἰκόνας ἀμοιρήσῃ θεοῦ. τὸ δ' ἀρχέτυπον οὕτως ἦν ἄρα αἰιδές, ὥστε καὶ ἢ εἰκὼν οὐχ ὀρατὴ, τυπωθεῖσα μέντοι κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα οὐκέτι θνητὰς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτους ἐννοίας ἐδέχετο· πῶς γὰρ ἂν θνητὴ φύσις μένειν ἅμα καὶ ἀποδημεῖν ἠδύνατο ἢ τὰ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ἐτέρωθι καθορᾶν ἢ θάλατταν μὲν περιπλεῖν ἅπασαν, γῆν δὲ ἄχρι περάτων ἐπέρχεσθαι, ἢ νόμων καὶ ἔθων ἢ συνόλως πραγμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐφάπτεσθαι; ἢ δίχα τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ τὰ μετάρσια καταλαμβάνειν, ἀέρα καὶ τροπὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ καιρῶν ἰδιότητος καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ἐτησίοις ὥραις καινουργούμενά τε καὶ ἔθους
- 88 ἀποτελεῖται; ἢ πάλιν δι' ἀέρος εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνίπτασθαι καὶ τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις ἐξετάζειν,

<sup>a</sup> *Timaeus* 90 D.

<sup>b</sup> Or "it is he who."

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 86-88

circuits<sup>a</sup> of air and heaven, which are imperishable. XXIV. Let not us then, the pupils of Moses, be any longer at a loss as to how man came to have a conception of the invisible God. For Moses himself learnt it by a divine communication, and has taught us how it was. He stated it thus. The Creator wrought for the body no soul capable by itself of seeing its Maker, but, accounting that it would be greatly to the advantage of the thing wrought should it obtain a conception of Him who wrought it, since this is what<sup>b</sup> determines happiness and blessedness, He breathed into him from above of His own Deity. The invisible Deity stamped on the invisible soul the impress of Itself, to the end that not even the terrestrial region should be without a share in the image of God. But the Archetype is, of course, so devoid of visible form that even His image could not be seen. Having been struck in accord with the Pattern, it entertained ideas not now mortal but immortal. For how could a mortal nature at one and the same time have stayed at home and been abroad, or have seen what is here and what is elsewhere, or have sailed round every sea and traversed earth to its furthest bounds, or have grasped laws and customs, or, to say all in one word, circumstances and substances? Or, going beyond earthly things, how could it have apprehended also things on high, air and its changes, characteristics of special times, and all that is brought to pass by the seasons of the year, whether unexpectedly or in keeping with the usual course of things? How, again, would it have been possible for him to fly up from the earth through the air into the sky and to examine the condition and movement of the heavenly bodies, discovering

- ὡς ἔχουσιν, ὡς κινουῦνται, τίνες ὅροι τῆς κινήσεως ἀρχῆς καὶ τέλους αὐταῖς, πῶς ἀλλήλαις τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ κατὰ τι συγγενείας δίκαιον ἀρμόζονται; τέχνας τε καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἐπινοῆσαι, ὅσαι τὰ τε ἐκτὸς δημιουργοῦσι καὶ τὰ περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ὡς ἐκάτερον βελτιωθήσεται, πραγματεύονται, καὶ μυρία ἄλλα, ὧν οὔτε ἀριθμὸν οὔτε φύσιν λόγῳ
- 89 περιλαβεῖν εὐπορον; μόνον γὰρ αὐτὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς ἅτε πάντων ὠκυδρομώτατος καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ γίνεσθαι δοκεῖ, φθάνει καὶ παραμείβεται, κατὰ ἀοράτους δυνάμεις ἀχρόνως τοῦ τε παντὸς καὶ μερῶν καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων ἐπιψαύων. ἤδη δὲ οὐ μόνον ἄχρι τῶν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀέρος καὶ οὐρανοῦ περάτων ἔλθων οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔσται, βραχὺν ὅρον τοῦ συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀπαύστου δρόμου νομίσας τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, προσωτέρω δὲ χωρῆσαι γλιχόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀκατάληπτον θεοῦ φύσιν, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι μόνον, καταλαβεῖν, ἣν
- 90 δύνηται. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς βραχὺν οὕτως ὄντα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν μῆνιγγι ἢ καρδίᾳ, βραχέσιν ὄγκοις, ἐγκατελιημμένον μέγεθος οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου
- [209] | χωρῆσαι τοσοῦτον, εἰ μὴ τῆς θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπόσπασμα ἦν οὐ διαιρετόν; τέμνεται γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκτείνεται. διὸ μεμοιραμένος τῆς ἐν τῷ παντὶ τελειότητος, ὅταν ἐννοῇ κόσμον, τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ παντὸς συνευρύνεται ῥῆξιν οὐ λαμβάνων· ὀλκὸς γὰρ ἢ δύναμις αὐτοῦ.
- 91 XXV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐν βραχέσιν εἰρήσθω

how the beginning of their movement and its cessation is determined, in what manner they are, in accordance with some law of congruity, adjusted both to one another and to the universe? How would it have been possible for him to devise arts and sciences, which produce material objects, or deal with the betterment of soul and body, and to do a thousand other things, the number and nature of which are almost beyond telling? For the mind, alone of all our endowments, being swifter than all things, outruns and leaves behind the time in which it seems to find itself, and, by virtue of invisible faculties, comes timelessly into contact with both the whole and its parts, and with the causes which give rise to both. And now, having come not only as far as the bounds of earth and sea but of air and sky also, not even there did it stay its steps, deeming the limit of the universe to be too narrow for its constant and unceasing course, and aiming at proceeding further, and at apprehending if possible the nature of God, which, beyond the bare fact that He is, is inapprehensible. How, then, was it likely that the mind of man being so small, contained in such small bulks as a brain or a heart, should have room for all the vastness of sky and universe, had it not been an inseparable portion of that divine and blessed soul? For no part of that which is divine cuts itself off and becomes separate, but does but extend itself. The mind, then, having obtained a share of the perfection which is in the whole, when it conceives of the universe, reaches out as widely as the bounds of the whole, and undergoes no severance; for its force is expansive.

XXV. Regarding the essence of life these few

- περὶ οὐσίας ψυχῆς. τὸ δὲ “ φωνὴν αἵματος βοᾶν ” (Gen. iv. 10) κατ’ ἀκόλουθον οὕτως ἀποδώσομεν. τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν ἄφωνόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ φωνῆεν· τὸ μὲν ἄλογον ἄφωνον, φωνῆεν δ’ ὅσον λογικόν, ὃ δὴ μόνον ἔννοϊαν εἴληφε θεοῦ· τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις μέρεσιν οὔτε θεὸν οὔτε τι νοητὸν κατα-
- 92 λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα. τῆς οὖν ζωτικῆς δυνάμεως, ἧς τὸ οὐσιώδες αἷμα, μοῖρά τις ἐξαιρέτον ἔσχε γέρας φωνῆν καὶ λόγον, οὐ τὸ διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης ῥέον νᾶμα, ἀλλὰ τὴν πηγὴν, ἀφ’ ἧς αἱ τοῦ προφορικοῦ δεξαμεναὶ πληροῦσθαι πεφύκασιν· ἡ δὲ πηγὴ νοῦς ἐστι, δι’ οὗ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ἐντεύξεις καὶ ἐκβοήσεις τῇ μὲν ἐκόντες τῇ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες
- 93 ἀναφθεγγόμεθα. ὃ δὲ ἅτε ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ ἕλεως τοὺς ἰκέτας οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἔργοις καὶ πάθει στενάζοντες ἀψευδῶς καὶ ἀπλάστως ἐκβοῶσι· τότε γὰρ ἀναβαίνειν φησὶ Μωυσῆς τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν (Exod. ii. 23), τὸν δὲ ἐπακούσαντα ῥύεσθαι
- 94 τῶν παρεστώτων κακῶν· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα γίνεσθαι, ὅταν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου τελευτήσῃ· τὸ παραδοξότατον· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν ἀποθανόντος τυράννου χαίρειν καὶ γεγηθέναι τοὺς τυραννουμένους· ἀλλὰ τότε λέγονται στενάζειν· “ μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ κατεστέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ”
- 95 (ib.). πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ῥητὸν ἢ λέξις τὸ εὐλογοῖ οὐ περιέχει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεις τὸ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἀκόλουθον εὐρίσκεται. ὃ γὰρ ἀνασκιδνάς καὶ ἀπορρίπτων τὰς περὶ τῶν καλῶν δόξας ὅταν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 495.

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remarks may suffice. In due sequence we must go on to interpret "the voice of blood crieth" in this way. One part of our life or soul is dumb, another part has a voice. The irrational part is dumb; the rational part has a voice, it only having attained to the conception of God; for with the other parts we can apprehend neither God nor any other mental object.<sup>a</sup> In the vital faculty, then, whose essence is blood, a portion has obtained, as a special prize, voice and speech; I do not mean the stream flowing through the mouth and over the tongue, but the fountain-head from which, by nature's ordering, the cisterns of uttered speech are filled. This fountain-head is the mind, through which, partly voluntarily, partly involuntarily, we utter aloud entreaties and outcries to Him that is. He, in His goodness and graciousness, does not disregard His suppliants, above all when they cry out without pretence or falsehood, groaning over their tasks and sufferings in Egypt: for then, says Moses, their words go up to God (Exod. ii. 23), and He listens to them and delivers them from evils that are upon them. All this comes to pass upon the death of the king of Egypt. Here is a thing clean contrary to expectation; for one would expect, when a tyrant dies, those over whom he has tyrannized to be glad and rejoice; yet it is then that they are said to lament, for we are told "after those many days the king of Egypt died, and the children of Israel lamented sorely" (*ibid.*). Taken literally the sentence is contradictory to reason: If it apply to the powers that sway the soul, the statement of the second clause is seen to be consequent upon that in the first. Pharaoh is the power that scatters to the winds and flings away all ideas of

ἐν ἡμῶν ζωπυρῆται Φαραὼ καὶ ὑγιαίνειν δοκῆ, εἰ δὴ τινα τῶν φαύλων ὑγιαίνειν λεκτέον, τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀποδεχόμεθα ἐγκράτειαν πέραν ὄρων ἐλαύνοντες· ὅταν δὲ ἀπόκρατος γένηται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τελευτήσῃ ὁ τοῦ βδελυρῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς ζῆν αἴτιος, τὸν σῶφρονα ἐναυγασθέντες βίον μετακλαίωμεν καὶ μεταστένομεν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαίτης ἑαυτοῦς, ὅτι ἡδονὴν ἀρετῆς προτιμήσαντες θνητὸν βίον ἀθανάτῳ ἐπεζεύξαμεν· λαβὼν δ' οἶκτον τῆς συνεχοῦς ἡμῶν [210] ὀλοφύρσεως ὁ μόνος | εὐμενῆς προσίεται ψυχὰς ἰκέτιδας, τὸν δὲ ἐπισεισθέντα τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτιον σκηπτὸν ῥαδίως ἀπωθεῖται.

- 98 XXVI. Τῷ δὲ μὴ δεχομένῳ μετάνοιαν Κάιν δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἄγους ἀδελφοκτονίας οἰκειοτάτας ἀρὰς τίθεται· πρῶτον μὲν γάρ φησιν αὐτῷ· “καὶ νῦν ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς” (Gen. iv. 11), δηλῶν πρῶτον ὅτι οὐχὶ νῦν <πρῶτον><sup>1</sup> ὅτε ἐδολοφόνησεν ἐναγῆς καὶ ἐπάρατός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον ὅτε ἐβούλευσε τὸν φόνον, τῆς γνώμης  
97 ἴσον τῷ τελείῳ δυναμένης. ἕως μὲν γὰρ τὰ αἰσχρὰ μόνον ἐννοοῦμεν κατὰ ψιλὴν τοῦ νοῦ φαντασίαν, τότε τῆς διανοίας <οὐκ> ἐσμεν ὑποχοι, δύναται γὰρ καὶ ἀκουσίως ἢ ψυχῇ τρέπεσθαι· ὅταν δὲ προσγένηται τοῖς βουλευθεῖσιν ἢ πρᾶξις, ὑπαίτιον γίνεται καὶ τὸ βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ γὰρ ἐκουσίως διαμαρτάνειν ταύτῃ μάλιστα δια-  
98 γνωρίζεται. κατάρατον δὲ φησι τὸν νοῦν οὐκ ἀπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔσεσθαι· τῶν γὰρ χαλεπωτάτων αὐτοῦ συμφορῶν τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον

<sup>1</sup> πρῶτον is inserted from conjecture.

<sup>a</sup> Or “we laid upon life immortal the imprisoning bar of mortality.”



what is noble. When this power is quick and active in us and seems to be strong and healthy, if indeed any evil power may be said to be healthy, we drive self-control far from us, and welcome pleasure. But, when the author of our foul and licentious life weakens and, so to speak, dies, we are brought all at once to a clear view of the life of self-mastery, and turn to lamenting and bewailing ourselves for our old mode of living, seeing that, preferring pleasure to virtue, we overlaid immortal with mortal life.<sup>a</sup> But He Who alone is gracious, taking pity on our ceaseless mourning, accepts our suppliant souls, and without effort dispels the Egyptian tornado of passions which had burst upon us.

XXVI. On Cain, who rejects repentance, He proceeds, owing to the enormity of his guilt, to lay curses most appropriate to the murder of a brother. And first He says to him "Now also art thou accursed from the earth" (Gen. iv. 11), showing that it is not now for the first time, when he has perpetrated the treacherous deed, that he is abominable and accursed, but that he was so before also when he plotted the murder, since the purpose is as important as the completed act. For so long as we only conceive disgraceful actions with the bare imagination of the mind, so long we are not guilty of the intent, for the soul may even against our will move amiss. But when the deeds planned have also been carried out, the very planning involves guilt, for the deliberateness of the offence is the chief point made evident by its execution. Now He says that the mind will be accursed not from anything else than from the earth; for the earthly part of each one of us is discovered

ἡμῶν γεῶδες αἴτιον εὐρίσκεται· τὸ γοῦν σῶμα ἢ νόσω χρησάμενον τὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσβαλὼν κῆρας ἄσης καὶ ἀδημονίας αὐτὸν ἐνέπλησεν ἢ πιανθὲν ἀμέτρως ἀπολαύσει ἡδονῶν ἀμβλυτέρας τὰς εἰς τὸ καταλαμβάνειν ἀκμὰς ἀπειργάσατο.

99 καὶ μὲν δὴ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων δεκτικὴ βλάβη ἐστίν· ἢ γὰρ κάλλος ἰδὼν ἔρωτος ἐτρώθη δεινοῦ πάθους βέλεσιν ἢ θάνατον ἀκούσας γένει προσήκοντός τινος ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκάμφθη· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γεῦσις αὐτὸν κατέβαλεν ἀηδέσι χυλοῖς αἰκισαμένη ἢ πλήθει ἡδέων βαρύνασα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς συνουσίαν οἴστρων τί δεῖ μεμνήσθαι; πόλεις ὅλας καὶ χώρας καὶ κλίματα μεγάλα γῆς οὔτοι διέφθειραν, ὧν μάρτυς ἢ ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων πληθὺς σχεδὸν ἅπανα.

100 XXVII. Τὸν δὲ τρόπον, καθ' ὃν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατάρατος ὁ νοῦς γίνεται, προσυπογράφει λέγων· “ ἢ ἔχανε τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς δέξασθαι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ” (Gen. iv. 11). χαλεπὸν γὰρ δι-οιχθῆναί τε καὶ ἀνευρυνθῆναι τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων στόμια, ὡς ἀχανέσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν φορὰν ποταμοῦ πλημμυροῦντος δίκην ἐπιχεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς τὴν βίαιον ὄρμην ἀνωθοῦντος· τότε γὰρ ἐγκαταποθεῖς ὁ νοῦς τοσοῦτω κλύδωνι βύθιος εὐρίσκεται, μηδ' ὅσον ἀνανήξασθαι καὶ ὑπερ-  
101 κῦψαι δυνάμενος. ἀλλὰ χρὴ τούτων ἐκάστῳ καταχρησθαι μὴ πρὸς ἃ δύναται μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα· δύναται μὲν γὰρ πάνθ' ὁρᾶν χρώματα καὶ σχήματα ἢ ὄψεις, ἀλλ' ὁράτω τὰ φωτὸς, μὴ σκότους, ἄξια· δύναται δὲ καὶ τὸ οὖς πασῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι φωνῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνίων παρακουέτω, μυρία γὰρ τῶν

to be accountable for our most dire misfortunes. For instance, the body either suffers from illness and inflicts on its owner the maladies that arise from itself, filling him with nausea and distress, or, having become outrageously gross through indulgence in pleasures, blunts his keenness of perception. And, as we all know, every one of the senses is an avenue for the entrance of harm. A man sees beauty, and is wounded by the darts of the dread passion of love ; or he hears of the death of a kinsman and is bowed down with grief. Frequently too his palate brings about his downfall, upsetting him with disagreeable viands, or oppressing him with a surfeit of delicacies. I need hardly refer to the incitements to sexual indulgence. These have ruined entire cities and countries and vast regions of the earth, as wellnigh all the poets and historians of the world testify.

XXVII. The manner in which the mind becomes accurst from the earth is next indicated by the words, " which opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood " (Gen. iv. 11). It is a cruel thing that the inlets of the senses should be opened wide for the torrent of the objects of sense to be poured, like a river in spate, into their gaping orifices, with nothing to stay their violent rush. For then the mind, swallowed up by the huge inpouring, is found at the bottom, unable so much as to rise to the surface and look out.

We ought to employ each one of these faculties, not on all that it is capable of doing but rather on the objects of greatest value. The eye is capable of seeing all colours and all forms, but let it see those that are meet for light not for darkness. The ear too is capable of apprehending all uttered words, but some let it refuse to hear, for countless things that

- [211] λεγομένων αἰσχροῦ· μηδ' ὅτι γεύσεώς | σοι μετα-  
 δέδωκεν ἢ φύσις, ὧ τετυφωμένε, τρόπον αἰθυίης  
 πάντων ἀπλήστως ἐμποροῦ· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν οὐ  
 τροφίμων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περιττῶν νόσους μετὰ  
 102 χαλεπῆς ὠδίνος ἔτεκε· μηδ' ὅτι μερῶν τῶν πρὸς  
 γονὰς ἠξιώθης ἔνεκα τῆς διαμονῆς τοῦ παντός,  
 φθορὰς καὶ μοιχείας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ εὐαγεῖς  
 μίξεις μετέρχου, ἀλλ' ὅσαι μετὰ νόμου τὸ ἀνθρώ-  
 πων σπείρουσί τε καὶ φυτεύουσι γένος· μηδ' ὅτι  
 γλώττης καὶ στόματος καὶ φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων  
 μεμοίρασαι, πάντ' ἐκλάλει, καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα· τὸ γὰρ  
 ἐχεμυθεῖν ἔστιν ὅπου χρήσιμον, καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν  
 οἱ μαθόντες λέγειν μεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἠσυχάζειν, τῆς  
 αὐτῆς δυνάμεως περιποιούσης ἐκάτερον, οἱ δ' ὅσα  
 μὴ προσῆκε διεξιόντες οὐ δύναμιν λόγων ἀλλ'  
 103 ἠσυχίας ἀσθένειαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. διὸ σπουδάζω-  
 μεν ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων στομιῶν καταδεῖν  
 τοῖς ἀρρήκτοις ἐγκρατείας δεσμοῖς· “ὅσα γὰρ  
 οὐχὶ δεσμῶ καταδεῖται” φησὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν ἑτέροις  
 (Num. xix. 15) “ἀκάθαρτα εἶναι,” ὡς ἂν τοῦ  
 κεχαλάσθαι καὶ κεχηγνέναι καὶ λελύσθαι τὰ ψυχῆς  
 μέρη κακοδαιμονίας αἰτίου, τοῦ δὲ συνῆχθαι καὶ  
 συνεσφίγγθαι ὀρθὸν καὶ βίον καὶ λόγον ἐργαζομένου.  
 τὸν ἄθεον οὖν καὶ ἀσεβῆ Κάιν δεόντως καταρᾶται,  
 ὅτι τοὺς φωλεοὺς τοῦ συγκρίματος διοίξας ἐπι-  
 κέχηγε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκτός, εὐχόμενος δι' ἀπληστίαν

<sup>a</sup> Or “food taken not for simple nourishment but in excess.”

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are said are disgraceful. And because nature has given you taste, as she has to us all, do not, O senseless one, be like a cormorant and greedily devour all things. For maladies causing acute pain have been brought on in many cases by food that was not nourishing only but rare and expensive.<sup>a</sup> And because, with a view to the persistence of the race, you were endowed with generative organs, do not run after rapes and adulteries and other unhallowed forms of intercourse, but only those which are the lawful means of propagating the human race. And because a tongue and a mouth and organs of speech have been allotted to you, do not blurt out all things, even those which are secrets ; for there are places where it is good to refrain from speech ; and it seems to me that those who have learned to speak have learned also to be silent, since the same faculty renders us capable both of exercising speech and of refraining from its exercise ; and those who talk about things they should not, appear to me to display not power of speech but weakness in keeping silent. So let us make it our earnest endeavour to bind up each of the openings which we have mentioned with the adamantine chains of self-control. For Moses says elsewhere (Numb. xix. 15) that " every open vessel which hath no covering bound upon it, is unclean," implying that wretchedness is due to the different parts of the soul having been left loose and gaping and unfastened, while proper ordering of life and speech is the result of these being kept close and tight. So we see that God cannot but curse the godless and impious Cain, because, opening wide the inner chambers of his complex being, he stood agape for all outward things, praying in his greed to be

δέξασθαί τε αὐτὰ καὶ χωρῆσαι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ φιλοθέου δόγματος Ἄβελ.

- 104 XXVIII. Ἐργάσεται διὰ τοῦτο τὴν γῆν (Gen. iv. 12), οὐ γεωργήσει· γεωργὸς μὲν γὰρ πᾶς τεχνίτης, ὅτι τέχνη καὶ ἡ γεωργία, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν γεωπόνοι τὴν ἄνευ ἐμπειρίας ἕνεκα τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετιόντες ὑπηρεσίαν· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν οἷς δρῶσι πολλὰ βλάπτουσι ἐπιστάτου μὴ τυχόντες· ἂ δ' ἂν καὶ εὖ ἐργάσωνται, κατὰ τύχην, οὐ σὺν λόγῳ, κατορθοῦσι· τὰ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ἐνεργούμενα πάντ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης
- 105 ὠφέλιμα. τούτου χάριν ὁ νομοθέτης τῷ δικαίῳ Νῶε τὴν γεωργικὴν ἀνῆψε τέχνην (Gen. ix. 20), ἐκδιδάσκων ὅτι καθάπερ γεωργὸς ἀγαθὸς ὁ σπουδαῖος τῆς τε ἀγρίας ὕλης τὰ μὲν ὅσα βλαβερὰ ἔρνη πρὸς παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν φυτευθέντα ἐκκόπτει, τὰ δ' ὅσα μὴ καρποτόκα μὲν δύναται δὲ ἀντὶ τείχους φραγμὸς εἶναι ψυχῆς ὀχυρώτατος ἐᾷ, καὶ πάλιν αὖ τῆς ἡμέρου πάσης κατὰ διαφέροντας καὶ οὐχὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τρόπους ἐπιμελεῖται, τῶν μὲν ἀφαιρῶν, τοῖς δὲ προστιθείς, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς μέγεθος αὐξῶν,
- 106 τὰ δὲ εἰς βραχύτητα συντέμνων· ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἄμπελον ἰδὼν εὐθηνούσαν τὰς κληματίδας ἔτεινε κατὰ γῆς, τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος καὶ τὸν χοῦν αὖθις [212] ἐπενεγκῶν· αἱ δ' ἀντὶ | μερῶν ὄλαι καὶ ἀντὶ θυγατέρων μητέρες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐγίνοντο, ἔτι καὶ τῆς φύσει μητρὸς ἀποδύσασαι τὸ γῆρας· παυσαιμένη

able both to take them in, and to find room for them for the destruction of Abel, or the teaching devoted to God.

XXVIII. For this reason he shall "work" the earth (Gen. iv. 12), not "till" it: for every tiller of the soil is a skilled workman, since tilling, too, is a matter of skill, but plenty of untrained men are workers on the soil, plying the task of unskilled labourers to procure the necessaries of life. These people do much mischief in their agricultural operations from not having found anyone to direct them; and if they do anything well, they succeed by accident, not with the aid of reason; but the scientific labours of the tillers of the soil are all of necessity beneficial. This explains why the lawgiver ascribed to righteous Noah the skilled trade of a tiller of the soil (Gen. ix. 20), wishing to bring out the truth that, just as a good husbandman does, the man of sound character in dealing with trees in a wild state cuts away all harmful shoots grown from passions or vices, leaving such as, though not fruit-bearing, can serve as a wall and be a most firm fence of the soul: while, on the other hand, he tends all the cultivated trees, not by the same but by different methods, taking away from some, making additions to others, making some larger, and reducing others in size. And now I come to an illustration that particularly interests me. Noticing a luxuriant vine he will bend down its tendrils to the ground, dig trenches, throw the soil back to cover them. In a short time these become wholes instead of parts, mothers instead of daughters. Not only so, but they relieve the mother who bore them of the burden of old age. For, released from a task which used to impoverish and

γὰρ τοῦ διανέμειν καὶ κατακερματίζειν τὴν τροφήν πολλοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἅτε ἱκανοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τρέφεσθαι, παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν λιμώττουσα ἡσθένει, μάλιστα διακορῆς ἐγένετο, ὡς πιανθεῖσαν πάλιν  
 107 ἀνηβῆσαι. ἕτερον δὲ ἔθεασάμην, ὃς τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων οὐκ εὐγενὲς ὃ μὲν ὑπερεῖχε τῆς γῆς ἔρνος ἔτεμε, μικρὸν δ' ὅσον πρὸς αὐταῖς ρίζαις ἀνέχον εἴασε, λαβῶν δ' ἀπ' εὐγενοῦς ἐτέρου κλάδον εὐφυᾶ τὸν μὲν ἄχρι τῆς ἐντεριώνης καθ' ἓν μέρος ἀπέξεσε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις οὐ κατὰ πολλοῦ βάθους ἐντεμών, ἀλλ' ὥστε διαστήσαι μόνον τὴν ἔνωσιν, τὸ ἀπεξεσμένον ὑπενεγκῶν ἐνηρμόσατο τῷ  
 108 διαστήματι· ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων μία δένδρου φύσις ἠνωμένη γίνεται, ἑκατέρου μέρους ἀντίδοσιν τῆς ὠφελείας θατέρῳ ποιουμένου· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ρίζαι τὸν ἐφαρμοσθέντα τρέφουσι καὶ κωλύουσιν ἀφαναινεσθαι κλάδον, ὃ δ' εὐκαρπίαν ἀμοιβὴν τροφῆς ἀντιχαρίζεται ταύταις.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν τεχνικὰ ἔργα, ὧν περιττὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνησθαι· τοῦ γὰρ διαφορὰν ἐνδείξασθαι μόνον ἔργατου γῆς καὶ γεωργοῦ χάριν ταῦτ' ἐμη-  
 109 κύναμεν. XXIX. ὃ μὲν δὴ φαῦλος τὸ γεῶδες σῶμα καὶ τὰς συγγενεῖς αἰσθήσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσα ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὰ ἐργαζόμενος ἀτέχνως οὐ παύεται, καὶ βλάπτει μὲν τὴν παναθλίαν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ, βλάπτει δὲ καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ μάλιστα ὠφελεῖν τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα· τῷ δὲ σπουδαίῳ—τέχνης γὰρ ἔμπειρος  
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weaken her, that of dividing up her sustenance and distributing it to her numerous progeny, these having now become capable of drawing sustenance from themselves, after many a set-back she gets the nourishment she needs, and enriched by it renews her youth.

I have watched another man dealing with cultivated trees. He would cut away all that was above ground of a poor one among these, leaving a very small portion of it close to the roots projecting. Then, taking a well-grown branch from another tree of good stock, he would pare this away at one end as far as the pith, make an incision in the shoot which he had docked near the roots, not of any great depth but just sufficient to make an opening for insertion. Then he would bring the branch which he had pared and fit it into the opening. The result is a single tree grown out of these two into one, each portion reciprocally benefiting the other. For the roots feed the branch grafted on them and save it from withering, and the branch, as a requital for its nourishment, bestows fruitfulness on the roots.

There are in agriculture countless other operations requiring skill, which it would be out of place to mention just now. I have written at such length merely for the sake of making clear the difference between a labourer and a (skilled) agriculturalist. XXIX. The worthless man never ceases spending unskilled labour on his earthly body and the senses akin to it and all external objects of sense, and he goes on doing harm to his utterly miserable soul, doing harm also to that which he imagines he is chiefly benefiting, his own body. But in the case of the worthy man, since he is expert in the skilled

- γεωργικῆς ἐστίν—ἡ ὕλη πᾶσα τεχνικῶς καὶ σὺν λόγῳ μεθοδεύεται. ὅταν μὲν γε αἱ αἰσθήσεις ἐξυβρίζωσι πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὰ μετὰ ἀκατασχέτου ρύμης ἐκφερόμεναι, μηχανῇ τινι ὧν ἡ
- 110 τέχνη κατεσκευάσατο ραδίως στέλλονται· ὅταν δὲ παλμῶδες ἐν ψυχῇ πάθος ὠμὸν γένηται κνησμούς καὶ γαργαλισμούς ἐξ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἢ πάλιν δηγμούς τε καὶ πτοίας ἐκ φόβου καὶ λύπης ἐμποιοῦν, προευτρεπισθέντι σωτηρίῳ πεπαίνεται φαρμάκῳ· καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἐπινεμομένη κακία μηκύνεται, τῆς ἐν σώματι ἐρπηνώδους ἀδελφῆ νόσου, λόγῳ τομῆι τῷ κατ' ἐπιστήμην τέμνεται.
- 111 τὸν μὲν δὴ τρόπον τοῦτον τὰ τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης τιθασεύεται, τῶν δ' ἡμέρων καὶ καρποτόκων ἀρετῶν τὰ φυτὰ πάντα βλαστὰ μὲν ἔχει τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, καρπὸν δὲ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις· ὧν ἕκαστον ἡ γεωργικὴ ψυχῆς τέχνη συναύξει καὶ τό γε ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἦκον μέρος ἀπαθανατίζει ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις.
- 112 XXX. Ἐναργῶς οὖν ἐπιδέδεικται γεωργὸς μὲν ὁ ἀστείος, γεωπόνος δὲ ὁ φαῦλος. καὶ εἶθε μέντοι γεωπονοῦντι αὐτῷ προσετίθει τὴν ἰσχὺν τὸ περὶ
- [213] αὐτὸν γεῶδες, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ τῆς | οὔσης ὑφῆρει δυνάμεως· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ οὐ προσθήσει τὴν
- 113 ἰσχὺν αὐτῆς δοῦναί σοι ” (Gen. iv. 12)· ὁποῖός τις ἂν γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος ἐσθίων μὲν ἢ πίνων ἀεὶ, ἐμπιπλάμενος δὲ μηδέποτε, ἢ ταῖς μετὰ γαστέρα χρώμενος ἡδοναῖς ἐπαλλήλοις καὶ ἔτι ταῖς πρὸς συνουσίαν ὀρέξεσιν ἀκμάζων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔνδεια
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work of agriculture, everything that comes under his hands is managed with skill and as reason requires. Whenever the senses run riot and are borne forth with irresistible rush towards their outward objects, they are easily checked by one of the contrivances of science. Whenever throbbing passion in the soul rages savagely, producing there itchings and ticklings arising from lust and indulgence, or again gnawing pains and scared flutterings, the result of fear and grief, it is assuaged by a curative medicine prepared beforehand. Once again, if some vice is spreading itself more and more widely, sister to that bodily disease which creeps and runs over the skin, it is lanced by reason's knife under the guidance of science. After this manner, then, the growths of the wild wood are subdued, but all plants of the cultivated and fruit-bearing virtues have men's endeavours for sprouts, and for fruit their noble actions. Each of these the skilled husbanding of the soul fosters, and, so far as in it lies, brings to immortality by the care bestowed upon them.

XXX. The man of parts, therefore, has been clearly shown to be a tiller of the soil, and the worthless man a mere worker on it. And would that the earthly part of him had lent its strength to him as he worked on the soil, instead of actually diminishing the strength he has; for it is said, "it shall not add its strength, to give it thee" (Gen. iv. 12). His plight is that to which a man would come, if he were always eating and drinking, and never being filled, or indulging perpetually in sexual pleasures with his cravings after sexual intercourse continuing in full force. For weakness is brought

- ἀσθένειαν, ἰσχὺν δ' ἢ πλήρωσις ἀπεργάζεται· τὸ δ' ἀκόρεστον ὁ μετ' ἀφθονίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σὺν ἀκρασίᾳ δεινῇ λιμός ἐστιν· ἄθλιοι δ' ὦν μεστοὶ μὲν οἱ ὄγκοι, κεναὶ δ' αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ ἔτι διψῶσαι.
- 114 ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐπιστήμης ἐν ᾧδῃ μεγάλη φησὶν ὅτι “ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐψώμισε γεννήματα ἀγρῶν” (Deut. xxxii. 13), δηλῶν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἄθεος ἀτυχεῖ τοῦ τέλους, ἵνα μᾶλλον ὀδυνᾶται, μὴ προστιθεμένης ἰσχύος οἷς ἐνεργεῖ, τοῦναντίον δ' ὑφαίρουμένης, οἱ δὲ μετιόντες ἀρετὴν ὑπεράνω τῶν ὅσα γεώδη καὶ θνητὰ ἰστάμενοι τοῦ κράτους αὐτῶν κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ἀλογοῦσιν, ἅτε ἡγεμόνι χρησάμενοι τῆς ἀνόδου θεῷ, ὃς καὶ τὰ γεννήματα τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χρῆσιν ὠφελιμωτάτην αὐτοῖς ὀρέγει, τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς ἀγροῖς, ἃ δ' ἀποκύουσι γεννήμασι παρὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἀπεικάζων· γίνεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ φρονήσεως τὸ φρονεῖν, ἐκ δὲ σωφροσύνης τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἐκ δὲ εὐσεβείας τὸ εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ ἀφ' ἐκάστης τῶν ἄλλων τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐνέργημα.
- 115 XXXI. ταῦτα δὲ ψυχῆς τροφαὶ κυρίως εἰσὶ τῆς θηλάζειν ἱκανῆς, ὡς ὁ νομοθέτης φησί, “μέλι ἐκ πέτρας καὶ ἔλαιον ἐκ στερεᾶς πέτρας” (ib.), πέτραν τὴν στερεὰν καὶ ἀδιάκοπον ἐμφαίνων σοφίαν θεοῦ, τὴν τροφὸν καὶ τιθηνοκόμον καὶ κουροτρόφον τῶν ἀφθάρτου διαίτης ἐφιμεμένων.
- 116 αὕτη γὰρ οἶα μήτηρ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ γενομένη τὰς

## THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER, 113-116

about by emptiness, and strength by fullness ; and insatiability is the hunger that is experienced when an abundant supply of food is combined with dire intemperance : and those are in wretched case whose carcasses are full, while their appetites are empty and still athirst. But of the lovers of knowledge he says in the Great Song that " He caused them to mount over the strength of the earth, and fed them with the products of the fields " (Deut. xxxii. 13), showing that the godless man misses his goal, to the end that he may suffer the greater pain through strength not being added to, but on the contrary taken away by, his activities, while those who follow after virtue, raised high above all that is earthly and mortal, are abundantly able to disregard the power wielded by these things, seeing that they have God to guide their ascent, who extends to them for use and enjoyment and highest benefit the very products of the fields. He likens virtues to fields, and what they yield to products. He chooses the word " products " because he is thinking of production : for out of good sense is produced sensible conduct, out of moderation modest behaviour, out of piety pious demeanour, and from each of the other virtues, the activity that corresponds to it. XXXI. These " products " are nourishment in the strict meaning of the word, supplied by the soul that is able, as the lawgiver says, to " suck honey out of the rock and oil out of the hard rock " (*ibid.*). He uses the word " rock " to express the solid and indestructible wisdom of God, which feeds and nurses and rears to sturdiness all who yearn after imperishable sustenance. For this divine wisdom has appeared as mother of all that are in the world,

- τροφὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εὐθύς ἤνεγκε τοῖς ἀποκυηθεῖσιν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ἅπαντα τροφῆς θείας ἠξιώθη, τὰ δ' ὅσα τῶν ἐκγόνων ἐπάξια τῶν γεννησάντων εὐρίσκετο· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ἃ λιμὸς ἀρετῆς, ὁ τοῦ περὶ τὰ
- 117 σιτία καὶ ποτὰ σχετλιώτερος, διέφθειρε. φέρεται δ' ἡ τῆς θείας σοφίας πηγὴ τοτὲ μὲν ἡρεμαιοτέρῳ καὶ πραοτέρῳ ρεύματι, τοτὲ δὲ αὖ μετ' ὀξυτέρου τοῦ τάχους καὶ πλείονος φορᾶς τε καὶ ρύμης· ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἡρέμα κατέρχηται, μέλιτος γλυκαίνει τὸν τρόπον, ὅταν δὲ μετ' ὠκύτητος, ἀθρόα
- 118 ὕλη καθάπερ ἔλαιον ψυχικοῦ γίνεται φωτός. τὴν πέτραν ταύτην ἐτέρωθι συνωνυμία χρώμενος καλεῖ
- [214] μάννα, τὸν πρεσβύτατον | τῶν ὄντων λόγον θεῖον, ὃς ὀνομάζεται τὸ γενικώτατον τί, ἀφ' οὗ δύο ἐγκρίδες, ἡ μὲν ἐκ μέλιτος, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐλαίου, γίνονται, τουτέστιν ἀγωγαὶ δύο σφόδρα ἀδιάκριτοι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιοι, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γλυκύτητα ἐμποιοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστήμης θεωρημάτων, αὐθις δὲ καὶ φῶς τηλαυγέστατον ἀπαστράπτουσαι τοῖς μὴ ἀψικόρως κραταιῶς δὲ καὶ παγίως ἐξ ἀδιαστάτου καὶ συνεχοῦς ἐπιμονῆς ἐλλαμβανομένοις ὧν ἐρῶσιν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, “ ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς γῆς ἀναβιβάζονται ” (Deut. xxxii. 13).
- 119 XXXII. Τῷ δὲ ἀθέῳ Κάιν οὐδὲν ἡ γῆ τῶν εἰς εὐτονίαν προστίθησι, καίτοι μηδὲν ἕξω τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν πραγματευομένῳ. διὸ καὶ κατ' ἀκόλουθον “ στένων καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ” εὐρίσκεται (Gen. iv. 12), τουτέστι λύπη καὶ φόβῳ χρώμενος.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ Reason.”

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 495.

<sup>c</sup> Literally “ trainings,” “ leadings.”

affording to her offspring, as soon as they are born, the nourishment which they require from her own breasts. But not all her offspring are deemed meet for divine food, but such as are found worthy of their parents; for many of them fall victims to the famine of virtue, a famine more cruel than that of eatables and drinkables. The fountain of the divine wisdom runs sometimes with a gentler and more quiet stream, at other times more swiftly and with a fuller and stronger current. When it runs down gently, it sweetens much as honey does; when it runs swiftly down, it comes in full volume as material for lighting up the soul, even as oil does a lamp. In another place he uses a synonym for this rock and calls it "manna." Manna is the divine word,<sup>a</sup> eldest of all existences, which bears the most comprehensive name of "Somewhat." Out of it are made two cakes,<sup>b</sup> the one of honey, the other of oil. These are two inseparable and all-important stages in education,<sup>c</sup> at the outset causing a sweetness to flow from what knowledge opens, and afterwards causing a most brilliant light to flash from them on those who handle in no fickle and perfunctory way the subjects which they love, but lay hold of them strongly and firmly with a persistence that knows no slackness or intermission. These, as I have said, "are caused to rise up over the strength of the earth" (Deut. xxxii. 13).

XXXII. To the godless Cain, on the other hand, the earth affords nothing that contributes to healthy vigour, in spite of his being occupied with nothing beyond the concerns of earth. It is a natural consequence of this that he is found "groaning and trembling upon the earth" (Gen. iv. 12), that is to

- τοιούτος δ' ὁ φαῦλος κακοδαίμονος βίος, τῶν τετ-  
 τάρων παθῶν τὰ ὀδυνηρότερα ἀποκεκληρωμένος  
 φόβον τε καὶ λύπην, τὴν μὲν τοῦ στένειν, τὸν δὲ  
 τοῦ τρέμειν συνώνυμον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ παρεῖναι τι  
 κακὸν ἢ μέλλειν γε τῷ τοιούτῳ· τοῦ μὲν οὖν  
 μέλλοντος ἢ προσδοκία φόβον, τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἢ  
 120 χρήσις λύπην ἐγέννησεν. ἀλλ' ὁ γε μετιῶν ἀρετὴν  
 ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἀναλογούσαις ἐξετάζεται· ἢ γὰρ  
 περιπεποιήται τὰγαθὸν ἢ περιποιήσεται· τὸ μὲν  
 οὖν ἔχειν ἀποτελεῖ χαρὰν, κτημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον,  
 τὸ δὲ σχήσειν προσδοκᾶν τὴν τροφήν φιλαρέτων  
 ψυχῶν ἐλπίδα, δι' ἣν ὄκνον μεθιέμενοι σὺν αὐτο-  
 κελεύστῳ ἐτοιμότητι πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων  
 121 ἀπαντῶμεν. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀποκεκύηκε δικαιοσύνη  
 ψυχῇ γενεὰν ἄρρενα, τὸν δίκαιον λογισμὸν, ταύτης  
 τὰ λυπηρὰ πάντα ἐξώκισται. μαρτυρήσει δ' ἡ  
 Νῶε· γένεσις—ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται δίκαιος—ἐφ' οὗ  
 λέγεται· “ οὗτος διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων  
 ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λυπῶν τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἧς κατηράσατο κύριος ὁ θεός ”  
 122 (Gen. v. 29). ἐέφυκε γὰρ ἡ δικαιοσύνη πρῶτον  
 μὲν ἀνάπαυλαν ποιεῖν ἀντὶ καμάτου τὰ μεθόρια  
 κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐξαδιαφοροῦσα, πλούτον καὶ  
 δόξαν καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφά,  
 περὶ ἃ πραγματεύεται τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων  
 γένος, ἔπειτα λύπας ἀναιρεῖν, αἱ συνίστανται κατὰ  
 τὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας—οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἔνιοι  
 τῶν ἀσεβῶν, τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον κακῶν φησι Μωυσῆς,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 495.



say, a victim to fear and grief. Such is the sorry life of the wretched man, a life to which have been allotted the more grievous of the four passions, fear and grief, the one identical with groaning, the other with trembling. For such a life some evil thing must either be present or on its way. The expectation of that which is on its way begets fear, the experience of that which is present begets grief. But the man that follows after virtue is sure to be in corresponding states of blessedness<sup>a</sup>; he has either won the prize or is on the way to win it; then to have it produces joy, fairest of possessions; to be expecting that you will reach it produces that food of souls that love virtue, hope, which makes us cast away hesitation, and essay with hearty alacrity all noble deeds. When righteousness has, for some soul, given birth to a male progeny in the shape of righteous reasoning, from that soul all painful things are forthwith banished. Our witness for this shall be the birth of Noah. "Noah" means righteous, and it is said of him, "This man shall cause us to rest from our works and from the pains of our hands and from the earth which the Lord God hath cursed" (Gen. v. 29). For it is the nature of justice in the first place to create rest in the place of toil, owing to its complete indifference to objects on the border-land between vice and virtue, such as wealth, fame, official posts, honours, and everything of that sort, with which the majority of mankind are busy. It is its nature, in the next place, to abolish griefs which take shape under the action of things that we do entirely of our own motion. For Moses does not, as some impious people do, say that God is the author of ills. Nay, he says that "our own

ἀλλὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας χεῖρας, συμβολικῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα  
 παριστὰς ἐγχειρήματα καὶ τὰς ἐκουσίους τῆς  
 διανοίας πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον τροπὰς—. XXXIII. ἐπὶ  
 πᾶσι μέντοι “ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἧς κατηράσατο κύριος  
 123 ὁ θεὸς ” διαναπαύειν· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶ κακία, | ἢ ταῖς  
 [215] τῶν ἀφρόνων ἐνίδρυται ψυχαῖς, ἧς καθάπερ νόσου  
 βαρείας ἀποτροπὴ ὁ δίκαιος εὐρίσκεται πανακειάς  
 τυχῶν δικαιοσύνης.

“Ὅταν μέντοι διώσθηται τὰ κακά, χαρᾶς ἀνα-  
 πίμπλαται, ὡσπερ ἡ Σάρρα· φησὶ γάρ· “ γέλωτά  
 μοι ἐποίησε κύριος ” καὶ προστίθησιν· “ ὅς γὰρ  
 ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖταί μοι ” (Gen. xxi. 6).  
 124 δημιουργὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς σπουδαίου γέλωτος καὶ  
 χαρᾶς ἐστίν, ὡστε οὐ γενέσεως πλάσμα τὸν Ἰσαάκ,  
 ἔργον δὲ τοῦ ἀγενήτου νομιστέον· εἰ γὰρ γέλως  
 μὲν Ἰσαάκ ἐρμηνεύεται, γέλωτος δὲ ποιητῆς ὁ  
 θεὸς κατὰ τὴν Σάρρας ἀψευδῆ μαρτυρίαν, καὶ τοῦ  
 Ἰσαάκ ὀρθότατα λέγοιτ’ ἂν εἶναι πατήρ. μετα-  
 δίδωσι δὲ καὶ τῷ σοφῷ τῆς ἰδίου κλήσεως Ἀβραάμ,  
 ᾧ καὶ τὸ χαίρειν, ἐπιγέννημα σοφίας, ἐκτεμῶν  
 λύπην δεδώρηται. εἴ τις οὖν ἰκανὸς ἐστὶν ἀκούσαι  
 τῆς θεοῦ ποιητικῆς, γέγηθε μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτός,  
 συγχαίρει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροατικῶς πρότερον  
 125 ἐσχηκόσιν. ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιητικῇ μύθου  
 μὲν πλάσμα οὐδὲν εὐρήσεις, τοὺς δὲ ἀληθείας  
 ἀσινεῖς κανόνας ἅπαντας ἐστηλιτευμένους, οὐδ’  
 αὖ τὰ φωνῆς μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέλη ἀκοᾶς  
 διὰ μουσικῆς ψυχαγωγούντα, τὰ δὲ φύσεως αὐτῆς  
 τελειότατα ἔργα τὴν ἴδιον εὐαρμοστίαν κεκληρω-  
 μένα. καθάπερ δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἀκροατικῶς ἔχων τῶν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 495.

hands " cause them, figuratively describing in this way our own undertakings, and the spontaneous movement of our minds to what is wrong. XXXIII. But the crowning purport of righteousness is to give us full rest " from the earth which the Lord God hath cursed." By this is meant wickedness, which has set up its abode in the souls of the unwise, like some fell disease. Yet we may find in the righteous man a safeguard against it, for he has in his righteousness a sovereign remedy.

So when he has thus routed evil things, he is filled with joy, as Sarah was ; for she says, " the Lord hath made for me laughter," and goes on, " for whosoever shall hear, will rejoice with me " (Gen. xxi. 6). For God is the Creator of laughter that is good, and of joy, so that we must hold Isaac to be not a product of created beings, but a work of the uncreated One. For if " Isaac " means " laughter," and according to Sarah's unerring witness God is the Maker of laughter, God may with perfect truth be said to be Isaac's father. But he gives to Abraham, the wise one, a share in His own title, and by the excision of grief He has bestowed on him gladness, the offspring of wisdom. If, therefore, a man be capable of hearing the poetry which God makes, he is of necessity glad himself, and he rejoices with those who had an ear for it already. God is an author in whose works you will find no myth or fiction, but truth's inexorable rules all observed as though graven on stone. You will find no metres and rhythms and tuneful verses charming the ear with their music, but nature's own consummate works, which possess a harmony all their own. And even as the mind, with its ear tuned

θεοῦ ποιημάτων χαίρει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ λόγος συνωδὸς ὢν τοῖς διανοίας ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ τρόπον τινα προσέχων αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γέγηθε.

- 126 XXXIV. Δηλώσει δ' ὁ τῷ πανσόφῳ Μωυσεῖ δοθεὶς χρησμός, ἐν ᾧ περιέχεται ταῦτα· “οὐκ ἰδοῦ Ἰσαράων ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ὁ Λευίτης; ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι λαλήσει αὐτός σοι· καὶ ἰδοῦ αὐτὸς ἐξελεύσεται εἰς συνάντησίν σοι, καὶ ἰδὼν σε χαρήσεται ἐν ἑαυτῷ” (Exod. iv. 14). τὸν γὰρ προφορικὸν λόγον διανοίας ἀδελφὸν ὄντα ἐπίστασθαί φησιν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὅτι λαλεῖ· πεποίηκε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡσπερ ὄργανον τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡμῶν
- 127 παντὸς ἕναρθρον ἡχὴν. οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φωνεῖ καὶ λαλεῖ καὶ ἐρμηνεύει τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καὶ προσεξέρχεται γε ὑπαντησόμενος οἷς ἢ διάνοια λελόγισται. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐξαναστάς πρὸς τι τῶν οἰκείων ὀρμὴν λάβῃ ἢ κινηθεὶς ἔνδοθεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ δεξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς τύπους διαφέροντας, κυφορεῖ τε καὶ ὠδίνει τὰ νοήματα· καὶ βουλόμενος ἀποτεκεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ, μέχρις ἂν ἢ διὰ γλώττης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
- 128 φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων ἡχὴ δεξαμένη μαίας τρόπον  
[216] εἰς φῶς προαγάγῃ τὰ νοήματα. φωνὴ | δὲ τηλαυγεστάτη νοημάτων ἐστὶν αὕτη· καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἀποκείμενα ἐν σκοτῷ κέκρυπται, ἕως ἂν ἐπιλάμψαν φῶς αὐτὰ δεῖξῃ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὰ ἐνθυμήματα ἐν ἀοράτῳ χωρίῳ, διανοία, ταμιεύεται, μέχρις ἂν οἷα φῶς ἐναυγάσασα ἢ φωνὴ πάντ'
- 129 ἐκκαλύψῃ. XXXV. παγκάλως οὖν εἴρηται, ὅτι

<sup>a</sup> Or “different.”

<sup>b</sup> Or “gives voice to thoughts like a far-shining light.”

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to the poems of God, is glad, so the speech, being in tune with the conceptions of the understanding, and, if we may so speak, lending its ear to them, cannot but rejoice.

XXXIV. This will be made clear by the divine communication to Moses, the man of large wisdom. It contains these words: "Lo, is not Aaron thy brother, the Levite? I know that he will speak for thee; and lo! he shall come forth to meet thee, and on seeing thee he shall rejoice in himself" (Exod. iv. 14). The Creator says that He knows that the uttered word, brother as it is of the mind, can speak; for He has made it, as it were, an instrument of music, to be an articulate utterance of our whole complex being. This "speech," both for me and for thee and for all men, sounds and speaks and interprets our thoughts, and more than this, goes out to meet the reasonings of the understanding. For when the mind bestirs itself and receives an impulse towards some object belonging to its own sphere, either moved from within itself or experiencing marked <sup>a</sup> impressions from external objects, it becomes pregnant and is in travail with its thoughts. It wishes to be delivered of them and cannot, until the sound produced by the tongue and the other organs of speech takes the thoughts into its hands like a midwife, and brings them forth to the light. And such sound is a most far-shining utterance of our thoughts. <sup>b</sup> For just as things laid up in darkness are hidden, until a light shine on them and show them, in the same way conceptions are stored in the understanding, a place that is out of sight, until the voice illumine them like a light and uncover them all. XXXV. Right finely then is it said that speech goes forth

## PHILO

ἐξέρχεται ὁ λόγος τοῖς νοήμασιν ὑπαντησόμενος,  
 καὶ ἐπιτρέχει γε σπουδάζων καταλαβεῖν αὐτά, διὰ  
 τὸν τοῦ μηνῦσαι πόθον. ἐκάστω γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον  
 ἔργον ποθεινότατον· ἴδιον δὲ λόγου τὸ λέγειν, πρὸς  
 ὃ οἰκειώσει φυσικῇ τινι σπεύδει. γέγηθε δὲ καὶ  
 χαίρει, ὅταν ὡσπερ ἐναυγασθεῖς ἴδη καὶ καταλάβῃ  
 τὸν νοῦν τοῦ δηλουμένου πράγματος ἄκρως· τότε  
 γὰρ περιδραξάμενος ἄριστος ἔρμηνεὺς γίνεται.  
 130 τοὺς γοῦν μὴ πάνυ τῶν νοημάτων ἐν ταῖς τοῦ  
 λέγειν διεξόδοις περικρατοῦντας ἀδολέσχους καὶ  
 ἀπεραντολόγους ὄντας παραιτούμεθα, κενὰ καὶ  
 μακρὰς ἔτι δὲ ἀψύχους κυρίως εἰπεῖν ῥήσεις  
 συνείροντας. ἀσχημονῶν οὖν ὁ τῶν τοιούτων  
 λόγος δικαίως ἂν στένοι, ὥστε ἔμπαλιν χαίρειν  
 ἀναγκαῖον τὸν ἐκ περισκέψεως τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων  
 ἱκανῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ὦν εἶδε καὶ ὦν δυνατῶς κατέλαβε  
 131 μὴνυσιν ἐλθόντα. γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο σχεδὸν  
 ἅπασιν ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πείρας· ὅταν  
 μὲν γὰρ ἄκρως εἰδῶμεν ὃ λέγομεν, χαίρων καὶ  
 γεγηθῶς ὁ λόγος ἐμφαντικωτάτων καὶ κυρίων  
 ὀνομάτων πλουτεῖ, οἷς κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν  
 εὐτρόχως καὶ ἀπταιστως ἔτι δὲ ἐναργῶς καὶ  
 ἀνυσίμως τὸ δηλούμενον παρίστησιν· ὅταν δὲ τοῦ  
 νοήματος ἐπαμφοτερίζῃ κατάληψις, ὑπὸ δεινῆς  
 ἀπορίας προσεχῶν καὶ εὐθυβόλων ὀνομάτων παρα-  
 παίων ἀκυρολογεῖ· διόπερ αὐτός τε ἐν ἀηδία καὶ

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to meet the thoughts, yea runs toward them in its anxiety to grasp them, owing to its desire to interpret them. For to each one his proper work is most an object of desire, and speaking is the proper work of speech, and so it hastens to it, taught by nature to treat it as its own. And it rejoices and is glad, when, as though illumined, it sees and fully apprehends the sense of the matter shown to it; for then it lays hands upon it, and gets hold of it, and becomes a perfect interpreter of it. At all events, we avoid people who, in their verbal expositions, show a lack of complete mastery of the ideas to be expressed. We regard them as prating fellows who never cease talking, stringing together idle, long, and (what is worse) soulless harangues—to give them the epithet they deserve. The speech of such people, disgracing itself as it does, might rightly groan, and so, on the other hand, the speech of that man needs must rejoice, who, after consideration of the mental conceptions, has come adequately equipped to the setting forth of things which he has seen, and of thoughts which he has effectively grasped. Almost all of us are familiar with this from everyday experience. When we perfectly know the thing we are saying, our speech is glad and joyous, and is rich in words of the utmost vividness and fitness, and using these in ample measure it runs along without hitch or stumbling; and it succeeds, moreover, in presenting the theme which it is expounding clearly and to good purpose. But when apprehension of the thought to be expressed lacks definiteness, our speech suffers from a grievous dearth of apt terms, strikes a false note, and uses words in an improper sense. The result is that not only is our speech itself plunged

ἄση περιρρέων καὶ πλανώμενος γίνεται τοὺς τε ἀκούοντας ἀντὶ τοῦ πείθειν τὰ ὦτα ἀλγεῖν ἀναγκάζει.

- 132 XXXVI. Μήτε δ' ὁ πᾶς λόγος ὑπαντάτω μήτε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν, ἀλλ' ὁ τέλειος Ἀαρὼν τοῖς τοῦ τελειοτάτου Μωυσέως· ἐπεὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τῷ "ἰδοὺ Ἀαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου" προσέθηκεν "ὁ Λευίτης", εἰ μὴ τοῦ διδάξαι χάριν, ὅτι μόνῳ τῷ Λευίτῃ καὶ ἱερεῖ καὶ σπουδαίῳ λόγῳ προσήκει μνηύειν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα ψυχῆς τελείας ὄντα
- 133 βλαστήματα; μὴ γάρ ποτε φαύλου λόγος ἔρμηνεύς γένοιτο δογμάτων θείων—τὸ γὰρ κάλλος αὐτῶν οἰκείοις μιάσμασιν αἰσχύνει—μηδ' ἔμπαλιν σπουδαίου προφορᾷ τὰ ἀκόλαστα καὶ αἰσχροῦ μνηύοιτο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγίων διήγησιν
- 134 ἱεροὶ καὶ ἅγιοι ποιείσθωσαν λόγοι. ἐν τιμῇ τῶν [217] εὐνομωτάτων πόλεων ἔθος εἶναί | φασὶ τοιοῦτον· ἐπειδὴν τις ἢ βουλῇ ἢ δῆμῳ τῶν μὴ βεβιωκότων ὀρθῶς ἐπιχειρῇ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι, κωλύεται μὲν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτο πράττειν, ἀναγκάζεται δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀνενεγκεῖν τὴν γνώμην ἐνὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν· εἴτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀναστὰς ἂ ἤκουσε διηγεῖται, ἀπερραμμένου τὸ στόμα τοῦ διδάξαντος ὁ ἐξ ὑπογυίου μαθητῆς ἀναφανείς, καὶ ἀλλοτρίας εὐρέσεις ἐπιδείκνυται, οὐδ' ἀκροατοῦ τάξιν ἢ θεατοῦ τὸν ἐπινενοηκότα λαχεῖν ἀξιώσας. οὕτως οὐδὲ ὠφελήθηναί τινες πρὸς ἀδίκων ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενησομένης

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 495.



into distress and discomfort, as it flounders about not knowing where it is, but also instead of convincing the audience it makes their ears ache.

XXXVI. But neither must all speech without exception meet thoughts, nor must it meet all thoughts without exception, but the perfect Aaron must meet the thoughts of the most perfect Moses. With what other object, pray, did he add "the Levite" to the words "lo! Aaron thy brother," save with that of teaching that only to the Levite, and priest, and speech that is in deep earnest, is it fitting to reveal the thoughts, seeing that they are blooms of a perfect mind? Never may the speech of a worthless man essay to interpret Divine ordinances. He disgraces their beauty by his own pollutions. On the other hand, let base and licentious ideas never be set forth by the lips of a man of worth, but let holy things always be expounded by sacred and holy speech. It is said that in a certain unusually well governed city<sup>a</sup> the following custom prevails. When one of those who have not led a respectable life takes in hand to introduce a proposal to senate or people, he is not allowed to do so in his own person, but is required by the magistrates to impart the substance of his motion to some man of unblemished character. Thereupon this man rises and reproduces what has been said to him. Appearing as pupil, for the nonce, of the man who instructed him, this gentleman's mouth having been sewn up, he exhibits what another has devised, and does not regard the man who hit upon the idea as fit to occupy even the position of listener or looker-on. So far do some carry their unwillingness even to derive benefit from bad men, holding the harm arising from the shame

ὠφελείας μείζον τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρακολουθούσης  
βλαβερὸν αἰσχύνης νομίζουσι.

- 135 XXXVII. Τοῦτο τὸ δίδαγμα Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱερώ-  
τατός πως ἔοικεν ἀναδιδάξαι· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἔστι  
τὸ Ἄαρὼν τὸν Λευίτην ὑπαντᾶν τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
Μωυσεῖ καὶ ἰδόντα χαίρειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ (Exod. iv.  
14). τὸ δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ χαίρειν ἐμφαίνει δίχα τοῦ  
λεχθέντος ἤδη καὶ πολιτικώτερον δόγμα,<sup>1</sup> δηλοῦν-  
τος τοῦ νομοθέτου τὴν γνήσιον καὶ οἰκειοτάτην  
136 ἀνθρώπῳ χαράν. κυρίως γὰρ οὔτε ἐπὶ χρημάτων  
ἢ κτημάτων περιουσία οὔτε ἐπὶ δόξης λαμπρότητι  
οὔδὲ συνόλως ἐπὶ τινι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀψύχων τε  
ὄντων καὶ ἀβεβαίων καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τὰς φθορὰς  
δεχομένων χαίρειν ἔνεστι, καὶ μὴν οὔδὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμῃ  
καὶ εὐτονίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σώματος πλεονεκτή-  
μασιν, ἃ καὶ τῶν φαυλοτάτων ἔστι κοινὰ καὶ τοῖς  
ἔχουσι. πολλάκις ὄλεθρον ἀπαραίτητον ἤνεγκεν.  
137 ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μόνοις ἀγαθοῖς ἢ  
ἀνόθευτος χαρὰ καὶ ἀκιβδήλευτος εὐρίσκεται, ἐν  
ἑαυτῷ δὴ πᾶς σοφὸς χαίρει, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς περὶ  
αὐτόν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διανοίας εἰσὶν ἀρεταί,  
ἐφ' αἷς ἄξιον σεμνύνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτόν ἢ ἢ  
εὐπάθεια σώματος ἢ ἢ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονία, ἐφ'  
οἷς οὐ μεγαλαυχητέον.  
138 XXXVIII. Ἐπιδεδειχότες οὖν, ὡς ἐνῆν, διὰ  
μάρτυρος ἀψευδεστάτου Μωυσέως ὅτι σοφοῦ τὸ  
χαίρειν ἴδιον, αὐθις ἐπιδείξωμεν ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἐλπί-

<sup>1</sup> πολιτικοῦ ἕτερον conj. Trs. See App. pp. 495, 496.

<sup>a</sup> Or "lifeless."

entailed to be greater than the advantage that would accrue to them.

XXXVII. This lesson would seem to have been taught by the most holy prophet Moses. It is taught by the fact of Aaron the Levite meeting his brother Moses and on seeing him rejoicing in himself (Exod. iv. 14). The words "rejoicing in himself," apart from what I have already remarked about them, bring out a truth of yet greater importance for unselfish service. The lawgiver is directing attention to the kind of joy that is genuine and most fully proper to man. For strictly speaking there is no ground for rejoicing over abundance of wealth and possessions, or over brilliant position, or, generally, over anything outside us, since all these things are soulless,<sup>a</sup> and insecure, and have the germs of decay in themselves. Nor indeed is there ground for rejoicing over strength and robust health and other bodily advantages. Not only have we these in common with the most worthless of men, but many a time they bring inexorable ruin on those who have them. Since, then, joy that is free from all sham and counterfeit is found only in the good things of the soul, it is "in himself," not in the accidents of his position, that every wise man rejoices; for the things that are "in himself" are excellences of mind, on which we have a right to pride ourselves, but the accidents of our position are either bodily well-being or plenty of external advantages, and of these we must not boast.

XXXVIII. Having shown, then, as far as in us lay, citing in the person of Moses a most truthful witness, that joy is peculiar to the wise man, let us show in the next place that hope is so also, calling

- ζειν, οὐχ ἑτέρω χρώμενοι μάρτυρι. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ  
 Σῆθ υἱὸν ὄνομα Ἐνώς—ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ <ἀν-  
 [218] θρωπος> — \* \* \* ἐλπίς. “οὗτος ἤλπισε | πρῶτον”  
 φησὶν “ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ”  
 (Gen. iv. 26), λέγων ὑγιῶς· ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ τῷ γε  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τί ἂν γένοιτο οἰκειότερον ἐλπίδος  
 καὶ προσδοκίας κτήσεως ἀγαθῶν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου  
 φιλοδώρου θεοῦ; τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές  
 εἰπεῖν, ἢ μόνῃ κυρίως γένεσις ἀνθρώπων, ὡς τῶν  
 μὴ ἐλπίζόντων ἐπὶ θεὸν λογικῆς φύσεως οὐ  
 139 μεμοιραμένων. διὸ καὶ προειπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνώς  
 ὅτι “οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου  
 τοῦ θεοῦ,” ῥητῶς ἐπιφέρει· “αὕτη <ἡ> βίβλος  
 γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων” (Gen. v. 1), σπουδαιο-  
 λογῶν· ἐγγράφεται γὰρ τῇ θεοῦ βίβλῳ, ὅτι μόνος  
 εὐελπίς ἀνθρωπος, ὥστε κατὰ τὰ ἐναντία ὁ δύσ-  
 ελπίς οὐκ ἀνθρωπος. ὅρος οὖν τοῦ μὲν συγκρί-  
 ματος ἡμῶν ζῶον λογικὸν θνητὸν ἐστὶ, τοῦ δὲ  
 κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἀνθρώπου διάθεσις ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν  
 140 ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἐλπίζουσης. ἀστεῖοι μὲν οὖν  
 χαρὰν καὶ ἐλπίδα κλῆρον λαχόντες εὐδαίμονα ἢ  
 ἐχέτωσαν ἢ προσδοκάτωσαν πάντως ἀγαθὰ· φαῦλοι  
 δ’, ὧν Κάιν ἐστὶ θιασώτης, ἐν λύπαις καὶ φόβοις  
 ὄντες ἢ μετουσίαν ἢ προσδοκίαν κακῶν ἀργαλεω-  
 τάτην μερίδα καρπούσθωσαν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐν  
 χερσὶν ὀδυνηροῖς στένοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς προσ-  
 δοκωμένοις φοβεροῖς τρέμοντές τε καὶ φρίττοντες  
 (cf. Gen. iv. 12).  
 141 XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀρκοῦντως λελέχθω·  
 τὰ δ’ ἐξῆς ἐρευνήσωμεν. “καὶ εἶπε” φησὶ

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in the same witness as before. For the son of Seth named Enos, which means "man" [was distinguished by] hope. "This man," it says, "first hoped to call on the name of the Lord God" (Gen. iv. 26). It is a sound statement. For what could be found more in keeping with one who is truly a man than a hope and expectation of obtaining good things from the only bountiful God? This is, to tell the truth, men's only birth in the strict sense, since those who do not set their hope on God have no part in a rational nature. Accordingly having first said of Enos "this man hoped (and ventured) to call on the name of the Lord God," he adds expressly, "this is the book of the nativity of men" (Gen. v. 1.). In saying this he utters an important truth, for an entry is hereby made in the book of God to the effect that man only is hopeful. The converse therefore is true, that he that is despondent is not man. The definition, then, of our complex being is "a living creature endowed with reason subject to death," but that of man as Moses portrays him "a soul so constituted as to hope on the God that really is." Well, then, let goodly men, having obtained joy and hope as their happy portion, either enjoy or at all events expect good things: but let worthless men, of whose company Cain is a member, living in constant pains and terrors, gather in a most grievous harvest, in the experience or expectation of evils, groaning over the painful case in which they are already, and trembling and shuddering at the fearful things which they expect (*cf.* Gen. iv. 12).

XXXIX. Let what we have said on this passage suffice: let us investigate the words that follow. They are these: "And Cain said to the Lord, The

“Καὶν πρὸς κύριον Μείζων ἢ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι” (Gen. iv. 13). τοῦθ’ οἷόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φανείται. εἰ θαλαττεύουσαν ναῦν ἀπολείποι κυβερνήτης, ἄρ’ οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὰ περὶ πλοῦν τῇ νηὶ διαμαρτάνεσθαι; τί δ’, εἰ τέθριππον ἡνίοχος ἐν ἵπποδρομίας ἀγῶνι, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄτακτον καὶ πλημμελῆ τὸν δρόμον γίνεσθαι τῷ τεθρίππῳ; τί δ’, ὅταν ἀπολειφθῆ πόλις πρὸς ἀρχόντων ἢ νόμων—ἐν ἄρχουσι δὲ γράφονται δήπου καὶ νόμοι—οὐκ ἀναρχία καὶ ἀνομία, κακοῖς μεγίστοις, ἢ πόλις ἐκείνη διαφθείρεται; καὶ μὴν σῶμα μὲν ἀπουσία ψυχῆς, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀπουσία λογισμοῦ, λογισμὸς δὲ ἐνδεία ἀρετῆς  
 142 πέφυκε παραπόλλυσθαι. εἰ δ’ ἕκαστον ὧν εἶπον ζῆμῖα τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι γίνεται πρὸς αὐτῶν, πόση τινὶ χρήσεσθαι κακοπραγία τοὺς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταλειφθέντας γνωρίζομεν, οὓς ἀποστραφεῖς καθάπερ λιποτάκτας ἱερωτάτων θεσμῶν ἐξώρισεν ἀναξίους ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσας; συνόλως γὰρ εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι ὁ πρὸς τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ ὠφελουῦντος ἀφεθεῖς ἐν αἰτίαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι μεγίστοις γίνεται. πότε γὰρ εἶποις ἂν τὸν ἄτεχνον μάλιστα βλάπτεσθαι; ἄρ’ οὐχ ὅταν πρὸς ἐπιστήμης κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἔαθῃ;  
 143 πότε δὲ τὸν ἀμαθῆ καὶ λίαν ἀπαίδευτον; οὐχ ὅταν ἀπόλειψιν τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χρηματίσῃ διδα-  
 [219] σκαλία | καὶ μάθησις; πότε δὲ τοὺς ἄφρονας κακοδαιμονίζομεν μᾶλλον; οὐχ ὅταν φρόνησι

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 486, note on *De Cherubim* 115.

charge to which abandonment exposes me is too great" (Gen. iv. 13). The character of this cry will appear from a comparison of like cases. If the helmsman should abandon a ship at sea, must not all arrangements for sailing the ship go wrong? Again, if a charioteer quit a horse-chariot during a race, does it not necessarily follow that the chariot's course will lose all order and direction? And again, when a city has been abandoned by rulers or laws—and of course rulers are living tables on which laws are inscribed<sup>a</sup>—does not that city become a prey to two very great evils, anarchy and lawlessness? Need I add that it is a law of nature that the body perishes if the soul quit it, and the soul if reason quit it, and reason if it be deprived of virtue? Now if each presence that I have named becomes an occasion of loss and damage to those abandoned by it, how great a disaster must we infer that those will experience who have been forsaken by God; men whom He rejects as deserters, false to the most sacred ordinances, and sends into banishment, having tested them and found them unworthy of His rule and governance? For, to say all in a word, it is certain that he who is left by a benefactor far greater than himself is involved in charges and accusations of the most serious kind. For when would you say that the unskilled man suffers the greatest harm? Would it not be when he is entirely let alone by science? When would you say it of the man that is unlearned and utterly uneducated? Would it not be when instruction and pupilage have executed a deed of abandonment<sup>b</sup> in his case? And when do we pronounce foolish people more than usually unhappy? Is it not when sound sense rejects them for

- αὐτοὺς εἰσάπαν ἀπόσῃται; πότε δὲ τοὺς ἀ-  
 κολάστους ἢ ἀδίκους; οὐκ ἐπειδὰν σωφροσύνη καὶ  
 δικαιοσύνη φυγὴν αἰδίου κατ' αὐτῶν ψηφίσωνται;  
 πότε δὲ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς; οὐχ ὅταν εὐσέβεια τῶν  
 144 ἰδίων ὀργίων ἀποσχοινίση; διό μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ  
 μὴ τελείως δυσκάθαρτοι εὐξασθαι ἂν κολασθῆναι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφεθῆναι· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἄφεςις αὐτοὺς  
 ὥσπερ ἀνερμάτιστα καὶ ἀκυβέρνητα πλοῖα ῥᾶστα  
 145 ἀνατρέψει, ἢ δὲ κόλασις ἐπανορθώσεται. ἢ οὐκ  
 ἀμείνους μὲν τῶν ἀπαιδαγωγῶν οἱ ὑπὸ παιδ-  
 αγωγῶν ἐν οἷς ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἐπιπληττόμενοι, ἀμεί-  
 νους δὲ τῶν ἀνεπιτιμῆτων οἱ ὑπὸ διδασκάλων ἐν  
 οἷς περὶ τὰς τέχνας οὐ κατορθοῦσιν ὄνειδιζόμενοι,  
 εὐτυχέστεροι δὲ καὶ κρείττους τῶν ἀνεπιτροπεύ-  
 των νέων οἱ μάλιστα μὲν ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς  
 ἀξιοθέντες φυσικῆς, ἢν οἱ γεννήσαντες ἐπὶ τέκνοις  
 κεκλήρωνται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, δευτέρων γοῦν ἡγεμόνων  
 ἐπιλαχόντες, οὓς ὀρφανίας ἔλεος ἐπιτρόπους εἴωθε  
 χειροτονεῖν τὴν γονέων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς συμφέρουσι  
 τάξιν ἐκπλήσοντας;
- 146 XL. Ἰκετεύωμεν οὖν τὸν θεὸν οἱ συνειδήσει  
 τῶν οἰκείων ἀδικημάτων ἐλεγχόμενοι, κολάσαι  
 μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἢ παρεῖναι· παρεῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτι  
 τοῦ ἴλεω δούλους ἑαυτοῦ, γενέσεως δὲ τῆς ἀνη-  
 λεοῦς ἀπεργάσεται, κολάζων δὲ ἐπιεικῶς τε καὶ  
 πράως ἅτε χρηστὸς ὢν ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ ἀμαρτή-  
 ματα, τὸν σωφρονιστὴν ἔλεγχον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον,  
 εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκπέμψας, δι' οὗ δυσωπήσας καὶ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.



good and all? When do we so regard the licentious or the unjust? Is it not when self-mastery and justice issue against them a sentence of eternal banishment? When the irreligious? Is it not when religion excludes them from her own sacred rites? This being so, it seems to me that those who are not utterly beyond cleansing would pray to be punished rather than be let go; for dismissal will most easily overturn them like vessels without ballast or helmsman, while punishment will set them up again. Are not boys who are rebuked by their slave-tutors when they do wrong better than those who are without tutors? Are not apprentices<sup>a</sup> who are found fault with by their masters when they do not succeed in the craft they are learning better than those who have no one to chide them? Are not youths without someone to direct them inferior to, and less well off than, those who, best of all, have been vouchsafed the natural direction and guidance which has been assigned to parents over their children, or, failing that, have been placed under the next-best sort of guides, whom pity for fatherless children so often appoints<sup>a</sup> to fill the place of parents in all that is for their good?

XL. Let us then, who are convicted by consciousness of our own acts of unrighteousness, beseech God to punish us rather than let us alone. For if He lets us alone, He will make us servants, not as before, of Himself the gracious One, but of the creation that has no pity; but if He punishes us, He will of His gracious goodness gently and kindly correct our faults, by sending forth into our mind His own word, that reproves and chastens, by means of which He will upbraid it, and make it ashamed of its errors,

- ὄνειδίσας περὶ ὧν ἐπλημμέλησεν αὐτὴν ἰάσεται.
- 147 διὰ τοῦτο “πάνθ’ ὅσα ἂν εὕξηται χήρα καὶ ἐκβεβλημένη κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς” φησὶν ὁ νομοθέτης μενεῖν αὐτῇ (Num. xxx. 10). τὸν μὲν γὰρ θεὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων σπορὰν καὶ γένεσιν ἀπάντων παρεχόμενον ἐνδίκως φήσομεν, διάνοιαν δὲ ἐκβεβλησθαι καὶ χήραν θεοῦ, ἥτις ἢ γονὰς θείας οὐ παρεδέξατο ἢ παραδεξαμένη ἔκου-
- 148 σίως αὐθις ἐξήμβλωσε. τοιγαροῦν ὅσα ἂν ὀρίσῃται, καθ’ ἑαυτῆς ὀριεῖται, καὶ ταῦτα μενεῖ πάντως ἀνίατα· πῶς γὰρ οὐ κακὸν ἀπευκτόν, ὀρίζεσθαι τι καὶ παγίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς γένεσιν τὴν ἄστατον πάντη καὶ φορητὴν, ἐπιγράφουσιν αὐτῇ τὰς τοῦ ποιούντος ἀρετάς; ὧν μία ἐστὶ, καθ’ ἣν
- 149 ἀνευδοιάστως καὶ ἀκλινῶς ἕκαστα ὀρίζεται. τοιγαροῦν οὐ χηρεύσει μόνον ἐπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκβεβλήσεται· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον· ἢ χηρεύουσα μὲν μήπω δὲ ἐκβεβλημένη τοῦ καλοῦ ψυχὴ δύναται πῶς ἐγκαρτερήσασα τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον τὸν νόμιμον <ἄνδρα> συμβάσεις καὶ καταλλαγὰς εὐρεῖν.
- [220] ἢ δ’ ἄπαξ διαζευχθεῖσα καὶ | διοικισθεῖσα ὡς ἄσπονδος μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐκτετόξευται, εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσα.
- 150 XLI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ “μείζων ἢ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι” τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· τὰ δ’ ἀκόλουθα σκεψώμεθα. “εἰ ἐκβάλλεις με” φησί “σήμερον

<sup>a</sup> Or “to receive Divine impregnation.”

and so will heal it. It is for this reason that the lawgiver says that "whatever one widowed and ejected shall have vowed against her soul" shall stand for her (Numb. xxx. 10). For we may justly say that God is husband and father of the universe, supplying, as He does, the germs of life<sup>a</sup> and well-being to all; and that a mind has been cast forth and widowed of God, which has either failed to welcome divinely-bestowed power to bear children, or, after welcoming it, has subsequently chosen to bring about abortion. Accordingly, whatever she shall have determined, against herself shall she determine, and the things determined shall stand absolutely incurable. For how can it be anything but a deplorable evil that an unstable creature never continuing in one stay should determine and fix by announcing it aught concerning itself, thus arrogating to itself the prerogatives of the Creator? One of these prerogatives is that in virtue of which He decisively and unswervingly determines all things. So it comes about that the mind shall not only be widowed of knowledge, but shall also be cast out from it. Let me explain. The soul that is widowed but not yet cast out of the good and beautiful, may still by steadfast persistence find a means of reconciliation and agreement with right reason, her lawful husband. But the soul that has once been dismissed from hearth and home as irreconcilable, has been expelled for all eternity, and can never return to her ancient abode.

XLI. What has been said about the words, "The charge to which abandonment exposes me is too great," must suffice, and we must consider the words that follow. "If" he says "Thou castest me out

## PHILO

ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου  
 σου κρυβήσομαι" (Gen. iv. 14). τί λέγεις, ὦ  
 γενοαῖε; ἐὰν ἐκβληθῆς ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς, ἔτι  
 151 κρυβήσῃ; τίνα τρόπον; ζῆν γὰρ δύναιο ἄν; ἢ  
 τοῦτ' ἠγνόησας, ὅτι τοῖς ζώοις ἢ φύσις δια-  
 φέροντας καὶ οὐχὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους πρὸς δια-  
 μονήν ἐδωρήσατο, θάλατταν μὲν ἰχθύσι καὶ παντὶ  
 τῷ ἐνύδρῳ γένει, γῆν δὲ ἅπασιν τοῖς χερσαίοις;  
 χερσαῖον δὲ κατὰ γούν τὰς σώματος συγκρίσεις  
 ζῶον καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο ἀμείψαντα τὰς  
 οἰκείους χώρας ἕκαστα καὶ ὡσπερ εἰς ἀλλοδαπήν  
 ἐλθόντα ῥαδίως τελευτᾶ, τὰ μὲν χερσαῖα καθ'  
 ὕδατος δύντα, τὰ δ' ἐνυδρα ἐπὶ χέρσον ἀνα-  
 152 πλεύσαντα. εἶπερ οὖν ἐκβληθείης ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπος  
 ὢν, ποῖ τετράψῃ; νήξῃ καθ' ὕδατος τὴν τῶν  
 ἐνύδρων ἀπομιμούμενος φύσιν; ἀλλ' ὑποβρύχιος  
 αὐτίκα τεθνήξῃ. ἀλλὰ πτερώσας καὶ μετεωρίσας  
 σαυτὸν ἀεροβατεῖν ἐθελήσεις τὸ χερσαῖον εἰς  
 πτηνοῦ γένος μεταβαλὼν; ἀλλ' εἰ δύνασαι μετά-  
 πλαττε καὶ μεταχάραττε τὸ θεῖον νόμισμα· ἀλλ'  
 οὐ δυνήσῃ· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν μετεωρότερον σεαυτὸν  
 ἐξάρῃς, τοσοῦτω θᾶττον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου μετὰ  
 153 πλείονος φορᾶς ἐπὶ γῆν τὸ οἰκεῖον χωρίον ἐνε-  
 χθήσῃ. XLII. ἄνθρωπος δ' ἂν ἢ τι τῶν γε-  
 νομένων κρύπτεσθαι δυνηθείη θεόν; ποῦ; τὸν  
 ἐφθακότα πάντη, τὸν ἄχρι περάτων ἀποβλέποντα,  
 τὸν πεπληρωκότα τὸ πᾶν, οὗ τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲ τὸ  
 βραχύτατον ἔρημον; καὶ τί παράδοξον, εἰ μηδενὶ  
 τῶν γενομένων ἐφικτὸν κρύπτεσθαι τὸ ὄν, ὅποτε  
 302

to-day from the face of the earth, from Thy face also shall I be hidden" (Gen. iv. 14). What are you saying, good sir? If you shall have been cast out of all the earth, will you still hide yourself? How? Could you live? Or did you not know that nature has not given to all living creatures the same abiding-place, but different ones, the sea to fish and all the watery tribe, and earth to all land creatures? And man, so far at all events as the constituents of his body go, is a land creature. For this reason, each living creature, when he leaves his proper abode and enters so to speak a foreign one, dies without more ado, the land creatures on going under water, the aquatic animals on making their way to dry land. If, therefore, being a man, you should be cast out from earth, whither will you turn? Will you take on the nature of aquatic creatures and swim under water? Nay, under water you will be dead in a moment. But perhaps you will take wings and raise yourself aloft and elect to traverse the air, transforming land-kind into bird-kind? Aye, change if you can the moulding and stamp of the Divine coinage. You will never be able to do that: for the further you lift yourself aloft, so much the more swiftly will you be borne from a higher region with greater impetus to earth, your proper quarter.

XLII. But could you, being a man, or any other created thing, hide yourself from God? Where? From Him who is there before us whichever way we go; from Him Whose sight reaches to the ends of earth; from Him Who has filled the universe; from Him of Whom the least thing that exists is not void? And can this surprise you, that no created thing can manage to hide itself from that which is, seeing that

οὐδὲ τὰς ὑλικὰς ἀρχὰς ἔνεστι διεκδῦναι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τῷ μίαν διαφυγόντι εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβῆναι; 154 εἰ τὸ ὄν, καθ' ἣν τέχνην ἐποίει τὰ ἀμφίβια, κατὰ ταύτην καὶ ζῶον πανταχοῦ βιωσόμενον ἐβουλήθη καινουργῆσαι, τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον, εἰ μὲν τὰ βάρως ἔχοντα ἀπεδίδρασκε γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, πρὸς τὰ τῆ φύσει κοῦφα ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ ἤκεν ἄν, ἔμπαλιν δ' ἐνομιλήσαν τοῖς μεταρσίοις, εἰ μετανάστασιν ἐζήτει τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τὸν ἐναντίον ἤμευεν ἄν χῶρον· ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸ πάντως καθ' ἓν τοῦ κόσμου μέρος προφαίνεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἔξω δραμεῖν ἦν ἀδύνατον, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ ἐκτὸς ὑπολελείφθαι τι τὸν δημιουργὸν ὅλας δι' ὅλων τὰς τέτταρας ἀρχὰς εἰς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν ἀναλώσαντα, ἵνα ἐκ [221] μερῶν τελείων τελειότατον | ἀπεργάσῃται τὸ πᾶν. 155 ὁπότ' οὖν ὅλον ἐκφυγεῖν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον ἀμήχανον, πῶς οὐκ ἀδύνατον μᾶλλον ἀποδρᾶναι τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τούτου; μηδεὶς οὖν τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν τοῦ λόγου παραδεχόμενος ἀνεξετάστως τῷ νόμῳ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐήθειαν προσαρτάτω, περισκεψάμενος δ' ὅπερ αἰνίττεται δι' 156 ὑπονοιῶν τὸ σαφὲς διαγνώτω. XLIII. μήποτ' οὖν ὅπερ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τοῦ "εἰ ἐκβάλλεις με σήμερον ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου κρυβήσομαι" τοῦτ' ἐστίν· εἰ μὴ παρέχεις μοι τὰ γῆς ἀγαθὰ, οὐδὲ τὰ οὐρανοῦ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.

we cannot get out of the first elements of material things, but, having made our escape from one, must ever pass thence into another? If the existent One had willed to employ the skill, by which He made amphibious creatures, in making a new kind of creature capable of living in all elements, this creature, if it had sped away from the heavy elements of the earth and water, would have arrived at the elements that are naturally light, namely air and fire; and again, after making acquaintance with the regions on high, if it had wanted to remove from them, it would have merely exchanged them for the opposite region. It would have been necessary for it in any case to show itself in some one quarter of the universe, since it was impossible for it to speed away outside it. And, besides this, the Creator had left nothing remaining outside, having entirely used up all the four elements to constitute the world, that out of perfect parts He might make the whole most perfect.<sup>a</sup> Seeing then that it is in all cases out of the question to escape beyond the handiwork of God, must it not be still more impossible to flee from its Maker and Ruler? Let no one therefore accept without examining it the way of understanding the language that first suggests itself, and by so doing make the Law guilty of his own foolishness. Let him carefully note the sense which it conveys in a figure through deeper meanings underlying the expressions employed, and so attain to certain knowledge. XLIII. Probably, then, what is expressed by the words "if Thou art casting me out this day from the face of the earth, from Thy face also shall I be hidden" is this: "if Thou art ceasing to supply me with the good things of earth, neither do I accept

- δέχομαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστι χρῆσις καὶ ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῆς, καὶ ἀρετὴν παραιτοῦμαι· καὶ εἰ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μὴ μεταδίδως ἀγαθῶν, ἔχε καὶ τὰ  
 157 θεῖα. τὰ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τίμια καὶ γνήσια ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα· φαγεῖν, πιεῖν, [περιβαλέσθαι], ποικιλίαις χρωμάτων δι' ὄψεως ἡσθῆναι, μελωδίαις παντοδαπῶν ἤχων δι' ἀκοῆς τερφθῆναι, ἀτμῶν ἀποφοραῖς εὐώδεσι διὰ μυκτῆρων γανωθῆναι, ταῖς γαστρὸς καὶ μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδοναῖς ἀπάσαις εἰς κόρον χρήσασθαι, τῆς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεως μὴ ἀμελήσαι, τιμᾶς καὶ ἀρχᾶς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα συντείνοντα πρὸς δόξαν περιβαλέσθαι· φρόνησιν δ' ἢ καρτερίαν ἢ δικαιοσύνης αὐστηρὰς διαθέσεις ἐπίπονον παρασκευαζούσας βίον ἐῷμεν· εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ χρηστέον αὐταῖς, οὐχ ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τελείους χρηστέον, ἀλλὰ ὡς ποιητικοῖς ἀγαθοῦ.
- 158 Σὺ μὲν οὖν, ὦ καταγέλαστε, φῆς ὅτι τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφαιρεθεῖς πλεονεκτημάτων εἰς ὄψιν οὐκ ἀφίξῃ θεοῦ; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀφαιρεθῆς, πάντως ἀφίξῃ λυθεῖς γὰρ τῶν ἀρρήκτων σώματος καὶ περὶ σῶμα δεσμῶν φαντα-  
 159 σιώση τὸν ἀγέννητον. XLIV. <τὸν> Ἀβραάμ οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι “ γῆν καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ πατρὸς οἶκον,” τὸ σῶμα, τὴν αἴσθησιν, τὸν λόγον, “ καταλιπὼν ” (Gen. xii. 1) ἄρχεται ταῖς τοῦ ὄντος ἐντυγχάνειν δυνάμεσιν; ὅταν γὰρ ὑπεξέελθῃ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν, λέγει ὁ νόμος ὅτι “ ὤφθη ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ ” (Gen. xii. 7)

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 496, 497.

<sup>b</sup> Philo makes these words mean “ where you cannot see God.”



those of heaven ; and if I am being cut off from the experience and enjoyment of pleasure, I decline virtue also ; and if Thou art giving me no part in what is human, keep back also what is divine. For the good things that are,<sup>a</sup> in our judgement, necessary and of value and really genuine are these, eating, drinking ; delighting in variety of colours by the use of sight ; being charmed through hearing by all kinds of melodious sounds, and through the joy of fragrant scents which our nostrils inhale ; indulging to the full in all the pleasures arising from digestive and other organs ; unceasing attention to the acquisition of gold and silver ; being adorned with honours and public offices, and all else that tends to make us distinguished. But let us have nothing to do with sound sense, or hardy endurance, or righteousness with her stern disposition filling life with labour and travail. But if these prove to be a necessary part of our experience, they must be treated not as good things to be sought for their own sake, but as means to and productive of good."

Oh ! ridiculous man ! Do you assert that, when stripped of bodily and outward advantages, you will be out of sight of God ?<sup>b</sup> I tell you that, if you be stripped of them, you will be more than ever in sight of Him : for when set free from bonds that cannot be broken, imposed by the body and bodily requirements, you will have a clear vision of the Uncreated. XLIV. Do you not see that Abraham, when he had " forsaken land and kindred and his father's house," *i.e.* the body, sense, and speech (Gen. xii. 1), begins to meet with the powers of Him that is ? For when he has gone out from all his house, the Law says that " God appeared to him " (Gen. xii. 7), showing

δηλῶν ὅτι ἐναργῶς φαίνεται τῷ τὰ θνητὰ ὑπεκδύντι καὶ εἰς ἀσώματον τοῦδε τοῦ σώματος ψυχὴν  
 160 ἀναδραμόντι. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς “ λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνην ἔξω πῆττει τῆς παρεμβολῆς ” (Exod. xxxiii. 7) καὶ μακρὰν διοικίζει τοῦ σωματικοῦ στρατοπέδου, μόνως ἂν οὕτως ἐλπίσας ἰκέτης καὶ θεραπευτῆς ἔσσεσθαι τέλειος θεοῦ.

Τὴν δὲ σκηνην ταύτην κεκλήσθαι φησι μαρτυρίου,  
 [222] σφόδρα παρατετηρημένως, ἵν’ ἡ τοῦ ὄντος | ὑπάρχη, μὴ καλῆται μόνον· τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν ἡ μὲν θεοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστι κατὰ τὸ εἶναι συνεστῶσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἐν τῷ εἶναι ὑφέστηκεν· οὐ χάριν ἀναγκαίως ἐρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν ” (Exod. iii. 14), ὡς τῶν μετ’ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων κατὰ τὸ εἶναι, δόξῃ δὲ μόνον ὑφεστάναι νομιζομένων· ἡ δὲ Μωυσέως σκηνη συμβολικῶς οὐσα ἀνθρώπου ἀρετῆ κλήσεως, οὐχ ὑπάρξεως, ἀξιωθήσεται, μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα τῆς θείας ἐκείνης  
 161 ὑπάρχουσα. τούτοις ἔπεται καὶ τὸ Μωυσῆν, ὁπότε χειροτονεῖται “ θεὸς τοῦ Φαραώ,” μὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γεγενῆσθαι, δόξῃ δὲ μόνον ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι· θεὸν γὰρ διδόντα μὲν οἶδα καὶ χαριζόμενον, διδόμενον δὲ οὐ δύναμαι νοῆσαι, λέγεται δὲ ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις· “ δίδωμί σε θεὸν Φαραώ ” (Exod. vii. 1), τοῦ διδομένου πάσχοντος, οὐ δρώντος· δραστήριον δὲ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, οὐ πάσχον,  
 162 ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. τί οὖν διὰ τούτων συναγεται; ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς λέγεται μὲν θεὸς τοῦ ἄφρονος, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ οὐκ ἔστι θεός, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀδόκιμον

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 497.

that He clearly manifests Himself to him that escapes from things mortal and mounts up into a soul free from the encumbrance of this body of ours. So Moses "taking his tent sets it up outside the camp" (Exod. xxxiii. 7), and places its abode far from the bodily encampment, expecting that only thus might he become a perfect suppliant and worshipper of God.

Of this tent he says that it has received the title of "Tent of Testimony," using his words quite advisedly, to show that the Tent of the Existent One really is, and does not merely receive the title. For, among the virtues, that of God really is, actually existing, inasmuch as God alone has veritable being. This is why Moses will say of Him as best he may "in human speech, "I AM He that is" (Exod. iii. 14), implying that others lesser than He have not being, as being indeed is, but exist in semblance only, and are conventionally said to exist. To Moses' Tent, however, which figuratively represents human virtue, must be accorded not existence but only a title, seeing that it is a copy and likeness of that divine virtue. It follows as a consequence of this that, when Moses is appointed "a god unto Pharaoh," he did not become such in reality, but only by a convention is supposed to be such; for I do indeed know God as granting favours and giving, but I am unable to conceive of Him as being given; yet it is said in the sacred books, "I give thee as a god to Pharaoh" (Exod. vii. 1), that which is given being passive not active; but He that really is must needs be active not passive. What then do we gather from these words? That the wise man is said to be a god to the foolish man, but that in reality he is not God,

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- τετραδραχμόν ἐστι τετράδραχμον· ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν τῷ  
 ὄντι παραβάλληται, ἄνθρωπος εὐρεθήσεται θεοῦ,  
 ὅταν δὲ ἄφρονι ἀνθρώπῳ, θεὸς πρὸς φαντασίαν καὶ  
 δόκησιν, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι, νοοῦμενος.
- 163 XLV. τί οὖν ματαιάζεις λέγων “ εἴ με ἐκβάλλεις  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ σὲ κρυβήσομαι ” (Gen. iv. 14);  
 τοῦναντίον γὰρ εἴ σε τοῦ γεώδους ἀπελάσαι, τὴν  
 εἰκόνα ἐμφανῶς δείξει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. τεκμήριον δέ·  
 σὺ μὲν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ μεταστήσῃ, μετ-  
 αναστὰς δὲ τὸ γήινον σῶμα οὐδὲν ἤττον οἰκήσεις·  
 λέγει γὰρ αὖθις· ἐξῆλθε δὲ Κάιν ἀπὸ προσώπου  
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ᾤκησεν <ἐν> τῇ γῇ ” (Gen. iv. 16).  
 ὥστε οὐκ ἐκβληθεὶς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀποκέκρυψαι τὸν  
 ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐκτραπείσῃ αὐτὸν εἰς γῆν καταπέφευγας,
- 164 τὸ θνητὸν χωρίον. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ πᾶς “ ὁ εὐρίσκων  
 σε ἀποκτενεῖ, ” καθάπερ σοφιζόμενος διεξήεις  
 (Gen. iv. 14). τὸ γὰρ εὐρισκόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν, ἢ  
 ὁμοίου ἢ ἀνομοίου, πάντως εὐρίσκεται, ὑπὸ μὲν  
 [οὖν] τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ συγγενοῦς διὰ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν  
 οἰκειότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνομοίου διὰ  
 τὴν ἀντίπαλον ἀλλοτριότητα· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὁμοίον  
 ἐστὶ καὶ φυλακτικὸν τοῦ παραπλησίου, τὸ δ'
- 165 ἀνόμοιον καὶ φθαρτικὸν τοῦ διαλλάττοντος. ἴστω-  
 σαν δὴ καὶ ὁ Κάιν καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος πανοῦργος,  
 ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος ἀναιρεθήσε-  
 ται, ἀλλὰ ῥαδιουργοὶ μὲν ἀδελφὰς καὶ συγγενεῖς  
 κακίας ἐζηλωκότες φρουροὶ καὶ φύλακες αὐτοῦ

just as the counterfeit four-drachma piece is not a tetradrachm. But when the wise man is compared with Him that is, he will be found to be a man of God ; but when with a foolish man, he will turn out to be one conceived of as a god, in men's ideas and imagination, not in view of truth and actuality. XLV. Why then do you talk idly saying, " If Thou art casting me out of the earth, Thee also shall I hide from myself " (Gen. iv. 14) ? For, on the contrary, were He to expel you from the earthly sphere, He will show you His own image clearly manifested. This can be proved. You are going to remove out of the presence of God, and having so removed you will none the less inhabit your earthly body ; for he says afterwards, " and Cain went out from the presence of God and dwelt in the earth " (Gen. iv. 16) ; so that, instead of having been cast out of the earth and having hidden from yourself Him that is, you have turned away from Him and have taken refuge in earth, *i.e.* the mortal region. Moreover, it is not really true that " everyone that findeth you shall kill you," as you dishonestly argued (Gen. iv. 14). For the thing that is found is assuredly found by one of two, either by one like it or by one unlike it. He that is like it and akin to it finds it because of their congruity and fellowship in all respects ; he that is unlike it, owing to their opposition and incongruity. That which is like is prone to guard and keep what is so nearly related to it : that which is unlike is on its part ready to destroy what differs from it. Let Cain and every other scoundrel know assuredly that he will not be killed by everyone that meets with him, but whereas unscrupulous people, given to vices closely akin to his, will prove his guards and keepers,

γενήσονται, φρόνησιν δ' ὅσοι καὶ ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐξεπόνησαν ὡς ἄσπονδον ἐχθρόν, ἣν δύνωνται, καθελούσι· πάντα γάρ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, καὶ σώματα [223] καὶ | πράγματα πρὸς μὲν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων σώζεται, πρὸς ἄλλοτρίων δὲ καὶ δυσμενῶν δια-  
 166 φθείρεται. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρησμός ἀντιμαρτυρῶν τῇ προσποιήτῳ εὐηθείᾳ τοῦ Κάιν φησὶν· “ οὐχ οὕτως ” φρονεῖς ὡς λέγεις (Gen. iv. 15). λέγεις μὲν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶς ὁ τὰ παλαιίσματά σου τῆς τέχνης εὐρῶν ἀνελεῖ, οἶδας δὲ ὅτι οὐχὶ πᾶς, μυρίων ἐν τῇ σῆ τεταγμένων συμμαχία, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὁ ἀρετῇ μὲν φίλος σοὶ δὲ ἐχθρὸς ἀσύμβατος.

167 XLVI. “ Ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνας ” φησὶ “ Κάιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκδικούμενα παραλύσει ” (Gen. iv. 15). καὶ τοῦτο τίνα ἔχει λόγον πρὸς τὰς ῥητὰς διερμηνεύσεις, οὐκ οἶδα· οὔτε γὰρ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπὶ οὔτε πῶς ἐκδικούμενα οὔτε ὃν τρόπον παρίεται καὶ ἐκλύεται, δεδήλωκεν· ὥστε τροπικώτερον καὶ δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀνάγκη πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεσθαι νομίζω. μήποτ' οὖν ὃ βούλεται παριστάνειν ἐστὶ  
 168 τοιόνδε· τὸ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἐπὶ διανέμεται μοίρας, ὄρασιν ἀκοῆν ὄσφρησιν γεῦσιν ἀφῆν λόγον γόνιμον· εἰ δὴ τις τὸν ὄγδοον ἀνέλοι, νοῦν τὸν ἡγεμόνα τούτων Κάιν, παραλύσει καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ῥώμη μὲν γὰρ τῆς διανοίας καρτερᾷ πάντα συρρών-

all who have engaged in the toilsome quest of sound sense and other virtues, will regard him as an enemy with whom there can be no truce, and destroy him if they can. For it is an almost invariable rule that both persons and causes are cherished by those who are friendly and attached to them, but brought to ruin by those who have nothing in common with them, and look on them with no favour. For this cause the sacred utterance, testifying in opposition to the feigned simplicity of Cain, says "Not so" are you minded as your words run' (Gen. iv. 15); for you say that everyone that has found your artifices in the wrestling-bout of words will kill you, but you know that not everyone will do so, since countless numbers have been enrolled on your side, and only he will do so who is a friend of virtue, but to you an irreconcilable enemy.

XLVI. "He" it continues, "that slayeth Cain shall loosen seven punishable objects" (Gen. iv. 15). What meaning this conveys to those who interpret literally, I do not know. For there is nothing to show what the seven objects are, nor how they are punishable, nor in what way they become loose and unstrung. We must make up our minds that all such language is figurative and involves deeper meanings. It would seem, then, that the thought which Moses desires to convey is of this nature. The irrational side of the soul is divided into seven parts, seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching, speaking, begetting. Were a man to do away with the eighth, mind, which is the ruler of these, and here called Cain, he will paralyse the seven also. For they are all strong by sharing the strength and vigour of the mind, and with its weak-

- νυται, ἀσθενεία δὲ συγκάμνει, φθορᾶ δὲ ἦν ἐπάγει  
 κακία παντελεῖ πάρεσίν τε καὶ ἔκλυσιν λαμβάνει.
- 169 τὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ταῦτα ἐν μὲν σοφοῦ ψυχῇ ἀμίαντα καὶ  
 καθαρὰ, ταύτη καὶ τιμῆς ἐπάξια εὐρίσκεται, ἐν δὲ  
 ἄφρονος ἀκάθαρτα καὶ μεμιασμένα καὶ ὅπερ εἶπεν  
 ἐκδικούμενα, ἴσον τῷ δίκης ἐπάξια καὶ τιμωρίας.
- 170 ὁπότε γοῦν τὴν γῆν ὕδατι καθαίρειν ὁ δημιουργὸς  
 διενόηθη καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἀμυθήτων ἀδικημάτων  
 κάθαρσιν λαβεῖν ἐκνιψαμένην καὶ ἀπολουσαμένην  
 τὰ μιάσματα τρόπον ἀγνείας ἱερᾶς, παραινεί τῷ  
 φανέντι δικαίῳ, ὃς οὐ παρεσύρη τῇ τοῦ κατα-  
 κλυσμοῦ φορᾶ, εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ  
 ψυχῆς ἀγγεῖον τὸ σῶμα, “ ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν τῶν  
 καθαρῶν ἑπτὰ, ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ ” (Gen. vii. 2),  
 δικαίως τὸν ἀστείον λογισμὸν χρῆσθαι μέρεσι
- 171 τοῖς τοῦ ἀλόγου πᾶσι καθαροῖς. XLVII. καὶ  
 τοῦθ’ ὅπερ ὤρισεν ὁ νομοθέτης ἐξ ἀνάγκης παρ-  
 ακολουθεῖ πᾶσι τοῖς σοφοῖς· ἔχουσι γὰρ κεκα-  
 θαρμένην ὄρασιν καὶ ἐξητασμένην ἀκοὴν καὶ πᾶσαν  
 αἴσθησιν, ἔχουσι μέντοι καὶ λόγον ἀκηλίδωτον καὶ
- 172 τὰς πρὸς συνουσίας οὐκ ἐκνόμους ὀρμάς. ἕκαστον  
 δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ τῇ μὲν ἄρρεν γίνεται, τῇ δὲ καὶ θῆλυ·  
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἢ ἴσχεται ἢ κινεῖται, ἴσχεται μὲν κατὰ  
 τοὺς ὕπνους ἡρεμοῦντα, κινεῖται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐγρη-  
 γόρσεσιν ἤδη ἐνεργοῦντα, τὸ μὲν καθ’ ἕξιν καὶ  
 ἡρεμίαν ἄτε πρὸς τὸ παθεῖν ὑποβεβλημένον καλεῖται
- [224] θῆλυ, τὸ δὲ | κατὰ κίνησιν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἄτε ἐν
- 173 τῷ δρᾶν ἐπινοούμενον ἄρρεν ὀνομάζεται. οὕτως

° See Vol. I., App. p. 476, note on *De Op.* 117.



ness they wax feeble, and by the complete corruption brought on them by wickedness they incur a weakening and slackening. These seven in a wise man's soul are found to be pure and undefiled, and herein deserving of honour, but in the soul of a foolish man unclean and polluted, and, just as Moses said, exposed to punishment which is equivalent to "deserving of penalty and retribution." Let me give an illustration. When the Creator was minded to purge the earth by water, and determined that the soul should receive a cleansing from its unutterable wrongdoings by washing away and purging out its defilements after the fashion of a sacred purification, He charges the man who proved righteous, who was not swept away by the oncoming of the deluge, to bring into the ark, which was the body or the vessel that contains the soul, "from among the clean beasts seven, male and female" (Gen. vii. 2), for He deemed it right that the goodly reasoning faculty should find all parts of the irrational side clean for its use. XLVII. And this that the lawgiver prescribed is an unfailing characteristic of all wise men: they have sight purged and cleansed, hearing and every sense severely tested; yes, and they have utterance unsullied, and the impulses of sex under control. Each of the seven faculties<sup>a</sup> shows itself in one way as male, in another way as female; for since it is either in restraint or in motion, in restraint when at rest in sleep, in motion when now awake and active—when regarded under the aspect of restraint and inaction, it is called female owing to its having been reduced to passivity; when looked at under the aspect of movement and employment of force, being thought of as in action, it is described as male. Thus in the

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- μὲν ἐν τῷ σοφῷ τὰ ἐπτά φαίνεται καθαρὰ, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ πάντα ἐκδικούμενα· πόσῃ γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνομεν πληθὺν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπ' ὀφθαλμῶν προδίδοσθαι πρὸς τὰ χρώματα καὶ σχήματα καὶ ἃ μὴ θέμις ὄρᾶν αὐτομολούντων; πόσῃ δὲ ὑπὸ ὤτων ἀπάσαις φωναῖς ἐπακολουθούτων; πόσῃ δὲ πρὸς τῶν ὀσφρήσεως καὶ γεύσεως ὀργάνων ὑπὸ τε αἰσμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
- 174 ἀπλέτου ποικιλίας<sup>1</sup> ἀγομένων; ἔτι τοίνυν σοι λέγω τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἀχαλίνου γλώττης ῥεῦμα ἀνεπίσχετον διέφθειρεν ἢ ὁ περὶ τὰς μίξεις μετ' ἐπιθυμίας ἀκρατοῦς ἀνιάτος οἴστρος; μεσταὶ μὲν αἱ πόλεις, μεστή δὲ ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῶν κακῶν τούτων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ συνεχῆς καὶ ἄπαστος καὶ μέγιστος πολέμων ὁ κατ' εἰρήνην ἀνθρώπων
- 175 γένοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ φύεται. XLVIII. διόπερ ἐλέσθαι ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μὴ τελείως ἀπαίδευτοι πεπηρῶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκονθ' ὄρᾶν <καὶ> κεκωφῶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ βλαβερῶν ἀκούειν λόγων καὶ ἐκτετμηῆσθαι γλώτταν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν
- 176 τῶν ἀρρήτων ἐκλαλήσαι. φασὶ γοῦν ἤδη τινὰς τῶν σοφῶν τροχιζομένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ ἄρρητα μηνῦσαι γλώτταν ἀποτραγόντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀργαλεωτέραν κατὰ τῶν βασανιστῶν ἀντιτεχνήσασθαι βάσανον οὐ δινηθέντων ἃ ἐπόθουν ἐπιγνώναι. ἐξευνοχισθῆναί γε μὴν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸς συνουσίας ἐκνόμους λυττᾶν. ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα συμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις

<sup>1</sup> Reading ἀπλέτου ποικιλίας with Mangey for ἀπλέτοις ποικιλίας.

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wise man the seven faculties are evidently clean, but, by the law of contraries, in the worthless man all exposed to punishment. How vast a multitude must we suppose to be betrayed every day by eyes deserting to colours and forms and things that it is wrong to look at? And by ears that go after all sounds? And by the organs of smell and taste led by pleasing odours and an endless variety of other enticements? <sup>a</sup> Need I, then, go on to remind you of the multitude of those who have been ruined by the stream that there is no stopping, flowing from an unbridled tongue, or by the deadly stimulus to sexual sins which accompanies ungoverned lust? Our cities are full of these evils; all the earth is full of them from one end to another; and out of them springs up for mankind, both as individuals and in communities, the war that is waged in time of peace, the war that has no break or pause, and is the greatest of all wars. XLVIII. And so, to my thinking, those who are not utterly ignorant would choose to be blinded rather than see unfitting things, and to be deprived of hearing rather than listen to harmful words, and to have their tongues cut out to save them from uttering anything that should not be divulged. Such things have been done before now. Certain wise men, they tell us, while being tortured on the wheel to induce them to reveal secrets have bitten off their tongue, and so contrived a worse torture for their torturers, who found themselves unable to obtain the information which they wanted. It is better to be made a eunuch than to be mad after illicit unions. All these things, seeing that they plunge the soul in disasters for which there is

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βαπτίζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας εἰκότως  
 177 ἂν τῆς ἀνωτάτω τυγχάνοι. λέγει δ' ἐξῆς ὅτι  
 " ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς σημεῖον τῷ Κάιν, τοῦ μὴ  
 ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν εὐρίσκοντα " (Gen. iv. 15).  
 καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖόν ἐστιν, οὐ δεδήλωκε, καίτοι γε  
 εἰωθὼς τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν διὰ σημείου δεικνύναι,  
 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν ῥάβδον μεταβαλὼν  
 εἰς ὄφιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα Μωυσέως εἰς χιόνος ἰδέαν  
 178 καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς αἷμα. μήποτ' οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
 σημεῖόν ἐστι τῷ Κάιν τοῦ μὴ φονευθῆναι τὸ μηδέ-  
 ποτε ἀναιρεθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ θάνατον αὐτοῦ διὰ πάσης  
 τῆς νομοθεσίας δεδήλωκεν αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι, ὥσπερ  
 ἢ μεμυθευμένη Σκύλλα, κακὸν ἀθάνατόν ἐστιν  
 [225] ἀφροσύνη, | τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὸ τεθνάναι τελευτὴν οὐχ  
 ὑπομένουσα, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν πάντα  
 ἐνδεχομένη τὸν αἰῶνα. εἴθε μέντοι συμβαίνοι  
 τὰναντία, ὡς ἐκποδῶν τὰ φαῦλα ἀναιρεῖσθαι παν-  
 τελῆ φθορὰν ὑπομένοντα· νῦν δ' αἰεὶ ζωπυρούμενα  
 τὴν ἀθάνατον ἐγκατασκήπτει νόσον τοῖς ἅπαξ  
 πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀλοῦσιν.

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<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 497

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no remedy, would properly incur the most extreme vengeance and punishment.

It goes on to say " the Lord God set a sign upon Cain, that everyone that found him might not kill him " (Gen. iv. 15), and what the sign is, he has not pointed out, although he is in the habit of showing the nature of each object by means of a sign, as in the case of events in Egypt when he changed the rod into a serpent, and the hand of Moses into the form of snow, and the river into blood. It would seem then that just this is the sign regarding Cain that he should not be killed, namely that on no occasion did he meet with death. For nowhere in the Book of the Law has his death been mentioned. This shows in a figure that, like the Scylla<sup>a</sup> of fable, folly is a deathless evil, never experiencing the end that consists in having died, but subject to all eternity to that which consists in ever dying. Would that the opposite might come to pass, that worthless things should be taken out of sight and abolished, undergoing absolute destruction. As it is, they are continually kindled into flame, and inflict on those who have once been taken captive by them the disease that never dies.



ON THE POSTERITY OF  
CAIN AND HIS EXILE  
(DE POSTERITATE CAINI)





## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THE treatise begins with a denunciation of anthropomorphism and a defence of allegorical interpretation suggested by the statement that "Cain went out *from the face of God*" (1-7).

What the Lawgiver teaches by these words is that the soul that forfeits with Adam, or forgoes with Cain, the power of seeing God, loses the joy of the quest of Him, experienced by Moses and by Abraham (8-21); and incurs instability, in lieu of the firm standing gained by them through nearness to God (22-32). Moreover, he is 'wedded' to the impious view that "man is the measure of all things," and fails to regard his offspring, as Seth regarded his, as the gift of God (33-48).

The "city builded" by Cain is the creed set up by every impious soul. Its buildings are arguments, its inhabitants the self-conceited, its law lawlessness, its tower of confusion (Babel) the defence of its tenets. Even the lovers of Virtue are forced by the worldly to build such cities for them (49-59).

At this point (§ 60) Philo stops to illustrate, from the instance of Hebron, how names, like 'Enoch,' 'Methuselah,' 'Lamech,' can have two discrepant shades of meaning, as they have when borne by descendants of Cain and when borne by descendants of Seth. He is also led to give examples of that

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which is later in time being given precedence over what is earlier, as Hebron was placed above Zoan (60-65).

Having now made clear the nature of the creed which the Cain-like soul sets up, Philo turns to its offspring—'Gaidad' (or 'Irada') is the "flock" of untended irrational faculties. 'Maiel' (or 'Mehujael') means "away from the Love of God"; 'Methuselah' is one "incurring soul death"; and Lamech one "low-cringing"; who "takes to himself" as wives Adah and Zillah (66-74).

Here Philo cannot refrain from pointing out the wrongness of a man *taking* a wife to *himself* instead of receiving her as a gift from God. He makes an attempt to account for the fact that the self-same expression is used of Abraham, Isaac, and Moses (75-78).

'Adah' = 'Witness,' and is like success, leading us to think our actions right because of what they bring. Her son is 'Jobel' = "one altering," the remover of Virtue's boundaries fixed by right reason, making virtues vices (79-93).

Here follow some subtle remarks on Leviticus xxvii. 32 f. ("both shall be holy"), and on the proofs of holiness, and the number 10, all tending to show that the Law is opposed to 'altering' (94-97).

Jobel is also the father of rearers of 'cattle'; and cattle "are soul-less passions (98 f.).

Jobel's son is Jubal, the uttered word, "inclining this way and that," with no sure, firm, speech. He is also the originator of musical instruments, which are inferior to song-birds, but, like articulate speech, capable of such *varied* utterance, that it is natural that they should be invented by one who knows no

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abiding, and is son of one who *alters* all things (100-111).

Adah having been dealt with (79-111), we turn to Zillah, whose name signifies "shadow," and who is therefore a symbol of the unsubstantial goods of the body and the outside world. Her son, Tubal, bears a name meaning "all in one," and represents the "health and wealth" which men deem the sum of human bliss. He is, by trade, a 'hammerer,' maker of war and munitions of war, for lusts are the real war-makers and batterers of mankind. Verily is he son of 'Shadow.' His sister is Noeman or "fatness," the product of plenty (112-123).

Lamech, his wives and progeny having been dealt with (73-123), we are brought to Seth, in whom the murdered Abel comes to life. His name signifies "Watering," for the Mind waters the senses, as the Word of God waters the Virtues, which are symbolized by the four "heads" of the river going out of Eden. The word "heads" is used to indicate the sovereignty conferred by Virtues. The "River" is the Word of God, ever flowing for souls that love God.

"Watering" is so apt a figure of teaching, that Philo is soon showing us Hagar, who represents preliminary education, filling her water-skin from the well of knowledge, to give drink to the boy, who is the soul in its first craving for instruction, that he may grow up to be an 'archer,' directing arguments with sure aim. But Philo hastens to give us the picture of Rebecca supplying the water of perfection to the servant of Abraham. Her *going down* to the well of God's wisdom shows us that a sense of our own weakness is the beginning of stepping upwards. Her *pitcher* represents the directness of spiritual teaching,

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in contrast with the earlier, indirect, instruction through the senses and sensible objects, represented by Hagar's bulky water-skin.

Every detail of Rebecca's behaviour to Eliezer brings out a characteristic of the true teacher. She addresses him respectfully. She forgets self in her concern for his need. She says "Drink," not "*I will give thee to drink.*" She lets the pitcher down on her left fore-arm and tilts it, suiting her action to the 'pupil's' capacity. She does not forget to water the *camels*, *i.e.* to encourage *memory*, for these animals chew the cud; and they are watered from the *well*, itself a symbol of memory, from whose depths we draw by the aid of a reminder. The readiness of the camel for *toil* brings Philo to the Water of Marah, and to the tree by means of which the Israelites, after their toilsome march from Egypt, tasted the sweetness that is essential to fruitful toil. Philo cannot pass over the water which the worshippers of the golden calf were made to drink. His main point is that the grinding down of the calf, the symbol, like Egypt and the animals it worshipped, of the body, shows the inferiority of bodily advantages. Then the ear-rings of which the calf was made show the inferiority of hearing to sight, and the greatness of intuition, implied in the words "*See that I AM,*" words which are equivalent to "*Behold My subsistence,*" the essence or quality of God being invisible (138-169).

Returning to Gen. iv. 25 Philo deduces from the word "raised up out of" (the earth) the doctrine that God sows nothing futile in our souls. He takes the word "another" (seed) to mean 'other than Cain' in one way, 'other than Abel' in another way, and

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goes on to work out Seth's 'otherness' from Abel. Whereas Abel has relinquished all that is mortal, and gone hence to a higher life, Seth, sprung from human excellence, will never relinquish the human race, but be 'enlarged' in it. He is 'enlarged' in righteous *Noah*, the tenth from *Adam*; in faithful *Abraham*, another tenth; in *Moses*, wise in all things, seventh from *Abraham*. The limit of knowledge attained by Seth is *Noah's* starting-point; *Noah's* limit is *Abraham's* starting-point; and *Abraham's* limit the starting-point of *Moses* (170-174).

In the passage with which the treatise closes we have one of the writer's contrasts. "God hath raised up to me" is contrasted with the folly and impiety of *Lot* and his daughters, 'Counsel' and 'Consent,' and with *Rachel's* faulty cry to *Jacob*, "Give me children." As she learned from *Jacob's* rebuke, "Am I in the place of God?" to say "Let God add to me another son," so let us, if we so err, repent. The gross sin of *Onan* is rebuked, and the act of *Phinehas* the "Mouth-muzzle," is interpreted as meaning that "he put a stop to the revolt within himself, and turned clean away from his own pleasure." The last words are a reflection, as appropriate to the twentieth as to the first century, that the soul is the theatre of the most dire wars, and that all wars come from disordered souls (175-185).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΚΗΣΙΣΟΦΟΥ ΚΑΙΝ  
ΕΓΓΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΗΣ ΓΙΓ-  
ΝΕΤΑΙ

- <sup>1</sup> [226] I. “ Ἐξῆλθε δὲ Κάιν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ᾤκησεν ἐν γῆ Ναϊδ κατέναντι Ἐδέμ ” (Gen. iv. 16). νυνὶ διαπορῶμεν, εἰ χρή τῶν ἐν ταῖς διερμηνευθείσαις βίβλοις ὑπὸ Μωυσέως τροπικώτερον ἀκούειν, τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι προχείρου φαντασίας πολὺ τάληθοῦς ἀπαδούσης. εἰ γὰρ πρόσωπον μὲν ἔχει τὸ ὄν, ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος αὐτὸ καταλιπεῖν ἐτέρωσε μετανίστασθαι ῥᾶστα δύναται, τί τὴν Ἐπικούρειον ἀσέβειαν ἢ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίῳ ἀθεότητα ἢ τὰς μυθικὰς ὑποθέσεις, ὧν μεστός ὁ βίος ἐστί, παραιτούμεθα; πρόσωπον μὲν γὰρ ζώου τμημά ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὅλον, οὐ μέρος· ὥστ’ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προσαναπλάττειν, αὐχένα καὶ στέρνα [227] καὶ χεῖρας <καὶ> βάσεις, ἔτι | δ’ αὖ γαστέρα καὶ τὰ γεννητικὰ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς <sup>4</sup> ἀνάριθμον πλήθος. ἀκολουθεῖ δ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῷ ἀνθρωπομόρφῳ τὸ ἀνθρωποπαθές, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα οὐ περιττὰ καὶ παρέλκοντα, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐπίκουρα ἀσθενείας ἢ φύσις ἀπειργάζεται τὰ ὅσα πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας χρείας τε καὶ ὑπηρεσίας ἀκο-

<sup>a</sup> i.e., that God has a human form. See App. p. 498.

<sup>b</sup> i.e., their worship of animals.

## ON THE POSTERITY OF CAIN AND HIS EXILE

I. " And Cain went out from the face of God, and dwelt in the land of Naid, over against Eden " (Gen. iv. 16). Let us here raise the question whether in the books in which Moses acts as God's interpreter we ought to take his statements figuratively, since the impression made by the words in their literal sense is greatly at variance with truth. For if the Existent Being has a face, and he that wishes to quit its sight can with perfect ease remove elsewhere, what ground have we for rejecting the impious doctrines of Epicurus,<sup>a</sup> or the atheism of the Egyptians,<sup>b</sup> or the mythical plots of play and poem of which the world is full? For a face is a piece of a living creature, and God is a whole not a part, so that we shall have to assign to Him the other parts of the body as well, neck, breasts, hands, feet, to say nothing of the belly and genital organs, together with the innumerable inner and outer organs. And if God has human forms and parts, He must needs also have human passions and experiences. For in the case of these organs, as in all other cases, Nature has not made idle superfluities, but aids to the weakness of those furnished with them. And she adjusts to them, according to their several needs. all that enables them

λούθως ἐφαρμόττουσα. τὸ δὲ ὄν οὐδενὸς χρεῖον, ὥστ' εἰ μηδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν ὠφελείας, οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι μέρη τὸ παράπαν.

- 5 II. Ἐξέρχεται δὲ πόθεν; ἢ ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων τοῦ πανηγεμόνος; θεοῦ δὲ οἶκος αἰσθητὸς τίς ἂν εἶη πλὴν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ὃν καταλείπειν ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἀδύνατον; πάντα γὰρ ὧν γένεσις ἐστὶν οὐρανοῦ κύκλος περισφίγξας ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατέχει. καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀναστοιχειούμεναι μοῖραι πάλιν εἰς τὰς τοῦ παντὸς δυνάμεις ἐξ ὧν συνέστησαν ἀποκρίνονται, τοῦ δανεισθέντος ἐκάστῳ δανείσματος κατὰ προθεσμίας ἀνίσους ἀποδιδόμενου τῇ συμβαλοῦσῃ φύσει, ὅποτε βουλευθεῖν τὰ ἑαυτῆς χρέα κομίζεσθαι.
- 6 Καὶ μὴν ὃ γε ἐξῴων ἀπὸ τινος ἐν ἑτέρῳ χωρίῳ τοῦ ἀπολειπομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup>. τῷ δὲ συμβέβηκεν ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ χηρεύειν τινὰ μέρη τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ, θεοῦ μηδὲν κενὸν μηδὲ ἔρημον ἑαυτοῦ καταλελοιπότης, ἀλλὰ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἐκπεπληρωκότος.
- 7 Εἰ δὲ μήτε πρόσωπον ἔχει ὁ θεὸς ἅτε τὰς τῶν γεγονότων ιδιότητας ἀπάντων ἐκβεβηκῶς μήτε ἐν μέρει καταγίνεται ἅτε περιέχων, οὐ περιεχόμενος, ἀδύνατον <δ'> ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἐκ πόλεως τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου μεταναστῆναί τι μέρος αὐτοῦ μηδενὸς ἀπολειφθέντος ἔξω, λοιπὸν ἂν εἶη λογισαμένους ὅτι τῶν προταθέντων οὐδὲν κυριολογεῖται τὴν δι' ἀλληγορίας ὁδὸν φυσικοῖς <φίλην> ἀνδράσι τρέπεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθένδε τοῦ λόγου ποιησαμένους.

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἀπολειπομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ is printed from the conjecture of Wendland and Holwerda.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 498.

<sup>b</sup> Those who discard alike *mythical* and *popular* interpretations of God and things Divine, and seek to find the *truth* or *reality* underlying statements concerning them.



## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 4-7

to render their own special services and ministries. But the Existent Being is in need of nothing, and so, not needing the benefit that parts bestow, can have no parts at all.

II. And whence does Cain "go out"? From the palace of the Lord of all? But what dwelling apparent to the senses could God have, save this world, for the quitting of which no power or device avails? For all created things are enclosed and kept within itself by the circle of the sky. Indeed the particles of the deceased break up into their original elements and are again distributed to the various forces of the universe out of which they were constituted, and the loan which was lent<sup>a</sup> to each man is repaid, after longer or shorter terms, to Nature his creditor, at such time as she may choose to recover what she herself had lent.

Again he that goes out from someone is in a different place from him whom he leaves behind. (If, then, Cain goes out from God), it follows that some portions of the universe are bereft of God. Yet God has left nothing empty or destitute of Himself, but has completely filled all things.

Well, if God has not a face, transcending as He does the peculiarities that mark all created things; if He is to be found not in some particular part only, seeing that He contains all and is not Himself contained by anything; if it is impossible for some part of this world to remove from it as from a city, seeing that nothing has been left over outside it; the only thing left for us to do is to make up our minds that none of the propositions put forward is literally intended and to take the path of figurative interpretation so dear to philosophical<sup>b</sup> souls. Our argument

8 εἰ τὸ ἐκ προσώπου μεταναστῆναι βασιλέως θνητοῦ χαλεπὸν ἔστι, πῶς οὐ παγχάλεπον τὴν θεοῦ φαντασίαν καταλιπόντα οἴχεσθαι, μηκέτι εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ διεγνωκότα; τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ἀφάνταστον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα πηρω-  
 9 θέντα; καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν ἀπαραιτήτου δυνάμεως κράτει πιεσθέντες, ἔλεου μᾶλλον ἢ μίσους τυγχάνοιεν ἂν· ὅσοι δὲ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ τὸ ὄν ἐξετράποντο, ὑπερβάλλοντες καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ὄρον κακίας—τί γὰρ ἂν ἰσοστάσιον εὐρεθείη κακόν;—μὴ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλὰ καινὰς καὶ παρηλλαγμένας διδότησαν δίκας. ἧ καινοτέραν καὶ μείζονα ἐπινοῶν οὐκ ἂν τις εὖροι τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος ἐξόδου καὶ φυγῆς.

10 [228] III. | Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀδὰμ ὁ θεὸς ἐκβάλλει, ὁ δὲ Κάιν ἐθελοντῆς ἐξέρχεται, δηλοῦντος ἡμῖν Μωυσέως ἐκάτερον τροπῆς εἶδος, ἐκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀκούσιον ἅτε οὐχ ἡμετέρα γνώμῃ συνιστάμενον λήψεται τὴν ἐνδεχομένην αὐθις ἴασιν· “ἐξαναστήσει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον αὐτ’ Ἀβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάιν” (Gen. iv. 25), ψυχῇ τῇ μὴ παρ’ ἑαυτῆς τραπέισι, γέννημα  
 11 ἄρρεν, Σῆθ. τὸν ποτισμόν. τὸ δὲ ἐκούσιον ἅτε βουλή καὶ προμηθεία γεγόμενον ἀνιάτους εἰς αἰὲ κῆρας ἐνδέξεται. καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ προνοίας ἀμείνω τῶν ἀκουσίων κατορθώματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι κουφότερα τῶν ἐκουσίων τὰ ἀκούσια.

<sup>a</sup> Heinemann's conjecture is adopted. See *De Agricultura* 176, 179, 180.

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 8-11

must start in this way. If it is a difficult thing to remove out of sight of a mortal monarch, must it not be a thousandfold more difficult to quit the vision of God and be gone, resolved henceforth to shun the sight of Him ; in other words to become incapable of receiving a mental picture of Him through having lost the sight of the soul's eye? Men who have suffered this loss under compulsion, overwhelmed by the force of an inexorable power, deserve pity rather than hatred. But those who have of their own free choice turned away and departed from the Existent Being, transcending the utmost limit of wickedness itself—for no evil could be found equivalent to it—these must pay no ordinary penalties, but such as are specially devised and far beyond the ordinary. Now no effort of thought could hit upon a penalty greater and more unheard of than to go forth into banishment from the Ruler of the Universe.

III. Adam, then, is driven out by God ; Cain goes out voluntarily. Moses is showing us each form of moral failure,<sup>a</sup> one of free choice, the other not so. The involuntary act, not owing its existence to our deliberate judgement, is to obtain later on such healing as the case admits of, " for God shall raise up another seed in place of Abel whom Cain slew " (Gen. iv. 25). This seed is a male offspring, Seth or " Watering," raised up to the soul whose fall did not originate in itself. The voluntary act, inasmuch as it was committed with forethought and of set purpose, must incur woes for ever beyond healing. For even as right actions that spring from previous intention are of greater worth than those that are involuntary, so, too, among sins those which are involuntary are less weighty than those which are voluntary.

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- 12 IV. Τὸν μὲν οὖν Κάιν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ μεταστάντα ἢ τιμωρὸς ἀσεβῶν ἐκδέξεται δίκη. Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῖς γνωρίμοις αὐτοῦ παράγγελμα κάλλιστον ὑποθήσεται, “ἀγαπᾶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰσακούειν καὶ ἔχεσθαι αὐτοῦ” (Deut. xxx. 20). ταύτην γὰρ εἶναι ζωὴν τὴν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐήμερόν τε καὶ μακραίωνα. πάνυ δ’ ἐμφαντικῶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ τριποθήτου καὶ ἀξιεράστου καλεῖ τιμὴν εἰπὼν ἔχεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τὸ συνεχές καὶ ἐπάλληλον καὶ ἀδιάστατον τῆς κατ’ οἰκείωσιν ἀρμονίας καὶ ἐνώσεως παριστάς.
- 13 “Α μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις παραινεί, ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ τοιαῦτα. αὐτὸς δ’ οὕτως ἀπαύστως ὀρέγεται τοῦ ὄραν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὄρασθαι, ὥσθ’ ἵκετευεῖ δυστόπαστον οὖσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν δηλῶσαι γνωρίμωσ (Exod. xxiii. 13), ἕν’ ἤδη ποτὲ ἀψευδοῦσ δόξης μεταλαβῶν ἀβεβαίου ἐνδοιασμοῦ βεβαιοτάτην πίστιν ἀλλάξῃται. καὶ ἐπιτείνων οὐκ ἀνήσει τὸν πόθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι δυσθηράτου μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνεφίκτου πράγματος ἐρᾷ, ὅμως ἐπαγωνιεῖται μηδὲν συντόνου σπουδῆς ἀνιείς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ
- 14 ἀόκνωσ συγχρώμενος. V. ἤδη γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφον ὅπου ἦν ὁ θεὸς εἰσελεύσεται (Exod. xx. 21). τουτέστιν εἰς τὰς ἀδύτους καὶ ἀειδεῖς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἐννοίας. οὐ γὰρ ἐν γνόφῳ τὸ αἴτιον
- [229] οὐδὲ συνόλωσ ἐν τόπῳ, | ἀλλ’ ὑπεράνω καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου· τὰ γὰρ γεγονότα πάντα ὑποζεύξας
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IV. Cain, then, has left the face of God to fall into the hands of Justice who takes vengeance on the impious. But Moses will lay down for his pupils a charge most noble "to love God and hearken to and cleave to Him" (Deut. xxx. 20); assuring them that this is the life that brings true prosperity and length of days. And his way of inviting them to honour Him Who is the worthy object of strong yearning and devoted love is vivid and expressive. He bids them "cleave to Him," bringing out by the use of this word how constant and continuous and unbroken is the concord and union that comes through making God our own.

These and other exhortations like these does Moses address to others. But so unceasingly does he himself yearn to see God and to be seen by Him, that he implores Him to reveal clearly His own nature (Exod. xxxiii. 13), which is so hard to divine, hoping thus to obtain at length a view free from all falsehood, and to exchange doubt and uncertainty for a most assured confidence. Nor will he abate the intensity of his desire, but although he is aware that he is enamoured of an object which entails a hard quest, nay, which is out of reach, he will nevertheless struggle on with no relaxation of his earnest endeavour, but honestly and resolutely enlisting all his faculties to co-operate for the attainment of his object. V. So see him enter into the thick darkness where God was (Exod. xx. 21), that is into conceptions regarding the Existent Being that belong to the unapproachable region where there are no material forms. For the Cause of all is not in the thick darkness, nor locally in any place at all, but high above both place and time. For He has placed all

- ἑαυτῷ περιέχεται μὲν ὑπ' οὐδενός, ἐπιβέβηκε δὲ  
 πᾶσιν. ἐπιβεβηκῶς δὲ καὶ ἕξω τοῦ δημιουργη-  
 θέντος ὧν οὐδὲν ἦττον πεπλήρωκε τὸν κόσμον  
 ἑαυτοῦ· διὰ γὰρ <τῶν ὄλων τὰς ἑαυτοῦ> δυνάμεις<sup>1</sup>  
 ἄχρι περάτων τείνας ἕκαστον ἐκάστω κατὰ τοὺς  
 15 ἁρμονίας λόγους συνύφημεν. ὅταν οὖν φιλόθεος  
 ψυχὴ τὸ τί ἐστὶ τὸ ὄν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ζητῆ, εἰς  
 ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀόρατον ἔρχεται ζήτησιν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῇ  
 περιγίνεται μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, καταλαβεῖν ὅτι ἀ-  
 κατάληπτος ὁ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸς παντὶ καὶ αὐτὸ  
 16 τοῦτο ἰδεῖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀόρατος. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ  
 πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῆσδε τῆς σκέψεως ὁ ἱεροφάντης  
 τὸ ἄχρηστον<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς κατανοῆσαι, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸν  
 ἱκετεύει τὸν ὄντα μηνυτὴν καὶ ὑφηγητὴν τῆς  
 ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως γενέσθαι. λέγει γάρ· “ἐμφάνισόν  
 μοι σεαυτόν” (Exod. xxxiii. 13), ἐναργέστατα  
 διὰ τούτου παριστὰς ὅτι τῶν γεγονότων ἱκανὸς  
 οὐδὲ εἰς ἕξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ἀναδιδα-  
 17 χθῆναι. VI. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν  
 τόπον, ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ  
 ἀναβλέψας ὄρᾳ τὸν τόπον μακρόθεν (Gen. xxi. 3,  
 4). ποῖον τόπον; ἄρ' εἰς ὃν ἦλθε; καὶ πῶς ἐστὶ  
 18 μακράν, εἴπερ ἔφθη παραγενόμενος; ἀλλὰ μήποτε  
 ὅπερ αἰνίττεται τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ὁ σοφὸς αἰεὶ γλιχό-  
 μενος κατανοῆσαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντός, ὅταν  
 τὴν δι' ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας ἀτραπὸν βαδίξῃ,  
 λόγοις μὲν προεντυγχάνει θείοις παρ' οἷς προ-

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὄλων τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις, from Wendland's conjecture based on Diels.

<sup>2</sup> ἄχρηστον is the translator's conjecture for the μέγιστον of the mss. But τὸ μέγιστον might mean “the main point.” See App. p. 498.

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 14-18

creation under His control, and is contained by nothing, but transcends all. But though transcending and being beyond what He has made, none the less has He filled the universe with Himself; for He has caused His powers to extend themselves throughout the Universe to its utmost bounds, and in accordance with the laws of harmony has knit each part to each. When therefore the God-loving soul probes the question of the essence of the Existent Being, he enters on a quest of that which is beyond matter and beyond sight. And out of this quest there accrues to him a vast boon, namely to apprehend that the God of real Being is apprehensible by no one, and to see precisely this, that He is incapable of being seen. But the holy Guide seems to me even before he began this search to have discerned its futility. That he did so is evident from his imploring the Existent One to be His own Interpreter and reveal His own Nature. He says, "Manifest Thyself to me" (Exod. xxxiii. 13), showing quite clearly by so saying that there is not a single created being capable of attaining by his own efforts the knowledge of the God Who verily exists. VI. This must be borne in mind if we are to understand what we read about Abraham, how, on reaching the place of which God had told him, he looked up on the third day and "seeth the place from afar" (Gen. xxii. 3 f.). What place? The one which he had reached? And how can it be far off if he is already there? It may be that what we are told under a figure is to this effect. The wise man is ever longing to discern the Ruler of the Universe. As he journeys along the path that takes him through knowledge and wisdom, he comes into contact first with divine words, and

- καταλύει, τρέπεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγνωκῶς ἐπέχεται· διοιχθέντων γὰρ τῶν διανοίας ὀμμάτων ὀξυδερκέστερον εἶδεν ὅτι ἐπὶ τὴν δυσαλώτου πράγματος θήραν ἀποδέδυκεν<sup>1</sup> ἐξαναχωροῦντος αἰεὶ καὶ μακρὰν ἀφιστὰμένου καὶ φθάνοντος ἀπείρω τῷ
- 19 μεταξὺ διαστήματι τοὺς διώκοντας. εὖ γοῦν νομίζει, ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ὠκυδρομώτατα ἐστάναι ἂν δόξαι πρὸς τὴν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φορὰν ἀστέρων ἀντεξετασθέντα. καίτοι σύμπας οὐρανοῦς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γέγονεν, αἰεὶ δὲ τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ γινομένου προελήλυθεν· ὥστε ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὐ μόνον τὰ ἄλλα τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάντων ὀξυκινητότατον, ὁ νοῦς, ἀπεριγράφοις <ἂν> ἀπολειφθείη τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ αἰτίου διαστήμασιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀστέρες παραμείβονται τὰ κινούμενα καὶ αὐτοὶ κινούμενοι, ὁ δὲ θεός, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἐστὼς
- 20 ἔφθακε πάντα. λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐγγύτατα ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ μακρὰν ἐστίν, ἀπτόμενος μὲν ταῖς ποιητικαῖς καὶ κολαστηρίοις δυνάμεσι πλησίον ὑπαρχούσαις ἐκάστου, πορρωτάτω δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εἶναι φύσεως αὐτοῦ τὸ γενητὸν ἀπεληλακῶς, ὡς μηδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτους τῆς |
- [230] διανοίας ἐπιβολὰς ψαῦσαι δύνασθαι.
- 21 Τοῖς μὲν οὖν φιλοθείοις τὸ ὄν ἀναζητοῦσι, κἂν μηδέποτε εὖρωσι, συγχαίρομεν—ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς προευφραίνειν ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ ζήτησις, κἂν ἀτυχήται τὸ τέλος—τῷ δὲ φιλαύτῳ Κἂν συναχθόμεθα, ὃς ἀφάνταστον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδέδυκεν] Wendland's conjecture for ἀναδέδυκεν.



## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 18-21

with these he makes a preliminary stay, and though he had meant to go the remainder of the way, he comes to a stop. For the eyes of his understanding have been opened, and he sees perfectly clearly that he has engaged in the chase of a quarry hard to capture, which always eludes its pursuers and is off to a distance leaving them ever so far behind. Rightly does he reflect that all the fleetest things under the sky would be seen to be standing still, if their motion were compared with that of the sun and moon and the other heavenly bodies. And yet (he ponders) all heaven is God's handiwork, and that which makes is ever ahead of the thing made : it follows, then, that not only other things with which we are familiar, but that whose movement surpasses them all in swiftness, the mind, would come short of the apprehension of the First Cause by an immeasurable distance. But the strangest thing of all is, that whereas the heavenly bodies as they go past moving objects are themselves in motion, God who outstrips them all is motionless. Yea, we aver that remaining the same He is at once close to us and far from us. He takes hold of us by those forming and chastening powers which are so close to each one of us ; and yet He has driven created being far away from His essential Nature, so that we cannot touch it even with the pure spiritual contact of the understanding.

With the lovers of God, then, in their quest of the Existent One, even if they never find Him, we rejoice, for the quest of the Good and Beautiful, even if the goal be missed, is sufficient of itself to give a foretaste of gladness. But the self-loving Cain we commiserate, for he has left in the lurch his own soul

τοῦ ὄντος καταλέλοιπεν, τὸ ᾧ μόνω βλέπειν ἠδύνατο ἔκουσίως πηρώσας.

- 22 VII. "Ἄξιον δὲ σκέψασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν ἐκ προσώπου γενόμενος θεοῦ στέλλεται· ἔστι δὲ ἣ καλεῖται σάλος, δηλοῦντος τοῦ νομοθέτου ὅτι ὁ ἄφρων ἀστάτοις καὶ ἀνιδρῦτοις ὄρμαῖς κεχρημένος σάλον καὶ κλόνον, οἷα κυμαῖνον πέλαγος πρὸς ἐναντίων πνευμάτων χειμῶνος ὥρα, ὑπομένει, γαλήνης δὲ ἢ νημερίας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπήσθηται. ὥσπερ δ' ὅταν ναῦς σαλεύη θαλαττεύουσα, τότε οὔτε πλεῖν οὔτε ὀρμεῖν ἔστιν ἰκανή, διαφερομένη δὲ ὠδὲ κἀκεῖσε πρὸς ἑκάτερον τοῖχον ἀποκλίνει καὶ ταλαντεύουσα ἀντιρρέπει, οὕτως ὁ φαῦλος παραφόρῳ καὶ χειμαινούσῃ διανοίᾳ κεχρημένος εὐθύνειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦν ἀπταιστώσως ἀδυνατῶν αἰεὶ σαλεύει βίου μελετῶν ἀνατροπῆν.
- 23 Ὁ δ' εἰρμὸς τῆς ἀκολουθίας οὐ μετρίως με καταπλήττει· συμβαίνει γὰρ τὸ [μὲν] τῷ ἐστῶτι πλησιάζον ἡρεμίας διὰ πόθον ὁμοιότητος ἐφίεσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀκλινῶς ἐστὼς ὁ θεὸς ἔστι, τὸ δὲ κινητὸν ἢ γένεσις· ὥστε ὁ μὲν προσίων θεῷ στάσεως ἐφίεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἄτε γενέσει τῇ τρεπο-
- 24 μένῃ προσίων κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς φορεῖται. VIII. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς γέγραπται ὅτι "οὐκ ἀναπαύσει σε, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται στάσις τῷ ἴχνει τοῦ ποδός σου" καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὅτι "ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου" (Deut. xxviii. 65, 66). πέφυκε γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων αἰεὶ παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κινούμενος ἡρεμία καὶ

<sup>a</sup> "Nod" is akin to the Hebrew for "toss."

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 21-24

bereft of any conception of the Existent One, having deliberately blinded the organ by which alone he could have seen Him.

VII. It is worth while to notice the country also into which he betakes himself when he has left the presence of God : it is the country called " Tossing. <sup>a</sup> " In this way the lawgiver indicates that the foolish man, being a creature of wavering and unsettled impulses, is subject to tossing and tumult, like the sea lashed by contrary winds when a storm is raging, and has never even in fancy had experience of quietness and calm. And as at a time when a ship is tossing at the mercy of the sea, it is capable neither of sailing nor of riding at anchor, but pitched about this way and that it rolls in turn to either side and moves uncertainly swaying to and fro ; even so the worthless man, with a mind reeling and storm-driven, powerless to direct his course with any steadiness, is always tossing, ready to make shipwreck of his life.

I am greatly struck by the perfect sequence of cause and effect in all this. Proximity to a stable object produces a desire to be like it and a longing for quiescence. Now that which is unwaveringly stable is God, and that which is subject to movement is creation. He therefore that draws nigh to God longs for stability, but he that forsakes Him, inasmuch as he approaches the unresting creation is, as we might expect, carried about. VIII. It is for this reason that it is written in the Curses " He shall not cause thee to rest, and there shall be no standing for the sole of thy feet," and a little later " thy life shall be hanging before thine eyes " (Deut. xxviii. 65, 66). For it is the nature of the foolish man to be ever moving contrary to right reason, and to be averse to

- ἀναπαύσει δυσμενῆς εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἐστάναι  
 25 παγίως καὶ ἐρηρεῖσθαι δόγματος. ἄλλοτε γοῦν  
 ἄλλοῖα δοξάζει καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅτε  
 μηδενὸς περὶ αὐτὰ συμβεβηκότος καινοτέρου τάναν-  
 τία, μέγας καὶ μικρὸς καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ φίλος καὶ  
 πάνθ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ μαχόμενα ἐν ἀκαρεῖ  
 [231] χρόνου γινόμενος. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ, | ὅπερ ἔφη ὁ  
 νομοθέτης, πᾶσα ἡ ζωὴ κρεμαμένη, βάσιν οὐκ  
 ἔχουσα ἀκράδαντον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῶν ἀντισπώντων  
 καὶ ἀντιμεθελκόντων ἀεὶ φορουμένη πραγμάτων.  
 26 οὗ χάριν ἐν ἐτέροις "κεκατηραμένον ὑπὸ θεοῦ  
 τὸν κρεμάμενον ἐπὶ ξύλου" φησὶν (Deut. xxi. 23),  
 ὅτι, θεοῦ δέον ἐκκρέμασθαι, ὃ δὲ ἀπηώρησεν ἑαυτὸν  
 σώματος, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν ξύλινος ὄγκος, ἐπι-  
 θυμίαν ἐλπίδος ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος, ἀγαθοῦ τελείου  
 μέγιστον κακόν. ἐλπίς μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐσα  
 προσδοκία ἐκ τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν  
 ἀρτᾶ, ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀλόγους ἐμποιοῦσα ὀρέξεις ἐκ  
 τοῦ σώματος, ὃ δεξαμενὴν καὶ χώραν ἡδονῶν ἡ  
 27 φύσις ἐδημιούργησεν. IX. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὡσπερ  
 ἀπ' ἀγχόνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκκρεμάσθωσαν.  
 Ἀβραάμ δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἐπειδὴ ἔστηκε, συνεγγίζει  
 τῷ ἐστῶτι θεῷ· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι "ἐστὼς ἦν ἔναντι  
 κυρίου καὶ ἐγγίσας εἶπεν" (Gen. xviii. 22, 23).  
 ὄντως γὰρ ἀτρέπτω ψυχῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀτρεπτον θεὸν  
 μόνῃ πρόσδοδος ἐστι, καὶ ἡ τοῦτον διακειμένη τὸν  
 τρόπον ἐγγὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἴσταται δυνάμειως θείας.  
 28 Τό γε μὴν χρησθὲν τῷ πανσόφῳ Μωυσῆ λόγιον  
 ἐναργέστατα δηλοῖ τὴν περὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον βεβαιο-  
 τάτην εὐστάθειαν, ἔστι δὲ τὸ λόγιον τοιόνδε· "σὺ  
 δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ' ἐμοῦ" (Deut. v. 31). ἐξ οὗ

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 24-28

rest and quietness, and never to plant himself firmly and fixedly on any principle. He has one set of views at one time, another set at another, and sometimes holds conflicting views about the same matters, though no fresh element has been introduced into them. He becomes great and small, foe and friend, and nearly every other pair of opposites in a moment of time. And, as the lawgiver said, his whole life is hanging, with no firm foothold, but always swept off its feet by interests drawing and dragging him in opposite directions. This is why the lawgiver says in another place that "he that hangeth on a tree is cursed of God" (Deut. xxi. 23), for, whereas it behoves us to hang upon God, the man of whom we are thinking suspended himself from his body, which is a log-like mass in us. By doing so he gave up hope and took desire in its place, a grievous evil in place of a supreme good. For hope, being an expectation of good things, fastens the mind upon the bountiful God; whereas desire, infusing irrational cravings, fastens it on the body, which Nature wrought as a receptacle and abode of pleasures. IX. Let such men be hung on desire as from a halter. But Abraham the wise, being one who stands, draws near to God the standing One; for it says "he was standing before the Lord and he drew near and said" (Gen. xviii. 22 f.). For only a truly unchanging soul has access to the unchanging God, and the soul that is of such a disposition does in very deed stand near to the Divine power.

But what shows in the clearest light the firm steadfastness of the man of worth is the oracle communicated to the all-wise Moses which runs thus: "But as for thee stand thou here by Me"<sup>a</sup> (Deut. v. 31).

<sup>a</sup> or "by Me myself."

- δύο παρίσταται, ἔν μὲν ὅτι τὸ ὄν τὸ τὰ ἄλλα  
 κινοῦν καὶ τρέπον ἀκίνητόν τε καὶ ἄτρεπτον,  
 ἕτερον δ' ὅτι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως, ἡρεμίας, τῷ  
 σπουδαίῳ μεταδίδωσιν. ὡς γὰρ οἶμαι κανόνι ὀρθῶ  
 τὰ στρεβλὰ εὐθύνεται, οὕτως τὰ κινούμενα κράτει  
 29 τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἐπέχεται τε καὶ ἴσταται. νυνὶ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐτέρῳ στήναι μετ' αὐτοῦ παραγγέλλει. ἀλλα-  
 χόθι δέ φησιν· “ ἐγὼ καταβήσομαι μετὰ σοῦ εἰς  
 Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἀναβιβάσω σε εἰς τέλος ” (Gen.  
 xlv. 4), οὐχί σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ. διὰ τί; ὅτι θεοῦ  
 μὲν ἴδιον ἡρεμία καὶ στάσις, γενέσεως δὲ μετάβασίς  
 30 τε καὶ μεταβατικὴ πᾶσα κίνησις. ὅταν μὲν οὖν  
 πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καλῆ, “ σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ στήθι ”  
 φησίν, οὐκ “ ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ ”· οὐ γὰρ στήσεται ὁ  
 θεός, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἔστηκεν. ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸ οἰκείον  
 γενέσεως ἔρχηται, ὀρθότατα ἐρεῖ· “ ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ  
 καταβήσομαι.” σοὶ γὰρ ἢ τόπων ἐνάλλαξις ἀρμόζει.  
 ὥστε μετ' ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐδεὶς κάτεισιν—ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 οὐ τρεπόμενος—στήσεται δ' ὅτιπερ ἡρεμία μοι  
 φίλον· σὺν δὲ τοῖς κατιοῦσι μεταβατικῶς—ἀδελφὸν  
 γὰρ καὶ συγγενὲς αὐτοῖς μετάβασις—ἐγὼ κατα-  
 βήσομαι τονικῶς, οὐ χωρία ἐναλλάπτων, ὅς τὸ  
 31 πᾶν ἐμαυτοῦ πεπλήρωκα. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι ποιῶ  
 διὰ φύσεως οἴκτον λογικῆς, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τῶν παθῶν  
 1232] ἄδου πρὸς τὸν | ὀλύμπιον χῶρον ἀρετῆς ἀναβιβασθῆ  
 ποδηγετοῦντος ἐμοῦ, ὅς τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄγουσαν

<sup>a</sup> τονικῶς (from *τείνωμαι* “ I extend myself ”; lit., “ by way  
 344

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 28-31

This oracle proves two things, one that the Existent Being who moves and turns all else is Himself exempt from movement and turning; and secondly that He makes the worthy man sharer of His own Nature, which is repose. For I take it that, just as crooked things are straightened by a correct ruler, so moving things are brought to a stop and made stationary by the force of Him Who stands. In this case He charges another to stand with Him. Elsewhere He says, "I will go down with thee into Egypt, and will bring thee up at last" (Gen. xlv. 4). He does not say "thou with Me." Why is this? Because quiescence and abiding are characteristic of God, but change of place and all movement that makes for such change is characteristic of creation. When then He invites a man to the good peculiar to Him, He says "Do thou stand with Me," not "I with thee:" for in God's case standing is not a future but an ever present act. But when He comes to that which is proper to creation, His words will quite rightly be "I will go down with thee," for to thee change of place is appropriate. Accordingly with Me no one shall go down—for I know no turning or change—but one shall stand, seeing that quiescence is dear to Me. But with those who go down in the sense of changing their place—for change of place is near of kin to them—I will go down, in all-pervading Presence <sup>a</sup> without any alteration of locality, seeing I have filled the universe with Myself. I do this in pity for rational nature, that it may be caused to rise out of the nether world of the passions into the upper region of virtue guided step by step by Me, Who have laid down the road that leads to

of self-extension") from Mangey's conjecture. See *De Sacrificiis* 68 with note, App. p. 491.

ὁδὸν ἀνατεμῶν λεωφόρον ἰκέτισι ψυχαῖς, ὡς μὴ κάμνοιεν βαδίζουσαι, πάσαις ἀποδέδειχα.

- 32 X. Δεδηλωκότες οὖν ἐκάτερον, ἡρεμίαν τε ἀστείου καὶ ἄφρονος σάλον, τὸ ἐπόμενον τῷ λόγῳ συνεπισκεψώμεθα. φησὶ γὰρ Ναῖδ, τὸν κλόνον, εἰς ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ μετωκίσαστο, ἀπέναντι Ἐδέμ. συμβολικῶς δέ ἐστιν Ἐδέμ ὀρθὸς καὶ θεῖος λόγος, παρὸ καὶ ἐρμηνείαν ἔχει “ τρυφήν,” ὅτι ἐνευφραίνεται καὶ ἐντρυφᾷ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀμιγέσι καὶ ἀκράτοις ἔτι δὲ ἀρτίοις καὶ πλήρεσι κεχηρημένος ἀγαθοῖς, ὕοντος τοῦ πλουτοδότου θεοῦ τὰς παρθένους καὶ ἀθανάτους χάριτας αὐτοῦ. φύσει δὲ μάχεται ἀγαθῷ κακόν, ἄδικον δικαίῳ, φρόνιμον ἄφρονι καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὰ κακίας εἶδη. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ Ναῖδ ἀντικρὺς [καὶ] εἶναι Ἐδέμ.
- 33 XI. Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν φησιν ἐξῆς· “ καὶ ἔγνω Κάιν [φησί] τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν τὸν Ἐνώχ· καὶ ἦν οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἐνώχ ” (Gen. iv. 17). ἄρ’ οὐκ εἰκὸς διαπορῆσαι, τίνα ἔγνω γυναῖκα ὁ Κάιν; γένεσις γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς διαπλασθεῖσαν
- 34 Εὐᾶν ἄχρι νῦν μεμῆνυται γυναικός. εἰ δὲ φήσει τις ἀδελφῇ τὸν Κάιν συνελθυθέναι, χωρὶς τοῦ ἀνοσίου καὶ ψεύσεται· τὰς γὰρ θυγατέρας Ἀδὰμ ὁψὲ γεγενημένας εἰσάγει. τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; γυναῖκα ἀσεβοῦς λογισμοῦ, ὡς γε οἶομαι, καλεῖ δόξαν, ἣν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τίθεται καθάπερ μυρίοι τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων, οἱ μὲν τὰ αὐτά, οἱ



## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 31-34

heaven and appointed it as a highway for all suppliant souls, that they might not grow weary as they tread it."

X. Having now shown each side of the picture, calm in a good man, restlessness in a foolish one, let us devote our attention to the sequel. The lawgiver says that Naid, "Tumult," to which the soul migrated, is over against Eden. "Eden" is a symbolic name for right and divine reason, and so it is literally rendered "luxuriance." For right reason above all others finds its delight and luxury in the enjoyment of good things pure and undiluted, yea complete and full, while God the Giver of wealth rains down His virgin and deathless boons. And evil is by nature in conflict with good, unjust with just, wise with foolish, and all forms of virtue with all forms of vice. That is the meaning of Naid being over against Eden.

XI. Having said this, he says next: "And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch; and Cain was building a city, and he called the city after his son's name Enoch" (Gen. iv. 17). Is it not reasonable to inquire, what woman Cain knew? For since Eve, who was formed out of Adam's side, there has been hitherto no record of the creation of any other woman. If anyone should suggest that Cain married his sister, his suggestion will be not only unholy but untrue; for Adam's daughters are mentioned as having been born at a later time. What then must we say? "Wife" is, I think, the name he gives to the opinion held by an impious man's reasoning faculty, the opinion which the impious man (habitually) assumes touching (all) matters. So do a host of those who have professed philosophy, some sects agreeing in the rules which they deduce from

- δὲ καὶ διαφέροντα εἰσηγησάμενοι τῷ βίῳ δόγματα.
- 35 τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀσεβοῦς δόξα; μέτρον εἶναι πάντων χρημάτων τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν· ἢ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινα σοφιστῶν ὄνομα Πρωταγόραν φασὶ χρήσασθαι, τῆς Κάλιν ἀπονοίας ἔκγονον. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ἐνθένδε ὅτι γνωρισθεῖσα αὐτῷ ἢ γυνὴ τὸν Ἐνώχ ἀπέτεκεν· ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Ἐνώχ χάρις σου.
- 36 εἰ γὰρ πάντων μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, χάρις ἐστὶ καὶ δωρεὰ τοῦ νοῦ τὰ πάντα, ὥστε ὀφθαλμῷ μὲν κεχάρισται τὸ βλέπειν, ὡσὶ δὲ τὸ ἀκούειν, ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν μέντοι λόγῳ τὸ λέγειν· εἰ δὲ [233] καὶ | ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτὸ δήπου <τὸ> νοεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μυρία ἐννοήματα, διανοήσεις, βουλαί, προμήθειαι, καταλήψεις, ἐπιστήμαι, τέχναι, διαθέσεις, ἄλλων
- 37 ἀριθμὸς δυνάμεων ἀδιεξίτητος. τί οὖν ἔτι σεμνομυθούμενοι περὶ ὀσιότητος καὶ θεοῦ τιμῆς λέγειν τε καὶ ἀκούειν ἐγνώκατε, εἴ γε ἔχετε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τὸν ἀντίθεον νοῦν, ὃς πάντα ἀνά κράτος τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀναψάμενος ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ κακὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφότερα κερασάμενος, τοῖς δὲ θάτερα ἄκρατα
- 38 ἐπιπέμπει; κὰν ἄρα τις γραφὴν ἀσεβείας ἐπενέγκῃ καθ' ὑμῶν, ἀπολογούμενοι θαρρεῖτε φάσκοντες παρ' ὑφηγητῆ καὶ διδασκάλῳ πάνυ καλῶ πεπαιδευσθαι Κάλιν, ὃς τὸ πλησίον πρὸ τοῦ μακρὰν αἰτίου παρῆναι τιμᾶν· ᾧ διὰ τε ἄλλα προσεκτέον καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι σαφέσιν ἔργοις τὴν τοῦ δόγματος ἰσχὺν ἐπεδείξατο νικήσας τὸν τῆς ἐναντίας δόξης εἰσηγητὴν Ἄβελ καὶ ἄμ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν δόξαν

<sup>a</sup> Familiar to Philo from Plato, *Theaet.* 152 A and *Cratylus* 385 E.

<sup>b</sup> or "dispositions." See *De Cher.* 62 and note.

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 34-38

it for the conduct of life, and some making a variety of deductions. Of what sort then is an impious man's opinion? That the human mind is the measure of all things, an opinion held they tell us by an ancient sophist named Protagoras, an offspring of Cain's madness. I gather that by "wife" this opinion is meant from the fact that when Cain knew her she bore Enoch, and Enoch means "thy gift." For if man is the measure of all things,<sup>a</sup> all things are a present and gift of the mind. It has bestowed on the eye seeing as a favour, on the ears hearing, on each of the other senses their power of perception, yes and speech on the faculty of thought-utterance. But if all these are gifts, so too is thinking, including in itself countless products of thought, resolves, counsels, forethought, comprehension, acquisition of knowledge, skill in arts and in organizing,<sup>b</sup> other faculties too many to recount. Why, pray, are you any longer ready to deliver grave and solemn discourses about holiness and honouring God, and to listen to such discourses from others, seeing that you have with you the mind to take the place of God, and forcibly to appropriate all things human both good and bad, sending to some a blend of both, to others one of the two unmixed? And if someone bring against you an indictment for impiety, you boldly defend yourselves, asserting that you have been trained under an admirable master and instructor, even Cain, who advised you to honour what was near you rather than the far off Cause, and that you are bound to attend to his advice both for other reasons and most of all because he proved the strength of his creed by unmistakable deeds in his victory over Abel, the champion of the opposite opinion, and in getting rid

- 39 ἐκποδῶν ἀνελῶν. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ φίλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς τῆς μετὰ ἀσεβῶν ζωῆς ὁ μετὰ εὐσεβῶν αἰρετώτερος ἂν εἶη θάνατος· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀποθανόντας ἢ ἀθάνατος ἐκδέξεται ζωῆ, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνως ζῶντας ὁ αἰδιος θάνατος.
- 40 XII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κάιν τὸν Ἐνώχ γεγέννηκε καὶ αὐθις ἔκγονος τοῦ Σήθ πάλιν Ἐνώχ ὀνομάζεται (Gen. iv. 17, v. 18), σκεπτέον ἂν εἶη πότερον ἑτέρους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐρευνήσωμεν δ' ἅμα τούτοις καὶ <τὰς> τῶν ἄλλων ὁμωνύμων διαφοράς. ὥσπερ γὰρ Ἐνώχ, οὕτω καὶ Μαθουσάλα καὶ Λάμεχ ἀπόγονοι μὲν Κάιν, ἀπόγονοι δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τοῦ Σήθ εἰσι (Gen. 41 iv. 18, v. 21, 25). χρή τοίνυν εἰδέναί ὅτι τῶν λεχθέντων ἕκαστον ὀνομάτων ἐρμηνευθὲν διπλοῦν ἔστιν. ἐρμηνεύεται δ' ὁ μὲν Ἐνώχ, καθάπερ εἶπον, χάρις σου, Μαθουσάλα δ' ἕξαποστολή θανάτου, ὁ δ' αὖ Λάμεχ ταπεινώσις. τὸ μὲν οὖν "χάρις σου" λέγεται μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦν ὑπ' ἐνίων, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων ὑπὸ 2 τῶν ἀμεινόνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν φάσκοντες δωρεὰν εἶναι τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ νοεῖν ἢ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἢ λέγειν, ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄθεον εἰσηγοῦμενοι δόξαν γένει τῷ Κάιν προσκεκληρώσθησαν, ὃς μὴδ' αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἱκανὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπετόλμησεν [ὡς] εἰπεῖν ὡς ἔχοι τὴν παντελῆ κτῆσιν· οἱ δ' ὅσα ἐν γενέσει καλὰ μὴ σφετεριζόμενοι, χάρισι δὲ ταῖς θείαις ἐπιγράφοντες, εὐγενεῖς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐκ παλαιπλουσιῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ φιλαρέτων φύντες, ὑπὸ ἀρχηγέτη

both of him and his opinion. But, in my judgement and in that of my friends, preferable to life with impious men would be death with pious men; for awaiting those who die in this way there will be undying life, but awaiting those who live in that way there will be eternal death.

XII. Now since Cain is said to have begotten Enoch, and there is afterwards a descendant of Seth with the name of Enoch again (Gen. iv. 17, v. 18), we must consider whether they were two different persons or the same person. While we are engaged with these, let us investigate also the difference between others who have the same name. Like Enoch, Methuselah and Lamech appear as descendants of Cain, and descendants no less of Seth (Gen. iv. 18, v. 21, 25). It is important, then, that we should know that each of the names mentioned has a meaning that can be taken in two ways. "Enoch," as I have already said, means "thy gift," "Methuselah" "a sending forth of death," and "Lamech" "humiliation." Take the first. Thy gift is, on some people's lips, an address to the mind within us; on the lips of the better kind of men it is addressed to the universal Mind. Those who assert that everything that is involved in thought or perception or speech is a free gift of their own soul, seeing that they introduce an impious and atheistic opinion, must be assigned to the race of Cain, who, while incapable even of ruling himself, made bold to say that he had full possession of all other things as well. But those who do not claim as their own all that is fair in creation, but acknowledge all as due to the gift of God, being men of real nobility, sprung not from a long line of rich ancestors but from lovers of virtue, must remain

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 43 τῶ | Σῆθ τετάχθωσαν. δυσεύρετον σφόδρα τὸ  
 τούτων ἐστὶ γένος ἀποδιδρασκόντων τὸν ἐπί-  
 βουλον καὶ ῥαδιουργὸν καὶ πανοὔργον καὶ κεχυ-  
 μένον παθῶν τε καὶ κακιῶν πλήρη βίον. οὓς γὰρ  
 ὁ θεὸς εὐαρεστήσαντας αὐτῶ μετεβίβασε καὶ μετ-  
 ἔθηκεν ἐκ φθαρτῶν εἰς ἀθάνατα γένη, παρὰ τοῖς  
 44 πολλοῖς οὐκέθ' εὐρίσκονται. XIII. διεσταλκότες  
 οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἐνώχ σημαινόμενα μέτιμεν ἐξῆς  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Μαθουσαά, ὃς ἦν ἐξαποστολὴ θανάτου.  
 δύο δ' ἐκ ταύτης παρίσταται τῆς φωνῆς, ἓν μὲν  
 καθ' ὃ τινι ἐπιπέμπεται θάνατος, ἕτερον δὲ καθ'  
 ὃ ἀπὸ τινος ἀποστέλλεται. ὅτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπι-  
 πέμπεται, θνήσκει πάντως ἐκείνος, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἀπο-  
 45 στέλλεται, ζῆ τε καὶ περίεστι. τῶ μὲν δὴ Κάιν  
 ὁ τὸν θάνατον δεχόμενός ἐστιν οἰκείος αἰεὶ τὸν πρὸς  
 ἀρετὴν βίον θνήσκοντι, τῶ δὲ Σῆθ συγγενέστατος  
 ἀφ' οὗπερ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ διατειχίζεται τὸ ἀπο-  
 θνήσκειν· τὴν γὰρ ἀληθῆ ζωὴν ὁ σπουδαῖος  
 46 κεκάρπωται. καὶ μὴν ὃ γε Λάμεχ ταπεινώσις ὧν  
 ἀμφίβολός ἐστιν· ἢ γὰρ ὑφιεμένων τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς  
 τόνων κατὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀλόγων παθῶν ἐγγενόμενα  
 νοσήματά τε καὶ ἀρρωστήματα ταπεινούμεθα ἢ  
 κατ' ἀρετῆς ζῆλον στέλλοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ οἰδούσης  
 47 οἰήσεως. ἢ μὲν οὖν προτέρα γίνεται κατ' ἀσθέ-  
 νειαν, εἶδος τῆς πολυμόρφου καὶ πολυτρόπου  
 λέπρας οὔσα· ὅταν γὰρ ἢ ὄψις ταπεινωτέρα φαίνη-  
 ται τὴν ὀμαλήν καὶ εὔτονον κλασθεῖσα φαντασίαν,  
 τὴν χαλεπὴν νόσον λέπραν ὁ νομοθέτης φησὶ  
 48 γενέσθαι (Lev. xiii. 3). ἢ δὲ ἑτέρα ἀπὸ ἰσχύος

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enrolled under Seth as the head of their race. This sort is very hard to find, since they make their escape from a life beset with passions and vices, with its treachery and unscrupulousness, its villainy and dissoluteness. For those who have been well-pleasing to God, and whom God has translated and removed from perishable to immortal races, are no more found among the multitude. XIII. Having now distinguished between the things signified by Enoch's name, we will pass on next to Methuselah. His name, as we saw, means "a sending forth of death," and these words call up two pictures to the mind. In one of them death is being sent to fall upon somebody; in the other death is being dismissed from somebody. The man on whom it is sent to fall, dies without fail, while he from whom it is dismissed lives and survives. He who receives death is an intimate of Cain, who is ever dying to the way of life directed by virtue; to Seth he is close of kin from whom dying is dismissed and debarred; for the good man has reaped true life as his crop. "Low estate" again, which is the meaning of "Lamech," has a twofold bearing. We are brought low either when the energies of the soul are let down owing to sicknesses and infirmities produced in us as the result of irrational passions, or when in our eager quest of virtue we check in ourselves the swelling of self-conceit. The former kind of being brought low is due to weakness, and is a species of leprosy, that changeful disease which assumes so many different forms. For when the uniform and healthy appearance of the flesh is impaired and the mischief is visible below the surface, the lawgiver says that the cruel disease of leprosy has set in (Lev. xiii. 3). The

συνίσταται καρτερᾶς, ἥ καὶ ἰλασμὸς ἔπεται κατὰ τὸν τῆς δεκάδος ἀριθμὸν τέλειον· προστέτακται γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς ταπεινοῦν δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός (Lev. xxiii. 27), ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεγαλαυχίαν ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἧς ἢ ἀπόθεσις ἀδικημάτων ἐκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων ἐργάζεται παραίτησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ταπεινὸς Λάμεχ ἔκγονος μὲν ἐστὶ Σήθ, πατὴρ δὲ τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνως ἐκβλάστημα Κάιν.

- 49 XIV. Ἐπόμενον δ' ἂν εἶη σκέψασθαι, τίνος ἔνεκα κτίζων καὶ οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν αὐτὸς οὗτος εἰσάγεται· πλήθει γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μεγέθους δεῖ πόλεως πρὸς οἴκησιν, τρισὶ δὲ τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνον οὔσι τὸν χρόνον ὑπώρειά τις ἢ μικρὸν ἄντρον αὐταρκέστατον ἦν ἐνδιαίτημα. καὶ γὰρ μὲν εἶπον τρισί, τὸ δ' εἰκὸς ἐνὶ μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ κτείναντι πόλιν ὑπέμειναν <ἂν> οἰκεῖν, μείζον ἀνδροφονίας
- [235]  
50 ἄγος ἀδελφοκτονίαν | ἐργασαμένῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐ παράδοξον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παράλογον παντί τῳ δῆλον, ἓνα ἄνδρα πόλιν οἰκοδομεῖν. τίνα ἔστι τρόπον; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰκίας μέρος τὸ ἀφανέστατον, μὴ χρώμενον ὑπηρέταις ἑτέροις. ἢ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λιθοτομεῖν ἂν δύναίτο, ὑλοτομεῖν, σίδηρον, χαλκὸν ἐργάζεσθαι, τειχῶν μέγαν κύκλον πόλει περιβάλλεσθαι, προπύλαια καὶ προτειχίσματα, ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ στοὰς καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δημόσια καὶ ἴδια ἔθος οἰκοδομεῖσθαι; καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὀχετοὺς κατὰ
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other form of being brought low results from the exercise of hardy strength, and this has for its sequel propitiation, determined by 10, the perfect number : for there is a command to bring low our souls on the tenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 27), and this signifies to put away boasting, a putting away which leads to an imploring of pardon for sins voluntary and involuntary. So the Lamech lowly in this way is a descendant of Seth, and father of righteous Noah ; but the Lamech brought low in the former way is sprung from Cain.

XIV. The next thing for us to consider is why Cain, all alone as he is, appears in the narrative as founding and building a city ; for a multitude of men needs a good-sized city to dwell in, whereas for the three that then existed some foot-hill or small cave would have been a quite adequate habitation. I said "for three," but most likely it was for one, Cain himself only : for the parents of the murdered Abel would not have brooked dwelling in the same city with his slayer, seeing he had incurred a more defiling guilt than that of a man-slayer by slaying his brother. Everyone can see how the building of a city by a single man runs counter not only to all our ideas but to our reason itself. How is such a thing possible ? Why, he could not have built even the most insignificant part of a house without employing others to work under him. Could the same man at the same moment do a stone-mason's work, hew timber, work iron and brass, surround the city with a great circuit of walls, construct great gateways and fortifications, temples and sacred enclosures, porticoes, arsenals, houses, and all other public and private buildings that are customary ? Could he in addition to these

γῆν ἀναστέλλειν, στενωποὺς ἀνευρύνειν, κρήνας καὶ ὑδροροὰς καὶ ὄσων ἄλλων πόλει δεῖ κατα-  
 51 σκευάζεσθαι; μήποτ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα τῆς ἀλη-  
 θείας ἀπάδει, βέλτιον ἀλληγοροῦντας λέγειν ἔστιν  
 ὅτι καθάπερ πόλιν τὸ αὐτοῦ δόγμα κατασκευάζειν  
 ὁ Κάλν ἔγνωκε.

52 XV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πᾶσα πόλις ἐξ οἰκοδομη-  
 μάτων καὶ οἰκητόρων καὶ νόμων συνέστηκε, τὰ  
 μὲν οἰκοδομήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ λόγοι οἱ ἀπο-  
 δεικνύντες, οἷς καθάπερ ἀπὸ τείχους πρὸς τὰς τῶν  
 ἐναντίων ἀπομάχεται προσβολὰς πιθανὰς εὐρέσεις  
 κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μυθοπλαστῶν, οἰκήτορες δὲ οἱ  
 ἀσεβείας, ἀθεότητος, φιλαυτίας, μεγαλαυχίας,  
 ψευδοῦς δόξης ἑταῖροι δοκησίσοφοι, τὸ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν σοφὸν οὐκ εἰδότες, ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπαιδευ-  
 σίαν καὶ ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀδελφὰς καὶ  
 συγγενεῖς κήρας συγκεκροτηκότες, νόμοι δὲ ἀ-  
 νομίαι, ἀδικίαι, τὸ ἄνισον, τὸ ἀκόλαστον, θρασύτης,  
 ἀπόνοια, ἀθθάδεια, ἡδονῶν ἀμετρίαι, τῶν παρὰ  
 53 φύσιν ἄλεκτοι ἐπιθυμίαι. τοιαύτης πόλεως ἕκα-  
 στος τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῦ τῇ παναθλία ψυχῇ  
 δημιουργὸς εὐρίσκεται, μέχρις ἂν ὁ θεὸς βου-  
 λευθεὶς (Gen. xi. 6) ταῖς σοφιστικαῖς αὐτῶν  
 τέχναις ἀθρόαν καὶ μεγάλην ἐργάσηται σύγχυσιν.  
 τοῦτο δ' ἔσται, ὅταν μὴ μόνον πόλιν, <ἀλλὰ> καὶ  
 πύργον οἰκοδομῶσιν, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀφ-  
 ἴξεται (Gen. xi. 4), τουτέστι λόγον ἐκάστου κατα-  
 σκευαστικόν, ὅπερ<sup>1</sup> εἰσηγοῦνται, κεφαλὴν ἔχοντα  
 τὸ οἰκεῖον νόημα, ὃ προσαγορεύεται συμβολικῶς  
 οὐρανός· ἀνάγκη γὰρ παντὸς λόγου κεφαλὴν καὶ  
 τέλος εἶναι τὸν δηλούμενον νοῦν, οὗ χάριν αἱ

<sup>1</sup> ὅπερ is printed for ὅνπερ from conjecture (Tr.).

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construct drains, open up streets, provide fountains and conduits and all else that a city needs? It would seem, then, since all this is at variance with reality, that it is better to take the words figuratively, as meaning that Cain resolves to set up his own creed, just as one might set up a city.

XV. Now, every city needs for its existence buildings, and inhabitants, and laws. Cain's buildings are demonstrative arguments. With these, as though fighting from a city-wall, he repels the assaults of his adversaries, by forging plausible inventions contrary to the truth. His inhabitants are the wise in their own conceit, devotees of impiety, godlessness, self-love, arrogance, false opinion, men ignorant of real wisdom, who have reduced to an organized system ignorance, lack of learning and of culture, and other pestilential things akin to these. His laws are various forms of lawlessness and injustice, unfairness, licentiousness, audacity, senselessness, self-will, immoderate indulgence in pleasures, unnatural lusts that may not be named. Of such a city every impious man is found to be an architect in his own miserable soul, until such time as God takes counsel (Gen. xi. 6), and brings upon their sophistic devices a great and complete confusion. This time will come when they are building, not a city only, but a tower as well, whose top shall reach to heaven (Gen. xi. 4). By a "tower" is meant a discourse working up each (immoral) doctrine which they introduce. The discourse has for a head its own proper point, which is figuratively spoken of as "heaven." For every discourse must needs have as its head and aim the thought brought out by it; and it is to bring this out that men of eloquence are in

- μακραὶ διεξοδοὶ τε καὶ ῥήσεις ὑπὸ λογίων ἀνδρῶν  
 54 εἰώθασι γίνεσθαι. XVI. τοσοῦτον δ' ἄρα τῆς ἀ-  
 σεβείας ἐπιβεβήκασιν, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον δι' ἑαυτῶν  
 ἐγείρειν τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις ἀξιούσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὴν φιλάρετον πληθὺν Ἰσραὴλ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐπι-  
 στάτας καὶ διδασκάλους κακῶν ἔργων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 χειροτονήσαντες. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι κακωθέντες ὑπὸ  
 [236] τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας | τρεῖς  
 πόλεις οἰκοδομοῦσι, Πειθῶ, Ῥαμεσσή, Ὡν, ἣ  
 55 ἐστὶν Ἡλίου πόλις (Exod. i. 11). αὐταὶ δὲ  
 τροπικώτερον νοῦν, αἴσθησιν, λόγον, τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς  
 ὄντα, δηλοῦσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ Πειθῶ ὁ λόγος ἐστίν,  
 ὅτι περὶ τοῦτον τὸ πείθειν, ἔχει δὲ ἑρμηνείαν στόμα  
 ἐκθλιβόν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ὁ τοῦ φαύλου λόγος  
 ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέπειν τὰ σπουδαῖα μελετᾷ.  
 56 Ῥαμεσσή δὲ ἡ αἴσθησις \* \* \* καθάπερ γὰρ  
 ὑπὸ σιγῆς ὑφ' ἐκάστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων νοῦς ἐκ-  
 βιβρώσκειται καὶ διεσθίεται, σειόμενος καὶ σπαρρα-  
 τόμενος· αἱ γὰρ ἐπεισιούσαι μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν  
 φαντασίαι λυπηρὸν καὶ ἐπίπονον ἀποτίκτουσι τὸν  
 57 βίον. ἡ δὲ Ὡν καλεῖται μὲν βουνός, ἔστι δὲ  
 συμβολικῶς ὁ νοῦς· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦτον οἱ πάντων  
 θησαυρίζονται λόγοι. μάρτυς δὲ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης  
 τὴν Ὡν Ἡλίου πόλιν προσαγορεύσας· ὥσπερ γὰρ  
 ἀνατείλας ἥλιος τὰ κρυπτόμενα νυκτὶ ἐμφανῶς  
 ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως ὁ νοῦς τὸ οἰκείον φῶς ἀπο-  
 στέλλων πάντα καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα  
 58 τηλαυγῶς παρασκευάζει καταλαμβάνεσθαι. διό-  
 περ οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπὼν ἀμάρτοι τοῦ συγκρίματος  
 εἶναι ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν ἥλιον, ὃς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ  
 βραχεῖ κόσμῳ μὴ ἀνατείλας καὶ τὸ ἴδιον φέγγος

the habit of delivering their lengthy expositions and perorations. XVI. To such a pitch of impiety have they gone that they think fit not only to raise such cities with their own hands, but they force the virtue-loving host of Israel to do the like, appointing over them taskmasters and instructors in wicked works. For it is said that under the maltreatment of their taskmasters they built for the king of the country three cities, Peitho, Rameses, and On, which is Heliopolis (Exod. i. 11). These signify, when taken as figures, our properties of mind, sense, and speech. Peitho is our speech, because persuasion<sup>a</sup> is its function, and the word means "harassing mouth," for the speech of the worthless man makes a study of harassing and overturning all that is good and worthy. Rameses is sense-perception [for it means a "moth's troubling"],<sup>b</sup> since the mind is eaten out and gnawed through by each of the senses, just as though the moth were at work loosening and tearing it. For when ideas enter the mind such as cannot give it pleasure they fill our life with pain and toil. "On" is by name "Heap" but symbolically it is the mind, for to it as to a treasure-heap<sup>c</sup> all men's words are brought. The lawgiver is evidence of this by calling On "Heliopolis"<sup>d</sup> or "Sun-city." For as the sun, when it has risen, shows clearly the objects which night hides, so the mind sending forth its proper light causes all forms and conditions to be clearly apprehended. It would therefore not be amiss to speak of the mind as the sun of our complex system. For if it does not rise and let its peculiar light shine forth in man, the microcosm, it sheds a

<sup>a</sup> Greek "peitho."

<sup>b</sup> The words which seem to have dropped out here are found in *De Somniis* i. 77.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 498.

- ἐκλάμψας, πολὺ σκότος τῶν ὄντων καταχέας οὐδὲν  
 59 ἐᾶ προφαίνεσθαι. XVII. τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον ὁ  
 ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Λάβαν δικαίους  
 μάρτυρα καλεῖ (Gen. xxxi. 46, 47) δογματικώτατα  
 δηλῶν ὅτι ὁ νοῦς ἐκάστω μάρτυς ἐστὶν ὧν ἐν  
 ἀφανεῖ βουλεύεται καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔλεγχος ἀ-  
 δέκαστος καὶ πάντων ἀψευδέστατος. \* \* \*
- \* \* \* \* πρὸ τούτων τῶν πόλεων οἰκοδομεῖται.  
 60 φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν εἰς Χεβρών,  
 ἐκεῖ δ' εἶναι Ἀχειμὸν καὶ Σεσεῖν καὶ Θαλαμείν,  
 γενεᾶς Ἐνάχ· εἶτ' ἐπιφέρει· “καὶ Χεβρὼν ἑπτὰ  
 ἔτεσιν ὑποδομήθη πρὸ τοῦ Τάνω Αἰγύπτου”  
 (Num. xiii. 22). φυσικώτατον <τὸ> τὰς ὁμο-  
 νυμίας εἶδеси διαστέλλεσθαι. Χεβρὼν <γὰρ> ἐρ-  
 μηνεύεται συζυγή· δισσοῦν δὲ τοῦτο, ψυχῆς ἢ  
 σώματι συνεζευγμένης ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡρμοσμένης.  
 61 ἢ μὲν οὖν σωματικαῖς συζυγαῖς ὑποβάλλουσα  
 αὐτὴν οἰκήτορας ἔχει τοὺς λεχθέντας· ἐρμηνεύεται  
 δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀχειμὸν ἀδελφός μου, ὁ δὲ Σεσεῖν ἐκτός  
 μου, ὁ δὲ Θαλαμείν κρεμᾶμενός τις· ἀνάγκη γὰρ  
 ψυχαῖς ταῖς φιλοσωμάτοις ἀδελφὸν μὲν νομίζεσθαι  
 τὸ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός ἀγαθὰ διαφερόντως τιτι-  
 μῆσθαι· ὅσαι δὲ τοῦτον διάκεινται τὸν τρόπον,  
 [237] ἀψύχων ἐκκρέμανται καὶ | καθάπερ οἱ ἀνασκολο-  
 πισθέντες ἄχρι θανάτου φθαρταῖς ὕλαις προσήλων-  
 62 ται. ἢ δὲ τῷ καλῷ συνεζευγμένη διαφερόντων  
 ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἔλαχεν οἰκητόρων, οὓς τὸ διπλοῦν  
 σπήλαιον (Gen. xxiii. 9) ζυγάδην κεχώρηκεν,  
 Ἀβραὰμ Σάρραν, Ἰσαὰκ Ῥεβέκκαν, Λεῖαν Ἰακώβ,  
 ἀρετὰς καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας. ἢ Χεβρὼν αὕτη, μνήμας

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 498.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 498, 499.

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN. 59-62

deep darkness on all things and prevents anything from being visible. XVII. This "Heap"<sup>a</sup> is called to witness by Jacob, the man of earnest effort, in his controversy with Laban (Gen. xxxi. 46 f.). This conveys the deep truth that the mind is for each man the witness of his secret purposes, and the conscience an impartial scrutineer unequalled in veracity. [But the city of Witness]<sup>b</sup> was built before these cities. For we are told that the spies came to Hebron, and that Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were there; then it is added: "and Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (Numb. xiii. 22). It is a thoroughly philosophical proceeding to show how one and the same name has different shades of meaning. "Hebron," for instance, means "union," but union may be of two kinds, the soul being either made the body's yokefellow, or being brought into fellowship with virtue. The soul, then, that submits to bodily couplings has as its inhabitants those mentioned just now. "Ahiman" means "my brother"; "Sheshai" "outside me"; "Talmai" "one hanging": for it is a necessity to souls that love the body that the body should be looked upon as a brother, and that external good things should be valued pre-eminently: and all souls in this condition depend on and hang from lifeless things, for, like men crucified and nailed to a tree, they are affixed to perishable materials till they die. But the soul wedded to goodness obtained inhabitants excelling in the virtues, whom the double cave<sup>c</sup> (Gen. xxiii. 9) received in pairs, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Leah and Jacob, these being virtues and their possessors. This Hebron, a treasure-house

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek renders "Machpelah."

ἐπιστήμης <καὶ> σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα, προ-  
 τέρα καὶ Τάνεως καὶ πάσης ἐστὶν Αἰγύπτου.  
 πρεσβυτέραν γὰρ ἢ φύσις ψυχὴν μὲν σώματος,  
 Αἰγύπτου, ἀρετὴν δὲ κακίας, Τάνεως—ἐντολὴ γὰρ  
 ἀποκρίσεως<sup>1</sup> ἑρμηνεύεται Τάνις—εἰργάζετο, τὸ πρε-  
 σβύτερον ἀξιώματι μᾶλλον ἢ χρόνου μήκει δοκιμά-  
 63 σασα. XVIII. παρὸ καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ νεώτερον ὄντα  
 χρόνῳ πρωτόγονον υἱὸν (Exod. iv. 22) ἀξιώματι  
 καλεῖ, διασυνιστὰς ὅτι <ὁ> τὸν θεὸν ὄρων, ἀρχε-  
 γονώτατον ὄν, τετίμηται, τοῦ ἀγενήτου γέννημα  
 πρώτιστον, ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς θνητοῖς μισουμένης  
 ἀρετῆς ἀποκυθέν, ᾧ [ὁ] νόμος ἐστὶν ὡς πρε-  
 σβυτάτῳ διπλᾶ δίδοσθαι τὰ πρεσβεῖα (Deut. xxi.  
 64 17). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἑβδομὴ τάξει μὲν ἐπι-  
 γέννημά ἐστιν ἑξάδος, δυνάμει δὲ πρεσβυτάτη παντὸς  
 ἀριθμοῦ, μηδὲν διαφέρουσα μονάδος. δηλώσει δὲ  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἐπιλόγῳ φάσκων·  
 “καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδομῇ  
 ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησε· καὶ  
 εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδομῆν καὶ  
 ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ  
 πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς  
 65 ποιῆσαι” (Gen. ii. 2, 3). εἶτ’ ἐπιλέγει· “αὕτη  
 ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο,  
 ἡ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν  
 γῆν” (Gen. ii. 4). τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ ταῦτα γέγονεν,  
 ὥστε τὴν ἑβδομῆν εἰς μονάδα τὴν πρώτην καὶ  
 ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀναφέρεσθαι. ταῦτ’ ἐμηκύναμεν  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖξαι τηλαυγέστερον τὴν δόξαν, ἣν ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Wendland suggests *ταπεινώσεως* for *ἀποκρίσεως*, from the *Tanis mandans humile* and *Tanis mandatum humile* of the *Onomastica*.



## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 62-65

guarding personal monuments of knowledge and wisdom, is earlier than Zoan and all Egypt. For nature wrought soul elder than body (or Egypt), and virtue elder than vice (or Zoan); for "Zoan" means "Command of evacuation"<sup>a</sup>; and nature determines precedence not by length of time but by worth. XVIII. Accordingly he calls Israel, though younger in age, his "firstborn" son in dignity (Exod. iv. 22), making it evident that he who sees God, the original Cause of being, is the recipient of honour, as earliest offspring of the Uncreated One, conceived by Virtue the object of the hatred of mortals, and as he to whom there is a law that a double portion, the right of the first-born, should be given as being the eldest (Deut. xxi. 17). For this reason also the seventh day, although in order it is the number born after 6, yet in value takes precedence of every number, in nothing differing from 1. This will be made clear by the law-giver himself, who in his epilogue to the narrative of the creation says: "And God rested on the seventh day from all His works which He had made; and God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because in it God rested from all his works which God had begun to make" (Gen. ii. 2 f.). After this he adds: "This is the book of the creation of heaven and earth, when it was created, in the day in which God made the heaven and the earth" (Gen. ii. 4). Now these things were created on the first day, so that the seventh day is referred back to 1, the first and starting-point of all. I have written thus fully with the object of showing the more clearly the opinion which Cain

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 499.

Καίιν ὡσπερ τινα πόλιν οἶεται δεῖν κατασκευάζειν.

- 66 XIX. Υἱὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἐνώχ λέγεται Γαϊδάδ (Gen. iv. 18), ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ποιμνιον, σφόδρα ἀκολούθως· τὸν γὰρ τῷ νῶ χαριζόμενον τὰ πάντα τῷ μηδὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἣτις ἐστὶ καταλαβεῖν δυναμένῳ γεννᾶν ἀλόγους ἤρμωτε δυνάμεις, ἀγειρομένας εἰς ποιμνιον· οὐ γὰρ λογικῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ
- 67 δόγμα. ποιμνη δὲ πᾶσα τὸν ἐπιστάντα οὐκ ἔχουσα ποιμένα μεγάλαις ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπραγίαις
- [238] | χρῆται, ἅτ' οὐ δυναμένη δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀπωθῆσθαι μὲν τὰ βλάπτοντα, αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ὠφελήσοντα. παρὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς εὐχόμενός φησιν· “ἐπισκεψάσθω κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς ταύτης, ὅστις ἐξελεύσεται πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ ὅστις εἰσελεύσεται, καὶ ὅστις ἐξάξει αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅστις εἰσάξει, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγή κυρίου ὡσεὶ πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ποιμήν” (Num. xxvii. 16,
- 68 17). ὅταν γὰρ ὁ προστάτης ἢ [ὁ] ἐπίτροπος ἢ πατήρ ἢ ὁ τι φίλον καλεῖν τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡμῶν, ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, οἴχηται καταλιπὼν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ποιμνιον, ἀτημέλητον ἐαθὲν διόλλυται μὲν αὐτό, μεγάλη δὲ τῷ δεσπότῃ ζημία γίνεται· τὸ δ' ἄλογον καὶ ἀπροστασίαστον θρέμμα χηρεῦσαν ἀγελάρχου τοῦ νουθετήσοντός τε καὶ παιδεύσοντος μακρὰν λογικῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου ζωῆς ἀπώκισται.
- 69 XX. Διὸ τοῦ Γαϊδάδ υἱὸς εἶναι λέγεται Μαιήλ (Gen. iv. 18), οὗ τὸ ὄνομα μεταληφθὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ ζωῆς θεοῦ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ ποιμνιον ἄλογον, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πηγὴ λόγου, ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀλόγως βιοῦντα τῆς θεοῦ ζωῆς ἀπεσχοινίσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN. 65-69

deems it necessary to set up as though he were building a city.

XIX. The son of Enoch is named Gaidad (Gen. iv. 18), which means "a flock." Such a name follows naturally upon his father's name. For it was fitting that the man who deems himself beholden to mind, which is incapable of comprehending its own nature, should beget irrational faculties, collected into a flock; for men endowed with reason do not profess that creed. Now every flock that has no shepherd over it necessarily meets with great disasters, owing to its inability by itself to keep hurtful things away and to choose things that will be good for it. Accordingly Moses says in his Prayer "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits and of all flesh, appoint a man over this congregation, which shall go out before their face and which shall come in, and which shall lead them out and which shall lead them in, and the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep that have no shepherd" (Numb. xxvii. 16 f.). For when the protector, or governor, or father, or whatever we like to call him, of our complex being, namely right reason, has gone off leaving to itself the flock within us, the flock itself being left unheeded perishes, and great loss is entailed upon its owner, while the irrational and unprotected creature, bereft of a guardian of the herd to admonish and discipline it, finds itself banished to a great distance from rational and immortal life. XX. This is why Gaidad is said to have a son Maiel (Gen. iv. 18), whose name translated is "away from the life of God." For since the flock is without reason, and God is the Fountain of reason, it follows that he that lives an irrational life has been cut off from the life of God. Now Moses

θεὸν ζῆν ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ὀρίζεται Μωυσῆς· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ σου τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν ὄντα  
 70 (Deut. xxx. 19, 20). τοῦ δ' ἐναντίου βίου παράδειγμα τίθεται τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα τοῦ κλήρου τράγον·  
 “στήσει γὰρ αὐτὸν” φησί “ζῶντα ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν” (Lev. 71 xvi. 10), ἄγαν ἐξητασμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἡδονῶν ἀπεχομένους πρεσβύτας εὖ φρονῶν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο, ὅτι τὸ γῆρας, ἢ μακρὰ καὶ ἀνιάτος νόσος, τοὺς τῶν ὀρέξεων ἐχάλασέ τε καὶ ἔλυσε τόνους, ἐπαίνου δ' ἂν ἀξιώσῃε τοὺς ἡβῶντας, ὅτι φλεγούσης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμῆς ὅμως σβεσθηρίων ὀργάνων τῶν κατὰ παιδείαν λόγων εὐπορήσαντες τὸν πολὺν φλογμὸν ἅμα καὶ βρασμὸν τῶν παθῶν ἐπεκούφισαν, οὕτως οἷς μὲν οὐδὲν νόσημα, οἷα ἐκ πονηρᾶς φιλεῖ διαίτης ἐπανίστασθαι, ἐλάττων ἔπαινος ἔπεται, ὅτι κατὰ φύσεως εὐμοιρίαν ἀπροαιρέτως ἐχρήσαντο εὐτυχία, οἷς δ' ἐξεγερθὲν ἀντιστατεῖ, μείζων, εἰ δὴ διερεισάμενοι καθελεῖν αὐτὸ βουλευθεῖεν τε  
 72 καὶ δυνηθεῖεν. τὰ γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὄλκου δελέατα αὐστηρῶ τόνω καθελεῖν ἰσχύσαι τὸν ἐφ' ἑκουσίοις ἔχει κατορθώμασιν ἔπαινον. ἐὰν οὖν τῶν τὸν εὐδαίμονα κλῆρον ἀπολαχόντων<sup>1</sup> μηδέν, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ ἀποπομπαῖα νοσήματα καὶ ἀρρωστήματα,  
 239] | σπουδάζωμεν αὐτὰ ἀνατρέπειν καὶ καταβάλλειν·

<sup>1</sup> τῶν τὸν εὐδαίμονα κλῆρον ἀπολαχόντων is a conjectural reading (Tr.).

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 499.

<sup>b</sup> The reference is to the goat on which the lot fell “for the Lord.”

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defines living in accordance with God as consisting in loving Him, for he says "thy life is to love Him that is" (Deut. xxx. 19 f.). As an example of the opposite life he gives the goat on which the lot fell, for he says, "he shall set him alive <sup>a</sup> before the Lord, to make atonement over him, so as to send him forth for dismissal afar" (Lev. xvi. 10). A well considered direction. No one of sound sense would applaud old men for abstaining from indulgences, for old age, that long and incurable illness, renders the vehemence of their cravings far less intense. He would deem praiseworthy young men in their prime, because when appetite was a-flame within them owing to the keenness that belongs to their time of life, they nevertheless fully availed themselves of engines for quenching these fires in the shape of the lessons supplied by a sound education, and so checked the raging flame and assuaged the boiling heat of the passions. On these principles fainter praise is accorded to those who have no disease, such as commonly arises from an evil mode of life, because nature bestowed on them an easy lot, and without any effort of will they simply enjoyed good fortune, whereas those who have developed such a disease and against whom it is doing battle, are more loudly praised, if they set themselves stoutly to combat it and show both the will and the power to master it. For the strength put forth in overcoming by a severe effort the seductive baits of pleasure receives the praise which is accorded to moral victories, won by will-power. If, then, not one of the qualities that have won the happy lot <sup>b</sup> (live in us), but there be alive in us noxious diseases and sicknesses, banes to be rid of, let us be in earnest to overthrow and cast

- τὸ γὰρ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁμολογῆσαι ὅτι ἔχοντες αὐτὰ ἐν ψυχῇ ζῶντα καὶ περιόντα οὐκ ἐνδίδομεν, ἀλλ' ἀντιβάντες ἅπασι καρτερῶς ἀπομαχόμεθα, μέχρις ἂν παντελῶς ἀπο-
- 73 διοπομησώμεθα. XXI. τί δ' ἔπεται τῷ μὴ κατὰ βούλημα τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντι ἢ θάνατος ὁ ψυχῆς; οὗτος δὲ ὀνομάζεται Μαθουσάλα, ὃς ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἦν ἀποστολή θανάτου, διὸ τοῦ Μαιήλ υἱὸς ἐστὶ (Gen. iv. 18), τοῦ τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἀπολελοιπότος, ᾧ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπιπέμπεται, ψυχῆς θάνατος, <ὃς><sup>1</sup> ἢ κατὰ πάθος ἄλογόν ἐστιν αὐτῆς μεταβολή.
- 74 τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ πάθος ὅταν κυφορήσῃ, μετὰ χαλεπῶν ὠδίνων νοσήματα καὶ ἀρρωστήματα ἔτεκεν ἀνιάτα, ὑφ' ὧν ἰλυσπωμένη ταπεινοῦται καὶ κάμπτεται· πιέζει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἕκαστον ἐπιφέρων ἄχθος ἀνήνυτον, ὡς μηδ' ἀνακῦσαι δύνασθαι. τοῦθ' ἅπαν ὠνόμασται Λάμεχ· ἐρμηνείαν γὰρ ἔχει ταπεινώσιν, ἢ εἰκότως τοῦ Μαθουσάλα γένηται ὁ Λάμεχ υἱὸς (Gen. iv. 18), πάθος τοῦ περὶ ψυχὴν θανάτου ταπεινὸν καὶ ὑπεῖκον, ἀλόγου ὁρμῆς ἔκγονον ἀρρώστημα.
- 75 XXII. "Ἐλαβε δ' ἑαυτῷ Λάμεχ δύο γυναῖκας· ὄνομα τῇ μιᾷ Ἀδά, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ δευτέρᾳ Σελλά" (Gen. iv. 19). πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἑαυτῷ λαμβάνῃ φαῦλος, πάντως ἐστὶν ἐπίληπτον, ἅτε γνώμη δυσκαθάρτων μαινώμενον· καὶ γὰρ ἔμπαλιν αἱ τῶν σπουδαίων ἐκούσιοι πράξεις ἐπαινεταὶ πᾶσαι. διὸ νῦν μὲν ὁ Λάμεχ ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκας αἱρούμενος κακὰ μέγιστα αἰρεῖται, αὐθις <δ'> Ἀβραάμ, Ἰακώβ, Ἀαρὼν ἑαυτοῖς λαμβάνοντες ἀγαθοῖς οἰκείοις συνέρχονται.

<sup>1</sup> ὃς, which Mangey conjectured for ἢ, is inserted before it.

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them down ; for this is " to make atonement over them," to acknowledge, that though we have them still living in our soul we refuse to give in, but facing them all we persist in repelling them with vigour, until we shall have fully ensured their complete removal. XXI. What issue awaits him who does not live according to the will of God, save death of the soul? And to this is given the name Methuselah, which means (as we saw) " a dispatch of death." Wherefore he is son of Mahujael (Gen. iv. 18), of the man who relinquished his own life, to whom dying is sent, yea soul-death, which is the change of soul under the impetus of irrational passion. When the soul has conceived this passion, it brings forth with sore travail-pangs incurable sicknesses and debilities, and by the contortion brought on by these it is bowed down and brought low ; for each one of them lays on it an intolerable burden, so that it is unable even to look up. To all this the name " Lamech " has been given, which means " humiliation," that Lamech may prove himself son of Methuselah (Gen. iv. 18), with entire fitness, a low and cringing passion being offspring of the soul's death, a sore debility child of irrational impulse.

XXII. " And Lamech took to himself two wives, the name of the one was Ada, the name of the second Sella " (Gen. iv. 19). All that a worthless man takes to himself is in every case reprehensible, polluted as it is by an intent wellnigh past cleansing, while on the other hand the voluntary actions of good men are all praiseworthy. So in this instance Lamech in choosing wives for himself, chooses very great evils, while Abraham on the other hand and Jacob and Aaron in taking wives for themselves become associ-

- 76 λέγει <γὰρ> ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ οὕτως· “καὶ ἔλαβον Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ναχωρ ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας· ὄνομα τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀβραάμ Σάρρα” (Gen. xi. 29), ἐπὶ <δὲ> τοῦ Ἰακώβ· “ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Βαθουήλ πατρός τῆς μητρός σου, καὶ λάβε σεαυτῶ ἐκεῖθεν γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Λάβαν ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρός σου” (Gen. xxviii. 2), ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀαρών· “ἔλαβε δὲ Ἀαρών τὴν Ἐλισάβετ, θυγατέρα Ἀμιναδάμ, ἀδελφῆν Ναασσών, ἑαυτῶ γυναῖκα”
- 77 (Exod. vi. 23). Ἰσαὰκ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς λαμβάνουσι μὲν, οὐ δι’ ἑαυτῶν δὲ λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Ἰσαὰκ ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς μητρός λαβεῖν λέγεται (Gen. xxiv. 67), Μωυσῆ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος παρ’ ᾧ κατώκησε τὴν θυγατέρα Σεπφώραν ἐκδίδοται (Exod. ii. 21).
- 78 XXIII. Τούτων δ’ οὐ παρέργως αἱ διαφοραὶ [240] παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ | μεμήνυνται. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀσκηταῖς προκόπτουσι καὶ βελτιουμένοις ἢ ἐκούσιος αἵρεσις τὰγαθοῦ μαρτυρεῖται, ἵνα μηδ’ ὁ πόνος ἀστεφάνωτος ἀφεθῆ· τοῖς δ’ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς σοφίας ἀξιωθεῖσιν ἔπεται τὸ μὴ δι’ ἑαυτῶν παρὰ θεοῦ δ’ ἐγγυᾶσθαι λόγον καὶ
- 79 λαμβάνειν τὴν σοφῶν σύμβιον ἐπιστήμην. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπορριφεῖς, ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ χαμαί-ζηλος Λάμεχ, προτέραν Ἀδὰ ἄγεται γυναῖκα, ἣτις ἐρμηνεύεται μαρτυρία, προσενήσας ἑαυτῶ αὐτὸς τὸν γάμον· οἴεται γὰρ τὴν κατὰ τὰς εὐθίκτους ἐπιβολὰς λείαν κίνησιν καὶ διέξοδον τοῦ νοῦ, μηδενὸς [τῶν] εἰς εὐμαρῆ κατάληψιν κωλυσι-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 499.



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ated with good things appropriate to them. For we read in the case of Abraham as follows : " and Abram and Nahor took to themselves wives ; and the name of Abram's wife was Sarai " (Gen. xi. 29) and in the case of Jacob " arise and escape to Mesopotamia, to the family of Bethuel thy mother's father, and take to thyself from thence a wife from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother (Gen. xxviii. 2) ; and in the case of Aaron, " and Aaron took to himself Elizabeth, daughter of Aminadab, sister of Naasson, as his wife " (Exod. vi. 23). Isaac and Moses take wives indeed, but they do not take them purely of themselves, but Isaac is said to have taken one when he entered into his mother's dwelling (Gen. xxiv. 67), and to Moses the man with whom he abode gives in marriage his daughter Zipporah (Exod. ii. 21).

XXIII. Not without purpose have the differences between these cases been recorded in the lawgiver's pages. For to those who welcome training, who make progress, and improve, witness is borne of their deliberate choice of the good, that their very endeavour may not be left unrewarded. But the fitting lot of those who have been held worthy of a wisdom that needs no other teaching and no other learning is, apart from any agency of their own, to accept from God's hands Reason as their plighted spouse, and to receive Knowledge, which is partner in the life of the wise. But he that has been cast away from things human, the low and grovelling Lamech, marries as his first wife Ada,<sup>a</sup> which means " Witness." He has arranged the marriage for himself, for he fancies that the prime good for a man is the smooth movement and passage of the mind along the line of well-aimed projects, with nothing to hinder its working towards

- 80 *εργοῦντος, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πρῶτον ἀνθρώπῳ. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη, φησί, κρεῖττον τοῦ τὰς ἐννοίας, τὰς διανοήσεις, τὰς εἰκασίας, τοὺς στοχασμούς, συνόλως τὰς βουλὰς, τὸ λεγόμενον ἀρτίοις ποσὶ βαίνειν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπταιστώσως προσέρχεσθαι, μαρτυρομένης ἐν ἅπασιν <τοῖς> λεχθεῖσι διανοίας; ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μὲν τις εὐθυβόλῳ καὶ εὐθίκτῳ γνώμῃ πρὸς μόνα χρῆται τὰ καλὰ, τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα γράφω διδασκάλῳ τῷ νόμῳ χρώμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄνδρα ἐπιτυγχάνοντα εἶπε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, οὐκ ἐν ἅπασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τὸ εὐδοεῖν ἐχαρίζετο (Gen. xxxix. 2)· δωρεαὶ δ' αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ καλαὶ*
- 81 *πᾶσαι. εἰ δέ τις τῷ τῆς φύσεως εὐστόχῳ καὶ εὐτρόχῳ μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἀστεῖα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία κέχρηται τὰ διάφορα ἐξαδιαφορῶν, κακοδαιμονιζέσθω. ἐν γοῦν ἀρᾶς εἶδει λέγεται κατὰ τὸν τῆς συγχύσεως τόπον, ὅτι “ οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἐξ αὐτῶν πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν ” (Gen. xi. 6)· ὄντως γὰρ ἀνήκεστός ἐστι συμφορὰ ψυχῆς*
- 82 *εὐδοεῖν οἷς ἂν ἐπιθῆται, καὶ τὰ αἰσχιστα. ἐγὼ δ' ἂν εὐξαίμην, εἴ ποτε διανοηθεῖν ἀδικεῖν, ἐπιλιπεῖν τ' ἀδικεῖν, καὶ εἴπερ ζῆν ἀνάδρως, ἐπιλιπεῖν τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν, καὶ εἰ θρασεύς μέντοι καὶ πανούργως, ἔνδειαν θρασύτητος καὶ πανουργίας γενέσθαι παντελῆ· εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς κλέπτειν ἢ μοιχεύειν ἢ ἀνδροφονεῖν ἐγνωκόσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον ἐπιδεῖν τούτων ἕκαστον ἐκλελοιπὸς καὶ διεφθαρμένον.*
- 83 **XXIV.** *Τὴν οὖν Ἀδὰ παραίτησαι, διάνοια, τὴν μαρτυροῦσάν τε τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ μαρτυρουμένην*

<sup>a</sup> Or “in every word spoken.”

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 499.

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easy attainment. "For what," says he, "could be better than that one's ideas, purposes, conjectures, aims, in a word one's plans, should go, as the saying is, without a limp, so as to reach their goal without stumbling, understanding being evidenced in all the particulars mentioned <sup>a</sup>? Now, if a man brings a correct and unerring judgement to bear only on ends that are good, I for my part set this man down as happy. And in doing so I have the Law for my teacher, for the Law itself pronounced Joseph a successful man. It did not say "in all things" but in those in which God vouchsafed success (Gen. xxxix. 2); and God's gifts are all good. But if a man has used a natural aptness and readiness not only for good and worthy ends, but also for their opposites, treating as alike things widely different,<sup>b</sup> let him be deemed unhappy. Certainly the words in the Babel passage are of the nature of a curse, where we read "nothing shall be wanting to them, which they purpose to do" (Gen. xi. 6); for verily it is a desperate misfortune for the soul to succeed in all things which it attempts, although they be utterly base. I for my part would pray, that if ever I should have made up my mind to do a wrong, the wrongdoing might fail me, and if to live in a way unworthy of a man, the undisciplined life might fail me, and if with impudence and rascality, that there might be no impudence and rascality to be found. For assuredly 'tis better for those who have resolved to steal or commit adultery or murder to behold each of these purposes brought to failure and ruin.

XXIV. Therefore, O mind, have nothing to do with Ada, who bears witness to (the success of) worthless things, and is borne witness to (as helping) in the

- [241] ἐν | ταῖς πρὸς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἐπιβολαῖς. εἰ δὲ κοινωνὸν αὐτὴν ἀξιῶσεις ἔχειν, μέγιστον ἀποτέξεται σοι κακόν, τὸν Ἰωβὴλ (Gen. iv. 20), ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται μεταλλοῖων· εἰ γὰρ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ χαίρεις ὧν ἂν τύχη, στρέφειν καὶ ἀνακυκλεῖν ἕκαστα βουλήσῃ, τοὺς παγέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως
- 84 τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄρους μετατιθεῖς. σφόδρα δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀχθόμενος τοῖς τοιούτοις καταράται λέγων· “ἐπικατάρατος ὁ μετατιθεῖς ὄρια τοῦ πλησίον” (Deut. xxvii. 17). καλεῖ δὲ πλησίον καὶ ἐγγὺς τὰγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναπτῆναι, φησὶν, εἰς οὐρανὸν οὐδὲ πέραν θαλάσσης ἀφικέσθαι δεῖ κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ καλοῦ· ἐγγὺς γὰρ καὶ πλησίον ἴστασθαι
- 85 ἐκάστω. καὶ τριχῇ γε αὐτὸ διαιρεῖ φυσικώτατα· “ἐν γὰρ τῷ στόματί σου” φησὶν “ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ” (Deut. xxx. 11-14), τοῦτο δὴ ἐν λόγοις, ἐν βουλαῖς, ἐν πράξεσι· μέρη γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν πέφυκε πῆγνυσθαι, ὡς ἢ γε ἐνὸς ἔνδεια οὐκ ἀτελὲς μόνον ἀπ-
- 86 ἐργάζεται τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνόλως ἀναιρεῖ. τί γὰρ ὄφελος λέγειν μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα, διανοεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ πράττειν τὰ αἰσχιστα; σοφιστῶν οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· τοὺς γὰρ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ἀπομηκύνοντες λόγους τὰ ὦτα καὶ τῶν σφόδρα διψώντων ἀκοῆς ἀποκναίουσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεσιν εὐρίσκονται
- 87 διαμαρτάνοντες. τί δ’ ὄφελος ἂ μὲν χρή διανοεῖσθαι, ἔργοις δὲ ἀτόποις καὶ λόγοις χρῆσθαι, διὰ μὲν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ζημιοῦντας; πράττειν γε μὴν τᾶριστα οὐ σὺν διανοίᾳ καὶ λόγῳ πάλιν ὑπαίτιον·

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attempts to accomplish each of them. But if you shall think well to have her for a partner, she will bear to you a very great mischief, even Jobel (Gen. iv. 20), which signifies "one altering." For if you delight in the witness borne to (the goodness of) everything that may present itself, you will desire to twist everything and turn it round, shifting the boundaries fixed for things by nature. Moses, full of indignation at such people, pronounces a curse on them saying, "Cursed is he that shifteth his neighbour's boundaries" (Deut. xxvii. 17). What he describes as "near" and "hard by" like a neighbour is the thing that is good. For it is not necessary, he says, to fly up into heaven, nor to get beyond the sea in searching for what is good; for that it stands hard by and is near to each man. And in a thoroughly philosophic way he makes a threefold division of it: saying "It is in thy mouth and in thy heart and in thine hand" (Deut. xxx. 11-14), that is, in words, in plans, in actions. For these are the parts of the good thing, and of these it is compacted, and the lack of but one not only renders it imperfect but absolutely destroys it. For what good is it to say the best things but to plan and carry out the most shameful things? This is the way of the sophists, for as they spin out their discourses on sound sense and endurance they grate on the ears of those most thirsting to listen, but in the choices that they make and the actions of their lives we find them going very far wrong. And what is the good of having right intentions, and yet resorting to unfitting deeds and words, by the words inflicting loss on those who hear them, and by the deeds on those who are their victims? Again, it is blameworthy to practise the things that are excellent without under-

88 τὸ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων τῆς ἀκουσίου μερίδος ὄν οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς ἐπαινετόν. εἰ δέ τιμι ἐξεγένετο καθάπερ λύραν ἀρμόσασθαι τοὺς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πάντας ἤχους καὶ συνωδὸν ἀποφῆναι λόγον μὲν διανοία, διάνοιαν δὲ ἔργω, τέλειος καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐάρμοστος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἂν νομίζοιτο· ὡσθ' ὁ μετατιθεὶς ὄρους τοῦ καλοῦ δικαίως ἐπάρατος ἔστι τε καὶ λέγεται.

- 89 XXV. Τοὺς δ' ὄρους τούτους οὐχ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς γένεσις ἔστησεν, ἀλλ' οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ γεώδους πρεσβύτεροι λόγοι καὶ θεῖοι· καθὰ καὶ ὁ νόμος δεδήλωκεν ἐπισκῆπτων ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ μὴ κιβδηλεύειν τὸ ἀρετῆς νόμισμα ἐν τούτοις· “οὐ μετακινήσεις ὄρια τοῦ πλησίον, ἃ ἔστησεν οἱ πατέρες σου” (Deut. xix. 14), καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις· “ἐπερώτησον τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου καὶ ἐροῦσί σοι· ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ” (Deut. 90 xxxii. 7-9). | ἀρ' οὖν ἐὰν πύθωμαι τοῦ γεν- [242] νήσαντος καὶ θρέψαντός με πατρὸς ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου μὲν ἡλικιωτῶν, ἐμοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, ἦ διένειμεν ἔθνη ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἔσπειρεν ἢ ᾤκισεν, ἀποκρinoῦνταιί μοι παγίως, ὡσπερ τῷ μερισμῷ παρηκολουθηκότες ἐκείνω; οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ φήσουσιν ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐφ' ἡλικίας παρὰ τῶν γονέων καὶ ἔτι 376

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standing and explicit speech. For what is done apart from these comes under the head of involuntary action, and in no way whatever merits praise. But if a man succeeded, as if handling a lyre, in bringing all the notes of the thing that is good into tune, bringing speech into harmony with intent, and intent with deed, such an one would be considered perfect and of a truly harmonious character. Thus the man who removes the boundaries of the good and beautiful both is accursed and is pronounced to be so with justice.

XXV. These boundaries were fixed not by the creation to which we belong, but on principles which are divine and are older than we and all that belongs to earth. This has been made clear by the Law, where it solemnly enjoins upon each one of us not to adulterate the coinage of virtue, using these words: "thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's boundaries, which thy fathers set up" (Deut. xix. 14), and again in other words: "Ask thy father and he will show thee; thine elders and they will tell thee. When the Most High distributed nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set boundaries of nations according to the number of the angels of God, and Jacob His people became the Lord's portion, Israel became the lot of His inheritance" (Deut. xxxii. 7-9). If, then, I inquire of the father who begat me and brought me up, or of those of the same age with him but my elders, in what way God distributed or dispersed or settled the nations, will they answer me with steady certainty, as though they had followed that process of distribution step by step? Assuredly not. They will say "We too when we were young made diligent inquiry from our parents

ἀρχαιοτέρων φιλοπευστήσαντες οὐδὲν σαφὲς ἀνεμάθομεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ὃ τι διδάξουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἄλλων ἀξιώσαντες γενέσθαι ἐπιστημόνων ἀνεπιστήμονες γνώριμοι.

- 91 XXVI. Μήποτ' οὖν πατέρα μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον καλεῖ, πρεσβυτέρους δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους. οὗτοι τῆς ἀρετῆς τοὺς ὄρους ἐπήξαντο πρῶτοι, πρὸς οὓς ἄξιον φοιτῆσαι μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας ἔνεκα τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦτα· ὅποτε ὁ θεὸς διένεμε καὶ διετείχιζε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔθνη τὰ ὁμόφωνα τῶν ἀλλογλώττων διυστὰς καὶ διοικίζων, τοὺς τε γῆς παῖδας ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐξετόξευσε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὓς Ἄδὰμ ὠνόμασεν υἱούς, τότε τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐκγόνων τοὺς ὄρους ἔστησεν ἰσαριθμούς ἀγγέλους· ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ λόγοι, τοσαῦτα ἀρετῆς
- 92 ἔθνη τε καὶ εἶδη. τίνες <δ' > αἱ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ λήξεις καὶ τίς ἢ τοῦ παντάρχου καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἀποκεκληρωμένη μοῖρα; τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑπηρετῶν αἱ ἐν εἴδει ἀρεταί, τοῦ δὲ ἡγεμόνος τὸ ἐπίλεκτον γένος Ἰσραήλ· ὁ γὰρ ὄρων τὸν θεὸν ὑπὸ ἐκπρεπεστάτου κάλλους ἀγόμενος τῷ ὀρωμένῳ
- 93 προσκεκληρωταί τε καὶ μεμέρισται. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐπιπληκτέος Ἰωβήλ, ὃς ἐλλάδι γλώττη μεταλλοῶν καλεῖται τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ μεταποιῶν; τὰ γὰρ φρονήσεως καὶ καρτερίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς κάλλη θεοειδέστατα τύποις ἐναντίοις ἀφροσύνης, [καὶ] ἀκρασίας, ἀδικίας, ἀπάσης κακίας μετεχάραττεν ἀφανί-



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and persons still older than they, and we ascertained nothing definite ; for they had nothing to teach us, seeing that they in their time had applied to others, whom they regarded as knowing, to enlighten their ignorance."

XXVI. Probably, then, the lawgiver gives the title of father of our soul to right reason, and of elders to the associates and friends of right reason. These were the first to fix the boundaries of virtue. To the school of these it is advisable to go, to learn by their teaching the essential matters. The essential matters are these. When God divided and partitioned off the nations of the soul, separating those of one common speech from those of another tongue, and causing them to dwell apart ; when He dispersed and put away from Himself the children of earth, whom the lawgiver calls " sons of Adam," then did He fix the boundaries of the offspring of virtue corresponding to the number of the angels ; for there are as many forms or " nations " of virtue as there are words of God. But what are the portions of His angels, and what is the allotted share of the All-sovereign Ruler ? The particular virtues belong to the servants, to the Ruler the chosen race of Israel. For he that sees God, drawn to Him by surpassing beauty, has been allotted as His portion to Him Whom he sees. How, then, should Jobel escape rebuke, whose name when turned into Greek is " altering " the natures of things or making them other than they are ? For he changed the forms of wisdom and endurance and justice and virtue in general, forms of Godlike beauty, substituting contrary shapes of folly, intemperance, injustice, and all wickedness, obliterating the shapes that had been impressed

- 94 ζων τὰ ἐνσημανθέντα πρότερον. XXVII. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐπιτεθειμέναι δεύτεραι σφραγίδες τοὺς τῶν προτέρων τύπους διαφθείρουσιν. ὁ δέ γε νόμος τοσοῦτον δεῖ κακὰ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι, ὥστ' οὐδὲ καλὰ πονηρῶν ἔα, πονηρὰ οὐ τὰ φαῦλα παραλαμβάνων—ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε εὐήθες [243] μὴ προῖεσθαι τὰ κακὰ ὑπὲρ κτήσεως τῶν ἀμεινόνων—ἀλλὰ τὰ καματηρὰ καὶ ἐπίπονα, ἅπερ Ἀττικοὶ τὴν πρώτην ὄξυτονοῦντες συλλαβὴν καλοῦσι πόνηρα.
- 95 "Ἔστι δὲ τὸ διάταγμα τοιοῦτο· "πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ράβδον, τὸ δέκατον ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ. οὐκ ἀλλάξεις καλὸν πονηρῷ· ἐὰν δε ἀλλάξης, αὐτό τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλαγμα ἔσται ἅγια" (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33). καίτοι πῶς τό γε πονηρὸν γένοιτ' ἂν ἅγιον; ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, τὸ ἐπίπονον ἀλλ' οὐ φαῦλον παρείληπται, ὥστε τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸ δηλούμενον· τέλειον μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἔστι τὸ καλόν, ἀτελές δὲ ὠφέλιμον πόνος. ἐὰν οὖν τὸ παντελές κτήσῃ, μηκέτι ζήτει τὸ ἐνδέον· εἰ δὲ προσυπερβάλλων ἐθελήσεις ἔτι πονεῖν, ἴσθ' ὅτι δόξεις μὲν ἐνός ἐν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι, κτήσῃ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀμφότερα· ἐκάτερον γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἰσότιμον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ πάντως ἅγιόν ἐστιν.
- 96 XXVIII. "Ἄγιον δὲ πρᾶγμα δοκιμάζεται διὰ τριῶν μαρτύρων, ἀριθμοῦ μέσου, παιδείας, ἀριθμοῦ τελείου. διὸ λέγεται· "πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ράβδον, τὸ δέκατον ἅγιον." τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπαξιωθὲν ἀριθμοῦ βέβηλον, οὐχ ἅγιον,

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 499, 500.

<sup>b</sup> The next words explain "absolutely holy."

before. XXVII. For it is always the case that the application of a second seal destroys the impressions made by the first. The Law is so far from allowing what is evil to be substituted for what is good, that it does not even allow that which is beautiful to take the place of what is troublesome. By "troublesome" it does not mean worthless, for it would be folly not to give up bad things for the sake of getting better ones. It means all that involves toil and trouble, for which Attic writers provide a name by changing the accent of their word for "wicked."

The ordinance is this <sup>a</sup>: "Everything that cometh under the rod in the count, the tenth shall be holy to the Lord. Thou shalt not exchange a good with a bad one: and if thou shalt have changed it both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy" (Lev. xxvii. 32 f.). And yet how could the bad one be holy? Nay, as I have just said, what is troublesome, not what is worthless, is meant, so that the thing signified is to this effect; while what is beautiful is a perfect good, toil is an imperfect boon. If then thou shalt win that which is complete, leave off seeking that which is defective. But if in thy excessive zeal thou shalt choose to go on toiling, know this that thou shalt seem to be exchanging one for another, but that in reality thou shalt acquire both; for each by itself, though of no less value, is not the absolutely holy thing. <sup>b</sup>

XXVIII. Now a thing is proved holy by three lines of evidence—ordinary number, discipline, perfect number. Wherefore it is said "everything that cometh in the count under the rod, the tenth is holy." For that which is not deemed worthy of counting is profane, not holy, but that which is counted, being

τὸ δὲ καταριθμηθὲν ἄτε ἐγκεκριμένον ἤδη δόκιμον. τὸν γοῦν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συναχθέντα σῆτόν φησιν ὁ νόμος μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἀριθμηθῆναι, καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀριθμός” (Gen. xli. 49), ἐπειδὴ τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παθῶν θρεπτικὰ οὐκ ἄξια συνόλως ἀριθμεῖσθαι.

97 ἡ δὲ ῥάβδος παιδείας σύμβολον· ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ δυσωπηθῆναι καὶ περὶ ἐνίων ἐπιπληχθῆναι νοθεσίαν ἐνδέξασθαι καὶ σωφρονισμόν ἀμύχανον. δεκάς δὲ τῆς κατὰ προκοπὴν τελειώσεως πίστις, ἀφ’ ἧς ὅσιον ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ τάξαντι, τῷ παιδεύ-

98 σαντι, τῷ τὰ ἐλπισθέντα τελεσφορήσαντι. XXIX. ταῦτα ἀποχρώντως λελέχθω περὶ τοῦ μεταλλοιοῦντος καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον νόμισμα κιβδηλεύοντος, ὃν καὶ πατέρα ὀνομάζει κατοικούντων ἐν σκηναῖς κτηνοτρόφων (Gen. iv. 20). κτήνη μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἱ ἄλογοι αἰσθήσεις, κτηνοτρόφοι δ’ οἱ φιλήδονοι καὶ φιλοπαθεῖς τροφὰς παρέχοντες αὐταῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ποιμένων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόντων τρόπον τὰ πλημμελῶς ζῶντα τῶν θρεμμάτων κολάζουσιν, οἱ δ’ ἐστιατόρων τροφὰς

[244] ἀφθόνους | παρασκευάζοντες ἄδειαν ἀμαρτημάτων παρέχουσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ εὐθύς τὴν ἀπληστίας καὶ

99 κόρου θυγατέρα γεννᾶσθαι ὕβριν. πατήρ οὖν ἐστὶν εἰκότως <ὁ> ἅπαντα μεταχαράττων καὶ μεταποιῶν τὰ καλὰ τῶν τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ ἄψυχον ἅπαν ἐζηλωκότων· εἰ γὰρ τὰς ἀσωμάτους <καὶ> νοητὰς φύσεις μετεδίωκε, τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν πρε-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 500.

included in the reckoning, is *ipso facto* approved. For instance, the Law says that the corn collected by Joseph in Egypt could not be counted, and adds "for there was not count" (Gen. xli. 49), since the food that sustains the body and the Egyptian passions is absolutely unworthy to be counted. The rod is a symbol of discipline, for there is no way of taking to heart warning and correction, unless for some offences one is chastised and brought to a sense of shame. 10 is the token and pledge of a perfecting by the way of gradual progress. Of that perfecting it is meet and right to offer the first-fruits to Him who marshalled,<sup>a</sup> brought up and disciplined us, and crowned our hopes with fulfilment. XXIX. Let what has been said suffice on the subject of the man who alters and adulterates the original coinage. The lawgiver calls him besides the father of dwellers in tents rearing cattle (Gen. iv. 20). Cattle are the irrational senses, and rearers of cattle the lovers of pleasure and lovers of the passions who provide them with food in the shape of external objects of sense. These differ widely from shepherds, for, whereas the latter after the manner of governors punish the creatures that live amiss, the former after the manner of entertainers supply them with unlimited food and let them feel security in doing wrong; for insolence, the daughter of satiety and greediness, never fails to be immediately engendered. As we might expect, then, the man who alters the make and character of all good things is father of those whose interest is concentrated on everything that is soul-less and an object only of the senses. For, had he taken as the object of his quest the incorporeal natures that come under the cognizance of the mind, he would have

σβυτέρων ὄρους ἐφύλαττεν ἄν, οὓς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ὤρισαν ἕκαστον αὐτῆς εἶδος οἰκείῳ τύπῳ χαράξαντες.

- 100 XXX. Τοῦ δ' Ἰωβὴλ ἀδελφὸν εἶναί φησι τὸν Ἰουβάλ (Gen. iv. 21). ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος μετακλίνων διὰ συμβόλου, ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγος· φύσει γὰρ οὗτος διανοίας ἀδελφός ἐστι. τὸν δὲ τοῦ μεταποιούντος νοῦ τὰ πράγματα λόγον μετακλίνοντα σφόδρα δεόντως ἠνόμασε· συμβαίνει γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζειν καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀντιρρέπον ἢ ὡσπερ θαλαττεῦον σκάφος ὑπὸ πολλοῦ κλύδωνος πρὸς ἑκάτερον τοῖχον ἀποκλίνον· βέβαιον γὰρ ἢ σταθρὸν οὐδὲν ὁ ἄφρων
- 101 λέγειν ἔμαθε. Μωυσῆς δὲ οὗτ' εἰς δεξιὰ οὗτ' εἰς ἀριστερά οὐδ' ὅλως εἰς μέρη τοῦ γήινου Ἐδώμ ἀποκλίνειν οἶεται δεῖν, τῇ δὲ μέσῃ ὁδῷ παρέρχεσθαι, ἣν κυριώτατα καλεῖ βασιλικήν (Numi. xx. 17). ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος τῶν ὄλων βασιλεὺς ὁ θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγουσα ὁδὸς ἅτε βασιλέως οὔσα εἰκότως ἠνόμασται βασιλική. ταύτην δ' ἡγοῦ φιλοσοφίαν, οὐχ ἣν μέτεισιν ὁ νῦν ἀνθρώπων σοφιστικὸς ὄμιλος—λόγων γὰρ οὗτοι τέχνας μελετήσαντες κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν πανουργίαν σοφίαν ἐκάλεσαν ἔργῳ μοχθηρῷ θεῖον ἐπιφημίσαντες ὄνομα—ἀλλ' ἣν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ἀσκητῶν θίασος διήθλει, τὰς τιθασοὺς τῆς ἡδονῆς γοητείας ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἀστείως καὶ αὐστηρῶς χρώμενος τῇ τοῦ καλοῦ μελέτῃ.
- 102 Τὴν βασιλικὴν γοῦν ταύτην ὁδόν, ἣν ἀληθῆ καὶ γνήσιον ἔφαμεν εἶναι φιλοσοφίαν, ὁ νόμος καλεῖ θεοῦ ῥῆμα καὶ λόγον. γέγραπται γάρ· “οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥήματος οὗ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 99-102

kept to the limits laid down by the men of old, which they laid down in the cause of virtue, stamping each form of it with the impress belonging to it.

XXX. Jubal, the lawgiver tells us, was the brother of Jobel (Gen. iv. 21). "Jubal" is akin in meaning to "Jobel," for it means "inclining now this way now that," and it is a figure for the uttered word, which is in its nature brother to mind. It is a most appropriate name for the utterance of a mind that alters the make of things, for its way is to halt between two courses, swaying up and down as if on a pair of scales, or like a boat at sea, struck by huge waves and rolling towards either side. For the foolish man has never learned to say anything sure or well-grounded. Moses thinks that none ought to turn away either to the right or to the left or to the parts of the earthly Edom at all, but to go by along the central road, to which he gives the most proper title of the king's highway or royal road; for since God is the first and sole King of the universe, the road leading to Him, being a King's road, is also naturally called royal. This road you must take to be philosophy, not the philosophy which is pursued by the sophistic group of present-day people, who, having practised arts of speech to use against the truth, have given the name of wisdom to their rascality, conferring on a sorry work a divine title. No, the philosophy which the ancient band of aspirants pursued in hard-fought contest, eschewing the soft enchantments of pleasure, engaged with a fine severity in the study of what is good and fair.

This royal road then, which we have just said to be true and genuine philosophy, is called in the Law the utterance and word of God. For it is written "Thou shalt not swerve aside from the word which

σήμερον δεξιὰ οὐδὲ ἀριστερά" (Deut. xxviii. 14)· ὥστε ἐμφανῶς ἐπιδειχθαι ὅτι ταυτόν ἐστι τῆ βασιλικῆ ὁδῷ τὸ θεοῦ ῥῆμα, εἶγε προτρέπει μὴτ' ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὁδοῦ μὴτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥήματος, ὡς συνωνύμων ὄντων, ἀποκλίνοντας ὀρθῆ διανοίᾳ τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἄγουσαν ἀτραπὸν μέσην τε καὶ λεωφόρον βαδίζειν.

- 103 XXXI. "Ὁ δὲ Ἰουβάλ οὗτος" φησὶν "ἐστὶ  
 [245] πατὴρ | ὁ καταδείξας ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάραν" (Gen. iv. 21). πατέρα μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν πάντων ὀργάνων τὸν γεγωνὸν λόγον προσφυστάτα καλεῖ· τὸ γὰρ φωνητήριον ὄργανον ζῳοῖς ἢ φύσις πρῶτον καὶ τελειότατον ἐργασαμένη πάσας αὐτῷ τὰς ἀρμονίας καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν μελωδιῶν εὐθὺς ἐχαρίζετο, ἢ ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τέχνης μέλλουσι δημιουργεῖσθαι προειργασμέ-  
 104 σμένον παράδειγμα. [καὶ] καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ οὖς ἡμῶν κύκλους ἐν κύκλοις, ἐλάττους ἐν μείζουσι, γράφουσα σφαιρικὸν ἐτόρνενε τοῦ τὴν προσιοῦσαν φωνὴν μὴ χεομένην ἔξω σκεδάννυσθαι, εἴσω δ' ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλων συναγομένην καὶ σφιγγομένην οἷα διαχεομένην τὴν ἀκοὴν εἰς τὰς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ δεξαμενὰς ἐπαντλεῖσθαι—καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἦν παράδειγμα θεάτρων τῶν κατὰ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας· πρὸς <γὰρ> τὸ ὧτων σχῆμα ἄκρως ἢ θεάτρων κατασκευὴ μεμίμηται—οὕτως καὶ τὴν τραχείαν ἀρτηρίαν ἢ τὰ ζῶα φύσις διαπλάσασα ὥσπερ μουσικὸν κανόνα τείνασα τὰ ἐναρμόνια καὶ χρωματικὰ καὶ διατονικὰ γένη συνυφαίνουσα κατὰ τὰς τῶν συνημμένων καὶ διεζευγμένων μελωδιῶν παμπληθεῖς ποικιλίας παντὸς ὄργανου μουσικοῦ  
 105 παράδειγμα ἰδρύετο. XXXII. ὅσα γοῦν αὐλοὶ  
 386



## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 102-105

I command thee this day to the right hand nor to the left hand" (Deut. xxviii. 14). Thus it is clearly proved that the word of God is identical with the royal road. He treats the two as synonymous, and bids us decline from neither, but with upright mind tread the track that leads straight on, a central highway.

XXXI. "This Jubal," he says, "is a father who invented psaltery and harp" (Gen. iv. 21). Most appropriately does he give to sounding speech the title of father of music and of all musical instruments. For nature, when she had wrought for living creatures the organ or instrument of sound as chief and most perfect of all instruments, went on at once to bestow upon it the concords and the various kinds of melodies to the end that it might be a pattern made ready beforehand for the instruments that were to be fashioned artificially. So too with the ear.<sup>a</sup> Nature turned it with her lathe and made it spherical, drawing circles within circles, lesser within larger, in order that the sound that approached it might not escape and be dispersed outside of it, but that the thing heard might be collected and enclosed within by the circles, and being as it were poured through them, be conveyed into the receptacles of the mind. We see here at once a model for the theatres seen in thriving cities, for theatres are constructed in exact imitation of the shape of the ear. So Nature, who fashioned living creatures, stretched the windpipe as though a musical scale, combining in it the enharmonic and chromatic and diatonic modes, answering to the vast variety of melodies with their shorter or longer intervals, and in this way set up a pattern of every musical instrument. XXXII. To show how true this

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 500.

- καὶ λύραι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια μελωδοῦσι, τῆς ἀηδόνων ἢ κύκνων μουσικῆς τοσοῦτον ἀπολείπεται, ὅσον ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα ἀρχετύπου παραδείγματος, φθαρτὸν εἶδος ἀφθάρτου γένους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μουσικὴν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγκρίνειν ἄξιον ἔχουσαν γέρας ἐξαιρέτον, ᾧ τετί-
- 106 μηται, τὴν ἑναρθρον σαφήνειαν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῇ περὶ τὴν φωνὴν κλάσει χρώμενα καὶ ταῖς ἐπαλλήλοις τῶν τόνων μεταβολαῖς ἀκοᾶς αὐτὸ μόνον ἠδύνει, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, οὕτως καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄδειν ἀρθρωθεὶς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἐκάτερον, ἀκοὴν τε καὶ νοῦν, ἐπάγεται, τὴν μὲν τῷ μέλει κηλῶν, τὸν δὲ τοῖς νοήμασιν
- 107 ἐπιστρέφων. καθάπερ γὰρ ὄργανον ἀμούσῳ μὲν παραδοθὲν ἀνάρμοστον, μουσικῶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τέχνην εὐάρμοστον γίνεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ μὲν φαύλου νοῦ κινούμενος ἀνάρμοστος, ὑπὸ δὲ σπουδαίου πάνυ ἐμμελῆς εὐρί-
- 108 σκεται. λύρα γε μὴν ἢ εἴ τι τῶν ὁμοίων, εἰ μὴ [246] πληχθείη πρὸς τινος, ἡρεμεῖ· λόγος τε αὖ | μὴ πληχθεὶς ὑφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον ἡσυχίαν ἄγει. καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ ὄργανα κατὰ τὰς τοῦ μέλους ἀπείρους ὄσας κράσεις μεθαρμόττεται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ λόγος συνωδὸς τις ἐρμηνεὺς πραγμάτων γινόμενος ἀμυθήτους λαμβάνει μεταβολάς.
- 109 τίς γὰρ ἂν ὁμοίως γονεῦσι καὶ τέκνοις διαλεχθείη, τῶν μὲν φύσει δούλος, τῶν δὲ γενέσει<sup>1</sup> δεσπότης ὢν; τίς δ' ἂν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀνεψιοῖς ἢ συνόλως

<sup>1</sup> γενέσει is printed for γένει from conjecture.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 500.

is, I may mention that all the melodious sounds produced by wind- and stringed-instruments fall as far short of the music that comes from nightingales and swans, as a copy and imitation falls short of an original, or a perishable species of an imperishable genus. For we cannot compare the music produced by the human voice with that produced in any other way, since it has the pre-eminent gift of articulation, for which it is prized. For whereas the other kinds by use of the modulation of the voice and the successive changes of the notes can do no more than produce sounds pleasing to the ear, man, having been endowed by nature with articulate utterance equally for speaking and for singing, attracts alike both ear and mind, charming the one by the tune, and gaining the attention of the other by the thoughts expressed. For just as an instrument put into the hands of an unmusical person is tuneless, but in the hands of a musician answers to the skill which he possesses and becomes tuneful, in exactly the same way speech set in motion by a worthless mind is without tune, but when set going by a worthy one is discovered to be in perfect tune. Moreover, a lyre or anything of that kind, unless struck by someone, is still : speech too, if not struck by the ruling faculty, of necessity maintains silence. Moreover, just as instruments are tuned to vary in accordance with the infinite number of combinations of the music which they have to give forth, so speech proves itself an harmonious interpreter of the matters dealt with and admits of endless variations.<sup>a</sup> For who would talk in the same way to parents and children, being slave of the former by nature, and master of the latter in virtue of the same cause? Who would speak in the same

- τοῖς ἐγγύς γένους καὶ μακρὰν οὖσιν; τίς δ' ἂν οἰκείοις καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις, ἢ πολίταις καὶ ξένοις, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ τὰς τυχοῦσας<sup>1</sup> ἢ φύσεως ἢ ἡλικίας ἔχουσι διαφοράς; πρεσβύτη γὰρ ἐτέρως ὁμιλή-  
 τέον καὶ νέω, καὶ πάλιν ἐνδόξω καὶ ταπεινῷ, καὶ  
 πλουσίω καὶ πένητι, καὶ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἰδιώτη, καὶ  
 θεράποντι καὶ δεσπότῃ, γυναικί τε αὖ καὶ ἀνδρί,  
 110 καὶ ἀτέχνῳ καὶ τεχνίτῃ. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰς τῶν  
 προσώπων ἀμυθήτους ἰδέας καταλέγεσθαι, πρὸς  
 ἃς ὁ λόγος τρεπόμενος ἄλλοτε ἄλλοῖα λαμβάνει  
 σχήματα; καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἰδιότητες  
 τυποῦσιν αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους χαρακτῆρας·  
 μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ μικρὰ ἢ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλίγα ἢ ἰδιω-  
 τικὰ καὶ δημόσια ἢ ἱερὰ καὶ βέβηλα ἢ ἀρχαῖα  
 καὶ νέα οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἐρμηνεύσαι τρόπον, ἀλλὰ  
 τὸν ἐκάστοις ἐφαρμόζοντα τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἀξιῶ-  
 ματι καὶ μεγέθει, τοτὲ μὲν ὑψηλὸν αἴρων ἑαυτὸν,  
 τοτὲ δ' ἔμπαλιν συνάγων τε καὶ συστέλλων.  
 111 παρέχουσι δ' ὥσπερ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα  
 τῷ λόγῳ μεταβολάς, οὕτως καὶ αἱ τῶν γινο-  
 μένων αἰτίαι καὶ οἱ τρόποι καθ' οὓς γίνεται,  
 προσέτι μέντοι καὶ τὰ ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ πάντα, χρόνοι  
 καὶ τόποι. παγκάλως οὖν ὁ μετακλίνων λόγους  
 Ἰουβὰλ πατὴρ εἴρηται ψαλτηρίου καὶ κιθάρας,  
 ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς ὅλης μουσικῆς, ὡς ἐπιδέδεικται.  
 112 XXXIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀδᾶς ἔγγονα καὶ  
 αὐτὴ τίς ἐστι δεδήλωται· τὴν δ' ἐτέραν γυναῖκα  
 τοῦ Λάμεχ Σελλὰν καὶ ὅσα ἀποκύει θεασώμεθα.

<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ τὰς τυχοῦσας is Holwerda's conjecture. See App. p. 500.

way to brothers, cousins, near relatives generally, and to those only distantly connected with him? to those associated with him, and to those with whom he has nothing to do; to fellow-citizens and foreigners; to people differing in no slight or ordinary degree in nature or age? For we have to talk in one way to an old man, in another to a young one, and again in one way to a man of importance and in another to an insignificant person, and so with rich and poor, official and non-official, servant and master, woman and man, skilled and unskilled. What need to make a list of the innumerable sorts of persons, in our conversation with whom our talk varies, taking one shape at one time, another at another? For indeed the same thing is true of subjects of thought. Their several peculiarities mould our language in conformity with their characteristic aspects; for it would not set forth great things and little, many and few, private and public, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, in the same style, but in the style suited to their respective number or importance or greatness; at one time rising to a lofty tone, at another restraining and holding itself in. Nor is it only persons and matters dealt with that occasion our speech to vary its form, but the causes too of the things that happen, and the ways in which they happen, and besides these, times and places which enter into all things. Right well then is Jubal, the man who alters the tone and trend of speech, spoken of as the father of psaltery and harp, that is of music, the part being used for the whole, as has been made evident.

XXXIII. We have now described the progeny of Ada and who she herself is. Let us contemplate Lamech's other wife Sella (Zillah) and her offspring.

- Σελλά τοίνυν ἔρμηνεύεται σκιά, τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἔκτος ἀγαθῶν, ἃ τῷ ὄντι σκιᾶς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, σύμβολον. ἢ κάλλος οὐχὶ σκιά, ὃ πρὸς βραχύν ἀνῆσαν χρόνον ἀφαινεῖται, ἰσχύς δὲ καὶ εὐτομία σώματος, ἃς ἢ τυχοῦσα νόσος ἐξέλυσεν, αἰσθητήρια δὲ καὶ ἢ περὶ ταῦτα ἀκρίβεια, ἣν ῥεῦμα δυσῶδες ἐνέφραξεν ἢ γῆρας, ἢ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ κοινὴ πάντων νόσος, ἐπήρωσεν; ἔτι δ' οὐχὶ τλοῦτοι καὶ δόξαι καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ ὅσα  
 113 γῶν ἔκτος ἀγαθὰ νενόμισται | σκιά πάντα; χρῆ  
 [247] δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς δι' ἀναβαθμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντός ἐπάγειν ἀρχήν. εἰς Δελφοὺς γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι τῶν λεγομένων ἐνδόξων, οἱ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας βίους ἐκείσε ἀνατεθείκασι. καθάπερ οὖν ἐξίτηλοι γραφαί, οὐ χρόνου μήκει μόνον [οὐ] διερρῦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρῶν ὀξείαις μεταβολαῖς ἐκπεπνεύκασιν, εἰσὶ δ' οὖς οἶα χειμάρρου φορὰ πλημμύροντος ἐξαίφνης ἐπικλύσασα ἠφάνισεν.
- 114 Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς σκιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἀβεβαίων ὄνειράτων ἀποκνεῖται υἱός,<sup>1</sup> ὃν ὠνόμασεν Θεοβέλ (Gen. iv. 22). ἔρμηνεύεται δὲ σύμπασα. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι οἱ τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀδόμενον ἀγαθὸν σύνθετον πλουθυγείαν κτησάμενοι μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ  
 115 πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ἀνήφθαι δοκοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ παραγένουτο τις αὐτεξούσιος ἡγεμονία, φυσηθέντες καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπὸ κούφης ἐννοίας, ἐκλαθόμενοι ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὕλης φθαρτῆς ἐξ ἧς γεγόνασι, μείζονος ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην σύστασιν οὐκ ἐθέτες φύσεως

<sup>1</sup> υἱός from conjecture for υἱωνός, with Heinemann.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 500.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 500, 501.

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 112-115

Well, "Sella" means "a shadow," and is a figure of bodily and external goods, which in reality differ not a whit from a shadow. Is not beauty a shadow, which after a short-lived bloom withers away? What else is strength and vigour of body, which any chance illness breaks up? What else are the organs of sense with all their accuracy, which a noisome rheum can impair, or old age, the disease to which all of us in common must submit, reduces to inefficiency? And, to look further, are not large incomes and high reputations, and magistracies, and honours, and whatever external things are reckoned advantages, a shadow one and all? It behoves us to lead our mind by easy stages<sup>a</sup> to the principle from which the whole matter starts. Men belonging to the number of those who are called distinguished have in former times gone up to Delphi<sup>b</sup> and dedicated there records of their prosperous lives. These then, like evanescent paintings, have not only faded away by lapse of time, but have even breathed their last amid sharp reverses of fortune, or some of them have been swept away suddenly as by the rush of a torrent in spate and have been seen no more.

Of this shadow and its fleeting dreams a son is born, to whom was given the name of Thobel (Gen. iv. 22), meaning "all together." For it is a fact that those who have obtained health and wealth, the compound which is proverbial, think that they have secured absolutely all things. And should a governorship conferring independent authority fall to their lot, puffed up by self-conceit and treading air, they forget themselves and the perishable stuff out of which they were made. They imagine that they have received a nature whose constitution is some-

ἐπιλαχεῖν ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἀποσεμνύναντες ἐξεθείωσαν. ἤδη γοῦν τινες ἐπετόλμησαν τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν φάναι μὴ εἶδέναι (Exod. v. 2), τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐκλαθόμενοι, διὰ τὴν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀμετρίαν.

- 118 XXXIV. Ἀκριβῶς τούτων ἕκαστον χαρακτηρίζων εἰτά<sup>1</sup> φησιν ὅτι “οὗτος ἦν σφυροκόπος χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου” (Gen. iv. 22). τοῦ γὰρ σεσοβημένου περὶ τὰς ἢ σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς [ἢ τὰς ἡδονὰς] ἢ τὰς ἐκτὸς ὕλας ἢ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἐπ’ ἄκμονος σφυρηλατεῖται κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν μακρὰς καὶ διωλυγίους ἐκτάσεις ἐλαυνομένη. τοὺς μὲν γε φιλοσομάτων ἴδοις ἂν αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ λίνα καὶ πάγας πρὸς τῶν ὧν ὀρέγονται θήραν τιθέντας, τοὺς δ’ αὖ φιλαργύρους καὶ φιλοδόξους τὸν περὶ ταῦτα οἴστρον καὶ ἕμερον ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀποστέλλοντας καὶ ὡσπερ δικτύοις ταῖς ἀορίστοις αὐτῶν ὀρέξεσιν ἐπισπωμένους τὰ πανταχόθεν, μέχρις ἂν ὑπὸ βίας ἢ σφοδρὰ τάσις ῥῆξιν λαβοῦσα καὶ τοὺς ἔλκοντας
- 117 ἀντεπισπωμένη πρηνεῖς καταβάλλῃ. δημιουργοὶ δ’ εἰςὶ πάντες οὗτοι πολέμου, παρὸ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ἐργάζεσθαι λέγονται, δι’ ὧν οἱ πόλεμοι |
- [248] συνίστανται. τὰς μὲν γὰρ μεγίστας καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλεων κοινῇ διαφορὰς εὖροι τις ἂν σκοπῶν καὶ πάλαι γεγενημένας καὶ νῦν ὑπαρχούσας καὶ ἐσομένας αὐθις ἢ εὐμορφίας γυναικὸς εἶνεκα ἢ χρημάτων ἢ δόξης ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation and wording from ἀμετρίαν to εἰτα somewhat differ from Wendland's text.



thing more than human, and boastfully exalting themselves on their honours they deify themselves outright. An instance of this attitude is afforded by certain persons who have dared before now to say that they did not know the true God (Exod. v. 2), forgetting in their excessive enjoyment of bodily and outward things that they were but men.

XXXIV. Accurately characterizing each one of these he goes on to say : " This man was a wielder of the hammer, a smith in brass and iron work " (Gen. iv. 22). For the soul that is vehemently concerned about bodily pleasures or the materials of outward things, is being ever hammered on an anvil, beaten out by the blows of his desires with their long swoop and reach. Always and everywhere you may see those who care for their bodies more than anything else setting lines and snares to catch the things they long for. You may see lovers of money and fame dispatching on expeditions to the ends of the earth and beyond the sea the frenzied craving for these things. They draw to them the produce of every region of the globe, using their unlimited lusts as nets for the purpose, until at last the violence of their excessive effort makes them give way, and the counter pull throws down headlong those who are tugging. All these people are war-makers, and that is why they are said to be workers in iron and bronze, and these are the instruments with which wars are waged. For any who are looking into the matter would find, that the greatest quarrels both of men individually and of states corporately, have arisen in the past, and are going on now, and will take place in the future, either for a woman's beauty, or for money, or glory or honour or dominion, or to acquire some-

- κτῆσεως ἢ συνόλως ὅσα σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐκτός  
 118 ἐστι πλεονεκτῆματα· παιδείας δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς  
 χάριν, ἃ τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ διανοίας  
 ἐστίν, οὔτε ξενικὸς οὔτ' ἐμφύλιος πώποτε κατέσχε  
 πόλεμος· εἰρηναῖα γὰρ φύσει ταῦτα, ἐφ' ὧν εὐνομία  
 καὶ εὐστάθεια καὶ ὅσα περικαλλέστατα εἶδη τοῖς  
 ψυχῆς ὀξυδερκεστάτοις ὄμμασιν, οὐχὶ τοῖς σώ-  
 ματος ἀμυδροῖς, θεωρεῖται· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰς  
 ἐκτὸς ἐπιφανείας μόνον ὄρα, ὁ δὲ τῆς διανοίας  
 ὀφθαλμὸς εἴσω προελθὼν καὶ βαθύνας τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 σπλάγχχοις ἐγκεκρυμμένα κατεῖδε.
- 119 Γίνονται δ' αἱ ταραχαὶ ἢ αἱ στάσεις πᾶσαι  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰεὶ σχεδὸν περὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄλλου,  
 περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν σκιᾶς. τὸν γὰρ δημι-  
 ουργὸν τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὄπλων, χαλκοῦ καὶ  
 σιδήρου, Θεοβέλ υἱὸν Σελλᾶς τῆς σκιᾶς ὠνόμασεν,  
 οὐ λόγων τέχναις, ἀλλὰ νοημάτων ὑπερβάλλοντι  
 κάλλει φιλοσοφῶν. ἔγνω γὰρ ὅτι πᾶς ἢ ναυτικὸς  
 ἢ πεζὸς στρατὸς τοὺς μεγίστους αἰρεῖται κιν-  
 δύνους ἕνεκα σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν ἢ χάριν περιουσίας  
 τῶν ἐκτός, ὧν οὐδὲν βέβαιον ἢ πάγιον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πάντα ἐξελέγχοντος αἰῶνος μαρτυρεῖται· σκια-  
 γραφίαις γὰρ ἐπιπολαίοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν διαρρεούσαις  
 ἔοικε.
- 120 XXXV. Τοῦ δὲ Θεοβέλ ἀδελφὴν εἶναί φησι·  
 Νοεμάν (Gen. iv. 22), ἧς ἐρμηνεία πίότης· ἀκο-  
 λουθεῖ γὰρ τοῖς εὐπάθειαν σώματος καὶ ἄς εἶπον  
 ἕλας μεταδιώκουσιν, ὅταν τινὸς ὧν ὀρέγονται  
 λάχωσι, παιαίνεσθαι. τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην πίότητα  
 οὐκ ἰσχύν, ἀλλ' ἀσθένειαν ἔγωγε τίθεμαι· διδάσκει

thing, or, in a word, to gain advantages pertaining to the body and outward things. But for the sake of culture and virtue, which are goods of the mind, the noblest part of our being, no war either foreign or civil has ever yet broken out; for these things are by nature peaceful; and when they prevail, a settled condition of society, and the reign of law, and all things fairest to behold, meet, not the body's dim-eyed vision, but the keen sight of the soul. For while the bodily eyes see only the outward surface, the eye of the mind penetrates within, and going deep gets a clear view of all that is hidden up in the very heart.

It is an invariable rule that broils and factions arise among men scarcely ever about anything else than what is in reality a shadow. For the lawgiver named the manufacturer of weapons of war, of brass and iron, Thobel son of Sella the shadow, and his philosophy depends not on verbal artifices, but on surpassing beauty of conception. For he was aware that every naval or land force chooses the greatest dangers for the sake of bodily pleasures or to gain a superabundance of things outward, no one of which is proved sure and stable by all-testing time; for those things resemble pictures that are mere superficial delineations of solid objects, and fade away of themselves.

XXXV. We are told that the sister of Thobel was Noeman (Gen. iv. 22), meaning "fatness"; for when those, who make bodily comfort and the material things of which I have spoken their object, succeed in getting something which they crave after, the consequence is that they grow fat. Such fatness I for my part set down not as strength but as weakness,

- γὰρ ἀφίστασθαι θεοῦ τιμῆς, ἢ πρώτη καὶ ἀρίστη  
 121 ψυχῆς ἐστὶ δύναμις. μάρτυς δ' ὁ νόμος ἐν ᾧδῇ  
 μείζονι λέγων οὕτως· “ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλα-  
 τύνθη, καὶ ἐγκατέλιπε θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν,  
 καὶ ἐπελάθετο θεοῦ σωτήρος αὐτοῦ” (Deut.  
 xxxii. 15). ὄντως γὰρ οὐκέτι μέμνηται τοῦ  
 αἰωνίου, οἷς πρὸς καιρὸν ὁ βίος ἤνθησε· νομίζουσι  
 122 γοῦν τὸν καιρὸν θεόν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς μαρ-  
 τυρεῖ προτρέπων πολεμεῖν ταῖς ἐναντίαις δόξαις·  
 λέγει γάρ· “ἀφέστηκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ  
 [249] κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν” (Num. xiv. 9). ὥσθ’ | οἷς μὲν ὁ  
 ψυχῆς βίος τετίμηται, λόγος θεῖος ἐνοικεῖ καὶ  
 ἐμπεριπατεῖ, οἷς δ’ ὁ τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἐφήμερον καὶ  
 κατεψευσμένην ἔχουσιν εὐκαιρίαν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν  
 ὑπὸ διαρρεούσης πιότητός τε καὶ τέρψεως ἐπὶ  
 πλέον οἰδήσαντες καὶ περιταθέντες ἐξερράγησαν·  
 οἱ δὲ τῇ τρεφούσῃ τὰς φιλαρέτους ψυχὰς σοφία  
 παινόμενοι βέβαιον καὶ ἀκράδαντον ἴσχουσι δύνα-  
 μιν, ἧς ὑπόδειγμα τὸ ὀλοκαυτούμενον ἀπὸ παντὸς  
 123 ἱερείου στέαρ. λέγει γὰρ Μωυσῆς· “πᾶν στέαρ  
 τῷ κυρίῳ νόμιμον αἰώνιον” (Lev. iii. 16, 17),  
 ὡς τῆς κατὰ μὲν διάνοιαν πιότητος ἀναφερομένης  
 ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ οἰκειουμένης αὐτῷ, διόπερ ἀπ-  
 αθανατίζεται, τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς  
 ἀναφερομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντίθεον καιρὸν, διὸ καὶ  
 τάχιστα παρήκμασεν.
- 124 XXXVI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Λάμεχ γυναικῶν  
 τε καὶ ἐγγόνων ἱκανῶς οἶμαι δεδηλωῆσθαι· τὴν δ’  
 ὥσπερ παλιγγενεσίαν Ἄβελ τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος  
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for it teaches us to neglect to pay honour to God, which is the chiefest and best power of the soul. The Law testifies to this by what it says in the greater song, "he became sleek, he grew thick, he broadened out, and forsook God which made him, and was unmindful of God his Saviour" (Deut. xxxii. 15). For indeed those for whom life has burst into bloom in the sunshine of the moment, no longer remember the Eternal, taking the lucky moment to be a god. Wherefore Moses also bears his witness by exhorting to warfare against opposing doctrines; for he says "the fair moment has departed from them, but the Lord is among us" (Numb. xiv. 9). From this we see that the Divine word dwells and walks among those for whom the soul's life is an object of honour, while those who value the life given to its pleasures, experience good times that are transient and fictitious. These, suffering from the effects of fatness and enjoyment spreading increasingly, swell out and become distended till they burst; but those who are fattened by wisdom which feeds souls that are lovers of virtue, acquire a firm and settled vigour, of which the fat taken from every sacrifice to be offered with the whole burnt offering is a sign. For Moses says "all the fat is a due for ever to the Lord" (Lev. iii. 16 f.), showing that richness of mind is recognized as God's gift and appropriated to Him, and thus attains to immortality; while that of the body and outward things is ascribed to the fair moment that usurps the place of God, and for this reason quickly has passed its prime.

XXXVI. The subject of Lamech and his wives and progeny has, I think, been adequately dealt with. Let us consider what may be called the new birth of

- σκεψώμεθα. “ ἔγνω ” φησὶν “ Ἄδὰμ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Εὐάν, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν υἱόν, καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Σήθ <λέγουσα>· ἐξανέστησε γάρ μοι ὁ θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ “ Ἀβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάιν ” (Gen. iv. 25). Σήθ
- 125 ἐρμηνεύεται ποτισμός. ὥσπερ οὖν τὰ κατὰ γῆν σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ ποτιζόμενα αὐξεται καὶ βλαστάνει καὶ πρὸς καρπῶν γενέσεις εὐτοκεῖ, στερόμενα δὲ ἐπιρροῆς ἀφαινεῖται, οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ, καθάπερ φαίνεται, ὅταν νόματι ποτίμῳ σοφίας ἄρδεται, βλαστάνει τε καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι πρὸς τὸ
- 126 βέλτιον. ποτισμός δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ ποτίζοντος, ὁ δ’ αὖ ποτιζομένου. ἢ οὐκ ἂν εἶποι τις τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐκάστην ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ νοῦ ποτίζεσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις καθάπερ ὀχετοὺς ἀνευρύνοντός τε καὶ τείνοντός; οὐδεὶς γοῦν εὖ φρονῶν εἶποι ἂν ὀφθαλμοὺς ὄραν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν δι’ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδ’ ὠτα ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ δι’ ὠτῶν ἐκείνον, οὐδὲ μυκτῆρας ὀσφραίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ μυκτῆρων τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.
- 127 XXXVII. Διὸ καὶ ἐν Γενέσει λέγεται· “ πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινε ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς ” (Gen. ii. 6). ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος μέρος ἐξαίρετον ἔνειμεν ἡ φύσις τὸ πρόσωπον αἰσθήσεων, ἢ ἀνιούσ’ ἀφ’ ἡγεμονικοῦ πηγὴ σχιζομένη πολλαχῆ καθάπερ τινὰς ὑδρορροὰς ἀναστείλασα μέχρι προσώπου, δι’ αὐτῶν τὰς δυνάμεις ἐφ’ ἕκαστον ἄγει τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων.
- [250] οὕτως μέντοι καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος | ποτίζει τὰς ἀρετάς· ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ πηγὴ καλῶν πράξεων
- 128 οὗτος. δηλοῖ δ’ ὁ νομοθέτης φάσκων· “ ποταμὸς δ’ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζων τὸν παράδεισον. ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς ” (Gen.

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the murdered Abel. "Adam," it says, "knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare a son, and called his name Seth (saying): God hath raised up to me another seed in the place of Abel, whom Cain slew" (Gen. iv. 25). "Seth" means "watering." As, then, the seeds and plants in the earth, when watered, grow and sprout and are prolific in producing fruit, but, if no water be poured on them, wither away, so the soul, as is evident, when it is fostered with a fresh sweet stream of wisdom shoots up and improves. Watering is either the act of one watering, or the experience of one being watered. Would not everyone say that each of the senses is watered from the mind as from a spring, and that it broadens and extends their powers as water does channels? For instance, nobody of sound sense would say that eyes see, but mind by means of eyes, nor that ears hear, but mind by their agency, nor that noses smell, but the ruling faculty by using them.

XXXVII. This is the reason for what is said in Genesis, "A spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). For since Nature allotted the face to the senses as the choicest portion of the whole body, the spring that rises from the dominant faculty, dividing itself in many directions, sends up conduits, so to speak, as far as the face, and by them conveys the powers they need to each of the organs of sense. It is in this way that the word of God waters the virtues; for the word of God is the source and spring of noble conduct. The lawgiver intimates as much by the words: "A river goeth out of Eden to water the garden. From thence it is parted into four heads" (Gen. ii. 10). For there

- ii. 10). γενικαὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἀρεταὶ τέσσαρες, φρόνησις, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη· τούτων δ' ἡγεμονὶς ἐκάστη καὶ βασιλὶς ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ κτησάμενος αὐτὰς ἀρχῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως, καὶ  
 129 μηδεμιᾶς ὕλης εὐπορή. τὸ γὰρ "ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς" οὐ τούτων διάστασιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐμφαίνει καὶ κράτος. αὐταὶ δὲ καθάπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ρίζης ἐκπεφύκασι τοῦ θείου λόγου, ὃν εἰκάζει ποταμῶ διὰ τὴν ἀένναον καὶ συνεχῆ φοράν ποτίμων λόγων καὶ δογμάτων, οἷς τὰς φιλοθέους τρέφει καὶ συναίξει ψυχὰς.
- 130 XXXVIII. Ποῖαι δ' αὐταὶ, κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπάγων ἐκδιδάσκει, ποιούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει τὴν ὑφήγησιν τεχνῶν. εἰσάγει γὰρ τὴν "Ἄγαρ πληροῦσαν ἄσκον ὕδατος καὶ τὸ παιδίον ποτίζουσαν—ἐστὶ <δ' ἡ> "Ἄγαρ θεραπευὶς Σάρρας, τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς [καὶ] μέση παιδεία—φυσικώτατα· ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦ βάθους ἐλθοῦσα τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἣν ὀνομάζει φρέαρ, ἀρύσσηται ὡσπερ εἰς ἄγγος τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ τε δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, ἃ μέτεισιν, οἷς τέθραπται, τούτοις τρέφειν τὸ παιδίον ἀξιῶ.
- 131 παιδίον δὲ καλεῖ τὴν ἄρτι διδασκαλίαν ὀρεγομένην ψυχὴν καὶ πρὸς τῷ μαθεῖν νυνὶ τρόπον τινὰ γεγενημένην, παρὸ καὶ ἀνδρωθεὶς ὁ παῖς γίνεται σοφιστῆς, ὃν προσαγορεύει τοξότην· ἐφ' ὃ γὰρ ἂν προθῆται κεφάλαιον ὡσπερ σκοπόν, εὐστόχως ἀποδείξεις ὡσπερ οἷστους ἀφίησι.

<sup>a</sup> For the inseparability of the virtues see *S. V. F.* iii. 295 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Philo frequently uses τέχναι of sciences in which philosophy finds scope. To show that he means here, not philosophic modes of thought or action, but those in which we do what everyday needs suggest, he inserts φύσει. We



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are four main virtues, wisdom, courage, temperance, justice. Each one of these is a sovereign wielding authority, and the man that has acquired them is by the mere fact of doing so a ruling monarch, even if he be destitute of material resources. For the phrase "is parted into four heads" is not meant to indicate a dividing asunder,<sup>a</sup> but a sway and sovereignty belonging to virtues. These have sprung from the Divine word as from a single root; and that word is likened to a river by reason of the unbroken flow of the constant stream of words and doctrines ever sweet and fresh, by which it brings nourishment and growth to souls that love God.

XXXVIII. The quality of these souls he teaches very fully, leading us on by degrees, using the ordinary arts as the means of instruction.<sup>b</sup> For he shows us Hagar filling a water-skin and giving the child drink. Hagar represents imperfect training, being hand-maid of Sarah who represents perfect virtue. The picture shown is perfectly true to principles. For when incomplete education having come to the depths of knowledge, which is called a well, draws from it into the soul as into a vessel the doctrines and speculations of which it is in quest, and thinks fit to feed the child with that on which it has itself been fed. "Child" is the name he gives to the soul just beginning to crave after instruction, and now become to some extent engaged in learning. It is in accordance with this that the boy, when grown to manhood, becomes a sophist, for which Moses' name is "archer." For whatever points he sets forth as a target, at this he discharges proofs like arrows, with sure aim.

do such things unprompted by philosophy. See Dean Robinson's Note on *Ephesians*, ii. 3 (τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς), p. 50.

- 132 XXXIX. 'Ρεβέκκα δ' οὐκέτι προκοπαῖς ἀλλὰ  
 τελειότητι ποτίζουσα τὸν μαθητὴν εὐρίσκεται.  
 πῶς δέ, αὐτὸς διδάξει ὁ νόμος. "ἡ γὰρ παρ-  
 θένος" φησὶν "ἦν καλὴ τῇ ὄψει σφόδρα, παρθένος  
 ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτήν. καταβᾶσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πηγὴν ἔπλησε τὴν ὑδρίαν καὶ ἀνέβη. προσέδραμε  
 δὲ ὁ παῖς εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῇ καὶ εἶπε· Πότισόν  
 με δὴ μικρὸν ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς ὑδρίας σου. ἡ δὲ εἶπε·  
 πῖε, κύριε. καὶ σπεύσασα καθεῖλε τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτόν, ἕως  
 [251] ἐπαύσατο πίνων· καὶ εἶπε· καὶ ταῖς καμήλοισ  
 σου ὑδρεύσομαι, ἕως ἂν πᾶσαι πίωσι. καὶ σπεύ-  
 σασα ἐξεκένωσε τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰς τὸ ποτιστήριον,  
 καὶ δραμοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ὑδρεύσατο ταῖς καμή-  
 133 λοις" (Gen. xxiv. 16-20). τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε  
 τὴν περὶ πάντα ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ νομοθέτου; παρ-  
 θένον εἶπε τὴν 'Ρεβέκκαν, καὶ πάνυ καλὴν παρ-  
 θένον, ὅτι ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἄδολος καὶ ἀμίαντος ἡ  
 ἄρετῆς φύσις καὶ μόνη τῶν ἐν γενέσει καλὴ τε  
 καὶ ἀγαθὴ· ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ στωικὸν ἐβλάστησε  
 134 δόγμα τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν. XL. τῶν  
 δ' ἀρετῶν αἱ <μέν> εἰσιν αἰεὶ παρθένοι, αἱ δὲ ἐκ  
 γυναικῶν εἰς παρθένοὺς μετέβαλον, ὡσπερ ἡ  
 Σάρρα· "ἐξέλιπε γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεῖα"  
 (Gen. xviii. 11), ὅποτε ἄρχεται τὸ εὐδαιμον  
 γένος κυοφορεῖν, Ἰσαάκ. ἡ δ' αἰεὶ παρθένος ὑπὸ  
 ἀνδρός, ἧ φησι, συνόλως οὐ γινώσκειται. θνητῶν  
 γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδενὶ τὴν ἀδιάφθορον φύσιν  
 μιαίνειν ἐφεῖται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡτις ἐστὶν εἰλικρινῶς  
 εἰδέναι· ἂν μέντοι καὶ γινῶναι δυνηθῇ, μισῶν καὶ  
 135 προβεβλημένος οὐ παύεται. διὸ καὶ Λεῖαν φυσικῶς  
 εἰσάγει μισουμένην (Gen. xxix. 31)· οὓς γὰρ τὰ

XXXIX. Rebecca is discovered watering her pupil not with gradual progress, like Hagar, but with perfection. How, the Law itself shall show. "The damsel," it says, "was very fair to look upon: she was a virgin, no man had known her. And she went down to the spring and filled her pitcher and came up. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Give me to drink, I pray thee, a little water out of thy pitcher. And she said, Drink, sir. And she hastened and let down her pitcher on to her arm, and gave him drink, until he ceased drinking. And she said, I will draw water for thy camels also, until they all have drunk. And she hastened and emptied her pitcher into the trough and ran to the well and drew water for the camels" (Gen. xxiv. 16-20). Who would not admire the lawgiver's accuracy in every detail? For he tells us that Rebecca was a virgin and a very beautiful virgin, because virtue is essentially free from alloy and false semblance and defilement, and alone among created things both beautiful and good. Indeed it was from virtue that the Stoic canon sprang that the morally beautiful alone is good. XL. But among the virtues some are ever virgin, some pass from womanhood to virginity, as Sarah did: for "it ceased to be with her after the manner of women" (Gen. xviii. 11), at the time when she first conceives Isaac, happiness personified. But the ever-virgin is, as he says, absolutely not known by a man. For in reality no mortal has been permitted to defile the incorruptible growth, nay not even to know clearly its nature; if he does gain power to know it, he never ceases to hate it and to be on his guard against it. For this reason, like a true philosopher, he represents Leah as hated (Gen. xxix. 31); for Leah, who is

φίλτρα τῶν κατὰ Ῥαχήλ, τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἡδονῶν ἐπάγεται, τούτους οὐκ ἀνέχεται ἢ ἐκτὸς τῶν παθῶν Λεία, διόπερ σκορακιζόμενοι μισοῦσιν αὐτήν· τῇ δὲ ἢ πρὸς τὸ γενητὸν ἀλλοτριώσεις πρὸς θεὸν οἰκείωσιν· εἰργάσατο, παρ' οὗ τὰ φρονήσεως παραδεξαμένη σπέρματα ὠδίνει καὶ ἀποτίκτει καλὰς καὶ ἀξίας ἐννοίας τοῦ γεννήσαντος πατρός· ἐὰν οὖν καὶ σὺ μιμησαμένη Λείαν, ᾧ ψυχῇ, <τὰ> θνήτὰ ἀποστραφῆς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπιστρέψει πρὸς τὸν ἀφθαρτον, ὃς ὅλας ἐπομβρήσει σοὶ τὰς τοῦ καλοῦ πηγὰς.

- 136 XLI. Ἡ δὲ Ῥεβέκκα κατέβη, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν πληῆσαι τὴν ὑδρίαν, καὶ ἀνέβη. πόθεν γὰρ τὴν φρονήσεως διψῶσαν διάνοιαν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ πληροῦσθαι πλην ἀπὸ σοφίας θεοῦ, τῆς ἀνελλιποῦς πηγῆς, εἰς ἣν κατιοῦσα ἀναβαίνει κατὰ τι συγγενὲς σπουδαίου μαθητοῦ; τοὺς γὰρ ἀπ' οἰήσεως χαύνου κατελθόντας ὁ ἀρετῆς ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ ὑπολαβὼν δι' εὐκλείας εἰς ὕψος αἶρει λόγος. οὗ ἕνεκά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Μωυσῆ διαλέγεσθαι· “βάδιζε, κατὰβηθι, καὶ ἀνάβηθι” (Exod. xix. 24), ὡς [252] παντὸς τοῦ τὴν ἴδιον | ταπεινότητα μετροῦντος ἐπικυδестέρου παρὰ τοῖς ἀληθείας κριταῖς γινόμενου. παρατετηρημένως δὲ σφόδρα ἢ μὲν [γὰρ] 137 Ἄγαρ ἀσκὸν πρὸς τὴν ὑδρίαν, Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ὑδρίαν ἐπιφέρειται, ὅτι τῇ μὲν τοῖς παιδεύμασι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίους <ἐγ>χορευούση δεῖ καθάπερ τινῶν σωματικῶν τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἀγγείων, ὀφθαλμῶν, ὠτῶν, πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωρημάτων ἀνάληψιν—ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πολλὰ μὲν ἰδεῖν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐπακοῦσαι περιγίνεται τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἢ ἐξ ἐπιστήμης

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above the passions, cannot tolerate those who are attracted by the spells of the pleasures that accord with Rachel, who is sense-perception; wherefore, finding themselves treated with contempt by her they hate her. But for Leah, estrangement on the human side brings about fellowship with God, and from Him she receives the seed of wisdom, and is in birth-throes, and brings forth beautiful ideas worthy of the Father Who begat them. Then if thou too, O soul, follow Leah's example and turn away from mortal things, thou wilt of necessity turn to the Incorruptible One, Who will cause all the springs of moral beauty to pour their streams upon thee.

XLI. Rebecca, it says, went down to the spring to fill her pitcher, and came up again. For whence is it likely that a mind thirsting for sound sense should be filled save from the wisdom of God, that never-failing spring, its descent to which is an ascent in accordance with some innate characteristic of a true learner? For the teaching of virtue awaits those who come down from empty self-conceit, and taking them in its arms carries them to the heights with fair fame. It is with a view to this, as it seems to me, that God says to Moses, "Go, get thee down, and come up" (Exod. xix. 24), implying that everyone who rightly gauges his own inferiority becomes more honourable in the estimation of those who can judge of reality. There is point in Hagar's bringing a skin to the place of drawing water, whereas Rebecca brings a pitcher. She who belongs to the band of devotees of school-learning needs, as it were, certain bodily vessels of sense-perception—eyes, ears—for the acquirement of the results of study; for by those who love to learn the benefit of knowledge is gained

- ὠφέλεια—τῇ δὲ ἀκράτου σοφίας πεπληρωμένη  
 δερματίνου μὲν ὄγκου <τὸ> παράπαν οὐδενός—  
 ἔμαθε γὰρ ἢ ἀσωμάτων ἐρώσα ὄλον ἀποδύεσθαι  
 λογισμῶ τὸν ἀσκόν, τὸ σῶμα—ὑδρίας δὲ αὐτὸ  
 μόνον, ἢ σύμβολόν ἐστιν ἀγγείου τὸ πολύχουν  
 ὕδατος τρόπον ἡγεμονικὸν κεχωρηκότος· ὅπερ εἴτε  
 μῆνιγγα εἴτε καρδίαν εἶναι συντέτευχεν, οἱ περὶ  
 138 ταῦτα δεινοὶ φιλοσοφείτωσαν. ὑδρευσαμένην οὖν  
 ἀπὸ σοφίας, τῆς θείας πηγῆς, τὰς ἐπιστήμας ὁ  
 φιλομαθῆς ἰδὼν ἐπιτρέχει καὶ ὑπαντιάσας ἰκέτης  
 γίνεται, ὅπως τὴν τοῦ μαθεῖν δίψαν ἀκέσῃται. ἡ  
 δὲ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν παιδευμάτων διδαχθεῖσα,  
 τὸ ἀβάσκανον καὶ φιλόδωρον, εὐθύς ὀρέγει τὸ  
 σοφίας νᾶμα καὶ ἐμπιεῖν ἀθρόου παρακαλεῖ μετὰ  
 τοῦ καὶ κύριον ὀνομάζειν τὸν οἰκέτην. τοῦτο δ'  
 ἐστὶ τὸ δογματικώτατον, ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μόνος  
 ἐλεύθερός τε καὶ ἄρχων, κἂν μυρίους τοῦ σώματος  
 139 ἔχη δεσπότας. XLII. ὀρθότατα μέντοι φαμένου  
 “ πότισόν με μικρὸν ὕδωρ,” οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται τὸν  
 ἀκόλουθον τρόπον· ποτιῶ, ἀλλὰ φησι· “ πῖε.”  
 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνυμένης τὸν θεῖον ἦν πλοῦτον,  
 ὃς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ δυναμένοις χρῆσθαι  
 προκέχυται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐπαγγελλομένης διδάξειν·  
 οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐξ ἐπαγγέλματος οἰκεῖον ἀρετῆ.
- 140 Τεχνικώτατα μέντοι χαρακτηρίζει τὴν τῆς διδα-  
 σκούσης καὶ ὠφελούσης ὑφήγησιν· “ σπεύσασα”  
 γὰρ φησι “ καθεῖλε τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 501.

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from seeing much and hearing much. She who is filled with unalloyed wisdom has absolutely no need of any bulky leathern vessel : she that is enamoured of spiritual objects has learned by use of reason to rid herself completely of the body, which the water-skin represents. All she needs is just a pitcher, which is a figure of a vessel containing the ruling faculty as it pours forth like water its copious streams. Whether this faculty be brain or heart, we will leave experts in these matters to discuss. The keen scholar on seeing that from wisdom, that Divine spring, she has drawn knowledge in its various forms, runs towards her, and, when he meets her, beseeches her to satisfy his thirst for instruction. She has been taught the chief of all lessons, ungrudging generosity, and at once holds out to him the water of wisdom, and bids him take a deep draught, calling the servant as she does this " Sir " or " Master." Here we have that highest of truths that only the wise man is free and a ruler,<sup>a</sup> albeit he may have ten thousand masters of his body. XLII. The man had said " Give me a little water to drink." She does not put her answer in a form corresponding to his request, and say " I will give thee to drink," but says " Drink." And she speaks quite correctly, For her saying " Drink " showed that she was making manifest the Divine abundance which has been poured forth for all to enjoy who are worthy and able to do so. To have said " I will give thee to drink " would have been to profess that she would teach him. And virtue eschews all that smacks of profession.<sup>a</sup>

He goes on to portray with great skill the method followed by the teacher who wants to do her pupils good. " She hastened," he says, " and let down the

αὐτῆς," διὰ μὲν τοῦ σπουδάσαι τῆς πρὸς τὸ εὐεργετεῖν ἐμφαινομένης ὀξύτητος, ἢ ἀπὸ γνώμης συνίσταται, ἧς ὑπερόριος ἐκτετόξευται φθόνος, διὰ δὲ τοῦ καθελεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς <τῆς> πρὸς τὸν μανθάνοντα τοῦ διδάσκοντος ἐπικλινούσας  
 141 καὶ προσεχοῦς οἰκειώσεως. εὐήθεις γὰρ ὅσοι τῶν διδασκάλων μὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γνωρίμων δύναμιν,  
 [253] ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπερβάλλουσας | ἕξιν ἐπιχειροῦσι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑφήγησεις, οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς διδασκαλίας ἐπίδειξις μακρῶ διενήνοχεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῇ τῆς παρουσίας ἕξεως εὐφορία καταχρώμενος ἀνεμποδίστως τὰ ἐν μακρῶ χρόνῳ πονηθέντα οἴκοι καθάπερ γραφῶν ἔργα ἢ πλαστῶν εἰς τοῦμφανές προφέρει τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν θηρώμενος ἔπαινον, ὁ δ' αὖ διδάσκειν ἐπιχειρῶν οἶα τις ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῆς τέχνης μέγεθος ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεραπευομένου δύναμιν ἀφορῶν οὐχ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης πεπόρικε— ἀμύθητα γὰρ ταῦτά γε—ἀλλ' ὅσων τῷ κάμνοντι δεῖ στοχαζόμενος τοῦ μετρίου προφέρων ἐπιδίδωσιν.

142 XLIII. Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν ἑτέροις φησί· “ δάνειον δανειεῖς τῷ χρήζοντι ὅσον δεῖται, καθ' ὃ δεῖται ” (Deut. xv. 8), διὰ μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου διδάσκων ὅτι οὐ πάντα πᾶσι χαριστέον, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκεία τῇ τῶν δεομένων χρεία· τὸ γὰρ ἄγκυραν ἢ πλάτην ἢ πηδάλιον γεωπόνῳ ἢ ἄροτρα καὶ σκαπάνην κυβερνήτῃ ἢ λύραν μὲν ἰατρῷ, μουσικῷ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν δωρεῖσθαι ὄργανα

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 501.



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pitcher on to her arm." By the "hastening" her keenness to do a kindness is brought out, a keenness which comes of a disposition from which envy has been utterly expelled. By the "letting down" on to her arm we are shown how the teacher comes down to the learner and attentively studies him as one with whom he is intimately concerned. For teachers who when they set about giving their lessons keep in view their own great superiority and not the capacity of their pupils, are simpletons, who are not aware how vast is the difference between a lesson and a display. For the man who is giving a display uses to the full the rich yield of the mastery which he possesses, and without let or hindrance brings forward into the open the results of hours spent in labour by himself at home. Such are the works of artists and sculptors. In all this he is trying to gain the praise of the public. The man, on the other hand, who is setting out to teach, is like a good doctor, who with his eyes fixed not on the vastness of his science but on the strength of his patient, applies not all that he has ready<sup>a</sup> for use from the resources of his knowledge—for this is endless—but what the sick man needs, seeking to avoid both defect and excess.

XLIII. This is why Moses says elsewhere: "Thou shalt lend to him that needs (in quantity) as much as he needs (in kind) suitably to his need" (Deut. xv. 8), teaching by the latter clause that we must not grant everything to everybody, but what corresponds (in kind) to the need (or business) of those who want something. For it is absurd to give an anchor or an oar or a rudder to a farmer, or a plough and a hoe to a pilot, or a lyre to a physician, while giving surgical instruments to a musician. This is as ridiculous as

καταγέλαστον, εἰ μὴ καὶ διψῶσι μὲν πολυτελεῆ  
σιτία, πεινώσι δὲ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐπιφέρειν δεῖ  
πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν εὐπορίας τε ἅμα καὶ μισανθρωπίας,  
χλεύην τὰς ἐτέρων τύχας τιθεμένους.

- Τὸ δὲ ποσὸν ἐν ταῖς χάρισιν αὐτῷ παρείληπται  
διὰ συμμετρίαν, πρᾶγμα ὠφελιμώτατον· μὴ γὰρ  
ὅσα δύνασαι χαρίζου, φησὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, ἀλλ'  
143 ὅσα ἰκανὸς ὁ δεόμενός ἐστι δέξασθαι. ἢ οὐχ ὀρθῶς  
ὅτι καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀναλογούντας τῷ μεγέθει τῆς  
αὐτοῦ τελειότητος χρησμούς ἀναφθέγγεται, πρὸς  
δὲ τὴν τῶν ὠφεληθησομένων αἰεὶ δύναμιν; ἐπεὶ  
καὶ τίς ἂν ἐχώρησε θεοῦ λόγων ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀπάσης  
κρειττόνων ἀκοῆς; ὁ ἀψευδέστατα δοκοῦσιν οἱ  
Μωυσῆ λέγοντες· “λάλησον σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ  
λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν”  
(Exod. xx. 19)· ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχουσι  
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀξιόχρεων ὄργανον θεοῦ νομοθετοῦν-  
144 τος ἐκκλησίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐπι-  
δείκνυσθαι βουληθεῖη τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, χωρήσαι ἂν  
ἠπειρωθείσης καὶ θαλάττης ἢ σύμπασα γῆ· εἰ  
μὴ νομίζομεν ὑετῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ  
φορὰν κατὰ τεταγμένας καιρῶν περιόδους, ἀλλὰ  
μὴ συνεχῶς γίνεσθαι διὰ σπάνιν καὶ ἔνδειαν  
αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔνεκα προμηθείας τῶν χρηζόντων,  
οὓς ἢ συνεχῆς τῶν ὁμοίων δωρεῶν ἀπόλαυσις  
[254] βλάβειν | μᾶλλον ἔμελλεν ἢ ὠφελήσειν.  
145 Διὸ τὰς πρώτας αἰεὶ χάριτας, πρὶν κορεσθέντας  
ἐξυβρίσαι τοὺς λαχόντας, ἐπισχῶν καὶ ταμειυσά-

<sup>a</sup> Supplying λέγειν from λέγοντες.

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it is to bring costly viands to those who are athirst, and gallons of undiluted wine to those who are hungry, with a view to making known at the same time our wealth and our hatred of our fellow-men, by making sport of others' mishaps.

With the kind of help to be given has been joined the amount to be given. This is introduced for the sake of maintaining due proportion, a thing which has great advantages. "Do not," says right principle, "give all you can, but as much as the man in want is capable of receiving." Or do you fail to notice that even God imparts divine communications not in a way corresponding to the greatness of His own perfection, but to the ever-varying capacity of those whom He would benefit? Who could possibly have borne the force of the oracles of God which are too great for any power of hearing? This seems to be most truly expressed<sup>a</sup> by those who say to Moses: "Speak thou to us, and let not God speak to us, lest we die" (Exod. xx. 19); for they felt that they have in themselves no organ of hearing fit to be employed when God is giving laws to His congregation. Were He to choose to display His own riches, even the entire earth with the sea turned into dry land would not contain them. One might as well suppose that the rainfall and the supply of Nature's other boons takes place at seasons recurring at fixed intervals, and not uninterruptedly, owing to some dearth and scarcity of them, and not out of forethought for those who need them, who would be harmed rather than benefited by the unbroken enjoyment of like gifts.

Wherefore God ever causes His earliest gifts to cease before their recipients are gluttoned and wax insolent; and storing them up for the future gives

- μενος εἰσαυθίς ἑτέρας ἀντ' ἐκείνων καὶ τρίτας ἀντὶ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ αἰεὶ νέας ἀντὶ παλαιότερων, τοτὲ μὲν διαφερούσας, τοτὲ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπιδίδωσι. τὸ γὰρ γενητὸν οὐδέποτε μὲν ἀμοιρεῖ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων—ἐπεὶ πάντως ἂν διέφθαρτο—φέρειν δὲ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἄφθονον αὐτῶν ῥύμην ἀδυνατεῖ. διὸ βουλόμενος ὄνησιν ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ὧν ἐπιδίδωσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν λαμβανόντων ἰσχὺν τὰ
- 146 διδόμενα σταθμᾶται. XLIV. ἐπαινετέον οὖν καὶ Ῥεβέκκαν, ἣ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπομένη διατάγμασιν ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου χωρίου καθελούσα τὸ σοφίας ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα, τὴν ὑδρίαν [δέ], ὀρέγει τῷ μαθητῇ ἃς ἱκανὸς ἐκείνός ἐστι δέξασθαι διδα-
- 147 σκαλίας. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὸ ἄφθονον αὐτῆς καταπέπληγμαί. μικρὸν γὰρ αἰτηθεῖσα πόμα πολὺ δίδωσιν, ἕως ὅλην τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ μανθάνοντος ποτίμων θεωρημάτων ἐπλήρωσεν. λέγει γάρ· “ ἐπότισεν αὐτὸν ἕως ἐπαύσατο πίνων,” πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν δίδαγμα θαυμασιώτατον· ἐὰν γάρ τις πλειόνων μὲν τυγχάνῃ χρεῖος ὧν, ὀλίγα δὲ ὑπ' αἰδούς προσιῶν αἰτῇ, μὴ ταῦθ' ἄ φησι μόνον παρέχωμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἡσυχαζόμενα ἐκείνα, ὧν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐνδεής ἐστιν.
- 148 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀπόχρη μόνον πρὸς τελείαν ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ γνωρίμῳ καταλαμβάνειν ὅσα ἂν ὁ διδάσκων ὑφηγηῆται, εἰ μὴ προσγένοιτο καὶ μνήμη· διόπερ ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸ φιλόδωρον, ὅτε αὐτὸν πληροῖ ποτίσασα, ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ταῖς καμήλοις ὑδρεύσεσθαι, ἃς συμβολικῶς μνήμας εἶναί φασιν· μη-

others in their stead, and a third supply to replace the second, and ever new in place of earlier boons, sometimes different in kind, sometimes the same. For creation is never left destitute of the gifts of God—had it been so left it would assuredly have perished—but it has no power to bear their full and abundant torrent. And so in His desire that we should enjoy benefit from the gifts which He bestows, God proportions the things which He gives to the strength of those who receive them. XLIV. Rebecca is therefore to be commended for following the ordinances of the Father (of all) and letting down from a higher position the vessel which contains wisdom, called the pitcher, on to her arm, and for holding out to the learner the teaching which he is able to receive. Among the other traits before which I stand in amazement is her lavishness. Asked for a little to drink she gives much, until she has filled the whole soul of the learner with draughts of speculations. For we read, “She gave him to drink until he left off drinking,” a piece of teaching on kindness to our fellow-men well worthy of our admiration. For, if a man chance to be in want of many things, and come to us and owing to shame ask for few things, let us not supply him with the things which he mentioned only, but also with those about which he was silent, of which he is really in need.

But for perfect enjoyment on the pupil's part, it is not enough that he should simply take in all the instructions given by the teacher. He needs the further boon of memory. Accordingly Rebecca exhibits her generosity by promising, when she gives the servant all he can drink, to water the camels also. These we take to be figures of memory, for the

## PHILO

- ρυκᾶται γὰρ τὸ ζῶον τὴν τροφήν ἐπιλεαῖνον, καὶ  
 ὅταν ὀκλάσαν δέξῃται βαρύτατον φόρτον, μετὰ  
 149 πολλῆς ἄγαν εὐτονίας ἐγείρεται κούφως. οὕτως  
 δὲ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς, ὅταν ἐπιφορηθῇ  
 τὸ τῶν θεωρημάτων ἄχθος, ταπεινότερα μὲν  
 οὐ γίνεται, διαναστᾶσα δὲ γέγηθεν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
 ἐπαναπολήσεως καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιλεάνσεως τῆς πρῶτον  
 καταβληθείσης τροφῆς περιγίνεται μνήμη τῶν  
 150 θεωρημάτων. ἰδοῦσα δὲ εὐπαράδεκτον ἀρετῆς  
 <τὴν> τοῦ παιδὸς φύσιν ὅλην ἐξεκένωσε τὴν  
 ὑδρίαν εἰς τὸ ποτιστήριον, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ  
 διδάσκοντος ἅπασαν ἐπιστήμην εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν  
 τοῦ μανθάνοντος. σοφισταὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ μισθα-  
 νίας ἅμα καὶ φθόνου τὰς τῶν γνωρίμων κολούον-  
 τες φύσεις πολλὰ τῶν ἅ χρῆ λέγειν ἡσυχάζουσι  
 ταμειυόμενοι τὸν ἀργυρισμὸν εἰσαῦθις ἑαυτοῖς·  
 151 ἄφθονον δὲ καὶ δωρητικὸν ἀρετῆ πρᾶγμα, ὡς, τὸ  
 [255] λεγόμενον, χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ | καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει μὴ  
 ὀκνεῖν ὠφελεῖν. ὅσα οὖν ἠπίστατο, καθάπερ εἰς  
 δεξαμενὴν τὴν τοῦ γνωρίμου προχέασα διάνοιαν  
 ἔρχεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἀντλήσαι, ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἀένναον τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ <παλαιὰ>  
 παγίως ὀχυρώσῃται διὰ μνήμης καὶ ἄλλων καινο-  
 τέρων ἐπιστήμαις ποτισθῇ· ἀπερίγραφος γὰρ ὁ  
 σοφίας θεοῦ πλοῦτος καὶ νέα ἐπὶ παλαιοῖς ἐκ-  
 φέρων βλαστήματα, ὡς ἀνηβῶν τε καὶ ἐπακμάζων  
 152 μηδέποτε λήγειν. διὸ καὶ πάνυ εὐήθεις ὅσοι πρὸς  
 τὸ πέρας ἡστινοσοῦν ἐπιστήμης ἀφικέσθαι διανοή-  
 θησαν· τὸ γὰρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι δόξαν μακρὰν ἄγαν τοῦ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 501.

## THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN, 148-152

camel is a ruminating animal softening its food by chewing the cud. Moreover, when it has knelt and had a heavy load laid on it, it nimbly raises itself with astonishing agility. In the same way the soul<sup>a</sup> of the keen learner also, when it has been laden with the mass of speculations, does not stoop indeed, but springs up rejoicing, and through repetition and (so to speak) rumination of the original deposit of (mental) food, gains power to remember the things contemplated. When she saw how readily receptive of virtue the servant's nature was, she emptied all the contents of her pitcher into the drinking-trough, that is to say, she poured all the teacher's knowledge into the soul of the learner. For, whereas sophists, impelled at once by mercenary motives and by a grudging spirit, stunt the natures of their pupils by withholding much that they ought to tell them, carefully reserving for themselves against another day the opportunity of making money; virtue is an ungrudging thing, fond of making gifts, never hesitating to do good, as the saying is, with hand and foot and all her might. Well, after pouring forth all that she knew into her pupil's understanding as into a receptacle, she comes again to the well to draw, to the ever-flowing wisdom of God, that her pupil may, by means of memory, fix firmly what he has learned, and drink in draughts of knowledge of yet other fresh subjects; for the wealth of the wisdom of God is unbounded and puts forth new shoots after the old ones, so as never to leave off renewing its youth and reaching its prime. For this reason all who imagine that they have arrived at the limit of any science whatever are perfect simpletons; for that which seemed to be near the end is very far away from it;

τέλους ἀφέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ τέλειος τῶν γεγονότων οὐδεὶς πρὸς οὐδὲν μάθημα, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐνδεῖ, ὅσον κομιδῇ νήπιος παῖς ἄρτι τοῦ μαθάνειν ἀρχόμενος πρὸς πολλὸν ἤδη διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ὑφηγητήν.

- 153 XLV. Ἐρευνητέον δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν τὸν μὲν παῖδα ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος ποτίζει. μήποτ' οὖν τὸ μὲν νᾶμα ταῦτόν, \* \* \* ὃ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἄρδων [ὃ] ἱερὸς λόγος, τὸ δὲ φρέαρ συγγενὲς μνήμης· ἃ γὰρ βύθια πέφηεν<sup>1</sup> ἤδη, ταῦθ' ὡσπερ ἐκ φρέατος δι' ὑπομνήσεως ἄγεται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτους τῆς περὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμοιρίας ἀποδεκτέον· εἰσὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἀσκητῶν, οἷς τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν τραχεῖαν καὶ δυσάντη καὶ χαλεπὴν νομισθεῖσαν τὸ πρῶτον λεωφόρον αὐθις ὃ τὰ πάντα εὐεργέτης ἀπέδειξε θεὸς εἰς γλυκύτητα τὸ πικρὸν τοῦ πόνου μεταβαλὼν. ὃν δὲ τρόπον μετέβαλε, σημανοῦμεν·
- 155 ὅτε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα παθῶν, ἐξήγαγε, τὴν ἔρημον ἠδονῆς ἀτραπὸν ὁδεύοντες ἐν Μέρροις ἐστρατοπεδευόμεθα, χωρίῳ πότιμον μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντι νᾶμα, πικρὸν δὲ σύμπαν (Exod. xv. 23). ἔτι γὰρ αἱ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ὠτων γαστρός τε αὐ καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα τέρψεις ἔναυλοί τε ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἐκίλουν ὑπ-
- 156 ηχοῦσαι. ὁπότ' οὖν διαποζεύγνυσθαι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐθέλομεν, ἀνθείλκον ἐπαγόμεναι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πέφηεν is a conjecture for ἀπέφηεν (Tr.); or perhaps for ἀπέφηεν ἤδη read ἀπέφηενε λήθη (ἀποφαίνειν = "to make, render").

<sup>a</sup> An attempt has been made in the translation to render the passage as though no words were missing. But it is open to the objection that πηγῇ would naturally be dealt



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for no one that has ever lived has been perfect in any subject of study, but falls as far short of perfection as a very young boy just beginning to learn compared with an instructor now grown grey, both as regards his age and his proficiency in his profession.

XLV. Again we must search for the reason why she gives the servant to drink from the spring, but the camels from the well. We should probably explain it in this way: the water is the same in each case, the sacred word supplying streams of knowledge.<sup>a</sup> But the well is particularly associated with memory; for things which have appeared to be by this time in the depths and out of reach are drawn up as from a well by means of a reminder (from outside). Such men we must cordially approve for the excellent nature which has fallen to their lot. But there are some men of diligence and effort, who at first think the way leading to virtue rough and steep and difficult, but for whom later on the all-bountiful God renders it a highway, transforming the bitterness of their toil into sweetness. In what manner He transformed it we will point out. When He led us forth out of Egypt, that is out of our bodily passions, as we journeyed along the track barren of pleasure, we encamped in Marah, a spot having no water fit to drink, but water wholly bitter (Exod. xv. 23); for the delights that come by the way of eyes and ears and that of the appetite and sexual lusts bewitched us with their haunting music, ever ringing in our ears. And whenever we wished wholly to sever ourselves from them, they would pull against us, drawing us with first; and the still graver objection that it treats *ἐπιστήμαι* as *watered*, whereas in 138 they are the *water*.

We suggest that the text should be printed thus—τὸ μὲν ἄμα ταύτων <αἱ ἐπιστήμαι, ἣ δὲ πηγὴ> ὁ τὰς κτλ.

περιπλεκόμεναι καὶ λιπαρῶς καταγοητεύουσαι, ὥστε πρὸς τὰς συνεχεῖς τιθασείας αὐτῶν ἐνδόντες πόνῳ μὲν ἡλλοτριούμεθα ὡς πικρῷ πάνυ καὶ δυσκόλῳ, παλινδρομεῖν δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐβουλευόμεθα, τὸν ἀσελοῦς καὶ ἀκολάστου βίου ὑπόδρομον, εἰ μὴ θάπτον ὁ σωτὴρ οἶκτον λαβὼν καθάπερ ἡδυσμα ξύλον γλυκαῖνον (cf. Exod. xv. 25) εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνέβαλε φιλοπονίαν ἀντὶ μισοπονίας ἐργασάμενος:

157 ἦδει γάρ, ἅτε δημιουργὸς ὢν, ὅτι τῶν ὄντων  
[256] οὐδενός, εἰ μὴ προσγένοιτο σφοδρὸς | ἔρωσ, ἔνεστι  
περιγενέσθαι. ὅσα οὖν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι,  
δίχα μὲν οἰκειώσεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰ τὸ ἀρμόττον  
τέλος οὐ λαμβάνει, προσγενομένης δὲ φιλίας καὶ  
τῆς πρὸς τὸ ποθούμενον συντήξεως ἄκρως κατορ-  
θοῦται.

158 XLVI. Αὕτη τροφή ψυχῆς ἀσκητικῆς, ἥδιστον  
ἀντὶ πικροῦ τὸ πονεῖν ὑπολαβεῖν, ἧς οὐχ ἅπασι  
κοινωνῆσαι θέμις, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ χρυσοῦς μόσχος, τὸ  
Αἴγυπτίων ἀφίδρυμα, τὸ σῶμα, πυρωθὲν καὶ  
λεανθὲν σπεύρεται καθ' ὕδατος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν  
ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, ὅτι “ λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὸν μόσχον  
κατέκαυσε πυρὶ καὶ κατήλεσε λεπτὸν καὶ ἔσπειρεν  
ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐπότισε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ”

159 (Exod. xxxii. 20). ὁ γὰρ φιλάρετος ὑπὸ τῆς  
αὐγοειδοῦς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας πυρωθεὶς κατα-  
φλέγει τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονάς, εἶτα κατακόπτει  
καὶ ἐπιλαίνει τῷ ἀπὸ διαιρέσεως λόγῳ χρώμενος,  
καὶ διδάσκει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὅτι τῶν σωματικῶν  
ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ὑγίεια ἢ κάλλος ἢ ἡ τῶν αἰσθήσεων  
ἀκρίβεια ἢ τὸ ὀλόκληρον μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης

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on and gripping us, and persistently casting their spells over us, so that, giving in to their unceasing efforts to subdue and tame us, we came to abhor labour as utterly bitter and repugnant, and we planned to retrace our course and return to Egypt, the refuge of a dissolute and licentious life; and, we might have done so had not the Saviour, anticipating us, taken pity on us and cast into our soul a sweetening tree like a syrup, producing love of labour instead of hatred of labour (*cf.* Exod. xv. 25); for being the Creator He knew that it is impossible for us to rise superior to anything whatever, unless a vehement love of such effort be implanted in us. No pursuit that men engage in, where affection does not draw them, gains its fitting end. For complete success a sense of liking must be added, and the heart must be absorbed in the object of its desire.

XLVI. This is the food of the soul of an earnest striver, to deem labour not bitter but most sweet. Not for all is it lawful to partake of this food. Those only may do so in whose case the golden calf, the idol of the Egyptians, which is the body, is strewn upon the water, after having been burnt and ground. For it is said in the sacred books that "Moses took the calf and burned it up with fire and ground it fine and sowed it upon the water, and gave the Children of Israel to drink of it" (Exod. xxxii. 20). For the lover of virtue, set on fire by the brilliant appearance of the beautiful, burns up the pleasures of the body, and then chops and grinds them up, employing the principle of classification, and by this means teaches that health, or beauty, or precision of the senses, or complete soundness, including strength and muscular force, are among the bodily "good things," and yet

PHILO

κρατερᾶς, ἃ γε πάντα καὶ τῶν ἐπαράτων καὶ  
 ἐξαγίστων ἐστὶ κοινά, ὧν, εἴπερ ἦν ἀγαθὰ, φαῦλος  
 160 οὐδενὸς οὐδεὶς ἂν μετεῖχε. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν, εἰ καὶ  
 παντάπασι μοχθηροί, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποι γε ὄντες καὶ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως τοῖς ἀστείοις κεκοινωνηκότες  
 μετέχουσιν αὐτῶν. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ  
 ἀτιθασώτατα μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τούτοις, εἰ δὴ  
 ἀγαθὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν, ἢ οἱ λογικοὶ κέχρη-  
 161 ται. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀθλητῆς πρὸς ταύρου δύναμιν ἢ  
 ἐλέφαντος ἀλκὴν ἐξισωθείη; τίς δ' ἂν δρομεὺς  
 πρὸς σκύλακος ἢ λαγωδαρίου ποδώκειαν; ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὀξυδερκέστατος πρὸς ἱεράκων ἢ  
 ἀετῶν ὄψιν ἀμβλυωπέστατος. ἀκοαῖς γε μὴν ἢ  
 ὀσμαῖς πολλῶ τῶ περιόντι τὰ ἄλογα κεκράτηκεν,  
 ὡς καὶ ὄνος μὲν, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐν ζώοις εἶναι νωθέ-  
 στατον, κωφὴν ἂν ἀποδείξαι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκοὴν  
 ἐλθὼν εἰς ἐπίκρισιν, κύων δὲ περιττὸν ἐν ἀν-  
 θρώπῳ μυκτῆρας μέρος δι' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ περὶ  
 τὰς ὀσμάς τάχους· ἐξικνουῦνται γὰρ ἐπὶ μήκιστον,  
 162 ὡς ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι φορᾶ. XLVII. καὶ τί  
 δεῖ περὶ ἐκάστου διεξιόντα μακρηγορεῖν; ἤδη γὰρ  
 τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν πάλαι λογίων  
 ὠμολόγηται, οἱ τῶν μὲν ἀλόγων μητέρα τὴν  
 [257] φύσιν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μητριαν | ἔφασαν εἶναι, τὴν  
 κατὰ σῶμα τῶν μὲν ἀσθένειαν, τῶν δὲ ὑπερ-  
 βάλλουσιν ἐν ἅπασιν ἰσχὺν κατανοήσαντες. εἰκότως  
 οὖν κατήλεσε τὸν μόσχον ὁ τεχνίτης, τουτέστιν  
 εἰς μέρη διελὼν τὰ οἷς σῶμα πλεονεκτεῖ πάντα

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all these are shared with others by men abominable and accursed ; whereas, had they been good things, no bad man would have had part in any of them. But these men, even if utterly worthless, still, being human beings and of the same nature, have their share of these things in partnership with good men. As it is, moreover, even the most savage of wild beasts enjoy the advantage of these " good things," if good things they really are, in greater measure than those who are endowed with reason. For what athlete would be a match for the power of a bull or the strength of an elephant ? What runner could equal the swiftness of a hound or a hare ? The man of keenest eyesight is very shortsighted in comparison with the power of vision possessed by hawks or eagles. In hearing and scent the irrational creatures are greatly superior to us, for even an ass, regarded as the dullest among living creatures, were he to be tested with us, would make our hearing appear deafness ; while a dog with his great rapidity of scent, reaching as it does to such an enormous distance as to rival the range of the eyes, would prove a nose to be a superfluous part of the human frame. XLVII. And what need is there to be diffuse and go into each instance ? For this was long ago agreed upon among the most approved of the learned men of former days, who said that nature is the mother of the irrational creatures, but the step-mother of men. They said this when they took note of the bodily weakness of the latter, and of the invariably surpassing bodily strength of the former. It was reasonable, then, that the expert master should grind down the calf, that is to say, should divide it into parts and make it evident that all the advantages pertaining to the

## PHILO

- τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐπέδειξεν ἀγαθοῦ μακρὰν  
 διεστῶτα καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐφ' ὕδατος σπειρομένων  
 163 διαφέροντα. διὸ καὶ τὸν καταλεσθέντα μόσχον  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ λόγος κατέχει σπαρῆναι, τοῦ μηδὲν  
 γνήσιον ἀγαθοῦ φυτὸν ἐν ὑλῇ φθαρτῇ ποτε δύνασθαι  
 βλαστάνειν σύμβολον. ὡς γὰρ εἰς ποταμοῦ ρεῦμα  
 ἢ θαλάττης καταβληθὲν σπέρμα τὰς ἰδίουσ οὐκ  
 ἂν ἐπιδείξαιτο δυνάμεις—ἀμήχανον γάρ, εἰ <μη>  
 ρίζαις ὡσπερ ἀγκύραις ἐχυροῦ τινος γῆς μέρους  
 ἀπριξ<sup>1</sup> λαβόμενον ἰδρυθείη, ἢ ἔρνος ἀναβλαστῆσαι,  
 καὶ εἰ μὴ περιμηκέστατον, ἀλλὰ τοι χαμαίζηλον,  
 ἢ καρποὺς καθ' ὥρας τὰς ἐτησίους ἐνεγκεῖν·  
 φθάνει γὰρ τοὺς σπερματικοὺς ἅπαντας τόνους ἢ  
 τοῦ ὕδατος πολλῇ καὶ βίαιος ἀποκλύσασα φορά—  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅσα τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγγείου  
 λέγεται τε καὶ ἄδεται πλεονεκτῆματα πρὶν ὑπο-  
 στῆναι φθείρεται τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας αἰεὶ  
 164 ρεούσης. πῶς γὰρ νόσοι καὶ γῆρας καὶ παντελεῖς  
 ἐπεγίνοντο φθοραί, εἰ μὴ συνεχῆς ἦν λόγῳ θεωρη-  
 τῶν ρευμάτων ἀπάντλησις; τούτοις οὖν ποτίζειν  
 ἐπαξιοῖ<sup>2</sup> <ὁ> ἱεροφάντης τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν τῷ  
 καταφλέξει τὰς ἡδονάς, τῷ τὸ σύστημα τῶν  
 σωματικῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς λεπτὸν καὶ ἀνωφέλη χοῦν  
 καταλέσαντας ἀναλύσαι, τῷ ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι ἐξ  
 οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἐβλάστησέ ποτε καὶ ἦνθησε τὸ  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καλόν, ὡσπερ οὐδ' ἐκ σπερμάτων  
 ἃ σπείρεται καθ' ὕδατος.
- 165 XLVIII. Ταῦροι δὲ καὶ κριοὶ καὶ τράγοι, οὓς  
 Αἴγυπτος διὰ τιμῆς ἔχει, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φθαρτῆς  
 ὑλῆς ἀφιδρύματα, ἀκοῇ μόνον νομίζονται θεοί,

<sup>1</sup> ἀπριξ by conjecture for ἀπαξ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπαξιοῖ substituted by conjecture for ἀπαξιοῖ.

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body are far removed from that which is really good, and differ in no respect from what was sown upon the water. And this is why it has been placed on record that the calf when ground down was sown upon the water, as a sign that no genuine growth of good can ever sprout in perishable matter. A seed cast into the flow of a river or of the sea could never manifest its proper powers; for unless it were to use its roots as anchors and fasten firmly on to some fixed spot of ground, and so get settled there, it would be impossible for it either to put forth a shoot, even one hardly rising above the ground, to say nothing of a good tall one, or to bear fruits as the seasons came round; for the full and violent rush of the water washes it away and forestalls all the powers of expansion latent in the seed. Even so, before any of those advantages of the vessel of the soul, on which orators declaim and poets sing, can attain substantial shape, they are destroyed owing to the constant flow of bodily substance. For how did illnesses and old age and complete dissolution come upon men, if there was not a perpetual draining off of streams brought within our contemplation by reason? Thus, then, the sacred Guide would have us refresh our understanding, namely by burning up our pleasures, by grinding down and breaking up the complex of bodily goods into thin and useless dust, by making up our minds that from none of them did there ever shoot forth and bloom that which is truly beautiful, any more than from seeds sown upon the waters.

XLVIII. Bulls and rams and goats, which Egypt honours, and all other objects of worship of perishable material as well, are held to be gods on hearsay only,

πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὄντες, ψευδώνυμοι πάντες. ἀπαλαῖς γὰρ ἔτι ταῖς τῶν νέων ψυχαῖς οἱ τραγωδῖαν τὸν βίον τυφογερόντων<sup>1</sup> νομίζοντες κεκιβδηλευμένους χαρακτῆρας ἐναπομάττονται, διακόνοις ἀκοαῖς χρώμενοι, ὧν μυθικὸν λῆρον καταχέαντες καὶ μέχρι διανοίας αὐτῶν ἐντήξαντες θεοπλαστεῖν τοὺς τὰ φρονήματα ἄνδρας μὲν μηδέποτε γινόμενους αἰεὶ δὲ θηλυδρίας ὄντας ἠνάγκασαν.

- 166 Ὁ γοῦν μόσχος οὐκ ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ γυναικείου κόσμου κατασκευάζεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐνωτίων |  
 [258] αὐτὸ μόνον (Exod. xxxii. 2), διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ νομοθέτου ὅτι χειρόκμητος οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὄψει καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεός, ἀλλ' ἀκοῆ καὶ τῷ νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀκοῆ μέντοι γυναικός, οὐκ ἀνδρός· ἐκνευρισμένης γὰρ ἔργον καὶ ἐκτεθηλυμμένης τῷ ὄντι ψυχῆς τοὺς τοιούτους ὕθλους παρα-  
 167 δέχεσθαι. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν οὐ δι' ὧτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διανοίας ὄμμασιν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον δυνάμεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀπαύστου τῶν ἀμυθῆτων ἔργων φορᾶς κατανοεῖσθαι τε καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι συμβέβηκε. διόπερ ἐν ὠδῇ μείζονι λέγεται ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· “ἴδετε ἴδετε, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι” (Deut. xxxii. 39), τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἐναργεία μᾶλλον [ἀντι]καταλαμβανομένου ἢ λόγων ἀποδείξει συνισταμένου.  
 168 τὸ δ' ὄρατὸν εἶναι τὸ ὄν οὐ κυριολογεῖται, κατὰ χρῆσιν δ' ἔστιν ἐφ' ἐκάστην αὐτοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀναφερομένου. καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ φησιν· ἴδετε ἐμέ—ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ὑπὸ γενέσεως τὸ παράπαν κατανοηθῆναι—ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐγώ

<sup>1</sup> τυφογερόντων is Tischendorf's conjecture.



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not being really such, all falsely so called. For those who deem life a show got up for foolish dotards make counterfeit impressions in the yet tender souls of the young, employing their ears as their ministers, and filling them with the nonsense of myths. They instil it into their very minds, and force those who never become men in lofty spirit but are always womanish to fashion gods for themselves.

The calf, you observe, is not made out of all the things with which women deck themselves, but only their ear-rings (Exod. xxxii. 2), for the lawgiver is teaching us that no manufactured god is a God for sight and in reality, but for the ear to hear of, and vogue and custom to proclaim, and that too a woman's ear, not a man's, for to entertain such trash is the work of an effeminate and sinew-less soul. But the Being that in reality is can be perceived and known, not only through the ears, but with the eyes of the understanding, from the powers that range the universe, and from the constant and ceaseless motion of His ineffable works. Wherefore in the great Song<sup>a</sup> there come these words as from the lips of God, "See, see that I AM" (Deut. xxxii. 39), showing that He that actually is is apprehended by clear intuition rather than demonstrated by arguments carried on in words. When we say that the Existing One is visible, we are not using words in their literal sense, but it is an irregular use of the word by which it is referred to each one of His powers. In the passage just quoted He does not say "See Me," for it is impossible that the God who is should be perceived at all by created beings. What he says is

<sup>a</sup> Deuteronomy xxxii. is called "The Greater Song" in distinction from that in Exod. xv. Cf. *L.A.* iii. 105.

- εἶμι ἴδετε, τουτέστι τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπαρξίν θεάσασθε. ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἔξαρκεὶ λογισμῶ μέχρι τοῦ καταμαθεῖν ὅτι ἔστι τε καὶ ὑπάρχει τὸ τῶν ὄλων αἴτιον προελθεῖν· περαιτέρω δὲ σπουδάζειν τρέπεσθαι, ὡς περὶ οὐσίας ἢ ποιότητος ζητεῖν, ὡγύγιός τις
- 169 ἠλιθιότης. οὐδὲ γὰρ Μωυσῆ τῷ πανσόφῳ κατένευσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε, καίτοι γε μυρίας ποιησαμένῳ δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸς ἐξέπεσεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι “ τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω θεάσῃ, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐκ ὄψει ” (Exod. xxiii. 23). τοῦτο δ’ ἦν· πάνθ’ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῷ σπουδαίῳ καταληπτά, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἀκατάληπτος· ἀκατάληπτός γε ἐκ τῆς ἀντικρὺς καὶ κατ’ εὐθυωρίαν προσβολῆς—διὰ γὰρ ταύτης οἶος ἦν ἐμηνύετ’ ἄν—ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπομένων καὶ ἀκολουθῶν δυνάμεων <καταληπτός>. αὗται γὰρ οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὴν δ’ ὑπαρξίν ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελουμένων αὐτῷ παριστάσι.
- 170 XLIX. Γεννήσας τοίνυν ὁ νοῦς ἀρχὴν σπουδαίας διαθέσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς τινα πρῶτον τρόπον τὸν Σήθ, τὸν ποτισμόν, ἐπινεανιεύεται καλὴν καὶ ὀσίαν νεανειάν. φησὶ γάρ· “ ἐξανέστησέ μοι ὁ θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ Ἄβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάιν ” (Gen. iv. 25). ἐξητασμένως γὰρ καὶ περιττῶς εἴρηται τὸ μηδὲν τῶν θείων σπερμάτων χαμαὶ πίπτειν, ἅπαντα δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄνω χωρεῖν ἀπὸ
- 171 τῶν περιγείων ἐξανιστάμενα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν θνητῶν καταβαλλόμενα σπέρματα πρὸς ζώων |
- [259] ἢ φυτῶν γένεσιν οὐ πάντα τελεσιουργεῖται, ἀγαπητὸν δ’ εἰ μὴ τὰ φθειρόμενα πλείω τῶν διαμενόντων ἐστί· σπείρει δ’ ὁ θεὸς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀτελές

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“ See that I AM,” that is “ Behold My subsistence.” For it is quite enough for a man’s reasoning faculty to advance as far as to learn that the Cause of the Universe is and subsists. To be anxious to continue his course yet further, and inquire about essence or quality in God, is a folly fit for the world’s childhood. Not even to Moses, the all-wise, did God accord this, albeit he had made countless requests, but a divine communication was issued to him, “ Thou shalt behold that which is behind Me, but My Face thou shalt not see ” (Exod. xxxiii. 23). This meant, that all that follows in the wake of God is within the good man’s apprehension, while He Himself alone is beyond it, beyond, that is, in the line of straight and direct approach, a mode of approach by which (had it been possible) His quality would have been made known ; but brought within ken by the powers that follow and attend Him ; for these make evident not His essence but His subsistence from the things which He accomplishes.

XLIX. Well then, the mind, when it begets a beginning of good disposition and a kind of first pattern of virtue in Seth, which means “ Watering,” is audacious with a fine and holy audacity. For it says, “ God raised up to me another seed in the place of Abel, whom Cain slew ” (Gen. iv. 25). The statement that none of God’s seeds fall to the ground, but all mount upwards rising from out of earthly surroundings, and leaving them behind, is a noticeable statement that can stand every test. For the seeds that mortals deposit for the production of living beings or plants do not all come to perfection ; and we are well content if those that come to nothing do not outnumber those that hold on. But God sows

- οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οὕτως καίρια καὶ τέλεια, ὡς εὐθύς ἐπι-  
 φέρεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἰδίων καρπῶν πληθὺν ἕκαστον.
- 172 L. Τὸν δὲ Σῆθ σπέρμα ἕτερον εἰπὼν ἀναβλα-  
 στήσαι, ὁποτέρου ἕτερον οὐ δεδήλωκε. ἀρά γε  
 τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος "Αβελ ἢ τοῦ κτείναντος Κάιν;  
 ἀλλὰ μήποτε ἑκατέρου διαφέρει τὸ γέννημα, τοῦ  
 μὲν Κάιν ὡς ἐχθρόν—δίψα γὰρ ἀρετῆς αὐτο-  
 μολούσῃ κακία πολεμιώτατον—τοῦ δὲ "Αβελ ὡς  
 φίλον καὶ συγγενές· ἕτερον γάρ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλότριον,  
 τὸ ἄρτι ἀρχόμενον τοῦ τελείου καὶ τὸ πρὸς γένεσιν
- 173 τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον. διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν "Αβελ τὸ  
 θνητὸν ἀπολιπὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω φύσιν μετανα-  
 στὰς οἴχεται, ὁ δὲ Σῆθ ἄτε σπέρμα ὢν ἀνθρω-  
 πίνης ἀρετῆς οὐδέποτε τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολείψει  
 γένος, ἀλλὰ πρώτην μὲν παραύξεισιν ἄχρι δεκάδος  
 ἀριθμοῦ τελείου λήψεται, καθ' ἣν ὁ δίκαιος Νῶε  
 συνίσταται, δευτέραν δὲ καὶ ἀμείνω τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Σῆμ εἰς ἑτέραν δεκάδα τελευτῶσαν,  
 ἥς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πιστὸς ἐπώνυμος, τρίτην δὲ καὶ  
 τελεωτέραν δεκάδος ἑβδομάδα ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι  
 Μωυσῆ τοῦ πάντα σοφοῦ παρήκουσαν· ἑβδομος  
 γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὸν  
 ἔξω τῶν ἀγίων κύκλον οἶα μύστης εἰλούμενος,  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἱεροφάντης ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ποιού-
- 174 μενος τὰς διατριβάς. LI. σκόπει δὲ τὰς τε πρὸς  
 βελτίωσιν ἐπιδόσεις τῆς ἀπλήστου καὶ ἀκορέστου  
 τῶν καλῶν ψυχῆς καὶ τὸν ἀπερίγραφον τοῦ θεοῦ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 501.

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in souls nothing futile, but seeds so successful and perfect in every case that each one immediately yields the full crop of the fruits appropriate to it.

L. When he says that Seth has sprung up as another seed, he does not indicate that in respect of which he is "another." Is it in respect of the murdered Abel, or of Cain who slew him? Probably the new offspring is different from each of them (in different ways); from Cain as one hostile to him, (since thirst for virtue is a thing utterly at war with wickedness that plays the part of a deserter); from Abel, as one that is friendly and akin to him; for it does not say "alien from him," but "different," as that which is but beginning differs from that which is full-grown, and that which is in communion with creation from that which is in communion with the uncreated. For this reason, while Abel has relinquished all that is mortal and removed and gone to the better existence, Seth, inasmuch as he is sprung from human virtue, will never relinquish the race of men, but will obtain enlargement. The first enlargement extends to the perfect number 10, when righteous Noah arises<sup>a</sup>; a second and yet better one from Shem, the son of Noah, up to a second "10," to which faithful Abraham gives his name; then a third, a "7" now more perfect than "10," reaching from Abraham to Moses, the man wise in all things. He, the seventh from Abraham, does not, like those before him, haunt the outer court of the Holy Place as one seeking initiation, but as a sacred Guide has his abode in the sanctuary. LI. Mark the advance to improvement made by the soul that has an insatiable desire to be filled with things that are beautiful, and the unlimited wealth of God, which has given as

- πλούτον, ὃς ἄλλοις ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐτέρων δεδώρηται τέλη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας τῆς κατὰ Σὴθ ἐπιστήμης ἀρχὴ τοῦ δικαίου γέγονε Νῶε, τὴν δὲ τούτου τελείωσιν Ἀβραὰμ ἀρχεται παιδεύεσθαι, ἣ δὲ ἀκροτάτη τοῦδε σοφία Μωυσέως ἐστὶν ἀσκη-
- 175 σις ἣ πρώτη. τοῦ δὲ ἀνωσμένου καὶ κλιθέντος ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ἀσθενείας Λὼτ αἱ δύο θυγατέρες, βουλή καὶ συγκατάθεσις, ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἐθέλουσι παιδοποιεῖσθαι (Gen. xix. 32), μαχόμενοι τῷ λέγοντι· “ἐξανέστησέ μοι ὁ θεός.” ὁ γὰρ ἐκείνω τὸ ὄν, τοῦθ’ αὐταῖς φασὶ τὸν νοῦν περιποιεῖσθαι δύνασθαι, μεθυούσης καὶ παραφόρου ψυχῆς δόγμα εἰσηγούμεναι· νήφοντος μὲν γὰρ ἔργον λογισμοῦ καὶ <σώφρονος> τὸν θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντός, πίπτοντος δ’ ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ παροινίας ἑαυτὸν ἐκάστου τῶν
- 176 ἀνθρωπέων πραγμάτων εἶναι δημιουργόν. πρότερον οὖν αἱ κακαὶ γνώμαι εἰς ὀμίλιαν οὐκ ἀφίξονται τῷ πατρί, πρὶν ἐμφορῆσαι<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἀφροσύνης πολὺν ἄκρατον καὶ εἴ τι συνετὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ
- [260] κατακλύσαι. γέγραπται | γὰρ ὅτι “ἐπότισαν τὸν πατέρα οἶνον” (Gen. xix. 33). ὥσθ’ ὅποτε μὴ ποτίζουσιν, ὑπὸ νήφοντος οὐδέποτε δέξονται σπορὰν ἔννομον, ὅταν δ’ ὑποβεβρεγμένος κραιπαλᾶ, κυφορήσουσι καὶ ἐπιμέμπτοις μὲν ὠδίσιν, ἐπαράτοις δὲ ταῖς γοναῖς χρήσονται.
- 177 LII. Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὴν ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀναγνον αὐτῶν σπορὰν συλλόγου θείου παντός ἀπεσχοίνισε· λέγει γάρ· “Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται οὐκ εἰσ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐμφορῆσαι read by conjecture for ἐπιφορῆσαι.

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starting-points to others the goals reached by those before them. For the limit of the knowledge attained by Seth became the starting-point of righteous Noah ; while Abraham begins his education with the consummation of Noah's ; and the highest point of wisdom reached by Abraham is the initial course in Moses' training. Counsel and Consent, the two daughters of Lot, the man who, after having been impelled upwards, wavered and went downwards through weakness of soul, desire to have children by Mind their father (Gen. xix. 32), being at variance with him who says, " God hath raised up for me." For what He the Existent One did for him, they say that Mind can bring about for them, and so they advocate the doctrine of a drunken and frenzied soul ; for it is the act of a sober and well-ordered reason to acknowledge God as the Maker and Father of the universe, but the assertion that he himself is the author of everything that concerns the life of man is that of one who is being ruined by drunkenness and sottishness. The evil intentions will not attain to intercourse with their father, until they have completely drenched him with the strong drink of folly, and have drowned any sense he had. For it is written " they gave their father wine to drink " (Gen. xix. 33). It follows that when they do not give him to drink, he will be sober and they will never receive from him lawful seed, but when he has become fairly soaked, and is under the fumes of his debauch, they will become pregnant, and there will be guilt in their travailing, and a curse upon their offspring.

LII. For this reason Moses shut out their impious and impure progeny from every holy assembly. For he says " Ammonites and Moabites shall not enter into

- ελεύσονται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου" (Deut. xxiii. 2). οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἔγγονοὶ τῶν Λῶτ θυγατέρων, ὑπολαβόντες ἐξ αἰσθήσεως καὶ νοῦ, ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς πάντα γεννᾶσθαι, τοῦτο πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γενέσεως αἴτιον
- 178 ὑπειληφότες. ἡμεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἐὰν δεξώμεθά ποτε τὴν τροπὴν ταύτην, [καὶ] ὡσπερ ἐκ κλύδωνος ἀνανηξάμενοι λαβώμεθα μετανοίας, ἐχυροῦ καὶ σωτηρίου πράγματος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον μεθώμεθα ἢ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς τὸ κυμαῖνον πέλαγος, τὴν
- 179 φορὰν τῆς τροπῆς, διεκδῦναι. καθὰ καὶ Ῥαχὴλ πρότερον αἰτήσαμένη τὸν νοῦν ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ ποιεῖν ἔκγονα καὶ ἀκούσασα· "μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἶμι;" (Gen. xxx. 2) προσέσχε τε τῷ λεχθέντι καὶ μαθοῦσα παλινωδίαν ἱερωτάτην ἐποίησε· γέγραπται γὰρ Ῥαχὴλ παλινωδία, θεοφιλῆς εὐχή· "προσθέτω μοι ὁ θεὸς υἷὸν ἕτερον" (Gen. xxx. 24), ἣν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἔξεστι ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἴδιον ἡδονὴν αὐτὸ μόνον θηρωμένων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλατὺν γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην νομιζόντων.
- 180 LIII. Χορηγὸς δ' ἐστὶ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος ὁ τοῦ δερματίνου Ἡρ συγγενῆς Αὐνάν. "γνοὺς" γάρ φησιν "οὗτος ὅτι οὐκ αὐτῷ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα, ὅταν εἰσῆλθε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐξέχει τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν" (Gen. xxxviii. 9) φιλαυτίας καὶ φιληδονίας ὑπερβεβηκῶς τοὺς ὄρους.
- 181 οὐκοῦν, εἴπομι' ἂν αὐτῷ, εἰ τὸ ἴδιον πορίζεις λυσιτελές, πάνθ' ὅσα ἄριστα καταλύσεις; ἐὰν μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφεληθῆς, τιμὰς γονέων, ἐπιμέλειαν γυναικός, παίδων ἀγωγὰς, χρήσεις ἀμέμ-



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the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 2), and these are descendants of the daughters of Lot. They are people that suppose that sense-perception and mind, a male and a female, act as father and mother for the procreation of all things, and take this process to be in very truth the cause of creation. Let us, however, should we ever incur such a lapse, as men who have escaped by swimming out of a troubled sea, lay hold of repentance, a strong rock of safety, nor let us quit our hold of it till we have been completely delivered from the tossing sea, that is from the strong current of our lapse. It was so that Rachel, having before addressed her request to Mind, as though offspring came through its operation, and having received the reply "Am I in the place of God?" (Gen. xxx. 2), gave heed to what was said, and learned its lesson, and made a recantation breathing true holiness, for Rachel's recantation stands written in a prayer dear to God "Let God add to me another son" (Gen. xxx. 24), a prayer which none of those may make who in their folly pursue nothing whatever but their own pleasure, regarding all else as matter for loud laughter and ridicule.

LIII. The chief representative of this doctrine is Onan, kinsman of the leathern Er. For it says "this man knowing that the seed should not be for him, when he went in to his brother's wife, spilled it on the ground" (Gen. xxxviii. 9), going beyond all bounds in love of self and love of pleasure. I should therefore address him thus: "Will you not"—so I would say to him—"by providing only your individual profit, be doing away with all the best things in the world, unless you are to get some advantage from them, honour paid to parents, loving care of a wife, bringing

- πτους οἰκετῶν, ἐπιτροπήν οἰκίας, πόλεως προ-  
 στασίαν, βεβαίωσιν νόμων, φυλακὴν ἔθων, τὴν  
 πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους αἰδῶ, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετε-  
 λευτηκότας εὐφημίαν, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας  
 κοινωνίαν, τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις  
 εὐσέβειαν; ἀνατρέπεις γὰρ καὶ ἐκχεῖς πάντα  
 ταῦτα, σπείρων σεαυτῷ καὶ τιθηνούμενος τὴν |  
 [261] γάστριν καὶ ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀρχὴν κακῶν ἀπάντων  
 182 ἡδονήν. LIV. ἀφ' ἧς ἐξαναστὰς ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ  
 θεραπευτῆς τοῦ μόνου καλοῦ Φινεές, ὁ τῶν  
 σωματικῶν στομιῶν καὶ τρημάτων δίσιπος, ὡς  
 μηδὲν αὐτῶν διαμαρτάνον ἐξυβρίζειν—ἐρμηνεύεται  
 γὰρ στόματος φιμός—λαβὼν τὸν σειρομάστην,  
 τουτέστι μαστεύσας καὶ ἀναζητήσας τὴν τῶν  
 ὄντων φύσιν καὶ μηδὲν σεμνότερον ἀρετῆς  
 ἀνευρῶν κατεκέντει καὶ ἀνήρει τῷ λόγῳ τὴν  
 μισάρετον καὶ φιλήδονον γένεσιν καὶ τοὺς τόπους,  
 ἐξ ὧν ἐβλάστησαν αἱ παράσημοι καὶ παράκοποι  
 183 χλιδαί τε καὶ θρύψεις. ὁ γὰρ νόμος <φησὶν> ὅτι  
 διὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐξεκέντησε τὴν γυναῖκα (Num.  
 xxv. 7, 8). οὕτως οὖν καταπαύσας μὲν τὴν ἐν  
 αὐτῷ στάσιν καὶ τὴν ἴδιον ἀποστραφεῖς ἡδονήν,  
 ζηλώσας τὸν θεοῦ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου ζῆλον,  
 ἄθλων τοῖς μεγίστοις δυσὶ τετίμηται καὶ κατ-  
 ἔστεπται, εἰρήνην καὶ ἱερωσύνην· τῇ μὲν ἱερωσύνη  
 ὅτι ἀδελφόν ἐστιν εἰρήνην καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἔργον.  
 184 τὴν γὰρ ἱερωμένην διάνοιαν λειτουργῶν καὶ θερα-

<sup>a</sup> The word rendered "spear" is literally a "pit-searcher" or "probe" used by soldiers for testing ground in which the enemy might have dug pits.

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up of children, happy and blameless relations with domestic servants, management of a house, leadership in a city, maintaining of laws, guardianship of usages, reverence towards elders, respect for the memory of the departed, fellowship with the living, piety in words and actions towards the Deity? For you are overturning and wasting all these, by breeding and nursing for yourself pleasure, the glutton and libertine, in whom all evil things have their origin. LIV. It was in abhorrence of pleasure that there arose the priest and minister of Him Who alone is Beautiful, Phinehas the controller of the inlets and outlets of the body, who takes care that none of them act amiss and break out in insolence, his very name meaning "Mouth-muzzle." Seizing his spear,<sup>a</sup> that is exploring and inquiring into the nature of all existence, and discovering nothing more august than virtue, he thrust through and destroyed by reason the creature that hates virtue and loves pleasure, and the parts out of which grew those base counterfeits, softness and voluptuousness. For the Law says that he thrust the woman through, even through the womb (Numb. xxv. 7 f.). Having therefore on this wise put a stop to the revolt within himself and turned clean away from his own pleasure, having thus shown his zeal for God, the First and Only One, he was honoured and crowned with the two greatest rewards, peace and priesthood; with peace, because he put an end to the intestine war of lusts in the soul; with the priesthood, because in name <sup>b</sup> and in fact it is akin to peace. For the consecrated intelligence, being His minister and attendant, must needs do all

<sup>b</sup> The Greek words for "peace" and "priesthood" are somewhat alike in sound.

πευτρίδα οὔσαν αὐτοῦ πάνθ' οἷς ὁ δεσπότης χαίρει  
 πράττειν ἀνάγκη· χαίρει δὲ εὐνομίας καὶ εὐ-  
 σταθείας βεβαιώσει, πολέμων δὲ καὶ στάσεων ἀνα-  
 τροπῇ, οὐχὶ τῶνδε μόνων οὐς αἱ πόλεις ποιοῦνται  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν· μείζονες  
 δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι καὶ χαλεπώτεροι, ἅτε καὶ τὸ θεϊό-  
 τερον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμὸν<sup>1</sup> αἰκίζόμενοι, τῶν  
 ὀπλων ἄχρι τῆς σωμαίων καὶ χρημάτων ζημίας  
 προερχομένων, ψυχὴν δὲ ὑγιαίνουσαν μηδέποτε  
 185 βλάβαι δυναμένων. διόπερ ὀρθῶς ἂν αἱ πόλεις  
 ἐποίησαν, πρὶν ὄπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ἀντεπι-  
 φέρειν ἀλλήλαις ἐπ' ἀνδραποδισμῶ καὶ ἀναστάσει  
 παντελεῖ, τῶν πολιτῶν ἕκαστον ἀναπέισασαι τὴν  
 ἐν αὐτῷ μεγάλην καὶ πολλὴν καὶ συνεχῆ στάσιν  
 καταλύσαι· αὕτη μὲν γὰρ πολέμων, εἰ δεῖ τ' ἀληθὲς  
 εἰπεῖν, ἀπάντων ἀρχέτυπόν ἐστιν, ἧς ἀναιρεθείσης  
 οὐδ' οἱ κατὰ μίμησιν ἔτι συνιστάμενοι γενήσονται,  
 βαθείας δὲ εἰρήνης χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν σχήσει  
 τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ὑπὸ νόμου φύσεως διδασκό-  
 μενον, ἀρετῆς, θεὸν τιμᾶν καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας  
 αὐτοῦ περιέχεσθαι· πηγὴ γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ  
 βίου μακραίωνος ἦδε.

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those things in which her Master delighteth : He delights in the maintenance of a well-ordered state under good laws, in the abolishing of wars and factions, not only those which occur between cities, but also of those that arise in the soul ; and these are greater and more serious than those, for they outrage reason, a more divine faculty than others within us. Weapons of war can go so far as to inflict bodily and monetary loss, but a healthy soul they can never harm. From this it appears that states would have done rightly if before bringing against one another arms and engines of war, with the enslavement and complete overthrow of the enemy in view, they had prevailed on their citizens one by one to put an end to the disorder which abounds within himself, and which is so great and unceasing. For, to be honest, this is the original of all wars. If this be abolished, neither will those occur which still break out in imitation of it, but the human race will attain to the experience and enjoyment of profound peace, taught by the law of nature, namely virtue, to honour God and to be occupied with His service, for this is the source of long life and happiness.

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<sup>1</sup> Mangey felt that the text here can hardly be right. It fails to make distinct the antithesis between inward and outward, on which the next sentence dwells. He suggested τὸ θεϊώτατον, τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμόν. Other possible changes are τι θεϊώτερον, τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμόν, or τὸ θεϊώτατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, λογισμόν.



ON THE GIANTS  
(DE GIGANTIBUS)





## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS short, but in many ways beautiful and more than usually Platonic treatise, is very closely connected, as the last words show, with the succeeding "Quod Deus," which will follow in Vol. III. of this translation. It is a dissertation on the words of Gen. vi. 1-4.

(a) And it came to pass when men began to become many upon the earth that daughters were born to them. (1)

(b) And the angels of God, seeing the daughters of men that they were fair, took to themselves wives from all, such as they chose. (2)

(c) And the Lord God said, "My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, because they are flesh; but their days shall be a hundred and twenty years. (3)

(d) And there were giants on earth in those days. (4)

(a) is dismissed shortly (1-5) with the remarks that the words "many" and "daughters" following on the mention of the birth of Noah, the just man, and his three sons (at the end of chap. v.) emphasize the truth that the unjust are many and the just few, and that the spiritual offspring of the latter are the masculine or higher qualities, while that of the former are the feminine or lower.

(b) The words are interpreted (6-18) in the sense that as angels, demons, and souls are really three

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names for the same thing, "the angels of God," while including God's spiritual messengers, here indicate the wicked souls which woo the "daughters of men," *i.e.* the merely sensual pleasures. In the course of these sections we have a remarkable passage (12-15), in which Philo, with many echoes of Plato, speaks of the human soul as having descended from some higher region to be incarnate in the body.

The discussion of (c) (19-57) forms the bulk of the treatise. He first treats (19-27) of the nature of God's spirit, dwelling particularly on the thought that when it is given to men, it is not thereby diminished, and on the unworthiness of the fleshly life (28-31). This leads him on to a long digression on Lev. xviii. 6, "a man, a man shall not go near to any that is akin to his flesh, to uncover shame." This text, which of course is really a prohibition of incest, is worked by Philo into an elaborate allegory, in which every phrase is treated separately (32-47). The repetition of "a man, a man" indicates the "true man" (33). The words "go near" show us that while many earthly advantages, such as riches, though "akin to the flesh," must be accepted, if they come to us, and used for the best, we must not seek them (34-38). "Uncovering shame" means (39) that those who follow such things introduce a false and shameful philosophy. The final words, "I am the Lord," are an appeal to us to take our stand with God against pleasure (40-44), but the use of "Lord" rather than "God" emphasizes his attitude of sovereignty of which we are bidden to stand in awe (45-47). We now return to the thought of what is meant by God's spirit abiding. Such an abiding can only be the privilege

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of those who lead the tranquil and contemplative life, which with the support of various texts he ascribes to Moses (47-55). The words "their days shall be an hundred and twenty years" are then touched on for a few lines (56), but dismissed with a promise of subsequent treatment, which if ever given has not come down to us (57).

(d) After a protest against regarding the story as a myth (58-59), we have a meditation (60-67) on the three classes of souls, the earth-born (who of course are the giants, γίγας being connected with γηγενής), the heaven-born, and the God-born. Of these the heaven-born are those who cultivate our heavenly part, the mind, and follow secular learning (60), and the God-born are those whose thoughts are fixed on God alone (61). These two are illustrated by Abram (before his change of name) and Abraham respectively (62-64). The earth-born, of course, are those who are given up to the fleshly life, and are typified by Nimrod (who in the LXX is called a giant) whose name signifying "desertion" marks the earth-born "giants" as deserters from the good (65-67).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΓΙΓΑΝΤΩΝ

- <sup>1</sup> [262] I. “Καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο, ἥνίκα ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγεννήθησαν αὐτοῖς” (Gen. vi. 1). ἄξιον οἶμαι διαπορῆσαι, διὰ τί μετὰ τὴν Νῶε καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδίδωσιν ἡμῶν τὸ γένος. ἀλλ’ ἴσως οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν αἰτίαν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐπειδὴν τὸ σπάνιον φανῆ, πάμπλου
- <sup>2</sup> τὸ ἐναντίον εὐρίσκεται. ἐνὸς οὖν εὐφυΐα τὴν περὶ μυρίους διαδείκνυσιν ἀφυΐαν, καὶ τὰ τεχνικὰ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιστημονικὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ ὄντα ὀλίγα τὴν τῶν ἀτέχνων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ συνόλως φαύλων ἄπειρον ὄσσην<sup>1</sup> πληθὺν ἐ-
- <sup>3</sup> σκιασμένην ἀποφαίνει. οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἥλιος εἰς ὧν τὸ μυρίον καὶ βαθὺ σκότος κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν κεχυμένον ἐπιλάμψας ἀνασκίδνησιν; εἰκότως οὖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε γένεσις καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀδίκους πολλοὺς διασυνίστησι· τῷ γὰρ ἐναντίῳ τὰ ἐναντία πέφυκέ
- <sup>4</sup> πως μάλιστα γνωρίζεσθαι. ἄδικος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἄρρενα γενεὰν ἐν ψυχῇ σπείρει τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ θηλυγονοῦσιν ἐκ φύσεως ἄνδρῳ καὶ κατεαγότες καὶ θηλυδρῖαι τὰ φρονήματα, δένδρον οὐδὲν ἀρετῆς, οὗ καλοῦς καὶ γενναίου ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔδει

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὄσων.

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I. "And it came to pass when men began to wax many on the earth and daughters were born unto them" (Gen. vi. 1). It is, I think, a problem worth full examination, why our race began to grow so numerous after the birth of Noah and his sons. Yet perhaps it is not difficult to render a reason. For when the rarity appears, its opposite always is found in abundance. And therefore the ability of the individual shows up the absence of ability in the crowd, and examples of skill in any of the arts and sciences, or of goodness and excellence through this rarity bring out of their obscurity into the light the vast multitude of the unskilled in the arts and sciences, and of the unjust and worthless in general. Mark that in the universe too the sun is but one, yet it scatters with its rays the manifold and profound darkness which wraps sea and land. And so it is only natural that the birth of just Noah and his sons should make evident the abundance of the unjust. That is the nature of opposites; it is through the existence of the one that we chiefly recognize the existence of the other. Again, the spiritual offspring of the unjust is never in any case male: the offspring of men whose thoughts are unmanly, nerveless and emasculate by nature are female. Such do not plant a tree of virtue whose fruit must needs

τοὺς καρποὺς γενέσθαι, πάντα δὲ κακίας καὶ παθῶν, ὧν γυναικῶδεις αἱ βλάσται, φυτεύσαντες·  
 5 οὗ χάριν θυγατέρας οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γεννηῆσαι λέγονται, υἱὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ δίκαιος ἄρρενογονεῖ Νῶε τέλειον καὶ ὀρθὸν λόγον καὶ ἄρρενα ὄντως μετιῶν, θηλυτόκος ἢ κατὰ τοὺς  
 [263] πολλοὺς ἀδικία πάντως | ἀναφαίνεται· ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ ἐναντία πάλιν γενέσθαι.

- 6 II. "Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καλαί εἰσιν, ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὧν ἐξελέξαντο" (Gen. vi. 2). οὗς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωυσῆς εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ψυχὰι δ' εἰσὶ  
 7 κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πετόμεναι. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ μῦθον εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὄλον δι' ὄλων τὸν κόσμον ἐψυχῶσθαι, τῶν πρώτων καὶ στοιχειωδῶν μερῶν ἐκάστου τὰ οἰκεία καὶ πρόσφορα ζῶα περιέχοντος, γῆς μὲν τὰ χερσαῖα, θαλάττης δὲ καὶ ποταμῶν τὰ ἔνυδρα, πυρὸς δὲ τὰ πυρίγονα—λόγος δὲ ἔχει ταῦτα κατὰ Μακεδονίαν μάλιστα γίνεσθαι—οὐρανοῦ δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας.  
 8 καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ψυχὰι ὄλαι δι' ὄλων ἀκήρατοί τε καὶ θεῖαι, παρὸ καὶ κύκλω κινουῦνται τὴν συγγενεστάτην νῶ κίνησιν· νοῦς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀκραιφνέστατος. ἔστιν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ζῶων πεπληρῶσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἀόρατα, ὅτι περ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ὄρατὸς αἰσθήσει.  
 9 ἀλλ' οὐ παρόσον ἀδύνατος ἢ ὄψις ψυχῶν φαν-

<sup>a</sup> i.e., mere " offshoots " not reaching the stage of fruits.

## ON THE GIANTS, 4-9

be true-born and excellent, only trees of vice and passions, whose off-shoots<sup>a</sup> are feminine. This is why we are told that these men begat daughters, while none of them is said to have begotten a son. For since just Noah who follows the right, the perfect and truly masculine reason, begets males, the injustice of the multitude appears as the parent of females only. It cannot be that the same things should be born of opposite parents: the offspring must be opposite also.

II. "And when the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took to themselves wives from all, those whom they chose" (Gen. vi. 2). It is Moses' custom to give the name of angels to those whom other philosophers call demons (or spirits), souls that is which fly and hover in the air. And let no one suppose that what is here said is a myth. For the universe must needs be filled through and through with life, and each of its primary elementary divisions contains the forms of life which are akin and suited to it. The earth has the creatures of the land, the sea and the rivers those that live in water, fire the fire-born,<sup>b</sup> which are said to be found especially in Macedonia, and heaven has the stars. For the stars are souls divine<sup>b</sup> and without blemish throughout, and therefore as each of them is mind in its purest form, they move in the line most akin to mind—the circle.

And so the other element, the air, must needs be filled with living beings, though indeed they are invisible to us, since even the air itself is not visible to our senses. Yet the fact that our powers of vision are incapable of any perception of the forms of these

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 502.

- τασιωθῆναι τύπους, διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ εἰσιν ἐν ἀέρι  
 ψυχαί, καταλαμβάνεσθαι δ' αὐτὰς ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὸ  
 νοῦ, ἵνα πρὸς τῶν ὁμοίων τὸ ὁμοιον θεωρῆται.
- 10 ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φήσομεν; πάνθ' ὅσα χερσαῖα καὶ  
 ἔνυδρα οὐκ ἀέρι καὶ πνεύματι ζῆ; τί δέ; οὐκ  
 ἀέρος κακωθέντος τὰ λοιμικὰ συνίστασθαι παθή-  
 ματα φιλεῖ, ὡς ἂν αἰτίου τῆς ψυχώσεως ἐκάστοις;  
 τί δέ; ὁπότε ἀπήμων καὶ ἀβλαβῆς εἶη, ὁποῖον ἐν  
 ταῖς βορείοις μάλιστα αὔραις εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, οὐ  
 καθαρωτέρου σπῶντα τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς πλείονα
- 11 καὶ κραταιοτέραν διαμονὴν ἐπιδίδωσιν; ἄρ' οὖν  
 εἰκὸς δι' οὗ τὰ ἄλλα, ἔνυδρά τε καὶ χερσαῖα,  
 ἐψύχωνται, ἔρημον εἶναι ἢ ψυχῶν ἀμοιρεῖν; του-  
 ναντίον μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ζώων ἄγωνα  
 ἦν, μόνος ἀὴρ ὤφειλε ζωοτοκῆσαι τὰ ψυχῆς κατ'  
 ἐξάίρετον χάριν παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ σπέρματα  
 λαβών.
- 12 III. Τῶν οὖν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν πρὸς σώματα κατ-  
 [264] ἔβησαν, αἱ δὲ | οὐδενὶ τῶν γῆς μορίων ἠξίωσάν  
 ποτε συνενεχθῆναι. ταύταις ἀφιερωθείσαις καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ πατρὸς θεραπείας περιεχομέναις ὑπηρέτισι καὶ  
 διακόνοις ὁ δημιουργὸς εἴωθε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν
- 13 τῶν θνητῶν ἐπιστάσιαν.<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖναι δ' ὥσπερ εἰς  
 ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβᾶσαι ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ συρμοῦ  
 δίνης βιαιοτάτης ἄρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, ποτὲ  
 δὲ πρὸς τὴν φορὰν ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθεῖσαι τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον ἀνενήξαντο, εἶτα ὅθεν ὤρμησαν, ἐκεῖσε

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπίστασιν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 502.



## ON THE GIANTS, 9-13

souls is no reason why we should doubt that there are souls in the air, but they must be apprehended by the mind, that like may be discerned by like. Here is a further consideration. Do not all creatures of land and water live by air and breath? And is it not true, that when the air is plague-stricken, disastrous pestilences often arise, suggesting that air is the animating principle to all and each, while on the other hand, when it is free from taint and mischief, a state which is most often found when the north wind blows, these same creatures, inhaling as they do a purer atmosphere, tend ever to enjoy a more abundant and stronger vitality? Is it then reasonable to suppose that this element which has been the source of life to the others, the denizens of land and water, should itself be desert and destitute of living souls? Nay, on the contrary, if all the other elements produced no animal life, it were still the proper function of the air to do what none other did and bring forth living beings, since to it the seeds of vitality have been committed through the special bounty of the Creator.

III. Now some of the souls have descended into bodies, but others have never deigned to be brought into union with any of the parts of earth. They are consecrated and devoted to the service of the Father and Creator whose wont it is to employ them as ministers and helpers, to have charge and care of mortal man. But the others descending into the body as though into a stream <sup>a</sup> have sometimes been caught in the swirl of its rushing torrent and swallowed up thereby, at other times have been able to stem the current, have risen to the surface and then soared upwards back to the place from whence they came.

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- 14 πάλιν ανέπτυσαν. αὐται μὲν οὖν εἰσι ψυχὰι τῶν ἀνόθως<sup>1</sup> φιλοσοφησάντων, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους μελετῶσαι τὸν μετὰ σωμάτων ἀποθνήσκειν βίον, ἵνα τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου παρὰ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ
- 15 καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ ζωῆς μεταλάχωσιν, αἱ δὲ καταποντωθεῖσαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι σοφίας ἠλόγησαν ἐκδόντες ἀστάτοις καὶ τυχηροῖς πράγμασιν ἑαυτούς, ὧν οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ψυχὴν ἢ νοῦν, ἀναφέρεται, πάντα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν συμφυᾶ νεκρὸν ἡμῶν, τὸ σῶμα, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀψυχότερα τούτου, δόξαν λέγω καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ τεθεαμένων τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καλὰ ἀπάτη ψευδοῦς δόξης ἀναπλάττεται ἢ ζωγραφεῖται.
- 16 IV. Ψυχὰς οὖν καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνόματα μὲν διαφέροντα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ταῦτὸν ὑποκείμενον διανοηθεῖς ἄχθος βαρύτερον ἀποθήσῃ δεισιδαιμονίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας καὶ κακοὺς λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ψυχὰς ὁμοίως, οὕτως καὶ ἀγγέλους τοὺς μὲν τῆς προσήσεως ἀξίους πρεσβευτὰς τινὰς ἀνθρώπων πρὸς θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἱερούς καὶ ἀσύλους διὰ τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον καὶ παγκάλην ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν, τοὺς δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀνιέρους καὶ ἀναξίους τῆς προσήσεως καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπολαμβάνων οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ.
- 17 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ τὸ παρὰ τῷ ὑμνογράφῳ εἰρημένον ἐν ἄσματι τοῦτο<sup>2</sup>. “ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὄργην θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ, θυμὸν καὶ ὄργην καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀνωθέν πως et alia.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο conj. Mangey : mss. and Wendland τούτῳ.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 502.

## ON THE GIANTS, 14-17

These last, then, are the souls of those who have given themselves to genuine philosophy, who from first to last study to die to the life in the body,<sup>a</sup> that a higher existence immortal and incorporeal, in the presence of Him who is Himself immortal and uncreate, may be their portion. But the souls which have sunk beneath the stream, are the souls of the others who have held no count of wisdom. They have abandoned themselves to the unstable things of chance, none of which has aught to do with our noblest part, the soul or mind, but all are related to that dead thing which was our birth-fellow, the body, or to objects more lifeless still, glory, wealth, and offices, and honours, and all other illusions which like images or pictures are created through the deceit of false opinion by those who have never gazed upon true beauty.

IV. So if you realize that souls and demons and angels are but different names for the same one underlying object, you will cast from you that most grievous burden, the fear of demons or superstition. The common usage of men is to give the name of demon to bad and good demons alike, and the name of soul to good and bad souls. And so, too, you also will not go wrong if you reckon as angels, not only those who are worthy of the name, who are as ambassadors backwards and forwards<sup>a</sup> between men and God and are rendered sacred and inviolate by reason of that glorious and blameless ministry, but also those who are unholy and unworthy of the title.

I have as witness to my argument the words of the Psalmist, where in one of the psalms we read "He sent out upon them the anger of His wrath, wrath and anger and affliction, a mission by

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- θλίψιν, ἀποστολήν δι' ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν" (Psalm [265] lxxvii. 49). οὗτοί | εἰσιν οἱ πονηροὶ τὸ ἀγγέλων ὄνομα ὑποδύμενοι, τὰς μὲν ὀρθοῦ λόγου θυγατέρας, ἐπιστήμας καὶ ἀρετάς, οὐκ εἰδότες, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θνητὰς θνητῶν ἀπογόνους ἡδονὰς μετερχόμενοι γνήσιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένας κάλλος, ὃ διανοία μόνῃ θεωρεῖται, νόθον δὲ εὐμορ-  
 18 φίαν, δι' ἧς ἡ αἴσθησις ἀπατᾶται. λαμβάνουσι δὲ οὐ πάσας ἅπαντες τὰς θυγατέρας, ἀλλ' ἔνιοι ἐνίας ἐκ μυρίων ὄσων ἐπελέξαντο ἑαυτοῖς, οἱ μὲν τὰς δι' ὄψεως, ἕτεροι δὲ τὰς δι' ἀκοῆς, τὰς δ' αὖθις διὰ γεύσεως καὶ γαστρὸς ἄλλοι, τινὲς δὲ τὰς μετὰ γαστέρα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πορρωτάτω διωκισμένων ἀντελάβοντο<sup>1</sup> μηκίστας τὰς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τείνοντες ἐπιθυμίας· ποικίλαι γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἱ ποικίλων ἡδονῶν αἰρέσεις, ἄλλων ὠκειωμένων ἄλλαις.
- 19 V. Ἐν δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀμήχανον τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταμεῖναι καὶ διαιωνίσαι πνεῦμα, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νομοθέτης. "εἶπέ" γάρ φησι "κύριος ὁ θεός· οὐ καταμενεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας"
- 20 (Gen. vi. 3). μένει μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε, καταμένει δ' οὐκ εἰσάπαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡμῖν. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἄλογος ἢ ἀψυχός ἐστιν, ὡς μηδέποτε ἔννοϊαν τοῦ ἀρίστου μήθ' ἐκὼν μήτ' ἄκων λαβεῖν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἐξαγίστοις ἐπιποτᾶται πολλάκις αἰφνίδιος ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασία, συλλαβεῖν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ φυλάξαι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀδυνατοῦσιν.
- 21 οἴχεται γὰρ εὐθέως μεταναστᾶσα, τοὺς προσεληλυ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνελάβοντο.

## ON THE GIANTS, 17-21

evil angels" (Ps. lxxvii. 49).<sup>a</sup> These are the evil ones who, cloaking themselves under the name of angels, know not the daughters of right reason, the sciences and virtues, but court the pleasures which are born of men, pleasures mortal as their parents—pleasures endowed not with the true beauty, which the mind alone can discern, but with the false comeliness, by which the senses are deceived. They do not all take all the daughters, but some choose these, some those, out of the vast multitude. Some take the pleasures of sight, others those of hearing, others again those of the palate and the belly, or of sex, while many, setting no bound to their inward desires, seize upon the pleasures which lie furthest beyond the common range. For as pleasures are manifold, the choices of pleasures must needs be manifold also. One here, another there, they each have their affinities.

V. Among such as these then it is impossible that the spirit of God should dwell and make for ever its habitation, as also the Lawgiver himself shows clearly. For (so it runs) "the Lord God said, My spirit shall not abide for ever among men, because they are flesh" (Gen. vi. 3). The spirit sometimes stays awhile, but it does not abide for ever among us, the mass of men. Who indeed is so lacking in reason or soul that he never either with or without his will receives a conception of the best? Nay, even over the reprobate hovers often of a sudden the vision of the excellent, but to grasp it and keep it for their own they have not the strength. In a moment it is gone and passed

<sup>a</sup> Ps. lxxviii. in A.V.

- θότας οικήτορας νόμον καὶ δίκην ἐκδεδιητημένους ἀποστραφείσα, πρὸς οὓς οὐδ' ἂν ποτε ἦκεν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ διελέγξαι χάριν τοὺς ἀντὶ καλῶν αἰσχροῦ
- 22 αἴρουμένους. λέγεται δὲ θεοῦ πνεῦμα καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ὁ ῥέων ἀπὸ γῆς, τρίτον στοιχείον ἐποχούμενον ὕδατι—παρό φησιν ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ: “ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος ” (Gen. i. 2), ἐπειδήπερ ἕξαιρόμενος ὁ ἀπὸ κούφου ὦν ἄνω φέρεται ὕδατι βάσει χρώμενος—καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τρόπον ἡ ἀκήρατος ἐπιστήμη, ἧς πᾶς ὁ
- 23 σοφὸς εἰκότως μετέχει. δηλοῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀγίων ἔργων δημιουργοῦ καὶ τεχνίτου φάσκων, ὅτι “ ἀνεκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Βεσελεὴλ καὶ ἐπέπλησεν αὐτὸν πνεύματος θείου, σοφίας, συνέσεως, ἐπιστήμης, ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔργῳ διανοεῖσθαι ” (Exod. xxxi. 2, 3). ὥστε τὸ τί ἐστὶ πνεῦμα θεῖον ὀρικῶς διὰ τῶν λεχθέντων ὑπογράφεται.
- 24 VI. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ Μωυσέως πνεῦμα, ὃ ἐπιφοιτᾷ τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέροις τοῦ
- [266] διενεγκεῖν ἑτέρων καὶ βελτιωθῆναι χάριν. | οἷς οὐδὲ πρεσβυτέροις πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔνεστι γενέσθαι μὴ μεταλαβοῦσι τοῦ πανσόφου πνεύματος ἐκείνου. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἀφελῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἐπιθήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυ-
- 25 τέρους ” (Num. xi. 17). ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης οὕτως ἀφαίρεσιν κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν καὶ διάζευξιν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷα γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπὸ πυρός, ὃ, κὰν μυρίας δᾶδας ἐξάψη, μένει μῆδ' ὀτιοῦν ἐλαττωθὲν ἐν ὁμοίῳ. τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἢ φύσεως τοῦς

<sup>a</sup> The word *oikētopas* is difficult. Possibly the idea is that such persons are as householders who invite the heavenly visitor to be their tenant.

## ON THE GIANTS, 21-25

to some other place, and from the habitation<sup>a</sup> of those who have come into its presence after wandering from the life of law and justice it turns away its steps. Nay, never would it have come to them save to convict those who choose the base instead of the noble. Now the name of the "spirit of God" is used in one sense for the air which flows up from the land,<sup>b</sup> the third element which rides upon the water, and thus we find in the Creation-story "the spirit of God was moving above the water" (Gen. i. 2), since the air through its lightness is lifted and rises upwards, having the water for its base. In another sense it is the pure knowledge in which every wise man naturally shares. The prophet shows this in speaking of the craftsman and artificer of the sacred works. God called up Bezaleel, he says, and "filled him with the divine spirit, with wisdom, understanding, and knowledge to devise in every work" (Exod. xxxi. 2 f.). In these words we have suggested to us a definition of what the spirit of God is.

VI. Such a divine spirit, too, is that of Moses, which visits the seventy elders that they may excel others and be brought to something better—those seventy who cannot be in real truth even elders, if they have not received a portion of that spirit of perfect wisdom. For it is written, "I will take of the spirit that is on thee and lay it upon the seventy elders" (Numb. xi. 17). But think not that this taking of the spirit comes to pass as when men cut away a piece and sever it. Rather it is, as when they take fire from fire, for though the fire should kindle a thousand torches, it is still as it was and is diminished not a whit. Of such a sort also is the nature of knowledge.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 502.

## PHILO

γὰρ φοιτητὰς καὶ γνωρίμους ἀποφήνασα ἐμπείρους  
 πάντας κατ' οὐδὲν μέρος ἔλαττοῦται, πολλάκις δὲ  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον ἐπιδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ φασι τὰς  
 ἀπαντλουμένας πηγὰς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνας λόγος ἔχει  
 26 τότε μᾶλλον γλυκαίνεσθαι. αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς πρὸς  
 ἑτέρους ὁμιλίας μελέτην καὶ ἄσκησιν ἐμποιοῦσαι  
 ὀλόκληρον τελειότητα ἐργάζονται. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ  
 ἴδιον αὐτοῦ Μωυσέως πνεῦμα ἢ τινος ἄλλου  
 γενητοῦ τοσοῦτω πλήθει γνωρίμων ἔμελλε δια-  
 νέμεσθαι, κἂν κατακερματισθὲν εἰς μοίρας τοσαύ-  
 27 τας ἐμειοῦτο. νῦν δὲ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ  
 σοφόν, τὸ θεῖον, τὸ ἄτμητον, τὸ ἀδιαίρετον, τὸ  
 ἀστείον, τὸ πάντη δι' ὅλων ἐκπεπληρωμένον·  
 ὅπερ ὠφελοῦν οὐ βλάπτεται οὐδὲ μεταδοθὲν  
 ἑτέροις οὐδ' αὖ προστεθὲν<sup>1</sup> ἔλαττοῦται τὴν σύνεσιν  
 28 καὶ ἐπιστήμην καὶ σοφίαν.

VIII. διὸ

δὴ πνεῦμα θεῖον μένειν μὲν δυνατὸν ἐν ψυχῇ,  
 διαμένειν δὲ ἀδύνατον, ὡς εἶπομεν. καὶ τί θαυμά-  
 ζομεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὸς  
 ἐχυρὰ καὶ βέβαιος ἐγγίνεται κτήσις ἀντιρρεπόντων  
 καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερα ταλαντευόντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 πραγμάτων καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλοίαις ἐνδεχομένων  
 29 μεταβολάς. αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ἀνεπιστημοσύνης μέγι-  
 στον ἢ σὰρξ καὶ ἢ πρὸς σάρκα οἰκείωσις· καὶ αὐτὸς  
 δὲ ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων “ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας ”  
 μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα καταμείναι. καίτοι  
 καὶ γάμος καὶ παιδοτροφία καὶ πορισμὸς τῶν  
 ἀναγκαίων ἀδοξία τε μετὰ ἀχρηματίας καὶ πραγ-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps with T, προστιθοῦν, i.e. “when it adds understanding . is not diminished.”

<sup>a</sup> Or filled up in all its parts, so as to have no interstices and thus be indivisible = ἀδιαίρετον.



## ON THE GIANTS, 25-29

All those who resort to it and become its disciples, it makes into men of skill, yet no part of it is diminished. Nay, often knowledge improves thereby, just as springs (so they say) when we draw water from them. For when this is done, it is thought that the spring becomes sweeter. So the giving of instruction to others, constantly repeated, entails study and practice to the instructor and thus works the perfect consummation of knowledge. If, then, it were Moses' own spirit, or the spirit of some other created being, which was according to God's purpose to be distributed to that great number of disciples, it would indeed be shredded into so many pieces and thus lessened. But as it is, the spirit which is on him is the wise, the divine, the excellent spirit, susceptible of neither severance nor division, diffused in its fullness everywhere and through all things,<sup>a</sup> the spirit which helps, but suffers no hurt, which though it be shared with others or added to others suffers no diminution in understanding and knowledge and wisdom.

VII. And so though the divine spirit may stay awhile in the soul it cannot abide there, as we have said. And why wonder at this? For there is nothing else of which we have secure and firm possession, since human things swing to and fro, sway now up, now down, as in a scale, and are subject to vicissitudes from hour to hour. But the chief cause of ignorance is the flesh, and the tie which binds us so closely to the flesh. And Moses himself affirms this when he says that "because they are flesh" the divine spirit cannot abide. It is true that marriage, and the rearing of children, and provision of necessities, and disrepute following in the wake of poverty, and the business of private and

- ματεΐαι, ὧν αἱ μὲν ἴδιαι αἱ δὲ κοιναί, καὶ μυρία  
 30 ἄλλα, πρὶν σοφίαν ἀνθῆσαι, κατεμάραναν. ἀλλ’  
 οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐμπόδιον πρὸς αὐξήσιν αὐτῆς, ὡς ἡ  
 σαρκῶν φύσις. αὕτη γὰρ καθάπερ τις θεμέλιος  
 ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀμαθίας πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ὑπο-  
 βέβληται, ᾧ τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον ἐποικοδο-  
 31 μείται. ψυχὰι μὲν γὰρ ἄσαρκοι καὶ ἀσώματοι ἐν  
 τῷ τοῦ παντὸς θεάτρῳ διημερεύουσαι θεαμάτων  
 [267] καὶ ἀκουσμάτων θείων, | ὧν ἄπληστος αὐτὰς  
 εἰσελήλυθεν ἔρωσ, μηδενὸς κωλυσιεργούντος ἀπο-  
 λαύουσιν. ὅσαι δὲ τὸν σαρκῶν φόρτον ἀχθοφοροῦσι,  
 βαρυνόμεναι καὶ πιεζόμεναι ἄνω μὲν βλέπειν εἰς  
 τὰς οὐρανίους περιόδους ἀδυνατοῦσι, κάτω δὲ  
 ἐλκυσθεῖσαι τὸν αὐχένα βιαίως δίκην τετραπόδων  
 γῆ προσερρίζωνται.
- 32 VIII. Παρὸ καὶ τὰς ἐκνόμους καὶ ἐκθέσμους  
 ὁμιλίας τε καὶ μίξεις ἐγνωκῶς ὁ νομοθέτης  
 ἀναιρεῖν προοιμιάζεται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ ἄν-  
 θρωπος ἄνθρωπος πρὸς πάντα οἰκεῖον σαρκὸς  
 αὐτοῦ οὐ προσελεύσεται ἀποκαλύψαι ἀσχημοσύνην·  
 ἐγὼ κύριος ” (Lev. xviii. 6). πῶς ἂν τις προ-  
 τρέψαιτο μᾶλλον σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν σαρκὸς οἰκείων  
 33 καταφρονεῖν ἢ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; καίτοι οὐκ  
 ἀποτρέπει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παγίως ἀποφαίνεται,  
 ὅτι ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος οὐ προσελεύσεται  
 ποτε ἐκὼν ταῖς φίλαις καὶ συγγενέσι σώματος  
 ἡδοναῖς, ἀλλοτρίωσιν δὲ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς αἰεὶ  
 34 μελετήσῃ. τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ δις φάναι  
 “ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ” σημειῖόν ἐστι τοῦ μὴ τὸν  
 ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀρετῇ κεχρη-  
 μένον δηλοῦσθαι. ὄντως γὰρ ὁ ἀληθινὸς οὗτός

## ON THE GIANTS, 29-34

public life, and a multitude of other things wither the flower of wisdom before it blooms. But nothing thwarts its growth so much as our fleshly nature. For on it ignorance and scorn of learning rest. It is ready laid for them as a first and main foundation; each one of the qualities named rises on it like a building. For souls that are free from flesh and body spend their days in the theatre of the universe and with a joy that none can hinder see and hear things divine, which they have desired with love insatiable. But those which bear the burden of the flesh, oppressed by the grievous load, cannot look up to the heavens as they revolve, but with necks bowed downwards are constrained to stand rooted to the ground like four-footed beasts.

VIII. For the same cause the lawgiver, when he is minded to do away with all lawless and disorderly intercourse and union, prefaces his command thus, "a man, a man shall not go near to any that is akin to his flesh to uncover their shame. I am the Lord" (Lev. xviii. 6). How could the command to spurn the flesh and what pertains to flesh be better given than in this form? And indeed he does not only forbid, but positively affirms that the man who is truly a man will not of his own free will go near to the pleasures which are the friends and kin of the body, but will always exercise himself in the lesson of estrangement from them. The repeated word, "a man, a man,"<sup>a</sup> instead of the single word, is a sign that he means not the man who is compounded of soul and body, but the man whose life is one of virtue. For he indeed is the true man, and it was

<sup>a</sup> No such repetition is in the Hebrew.

## PHILO

ἐστίν, ὃν καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν λύχνον τις μεσημβρίας  
 ἀψάμενος πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους ἄνθρωπον ἔφη  
 ζητεῖν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πρὸς πάντα οἰκεῖον προσ-  
 ἔρχεσθαι τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχει λόγον ἀναγκαῖον. ἔνια  
 γὰρ προσετέον, οἷον αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἷς  
 χρώμενοι ζῆν ἀνόσως καὶ ὑγιεινῶς δυνησόμεθα,  
 τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σκορακιστέον, ὑφ' ὧν ἐξαπτόμεναι  
 αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι τὰ σπουδαῖα πάντα ῥύμη μιᾷ κατα-  
 35 φλέγουσι. μὴ πρὸς πάντα οὖν τὰ τῆ σαρκὶ φίλα  
 αἱ ὀρέξεις ἀνηρεθίσθωσαν· ἡδοναὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀτίθασοι  
 πολλάκις, ὅταν κυνῶν τρόπον προσσαίνωσιν, ἐξ  
 ὑποστροφῆς ἀνίατα ἔδακον. ὥστε τὴν ἀρετῆς  
 φίλην ὀλιγοδείαν πρὸ τῶν σώματος οἰκεῖων ἀσπα-  
 ζόμενοι τὸν πολὺν καὶ ἀνήνυτον ὄχλον ἀσπόνδων  
 ἐχθρῶν καταλύωμεν. εἰ δὲ πού τις καιρὸς  
 βιάζεται πλείω τῶν μετρίων καὶ ἱκανῶν λαμ-  
 βάνειν, αὐτοὶ μὴ προσερχώμεθα· λέγει γάρ· “οὐ  
 προσελεύσεται αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύψαι ἀσχημοσύνην.”  
 36 IX. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστίν, ἄξιον ἀνα-  
 πτύξαι· πολλάκις οὐ γενόμενοί τινες πορισταὶ  
 χρημάτων ἄφθονον ἔσχον περιουσίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ  
 δόξαν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσαντες ἐπαίνων δημοσίᾳ καὶ  
 τιμῶν ἠξιώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ μικρὰν ἰσχὺν  
 37 ἐλπίσασιν μεγίστην προσεγένετο εὐτονία. μαθέτω-  
 σαν δὴ πάντες οὗτοι μηδενὶ προσέρχεσθαι γνώμη  
 τῶν εἰρημένων, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ μὴ θαυμάζειν αὐτὰ  
 καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι πλέον τοῦ μετρίου κρίνοντας

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, Diogenes the Cynic, see Diog. Laert. vi. 41.

<sup>b</sup> The contrast is between προσέρχεσθαι (approach voluntarily) and προσετέον (admit passively) not between ἔνια and πάντα, which here as elsewhere in this meditation on Lev. xviii. 6 means “any” not “every.”

## ON THE GIANTS, 34-37

of him that one of the ancients <sup>a</sup> spoke, when he lit a candle at midday and told them who asked his meaning that he was seeking a man. Again, there is a cogent reason for his saying that a man is not to *go near* to anyone pertaining to his flesh. For there are some things which we must *admit*, <sup>b</sup> as, for instance, the actual necessities of life, the use of which will enable us to live in health and free from sickness. But we must reject with scorn the superfluities which kindle the lusts that with a single flameburst consume every good thing. Let not our appetites, then, be whetted and incited towards anything that is dear to the flesh. The undisciplined pleasures are often as dogs; they fawn on us, then turn against us and their bite is fatal. Therefore let us embrace that spirit of frugal contentment which is the friend of virtue rather than the things which belong to the body, and thus let us subdue the vast and countless host of her deadly foes. But if some chance occasion force us to receive more than a moderate sufficiency, let us not of our own accord go near to it. For he says, "he shall not of himself go near to uncover shame."

### IX.

The meaning of these words it would be well to explain. Men have often possessed an unlimited profusion of wealth, without engaging in lucrative trade, and others have not pursued glory and yet been held worthy to receive civic eulogies and honours. Others, again, who had no expectation of even a little bodily strength have found themselves most abundantly endowed with muscle and vigour. Let all such learn not to "go near" with deliberate purpose to any of these gifts, that is, not to regard them with admiration or undue satisfaction, judging

- [268] ἕκαστον αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον οὐκ | ἀγαθόν,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγιστον κακόν, τὰ χρήματα, τὴν δόξαν, τὴν σωματῶν δύναμιν. φιλαργύροις μὲν γὰρ ἢ πρὸς ἀργύριον, φιλοδόξοις δὲ ἢ πρὸς δόξαν, φιλάθλοισι δὲ καὶ φιλογυμνασταῖς ἢ πρὸς ἰσχὺν πρόσ-  
 38 οδος οἰκεία· τὸ γὰρ ἄμεινον, ψυχῆν, τοῖς χείροσιν ἐκδεδώκασιν, ἀψύχοις. ὅσοι δὲ ἐντὸς ἑαυτῶν εἰσι, τὰς λαμπρὰς καὶ περιμαχήτους εὐπραγίας ὑπηκόους ἀποφαίνουσιν ὡς ἡγεμόνι τῷ νῶ, προσιούσας μὲν δεχόμενοι πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, μακρὰν δὲ ἀφεστηκυῖαις οὐ προσερχόμενοι, ὡς  
 39 καὶ δίχα αὐτῶν δυνηθέντες ἂν εὐδαιμονῆσαι. ὁ δὲ μετιῶν καὶ κατ' ἔχνος βαίνειν ἐθέλων αἰσχροῦς ἀναπίμπλησι δόξης φιλοσοφίαν· οὐ χάριν λέγεται “ ἀποκαλύψαι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην.” πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐναργῆ καὶ πρόδηλα τὰ ὄνειδα τῶν λεγόντων μὲν εἶναι σοφῶν, πωλούντων δὲ σοφίαν καὶ ἐπειωνιζόντων, ὥσπερ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ ὄνια προκηρύττοντας, τοτὲ μὲν μικροῦ λήμματος, τοτὲ δὲ ἡδέος καὶ εὐπαραγώγου λόγου, τοτὲ δὲ ἀβεβαίου ἐλπίδος ἀπὸ μηδενὸς ἡρτημένης ἐχυροῦ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὑποσχέσεων, αἱ διαφέρουσιν ὄνειράτων οὐδέν;  
 40 X. Τὸ δὲ ἐπιφερόμενον “ ἐγὼ κύριος ” παγκάλως καὶ σφόδρα παιδευτικῶς εἴρηται. ἀντίθετος γάρ, φησὶν, ὧ γενναίῃ, τὸ σαρκὸς ἀγαθὸν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγαθῷ· οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν σαρκὸς ἐστὶν ἄλογος ἡδονή, τὸ δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ  
 41 παντὸς ὁ νοῦς τῶν ὄλων, ὁ θεός. ἐφάμιλλός γε<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Wendland: MSS. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν μόνον: Ed. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν [μόνον].

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τε.

## ON THE GIANTS, 37-41

that each of them is not only no true blessing, but actually a grievous evil, whether it be money, or glory, or bodily strength. For it is the lovers of these things in each case who make the "approach," money-lovers to money, glory-lovers to glory, lovers of athletics and gymnastics to bodily strength. To these such "approach" is natural. They have abandoned the better to the worse, the soul to the soulless. The sane man brings the dazzling and coveted gifts of fortune in subjection to the mind as to a captain. If they come to him,<sup>a</sup> he accepts them to use them for improvement of life, but if they remain afar off, he does not go to them, judging that without them happiness might still be quite possible. He who makes them his quest and would follow in their track infects philosophy with the baseness of mere opinion and therefore is said to "uncover shame." For manifest surely and clear is the disgrace of those who say that they are wise, yet barter their wisdom for what they can get,<sup>b</sup> as men say is the way of the pedlars who hawk their goods in the market. And sometimes the price is just a trifling gain, sometimes a soft seductive speech, sometimes a hope ungrounded and ill secured, sometimes again promises idle as any dream.

X. The words that follow, "I (am) the Lord," are full of beauty and fraught with much instruction. Weigh, friend, he says, the good as the flesh sees it against the good as it exists in the soul and in the All. The first is irrational pleasure, the second is the mind of the universe, even God. The comparison

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 502, 503.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 486, note on ἐπειρωρίζω *De Cher.* 123.

- ἡ ἀσυγκρίτων<sup>1</sup> σύγκρισις, ὡς παρὰ τὴν ἐγγὺς ὁμοιότητα ἀπατηθῆναι· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ἔμφυχα ἀψύχοις ἐρεῖ τις καὶ τὰ λογικὰ ἀλόγοις καὶ ἡρμοσμένα ἀναρμόστοις καὶ περιττοῖς ἄρτια καὶ φωτὶ σκότος καὶ ἡμέραν νυκτὶ καὶ πάντα τὰναντία
- 42 τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι. καίτοι καὶ εἰ ταῦτα τῷ γένεσιν ἐνδεδέχθαι κοινωνίαν τινὰ ἔχει καὶ συγγένειαν, ἀλλὰ γε ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν φύντων ὅμοιος, ὅτιπερ τὸ μὲν γέγονέ τε καὶ πείσεται, ὁ δ' ἐστὶν ἀγέννητός τε καὶ ποιῶν
- 43 αἰεί. καλὸν δὲ μὴ λιποτακτῆσαι μὲν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τάξεως, ἐν ἣ τούτους τεταγμένους πάντας ἀριστεύειν ἀνάγκη, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀνανδρον καὶ κεκλασμένην ἡδονήν, ἣ βλάπτει μὲν τοὺς φίλους, ὠφελεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. καινοτάτη γάρ τις αὐτῆς ἢ φύσις· οἷς μὲν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν μεταδοῦναι, τούτους εὐθύς ἐζημίωσεν, οὓς δ' ἂν ἀφελέσθαι, τὰ μέγιστα ὤνησε. βλάπτει μὲν γὰρ ὅταν διδῶ, χαρίζεται δὲ ὅταν
- 44 ἀφαιρῆται. εἰάν οὖν, ὡς ψυχῆ, προσκαλῆται σέ τι τῶν ἡδονῆς φίλτρων, μετάκλινε σεαυτὴν καὶ ἀντιπεριάγουσα τὴν ὄψιν κάτιδε τὸ γνήσιον ἀρετῆς κάλλος καὶ ὀρώσα ἐπίμεινον, ἄχρισ ἂν ἡμερος ἐντακῆ σοι καὶ ὡς σιδηρῆτις λίθος ἐπισπάσῃται σε καὶ ἐγγὺς ἀγάγη καὶ ἐξαρτήσῃ τοῦ ποθουμένου.
- 45 XI. Τὸ δὲ “ ἐγὼ | κύριος ” ἀκουστέον οὐ μόνον [269] ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ “ ἐγὼ τὸ τέλειον καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθόν,” οὐ περιεχόμενός τις τὸ ἀτελὲς καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ σαρκῶν ἡρτημένον ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> ἀσυγκρίτων conj. Wendland: mss. ἡ ἀσύγκριτος σύγκρισις (so also Ed.), *et alia*, see App. p. 503.



## ON THE GIANTS, 41-45

of these two incomparables is so balanced a matter, you think, that their close resemblance may lead to deception! Well, in that case you must say that all opposites are really identical, living identical with lifeless, reasoning with unreasoning, ordered with disordered, odd with even, light with darkness, day with night. And indeed within these pairs, because they have been the subject of creation, we do find fellowship and kinship of each with its opposite, but God has no likeness even to what is noblest of things born. That was created in the past, it will be passive in the future, but God is uncreated and ever active.

Honour bids you not steal away from that rank in God's array where they that are so posted must all seek to be the bravest, nor desert to pleasure, the cowardly and invertebrate, pleasure who harms her friends and helps her enemies. Her nature is a paradox indeed. On those to whom she would fain impart of the boons which she has to give she inflicts loss in the very act. On those from whom she would take away, she bestows the greatest blessings. She harms when she gives, she benefits when she takes. Therefore, my soul, if any of the love-lures of pleasure invite thee, turn thyself aside, let thine eyes look else-whither. Look rather on the genuine beauty of virtue, gaze on her continually, till yearning sink into thy marrow, till like the magnet it draw thee on and bring thee nigh and bind thee fast to the object of thy desire.

XI. Again the words "I am the Lord" must not be understood merely as meaning "I am the perfect, the imperishable, the truly good existence," which whoso embraces will turn away from the imperfect, the perishable, the element which is dependent on

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στραφήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ “ ἐγὼ ὁ ἄρχων  
 46 καὶ [ὁ] βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης.” οὔτε δὲ ὑπη-  
 κόοις παρόντων ἡγεμόνων οὔτε δούλοις δεσποτῶν  
 ἀδικεῖν ἀσφαλές· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ὅταν ὦσι οἱ κολασταί,  
 φόβῳ σωφρονίζονται οἱ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὴ πεφυκότες  
 47 νουθετεῖσθαι. πάντα γὰρ<sup>α</sup> πεπληρωκῶς ὁ θεὸς  
 ἐγγὺς ἐστίν, ὥστε ἐφορῶντος καὶ πλησίον ὄντος  
 μάλιστα μὲν αἰδεσθέντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, εὐλαβη-  
 θέντες γοῦν τὸ ἀνίκητον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ κράτος  
 καὶ τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις,  
 ὁπότε τῇ κολαστηρίῳ χρῆσθαι δυνάμει διανοηθεῖη,  
 ἡρεμήσωμεν ἀδικοῦντες, ἵνα καὶ τὸ σοφίας πνεῦμα  
 θεῖον μὴ ῥαδίως μεταναστὰν οἴχηται, πάμπολυν  
 δὲ χρόνον καταμείνῃ παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ  
 48 Μωυσεὶ τῷ σοφῷ<sup>β</sup> χρῆται γὰρ οὗτος ταῖς εἰρημικω-  
 τάταις σχέσεσιν ἢ ὡς ἐστὼς ἢ ὡς καθεζόμενος,  
 ἡκιστα τρέπεσθαι καὶ μεταβολαῖς χρῆσθαι πε-  
 φυκῶς· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ Μωυσῆς καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς  
 οὐκ ἐκινήθησαν ” (Num. xiv. 44), ἦτοι παρόσον  
 ὁ σοφὸς ἀχώριστος ἀρετῆς ἢ παρόσον οὔτε ἀρετὴ  
 κινήτων οὔτε σπουδαῖος μεταβλητόν, ἀλλ’ ἐκάτερον  
 ὀρθοῦ λόγου βεβαιότητι ἰδρυμένον· καὶ πάλιν ἐν  
 49 ἐτέροις· “ σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ’ ἐμοῦ ” (Deut.  
 v. 31). λόγιόν ἐστι τοῦτο χρησθὲν τῷ προφήτῃ·  
 στάσις τε καὶ ἡρεμία ἀκλινῆς ἢ παρὰ τὸν ἀκλινῶς  
 ἐστῶτα αἰεὶ θεόν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὑγιεῖ κανόνι τὰ  
 50 παρατιθέμενα εὐθύνεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτό μοι

<sup>a</sup> Or taking ἐξ ἑαυτῶν with νουθετεῖσθαι “ those whose nature is such that they do not reprove themselves.”

<sup>b</sup> i.e., Moses is the wise man, the ark virtue. Philo’s first interpretation lays stress on their remaining together, the second on the fact that neither of them moved.

## ON THE GIANTS, 45-50

the flesh. They mean also "I am the sovereign and king and master." When the subject is in the presence of the ruler, or the slave of his master, wrongdoing is perilous. For when the ministers of punishment are near, those who of their own nature have no ears for reproof<sup>a</sup> are chastened and controlled by fear. God, since His fullness is everywhere, is near us, and since His eye beholds us, since He is close beside us, let us refrain from evil-doing. It were best that our motive should be reverence, but if not, let us at least tremble to think of the power of His sovereignty, how invincible it is, how terrible and inexorable in vengeance, when He is minded to use His power of chastisement. Thus may the divine spirit of wisdom not lightly shift His dwelling and be gone, but long, long abide with us, since He did thus abide with Moses the wise. For the posture and carriage of Moses whether he stand or sit is ever of the most tranquil and serene, and his nature averse to change and mutability. For we read "Moses and the ark were not moved" (Numb. xiv. 44). The reason may be either that the wise man cannot be parted from virtue, or that neither is virtue subject to movement nor the good man to change, but both are stayed on the firm foundation of right reason.<sup>b</sup> Again in another place we have "stand thou here with Me"<sup>c</sup> (Deut. v. 31). Here we have an oracle vouchsafed to the prophet; true stability and immutable tranquillity is that which we experience at the side of God, who Himself stands always immutable. For when the measuring-line is true all that is set beside must needs be made straight. This,

<sup>a</sup> Or "stand thou with Me Myself"; see on *De Sacr.* 8.

- δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ περισσὸς τῦφος, ἐπέκλησιν Ἰοθόρ, καταπλαγεῖς τὴν ἀρρεπὴ καὶ ἰσαιτάτην καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσιν προαίρεσιν τοῦ σοφοῦ σχετλιάζειν καὶ ἀναπυθάνεσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. “διὰ τί σὺ κάθησαι μόνος;” (Exod. 51 xviii. 14) ἰδὼν γάρ τις τὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ συνεχῆ πόλεμον ἀνθρώπων οὐ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ χώρας καὶ πόλεις αὐτὸ μόνον συνιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ’ οἰκίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἓνα ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἄλεκτον καὶ βαρὺν χειμῶνα, ὃς ὑπὸ βιαιοτάτης φορᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων ἀναρριπίζεται, τεθαύμακεν εἰκότως, εἴ τις ἐν χειμῶνι εὐδίαν ἢ ἐν κλύδωνι κυμαινούσης θαλάττης
- 52 γαλήνην ἄγειν δύναται. ὁρᾶς ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λόγος ἐνδιατρίβειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐνσχολάζειν τοῖς ἀγίοις δόγμασι δυνάμενος ἄδειαν ἔσχηκεν
- [270] ἀνὰ πάντα καιρὸν πρὸς | αὐτὰ φοιτᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ δι’ ἐνιαυτοῦ μόλις; (Lev. xvi. 2, 34) τὸ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ λόγου τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν οὐ βέβαιον, ὅτι δυάς, τὸ δ’ ἄνευ φωνῆς μόνῃ ψυχῇ τὸ ὄν θεωρεῖν ἐχυρώτατον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀδιαίρετον ἴσταται μονάδα.
- 53 XII. “Ὡστε οὖν ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τουτέστι τοῖς πολλὰ τοῦ βίου τέλη προτεθειμένοις, οὐ καταμένει τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα, κὰν πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναστραφῆ, μόνῳ δὲ ἀνθρώπων εἶδει ἐνὶ παραγίνεται, ὃ πάντα ἀπαμφιασάμενον τὰ ἐν γενέσει καὶ τὸ ἐσωτάτω καταπέτασμα καὶ προκάλυμμα τῆς δόξης ἀνειμένη καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ πρὸς
- 54 θεὸν ἀφίξεται. οὕτως καὶ Μωυσῆς ἔξω τῆς

<sup>a</sup> See on *De Sacr.* 50, App. p. 490.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 503.

<sup>c</sup> A somewhat strange case of ἀνειμένη. Possibly read ἀνείμονι, a rare Homeric word (*Od.* iii. 348) which Philo uses

## ON THE GIANTS, 50-54

I think, is why worldly-wise vanity<sup>a</sup> called Jethro, struck with amazement before the wise man's rule of life, which never swerves from its absolute consistency, never changes its tenor or its character, begins to scold and ply him with questions thus. "Why dost thou sit alone?" (Exod. xviii. 14). For indeed one who sees the perpetual war-in-peace of men, how it rages not only between nations and countries and cities, but also in the household and still more in each individual man—the fierce mysterious storm in the soul, whipped into fury by the wild blast of life and its cares—can well wonder that another should find fair weather in the storm, or calm amid the surges of the tempestuous sea.

Mark you that not even the high-priest Reason, though he has the power to dwell in unbroken leisure amid the sacred doctrines, has received free licence to resort to them at every season, but barely once a year (Lev. xvi. 2 and 34). For when we have reason (or thought) in the form of utterance<sup>b</sup> we have no constancy, because it is twofold. But when without speech and within the soul alone we contemplate the Existent, there is perfect stability, because such contemplation is based on the Indivisible Unity.

XII. Thus it is that in the many, those, that is, who have set before them many ends in life, the divine spirit does not abide, even though it sojourn there for a while. One sort of men only does it aid with its presence, even those who, having disrobed themselves of all created things and of the innermost veil and wrapping of mere opinion, with mind unhampered<sup>c</sup> and naked will come to God. So too

in *De Somn.* i. 99, though in a different context from this. See also App. p. 503.

- παρεμβολῆς καὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ παντὸς στρατο-  
πέδου πῆξας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν (Exod. cxxiii. 7),  
τουτέστι τὴν γνώμην ἰδρυσάμενος ἀκλιῆ, προσ-  
κυνεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἄρχεται καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφον, τὸν  
ἀειδῆ χώρον, εἰσελθὼν αὐτοῦ καταμένει τελού-  
μενος τὰς ἱερωτάτας τελετάς. γίνεται δὲ οὐ  
μόνον μύστης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱεροφάντης ὀργίων καὶ  
55 ὑφηγησεται. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τὸ θεῖον  
ἀεὶ παρίσταται πνεῦμα πάσης ὀρθῆς ἀφηγούμενον  
ὁδοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὡς ἔφην, τάχιστα δια-  
ζεύγνυται, ὧν καὶ τὸν βίον ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν  
ἔτων ἀριθμῷ πεπλήρωκε· λέγει γάρ· “ ἔσονται αἱ  
ἡμέραι αὐτῶν ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ” (Gen. vi. 3).  
56 ἀλλὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς τῶν ἴσων γενόμενος ἔτων  
τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου μετανίσταται (Deut. cxxiv. 7).  
πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἰσοχρονίους εἶναι τοὺς ὑπαιτίους  
τῷ πανσόφῳ καὶ προφήτῃ; εἰς μὲν οὖν τὸ παρὸν  
ἀρκέσει τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ ὁμώνυμα οὐ πάντως  
ἔσθ’ ὅμοια, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὄλω γένει διεζευκται,  
καὶ ὅτι τὸ φαῦλον τῷ σπουδαίῳ δύναται μὲν καὶ  
ἀριθμοὺς καὶ χρόνους ἔχειν τοὺς ἴσους, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
57 ἀλλήλων διωκισμένας δυνάμεις. τὸν δὲ ἀκριβῆ  
λόγον τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτων ὑπερθησόμεθα  
εἰς τὴν τοῦ προφητικοῦ βίου παντὸς ἐξέτασιν,  
ὅταν αὐτὸν ἱκανοὶ γενώμεθα μυεῖσθαι, νυνὶ δὲ τὰ  
ἑξῆς λέγωμεν.  
58 XIII. “ Οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν

<sup>a</sup> Or “leading him in every right way.”

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 503, 504.

## ON THE GIANTS, 54-58

Moses pitched his own tent outside the camp (Exod. xxxiii. 7) and the whole array of bodily things, that is, he set up his judgement where it should not be removed. Then only does he begin to worship God and entering the darkness, the invisible region, abides there while he learns the secrets of the most holy mysteries. There he becomes not only one of the congregation of the initiated, but also the hierophant and teacher of divine rites, which he will impart to those whose ears are purified.

He then has ever the divine spirit at his side, taking the lead in every journey of righteousness,<sup>a</sup> but from those others, as I have said, it quickly separates itself, from these to whose span of life he has also set a term of a hundred and twenty years, for he says "their days shall be a hundred and twenty years" (Gen. vi. 3). Yet Moses also departs from mortal life, just when he has reached that number of years (Deut. xxxiv. 7). How then can it be reasonable that the years of the guilty should match those of the sage and prophet? Well, for the present it will be enough to say that things which bear the same name are not in all cases alike, often indeed differ altogether in kind, and that the bad and the good, since they come before us knit in a twin existence,<sup>b</sup> may be equally matched in times and numbers, and yet their powers may be widely different and far apart from each other. But the closer discussion of this matter of a hundred and twenty years we will postpone till we inquire into the prophet's life as a whole, when we have become fit to learn its mystery. Now let us speak of the words which follow next.

XIII. "Now the giants were on the earth in

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- ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις" (Gen. vi. 4). ἴσως τις τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μεμυθευμένα περὶ τῶν γιγάντων οἶεται τὸν νομοθέτην αἰνίττεσθαι πλεῖστον ὅσον διεστηκότα τοῦ μυθοπλαστεῖν καὶ τοῖς
- 59 ἀληθείας ἔχουσιν αὐτῆς ἐπιβαίνειν ἀξιούντα. παρὸ καὶ εὐδοκίμους καὶ γλαφυρὰς τέχνας, ζωγραφίαν καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιίαν, ἐκ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν πολιτείας
- [271] | ἐξήλασεν, ὅτι τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ψευδόμεναι φύσιν ἀπάτας καὶ σοφίσματα δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ψυχαῖς
- 60 εὐπαραγώγοις τεχνιτεύουσι. μῦθον μὲν οὖν οὐδένα περὶ γιγάντων εἰσηγείται τὸ παράπαν, βούλεται δὲ ἐκείνῳ σοὶ παραστήσαι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν γῆς, οἱ δὲ οὐρανοῦ, οἱ δὲ θεοῦ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρωπιγῆς μὲν οἱ θηρευτικοὶ τῶν σώματος ἡδονῶν ἀπολαυσίῃ τε καὶ χρήσιν ἐπιτηδεύοντες αὐτῶν καὶ πορισταὶ τῶν συντεινόντων εἰς ἐκάστην, οὐρανοῦ δὲ ὅσοι τεχνῖται καὶ ἐπιστήμονες καὶ φιλομαθεῖς— τὸ γὰρ οὐράνιον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς (νοῦς δὲ καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἕκαστον) τὰ ἐγκύκλια καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἅπαξ ἀπάσας ἐπιτηδεύει τέχνας, παραθήγων καὶ ἀκονῶν ἔτι τε γυμνάζων καὶ συγκροτῶν ἐν
- 61 τοῖς νοητοῖς αὐτὸν—θεοῦ δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ προφῆται, οἷτινες οὐκ ἠξίωσαν πολιτείας τῆς παρὰ τῷ κόσμῳ τυχεῖν καὶ κοσμοπολίται γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν πᾶν ὑπερκύψαντες εἰς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον μετανέστησαν κάκειθι ᾤκησαν ἐγγραφέντες ἀφθάρτων <καὶ> ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν πολιτεία.
- 62 XIV. Ὁ γοῦν Ἀβραάμ μέχρι μὲν διατρίβων

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 504.



## ON THE GIANTS, 58-62

those days " (Gen. vi. 4). Some may think that the Lawgiver is alluding to the myths of the poets about the giants, but indeed myth-making is a thing most alien to him, and his mind is set on following in the steps of truth and nothing but truth. And therefore also he has banished from his own commonwealth " painting and sculpture, with all their high repute and charm of artistry, because their crafts belie the nature of truth and work deception and illusions through the eyes to souls that are ready to be seduced. So, then, it is no myth at all of giants that he sets before us; rather he wishes to show you that some men are earth-born, some heaven-born, and some God-born. The earth-born are those who take the pleasures of the body for their quarry, who make it their practice to indulge in them and enjoy them and provide the means by which each of them may be promoted. The heaven-born are the votaries of the arts and of knowledge, the lovers of learning. For the heavenly element in us is the mind, as the heavenly beings are each of them a mind. And it is the mind which pursues the learning of the schools and the other arts one and all, which sharpens and whets itself, aye and trains and drills itself solid in the contemplation of what is intelligible by mind. But the men of God are priests and prophets who have refused to accept membership in the commonwealth of the world and to become citizens therein, but have risen wholly above the sphere of sense-perception and have been translated into the world of the intelligible and dwell there registered as freemen of the commonwealth of Ideas, which are imperishable and incorporeal.

XIV. Thus Abraham, while he sojourned in the

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- ἦν ἐν τῇ Χαλδαίων γῇ τε καὶ δόξῃ, πρὶν μετονομασθῆναι, καλούμενος Ἀβράμ <ἦν> ἄνθρωπος οὐρανοῦ τὴν τε μετάρσιον καὶ τὴν αἰθέριον φύσιν ἐρευνῶν καὶ τὰ τε συμβαίνοντα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὁμοιότροπον φιλοσοφῶν—οὗ χάριν καὶ προσήσεως οἷς ἐπετήδευσεν ἔτυχεν οἰκείας· Ἀβράμ γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεὶς πατήρ ἐστι μετέωρος, ὄνομα τοῦ τὰ μετέωρα καὶ ἐπουράνια περισκοπομένου πάντα πάντῃ νοῦ πατρός, πατήρ δὲ τοῦ συγκρίματος ὁ νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ ἄχρισ αἰθέρος καὶ ἔτι
- 63 περαιτέρω μηκυνόμενος— ὅταν δὲ βελτιωθεὶς μέλλῃ μετονομάζεσθαι, γίνεται ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ χρηστὸν αὐτῷ λόγιον “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς σου· εὐαρέσκει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος ”
- 64 (Gen. xvii. 1). εἰ δ’ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου θεὸς καὶ μόνος ὢν θεὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ χάριν ἐξαιρετον ἰδίᾳ θεός, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δήπου καὶ αὐτὸς θεοῦ. καλεῖται γὰρ πατήρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἡχοῦς ἐρμηνευθεὶς Ἀβραάμ, ὁ τοῦ σπουδαίου λογισμός· ἐξειλεγμένος τε γὰρ καὶ κεκαθαρμένος καὶ πατήρ φωνῆς ἧ συνηχοῦμεν. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος τῷ ἐνὶ μόνῳ προσκεκλήρωται θεῷ, οὗ γινόμενος ὁπαδὸς εὐθύνει τὴν ἀτραπὸν τοῦ παντὸς βίου βασιλικῇ τῷ ὄντι χρώμενος ὁδῷ τῇ τοῦ μόνου βασιλέως καὶ παντοκράτορος, ἐπὶ μηδέτερα ἀποκλίνων καὶ ἐκτρεπόμενος.
- 65 XV. Οἱ δὲ γῆς παῖδες τὸν νοῦν ἐκβιβάσαντες

<sup>a</sup> Or “ with which we express our accord with reason.”

<sup>b</sup> Alluding to Num. xx. 17, cf. *Quod Deus* 159.

## ON THE GIANTS, 62-65

land of the Chaldeans—sojourned, that is, in mere opinion—and with his name as yet unchanged from Abram, was a “man of heaven.” He searched into the nature of the supra-terrestrial and ethereal region, and his philosophy studied the events and changes which there occur, and their causes and the like. And therefore he received a name suitable to the studies which he pursued. For “Abram” being interpreted is the uplifted father, a name which signifies that mind which surveys on every side the whole compass of the upper world of heaven, called father-mind because this mind which reaches out to the ether and further still is the father of our compound being. But when he has risen to a better state and the time is at hand that his name should be changed, he becomes a man of God according to the oracle which was vouchsafed to him, “I am thy God: walk before Me according to My pleasure, and show thyself blameless” (Gen. xvii. 1). Now if the God of the Universe, the only God, is also his God in a special sense and by special grace, he surely must needs be himself a man of God. For he is called Abraham, by interpretation, “the elect father of sound,” that is, “the good man’s reasoning.” Good, because it is elect and purified; reasoning, because reason is the father of the voice, through which comes the sound of speech common to us all.<sup>a</sup> Such a reasoning has the one and only God for its owner; it becomes God’s companion and makes straight the path of its whole life, treading the true “King’s way,”<sup>b</sup> the way of the one sole almighty king, swerving and turning aside neither to the right nor to the left. XV. But the sons of earth have turned the steps of the mind out of the

[272] τοῦ λογίζεσθαι καὶ | μεταλλοιώσαντες<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν  
 ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον σαρκῶν φύσιν — “ ἐγένοντο  
 γὰρ οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν,” ἢ φησιν ὁ νομοθέτης  
 (Gen. ii. 24) — τὸ ἄριστον ἐκιβδήλευσαν νόμισμα  
 καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀμείνω καὶ οἰκείαν τάξιν ἔλιπον, πρὸς  
 δὲ τὴν χεῖρω καὶ ἐναντίαν ἡυτομόλησαν ἄρξαντος  
 66 τοῦ ἔργου Νεβρώδ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης, ὅτι  
 “ οὗτος ἤρξατο εἶναι γίγας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ” (Gen.  
 x. 8), ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Νεβρώδ αὐτομόλησις· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε τῇ παναθλία ψυχῇ μετὰ μηδετέρων  
 στῆναι, ἀλλὰ προσχωρήσασα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὄπλα  
 κατὰ τῶν φίλων ἤρατο καὶ φανερώς ἀνθεστῶσα  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμει. παρὸ καὶ ἀρχὴν τῷ Νεβρώδ τῆς  
 βασιλείας ὑπογράφει Βαβυλῶνα, μετάθεσις δὲ  
 καλεῖται Βαβυλῶν, συγγενὲς αὐτομολία καὶ ὄνομα  
 ὀνόματι καὶ ἔργον ἔργω· παντὸς γὰρ αὐτομο-  
 λούντος προοίμια γνώμης μεταβολὴ καὶ μετάθεσις.  
 67 ἀκόλουθον <οὖν> ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν  
 ἱερώτατον Μωυσέα ὁ μὲν φαῦλος, ὡσπερ ἄοικος  
 καὶ ἄπολις καὶ ἀνίδρυτος καὶ φυγὰς, οὕτως καὶ  
 αὐτόμολος, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος βεβαιότατος σύμμαχος  
 τοσαῦτα εἰς γε τὸ παρὸν ἀρκούντως περὶ τῶν  
 γιγάντων εἰρηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῦ λόγου  
 τρεψώμεθα. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μεταλλεύσαντες et alia.

## ON THE GIANTS, 65-67

path of reason and transmuted it into the lifeless and inert nature of the flesh. For "the two became one flesh" as says the lawgiver (Gen. ii. 24). Thus they have debased the coin of truest metal and deserted from their post, left a place that was better for a worse, a place amid their own people for a place amid their foes. It was Nimrod who began this desertion. For the lawgiver says "he began to be a giant<sup>a</sup> on the earth" (Gen. x. 8), and his name means "desertion." To that most wretched of souls it was not enough to stand neutral, but he went over to the enemy, took up arms against his friends and withstood them in open war. And therefore to Nimrod Moses ascribes Babylon as the beginning of his kingdom. Now the name Babylon means alteration, a thought akin to desertion both in name and fact, for with every deserter change and alteration of purpose are the first steps. And so the conclusion would follow which Moses, holiest of men, lays down that, even as the wicked man is an exile without home or city or settlement, so also he is a deserter, while the good man is the staunchest of comrades. For the present sufficient has been said about the giants. Let us turn to the words which follow in the text.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In R.V. "mighty."

<sup>b</sup> These words, *i.e.* Gen. vi. 4, are discussed in the next treatise *Quod Deus*; see Analytical Introduction.



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§ 6. *The stern and gloomy life, etc.* Philo seems to interpret this first flight of Hagar as the tendency of youth to shrink from the stern discipline of the school, the Encyclia being for the moment treated as "the mind which is trained in them," as in *De Cong.* 180.

§ 8. ἐπιλάμψη . . . μεταδιώκων. The obvious way of taking this difficult and probably corrupt passage, namely to translate ἀποθανόντων τὰ πάθη χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης by "died to the passions (or 'feelings') of joy and gladness," must be wrong, for as Isaac is regularly regarded as embodying these qualities (*e.g. Leg. All.* iii. 218), it is impossible that his parents should be thought of as discarding them at his birth. Two lines of correction seem possible, (a) as adopted in the translation, to bring χαρᾶς and εὐφροσύνης into co-ordination with εὐδαιμονίας, (b) to co-ordinate them with παιδιάς by reading χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνας. This in itself would still leave untouched the awkward gen. abs. ἐκλιπόντων and ἀποθανόντων, to say nothing of the difficulty involved in applying the phrase ἐκλιπεῖν τὰ γυναικεῖα (used of Sarah in Gen. xviii. 11) to Abraham also. These difficulties, however, might be removed by reading also ἐκλιπόν . . . ἀποθανόν (ἀπομαθόν?) . . . μεταδιώκων. (a) certainly as it stands leaves the sentence almost intolerable. Perhaps the least drastic correction would be to expel ὁ Ἰσαάκ as a gloss, put in its place καὶ τῶν and insert ὁ before καὶ παιδιάς. Thus the whole sentence will run, ἐπιλάμψη δὲ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονίας γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τὰ γυναικεῖα καὶ ἀποθανόντων τὰ πάθη χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης, ὁ καὶ παιδιάς, etc. The participial genitives in this case though still clumsy are less unnatural, and the difficulty of the application of ἐκλιπεῖν, etc., to Abraham is avoided

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as the phrase becomes a general statement. The obvious difficulty involved in (b) that it ascribes to Isaac what belongs to Sarah may be met by supposing that Philo equates Sarah's "ceasing from the manner of women" with the conception of Isaac (*cf. De Post.* 134).

[It would bring this passage into harmony with other passages, if what Philo wrote was *ἐκλιπὸν . . . ἀποθανὸν . . . μεταδίδωκον* (all in agreement with *γένος*), and *χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνας*. It would seem not unlikely that a scribe, a little puzzled by the neuters *ἐκλιπὸν* and *ἀποθανόν*, and seeing *ἐκλιπόντ-* and *ἀποθανόντ-* before him, filled in the *-ων* in each word, producing *ἐκλιπόντων* and *ἀποθανόντων*. This led to the change of *χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνας* into genitives singular. With *ἐκλιπὸν* and *ἀποθανόν* restored, the construction is the same as that in *De Somniis*, i. 68 *ὃ τὸ αὐτομάθες γένος, Ἰσαάκ, ἐνδιδαιτᾶται, μηδέποτε . . . ἀφιστάμενον*. Our passage is also illustrated by *De Mut. Nom.* 1 *ἢ τὸ αὐτομάθες ἐπέλαμψε γένος, Ἰσαάκ, εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστη, χαρὰ, and Quod Det.* 46 *τὸ μόνον ἀπαθὲς εἶδος ἐν γενέσει τὸν Ἰσαάκ, and De Mut. Nom.* 261 *τέξεται οὖν σοι ἡ ἀρετὴ υἱὸν γενναῖον ἄρρενα* (*Gen.* xvii. 19) *παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον θήλεος πάθους*.

To Philo the fact that Isaac was sprung from one "as good as dead" and "the deadness of Sarah's womb" carried with it his deadness to passions and his complete immunity from all that was weak and womanish.—G. H. W.]

*τὰς παίδων*. We have perhaps here an allusion to *Gen.* xxi. 9, where according to the A.V. Sarah saw Ishmael 'mocking.' The R.V. margin, however, has 'playing,' and the LXX. *παίζοντα*. The fact that it was this "playing of children" which led to Ishmael's expulsion, would lend additional point to the words here.

§ 15. The idea of the lawfulness of falsehood under the circumstances here described is perhaps taken from Plato, *Rep.* iii. 389 b.

§ 25. *The two hemispheres*. Empedocles said *εἶναι δύο ἡμισφαίρια, τὸ μὲν καθόλου πυρός, τὸ δὲ μικτὸν ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ ὀλίγου πυρός, ὅπερ οἴεται τὴν νύκτα εἶναι* (see Ritter and Preller, 170). "Thus there arose two hemispheres which together form the concave sphere of heaven; the one is bright and consists entirely of fire; the other is dark and consists of air with isolated masses of fire sprinkled in it" (Zeller). *Cf. Plato, Axiochus* 376 A. A theory is mentioned that *τοῦ πύλου ὄντος*



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σφαιροειδοῦς . . . , τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαίριον οἱ θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπένερθεν.

§ 26. *Named by men of old the standing-place.* Cf. Philolaus (*ap. Stob. Ecl. i. 21. 8*) τὸ πρῶτον ἀρμωσθὲν τὸ ἐν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τὰς σφαίρας ἐστία καλεῖται.

§ 28. Elsewhere, in *Quaestiones in Gen. i. 58* (which only survives in the Armenian), Philo gives the same explanation of the Cherubim, but interprets the sword as "heaven."

§ 32. *Neither fights nor keeps the ranks.* Guilty, that is, of ἀστρατεία, shirking service, and λιποτάξιον, desertion in the field. Both these were punishable offences in Attic law.

§ 41. *Leah.* Leah (symbolizing virtue) is derived by Philo from the Hebrew words "lo" = not, and "lahah" = to be weary. The fool "says no" (ἀνανεύει) to her ἀσκησις which makes herself weary. Elsewhere (in *De Mut. Nom. 254*) the weariness is interpreted of the weariness which she causes, and again (*De Migr. Abr. 145*) of the weariness caused by the burden of wickedness which she has cast off. In ἀνανευομένη there is also a reference to Jacob's rejection of Leah in the actual story.

§ 42. *Who have no other standards, etc.* Cohn punctuates differently with a comma before τύφῳ and another after ἐθῶν, thus making ῥημάτων genitive after τύφῳ. But it seems unreasonable to break up the common collocation of ὀνόματα (nouns) with ῥήματα (verbs or phrases), the two together constantly standing for language as a whole.

τερθρελαὶ ἐθῶν, i.e. "mummeries of rituals." This is well illustrated by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom. 19*, where both the τύφος and the τερθρελα μυσική of the rites of Cybele are denounced.

§ 45. *In her solitude.* Apparently a fanciful deduction from the fact that Abraham's presence is not mentioned in *Gen. xxi. 1*. In the cases that follow there is the same deduction from the absence of any mention of the husband.

§ 49. *His greater mysteries.* Philo borrows from the Eleusinian mysteries this idea of "greater" and "less." Here Moses is the greater and the Prophets the less. For another application of the distinction see *De Sacr. 62*.

*Husband.*—The LXX. in *Jer. iii. 4*, which differs wholly from the Hebrew, has ἀρχηγόν. As ἀνδρα is necessary to Philo's argument he may be quoting some earlier rendering.

§§ 53-66. The argument of these sections seems to be as

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follows. Names do not ordinarily represent the thing named so absolutely that no further explanation is required. We should not know from the name Cain that he was first-born or male. But Moses' names are given on a different principle. To show what this is, in 57-64 Philo describes the primitive *τρόπος* (65) of the mind to think that it possesses all that it seems to have. Since the name "Possession" indicates this *τρόπος* clearly, Moses had no need to say anything more. Philo adopts partially the Stoic theory that names came originally *φύσει*, but restricts it to the names of the O.T.

§ 69. *Will-o'-the-wisps*. The following passage suggests strongly that the reading adopted by the translator rather than that of Cohn is right. Chrysippus (on the distinction between *φάντασμα*, *φανταστόν*, *φανταστικόν*) says: *φανταστικόν δέ ἐστι διάκενος ἔλκυσμός, πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς φανταστοῦ γινόμενον, κάθ' ἅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιαμαχοῦντος καὶ κενοῖς ἐπιφέροντος τὰς χεῖρας . . . φάντασμα δέ ἐστιν ἐφ' ὃ ἐλκόμεθα κατὰ τὸν φανταστικὸν διάκενον ἔλκυσμόν. ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται ἐπὶ τῶν μελαγχολῶντων καὶ μεμνητότων* (Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 54. Cf. *ibid.* 64).

§ 79. *Where there is reaction* (*ἀντιπεπονθός*). Philo here utilizes a piece of Stoic grammar. Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 64: *ἀντιπεπονθότα δέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπταίσι, ἃ ὑπταία ὄντα ἐνεργήματα ἐστιν, ὅσον κείρεται· ἐμπεριέχει·* (perhaps *ἐμπαρέχει*, see *παρέχων ἑαυτόν*, 79) *γὰρ ἑαυτόν ὁ κειρόμενος, ἰ.ε.* the *ἀντιπεπονθότα* are those among the passives which though passive (in form) represent actions, as *κείρεται*. The application of the term in these sections of Philo suggests that the grammatical meaning of the term was not so much that of the ordinary middle (I shave myself) as that of the causative middle "I get myself shaved." The term thus describes "having something done to us in response to something we have done ourselves."

*A sheep or a fleece*. *δέρμα* and *κῶδιον* might possibly be taken as accusatives, but the phraseology in the parallel passage, *L.A.* iii. 201 *κείρεις ἐτέρως μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐτέρως δὲ τὸ κῶδιον*, suggests that they are nominatives. The translator is unable to make any suggestion as to the distinction between the two nouns, or why *τὸ λεγόμενον* is added.

§ 84. "All things," *He says*, "are mine." The phrase does not occur in the O.T. Perhaps print *δλα* "μου," *φησίν*,

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ἐστίν, and refer "He says" to the threefold "mine" in Numb. xxviii. 2. Cf. *L.A.* iii. 176.

§ 105. *Grammar or literature.* γραμματική always included the study of the poets and historians as well as what we call grammar, and in Philo's time this literary side was by far the most important.

*By the means of fine music.* The text implies that music is part of "geometry," a view which is very unusual, if not unprecedented, though the two, since geometry included arithmetic, were closely connected. The change of the nominatives γραμματική, etc., to -κῆ (datives), suggested by Cohn, would obviate this, but to represent knowledge as e.g. studying history *by means of* γραμματική is very harsh. Cohn confessed that his emendation did not satisfy him.

*Rhetoric, etc.* The allusion in this sentence is (a) to the regular division of rhetoric into (1) "invention" (εὑρεσις including τάξις), (2) style or expression (ἐρμηγεία), (3) delivery (ὑπόκρισις); and (b) to the expression of the gentler emotions (ἡθῆ) and that of the stronger emotions (πάθη).

§§ 109-112. For the sense of this and the preceding sections cf. Epictetus, *Diss.* i. 12. 16 διέταξε δὲ θέρος εἶναι καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ φορὰν καὶ ἀφορίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν καὶ πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ἐναντιότητας ὑπὲρ συμφωνίας τῶν ὄλων.

§ 114. *The other gradations.* Of the five gradations left untranslated ἡβῶν perhaps = age of puberty, while πρωτογένειος speaks for itself, and the other three fall of course between the limits thus indicated.

*Rebirth.* Cf. a passage in *Quaest. in Ex.* ii. 46, where, according to the Latin version of the Armenian, the calling of Moses to the Mount is said to typify the "secunda nativitas sive regeneratio priore melior." If we are to suppose that this "regeneration" is absorption in the Divine and occurs at death, the correction to ἀσύγκριτοι ἄποιοι, which is also wanted for the balance of the two clauses, seems necessary. But it is possible that Philo is following the Stoic doctrine, according to which the souls (of the good at any rate) survived the general conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) which was to be followed by the "reconstruction" (παλιγγενεσία); see Arnim, *l.c.* ii. 802-822. In this case Cohn's reading might stand; for the soul through this interregnum, though ἀσώματος, would still be σύγκριτος (of fire and air) and ποῖος.

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§ 115. Philo adapts from the Attic orators the technical language used of a wife who formally claimed divorce or separation from her husband. If the husband did not agree, an ἀπολείψεως δίκη had to be brought before the Archon (πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα) (see *Dict. of Ant.*, art. "Divortium"). Cf. *Quod Det.* 143, where also we have the phrase (apparently in general use: see Bekker, *Anecd.* 430. 30) χρηματίζειν ἀπόλειψιν.

§ 121. *Licence of language.* κατάχρησις (*abusio*) is the name used by the grammarians for the figure of speech involved in such a phrase as the "aedificare equum" of Virgil (*aedificare* being properly to build a house only).

*The land shall not be sold at all.* Philo is still quoting Lev. xxv. 23, which he cited correctly in 108. Here, however, he substitutes πράσει for εἰς βεβαίωσιν, probably from a reminiscence of Deut. xxi. 14, where the phrase πράσει οὐ παθήσεται is used. The alteration, though it makes a considerable difference in the meaning of the text, hardly affects the argument.

§ 123. *Hawking his goods.* Properly speaking the word ἐπειωνίζων means "selling cheap," and this shade of meaning makes good sense in *De Gig.* 32. On the other hand here and elsewhere there is no special point in the cheapness, and probably the word merely conveys some measure of contempt. If, however, the ἐαυτοῦ is to be pressed, the idea might be "pressing his own goods upon the purchaser and thus underselling his competitors."

§ 125. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν γένεσιν, etc. Philo's four causes are evidently based on Aristotle's four, (1) the οὐσία or τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι (formal cause), (2) the ὕλη or ἐξ οὗ (material cause), (3) the ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως or τὸ ποιῶν (efficient cause), (4) τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα or ἀγαθόν (final cause). But for the "formal cause" he substitutes the "instrument," a view to which his theory of the λόγος naturally led. He repeats the first three of the causes in *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 58, and all four in *De Providentia* (also only extant in the Armenian). There, however, the "ad quid?" is answered by "ut sit argumentum," i.e. apparently, to give a proof of his goodness. Here there is an evident confusion of his treatment of the world as compared with his treatment of the house. The ἀγαθότης of God does not correspond with the σκέπη furnished by the house.

## ON THE CHERUBIM

Philo is perhaps misled by Plato, *Timæus* 29 ε, where the question, "why did God make the world?" is answered in the first instance by ἀγαθὸς ἦν, but the true answer, namely that He wanted to make all things like Himself, follows directly.

## APPENDIX TO THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN

§§ 5-7. In these sections we have a suggestion of the idea, to which Philo frequently recurs, of the "educational trinity," stated by Aristotle in the form *παιδεία δεῖν τριῶν, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως*. Philo takes as the typical examples of these three, Isaac, Abraham and Jacob, see particularly *De Abr.* 52 ff., where Isaac is *ὁ αὐτοματοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀξιωθεὶς*, Abraham represents *οἱ μαθήσει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ προκόψαντες* (in *De Abr.* he is called the *σύμβολον διδασκαλικῆς ἀρετῆς*), while Jacob as usual is the *ἀσκητῆς*.

§ 9. Ex. vii. 1. Philo's treatment of this text here is worth comparing with his other explanations. In *Leg. All.* i. 40 the mind is the god of the unreasoning element, *cf. De Mut. Nom.* 19. In *De Migr. Abr.* 84, the inspired mind is addressed as god, while in *Quod Det.* 161 the fact that the wise man is called the "god" of the fool is used as an illustration of the difference between reality and "opinion"; for even the wise man cannot be God in reality. To argue, therefore, as he does here, that an attribute which is inconsistent with God must also be inconsistent with Moses is to give the text a meaning which he shrinks from elsewhere.

§ 10. *Such is the meaning, etc.* The translation assumes that Philo here sums up the general result of the first ten sections which have been a homily on Gen. iv. 2. It would be possible, however, to take it in closer connexion with the immediately preceding sentences, "even so it is when God adds," etc.

§ 12. Ex. iv. 10. The LXX. has *οὐκ ἰκανός* (some mss. *εὐλογός*) *εἰμι πρὸ τῆς χθῆς, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξω λαλεῖν τῷ θεράποντι σου*. Our R.V. has "neither heretofore nor since thou hast spoken," *i.e.* neither at the earlier nor the later date, and presumably this was the

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meaning of the  $\iota\kappa\kappa$ . Philo, however, by ignoring the second  $\sigma\delta\delta\epsilon$  takes it to convey the idea that Moses' contempt of τὸ εἶλογον only begins with his converse with God.

His use of εἶλογος here and in other quotations of the text shows clearly that he actually had that reading.

§ 13. *The fabulous inventions*, etc. Lit. "the conjectural and insecure myth-making of eloquence (or 'the eloquent')", or, taking εὐλόγων εἰκαστικὴν together, "which guesses at probabilities" (ὁ ψευδῶν εἰκαστικός, *De Cher.* 116, is in favour of this). Philo often uses εἶλογος in the ordinary sense of "reasonably probable," but at other times, influenced perhaps by Ex. iv. 10, in the double sense of (a) fine language, (b) merely probable as opposed to certain. It is impossible in translation to reproduce this double sense. The best modern equivalent would be "rhetorical," were it not for the risk of confusion with the ancient technical use of "rhetoric" which is so common in Philo. There is a very similar phrasing in *Quod Det.* 38.

§§ 15-16. The thought of these sections is developed more fully in *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 293-299, where four periods are indicated: (1) early childhood; (2) boyhood, the dangers of which are described in words very similar to our passage; (3) the stage in which the healing influences of philosophy are brought to bear upon the passions; (4) when the soul definitely turns away from sin to wisdom. He does not mean here that passion ordinarily ceases with youth, but that, in the case of the converted, conversion does not usually come till youth is past.

§ 17. *Named after his folly*. This is very far-fetched even for Philo. He interpreted the name of Esau from the Hebrew as (1) a thing made (ποίημα); (2) an oak or tree. In *De Cong.* 61 he says that the first signifies a fiction (πλάσμα) and the life of folly is of the nature of fiction, and that the second signifies a stubborn nature which takes folly for its counsellor.

§§ 21-33. On the reasons why these sections were omitted in earlier editions of the treatise see *Anal. Introd.* p. 93. This curious parable, which particularly in the list of nearly 150 vices goes far beyond anything else to be found in Philo, is obviously based on the famous fable of Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 1, there ascribed to Prodicus, in which Vice and Virtue plead with Hercules when he stands at the crossways of life. There

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are several definite reminiscences of this. It is also no doubt directly aimed at the doctrines of Epicurus.

§ 21. *Her eyebrows are smothered in paint.* Greek ladies sometimes painted their eyebrows with a preparation of soot (*ἄσβολος*) or of antimony (*στίμιμι*), see *Dict. of Ant. s.v.* "fucus."

[*ἐγκεκαλυμμένη τὰς ὀφρῶς.* Philo perhaps wrote *ἐγκεκαλυμμένη*. There is ground for the belief that *ὀφρυκολάπτῃς* may have been as familiar to Philo as *δρυκολάπτῃς* to Aristophanes (*Birds* 480, 979) or *δρυκολάπτῃς* to Aristotle. A pair of tweezers is the ordinary implement for "eyebrow-shaping" (as it is called in Bond Street), but a razor is sometimes used, at all events in Germany. 'Carve' or 'chisel' is the *secondary* meaning of *κολάπτω*, 'I peck.'—G. H. W.]

§§ 35-41. This eulogy of *πόνος* is based on the similar one put into the mouth of Virtue in the Prodician fable.

§ 37. *Severe harmony.* An adaptation of the Platonic idea of virtue as a harmony of the soul together with the Stoic view that moral evil is a relaxation of its *τόνος* (tension, muscular vigour).

*Higher forms of art.* The Stoics said (*e.g.* Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 6. 4) that virtue was a *τέχνη περι ὄλον τὸν βίον* and also (*ibid.*) that the chief virtues were both *ἐπιστήμαι* and *τέχναι*. To judge from *De Cong.* 142 Philo would hardly have admitted the latter statement.

§ 45. *After hearing this.* These words show that the literary device of making Virtue discourse has been maintained up to this point, though not very skilfully in the last three sections. To put these O.T. illustrations into the mouth of the woman described in 26 is hardly appropriate.

§ 50. *Worldling.* Lit. "man of superfluity." Philo explains the epithet in several places. Jethro is the vanity which deals with the varying customs, unsanctioned by nature, and thus serves to deceive the true life (*De Agr.* 43); or the seeming wise who perpetually changes according to the groundless opinions of men (*De Ebr.* 37); or jeers at things equal and necessary to life and glorifies the inequalities of superfluous wealth (*De Mut. Nom.* 103). "Worldling" seems to the translator to combine these ideas better than any other word.

§ 51. *Earlier books.* No such passage in the earlier books



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survives. But in *De Agr.* 21 ff. a "tiller of the soil" is explained as one who lives to satisfy the wants of the body.

§ 57. *Now the covenant*, etc. The argument seems to be: The covenant means God's gifts, God's gifts are perfect; virtue is perfect; therefore virtue is God's gift, and not man's merit.

§ 62. *Lesser mysteries*. See on *De Cher.* 49. The Passover represents the first stage of initiation in which the soul is escaping from the Egypt of passion and entering upon its life of practice. This is a lower stage than the "mysteries" described in 59-60, where the soul gains a perception of God.

§ 63. *She must grip . . . sandals*. The idea perhaps is that as the soul and body are bound together, the former must keep a tight hold of the latter. It thus corresponds to a foot which fits tightly into the sandal and does not allow it to slip.

§ 68. *Self-extension*. For the Stoic conception of "tension" (*τόνος*) including both expansion and condensation see Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 140.

§ 80. *It has the vigour*. In *εὐτόνωσ* we have again an allusion to the favourite Stoic idea of "tension" (see on 37). Here, however, the *πάθη* are conceived of as having their own *τόνος*, which is relaxed or weakened by the *τόνος* of reason. The same idea is no doubt present in the *ἐκλύεται* of 81.

§ 82. *Reason*. To preserve the continuity of the argument, this word has been retained in this and the following sections. But clearly Philo drifts away from the faculty of reason to its expression in definite thoughts and words.

§ 120. *Natural ability*. Reuben is several times taken as the type of *εὐφύια*. But it is strange to find this quality, which is elsewhere associated with *φύσις* and *τὸ αὐτομαθές* (Isaac) rather than with *ἀσκησις* (Jacob), taken here as the source of labour and progress of Jacob, and contrasted with the "inspired contemplation" of Israel.

§ 122. *The number sacred to education*. Philo seems to associate the "perfect" number ten ( $1 + 2 + 3 + 4$ ) with education, partly at least because he found in Lev. xxvii. 32 that "every tenth which comes under the rod shall be holy" and he was convinced that the rod was *παιδεία* (*De Cong.* 94). Also he seems to have argued that the *μέση παιδεία* was the

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minimum which God would accept, and that therefore the "ten" of Gen. xviii. 32, must refer to that. This view is developed in *De Mut.* 226 ff.

§ 123. *Due to the physician's neglect.* This translation involves giving a very unnatural meaning to παρά with the acc. So far as the use of παρά goes, it would be better to take it "through the indifference (of the relatives) caused by them" (i.e. the physicians whose non-attendance leads the relatives to think that things are going well). But this rendering is very harsh and unnatural. The Papyrus has for παρ' αὐτοῦς the unintelligible ἀνη ουτως which may perhaps conceal some illegible phrase = "apparent," which the mss. tried to patch up.

§ 136. *The brain or the heart.* The Stoics for the most part decided on the heart. For Chrysippus's arguments see Arnim, *Stoic. Vet. Frag.* ii. 885 ff.; Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. Trans.), p. 214. The opponents could appeal to Plato, who located τὸ λογιστικόν in the head.

*Also in the lawgiver's words.* Philo could find plenty of examples of "heart" e.g. Deut. v 29. For "brain" or "head" he may have relied on Gen. iii. 15 LXX.

§ 137. *Nothing save the excrement and hide.* Philo's memory has played him false. There is no such exception ordered with regard to the ὀλοκαύτωμα. He is perhaps thinking of the directions about the "sin offering" in Lev. iv. 11, where, however, the hide and excrement are only mentioned with the head, legs, etc., to show that the whole animal must be burnt.

## APPENDIX TO THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER

§ 1. *And Cain said . . . plain.* These words are not in the Hebrew text.

§ 7. *The three kinds of good things.* This classification is frequently used both by Aristotle (*e.g. Eth. Nic.* i. 1098 b) and by the Stoics (*S.V.F.* iii. 136). The doctrine of the necessity of all three is found in Aristotle, though not with the implication here made that they are equally important; *e.g.* "It will not be denied that, as there are three classes, external goods, goods of the body, and goods of the soul, the happy man must possess all these" (*Politics* 1323 f., Welldon's translation).

§ 9. *Nothing is a good thing, etc.* For the Stoic doctrine that τὸ καλόν ("the morally beautiful," *honestum* in Cicero) is the only good see Index to *S.V.F.* No Greek passage, however, seems to reproduce the dogma exactly in this form. Cf. *De Post.* 133, where it is definitely called Stoic.

§ 16. δι' ἀγωγῆς νομίμου ἢ καὶ παιδείσεως ὀρθῆς. In the former clause both noun and adjective suggest practical obedience. For ἀγωγή is a leading along a path, and νόμιμος is one ἀκολουθητικός τῷ νόμῳ καὶ πρακτικός τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσταττομένων (*S.V.F.* iii. 613). In the second clause the word παιδείσις takes us into the school-room, the domain of the νομικός, who is ἐξηγητικός τοῦ νόμου (*ibid.*). Philo implies that practical training is the more effective way of instilling "healthy principles." He can hardly have used the words without thinking of God's leading of His people by the hand of Moses.

§ 34. *Training for dying.* This use of the Platonic phrase should be compared with that in *De Gig.* 14. Here in the mouth of the worldly it connotes the wretchedness of the

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philosopher's life. There he is training to die to the life of the body in order to gain the higher life. Philo is probably thinking here of *Phaedo* 64 A, where, when Socrates uses the equivalent phrase ἐπιτηδεύει ἀποθνήσκειν, Simmias laughs and says "that is exactly what my unphilosophical countrymen would say of the philosophers." It is a good example of Philo's intimate knowledge of Plato.

§ 39. *All the qualities.* *ιδέαι* is a technical word in rhetoric for the various qualities of *ἔρμηνεῖα* (= "style" or "expression"). Hermogenes *Περὶ ἰδεῶν* enumerates and treats of seven of these, the three chief of which are clearness, greatness, beauty.

§ 46. *The days of my father's mourning.* Philo to suit his allegorical interpretation takes this to mean "the days when my father will mourn."

§ 49. *Separate . . . not separate.* The Stoics classified material things (*σώματα*) as (a) *διεστῶτα*, e.g. an army, (b) *συννημμένα*, e.g. a house or ship, (c) *ἡνωμένα*, e.g. animals (*S. V. F.* ii. 366 f.).

§ 50. *Judgements*, or "opinions." In *De Post.* 79 and 112 the two wives are more or less identified respectively with Epicureanism and the Aristotelian (?) belief in the value of bodily and external things.

§ 57. *Inquiry . . . question.* *πίσμα* or *πεύσις* is a question requiring an explanatory answer as "Where is Abel?" *ἐρώτημα* requires only "yes" or "no."

§ 64. *The number 50 is perfect.* Why so? In *De Vita Cont.* 65 it is said to be the holiest and most "natural" (*φυσικώτατος*) of numbers because it is formed from the hypotenuse (*δύναμις*) of the right-angled triangle, which is the beginning of the generation of all things. This reason seems to us absurd. We can dimly see that it applies to 5 (see *De Op.* 97), but we do not see on what principle it is extended to 50.

§§ 84 f. *Whose roots He caused*, etc. The thought and much of the diction of the sections is from *Timaeus* 90 A ff. : "As to the supreme form of soul that is within us, God has given it to each of us as a guiding genius, even that . . . which dwells in the summit of our body, and raises us from earth towards our celestial affinity, seeing that we are of no earthly, but of heavenly growth (*οὐράνιον φυτόν*), since to heaven, whence in the beginning was the birth of our soul,

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the diviner part attaches the head or root (τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥίζαν ἡμῶν ἀνακρεμαννόν) and makes our whole body upright" (Archer-Hind's translation). He adds as a note to κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥίζαν "i.e. as a plant draws its sustenance through its roots from its native earth, so does the soul draw her spiritual sustenance from her native heavens."

§ 91. The point seems to be that *physical* suffering makes a direct appeal to God. Blood is the principle of our *physical* life. The *physical* sufferings of Israel in Egypt cried out to God. In neither case was the complaint conveyed by articulate speech, but in the one case by the blood spilt, in the other by groans. By each of these a meaning (νοῦς) was conveyed, and speech is, after all, only conveyance of a meaning. Why does Philo say that the appeal is sometimes voluntary, sometimes involuntary? Is the stress here on the *latter*? Does he mean that what we *feel* reaches God when we are not consciously praying?

§ 118. *Two cakes.* The idea is obtained by a combination of the descriptions of the Manna in Exod. xvi. 31 and Numb. xi. 8. In the first "its taste was as an ἔγκρις in honey": in the second "its pleasure was as an ἔγκρις from oil." The ἔγκρις is defined elsewhere as a sweetmeat made from honey and oil. Philo passes with bewildering rapidity through the different suggestions of oil, (a) as rushing in a stream, (b) as giving light, (c) as an element in food.

§ 120. *Corresponding states of blessedness.* εὐπάθειαι is used here not exactly in the Stoic sense. With them the three εὐπάθειαι are not the opposites of the πάθη, but reasonable forms of them. Thus χαρά "corresponds" not to λύπη as here, but to ἡδονή (as in *L.A.* iii. 107), while the εὐπάθεια corresponding to φόβος is not as here ἐλπίς (which is not one of the εὐπάθειαι) but εὐλάβεια ("caution"). So too the εὐπάθεια corresponding to ἐπιθυμία is βούλησις ("wishing"), while λύπη has no corresponding εὐπάθεια.

§ 124. *The poetry which God makes.* The transition to poetry, which sounds strange in English, is easy enough in Greek, where ποιητής is both "maker" and "poet."

§ 134. *Well governed city.* Philo means Sparta. See Plutarch's *Moralia* 41 v and 801 v.

§ 135. While the translators have not ventured to correct the text according to their suggestion of πολιτικοῦ (or πολιτικώτερου) ἕτερον for πολιτικώτερον, they believe it to be very

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probable, taking it in the sense of another lesson beside the above-mentioned which belongs rather to the civil sphere. The functions of the πολιτικός, though perfectly legitimate and often imperative for the Wise Man, both to Philo and the Stoics, stand to him on a somewhat lower plane than pure philosophy. Compare the contrast of πρὸς πολιτείαν and πρὸς ἀλήθειαν φιλοσοφῶν in § 7. The lesson that only the good man's advice can benefit the State is essentially "political," and this which follows is as clearly of the other type.

§ 141. *And of course rulers, etc.* Or "laws count as rulers." This would be an odd use of γράφονται (? ἐγγράφονται), but such a translation is naturally suggested by *De Vita Mosis* ii. 4, where we are told that "the King is a living law, and the Law a just King." The thought may have been suggested by Plato, *Symposium* 196 c οἱ πόλεως βασιλῆς νόμοι; cf. *Gorgias* 484 v, *Aristot. Rhet.* iii. 3.

§ 145. *Apprentices . . . masters . . . craft.* Or "pupils . . . schoolmasters . . . arts," i.e. the Encyclia, particularly "grammar" and "rhetoric," regularly called "arts." The discipline of the "pedagogue," the school-teacher, and the parent or guardian, form three natural stages in the experience of the growing boy.

*Appoints.* Perhaps an allusion to the Attic law by which it was the duty of the Archon to appoint guardians, where the father's will left no instructions. (See *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s.v. Epitropus.) Philo's clear allusion to Attic law in 143 makes this the more probable.

§ 154. *The Creator had left nothing, etc.* Almost a quotation from *Timaeus* 32 c, where God is said to have used up the whole of the four elements in making the Universe, ἵνα τέλειον ἐκ τέλειων τῶν μερῶν εἴη.

§ 157. *For the good things that are.* The words here put into Cain's mouth are intended to represent the teaching of the Epicureans, whose view that bodily pleasure was a necessary element in happiness easily lent itself to misrepresentation. See the words of Epicurus given by Diogenes Laertius (x. 6): "I know not how to conceive the good apart from the pleasures of taste, sexual pleasures, the pleasures of sound and the pleasures of beautiful form" (Hicks's translation). So too in the concluding words of the section we have a hit at the doctrine that we choose the virtues on account of pleasure and not for their own

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sake, as we use the physician's art for the sake of health (Diog. Laert. x. 138).

§ 160. *ἀναγκαίως*. In *Timaeus* 69 D *ἀναγκαίως* is used of the way in which the inferior agents in the Creation performed their somewhat baffling tasks. It has been rendered there "as best they might" (L. & S. 1927). Moses is faced with a task more baffling even than theirs. It is to express in human speech the Name of God. He does it "as best he may."

§ 178. *Scylla*. The allusion is to *Odyssey* xii. 118 ἡ δὲ τοι οὐ θνητή, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατον κακὸν ἔστι.

## APPENDIX TO THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN

§ 1. *Epicurus*. Philo as usual treats Epicureanism rather superficially. The Epicurean in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* (i. 48), says, "hominis esse specie deos confitendum est," but continues, "nec tamen ea species corpus est, sed quasi corpus." For the whole subject see Zeller, *Epicureans*, Engl. Trans. pp. 440 f.

§ 5. *The loan which was lent*, etc. Cf. *Timaeus* 42 ε, where the "young gods" in making the human body take from the four elements *δανειζόμενοι μόρια ὡς ἀποδοθησόμενα πάλι*.

§ 16. *τὸ μέγιστον* (see crit. note) may be defended by Thucydides' use in iv. 70 *fin.*, ii. 65. 1, iii. 63. 2, viii. 76. 6 and 92. 6, iv. 108. 4. But the defence is shaky.

§ 57. *θησαυρίζονται*. This word is suggested by the "store-cities" of Exod. i. 11, and also perhaps by *βουνός* = a pile, from which the LXX. coined the verb *βουνίζω* = "I pile up," "accumulate." (See Ruth ii. 14, 16.)

*Heliopolis*. It is not certain whether this was the On, Rameses, or Beth Schemesch of the Hebrew Scriptures, for it has claims to be regarded as any one of them (*Dict. of Geography*). When Philo was born its ruins had nearly vanished (*ibid.*).

§ 59. By *τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον* Philo means the mind or conscience. The scene of the covenant between Jacob and Laban was Mount Gilead, which signifies in Hebrew "Heap of Witness."

Some words seem to have dropped out before *πρὸ τούτων τῶν πόλεων*, such as *ὁ δὲ βουνὸς οὗτος* or *ἡ δὲ πόλις τῆς μαρτυρίας*. In 62 some such title is claimed for Hebron by the words *μνήμας ἐπιστήμης <καὶ> σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα*. To understand the argument we must note (1) that Zoan carries with it all the cities of Egypt, 62; (2) that Hebron



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as interpreted in 62 is equated to the *βουβός* of 59, and therefore a text which states that Hebron was built before Zoan is equivalent to "the city of the good mind is built before (*i.e.* ranks above) all the cities of the body or foolish mind."

§ 62. *Command of evacuation.* For ἀπόκρισις = "discharge" (from the body) see *L.A.* i. 13. *κακία* is a thing to be expelled from the social system.

§ 70. *He shall set him alive, etc.* The allegory is worked out as follows. The *ἀλογος βίος* is evil tendencies still *alive* (which they are not in the case of those whose age or circumstances put them outside temptation). We must *atone* for them by fighting against them, and finally *banish* them.

§ 79. *Ada.* That *Ada*, the "witness," stands here for, or at least is exemplified by, the Epicurean school is proved beyond doubt by the use of Epicurean terms. *λελα κινήσις* comes from the Epicurean definition of pleasure (Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. 279, 280). *ἐπιβολή*, translated by Lucretius *animi iniectus*, is a very leading term for "the act of apprehension which the mind or senses must direct to the *ἐνάρρημα* ('the clear or close view of phenomena') which may result in the *ἐπιμαρτύρησις* ('confirmation') or *ἀντιμαρτύρησις* ('refutation') of the *δοξαζόμενα* ('opinion formed by the mind on the data of sense-perception')" (C. Bailey). Philo gives an ethical twist to what properly belongs to the Epicurean theory of cognition.

§ 81. *Treating as alike things widely different.* Or "treating as things indifferent (in the Stoic sense) things which the wise man holds 'superior' and worthy of pursuit."

§§ 95 ff. *The ordinance is this.* The meaning of these difficult sections is perhaps as follows. Toil is unnecessary, when you have reached perfection; yet if you still continue to toil, you will have both the toil and the perfection and thus attain absolute holiness. Either without the other is not "absolutely holy," for that is stated in the text to have three necessary elements: (1) number, *i.e.* the first stage of virtue that can be "counted" as anything; (2) the rod, or discipline, which is toil; (3) the number 10 or perfection. That "exchanging" toil for perfection really means that you have both is not unintelligible; the effort is lost in success, but may be said to remain with us. The words rendered "While what is beautiful is a perfect good, toil is

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an imperfect boon," may perhaps be paraphrased "The morally beautiful is a good thing to which it is essential to have attained its end; toil is a beneficial thing, whether it reach the goal or no." They are "of equal value" as being equally essential to the truest holiness.

§ 97. *Marshaled.* τάξαντι = "set us in a rank" corresponds with ἀριθμός above, as παιδεύσαντι corresponds with the "rod," and τελεσφορήσαντι with the "tenth."

§ 104. *So too with the ear.* Wendland in *Philologus* 57, p. 267, calls attention to the resemblance of this description of the ear's structure to that placed by Cicero in *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 159 in the mouth of a Stoic.

§ 108. *Speech . . . admits of endless variations.* Philo here and in the following sections adopts the rhetorical idea of the περιστάσεις (*circumstantiae*) which determined the nature of the speech required on each occasion. These, though sometimes made more numerous, were often reduced as here to six, persons, matters or subjects, causes, manners, times, places. In Latin and mediaeval rhetoric the six often appear as *quis, quid, cur, quomodo, quando, ubi*. As boys were regularly drilled in this classification in their early exercises (*progymnasmata*) it was very familiar to the general reader. See Ernesti's *Lexicon Rhetoricum*, s.v. *περίστασις*.

§ 109. οὐδὲ τὰς τυχοῦσας. Wendland would prefer, instead of this correction for the οὐδὲ τύχης of the mss., to read οὐδὲ <τὰς τυχοῦσας> τύχης, on the ground that "fortune" is included in the *circumstantiae personarum* by the rhetoricians with "nature," "age," and others.

§ 113. *Easy stages.* The thought of this sentence evidently comes from Plato, *Cratylus* 211 c, where the process by which we arrive at first principles is described as using ἐπαναβασμολί. Its application here, however, is obscure. But it is worth noting that in 2 Kings xx. 9 ff. σκιά and ἀναβασμολί (= "steps on the sundial") are four times repeated in close conjunction. Philo in the preceding section has dwelt on the word σκιά. Does he perchance mean that, as the shadows on the sundial are due to the sun, so all the shadowy goods of life are meant to lift our thoughts to what is substantial? Is Hezekiah's vainglorious display of his treasures to the envoys of the king of Babylon the link between the sundial of Ahaz and the inscriptions at Delphi?

*Delphi.* Perhaps Philo is thinking of the inscription set

# PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES  
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

III

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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## PREFACE TO VOLUME III

THE death of Mr. Whitaker in May does not prevent his name from appearing as joint translator in this volume. Both the treatises for which he was primarily responsible, viz. *De Agricultura* and *De Plantatione*, were in print at the time, and had been examined and criticized by myself, as the other three, which fell to my share, had been by him. It has remained for me to carry out the final revision, and to draw up the Appendix and most of the footnotes.<sup>a</sup> It should be added that his name will not disappear from Vols. IV. and V. The whole of Vol. IV., both his share and mine, was in typescript at the date of his death, and had been the subject of a certain amount of correspondence between us. His share of Vol. V. is in ms., though it has not been in any way revised.

The translators have to acknowledge, as in Vols. I. and II., the assistance they have received from the German translation still in progress. But Mr. Whitaker, like myself, felt that a special tribute was due to the admirable work of Dr. M. Adler on the treatises *De Ebrietate* and *De Sobrietate*, and his corrections of Wendland's text. If our text of these treatises is, as we both have hoped, superior in places to that of Wendland, it is mainly due to him.

<sup>a</sup> In a few cases, where I felt doubtful whether Mr. Whitaker would have accepted them, I have appended my initials.

## PREFACE

The second and larger volume of Leisegang's index to Philo, which had previously only reached to Zeta, appeared almost simultaneously with Mr. Whitaker's death. Though neither volume deals with more than a selection of Philo's words, the first volume was much valued by both translators, and the complete work, which has already been of considerable use to the survivor in his final revision, should greatly promote the accuracy of the translation.

F. H. C.

*Oct.* 1930.



## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

#### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)  
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini)  
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate  
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- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit)  
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)  
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)  
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-  
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Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)  
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae  
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- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)  
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)  
On Dreams (De Somniis)
- VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)  
On Joseph (De Iosepho)  
Moses (De Vita Mosis)

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)  
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
- VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)  
On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)  
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)  
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)  
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)  
Flaccus (In Flaccum)  
Hypothetica <sup>1</sup> (Apologia pro Iudaeis)  
On Providence <sup>1</sup> (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)  
GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis <sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus <sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

ON THE UNCHANGEABLENESS  
OF GOD  
(QUOD DEUS IMMUTABILIS SIT)



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS treatise,<sup>a</sup> which is really a continuation of the *De Gigantibus*, discusses the following verses, Gen. vi. 4-12.

I. (1-19) And after this when the angels of God went in unto the daughters of men, and begat for themselves . . . (v. 4).

II. (20-73) But the Lord God seeing that the wickednesses of men were multiplied upon the earth and that every man is purposing in his heart carefully evil things every day, God had it in His mind that He had made man upon the earth and He bethought Him. And God said, I will blot out man whom I have made from the face of the earth . . . because I was wroth that <sup>b</sup> I had made him (vv. 5-7).

III. (74-121) But Noah found grace before God. Now these are the generations of Noah. Noah was a just man, being perfect in his generation, and Noah was well pleasing to God (vv. 8-9).

IV. (122-139) And the earth was "corrupted" (or destroyed) before God, and the earth was filled with iniquity (v. 11).

V. (140-end) And the Lord God saw the earth, and it was corrupted, because all flesh destroyed His way upon the earth (v. 12).

<sup>a</sup> The title is not very appropriate and applies only to §§ 20-32.

<sup>b</sup> Or "in that."

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I. Having suggested (1-3) that "after this" means "after the Spirit of God had departed," Philo goes on to discuss what is meant by saying that these "angels," which in the previous treatise he had taken to mean "evil angels" or "evil souls," beget "for themselves." This is shewn, first by contrast with Abraham (4) and (5-6) with Hannah, who gave her child as a thank-offering to God. This leads to a short meditation on the purifying power of thankfulness, and our need of such purification (7-9), and this is followed by a digression on the words of Hannah's psalm: "The barren hath borne seven, but she that had many children has languished," which are treated as contrasting the sacred number "seven" with selfish plurality (10-15). This brings back the thought of "begetting for themselves," as mere selfishness which, as in the case of Onan, brings destruction (16-19).

II. The idea that the words "God had it in His mind," etc. suggest that God had repented of making man is rejected as impious (20-22). God is unchangeable. Even among men the sage may live a life of constancy and harmony (23-25), and while most of us are the victims of fickleness and inconstancy, partly because we are unable to gauge the future, it is not so with God, for time is His creation and His life is eternity (27-32).

What then is the meaning of "God had in His mind that He had made man"? To explain this, Philo reproduces the Stoic theory of the four classes of things which we find in nature. First there is *ἔξις* (coherence), *i.e.* inorganic objects such as stones and dead wood. This *ἔξις* is conceived of as a "breath" (*πνεῦμα*) continually passing up and down,

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

and thus binding them together (33-36). Secondly there is *φύσις* (growth), as seen in plants, and here Philo takes the opportunity to dilate on the wonders of the annual resurrection (37-40). Third comes animal life (*ψυχῆ*) with its threefold phenomena (again Stoic) of "sense," "presentation" and "impulse" (41-44). All these have been mentioned to lead up to the fourth stage, that of the rational mind of man, which alone has free-will and is therefore alone liable to praise or blame, and it was this misused freedom of man which God "had in mind" (45-50).

We have still to do with the concluding words, "I was wroth that I made man." Here Philo, who evidently had the variant *ἐθυμώθη* for *ἐνεθυμήθη*, is in great difficulty. He cannot allow anger to God and he repeats the explanation of such anthropomorphic phrases (which he gave in *De Sac.* 94 f.), namely that they are accommodated to our weaker natures, which require the discipline of fear (51-69). But this alone does not satisfy him. His further explanation is hardly intelligible, but seems to mean that as it is anger and similar passions which produce human wickedness, God's judgement on the wicked may be spoken of as caused by God's anger (70-73).

III. But we must observe that this phrase, "I was wroth," etc., is followed at once by the words, "Noah found grace," and this contrast brings us to the thought that God in His dealings mingles mercy with judgement, as our weak nature requires (74-76). This "mingling" in fact is a necessary condition before we can understand the divine at all (77-81), and the contrast of the mixed and the unmingled, which is the same as that of the One and the Many, is illustrated

## PHILO

by the words " God spake once and these two things have I heard " (for God's speech is single, while our hearing is produced by different factors) (82-84), and also by the way in which Moses shews us the one just man side by side with the many unjust (85).

We can now consider more fully the phrase " Noah found grace with the Lord God." The word " found " leads to reflections first on the differences between finding (εὑρεσις) and " refinding " or " recovering " (ἀνεύρεσις) (86), and this difference is illustrated by an allegorical interpretation of the rules laid down for the " Great Vow " in Num. vi. (86-90), and then by the way in which the gifted by nature absorb knowledge without difficulty, while the efforts of the inapt come to disaster (91-93). This distinction extends to questions of conduct also, for those who with no good motive force themselves to right actions, against which their nature rebels, merely cause misery to themselves (94-103). Again the phrase " found *grace* " (χάρις) may be best interpreted as meaning that the just man " finds " that what we have is God's free *gift* (also χάρις) (104-108). Yet Philo seems at once to ignore this forced interpretation and to identify the meaning of the words " found grace " with the subsequent " was well pleasing " (εὐαρεστέηται) and after pointing out, as usual, that the double phrase " Lord God " represents God's two aspects of " sovereignty " and " goodness " (109-110), proceeds to contrast Noah with Joseph, " who found grace with the ruler of the prison " into which he was thrown. This story of Joseph teaches us the lesson that if we are the prisoners of passion, we should at least avoid the friendship of our gaoler and not be-



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

come his satellites (111-116). This contrast between Noah and Joseph brings us to the consideration of the words "these are the generations (*γενέσεις*) of Noah." Philo takes *γένεσις* to mean "becoming" or "development," and explains it in this case by the words that follow, "just," "perfect" "well pleasing to God" (117-118), and illustrates it from the text, "Joseph was keeping sheep with his brothers, being young, with the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah," where the *γένεσις* is from the higher nature of Jacob to that of the "young" Joseph and the bastard sons (119-121).

IV. Philo now turns to the words "the whole earth was corrupted or destroyed <sup>a</sup>" (122). The first view put forward is that Goodness (*i.e.* Noah) necessarily works the destruction of the Bad (123). But this passes at once into a really different thought <sup>a</sup> that Goodness shews up the Bad in its true light. This is illustrated from three points or rules in the law of leprosy; first, that the appearance of "healthy colour" makes the leper unclean (123-126); secondly, that complete leprosy is clean, while the partial is unclean, shewing that the completely and therefore involuntarily immoral condition is innocence compared with the partial enlightenment, by which the soul knows that it is sinful but does not amend (127-130); thirdly, that the infected house is pronounced unclean by the priest who visits it, shewing again that the entrance of divine reason will reveal the impurity of the soul (131-135). The same moral is found in the words of the widow of Zarephath to

<sup>a</sup> On the first interpretation *ἐφθάρη* means "was destroyed"; on the second "was corrupted," *i.e.* made to appear in its real badness.

## PHILO

Elijah, " O man of God, thou hast entered to remind me of my sin " (136-139).

V. The important point here is that " destroyed his way " means " destroyed God's way " (140-143), and this reminds us of the passage in which Israel asked for leave to pass through Edom's territory, and said " we will go by the king's way " (144) But Philo cannot endure to be confined to these two words, but deals with the whole content of Num. xx. 17-20 in a way which, perverse as it is, shews much richness of thought as well as ingenuity. (a) When Israel says " I will pass through thy land " we have the resolve of the Wise both to test the life of the pleasure-lover, so as to reject it through experience and not mere ignorance, and also not to stay in it (145-153). (β) On the other hand, " we will not go through the fields and vineyards " means " we will abide in the fields of heavenly fruits and the vineyards of virtue and true joy " (154). (γ) " We will not drink of thy well " means that " we on whom God rains his mercies have no need of the scanty water of the wells of earthly pleasures " (155-158). (δ) " We will go by the king's way " is " we will tread the road of wisdom " (159-161). (ε) " We will turn neither to the right nor to the left " shews that this way of wisdom is in the mean, as *e.g.* courage is the mean between rashness on the right and cowardice on the left (162-165). (ζ) When in reply to Edom's refusal and threat of war Israel replies, " we will pass along the mountain," Philo by a strange play on *ὄρος* (the mountain) and *ὄρος* (definition) extracts the idea that the wise man's course is on lofty thoughts based on scientific analysis (166-167). (η) " If I drink of thy water, I will give thee its value "

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

(τιμῆ) is turned into "If I truckle to you, I shall be giving to the worthless an honour which will lead the weak to honour it also" (167-171). (θ) The words "the matter is nothing" (see note on 145) are taken to mean the vanity of earthly things. And this leads to a meditation on the witness of history to the instability of national prosperity and indeed of all human aims (172-180). Thus we arrive at the conclusion that while Edom would bar the king's way, the divine reason will bar that of Edom and its associates (180).

This last word leads to some concluding thoughts about Balaam as one of these "associates." The sections (181-end), which otherwise have little connexion with the preceding matter, go back to the thought of 122-139, and describe Balaam as the type of those who reject the warning of divine reason as the inward judge and thus are past all cure.

## ΟΤΙ ΑΤΡΕΠΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ

- 1 I. “Καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνο” φησὶν “ὡς ἂν εἰσπορεύοντο οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγέννων αὐτοῖς.<sup>1</sup>” οὐκοῦν ἄξιον σκέψασθαι, τίνα ἔχει λόγον τὸ “μετ’ ἐκείνο.” ἔστι τοίνυν ἀναφορὰ δεικνύουσα τι τῶν προ-
- 2 εἰρημένων ἐναργέστερον. προεῖρηται δὲ περὶ θείου πνεύματος, ὃ καταμεῖναι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐν πολυσχιδεῖ καὶ πολυμόρφῳ ψυχῇ σαρκῶν ὄχλον βαρύντατον ἄχθος ἀνημμένη δυσεργότατον εἶπεν
- [273] εἶναι. μετ’ ἐκείνο δὴ | τὸ πνεῦμα οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς
- 3 τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίασιν. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἐλλάμπουσι τῇ ψυχῇ καθαραὶ φρονήσεως αὐγαί, δι’ ὧν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ὄρα ὁ σοφός, οὐδεὶς τῶν ψευδαγγελούντων ἐπεισέρχεται τῷ λογισμῷ, ἀλλ’ ἔξω περιρραντηρίων ἀπαντες εἴργονται. ὅταν δὲ ἀμυδρωθὲν ἐπισκιασθῇ τὸ διανοίας φῶς, οἱ τοῦ σκότους ἑταῖροι παρενημερήσαντες πάθει τοῖς κατεαγῶσι καὶ τεθηλυμμένοις, ἃς θυγατέρας εἴρηκεν ἀνθρώπων, συν-

<sup>1</sup> Most mss. αὐτοῖς, but Philo’s argument shows that in accordance with the generally received text of the LXX he wrote ἐαυτοῖς or αὐτοῖς.

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “and they bare children to them.”

<sup>b</sup> or “horde.” ὄχλος carries with it the idea both of a

## ON THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

I. "And after that," says Moses, "when the angels 1  
of God went in unto the daughters of men and begat  
for themselves" <sup>a</sup> (Gen. vi. 4). It is worth our while  
to consider what is meant by the word "after that."  
The answer is that it is a reference back, bringing  
out more clearly something of what has been already  
stated. That something is his words about the divine 2  
spirit, that nothing is harder than that it should abide  
for ever in the soul with its manifold forms and  
divisions—the soul which has fastened on it the  
grievous burden of this fleshly coil.<sup>b</sup> It is after that  
spirit <sup>c</sup> that the angels or messengers go in to the  
daughters of men. For while the soul is illumined 3  
by the bright and pure rays of wisdom, through which  
the sage sees God and His potencies, none of the  
messengers of falsehood has access to the reason, but  
all are barred from passing the bounds which the  
lustral water has consecrated.<sup>d</sup> But when the light  
of the understanding is dimmed and clouded, they  
who are of the fellowship of darkness win the day,  
and mating with the nerveless and emasculated  
passions, which he has called the daughters of men,  
mob and the trouble and confusion caused by it. The flesh  
(plural) is here and elsewhere conceived of as manifold.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* after the spirit has gone.

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 483.

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4 ἔρχονται καὶ γεννώσιν ἑαυτοῖς, οὐ τῷ θεῷ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεία τοῦ θεοῦ γεννήματα αἱ δλόκληροι ἀρεταί, τὰ δὲ συγγενῆ φαύλων αἱ ἀνάρμοστοι κακίαι. μάθε δ', εἰ θέλεις, ὦ διάνοια,

τὸ μὴ ἑαυτῇ γεννᾶν οἶόν ἐστι παρὰ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ τελείου, ὃς τὸ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον τῆς ψυχῆς ἔγγονον γνήσιον, τῆς αὐτομαθοῦς σοφίας εἰκόνα ἐναργεστάτην, ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἰσαάκ, ἀνάγει θεῷ καὶ ἀποδίδωσι μετὰ πάσης εὐθυμίας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἀρμόττον χαριστήριον συμποδίσας, ὡς φησιν ὁ νόμος, τὸ καινουργηθὲν ἱερεῖον, ἧτοι παρόσον ἐπ' οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ βαίνειν ἅπαξ ἐπιθειάσας ἡξίου, ἢ παρόσον ἀνίδρυτον καὶ ἄστατον κατείδε τὴν γένεσιν, ὅτε τὴν περὶ τὸ ὄν ἀνευδοίαστον ἔγνω βεβαιότητα, ἣ λέγεται πεπιστευκέαι.

5 Π. τούτου γίνεται μαθητρὶς καὶ διάδοχος Ἄννα, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δώρημα σοφίας· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ χάρις αὐτῆς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγκύμων ἐγένετο παραδεξαμένη θείας γονὰς καὶ τελεσφόροις ἐχρήσατο ὠδίσι, τὸν τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ τάξει τρόπον ἀποκνήσασα, ὃν <ἐπ>εφήμισε Σαμουήλ—καλεῖται δ' ἐρμηνευθεὶς τεταγμένος θεῷ—, λαβοῦσα ἀνταποδίδωσι τῷ δόντι μηδὲν ἴδιον ἑαυτῆς κρίνουσα ἀγαθόν,

6 ὃ μὴ χάρις ἐστὶ θεία. λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν βασιλειῶν αὕτη τὸν τρόπον τούτον· “δίδωμί σοι αὐτὸν δοτόν,” ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ δοτόν ὄντα, ὥστ' εἶναι “τὸν δεδομένον δίδωμι.” κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτα-

\* See App. p. 483.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 4-6

beget offspring<sup>†</sup> for themselves and not for God. For the offspring of God's parentage are the perfect 4 virtues, but the family of evil are the vices, whose note is discord.

If thou wilt know, my mind, what it is to beget not for thyself, learn the lesson from the perfect Abraham. He brings to God the dearly loved, the only trueborn offspring of the soul, that clearest image of self-learned wisdom, named Isaac, and without a murmur renders, as in duty bound, this fitting thank-offering. But first he bound, as the law tells us, the feet of the new strange victim (Gen. xxii. 9), either because having once received God's inspiration he judged it right to tread no more on aught that was mortal, or it may be that he was taught to see how changeable and inconstant was creation, through his knowledge of the unwavering stedfastness that belongs to the Existent; for in this we are told he had put his trust (Gen. xv. 6).

II. He finds a disciple and 5 successor in Hannah, the gift of the wisdom of God, for the name Hannah interpreted is "her grace." She received the divine seed and became pregnant. And when she had reached the consummation of her travail, and had brought forth the type of character which has its appointed place in God's order, which she named Samuel, a name which being interpreted means "appointed to God," she took him and rendered him in due payment to the Giver, judging that no good thing was her own peculiar property, nothing, which was not a grace and bounty from God. For she speaks in the first book of Kings in this wise, 6 "I give to Thee him, a gift<sup>a</sup>" (1 Sam. i. 28), that is "who is a gift," and so "I give him who has been given."

This agrees with the most sacred

## PHILO

τον Μωυσέως γράμμα τουτο· “ τὰ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου διατηρήσετε προσ-  
 7 φέρειν ἐμοί.” τίνι γὰρ εὐχαριστητέον ἄλλῳ πλὴν θεῷ; διὰ τίνων δὲ ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δοθέντων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλων εὐπορήσαι δυνατόν. χρείος δ’ οὐδενὸς ὢν κελεύει προσφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν εὐεργεσίας· μελετήσαντες γὰρ εὐχαριστητικῶς ἔχειν καὶ τιμητικῶς αὐτοῦ καθαρῆσομεν ἀδικημάτων ἐκνυψάμενοι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα τὸν βίον ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ νοήσεσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 [274] 8 ἔργοις. καὶ γὰρ εὐήθες εἰς μὲν τὰ ἱερά | μὴ ἐξείναι βαδίζειν, ὅς ἂν μὴ πρότερον λουσάμενος φαιδρύνηται τὸ σῶμα, εὐχσθαι δὲ καὶ θύειν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι κεκληιδωμένη καὶ πεφυρμένη διανοία· καίτοι τὰ μὲν ἱερά λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἀψύχου τῆς ὕλης πεποιήται, καθ’ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀψύχον· ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὃν ἀψύχον ἀψύχων οὐ προσάψεται μὴ περιρραντηρίοις καὶ καθαρσίοις ἀγνευτικοῖς χρησάμενον, ὑπομενεῖ δέ τις τῷ θεῷ προσελθεῖν ἀκάθαρτος ὢν ψυχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ, καὶ  
 9 ταῦτα μὴ μέλλων μετανοήσῃ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐπεξεργάσασθαι κακὸν καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ ἐκνύψασθαι δικαίως γεγεθῶς προσίτω, ὁ δ’ ἄνευ τούτων δυσκάθαρτος ὢν ἀφιστάσθω· λήσεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε τὸν τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας ὀρῶντα καὶ τοῖς ἀδύτοις αὐτῆς ἐμπεριπατοῦντα.  
 10 III. τῆς μέντοι θεοφιλοῦς ψυχῆς δείγμα ἐναργέστατόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἄσμα, ἐν ᾧ περιέχεται τὸ “ στείρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτά, ἣ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις  
 11 ἡσθένησε.” καίτοι γε ἑνὸς ἐστι μήτηρ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Cohn for MS. *ὀνειδεσι* or *εἶδεσι*: Wend. *ἐνομοίαις*.



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 6-11

ordinance of Moses, " My gifts, My offerings, My fruits ye shall observe to bring to Me " (Num. xxviii. 2). For to whom should we make thank-offering save to 7 God ? and wherewithal save by what He has given us ? for there is nothing else whereof we can have sufficiency. God needs nothing, yet in the exceeding greatness of His beneficence to our race He bids us bring what is His own. For if we cultivate the spirit of rendering thanks and honour to Him, we shall be pure from wrongdoing and wash away the filthiness which defiles our lives in thought and word and deed. For it is absurd that a man should be forbidden to 8 enter the temples save after bathing and cleansing his body, and yet should attempt to pray and sacrifice with a heart still soiled and spotted. The temples are made of stones and timber, that is of soulless matter, and soulless too is the body in itself. And can it be that while it is forbidden to this soulless body to touch the soulless stones, except it have first been subjected to lustral and purificatory consecration, a man will not shrink from approaching with his soul impure the absolute purity of God and that too when there is no thought of repentance in his heart ? He who is resolved not only to commit 9 no further sin, but also to wash away the past, may approach with gladness : let him who lacks this resolve keep far away, since hardly shall he be purified. For he shall never escape the eye of Him who sees into the recesses of the mind and treads its inmost shrine.

III. Indeed of the nature of the soul 10 beloved of God no clearer evidence can we have than that psalm of Hannah which contains the words " the barren hath borne seven, but she that had many children hath languished " (1 Sam. ii. 5). And yet it 11

## PHILO

- Σαμουήλ ἢ λέγουσα. πῶς οὖν ἑπτὰ τετοκέσαι φησίν, εἰ μὴ τι μονάδα ἑβδομάδι τὴν αὐτὴν φυσικώτατα νομίζει, οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἀρμονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἐναρέτου λόγοις ψυχῆς; ὁ γὰρ τεταγμένος μόνῳ θεῷ Σαμουήλ, ἄλλῳ δὲ τὸ παράπαν συνιῶν μηδενί, κατὰ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὴν μονάδα, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, κεκό-
- 12 σμηται. αὕτη δ' ἢ κατάστασις ἐστὶν ἑβδομάδος, ἀναπαυομένης ἐν θεῷ ψυχῆς καὶ περὶ μηδὲν τῶν θνητῶν ἔργων ἔτι πονουμένης, κατὰ ἀπόλειψιν ἑξάδος, ἣν ἀπένειμε τοῖς τὰ πρωτεία λαβεῖν μὴ δυναθεῖσι, δευτερείων δ' ἕξ ἀνάγκης μεταποιου-
- 13 μένοις. τὴν μὲν οὖν στεῖραν, οὐ τὴν ἄγονον, ἀλλὰ τὴν στερρὰν καὶ ἔτι σφριγῶσαν, τοὺς διὰ καρτερίας καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἐπὶ κτήσει τοῦ ἀρίστου διαθλοῦσαν ἄθλους, ἑβδομάδι τὴν ἰσότιμον μονάδα τίκτειν εἰκὸς ἦν· εὐτοκος γὰρ καὶ εὐπαις ἡ φύσις.
- 14 τὴν δὲ πολλὴν ἀσθενεῖν ἐν τέκνοις εἶπεν ἀψευδῶς καὶ σφόδρα ἐναργῶς· ὅταν γὰρ μία οὔσα ψυχὴ πολλὰ ὠδίνῃ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀποστᾶσα, μυρία κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γίνεται, κάπειτα πλήθει τέκνων ἐξηρητημένων βαρυνομένη καὶ πιεζομένη—ἔστι δὲ ἡλιτόμηνα καὶ
- 15 ἀμβλωθρίδια τὰ πλείστα αὐτῶν—ἕξασθενεῖ. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ τὰς πρὸς σχήματα καὶ χρώματα δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπιθυμίας, τίκτει δὲ τὰς πρὸς φωνὰς δι'

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Post.* 64.

<sup>b</sup> Or "since his soul rests."

<sup>c</sup> For Philo's ideas about Six and Seven cf. *Leg. All.* i. 2-16.

<sup>d</sup> In identifying *στεῖραν*, "barren," with *στερρὰν*, "firm," Philo is not so far out as in most of his philological vagaries. The two words may be the same in origin, "hard ground" being "barren ground."

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 11-15

is the mother of one child—Samuel—who is speaking. How then can she say that she has borne seven? It can only be that in full accordance with the truth of things, she holds the One to be the same as the Seven,<sup>a</sup> not only in the lore of numbers, but also in the harmony of the universe and in the thoughts of the virtuous soul. For Samuel who is appointed to God alone and holds no company with any other has his being ordered in accordance with the One and the Monad, the truly existent. But this condition <sup>12</sup> of his implies the Seven, that is a soul which rests <sup>b</sup> in God and toils no more at any mortal task, and has thus left behind the Six, which God has assigned to those who could not win the first place, but must needs limit their claims to the second.<sup>c</sup> We might well <sup>13</sup> expect, then, that the barren woman, not meaning the childless, but the “firm” or solid <sup>d</sup> who still abounds in power, who with endurance and courage perseveres to the finish in the contest, where the prize is the acquisition of the Best, should bring forth the Monad which is of equal value with the Seven; for her nature is that of a happy and goodly motherhood. And when she says that she who had many children <sup>14</sup> languishes, her words are as clear as they are true. For when the soul that is one departs from the one and is in travail with many, she naturally is multiplied a thousand-fold,<sup>e</sup> and then weighed down and sore pressed by the multitude of children that cling to her—most of them abortions born out of due time—she languishes utterly. She brings forth the desires <sup>15</sup> of which the eyes and the ears are the channels, these for shapes and colours, those for sounds; she

<sup>e</sup> Or “vast is the number of children born to her.” See App. p. 483.

## PHILO

- ᾧτων, ἐγκύμων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτήν, ὥστε πολλῶν ἐκκρεμαμένων ἐγγόνων βαρύτατον ἄχθος φέρουσα παρίεται καὶ χεῖρας ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καθείσα ἀπολέγεται. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἠττήσθαι συμβαίνει πᾶσιν, ὅσοι φθαρτοῖς
- [275] ἑαυτοῖς φθαρτὰ γεννώσιν.
- 16 IV. Ἐνιοὶ δ' | οὐχ ἠτταν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θάνατον ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἀνεδέξαντο. ὁ γοῦν Ἀνάν, "αἰσθόμενος ὅτι οὐκ αὐτῷ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα," οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο τὸ λογικόν, ὅπερ ἄριστον τῶν ὄντων γένος ἐστὶ, διαφθείρων ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο φθορὰν παντελῆ, σφόδρα ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως·
- 17 εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντα πράξουσὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἔνεκα, μὴ γονέων τιμῆς, μὴ παιδῶν εὐκοσμίας, μὴ σωτηρίας πατρίδος, μὴ νόμων φυλακῆς, μὴ ἐθῶν βεβαιότητος, μὴ ἰδίων μὴ κοινῶν ἐπανορθώσεως, μὴ ἱερῶν ἀγιστείας, μὴ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐσεβείας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι,
- 18 κακοδαιμονήσουσιν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ὧν εἶπον χάριν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν εὐκλεές, οἱ δ' ἄρα καὶ ἀθρόων τῶν οὕτω περιμαχῆτων φασίν, εἰ μὴ τινα ἡδονὴν μέλλοι περιποιεῖν, κατολιγωρήσειν. τοιγάρτοι πονηρὰν εἰσήγησιν ὁ ἀδέκαστος θεὸς ἐκφύλου δόγματος, ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀνάν, ἐκποδῶν ἀν-
- 19 ελεῖ. παραιτητέοι δὴ πάντες οἱ γεννῶντες αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ὅσοι τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελές μόνον θηρώμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερορῶσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς μόνοις φύντες, οὐχὶ δὲ μυρίοις ἄλλοις, πατρί,

<sup>a</sup> Or "gives up the fight."

<sup>b</sup> The sections 16-19 largely repeat *De Post.* 180, 181.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 483.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 15-19

is pregnant with the lusts of the belly and those which have their seat below it, and thus, under the crushing load of the many children that hang upon her, she grows faint and dropping her hands in weakness sinks in prostration.<sup>a</sup> This manner of defeat is the lot of all who engender things corruptible for their corruptible selves.

IV. Some <sup>b</sup> there are who through self-love have 16 brought upon themselves not only defeat but death. Thus Onan “perceiving that the seed will not be his” (Gen. xxxviii. 9), ceased not to destroy the reasoning principle, which in kind is the best of all existing things, till he himself underwent utter destruction. And right just and fitting was his fate. For if there 17 shall be any whose every deed is self-seeking, who have no regard for the honouring of their parents, for the ordering of their children aright, for the safety of their country, for the maintenance of the laws, for the security of good customs, for the better conduct of things private and public, for the sanctity of temples, for piety towards God, miserable shall be their fate. To sacrifice life itself for any single one 18 of these that I have named is honour and glory. But these self-lovers—they say that if these blessings, desirable as they are, were all put together, they would utterly despise them, if they should not procure them some future pleasure.<sup>c</sup> And therefore God in His impartial justice will cast out to destruction that evil suggestion of an unnatural creed, called Onan. We must indeed reject all those 19 who “beget for themselves,” that is all those who pursue only their own profit and think not of others. For they think themselves born for themselves only and not for the innumerable others, for father, for

## PHILO

μητρί, γυναικί, τέκνοις, πατρίδι, ἀνθρώπων γένει, εἰ δὲ δεῖ προελθόντας τι περαιτέρω φάναι, οὐρανῶ, γῆ, τῶ παντὶ κόσμῳ, ἐπιστήμας, ἀρεταῖς, τῶ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμονί τῶν συμπάντων· ὧν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπονεμητέον τὸ ἀρμόττον μὴ τὰ πάντα προσθήκην ἑαυτοῦ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ τῶν πάντων νομίζοντα.

20 V. Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄλλης, τὰ δ' ἀκόλουθα τῶ λόγῳ συνυφήνωμεν. “ιδῶν” οὖν φησι “κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶς τις διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ πονηρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ διενόηθη. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.”

21 ἴσως τινὲς τῶν ἀνεξετάστων ὑποτοπήσουσι τὸν νομοθέτην αἰνίττεσθαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ δημιουργὸς μετέγνω κατιδὼν τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν, ἧς χάριν αἰτίας ἐβουλήθη σύμπαν διαφθεῖραι τὸ γένος. ἀλλ' ἴστωσαν ὅτι ταῦτα δοξάζοντες ἐπελαφρίζουσι καὶ ἐπικουφίζουσι τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων ἀμαρτήματα

22 δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀθεότητος. τί γὰρ ἂν ἀσέβημα μείζον γένοιτο τοῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν [276] ἄτρεπτον τρέπεσθαι; καίτοι | τινῶν ἀξιούντων μηδὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ταῖς γνώμας ἐπαμφοτερίζειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς φιλοσοφήσαντας μέγιστον ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀγαθὸν εὔρασθαι τὸ μὴ τοῖς πράγμασι συμμεταβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ στερρότητος ἀκλινοῦς καὶ παγίου βεβαιότητος ἅπασι  
23 τοῖς ἀρμόττουσιν ἐγχειρεῖν. VI. ἀρέσκει

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “unexamined,” *i.e.* by themselves.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 483.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 19-23

mother, for wife, for children, for country, for the human race, and if we must extend the list, for heaven, for earth, for the universe, for knowledge, for virtues, for the Father and Captain of all; to each of whom we are bound according to our powers to render what is due, not holding all things to be an adjunct of ourselves, but rather ourselves an adjunct of all.

V. Enough on this point. Let us extend our discussion to embrace the words that follow. "The Lord God," says Moses, "seeing that the wickednesses of men were multiplied upon the earth and that every man intended evil in his heart diligently all his days, God had it in His mind that He had made man upon the earth, and He bethought Him. And God said, I will blot out man, whom I made, from the face of the earth" (Gen. vi. 5-7).

Perhaps some of those who are careless inquirers<sup>a</sup> will suppose that the Lawgiver is hinting that the Creator repented of the creation of men when He beheld their impiety, and that this was the reason why He wished to destroy the whole race. Those who think thus may be sure that they make the sins of these men of old time seem light and trivial through the vastness of their own godlessness. For what greater impiety could there be than to suppose that the Unchangeable changes? Indeed some maintain<sup>b</sup> that even among men vacillation of mind and judgement is not universal; for those who study philosophy in guilelessness and purity, it is held, gain from their knowledge this as their chief reward, that they do not change with changing circumstances, but with unbending steadfastness and firm constancy take in hand all that it behoves them to do.

VI. It is a tenet of the lawgiver also that the perfect man seeks for

## PHILO

- δὲ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τὸν τέλειον ἡρεμίας ἐφίεσθαι·  
 τὸ γὰρ εἰρημένον τῷ σοφῷ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ  
 θεοῦ “ σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ’ ἐμοῦ ” τὸ  
 ἀκλινὲς καὶ ἀρρεπὲς τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἰδρυμένον  
 24 πάντα σαφέστατα παρίστησι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι θαν-  
 μάσιον, ὡσπερ τινὰ λύραν τὴν ψυχὴν μουσικῶς  
 ἀρμολογούμενον οὐκ ὀξέσει καὶ βαρέσει τοῖς φθόγγοις,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήμη μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων,<sup>1</sup> χρῆσει δὲ τῶν  
 ἀμεινόνων, μήτε ἐπιτείνειν προσυπερβάλλοντα μήτε  
 ἀνεῖναι μαλθάξαντα τὴν ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν φύσει  
 καλῶν ἀρμονίαν, δι’ ἴσου δ’ αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα  
 25 κροτεῖν καὶ ἐπιψάλλειν ἐμμελῶς. ὄργανον γὰρ  
 τελεώτατον ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθὲν ἀρχέτυπον  
 τῶν χειροκμητῶν τοῦτό γε· ὅπερ εἰ καλῶς ἀρμο-  
 σθείη, τὴν πασῶν ἀρίστην συμφωνίαν ἀπεργάσεται,  
 ἥτις οὐκ ἐν κλάσει καὶ τόνοις ἐμμελοῦς φωνῆς,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων ἔχει  
 26 τὸ τέλος. ὅπου γοῦν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ τὸν πολὺν  
 κλύδωνα καὶ σάλον, ὃν καταρραγὲν σφοδρὸν πνεῦμα  
 τὸ κακίας αἰφνίδιον ἡγειρεν, ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας  
 αὔραις ἀποτίθεται καὶ τὸ κυμαῖνον καὶ παρωδηκὸς  
 ὑφέισα νημέμω εὐδία χρωμένη γαληνιάζει, εἰτ’  
 ἐνδοιάζει, ὅτι ὁ ἄφθαρτος καὶ μακάριος καὶ τῶν  
 ἀρετῶν καὶ αὐτῆς τελειότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας  
 ἀνημμένος τὸ κράτος οὐ χρῆται γνώμης μεταβολῇ,  
 μένει δὲ ἐφ’ ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐβουλεύσατο οὐδὲν αὐτῶν  
 27 μετατιθεῖς; ἀνθρώποις μὲν οὖν τὸ εὐ-  
 μετάβολον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐκτὸς  
 ἀβεβαιότητα συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη· οἷον οὕτως φίλους  
 ἐλόμενοι πολλάκις καὶ βραχύν τινα αὐτοῖς συν-

<sup>1</sup> Wend. approves of Mangey's τῶν <ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν> ἐναντίων (cf. 49). But see App. p. 483.



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 23-27

quietude. For the words addressed to the Sage with God as the speaker, "stand thou here with Me" (Deut. v. 31), shew most plainly how unbending, unwavering and broad-based is his will. Wonderful indeed is the soul of the Sage, how he sets it, like a lyre,<sup>a</sup> to harmony not with a scale of notes low and high, but with the knowledge of moral opposites, and the practice of such of them as are better; how he does not strain it to excessive heights, nor yet relax it and weaken the concord of virtues and things naturally beautiful, but keeps it ever at an equal tension and plays it with hand or bow in melody. Such a soul is the most perfect instrument fashioned by nature, the pattern of those which are the work of our hands. And if it be well adjusted, it will produce a symphony the most beautiful in the world, one which has its consummation not in the cadences and tones of melodious sound, but in the consistencies of our life's actions. Oh! if the soul of man, when it feels the soft breeze of wisdom and knowledge, can dismiss the stormy surge which the fierce burst of the gale of wickedness has suddenly stirred, and levelling the billowy swell can rest in unruffled calm under a bright clear sky, can you doubt that He, the Imperishable Blessed One, who has taken as His own the sovereignty of the virtues, of perfection itself and beatitude, knows no change of will, but ever holds fast to what He purposed from the first without any alteration? With men then it must needs be that they are ready to change, through instability whether it be in themselves or outside them. So for example <sup>b</sup> often when we have chosen our friends and been familiar with them for

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 483.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 484.

## PHILO

διατρίψαντες χρόνον, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες ἀπεστράφημεν, ὡς εἰς ἐχθρῶν ἢ ἀγνοουμένων γοῦν  
 28 τάξιν ἐμβιβάσαι. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον κούφην εὐχέριαν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχει τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεις ἀδυνατούντων κραταιῶς διαφυλάττειν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐχ ἀψίκορος. καὶ μὴν ἔστιν ὅτε διανοοῦμεθα μὲν ἐπιμένειν κριτηρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐν ὁμοίῳ, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ αἱ  
 29 ἡμέτεροι γινώμην συμμετέβαλον. προιδέσθαι γὰρ ἢ μελλόντων πραγμάτων συντυχίας ἢ γνώμας ἐτέρων ἄνθρωπον ὄντα ἀμήχανον, τῷ δὲ θεῷ ὡς ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ πάντα ἀρίδηλα. καὶ γὰρ ἄχρι  
 [277] τῶν ψυχῆς μυχῶν | φθάσας, ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστὶν ἀόρατα τηλαυγῶς πέφυκε καθορᾶν, καὶ προμηθεῖα καὶ προνοία χρώμενος, οἰκείαις ἀρεταῖς, οὐδὲν ἀπελευθεριάζειν καὶ ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καταλήψεως βαίνειν ἔα· ἐπειδήπερ οὐδ' ἡ τῶν μελλόντων ἀδηλότῃς αὐτῷ συμβατή· οὔτε γὰρ ἄδηλον οὔτε  
 30 μέλλον οὐδὲν θεῷ. δῆλον μὲν οὖν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν γεννηθέντων τὸν φυτεύσαντα καὶ τῶν δημιουργηθέντων τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐπιτροπευομένων ἐπιστήμονα [ἀναγκαῖον] εἶναι δεῖ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς πατὴρ καὶ τεχνίτης καὶ ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστι. καὶ μὴν τά γε μέλλοντα συσκιάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐθις χρόνου, τοτὲ μὲν βραχεῖ, τοτὲ δὲ μακρῷ δια-  
 31 στήματι. δημιουργὸς δὲ καὶ χρόνου θεός· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πατὴρ—πατὴρ δὲ χρόνου κόσμος—τὴν κίνησιν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν ἀποφίνας ἐκείνου· ὥστε υἱωνοῦ τάξιν ἔχει πρὸς θεὸν τὸν χρόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος οὗτος νεώτερος

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 484.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 27-31

a short time, we turn from them, though we have no charge to bring against them, and count them amongst our enemies, or at best as strangers. Such 28 action proves the facile levity of ourselves, how little capacity we have for stoutly holding to our original judgements. But God has no such fickleness. Or again, sometimes we are minded to hold to the standards we have taken but we find ourselves with others who have not remained constant, and thus our judgements perforce change with theirs. For a 29 mere man cannot foresee the course of future events, or the judgements of others, but to God as in pure sunlight all things are manifest. For already He has pierced into the recesses of our soul, and what is invisible to others is clear as daylight to His eyes. He employs the forethought and foreknowledge which are virtues peculiarly His own, and suffers nothing to escape His control or pass outside His comprehension. For not even about the future can uncertainty be found with Him, since nothing is un- 30 certain or future to God. No one doubts that the parent must have knowledge of his offspring, the craftsman of his handiwork, the steward of things entrusted to his stewardship. But God is in very truth the father and craftsman and steward of the heaven and the universe and all that is therein. Future events lie shrouded in the darkness of the time that is yet to be at different distances, some near, some far. But God is the maker of 31 time <sup>a</sup> also, for He is the father of time's father, that is of the universe, and has caused the movements of the one to be the source of the generation of the other. Thus time stands to God in the relation of a grandson. For this universe, since we perceive it by our senses,

## PHILO

- υἱὸς θεοῦ, ἅτε αἰσθητὸς ὢν· τὸν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον  
 [οὐδένα εἶπε]<sup>1</sup>—νοητὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος—πρεσβείων ἀξιώ-  
 32 σας παρ' ἑαυτῷ καταμένειν διανοήθη. οὗτος οὖν  
 ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ὁ αἰσθητὸς κινηθεὶς τὴν χρόνου  
 φύσιν ἀναλάμβαι καὶ ἀνασχεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὥστε  
 οὐδὲν παρὰ θεῷ μέλλον τῷ καὶ τὰ τῶν χρόνων  
 ὑπηγμένῳ πέρατα· καὶ γὰρ οὐ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παράδειγμα αἰῶν<sup>2</sup> ὁ  
 βίος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup>. ἐν αἰῶνι δὲ οὔτε παρελήλυθεν  
 οὐδὲν οὔτε μέλλει, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑφέστηκεν.  
 33 VII. Ἰκανῶς οὖν διειλεγμένοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ  
 χρῆσθαι μετανοία τὸ ὄν ἀκολουθῶς ἀποδώσομεν,  
 τί ἐστὶ τὸ “ ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν  
 34 ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ διανοήθη.” ἔννοιαν  
 καὶ διανόησιν, τὴν μὲν ἐναποκειμένην οὖσαν  
 νόησιν, τὴν δὲ νοήσεως διεξοδον, βεβαιοτάτας  
 δυνάμεις ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων κληρωσάμενος καὶ  
 χρώμενος αἰεὶ ταύταις τὰ ἔργα ἑαυτοῦ καταθεᾶται.  
 τὰ μὲν δὴ μὴ λείποντα τὴν τάξιν τῆς πειθαρχίας  
 ἔνεκα ἐπαινεί, τὰ δὲ μεθιστάμενα τῇ κατὰ λιπο-  
 τακτῶν ὠρισμένη μετέρχεται δίκη.  
 35 τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐνεδήσατο ἕξει, τὰ δὲ  
 φύσει, τὰ δὲ ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ λογικῇ ψυχῇ. λίθων μὲν  
 οὖν καὶ ξύλων, ἃ δὴ τῆς συμφυΐας ἀπέσπασται,  
 [278] δεσμὸν κραταιότατον ἕξιν | εἰργάζετο· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ  
 πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἑαυτό· ἄρχεται μὲν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. regards οὐδένα εἶπε as a Christian interpolation. The Translator suggests οὖν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον τοῦδ' ἕνα εἶχε, which with the transference of τ and the substitution of χ for π is the same as the ms.      <sup>2</sup> MSS. δι' ὧν.      <sup>3</sup> MSS. αὐτῶν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 484.

<sup>b</sup> The fourfold classification which follows has been already given shortly in *Leg. All.* ii. 22-23.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 31-35

is the younger son of God. To the elder son, I mean the intelligible universe, He assigned the place of firstborn, and purposed that it should remain in His own keeping. So this younger son, the world of our senses, when set in motion, brought that entity we call time to the brightness of its rising. And thus with God there is no future, since He has made the boundaries of the ages subject to Himself. For God's life is not a time, but eternity, which is the archetype and pattern of time <sup>a</sup>; and in eternity there is no past nor future, but only present existence.

VII. Having now discoursed sufficiently on the theme that the Existent does not experience repentance, we will explain in due sequence the words "God had it in His mind that He had made men upon the earth and He bethought Him" (Gen. vi. 6). "Having in one's mind" and "bethinking," the former being the thought quiescent in the mind,<sup>a</sup> the latter the thought brought to an issue, are two most constant powers, which the Maker of all things has taken as His own and ever employs them when He contemplates His own works. Those of His creatures who do not leave their appointed places, He praises for their obedience. Those who depart from it He visits with the punishment which is the doom of deserters.

This is explained by consideration of the different conditions, which He has made inseparable from the various bodies.<sup>b</sup> These are in some cases cohesion, in others growth, in others life, in others a reasoning soul. Thus, in stones and bits of wood which have been severed from their organism, He wrought cohesion, which acts as the most rigid of bonds. Cohesion <sup>c</sup> is a breath or current ever re-

<sup>a</sup> See note in App. on *Leg. All.* ii. 22.

## PHILO

- ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα τείνεσθαι, ψαῦσαν δὲ ἄκρας ἐπιφανείας ἀνακάμπει πάλιν, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφίκηται τόπον, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον
- 36 ὠρμήθη· ἕξewis ὁ συνεχῆς οὗτος διάυλος ἀφθαρτος, ὃν οἱ δρομεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι ταῖς τριετηρίσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων κοινοῖς θεάτροις ὡς μέγα δὴ καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ περιμάχητον ἔργον ἐπιδείκνυνται.
- 37 VIII. Τὴν δὲ φύσιν ἀπένειμε τοῖς φυτοῖς κερασάμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ πλείστων δυνάμεων, θρεπτικῆς τε καὶ μεταβλητικῆς καὶ αὐξητικῆς. καὶ γὰρ τρέφεται τροφῆς ὄντα χρεῖα, τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ μὴ ἀρδόμενα φθίνει καὶ ἀφαναίνεται, ὥσπερ αὖ τὰ ποτιζόμενα ἐμφανῶς αὖξεται· τὰ γὰρ τέως διὰ βραχύτητα χαμαίζηλα ἐξαίφνης ἀναδραμόντα ἔρηνη γίνεται περιμηκέστατα. τί χρῆ λέγειν περὶ μετα-
- 38 βολῆς αὐτῶν; ταῖς μὲν γὰρ χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς τὰ πέταλα μαρανθέντα εἰς τοῦδαφος χεῖται, οἳ τε ἐν ταῖς κληματίσι λεγόμενοι πρὸς τῶν γεωπόνων ὀφθαλμοὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις καταμύουσι, τά τε πρὸς τὰς ἐκφύσεις στόμια πάντα ἔσφιγκται τῆς φύσεως εἴσω τότε συνειλημμένης καὶ ἡσυχάζουσας, ἵνα διαπνεύσασα οἰά τις ἀθλητῆς προηγωνισμένος καὶ συλλεξαμένη τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν πρὸς τοὺς ἐθάδας ἄθλους ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀπαντᾷ. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ταῖς
- 39 ἄριναῖς καὶ κατὰ θέρος ὥραις· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου περιαναστᾶσα τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς διοίγνυσι τά τε μεμυκῶτα τῶν στομίων ἀναστείλασα εὐρύνει, ὧν δ' ἐστὶν ἐγκύμων πάντα ἀποτίκτει, πέταλα καὶ κληματίδας, ἔλικας, οἴναρα,<sup>1</sup> καρπὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν· εἰθ' ὅταν τελεσθῆ, παρέχεται τὰς τροφὰς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οἶον ἄρα.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 35-39

turning to itself. It begins to extend itself from the centre of the body in question to its extremes, and when it has reached the outermost surface it reverses its course, till it arrives at the place from which it first set out. This regular double course of cohesion 36 is indestructible ; and it is this which the runners imitate at the triennial festivals in the places of spectacle universal among men, and exhibit as a great and splendid feat, well worthy of their efforts.

VIII. Growth God assigned to plants. It is a com- 37 pound of many capacities, that of taking nourishment, that of undergoing change and that of increasing. Nourishment plants receive as they need it, as the following proof shews. When they are not watered they decay and wither, just as their increase when watered is plain to see, for sprouts heretofore too tiny to rise above the ground suddenly shoot up and become quite tall. It is hardly necessary to speak of their function of change. When the winter solstice arrives, 38 the leaves wither and shed themselves to the ground, and the " eyes," as the husbandmen call them, on the twigs close like eyes in animals, and all the outlets which serve to put forth life are bound tight, for Nature <sup>a</sup> within them compresses herself and hibernates, to get a breathing-space, like an athlete after his first contest, and thus having regained her fund of strength, comes forth to resume the familiar conflict. And this comes to pass in the spring and summer seasons. For she arises as though from a 39 deep sleep and unseals the eyes, opens wide the closed outlets, and brings forth all that is in her womb, shoots, twigs, tendrils, leaves and, to crown all, fruit. Then when the fruit is fully formed, she

<sup>a</sup> Or "power of growth."

## PHILO

- οἷα μήτηρ τῷ γενομένῳ διά τινων ἀφανῶν πόρων, οἱ τοῖς ἐν γυναιξὶ μαστοῖς ἀναλογουῖσι, καὶ οὐ πρότερον παύεται τρέφουσα ἢ τὸν καρπὸν τελεσφορηθῆναι· τελεσφορεῖται δὲ ὁ πεπανθεὶς ἄκρως, ἡνίκα, κὰν μηδεὶς δρέπηται, τῆς συμφυΐας αὐτὸς ἐπείγεται διαζεύγνυσθαι ἅτε μηκέτι τροφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τεκούσης δεόμενος, ἱκανὸς δ' ὢν, εἰ χώρας ἀγαθῆς ἐπιλάχοι, σπείρειν καὶ γεννᾶν ὅμοια τοῖς φυτεύουσι.
- 41 IX. Ψυχὴν δὲ φύσεως τρισὶ διαλλάττουσαν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει, αἰσθήσει, φαντασίᾳ, ὄρμηϊ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ φυτὰ ἀόρμητα, ἀφάνταστα, αἰσθήσεως ἀμέτοχα, τῶν δὲ ζώων ἕκαστον ἀθρώων μετέχει τῶν εἰρη-  
 42 μένων. αἰσθησις μὲν οὖν, ὡς αὐτὸ που δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, εἴσθεσις τις οὕσα τὰ φανέντα ἐπεισφέρει τῷ νῷ· τούτῳ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστόν ἐστι ταμείον καὶ πανδεχές, πάνθ' ὅσα δι' ὀράσεως καὶ ἀκοῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων ἐντίθεται καὶ  
 43 ἐναποθησαυρίζεται. φαντασία δὲ ἐστι τύπωσις |  
 [279] ἐν ψυχῇ· ὧν<sup>1</sup> γὰρ εἰσήγαγεν ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ὥσπερ δακτύλιός τις ἢ σφραγὶς ἐναπεμάξατο τὸν οἰκεῖον χαρακτῆρα· κηρῷ δὲ εἰκῶς ὁ νοῦς τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον δεξάμενος ἄκρως παρ' ἑαυτῷ φυλάττει, μέχρις ἂν ἡ ἀντίπαλος μνήμη τὸν τύπον λεάνασα  
 44 λήθῃ ἀμυδρὸν ἐργάσθαι ἢ παντελῶς ἀφανίσῃ. τὸ δὲ φανὲν καὶ τυπῶσαν τοτὲ μὲν οἰκείως τοτὲ δὲ ὡς ἑτέρως διέθηκε τὴν ψυχὴν. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἢν or ε' or α.

<sup>a</sup> "The word *φαντασία*, 'appearance' or 'appearing,' is a technical term in Stoic logic for which no one English equivalent is as yet unanimously adopted. It denotes the immediate datum of consciousness or experience, whether presented to the sense or in certain cases to the mind. Hence



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 39-44

provides nourishment, like the mother to the infant, through some hidden channels, which correspond to the breasts in women, and she ceases not to minister this nourishment till the fruit is brought to its consummation. That consummation comes to the fully 40 ripened fruit, when, if none pluck it, it automatically seeks to disengage itself from its organism, since it needs no longer the nurture which its parent supplies, and is capable, if it chance to drop on good soil, of sowing and producing other plants similar to those which gave it its existence.

IX. Life was made by its creator different from 41 growth in three ways. It has sensation, "presentation,"<sup>a</sup> impulse. For plants have no impulse, no "presentation," no gift of sense-perception, while each living creature participates in all three combined. Sensation or sense, as the name itself shews, 42 is "a putting in," and introduces what has appeared to it to the mind. For mind is a vast and receptive storehouse in which all that comes through sight or hearing and the other organs of sense is placed and treasured.

"Presentation" is an imprint 43 made on the soul. For, like a ring or seal, it stamps<sup>b</sup> on the soul the image corresponding to everything which each of the senses has introduced. And the mind like wax receives the impress and retains it vividly, until forgetfulness the opponent of memory levels out the imprint, and makes it indistinct, or entirely effaces it. But the object which has pre- 44 sented itself and made the impression has an effect upon the soul sometimes of an appropriate kind,<sup>b</sup> sometimes the reverse. And this condition or state 'presentation' is nearer than 'perception' or 'impression' (Hicks on Diog. Laert. vii. 43; Loeb translation, vol. ii. p. 152).

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 484.

## PHILO

πάθος ὀρμή καλεῖται, ἣν ὀριζόμενοι πρώτην ἔφασαν εἶναι ψυχῆς κίνησιν.

- 45 Τοσοῦτοις μὲν δὴ ζῶα προὔχει φυτῶν· ἴδωμεν δὲ τίνι τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὑπερβέβληκεν ἄνθρωπος. Χ. ἐξαιρέτον οὗτος τοίνυν γέρας ἔλαχε διάνοιαν, ἣ τὰς ἀπάντων φύσεις σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων εἴωθε καταλαμβάνειν. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ σώματι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὄψις ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ἢ τοῦ φωτὸς φύσις, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
- 46 καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ κρατιστεῦον ὁ νοῦς· ψυχῆς γὰρ ὄψις οὗτος οἰκειαῖς περιλαμπόμενος ἀνγαῖς, δι' ὧν ὁ πολὺς καὶ βαθὺς ζόφος, ὃν κατέχεεν ἄγνοια τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀνασκιδνᾶται. τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἄλλα ἀπετελεῖτο, διεπλάσθη, καθαρωτέρας δὲ καὶ ἀμείνονος ἔλαχε τῆς οὐσίας, ἐξ ἧς αἱ θεῖαι φύσεις ἐδημιουργοῦντο· παρὸ καὶ μόνον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν εἰ-
- 47 κότες ἀφθαρτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι διάνοια. μόνην γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ γεννήσας πατὴρ ἐλευθερίας ἠξίωσε, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀνεῖς δεσμὰ ἀφετον εἴασε, δωρησάμενος αὐτῇ τοῦ πρεπωδεστάτου καὶ οἰκείου κτήματος αὐτῷ, τοῦ ἔκουσιου, μοῖραν, ἣν ἡδύνατο δέξασθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ζῶα, ὧν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ ἐξαιρούμενον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, νοῦς, οὐκ ἔστι, καταζευχθέντα καὶ ἐγχαλινωθέντα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἀνθρώποις παραδέδοται ὥσπερ οἰκέται δεσπόταις, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐθελουργοῦ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστου γνώμης λαχὼν καὶ προαιρετικαῖς χρώμενος τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις εἰκότως ψόγον μὲν ἔσχεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ, ἔπαινον δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἐκὼν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 484.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 485.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the stars, cf. *De Gig.* 7. See App. Vol. II. p. 502.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 44-47

of the soul is called impulse or appetite, which has been defined as the first movement of the soul.<sup>a</sup>

In all these ways living creatures excel plants. 45  
Let us now see where man has been made superior to other animals. X. We find that the special prerogative he has received is mind, habituated to apprehend the natures both of all material objects and of things in general. For as sight holds the leading place in the body, and the quality of light holds the leading place in the universe, so too in us the dominant element is the mind. For mind is the sight of the 46  
soul,<sup>a</sup> illuminated by rays peculiar to itself, whereby the vast and profound darkness, poured upon it by ignorance of things, is dispersed. This branch of the soul was not formed of the same elements, out of which the other branches were brought to completion, but it was allotted something better and purer,<sup>b</sup> the substance in fact out of which<sup>c</sup> divine natures were wrought. And therefore it is reasonably held that the mind alone in all that makes us what we are is indestructible. For it is mind alone which the 47  
Father who begat it judged worthy of freedom, and loosening the fetters of necessity, suffered it to range as it listed, and of that free-will which is His most peculiar possession and most worthy of His majesty gave it such portion as it was capable of receiving. For the other living creatures in whose souls the mind, the element set apart for liberty, has no place, have been committed under yoke and bridle to the service of men, as slaves to a master. But man, possessed of a spontaneous and self-determined will, whose activities for the most part rest on deliberate choice, is with reason blamed for what he does wrong with intent, praised when he acts rightly of

## PHILO

- 48 κατορθοῖ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων φυτῶν τε καὶ ζώων οὔτε αἱ εὐφορίαι ἐπαινεταὶ οὔθ' αἱ κακοπραγίαι ψεκταὶ—τὰς γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα κινήσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀπροαιρέτους καὶ ἀκουσίους ἔλαβον—, μόνη δὲ ἡ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ δεξαμένη παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν ἐκούσιον κίνησιν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ὁμοιωθεῖσα αὐτῷ, χαλεπῆς καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτης δεσποίνης, [280] τῆς ἀνάγκης, ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἐλευθερωθεῖσα | κατηγορίας ἂν δεόντως τυγχάνοι, ὅτι τὸν ἐλευθερώσαντα οὐ περιέπει· τοιγάρτοι τὴν κατ' ἀπελευθέρων ἀχαρίστων ἀπαραίτητον δίκην ὀρθότατα τίσει.
- 49 “Ὡστε “ ἐνεθυμήθη καὶ διενόηθη ὁ θεὸς ” οὐχὶ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἐξέτι πάλαι παγίως καὶ βεβαίως, “ ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τουτέστιν ὁποῖον αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο· εἰργάσατο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄφετον καὶ ἐλεύθερον, ἐκουσίους καὶ προαιρετικαῖς χρῆσόμενον ταῖς ἐνεργείαις πρὸς τήνδε τὴν χρείαν, ἵνα ἐπιστάμενος ἀγαθὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ κακὰ καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν λαμβάνων ἔνοιαν καὶ δικαίοις καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ὅλως τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καθαρῶς ἐπιβάλλων αἰρέσει μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνων, φυγῇ δὲ τῶν
- 50 ἐναντίων χρῆται. παρὸ καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τοιοῦτον ἀναγεγραμμένον ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ· “ ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, ἔκλεξαι τὴν ζωὴν.” οὐκοῦν ἀμφότερα διὰ τούτου παρίσταται, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιστήμονες τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὀφείλουσι πρὸ τῶν χειρόνων αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ κρείττω λογισμὸν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὥσπερ τινὰ δικαστὴν ἀδωροδόκητον, οἷς ἂν

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 48-50

his own will. In the others, the plants and animals, 48  
no praise is due if they bear well, nor blame if they  
fare ill : for their movements and changes in either  
direction come to them from no deliberate choice or  
volition of their own. But the soul of man alone has  
received from God the faculty of voluntary move-  
ment, and in this way especially is made like to Him,  
and thus being liberated, as far as might be, from  
that hard and ruthless mistress, necessity, may justly  
be charged with guilt, in that it does not honour its  
Liberator. And therefore it will rightly pay the in-  
exorable penalty which is meted to ungrateful freed-  
men.

Thus God " had it in His mind and bethought 49  
Him " not now for the first time, but ever from of  
old—a thought that was fixed and stedfast—" that  
He had made man," that is He thought of what  
nature He had made him. He had made him free  
and unfettered, to employ his powers of action with  
voluntary and deliberate choice for this purpose,  
that, knowing good and ill and receiving the con-  
ception of the noble and the base, and setting him-  
self in sincerity to apprehend just and unjust and in  
general what belongs to virtue and what to vice, he  
might practise to choose the better and eschew the  
opposite.

And therefore we have an 50  
oracle of this kind recorded in Deuteronomy. " Be-  
hold, I have set before thy face life and death, good  
and evil ; choose life " (Deut. xxx. 15, 19). So then  
in this way He puts before us both truths ; first that  
men have been made with a knowledge both of good  
and evil, its opposite ; secondly, that it is their duty  
to choose the better rather than the worse, because  
they have, as it were, within them an incorruptible

## PHILO

ὁ ὀρθὸς ὑποβάλλη λόγος πεισθησόμενον, οἷς δ' ἂν ὁ ἐναντίος ἀπειθήσονται.

- 51 XI. Δεδηλωκότες οὖν ἀποχρώντως περὶ τούτων τὰ ἐξῆς ἴδωμεν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· “ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, ἀπὸ ἐρπετῶν ἕως πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅτι ἐθυμώθη, ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτόν.”
- 52 πάλιν τινὲς τῶν εἰρημένων ἀκούσαντες ὑπολαμβάνουσι θυμοῖς καὶ ὀργαῖς χρῆσθαι τὸ ὄν. ἔστι δ' οὐδενὶ ληπτὸν πάθει τὸ παράπαν· ἀσθενείας γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης τὸ κηραίνειν ἴδιον, θεῶ δὲ οὔτε τὰ ψυχῆς ἄλογα πάθη οὔτε τὰ σώματος μέρη καὶ μέλη συνόλως ἔστιν οἰκεία. λέγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ μέχρι τινὸς εἰσαγωγῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ νουθετῆσαι χάριν τοὺς
- 53 ἐτέρως μὴ δυναμένους σωφρονίζεσθαι. τῶν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς προστάξεσι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσει νόμων, οἳ δὴ κυρίως εἰσὶ νόμοι, δύο τὰ ἀνωτάτω πρόκειται κεφάλαια περὶ τοῦ αἰτίου, ἐν μὲν ὅτι “οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός,” ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι ὡς ἄνθρωπος.
- 54 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἀληθείᾳ βεβαιωτάτη πεπίστωται, τὸ δ' ὕστερον πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διδασκαλίαν εἰσάγεται· παρὸ καὶ | λέγεται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· “ὡς ἄνθρωπος παιδεύσει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ”· ὥστε παιδείας ἕνεκα καὶ νουθεσίας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῷ πεφυκέναι τοι-
- 55 οὔτον εἶναι λέλεκται. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἳ μὲν ψυχῆς, οἳ δὲ σώματος γεγόνασι φίλοι· οἳ μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἐταῖροι νοηταῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις φύσεσιν ἐνομιλεῖν δυνάμενοι οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν γεγονότων ἰδέα παραβάλλουσι τὸ ὄν, ἀλλ' ἐκβιβάσαντες αὐτὸ πάσης

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 485.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 50-55

judge in the reasoning faculty, which will accept all that right reason suggests and reject the promptings of its opposite.

XI. Having made this point sufficiently clear let us consider the next words, which are as follows, "I will blot out man whom I made from the face of the earth, from man to beast, from creeping things to fowls of heaven, because I was wroth in that I made him" (Gen. vi. 7). Again, some on hearing these words suppose that the Existent feels wrath and anger, whereas He is not susceptible to any passion at all. For disquiet is peculiar to human weakness, but neither the unreasoning passions of the soul, nor the parts and members of the body in general, have any relation to God.

All the same the Law-giver uses such expressions, just so far as they serve for a kind of elementary lesson, to admonish those who could not otherwise be brought to their senses. Thus, in the laws which deal with commands and prohibitions (laws, that is, in the proper sense of the word),<sup>a</sup> there stand forth above others two leading statements<sup>a</sup> about the Cause, one that "God is not as a man" (Num. xxiii. 19); the other that He is as a man. But while the former is warranted by grounds of surest truth, the latter is introduced for the instruction of the many. And therefore also it is said of Him "like a man He shall train His son" (Deut. viii. 5). And thus it is for training and admonition, not because God's nature is such, that these words are used. Among men some are soul lovers, some body lovers. The comrades of the soul, who can hold converse with intelligible incorporeal natures, do not compare the Existent to any form of created things. They have dissociated Him from every cate-

## PHILO

ποιότητος—ἐν γάρ τι τῶν εἰς τὴν μακαριότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν εὐδαιμονίαν ἦν τὸ ψιλὴν ἄνευ χιρακτῆρος τὴν ὑπαρξίν καταλαμβάνεσθαι—τὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι φαντασίαν μόνην ἐνεδέξαντο μὴ μορ-  
 56 φώσαντες αὐτό. οἱ δὲ συμβάσεις καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς σῶμα θέμενοι, ἀδυνατοῦντες ἀπαμφιάσασθαι τὸ σαρκῶν περίβλημα καὶ μόνην καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀπροσδεᾶ καὶ ἀπλὴν φύσιν ἰδεῖν ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἀσύγκριτον, οἷα περὶ ἑαυτῶν τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου διανοήθησαν, οὐ λογισάμενοι ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἐκ πλειόνων συνόδου δυνάμεων γενομένῳ πλειόνων ἔδει μερῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον χρεῖων ὑπηρεσίαν, XII. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἅτε ἀγένητος ὢν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαγὼν εἰς γένεσιν οὐδενὸς ἐδεήθη  
 57 τῶν τοῖς γεννήμασι προσόντων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φῶμεν; εἰ κέχρηται τοῖς ὀργανικοῖς μέρεσι, βάσεις μὲν ἔχει τοῦ προέρχεσθαι χάριν—βαδιεῖται δὲ ποῖ πεπληρωκῶς τὰ πάντα; καὶ πρὸς τίνα μηδενὸς ὄντος ἰσοτίμου; καὶ ἔνεκα τοῦ; οὐ γὰρ ὑγείας φροντίζων ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς—καὶ χεῖρας μέντοι πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι· λαμβάνει μὲν δὴ παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν—πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἀνεπιδεεῖ καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα ἔχει κτήματα—, δίδωσι δὲ λόγῳ χρώμενος ὑπηρέτη δωρεῶν, ᾧ καὶ τὸν κόσμον  
 58 εἰργάζετο. ὀφθαλμῶν γε μὴν οὐκ ἐδεῖτο, οἷς ἄνευ φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ κατάληψις οὐ γίνεται· τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν φῶς γενητόν, ἑώρα δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ γενέ-  
 59 σεως φωτὶ χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ. τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 485.



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 55-59

gory or quality, for it is one of the facts which go to make His blessedness and supreme felicity that His being is apprehended as simple being, without other definite characteristic ; and thus they do not picture it with form, but admit to their minds the conception of existence only. But those who have 56 made a compact and a truce with the body are unable to cast off from them the garment of flesh, and to descry existence needing nothing in its unique solitariness, and free from all admixture and composition in its absolute simplicity. And therefore they think of the Cause of all in the same terms as of themselves, and do not reflect that while a being which is formed through the union of several faculties needs several parts to minister to the need of each, XII. God being uncreated and the Author of the creation of the others needs none of the properties which belong to the creatures which He has brought into being.

For consider, if He uses our 57 bodily parts or organs He has feet to move from one place to another. But whither will He go or walk since His presence fills everything ? To whom will He go, when none is His equal ? And for what purpose will He walk ? For it cannot be out of care for health as it is with us.<sup>a</sup> Hands He must have to receive and give. Yet He receives nothing from anyone, for, besides that He has no needs, all things are His possessions, and when He gives, He employs as minister of His gifts the Reason wherewith also He made the world. Nor did He need eyes, which 58 have no power of perception without the light which meets our sense. But that light is created, whereas God saw before creation, being Himself His own light. Why need we speak of the organs of nourish- 59

## PHILO

τῶν τῆς τροφῆς ὀργάνων; εἰ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἔχει, καὶ τρέφεται καὶ πληρωθεὶς μὲν ἀποπαύεται,<sup>1</sup> παυσάμενος δὲ δεῖται πάλιν, καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· ἀσεβῶν αὐται μυθοποιαὶ λόγῳ μὲν ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνθρωποπαθῆς

- 60 εἰσαγόντων τὸ θεῖον. XIII. τίνος οὖν  
 [232] ἔνεκα Μωυσῆς βάσεις, χεῖρας, εἰσόδους, | ἐξόδους φησὶν εἶναι περὶ τὸ ἀγένητον, τίνος δὲ χάριν ὄπλισιν τὴν πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἄμυναν; ξιφηφοροῦντα γὰρ <εἰσάγει> καὶ βέλεσι χρώμενον καὶ πνεύμασι καὶ φθοροποιῶ πυρί—καταιγίδα καὶ κεραυνὸν ἐτέροις ὀνόμασι ταῦτα ποιηταὶ προσαγορεύοντες ὄπλα τοῦ αἰτίου φασὶν εἶναι—, πρὸς δὲ ἔτι ζῆλον, θυμόν, ὀργάς, ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια ἀνθρωπολογῶν διεξέρχεται; ἀλλὰ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις ἀποκρίνεται·  
 61 ὦ οὔτοι, τῷ ἄριστα νομοθετήσοντι τέλος ἐν δεῖ προκείσθαι, πάντας ὠφελῆσαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν εὐμοίρου φύσεως λαχόντες καὶ ἀγωγῆς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνυπαιτίου, τὴν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁδὸν τοῦ βίου λεωφόρον καὶ εὐθείαν εὐρίσκοντες, ἀληθείᾳ συνοδοιπόρῳ χρῶνται, παρ' ἧς μνηθέντες τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἀψευδῆ μυστήρια τῶν γενέσεως οὐδὲν προσ-  
 62 αναπλάττουσιν αὐτῷ. τούτοις οἰκειότατον πρόκειται κεφάλαιον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροφαντηθεῖσι χρησιμοῖς, ὅτι “ οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός,” ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς οὐρανὸς οὐδ' ὡς κόσμος· ποιά γὰρ εἶδη ταῦτά γε καὶ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐρχόμενα, ὁ δ' ἄρα οὐδὲ τῷ νῶ καταληπτὸς ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον· ὑπαρξίς

<sup>1</sup> Wend. with some mss. ἀποπατεῖ, but see App. p. 485.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 485.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 59-62

ment? If He has them, He eats and is filled, rests awhile and after the rest has need again, and the accompaniments of this I will not dwell upon. These are the mythical fictions of the impious, who, professing to represent the deity as of human form, in reality represent Him as having human passions.

XIII. Why then does Moses speak of feet and hands, 60 goings in and goings out in connexion with the Uncreated, or of His arming to defend Himself against His enemies? For he describes Him as bearing a sword, and using as His weapons winds and death-dealing fire (thunderbolt and storm blast the poets call them, using different words, and say they are the weapons of the Cause). Why again does he speak of His jealousy, His wrath, His moods of anger, and the other emotions similar to them, which he describes in terms of human nature? But to those who ask these questions Moses answers thus: "Sirs, 61 the lawgiver who aims at the best must have one end only before him—to benefit all whom his work reaches. Those to whose lot has fallen a generously gifted nature and a training blameless throughout, and who thus find that their later course through life lies in a straight and even highway, have truth for their fellow-traveller, and being admitted by her into the infallible mysteries of the Existent do not overlay the conception of God with any of the attributes of created being. These find 62 a moral most pertinent in the oracles of revelation, that "God is not as a man" nor yet is He as the heaven or the universe.<sup>a</sup> These last are forms of a particular kind which present themselves to our senses. But He is not apprehensible even by the mind, save in the fact that He is. For it is His

## PHILO

- γὰρ ἔσθ' ἦν καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δέ γε  
 63 χωρὶς ὑπάρξεως οὐδέν. XIV. οἱ δέ γε  
 νωθεστέρα μὲν καὶ ἀμβλεία κεκρημένοι τῇ φύσει,  
 περὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν παισὶ τροφὰς πλημμεληθέντες, ὄξυ  
 καθορᾶν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἰατρῶν δέονται νουθετη-  
 τῶν,<sup>1</sup> οἱ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν πάθος τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπι-  
 64 νοήσουσι θεραπείαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀναγώγοις καὶ  
 ἄφροσιν οἰκέταις φοβερὸς δεσπότης ὠφέλιμος, τὰς  
 γὰρ ἐπανατάσεις καὶ ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ δεδιότες  
 ἄκοντες φόβῳ νουθετοῦνται. μανθανέτωσαν οὖν  
 πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὰ ψευδῆ, δι' ὧν ὠφελήθησον-  
 ται, εἰ μὴ δύνανται δι' ἀληθείας σωφρονίζεσθαι.  
 65 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ σώματα κάμνουσιν  
 ἐπισφαλῶς οἱ δοκιμώτατοι<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἰατρῶν τάληθῆ  
 λαλεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν εἰδότες ἀθυμοτέρους μὲν  
 ἐκ τούτου γενησομένους καὶ οὐ ῥωσθησομένην<sup>3</sup>  
 τὴν νόσον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων παρηγορίας  
 πραότερον τὰ ἐν χερσὶν οἴσοντας καὶ τὸ ἀρρώστημα  
 66 λωφῆσον. τίς γὰρ ἂν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων εἴποι  
 τῷ θεραπευομένῳ ὧ οὗτος, τετμήση, κεκαύση,  
 ἀκρωτηριασθήση, κἂν εἰ μέλλοι ταῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 ὑπομένειν; οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ. προαναπεσὼν γὰρ τὴν  
 γνώμην ἐκείνος καὶ νόσον ἑτέραν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρ-  
 γαλεωτέραν τῆς προϋπούσης τοῦ σώματος προσ-  
 [283] λαβὼν ἀπερεῖ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν, ἄσμενος | δὲ  
 ἐκ<sup>4</sup> τοῦ τὰ ἐναντία ἀπάτη τοῦ θεραπεύοντος προσ-  
 δοκῆσαι τλητικῶς πάνθ' ὑποστήσεται, κἂν ἀλ-  
 67 γεινότατα ἦ τὰ σώζοντα. γενόμενος οὖν τῶν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νομοθετῶν, which Adler would retain.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. νομιμώτατοι.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, as Cohn suggests, omit οὐ—"the disease will gain strength."

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 62-67

existence which we apprehend, and of what lies outside that existence nothing. XIV. But 63 they whose natural wit is more dense and dull, or whose early training has been mishandled, since they have no power of clear vision, need physicians in the shape of admonishers, who will devise the treatment proper to their present condition. Thus ill-disciplined 64 and foolish slaves receive profit from a master who frightens them, for they fear his threats and menaces and thus involuntarily are schooled by fear. All such may well learn the untruth, which will benefit them, if they cannot be brought to wisdom by truth.

Thus too in dealing with dangerous 65 sicknesses of the body,<sup>a</sup> the most approved physicians do not allow themselves to tell the truth to their patients, since they know that this will but increase their disheartenment, and bring no recovery from the malady, whereas under the encouragement, which the opposite course of treatment gives, they will bear more contentedly their present trouble, and at the same time the disease will be relieved.

For what sensible physician would say to his patient, 66 "Sir, you will be subjected to the knife, the cautery or amputation" even if it will be necessary that he should submit to such operations. No one. For the patient will lose heart beforehand, and add to the existing malady of the body a still more painful malady of the soul and break down when faced with the treatment. Whereas if through the physician's deceit he expects the opposite, he will gladly endure<sup>b</sup> everything with patience, however painful the methods of saving him may be. So then the lawgiver, 67

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 485.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 486.

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<sup>4</sup> Conj. Tr. : mss. *ἀσμενος ἐκ δὲ*. See App. p. 486.

## PHILO

- ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἄριστος ἰατρὸς ὁ  
 νομοθέτης ἐν ἔργον καὶ τέλος προϋθετο, αὐταῖς  
 ρίζαις τὰς τῆς διανοίας νόσους ἐκτεμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τις  
 ὑπολειφθεῖσα βλάβστην ἀρρωστήματος ἐνέγκῃ δυσ-  
 68 ἰάτου. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἤλπισεν ἐκκόψαι  
 δυνήσεσθαι, εἰ χρώμενον ἀπειλαῖς καὶ ἀγανακτήσῃσι  
 καὶ ἀπαραιτήτοις ὀργαῖς, ἔτι δὲ ἀμυντηρίοις ὄπλοις  
 πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐπεξόδους εἰσαγάγοι  
 τὸ αἴτιον· μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ὁ ἄφρων νουθετεῖται.  
 69 παρὸ μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς προειρημένοις δυσὶ κεφαλαίοις,  
 τῷ τε “ὡς ἄνθρωπος” καὶ τῷ “οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος  
 ὁ θεὸς” ἕτερα δύο συννηθῆναι ἀκόλουθα καὶ συγγενῆ,  
 φόβον τε καὶ ἀγάπην· τὰς γὰρ διὰ τῶν νόμων εἰς εὐ-  
 σέβειαν ὀρῶ παρακελεύσεις ἀπάσας ἀναφερομένας  
 ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν ὄντα.  
 τοῖς μὲν οὖν μῆτε μέρος μῆτε πάθος ἀνθρώπου  
 περὶ τὸ ὄν νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοπρεπῶς αὐτὸ δι’  
 αὐτὸ μόνον τιμῶσι τὸ ἀγαπᾶν οἰκειότατον, φοβεῖσθαι  
 δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις.  
 70 XV. Ἄ μὲν οὖν προκαταστήσασθαι τῆς ζητή-  
 σεως ἀρμόττον ἦν, τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. ἐπανιτέον δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σκέψιν, καθ’ ἣν ἠποροῦμεν,  
 τίνα ὑπογράφει νοῦν τὸ “ἐθυμώθη ὅτι ἐποίησα  
 αὐτούς.” ἴσως οὖν τοιοῦτόν τι βούλεται παραστή-  
 σαι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν φαῦλοι θυμῷ γεγόνασι θεοῦ, οἱ  
 δ’ ἀγαθοὶ χάριτι. καὶ γὰρ ἐξῆς φησι· “Νῶε δὲ  
 71 εὖρε χάριν.” τὸ δὲ κυριολογούμενον ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων  
 πάθος ὁ θυμὸς εὐθυβόλως<sup>1</sup> εἴρηται τροπικώτερον

<sup>1</sup> εὐθυβόλως is omitted in some mss. It may be merely an addition to explain κυριολογούμενον.

\* See App. p. 486.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 67-71

thereby being now approved as the best of physicians for the distempers and maladies of the soul, set before himself one task and purpose, to make a radical excision of the diseases of the mind and leave no root to sprout again into sickness which defies cure. In this way he hoped to be able to eradicate the 68 evil, namely by representing the supreme Cause as dealing in threats and oftentimes shewing indignation and implacable anger, or again as using weapons of war for His onslaughts on the unrighteous. For this is the only way in which the fool can be admonished. And therefore it seems to me that with the two aforesaid maxims, " God is as a man," and " God is not as a man," he has linked two other principles closely connected and consequent on them, namely fear and love. For I observe that all the exhortations to piety in the law refer either to our loving or our fearing the Existent. And thus to love Him is the most suitable for those into whose conception of the Existent no thought of human parts or passions enters, who pay Him the honour meet for God for His own sake only. To fear is most suitable to the others.

XV. Such are the points which needed to be 70 established as preliminaries to our inquiry. We must return to the original question which caused us difficulty, namely, what thought is suggested by the words " I was wroth in that I made them." <sup>a</sup> Perhaps then he wishes to shew us that the bad have become what they are through the wrath of God and the good through His grace. For the next words are " but Noah found grace with Him " (Gen. vi. 8). Now the passion of wrath, which is properly speaking 71 an attribute of men, is here used in a more meta-

## PHILO

ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄντος εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτου<sup>1</sup> πράγματος δῆλωσιν, ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα δι' ὀργὴν ἢ φόβον ἢ λύπην ἢ ἡδονὴν ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν πράττομεν, ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐπίληπτα ὁμολογουμένως ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ μετ' ὀρθότητος λόγου καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἐπαινετά.

72 ὄρα<sup>ς</sup> ὅση καὶ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν κέχρηται προφυλακῆ, ὅτι “ ἐθυμώθην, ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτούς ” εἰπὼν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἀναστροφὴν· διότι ἐποίησα αὐτούς, ἐθυμώθην. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ μετανοοῦντος ἦν, ὅπερ ἢ τὰ πάντα προμηθουμένη θεοῦ φύσις οὐκ ἀνέχεται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δόγμα συνεκτικώτατον εἰσηγουμένου, ὅτι πηγὴ μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων θυμός,

73 λογισμὸς δὲ κατορθωμάτων. μεμνημένος δὲ τῆς περὶ πάντα τελείας ἀγαθότητος ἑαυτοῦ ὁ θεός, κὰν τὸ σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ δι' ὑπερβολὰς ἀμαρτημάτων περιπίπτῃ,<sup>2</sup> τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ

[284] σωτήριον χεῖρα ὀρέγων ὑπολαμβάνει | καὶ ἐξανίστησιν οὐκ ἔων εἰσάπαν φθαρῆναι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι

74 τὸ γένος. XVI. διὸ νῦν φησι τὸν Νῶε χάριν εὔρεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτε οἱ ἄλλοι φανέντες ἀχάριστοι τίνειν μέλλουσι δίκας, ἵνα τὸν σωτήριον ἔλεον ἀνακεράσῃται τῇ κατὰ ἀμαρτανόντων κρίσει· καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ὑμνωδὸς εἶπέ που· “ ἔλεον καὶ

75 κρίσιν ἄσομαί σοι ”· εἰ γὰρ βουληθείῃ ὁ θεὸς δικάσαι τῷ θνητῷ γένει χωρὶς ἐλέου, τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ψῆφον οἶσει μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς βίον ἄπταιστον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ δραμόντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔκουσίους, τὸ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀναγκαιοτάτην τοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> περιπίπτῃ suspectum: fortasse πίπτῃ (Wend.), but cf. Thuc. ii. 65 αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι . . . περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ (I will destroy him) because I was wroth in that I



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 71-75

phorical sense, yet still correctly, of the Existent, to bring out a vital truth, that all our actions by general consent are worthy of blame and censure, if done through fear or anger, or grief or pleasure, or any other passion, but worthy of praise if done with rectitude of reason and knowledge. Mark what 72 caution he shows in his form of statement. He says "I was wroth in that I made them,"<sup>a</sup> not in the reverse order, "because I made them, I was wroth." The latter would show change of mind or repentance, a thing impossible to the all-foreseeing nature of God. In the former he brings before us a doctrine of great importance that wrath is the source of misdeeds, but the reasoning faculty of right actions. But God, 73 remembering His perfect and universal goodness, even though the whole vast body of mankind should through its exceeding sinfulness accomplish its own ruin, stretches forth the right hand of salvation, takes them under His protection and raises them up, and suffers not the race to be brought to utter destruction and annihilation.

XVI. And therefore 74 it now says that when the others who had proved ungrateful were doomed to pay the penalty, Noah found grace with Him, that so He might mingle His saving mercy with the judgement pronounced on sinners. And so the Psalmist said somewhere (Ps. c. [ci.] 1), "I will sing to thee of mercy and judgement." For if God should will to judge the 75 race of mortals without mercy, His sentence will be one of condemnation, since there is no man who self-sustained has run the course of life from birth to death without stumbling, but in every case his foot-

made him," *i.e.* the first *ὅτι* may (1) introduce the quotation, or (2) be part of the quotation.

## PHILO

ἀκουσίοις χρησαμένου τοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ὀλισθήμασιν.  
 76 Ἴν' οὖν ὑπάρχη τὸ γένος, κἂν πολλὰ τῶν εἰδικῶν  
 βύθια χωρῆ, τὸν ἔλεον ἀνακίρησιν, ᾧ πρὸς εὐ-  
 εργασίας καὶ τῶν ἀναξίων χρήται, καὶ οὐ μόνον  
 δικάσας ἐλεεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεήσας δικάζει· πρεσβύ-  
 τερος γὰρ δίκης ὁ ἔλεος παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ἅτε  
 τὸν κολάσεως ἄξιον οὐ μετὰ τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ  
 77 δίκης εἰδότι. XVII. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν  
 ἐτέροις εἴρηται· “ ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἴνου  
 ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος”· καίτοι τό γε κεκρα-  
 μένον οὐκ ἄκρατον· ἀλλ' ἔχει λόγον ταῦτα φυσι-  
 κώτατον καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀκόλουθον· ὁ γὰρ  
 θεὸς ταῖς δυνάμεσι πρὸς μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἀκράτοις  
 χρήται, κεκραμέναις δὲ πρὸς γένεσιν· τὰς γὰρ  
 ἀμιγεῖς θνητὴν ἀμήχανον φύσιν χωρῆσαι. ἢ νομί-  
 78 ζεις ἄκρατον μὲν τὴν ἡλίου φλόγα μὴ δύνασθαι  
 θεαθῆναι—σβεσθήσεται γὰρ πρότερον ἢ ὄψις μαρ-  
 μαρυγαῖς τῶν ἀκτίνων ἀμυδρωθεῖσα ἢ προσβάλ-  
 λουσα καταλήψεται· καίτοι καὶ ἡλῖος ἐν ἡν ἔργον  
 θεοῦ, μοῖρα οὐρανοῦ, πῖλημα αἰθέριον—, τὰς δὲ  
 ἀγενήτους ἄρα δυνάμεις ἐκείνας, αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν  
 οὐσαι λαμπρότατον φῶς ἀπαστράπτουσιν, ἀκράτους  
 79 περινοῆσαι δύνασθαι; ὥσπερ οὖν τὰς ἡλιακὰς  
 ἀκτῖνας ἔτεινε μὲν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μέχρι τερμάτων  
 γῆς τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς ἐν αὐταῖς θερμότητος ἀνεῖς  
 καὶ χαλάσας ἀέρι ψυχρῷ—τοῦτο γὰρ αὐταῖς  
 ἀνεκεράσατο, ὅπως τὸ αὐγοειδὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ φλογώ-  
 δους πυρὸς ἀνασταλέν, τὴν μὲν τοῦ καίειν μεθ-

\* See App. p. 486.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 75-79

steps have slipped through errors, some voluntary, some involuntary. So then that the race may sub- 76  
sist, though many of those which go to form it are swallowed up by the deep, He tempers His judgement with the mercy which He shews in doing kindness even to the unworthy. And not only does this mercy follow His judgement but it also precedes it. For mercy with Him is older than justice, since He knows who is worthy of punishment, not only after judgement is given, but before it. XVII. And 77

therefore it is said in another place, "there is a cup in the hand of the Lord of unmixed wine, full of mixture" (Ps. lxxiv. [lxxv.] 8). But surely the mixed is not unmixed, and yet there is a meaning in these words most true to nature, and in agreement with what I have said before. For the powers which God employs are unmixed in respect of Himself, but mixed to created beings. For it cannot be that mortal nature should have room for the unmixed. We cannot look even upon the sun's flame un- 78  
tempered, or unmixed, for our sight will be quenched and blasted by the bright flashing of its rays, ere it reach and apprehend them, though the sun is but one of God's works in the past, a portion of heaven, a condensed mass of ether.<sup>a</sup> And can you think it possible that your understanding should be able to grasp in their unmixed purity those uncreated potencies, which stand around Him and flash forth light of surpassing splendour? When God extended the 79  
sun's rays from heaven to the boundaries of earth, He mitigated and abated with cool air the fierceness of their heat. He tempered them in this way, that the radiance drawn off from the blazing flame, surrendering its power of burning but retaining that

## PHILO

ειμένον δύναμιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ φωτίζειν περιέχον τῷ ταμιευομένῳ ἐν ταῖς ὄψεσι συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλῳ ὑπαντιάσαν ἀσπάσῃται· ἡ γὰρ τούτων ἐξ ἐναντίας εἰς ταὐτὸ σύνοδος τε καὶ δεξιῶσις τὴν δι' ὀράσεως ἀντίληψιν ἐργάζεται—, οὕτως ἐπιστήμην θεοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστην ἀρετῶν τίς ἂν ἀκραιφνῆ δέξασθαι δύναίτο θνητὸς ὢν; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς τε καὶ κόσμος. εἰδὼς τοίνυν ὁ δημιουργὸς τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν γεγονότων, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα μεγα-

[285] αυχοῖεν, φυσικὴν ἀσθένειαν οὔτε | εὐεργετεῖν οὔτε κολάζειν ὡς δύναται βούλεται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχοντας

81 ὀρᾶ δύναμει τοὺς ἐκατέρου μεθέξοντας. εἰ δὴ τοῦ ἀνειμένου καὶ μεσότητος ἔχοντος τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ κράματος ἐμπιεῖν καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι δυναθῆναι, ἀποχρῶσαν ἂν εὐφροσύνην καρπωσαίμεθα, ἥς τελειότεραν μὴ ζητείτω λαβεῖν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἐδείχθησαν γὰρ αἱ ἀμιγεῖς καὶ ἄκρατοι καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀκρότητες περὶ τὸ ὄν μόνον ὑπάρχουσαι.

82 XVIII. τοῖς δ' εἰρημένοις ὁμοίον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθὲν “ ἅπαξ κύριος ἐλάλησε, δύο ταῦτα ἤκουσα.” τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ ἔοικε τῷ ἀκράτῳ —καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄκρατον μόνος καὶ ἡ μόνος ἄκρατον—, τὸ δὲ δις τῷ κεκραμένῳ· τὸ γὰρ κεκραμένον<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ἀπλοῦν ἄτε καὶ σύγκρισιν καὶ διάκρισιν ἐπιδεχόμε-

83 νον. μονάδας μὲν οὖν ἀκράτους ὁ θεὸς λαλεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ γεγωνὸς<sup>2</sup> ἀέρος πληξίς ἀναμιγνύμενος ἄλλῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ ἀσώματός

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκάτερον γὰρ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. γεγωνός.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 486.

<sup>b</sup> E.V. “ God hath spoken once, twice have I heard this,”

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 79-83

of giving light, might meet and hail its friend and kinsman,<sup>a</sup> the light which is stored in the treasury of our eyes ; for it is when these converge to meet and greet each other that the apprehension through vision is produced. Just in the same way if God's knowledge and wisdom and prudence and justice and each of His other excellences were not tempered, no mortal could receive them, nay not even the whole heaven and universe. The Creator then, <sup>80</sup> knowing His own surpassing excellence in all that is best and the natural weakness of His creatures, however loud they boast, will not to dispense benefit or punishment according to His power, but according to the measure of capacity which He sees in those who are to participate in either of those dispensations. If indeed we could drink and enjoy this diluted <sup>81</sup> draught, wherein is a moderate measure of His powers, we should reap sufficient gladness, and let not the human race seek a more perfect joy. For we have shewn that these powers at their full height unmixed and untempered subsist only in the Existent.

XVIII. We have something similar to <sup>82</sup> the above-mentioned words in another passage, " The Lord spake once, I have heard these two things " <sup>b</sup> (Ps. lxi. [lxii.] 11). For " once " is like the unmixed, for the unmixed is a monad and the monad is unmixed, whereas twice is like the mixed, for the mixed is not single, since it admits both combination and separation. God then speaks in unmixed <sup>83</sup> monads or unities. For His word is not a sonant impact of voice upon air, or mixed with anything else at all, but it is unbodied and unclothed and in where " once, twice " = repeatedly. The LXX probably meant the same.

## PHILO

- τε καὶ γυμνός, ἀδιαφορῶν μονάδος. ἀκούομεν δ'  
 84 ἡμεῖς δυάδι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύμα διαὰ τρα-  
 χείας ἀναπεμπόμενον ἀρτηρίας τυποῦται μὲν ἐν στό-  
 ματι ὡσπερ ὑπὸ δημιουργοῦ τινος γλώττης, φερό-  
 μενον δ' ἔξω καὶ ἀναμιχθὲν ἀέρι συγγενεῖ καὶ πλήξαν  
 αὐτὸν τὴν δυάδος κρᾶσιν ἀρμονίως ἀποτελεῖ· τὸ γὰρ  
 συνηχοῦν ἐκ φθόγγων διαφερόντων δυάδι μεριστῆ τὸ  
 πρῶτον ἀρμόζεται ὁξὺν καὶ βαρὺν τόνον ἐχούση.
- 85 παγκάλως οὖν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀδίκων  
 λογισμῶν ἀντέθηκεν ἓνα τὸν δίκαιον, ἀριθμῶ μὲν  
 ἐλάττονα δυνάμει δὲ πλείονα, ἵνα μὴ ταλαντεῦσαν  
 ὡσπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος βρίση τὸ χειρὸν, ἀλλὰ κράτει  
 τῆς ἐναντίας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ῥοπῆς ἀνακουφισθὲν  
 ἀσθενήση.
- 86 XIX. Τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ “ Νῶε εὔρε χάριν ἐναντίον  
 κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ,” συνεπισκεψώμεθα· τῶν εὐρι-  
 σκόντων οἱ μὲν ἂ πρότερον ἔχοντες ἀπέβαλον  
 αὐθις εὐρίσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἂ μὴ πάλαι νῦν δὲ πρῶτον  
 περιεποιήσαντο. τουτὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔργον εὔρεσιν,  
 ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀνεύρεσιν οἱ ζητητικοὶ τῶν κυρίων
- 87 ὀνομάτων καλεῖν εἰώθασιν. τοῦ μὲν οὖν  
 προτέρου παράδειγμα ἐναργέστατον τὰ περὶ τῆς  
 μεγάλης εὐχῆς διατεταγμένα. ἔστι δὲ εὐχὴ μὲν  
 αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν παρὰ θεοῦ, μεγάλη δὲ εὐχὴ  
 τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον ἀγαθῶν αὐτὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 νομίζειν μηδεὶος ἑτέρου [τῶν] εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν  
 ὠφελεῖν συνεργούντος, μὴ γῆς ὡς καρποτόκου, μὴ  
 ὑετῶν ὡς σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ συναυξόντων, μὴ

\* See App. p. 487.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 83-87

no way different from unity. But our hearing is the product of two factors, of a dyad. For the breath 84 from the seat of the master-principle driven up through the windpipe is shaped in the mouth by the workmanship, as it were, of the tongue, and rushing out it mixes with its congener the air, and impinging on it produces in a harmonious union the mixture which constitutes the dyad.<sup>a</sup> For the consonance <sup>a</sup> caused by different sounds is harmonized in a dyad originally divided which contains a high and a low pitch.

Right well then did the lawgiver 85 act when he opposed to the multitude of unjust thoughts the just man as one—numerically less, but greater in value. His purpose is that the worse should not prove the weightier when tested as in the scales, but by the victorious force of the opposite tendency to the better cause should kick the beam and prove powerless.

XIX. Now let us consider what is meant by “Noah 86 found grace before the Lord God” (Gen. vi. 8). Finders sometimes find again what they possessed and have lost, sometimes what they did not own in the past and now gain for the first time. People who seek exactitude in the use of words are wont to call the process in the second case “finding” or “discovery” and in the first “refinding” or “recovery.”

We have a very clear example 87 of the former in the commandment of the Great Vow (Num. vi. 2). Now a vow is a request for good things from God, while a “great vow” is to hold that God Himself and by Himself is the cause of good things, that though the earth may seem to be the mother of fruits, rain to give increase to seeds and plants, air to have the power of fostering them,

## PHILO

ἀέρος ὡς τρέφειν ἱκανοῦ, μὴ γεωργίας ὡς φορᾶς  
 αἰτίας, μὴ ἱατρικῆς ὡς ὑγείας, μὴ γάμου ὡς γε-  
 88 νέσεως παιδῶν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δυνάμει θεοῦ  
 [286] μεταβολᾶς | δέχεται καὶ τροπᾶς, ὡς τὰναντία πολ-  
 λάκις τοῖς ἐξ ἔθους ἀποτελεῖν. τοῦτον οὖν φησι  
 Μωυσῆς “ ἅγιον ” εἶναι, “ τρέφοντα κόμην τρίχα  
 κεφαλῆς,” ὅπερ ἦν τὰς ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ τῶν ἀρετῆς  
 δογμάτων κεφαλαιώδεις ἀνατολὰς συναύξοντα καὶ  
 89 τρόπον τινὰ κομῶντα καὶ σεμνυνόμενον ἐπ’ αὐ-  
 ταῖς. ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ὅτε ἀπέβαλεν αὐτὰς αἰφνίδιον  
 κατασκήψαντος οἰά τινος τυφῶνος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν  
 καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα αὐτῆς ἐξαρπάσαντος· ὁ δὲ  
 τυφῶν οὗτος τροπὴ τίς ἐστιν ἀκούσιος παραχρήμα  
 90 τὸν νοῦν μαίνουσα, ἣν καλεῖ θάνατον. ἀλλ’ ὅμως  
 ἀποβαλὼν αὐθις καὶ καθαρθεὶς ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ ἀνα-  
 μμνήσκειται ὧν τέως ἐπελέληστο, καὶ ἅπερ ἀπ-  
 έβαλεν εὐρίσκει, ὡς τὰς προτέρας τῆς τροπῆς ἡμέ-  
 ρας ἀλόγους ἐξετάζεσθαι, ἢ διότι παράλογον ἢ  
 τροπὴ πρᾶγμα, ἀπᾶδον ὀρθοῦ λόγου καὶ φρονήσεως  
 ἀμέτοχον, ἢ παρόσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξία καταριθμεί-  
 σθαι· “ τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ” ἔφη τις “ οὐ λόγος οὐδ’  
 91 ἀριθμός.”

XX. πολλάκις δὲ ἐνετύχομεν

<sup>a</sup> The translation follows Mangey in omitting τῶν before  
 εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν ὠφελεῖν. This, however, is not quite satisfactory,  
 as εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν would naturally mean “ as regards semblance.”  
 Perhaps retain τῶν and for ὠφελεῖν substitute ὠφελίμων.

<sup>b</sup> Literally “ fostering the head’s hair ” becomes the “ growths of  
 truths,” which are of the nature of heads or leading prin-  
 ciples, and since κομᾶν, “ to wear long hair,” also means “ to  
 be proud,” κόμη is interpreted as the pride which we should  
 feel in virtue. For further elucidation see App. p. 487.

<sup>c</sup> In the original no doubt this means that as contact with



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 87-91

husbandry to be the cause of the harvest, medicine the cause of health, marriage of childbirth, yet nothing else is His fellow-worker that we may think of them as bringing us benefit.<sup>a</sup> For all these things, 83 through the power of God, admit of change and transition, so as often to produce effects quite the reverse of the ordinary. He who makes this vow then, says Moses, must be "holy, suffering the hair of his head to grow<sup>b</sup>" (Num. vi. 5). This means that he must foster the young growths of virtue's truths in the mind which rules his being; these growths must be to him as it were heads, and he must take pride in them as in the glory of the hair. But sometimes he 89 loses these early growths, when as it were a whirlwind swoops suddenly down upon the soul and tears from it all that was beautiful in it. This whirlwind is a kind of involuntary defection straightway defiling the soul, and this he calls death (Num. vi. 9). He 90 has lost, yet in time, when purified, he makes good the loss, remembers what he had forgotten for a while, and finds what he has lost, so that the "former days," the days of defection, are regarded as not to be counted<sup>c</sup> (Num. vi. 12), either because defection is a thing beyond all calculation, discordant with right reason and having no partnership with prudence, or because they are not worthy to be counted. For of such as these there is, as has been said,<sup>d</sup> no count or number.

XX. On the other hand, it 91

the corpse cancels the vow, the days before the defilement must not be reckoned as part of the necessary period, and indeed Philo's Greek might be translated as "the days before the defection"; but the argument requires that the words should be taken as in the translation.

<sup>a</sup> A proverbial expression. Cf. Theocritus, *Id.* xiv. 48  
*ἀμμες δ' οὐτε λόγω τινος ἀξιοι οὐτ' ἀριθματοί.*

## PHILO

- τούτοις, ἃ μηδ' ὄναρ πρότερον εἶδομεν· ὥσπερ γεωπόνον φασί τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων φυτεῦσαι σκάπτοντα χωρίον θησαυρῶ
- 92 περιτυχεῖν ἀνελπίστω χρησάμενον εὐτυχία. ὁ γοῦν ἀσκητῆς πυθομένου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ τί τοῦτο ὁ ταχὺ εὗρες, τέκνον; ” ἀποκρίνεται καὶ φησιν· “ ὁ παρέδωκε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐναντίον μου.” ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδῶ τὰ τῆς αἰδίου<sup>1</sup> σοφίας θεωρήματα καμάτου χωρὶς καὶ πόνου, ταῦτα ἐξαίφνης οὐ προσδοκῆσαντες θησαυρὸν εὐδαιμονίας τελείας εὐρίσκομεν.
- 93 συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις τοῖς μὲν ἐπιπόνως ζητοῦσιν ἀποτυγχάνειν τοῦ ζητουμένου, τοῖς δ' ἄνευ φροντίδος ῥᾶστα καὶ ἃ μὴ διενεόθησαν εὐρίσκειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νωθέστεροι καὶ βραδεῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ὄμματα πεπηρωμένοι τὸν εἰς τὸ θεωρῆσαι τι τῶν κατ' ἐπιστήμην πόνον ἴσχουσιν ἀτελεῖ, οἱ δὲ φύσεως εὐμοιρία δίχα ζητήσεως μυρίοις ἐνέτυχον εὐθυβόλῳ καὶ εὐθίκτῳ χρησάμενοι προσβολῇ, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς μὲν μὴ σπουδάσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ μεθ' ὀρμῆς προαπαντήσαντα εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν ἐπειχθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐμποιῆσαι κατάληψιν.
- 94 XXI. τούτοις ὁ νομοθέτης φησὶ δίδοσθαι “ πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς, ἃς οὐκ ὠκοδόμησαν, οἰκίας πλήρεις τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃς [287] οὐκ ἐνέπλησαν, λάκκους λελατομημένους, | οὓς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησαν, ἀμπελώνας καὶ ἐλαιώνας, οὓς οὐκ 95 ἐφύτευσαν.” πόλεις μὲν οὖν καὶ οἰκίας συμβολικῶς τὰς τε γενικὰς καὶ τὰς εἰδικὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπογράφει·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἰδίου.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 91-95

is a common experience that things befall us of which we have not even dreamt, like the story of the husbandman who, digging his orchard to plant some fruit-trees, lighted on a treasure, and thus met with prosperity beyond his hopes. Thus the Practiser, 92 when his father asked him in this manner of the source of his knowledge,<sup>a</sup> "What is this that thou hast found so quickly, my son?" answered and said, "It is what the Lord God delivered before me" (Gen. xxvii. 20). For when God delivers to us the lore of His eternal wisdom without our toil or labour we find in it suddenly and unexpectedly a treasure of perfect happiness. It often happens that those 93 who seek with toil fail to find the object of their search, while others without thought and with the utmost ease find what had never crossed their minds. The slow-souled dullards, like men who have lost their eyesight, labour fruitlessly in the study of any branch of knowledge, while to others richly blessed by nature it comes unsought in myriad forms; theirs is a ready and unflinching grasp; it seems as though they trouble not to come in contact with the objects of their study, rather that these are impelled to take the lead and hurry to present themselves before the student's vision, and create in him the unerring apprehension which they have to give.

XXI. It is to these men that are given, in the law- 94 giver's words, "cities great and beautiful which they built not, houses full of good things which they did not fill, pits hewn out which they did not hew, vineyards and olive-gardens which they did not plant" (Deut. vi. 10, 11). Under the symbol of cities and 95 houses he speaks of the generic and specific virtues.

<sup>a</sup> Or "the father of his knowledge." See App. p. 487.

## PHILO

- πόλει μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τὸ γένος, ὅτι κὰν μείζουσιν ἐξετάζεται περιγραφαῖς καὶ πλειόνων κοινόν ἐστιν, εἶδος δὲ οἰκία τῷ συνῆχθαι τε μᾶλλον καὶ πεφευγέναι τὴν
- 96 κοινότητα. προητοιμασμένοι δὲ λάκκοι τὰ χωρὶς<sup>1</sup> τῶν πόνων τούτοις πρόχειρα ἄθλα, οὐρανίων καὶ ποτίμων δεξαμεναὶ ναμάτων, πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν προειρημένων ἀρετῶν εὐτρεπεῖς θησαυροί, ἐξ ὧν εὐφροσύνη περιγίνεται ψυχῇ τελεία φῶς τὸ ἀληθείας ἀπαστράπτουσα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀμπελώνας εὐφροσύνης, τοὺς δ' ἔλαιώνας φωτὸς πεποιήται σύμβολον.
- 97 εὐδαίμονες μὲν οὖν οὗτοι, παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχοντες τοῖς ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου διανισταμένοις καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξαίφνης ἀπόνως καὶ χωρὶς πραγματείας ὀρώσιν, ἄθλιοι δὲ οἷς πρὸς ἅ μὴ πεφύκασιν ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν συμβαίνει, ἔριδι, ἀργαλεωτάτη νόσω,
- 98 ἐπαιρόμενοι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοῦ τέλους ἀποτυγχάνειν ἔτι μετ' οὐ μικρᾶς βλάβης μεγάλην αἰσχύνην ὑπομένουσιν, ὥσπερ αἱ πρὸς ἐναντία πνεύματα νῆες ἐνθαλαττεύουσαι· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ τυγχάνειν ὑποδρόμων ἐφ' οὓς ἐπείγονται, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς πλωτῆρσι καὶ φορτίοις ἀνατραπέισαι λύπην μὲν φίλοις, ἡδονὴν δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐμπαρέσχον.
- 99 XXII. λέγει οὖν ὁ νόμος, ὅτι “ παραβιασάμενοί τινες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἄμορραῖος ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐκείνῳ, καὶ ἐτίτρωσκεν αὐτούς, ὡς ἂν ποιήσειαν αἱ μέλισσαι, καὶ
- 100 ἐδίωξεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Σηεῖρ ἕως Ἐρμᾶ,” ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀφυῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς τὰς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐτέροις.

<sup>a</sup> For the symbolism of oil = light cf. *Quod Det.* 118.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 487.

<sup>c</sup> E.V. “were presumptuous.” The LXX may have in-

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 95-100

For the genus resembles the city, because its limits are marked out by wider circuits and it embraces a larger number. The species on the other hand resembles the house, because it is more concentrated and avoids the idea of community. The pits which 96 they find provided are the prizes ready to be won without toil, cisterns of waters heavenly and sweet to drink, treasure-cells fitly prepared to guard the afore-mentioned virtues, from which is secured to the soul perfect gladness shedding with its beams the light of truth. And for that gladness and light he gives us a symbol in the vineyards for the former, in 97 the olive-gardens <sup>a</sup> for the latter. Happy then are these, and their case is as the state of those who waken from deep sleep, and suddenly without toil or active effort open their eyes upon the world. Miserable are those <sup>b</sup> whose lot it is to compete earnestly for ends for which they were not born, urged on by the grievous poison of contentiousness. 98 Not only do they fail to gain their end, but they incur great shame and no small damage to boot. They are like ships ploughing the seas in the face of contrary winds; for not only do they fail to reach the roadsteads to which they press, but often they capsize, vessel, crew and cargo, and are a source of grief to their friends and joy to their foes. 99

XXII. So the law says that "some went up with violence <sup>c</sup> into the mountain, and the Amorite who dwelt in that mountain came out and wounded them, as bees might do, and chased them from Seir to Hormah" (Deut. i. 43, 44). For it must needs be that 100 if those, who have no aptness for the acquisition of

tended the same by *παρα*-. But Philo's argument turns entirely on "force" or "violence."

## PHILO

τεχνῶν ἀναλήψεις, εἴ τι βιαζόμενοι ποιοῦντο περὶ  
 αὐτάς, μὴ μόνον σφάλλῃσθαι τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 αἰσχύνῃν ὀφλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι τῶν δεόντων  
 ἀσυγκαταθέτω γνώμῃ πράττοντας <μὴ> ἐθελουσίως  
 βιαζομένους δὲ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκούσιον μὴ κατ-  
 ορθοῦν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ συνειδότης τιτρώσκεσθαι  
 101 τε καὶ διώκεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς τὰς ὀλιγοχρημάτους  
 παρακαταθήκας ἀποδιδόντας ἐπὶ θήρᾳ στερήσεως  
 μειζόνων εἴποις ἂν πίστει διαφέρειν <τῶν><sup>1</sup> οἱ  
 καὶ ὅτε ἀπέδοσαν πολλὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀπιστίαν  
 ἐβίασαντο, ὑφ' ἧς μήποτε παύσαιντο<sup>2</sup> κατακεν-  
 102 τούμενοι; θεραπείαν δὲ ὅσοι τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ  
 νόθον ἐπετήδευσαν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνηῆς ἱερο-  
 πρεπεστάτην<sup>3</sup> ἄχρι τοῦ μόνον ἐπιδείξασθαι τοῖς  
 συνελθλυθόσι θεαταῖς προαίρεσιν ἐνδύντες βίου,  
 βωμολοχίαν πρὸ εὐσεβείας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες,  
 οὐχ αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κατατείνουσι καὶ  
 [288] βασανίζουσιν | ἀναγκάζοντες ἐπιμορφάζειν ψευδῶς,  
 103 ἃ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν <μὴ> πεπόνθησι; τοιγάρτοι  
 βραχὺν χρόνον ἐπισκιασθέντες διὰ τῶν δεισιδαι-  
 μονίας συμβόλων, ἧ κώλυσις<sup>4</sup> μὲν ἐστὶν ὀσιότητος,  
 μεγάλη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς συνιοῦσι ζημία,  
 εἴτ' αὖθις ἀπαμφιασάμενοι τὰ περιήπτα γυμνῆν  
 ἐπιδείκνυνται τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ τότε ὥσπερ οἱ  
 ξενίας ἀλόντες νοθεύονται τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλεων  
 ἀρετῇ μηδὲν προσήκοντας ἑαυτοὺς παρεγγράψαντες.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ins. Tr. See App. p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Some mss. παύσονται. The opt. in either tense may be explained as oratio obliqua dependent on εἴποις. But παύσονται which Wend. conjectures would be more usual.

<sup>3</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἱεροπρεπεστάτης.

<sup>4</sup> mss. κόλασις: conj. Cohn and Wend. κόλουσις, i.e. mutilation.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 100-103

the arts, use force or compel themselves to labour at them, they not only fail in their purpose, but also incur disgrace. Those, too, who perform any other right action without the assent of their judgement or will, but by doing violence to their inclination, do not achieve righteousness,<sup>a</sup> but are wounded and chased by their inward feelings. Would you say 101 there was any difference in the matter of honesty between those who repay an insignificant deposit in the hope of securing an opportunity to defraud on a larger scale, and those who actually make a large repayment but in doing so have to do violence to their natural inclination to dishonesty, which never ceases to prick them with the stings of regret? What of those who render an insincere worship to 102 the only wise God, those who as on a stage assume a highly sanctified creed and profession of life, which does no more than make an exhibition to the assembled spectators? Are not these men, whose souls are filled with ribaldry rather than piety, racking and torturing themselves as on the wheel, compelling themselves to counterfeit what they have never felt? And therefore, though for a short time 103 they are disguised by the insignia of superstition, which is a hindrance to holiness, and a source of much harm both to those who are under its sway and those who find themselves in such company, yet in course of time the wrappings are cast aside and their hypocrisy is seen in its nakedness. And then, like convicted aliens, they are marked as bastard citizens, having falsely inscribed their names in the burgess-roll of that greatest of commonwealths, virtue, to which they had no claim. For

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 487.

## PHILO

- τὸ γὰρ βίαιον ὀλιγοχρόνιον, ὡς καὶ αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοῦνομα παρὰ τὸ βαιὸν εἰρημένον· βαιὸν δὲ τὸ ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἐκάλουσιν οἱ παλαιοί.
- 104 XXIII. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ “Νῶε εὗρε χάριν παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ,” διαπορητέον. ἄρ’ οὖν τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ δηλούμενον, ὅτι χάριτος ἔτυχεν, ἢ ὅτι χάριτος ἄξιος ἐνομίσθη; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρότερον οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπονοεῖν· τί γὰρ αὐτῷ πλέον δεδώρηται πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅσα οὐ συγκέκριται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στοιχειώδεις ἀπλαῖ φύσεις εἰσὶ, χάριτος
- 105 ἠξιωμένων θείας; τὸ δ’ ὕστερον ἔχει μὲν τινα οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον λόγον, κρίνοντος τοῦ αἰτίου δωρεῶν ἀξίους τοὺς τὸ θεῖον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς νόμισμα, τὸν ἱερώτατον νοῦν, αἰσχροῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι μὴ διαφθείροντας, ἴσως δὲ οὐκ ἀληθῆ.
- 106 πηλίκον γάρ τινα εἰκὸς γενέσθαι τὸν ἄξιον χάριτος κριθησόμενον παρὰ θεῷ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι μόλις ἂν καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον τούτου λαχεῖν· καίτοι τό γε πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον
- 107 τῶν θείων ἔργων ἐστὶν οὗτος. μήποτ’ οὖν ἄμεινον ἂν εἶη ἐκδέχεσθαι τοῦτο, ὅτι ζητητικὸς καὶ πολυμαθὴς γενόμενος ὁ ἀστείος ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν ἐζήτησε τοῦθ’ εὗρεν ἀληθέστατον, χάριν ὄντα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, πῦρ, ἥλιον, ἀστέρας, οὐρανόν, ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ σύμπαντα. κεχαρίσται δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ μὲν οὐδέν—οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖται—, κόσμον δὲ κόσμῳ καὶ τὰ μέρη ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ
- 108 ἀλλήλοις, ἔτι δὲ τῷ παντί. οὐδὲν δὲ κρίνας ἄξιον χάριτος ἄφθονα καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι δεδώρηται τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἀλλ’ ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὴν αἰδίον



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 103-108

violence is short-lived, as the very name (*βραιον*) seems to shew, since it is derived from *βραίος*; for that was the word used in old times for short-lived.

XXIII. But we must deal fully with the difficulty 104 in the words "Noah found grace with the Lord God." Is the meaning that he obtained grace or that he was thought worthy of grace? The former is not a reasonable supposition. For in that case what more was given to him than to practically all creatures, not only those who are compounded of body and soul, but also simple elementary natures, all accepted as recipients of divine grace?

The second explanation is founded on a not unreason- 105 able idea, that the Cause judges those worthy of His gifts, who do not deface with base practices the coin within them which bears the stamp of God, even the sacred mind. And yet perhaps that explanation is not the true one. For how great must we suppose 106 him to be, who shall be judged worthy of grace with God? Hardly, I think, could the whole world attain to this, and yet the world is the first and the greatest and the most perfect of God's works.

Perhaps then it would be better to accept this ex- 107 planation, that the man of worth, being zealous in inquiring and eager to learn, in all his inquiries found this to be the highest truth, that all things are the grace or gift of God—earth, water, air, fire, sun, stars, heaven, all plants and animals. But God has bestowed no gift of grace on Himself, for He does not need it, but He has given the world to the world, and its parts to themselves and to each other, aye and to the All. But He has given His good things 108 in abundance to the All and its parts, not because He judged anything worthy of grace, but looking to

## PHILO

- ἀγαθότητα καὶ νομίσας ἐπιβάλλον τῇ μακαρία καὶ εὐδαίμονι φύσει ἑαυτοῦ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. ὥστε εἴ τις μ' ἔροιτο, τίς αἰτία γενέσεως κόσμου, μαθὼν παρὰ Μωυσέως ἀποκρινοῦμαι, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ ὄντος
- [289] ἀγαθότης, ἣτις ἐστὶ | πρεσβυτάτη τῶν \* \* \* χαρί-  
 109 των οὐσα ἑαυτῇ.<sup>1</sup> XXIV. παρατηρητέον δ' ὅτι τὸν μὲν Νῶε φησιν εὐαρεστήσαι ταῖς τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεσι, κυρίῳ τε καὶ θεῷ, Μωυσῆν δὲ τῷ δορυφορομένῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ δίχα αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον νοουμένῳ· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι “εὗρηκας χάριν παρ' ἐμοί,” δεικνύντος<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἄνευ παντὸς ἑτέρου.
- 110 οὕτως ἄρα τὴν μὲν κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἄκραν σοφίαν ἀξιοῖ χάριτος ὃ ὢν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὴν δὲ ἀπεικονισθεῖσαν ἐκ ταύτης δευτέραν καὶ εἰδικωτέραν οὖσαν διὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων δυνάμεων, καθ' ἃς καὶ κύριος καὶ θεός, ἄρχων τε καὶ εὐεργέτης
- 111 ἐστίν. ἕτερος δὲ τις φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς νοῦς πραθεῖς τῇ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡμῶν ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐξευνουχισθεῖς τὰ ἄρρενα καὶ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη πάντα, σπάνει κεχρημένος καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀκοὴν παραδέξασθαι θείαν ἀδυνατῶν, ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀπεσχοιτισμένος ἐν ἧ [σύλλογοι καὶ]<sup>3</sup> λόγοι περι ἀρετῆς αἰεὶ μελετῶνται, εἰς μὲν τὸ δεσμωτήριον τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests for the correction of this passage *πρεσβυτάτη τῶν <θεοῦ δυναμένων, τῶν> χαρίτων οὐσα πηγῆ*. The translator suggests and has rendered *πρεσβυτάτη τῶν <χαρίτων, πηγῆ> χαρίτων οὐσα αὐτή*. See App. p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *δεικνύς*, which Cohn would retain, and correct *λέγεται* to *λέγει* and *ἑαυτὸν* to *αὐτὸν*.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 108-111

His eternal goodness, and thinking that to be beneficent was incumbent on His blessed and happy nature. So that if anyone should ask me what was the motive for the creation of the world, I will answer what Moses has taught, that it was the goodness of the Existent, that goodness which is the oldest of His bounties and itself the source of others.

XXIV. But we must observe that he says that Noah 109 was well pleasing to the Potencies of the Existent, to the Lord and to God (Gen. vi. 8), but Moses to Him who is attended by the Potencies, and without them is only conceived of as pure being. For it is said with God as speaker, "thou hast found grace with Me" (Exod. xxxiii. 17), in which words He shews Himself as Him who has none other with Him. Thus, then, through His own agency alone does He 110 who IS judge the supreme wisdom shewn in Moses to be worthy of grace, but the wisdom which was but a copy of that, the wisdom which is secondary and of the nature of species, He judges as worthy through His subject Potencies, which present Him to us as Lord and God, Ruler and Benefactor.

But there is a different mind <sup>a</sup> which loves the body 111 and the passions and has been sold in slavery to that chief cateress (Gen. xxxix. 1) of our compound nature, Pleasure. Eunuch-like it has been deprived of all the male and productive organs of the soul, and lives in indigence of noble practices, unable to receive the divine message, debarred from the holy congregation (Deut. xxiii. 1) in which the talk and study is always of virtue. When this mind is cast

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<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 488.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 488.

## PHILO

- παθῶν εισάγεται, χάριν δὲ εὐρίσκει τὴν ἀτιμίας  
 112 ἀδοξοτέραν παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι. δεσμῶται  
 μὲν γὰρ κυρίως εἰσὶν οὐχ οὓς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ  
 καταδικασθέντας ὑπὸ κλήρῳ ἀρχόντων ἢ καὶ χειρο-  
 τοιηθέντων δικαστῶν ἀπάγουσὶ τινες εἰς ἀποδεδειγ-  
 μένον χῶρον κακούργων, ἀλλ' ὧν ἡ φύσις κατ-  
 εδίκασε ψυχῆς τρόπων, οἷτινες ἀφροσύνης <καὶ>  
 ἀκολασίας καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας  
 113 καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων κηρῶν γέμουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπί-  
 τροπος καὶ φύλαξ καὶ ταμίας τούτων, ὁ ἡγεμὼν  
 τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, σύστημα καὶ συμφόρημα κακιῶν  
 ἀθρόων καὶ ποικίλων εἰς ἓν εἶδος συνυφασμένων  
 ἐστίν, ᾧ τὸ εὐαρεστῆσαι μεγίστη ζημία· ἦν οὐχ  
 ὄρωντες ἔνιοι, ἀπατώμενοι δὲ περὶ τὸ βλάπτον ὡς  
 ὠφελούν, προσίασὶ τε αὐτῷ μάλα γεγηθότες καὶ  
 δορυφοροῦσιν, ἢ ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ διάδοχοι φυλακῆς  
 ἀμαρτημάτων ἀκουσίων τε καὶ ἔκουσίων πιστοὶ  
 114 κριθέντες γένωνται. ἀλλὰ σύ γε, ὦ ψυχῆ, τὴν  
 δεσποτείαν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην ἀργαλεωτέραν  
 τῆς ἐπαχθοῦς δουλείας νομίσασα, μάλιστα μὲν  
 ἀδέσμῳ καὶ λελυμένη καὶ ἐλευθέρᾳ χρῆσαι προ-  
 115 αιρέσει τοῦ βίου· ἂν δ' ἄρα ἀγκιστρευθῆς ὑπὸ  
 πάθους, δεσμῶτις μᾶλλον ἢ εἰρκτοφύλαξ ὑπό-  
 μεινον γενέσθαι· κακωθεῖσα μὲν γὰρ καὶ στενάξασα  
 [290] ἔλεον εὐρήσεις, | σπουδαρχίαις δὲ καὶ λιμοδοξίαις  
 ὑποβαλοῦσα σαυτὴν ἠδὲ κακὸν τὸ εἰρκτοφυλακεῖν  
 καὶ μέγιστον ἀναδέξῃ, ὑφ' οὗ γενήσῃ πάντα  
 116 ἀγώγιμος τὸν αἰῶνα XXV. τὰς μὲν οὖν παρὰ

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 111-116

into the prison of the passions, it finds in the eyes of the chief jailer a favour and grace, which is more inglorious than dishonour. For, in the true sense of 112 the word, prisoners are not those who after condemnation by magistrates chosen by lot, or it may be elected jurymen, are haled to the appointed place of malefactors, but those whose character of soul is condemned by nature, as full to the brim of folly and incontinence and cowardice, and injustice and impiety and other innumerable plagues. Now the overseer and warder and manager of them, the governor 113 of the prison, is the concentration and congeries of all vices multitudinous and manifold, woven together into a single form, and to be pleasing to him is to suffer the greatest of penalties. But some do not see the nature of this penalty, but, being deluded into counting the harmful as beneficial, become right joyfully his courtiers and satellites, in the hope that having judged them to be faithful he may make them his subalterns and lieutenants to keep guard over the sins which are committed with the will or without it. My soul, hold such a mastery and cap- 114 taincy to be a lot more cruel than that slavery, heavy though it be. Follow indeed, if thou canst, a life-purpose which is unchained and liberated and free. But, if it be that thou art snared by the hook 115 of passion, endure rather to become a prisoner than a prison-keeper. For through suffering and groaning thou shalt find mercy ; but if thou put thyself in subjection to the craving for office or the greed of glory, thou shalt receive the charge of the prison, a pleasant task indeed, but an ill one and the greatest of ills, and its thralldom shall be over thee for ever. XXV. Put away then with all thy might what may 116

## PHILO

τοῖς ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξιν εὐαρεστήσεις ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπόθου, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τῷ αἰτίῳ διαφερόντως μετὰ σπουδῆς τῆς ἀπάσης ἐφίεσο. ἐὰν δ' ἄρα ἀδυνατῆς —ὑπερβάλλον γὰρ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος μέγεθος—, ἴθι ἀμεταστρεπτί πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτων ἰκέτις γενοῦ, μέχρις ἂν ἀποδεξάμεναι τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ γνήσιον τῆς θεραπείας ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐταῖς κατατάξωσι χώρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Νῶε, οὗ τῶν ἐγγόνων θαυμαστότατον καὶ καινότατον πεποιῆται τὸν κατάλογον·

- 117 φησὶ γάρ· “ αὐται αἱ γενέσεις Νῶε· Νῶε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος, τέλειος ὢν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ· τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησε Νῶε.” τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ συγκρίματος γεννήματα πέφυκεν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ συγκρίματα· ἵπποι γὰρ ἵππους καὶ λέοντες λέοντας καὶ βόες ταύρους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπους
- 118 ἐξ ἀνάγκης γεννώσι· διανοίας δὲ ἀγαθῆς οὐ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἰκεία ἔγγονα, ἀλλ' αἱ προειρημέναι ἀρεταί, τὸ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ τέλειον εἶναι, τὸ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσαι· ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τελεώτατον ἦν καὶ ὄρος τῆς ἄκρας εὐδαιμονίας,
- 119 ἐφ' ἅπασιν εἴρηται. γένεσις δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀγωγή καὶ ὁδός τις ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι—ταύτη φυτὰ τε καὶ ζῶα ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν—ἐτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ βελτίονος γένους εἰς ἕλαττον εἶδος μεταβολή, ἧς μέμνηται ὅταν φῆ· “ αὐται δὲ αἱ γενέσεις Ἰακώβ· Ἰωσήφ δέκα ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν ἦν ποιμαίνων μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰ πρόβατα, ὢν νέος, μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν Βαλλᾶς καὶ

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<sup>a</sup> Or (1) the honour which you seek ; (2) such a purpose or ambition.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 116-119

make thee well pleasing to the rulers of the prison, but desire exceedingly and with all zeal what may make thee pleasing to the Cause. But if so be that this is beyond thy powers—so vast is the greatness of His dignity <sup>a</sup>—set thy face and betake thee to His Potencies and make thyself their suppliant, till they accept the constancy and fidelity of thy service, and appoint thee to take thy place amongst those in whom they are well pleased, even as they appointed Noah; of whose descendants Moses has given a genealogy of a truly strange and novel sort.

For he says, “these are the generations of Noah. 117 Noah was a just man, perfect in his generation, Noah was well pleasing to God” (Gen. vi. 9). The offspring indeed of creatures compounded of soul and body, must also themselves be compound; horses necessarily beget horses, lions beget lions, bulls beget bulls, and so too with men. Not such are the offspring 118 proper to a good mind; but they are the virtues mentioned in the text, the fact that he was a man, that he was just, that he was perfect, that he was well pleasing to God. And this last as being the consummation of these virtues, and the definition of supreme happiness, is put at the end of them all.

Now one form of generation is the pro- 119 cess by which things are drawn and journey so to speak from non-existence to existence, and this process is that which is always necessarily followed by plants and animals. But there is also another which consists in the change from the higher genus to the lower species, and this it is which Moses had in mind when he says, “But these are the generations of Jacob. Joseph was seventeen years old, keeping sheep with his brethren, being still young, with the

## PHILO

- μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ζελφᾶς τῶν γυναικῶν πατρός  
 120 αὐτοῦ·” ὅταν γὰρ ὁ  
 ἀσκητικὸς καὶ φιλομαθὴς οὗτος λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν  
 θειοτέρων ἐννοημάτων εἰς ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ θνητὰς  
 δόξας καταβιβασθῆ, ὁ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περὶ  
 αὐτὸ χορευτῆς Ἰωσήφ εὐθὺς ἀπογεννᾶται, νέος  
 ὢν ἔτι, κἂν μήκει χρόνου πολὺς γένηται, πρε-  
 σβυτέρας οὔτε γνώμης οὔτε ἀκοῆς εἰσάπαν ἐπ-  
 ησημένος, ἦν οἱ Μωυσέως θιασῶται κατασταθέντες  
 κτῆμα καὶ ἀπόλαυσμα ὠφελιμώτατον ἑαυτοῖς τε  
 121 καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὖραντο. διὰ τοῦτό μοι  
 δοκεῖ τὸν τύπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην τοῦ  
 χαρακτῆρος ἰδεῖν βουλόμενος ἐκδηλοτέραν ἐγγράφαι  
 ποιμαίνοντα εἰσάγειν μετὰ γνησίου μὲν οὐδενός,  
 μετὰ δὲ τῶν νόθων ἀδελφῶν, οἱ παλλακίδων ὄντες  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος γένους, τοῦ πρὸς γυναικῶν, ἀλλ’  
 οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, τοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν, χρη-  
 ματίζουσιν· υἱοὶ γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν Βαλλᾶς καὶ  
 Ζελφᾶς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ πατρὸς νυνὶ καλοῦν-  
 122 ται.  
 [291] XXVI. Ζητήσαι δ’ ἂν τις προσηκόντως, τίνας  
 ἕνεκα μετὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ Νῶε τελείωσιν  
 εὐθὺς εἴρηται, ὅτι “ἐφθάρη ἡ γῆ ἐναντίον τοῦ  
 θεοῦ καὶ ἐπλήσθη ἀδικίας.” ἀλλ’ ἴσως οὐ χαλε-  
 πὸν λύσεως εὐπορήσαι τῷ μὴ σφόδρα παιδείας  
 123 ἀπείρω. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν ἐν ψυχῇ τὸ  
 ἄφθαρτον εἶδος ἀνατείλη, τὸ θνητὸν εὐθέως φθεί-  
 ρεται· γένεσις γὰρ τῶν καλῶν θάνατος αἰσχυρῶν  
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ φωτὸς ἐπιλάμψαντος



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 119-123

sons of Bilhah and with the sons of Zelpah, his father's wives" (Gen. xxxvii. 2). For when this 120 reason, once so diligent of practice and filled with love of learning, is brought down from diviner concepts to human and mortal opinions, then at once Joseph is born, Joseph who follows in the train of the body and bodily things. He is still young, even though length of years may have made him grey-headed; for never have there come to his knowledge the thoughts or lessons of riper age, which those who are ranked as members of the company of Moses have learnt, and found in them a treasure and a joy most profitable to themselves and to those who hold converse with them. It is for this reason, I think, 121 because he wished to portray Joseph's image and the exact form of his character in a clearer way, that Moses represents him as keeping sheep, not with any true-born brother, but with the base-born, the sons of the concubines, who are designated by the lower parentage, which is traced to the women, and not by the higher, which is traced to the men. For they are in this instance called the sons of the women Bilhah and Zilpah but not the sons of their father Israel.

XXVI. We may properly ask, why directly after 122 the recital of Noah's perfection in virtues, we are told that "the earth was corrupt before the Lord and filled with iniquity" (Gen. vi. 11). And yet perhaps save for one who is especially uninstructed it is not difficult to obtain a solution. We should 123 say then that when the incorruptible element takes its rise in the soul, the mortal is forthwith corrupted. For the birth of noble practices is the death of the base, for when the light shines, the darkness dis-

## PHILO

- ἀφανίζεται τὸ σκότος. διὰ τοῦτο  
 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς λέπρας ἀκριβέστατα διείρηται,  
 ὅτι “ἐὰν ἀνατείλῃ χρῶς ζῶν ἐν τῷ λεπρῷ, μιαν-  
 124 θήσεται.” καὶ προσεπισφίγγων αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ  
 ὡσπερ ἐναποσημαινόμενος ἐπιφέρει “καὶ μιανεῖ  
 ὁ χρῶς ὁ ὑγιής,” ἀντιταπτόμενος τῷ εἰκότι καὶ  
 συνήθει· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ νοσοῦντα  
 φθορὰς τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν  
 ζῶντων, οὐκ ἔμπαλιν τὰ ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ ζῶντα  
 125 τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ σωτήρια νομίζουσι. καινό-  
 τatos δ’ ἐν ἅσασι τὴν σοφίαν ὁ νομοθέτης ὦν καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἴδιον εἰσηγήσατο, διδάσκων ὅτι τὰ ὑγιά-  
 νοντα καὶ ζῶντα τοῦ μὴ καθαρεύειν μiasμάτων  
 αἴτια γίνεται· τὸ γὰρ ὑγιαῖνον καὶ ζῶν ἐν ψυχῇ  
 χρῶμα ὡς ἀληθῶς φαινόμενον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἔλεγχός  
 126 ἐστίν. οὗτος ὅταν ἀνάσχη, κατάλογον ποιεῖται  
 τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτῆς ἀπάντων, καὶ ὄνειδίζων  
 καὶ δυσωπῶν καὶ ἐπιπλήττων μόλις παύεται· ἡ  
 δ’ ἐλεγκομένη γνωρίζει τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα, ὧν παρὰ  
 τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐπετήδευε, καὶ τότε ἄφρονα καὶ  
 ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἄδικον καὶ πλήρη μiasμάτων ἑαυτὴν  
 127 καταλαμβάνει. XXVII. διὸ καὶ παρα-  
 δοξότατον νόμον ἀναγράφει, ἐν ᾧ τὸν μὲν ἐκ  
 μέρους ὄντα λεπρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, τὸν δὲ ὅλον δι’  
 ὄλων ἀπὸ ἄκρων ποδῶν ἄχρι κεφαλῆς ἐσχάτης  
 κατεσχημένον τῇ λέπρᾳ καθαρὸν φησιν εἶναι,

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “raw flesh”; *chrōs* can mean either “flesh” or “colour.” The LXX no doubt meant the former. Philo, who in § 125 equates it with *chrōma*, took it as the latter.

<sup>b</sup> Variouslly translated as “Convictor,” “Testing Power,” “Challenger.” It is almost equivalent to “Conscience”; compare the description in *Quod Det.* 23. Compare also

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 123-127

appears. And therefore in the law of leprosy it is most carefully laid down, that if a living colour <sup>a</sup> arise in the leper, he shall be defiled (Lev. xiii. 14, 15). And by way of clinching this and so to <sup>124</sup> speak setting a seal upon it, he adds "and the healthy colour will defile him." This is quite opposed to the natural and ordinary view. For all men hold that things healthy are corrupted by things diseased, and living things by dead things, but they do not hold the converse, that the healthy and living corrupt their opposites, but rather that they save and preserve them. But the lawgiver, original as ever in his <sup>125</sup> wisdom, has here laid down something distinctly his own. He teaches us that it is the healthy and living which produce the condition which is tainted with pollution. For the healthy and living colour in the soul, when it makes a genuine appearance upon it, is Conviction.<sup>b</sup> When this Conviction comes to the <sup>126</sup> surface it makes a record of all the soul's transgressions, and rebukes and reproaches and calls shame upon it almost without ceasing. And the soul thus convicted sees in their true light its practices each and all, which were contrary to right reason, and then perceives that it is foolish and intemperate and unjust and infected with pollution.

XXVII. For the same reason Moses enacts a law, <sup>127</sup> which is indeed a paradox, whereby he declares that the leper who is partially a leper is unclean, but that when the leprosy has taken hold of him throughout, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head, he is clean (Lev. xiii. 11-13). One would

the functions of the Paraclete in John xvi. 8, where the R.V. gives for ἐλέγχει "convict," in the place of the "reprove" of the A.V.

## PHILO

- τάχα ἂν τις τὸ ἐναντίον, ὅπερ εὐλογον ἦν ὑπολαβεῖν, εἰκάσαντος, τὴν μὲν ἐσταλμένην καὶ περὶ τι βραχὺ τοῦ σώματος λέπραν ἤττον ἀκάθαρτον, τὴν δὲ κεχυμένην, ὡς ἅπαν περιλαβεῖν αὐτό, μᾶλλον.
- 128 δηλοῖ δ', ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, διὰ συμβόλων τούτων ἀληθέστατον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια τῶν ἀδικημάτων κἂν ἐπιμήκιστα ὄντα ἀνυπαίτια καὶ καθαρὰ, τὸ συνειδὸς βαρὺν κατήγορον οὐκ ἔχοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐκούσια, κἂν μὴ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀναχέηται πρὸς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐλεγχόμενα δικαστοῦ, ἀνίερα
- [292] καὶ μιὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα | δοκιμάζεται.
- 129 ἡ μὲν οὖν διφυῆς καὶ δύο ἐξανθοῦσα χρώματα λέπρα τὴν ἐκούσιον ἐμφαίνει κακίαν· ἔχουσα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ ζωτικὸν καὶ ὀρθὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ λόγον τῷ μὲν οὐ χρῆται ὡς κυβερνήτῃ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν σωτηρίαν, ἐκδοῦσα δ' αὐτὴν τοῖς ναυτιλίας ἀπίροις ὅλον τὸ τοῦ βίου δὴ σκάφος ἐν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνῃ δυνάμενον σώζεσθαι περιέτρεψεν.
- 130 ἡ δ' εἰς ἓν εἶδος λευκὸν μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν ἀκούσιον διασυνίστησι τροπὴν, ἐπειδὴν τὸ λογιζέσθαι ὁ νοῦς ἐκτμηθεὶς ὅλον δι' ὅλων, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς τὸ συνιέναι σπέρματος ὑπολειφθέντος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἀγλῦ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεῖ μηδὲν ὄρα τῶν πρακτέων, ἀλλ' οἷα τυφλὸς ἀπροοράτως πᾶσιν ἐπίπτων συνεχεῖς ὀλισθούς καὶ πτώματα ἐπάλληλα καὶ
- 131 ἀκούσια ὑπομένη. XXVIII. τούτῳ  
 <δ> ὁμοίον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας διάταγμα, ἐν ἣ γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει λέπραν πολλάκις· φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι " εἰ γένηται ἀφή λέπρας ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἀφίξεται ὁ κεκτημένος καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ τῷ ἱερεῖ λέγων· ὡσ-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 489.

<sup>b</sup> Or "symptom."

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 127-131

probably have conjectured the opposite, as indeed it would be reasonable to suppose that leprosy, if limited and confined to a small part of the body, is less unclean, but if diffused, so as to embrace all the body, is more unclean. But he is shewing, I think, 128 through these symbols (and a very true lesson it is), that such wrongdoings as are involuntary, however wide their extent, are pure and devoid of guilt, for they have no stern accuser in conscience, but voluntary sins, even though the space they cover be not large, are convicted by the judge within the soul and thus are proved to be unholy and foul and impure.

Thus then the leprosy, which is 129 twy-natured and flowers into two colours, shews voluntary wickedness. For the soul has within it the healthy, lively upright reason, and yet it does not use it as its pilot<sup>a</sup> to guide it to the safety which things noble give, but abandons itself to those who have no skill of seamanship, and thus swamps utterly the bark of life which might have reached its bourn safely in calm and fair weather. But the leprosy 130 which changes into a single white appearance, represents involuntary error, when the mind is throughout reft of reasoning power, and not a germ is left of what might grow into understanding, and thus, as men in a mist and profound darkness, it sees nothing of what it should do, but, like a blind man tripping over every obstacle since he cannot see before him, it is subject to constant slips and repeated falls in which the will has no part.

XXVIII. Similar 131 again is the enactment about the house in which leprosy is a frequent occurrence. For the law says that "if there is an infection<sup>b</sup> of leprosy in a house, the owner shall come and report it to the priest

## PHILO

- περ ἀφή λέπρας ἐώραταί μοι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ”· εἶτα ἐπιφέρει· “καὶ προστάξει ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀποσκευάσαι τὴν οἰκίαν πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθόντα τὸν ἱερέα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἰδεῖν, καὶ οὐ γενήσεται ἀκάθαρτα ὅσα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελεύσεται ὁ ἱερεὺς
- 132 καταμαθεῖν.” οὐκοῦν πρὶν μὲν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν ἱερέα, καθαρὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἀφ’ οὗ δ’ ἂν εἰσέλθῃ, πάντα ἀκάθαρτα· καίτοι τὸναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀνδρὸς κεκαθαρμένον καὶ τελείου, ὃς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων εὐχὰς ἀγιστείας ἱερουργίας εἴωθε ποιῆσθαι, παρελθόντος εἴσω βελτιοῦσθαι τὰ ἔνδον<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐξ ἀκαθάρτων καθαρὰ γίνεσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένει χώρας, τρέπεται δὲ πρὸς μερίδα τὴν χεῖρω κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως.
- 133 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ συνάδει τῇ ῥητῇ καὶ προχείρῳ διατάξει, σκέψονται οἷς ἔθος καὶ φίλον· ἡμῖν δὲ ἀντικρυς λεκτέον, ὅτι συνωδὸν οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλω, ὡς τὸ εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ἱερέως τὰ κατὰ
- 134 τὴν οἰκίαν μαινεσθαι. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν καθάπερ τινὰ ἐστίαν οὐκ ἀφίκται, πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ ἔργα ἀνυπαίτια· ὁ γὰρ ἐπίτροπος ἢ πατὴρ ἢ διδάσκαλος ἢ ὅ τι ποτὲ χρή καλεῖν τὸν ἱερέα, ὑφ’ οὗ νουθητηθῆναι καὶ σωφρο-νισθῆναι μόνου δυνατὸν, μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε. συγ-γνώμη δὲ τοῖς δι’ ἀμαθίαν ἀπειρία τῶν πρακτέων ἀμαρτάνουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται κατάληψιν, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε κατορθοῦν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔντα.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 131-134

with the words ' what seems an infection of leprosy has appeared in my house, ' " and then it adds " and the priest shall command that they empty the house, before the priest enters the house and sees it, and whatsoever is in the house shall not become unclean, and after that the priest shall go in to observe it " (Lev. xiv. 34-36). So then before the priest goes in, 132 the things in the house are clean, but after he has gone in they are all unclean. And yet we should have expected just the opposite, that when a man who has been purified and fully consecrated, who is wont to offer prayers and litanies and sacrifices for all men, has come within the house, its contents should thereby be bettered and pass from impurity into purity. But here we find that they do not even remain in the same position as before, but actually shift into the inferior region at the entrance of the priest. Now whether in the plain and 133 literal sense of the ordinance these things are consistent with each other is a matter for those who are used to such questions and find pleasure in them. But *we* must say positively that no two things can be more consistent with each other than that, when the priest has entered, the belongings of the house are defiled. For so long as the divine reason has not 134 come into our soul, as to some dwelling-place, all its works are free from guilt, since the priest who is its guardian or father or teacher—or whatever name is fitting for him—the priest, who alone can admonish and bring it to wisdom, is far away. There is pardon for those whose sin is due to ignorance, because they have no experience to tell them what they should do. For they do not even conceive of their deeds as sins, nay often they think that their most grievous

## PHILO

- 135 οἷς πταίουσι μεγάλα νομίζουσιν. ὅταν δὲ εἰσέλθῃ  
 ὁ ἱερεὺς ὄντως ἔλεγχος εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡσπερ φωτὸς  
 [293] τις αὐγὴ | καθαρωτάτη, τηνικαῦτα γνωρίζομεν τὰ  
 ἐναποκείμενα ἡμῶν οὐκ εὐαγὴ τῇ ψυχῇ βουλευματα  
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιλήπτους καὶ ὑπαιτίους πράξεις, αἷς  
 ἀγνοία τῶν συμφερόντων ἐνεχειροῦμεν. ταῦτ' οὖν  
 ἅπαντα ὁ ἱερωμένος ἔλεγχος μιάνας, ἀποσκευα-  
 σθῆναι καὶ ἀποσυληθῆναι κελεύει, ὅπως αὐτὴν  
 καθαρὰν ἴδῃ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οἰκίαν καί, εἴ τινες  
 ἐν αὐτῇ νόσοι γεγόνασιν, ἰάσῃται.
- 136 **XXIX.** μεμίμηται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἐν ταῖς βασι-  
 λείαις ἐντυγχάνουσα τῷ προφῆτῃ γυνὴ <χήρα>  
 χήρα δ' ἐστίν, οὐχ ἦν φάμεν ἡμεῖς, ὅταν  
 ἀνδρὸς ἐρήμη γένηται, ἀλλὰ τῷ χηρεύειν τῶν  
 φθειρόντων καὶ λυμαινομένων παθῶν τὴν διάνοιαν,  
 137 ὡσπερ καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μωυσῆ Θάμαρ· καὶ γὰρ ταύτη  
 προστέτακται χηρευούσῃ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ  
 μόνου καὶ σωτήρος οἴκῳ πατρός, δι' ὃν <εἰς>  
 αἰὲ καταλιπούσα τὰς τῶν θνητῶν συνουσίας καὶ  
 ὀμιλίας ἠρήμωται μὲν καὶ κεχήρευκεν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 ἡδονῶν, παραδέχεται δὲ θείαν γονὴν καὶ πληρουμένη  
 τῶν ἀρετῆς σπερμάτων κυοφορεῖ καὶ ὠδίνει καλὰς  
 πράξεις· ὡς ὅταν ἀποτέκη, τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀντι-  
 πάλων αἴρεται βραβεῖα καὶ νικηφόρος ἀναγράφεται  
 σύμβολον ἐπιφερομένη φοῖνικα τῆς νίκης· Θάμαρ  
 γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται φοῖνιξ.
- 138 λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὸν προφῆτην πᾶσα διάνοια χήρα  
 καὶ ἐρήμη κακῶν μέλλουσα γίνεσθαι· “ ἀνθρωπε  
 τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσηλθες πρὸς με ἀναμνησαί το ἀδίκημά  
 μου καὶ τὸ ἀμάρτημά μου.” εἰσελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν  
 ψυχὴν ὁ ἔνθους οὗτος καὶ κατεσχημένος ἐξ ἔρωτος

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 489.



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 135-138

stumbings are righteous actions. But when the true priest, Conviction, enters us, like a pure ray of light, we see in their real value the unholy thoughts that were stored within our soul, and the guilty and blameworthy actions to which we laid our hands in ignorance of our true interests. So Conviction, discharging his priest-like task, defiles all these <sup>a</sup> and bids them all be cleared out and carried away, that he may see the soul's house in its natural bare condition, and heal whatever sicknesses have arisen in it.

XXIX. We have a parallel to this in the widow in the Book of Kings who discourses with the prophet (1 Kings xvii. 10). She is a widow, not in our sense of the word, when the wife has lost her husband, but because she is widowed of the passions which corrupt and maltreat the mind, like Tamar in the books of Moses. Tamar was bidden to remain a widow in the house of her father, her one and only saviour (Gen. xxxviii. 11), for whose sake she has left for ever the intercourse and society of mortals, and remained desolate and widowed of human pleasures. Thus she receives the divine impregnation, and, being filled with the seeds of virtue, bears them in her womb and is in travail with noble actions. And when she has brought them to the birth, she wins the meed of conquest over her adversaries, and is enrolled as victor with the palm as the symbol of her victory. For Tamar is by interpretation a palm.

To return to the Book of Kings. Every mind that is on the way to be widowed and empty of evil says to the prophet, "O man of God, thou hast come in to remind me of my iniquity and my sin" (1 Kings xvii. 18). For when he, the God-inspired, has entered the soul—he who is mastered

## PHILO

- ὄλυμπίου καὶ διηρεθισμένος τοῖς τῆς θεοφορήτου  
 μανίας ἀκατασχέτοις οἴστροις μνήμην ἀδικημάτων  
 καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων ἀρχαίων ἐργάζεται, οὐχ ἵνα πάλιν  
 αὐτοῖς χρήσεται, ἀλλ' ἵνα μέγα στενάξασα καὶ μέγα  
 κλαύσασα τὴν παλαιὰν τροπὴν τὰ μὲν ἐκείνης  
 ἔγγονα μισήσασα ἀποστραφῆ, οἷς δ' ὑψηγείται ὁ  
 ἔρμηνεύς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος καὶ προφήτης ἔπηται·
- 139 τοὺς γὰρ προφήτας ἐκάλουν οἱ πρότερον τοτὲ μὲν  
 ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ ὀρώντας, κύρια ὀνόματα  
 καὶ ἐμπρεπῆ τῶ ἐπιθειασμῶ καὶ τῇ περιαθρήσει τῶν  
 πραγμάτων ἧ ἐκέχρητο τιθέμενοι.
- 140 XXX. Προσηκόντως οὖν ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς  
 τότε φθείρεσθαι τὴν γῆν εἶπεν, ὅτε αἱ τοῦ δικαίου  
 Νῶε ἀρεταὶ διεφάνησαν· “ἦν δὲ” φησί “κατεφθαρ-  
 μένη, ὅτι κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σὰρξ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ
- 141 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.” δόξει μὲν τισιν ἡ λέξις ἡμαρτηθῆσαι  
 καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἄπταιστον  
 οὕτως ἔχει· ὅτι κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σὰρξ τὴν |
- [294] ὁδὸν αὐτῆς· ἀνοίκειον γάρ ἐστι θηλυκῶ ὀνόματι,  
 τῇ σαρκί, ἀρρενικὴν ἐπιφέρεσθαι πῶσις, τὴν
- 142 αὐτοῦ. μήποτε δὲ οὐ περὶ μόνης σαρκός ἐστιν ὁ  
 λόγος τὴν αὐτῆς φθειρούσης ὁδὸν, ἵνα εἰκότως  
 ἡμαρτηθῆσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν δοκῆ, ἀλλὰ περὶ  
 δυεῖν, σαρκός τε τῆς φθειρομένης καὶ ἑτέρου, οὗ  
 τὴν ὁδὸν λυμαίνεσθαι τε καὶ φθείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.  
 ὥσθ' οὕτως ἀποδοτέον· κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σὰρξ τὴν
- 143 θεὸν ἄγουσαν. ταύτην ἴσθι σοφίαν· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης  
 ὁ νοῦς ποδηγετούμενος εὐθείας καὶ λεωφόρου

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 138-143

by celestial yearning, stirred to his very depth by the irresistible goads of god-sent frenzy, he creates a memory of past iniquities and sins, and this not to the end that the soul should return to them, but that, with deep groaning and many tears for its old error, it should turn therefrom with loathing for all that it has engendered, and follow instead the guidance of that reason which is the interpreter and prophet of God. For the men of old days called the prophets sometimes "men of God" and sometimes "seers" (1 Sam. ix. 9). And the names they gave were names of literal truth and well suited, the former to their inspiration, the latter to the wide vision of reality which they possessed. 139

XXX. Thus apt indeed are these words of Moses, 140 the holiest of men, when he tells us that the earth was being corrupted at the time when the virtues of just Noah shone forth. But he goes on, "it was destroyed because all flesh destroyed his way upon the earth" (Gen. vi. 12). Some will think that we 141 have here a mistake in diction and that the correct phrase in grammatical sequence is as follows, "all flesh destroyed its way." For a masculine form like "his" ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\hat{\nu}$ ) cannot be properly used with reference to the feminine noun "flesh" ( $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi}$ ). But perhaps 142 the writer is not speaking merely of the flesh which corrupts its own way, thus giving reasonable grounds for the idea of a grammatical error, but of two things, the flesh which is being corrupted, and Another, whose way that flesh seeks to mar and corrupt. And so the passage must be explained thus, "all flesh destroyed the perfect way of the Eternal and Indestructible, the way which leads to God." This way, 143 you must know, is wisdom. For wisdom is a straight

## PHILO

ὑπαρχούσης ἄχρι τῶν τερμάτων ἀφικνεῖται· τὸ δὲ  
 τέρμα τῆς ὁδοῦ γινώσις ἐστι καὶ ἐπιστήμη θεοῦ.  
 ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν μισεῖ καὶ προβέβληται καὶ  
 φθείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖ πᾶς ὁ σαρκῶν ἑταῖρος· οὐδενὶ  
 γὰρ οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀντίπαλον ὡς ἐπιστήμη σαρκὸς  
 144 ἠδονῆ.<sup>1</sup> βουλομένοις γοῦν ταύτην πορεύεσθαι τὴν  
 ὁδὸν βασιλικὴν οὖσαν τοῖς τοῦ ὄρατικοῦ γένους  
 μετέχουσιν, ὅπερ Ἰσραὴλ κέκληται, διαμάχεται ὁ  
 γῆινος Ἐδῶμ—τοῦτο γὰρ διερμηνευθεὶς ὀνομάζεται  
 —μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς πάσης εἴρξειν  
 ἀπειλῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀπόρευτον  
 145 αὐτὴν κατασκευάσειν εἰσάπαν. XXXI.  
 οἱ μὲν οὖν πεμφθέντες πρέσβεις λέγουσι ταῦτα·  
 “ παρελευσόμεθα διὰ τῆς γῆς σου· οὐ διελευσόμεθα  
 δι’ ἀγρῶν, οὐ δι’ ἀμπελώνων, οὐ πίομεθα ὕδωρ  
 λάκκου σου. ὁδῶ βασιλικῆ πορευσόμεθα· οὐκ  
 ἐκκλινοῦμεν δεξιὰ οὐδὲ εὐώνυμα, ἕως ἂν παρέλθω-  
 μέν σου τὰ ὄρια.” ὁ δὲ Ἐδῶμ ἀποκρίνεται φάσκων·  
 “ οὐ διελεύση<sup>2</sup> δι’ ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν πολέμῳ ἐξελεύ-  
 σομαί σοι εἰς συνάντησιν.” καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῶ οἱ  
 υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ· “ παρὰ τὸ ὄρος παρελευσόμεθα.<sup>3</sup> εἰάν  
 δὲ τοῦ ὕδατός σου πῖω ἐγώ τε καὶ τὰ κτήνη, δώσω  
 σοι τιμὴν· ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲν ἐστι, παρὰ τὸ  
 ὄρος παρελευσόμεθα.” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ οὐ διελεύση δι’  
 146 ἐμοῦ.” τῶν παλαιῶν τινα λόγος ἔχει  
 θεασάμενον ἐσταλμένην πολυτελῆ πομπὴν πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἐπιστήμη . . . ἠδονῆ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. παρελεύση.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. διελευσόμεθα.

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “ Let me, *without doing anything else*, pass through

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 143-146

high road, and it is when the mind's course is guided along that road that it reaches the goal which is the recognition and knowledge of God. Every comrade of the flesh hates and rejects this path and seeks to corrupt it. For there are no two things so utterly opposed as knowledge and pleasure of the flesh. Thus those who are members of that race endowed 144 with vision, which is called Israel, when they wish to journey along that royal road, find their way contested by Edom the earthly one—for such is the interpretation of his name—who, all alert and prepared at every point, threatens to bar them from the road and to render it such that none at all shall tread or travel on it.

XXXI. The envoys 145 then who are dispatched to him speak thus, "We will pass by through thy land. We will not go through the cornfields nor through the vineyards. We will not drink water of any well of thine. We will journey by the king's way. We will not turn aside to the right or the left, till we have passed thy boundaries." But Edom answers, saying, "Thou shalt not pass through me, else I will come out in war to meet thee." And the sons of Israel say to him, "We will pass along the mountain country. But if I and my cattle drink of thy water, I will give thee value. But the matter is nothing, we will pass along the mountain country" (Num. xx. 17-20).<sup>a</sup> But he said, "Thou shalt not go through me." There is 146

a story that one <sup>b</sup> of the ancients beholding a gaily decked and costly pageant turned to some of his on my feet." The LXX presumably meant "the thing which I ask is a trifle." Philo's interpretation of the words is given in § 171.

<sup>b</sup> Socrates. The story is told with some variations by Cic. *Tusc.* v. 91, and Diog. Laert. ii. 25.

## PHILO

τινας τῶν γνωρίμων ἀπιδόντα εἶπειν· “ὦ ἐταῖροι,  
 ἴδετε ὅσων χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχω,” διὰ βραχείας φωνῆς  
 μέγιστον καὶ οὐράνιον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπάγγελμα αὐχῆ-  
 147 σαντα. τί λέγεις; τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα κατὰ  
 τοῦ πλούτου παντὸς ἐστεφάνωσαι καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ  
 κεκράτηκας οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόλαυσίν τε καὶ  
 χρῆσιν τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παραδέχεσθαι; θαυμάσιος μὲν  
 ὁ λόγος, πολὺ δ’ ἡ γνώμη θαυμασιωτέρα τοσοῦτον  
 148 σθαι νικᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος. XXXII. ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἐνὶ  
 ἀνδρὶ ἔξεστι μόνον αὐχῆσαι παρὰ Μωυσῆ τὰ προ-  
 [295] τέλεια τῆς σοφίας ἀναδίδαχθέντι, ἀλλὰ | καὶ ὄλω  
 ἔθνει πολυανθρωποτάτῳ. τεκμήριον δέ· τεθάρρηκε  
 καὶ ἐπιτετόλμηκεν ἡ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ τῶν γνωρίμων  
 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν φαινομένων ἀπάντων  
 ἀγαθῶν τὸν γήινον Ἐδῶμ—ὄντως γὰρ τὰ τῷ δοκεῖν  
 ἀγαθὰ πάντα γήινα—λέγειν· “ἦδη παρελεύσομαι διὰ  
 149 τῆς γῆς σου.” ὦ ὑπερφυστάτης καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς  
 ὑποσχέσεως. πάντα, εἴπατέ μοι, ὑπερβῆναι παρ-  
 ελθεῖν παραδραμεῖν τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ νομιζόμενα  
 γῆς [ὄντα] ἀγαθὰ δυνήσεσθε; καὶ οὐδὲν ἄρα τὴν  
 εἰς τὸ πρόσω ὑμῶν ὄρμηγν ἀντιβιασάμενον ἐφέξει  
 150 καὶ στήσει; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ πλούτου θησαυροὺς  
 ἅπαντας ἐξῆς πλήρεις ἰδόντες ἀποστραφήσεσθε καὶ  
 ἀποκλινεῖτε τὰς ὄψεις, τὰ δὲ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώ-  
 ματα τῶν πρὸς πατρός καὶ μητρός καὶ τὰς ἀδομένας  
 παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐγενείας ὑπερκύψετε; δόξαν  
 δέ, ἧς ἀντικαταλλάττονται πάντα ἄνθρωποι, κατ-  
 ὅπῳ ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἀπολείψετε; τί

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 146-150

disciples and said to them, " My friends, observe how many things there are I do not need." And the vaunt conveyed in this short utterance is a great and truly heaven-sent profession. " What is it you say ? " we ask him. " Have you won the Olympic crown 147 of victory over all wealth, and so risen superior to all that wealth involves, that you accept nothing of what it brings for your use and enjoyment ? " A wonderful saying ! And yet far more wonderful is the resolution which has grown so strong, that now it need exert no effort to win its complete victory. XXXII. But in the school of Moses it is not one 148 man only who may boast that he has learnt the first elements of wisdom, but a whole nation, a mighty people. And we have a proof thereof in these words of the envoys. The soul of every one of his disciples has taken heart and courage to say to the king of all that is good in outward appearance, the earthly Edom (for indeed all things whose goodness lies in mere seeming are of earth), " I will now pass by through thy land " (or " earth "). What a stupendous, 149 what a magnificent promise ! Will you indeed be able, tell me, to step, to travel, to speed past and over those things of earth which appear and are reckoned good ? And will nothing, then, that opposes your onward march stay or arrest its course ? Will 150 you see all the treasuries of wealth, one after the other, full to the brim, yet turn aside from them and avert your eyes ? Will you take no heed of the honours of high ancestry on either side, or the pride of noble birth, which the multitude so extol ? Will you leave glory behind you, glory, for which men barter their all, and treat it as though it were a worthless trifle ? Will you pass unregarded the

## PHILO

- δέ; ὑγίαν σώματος καὶ αἰσθήσεων ἀκρίβειαν καὶ κάλλος περιμάχητον καὶ ῥώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσοις ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶκος ἢ τύμβος ἢ ὀτιοῦν χρῆ καλεῖν κεκόσμηται παραδραμείσθε, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατατάξαι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μερίδι;
- 151 Ὀλυμπίου καὶ οὐρανοῦ ταῦτα ψυχῆς τὰ μεγάλα τολμήματα τὸν μὲν περίγειον χῶρον ἀπολελοιπιύας, ἀνειλκυσμένης δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν θείων φύσεων διαιτωμένης· θέας γὰρ ἐμπιπλαμένη τῶν γνησίων καὶ ἀφθάρτων ἀγαθῶν εἰκότως τοῖς ἐφημέροις καὶ
- 152 νόθοις ἀποτάττεται. XXXIII. τί οὖν ὄφελος παρελθεῖν πάντα τὰ θνητῶν θνητὰ ἀγαθὰ, παρελθεῖν δὲ μὴ σὺν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνιοι δι' ὄκνον ἢ ῥαθυμίαν ἢ ἀπειρίαν ἐκείνων; οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ πάντα, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρ' ἄλλοις τετίμηται.
- 153 τούτου χάριν βουλόμενος τὸ μετ' ὀρθότητος λόγου καταφρονητικοὺς τῶν εἰρημένων γενέσθαι παραστήσαι τῷ “ παρελεύσομαι ” προστίθησι τὸ “ διὰ τῆς γῆς σου ”· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀναγκασιότατον ἦν, γενομένου ἐν ἀφθόνοις τῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὕλαις ἀπάσαις ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν προβληθέντων ὑφ' ἐκάστης δικτύων ἀλῶναι, πυρὸς μέντοι τὸν τρόπον ἰσχύσαι ῥύμη μιᾶ τὰς ἐπαλλήλους καὶ
- 154 συνεχεῖς φορὰς διακλάσαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων φασὶ “ παρελεύσεσθαι,” διὰ δὲ “ ἀγρῶν καὶ ἀμπελώνων ” οὐκέτι· τὰ γὰρ ἡμερα ἐν ψυχῇ φυτὰ ἡμέρους ἀποτίκτοντα καρπούς, ἀστείους μὲν

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* they use *διελευσόμεθα*, which Philo takes to mean “to travel through” (at leisure) in contrast to *παρελευσόμεθα* “to pass through” (without stopping).



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 150-154

health of the body, the keenness of the senses, the coveted gift of beauty, the strength which defies opponents, and whatever else serves to adorn our soul's house, or tomb, or what other name it may be given, and rank none of them as belonging to the province of the good? Great ventures such as these betoken a celestial and heavenly soul, which has left the region of the earth, has been drawn upwards, and dwells with divine natures. For when it takes its fill of the vision of good incorruptible and genuine, it bids farewell to the good which is transient and spurious. XXXIII. Now

what can it profit us to pass by all the good things which are mortal as their possessors are mortal, if we pass them by not under the guidance of right reason, but as some do through faint-heartedness or indolence or inexperience of them? For they are not all held in honour everywhere, but some value these, others those. And therefore to bring home to us that it is under the guidance of right reason that we should grow to despise these things which I have named, he adds to the words "I will pass by" these others "through thy land." For this he knew was the most vital thing of all, that we should see ourselves surrounded by a rich abundance of all that goes to provide these seeming forms of good, and yet be caught by none of the snares which each flings before us, but be nerved to break like fire with a single rush through their successive and ceaseless onslaughts. Through these then,

they say, they will pass by. But they do not use the phrase "pass by" <sup>a</sup> of the fields and vineyards. For it would be monstrous folly to pass by the plants within the soul, whose fruit is kindly as themselves,

## PHILO

λόγους, ἐπαινετὰς δὲ πράξεις, ὠγύγιος<sup>1</sup> εὐήθεια  
παρέρχεσθαι· μένειν γὰρ ἔδει καὶ δρέπεσθαι καὶ  
ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖσθαι· κάλλιστον γὰρ ἢ ἐν  
ἀρεταῖς τελείαις ἀκόρεστος εὐφροσύνη, ἧς οἱ  
λεχθέντες ἀμπελώνες σύμβολα.

- 155 | Οἷς δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπινίφει καὶ ἐπομβρεῖ τὰς ἀγαθῶν  
[296] πηγὰς ἄνωθεν, ἐκ λάκκου πίνομεν καὶ βραχείας  
[καὶ] κατὰ γῆς λιβάδας ἀναζητοῦμεν, ὕψους ἡμῖν  
ἀνεπισχέτως οὐρανοῦ τὴν νέκταρος καὶ ἀμβροσίας  
156 τῶν μεμυθευμένων ἀμείνω τροφήν; XXXIV.  
ἔτι δὲ ποτὸν τεθησαυρισμένον ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως  
ἀνθρώπων ἐξανιμῶντες ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν  
δυσελπιστίας ἔργον προσιέμεθα, οἷς τὸν ὀλύμπιον  
θησαυρὸν εἰς χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ  
παντὸς ἤνοιξεν; εὐχεται γὰρ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱερο-  
φάντης, ἵνα “ ἀνοίξῃ κύριος ἡμῖν τὸν θησαυρὸν  
αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαθόν, τὸν οὐρανόν, δοῦναι ὑετόν.”  
157 ἐπήκοοι δὲ αἱ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς εὐχαί. τί δ'; ὁ  
μηδ' οὐρανὸν ἢ ὑετόν ἢ λάκκον<sup>2</sup> ἢ συνόλως τι τῶν  
ἐν γενέσει νομίσας ἱκανὸν εἶναι τρέφειν ἑαυτόν,  
ὑπερβὰς δὲ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ὁ ἔπαθεν εἰπὼν “ ὁ  
θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος ” ἄρα οὐ δοκεῖ σοι  
πάντα ὅσα κατὰ γῆς ὕδατος συστήματα μηδ' ἂν  
158 ἀξιῶσαι προσιδεῖν; οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἐκ λάκκου πίοι,  
ᾧ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀκράτους μεθύσματος πόσεις,  
τοτὲ μὲν διὰ τινος ὑπηρετοῦντος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὃν  
οἰνοχοεῖν ἤξιώσε, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, μηδένα  
τοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος μεταξύ τιθείς.

<sup>1</sup> The transference of the meaning of ὠγύγιος from “primal” or “venerable” to “vast” (also found in *De Post.* 168) is difficult. Mangey suggested in both *διωλύγιος*, cf. *διωλύγιος φλυαρία*, Plato, *Theaet.* 161 D.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. λόγον.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 154-158

even worthy sayings and laudable actions. Rather it were well to stay and pluck them and feast upon them with the hunger that is never filled. For truly beautiful is that insatiable joy which the perfect virtues give, and of this the vineyards here mentioned are symbolic.

Again, shall we on whom God pours as in snow or rain-shower the fountains of His blessings from above, 155 drink of a well and seek for the scanty springs that lie beneath the earth, when heaven rains upon us ceaselessly the nourishment which is better than the nectar and ambrosia of the myths? XXXIV. Or shall we draw up with ropes the drink which has 156 been stored by the devices of men and accept as our haven and refuge a task which argues our lack of true hope; we to whom the Saviour of all has opened His celestial treasure for our use and enjoyment? <sup>a</sup> For Moses the revealer prays that the Lord may open to us His good treasure, the heaven, to give us rain (Deut. xxviii. 12), and the prayers of him whom God loves are always heard. Or again, what of that Israel who thought that neither heaven 157 nor rainfall or well, or any created thing at all, was able to nourish him, but passed over all these and told his experience in the words "God who doth nourish me from my youth up"? (Gen. xlviii. 15). Think you that all the waters which are gathered beneath the earth would seem to him worthy even of a glance? Nay, he will not drink of a well on whom God bestows the undiluted rapture-giving draughts, 158 sometimes through the ministry of some angel whom He has held worthy to act as cupbearer, sometimes by His own agency, setting none to intervene between Him who gives and him who takes.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 489.

## PHILO

- 159 Ἄνυπερθέτως οὖν τῇ βασιλικῇ πειρώμεθα βαδί-  
 ζειν ὁδῶ, οἱ τὰ γήινα παρέρχεσθαι δικαιοῦντες·  
 βασιλικὴ δ' ἐστὶν ὁδός, ἧς δεσπότης ἰδιώτης μὲν  
 οὐδὲ εἷς, μόνος δὲ ὁ καὶ μόνος βασιλεὺς ἀληθεία.
- 160 αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ, καθὰ καὶ μικρῶ πρότερον εἶπον,  
 σοφία, δι' ἧς μόνῃς ἰκέτισι ψυχαῖς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν  
 ἀγένητον καταφυγὴ γίνεται· εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δι'  
 ὁδοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀκωλύτως ἰόντα μὴ πρότερον
- 161 καμεῖν ἢ ἐντυχεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. τότε δὲ τὴν τε  
 ἐκείνου μακαριότητα καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐτέλειαν  
 γνωρίζουσιν οἱ προσελθόντες· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ  
 ἐγγίσας τῷ θεῷ ἑαυτὸν εὐθὺς ἔγνω γῆν καὶ τέφραν
- 162 ὄντα. μῆτε δὲ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ μῆτε ἐπὶ  
 θάτερα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀποκλινέτωσαν ὁδοῦ, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτῇ τῇ μέσῃ προῖτωσαν. αἱ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα  
 ἐκτροπαὶ τῇ μὲν ὑπερβολὰς εἰς ἐπίτασιν τῇ δὲ  
 ἐλλείψεις πρὸς ἄνεσιν ἔχουσαι ὑπαίτιοι· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἦττον τοῦ εὐωνύμου τὸ δεξιὸν ψεκτὸν ἐνταῦθα·
- 163 παρὰ μὲν γε τοῖς προπετώσ ζῶσι τὸ μὲν θράσος  
 δεξιόν, ἀριστερὸν δὲ ἡ δειλία, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀν-  
 [297] ελευθέροις περὶ χρημάτων | διοίκησιν δεξιὸν μὲν  
 ἢ φειδωλία, εὐώνυμον δὲ αἱ ἀνειμέναι δαπάναι· καὶ  
 ὅσοι μέντοι ἐν τῷ λογιζέσθαι περιττοί, κρίνουσι  
 τὸ μὲν πανοῦργον αἰρετόν, τὸ δὲ εὐηθικὸν φευκτόν·  
 καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν μὲν ὡς δεξιὸν ἄλλοι μεταδιώ-  
 κουσιν, ἀποδιδράσκουσι δ' ὡς φευκτὸν ἀσέβειαν.
- 164 XXXV. ἵνα οὖν μὴ ταῖς μαχομέναις κακίαις  
 ἀναγκασθῶμεν ἐκτρεπόμενοι χρῆσθαι, τὴν μέσῃν  
 ὁδὸν εὐθύνειν βουλώμεθά τε καὶ εὐχώμεθα· μέσῃ  
 δὲ θράσους μὲν καὶ δειλίας ἀνδρεία, ῥαθυμίας δὲ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 489.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 159-164

So then brooking no delay should we essay to 159  
march by the king's high road, we who hold it our  
duty to pass by earthly things. And that is the king's  
road of which the lordship rests with no common  
citizen, but with Him alone who alone is king in real  
truth. This road is, as I said but now, wisdom, by 160  
which alone suppliant souls can make their escape  
to the Uncreated. For we may well believe that he  
who walks unimpeded along the king's way will  
never flag or faint, till he comes into the presence of  
the king. And then they that have come to Him 161  
recognize His blessedness and their own meanness ;  
for Abraham when he drew nigh to God straightway  
knew himself to be earth and ashes (Gen. xviii. 27).

And let them not turn aside to the 162  
right or to the left of the king's way, but advance  
along the midmost line. For deviations in either  
direction whether of excess or of deficiency, whether  
they tend to strain or to laxity, are in fault, for in  
this matter the right is no less blameworthy than  
the left. In the case of those who lead a reckless 163  
life, rashness is the right and cowardice the left. To  
those who are churlish in money matters, parsimony  
is the right and extravagance the left. And all who  
are oversharpe and calculating in business count the  
knave's qualities worthy of their choice, but the  
simpleton's of their avoidance. And others pursue  
superstition as their right-hand path, but flee from  
impiety as a thing to be shunned. XXXV. There- 164  
fore, that we may not be forced to turn aside and  
have dealings with the vices that war against us, let  
us wish and pray that we may walk straightly along  
the middle path or mean.<sup>a</sup> Courage is the mean  
between rashness and cowardice, economy between

## PHILO

- ἐκκεχυμένης καὶ φειδωλίας ἀνελευθέρου σωφροσύνης, πανουργίας τε αὐτῆς καὶ μωρίας φρόνησις, καὶ μὴν
- 165 δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ ἀσεβείας εὐσέβεια. αὐτὰι μέσαι τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα ἐκτροπῶν εἰσι, βάσιμοι καὶ λεωφόροι ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι, αἷς οὐ θέμις ὄργανοις σωματικοῖς ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς κινήσειν ἐφιεμένης τοῦ ἀρίστου συνεχῶς ἐμπεριπατεῖν.
- 166 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα δυσχεράνας ὁ γήινος Ἐδῶμ —δέδιδε γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δογμάτων ἀνατροπῆς τε καὶ συγχύσεως—ἀπειλήσει πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον, εἰ βιαζοίμεθα διέρχεσθαι τέμνοντες καὶ κείροντες αἰετὸν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ καρπὸν, ὃν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ φρονήσεως σπείρας οὐκ ἐθέρισε· φησὶ γάρ· “οὐ διελεύση δι' ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἐν πολέμῳ
- 167 ἐξελεύσομαί σοι εἰς ἀπάντησιν.” ἀλλὰ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπανατάσεων φροντίσαντες ἀποκρινώμεθα, ὅτι “παρὰ τὸ ὄρος πορευσόμεθα,” τουτέστιν ὑψηλαῖς καὶ μετεώροις ἔθος ἔχοντες ἐνομιλεῖν δυνάμεσι καὶ ὀρικῶς ἕκαστα σκοπεῖν, τὸν παντὸς οὐτιμοσοῦν λόγον ἐρευνῶντες, δι' οὗ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι γνωρίζεται, καταφρονητικῶς ἔχομεν πάντων ὅσα ἐκτός τε καὶ περὶ σῶμα· ταπεινὰ γὰρ ταῦτά γε καὶ λίαν χαμαίζηλα, σοὶ μὲν φίλα, ἐχθρὰ δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, οὗ χάριν οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν προσαιφόμεθα.
- 168 εἰ γὰρ ἄκρω δακτύλῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο μόνον ψαύσομεν, γέρας καὶ τιμὴν σοι παρέξομεν· φρυαπτόμενος γὰρ αὐχῆσεις, ὡς καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν φιλαρέτων δελείσιν ἡδονῆς ὑπαχθέντων.
- 169 XXXVI. “ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος σου” φησὶ “πίω

<sup>a</sup> We should expect θέμις οὐκ. Perhaps, however, θέμις is reduced in meaning, “in which we may walk with soul though not with body.”

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 164-169

careless extravagance and illiberal parsimony, prudence between knavery and folly, and finally piety between superstition and impiety. These lie in the middle between the deviations to either side, all of them high roads meet for the traveller's use, wherein we are bound in duty<sup>a</sup> to walk continually, not with the mechanism of the body, but with the motions of the soul which seeks the best. 165

Angered greatly at this, Edom, the earthly one, 166 since he fears lest the principles of his creed be confounded and overthrown, will threaten to wage war to the bitter end, if we should force our way through his land, tearing and ravaging ever, as we go, the fruits of his soul which he has sown for the destruction of wisdom, though he has not reaped them. For he says, "Thou shalt not go through me, else I will come out in war to meet thee." But let us take no heed of his menaces, but make answer, 167 "We will go along the mountain country." That is, "It is our wont to hold converse with powers that are lofty and sublime, and to examine each point by analysis and definition, and to search out in everything whatsoever its rationale, by which its essential nature<sup>b</sup> is known. Thus we feel contempt for all that is external or of the body; for these are low-lying and grovelling exceedingly. You love them, but we hate them, and therefore we will handle none of them. For if we do but touch them 168 with our finger-tips, as the saying is, we shall provide honour and 'value' to you. You will plume yourself and boast that we too, the virtue-lovers, have yielded to the snares of pleasure." XXXVI. "For 169 if I or my cattle drink of your water," it runs, "I

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 489.

## PHILO

- ἐγὼ τε καὶ τὰ κτήνη μου, δώσω τιμὴν σοι," οὐ τὸν λεγόμενον ὄνον παρὰ ποιηταῖς, ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἢ ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς πιπράσκοντας ἔθος τοῖς ὠνούμενοις ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν τὸ
- 170 γέρας νυνὶ παραλαμβάνει. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πᾶς ἀκόλαστος ἢ ἄδικος ἢ δειλός, ὅταν ἴδῃ τινὰ τῶν αὐστηροτέρων ἢ πόνον φεύγοντα ἢ λήμματος ἠττώμενον ἢ πρὸς τι τῶν ἡδονῆς φίλτρων ἐκνενευ-
- [298] κότα, χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ τετιμηῆσθαι | δοκεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπινεανιεύομενος<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπιχειρονομῶν ἄρχεται περὶ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν ὡς σφόδρα ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἄ', εἰ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἦν, φάσκων ὑπομεῖναι ἂν τὸν
- 171 δῶνα εὐδόκιμον ἄνδρα χρῆσθαι. λέγωμεν οὖν πιντὶ μοχθηρῷ· εἰάν τοῦ ὕδατός σου πίνωμεν, εἰάν τ νός σου τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄκριτον φορὰν ψαύσωμεν, τ μὴν καὶ ἀποδοχὴν ἀντὶ δυσκλείας καὶ ἀτιμίας—τούτων γὰρ ἄξιος ὢν τυγχάνεις—παρεξόμεθα·
- 172 καὶ γὰρ ἀμέλει τὸ πρᾶγμα περὶ ὃ ἐσπούδακας συνόλως οὐδέν ἐστιν. ἢ νομίζεις τι τῶν θνητῶν πραγμάτων ὄντως πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι καὶ ὑφεστάναι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπ' αἰώρας τινὸς ψευδοῦς καὶ ἀβεβαίου δόξης φορεῖσθαι κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνοντα, μηδὲν ψευδῶν ὀνειράτων διαφέροντα;
- 173 εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις τὰς τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπων ἐξετάζειν τύχας, τὰς χωρῶν ὄλων καὶ ἔθνῶν πρὸς τε τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολάς· ἦκμασέ ποτε ἢ Ἑλλάς, ἀλλὰ Μακεδόνες αὐτῆς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔτι νεανιεύομενος.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the ambiguous word *τιμὴ* is here used in the sense



## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 169-173

shall give you value." The writer does not mean the pelf, to use the poet's word, silver or gold or aught else which the purchaser is wont to give in exchange to the vendor, but by "value" he here means honour.<sup>a</sup> For in very truth everyone that is 170 profligate or cowardly or unjust, when he sees any of the stricter folk shrinking from toil or mastered by gain or swerving aside to any of the love-lures of pleasure, rejoices and is glad and thinks that he has received honour. And then with swaggering airs and gestures of pride he begins to hold forth sagely to the multitude about his own vices, how necessary and profitable they are, "for," says he, "were they not so, would So-and-so, that much respected gentleman, be willing to indulge in them?" Let us say, 171 then, to everyone of this sorry sort, "If we drink of thy water, if we touch aught that thy confused and turbid current carries, we shall provide thee with honour and acceptance, instead of the ill-repute and dishonour that are thy true deserts."

For in very truth "the matter" which has so en- 172 gaged thy zeal is absolutely "nothing." Or dost thou think that aught of mortal matters has real being or subsistence, and that they do not rather swing suspended as it were on fallacious and unstable opinion, treading the void and differing not a whit from false dreams? If thou carest 173

not to test the fortunes of individual men, scan the vicissitudes, for better and worse, of whole regions and nations. Greece was once at its zenith, but the of an honour conferred (*γέρας*). The position of the *τό*, however, in the predicate is strange. Perhaps read *τὸ* "*τιμὴν*" *γέρας*. A scribe failing to understand this use of *τό* before a quoted word or phrase might easily transfer it to before the neuter noun *γέρας*.

## PHILO

- ἰσχὺν ἀφείλοντο. Μακεδονία πάλιν ἤνθησεν, ἀλλὰ  
 διαιρευθεῖσα κατὰ μοίρας ἡσθένησεν, ἕως εἰς τὸ  
 174 παντελὲς ἀπεσβέσθη. πρὸ Μακεδόνων τὰ Περσῶν  
 ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μία ἡμέρα τὴν πολλὴν καὶ  
 μεγάλην βασιλείαν αὐτῶν καθεῖλε, καὶ νῦν Παρ-  
 θυηνοὶ Περσῶν τῶν πρὸ μικροῦ ἡγεμόνων ἐπι-  
 κρατοῦσιν οἱ τότε ὑπήκοοι. ἔπνευσέ ποτε λαμπρὸν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον Αἴγυπτος, ἀλλ' ὡς νέφος αὐτῆς  
 ἡ μεγάλη παρήλθεν εὐπραγία. τί δὲ Αἰθίοπες, τί  
 δὲ καὶ Καρχηδῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς Λιβύην; τί δ' οἱ  
 175 Πόντου βασιλεῖς; τί δ' Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσία καὶ  
 συνελόντι φράσαι πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη; οὐκ ἄνω  
 καὶ κάτω κλονουμένη καὶ τινασσομένη ὥσπερ ναῦς  
 θαλαττεύουσα τοτὲ μὲν δεξιοῖς τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐναν-  
 176 τίοις πνεύμασι χρῆται; χορεύει γὰρ ἐν  
 κύκλῳ λόγος ὁ θεῖος, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ὀνομάζουσι τύχην· εἶτα αἰεὶ ῥέων κατὰ πόλεις καὶ  
 ἔθνη καὶ χώρας τὰ ἄλλων ἄλλοις καὶ πᾶσι τὰ  
 πάντων ἐπιπέμει, χρόνοις αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλάττων τὰ  
 παρ' ἐκάστοις, ἵνα ὡς μία πόλις ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα  
 τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτειῶν ἄγῃ δημοκρατίαν.
- 177 XXXVII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἔστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σπου-  
 δασμάτων ἔργον καὶ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ σκιά τις  
 ἢ αὖρα πρὶν ὑποστῆναι παρατρέχουσα. ἔρχεται γὰρ  
 καὶ πάλιν ἄπεισιν ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς παλιρροίαις· τὰ  
 γὰρ ἀμπωτίζοντα πελάγη ποτὲ μὲν μετὰ συρμοῦ  
 καὶ πατάγου βία φέρεται καὶ ἀναχεόμενα λιμ-  
 νάζει τὴν τέως χέρσον, ποτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦντα  
 178 πολλὴν τῆς θαλάττης μοῖραν ἡπειροῦ· οὕτως

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 173-178

Macedonians took away its power. Macedonia flourished in its turn, but when it was divided into portions it weakened till it was utterly extinguished. Before the Macedonians fortune smiled on the 174 Persians, but a single day destroyed their vast and mighty empire, and now Parthians rule over Persians, the former subjects over their masters of yesterday. The breath that blew from Egypt of old was clear and strong for many a long year, yet like a cloud its great prosperity passed away. What of the Ethiopians, what of Carthage, and the parts towards Libya? What of the kings of Pontus? 175 What of Europe and Asia, and in a word the whole civilized world? Is it not tossed up and down and kept in turmoil like ships at sea, subject now to prosperous, now to adverse winds? For 176 circlewise moves the revolution of that divine plan which most call fortune. Presently in its ceaseless flux it makes distribution city by city, nation by nation, country by country. What these had once, those have now. What all had, all have. Only from time to time is the ownership changed by its agency, to the end that the whole of our world should be as a single state, enjoying that best of constitutions, democracy.<sup>a</sup>

XXXVII. So then in all wherewith men concern 177 themselves there is no solid work, no "matter," only a shadow or a breath which flits past, before it has real existence. It comes and goes as in the ebb and flow of the sea. For the tides sometimes race violently, roaring as they sweep along, and in their wide-spread rush make a lake of what till now was dry land, and then again they retreat and turn into land what was a great tract of sea. Even so the good 178

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 489.

## PHILO

- [299] οὖν ἔστιν ὅτε | μέγα καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος ἐπι-  
κλύσασα εὐπραγία ἐτέρωσε τὴν φορὰν τοῦ ρεύ-  
ματος παρατρέψασα οὐδὲ βραχείαν εἶασε λιβάδα,  
ἵνα μηδ' ἔχνος ὑπολειφθῆ πύοτης ἀρχαίας.
- 179 τούτων δ' οὐχ ἅπαντες ἀρτίους καὶ  
πλήρεις λαμβάνουσι λογισμούς, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔθος συν-  
ομαρτεῖν ὀρθῶ καὶ πεπηγῶτι ὄρω καὶ λόγῳ. οἱ  
γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἄμφω ταῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ γενέσεως  
πράγμα ὅλον οὐδὲν ἐστι, καὶ παρὰ τὸ ὄρος πορευ-  
180 σόμεθα· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μὴ ταῖς ὑψηλαῖς καὶ  
ὀρικαῖς χρώμενον ὁδοῖς ἀπογνῶναι μὲν τὰ θνητά,  
μετακλίναι δὲ καὶ μεταναστῆναι πρὸς τὰ ἄφθαρτα.  
Ὁ μὲν οὖν γήινος Ἐδῶμ τὴν οὐράνιον καὶ βα-  
σιλικὴν ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν ἐπιφράττειν ἀξιοῖ, ὁ δὲ θεῖος  
λόγος ἔμπαλιν<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοζήλων·
- 181 ὦν ἓνα καὶ τὸν Βαλαάμ ἀναγραπτέον·  
γῆς γὰρ θρέμμα καὶ οὗτος, οὐκ οὐρανοῦ βλάστημα.  
τεκμήριον δέ· οἰωνοῖς καὶ ψευδέσι μαντεῖαις ἐπό-  
μενος οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς μεμυκὸς ὄμμα ἀναβλέ-  
ψαν<sup>2</sup> “ εἶδε τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθεστῶτα,” μετα-  
τραπόμενος ἐπέσχε τὸ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ τῷ  
τῆς ἀφροσύνης χρησάμενος ρεύματι ἐπικλυσθεῖς
- 182 κατεπόθη. τότε γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐ δυσθεράπευτα  
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατα γίνεται τὰ τῆς  
ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα, ὅταν ἐπιστάντος ἐλέγχου—  
λόγος δ' ἐστὶ θεῖος, ἄγγελος ποδηγετῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν  
ποσὶν ἀναστέλλων, ἵνα ἄπταιστοὶ διὰ λεωφόρου

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐν πᾶσι.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey and old editions: mss. and Wend. ἀνα-  
βλέψας, presumably taking ὄμμα as acc. of respect. If so, it  
is of a type unusual in prose.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 178-182

fortune which has flooded a great and populous nation sometimes turns the stream of its current elsewhere and leaves not even a tiny trickle behind it, that no trace of the old richness may remain.

But it is not all who can estimate these 179 truths justly and fully. Only they can do so who are wont to follow the rule of definition and reason which is straight and constant. The two sayings, "the matter of creation is all of it nothing" and "we will journey along the mountain country," come from the mouths of the same speakers. For it cannot be 180 that he who does not walk in the upland paths of definition should renounce mortal things and turn aside therefrom and make his new home with things indestructible.

So then the earthly Edom purposes to bar the heavenly and royal road of virtue, but the divine reason on the other hand would bar the road of Edom and his associates. In the list of 181 these associates we must write the name of Balaam. For he too is no heavenly growth, but a creature of earth. And here we have the proof. He followed omens and false soothsayings, and not even when the closed eye of his soul received its sight and "beheld the angel of God standing in his way" (Num. xxii. 31) did he turn aside and refrain from evil-doing, but let the stream of his folly run full course and was overwhelmed by it and swallowed up. For it is then that the ailments of the soul become 182 not only hard to tend, but even utterly beyond healing, when though Conviction fronts us, Conviction, the divine reason, the angel who guides our feet and removes the obstacles before them, that we may walk without stumbling along the high road

## PHILO

βαίνωμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ—τὰς ἀκρίτους ἑαυτῶν γνώμας  
πρὸ τῶν ὑφηγήσεων τάττωμεν τῶν ἐκείνου,  
183 ἄς ἐπὶ νουθεσία καὶ σωφρονισμῶ καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς  
ἐπανορθώσει βίου συνεχῶς εἴωθε ποιεῖσθαι. διὰ  
τοῦθ' ὁ μὴ πεισθείς, μὴ μετατρεπόμενος τῷ ἀντι-  
βαίνοντι ἐλέγχῳ φθορὰν τὴν “μετὰ τῶν τραυμα-  
τιῶν” αὐθις ἐνδέξεται, οὓς κατεκέντησε καὶ κατ-  
έτρωσε τὰ πάθη. γενήσεται δ' ἡ τούτου συμφορὰ  
τοῖς μὴ τελέως δυσκαθάρτοις δίδαγμα ἀνταρκέστα-  
τον τοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τὸν ἔνδον δικαστὴν ἔχειν εὐμενῆ·  
σχήσουσι δέ, εἰ μηδὲν τῶν ὀρθῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
γνωσθέντων ἀναδικάζοιεν.

## THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 182-183

(Psalm xc. [xci.] 11, 12), we yet set our ill-judged purposes before those counsels of his which he is wont to give without ceasing for our admonishing and chastening and the reformation of our whole life. Therefore he who listens not, who is not turned from 183 his course by the Conviction which stands in his path, will in time receive destruction "with the wounded" (Num. xxxi. 8) whom their passions stabbed and wounded with a fatal stroke. His fate will be to those who are not hopelessly impure a lesson which heeds no confirmation, that they should seek to have the favour of the inward judge. And have it they shall, if they do not remove or repeal aught of the righteous judgements which he has given.





ON HUSBANDRY  
(DE AGRICULTURA)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

GEN. ix. 20 f. quoted at the beginning of *De Agricultura* is the text of this and the two following treatises. The part of it dealt with in the one before us is the words, "And Noah began to be a husbandman" or "gardener."

Having pointed out that this connotes scientific gardening, Philo describes scientific gardening in the literal sense (1-7), and then goes on to soul-gardening. This ministers to the Mind. Its aim is the fruit of virtue, and it is only for the sake of this that it occupies itself first with rudimentary subjects. What is harmful it prunes away. What is not fruit-bearing it uses for fencing. It deals in this way with mere theorizing, forensic speech, dialectics, and geometry, which all sharpen the intellect without improving the character (8-16). Soul-gardening sets out its programme (17 ff.). As such a soul-gardener righteous Noah is contrasted with Cain, who is a mere "worker of the earth" in the service of Pleasure (21-25).

There must surely be other pairs of opposites similar to this of the scientific tiller and the mere worker of the soil. Yes; there is the shepherd and the rearer of cattle. The organs of the body are the cattle of each one of us. A careless Mind is unfit to guard them; it will not check excess, or exercise needful discipline. These things a shepherd will do. So honourable is his calling that poets call kings "shepherds," and Moses gives this title to the wise,

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the real kings. Jacob was a shepherd. So was Moses ; and he prays God not to leave Israel un-shepherded, *i.e.* to save it from mob-rule, despotism and licence. Well may each of us make his prayer our own on behalf of our inner flock. God, the Shepherd and King of the Universe, with His Word and Firstborn Son as viceroy, is extolled in the Psalm "The Lord shepherds me." Only by the One Shepherd can the flock be kept together. This is our sure hope, and our sole need. So all who were taught by God made the shepherd's science their study, and their pride ; like Joseph's brethren who, though bidden by him to tell Pharaoh that they were "rearsers of cattle," answered that they were "shepherds," shepherding, *i.e.* the faculties of the soul ; for Pharaoh, with royal and Egyptian arrogance, would have looked down on keepers of literal goats and sheep. The fatherland of these soul-shepherds is Heaven, and (as they told the King) they were but "sojourners" in Egypt, the land of the body and the passions (26-66).

We find in the Law a third pair of opposites. A sharp distinction is to be drawn between a "horseman" and a "rider." The mere "rider" is at the horse's mercy ; the horseman is in control like the man at the helm. The horses of the soul are high spirit and desire, and their rider the Mind that hates virtue and loves the passions. Israel's "Song by the Sea" celebrates the disaster that befalls the "four-footed throng of passions and vices." It is clear that Moses' words about horses are symbolic, for so great a soldier as he must have known the value of cavalry. Again, though literal racehorse breeding is a poor business, those who ply it have the excuse that the

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spectators of a race catch the fine spirit of the horses ; whereas the figurative trainer, who sets an unqualified jockey on the back of vice and passion, is without excuse (67-92).

A glance at the prayer of Moses in Gen. xlix. 17 f. will shew how different the "horseman" is from the "rider." To understand that prayer we must note that "Dan" means "judgement," and that the "dragon," which he *is* or *has*, is Moses' serpent of brass. (Of course neither Moses' serpent nor Eve's can be literal. Serpents do not talk, tempt, or heal.) So Moses prays that Dan (or his serpent) may be on the road ready to assail Pleasure, and "bite the horse's heel," *i.e.* attack and overturn the supports which hold up Passion (94-106).

Here we come upon a piece of interpretation very characteristic of Philo. The biting of Passion's heel brings about the *horseman's fall*. So far from being daunted by this, our author positively revels in it. It is a fall which implies victory, not defeat. For, should Mind ever find itself mounted on Passion, the only course is to jump or fall off. Yes, if you cannot escape from fighting in a bad cause, court defeat. Nay, do not stop there. Press forward to crown the victor. The crown at which you are aiming is not won in contests of pitiless savagery, or for fleetness of foot, in which puny animals surpass men, but in the holy contest, the only true "Olympic" games, the entrants for which, though weaker in body, are strongest in soul (108-119).

Having noted the difference between the members of each of these three pairs of opposites, suggested to him by the word *γεωργός* in his text, Philo turns to the word *ἤρξατο*, "began" (124).

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“Beginning is half the whole.” Yes, if we go on to the end. But good beginnings are often marred by failure to make proper distinctions. For instance, one says that “God is the Author of all things,” whereas he should say “of good things only.” Again, we are very scrupulous about rejecting priests or victims on the ground of physical blemish. We ought to be equally scrupulous to separate the profane from the sacred in our thoughts of God. And again Memory, of which the ruminating camel is a figure, is a fine thing, but the camel’s undivided hoof makes him unclean, and that reminds us that Memory must reject the bad and retain the good; for practical purposes, not for sophistical hair-splitting. Sophists are swine; they divide *ad nauseam*, but for perfection we must con over and take in (125-146).

Sections 147 to 156 shew that the conditions of exemption from military service laid down in Deut. xx. 5 and 7 cannot be literally meant. In 157 ff. the acquired possessions which exempt a man are interpreted as faculties which must be enjoyed and fully realized, before he who has acquired them is trained and fit for the warfare with the sophists.

Right ending must crown good beginning. We miss perfection unless we own that that to which we have attained is due to the loving wisdom of God. And wilful refusal to acknowledge God as the Giver of success is far worse than involuntary failure.

“All this about start and goal has been suggested,” Philo tells us, “by the statement that Noah *began* to be a husbandman or gardener.”

## ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΣ

1 I. “Καὶ ἤρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος γεωργὸς γῆς  
[300] εἶναι, καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ ἔπιε | τοῦ  
οἴνου, καὶ ἐμεθύσθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.”

Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς φύσεις τῶν  
πραγμάτων οὐκ εἰδότες καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων  
θέσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀμαρτάνουσι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ  
ἐξ ἀνατομῆς περινοηθεῖσι κύριαι προσρήσεις  
ἔπονται, τοῖς δ' ὑποσυγκεχυμένοις οὐ σφόδρα  
2 ἠκριβωμένοι. Μωυσῆς δὲ κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν  
τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι ἐπιστήμης ὀνόμασι εὐθυ-  
βολωτάτοις καὶ ἐμφαντικωτάτοις εἴωθε χρῆσθαι.  
πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς νομοθεσίας τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν  
ἐπαληθεύουσαν εὐρήσομεν, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ  
προτεθέντι κεφαλαίῳ, καθ' ὃ γεωργὸς ὁ δίκαιος  
3 Νῶε εἰσάγεται. τίνι γὰρ τῶν προχειροτέρων οὐκ  
ἂν δόξειε τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι γεωργία τε καὶ γῆς ἐργασία,  
καίτοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὄντα τὰ αὐτά,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀπηρητημένα, ὡς ἀντιστατεῖν καὶ  
4 διαμάχεσθαι; δύναται μὲν γὰρ τις καὶ ἄνευ ἐπι-  
στήμης περὶ τὴν γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν πονεῖσθαι, γεωργὸς  
δὲ τὸ μὴ ἰδιώτης ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος εἶναι καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι  
πεπίστωται, ὅπερ ἐκ τῆς γεωργικῆς τέχνης, ἧς  
5 φερώνυμός ἐστιν, εὐρηται. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ κακείνο

<sup>a</sup> The LXX has ἐμεθύσθη καὶ ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

## ON HUSBANDRY

I. " And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he <sup>1</sup> planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine, and became drunken within his house <sup>a</sup> " (Gen. ix. 20 f.).

Most men, not knowing the nature of things, necessarily go wrong also in giving them names. For things which are well considered and subjected as it were to dissection have appropriate designations attached to them in consequence; while others having been presented in a confused state receive names that are not thoroughly accurate. Moses, being abundantly <sup>2</sup> equipped with the knowledge that has to do with things, is in the habit of using names that are perfectly apt and expressive. We shall find the assurance just given made good in many parts of the Lawgiving, and not least in the section before us in which the righteous Noah is introduced as a husbandman. Would not anyone who answers questions off- <sup>3</sup> hand think that husbandry and working on the soil were the same things, although in reality they not only are not the same things, but are ideas utterly at variance with each other and mutually repugnant? For a man is able even without knowledge to labour <sup>4</sup> at the care of the soil, but a husbandman is guaranteed to be no unprofessional, but a skilled worker by his very name, which he has gained from the science of husbandry, the science whose title he bears. In <sup>5</sup>

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[301] λογιστέον, ὅτι ὁ μὲν γῆς | ἐργάτης πρὸς ἓν τέλος, τὸν μισθόν, ἀφορῶν—ἔμμισθος γὰρ ὦ: ἐπίπαν οὗτος—οὐδεμίαν ἔχει φροντίδα τοῦ καλῶς ἐργάσασθαι, ὁ μέντοι γεωργὸς πολλὰ ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἰσφέρειν καὶ προσαναλίσκειν οἴκοθέν τι ὑπὲρ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀνήσαι καὶ πρὸς μηδενὸς τῶν ἰδόντων μεμφθῆναι· βούλεται γὰρ οὐχ ἑτέρωθέν ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γεωργηθέντων εὐτοκία χρωμένων ἀνὰ πᾶν  
 6 ἔτος τοὺς καρποὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄγρια τῶν δένδρων ἡμεροῦν, τὰ δ' ἡμέρα ἐπιμελείαις συναύξειν, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ πλεοναζούσης τροφῆς κεχυμένα τομαῖς στέλλειν, τὰ δ' ἑσταλμένα καὶ πεπιλημένα ἐπιφύσεων ἐκτάσει μηκύνειν, καὶ ὅσα μὲν εὐγενῆ πολυκληματοῦντα κατὰ γῆς τείνειν ἐν οὐ πάνυ βαθείαις τάφροις, ὅσα δὲ μὴ εὐκαρπα ἑτέρων εἰς τὸν πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις κορμὸν ἐνθέσει καὶ συμφυεστάτῃ ἐνώσει βελτιοῦν ἐθελήσει—καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων τυγχάνει ταῦτόν, ὡς τοὺς θετοὺς παῖδας γένεσιν ἄλλοτρίοις διὰ τὰς σφετέρας οἰκειου-  
 7 μένους ἀρετὰς παγίως ἐναρμόζεσθαι—· μυρία τοίνυν καὶ αὐτόπρεμνα ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνασπάσας κατέβαλε τὰς εἰς εὐκαρπίαν <ἐκ>φύσεις<sup>2</sup> ἐστερωμένα καὶ τοῖς φέρουσι μεγάλην ζημίαν ἐκ τοῦ παραπεφυτεῦσθαι πλησίον ἐνεγκόντα. τοιαύτη μὲν τίς ἐστίν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περί.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Quod Deus* 38.



## ON HUSBANDRY, 5-7

addition to this there is the further point to be considered, that the worker on the soil is as a rule a wage-earner, and as such has but one end in view, his wages, and cares nothing at all about doing his work well ; whereas the husbandman would be willing not only to put into the undertaking much of his private property, but to spend a further amount drawn from his domestic budget, to do the farm good and to escape being blamed by those who have seen it. For, regardless of gain from any other source, he desires only to see the crops which he has grown yielding plentifully year by year and to take up their produce. Such a man will be anxious to bring under 6 cultivation the trees that were before wild, to improve by careful treatment those already under cultivation, to check by pruning those that are over-luxuriant owing to excess of nourishment, to give more scope to those which have been curtailed and kept back, splicing on new growths to stem or branch ; when trees of good kinds throw out abundant tendrils, he will like to train them under ground in shallow trenches ; and to improve such as yield poor crops by inserting grafts into the stem near the roots and joining them with it so that they grow together as one. The same thing happens, I may remark, in the case of men, when adopted sons become by reason of their native good qualities congenial to those who by birth are aliens from them, and so become firmly fitted into the family. To return to our subject. The 7 husbandman will pull up by the roots and throw away quantities of trees on which the shoots that should bear fruit have lost their fertility, and so, because they have been planted near them, have done great harm to those that are bearing fruit. The science,

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- ἡ περὶ τὰ βλαστώνοντα ἐκ γῆς φυτὰ τέχνη, τὴν δὲ ψυχῆς γεωργικὴν ἐν μέρει πάλιν ἐπισκεψόμεθα.
- 8 II. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν σπείρειν ἢ φυτεῦν ἄγονον οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύει, πάντα δ' ἡμέρα καὶ καρποτόκα φόρους ἐτησίους οἴσοντα τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἀνθρώπων· τοῦτον γὰρ ἄρχοντα ἢ φύσις δένδρων τε καὶ ζώων τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα θνητὰ ἅπαξ ἀπάντων ἀνέδειξεν.
- 9 ἄνθρωπος δὲ ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν τίς ἂν εἶη πλὴν ὁ νοῦς, ὃς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν σπαρέντων καὶ φυτευθέντων ὠφελείας εἶωθε καρποῦσθαι; ἐπεὶ δὲ νηπίοις μὲν ἐστὶ γάλα τροφή, τελείοις δὲ τὰ ἐκ πυρῶν πέμματα, καὶ ψυχῆς γαλακτώδεις μὲν ἂν εἶεν τροφαὶ κατὰ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν τὰ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς προπαιδεύματα, τέλειαι δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρεπεῖς αἱ διὰ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀπάσης ἀρετῆς ὑψηγήσεις· ταῦτα γὰρ σπαρέντα καὶ φυτευθέντα ἐν διανοίᾳ καρποῦς ὠφελιμωτάτους οἴσει,
- 10 καλὰς καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις. διὰ ταύτης τῆς γεωργικῆς καὶ ὅσα παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν δένδρα ἀναβλαστόντα εἰς ὕψος ἐξήρθη φθοροποιούς φέροντα
- [302] καρπούς, ὑποτεμνόμενα καθαίρεται, | ὡς μηδὲ βραχὺ τι λείψανον ἐάθῃναι, ἀφ' οὗ νέαι βλάσται
- 11 πάλιν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀναδραμοῦνται. κἂν εἴ τινα μέντοι δένδρα εἶη μήτ' ὠφελίμων μήτ' αὐτῶν βλαβερῶν καρπῶν οἰστικά, ταῦτα ἐκκόψει μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐάσει γε ἀφανισθῆναι, κατατάξει δ' αὐτὰ εἰς ἐναρμόνιον χρῆσιν ἢ βαλλομένη χάρακας καὶ σταυροὺς ἐν κύκλῳ στρατοπέδου ἢ φραγμὸν πόλεως, ἵνα ἀντὶ
- 12 τείχους ἦ. III. λέγει γάρ· “πᾶν ὁ οὐ καρπόβρωτόν ἐστιν, ἐκκόψεις καὶ ποιήσεις χαράκωσιν

## ON HUSBANDRY, 7-12

then, that has to do with growths that spring out of the earth is of the kind I have described. Let us consider in its turn soul-husbandry.

II. First, then, it makes it its aim to sow or plant 8 nothing that has no produce, but all that is fitted for cultivation and fruit-bearing, and likely to yield yearly tributes to man, its prince; for him did nature appoint to be ruler of all trees as well as of the living creatures besides himself that are mortal. But who else could the man that is in each of us be 9 save the mind, whose place it is to reap the benefits derived from all that has been sown or planted? But seeing that for babes milk is food, but for grown men wheaten bread, there must also be soul-nourishment, such as is milk-like suited to the time of childhood, in the shape of the preliminary stages of school-learning, and such as is adapted to grown men in the shape of instructions leading the way through wisdom and temperance and all virtue. For these when sown and planted in the mind will produce most beneficial fruits, namely fair and praiseworthy conduct. By means of this husbandry whatever trees 10 of passions or vices have sprung up and grown tall, bearing mischief-dealing fruits, are cut down and cleared away, no minute portion even being allowed to survive, as the germ of new growths of sins to spring up later on. And should there be any trees 11 capable of bearing neither wholesome nor harmful fruits, these it will cut down indeed, but not allow them to be made away with, but assign them to a use for which they are suited, setting them as pales and stakes to surround an encampment or to fence in a city in place of a wall. III. For he says, "Every 12 tree whose fruit is not edible thou shalt cut down and

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- ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἣτις ποιήσει πρὸς σέ τὸν πόλεμον.” ταῦτα δ’ εἰκάζεται τὰ δένδρα ταῖς περὶ λόγους
- 13 δυνάμεσι θεωρίαν ψιλὴν ἐχούσαις· ἐν αἷς θετέον ἰατρολογία ἀπεξευγμένη ἔργων, δι’ ὧν τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰκός ἐστι σῶζεσθαι, καὶ ῥητορικῆς τὸ συνηγορικὸν καὶ ἔμμισθον εἶδος οὐ περὶ τὴν εὔρεσιν τοῦ δικαίου πραγματευόμενον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν δι’ ἀπάτης πειθῶ τῶν ἀκούοντων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ διαλεκτικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας ὅσα εἰς μὲν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἤθους οὐδὲν συνεργεῖ, παραθήγει δὲ τὸν νοῦν οὐκ ἔωντα ἀμβλεία χρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν ἀπορουμένων προσβολῇ, τομαῖς δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ διαστολαῖς χρῆσθαι, ὡς τὴν ἐκάστου πράγματος
- 14 ἰδιότητα κοινῶν διαζεγγύναι ποιότητων. τὸν γοῦν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον τρίδυμον ὄντα τοὺς παλαιούς ἀγρῶ φασι ἀπεικάσαι, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν αὐτοῦ δένδροις καὶ φυτοῖς παραβάλλοντας, τὸ δ’ ἠθικὸν καρποῖς, ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ τὰ φυτά, τὸ δ’ αὖ λογικὸν
- 15 φραγμῶ καὶ περιβόλῳ· καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ περικείμενον τείχος ὀπώρας καὶ φυτῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀγρόν ἐστι φυλακτήριον τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ σίνεσθαι παρεισφθείρεσθαι βουλομένους ἀνεῖργον, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸ λογικὸν μέρος φιλοσοφίας φρουρά τις ἐστὶν ὀχυρωτάτη τῶν δυεῖν ἐκείνων, ἠθικοῦ τε καὶ
- 16 φυσικοῦ· τὰς γὰρ διπλᾶς καὶ ἀμφιβόλους ὅταν ἐξαπλοῖ λέξεις καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν σοφισμάτων πιθανότηας ἐπιλύη καὶ τὴν εὐπαράγωγον ἀπάτην,

<sup>a</sup> “The modes . . . processes,” lit. “dialectic and geometry” (or “logic and mathematics”).

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 490.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 12-16

shalt make into a palisade to resist the city, which shall make war against thee " (Deut. xx. 20). The Scripture uses these trees to represent the purely intellectual activities which deal with theory alone. Among these we must place medical science dissociated from practical measures such as lead to the recovery of the sick ; the kind of oratory practised by the hired advocate, that is concerned not to find out the rights of the case, but to influence the hearers by falsehood ; and over and above these we must include all the modes of reaching conclusions by argumentative and rigidly deductive processes,<sup>a</sup> that contribute nothing to the improvement of character,<sup>b</sup> but whet the mind, compelling it to pay keen attention to each problem as it presents itself ; and enabling it to draw clear distinctions, and to make the special character of the matter in hand stand out in bold relief against the background of the features which it has in common with others. Accordingly, they tell us that the men of old likened philosophic discussion with its threefold division<sup>b</sup> to a field, comparing that part which deals with nature to trees and plants ; that which deals with morality to fruits and crops, for the sake of which the plants exist ; that part which has to do with logic to a fence enclosing it. For even as the wall built round it serves to protect the fruit and the plants that grow in the field, keeping off those who would like mischievously to make their way in with a view to plunder ; in the same way the logical part of philosophy is, so to speak, a strong barrier guarding those other two parts, the ethical and the physical. For when it disentangles ambiguous expressions capable of two meanings, and exposes the fallacies created by tricks of argument, and using

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μέγιστον ψυχῆς δέλεαρ καὶ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀναιρῆ διὰ λόγων ἐμφαντικωτάτων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἀνενδοιάστων, ὥσπερ κηρὸν λελειασμένον τὸν νοῦν ἀπεργάζεται ἔτοιμον δέχεσθαι τοὺς τε φυσιολογίας καὶ τοὺς ἠθοποιίας ἀσινεῖς καὶ πάνυ δοκίμους χαρακτήρας.

17. IV. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἡ ψυχῆς ἐπαγγελλομένη γεωργικὴ προκηρύττει· τὰ ἀφροσύνης δένδρα καὶ ἀκολασίας ἀδικίας τε καὶ δειλίας πάντ' ἐκκόψω, ἐκτεμῶ καὶ τὰ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ὀργῆς τε καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων παθῶν, κἂν ἄχρισ οὐρανοῦ μηκύνηται,<sup>1</sup> τὰ φυτὰ, ἐπικαύσω καὶ τὰς ρίζας αὐτῶν ἐφιεῖσ' ἄχρι τῶν ὑστάτων τῆς γῆς φλογὸς ριπήν, [303] ὡς μηδὲν | μέρος ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἴχνος ἢ σκιὰν ὑπολει-
- 18 φθῆναι τὸ παράπαν. ἀνελῶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, φυτεύσω δὲ ταῖς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παιδικῇ ψυχαῖς μοσχεύματα, ὧν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτὰς τιθηθήσεται—ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἡ τοῦ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν εὐτρόχως ἐπιτήδευσις, ἡ τῶν παρὰ σοφοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀκριβῆς ἔρευνα, γεωμετρία καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς λόγους μελέτη καὶ ἡ σύμπασα τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας μουσική—, ταῖς δὲ νεανιευομέναις καὶ ἀνδρουμέναις ἤδη τὰ ἀμείνω καὶ τελεώτερα, τὸ φρονήσεως φυτόν, τὸ ἀνδρείας, τὸ σωφροσύνης, τὸ δικαιοσύνης, τὸ
- 19 ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης. ἂν μέντοι τι καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας λεγομένης ὕλης<sup>2</sup> ἐδώδιμον μὲν μὴ φέρη καρπὸν, δύνηται δὲ ἐδώδιμος φραγμὸς εἶναι καὶ φυλακτήριον, καὶ τοῦτο ταμιεύσομαι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτό, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκαίω καὶ χρησίμω σφόδρα πέφυκε.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μηκύνη.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. μούσης.

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perfectly clear and unmistakable language and adducing proofs which admit of no doubt destroys plausible falsehood, that greatest snare and pest of the soul, it makes the mind like smoothed wax ready to receive the impressions made by the science that explores existence and that which aims at building character, impressions free from flaw and aught that is not genuine.

IV. These, then, are the offers held out by soul- 17  
husbandry in its inaugural proclamation : " The trees  
of folly and licentiousness, of injustice and cowardice  
I will wholly cut down ; I will moreover extirpate  
the plants of pleasure and desire, of anger and wrath  
and of like passions, even though they be grown up  
to heaven ; I will burn up their very roots, letting  
the rush of fire pursue them even to the depths of  
the earth, that no part or trace or shadow of them  
whatever be left behind. These I will destroy, but 18  
I will plant for souls in their childhood suckers whose  
fruit shall feed them. These suckers are the learning  
to write easily and read fluently ; the diligent search  
of what wise poets have written ; geometry and the  
practice of rhetorical composition ; and the whole  
of the education embraced in school-learning. For  
souls at the stage of youths and of those now growing  
into men I will provide the better and more perfect  
thing suited to their age, the plant of sound sense,  
that of courage, that of temperance, that of justice,  
that of all virtue. If, again, some tree among those 19  
that belong to what is called wild wood does not  
bear edible fruit, but can be a fence and protection  
of such fruit, this tree also will I keep in store, not for  
its own sake, but because it is adapted to do service  
to another that is indispensable and most useful."

## PHILO

- 20 V. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πάνσοφος Μωυσῆς τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς γεωργικὴν ὡς ἑναρμόνιον καὶ ἐπιβάλλουσαν τέχνην ἀνατίθεισι λέγων “ ἤρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι γεωργός,” τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ τὴν ἄνευ ἐπιστήμης φέρουσαν ἄχθη βαρύτατα γῆς ἐργασίαν·
- 21 “ Κάιν ” γάρ φησιν “ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν,” καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἠνίκα τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφοκτονίᾳ ἄγος ἐργασάμενος καταφωράται, λέγεται· “ ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἣ ἔχανε τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς δέξασθαι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τῆς χειρός σου, ἣ ἐργᾷ τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὐ προσθήσει τὴν ἰσχὺν
- 22 αὐτῆς δοῦναί σοι.” πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξει δύναιτο, ὅτι γῆς ἐργάτην ἀλλ’ οὐ γεωργὸν ὁ νομοθέτης νομίζει τὸν φαῦλον, ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον; οὐ μὴν ὑποληπτέον ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργεῖν ἱκανοῦ ἢ περὶ γῆς ὀρεινῆς καὶ πεδιάδος εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν δυνάμεων· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχὴν περὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύεσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἢ τὸ γήινον
- 23 σῶμα καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀπάσας ἡδονάς. ὁ γοῦν πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων τὰ γῆς ἐπιῶν κλίματα καὶ ἄχρι τῶν περάτων φθάνων αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ πελάγη περαιούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς θαλάττης ἀναζητῶν καὶ μηδὲν μέρος ἔων τοῦ παντός ἀδιερεύνητον αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πορίζει ταῦτα, δι’ ὧν ἡδονὴν συναυ-
- 24 ξήσει· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ ἀλιευόμενοι δίκτυα καθιᾶσιν ἔστιν ὅτε μήκιστα πολλὴν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλλόμενοι

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<sup>a</sup> Or “earned from his working.” Philo plays with *ἐργάζομαι* which can mean either “to work” (till) or “gain by work.” So, too, *ἄγος* (pollution) carries with it the idea of a curse and explains the *ἐπικατάρατος* of the text.



## ON HUSBANDRY, 20-24

V. It is for this reason that Moses, the all-wise, 20 ascribes to the righteous man soul-husbandry as a science in keeping with him and rightly pertaining to him, saying "Noah began to be a husbandman," whereas to the unrighteous man he ascribes that working of the ground which is without scientific knowledge and carries very heavy loads. For he 21 says, "Cain was one working the ground" (Gen. iv. 2), and, a little later, when he is discovered to have incurred<sup>a</sup> the pollution of fratricide, it is said: "Cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand, with which thou shalt work the ground, and it shall not yield<sup>b</sup> its strength to give it thee" (Gen. iv. 12 f.). How, I ask, could anyone shew more clearly 22 than in this manner that the lawgiver considers the bad man a worker of the soil and not an husbandman? We must not, however, suppose that what is here spoken of is either a man able to work with hands and feet and the other powers of the body, or that it is soil on hill or plain. No, the subject dealt with is the faculties of each one of us; for the soul of the bad man has no other interest than his earthy body, and all the body's pleasures. At all events 23 the majority of mankind traversing all the quarters of the earth and finding their way to its utmost bounds, and crossing its oceans, and seeking what is hidden in far-reaching creeks of the sea, and leaving no part of the whole world unexplored, are always and everywhere procuring the means of increasing pleasure. For even as fishermen let down nets, 24 sometimes very long, taking in a large extent of sea,

<sup>a</sup> Or "add." Cf. *Quod Det.* 112.

## PHILO

- θάλατταν, ἔν' ὡς πλείστους ἐντὸς ληφθέντας ἀρκύων  
οἶα τειχίρεις γεγονότας ἰχθύας συλλάβωσι, τὸν αὐ-  
τὸν τρόπον ἢ πλείστη μοῖρα ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐπὶ  
[304] μέρος θαλάττης μόνον, | ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἅπασαν τὴν  
ὔδατος καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀέρος φύσιν τὰ πάντα, ὡς  
οἱ ποιηταὶ πού φασι, λῖνα τεύνασ' ἅπαντα παντα-  
χόθεν δι' ἡδονῆς ἀπόλαυσίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν ἀγκι-  
25 στρεύεται· καὶ γὰρ γῆν μεταλλεύουσι καὶ τὰ πελάγη  
διαβαίνουσι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὅσα εἰρήνης καὶ  
πολέμου ἔργα δρῶσιν, ὕλας ἀφθόνοους ὡς βασιλίδι  
ἡδονῆ ὑπορίζοντες, οἱ γεωργίας μὲν ἀμύητοι ψυ-  
χικῆς, ἣ σπειρούσα καὶ φυτεύουσα τὰς ἀρετὰς  
καρπὸν δρέπεται τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον ἀπ' αὐτῶν,  
ἐργασάμενοι δὲ καὶ μεθοδεύοντες τὰ φίλα τῇ  
σαρκὶ καὶ τὸν σύνθετον χοῦν, τὸν πεπλασμένον  
ἀνδριάντα, τὸν ψυχῆς ἔγγιστα οἶκον,<sup>1</sup> ὃν ἀπὸ  
γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς, ἄχθος τοσοῦτον, οὐκ  
ἀποτίθεται νεκροφοροῦσα, μετὰ σπουδῆς τῆς  
πάσης οἰκειούμενοι.
- 26 VI. Ὡς μὲν οὖν γεωργίας ἐργασία γῆς καὶ  
γεωργοῦ γῆς ἐργάτης διαφέρουσιν, εἴρηται. σκε-  
πτέον δέ, μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι τινές εἰσιν ἰδέαι συγγενεῖς  
τῶν εἰρημένων, διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι κοινωνίαν  
ἐπικρύπτουσαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι διαφοράς·  
εἰσι δέ γε ἄς ἀναζητοῦντες εὐρομεν διτταί, περι-  
27 ῶν τὰ προσήκοντα, εἴαν οἷόν τε ἦ, λέξομεν. αὐτίκα  
τοῖν ὡς γεωργὸν καὶ γῆς ἐργάτην δόξαντας  
ἀδιαφορεῖν ἀλλήλων εὐρομεν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ διάνοιαν

<sup>1</sup> Mangey ὄγκον, which perhaps may be right. For οἶκον  
cf. *Quod Deus* 150.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 24-27

in order that they may enclose within the toils as many fish as possible imprisoned as though by a wall: in just the same fashion the larger part of mankind stretching what the poets call, I think, "all-capturing nets," not only over every part of the sea but over the whole realm of water, earth and air, ensnares from all quarters things of all sorts to satisfy and indulge Pleasure. They dig into the ground and 25 cross the seas and do all works incidental to war or peace to provide lavish materials for Pleasure as for a queen. These people have not learned the secrets of soul-husbandry, which sows and plants the virtues and reaps as their fruit a happy life. They have made the objects dear to the flesh their business,<sup>a</sup> and these they pursue methodically. With all earnestness they seek to make their own that composition of clay, that moulded statue, that house so close to the soul, which it never lays aside but carries as a corpse from birth to death, ah! how sore a burden!

VI. We have stated how working of the soil differs 26 from husbandry and a worker of the soil from an husbandman. But we must consider whether there are not other cases like those which have been mentioned, in which the difference between the things signified is obscured by their passing under the same name. There are two such instances which we have found by careful search, and concerning which we will say, if we can, what ought to be said. For example, then, as in the case of "husbandman" 27 and "soil-worker," by resorting to allegory we found a wide difference in meaning to underly apparent

<sup>a</sup> Or "their work," still continuing the thought of  $\gamma\eta\varsigma$  ἐργασία.

PHILO

ἀλληγοροῦντες μακρῶ διεστηκότας, οὕτως ποιμένα  
καὶ κτηνοτρόφον· μέμνηται γὰρ ποτὲ μὲν κτηνο-  
28 τροφίας ποτὲ δ' αὖ ποιμενικῆς ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ οἷ  
γε μὴ λίαν ἠκριβωμένοι τάχα που τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπι-  
τηδεύσεως συνωνυμούσας ὑπολήφονται προσήσεις  
εἶναι, εἰσὶ δέ γε πραγμάτων διαφερόντων ἐν ταῖς  
29 δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεσι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς θρεμμάτων  
προεστηκόσιν ἀκρότερα ἐπιφημίζειν ἔθος κτηνο-  
τρόφων καὶ ποιμένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' οὐ γε τῷ τὴν  
ψυχῆς ἀγέλην ἐπιτετραμμένῳ λογισμῷ· φαῦλος  
μὲν γὰρ ὢν ὁ ἀγελάρχης οὗτος καλεῖται κτηνο-  
τρόφος, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖος ὀνομάζεται  
30 ποιμῆν. ὃν δὲ τρόπον, ἐπιδείξομεν αὐτίκα· VII. ἡ  
φύσις ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ κτήνῃ συγγεγέννηκε, τῆς  
ψυχῆς ὡσπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ῥίζης ἔρρη διττὰ ἀνα-  
βλαστούσης, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἄτμητον ὅλον δι' ὅλων  
ἔαθ' ἐπεφημίσθη νοῦς, τὸ δ' ἑξαχῆ σχισθὲν εἰς  
ἐπτὰ φύσεις πέντε τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ δυεῖν ἄλλων  
31 ὀργάνων, φωνητηρίου τε καὶ γονίμου. αὕτη δὲ  
πᾶσα ἡ πληθὺς ἄλογος οὔσα κτήνεσιν ἀπεικάζεται,  
πληθύει δὲ νόμῳ φύσεως ἡγεμόνος ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ.<sup>1</sup>  
[305] ἐπειδὴν μὲν οὖν ἄπειρος ἀρχῆς ἅμα καὶ | πλούσιος  
ἐξαναστὰς ἄρχοντα ἑαυτὸν ἀποφήνη, μυρίων αἴτιος  
32 κακῶν γίνεται τοῖς θρέμμασιν· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ  
ἄφθονα παρέχει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τὰ δὲ ἀμέτρως  
ἐμφορούμενα ὑπὸ πλεοναζούσης τροφῆς ἐξυβρίζει  
—κόρου γὰρ ὕβρις ἔγγονον γνήσιον—, ἐξυβρίζοντα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *ἀεί et alia*.

\* Cf. *De Op.* 117 and note.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 27-32

identity, so shall we find it to be with "shepherd" and "cattle-rearer." For the lawgiver speaks in some places of "cattle-rearing," in others of "shepherding," and people who have not acquired real 28 accuracy will perhaps suppose that these are synonymous descriptions of the same pursuit, whereas they denote different things when words are rendered in the light of their deeper meaning. For though it is 29 customary to apply to those who have charge of animals both names, calling them "cattle-rearers" and "shepherds" indiscriminately, yet we may not do so when we are speaking of the reasoning faculty to which the flock of the soul has been entrusted: for this ruler of a flock is called a "cattle-rearer" when he is a bad ruler, but, when a good and sterling one, he receives the name of "shepherd." How this is, we will at once shew. VII. Nature has produced 30 each one of us with "cattle" as part of our being. The living soul puts forth, as it were, from one root two shoots, one of which has been left whole and undivided and is called "Mind," while the other by a sixfold division is made into seven growths, five those of the senses and (two) of two other organs, that of utterance and that of generation.<sup>a</sup> All this 31 herd being irrational is compared to cattle, and by nature's law a herd cannot do without a governor. Now when a man at once without experience in ruling and possessed of wealth rises up and constitutes himself a ruler, he becomes the author of a multitude of evils to his charges. For he on his 32 part supplies provender lavishly, and the animals gorging themselves beyond measure wax wanton from abundance of food, wantonness being the true offspring of excess, and in their wantonness they

## PHILO

μέντοι σκιρτᾶ καὶ ἀφηνιάζει καὶ κατὰ μέρος  
 σκιδνάμενα διαλύει τὸ τῆς ἀγέλης συντεταγμένον  
 33 στίφος. ὁ δὲ τέως ἡγεμὼν καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἀρχομένων ιδιώτης ἀνεφάνη, καὶ ἐπιτρέχει μὲν  
 σπουδάζων, εἴ τι δύναιτο συλλαβεῖν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς  
 καὶ ὑπαγαγέσθαι· ὅταν δὲ ἀδυνατῇ, στένει καὶ  
 κλαίει τὴν ἰδίαν κακίζων εὐχέριαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῶν  
 34 συμβεβηκότων αἰτιώμενος. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρό-  
 πον καὶ τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων θρέμματα, ἐπειδὴν ὁ  
 νοῦς ὑπτίως καὶ ραθύμως ἔχη, τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
 ἀπλήστως ἐμφορούμενα ἀφθονίας ἀπαυχενίζει τε  
 καὶ σκιρτᾶ καὶ πλημμελῶς ὄπη τύχοι φέρεται, καὶ  
 ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς πάντα ἀναπεπταμένοι τὰ ὄρατά,  
 καὶ ἂ μὴ θέμις ὄραν, ἐξώκειλαν, καὶ ἀκοαὶ πάσας  
 φωνὰς παραδεχόμεναι καὶ μηδέποτε πληρούμεναι,  
 διψῶσαι δὲ αἰεὶ περιεργίας καὶ φιλοπραγμοσύνης,  
 ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ ἀνελευθέρου χλεύης ἐκπεφοιτή-  
 35 κασιν. VIII. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰ πανταχοῦ  
 τῆς οἰκουμένης θέατρα νομίζομεν ἀμυθήτων μυ-  
 ριάδων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πληροῦσθαι; οἱ γὰρ  
 ἀκουσμάτων καὶ θεαμάτων ἤττους καὶ ὦτα καὶ  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς χωρὶς ἡνιῶν ἐάσαντες φέρεσθαι καὶ  
 κιθαριστὰς καὶ κιθαρῳδοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κεκλα-  
 σμένην καὶ ἀνανδρον μουσικὴν περιέποντες, ἔτι δὲ  
 ὄρχηστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μίμους ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὅτι  
 σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἐκτεθλυμμένας ἴσχονται καὶ  
 κινοῦνται, τὸν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς αἰεὶ πόλεμον συγκρο-  
 τοῦσι μήτε τῆς τῶν ἰδίων μήτε τῆς τῶν κοινῶν

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\* Or "actively promoting the warfare of the stage," *i.e.*  
 encouraging by their partisanship the rivalries and intrigues  
 of the actors. Mangey "factiones theatricas instaurant."

## ON HUSBANDRY, 32-35

become frolicsome and refuse to be controlled, and getting separated in scattered groups they break up the compact array of the flock. The erstwhile 33 ruler, forsaken by his subjects, is shewn to be a raw hand, and runs after them anxious if possible to get hold of some animal and bring it under control again. Finding that he cannot do this, he weeps and groans, cursing his own rashness, and blaming himself for what has happened. Precisely in this way does that 34 other herd, our senses, act; whenever the mind gets lazy and careless, they gorge themselves insatiably with the lavish food brought in by the objects of sense, shake off restraint, and get unruly, going at random where they have no business to go. The eyes wide open to all things visible, even those which it is not right to look upon, meet with disaster. The ears welcome all sounds and are never satisfied; they are athirst all the time for particulars about other people's business, in some cases for topics for vulgar jesting, and go far and wide on these errands. VIII. From 35 what other quarter can we suppose that the theatres all over the world are filled every day with countless myriads? Those whom spectacles and musical performances have made their slaves, allowing ears and eyes to wander about unbridled; taken up with flute-players and harpers and the whole range of unmanly and effeminate music; delighting in dancers and other actors, because they put themselves into indelicate positions and make indelicate movements; ever organizing a warfare as mimic as that on the stage <sup>a</sup> without a thought for their own betterment or

Philo frequently uses *συγκροτέω* with *πόλεμον* in the sense of "organize" or "wage"; otherwise it might be taken as = "applaud."

## PHILO

- ἐπανορθώσεως πεφροντικότες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἱ  
 δυστυχεῖς διὰ τε ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ὠτων ἀνατρέποντες  
 36 βίον. ἄλλοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τούτων ἀθλιώτεροι καὶ  
 κακοδαιμονέστεροι, οἱ τὴν γεῦσιν ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν  
 ἔλυσαν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν σιτίων τε καὶ ποτῶν  
 <ἀπόλαυσιν> ἄφετος εὐθύς ὀρμήσασα τά τε ἤδη  
 εὐτρεπισθέντα ἐπιλέγεται καὶ πείναν ἀληκτον καὶ  
 ἄπληστον ἴσχει τῶν ἀπόντων, ὡς, κἂν αἱ τῆς  
 γαστρὸς ἀποπληρωθῶσι δεξαμεναί, σπαργῶσαν ἔτι  
 καὶ μαιμῶσαν τὴν αἰεὶ κενὴν ἐπιθυμίαν περι-  
 βλέπεσθαι καὶ περιφοιτᾶν, μή τί που παροραθὲν  
 λείψανον ἀφεῖται, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο παμφάγου πυρὸς  
 37 δίκην ἐπιλιχμήσῃται. γαστριμαργία τοίνυν ἡ ὀπα-  
 δὸς ἐκ φύσεως ἀκολουθεῖ συνουσίας ἡδονῆς μανίαν  
 ἔκτοπον καὶ οἶστρον ἀνεπίσχετον καὶ λύτταν  
 ἀργαλεωτάτην ἐπιφέρουσα· ὅταν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀψο-  
 [306] φαγίας καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πολλῆς | μέθης ἄνθρωποι  
 πιεσθῶσιν, οὐκέτι κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν δύνανται, πρὸς  
 δὲ τὰς ἐρωτικὰς μίξεις ἐπειγόμενοι κωμάζουσι καὶ  
 θυραυλοῦσι, μέχρις ἂν τὸν πολὺν τοῦ πάθους ἀπ-  
 38 οχετευσάμενοι βρασμὸν ἡρεμῆσαι δυνηθῶσιν. οὐ  
 χάριν καὶ ἡ φύσις ὡς ἔοικεν ὑπογάστρια τὰ  
 συνουσίας ὄργανα ἐδημιούργησε, προλαβοῦσα ὅτι  
 λιμῶ μὲν οὐ χαίρει, πλησμονῇ δὲ ἔπεται καὶ πρὸς  
 τὰς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ὑπανίσταται.
- 39 IX. Τοὺς οὖν τοῖς θρέμμασι τούτοις ἐπιτρέ-  
 ποντας ἀθρόων ὦν ὀρέγονται πάντων ἐμφορεῖσθαι  
 κτηνοτρόφους λεκτέον, ποιμένας δ' ἔμπαλιν ὅσοι  
 τά τε ἀναγκαῖα καὶ αὐτὰ μόνα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρ-  
 ἔχουσι περιτεμνόμενοι καὶ ἀποκόπτοντες τὴν περιτ-



## ON HUSBANDRY, 35-39

for that of the commonweal, but overthrowing (the poor wretches!), by means of eyes and ears their own life itself. Others there are more miserable 36 and ill-starred than these, who have let loose their appetite like an animal which had been tied up. Thus left at large it at once makes for all kinds of enjoyment of eatables and drinkables, takes its pick of what has already been served up, and develops a ceaseless and insatiable craving for what is not on the table. So, even if the receptacles of the belly have been completely filled, taste still empty and still swelling and panting goes about looking everywhere to see whether haply there are any leavings that have been overlooked and let pass, that like an all-devouring fire it may pick up this as well. Glut- 37 tony is naturally followed by her attendant, sexual indulgence, bringing on extraordinary madness, fierce desire and most grievous frenzy. For when men have been loaded up with overeating and strong drink and heavy intoxication, they are no longer able to control themselves, but in haste to indulge their lusts they carry on their revels and beset doors until they have drained off the great vehemence of their passion and find it possible to be still. This is 38 apparently the reason why Nature placed the organs of sexual lust where she did, assuming that they do not like hunger, but are roused to their special activities when fulness of food leads the way.

IX. So we must give the name of cattle-rearers to 39 those who permit these creatures to gorge themselves wholesale with all that they crave after. The title of shepherds we must give on the other hand to such as supply them with the necessaries of life only and nothing more, pruning and cutting off all excessive

## PHILO

- τὴν καὶ ἀλυσιτελῆ πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν, ἣτις ἀπορίας καὶ ἐνδείας οὐχ ἤκιστα βλάπτει, πρόνοιάν τε πολλὴν ἔχουσι τοῦ μὴ ἐξ ἀμελείας καὶ ῥαθυμίας νοσῆσαι τὴν ἀγέλην εὐχόμενοι μηδὲ τὰς ἕξωθεν
- 40 εἰωθυίας κατασκήπτειν νόσους ἐπιγενέσθαι. στοχάζονται δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τοῦ μὴ διασπασθεῖσαν αὐτὴν σποράδην διασκεδασθῆναι, φόβον ἐπανατεινόμενοι τὸν σωφρονιστὴν τῶν λόγῳ μηδέποτε πειθομένων καὶ κολάσει χρώμενοι συνεχεῖ, μετρία μὲν κατὰ τῶν ἰάσιμα νεωτεριζόντων, ἀφορήτῳ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀνίατα· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦν ἀπευκτὸν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀφραίνουσιν, ἢ κόλασις, ὥσπερ τοῖς
- 41 τὰ σώματα κάμνουσιν αἱ ἰατρικαὶ ὕλαι. X. ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ποιμένων ἐστίν, οἳ τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ βλαβερῶν τὰ μετὰ ἀηδίας προτιμῶσιν ὠφέλιμα. οὕτως γοῦν σεμνὸν καὶ λυσιτελὲς νενόμισται τὸ ποιμαίνειν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ποιητικὸν γένος τοὺς βασιλέας ποιμένας λαῶν εἴθε καλεῖν, ὁ δὲ νομοθέτης τοὺς σοφοὺς, οἳ μόνοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βασιλεῖς εἰσιν· ἄρχοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν ποιμνῆς εἰσάγει τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀλόγου φορᾶς.
- 42 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τελειωθέντι ἐξ ἀσκήσεως Ἰακώβ τὴν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην περιῆψε· ποιμαίνει γὰρ οὗτος τὰ πρόβατα Λάβαν, τῆς τοῦ ἄφρονος ψυχῆς τὰ αἰσθητὰ μόνα καὶ φαινόμενα νομιζούσης ἀγαθὰ, χρώμασι καὶ σκιαῖς ἠπατημένης καὶ δεδουλωμένης· λευκασμὸς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύε-
- 43 ται Λάβαν. καὶ Μωυσεῖ τῷ πανσόφῳ τὴν αὐτὴν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 39-43

and hurtful luxuriance, a thing which does no less harm than straitness and dearth. "Shepherds" too are those who exercise much forethought that the flock may not contract disease as the result of negligence and laziness, praying too that there may be no occurrence of such plagues as are wont to come as a visitation which cannot be guarded against. No less 40 do they make it their aim that the flock may not be broken up and scattered about. Fear is the corrector of those who never obey reason. This they hold over them, and have recourse to constant punishment, a mild form in the case of those whose rebellion is capable of being cured, but very severe in the case of those whose wrongdoings defy curative treatment. For that which is apparently much to be deprecated is a very great boon to people who act senselessly, just as physic is to people in bad bodily health. X. These are the practices and ways of shepherds, 41 who prefer what is distasteful but beneficial to what is pleasant but hurtful. So full of dignity and benefit has the shepherd's task been held to be, that poets are wont to give to kings the title of "shepherds of peoples," a title which the lawgiver bestows on the wise. They are the only real kings,<sup>a</sup> and he shews them to us ruling, as a shepherd does his flock, over the irrational tendency common to all mankind.

This is why he ascribed to Jacob, who was perfected 42 as the result of discipline, the shepherd's lore. For Jacob tends the sheep of Laban (Gen. xxx. 36), that is to say, of the soul of the foolish one which considers nothing good but sensible objects that meet the eye, and which is deceived and enslaved by colours and shadows; for the meaning of "Laban" is "whitening." He ascribes the same profession to Moses, the 43

## PHILO

τέχνην ἀνατίθῃσι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ποιμὴν ἀπο-  
 δείκνυται διανοίας τῦφον πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀσπαζο-  
 [307] μένης καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἶναι τὸ δοκεῖν | ἀποδεχομένης·  
 περισσὸς γὰρ Ἰοθὼρ ἐρμηνεύεται, περιττὸν δὲ καὶ  
 ἐπεισηγμένον ἀπλανεῖ βίῳ πρὸς ἀπάτην τῦφος, ᾧ  
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεις ἕτερα παρ' ἑτέροις, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ  
 δίκαια παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἔθος εἰσηγεῖσθαι τὰ κοινὰ τῆς  
 φύσεως καὶ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα οὐδ' ὄναρ ἰδόντι·  
 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ Μωυσῆς ἦν ποιμαίνων τὰ προ-  
 44 βата Ἰοθὼρ τοῦ ἱερέως Μαδιάμ.” ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος  
 εὔχεται, μὴ ὡς ἀνεπιτρόπευτον ποιμῆνην τὸν ὄχλον  
 καὶ λεῶν<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφεθῆναι, τυχεῖν δὲ  
 ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος ἐξάγοντος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφροσύνης  
 καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ πάσης κακίας δικτύων, εἰσάγοντος  
 δὲ εἰς τὰ παιδείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς δόγματα·  
 “ ἐπισκεψάσθω ” γὰρ φησι “ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν  
 πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς  
 συναγωγῆς ταύτης.” εἶτα ὀλίγα προσειπὼν ἐπι-  
 φέρει· “ καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγή κυρίου ὡσεὶ  
 45 πρόβατα, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ποιμῆν.” XI. ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 ἄξιον εὔχεσθαι μὴ χωρὶς ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος  
 ἐαθῆναι τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ συμφυρὲς ἡμῶν ἐκάστω  
 ποιμνιον, ὡς μὴ τῆς φαυλοτάτης τῶν κακο-  
 πολιτειῶν ὀχλοκρατίας, ἣ παράκομμα τῆς ἀρίστης  
 δημοκρατίας ἐστίν, ἀναπλησθέντες θορύβοις καὶ  
 ταραχαῖς καὶ ἐμφυλίοις στάσεσιν αἰεὶ χρώμενοι  
 46 διατελωμέν; οὐ μὴν ἀναρχία μόνον ὀχλοκρατίαν  
 τίκτουσα δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἡ καὶ παρανόμου καὶ βιαίου

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *κλαίων et alia*.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 43-46

all-wise ; for he also is appointed shepherd of a mind that welcomes conceit in preference to truth, and approves seeming in preference to being. For "Jethro" or "Iothor" means "uneven,"<sup>a</sup> and self-conceit is an uneven and adventitious thing that comes in to beguile a fixed and steady life. It is a quality whose way is to introduce principles of right varying city by city ; of one kind in this city, of another kind in that ; not the same rule of right in all. The ordinances of nature that apply to all alike and are immovable it has never seen even in a dream. What we are told is that "Moses was shepherding the sheep of Jethro the priest of Midian" (Exod. iii. 1). This same Moses prays that the whole multi- 44 tude of the soul-folk may not be left as an untended flock, but may be given a good shepherd, leading them forth away from the snares of folly and injustice and all wickedness, and leading them in to imbibe all that discipline and virtue in its other forms would teach them. For he says, "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits and of all flesh, appoint a man over this congregation ;" then, after adding a few words, he continues, "And the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep that have no shepherd" (Numb. xxvii. 16 f.). XI. Is it not well to pray that the flock linked 45 to each one of us by a common birth and a common growth may not be left without a ruler and guide ? So might mob-rule, the very worst of bad constitutions, the counterfeit of democracy, which is the best of them, infect us, while we spend our days in ceaseless experience of disorders, tumults and intestine broils. Anarchy, however, the mother of mob-rule, is not our 46 only danger. We have to dread also the uprising of some aspirant to sovereign power, forcibly setting law

## PHILO

- τινὸς ἐφ' ἡγεμονίαν ἐπανάστασις· τύραννος γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως ἐχθρὸς, πόλεων μὲν ἄνθρωπος, σώματος δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκάτερον πραγμάτων ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπιτετειχικῶς ἐκάστω θηριωδέ-
- 47 στατος νοῦς. ἀλυσιτελεῖς δὲ οὐχ αὐταὶ μόνον αἱ δεσποτεῖαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λίαν ἐπιεικῶν ἀρχαί τε καὶ προστασίαι· χρηστότης γὰρ πρᾶγμα εὐκαταφρόνητον καὶ ἐκατέρους, ἄρχουσί τε καὶ ὑπηκόους, βλαβερόν, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ὀλιγωρίας μηδὲν μῆτε ἴδιον μῆτε κοινὸν ἐπανορθώσασθαι δυναμένοις. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἀναγκαζομένοις ἀποτίθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ συνεχοῦς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὀλιγωρίας πειθοῦς ἡμεληκόσι καὶ ἀδεῶς<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ μεγάλου κακοῦ κτήσει
- 48 περιποιησαμένοις αὐθάδειαν. τούτους μὲν <οὖν> θρεμμάτων, ἐκείνους δὲ κτηνοτρόφων οὐδὲν νομιστέον διαφέρειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρυφᾶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις ὕλαις ἀναπειθουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν κόρον ἀδυνατοῦντες φέρειν ἐξυβρίζουσι. χρῆ δὲ ὥσπερ αἰπόλον ἢ βουκόλον ἢ ποιμένα ἢ κοινῶς νομέα τὸν ἡμέτερον
- [308] ἄρχειν νοῦν τὸ | συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ ἡδέος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς θρέμμασιν αἰρούμενον.
- 49 XII. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίσκεψις πρῶτον σχεδὸν καὶ μόνον αἷτιον τοῦ τὰ μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς μὴ ἀνεπιτρόπευτα ἀφεθῆναι, τυχεῖν δὲ ἀνυπαίτιου καὶ πάντα ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος· οὐ κατασταθέντος ἀμή-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καταδεῆς ἢ κατὰ δέος.

at naught. For a tyrant is a natural enemy. In cities this enemy is man ; to body and soul and all the interests of each of these, it is an utterly savage mind, that has turned our inner citadel into a fortress from which to assail us. Nor is it only from these 47 tyrannies that we derive no benefit. We gain nothing from the rule and governance of men who are too good and gentle. For kindness is a quality open to contempt, and injurious to both sides, both rulers and subjects. The former, owing to the slight esteem in which they are held by those placed under their authority, are powerless to set right anything that is wrong either with individual citizens or with the commonwealth. In some instances they are actually compelled to abdicate. Their subjects, as the result of habitual contempt for their rulers, have come to disregard their moral suasion, and undeterred by fear, have, at the cost of incurring a great evil, made the acquisition of stubbornness. These, therefore, we 48 must regard as differing in no respect from cattle, nor their rulers from cattle-rearers. The latter induce them to luxuriate in abundance of material comforts ; the former, powerless to bear the overfeeding, wax wanton. But our mind ought to rule as a goat-herd, or a cow-herd, or a shepherd, or, to use a general term, as a herdsman, as one who chooses both for himself and the creatures he tends what is advantageous in preference to what is agreeable.

XII. That which brings it about that the different 49 parts of the soul are not left to drift with no one to watch over them, is, we may say, mainly, nay solely, God's care and oversight. It secures for the soul the benefit of a blameless and perfectly good shepherd. When He has been set over it there is no possibility

## PHILO

χανον τὴν σύνοδον τῆς διανοίας γενέσθαι σποράδα. ὑπὸ γὰρ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης φανείται πρὸς τὴν ἐνὸς ἐπιστάσιαν ἀφορῶσα, ἐπεὶ τό γε πολλαῖς ὑπακούειν ἀρχαῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι βαρύτερον ἄχθος.

- 50 Οὕτως μέντοι τὸ ποιμαίνειν ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, ὥστε οὐ βασιλευσι μόνον καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ψυχαῖς τέλεια κεκαθαρμέναις ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶ τῷ πανηγεμόνι δικαίως ἀνατίθεται. τούτου δὲ ἐγγυητῆς οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀλλὰ προφήτης ἐστίν, ᾧ καλὸν πιστεύειν, ὁ τὰς ὑμνωδίας ἀναγράφας· λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· “ κύριος
- 51 ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει.” τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ ἄσμα παντὶ φιλοθέῳ μελετῶν ἐμπρεπές, τῷ δὲ δὴ κόσμῳ καὶ διαφερόντως· καθάπερ γὰρ τινα ποίμνην γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὅσα ἐν τούτοις φυτὰ τε αὐ καὶ ζῶα, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ τὰ δὲ θεῖα, ἔτι δὲ οὐρανοῦ φύσιν καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης περιόδους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τροπὰς τε αὐ καὶ χορείας ἐναρμονίους ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς θεὸς ἄγει κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον, προσησάμενος τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον καὶ πρωτόγονον υἱόν, ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης οἶά τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχος διαδέξεται· καὶ γὰρ εἴρηταί που· “ Ἴδου ἐγὼ εἶμι, ἀποστέλλω ἄγγελόν μου εἰς πρόσωπόν σου τοῦ φυλάξαι σε ἐν τῇ
- 52 ὀδῷ.” λεγέτω τοίνυν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας, ἡ μεγίστη καὶ τελεωτάτη τοῦ ὄντος θεοῦ ποίμνη· “ κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει.”
- 53 λεγέτω καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐν μέρει τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μὴ τῇ διὰ γλώττης καὶ στόματος ρεοῦση φωνῇ πρὸς βραχεῖαν ἀέρος ἐξικνουμένη μοῖραν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς διανοίας εὐρνομένη καὶ τῶν τοῦ παντός



## ON HUSBANDRY, 49-53

of the union of the mind's parts being dissolved. For, having been brought under one and the same direction, it will evidently have to look only to the guidance of a single chief. For to be compelled to give heed to many authorities is a very heavy burden.

Indeed, so good a thing is shepherding that it is 50 justly ascribed not to kings only and wise men and perfectly cleansed souls but also to God the All-Sovereign. The authority for this ascription is not any ordinary one but a prophet, whom we do well to trust. This is the way in which the Psalmist speaks : " The Lord shepherds me and nothing shall be lacking to me " (Ps. xxiii. 1). It well befits every lover of 51 God to rehearse this Psalm. But for the Universe it is a still more fitting theme. For land and water and air and fire, and all plants and animals which are in these, whether mortal or divine, yea and the sky, and the circuits of sun and moon, and the revolutions and rhythmic movements of the other heavenly bodies, are like some flock under the hand of God its King and Shepherd. This hallowed flock He leads in accordance with right and law, setting over it His true Word and Firstborn Son Who shall take upon Him its government like some viceroy of a great king ; for it is said in a certain place : " Behold I AM, I send My Angel before thy face to guard thee in the way " (Exod. xxiii. 20). Let therefore even the whole 52 universe, that greatest and most perfect flock of the God who IS, say, " The Lord shepherds me, and nothing shall fail me." Let each individual person 53 too utter this same cry, not with the voice that glides forth over tongue and lips, not reaching beyond a short space of air, but with the voice of the understanding that has wide scope and lays hold on the

## PHILO

- [309] ἀπτομένη περάτων· | ἀμήχανον γὰρ τῶν ἐπι-  
 βαλλόντων ἔνδειαν εἶναί τινος ἐπιστατοῦντος θεοῦ  
 πλήρη καὶ τέλεια τὰγαθὰ τοῖς οὖσιν ἅπασιν  
 54 εἰωθότος χαρίζεσθαι. XIII. παγκάλῃ δὲ εἰς ὁσιό-  
 τητα παραίνεσις ἢ διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἄσματος· τῷ  
 γὰρ ὄντι ὁ μὲν πάντα τὰ ἄλλα δοκῶν ἔχειν, τῇ δὲ  
 ἐνὸς προστασίᾳ δυσχεραίνων, ἀτελής καὶ πένης·  
 ἥτις δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ ποιμαίνεται ψυχὴ τὸ ἐν καὶ μόνον  
 ἔχουσα, οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐκκρέμαται, ἀπροσδεῆς  
 εἰκότως ἐστὶν ἄλλων, οὐ τυφλὸν πλοῦτον, βλέ-  
 ποντα δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ὀξυδορκοῦντα θαυμάζουσα.
- 55 Τούτου πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εἰς σύντονον καὶ  
 δυσαπάλλακτον ἔρωτα ἦλθον, διὸ κτηνοτροφίαν  
 γελάσαντες ἐξεπόνησαν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην.
- 56 τεκμήριον δέ· ὁ τὴν περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰς κενὰς  
 δόξας ὑπόθεσιν αἰεὶ μελετῶν Ἰωσήφ, ἄρχειν μὲν  
 καὶ ἐπιστατεῖν ἀλόγου φύσεως οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος—  
 πρεσβύταις γὰρ ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνυπευθύνους<sup>1</sup> ἀρχὰς  
 καλεῖσθαι, νέος δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος αἰεὶ, κἂν τὸ χρόνου  
 μήκει γῆρας ἐπιγινόμενον ἐνέγκηται—, τρέφειν  
 δὲ εἰωθὼς καὶ συναυξέειν ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς  
 φιλαρέτους πείσαι δυνήσεσθαι μεταβάλλειν ὡς  
 αὐτόν, ἵνα τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀψύχων περιεχόμενοι  
 μηκέτ' ἐνευκαιρεῖν δύνωνται τοῖς λογικῆς ψυχῆς
- 57 ἐπιτηδεύμασι· φησὶ γάρ· ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς νοῦς τῆς  
 σωματικῆς χώρας πυνθάνηται, τί τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν,  
 ἀποκρίνεσθε· ἄνδρες κτηνοτρόφοι ἐσμέν. τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνυπαιτίους.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 53-57

ends of the universe. For it cannot be that there should be any lack of a fitting portion, when God rules, whose wont it is to bestow good in fullness and perfection on all that is.. XIII. Magnificent is the 54 call to holiness sounded by the psalm just quoted ; for the man is poor and incomplete in very deed, who, while seeming to have all things else, chafes at the sovereignty of One ; whereas the soul that is shepherded of God, having the one and only thing on which all depend, is naturally exempt from want of other things, for it worships no blind wealth, but a wealth that sees and that with vision surpassingly keen.

An intense and unquenchable love for this wealth 55 was entertained by all who belonged to its school, and this made them laugh cattle-rearing to scorn and spend labour on the lore of shepherding. The history of Joseph affords proof of this. Joseph, always having 56 as the object of his thought and aim the rule of life based on the body and on the surmises of vain imagination, does not know how to govern and direct irrational natures. To offices such as this which are subject to no higher control older men are generally called ; but he is always a young man, even if he have attained the old age that comes on us by mere lapse of time. Being accustomed to feed and fatten irrational natures instead of ruling them, he imagines that he will be able to win the lovers of virtue also to change over to his side in order that, devoting themselves to irrational and soulless creatures, they may no longer be able to find time for the pursuits of a rational soul. For he says, " If that Mind, whose realm is the body, 57 inquire what your work is, tell him in reply, We are cattle-rearers " (Gen. xlvi. 33 f.). On hearing this

## PHILO

ἀκούσαντες κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς δυσχεραίνουσι, εἰ  
 ἡγεμόνες ὄντες ὑπηκόων τάξιν ἔχειν ὁμολογή-  
 58 σουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τροφὰς ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι διὰ τῆς  
 τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀφθονίας εὐτρεπιζόμενοι δούλοι  
 γίνονται τῶν τρεφομένων καθάπερ δεσποίναις  
 οἰκέται φόρον τελούντες καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν  
 ἀναγκαῖον, ἄρχοντες δὲ οἱ τούτων ἐπιστατοῦντες  
 59 ἐπιστομίζοντες. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καίτοι τοῦ  
 λεχθέντος οὐ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἀκούσαντες ἐχεμυθήσουσι  
 περιττὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸ μὴ μαθησομένοις διαφορὰν  
 κτηνοτροφίας καὶ ποιμενικῆς ὑφηγεῖσθαι, αὐθις δὲ  
 ὅταν ὁ περὶ τούτων ἀγὼν ἐνστή, διαγωνιοῦνται  
 πάσῃ δυνάμει καί, πρὶν ἀνὰ κράτος εἰλεῖν, οὐκ  
 ἀνήσουσι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐλεύθερόν τε καὶ εὐγενές  
 καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν τῷ ὄντι ἐπιδειξάμενοι· πυνθανο-  
 μένου γοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως “ τί τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν; ”  
 ἀποκρίνονται· “ ποιμένες ἐσμέν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες  
 60 ἡμῶν.” XIV. εἶτ' οὐκ ἂν δόξαιεν ἐπὶ ποιμενικῇ  
 τοσοῦτον αὐχεῖν, ὅσον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοσοῦτῳ κράτει  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ προσομιλῶν αὐτοῖς βασιλεύς; οἷ γε  
 οὐχ αὐτοῖς μόνοις τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου τούτου  
 61 μαρτυροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, ὡς  
 [310] σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀπάσης | ἀξίου· καίτοι γε,  
 εἰ μὲν ἦν περὶ αἰγῶν ἢ προβάτων ἐπιμελείας ὁ  
 λόγος, κἂν ἴσως ἠδέσθησαν ὁμολογεῖν ἀτιμίαν  
 φυγόντες· ἄδοξα γὰρ καὶ ταπεινὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ  
 τοῖς ὄγκον μὲν εὐτυχίας τὸν ἄνευ φρονήσεως περι-  
 βεβλημένοι καὶ μάλιστα βασιλεῦσι νενόμισται·

## ON HUSBANDRY, 57-61

they are vexed, as we might expect, that, being rulers, they are to admit that they occupy the position of subjects ; for those, who prepare food for the senses 58 by means of the lavish abundance of sensible objects, become slaves of those whom they feed, compelled day by day, like household servants to mistresses, to render the appointed due ; whereas the place of rulers is held by those who exercise authority over the senses, and check their excessive impulse to greed. At first his brethren, though far from pleased at 59 hearing what was said to them, will hold their peace, deeming it superfluous trouble to set forth to those who will not learn the difference between cattle-feeding and shepherding ; but afterwards when the contest regarding these matters is upon them, they will engage in it with all their might, and, until they have carried the day, they will never relax their efforts to make manifest the free and noble and truly princely character that pertains to their nature. When the king asks them " What is your work ? " they answer " We are shepherds, as were our fathers " (Gen. xlvii. 3). XIV. Aye indeed ! Does it not seem 60 as though they were more proud of being shepherds than is the king, who is talking to them, of all his sovereign power ? They proclaim that not they only but their fathers also deliberately chose this course of life as worthy of entire and enthusiastic devotion. And yet, if the care of literal goats or sheep was what 61 was meant, they would perhaps, in their shrinking from disgrace, have been actually ashamed to own what they were ; for such pursuits are held mean and inglorious in the eyes of those who have compassed that importance, wholly devoid of wisdom, that comes with prosperity, and most of all in the eyes of mon-

## PHILO

- 62 τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ διαφερόντως  
 ἐστὶν ὑπέραυχον, ὅποτε μικρά τις αὐτὸ μόνον αὔρα  
 καταπνεύσειεν εὐπραγίας, ὡς χλεύην καὶ πλατὺν  
 γέλωτα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν δημοτικωτέρων ἀνθρώπων
- 63 περὶ βίον σπουδᾶς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 περὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεων λογικῶν τε αὖ καὶ  
 ἀλόγων πρόκειται σκοπεῖν, εἰκότως αὐχῆσουσιν οἱ  
 πεπεισμένοι ὅτι δύνανται κρατεῖν τῶν ἀλόγων
- 64 συμμάχοις χρώμενοι ταῖς λογικαῖς. ἐὰν μέντοι τις  
 βάσκανος καὶ φιλεγκλήμων αἰτιώμενος φάσκη·  
 πῶς οὖν ποιμενικὴν τέχνην διαπονοῦντες καὶ τῆς  
 συμφυοῦς ποιμνης ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν καὶ προστασίαν  
 ἐπαγγελλόμενοι προσορμίσασθαι τῇ σώματος καὶ  
 παθῶν χώρα διενσήθητε, Αἰγύπτω, ἀλλ' οὐχ  
 ἐτέρωσε τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιήσασθε; μετὰ παρρησίας  
 αὐτῷ λεκτέον, ὅτι “ παροικεῖν, οὐ κατοικεῖν
- 65 ἤλθομεν.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πᾶσα ψυχὴ σοφοῦ πατρίδα  
 μὲν οὐρανόν, ξένην δὲ γῆν ἔλαχε, καὶ νομίζει τὸν  
 μὲν σοφίας οἶκον ἴδιον, τὸν δὲ σώματος ὀθνείον,
- 66 ᾧ καὶ παρεπιδημεῖν οἶεται. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴν ὁ  
 ἀγελάρχης νοῦς παραλαβὼν τὴν ψυχῆς ἀγέλην  
 νόμῳ φύσεως διδασκάλῳ χρώμενος εὐτόνως ἀφ-  
 ηγηῆται, δόκιμον αὐτὴν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινετὴν ἀπερ-  
 γάζεται, ὅταν δὲ παρανομία ραθύμως καὶ ἀνειμένως  
 προσφερόμενος, ψεκτὴν. εἰκότως τοίνυν ὁ μὲν  
 βασιλέως ὄνομα ὑποδύσεται ποιμὴν προσαγο-  
 ρευθεὶς, ὁ δ' ὄψαρτυτοῦ τινος ἢ σιτοπόνου κτηνο-

## ON HUSBANDRY, 62-66

archs. The spirit of the Egyptians too is by nature 62  
arrogant even beyond that of other men, whenever  
a feeble breath only of good fortune has blown over  
it, and this arrogance makes them treat the aims in  
life and the ambitions of more common people as  
matter for rude jesting and loud ridicule. But seeing 63  
that the subject propounded for consideration is that  
of the rational and irrational faculties in the soul,  
those will have ground for boasting who are convinced  
that they are able by employing the rational faculties  
as their allies to get the better of those which are  
irrational. If, however, some malignant and con- 64  
tentious person find fault with them and say, "How  
is it, then, that, devoting your labour to the science  
of shepherding, and professing to bestow the care of  
leaders on the flock that lives and grows with your  
life and growth, you conceived the idea of coming to  
anchor in Egypt, the land of the body and the pas-  
sions, instead of voyaging to some different port?"  
—we may confidently say to him "We came to  
sojourn (Gen. xlvii. 4)—not to settle there"; for in 65  
reality a wise man's soul ever finds heaven to be his  
fatherland and earth a foreign country, and regards  
as his own the dwelling-place of wisdom, and that of  
the body as outlandish, and looks on himself as a  
stranger and sojourner in it. Accordingly when 66  
Mind, the ruler of the flock, taking the flock of the  
soul in hand with the law of Nature as his instructor  
shews it the way with vigorous leadership, he renders  
it well worthy of praise and approval, even as he  
subjects it to blame if he disregard Nature's law and  
behave slackly and carelessly. With good reason,  
then, will the one take on him the name of king and  
be hailed "shepherd," but the other that of a sort

## PHILO

τρόφος ἐπιφημισθεῖς, εὐωχίαν καὶ θοίνην ἀδηφαγεῖν  
θρέμμασιν εἰωθόσιν εὐτρεπιζόμενος.

- 67 XV. "Ὀν δὴ τρόπον γεωργὸς μὲν ἐργάτου γῆς,  
ποιμὴν δὲ κτηνοτρόφου διενήνοχεν, οὐκ ἀμελῶς  
ἐπιδέδειχα. καὶ τρίτον δ' ἐστὶ συγγενεῖάν τινα ἔχον  
πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐροῦμεν· ἵππέα τε  
γὰρ καὶ ἀναβάτην οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωπον ἐποχούμενον  
ἐποχουμένου χρεμετιστικῶ ζῶω μακρῶ διαφέρειν  
68 ἡγείται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμὸν λογισμοῦ. ὁ μὲν  
τοῖνυν ἄνευ τέχνης ἵππικῆς ἐπιβεβηκῶς λέγεται  
μὲν εἰκότως ἀναβάτης, ἐκδέδωκε δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἀλόγῳ  
καὶ σκιρτητικῶ θρέμματι, ὡσθ' ὅπη ἂν ἐκείνο  
[311] χωρῆ | κείσε πάντως ἀναγκαῖον φέρεσθαι καὶ μὴ  
προϊδόμενον χάσμα γῆς ἢ βαθύν τινα βόθρον ὑπὸ  
τῆς ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ ῥύμης κατακρημνισθῆναι [συν-  
69 ηνέχθη] καὶ συγκαταποθῆναι τὸν φερόμενον. ὁ  
δ' ἵππεὺς πάλιν, ὅταν ἀνέρχεται μέλλη, χαλιὸν  
ἐντίθῃσι κᾶπειτ' ἐφαλλόμενος τῆς περιουχενίου  
χαίτης ἐνείληπται καὶ φέρεσθαι δοκῶν αὐτός, εἰ  
δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἄγει τὸ κομίζον τρόπον  
κυβερνήτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἄγεσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ  
νεὼς τῆς κυβερνωμένης ἄγει πρὸς ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν  
70 καὶ ἐφ' οὓς ἐπείγεται παραπέμπει λιμένας. ὅταν  
μὲν οὖν εὐηνίως προέρχεται, καταψήχει ὁ ἵππεὺς  
ὡς ἂν ἐπαινῶν τὸν ἵππον, ὅταν δὲ σὺν πλείονι  
ὀρμῇ πέραν ἐκφέρηται τοῦ μετρίου, μετὰ βίας  
εὐτόνως ἀναχαιτίζει, ὡς ὑπανεῖναι τοῦ τάχους·  
ἐὰν δὲ ἀπειθῶν ἐπιμένῃ, λαβὼν τοῦ χαλινοῦ ὄλον  
ἀντέσπασε καὶ ἀντιπεριήγαγεν αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα,

<sup>a</sup> Or "mounted man."

<sup>b</sup> Or "the man mounted on him."



## ON HUSBANDRY, 66-70

of cook or baker and be entitled "cattle-feeder," serving up rich fare as a feast for beasts who make a habit of gluttony.

XV. I have taken some pains to shew in what way 67  
a husbandman differs from a worker on the soil, and  
a shepherd from a feeder of cattle. There is a third  
head akin to those that have been dealt with, and of  
it we will now speak. For the lawgiver holds that a  
horseman differs greatly from a rider, not only when  
each is a man seated on a neighing animal but when  
each is a process of reasoning. Well then, he who  
being without skill in horsemanship is on a horse's  
back is naturally called a rider.<sup>a</sup> He has given him- 68  
self over to an irrational and capricious beast, the  
consequence being that, wherever the creature goes,  
thither he must of absolute necessity be carried, and  
that the animal, not having caught sight in time of an  
opening in the ground or of some deep trench, is  
hurled headlong owing to the violence of his pace,  
and his rider <sup>b</sup> is borne to destruction with him. The 69  
horseman, on the other hand, when he is about to  
mount, puts the bit in the horse's mouth and then as  
he leaps on its back, seizes hold of its mane, and,  
though seeming to be borne along, himself in actual  
fact leads, as a pilot does, the creature that is carrying  
him. For the pilot also, while seeming to be led by  
the ship which he is steering, in reality leads it, and  
convoys it to the ports which he is anxious to reach.  
When the horse goes ahead in obedience to the rein, 70  
the horseman strokes him as though he were praising  
him, but when he gets too impetuous and exceeds  
the suitable pace, he uses force and pulls back his head  
strongly, so as to lessen his speed. If he goes on  
being refractory, he grips the bit and pulls his whole

## PHILO

71 ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης στήναι· καὶ πρὸς σκιρτήσεις μὲν καὶ τοὺς συνεχεῖς ἀφηγιασμούς εἰσι μάστιγες καὶ μύωπες εὐτρεπεῖς καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα πωλοδάμναις ἵππων κατεσκευάσται κολαστήρια. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· ἀνιόντος γὰρ τοῦ ἱππέως καὶ ἱππικὴ τέχνη συνανέρχεται,<sup>1</sup> ὥστε δύο ὄντες καὶ ἐποχούμενοι καὶ ἐπιστήμονες εἰκότως ἑνὸς καὶ ὑποβεβλημένου καὶ ἀπαραδέκτου τέχνης ζώου περιέσσονται.

72 XVI. Μεταβάς τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῶν χρεμετιζόντων καὶ τῶν ἐποχουμένων αὐτοῖς τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν εἰ θέλεις ἐρεῦνησον· εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡνίοχον καὶ ἀναβάτην, ὅσαπερ

73 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός. ἵπποι μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμία καὶ θυμὸς εἰσιν, ὁ μὲν ἄρρην, ἡ δὲ θήλεια. διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν γαυριῶν ἄφετος εἶναι βούλεται καὶ ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἔστιν ὑψαύχην ὡς ἂν ἄρρην, ἡ δ' ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπῆς καὶ πανουργία χαιρουσα οἰκόσιτος, οἰκοφθόρος· θήλεια γάρ. ἀναβάτης δὲ καὶ ἡνίοχος εἰς ὁ νοῦς· ἀλλ' ἡνίκα μὲν μετὰ φρονήσεως ἄνεισιν, ἡνίοχος, ὁπότε δὲ μετ' ἀφροσύνης, ἀναβάτης.

74 ἄφρων μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας κρατεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ τῶν ἡνιῶν, αἱ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν ἀπορρνεῖσαι χαμαὶ πίπτουσι, τὰ δὲ ζῶα εὐθύς ἀφηνιάσαντα πλημ-

75 μελῆ καὶ ἄτακτον ποιεῖται τὸν δρόμον. ὁ δ' ἐπιβεβηκὼς οὐδενὸς ἐνελημμένος, ὑφ' οὗ στηριχθήσεται, πίπτει, περιδρυπτόμενος δὲ γόνυ καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πρόσωπα μεγάλα κλαίει τὴν ἰδίαν κακοπραγίαν ὁ δειλαιοσ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συνέρχεται.

<sup>a</sup> The figure is based on *Phaedrus* 246 ff. Cf. note to *Leg. All.* 70, Vol. I. p. 478.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. "eats you out of house and home." See App. p. 490.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 70-75

neck round the other way, so that he is forced to stop. To counter rearings and constant unruliness there are 71 whips and spurs ready at hand and all the other contrivances with which breakers-in of colts are provided for punishing them. There is nothing to wonder at in all this, for when the horseman gets on the horse's back, skill in horsemanship gets up with him, so that there are really two, a seated man on the horse and an expert, and they will naturally get the better of a single animal who is not only underneath them but is incapable of acquiring skill.

XVI. Passing then from the neighing animals and 72 those that ride upon them, search, if you please, your own soul; for you will find among its constituent parts both horses and one who wields the reins and one who is mounted, all just as in the outside world. Desire and high spirit are horses, the one male, the 73 other female.<sup>a</sup> For this reason the one prances and wants to be free and at large and has a high neck, as you might expect of a male. The other is mean and slavish, up to sly tricks, keeps her nose in the manger and empties it in no time,<sup>b</sup> for she is a female. The Mind is alike mounted man and wielder of the reins; a wielder of the reins, when he mounts accompanied by good sense, a mere mounted man when folly is his companion. The foolish man, since he has never learnt, 74 cannot keep hold of the reins. They slip from his hand and drop on the ground; and straightway the animals are out of control, and their course becomes erratic and disorderly. The fool behind them does 75 not take hold of anything to steady him, but tumbles out barking knee and hands and face, and loudly bewails, poor miserable fellow, his own misfortune. Many a time his feet catch in the board, and he hangs

## PHILO

- βάσεις πρὸς τὸν δίφρον ἐξημμένους ἀνατραπείς  
 [312 ὑπτιος ἐπὶ νῶτα | ἀπηώρηται καὶ ἐν ἄρματοτροχιαῖς  
 αὐταῖς κεφαλὴν τε καὶ αὐχένα καὶ ὦμους ἀμ-  
 φοτέρους περιθραύεται κατασυρόμενος, εἴθ' ὧδε  
 κἀκεῖσε φορούμενος καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ποσὶ προσ-  
 76 αραττόμενος οἰκτρότατον ὑπομένει θάνατον. τῷ  
 μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβαίνει τὸ τέλος, τὸ δὲ ὄχημα  
 ἀνακουφιζόμενον καὶ ἐξαλλόμενον μετὰ βίας, ὅταν  
 ἐπὶ γῆν παλίσσυστον ἐνεχθῆ, ῥᾶστα κατάγνυται,  
 ὡς μηκέτ' αὐθις ἀρμοσθῆναι καὶ παγῆναι δύνασθαι·  
 τὰ δὲ ζῶα πάντων τῶν συνεχόντων ἀφειμένα  
 παρακινεῖται καὶ οἰστρᾶ καὶ οὐ παύεται φερόμενα,  
 πρὶν ὑποσκελισθέντα πεσεῖν ἢ κατὰ τινος ἐνεχθέντα  
 77 κρημνοῦ βαθέος παραπολέσθαι. XVII. τοῦτον οὖν  
 ἔοικε τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάταις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ὄχημα σύμπαν διαφθειρεσθαι πλημμελήσαν τὴν  
 ἡνιόχησιν. τοὺς δὴ τοιούτους ἵππους καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐποχουμένους ἄνευ τέχνης αὐτοῖς λυσιτελὲς καθ-  
 αιρεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὰ ἀρετῆς ἐγείρηται· πιπτούσης  
 γὰρ ἀφροσύνης ἀνάγκη φρόνησιν ὑπανίστασθαι.  
 78 Διὰ τοῦτ' ἐν προτρεπτικοῖς Μωυσῆς φησιν· “ἐὰν  
 ἐξέλθης εἰς πόλεμον ἐπ' ἐχθρούς σου καὶ ἴδης ἵππον  
 καὶ ἀναβάτην καὶ λαὸν πλείονα, οὐ φοβηθήσῃ, ὅτι  
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ.” θυμοῦ γὰρ καὶ ἐπι-  
 θυμίας καὶ συνόλως ἀπάντων παθῶν, καὶ τῶν  
 ὄλων ἐποχουμένων ὡσπερ ἵπποις ἐκάστοις λογι-  
 σμῶν, κἂν ἀμάχῳ ῥώμῃ κεχρῆσθαι νομισθῶσιν,  
 ἀλογητέον τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως  
 θεοῦ δύναμιν ὑπερασπίζουσαν καὶ προαγωνιζομένην  
 79 αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ. στρατὸς δὲ θεῖος αἰ ἀρεταὶ  
 φιλοθέων ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῶν, αἷς, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσι τὸν

<sup>a</sup> One of Philo's names for Deuteronomy; cf. § 172.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 75-79

suspended turned over back-downwards, and as he is dragged along in the very wheel tracks he gets head and neck and both shoulders battered and crushed, and in the end, tossed after this fashion in every direction and knocking up against everything that comes in his way, he undergoes a most pitiable death. For 76 him such is the end that results, but the vehicle lifting itself up and making violent springs, when it reaches the ground in its rebound, too easily becomes a wreck, so that it is quite beyond being mended and made strong again. The horses, released from all that kept them in, become distracted and maddened and never stop tearing along until they trip and fall, or are swept down some steep precipice and perish. XVII. It is to be expected that the entire vehicle of 77 the soul with all who are on it should come to ruin in this manner, if it has gone wrong in the matter of the driving. It is a gain that such horses and those who drive them without skill should be destroyed, that the products of virtue may be exalted ; for when folly has a fall, wisdom is bound to rise up.

This is why Moses in his "hortatory discourse" <sup>a</sup> 78 says: "If thou shalt go out to war against thine enemies and see horse and rider and much people, thou shalt not be afraid, because the Lord thy God is with thee" (Deut. xx. 1). For high spirit and craving lust and all passions generally, and the whole array of reasoning faculties seated upon each of them as upon horses, even though they be held to have at their disposal resistless might, may be disregarded by those who have the power of the Great King acting always and everywhere as their shield and champion. There 79 is a divine army consisting of the virtues who fight on behalf of souls that love God, whom it befits

## PHILO

ἀντίπαλον ἡττημένον, ἀρμόττει πάγκαλον καὶ πρε-  
 πωδέστατον ὕμνον ᾄδειν τῷ νικηφόρῳ καὶ καλλι-  
 νίκῳ θεῷ. δύο δὲ χοροί, ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος,  
 ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐστίας, στάντες ἀντηχον  
 80 καὶ ἀντίφωνον ἀναμέλψουσιν ἀρμονίαν. χρήσεται  
 δ' ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν χορὸς ἡγεμόνι Μωυσεῖ, νῶ  
 τελείῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν Μαριάμ, αἰσθήσει  
 κεκαθαρμένη· δίκαιον γὰρ καὶ νοητῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς  
 τοὺς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὕμνους καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοὺς  
 ἀνυπερθέτως ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἔμμελῶς  
 κρούειν ἐκάτερον, τό τε νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως, ἐπὶ  
 81 τῇ τοῦ μόνου σωτῆρος εὐχαριστία καὶ τιμῇ. τὴν  
 γοῦν παράλιον ᾠδὴν ᾄδουσι μὲν πάντες ἄνδρες,  
 οὐ μὴν τυφλῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὁξὺ καθορῶντες Μωυ-  
 σέως ἐξάρχοντος, ᾄδουσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες αἰ  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄρισται, τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγγεγραμ-  
 μέναι πολιτεύματι, Μαριάμ ἀφηγουμένης αὐταῖς.  
 82 XVIII. ὕμνος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέροις ᾄδεται τοῖς  
 χοροῖς ἐπωδὸν ἔχων θαυμασιώτατον, ὃν ἐφ-  
 υμνεῖσθαι καλόν· ἔστι δὲ τοιόσδε· “ ἄσωμεν τῷ  
 [313] κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ | δεδόξασται· ἵππον καὶ  
 83 ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.” ἀμείνονα γὰρ  
 καὶ τελειότεραν οὐκ ἂν τις εὔροι σκοπῶν νίκην ἢ  
 καθ' ἣν τὸ τετράπουν καὶ σκιρτητικὸν καὶ ὑπέρ-  
 αυχον ἡττηται παθῶν τε καὶ κακιῶν ἀλκιμώτατον  
 στίφος—καὶ γὰρ κακίαι τῷ γένει τέτταρες καὶ  
 πάθη ταύταις ἰσάριθμα—, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐπιβάτης  
 αὐτῶν μισάρετος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς νοῦς καταπεσῶν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 490.

<sup>b</sup> The four vices are folly, cowardice, intemperance, in-  
 justice (corresponding to the four virtues). Diog. Laert. vii.  
 92. For the four passions, grief, fear, desire, pleasure, see  
*S.V.F.* iii. 381 ff.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 79-83

when they see the adversary vanquished, to sing to God, gloriously triumphant and giver of victory, a hymn of beauty and wholly befitting Him. And two choirs, one from the quarters of the men, one from those of the women, with answering note and voice shall raise harmonious chant. The choir of the 80 men shall have Moses for its leader, that is Mind in its perfection, that of the women shall be led by Miriam, that is sense-perception made pure and clean<sup>a</sup> (Exod. xv. 1, 20). For it is right with both mind and sense to render hymns and sing blessings to the Godhead without delay, and tunefully to strike each of our instruments, that of mind and that of sense perception, in thanksgiving and honour paid to the only Saviour. So we find<sup>a</sup> the Song by the seashore 81 sung by all that are men, with no blind understanding but with keenest vision, with Moses as their leader; it is sung also by the women who in the true sense are the best, having been enrolled as members of Virtue's commonwealth, with Miriam to start their song. XVIII. The same hymn is sung by both 82 choirs, and it has a most noteworthy refrain, the recurrence of which is strikingly beautiful. It is this: "Let us sing unto the Lord, for gloriously hath He been glorified; horse and rider He threw into the sea" (Exod. xv. 1, 21). No one who looks 83 into the matter could find a more perfect victory than one in which that most doughty array of passions and vices, four-footed, restless, boastful beyond measure, has been defeated. So it is, for vices are four in kind and passions equal to these in number.<sup>b</sup> It is a victory, moreover, in which their rider has been thrown and dispatched, even virtue-hating and

## PHILO

οἴχεται, ὃς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀδικίαις τε καὶ πανουργίαις, ἔτι δὲ ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ πλεονεξίαις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις θρέμμασιν ἐγεγήθει.

84 Παγκάλως οὖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν ταῖς παραινέσεσιν ἐκδιδάσκει μὴδ' ἄρχοντα χειροτονεῖν ἵπποτρόφον, ἀνεπιτήδειον οἰόμενος εἶναι πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πάνθ' ὃς ἂν περὶ ἡδονᾶς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἔρωτας ἀκαθέκτους μεμνηνὼς οἶα ἀχαλίνωτος καὶ ἀφηγιαστής ἵππος οἰστρᾷ· λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· “ οὐ δυνήσῃ καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἄνθρωπον ἀλλότριον, ὅτι οὐκ ἀδελφός σου ἐστι· διότι οὐ πληθυνεῖ ἑαυτῷ ἵππον, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃ τὸν λαὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.”

85 οὐκοῦν τῶν ἵπποτρόφων πρὸς ἀρχὴν πέφυκεν οὐδεὶς κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν· καίτοι φαίη τις ἂν ἴσως, ὅτι μεγάλη χεὶρ ἐστὶ βασιλέως ἵππικῆ δύναμις οὔτε πεζῆς οὔτε ναυτικῆς ἀποδέουσα, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ λυσιτελεστέρα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἀνυπερθέτου καὶ συντόνου τάχους<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἐπεξόδου δεῖ τῶν καιρῶν μέλλειν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἰσταμένων ἀκμῆς, ὡς μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ὑστερηκότας μᾶλλον ἢ ἀποτυχεῖν ἂν εἰκότως εἰσάπαν νομισθῆναι, φθάντων παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ

86 νέφους ἐκεῖνων. XIX. εἵπομεν δ' ἂν αὐτοῖς· οὐδεμίαν, ὧ γενναῖοι, φρουρὰν ἄρχοντος ὁ νομοθέτης ὑποτέμνεται οὐδὲ τὸ συλλεχθὲν αὐτῷ στρατευμα ἀκρωτηριάζει τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ ἀνυσιμώτερον, τὴν ἵππικὴν δύναμιν, ἀποκόπτων, ἀλλ' ὡς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπ' αὐτὸν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνυπερθέτω καὶ συντόμῳ τάχει.

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<sup>a</sup> Another of Philo's names for Deuteronomy.



passion-loving mind, whose delight was in pleasures and cravings, acts of injustice and rascality, as well as in exploits of plundering and overreaching and all that stable.

Right well therefore does the lawgiver in his 84 Charges<sup>a</sup> give directions not to appoint a horse-rearer to be a ruler, regarding as unsuited for such high authority any man who resembles an unbridled and unruly horse, and, in his wild excitement over pleasures, lusts and amours, knows no restraint. These are the lawgiver's words, "Thou mayest not appoint over thyself a foreigner, because he is not thy brother ; for the reason that he shall not multiply to himself horses, nor turn the people back into Egypt" (Deut. xvii. 15 f.). According, therefore, to 85 Moses, that most holy man, a rearer of horses is by nature unfit to hold rule ; and yet it might be urged that strength in cavalry is a great asset to a king, and not a whit less important than infantry and the naval force ; nay, in many cases of greater service than these. These arms are especially important when it is requisite that the offensive should be instantaneous and vigorously pressed ; when the state of affairs does not admit of delay, but is in the highest degree critical ; so that those who are behind-hand would fairly be considered not so much to have been slow to gain the advantage as to have failed for good and all, since the other side has been too quick for them, and gone by them like a cloud. XIX. We would say in answer to these criticisms, 86 "My good sirs, the lawgiver is not curtailing any ruler's garrison, nor is he incapacitating the army which he has collected by cutting off the more effective part of the force, the cavalry. He is trying

## PHILO

οἶόν τε πειράται συναύξειν, ἴν' εἷς τε ἰσχὺν καὶ  
 πλήθος ἐπιδόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ῥᾶστα τοὺς ἐναντίους  
 87 καθαιρῶσι. τίνι γὰρ οὕτω λοχίσαι στράτευμα καὶ  
 τάξαι καὶ κατὰ φάλαγγας διανείμαι καὶ λοχαγοὺς  
 καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πλείονων ἢ ἐλατ-  
 τόνων ἡγεμόνας καταστήσαι ἢ ὅσα τακτικὰ καὶ  
 στρατηγικὰ εὐρηται [καὶ] τοῖς ὀρθῶς χρησομένοις  
 ὑφήγησασθαι κατὰ πολλὴν τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἐ...  
 88 στήμης περιουσίαν ἐξεγένετο; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι  
 νῦν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ περὶ δυνάμεως ἰππικῆς, ἣν  
 συγκροτεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄρχοντας ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει δυσ-  
 μενῶν καὶ σωτηρία φίλων ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ περὶ  
 τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀλόγου καὶ ἀμέτρου καὶ ἀπειθοῦς  
 φορᾶς, ἣν ἐπιστομίζειν λυσιτελές, μὴ ποτε τὸν  
 λαὸν αὐτῆς ἅπαντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὴν τοῦ σώματος  
 χώραν, ἀποστρέψῃ καὶ φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοπαθῆ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόθεον ἀνὰ κράτος |  
 [314] ἐργάσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πλήθος ἵππων παρ' ἐαυτῷ  
 89 κτώμενον ἀνάγκη τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὡς αὐτὸς  
 ἔφη, βαδίζειν ὁδόν. ὅταν γὰρ καθ' ἑκάτερον  
 τοῖχον τῆς ψυχῆς νεῶς τρόπον, τὸν τε νοῦ καὶ  
 αἰσθήσεως, ὑπὸ βίας τῶν καταπνεόντων εἰς αὐτὴν  
 παθῶν τε καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἀντιρρεπούσης καὶ  
 κλινομένης ἐξαίρομενον ἐπιβαίνει τὸ κῦμα, τόθ' ὡς  
 εἰκὸς ὑπέραντλος ὁ νοῦς γινόμενος καταποντοῦται·  
 βυθὸς δέ ἐστιν, εἰς ὃν καταποντοῦται καὶ κατα-  
 δύεται, σῶμα αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπειακασθὲν Αἰγύπτῳ.  
 90 XX. μὴ ποτ' οὖν περὶ τοῦτο σπουδᾶσθαι τῆς  
 ἵπποτροφίας τὸ εἶδος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θάτερον μετ-  
 ιόντες ψεκτοὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτοί· πῶς γὰρ οὐ; παρ'  
 οἷς ἄλογα ζῶα μᾶλλον τετίμηται, ὧν ἐκ τῆς οἰ-

## ON HUSBANDRY, 86-90

his best to improve it, that by an increase, both in strength and numbers, those who are fighting side by side may most easily overcome their enemies. For who was so capable as he, in virtue of abundant 87 acquaintance with these matters, to marshal an army by phalanxes and draw it up in order of battle and to appoint captains and corps-commanders and the other leaders of larger or smaller bodies of men, or to impart to those who would make a right use of it all that has been found out in the way of tactics and strategy? But the fact is that he is not talking 88 in this passage about a cavalry force, which a sovereign has to organize for the overthrow of an unfriendly power and for the safety of his friends. He is speaking about that irrational and unmeasured and unruly movement in the soul to check which is in her interest, lest some day it turn back all her people to Egypt, the country of the body, and forcibly render it a lover of pleasure and passion rather than of God and virtue. For he who acquires a multitude of horses cannot fail, as the lawgiver himself said, to take the road to Egypt. For when the 89 soul is swaying and tossing like a vessel, now to the side of the mind now to that of body, owing to the violence of the passions and misdeeds that rage against her, and the billows rising mountains high sweep over her, then in all likelihood the mind becomes waterlogged and sinks; and the bottom to which it sinks is nothing else than the body, of which Egypt is the figure. XX. Never then give 90 your mind to this kind of horse-rearing. Blameworthy indeed are those also who make a business of it in its literal form. To be sure they are so. With them irrational beasts are of greater value than human

## PHILO

- κίας ἵππων μὲν ἀγέλαι κατευωχημένων αἰὲ προ-  
 ἔρχονται, ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐπομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἔρανον  
 εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, οὐ δωρεὰν εἰς περιουσίαν  
 91 εὕρισκόμενος. ἀλλ' ὅμως κουφότερα ἀδικοῦσιν·  
 ἀθλητὰς γὰρ ἵππους ἀνατρέφοντες τοὺς τε ἱεροὺς  
 ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς πανταχῇ πανηγύρεις ἀγομένας φασὶ  
 κοσμεῖν καὶ οὐχ ἡδονῆς μόνον [ἀλλὰ] καὶ τῆς περὶ  
 τὴν θεάν τέρψεως αἴτιοι γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὀρώσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τῆς τῶν καλῶν<sup>1</sup> ἀσκήσεώς τε καὶ μελέτης· οἱ  
 γὰρ τὸν τοῦ νικηφορῆσαι πόθον ἐνιδόντες<sup>2</sup> θηρίοις,  
 διὰ τιμῆς ἔρωτα καὶ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς ἀλέκτω τινὶ  
 προτροπῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησάμενοι, πόνους ἡδέεις  
 ὑποστάντες τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἐπιβαλλόντων οὐκ ἀφ-  
 92 ἔξονται, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθεῖν αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' οὗτοι  
 μὲν εὐρεσιλογοῦσιν ἀδικοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἄνευ ἀπολογίας  
 διαμαρτάνοντές εἰσιν οἱ τὸν ἀναβάτην νοῦν ἔποχον  
 ἀποφαίνοντες ἄπειρον ἵππικῆς ἐπιστήμης κακία  
 93 καὶ πάθει τετράποδι. ἐὰν μέντοι τέχνην τὴν  
 ἡνιοχικὴν ἀναδιδαχθεῖς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνομιλήσης καὶ  
 ἐνδιατρίψῃς αὐτῇ καὶ ἤδη νομίσης ἱκανὸς εἶναι  
 δύνασθαι κρατεῖν ἵππων, ἀναβάς ἔχου τῶν ἡνιῶν·  
 οὕτως γὰρ οὔτε ἀνασκιρτώντων αὐτὸς ἀποπίπτων  
 μετὰ τραυμάτων δυσιάτων γέλωτα παρ' ἐπιχαιρε-  
 κακοῦσιν ὀφλήσεις θεαταῖς οὐτ' ἐξ ἐναντίας ἢ  
 κατόπιν ἐπιτρεχόντων ἐχθρῶν ἀλώση, τοὺς μὲν  
 τάχει φθάνων τῷ προεκδραμεῖν διώκοντας, τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κακῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐνιδιδόντες.

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<sup>a</sup> Whether ἡδέεις is taken as nom. or acc., it is doubtful Greek in this sense. Mangey's ἡδέως is more natural.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 90-93

beings. From their mansions there continually come troops of well-fed horses leading the way, while of the human beings that come behind these not one can get out of them a contribution to supply his need, or a gift to provide him with some spare cash. Nevertheless the wrong done by these people is less 91 heinous. For they contend that by training race-horses they both add lustre to the sacred race-meetings, and to the national festivals which are held universally ; that they not only give the spectators pleasure and provide them with the enjoyment of the sight, but promote the cultivation and study of noble aims ; for men (they say) who behold in animals the desire to carry off the victory, find themselves filled, by reason of their love of honour and enthusiasm for excellence, with an urgency and readiness beyond words, and so readily<sup>a</sup> submit to exertions in such contests as properly belong to them, and will not desist till they achieve their object. While these people find arguments in favour of their 92 ill-doing, those who sin without excuse are those who take Mind, that rider who is a tyro in the science of horsemanship, and put him on the back of four-footed vice and passion. If, however, you have 93 been taught the art of driving, and having become fairly familiar with it by persistent practice, have come to the conclusion that you can now manage horses, mount and hold on to the reins. By this means you will escape two disasters. If the horses rear you will not fall off, get badly hurt, and incur the ridicule of malicious spectators ; nor, if enemies make a rush at you from in front or from behind, will you be caught ; you will be too quick for those who come from behind and outstrip their pursuit ; and you will

PHILO

δὲ προσιόντων ἀλογῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι  
ἐξαναχωρεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ἐπιστήμην.

- 94 XXI. Οὐκ εἰκότως οὖν Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν  
ἀναβατῶν ἄδων ἀπωλείᾳ τοῖς ἵππευσιν εὐχεται  
σωτηρίαν παντελεῆ; δύνανται γὰρ οὗτοι χαλινὸν  
ταῖς ἀλόγοις δυνάμεσιν ἐμβαλόντες αὐτῶν ἐπι-  
στομίξειν τῆς πλεοναζούσης τὴν φορὰν ὀρμῆς.  
τίς οὖν ἢ εὐχή, λεκτέον· “ γενέσθω ” φησί “ Δὰν  
ὄφεις ἐφ’ ὁδοῦ, ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου, δάκνων  
πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω,  
95 τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου.” ὁ δ’ αἰνίττεται  
διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς, μηνυτέον· ἐρμηνεύεται Δὰν κρίσις.  
[315] τὴν | οὖν ἐξετάζουσαν καὶ ἀκριβοῦσαν καὶ δια-  
κρίνουσαν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δικάζουσαν ἕκαστα τῆς  
ψυχῆς δύναμιν ὁμοίωσε δράκοντι—ζῶον δ’ ἐστὶ  
καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ποικίλον καὶ συνετὸν ἐν τοῖς  
μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἔτοιμον καὶ τοὺς χειρῶν  
ἄρχοντας ἀδίκων ἀμύνασθαι δυνατώτατον—, οὐ  
μὴν τῷ φίλῳ καὶ συμβούλῳ ζωῆς—Εὐὰν πατρίῳ  
γλώττῃ καλεῖν αὐτὴν ἔθος—, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρὸς  
Μωυσέως ἐξ ὕλης χαλκοῦ δημιουργηθέντι, ὃν οἱ  
δηχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἰοβόλων ὄφειν καίτοι μέλλοντες  
τελευτήσειν ὅποτε κατίδοιεν ἐπιβιοῦν καὶ μηδέποτε  
96 ἀποθνήσκειν λέγονται. XXII. ταῦτα δ’ οὕτως  
μὲν λεγόμενα φάσμασιν ἕοικε καὶ τέρασι, δράκων  
ἀνθρώπου προἰέμενος φωνὴν καὶ ἐνσοφιστεύων  
ἀκακωτάτοις ἤθεσι καὶ πιθανότησιν εὐπαραγώγοις  
γυναῖκα ἀπατῶν, καὶ ἕτερος αἴτιος σωτηρίας γενό-  
97 μενος παντελοῦς τοῖς θεασαμένοις. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δι’

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 491.

<sup>b</sup> Or “ playing the sophist with innocent ways.”

## ON HUSBANDRY, 93-97

make light of the frontal attack owing to your knowing the trick of backing without risk.

XXI. Does not Moses, then, when celebrating the 94 destruction of the riders, naturally pray for complete salvation for the horsemen? For these are able<sup>a</sup> by applying bit and bridle to the irrational faculties to curb the excessive violence of their movement. We must say, then, what his prayer is: "Let Dan," he says, "be a serpent on the road, seated upon the track, biting the heel of the horse; and the horseman shall fall backwards, waiting for the salvation of the Lord" (Gen. xlix. 17 f.). What he intimates by the 95 prayer, we must point out. "Dan<sup>a</sup>" means "judgement" or "sifting." The faculty, then, which tests and investigates and determines and, in a manner, judges all the soul's concerns, he likened to a serpent. This is a creature tortuous in its movements, of great intelligence, ready to shew fight, and most capable of defending itself against wrongful aggression. He did not liken the faculty to the serpent that played the friend and gave advice to "Life"—whom in our own language we call "Eve"—but to the serpent made by Moses out of material brass. When those who had been bitten by the venomous serpents looked upon this one, though at the point of death, they are said to have lived on and in no case to have died (Numb. xxi. 8). XXII. Told in this way, these 96 things are like prodigies and marvels, one serpent emitting a human voice and using quibbling arguments to an utterly guileless character,<sup>b</sup> and cheating a woman with seductive plausibilities; and another proving the author of complete deliverance to those who beheld it. But when we interpret words by the 97

## PHILO

ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσει τὸ μὲν μυθῶδες ἐκποδῶν  
 οἴχεται, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀρίδηλον εὐρίσκεται· τὸν μὲν  
 οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς ὄφιν, αἰσθήσεως καὶ σαρκῶν  
 ἐκκρεμαμένης ζωῆς, ἡδονὴν εἶναι φαμεν, ἰλυσπω-  
 μένην καὶ πολυπλοκωτάτην, ἀνεγερθῆναι μὴ δυνα-  
 μένην, αἰεὶ καταβεβλημένην, ἐπὶ μόνα τὰ γῆς  
 ἔρπουσαν ἀγαθὰ, καταδύσεις τὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι  
 ζητοῦσαν, ὥσπερ ὀρύγμασιν ἢ χάσμασιν ἐκάστη  
 τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐμφωλεύουσιν, σύμβουλον ἀν-  
 θρώπου, φονῶσαν κατὰ τοῦ κρείττονος, ἰοβόλοις  
 καὶ ἀνωδύνοις γλιχομένην δῆγμασιν ἀποκτείνει·  
 τὸν δὲ Μωυσέως ὄφιν τὴν ἡδονῆς ἐναντίαν διάθεσιν,  
 καρτερίαν, παρὸ καὶ τῆς χαλκοῦ κραταιοτάτης  
 98 ὕλης κατεσκευασμένος εἰσάγεται. τὸν οὖν ἄκρως  
 καταθεασάμενον τὸ καρτερίας εἶδος, κἂν εἰ δεδηγ-  
 μένος πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλτρων ἡδονῆς τυγχάνοι,  
 ζῆν ἀναγκαῖον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπανατείνεται ψυχῇ  
 θάνατον ἀπαραίτητον, ἐγκράτεια δ' ὑγίαν καὶ  
 σωτηρίαν προτείνει βίου. ἀντιπαθὲς δ' ἀκολασίας  
 99 φάρμακον ἢ ἀλεξίκακος σωφροσύνη. παντὶ δὲ  
 [316] σοφῷ τὸ καλὸν φίλον, ὃ καὶ πάντως ἐστὶ | σω-  
 τήριον. ὥσθ' ὅταν εὐχῆται Μωυσῆς γενέσθαι τῷ  
 Δάν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὄφιν—ἐκατέρως γὰρ ἔστιν  
 ἐκδέξασθαι—, παραπλήσιον τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατα-  
 σκευασθέντι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅμοιον τῷ τῆς Εὐσας εὐχεται·  
 τὴν γὰρ εὐχὴν ἀγαθῶν αἴτησιν εἶναι συμβέβηκε.  
 100 τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς καρτερίας γένος ἀγαθὸν καὶ οἰστικὸν  
 ἀφθαρσίας, ἀγαθοῦ τελείου, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς κακὸν

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the LXX in Gen. iii. 20 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, Ζωή.

<sup>b</sup> This seems strange here, notwithstanding "friend and counsellor" above, § 95. Mangey proposed ἐπίβουλον, Wend. <κακὸν> σύμβουλον.



## ON HUSBANDRY, 97-100

meanings that lie beneath the surface, all that is mythical is removed out of our way, and the real sense becomes as clear as daylight. Well then, we say that the woman is Life <sup>a</sup> depending on the senses and material substance of our bodies ; that her serpent is pleasure, a crawling thing with many a twist, powerless to raise itself upright, always prone, creeping after the good things of earth alone, making for the hiding-places afforded to it by the body, making its lair in each of the senses as in cavities or dug-outs, giving advice to a human being, <sup>b</sup> athirst for the blood of anything better than itself, delighting to cause death by poisonous and painless bites. We say that the serpent of Moses is the disposition quite contrary to pleasure, even stedfast endurance, which explains why it is represented as being made of very strong material like brass. He, then, who has looked with <sup>98</sup> fixed gaze on the form of patient endurance, even though he should perchance have been previously bitten by the wiles of pleasure, cannot but live ; for, whereas pleasure menaces the soul with inevitable death, self-control holds out to it health and safety for life ; and self-mastery, that averter of ills, is an antidote to licentiousness. And the thing that is <sup>99</sup> beautiful and noble, which assuredly brings health and salvation, is dear to every wise man. So when Moses prays, either that there may be for Dan, or that Dan himself may be, a serpent (for the words may be taken either way), he prays for a serpent corresponding to the one made by him, but not like Eve's ; for prayer is an asking for good things. And <sup>100</sup> we know that endurance is of a good kind that brings immortality, a perfect good, while pleasure is

## PHILO

- τὴν μεγίστην τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρων, θάνατον. διὸ λέγει· “ γενέσθω Δὴν ὄφεις ” οὐχ ἐτέρωθι μᾶλλον ἢ
- 101 “ ἐφ’ ὁδοῦ ”· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀκρασίας καὶ λαιμαργίας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αἱ ἀμέτρητοι καὶ ἀπληστοί, πληρούμεναι πρὸς τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονίας, ὠδίνουσι καὶ τίκτουσιν ἡδοναί, κατὰ λεωφόρου καὶ εὐθυτενοῦς βαίνειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει ψυχὴν, φάραγξι δὲ καὶ βαράθροις ἐμπίπτειν ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ διαφθεῖραι παντελῶς αὐτὴν ἀναγκάζει· τὰ δὲ καρτερίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς \* \* \* ἐχόμενα μόνα,<sup>1</sup> μηδενοῦς ὄντος ἐν ποσὶν ὀλισθηροῦ, ᾧ προσπταίσασα κλιθήσεται. προσφύεστατα οὖν ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ σωφροσύνην εἶπε, διότι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἕξιν ἀκολασίαν ἀνοδία χρῆσθαι συμ-
- 102 βέβηκε. XXIII. τὸ δὲ “ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου ” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, ὡς γε ἐμαυτὸν πείθω· τρίβος ἐστὶν ἡ τετριμμένη πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑποζυγίων ἵππήλατος καὶ ἄμαξήλατος
- 103 ὁδός. ταύτῃ φασὶν ἡδονὴν ἐμφερεστάτην εἶναι· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τοῦ μακροῦ γήρως ἐπιβαίνουσι καὶ ἐμπεριπατοῦσι καὶ μετὰ σχολῆς καὶ ῥαστώνης ἐνδιατρίβουσι τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ, οὐκ ἄνθρωποι <μόνον>, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἰδέαι τῶν ζώων εἰσὶν· ἐν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονῆς δελεασθὲν εἴλκυται καὶ ἐμφέρεται τοῖς πολυπλοκωτάτοις δικτύοις αὐτῆς, ἃ πολὺς διεκδύναί πόνος.
- 104 αἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ὁδοί, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄβατοι, ἀλλά τοι πάντως

<sup>1</sup> The passage is evidently corrupt. Wendland's conjecture that there is a lacuna after ἀρετῆς which he supplies with <εὐοδίαν ψυχῇ παρέχεται μόνα has been followed in the

of an evil kind that inflicts the greatest penalty, even death. Wherefore it says, "Let Dan become a serpent" not elsewhere than "on the road." For 101 lack of self-control, and gluttony, and all else that issues from the womb of those immoderate and insatiate pleasures that ever conceive by the abundance of external comforts, never allow the soul to go along the straight course by the highway, but compel it to fall into pits and clefts, until they have utterly destroyed it. But only the practice of endurance and temperance and other virtue secures for the soul a safe journey where there is no slippery object under foot upon which the soul must stumble and be laid low. Most fitly therefore did he say that temperance keeps to the right road, since the opposite condition, that of licentiousness, finds no road at all.

XXIII. The sense suggested by the words "sitting on 102 the track" is, I am convinced, something of this kind. By "track" is meant the road for horses and carriages trodden both by men and by beasts of burden. They say that pleasure is very like this road; for 103 almost from birth to late old age this road is traversed and used as a promenade and a place of recreation in which to spend leisure hours not by men only but by every other kind of living creatures. For there is no single thing that does not yield to the enticement of pleasure, and get caught and dragged along in her entangling nets, through which it is difficult to slip and make your escape. But the roads of sound-sense 104 and self-mastery and of the other virtues, if not untrodden, are at all events unworn; for scanty is the

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translation, but it is a mere guess; and the *ἐχέσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ* in the next sentence rather suggests that *ἐχόμενα* should be kept.

## PHILO

ἄτριπτοι· ὀλίγος γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶ τῶν αὐτὰς  
 βαδιζόντων, οἱ πεφιλοσοφήκασιν ἀνόθως καὶ πρὸς  
 μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἑταιρίαν ἔθεντο, τῶν ἄλλων  
 105 ἀπάντων ἅπαξ ἀλογήσαντες. “ ἐγκάθηται ” οὖν,  
 καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ, ὅτῳ ζῆλος καὶ φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται  
 καρτερίας, ἢ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπιθέμενος τὴν ἐθάδα  
 ἡδονὴν, πηγὴν ἀενάων κακῶν, ἐπιφράξῃ καὶ ἐκ  
 106 τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνέλη χωρίου. τότε, ὡς φησιν  
 ἀκολουθία χρώμενος, ἀναγκαίως “ δῆξεται πτέρναν  
 ἵππου ”· καρτερίας γὰρ καὶ σωφροσύνης ἴδιον τὰς  
 τῆς ὑψαυχενούσης κακίας καὶ τοῦ παρατεθηγμένου  
 107 καὶ ὀξυκινήτου καὶ σκιρτητικοῦ πάθους ἐπιβάθρας  
 [317] διασεῖσαι | καὶ ἀνατρέψαι. XXIV. τὸν μὲν οὖν  
 τῆς Εὐσας ὄφιν εἰσάγει κατ’ ἀνθρώπου φονῶντα—  
 λέγει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς· “ αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει  
 κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν ”—, τὸν  
 δὲ τοῦ Δάν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἵππου  
 108 πτέρναν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου δάκνοντα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 τῆς Εὐσας ἡδονῆς ὢν σύμβολον, ὡς ἐδείχθη πρό-  
 τερον, ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθεται  
 λογισμῶ—φθορὰ γὰρ διανοίας πλεοναζούσης ἡδονῆς  
 109 ἀπόλαυσις τε καὶ χρῆσις—· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Δάν, εἰκῶν  
 τις ὢν ἐρρωμενεστάτης ἀρετῆς καρτερίας, ἵππον,  
 τὸ πάθους καὶ κακίας σύμβολον, δῆξεται, διότι  
 σωφροσύνη τὴν τούτων καθαίρεσίν τε καὶ φθορὰν  
 μελετᾷ. δηχθέντων μέντοι καὶ ὀκλασάντων “ ὁ  
 110 ἵππεὺς ” φησὶ “ πεσεῖται.” ὁ δ’ αἰνίτ-  
 τεται, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· καλὸν καὶ περιμάχητον εἶναι

<sup>a</sup> i.e. “and remains there.”

<sup>b</sup> Or “according to the natural sequence of the thought” (perhaps, as Mangey, read ἀναγκαίᾳ).

## ON HUSBANDRY, 104-110

number of those that tread them, that have genuinely devoted themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, and entered into no other association than that with the beautiful and noble, and have renounced everything else whatever. To continue. There "lies in am- 105 bush," and that not once only,<sup>a</sup> everyone into whom a zeal and care for endurance enters, in order that making his onslaught from his lurking-place he may block the way of familiar pleasure, the fountain of ever-flowing ills, and rid the domain of the soul of her. Then, as he goes straight on to say,<sup>b</sup> he will as 106 a matter of course "bite the horse's heel"; for it is characteristic of endurance and self-mastery to disturb and upset the means by which vaunting vice and passion, keen and swift and unruly, make their approach. XXIV. Eve's serpent is represented by 107 the lawgiver as thirsting for man's blood, for he says in the curses pronounced on it, "He shall lie in wait for thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for his heel" (Gen. iii. 15); whereas Dan's serpent, of which we are now speaking, is represented as biting, not a man's, but a horse's heel. For Eve's serpent, being, 108 as was shewn before, a symbol of pleasure, attacks a man, namely, the reasoning faculty in each of us; for the delightful experience of abounding pleasure is the ruin of the understanding; whereas the serpent 109 of Dan, being a figure of endurance, a most sturdy virtue, will be found to bite a horse, the symbol of passion and wickedness, inasmuch as temperance makes the overthrow and destruction of these its aim. When these have been bitten and brought to their knees, "the horseman," he says, "shall fall."

What he conveys by a figure is this. 110  
He regards it as no worthy object of ambition for

## PHILO

- νομίζει<sup>1</sup> μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκ πάθους ἢ κακίας τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐποχεῖσθαι νοῦν, ἀλλ' ὅπότ' ἐπιβῆναί τινα αὐτῶν βιασθεῖη, σπουδάζειν καθάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀποπίπτειν· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πτώματα φέρει τὰς εὐκλεεστάτας νίκας. διὸ καὶ τῶν πάλαι τις προκληθεὶς ἐπὶ λουδορίας ἄμιλλαν οὐκ ἂν εἰς τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἔφη ποτὲ παρελθεῖν, ἐν ᾧ χείρων ὁ νικῶν ἐστι τοῦ
- 111 ἡττωμένου. XXV. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, ὦ οὔτος, μηδέποτ' εἰς κακῶν παρέλθης ἄμιλλαν μηδὲ περὶ πρωτείων τῶν ἐν τούτοις διαγωνίση, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, ἐὰν οἶόν τε ἦ, σπούδασον ἀποδρᾶναι· ἐὰν δέ που πρὸς ἔρρωμενεστέρας δυνάμεως βιασθεὶς ἀναγκασθῆς διαγωνίσασθαι, μὴ μελλήσης ἡττᾶσθαι·
- 112 τότε γὰρ εὖ μὲν ἔση νενικηκῶς ὁ ἡττώμενος, ἡττώμενοι δ' οἱ νενικηκότες. καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέψης μηδὲ κήρυκι κηρυῖξαι μηδὲ βραβευτῇ στεφανῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς παρελθὼν τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ τὸν φοίνικα ἀνάδος καὶ στεφάνωσον, εἰ θέλει, καὶ ταῖς ταινίαις ἀνάδησον καὶ κήρυξον αὐτὸς μεγάλη καὶ ἀρρήκτω φωνῇ κήρυγμα τοιοῦτον· τὸν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἀκολασίας ἀφροσύνης τε αὐ καὶ ἀδικίας προτεθέντα ἀγῶνα, ᾧ θεαταὶ καὶ ἀθλοθέται, ἡττημαὶ μὲν ἐγώ, νενίκηκε δ' οὔτοςί,<sup>2</sup> καὶ οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος νενίκηκεν, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς ἡμῖν, οὓς
- 113 εἰκὸς<sup>3</sup> ἦν βασκαίνειν, μὴ φθονεῖσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνιέρων τούτων ἀγῶνων ἀθλα παραχώρησον ἄλλοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντως αὐτὸς ἀνάδησαι· ἱεροὺς δὲ μὴ νομίσης ἀγῶνας, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἐν ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νομίζειν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οὔτος εἰ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὡς νίκος.

<sup>a</sup> Demosthenes; see Stobaeus, *Flor.* xix. 4.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 110-113

our mind to ride on any of the progeny of passion or wickedness, but, should it ever be forced to mount one of them, he considers that it is best for it to make haste to jump down and tumble off; for such falls bring the noblest victories. This explains what was meant by one of the ancients<sup>a</sup> when challenged to a reviling match. He said that he would never come forward for such a contest, for in it the victor is worse than the vanquished. XXV. Do you then 111 also, my friend, never come forward for a rivalry in badness, nor contend for the first place in this, but, best of all, if possible make haste to run away, but if in any case, under the pressure of strength greater than your own, you are compelled to engage in the contest, do not hesitate to be defeated; for then 112 you, the defeated combatant, will have won a grand victory, and those who have won will be suffering defeat. And do not allow either the herald to announce or the judge to crown the enemy as victor, but come forward yourself and present the prizes and the palm, and crown him ("by your leave, sir"), and bind the headband round his head, and do you yourself make with loud and strong voice this announcement: "In the contest that was proposed in lust and anger and licentiousness, in folly also and injustice, O ye spectators and stewards of the sports, I have been vanquished, and this man is the victor, and has proved himself so vastly superior, that even we, his antagonists, who might have been expected to grudge him his victory, feel no envy." Yield, 113 then, to others the prizes in these unholy contests, but bind upon your own head the wreaths won in the holy ones. And count not those to be holy contests which the states hold in their triennial Festivals,

## PHILO

- τριετηρίσιν ἄγουσι θέατρα ἀναδειμάμεναι πολλὰς  
 [318] ἀνθρώπων δεξόμενα<sup>1</sup> μυριάδας· ἐν | γὰρ τούτοις ἢ  
 ὁ καταπαλαίσας τινὰ καὶ ὑπτιον ἢ πρηγῆ τείνας  
 ἐπὶ γῆν ἢ ὁ πυκτεύει<sup>2</sup> καὶ παγκρατιάζειν δυνά-  
 μενος καὶ μηδεμιᾶς μήτε ὑβρεως μήτε ἀδικίας ἀπ-  
 114 εχόμενος φέρεται τὰ πρωτεία· XXVI. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ  
 σφόδρα καὶ κραταιότατα σιδηροῦν τροπὸν<sup>3</sup> ἀκονη-  
 σάμενοι καὶ στομώσαντες ἑκατέραν τῶν χειρῶν  
 περιάψαντες κεφαλὰς καὶ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀντιπάλων  
 ἀποσκάπτουσι καὶ τᾶλλα, ἐπὰν τύχῃσι τὰς πληγὰς  
 ἐνεγκόντες, ἀποθραύουσιν, εἴτα βραβείων καὶ στε-  
 φάνων τῆς ἀηλεοῦς ὠμότητος ἕνεκα μεταποιούν-  
 115 ται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγωνίσματα δρομέων ἢ  
 πεντάθλων τίς οὐκ ἂν γελάσαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων,  
 ἐπιτετηδευκότων μήκιστα ἐξάλλεσθαι καὶ μετρου-  
 μένων τὰ διαστήματα καὶ περὶ ποδῶν ὠκύτητος  
 ἀμιλλωμένων; οὓς οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀδροτέρων ζώων  
 δορκὰς ἢ ἔλαφος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βραχυτάτων  
 σκυλάκιον ἢ λαγωδάριον μὴ σφόδρα ἐπειγόμενον  
 116 ρύμη καὶ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντα παραδραμεῖται. τούτων  
 μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγώνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερός οὐδεὶς,  
 καὶ πάντες ἀνθρώποι μαρτυρῶσιν, οὓς ἀνάγκη  
 πρὸς ἑαυτῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι· οἱ γὰρ  
 ταῦτα θαυμάζοντες τοὺς νόμους τοὺς καθ' ὑβριστῶν  
 καὶ τιμωρίας τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰκίαις ἔθεσαν καὶ  
 δικαστὰς τοὺς περὶ ἐκάστων διαγνωσομένους ἀπ-  
 117 εκλήρωσαν. πῶς οὖν εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ  
 μὲν τοῖς ἰδία τινὰς αἰκισαμένοις ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ  
 δίκας κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπαραιτήτους ὠρικένοι, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τοῖς δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεάτροις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δεξάμεναι (-α).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. παλαίειν.

<sup>3</sup> Conj. Tr.: MSS. and Wend. σιδήρον τρόπον.



## ON HUSBANDRY, 113-117

and have built for them theatres to hold many myriads of men ; for in these prizes are carried away either by the man who has out-wrestled someone and laid him on his back or on his face upon the ground, or by the man who can box or combine boxing with wrestling, and who stops short at no act of outrage or unfairness. XXVI. Some give a sharp, strong 114 edge to an iron-bound thong,<sup>a</sup> and fasten it round both hands and lacerate the heads and faces of their opponents, and, when they succeed in planting their blows, batter the rest of their bodies, and then claim prizes and garlands for their pitiless savagery. As 115 for the other contests, of sprinters or of those who enter for the five exercises, what sensible person would not laugh at them, at their having practised to jump as far as possible, and getting the several distances measured, and making swiftness of foot a matter of rivalry ? And yet not only one of the larger animals, a gazelle or a stag, but a dog or hare, among the smaller ones, will, without hurrying much, outstrip them when running full pelt and without taking breath. Of these contests, in sober truth, 116 none is sacred, and even if all men testify to that effect, they cannot escape being convicted of false witness by themselves. For it was the admirers of these things who passed the laws against overbearing persons, and fixed the punishments to be awarded to acts of outrage, and allotted judges to investigate the several cases. How, then, are these two things compatible ? How can the very same persons be 117 indignant at outrages committed in private and have affixed to them inexorable penalties, and at the same time have by law awarded garlands and public

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 491.

PHILO

- στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ νομο-  
 118 θετῆσαι; δυεῖν γὰρ ἐναντίων καθ' ἑνὸς εἶτε  
 σώματος εἶτε πράγματος ὀρισθέντων ἢ εὖ ἢ  
 κακῶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν ἔχοι θάτερον· ἄμφω γὰρ  
 ἀμήχανον. πότερον οὖν ἐπαινοῖτ'<sup>1</sup> ἂν δεόντως;  
 ἂρ' οὐ τὸ τοὺς χειρῶν ἄρχοντας ἀδίκων κολάζε-  
 σθαι; ψέγοιτ' ἂν οὖν εἰκότως τὸ ἐναντίον, τὸ  
 τιμᾶσθαι· ψεκτὸν δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντως  
 119 εὐκλεές. XXVII. ὁ τοίνυν Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν  
 μόνος ἂν λέγοιτο ἐνδίκως ἱερός, οὐχ ὃν τιθέασιν  
 οἱ τὴν Ἥλιον οἰκοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ κτήσεως τῶν  
 θείων καὶ ὀλυμπίων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρετῶν. εἰς  
 τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα οἱ ἀσθενέστατοι τὰ σώματα  
 ἐρρωμενέστατοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγγράφονται πάντες,  
 εἶτα ἀποδυσάμενοι καὶ κονισάμενοι πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ  
 τέχνης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα δρῶσι, παραλιπόντες  
 120 οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νικηφορῆσαι. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀντι-  
 πάλων οἱ ἀθληταὶ περίεισιν οὗτοι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 δὲ πάλιν περὶ πρωτείων διαφέρονται<sup>2</sup>. οὐ γὰρ ὁ  
 αὐτὸς τῆς νίκης τρόπος ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄξιοι  
 τιμῆς ἀργαλεωτάτους καὶ βαρεῖς ἀνατρέψαντες  
 121 καὶ καταβαλόντες ἐχθρούς. θαυμασιώτατος δὲ καὶ  
 τούτων ὁ διενεγκών, ᾧ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἀθλων<sup>3</sup> |  
 [319] οὐ φθονητέον λαμβάνοντι. οἱ δὲ κἂν δευτερείων  
 ἢ τρίτων ἀξιοθῶσι, μὴ κατηφείτωσαν· καὶ γὰρ  
 ταῦτα ἐπ' ἀρετῆς κτήσει προτίθεται, τοῖς δὲ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πότερον συνεπαινοῖτ' ἂν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. διαλέγονται.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀθλητῶν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 491.

<sup>b</sup> Or "as a reward for."

## ON HUSBANDRY, 117-121

announcements and other honours to those who have done so publicly and at State festivals and in theatres? For if two things, contrary the one to the other, have been determined against one person or one action, one or other must of necessity be right and the other wrong; for it is out of the question that they should both be right or both wrong. Which then, rightly, would you praise? Would you not approve the punishment of those who are guilty of unprovoked violence and wrong? In that case you would censure, as a matter of course, the opposite treatment of them, the shewing honour to them. XXVII. And, since nothing sacred is censurable, but wholly of good report, it follows that the Olympic contest<sup>a</sup> is the only one that can rightly be called sacred; not the one which the inhabitants of Elis hold, but the contest for the winning of the virtues which are divine and really Olympian. For this contest those who are very weaklings in their bodies but stalwarts in their souls all enter, and proceed to strip and rub dust over them and do everything that skill and strength enables them to do, omitting nothing that can help them to victory. So these athletes prevail over their opponents, but they are also competing among themselves for the highest place. For they do not all win the victory in the same way, though all deserve honour for overthrowing and bringing down most troublesome and doughty opponents. Most worthy of admiration is the one who excels among these, and, as he receives the first prizes, no one can grudge them to him. Nor let those be down-cast who have been held worthy of the second or third prize. For these, like the first, are prizes offered with a view to<sup>b</sup> the acquisition of virtue, and those

## PHILO

τῶν ἄκρων ἐφικέσθαι δυναμένοις ἢ τῶν μέσων κτήσις ὠφέλιμος, λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ βεβαιοτέρα τὸν ἐμφυόμενον αἰεὶ τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν ἐκφεύγουσα  
 122 φθόνον. παιδευτικώτατα οὖν εἴρηται τὸ “ πεσεῖται ὁ ἱππεύς,” ἢ εἴ τις ἀποπίπτει [μὲν] κακῶν, ἐγείρηται [δὲ] ἀγαθοῖς ἐπηρειδόμενος καὶ συν-  
 ορθιασθῆ. διδασκαλικώτατον δὲ κακείνο, μὴ πρόσω φάναι, κατόπιν δὲ πίπτειν, ἐπειδὴ κακίας καὶ  
 123 πάθους ὑστερίζειν αἰεὶ λυσιτελέστατον· φθάνειν μὲν γὰρ τὰ καλὰ δρῶντα δεῖ, τὰ δὲ αἰσχρὰ μέλλειν [καὶ] ἔμπαλιν, κακείοις μὲν προσέρχεσθαι, τούτων δὲ ὑστερίζειν καὶ μακρὸν ὅσον ἀπολείπεσθαι· ᾧ  
 <γὰρ> τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγγίνεται <καὶ> παθῶν ὑστερίζειν, ἄνοσος διατελεῖ. τὴν γοῦν “ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτηρίαν περιμένειν ” φησὶν αὐτόν, ἵνα ἐφ’ ὅσον ἀπελείφθη τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῷ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἐπιδράμη.

124 XXVIII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἱππέως καὶ ἀναβάτου, κτηνοτρόφου τε καὶ ποιμένου, ἔτι δὲ γῆν ἐργαζομένου καὶ γεωργοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα εἴρηται, καὶ αἱ καθ’ ἐκάστην συζυγίαν ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἠκρίβωνται  
 125 διαφοραί. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καιρὸς ἤδη τρέπεσθαι. τὸν οὖν ἐφιέμενον ἀρετῆς οὐ παντελῆ κεκτημένον τὴν γεωργικὴν<sup>1</sup> ψυχῆς ἐπιστήμην εἰσάγει, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ μόνον περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς πεπονημένον· λέγει γάρ· “ ἦρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι

<sup>1</sup> mss. γεωργικῆς; cf. ἡ γεωργικὴ ψυχῆς τέχνη *Quod Det.* 111.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ meaning that he should be as eager for right-doing as he was backward for wrong-doing,” the *ἵνα* expressing the purpose of the prophet’s words, rather than that of the horseman, as in § 122.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 121-125

who cannot reach the topmost virtues are gainers by the acquisition of the less lofty ones, and theirs is actually, as is often said, a more secure gain since it escapes the envy which ever attaches itself to pre-eminence. There is, then, a very instructive purpose 122 in the words, "the horseman shall fall," namely, that if a man fall off from evil things, he may get up supporting himself upon good things and be set upright. Another point full of teaching is his speaking of falling not forwards, but backwards, since to be behindhand in vice and passion is always most to our advantage ; for we ought to be beforehand when 123 doing noble deeds, but on the contrary to be tardy about doing base deeds : we should go to meet the former, but be late for the latter, and fall short of them by the greatest possible distance ; for he, whose happiness it is to be late for sinful deeds and passion's promptings, abides in freedom from soul-sickness. You see, it says that he is "waiting for the salvation that comes from God." He looks out for it, to the end that he may run as far to meet right-doing, as he was late for wrongdoing.<sup>a</sup>

XXVIII. All that is pertinent to horseman and 124 rider, cattle-rearer and shepherd, as well as to soil-worker and husbandman, has now been said, and the differences between the members of each pair have been stated with such minuteness as was possible. It is time to turn to what comes afterwards. Well, 125 the lawgiver represents the aspirant to virtue as not possessing in its completeness the science of soul-husbandry, but as having done no more than spend some labour on the elements of that science ; for he says, "Noah began to be an husbandman." Now

## PHILO

- γεωργός." ἀρχὴ δ', ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν λόγος, ἡμῖσι  
 τοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἂν ἡμίσει πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀφ-  
 εστηκυῖα,<sup>1</sup> οὐ μὴ προσγενομένου καὶ τὸ ἄρξασθαι  
 126 πολλάκις μεγάλα πολλοὺς ἔβλαψεν. ἤδη γοῦν τινες  
 καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐαγῶν τῆς διανοίας κατὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς  
 μεταβολὰς στροβουμένης ἔννοιαν χρηστοῦ τινος  
 ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὠνηντο· ἔστι γὰρ μὴ πρὸς τὸ  
 τέλος ἠξάντων φορὰν ἀθρόον τῶν ἐναντίων καταρ-  
 ραγεῖσαν ἐπικλύσαι καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν ἐκείνο δια-  
 127 φθαρῆναι νόημα. XXIX. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο  
 μέντοι δόξαντι θυσίας ἀμέμπτους ἀναγαγεῖν τῷ  
 Κάιν λόγιον ἐξέπεσε μὴ θαρρεῖν ὡς κεκαλλιερη-  
 κότη; μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τελείοις βουθυτῆσαι·  
 τὸ δὲ λόγιόν ἐστι τοιόνδε· "οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προσ-  
 128 ἐνέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς." ὀρθὸν μὲν οὖν ἡ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴ, τὸ δὲ ἀδιαίρετον οὐκ ὀρθόν. ὃν  
 δ' ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο λόγον, ἴδωμεν· εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὸ  
 εὐσεβὲς ἐν τῷ πάντα φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι,  
 129 τὰ τε καλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία, περιγράφοντες· πρὸς  
 [320] οὓς ἂν λέγοιμεν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑμῶν | ἐπαινετόν ἐστι  
 τῆς δόξης, τὸ δ' ἔμπαλιν ψεκτόν, ἐπαινετόν μὲν,  
 ὅτι τὸ μόνον θαυμάζετε τίμιον, ψεκτόν δὲ αὖ,  
 παρόσον ἄνευ τομῆς καὶ διαιρέσεως· ἔδει γὰρ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὅς ἂν . . . ἀφέστηκεν.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Det.* 64.

<sup>b</sup> The main links of the thought from here to § 168 may be given as follows: Good ideas are often spoilt for want of proper analysis or "distinguishing," but (§ 134) distinguishing by itself is useless, without remembering and meditating on what has been learnt (cf. *De Sac.* 82 ff.). In connexion with this we have the tirade against futile and exaggerated distinguishing (cf. §§ 136-141). The two together will give perfection, but till this is gained the beginner must not attempt

“ a beginning is half of the whole,” or “ begun is half done,”<sup>a</sup> as was said by the men of old, as being half-way towards the end, whereas if the end be not added as well, the very making of a beginning has many a time done many people much harm.<sup>b</sup> It has, 126 as we all know, happened before now that even people far from guiltless, as their mind kept turning about in perpetual change, have hit upon an idea of something wholesome, but have got no good from it ; for it is possible that ere they have come to the end, a strong current of contrary tendencies has swept over them like a flood, and that wholesome idea has come to nothing.

XXIX. Was it not owing to 127 this, that, when Cain imagined that he had presented faultless sacrifices, a divine intimation was made to him not to be confident that his offering had met with God’s favour ; for that the conditions of his sacrifice had not been holy and perfect ? The divine message is this : “ <All is> not <well>, if thou offerest rightly, but dost not rightly distinguish ”<sup>c</sup> (Gen. iv. 7). So 128 the honour paid to God is a right act, but the failure to divide is not right. What this means, let us see. There are some whose definition of reverence is that it consists in saying that all things were made by God, both beautiful things and their opposites. We 129 would say to these, one part of your opinion is praiseworthy, the other part on the contrary is faulty. It is praiseworthy that you regard with wonder and reverence that which is alone worthy of honour ; on the other hand, you are to blame for doing so without clear-cut distinctions. You ought never to have things beyond his capacity (§§ 146-165), or he will find himself supplanted by others (§§ 166-168).

<sup>c</sup> For Philo’s way of taking this text see note on *De Sobr.* 50.

## PHILO

- φῦραι καὶ συγχέαι πάντων ἀθρώως ἀποφήναντας  
 αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διαστολῆς μόνων ὁμολογήσαι  
 130 τῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἱερέων μὲν πρόνοιαν  
 ἔχειν, ὡς ὀλόκληροι τὰ σώματα καὶ παντελεῖς  
 ἔσονται, τῶν τε καταθνομένων ζώων, ὡς οὐδὲν  
 οὐδεμίᾳ τὸ παράπαν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῇ βραχυτάτῃ  
 χρήσεται λώβῃ, καὶ τινὰς διόπους<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
 χειροτονεῖν τὸ ἔργον, οὓς ἔνιοι μωμοσκοπούς  
 ὀνομάζουσιν, ἵνα ἄμωμα καὶ ἀσινῆ προσάγηται τῷ  
 βωμῷ τὰ ἱερέια, τὰς δὲ περὶ θεοῦ δόξας ἐν ταῖς  
 ἐκάστων ψυχαῖς ὑποσυγκεχύσθαι<sup>2</sup> καὶ μὴ κανόνι  
 131 ὀρθοῦ λόγου διακεκρίσθαι. XXX. τὸν  
 κάμηλον οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι φησι ζῶον  
 ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὴ μηρυκᾶται μὲν, οὐ διχληεῖ δέ;  
 καίτοι γε πρὸς τὴν ῥητὴν ἐπίσκεψιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὄν  
 ἔχει λόγον ἢ προσαποδοθεῖσα <αἰτία>, πρὸς δὲ τὴν  
 132 δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀναγκαιότατον· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μηρυκώ-  
 μενον τὴν προκαταβληθεῖσαν ὑπαναπλέουσαν αὐθις  
 ἐπιλεαίνει τροφήν, οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς,  
 ἐπειδάν τινα δι' ἀκοῆς δέξεται θεωρήματα, λήθη  
 μὲν αὐτὰ οὐ παραδίδωσιν, ἡρεμήσασα δὲ καθ'  
 ἑαυτὴν ἕκαστα μεθ' ἡσυχίας τῆς πάσης ἀναπολεῖ  
 133 καὶ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῶν πάντων ἔρχεται. μνήμη δ'  
 οὐ πᾶσα ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς,  
 ἐπεὶ τό γε ἄλγιστα εἶναι τὰ κακὰ βλαβερώτατον·  
 οὐ ἔνεκα πρὸς τελειότητα χρεία τοῦ διχληεῖν, ἵνα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δεῖ ὄσους.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπισυγκεχύσθαι.

\* See App. p. 491.



## ON HUSBANDRY, 129-133

mixed and confused the matter by representing Him as Author of all things indiscriminately, but to have drawn a sharp line and owned Him Author of the good things only.<sup>a</sup> It is a senseless thing to be 130 scrupulous about priests being free from bodily defect or deformity and about animals for sacrifice being exempt from the very slightest blemish, and to appoint inspectors (called by some "flaw-spiers") on purpose to provide that the victims may be brought to the altar free from flaw or imperfections; and at the same time to suffer the ideas about God in their several souls to be in confusion, with no distinctions made between true and false by the application to them of the rule and standard of right principles.

XXX. Do you not see that the Law 131 says that the camel is an unclean animal, because, though it chews the cud, it does not part the hoof (Lev. xi. 4)? And yet, if we fix our eyes on the literal way of regarding the matter, I do not know what principle there is in the reason given for the camel's uncleanness; but, if we look to the way suggested by latent meanings there is a most vital principle. For as the animal that chews the cud 132 renders digestible the food taken in before as it rises again to the surface,<sup>a</sup> so the soul of the keen learner, when it has by listening taken in this and that proposition, does not hand them over to forgetfulness, but in stillness all alone goes over them one by one quite quietly, and so succeeds in recalling them all to memory. Not all memory, however, is a good thing, 133 but that which is brought to bear upon good things only, for it would be a thing most noxious that evil should be unforgettable. That is why, if perfection is to be attained, it is necessary to divide the hoof,

## PHILO

- τοῦ μνημονικοῦ δίχα τμηθέντος ὁ λόγος διὰ στόματος, οὐ πάρα<sup>1</sup> ἢ φύσις διττὰ εἰργάσατο χεῖλη, ῥέων διαστείλῃ τό τε ὠφέλιμον καὶ τὸ ἐπιζήμιον  
 134 μνήμης γένους εἶδος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ διχηλεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ μηρυκᾶσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸ φαίνεταιί τινα ἔχειν ὄνησιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. τί γὰρ ὄφελος τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων τέμνειν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον μέχρι τῶν λεπτοτάτων, εἰς τοῦσχατον <δέ> αὐτὸ μηκέτι γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἔχειν διαιρετὰ<sup>2</sup> τὰ μέρη, ἅπερ ἄτομα καὶ ἀμερῆ πρὸς ἐνίων εὐθυβόλως ὀνομάζεται;  
 135 ταῦτα γὰρ συνέσεως μὲν καὶ περιττῆς ἀκριβείας ἠκονημένης εἰς ὀξυτάτην ἀγκύνοιαν ἐναργῆ δείγματ' ἐστίν, ὄνησιν δὲ οὐδεμίαν πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ  
 [321] | ἀνεπιλήπτου βίου διεξοδὸν ἔχει.  
 136 XXXI. καθ' ἐκάστην γοῦν ἡμέραν ὁ πανταχοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν ὄμιλος ἀποκναίει τὰ ὦτα τῶν παρατυχανόντων ἀκριβολογούμενος καὶ τὰς διπλᾶς καὶ ἀμφιβόλους λέξεις ἀναπτύσσει καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅσα δοκεῖ μεμνήσθαι—πέπηγε δὲ καὶ πλειόνων—διακρίνων. ἢ οὐχ οἱ μὲν τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς εἰς τε ἄφωνα καὶ φωνήεντα τέμνουσιν; ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν λόγον εἰς τὰ ἀνωτάτω τρία, ὄνομα,  
 137 ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμον; μουσικοὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιστήμην εἰς ῥυθμόν, εἰς μέτρον,<sup>3</sup> εἰς μέλος, καὶ τὸ μέλος εἰς τε τὸ χρωματικὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον καὶ διατονικὸν εἶδος καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ διὰ πέντε

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὥσπερ ἄττα.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read ἀδιαιρετά, *i.e.* "never finding that the parts we come to are incapable of division." See App. p. 492.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. μέρος.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "no longer to reach," *i.e.* "to fail to do what we do in other undertakings," a common extension of meaning in οὐκέτι or μηκέτι.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 491.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 133-137

in order that, the faculty of memory being cut in twain, language as it flows through the mouth, for which Nature wrought lips as twin boundaries, may separate the beneficial and the injurious forms of memory. But neither does dividing the hoof by 134 itself apart from chewing the cud appear to have anything advantageous on its own account. For what use is there in dissecting the natures of things, beginning from the beginning and going on to the minutest particles, and yet failing to reach<sup>a</sup> the absolute end, and finding before you defying division those parts which are happily named by some "atoms" or "partless"?<sup>b</sup> For such a course is clear proof of 135 sagacity and nicety of precision whetted to keenest edge of shrewdness; but it is of no advantage towards promoting nobility of character and a blameless passage through life.

XXXI. See 136 how true this is. Day after day the swarm of sophists to be found everywhere wears out the ears of any audience they happen to have with disquisitions on minutiae, unravelling phrases that are ambiguous and can bear two meanings and distinguishing among circumstances such as it is well to bear in mind—and they are set on bearing in mind a vast number.<sup>c</sup> Do not some of them divide the letters of written speech into consonants and vowels? And do not some of them break up language into its three ultimate<sup>d</sup> parts, noun, verb, conjunction? Do not musicians divide 137 their own science into rhythm, metre, tune; and the tune or melody into the chromatic, harmonic and diatonic form, and into intervals of a fourth, a fifth

<sup>a</sup> Or "such as they think well . . . and even more" (*i.e.* than they themselves think worth remembering).

<sup>d</sup> Or "main parts," as γενικώτατα § 138.

## PHILO

- καὶ διὰ πασῶν, συνημμένων τε καὶ διεξευγμένων  
 138 μελωδίας; γεωμέτραι δὲ εἰς τὰς γενικωτάτας δύο  
 γραμμὰς εὐθειάν τε καὶ περιφέρειαν; καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 τεχνῖται εἰς τὰς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιστήμην ἰδέας τὰς  
 139 ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἄχρι τῶν ὑστάτων; ᾧ συνεπι-  
 ηχείτω μέντοι καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων χορὸς ἅπας  
 τὰ εἰωθότα διεξιὼν, ὅτι τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ  
 σώματα, τὰ δ' ἀσώματα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα, τὰ δὲ  
 ψυχῆν ἔχοντα· καὶ τὰ μὲν λογικά, τὰ δ' ἄλογα·  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν θνητά, τὰ δὲ θεία· καὶ τῶν θνητῶν τὸ  
 140 μὲν ἄρρεν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ, τὰ ἀνθρώπου τμήματα· καὶ  
 πάλιν τῶν ἀσωμάτων τὰ μὲν τέλεια, τὰ δὲ ἀτελῆ·  
 καὶ τῶν τελείων τὰ μὲν ἐρωτήματα καὶ πύσματα  
 ἀρατικά<sup>1</sup> τε αὖ καὶ ὄρκικὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῶν  
 κατ' εἶδος ἐν ταῖς περὶ τούτων στοιχειώσεσιν ἀνα-  
 γράφονται διαφοραί, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ἃ διαλεκτικοῖς  
 141 ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἀξιώματα· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ,  
 τὰ δ' οὐχ ἀπλᾶ· καὶ τῶν οὐχ ἀπλῶν τὰ μὲν συν-  
 ημμένα, τὰ δὲ παρασυνημμένα τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἦττον,<sup>2</sup>  
 καὶ προσέτι δὲ διεξευγμένα καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα,  
 ἔτι δ' ἀληθῆ τε καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἄδηλα, δυνατά τε  
 καὶ ἀδύνατα [καὶ τὰ μὲν φθαρτὰ καὶ ἀφθαρτα]  
 καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα, καὶ εὐπορά τε  
 καὶ ἄπορα καὶ ὅσα συγγενῆ τούτοις· πάλιν δὲ τῶν  
 ἀτελῶν αἰ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα κατηγορήματα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἐρωτικά.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps (as in Diog. Laert. vii. 69) <τὰ διασαφούντα> (or some equivalent participle) τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον.

<sup>a</sup> Or "from the primary (divisions) to the ultimate."

<sup>b</sup> The Stoics admitted four kinds of "incorporeal" things, viz. time, place, void, and λεκτόν or σημαίνόμενον, i.e. the meaning conveyed by speech as opposed to the actual sound

or an octave, and into melodies with united or dis-  
 joined tetrachords? Do not geometers put all 138  
 lines under two main heads, the straight line and the  
 curve? Do not other experts place everything in  
 the principal categories that their several sciences  
 suggest, categories that start with the elements of  
 the science and go on until they have dealt with their  
 last and highest achievements<sup>a</sup>? With their com- 139  
 pany let the whole choir of philosophers chime in,  
 harping on their wonted themes, how that of exist-  
 ences some are bodies, some incorporeal<sup>b</sup>; and of  
 bodies, some lifeless, some having life; some rational,  
 some irrational, some mortal, some divine; and of  
 mortal beings, some male, some female; a distinc-  
 tion which applies to man; and of things incorporeal 140  
 again, some complete, some incomplete<sup>c</sup>; and of those  
 that are complete, some questions and inquiries, im-  
 precations and adjurations, not to mention all the  
 other particular differences, all of which are set forth  
 in the elementary handbooks which deal with them.  
 Again, there are what dialecticians are accustomed to  
 call propositions. Of these, some are simple, some 141  
 not so; and of the non-simple, some hypothetical,  
 some inferential, some <indicating> more or less,  
 some moreover disjunctive; and suchlike distinctions.  
 They distinguish further things true, false, and doubt-  
 ful; possible and impossible; conclusive and in-  
 conclusive;<sup>d</sup> soluble and insoluble; and all kindred  
 antitheses. Again, applying to incorporeal things  
 which are incomplete there are the subdivisions into  
 which was corporeal. See *S.V.F.* ii. 331. Philo ignores the  
 first three and deals with the subdivisions of *λεκτόν*.

<sup>c</sup> For the explanation of these and the following terms  
 see App. p. 492.

<sup>d</sup> Or "necessarily and not necessarily true."

## PHILO

- ουμβεβηκότα και ὅσα τούτων ἐλάττω διαιρέσεις  
 142 προσεχέις. XXXII. κἄν ἔτι παρα-  
 θήξας ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὸ λεπτότερον ἑαυτόν, καθάπερ  
 ἰατρός τὰ σώματα, τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεις  
 ἀνατέμνει, πλέον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν ἐργά-  
 σεται, ἀλλὰ διχληθήσει μὲν διαστέλλειν και δια-  
 κρίνειν ἕκαστα δυνάμενος, οὐ μηρυκηθήσεται δέ,  
 ὡς ὠφελίμω χρησθαι τροφῇ κατὰ τὰς ὑπομνήσεις  
 τὴν ἐξ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐπιγεγεννημένην τραχύτητα  
 [322] ψυχῇ λεαινούσῃ και | προσηνῇ και λείαν τῷ ὄντι  
 143 κίνησιν ἀπεργαζομένη. μυριοὶ οὖν τῶν λεγομένων  
 σοφιστῶν θαυμασθέντες κατὰ πόλεις και τὴν οἰκου-  
 μένην σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἐπὶ τιμὴν ἐπιστρέψαντες  
 ἔνεκα ἀκριβολογίας και τῆς περὶ τὰς εὐρέσεις  
 δεινότητος ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς πάθεσι ἐγκατεγήρασαν  
 και ἐγκατέτριψαν<sup>1</sup> τὸν βίον οὐδὲν ἰδιωτῶν ἡμελη-  
 μένων και φαυλοτάτων διενεγκόντες ἀνθρώπων.  
 144 διὸ και παγκάλως τοὺς οὕτω βιοῦντας τῶν σοφι-  
 στῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τῷ συνῶν παραβάλλει γένει  
 διαυγεί μὲν οὐδενὶ και καθαρῷ θολερῷ δέ και  
 βορβορώδει<sup>2</sup> βίῳ και τοῖς αἰσχίστοις ἐμφερομένους.<sup>3</sup>  
 145 τὸν γὰρ συν ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι φησιν, ὅτι διχληεὶ  
 μὲν, οὐ μηρυκᾶται δέ, ὡς τὸν κάμηλον διὰ τὴν  
 ἐναντίαν πρόφασιν, ὅτι μηρυκῶμενος οὐ διχληεὶ.  
 ὅσα μὲν <τοι> τῶν ζῴων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχει,  
 καθαρὰ εἰκότως ἀναγράφεται, ὅτι τὴν περὶ ἑκά-  
 τερον<sup>4</sup> τῶν λεχθέντων ἀτοπίαν ἐκπέφευγε. και γὰρ  
 διαίρεσις ἄνευ μνήμης και μελέτης και διεξόδου

<sup>1</sup> mss. κατεγήρασαν και κατέτριψαν, which perhaps might be retained and a participle like *χρῶμενοι* inserted to govern *πάθεσι*.

<sup>2</sup> mss. βαραθρώδει.

<sup>3</sup> So mss. : perhaps *ἐμφερομένων*.

<sup>4</sup> mss. θατέραν (-α).

“predicates” and “complements” and still more minute refinements. XXXII. And if the mind putting a still finer edge upon itself dissect the natures of things, as a surgeon does men’s bodies, he will effect nothing that is of advantage for the acquiring of virtue. It is true that, by reason of his power to distinguish and discriminate in each case, he will “divide the hoof,” but he will not “chew the cud” so as to have at his service beneficial nourishment with its wholesome reminders, smoothing out the roughness that had accrued to the soul as the result of errors, and producing an easy and truly smooth movement.\* And so multitudes of those who are called sophists, after winning the admiration of city after city, and after drawing wellnigh the whole world to honour them for their hair-splitting and their clever inventiveness, have with all their might worn their life out, and brought it to premature old age, by the indulgence of their passions, differing not at all from neglected nobodies and the most worthless of mankind. Excellently, therefore, does the law-giver compare the race of sophists who live in this way to swine. Such men are at home in a mode of life not bright and luminous but thick and muddy and in all that is most ugly. For he says that the pig is unclean, because, though it divide the hoof, it does not chew the cud (Lev. xi. 7). He pronounces the camel unclean for the opposite reason, because though chewing the cud he does not divide the hoof. But such animals as do both are, as we might expect, set down as clean, since they have escaped the unnatural development in each of the directions named. For indeed distinguishing without memory and with-

\* See App. p. 493.

## PHILO

τῶν ἀρίστων \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> ἀγαθὸν ἀτελές, ἡ δ' ἀμφοῖν εἰς ταῦτὸ σύννοδος τε καὶ κοινωνία τελειότατον.

- 146 XXXIII. Τελειότητα δὲ καὶ οἱ δυσμενεῖς τῆς ψυχῆς καταπήσσουσιν, ὧν μηκέτι ἐπανίστασθαι δυναμένων ἢ ἀψευδῆς εἰρήνη κρατεῖ. ἡμίεργου δ' ὅσοι σοφίας ἢ πάλιν ἡμιπαγοῦς ἔλαχον, ἀσθενέστεροι ἢ ὥστε ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκ πολλοῦ συγκεκροτημένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιδεδωκότων ἐναντιοῦσθαι
- 147 στίφεσι. διὰ τοῦθ' ὅταν ἐν τῷ τοῦ πολέμου καιρῷ ποιῆται τῆς στρατιᾶς κατάλογον, οὐχ ἅπασαν καλεῖ τὴν νεότητα, κἂν μετὰ προθυμίας τῆς πάσης αὐτοκελεύστῳ χρῆται πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἄμυναν ἐτοιμότητι, προστάττει δὲ ἀπίοντας οἴκοι καταμείναι, ὡς ἂν ἐκ συνεχοῦς μελέτης τὴν τοῦ ποτε δύνασθαι νικᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος ἰσχύν τε καὶ ἐμπειρίαν εὖρωνται
- 148 κραταιοτάτην. ἡ δὲ πρόσταξις διὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς γραμματέων γίνεται, ὅταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐγγὺς καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὧν ἤδη τυγχάνῃ· ταυτὶ δὲ φήσουσι· “ τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ οἰκοδομήσας οἰκίαν καινὴν καὶ οὐκ ἐνεκαίνισεν αὐτήν; πορευέσθω καὶ ἀποστραφήτω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος ἐγκαινιεῖ αὐτήν. καὶ τίς ὃς ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ οὐκ εὐφράνθη ἐξ αὐτοῦ; πορευέσθω καὶ ἀποστραφήτω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος εὐφρανθήσεται ἐξ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τίς ἐμνηστεύσατο γυναῖκα καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβεν αὐτήν; πορευέσθω καὶ ἀποστραφήτω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος

<sup>1</sup> The translation follows Wend., who supplies after ἀρίστων some such words as καὶ μνήμη χωρὶς διαιρέσεως τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων; but see App. 493.



out conning and going over of the things that are best is an incomplete good (as is memory without distinguishing between good things and their opposites), but the meeting and partnership of both in combination is a good most complete and perfect.

XXXIII. Now even men of ill will cower before 146  
 perfection of soul, and, when they can no longer  
 resist it, genuine peace prevails. But men that have  
 attained to a wisdom half-wrought or, to change the  
 figure, half-baked, are too feeble to stand up against  
 massed bodies of sins that have been long in training  
 and have become increasingly formidable. This is 147  
 why, when in time of war the lawgiver is mustering  
 the army, he does not summon all the youth, even  
 though it be filled with the utmost zeal and shew  
 readiness that requires no spurring to repel the  
 enemy, but bids them depart and stay at home,  
 that as the result of constant practice they may  
 acquire overpowering strength and skill, such as  
 shall enable them one day to win a decisive victory.  
 The command is given through the marshals or 148  
 secretaries<sup>a</sup> of the army, when war is near and already  
 at the very doors. What they are to say is this:  
 "Who is the man that has built a new house and  
 has not hanselled it? Let him go and turn back to  
 his house, lest he be killed in the war and another  
 man hansel it. And who is there that has planted  
 a vineyard and not been made joyous by its fruits?  
 Let him go his way and turn back to his house, lest  
 he die in the war and another have joy from it. And  
 to whom has a wife been promised, whom he has not  
 taken? Let him go his way and turn back to his  
 house, lest he die in the war and another take her "

<sup>a</sup> E.V. "officers."

## PHILO

149 | λήψεται αὐτήν.” XXXIV. διὰ τί γάρ, εἴπομι  
 [323] ἄν, ὧ θαυμασιώτατε, οὐχὶ τούτους μᾶλλον ἐτέρων  
 εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ πολέμου κατατάττειν ἀξιοῖς, οἱ  
 γύναια καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀμπελώνας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 κτήσιν ἀφθονωτάτην περιπεποιήνται; τοὺς γὰρ  
 περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους, καὶ εἰ  
 πάντως εἴεν βαρύτατοι, κουφότατα οἴσουσιν· ἐπεὶ  
 οἷς γε τῶν λεχθέντων οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν, ἅτε μηδὲν  
 ἔχοντες ἀναγκαῖον ἐνέχυρον ὄκνω καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ τὰ  
 150 πολλὰ χρήσονται. ἢ παρόσον οὐδενὸς τῶν κτηθέν-  
 των ἀπολελεύκασιν, εἶτα μηδ’ ὕστερον δυνηθῶσιν  
 ἀπολαῦσαι; τοῖς γὰρ κρατηθείσι τῷ πολέμῳ τίς  
 ἀπολείπεται τῶν κτηθέντων ὄνησις; ἀλλ’ οὐχ  
 ἀλώσονται.<sup>1</sup> εὐθύς μὲν οὖν τό γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀστρατεύ-  
 τοις πείσονται· οἴκοι γὰρ καθεζομένων καὶ τρυ-  
 φώντων ἀνάγκη τοὺς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου συντόνως  
 δρῶντας ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἀναιμωτὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 151 ἀκονιτὶ κρατεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων  
 πλῆθος καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀγῶνα προθύμως  
 ἀναδέξεται. πρῶτον μὲν ἄτοπον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐτέρων  
 σπουδαῖς ἢ τύχαις ὀρμεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε περὶ  
 ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ πορθησεως  
 ἰδιός τε καὶ κοινὸς ἐπικρέμαται κίνδυνος, δυνα-  
 μένους συνδιαφέρεσθαι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μῆθ’  
 ὑπὸ νόσου μῆθ’ ὑπὸ γήρωσ μῆθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλης κακο-  
 πραγίας μηδεμιᾶς κωλυομένους. ἀρπάσαντας γὰρ  
 δεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ταῖς πρώταις φάλαγξι τούτους καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. prints a mark of interrogation here and in §151 after ἀναδέξεται. The translators have substituted full stops, regarding the sentences in both cases as objections raised by the other side.

<sup>a</sup> The elaborate argument which follows to show that Moses must have intended an intellectual or spiritual warfare  
 184

(Deut. xx. 5-7).<sup>a</sup> XXXIV. "For what reason," I 149  
 should be inclined to say, "my good friend, do you  
 not think fit to assign these more than others to the  
 conflict of the war, who have secured for themselves  
 wives and houses and vineyards and other possessions  
 in lavish abundance? They will bear very lightly, be  
 they ever so heavy, the dangers incurred to keep them  
 safe; while those who have none of the ties mentioned,  
 having nothing vital at stake, will for the most part  
 be sluggish and slack. Or, again, is the fact that they 150  
 have derived no enjoyment from any of their acquisi-  
 tions a good reason for depriving them of the possi-  
 bility of doing so in the future? For what advantage  
 from their possessions remains to the vanquished?"

"Nay but," I think you urge, "*they* will not be  
 prisoners."

On the contrary, they will at once incur the fate of  
 non-combatants. For enemies vigorously carrying  
 on operations of war are quite sure to become masters  
 of men sitting at home at their ease, not merely  
 without bloodshed but without a struggle.

"Nay," you urge again, "the large forces on their 151  
 side will gladly undertake to fight for these as well."

In the first place, I reply, it is monstrous to rely  
 on the efforts or good fortune of others, especially  
 when there is the menace hanging over both indi-  
 vidual citizens and the city itself of spoliation and  
 deportation and enslavement, and that when they  
 are able to do their part in bearing the burdens of  
 war and are hindered from doing so neither by  
 illness nor by old age nor by any other misfortune.  
 It behoves these people to snatch up their weapons

takes the form of a dialogue with the *γραμματεῖς* in which  
 they raise objections in §§ 150, 151, and 155.

## PHILO

- ὑπερέχειν τῶν συμμάχων τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκθύμως  
καὶ φιλοκινδύνως μαχομένους. XXXV.
- 152 ἔπειτ' οὐ προδοσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἀν-  
αληθσίας ἐξενηνοχότες ἂν εἶεν δείγματα, εἰ οἱ μὲν  
ἄλλοι προπολεμήσουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς οἰκείους  
πράγμασιν ἔσονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς  
ἐκείνων σωτηρίας ἀγῶνας ἀναρρίπτειν θελήσουσιν,  
οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἀναδέξονται, καὶ οἱ  
μὲν ἀσιτίας καὶ χαμευνίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σώματός  
τε καὶ ψυχῆς κακώσεις ἄσμενοι διὰ τὸν τοῦ νικῆσαι  
πόθον καρτερήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ κονιάματα καὶ λήρους,  
κόσμον ἄψυχον, οἰκίαις περιτιθέντες ἢ τὴν κατ'  
ἀγροὺς ὀπώραν δρεπόμενοι καὶ τὰ πιλῆνι' ἄγοντες  
ἢ ταῖς ὁμολογηθείσαις ἔκπαλαι παρθένους νῦν πρῶ-  
τον εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἐρχόμενοι καὶ συνευναζόμενοι ὡς  
ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτάτῳ τοῦ γαμεῖν καιρῷ διατελοῦσι;
- 153 καλὸν γε τοίχων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, προσόδους ἐκλέγειν,  
ἐστιᾶσθαι, μεθύειν, θαλαμεύεσθαι, νυμφοστολεῖσθαι  
τὰς γεγηρακυίας καὶ σαπράς, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ'  
εἰρήνης ἔργα, ἐν δ' ἔτι ἡβῶντός τε καὶ ἀνθούντος
- 154 ἀκμῇ πολέμου ἄτοπα<sup>1</sup> δρᾶν. ἢ τούτων οὐχ ὁ  
πατήρ, οὐκ ἀδελφός, οὐ τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος οὐδεῖς,  
οὐ γένους ἐστράτευται, ἀλλὰ πανοίκιος αὐτοῖς ἐμ-  
[324] πεφώλευκεν | ἢ δειλία; ἀλλὰ πάντως εἰσὶ μυριοί  
τῶν συγγενῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοι. τούτων οὖν τὸν ὑπὲρ  
τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον αἰρομένων οἱ χλιδῶντες  
καὶ ἀβροδιαίτως ζῶντες τίνας οὐκ ἂν ἀπιθάσους  
θῆρας δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὠμότητος παραδράμοιεν;
- 155 ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἐτέρους ἀπονητὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Tr.: mss. πάντα: Cohn suggested ταῦτα δρᾶν ἀσχιστον. Perhaps πολέμου <πολέμου> πάντα, i.e. in time of war

## ON HUSBANDRY, 151-155

and taking their place in the front ranks to hold their shields over their comrades fighting with a courage that courts danger.

XXXV. In the next 152 place, they would have given proof not only of treachery but of utter insensibility, if, while the others are to be fighting in their defence, they are to be about their private business ; and while the others are to be willing to stand the hazard of the conflict for their safety, they are not to take the trouble to fight for their own ; and, while the others in their desire for victory are gladly to put up with short rations and sleeping in the field and the other hardships of body and soul, they spend their time in decking their houses with stuccoes and trumperies, poor soulless display ; or getting in the fruit of their orchards and celebrating the vintage festival ; or now for the first time consummating their marriage with the maidens betrothed to them long before, as though this were an ideal season for weddings. 'Tis good to 153 look after walls, to collect rents, to attend banquets, to get tipsy, to indulge in sexual intercourse, for the aged and as the saying is, decayed dames, to be escorted to the bridal chamber, but they are works of peace, and monstrous things to do when war is in full course. Has not a father, has not a brother, has no blood- 154 relation, no member of the clan of these men enlisted ? Has cowardice made their whole family its lair ? Nay, there surely are a host of their kinsfolk at the front. Would not, then, those, who live in ease and luxury while these are imperilling their lives, far surpass in cruelty any savage beasts you can name ?

“ It is hard,” you are thinking, “ that other 155

it is well that all that is done should be things of war. Possibly *πολέμου* <σα πολέμου>, cf. § 25 above.

## PHILO

- ἀπολαῦσαι πόνων. καὶ πότερον χαλεπώτερον ἐχθροὺς ἔτι ζώντων ἢ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τετελευτηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἔλθειν; ἢ καὶ τὸ συγκρίνειν τὰ οὕτως μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτα εὔηθες;
- 156 καὶ μὴν εὐλογον μὴ μόνον ὅσα τοῖς ἀστρατεύτοις πρόσσεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐχθρῶν κεκρατηκότων γενέσθαι κτήματα· τοῖς δέ γε ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἀπώναντο<sup>1</sup> πρότερον τῶν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἡδίστη τελευτὴ γίνεται λογιζομένοις ὅτι πρὸς οὓς ἠὔξαντο διαδόχους τὴν οὐσίαν ἔλθειν ἔρχεται.
- 157 XXXVI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ νόμου ῥητὸν τοσαύτας καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἐπισκέψεις ἴσως ἔχει. ὡς δὲ μηδεὶς εὐρεσιλογῶν θρασύνηται τῶν κακοτεχνούντων, ἀλληγοροῦντες φήσομεν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μόνον οἶεται δεῖν ὁ νόμος περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πονεῖσθαί τινα κτῆσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν κτηθέντων ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ τό γε εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀρετῆς χρήσει τελείας περιγενέσθαι νομίζει σῶον καὶ παντελεῆ περιποιούσης βίον· ἔπειθ' ὅτι οὐ περὶ οἰκίας ἢ ἀμπελῶνος ἢ τῆς καθ' ὁμολογίας ἐγγυηθείσης γυναικός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ, ὅπως τὴν μὲν ὡς μνηστῆρ ἀγάγηται, τοῦ δ' ἀμπελῶνος τὸν καρπὸν ὁ φυτουργὸς ἀποδρεψάμενος καὶ ἀποθλίψας, εἴτ' ἐμπίων μεθύσματος ἀκράτου γανώθῃ, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν ὁ ἀναδειμάμενος οἰκῆσῃ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τὸ, which was formerly patched up by reading εἰ μηδενὸς ἀπέλασαν ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τὸ πρότερον εἶχον.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 155-157

people without doing any work should get the benefit of our labours."

Pray, which is harder, that enemies should come into the property while we are still alive, or that friends and kinsfolk should do so when we are dead? Nay, 'tis silly even to compare things so wide apart. Again, it is probable not only that all that belongs 156 to those who did not join up should become the property of the victorious enemy, but that they themselves should so become; while to those who are dying for the common salvation, even supposing that they had in former days derived no benefit from the family property, a happy ending comes as they reflect that the property is falling to the heirs to whom it was their prayer that it should fall.

XXXVI. The letter of the Law perhaps suggests 157 all these considerations and more than these. But that no malicious critic may too daringly give rein to his inventive talent, we will leave the letter, and make one or two remarks about the inner meaning of the Law. Firstly, it considers that a man ought to concern himself not only with the acquisition of good things, but with the enjoyment of what he has acquired, and that happiness results from the practice of perfect excellence seeing that such excellence secures a life sound and complete in every way. Secondly, what the Law means is that a man's main consideration is not house or vineyard or the wife already betrothed to him; how he is to take to wife her whom he has wooed and won; how the planter of the vineyard is to cull and crush its fruit, and then drink large draughts of the intoxicating beverage and make his heart glad; or how the man that has built the house is to occupy it; but that the faculties of a

## PHILO

κατὰ ψυχὴν δυνάμεων, δι' ὧν συμβέβηκεν ἀρχὰς  
 τε λαμβάνειν καὶ προκοπὰς καὶ τελειότητας ἐν  
 158 πράξεσιν ἐπαινεταῖς· αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἀρχαὶ περὶ  
 μνηστῆρα φιλοῦσι γίνεσθαι—καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ μνώ-  
 μενος γυναῖκα μέλλει ἔτι ἀνὴρ<sup>1</sup> οὐ γεγονώς ἤδη,  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ εὐφυῆς εὐγενῆ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰν  
 ἄξεσθαι παρθένον, παιδείαν, ἐλπίζει, μνάται δ'  
 αὐτίκα—, αἱ δὲ προκοπαὶ περὶ γεωργόν—ὡς γὰρ  
 ἐπιμελὲς τῷ φυτουργῶ τὰ δένδρα αὔξεσθαι, καὶ  
 τῷ φιλομαθεῖ τὰ φρονήσεως θεωρήματα ποιῆσαι  
 μηκίστην λαβεῖν ἐπίδοσιν—, αἱ δὲ τελειότητες περὶ  
 159 πῆξιν λαβούσης. XXXVII. ἀρμόττει δὴ πᾶσι  
 τούτοις, ἀρχομένοις, προκόπτοισι, τετελειωμένοις,  
 βιοῦν ἀφιλονείκως καὶ μὴ τῷ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐπ-  
 αποδύεσθαι πολέμῳ δύσεριν ταραχὴν ἐπὶ νοθείᾳ  
 [325] τάληθοῦς αἰὲ μελετώντων· ἐπειδὴ τάληθές εἰρήνην  
 160 φίλον, | ἢ δυσμενῆς αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτον  
 ἀφίξονται τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς ἐμπειροπολέμους ἰδιῶ-  
 ται, παντελῶς ἀλώσονται· ὁ μὲν ἀρχόμενος, <ὅτι>  
 ἄπειρος, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων, ὅτι ἀτελής, ὁ δὲ τέλειος,  
 ὅτι οὐπω ἄτριβος<sup>2</sup> ἀρετῆς· δεῖ δ' ὡσπερ τὰ κονιά-  
 ματα στηριχθῆναι βεβαίως καὶ λαβεῖν πῆξιν, οὕτως

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Tr.: mss. μέλλων ἐπὶ ἀνὴρ. Adler proposes μέλλων ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶσθαι or ἐπὶ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. Wendland suggested μέλλει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ.

<sup>2</sup> Sic mss. Emendations proposed are οὐπω ἐντριβῆς or ἔτι ἀτριβῆς (? πω ἀτριβῆς, the usage being perhaps defensible with the implied negative in ἀτριβῆς).

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<sup>a</sup> Or the passage may be taken as follows: "The lawgiver is not speaking of house or vineyard. . . . He does not wish that he should take to wife . . . But he is speaking of the



man's soul are a man's main consideration.<sup>a</sup> Through these he can make a beginning, make progress, and reach perfection in praiseworthy doings. Beginnings 158 are seen in a wooer, for, just as he who is wooing a woman has wedlock still in futurity not being already a husband, in the same way the well-constituted man looks forward to one day marrying Discipline, a high-born and pure maiden, but for the present he is her wooer. Progress is seen in the work of the husbandman, for, as it is the planter's care that the trees should grow, so is it the earnest student's care to bring it about that the principles of sound sense shall receive the utmost development. Perfection is to be seen in the building of a house, which is receiving its finishing touches, but has not yet become quite compact and firmly settled. XXXVII. It 159 befits all these, the beginners, those making progress, and those who have reached perfection, to live without contention, refusing to engage in the war waged by the sophists, with their unceasing practice of quarrelsomeness and disturbance to the adulteration of the truth: for the truth is dear to peace, and peace has no liking for them. If our friends *do* come 160 into this conflict, mere unprofessionals engaging trained and seasoned fighters, they will undoubtedly get the worst of it; the beginner because he lacks experience, the man who is progressing, because he is incomplete, the man who has reached completeness, because he is still unpractised in virtue. It is requisite, just as it is that plaster should become firm and fixed and acquire solidity,<sup>b</sup> so too that the

faculties of a man's soul;” *cf.* for this use of ὁ λόγος αὐτῶ, “he is not speaking about,” § 88 above.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 493.

## PHILO

- τὰς τῶν τελειωθέντων ψυχὰς κραταιωθείσας παγιώ-  
 τερον ἰδρυθῆναι μελέτῃ συνεχεῖ καὶ γυμνάσμασιν  
 161 ἐπαλλήλοις. οἱ δὲ μὴ τούτων τυγχάνοντες παρὰ  
 τοῖς φιλοσόφοις διαλεληθότες εἶναι λέγονται σοφοί·  
 τοὺς γὰρ ἄχρι σοφίας ἄκρας ἐληλακότας καὶ τῶν  
 ὄρων αὐτῆς ἄρτι πρῶτον ἀψαμένους ἀμήχανον  
 εἰδέναί φασὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τελείωσιν· μὴ γὰρ κατὰ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἄμφω συνίστασθαι, τὴν τε πρὸς  
 τὸ πέρας ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως κατάληψιν,  
 ἀλλ' εἶναι μεθόριον ἄγνοιαν, οὐ τὴν μακρὰν ἀπ-  
 εληλαμένην ἐπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐγγὺς καὶ ἀγχι-  
 162 θυρον αὐτῇ. τοῦ μὲν οὖν καταλαμβάνοντος καὶ  
 συνιέντος καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις ἐπισταμένου  
 ἄκρως γένοιτ' ἂν ἔργον πολεμῆσαι τῷ φιλέριδι  
 καὶ σοφιστικῶ στίφει· νικήσειν γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον  
 ἐλπίς. ᾧ δὲ ἔτι τὸ ἀγνοίας ἐπιπροσθεῖ σκότος,  
 μήπω τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀναλάμψαι φέγγους  
 ἰσχυκῦτος, ἀσφαλὲς οἴκοι καταμεῖναι, τουτέστιν  
 εἰς τὴν περὶ ὧν ἄκρως οὐ κατείληφε μὴ παρελθεῖν  
 163 ἄμιλλαν, ἀλλ' ἠρεμησαί τε καὶ ἡσυχάσαι. ὁ δ'  
 ὑπ' αὐθαδείας ἐξενεχθεὶς, τὰ παλαίσματα τῶν  
 ἀντιπάλων οὐκ εἰδὼς πρὶν δρᾶσαι παθεῖν φθί-  
 σεται καὶ τὸν ἐπιστήμης θάνατον ἐνδέξεται, ὅς  
 ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτερος τοῦ ψυχῆν καὶ σῶμα διακρίνον-  
 164 τος. ὀφείλει δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν τοῖς πρὸς τῶν  
 σοφισμάτων ἀπατωμένοις· ὅταν γὰρ τὰς λύσεις  
 αὐτῶν εὐρεῖν μὴ δυνηθῶσιν, ὡς ἀληθέσι τοῖς

\* See App. p. 493.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 160-164

souls of those that have been perfected should become more firmly settled, strengthened by constant practice and continual exercise. Those who do not enjoy these advantages have the name among the philosophers of wise men unconscious of their wisdom.<sup>a</sup> For they say that it is out of the question that those who have sped as far as the edge of wisdom and have just come for the first time into contact with its borders should be conscious of their own perfecting, that both things cannot come about at the same time, the arrival at the goal and the apprehension of the arrival, but that ignorance must form a border-land between the two, not that ignorance which is far removed from knowledge, but that which is close at hand and hard by her door. It will, then, be the business of him who fully apprehends and understands the subject and thoroughly knows his own powers, to go to war with the strife-loving band of sophists ; for there is ground for expecting that such an one will be the conqueror. But for him whose eyes are still covered by the darkness of ignorance, the light of knowledge not being strong enough as yet to shine out, it is safe to stay at home, that is, not to come forward for the contest about matters which he has not fully apprehended, but to keep still and be quiet. But he who has been carried away by presumption, not knowing his opponents' grips and throws, before he can be an agent will quickly be a victim and experience the death of knowledge, which is a far more woeful death than that which severs soul and body. This is bound to befall those who are cheated by sophistries ; for they fail to find the way to refute these, and owing to their having regarded false statements as true and given

PHILO

κατεψευσμένοις πεπιστευκότες ἀποθνήσκουσι βίον  
 τὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ταύτων πεπονθότες τοῖς ὑπὸ  
 κολάκων φενακιζομένοις· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἢ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ ἀληθῆς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσει νοσερᾶς  
 165 ἐξωθεῖται καὶ ἀνατρέπεται φιλίας. XXXVIII.  
 συμβουλευτέον οὖν εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας μὴ  
 παρέρχεσθαι τοῖς τε ἀρχομένοις τοῦ μαθάνειν—  
 ἀνεπιστήμονες γάρ—καὶ τοῖς προκόπτουσι, διότι οὐ  
 τέλειοι, καὶ τοῖς πρῶτον τελειωθείσι, διότι λέληθεν  
 166 αὐτοὺς ἄχρι πῆ τελειότης. τῶν δὲ ἀπειθησάντων  
 ἄλλος, φησί, ἄνθρωπος τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν οἰκῆσει,  
 τὸν δ' ἀμπελῶνα κτήσεται, τὴν δὲ γυναικα ἄξεται·  
 τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἴσον τῷ αἰ λεχθεῖσαι δυνάμεις σπουδῆς,  
 [326] βελτιώσεως, τελειώσεως | ἐπιλείψουσι μὲν οὐδέ-  
 ποτε, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλοις ἐνομιλήσουσιν ἀνθρώποις  
 ἐπιφοιτῶσαι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς \* \* \*<sup>1</sup>  
 167 ἀμείβουσαι, σφραγίσιν<sup>2</sup> ὁμοιούμεναι. καὶ γὰρ αὐται  
 τὸν κηρὸν ἐπειδὴν τυπώσωσι, παθοῦσαι μηδὲν ἀπ'  
 αὐτῶν εἶδος ἐγχαράξασαι μένουσιν ἐν ὁμοίῳ· κἄν  
 ὁ τυπωθεὶς συγχυθῆ κηρὸς καὶ ἀφανισθῆ, πάλιν  
 ἕτερος ὑποβληθήσεται. ὥστε, ὦ γενναῖοι, μὴ  
 νομίσητε φθειρομένοις συμφθειρεσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις  
 ὑμῖν· ἀθάνατοι γὰρ οὖσαι μυρίους ἄλλους πρὸ  
 ὑμῶν ἀσπάζονται τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐκλείας,<sup>3</sup> οὓς ἂν  
 αἰσθωνται μὴ ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ ριψοκίνδυνον  
 ἀποδεδρακότας τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ προσ-

<sup>1</sup> The translation follows Wend., who suggests οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς <ἀεὶ κατοικοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλων ἄλλας> ἀμείβουσαι. An alternative is to limit the corruption to ἀμείβουσαι. Mangey ἀπομάττουσαι.

<sup>2</sup> mss. σφόδρα γ' εἰσιν.

<sup>3</sup> The genitive is hardly defensible. Wend. proposes ἀσπάζονται <μεταδιδούσαι>, Cohn τῆ . . . εὐκλείᾳ.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 164-167

them credence, they die so far as the life of knowledge is concerned. Their experience is the same as that of those who are taken in by flatterers : for in their case, too, the true and healthy friendship of the soul is thrust out and overturned by the friendship that is essentially unwholesome. XXXVIII. 165 We must therefore advise those, who are beginning to learn, to decline such contests, owing to their lack of knowledge ; those who are making progress, owing to their not being perfect ; and those who have just attained perfection, because they are to some extent unconscious of their perfectness. As 166 for those who disregard this bidding, it says of each of them, another man shall live in his house, shall become owner of his vineyard, shall marry his betrothed. This is equivalent to saying, " the faculties <sup>a</sup> mentioned of keenness to learn, of improvement, of becoming perfect, shall indeed never fail, but they associate with one man at one time, with another man at another time, going about and not tenanting the same souls always and changing from soul to soul. In this the faculties resemble 167 seals ; for these too, when they have stamped the wax, unaffected by the impressions they have made, after engraving an image on it remain as they were, and if the impression on the wax gets blurred and effaced, other wax will be substituted for it. So do not imagine, good sirs, that the faculties decay when you do. They are immortal, and ready to welcome ten thousand others in preference to you to the fame gained from them. These are all whom they perceive not to have shunned their converse as you did, owing to your foolhardiness, but to draw

<sup>a</sup> Or " talents."

## PHILO

- 168 *ίόντας καὶ θεραπευτικῶς ἀσφαλείας ἔχοντας. εἰ δέ τις ἀρετῆς φίλος, εὐχέσθω τὰ καλὰ πάντα ἐμφυτευθῆναί τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς φανῆναι καθάπερ ἐν ἀνδριάντι καὶ γραφῇ τελεία τὰς εἰς εὐμορφίαν συμμετρίας, λογιζόμενος ὅτι εἰσὶν ἔφεδροι μυρίοι, οἷς ἢ φύσις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δωρήσεται ταῦτα πάντα, εὐμαθείας, προκοπὰς, τελειότητος. ἄμεινον δὲ πρὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὸν ἐκλάμψαι ταμιευόμενον τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθείσας ἀσφαλῶς χάριτας καὶ μὴ προενεγκόντα πόρθησιν ἔχθροῖς ἀφειδοῦσιν ἐτοιμοτάτην λείαν παρασχεῖν.*
- 169 **XXXIX.** *Οὐκοῦν βραχὺ ὄφελος ἀρχῆς, ἣν τέλος αἴσιον οὐκ ἐσφράγισται. πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ τελειωθέντες τινὲς ἀτελεῖς ἐνομίσθησαν τῷ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην θεοῦ βελτιωθῆναι δόξαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι <τὸ> δόξαι μετεωρισθέντες<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐξαρθέντες ἐπὶ μῆκιστον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων χωρίων εἰς ἔσχατον κατενεχ-*
- 170 *θέντες βυθὸν ἠφανίσθησαν. "ἔαν" γάρ φησιν "οἰκοδομήσης οἰκίαν καινὴν, καὶ ποιήσεις στεφάνην τῷ δώματί σου, καὶ οὐ ποιήσεις φόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου, ἔαν πέσῃ ὁ πεσὼν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ."*
- 171 *πτωμάτων γὰρ ἀργαλεώτατον θεοῦ τιμῆς ἀποπεσεῖν ὀλισθόντα, στεφανώσαντα πρὸ ἐκείνου ἑαυτὸν καὶ φόνον ἐμφύλιον ἐργασάμενον· κτείνει γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ὃ μὴ τὸ ὄν τιμῶν, ὡς ἀνόνητον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παιδείας τὸ οἰκοδόμημα.*

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νεωτερισθέντες.

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<sup>a</sup> So the LXX, which Philo takes to mean "for fear you yourself fall." The E.V. "that thou bring not blood upon thy house, if any man fall from thence" gives the real sense better.

near and pay great heed to safety. If any man be 168  
 a lover of virtue, let him pray that all fair things may  
 not only be implanted in him, but may shew them-  
 selves upon the surface of his soul, as do the ex-  
 quisite proportions of beauty in a statue and a perfect  
 portrait. Let him consider that there are myriads  
 waiting to follow him, on whom in his stead Nature  
 will bestow all the boons of which we have been  
 thinking, the gift of quickness to learn, that of  
 making progress, that of attaining perfection. Is it  
 not better that, instead of leaving it to them, he  
 should himself shine out and be a retentive steward  
 of God's gracious gifts, and that he should not, by  
 gratuitously offering an opportunity for plunder, supply  
 ruthless foes with booty lying ready to their hand?

XXXIX. Little advantage, therefore, is there in a 169  
 beginning to which a right ending has not set its seal.  
 Quite frequently persons who had attained perfection  
 have been accounted imperfect owing to their fancy-  
 ing that their improvement was due to their own zeal  
 and not to the directing care of God. Owing to this  
 fancy they were lifted up and greatly exalted, and  
 so came to be borne down from lofty regions into the  
 lowest abyss and so lost to sight: for we read,  
 "If thou shalt build a new house, then shalt thou 170  
 also make a parapet round thy roof, and so thou  
 shalt not cause death in thy house, if the faller from  
 it falls"<sup>a</sup> (Deut. xxii. 8). For there is no fall so 171  
 grievous as to slip and fall away from rendering  
 honour to God, through ascribing the victory to one-  
 self instead of to Him, and so being the perpetrator  
 of the murder of one's kin. For he that fails to  
 honour That which IS slays his own soul, so that the  
 edifice of instruction ceases to be of use to him. In-

## PHILO

- παιδεία δὲ φύσιν ἔλαχε τὴν ἀγήρω, διόπερ καινὴν  
 εἶπε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα χρόνῳ  
 φθείρεται, ἢ δ' ἐφ' ὅσον πρόεισιν, ἐπὶ μῆκιστον  
 ἦβᾶ καὶ ἐπακμάζει τὸ ἀειθαλὲς εἶδος φαιδρυνομένη  
 172 καὶ ταῖς συνεχέσις ἐπιμελείαις καινουμένη. κὰν  
 [327] τοῖς | προτρεπτικοῖς μέντοι παραινεῖ τοὺς κτήσιον  
 ἀγαθῶν λαχόντας πλείστην μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγράψαι  
 τῆς κτήσεως αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ “μνησθῆναι θεοῦ τοῦ  
 173 διδόντος ἰσχὺν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν.” τοῦτο μὲν οὖν  
 τὸ εὐπραγίας ἦν πέρας, ἀρχαὶ δ' ἐκείναι· ὥστε  
 τοὺς ἐκλανθανομένους τοῦ τέλους μηδὲ τῆς τῶν  
 κτηθέντων ἀρχῆς εὖ ἂν ἔτ' ἀπόνασθαι.<sup>1</sup> τού-  
 τοις μὲν οὖν ἐκούσια γίνεται διὰ φιλαυτίαν τὰ  
 σφάλματα οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν φιλόδωρον<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 τελεσφόρον θεὸν αἴτιον ἀποφῆναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν.  
 174 XL. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ πάντα κάλων εὐσεβείας ἀνασεισαντες  
 ἐνορμίσασθαι τοῖς λιμέσιον αὐτῆς ταχυναυτοῦντες  
 ἐσπούδασαν, κᾶπειτ' οὐ μακρὰν ἀφεστηκότων,  
 ἀλλ' ἤδη μελλόντων προσέχειν, αἰφνίδιον ἐξ ἐναν-  
 τίας καταρραγὲν πνεῦμα πλησίον<sup>3</sup> εὐθυδρομοῦν  
 τὸ σκάφος ἀνέωσεν, ὡς<sup>4</sup> ὑποκεῖραι πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς  
 175 εὐπλοῖαν συνεργούντων. τούτους οὐκ ἂν τις ἔτι  
 θαλαττεύοντας αἰτιάσαιτο· ἀκούσιος γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπειγομένοις<sup>5</sup> γέγονεν ἡ βραδυτής· τίς οὖν ἀπεικά-  
 ζεται τούτοις ἢ ὁ τὴν μεγάλην λεγομένην εὐξάμενος

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπαπόνασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. θεόφιλον.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. πλησίον.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἀνώσεως or ἀνέσεως.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἐπιγιγνόμενος, -η.

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<sup>a</sup> The vow of the Nazarite is called (as in *Leg. All.* i. 17) “the great vow” from Numb. vi. 2 *ὅς ἐστιν μεγάλην εὐξῆται εὐχὴν* (R.V. “a special vow”). For Philo’s interpretation cf. *Quod Deus* 89, 90, where also the contact with the corpse is treated as an “involuntary” error.



## ON HUSBANDRY, 171-175

struction has obtained the nature that never grows old, and for this reason her house is called "new." For whereas other things decay by lapse of time, she, however far she advances, retains the bloom of youth and is in her prime all along, radiant with unfailling loveliness, and renewing her freshness by her unceasing diligence. Moreover in his Exhortations the lawgiver charges those who have obtained large possession of good things not to inscribe themselves in their hearts as authors of their wealth, but "to remember God Who giveth strength to acquire power" (Deut. viii. 18). This remembrance, then, was in his eyes the goal of prosperity, the putting forth of power the beginning: the consequence of this being that those who forget the end of their acquisitions cannot any longer derive real benefit from their beginning. The disasters which befall these men are self-chosen, the outcome of selfishness. They cannot bear to acknowledge as the Author of the good things which they enjoy the God Who brings to perfection the gifts which He loves to bestow. XL. But there are others who, with every stitch of piety's canvas spread, have used every effort to make a quick voyage, and to come to anchor in her harbours, and then, when they were no distance away, but on the very point of coming to land, a violent head-wind has suddenly burst upon them, and driven the vessel straight back, stripping her of much of the gear on which her seaworthiness depended. No one would find fault with these men for being still at sea; for the delay was contrary to their wish and befell them when they were making all speed. Who, then, resembles these men? Who but he who vowed what is called the great Vow<sup>a</sup>? For he says:

## PHILO

- εὐχὴν; “ εἰ γὰρ τις ” φησὶν “ ἀποθάνῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ αἰφνίδιον, παραχρῆμα μιανθήσεται ἢ κεφαλὴ εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ξυρήσεται.” εἶτα ὀλίγα προσειπὼν ἐπιφέρει· “ αἱ δ’ ἡμέραι αἱ πρότεροι ἄλογοι ἔσονται,
- 176 ὅτι ἐμιάνθη κεφαλὴ εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ.” δι’ ἀμφοτέρων τοίνυν, τοῦ τε “ αἰφνίδιον ” καὶ τοῦ “ παραχρῆμα ” εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἀκούσιος παρίσταται τῆς ψυχῆς τροπῆ· πρὸς μὲν <γὰρ> τὰ ἐκούσια τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰς τὸ βουλευσασθαι ποῦ καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς πρακτέον χρόνου δεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια ἐξαίφνης, ἀπερισκέπτως καί, εἰ οἶόν τε τοῦτ’ εἰπεῖν, ἀχρόνως
- 177 κατασκήπτει. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὡσπερ τοὺς δρομεῖς ἀρξαμένους ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀπταιστώσως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ διευθῆναι τὸν δρόμον, ἐπειδὴ μυρία
- 178 ἐμποδῶν παντὶ τῷ γενομένῳ. πρότερον μὲν <οὖν>, ὃ ἔν καὶ μόνον εὐεργεσία, μηδενὸς τῶν κατὰ γνώμην ἀδικημάτων ἐφάψασθαι πᾶσάν τε τὴν ἀμῆχανον τῶν ἐκουσίων<sup>1</sup> πληθὺν ἰσχυῖσαι διώσασθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ μήτε πολλοῖς τῶν ἀκουσίων μήτ’ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον ἐνδιατρῆψαι.
- 179 Παγκάλως δὲ τὰς τῆς ἀκουσίου τροπῆς ἡμέρας εἶπεν ἀλόγους, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἄλογον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων λόγον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποδοῦναι. παρὸ καὶ πυνθανομένων πολλάκις τὰς τῶν |
- [328] πραγμάτων αἰτίας φαμέν μήτ’ εἰδέναι μήτ’ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι· μήτε γὰρ γιγνομένων συμπαραληφθῆναι,

<sup>1</sup> So MSS. Wend. ἀκουσίων, i.e. the ideal course is to avoid both kinds of offence, the next best to avoid the “voluntary” and to minimize the “involuntary.” But since the “occasions of the involuntary are infinite” (§ 179), the ideal can rarely be reached (§ 180).

<sup>a</sup> In *Quod Deus* 90 they are not worth counting.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 175-179

“ If someone die suddenly beside him, the head of his vow shall forthwith be defiled, and he shall shave it.” Then, after a few more words, he adds, “ The former days shall be void, because the head of his vow was defiled ” (Numb. vi. 9, 12). The involuntary nature 176 of the soul’s failure is evidenced by both of the words which he uses, “ sudden ” and “ forthwith,” for whereas in the case of deliberate sins time is required for planning where and when and how the thing is to be done, unintentional sins swoop upon us suddenly, without thought, and if we may so say, in no time. For it is difficult for the runners, as we may call them, 177 after starting on the way to piety, to finish the whole course without stumbling, and without stopping to draw breath ; for every man born meets ten thousand obstacles. The first need then, which is the one 178 and only thing that is “ well-doing,” is never to put hand to any deliberate wrong-doing, and to have strength to thrust from us the countless host of voluntary offences ; the second not to fall into many involuntary offences, nor to continue long in the practice of them.

Right well did he say that the days of the involun- 179 tary failure were void (*ἀλόγους*) not only because to sin is void of reason (*ἄλογον*) but also because it is impossible to render an account (*λόγον*) of involuntary sins.<sup>a</sup> Accordingly, when people inquire after the motives for things that have been done,<sup>b</sup> we often say that we neither know nor are able to tell them : for that when they were being done we were not taken

<sup>b</sup> Apparently meaning “ *our* motives for what *we* have done.” Philo seems to be expressing in a curiously strong way the feeling that our “ involuntary ” errors are something quite independent of us. They treat us as strangers and we are taken aback when we find that they have happened.

## PHILO

- 180 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἀγνοῆσαι. σπάνιον οὖν εἶ τω δωρήσεται ὁ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους σταδιεῦσαι τὸν βίον μὴτ' ὀκλάσαντι μὴτ' ὀλισθόντι, ἀλλ' ἑκατέραν φύσιν ἀδικημάτων, ἐκουσίων τε καὶ ἀκουσίων, ῥύμη καὶ φορᾶ τάχους ὠκυδρομωτάτου ὑπερπτήναι.
- 181 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀρχῆς τε πέρι καὶ τέλους εἴρηται διὰ Νῶε τὸν δίκαιον, ὃς τὰ πρῶτα καὶ στοιχειώδη τῆς γεωργικῆς κτησάμενος τέχνης ἄχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς ἐλθεῖν ἠσθένησε· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἤρξατο γῆς εἶναι γεωργός,” οὐ τῶν ὄρων τῶν ἄκρας ἐπιστήμης ἐλάβετο. τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς φυτουργίας εἰρημένα αὐτοῦ λέγωμεν αὖθις.

## ON HUSBANDRY, 179-181

into confidence, nay, that they arrived without our knowing it. 'Tis a rare event then if God shall vouch- 180  
safe to a man to run life's course from beginning to end without slackening or slipping, and to avoid each kind of transgressions, voluntary and involuntary, by flying past them, in the vehement rush of matchless speed.

These remarks on beginning and end have been 181  
made apropos of Noah the righteous man who, after making himself master of the elements of the science of husbandry, had not the strength to reach its final stages, for it is said that " he began to be a husbandman," not that he reached the furthest limits of full knowledge. What is said about his work as a planter let us tell at another time.



CONCERNING NOAH'S WORK  
AS A PLANTER  
(DE PLANTATIONE)





## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THE first part of this treatise, extending to the end of § 139, treats firstly of God's planting and then of man learning to copy His work. The second part (§ 140 onwards) should be entitled *Περὶ μέθης*, for it deals with the vine only with respect to its fruit. The title of the treatise is, therefore, inappropriate.

### A. 1-139

(a) 1-72. The first Planter and His plant.

(a) 1-27. The universe and its component parts planted.

(β) 28-31. Trees planted in man, the microcosm.

(γ) 32-46. The names of the two trees in Eden point to an allegorical interpretation. "Eden" is "delight" in the Lord. "Eastward" is "in the light." "The tree of Life" is the man of Gen. i. 27 in the image of God. The earthly man of Gen. ii. is placed in Paradise to be tested amid the virtues, the plants of a rational soul.

(δ) 47 ff. That Israel, God's special inheritance, may be planted in Eden is Moses' prayer.

(ε) 62-72. God the Portion of Inheritance of Levi and of those who have the Levite mind.

## PHILO

(b) Lessons learned from the First Planter, and copies of His planting (73-139).

(a) 74-93. Abraham's planting (Gen. xxi. 33). The *tree* the "hide" of 10,000 cubits; the *place* the well, which is without water (Gen. xxvi. 32 LXX), and so symbolic of the fruitless search for knowledge, and of the discovery of our own ignorance; the *fruit* the invocation of the Name "Eternal God," which connotes "Benefactor," whereas "Lord" connotes "Master."

(β) 94-139. Our planting (Lev. xix. 23-25). Ere we can plant *fruit* trees we must *migrate* to the God-given land, *i.e.* the mind must find the way of Wisdom. The beginner bidden to *prune*, *i.e.* cut out all hurtful things, *e.g.* the harlot and the toady from Friendship, superstition from Religion. Jacob's peeled rods and the leper's flesh, both white *all over*, serve as a pattern. Philo attempts to explain the command to prune the fruit itself.

The fourth year, in which the fruit is "holy for praise to the Lord" leads to a discourse on the number 4, on *praise* as the fruit of education, on *thanksgiving* as creation's chief duty, illustrated by the story of the birth of Mnemosyne. As the fifth year is ours for food, after the fourth year of thanksgiving, so "Issachar" or "Reward" was born next after "Judah" or "Praise."

### B. 140-177

We now pass on to the vine-culture of Noah. As the vine is the means of Drunkenness (and the just man made himself drunk with it), we have to consider the subject of drunkenness. Moses' views will be given later (in *De Ebrietate*). Let us now examine  
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## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER

what the philosophical schools say about it.<sup>a</sup> They put the question thus, "Will the wise man get drunk?" (139-141). But before stating the arguments on either side, we note that the term "get drunk" (*μεθύειν*) may be used for hard drinking (*οἰνοῦσθαι*) simply,<sup>b</sup> or for drinking carried to the point of foolish behaviour (*ληρῆϊν*). All condemn the latter, but one school holds that if *μεθύειν* is used in the less offensive sense, the wise man may freely indulge in it; another,<sup>c</sup> "that he cannot safely do so, and will therefore avoid all carousals, unless social duties necessitate his participation in them."

<sup>a</sup> Various opinions have been held as to the provenance of the disquisition which follows. It of course definitely disclaims originality, though as a matter of fact parts of it (*e.g.* §§ 168 f.) are evidently comments interpolated by Philo himself. Pearson in *Journal of Philology* 1907 regarded it as Peripatetic. Arnim, who discussed it very fully in his *Quellen-Studien zu Philo*, believes that Philo is here representing the views of a contemporary Stoic, but a Stoic of a free-thinking type, who had taken over a good deal of Peripateticism. Some of his reasons for this will be found in the Notes to §§ 171 f. The translators are rather inclined to agree with Heinemann that the discourse, at least from § 149 onwards, is rather of the rhetorical and epideictic type. We would suggest that the writer or speaker whom Philo is quoting or adapting, though conversant with philosophical terms, is not propounding a definite philosophical opinion, but merely endeavouring by a series of ingenious quibbles to show that the Stoic maxim the wise man will drink freely (*οἰνωθήσεται*), but will not get drunk (*μεθυσθήσεται*), will not hold water.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. St. John ii. 10 *ὅταν μεθυσθῶσι*, where the A.V. translated "when men have well drunk," the R. V. "have drunk freely."

<sup>c</sup> Arnim holds that three schools of thought are mentioned. See note on § 145.

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The arguments of the thesis : " The wise man will get drunk " are now stated.<sup>a</sup>

(1) As μέθυ and οἶνος are admittedly synonyms, their derivatives μεθύειν and οἰνοῦσθαι must be synonyms also. (This is preceded by a disquisition on " homonyms " and " synonyms. ") (§§ 149-155.)

(2) μεθύειν is properly μετὰ τὸ θύειν, (" after sacrificing "), and the ancient and right use of wine was orderly and religious in marked contrast to present custom. If μεθύειν is used in this sense, it is suitable to the wise man (§§ 156-164).

(3) Another derivation of μεθύειν is from μέθεσις (relaxation), and the blessings of relaxation and cheerfulness are pointed out.

(4) A dialectical argument, that, as soberness is found in the fool as well as in the wise man, its opposite, drunkenness, is common to both (§ 172).

(5) An argument from the use of the term μέθη in various writers, showing that they identified μεθύειν with οἰνοῦσθαι, and did not associate it with λῆρος (§§ 173 f.).

At this point the disputant professes to meet the arguments of the other side. The first of these is

<sup>a</sup> It will be observed (a) that of these arguments 1, 2, 3, and 5 merely attempt to show that μεθύειν may be used in the milder sense: (β) that no attempt is made to defend λῆρος, which is definitely disclaimed in (5). The disputant, in fact, though professing to argue for the " wise man will get drunk," is really arguing for the *first half* of the Stoic maxim " the wise man will drink freely, but will *not* get drunk." Note further that little or no attempt is made to meet the view of the more rigid school described in § 143, which held that hard drinking, though not wrong in itself, might lead to evil.

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the argument of Zeno, that, since no man could trust the drunken man with a secret, drunkenness is unsuitable to the wise man. This is refuted (§§ 175-177). The rest of the disquisition is lost.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It seems to be generally assumed that, after one or more further arguments had been disposed of, the debate ended ; in other words, that Philo only quotes one speech (or treatise) which, though it professed to meet the arguments of opponents, was throughout in support of the thesis : " that the wise man will get drunk." It seems to the translators more likely that not only the end of the supporter's speech, but also the whole of the opponent's answer has been lost. It is a favourite device of rhetoricians to choose out the weakest arguments on the opposite side and demolish them beforehand. It is noteworthy that the argument refuted in §§ 176 ff. is one which, though put forward by Zeno, was rejected by the later Stoics (see note on § 176).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ΝΩΕ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

- <sup>1</sup>  
 [329] I. | Ἐν μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τὰ περὶ γεωργικῆς τέχνης γενικῆς, ὅσα καιρὸς ἦν, εἶπομεν, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περὶ τῆς κατ' εἶδος ἀμπελουργικῆς, ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, ἀποδώσομεν. τὸν γὰρ δίκαιον οὐ γεωργὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίως ἀμπελουργὸν εἰσάγει φάσκων· “ ἤρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι γεωργὸς γῆς καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα.”
- <sup>2</sup> προσήκει δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος φυτουργιῶν<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ γεωργιῶν διεξιέναι κατανοῆσαι πρῶτον τὰ τελειότατα τοῦ παντὸς φυτὰ καὶ τὸν μέγαν φυτουργὸν καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτῶν. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν τῶν φυτουργῶν μέγιστος καὶ τὴν τέχνην τελειότατος ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμῶν ἐστι, φυτὸν δὲ αὐ<sup>2</sup> περιέχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ἐν μέρει φυτὰ ἅμα<sup>3</sup> παμμυρία καθάπερ κληματίδας ἐκ μιᾶς ἀνα-  
<sup>3</sup> βλαστάνοντα ρίζης ὅδε ὁ κόσμος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν ἄτακτον καὶ συγκεχυμένην οὖσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τάξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας καὶ ἐκ συγχύσεως εἰς διακρίσιν ἄγων ὁ κοσμοπλάστης μορφοῦν ἤρξατο,  
 [330] γῆν μὲν καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον ἐρρίζου, τὰ | δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φυτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οὐ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀλλά.

# CONCERNING NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER

## BOOK II

I. We have said in the former book all that the 1  
occasion called for regarding the husbandman's art  
in general. In this book we shall give such an account  
as we can of the art of a vine-dresser in particular.  
For Moses introduces the righteous man not as a  
husbandman only, but specially as a vine-dresser ;  
his words are : " Noah began to be a husbandman  
tilling the ground, and he planted a vineyard "  
(Gen. ix. 20).

It is incumbent on one, 2  
who is going to discourse on the work of planters  
and husbandmen as carried on in this or that place,  
to begin by marking well the plants set in the universe,  
those most perfect of all plants, and their great  
Planter and Overseer. It is the Lord of all things  
that is the greatest of planters and most perfect  
Master of His art. It is this World that is a plant  
containing in itself the particular plants all at once  
in their myriads, like shoots springing from a single  
root. For, when the Framer of the World, finding 3  
all that existed confused and disordered of itself,  
began to give it form, by bringing it out of disorder  
into order, out of confusion into distinction of parts,  
He caused earth and water to occupy the position of

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αἲρος καὶ πυρὸς δένδρα πρὸς τὴν μετάρσιον  
 ἀνεῖλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου χώραν, τὸν δὲ αἰθέριον  
 ἐν κύκλῳ τόπον ὠχυροῦτο τῶν ἐντὸς ὄρον  
 τε καὶ φυλακτῆριον αὐτὸν τιθείς, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ  
 οὐρανὸς ὠνομάσθαι δοκεῖ. <καὶ> ὀχεῖσθαι μὲν  
 γῆν ὕδατι ξηρὰν οὖσαν, ἣν δέος ἦν ὕδατι δια-  
 λύεσθαι, πυρὶ δὲ αἲρα θερμῶ φύσει τὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ  
 ψυχρότατον, θαῦμα ἔκτοπον, ὃ θαυματοποιὸς  
 4 εἰργάζετο. πῶς γὰρ οὐ τεράστιον ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ  
 λυομένου συνέχεσθαι τὸ λύον, πρὸς γῆς ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τῷ ψυχροτάτῳ τὸ θερμότερον ἄσβεστον ἰδρῦ-  
 σθαι, πῦρ ἐπὶ αἲρι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ  
 τέλεια τοῦ παντὸς ἦν μοσχεύματα, τὸ δὲ παμ-  
 μέγεθες καὶ παμφορώτατον ἔρνος ὁ κόσμος οὗτος,  
 5 οὐ παραφυάδες οἱ εἰρημένοι βλαστοί. II. "Οπου  
 ποτ' οὖν ἄρα τὰς ρίζας καθῆκε καὶ τίς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ  
 βάσις, ἐφ' ἧς ὥσπερ ἀνδριάς ἐρήρεισται, σκεπτέον.  
 σῶμα μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολειφθὲν εἰκὸς ἕξω πλανᾶ-  
 σθαι πᾶσαν τὴν δι' ὅλων ὕλην ἐργασαμένου καὶ  
 6 διακοσμήσαντος θεοῦ· τελειότατον γὰρ ἤρμοττε  
 τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἔργων τῷ μεγίστῳ δημιουργῷ  
 διαπλάσασθαι, τελειότατον δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἦν, εἰ μὴ  
 τελείοις συνεπληροῦτο μέρεσιν· ὥστε ἐκ γῆς  
 ἀπάσης καὶ παντὸς ὕδατος καὶ αἲρος καὶ πυρὸς,  
 μηδενὸς ἕξω μηδὲ τοῦ βραχυτάτου καταλειφθέντος,  
 7 συνέστη ὅδε ὁ κόσμος. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἐκτὸς ἢ  
 κενὸν ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ κενόν, πῶς τὸ

\* Or from both. Cornutus i. 1 gives ὠρέειν ὃ ἐστὶ  
 φυλάσσειν, as well as ὄρος for the originals from which οὐρανὸς  
 is derived.

† See App. p. 494.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 3-7

roots at its centre ; the trees, that are air and fire, He drew up from the centre to the space on high ; the encircling region of ether He firmly established, and set it to be at once a boundary and guard of all that is within. (Apparently its name " Heaven " is derived from the former word.<sup>a</sup>) And (surpassing wonder !) this Doer of wondrous works caused earth, a dry substance in danger of being dissolved by water, to be held by <sup>b</sup> water, and air, of itself coldest of all things, to be held by fire whose very nature is heat. How can it be other than a prodigy that the <sup>4</sup> dissolving element should be held together by that which it dissolves, water by earth ; and that on the coldest element the hottest should be seated unquenched, fire upon air ?

The elements of which we have spoken are the perfect branches of the whole, but the stock, far greater and more productive than all of them, is this world, of which the growths that have been mentioned are offshoots. II. We must consider, therefore, where He caused its <sup>5</sup> roots to strike, and on what it rests as a statue on its pedestal. It is unlikely that any material body has been left over and was moving about at random outside, seeing that God had wrought up and placed in orderly position all matter wherever found. For it <sup>6</sup> became the greatest artificer to fashion to full perfection the greatest of constructions, and it would have come short of full perfection, had it not had a complement of perfect parts.<sup>b</sup> Accordingly this world of ours was formed out of all that there is of earth, and all that there is of water, and air and fire, not even the smallest particle being left outside. It <sup>7</sup> follows that outside there is either empty space or nothing at all. If there is empty space, how comes

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πλήρες καὶ ναστὸν καὶ τῶν ὄντων βαρύτατον οὐ  
 βρίθει ταλαντεῦον στερεοῦ μηδενὸς ἀπερείδοντος<sup>1</sup>;  
 ἐξ οὗ φάσματι ἂν εἰκέναι δόξαι, ζητούσης αἰεὶ  
 τῆς διανοίας βάσιν σωματικὴν, <ἦν> πᾶν ἔχειν  
 εἰκός, εἰάν τι κενὸν μόνον<sup>2</sup> τυγχάνη, τὸν δὲ δὴ  
 κόσμον καὶ διαφερόντως, ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον σωμάτων  
 ἐστὶ καὶ πλήθος ἄλλων σωμάτων ὡς οἰκεία ἐγ-  
 8 κεκόλπισται μέρη. τὰς δυσωπίας οὖν εἴ τις ἀπο-  
 διδράσκειν βούλοιο τὰς ἐν τοῖς διαπορηθείσι,  
 λεγέτω μετὰ παρρησίας, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ὕλαις  
 κραταῖον οὕτως, ὡς τὸν κόσμον ἀχθοφορεῖν  
 ἰσχύσαι, λόγος δὲ ὁ αἰδῖος θεοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου τὸ  
 [331] ὀχυρώτατον καὶ | βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα τῶν ὄλων  
 9 ἐστίν. οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ  
 πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα ταθεῖς  
 δολιχεύει τὸν τῆς φύσεως δρόμον ἀήττητον συνάγων  
 τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγων· δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 ἄρρηκτον τοῦ παντὸς ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίει πατήρ.  
 10 εἰκότως οὖν οὐδὲ γῆ πᾶσα διαλυθήσεται πρὸς  
 παντὸς ὕδατος, ὅπερ αὐτῆς οἱ κόλποι κεχωρήκασιν,  
 οὐδ' ὑπὸ ἀέρος σβεσθήσεται πῦρ, οὐδ' ἔμπαλιν ὑπὸ  
 πυρὸς ἄῃ ἀναφλεχθήσεται, τοῦ θείου λόγου μεθ-  
 ὀριον τάττοντος αὐτὸν καθάπερ φωνῆν στοιχείων  
 ἀφώνων, ἵνα τὸ ὄλον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου  
 μουσικῆς<sup>3</sup> συνηγήση, τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπειλὰς  
 πειθοῖ τῇ συνόδῳ<sup>4</sup> μεσιτεύοντός τε καὶ διαιτῶντος.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπερείδοντος conj. Tr. for ἐπερείδοντος mss.

<sup>2</sup> mss. εἰάν τε κινούμενον: Wend. εἰάν τι κινούμενον. Perhaps εἰάν τε <ἰσχύμενον, εἰάν τε> κινούμενον.

<sup>3</sup> Mangey and Wend. φωνῆς, which is elsewhere coupled with ἐγγραμμάτου, e.g. *De Agr.* 136. But the μούσης of the mss. is reproduced in a quotation of the passage by Eusebius as μουσικῆς.

<sup>4</sup> mss. and Eusebius συνόδω (sic): Wend. συναγωγῆ.

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it that a thing that is full and dense and heaviest of all existences does not sink down by sheer weight, having nothing solid external to it to hold it up? This would seem to be of the nature of a phantom, since our understanding ever looks for a material basis, which it expects everything to have, even if it be but an empty thing, but above all the world, since it is the largest of material bodies, and holds in its bosom as parts of itself a mass of other material bodies. Let anyone then, who would fain escape the confusion 8 of face, which we all feel when we have to leave problems unsolved, say plainly that no material thing is so strong as to be able to bear the burden of the world; and that the everlasting Word of the eternal God is the very sure and staunch prop of the Whole. He it is, who extending Himself 9 from the midst to its utmost bounds and from its extremities to the midst again, keeps up through all its length Nature's unvanquished course, combining and compacting all its parts. For the Father Who begat Him constituted His Word such a Bond of the Universe as nothing can break. Good reason, then, 10 have we to be sure that all the earth shall not be dissolved by all the water which has gathered within its hollows; nor fire be quenched by air; nor, on the other hand, air be ignited by fire. The Divine Word stations Himself to keep these elements apart, like a Vocal between voiceless elements of speech, that the universe may send forth a harmony like that of a masterpiece of literature.<sup>a</sup> He mediates between the opponents amid their threatenings, and reconciles them by winning ways to peace and con-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 494.

## PHILO

- 11 III. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ τὸ παμφορώτατον  
φυτὸν ἐρριζοῦτο καὶ ῥιζωθὲν ἐκρατεῖτο· τῶν δὲ ἐν  
μέρει καὶ βραχυτέρων φυτῶν τὰ μὲν μεταβατικῶς  
κινήτά, τὰ δὲ ἄνευ μεταβάσεως ὡς ἂν ἐστῶτα
- 12 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐδημιουργεῖτο. τὰ μὲν  
οὖν μεταβατικῇ κινήσει χρώμενα, ἃ δὴ φαμεν  
ἡμεῖς ζῶα εἶναι, ταῖς τοῦ παντὸς ὀλοσχερεστέραις  
προσεγένετο μοίραις, γῆ μὲν τὰ χερσαῖα, πλωτὰ  
δὲ ὕδατι, τὰ δὲ πτηνὰ ἀέρι καὶ τὰ πυρίγονα πυρί,  
ὧν τὴν γένεσιν ἀριδηλοτέραν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν  
λόγος ἔχει προφαίνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες<sup>1</sup> οὐρανῶ  
—ζῶα γὰρ καὶ τούτους νοερὰ δι' ὄλων φασὶν οἱ  
φιλοσοφήσαντες—, <ὧν> οἱ μὲν πλάνητες ἐξ  
ἐαυτῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπλανεῖς τῇ τοῦ παντὸς συμπεριαγό-  
μενοι φορᾷ τόπους ἐναλλάττειν δοκοῦσι.
- 13 τὰ δὲ ἀφαντάστῳ φύσει διοικούμενα, ἅπερ ἰδίως  
λέγεται φυτά, μεταβατικῆς κινήσεως ἀμέτοχα.
- 14 IV. διττὰ δὲ ἐν τε γῆ καὶ ἀέρι γένη ὁ  
ποιῶν ἐποίει. ἀέρι μὲν τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ αἰσθητὰ καὶ  
δυνάμεις ἄλλας αἰσθήσει οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς κατα-  
λαμβανομένας— ψυχῶν ὁ θίασος οὗτος ἀσωμάτων  
ἐστὶ διακεκοσμημένων οὐ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐν τάξεσι·  
τὰς μὲν γὰρ εἰσκρίνεσθαι λόγος ἔχει σώμασι  
θητοῖς καὶ κατὰ τινὰς ὠρισμένας περιόδους  
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πάλιν, τὰς δὲ θειοτέρας κατασκευῆς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν.

<sup>a</sup> For the whole of this section cf. *De Gig.* 7 f.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 11-14

cord. III. On this wise was the tree 11  
planted which yields all fruit that grows. On this  
wise when planted was it held fast. Among lesser  
plants, that did not partake of its universal character,  
some were created with a capacity of moving from  
one place to another, others, meant to be stationary,  
lacked such capacity for change of place. Our name 12  
for those which have the power of locomotion is  
animals. These took to (*i.e.* were so made as naturally  
to belong to) the several main divisions of our uni-  
verse, land animals to earth, to water those that  
swim, the winged creatures to air, and to fire the  
fire-born. It is said that the production of these last  
is more patent to observation in Macedonia than  
elsewhere. The stars found their place in heaven.  
Those who have made philosophy their study tell us  
that these too are living creatures, but of a kind  
composed entirely of Mind. Of these some, the  
planets, appear to change their position by a power  
inherent in themselves, others to do so as they are  
swept along in the rush of our universe, and these  
we call fixed stars.<sup>a</sup> The creations en- 13  
dowed with a nature incapable of taking in impres-  
sions, to which the name of "plants" is specially  
given, do not share the power of locomotion.

IV. Of twofold kind were the beings which the great 14  
Maker made as well in the earth as in the air. In  
the air He made the winged creatures perceived by  
our senses, and other mighty beings besides which  
are wholly beyond apprehension by sense. This is  
the host of the bodiless souls. Their array is made  
up of companies that differ in kind. We are told that  
some enter into mortal bodies, and quit them again  
at certain fixed periods, while others, endowed with

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- λαχούσας ἅπαντος ἀλογεῖν τοῦ γῆς χωρίου, ἀνω-  
 [332] τάτω δ' εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ | αἰθέρι τὰς καθαρω-  
 τάτας, ἃς οἱ μὲν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντες  
 ἤρωας καλοῦσι, Μωυσῆς δὲ ὀνόματι εὐθυβόλω  
 χρώμενος ἀγγέλους προσαγορεύει, πρεσβευομένας  
 καὶ διαγγελλούσας τὰ τε παρὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τοῖς  
 ὑπηκόοις ἀγαθὰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ  
 ὑπήκοοι χρεῖοι. γῆ δὲ ζῳά τε χερσαῖα  
 καὶ φυτά, δύο πάλιν, προσέειμε, τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα  
 15 τε βουλευθεῖς εἶναι καὶ τροφόν· καθάπερ γὰρ  
 γυναικὶ καὶ παντὶ τῷ θήλει πηγαὶ πρὸς τῷ μέλλειν  
 ἀποκυῖσκειν ἀναχέονται<sup>1</sup> γάλακτος, ἵνα τοῖς γεννω-  
 μένοις ἄρδωσι τὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀρμοττούσας  
 τροφάς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῇ χερσαίων ζῳῶν  
 μητρὶ γῆ πᾶσας φυτῶν προσέειμεν ἰδέας, ἵνα  
 συγγενέσι καὶ μὴ ὀθνείοις τροφαῖς τὰ γεννώμενα  
 16 χρήσῃται. καὶ μὴν τὰ μὲν φυτὰ κατωκάρᾳ  
 ἀπειργάζετο τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς βαθυγειο-  
 τάτοις γῆς μέρεσι πῆξας, ζῳῶν δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων  
 τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεκκύσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ προμήκους  
 αὐχένος ἄκρας ἡρμόζετο τῷ αὐχένι ὥσπερ ἐπίβασιν  
 17 τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας θεῖς. ἐξαιρέτου δὲ τῆς  
 κατασκευῆς ἔλαχεν ἄνθρωπος· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων  
 τὰς ὄψεις περιήγαγε κάτω κάμψας, διὸ νένευκε  
 πρὸς χέρσον, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἀνώρθωσεν,  
 ἵνα τὸν οὐρανὸν καταθεᾶται, φυτὸν οὐκ ἐπίγειον  
 ἀλλ' οὐράνιον, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ὑπάρχων. V.  
 18 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τῆς αἰθερίου φύσεως τὸν ἡμέτερον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀποχέονται.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 14-18

a diviner constitution, have no regard for any earthly quarter, but exist on high nigh to the ethereal region itself. These are the purest spirits of all, whom Greek philosophers call heroes, but whom Moses, employing a well-chosen name, entitles "angels," for they go on embassies bearing tidings from the great Ruler to His subjects of the boons which He sends them, and reporting to the Monarch what His subjects are in need of. Two kinds again did He assign to earth, land animals and plants. For He willed her to be at once both mother and nurse. For, even as in woman and all female 15 kind there well up springs of milk when the time of delivery draws near, that they may furnish necessary drink of a suitable kind to their offspring; even so in like manner did the Creator bestow on earth, the mother of land animals, plants of all sorts, to the end that the new-born might have the benefit of nourishment not foreign but akin to them. Furthermore, 16 while He fashioned the plants head downwards, fixing their heads in the portions of the earth where the soil lay deepest, He raised from the earth the heads of the animals that are without reason and set them on the top of a long neck, placing the fore feet as a support for the neck. But the build allotted to man 17 was distinguished above that of other living creatures. For by turning the eyes of the others downwards He made them incline to the earth beneath them. The eyes of man, on the contrary, He set high up, that he might gaze on heaven, for man, as the old saying is, is a plant not earthly but heavenly.<sup>a</sup> V. Now while 18 others, by asserting that our human mind is a particle

<sup>a</sup> *Timaeus* 90 A; cf. for the preceding section *ib.* 91 E. See note on *Quod Det.* 84.

## PHILO

- νοῦν μοῖραν εἰπόντες εἶναι συγγένειαν ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς αἰθέρα συνῆψαν. ὁ δὲ μέγας Μωυσῆς οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἶδος ὠμοίωσεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου πνεύματος ἐκείνου δόκιμον εἶναι νόμισμα σημειωθὲν καὶ τυπωθὲν σφραγίδι θεοῦ, ἧς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστιν
- 19 ὁ αἰδιος λόγος· “ ἐνέπνευσε ” γάρ φησιν “ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, ” ὥστε ἀνάγκη πρὸς τὸν ἐκπέμποντα τὸν δεχόμενον ἀπεικονίσθαι· διὸ καὶ λέγεται κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι, οὐ μὴν κατ' εἰκόνα
- 20 τινὸς τῶν γεγονότων. ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἦν τῆς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ αἰτίου λόγον ἀπεικονισθείσης καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεγερθὲν πρὸς τὴν καθαρωτάτην τοῦ παντὸς μοῖραν, οὐρανόν, τὰς ὄψεις ἀνατείνειν, ἵνα τῷ φανερωῖ τὸ ἀφανὲς
- 21 ἐκδήλως καταλαμβάνηται. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄν διανοίας ὀλκὴν ἀμήχανον ἦν ἰδεῖν ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἀχθέντας πρὸς αὐτοῦ μόνους—ὁ γὰρ πέπονθεν ἕκαστος, αὐτὸς ἐξαιρέτως οἶδεν—, εἰδῶλον ἐναργὲς
- [383] | αἰδοῦς ὄμματος τὰ τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖ δυνάμενα
- 22 πρὸς αἰθέρα ἀπονεύειν. ὅποτε γὰρ οἱ ἐκ φθαρτῆς παγέντες ὕλης ὀφθαλμοὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέβησαν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς γῆς χωρίου πρὸς τὸν μακρὰν οὕτως ἀφεστῶτα ἀνατρέχειν οὐρανὸν καὶ ψαύειν τῶν περάτων αὐτοῦ, πόσον τινὰ χρὴ νομίσαι τὸν πάντη δρόμον τῶν ψυχῆς ὀμμάτων; ἅπερ ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ τὸ ὄν κατιδεῖν τηλανγῶς ἡμέρου πτερωθέντα οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον αἰθέρα τείνεται, παρα-
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## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 18-22

of the ethereal substance, have claimed for man a kinship with the upper air ; our great Moses likened the fashion of the reasonable soul to no created thing, but averred it to be a genuine coinage of that dread Spirit, the Divine and Invisible One, signed and impressed by the seal of God, the stamp of which is the Eternal Word. His words are " God in-breathed 19 into his face a breath of Life " (Gen. ii. 7) ; so that it cannot but be that he that receives is made in the likeness of Him Who sends forth the breath. Accordingly we also read that man has been made after the Image of God (Gen. i. 27), not however after the image of anything created. It followed then, as a 20 natural consequence of man's soul having been made after the image of the Archetype, the Word of the First Cause, that his body also was made erect, and could lift up its eyes to heaven, the purest portion of our universe, that by means of that which he could see man might clearly apprehend that which he could not see. Since, then, it was impossible for 21 any to discern how the understanding tends towards the Existent One, save those only who had been drawn by Him—for each one of us knows what he has himself experienced as no other can know it—He endows the bodily eyes with the power of taking the direction of the upper air, and so makes them a distinct representation of the invisible eye. For, 22 seeing that the eyes formed out of perishable matter obtained so great reach as to travel from the earthly region to heaven, that is so far away, and to touch its bounds, how vast must we deem the flight in all directions of the eyes of the soul ? The strong yearning to perceive the Existent One gives them wings to attain not only to the furthest region of the upper

## PHILO

μεψάμενα δὲ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου τοὺς ὄρους  
23 ἐπέιγεται πρὸς τὸν ἀγένητον. VI. διὰ  
τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς οἱ σοφίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης  
ἄπληστοι διατελοῦντες ἀνακεκλήσθαι λέγονται·  
πρὸς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἄνω καλεῖσθαι θέμις τοὺς ὑπ’  
24 αὐτοῦ καταπνευσθέντας. δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ τυφῶσι  
μὲν καὶ ἀρπυαῖαις αὐτόπρεμνα δένδρα πρὸς ἄερα  
ἀνασπᾶται καὶ μυριάγωγα σκάφη βρίθοντα φόρτω  
καθάπερ τινὰ τῶν κουφοτάτων ἐκ μέσων τῶν  
πελαγῶν ἀναρπάζεται καὶ λίμναι καὶ ποταμοὶ  
μετάρσιοι φέρονται, τοὺς γῆς κόλπους ἐκλιπόντος  
τοῦ ρεύματος, ὅπερ ἀνιμήσαντο αἱ τῶν ἀνέμων  
κραταιόταται καὶ πολυπλοκώταται δῖναι, τῇ δὲ  
τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πάντα δυνατοῦ καὶ τὰ  
κάτω νικῶντος φύσει κοῦφον ὁ νοῦς ὧν οὐκ ἐπ-  
ελαφρίζεται καὶ πρὸς μήκιστον ὕψος ἐξάιρεται, καὶ  
25 μάλιστα ὁ τοῦ φιλοσοφῆσαντος ἀνόθως. οὗτος  
γὰρ κάτω μὲν οὐ βρίθει πρὸς τὰ σώματος καὶ γῆς  
φίλα ταλαντεύων, ὧν διάζευξιν καὶ ἀλλοτριώσιν  
αἰεὶ διεπόνησεν, ἄνω δὲ φέρεται τῶν μεταρσίων  
καὶ ἱεροπρεπεστάτων καὶ εὐδαιμόνων φύσεων  
26 ἀκορόστως ἐρασθεῖς. τοιγαροῦν Μωυσῆς ὁ ταμίας  
καὶ φύλαξ τῶν τοῦ ὄντος ὀργίων ἀνακεκλήσεται·  
λέγεται γὰρ ἐν Λευιτικῇ βίβλῳ· “ἀνεκάλεσε  
Μωυσῆν.” ἀνακεκλήσεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν δευτερείων  
ἀξιωθεῖς Βεσελεήλ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἀνακαλεῖ ὁ  
θεὸς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευὴν τε καὶ  
27 ἐπιμέλειαν ἔργων. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τὰ δευτερεῖα τῆς  
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## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 22-27

air, but to overpass the very bounds of the entire universe and speed away toward the Uncreate.

VI. This is why those who crave for 23 wisdom and knowledge with insatiable persistence are said in the Sacred Oracles to have been called upwards ; for it accords with God's ways that those who have received His down-breathing should be called up to Him. For when trees are whirled up, 24 roots and all, into the air by hurricanes and tornadoes, and heavily laden ships of large tonnage are snatched up out of mid-ocean, as though objects of very little weight, and lakes and rivers are borne aloft, and earth's hollows are left empty by the water as it is drawn up by a tangle of violently eddying winds, it is strange if a light substance like the mind is not rendered buoyant and raised to the utmost height by the native force of the Divine spirit, overcoming as it does in its boundless might all powers that are here below. Above all is it strange if this is not so with the mind of the genuine philosopher. Such an one suffers from no weight of downward 25 pressure towards the objects dear to the body and to earth. From these he has ever made an earnest effort to sever and estrange himself. So he is borne upward insatiably enamoured of all holy happy natures that dwell on high. Accordingly Moses, 26 the keeper and guardian of the mysteries of the Existent One, will be one called above ; for it is said in the Book of Leviticus, " He called Moses up above" (Lev. i. 1). One called up above will Bezeleel also be, held worthy of a place in the second rank. For him also does God call up above for the construction and overseeing of the sacred works (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.). But while Bezeleel shall carry off the lower honours 27

## PHILO

ἀνακλήσεως, Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁ πάνσοφος οἴσεται τὰ πρωτεία· ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ τὰς σκιάς πλάττει καθάπερ οἱ ζωγραφοῦντες οἷς οὐ θέμις οὐδὲν ἔμφυχον δημιουργῆσαι—Βεσελεὴλ γὰρ ἐν σκιαῖς ποιῶν ἐρμηνεύεται—, Μωυσῆς δὲ οὐ σκιάς ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρχετύπους φύσεις αὐτὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαχεν ἀνατυποῦν. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ αἷτιον οἷς μὲν τηλαυγέστερον καὶ ἀριδηλότερον ὡς ἂν ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῶ, οἷς δὲ ἀμυδρότερον ὡς ἂν ἐν σκιά τὰ οἰκεία εἶωθεν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.

- 28 VII. | Διεξελθυθότες οὖν περὶ τῶν ὀλοσχερε-  
 [334] στέρων ἐν κόσμῳ φυτῶν ἴδωμεν ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τῷ βραχεῖ κόσμῳ, δένδρα ὁ πάνσοφος ἐδημιούργει θεός. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ὡσπερβαθύγειον χωρίον σῶμα τὸ ἡμέτερον λαβὼν  
 29 δεξαμενὰς αὐτῷ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπειργάζετο· κἄπειθ' οἷα φυτὸν ἡμερον καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον <εἷς><sup>1</sup> ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἐνετίθει, ἀκοὴν μὲν εἰς οὖς, ὄψιν δ' εἰς ὄμματα καὶ εἰς μυκτῆρας ὄσφρησιν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας εἰς τὰ οἰκεία καὶ συγγενῆ χωρία. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀνὴρ ἐν ὕμνοις λέγων ὦδε·  
 “ὁ φυτεύων οὖς οὐκ ἀκούει; ὁ πλάσσων ὀφθαλ-  
 30 μους οὐκ ἐπιβλέπει;” καὶ τὰς διηκούσας μέντοι μέχρι σκελῶν τε καὶ χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν, ὅσα ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτός, δυνάμεις  
 31 ἀπάσας εὐγενῆ μοσχεύματα εἶναι συμβέβηκε. τὰ δὲ ἀμείνω καὶ τελειότερα τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ καὶ καρποφορεῖν δυναμένῳ διαφερόντως ἡγεμονικῶ

<sup>1</sup> εἷς may easily have dropped out before ἐκ. Heinemann translates as if it had. See App. p. 494.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 27-31

conferred by the call above, Moses the all-wise shall bear away the primary honours. For the former fashions the shadows, just as painters do, to whom Heaven has not granted power to create aught that has life. "Bezeleel," we must remember, means "making in shadows." Moses on the other hand obtained the office of producing not shadows but the actual archetype of the several objects. Nor need we wonder at such distinctions. It is the wont of the Supreme Cause to exhibit the objects proper to each, to some in a clearer, more radiant vision, as though in unclouded sunshine, to others more dimly, as though in the shade.

VII. As we have now brought to a close our dis- 28  
cussion of those objects on a larger scale which are set to grow in the field of the universe, let us note the way in which God the all-wise fashioned the trees that are in man, the microcosm. To begin with, then, He took our body, as though He were taking some deep-soiled plot of ground and made the organs of sense as tree-beds for it. Having done this He 29  
set a sense in each of them, as a plant highly valuable for cultivation, hearing in the ear, sight in the eyes, in the nostrils scent, and the rest in their appropriate and congenial positions. I may cite as a witness to what I say the sacred poet, where he says "He that planteth the ear, doth He not hear? He that fashioneth the eyes, shall He not behold?" (Psalm xciv. 9). And all the other faculties of the body 30  
including legs and hands and every part, whether inner or outer, are nothing else than noble shoots and growths. The better and more perfect growths He 31  
planted in the dominant faculty, which holds the central position, and possesses in a pre-eminent

## PHILO

προσερρίζου· ταῦτα δέ εἰσι νόησις, κατάληψις, εὐστοχία, μελέται, μνήμαι, ἕξεις, διαθέσεις, τεχνῶν ιδεαὶ πολύτροποι, βεβαιότης ἐπιστημῶν, τῶν ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης θεωρημάτων ἄληστος ἀνάληψις. τούτων οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς θνητὸς ἰκανὸς φυτουργῆσαι, πάντων δὲ ἀθρώων εἰς ὃ ἀγένητος τεχνίτης, οὐ πεποιηκὼς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιῶν ἀεὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν γεννωμένων τὰ φυτὰ ταῦτα.

- 32 VIII. Τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστὶν ἀκόλουθος καὶ ἡ τοῦ παραδείσου φυτουργία· λέγεται γάρ· “ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς, καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν.” τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀμπέλους καὶ ἐλαιῶν ἢ μηλεῶν ἢ ροιῶν ἢ τῶν παραπλησίων δένδρα οἶεσθαι<sup>1</sup> πολλή
- 33 καὶ δυσθεράπευτος εὐήθεια. τίνας γὰρ ἔνεκα, εἴποι τις ἄν; ἵνα ἐνδιαιτήσεις εὐαγώγους ἔχη; ὁ γὰρ κόσμος ἅπας αὐταρκέστατον ἐνδιαίτημα ἂν νομισθεῖη θεῷ τῷ πανηγεμόνι; ἢ οὐχὶ μυρίων καὶ ἄλλων δόξαι ἂν ὑστερίζειν, ὡς πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βσιλέως ἀξιόχρεων ὑποληφθῆναι χωρίον; χωρὶς τοῦ<sup>2</sup> μηδὲ εὐαγές εἶναι οἶεσθαι τὸ αἴτιον ἐν τῷ αἰτιατῷ περιέχεσθαι [τῷ] μηδὲ τὰ
- 34 δένδρα τοὺς ἐτησίους δήπου φέρειν καρπούς. πρὸς τὴν τίνας οὖν ἀπόλαυσίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν καρποφορήσει ὁ παράδεισος; ἀνθρώπου μὲν οὐδενός· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἰσάγεται τὸ παράπαν τὸν παράδεισον οἰκῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον διαπλασθέντα ἐκ γῆς
- 35 μεταναστῆναί φησιν ἐνθένδε, ὄνομα Ἀδάμ. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> No lacuna (as Wend.) An infinitive can be understood after οἶομαι, e.g. Homer, *Odyssey* xxiv. 401.

<sup>2</sup> mss. χωρίον τοῦ: Wend. χωρὶς τοῦ.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. note on *De Cher.* 62.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *L.A.* i. 43.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 31-34

degree the capacity for yielding fruit. These growths are insight, apprehension, accurate judgement, constant practice, powers of memory, varying conditions, chronic dispositions,<sup>a</sup> scientific capacity taking many forms and directions, certainty of knowledge, ability to take in and retain the principles and implications of virtue in every shape. Not one of these is any mortal man whatever capable of growing. The One Grower of them all is the Uncreate Artificer, Who not only has made these plants once for all, but is ever making them in the case of each man who is from time to time begotten.

VIII. In agreement with what I have said is the <sup>32</sup> planting of the garden ; for we read, " God planted a garden in Eden facing the sun-rising, and placed there the man whom He had moulded " (Gen. ii. 8). To imagine that he planted vines and olive and apple and pomegranate trees or the like, would be serious folly, difficult to eradicate. One would <sup>33</sup> naturally ask What for ? To provide Himself with convenient places to live in ?<sup>b</sup> Would the whole world be considered a sufficient dwelling for God the Lord of all ? Would it not evidently fall short in countless other ways<sup>c</sup> of being deemed meet to receive the Great King ? To say nothing of the irreverence of supposing that the Cause of all things is contained in that which He has caused, and to say nothing of the fact that the trees of His planting do not yield annual fruits as ours do.<sup>d</sup> For whose use <sup>34</sup> and enjoyment, then, will the Garden yield its fruits ? Not for that of any man ; for no one whatever is mentioned as dwelling in the garden, for we are told that Adam, the man first moulded out of the earth,

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* than being without a garden.      <sup>d</sup> See App. p. 494.

## PHILO

- μὴν ὃ γε θεὸς ὡσπερ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τροφῆς ἀνεπιδεῆς ἐστίν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν τροφῆ ἠρώμενον δεῖσθαι μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὄργανα εὐ-  
 τρεπίσθαι, δι' ὧν καὶ τὴν εἰσιούσαν παραδέξεται  
 [335] καὶ τὴν ἐκμασηθεῖσαν θύραζε ἀποπέμψει. | ταῦτα  
 δὲ μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας τῆς περὶ τὸ  
 αἴτιον ἀπάδει, τῶν ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
 ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς αὐτὸ εἰσαγόντων ἐπ' εὐσεβείας καὶ  
 ὁσιότητος καθαιρέσει, μεγάλων ἀρετῶν, ἐκθεσμό-  
 36 τατα ὄντα εὐρήματα. IX. ἰτέον οὖν  
 ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν τὴν ὁρατικοῖς φίλην ἀνδράσι· καὶ  
 γὰρ οἱ χρησιμοὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὰς ἐναρ-  
 γέστατα προτείνουσι· λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ  
 φυτὰ εἶναι μηδὲν εἰκότα τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ  
 ζωῆς, ἀθανασίας, εἰδήσεως, καταλήψεως, συνέσεως,  
 37 καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ φαντασίας. ταῦτα δὲ χέρσου  
 μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἶη, λογικῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀναγκαίως  
 φυτὰ, ἡ μὲν<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὁδὸς αὐτῆς ζωὴν καὶ  
 ἀθανασίαν ἔχουσα τὸ τέλος, ἡ δὲ πρὸς κακίαν  
 φυγὴν τε τούτων καὶ θάνατον. τὸν οὖν φιλόδωρον  
 θεὸν ὑποληπτέον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπερ παράδεισον  
 ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς πράξεων ἐμφυτεύειν  
 πρὸς τελείαν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτὴν ἄγοντα.
- 38 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τόπον οἰκειότατον προσέειμε  
 τῷ παραδείσῳ καλούμενον Ἐδέμ—ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ  
 τρυφή—, σύμβολον ψυχῆς τῆς ἄρτια βλεπούσης,  
 ἀρεταῖς ἐγχορευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ μεγέ-  
 θους χαρᾶς ἀνασκιρτώσης, ἀπόλαυσμα ἐν ἀντὶ

<sup>1</sup> Or, with Wend., <ῆς> ἡ μὲν, "to which belongs the path" etc.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 35-38

migrated thence. As for God, *He* stands in no need of 35  
food any more than of aught else. For one who uses  
food must in the first place experience need, and in the  
next place be equipped with organs by means of which  
to take the food that comes in, and to discharge that  
from which he has drawn its goodness. These things  
are not in harmony with the blessedness and happi-  
ness of the First Cause. They are utterly monstrous  
inventions of men who would overthrow great virtues  
like piety and reverence by representing Him as  
having the form and passions of mankind.

IX. So we must turn to allegory, the method dear 36  
to men with their eyes opened. Indeed the sacred  
oracles most evidently afford us the clues for the use  
of this method. For they say that in the garden  
there are trees in no way resembling those with  
which we are familiar, but trees of Life, of Immor-  
tality, of Knowledge, of Apprehension, of Under-  
standing, of the conception of good and evil. And 37  
these can be no growths of earthly soil, but must be  
those of the reasonable soul, namely its path accord-  
ing to virtue with life and immortality as its end,  
and its path according to evil ending in the shunning  
of these and in death. We must conceive therefore  
that the bountiful God plants in the soul as it were a  
garden of virtues and of the modes of conduct  
corresponding to each of them, a garden that brings  
the soul to perfect happiness.

Because of this He assigned to the garden a site 38  
most suitable, bearing the name of "Eden," which  
means "luxuriance," symbol of a soul whose eyesight  
is perfect, disporting itself in virtues, leaping and  
skipping by reason of abundance of great joy, having  
set before it, as an enjoyment outweighing thousands

## PHILO

- μυρίων τῶν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἡδίστων προτεθει-  
 39 μένης τὴν τοῦ μόνου θεραπείαν σοφοῦ. τούτου  
 τοῦ γανώματος ἀκράτου τις σπάσας, ὁ τοῦ  
 Μωυσέως δὴ θιασώτης, ὃς οὐχὶ τῶν ἡμελημένων  
 ἦν, ἐν ὑμνωδίαις ἀνεφθέγγετο πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον  
 νοῦν φάσκων “κατατρύφησον τοῦ κυρίου,” παρα-  
 κекιμημένος πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον καὶ θεῖον ἔρωτα  
 τῇ φωνῇ, τὰς μὲν <ἐν> τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ  
 φαινομένοις ἀνθρωπίνοις ἀγαθοῖς χλιδὰς καὶ  
 θρύψεις ἀλήκτους<sup>1</sup> δυσχεράνας, ὅλον δὲ τὸν νοῦν  
 ὑπὸ θείας κατοχῆς συναρπασθεὶς οἴστρω καὶ  
 40 ἐνευφραϊνόμενος μόνῳ θεῷ. X. καὶ  
 τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολαῖς μέντοι τὸν παράδεισον εἶναι  
 δεῖγμα τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐστί· σκοταῖον μὲν γὰρ  
 καὶ δυόμενον καὶ νυκτιφόρον ἀφροσύνη, λαμπρό-  
 τατον δὲ καὶ περιαιυγέστατον καὶ ἀνατέλλον ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς φρόνησις. καὶ καθάπερ ἀνίσχων ἥλιος  
 ὅλον τὸν οὐρανοῦ κύκλον φέγγους ἀναπληροῖ, τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον αἱ ἀρετῆς ἀκτῖνες ἀναλάμψασαι τὸ  
 διανοίας χωρίον ὅλον μεστὸν αὐγῆς καθαρᾶς  
 ἀπεργάζονται.
- 41 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπου κτήματα φρουροὺς ἔχει  
 καὶ φύλακας ἀγριωτάτους θήρας εἰς τὴν τῶν  
 ἐπιόντων καὶ κατατρεχόντων ἄμυναν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ κτήματα λογικὰς φύσεις· “ἔθετο” γὰρ  
 φησιν “ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν,” ὃ ἐστίν,  
 λογικῶν μόνον τῶν ἀρετῶν αἱ ἀσκήσεις τε καὶ  
 42 χρήσεις. ἐξαιρετον γέρας παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων<sup>2</sup>  
 ψυχὰς τουτὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλαβον· διὸ καὶ  
 ἐμφαντικώτατα εἶρηται, ὅτι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀλέκτως et alia.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 38-42

of those that men deem sweetest, the worship and service of the Only Wise. One, after taking a sheer draught of this bright joy, a member indeed of Moses' fellowship, not found among the indifferent, spake aloud in hymns of praise, and addressing his own mind cried, "Delight in the Lord" (Psalm xxxvi. 4), moved by the utterance to an ecstasy of the love that is heavenly and Divine, filled with loathing for those interminable bouts of softness and debauchery amid the seeming and so-called good things of mankind, while his whole mind is snatched up in holy frenzy by a Divine possession, and he finds his gladness in God alone.

X. A proof of what I have said is the nearness of the garden to the sun-rising (Gen. ii. 8); for, while folly is a thing sinking, dark, night-bringing, wisdom is verily a thing of sunrise, all radiancy and brightness. And even as the sun, when it comes up, fills all the circle of heaven with light, even so do the rays of virtue, when they have shone out, cause the whole region of the understanding to be flooded with pure brilliancy.

Now, whereas man's possessions have animals of great ferocity to watch and guard them against being attacked and overrun, the possessions of God are guarded by rational beings: for it says, "He stationed there the man whom He had fashioned," that is to say, the trainings in and exercises of the virtues belong to rational beings only. This they received at the hands of God, as a pre-eminent privilege above the lives of the irrational creatures. And that is why it is stated in the most vivid manner

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<sup>3</sup> MSS. δ ἐπὶ λογικῶν μόνον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐστὶν αἱ οὖν ἀσκήσεις κτλ. See App. p. 495.

## PHILO

- [336] ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπον, | τουτέστι τὸν νοῦν, ἔθηκεν ἐν ἱερωτάτοις καλοκάγαθίας βλαστήμασι καὶ φυτοῖς, ἐπεὶ [δὲ]<sup>1</sup> τῶν διανοίας ἀμετόχων ἰκανὸν οὐδὲν ἀρετὰς γεωργῆσαι,<sup>2</sup> ὧν τὸ παράπαν λαμβάνειν οὐ πέφυκε κατάληψιν. XI. οὐκ ἔστι δ' οὖν ἀπορητέον, τί δήποτε εἰς μὲν τὴν κιβωτόν, ἣν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κατακλυσμῷ κατασκευασθῆναι συνέβη, πᾶσαι τῶν θηρίων αἱ ἰδέαι εἰσάγονται, εἰς δὲ τὸν παράδεισον οὐδεμία· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κιβωτὸς σύμβολον ἦν σώματος, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κεχώρηκε τὰς παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ἀτιθάσους κἀξηγηριωμένας κῆρας, ὁ δὲ παράδεισος ἀρετῶν· ἀρεταὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνήμερον ἢ συνόλως
- 43 ἀλογον παραδέχονται. παρατετηρημένως δὲ οὐ τὸν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τυπωθέντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πεπλασμένον εἰσαχθῆναι φησιν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ χαραχθεὶς πνεύματι οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ τὴν ἀθάνατον ζωὴν καρποφοροῦντος, ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, δένδρου—ἄμφω γὰρ ἄφθαρτα καὶ μοίρας τῆς μεσαιάτης καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτης ἠξίωται· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου—, ὁ δὲ τοῦ πολυμιγοῦς καὶ γεωδεστέρου σώματος, ἀπλάστου καὶ ἀπλῆς φύσεως ἀμέτοχος, ἧς ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐπίσταται τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς [τοῦ κυρίου] οἰκεῖν μόνος— Ἰακώβ γὰρ “ἄπλαστος οἰκῶν οἰκίαν” εἰσάγεται—, πολυτρόπῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκ παντοίων συνηρημένη καὶ πεπλασμένη διαθέσει χρώμενος.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ δὲ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀρετῆς (or ἄρα τις) ἐγεωργῆσεν.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “unfashioned.”

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 42-45

possible that He set the mind, which is the real man in us, amid holiest shoots and growths of noble character, since among beings void of understanding there is not one capable of tilling virtues, for they are by nature utterly incompetent to apprehend these.

XI. We need, then, be at no loss <sup>43</sup> to know why there are brought in into the ark, which was built at the time of the great Flood, all the kinds of wild beasts, but into the Garden no kind at all. For the ark was a figure of the body, which has been obliged to make room for the savage and untamed pests of passions and vices, whereas the garden was a figure of the virtues ; and virtues entertain nothing wild, nothing (we may say outright) that is irrational.

It is with deliberate care that the law- <sup>44</sup> giver says not of the man made after God's image, but of the man fashioned out of earth, that he was introduced into the garden. For the man stamped with the spirit which is after the image of God differs not a whit, as it appears to me, from the tree that bears the fruit of immortal life : for both are imperishable and have been accounted worthy of the most central and most princely portion : for we are told that the tree of Life is in the midst of the Garden (Gen. ii. 9). Nor is there any difference between the man fashioned out of the earth and the earthly composite body. He has no part in a nature simple and uncompounded, whose house and courts only the self-trainer knows how to occupy, even Jacob who is put before us as " a plain <sup>a</sup> man dwelling in a house " (Gen. xxv. 27). The earthy man has a disposition of versatile subtlety, fashioned and concocted of elements of all sorts It was to be expected, <sup>45</sup>

## PHILO

- 45 τιθέναι οὖν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ, ρίζωθέντα εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν μέσον νοῦν, ὀλκοῖς πρὸς τὰναντία κεχρημένον δυνάμεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν διάκρισίν τε αὐτῶν ἀνακληθέντα,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα πρὸς αἴρεσιν καὶ φυγὴν ὀρμήσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ ἀμείνω δεξιῶσαιτο, ἀθανασίας καὶ εὐκλείας ἀπόνοιτο, εἰ δ' αὖ τὰ χεῖρω, ψεκτὸν θάνατον εὕρηται.
- 46 XII. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ δένδρα ὁ μόνος σοφὸς ἐν ψυχαῖς λογικαῖς ἐρρίζου. Μωυσῆς δὲ οἰκτιζόμενος τοὺς μετανάστας ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν παραδείσου γεγονότας καὶ τὸ ἀντεξούσιον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος καὶ τὰς ἰλεως καὶ ἡμέρους αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> δυνάμεις εὔχεται, ὅθεν ὁ γήινος νοῦς Ἀδὰμ πεφυγάδευται, κείθι τοὺς ὀρατικούς ἐμφυτευθῆναι· λέγει γάρ·
- 47 “ εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας<sup>3</sup> σου, εἰς ἔτοιμον κατοικητήριόν σου ὃ κατειργάσω, κύριε, ἀγίασμα, κύριε, ὃ ἠτοίμασαν αἱ χεῖρές σου· κύριος βασιλεύων τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ
- 48 ἐπ' αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι.” | οὐκοῦν σαφέστατα εἰ καὶ  
 [337] τις ἄλλος ἔμαθεν, ὅτι τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ρίζας ἀπάντων καθεὶς ὁ θεὸς αἰτιὸς ἔστι τοῦ τὸ μέγιστον ἀναβλαστῆσαι φυτόν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ὃν καὶ νῦν ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἄσματος “ ὄρος ” αὐτὸν “ κληρονομίας ” εἰπῶν· ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πεποιηκότος οἰκειότατον τὸ
- 49 γενόμενον κτῆμα καὶ κλῆρος. εὔχεται οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐν τούτῳ φυτευθῆναι, οὐχ ἵνα ἄλογοι καὶ ἀφηνιασταὶ γενώμεθα τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐπόμενοι τῇ τοῦ τελειοτάτου διοικήσει τὴν κατὰ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> So Wend. : mss. μετα κλη(κλι, βλη)θῆναι.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ is transposed with Cohn. <sup>3</sup> mss. κληροδοσίας.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 45-49

then, that God should plant and set in the garden, or the whole universe, the middle or neutral mind, played upon by forces drawing it in opposite directions and given the high calling to decide between them, that it might be moved to choose and to shun, to win fame and immortality should it welcome the better, and incur a dishonourable death should it choose the worse.

XII. Such, then, were the trees which He Who 46 alone is wise planted in rational souls. Moses, lamenting over those who had become exiles from the garden of the virtues, implores alike God's absolute sovereignty and His gracious and gentle powers, that the people endowed with sight may be planted in on the spot whence the earthly mind, called Adam, has been banished. This is what he says : " Bring them in, plant them in the mountain 47 of Thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which is ready, which Thou wroughtest for Thee to dwell in, the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have made ready : the Lord is sovereign for ever and ever " (Exod. xv. 17 f.). So Moses, beyond all others, had 48 most accurately learned that God, by setting the seeds and roots of all things, is the Cause of the greatest of all plants springing up, even this universe. It is at this evidently that he points in the present instance by the words of the Song itself just quoted, by calling the world " the mountain of Thine inheritance," since that which has been brought into being is, in a peculiar degree, the possession and portion of him who has made it. So he prays that in this 49 we may be planted. He would not have us become irrational and unruly in our natures. Nay, he would have us comply with the ordering of the All-perfect,

## PHILO

αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσιν αὐτοῦ διέξοδον  
 ἀπομιμούμενοι σὺφρονι καὶ ἀπταιστώ βίῳ χρώ-  
 μεθα· τὸ γὰρ ἀκολουθία φύσεως ἰσχύσαι ζῆν  
 50 εὐδαιμονίας τέλος εἶπον οἱ πρῶτοι. καὶ  
 μὴν τὰ γε αὖθις λεγόμενα συνάδει τῷ προτεθέντι,  
 τὸ<sup>1</sup> τὸν κόσμον εὐτρεπῆ καὶ ἔτοιμον αἰσθητὸν  
 οἶκον εἶναι θεοῦ, τὸ κατειργάσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀγένητον  
 εἶναι, ὡς ᾠήθησάν τινες, τὸ “ἀγίασμα,” οἶον  
 ἀγίων ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχετύπου, ἐπεὶ τὰ  
 αἰσθήσει καλὰ τῶν νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες, τὸ  
 ἡτοιμάσθαι ὑπὸ χειρῶν θεοῦ, τῶν κοσμοποιῶν  
 51 αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων. ἀλλ’ ὅπως μηδεὶς ὑπολάβοι τὸν  
 ποιητὴν χρεῖον εἶναί τινος τῶν γεγονότων, τὸ  
 ἀναγκαιότατον ἐπιφωνήσει· “βασιλεύων τὸν αἰῶνα  
 καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι.” βασιλέα<sup>2</sup> δὲ οὐδενὸς δεῖσθαι,  
 52 τὰ δὲ ὑπήκοα βασιλέως θέμις πάντα. τινὲς δὲ  
 ἔφασαν κλῆρον εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν,  
 οὐ τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὐχεσθαι νυνὶ  
 Μωυσῆν προσγενέσθαι· εἰσαγαγών, γὰρ φησιν,  
 ἡμᾶς οἷα παῖδας ἄρτι μανθάνειν ἀρχομένους διὰ  
 τῶν σοφίας δογμάτων καὶ θεωρημάτων καὶ μὴ  
 ἀστοιχειώτους ἑάσας ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ οὐρανίῳ λόγῳ  
 53 καταφύτευσον. κλῆρος γὰρ οὗτος ἔτοιμότητος  
 καὶ προχειρότατος οἶκος, ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐνδιαί-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῷ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. βασιλεῖ, βασιλεὺς.

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<sup>a</sup> The argument seems to be that to be planted in the Cosmos is to be planted in nature. Thus the text can be harmonized with the Stoic doctrine of “living according to nature.”

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “bring in,” “introduce,” almost “apprentice.”



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 49-53

and faithfully copying His constant and undeviating course, pursue without stumbling a life of self-mastery : for to attain the power to live as nature bids has been pronounced by the men of old supreme happiness.<sup>a</sup> And mark how well the 50 epithets that follow harmonize with that which was put first. The world, we read, is God's house in the realm of sense-perception, prepared and ready for Him. It is a thing wrought, not, as some have fancied, uncreate. It is a "sanctuary," an outshining of sanctity, so to speak, a copy of the original ; since the objects that are beautiful to the eye of sense are images of those in which the understanding recognizes beauty. Lastly, it has been prepared by the "hands" of God, his world-creating powers. And to the end that none may suppose that the 51 Maker is in need of those whom He has made, Moses will crown his utterance with the point that is vital beyond all others : "reigning for ever and ever." It is an established principle that a sovereign is dependent on no one, while subjects are in all respects dependent on the sovereign. Some have 52 maintained that that which is God's portion, and is spoken of here as such, is that which is good, and that Moses' prayer in this instance is for the obtaining of the experience and enjoyment thereof. For his prayer runs thus : "Initiate<sup>b</sup> us, the children just beginning to learn, by means of the pronouncements and principles of wisdom, and leave us not ungrounded, but plant us in a high and heavenly doctrine.<sup>c</sup>" For this is a "portion" best prepared, 53 a "house" most ready, an abode most fitting, which

<sup>a</sup> Or "Reason," here identified with "the Good"; "high" is added to bring in the "mountain."

## PHILO

- τημα, ὃ “κατειργάσω ἅγιον”. ἀγαθῶν γὰρ καὶ  
 ἀγίων, ὧ δέσποτα, ποιητῆς ὧν τυγχάνεις, ὡς  
 ἔμπαλιν κακῶν καὶ βεβήλων γένεσις ἢ φθαρτή.  
 βασίλευε δὴ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα ψυχῆς τῆς ἰκέτιδος  
 μηδὲ ἀκαρὲς ἔων αὐτὴν ἀνηγεμόνευτον· ἢ γὰρ  
 ἀδιάστατος παρὰ σοὶ δουλεία τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς,  
 54 οὐκ ἐλευθερίας μόνον ἀμείνων. XIII. πολλοῖς  
 δὲ ἂν τάχα που ζήτησιν παράσχοι, τίνα ἔχει λόγον  
 τὸ “εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας σου”. κληροδοτεῖν μὲν  
 θεὸν ἀναγκαῖον, κληρονομεῖν δὲ ἴσως οὐκ εὐλογον  
 55 πάντων αὐτοῦ κτημάτων ὄντων. ἀλλὰ μήποτε  
 τοῦτο λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἐξαιρέτον οἰ-  
 κειώσεως λόγον δεσποζομένων πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ  
 οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπάντων μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν ὑπηκόων,  
 [338] διαφερόντως δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν, οἷς πρὸς | τὴν τοῦ  
 σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν ὑπηρε-  
 56 ταις εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀπάντων ὄντες κτημάτων  
 δεσπότηται καὶ ὄσων ἐπικρατεῖν οἱ ἰδιῶται δοκοῦσι,  
 μόνα ταῦτα ἔχειν νομίζονται, ἅπερ ἐπιτρόποις καὶ  
 ἐπιμεληταῖς ἐγχειρίσαιεν, ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐτησίους  
 προσόδους ἐκλέγουσιν· εἰς ἃ πολλάκις ἀνέσεως καὶ  
 εὐθυμίας ἔνεκα προσέρχονται τὸ βαρύτερον τῶν  
 ἐν πολιτείᾳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ φροντῖδων ἄχθος ἀπο-  
 τιθέμενοι· καὶ καλεῖται μέντοι ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα  
 57 αὐτοῖς βασιλικά. καὶ μὴν ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς  
 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κειμήλια παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις  
 θησαυροφυλακεῖται τῶν ἡγουμένων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν  
 ἐχόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ὁμως ἴδιοι τῶν βασιλέων

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 53-57

“Thou hast wrought as a Holy Place”; for of things good and holy, O Master, Thou art Maker, as from the corruptible creation come things evil and profane. Reign through the age that has no limit over the soul that implores Thee, never leaving it for one moment without a sovereign Ruler : for never-ceasing slavery under Thee surpasses not freedom only but the highest sovereignty. XIII. It is 54 possible that the words “Into the mountain of Thine inheritance” may suggest to many an inquiry as to how to account for them : for that God *gives* portions is a necessary truth, but it may appear a contradiction that He should *obtain* a portion, since all things belong to Him. This expression would seem 55 to apply to those who are on a special footing of more intimate relationship with Him as their Master. So kings are rulers of all their subjects, but in an eminent degree of their household servants, of whose ministry they are accustomed to avail themselves for the care of their persons and their other requirements. Again these same rulers, though 56 they are masters of all properties throughout the land, including those over which private citizens have apparent control, are reckoned to have those only which they place in the hands of bailiffs and agents, from which also they collect the yearly income. To these they frequently resort for holiday and enjoyment, laying aside the serious burden of the anxieties incident to government and sovereignty, and these estates of theirs go by the name of royal demesnes. Again, silver and gold, and other precious 57 things which are kept in the treasuries of subjects, belong to the rulers rather than to those who have them. But in spite of this we speak of sovereigns’

## PHILO

θησαυροὶ λέγονται, ἐν οἷς οἱ ταχθέντες τῶν φόρων ἐκλογεῖς<sup>1</sup> <τὰς> ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας προσόδους κατα-  
 58 τίθενται. μηδὲν οὖν θαυμάσης, εἰ καὶ τοῦ παν-  
 ηγεμόνος θεοῦ τὸ ἐφ' ἅπασιν κράτος εἰληχότος  
 ἐξαιρέτος κληῖρος εἶναι λέγεται ψυχῶν σοφῶν ὁ  
 θίασος, ὃ<sup>2</sup> ὀξύωπέστατα ὄρων, ἀμέμπτω καὶ  
 ἀκραιφνεῖ κεχρημένος τῷ διανοίας ὄμματι, μύσαντι  
 μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀναπεπταμένω καὶ εὐθυτενῶς  
 59 βλέποντι. XIV. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ ἐν  
 ᾧδῃ τῇ μείζονι λέγεται· “ἐπερώτησον τὸν πατέρα  
 σου καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου καὶ  
 ἐρουσί σοι· ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς  
 διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὄρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ  
 ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο μερὶς κυρίου  
 60 λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ”; ἰδοὺ γὰρ πάλιν μερίδα  
 καὶ κληῖρον εἶρηκε θεοῦ τὸν ὄρατικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 γνήσιον θεραπευτὴν τρόπον, τοὺς δὲ γῆς παῖδας,  
 οὓς Ἀδὰμ ὠνόμασεν υἱοὺς, ἐσπάρθαι καὶ ἀνα-  
 σκεδασθῆναι καὶ μηκέτι συναχθῆναι,<sup>3</sup> στίφος δὲ  
 γενέσθαι<sup>4</sup> ἡγεμόνι χρήσασθαι ὀρθῶ λόγῳ μὴ δυνα-  
 μένους. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἀρμονίας μὲν καὶ ἐνώσεως  
 αἴτιον ἀρετῆ, διαλύσεως δὲ καὶ διαρτήσεως ἢ  
 61 ἐναντία διάθεσις. δεῖγμα μέντοι τῶν  
 εἰρημένων ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἡμέρα  
 τῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ· τότε γὰρ διείρηται  
 “δύο τράγους διακληροῦν, τὸν μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ,  
 [339] τὸν δὲ τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ,” | διττὸν λόγον, ὃν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> ἐκλογεῖς is read for ἐκλογισταὶ with Cohn in *Addenda*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δς οτ ὄς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. καὶ ἐπισυνε(α)χθῆναι.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐγγενέσθαι.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 57-61

private coffers in which the appointed collectors of dues deposit the revenues from the country. Marvel 58 not at all, then, if the title of special portion of God the universal Ruler, to whom sovereignty over all pertains, is bestowed upon the company of wise souls, whose vision is supremely keen, the eye of whose understanding is clear and flawless, closing never, ever open in a gaze direct and piercing. XIV. Is 59 not this the explanation of that utterance in the Greater Song: "Ask thy father, and he will proclaim it to thee, thy elders, and they will tell it thee; when the Most High distributed the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set up boundaries of the nations corresponding to the number of the angels of God, and His people Israel became the portion of the Lord" (Deut. xxxii. 7-9)? Mark 60 how he has again given the name of "portion" and "lot" of God to the character that has eyes to see Him and accords Him genuine devotion, while he says that the children of earth, whom he entitles sons of Adam, have been dispersed and broken up and no more gathered together but are become a mob incapable of following the guidance of right reason. For virtue is in very deed the cause of harmony and unity, whereas the contrary disposition brings about dissolution and dismemberment. An 61 illustration of what has been said is afforded by that which is done year by year on the day called the "Day of Atonement." It is enjoined on that day "to assign by lot two goats, one for the Lord, and one for separation"<sup>a</sup> (Lev. xvi. 8), a twofold description,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 495.

<sup>b</sup> Or "two ways of thinking," the goats representing two different attitudes of mind.

## PHILO

θεῶ, ὃν δὲ γενέσει· ὁ ἀποσεμνύνων μὲν οὖν τὸ αἴτιον [τιμὴν] αὐτῷ προσκληρώσεται, ὁ δὲ γένεσιν<sup>1</sup> φυγαδευθήσεται, τῶν μὲν ἱερωτάτων ἐλαυνόμενος χωρίων, εἰς δὲ ἄβατα καὶ βέβηλα καὶ βάραθρώδη<sup>2</sup> ἐμπίπτων.

- 62 XV. Τοσαύτη μέντοι τῇ <τοῦ> θεοφιλοῦς περιουσία χρήται Μωυσῆς, ὥστε αὐτῷ τούτῳ μάλιστα πεπιστευκῶς θερμότεροις καὶ μείζοσιν ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἀσθενεστέρων<sup>3</sup> ἡμῶν ἀκοὰς λόγοις τε καὶ δόγμασιν εἴωθε χρήσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀξιοὶ κληρονομεῖν θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόν, τὸ παραδοξότατον, κλῆρον
- 63 ἐτέρων εἶναι. φυλὴν γὰρ ὅλην πρόσφυγα καὶ ἰκέτιν αὐτοῦ λῆξιν μὲν τῆς χώρας, καθάπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἔνδεκα, οὐκ ἠξίωσε νείμασθαι, γέρας δὲ ἐξαίρετον λαβεῖν ἱερωσύνην, οὐκ ἐπίγειον, ἀλλ' ὀλύμπιον κτῆμα· “οὐ γὰρ ἔσται” φησί “τῇ φυλῇ Λευὶ μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι κύριος αὐτὸς κλῆρος αὐτῶν.” καὶ ἐκ προσώπου μέντοι τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν ἄδεται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ἐγὼ μερὶς σου καὶ κληρο-
- 64 δοσία.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ τελείως ἐκκεκαθαρμένος νοῦς καὶ πάντα τὰ γενέσεως ἀπογινώσκων ἐν μόνον οἶδε καὶ γνωρίζει τὸ ἀγένητον, ᾧ προσελήλυθεν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ προσείληπται. τίνι γὰρ ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν “αὐτὸς μοι μόνος ἐστὶν ὁ θεός” ἢ τῷ μηδὲν τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἀσπαζομένῳ; οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Λευίτης τρόπος· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ “αὐτὸς μοι” διὰ τὸ ἄλλα ἄλλοις τετιμῆσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. γενέσει.

<sup>2</sup> βαραθρώδη is Mangey's conj. for βάραθρα.

<sup>3</sup> ἀσθενεστέρων is Mangey's conj. for ἐτέρων.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 61-64

one for God and one for created things. That which exalts the First Cause shall be allotted to Him, while that which exalts creation shall be banished, driven from the most holy places, to find itself amid rocky chasms in trackless and unhallowed regions.

XV. So fully does Moses take advantage of the 62 prerogative of one beloved of God, that, inspired with confidence by this very fact, he is wont to use language and utter teachings larger and more daring than suit the ears of us feeble folk. For not only does he think it in accordance with God's dignity to obtain a portion, but, what is strangest of all, Himself to be the portion of others. For he deemed it meet and 63 right that a whole tribe, which had taken refuge at God's footstool, should be allotted no part of the country, like the other eleven tribes, but should receive the pre-eminent privilege of the priesthood, a possession not earthly but heavenly. "The tribe of Levi," he says, "shall have no lot or portion among the children of Israel, for the Lord is their portion" (Deut. x. 9); and there is an utterance rung out on this wise by the holy oracles in the name of God, "I am thy portion and inheritance" (Numb. xviii. 20): for in reality the mind, which has been perfectly 64 cleansed and purified, and which renounces all things pertaining to creation, is acquainted with One alone, and knows but One, even the Uncreate, to Whom it has drawn nigh, by Whom also it has been taken to Himself. For who is at liberty to say "God Himself is alone (and all) to me," save one who has no welcome for aught that comes after Him? And this is the Levite attitude of mind, for the word means "He (is precious) to me," the thought conveyed being that while different things have been held precious by

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μόνῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πάντων ἄριστον  
 65 αἴτιον. XVI. ἤδη τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν φασὶ  
 καθάπερ ἐκπρεπεστάτης γυναικὸς τῷ σοφίας  
 ἐπιμανέντα κάλλει πολυτελεστάτης πομπῆς θεα-  
 σάμενον παρασκευὴν ἄφθονον, ἀπιδόντα πρὸς τινὰς  
 τῶν συνήθων εἰπεῖν “ἴδετε, ὦ ἑταῖροι, ὅσων  
 χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχω,” καίτοι γε ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
 οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς περιβεβλημένον, ὡς μηδὲ ὑποφυση-  
 θέντα πλούτου μεγέθει, ὃ μυρίους συνέβη, δόξαι  
 66 τῷ λόγῳ καταλαζονεύεσθαι. τοῦθ<sup>1</sup> ὁ νομοθέτης  
 ἐκδιδάσκει φρονεῖν δεῖν τοὺς μηδὲν χρῆμα τῶν ἐν  
 γενέσει πορίζοντας,<sup>2</sup> ἀπογινώσκοντας δὲ ὅσα γενητὰ  
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀγένητον οἰκειότητα, ὃν μόνον  
 πλοῦτον καὶ εὐδαιμονίας ὄρον τελεωτάτης ἐνόμισαν.  
 67 μηκέτι νῦν οἱ τὰς βασιλείας καὶ  
 ἡγεμονίας ἀναψάμενοι μεγαλαυχείτωσαν, οἱ μὲν  
 ὅτι μίαν πόλιν ἢ χώραν ἢ ἔθνος ἐν ὑπηγάγοντο,  
 οἱ δὲ ὅτι πάντα μὲν γῆς κλίματα μέχρι τῶν  
 περάτων αὐτῆς, πάντα δὲ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικὰ  
 ἔθνη, πάντας δὲ ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄπειρα πλήθει<sup>3</sup>  
 68 καὶ μεγέθει πελάγη προσεκτήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ  
 μετὰ τούτων τῆς μεταρσίου φύσεως, ὃ μηδὲ εἰπεῖν  
 εὐαγές, ἦν μόνην ἐκ πάντων ἀδούλωτον καὶ  
 ἐλεύθερον ὁ ποιητῆς εἰργάσατο, ἐπεκράτησαν,  
 [340] ἰδιῶται νομισθεῖεν ἂν κατὰ σύγκρισιν | μεγάλων  
 βασιλέων, οἱ τὸν θεὸν κλῆρον ἔλαχον· ὅσῳ γὰρ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> mss. and Wend. καταλαζονεύεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ δ: Heinemann's punctuation and reading (τοῦθ' for τοῦ θ) are adopted.

<sup>2</sup> mss. πορίζοντας: Wend. γνωρίζοντας.

<sup>3</sup> mss. πλήθη.

<sup>a</sup> μόνον would make better sense.

<sup>b</sup> Or “highest.”

<sup>c</sup> See note on *Quod Deus* 146.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 64-68

different people, he is alone <sup>a</sup> in holding precious the original <sup>b</sup> and worthiest Cause of all things. XVI. They say <sup>c</sup> that in olden time one who was en- 65 raptured by the beauty of wisdom, as by that of some distinguished lady, after watching the array of a procession pass by on which vast sums had been lavished, fastened his eyes on a group of his associates and said, "See, my friends, of how many things I have no need." And yet he was wearing absolutely nothing beyond necessary clothing, so that he cannot be supposed to have been puffed up by his great riches, as countless thousands have been, and to have uttered the words as a boast. This is the mind 66 which, as the lawgiver insists, should be that of those who provide themselves with no property that has its place among things created, but renounce all these on the ground of that intimate association with the Uncreate, to possess Whom, they are convinced, is the only wealth, the only gauge of consummate happiness. In face of this let those cease 67 their proud boastings who have acquired royal and imperial sway, some by bringing under their authority a single city or country or nation, some by having, over and above these, made themselves masters of all earth's regions to its fullest bounds, all nations, Greek and barbarian alike, all rivers, and seas unlimited in number and extent. For even had they, 68 besides controlling these, extended their empire, an idea which it were impious to utter, to the realm of the upper air, alone of all things made by the Creator to enjoy a freedom untouched by bondage—even then, they would be reckoned ordinary citizens when compared with great kings who received God as their portion; for the kingship of these as far sur-

κτησάμενος τὸ κτήμα τοῦ κτήματος ἀμείνων καὶ  
 τὸ πεποιηκὸς τοῦ γεγονότος, τοσοῦτω βασιλικῶ-  
 69 τεροι ἐκείνοι. **XVII.** τοὺς μὲν οὖν  
 πάντα τοῦ σπουδαίου φάσκοντας εἶναι παρα-  
 δοξολογεῖν ᾤθησαν τινες ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὴν  
 ἐκτὸς ἔνδειάν τε καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ μηδένα τῶν  
 ἀχρημάτων ἢ ἀκτημόνων πλούσιον νομίζοντες.  
 Μωυσῆς δὲ οὕτως περιβλεπτον καὶ περιμάχητον  
 ἡγεῖται σοφίαν, ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὸν σύμπαντα  
 κόσμον ἀξιοχρεω κληρον αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῶν  
 70 ὅλων ἡγεμόνα νομίζειν. τὰ δὲ δόγματα οὐκ  
 ἐπαμφοτεριζόντων ταῦτ<sup>1</sup> ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ βεβαία πίστει  
 κατεσχημένων· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ τινες τῶν ἐπι-  
 μορφαζόντων εὐσέβειαν, οἵ τὸ πρόχειρον τοῦ  
 λόγου παρασυκοφαντοῦσι φάσκοντες οὐθ' ὄσιον  
 οὐτ' ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι λέγειν ἀνθρώπου θεὸν κληρον.  
 71 οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ γνησίου τοῦ πάθους, ἀλλ'  
 ὑποβολιμαίου καὶ νόθου, πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν τῶν  
 πραγμάτων, εἴπομ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, ἤκετε· ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ  
 ᾤθητε τὰ ἀμπέλων ἢ ἐλαιῶν ἢ τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων  
 κτήματα τῶν<sup>2</sup> ἔχόντων καὶ σοφῶν τὸν θεὸν κληρον  
 λέγεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνενοήσατε ὅτι καὶ ζωγράφοις  
 ζωγραφία καὶ συνόλως τέχνη τῷ τεχνίτη λέγεται  
 κλήρος, οὐχ ὡς γήινον κτήμα, ἀλλ' ὡς ὀλύμπιον  
 72 ἀγώνισμα. δεσπάζεται γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν,  
 ἀλλ' ὠφελεῖ τοὺς ἔχοντας· ὥστε καὶ τὸ ὄν κληρον  
 μὴ ὡς κτήμα τούτοις ἐμφερὲς ἀκούετε τοῖς λεχ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ταῦτόν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κτημάτων οὐ κτήματα (om. τῶν).

\* Or "press unduly."

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 68-72

passes theirs as he that has gained possession is better than the possession, and he that has made than that which he has made. XVII.

Some, paying regard to outward want and outward 69  
superfluity, and reckoning no one rich if found among those without money or possessions, have looked on the assertion that all things belong to the wise man as a paradox. But Moses considers wisdom an object of such admiration and emulation, that he thinks its worthy portion to be not merely the whole world, but the very Lord of all. These are not, we must 70  
remember, opinions held by men who halt between two opinions, but by men possessed by steadfast faith ; for even now there are in the ranks of those who wear a semblance of piety, men who in a petty spirit find fault with<sup>a</sup> the literal sense of the word, urging that it is irreligious and dangerous to speak of God as the portion of man. What I 71

would say to them is this : " The frame of mind in which you approached the consideration of the subject was not a genuine one, but spurious and illegitimate. You imagined that there is no difference between the way in which God is said to be the portion of the wise, and the way in which plantations of vines or olive trees or the like are said to be the possessions of their owners. You failed to notice that portrait-painting is spoken of as a lot or portion for portrait-painters, and generally any such pursuit for him who pursues it, not as an earthly possession to be owned, but as a heavenly prize to be striven for. For things 72  
such as these bring benefit to those who have them, without being under them as masters. Pray, then, you petty fault-finders, when you hear the Existing One spoken of as Portion, do not take it to mean a

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- θεισιν, ὧ συκοφάνται, ἀλλ' ὡς ὠφελιμώτατον καὶ  
 μεγίστων<sup>1</sup> τοῖς θεραπεύειν ἀξιούσιν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον.
- 73 XVIII. Εἰρηκότες οὖν περὶ τοῦ πρώτου φυ-  
 τουργοῦ καὶ φυτοῦ τὰ ἀρμόζοντα μέτιμεν ἐξῆς  
 ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν μαθημάτων ἅμα καὶ μιμημάτων  
 ἐπιμελείας. εὐθέως τοίνυν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ  
 λέγεται “φυτεῦσαι ἄρουραν ἐπὶ τῷ φρέατι τοῦ  
 ὄρκου καὶ ἐπικαλέσαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου θεοῦ  
 αἰωνίου<sup>2</sup>”· καὶ οὐ δεδήλωται τῶν φυτῶν ἢ ἰδιότης,  
 74 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦ χωρίου τὸ μέγεθος. φασὶ  
 δὲ οἷς ἔθος ἐρευνᾶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, πάνθ'<sup>3</sup> ὅσα ἐν  
 κτήμασιν ἠκριβῶσθαι διαφερόντως, καὶ τὸ δένδρον  
 καὶ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸν τοῦ δένδρου καρπὸν· τὸ  
 μὲν οὖν δένδρον αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν ἄρουραν, ἀλλ'  
 οὐχ ὅμοιον<sup>4</sup> τοῖς βλαστάνουσιν ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀλλὰ  
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ρίζωθὲν διάνοιαν, τὸ  
 δὲ χωρίον τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὄρκου, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν  
 τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ὀνόματος μετάληψιν εἰς θεὸν  
 75 αἰώνιον. τὸν δὲ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν προταθέντων  
 εἰκότα λόγον ἀναγκαῖον προσαποδοῦναι· ἢ μὲν  
 [341] τοίνυν ἄρουρα μήκει πηχῶν | οὐσα ἑκατὸν καὶ  
 πλάτει τῶν ἴσων κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τετραγώνου φύσιν  
 πολυπλασιασθέντων εἰς μυρίων ἀριθμὸν ἐπιπέδων  
 76 συντίθεται πηχῶν. ἔστι δὲ ὄρος οὗτος τῶν ἀπὸ  
 μονάδος παραυξηθέντων ὁ μέγιστος καὶ τελειό-  
 τατος, ὥστε ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀριθμῶν εἶναι μονάδα,  
 τέλος δὲ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύνθεσιν μυριάδα.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μέγιστον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. θεοῦ αἰωνίου: Wend. θεὸς αἰώνιος.

<sup>3</sup> πάνθ' is read with Heinemann for πάντα θεοῦ in MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ὅμοιον and ρίζωθὲν are Heinemann's conjj. for ὁμοίαν and  
 ριζωθεῖσαν.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 72-76

possession similar to those which have been mentioned, but to mean One bringing vast benefits and the Cause of exceeding great good to those who regard His service as their fit employment."

XVIII. Having said, then, what was called for about 73 the first Planter and that which He planted, we will pass on next to the industry of those who have learnt from the former and copied the latter. We come at once to the record<sup>a</sup> of Abraham the wise "planting a hide of land at the well of the oath, and invoking upon it the Name of the Lord as God eternal" (Gen. xxi. 33). No particulars are given as to the kind of plants meant, but simply the size of the plot of ground. Yet those whose habit it is to look closely 74 into such matters assure us that we have all the points of an estate laid down with extraordinary precision, the tree, the ground, and the fruit of the tree; the hide itself being the tree; not a tree like those which spring up from the earth, but one planted in the understanding of him that is beloved of God; the well of the oath, the plot of ground; and the change of the Name of the Lord into "God eternal," the Fruit. Each of these points requires further treat- 75 ment in the shape of such a reasoned account of them as may commend itself. Well, the hide, being 100 cubits long and as many broad, comes, by the rule of square measure, to 10,000 superficial cubits. This is the highest completest term in the series 76 which increases from unity: that is to say, while 1 is the starting-point of numbers, a myriad or 10,000 is the end,<sup>a</sup> if we adhere to the line of progress on which we set out.<sup>b</sup> Accordingly that comparison is

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 495.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 496.

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παρὸ καὶ τινες οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ βαλβίδι μὲν μονάδα, καμπτήρι δὲ εἵκασαν μυριάδα, τοὺς δὲ μεθορίους πάντας ἀριθμοὺς τοῖς δρόμον ἀγωνιζομένοις· ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ βαλβίδος φέρεσθαι μονάδος παρὰ μυριάδα τὸ τέλος ἴστανται.

- 77 Μειτόντες οὖν ἀπὸ τούτων τινὲς ὡσανεὶ συμβόλων ἔφασαν τὸν θεὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ πέρασ εἶναι τῶν ἀπάντων, δόγμα κατασκευαστικὸν εὐσεβείας· τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα φυτευθὲν ἐν ψυχῇ κάλλιστον καὶ τροφιμώτατον καρπὸν, ὁσιότητα, τίκτει.
- 78 Τόπος <δ' > ἐστὶν οἰκειότατος τῷ φυτῷ τὸ φρέαρ, ὃ κέκληται ὄρκος, ἐν ᾧ κατέχει λόγος μὴ ἀνευρεθῆναι ὕδωρ· “ παραγενόμενοι ” γὰρ φησιν “ οἱ παῖδες Ἰσαὰκ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ φρέατος οὗ ὠρυξαν, καὶ εἶπον· οὐχ εὕρομεν ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ ὄρκος.” τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἔχει
- 79 δύναμιν θεασώμεθα· XIX. οἱ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν διερευνῶντες καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκάστων ζητήσεις μὴ ὀλιγώρως ποιούμενοι παραπλήσια ποιῶσι τοῖς τὰ φρέατα ὀρύττουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ἐν ἀφανεί πηγὰς ἀναζητοῦσι. καὶ κοινὸς μὲν πόθος ἅπασιν ἐστὶ ποτὸν ἀνευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν δι' οὗ σῶμα, τοῖς δὲ δι' οὗ ψυχὴ
- 80 πέφυκε τρέφεσθαι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνατεμνόντων τὰ φρέατα τὸ ζητούμενον ὕδωρ πολλάκις οὐχ εὕρον, οὕτως οἱ προσωτέρω χωροῦντες τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμβαθύνοντες αὐταῖς ἀδυνατοῦσι τοῦ τέλους ἐπιψαῦσαι. τοὺς γοῦν πολυμαθεῖς φασιν ἀμαθίαν δεινὴν ἑαυτῶν

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 76-80

not wide of the mark which some have made between 1 and the post from which runners start, and 10,000 and the post at which they finish, all the intervening numbers being like the competitors in the race ; for beginning their course from 1 as from a starting-post they come to a stop at 10,000 as the finish.

Some have found symbols in these things and have 77 gone on with their help to proclaim God as the beginning and final goal of all things, a teaching on which religion can be built ; this teaching, when planted in the soul, produces piety, a fruit most fair and full of nourishment.

The well, entitled Oath, in which, as history says, 78 no water was found, is a place most appropriate to that which grew there. What we read is this : " The servants of Isaac came and brought word to him concerning the well which they had dug, saying ' We found no water,' and he called it ' Oath ' " (Gen. xxvi. 32 f.). Let us observe the force of these words.

XIX. Those who thoroughly 79 investigate the nature of existing things, and prosecute their inquiries into each one of them in no indifferent spirit, act as those do who dig wells ; for the investigators, like the well-diggers, are in search of hidden springs. And all have in common a desire to find water, but in the one case it is water naturally adapted to the nourishment of the body, in the other to the nourishment of the soul. Now just as some 80 of those who open up wells often fail to find the water of which they are in search, so those, who make more than ordinary progress in various kinds of knowledge, and go deeper into them than most of us, are often powerless to reach the end they aim at. It is said that men of great learning accuse themselves of

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κατηγορεῖν, μόνον γὰρ ὅσον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ὑστερίζουσιν ἦσθοντο. καί τινα τῶν παλαιῶν λόγος ἔχει θαυμαζόμενον ἐπὶ σοφία εἰκότως φάναι θαυμάζεσθαι· μόνον γὰρ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδεν.

81 ἐλοῦ δ' εἰ θέλεις ἦν ἂν διανοηθῆς μικρὰν ἢ μείζονα τέχνην καὶ τὸν κατὰ ταύτην γενόμενον ἄριστόν τε καὶ δοκιμώτατον, εἶτα κατανόησον εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγέλματα τῆς τέχνης ἰσάζει τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ τεχνίτου· σκοπῶν γὰρ εὐρήσεις ταῦτα ἐκείνων οὐ βραχέσιν ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις διαστήμασιν ἀποδέοντα, σχεδὸν ἀδυνάτου καθεστῶτος πρὸς ἡντιοῦν τελειωθῆναι τέχνην πηγῆς τρόπον αἰεταίνουμένην<sup>1</sup> καὶ θεωρημάτων παντοίων ἰδέας ἀνομοβροῦσαν.

82 διὰ τοῦθ' ὄρκος ὠνομάσθη προσφύεστατα τὸ πίστεως βεβαιότητος σύμβολον [342] μαρτυρίαν θεοῦ περιεχούσης. | ὡς γὰρ ὁ ὄμνυς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων καλεῖ θεὸν μάρτυρα, ἐπ' οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἔστιν εὐορκῆσαι ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ μηδεμιᾶς ἐπιστήμης εὐρίσκεισθαι παρὰ τῷ τεχνίτῃ τέλος.

83 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι περὶ ἡμᾶς δυνάμεις ὀλίγου δεῖν κεχώρηκεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ λεχθέντι φρέατι ὕδωρ φασὶ μὴ εὐρεθῆναι, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ ὄρατόν<sup>2</sup> οὐδ' ἐν ὠσὶ τὸ ἀκούειν οὐδ' ἐν μυκτῆρσι τὸ ὀσφραίνεσθαι οὐδὲ συνόλως ἐν αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνοις τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ οὐδ' ἐν νῷ τὸ καταλαμ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κινουμένην.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read ὄραν or ὄρατικόν.

<sup>a</sup> See Plato, *Apology* 21 A.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 80-83

terrible ignorance, for all that they have come to perceive is how far they fall short of the truth. There is a story <sup>a</sup> that one of the men of the olden days, when people marvelled at his wisdom, said that he was rightly marvelled at ; for that he was the only man who knew that he knew nothing.

Choose, if you will, whatever science or art you may <sup>81</sup> be minded to choose, be it a small one or a greater one, and the man who is best and most approved in this art or science. Then notice carefully whether the professions of the science are made good by what its votary does. If you look you will find that the one fails of the other not by short but by long distances. For it is practically impossible to attain perfection in respect of any science or art whatever, seeing that it is being continually replenished, as a spring is, and ever welling up results of thought and study of many a kind.

That is why the <sup>82</sup> name of " Oath " given to it was so perfectly suitable : for an oath represents that surest form of trustworthiness which carries with it the testimony of God. For as the man who swears calls God as a witness of the points in dispute, there is no point on which it is more possible to take a sure oath than upon the fact that no subject of knowledge whatever is found to have reached the goal of perfection in the person of him who is an expert in it. The same <sup>83</sup> principle holds good for almost all the other faculties which we possess. For, just as in the well that we read of we are told that no water was found, so neither is sight found in eyes, nor hearing in ears, nor smelling in nostrils, nor, to say all at once, is sense-perception found in organs of sense ; and apprehension in like manner is not found in mind

## PHILO

- 84 βάνειν. πῶς γὰρ ἂν παρορᾶν ἢ παρακούειν ἢ παρανοεῖν συνέβαινεν, εἶπερ ἐν τούτοις πάγια ἦσαν αἱ ἀντιλήψεις ἐκάστου, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν θεοῦ σπεύροντος τὸ βέβαιον ἐπεφύκεσαν;
- 85 XX. Ἰκανῶς οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ χωρίου διειλεγμένοι, ἐν ᾧ τὸ δένδρον ἀνθεῖ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ τελευταῖον ἐξεργασώμεθα. τίς οὖν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς ὑφηγήσεται. “ἐπεκάλεσε” γὰρ
- 86 “τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου<sup>1</sup> θεὸς αἰώνιος.” αἱ τοίνυν λεχθεῖσαι προσρήσεις τὰς περὶ τὸ ὄν ἐμφαίνουσι δυνάμεις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κύριος καθ’ ἣν ἄρχει, ἡ δὲ θεὸς καθ’ ἣν εὐεργετεῖ· οὐ χάριν καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν κοσμοποιία πάση τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα ἀναλαμβάνεται· ἤρμοττε γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν, καθ’ ἣν ὁ ποιῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἄγων ἐτίθετο καὶ διεκοσμεῖτο, διὰ ταύτης καὶ [κατα]κλη-
- 87 θῆναι. καθὸ μὲν οὖν ἄρχων ἐστίν, ἄμφω δύνатаι, καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, συμμεταβαλλόμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δράσαντος ἀπόδοσιν· καθὸ δὲ εὐεργέτης,
- 88 θάτερον μόνον βούλεται, τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. μέγιστον δ’ ἂν ψυχῆς γένοιτο ἀγαθὸν μηκέτι ἐνδοιάζειν περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἑκάτερα τοῦ βασιλέως ἰσχύος, ἀλλ’ ἀνενδοιάστως τὸν μὲν ἔνεκα τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ φόβον ἐπικρεμάμενον καταλύειν, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προαιρετικῶς εἶναι φιλόδωρον ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως καὶ χρήσεως ἐλπίδα βεβαιοτάτην ζω-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κύριος ὁ.

<sup>a</sup> τὴν δύναμιν . . . διὰ ταύτης: an irregular construction for καθ’ ἣν δύναμιν . . . διὰ ταύτης.

<sup>b</sup> πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δράσαντος ἀπόδοσιν: this genitive of the person requited is very doubtful Greek. Mangey proposed δρασθέντος, “the deed done.”

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 84-88

either. For how would it ever happen that we 84  
should see or hear or conceive amiss, if the power to  
apprehend each object had been inherently fixed  
in the several organs, instead of the power to apprehend  
springing from the seed of certitude sown upon  
the organs by God ?

XX. Now that we have adequately dealt with the 85  
further subject of the plot in which the tree blooms,  
let us work out as our last point that of the fruit.  
What its fruit is, then, Moses himself shall inform  
us : for 'tis said " he called upon it the Name of the  
Lord, as God eternal " (Gen. xxi. 33). The titles, 86  
then, just mentioned exhibit the powers of Him that  
IS ; the title " Lord " the power in virtue of which  
He rules, that of " God " the power in virtue of which  
He bestows benefits. This is why the name " God " is  
employed throughout all the record of Creation  
given by Moses, that most holy man. For it was  
fitting that the Creator should be spoken of by a  
title coming to Him through that power in virtue  
of which,<sup>a</sup> when bringing the world into being, He  
set and ordered it. In so far as He is Ruler, He has 87  
both powers, both to bestow benefits and to inflict  
evil, changing His dealing as the recompense due  
to the doer <sup>b</sup> of every deed demands : but in so far as  
He is Benefactor, He wills only the one, to bestow  
benefits. Very great good would come to the soul 88  
from ceasing to be of two minds in face of the King's  
readiness to put forth His might in either direction,  
and if it would resolutely break down the fear that  
hangs over it owing to the dread force of His sover-  
eignty, and kindle the flame of that most sure hope  
of winning and enjoying good things, which is afforded  
by the fact that to be bountiful is His choice and

PHILO

89 πυρεῖν. τὸ δὴ “θεὸς αἰώνιος” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ὁ  
 χαριζόμενος οὐ ποτὲ μὲν ποτὲ δὲ οὐ, αἰεὶ δὲ καὶ  
 συνεχῶς, ὁ ἀδιαστάτως εὐεργετῶν, ὁ τὴν τῶν  
 δωρεῶν ἐπάλληλον φορὰν ἀπαύστως συνείρων, ὁ  
 τὰς χάριτας ἐχομένας ἀλλήλων ἀνακυκλῶν δυνά-  
 μεσιν ἐνωτικαῖς καθαρμοσάμενος, ὁ μηδένα καιρὸν  
 τοῦ ποιεῖν εὖ παραλείπων, ὁ κύριος ὢν, ὡς  
 90 καὶ βλάπτειν δύνασθαι. XXI. τοῦτο καὶ  
 ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ ἠτήσατο ἐπιτέλειαν<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἱερο-  
 πρεπεστάτων εὐχῶν· εἶπε γάρ που· “καὶ ἔσται  
 κύριος ἐμοὶ εἰς θεόν,” ἴσον τῷ οὐκέτι μοι τὸ  
 [343] δεσποτικὸν ἐπιδείξεται τῆς αὐτοκράτορος | ἀρχῆς,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐεργετικὸν τῆς ἰλεω περὶ πάντα καὶ  
 σωτηρίου δυνάμεως, τὸν μὲν οἶα ἐπὶ δεσπότη  
 φόβον ἀναιρῶν, τὴν δὲ ὡς ἐπ’ εὐεργέτη φιλίαν  
 91 καὶ εὐνοίαν τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχων. τίς  
 ἂν οὖν τοῦθ’ ὑπολάβοι ψυχῇ, ὅτι ὁ δεσπότης  
 καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν ὄλων οὐδὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως  
 μεταβάλλων, μένων δὲ ἐν ὁμοίῳ, ἀγαθός ἐστι  
 συνεχῶς καὶ φιλόδωρος ἀνελλιπῶς, τῶν<sup>2</sup> ὄντως  
 ἀγαθῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ ἀενάων αἴτιος τελειότατος  
 92 τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσι; βασιλεῖ δὲ πεπιστευκέναι μὴ  
 τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαιρομένῳ πρὸς βλάβας  
 τῶν ὑπηκόων, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπία τὸ ἐνδεές<sup>3</sup> ἐκάστω  
 ἐπανορθοῦσθαι προαιρουμένῳ, μέγιστόν ἐστι πρὸς  
 εὐθυμίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἔρκος.

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Tr.: mss. and Wend. ἐπὶ τέλει.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν is substituted for ὅθεν, and note of interrogation placed after εὐδαιμονοῦσι on Mangey’s conj. <sup>3</sup> mss. ἀενδέες.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. although at the same time He is Lord. But the addition is strange in view of the emphasis laid on the difference of the two names. Perhaps insert οὐχ or οὐ τῷ before ὁ κύριος; i.e. the title God eternal is equivalent to

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 89-92

delight. The title " God Eternal " is equivalent to 89  
" He that is, not sometimes gracious and sometimes  
not so, but continuously and always ; He that with-  
out intermission bestows benefits ; He that causes  
His gifts to follow each other in ceaseless flow ;  
He who makes His boons come round in unbroken  
cycle, knitting them together by unifying forces ;  
He who lets no opportunity of doing good go by ;  
He who is Lord," and so is able to hurt also."

XXI. This is what Jacob, the trainer of self, claimed 90  
as the fulfilment of those vows of most sacred import.  
He said, you remember, " And the Lord shall be to  
me for God " (Gen. xxviii. 21), as much as to say,  
He shall no longer exhibit towards me the masterful-  
ness that characterizes the rule of an autocrat, but  
the readiness to bless that marks the power that  
is in every way kindly, and bent on the welfare of  
men. He shall do away with the fear we feel before  
Him as Master, and implant in the soul the loyalty  
and affection that goes out to Him as Benefactor.

What soul, in fact, would imagine that 91  
the Master and Sovereign of the Universe, without  
undergoing any change in His own nature, but re-  
maining as He is, is kind continuously and bountiful  
incessantly, supreme Author of real good things  
coming without stint in ceaseless flow to happy  
souls ? It is a strong bulwark of cheerfulness of 92  
spirit and freedom from danger to have reposed our  
confidence in a King who is not urged by the great-  
ness of His dominion to inflict injuries on His sub-  
jects, but whose love for man makes it His delight  
to supply what is lacking to each one.

Benefactor etc., but not to Lord, which implies power to  
hurt. Negatives are frequently omitted in the mss. of Philo.

## PHILO

93 XXII. Ἄ τοίνυν ὑπεσχόμεθα, ἤδη σχεδὸν ἀποδέδεικται, [τὸ] φυτὸν μὲν τὸ ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τέλος<sup>1</sup> λαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων εἶναι θεόν, χωρίον δὲ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει τέλειον εὐρίσκεσθαι, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ἔσθ' ὅτε χάρισι τοῦ αἰτίου προφαίνεσθαι, καρπὸς δὲ τὸ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ διαιωνίζειν χάριτας καὶ ὀμβρούσας ἀπαύστως μηδέποτε λήγειν.

94 Οὕτως μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἐπόμενος τῇ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου φυτουργοῦ τέχνῃ τὴν γεωργικὴν ἐπιδείκνυται. βούλεται δὲ ὁ ἱερός λόγος καὶ τοῖς μήπω τελειωθείσιν ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ ἐν μέσοις ἀριθμοῖς τῶν λεγομένων καθηκόντων ἐξεταζομένοις, διαπονηθῆναι τὰ γεωργικά· φησὶ γάρ·

95 “ὅταν εἰσέλθητε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ἣν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν δίδωσιν ὑμῖν, καὶ καταφυτεύσητε πᾶν ξύλον βρώσεως, περικαθαριεῖτε τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ· ὁ καρπὸς<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ τρία ἔτη ἔσται ἀπερικάθαρος,<sup>3</sup> οὐ βρωθήσεται· τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔσται πᾶς καρπὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος, αἰνετὸς<sup>4</sup> τῷ κυρίῳ· τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ πέμπτῳ φάγεσθε τὸν καρπὸν, πρόσθεμα ὑμῖν τὰ γεννήματα αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.”

96 οὐκοῦν τῶν ξύλων τὰ ἐδώδιμα, πρὶν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν χώραν μετανασθῆναι, φυτεύειν ἀδύνατον· “ὅταν γὰρ εἰσέλθητε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, φυτεύσετε πᾶν ξύλον βρώσιμον” φησὶν, ὥστε ἕξω διατρίβοντες οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν δένδρων γεωργεῖν· καὶ μήποτ'

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τινα κάλλιστον.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀκάθαρος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὸν καρπὸν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐν ἔτος.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.

<sup>b</sup> Or “for giving praise to.” So from §§ 117 ff. it appears

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 93-96

XXII. We may take it, then, that the points which 93 we undertook to prove have now been demonstrated. That God be presupposed as Beginning and End of all things has been shewn to be the plant : as a corollary to this, that perfection is found in no part of creation, though by special grace <sup>a</sup> of the First Cause it is ever and anon displayed upon its face, has been shewn to be the plot of ground ; while the perpetuity and unceasing downpour of the gifts of God's grace has been shewn to be the fruit.

Of such sort, then, is husbandry as exhibited by 94 the sage also, treading in the steps of the first and greatest Planter. But the intention of the inspired Word is that we too who are not yet perfected, but are still classified as in the preliminary and undeveloped stages of what are called natural duties,<sup>a</sup> should make husbandry our serious business : for It says : " When ye shall have entered into the land, 95 which the Lord your God giveth you, and shall have planted any tree for food, ye shall cleanse away its uncleanness : for three years its fruit shall remain not cleansed away, it shall not be eaten : but in the fourth year all its fruit shall be holy for a thank-offering to the Lord <sup>b</sup> : but in the fifth year ye shall eat the fruit ; its crop <sup>a</sup> shall be added to your store. I am the Lord, your God " (Lev. xix. 23-25).

Accordingly it is impossible to grow 96 fruit-trees before migrating into the country given by God ; for the words are, " When ye shall have entered into the land, ye shall plant every tree yielding food," so that while staying outside we shall be unable to cultivate such trees. And this is what

that Philo takes the word, which elsewhere means " praise-worthy."

## PHILO

97 εικότως· ἕως μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν σοφίας ὁδὸν οὐ  
 προσελήλυθεν ὁ νοῦς, τετραμμένος δὲ πόρρω  
 πλανᾶται, τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης ἐπιμελεῖται φυτῶν,  
 ἅπερ ἦτοι ἄγωνα ὄντα ἐστείρωται ἢ γεννῶντα  
 98 ἔδωδύμων ἐστὶν ἄφορα. ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὴν φρονήσεως  
 [344] ἐμβὰς ὁδὸν συνεισέρχεται | τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ συν-  
 τρέχη πᾶσιν, ἄρξεται<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἡμερον καὶ καρπῶν  
 ἡμέρων οἰστικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγρίας ἐκείνης γεωργεῖν,  
 ἀπάθειαν ἀντὶ παθῶν καὶ ἀντὶ ἀγνοίας ἐπιστήμην  
 99 καὶ ἀντὶ κακῶν ἀγαθά. ἐπεὶ οὖν<sup>2</sup> ὁ ἄρτι<sup>3</sup>  
 εἰσαγόμενος μακρὰν τοῦ τέλους ἀφέστηκεν, εἰκό-  
 τως φυτεύσαντι αὐτῷ προστέτακται περιελεῖν τὴν  
 ἀκαθαροσίαν τοῦ φυτευθέντος. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ,  
 100 συνεπισκεψώμεθα· XXIII. τὰ μέσα τῶν καθ-  
 ηκόντων ἡμέρων φυτῶν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ λόγον·  
 ἐκάτερα γὰρ ὠφελιμωτάτους φέρει καρπούς, τὰ  
 μὲν σώμασι, τὰ δὲ ψυχαῖς. πολλὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς  
 μέσοις συναναβλαστάνοντα καὶ ἐπιφυόμενα τῶν  
 βλαβερῶν ἀναγκαίως ἂν τέμνοιτο<sup>4</sup> τοῦ μὴ ζημιου-  
 101 σθαι τὰ ἀμείνω χάριν. ἢ οὐκ ἂν εἴπομεν φυτὸν  
 ἡμερον ψυχῆς παρακαταθήκης ἀπόδοσιν; ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦτό γε τὸ φυτὸν καθάρσεως δεῖται καὶ περιτ-  
 τοτέρας ἐπιμελείας. τίς οὖν ἢ κάθαρσις ἦδε;  
 παρὰ νήφοντος λαβῶν παρακαταθήκην μήτε με-  
 θύοντι μήτ' ἀσώτῳ μήτε μεμνηότι ἀποδῶς—ὁ  
 γὰρ λαβῶν ὄνησιν ἐκ τοῦ κομίσασθαι οὐχ ἕξει

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄρξεται OR αὔξητε.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀρετῆς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἰκείων.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἂν γένοιτο.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 97-101

we might expect ; for, so long as the mind has not 97  
come near and entered the way of wisdom, but turns  
in another direction and wanders away far off, its  
attention is given to trees of wild growth, which are  
either barren and yield nothing, or, though they are  
productive, bear no edible fruit. But when the mind 98  
has stepped on to the way of good sense, and in the  
company of all its teachings comes into and runs along  
that way, it will begin instead of those wild trees to  
cultivate trees of the orchard bearing orchard fruits,  
instead of passions freedom from them, knowledge  
in place of ignorance, good things in the place of  
evil things.

Since, then, the pupil just 99  
beginning his course is a long way from the end, we  
can quite understand why he is directed after  
planting to remove the uncleanness of that which  
he has planted. Let us get a good view of what it  
is to do this. XXIII. Natural duties which are 100  
indifferent <sup>a</sup> seem to me to correspond to garden or  
orchard trees : for in each case most wholesome fruits  
are borne, for bodies in one case, for souls in the other.  
But many harmful shoots that spring together with  
the trees of the preliminary stage and many harmful  
growths that come on them have to be cut away, to  
save the better parts from being injured. Might 101  
we not speak of the returning of a sum entrusted to  
us as a tree grown in the soul's orchard ? Yet this  
tree at all events requires cleansing and more than  
usual attention. What is the cleansing in this case ?  
When you have received something in trust from a  
man when he was sober, you should not return it to  
him when he is drunk, or when playing fast and loose  
with his money, or when mad, for the recipient will  
not be in a fit condition to derive any real benefit

PHILO

- καιρὸν ὠφεληθῆναι—, μηδὲ χρεώσταις ἢ δούλοις ἀποδῶς δανεισῶν καὶ δεσποτῶν ἐφεδρευόντων— προδοσία γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀπόδοσις—, μηδὲ τὴν ἐν ὀλίγοις πίστιν φύλαττε <ἐπὶ> θήρα<sup>1</sup> τῆς
- 102 ἐν πλείοσι πίστεως· δελέατά γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιευόμενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς μείζους ἀγκιστρεύεσθαι τῶν ἰχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἂν <εἶεν> ὑπαίτιοι τῆς κατ' ἀγορὰν εὐετηρίας προνοεῖσθαι φάσκοντες καὶ ὡς ἂν ἄφθονον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν
- 103 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ποιήσωνται δίαιταν· δέλεαρ δὴ μηδεὶς ὀλιγοχρημάτου παρακαταθήκης ἀπόδοσιν ἐπ' ἄγρα μείζονος προφερέτω, χερσὶ μὲν τὰ ἐνὸς καὶ ὀλίγα προτείνων, διανοίᾳ δὲ τὰ πάντων καὶ ἀμύθητα νοσφιζόμενος. ἔαν οὖν ὡς δένδρου τῆς παρακαταθήκης περιέλης τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων βλάβας, τὰς ἀκαιρίας, τὰς ἐνέδρας, τὰ ὁμοιότροπα πάντα, ἡμερώσεις τὸ μέλλον ἀγριαίνεσθαι.
- 104 XXIV. Κὰν τῷ φιλίας μέντοι φυτῷ τοιάδε<sup>2</sup> τὰ παραβλαστάνοντα τεμῆιν καὶ ἀποκόψαι φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίονος ἀναγκαῖον. τὰ δὲ παραβλαστάνοντα ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἑταιρῶν πρὸς ἔραστὰς γοητεῖαι, πρὸς τοὺς κολακευομένους οἰκοσίτων
- 105 ἀπάται. τὰς γὰρ μισθαρνούσας ἐπὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἰδεῖν ἔστι περιεχομένας τῶν ἔραστῶν ὡς δὴ σφόδρα φιλοῦσας—φιλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὰς καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν λήμμασιν ἐπικεχῆνασι—, τοὺς τε κόλακας ἄλεκτον μὲν ἔστιν
- [345] ὅτε μῖσος πρὸς τοὺς | θεραπευομένους φυλάττοντας,

<sup>1</sup> mss. θήρας: Mang. ἐπὶ θήρα.

<sup>2</sup> τοιάδε conj. Tr. for ταῦτα δη.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.

<sup>b</sup> See note on *De Agr.* 73.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 101-105

from recovering it. And do not return it to debtors or slaves,<sup>a</sup> when the creditors and masters are lying in wait for them. To do so is betrayal, not payment of a due. And do not be strict about a small sum entrusted to you, with a view to ensnaring people into trusting you with larger sums. It is true that 102 fishermen drop small baits with a view to hooking the bigger fish, and are not seriously to blame. They can plead that they are providing for a good market, and to secure people an abundant supply for the table every day. Then let no one parade the 103 payment of a trifling sum entrusted to him by way of a bait to get a larger deposit. To do so is to hold out in one's hands an insignificant amount belonging to one person, while in intention one is appropriating untold sums belonging to all men. If, then, you treat the deposit as a tree and remove its impurities, to wit payments entailing injurious treatment to the recipient, ill-timed payments, payments that are really ensnaring tricks, and everything of this kind, you will make fit for your orchard what was turning wild.

XXIV. In the tree of friendship there are out- 104 growths, such as I shall describe, to be pruned and cut off for the sake of preserving the better part. Such outgrowths are practices of courtesans for taking in their lovers, ways parasites <sup>b</sup> have of deceiving their dupes. You may see women, who earn money by 105 the prostitution of their bodily charms, clinging to those enamoured of them as though they intensely loved them. It is not these that they love; they love themselves and are greedy for their daily takings. You may note flatterers cherishing often enough hatred that words cannot express for those upon

## PHILO

ὄψοφαγίαν δὲ καὶ λαιμαργίαν ἀγαπῶντας, ὕφ' ὧν ἀναπέιθονται τοὺς χορηγοὺς τῶν ἀμέτρων ἐπι-  
 106 θυμιῶν περιέπειν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀκιβδηλεύτου φιλίας<sup>1</sup>  
 δένδρον ἀποσεισάμενον καὶ μεθέμενον ταῦτα καρπὸν  
 τοῖς χρησομένοις ὠφελιμώτατον οἶσει, τὸ ἀδέκα-  
 στον. εὐνοια γάρ ἐστι βούλησις τοῦ τῷ πλησίον  
 εἶναι<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup> χάριν ἐκείνου. αἱ δέ γε  
 χαμαιτύπαι καὶ οἱ κόλακες αὐτῶν ἔνεκα σπουδά-  
 ζουσιν, αἱ μὲν τοῖς ἐρασταῖς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς κολακευο-  
 μένοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ προσάγειν. τὰς οὖν εἰρωνείας  
 καὶ γοητείας καθάπερ ἐπιφυομένας κῆρας τῷ  
 φιλίας φυτῷ περικοπτέον.

107 XXV. Ἱερουργίαι γε μὴν καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς θυσίας  
 ἀγιστεία<sup>4</sup> βλάστημα κάλλιστον, ἀλλὰ παραναπέφυκεν  
 αὐτῷ κακόν, δεισιδειμονία, ἣν πρὶν χλοῆσαι  
 λυσιτελεῖς ἐκτεμεῖν. ἔνιοι γὰρ ὠήθησαν τὸ βου-  
 θυτεῖν εὐσέβειαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἂν κλέψωσιν ἢ  
 ἀρνήσωσιν ἢ χρεωκοπήσωσιν ἢ ἀρπάσωσιν ἢ  
 λεηλατήσωσι μοίρας ἀπονέμουσι τοῖς βωμοῖς, οἱ  
 δυσκάθαρτοι, τὸ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην ἐφ' οἷς ἐξήμαρτον  
 108 ὄνιον εἶναι νομίζοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, εἴπομι' ἂν  
 αὐτοῖς, ἀδέκαστόν ἐστιν, ὧ οὗτοι, τὸ θεοῦ δικα-  
 στήριον, ὡς τοὺς μὲν γνώμη κεχρημένους ὑπαιτίῳ,  
 κἂν καθ' ἅπασαν ἡμέραν ἑκατὸν βόας ἀνάγωσιν,  
 ἀποστρέφεισθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀνυπαιτίους, κἂν μηδὲν  
 θύωσι τὸ παράπαν, ἀποδέχεσθαι. βωμοῖς γὰρ  
 ἀπύροις, περὶ οὓς ἀρεταὶ χορεύουσι, γέγηθεν ὁ  
 θεός, ἀλλ' οὐ πυρὶ πολλῷ φλέγουσιν, ὅπερ αἱ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. σοφίας.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τούτων πλησίον γὰρ εἶναι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. αὐτὰ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. πίστις.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "cutting debts." Cf. Plutarch i. 87 B χρεωκοπίδης.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 105-108

whom they fawn, in love with rich dishes and over-eating, and induced by nothing else than these to court those who glut their measureless greed. The tree of genuine friendship will shake off and be quit of these things, and will bear fruit most beneficial to those who shall eat of it, namely honesty. For real goodwill is a desire that good <sup>a</sup> should befall your neighbour for his own sake, whereas it is to further objects of their own that harlots and toadies take such pains to offer the things that will please, the former in their designs upon their lovers, the latter upon their patrons. So we must treat everything that smacks of sham and quackery as we treat hurtful ongrowths, and cut it away from the tree of friendship.

XXV. Again, sacred ministrations and the holy service of sacrifices is a plant most fair, but it has a parasitic growth that is evil, namely superstition, and it is well to apply the knife to this before its green leaves appear. For some have imagined that it is piety to slaughter oxen, and allot to the altars portions of what they have got by stealing, or by repudiating debts, or by defrauding creditors,<sup>b</sup> or by seizing property and cattle-lifting, thinking, in their gross defilement, that impunity for their offences is a thing that can be bought. "Nay, nay," I would say to them, "no bribes, O foolish ones, can reach God's tribunal." He turns His face away from those who approach with guilty intent, even though they lead to His altar a hundred bullocks every day, and accepts the guiltless, although they sacrifice nothing at all. God delights in altars beset by a choir of Virtues, albeit no fire burn on them. He takes no delight in blazing altar fires fed by the unhallowed sacrifices of men to whose hearts sacrifice is unknown.

## PHILO

- ἀνιέρων ἄθυτοι θυσίαι συνανέφλεξαν ὑπομιμνή-  
 σκουσαι τὰς ἐκάστων ἀγνοίας τε καὶ διαμαρτίας·  
 καὶ γὰρ εἶπέ που Μωυσῆς θυσίαν “ἀναμιμνή-  
 109 σκουσαν ἁμαρτίαν.” πάντ’ οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 μεγάλης γιγνόμενα ζημίας αἷτια χρῆ περιαιρεῖν  
 καὶ ἀποκόπτειν ἐπομένους τῷ χρησμῷ, ἐν ᾧ  
 διείρηται περιαιρεῖν τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν ξύλου τοῦ  
 110 φυτευθέντος ἐδωδύμον. XXVI. ἀλλ’  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδὲ διδασκόμενοι πρὸς εὐμάθειαν  
 ἐπιδίδομεν· ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτοδιδάκτω τῇ φύσει χρη-  
 σάμενοι τὰγαθὸν ἐξέδυσαν τῶν ἐνειλημμένων  
 βλαβῶν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐπίκλην Ἰακώβ·  
 οὗτος γὰρ “ῥάβδους ἐλέπισε λεπίσματα λευκὰ  
 περισύρων τὸ χλωρόν,” ἵνα τῆς ἐν μέσοις ποικιλίας  
 σκοταίοις καὶ ζοφεροῖς πανταχοῦ ἀναιρεθείσης  
 τὸ μὴ τέχνη ποικιλλόμενον,<sup>1</sup> φύσει δὲ γεννώ-  
 μενον ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς λευκὸν εἶδος ἀναδειχθῆ.  
 111 παρὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς λέπρας | τεθέντι νόμῳ  
 [346] διείρηται τὸν μηκέτι διηνηθισμένον ποικιλία χρω-  
 μάτων ὄλον δὲ λευκωθέντα δι’ ὄλων ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς  
 <ἄκρας> ἕως ποδῶν ἐσχάτων καθαρὸν εἶναι, ἵνα  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος μετάβασιν τὸ ποικίλον  
 καὶ πανοῦργον καὶ ἀντιρρέπον καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζον  
 τῆς διανοίας μεθέμενοι πάθος τὸ ἀποίικilon καὶ  
 ἀνευδοίαστον ἀληθείας ἀπλοῦν χρῶμα δεξώμεθα.  
 112 Τὸ μὲν οὖν τὸ ξύλον φάσκει περικαθαίρεσθαι  
 λόγον ἔχει βεβαιούμενον ἀληθεία, τὸ δὲ τὸν καρπὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ποικιλλομένη.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 108-112

Nay, these sacrifices do but put Him in remembrance of the ignorance and offences of the several offerers ; for Moses, as we know, speaks of sacrifice " bringing sin to remembrance " (Num. v. 15). All such defile- 109  
ments entail great loss. We must clear the way and cut them off in obedience to the oracle, in which a command is given to clear away the uncleanness of the fruit-trees that have been planted.

XXVI. But, while we, even under teachers, fail to 110  
make progress and become apt pupils, some, taking advantage of a nature which is its own teacher, have released the good in them from the hurtful growths which had fastened upon it. It was so with the trainer of self, whose name was Jacob, for he " peeled rods, stripping off the green bark, and causing them to shew white where they were peeled " (Gen. xxx. 37). His aim<sup>a</sup> was to do away entirely with the variety and changeableness of hue, which is associated with the misty darkness and gloom of the undeveloped stages ; and to bring into full view the whiteness, which is due to no artificial variegation, but is akin to Nature, to which it owes its birth. It is in accordance with this that in the law laid down regarding leprosy it is enjoined that the leper is clean whose body is no longer particoloured, shewing a variety of hues, but has turned white all over from head to foot (Lev. xiii. 12 f.). The aim of this ordinance is that, by way of leaving behind us bodily concerns,<sup>a</sup> we may abandon the condition of mind which is changeful and vacillating, ready to put its hand to any project and to face both ways, and may take the plain hue of truth with its freedom from changefulness and indecision.

The statement that the trees undergo a cleansing 112  
is quite reasonable and accords with facts ; the

PHILO

- οὐ πάνυ τῷ ἐναργεῖ πεπίστωται<sup>1</sup>. σῦκα γὰρ ἦ σταφυλὴν ἢ συνόλως καρπὸν οὐδεὶς γεωργῶν  
 113 περικαθαίρει. XXVII. καὶ μὴν φησί γε· “ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τρία ἔτη ἔσται ἀπερικάθατος,<sup>2</sup> οὐ βρωθήσεται,” ὡς εἰωθότος δήπου περικαθαίρεσθαι αἰεὶ. λεκτέον οὖν, ὅτι καὶ τοῦθ’ ἐν ἔστι τῶν ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἀποδιδομένων, τοῦ ῥητοῦ μὴ σφόδρα συναδοντος. ἡ δὲ λέξις ἐστὶν ἀμφίβολος· δηλοῖ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τι τοιοῦτον “ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τρία ἔτη ἔσται,” εἶτα ἰδίᾳ τὸ “ἀπερικάθατος οὐ βρωθώσεται,” ἕτερον δὲ “ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τρία ἔτη ἔσται ἀπερικάθατος,” ἔπειθ’ οὕτως “<οὐ>  
 114 βρωθήσεται.” κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ πρότερον σημαινόμενον ταῦτα ἂν τις ἐκδέξαιτο, τῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ τριμεροῦς χρόνου παραλαμβανομένων, ὃς εἰς τὸν παρεληλυθότα καὶ ἐνεστῶτα καὶ μέλλοντα τέμνεσθαι πέφυκεν,<sup>3</sup> ὁ τῆς παιδείας καρπὸς ἔσται καὶ ὑποστήσεται καὶ μενεῖ σῶος κατὰ πάντα τὰ χρόνου τμήματα, ἴσον τῷ δι’ αἰῶνος φθορὰν μὴ δεχόμενος· ἄφθατος γὰρ ἦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσις. “ἀπερικάθατος δὲ καρπὸς οὐ βρωθήσεται,” παρόσον οἱ μὲν κεκαθαρμένοι καὶ ὑγιαίνοντες ἀστείοι λόγοι ψυχὴν τρέφουσι καὶ νοῦν αὔξουσιν, οὐ τρόφιμοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι νόσον καὶ φθορὰν  
 115 ἐπιπέμποντες<sup>4</sup> αὐτῇ. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον σημαινόμενον ὡς περ ἀναπόδεικτος <λόγος><sup>5</sup> λέγεται διχῶς,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πεπιστευται.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀκάθατος.

<sup>3</sup> The first sentence of § 114 is punctuated after Mangey and Heinemann.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐπιλάμποντες.

<sup>5</sup> λόγος is inserted before λέγεται with Cohn (conj.).



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 112-115

statement that the fruit does so is by no means made good by what we see before our eyes ; for no gardener cleanses figs or grapes or any fruit at all. XXVII. And yet it says, "The fruit shall remain unclesed for three years ; it shall not be eaten," as though it were the custom to cleanse it regularly as a matter of course. Let me say, then, that this again is one of the points to be interpreted allegorically, the literal interpretation being quite out of keeping with facts. The sentence can be taken in two ways. Read in one way, it means something of this kind, " Its fruit shall be for three years " ; then, as an independent sentence, " it shall not be eaten unclesed." Read in another way, " Its fruit shall be unclesed for three years," and then the words " it shall not be eaten." Led by the sense yielded 114 by the former punctuation, we arrive at this result. We take the three years to represent time in its natural threefold division into past, present, and future. The fruit of instruction—so we understand the words—shall be, subsist, remain free from interference, through all the divisions of time. This is equivalent to saying that throughout eternity it is exempt from corruption ; for the nature of good is incorruptible. " But unclesed fruit shall not be eaten." This is due to the fact that right teaching, having submitted to a cleansing which makes it wholesome, nourishes the soul and makes the mind grow ; while teaching of a contrary sort is devoid of nourishment, and lets loose upon the soul corruption and disease. An illustration will help us to see the senses which the other arrangement of the words may convey. An argument is called " in- 115 demonstrable," either when it has such inherent

## PHILO

- ὁ τε δυσκόλως ἀργαλεότητος ἔνεκα ἐπιδεικνύμενος  
καὶ ὁ ἐνθένδε γνώριμος ἐξ αὐτοῦ, τὸ σαφές οὐκ  
ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρου μαρτυρίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἐμφαινομένης  
ἐναργείας αὐτῷ πιστούμενος, ᾧ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοὺς συλ-  
λογιστικούς εἶωθεν ἢ διαλεκτικῆ λόγους χρῆσθαι,  
οὕτως ἀπερικάθατος καρπὸς ὁ τε δεόμενος  
καθάρσεως καὶ μὴ κεκαθαρμένος, καὶ ὁ τηλ-  
116 αὐγέστατος. τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ παιδείας καρπὸς  
“ τρία ἔτη,” τουτέστι τὸν τριμερῆ χρόνον, τὸν  
σύμπαντα αἰῶνα, καθαρώτατος καὶ διαυγέστατος,  
ὑπ' οὐδενὸς βλαβεροῦ συσκιαζόμενος, λουτρῶν καὶ  
περιρραντηρίων ἢ συνόλως ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν εἰς  
117 κάθαρσιν τεινόντων οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς χρεῖος ὢν.
- [347] XXVIII. “ Τῷ | δὲ ἔτει ” φησί “ τῷ τετάρτῳ  
ἔσται πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος, αἰνετὸς<sup>2</sup> τῷ  
κυρίῳ.” τὸν τέσσαρα ἀριθμὸν πολλαχοῦ μὲν τῆς  
νομοθεσίας, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῆς τοῦ  
παντὸς γενέσεως, ἀποσεμνύνειν ἔοικεν ὁ προ-  
118 φητικὸς λόγος· τὸ γὰρ αἰσθητὸν καὶ τίμιον φῶς,  
τὸ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σαφέστατον γνώρισμα,  
καὶ τοὺς τοκέας αὐτοῦ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν  
ιερώτατον χορὸν τῶν ἀστέρων, οἳ νύκτα τε καὶ  
ἡμέραν, ἔτι τε μῆνας καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ  
δύσεσιν ἐπεράτωσαν ἀριθμοῦ τε φύσιν ἀνέδειξαν,  
119 οἷς τὸ μέγιστον ψυχῆς ἀγαθὸν<sup>3</sup> ἀνάκειται, ἡμέρα  
τετάρτη φησὶ δημιουργηθῆναι. διαφερόντως δὲ  
καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν ἐκτετίμηκεν, οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρόνῳ  
τὸν τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν ἀναθεῖς τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἐνιαυ-  
120 τῷ τῆς φυτείας τετάρτῳ. λόγον γὰρ καὶ φυσι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ: Cohn conj. ᾧ καὶ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐν ἔτος.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀπάτη. See App. p. 497.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 115-120

difficulties that it is hardly capable of demonstration, or when its force is recognized at once by its mere statement, when it relies for its certainty not on any proof drawn from elsewhere, but from its self-evident character ; the kind of argument which Logic usually employs in formal syllogisms. Just so can the word "without cleansing" be used either of fruit that needs cleansing and has not received it, or of fruit that is perfectly bright and brilliant. Such is the 116 fruit of education "through three years," that is through past, present, and future, that is all eternity, wholly pure and bright, bedimmed by no hurtful thing, utterly exempt from need of washings or lustrations or anything else whatever whose purpose is to cleanse.

XXVIII. "And in the fourth year," it says, "all 117 its fruit shall be holy, for giving praise unto the lord" (Lev. xix. 24). In many parts of the Lawgiving, but above all in the record of the creation of the universe, we see the prophetic word glorifying the number 4. For (Gen. i. 14) it ascribes to the fourth day the making of those things on which depends the soul's chiefest good<sup>a</sup>; the precious light of the senses. 118 which gives us most sure knowledge of itself and all other objects; light's parents, the sun and moon and that most holy choir of the stars; these by their risings and settings determined the bounds of months and years, and revealed number's place in nature. And in the passage before us it has accorded 119 highest honour to the number 4, by making the fruit of the trees an offering to God at no other time than in the fourth year from their planting. The number indeed involves deep principles both 120

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 496.

## PHILO

- κώτατον καὶ ἠθικώτατον ἔχει· τὰς τε γοῦν τοῦ παντὸς ρίζας, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος, τέτταρας εἶναι  
 121 συμβέβηκε, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, πῦρ, καὶ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἰσαριθμούς χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος καὶ τὰς μεθ-  
 ορίους, ἕαρ τε καὶ μετόπωρον. πρεσβύτατός τε αὐτῶν τετραγώνων ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὧν ἐν ὀρθαῖς γωνίαις,  
 122 ὡς τὸ κατὰ γεωμετρίαν δηλοῖ σχῆμα, ἐξετάζεται· αἱ δ' εἰσὶν ὀρθότητος λόγου σαφῆ δείγματα, πηγὴ δὲ ἀέναος ἀρετῶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος. ἀνάγκη μέντοι τὰς τοῦ τετραγώνου πλευρὰς ἴσας εἶναι· δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἰσότης τὴν ἐξάρχον καὶ ἡγεμονίδα τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔτεκεν· ὥστε ἰσότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πάσης  
 123 ἀρετῆς χωρὶς τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλων ἐπιδείκνυται τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι σύμβολον.

- Καλεῖται δ' ἡ τετράς καὶ “πᾶς,” ὅτι τοὺς ἄχρι δεκάδος καὶ αὐτὴν δεκάδα περιέχει δυνάμει.  
 XXIX. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῆς, παντί τῳ  
 124 δῆλον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῆν, ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ ράδιον ἰδεῖν [ἐν ἀριθμῶ μὲν ἕξ]· ἐν, δύο, τρία, τέτταρα συντιθέντες ὃ ἡποροῦμεν εὐρήσομεν. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ τεττάρων πεντὰς ἔσται, ἐκ δὲ δυεῖν καὶ τεττάρων ἑξᾶς, ἑβδομάς δὲ ἐκ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν διπλὴν σύνθεσιν ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων ὀγδοάς, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ  
 125 δυεῖν καὶ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων ὁ ἐννέα ἀριθμὸς, δεκάς δὲ ἐκ πάντων· ἐν γὰρ καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέτταρα δέκα γεννᾷ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς εἶπεν, ὅτι “ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔσται πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος”· ἄρτιον γὰρ καὶ ὀλόκληρον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὧν, which might be translated “besides the other things which it (*i.e.* the number four) displays.”

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 120-125

of physics and ethics.<sup>a</sup> For the roots of the universe, out of which the world grows, are four—earth, water, air, fire. Of the same number are the seasons, Winter and Summer, and those that come between, Spring and Autumn. And, since it is the first of all numbers produced by squaring another number, it is in right angles that it presents itself to view, as is made evident by the geometrical figure. And right angles are clear pictures of rightness of reasoned thought, and right reason is an everflowing spring of virtue. Again, the sides of the square are necessarily equal: and equality is the mother of justice, empress and queen of the virtues. Thus the word of prophecy shews that this number is the symbol of equality, and righteousness, and every virtue in a way that the other numbers are not.

The number 4 is also called "all" or "totality" because it potentially embraces the numbers up to 10 and 10 itself. That it so embraces those which precede it is plain to everyone: and it is easy to see by further reckoning that it so embraces the numbers that come after it also. Add together  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4$ , and we shall find what we wanted. For out of  $1 + 4$  we shall get 5; out of  $2 + 4$  we shall get 6; 7 out of  $3 + 4$ ; and (by adding three instead of two numbers together) from  $1 + 3 + 4$  we get 8; and again from  $2 + 3 + 4$  we get the number 9; and from all taken together we get 10; for  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4$  produces 10. This is why Moses said "In the fourth year *all* the fruit shall be holy." For the number 4 is, in relation

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 39. The "ethical" interpretation begins at "right angles are pictures of rightness." What precedes is "physical" in Philo's sense of the word.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 497.

## PHILO

πλήρη, ὡς καὶ σύμπαντα, ὡς τύπῳ φάναι, λόγον ἔχει, διὰ τὸ δεκάδα, ἣν τετράς ἐγέννησε, πρῶτον καμπτήρα τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος συντιθεμένων ἀριθμῶν [348] ἑστάναι· | δεκάς δὲ καὶ τετράς “ πᾶς ” ἐν ἀριθμοῖς<sup>1</sup> εἶναι λέγεται, ἀλλὰ δεκάς μὲν ἀποτελέσματι, τετράς δὲ δυνάμει.

126 XXX. Τόν τε παιδείας καρπὸν οὐ μόνον ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰνετὸν εἶναί φησι προσηκόντως· ἐκάστη μὲν γε τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔστι χρῆμα ἅγιον, εὐχαριστία δὲ ὑπερβαλλόντως· θεῷ δὲ οὐκ ἔνεστι γνησίως εὐχαριστήσαι δι’ ὧν νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ κατασκευῶν ἀναθημάτων θυσιῶν—οὐδὲ γὰρ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἱερὸν ἀξιοχρεῶν ἂν γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν τούτου τιμῆν—, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐπαίνων καὶ ὕμνων, οὐχ οὕς ἢ γεγωνὸς ἄσεται φωνή, ἀλλὰ οὕς ὁ ἀειδῆς καὶ καθαρῶτατος νοῦς ἐπηγήσει καὶ ἀναμέλσει.

127 παλαιὸς γοῦν ἄδεται λόγος <ὁς><sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ μὲν σοφῶν εὐρεθεῖς, μνήμη δέ, οἷα φιλεῖ, κατὰ διαδοχὰς παραδοθεῖς τοῖς μετέπειτα, οὐδὲ τὰς αἰὲ παιδείας λίχνους ἡμετέρας παρήλθεν ἀκοάς. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦσδε· ἠνίκα, φασί, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ὁ ποιητῆς ἔτελεσφόρησεν, ἐνὸς τῶν ὑποφητῶν ἐπύθετο, εἴ τι ποθεῖ μὴ γενόμενον τῶν ὅσα κατὰ γῆς καὶ καθ’ ὕδατος ἢ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν μετάρσιον αἴρος ἢ τὴν

128 ἐσχάτην τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τέλεια μὲν καὶ πλήρη πάντα διὰ πάντων εἶναι, ἐν δὲ μόνον ζητεῖν, τὸν ἐπαινέτην αὐτῶν λόγον, ὃς τὰς ἐν πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς βραχυτάτοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μὲν ἀριθμὸς.

<sup>2</sup> <ὁς> conj. Tr.

<sup>a</sup> Or “prophets,” “interpreters.”

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 125-128

to other numbers, even and complete and full and, in a loose sense, universal, owing to the fact that 10, the offspring of 4, is fixed as first turning-point of the numbers from 1 onwards in a series. And 10 and 4 are said to be "all" or "totality" among numbers; 10 being so in realized actuality, and 4 potentially.

XXX. Quite appropriately does Moses speak of <sup>126</sup> the fruit of instruction as being not only "holy" but "for praise"; for each of the virtues is a holy matter, but thanksgiving is pre-eminently so. But it is not possible genuinely to express our gratitude to God by means of buildings and oblations and sacrifices, as is the custom of most people, for even the whole world were not a temple adequate to yield the honour due to Him. Nay, it must be expressed by means of hymns of praise, and these not such as the audible voice shall sing, but strains raised and re-echoed by the mind too pure for eye to discern. Indeed there is an old story on men's <sup>127</sup> lips, the invention of wise men, and handed down by memory to succeeding generations of posterity, which has not escaped my ears which are for ever greedy for teaching. It is to this effect. When, they say, the Creator had finished the whole world, He inquired of one of His subordinates <sup>a</sup> whether he missed as having failed to be created aught of created things beneath the earth or beneath the water, aught found in air's high realm or heaven's, furthest of all realms that are. He, it is said, <sup>128</sup> made answer that all were perfect and complete in all their parts, and that he was looking for one thing only, namely the word to sound their praises, which should make the surpassing excellence that

## PHILO

- καὶ ἀφανεστάτοις δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβολὰς οὐκ ἐπαι-  
 νέσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξαγγελεῖ· τὰς γὰρ διηγήσεις τῶν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργων αὐταρκέστατον ἐκείνων ἔπαινον  
 εἶναι, προσθήκης οὐδεμιᾶς ἕξωθεν εἰς κόσμον δεομέ-  
 νων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀψευδὲς τῆς ἀληθείας τελειότατον  
 129 ἐχόντων ἐγκώμιον. ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ  
 παντὸς τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπαινέσαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸ  
 πάμμουσον καὶ ὑμνωδὸν ἀναφανῆναι γένος ἐκ μιᾶς  
 δὴ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεων παρθένου Μνήμης,  
 ἦν Μνημοσύνην παρατρέποντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦνομα  
 καλοῦσιν.
- 130 XXXI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν παλαιῶν μῦθος ὧδε  
 ἔχει. ἐπόμενοι δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ λέγομεν, ὅτι οἰκειό-  
 τατόν ἐστιν ἔργον θεῷ μὲν εὐεργετεῖν, γενέσει<sup>1</sup> δὲ  
 εὐχαριστεῖν μηδὲν ἕξω τούτου πλέον τῶν εἰς  
 ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιπαρασχεῖν δυναμένῃ<sup>2</sup>. ὁ γὰρ ἂν θελή-  
 σῃ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιχαρίσασθαι, τοῦθ' εὐρήσεται τοῦ  
 πάντα πεπονηκότος ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς κομιζούσης φύσεως  
 131 κτῆμα ἴδιον. μαθόντες οὖν, ὡς ἐν ἔργον ἡμῖν ἐπι-  
 βάλλει μόνον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τιμὴν θεοῦ, τὸ εὐ-  
 χάριστον, τοῦτο ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ μελετῶμεν  
 διὰ φωνῆς καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀστείων καὶ  
 μηδέποτε ἐπιλείπωμεν μήτε λόγους ἐγκωμιαστι-  
 κούς μήτε ποιήματα συντιθέντες, ἵνα καὶ ἐμ-  
 μελῶς καὶ χωρὶς μέλους καὶ καθ' ἑκατέραν φωνῆς  
 ἰδέαν, ἣ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ᾄδειν ἀποκεκλήρωται, ὅ  
 τε κοσμοποιὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος γεραίρηται, “ὁ μὲν,”  
 [349] ὡς ἔφη τις, | “ἄριστος τῶν αἰτίων, ὁ δὲ τελειό-  
 τατος τῶν γεγονότων.”

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θεὸν . . . γένεσιν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. -ην οἱ -ων.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 497.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. Plato, *Timaeus* 29A.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 128-131

marked even the most minute and inconspicuous among them the subject of announcement rather than of praise, seeing that the mere recounting of the works of God was in itself their all-sufficient praise, for they needed the embellishment of no extraneous additions, but possessed in the reality that could not lie their most perfect encomium. The story runs 129 that the Author of the universe on hearing this commended what had been said, and that it was not long before there appeared the new birth, the family of the Muses<sup>a</sup> and hymnody, sprung from the womb of one of His powers, even virgin Memory, whose name most people slightly change and call her "Mnemosyne."

XXXI. So runs the myth of the men of old. We 130 take the same line and say that the work most appropriate to God is conferring boons, that most fitting to creation giving thanks, seeing that it has no power to render in return anything beyond this; for, whatever else it may have thought of giving in requital, this it will find to be the property of the Maker of all things, and not of the being that brings it. Having learned, then, that, in all that has to do 131 with shewing honour to God, one work only is incumbent upon us, namely thanksgiving, let us always and everywhere make this our study, using voice and skilful pen. Let us never tire of composing eulogies in prose and poetry, to the end that, whether with or without musical accompaniment whichever of its appointed functions the voice may exercise, be it eloquent speech or song, high honour may be given both to the world and to the Creator of the world; the former, as one has said,<sup>b</sup> the most perfect of things produced, the latter the best of producers.

- 132 XXXII. Ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἔτει καὶ ἀριθμῷ τε-  
 τάρτῳ πᾶς ὁ ψυχῆς ἀφιερωθῆ καρπός, τῷ πέμπτῳ  
 τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χρῆσιν ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ σχήσομεν.<sup>1</sup>  
 φησὶ γάρ· “ ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ πέμπτῳ φάγεσθε τὸν  
 καρπὸν,” ἐπειδὴ τὸ γεγονός τοῦ πεποιηκότος  
 ὕστερον ἐν ἅπασιν ἐξετάζεσθαι νόμος φύσεως  
 ἀνεπίληπτος, ὥστε κἄν, εἰ τῶν δευτερείων ἀντι-  
 λαμβανοίμεθα, καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἡγείσθαι.
- 133 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ πέμπτου ἡμῖν  
 ἀνατίθησιν, ὅτι αἰσθήσεως πεντὰς ἀριθμὸς οἰκείος  
 καί, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, τὸ τρέφον τὸν νοῦν  
 ἡμῶν ἐστὶν αἴσθησις, ἢ δι’ ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς χρω-  
 μάτων καὶ σχημάτων ποιότητος εὐτρεπίζουσα ἢ δι’  
 ὠτῶν παντοδαπὰς τὰς τῶν φωνῶν ιδιότητος ἢ διὰ  
 μυκτῆρων ὀσμὰς ἢ χυλοὺς διὰ στόματος ἢ μαλα-  
 κότητος εὐενδότους καὶ σκληρότητας ἀντιτύπους  
 ἢ λειότητος καὶ τραχύτητας, <ψυχρότητας> τε αὖ  
 καὶ θερμότητος διὰ τῆς ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα σκιδνα-  
 μένης δυνάμεως ἢ ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἀφήν.
- 134 XXXIII. Τῶν δὲ εἰρημένων παράδειγμα σαφέ-  
 στατον οἱ Λείας υἱοί, τῆς ἀρετῆς, οὐχ ἅπαντες,  
 ἀλλὰ τέταρτός τε καὶ πέμπτος. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ  
 τετάρτου φησὶ Μωυσῆς, ὅτι “ ἔσθη τοῦ τίκτειν,”  
 καλεῖται δὲ Ἰούδας, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κυρίῳ ἐξομο-  
 λόγησις. τὸν δὲ πέμπτου Ἰσάχαρ προσαγορεύει,  
 μισθὸς δὲ μεταληφθεὶς καλεῖται. καὶ τεκοῦσα τὸν  
 τρόπον τοῦτον ἢ ψυχὴ ὃ ἔπαθεν εὐθύς ἐξελάλησεν·  
 “ ἐκάλεσε ” γάρ φησι “ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσάχαρ, ὃ  
 135 ἐστὶ μισθός.” οὐκοῦν Ἰούδας ὁ εὐλογῶν τὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτοῖς χρήσομεν.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 132-135

XXXII. When, therefore, in the fourth year and 132  
in the number 4 all the soul's fruit shall have been  
consecrated, in the fifth year and in the number 5  
we ourselves shall get the enjoyment and use of it ;  
for he says, " in the fifth year ye shall eat the fruit." This accords with nature's incontrovertible law, that the place of creation is in all things lower than that of the Creator. That is why Moses treats it as a marvel that we should be recipients even of secondary privileges. Again, the reason why he 133  
ascribes to us the fruit of the fifth year and number is that 5 is the number proper to sense-perception, and that, if we are to face facts, we must own that it is sense-perception that supplies food to our mind. By means of the eyes, it serves up to it the varying qualities of colours and forms ; through the ears, the peculiarities of sounds in all their diversity ; scents by way of the nostrils ; savours by the palate ; smoothness and roughness, yielding softness and resistant hardness, nay coldness and heat as well, by means of the faculty distributed over all the body, which we are in the habit of calling " touch."

XXXIII. A very clear illustration of what has been 134  
said is found in the sons of Leah, who is Virtue ; not indeed in all of them, but in the fourth and fifth. For, after recording the birth of the fourth, Moses says that " she ceased from bearing " (Gen. xxx. 35), and his name is " Judah," which signifies " confession of praise to the Lord." The fifth she calls " Issachar," a name which interpreted means " reward." And the soul, upon giving birth to this character, at once gave utterance to her experience ; for it says, " She called his name Issachar, which is ' reward ' " (Gen. xxx. 18). It follows that Judah, the 135

## PHILO

- θεὸν νοῦς καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχαρίστους ὑμνωδίας ἀπαύστως μελετῶν αὐτὸς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν “ ἅγιος καὶ αἰνετὸς καρπὸς ” ἦν, οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆς δένδρων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ φύσεως λογικῆς καὶ σπουδαίας ἐνεχθείς. παρὸ καὶ ἡ τεκοῦσα αὐτὸν φύσις “ στήναι ” λέγεται “ τοῦ τίκτειν, ” ἐπεὶ καὶ πῆ τράπηται οὐκ εἶχεν ἔτι, πρὸς τὸν τελειότητος ὄρον ἐλθοῦσα· τῶν γὰρ ἀποκυθηθέντων κατορθωμάτων ἀπάντων ἄριστον καὶ τελειότατον γέννημα ὁ εἰς τὸν πατέρα
- 136 τοῦ παντὸς ὕμνος. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος υἱὸς τῆς κατὰ τὸν πέμπτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν φυτευθέντων ἀδιαφορεῖ χρήσεως· ὃ τε γὰρ γεωπόνος μισθὸν τρόπον τινα λαμβάνει παρὰ τῶν δένδρων ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς γέννημα Ἰσάαχар [ὃς] μισθὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότως, μετὰ τὸν
- [350] εὐχάριστον Ἰούδαν ἀποκυθηθείς· τῷ γὰρ | εὐχαρίστῳ μισθὸς αὐτὸ τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν ἀνταρκέστατος.
- 137 οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν δένδρων καρποὶ γεννήματα λέγονται τῶν ἐχόντων, ὁ δὲ παιδείας καὶ φρονήσεως οὐκέτι ἀνθρώπου, μόνου δέ, ὡς φησι Μωυσῆς, τοῦ πανηγεμόνος· εἰπὼν γὰρ “ τὰ γεννήματα αὐτοῦ ” ἐπιφέρει· “ ἐγὼ εἶμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, ” ἐναργέστατα παριστὰς ὅτι οὐ τὸ γέννημα καὶ ὁ τῆς
- 138 ψυχῆς καρπός, εἰς ἔστιν ὁ θεός. τούτῳ καὶ παρά τινι τῶν προφητῶν χρησθέν συναδέει τόδε· “ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὁ καρπός σου εὐρηται. τίς σοφὸς καὶ συνήσει ταῦτα; συνετὸς καὶ γνώσεται αὐτά; ” οὐ γὰρ παντὸς ἀλλὰ μόνου σοφοῦ τὸ γνῶναι, τίνος ὁ διανοίας καρπός ἐστι.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ right (truly virtuous) actions.” See note on *Quod Deus* 100.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 497.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 135-138

mind that blesses God, and is ceaselessly engaged in conning hymns of thanksgiving to Him, was himself the fruit that is really "holy and for praise to God," fruit borne not by earth's trees but by those of a rational and virtuous nature. Accordingly the nature which gave birth to him is said to have "ceased from bearing," because she had no longer any way to turn, having reached the utmost bound of perfectness; for of all successful accomplishments<sup>a</sup> ever brought to the birth the best and most perfect is the hymn of praise to the Father of the universe.

The fifth son is identical with the using <sup>136</sup> in the fifth year of the trees that had been planted; for, on the one hand, the husbandman does receive a sort of pay or reward from the trees in the fifth year, and, on the other, the offspring of the soul was called Issachar, "pay" or "reward." He was very naturally so called, having been born next after Judah the thanksgiver; for the thanksgiver finds in thanksgiving itself an all-sufficient reward.

Now, whereas fruits borne by trees are called pro- <sup>137</sup> ducts of the persons who own them, the fruit of instruction and good sense is not like these spoken of as being a man's, but as belonging, as Moses says, to no other than the Ruler of all. For after the words, "His products,<sup>b</sup>" he adds, "I am the Lord your God," affording most clear proof that He to whom the product and the fruit of the soul pertains is One, even God. In harmony with this is the oracle given in <sup>138</sup> one of the prophets: "From Me is thy fruit found. Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? understanding, and he shall know them?" (Hosea xiv. 9 f.). For not everybody, but only the wise man knows, Whose is the fruit of intelligence.

PHILO

- 139 XXXIV. Περὶ μὲν οὖν γεωργίας τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ἱερωτάτης, ἣ τὸ αἷτιον πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, τὸ παμφορώτατον φυτῶν, χρῆται, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπομένης, ἣν ὁ ἀστείος ἐπιτηδεύει, καὶ περὶ τῆς φερομένης τετραδος τῶν ἄθλων<sup>1</sup> ἃ κατὰ προστάξεις καὶ ὑφηγήσεις νόμων συνεκροτεῖτο, ὡς
- 140 οἶόν τε ἦν εἶπομεν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε ἀμπελουργικὴν, εἶδος γεωργικῆς οὖσαν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἤρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι γεωργὸς γῆς· καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ
- 141 ἔπιε τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ ἐμεθύσθη.” οὐκοῦν τὸ μέθης φυτὸν ἐξεργάζεται τεχνικῶς καὶ ἐπιστημόνως ὁ δίκαιος τῶν ἀφρόνων ἄτεχνον καὶ πλημμελῆ ποιουμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον τὰ προσήκοντα περὶ μέθης εἰπεῖν· εὐθύς γὰρ εἰσόμεθα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ παρέχοντος αὐτῇ τὰς ἀφορμὰς φυτοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰρημένα τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ μέθης εἰσόμεθα ἐπ’ ἀκριβείας αὐθις, νυνὶ δὲ ἐξερευνήσωμεν ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔδοξεν.
- 142 XXXV. Ἐσπουδάσθη δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἡ σκέψις οὐ μετρίως. προτείνεται δὲ οὕτως, εἰ μεθυσθήσεται ὁ σοφός. ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ μεθύειν διττόν, ἓν μὲν ἴσον τι τῷ οἰνοῦσθαι, ἕτερον
- 143 δὲ ἴσον τῷ ληρεῖν ἐν οἴνῳ. τῶν δὲ ἐπιχειρησάντων τῇ προτάσει οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν μῆτε ἀκράτῳ πλείονι χρῆσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> τὸν σοφὸν μῆτε ληρήσειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ is omitted before ἃ κατὰ from Wendland's conj.

<sup>2</sup> mss. χρῆσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 497.

<sup>b</sup> Or “the word μεθύειν is used in two senses.”

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 498.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 139-143

XXXIV. We have discoursed to the best of our 139  
ability concerning the earliest and most sacred  
husbandry, plied by the First Cause in dealing with  
the world, that most fertile of plants ; and concerning  
the husbandry that comes next in order, carried on  
by the man of worth ; and concerning the number  
4<sup>a</sup> which carries off the prizes conferred upon it by  
the injunctions and directions found in laws.

Let us now turn our attention to the righteous 140  
Noah's work on his vineyard, which is a special  
form of husbandry. The account runs : " Noah  
began to be a husbandman, a tiller of the soil :  
and he planted a vineyard and drank of the wine,  
and became drunk " (Gen. ix. 20 f.). We see from  
these words that the righteous man tills the tree,  
that is the means of drunkenness, with skill and  
knowledge, while those who are devoid of good  
sense tend it in an unskilful and faulty way. This 141  
renders it necessary for us to make some pertinent  
remarks regarding drunkenness ; for, as we treat of it,  
we shall ascertain also the powers and properties  
of the tree which furnishes it with the material  
which produces it. The Lawgiver's words regarding  
drunkenness we shall acquaint ourselves with another  
time : let us at present engage in a thorough investi-  
gation of the sentiments of other persons.

XXXV. Many philosophers have given no slight 142  
attention to the question ; which is propounded  
in the form " Will the wise man get drunk ? " Now,  
there are two ways of getting drunk <sup>b</sup> ; one is equi-  
valent to drinking heavily, the other to being silly  
in your cups.<sup>c</sup> Among those who have tackled the 143  
problem some have maintained that the wise man  
will neither take strong drink in excess nor become

PHILO

- ἀμάρτημα, τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτήματος εἶναι ποιητικόν,  
 144 ἐκάτερον δὲ ἀλλότριον κατορθοῦντος· οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν  
 οἰνοῦσθαι καὶ σπουδαίῳ προσῆκον ἀπεφήναντο, τὸ  
 δὲ ληρεῖν ἀνοίκειον· τὴν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ φρόνησιν  
 ἱκανὴν εἶναι τοῖς βλάπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἀντι-  
 στατήσαι καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ<sup>1</sup> νεωτερισμὸν αὐτῶν  
 καθελεῖν· δύναμιν δὲ περιβεβλησθαι φρόνησιν  
 παθῶν σβεστήριον εἶτε ὑπὸ φλεγμαίνοντος ἔρωτος  
 οἴστρω<sup>2</sup> ἀνερριπισμένων εἶτε ὑπὸ πολλοῦ καὶ  
 ζέοντος ἐξημμένων οἴνου, δι' ἣν ὑπεράνω στήσεται·  
 [351] ἐπεὶ | καὶ τῶν κατὰ ποταμοῦ βαθέος ἢ θαλάττης  
 δυομένων οἱ μὲν ἄπειροι τοῦ ναυτίλλεσθαι διαφθεί-  
 ρονται, οἱ δὲ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιστήμονες τάχιστα  
 διασώζονται· καὶ μὴν ὡσπερ χειμάρρους ὁ πολὺς  
 ἄκρατος ἐπικλύζων τὴν ψυχὴν τοτὲ μὲν βρίθουσαν  
 εἰς ἀμαθίας ἔσχατον βυθὸν κατέρριψε, τοτὲ δὲ  
 ὑπὸ τῆς σωτηρίου παιδείας ἐπικουφιζομένην καὶ  
 ἐπελαφριζομένην οὐδὲν ἴσχυσε βλάψαι.  
 145 οἱ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περὶ τὸ πάθος ὑπερβολῆς οὐ  
 κατανόησαντες, οἶμαι, τοῦ σοφοῦ μετεωροπολοῦντα  
 αὐτὸν ὡσπερ οἱ τὰ πτηνὰ θηρῶντες ἐπὶ γῆν ἀπ'  
 οὐρανοῦ κατεβίβασαν, ἴν' εἰς τὰς ὁμοίας κῆρας  
 ἀγάγωσιν, οὐδ' ἰδρύντες<sup>3</sup> ἀρετῆς εἰς ὕψος ἔφασαν,  
 ὅτι χρησάμενος οἴνω πλείονι τοῦ μετρίου πάντως  
 ἀκράτωρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος διαμαρτήσεται  
 καὶ οὐ χεῖρας μόνον ὑπ' ἀσθενείας οἶα τῶν ἀθλητῶν  
 οἱ νενικημένοι καθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐχένα καὶ κεφαλὴν  
 παραβαλὼν καὶ ὀκλάσας καὶ ὄλον τὸ σῶμα κατα-

<sup>1</sup> τῇ ψυχῇ is kept with mss. : Wend. τὴν ψυχὴν.

<sup>2</sup> mss. οἴστρω : Wend. οἴστρων.

<sup>3</sup> ἰδρύντες conj. Tr. : U ἰδρῶντες, MGF ἰδρῶτες.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 498.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 143-145

silly and maudlin ; the latter being a sin, and the former productive of sin, and both alike alien to him whose standard of conduct is the highest. Others, while regarding a condition of silliness as 144 foreign to a man of moral excellence, have pronounced heavy drinking to befit him, seeing that the good sense which resides in him is capable of holding its own against everything that attempts to injure him, and of baffling their efforts to change the constitution of his soul. They hold that good sense is an armour which has power to quench passions, whether fanned by the stinging blasts of inflaming love, or kindled by the heat of much wine ; and that in virtue of his good sense he will come off victorious. They point out that, when people sink in a deep river or in the sea, those who cannot swim are drowned, while those who know how to swim escape at once ; and that a quantity of strong drink is like a torrent washing over the soul ; in one case, as it sinks, plunging it into the lowest depth of ignorance, in another case, as it is buoyed up and kept afloat by salutary instruction, altogether powerless to hurt it. The others,<sup>a</sup> 145 failing, as I think, to recognize the completeness of the wise man's superiority to every passion, have brought him down to earth from heaven whose skies he haunts, treating him as fowlers treat the birds they catch, and being bent on bringing him into as evil a plight, and not setting him on virtue's lofty summit, have declared that after taking an immoderate quantity of wine he will certainly lose self-control and commit sin, and not only, like vanquished athletes, let his hands fall from sheer weakness, but let his neck and head drop and his knees give way, and, collapsing in

## PHILO

- 146 *συρεῖς ἀναπесεῖται. XXXVI. τοῦτο μέντοι προ-  
μαθῶν οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἀξιῶσειεν ἐκῶν εἰς πολυουίας  
ἀγῶνα ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μὴ μεγάλα εἶη τὰ διαφέροντα,  
σωτηρία πατρίδος ἢ τιμὴ γονέων ἢ τέκνων καὶ  
τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σωμαίων ἀσφάλεια ἢ συνόλως*
- 147 *ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν ἐπανόρθωσις πραγμάτων. οὐδὲ  
γὰρ θανάσιμον φάρμακον προσενέγκαιτο ἄν, εἰ μὴ  
πάνυ βιάζοντο οἱ καιροὶ καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος  
μετανίστασθαι τοῦ βίου· φάρμακον δέ, εἰ καὶ οὐ  
θανάτου, μανίας γοῦν ἄκρατον εἶναι αἷτιον συμ-  
βέβηκε. διὰ τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ μανίαν λεκτέον  
θάνατον, ᾧ τὸ κράτιστον ἀποθνήσκει τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν,  
ὁ νοῦς; ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ τις ἄν εἰκότως τὸν δια-  
κρίνοντα καὶ διαλύοντα ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα ὡς  
κουφότερον ἀντὶ βαρυτέρου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔκστασιν,*
- 148 *εἴ τις ἦν αἴρεσις, ἀνευδοιάστως ἐλέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο  
μέντοι καὶ τὸν εὐρετὴν τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐργασίας  
μαινόλην ἐκάλεσαν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
κατασχέτους γενομένας βάκχας μαινάδας, ἐπεὶ  
μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης αἷτιος τοῖς ἀπλήστως  
ἐμφορουμένοις ὁ οἶνος.*
- 149 *XXXVII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὡσανεὶ προοίμια τῆς  
σκέψεως τοιαυτὰ ἐστί, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον  
ἤδη περαίνωμεν διπλοῦν ὡς εἰκὸς ὄντα, τὸν μὲν  
ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μεθυσθῆσεται κατασκευάζοντα, τὸν  
δὲ τὸναντίον ὅτι οὐ μεθυσθῆσεται βεβαιούμενον.*
- 150 *τοῦ δὲ προτέρου τὰς πίστεις ἀρμόττον λέγειν  
πρότερον, ποιησαμένους ἐνθένδε τὴν ἀρχήν· τῶν*

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<sup>a</sup> Or "entirely lose heart."

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 146-150

every part, sink to the ground.<sup>a</sup> XXXVI. Having 146  
learned this beforehand he will never think fit  
voluntarily to engage in a drinking-contest, unless  
the matters at issue are of great moment, a father-  
land's deliverance, respect for parents, children's  
safety or that of the persons of those very near and  
dear, or, in a word, a putting on a right footing  
of private and public concerns. No more would a wise 147  
man take a deadly poison, unless the crisis were such  
as absolutely to compel him to depart from life as  
though he were leaving his country. And strong  
drink *is* a poison bringing about not death indeed but  
madness. And yet why should we not call madness  
death, seeing that by it mind dies, the noblest part  
of us? Nay it appears to me that, were a choice  
offered, a man would be likely to choose without  
hesitation the death that separates and dissolves  
the union of soul and body, in preference to that of  
going out of one's senses, feeling that he was choosing  
the lighter in place of the heavier. It was for this 148  
reason that the earliest inhabitants of the world  
called the inventor of the culture of the vine Maenoles  
and the Bacchantes whom its frenzy seized Maenads,  
since wine is the cause of madness and loss of sound  
sense in those who imbibe it over freely.

XXXVII. Such then is what we may call the pre- 149  
lude to our inquiry. It is time for us to state in  
full the argument bearing upon it. That argument  
obviously admits of two contentions, one establishing  
the thesis that the wise man will get drunk, the  
other maintaining the contrary, that he will not get  
drunk. It will be convenient to take first the 150  
proofs by which the former thesis is supported. We  
will begin by remarking that some things are

## PHILO

- πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν ὁμώνυμα, τὰ δὲ συνώνυμα  
 εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ὁμωνυμία δὲ καὶ συνωνυμία  
 [352] τάναντία ὁμολογεῖται, | ὅτι ὁμωνυμία μὲν κατὰ  
 πολλῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐν ὄνομα, συνωνυμία δὲ καθ’  
 151 ἐνὸς ὑποκειμένου <πολλά>. ἡ κυνὸς  
 φωνὴ πάντως ὁμώνυμος ἐμφερομένων πλειόνων  
 ἀνομοίων, ἃ δι’ αὐτῆς σημαίνεται· τό τε γὰρ  
 χερσαῖον ὑλακτικὸν ζῶον κύων καὶ θῆρ ὁ θαλάττιος  
 καὶ ὁ οὐράνιος ἀστῆρ, ὃν ὀπωρινὸν οἱ ποιηταὶ  
 καλοῦσιν, ὅτι τῆς ὀπώρας ἄρτι ἠβώσεως ἐπιτέλλει  
 τοῦ τελεσφορηθῆναι τε χάριν αὐτὴν καὶ πεπανθῆναι,  
 καὶ προσέτι ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς κυνικῆς αἰρέσεως ὄρμηθεις  
 φιλόσοφος, Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Διογένης καὶ ἄλλων  
 οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν ἠξίωσαν ἀπερίληπτος  
 152 ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπων. ἄλλαι δ’ εἰσὶ προσ-  
 ρήσεις διάφοροι κατὰ σηματομένου ἐνὸς ὡς ἰός,  
 οἰστός, βέλος— τὸ γὰρ διὰ τῆς τόξου νευρᾶς ἐπὶ  
 τὸν σκοπὸν ἀφίεμενον πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται—· καὶ  
 πάλιν εἰρεσία, κώπη, πλάτη, τὸ πρὸς πλοῦν  
 ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἰστίοις· ὁπότε γὰρ μὴ δύναιτο χρῆσθαι  
 ναῦς κατὰ νημερίας ἢ ἀντιπνοίας ἰστίοις, πρόσκωποι  
 καθίσαντες οἷς ἐπιμελὲς καὶ οἶα ταρσοὺς ἐκατέρω-  
 θεν ἀποτείναντες ὑπόπτερον αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι βιά-  
 ζονται, ἢ δὲ ἐξαιρομένη πρὸς ὕψος, ἐπιτρέχουσα  
 τοῖς κύμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐντέμνουσα ταῦτα, τρο-  
 χάζουσα ταχυναυτεῖ καὶ ναυλοχωτάτοις ὑποδρόμοις  
 153 ἐνορμίζεται. καὶ μὴν πάλιν σκίπων,  
 βακτηρία, ράβδος ἐνὸς ὑποκειμένου διάφοροι

<sup>a</sup> ἐμφέρεσθαι, here used of different senses being implied in one word, is found in § 154 in the sense of “occur,” “be used.”

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 150-153

homonymous and others synonymous. Everyone will allow that homonymy and synonymy are opposites, homonymy meaning one name applied to many objects, synonymy many names applied to one object. The word "dog" is certainly 151 homonymous, several dissimilar objects being included under it,<sup>a</sup> all of which it is used to signify. The barking animal on the land is a "dog"; so is the monster found in the sea; and the star in the heavens which the poets call the fruit star, because just when the summer fruit has reached its prime this star rises to bring it to perfection and to ripen it. The name "dog" is applied moreover to the man whose philosophy takes its colour from the Cynic school, Aristippus, Diogenes, and ever so many others who found it congenial to conform themselves to their principles.

There are other names which are different though 152 one thing is meant by them, as "arrow," "shaft," "dart"; for the thing discharged at the mark from the string of the bow is called by all these names. Again, the instrument which does as well as sails for propelling a vessel is called an "oar," "scull," "rowing-sweep." For when, owing to a calm or head wind, a vessel cannot make use of sails, the men, whose business it is, take their seats at the oars, and stretching out from each side wing-like blades, force the vessel to be borne along as though it were flying. The vessel, lifted high out of the water, not so much cutting the waves as coursing over them, makes a quick run, and is soon safely moored in harbour.

Once more "staff," "walking-stick," 153 "rod" are different names by which we call one object, with which we can beat someone, on which

## PHILO

κλήσεις, ᾧ τύπτειν καὶ ἀκραδάντως σκηρίπτεσθαι καὶ ἐπερείδεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα πλείω ποιεῖν ἔνεστι. ταῦτα δ' οὐ μακρολογοῦντες ὄλως εἶπομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ σαφέστερον γνῶναι τὸ ζητούμενον.

154 **XXXVIII.** τὸν ἄκρατον ὡσπερ οἶνον, οὕτως καὶ μέθυ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν· πολλαχοῦ γοῦν τῆς ποιήσεώς ἐστι τοῦτ' οὖνομα ἐμφερόμενον, ὥστ' εἰ τὰ συνωνυμοῦντα καθ' ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου λέγεται, οἶνος καὶ μέθυ, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ φωναῖς διοίσει μόνον, τό τε οἰνοῦσθαι καὶ  
155 τὸ μεθύειν [ἐν]· ἐκάτερον δὲ πλείονος οἶνου χρῆσιν ἐμφαίνει, ἣν πολλῶν ἔνεκα αἰτιῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποστρέφοιτο ὁ σπουδαῖος. εἰ δὲ οἰνωθήσεται, καὶ μεθυσθήσεται, χεῖρον οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς μέθης διατεθείς, ἀλλὰ ταῦτόν ὅπερ καὶ [ὁ] ἐκ ψιλῆς τῆς οἰνώσεως παθῶν.

156 Μία μὲν ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦ τὸν σοφὸν μεθυσθῆναι λέλεκται, δευτέρα δ' ἐστὶ τοιαύτη· σχεδὸν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τοῖς προτέροις ἔξω μέρους βραχέος οὐδὲν ὁμοιότροπον ζηλοῦν ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐν ἔργοις τὸ μὴ συνωδὸν καὶ διαφωνοῦν  
157 ἐπιδείκνυνται· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους ὑγιαίνοντας καὶ ἐρρωμένους εἰς πάθος ἀνήκεστον καὶ φθορὰν περιήγαγον ἀντὶ σφριγώσης καὶ ἀθλητικῆς ὄντως  
[353] | εὐεξίας οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ νοσοῦν κατασκευάσαντες καὶ τὸν πλήρη καὶ ναστόν, ὡς ἔφη τις, ὑπ' εὐτονίας ὄγκον εἰς παρὰ φύσιν οἰδούσης καχεξίας

<sup>a</sup> i.e. "in many cases the wise man would see no reason for avoiding this."

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 153-157

we can firmly support ourselves, on which we can lean, and with which we can do several other things. I have given these examples, not just because my tongue runs on, but that we may get a clearer idea of the subject which we are investigating.

XXXVIII. The ancients called strong 154  
drink "wine" and an "intoxicant" indifferently: as we see from the frequency with which this last word occurs in poetry. If, then, "wine" and "intoxicant" are used as synonyms of one object, their derivatives "to be filled with wine" and "to be intoxicated" will differ only in word; for either 155  
term denotes taking more wine than usual, a thing which several motives<sup>a</sup> might induce a really excellent man to do. But if such an one will get filled with wine, he will get drunk, and be in no worse plight for being drunk, but in precisely the same state as he was brought to by being filled with wine.

One proof of the wise man's getting drunk has 156  
been mentioned; there is a second to the following effect. Broadly speaking, the men of the present day, apart from a small fraction of them, do not resemble those of former times in their aims and enthusiasms, but both in language and in action exhibit tendencies wholly out of harmony with theirs. Language that was once healthy and robust they 157  
have turned into a jargon hopelessly depraved. For a style sound and full of vitality as an athlete's frame they have substituted a sickly form of speech. A full and massive type, possessed, as someone has said, of a solidity due to its firmness of fibre, they debase into a bloated mis-growth of disease, to which they give a seeming loftiness and grandeur by

## PHILO

ἀγαγόντες καὶ κενῶ φύσῃματι μόνον ἐπαίροντες,  
 ὁ δι' ἔνδειαν τῆς συνεχοῦσης δυνάμεως, ὅταν  
 158 μάλιστα περιταθῆ, ῥήγνυται. τὰς δὲ πράξεις ἐπαι-  
 νώσεως<sup>1</sup> καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίας καὶ αὐτάς, ὡς ἔπος  
 εἰπεῖν, ἄρρενας ἐξεθήλυναν αἰσχροῦς ἀντὶ καλῶν  
 ἐργαζόμενοι, ὡς ὀλίγους εἶναι παντάπασιν ἐκατέ-  
 ροις, ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις, ἀρχαιοτρόπου ζηλώσεως  
 159 ἐρῶντας. τοιγαροῦν ἐπ' ἐκείνων ποιηταὶ  
 καὶ λογογράφοι καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὰ ἄλλα μουσικῆς  
 ἐσπούδαζον ἤνθουν, οὐ τὰς ἀκοὰς διὰ τῆς ἐν  
 ῥυθμοῖς φωνῆς ἀφηδύνοντές τε καὶ θρύπτοντες,  
 ἀλλὰ εἴ τι τῆς διανοίας κατεαγὸς καὶ κεκλασμένον  
 ἐγείροντες καὶ ὅσον ἐμμελὲς αὐτῆς ἀρμοζόμενοι  
 φύσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ὀργάνοις<sup>2</sup>. ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ ὄψαρ-  
 τυταὶ καὶ σιτοπόνοι καὶ ὅσοι τῆς ἐν βαφικῇ καὶ  
 μυρειφικῇ τεχνῖται περιεργίας, αἰεὶ τι καινὸν χρῶμα  
 ἢ σχῆμα ἢ ἀτμὸν ἢ χυλὸν ἐπιτειχίζοντες ταῖς  
 αἰσθήσεσιν, ὅπως τὸν ἡγεμόνα πορθήσωσι νοῦν.  
 160 XXXIX. Τίνος δὴ χάριν τούτων ἐμνήσθη;  
 ἵν' ἐπιδείξω, ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἄκρατον οὐχ ὁμοίως οἱ  
 νῦν τοῖς πάλαι προσφέρονται. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἄχρι  
 τοῦ σώμα καὶ ψυχῆν παρεθῆναι πίνουσιν ἀθρόως  
 καὶ ἀπνευστί, χαίνοντες ἔτι καὶ προσεπιφέρειν  
 τοῖς οἰνοχοουμένοις κελεύοντες, κἂν διαμέλλωσιν  
 ἀγανακτοῦντες, ὅτι τὸν θερμὸν λεγόμενον παρ' αὐ-  
 τοῖς πότον<sup>3</sup> παραψύχουσι, καὶ τὸ παράκομμα τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. γενέσεως.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὀργίοις.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ποτόν.



## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 157-160

empty puffing and blowing, which, in default of any confining power, bursts when distention has reached its limit. Actions, meriting praise and calling out 158 enthusiasm, and, if the expression may be permitted, masculine, they have rendered effeminate, and in performing them made them base instead of noble. The result is that whether on the side of action or of speech, there are very few indeed who take delight in the objects that kindled the ardour of the men of old. Consequently in their 159 times poets and chroniclers flourished and all who engaged in literary work of other kinds, and they did not at once charm and enervate men's ears by the rhythm of their language, but they revived any faculty of the mind that had broken down and lost its tone, and every true note of it they kept in tune with the instruments of nature and of virtue. But in our days it is chefs and confectioners that flourish, and experts in making dyes and concocting unguents. These are ever aiming at sacking the citadel of Mind, by bringing to bear upon the senses some novelty in shade of colour or shape of dress or perfume or savoury dish.

XXXIX. What has been my object in recalling 160 these things? My object has been to make it clear that the modern way of taking strong drink is not the same as the ancient way. For nowadays men go on till body and soul are unstrung, drinking huge draughts without stopping, open-mouthed for more, and ordering the servants to replenish the cups they have just filled and shewing arrogance if they delay, because all such delay cools what they are pleased to call the "heat" of the carousal. They give an exhibition to their fellow-guests of that counterfeit

## PHILO

- γυμνικῶν, τὸν παροίνιον ἀγῶνα, πρὸς τοὺς συν-  
 όντας ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐν ᾧ μεγάλα καὶ καλὰ  
 ἀλλήλους ἀντιδρῶσιν, ὧτα καὶ ρίνας καὶ χειρῶν  
 ἄκρους δακτύλους καὶ ὅποια δ' ἂν τύχη μέρη τοῦ  
 161 σώματος ἀπεσθίοντες. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς  
 ἠβώσης καὶ νεωτέρας καὶ ἄρτι ἀκμαζούσης ἄθλα,  
 ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐφροσύνης, τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας καὶ πρε-  
 σβυτέρας τὰναντία· πάσης γὰρ καλῆς πράξεως  
 ἀφ' ἱερῶν τελείων οἱ πρότεροι κατήρχοντο, νο-  
 μίζοντες μάλιστα οὕτως αἴσιον ἀποβῆσεσθαι τὸ  
 τέλος αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρὶν εὐξασθαί τε καὶ θῦσαι, καὶ  
 εἰ σφόδρα τοῦ πράττειν ἐπέσπενδον οἱ καιροί,  
 πάντως ἀνέμενον οὐκ αἰεὶ τὸ ταχὺ τοῦ βραδέος  
 ἠγούμενοι κρεῖττον· οὐ προμηθὲς μὲν γὰρ τάχος  
 βλαβερόν, βραδυτῆς δὲ μετ' εὐελπιστίας ὠφέλιμον.  
 162 εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ τοῦ οἴνου  
 ἀπόλαυσις τε καὶ χρήσις δέεται πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας,  
 [354] οὔτε ἄδην<sup>1</sup> | οὔτε αἰεὶ προσεφέροντο τὸν ἄκρατον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν τε κόσμῳ καὶ καιρῷ προσήκοντι. πρό-  
 τερον γὰρ εὐξάμενοι καὶ θυσίας ἀναγαγόντες καὶ  
 ἱλασάμενοι τὸ θεῖον, σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς καθηρά-  
 μενοι, τὰ μὲν λουτροῖς, τὰ δὲ νόμων καὶ παιδείας  
 ὀρθῆς ρεύμασι, φαιδροὶ καὶ γεγηθότες πρὸς ἀν-  
 εμιμένην δίαιταν ἐτρέποντο, μηδὲ οἴκαδε πολλάκις  
 ἀφικόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἔθυσαν ἱεροῖς διατελοῦντες,  
 ἵνα καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μεμνημένοι καὶ τὸν τόπον  
 αἰδούμενοι ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄγωσιν  
 εὐωχίαν, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ διαμαρτάνοντες.<sup>2</sup>  
 163 ἀπὸ τούτου γέ τοί φασι τὸ μεθύειν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄρδην.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. διαπατοῦντες.

## NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 160-163

parody of the athletic games, namely the tipsy contest. In this they practise on one another magnificent passes, gnawing off ears and noses and tops of fingers and any parts of the body that come handy.

These are, apparently, the contests indulged in by the gladness of these later times, which flourishes to-day and is just reaching its full growth; but far other were those of the more lofty gladness of old. For our forefathers inaugurated every noble business with sacrifices duly offered, deeming that an auspicious result would by this means be ensured. However urgently the crisis might call for immediate action, they never failed to tarry to pray and offer sacrifices beforehand, deeming that what is rapid is not always superior to what is slow; for rapidity without forethought is hurtful, while slowness prompted by the prospect of a happy issue is beneficial.

Knowing, then, that, like other things, the use and enjoyment of wine needs great care, they took strong drink neither in great quantity nor at all times, but in such order and season as was befitting. For after having first prayed and presented sacrifices and implored the favour of the Deity, when they had cleansed their bodies by ablutions and their souls by streams of holy ordinances and instructions in the right way, radiant and gladsome they turned to relaxation and enjoyment, in many cases not after returning home, but remaining in the temples in which they had sacrificed in order that both the recollection of their sacrifices and their reverence for the place might lead them to celebrate a festivity in actual truth most holy, sinning neither in word nor deed.

You must know that it was from this, so it is said, that "getting drunk"

## PHILO

- ὠνομάσθαι, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ θύειν ἔθος ἦν τοῖς πρό-  
 τερον οἰνοῦσθαι. τίσι δὴ μᾶλλον οἰκείος ἂν εἴη  
 τῆς τοῦ ἀκράτου χρήσεως ὁ λεχθεὶς τρόπος ἢ  
 σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πρὸ τῆς μέθης ἔργον  
 164 ἀρμόττει τὸ θύειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν  
 φαύλων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱεουργεῖ, κἂν ἐνδεδεχεῖς  
 μυρίους βόας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνάγη<sup>1</sup>. τὸ γὰρ  
 ἀναγκαιότατον ἱερεῖον αὐτῷ λελώβηται, ὁ νοῦς,  
 λώβας δὲ οὐ θέμις βωμῶν προσάψασθαι.
- 165 Δεύτερος μὲν δὴ λόγος οὗτος εἴρηται, δεικνὺς  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἀλλότριον σπουδαίου τὸ μεθύειν, XL.  
 τρίτος δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ διαφερούσης τῆς πρὸς τὴν  
 ἐτυμολογίαν πιθανότητος ἠρητημένος· τὴν γὰρ  
 μέθην οὐ μόνον, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖται,  
 νομίζουσί τινες εἰρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μεθέσεως
- 166 ψυχῆς αἰτία γίνεσθαι. μεθίεται δὲ ὁ μὲν  
 τῶν ἀφρόνων λογισμὸς εἰς πλειόνων χύσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀμαρ-  
 τημάτων, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐμφρόνων εἰς ἀνέσεως καὶ  
 εὐθυμίας καὶ ἰλαρότητος ἀπόλαυσιν· ἡδίων γὰρ  
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ νήφοντος οἰνωθεὶς ὁ σοφὸς γίνεσθαι,  
 ὥστε οὐδ' ἂν ταύτη διαμαρτάνοιμεν φάσκοντες ὅτι
- 167 μεθυσθῆσεται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνο  
 λεκτέον, ὅτι οὐ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ αὐστηρὸν<sup>3</sup> τὸ τῆς  
 σοφίας εἶδος, ὑπὸ συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας ἐσταλ-  
 μένον, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἰλαρὸν καὶ γαληνίζον, μεστὸν  
 γηθοσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς· ὑφ' ὧν πολλάκις προήχθη

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγάγη.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἰσχυσιν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. αὐχημηρὸν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 498.

<sup>b</sup> Or "based on another and different form of the argument from etymology." See App. p. 498.

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got its name, because it was the custom of the men of earlier times to indulge in wine "after sacrificing."<sup>a</sup> Now with whom, I ask, would the mode of using strong drink just described be more in keeping than with wise men, with whose character the act which precedes the drunkenness, namely the act of sacrificing, is also in perfect accord? For we may venture to say that there is not a single 164 bad man who really performs a sacrificial act, even though he lead to the altar in unceasing procession ten thousand bullocks every day; for in his case the mind, the most essential victim, is a blemished thing, and no blemish may come into contact with an altar.

Such is a second argument put forward to shew 165 that getting drunk is not a thing inconsistent with moral excellence. XL. There is a third, possessing etymological plausibility<sup>b</sup> in a very high degree. For some hold that drunkenness is so termed, not only because it follows the performance of sacrifice, but because it is also the cause of a letting go or release of soul. It is to 166

give vent to many sins that the reasoning faculty of fools is let go, but that of sensible men for the enjoyment of relaxation, cheerfulness, and good spirits; for the wise man becomes a more genial person after indulging in wine than when he is sober, and accordingly we should not be wrong in asserting on this ground as well as on those others that he will get drunk.

We must re- 167 mark furthermore that the countenance of wisdom is not scowling and severe, contracted by deep thought and depression of spirit, but on the contrary cheerful and tranquil, full of joy and gladness, feelings which often prompt a man to be sportive and

- τις οὐκ ἀμούσως παῖζαί τι καὶ χαριεντίσασθαι, παιδιὰν μέντοι τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ σπουδῇ καθάπερ ἐν ἡρμοσμένη λύρα φθόγγοις ἀντιφώνοις εἰς ἑνὸς
- 168 μέλους κρᾶσιν συνηχοῦσαν. κατὰ γοῦν τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν τέλος ἐστὶ σοφίας παιδιὰ καὶ γέλως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἅ τοῖς νηπίοις ἄνευ φρονήσεως πᾶσι μελετᾶται, ἀλλ' ἅ τοῖς ἤδη πολιοῖς οὐ χρόνῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλαῖς ἀγαθαῖς γεγονόσιν. οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι τὸν αὐτηκόου καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς καὶ αὐτουργοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀρυσάμενον οὐ μετέχοντα γέλωτος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γέλωτα εἶναι φησιν;
- 169 οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰσαάκ, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται γέλως, ᾧ παίζειν μετὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς, ἣν Ῥεβέκκαν Ἑβραῖοι
- [355] καλοῦσιν, ἀρμόττει. XLI. τὴν δὲ | θείαν παιδιὰν τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδιώτη μὲν οὐ θέμις ἰδεῖν, βασιλεῖ δὲ ἕξεσθαι, ᾧ πάμπολον χρόνον παρώκησεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντ' ἐνώκησε τὸν αἰῶνα, σοφία. προσαγορεύεται οὗτος Ἀβιμέλεχ, ὃς διακύψας τῇ θυρίδι, τῷ διοιχθέντι καὶ φωσφόρῳ τῆς διανοίας ὄμματι, τὸν Ἰσαάκ εἶδε παίζοντα μετὰ Ῥεβέκκας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.
- 170 τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἐμπρεπές<sup>1</sup> ἔργον σοφῷ ἢ τὸ παίζειν καὶ γανοῦσθαι καὶ συνευφραίνεσθαι τῇ τῶν καλῶν ὑπομονῇ; ἐξ ὧν ὅτι καὶ μεθυσθήσεται δῆλόν ἐστι τῆς μέθης ἠθοποιοῦσης καὶ ἄνεσιν καὶ ἀφέλειαν<sup>2</sup> ἐργαζομένης· ὁ γὰρ
- 171 ἄκρατος τὰ τῇ φύσει προσόντα ἐπιτείνειν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐμπρέπει.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀφέλειαν: so Wend.: ἀφέλειαν is Mangey's conjecture.

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jocular in a perfectly refined way. Such sportive-ness is in harmony with a dignified self-respect, a harmony like that of a lyre tuned to give forth a single melody by a blending of answering notes.

Moses, at all events, holiest of men, 168  
shews us that sport and merriment is the height of wisdom, not the sport which children of all sorts indulge in, paying no heed to good sense, but such as is seen in those who are now become grey-headed not only in respect of age but of thoughtfulness. Do you not observe that when he is speaking of the man who drew directly from the well of knowledge, listening to no other, learning through no other, resorting to no agency whatever, he does not say that he had a part in laughter, but that he was laughter itself? I am speaking of Isaac, whose name means 169  
"laughter," and whom it well befits to sport with "patient waiting," who is called in Hebrew "Rebecca." XLI. For the sacred sporting of the soul is a sight not permissible to an ordinary citizen, but it is open to a king, with whom wisdom was for a very long time a guest, if indeed she did not make him her permanent abode. The name of this king is Abimelech. He looked out at the window, the mind's eye wide-opened and admitting light, and saw Isaac sporting with Rebecca his wife (Gen. xxvi. 8). What other occupation is 170  
seemly for a wise man rather than bright sportive-ness and making merry in the company of one who waits patiently for all that is beautiful? Hence it is evident that he will get drunk also, seeing that drunkenness benefits the character, saving it from overstrain and undue intensity. For strong drink is likely to intensify natural tend- 171

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σφοδρύνειν ἔοικεν εἴτε καλὰ εἴτε καὶ τὰ ἐναντία, καθάπερ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων· ἐπεὶ καὶ χρήματα αἴτια μὲν ἀγαθῶν <ἀγαθῶ>, κακῶ δέ, ὡς ἔφη τις, κακῶν· καὶ πάλιν δόξα τοῦ μὲν ἄφρονος τὴν κακίαν ἐπιφανεστέραν, τοῦ δὲ δικαίου τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐκλεεστέραν ἐπιφαίνει. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ ἄκρατος ἀναχυθεὶς τὸν μὲν πάθει κεχρημένον ἐμπαθέστερον,<sup>1</sup> τὸν δὲ εὐπαθείαις εὐμενέστερον καὶ ἴλεω μᾶλλον ἀπειργάσατο. τίς γε μὴν οὐκ οἶδεν, 172 ὅτι δυεῖν ἐναντίων ἐπειδὰν θάτερον εἶδος ἐφαρμόζη πλείοσι, καὶ θάτερον ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβήσεται; οἶον λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος ἐναντίων ὄντων, εἰ τὸ λευκὸν ἀστείοις τε καὶ φαύλοις, καὶ τὸ μέλαν ἐξ ἴσου δῆπουθεν ἀμφοτέροις, οὐχὶ μόνοις προσέσται τοῖς ἑτέροις. καὶ μὴν τό γε νήφειν καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἐναντία, μετέχουσι δὲ τοῦ νήφειν, ὡς ὁ τῶν προτέρων λόγος, ἀγαθοί τε καὶ φαῦλοι· ὥστε καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἑκατέρω τῶν εἰδῶν ἐφαρμόττει. μεθυσθήσεται τοιγάρτοι καὶ ὁ ἀστεῖος μηδὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποβαλὼν.

XLII. Εἰ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μὴ μόνον 173 ταῖς ἐντέχνοις ἀποδείξεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀτέχνοις λεγομέναις χρηστέον, ὧν μία ἐστὶν ἢ διὰ τῶν μαρτυριῶν, πολλοὺς καὶ εὐδοκίμους μαρτυροῦντας παρεξόμεθα παῖδας ἰατρῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων, οὐ λόγοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασι τὴν μαρτυρίαν σημαινομένους. μυρίας γὰρ ἀπολελοίपाσι συν- 174 τάξεις ἐπιγράψαντες περὶ μέθης, ἐν αἷς περὶ ψιλῆς αὐτὸ μόνον χρήσεως οἴνου σκοποῦσιν, οὐδὲν περὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐπαθέστερον.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 498.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 499.



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encies, whether good or the reverse, just as many other things do. Money, it has been said, is the cause of good things to a good man, of evil things to a bad man. Fame again makes the fool's badness more conspicuous, while it causes a brighter glory to rest upon the virtue of the righteous man. On this principle, therefore, a lavish use of strong drink places the man who has given the rein to his passions more completely at their mercy, while it makes him who has cherished right feelings <sup>a</sup> more kindly and well disposed. Again, all 172 know that when one of two opposite predicates is applicable to two or more sets of people, it cannot but be that the other is applicable also. For instance, black and white are opposites. If white is predicable of bad and good, black too will of course be equally so of both, not only of one of the two sets. So too soberness and drunkenness are opposites, and both bad and good men, so our forefathers said, partake of soberness. It follows that drunkenness also is predicable of both sorts. Accordingly the man of moral worth will get drunk as well as other people without losing any of his virtue.

XLII. If, just as in a court of law, we are to make 173 use, not only of the logical or dialectical proofs, but also of the modes of persuasion that are called "inartistic,<sup>b</sup>" one of which is that which employs evidence, we shall call as witnesses many distinguished physicians and philosophers, who ratify their evidence by writings as well as by words. For 174 they have left behind them innumerable treatises bearing the title "Concerning drunkenness," in which they deal with nothing but the subject of drinking wine at all, without adding a word of inquiry

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- τῶν ληρεῖν εἰωθότων προσεξετάζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸ παροινίας παραπέμφαντες εἶδος· ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τούτοις σαφέστατα ἀνωμολογησθαι, ὅτι τὸ μεθύειν ἦν τὸ οἰνοῦσθαι. οἴνου δὲ σπάσαι πλείονος οὐκ ἂν εἶη χεῖρον ἐν καιρῷ σοφόν· οὐ τοίνυν
- [356] διαμαρτησόμεθα | λέγοντες ὅτι μεθυσθήσεται.
- 175 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀναγράφεται νικῶν, εἰ δὲ ἀγωνίζεται, σκιαμαχεῖν μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως δόξαι, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἐναντίον κατασκευάζοντας λόγους εἰπεῖν, ἵνα δικαιοσύνη γενηθῆ κρίσις, μηδετέρου μέρους ἐξ ἐρήμου καταδικασθέντος. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτος καὶ δυνατώτατος οὗτος· εἰ τῷ μεθύνοντι οὐκ ἂν τις εὐλόγως λόγον ἀπόρρητον παρακατάθοιτο, <τῷ δὲ ἀστείῳ παρακατατίθεται>, οὐκ ἄρα μεθύει ὁ ἀστεῖος. ἀλλ' οὖν<sup>1</sup> πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆς συνείρειν, ἄμεινον καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν προτεινομένων ἀντιλέγειν, ἵνα μὴ μακρηγοροῦντες ἐπὶ πλέον
- 177 διοχλεῖν δοκῶμεν. φήσει δὴ τις ἐναντιούμενος, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα λόγον ὁ σοφὸς οὔτε μελαγχολήσει ποτέ οὔτε κοιμηθήσεται οὔτε συνόλως ἀποθανεῖται· ὧ δὲ μὴ συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον, ἄψυχόν ἐστιν ἢ θεῖον, ἄνθρωπος δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἶη τὸ παράπαν. τὴν γὰρ ἀγωγὴν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ λόγου μιμησάμενος ἐφαρμόσει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τῷ μελαγχολῶντι ἢ κοιμωμένῳ ἢ ἀποθνήσκοντι· οὐκ ἂν τις εὐλόγως λόγον ἀπόρρητον τῷ τοιοῦτῳ παρακατάθοιτο, τῷ δὲ σοφῷ εὐλόγως· οὐτ' ἄρα<sup>3</sup> μελαγχολᾷ οὔτε κοιμᾶται οὔτε ἀποθνήσκει ὁ σοφός.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀρ' οὖν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὴν παραγωγὴν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οὐ γὰρ.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 499.

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regarding those who are in the habit of losing their heads ; thus giving the go-by altogether to intoxication as an aspect of the subject. Thus we find in these men too the most explicit acknowledgement that drunkenness was suffering from the effects of wine. But there would be nothing amiss in a wise man quaffing wine freely on occasion : we shall not be wrong, then, in saying that he will get drunk.

But, since no one is registered as victor if he has no 175 antagonist, and anyone engaged in such a contest would naturally be considered rather to be fighting a shadow, we must needs mention the arguments maintaining the contrary, in order that a perfectly fair decision may be reached, neither side being condemned by default.

Of such argu- 176 ments the first and most weighty is this.<sup>a</sup> If one would not act reasonably in entrusting a secret to a drunken man, and does entrust secrets to a good man, it follows that a good man does not get drunk. Well now, instead of the whole series of arguments one after another, it will be better, as each is advanced, to answer it, that we may not seem tedious through making too long a story of it.

A man may 177 counter the arguments just mentioned by saying that according to it the wise man will never be melancholy, never fall asleep, in a word, never die. But he whom nothing of this sort befalls would be an inanimate thing or a Divine Being, certainly not a man. For reproducing the conduct of the argument, he will apply it in this way to the case of the melancholy or sleeping or dying man : No one would act reasonably in entrusting a secret to one in such case, but would act reasonably in doing so to a wise man : therefore a wise man never falls into melancholy, or goes to sleep, or dies.



ON DRUNKENNESS  
(DE EBRIETATE)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS treatise <sup>a</sup> like its two predecessors is founded on Gen. ix. 20-29, particularly the last words, "And (Noah) drank of the wine and was drunken." Philo, however, from the first breaks away from this text and, having discussed at the end of the *De Plantatione* the various philosophical views on drunkenness, proceeds to consider the views of Moses on the subject. He lays down that Moses uses wine as a symbol for five things : (1) foolishness or foolish talking ; (2) complete "insensibility" <sup>b</sup> ; (3) greediness <sup>c</sup> ; (4) cheerfulness and gladness ; (5) nakedness (1-5). He then gives a short introductory explanation of each of these, dwelling particularly on one aspect of

<sup>a</sup> Both Jerome and Eusebius state that there were two treatises *περι μέθης*. Whether ours is the second of them, the *De Plant.* being the first (or perhaps *De Plant.* 134-end together with what has evidently been lost at the end of that treatise) or ours is the first, and the second contained the discussion of *γυμνότης* (see note *b* on opposite page) is an open question. The general opinion is in favour of the latter alternative. Adler, however, in his *Studien zu Philon von Alexandria* has recently argued for the former.

<sup>b</sup> This word, though by no means wholly satisfactory, seems the best equivalent for *ἀναισθησία* with which Philo generally couples *παντελής*. Literally *ἀναισθησία* is the stupor of complete intoxication, but "stupor" is not appropriate when the *ἀναισθησία* is transferred to the moral or mental sphere.

<sup>c</sup> Presumably, in general, any insatiable desire. But Philo in his later treatment reduces it to *γαστριμαργία* or gluttony.

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“nakedness” as the truth which strips off all disguises from virtue and vice, and this leads to a short digression on the mutually exclusive nature of these two (6-10), a thought evidently suggested by Socrates’ fable of Pleasure and Pain in the *Phaedo*. He then proceeds to a detailed consideration of these five,<sup>a</sup> though as a matter of fact only the first three are treated in what has come down to us.<sup>b</sup>

I. First, “folly” or “foolish talking.” This with its digressions occupies from § 11 to § 153. Its chief cause is ἀπαίδευσία, that is defiance of or unsusceptibility to all educating influences (11-12). How abhorrent this is to Moses is shewn by the law in Deut. xxi. that the parents of a rebellious and profligate son must bring him for judgement before the elders. The development of this illustration occupies sections 13-98. This rebellious son, the type of the ἀπαίδευτος, has four charges brought against him by his parents, disobedience, contentiousness, “riotous feasting” and wine-bibbing (13-14). The two first are distinguished as being the one passive, the other active (15-19). In dealing with the third Philo ignores the derived meaning—riotous feasting—of the obscure

<sup>a</sup> The first three are clearly evil, while the fourth (gladness) is wholly good. As for “nakedness,” if the reading adopted in the text of § 4 is right, it is regarded as applicable to folly and ignorance and this will agree with *Leg. All.* ii. 54. On the other hand it is to be noted that the “causes” of nakedness in § 8 are either good or neutral.

<sup>b</sup> But not only does Philo promise to discuss all the five, but the opening words of *De Sobrietate* shew that there actually was such a discussion. Whether, however, “gladness” was treated at any length may be doubted. Philo may have passed it over rapidly, noting that while Moses used wine as a symbol for it, it could not be associated with drunkenness. Indeed there is a hint of such a view in § 223.

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word *συμβολοκοπεῖν* and confines himself to what he supposes to be the original meaning. Of the two elements of which it is compounded he takes the first *συμβολαί* to represent "contributions" or "combinations" for evil, while the other (*κόπτειν*) shews the "cutting" or destructive force of these contributions (20-24), against which we are warned in the words, "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil" (25). The fourth charge that he is "fired with wine" (*οἶνοφλυγεί*) represents a state in which the *ἀπαιδευσία* is inflaming the man's whole nature (27). That his natural protectors, his parents, should be his accusers is the just punishment of such a one (28-29). But "parents" means more than the literal father and mother. In one sense our father is God and our mother God's Wisdom, parents whose mercies and judgements alike are greater than we can receive (30-32). In another sense the father is "right reason" or philosophy, while the mother is custom, convention and secular education (33-34).<sup>a</sup> This idea Philo proceeds to develop (33-92) in what is, in spite of minor extravagances, a really fine allegory and does much to redeem the general inferiority of this treatise. These parents have four kinds of children, (1) and (2) those who obey one parent but not the other, (3) those who obey both, (4) those who obey neither (35). We first deal with those who disregard the father and love the mother, *i.e.* the votaries of convention. They are typified, first by Jethro here, as always in Philo, "the man of super-

<sup>a</sup> Philo's conception of the "Encyclia" here seems to differ somewhat from his general view. Usually they are to be valued as an introduction to the higher *παιδεία*, *i.e.* philosophy. Here they are mainly a training in the conventional life.



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fluity" or "unevenness" (36). The special sayings of his selected here are his advice to Moses on the conduct of his business in Exod. xviii. and his refusal to follow Israel in Num. x., and even his saying, "Now I know that the Lord is great above all gods" is turned to his discredit on the grounds that "now" should be "always" and that he still ascribes reality to non-existent gods (37-45). The second example of this class is Laban, the admirer, as always, of the material and external, but his special error is his saying "it is not our custom to give the younger (Rachel) before the elder (Leah)," for the younger daughter, the learning of the schools, should precede in time the elder, philosophy—and Jacob's reply to Laban is perversely construed to mean that he will never leave Leah (46-53). Some other texts are enlisted to shew the inferiority of the feminine element in mankind, as exemplified in Rachel, and her words about the "manner of women" in Gen. xxxi. (54-64), and we pass on to the next class, the father-lovers, the despisers of convention and followers of right reason only. These are especially represented by the Levites, who ignore and even as in Exod. xxxii. slay their kinsfolk and thus are murderers in the eyes of the conventional world, though not in the eyes of divine reason (65-67). The kinsfolk, etc., are interpreted to mean the body, the senses and rhetorical eloquence, all of which are sacrificed by the father-lover, and the final example of this class is Phinehas who slew the Midianitish woman (Num. xxv.) and whose story is interpreted in the same allegorical way with a short meditation on the rewards he received of "peace and priesthood" (73-76).

The class of those who reject both parents receives

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the appropriate denunciation (77-79) and we finally come to those who reverence both. Here we may be surprised to find that Philo after all regards this as the perfect way, in spite of his high praise of the pure philosopher (80-81). This obedience to both right reason and custom is held to deserve the name of Israel which supersedes that of Jacob (82-84), and Moses has approved this twofold excellence, in his institution of an external as well as an internal altar, and the two different robes for the priest. These robes are respectively simple and ornate, and the second shews us that life has many aspects (85-87). For true wisdom shews itself in various forms not only in religion, but also in the physical sciences, in ethics and politics and in social activities (88-92). That the two parents have other children besides the disobedient one is deduced from the phrase "this our son" and Philo takes various examples of such children from the great names of the Pentateuch (73-94).

Philo now once more denounces the wickedness of the disobedient son and compares him to the degenerate Israelites who worshipped the golden calf, and thus he is led to quote the words of Joshua on that occasion, "There is a voice of war in the camp . . ." And Moses' reply, "that the sounds are not those of victory or defeat, but those of the wine-feast of men who shout over the wine that I hear" (95-96). This quotation carries Philo away at once to a disquisition on its various phrases. "There is a voice in the camp" signifies the tumult of passion in the camp of human life (97-104), and some illustrations of this thought are given (97-104). "It is not the voice of might (or "victory")" suggests a comparison with the words of Abraham after his victory over the nine

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kings (*i.e.* the four passions and the five senses), and this involves an explanation of Abraham's refusal to accept reward from the King of Sodom, as the wise soul's refusal to accept from any but God and a rebuke to idolaters (105-110). Another song of victory is that of Moses over Pharaoh's host (111) and the "Song of the Well" in Num. xxi. (112-113) which in its turn leads to a discussion of the allegorical meaning of various phrases in the speech of the victorious captains in Num. xxxi., particularly of "each one gave what he had found" (114-120). The "voice of the defeated" is passed over rapidly as indicating weakness rather than wickedness, and contrasted with the voice of those who shout over (or "lead") the wine, which voice indicates the deliberate madness of evil (121-123). Thus we are brought back for a moment to the main thought of drunkenness as moral folly, and reminded that freedom from this is true priesthood (124-126). This was the inner meaning of the command to Aaron to abstain from wine when he approached the tabernacle or the altar (127-129). In the literal sense this is sound enough, for what can be worse than a drunken worshipper (130-131), but in the deeper sense the tabernacle is the "idea" of incorporeal virtue, and the altar that of the particular virtues, and to him who approaches either of these folly is not so much forbidden as impossible (132-139). Similar morals are drawn from the concluding words of the same passages (140-143), and also from Samuel's lifelong abstinence (143-144), and the mention of Samuel leads to some thoughts on the words of Hannah (*i.e.* Grace) to those who thought her drunk, "I have drunk no wine and I will pour out my soul before

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the Lord," in which we have a parable of the truth that the "joy" of grace is as the Bacchant's inspiration and that freedom from folly makes the soul a fitting libation to God (145-152). This concludes the discussion of drunkenness as spiritual folly produced by ἀπαιδευσία (153).

II. The second thing for which wine stood as a symbol was, we saw, "stupor" or "insensibility," and in the mental or moral sphere this is ignorance, which stands to the mind as blindness or deafness to the body, while knowledge is the eye and ear of the soul (154-161). But we must distinguish two kinds of ignorance, one mere non-knowledge, the other the belief that we know, when we do not (162-163). This last is represented by Lot with his wife, who is "Custom" ever looking back upon the past, and his two daughters who are "Deliberation" and "Assent." The statement that their daughters "gave their father wine to drink" means that the mind is hypnotized with the belief that it can by deliberation find out the truth and give a right judgment or assent, whereas in reality nothing of the sort is possible even to the educated <sup>a</sup> (164-168). The

<sup>a</sup> The sections which follow are very extraordinary. Philo seems to jettison his general dogmatic principles and to enrol himself in the school of the Sceptics. In fact he reproduces so clearly several of the "ten tropes" of the famous sceptic Aenesidemus, as given by Diogenes Laertius and Sextus Empiricus, that he enables the historians of philosophy to lay down a *terminus ad quem* for the date of that philosopher, of which, till the attention of scholars was called to these chapters, nothing more was known than that he must have preceded Diogenes and Sextus. It will be seen that in 193-202 he extends ἀκαταληψία or impossibility of apprehension to moral questions, and thus seems to overthrow the basis of his philosophy.

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fact that the same objects produce at different times different impressions on the mind shews that we cannot base certain judgements on these impressions (162-170). Philo then proceeds to enumerate the causes or rather "modes" of these uncertainties. The first is the difference in the habits and constitution of animals, which argues that they too receive different impressions from the same things, and with this he joins the changes which some of them, *e.g.* the chameleon and the elk, are supposed to exhibit in different environments (171-175). The second mode is the various feelings, likes and dislikes shewn by mankind, in which not only does one man differ from another, but even the individual from himself (175-180). The third mode is the optical illusions produced by the distances or situations of objects, such as "the straight staff bent in a pool" (181-183). The fourth is the observation that any two or more things, while remaining the same in substance, produce totally different results according to the proportions in which they are combined (184-185). The fifth is relativity, for since we only know one thing with reference to another, we cannot be said to know them at all (186-189). This is illustrated by the fact that colour, smell and the like are really the effect of the combination of something in the object with something in ourselves (190-191). Further, we are warned against forming moral judgements by the fact that on all such questions there is an infinite difference of opinion among various nations, states and individuals which forbids us to assert with certainty that any particular act is virtuous or not (192-197). Philo goes on to say that while he is not surprised that the vulgar should form positive judgements, he is sur-

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prised to find that philosophers can still be dogmatists and yet come to totally different opinions on vital questions, and he enumerates some of these, such as whether the universe is infinite or not, created or uncreated, ruled by providence or not, and whether morality is the only good or whether there are numerous goods (198-202). True indeed are the words of the text "he knew not when they (the daughters) slept and rose up," for both the counsels and the assents of the mind are utterly untrustworthy (203-205).

III. The third idea suggested by wine or drunkenness, viz. greediness or gluttony, is treated by Philo in a comparatively literal manner. Such allegory as there is is chiefly drawn from the story of Pharaoh in Genesis (Egypt as usual representing the body), who on his birthday was reconciled with his chief butler, thereby representing the tendency of the sated sensualist to return to his excesses as soon as possible (206-209). From the statement (in the LXX) that all the three officers of Pharaoh's table—the chief butler, the chief baker and the chief cook<sup>a</sup>—were eunuchs, he draws the lesson that the ministers of pleasure are incapable of begetting wisdom, and this is also implied in the banishment by Moses of eunuchs from the congregation (210-213). Further the prefix of "chief" applied in Genesis to these three indicates the gourmand's excessive indulgence as compared with simple living, and Philo takes the opportunity to give a rhetorical description of these refinements of luxury (214-220). Also it was the chief cupbearer (not the other two) with whom Pharaoh was reconciled, and this shews that the

<sup>a</sup> In the LXX Potiphar is called the "chief cook."

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passion for wine is the most persistent form which bodily indulgence takes (220-221). A text which he quotes in connexion with this from the Song of Moses, in which the phrase "the vine of Sodom" occurs, brings him back to the allegorical view of drunkenness as the symbol of folly in general. For the fool's "vine" or his foolish desires do not produce the gladness of true wine, but its roots are as ashes, and the treatise concludes with the prayer that our "vine" may be rather that of true and fruit-bearing instruction (222-end).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΘΗΣ

- [1.357] I. Τὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσόφοις εἰρημένα περὶ  
<sup>1</sup> μέθης, ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ὑπεμνήσαμεν  
 βίβλῳ, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνα τῶ πάντα μεγάλῳ  
 καὶ σοφῶ νομοθέτῃ περὶ αὐτῆς δοκεῖ. πολλαχοῦ  
<sup>2</sup> γὰρ τῆς νομοθεσίας οἴνου καὶ τοῦ γεννώντος φυτοῦ  
 τὸν οἶνον ἀμπέλου διαμέμνηται· καὶ τοῖς μὲν  
 ἐμπνέειν ἐπιτρέπει, τοῖς δ' οὐκ ἐφήσει, καὶ τοῖς  
 αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὅτε προστάττει τάναντία, οἴνω χρῆσθαι  
 τε καὶ μῆ. οὔτοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν μεγάλην  
 εὐχὴν εὐξάμενοι, οἷς δὲ ἀκράτῳ χρῆσθαι ἀπείρηται  
 οἱ λειτουργοῦντες ἱερεῖς, οἱ δὲ προσφερόμενοι τὸν  
 οἶνον μυρίοι τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ μάλιστα καὶ παρ' αὐτῶ  
 τεθραυμασμένων. πρὶν δὲ περὶ τούτων  
<sup>3</sup> ἄρξασθαι λέγειν, τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὰς κατα-  
 σκευὰς αὐτῶν ἀκριβωτέον. ἔστι δ' ὡς γ' οἶμαι  
 τάδε· II. σύμβολον τὸν ἄκρατον Μωυσῆς οὐχ  
<sup>4</sup> ἐνὸς ἀλλὰ πλειόνων εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦ ληρεῖν καὶ  
 παραπαίειν, ἀναισθησίας παντελοῦς, ἀπληστίας  
 ἀκορέστου καὶ δυσαρέστου, εὐθυμίας<sup>1</sup> καὶ εὐφρο-  
 σύνης, τῆς τᾶλλα περιεχούσης καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Wendland ἐπιθυμίας. In this case δυσαρέστου would agree with ἐπιθυμίας, and τῆς τᾶλλα περιεχούσης with εὐφροσύνης. See App. p. 500.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 500.



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I. The views expressed by the other philosophers 1 on drunkenness have been stated by me to the best of my ability in the preceding book. Let us now consider what the great lawgiver in his never-failing wisdom holds on this subject. In many places of 2 his legislation he mentions wine and the plant whose fruit it is—the vine. Some persons he permits, others he forbids, to drink of it, and sometimes he gives opposite orders,<sup>a</sup> at one time enjoining and at another prohibiting its use to the same persons. These last are those who have made the great vow (Num. vi. 2), while those who are forbidden the use of strong drink are the ministering priests (Lev. x. 9) ; while of persons who take wine there are numberless instances among those whom he too holds in the highest admiration for their virtue.

But before we begin to discuss these matters, we 3 must carefully investigate the points which bear on our exposition. These points, I think, are the following. II. Moses uses strong liquor as a symbol 4 for more than one, in fact for several, things : for foolish talking and raving, for complete insensibility, for insatiable and ever-discontented greediness, for cheerfulness and gladness, for the nakedness which embraces the rest and manifests itself in all the

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[358] εἰρημένοις ἐμφαινομένης γυμνότητος ἢ τὸν Νῶε |  
 μεθυσθέντα φησὶ χρήσασθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν οἶνον  
 5 λέγεται ταῦτα ἐργάζεσθαι. μυριοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐ  
 προσαψαμένων ἀκράτου νήφειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες  
 τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἀλίσκονται· καὶ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοὺς μὲν  
 αὐτῶν ἀφραίνοντάς τε καὶ ληροῦντας, τοὺς δ'  
 ἀναισθησία παντελεῖ κατεσχημένους, τοὺς δὲ  
 μηδέποτε πληρουμένους, αἰεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνηνύτων  
 διψῶντας διὰ χηρείαν ἐπιστήμης, τοὺς δ' ἔμπαλιν  
 γανουμένους καὶ εὐφραينوμένους, τοὺς δὲ τῷ ὄντι  
 6 γυμνουμένους. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ληρεῖν αἴτιον  
 ἢ ἐπιζήμιος ἀπαιδευσία—λέγω δ' οὐ τὴν παιδείας ἀν-  
 επιστημοσύνην, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀλλοτριώσιν—,  
 τοῦ δ' ἀναισθητεῖν ἢ ἐπίβουλος καὶ πηρὸς ἄγνοια,  
 ἀπληστίας δὲ ἢ ἀργαλεωτάτη παθῶν ψυχῆς ἐπι-  
 θυμία, εὐφροσύνης δὲ κτῆσις ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήσις  
 ἀρετῆς, γυμνότητος μέντοι πολλά, ἄγνοια τῶν  
 ἐναντίων, ἀκακία καὶ ἀφέλεια ἡθῶν, ἀλήθεια ἢ  
 τὰ τῶν συνεσκιασμένων πραγμάτων ἀνακαλυπτήρια  
 ἄγουσα δύναμις, τῇ μὲν ἀπαμπίσχουσα ἀρετὴν, τῇ  
 7 δὲ κακίαν ἐν μέρει· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ οἶον ἀπο-  
 δύσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐνσκευάσασθαι ταύτας δυνατόν·  
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ τις ἀπορρίψῃ τὴν ἑτέραν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀναλαβὼν ἐπαμπίσχεται.  
 8 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα φύσει μαχομένας,  
 ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, εἰς μίαν κορυφὴν συνάψας ὁ

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 54, where three kinds of nakedness are distinguished: (a) that of the soul stripped of passion, a state which to Philo is true joy; (b) foolishness, as in the case of Noah (60 f.); (c) ignorance of good and evil, as in Adam and Eve (64 f.).

<sup>b</sup> The two epithets are explained in §§ 150-163. Ignorance

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qualities just mentioned,<sup>a</sup> in which condition Noah was, we read, when intoxicated. All these we are told are produced by wine. Yet thousands of those 5 who never touch strong drink and consider themselves sober are mastered by similar emotions. We may see them in some cases mad and foolish, in others under the dominion of complete insensibility, in others never filled but always thirsting for impossibilities through lack of knowledge, or on the other hand full of gladness and exultation, finally in the true sense naked.

The folly is caused by 6 indiscipline in its noxious form, by which I mean not the mere unacquaintance with discipline but aversion to it; insensibility is caused by ignorance (always) blind and (often) with a will for evil<sup>b</sup>; greediness by that most painful of the soul's passions, lust; while gladness arises both from the winning and the practice of virtue. Nakedness has many causes: incapacity for distinguishing between moral opposites, innocence and simplicity of manners, truth, that is, the power which unveils<sup>c</sup> what is wrapped in obscurity. At one moment it is virtue that she uncovers, at another vice in its turn. For we cannot 7 doff both of these at the same moment any more than we can don them. When we discard the one we necessarily adopt and assume its opposite.

The old story<sup>d</sup> tells us that God when He fastened 8 the naturally conflicting sensations of pleasure and

is always blindness, but when under the delusion that it is knowledge it is actually mischievous (§ 163).

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "celebrating the unveiling" (of the bride), *v. Dict. of Ant.* ("Matrimonium").

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the fable suggested by Socrates (*Phaedo* 60 B) where we have much the same phrase as here, ἐκ μᾶς κορυφῆς συνημμένω δὲ θυτε, *v. note* (App.) on *De Gig.* 56.

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- θεὸς ἐκατέρας αἰσθησιν οὐκ ἐν ταυτῷ, διαλλάττουσι δὲ χρόνοις ἐνεργάσατο κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς ἐτέρας κάθοδον τῇ ἐναντία ψηφισάμενος, οὕτως ἀπὸ μιᾶς ρίζης τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τά τε ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας διττὰ ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνη μήτε βλαστάνοντα μήτε
- 9 καρποφοροῦντα ἐν ταυτῷ· ὁπότε μὲν γὰρ φυλλορροεῖ καὶ ἀφαναίνεται θάτερον, ἄρχεται ἀναβλαστάνειν καὶ χλοηφορεῖν τὸ ἐναντίον, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐκάτερον τῇ θατέρου δυσχεραῖνον εὐπραγία στέλλεται. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν φυσικώτατα<sup>1</sup> τὴν Ἰακώβ ἕξοδον εἰσοδον Ἰησαῦ παρίστησιν· “ἐγένετο” γάρ φησιν “ὅσον ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακώβ, ἦκεν
- 10 Ἰησαῦ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ.” μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ἐνσχολάζει καὶ ἐμπεριπατεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ φρόνησις, ὑπερόριος πᾶς ὁ ἀφροσύνης ἐταῖρος ἐκτετόξευται· ἐπειδὴν δὲ μεταναστῆ, γεγηθὼς κάτεισιν ἐκείνος, τῆς πολεμίου καὶ δυσμενοῦς δι' ἣν ἡλαύνετο καὶ ἐφυγαδεύετο μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον οἰκούσης.
- 11 III. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὡσανεὶ προοίμια τῆς γραφῆς ἀρκούντως λέλεκται, τὰς δ' ἀποδείξεις ἐκάστων προσαποδώσομεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου πρώτον ἀρξά-
- [359] μνοι διδάσκειν· τὴν τοίνυν ἀπαιδευσίαν <τοῦ> | ληρεῖν καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν αἰτίαν ἔφαμεν εἶναι καθάπερ
- 12 μυρίοις τῶν ἀφρόνων τὸν πολὺν ἄκρατον. ἀπαιδευσία γὰρ τῶν ψυχῆς ἀμαρτημάτων, εἰ δεῖ τὰληθῆς εἰπεῖν, τὸ ἀρχέκακον, ἀφ' ἧς ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ρέουσιν αἱ τοῦ βίου πράξεις, πότιμον μὲν καὶ σωτήριον οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ νᾶμα ἐκδιδοῦσαι<sup>2</sup> τὸ παράπαν, ἀλμυρὸν δὲ νόσου καὶ φθορᾶς τοῖς χρησομένοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φυσικωτάτην.

<sup>2</sup> Wendland ἐκδιδοῦσα with some MSS. See App. p. 500.

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pain under a single head, caused them to be felt at different times and not at the same moment, and thus decreed that the banishment of the one should involve the restoration of the other. Just in the same way, from a single root in our dominant part spring the two shoots of vice and virtue, yet never sprouting or bearing fruit at the same moment. For when one 9 sheds its leaves and withers, its opposite begins to exhibit new life and verdure, so that we might suppose that each shrinks and shrivels in resentment at the thriving of the other. And so it is in full agreement with philosophical truth that Moses represents the outgoing of Jacob as being the incoming of Esau. "It came to pass," he says, "that as soon as Jacob went out Esau his brother came in" (Gen. xxvii. 30).<sup>a</sup> For so long as prudence has its 10 lodging and scene of action in the soul, so long is every friend of folly an outcast from her borders. But when prudence has changed her quarters, the other returns with glee now that the bitter enemy, who caused his expulsion and life of exile, no longer dwells where he did.

III. So much then for what we may call the pre- 11 liminaries of our treatise. I will now proceed to the demonstration of each head beginning with the first. Well, we agreed that indiscipline was the cause of folly and error, as wine when taken in large quantities is to so many foolish persons. Indiscipline is 12 indeed the prime cause of the soul's errors, and from it as from a spring flow those actions of our lives which give to none any sweet and salutary stream, but only briny waters fraught with plague and destruction to those who use them.

<sup>a</sup> We have the same use of the text in *De Sac.* 135.

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- 13 αἴτιον. οὕτως γοῦν κατὰ ἀναγώγων καὶ ἀπαιδευτῶν ὁ νομοθέτης φονᾶ, ὡς κατ' οὐδενὸς ἴσως ἑτέρου. τεκμήριον δέ· τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ ἐπιτηδεύσει μᾶλλον ἢ φύσει σύμμαχοι παρά τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γένεσι τῶν ζώων; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μανεῖς ἑτέρουσ' ἂν εἴποι τις ἢ τοὺς τοκέας εἶναι· κήδεται γὰρ ἀδιδάκτω τῇ φύσει τὸ πεποιηκὸς αἰεὶ τοῦ γενομένου, καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ διαμονῆς τῆς εἰσάπαν πρόνοιαν ἔχει.
- 14 IV. τοὺς οὖν ἐκ φύσεως συναγωνιστὰς ὑπάρχοντας εἰς ἐχθρῶν μετελθεῖν τάξιν ἐσπούδασε κατηγοροῦς ἐπιστήσας τοὺς δεόντως ἂν συναγορεύοντας, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, ἢν' ὑφ' ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν σώζεσθαι μόνων παραπόλωνται. “ἐὰν γάρ τινι” φησὶν “υἱὸς ἢ ἀπειθῆς καὶ ἐρεθιστῆς οὐχ ὑπακούων φωνῆς πατρὸς καὶ μητρός, καὶ παιδεύωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ εἰσακούῃ αὐτῶν, συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἐξάξουσιν εἰς τὴν γερουσίαν τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐροῦσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν· ὁ υἱὸς ἡμῶν οὗτος ἀπειθεὶ καὶ ἐρεθίζει, οὐκ εἰσακούει τῆς φωνῆς ἡμῶν, συμβολοκοπῶν οἰνοφλυγεῖ. καὶ λιθοβολήσουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐξαρεῖς τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.”
- 15 οὐκοῦν αἱ κατηγορίαι ἀριθμῶ τέτταρες, ἀπειθεια καὶ ἐρεθισμὸς καὶ συμβολῶν εἰσφορὰ καὶ μέθη. μεγίστη δ' ἡ τελευταία παραύξησιν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀπειθείας λαβοῦσα· ἀρξαμένη γὰρ ἀφηνιάζειν ἡ

<sup>a</sup> Or “should be the sole workers of his ruin”; *μόνων* may perhaps be taken with both verbs.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 500.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. “paying of contributions.”

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 13-15

Thus it is against the untrained and undisciplined 13 more perhaps than against any other person that the lawgiver breathes slaughter. Here is our proof. Who play the part of protectors not so much by acquired habit as by nature amongst humankind and every other kind of animal? Surely it is the parents. Not even a madman would give a different answer. For nature ever instinctively prompts the maker to care for what he has made, and to take thought for its preservation and perpetual maintenance.

IV. Now when Moses set up those who would prop- 14  
erly plead the cause of an offender, namely his father and mother, to appear as his accusers, thus providing that those who might be expected to preserve him against all others should actually work his ruin,<sup>a</sup> he shewed his desire that these natural supporters should be converted into enemies. "For if anyone," he says, "has a disobedient and contentious son who does not listen to the voice of his father and mother, and they discipline him and he does not hearken to them, his father and mother shall take him and bring him forth to the assembly of the elders of his city and to the gate of his place, and shall say to the men of their city, 'This our son is disobedient and contentious, he does not listen to our voice, he is a riotous liver<sup>b</sup> and a wine-bibber,' and the men of the city shall stone him with stones and thou shalt remove the evil one from among yourselves" (Deut. xxi. 18-21).

We see then that the accusa- 15  
tions are four in number, disobedience, contentiousness, participation in riotous feasting<sup>c</sup> and drunkenness. But the last is the chief, rising to a climax from the first, disobedience. For when the soul has begun to cast off the reins and taken its onward

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ψυχὴ καὶ προελθοῦσα διὰ ἔριδος καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐπὶ ὕστατον ὄρον ἔρχεται, μέθην, τὴν ἐκστάσεως καὶ παραφροσύνης αἰτίαν. ἐκάστης δὲ τῶν κατηγοριῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἰδεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης λαβόντας.

- 16 V. Ἄνωμολόγηται τοῖνυν περιφανῶς, ὅτι τὸ εἶκειν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν ἀρετῇ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον, ὥστε τὸ ἀπειθεῖν ἔμπαλιν αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐ μετρίως ἀλυσιτελές· τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐρεθίζειν ὑπερβολὴν πᾶσαν κεχώρηκε τοῦ δεινοῦ· ὁ γὰρ ἀπειθῆς τοῦ φιλέριδος ἦττον μοχθηρὸς ἐστίν, ὁ μὲν αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν προσταττομένων ἀλογῶν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις
- 17 ἐγχειρεῖν σπουδῆν πεποιημένος. φέρει  
 δ' ὡς ἔχει τοῦτο θεασώμεθα· νόμου κελεύοντος, εἰ
- [360] τύχοι, τοὺς | γονεῖς τιμᾶν, ὁ μὲν μὴ τιμῶν ἀπειθῆς, ὁ δ' ἀτιμάζων φίλερις. καὶ πάλιν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν ὄντος δικαίου τὸν μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὄκνω χρώμενον ἀπειθῆ, τὸν δ' ἔτι καὶ προδιδόναι
- 18 διεγνωκότα δύσεριν καὶ φιλόνεικον λεκτέον. ὁ τε μὴ χαριζόμενός τιςιν ἐναντιούμενος τῷ φάσκοντι δεῖν ὠφελεῖν ἀπειθεῖ, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τῷ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ὅσα βλάβης ἐστὶν ἐμποιῶν ἔριδι ἐπαιρόμενος ἀνίατα ἐξαρματάνει. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε ἱεουργίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀναφέρεται μὴ χρώμενος ἀπειθεῖ προστάξεις, ἃς ὁ νόμος εἴωθε περὶ τούτων προστάττειν, ἀνερεθίζει δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦναντίον, ἀσέβειαν, ἀποκλίνας καὶ ἀθεότητος



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 15-1

course through strife and dissension, it reaches its utmost limit in drunkenness, which produces frenzy and madness. We must take these accusations one by one and observe their full meaning, beginning with the first.

V. We have it as a clear and admitted fact that 16 submission and obedience to virtue is noble and profitable, and the converse follows, that disobedience is disgraceful and in a high degree unprofitable. But if contentiousness is added to disobedience, it involves a vast increase of the evil. The disobedient man is not on so low a moral level as the quarrelsome and strife-loving man, since he merely disregards the commands he receives and nothing more, while the other takes active pains to carry out what is opposed to these commands.

Let us consider how 17 this shews itself. The law, to take one instance, bids us honour our parents; he then who does not honour them is disobedient, he who actively dishonours them is a strife-lover. Again, it is a righteous action to save one's country. He who shirks this particular duty is to be classed as disobedient, he who actually purposes to betray it as a man of strife and contention. So too one who fails to do a kind- 18 ness to his neighbour, in opposition to another who tells him that it is his duty to give help, is disobedient. But one who, besides withholding his kindness, works all the harm he can is moved by the spirit of strife to deadly error. And again the man who fails to make use of the holy rites and all else that relates to piety is disobedient to the commandments which law and custom regularly prescribe in these matters, but rebellious or strife-stirrer is the name for him who turns aside to their direct opposite, impiety, and

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- 19 εἰσηγητήης. VI. οἶος ἦν ὁ φάσκων  
 “ τίς ἐστὶν οὗ ὑπακούσομαι; ” καὶ πάλιν “ οὐκ οἶδα  
 τὸν κύριον ”· διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς προτέρας φωνῆς  
 παρίστησιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τὸ θεῖον, διὰ δὲ τῆς  
 ἔπειτα, ὅτι, εἰ καὶ ἔστιν, ἀλλά τοι ἀγνοεῖται, ὅπερ  
 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ προνοεῖν συνάγεται· εἰ γὰρ προῦνόει,  
 καὶ ἐγνώσκετο.
- 20 Συμβολάς γε μὴν καὶ ἐράνους φέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν  
 τῇ τοῦ ἀρίστου κτήματος μετουσίᾳ, φρονήσεως,  
 ἐπαινετὸν καὶ συμφέρον, ἔνεκα δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀκρο-  
 τάτου πάντων <κακοῦ>, ἀφροσύνης, ἀλυσιτελές
- 21 τε καὶ ψεκτόν. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον συμ-  
 βολαὶ πόθος ἀρετῆς, τῶν καλῶν ζῆλος, μελέται  
 συνεχεῖς, ἀσκήσεις ἐπίμονοι,<sup>1</sup> ἄρτυτοι καὶ ἀκμηῆτες  
 πόνοι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον ἀνεσις, ῥαθυμία,
- 22 τρυφή, θρύψις, παντελής ἐκδιαίτησις. ἰδεῖν μέντοι  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπαποδουμένους πολυοινία καὶ καθ’  
 ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γυμναζομένους καὶ ἀθλοῦντας  
 τοὺς ἐπ’ ἀπληστία γαστρὸς ἄθλους ἔστι συμβολὰς  
 μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τινι τῶν λυσιτελῶν εἰσφέροντας, ζημιου-  
 μένους δὲ πάντα, χρήματα, σώματα, ψυχὰς· τὰ  
 μὲν γὰρ εἰσφέροντες μειοῦσι τὴν οὐσίαν, τῶν δὲ  
 σωμάτων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον κατακλῶσι καὶ  
 θρύπτουσι τὰς δυνάμεις, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ποταμοῦ  
 χειμάρρου τρόπον ἀμετρία τροφῶν ἐπικλύζοντες
- 23 εἰς βυθὸν ἀναγκάζουσι δύεσθαι. τὸν  
 αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ὅσοι φέρουσιν ἐράνους ἐπὶ  
 καθαιρέσει παιδείας, τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 ζημιοῦσι, διάνοιαν, ἀποκόπτοντες αὐτῆς τὰ σωτήρια,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπίπονοι.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ who is it, whom I am to obey ? ”

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 500.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 19-23

becomes a leader in godlessness. VI. Such 19  
was he who said, "who is He that I should obey  
Him,"<sup>a</sup> and again, "I know not the Lord" (Exod.  
v. 2). In the first of these utterances he asserts that  
there is no God; in the second that even if there is a  
God he is not known to us, and this conclusion pre-  
supposes the assumption that there is no divine  
providence. For if there were such a thing as provi-  
dence, God too would be known.

As for contributions or club subscriptions, when 20  
the object is to share in the best of possessions, pru-  
dence, such payments are praiseworthy and profitable;  
but when they are paid to obtain that supreme evil,  
folly, the practice is unprofitable and blameworthy.  
We contribute to the former object by desire for 21  
virtue, by zeal for things noble, by continuous study  
therein, by persistent self-training, by unwearied and  
unflagging labour. We contribute to the opposite  
by slackness, indolence, luxury, effeminacy, and by  
complete irregularity of life.<sup>b</sup> We can see indeed 22  
people preparing themselves to compete in the arena  
of wine-bibbing and every day exercising themselves  
and contending in the contests of gluttony. The  
contributions they make are supposed to be for a  
profitable purpose, but they are actually mulcting  
themselves in everything, in money, body and soul.  
Their substance they diminish by the actual pay-  
ments, their bodily powers they shatter and enfeeble  
by the delicate living, and by excessive indulgence  
in food they deluge their souls as with a winter torrent  
and submerge them perforce in the depths.  
In just the same way those who pay their contri- 23  
butions only to destroy training and education are  
mulcting their most vital element, the understanding,

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φρόνησιν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. διό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ὀνόματι συνθέτω χρῆσθαι τῷ “συμβολοκοπῶν” πρὸς δήλωσιν ἐναργεστέραν τοῦ σημαινομένου, διότι τὰ κατὰ ἀρετῆς ἐπιχειρήματα ὡσπερ τινὰς συμβολὰς καὶ ἐράνους εἰσφέροντες τιτρώσκουσι καὶ διαιροῦσι καὶ συγκόπτουσι μέχρι παντελοῦς φθορᾶς τὰς φιληκόους καὶ φιλομαθεῖς ψυχάς. VII.

24 ὁ μὲν οὖν σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπανελθεῖν λέγεται “ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς τοῦ Χοδολλαγόμορ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ,” ὁ δ’ Ἀμαλήκ ἔμπαλιν τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ “τὴν οὐραγίαν κόπτειν” ἀκολουθία φύσεως· ἐχθρὰ [361] γὰρ | τὰ ἐναντία καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις ὄλεθρον αἰεὶ 25 μελετῶντα. τὸν δὲ κομίζοντα τὰς συμβολὰς καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστ’ ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναδικεῖν ἔγνωκεν ἐτέροις ἀξιῶν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς εἰσηγεῖσθαι, τὰ δ’ εἰσηγουμένων ἄλλων ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὅπως καὶ φύσει καὶ μαθήσει διαμαρτάνων μηδεμίαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ὑπολείπηται χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ταῦτα νόμου διειρηκότος “μὴ γίνεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν 26 ἐπὶ κακία.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πολύχουν μὲν καὶ πολυφορώτατον ἐν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς τὸ κακόν, ἐσταλμένον δὲ καὶ σπάνιον τὰγαθόν. παραίνεσις οὖν ὠφελιμωτάτη μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς, μεθ’ ὧν τὸ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀλίγοις, μεθ’ ὧν τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν, συμφέρεσθαι.

\* κοπή, “rout,” literally is “cutting.”

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 23-26

and cut away therefrom its safeguards, prudence and self-control, and indeed courage and justice to boot. It was for this reason, I think, that Moses himself used a compound word, "contribution cutting," to bring out more clearly the nature of the thing he was describing, because when men bring their efforts like contributions or club-money, so to speak, to bear against virtue, they wound and divide and cut in pieces docile and knowledge-loving souls, till they bring them to utter destruction. VII.

Thus we read that the wise Abraham returned from 24 the "cutting"<sup>a</sup> of Chedorlaomer and his fellow kings (Gen. xiv. 17), while on the other hand Amalek "cuts the rearguard" of the Practiser (Deut. xxv. 18). Both these are in accordance with natural truth, for there is a hostility between opposites and they are always meditating destruction of each other.

There is another charge, and that the greatest, which 25 could be brought against the provider of the contributions. He purposes not only to wrong, but to join with others in wrongdoing. He consents to initiate evil himself, and also to comply with what others initiate, that thus he may leave himself no ray of hope that may serve for his redemption, since his sin lies both in his nature and in what he has learnt from others. And this in spite of the direct injunction of the law, not "to go with the many to do evil" (Exod. xxiii. 2). For in very truth manifold 26 are the aspects and the products of evil in men's souls, while the good is narrowly confined and scanty. And so most excellent is the advice that we should not keep company with the many but with the few; for wrongdoing is the associate of the former, but right action of the latter.

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- 27 VIII. Τέταρτον τοίνυν καὶ μέγιστον ἔγκλημα ἦν τὸ μεθύειν, οὐκ ἀνειμένως, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα συντόνως· τὸ γὰρ οἰνοφλυγεῖν ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ τὸ παραίτιον ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον, ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἐντύφεσθαι καὶ ἀνακαίεσθαι καὶ ἀναφλέγεσθαι μηδέποτε σβεσθῆναι δυναμένην, ἀλλ' ὅλην δι' ὄλων αἰεὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμπιπρᾶσάν τε καὶ πυρπολοῦσαν.
- 28 εἰκότως οὖν ἔψεται δίκη πάντα μοχθηρὸν τρόπον ἐκκαθαίρουσα διανοίας· λέγεται γὰρ “ἐξαρεῖς τὸν πονηρόν,” οὐκ ἐκ πόλεως ἢ χώρας ἢ ἔθνους, ἀλλ' “ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν”· ἡμῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσι καὶ ἐμφωλεύουσιν οἱ ὑπαίτιοι καὶ ἐπίληπτοι λογισμοί, οὓς, ὅποτε ἀνιάτως ἔχοιεν, ἀποκόπτειν
- 29 καὶ διαφθεῖρειν ἀναγκαῖον. τὸν οὖν ἀπειθῆ καὶ φίλεριν καὶ λόγων πιθανότητος ὥσπερ τινὰς συμβολὰς καὶ ἐράνους ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ καλοῦ πορίζοντα καὶ ἀκράτῳ φλεγόμενον καὶ καταμεθύοντα ἀρετῆς καὶ παροινίας ἐκτόπους<sup>1</sup> εἰς αὐτὴν παροινοῦντα δίκαιον ἦν κατηγοροῦς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλοις συμμάχους λαβεῖν, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, <φθορὰν> δὲ ἐνδέξασθαι παντελεῆ πρὸς νουθεσίαν καὶ σωφρονισμόν τῶν οἶων τε σώζεσθαι.
- 30 Πατρός δὲ καὶ μητρός κοινὰ μὲν αἱ κλήσεις, διάφοροι δ' αἱ δυνάμεις. τὸν γοῦν τότε τὸ πᾶν ἐργασάμενον δημιουργὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ γεγονότος εὐθύς ἐν δίκῃ φήσομεν, μητέρα δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκτόπως.

<sup>a</sup> Philo connects -φλυγεῖν with φλέγω, though the word is rather to be connected with φλύξω, “bubble.”

<sup>b</sup> Philo has in mind the (unquoted) conclusion of Deut. xxi. 21, “and the rest when they hear it shall fear.” Cf. also *S.V.F.* ii. 1175, where the Stoic idea of punishment as a deterrent of others is brought out.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 27-30

VIII. The fourth and greatest charge was that of 27  
drunkenness—and drunkenness not of the milder  
but of the most intense sort. For the phrase here  
used, “fired with wine,” <sup>a</sup> is as much as to say that  
the poison which causes folly, indiscipline, smoulders  
within the man, then bursts into fire and flame  
impossible to quench, and consumes the soul through  
its whole being with the conflagration. Naturally, 28  
therefore, will punishment follow, purging every base  
tendency out of the mind. For it says, “thou shalt  
remove the evil one,” not out of a city or a country  
or a nation but “out of yourselves” (Deut. xxi. 21).  
For it is in ourselves that the vicious and culpable  
thoughts exist and have their lair, thoughts which we  
must cut away and destroy when their state is in-  
curable.

We see then this man as dis- 29  
obedient, as strife-loving, as providing in the form of  
persuasive arguments “contributions” and “club-  
money” for the subversion of morality, and finally  
inflamed with strong drink and making drunken  
assaults on virtue and directing his monstrous orgies  
against her. Surely it were just that such a one as  
he should find his accusers in those in whom others  
find their allies, namely in his father and mother,  
and be visited with complete destruction, to admonish  
and bring to their senses those who can be saved.<sup>b</sup>

Now “father and mother” is a phrase which can 30  
bear different meanings.<sup>c</sup> For instance we should  
rightly say and without further question that the  
Architect who made this universe was at the same  
time the father of what was thus born, whilst its  
mother was the knowledge possessed by its Maker.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “the titles are common but the meanings different.”  
See App. p. 500.

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- τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμην, ἣ συνῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρε γένεσιν. ἡ δὲ παραδεξαμένη τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σπέρματα τελεσφόροις ᾠδίσι [362] τὸν μόνον καὶ ἀγαπητὸν αἰσθητὸν υἱὸν | ἀπεκύησε,
- 31 τόνδε τὸν κόσμον. εἰσάγεται γοῦν παρά τινι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θείου χοροῦ ἢ σοφία περὶ αὐτῆς λέγουσα τὸν τρόπον τούτον· “ὁ θεὸς ἐκτήσατό με πρωτίστην τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με.” ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τιθῆνης τῶν ὄλων πάνθ’ ὅσα εἰς γένεσιν ἦλθεν εἶναι νεώτερα.
- 32 IX. τούτων οὖν τῶν γονέων τίς ἱκανὸς ὑποστήναι κατηγορίαν; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μετρίαν ἀπειλὴν ἢ ἐλαφροτάτην κατάμεμψιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν δωρεῶν ἱκανὸς οὐδεὶς χωρῆσαι τὸ ἄφθονον πλῆθος, ἴσως δὲ οὐδ’ ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλ’ οἷα βραχεῖα δεξαμένη μεγάλης ἐπιρρεούσης τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων πηγῆς τάχιστα ἀποπληρωθήσεται, ὡς ἀναβλύσαι τε καὶ ὑπερεκχεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀδυνατοῦμεν δέχεσθαι, τὰς κολαστηρίους δυνάμεις πῶς ἐπι-
- 33 φερομένας οἴσομεν; τοὺς μὲν δὴ τοῦ παντὸς γονεῖς ὑπεξαιρετέον τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, τοὺς δὲ φοιτητὰς καὶ γνωρίμους αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰληχότας ψυχῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἀνάγωγοι καὶ ἄμουσοι, νῦν ἐπισκεψώμεθα. πατέρα τοίνυν εἶναί φαμεν τὸν ἄρρενα καὶ τέλειον καὶ ὀρθὸν λόγον, μητέρα δὲ τὴν μέσσην<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐγκύκλιον χορείαν τε καὶ παιδείαν· οἷς καλὸν καὶ
- 34 συμφέρον ὡς ἂν ἔκγονον τοκεῦσι πείθεσθαι. τοῦ μὲν οὖν πατρός, ὀρθοῦ λόγου, παράγγελμα ἔπεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἴσην.

<sup>a</sup> Because there is another son not αἰσθητός, i.e. the νοητός κόσμος, cf. *Quod Deus* 31.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 501.



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 30-34

With His knowledge God had union, not as men have it, and begat created being. And knowledge, having received the divine seed, when her travail was consummated bore the only beloved son who is apprehended by the senses,<sup>a</sup> the world which we see. Thus 31 in the pages of one of the inspired company, wisdom is represented as speaking of herself after this manner : " God obtained <sup>b</sup> me first of all his works and founded me before the ages " (Prov. viii. 22). True, for it was necessary that all that came to the birth of creation should be younger than the mother and nurse of the All. IX. If *these* parents accuse, who 32 is able to withstand their accusation, or even a mild threat or the lightest chiding? Why, even their gifts are so boundless in number that no one, not even, one may say, the world, can contain them, but like some small cistern it will quickly be filled to the brim by the influx from the fountain of God's gracious boons, and discharge the rest in an overflow. And if we are unable to contain their benefits. how shall we endure the visitation of their powers to chastise? But in the present discussion, 33 we must leave out of consideration the parents of the universe, and rather turn our eyes to the disciples, who have followed in their company,<sup>b</sup> to whom has been committed the care and guidance of such souls as are not without training or incapable of culture. I suggest, then, that the father is reason, masculine, perfect, right reason and the mother the lower learning of the schools, with its regular course or round of instruction. These two stand to us in the relation of parents to children, and it is good and profitable to obey them.

Now right reason, the father, bids us follow in the 34

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- καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ φύσει γυμνὴν καὶ ἀπημφια-  
 σμένην ἀλήθειαν μεταδιώκοντας, παιδείας δέ, τῆς  
 μητρὸς, θέσει δικαίοις προσέχειν, ἃ κατὰ πόλεις  
 καὶ ἔθνη καὶ χώρας ἔθεντο οἱ πρῶτοι δόκησιν  
 35 πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀσπασάμενοι. τοῖς γονεῦσι τούτοις  
 τέτταρες παίδων εἰσὶ τάξεις, ἡ μὲν ἀμφοτέροις  
 καταπειθῆς, ἡ δ' οὐδετέρῳ προσέχουσα, ἐναντία  
 τῇ προτέρα· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἡμιτελῆς ἑκατέρα, ἡ  
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν φιλοπάτωρ σφόδρα γεγонуῖα τῷ  
 μὲν προσέχει, μητρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπισκήψεων<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς  
 ἀλογεῖ, ἡ δ' ἔμπαλιν φιλομήτωρ εἶναι δοκοῦσα τῇ  
 μὲν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖ, τῶν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἠκιστα  
 φροντίζει. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη τὰ κατὰ πάντων  
 ἄθλα οἴσεται νικητήρια, ἡ δ' ἀντίπαλος ἦταν ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ φθορὰν ἀναδέξεται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἑκατέρα, ἡ  
 μὲν δευτερείων, ἡ δὲ τρίτων ἄθλων μεταποιήσεται,  
 δευτερείων μὲν ἡ πειθαρχοῦσα πατρί, τρίτων δ' ἡ  
 τῇ μητρί.
- 36 X. Τῆς μὲν οὖν φιλομήτορος ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν  
 δόξαις ὑπεικούσης καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολυτρόπους τοῦ  
 βίου ζηλώσεις παντοδαπὰς μεταβαλλούσης ἰδέας |  
 [363] Αἰγυπτίου Πρωτέως τὸν τρόπον, ὃς τῷ πάνθ' ὅσα  
 ἐν τῷ παντὶ πεφυκέναι γίνεσθαι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀδηλού-  
 μενον ἔσχεν εἶδος, τύπος ἐναργέστατος Ἰοθόρ,  
 πλάσμα τύφου, πρὸς πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν συγκλύδων  
 καὶ μιγάδων ἀνθρώπων κεναῖς αἰωρουμένων δόξαις  
 37 μάλιστα ἀρμόττων. Μωυσέως γὰρ τοῦ σοφοῦ  
 τὸν λέων ἅπαντα τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ  
 τιμὴν θεοῦ μετακαλοῦντος καὶ τὰς τε προστάξεις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπισκέψεων.

<sup>a</sup> Or "opinion."

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 501.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 34-37

steps of nature and pursue truth in her naked and undisguised form. Education, the mother, bids us give ear to rules laid down by human ordinance, rules which have been made in different cities and countries and nations by those who first embraced the apparent <sup>a</sup> in preference to the true. These <sup>35</sup> parents have four classes of children. The first is obedient to both ; the second is the direct opposite, and gives heed to neither, while each of the other two lacks its half. One of them is heartily devoted to the father and gives ear to him, but disregards the mother and her injunctions. The other, on the contrary, appears devoted to the mother, and serves her in every way, but pays no heed to the words of the father. Of these four the first will carry off the palm of victory over all comers, while the second its opposite will receive defeat accompanied by destruction. Each of the others will claim a prize, one the second, the other the third ; the second belongs to the class which obeys the father, the third to the class which obeys the mother.

X. <sup>b</sup> This last kind which loves the mother, which <sup>36</sup> bows down to the opinions of the multitude and undergoes all manner of transformations in conformity with the ever-varying aspirations of human life, like the Egyptian Proteus, whose true form remained a matter of uncertainty through his power to become everything in the universe, is most clearly typified by Jethro. Jethro is a compound of vanity, closely corresponding with a city or commonwealth peopled by a promiscuous horde, who swing to and fro as their idle opinions carry them. See how he deals <sup>37</sup> with Moses. He in his wisdom was recalling the whole people of the soul to piety and to honouring

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καὶ τοὺς ἱερωτάτους νόμους ἀναδιδάσκοντος—  
 φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι “ἐπειδὰν γένηται αὐτοῖς ἀντιλογία  
 καὶ ἔλθωσι πρὸς μέ, διακρίνω ἕκαστον καὶ συμ-  
 βιβάζω τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον  
 αὐτοῦ”—, παρελθὼν ὁ δοκησίσοφος Ἰοθόρ, τῶν  
 μὲν θείων ἀμύητος ἀγαθῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρωπίους  
 καὶ φθαρτοῖς μάλιστ’ ἐνωμιληκῶς δημαγωγεῖ καὶ  
 νόμους ἐναντίους τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀναγράφει, πρὸς  
 τὸ δοκεῖν ἀφορῶν ἐκείνων ἀναφερομένων πρὸς τὸ  
 38 εἶναι. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον ἐλεήσας καὶ οἰκτισά-  
 μενος τοῦ πολλοῦ πλάνου μεταδιδάσκειν οἶεται δεῖν  
 καὶ ἀναπεῖθαι ἀποστήναι μὲν τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν,  
 39 ἀκολουθῆσαι δὲ παγίως τῷ ἀληθεῖ. “ἐξάραντες,”  
 γάρ φησιν, ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀποκόψαντες τῆς διανοίας  
 τὸν κενὸν τύφον μετανιστάμεθα εἰς τὸν ἐπιστήμης  
 τόπον, ὃν χρησιμοῖς καὶ ὁμολογίαις θείαις λαμ-  
 βάνομεν. “ἴθι δὴ μεθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ εὖ σε ποιήσομεν.”  
 ἀποβαλεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὴν βλαβερωτάτην δόκησιν,  
 40 κτήσῃ δὲ τὴν ὠφελιμωτάτην ἀλήθειαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 τοιαῦτα κατεπασθεῖς ἀλογήσει τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ  
 ἐπιστήμη μὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἔψεται, ἀναχωρήσει  
 δὲ καὶ ἀναδραμεῖται πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον καὶ κενὸν τύφον·  
 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· “οὐ πορεύσομαι  
 ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν γῆν μου καὶ τὴν γενεάν μου,” τουτέστι  
 τὴν συγγενῇ ψευδοδοξοῦσαν<sup>1</sup> ἀπιστίαν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν  
 ἀληθεύουσαν<sup>1</sup> ἀνδράσι φίλην πίστιν οὐκ ἔμαθε.  
 41 **XI.** καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἐπίδειξιν εὐσεβείας  
 βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι λέγῃ· “νῦν ἔγνω ὅτι μέγας

<sup>1</sup> Or ψευδοδοξοῦσιν . . . ἀληθεύουσιν (Adler).

<sup>a</sup> The LXX has ἐξαίρομεν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶπε Κύριος, where ἐξαίρω, as often, is used intransitively. Philo, however, 338

God, and was teaching them the commandments and holy laws. His words are, "when they have a dispute and come to me, I judge between each of them and instruct them in the commandments of God and His law" (Exod. xviii. 16). And then comes forward Jethro the seeming wise, who has never learnt the secrets of the divine blessings, but his concern has been with little else than things human and corruptible. He plays the demagogue, and the laws which he lays down contradict the laws of nature; for his eyes are fixed on semblance, while they relate to real existence. Yet even on him Moses has com- 38  
 passion, and pities him for his great delusion; he feels that he should teach him a better lesson, and persuade him to depart from his empty opinions and follow truth stedfastly. We have "removed,"<sup>a</sup> he 39  
 says in effect, and excised from the mind its empty vanity and are passing over to the place of knowledge, which is ours through the oracles and promises of God. "Come with us and we will do thee good" (Num. x. 29). For you will lose the most harmful of evils, mere seeming, and gain the most profitable of blessings, truth. But even to words of such charm 40  
 as these Jethro will pay no heed, nor ever follow knowledge in any way, but will hasten to return to the empty vanity which is indeed his own. For we read that he said to Moses, "I will not go, but I will go to my land and my generation" (Num. x. 30); that is, to the unfaith of false opinion which is his kinsman, since he has not learnt the true faith, so dear to real men. XI. For when he 41  
 wishes to make a shew of piety and says "now I  
 for his allegory uses it transitively. The English "remove" gives the double usage.

## PHILO

κύριος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς," ἀσέβειαν παρὰ  
δικάζειν ἐπισταμένοις ἀνδράσιν ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ.  
42 φήσουσι γὰρ αὐτῷ· νῦν ἔγνωσ, ἀνόσιε, πρότερον  
δ' οὐκ ἠπίστασο τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ παντός<sup>1</sup> ἡγεμόνος;  
ἦν γάρ τι πρεσβύτερον θεοῦ, ᾧ προεντετύχηκας;  
ἢ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις οὐχ αἱ τῶν γονέων ἀρεταὶ πρό τῶν  
ἄλλων ἅπαξ ἀπάντων γνώριμοι; τοῦ δὲ παντός  
οὐκ ἄρα ἀρχηγέτης ὁ κτίστης καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ;  
ὥστ' εἰ νῦν ἐγνωκέναι φῆς σύ, οὐδὲ νῦν ἔγνωκας,  
43 ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀρχῆς. ἐλέγχῃ δ' οὐδὲν  
ἦττον ἐπιμορφάζων, ὅταν συγκρίνης τὰ ἀσύγκριτα  
καὶ λέγῃς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς τὸ μεγαλεῖον  
τοῦ ὄντος ἐγνωκέναι· εἰ γὰρ ἦδεις ἀληθεία τὸ ὄν,  
οὐδένα ἂν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέλαβες εἶναι θεὸν αὐτεξού-  
44 σιον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀνατείλας ὁ ἥλιος ἀποκρύπτει |  
[364] τοὺς ἀστέρας τῶν ἡμετέρων ὄψεων ἀθρόον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ  
καταχέας φέγγος, οὕτως ὅταν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμματι  
ἀμιγεῖς καὶ καθαρῶταται καὶ τηλαυγέσταται τοῦ  
φωσφόρου θεοῦ νοηταὶ ἐναστράψωσιν ἀυγαί, κατιδεῖν  
οὐδὲν ἕτερον δύναται· ἐπιλάμψασα γὰρ ἢ τοῦ ὄντος  
ἐπιστήμη πάντα περιαυγάζει, ὡς καὶ τοῖς λαμπρο-  
τάτοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἐπισκοτεῖν. θεοῖς  
45 οὖν τοῖς ψευδωνύμοις οὐκ ἂν τις τὸν<sup>2</sup> ἀληθῆ θεὸν  
συγκρίνειν ὑπέμενε, εἴπερ ἀψευδῶς ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτόν·  
ἀλλ' ἢ ἀνεπιστημοσύνη τοῦ ἐνόσ τὴν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὡς ὑπ-  
άρχουσι, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ οὔσι, δόξαν εἰργάσατο.

<sup>1</sup> παντός is suspected on the grounds that while Philo often uses πάντων without the article, he regularly uses it with the singular. Perhaps read πάντων ἡγεμόνος, or πανηγεμόνος, or τοῦ τοῦ παντός ἡγεμόνος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πιστόν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 501.

<sup>b</sup> Or "notwithstanding (all your professions)"; cf. the use of οὐχ ἦττον in § 64 and § 195.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 41-45

know that the Lord is great beyond all the gods" (Exod. xviii. 11), he does but charge himself with impiety in the eyes of men who knew how to judge. They will say to him " Blasphemer ! is it now that 42 you know this, and have you never till now understood the greatness of the ruler of all ? Did your past experience shew you anything more ancient or more venerable than God ? Are not the excellences of the parents known to the children, before those of any others ? Is not the Maker and Father of the Universe He who presided at its beginning ?<sup>a</sup> So if you say that you now know, not even now have you true knowledge, since it does not date from the beginning of your own existence. And you stand no less <sup>b</sup> con- 43 victed of mere feigning, when you compare two incomparables, and say that you know that the greatness of the Existent is beyond all the Gods. For if you had true knowledge of that which IS, you would not have supposed that any other god had power of his own." The sun when it rises hides from our sight 44 the light of the other stars by pouring upon them the flood of its own beams ; even so, when the rays of the Divine Day-star, rays visible to the mind only, pure from all defiling mixture and piercing to the furthest distance, flash upon the eye of the soul, it can descry nothing else. For when the knowledge of the Existent shines, it wraps everything in light, and thus renders invisible even bodies which seemed brightest in themselves. No one, then, could have the boldness 45 to compare the true God with those falsely so called, if he had any knowledge of Him which was free from falsehood. But your ignorance of the One produced your opinion of the existence of the Many whereas in real truth they had no existence.

## PHILO

- 46 XII. τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεώς ἐστι πᾶς, ὅτω τὰ μὲν ψυχῆς ἀπέγνωσται, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμά τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐκτὸς χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασι πεποικιλμένα πρὸς ἀπάτην αἰσθήσεως εὐπαραγώγου θαυμάζεται.
- 47 καλεῖ δὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον ὁ νομοθέτης Λάβαν, ὃς τοὺς ἀληθεῖς τῆς φύσεως νόμους οὐ κατιδὼν ψευδο-γραφεῖ τοὺς παρὰ ἀνθρώποις φάσκων· “οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἡμῶν, δοῦναι τὴν νεωτέραν
- 48 πρὶν ἢ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν.” οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐν χρόνοις τάξιν φυλάττειν οἴεται δεῖν, τὰ πρεσβύτερα πρότερον καὶ τὰ νεώτερα αὖθις εἰς κοινωνίαν ἄγεσθαι δικαίων. ὁ δὲ σοφίας ἀσκητῆς εἰδὼς καὶ φύσεις ἀχρόνους ὑπαρχούσας ἐφίεται καὶ νεωτέρων προτέρων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ὑστέρων.
- ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡθοποιὸν λόγον ἑαυτῷ συναδόντα· τοῖς γὰρ ἀσκηταῖς ἀνάγκη πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν τῇ νεωτέρᾳ παιδείᾳ, ἵνα τῆς τελειοτέρας αὖθις ἀπ-
- 49 ὄνασθαι βεβαίως δυνηθῶσι. παρὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ καλοκάγαθίας ἐρασταὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἀφικνοῦνται θύρας φιλοσοφίας, πρὶν ἢ ταῖς νεωτέραις ἐντυχεῖν, γραμματικῇ καὶ γεω-μετρῖᾳ καὶ τῇ συμπάσῃ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μουσικῇ· αὗται γὰρ σοφίαν τοῖς ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς μνω-
- 50 μένοις αἰεὶ προξενούσιν. ὁ δ' ἀντισοφίζεται βουλό-μενος τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἡμᾶς ἀγαγέσθαι προτέραν, οὐχ ἵνα βεβαίως ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς τῆς νεω-τέρας φίλτροις δελεασθέντες αὖθις τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνη
- 51 πόθον ἐκλύσωμεν. XIII. καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτο συν-έβη πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνοδία πρὸς παιδείαν χρησα-μένων. ἔτι γάρ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπαρ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. σώματα.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 501.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 502.



XII. The same creed and rule is followed by every- 46  
 one who has rejected the things of the soul and set  
 his admiration on the things of the body, and outside  
 the body, with shapes and colours rife, decked out to  
 deceive the senses which are so easily seduced. Such 47  
 a one is called by the lawgiver Laban, who, being  
 blind to the true laws of nature, proclaims with false  
 lips man-made law. "It is not so in our place," he  
 says, "to give the younger in marriage before the  
 elder" (Gen. xxix. 26). For Laban thinks that he 48  
 should maintain the order of time. He holds that  
 older things should first be taken into our company,  
 and younger things only later. But the Practiser  
 of Wisdom, knowing that the timeless also exists in  
 nature,<sup>a</sup> desires what is younger first and the elder  
 afterwards.

And the laws of human char-  
 acter<sup>a</sup> as well as of nature agree with him in this ;  
 for Men of Practice must first take up with the  
 younger culture, that afterwards they may be able  
 to have secure enjoyment of that which is more  
 perfect. And therefore to this day the lovers of true 49  
 nobility do not attend at the door of the elder sister,  
 philosophy, till they have taken knowledge of the  
 younger sisters, grammar and geometry and the  
 whole range of the school culture. For these ever  
 secure the favours of wisdom to those who woo her in  
 guilelessness and sincerity. But Laban with his so- 50  
 phistry will have it otherwise, and wishes us to wed  
 the elder first, not that we may possess her in security,  
 but that afterwards snared by the love-charms of the  
 younger sister, we may abandon our desire of the elder.

XIII. <sup>b</sup>And this or something very like it happens 51  
 to many who have left the right path <sup>b</sup> in their search  
 for culture. For from the very cradle, we may say,

## PHILO

γάνων πρὸς τελειότατον ἐπιτήδευμα, φιλοσοφίαν, ἔλθόντες, ἀμύητοι τῶν ἐγκυκλίων εἰσάπαν οὐ δικαιοῦσαντες γενέσθαι ὄψε καὶ μόλις αὐτῶν ἄψασθαι διενοήθησαν. κᾶπειτα ἀπὸ τῆς μείζονος καὶ πρεσβυτέρας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ νεωτέρων θέαν καταβάντες ἐνεγῆρασαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς μηκέτ' ἀναδραμεῖν ὅθεν ὠρμησαν ἰσχύσαι.

- 52  
 [365] διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαί φησι. “ συντέλεσον τὰ ἑβδομα ταύτης,” ἵσον τῷ | μὴ ἀτελεύτητον ἔστω σοι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὄρον ἐχέτω καὶ πέρας, ἵνα καὶ τῇ νεωτέρα τάξει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐντύχῃς, ἣν σώματος κάλλος καὶ δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος  
 53 καὶ τὰ ὁμοιότροπα κεκλήρωται. ὁ δὲ συντελέσει μὲν οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖται, “ ἀναπληρώσειν” δ' αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖ, τουτέστι μηδέποτε ἐπιλείψει τὰ πρὸς αὔξησιν καὶ συμπλήρωσιν αὐτῆς ἐπιτηδεύων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ περιέξασθαι,<sup>1</sup> κἂν μυρία τὰ  
 54 ἀντισπῶντα καὶ ἀνθέλκοντα ἦ. πάνυ δ' ἐκδήλως τὸ τὰ ἔθνη γυναιξὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι δοκεῖ μοι παρίστασθαι διὰ τῶν Ῥαχὴλ τῆς μόνα τὰ αἰσθητὰ θαυμαζούσης λόγων· φησὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτῆς· “ μὴ βαρέως φέρε, κύριε· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστῆναι ἐνώπιόν σου, ὅτι τὰ κατ' ἐθισμόν τῶν γυναικῶν μοί ἐστιν.”  
 55 οὐκοῦν γυναικῶν ἴδιον τὸ ἔθεσι πείθεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἀσθενεστέρας καὶ θηλυτέρας ψυχῆς τὸ ἔθος· ἀνδρῶν γάρ τοι ἡ φύσις, καὶ ἐρρωμένον καὶ ἄρρενος ὡς ἀληθῶς λογισμοῦ ἔπεσθαι φύσει.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περιέσσεσθαι.

they betake themselves to the most perfect of studies, philosophy, and afterwards deeming it wrong that they should have no tincture at all of the school subjects, bethink themselves to make a belated and painful effort to grasp them. And then having made their descent from the greater and older branch, philosophy, to the contemplation of the lesser and younger branches, they grow old in their company and thus lose all power of retracing their course to the place from which they started. And 52 this, I think, is why Laban says, "bring to a consummation her week" (Gen. xxix. 27), meaning "let not the true good of the soul be thine unendingly, but let it have its term and limit, that so you may keep company with the younger order of goods in which are classed bodily beauty and glory and riches and the like." But Jacob does not promise to bring 53 her to a consummation, but agrees to "fulfil" (Gen. xxix. 28) her, that is never to cease pursuing what tends to her growth and completeness and always and everywhere to cleave to her, however great be the host of influences which draw and pull him in the opposite direction. That the rule of 54 custom is followed by women more than men is, I think, quite clearly shewn by the words of Rachel, who looks with admiration only on that which is perceived by the senses. For she says to her father, "Be not wroth, sir; I cannot rise before thee, because the custom of women is upon me" (Gen. xxxi. 35). So we see that obedience to custom is the 55 special property of women. Indeed, custom is the rule of the weaker and more effeminate soul. For nature is of men, and to follow nature is the mark of a strong and truly masculine reason.

## PHILO

- 56 XIV. καταπέπληγμαι δὲ τὸ ἀψεudes τῆς ψυχῆς  
 τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς διαλόγοις ὁμολογούσης, ὅτι  
 οὐ δύναται τῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν κατεξανα-  
 στηναί, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τέθηπε καὶ τιμῆ καὶ  
 57 μονοουχ ἑαυτῆς προκέκρικεν. ἐπεὶ τίς ἡμῶν  
 ἀντιστατεῖ πλούτῳ; τίς δὲ πρὸς δόξαν κονίεται;  
 τίς δὲ τιμῆς ἢ ἀρχῆς καταπεφρόνηκε σχεδὸν τῶν  
 ἔτι φυρομένων ἐν κεναῖς δόξαις; οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ  
 58 παράπαν. ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν οὐδὲν τούτων πάρεστιν,  
 ὑψηγοροῦμεν ὡς ὀλιγοδείας ἑταῖροι τὸν ἀνταρκέ-  
 στατον καὶ δικαιοτάτον καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ εὐγενέσιν  
 ἀρμόττοντα περιποιούσης βίον· ἐπειδὴν δέ τις  
 τῶν εἰρημένων ἐλπίς ἢ ἐλπίδος αὐτὸ μόνον αὔρα  
 βραχεῖα καταπνεύση, διελεγχόμεθα· ὑπέικοντες  
 γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐνδίδομεν καὶ ἀντιβῆναι καὶ ἀντισχεῖν  
 οὐ δυνάμεθα, προδοθέντες δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων  
 αἰσθήσεων ὅλην τὴν ψυχῆς συμμαχίαν ἐκλείπομεν  
 καὶ οὐκέτι λανθάνοντες ἀλλ' ἤδη φανερώς αὐτο-  
 59 μολοῦμεν· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· ἔτι γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔθη  
 τὰ γυναικῶν ἐπιπεπόλακεν οὕτω δυνηθείσι τὰ μὲν  
 ἐκνύφασθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνδρῶνίτιν μεταδραμεῖν  
 ἔστιαν, καθάπερ λόγος ἔχει τὴν φιλάρετον διάνοιαν,  
 60 ὄνομα Σάρραν· αὕτη γὰρ εἰσάγεται  
 διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν “ τὰ γυναικεῖα πάντ' ἐκλιποῦσα,”  
 ἥνικα τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος ὠδίνειν καὶ ἀποτίκτειν  
 61 ἔμελλεν, ἐπὶ κλησῶν Ἰσαάκ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀμήτωρ  
 γενέσθαι τὴν ἐκ πατρός, οὐ πρὸς μητρός, αὐτὸ  
 μόνον κληρωσαμένη συγγένειαν, θήλεος γενεᾶς

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 502.

<sup>b</sup> Or “ all those who are allies of the soul.”

XIV. And how striking is the frank truthfulness of 56 that soul who, discoursing with herself,<sup>a</sup> confesses that she cannot rise up against apparent goods, but stands amazed before each of them, and honours them and continues to prefer them almost to her own self. For 57 which of us stands up to oppose riches? Who prepares himself to wrestle with glory? How many of those who still live in the mazes of empty opinions have come to despise honour and office? Not a single one. So long, indeed, as none of these things is with 58 us, we talk loftily as though our hearts were given to that frugal contentment which is the secret of a life completely self-sufficient and righteous, the life which befits the free and nobly born. But when we feel upon our cheeks the breath of hope for such things, though it be but the slightest breath and nothing more, we are shewn in our true colours, we straight-way submit and surrender and can make no effort of resistance. Betrayed by the senses which we love, we abandon all comradeship with the soul<sup>b</sup>; we desert and that no longer secretly, but without concealment. And surely that is natural. For the 59 customs of women still prevail among us, and we cannot as yet cleanse ourselves from them, or flee to the dwelling-place where the men are quartered, as we are told that it was with the virtue-loving mind, named Sarah. For the oracles 60 represent her as having left all the things of women (Gen. xviii. 11), when her travail was at hand and she was about to bring forth the self-taught nature, named Isaac. She is declared, too, to 61 be without a mother, and to have inherited her kinship only on the father's side and not on the mother's, and thus to have no part in female parentage. For

## PHILO

- ἀμέτοχος. εἶπε γάρ πού τις· “καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς  
 [366] ἀδελφή | μου ἔστιν ἐκ πατρός, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ μητρός.”  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὕλης τῆς αἰσθητῆς συνισταμένης αἰεὶ  
 καὶ λυομένης, ἣν μητέρα καὶ τροφὸν καὶ τιθήνην  
 τῶν ποιητῶν ἔφασαν, οἷς πρώτοις σοφίας ἀν-  
 εβλάστησεν ἕρνος, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου καὶ  
 62 πατρός. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ὑπερκύψασα τὸν σωμα-  
 τοειδῆ πάντα κόσμον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν θεῷ χαρᾶς γανω-  
 θεῖσα γέλωτα τὰς ἀνθρώπων θήσεται σπουδάς,  
 ὅσαι περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατ’ εἰρήνην  
 63 πραγμάτων εἰσίν. XV. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι  
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάνδρου καὶ γυναικώδους συνηθείας τῆς  
 περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ  
 νικώμενοι τῶν φανέντων οὐδενὸς κατεξαναστήναι  
 δυνάμεθα, πρὸς πάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων  
 64 οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες ἐλκόμεθα. κἂν  
 τὸ στίφος ἡμῶν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτάγμασιν  
 ἀδυνατοῦν ὑπηρετεῖν ἀλίσκεται, σύμμαχον οὐδὲν  
 ἦττον ἔξει τὴν μητέρα, παιδείαν μέσην τὰ νομιζό-  
 μενα καὶ δοκοῦντα εἶναι δίκαια γράφουσιν κατὰ  
 πόλεις καὶ ἄλλα ἄλλοις νομοθετοῦσαν.  
 65 Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες, οἱ τῶν μητρῶν ὑπερορῶντες  
 περιέχονται παντὶ σθένει τῶν πατρῶν, οὓς καὶ  
 τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς, ἱερωσύνης, ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος  
 ἠξίωσε. κἂν τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν διέλθωμεν, ἐφ’  
 αἷς τὸ γέρας τοῦτο εὖραντο, χλεύην ἴσως παρὰ

\* *i.e.* Plato. The allusion is to the *Timaeus*, where ὕλη is described as the μητήρ τοῦ γεγονότος 51 A, *cf.* 50 D, and as τιθήνη 49 A and 52 D.

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to Sarah laughing in Gen. xviii. 12; *cf.* a

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 61-65

we find it said, "Indeed she is my sister, the daughter of my father but not of my mother" (Gen. xx. 12). She is not born of that material substance perceptible to our senses, ever in a state of formation and dissolution, the material which is called mother or foster-mother or nurse of created things by those in whom first the young plant of wisdom grew<sup>a</sup>; she is born of the Father and Cause of all things. And 62 so, soaring above the whole world of bodily forms, and exulting in the joy that is in God, she will count as a matter for laughter<sup>b</sup> those anxious cares of men which are expended on human affairs, whether in war or peace.

XV. But we who are still under 63 the sway of habit, the unmanly and womanish habit, whose concern is with the senses and the objects of sense and the passions, cannot stand up against phenomena in any form, but all of them, even those of the common sort, draw us on sometimes with our free will, sometimes without it. Yet if our battalion 64 be unable to do service to the father's commands and thus suffer defeat,<sup>c</sup> it will none the less have an ally in the mother, the lower education, who enacts from city to city the ordinances which custom and opinion approve, her legislation differing with the different peoples.

But there are also some who despise the mother's 65 bidding, but cling with all their might to the father's words, and these right reason has judged worthy of the highest honour, the priesthood. And if we describe their deeds, for which they were thus rewarded, we shall perhaps incur the mockery of many, who are

similar use of the incident, in defiance of its context, *Leg. All.* iii. 219.

<sup>c</sup> Or "be convicted as incapable of doing service."

## PHILO

- πολλοῖς ὀφλήσομεν τοῖς ταῖς προχείροις φαντασίαις ἀπατωμένοις, τὰς δὲ ἀφανεῖς καὶ συνεσκιασμένας
- 66 δυνάμεις οὐ κατανοοῦσιν· οἱ γὰρ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιστείαν ἐγχειρισθέντες εἰσὶ, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἀνδροφόνοι, ἀδελφοκτόνοι, τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλιότατων σωμάτων αὐτόχειρες, οὓς ἐχρῆν καθαρὸν καὶ ἐκ καθαρῶν, μηδενὸς ἄγους προσαιψαμένους, ἑκουσίου μὲν ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἄκουσίου χειροτονεῖσθαι·
- 67 λέγεται γάρ· “ἀποκτείνετε ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἐγγιστάτον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Λευί, καθὰ ἐλάλησε Μωυσῆς, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας.” καὶ τοὺς τοσαύτην ἀνηρηκότας πληθὺν ἐπαινεί φάσκων· “ἐπληρώσατε τὰς χεῖρας σήμερον κυρίῳ, ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ υἱῷ ἢ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, δοθῆναι ἐφ' ὑμᾶς εὐλογίαν.”
- 68 XVI. τί οὖν λεκτέον ἢ ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι τοῖς μὲν κοινοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἔθεσιν ἀλίσκονται κατήγορον ἔχοντες τὴν πολιτευομένην καὶ δημαγωγὸν μητέρα συνήθειαν, τοῖς δὲ τῆς φύσεως διασώζονται συμμάχῳ χρώμενοι ὀρθῶ λόγῳ, τῷ πατρί;
- 69 καὶ γὰρ οὐδ', ὡς περ νομίζουσι τινες, ἀνθρώπους ἀναιροῦσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ζῶα λογικὰ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστῶτα, ἀλλ' ὅσα οἰκεία καὶ φίλα τῇ σαρκὶ
- [367] ἀποκόπτουσι τῆς διανοίας ἑαυτῶν,| εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι νομίζοντες τοῖς θεραπευταῖς τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ γενησομένοις πάντων ὅσα γένεσιν εἴληχεν ἄλλοτριῦσθαι καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς ἐχθροῖς καὶ δυσμενεστάτοις
- 70 προσφέρεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ “ἀδελφόν,” οὐκ ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχῆς ἀδελφὸν σῶμα ἀποκτενοῦμεν, τουτέστι τοῦ φιλαρέτου καὶ θείου τὸ
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## ON DRUNKENNESS, 65-70

deceived by the semblances that lie ready before their eyes but do not descry the values which are unseen and wrapt in shadow. For they into whose charge 66 the work of prayer and sacrifice and all the worship of the temple was given, are actually—strange paradox—homicides, fratricides, slayers of the bodies which are nearest and dearest to them, though they should have come to their office, pure in themselves and in their lineage, having had no contact with any pollution even involuntary, far less voluntary. For 67 we read “slay each his brother and each his neighbour and each him that is nearest to him. And the children of Levi did as Moses spake, and there fell of the people on that day up to three thousand men” (Exod. xxxii. 27, 28). And he praises those who had slain this great multitude with these words, “ye have filled your hands to-day unto the Lord, each in his son or in his brother, that blessing should be given upon you” (Exod. xxxii. 29). XVI. What, then, can we 68 say but that such as these are condemned by the rules that obtain among men, for they have for their accuser their mother, custom, the politician and demagogue, but are acquitted by the laws of nature, for they have the support of their father, right reason? For it is not human beings, as some suppose, who are 69 slain by the priests, not living reasoning animals composed of soul and body. No, they are cutting away from their own hearts and minds all that is near and dear to the flesh. They hold that it befits those who are to be ministers to the only wise Being, to estrange themselves from all that belongs to the world of creation, and to treat all such as bitter and deadly foes. Therefore we shall kill our “brother”—not a 70 man, but the soul’s brother, the body; that is, we shall

- φιλοπαθῆς καὶ θνητὸν διαζεύξομεν. ἀποκτενοῦμεν καὶ τὸν “πλησίον,” πάλιν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν <αἰσθήσεων> χορὸν καὶ θίασον· οὗτος<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ψυχῆς ἔστιν ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκείος καὶ δυσμενῆς, δελέατα καὶ παγίδας ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τιθεῖς, ἵνα τοῖς ἐπιρρέουσιν αἰσθητοῖς κατακλυζομένη μηδέποτε πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνακύψῃ μηδὲ τὰς νοητὰς καὶ θεοειδεῖς φύσεις ἀσπάσῃται. ἀποκτενοῦμεν καὶ “τὸν ἔγγιστα.” ὁ δ’ ἐγγυτάτω διανοίας ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν ἔστι λόγος, εὐλόγοις καὶ εἰκόσι καὶ πιθανότησι δόξας ψευδεῖς ἐντιθεῖς ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ κρατίστου κτήματος
- 71 ἀληθείας. XVII. διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦτον σοφιστὴν ὄντα καὶ μιαρὸν ἀμννούμεθα τὸν ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῷ καταψηφισάμενοι θάνατον, ἡσυχίαν—λόγου γὰρ ἡσυχία θάνατος—, ἵνα μηκέτ’ ἐνσοφιστεύοντος ὁ νοῦς μεθέλκηται, δύνηται δ’ ἀπηλλαγμένος πάντως τῶν κατὰ τὸ “ἀδελφὸν” σῶμα ἡδονῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὰς “πλησίον” καὶ ἀγχιθύρους αἰσθήσεις γοητειῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὸν “ἔγγιστα” λόγον σοφιστειῶν ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἄφετος ἕαθεις καθαρῶς τοῖς νοητοῖς ἅπασιν ἐπιβάλλειν;
- 72 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ “λέγων τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ,” τοῖς θνητοῖς γονεῦσιν, “οὐχ εἴωρακα ὑμᾶς,” ἀφ’ οὗ τὰ θεῖα εἶδον, ὁ “μὴ γνωρίζων τοὺς υἱούς,” ἀφ’ οὗ γνώριμος σοφίας ἐγένετο, ὁ “ἀπογινώσκων τοὺς ἀδελφούς,” ἀφ’ οὗ μὴ ἀπεγνώσθη παρὰ θεῶ, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας ἠξιώθη παντελοῦς.
- 73 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ “τὸν σειρομάστην λαβών,” τουτέστιν ὁ μαστεύσας καὶ ἀναζητήσας

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, as Mangey, τὸν χορὸν αἰσθήσεων· οὗτος.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 502.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “pit-searcher”; see footnote to *De Post.* 182.

dissever the passion-loving and mortal element from the virtue-loving and divine. We shall kill, too, our "neighbour," again no man, but the troop and company of the senses. That company is at once the close intimate and the enemy of the soul, spreading its gins and snares for her, in order that, overwhelmed by the flood of sense-perceived objects, she may never lift her head heavenwards nor welcome those natures whose divine forms are grasped only by the mind. Again we shall kill our "nearest"; and nearest to the understanding is the uttered word,<sup>a</sup> which through the specious, the probable and the persuasive implants in us false opinions for the destruction of our noblest possession, truth. XVII. Why, then, should 71 we not at once take vengeance on him too, sophist and miscreant that he is, by sentencing him to the death that befits him—that is to silence, for silence is the death of speech? Thus will he no longer ply his sophistries within the mind, nor will that mind be led astray, but absolutely released from the pleasures of his "brother," the body, and from the witcheries of the senses, the "neighbours" at his gates, and from the sophistries of the speech which is "nearest" to him, he will be able to devote his unhampered liberty to the world of mental things. It is this 72 Mind who "says to his father and mother"—his mortal parents—"I have not seen you," from the day when I saw the things of God; it is this Mind who no longer knows his sons, ever since he came to the knowledge of wisdom; it is this Mind who renounces his brethren (Deut. xxxiii. 9), ever since he was not renounced before God, but judged worthy of full salvation. It is this same Mind who 73 "took the lance,"<sup>b</sup> that is probed and searched the

## PHILO

τὰ τῆς φθαρτῆς γενέσεως, ἧς ἐν σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς τὸ εὐδαιμον τεθησαύρισαι, καὶ “ εἰς τὴν κάμινον,” ὡς φησι Μωυσῆς, “ εἰσελθών,” τὸν καίομενον καὶ φλεγόμενον ὑπερβολαῖς ἀδικημάτων καὶ μηδέποτε σβεσθῆναι δυνάμενον ἀνθρώπων βίον, κάπειτα ἰσχύσας καὶ τὴν “ γυναῖκα διὰ τῆς μήτρας ” ἀνατεμεῖν, ὅτι αἰτία τοῦ γεννᾶν ἔδοξεν εἶναι πάσχουσα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μᾶλλον ἢ δρῶσα, καὶ πάντα “ ἀνθρώπον ” καὶ λογισμὸν τὸν ἐπακολουθήσαντα τῆδε τῇ δόξῃ τῇ <τὰ> τοῦ μόνου τῶν γινομένων αἰτίου θεοῦ περιαιπούση παθηταῖς οὐσίαις. XVIII.

74 ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ οὗτος ἀνδροφόνος παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄν  
[368] εἶναι νομισθεῖη τοῖς | πρὸς γυναικῶν ἔθεσιν ἀλισκό-  
μενος<sup>1</sup>; ἀλλὰ παρά γε θεῶ τῷ πανηγεμόνι καὶ  
πατρὶ μυρίων ἐπαίνων καὶ ἐγκωμίων καὶ ἀναφ-  
αιρέτων ἄθλων ἀξιωθήσεται· τὰ δ' ἄθλα μεγάλα

75 καὶ ἀδελφά, εἰρήνη καὶ ἱερωσύνη. - τό  
τε γὰρ τὴν ἐν τῷ σπουδαζομένῳ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις βίῳ δυσάλωτον στρατείαν καὶ τὸν ἐν  
ψυχῇ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καταλῦσαι  
δυνηθέντα εἰρήνην βεβαιώσασθαι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν  
ἔργον, τό τε μηδὲν ἄλλο, μὴ πλοῦτον, μὴ δόξαν,  
μὴ τιμὴν, μὴ ἀρχήν, μὴ κάλλος, μὴ ἰσχύν, μὴ ὅσα  
σώματος πλεονεκτήματα, μηδ' αὖ γῆν ἢ οὐρανὸν  
ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν  
αἰτίων τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω

<sup>1</sup> Wendland τοῖς τρόπον γυναικῶν ἔθεσιν ἀλισκομένοις. See App. p. 503.

<sup>a</sup> A.V. “tent,” R.V. “pavilion” (marg. “alcove”). No reason seems to be known for the LXX translation. κάμινος elsewhere always means “furnace,” a sense impossible in this context.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 502.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 73-75

secrets of corruptible creation, which finds in food and drink the treasure-house of its happiness; who "entered," as Moses tells us, "the furnace" <sup>a</sup>—the furnace of human life, which burns so fiercely and unquenchably, fed with the exceeding multitude of our transgressions; who then received strength to "pierce" both the woman and the man—"the woman through the womb," because she believed herself to be the cause of generation, though in reality her part is passive rather than active—"the man" as representing every thought which followed this belief—the belief which invests the natures which are but the subjects of God's action with the dues which belong only to Him who alone is the cause of all that comes into being (Num. xxv. 7, 8).<sup>b</sup> XVIII. Surely such a one must pass for a murderer <sup>74</sup> in the judgement of the multitude, and be condemned by custom the woman-like, but in the judgement of God the all-ruling Father he will be held worthy of laud and praise beyond reckoning and of prizes that cannot be taken from him—two great and sister prizes, peace and priesthood (Num. xxv. 2, 13).

For to be able to stay the fierce per- <sup>75</sup> sistent warfare of the outward life which the multitude so eagerly pursues, and the intestine battling of lust against lust in the soul, and there establish peace, is a great and glorious feat. And to have learnt that nothing else, neither wealth, nor glory, nor honour, nor office, nor beauty, nor strength, nor all bodily advantages, nor earth nor heaven, nor the whole world, but only the true cause, the Cause supreme among causes, deserves our service and highest honour, and thereby to have attained the rank of

## PHILO

- τιμῆς ἀξιώσαντα μόνον τὴν ἱερωσύνης λαβεῖν τάξιν  
 76 θαυμαστὸν καὶ περιμάχητον. ἀδελφὰ δ' ἔφην τὰ  
 ἄθλα οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν ἱερεὺς  
 γένοιτο πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔτι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ  
 θνητὴν στρατευόμενος στρατείαν, ἐν ἣ ταγματαρ-  
 χούσιν αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι, οὐτ' ἂν εἰρηνικὸς ἀνὴρ μὴ  
 τὸ μόνον ἀμέτοχον πολέμου καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον  
 εἰρήνην ἄγον ἀψευδῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς θεραπεύων.
- 77 XIX. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ τὸν πατέρα καὶ  
 τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τιμῶντες, μητρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐκείνης ἤκιστα φροντίζοντες. τὸν δ' ἀμφοτέροις  
 πολεμωθέντα τοῖς γονεῦσι διασυνίστησιν εἰσαγαγὼν  
 λέγοντα· “οὐκ οἶδα τὸν κύριον, καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ  
 οὐκ ἔξαποστέλλω” οὗτος γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ τοῖς πρὸς  
 θεὸν ὀρθῶ λόγῳ βραβευομένοις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς  
 γένεσιν παιδεία βεβαιουμένοις ἐναντιοῦσθαι καὶ  
 78 συγχεῖν πάντα διὰ πάντων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἔτι νῦν—  
 οὐπω γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος τὴν ἄκρατον κακίαν  
 ἐκαθήρατο—μήτε τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μήτε τῶν  
 εἰς κοινωνίαν μηδὲν ἀπλῶς δρᾶν ἐγνωκότες, ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦναντίον ἀσεβείας μὲν καὶ ἀθεότητος ἐταῖροι,  
 79 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμοίους ἄπιστοι. καὶ περινοστοῦσιν  
 αἱ μέγιστα τῶν πόλεων κῆρες οὗτοι, τὰ ἴδια καὶ  
 τὰ κοινὰ ὑπὸ φιλοπραγμοσύνης διέποντες, μᾶλλον  
 δ', εἰ χρή τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀνατρέποντες· οὓς ἐχρῆν  
 ὥσπερ μεγάλην νόσον, λιμὸν ἢ λοιμὸν ἢ τι κακὸν  
 ἄλλο θεήλατον, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἀποτρέπεσθαι·  
 φθοραὶ γὰρ οὗτοι μεγάλαι τοῖς ἐντυχούσι. παρὸ  
 καὶ Μωυσῆς τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτῶν ἄδει πρὸς τῆς

<sup>a</sup> Apparently the thought is that the sea which blocked the way of the Israelites was Pharaoh's ally. For "swallowed up" cf. Ex. xv. 4 (LXX κατεπόθησαν).

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 75-79

priesthood—this is a privilege as marvellous as it is worthy of all our efforts. But when I called these 76 two prizes sisters, I did not miscall them. I knew that none could be a true priest, who was still a soldier in that war of mortal men, in which the ranks are led by vain opinions, and that none could be a man of peace who did not worship in truth and sincerity that Being who alone is exempt from war and dwells in eternal peace.

XIX. Such are they who honour the father and 77 what is his, but disregard the mother and what is hers. But the son who is at enmity with both his parents is shewn to us by Moses, when he represents him as saying, “ I know not the Lord and I do not send Israel forth ” (Exod. v. 2). Such a one, we may expect, will oppose both what right reason rules to be our duty to God and what training and education establish for our dealings with the world of creation ; and thus he will work universal confusion. The 78 human race has never purged itself of the wickedness which is unmixed with good, and there are still those whose will and purpose is to do no action whatever that can tend to piety or human fellowship, who on the contrary keep company with impiety and godlessness, and also keep no faith with their fellows. And 79 these are the chief pests which haunt cities, controlling or, to speak more truly, upsetting private and public life with their restless intrigues. We might well treat them like some great plague or famine or murrain, or any other heaven-sent curse, and endeavour to avert them by prayers and sacrifices. For great is the havoc they work among those whom they meet. And therefore Moses sings of their destruction ; how they fell through their own allies <sup>a</sup>

## PHILO

ιδίου συμμαχίας ἀλόντων καὶ ὡσπερ τρικυμίας ταῖς ἰδίαις δόξαις ἐγκαταποθέντων.

- 80 XX. Λέγωμεν τοῖνυν ἐξῆς καὶ περὶ τῶν τούτοις μὲν ἐχθρῶν, παιδείαν δὲ καὶ ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐκτετιμηκότων, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῶν γονέων προσ-
- [369] κείμενοι τὴν ἀρετὴν | ἡμιτελεῖς χορευταί.<sup>1</sup> οὗτοι τοῖνυν καὶ νόμων, οὓς ὁ πατήρ, ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, ἔθηκεν, ἄριστοι φύλακες καὶ ἐθῶν πιστοὶ ταμίαι,
- 81 ἅπερ ἡ παιδεία, μήτηρ αὐτῶν, εἰσηγήσατο. ἐδιδάχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν ὀρθοῦ λόγου, πατρός, τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων τιμᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ παιδείας, τῆς μητρός, τῶν θέσει καὶ νομιζομένων παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι
- 82 δικαίων μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖν. ἡνίκα γοῦν ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ καὶ τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄθλους διαθλῶν ἔμελλεν ἀκοὰς ὀφθαλμῶν ἀντιδιδόναι καὶ λόγους ἔργων καὶ προκοπὰς τελειότητος, τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ βουλευθέντος αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐνομματῶσαι, ἵνα ταῦτ' ἐναργῶς ἴδῃ ἅ πρότερον ἀκοῇ παρελαμβανε—πιστοτέρα γὰρ ὄψις ὤτων—, ἐπήχησαν οἱ χρησμοί. “οὐ κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομα σου Ἰακώβ, ἀλλ' Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται σου τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι ἰσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός.” Ἰακώβ μὲν οὖν μαθήσεως καὶ προκοπῆς ὄνομα, ἀκοῆς ἐξηρητημένων δυνάμεων, Ἰσραὴλ δὲ τελειότητος.
- 83 ὅρασι γὰρ θεοῦ μηνύει τοῦνομα. τελειότερον δὲ τί ἂν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἢ τὸ ὄντως ὄν ἰδεῖν; ὁ δὴ κατιδὼν τὰγαθὸν τοῦτο παρ' ἀμφοτέροις

<sup>1</sup> Wendland suggested <ύστέρ>ησαν, and τῆς ἀρετῆς, but Adler's argument for the ms. text, taking ὧν as dependent on χορευταί and ἀρετὴν as acc. of respect, is convincing. The phrase ἡμιτελεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν recurs *De Decal.* 110.

• The connexion lies in the words “strong with God and  
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## ON DRUNKENNESS, 79-83

and were swallowed up by the heavy sea of their own imaginations.

XX. Let us then speak next of those who are the 80 enemies of these last, but have given due honour to both education and right reason, of whom those who attach themselves to one parent only were but half-hearted followers in virtue. This fourth class are valiant guardians of the laws which their father, right reason, has laid down, and faithful stewards of the customs which their mother, instruction, has introduced. Their father, right reason, has taught them 81 to honour the Father of the all; their mother, instruction, has taught them not to make light of those principles which are laid down by convention and accepted everywhere.

Consider the case 82 of Jacob.<sup>a</sup> The Man of Practice was now in the last bout of his exercises in virtue, about to exchange hearing for eyesight, words for deeds, and progress for perfection, since God in his bounty had willed to plant eyes in his understanding that he might see clearly what before he had grasped by hearing, for sight is more trustworthy than the ears. Then it was that the oracles rang out their proclamation, "Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name, because thou hast been strong with God and mighty with men" (Gen. xxxii. 28). Now Jacob is a name for learning and progress, gifts which depend upon the hearing; Israel for perfection, for the name expresses the vision of God. And 83 what among all the blessings which the virtues give can be more perfect than the sight of the Absolutely Existent? He who has the sight of this blessing has

mighty with men." Philo equates God with the father "reason" and men with the mother "convention."

## PHILO

- ἀνωμολόγηται τοῖς γονεῦσιν εὐδόκιμος, ἰσχὺν  
 μὲν τὴν ἐν θεῷ, δύναμιν δὲ τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις  
 84 εὐράμενος. εὖ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν Παροι-  
 μίαις εἰρησθαι “προνοούντων<sup>1</sup> καλὰ ἐνώπιον κυρίου  
 καὶ ἀνθρώπων,” ἐπειδὴ δι’ ἀμφοτέρων παντελῆς  
 ἢ κτῆσις τὰγαθοῦ περιγίνεται· διδαχθεῖς γὰρ  
 φυλάσσειν νόμους πατρὸς καὶ μὴ ἀπωθεῖσθαι  
 θεσμούς μητρὸς θαρρήσεις ἐπισεμννόμενος εἰπεῖν·  
 “υἱὸς γὰρ ἐγενόμην καὶ γὰρ πατρὶ ὑπήκοος καὶ  
 ἀγαπώμενος ἐν προσώπῳ μητρὸς.” XXI. ἀλλ’  
 οὐκ ἔμελλες, εἴποιμ’ ἂν αὐτῷ, στέργεσθαι φυλάττων  
 μὲν τὰ παρὰ γενητοῖς καθεστῶτα νόμιμα διὰ πόθον  
 κοινωνίας, φυλάττων δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀγενήτου  
 θεσμούς δι’ εὐσεβείας ἔρωτα καὶ ζῆλον;
- 85 τοιγάρτοι καὶ θεοπρόπος Μωυσῆς διὰ τῆς τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸν νεὼν δημιουργίας ἱερῶν τὴν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις  
 τελειότητα διαδείξει· οὐ γὰρ ἀπερισκέπτως ἡμῖν  
 τὴν κιβωτὸν ἔνδοθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν χρυσῷ περιам-  
 πίσχει, οὐδὲ στολὰς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ διττὰς ἀναδίδωσιν,  
 οὐδὲ βωμοὺς δύο, τὸν μὲν ἔξω πρὸς τὰ ἱερεῖα, τὸν  
 δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμιᾶν ἔνδον δημιουργεῖ, ἀλλὰ  
 βουλόμενος διὰ συμβόλων τούτων τὰς καθ’ ἑκάτερον  
 86 εἶδος ἀρετὰς παραστήσαι. τὸν γὰρ  
 σοφὸν καὶ τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔνδον ἀοράτοις καὶ  
 τοῖς ἔξω περιφαινομένοις δεῖ τῇ παντὸς τιμιωτέρᾳ  
 χρυσοῦ φρονήσει κεκοσμηθῆσαι, καὶ ὁπότε μὲν τῶν  
 ἀνθρωπείων σπουδασμάτων ὑποκεχώρηκε τὸ ὄν  
 θεραπεύων μόνον, τὴν ἀποίκιον ἀληθείας ἐνδύεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> The LXX has *προνοοῦ*, which perhaps should be read here.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 503.

<sup>b</sup> Or “we must not fail to observe that he did.”

his fair fame acknowledged in the eyes of both parents, for he has gained the strength which is in God and the power which avails among men.

Good also, I think, is that saying in the Proverbs, 84

“ Let them provide things excellent in the sight of the Lord and men ” (Prov. iii. 4), since it is through both these that the acquisition of excellence is brought to its fullness. For if you have learnt to observe the laws of your father and not to reject the ordinances of your mother,<sup>a</sup> you will not fear to say with pride, “ For I too became a son obedient to my father and beloved before the face of my mother ” (Prov. iv. 3). XXI. Aye indeed, I would say to such a one, “ How could you fail to win affection, if in your desire for human fellowship you observe the customs that hold among created men, and in your zeal and passion for piety observe also the ordinances of the Uncreated ?

And therefore Moses, God's 85 interpreter, will use the sacred works that furnished the tabernacle to shew us the twofold perfection. For it is not without a well-thought purpose for us <sup>b</sup> that he covers the ark both inside and outside with gold (Exod. xxv. 10) and gives two robes to the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 4), and builds two altars, one without for the sacrificial ritual, the other within for burning incense (Exod. xxvii. 1, xxx. 1). No, he wished by these symbols to represent the virtues of either kind.

For the wise man must be 86 adorned with the prudence that is more precious than all gold, both in the inward invisible things of the soul and in the outward which are seen of all men. Again, when he has retired from the press of human pursuits and worships the Existent only, he must put on the unadorned robe of truth which nothing mortal

## PHILO

- [370] στολήν, ἧς | οὐδὲν ἐφάμεται θνητόν—καὶ γὰρ ἔστι λινῆς ὕλης ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν πεφυκότων ἀποθνήσκειν γεννωμένης—, ὁπότε δὲ μέτεισι πρὸς πολιτείαν, τὴν μὲν ἔνδον ἀποτίθεται, ποικιλωτάτην δὲ καὶ ὀφθῆναι θαυμασιωτάτην ἑτέραν ἀναλαμβάνειν· πολύτροπος γὰρ ὢν ὁ βίος ποικιλωτάτου δέχεται τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πηδαλιουχήσοντος κυβερνή-
- 87 του. οὗτος κατὰ μὲν τὸν περιφανῆ βωμὸν ἢ βίον καὶ δορᾶς καὶ σαρκῶν καὶ αἵματος καὶ πάντων ὅσα περὶ σῶμα δόξει πολυγὴν ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὡς μὴ μυρίοις ἀπέχθοιτο κρίνουσιν ἀγαθὰ μετὰ τὰ ψυχῆς δευτερείοις τετιμημένα τὰ περὶ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἔνδον πᾶσιν ἀναίμοις, ἀσάρκοις, ἀσωμάτοις, τοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ μόνοις χρήσεται, ἃ λιβανωτῶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθυμιωμένοις ἀπεικάζεται· ὡς γὰρ ταῦτα ῥίνας, ἐκεῖνα τὸν ψυχῆς ἅπαντα
- 88 χῶρον εὐωδίας ἀναπλήρησι. XXII.
- χρῆ μέντοι μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἡ σοφία τέχνη τεχνῶν οὐσα δοκεῖ μὲν ταῖς διαφόροις ὕλαις ἐναλλάττεσθαι, τὸ δ' αὐτῆς ἀληθὲς εἶδος ἄτρεπτον ἐμφαίνει τοῖς ὀξυδορκοῦσι καὶ μὴ τῶ περικεχυμένῳ τῆς οὐσίας ὄγκῳ μεθελκομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐνεσφραγισμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης αὐτῆς χα-
- 89 ρακτῆρα διορῶσι. τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Φειδίαν ἐκεῖνον καὶ χαλκὸν λαβόντα φασὶ καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄλλας διαφόρους ὕλας ἀνδριάντας ἀπεργάσασθαι καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν τούτοις μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνσημῆνασθαι τέχνην, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπιστήμονας, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἰδιώτας τὸν δημιουργὸν
- 90 ἀπὸ τῶν δημιουργηθέντων γνωρίσαι· καθάπερ γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> i.e. not of wool. The same contrast is made *De Spec. Leg.* i. 84.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 86-90

shall touch. For the stuff of which it is made is linen, not the produce of animals whose nature is to perish.<sup>a</sup> But when he passes to the citizen's life, he must put off that inner robe and don another,<sup>b</sup> whose manifold richness is a marvel to the eye. For life is many-sided, and needs that the master who is to control the helm should be wise with a wisdom of manifold variety. Again, that master as he stands at the outer, 87 the open and visible altar, the altar of common life, will seem to pay much regard to skin and flesh and blood and all the bodily parts lest he should offend the thousands who, though they assign to the things of the body a value secondary to the things of the soul, yet do hold them to be good. But when he stands at the inner altar, he will deal only with what is bloodless, fleshless, bodiless and is born of reason, which things are likened to the incense and the burnt spices. For as the incense fills the nostrils, so do these pervade the whole region of the soul with fragrance.

XXII. This too we must not fail 88 to know, that wisdom which is the art of arts <sup>c</sup> seems to change with its different subject matters, yet shews its true form unchanged to those who have clearness of vision and are not misled by the dense and heavy wrappings which envelop its true substance, but describe the form impressed by the art itself. They say 89 that the great sculptor Pheidias would take brass and ivory and gold and various other materials to make his statues, and yet on all these he so stamped the impress of one and the same art, that not only adepts, but those who were totally ignorant of such matters, recognized the artist from his work. For as nature 90

<sup>b</sup> The reference is to Lev. xvi. 4 and 23, 24.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 503.

## PHILO

- ἐπὶ τῶν διδύμων ἢ φύσις χρησαμένη τῷ αὐτῷ  
πολλάκις χαρακτῆρι παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπαραλλάκτους  
ὁμοιότητος ἐτύπωσε, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ τελεία  
τέχνη, μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα φύσεως οὔσα,  
ὅταν διαφόρους ὕλας παραλάβῃ, σχηματίζει καὶ  
ἐνσφραγίζεται τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπάσαις ἰδέαν, ὡς ταύτη  
μάλιστα συγγενῇ καὶ ἀδελφὰ καὶ διδυμα τὰ δη-  
91 μιουργηθέντα γενέσθαι. ταῦτὸν οὖν καὶ  
ἡ ἐν τῷ σοφῷ δύναμις ἐπιδείξεται· πραγματευομένη  
γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος εὐσέβεια καὶ ὁσιότης  
ὀνομάζεται, τὰ δὲ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν  
φυσιολογία, μετεωρολογικὴ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄερα  
καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰς τροπὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὰς  
ἐν τε ταῖς ὀλοσχερέσιν ἐτησίοις ὥραις καὶ ταῖς ἐν  
μέρει κατὰ τε μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν περιόδους πέφυκε  
συνίστασθαι, ἠθικὴ δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπαν-  
όρθωσιν ἠθῶν, ἧς ἰδέαι πολιτικὴ τε ἡ περὶ<sup>1</sup> πόλιν  
καὶ ἡ περὶ οἰκίας ἐπιμέλειαν οἰκονομικὴ, συμποτικὴ  
[371] | τε ἡ περὶ τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας, ἔτι δ' αὖ  
ἡ μὲν περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστάσιαν βασιλική, ἡ δὲ περὶ  
92 προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις νομοθετικὴ· πάντα  
γὰρ ταῦτα ὁ πολύφημος ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ πολυώνυμος  
σοφὸς κεχώρηκεν, εὐσέβειαν, ὁσιότητα, φυσιολογίαν,  
μετεωρολογίαν, ἠθοποιίαν, πολιτείαν, οἰκονομίαν,  
βασιλικήν, νομοθετικὴν, ἄλλας μυρίας δυνάμεις, καὶ  
ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐν εἶδος καὶ ταῦτὸν ἔχων ὀφθῆσεται.
- 93 XXIII. Διειλεγμένοι δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς  
ἐκγόνοις τεττάρων τάξεων οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο  
παρίδοιμεν, ὃ γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τομῆς  
τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐναργεστάτη πίστις· τοῦ γὰρ  
μετεωρισθέντος καὶ φυσηθέντος ὑπ' ἀνοίας παιδὸς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πρὸς.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 90-93

so often in the case of twins by using the same stamp shapes likenesses which are almost identical, so too that perfect art, which is the copy and effigies of nature, may take different materials and yet mould them and impress on them all the same form, and this it is which chiefly makes the products of its work to be as kinsfolk, brothers, twins to each other.

We shall find the same thing happening with the 91 power which resides in the Sage. Under the name of piety and holiness it deals with the attributes of the Really Existent; under that of nature-study, with all that concerns the heavens and the heavenly bodies; as meteorology, with the air and the consequences which result through its changes and variations both at the main seasons of the year and those particular ones which follow cycles of months and days; as ethic, with what tends to the improvement of human conduct, and this last takes various forms; politic, dealing with the state; economic, with the management of a house; sympotic, or the art of conviviality, with banquets and festivities; and further we have the kingly faculty dealing with the control of men, and the legislative with commands and prohibitions. All these—piety, holiness, nature-study, 92 meteorology, ethic, politic, economic, king-craft, legislator-craft and many other powers—find their home in him who is in the truest sense many-voiced and many-named, even the Sage, and in all he will be seen to have one and the same form.

XXIII. After discussing the four classes of sons, 93 we must not overlook the following point, which will be the clearest proof that our classification is based on a correct division. The son who is puffed up and carried away by his folly is denounced by his

## PHILO

- οἱ γονεῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον κατηγορήσαν εἰπόντες  
 “ὁ υἱὸς ἡμῶν οὗτος,” δεικνύντες τὸν ἀπειθῆ καὶ  
 94 ἀπαυχενίζοντα. διὰ γὰρ τῆς δείξεως τῆς “οὗτος”  
 ἐμφαίνουσιν ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρους ἐγέννησαν, τοὺς μὲν  
 τῷ ἑτέρῳ, τοὺς δ’ ἀμφοτέροις καταπειθεῖς, λογι-  
 σμοὺς εὐφυεῖς, ὧν παράδειγμα Ῥουβὴν· φιληκόους  
 καὶ φιλομαθεῖς ἑτέροις, ὧν ἔστι Συμεῶν, ἀκοὴ  
 γὰρ οὗτος ἐρμηνεύεται· πρόσφυγας καὶ ἰκέτας  
 θεοῦ, Λευιτῶν ὁ θίασος οὗτος· τὸν εὐχαριστητικὸν  
 ὕμνον ἄδοντας οὐ γεγωνῶ φωνῇ μᾶλλον ἢ διανοίᾳ,  
 ὧν ἔξαρχος Ἰούδας· διὰ τὴν μετὰ πόνων ἀρετῆς  
 κτήσιν ἐκούσιον μισθῶν καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθέντας,  
 ὥσπερ Ἰσάχαρ· μετανάστας ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς  
 μετεωρολογικῆς θεωρίας γεγονότας εἰς τὴν περὶ  
 τοῦ ἀγεινήτου σκέψιν, ὡς Ἀβραάμ· αὐτήκοον καὶ  
 αὐτομαθῆ κτησαμένους ἀρετῆν, ὥσπερ Ἰσαάκ·  
 λήματος καὶ ἰσχύος πλήρεις καὶ φίλους τῷ θεῷ,  
 καθάπερ Μωυσῆν τὸν τελειότατον.
- 95 XXIV. Εἰκότως οὖν τὸν ἀπειθῆ καὶ ἐρεθιστὴν  
 καὶ συμβολὰς εἰσφέροντα, τουτέστι συμβάλλοντα  
 καὶ συνάπτοντα ἁμαρτήματα ἁμαρτήμασι, μεγάλα  
 μικροῖς, νέα παλαιοῖς, ἐκούσια ἀκουσίοις, καὶ  
 ὥσπερ ὑπ’ οἴνου φλεγόμενον ἄληκτον καὶ ἀνεπί-  
 σχετον μέθην τοῦ βίου παντὸς καταμεθύνοντα καὶ  
 παροινούντα διὰ τὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀφροσύνης πόματος  
 ἀκράτου καὶ πολλοῦ σπάσαι καταλεύειν ὁ ἱερὸς  
 λόγος δικαιοῖ, ὅτι καὶ τὰς ὀρθοῦ λόγου προστάξεις  
 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὰς παιδείας τῆς μητρὸς νομίμους  
 ὑφηγήσεις ἀνεῖλε καὶ παράδειγμα ἔχων τὸ καλο-

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. “injunctions conforming to law or custom.”



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 93-95

parents as "this son of ours," and it is in these words that they indicate his disobedience and recalcitrance. By using the word "this" in thus indicating him, <sup>94</sup> they suggest that they have other children, who are obedient either to one or both of their parents. Such are the reasonings of the naturally gifted, of which Reuben is a type; the docile scholar, as Simeon, for his name means "hearing"; the suppliants who take refuge with God, and this is the company of the Levites; those who raise the hymn of thankfulness with their hearts rather than with their voices, and the leader of that choir is Judah; those who have been judged worthy of rewards and prizes because of their own free will they have toiled in the acquisition of virtue, as Issachar; those who have abandoned the Chaldean research of the supra-terrestrial to engage in the contemplation of the Uncreated, as Abraham; those who have acquired virtue through no other voice but their own and no teacher but themselves, as Isaac; those who are full of courage and strength and are dear to God, as Moses the most perfect of men.

XXIV. It is with good reason, then, that the dis- <sup>95</sup>obedient and contentious man who "brings contributions," that is contributes and adds sins to sins, great to small, new to old, voluntary to involuntary, and as though inflamed by wine drowns the whole of life in ceaseless and unending drunkenness, sodden with drinking deep of the unmixed cup of folly, is judged by the holy word to be worthy of stoning. Yes, for he has made away with the commands of right reason, his father and the observances enjoined by instruction,<sup>a</sup> his mother, and though he had before him the example of true nobility in his brothers

## PHILO

- καγαθίας, τοὺς τοῖς γονεῦσιν εὐδοκίμους ἀδελφούς, τὴν τούτων ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐμμήσατο, τὸναντίον δὲ καὶ προσεπιβαίνειν ἠξίωσεν, ὡς θεοπλαστεῖν μὲν τὸ σῶμα, θεοπλαστεῖν δὲ τὸν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα τιμώμενον τύφον, οὗ σύμβολον ἢ τοῦ
- [372] χρυσοῦ ταύρου | κατασκευή, περὶ ὃν χοροὺς ἰστάντες οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς ἄδουσι καὶ ἐξάρχουσιν, οὐ παροίνιον καὶ κωμαστικὸν οἶα ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ θαλίαις ἡδιστον μέλος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶσιν ἀληθῆ θρήνον αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἕξοινοι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν τόνον ὑπεκλύσαντές τε καὶ φθείραντες·
- 96 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἀκούσας Ἰησοῦς <τῆς φωνῆς > τοῦ λαοῦ κεκραγόντων εἶπε πρὸς Μωυσῆν· φωνὴ πολέμου ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ. καὶ λέγει· οὐκ ἔστι φωνὴ ἐξαρχόντων κατ' ἰσχύν οὐδὲ φωνὴ ἐξαρχόντων τροπῆς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴν ἐξαρχόντων οἴνου ἐγὼ ἀκούω. καὶ ἡνίκα ἠγγιζε τῇ παρεμβολῇ, ὄρα τὸν μόσχον καὶ τοὺς χορούς.” ἃ δὲ διὰ τούτων αἰνίττεται, παραστήσωμεν, ὡς ἂν οἰοί τε ὦμεν.
- 97 XXV. Τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς τοτὲ μὲν ἡρεμεῖ, τοτὲ δὲ ὄρμαῖς καὶ ἐκβοήσεσιν ἀκαίροις ὡσανεὶ χρῆται· καὶ ἔστιν ἢ μὲν ἡσυχία τούτων εἰρήνη βαθεῖα, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία πόλεμος ἄσπονδος. μάρτυς δ' ὁ
- 98 πεπονθὼς ἀψευδέστατος· ἀκούσας γὰρ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ λαοῦ κεκραγόντων λέγει πρὸς τὸν σκεπτικὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν πραγμάτων· “ φωνὴ πολέμου ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ.” ἕως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκινούντο καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐν ἡμῖν αἱ ἄλογοι ὄρμαί, σταθερώ-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 503.

<sup>b</sup> ἕξοινος is contrasted with παροίνιος, a word which has not necessarily any unfavourable sense, in this differing from παραινέιν and παροινία.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 95-98

whom the parents honoured, he did not imitate their virtue, but contrariwise determined to be the aggressor in wickedness.<sup>a</sup> And thus he made a god of the body, a god of the vanity most honoured among the Egyptians,<sup>a</sup> whose symbol is the image of the golden bull. Round it the frenzied worshippers make their dances and raise and join in the song, but that song was not the sweet wine-song of merry revellers as in a feast or banquet, but a veritable dirge, their own funeral chant, a chant as of men maddened by wine,<sup>b</sup> who have loosened and destroyed the tone and vigour which nerved their souls. For we 96  
are told that “when Joshua heard the voice of the people as they shouted, he said to Moses : ‘There is a voice of war in the camp, and he<sup>a</sup> said ‘It is not the voice of men raising the shout<sup>c</sup> through might, nor of those who raise it for being overcome, but it is the voice of men who raise the shout over the wine that I hear.’ And when he drew nigh to the camp, he saw the calf and the dances” (Exod. xxxii. 17-19). Let us shew as well as we can what he shadows forth under this figure.

XXV. Our being 97  
is sometimes at rest, at other times is subject to impulses or, as we may call them, ill-timed outcries. When these are still we have profound peace, when it is otherwise we have relentless wars. To this 98  
there can be no testimony so certain as that of personal experience. Such a person hears the voice of the people shouting and says to the one who watches and observes the course of events,<sup>a</sup> “There is a voice of war in the camp.” For so long as the unreasoning impulses did not stir and “shout” within us, the

<sup>c</sup> Or, as the allegorical treatment implies, “raise (or lead) the song.”

## PHILO

- τερον ὁ νοῦς ἰδρυτο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤρξαντο πολύφωνον  
 καὶ πολύηχον ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸ ψυχῆς χωρίον τὰ  
 πάθη συγκαλοῦσαι καὶ ἀνεγείρουσαι, στάσιν ἐμ-  
 99 φύλιον ἐγέννησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ  
 ὁ πόλεμος, φυσικώτατα· ποῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι ἔριδες,  
 μάχαι, φιλονεικίαι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἔργα ἀκαθαιρέτου  
 πολέμου, πλὴν ἐν τῷ μετὰ σώματος βίῳ, ὃν  
 ἀλληγορῶν καλεῖ στρατόπεδον; τοῦτον εἴωθεν  
 ἀπολιπεῖν ὁ νοῦς, ὅταν θεοφορηθεῖς πρὸς αὐτῷ  
 τῷ ὄντι γένηται καταθεώμενος τὰς ἀσωμάτους  
 100 ιδέας· “λαβὼν” γάρ φησι “Μωυσῆς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
 σκηνὴν ἔπηξεν ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς,” καὶ οὐ  
 πλησίον, ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω καὶ “μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 παρεμβολῆς.” αἰνίττεται δὲ διὰ τούτων, ὅτι ὁ  
 σοφὸς μέτοικος καὶ μετανάστης ἐστὶν ἀπὸ πολέμου  
 πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ πεφυρμένου  
 στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν ἀπόλεμον καὶ εἰρηναῖον  
 λογικῶν καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ψυχῶν βίον θεῖον.
- 101 XXVI. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι ὅτι “ἐπειδὴν ἐξέλθω  
 τὴν πόλιν, ἐκπετάσω τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν κύριον,  
 καὶ αἱ φωναὶ παύσονται.” μὴ νομίσης δὲ τὸν  
 διαλεγόμενον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, τὸ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος  
 ὕφασμα ἢ πλέγμα ἢ κράμα ἢ ὅ τι ποτὲ χρή καλεῖν  
 τουτὶ τὸ σύνθετον ζῶον, ἀλλὰ νοῦν εἰλικρινέστατον  
 καὶ καθαρώτατον, ὃς ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει τοῦ σώματος  
 καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου περιεχόμενος ἕσταλται καὶ  
 συνείληπται καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθειργ-  
 μένος μηδὲ ἐλευθέρου δύνασθαι σπᾶν ἀέρος ἀντικρυς  
 ὁμολογεῖ, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐξέλθῃ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην,  
 καθάπερ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας οἱ δεσμῶται τὰς ἐννοίας  
 [373] | αὐτὸς καὶ διανοήσεις λυθεὶς ἀφέτοις καὶ ἀπ-  
 ελευθεριαζούσαις χρήσεται ταῖς ἐνεργείαις, ὡς τὰς  
 370

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 98-101

mind stood firm and stedfast. But when they begin to fill the region of the soul with manifold sounds and voices, when they summon the passions and rouse them to action, they create the discord of civil war. "The war is in the camp." True 99

indeed. For where else do we find contentions, combats, hostilities and all the works that go with bitter and persistent war, but in the life of the body which in his parable he calls the camp? That camp the mind is wont to leave, when, filled with the divine, it finds itself in the presence of the Existent Himself and contemplates the incorporeal ideas. For 100  
"Moses," we read, "took his tent and pitched it outside the camp," not near, but very far, "at a distance from the camp" (Exod. xxxiii. 7). Under this figure he suggests that the Sage is a pilgrim who travels from peace to war, and from the camp of mortality and confusion to the divine life of peace where strife is not, the life of reasonable and happy souls.

XXVI. Elsewhere he says "When 101  
I have gone out of the city I will spread out my hands to the Lord and the sounds shall cease" (Exod. ix. 29). Do not suppose that the person who speaks thus in a man—this compound animal in which soul and body are woven or twined or mingled (use any word you will). No, it is the mind pure and unalloyed. While it is cooped up in the city of the body and mortal life, it is cabined and cribbed and like a prisoner in the gaol declares roundly that it cannot even draw a breath of free air; but when it has gone out of this city, its thoughts and reflections are at liberty, like the hands and feet of the unbound prisoner, and it finds free scope and range for the employment of its active powers, so that the

## PHILO

- 102 ἐπικελεύσεις τῶν παθῶν εὐθύς ἐπισχεθῆναι. ἢ οὐχ ἡδονῆς μὲν ἀνατεταμέναι αἱ ἐκβοήσεις, δι' ὧν τὰ ἑαυτῆ φίλα εἴωθε προστάττειν, ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἄρρηκτος ἢ φωνῆ χαλεπὰς ἀπειλὰς κατὰ τῶν μὴ ὑπηρετούντων ἀπειλούσης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστου
- 103 πολύηχος καὶ μεγαλόφωνός τις ἢ γῆρυς; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ μυρίοις στόμασι καὶ γλώτταις ἕκαστον τῶν παθῶν <ἐν> τῷ κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λεγομένῳ χρῆσαιτο ὁμάδῳ, τὰς τοῦ τελείου δύναται' ἂν ἀκοὰς συγχέαι μετελληλυθότος ἤδη καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις πόλιν μηκέτ' οἰκεῖν ἐγνώκότος.
- 104 XXVII. Φαμένου δὴ τοῦ πεπονθότος, ὅτι ἐν τῷ σωματικῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου φωνὰς εἶναι πάσας συμβέβηκε τῆς εἰρήνῃ φιλῆς ἡσυχίας μακρὰν ἀπεληλαμένης, ὁ ἱερός συναινεῖ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ λέγει μὴ εἶναι πολέμου φωνήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοιαύτην, ὁποῖαν ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν ἢ νενικηκότων ἢ κεκρατημένων, ἀλλ' ἥτις ἂν γένοιτο βεβαρημένων
- 105 καὶ πεπιεσμένων οἴνω· τὸ γὰρ “ οὐκ ἔστι φωνῆ ἐξαρχόντων κατ' ἰσχύν ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ περιγεγενημένων τῷ πολέμῳ· ἰσχύς γὰρ τοῦ κρατεῖν αἴτιον. οὕτως τὸν σοφὸν Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐννέα καθαίρεσιν βασιλέων, παθῶν μὲν τεττάρων, πέντε δὲ αἰσθητικῶν δυνάμεων, αἱ παρὰ φύσιν ἐκινουῦντο, εἰσάγει τὸν εὐχαριστητικὸν ὕμνον ἐξάρχοντα καὶ φάσκοντα ταυτί· “ ἐκτενῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον, ὃς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ ἀπὸ σπαρτίου ἕως σφαιρωτῆρος ὑποδήματος λήψομαι ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν σῶν.”
- 106 δείκνυσι δ', ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὸ γεγονὸς πᾶν, οὐρανόν, γῆν, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, ζῶα

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 101-106

clamours of the passions are at once restrained. How shrill are the outcries of pleasure, wherewith 102 it is wont to command what it wills! How continuous is the voice of desire, when it thunders forth its threats against those who do not minister to its wants! How full-toned and sonorous is the call of each of the other passions! Yet though each of 103 them should have a thousand tongues and mouths with which to swell the war-shout, to use the poet's phrase, yet it could not confuse the ears of the perfect Sage, who has passed elsewhere and resolved no longer to dwell in the same city as they.

XXVII. When the subject of that experience says 104 that he feels that in the camp of the body all the sounds are sounds of war, and that the quietness which is so dear to peace has been driven far away, the holy word does not dissent. For it does not say that the sound is not the sound of war but that it is not such a sound as some think it to be, such as would be made by the victorious or the defeated, but such as would proceed from those who are overpressed and weighed down by wine. For in the phrase "it is not the sound 105 of those who raise the song through might" the last words mean "those who have been victorious in war." For might is what causes victory. Thus wise Abraham, when he had routed the nine kings, the four passions that is and the five sense-faculties, which were rising in unnatural rebellion, is represented as raising the hymn of thanksgiving in these words, "I will stretch forth my hand to the most high God who made heaven and earth, if I will take from a rope to a shoe's latchet of all that is thine" (Gen. xiv. 22, 23). He points in these last words, I 106 think, to the whole of creation, heaven, earth, water,

## PHILO

ὁμοῦ καὶ φυτά· ἐκάστῳ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἐνεργείας πρὸς θεὸν τείνας καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνου  
 τὰς ὠφελείας ἐπελπίζων δεόντως ἂν εἴποι· <παρ' >  
 οὐδενὸς λήψομαι τῶν σῶν, οὐ παρ' ἡλίου τὸ  
 μεθήμερινόν, οὐ παρὰ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἀστέρων τὸ νυκτὶ φέγγος, οὐ παρὰ ἀέρος καὶ  
 νεφελῶν ὑετούς, οὐ παρὰ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ποτὰ καὶ  
 σιτία, οὐ παρὰ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ ὄρᾱν, οὐ τὸ ἀκούειν  
 παρὰ ὠτων, οὐ παρὰ μυκτῆρων ὀσμάς, οὐ παρ'  
 ἐνστομίου χυλοῦ τὸ γεύεσθαι, οὐ παρὰ γλώττης  
 τὸ λέγειν, οὐ παρὰ χειρῶν τὸ διδόναι καὶ λαμ-  
 βάνειν, οὐ τὸ προσέρχεσθαι καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖν παρὰ  
 ποδῶν, οὐκ ἀναπνοὴν παρὰ πνεύμονος, οὐ πέψιν  
 παρ' ἥπατος, οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων σπλάγχχνων τὰς  
 καθ' ἕκαστον οἰκείους ἐνεργείας, οὐ παρὰ δένδρων  
 καὶ σπαρτῶν τοὺς ἐτησίους καρπούς, ἀλλὰ πάντα  
 παρὰ τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ τὰς αὐτοῦ χαριστηρίους  
 107 δυνάμεις πάντῃ τείναντος καὶ διὰ τούτων ὠφελοῦν-  
 [374] τος. XXVIII. ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὄντος | ὀρατικὸς  
 τὸν αἴτιον ἐπιστάμενος τὰ ὧν ἔστιν αἴτιος δεύτερα  
 μετ' ἐκεῖνον τετίμηκεν ὁμολογῶν ἀκολακεύτως  
 τὰ προσόντα αὐτοῖς. ἡ δὲ ὁμολογία δικαιοτάτη·  
 παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν οὐδέν, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λήψομαι,  
 οὐ κτήματα τὰ πάντα, δι' ὑμῶν δὲ ἴσως· ὄργανα  
 γὰρ ὑπηρετήσοντα ταῖς ἀθανάτοις αὐτοῦ χάρισι  
 108 γεγένησθε. ὁ δὲ ἀπερίσκεπτος διάνοιαν τυφλωθεὶς,  
 ἦ τὸ ὄχ μόνῃ καταληπτὸν ἔστιν, αὐτὸ μὲν οὐδαμῆ  
 οὐδαμῶς εἶδε, τὰ δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ σώματα αἰσθήσει  
 ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ, ἃ δὴ πάντων ἐνόμισε γινομένων αἴτια.  
 374



the air we breathe, to animals and plants alike. To each of them he who has braced the activities of his own soul to stretch Godwards, and who hopes for help from Him alone, would rightly say, "I will take nothing from aught of thy creatures, not the light of day from the sun, nor the light of night from the moon and the other stars, nor rain from the air or the clouds, nor drink and food from water and earth, nor sight from the eyes, nor hearing from the ears, nor smell from the nostrils, nor taste from the juices of the palate, nor speech from the tongue, nor giving and receiving from the hands, nor moving forwards and backwards from the feet, nor respiration from the lungs, nor digestion from the liver, nor from the other inward parts the functions proper to each, nor their yearly fruits from the trees and seedlings, but I will take them all from the only wise Being who has extended His beneficent power every whither, and through them renders me help." XXVIII. He then 107 who has the vision of the Existent knows Him who is the Cause, and honours the things of which He is the cause only as second to Him. He will use no words of flattery, yet acknowledges what is their due. This acknowledgement is most just. I will take nothing *from* you, but I will take from God, the possessor of all things; yet it may be that I will take *through* you, for you have been made instruments to minister to His undying acts of grace. But the man 108 of no discernment, whose understanding, by which alone the Existent can be comprehended, is blinded, has never anywhere seen that Existence, but only the material contents of this world as shewn to him by his senses, and these material things he believes to be the causes of all that comes into being.

## PHILO

- 109 παρὸ καὶ θεοπλαστεῖν ἀρξάμενος ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ξοάνων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων ἀφιδρυμάτων ὕλαις διαφόροις τετεχνιτευμένων κατέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην, γραφεῦσι καὶ πλάσταις, οὓς ὑπερορίους ὁ νομοθέτης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείας ἤλασεν, ἀλλά τε μεγάλα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας ἰδία τε καὶ κοινῇ ψηφισάμενος, <καὶ> κατειργάσατο τούναντίον οὐ προσεδόκησεν, ἀντὶ ὁσιότητος ἀ-
- 110 σέβειαν· τὸ γὰρ πολύθεον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀφρόνων ψυχαῖς ἀθεότητα <κατασκευάζει>, καὶ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἀλογοῦσιν οἱ τὰ θνητὰ θειώσαντες· οἷς οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, εἰ δὲ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης καὶ παντὸς ὕδατος εἰκόνας διαπλάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἀλόγοις ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς τῆς τῶν ἀφθάρτων τιμῆς μετέδωκαν. ὁ δὲ τούτοις ἐπιτιμῶν τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ἐξάρχων ἐδείχθη.
- 111 XXIX. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι κατὰ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴν ἴδῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὸν ὑπέραυχον νοῦν, σὺν τοῖς ἐξακοσίοις ἄρμασι, ταῖς τοῦ ὀργανικοῦ σώματος ἐξ κινήσεσιν ἡρμοσμέναις τοῖς ἐπιβεβηκόσι τριστάταις, οἱ μηδενὸς τῶν κατὰ γένεσιν πεφυκότος ἐστάναι περὶ πάντων οἴονται δεῖν ὡς ἂν παγίως ἰδρυμένων καὶ μηδεμίαν δεχομένων μεταβολὴν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, δίκην ἀξίαν τῆς ἀσεβείας ὑποσχόντα καὶ τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἔμπαλιν τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκφυγόντα καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπροσδοκῆτως διασωθέντα, τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἀληθῆ βραβευτὴν ὕμνεῖ θεὸν τὰ πρεπωδέστατα καὶ οἰκειότατα ταῖς συντυχίαις ἐξάρχων ἄσματα, διότι "ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ῥίψας εἰς θάλασσαν," τὸν

<sup>a</sup> In Philo's elastic philosophy of numbers 600 easily = 6. For the six movements see *Leg. All.* i. 4.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 109-111

And therefore he started fashioning gods and filled 109  
the inhabited world with idols of stone and wood and  
numberless other figures wrought in various materials,  
and decreed great prizes and magnificent honours  
public and private to painters and sculptors, whom  
the lawgiver had banished from the boundaries of  
his commonwealth. He expected to produce piety ;  
what he accomplished was its opposite, impiety.  
For polytheism creates atheism in the souls of the 110  
foolish, and God's honour is set at naught by those  
who deify the mortal. For it did not content them  
to fashion images of sun or moon, or, if they would  
have it so, of all the earth and all the water, but they  
even allowed irrational plants and animals to share the  
honour which belongs to things imperishable. Such  
persons did Abraham rebuke and we shewed that it  
was with this thought that he raised his hymn of  
victory.

XXIX. So, too, with the song 111  
of Moses. He has seen the king of Egypt, the boast-  
ful mind with his six hundred <sup>a</sup> chariots (Exod. xiv. 7),  
that is the six movements of the organic body, ad-  
justed for the use of the princes who ride upon them  
(Exod. xv. 4) who, though no created object can be  
stable, think it right to aver that all such are firmly  
established and unsusceptible of change. He has  
seen that mind suffer the penalty due to its impiety  
while the Votary of Practice has escaped the onset of  
his enemies and been brought with might to un-  
looked-for safety. So then he hymns God the  
righteous and true dispenser of events and the song  
which he raises is most fitting and suited to the  
occasion. "The horse and his rider He has thrown  
into the sea" (Exod. xv. 1), that is, He has buried

## PHILO

- ἐποχοῦμενον νοῦν ταῖς τοῦ τετράποδος καὶ ἀφηνιαστοῦ πάθους ἀλόγοις ὀρμαῖς ἀφανίσας, βοηθός καὶ ὑπερασπιστῆς ἐγένετο τῆς ὀρατικῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς
- 112 χαρίσασθαι παντελῆ σωτηρίαν αὐτῇ. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος ἐξάρχει, οὐκέτι μόνον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ κάλλιστον κτημάτων, σοφίαν, ἀνανταγώνιστον ἰσχυῶσαι λαβεῖν, ἣν ἀπεικάζει φρέατι· βαθεῖα γὰρ
- [375] καὶ οὐκ ἐπιπόλαιος, γλυκὴ ἀναδιδούσα νᾶμα καλοκάγαθίας | διψῶσαις ψυχαῖς, ἀναγκαιότατον ὁμοῦ
- 113 καὶ ἡδιστον ποτόν· ἰδιώτη δὲ οὐδενὶ παιδείας ἐφέϊται τοῦτο τὸ φρέαρ ὀρύττειν, μόνοις δὲ βασιλεῦσιν, ἧ φησιν· “ἐλατόμησαν αὐτὸ βασιλεῖς”· μεγάλων γὰρ ἡγεμόνων ἀναζητῆσαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι σοφίαν, οὐχὶ τῶν ὄπλοις γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ὑπηγμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ψυχῆς δυνάμεσι τὸν πολύτροπον αὐτῆς καὶ μιγάδα καὶ πεφορημένον
- 114 ὄχλον κατηγωνισμένων. XXX. τούτων  
 φοιτητὰς καὶ γνωρίμους εἶναι συμβέβηκε τοὺς λέγοντας· “οἱ παῖδες σου εἰλήφασι τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν τῶν μεθ’ ἡμῶν, οὐ διαπεφώνηκεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς· προσαγηόχαμεν
- 115 τὸ δῶρον κυρίῳ ἀνῆρ, ὃ εὗρεν”· εἰκόσιν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πάλιν ἐπινίκιον ἄσμα ἐξάρχειν τελείων καὶ ἡγεμονικῶν δυνάμεων ἐφιέμενοι—τὸν γὰρ συντιθέντα τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ πλείστον ἀριθμὸν τῶν κατ’ ἀνδρείαν λόγων φασὶ λαβεῖν—, οὗς ἐκ φύσεως εἶναι πολεμικοὺς συμβέβηκε δυσὶν ἀντιτεταγμένους τέλεσιν, ἐνὶ μὲν οὗ ἢ δυσθεράπευτος<sup>1</sup> ἀφηγεῖται

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δυσθήρατος.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 503.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 504.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. learning from the leaders to be leaders themselves.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 111-115

out of sight the mind which rode upon the unreasoning impulses of passion, that four-footed beast which knows not the rein, and has shewn Himself the helper and champion of the soul which can see, to bestow on it full salvation. Again Moses 112

leads the song at the well, and this time his theme is not only the rout of the passions, but the strength invincible which can win that most beautiful of possessions, wisdom, which he likens to a well. For wisdom lies deep below the surface and gives forth a sweet stream of true nobility for thirsty souls, and that draught is at once needful and delicious above all things. But to none of those who in instruction 113 are but of the common herd is it permitted to dig this well, only to kings, as he says "kings hewed it" (Num. xxi. 16-18).<sup>a</sup> For it belongs to great leaders to search for and accomplish wisdom, not leaders who have subdued sea and land with arms, but those who through the powers of the soul have conquered the medley and confusion of the multitude which beset it.

XXX. <sup>b</sup> These leaders prove to have 114 followers and disciples <sup>b</sup> in those who say "thy servants have taken the sum of the warriors who were with us. Not one of them is in discord. We have brought our gift to the Lord, every man what he found" (Num. xxxi. 49, 50). It would seem that 115 these too are raising a song of victory in their desire for the perfect powers that befit the leaders. For they say that they have taken the largest number, that which completes the sum, of the different aspects of courage. They are by nature combatants, marshalled to fight against two battalions <sup>b</sup> of the enemy, one led by cowardice, a quality so difficult to cure, the other by rashness inspired by the frenzy of battle,

## PHILO

- δειλία, ἐτέρω δὲ οὐ ἠ ἀρειμάνιος θρασύτης· ἀμφό-  
 116 τεραι δὲ γνώμης ἀγαθῆς ἀμέτοχοι. παγκάλως δ' εἴρηται τὸ μηδένα διαπεφωνηκέναι πρὸς ὀλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς μετουσίαν ἀνδρείας· καθάπερ <γὰρ> λύρα καὶ πᾶν μουσικῆς ὄργανον ἐκμελές μὲν, κἂν εἰς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀπωδὸς ἢ φθόγγος, ἡρμοσμένον δ', ὅταν μιᾷ πλήξει συνηχώσι τὴν αὐτὴν συμφωνίαν ἀποτελοῦντες, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς ὄργανον ἀσύμφωνον μὲν, ὅταν ἢ θράσει σφόδρα ἐπιτεινόμενον πρὸς τὸ ὀξύτατον βιάζεται ἢ δειλία πλέον τοῦ μετρίου ἀνιέμενον πρὸς τὸ βαρύτατον χαλᾶται, σύμφωνον δ', ὅταν οἱ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς τόνοι πάντες ἀνα-  
 117 κραθέντες ἐν εὐάρμοστον ἀπογεννήσωσι μέλος. τῆς δὲ συμφωνίας καὶ εὐαρμοστίας μέγα τεκμήριον τὸ προσαηγοχέναι τὸ δῶρον τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τιμῆσαι πρεπόντως τὸ ὄν διὰ τοῦ σαφέστατα ὠμολογηκέναι, ὅτι δῶρόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τὸδε τὸ πᾶν·  
 118 λέγει γὰρ φυσικώτατα· “ ἀνὴρ ὁ εὖρε, τοῦτο προσήνεγκε δῶρον.” ἕκαστος δ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος εὐθύς εὕρισκει τὸ μέγα δῶρον θεοῦ τὸν παντελῆ κόσμον, <ὄν> αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις μέρεσιν  
 119 [ὄρεσιν] ἐχαρίσατο. XXXI. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ  
 [376] ἐν μέρει δωρεαί, ἃς θεῷ τε | δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀνθρώποις ἐμπρεπές. αὐταὶ δ' ἂν εἰεν ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατ' αὐτὰς ἐνέργειαι, ὧν τὴν εὖρεσιν σχεδὸν ἄχρονον οὖσαν διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ χαριζομένου τάχος ἐν οἷς εἴωθε δωρεῖσθαι πᾶς καταπέπληκται,  
 120 καὶ ὅτω μηδὲν μέγα τῶν ἄλλων ὑπείληπται. διὸ καὶ πυνθάνεται· “ τί τοῦτο ὁ ταχὺ εὖρες, ὦ τέκνον;”

<sup>1</sup> Or, as Adler, αὐτὸν γὰρ. Wendland proposed δν, omitting

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 115-120

and neither has any element of good judgement. Now it is a fine saying that "none is at discord" or thus failing to partake of courage perfect and complete. For as the lyre or any musical instrument is out of harmony if even a single note and nothing more be out of tune, but in harmony when, under a single stroke of the bow, the strings join in yielding the same symphony, so it is with the instrument of the soul. It is out of harmony when it is strained too far by rashness and forced to the highest pitch of the scale, or when it is relaxed too much by cowardice and weakened to the lowest. It is in harmony when all the strings of courage and every virtue combine to produce a single tuneful melody. The harmony and tunefulness in this case is mightily attested by the words which say that they have offered their gift to God, that is, that they have duly honoured the Existent by clearly acknowledging that this universe is His gift. For it says in words most agreeable to the truth of things, "what a man found, this he offered as a gift." Each of us, that is, finds at our birth that great gift of God, the complete universe which He bestowed on itself and on its highest members.

XXXI. There are also partial and particular gifts which it is fitting for God to give and for man to receive. These we shall find are the virtues and the activities which correspond to them. Our discovery of them one may almost say is timeless, because of the exceeding swiftness with which the Donor bestows His wonted gifts to the amazement of all, even of those who find nothing great in other things. Thus Isaac asks, "what is this which thou

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*αὐτὸν*, but the juxtaposition of *αὐτὸν* to *ἑαυτῷ* is very common and emphasis would be lost by its omission.

## PHILO

τεθραυμακῶς τῆς σπουδαίας διαθέσεως τὴν ὀξύτητα· ὁ δὲ εἶ παθῶν εὐθυβόλως ἀποκρίνεται· “ὁ παρέδωκε κύριος ὁ θεός.” παραδόσεις γὰρ καὶ ὑφηγήσεις βραδείαι μὲν αἱ δι’ ἀνθρώπων, ὀξύταται δ’ αἱ διὰ θεοῦ, φθάνουσαι καὶ τὴν ὀξύτάτην χρόνου κίνησιν.

- 121 Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατ’ ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν ἕξαρχοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ εὐχαριστικὸν ὕμνον ᾄδοντος χοροῦ οἱ λεχθέντες εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τροπὴν καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ τὸν ἐφ’ ἧτταις θρηῆνον σφαδάζοντος ἕτεροι, οὓς οὐ κακίζειν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκτιρίζεσθαι χρὴ καθάπερ τοὺς τὰ σώματα ἐκ φύσεως ἐπικήρως ἔχοντας, οἷς καὶ ἡ τυχοῦσα νόσου πρόφασις μέγα ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι.
- 122 ἔτιοι δ’ οὐ τῷ μαλθακωτέροις τοῖς ψυχῆς κεκρηῆσθαι τόνοις ἀνέπεσον ἄκοντες ὑπ’ ἐρρωμενεστέρας τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἰσχύος πιεσθέντες, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τοὺς ἐθελοδούλους ἐκόντες ἑαυτοὺς πικροῖς δεσπότηαι ὑπέρριψαν γένος ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι· διὸ μὴ δυνάμενοι πεπρᾶσθαι, τὸ παραλογώτατον, αὐτοὶ δεσπότηαι ὠνούμενοι προσεκτῶντο, ταῦτ’ ὀδρῶντες τοῖς ἐμφορουμένοις ἀπλήστως πρὸς μέθην οἴνου—
- 123 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γνώμη τὸν ἄκρατον, οὐ βιασθέντες προσφέρονται—, ὥστε καὶ γνώμη τὸ μὲν νηφάλιον ἐκτέμνουσι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ παράληρον αἰροῦνται· “φωνὴν” γὰρ φησιν “ἕξαρχόντων [ὑπ’] οἴνου

<sup>a</sup> Between ἀσθένειαν and τοῦ understand ἕξαρχοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες.

<sup>b</sup> Or “with whom any trifling occasion of sickness is a mighty obstacle to their well-being.”

<sup>c</sup> Here begins the description of those “who raise the song over the wine.”



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 120-123

hast found quickly, my son?" marvelling at the speed with which the virtuous disposition has been attained. The receiver of God's benefit answered rightly, "it is what the Lord God delivered to me" (Gen. xxvii. 20). For the instructions and injunctions delivered through men are slow, but those that come through God are exceeding swift, outrunning even the swiftest movement of time.

Now those described above are those who lead the 121  
song of prevailing might, the precentors of the choir which sings the hymn of victory and thanksgiving, while they who raise the song of weakness and defeat,<sup>a</sup> leaders of the choir which sobs forth the wailing of the routed, are of another sort, men who deserve pity rather than reproaches, even as we pity those whose bodies are fatally stricken by nature, with whom the misfortune of their malady ever stands to prevent their finding health and safety.<sup>b</sup>

But some <sup>c</sup> have failed not involuntarily, not because 122  
the nerves of their souls were feebler and because they were overpressed by the stouter might of their opponents, but because imitating those who hug their chains, they have voluntarily laid themselves at the feet of cruel masters, though they were born to freedom. And since in virtue of their free birth they could not be sold, they have—strange contrast—purchased and taken to them masters. Thus they are on a level with those who swill themselves insatiably with wine to the pitch of intoxication. For such de- 123  
liberately and under no compulsion put the cup of strong drink to their lips, and so it is also with full deliberation that these men eliminate soberness from their soul and choose madness in its place. For so runs the text, "It is the voice of those who raise

## PHILO

- ἐγὼ ἀκούω," τουτέστιν οὐκ ἀκούσιον ἐνδεδειγ-  
 μένων<sup>1</sup> μανίαν, ἀλλ' ἐκουσίῳ φρενοβλαβείᾳ βε-  
 124 βακχευμένων. XXXII. πᾶς δ' ὁ συν-  
 εγγίζων τῇ παρεμβολῇ " τὸν μόσχον ὄρα καὶ τοὺς  
 χορούς," ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς διασυνίστησι· τύφῳ γὰρ καὶ  
 τοῖς τύφου χορευταῖς ἐντυγχάνομεν, ὅσοι πλησίον  
 ἴστασθαι τοῦ σωματικοῦ στρατοπέδου διανοούμεθα  
 γνώμη· ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε φιλοθεάμοσι καὶ τὰ ἀσώματα  
 ὄραν γλιχομένοις, ἅτε ἀτυφίας οὖσιν ἀσκηταῖς,  
 πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ σώματος ἔθος διοικίζεσθαι.
- 125 εὐχου δὴ τῷ θεῷ μηδέποτε ἕξαρχος οἴνου γενέσθαι,  
 τουτέστι μηδέποτε ἐκὼν ἀφηγήσασθαι τῆς εἰς  
 ἀπαιδευσίαν καὶ ἀφροσύνην ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ· τὰ γὰρ  
 ἀκούσια ἡμίσεα κακῶν καὶ κουφότερα, καθαρῷ τῷ  
 126 τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλέγχῳ μὴ βαρυνόμενα. τελεσ-  
 φορηθεισῶν δέ σοι τῶν εὐχῶν ιδιότης μὲν ἔτι  
 μένειν οὐκ ἂν δύναιο, τὴν δὲ μεγίστην ἡγεμονιῶν  
 ἀρχήν, ἱερωσύνην, κτήση. σχεδὸν γὰρ  
 ἱερέων καὶ θεραπευτῶν θεοῦ μόνων τὸ ἔργον |  
 [377] νηφάλια θύειν, οἴνου καὶ παντὸς ὃ τοῦ ληρεῖν αἴτιον  
 127 βεβαιότητι διανοίας κατεξανισταμένων· " ἐλάλησε "  
 γὰρ φησι " κύριος τῷ Ἰακώβ λέγων· οἴνον καὶ  
 σίκερα οὐ πίεσθε σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ σου μετὰ σέ,<sup>2</sup>  
 ἥνικα ἂν εἰσπορεύηθε εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου  
 ἢ προσπορεύησθε τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ οὐ μὴ  
 ἀποθάνητε· νόμιμον αἰώνιον εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν  
 διαστεῖλαι ἀνὰ μέσον ἀγίων καὶ βεβήλων καὶ ἀνὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐνδεδειγμένων.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly μετὰ σοῦ as in LXX, and also in § 138.

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<sup>a</sup> The translation takes καθαρὸς in the sense of "unmixed,"  
 i.e. with nothing to lighten its force. Possibly "in all its  
 purity."

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 123-127

the song of wine that I hear," that is, not the song of those on whom insanity has fallen through no will of their own, but of those who are possessed with the frenzy which they themselves have willed.

XXXII. Now everyone who comes near to the camp 124  
"sees the calf and the dance" (Exod. xxxii. 19), as Moses himself shews. For all of us who have the deliberate purpose to stand close to the camp of the body find themselves in the company of vanity and its band of revellers. Whereas those who yearn for the Vision and long to behold things incorporeal are practisers of simplicity, and therefore it is their custom to make their dwelling as far as may be from the body.

Pray then to God that thou 125  
mayest never become a leader in the wine song, never, that is, voluntarily take the first steps on the path which leads to indiscipline and folly. Voluntarily, I say, for involuntary evils are but half evils and lighter matters, since they have not upon them the sheer <sup>a</sup> weight of convicting conscience. But if thy 126  
prayers are fulfilled thou canst no longer remain a layman, but wilt obtain the office which is the greatest of headships, the priesthood.

For it is the task of priests and ministers of God alone, or of hardly any others, to make the offering of sobriety, and in stedfastness of mind to resist the wine-cup and everything which causes folly. For 127  
"the Lord spake unto Aaron," we read, "saying, Wine and strong liquor ye shall not drink, thou and thy sons after thee, whenever ye enter into the tabernacle of testimony, or approach the altar, and ye shall not die. It is an everlasting ordinance unto your generations, to make a difference between the holy and the profane and between the clean and the un-

## PHILO

- 128 μέσον καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων.” Ἁαρὼν δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἱερεὺς, καὶ τοῦνομα ὀρεινὸς ἐρμηνεύεται, μετέωρα καὶ ὑψηλὰ φρονῶν λογισμὸς, οὐ διὰ μεγαλαυχίας κενοῦ φύσηματος ὑπόπλεων ὄγκον, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς, ἣ τὸ φρόνημα ἐξαίρουσα πέραν οὐρανοῦ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν ἐὰ λογίζεσθαι. διακείμενος
- 129 δ’ οὕτως ἄκρατον καὶ πᾶν ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον ἐκὼν οὐποτε προσήσεται. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρρηφοροῦντα αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσιέναι τὰς ἀοράτους ἐπιτελέσοντα τελετὰς ἡ τῷ βωμῷ προσιόντα θυσίας ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ κοινῶν
- 130 χαριστηρίους ἀναγαγεῖν· νήψεως δὲ καὶ περιττῆς ἀγχινοίας ταῦτα δείται. XXXIII. θαυμάσαι μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ἂν τις καὶ τὸ ῥητὸν τῆς προστάξεως. πῶς γὰρ οὐ σεμνὸν νήφοντας καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὄντας πρὸς εὐχὰς καὶ ἱερουργίας χωρεῖν,
- 131 ὡς ἔμπαλιν ἀμφότερα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, παρεμμένους ὑπὸ οἴνου καταγέλαστον; ἡ δεσπόταις μὲν καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ ἄρχουσιν οἰκέται καὶ υἱοὶ καὶ ὑπήκοοι μέλλοντες προσέρχεσθαι πρόνοιαν ἔξουσι τοῦ νήφειν, ὡς μήτε ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ πραττομένοις διαμάρτοιεν μήθ’ ὡς καταπεφρονηκότες τῆς ἐκείνων ἀξιώσεως κολασθεῖεν ἢ, τὸ γοῦν ἐπιεικέστατον, χλεύην ὄφλοιεν· τὸν δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνα καὶ πατέρα τις θεραπεύειν δικαίων οὐ καὶ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ὕπνου καὶ πάντων ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα τῇ φύσει περιέσται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀβροδίατον ἀποκλίνας τὸν τῶν ἀσώτων ζηλώσει βίον, καὶ βεβαρημένος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπ’ οἴνου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραβάλλων καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἐγκάρσιον πλαγιάζων καὶ ὑπ’ ἀμετρίας ἐρευγόμενος καὶ ὄλω διαρρέων τῷ σώματι χέρνιβος ἡ βωμῶν

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 128-131

clean " (Lev. x. 8-10). Now Aaron is the 128  
priest and his name means "mountainous." He is  
the reason whose thoughts are lofty and sublime, not  
with the empty inflated bigness of mere vaunting,  
but with the greatness of virtue, which lifts his think-  
ing above the heaven and will not let him cherish any  
reasoning that is mean and low. And being so  
minded he will never willingly allow strong wine or  
any potion which breeds folly to approach him. For 129  
he must either himself enter the tabernacle in mystic  
procession to accomplish the unseen rites, or come to  
the altar and there offer sacrifices of thanksgiving  
for private and public blessings. And these need  
sober abstinence and a close and ready attention.

XXXIII. In a literal sense too, this 130  
command deserves our admiration. For surely it is  
seemly that men should come to prayers and holy  
services sober and with full control of themselves,  
just as on the other hand to come with both body and  
soul relaxed with wine is a matter for scorn and  
ridicule. We know that when servants are about 131  
to approach their masters, or sons their parents, or  
subjects their rulers, they will take careful thought  
to be sober that they may not transgress in word and  
deed, and thus either receive punishment for having  
shewn contempt for the dignity of their betters, or  
at the best become an object of scorn. And shall he  
who claims to serve the Lord and Father of all, in-  
stead of rising superior to food and drink and all other  
natural necessities, fall away to luxury and affect the  
life of the dissolute? Shall he, with his eyes heavy  
with wine and his head lolling and his neck bent awry,  
come belching from his intemperance, limp and flabby  
in every limb, to touch the holy water or the altars or

## PHILO

- ἢ θυσιῶν προσάβεται; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἱεράν ἐξ ἀπόπτου φλόγα θεάσασθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ θέμις.
- 132 εἰ μέντοι μήτε σκηνην μήτε θυσιαστήριον ὑπολάβοι τις λέγεσθαι τὰ ὁρώμενα ἐκ τῆς αἰψύχου καὶ φθαρτῆς δημιουργηθέντα ὕλης, ἀλλὰ τὰ [378] ἀόρατα καὶ [τὰ] νοητὰ | θεωρήματα, ὧν αἰσθηταὶ ταῦτα εἰκόνες, καταπλαγήσεται μᾶλλον τὴν ὑφ-
- 133 ἡγήσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παντὸς τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα, τὸ δὲ μίμημα ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει, καὶ ἀρετῆς τὴν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον σφραγίδα εἰργάζετο, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐνεσημαίνετο ἐμφερέστατον χαρακτῆρα· ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀρχέτυπος σφραγὶς ἀσώματός ἐστιν ἰδέα, ἢ δὲ χαραχθεῖσα εἰκὼν σῶμα ἤδη, φύσει μὲν αἰσθητόν, οὐ μὴν εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐρχόμενον· καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους ξύλον εἴποι τις ἂν πεφυκέναι μὲν πρὸς τὸ καίεσθαι, μηδέποτε δ' ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλωθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν
- 134 τῆς θαλάττης ἀνάχυσιν. XXXIV. τὴν οὖν σκηνην καὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐννοήσωμεν ἰδέας,<sup>1</sup> τὴν μὲν ἀρετῆς ἀσωμάτου, τὸν δὲ αἰσθητῆς εἰκόνας εἶναι σύμβολον. τὸν μὲν γε βωμὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ῥάδιον ἰδεῖν—ἕξω τε γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ . . . ἀναλίσκεται, ὡς μὴ μεθ' ἡμέραν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ περιλάμ-
- 135 πεσθαι—, ἢ δὲ σκηνην καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα ἀθέατα, οὐχὶ τῷ μόνον ἐσωτάτῳ καὶ ἐν ἀδύτοις ἰδρῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τὸν προσαιψάμενον ἢ διὰ περιεργίαν

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, as Adler, the comma may be placed before *ιδέας*, which will then be taken as gen. sing.; see App. p. 505.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 504.

<sup>b</sup> The lacuna in the text may be filled up with some such words as τὰ ἱεουργούμενα.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 131-135

the sacrifices ? Nay, for such a one it were a sacrilege that he should even from a distance behold the sacred fire. But if we suppose that no actual 132  
tabernacle or altar is meant, that is the visible objects fashioned from lifeless and perishable material, but those invisible conceptions perceived only by the mind, of which the others are copies<sup>a</sup> open to our senses, he will be still more lost in admiration at the ordinance. For since the Creator made both the 133  
pattern and the copy in all that He made, virtue was not excepted : He wrought its archetypal seal, and He also stamped with this an impression which was its close counterpart. The archetypal seal is an incorporeal idea, but the copy which is made by the impression is something else—a material something, naturally perceptible by the senses, yet not actually coming into relation with them ; just as we might say that a piece of wood buried in the deepest part of the Atlantic ocean has a natural capacity for being burnt, though actually it will never be consumed by fire because the sea is around and above it.

XXXIV. <sup>a</sup> Let us conceive, then, of the tabernacle 134  
and altar as “ ideas,” the first being a symbol of incorporeal virtue, the other of its sensible image. Now the altar and what is on it can be easily seen. For it is constructed out of doors, and the fire which consumes the offerings is never extinguished,<sup>b</sup> and thus by night as well as by day it is in bright light. But the tabernacle and all its contents are unseen, 135  
not only because they are placed right inside and in the heart of the sanctuary, but because anyone who touched them, or with a too curious eye looked upon them, was punished with death according to the

## PHILO

- ὀφθαλμῶν ἰδόντα ἀπαραιτήτῳ δίκῃ θανάτου κατὰ πρόσταξιν νόμου κολάζεσθαι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις ὀλόκληρος καὶ παντελής εἴη, περὶ μηδέν, μὴ μέγα, μὴ μικρόν, ἀπλῶς κηραίνων πάθος, ἀλλ' ἀρτίῳ καὶ πλήρει καὶ πάντα τελειοτάτῃ κεκρημένος τῇ
- 136 φύσει. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται δι' ἔτους ἅπαξ εἰσιόντι ἐπισκοπεῖν τὰ ἀθέατα ἄλλοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐξ ἀπάντων μόνῳ ὁ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ ἀφθάρτων ἀγαθῶν πτηνὸς καὶ οὐράνιος ἔρως ἐνδαιτᾶται.
- 137 ὅταν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδέας πληχθεῖς ἔπηται τῇ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρετὰς τυπούση σφραγίδι κατανοῶν καὶ καταπληττόμενος αὐτῆς τὸ θεοειδέστατον κάλλος ἢ τινι προσέρχεται δεξαμένη τὸν ἐκείνης χαρακτηῖρα, λήθη μὲν ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας, μνήμη δὲ παιδείας καὶ ἐπιστήμης εὐθὺς ἐγγίνεται.
- 138 διὸ λέγει· “οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ πίεσθε, σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ σου μετὰ σέ, ἡνίκα ἂν εἰσπορεύησθε εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἢ προσπορεύησθε τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ.” ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀπαγορεύων μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος διεξέρχεται· τῷ μὲν γε ἀπαγορεύοντι οἰκεῖον ἦν εἰπεῖν· οἶνον, ὅταν ἱεουργῆτε, μὴ πίνετε, τῷ δὲ γνώμην ἀποφαινομένῳ τὸ “οὐ πίεσθε.” καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀμήχανον τὸ μέθης καὶ παροιρίας ψυχῆς αἴτιον, ἀπαιδευσίαν, προσίεσθαι τὸν ταῖς γενικαῖς καὶ κατ' εἶδος ἀρεταῖς ἐμμελετῶντα καὶ ἐγ-  
 139 χορεύοντα. τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν “μαρτυρίου” καλεῖ πολλάκις, ἥτοι παρόσον ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεὸς ρετῆς ἐστι μάρτυς, ᾧ καλὸν καὶ σύμφορον



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 135-139

ordinance of the law, and against that sentence there was no appeal. The only exception made is for one who should be free from all defects, not wasting himself with any passion great or small, but endowed with a nature sound and complete and perfect in every respect. To him it is permitted to enter once 136 a year and behold the sights which are forbidden to others, because in him alone of all resides the winged and heavenly yearning for those forms of good which are incorporeal and imperishable. And so, when 137 smitten by its ideal beauty he follows that archetype which creates by impress the particular virtues, beholding with ecstasy its most divine loveliness, or when he approaches some virtue which has received its impress, ignorance and the condition of the uninstructed are forgotten, and knowledge and instruction are at once remembered. And there- 138

fore he says "Wine and strong liquor ye shall not drink, thou and thy sons after thee, when ye enter into the tabernacle of testimony or approach the altar." In these words he speaks not so much by way of prohibition as stating what he thinks will happen. If a prohibition were intended, it would have been natural to say "do not drink wine when you perform the rites"; the phrase "you shall not" or "will not" drink is naturally used, when the speaker is stating what he thinks. For it is impossible that anyone, whose study and association lie among the general and specific virtues, should let indiscipline, which is the cause of drunkenness and the symptoms which follow it in the soul, have entry to him.

And he frequently calls the tabernacle "the taber- 139 nacle of testimony," either because God who cannot lie gives His testimony to virtue, a testimony to

## PHILO

- προσέχειν, ἢ παρόσον ἢ ἀρετὴ βεβαιότητα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίθησι τοὺς ἐνδοιάζοντας καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντας λογισμοὺς ἀνὰ κράτος ἐκτέμνουσα καὶ
- [379] ὡσπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ | τῷ βίῳ τάληθές ἀνα-  
 140 καλύπτουσα. XXXV. λέγει δὲ ὅτι οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖται ὁ νηφάλια θύων, ὡς ἀπαιδευσίας μὲν θάνατον ἐπιφερούσης, παιδείας δὲ ἀφθαρσίαν· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν νόσος μὲν διαλύσεως, ὑγεία δὲ σωτηρίας αἰτία, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ μὲν σῶζόν ἐστι φρόνησις—ὑγεία γάρ τις αὕτη διανοίας—, τὸ δὲ φθεῖρον ἀφροσύνη νόσον ἀνίατον <ἐγ>κατα-  
 141 σκήπτουσα.<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο δὲ “ νόμιμον αἰώνιον εἶναί ” φησιν, ἄντικρυς ἀποφαινόμενος· ὑπολαμβάνει γὰρ νόμον ἀθάνατον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἐσθηλιτεῦσθαι φύσει ταυτὶ περιέχοντα, ὅτι ὑγιεινὸν μὲν καὶ σωτήριον χρῆμα παιδεία, νόσου δὲ καὶ  
 142 φθορᾶς αἴτιον ἀπαιδευσία. παρεμφαίνει δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον· τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν νόμιμον εὐθύς ἐστιν αἰώνιον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, ὃς δὴ νόμος ἐστίν, οὐ φθαρτός· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τούναντίον <τὸ> παράνομον ἐφήμερόν τε καὶ εὐδιάλυτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ παρὰ  
 143 τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν ἀνωμολόγηται. νόμου δὲ καὶ παιδείας ἴδιον βέβηλα ἀγίων καὶ ἀκάθαρτα καθαρῶν “ διαστέλλειν, ” ὡς ἔμπαλιν ἀνομίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας εἰς ταῦτὸν ἄγειν τὰ μαχόμενα βιάζεσθαι<sup>2</sup> φουρούσης τὰ πάντα καὶ συγχεούσης.

<sup>1</sup> The uncompounded verb *κατασκήπτω* is not found in this sense.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. wished to omit *βιάζεσθαι*, but the construction may be paralleled by *βλάψαι βιαζόμενον* § 185. Cf. also *De Sobr.* 6.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “ declaring (his opinion) outright.” The thought 392

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 139-143

which it is excellent and profitable to give ear, or because virtue implants constancy in the souls of men, eradicating with a strong hand the reasonings which doubt and waver, and thus witness-like revealing the truth in the court of human life.

XXXV. Again, he says that he whose offerings are wineless shall not even die ; meaning that instruction entails immortality, but its absence entails death. For as in our bodies disease is the cause of dissolution, while health preserves them, so in our souls the preserving element is prudence, which is, so to speak, mental health, while the destroying element is folly inflicting incurable malady.

This, he says, is " an eternal statute," and the words mean what they say.<sup>a</sup> For he does hold that there is a deathless law engraved in the nature of the universe which lays down this truth, that instruction is a thing which gives health and safety, while its absence is the cause of disease and destruction. But there is also a further explanation in the words to this effect. A statute which is law in the true sense is thereby eternal, since right reason, which is identical with law,<sup>b</sup> is not destructible ; for that its opposite, the unlawful, is ephemeral and of itself subject to dissolution is a truth acknowledged by men of good sense.

Again, it is the special task of law and instruction to " distinguish " the profane from the sacred and the impure from the pure, just as conversely it is the way of lawlessness and indiscipline to mix and confuse everything and thus force under the same head things which are in conflict with each other.

seems to be that we may learn from the words not only that this particular law is eternal, but that all law in the true sense is necessarily (*εὐθὺς*) so.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 505.

## PHILO

XXXVI. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ καὶ βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν μέγιστος Σαμουὴλ “ οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα,” ὡς ὁ ἱερός λόγος φησίν, “ ἄχρι τελευτῆς οὐ πίεται”· τέτακται γὰρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θείου στρατοπέδου τάξει, ἣν οὐδέποτε λείπει προμηθεΐα τοῦ σοφοῦ ταξιάρχου. Σαμουὴλ δὲ γέγονε μὲν ἴσως ἄνθρωπος, παρείλη-  
 144 πται δ’ οὐχ ὡς σύνθετον ζῶον, ἀλλ’ ὡς νοῦς λατρεία καὶ θεραπεία θεοῦ μόνῃ χαίρων· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ τεταγμένος θεῷ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ὅσαι κατὰ κενὰς δόξας συνίστανται χαλεπὴν ἀταξίαν εἶναι νομίζειν. οὗτος μητρός γεγονεν Ἄννης,  
 145 ἣς τοῦνομα μεταληφθέν ἐστι χάρις· ἄνευ γὰρ θείας χάριτος ἀμήχανον ἢ λιποτακτῆσαι τὰ θνητὰ ἢ τοῖς ἀφθάρτοις αἰεὶ παραμεῖναι· χάριτος δ’ ἦτις ἂν  
 146 πληρωθῆ ἡ ψυχὴ, γέγηθεν εὐθύς καὶ μειδιᾷ καὶ ἀνορχεῖται· βεβᾶκχεται γάρ, ὡς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνοργιάστων μεθύειν καὶ παρακινεῖν<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐξ-εστάναι ἂν δόξαι. διὸ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ παιδαρίου τινός, οὐχ ἐνός, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ παντός τοῦ νεωτερίζειν καὶ τὰ καλὰ χλευάζειν ἀκμὴν ἔχοντος· “ ἕως πότε μεθυσθήσῃ; περιελοῦ | τὸν οἶνόν σου.”  
 [380] φιλεῖ γὰρ τοῖς θεοφορήτοις οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ μόνον  
 147 ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ ὡσπερ ἐξοιστρᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐνερευθές εἶναι καὶ πεπυρωμένον τῆς ἔνδον ἀναχεούσης καὶ χλαινουσῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πάθος εἰς τὸ ἔξω διαδιδούσης· ὑφ’ οὗ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀπατηθέντες τοὺς νήφοντας μεθύειν ὑπετόπασαν.

<sup>1</sup> Wendland corrected to *παροινεῖν*, but see App. p. 505.

<sup>a</sup> In what sense is Samuel a king? Perhaps as the hero of the First Book of Kings and the king-maker.

<sup>b</sup> So the LXX. The words *οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὐ πίεται* have nothing corresponding to them in the Hebrew.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 143-147

XXXVI. Therefore Samuel too, the greatest of kings<sup>a</sup> and prophets, "will never," as the scripture tells us, "drink wine or intoxicating liquor till his dying day" (1 Sam. i. 11).<sup>b</sup> For his place has been ordered in the ranks of the divine army, and through the providence of the wise commander he will never leave it. Now 144 probably there was an actual man called Samuel; but we conceive of the Samuel of the scripture, not as a living compound of soul and body, but as a mind which rejoices in the service and worship of God and that only. For his name by interpretation means "appointed or ordered to God," because he thinks that all actions that are based on idle opinions are grievous disorder. His mother is Hannah, 145 whose name means in our language "grace." For without divine grace it is impossible either to leave the ranks of mortality, or to stay for ever among the immortal. Now when grace fills the soul, that 146 soul thereby rejoices and smiles and dances, for it is possessed and inspired, so that to many of the unenlightened it may seem to be drunken, crazy and beside itself. And therefore she is addressed by a "boy,"<sup>c</sup> not meaning a single boy, but everyone whose age is ripe for restlessness and defiance and mockery of excellence, in these words: "How long wilt thou be drunken? put away thy wine from thee" (1 Sam. i. 14). For with the God-possessed not only 147 is the soul wont to be stirred and goaded as it were into ecstasy but the body also is flushed and fiery, warmed by the overflowing joy within which passes on the sensation to the outer man, and thus many of the foolish are deceived and suppose that the sober

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX. In the Hebrew the words are spoken by Eli.

PHILO

- 148 καίτοι γε ἐκείνοι μὲν τρόπον τινὰ  
 μεθύουσιν οἱ νήφοντες τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀθρόα ἡκρατι-  
 σμένοι καὶ τὰς προπόσεις παρὰ τελείας ἀρετῆς  
 δεξάμενοι, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ οἴνου μεθύοντες μέθην  
 ἄγευστοι φρονήσεως διετέλεσαν νηστείαν συνεχῆ  
 149 καὶ λιμὸν αὐτῆς ἄγοντες. εἰκότως οὖν ἀποκρίνεται  
 πρὸς τὸν νεωτεροποιὸν καὶ γέλωτα τίθεσθαι οἰό-  
 μενον<sup>1</sup> τὸν σεμνὸν καὶ αὐστηρὸν αὐτῆς βίον· ὦ  
 θαυμάσιε, “ γυνὴ ἢ σκληρὰ ἡμέρα ἐγὼ εἶμι, καὶ  
 οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὐ πέπωκα, καὶ ἐκχεῶ τὴν  
 ψυχὴν μου ἐνώπιον κυρίου ”· παμπόλλη γε παρ-  
 ρησία τῆς ψυχῆς, ἢ τῶν χαρίτων τοῦ θεοῦ πε-  
 150 πλήρωται. πρῶτον μὲν γε “ σκληρὰν ἡμέραν ”  
 εἶπεν ἑαυτὴν πρὸς τὸ χλευάζον ἀπιδουσα παιδάριον  
 —τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ παντὶ ἄφρονι τραχεῖα καὶ δύσ-  
 βατος καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτη νενόμισται ἢ ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν  
 ἄγουσα ὁδός, καθὰ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἐμαρ-  
 τύρησεν εἰπών·

τὴν μέντοι κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι.  
 τῆς δ’ ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεὸς προπάροιθεν ἔθηκεν  
 ἀθάνατος, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν  
 καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ’ εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,  
 ῥηιδίῃ δὴ ’πειτα πέλει χαλεπὴ περ εἴουσα—.

- 151 XXXVII. εἶτα οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὐ  
 φησι προσενέγκασθαι τῷ συνεχῶς καὶ παρὰ πάντα  
 τὸν βίον νήφειν ἐπαυχούσα· καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ἀφέτω  
 καὶ ἐλευθεριάζοντι καὶ καθαρῶ χρῆσθαι λογισμῶ  
 πρὸς μηδεὸς πάθους παροινουμένῳ μέγα καὶ  
 152 θαυμαστὸν ἦν ἔργον. ἐκ τούτου δὲ συμβαίνει νή-

<sup>1</sup> Wendland corrects unnecessarily to *τιθέμενον*.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 148-152

are drunk.                    Though, indeed, it is true 148  
 that these sober ones are drunk in a sense, for all good  
 things are united in the strong wine on which they  
 feast, and they receive the loving-cup from perfect  
 virtue ; while those others who are drunk with the  
 drunkenness of wine have lived fasting from prudence  
 without ceasing, and no taste of it has come to their  
 famine-stricken lips. Fitly, then, does she answer 149  
 the reckless one who thinks to mock her stern  
 and austere life, Sirrah, " I a woman am the hard  
 day,<sup>a</sup> I have drunk no wine or strong drink, and I will  
 pour out my soul before the Lord " (1 Sam. i. 15).  
 How vast is the boldness of the soul which is filled  
 with the gracious gifts of God ! First, we see, she 150  
 calls herself a " hard day," taking the view of the  
 varlet who thought to make a mock of her, for  
 to him and to every fool the way to virtue seems  
 rough and painful and ill to tread, and to this one of  
 the old writers has testified in these words :

Vice you may take by squadrons ; but there lies  
 'Twixt you and virtue (so hath God ordained)  
 Sore travail. Long and steep the road to her,  
 And rough at first ; but—reach the top—and she,  
 So hard to win, is now an easy prize.<sup>b</sup>

XXXVII. Secondly, she declares that she 151  
 has not partaken of wine or strong liquor, glorying  
 that her whole life has been one of unbroken abstin-  
 ence. And rightly, for indeed it was a great and  
 wonderful feat to follow reason, the free, the un-  
 shackled, the pure, which no passion inebriates. And 152

<sup>a</sup> Or, as Philo may have understood the words, " hard and easy," taking *ἡμέρα* from *ἡμερος*, see App. p. 505. The E.V. has " of a sorrowful spirit."

<sup>b</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 287, 289-292.

## PHILO

- ψεως ἀκράτου τὸν νοῦν ἐμφορηθέντα σπονδὴν ὄλον δι' ὄλων γίνεσθαι τε καὶ σπένδεσθαι θεῶ· τί γὰρ ἦν τὸ “ ἐκχεῶ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐναντίον κυρίου ” ἢ σύμπασαν αὐτὴν ἀνιερῶσω, δεσμὰ μὲν οἷς πρότερον ἐσφίγγετο, ἃ περιήψαν αἱ τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου κεναὶ σπουδαί, πάντα λύσας, προαγαγὼν δὲ ἔξω καὶ τείνας καὶ ἀναχέας τοσοῦτον, ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς ἄψασθαι περάτων καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀγενήτου παγκάλην καὶ αἰοίδιμον θέαν ἐπειχθῆναι;
- 153 [381] Νηφόντων μὲν οὖν ὁ | χορὸς οὗτος παιδείαν προ-  
στησαμένων ἡγεμονίδα, μεθύοντων δ' ὁ πρότερος,  
154 οὐπερ ἦν ἔξαρχος ἀπαιδευσία. XXXVIII. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μεθύειν οὐ μόνον ἐδήλου τὸ ληρεῖν, ὁ δημιουργὸν ἀπαιδευσίαν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παντελῶς ἀναισθητεῖν, ἀναισθησίας δὲ τῆς μὲν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δημιουργὸς οἶνος, τῆς δὲ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄγνοια τούτων ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιστήμην ἀνεληφέναι, λεκτέον καὶ περὶ ἀγνοίας βραχέα αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια  
155 ὑπομιμνήσκοντας. τίνοι οὖν ἀπεικάζωμεν τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι τὸ ἐν ψυχῇ πάθος ὃ κέκληται ἄγνοια ἢ τῇ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων πηρώσει; οὐκοῦν ὅσοι ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὠτα ἐβλάβησαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι <οὔτ' > ἰδεῖν οὔτ' ἀκοῦσαι δύνανται, ἡμέραν μὲν καὶ φῶς, ὧν ἔνεκα μόνων, εἰ χρή τάλθηθές εἰπεῖν, τὸ ζῆν αἰρετόν, οὐκ εἰδότες, μακρῶ δὲ σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ αἰωνίῳ συνοικοῦντες, πρὸς πάντα καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μείζω κεκωφημένοι, οὗς εἰκότως ὁ βίος ἀδυνάτους  
156 εἴωθε καλεῖν· κἄν γὰρ αἱ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἀπασαι δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ πέρασ ἰσχύος

<sup>1</sup> The LXX has ἐκχεῶ. But that Philo read the future is shewn by ἀνιερῶσω.



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 152-156

the result of this is that the mind, which has drunk deep of abstinence unmixed, becomes a libation in its whole being, a libation which is poured out to God. What else was meant by the words, " I will pour out my soul before the Lord " but " I will consecrate it all to him, I will loosen all the chains that bound it tight, which the empty aims and desires of mortal life had fastened upon it ; I will send it abroad, extend and diffuse it, so that it shall touch the bounds of the All, and hasten to that most glorious and loveliest of visions—the Vision of the Uncreated " ?

This, then, is the company of the sober who have 153 set before them instruction as their head, while the former was the company of the drunken, whose leader was indiscipline. XXXVIII. But drunken- 154 ness, we saw, does not only signify folly, which is the work of this rejection of discipline, but it also signifies complete insensibility. In the body this is produced by wine, but in the soul by ignorance of things of which we should naturally have acquired knowledge. Consequently on the subject of ignorance I must say a few words, only just what is needful, by way of reminder. Now what we call ignorance is an affection of the soul. To what affec- 155 tion of the body can we liken it, but to the incapacitation of the sense-organs ? All who have lost the use of eyes and ears can no longer see or hear and have no knowledge of day and light, which alone in truth make life desirable, but are surrounded by enduring darkness and everlasting night, thus rendered helpless in regard to every issue great or small. These persons are in common life generally and with good reason called "incapable." For even if all the 156 faculties of the rest of the body should attain the

## PHILO

ἔλθωσι καὶ ῥώμης, ὑποσκελισθεῖσαι πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν  
καὶ ὧτων πηρώσεως μέγα πτώμα πίπτουσιν, ὡς  
μηκέτ' ἀναστῆναι δύνασθαι· τὰ γὰρ ὑπερείδοντα  
καὶ στηρίζοντα ἄνθρωπον λόγῳ μὲν αἱ βάσεις  
εἰσὶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀκοαί τε καὶ ὄψεις, ἃς ἔχων μὲν τις  
ὀλοκλήρους ἐγγήγερται καὶ ἀνωρθίασται, στερόμενος  
δὲ αὐτῶν κλίνεται καὶ εἰσάπαν καθαιρεῖται.

- 157 τὸ παραπλήσιον οὖν ἐν ψυχῇ πάντως<sup>1</sup>  
ἄγνοια ἐργάζεται τὰ βλέποντα καὶ ἀκούοντα αὐτῆς  
λυμαινομένη καὶ μήτε φῶς μήτε λόγον παρεισ-  
ελθεῖν ἐῷσα, τὸν μὲν, ἵνα μὴ διδάξῃ, τὸ δέ, ἵνα μὴ  
δείξῃ τὰ ὄντα, βαθὺ δὲ σκότος καὶ πολλὴν ἀλογίαν  
καταχέασα κωφὴν λίθον τὸ περικαλλέστατον εἶδος  
158 ψυχῆς εἰργάσατο. XXXIX. καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ  
τὸ ἐναντίον, ἢ ἐπιστήμη, τρόπον τινα ψυχῆς καὶ  
ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὠτά ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς λεγομένοις  
προσέχει τὸν νοῦν καὶ καταθεᾶται τὰ ὄντα καὶ  
οὐδὲν οὔτε παρορᾶν οὔτε παρακούειν ὑπομένει,  
πάντα δ' ὅσα ἀκοῆς καὶ θέας ἄξια περισκοπεῖ καὶ  
περιβλέπεται, κἂν εἰ πεζεύειν καὶ πλεῖν δεῖ, γῆς  
καὶ θαλάττης ἄχρι τῶν περάτων ἀφικνεῖται, ἵνα  
159 ἴδῃ τι πλεον ἢ ἀκούσῃ καινότερον. ἀκονότατον  
γὰρ ὁ ἐπιστήμης ἔρως, ἐχθρὸς μὲν ὕπνου, φίλος  
δὲ ἐργηγόρσεως· διανιστὰς οὖν καὶ ἀνεγεύρων καὶ  
παραθήγων αἰεὶ διάνοιαν πανταχόσε περιφοιτᾶν  
ἀναγκάζει λίχνον ἀκοῆς ἐργαζόμενος καὶ μαθήσεως  
160 δῶψαν ἄληκτον ἐντήκων. οὐκοῦν ἐπι-  
στήμη μὲν τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἀκούειν περιποιεῖ, δι'  
ὧν αἱ κατορθώσεις· ὁ γὰρ ἰδὼν καὶ ἀκούσας, γνοὺς  
382] | τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ μὲν ἐλόμενος, τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πάνθ' ὅσα.

<sup>a</sup> Or "word . . . wordlessness." See App. p. 505.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 156-160

utmost limit of strength and capacity, yet if they are handicapped by the crippling of eyes and ears they fall, and great is that fall, making any reinstatement impossible. For, though we speak of the feet as the support which upholds the man, in reality that is done by the faculties of sight and hearing : possessed of these in their fullness, the man stands uprisen and erect ; deprived of them, he gives way and is utterly prostrated. An exactly similar result in 157 the soul is produced by ignorance, which destroys its powers of seeing and hearing, and suffers neither light, which might shew it realities, nor reason,<sup>a</sup> which might be its teacher, to find their way in ; but sheds about it profound darkness and a flood of unreason,<sup>a</sup> and turns the soul's fair and lovely form into a senseless block of stone. XXXIX. Similarly know- 158 ledge, the opposite of ignorance, may be called the eyes and the ears of the soul. For it fixes the attention on what is said and contemplates what is, and allows no mis-seeing or mis-hearing,<sup>b</sup> but surveys and observes all that is worthy to be heard and seen. And if it be necessary to travel or take ship, it makes its way to the ends of the earth or ocean, to see something more or hear something new. For nothing 159 is so active as the passion for knowledge ; it hates sleep and loves wakefulness. So it ever arouses and excites and sharpens the intellect, and compelling it to range in every direction makes it greedy to hear, and instils an incessant thirst for learning. Knowledge, then, provides <sup>c</sup> that sight or hearing, to 160 which we owe each case of right conduct. For he who sees and hears in the moral sense, knows what is good for him, and by choosing this and rejecting

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 505.

<sup>c</sup> Or "preserves."

## PHILO

- ἀποστραφεῖς ὠφέληται. ἄγνοια δὲ χαλεπωτέραν τῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι πῆρῳσι ἐπιφέρουσα τῇ ψυχῇ πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων αἰτία γίνεται, μηδὲν μὴτ' ἐκ τοῦ προϋδέσθαι μὴτ' ἐκ τοῦ προακοῦσαι δυναμένη λαβεῖν ἕξωθεν βοήθημα· διὰ γοῦν τὴν πολλὴν ἐρημίαν ἑαυτῆς ἀφρούρητος καὶ ἀφύλακτος ἑαθείσα [καὶ] πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων τε ὁμοῦ
- 161 καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιβουλεύεται. μηδέποτ' οὖν μὴτ' ἄκρατον προσενεγκώμεθα τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἀπραξίαν ἐμποιῆσαι ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, μήτε τοσοῦτον ἐπιστήμης ἀλλοτριωθῶμεν, ὡς ἄγνοιαν, τὸ μέγα καὶ βαθὺ σκότος, τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς κατασκεδάσαι.
- 162 XL. Διττὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγνοίας γένος, τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν, ἢ παντελῆς ἀναισθησία, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον ἀνεπιστημοσύνη τις συνέχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴηται εἰδέναί ἃ μηδαμῶς οἶδε δόξῃ ψευδεὶ σοφίας
- 163 ἐπαιρόμενος. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον κακὸν ἔλαττον—κουφοτέρων γὰρ ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τάχα ἀκουσίων αἰτιῶν—, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μείζον· μεγάλα γὰρ ἀποτίκτει καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσια μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη κακ
- 164 προνοίας ἀδικήματα. περὶ ταῦτά μοι  
δοκεῖ Λὼτ ὁ θυγατροποιὸς μάλιστα κηραίνειν ἄρρεν καὶ τέλειον ἐν ψυχῇ φυτὸν ἀναθρέψαι μὴ δυνάμενος· δύο γὰρ θυγατέρας ἐκ τῆς λιθουμένης γυναικὸς ἔσχηκεν, ἣν εὐθυβόλῳ χρησάμενος ὀνόματι καλέσειεν ἂν τις συνήθειαν, ἐχθρὰν φύσιν ἀληθείας, καὶ ὅποτε ἄγοι τις αὐτήν, ὑστερίζουσαν καὶ περιβλεπομένην τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ σύντροφα καὶ ἀψύχου τρόπον στήλης ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς κατα-
- 165 μένουσαν. τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων ἢ μὲν  
πρεσβυτέρα κεκλήσεται βουλή, συναίνεσις δὲ ἢ

its opposite, finds himself benefited. But ignorance entails a more severe disablement to the soul than the disablement of the body, and thus is the cause of all its wrongdoing, since it cannot draw help from outside itself through the warnings which seeing and hearing might give it. Thus, standing utterly alone, and left unguarded and unprotected, it is a butt for the haphazard hostility of men and circumstances alike. Let us, then, never drink so deep of strong 161 liquor as to reduce our senses to inactivity, nor become so estranged from knowledge as to spread the vast and profound darkness of ignorance over our soul.

XL. Now ignorance as a whole is of two different 162 kinds ; one single, that is complete insensibility, the other twofold, that is when a man is not merely the victim of a want of knowledge, but also, encouraged by a false idea of his own wisdom, thinks he knows what he does not know at all. The former is the 163 lesser evil, for it is the cause of less serious and perhaps involuntary errors, and the second is the greater, for it is the parent of great iniquities, not only those which are involuntary, but such as are actually premeditated.

It was this especially which 164 brought trouble to Lot—Lot who was the parent of daughters only and could rear no male or perfect growth within his soul. Two daughters he had and their mother was she who was turned into stone, whom we might call “ custom,” if we gave her her right name ; her nature is hostile to truth, and if we take her with us, she lags behind and gazes round at the old familiar objects and remains among them like a lifeless monument.

The elder of these 165 daughters will bear the name of Deliberation, and

## PHILO

νεωτέρα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ βουλευσασθαι τὸ συναινεῖν  
 ἔπεται, συναινέσας δ' οὐδὲ εἰς ἔτι βουλεύεται.  
 καθίσας οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συνεδρίῳ διακινεῖν  
 ἄρχεται τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ μετὰ μὲν τῆς πρε-  
 σβυτέρας, βουλήs, σκοπεῖσθαι τε καὶ διερευνᾶν  
 ἕκαστα, μετὰ δὲ τῆς νεωτέρας, συναινέσεως,  
 ἐπινεύειν ῥαδίως τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι καὶ ὡς φίλα τὰ  
 ἐχθρὰ ἀσπάζεσθαι, δέλεαρ εἶ τι μικρὸν ἡδονῆs  
 166 αὐτὸ μόνον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐνδιδῶη. ταῦτα δὲ νήφων  
 μὲν λογισμὸς οὐκ ἀνέχεται, μέθη δὲ κατεσχημένος  
 καὶ ὡσπερ ἕξοιμος ὢν· ΧLII. διὸ λέγεται· “ἐπό-  
 τισαν τὸν πατέρα οἶνον.” ἀναισθησία  
 παντελής, ἱκανὸν δοκεῖν εἶναι βουλεύεσθαι τὸν  
 νοῦν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ συμφέροντα ἢ τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν  
 φανείσιν, ὡς τὸ ἀληθὲς πάγιον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχουσι,  
 συναινέσαι, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως μηδαμῆ μη-  
 δαμῶς ἱκανῆs οὕσης ἢ ἐκ περισκέψεως τὸ σαφὲς  
 εὔρειν ἢ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ συμφέροντα ἐλέσθαι,  
 [383] τὰ δ' ὡs<sup>1</sup> ψευδῆ καὶ βλάβης αἷτια | ἀποστραφῆναι.  
 167 πολὺ γὰρ σκότος τῶν ὄντων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ  
 πραγμάτων κατακεχυμένον οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν ἐκάστου  
 φύσιν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν βιασάμενός τις ὑπὸ περιεργίας  
 ἢ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦs ἐθελήsη διακῦψαι, καθάπερ οἱ  
 πεπηρωμένοι προσπταίων τοῖς ἐν ποσί, πρὶν τι  
 λαβεῖν, ἀναπεσῶν ὑστερίζει ἢ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐφαπτό-  
 μενος τὰ ἄδηλα εἰκάζει στοχασμὸν πρὸ ἀληθείας  
 168 κτώμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ δαδουχοῦσα παιδεία παρα-  
 πέμποι τὸν νοῦν φῶs ἀψαμένη τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν  
 τῶν ὄντων θέαν, ὀνήsαι δύναιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 βλάψαι· τὸ γὰρ βραχὺ φέγγος ὑπὸ πολλοῦ σκότους

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἢ ὡs.

<sup>a</sup> Or “to examine.”

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 165-168

the younger of Assent. For assent follows deliberation, and no one who has given his assent continues to deliberate. The mind then taking his seat in his council begins to make his daughters busy.<sup>a</sup> With the elder, Deliberation, he proceeds to discuss and examine every point ; with the younger, Assent, he readily agrees to every suggestion, giving a friendly welcome to any however hostile, if what they have to give offers any enticement of pleasure however small. In its sober condition the mind does not tolerate this, 166 only when it has succumbed to intoxication and is as though overcome by wine. XLI. And so we read, "They gave their father wine to drink" (Gen. xix. 33).

Now this is complete insensibility, that the mind should think itself competent to deliberate by itself on what is to its interests, or to assent to presentations of any kind as though they were a vehicle of solid truth, for human nature is ever quite unable, either by circumspection to discover certainty, or to choose some things as true and profitable, and to reject others as false and injurious. For the vastness of the darkness which overspreads 167 the world of bodies and affairs forbids us to see the nature of each ; and though curiosity or love of learning may give us the wish to force our way and peer through the curtain, we shall like blind men stumble over the obstacles before us, lose our footing and miss our object, or if our hands do lay hold of it, we are but guessing at uncertainties and it is not truth but conjecture that is in our grasp. For even 168 if instruction, torch in hand, should go before the mind, shedding her own particular light to give it sight of realities, it would do more harm than good. For its little beam is bound to be extinguished by

## PHILO

- σβέννυσθαι πέφυκε, σβεσθέντος δὲ ἀνωφελῆς πᾶσα  
 169 ὄψις. τὸν μέντοι σεμννόμενον ἢ ἐπὶ  
 τῷ βουλευέσθαι ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ μὲν αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ  
 φεύγειν ἰκανῶς δύνασθαι διὰ τούτων ὑπομνηστέον·  
 εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τὰς αὐτὰς αἰεὶ συνέβαινε  
 προσπίπτειν ἀπαρλλάκτους φαντασίας, ἣν ἴσως  
 ἀναγκαῖον τά τε ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φύσει κατασκευα-  
 σθέντα διττὰ κριτήρια, αἴσθησίην τε καὶ νοῦν, ὡς  
 ἀψευδῆ καὶ ἀδέκαστα θαυμάζειν καὶ περὶ μηδενὸς  
 ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐπέχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἅπαξ φανέισι  
 πιστεύοντας τὰ μὲν αἰρεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔμπαλιν  
 170 ἀποστρέφεισθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διαφόρως ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
 εὑρισκόμεθα κινούμενοι, βέβαιον περὶ οὐδενὸς  
 οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοιμεν εἰπεῖν, ἅτε μὴ ἐστῶτος τοῦ  
 φανέντος, ἀλλὰ πολυτρόποις καὶ πολυμόρφοις  
 χρωμένου ταῖς μεταβολαῖς. XLII. ἀνάγκη γὰρ  
 ἀνιδρύτου τῆς φαντασίας οὔσης ἀνίδρυτον εἶναι  
 καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κρίσιν.
- 171 Αἴτια δὲ τούτου πολλά· πρῶτον μὲν αἰ ἐν τοῖς  
 ζώοις οὐ καθ' ἓν μέρος ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν περὶ πάντα  
 ἀμύθητοι διαφοραί, αἰ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ κατα-  
 σκευὴν αὐτῶν, αἰ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς καὶ διαίτας, αἰ  
 περὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς, αἰ περὶ τὰς αἰσθη-  
 τικὰς ἐνεργείας τε καὶ κινήσεις, αἰ περὶ τὰς τῶν  
 κατὰ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀμυθήτων παθῶν ιδιότητας.
- 172 χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν κρινόντων ἴδε καὶ τῶν  
 κρινομένων ἔνια, οἷα τὸν χαμαιλέοντα, τὸν πολυ-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 505.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 506.



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 168-172

the vast darkness, and when it is extinguished all power of sight is useless. He who prides 169 himself on his judgement in deliberation, or flatters himself that he is competent to choose this and shun that, should be brought to a recollection of the truth by the following thoughts. If it were always the case that the same objects produced the same impressions on the mind without any variation, it would perhaps be necessary that the two instruments of judgement which nature has established in us, sense and mind, should be held in high esteem as veracious and incorruptible, and that we should not suspend our judgement on any point through doubt but accept a single presentation of two different objects, and on the faith of this choose one and reject the other. But 170 since we prove to be differently affected by them at different times, we can say nothing with certainty about anything, because the picture presented to us is not constant, but subject to changes manifold and multiform. XLII. Since the mental picture is variable, the judgement we form of it must be variable also. There are many reasons for this.<sup>a</sup>

In the first place<sup>b</sup> there are the innumerable differences 171 in living creatures, differences concerned not with a single aspect, but practically with all; differences in birth, in structure and equipment; differences in food and mode of life; differences in predilections and aversions; differences in their sense-activities and sense-movements; differences in the peculiarities which arise from the innumerable ways in which body and soul are affected. For 172 leaving out of sight for the moment those who form judgements,<sup>b</sup> consider examples<sup>b</sup> among the objects of such judgements. Take for instance the chameleon

## PHILO

- ποδα· τὸν μὲν γέ φασι τὴν χροάν ἀλλάττοντα τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι καθ' ὧν εἴωθεν ἔρπειν, τὸν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ θαλάττης πέτραις, ὧν ἂν περιδράξῃται, τάχα που τῆς σωτηρίου φύσεως ἀλεξίκακον συλλήψεως δωρησαμένης τὴν εἰς τὸ πολυχρώματον
- 173 αὐτοῖς τροπὴν φάρμακον. τὸν δε αὐχένα τῆς περιστερᾶς ἐν ἡλιακαῖς αὐγαῖς οὐ κατενόησας μυρίας χρωμάτων ἀλλάττοντα ιδέας; ἢ οὐχι φοινικοῦν καὶ κυανοῦν, πυρωπὸν τε αὐ καὶ ἀνθρακοειδές, ἔτι δὲ ὠχρὸν καὶ ἐρυθρὸν καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ ἴσχει χρώματα, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰς κλήσεις
- 174 ῥᾶδιον ἀπομνημονεῦσαι; φασι μέντοι καὶ ἐν Σκύ-  
[384] θαις τοῖς | καλουμένοις Γελώοις θαυμασιώτατόν τι γίνεσθαι σπανίως μὲν, γίνεσθαι δ' ὅμως θηρίον, ὃ καλεῖται τάρανδρος, μέγεθος μὲν βοῶς οὐκ ἀποδέον, ἐλάφῳ δὲ τὸν τοῦ προσώπου τύπον ἐμφερέστατον· λόγος ἔχει τοῦτο μεταβάλλειν αἰετὰς τρίχας πρὸς τε τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰ δένδρα καὶ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς οἷς ἂν ἐγγὺς ἰσθῆται, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῆς χροᾶς ὁμοιότητα λανθάνειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ ταύτη μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ
- 175 περὶ σῶμα ἀλκῇ δυσθήρατον εἶναι. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια πίστεις ἐναργεῖς ἀκαταληψίας εἰσίν.

XLIII. Ἐπειτα δὲ αἱ μηκέτι τῶν ζώων ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰδίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους

176 περὶ πάντα ποικιλίαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὰ αὐτὰ κρίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρως ἕτεροι, ἡδονὰς τε καὶ ἀηδίας ἔμπαλιν τῶν αὐτῶν λαμβάνοντες· οἷς γὰρ δυσηρέστησαν ἔνιοι, ἐτέρφθησαν ἄλλοι, καὶ κατὰ τούναντίον ἅπερ ὡς φίλα καὶ οἰκεῖα ἐπι-  
σπασάμενοί<sup>1</sup> τινες ἐδεξιώσαντο, ταῦθ' ἕτεροι ὡς

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Adler, ἀσπασάμενοι. See App. p. 507.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 506.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 507.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 172-176

and the polypus. The former, we are told, changes its colour and grows like the kinds of soil over which it is its habit to crawl; the latter grows like the rocks to which it clings in the sea, and we may fairly suppose that this power of changing to various colours is given them by protecting nature as a remedy against the danger of capture. Again, have we not 173 seen the dove's neck<sup>a</sup> change in the sun's rays into a thousand different hues, sometimes scarlet and dark blue, or fiery or like red-hot coal, again yellow and then ruddy, and all other kinds of colour, so numerous that it would be difficult to give even their names in full? Indeed it is said that in the land of the 174 Scythians who are known as the Geloans a most extraordinary animal is actually, though no doubt rarely, found called the elk, in size equal to an ox, but with a face shaped very like a deer. The account given of this creature is that it always changes the colour of its hair into that of the places, trees, or any imaginable thing near which it stands, and owing to this similarity of colour, we are told, it is not observed by passers-by, and this fact rather than its bodily strength makes it difficult to catch. These and similar phenomena are clear proofs of the 175 impossibility of apprehension.<sup>a</sup>

XLIII. Secondly,<sup>b</sup> there are the diversities on all subjects which, to pass from animals in general, we find also in men in particular. Not only do their judge- 176 ments<sup>b</sup> on the same objects vary at different times, but different persons receive different impressions of pleasure or its reverse from the same things. For what is disliked by some is enjoyed by others, and contrariwise what some receive with open arms as acceptable and agreeable to their nature is utterly

## PHILO

- ἀλλότρια καὶ δυσμενῆ μακρὰν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐσκο-  
 177 ράκισαν. ἤδη γοῦν ἐν θεάτρῳ πολλάκις παρα-  
 τυχῶν εἶδον ὑφ' ἐνὸς μέλους τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐπὶ  
 τῆς σκηνῆς τραγωδῶν ἢ κιθαρωδῶν τοὺς μὲν οὕτως  
 ἀχθέντας, ὡς ἀνεγειρομένους καὶ συνηχοῦντας ἀκον-  
 τας τὰ πρὸς ἔπαινον ἐκφωνεῖν, τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀτρώ-  
 τως ἔχοντας, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ἀψύχων βάθρων ἐφ' οἷς  
 καθέζονται ταύτῃ γοῦν διαφέρειν ἂν νομισθῆναι,  
 ἐνίους δ' οὕτως ἀλλοτριωθέντας, ὡς καὶ τὴν θέαν  
 οἴχεσθαι καταλιπόντας, ἔτι καὶ προσαποκλειο-  
 μένους<sup>1</sup> ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ὦτα, μὴ ἄρα τι  
 ἔναυλον ἀπολειφθὲν ἀηδίαν ὑπηχοῦν δυσκόλοις καὶ  
 δυσαρέστοις ψυχαῖς ἐργάσεται.
- 178 Καίτοι τί ταῦτά φαμεν; αὐτός τις εἰς ὧν ἕκαστος  
 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ παραδοξότατον, μυρίας μεταβολὰς  
 καὶ τροπὰς δεχόμενος κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν  
 τοτὲ μὲν αἰρεῖται, τοτὲ δ' ἀποστρέφεται οὐδαμῶς  
 μεταβάλλοντα, μένειν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πεφυκότα
- 179 κατασκευῆς· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ νοσοῦσι  
 προσπίπτειν φιλεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐγρηγοροῦσι καὶ κοιμω-  
 μένοις, οὐδὲ ἠβῶσι καὶ γεγηρακόσι· καὶ ἐστὼς  
 μέντοι καὶ κινούμενός τις ἑτέρας ἔλαβε φαν-  
 τασίας, καὶ θαρρῶν καὶ δεδιώς ἔμπαλιν, ἔτι  
 μέντοι λυπούμενός τε καὶ χαίρων, καὶ φιλῶν καὶ
- 180 τοῦναντίον μισῶν. καὶ τί δεῖ μακρηγοροῦντα περὶ  
 τούτων ἐνοχλεῖν; συνελόντι γὰρ φράσαι πᾶσα ἢ  
 σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν τε αὐ καὶ παρὰ |  
 [385] φύσιν κίνησις αἰτία τῆς περὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀστάτου

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προσαποσειομένους, which Wendland defends on the  
 strange ground that "shaking off their ears" may describe  
 the action of men trying to brush away the sound of the  
 music out of their ears. Cohn preferred ἀποσαττομένους,  
 which would give the same sense as ἀποκλειομένους (Mangey).

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 177-180

scouted by others as alien and repugnant. For 177  
example, I have often when I chanced to be in the  
theatre noticed the effect produced by some single  
tune sung by the actors on the stage or played by the  
musicians. Some of the audience are so moved, that  
in their excitement they cannot help raising their  
voices in a chorus of acclamation.<sup>a</sup> Others are so  
unstirred that, as far as this is concerned, you might  
suppose them on a level of feeling with the senseless  
benches on which they sit. Others, again, are so  
repelled that they are off and away from the per-  
formance, and indeed, as they go, block their ears  
with both hands for fear that some echo of the music  
should remain to haunt them and produce a sense of  
discomfort to irritate and pain their souls.

<sup>b</sup> But it is needless to quote such cases as these. 178  
Every single individual in his own person is subject,  
extraordinary though it be, to numberless changes  
and variations in body and soul, and chooses at one  
time and rejects at another things which do not  
change, but retain the natural constitution which  
they have had throughout. The same feelings are 179  
not experienced in health as in sickness, in wakeful-  
ness as in sleep, in youth as in age. And people  
receive different mental impressions according as  
they are standing or moving, confident or affrighted,  
sad or joyful, loving or hating. And why tediously 180  
pursue the subject? For to put it shortly, our  
bodies and souls are in a state of motion, natural or  
unnatural, which considered as a whole produces  
that ceaseless change in the mental pictures pre-

<sup>a</sup> Or (not so probably) *ἀνεγειρομένους* "starting from their  
seats," *συνηχοῦντας* "taking up the tune."

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 507.

## PHILO

φορᾶς γίνεται μαχόμενα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα προσβαλλούσης ὀνειράτα.

- 181 XLIV. Γίνεται δ' οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ περὶ τὰς φαντασίας ἄστατον καὶ παρὰ τὰς θέσεις καὶ παρὰ τὰ διαστήματα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους, οἷς ἕκαστα
- 182 ἐμπεριέχεται. ἢ τοὺς κατὰ θαλάττης ἰχθύς οὐχ ὀρώμεν, ὅποτε τὰς πτέρυγας διατείνοντες ἐννήχονται, μείζους αἰετῆς φύσεως προφαινομένους; καὶ τὰς εἰρεσίας μέντοι, κἂν σφόδρα ὤσιν εὐθυτενεῖς, κεκλασμένας ὀρᾶσθαι συμβαίνει καθ' ὕδατος.
- 183 τὰ γε μὴν πορρωτάτω ψευδεῖς προσβάλλοντα φαντασίας τὸν νοῦν εἴωθεν ἀπατᾶν· ἄψυχα γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ὄντα ὑπετοπήθη ζῶα εἶναι καὶ τούναντίον τὰ ἔμψυχα ἄψυχα, ἔτι δὲ τὰ ἐστῶτα κινεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ κινούμενα ἐστάναι καὶ τὰ μὲν προσιόντα ἐξαναχωρεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀπίοντα πάλιν προσέρχεσθαι, καὶ βραχύτατα μὲν τὰ περιμηκέστατα, περιφερῆ δ' αὖ τὰ πολυγώνια. καὶ μυρία ἄλλα ὑπὸ τῆς φανεράς ὄψεως ψευδογραφεῖται, οἷς οὐκ ἂν τις εὐφρονῶν ὡς βεβαίως συνεπιγράψαιτο.
- 184 XLV. Τί δ' αἰ ἐν τοῖς σκευαζομένοις ποσότητες; παρὰ γὰρ τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον αἶ τε βλάβαι καὶ ὠφέλειαι συνίστανται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ μυρίων ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην
- 185 ἔχει φαρμάκων· ἢ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσι ποσότης ὅροις καὶ κανόσι μεμέτρηται, ὧν οὔτε ἐντὸς κάμψαι οὔτε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν ἀσφαλές—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔλαττον χαλᾶ, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἐπιτείνει τὰς δυνάμεις· βλαβερόν δ' ἐκάτερον, τὸ μὲν ἀδυνατοῦν ἐνεργῆσαι δι' ἀσθένειαν, τὸ δὲ βλάψαι βιαζόμενον διὰ καρ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παρὰ.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 180-185

sented to us which makes us the victim of conflicting<sup>a</sup> and incongruous dreams.

XLIV. <sup>b</sup>But the inconstancy of impressions is particularly caused by the positions and surroundings of the several objects and their distances from the observer. We see that fishes in the sea, when they swim with their fins stretched, always look larger than nature has made them, and oars, however straight they are, appear bent below the water. Still more—the mind is often misled by distant objects which create false impressions. Sometimes we suppose lifeless objects to be living objects or the converse. And we have similar illusions about things stationary and moving, advancing and receding, short and long, circular and multilateral. And numberless other distortions of the truth are produced even when sight is unimpeded, which no sane person would accept as trustworthy.

XLV. <sup>b</sup>What again of quantities in prepared mixtures? Their powers of benefiting or injuring depend on the relative quantity of the various ingredients, as we see in numberless cases and particularly in the drugs used by medical science. For quantity in compounds is measured by regular standards, and we cannot with safety stop short of or go beyond what they prescribe; for anything smaller or greater than this respectively overweakens or overstrains the force of the preparation. In both cases harm is done. In the former case the medicine is incapable through its weakness of producing any effect, while in the latter its high degree of potency makes it a force of active mischief. And again accord-

<sup>a</sup> Or "which act upon us like conflicting," etc.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 507.

## PHILO

τερωτάτην ἰσχύν—, λειότησί τε αὖ καὶ τραχύτησι, πυκνότησί τε αὖ καὶ πιλήσεισι καὶ τοῦναντίον μανότησι καὶ ἔξαπλώσεισι τὸν εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ βλάβην ἔλεγχον ἐναργῶς διασυνίστησιν.

- 186 Ἄλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνό τις ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι τῶν ὄντων σχεδὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ νενόηται τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον παραθέσει δοκιμάζεται, οἷον τὸ μικρὸν παρὰ τὸ μέγα, τὸ ξηρὸν παρὰ τὸ ὑγρὸν, παρὰ τὸ ψυχρὸν τὸ θερμόν, παρὰ τὸ βαρὺ τὸ κοῦφον, τὸ μέλαν παρὰ τὸ λευκόν, τὸ ἀσθενὲς παρὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τὰ ὀλίγα παρὰ τὰ πολλά.
- 187 κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν ἀναφέρεται, τὰ ὠφέλιμα διὰ τῶν βλαβερῶν γνωρίζεται, τὰ καλὰ τῇ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἀντιθέσει, τὰ δίκαια καὶ κοινῶς ἀγαθὰ τῇ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ κακῶν παραθέσει, καὶ πάντα μέντοι τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ σκοπῶν ἄν τις εὔροι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον λαμβάνοντα τὴν ἐπίκρισιν· ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον ἀκατάληπτον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
- 188 πρὸς ἕτερον συγκρίσεως γνωρίζεσθαι δοκεῖ. τὸ [386] δὲ μὴ ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν | ἰκανόν, τῆς δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρου χρήζον συνηγορίας, ἀβέβαιον εἰς πίστιν· ὥστε καὶ ταύτη τοὺς εὐχερῶς ὁμολογοῦντας ἢ ἀρνούμενους περὶ παντὸς οὐτιμοσ<οῦν> ἐλέγχεσθαι.
- 189 Καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; προσωτέρω γάρ τις χωρήσας τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ εἰλικρινέστερον αὐτὰ ἀυγασάμενος εἴσεται τοῦθ', ὅτι ἐν οὐδέν καθ' ἀπλήν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προσπίπτει φύσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα μίξεις πολυπλοκωτάτας ἔχοντα καὶ κράσεις.
- 190 XLVI. αὐτίκα τῶν χρωμάτων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα πῶς; ἄρ' οὐ σὺν ἀέρι καὶ φωτί, τοῖς ἐκτός, καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὄψιν ὑγρῷ; γλυκὺ δὲ καὶ



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 185-190

ing to its roughness or smoothness, and its density and compactness on the one hand, or its sponginess and dilatation on the other, it exhibits clearly the means of testing its power of helping or harming.

<sup>a</sup> Again, everyone knows that practically nothing at 186  
all which exists is intelligible by itself and in itself, but everything is appreciated only by comparison with its opposite ; as small by comparison with great, dry with wet, hot with cold, light with heavy, black with white, weak with strong, few with many. The same rule holds with all that concerns virtue and vice. We only know the profitable through the hurtful, the 187  
noble by contrast with the base, the just and the good in general by comparison with the unjust and evil. And indeed if we consider we shall see that everything else in the world is judged on the same pattern. For in itself each thing is beyond our apprehension, and it is only by bringing it into relation with something else that it seems to be known. Now that which is 188  
incapable of attesting itself and needs to be vouched for by something else, gives no sure ground for belief. And it follows that on this principle we can estimate at their true value lightly-made affirmations and negations on any subject whatever.

Nor is this strange. For anyone who penetrates 189  
deeper into things and views them in a purer light, will recognize that no single thing presents itself to us in its own absolute nature but all contain interlacings and intermixtures of the most complicated kind.

XLVI. <sup>a</sup> For instance, how do we 190  
apprehend colours ? Surely by means of the externals, air and light, and the internal moisture in the eye itself. How do we discriminate between sweet

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 508.

## PHILO

- πικρὸν τίνα τρόπον δοκιμάζεται; μὴ δίχα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνστομίῳν χυλῶν ὅσοι κατὰ φύσιν ἢ παρὰ φύσιν; οὐ δήπου. τί δ'; αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιωμένων ὄσμαι μὴ τὰς ἀπλᾶς <καὶ> εἰλικρινεῖς τῶν σωμάτων φύσεις παριστᾶσιν; ἢ τὰς κεκραμένας ἔκ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀέρος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τοῦ τήκοντος τὰ σώματα πυρὸς καὶ τῆς
- 191 κατὰ τοὺς μυκτῆρας δυνάμεως; ἔκ δὴ τούτων συνάγεται, ὅτι οὔτε χρωμάτων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συνισταμένου κράματος ἔκ τε τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ φωτός, οὔτε ὄσμων, ἀλλὰ μίγματος, ὅπερ συνέστη διὰ τε τοῦ ῥύεντος ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τοῦ πανδεχοῦς ἀέρος, οὔτε χυλῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γενομένου διὰ τε τοῦ προσιόντος γευστοῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ στόμα ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας.
- 192 XLVII. τούτων δὴ τοῦτον ἔχόντων τὸν τρόπον εὐθήθειαν ἢ προπέθειαν ἢ ἀλαζονείαν ἄξιον καταγνώσκειν τῶν ἢ ὁμολογεῖν ἢ ἀρνεῖσθαι περὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ῥαδίως ὑπομενόντων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἀπλαῖ δυνάμεις ἐκποδῶν, αἱ δὲ μικταὶ καὶ ἐκ πλειόνων συνηρατισμέναι προὔπτοι, ἀμήχανον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀοράτους ἰδεῖν καὶ διὰ τῶν κεκραμένων τὸν ἐκάστης τῶν συνηρατισθεισῶν τύπον ἰδίᾳ κατανοῆσαι, τί ἂν εἴη λοιπὸν ἢ τὸ ἐπέχειν [ἀναγκαῖον];
- 193 Ἐκεῖνα<sup>1</sup> δ' ἡμᾶς οὐ παρακαλεῖ μὴ λίαν τοῖς ἀφανέσι προπιστεύειν, ἃ σχεδὸν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνακέχυται κοινὸν Ἑλλησιν ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάροις ἐπάγοντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρίνειν ὄλισθον; τίνα οὖν ταῦτ' ἐστίν; ἀγωγαὶ δήπουθεν αἱ ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκεῖνο ἢ ἐκεῖ.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 508.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 190-193

and bitter? Can we do so without the juices in the mouth, both those which are in accord with nature<sup>a</sup> and those which are not? Surely not. Again, do the odours produced by burning incense present to us the natures of the substances in a pure and simple form, or in a combination, in which themselves and air, or sometimes also the fire which dissolves the material, are joined with the faculty possessed by the nostrils? From this we deduce that we do not apprehend 191 colours, but only the combination produced by the light and the material substances to which the colours belong, nor smells, but only the mixture of the emanation from the substances with the all-admitting air; nor flavours, but only the something produced by the application of what we taste to the moisture in our mouths.

XLVII. Since these things are 192 so, those who do not shrink from facile affirmation or negation of anything whatsoever deserve to be held guilty of folly or rashness or imposture. For if the properties of things by themselves are beyond our ken, and if it is only the mixture formed by the contribution of many factors which is open to our vision; if, once more, it is as impossible to discern through the combinations the particular form of each of the contributing factors as it is to see them in their invisibility, what course is left to us but to suspend our judgement?

<sup>a</sup>And are we not warned against giving over-ready 193 credence to uncertainties by other considerations? I allude to certain facts, the evidence for which is found practically over the whole world as known to us—facts which entail on Greek and barbarian alike the universal tendency to error which positive judgement brings. By these I mean of course ways of life<sup>a</sup>

## PHILO

- παίδων καὶ ἔθῃ πάτρια καὶ παλαιοὶ νόμοι, ὧν ἐν  
 οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖται ταῦτὸν εἶναι παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 κατὰ χώρας καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ  
 κατὰ κώμην καὶ οἰκίαν ἐκάστην, ἀνδρα μὲν οὖν  
 καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ νήπιον παῖδα τοῖς ὅλοις δια-  
 194 κέκριται· τὰ γοῦν αἰσχρὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἑτέροις καλά,  
 καὶ τὰ πρόποντα ἀπρεπῆ, καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἄδικα, καὶ  
 ἀνόσια μὲν τὰ ὅσια, νόμιμα δ' αὖ τὰ παράνομα,  
 ἔτι δὲ ψεκτὰ τὰ ἐπαινετὰ καὶ ὑπόδικα τὰ τιμῆς  
 195 ἄξια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐναντία ταῦτα νομίζουσι.  
 [387] καὶ τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν τὸν ὑπὸ | ἑτέρων ἀναγ-  
 καιοτέρων μεθελκόμενον; εἰ μέντοι βουλευθεῖη τις  
 ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης καινοτέρας θεᾶς ἀγόμενος,  
 ἐνευκαιρήσας τῷ προτεθέντι κεφαλαίῳ τὰς ἐκάστων  
 ἀγωγὰς καὶ ἔθῃ καὶ νόμους ἐπιέναι χωρῶν, ἔθνῶν,  
 πόλεων, τόπων, ὑπηκόων ἡγεμόνων, ἐνδόξων  
 ἀδόξων, ἐλευθέρων οἰκετῶν, ἰδιωτῶν ἐπιστημόνων,  
 οὐχ ἡμέραν μίαν οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ μῆνα ἢ  
 ἑνιαυτόν, τὸν δὲ ἅπαντα ἑαυτοῦ κατατρίψει βίον,  
 κἂν αἰῶνι χρήσῃται μακρῶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον πολλὰ  
 ἀδιερεύνητα καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτα καὶ ἄφωνα λήσει  
 196 καταλιπών. οὐκοῦν ἄλλων παρ' ἄλλοις οὐ βραχεῖ  
 μόνον διεστηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπ-  
 αδόκτων, ὡς ἀντιστατεῖν καὶ διαμάχεσθαι, ἀνάγκη  
 καὶ τὰς προσπιπούσας διαφέρειν φαντασίας καὶ  
 τὰς κρίσεις ἀλλήλαις πεπολεμῶσθαι. XLVIII.  
 197 ὧν ὑπαρχόντων τίς οὕτως ἔκφρων ἐστὶ καὶ παρά-  
 ληρος, ὡς φάναι παγίως, ὅτι τὸ τοιούδε ἐστὶ  
 δίκαιον ἢ φρόνιμον ἢ καλὸν ἢ συμφέρον; ὁ γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "accepted to be the same with all."

<sup>b</sup> The last words, if expressed in full, would run ὅσα ἄλλα ἐναντία τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν νομιζομένων ταῦτα νομίζουσ'.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 193-197

from boyhood upwards, traditional usages, ancient laws, not a single one of which is regarded in the same light universally,<sup>a</sup> but every country, nation and city, or rather every village and house, indeed every man, woman and infant child takes a totally different view of it. As a proof of this we see that what is base 194 with us is noble with others, what is seemly and just with us is unseemly or unjust with them, our holy is their unholy, our lawful their unlawful, our laudable their blameworthy, our meritorious their criminal, and in all other matters their judgement is the opposite of ours.<sup>b</sup> And why prolong the 195 subject when our attention is called elsewhere by more vital matters? Still if anyone undistracted by some newer subject of contemplation should care to devote his leisure to the subject which has been before us, and to examine the ways of life, usages and customs of different countries, nations, cities and places, subjects and rulers, high and low, freemen and slaves, ignorant and learned, it will occupy not only a day or two, not only a month or a year, but his whole lifetime, even though his years be many, and all the same he will leave behind him many such questions, which he knows not of, unexamined, unconsidered and unheard. Since then the divers customs of divers 196 persons are not distinguished merely by some slight difference, but exhibit an absolute contrast, amounting to bitter antagonism, it is inevitable that the impressions made upon the mind should differ and that the judgements formed should be at war with each other. XLVIII. In view of these facts, who is so 197 senseless and deranged as to assert positively that any particular thing is just or prudent or honourable or profitable? For what one determines to be such,

## PHILO

ἂν οὗτος ὄριση, τάναντία μεμελετηκῶς ἐκ παίδων ἕτερος ἀκυρώσει.

- 198 Ἐγὼ δ' οὐ θαύμακα, εἰ πεφορημένος καὶ μιγὰς ὄχλος, ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων τῶν ὅπως οὖν εἰσηγμένων ἀκλεῆς δούλος, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔτι σπαργάνων ὑπακούειν ὡς ἂν δεσποτῶν ἢ τυράννων ἐκμαθῶν, κατακεκονδυλισμένος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος πιστεύει τοῖς ἅπαξ παραδοθείσι καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐάσας ἀγύμναστον ἀδιερευνητοῖς καὶ ἀνεξετάστοις συναινέσεσί τε καὶ ἀρνήσεσι χρῆται, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων φιλοσόφων ἢ πληθὺς τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι σαφές καὶ ἀψευδές ἐπιμορφάζουσα θηρᾶν κατὰ στίφη καὶ λόχους διακέκριται, καὶ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνα πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐναντία οὐ περὶ ἑνὸς τίθεται τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων μικρῶν τε καὶ
- 199 μεγάλων, ἐν οἷς αἱ ζητήσεις συνίστανται· οἱ γὰρ ἄπειρον τὸ πᾶν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῖς πεπερασμένον εἶναι λέγουσιν ἢ οἱ τὸν κόσμον ἀγένητον τοῖς γενητὸν ἀποφαινομένοις ἢ οἱ χωρὶς ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἀλόγου καὶ ἀπαυτοματιζούσης ἐξάψαντες φορᾶς τοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ὄλου καὶ τῶν μερῶν θαυμαστὴν τιν' εἶναι ἡμιοχοῦντος καὶ κυβερνῶντος ἀπταίστως καὶ σωτηρίως θεοῦ πῶς ἂν δύναιντο τὰς αὐτὰς καταλήψεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων ποιεῖσθαι πραγμάτων;
- 200 αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν τὰγαθοῦ σκέψιν φαντασῆαι ἄρ' οὐκ ἐπέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμολογεῖν βιά-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 508.

<sup>b</sup> Or "whatever their source" (or "authority").

<sup>c</sup> It should be observed that the datives throughout this sentence are governed by τὰς αὐτὰς at the end.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 197-200

will be repudiated by another who has practised the opposite from childhood.

<sup>a</sup> Now I for my part do not wonder that the chaotic 198 and promiscuous multitude who are bound in inglorious slavery to usages and customs introduced anyhow,<sup>b</sup> and who are indoctrinated from the cradle with the lesson of obedience to them, as to masters and despots, with their souls buffeted into subjection and incapable of entertaining any high or generous feeling, should give credence to traditions delivered once for all, and leaving their minds unexercised, should give vent to affirmations and negations without inquiry or examination. But I do wonder that the multitude of so-called philosophers, who feign to be seeking for exact and absolute certainty in things, are divided into troops and companies and propound dogmatic conclusions widely different and often diametrically opposite not on some single chance point, but on practically all points great or small, which constitute the problems which they seek to solve.

<sup>a</sup> When some assert that the universe 199 is infinite, others that it is finite, and some declare it to be 'created, others uncreated ; when some refuse to connect it with any ruler or governor, but make it dependent on the automatic action of an unreasoning force, while others postulate a marvellous providence, caring for the whole and each part, exerted by a deity who guides and steers it and makes safe its steps, it is impossible that the substance of things should be apprehended by them in the same form.<sup>c</sup>

Again, when the nature of the good is the subject 200 of inquiry, do not the ideas which present themselves compel us to withhold judgement rather than give

## PHILO

- ζονται τῶν μὲν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι νομιζόντων μόνον τὸ καλὸν καὶ θησαυριζομένων αὐτὸ ἐν ψυχῇ, τῶν δὲ πρὸς πλείω κατακερματιζόντων καὶ ἄχρι σώματος
- 201 καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀποτεινόντων; οὗτοι λέγουσι τὰς μὲν τυχηρὰς εὐπραγίας δορυφόρους εἶναι σώματος,
- [388] ὑγείαν δὲ καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ | ὀλόκληρον καὶ ἀκρίβειαν αἰσθητηρίων καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα τῆς βασιλίδος ψυχῆς· τρισὶ γὰρ τῆς τὰγαθοῦ φύσεως κεχημένης τάξεσι τὴν μὲν τρίτην καὶ ἐξωτάτην τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ὑπεικούσης<sup>1</sup> πρόμαχον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῆς πρώτης μέγα πρόβλημα καὶ φυ-
- 202 λακτήριον γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων μέντοι καὶ βίων διαφορᾶς καὶ τελῶν πρὸς ἃ χρῆ τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ὅσα τε ἡ λογικὴ καὶ ἠθικὴ καὶ φυσικὴ πραγματεία περιέχει γεγόνασι σκέψεις ἀμύθητοι, ὧν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐδεμία παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς συμπεφώνηται.
- 203 XLIX. Οὐκ εἰκότως οὖν τῶν δυεῖν θυγατέρων, βουλῆς τε καὶ συναιρέσεως, ἄρμοσθεισῶν καὶ συνευνασθεισῶν ὁ νοῦς ἀγνοία ἐπιστήμης<sup>2</sup> χρώμενος εἰσάγεται; λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “οὐκ ἦδει ἐν τῷ
- 204 κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὰς καὶ ἀναστῆναι”· οὔτε γὰρ ὕπνον οὔτε ἐγρήγορσιν οὔτε σχέσιν οὔτε κίνησιν ἔοικε σαφῶς καὶ παγίως καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε ἄριστα βεβουλεύσθαι δοκεῖ, τότε μάλιστα ἀβουλότατος ὧν εὐρίσκεται τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὑπ(ἀπ)ειλούσης. The correction ὑπεικούσης has been universally accepted, but the phrase, “the second and yielding one,” is odd. The translator suggests ὑπ’ εἰλ(αρ) οὔσης, i.e. “which is thus under shelter.” The word εἰλαρ as used in *Iliad* ii. 338 etc. is very appropriate to the context, and Philo is fond of introducing Homeric words.



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 200-204

assent? For some hold that the morally beautiful is the only good and make the soul its repository, while others split up the good into subdivisions and extend it to include the body and things outside the body. These persons say that fortunate circumstances are 201 the guards and attendants of the body, and that health and strength and soundness and exactness of perception in the sense-organs and all other things of the kind serve the same purpose to the sovereign soul. The nature of the good, they hold, divides itself into three classes, of which the third and outermost protects the weakness of the second, which again proves to be a strong bulwark and safeguard of the first. And with regard to these, as well as to the 202 relative value of different ways of living, and the ends to which all our actions should be referred, and numberless other points, which are included in the study of logic, ethics and physics, a host of questions have arisen on none of which hitherto have the inquirers arrived at unanimity.

XLIX. We see then that the mind is fitly repre- 203 sented as labouring under absence of knowledge, when its two daughters, Deliberation and Assent, are in contact with it and become its bed-fellows. For we are told, "He knew not when they slept and rose up" (Gen. xix. 33, 35). The mind, it seems, 204 does not grasp clearly or firmly either sleeping or waking, or yet rest or motion,<sup>a</sup> but it is just when it thinks it has shewn its powers of deliberation at their best, that it proves to be most lacking in that power,

<sup>a</sup> Or "that is, either rest or motion."

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<sup>a</sup> "ignorance of knowledge" is a strange expression. Adler proposes *χηρούμενος* for *χρώμενος*. Perhaps *ἀγνοία* (ἀντ') *ἐπιστήμης*.

## PHILO

- ὅμοιον τοῖς προσδοκηθεῖσι λαβόντων τὸ τέλος·  
 205 καὶ ὅποτε συνεπιγράφεσθαι τισιν ὡς ἀληθέσιν  
 ἔδοξε, τὴν ἐπ' εὐχερεία καρποῦται κατάγνωσιν,  
 ἀπίστων καὶ ἀβεβαίων, οἷς πρότερον ὡς βε-  
 βαιοτάτοις ἐπίστευε, φαινομένων· ὥστε εἰς τὰ  
 ἐναντία, ὧν ὑπετόπησέ τις, εἰωθότων περιστάσθαι  
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον τὸ ἐπέχειν εἶναι.
- 206 L. Διειλεγμένοι δὴ περὶ τούτων ἰκανῶς ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἀκόλουθα τῷ λόγῳ τρεψώμεθα. ἔφαμεν τοίνυν  
 ἐκ τοῦ μεθύειν καὶ τὴν πολλοὺς πολλάκις μεγάλα  
 βλάπτουσαν γαστριμαργίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ἧ τοὺς  
 χρωμένους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, κἂν τὰς τοῦ σώματος  
 δεξαμενὰς ἀποπληρωθῶσι πάσας, ἔτι κενοὺς τὰς  
 207 ἐπιθυμίας ὄντας· οὗτοι κἂν ὑπὸ πλήθους ὧν  
 ἐνεφορήσαντο διακορεῖς γενόμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον  
 χρόνον καθάπερ οἱ πεπονηκότες ἀθληταὶ τὰ  
 σώματα διαπνεύσωσι, πάλιν ἐπαποδύονται τοῖς  
 208 αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν. ὁ γοῦν βασιλεὺς  
 τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας, τοῦ σώματος, τῷ μέθης  
 ὑπηρέτῃ δόξας οἰνοχόῳ δυσχερᾶναι πάλιν οὐκ εἰς  
 μακρὰν καταλλαττόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις  
 εἰσάγεται τοῦ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναρρηγνύντος πάθους  
 ὑπομνησθεῖς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γενέσεως φθαρτῆς, οὐκ ἐν  
 ἀφθάρτῳ τοῦ ἀγενήτου φωτός<sup>1</sup>. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι  
 “ἡμέρᾳ γενέσεως ἦν Φαραώ,” ἠνίκα ἐκ τοῦ δε-  
 σμωτηρίου τὸν ἀρχιοινοχόον ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς μετ-  
 209 ἐπέμψατο· τοῦ γὰρ φιλοπαθοῦς ἴδιον λαμπρὰ τὰ  
 [389] | γενητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ ἠγγεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ νυκτὶ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Adler proposes φωτί.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 509.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 204-209

for the issue of events bears no resemblance to its expectations. And again when it has been pleased 205 to subscribe to anything as true, it earns the condemnation passed on reckless thinking, for it appears that what it once believed in and thought to be most firmly established is really untrustworthy and insecure. The conclusion is that since things so often turn out the opposite of what we expect, the safest course is to suspend judgement.

L. This topic has now been sufficiently discussed. 206 Let us turn our discussion to what follows next. We said that one thing signified by drunkenness is that gluttony<sup>a</sup> whose great power for mischief is so widespread and constant, which leaves those who indulge in it, as we may see, with a void in their desires, even though they have every vacant place in their bodies filled. Such persons, when glutted and satiated by the 207 quantities they have engorged, may for a while like weary-limbed athletes give their bodies a breathing-space, but ere long they make themselves ready to take part in the same encounter. So we 208 see the King of Egypt, that is of the body, though he seemed to be angry with the cup-bearer who ministered to his drunkenness, represented in the holy books as being reconciled to him after a short time. He remembered the passion which excited his desires on his birthday—the day of his birth into a being destined to perish—not on the day of the light, which has no birth, a day which perishes not. For we are told that it was Pharaoh's birthday (Gen. xl. 20) when he sent for the chief cup-bearer from the prison to pour the cup of reconciliation.<sup>a</sup> It is characteristic of 209 the friend of passion that things created and perishable seem to him bright and shining, because in re-

## PHILO

σκοτώ κεχρηῆσθαι βαθεῖ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀφθάρτων ἐπιστήμην· οὐ χάριν εὐθὺς τὴν ἐξάρχουσαν ἡδονῆς<sup>1</sup> μέθην καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην αὐτῆς δεξιούται.

- 210 LI. τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς ἀκολάστου καὶ ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς ἐστιοῦχοί τε καὶ θεραπευταί, ἀρχισιτοποιός, ἀρχιοινοχόος, ἀρχιμάγειρος, ὧν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος μέμνηται Μωυσῆς διὰ τούτων· “καὶ ὠργίσθη Φαραὼ ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσὶν εὐνούχοις, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρχιοινοχῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρχισιτοποιῷ, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι.<sup>2</sup>” ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιμάγειρος εὐνούχος· λέγεται γὰρ ἐτέρωθι· “κατήχθη δὲ Ἰωσήφ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐκτίσατο αὐτὸν εὐνούχος Φαραὼ, ἀρχιμάγειρος,” καὶ πάλιν· “ἀπέδοντο τὸν Ἰωσήφ τῷ σπάδοντι
- 211 Φαραὼ, ἀρχιμαγεῖρω.” τίνος δὴ χάριν οὗτ' ἀνὴρ οὔτε γυνή τῶν λεχθέντων οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἐπιτέτραπται; ἢ ὅτι σπείρειν μὲν ἄνδρες γονὰς ὑποδέχασθαι δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκ φύσεως πεπαίδευνται, ὧν τὴν εἰς ταῦτὸ σύνοδον αἰτίαν γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς διαμονῆς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἀγόνου δὲ καὶ ἐστερωμένης, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξευνουχισμένης ψυχῆς σιτίοις πολυτελέσι καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὄψων περιέργοις παραρτύσεισι χαίρειν μῆτε τὰ ἀρετῆς ἄρρενα ὡς ἀληθῶς σπέρματα καταβάλλεσθαι δυναμένης μῆτε τὰ καταβληθέντα παραδέξασθαι καὶ ἀναθρέψασθαι, ἀλλ' οἷα λυπρὰν ἄρουραν καὶ λιθῶδη πρὸς διαφθορὰν μόνον πεφυκέναι τῶν αἰεὶ ζῆν
- 212 ὀφειλόντων; δόγμα δὴ τίθεται κοινωφελέστατον, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δημιουργὸς ἡδονῆς σοφίας ἐστὶν ἄγονος οὔτε ἄρρην ὧν οὔτε θήλεια, διὰ τὸ μῆτε διδόναι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἡδονῆν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀρχιμαγεῖρω.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 209-212

lation to knowledge of things imperishable, he dwells in night and profound darkness, and therefore at once he welcomes the drunkenness which brings pleasure in its train and him who is the minister of drunkenness.

LI. The weak-willed incontinent soul has 210 three servants who provide its feasts, the chief baker, the chief butler and the chief cook, whom our most admirable Moses mentions in these words, "And Pharaoh was wroth with his two eunuchs, with the chief butler and the chief baker, and he put them in prison under the chief gaoler" (Gen. xl. 2,3). But the chief cook is also a eunuch, for we have in another place, "and Joseph was brought down into Egypt and became the property of the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook" (Gen. xxxix. 1), and again "they sold Joseph to the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook" (Gen. xxxvii. 36).

Why is it that not a 211 single one of these offices is entrusted to a real man or woman? Is it not because nature has trained men to sow the germs of life and women to receive them, and the mating of these two is the cause of generation and of the permanence of the All, while on the other hand it is the nature of the soul which is impotent and barren, or rather has been made so by emasculation, to delight in costly bakemeats and drinks and dishes elaborately prepared? For such a soul is neither able to drop the truly masculine seeds of virtue nor yet to receive and foster what is so dropped, but like a sorry stony field is only capable of blighting the successive growths, which were meant to live. In fact we have a doctrine laid down 212 most profitable to us all, that every craftsman whose work is to produce pleasure can produce no fruit of wisdom. He is neither male nor female, for he is in-

## PHILO

μήτε λαμβάνειν τὰ πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν ἱκανὸς εἶναι  
 σπέρματα, μελετᾶν δ' αἰσχίστην κατὰ τοῦ βίου  
 μελέτην, φθείρειν τὰ ἄφθαρτα καὶ σβεννύναι τὰ  
 213 μένοντα τῆς φύσεως λαμπάδια ἄσβεστα. τῶν  
 τοιούτων οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέπει Μωυσῆς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι θεοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι “θλαδίας καὶ  
 ἀποκεκομμένος οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
 κυρίου.” LII. τί γὰρ τῷ σοφίας ἀγόνῳ λόγῳ  
 ἀκροάσεως ἱερῶν ὄφελος ἐκτετμημένῳ πίστιν καὶ  
 παρακαταθήκην βιωφελεστάτων δογμάτων φυλάξει  
 214 μὴ δυναμένῳ;                      τρεῖς δ' ἄρ' εἰσὶν ἀν-  
 θρώπων γένους ἐστιάτορες, σιτοποιός,<sup>1</sup> οἰνοχόος,  
 ὄψαρτυτής, εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ τριῶν χρήσεώς τε  
 καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἐφίεμεθα, σιτίων, ὄψου, ποτῶν·  
 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν μόνων τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οἷς πρὸς τε  
 τὸ ὑγιεινῶς καὶ μὴ ἀνελευθέρως ζῆν ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 χρῶμεθα, οἱ δὲ ἀμέτρων καὶ σφόδρα περιττῶν,  
 ἃ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἀναρρηγνύντα καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος  
 δεξαμενὰς πλήθει βαρύνοντα καὶ πιέζοντα μεγάλα  
 [390] καὶ | παντοδαπὰ τίκτειν νοσήματα φιλεῖ. οἱ μὲν  
 215 οὖν ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ παθῶν ἰδιῶται  
 καθάπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δημοτικοὶ ἀμισῆ καὶ  
 ἀνεπαχθῆ βίον ζῶντες, ἅτε ὀλιγοδεεῖς ὄντες, οὐ  
 ποικίλων καὶ περιέργων τὴν τέχνην δέονται  
 ὑπηρετῶν, ἀλλ' ἀποκίλῳ χρωμένων ὑπηρεσία,  
 216 μαγείρων, οἰνοχόων, σιτοποιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμονίαν  
 καὶ βασιλείαν νομίζοντες εἶναι τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν καὶ  
 πάντα καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μείζω πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀναφέροντες

<sup>1</sup> σιτοποιός Tr. : mss. and Wendland ἀρχισιτοποιός.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 509.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 212-216

capable of either giving or receiving the seeds whence spring the growth that perishes not, and the base craft he practises is aimed against human life. He destroys the indestructible and quenches the unquenchable ever-abiding lamps of nature. None 213 such does Moses permit to enter the congregation of God, for he says, "He who has lost the organs of generation<sup>a</sup> shall not come into the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 1). LII. For what use can he find in listening to holy words, who can beget no offspring of wisdom, when the knife has cut away the power of faith, and the store of truths which might best profit human life he cannot keep in his charge?

Now mankind, as we have seen, has 214 three caterers, the baker, the cup-bearer and the cook. This is natural enough since we desire the use and enjoyment of these three things, bread, flesh and drink. But some desire only the bare necessities, the use of which is needed to keep life from being unhealthy and sordid; while others seek them in luxurious forms, which excite the cravings of the appetite, and in extravagant quantities, which oppress and overload the receptacles of the body, and often produce grave disorders of every kind. The first of 215 these classes who are not specialists in pleasure or voluptuousness or passion are like the ordinary public in a city who live an inoffensive and innocuous life, who have few wants and therefore do not require versatile and highly-skilled artists to serve them, but only those who attempt no more than a plain and simple form of service, just cooks, cup-bearers and bakers. But the second class, holding that pleasant 216 living is sovereignty and kingship, and judging all things great and small by this standard, consider it

## PHILO

- ἀρχιμαγείροις καὶ ἀρχιοινοχόοις καὶ ἀρχισιτοποιοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἀξιοῦσι χρῆσθαι, τουτέστιν ἄκρως ἐκπεπονηκόσιν ἕκαστον ὧν ἐπετήδευσαν.
- 217 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμῆτων καὶ μελιπήκτων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθῆτων περμάτων ποικιλώτατα γένη οὐ μόνον ταῖς τῆς ὕλης διαφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι πρὸς οὐ μόνον τὴν γεύσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψεως ἀπάτην περιεργασμένα οἱ περὶ σιτοποιίαν ἄκροι μελετῶσι.
- 218 τὰ δὲ περὶ ἐξέτασιν οἴνου θάττον ἀναδιδομένου καὶ μὴ κεφαλαλοῦς καὶ τούναντίον ἀνθίμου καὶ εὐωδεστάτου, πολλὴν ἢ ὀλίγην ἀναδεχομένου τὴν μεθ' ὕδατος κρᾶσιν εἰς σφοδρὸν καὶ σύντονον ἢ πρᾶον καὶ ἀνειμένον ἐπιτηδεῖον πότον<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅσα τοιουτότροπα ἀρχιοινοχόων ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ τῆς τέχνης ἀφιγμένων τὸ τέλος·
- 219 ἰχθύας δὲ καὶ ὄρνεις καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ποικίλως ἀρτύσαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὄψα ἡδύναι περιττοὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰσὶν εὐτρεπεῖς ὀψαρτυταί, μυρία χωρὶς ὧν ἤκουσαν ἢ εἶδον ἄλλ' ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς μελέτης καὶ τριβῆς τῶν εἰς ἀβροδίαιτον καὶ τεθρυμμένον τὸν ἀβίωτον βίον ἐπινοῆσαι δεινοί.
- 220 LIII. Ἄλλα γὰρ οὗτοι πάντες ἐδείχθησαν εὐνοῦχοι, σοφίας ἄγονοι· πρὸς ὧν δὲ συμβατηρίους τίθεται σπονδὰς ὁ γαστρὸς βασιλεὺς νοῦς οἰνοχόος ἦν· φίλοιον γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ πρὸς μόνον τοῦτο διαφερόντως ἀκόρεστον, εἴ γε ὕπνου μὲν καὶ ἐδωδῆς καὶ συνουσίας καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπλήρωτος οὐδεὶς, ἀκράτου δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ποτόν (drink), which Adler would retain.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 509.



## ON DRUNKENNESS, 216-220

their due to employ chief cooks, chief butlers, chief bakers, that is those who have worked up to a high pitch of refinement the arts which they severally profess. Milk cakes, honey cakes, num- 217

berless other kinds of bakemeats in the greatest possible variety, elaborately calculated to beguile the eye as well as the palate, not only with diversities of material, but also by the way in which the constituents are proportioned and the shapes in which they appear, engage the care and attention of the master-hands in confectionery.

As for wine, whether 218 it is such as is quickly digested and leaves no headache, whether on the other hand it has a fine bouquet<sup>a</sup> and fragrance, whether it needs a small or great dilution to fit it for a fierce and heated carousal or a mild and quiet festivity, these and all such questions are the study of chief butlers, who have reached the very summit of their art.

Again, the 219 skilful dressing and preparation of fishes, birds and the like, and the flavouring of other savoury dishes, is a task readily accomplished by highly scientific professionals, whose constant drill and practice in catering for the life, which all its voluptuous luxury cannot make worth living, has given them the ingenuity to invent hundreds of other delicacies besides those which they have seen and heard of.

LIII. Observe that while all these three were 220 shewn to be eunuchs and unable to beget wisdom, it was the butler with whom the mind, whose kingdom is the belly, made his compact of peace. For the passion for wine is extraordinarily strong in mankind, and is unique in this, that it does not produce satiety. For whereas everyone is satisfied with a certain amount of sleep and food and sexual intercourse and

## PHILO

- σχεδὸν ἅπαντες καὶ μάλισθ' οἷς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀσκεῖται·  
 221 πίνοντες γὰρ ἔτι διψῶσι καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 βραχυτέρων κυάθων, προϊόντες δὲ ταῖς μείζουσιν  
 οἰνοχοαῖς ἐγχεῖν παραγγέλλουσιν· ἐπειδὴν <δ'>  
 ἀκροθώρακες γενόμενοι χλιανθῶσιν, οὐκέτι κρατεῖν  
 ἑαυτῶν δυνάμενοι τὰς οἰνηρύσεις καὶ τὰς ἀμύστεις  
 καὶ τοὺς κρατήρας ὅλους προσενεγκάμενοι ἀκράτου  
 [391] σπῶσιν ἀθρόως, | μέχρῃς ἂν ἡ βαθεῖ ὑπνω δαμα-  
 σθῶσιν ἢ τῶν ὄγκων ἀποπληρωθέντων ὑπερβλύσῃ  
 222 τὸ ἐπεισχεόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὁμῶς  
 ἢ ἄπληστος ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄρεξις ὥσπερ ἔτι λιμώττουσα  
 μαιμάζει<sup>1</sup>. “ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἀμπέλου Σοδόμων ἢ  
 ἄμπελος αὐτῶν” ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς “καὶ ἡ κληματὶς  
 αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας· ἢ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ  
 χολῆς, βότρυς πικρίας αὐτοῖς· θυμὸς δρακόντων  
 ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνίατος.”  
 Σόδομα μέντοι στείρωσις καὶ τύφλωσις ἐρμηνεύεται,  
 ἀμπέλω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς γινομένοις ἀπικιάζει  
 τοὺς οἰνοφλυγίας καὶ λαιμαργίας καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων  
 223 ἡδονῶν ἥττους. ἃ δὲ αἰνίττεται, τοιαυτ'  
 ἐστίν· εὐφροσύνης μὲν ἀληθοῦς οὐδὲν ἐμπέφυκε  
 τῇ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχῇ φυτὸν ἅτε οὐχ ὑγιαινούσαις  
 κεκρημένῃ ρίζαις, ἀλλὰ ἐμπερησμέναις καὶ τεφρω-  
 θείσαις, ὅποτε ἀνθ' ὕδατος τὰς κεραυνίους φλόγας  
 θεοῦ τὴν κατὰ ἀσεβῶν καλῶς δικάσαντος δίκην  
 ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀσβέστους ἔνιφεν, ἀκράτορος δὲ ἐπι-  
 θυμίας τῆς ἐστερωμένης τὰ καλὰ καὶ πεπηρω-  
 μένης πρὸς πάντα τὰ θεᾶς ἄξια, ἣν ἀμπέλω παρα-  
 βέβληκεν, οὐχὶ τῇ καρπῶν ἡμέρων μητρί, ἀλλὰ  
 ἥτις πικρίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ πανουργίας ὀργῆς  
 τε καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἀκραχολωτάτων ἡθῶν οἰστικῆ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μαιράζει.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 220-223

the like, this is rarely so with strong drink, particularly among practised toppers. They drink but do not slake their thirst and, while they begin with smaller cups, as they advance they call for the wine to be poured in larger goblets. And when they get mellow and well warmed, they lose all control of themselves, and put beakers and cans and whole basins to their lips and drain them at a draught until either they are overcome with deep sleep, or the influx of the liquor fills up the cavities<sup>a</sup> and overflows. But

even then the insatiable craving within them rages<sup>221</sup> as if it were still starving. "For their vine is of the vine of Sodom," as Moses says, "and their tendrils of Gomorrah, their grapes are grapes of gall, a cluster of bitterness to them. Their wine is the wrath of dragons and the incurable wrath of asps" (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33). Sodom is indeed by interpretation barrenness and blindness, and Moses here likens to a vine and its produce those who are under the thrall of wine-bibbing and gluttony and the basest of pleasures.

His inner meaning is of<sup>223</sup> this kind. No plant of true gladness grows in the soul of the wicked, since it has no healthy roots, but such as were burnt to ashes, when God passed well-deserved sentence upon the impious, and the heavens rained instead of water the unquenchable flames of the thunderbolt. In such a soul all that grows is the lust which is barren of excellence, and blinded to all that is worthy of its contemplation, and this lust he compares to a vine; not that which is the mother of kindly fruits, but a vine which proves to be the bearer of bitterness and wickedness and villainy and wrath and anger and savage moods and tempers, the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 509.

## PHILO

γέγονε, δάκνουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν καὶ ἀσπίδων  
τρόπον ἰοβόλων καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατα.

- 224 ὦν ἀποτροπὴν εὐχόμεθα γενέσθαι τὸν πάντα ἴλεω  
ποτινῶμενοι θεόν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἀγρίαν ταύτην  
ἄμπελον διολέσῃ καὶ τοῖς εὐνούχοις καὶ πᾶσιν  
ἀγόνοις ἀρετῆς αἶδιον ψηφίσηται φυγὴν, ἀντὶ δὲ  
τούτων ἡμερὰ μὲν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν δένδρα τὰ  
παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἐμφυτεύσῃ, γενναίους δὲ καὶ ἄρρενας  
ὡς ἀληθῶς καρπούς καὶ λόγους χαρίσῃται δυνα-  
μένους μὲν σπεῖρειν καλὰς πράξεις, δυναμένους δὲ  
συναύξειν ἀρετάς, ἱκανοὺς δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίας  
ἅπασαν συνέχειν καὶ διαφυλάττειν εἰς αἰὲν συγγένειαν.

## ON DRUNKENNESS, 223-224

vine which stings the soul like vipers and venomous  
asps, and that sting none can cure. Let 224  
us pray that these may be averted, and implore the  
all-merciful God to destroy this wild vine and decree  
eternal banishment to the eunuchs and all those who  
do not beget virtue, and that while in their stead He  
plants in the garden of our souls the trees of right  
instruction, He may grant us fruits of genuine worth  
and true virility, and powers of reason, capable of  
begetting good actions and also of bringing the  
virtues to their fullness, gifted too with the strength  
to bind together and keep safe for ever all that is akin  
to real happiness.



ON THE PRAYERS AND CURSES  
UTTERED BY NOAH WHEN  
HE BECAME SOBER  
(DE SOBRIETATE)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

IN this short treatise Philo concludes his discussion of Gen. ix. 20-27, which describe Noah's husbandry, vine-planting, drinking the wine, intoxication and nakedness, return to sobriety, and cursing or blessing his children. The verses here treated (24-27) run as follows :

I. (sections 1-20 of this treatise) And Noah returned to soberness from the wine and knew what his younger son had done to him.

II. (30-50) And he said, "Cursed be Canaan; a servant and bondman shall he be to his brethren."

III. (51-58) And he said, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be a servant, a bondman of him."

IV. (59-end) And he said, "May God widen for Japhet, and let him dwell in the houses of Shem and let Canaan become his servant."

I. This raises two points, the meaning of "becoming sober" and that of the "younger son." The former is treated briefly. Sobriety is conceived of mainly as sobriety of soul, which takes the same place in the soul as clear vision in the body, and thus provides it with thoughts which in their turn lead to good actions (1-5).

The word "younger" starts Philo on a discussion of the use made in the Pentateuch of words literally



## ON SOBRIETY

denoting age, to shew moral relations. Ham is "younger" because his unfilial and indecent action proved his spirit of (youthful)<sup>a</sup> rebelliousness (*νεωτεροποιία*) (6). And so Ishmael is called a "child" when, as a little calculation will shew, he was twenty years old, because as a type of the falsely wise or sophist, he is, compared with the wise Isaac, a mere child (7-9). So too Moses calls the rebellious Israelites "blameworthy children" (10-11). Rachel (bodily beauty) is called younger than Leah (beauty of soul) (12). Joseph's "youth" in the moral sense is shewn by his staying in Egypt (the body) and his association with his illegitimate brethren (12-15). Conversely the wise Abraham is called the "elder," though the history represents him as less long-lived than his ancestors (16-18). The elders Moses is directed to choose mean those whose sterling worth he has proved (19-20). In particular the enactment forbidding the disinheritance of the firstborn son of the hated wife in favour of the younger son of the beloved wife, which gave rise to the long allegory of *De Sacrificiis*, 19-44 is audaciously pressed into service. As in *De Sacrificiis* the beloved wife is Pleasure, the hated Virtue, but as Moses mentioned the parenthood of Pleasure first, her child is first-born in point of time and the name only belongs to the child of virtue in consideration of his moral superiority (21-26). So the younger in age Jacob takes the birthright from the elder Esau, and Jacob sets Ephraim who represents the faculty of memory, which comes later and is therefore younger, above Manasseh, who represents the more childish faculty of recollection, which is earlier and therefore older

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 6.

## PHILO

(27-29). This division ends with a statement of the justice of cursing the "younger" (30).

II. But why did Noah curse Ham's son Canaan, against whom nothing is alleged, instead of Ham? (31-33). Because while Ham is evil potential or "in rest," Canaan is evil active or "in motion." To understand this we must consider these terms "rest" and "motion" with their respective congeners, "habit" or "faculty" (*εξέλις*) and "activity" (33-34). Now every workman or artist is called by such a name, even when he is not making anything, because he still has the faculty. But it is only when he is actually plying his trade or art that he incurs praise or blame (35-37). So too in the moral sphere. The possessor of good or bad qualities may have no opportunity for displaying them, but the qualities are still there (38-43). Ham means "heat," *i.e.* the latent disease in the soul, Canaan means "tossing," which represents the same in active motion. As no ruler punishes qualities till they actually produce crimes, Canaan properly incurs the curse, though, as one passes into the other, one may say that Ham is cursed through Canaan (44-47). Actual sin is the child of potential sin, and this is the real meaning of "visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children" (48). The same lesson is taught by the law of leprosy that only when the "bright spot" ceases to be stationary does the man become unclean (49), and also by God's word to Cain, "thou hast sinned; be still" (50).

III. The prayer for Shem speaks of the "Lord, the God of Shem." Shem is "the good" in its generic not in any of its special forms, and therefore to assert that God is Shem's God is to put the good

## ON SOBRIETY

man on a level with God's work, the Universe (51-54). And since "God" indicates the loving side of the Divine Nature, to say that the Lord is "Shem's God" is to say that, like Abraham, he is God's friend (55). And here Philo, adapting the well-known Stoic paradox, lays down that such a one alone is noble, rich, king and free (56-57). Finally the word "blessed" applied to God means that he who is thus blest can only repay God by blessing Him (58).

IV. In interpreting the prayer for Japhet Philo passes for a moment into one of his less austere moods. He suggests that the word "widen" means that Japhet may find good not only in the morally beautiful (*τὸ καλόν*) but in the "preferable indifferents" of the Stoics, bodily and external advantages (59-61). As to the last half, "let him dwell in the houses of Shem," the "him" may be God (Philo ignores the fact that in this case it could not be a prayer for Japhet), for God's fitting dwelling is in the good man's soul in the sense that it is especially under His care (62-64). And so in the literal narrative Shem is very properly represented as the ancestor of the Twelve Tribes who are called God's "palace" (65-66). If "him" is Japhet we may see a correction of the prayer for his "widening," a prayer that though for a time he may find good elsewhere, his final home may be the excellence of the soul (67-68). The treatise concludes with a few lines on "Canaan shall be their servant." The fool is indeed the slave of the virtues, if possible, for his reformation and emancipation, if otherwise, for chastisement (69).

ΠΕΡΙ ΩΝ ΝΗΨΑΣ Ο ΝΩΕ ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΡΑΤΑΙ

- <sup>1</sup>  
[392] Ι. Τὰ περὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἐπομένης αὐτῇ γυμνό-  
τητος εἰρημένα τῷ νομοθέτῃ διεξεληλυθότες πρό-  
τερον ἀρξώμεθα τοῖς λεχθεῖσι τὸν ἐξῆς προσαρμοό-  
τειν λόγον· περίεστι τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς  
ἀκόλουθα τάδε· “ ἐξένηψε δὲ Νῶε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου  
καὶ ἔγνω ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ νεώ-  
<sup>2</sup>τερος.” τὸ νήφειν οὐ μόνον ψυχαῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ  
σώμασιν ὠφελιμώτατον ἀνωμολόγηται· τὰς τε γὰρ  
ἐξ ἀμέτρου πλησμονῆς γινομένας νόσους ἀπωθεῖται  
καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πρὸς ἄκρας ὀξύτητας ἀκονᾶ καὶ  
ὅλα μέντοι τὰ σώματα οὐκ ἐᾶ βαρυνόμενα πίπτειν,  
ἀλλ’ ἐξαίρει καὶ ἐπικουφίζει καὶ πρὸς τὰς οἰκείους  
ἐνεργείας ἀνακαλεῖ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐτοιμότητα  
ἐντίκτον· καὶ συνόλως ὅσων δημιουργὸς κακῶν ἢ  
μέθης, τοσοῦτων ἔμπαλιν ἀγαθῶν τὸ νηφάλιον.  
<sup>3</sup> ὅπότ’ οὖν καὶ σώμασιν, οἷς ἡ οἴνου  
πόσις οἰκείον, λυσιτελέστατον τὸ νήφειν, οὐ πολὺ  
μᾶλλον ψυχαῖς, ὧν φθαρτὴ τροφή πᾶσα ἀλλότριον ;  
νηφούσης γὰρ διανοίας τί τῶν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις  
μεγαλειότερον; τίς δόξα; τίς πλοῦτος; τίς δυνα-

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<sup>a</sup> See Introduction to *De Ebr.* p. 309, note b.

## ON THE PRAYERS AND CURSES UTTERED BY NOAH WHEN HE BECAME SOBER

I. Having in the foregoing pages dealt fully with the 1  
words of the lawgiver on drunkenness and the  
nakedness which followed it,<sup>a</sup> let us proceed to carry  
on the thread of our discussion by treating of the  
topic which comes next in order, "And Noah  
returned to soberness from the wine and knew what  
his younger son had done to him" (Gen. ix. 24).  
We are all agreed that soberness is most profitable 2  
not only to souls but to bodies. For it repels the  
diseases which arise from excessive self-indulgence ;  
it sharpens the senses to their utmost acuteness and  
acts indeed upon the whole of our bodies by en-  
gendering readiness in every part and thus prevents  
them from succumbing in weariness, and lifts them  
up and relieves them and recalls them to their proper  
activities. In fact, every evil which has drunken-  
ness for its author has its counterpart in some good 3  
which is produced by soberness. Since 3  
then sobriety is a source of the greatest profit to our  
bodies, to which the use of wine is a natural practice,  
how much more is it profitable to our souls, which  
have no relation to any perishable food? What  
human gift or possession is greater than a sober  
understanding? What form of glory—or of wealth

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στεία; τίς ἰσχὺς; τί τῶν πάντων ὅσα θαυμάζεται; φέρε μόνον τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα ὄλον ἰσχυῖσαι δι' ὄλων διοιχθῆναι καὶ μηδὲν οἶα ὑπὸ ρεύματος συγχυθῆναι μέρος ἢ καταμῦσαι· τότε γὰρ μάλιστα ὄξυωπῆσαν, σύνεσιν καὶ φρόνησιν αὐτὴν ἐμβλέπον, τοῖς νοητοῖς | [393] ἀγάμμασιν ἐντεύξεται, ὧν ἡ θέα ψυχαγωγούσα πρὸς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπονεύειν ἐάσει.

4 καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, εἰ τῷ νηφαλίῳ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ βλέποντι ὄξυωπέστατα τῶν γένεσιν λαχόντων μηδὲν ἔστιν ἰσότιμον; καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς περιττῶς πρὸς ἡμῶν πάντων τετίμηται· πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν τὰς ὄψεις ἀποβαλόντων καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐκουσίως προσὰπ-  
 5 βεβαλον κουφότερον κακὸν πηρώσεως θάνατον εἶναι δικάσαντες ἑαυτοῖς. ὅσω τοίνυν ψυχὴ σώματος κρείττων, τοσοῦτω καὶ νοῦς ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμείνων. ὃς εἶπερ ἀπήμων εἶη καὶ ἀζήμιος πρὸς μηδενὸς τῶν μέθην παράφορον ἐργαζομένων ἀδικημάτων ἢ παθῶν πιεσθεῖς, ὕπνω μὲν ἀποτάξεται λήθην καὶ ὄκνον ἐμποιοῦντι τῶν πρακτέων, ἐργήγορσιν δὲ ἀσπασάμενος πρὸς τὰ θεῶν ἄξια πάντα ὄξυ-  
 δορκήσει, μνήμαις μὲν ὑποβαλλούσαις ἐγειρόμενος, πράξεισι δὲ τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ἐπομέναις χρώμενος.

6 Π. Τοῦ μὲν δὴ νήφοντος κατάστασις ἔστι τοιαύτη. “νεώτερον” δ’ ὅταν φῆ “υἰόν,” οὐχ ἡλικίας ὄνομα ἀναγράφει, νεωτεροποιῖαν δὲ ἀγα-

## ON SOBRIETY, 3-6

or of political power—or bodily strength—or what among all the objects of human admiration, if only we may assume that the soul's eye is nowhere suffused as by rheum or closed, but is able to open itself fully and completely? For at such times when with clarity of vision it gazes upon good sense and prudence in their true selves, it will have within its ken those ideal forms which are intelligible only to the mind, and in the contemplation of these will find a spell which will not suffer it to turn aside any more to aught of the objects of sense. And why should 4 we wonder that sobriety and clear-sightedness in the soul is of higher worth than anything whose lot is cast among things created, for the bodily eyes and the light which our senses perceive are valued above measure by us all? We know indeed that many who have lost their eyes have lost their lives as well by their own free action, because they judged that death was a lighter evil to them than blindness. Well then, the mind has the same superiority to the 5 eyes, as the soul has to the body. And if the mind be safe and unimpaired, free from the oppression of the iniquities or passions which produce the frenzy of drunkenness, it will renounce the slumber which makes us forget and shrink from the call of duty and welcoming wakefulness will gaze clear-eyed on all that is worthy of contemplation. The suggestions of memory will arouse it to decision and the actions to which these decisions lead will become its employment.

II. Such then is the condition of the sober. But 6 when Moses speaks of the "younger son," the words do not denote any particular degree of age, but suggest the tendency of the temperament which

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πῶντος ἐμφαίνει τρόπου διάθεσιν. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἢ  
 τὰ ἀθέατα κατιδεῖν παρὰ νόμον καὶ δίκην ἐβίασατο ἢ  
 ἐκλαλήσαι τὰ ὀφείλοντα ἡσυχάζεσθαι ἢ εἰς τοῦμ-  
 φανές προενεγκεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα οἴκοι συσκιάζε-  
 σθαι καὶ τοὺς ψυχῆς ὄρους μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ  
 νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἤπτετο γελῶν τὰ ἑτέροις  
 συμπίπτοντα, δέον ἐπιστένειν καὶ μὴ χλευάζειν ἐφ'  
 οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ εὐλαβούμενον τὸ μέλλον σκυθρω-  
 7 πάζειν;                      πολλαχοῦ μέντοι τῆς νομο-  
 θεσίας καὶ τοὺς ἡλικία προήκοντας νέους καὶ τοὺς  
 μηδέπω γεγηρακότας ἔμπαλιν ὀνομάζει πρεσβυτέ-  
 ρους, οὐκ εἰς πολυετίαν <καὶ ὀλιγοετίαν> ἀφορῶν  
 ἢ βραχὺν καὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ψυχῆς  
 8 δυνάμεις κινουμένης εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον· τὸν γοῦν  
 Ἰσμαῆλ εἰκοσαετίαν ἤδη που βεβιωκότα σχεδὸν  
 κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀρεταῖς τέλειον Ἰσαὰκ  
 σύγκρισιν ὀνομάζει παιδίον· “ ἔλαβε ” γάρ φησιν  
 “ ἄρτους καὶ ἀσκὸν ὕδατος καὶ ἔδωκεν Ἄγαρ, καὶ  
 ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον καὶ τὸ παιδίον, ” ἠνίκα  
 αὐτοὺς οἰκοθεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ πάλιν  
 “ ἔρριψε τὸ παιδίον ὑποκάτω μιᾶς ἐλάτης, ” καὶ  
 “ οὐ μὴ ἴδω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ παιδίου ”· καίτοι πρὸ  
 μὲν τῆς γενέσεως Ἰσαὰκ τρισκαίδεκα γεγονὼς  
 ἐτῶν Ἰσμαῆλ περιτέμνεται, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἑπταετίην  
 ἡλικίαν παυσάμενον τῆς ἐν γάλακτι τροφῆς ἐκείνου  
 τῷ τὴν ἐν παιδιαῖς ἰσότητα φέρεσθαι νόθος γνησιῶ  
 [394] | φύγαδεύεται σὺν τῇ τεκούσῃ. ἀλλ' ὁμως παιδίον  
 9

<sup>a</sup> Philo reads into *νεωτεροποιία*, in which *νεωτερο-* means “innovation,” the idea of *νεώτερος*, “younger.”

<sup>b</sup> *βιάζεσθαι* followed by the inf. is used by Philo in the sense of “to do a thing violently,” cf. note on *De Ebr.* 143.



## ON SOBRIETY, 6-9

loves rebelliousness and defiance.<sup>a</sup> For how could Ham thus roughly <sup>b</sup> defying custom and right have looked where he should not look, or how could he loudly proclaim what ought to be passed in silence, or expose to public view what might well be hidden in the secrecy of the home and never pass the boundaries of his inward thoughts, if he had not set his hand to deeds of defiance, if he had not mocked at the troubles of another, when he should rather bewail, instead of jeering at sights which call for the gloomy face that dreads the worse to come?

Often indeed does Moses in his laws give the name of 7 the "younger" to those who are advanced in years, and the name of "elders" on the other hand to those who have not yet reached old age, for he does not consider whether the years of men are many or few, or whether a period of time is short or long, but he looks to the faculties of the soul whether its movements are good or ill. Accordingly when Ishmael 8 had apparently lived about twenty years, Moses calls him a child by comparison with Isaac, who is full grown in virtues. For we read that when Abraham sent Hagar and Ishmael from his home, "he took loaves and a skin of water, and gave them to Hagar and put also the 'child' on her shoulder," and again "she cast down the 'child' under a single pine," and "I will not see the death of the 'child'" (Gen. xxi. 14-16). And yet Ishmael was circumcised at the age of thirteen years, before the birth of Isaac, and when the latter at about the age of seven ceased to be fed with milk, we find Ishmael banished with his mother, because he, the bastard, claimed to play on equal terms with the true-born. Still all 9 the same, grown up as he was, he is called a child,

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νεανίας ὧν ἦδη καλεῖται ὁ σοφιστῆς ἀντεξεταζόμενος σοφῶ· σοφίαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰσαάκ, σοφιστείαν δὲ Ἰσμαὴλ κεκλήρωται, ὡς, ἐπειδὴν ἑκάτερον χαρακτηρίζωμεν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίᾳ λόγοις ἐπιδείκνυμεν. ὄν γὰρ ἔχει λόγον κομιδῆ νήπιον παιδίον πρὸς ἄνδρα τέλειον, τοῦτον καὶ σοφιστῆς πρὸς σοφὸν καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια τῶν μαθημάτων πρὸς τὰς ἐν ἀρεταῖς

- 10 ἐπιστήμας. III. καὶ ἐν ᾧδῇ μέντοι μείζονι τὸν λεῶν ἅπαντα, ὁπότε νεωτερίζοι, τὸ τῆς ἄφρονος καὶ νηπίας ὄνομα ἡλικίας, τέκνα, καλεῖ· “ δίκαιος ” γὰρ φησι “ καὶ ὁσιος ὁ κύριος· ἡμάρτον οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μωμητά; γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη, ταῦτα κυρίῳ ἀνταποδίδοτε; οὕτως λαὸς  
11 μωρὸς καὶ οὐχὶ σοφός; ” οὐκοῦν τέκνα ἐναργῶς ὠνόμακε τοὺς μώμους ἔχοντας ἄνδρας ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ μωρία καὶ ἀνοία τὰ πολλὰ σφαλλομένους ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν βίον πράξεσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὰς ἐν παισὶ σώματος ἡλικίας ἀπιδῶν, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἀλόγιστον καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βρεφῶδες.  
12 οὕτως μέντοι καὶ Ῥαχὴλ, ἡ σώματος εὐμορφία, νεωτέρα Λείας, τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν κάλλους, ἀναγράφεται· ἡ μὲν γὰρ θνητῆ, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ἀθάνατον, καὶ ὅσα μέντοι τίμια πρὸς αἴσθησιν, ἐνὸς μόνου τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν κάλλους ἀτελέστερα. οἷς ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ νέον τε καὶ νεώτατον αἰεὶ λέγεσθαι· καὶ γάρ, ὅταν ἐπιστατῆ τῆς ποιμένης μετὰ τῶν νόθων ἀδελφῶν, νέος προσαγορεύεται, καὶ ὅταν εὐχῆται ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ φησὶν· “ υἱὸς

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xv. being the “ lesser song ” of Moses; cf. *De Plant.* 59.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 510.

## ON SOBRIETY, 9-12

thus marking the contrast between the sophist and the sage. For wisdom is Isaac's inheritance and sophistry Ishmael's, as we propose to shew in the special treatise, when we deal with the characteristics of the two. For the mere infant bears the same relation to the full-grown man as the sophist does to the sage, or the school subjects to the sciences which deal with virtues. III. And indeed in the 10  
Greater Song,<sup>a</sup> he calls the whole people when they shew a rebellious spirit, by the name which belongs to the age of folly and babyhood, that is "bairns." "The Lord is just and holy," he says; "have not the blameworthy bairns sinned against him? a crooked and perverse generation, is it thus that ye requite the Lord? Are ye a people thus foolish and not wise?" (Deut. xxxii. 4-6). We see clearly that he has 11  
given the name of "bairns" or "children" to men within whose souls are grounds for blame, men who so often fall through folly and senselessness and fail to do what the upright life requires. And in this he had no thought of literal age in the sense in which we use it of the bodies of the young, but of their truly 'infantine lack of a reasonable understanding.

Thus Rachel, who is comeliness of the 12  
body, is described as younger than Leah, that is beauty of soul. For the former is mortal, the latter immortal, and indeed all the things that are precious to the senses are inferior in perfection to beauty of soul,<sup>b</sup> though they are many and it but one.

It is in accordance with this that Joseph is always called the young and youngest. For when he is keeping the flock with his bastard brothers,<sup>b</sup> he is spoken of as young (Gen. xxxvii. 2), and when his father prays for him he says, "my youngest son,

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- 13 ηὐξημένος νεώτατος πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψον.” οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπάσης ὑπέρμαχος δυνάμεως καὶ ὁ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονίας ἀκολάκευτος ἑταῖρος, ὁ <τὸ> τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ψυχῆς πρεσβύτερον καὶ τιμιώτερον ἀγαθὸν μήπω τέλειον εὐρημένος. εἰ γὰρ εὖρητο, κἂν ὄλην Αἴγυπτον ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγων ᾤχετο· νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τρέφειν αὐτὴν καὶ τιθηνοκομεῖν μάλιστα σεμνύνεται, ἧς τὸ μάχιμον καὶ ἡγεμονεῦον ὅταν ἴδῃ ὁ ὀρώων καταπεποντωμένον καὶ διεφθαρμένον, ὕμνον
- 14 εἰς τὸν θεὸν ᾄδει. νέος μὲν οὖν τρόπος ὁ μήπω δυνάμενος μετὰ τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν<sup>1</sup> ποιμαίνειν, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀλόγου φύσεως ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύειν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μετὰ τῶν <νόθων, οἷς τῶν> ἀγαθῶν τὰ δοκῆσει<sup>2</sup> πρὸ τῶν γνησίων καὶ τῷ
- 15 εἶναι παραριθμουμένων τετίμηται. νεώτατος δέ, κἂν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ αὐξήσιν πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον λάβῃ, παρὰ τῷ τελείῳ νενόμισται μόνον ἀγαθὸν ἡγουμένῳ τὸ καλόν· οὐ χάριν προτρέπων φησί· “πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψον,” ἴσον τῷ πρεσβυτέρας γνώμης ὀρέχθητι, μὴ πάντα νεωτέριζε, ἤδη ποτὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν δι'
- [395] αὐτὴν μόνην | στέρξον, μὴ καθάπερ παῖς ἄφρων τῇ τῶν τυχηρῶν λαμπρότητι περιουγαζόμενος ἀπάτης καὶ ψευδοῦς δόξης ἀναπίμπλασο.
- 16 IV. Ὡς μὲν τοίνυν πολλαχοῦ νέον οὐκ εἰς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀρετῶν or εὐρετῶν: Adler suggests ἀρετῆς νίων.

<sup>2</sup> Wendland reads for the μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ δοκῆσει of the MSS. μετὰ τῶν νόθων <οἷς> τὰ δοκῆσει and inserts ἀγαθῶν after παραριθμουμένων, producing the same meaning as the text here printed (after Adler), but with less transcriptional probability.

<sup>a</sup> So, with slight differences, the LXX. The Hebrew is entirely different.

## ON SOBRIETY, 12-16

though grown, return to me" (Gen. xlix. 22).<sup>a</sup> Now Joseph is the champion of bodily ability of 13 every kind, and the staunch and sincere henchman of abundance in external things, but the treasure which ranks in value and seniority above these, the seniority of the soul, he has never yet gained in its fullness. For if he had gained it, he would have fled quite away from the length and breadth of Egypt, and never turned to look back. But as it is, he finds his chief glory in cherishing and fostering it—this Egypt over which the Man of Vision sings his hymn of triumph to God when he sees its fighters and its leaders sunk in the sea and sent to perdition. The 14 "young" disposition, then, is one which cannot as yet play the part of shepherd with its true-born brothers, that is, rule and keep guard over the unreasoning element in the soul, but still consorts with the base-born, who honour as goods such things as are good in appearance rather than the genuine goods which are reckoned as belonging to true existence. And "youngest" too this youth is held 15 to be, even though he has received improvement and growth to something better,<sup>b</sup> when compared with the perfect or full-grown mind which holds moral beauty to be the only good. And therefore Jacob uses words of exhortation: "return to me," he says, that is, desire the older way of thinking. Let not your spirit in all things be the spirit of restless youth. The time is come that you should love virtue for its own sake only. Do not like a foolish boy be dazzled by the brightness of fortune's gifts and fill yourself with deceit and false opinion.

IV. We have shewn, then, that it is Moses' wont 16

<sup>b</sup> These words interpret the *ἡὺξήμενος* of the quotation.

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- σώματος ἀκμήν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ψυχῆς νεωτεροποιίαν ἀφορῶν εἴωθε καλεῖν, ἐπιδέδεικται. ὡς δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτερον οὐ τὸν γῆρα κατεσχημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸν
- 17 γέρως καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιον ὀνομάζει, δηλώσομεν. τίς οὖν ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ἐντετυχηκότων ταῖς ἱερωτάταις βίβλοις, ὅτι σχεδὸν τῶν προγόνων ἑαυτοῦ πάντων ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ ὀλιγοχροινιώτατος εἰσάγεται; κἀκείνων μὲν, οἶμαι, οἱ μακροβιώτατοι γεγόνασιν, οὐδὲ εἰς, οὐτοσί δὲ ἀναγέγραπται πρεσβύτερος· φασὶ γοῦν οἱ χρησμοί, ὅτι “Ἀβραὰμ ἦν πρεσβύτερος προβεβηκῶς καὶ κύριος εὐλόγησε τὸν
- 18 Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ πάντα.” τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ τὸ προκείμενον αἰτίας ἀπόδοσις εἶναι, δι' ἣν πρεσβύτερος ἐλέχθη ὁ σοφός· ἐπιφροσύνῃ γὰρ θεοῦ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ὅταν εὖ διατεθῆ καὶ μὴ καθ' ἓν εἶδος ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἐπιβολὰς εὐλογιστῆ, πρεσβυτέρα χρώμενον γνώμη καὶ αὐτὸ
- 19 δῆπου πρεσβυτέρον ἐστίν. οὕτως καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τὸν δέκα<sup>1</sup> ἑβδομάδων ἀριθμὸν εἰληχότας πρεσβυτέρους ὀνομάζειν ἔθος· λέγεται γάρ· “συνάγαγέ μοι ἑβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἰσραὴλ, οὓς αὐτὸς σὺ
- 20 οἶδας ὅτι οὗτοί εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι.” οὐκοῦν οὐ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων γέροντας νομιζομένους ὡς ἱεροφάντας, ἀλλ' οὓς ὁ σοφὸς οἶδε μόνος, τῆς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔνδεκα.

<sup>a</sup> There is a play here on *γήρας* and *γέρας*. If it is worth keeping, we might translate “by advance of years—of advance in honour.” Cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 291, where *γήρας* is said to be τὸ γέρως ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρώνυμον.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 510.

<sup>c</sup> The sense would be clearer without ὡς ἱεροφάντας.

## ON SOBRIETY, 16-20

in many places to call a person young, thinking not of his bodily vigour, but only of his soul, and the spirit of rebelliousness which it displays. And now we will go on to shew that he applies the name of elder not to one who is bowed down with old age, but to one who is worthy of precedence<sup>a</sup> and honour. Everyone who is versed in the sacred books knows 17 that the wise Abraham is represented as more short-lived than almost all his forefathers. And yet, I think, to not a single one of these, long though their span of life beyond comparison was, is the term elder applied, but only to Abraham. This is seen by the words of the oracles, "Abraham was an elder advanced in years, and God blessed him in everything" (Gen. xxiv. 1). The phrase thus set before us<sup>b</sup> seems 18 to me to be an explanation of the reason why the Sage is called elder. For when through the watchful care of God the rational part of the soul is brought into a good condition and reasons rightly not merely in one direction, but wherever it applies itself, the thoughts which it thinks are "older" and itself must needs be older also. Thus too it is Moses' 19 way to give the name of "elder" to those counsellors of the God-beloved, whose apportioned number was that of seven times ten. For we find "gather to me seventy men from the elders of Israel, whom thou thyself knowest that these are elders" (Numb. xi. 16). We see then that not the men of senior age, 20 whom the common herd regard as initiators to the holy mysteries,<sup>c</sup> but those whom the Sage alone knows were held worthy by God of the title of

As it stands, it must mean that the common opinion looks upon the old in age as the proper persons for such high functions. But *νομίσειν ὡς* is a rare construction.

## PHILO

πρεσβυτέρων ἠξίωσε προσήσεως· οὓς μὲν γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ἀποδοκιμάσῃ καθάπερ ἀργυραμοιβὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς νομίσματος, κεκιβδηλευμένοι νεωτεροποιοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἅπαντες· οὓς δ' ἂν γνωρίμους ἐθέλῃσῃ ποιήσασθαι, δόκιμοί τε καὶ τὸ φρόνημα πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖόν εἰσιν.

21 V. ἐνὶ μέντοι νόμου διατάγματι τοῖς ἀκούειν ἐπισταμένοις ἐκάτερον ὧν εἶπον ἐναργέστερον φανέται δεδηλωκώς· “ἐὰν γὰρ γένωνται” φησὶν “ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, ἡγαπημένη καὶ μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ ἢ ἡγαπημένη καὶ ἢ μισουμένη, καὶ γένηται υἱὸς πρωτότοκος τῆς μισουμένης, ἣ ἂν ἡμέρα κληροδοτῇ τοῖς υἱοῖς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτοτοκεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἡγαπημένης ὑπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον· ἀλλὰ τὸν πρωτότοκον υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης ἐπιγνώσεται, δοῦναι αὐτῷ διπλᾶ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν ἐὰν εὐρεθῇ αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτῳ καθήκει τὰ πρωτοτόκια.”

22 [396] | παρατετήρηκας ἤδη, ὅτι τὸν μὲν τῆς στεργομένης υἱὸν οὐδέποτε πρωτότοκον ἢ πρεσβύτερον καλεῖ, τὸν δὲ τῆς μισουμένης πολλάκις· καίτοι τοῦ μὲν τὴν γένεσιν προτέρου, τοῦ δὲ ἐκ τῆς στυγουμένης ὑστέρου δεδήλωκεν εὐθύς ἀρχόμενος τῆς προστάξεως· “ἐὰν γὰρ τέκωσι” φησὶν “ἢ ἡγαπημένη καὶ ἢ μισουμένη.” ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ μὲν τῆς προτέρας γέννημα, κἂν πολυχρονιώτερον ἢ, νεώτερον παρ' ὀρθῷ λόγῳ δικάζοντι νενόμισται, τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑστέρας,

<sup>a</sup> Or “take as his familiars.”

<sup>b</sup> Philo argues that the age (in the literal sense) of the two sons is shewn by the *order* in which the motherhood of



ON SOBRIETY, 20-22

“elders.” For those whom the Sage like a good money-changer rejects from the currency of virtue are all men of dross, men with the spirit of youth-like rebellion in their souls. But those whom he has willed to consider as known to him <sup>a</sup> are tested and approved and must needs be elders in heart and mind.

V. Indeed there is one command-<sup>21</sup>ment of the law in which those who have ears to hear will perceive that he sets before us still more clearly the two truths of which I have spoken. For we read “if a man has two wives, one loved and the other hated, and the beloved and the hated each bear a son to him, and the son of her that is hated is the firstborn, it shall be that on the day on which he allots his goods to his sons, he shall not be able to give the right of the firstborn to the son of her whom he loves, and set aside the firstborn, the son of her whom he hates, but he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of her whom he hates, to give him a double portion of all that he has gotten; for he is the beginning of his children and to him belong the rights of the firstborn” (Deut. xxi. 15-17). You observe at once that the son of the beloved wife<sup>22</sup> is never called by him “firstborn” or “elder,” but the son of the hated wife is so called often. And yet at the very beginning of the commandment he has shewn us that the birth of the former comes first and the birth of the latter afterwards.<sup>b</sup> For he writes, “if the beloved and the hated bear children.” But all the same the issue of the wife mentioned first, though his years be more, is counted as younger in the judgement of right reason, while the child of

the two wives is mentioned. This meaning would come out more clearly if we read *πρωτέρων . . . ὑστέραν*.

## PHILO

- κὰν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν χρόνοις ὑστερίζη,  
 τῆς μείζονος καὶ πρεσβυτέρας μοίρας ἠξίωται.
- 23 διὰ τί; ὅτι τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μὲν στεργομένην  
 ἠδονῆς, τὴν δὲ στυγουμένην φρονήσεως εἶναί φαμεν  
 σύμβολον· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων  
 τὴν συνουσίαν ὑπερφυῶς ἀγαπᾷ δελέατα καὶ  
 φίλτρα ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐπαγωγότατα ἐνδιδούσης ἀπὸ  
 γενέσεως ἀρχῆς ἄχρι πανυστάτου γήρως, τῆς δὲ  
 ἐκτόπως τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ περίσεμνον διαμεμίσηκε  
 καθάπερ οἱ ἄφρονες παῖδες τὰς τῶν γονέων καὶ  
 τρεφόντων ὠφελιμωτάτας μὲν ἀτερπεστάτας δὲ
- 24 ὑφηγῆσεις. τίκτουσι δ' ἀμφότεροι, ἡ μὲν τὸν  
 φιλήδονον, ἡ δ' αὖ τὸν φιλάρετον ἐν ψυχῇ τρόπον.  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν φιλήδονος ἀτελής καὶ ὄντως αἰεὶ παῖς  
 ἐστὶ, κὰν εἰς πολυετίας αἰῶνα μήκιστον ἀφίκηται,  
 ὁ δ' αὖ φιλάρετος ἐν γερουσίᾳ τῆς φρονήσεως ἐξ  
 ἔτι σπαργάνων, τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, ἀγήρως
- 25 ὧν τάττεται· παρὸ καὶ λίαν ἐμφαντικῶς εἴρηκεν  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς μισουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀρετῆς  
 γεγονότος, ὅτι “ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τέκνων,” καὶ  
 τάξει καὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ δήπου πρῶτος ὧν, “ καὶ τούτῳ  
 καθήκει τὰ πρωτοτόκια ” νόμῳ φύσεως, οὐκ  
 ἀνομίᾳ τῇ παρ' ἀνθρώποις.
- 26 VI. Ἐπόμενος οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ὡσπερ ἐπὶ προ-  
 τεθέντα σκοπὸν ἀφιεῖς εὐστόχως τὰ βέλη κατὰ  
 ἀκολουθίαν εἰσάγει τὸν Ἰακώβ γενέσει μὲν τοῦ  
 Ἡσαῦ νεώτερον—ὅτι ἀφροσύνη μὲν ἐκ πρώτης  
 ἡλικίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν σύντροφος, ὀψίγονος δ' ὁ τοῦ  
 καλοῦ ζῆλος—, δυνάμει δὲ πρεσβύτερον· παρὸ καὶ

<sup>a</sup> See *De Ebr.* 48 (and note).

## ON SOBRIETY, 22-26

the wife mentioned afterwards, though he be later in the date of his birth, is held worthy of the greater and senior portion. Why? Because we declare that in the beloved wife we have a figure of pleasure and in the hated wife a figure of prudence. For pleasure's company is beloved beyond measure by the great mass of men, because from the hour of their birth to the utmost limits of old age she produces and sets before them such enticing lures and love-charms; while for prudence, severe and august as she is, they have a strange and profound hatred, as foolish children hate the most wholesome but most distasteful directions of their parents and those who have the charge of them. Both are mothers; pleasure of the pleasure-loving, prudence of the virtue-loving tendency in the soul. But the former is never full grown but always in reality a child, however long and never-ending the tale of years to which he attains. But the other—the virtue-lover—is exempt from old age, yet “from the cradle,” as the phrase goes, he ranks as an elder in the senate of prudence. And therefore he says—and very forcible are his words—of the son of the hated wife—virtue who is hated by the multitude—that he is “the beginning of his children,” and truly so, because he is first in rank and precedence—and again, “to him belong the rights of the firstborn,” by the law of nature,<sup>a</sup> not by the no-law which prevails among men.

VI. Following this law consistently and aiming his arrows skilfully at the mark he has set before him, Moses shews us Jacob as younger in years than Esau, but older in worth and value, since folly is congenital to us from our earliest years, but the desire for moral excellence is a later birth, and

## PHILO

- τῶν πρωτοτοκίων ὁ μὲν Ἡσαῦ ἐξίσταται, μετα-  
 27 ποιείται δ' οὗτος εἰκότως. τούτοις  
 συνάδει καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωσήφ ἐκ πολλῆς  
 περισκέψεως ἀνεζητημένα, ἥνικα ἐνθουσιῶν ὁ  
 σοφὸς ἀντικρὺς παρεστηκότων οὐκ ἐπιτίθησι ταῖς  
 κεφαλαῖς ἐξ ἐναντίας καὶ κατ' εὐθὺ τὰς χεῖρας  
 ἐπενεγκῶν, ἀλλ' ἐναλλάξας, ὅπως τῇ μὲν εὐωνύμῳ  
 τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δοκοῦντος εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ νεωτέρου  
 28 τῇ δεξιᾷ ψαύσῃ. καλεῖται δ' ὁ μὲν [ἐν] γενέσει  
 πρεσβύτερος Μανασσῆς, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἐφραῖμ·  
 ταῦτα δ' εἰ μεταληφθεῖη τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς Ἑλλάδα  
 γλῶτταν, μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως εὐρεθήσεται  
 [397] σύμβολα· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ | Μανασσῆς μὲν “ἐκ  
 λήθης” — τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ὀνόματι ἐτέρῳ καλούμενον  
 ἀνάμνησις· ὁ γὰρ ὢν ἐπελάθετο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν  
 ἐρχόμενος ἔξω πρόεισι τῆς λήθης—, Ἐφραῖμ δὲ  
 καρποφορία, μνήμης πρόσρησις οἰκειοτάτη, διότι  
 καρπὸς ὠφελιμώτατος καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐδώδιμος  
 ψυχαῖς τὸ ἄληστον ἐν ταῖς ἀδιαστάτοις <μνήμῃαι>.<sup>1</sup>  
 29 μνήμῃαι μὲν οὖν ἠνδρωμένοις ἤδη καὶ παγίοις  
 συντυγχάνουσι, παρὸ καὶ νεώτεραι ἐνομίσθησαν  
 ὀψὲ φυόμεναι· λήθη δὲ καὶ ἀνάμνησις ἐπαλλήλως  
 σχεδὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐκάστω σύνεισιν, οὐ  
 ἔνεκα τὰ χρόνου πρεσβεῖα εὐρηνται καὶ ἐπ'  
 εὐωνύμοις παρὰ σοφῶ ταξιαρχοῦντι τάττονται·  
 τῶν δὲ ἀρετῆς αἱ μνήμῃαι κοινωνήσουσι πρεσβείων,  
 ἃς ὁ θεοφιλῆς δεξιωσάμενος τῆς ἀμείνονος παρ'  
 ἑαυτῷ μοίρας ἀξιώσει.
- 30 Νήψας οὖν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ γνοὺς ὅσα “ἐποίησεν

<sup>1</sup> Wendland ἐν μνήμῃαι ἀδιαστάτοις.

## ON SOBRIETY, 26-30

therefore Esau is forced to surrender the inheritance of the firstborn to the rightful claims of Jacob.

The same truth is borne out by the 27 story of the sons of Joseph, a story which shews rich and careful thought.<sup>a</sup> The sage, we read, under inspiration lays his hands on the heads of the boys who stood opposite him, but lays them not straight in front but crosswise, meaning to touch with his left hand the boy who seemed the elder and the younger with his right (Gen. xlviii. 13, 14). Now the 28 elder boy is called Manasseh and the younger Ephraim—and if these names are translated into Greek we shall find they represent “reminiscence” and “memory.” For Manasseh is by interpretation “from forgetfulness,” another name for which is reminiscence, since anyone who is reminded of what he has forgotten, issues from a state of forgetfulness. Ephraim on the other hand is “fruit-bearing,” a very suitable title for memory; since truth unforgotten, because memory has been unbroken, is a fruit most profitable, a real food to souls. Now memories belong to those who have 29 reached settled manhood and therefore as being late-born are accounted younger. But forgetfulness and recollection follow in succession in each of us almost from our earliest years. And therefore theirs is the seniority in time and a place on the left, when the Sage marshals his ranks. But in seniority of virtue memories will have their share, and the God-beloved will lay on them his right hand and adjudge them worthy of the better portion which is his to give.

To resume. When the just man has returned to 30

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 90-93.

## PHILO

- αὐτῷ ὁ νεώτερος αὐτοῦ υἱὸς ᾧ ἀρὰς χαλεπωτάτας τίθεται· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἠψῆθῃ, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον εὐθύς αἰσθάνεται ὅσα ἢ νεωτεροποιὸς ἐν αὐτῷ κακία πρότερον εἰργάζετο, ἃ μεθύων
- 31 ἀδυνάτως καταλαβεῖν εἶχε. VII. τίνι μέντοι καταραῖται, σκεπτέον· ἐν γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἐρεύνης ἀξίων ἐστίν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ τῷ δοκοῦντι ἡμαρτηκέναι παιδί, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐκείνου μὲν υἱῷ, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ υἰώνῳ, οὗ φανερόν οὐδὲν εἶς γε τὸ παρὸν ἀδίκημα,
- 32 οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα, δεδήλωκεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ περιεργίας ἰδεῖν τὸν πατέρα γυμνὸν ἐβελήσας καὶ γελάσας ἃ εἶδε καὶ ἐκλαλήσας<sup>1</sup> τὰ δεόντως ἡσυχασθέντα ὁ υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Νῶε Χάμ, ὁ δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἕτερος ἠδίκησε τὰς αἰτίας ἔχων καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς καρπούμενος Χαναάν ἐστι· λέγεται γὰρ “ἐπικατάρατος Χαναάν· παῖς οἰκέτης [δούλος δούλων]<sup>2</sup> ἔσται τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
- 33 αὐτοῦ.” τί γὰρ ἡμάρτηκεν, ὡς ἔφην, οὗτος; ἀλλ' ἐσκέψαντο μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἴσως οἷς ἔθος ἀκριβοῦν τὰς ῥητὰς καὶ προχείρους ἀποδόσεις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· ἡμεῖς δὲ πειθόμενοι τῷ ὑποβάλλοντι ὀρθῶ λόγῳ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἀπόδοσιν διερμηνεύσωμεν ἐκεῖνα ἀναγκαίως προειπόντες·
- 34 VIII. σχέσις καὶ κίνησις διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡρεμία, φορὰ δὲ ἡ κίνησις· ἥς εἶδη δύο, τὸ μὲν μεταβατικόν, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον εἰλούμενον. σχέσει μὲν οὖν | ἀδελφὸν ἕξις,
- [398] κινήσει δ' ἐνέργεια. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον
- 35 παραδείγματι οἰκείῳ γνωριμώτερον γένοιτ' ἂν·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκ(ἐγ)γελάσας.

<sup>2</sup> See App. p. 510.

\* See App. p. 511.

## ON SOBRIETY, 30-35

soberness and knows " what his younger son has done to him," he utters curses stern and deep. For indeed when the mind becomes sober, it must follow that it at once perceives the former doings of the young rebellious wickedness within it, doings which in its drunken state it was incapable of comprehending.

VII. But who is it that he curses? Let us con- 31 sider this, for this too is one of the questions which deserve our careful search, seeing that the person cursed is not the apparent sinner, Noah's son, but that son's son, Noah's grandson, though up to this point no clear wrongdoing great or small on his part has been indicated by Moses. It was Noah's son 32 Ham, who from idle curiosity wished to see his father naked, and laughed at what he saw and proclaimed aloud what it was right to leave untold. But it is Canaan who is charged with another's misdeeds and reaps the curses. For it is said, " Cursed be Canaan ; a servant, a bondman shall be to his brethren " (Gen. ix. 25).

What, I repeat, 33 was his offence? Perhaps this question has been considered on their own principles by those who are used to discuss in details the literal and outward interpretation of the laws. Let us rather in obedience to the suggestions of right reason expound in full the inward interpretation. Something, however, must be said by way of preface.

VIII. The 34 state of rest <sup>a</sup> and the state of motion differ from each other. While the former is static, the latter is dynamic and is of two kinds, one passing from point to point, the other revolving round a fixed place. Habit is akin to rest, as activity is to motion.

These remarks might be made 35 more intelligible by a suitable illustration. The car-

## PHILO

- τέκτονα καὶ ζωγράφου καὶ γεωργὸν καὶ μουσικὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους <sup>ἀνθρώπων</sup> τεχνίτας, κἄν ἡσυχίαν ἄγωσι μηδὲν τῶν κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἐνεργοῦντες, οὐδὲν ἤττον τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔθος καλεῖν ὀνόμασιν, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐν ἑκάστοις ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἀνειλη-
- 36 φότες ἔχουσιν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁ τεκτονικὸς ξύλων ὕλην ἐργάζεται λαβῶν, ὁ δὲ ζωγράφος τὰ οἰκεία κερασάμενος χρώματα ἐπὶ τοῦ πίνακος διαγράφη τοὺς τύπους ὧν ἂν διανοῆται, ὁ δ' αὖ γεωργὸς ἀνατέμνων γῆς αὐλακας καταβάλλη τὰ σπέρματα, κληματίδας δὲ καὶ μοσχεύματα δένδρων ἐμφυτεύη, ἅμα δὲ τροφήν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἄρρη καὶ ἐποχετεύη τοῖς φυτευθεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα γεωργικὰ πᾶσιν ἐγχειρῆ, ὁ δ' αὖ μουσικὸς αὐλοῖς καὶ κιθάραις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργάνοις μέτρα καὶ ρυθμοὺς καὶ πάσας μέλους ἰδέας ἀρμόττη—δύναται<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ δίχα τῶν χειροκμήτων τῷ τῆς φύσεως ὀργάνῳ χρῆσθαι διὰ φωνῆς ἡρμσοσμένης πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις—καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος τεχνιτῶν εἶπερ ἐγχειρεῖ, τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἕτερα ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἰκεία τοῖς προτέροις ὀνόματα προσγίνεται, τῷ μὲν τέκτονι τὸ τεκτονεῖν, τῷ δὲ ζωγράφῳ τὸ ζωγραφεῖν ἤδη, καὶ τὸ γεωργεῖν μέντοι τῷ γεωργῷ, καὶ τὸ αὐλεῖν ἢ κιθαρίζειν ἢ ἄδειν ἢ τι τῶν παραπλησίων ποιεῖν τῷ μουσικῷ.
- 37 τίσιν οὖν οἱ ψόγοι καὶ οἱ ἔπαινοι παρακολουθοῦσιν; ἄρ' οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐνεργοῦσι καὶ δρώσι; κατορθοῦντες μὲν γὰρ ἔπαινον, ψόγον δ' ἔμπαλιν καρποῦνται

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δύνηται.



## ON SOBRIETY, 35-37

penter, the painter, the husbandman, the musician and those who practise the other arts may be unoccupied and not employing any of the activities which belong to their arts, yet none the less we are accustomed to call them by the aforesaid names, because they have the knowledge and experience which they have acquired in their respective professions. But there are times when the carpenter 36 takes and carves a piece of timber, or the painter after mixing the proper colours delineates on the canvas the forms which he has in mind, or the husbandman ploughs furrows in the land and drops the seed into them, and plants sprigs and suckers from the trees, and also supplies by watering and irrigation the nourishment so necessary to his plants, and sets his hand to all the other works of husbandry. Again there are times when the musician adjusts his metre and rhythm and any form of melody to his flute or harp or any other instrument, or he may perhaps use the natural without the handmade instrument and adapt his voice to all the notes of the gamut, At such times or when each of the other kinds of craftsmen takes his work in hand, we necessarily supplement the first set of names, which are based on the several kinds of knowledge, by others corresponding to them. We speak not only of carpenters, but of practising carpentry, not only of painters but of painting, not only of husbandmen, but of farming, not only of musicians, but of flute-playing, harp-playing, singing or some similar performance. Now which of the two 37 categories is the subject of praise or blame? Surely those who are actually engaged in doing something. They it is whose success or failure entail respectively

## PHILO

- διαμαρτάνοντες... οἱ δ' ἄνευ τοῦ τι ποιεῖν ἐπι-  
 στήμονες αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀκίνδυνον γέρας εἰληφότες  
 38 ἡσυχίαν ἤρεμοῦσιν. IX. ὁ αὐτὸς τοίνυν  
 λόγος ἐφαρμόττει καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἀφροσύνην<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 συνόλως τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ κακίαν· οἱ  
 φρόνιμοί τε καὶ σώφρονες καὶ ἀνδρείοι καὶ δίκαιοι  
 τὰς ψυχὰς μυρίοι γεγόνασι φύσεως μὲν εὐμοιρία,  
 νομίμοις δ' ὑφήγησεν, πόνοις δ' ἀηττήτοις καὶ  
 ἀοκνοτάτοις χρησάμενοι, τὸ δὲ κάλλος τῶν ἐν ταῖς  
 διανοίαις ἀγαλμάτων οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπιδείξασθαι  
 διὰ πενίαν ἢ ἀδοξίαν ἢ νόσον σώματος ἢ τὰς ἄλλας  
 κήρας ὅσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον περιπολοῦσι βίον.  
 39 οὐκοῦν οὗτοι μὲν ὥσπερ δεδεμένα καὶ  
 καθειργμένα ἐκτήσαντο ἀγαθὰ, ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ  
 λελυμένοι καὶ ἀφέτοις καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἐχρήσαντο  
 πᾶσι τὰς εἰς ἐπίδειξιν ὕλας ἀφθονωτάτας προσ-  
 40 λαβόντες· ὁ μὲν φρόνιμος ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν προ-  
 στασίαν<sup>2</sup> πραγμάτων, οἷς σύνεσιν καὶ εὐβουλίαν  
 ἐνεπιδείξεται· ὁ δὲ σώφρων τὸν εἰς ἀσωτίαν δεινὸν  
 ἐπᾶραι καὶ παρακαλέσαι τυφλὸν πλοῦτον, ἵνα  
 βλέποντα ἀποδείξῃ· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἀρχὴν, δι' ἧς τὸ  
 κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμειν ἐκάστῳ τῶν <ὑ>όντων<sup>3</sup>  
 ἀκωλύτως δυνατὸς ἔσται· ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς εὐσεβείας  
 [399] ἱερωσύνην καὶ χωρίων | ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις  
 41 ἀγιστείας ἐπιμέλειαν. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ἀρεταὶ μὲν  
 εἰσιν, ἀκίνητοι δὲ ἀρεταὶ καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσαι,

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Tr. κατ' ἀφροσύνην <καὶ σύνεσιν>. The last two words, which are needed for antithesis, may easily have fallen out before καὶ συνόλως.

<sup>2</sup> So Wendland for ms. περιουσίαν, which perhaps in the sense of "abundance" is not quite impossible: Cohen παρουσίαν.

<sup>3</sup> Conj. Tr.: Wendland ὑπηκόων: Adler πολιτών.

<sup>a</sup> Here we have Philo's favourite idea of the three elements  
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## ON SOBRIETY, 37-41

praise or blame. Those who possess the knowledge and nothing more, and are not actually doing anything remain in peace and find in their inactivity the privilege of security. IX. The same prin- 38

ciple then holds when the quality predicated is folly or virtue and vice in general. Those whose souls are prudent, or temperate, or courageous or just, have become so in numberless cases partly by happy natural gifts, partly by the directing influence of custom, partly by their own persistent and unsparing efforts,<sup>a</sup> but poverty or obscurity or bodily disease, or the other mischiefs which beset human life, have made it impossible for them to manifest the beauty of the qualities <sup>b</sup> which adorn their minds.

These, then, possess their good qualities, as it were, in 39 chains and durance. But there are others who find them entirely free, unconfined, unshackled in their hands, because in their case these gifts have been supplemented by rich and abundant material for their display. The man of prudence may have the 40 charge of public or private business, in which he can shew his shrewdness and good judgement. The temperate man may have wealth, and while blind wealth is strong to incite and urge its possessors to licence, he may turn that blindness into eyesight. The just man may hold office, which will enable him to render without hindrance their several dues to all who are under his authority. The practiser of religion may have priesthood and the charge of holy places and the rites there performed. Virtues they 41 still are apart from these opportunities, but they are of education, φύσις, διδασκαλία, άσκησις, usually typified by Isaac, Abraham and Jacob. Cf. note on *De Sac.* 5-7 (Vol. I. App. p. 488).

<sup>b</sup> Or possibly *άγαλμάτων* may mean the "ideas," cf. § 3.

## PHILO

- καθάπερ ὁ τεθησαυρισμένος ἐν ἀφανέσι γῆς μυχοῖς ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμος.
- 42 πάλιν τοίνυν κατὰ τὰ ἐναντία μυρίους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀνάνδρους, ἀκολάστους, ἄφρονas, ἀδίκους, ἀσεβεῖς ἐν ταῖς διανοαῖς ὑπάρχοντας, τὸ δὲ κακίας ἐκάστης αἰσχος ἀδυνατοῦντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δι' ἀκαιρίαν τῶν εἰς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν καιρῶν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ τοῦ δύνασθαι πολλή καὶ μεγάλη κατασκήψη φορά, γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἄχρι τερμάτων ἀμυθῆτων ἀναπιμπλάντας κακῶν καὶ μηδέν, μὴ μικρὸν μὴ μέγα, ἀζήμιον ἐῶντας, ἀλλὰ ρύμη μιᾷ ἀνατρέποντάς τε
- 43 καὶ φθείροντας· ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῦ πυρός ἡ δύναμις ἀπουσία μὲν ὕλης ἡσυχάζει, παρουσία δὲ ἀνακαίεται, οὕτως καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἀφορῶσι, σβέννυνται μὲν ἀκαιρίαις, καθάπερ ἔφην, καιρῶν, τυχηραῖς δ' εὐπορίαις ἀναφλέγονται.
- 44 X. Τίνος δὴ ταῦθ' εἶνεκα εἶπον ἢ τοῦ διδάξαι χάριν, ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Νῶε Χάμ ἡρεμούσης κακίας ἐστὶν ὄνομα, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἤδη καὶ κινουμένης; ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ θέρμη μὲν Χάμ, σάλος
- 45 δὲ Χαναάν. θέρμη δὲ ἐν μὲν σώματι πυρετὸν ἐμφαίνει, κακίαν δὲ ἐν ψυχαῖς· ὡς γάρ, οἶμαι, καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ νόσος ἐστὶν οὐ μέρους ἀλλ' ὅλου σώματος, οὕτως ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρώστημά ἐστι κακία. ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν ἡρεμεῖ, ὅτε δὲ κινεῖται· τὴν δὲ κίνησιν αὐτῆς ὀνομάζει σάλον, ὃς Ἑβραίων
- 46 γλώττῃ Χαναάν καλεῖται. νομοθετῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιτίμιον ὀρίζει κατὰ ἀδίκων ἡρεμούντων, ἀλλὰ δὴ<sup>1</sup> κινουμένων καὶ τοῖς κατὰ ἀδικίαν ἔργοις χρωμένων, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τῶν δακετῶν οὐδὲν ἀνήρ

<sup>1</sup> Wendland conj. ἀλλ' ἤδη.

## ON SOBRIETY, 41-46

static and inactive virtues, like gold and silver laid up in hidden recesses of the earth where none can use them. Conversely we may see 42 thousands who are cowardly, intemperate, foolish, unjust and irreligious at heart, but unable to display the ugliness of each vice, because of the inconvenience of their opportunities for sin. But when such possibility suddenly descends upon them in all its impetuous force, they fill land and sea to their utmost bounds with an untold host of evil deeds. They leave nothing great or small unharmed but work wrack and ruin in one concentrated outburst. For 43 just as the capacity of fire is dormant or kindled into activity according as fuel is absent or present, so the powers of the soul which have vice or virtue in view are quenched by inconvenience of opportunities (to repeat the phrase), but burst into flame when chance throws facilities in their way.

X. These remarks have been made solely for the 44 purpose of shewing that Ham the son of Noah is a name for vice in the quiescent state and the grandson Canaan for the same when it passes into active movement. For Ham is by interpretation "heat," and Canaan "tossing." Now heat is a sign of fever 45 in the body and of vice in the soul. For just as an attack of fever is a disease not of a part but of the whole body, so vice is a malady of the whole soul. Sometimes it is in a state of quiescence, sometimes of motion, and its motion is called by Moses "tossing," which in the Hebrew tongue is Canaan. Now 46 no legislator fixes a penalty against the unjust when in the quiescent state, but only when they are moved to action and commit the deeds to which injustice prompts them, just as in the case of animals

## PHILO

μέτριος κτείνειν ἂν ἐθελήσαι μὴ μέλλον δάκνειν·  
 λόγου<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ὑπεξαιρετέον ψυχῆς ὠμότητα φύσει  
 47 [καί] κατὰ πάντων φονῶσαν. εἰκότως  
 οὖν ὁ δίκαιος τὰς ἀρὰς τῷ νύωνῳ Χαναὰν δόξει  
 τίθεσθαι· δόξει δὲ εἶπον, ὅτι δυνάμει τῷ νύῳ Χάμ  
 δι' ἐκείνου καταρᾶται· κινηθεῖς γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀμαρ-  
 τάνειν Χάμ αὐτὸς γίνεται Χαναὰν. ἐν γὰρ τὸ  
 ὑποκείμενον κακία, ἧς τὸ μὲν ἐν σχέσει, τὸ δὲ ἐν  
 κινήσει θεωρεῖται· πρεσβύτερον δὲ κινήσεως σχέσις,  
 ὡς ἐγγόνου λόγον ἔχειν τὸ κινούμενον πρὸς τὸ  
 48 ἰσχόμενον· παρὸ καὶ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς ὁ Χαναὰν  
 [400] φυσικῶς ἀναγράφεται, σάλος ἡρεμίας, ἵνα καὶ | τὸ  
 ἐτέρωθι λεχθέν ἐπαληθεύῃ τὸ “ ἀποδιδούς ἀνομίας  
 πατέρων ἐπὶ υἱούς, ἐπὶ τρίτους καὶ ἐπὶ τετάρτους”·  
 ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα καὶ ὡς ἂν ἔγγονα τῶν  
 λογισμῶν στείχουσιν αἱ τιμωρίαι, καθ’ αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐκείνων, εἰ μηδεμίᾳ προσγένειτο πρᾶξις ἐπίληπτος,  
 49 ἀποδιδρασκόντων τὰ ἐγκλήματα. διὰ  
 τοῦτο μέντοι κὰν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς λέπρας ὁ μέγας  
 πάντα Μωυσῆς τὴν μὲν κίνησιν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον  
 αὐτῆς φορὰν καὶ χύσιν ἀκάθαρτον, τὴν δ’ ἡρεμίαν  
 καθαρὰν ἀναγράφει· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐὰν διαχέηται  
 ἐν τῷ δέρματι, μιανεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς. ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ  
 χώραν μείνῃ τὸ τηλαύγημα καὶ μὴ διαχέηται,  
 καθαριεῖ” ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν, ἐκ τοῦ<sup>3</sup> εἶναι  
 μονῆν κακιῶν καὶ παθῶν τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν,—

<sup>1</sup> So mss. Wendland needlessly changed to λόγῳ, i.e. savagery must be eliminated by reason, but see *De Ebr.* 33.

<sup>2</sup> So Wendland conjectures, though he prints the ms. κατ’ αὐτοὺς. Grammatical usage seems to demand the change.

<sup>3</sup> Conj. Tr.: mss. ἐκτὸς: Wendland from Nicetes Serranus (see App. p. 511) ἡσυχίαν καὶ μονῆν.

that bite, unless they are going to bite, no wish to kill them would be felt by any right-minded person ; for we must leave out of consideration the savagery which has a natural craving for indiscriminate slaughter. It is natural enough, then, 47 that the just man should appear to lay his curses on the grandson Canaan. I say "appear," because virtually he does curse his son Ham in cursing Canaan, since when Ham has been moved to sin, he himself becomes Canaan, for it is a single subject, wickedness, which is presented in two different aspects, rest and motion. But rest takes precedence in point of age to motion, and thus the moving stands to the stationary in the relation of child to parent. Thus it agrees 48 with the verities of nature when Canaan or tossing is described as the son of Ham or quiescence, and this serves to shew the truth of what is said elsewhere, "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation" (Exod. xx. 5). For it is upon the effects of our reasonings, what we may call their descendants, that punishments fall, while those reasonings taken by themselves go scot-free from arraignment, if no culpable action supervene. And there- 49 fore, too, in the law of leprosy Moses with his never-failing greatness lays down that the movement and wider extension and diffusion of the disease is unclean, but the quiescence is clean. For he says, "if it spread abroad in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean. But if the bright spot stay in one place and be not spread abroad, he shall pronounce him clean" (Lev. xiii. 22, 23). Thus the state of repose, because it is a standing-still of the vices and passions in the soul (and it is these which

## PHILO

ταῦτα γὰρ αἰνίττεται διὰ τῆς λέπρας—οὐχ ὑπαίτιον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ κίνησιν καὶ φορὰν ὑποχον δέοντως.

50 τὸ παραπλήσιον καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως<sup>1</sup> χρησθεῖσι λογίοις περιέχεται σημειωδέστερον· λέγεται γὰρ πρὸς τὸν φαῦλον<sup>1</sup> ὦ οὗτος, “ἡμαρτες, ἡσύχασον,” τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ὅτι κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνεργεῖν κατὰ τὴν κακίαν ἦν, ὄντος ἐνόχου, τοῦ δ’ ἡσυχάζειν, ὅτι ἰσχεσθαι καὶ ἡρεμεῖν, ἀνυπαίτιου καὶ σωτηρίου.

51 XI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς γε, οἶμαι, προεῖρηται. τὰς δ’ ἀρὰς [ἔχοντα]<sup>2</sup>, ὃν ἔχουσι λόγον, ἴδωμεν· “ἐπικατάρατος” φησί “Χαναάν· παῖς οἰκέτης ἔσται τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ” καὶ “εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς Σὴμ, καὶ ἔσται Χαναάν δοῦλος

52 αὐτοῖς.” ἔφαμεν πάλαι, ὅτι Σὴμ ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν ἀγαθοῦ, καλούμενος οὐκ ὀνόματος εἶδει, ἀλλ’ ὄλον τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, παρόσον τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὀνομαστὸν μόνον καὶ εὐφημίας καὶ εὐκλείας ἄξιον, ὡς ἔμπαλιν ἀνώνυμον καὶ δυσώνυμον τὸ κακόν.

53 τίνος οὖν τὸν τῆς φύσεως τἀγαθοῦ μεμοιραμένον εὐχῆς ἀξιοῖ; τίνος; καινοτάτης καὶ παρηλλαγ-

<sup>1</sup> Wendland πρὸς τὸν Κάιν, and αὐτὸν for τὸν φαῦλον. See App. p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaningless ἔχοντα, ἐξῆς or ἐχομένως or εὐχὰς τε have been suggested. The last suits the sense well, as the sequel deals with the blessing more than the curses. The Translator suggests as better accounting for the corruption τὰς δ’ ἀρὰς <καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀρὰς> ἔχοντα.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 511.

<sup>b</sup> In the LXX, as usually and rightly printed, ἡμαρτες is the apodosis of οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλθης. Philo here and in *De Mut.* 195, takes it as beginning a fresh sentence. Cf. *De Agr.* 127. So in *Quaest. Gen.* i. 64, 65 “Quid est, non quod non recte offeras, sed quod recte non dividas? . . . Quid est ‘peccasti, quiesce’?”



## ON SOBRIETY, 49-53

are figured by leprosy), is exempt from indictment, while the state of motion and progression is rightly held liable to arraignment. And a 50 similar lesson is contained in a more striking form in the oracles in Genesis.<sup>a</sup> For God says to the wicked one, "man, thou hast sinned, be still" <sup>b</sup> (Gen. iv. 7). This implies that while sin, inasmuch as it is movement and activity with vice as its motive, is liable to punishment, stillness, because it is stationary and quiescent, is exempt from arraignment and a means of safety.

XI. This is enough, I think, by way of preface. 51 Let us now observe the form which the curses take. "Cursed," he says, "is Canaan; a servant, a bondman, shall he be to his brethren," and "blessed is the Lord, the God of Shem,<sup>a</sup> and Canaan shall be their slave." We have said before <sup>c</sup> that Shem bears 52 a name which means "good," that is to say, the name which he bears is not any specific name or noun, but is just "name," the whole genus, thus representing good, because good alone is a thing of name and is worthy of fair speech and fair report, just as bad on the other hand is nameless and of evil name.<sup>d</sup> What, then, is the prayer 53 which Moses deems worthy of this participant in the nature of the good? What indeed? Surely a prayer unparalleled and unprecedented, to which

<sup>a</sup> Probably, as Adler suggests, in the lost discourse on Noah's "nakedness." See Introduction to *De Ebr.* p. 309.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* Shem is by interpretation *ὄνομα*, which may mean either "name" or "noun." In either case as representing the generic as opposed to the specific names or nouns, it is equivalent to the best of the genus. Cf. a similar argument, *Leg. All.* iii. 175. See App. p. 512.

## PHILO

μένης, ἢ θνητὸς οὐδεὶς ὑπηρετῆσαι δυνατός, ἀφ'  
 ἧς σχεδὸν ὡσπερ ἀπ' ὠκεανοῦ ρέουσιν αἱ ἄφθονοι  
 καὶ ἀέναοι πλημμυροῦσαι καὶ ἀναχεόμεναι τῶν  
 καλῶν πηγαί. τὸν γὰρ κύριον καὶ θεὸν τοῦ τε  
 κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων ἰδίᾳ θεὸν κατ'  
 54 ἐξαίρετον χάριν τοῦ Σῆμ ἀνακαλεῖ. καὶ ὄρα·  
 τίνας ὑπερβολὰς τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπερβάλλει; σχεδὸν  
 γὰρ ἰσότημος ὁ τούτου λαχὼν γίνεται κόσμῳ· ὅτε  
 γὰρ τὸ ἐπιστατοῦν καὶ κηδόμενον ἀμφοῖν ταῦτόν,  
 καὶ τὰ ἐπιτροπευόμενα κατ' ἀναγκαῖον εὐθύς ἐστιν  
 55 ἰσότημα. μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιαικλιεῖται  
 τὰ τῶν δωρεῶν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ | αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου  
 [401] δεσπότης καὶ εὐεργέτης ἀνείρηται διὰ τοῦ κύριος  
 καὶ θεός, τοῦ δὲ νοητοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτῆρ καὶ εὐ-  
 εργέτης αὐτὸ μόνον, οὐχὶ δεσπότης ἢ κύριος· φίλον  
 γὰρ τὸ σοφὸν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ δοῦλον. παρὸ καὶ  
 56 σαφῶς ἐπὶ Ἀβραάμ φάσκει· “ μὴ ἐπικαλύψω ἐγὼ  
 ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ φίλου μου; ” ὁ δὲ ἔχων τὸν  
 κληρὸν τούτου πέραν ὄρων ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας  
 προελήλυθε· μόνος γὰρ εὐγενῆς ἄτε θεὸν ἐπιγεγραμ-  
 μένος πατέρα καὶ γεγωνῶς εἰσποιητὸς αὐτῷ μόνος  
 υἱός· οὐ πλούσιος, ἀλλὰ πάμπλουτος, ἐν ἀφθόνοις  
 καὶ γνησίοις, οὐ χρόνῳ παλαιουμένοις, καινουμέ-  
 57 νοις δὲ καὶ ἡβῶσιν αἰεὶ τρυφῶν ἀγαθοῖς μόνοις· οὐκ  
 ἔνδοξος, ἀλλ' εὐκλεής, τὸν μὴ κολακείᾳ νοθοῦμενον,  
 ἀλλὰ βεβαιούμενον ἀληθείᾳ καρπούμενος ἔπαινον·  
 μόνος βασιλεύς, παρὰ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος λαβὼν τῆς  
 ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἀρχῆς τὸ κράτος ἀνανταγώνιστον· μόνος

<sup>a</sup> The LXX has “ My servant ” (τοῦ παιδός μου), which Philo uses in *Leg. All.* iii. 27. The Hebrew has no equivalent. See App. p. 512.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 512.

## ON SOBRIETY, 53-57

no mortal can act as ministrant, a prayer from which, almost as though it were from the very ocean, there pour forth fountains of things excellent, welling up and running over, unmeasured and inexhaustible. It is the Lord and God of the world and all that is therein, whom he declares to be peculiarly the God of Shem by special grace. And 54 consider! What transcendency is not here transcended? For we may well say that he to whom this belongs is put on a level of value with the world; since when the same power rules and cares for both, the objects of this guardianship must needs by that very fact be of equal value. Surely, too, 55

His gifts are such as shew a lavish hand. For while the words "Lord and God" proclaim Him master and benefactor of the world which is open to our senses, to that goodness which our minds perceive He is saviour and benefactor only, not master or lord. For wisdom is rather God's friend than His servant. And therefore He says plainly of Abraham, "shall I hide anything from Abraham My friend?"<sup>a</sup> 56 (Gen. xviii. 17). But he who has this portion has passed beyond the bounds of human happiness. He alone is nobly born,<sup>b</sup> for he has registered God as his father and become by adoption His only son, the possessor not of riches, but of all riches, faring sumptuously where there is nought but good things, unstinted in number and sterling in worth, which alone wax not old through time, but ever renew their youth; not merely of high repute, but glorious, for 57 he reaps the praise which is never debased by flattery, but ratified by truth; sole king, for he has received from the All-ruler the sceptre of universal sovereignty, which none can dispute; sole freeman,

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- ἐλεύθερος, ἀφειμένος ἀργαλεωτάτης δεσποίνης, κενῆς δόξης, ἦν ὑπέραυχον οὖσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἄνωθεν ὁ ἐλευθεροποιὸς καθεῖλε θεός.
- 58           τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τοσοῦτων καὶ οὕτως ὑπερβαλλόντων καὶ ἀθρόων ἀξιωθέντι ἀγαθῶν τί προσήκει ποιεῖν ἢ λόγοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ὕμνοις τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀμείβεσθαι; τοῦτ' ἔσθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ αἰνίττεται διὰ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> “εὐλογημένος κύριος ὁ θεὸς Σῆμ,” ἐπειδὴ τῷ τὸν θεὸν ἔχοντι κλῆρον εὐλογεῖν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν ἀρμόττει μόνον τοῦτ' ἀντιπαρασχεῖν δυναμένῳ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀνὰ κράτος πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ἀδυνατοῦντι.
- 59   XII. Τῷ μὲν δὴ Σῆμ εὐχεται ταῦτα· τῷ δ' Ἰάφεθ ὁποῖα, θεασώμεθα· “πλατύναι” φησὶν “ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἰάφεθ, καὶ κατοικησάτω ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ Σῆμ, καὶ γενέσθω Χαναὰν δοῦλος
- 60 αὐτοῖς.” τοῦ ἀγαθὸν ἠγουμένου τὸ καλὸν μόνον ἔσταλται καὶ συνῆκται τὸ τέλος—ἐνὶ γὰρ μυρίων ὄντων τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς τῷ ἠγεμόνι νῶ συνέζευκται—, τοῦ δὲ τρισὶν ἐφαρμόζοντος αὐτὸ γενέσειν, τῷ περὶ ψυχὴν, τῷ περὶ σῶμα, τῷ περὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἅτ' εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόμοια κατακερματιζόμενον
- 61 εὐρύνεται. διόπερ οἰκείως εὐχεται τούτῳ προσγενέσθαι πλάτος, ὅπως καὶ ταῖς περὶ ψυχὴν ἀρεταῖς, φρονήσει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν ἄλλων, χρῆσθαι δύναιτο καὶ ταῖς σώματος, ὑγείᾳ καὶ εὐαισθησίᾳ δυνάμει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς τούτων συγγενέσι, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς πλεον-

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τοῦ] mss. αὐτοῦ or αὐτῷ : Mang. ἐν τῷ.

for he is released from the most tyrannous of mistresses, vain opinion, whom God the liberator has cast down from her citadel on the hill and humbled all her pride.

What, then, of him who has 58 been deemed worthy of blessings so great, so transcendent, so multitudinous? What should he do but requite his Benefactor with the words of his lips with song and with hymn? That is, it seems, the inner meaning of the saying, "blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem."<sup>a</sup> For it is meet that he who has God for his heritage should bless and praise Him, since this is the only return that he can offer, and all else, strive as he will, is quite beyond his power.

XII. This then is Noah's prayer for Shem. Let 59 us now consider the nature of his prayer for Japhet. "May God widen for Japhet," he says, "and let him dwell in the houses of Shem, and let Canaan become their servant" (Gen. ix. 27). <sup>a</sup> If we hold 60 that moral beauty is the only good, the end we seek is contracted and narrowed, for it is bound up with only one of our myriad environments, namely, with the dominant principle, the mind. But if we connect that end with three different kinds of interests, the concerns of the soul, those of the body and those of the external world, the end is split up into many dissimilar parts and thus broadened. And therefore 61 there is a fitness in the prayer that breadth should be added to Japhet, that he may be able to use not only the virtues of the soul, prudence, temperance, and each of the others, but also those of the body, health, efficiency of the senses, dexterity of limb and strength of muscle, and such as are akin to these; and once again that he may have all the external

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 512.

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εκτήμασιν, ὅσα εἰς πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἀπόλαυσίν τε καὶ χρήσιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡδονῶν ἄγεται.<sup>1</sup> |

[402] XIII. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλάτους ταῦτα. τίνα δὲ ἐν  
 62 τοῖς οἴκοις εὔχεται τοῦ Σῆμ κατοικῆσαι, σκεπτέον·  
 σαφῶς γὰρ οὐ μεμήνηκεν. ἔνεστι μὲν δὴ φάναι,  
 ὅτι τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντός. τίς γὰρ οἶκος παρὰ  
 γενέσει δύναιτ' ἂν ἀξιοπρεπέστερος εὑρεθῆναι  
 θεῷ πλήν ψυχῆς τελείως κεκαθαρμένης καὶ μόνον  
 τὸ καλὸν ἡγουμένης ἀγαθόν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα  
 63 νενόμισται ἐν δορυφόρων καὶ ὑπηκόων λόγῳ  
 οὐχ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ—περιέχει γὰρ τὰ πάντα πρὸς  
 μηδενὸς περιεχόμενος—, ἀλλ' ὡς πρόνοιαν καὶ  
 ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκείνου τοῦ χωρίου διαφερόντως ποιού-  
 64 μενος· παντὶ γὰρ τῷ δεσπόζοντι οἰκίας ἢ ταύτης  
 κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνήπται φροντίς. εὐχέσθω δὴ  
 πᾶς θεῷ, ὅτῳ τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὤμβρησεν ἀγαθόν,  
 οἰκήτορος λαχεῖν τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, ὃς τὸ βραχὺ  
 τοῦτο οἰκοδόμημα, τὸν νοῦν, ἐξαίρων εἰς ὕψος ἀπὸ  
 65 γῆς τοῖς οὐρανοῦ συνάψει πέρασι. καὶ  
 τὸ ῥητὸν μέντοι συνάδειν ἔοικεν· ὁ γὰρ Σῆμ ὡσανεὶ  
 ρίζα καλοκαγαθίας ὑποβεβληται, δένδρον δ' ἡμερο-  
 τοκοῦν ἐκ ταύτης ὁ σοφὸς Ἄβρααμ ἀνέδραμεν,  
 οὗ τὸ αὐτήκοον καὶ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, Ἰσαάκ, ὁ  
 καρπὸς ἦν, ἀφ' οὗ πάλιν αἱ διὰ πόνων ἀρεταὶ  
 κατασπεύρονται, ὧν ἀθλητῆς ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν πρὸς  
 πάθῃ πάλην γεγυμνασμένος Ἰακώβ, ἀγγέλοις

<sup>1</sup> Wendland suggests ἀναφέρεται.

## ON SOBRIETY, 61-65

advantages which have their source in wealth and reputation and the means of enjoying and using such pleasures as are necessary.

XIII. So much for the "widening." But we must 62 also consider who is meant, when he prays that "he" should dwell in the houses of Shem. For this is not clearly shewn. On the one hand, we may suggest that "he" is the Ruler of the universe. For what more worthy house could be found for God throughout the whole world of creation, than a soul that is perfectly purified, which holds moral beauty to be the only good and ranks all others which are so accounted, as but satellites and subjects? But God 63 is said to inhabit a house not in the sense of dwelling in a particular place, for He contains all things and is contained by none, but in the sense that His special providence watches over and cares for that spot. For every master of a house must needs have the care of that house laid on him as a charge. Verily let 64 everyone on whom the goodness of God's love has fallen as rain, pray that he may have for his tenant the All-ruler who shall exalt this petty edifice, the mind, high above the earth and join it to the ends of heaven.

And indeed the literal story 65 seems to agree with this interpretation. For in Shem we have the foundation, the root, as it were, of noble qualities and from that root sprung up wise Abraham, a tree yielding sweet nutriment, and his fruit was Isaac, the nature that needs no voice to teach him but his own, and from Isaac's seed again come the virtues of the laborious life in which Jacob exercised himself to mastery, Jacob trained in the wrestling-bout with the passions, with the angels of

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- 66 ἀλείπταις, λόγοις, χρώμενος. οὗτος τῶν δώδεκα κατάρχει φυλῶν, ἃς οἱ χρησμοὶ “ βασιλείον καὶ ἱεράτευμα θεοῦ ” φασιν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον Σῆμ ἀκολουθίαν<sup>1</sup> οὐ τοῖς οἴκοις ἦν εὐχή τὸν θεὸν <ἐν>οικῆσαι· βασιλείον γὰρ ὁ βασιλέως δήπουθεν οἶκος, ἱερὸς ὄντως καὶ μόνος ἄσυλος.
- 67 Ἴσως μέντοι τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰάφεθ ἀναφέρεται, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ Σῆμ ποιῆται τὰς διατριβάς· τῷ γὰρ καὶ τὰ σώματος καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς πλεονεκτήματα ἀγαθὰ ἡγουμένῳ καλὸν εὐξασθαι πρὸς μόνον τὸ ψυχῆς ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ μὴ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀληθοῦς δόξης διαμαρτεῖν, ἃ κοινὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπαρατοτάτων καὶ κακίστων ἐστίν, ὑγίειαν ἢ πολυχρηματίαν ἢ ὅσα ὁμοίотροπα, νομίσαντα εἶναι ἀγαθὰ, τῆς ἀψευδοῦς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μερίδος οὐδενὶ φαύλῳ συνταπτομένης· ἀκοινώνητον
- 68 γὰρ φύσει κακῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν. διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐν ψυχῇ μόνῃ τεθησαύρισαι, ἧς τοῦ κάλλους οὐδενὶ μέτεστι τῶν ἀφρόνων. τοῦτο ὃ γε προ<φητικὸς> λόγος<sup>2</sup> τὸν σπουδαῖον ἔγραψεν<sup>3</sup> εὐχεσθαί τινι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων λέγοντα “ πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψον,”
- [403] ἵνα ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἐπανελθῶν, | τὸ καλὸν ὡς ἀγαθὸν μόνον δεξιωσάμενος, τὰς τῶν ἑτερο-

<sup>1</sup> Wendland changed this to *εὐλογίαν*, but the ms. reading makes quite fair sense.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn and Wendland. The *πρόλογος* of the mss. does not make sense. For the correction cf. *De Plant.* 117.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ἔγραψε μὲν*: Wendland suggests *τῶν σπουδαίων ἔγραψεν ἕνα*.

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<sup>a</sup> Or “God’s thought,” the Divine Logos being here regarded as plural. The allusion is to Gen. xxxii. 1, “The angels of God met him,” which comes shortly before the story of the wrestling in verses 24 f.



## ON SOBRIETY, 66-68

reason <sup>a</sup> to prepare him for the conflict. Once more <sup>66</sup> Jacob is the source of the twelve tribes, of whom the oracles say that they are "the palace and priesthood of God" (Exod. xix. 6),<sup>b</sup> thus following in due sequence the thought originated in Shem, in whose houses it was prayed that God might dwell. For surely by "palace" is meant the King's house, which is holy indeed and the only inviolable sanctuary.

Perhaps, however, the words of the prayer refer <sup>67</sup> to Japhet also, that he may make the houses of Shem his resort. For it is well to pray on behalf of him who holds bodily and external advantages to be forms of the good, that he should return to one only, even that which belongs to the soul, and not throughout his whole life fail to gain the true conception, nor think that health or wealth or the like, which are shared by the most wicked and abominable of men, are true goods. No, such participation in the good as is real and true is never found in association with what is worthless, for good by its very nature can have no partnership with evil. And that is why <sup>68</sup> this treasure is laid up in one place only—the soul—for in beauty of soul none of the foolish has part or lot.

This is the prayer which the prophetic scripture declares should be the prayer of the man of worth for anyone <sup>c</sup> of those who are his familiars—even "return to me" (Gen. xlix. 22)—the prayer that he may return to the mind of him who prays, and, welcoming moral beauty as the only good, leave behind him in the race those conceptions

<sup>b</sup> In the LXX βασιλείον ιεράτευμα, where βασιλείον no doubt means "royal." Philo's interpretation is, however, grammatically possible.

<sup>c</sup> Or "describes the man of worth as praying for one" etc.

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δόξων παραδράμη περὶ τὰγαθοῦ φήμας. ἐν οὖν τοῖς οἴκοις τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ λέγοντος μόνον εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν κατοικησάτω, παροικήσας ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἑτέρων, οἷς καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τετίμῃται.

- 69 Εἰκότως μέντοι καὶ δοῦλον τὸν ἄφρονα τῶν ἀρετῆς μεταποιοιμένων ἀνέγραψεν, ἵν' ἢ κρείττονος ἐπιστασίας ἀξιωθεὶς ἀμείνων βίῳ χρήσῃται ἢ ἐπιμένων τῷ ἀδικεῖν μετ' εὐμαρείας αὐτοκράτορι ἡγεμόνων ἀρχῇ τῶν δεσποτῶν κολάζεται.

## ON SOBRIETY, 68-69

of the good which are voiced by the perversely minded. Let him then dwell in the houses of the soul of him who holds that moral beauty is the only good, and merely sojourn in the houses of the others, who value also bodily and external things.

One point further. It is with good reason that 69 Moses writes down the fool as the slave of them who lay claim to virtue, either that promoted to serve under a higher control he may lead a better life, or that, if he cling to his iniquity, his masters may chastise him at their pleasure with the absolute authority which they wield as rulers.



## APPENDIX TO QUOD DEUS SIT IMMUTABILIS

§ 3. *Bounds which the lustral water has consecrated.* For this use of περιρραντήρια see *De Cher.* 96 (and footnote). Below (8) it is used for the purification itself, as in *Quod Det.* 20.

§ 6. *I give him to thee a gift.* The stress which Philo lays on δίδωμι and δοτόν suggests that he had in mind a different version of the text from that of the LXX, where, though in v. 27 we have "the Lord gave me my request," v. 28 runs "I lend him (κίχρῳ) to the Lord, a loan (χρησιν) to the Lord."

§ 14. *Multiplied a thousand-fold.* For this way of taking μυρία (as sing. fem.) it may be argued that it follows up the thought of ἡ δὲ πολλή. On the other hand the words may be a reminiscence of *Theaetetus* 156 A, where Plato, speaking of the product of the union of τὸ ποιεῖν with τὸ πάσχειν, says γίνεται ἕκγονα πλήθει ἄπειρα, in which case it would be better to take μυρία as plur. neut.

§ 18. *Some future pleasure.* A hit at the Epicureans; see note on *Quod Det.* 157; cf. also *S. V. F.* iii. 21.

§ 22. *Indeed some maintain,* etc. Evidently this refers to the Stoic doctrine of the constancy of the Sage; see quotation from Stobaeus in *S. V. F.* iii. 548, particularly the words οὐδὲ μεταβάλλεσθαι δὲ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲ μετατίθεσθαι οὐδὲ σφάλεσθαι.

§ 24. *Like a lyre.* For the figure cf. *De Sacr.* 37. There is a hint of this thought (which should be distinguished from that of the soul as a *harmony*) in *Rep.* 554 F and *Laws* 653 B.

*Ibid.* The insertion suggested by Wendland is also advocated by him in *De Ebr.* 6. But though easy enough it is not required, and would be impossible in *Quis Rer. Div. Her.*

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207 ff. where τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιστήμην is followed by a long excursus showing the universality of opposites and noting that the doctrine was taught by Heraclitus.

§ 27. *So for example.* οὕτως, which otherwise seems rather otiose, is perhaps used in the same idiomatic way as in Plato and elsewhere = "without more ado" i.e. "we often just turn from them."

§ 31. *Time.* These two sections are reminiscent of *Timaeus* 37-38 B, though there time is represented as coming into existence *with* the universe.

§ 32. *The archetype and pattern of time.* So in *Timaeus* 37 D "so he bethought him to make a moving image of eternity (εἰκὼ κινητὸν αἰῶνος) . . . moving according to number, even that which we have called time"; 38 B time was made after the pattern of the eternal nature (κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς διαίωνα φύσεως).

§ 34. *Thought quiescent in the mind.* This definition of *ἐννοια* as ἀποκειμένη νόησις is Stoic (*S.V.F.* ii. 847). The definition of *διανόησις* as "thought brought to an issue" or "working out of the thought" is perhaps invented by Philo to fit the *διενοήθη* of his text. He means presumably that an *ἐννοια* becomes a *διανόησις* when it becomes the subject of active deliberation.

§ 43. *Like a ring . . . it stamps.* There seems some confusion here between the imprint and the power which makes it. This might perhaps be avoided by taking *ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων* as subject to *ἐναπεμάξατο*.

§ 44. *Sometimes of an appropriate kind.* Cf. *Plut. Adv. Coloten* 1122 C τὸ δὲ ὀρμητικὸν ἐγχειρόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ φανταστικοῦ πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία πρακτικῶς κινεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. In adding to "sometimes the reverse," "this condition of the soul is called ὀρμή," Philo seems to be writing rather loosely, for when the impression is contrary to the nature of the animal, the resulting impulse was called ἀφορμή (aversion); see *S.V.F.* iii. 169.

*Ibid.* *First movement.* Another name for ὀρμή is *φορὰ διανοίας ἐπὶ τι*, while an ἀφορμή is *φορὰ διανοίας ἀπὸ τινος*. In using the phrase *πρώτη κίνησις*, which does not seem to appear elsewhere in our sources, Philo is perhaps thinking of the *πρώτη ὀρμή* of animals defined as the instinct of self-preservation; see *Diog. Laert.* vii. 88.

§ 46. *Mind is the sight of the soul.* So *Aristot. Top.* 17,

## APPENDICES

p. 108 a, 11 ὡς ἔψις ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ, cf. *Eth. Nic.* i. 6, p. 1096 b 28. The saying is, however, older than Aristotle, who quotes as example of a metaphor from some unknown writer or speaker ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἀνῆψεν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ (*Rhet.* iii. 10. 7, p. 1411 b, 73).

*Ibid.* Something better and purer. i.e. the πέμπτη οὐσία, an idea which, originally Pythagorean, was adopted by Aristotle. Cf. Reid on Cic. *Acad.* i. 26. It is definitely referred to under that name by Philo, *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 283.

§ 53. *Laws in the proper sense of the word.* Because νόμος is used in a wider sense for custom and the like. So in *De Praemiis* 55 νόμος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἢ λόγος προστάτων ἢ χρῆ καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ἢ μὴ χρῆ.

*Ibid.* *Leading statements.* Or perhaps "principles." Cf. 62. Philo can hardly have regarded Balaam's words in Num. xxiii. 19 as being part of the actual legislation. He thinks of them rather as summing up the ideas upon which the law is based. Thus, in a parallel use of the two texts in *De Som.* i. 237, they are called "the sole two ways of all the legislation." Every command or prohibition appeals either to love or fear.

§ 57. *Out of care for health.* Cf. Aristot. *Phys.* ii. 3, p. 194 b 32 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα, οἷον τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἢ ὑγίεια. διὰ τί γὰρ περιπατεῖ; φημὲν ἵνα ὑγιέλῃ.

§ 59. The reading ἀποπατεῖ might seem to be supported by *De Plant.* 35. But not only are the terms used for the excretory process less offensive there, but any such meaning is practically given here clearly enough by καὶ τἄλλα . . . εἴποιμι. Wendland ultimately (*Rhein. Mus.* 82, p. 480) proposed παύεται, ἀποπανσάμενος δὲ, but the ms. ἀποπαύεται is quite tenable.

§ 62. *As the heavens or the universe.* This is partly at least aimed at the Stoics, see Diog. Laert. vii. 148 (*S.V.F.* i. 164) where Zeno, Chrysippus, and Posidonius are all credited with holding τὸν ἔσλον κόσμον καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν as being οὐσίαν θεοῦ. Cf. *ib.* vii. 137.

§§ 65 ff. The thought of these sections has already been brought out in *De Cher.* 15, but with a different purpose. There it was used to illustrate the truth that the motive of the doer determines whether his action is right or wrong, here to show that falsehood may often be salutary to the

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person to whom it is said. In the note on *De Cher.* 15 it was pointed out that the thought might be drawn from *Rep.* 389 B. It should be added that it was adopted by the Stoics, see *S. V. F.* iii. 554, 555, where the cases of deceiving the sick and the enemy are specially mentioned.

§ 66. *He will gladly endure.* If the ms. reading is retained and ἀσμενος is taken with ἀπερεί, we must understand the latter as = "declines" and might translate the former by "only too gladly." But the thought is strange. Wendland suggests removing ἀσμενος to a later place in the sentence, but the slight alteration suggested seems to the translator simpler.

§§ 70-73. The argument in these sections is very strange. The discussion in 51-69 would naturally lead up to the first explanation given in *Quaest. Gen.* i. 95 that the words "I was wroth because I made them" is a hyperbolical way of saying that the sins of men grew so great that they might be expected to anger even Him who knew no anger. But the explanation here given, which appears in an even less intelligible form in the *Quaest.*, is something different. Philo seems to take the words as meaning "it was in anger that I made them," and to explain them in the sense that since when men do evil, it is due to anger (and similar passions), and since the creation of men has actually resulted in evil, the creation may be said to be due to God's anger. But not only is the explanation exceedingly strained, but it can only be got by using ὅτι in a way not known to those "who settle Hoti's business." The suggestion that by putting ἐθυμώθη before ὅτι ἐποίησα instead of after it the writer meant to indicate that the wrath was coincident with the creation, instead of after it, is still wilder. There is a strong likeness, which may only be superficial, to *Leg. All.* ii. 78.

§ 78. *A condensed mass of ether.* Cf. *De Cher.* 26, where the sun is φλογὸς πύλημα πολλῆς. That αἰθέριον means "of ether" not "in ether" is shown by *Plut. Mor.* 928 C (*S. V. F.* ii. 668). "The Stoics say that τοῦ αἰθέρος τὸ μὲν αὐγοειδὲς . . . οὐρανὸν γεγενῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ πυκνωθὲν καὶ συνειληθὲν ἄστρα." So ps.-Justin, *Quaest. et Resp. ad Graecos* 172 C ὁ ἥλιος πύλημα αἰθεροειδὲς τῆ οὐσίας.

§ 79. *Friend and kinsman.* Cf. *Timaeus*, 45 B, C, where the fire in the eyes is called ἀδελφόν to that of the daylight



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and forms with it ἐν σώμα οικειωθέν, whence vision is produced.

§ 84. *For the breath, etc.* This is the Stoic theory of hearing, cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 158 (*S. V. F.* ii. 872): "We hear when the air between the sonant body and the organ of hearing suffers concussion" (πληττόμενον) (Hicks's translation). Also the definition in *S. V. F.* ii. 836 ἀκοή δὲ πνεύμα διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρις ὠτων. For πλήξας cf. the derivation commonly given by ancient philologists, "verbum ab aere verberato."

*Ibid.* *For the consonance.* One may suspect that for γάρ we should read δέ or καί, as we seem to have a second reason for the view that "we hear through a dyad," founded apparently on *Timaeus* 80 B, where the two different notes μιαν ἐξ ὀξείας καὶ βαρείας συνεκράσαντο πάθην.

§ 89. Philo's interpretation of the Nazarite vow has already been partially given in *Leg. All.* i. 17. When the Nazarite lets his hair grow, it signifies the growth of virtuous thoughts. The contact with the corpse which defiles the Nazarite and interrupts his vow is that temporary contact with spiritual death which may befall even the good. The hair is cut off, that is, the good thoughts are forgotten, but they will grow again. We find again what we have lost and the days of defecation are blotted out.

§ 92. *Asked him . . . of the source of his knowledge.* The genitive (of the subject of the question) after πυνθάνομαι is certainly strange. If we accept "the father of his knowledge" we must suppose that Philo thinks of a father as being the father of the son's qualities. Cohn compares "the grandfather of his education," *De Sacr.* 43, where see note, and also *De Som.* i. 47 ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης.

§ 97. *Miserable are those.* This thought of the fruitlessness of effort, where ability is wanting, has been worked out more fully in *De Sacr.* 113-117. There, however, one important exception is made. In 115 Philo laid down that moral effort is never wasted. He does not deny this here but confines himself to the practical and intellectual life.

§ 100. *Achieve righteousness.* Ἀ καθήκον or common duty does not become a κατόρθωμα unless done with a right motive and perhaps not even then, unless it is part of a generally virtuous course of conduct; see Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 265.

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§ 101. <τῶν>. This insertion turns this difficult sentence into good sense, *i.e.* to pay a large sum duly, unless it is done willingly, shows no more real honesty than the admittedly dishonest course of paying some small deposit in the hope of inducing the depositor to entrust some large sum, which the person thus trusted will be able to embezzle. This "confidence trick" has been already mentioned in *De Cher.* 14, and appears again in *De Plant.* 101. In the absence of any complete banking-system, the depositing of property with individuals and their honesty and dishonesty in discharging the debt played a great part in commercial life.

§ 108. ἥτις . . . ἑαυτῆ. The correction suggested in the footnote has this advantage over Wendland's that the scribe is more likely to have been misled by the repeated χαρίτων than by the repeated τῶν, and that αὐτῆ is a less violent change from ἑαυτῆ than πηγῆ. For the thought that the ἀγαθότης is itself a χάρις *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 78, where the ἀγαθότης καὶ χάρις is said to be the ἀρχὴ γενέσεως. For the coupling of πρεσβυτάτη with χάρις *cf. De Cong.* 38.

§§ 111-116. This allegory is evidently founded on Gen. xxxix., where in verse 1 of the LXX Potiphar is described as a chief cook and eunuch, while in verse 21 Joseph is said to find favour with the chief gaoler. Philo, of course, takes great liberties with the story, making Joseph an eunuch himself and ignoring the statement that it was the Lord who gave him this favour with the gaoler. Presumably he is so anxious to get an antithesis to Noah's finding favour with God, that he seizes on these words in verse 21, couples them with the convenient parts of the story, viz. that the person who found favour with the gaoler was the slave of the eunuch and instrument of pleasure, and ignores all the rest. It may be said in excuse that by so ignoring them he manages to find a text for a very impressive sermon.

§ 111. [σύλλογοι καί]. σύλλογοι is coupled with ἐκκλησία in *De Som.* ii. 184 (a closely parallel passage), *cf. also Leg. All.* iii. 81. But "meetings" or "gatherings" does not fit in well with μελετῶνται, and Wendland (who also suggests διάλογοι) may be right in omitting the words. It should be noted, however, the phrase σύλλογοι καὶ λόγοι ἐγίγνωτο κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, *i.e.* gatherings and conversations after the assembly had broken up, actually occurs in *Dem. De Falsa Leg.* 133. Philo, who often shows a close acquaintance

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with Demosthenes, may have adopted the phrase, though somewhat straining it. If the words are retained we might translate "it is ever the practice to meet and talk of virtue."

§ 129. *Does not use it as its pilot.* Philo has evidently in his mind the similar but much more elaborate parable in *Rep.* 488 B-489 C, where the pilot is the true philosopher, and the inexperienced sailor the politicians, who obtain the mastery of the ship.

§ 135. *Defiles all these.* Philo again treats his text in a very arbitrary way. Instead of the things being cleared out, before the priest enters, to prevent their defilement, they are cleared out because they are defiled.

§§ 155 and 156. The contrast between the earthly and the heavenly goods is expressed in the allegory of the well-water and the rain. The former is earthly, scanty, obtained by labour; the latter heavenly, abundant, and showered on us without effort of our own. To labour for the former is an *ἔργον δυσελπιστίας* because it shows that we lack the higher hope. For *δυσελπιστία* cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 164. Elsewhere, as in *De Post.* 136 ff. and *De Ebr.* 112 ff., the figure of the well calls up more favourable ideas to Philo.

§§ 162-165. Here we have, of course, Aristotle's doctrine of the Mean, cf. particularly *Eth. Nic.* ii. 6 and 7, where both Philo's first two examples are given. Cf. *De Mig.* 147, where the doctrine is ascribed to the "gentle and sociable philosophy," meaning apparently the Peripatetic.

§ 167. *Its essential nature.* Observe how closely this peculiarly Aristotelian expression (*τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι*) follows on the Aristotelian doctrine of the Mean.

§ 176. *The best of constitutions, democracy.* Philo several times speaks in this way of democracy (*De Agr.* 45, *De Conf.* 108, *De Abr.* 242, *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 237, *De Virt.* 180). In three of these places he contrasts it with ochlocracy, or mob-rule, while in *De Conf.* he gives as its ruling characteristic that it honours equality. He does not seem to have got this view, at any rate of the name democracy, from the schools. Neither Plato nor Aristotle speak of it with such favour, and the Stoics held that the best form of government was a mixture of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy (*Diog. Laert.* vii. 131). Here apparently the democracy which the world enjoys consists in each getting its turn.

## APPENDIX TO DE AGRICULTURA

§ 13. *But contribute nothing to the improvement of character.* The *ἄσα* implies that some parts of dialectic and mathematics do contribute something. With regard to dialectic, this is explained in the sequel. With regard to "geometry," apart from its use as a *προβαλδευμα*, Philo would probably have held that, as it included arithmetic, the lore of sacred numbers gave it a higher and spiritual value. This appears very markedly in the disquisition on Four in this treatise.

§ 14. *With its threefold division.* This fundamental Stoic doctrine is given in Diog. Laert. vii. 40, with the same illustration as here. Another comparison given there and elsewhere is to the egg-shell, the white and the yolk. See *Leg. All.* i. 57 and note.

§ 41. *They are the only real kings.* For this well-known Stoic paradox see *S. V. F.* iii. 617 ff.; cf. *De Sobr.* 57.

§ 43. *Uneven.* This word perhaps gives the idea better than "superfluous." *πεπλοσος* is the regular name for "odd" numbers, i.e. those which are something over and above the right or even numbers (*ἄπριος*). Other passages in which Jethro is described (*De Ebr.* 37 and *De Mut.* 103) were referred to in the note on *De Sacr.* 50, where, however, the translation "worldling" was perhaps too loose.

§ 73. *οικόστροφος*. Here and in *De Plant.* 104 Philo uses this word in a disparaging way, which does not appear in the examples quoted from other authors. Usually it means "living at his own expense." There is, however, an approach to it in Lucian, *Somm.* 1, where it is applied to a youth who is not yet earning his own living.

§ 80. *Sense-perception made pure and clean.* In *Leg. All.* ii. 66 and iii. 103, Miriam stood for rebellious sense.

§ 81. *So we find.* Here *γούνη* as often introduces the scriptural story on which the allegory is founded, the main point of which is the concluding words "horse and rider he threw

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into the sea." But there is also an allusion to the opening words, "Then sang Moses and *the sons of Israel*," which, as usual, he interprets as "those who see." The contrast, however, between "all the men" or "all that are men," and "*the best women*" is curious, for in Ex. xv. 20 *all* the women sing the song. Perhaps Philo's memory of the passage misled him.

§ 94. *For these are able*, etc. There seems to be an illogicality in the sequel. The prayer which follows is not as we should expect, that the horseman should be able to control the horse, but that he should fall off. The best one can make of it is that, though it is meritorious to control passion, complete safety lies in getting rid of it.

§§ 95 ff. The parable of Dan has already been worked out in *Leg. All.* ii. 94 ff. The principal difference is that there the way (which as here is distinguished from the track) is the soul itself, instead of the road on which the soul travels.

§ 114. *An iron-bound thong*. The use in boxing of the *caestus* or leathern thong loaded with lead or iron is best known from the description in *Aen.* v. 405 ff. Mr. Whitaker's ingenious suggestion of *σιδηροῦν τροπὸν* for *σιδήρου τρόπον* ("like iron") may perhaps be questioned on the ground that *τροπός* is the thong used for fastening the oar to the thole. But it may have been used more generally, and if so gives an excellent sense. The construction of the ordinary reading is not quite clear.—F. H. C.

§ 119. *The Olympic contest*, etc. Perhaps rather "the only Olympic contest which can be rightly called sacred is" etc. Philo plays on *Ὀλυμπιακός* (derived from Olympia) and *Ὀλύμπιος* (from Olympus).

§§ 128, 129. The view that God causes good only is often insisted on by Philo, e.g. *De Op.* 75, and *De Plant.* 53. The thought is Platonic; see *Timaeus*, 29, 30 and 40, 41, *Rep.* 379 b, c, and elsewhere.

§ 132. *ὑπαναπλέουσαν*. Mangey's conjecture of *ἐπαναπολήσαν* has some support from *De Post.* 149 *ἐκ τῆς ἐπαναπολήσεως καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιλεάνσεως τῆς πρῶτον καταβληθείσης τροφῆς*. Cf. also *ἀναπολῶν*, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 107. On the other hand we have *ὑπαναπλεῖ*, *De Mut.* 100.

§ 134. *For what use is there . . . "partless"?* The translation assumes that *διαίρεσις* is futile, because we ultimately arrive at a closed door. If we read *ἀδιαίρετα*, it is futile, because

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we *never* arrive at a point where division ceases. In this case Philo adopts the doctrine of the infinite divisibility of matter, which was generally held though not without controversy (see Reid on Cic. *Acad.* i. 27). The same sense might perhaps be obtained by retaining *διαίρετά*, and taking it as "never finding before you (as a result of your division) separate parts which are called atoms." It should be noted that this philosophical evidence of the futility of *διαίρεσις* is merely subsidiary. The true reason, *i.e.* its moral uselessness, if unaccompanied by meditation, is given in 135.

§§ 140, 141. The grammatical and logical terms of the Stoics, here given, are nearly all stated (generally under the same names) by Diog. Laert. vii. 64-76, with examples which explain their meaning clearly. These are here given for the cases in which explanation is needed (Hicks's translation is used throughout).

Complete (*τέλεια*, D.L. *αὐτοτελής*)—

"Socrates writes."

Incomplete (*ἀτελής*, D.L. *ἐλλειπής*)—

"Writes," for we ask "who writes?"

Questions (*ἐρωτήματα*)—

"Is it day?"

Inquiries (*πύσματα*)—

"Where does he live?" which cannot be answered, like the question, by a nod.

Simple propositions (*ἀξιώματα ἀπλά*)—

"It is day."

Non-simple (*οὐχ ἀπλά*)—

"If it is day, it is light."

Hypothetical (*συννημμένα*, as subdivision of the *οὐχ ἀπλά*)—

"If it is day, it is light."

Inferential (*παρασυννημμένα*)—

"Since it is day, it is light."

Indicating more or less (*τὰ διασαφούντα τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον*).

"It is rather daytime than night," or

Disjunctive (*διεξενυγμένα*)—

"Either it is day or it is night."

Predicate (*κατηγορημα*) was defined as "what is said of something"; in other words, "a thing associated with one

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or more subjects ”; or “ a defective expression which has to be joined on to a nominative case in order to yield a judgement ” (ἀξιωμα).

Complements (συμβάματα). The words in D.L. which deal with this are corrupt. Apparently the term means a verb requiring a nominative subject, and therefore is identical with κατηγορήματα, according to the third definition given above. It is opposed to παρασυμβάματα, where the verb is impersonal and the real subject is in another case, as μεταμέλει μοι, “ it repents me ” = “ I repent.”

§ 142. *Smooth movement.* An Epicurean term (cf. note on *De Post.* 79), introduced here by Philo for a play on λειανούση, and qualified by τῷ ὄντι to show that he uses it in a higher sense than the Epicureans.

§ 145. Heinemann proposed in preference to Wendland's suggestion καὶ γὰρ διαίρεσις ἀνευ μνήμης καὶ μελέτης ἀνευ διεξόδου τῶν ἀρίστων. No doubt μελέτη may be taken as the equivalent of μνήμη, but διέξοδος can hardly be equivalent to διαίρεσις. Perhaps the following adaptation of Wendland's might be read: καὶ γὰρ διαίρεσις ἀνευ μνήμης καὶ μελέτης καὶ διεξόδου τῶν ἀρίστων ἀγαθὸν ἀτελές, <ὡσαύτως δὲ μνήμη ἀνευ διαιρέσεως ἀτελές>, in which the repetition of ἀτελές may have misled the scribe.

§ 160. *Solidity.* The term πῆξις is Stoic, see *S.V.F.* iii. 510. The life of ὁ προκόπτων only becomes really happy ὅταν αἱ μέσαι πράξεις . . . πῆξιν τινὰ λάβωσι.

§ 161. *Unconscious of their wisdom.* διαλεληθότες again is a Stoic term, though used rather of the fully wise, who do not yet realize their conversion, than, as here, of the man advancing to perfection; see *S.V.F.* iii. 539, 540.

## APPENDIX TO DE PLANTATIONE

§ 3. Mr. Whitaker had left "ride upon" for *ἄχεισθαι*, and this is the natural meaning of the word; but the sequel shows that the fire rides upon the air, and the earth contains the water in its hollows (§ 10). At the same time the translation here substituted, "be held by," is not quite satisfactory. Probably *ἄχεισθαι* is corrupt. Some word indicating juxtaposition (*ἄμορον κείσθαι*?) seems to be needed.—F. H. C.

§ 6. *Perfect parts.* Cf. *Quod Det.* 154 and note, in which the dependence of this thought on *Timaeus* 32 c was pointed out.

§ 10. *Masterpiece of literature.* Or perhaps "literature." It seems to the translators doubtful whether Mangey, whom Wendland followed, was justified in substituting *φωνῆς*. The phrase *ἔγγ. φωνή*, cf. *De Agr.* 136, means speech which is capable of being analysed into the sounds which are represented by the *γράμματα*, and *ἔγγ. μουσική* will mean the same, except that while *φωνή* contemplates the letters as used for speech in general, *μουσική* contemplates them as used for the higher purpose of literary expression. The thought is enriched by the word; the action of the Logos in creating out of discordant *στοιχεῖα* the harmony of the Cosmos is compared with the way in which the *στοιχεῖα* of sound combine to form the medium by which we express our highest thoughts.

§ 29. The insertion of *eis* will no doubt make the construction easier, if we may assume that *αἰσθήσεις* can mean the organs of sense. But this seems doubtful (the passages in L. & S. 1927 quoted for it seem rather to mean the senses themselves *as localized*). Without *eis* the passage can be translated "taking our body, like some deep-soiled plot, as tree-beds, he made the senses for it," though it is true that we should have expected *δεξαμενῆν*.—F. H. C.

§ 33. *To say nothing of the fact*, etc. This sense can no



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doubt be obtained by excluding τῶ. But the combination in a single sentence of two such disparate thoughts, as (1) that the cause cannot be contained in the caused, (2) that the trees do not bear fruits, is odd. As there is admittedly some corruption, perhaps we may extend that corruption a little further and suppose that a fresh sentence and subject begins after περιέχεσθαι. It has been shown that God does not dwell in gardens; we now go on to show that He does not need the fruit. As a guess one might suggest φῶμεν δὲ for τῶ μηδὲ, i.e. "And are we to say forsooth that the trees (as they would if they were really trees) bear yearly fruit?" Who then will eat them?—F. H. C.

§ 41. *That is to say . . . irrational creatures.* The ms. text and also the suggestions of Cohn and Mangey involve making the ἀσκήσεις καὶ χρήσεις the recipients of the privilege denied to the irrational creatures. But clearly the ἀσκήσεις καὶ χρήσεις represent the tilling of the garden and themselves constitute the privilege. The reading adopted brings out this meaning with no more departure from the manuscripts than the transplacement of ἐστίν and the omission of οὖν. Wendland's proposal of αἱ γοῦν ἀρετῆς δεκτικαὶ φύσεις, for αἱ οὖν ἀσκήσεις τε καὶ χρήσεις, would give much the same sense, but with more drastic alteration, and the phrase ἀσκήσεις καὶ χρήσεις has every appearance of being genuine.

§ 61. *For separation.* Or "for dismissal" as R.V. in margin. Mr. Whitaker had intended to correct his translation in *Leg. All.* ii. 52 from "averted of evil" to this, though that is the usual meaning of the word. Whatever the LXX actually meant, the interpretation which follows here (*cf.* also *De Post.* 72) seems to show that Philo took the word in this passive sense, and to this he would be guided by the parallel phrase in Lev. xvi. 10 ὥστε ἐξαποστειλαὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ἀποπομπήν.—F. H. C.

§ 73 ff. The curious distortion of the story of Genesis which follows has this much excuse, that the accusative after φυτεύω would naturally mean the thing planted, whereas the LXX uses it for the soil, which again would naturally be expressed by the dative following ἐπί. The A.V. has "grove" in place of the LXX "field" or "hide"; the R.V. has "tamarisk tree."

§ 76. 10,000 *is the end.* Apparently because Greek has

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no name for higher numbers, except such as are compounded with *μυριοι* or lower numbers.

*Ibid.* If we adhere to the line of progress, etc. Literally "according to the first arrangement (or "series")." The word "first" is obscure. Possibly it may mean the series 1, 2, 3, etc., other secondary series being 1, 3, 5, etc., and 2, 4, 6, etc. The former would not reach 10,000, and the latter does not start from 1.

§ 93. *Though by special grace*, etc. An afterthought; no such reservation is made in 79-84.

§ 94. *Natural duties*. Or, as it has been rendered in earlier passages, "simple" or "common" or "daily" duties.

§ 95. *Its crop*. In 137, however, Philo seems to take *αὐτοῦ* as referring to the Lord, *i.e.* "what He has produced." But it would be quite in his manner to regard it as having both meanings.

§ 100. *Indifferent*. Or "belonging to the lower or preliminary stage," as in 94. For the phrase *cf. De Sacr.* 43.

§ 101. *Debtors or slaves*. *I.e.* if anyone, slave or freeman, has entrusted a friend with some piece of property, he should retain it, if otherwise it will be seized by the master of the former, or the creditor of the latter. Heinemann would read *χρεώστας ἢ δούλους*, but it is improbable that slaves were entrusted in this way and surely impossible that debtors should be. For the remarks that follow *cf. note on Quod Deus* 101.

§ 106. *A desire that good*, etc. A verbatim quotation of the Stoic definition of *εὐνοια*, see *S. V. F.* iii. 432.

§ 110. Philo oddly perverts the story of Jacob and the rods. It looks as if he took the words which follow the text which he quotes *καὶ ἐφαίνετο τὸ λευκὸν ποικίλον* to mean "the spotted appeared white" instead of the opposite.

§ 111. *By way of leaving behind us bodily concerns*. The case of *κατά* is strange, and the thought, though in itself quite Philonic, seems alien to the context. Perhaps read *κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος μετάβασιν <τοῦ ποικίλου> τὸ ποικίλον, κτλ., i.e.* "Just as the variegatedness leaves the body of the leper, so we," etc.

§ 118. *The soul's chiefest good*, etc. This passage, like *De Op.* 53, is evidently dependent on the eulogy of light in *Timaeus* 47 A, see particularly, "Day and night . . . and months and years and the revolution of the years have

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created number . . . and from these we have derived philosophy, than which no greater good has come . . . to mortal men" (Archer-Hind's translation).

The correction ἀγαθόν for the senseless ἀπάτη has been universally accepted. But such a foolish corruption is strange. Is it possible that ἄκος ἀπάτης or some such phrase may have stood originally?

§ 123. "All" or "totality." A Pythagorean idea, cf. Aristot. *Met.* i. 5, 968 a, "ten is thought to be perfect and to embrace the whole nature of number"; see Zeller, *Pre-socratic Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 428. What applies to 10 applies to 4 also, since  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$ . Philo is also probably thinking of the words πᾶς ὁ καρπός in his text from Leviticus.

§ 129. *The family of the Muses*, etc. Philo seems to be giving a spiritualized form of the legend in Hesiod, *Theog.* 50 f., where Zeus lay for nine nights with Mnemosyne, who after a year bore the Nine Muses at a birth. πάμμουσον frequently means "very musical" but one can hardly help supposing that here there is an allusion to "all the Muses."

§ 137. *His products*. See note on "its crop," § 95.

§ 139. *And concerning the number 4*. The sense given in the translation can no doubt be obtained by merely omitting the καὶ before ἄ, and taking συνεκροτεῖτο in a rather unusual sense. But the phrasing is odd. The genitive τῶν ἄθλων cannot be governed by φερομένης, and must be taken as partitive, "those of the prizes which." If we retain καὶ, we might perhaps translate "and about the things which were enjoined," but the genitive τῶν ἄθλων then is unintelligible, as Wendland felt, who suggested for it <τὰ πρῆσβεία> τῶν ἀριθμῶν.

But there is another possibility. The treatise up to now has consisted of three parts; the husbandry of God (1-73), the husbandry of the wise man (74-92), and the husbandry of the ordinary (progressing) man (93-138). In this last the number four was merely incidental. It seems possible that φερομένης like ἐπομένης agrees with γεωργίας, and that the meaning is the "husbandry which wins the prize assigned to four." No doubt some corruption must be assumed to get such a meaning, but the following might be tentatively suggested: τῆς φερομένης τετράδος τὸ ἄθλον, ἢ κατὰ, κτλ. The last words will then mean "the husbandry which was trained (or "worked") according to the injunc-

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tions and directions of the law." This would give quite a usual sense to *συνεκροτέτο*. The "working" or "training" has been described in 100 ff.—F. H. C.

§ 142. Cf. Plutarch, *De Garrulitate* 4 (=503) F. *καὶ μήποτε τὸ ζητούμενον παρὰ τοὺς φιλοσόφους λύων ὁ ποιητῆς οἰνώσεως καὶ μέθης διαφορὰν εἴρηκεν, οἰνώσεως μὲν ἀνεσις μέθης δὲ φλυαρίαν . . . οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι καὶ ὀριζόμενοι τὴν μέθην λέγουσιν εἶναι λήρησιν πάροιον· οὕτως οὐ ψέγεται τὸ πίνειν, εἰ προσεῖη τῷ πίνειν τὸ σιωπᾶν· ἀλλ' ἡ μωρολογία μέθην ποιεῖ τὴν οἰνώσιν.* (*Ibid.*, 504 B.)

"We may, indeed, believe that these lines of the poet<sup>a</sup> give the solution of the question discussed in the philosophic schools as to the distinction between mellowness and intoxication: mellowness produces unbending, but drunkenness foolish twaddling.

"In fact the philosophic definition of intoxication calls it 'silly talk in one's cups.' The blame, therefore, is not for drinking, if one can drink and yet at the same time hold his tongue. It is the foolish talk that converts mellowness into drunkenness" (Tucker's translation).

§ 145. "*The others.*" *I.e.* those described in 143. Arnim would render "others," making a third class who are distinguished from the first, in that they regard drunkenness as venial in the exceptional circumstances described in 146. But all that is stated there is that the wise man may be occasionally forced to relax his general rule of avoiding all occasions of heavy drinking, and this is not incompatible with the view stated in § 143.

§ 163. "*After sacrificing.*" This derivation is ascribed to Aristotle by Athenaeus, *Epit.* ii. p. 40 c.

§ 165. *Etymology.* Arguments like this and the preceding one were a recognized method of proof both in philosophy and rhetoric. Cf. Cicero, *Topica* 35 and *Academica* i. 32 (with Reid's note). The first proof, though of a very similar kind, would perhaps have been classed rather as an argument "from definition."

§ 171. *Right feelings.* Arnim takes this Stoic term (*εὐπάθειαι*) as supporting his contention that the disputant is a Stoic. But apart from the fact that the word is a favourite with Philo, Arnim himself notes that much of the Stoic "jargon" had become common property.

<sup>a</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, xiv. 463 ff.

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§ 172. Arnim connects this argument with the strict Stoic view (a) that every good thing has its opposite evil; (b) that all good things belong solely to the wise man, and all bad things to the fool; (c) that what is neither good nor bad (*ἀδιάφορον*) is shared by both, and therefore its opposite must be shared by both. From this he argues that the ascription of this statement to *οἱ πρότεροι* shows that the disputant is a Stoic, since a member of an opposite school would not use such a form of words ("our predecessors"). If, however, it is assumed that the writer is a free lance, the argument seems doubtful. Moreover, the phrase *ὡς ὁ τῶν προτέρων λόγος* only applies to the statement that good and bad share soberness, and Arnim adduces no proof that this is Stoic.

§ 173. *Inartistic*. Cf. Aristot. *Rhetoric* i. 15. So called because "they are not due to the artist's inventive skill, but are supplied to him from the outside, as it were, of his art" (Cope). The other four are laws, documents, questions by torture, oaths.

§§ 176 ff. This argument is stated by Seneca in *Ep.* 83 as having been put forward by Zeno, and Seneca refutes it in exactly the same way as it is refuted here. He proceeds to deal in the same way with another defence of Zeno's argument, propounded by Posidonius, and then lays it down that the true way of proving the folly of drunkenness is to show its evil consequences—the loss of mental and bodily control, and the grave mischief which history shows that it has so often caused. If the suggestion made in Note (p. 211) to the Introduction is right, viz. that another speech followed, putting the case from the point of view of one who held that "the wise man will not get drunk," it may very possibly have followed these lines.

## APPENDIX TO *DE EBRIETATE*

§ 2. *Sometimes he gives opposite orders.* In Numb. vi. 3 the Nazarite during the period of his vow is forbidden wine. In v. 20 the LXX has "he shall drink it," which Philo takes for a command.

§ 4. The ms. text, as Adler points out, gives better sense than Wendland's correction (following Mangey). It is difficult to give any meaning to "the gladness which embraces the rest," and below *ἐπιθυμία* is the cause of *ἀπληστία*, not, as Wendland would make it, a synonym.

§ 12. For the reading *ἐκδιδούσαι* see Adler, *Wiener Studien* 44, p. 220. Apart from its superior ms. authority, it makes better sense; *ἀπαιδευσία* is not the source of all actions, as the other reading implies.

§ 14. *Riotous liver.* The odd word *συμβολοκοπῶ*, which is apparently only found in the LXX and Apocrypha, is rightly enough traced by Philo to the *συμβολαί* or contributions which the feaster paid. The origin of the depreciatory suffix *-κοπ* . . is obscure. Philo attempts to account for it after his usual manner in 23. Other similar formations are *φαντασιοκοπεῖν*, *δωροκοπεῖν*, *πορνοκοπεῖν*.

§ 21. *Complete irregularity of life.* Philo several times uses *ἐκδιαιτησις* and its verb for the rejecting of what is required by the moral sense of the community. Thus the setting up of the golden calf is felt by the tribe of Levi to be an *ἐκδιαιτησις*, *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 126, and violation of the Sabbath may become *ἀρχὴ τῆς περι τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδιαιτήσεως*, *De Som.* ii. 123. The verb has occurred in *De Gig.* 21.

§ 30. "*Father and mother*," etc. *I.e.* the terms may be used in the figurative sense given in this section, or in the other figurative sense given in 33, as well as literally. Or possibly the meaning of the sentence may be that, while in the text from

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Deuteronomy the father and mother are grouped together, as acting in concert, their functions are really different.

§ 31. *Obtained.* The LXX has ἐκτίσε instead of ἐκτίσατο. Ryle (*Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. 296) points out that Philo's word is a more accurate translation of the Hebrew and is actually used by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. He suggests that ἐκτίσε may have resulted from a corrupt ἐκτίσατο.

§ 33. *The disciples, who have followed in their company.* The parable implied is that God and His wisdom are in the truest sense the parents of mankind (as included in the All). Reason and convention have been trained by the divine Pair to be the educators of mankind and thus stand to them in a sense as parents also.

§§ 36-64. The depreciation of the "feminine" element of convention in these sections cannot altogether be reconciled with the high estimate of it in 80-92. The best we can say for it is that Philo regards this "maternal" influence as good or bad, according as it is supported and regulated, or not, by the "paternal."

§ 42. *Is not the Maker*, etc. The argument is "God should be known to us from the beginning" (1) because He is the father of all, (2) because He presides at (belongs to) the beginning. It would be stated more logically if we transposed ἀρχηγέτης and ὁ κτίστης, "Is not the Maker of the Universe its ἀρχηγέτης and Father?" Indeed this meaning might be got, though somewhat unnaturally, out of the text as it stands, if we take καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ with ἀρχηγέτης as predicate instead of coupling it with ὁ κτίστης.

§ 48. *The timeless also exists in nature.* Literally "there are also timeless natures." Philo is here as often (*e.g. De Plant.* 120) contrasting the "physical" (in his sense) with the ethical. But the thought is obscure. Perhaps it is something as follows. The dealings of God (here identified with nature) are timeless and therefore the "Practiser" will neglect time-order and look to order in value and thus desire to pass from the lower to the higher (νεώτερος and πρεσβύτερος passing as often from the sense of precedence in time to that of precedence in value).

*Ibid.* *The laws of human character.* Or the department of thought which deals with human conduct; ἡθοποιός, literally "forming conduct" seems here to be used for ἠθικός. Cf.

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ἡθοποιίαν 92. Wendland wished to read ἠθικός, but the usage, though perhaps rare, is natural enough, as Greek philosophy holds that right conduct must be based on ethics, and conversely that a knowledge of ethics will produce right conduct.

§ 51. This section seems to mean that Philo was familiar with cases where those whose education in the Encyclicia had been neglected were at pains to repair the loss in later life. This is perhaps not surprising. The Encyclicia, or at least its most important elements γραμματική and rhetoric, were more studied by adults and entered more into the life of the upper classes than our school subjects do with us, and a man might well feel at a loss in good society without them. That Philo regards such a return to the Encyclicia as a retrograde step follows from his peculiar view of them. Taken at the proper time, *i.e.* in boyhood, they are almost indispensable as an introduction to philosophy. Taken later, they are mere vanity and thus at the end of 52 they are equated with "external goods."

*Ibid.* *Left the right path.* Or "missed their way," "gone where no road is." The phrase ἀνοδία χρῆσθαι has occurred in *De Agr.* 101.

§ 56. *Discoursing with herself.* Rachel's answer to Laban is regarded as symbolizing the admission which every reflecting soul must make to itself of its inability to rise up against the "outward goods" which Laban represents. In using διαλόγους thus, Philo may have been influenced by Plato, *Soph.* 263 F ὁ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν διάλογος ἀνεὺ φωνῆς γιγνόμενος τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἡμῶν ἐπινομάσθη διάνοια.

§ 70. *The uttered word.* For the Stoic distinction between λόγος προφορικός (speech) and λόγος ἐνδιάθετος (thought) see note on *De Gig.* 52. The latter, not the former, distinguishes men from animals, for ravens and parrots speak (*S. V. F.* ii. 135); still speech is nearer to the mind than the senses are.

§ 73. The treatment of the story differs considerably from that in *Leg. All.* iii. 242, *De Post.* 183, *De Mut.* 108. There the woman is pleasure or passion and the man is ignored; and the piercing through the "mother-part" is to prevent her engendering further evil. Here the woman is the belief which ascribes causation to creation itself, the man the ideas



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or reasonings based on this belief, and the piercing through the womb is to show that no real power of bearing belongs to creation. Philo is of course assisted by *δέξα* being feminine, and *λογισμός* masculine.

§ 74. Adler aptly supports the ms. reading by *τοῖς κοίνοις ἀνθρώπων ἔθεσιν ἀλίσκονται* 68. But it must be admitted that this use of *πρός* for "belonging to" "like" is strange, if not, as Wendland says, impossible. Such phrases as *πρός γυναικός ἐστι* (regularly followed by the verb "to be," expressed or understood) are hardly parallel.

§ 84. *For if you have learnt . . . mother.* Adler points out that these words also as well as the quotation which follows are reminiscent of Proverbs. Cf. i. 8, "My son, hear the instructions of thy father and forsake not the laws (LXX *μὴ ἀπόση θεσμούς*) of thy mother."

§ 88. *Art of arts.* So *ἀρετή* is a *τέχνη περι ὄλου τοῦ βίου* (S. V. F. iii. 560, where we have the Stoic doctrine that the wise man does all things which he undertakes well).

§ 95. *Aggressor in wickedness.* The exact meaning of *προσεπιβαίνειν* is doubtful: clearly it is an antithesis to imitating their virtue. Perhaps "to go further and trample on them." Mangey translated it by "praevaricari."

*Ibid.* *Vanity most honoured among the Egyptians.* I.e. Apis, which Philo identifies with the Calf of Ex. xxxii. He is also thinking of Aaron's words in v. 4. The phrase "vanity of the Egyptians" recurs several times in Philo, generally with allusion to this incident.

§ 96. *And he said.* I.e. Moses, as the interpretation shows; see next note.

§ 98. *Personal experience . . . the one who watches the course of events.* In this interpretation Joshua and Moses apparently represent two aspects of the man's self. He feels the inward tumult, and then the reasoning side of his nature (the Moses in us) interprets the true cause. This reasoning side is identified with the Holy Word in 104.

§ 113. The full text of Numb. xxi. 17-18 should be compared with Philo's interpretation. *ἐξάρχετε αὐτῷ φρέαρ ὠρυξαν αὐτὸ ἄρχοντες, ἐξελατόμησαν αὐτὸ βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ κυριεῦσαι αὐτῶν.* The *ἐξάρχετε* of this is reproduced by *ἐξάρχει* in the previous section, and a comparison with *De Vita Mosis* i. 256 suggests that he interprets *ὠρυξαν* by searching for or finding wisdom (*ἀναζητῆσαι*, in

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V.M. *εἴρεσις*) and *ἐλατόμησαν* by building it up (*κατεργάσασθαι*, in V.M. *κατασκευή*), while "conquered" represents *ἐν τῷ κυριεύσει αὐτῶν*.

§§ 114-118. In the original the captains have made the roll-call of their men and no one has failed to answer (*διαπεφώνηκεν*). In the allegory the aspirants to spiritual power (this is based on the description of them as *καθεσταμένοι εἰς τὰς χιλιάρχιας τῆς δυνάμεως*, v. 48) make themselves masters (*εἰλήφασιν*) of the opposing forces of false courage. These, under the influence of the higher nature, are reduced to the mean, *i.e.* true courage, and thus none "is at discord." This, which, though not the meaning of the LXX, is the natural meaning of the word, serves to connect the passage with the other songs of victory. Cf. *De Conf.* 55.

This rendering assumes the "captains" to be the antecedent of *οὖς*. It would make better sense to make *λόγους* the antecedent, for then *πολεμικούς* would be equated with the *πολεμιστῶν* of Numbers. We should have, however, then to take *δυσὶν ἀντιτεταγμένους τέλεσιν* as "arranged in two battalions"—an unnatural use of the dative.

§ 115. *Two battalions*. Combined with this military sense of *τέλος* there is perhaps the thought of the philosophical sense "purposes," "motives."

§ 132. *Copies*. It will be observed that *εἰκόνας* is used in a different sense to that of 134. The literal tabernacle and altar are both *εἰκόνας* (or symbols) of their spiritual counterparts. The spiritual altar is an *εἰκὼν* of the spiritual temple in the philosophical sense of the theory of ideas. But perhaps *ταῦτα* stands for the phenomenal world in general, in which case we have the philosophical use or something like it.

§ 134. This section seems to the translator to raise difficult questions which he is unable to answer with any confidence, and leaves to some more accomplished Platonist. The tabernacle is generic virtue, the altar is the particular virtues, which one would naturally suppose to be the ordinary four, justice, temperance, etc. In what sense are these (*a*) perceptible by the senses yet (*b*) never actually perceived by them? The answer to (*a*) may perhaps be that by the particular virtues he does not mean the specific virtues in the abstract, but the manifestations of them in particular persons. This will agree with *De Cher.* 5, where the particular and specific virtues (*ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος*) are contrasted with generic

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virtue, and then these particular virtues are defined as "virtues in the I," and therefore perishable, because the "I" is perishable! If this is so, what is the answer to (b)? Is it that while these virtues are conceivable in the individual, they are never realized? This hardly seems satisfactory.

The question between *idéas* acc. plur. (Wendland and Cohn) and *idéas* gen. sing. (Adler) may be argued as follows. For the acc. it may be said that Philo uses the word in a loose sense for the *νοητὰ θεωρήματα* of 132. Both generic and specific virtues belong to a different order of things from the material altar and tabernacle. Or again, if Philo means the specific virtues in the abstract, are not these also *ιδεαι*, as well as the generic, which is their *ιδέα*? On the other hand, the genitive is strongly suggested by the antithesis to *αἰσθητῆ εἰκῶν* and the similar antithesis in 137.

§ 142. *Right reason which is identical with law.* This glorification of *νόμος* is definitely Stoic; see *S. V. F.* iii. 613.

§ 146. *παρακινεῖν.* As Adler points out, Philo is thinking of *Phaedrus* 249 D, where the truly inspired (*ἐνθουσιάζων*) is reproved by the many as *παρακινῶν*.

§ 150. *Hard day.* Adler's suggestion that *ἡμέρα* means "(and at the same time) easy" finds some support in the quotation from Hesiod. But there is no such suggestion in the varlet's words. It must be remembered that Philo found the phrase in the LXX and did not invent it. We need not suppose that he gave *ἡμέρα* any definite meaning, or again he may have interpreted it as "a day's journey." And if he really found in it any such edifying suggestion, as Adler supposes, he would surely have enlarged upon it.

§ 157. *Reason . . . unreason.* The translator is baffled, as often, by the way in which Philo combines and intertwines *λόγος* as "reason" or "thought" with *λόγος* as "speech." He is working out the idea of soul-sight (intuition) and soul-hearing (learning by instruction). The latter may be equated with *λόγος* "reason," but as we learn through words it may also be equated with *λόγος* "word" and this is indicated by the antithesis of *τοῖς λεγομένοις* and *τὰ ὄντα* in § 158.

§ 158. *Mis-seeing or mis-hearing.* Cf. *S. V. F.* iii. 548 *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρορᾶν οὐδὲ παρακούειν νομίζουσι τὸν σοφόν.*

§ 170. *There are many reasons for this.* Here begins Philo's version of the "tropes of Aenesidemus," see *Anal. Intr.* pp. 314 f. It should be noted that Philo omits two of the

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ten tropes, as they are stated by Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 36 f.) and Diogenes Laertius ix. 79-88. These two are (a) the differences in the sensations produced by different senses in the same individual, e.g. honey is pleasant to the taste, but unpleasant to the eye, (b) the different feelings produced by the same recurrence according to its rarity or frequency, e.g. when earthquakes are common they do not cause any excitement.

*Ibid.* In the first place. The first trope is called by Sextus (*Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 36) "that of the variety in animals" (ὁ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ζώων ἐξαλλαγήν), the argument being that, as animals are constructed so differently, we must suppose that the impressions which the same object gives them are different.

§ 172. *Those who form judgements.* The tropes were classified according as the difference of impressions arises from something in the subject who forms the impression (τὸ κρίνον) or from the object which creates the impression (τὸ κρινόμενον), or from both combined (Sextus, *ibid.* 38). The first, second, and third as given by Philo belong to the first class, the fifth to the second, and the other four to the third.

§§ 172-174. The introduction of these examples, which have no parallel in Sextus or Diogenes, is quite illogical. Clearly there is no suggestion that the polypus, chameleon, and elk receive different impressions. If germane at all they should come under the trope of "position" etc. (181). But with the exception of the dove's neck, the examples have no bearing on the argument, since these changes of "camouflage" are supposed to be actual changes. Philo, or the source from which he drew, was attracted by the interest of these supposed changes in the animal world and could not refrain from noticing them in a passage which deals with animals. That the illogicality did not altogether escape him is shown by his remarking that they belong to the κρινόμενα, not to the κρίνοντα.

§ 173. *The dove's neck.* A common example with the "bent oar" of an illusion (see Reid on *Acad.* ii. 79). Sextus (*ibid.* 120) and Diogenes ix. 86 rightly give it under "position," but ascribe the change to the way the neck is turned (Lucr. ii. 801, like Philo, to the sun's ray).

§ 175. *Impossibility of apprehension.* This leading term of the Sceptics, properly speaking, applies to the object

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which cannot be apprehended, but came to signify their general doctrine. Hicks (Diog. Laert. ix. 61) translates it "agnosticism."

*Ibid. Secondly.* The second trope, called by Sextus ὁ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφορὰν (*ibid.* 79). While the variety in animals was a *prima facie* ground for thinking that the animal man was liable to a similar instability of impressions, this is supposed to need special proof, which this trope gives.

*Ibid. Not only do their judgements.* I.e. of the same people. Wendland's proposed insertion of οἱ αὐτοὶ in contrast to ἕτεροι is unnecessary, though "the same" is implied. The changes in animals just mentioned being all in the same animal, suggest that there are analogous mental changes in individual men. This, however, belongs to the third trope and is only mentioned in passing, before we pass to the subject of the second trope.

§ 176. ἐπισπασάμενοι seems elsewhere, as in *De Gig.* 44, to suggest using influence or force to attract. Adler's ἀσπασάμενοι would be more natural; but there is hardly sufficient reason for the change. Perhaps ἐπασπασάμενοι. The word is only quoted from the 6th century A.D., but there are such things as ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Philo.

§ 178. The third trope (Sextus's fourth), called by him ὁ παρὰ τὰς περιστάσεις, *ibid.* 100.

§ 181. The fourth trope (fifth in Sextus, who uses the same phrase as here, ὁ παρὰ τὰς θέσεις καὶ τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τοὺς τόπους), *ibid.* 119. For positions or attitudes (θέσεις), i.e. of the object itself, Sextus gives the dove's bent neck, and Philo's swimming fish perhaps come under this head. For surroundings (τόποι), Sextus gives the bent oar and also the faintness of candle-light in the sun. For distances from the observer (διαστήματα), Sextus gives the varying appearance of a ship at sea.

§ 184. The fifth trope (Sextus's seventh, *ibid.* 129, his sixth being taken by Philo in 190). Sextus calls it ὁ παρὰ τὰς ποσότητας καὶ σκευασίας τῶν ὑποκειμένων. It would perhaps be better to translate ἐν τοῖς σκευαζομένοις by "preparations" simply and to omit "relative" and "in the various ingredients" in what follows; also to render συνθέσει by "aggregations" rather than "compounds." Sextus explains that by σκευασίας he means συνθέσεις in general and the examples show that these need not be of more than one substance.

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§ 186. The sixth trope (Sextus's eighth, *ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τι*), *ibid.* 135.

§ 190. The seventh trope (Sextus's sixth, *ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἐπιμυξίας*), *ibid.* 124.

*Ibid.* Those which are in accord with nature, etc. *I.e.* apparently, pleasant or unpleasant. *Cf.* the definition of pleasure and pain in *Timaeus* 64 D. But the epithet would naturally be applied to the *χυλοὶ* in the sense of flavours, as in 191, rather than to the "juices of the mouth." The following point may perhaps be worth consideration. In the parallel in Sextus these mouth-juices are *ὕλαι ἐν τοῖς γεύσεως τόποις ὑποκείμεναι*. If we read here *ἐνστομίων <ἄλλων> χυλῶν ἄσοι κτλ.*, *i.e.* "can we, without the substances in the mouth, tell what flavours are natural and what unnatural?" we should have a text which would easily lend itself to corruption.

§ 193. The eighth and last trope (Sextus's tenth, stated by him as *ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ τὰ ἔθη καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς πίστεις καὶ τὰς δογματικὰς ὑπολήψεις*), *ibid.* 145. The first two of them are repeated by Philo in the same words, and the *δογματικὰ ὑπολήψεις* appear in 198 ff. But there is nothing corresponding to the *μυθικὰς πίστεις*, *i.e.* the popular superstitions which with the scientific theories of the philosophers are represented by the Sceptics as having such a total want of agreement as to put the coping-stone on the accumulation of evidence for human *ἀκαταληψία*.

*Ibid.* *Ways of life.* We might take *ἀγωγὰι αἱ ἐκ παίδων* to mean "systems of education," but Sextus explains it as *αἰρέσεις βίου ἢ πραγμάτων περὶ ἓνα ἢ πολλοῦς*, illustrating it by Diogenes' asceticism and Spartan discipline.

§ 198. Here begin the *δογματικὰ ὑπολήψεις*. The first part of the section bears a considerable resemblance to "Longinus," *De Sublimitate* xlv. 3, 4, describing the tyranny of custom, from the cradle (*ἐνεσπαργανωμένοι*) and the buffeted (*κεκονδλισμένοι*) condition of the multitude.

§ 199. The opinions here mentioned may be roughly classified as following:

Infinite (Epicurean)—Finite (Stoic).

Created (Stoics and Epicureans)—Uncreated (Peripatetic).

No providence (Epicurean)—Providence (Stoic).

One "good" (Stoic)—Three "goods" (Peripatetic).

§ 206. *Gluttony.* This represents the *ἀπληστία* of 4 and 6.

§ 208. *Cup of reconciliation.* The phrase *ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς*

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combines the idea of pouring wine as cup-bearer (Gen. xl. 21) and the common meaning of "on the conditions of a truce."

§ 213. *Lost the organs of generation.* For the literal meaning see A.V. ἐκτετμημένῳ πίστιν interprets ἀποκεκομμένος, and παρακαταθήκην etc. interprets θλαδίας.

§ 218. *Fine bouquet.* The adj. ἀνθιμος or ἀνθινος is explained by Hesychius and the Scholiast as meaning (a) flavoured with herbs or flowers, (b) smelling like flowers. The latter is more suitable here.

§ 221. *Cavities,* or "stomachs," a use of ὄγκος not given in the dictionaries, but found in Plutarch, *Mor.* 652 ε and elsewhere (see Wyttenbach's index).

## APPENDIX TO *DE SOBRIETATE*

§ 12. *Comeliness of the body . . . beauty of the soul.* Philo is thinking of *Symposium* 218 ε, where Socrates says to Alcibiades, "You must see in me that κάλλος, greatly different from the εὐμορφία which I see in you."

*Ibid.* *Bastard brothers.* This distinction between the sons of the concubines and those of the legitimate wives has already been made, though in a somewhat different way, in *Quod Deus* 119 ff.; see also *De Mig.* 95, where Asher in particular is the symbol αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νόθου πλούτου. Below (66) and elsewhere all twelve are put on a level.

§ 18. *The phrase thus set before us, etc.* The thought of this section seems to be this; the phrase "God blessed him" explains in what sense Abraham was an elder, because the εὐλογία of God necessarily produces εὐλογιστία in man and this εὐλογιστία is moral seniority. According to the Stoics τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν in the selection of what is according to nature is the "end" of the individual man and brings him into agreement with the law of the universe, which is identical with Zeus (Diog. Laert. vii. 88). Philo, in his desire to equate the Stoic ideal with the divine blessing, more than once, e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 191, 192, brings εὐλογία into close connexion with εὐλογιστία. The mere fact that they both contain εὐ and λόγος would be enough for him. But in *De Mig.* 70 he strengthens the connexion by explaining εὐλογῆσω as ἐπαινετὸν λόγον δωρήσομαι.

§ 32. [δοῦλος δούλων]. This is given instead of the παῖς οἰκέτης of the LXX in Aquila's version, whence Wendland supposes that it was interpolated into Philo's text. Ryle on the other hand (*Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. 44), points out that Philo in quoting Gen. ix. 26 and 27 (in sections 51 and 59) uses δοῦλος where the LXX has παῖς, and infers that it is more likely that he had δοῦλος δούλων here. But in 51, where he quotes this verse 25 again, we have παῖς οἰκέτης without any variant or addition.



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§ 34. *The state of rest.* Philo seems always to use *σχέσις* in contrast to *κίνησις* (see Index). In calling it "akin" to *ἕξις* he is in general agreement with Stobaeus (*S.F.V.* iii. 111), where, after opposing *τὰ ἐν κινήσει ἀγαθὰ* to *τὰ ἐν σχέσει ἀγαθὰ*, he adds that some of the latter are also *ἐν ἕξει*, others *ἐν σχέσει μόνον*. He gives as examples of *τὰ ἐν κινήσει* joy and the like, of *τὰ ἐν ἕξει* the virtues and the arts when transformed by virtue and permanently established, of *τὰ ἐν σχέσει μόνον* "orderly quietude" (*εὐτακτος ἡσυχία*). From this use of *ἐν σχέσει μόνον* in contrast to *ἐν σχέσει καὶ ἕξει* comes the contrast between *σχέσις* itself and *ἕξις* as something transitory opposed to the less transitory, just as *ἕξις* in its turn is often opposed to *διάθεσις*, as something less permanent, or perhaps less essential and engrained (*cf.* on *De Cher.* 62). This use of *σχέσις* does not appear in Philo, though he uses the adverb so in *Leg. All.* iii. 210, where *σχετικῶς καὶ εὐαλότως ὡς ἂν ἐκ τυχῆς* is contrasted with *ἀπὸ ἕξεως καὶ διαθέσεως*. The distinction between *ἕξις* and *διάθεσις* is ignored in *De Sobrietate* as in Stobaeus, thus bringing *ἕξις* into agreement with the Aristotelian use of the word.

§ 50. *The oracles in Genesis.* Wendland, in adopting the reading mentioned in the footnote (as well as in 49), is following the version of 49 and 50, quoted in Nicetes Serranus's commentary on St. Luke. The ms. of this commentary is of the 12th century, but the date of the author is not stated. If Nicetes gives the true reading here, how are we to account for the wanton alteration from *πρὸς τὸν Καῖν* to *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως*? The translators incline to think that the reading of the mss. is right. It is natural enough that, as the preceding quotations come from Exodus and Leviticus, Philo should want to indicate that this comes from Genesis and since, as he says (*De Abr.* 1), this book takes its name *ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως*, the expression here used is not impossible. That Nicetes should have corrected a reference so vague and apt to mislead to something more definite is equally natural. Wendland's statement about the general superiority of this excerpt to the mss. of Philo is hardly borne out by his practice. He follows them as often as he follows Nicetes.

§ 51. *Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem.* When Philo wrote the *Quaestiones* (*Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 15), he clearly

## PHILO

read Κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός Σήμ, for not only is the text quoted as "benedictus est dominus deus, deus Sem," but the comment demands this, *e.g.* "bis nominatur benefica virtus dei." Should we read the same here? It is against it that when the verse is cited in 58 (but see note) the mss. again have only one ὁ θεός. On the other hand, the argument of 55 will become clearer. God is Lord God of the world, but God only of Shem.

§ 52. The interpretation of "Shem" as "name" and thence, as the best of names, "the good," does not appear elsewhere in what we have of Philo. But the idea was taken up by the Latin Fathers, though they characteristically substituted Christ for the good. So Ambrose, *Ep.* 7. 46 "Sem dicitur Latine nomen," Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* xvi. 2 "Sem quippe, de cuius semine in carne natus est Christus, interpretatur nominatus. Quid autem nominatus Christo?"

§ 56. *My friend.* This variant, which, as the argument shews, is deliberate, is especially noticeable in view of James ii. 23 φίλος ἐκλήθη θεοῦ. Ryle, *l.c.* p. 75, suggests that it was an earlier rendering, subsequently altered as too familiar, yet retaining its influence after the LXX became the standard version.

*Ibid. He alone is nobly born.* For this and the other "paradoxes" which follow see *S. V. F.* iii. 589 ff.

§ 58. *Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem.* Observe that Philo here substitutes εὐλογημένος for the εὐλογητός of the LXX which he followed in 51, though in *De Mig.* 107 he carefully distinguishes between the two as meaning respectively "the subject of blessing (by others)," and "worthy of blessing." It is quite possible, as Heinemann suggests, that he means us here to take Σήμ as dative. Compare his treatment of Δάν in *De Agr.* 99. In this case we should translate "let the Lord God be blessed by Shem." This rendering suits the argument which follows, and it is quite in Philo's manner to suggest such a double rendering, and further to imagine or accept a variant εὐλογημένος to fit it.

§§ 60 ff. For the three kinds of goods *cf.* *De Ebr.* 200 ff. and note on *Quod Det.* 7. Here Philo comes nearer to the Peripatetic view than in *De Gig.* 38. He is still nearer to it in *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 285 ff.

# PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES  
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

IV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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## PREFACE TO VOLUME IV

As was stated in the Preface to the last volume, Mr. Whitaker's versions of the treatises he had agreed to take in this volume and the fifth were in existence at his death. As it happens, however, his part in this volume was confined to one treatise of the four, viz. the *De Migratione*. This had reached the typescript stage, and just before his death I had sent him some corrections or suggestions which he had accepted. Since then, however, I have made a good many further alterations in that treatise. On the *De Confusione* he had sent me only a few suggestions, and my versions of the other two treatises he had not seen at all. Altogether I feel that, for good or for ill, I must take the final responsibility for this volume, and I have therefore ceased to use such phrases as "The Translators think" and used the first person singular instead. That the work has suffered by his absence, and that there are sure to be many things which I should have altered or modified if I had had his advice, need hardly be said.

A misunderstanding shewn by a reviewer makes me think that it would be well to say something about the textual notes. My own view has always been that, while it would be beyond the scope of a work of this kind to indicate the variants in the mss., places in which the text printed has no ms. authority should be recorded. Mr. Whitaker did not altogether

## PREFACE

agree with me, and consequently in the first two volumes there was no consistent attempt to give this information, though the reproduction of the angular and square brackets did indicate insertions and omissions in the text. In the third volume and this, however, I have made it a rule to note all cases (except such as are merely orthographical) where the text printed is purely conjectural, however certain the conjectures may be.<sup>a</sup> Further, it is to be understood that, unless it is stated otherwise, the text printed is that of Wendland. It does not follow, however, that any particular emendation of the text is due to Wendland, as I have not thought it necessary to distinguish between his emendations and those of Mangey, Markland and Turnebus, so long as he himself has adopted them. I also note all cases where I have not followed Wendland's text, and, where the emendation is our own, have stated the fact. Of these last there are not many. But there are a good many more noted in footnotes or appendix where I feel fairly confident that the reading we have suggested is right, but have not that degree of certitude which would justify my printing it in the text itself. As to Wendland's corrections, while I accept without question the facts of his *apparatus criticus*, I do not, as the work progresses, feel the same confidence in his judgement. He does not seem to me to consider sufficiently how the text which he adopts came to be corrupted to the form which it has in the mss. On the whole, however, the principle laid down in the preface of the first volume, that where hesitation does not amount to conviction the

<sup>a</sup> Omissions and insertions are of course not noted in the footnotes, as the brackets speak for themselves.



## PREFACE

text of this standard edition should be preserved, has been followed in this volume with modification.

A mild regret has also been expressed that no account of the mss. has been given. It is perhaps a pity that this was not attempted in the General Introduction. In apology it may be said that, leaving out of consideration excerpts and quotations, which form a considerable part of the evidence for the text, the mss. used by Cohn and Wendland, few of which are earlier than the thirteenth century and none earlier than the eleventh or tenth, amount to more than twenty in the six volumes and vary greatly with the different treatises; and that Cohn has declared at the end of his survey that no single ms. or family of mss. stands out in such a way that anything more than an eclectic recension of Philo's text is possible.<sup>a</sup>

I cannot conclude without again expressing the greatness of the debt I owe to Leisegang's index. True, there are a good many words absent, on which one would be glad to be able to investigate Philo's usage, and of the words dealt with I have sometimes found examples omitted, so that one has to be cautious in drawing negative conclusions from it. Still, on the whole, it is an admirable piece of work, and not only the present translator but all future editors of Philo will have in their hands an instrument which Mangey and Wendland would have given much to possess.

F. H. C.

*February 1932.*

<sup>a</sup> Prolegomena to Vol. I, p. xli.

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

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- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
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### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THE text of this treatise is Gen. xi. 1-9, which is given in full in the first section.

Philo begins by stating the objections which the sceptical critics had brought against the story. They had said that the project of building a tower to reach heaven was really the same as the Homeric myth of the Aloeidae (2-4), and had pointed out the absurdity of the idea (5). Secondly they had said that the story of the confusion of tongues was much the same as the fable that all animals originally understood each other's language and lost the privilege by presumption (6-8), and though the story in Genesis was a little more rational, still the idea that the multiplication of languages would serve to prevent co-operation in sin was absurd (9-13). Philo will leave the literalists to answer these criticisms as they can. His own answer is to give an allegorical interpretation of the whole story (14-15).

By "one lip and one voice" Moses is indicating a "symphony" of evils, which is seen not only in the multitude, but in the individual (16), where it sometimes takes the form of the external calamities of fortune (16-20), but still more in the passions which beset the soul (21-22), of which the deluge story is an allegory (23-25), as also the alliance against Abraham (26), and the attack of the whole people of Sodom upon the angel visitors (27-28). The illus-

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

tration which follows leads to a meditation on the word "lip" ( $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ )<sup>a</sup> which also means "edge." Moses met Pharaoh on the "lip" of the river. The Egyptians lay dead on the "lip" of the sea (29-36), and since "lip" means speech, we may see in this death the silencing of convicted falsehood (37-38), though here a caution is needed. There are many unskilled in refuting falsehood and they can only do so with God's help (39).

The "symphony" of evil suggests the "symphony" of good, and this appears in the words of the patriarchs "we are men of peace, sons of one man." The one man is the Divine Logos, and only those who acknowledge him are men of peace, while the opposite creed of polytheism breeds discord (40-43). Yet this peace is also a war against the symphony of evil. This thought leads to an exposition of Jeremiah xv. 10, particularly of the description by the prophet of himself as a "man of war" (43-51), and hence to the "symphony" gained by the Captains who fought against Midian (52-57), and the highest of all symphonies, when Israel would "do and hear," that is would do God's will even before they heard the commandment (58-59).<sup>b</sup>

The next verse of the text is "as they march from the east (or "rising") they *found* a plain in the land of Shinar (interpreted as shaking off) and *dwelt* there." "Rising" and "shaking off" being applicable to good and ill lead to illustrations from other texts where these words occur (60-74). "Finding" suggests that the wicked actually seek evil (75), and

<sup>a</sup> The word is the *motif* running through the whole treatise.

<sup>b</sup> For a closer account of the connexion of thought in §§ 52-57 see note on § 57.

## PHILO

“ dwelling there ” suggests the contrast (illustrated from sayings of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses) of the good man regarding himself as only a sojourner in the body (76-82).

We now come to the building of the city and tower. The third verse is “ come let us make bricks and bake them with fire.” By “ brick-making ” is meant the analysing and shaping of evil-minded thoughts (83-90), and we are reminded that such brick-making is also imposed upon the Israel-soul, when once it is in bondage to Egypt (91-93). This last thought gives rise to a very loosely connected meditation on the vision of the Divine granted to the liberated Israel in Ex. xxiv.<sup>a</sup> and the interpretation of its details (94-100). The “ baking with fire ” signifies the solidarity which sophistical argument gives to their vices, and so too we have “ their brick became a stone ” (101-102). But on the other hand the “ asphalt became clay,<sup>b</sup> ” that is, God subverts their evil designs, before they attain the safety (*ἀσφάλεια*) of “ asphalt ” (103-104). Two thoughts on “ asphalt ” follow suggesting that its “ safety ” is rather the safety of bodily than of spiritual things (105-106).

“ Let us build ourselves a city and tower whose head shall reach to heaven.” Our souls are cities and the fool summons all his senses and passions to help him build his city with its tower or acropolis to his taste (107-112). When the tower seeks to rise to heaven, it signifies the impious attempt of theological falsities (especially the denial of providence) to attack celestial truths (113-115). On the next words “ let us make our name ” Philo bursts into

<sup>a</sup> Partly induced by the occurrence of the words “ brick ” or “ plinth ” in the narrative.      <sup>b</sup> See note on § 102.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

invective against the madness of the wicked in actually flaunting their wickedness (116-118). It is true indeed that they have an inkling that there is a divine judgement awaiting them as they shew by the next words "before we are scattered abroad" (119-121). But this is only in the background of their thoughts. In general they are of Cain's lineage and believe in the self-sufficiency of man, the folly of which Philo denounces in his usual way, and this self-sufficiency gives a second meaning to the words "its head shall reach to heaven" (122-128). But this tower will be overthrown even as Gideon overthrew the tower of Penuel (turning away from God), not in war but when he returned in peace—the true peace (129-132). By a third interpretation "heaven" may mean "mind," and the attempt to reach it be the attempt to exalt sense above mind (133).

The words "the Lord came down to see the city and the tower" call for the usual protest against anthropomorphism, and Philo again emphasizes the truth that God's Potencies are everywhere, while His essential nature is not in space at all (134-139). The intention of Moses in using the phrase is to shew us by God's example the need of close examination before we dogmatize, and the superiority of sight to hearsay (140-141). As for the phrase the "sons of men," some may scoff at it as a pleonasm, but the true meaning is that these builders are not, like the pious, "sons of God" (141-145), nor yet sons of "one man,"<sup>a</sup> that is the Logos (146-147). Sonship in fact is often in the scriptures used in this spiritual sense (148-149). The next words, "behold they are all one race and one lip," give rise to the

<sup>a</sup> See § 41.

## PHILO

thought that there may easily be unison in the worst disharmony (150-151), while in " they have begun to do this " " this " is the impiety against heaven which crowns their misdeeds to men. They only " began," for heaven is inviolable and blasphemies recoil upon the blasphemer (152-154), yet they are treated as though they succeeded, which is indicated by the words " the tower which they built " (155). (At this point Philo interpolates a curious piece of literalism ; not only is it a physical impossibility to build such a tower, but anyone who attempted it would be blasted by the heat of the sun) (156-157). That the punishment entailed by the accomplished sin falls upon the undertaken sin is shewn in Balaam's fate (158-159), and the law which refuses sanctuary to him who has attempted murder (160). (Incidentally this law is given the spiritual meaning that the mind which believes God to be the author of evil as well as good and thus throws the responsibility for its own sins upon Him, is essentially unholy) (161). The next words, " nothing shall fail them of all they attempt," teach us that the greatest punishment God can give is to give the sinner opportunity without restraint, and this is illustrated (as in *Quod Det.* 141 ff.) by Cain's word " that I should be let free is the greater indictment (or punishment) " (162-167).

When we come to the words " let us go down and confound their tongues " we have first to explain the plural in God's mouth, of which he gives other examples (168-169). He then puts forward, as in *De Op.* 75, the theory (based on the *Timaeus*) that God committed certain tasks to his lieutenants, the Potencies and the spiritual beings called " Angels " (170-175). As man also has free will and is there-



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

fore capable of sin God shared the work of man's creation with His ministers, that He Himself should not be the cause of evil (176-179). So too He calls upon His subordinates (here definitely called Angels)<sup>a</sup> to bring the punishment of "confusion" upon the impious (180-182). As for the word "confusion" (*σύγχυσις*) we may accept the philosophic usage in which it stands for a mixing so complete that the original properties of the ingredients are destroyed, in contrast to *μίξις* where the ingredients are merely juxtaposed, and *κρᾶσις* where though chemically combined they can still be analysed (183-188). Thus *σύγχυσις* of the impious means that their powers are so annihilated that neither separately nor in combination they can work mischief (189). The literalist interpretation that the story merely describes the differentiation of languages may not be untrue, but it is inadequate. Had such differentiation been intended we should have expected some such term as separation or distribution rather than confusion, and moreover differentiation of function, as we see in the human organism, is beneficial rather than the reverse (190-195). That *σύγχυσις* implies destruction in this passage is confirmed by the words which follow, "the Lord dispersed them thence," for dispersion conveys a similar idea (196). The dispersion of the wicked will imply the reassembling of the good whom they had dispersed, in fact establish the "symphony" of virtues in the place of the "symphony" of evil. Viewed in this double light of "destruction" and "dispersion" the name *σύγχυσις* well describes the fool whose life is as worthless as it is unstable<sup>b</sup> (197-end).

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 182.

<sup>b</sup> See note on § 198.

<sup>1</sup> I. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀρκέσει τὰ εἰρημένα. σκεπτέον δὲ ἐξῆς οὐ παρέργως, ἀ περὶ τῆς τῶν διαλέκτων συγχύσεως φιλοσοφεί· λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· “καὶ ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος ἓν, καὶ φωνὴ μία πᾶσι. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινήσει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, εὗρον πεδῖον ἐν τῇ γῇ Σεναὰρ καὶ κατώκησαν ἐκεῖ. καὶ εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος τῷ πλησίον· δεῦτε πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους καὶ ὀπτήσωμεν αὐτὰς πυρί. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ πλίνθος εἰς λίθον, καὶ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πηλός.<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἶπον· δεῦτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ποιήσωμεν ἑαυτῶν ὄνομα πρὸ τοῦ διασπαρῆναι ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς. καὶ κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον ὃν ὠκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ εἶπε κύριος· ἰδοὺ γένος ἓν καὶ χεῖλος ἓν πάντων· καὶ τοῦτο ἤρξαντο ποιῆσαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν· δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἕκαστος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ πλησίον. καὶ διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. conjectures <ἡ> ἄσφαλτος . . . [ὁ] πηλός from 103; but see note there (App. p. 555).

## ON THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

I. Enough has been said on these matters. The<sup>1</sup> next question which demands our careful consideration is the confusion of tongues and the lessons of wisdom taught by Moses thereon. For he says as follows.

“ And all the earth was one lip and there was one voice to all. And it came to pass as they moved from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there. And a man said to his neighbour, Come, let us make bricks and bake them with fire. And the brick became as stone to them and the clay was asphalt to them. And they said, ‘ Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower, whose head shall be unto heaven, and let us make our name before we are scattered abroad, on the face of all the earth.’ And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men built. And the Lord said, ‘ Behold, they have all one race and one lip, and they have begun to do this, and now nothing shall fail from them of all that they attempt to do. Come and let us go down and confuse their tongue there, that they may not understand each the voice of his neighbour.’ And the Lord scattered them abroad thence on the face of all the earth, and they

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ἐπαύσαντο οἰκοδομοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον.  
διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> σύγχυσις, ὅτι  
ἐκεῖ συνέχεε κύριος τὰ χεῖλη πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ  
ἐκεῖθεν διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον  
πάσης τῆς γῆς.”

[405] <sup>2</sup> Π. | Οἱ μὲν δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πατρίῳ πολιτεία,  
ψόγον καὶ κατηγορίαν αἰεὶ τῶν νόμων μελετῶντες,  
τούτοις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις ὡς ἂν ἐπιβάθραις  
τῆς ἀθεότητος αὐτῶν, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς, χρῶνται φάσ-  
κοντες· ἔτι νῦν σεμνηγορεῖτε περὶ τῶν διατεταγ-  
μένων ὡς τοὺς ἀληθείας κανόνας αὐτῆς περιεχόν-  
των; ἴδου γὰρ αἱ ἱεραὶ λεγόμεναι βίβλοι παρ’  
ὑμῖν καὶ μύθους περιέχουσιν, ἐφ’ οἷς εἰώθατε γελᾶν,  
<sup>3</sup> ὅταν ἄλλων διεξιόντων ἀκούητε. καίτοι τί δεῖ  
τοὺς πολλαχόθι τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐσπαρμένους ἀνα-  
λέγεσθαι ὡσπερ σχολὴν ἄγοντας καὶ ἐνευκαιροῦν-  
τας διαβολαῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν χερσὶ καὶ  
<sup>4</sup> παρὰ πόδας ὑπομιμνήσκειν; εἰς μὲν οὖν  
ἔστιν ὁ ἔοικὼς τῷ συντεθέντι ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπειδῶν,  
οὓς ὁ μέγιστος καὶ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν  
Ὁμηρος διανοηθῆναί φησι τρία τὰ περιμήκιστα  
τῶν ὄρων ἐπιφορῆσαι καὶ ἐπιχώσαι ἐλπίσαντας  
τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁδὸν τοῖς ἀνέρχεσθαι βουλομένοις  
εὐμαρῇ διὰ τούτων ἔσεσθαι πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος  
ἀρθέντων· ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἔπη τοιαῦτα·

Ἔοσαν ἐπ’ Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ’  
Ὄσση

Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἔν’ οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἶη,  
Ὀλυμπος δὲ καὶ Ὄσσα καὶ Πήλιον ὄρων ὀνόματα.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς] so LXX and the majority of mss.: Wend. αὐτοῦ;  
but cf. 196 τὴν κακίας πόλιν with 198 κακίας ὄνομα σύγχυσις.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 1-4

ceased building the city and the tower. Therefore the name of the city was called 'Confusion,' because the Lord confounded there the lips of the whole earth, and the Lord scattered them thence over the face of the whole earth" (Gen. xi. 1-9).

II. Persons who cherish a dislike of the institutions<sup>2</sup> of our fathers and make it their constant study to denounce and decry the Laws find in these and similar passages openings<sup>a</sup> as it were for their godlessness. "Can you still," say these impious scoffers, "speak gravely of the ordinances as containing the canons of absolute truth? For see your so-called holy books contain also myths, which you regularly deride when you hear them related by others. And<sup>3</sup> indeed," they continue, "it is needless to collect the numerous examples scattered about the Law-book, as we might had we leisure to spend in exposing its failings. We have but to remind you of the instances which lie at our very feet and ready to our hand."

One of these we have here, which re-<sup>4</sup>sembles the fable told of the Aloeidae, who according to Homer the greatest and most reputed of poets planned to pile the three loftiest mountains on each other in one heap, hoping that when these were raised to the height of the upper sky they would furnish an easy road to heaven for those who wished to ascend thither. Homer's lines on this subject run thus :

They on Olympus Ossa fain would pile,  
On Ossa Pelion with its quivering leaves,  
In hope thereby to climb the heights of heaven.<sup>b</sup>

Olympus, Ossa and Pelion are names of mountains.

<sup>a</sup> Or, more literally, "means of approach to"; cf. *De Agr.* 56.

<sup>b</sup> *Od.* xi. 315, 318.

## PHILO

5 πύργον δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ἀντὶ τούτων  
 εἰσάγει πρὸς τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων κατασκευαζόμε-  
 νον θελησάντων ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἅμα καὶ μεγαλαυχίας<sup>1</sup>  
 οὐρανοῦ ψαῦσαι. πῶς γὰρ οὐ<sup>2</sup> φρενοβλάβεια δεινή;  
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ τῆς συμπάσης μέρη γῆς ἐποικο-  
 δομηθεῖη προκαταβληθέντι βραχεῖ θεμελίῳ καὶ  
 ἀνεγερθείῃ τρόπον κίονος ἐνός, μυρίοις τῆς αἰ-  
 θερίου σφαίρας ἀπολειφθήσεται διαστήμασι, καὶ μά-  
 λιστα κατὰ τοὺς ζητητικούς τῶν φιλοσόφων, οἱ  
 τοῦ παντὸς κέντρον εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἀνωμολόγησαν.

6 III. ἕτερος δέ τις συγγενῆς τούτῳ  
 περὶ τῆς τῶν ζώων ὁμοφωνίας πρὸς μυθοπλαστῶν  
 ἀναγράφεται· λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ἄρα πάνθ' ὅσα ζῶα  
 χερσαῖα καὶ ἔνδρα καὶ πτηνὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ὁμόφωνα  
 ἦν, καὶ ὄνπερ τρόπον ἀνθρώπων Ἕλληνες μὲν  
 Ἕλλησι, βαρβάροις δὲ βάρβαροι νῦν οἱ ὁμόγλωττοι  
 διαλέγονται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ πάντα πᾶσι  
 περὶ ὧν ἢ δρᾶν ἢ πάσχειν τι συνέβαιεν ὠμίλει,  
 ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις συνάχθεσθαι<sup>3</sup> κἄν,  
 εἴ πού τι λυσιτελὲς ἀπαντῶη, συνευφραίνεσθαι.

7 τὰς τε γὰρ ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀηδίας ἀλλήλοις ἀνα-  
 φέροντα διὰ τοῦ ὁμοφώνου συνήδετο καὶ συναηδί-  
 [406] ζετο, | καὶ τούτου τὸ ὁμοιότροπον καὶ ὁμοιοπαθὲς  
 εὐρίσκετο, μέχριπερ κορεσθέντα τῆς τῶν παρόν-  
 των ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας, ὃ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ,  
 πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἀνεφίκτων ἔρωτα ἐξώκειλε καὶ περὶ  
 ἀθανασίας ἐπρεσβεύετο γῆρως ἔκλυσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μεγαλουργίας.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πάσα γὰρ οὖν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. συνέχεσθαι.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 5-7

For these the lawgiver substitutes a 5 tower which he represents as being built by the men of that day who wished in their folly and insolent pride to touch the heaven. Folly indeed; surely dreadful madness! For if one should lay a small foundation and build up upon it the different parts of the whole earth, rising in the form of a single pillar, it would still be divided by vast distances from the sphere of ether, particularly if we accept the view of the philosophers who inquire into such problems, all of whom are agreed that the earth is the centre of the universe.<sup>a</sup>

III. Another 6 similar story is to be found in the writings of the mythologists, telling of the days when all animals had a common language. The tale is that in old days all animals, whether on land or in water or winged, had the same language, and just as among men to-day Greeks talk with Greeks and barbarians with barbarians if they have the same tongue, so too every creature conversed with every other, about all that happened to be done to them or by them, and in this way they mourned together at misfortunes, and rejoiced together when anything of advantage came their way. For since community 7 of language led them to impart to each other their pleasures and discomforts, both emotions were shared by them in common. As a result they gained a similarity of temperament and feeling until surfeited with the abundance of their present blessings they desired the unattainable, as so often happens, and wrecked their happiness thereon. They sent an embassy to demand immortality, asking that they might be exempted from old age and allowed to

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 553.

## PHILO

- αἰεὶ νεότητος ἀκμὴν αἰτούμενα, φάσκοντα καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἤδη ζώων τὸ ἔρπετόν, ὄφιν, τετυχηκέαι ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς· ἀποδύόμενον γὰρ τὸ γῆρας πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνηβᾶν· ἄτοπον δ' εἶναι ἢ τὰ κρείττω τοῦ χείρονος ἢ ἐνὸς τὰ πάντα
- 8 λειφθῆναι. δίκην μέντοι τοῦ τολμήματος ἔδωκε τὴν προσήκουσαν· ἑτερόγλωττα γὰρ εὐθύς ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου μηκέτ' ἀλλήλων ἐπακοῦσαι δυνηθῆναι χάριν τῆς ἐν ταῖς διαλέκτοις εἰς ἃς ἢ μία καὶ κοινὴ πάντων ἐτμήθη, διαφορᾶς.
- 9 IV. Ὁ δ' ἐγγυτέρω τάληθοῦς προσάγων τὸν λόγον τὰ ἄλογα τῶν λογικῶν διεξέυξεν, ὡς ἀνθρώποις μόνοις μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ὁμόφωνον. ἔστι δέ, ὡς γέ φασι, καὶ τοῦτο μυθῶδες. καὶ μὴν τήν<sup>1</sup> γε φωνῆς εἰς μυρίας διαλέκτων ἰδέας τομῆν, ἣν καλεῖ γλώττης σύγχυσις, ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ λέγουσιν ἀμαρτημάτων συμβῆναι, ὡς μηκέτ' ἀλλήλων ἀκροώμενοι κοινῇ συναδικῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ [ἄλλοι] ἀλλήλοις κεκωφωμένοι \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> κατὰ συμπράξεις
- 10 ἐγχειρῶσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ φαίνεται συμβῆναι· καὶ γὰρ αὐθις οὐδὲν ἦττον κατὰ ἔθνη διωκισμένων καὶ μὴ μιᾶ διαλέκτῳ χρωμένων γῆ καὶ θάλαττα πολλάκις ἀμυθῆτων κακῶν ἐπληρώθη. οὐ γὰρ αἱ φωναί, ἀλλὰ αἱ ὁμότροποι τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ζηλώσεις
- 11 τοῦ συναδικεῖν αἴτιαι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐκτετημημένοι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῆς.

<sup>2</sup> The translation follows Mangey in assuming that μὴ alone has been omitted in the mss. Wend. (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 18) thought that this made the last part of the sentence too much a mere repetition of the first part. He suggested καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ μὴ).



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 7-11

enjoy the vigour of youth for ever. They pleaded that one of their fellow-creatures, that mere reptile the serpent, had already obtained this boon, since he shed his old age and renewed his youth afresh, and it was absurd that the superior beings should fare worse than the inferior, or all than the one. How-<sup>8</sup> ever, for this audacity they were punished as they deserved. For their speech at once became different, so that from that day forward they could no longer understand each other, because of the difference of the languages into which the single language which they all shared had been divided.

IV. Now Moses, say the objectors, brings his<sup>9</sup> story nearer to reality and makes a distinction between reasoning and unreasoning creatures, so that the unity of language for which he vouches applies to men only. Still even this, they say, is mythical. They point out that the division of speech into a multitude of different kinds of language, which Moses calls "Confusion of tongues," is in the story brought about as a remedy for sin, to the end that men should no longer through mutual understanding be partners in iniquity, but be deaf in a sense to each other and thus cease to act together to effect the same purposes. But no good result appears to have<sup>10</sup> been attained by it. For all the same after they had been separated into different nations and no longer spoke the same tongue, land and sea were constantly full of innumerable evil deeds. For it is not the utterances of men but the presence of the same cravings for sin in the soul which causes combination in wrongdoing. Indeed men who have lost their<sup>11</sup>

## PHILO

- γλώτταν νεύμασι καὶ βλέμμασι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοῦ σώματος σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσειν οὐχ ἦττον τῆς διὰ λόγων προφορᾶς ἃ ἂν θελήσωσιν ὑποσημαίνουσι· χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ ἔθνος ἐν πολλάκις οὐχ ὁμόφωνον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμόνομον καὶ ὁμοδαίον τοσοῦτον ἐπιβῆναι κακίας, ὥστε τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀμαρτήμασιν ἰσοστάσια δύνασθαι πλημ-
- 12 μελεῖν· ἀπειρία τε διαλέκτων μυριοὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων οὐ προῖδόμενοι τὸ μέλλον προκατελήφθησαν, ὡς ἔμπαλιν ἐπιστήμη τοὺς ἐπικρεμασθέντας ἰσχυσαν φόβους τε καὶ κινδύνους ἀπόσασθαι· ὥστε λυσιτελὲς μᾶλλον ἢ βλαβερὸν εἶναι τὴν ἐν διαλέκτοις κοινωνίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ καθ' ἐκάστην χώραν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοχθόνων, δι' οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς διὰ τὸ ὁμόγλωσσον ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν
- 13 διατελοῦσι. κἂν εἰ μέντοι τις ἀνὴρ πλείους ἀναμάθοι διαλέκτους, εὐδόκιμος εὐθύς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἐστὶν ὡς ἤδη φίλιος ὢν, οὐ βραχὺ γνῶρισμα κοινωνίας ἐπιφερόμενος τὴν ἐν τοῖς
- [407] ὀνόμασι | συνήθειαν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ἀδεὲς εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν ἔοικε πεπορίσθαι. τί οὖν ὡς κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ ὁμόγλωττον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιζε, δέον ὡς ὠφελιμώτατον ἰδρῦσθαι;
- 14 V. Τοὺς δὴ ταῦτα συντιθέντας καὶ κακοτεχνούοντας ἰδίᾳ μὲν διελέγξουσιν οἱ τὰς προχείρους ἀποδόσεις τῶν αἰὲ ζητουμένων ἐκ τῆς φανεράς

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Wend. conjectures, <τὴν> τῶν.

<sup>a</sup> The thought seems to be that the confusion of languages did but divide nation from nation, and a single evil nation can do all the mischief.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 11-14

tongue by mutilation do by means of nods and glances and the other attitudes and movements of the body indicate their wishes as well as the uttered word can do it. Besides a single nation in which not only language but laws and modes of life are identical often reaches such a pitch of wickedness that its misdeeds can balance the sins of the whole of mankind.<sup>a</sup> Again multitudes through ignorance of other 12 languages have failed to foresee the impending danger, and thus been caught unawares by the attacking force, while on the contrary such a knowledge has enabled them to repel the alarms and dangers which menaced them. The conclusion is that the possession of a common language does more good than harm—a conclusion confirmed by all past experience which shews that in every country, particularly where the population is indigenious, nothing has kept the inhabitants so free from disaster as uniformity of language. Further the acquisition of 13 languages other than his own at once gives a man a high standing with those who know and speak them. They now consider him a friendly person, who brings no small evidence of fellow-feeling in his familiarity with their vocabulary, since that familiarity seems to render them secure against the chance of meeting any disastrous injury at his hands. Why then, they ask, did God wish to deprive mankind of its universal language as though it were a source of evil, when He should rather have established it firmly as a source of the utmost profit ?

V. Those who take the letter of the law in its 14 outward sense and provide for each question as it arises the explanation which lies on the surface, will no doubt refute on their own principles the authors

## PHILO

τῶν νόμων γραφῆς<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* ἀφιλονείκως, οὐκ ἀντισοφιζόμενοι ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενοι τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰρμῶ προσπταίειν οὐκ ἔωντι, ἀλλὰ κἄν, εἴ τινα ἐμποδῶν εἴη, ῥαδίως ἀναστέλλοντι, ὅπως αἱ τῶν λόγων διέξοδοι γίνωνται ἄπταιστοι.

15 φαμέν τοίνυν ἐκ τοῦ "τὴν γῆν εἶναι πᾶσαν χεῖλος ἐν καὶ φωνὴν μίαν" κακῶν ἀμυθῆτων καὶ μεγάλων συμφωνίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ὅσα τε πόλεις πόλεσι καὶ ἔθνεσιν ἔθνη καὶ χώραις χώραι ἀντεπιφέρουσι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ μόνον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀνθρωποι· καίτοι ταῦτα πληθῶν ἐστὶν ἀδικήματα. σκεπτόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἀδιεξήγητον τῶν κακῶν πλήθος, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν τὴν ἀνάρμοστον καὶ ἐκμελῆ καὶ

16 ἄμουσον ἴσχη<sup>2</sup> συμφωνίαν. VI. τὰ μὲν δὴ τυχηρὰ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅταν πενία καὶ ἀδοξία σώματος νόσοις ἢ πηρώσεσι συνενεχθῶσι, καὶ πάλιν ταῦτα ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήμασις ἔκφρονος ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας ἢ μακροῦ γήρωσ ἢ τινος βαρείας

<sup>1</sup> The sentence as it stands cannot be translated. Wend., who places the lacuna after ἀφιλονείκως and inserts <ταμιενόμενοι>, is no doubt right in assuming that a participle must be supplied. But if one word has been lost, it is not improbable that others have been lost. With his reading the whole sentence is an elaborate compliment to the literalists, which is not paralleled elsewhere, though occasionally, as in § 190, a certain amount of respect for them is shown. But the overwhelming argument against his view is φαμέν τοίνυν, which cannot make an antithesis to *ἰδίᾳ μὲν* but presupposes a *δέ* clause. Cf. *De Somn.* i. 102 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ῥητῆς πραγματείας σοφιστὰς . . . εἰρήσθω, λέγωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ἀλληγορίας νόμοις τὰ πρόποντα περὶ τούτων. φαμέν τοίνυν λόγον σύμβολον ἱμάτιον εἶναι. Philo in my view is describing his own method and says that he will not

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 14-16

of these insidious criticisms. But we shall take the line of allegorical interpretation not in any contentious spirit, nor seeking some means of meeting sophistry with sophistry. Rather we shall follow the chain of logical sequence,<sup>a</sup> which does not admit of stumbling but easily removes any obstructions and thus allows the argument to march to its conclusion with unflinching steps. We suggest then 15 that by the words "the earth was all one lip and one voice" is meant a consonance of evil deeds great and innumerable, and these include the injuries which cities and nations and countries inflict and retaliate, as well as the impious deeds which men commit, not only against each other, but against the Deity. These indeed are the wrongdoings of multitudes. But we consider also the vast multitude of ills which are found in the individual man, especially when the unison of voices within him is a disharmony tuneless and unmusical. VI. Who does 16 not know the calamities of fortune when poverty and disrepute combine with disease or disablement in the body, and these again are mixed with the infirmities of a soul rendered distracted by melancholy or

<sup>a</sup> The words which follow suggest that he means that each deduction from the text is logical, rather than that he takes each point of the narrative successively.

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enter into direct conflict with the unbelievers, but show that the passage, if logically treated on the allegorical method, makes a reasonable whole. What the words lost are, one can only conjecture. It would be enough perhaps to insert <ἀκριβοῦντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ>, sc. διελέγχομεν. But perhaps it is more likely that there were some words describing the allegorical method, ending with an homoioteleuton to γράφῃς, e.g. <ἀκριβοῦντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλληγοροῦντες διερμηνεύσομεν τὸ ἐγκείμενον ἐν τῇ γραφῇ>. Cf. *De Sobr.* 23. <sup>2</sup> MSS. σχοίη.

## PHILO

ἄλλης κακοδαιμονίας γεγενημένης ἀνακραθῶσι;  
 17 καὶ γὰρ ἐν μόνον τῶν εἰρημένων βιαίως ἀντι-  
 στατήσαν ἱκανὸν ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν καὶ  
 τὸν λίαν ὑπέρογκόν ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ ἀθρόα ὥσπερ  
 προστάξει μιᾷ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐνὶ πάντα  
 σωρηδὸν ἐπιθῆται<sup>1</sup> τὰ σώματος, τὰ ψυχῆς, τὰ  
 ἐκτός, τίνα οὐχ ὑπερβάλλει σχετλιότητα; πεσόν-  
 των γὰρ δορυφόρων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δορυφορούμενον  
 18 πίπτειν. δορυφόροι μὲν οὖν σώματος πλοῦτος,  
 εὐδοξία, τιμαί, ὀρθοῦντες αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς ὕψος αἶροντες  
 καὶ γαῦρον ἀποδεικνύντες, ὡς τὰναντία, ἀτιμία,  
 ἀδοξία, πενία, πολεμίων τρόπον καταράττουσι.  
 19 πάλιν τε δορυφόροι ψυχῆς ἀκοαὶ καὶ ὄψεις ὄσφρησίς  
 τε καὶ γεῦσις καὶ ξύμπαν τὸ αἰσθήσεως στίφος,  
 ἔτι μέντοι ὑγίεια καὶ ἰσχὺς δύναμις τε καὶ ῥώμη·  
 τούτοις γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐστῶσι καὶ κραταιῶς ἐρη-  
 ρισμένοις εὐερέκσειν οἴκοις ὁ νοῦς ἐμπεριπατῶν  
 καὶ ἐν>διδαιτώμενος ἀγάλλεται πρὸς μηδενὸς ταῖς  
 ἰδίαις ὀρμαῖς χρῆσθαι κωλυόμενος, ἀλλ' εὐμαρεῖς  
 καὶ λεωφόρους ἀναπεπταμένας ἔχων τὰς διὰ πάν-  
 20 των ὁδοῦς. τὰ δὲ | τοῖς δορυφόροις τούτοις ἐχθρὰ  
 [408] ἀντικάθηται, πῆρωσις αἰσθητηρίων καὶ νόσος, ὡς  
 ἔφην, οἷς ἡ διάνοια συγκατακρημνισθῆναι πολ-  
 λάκις ἐμέλλησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν τυχηρὰ  
 ταῦτα ἀργαλέα σφόδρα καὶ σχέτλια ἐξ ἑαυτῶν,  
 πρὸς δὲ τὴν <τῶν> ἐκ προνοίας σύγκρισιν κουφό-  
 21 τερα πολλῶ. VII. τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν ἐκουσίων κακῶν  
 συμφωνία, πάλιν ἐν μέρει σκοπῶμεν· τριμεροῦς  
 ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπαρχούσης τὸ μὲν νοῦς καὶ λόγος,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιθεῖναι.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. De Ebr. 201 ff.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 17-21

senility, or any other grievous misfortune? For 17 indeed a single item of this list is enough to upset and overthrow even the very stoutest, if it brings its force to bear upon him. But when the ills of body and soul and the external world unite and in serried mass, as though obedient to a single commanding voice, bear down at the same moment upon their lone victim, what misery is not insignificant beside them? When the guards fall, that which they guard must fall too. Now the guards<sup>a</sup> of the body 18 are wealth and reputation and honours, who keep it erect and lift it on high and give it a sense of pride, just as their opposites, dishonour, disrepute and poverty are like foes who bring it crashing to the ground. Again the guards of the soul are the powers 19 of hearing and sight and smell and taste, and the whole company of the senses and besides them health and strength of body and limb and muscle. For these serve as fortresses well-walled and stayed on firm foundations, houses within which the mind can range and dwell rejoicing, with none to hinder it from following the urges of its personality, but with free passage everywhere as on easy and open high roads. But against these guards also are posted hostile 20 forces, disablement of the sense-organs and disease, as I have said, which often bid fair to carry the understanding over the precipice in their arms.

While these calamities of fortune which work independently of us are full of pain and misery, they are far outweighed in comparison with those which spring from our deliberate volition. VII. Let 21 us turn, then, to where the voice of unison is the voice of our self-caused ills and consider it in its turn. Our soul, we are told, is tripartite, having one part assigned

## PHILO

τὸ δὲ θυμὸς, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμία κεκληρῶσθαι λέγεται. κηραίνει δὲ καθ' αὐτό τε ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα πάντα κοινῇ, ἐπειδὴν ὁ μὲν νοῦς ὅσα ἀφροσύνη καὶ δειλία ἀκολασίαι τε καὶ ἀδικίαι σπείρουσι θερίση, ὁ δὲ θυμὸς τὰς ἐκμανεῖς καὶ παραφόρους λύττας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὠδίνει κακὰ τέκη, ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία τοὺς ὑπὸ νηπιότητος αἰεὶ κούφους ἔρωτας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι σώμασί τε καὶ πράγμασι προσιπταμένους ἐπιπέμψῃ παντα-  
22 χόσε· τότε γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν σκάφει ναυτῶν, ἐπιβατῶν, κυβερνητῶν κατὰ τινα φρενοβλάβειαν ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ τούτου συμφρονησάντων καὶ οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῇ νηὶ οὐχ ἠκιστα συναπώλοντο. βαρύτερον γὰρ κακῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνίατον μόνον ἢ πάντων τῶν ψυχῆς μερῶν πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν συνεργία, μηδεὸς οἶα ἐν πανδήμῳ συμφορᾷ δυνηθέντος ὑγιαίνειν, ἵνα τοὺς πάσχοντάς ἰᾶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἰδιώταις καμνόντων, οὓς ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος ἐφ' ὁμολογουμένη συμφορᾷ πῖεσσα κατέχει.  
23 τοῦ παθήματος τούτου <σύμβολον> ὁ μέγας ἀναγραφεῖς παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ κατακλυσμὸς ἐστίν, “ τῶν τε ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταρρακτῶν ” τοὺς κακίας αὐτῆς λάβρω φορᾷ χειμάρρους ἐπομβροῦντων καὶ “ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς, ” λέγω δὲ τοῦ σώματος, “ πηγῶν ” ἀναχεουσῶν τὰ πάθους ἐκάστου ρεύματα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα, ἅπερ εἰς ταῦτόν τοῖς προτέροις συνιόντα καὶ ἀναμιγνύμενα κυκᾶται τε καὶ τὸ δεδεγμένον ἅπαν τῆς ψυχῆς στροβεῖ χωρίον

<sup>a</sup> Or “ a succession of desires ” (ἀεὶ meaning “ from time to time ”).

<sup>b</sup> For this translation of the frequently recurring phrase σώματα καὶ πράγματα, various versions of which have been  
22



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 21-23

to the mind and reason, one to the spirited element and one to the appetites. There is mischief working in them all, in each in relation to itself, in all in relation to each other, when the mind reaps what is sown by its follies and acts of cowardice and intemperance and injustice, and the spirited part brings to the birth its fierce and raging furies and the other evil children of its womb, and the appetite sends forth on every side desires ever <sup>a</sup> winged by childish fancy, desires which light as chance directs on things material and immaterial.<sup>b</sup> For then, as though on 22 a ship crew, passengers and steersmen had conspired through some madness to sink it, the first to perish with the boat are those who planned its destruction. It stands alone as the most grievous of mischiefs and one almost past all cure—this co-operation of all the parts of the soul in sin, where, as when a nation is plague-stricken, none can have the health to heal the sufferers, but the physicians share the sickness of the common herd who lie crushed by the pestilential scourge, victims of a calamity which none can ignore.

We have a symbol of this dire 23 happening in the great deluge described in the words of the lawgiver, when the "cataracts of heaven"<sup>c</sup> poured forth the torrents of absolute wickedness in impetuous downfall and the "fountains from the earth,"<sup>d</sup> that is from the body (Gen. vii. 11), spouted forth the streams of each passion, streams many and great, and these, uniting and commingling with the rainpour, in wild commotion eddied and swirled continually through the whole region of the soul given in previous volumes, see note on *Quis Rerum* 242 (App.).

<sup>c</sup> E.V. "windows of heaven."

<sup>d</sup> LXX. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀβύσσου. E.V. "from the great deep."

## PHILO

- 24 δίναις ἐπαλλήλοις. “ ἰδὼν ” γάρ φησι “ κύριος ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶς τις διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ πονηρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ” ἔγνω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, λέγω δὲ τὸν νοῦν, μετὰ τῶν περι αὐτὸν ἐρπετῶν τε καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀλόγου τῶν ἀτιθάσων θηρίων πληθύος ἐφ’ οἷς ἀνιάτα ἡδικήκει τίσασθαι· ἡ δὲ τιμωρία κατακλυσμός.
- 25 ἦν γὰρ ἔφεσις ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ πολλή τοῦ ἀδικεῖν μηδενὸς κωλύοντος φορά, ἀλλὰ προσαναρρηγνυμένων ἀδεῶς ἀπάντων εἰς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἐτοιμοτάτοις, καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τι μέρος διέφθαρτο τῆς ψυχῆς, ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑγιαίνουσι σώζεσθαι δύναίτο, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἄνοσον οὐδὲ ἀδιάφθαρτον αὐτῆς κατελείπετο·
- [409] | ἰδὼν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶς τις, φησί, διανοεῖται [πᾶς] λογισμός, οὐχὶ μόνος εἷς, τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν ὁ ἀδέκαστος δικαστῆς ἐπήγαγε τιμωρίαν.
- 26 VIII. Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς φάραγγος ὁμαιχιμίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους θέμενοι<sup>1</sup>—κοῖλον γὰρ καὶ τραχὺ καὶ φαραγγῶδες τὸ κακιῶν <καὶ> παθῶν χωρίον, ἀλμυρὸν τῷ ὄντι καὶ πικρὰς φέρον ὠδῖνας—ῶν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραάμ τὸ ἐνώμοτον καὶ ἔνσπονδον οὐθ’ ὄρκων οὐτε σπονδῶν ἐπάξιον εἰδὼς καθαιρεῖ· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ πάντες οὗτοι συνεφώνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα τὴν ἀλυκὴν· αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα τῶν 27 ἀλῶν.” ἡ οὐχ ὄρᾶς τοὺς ἐστερωμένους σοφίαν καὶ τυφλοὺς διάνοιαν, ἣν ὀξυδερκεῖν εἰκόσ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. and Mangey punctuate with a full stop before κοῖλον, thus apparently making ὠδῖνας to be the antecedent of ῶν.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 24-27

which formed their meeting-place. "For the Lord 24  
God," it runs, "seeing that the wickednesses of men  
were multiplied on the earth, and that every man  
carefully purposed in his heart evil things every day,"  
determined to punish man, that is the mind, for  
his deadly misdeeds, together with the creeping and  
flying creatures around him and the other unreason-  
ing multitude of untamed beasts" (Gen. vi. 5-6).  
This punishment was the deluge. For the deluge 25  
was a letting loose of sins, a rushing torrent of  
iniquity where there was naught to hinder, but all  
things burst forth without restraint to supply abun-  
dant opportunities to those who were all readiness to  
take pleasure therein. And surely this punishment  
was suitable. For not one part only of the soul had  
been corrupted, so that it might be saved through  
the soundness of others, but nothing in it was left  
free from disease and corruption. For "seeing," as the  
scripture says, that "everyone," that is every thought  
and not one only, "purposed," the upright judge  
awarded the penalty which the fault deserved.

VIII. These are they who made a confederacy at 26  
the salt ravine. For the place of vices and passions  
is hollow and rough and ravine-like; salt indeed,  
and bitter are the pangs which it brings. The  
covenant of alliance which they swore was destroyed  
by wise Abraham, for he knew that it had not the  
sanctity of oaths or covenant-rites. Thus we read  
"all these joined their voices to come to the salt-  
ravine; this is the salt sea" (Gen. xiv. 3).  
Observe further those who were barren of wisdom 27  
and blind in the understanding which should natur-  
ally be sharp of sight, their qualities veiled under

\* See App. p. 553.

## PHILO

ἦν, Σοδομίτας κατὰ γλώτταν, ἀπὸ νεανίσκου ἕως  
 πρεσβυτέρου πάνθ' ὁμοῦ τὸν λεῶν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν  
 οἰκίαν τῆς ψυχῆς περιθέοντας, ἵνα τοὺς ξενωθέντας  
 ἱεροὺς καὶ ὀσίους λόγους αὐτῆ, φρουροὺς καὶ  
 φύλακας ὄντας, αἰσχύνωσι καὶ διαφθείρωσι, καὶ  
 μηδένα τὸ παράπαν μήτε τοῖς ἀδικούσιν ἐναν-  
 τιουῖσθαι μήτε τοῦ τι ποιεῖν ἄδικον ἀποδιδράσκειν  
 28 ἐγνωκότα; οὐ γὰρ οἱ μὲν, οἱ δ' οὐ, "πᾶς δ'," ὡς  
 φησιν, "ὁ λαὸς περιεκύκλωσαν ἅμα τὴν οἰκίαν,  
 νέοι τε καὶ πρεσβῦται" κατὰ τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν  
 λόγων<sup>1</sup> συνομοσάμενοι, οὓς καλεῖν ἔθος ἀγγέλους.

29 IX. ἀλλ' ὁ γε θεοπρόπος Μωυσῆς  
 θράσει πολλῶ ῥέοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπαντιάσας ἐφέξει,  
 κἂν τὸν θρασύτατον καὶ δεινότατον εἰπεῖν ἐν  
 ἑαυτοῖς βασιλέα λόγον προστησάμενοι μιᾷ ῥύμῃ  
 κατατρέχωσι, συναύξοντες τὰ οἰκεία καὶ ποταμοῦ  
 τρόπον πλημμύροντες. "ἰδοὺ" γάρ φησιν "ὁ τῆς  
 Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφικνεῖται. σὺ  
 δὲ στήσῃ συναντῶν αὐτῶ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποτα-  
 30 μοῦ." οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἕξεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν  
 ἀδικημάτων καὶ παθῶν ἀθρόων φορᾶν, ἅπερ ὕδατι  
 ἀπεικάζεται· ὁ δὲ σοφὸς πρῶτον μὲν κτᾶται γέρας  
 παρὰ τοῦ ἐστῶτος αἰὲ θεοῦ συγγενὲς αὐτοῦ τῇ  
 ἀκλινεῖ καὶ ἀρρεπεῖ πρὸς πάντα δυνάμει λαβῶν·  
 31 εἴρηται γὰρ "σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ' ἐμοῦ," ἵνα  
 ἐνδοιασμόν καὶ ἐπαμφοτερισμόν, ἀβεβαίου ψυχῆς  
 διαθέσεις, ἀποδυσάμενος τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην καὶ βε-  
 βαιοτάτην διάθεσιν, πίστιν, ἐνδύσῃται. ἔπειτα δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θείων ἔργων καὶ λόγων (the correction seems to me somewhat conjectural).

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 553,

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 27-31

their name of Sodomite <sup>a</sup>—how the whole people from the young men to the eldest ran round and round the house of the soul to bring dishonour and ruin on those sacred and holy Thoughts which were its guests, its guardians and sentinels; how not a single one is minded to oppose the unjust or shrink from doing injustice himself. For we read that not merely some <sup>28</sup> but the “ whole people surrounded the house, both young and old ” (Gen. xix. 4), conspiring against the divine and holy Thoughts,<sup>b</sup> who are often called angels.<sup>c</sup> IX. But Moses the prophet of God <sup>29</sup> shall meet and stem the strong current of their boldness, though, setting before them as their king their boldest and most cunning eloquence, they come rushing with united onset, though they mass their wealth of water and their tide is as the tide of a river. “ Behold,” he says, “ the King of Egypt comes to the water, but thou shalt stand meeting him at the edge of the river ” (Ex. vii. 15). The fool, then, will <sup>30</sup> go forth to the rushing flood of the iniquities and passions, which Moses likens to a river. But the wise man in the first place gains a privilege vouchsafed to him from God, who ever stands fast, a privilege which is the congener of His power which never swerves and never wavers. For it was said to <sup>31</sup> him “ Stand thou here with me ” (Deut. v. 31), to the end that he should put off doubt and hesitation, the qualities <sup>d</sup> of the unstable mind, and put on that surest and most stable quality, faith. This is his

<sup>b</sup> This translation is given in despair. In this particular allegory of the soul, the λόγοι no doubt take the form of thoughts, but the use is far wider. As manifestations of the Divine Logos the angels suggest not only spiritual influences, as in *De Sobr.* 65, but also spiritual beings, as in § 174.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* in scripture, *cf.* § 174.

<sup>d</sup> Or “ dispositions.”

## PHILO

- ἐστὼς, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὑπαντᾶ· “στήση” γάρ  
 <φησιν> “ὑπαντιάζων”. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπαντᾶν ἐν  
 κινήσει, κατὰ δ’ ἡρεμίαν τὸ ἴστασθαι θεωρεῖται.
- 32 λέγει δὲ οὐ τὰ μαχόμενα, τὰ δὲ τῇ φύσει μάλιστα  
 ἀκολουθοῦντα· ὅτω γὰρ ἡρεμεῖν πέφυκεν ἡ γνώμη  
 καὶ ἀρρεπῶς ἰδρῦσθαι, συμβαίνει πᾶσιν ἀντίστασ-  
 θαι τοῖς σάλω καὶ κλύδωνι χαίρουσι καὶ τὸν γαληνιά-  
 33 σαι δυνάμενον χειροποιήτω χειμῶνι κυμαίνουσιν.
- [410] X. εὖ μέντοι γε ἔχει παρὰ | τὸ χεῖλος  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν συνίστασθαι· χεῖλη  
 δὲ στόματος μὲν ἐστὶ πέρατα, φραγμὸς δὲ τις  
 γλώττης, δι’ ᾧν φέρεται τὸ τοῦ λόγου ρεῦμα, ὅταν
- 34 ἄρξῃται κατέρχεσθαι. λόγῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ μισάρετοι  
 καὶ φιλοπαθεῖς<sup>1</sup> συμμάχῳ χρῶνται πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
 ἀδοκίμων δογμάτων εἰσήγησιν καὶ πάλιν οἱ σπου-  
 दाῖοι πρὸς τε τὴν τούτων ἀναίρεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ  
 τῶν ἀμεινόνων καὶ ἀψευδῶς ἀγαθῶν κράτος ἀναντ-  
 35 ἀγώνιστον. ὅταν μέντοι πάντα κάλων ἀνασείσαν-  
 τες ἐριστικῶν δογμάτων ὑπ’ ἐναντίας ρύμης λόγων  
 ἀνατραπέντες ἀπόλωνται, τὸ ἐπινίκιον δικαίως καὶ  
 προσηκόντως ὁ σοφὸς ἄσμα χορὸν ἱερώτατον
- 36 στησάμενος ἐμμελῶς ἄσεται· “εἶδε” γάρ φησιν  
 “Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους” οὐχ ἐτέρωθι “τεθνεῶ-  
 τας” ἀλλὰ παρὰ “τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ,<sup>2</sup>”  
 θάνατον λέγων οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ σώματος ψυχῆς διά-  
 κρισιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνοσίων δογμάτων καὶ λόγων  
 φθοράν, οἷς ἐχρῶντο διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων.

<sup>1</sup> mss. φιλομαθεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably a slip for τῆς θαλάσσης.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 31-37

first privilege—to stand; but secondly—strange paradox—he “meets.” For “thou shalt stand meeting” says the text, though “meet” involves the idea of motion and “stand” calls up the thought of rest. Yet the two things here spoken of are not 32 really in conflict, but in most natural sequence to each other. For he whose constitution of mind and judgement is tranquil and firmly established will be found to oppose all those who rejoice in surge and tumult and manufacture the storm to disturb his natural capacity for calmness.

X. It is 33 well indeed that the opponents should meet on the lip or edge of the river. The lips are the boundaries of the mouth and a kind of hedge to the tongue and through them the stream of speech passes, when it begins its downward flow. Now speech is an ally 34 employed by those who hate virtue and love the passions to inculcate their untenable tenets, and also by men of worth for the destruction of such doctrines and to set up beyond resistance the sovereignty of those that are better, those in whose goodness there is no deceit. When, indeed, after they have let out 35 every reef of contentious sophistry, the opposing onset of the sage’s speech has overturned their bark and sent them to perdition, he will, as is just and fit, set in order his holy choir to sing the anthem of victory, and sweet is the melody of that song. For 36 Israel, it says, saw the Egyptians dead on the edge of the sea (Ex. xiv. 30)—not elsewhere. And when he says “dead” he does not mean the death which is the separation of soul and body, but the destruction of unholy doctrines and of the words which their mouth and tongue and the other vocal organs gave them to use. Now the death of 37

## PHILO

- 37 λόγου δὲ θάνατός ἐστιν ἡσυχία, οὐχ ἦν οἱ ἐπιεικέστεροι ποιούμενοι σύμβολον αἰδοῦς μετέρχονται— δύναμις γὰρ καὶ ἦδε ἐστὶν ἀδελφὴ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ταμειουμένη μέχρι καιροῦ τὰ λεκτέα—, ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἐξησθενηκότες καὶ ἀπειρηκότες διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἰσχύνην ὑπομένουσιν ἄκοντες λαβὴν<sup>1</sup> οὐδεμίαν
- 38 ἔθ' εὐρίσκοντες. ὧν τε γὰρ ἂν ἐφάψωνται, διαρρεῖ, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπιβῶσιν, οὐχ ὑπομένει, ὡς πρὶν ἢ στήναι πίπτειν ἀναγκάζεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἡ ἔλιξ, τὸ ὕδρηδον ὄργανον, ἔχει· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον αὐτὸ γεγόνασι βαθμοὶ τινες, ὧν ὁ γεωπόνος, ὅταν ἐβελήσῃ ποτίσαι τὰς ἀρούρας, ἐπιβαίνει μὲν, περιολισθαίνει δ' ἀναγκαίως· ὑπὲρ δὴ τοῦ μὴ πίπτειν συνεχῶς πλησίον ἐχυροῦ τινος ταῖς χερσὶ περιδράττεται, οὐ ἐνειλημμένος τὸ ὅλον σῶμα ἀπηώρηκεν αὐτοῦ· <ὥστε> ἀντὶ μὲν ποδῶν χερσίν, ἀντὶ δὲ χειρῶν ποσὶ χρῆσθαι· ἴσταται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ χειρῶν, δι' ὧν εἰσιν αἱ πράξεις, πράττει δ' ἐν ποσίν, ἐφ' ὧν εἰκὸς
- 39 ἴστασθαι. XI. πολλοὶ δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι τὰς πιθανὰς τῶν σοφιστῶν εὐρέσεις ἀνά κράτος ἐλεῖν τῷ μὴ σφόδρα περὶ λόγους διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις συνεχῆ μελέτην γεγυμνάσθαι κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ συμμαχίαν καὶ βοηθὸν αὐτὸν ἰκέτευσαν γενέσθαι· καθὰ καὶ τῶν Μωυσεῶς γνωρίμων τις ἐν ὕμνοις εὐχόμενος εἶπεν· “ἀλαλα γενέσθω τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια.” πῶς δ' ἂν ἡσυχάσαι, εἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνου τοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν ἔχοντος ὑπήκοον ἐπιστομισθεῖη;

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βλάβην.

\* Or “arguments,” *eúresis* being the technical term in rhetoric for collecting material for speech. See on *De Mig.* 35.



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 37-39

words is silence, not the silence which well-behaved people cultivate, regarding it as a sign of modesty, for that silence is actually a power, sister to the power of speech, husbanding the fitting words till the moment for utterance comes. No, it is the undesired silence to which those whom the strength of their opponent has reduced to exhaustion and prostration must submit, when they find no longer any argument ready to their hand. For what they 38 handle dissolves in their hands, and what they stand on gives way beneath them, so that they must needs fall before they stand. You might compare the treadmill which is used for drawing water. In the middle are some steps and on these the labourer, when he wants to water the fields, sets his feet but cannot help slipping off, and to save himself from continually falling he grasps with his hands some firm object nearby and holding tight to it uses it as a suspender for his whole body. And so his feet serve him for hands and his hands for feet, for he keeps himself standing with the hands which we use for work, and works with his feet, on which he would naturally stand.

XI. Now there are many who 39 though they have not the capacity to demolish by sheer force the plausible inventions<sup>a</sup> of the sophists, because their occupation has lain continuously in active life and thus they are not trained in any high degree to deal with words, find refuge in the support of the solely Wise Being and beseech Him to become their helper. Such a one is the disciple of Moses who prays thus in the Psalms: "Let their cunning lips become speechless" (Ps. xxx. [xxxii.] 19). And how should such lips be silent, unless they were bridled by Him who alone holds speech itself as His vassal?

## PHILO

- 40 Τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν συνόδους ἀμετα-  
στρεπτί φευκτέον, τὸ δὲ ἔνσπονδον πρὸς τοὺς  
[411] φρονήσεως καὶ | ἐπιστήμης ἐταίρους βεβαιωτέον.
- 41 παρὸ καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας “ πάντες ἐσμὲν υἱοὶ ἐνὸς  
ἀνθρώπου, εἰρηνικοὶ ἐσμεν ” τεθαύμακα τῆς εὐαρ-  
μόστου συμφωνίας· ἐπεὶ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐμέλλετε,  
φήσαιμ’ ἄν, ὦ γενναῖοι, πολέμῳ μὲν δυσχεραίνειν,  
εἰρήνῃ δὲ ἀγαπᾶν, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιγεγραμ-  
μένοι πατέρα οὐ θνητὸν ἀλλ’ ἀθάνατον, ἄνθρωπον  
θεοῦ, ὃς τοῦ αἰδίου λόγος ὢν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ αὐτός
- 42 ἐστὶν ἄφθαρτος; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ  
κατὰ ψυχὴν γένους συστησάμενοι, τῷ πολυθέῳ  
λεγομένῳ κακῷ προσνείμαντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἄλλοι πρὸς  
ἄλλων τιμὰς τραπόμενοι ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις  
ἐμφυλίου τε καὶ ξενικὰς ἐδημιούργησαν<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἀπ’  
ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς βίον πολέμων ἀκη-
- 43 ρύκτων καταπλήσαντες. οἱ δὲ ἐνὶ γένει  
χαίροντες καὶ ἕνα πατέρα τὸν ὀρθὸν τιμῶντες  
λόγον, τὴν εὐάρμοστον καὶ πάμμουσον συμφωνίαν  
ἀρετῶν τεθαιμακότες, εὐδίων καὶ γαληνὸν βίον  
ζῶσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀργὸν καὶ ἀγενῆ τινα, ὡς ἐνιοὶ  
νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα ἀνδρεῖον καὶ λίαν ἠκονη-  
μένον κατὰ τῶν σπονδὰς λύειν ἐπιχειρούντων καὶ  
σύγχυσιν ὀρκίων αἰεὶ μελετώντων· τοὺς γὰρ εἰρη-  
ναίους φύσει πολεμικοὺς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἀντι-  
καθημένους καὶ ἀνθεστῶτας τοῖς τὸ εὐσταθὲς τῆς
- 44 ψυχῆς ἀνατρέπουσι. XII. μαρτυρεῖ δέ  
μου τῷ λόγῳ πρῶτον μὲν ἢ ἐκάστου τῶν φιλαρέτων  
διάνοια διακειμένη τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἔπειτα δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐδημιουργήσαντο.

• This conception of the Logos recurs in §§ 62 and 146.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 40-44

Let us flee, then, without a backward glance from 40 the unions which are unions for sin, but hold fast to our alliance with the comrades of good sense and knowledge. And therefore when I hear those who 41 say "We are all sons of one man, we are peaceful" (Gen. xlii. 11), I am filled with admiration for the harmonious concert which their words reveal. "Ah! my friends," I would say, "how should you not hate war and love peace—you who have enrolled yourselves as children of one and the same Father, who is not mortal but immortal—God's Man,<sup>a</sup> who being the Word of the Eternal must needs himself be imperishable?" Those whose system includes many 42 origins for the family of the soul, who affiliate themselves to that evil thing called polytheism, who take in hand to render homage some to this deity, some to that, are the authors of tumult and strife at home and abroad, and fill the whole of life from birth to death with internecine wars. But those 43 who rejoice in the oneness of their blood and honour one father, right reason, reverence that concert of virtues, which is full of harmony and melody, and live a life of calmness and fair weather. And yet that life is not, as some suppose, an idle and ignoble life, but one of high courage, and the edge of its spirit is exceeding sharp to fight against those who attempt to break treaties and ever practise the violation of the vows they have sworn. For it is the nature of men of peace that they prove to be men of war, when they take the field and resist those who would subvert the stability of the soul.

XII. The truth of my words is attested first by the 44 consciousness of every virtue-lover, which feels what I have described, and secondly by a chorister of the

## PHILO

καὶ τοῦ προφητικοῦ θιασώτης χοροῦ, ὃς κατα-  
 πνευσθεὶς ἐνθουσιῶν ἀνεφθέγγετο· “ὦ μῆτερ,  
 ἠλίκον με ἔτεκες, ἄνθρωπον μάχης καὶ ἄνθρωπον  
 ἀηδίας πάσης τῆς γῆς; οὐκ ὠφείλησα,<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ  
 ὠφείλησάν μοι, οὐδὲ ἡ ἰσχὺς μου ἐξέλιπεν ἀπὸ  
 45 καταρῶν αὐτῶν.” ἀλλ’ οὐ πᾶς σοφὸς πᾶσι φαύλοις  
 ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν ἄσπονδος, οὐ τριηρῶν ἢ μηχανημάτων  
 ἢ ὄπλων ἢ στρατιωτῶν παρασκευῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν  
 46 χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ λογισμοῖς<sup>2</sup>; ὅταν γὰρ  
 τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀπολέμῳ εἰρήνῃ συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλον  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἴδιον καὶ κοινόν, μὴ κατὰ ἔθνη  
 καὶ χώρας ἢ πόλεις καὶ κώμας αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ κατ’ οἰκίαν καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν μέρει  
 συγκροτούμενον πόλεμον θεάσῃται, τίς ἐστὶν ὃ γε  
 μὴ παραινῶν,<sup>3</sup> κακίζων, νουθετῶν, σωφρονίζων, οὐ  
 μεθ’ ἡμέραν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ, τῆς ψυχῆς  
 αὐτῷ ἠρεμεῖν μὴ δυναμένης διὰ τὸ μισοπόνηρον  
 47 φύσει; πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἐν πολέμῳ δρᾶται κατ’  
 εἰρήνην· συλῶσιν, ἀρπάζουσιν, ἀνδραποδίζονται,  
 [412] λεηλατοῦσι, | πορθοῦσιν, ὑβρίζουσιν, αἰκίζονται,  
 φθείρουσιν, αἰσχύνουσι, δολοφονοῦσιν, ἀντικρυς, ἢν  
 48 ὡσι δυνατώτεροι, κτείνουσι. πλοῦτον γὰρ ἢ δόξαν  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν σκοπὸν προτεθειμένος ἐπὶ τοῦτον  
 ὡσπερ βέλη τὰς τοῦ βίου πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀφιεῖς  
 ἰσότητος ἀλογεῖ, τὸ ἄνισον διώκει, κοινωνίαν ἀπο-  
 στρέφεται, μόνος τὰ πάντων ἔχειν ἀθρόα ἐσπούδακε,  
 μισάνθρωπος καὶ μισάλληλός ἐστιν, ὑποκρινόμενος

<sup>1</sup> For the question between ὠφείλησα . . . ὠφείλησάν μοι  
 and ὠφέλησα . . . ὠφέλησάν με here and in § 50 see App. p. 553.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. χρώμενος ἐπιλογισμοῖς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. παροῦσι.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 553.

<sup>b</sup> Or “is organized.” See on *De Agr.* 35.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 44-48

prophetic company, who possessed by divine inspiration spoke thus: "O my mother, how great didst thou bear me, a man of combat and a man of displeasure in all the earth! I did not owe, nor did they owe to me, nor did my strength fail from their curses" (Jer. xv. 10<sup>a</sup>). Yes, is not every wise man 45 the mortal foe of every fool, a foe who is equipped not with triremes or engines, or body-armour or soldiers for his defence, but with reasonings only?

For who, when he sees that war, which 46 amid the fullest peace<sup>a</sup> is waged<sup>b</sup> among all men continuously, phase ever succeeding phase, in private and public life, a war in which the combatants are not just nations and countries, or cities and villages, but also house against house and each particular man against himself, who, I say, does not exhort, reproach, admonish, correct by day and night alike, since his soul cannot rest, because its nature is to hate evil? For all the deeds of war are done in peace. Men 47 plunder, rob, kidnap, spoil, sack, outrage, maltreat, violate, dishonour and commit murder sometimes by treachery, or if they be stronger without disguise. Every man sets before him money or reputation as 48 his aim, and at this he directs all the actions of his life like arrows against a target. He takes no heed of equity, but pursues the inequitable.<sup>c</sup> He eschews thoughts of fellowship, and his eager desire is that the wealth of all should be gathered in his single purse. He hates others, whether his hate be returned or not.<sup>d</sup> His benevolence is hypocrisy. He is hand

<sup>c</sup> Or "equality . . . inequality."

<sup>d</sup> Or "hates both mankind and his neighbour." That is to say, Philo perhaps uses *μισάλληλος*, which, properly speaking, can only be used, and indeed seems elsewhere to be only used, in the plural, somewhat loosely.

## PHILO

εὐνοϊαν, κολακείας νόθης ἑταῖρος ὢν, φιλίας γνησίου πολέμιος, ἀληθείας ἔχθρός, ὑπέρμαχος ψεύδους, βραδὺς ὠφελῆσαι, ταχὺς βλάψαι, διαβαλεῖν προχειρότατος, ὑπερασπίσαι μελλητής, δεινὸς φενაკίσαι, ψευδορκότατος, ἀπιστότατος, δούλος ὀργῆς, εἰκῶν ἡδονῆ, φύλαξ κακῶν, φθορεὺς ἀγαθῶν.

49

XIII. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς

ἀδομένης καὶ θαυματομένης εἰρήνης περιμάχητα κειμήλια, ἅπερ ἢ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀγαλματοφοροῦσα διάνοια τέθηπε καὶ προσκυνεῖ. ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως καὶ πᾶς σοφὸς ἄχθεται, καὶ πρὸς γε τὴν μητέρα καὶ τιθήνην ἑαυτοῦ, σοφίαν, εἴωθε λέγειν· “ὦ μήτηρ, ἠλίκον με ἔτεκες,” οὐ δυνάμει σώματος, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς <τὸ> μισοπόνηρον ἀλκῆ, ἀνθρωπον ἀηδίας καὶ μάχης, φύσει μὲν εἰρηνικόν, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πολεμικόν κατὰ τῶν αἰσχυρόντων τὸ  
50 περιμάχητον κάλλος εἰρήνης. “οὐκ ὠφείλησα, οὐδὲ ὠφείλησάν μοι.” οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποτε ἐχρήσαντο, οὔτε ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐκείνων κακοῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ Μωυσέως γράμμα “ἐπιθύμημα οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον,” σύμπαν τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν γένος θησαυρισαμένων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς  
51 μέγιστον ὄφελος ὑπερβάλλον βλάβος. “οὐδὲ ἢ ἰσχὺς μου ἐξέλιπεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρῶν ἃς ἐτίθεντό μοι,” δυνάμει δὲ κραταιοτάτῃ τῶν θείων ἐνελημμένος δογματῶν οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> κακούμενος<sup>2</sup> ἐκάμφθην, ἀλλὰ ἔρρω-

<sup>1</sup> mss. οὔτε, which is quite impossible. Wend., who retains it in the text, notes “write οὐ, or place a lacuna after ἐκάμφθην.” It seems to me that, as the words are a paraphrase of οὐδὲ ἢ ἰσχὺς κτλ. of the quotation, the easier correction to οὐδὲ is reasonable.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἐκκακούμενος.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 48-51

and glove with canting flattery, at open war with genuine friendship ; an enemy to truth, a defender of falsehood, slow to help, quick to harm, ever forward to slander, backward to champion the accused, skilful to cozen, false to his oath, faithless to his promise, a slave to anger, a thrall to pleasure, protector of the bad, corrupter of the good.

XIII. These and the like are the much-coveted 49 treasures of the peace which men admire and praise so loudly—treasures enshrined in the mind of every fool with wonder and veneration. But to every wise man they are, as they should be, a source of pain, and often will he say to his mother and nurse, wisdom, “ O mother, how great didst thou bear me ! ” Great, not in power of body, but in strength to hate evil, a man of displeasure and combat, by nature a man of peace, but for this very cause also a man of war against those who dishonour the much-prized loveliness of peace. “ I did not owe nor did they owe to 50 me,” for neither did they use the good I had to give, nor I their evil, but, as Moses wrote, “ I received from none of them what they desired ”<sup>a</sup> (Num. xvi. 15). For all that comes under the head of their desire they kept as treasure to themselves, believing that to be the greatest blessing which was the supreme mischief. “ Nor did my strength fail from the curses 51 which they laid upon me,” but with all my might and main I clung to the divine truths ; I did not bend under their ill-treatment, but used my strength

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “ I have not taken one ass from them.” The verse in the LXX. goes on *οὐδὲ ἐκάκωσα οὐδένα αὐτῶν*, which shows that *οὐδενός* is, as it is taken in the translation, masculine. Philo’s interpretation, however (*σύμπαυ τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας γένος*), suggests, perhaps, that he took it as neuter, “ I did not receive their desire for anything.”

## PHILO

- μένως ὠνείδισα τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὴ καθαιρομένοις·  
 52 “ ἔθετο ” γὰρ “ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς  
 γείτοσιν ἡμῶν, ” ὡς καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις που λέλεκται,  
 πάντα τοὺς ὀρθῆς γνώμης ἐφιεμένους. ἀλλ’ οὐκ  
 ἀντιλογικοὶ φύσει γεγόνασιν, ὅσοι τὸν ἐπιστήμης  
 καὶ ἀρετῆς ζῆλον ἔσχον αἰεὶ, τοῖς γείτοσι ψυχῆς  
 ἀντιφιλονεικοῦντες, ἐλέγχοντες μὲν τὰς συνοίκους  
 ἡδονάς, ἐλέγχοντες δὲ τὰς ὁμοδιαίτους ἐπιθυμίας,  
 δειλίας τε καὶ φόβους, τὸ παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν στίφος  
 δυσωποῦντες, ἐλέγχοντες μέντοι καὶ πᾶσαν αἴσθη-  
 σιν, περὶ μὲν ὧν εἶδον ὀφθαλμούς, περὶ ὧν δὲ  
 ἤκουσαν ἀκοάς, ὁσμάς τε περὶ ἀτμῶν καὶ γεύσεις  
 περὶ χυμῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἀφὰς περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς προσ-  
 πιπτούσας τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων ἰδιότη-  
 53 [413] τας, καὶ μὲν δὴ<sup>1</sup> τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον περὶ ὧν  
 διεξελεθῆναι | ἔδοξε;                      τίνα γὰρ ἢ πῶς ἢ  
 54 διὰ τί ἢ αἰσθησις ἦσθετο ἢ ὁ λόγος διηρημένευσεν  
 ἢ τὸ πάθος διέθηκεν, ἄξιον ἐρευνᾶν μὴ παρέργως  
 καὶ τῶν σφαλμάτων διελέγχειν ἕκαστον. ὁ δὲ  
 μηδενὶ τούτων ἀντιλέγων, ἅπασιν δὲ ἐξῆς συνεπι-  
 νεύων ἑαυτὸν λέληθεν ἀπατῶν καὶ ἐπιτειχίζων  
 ψυχῇ βαρεῖς γείτονας, οἷς ἄμεινον ὑπηκόοις ἢ ἄρ-  
 χουσι χρῆσθαι· ἡγεμονεύοντες μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ  
 πημανοῦσι καὶ μεγάλα βασιλευούσης παρ’ αὐτοῖς  
 ἀνοίας, ὑπακούοντες δὲ τὰ δέονθ’ ὑπηρετήσουσι  
 πειθηνίως οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως ἀπαυχενίζοντες.  
 55 οὕτως μέντοι τῶν μὲν ὑπακούειν μαθόντων, τῶν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μὲν δὴ] so mss. and Wend., but this combination of particles seems to me hardly possible.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Gig.* 46 τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὴ πεφυκότας νουθετεῖσθαι.  
 Lit. “the things belonging to the peculiarities of the



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 51-55

to reproach those who refused to effect their own purification.<sup>a</sup> For "God has set us up for a contradiction to our neighbours," as is said in a verse of the Psalms (Ps. lxxix. [lxxx.] 7); us, that is all who desire right judgement. Yes, surely they are by nature men of contradiction, all who have ever been zealous for knowledge and virtue, who contend jealously with the "neighbours" of the soul; who test the pleasures which share our home, the desires which live at our side, our fears and faintings of heart, and put to shame the tribe of passions and vices. Further, they test also every sense, the eyes on what they see, the ears on what they hear, the sense of smell on its perfumes, the taste on its flavours, the touch on the characteristics which mark the qualities of substances as they come in contact with it.<sup>b</sup> And lastly they test the utterance on the statements which it has been led to make.

For what our senses perceive, or our speech expresses, or our emotion causes us to feel, and how or why each result is attained, are matters which we should scrutinize carefully and expose every error that we find. He who contradicts none of these, but assents to all as they come before him, is unconsciously deceiving himself and raising up a stronghold of dangerous neighbours to menace the soul, neighbours who should be dealt with as subjects, not as rulers. For if they have the mastery, since folly is their king, the mischief they work will be great and manifold; but as subjects they will render due service and obey the rein, and chafe no more against the yoke.

And, when these have thus learnt the

powers in bodies" (*τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἰδιότητας* being practically equivalent to *τῶν ἰδιοτήτων*). See further App. p. 554.

## PHILO

δ' οὐκ ἐπιστήμη μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμει τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντων πάντες οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῆς συμφρονήσουσι λογισμοὶ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς προσελθόντες ἐροῦσιν· “ οἱ παῖδές σου εἰλήφασι τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὐ διαπεφώνηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς,” ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ μουσικῆς ὄργανα ἄκρως ἡρμωσμένα πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις, οὕτως ἡμεῖς πάσαις ταῖς ὑψηγήσεισι συνηγήσαμεν, ἐκμελὲς ἢ ἀπωδὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε<sup>1</sup> ῥῆμα εἰπόντες οὔτ' ἔργον διαπραξάμενοι, ὡς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἀμούσων χορὸν πάντα ἄφωνον καὶ νεκρὸν ἀποδείξει γελασθέντα τὴν τῶν σωματικῶν τροφὸν<sup>2</sup> Μαδιάμ καὶ τὸν ἔκγονον αὐτῆς δερμάτινον 56 ὄγκον Βεελφεγῶρ ὄνομα ὑμνοῦντα.<sup>3</sup> γένος γάρ ἐσμεν “ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ ” τὸν θεὸν ὀρῶντος “ Ἰσραήλ,” ὧν “ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς,” ἵνα τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄργανον, ὁ κόσμος πᾶς, ταῖς ἀρμονίαις 57 μουσικῶς μελωδῆται. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς τῷ πολεμικωτάτῳ λόγῳ, ὃς καλεῖται Φινεές, γέρας εἰρήνην φησὶ δεδόσθαι, ὅτι ζῆλον τὸν ἀρετῆς λαβῶν καὶ πόλεμον πρὸς κακίαν ἀρά-

<sup>1</sup> mss. οὐδέ.

<sup>2</sup> τροφὸν Mangey: mss. and Wend. τροφήν. See App. p. 554.

<sup>3</sup> I have adopted ὑμνοῦντα (originally suggested by G. H. W.) for the ὑπνοῦντα of mss. and Wend., who defends it as an antithesis to ὀρῶντος in the next sentence. For a discussion of the text of the whole sentence see App. p. 554.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 55-57

lesson of obedience, and those have assumed the command which not only knowledge but power has given them, all the thoughts that attend and guard the soul will be one in purpose and approaching Him that ranks highest among them will speak thus: "Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war who were with us, and there is no discordant voice" (Num. xxxi. 49).<sup>a</sup> "We," they will continue, "like instruments of music where all the notes are in perfect tune, echo with our voices all the lessons we have received. We speak no word and do no deed that is harsh or grating, and thus we have made a laughing-stock of all that other dead and voiceless choir, the choir of those who know not the muse, the choir which hymns Midian, the nurse of things bodily, and her offspring, the heavy leathern weight whose name is Baal-Peor. For we are the 'race of 56 the Chosen ones of that Israel' who sees God, 'and there is none amongst us of discordant voice'" (Ex. xxiv. 11),<sup>b</sup> that so the whole world, which is the instrument of the All, may be filled with the sweet melody of its undiscording harmonies. And 57 therefore too Moses tells us how peace was assigned as the prize of that most warlike reason, called Phinehas (Num. xxv. 12), because, inspired with zeal for virtue and waging war against vice, he ripped

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's treatment of this text see *De Ebr.* 114 ff. and note.

<sup>b</sup> LXX. LXX. καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς, E.V. "and on the elders of Israel he laid not his hand." Here clearly *διαφωνεῖν* means "to perish," and so perhaps in Num. xxxi. 49. rather than "failed to answer his name." Philo probably understood this, but for the purpose of his musical allegory gives the word its literal meaning.

## PHILO

- μενος ὄλην ἀνέτεμε γένεσιν, ἐξῆς<sup>1</sup> τοῖς βουλομένοις, διακύψασι καὶ διερευνησαμένοις ἀκριβῶς ὄψει πρὸ ἀκοῆς σαφεστέρῳ χρησαμένοις μάρτυρι, πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι γέμει τὸ θνητὸν ἀπιστίας, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ
- 58 *δοκεῖν ἠρτημένον.* θαυμάσιος μὲν οὖν ἡ  
 λεχθεῖσα συμφωνία, θαυμασιωτάτῃ δὲ καὶ πάσας  
 τὰς ἀρμονίας ὑπερβάλλουσα ἡ κοινὴ πάντων, καθ’  
 ἣν ὁ λαὸς ἅπας ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰσάγεται λέγων·  
 “ πάντα ὅσα εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσό-
- 59 *μεθα*”· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐξάρχοντι πείθονται λόγῳ,  
 ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνι θεῷ, δι’ ὃν πρὸς τὰ
- [414] *ἔργα φθάνουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς | λόγους ἀπαντῶν-*  
*τες· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσι πραττόντων*  
*οὗτοι, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὑπὸ κατοκωχῆς ἐνθέου*  
*πράξειν φασὶ πρότερον, εἶτα ἀκούσεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ*  
*διδασκαλία καὶ ὑφηγήσει δοκῶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐθελουργῶ*  
*καὶ αὐτοκελεύστω διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων*  
*ὑπαντᾶν· ἐργασάμενοι δὲ ἀκούσεσθαί φασιν, ὅπως*  
*ἐπικρίνωσι τὰ πραχθέντα, εἰ λόγοις θείοις καὶ ἱεραῖς*  
*παραινέσεσι συνάδει.*
- 60 XIV. Τοὺς δὲ συνομοσαμένους ἐπ’ ἀδικήμασιν  
 “ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ” φησι “ κινήσαντας εὐρεῖν πεδίον  
 ἐν τῇ γῇ Σαναὰρ κάκει κατοικήσαι, ” φυσικώτατα·

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἐξῆς <δὲ>. Wend. places a lacuna before ἐξῆς, Cohn after it, corrected to ἐξ ἡς. Neither gives any suggestion as to what this lacuna contained. My reasons for thinking that there is no such lacuna are given in note a below.

\* The course of the thought, as I understand, is this. By close examination, particularly of the senses (§§ 52, 53), we obtain a mastery of them, and thus reach the harmony of which the Captains of Num. xxxi. spoke (§ 55). This involves

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 57-60

open all created being ; how in their turn <sup>a</sup> that prize is given to those who, after diligent and careful scrutiny, following the more certain testimony of sight, rather than hearing, have the will to accept the faith that mortality is full of unfaith and clings only to the seeming. Wonderful then <sup>58</sup> indeed is the symphony of voices here described, but most wonderful of all, exceeding every harmony, is that united universal symphony in which we find the whole people declaring with one heart, " All that God hath said we will do and hear " (Ex. xix. 8). Here the precentor whom they follow is no longer <sup>59</sup> the Word, but God the Sovereign of all, for whose sake <sup>b</sup> they become quicker to meet the call to action than the call of words. For other men act after they have heard, but these under the divine inspiration say—strange inversion—that they will act first and hear afterwards, that so they may be seen to go forward to deeds of excellence, not led by teaching or instruction, but through the self-acting, self-dictated instinct of their own hearts. And when they have *done*, then, as they say, they will *hear*, that so they may judge their actions, whether they chime with the divine words and the sacred admonitions.

XIV. Now those who conspired for iniquities, <sup>60</sup> " moved," we are told, " from the ' east ' (or ' rising ') and found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt

the conviction of the untrustworthiness of all created things, and thus brings the Captains into line with Phinehas, whose ripping up of the " woman " *γένεσις* meant the same thing. Thus the prize of true peace goes first to Phinehas, but also in their turn (*ἐξῆς*) to the Captains. Historically, of course, they are linked with Phinehas, who was their leader in the war against Midian.

<sup>b</sup> Or " through whom." See note on § 127.

## PHILO

- διπτόν γὰρ εἶδος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνατολῆς, τὸ μὲν ἄμεινον, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, ἄμεινον μὲν, ὅταν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων τρόπον ἀνάσχη τὸ ἀρετῶν φέγγος, χεῖρον δ', ὅταν αἱ μὲν ἐπισκιασθῶσι, κακίαι
- 61 δὲ ἀνάσχωσι. παράδειγμα τοῦ μὲν προτέρου τόδε· “καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς,” οὐ χερσαίων φυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐρανίων ἀρετῶν, ἃς ἐξ ἀσώματου τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτῷ φωτὸς ἀσβέστους εἰσαεὶ γενησομένας ὁ φυτουργὸς ἀν-
- 62 ἔτειλεν. ἤκουσα μέντοι καὶ τῶν Μωυσέως ἐταίρων τινὸς ἀποφθεγξαμένου τοιόνδε λόγιον· “ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ᾧ ὄνομα ἀνατολή·” καινοτάτη γε πρόσρησις, εἴαν γε τὸν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστῶτα λέγεσθαι νομίσης· εἴαν δὲ τὸν ἀσώματον ἐκείνον, θείας ἀδιαφοροῦντα εἰκόνας, ὁμολογήσεις ὅτι εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομα ἐπεφημίσθη
- 63 τὸ ἀνατολῆς<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἀνέτειλε πατήρ, ὃν ἐτέρωθι πρωτόγονον ὠνόμασε, καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέντοι, μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁδοῦς, πρὸς παραδείγματα ἀρχέτυπα ἐκείνου βλέπων ἐμόρφου τὰ εἶδη.
- 64 XV. Τοῦ δὲ χείρονος ἀνατολῆς εἴδους ὑπόδειγμα τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βουλομένου τὸν ἐπαινούμενον ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταράσασθαι· πρὸς γὰρ ἀνατολαῖς εἰσάγεται κάκεῖνος οἰκῶν, αἴτινες ὁμωνυμοῦσαι ταῖς προτέραις ἐναντιότητα καὶ μάχην πρὸς αὐτὰς
- 65 ἔχουσιν· “ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας” γὰρ φησι “μετεπέμψατό με Βαλάκ, ἐξ ὁρέων ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, λέγων·

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps ἀνατολή.

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “branch” (margin, “bud”).

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 60-65

there " (Gen. xi. 2). How true to nature ! For there are two kinds of " rising " in the soul, the better and the worse. The better is when the beam of the virtues rises like the rays of the sun ; the worse when virtues pass into the shadow and vices rise above the horizon. We have an example of the former in these 61 words : " And God planted a pleasaunce in Eden towards the sun-rise " (Gen. ii. 8). That garden was not a garden of the plants of the soil, but of heavenly virtues, which out of His own incorporeal light the Planter brought to their rising, never to be extinguished.

I have heard also an oracle 62 from the lips of one of the disciples of Moses, which runs thus : " Behold a man whose name is the rising " <sup>a</sup> (Zech. vi. 12), strangest of titles, surely, if you suppose that a being composed of soul and body is here described. But if you suppose that it is that Incorporeal one, who differs not a whit from the divine image, you will agree that the name of " rising " assigned to him quite truly describes him. For that man is the eldest son, whom the Father of 63 all raised up, and elsewhere calls him His first-born, and indeed the Son thus begotten followed the ways of his Father, and shaped the different kinds, looking to the archetypal patterns which that Father supplied.

XV. Of the worse kind of rising we have an 64 example in the description of him who wished to curse one who was praised by God. For he too is represented as dwelling at the " rising," and this rising though it bears the same name as the other is in direct conflict with it. " Balak," we read, 65 " sent for me from Mesopotamia from the mountains from the rising saying, ' Come hither, curse for me

## PHILO

δεῦρο ἄρασαί μοι ὄν μὴ ἀράται ὁ θεός." ἔρμη-  
 [415] νεύεται δὲ Βαλὰκ ἄνους, εὐθυβολώτατα· πῶς | γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἄνοια δεινὴ τὸ ὄν ἐλπῖσαι ἀπατάσθαι καὶ  
 γνώμην αὐτοῦ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην ἀνθρώπων σοφί-  
 66 σμασι παρατρέπεσθαι; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν  
 οἰκεί καταπεποντωμένης ὥσπερ ἐν μεσαιτάτῳ  
 ποταμοῦ βυθῷ τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυνα-  
 μένης ἀνανήξασθαι καὶ ἀνακῦψαι· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ  
 πάθος ἀνατολὴ μὲν ἀφροσύνης, κατάδυσις δὲ  
 67 εὐλογιστίας ἐστίν. οἱ τὴν ἀσύμφωνον  
 οὖν ἀρμοζόμενοι συμφωνίαν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κινεῖσθαι  
 λέγονται. πότερον ἄρα γε τῶν <κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ  
 τῶν> κατὰ κακίαν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν,  
 παντελῆς ὑπογράφεται διάζευξις· εἰ δὲ τῶν κατὰ  
 κακίαν, ἡνωμένη τις κίνησις, καθάπερ ἐπὶ χειρῶν  
 ἔχει, οὐκ ἰδίᾳ κατὰ ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ  
 68 τινὶ τῷ ὅλῳ σώματι συγκινουμένων. ἀρχὴ γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀφορμὴ φαύλῳ πρὸς τὰς παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας  
 τὸ κακίας χωρίον· ὅσοι δὲ μετανάσται  
 μὲν ἀρετῆς ἐγένοντο, ταῖς δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐχρήσαντο  
 ἀφορμαῖς, οἰκειότατον εὐρόντες οἰκοῦσι τόπον, ὃς  
 Ἑβραίων μὲν γλώττῃ Σεναάρ, Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἐκ-  
 69 τιναγμὸς καλεῖται· σπαράττεται γὰρ καὶ κλονεῖται  
 καὶ τινάττεται πᾶς ὁ τῶν φαύλων βίος, κυκώμενος  
 ἀεὶ καὶ παραττόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ἴχνος ἀγαθοῦ  
 γνησίου θησαυριζόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ. καθάπερ γὰρ  
 τῶν ἀποτιωαττομένων ὅσα μὴ ἐνώσει διακρατεῖται  
 πάντα ἐκπίπτει, τοῦτόν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ τοῦ  
 συμπεπνευκότος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδικεῖν ἐκτετινάχθαι τὸν

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the things of virtue . . . of vice."



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 65-69

him whom God does not curse' " (Num. xxiii. 7, 8). Now Balak is by interpretation "foolish," and the interpretation is most true. For surely it were the pitch of folly to hope that the Existent should be deceived, and that His surest purpose should be upset by the devices of men? And this is the reason 66 why Balaam also dwells in "Mid-river-land," for his understanding is submerged in the midmost depths of a river, unable to swim its way upward and lift its head above the surface. This condition is the rising of folly and the setting of reasonableness.

Now these makers of a music whose harmony is dis- 67 harmony, moved, we are told, "from the rising." Is it the rising of virtue that is meant, or the rising of vice? <sup>a</sup> If the former, the movement suggested is one of complete severance. But if it is the latter, it is what we may call an united movement, as when we move our hands, not apart or in isolation, but in connexion and accordance with the whole body. For 68 the place where vice is located serves as the initial starting-point to the fool for those activities which defy nature.

Now all who have wandered away from virtue and accepted the starting-points of folly, find and dwell in a most suitable place, a place which in the Hebrew tongue is called Shinar and in our own "shaking out." For all the life of 69 the fools is torn and hustled and shaken, ever in chaos and disturbance, and keeping no trace of genuine good treasured within it. For just as things which are shaken off all fall out, if not held fast through being part of a unified body,<sup>b</sup> so too I think, when a man has conspired for wrongdoing, his soul

<sup>b</sup> For the Stoic conception of *εἰρωσις* see note on *Quod Det.* 49.

- τρόπον ψυχῆ· πᾶσαν γὰρ ἰδέαν ἀρετῆς ἀπορρίπτει, ὡς μήτε σκιὰν μήτε εἶδωλον αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὸ
- 70 παράπαν. XVI. τὸ γοῦν φιλοσώματον γένος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' "ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ" φεύγον, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν παθῶν φορᾶν, εἰσάγεται, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ὑποδράμη τὰ πάθη, τινάττεται καὶ κυκᾶται, τὸ μὲν εὐσταθῆς καὶ εἰρηναῖον ἀποβάλλον ἀρετῆς, τὸ δὲ ταραχῶδες ἐπαναιρούμενον κακίας· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "ἐξετίναξε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης φεύγον-
- 71 τας ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ." οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ μηδὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ εἰδότες, τὸν ποικίλον τοῦ βίου τύφον, ἀλλ' ἀποκεκαλυμμένοις χρώμενοι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, οὐδὲ ἴχνος ἢ σκιὰν καὶ εἶδωλον καλοκάγαθίας
- 72 ταμειυσάμενοι· "ἀνέστη" γὰρ φησι "βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον," ὃς οὐδὲ τὸ πανύστατον καὶ νεώτατον αἰσθητὸν ἀγαθὸν "ἤδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ," ὅστις οὐ μόνον τελειότητος ἀλλὰ καὶ προκοπᾶς, οὐδὲ ἐνάργειαν τὴν οἶαν δι' ὀράσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλίαν τὴν δι' ἀκοῆς ἐγγινομένην ἀνήρει λέγων· "δεῦρο ἄρασαί μοι τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ δεῦρο ἐπικατάρασαί μοι τὸν Ἰσραήλ," ἴσον τῷ ἐλθέ, ἀμφότερα καταλύσον, ὄρασιν τε καὶ ἀκοὴν ψυχῆς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀληθῆς καὶ γνήσιον καλὸν μήτε ἴδη μήτε ἀκούσῃ· ὀράσεως μὲν γὰρ Ἰσραήλ, Ἰακώβ δὲ
- 73 ἀκοῆς σύμβολον. ὁ μὲν δὴ τῶν τοιούτων
- [416] νοὺς ἀπορρίπτει πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγαθοῦ | φύσιν τρόπον τινὰ τιναττόμενος, ἔμπαλιν δ' ὁ τῶν ἀστείων, ἀμιγούς καὶ ἀκράτου μεταποιούμενος τῆς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτῆ.

\* See App. p. 554.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 69-73

is subject to a "shaking out," for it casts away every form of good so that no shadow or semblance of it can be seen at all.

XVI. We have example 70 in the Egyptians, the representatives of those who love the body, who are shewn to us as flying not from the water, but "under the water," that is under the stream of the passions, and when they are submerged<sup>a</sup> therein they are shaken and wildly disordered; they cast away the stability and peacefulness of virtue and take upon them the confusion of vice. For we are told, "that he shook off the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, fleeing under the water" (Ex. xiv. 27).

These are they who know not even 71 Joseph, the many-sided pride of worldly life, and give way to their sins without veil or disguise, husbanding no vestige or shadow or semblance of honourable living. For there rose up, we are told, another King 72 over Egypt, who "knew not" even "Joseph" (Ex. i. 8)—the good that is, which is given by the senses, the last and latest in the scale of goods. It is this same King who would destroy not only all perfection but all progress; not only the clear vision such as comes of sight, but the instruction also that comes of hearing. He says, "Come hither, curse me Jacob, and come hither, send thy curses upon Israel" (Num. xxiii. 7), and that is equivalent to "Put an end to them both, the soul's sight and the soul's hearing, that it may neither see nor hear any true and genuine excellence." For Israel is the type of seeing, and Jacob of hearing. The 73

mind of such as these is in a sense shaken and casts forth the whole nature of good, while the mind of the virtuous in contrast claims as its own the Idea of the good, an Idea pure and unalloyed, and shakes and

## PHILO

- ἀγαθῶν ἰδέας, ἀποτινάττει καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὰ φαῦλα<sup>1</sup>.
- 74 θέασαι γοῦν<sup>2</sup> τὸν ἀσκητὴν οἷά φησιν· “ ἄρατε τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν, καὶ καθαρῖσασθε καὶ ἀλλάξατε τὰς στολὰς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντες ἀναβῶμεν εἰς Βαιθήλ,” ἵνα, κὰν Λάβαν ἔρευναν αἰτῆται, ἐν ὄλω τῷ οἴκῳ μὴ εὐρεθῆ τὰ εἶδωλα, <ἀλλὰ> πράγματα ὑφεστηκότα καὶ ὄντως ὑπαρκτά, ἐστηλιτευμένα ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοφοῦ διανοίᾳ, ὧν καὶ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος Ἰσαὰκ κληρονομεῖ· τὰ γὰρ ὑπαρκτὰ μόνος οὗτος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνει.
- 75 XVII. Παρατήρει δ’ ὅτι οὗ φησιν ἔλθειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐν ᾧ κατέμειναν, ἀλλὰ εὐρεῖν ἀναζητήσαντας πάντως καὶ σκεψαμένους τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἀφροσύνη<sup>3</sup> χωρίον· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πᾶς ἀφρων οὐ παρ’ ἐτέρου λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ τὰ δὲ κακὰ ζητῶν ἀνευρίσκει, μὴ μόνους<sup>4</sup> ἀρκούμενος τούτοις ἐφ’ ἅπερ ἢ μοχθηρὰ φύσις δι’ ἑαυτῆς βαδίζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστιθεῖς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ κακοτεχνεῖν τέλεια γυμνάσ-
- 76 ματα. καὶ εἴθε μέντοι πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐνδιατρίψας αὐτοῖς χρόνον μετανίστατο. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ καταμένειν ἀξιοῖ· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι εὐρόντες τὸ πεδῖον κατώκησαν ὡς ἐν πατρίδι, οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης παρώκησαν. ἦττον γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν συντυχόντας ἀμαρτήμασιν ὀθνεῖα αὐτὰ καὶ ὥσπερ ἀλλοδοπὰ νομίσαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ οἰκέα καὶ συγγενῇ ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι· παρεπιδημήσαντες γὰρ κὰν ἀπέστησαν αἰθῆς, κατοικήσαντες δὲ βεβαίως καταμένειν εἰσάπαν ἔμελλον.
- 77 διὰ τοῦτο οἱ κατὰ Μωυσῆν σοφοὶ πάντες εἰσάγονται

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φύλλα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οὖν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀφροσύνης, which perhaps retain in the sense of “the folly-spot best suited to them.”

<sup>4</sup> μόνον MSS.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 73-77

casts off what is worthless. Thus mark how the Man of Practice speaks : " Take away the alien gods who are with you from the midst of you, and purify yourselves and change your raiment and let us rise up and go up to Bethel " (Gen. xxxv. 2, 3), so that, even though Laban demand a search, no idols may be found in all the house (Gen. xxxi. 35) but veritable substantial realities <sup>a</sup> graven, as though on stone, on the heart of the wise, realities which are the heritage of the self-taught nature, Isaac. For Isaac alone receives from his father the " real substance " (Gen. xxv. 5).

XVII. Again observe that he does not say that they *came* to the plain in which they stayed, but that only after full search and exploration they *found* the spot which was the fittest for folly. For indeed every fool does not just take to him what another gives, but he seeks for evil and discovers it. He is not content with the evils only to which depravity proceeds in its natural course, but adds the perfected efforts of the artist in wickedness. And would that he might only stay for a while among them and then change his habitation, but as it is he determines to abide there. For they " found," we are told, " the plain and dwelt there," as though it were their fatherland. They did not sojourn there as on a foreign soil. For it were a less grievous thing if when they fell in with sins, they should count them strangers and outlanders as it were, instead of holding them to be of their own household and kin. For were it a passing visit they would have departed in course of time ; their dwelling there was a sure evidence of a permanent stay.

This is why all whom Moses calls wise are represented as sojourners.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Mig.* 94.

## PHILO

παροικούντες· αἱ γὰρ τούτων ψυχαὶ στέλλονται  
 μὲν ἀποικίαν οὐδέποτε<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, εἰώθασι  
 δὲ ἔνεκα τοῦ φιλοθεάμονος καὶ φιλομαθοῦς εἰς τὴν  
 78 περίγειον φύσιν ἀποδημεῖν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἐνδια-  
 τρήσασαι σώμασι τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ δι' αὐτῶν  
 πάντα κατίδωσιν, ἐπανέρχονται ἐκεῖσε πάλιν, ὅθεν  
 ὠρμήθησαν τὸ πρῶτον, πατρίδα μὲν τὸν οὐράνιον  
 χῶρον ἐν ᾧ πολιτεύονται, ξένην δὲ τὸν περίγειον  
 ἐν ᾧ παρώκησαν νομίζουσαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀποικίαν  
 στείλαμένους ἀντὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἢ ὑποδεξαμένη  
 δήπου πατρίς, ἢ δ' ἐκπέμψασα μένει τοῖς ἀπο-  
 79 δεδημηκόσιν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ποθοῦσιν ἐπανέρχεσθαι. |  
 [417] τοιγαροῦν εἰκότως Ἀβραὰμ ἐρεῖ τοῖς νεκροφύλαξι  
 καὶ ταμίαις τῶν θνητῶν, ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ  
 βίου καὶ τύφου· “πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημός εἰμι  
 ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν,” αὐτόχθονες δὲ ὑμεῖς, κόνιν καὶ  
 χοῦν ψυχῆς προτιμήσαντες, προεδρίας ἀξιώσαντες  
 80 ὄνομα<sup>2</sup> Ἐφρών, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται χοῦς. εἰκότως δὲ  
 καὶ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ τὴν ἐν σώματι παροικίαν  
 ὀλοφύρεται λέγων· “αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ζωῆς  
 μου, ἃς παροικῶ, μικραὶ καὶ πονηραὶ γεγόνασιν·  
 οὐκ ἐξέικοντο εἰς ἡμέρας τῶν πατέρων μου ἃς  
 81 παρώκησαν.” τῷ δ' αὐτοδιδάκτῳ καὶ λόγιον  
 ἐχρήσθη τοιόνδε· “μὴ καταβῆς εἰς” τὸ πάθος  
 “Αἴγυπτον, κατοίκησον δ' ἐν τῇ γῆ ἣν ἄν σοι  
 εἶπω,” τῇ ἀδείκτῳ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ φρονήσει, “καὶ  
 παροίκει ἐν τῇ γῆ ταύτῃ,” τῇ δεικνυμένῃ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. δῆ (δέ) ποτε.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps as Mangey <τὸν> ὄνομα.

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<sup>a</sup> The LXX of course intended no such distinction between κατοίκει and παροίκει, or between the land of the first half and that of the second half of the verse.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 77-81

Their souls are never colonists leaving heaven for a new home. Their way is to visit earthly nature as men who travel abroad to see and learn. So when 78 they have stayed awhile in their bodies, and beheld through them all that sense and mortality has to shew, they make their way back to the place from which they set out at the first. To them the heavenly region, where their citizenship lies, is their native land; the earthly region in which they became sojourners is a foreign country. For surely, when men found a colony, the land which receives them becomes their native land instead of the mother city, but to the traveller abroad the land which sent him forth is still the mother to whom also he yearns to return. We shall not be surprised, then, to find 79 Abraham, when he rose from the life of death and vanity, saying to the guardians of the dead and stewards of mortality, "I am a stranger and sojourner with you" (Gen. xxiii. 4). "You," he means, "are children of the soil who honour the dust and clay before the soul and have adjudged the precedence to the man named Ephron, which being interpreted is 'clay.'" And just as natural are the 80 words of the Practiser Jacob, when he laments his sojourn in the body. "The days of the years of my life, the days which I sojourn, have been few and evil, they have not reached to the days of my fathers which they sojourned" (Gen. xlvii. 9). Isaac, too, 81 the self-taught had an oracle vouchsafed to him thus, "Go not down into Egypt," that is passion, "but dwell in the land which I say to thee" (that is in the wisdom which has no material body, and none can shew it to another), "and sojourn in this land" <sup>a</sup>

## PHILO

- αἰσθητῇ οὐσίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι ὅτι παροικεῖ μὲν ὁ σοφὸς ὡς ἐν ξένη σῶματι αἰσθητῶ, κατοικεῖ δ' ὡς ἐν πατρίδι νοηταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ἃς λαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς
- 82 ἀδιαφορούσας λόγων θείων. Μωυσῆς δὲ “γειώρας” φησὶν “εἰμὶ ἐν γῆ ἄλλοτρία,” διαφερόντως οὐ μόνον ξένην τὴν ἐν σῶματι μονὴν ὡς οἱ μέτοικοι νομίζων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτριώσεως ἀξίαν οὐκ ἔμπαλιν οἰκειώσεως ὑπολαμβάνων.
- 83 XVIII. Τὸ δ' ὁμόφωνον καὶ ὁμόγλωττον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀδίκων πράξεων κοινωνίᾳ βουλόμενος ὁ φαῦλος ἐπιδείξασθαι πόλιν ἄρχεται καὶ πύργον, ὡς ἀκρόπολιν τυράννω, κακίᾳ κατασκευάζειν, καὶ τοὺς θιασώτας πάντας παρακαλεῖ τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν τὴν ἀρμότ-
- 84 τουσιν προευντρεπισαμένους ὕλην. “ἴτε” γάρ φησι “πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους καὶ ὀπτήσωμεν αὐτὰς πυρί,” ἴσον τῶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν συμπεφορημένα καὶ συγκεχυμένα τὰ πάντα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐναργῆ
- 85 τύπον μηδένα μηδενὸς εἶδους προφαίνεσθαι. ἀρμόττει δ' ὥσπερ ἀνείδεόν τινα καὶ ἄποιον οὐσίαν τό τε πάθος καὶ τὴν κακίαν παραλαβόντας εἰς τὰς ἀρμοττούσας ποιότητας καὶ τὰ προσεχέστατα μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων αἰεὶ τεμεῖν εἶδη πρὸς τε ἐναργεστέραν κατάληψιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐμπειρίᾳ χρῆσίν τε καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, ἣ πλείους ἡδονὰς καὶ τέρψεις ἔοικεν

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<sup>a</sup> The fanciful thought is as follows: What we speak is words not things. Therefore when God “speaks a land” (meaning virtues), those virtues are God’s words. He has this much excuse that *εἶπω* followed by the things spoken of is doubtful Greek.

<sup>b</sup> *προσεχῆς* (next) frequently means (the species) next to the genus, *i.e.* primary. Here each *εἶδος* is *προσεχές* to the next above it.



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 81-85

(Gen. xxvi. 2, 3), that is in that form of existence which may be shewn and is perceived by the senses. The purpose of this is to shew him that the wise man does but sojourn in this body which our senses know, as in a strange land, but dwells in and has for his fatherland the virtues known through the mind, which God "speaks" and which thus are identical with divine words.<sup>a</sup> But Moses says, "I am an out- 82  
lander in the alien land" (Ex. ii. 22). Thus he uses stronger terms. His tenancy of the body is not to him merely that of the foreigner as immigrant settlers count it. To alienate himself from it, never to count it as his own, is, he holds, to give it its due.

XVIII. Now the wicked man wishes to display 83  
his unity of voice and speech through fellowship in unjust deeds rather than in actual words, and therefore begins to build a city and a tower which will serve for the hold of vice, as a citadel for a despot. He exhorts all those who form his company to take their share in the work, but first to prepare the suitable material. "Come," he says, "let us make bricks 84  
and bake them with fire" (Gen. xi. 3). The meaning of this is as follows. At present we have all the contents of the soul in inextricable confusion, so that no clear form of any particular kind is discernible. Our right course is to take the passion and vice, 85  
which at present is a substance devoid of form and quality, and divide it by continuous analysis into the proper categories and the subdivisions in regular descending order<sup>b</sup> till we reach the ultimate; thus we shall obtain both a clearer apprehension of them and that experienced use and enjoyment which is calculated to multiply our pleasure and delight.

## PHILO

- 86 ἐντίκτειν.                      πάριτε οὖν οἱ λογισμοὶ πάν-  
 τες βουλευτῶν τινα τρόπον εἰς τὸ ψυχῆς συνέδριον,  
 ὅσοι <πρὸς> τὸν δικαιοσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς  
 συγκατατάττεσθε ὄλεθρον, καὶ πεφροντισμένως δια-
- 87 σκεψώμεθα, ὡς ἐπιθέμενοι κατορθώσωμεν· τῆς  
 μέντοι κατορθώσεως ἔσονται θεμέλιοι κραταιότατοι  
 οἶδε, ἄμορφα μορφῶσαι τύποις καὶ σχήμασι καὶ  
 περιγραφαῖς ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ διακρίναι, μὴ κραδαι-
- [418] νόμενα<sup>1</sup> καὶ χωλαίνοντα, ἀλλὰ | πεπηγότα βεβαίως,  
 τῇ τοῦ τετραγώνου σχήματος οἰκειούμενα φύσει—  
 ἀκράδαντον γὰρ τοῦτό γε—, ἵνα πλίνθου τινα  
 τρόπον ἀκλινῶς ἐρηρυσμένα βεβαίως καὶ τὰ ἐπ-
- 88 οικοδομούμενα δέχῃται.                      XIX. τούτων πᾶς  
 ὁ ἀντίθεος νοῦς, ὃν φαμεν Αἰγύπτου, τοῦ σώμα-  
 τος, εἶναι βασιλέα, δημιουργὸς ἀνευρίσκεται· καὶ  
 γὰρ τοῦτον εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς τοῖς ἐκ πλίνθου κατα-
- 89 σκευαζομένοις χαίροντα οἰκοδομήμασιν. ἐπειδὴν  
 γὰρ τις τὴν ὕδατος καὶ γῆς τὴν μὲν ὑγρὰν, τὴν  
 δ' αὖ στερεὰν οὐσίαν, διαλυομένας καὶ φθειρο-  
 μένας, ἀνακερασάμενος τρίτον μεθόριον ἀμφοῖν  
 ἀπεργάσῃται, ὃ καλεῖται πηλός, τέμνων κατὰ  
 μοίρας τοῦτον οὐ παύεται σχήματα περιτιθεὶς  
 ἐκάστω τῶν τμημάτων τὰ οἰκεία, ὅπως εὐ-  
 παγέστερά τε καὶ εὐφορώτερα γένηται· ῥαδίως γὰρ  
 οὕτως ἔμελλε τὰ κατασκευαζόμενα τελειοῦσθαι.
- 90 τοῦτ' ἀπομιμούμενοι τὸ ἔργον οἱ μοχθηροὶ τὰς  
 φύσεις, ὅταν τὰς ἀλόγους καὶ πλεοναζούσας τῶν  
 παθῶν ὁρμὰς ταῖς ἀργαλεωτάταις κακίαις ἀνα-  
 κεράσωνται, τέμνουσι τὸ κραθὲν εἰς εἶδη καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κραδαίνοντα.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 86-90

Forward then, come as senators to the 86  
council-hall<sup>a</sup> of the soul, all you reasonings which are  
ranged together for the destruction of righteousness  
and every virtue, and let us carefully consider how  
our attack may succeed. The firmest foundations 87  
for such success will be to give form to the formless  
by assigning them definite shapes and figures and to  
distinguish them in each case by separate limitations,  
not with the uncertain equilibrium of the halting,  
but firmly planted, assimilated to the nature of the  
square—that most stable of figures—and thus rooted  
brick-like in unwavering equilibrium they will form  
a secure support for the superstructure.

XIX. Every mind that sets itself up against God, the 88  
mind which we call “King of Egypt,” that is of the  
body, proves to be a maker of such structures. For  
Moses describes Pharoah as rejoicing in buildings  
constructed of brick. This is natural, for when the 89  
workman has taken the two substances of earth and  
water, one solid and the other liquid, but both in  
the process of dissolution or destruction, and by  
mixing them has produced a third on the boundary  
line between the two, called clay, he divides it up  
into portions and without interruption gives each of  
the sections its proper shape. He wishes thus to  
make them firmer and more manageable<sup>b</sup> since this,  
he knows, is the easiest way to secure the completion  
of the building. This process is copied by the natur- 90  
ally depraved, when they first mix the unreasoning  
and exuberant impulses of passion with the gravest  
vices, and then divide the mixture into its kinds,

<sup>a</sup> Or “council,” the soul being looked upon as a collective body; *cf. De Mig. 60.*

<sup>b</sup> Or “more capable of sustaining the structure.”

## PHILO

διαπλάττουσι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν οἱ βαρυδαίμονες, δι' ὧν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτειχισμὸς μετέωρος ἀρθήσεται, τὴν αἴσθησιν εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ ἀκοήν, ἔτι δὲ γεῦσιν ὄσφρησίν τε καὶ ἀφήν, τὸ δὲ πάθος εἰς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν φόβον τε καὶ λύπην, τό τε κακιῶν γένος εἰς ἀφροσύνην, ἀκολασίαν, δειλίαν, ἀδικίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῆ τούτοις.

- 91                   XX. ἤδη δὲ καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντές τινες οὐ μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἤλειψαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀμείνους καὶ γένους ὄντας ὄρατικοῦ βιασάμενοι κατηνάγκασαν πλινθουργεῖν καὶ πόλεις οἰκοδομεῖν ὄχυράς τῷ βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντι νῶ, βουλόμενοι τοῦτο ἐνδείξασθαι, ὅτι δούλον μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν κακοῦ πάθος τ' εὐπαθείας δυνατώτερον, φρόνησις δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ ἀφροσύνης καὶ κακίας ἀπάσης ὑπήκοον, ὡς ὑπηρετεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄτ' ἂν
- 92 προστάτῃ τὸ δεσπόζον. ἰδού, γὰρ φησι, καὶ ὁ ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ διαυγέστατος καὶ καθαρώτατος καὶ πάντων ὀξυωπέστατος, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸν θεὸν ἔξεστι καθορᾶν, ὄνομα Ἰσραήλ, ἐνδεθείς ποτε τοῖς σωματικοῖς Αἰγύπτου δικτύοις ἐπιταγμάτων βαρυτάτων ἀνέχεται, ὡς πλίνθον καὶ πᾶν τὸ γεῶδες ἐργάζεσθαι μετὰ ἀργαλεωτάτων καὶ ἀτρυτοτάτων πόνων· ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ὀδυνᾶται καὶ στένει, τοῦτο μόνον ὡς ἐν κακοῖς τεθησαυρισμένος κειμήλιον,
- 93 ἐκδακρῦσαι τὰ παρόντα· λέγεται γὰρ ὑγιῶς ὅτι “κατεστέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων.” τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδὼν ἔργα καὶ τὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας σπουδὰς, αἷς ἢ πρὸς ἀργυρισμὸν ἢ δόξαν ἢ τὴν ἐν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 554.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 90-93

sense into sight and hearing, and again into taste and smell and touch; passion into pleasure and lust, and fear and grief; vices in general into folly, profligacy, cowardice, injustice, and the other members of that fraternity and family<sup>a</sup>—the materials which moulded and shaped, to the misery and sorrow of their builders, will form the fort which towers aloft to menace the soul.

XX. Ere now, 91  
too, there have been those who went to a further extreme, and not only worked up their own souls to do thus, but have violently forced their betters, the children of the race that has vision, to make bricks under duress and build strong cities (Ex. i. 11) for the mind which thinks itself their sovereign. They wished in this way to shew that good is the slave of evil and passion stronger than the higher emotions, that prudence and every virtue are subject to folly and all vice, and thus must render obedience to every command of the despotic power. “Behold,” says the 92  
enemy, “the eye of the soul so translucent, so pure, so keen of vision, the eye which alone is permitted to look on God, the eye whose name is Israel, is imprisoned after all in the gross material nets of Egypt and submits to do the bidding of an iron tyranny, to work at brick and every earthy substance with labour painful and unremitting.” It is but natural that Israel should sorrow and groan because of them; for the one solitary thing which he still treasures as a jewel amid his sufferings is that he can weep sore for his present state. There is sound wis- 93  
dom in the words, “The children of Israel groaned because of their tasks” (Ex. ii. 23). Which of the wisely-minded, when he sees the tasks which many men endure and the extravagance of the zeal which

## PHILO

ἡδοναῖς ἀπόλασιν εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι, σφόδρα κατη-  
 ηφῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν μόνον σωτήρα θεὸν ἐκβοῆσαι,  
 [419] ἵνα τὰ | μὲν ἐπικουφίσῃ, λύτρα δὲ καὶ σῶστρα  
 καταθεῖς τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτὴν ἐξέληται;  
 94 τίς οὖν ἐλευθερία βεβαιοτάτη; τίς; ἢ τοῦ μόνου  
 θεραπεία σοφοῦ, καθάπερ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ χρησιμοί,  
 ἐν οἷς εἴρηται “ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν λαόν, ἵνα με  
 95 θεραπεύῃ.” ἴδιον δὲ τῶν τὸ ὄν θερα-  
 πευόντων οἰνοχόων μὲν ἢ σιτοποιῶν ἢ μαγεύων  
 ἔργα ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα γεώδη<sup>1</sup> μήτε διαπλάττειν μήτε  
 συντιθέναι σώματα πλίνθου τρόπον, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ  
 τοῖς λογισμοῖς πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος, Μωυσῆν, τὸ  
 θεοφιλὲς γένος, προστησαμένους ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ.  
 96 τότε γὰρ τὸν μὲν τόπον, ὃς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶ,<sup>2</sup> θεά-  
 σονται, ᾧ ὁ ἀκλινῆς καὶ ἄτρεπτος θεὸς ἐφέστηκε,  
 “τὰ δ’<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὡσεὶ ἔργον  
 πλίνθου<sup>4</sup> σαπφείρου καὶ ὡς ἂν εἶδος στερεώματος  
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,” τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, ὃν αἰνίττεται

<sup>1</sup> Mangey suggests inserting after γεώδη: <ἐπιτηδεύειν> (rather μήτε ἐπιτηδεύειν). This would avoid the zeugma of associating διαπλάττειν with the ἔργα οἰνοχόων.

<sup>2</sup> ὃς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶ] this is my conjecture for the ὃς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶ of all mss. and editions. It is based (1) on *De Som.* i. 62, where Philo discussing the three senses in which τόπος is used declares that one of these is the Divine Logos and that this is the sense in which it is used in this passage, *Ex.* xxiv. 10 (the same idea that τόπος = λόγος appears in *De Op.* 20 and *De Som.* i. 117): (2) on the sequel in § 97, where the identification of the τόπος ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ἐφέστηκε with the λόγος is clearly implied. The simple alteration of the somewhat pointless δὴ λόγος to δὴ λόγος makes this identification, which otherwise comes in very abruptly, perfectly clear. The use of δὴ with the relative constantly recurs in Philo.

<sup>3</sup> Wend. τὰ θ’—evidently wrongly. The δέ is required to balance the μὲν and to mark the antithesis between the Logos and the Sensible World.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 93-97

they commonly put forth to win money or glory or the enjoyment which pleasure give, would not in the exceeding bitterness of his heart cry aloud to God the only Saviour to lighten their tasks and provide a price of the soul's salvation to redeem it into liberty? What then is the liberty which is really 94 sure and stable? Aye, what? It is the service of the only wise Being, as the oracles testify, in which it is said, "Send forth the people that they may serve me" (Ex. viii. 1). But it is the 95 special mark of those who serve the Existent, that theirs are not the tasks of cupbearers or bakers or cooks, or any other tasks of the earth earthy, nor do they mould or fashion material forms like the brick-makers, but in their thoughts ascend to the heavenly height, setting before them Moses, the nature beloved of God, to lead them on the way. For then 96 they shall behold the place <sup>a</sup> which in fact is the Word, where stands God <sup>b</sup> the never changing, never swerving, and also what lies under his feet like "the work of a brick of sapphire, like the form of the firmament of the heaven" <sup>c</sup> (Ex. xxiv. 10), even the world of our senses, which he indicates in this mystery. For it 97

<sup>a</sup> LXX. εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. E.V. "They saw the God of Israel."

<sup>b</sup> So, as the sequel shows, rather than "the place on which He stands." This use of ἐφέστηκε with the dative may be paralleled, e.g. ἐπέστη τοῖς κατὰ τὸ Ῥηγιὸν τόποις, Polybius ix. 7. 10. Perhaps, however, read ἐνέστηκε. In *De Som.* i. 62 we have the οὗ εἰστήκει of the LXX.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps Philo may have taken the words to mean "like a kind of basis for the heaven." Though in *De Op.* 36 he makes στερέωμα = the heaven, his identification of it here with the αἰσθητὸς κόσμος points to the latter interpretation.

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<sup>d</sup> πλίνθου] SO LXX. : MSS. λίθου.

## PHILO

97 διὰ τούτων. εὐπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἑταιρείαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ ὄν ἰδεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερώτατον λόγον, μεθ' ὃν καὶ τὸ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τελειότατον ἔργον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· τὸ γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν οὐδὲν ἦν ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτα σπουδάζειν

98 ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν.

XXI. τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν

κόσμον ὡς ἂν ὑποπόδιον θεοῦ φησιν εἶναι διὰ τάδε· πρῶτον μὲν ἴν' ἐπιδείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ γεγονότι τὸ πεποικὸς αἴτιον, ἔπειτα δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστῆσαι, ὅτι οὐδ' ὁ κόσμος ἅπας ἀφέτω καὶ ἀπελευθεριαζούσῃ κινήσει κέχρηται, ἀλλ' ἐπιβέβηκεν ὁ κυβερνήτης θεὸς τῶν ὅλων οἰακονομῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ πηδαιουχῶν σωτηρίως τὰ σύμπαντα, οὔτε ποσὶν οὔτε χερσὶν οὔτε ἄλλω τῶν ἐν γενέσει κεκρημένος μέρει τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον—“ οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός ”—, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕνεκα αὐτὸ μόνον διδασκαλίας εἰσαγόμενον ἡμῶν τῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκβῆναι μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότων τὰς περὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καταλήψεις

99 λαμβανόντων.

παγκάλως δ' ἔχει τὸ ἐν

παραβολῆς εἶδει φάναι τὸν κόσμον ὡς εἶδος πλίνθου· δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἐστάναι καὶ βεβηκέναι ὡς ἐκείνη κατὰ τὰς τῆς αἰσθητῆς ὄψεως προσβολάς, κέχρηται

[420] δὲ ὠκυτάτῃ | κινήσει καὶ τὰς ἐν μέρει πάσας παρα-

100 θεοῦσῃ. καὶ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἡλίου καὶ νύκτωρ σελήνης φαντασίαν ὡς ἐστῶτων οἱ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὶ λαμβάνουσι· καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι <τὸ> τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς φορᾶς τάχος ἀναντογώνιστόν ἐστιν, εἴ γε τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν μιᾷ περιπολοῦσιν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οἰκονομῶν.



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 97-100

well befits those who have entered into comradeship with knowledge to desire to see the Existent if they may, but, if they cannot, to see at any rate his image, the most holy Word, and after the Word its most perfect work of all that our senses know, even this world. For by philosophy nothing else has ever been meant, than the earnest desire to see these things exactly as they are. XXI. But 98

when he speaks of the world of our senses as God's footstool, it is for these reasons. First to shew that not in creation is to be found the cause which made it; secondly to make it plain that even the whole world does not move at its own free unshackled will, but is the standing-ground of God who steers and pilots in safety all that is. And yet to say that He uses hands or feet or any created part at all is not the true account. For God is not as man (Num. xxiii. 19). It is but the form employed merely for our instruction because we cannot get outside ourselves, but frame our conceptions of the Uncreated from our own experience. It is a fine saying 99

when by way of illustration he speaks of the world as an appearance of brick.<sup>a</sup> It does seem to stand fast and firm like a brick as we judge it when our outward sight comes in contact with it,<sup>b</sup> but its actual movement is exceeding swift, outstripping all particular movements. To our bodily eyes the sun by day and 100 the moon by night present the appearance of standing still. Yet we all know that the rapidity of the course on which they are carried is unapproached, since they traverse the whole heaven in a single day.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 555.

<sup>b</sup> So rather than the "impression produced upon our sight." Cf. ἡ ὄψις προσβάλλουσα, *Quod Deus* 78.

## PHILO

ἡμέρα; οὕτως μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς  
 ἐστάναι δοκῶν περιδινεῖται κύκλῳ, τῆς κινήσεως  
 τῷ ἀειδεῖ καὶ θειοτέρῳ καταλαμβανομένης<sup>1</sup> τῷ κατὰ  
 διάνοιαν ὀφθαλμῷ.

- 101 XXII. Πυροῦντες δὲ τὰς πλίνθους εἰσάγονται  
 συμβολικῶς, τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς κακίας θερμῷ καὶ  
 κινητικωτάτῳ λόγῳ κραταιούμενοι, ὡς μὴ πρὸς  
 τῶν σοφίας δορυφόρων ποτὲ καθαιρεθεῖεν, οἷς τὰ  
 πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ μηχανήματα συγ-  
 102 κροτεῖται. διὸ καὶ ἐπιλέγεται “ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ  
 πλίνθος εἰς λίθον.” τὸ γὰρ μανὸν καὶ κεχυμένον  
 τῆς μὴ σὺν λόγῳ φορᾶς εἰς ἀντίτυπον καὶ στερεὰν<sup>2</sup>  
 φύσιν πιληθὲν καὶ πυκνωθὲν λόγοις δυνατοῖς καὶ  
 ἀποδείξεσιν ἐχυρωτάταις μετέβαλεν, ἀνδρωθείσης  
 τρόπον τινὰ τῆς τῶν θεωρημάτων καταλήψεως,  
 ἥτις ἐν ἡλικίᾳ διαρρεῖ παιδικῇ διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ὑγρότητα μήπω δυναμένης τοὺς ἐνσφραγιζομένους  
 πῆττειν καὶ διαφυλάττειν χαρακτῆρας.
- 103 “<sup>3</sup>Καὶ ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς πηλός,” οὐκ ἔμπαλιν  
 ὁ πηλὸς ἄσφαλτος· δοκοῦσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ φαῦλοι τὰ  
 ἀσθενῆ κραταιοῦσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀμεινόνων καὶ τὰ  
 διαλυόμενα καὶ ρέοντα ἐξ αὐτῶν πῆττειν, ἢν’ ἐπ’  
 ἐχυροῦ βάλωσι καὶ τοξεύσωσιν ἀρετὴν· ὁ δ’ ἴλεως  
 καὶ πατῆρ τῶν καλῶν οὐκ ἐφήσει τὸ δεδμημένον<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καταλαμβανόμενος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀντίτυπον καὶ στερεᾶς.

<sup>3</sup> Wend. prints τὸ γὰρ μανὸν . . . χαρακτῆρας as a parenthesis, and treats καὶ ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς πηλός as a continuation of the text introduced by διὸ καὶ ἐπιλέγεται. But the words introduce a totally different thought from that which is given in §§ 101 and 102. Philo, as often, cites the text without any λέγεται or φησί.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 100-103

So too also the whole heaven itself appears to stand still but actually revolves, and this motion is apprehended by the eye which is itself invisible and closer akin to the divine—the eye of the understanding.

XXII. When they are described as using fire with 101 their bricks, it is a symbolical way of saying that they hardened and strengthened their passions and vices by the heat and high pressure of argument, to prevent their ever being demolished by the guards of wisdom, who are ever forging engines to subvert them. And therefore we have the addition, “ their 102 brick became stone to them ” (Gen. xi. 3). For the looseness and incoherence of the talk which streams along unsupported by reason turns into a solid and resisting substance, when it gains density and compactness through powerful reasonings and convincing demonstrations. The power of apprehending conclusions grows, so to speak, to manhood, whereas in its childhood it is fluid through the humidity of the soul, which is unable as yet to harden and thus retain the impressions which are stamped upon it.

“ And the asphalt was clay<sup>a</sup> to them ” (*ibid.*). Not 103 the reverse, their clay was asphalt. The wicked may seem to make the weak cause strong against the better, and to harden the loose stuff which exudes from the weak, to obtain a firm footing from which to shoot their bolts against virtue. But the Father of excellence in His loving-kindness will not suffer the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 555.

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<sup>4</sup> MSS. and all editions *δεδεμένον*. But “ bound ” is hardly sense. Mangey translates “ substructiones,” Stein “ Gebilde,” Yonge “ buildings,” which suggest that they all took it from *δέμω*. But this is surely impossible. Possibly we might read *δεμύμενον* or *τόδε τὸ μανόν*.

## PHILO

ἐκνικᾶν<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἀδιάλυτον ἀσφάλειαν, ρεύσης σπουδῆς  
 μὴ ὑφεστὼς ἔργον ὡς πλαδῶντα πηλὸν ἀναδείξας.<sup>2</sup>  
 104 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πηλὸς ἐγένετο<sup>3</sup> ἀσφαλτος, μέχρι  
 παντὸς ἂν ἴσως τὸ ἐν συνεχείῃ ῥύσει γεῶδες  
 αἰσθητὸν εἰς ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον δύναμιν  
 ἐξενίκησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούναντίον ἢ ἀσφαλτος εἰς  
 πηλὸν μετέβαλεν, οὐκ ἀθυμητέον· ἐλπίς γάρ, ἐλπίς  
 τὰ βέβαια τῆς κακίας ἐρείσματα κράτει θεοῦ  
 105 διακοπῆται. τοιγαροῦν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν  
 τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐπαλλήλῳ τοῦ βίου κατακλυσμῷ,  
 μήπω δυνάμενος δίχα αἰσθήσεως ψυχῇ μόνη τὰ  
 ὄντα ὄντως ὄραν, “τὴν κιβωτόν,” λέγω δὲ τὸ  
 σῶμα, “ἐνδοθέν τε καὶ ἐξῶθεν ἀσφάλτῳ” κατα-  
 χρίσει βεβαιούμενος τὰς δι’ αὐτοῦ φαντασίας καὶ  
 ἐνεργείας· λωφῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τῆς φορᾶς  
 ἐπισχούσης ἐξελεύσεται χρησάμενος ἀσωμάτῳ  
 106 διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείας ἀντίληψιν. ὁ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἀστείος ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀρχῆς φυτευθεὶς  
 καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς τρόπος, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς, ὁ τὸν  
 κόσμον ὡς ἄστῳ καὶ πατρίδα οἰκήσας ἄτε κοσμο-  
 πολίτης γενόμενος, ἐνδεθεὶς ποτε τῷ ἐπαλλημι-  
 μένῳ ὡς ἂν<sup>4</sup> “ἀσφαλτοπίσση” σώματι καὶ δοκοῦντι  
 [421] τὰς πάντων <τῶν> | ὑποκειμένων ἐν αἰσθήσει φαν-  
 τασίας ἀσφαλῶς δέχεσθαί τε καὶ κεχωρηκένας,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκείνων.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀναδείξαι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. γίνεταί.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐν.

<sup>a</sup> The word is used here and in § 106 to preserve the obvious play between ἀσφαλῆς and ἀσφαλτος.

<sup>b</sup> The antithesis intended is that while the Noah-mind in its lower stages, when the sensible world is so absorbing, finds in the ark of the body a source of strength, which it will discard when the stress is past, the higher Moses-mind, which receives the Stoic name of ἀστείος from the first, never

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 103-106

platform to reach the condition of cement which defies dissolution, but makes the unsubstantial result of their fluid industry to be but as sloppy clay. For 104 if the clay had become asphalt, what is now a piece of earth in constant flux and perceived only by the outward sense might have won its way in complete triumph to power fast-cemented<sup>a</sup> and irremovable. But since the reverse has come to pass and the asphalt has changed to clay, we must not lose heart, for there is hope, aye hope, that the stout supports of vice may fall beneath the axe of God's might.

So it was with just Noah. In 105 the great ceaseless deluge of life, while he is as yet unable to behold existences as they really are through the soul alone apart from sense, he will "coat the ark," I mean the body, "with asphalt within and without" (Gen. vi. 14), thus strengthening the impressions and activities of which the body is the medium. But when the trouble has abated and the rush of the waters stayed, he will come forth and employ his understanding, free from the body, for the apprehension of truth.

<sup>b</sup> On the other 106 hand the mind called Moses, that goodly plant, given the name of goodly at his very birth (Ex. ii. 2), who in virtue of his larger citizenship took the world for his township and country, weeps bitterly (Ex. ii. 6) in the days when he is imprisoned in the ark of the body bedaubed as with "asphalt-pitch" (Ex. ii. 3), which thinks to receive and contain, as with cement, impressions of all that is presented through sense. He rests contented with it, but recognizes from the first, that the "asphalt" which serves the body, can never give the real "safety." See further, App. p. 555.

## PHILO

κατακλαίει μὲν τὴν ἔνδεσιν ἀσωμάτου φύσεως  
 πιεσθεῖς ἔρωτι, κατακλαίει δὲ καὶ τὸν πλάνητα καὶ  
 τετυφωμένον τῶν πολλῶν ἄθλιον νοῦν, ὃς ψευδοῦς  
 δόξης ἐκκρεμασθεὶς ᾤθητι τι παρ' ἑαυτῷ βέβαιον  
 καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἢ συνόλως παρά τινι τῶν γενομένων  
 ἄτρεπτον ἰδρῦσθαι, τοῦ παγίως καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
 καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος ἐστηλιτευμένου παρὰ μόνῳ  
 τῷ θεῷ.

- 107 XXIII. Τὸ δὲ “ δεῦτε καὶ οἰκοδομήσωμεν  
 ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἕως  
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν· πόλεις ὁ  
 νομοθέτης οὐχὶ ταύτας μόνον οἶεται εἶναι τὰς ἐπὶ  
 γῆς δημιουργηθείσας, ὧν εἰσιν ὕλαι λίθοι καὶ ξύλα,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅς ἄνθρωποι περιφέρουσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
 108 ἑαυτῶν ἐνιδρυμένας. εἰσὶ δ' αὐταὶ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός,  
 ἀρχέτυποι ἅτε θειοτέρας κατασκευῆς λαχοῦσαι,  
 ἐκεῖναι δὲ μιμήματα ὡς ἂν ἐκ φθαρτῆς οὐσίας  
 συνεστῶσαι. διττὸν δὲ πόλεως εἶδος, τὸ μὲν  
 ἄμεινον, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, ἄμεινον μὲν τὸ δημοκρατία  
 χρώμενον ἰσότητι τιμῶσι πολιτεία, ἧς ἄρχοντές  
 εἰσι νόμος καὶ δίκη—θεοῦ δὲ ὕμνος ἢ τοιάδε—,<sup>1</sup>  
 χεῖρον δὲ τὸ κιβδηλεῦον αὐτήν, ὡς τὸ παράσημον  
 καὶ παρακεκομμένον ἐν νομίσμασιν, ὀχλοκρατία,  
 ἢ θαυμάζει τὸ ἄνισον, ἐν ἧ ἀδικία καὶ ἀνομία  
 109 καταδυναστεύουσιν. ἐγγράφονται δ' οἱ μὲν ἀστέιοι

<sup>1</sup> I cannot think that the phrase θεοῦ δὲ ὕμνος ἢ τοιάδε is right. And Cohn's and Wend.'s suggestions of (1) *ἐνομοωτάτη* δ', (2) θεοῦ δ' ἕπαδος, (3) *εὐδόκιμος* seem to me quite wild. The only variants in the mss. are *ἦτοι ἄδεται* and *ἢ τοιαυδέτε* for *ἢ τοιάδε*. From this I conjecture θεοῦ δ' <ἐν> ὕμνο<ι>ς ἢ τοιάδε ἄδεται, i.e. such a soul-city or such a πολιτεία is called in the Psalms God's (city). I understand Philo to be alluding to the use of the phrase “the city of God” in Ps. xlv. 4 and

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 106-109

weeps for his captivity, pressed sore by his yearning for a nature that knows no body. He weeps also for the mind of the multitude, so erring, so vanity-ridden, so miserable—the mind which clings to false opinion and thinks that itself, or any created being at all, possesses aught that is firm, fast-cemented and immutably established, whereas all that is fixed and permanent in circumstances and condition is graven as on stone in the keeping of God alone.

XXIII. The words, “Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower whose head shall be unto heaven,” suggest such thoughts as these. The lawgiver thinks that besides those cities which are built by men’s hands upon the earth, of which the materials are stones and timber, there are others, even those which men carry about established in their souls. Naturally these last are models or archetypes, for the workmanship bestowed upon them is of a more divine kind, while the former are copies composed of perishing material. Of the soul-city there are two kinds, one better, the other worse. The better adopts as its constitution democracy,<sup>a</sup> which honours equality and has law and justice for its rulers—such a one is as a melody which sings God’s praises. The worse, which corrupts and adulterates the better, as the false counterfeit coin corrupts the currency, is mob-rule, which takes inequality for its ideal, and in it injustice and lawlessness are paramount. The

<sup>a</sup> For Philo’s conception of democracy see note on *Quod Deus* 176.

lxxxvii. 3. To interpret the phrase as meaning a just soul or a just condition of civic life is as natural for him as for a Christian to apply it to the Church. Philo regularly quotes the Psalms with the words *ἐν ὑμῶν*, as e.g. above 52, *De Som.* ii. 242 *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῶν ἀδεται*. See also App. p. 555.

## PHILO

- τῷ τῆς προτέρας πολιτεύματι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων ἢ πληθὺς τὴν ἐτέραν καὶ χεῖρω διέζωσται, πρὸ εὐκοσμίας ἀκοσμίαν καὶ σύγχυσιν πρὸ εὐσταθοῦς
- 110 καταστάσεως ἀγαπῶσα. συνεργοῖς δὲ ὁ  
 ἄφρων ἀξιοῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν οὐκ ἀρκούμενος  
 αὐτῷ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ προτρέπει μὲν ὄρασιν,  
 προτρέπει δὲ ἀκοήν, παρακαλεῖ δὲ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν  
 ἀνυπερθέτως αὐτῷ συντετάχθαι, φερούσης ἐκάστης  
 τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπιτήδεια πάντα· ἐπαίρει μέντοι  
 καὶ παραθῆγει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἀτίθασον ἐκ φύσεως  
 τῶν παθῶν στίφος, ἵνα ἄσκησιν καὶ μελέτην προσ-
- 111 λαβὸν ἀνύποιστον γένηται. τούτους οὖν καλέσας  
 τοὺς συμμάχους ὁ νοῦς<sup>1</sup> φησιν· “οἰκοδομήσωμεν  
 ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν,” ἴσον τῷ ὀχυρωσώμεθα τὰ οἰκεία  
 καὶ φραξώμεθα δυνατῶς, ὡς μὴ πρὸς τῶν κατα-  
 τρεχόντων εὐμαρῶς ἀλισκώμεθα<sup>2</sup>. διέλωμεν καὶ δια-  
 νείμωμεν ὥσπερ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ δήμους ἐκάστας  
 τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεων προσκληρώσαντες τὰς μὲν
- 112 λογικῇ, τὰς δὲ ἀλόγῳ μερίδι· ἄρχοντας ἐλώμεθα  
 τοὺς ἱκανοὺς πλοῦτον, δόξαν, τιμὰς, ἡδονὰς ἀφ’  
 ὧν ἂν δύνωνται περιποιεῖν ἀπάντων· τὴν πενίας  
 καὶ ἀδοξίας αἰτίαν δικαιοσύνην τιθεμένους ἐκποδῶν  
 γράφωμεν νόμους, οἳ τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον  
 βεβαιώσουσι τοῖς πλέον ἐτέρων αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι δυνα-
- 113 μένοις. “πύργος” δ’ ὡς ἂν ἀκρόπολις κατ-  
 [422] ἐσκευάσθω τῇ | τυράννῳ κακία βασιλείου ὀχυρώ-  
 τατον, ἧς οἱ μὲν πόδες ἐπὶ γῆς βαινέτωσαν, ἡ δὲ  
 κεφαλὴ πρὸς οὐρανὸν φθανέτω τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ
- 114 μεγαλαυχίας ὕψος ἐπιβάσα. τῷ γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> I conjecture ὁ ἄνους. See App. p. 555.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀλισκοίμεθα.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “have girded themselves with.”



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 109-114

good have their names entered on the burgess-roll of the former type of state, but the multitude of the wicked are embraced under<sup>a</sup> the second and baser type, for they love disorder rather than order, confusion rather than fixedness and stability.

The fool not content with using himself alone thinks 110  
fit to use fellow-workers in sin. He calls upon the sight and the hearing and invokes every sense to range itself beside him without delay, each bringing all the instruments that are needed for the service. And further he spurs and incites that other company, the company of the passions, to put their untutored nature under training and practice and thus render themselves resistless. These allies, then, the 111  
mind summons, saying, "Let us build ourselves a city," which means, "Let us fortify our resources and fence them in with strength, that we may not fall easy victims to the onset of the foe. Let us mete out and distribute the several powers of the soul as by wards and tithings, allotting some to the reasoning and some to the unreasoning portion. Let us 112  
choose for our magistrates such as are able to provide wealth, reputation, honours, pleasures, from every source available to them. Let us enact laws which shall eject from our community the justice whose product is poverty and disrepute—laws which shall assure the emoluments of the stronger to the succession of those whose powers of acquisition are greater than others. And let a tower be built<sup>b</sup> as a 113  
citadel, as a royal and impregnable castle for the despot vice. Let its feet walk upon the earth and its head reach to heaven, carried by our vaulting ambition to that vast height." For in fact 114

<sup>b</sup> Or (if the perfect is to be emphasized) "stand complete."

## PHILO

ὄντι οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀδικημάτων ἴσταται, μετατρέχει δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀλύμπια τοὺς ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀθεότητος λόγους προτείνουσα, ἐπειδὴν ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ θεῖον διεξίη, ἢ ὡς ὄν οὐ προνοεῖ, ἢ ὡς ὁ κόσμος οὐποτε γενέσεως ἔλαβεν ἀρχήν, ἢ ὡς γενόμενος ἀστάτοις αἰτίαις ὡς ἂν τύχη φέρεται, ποτὲ μὲν πλημμελῶς, ποτὲ δὲ οὐχ ὑπαιτίως, καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλοίων καὶ τεθρίππων εἴωθε

115 γίνεσθαι· φιλεῖ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε χωρὶς ἡνιόχων τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν ὁ τε πλοῦς καὶ ὁ δρόμος εὐθύνεσθαι· προνοίας δ' οὐ τὸ ὀλιγάκις, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης πολλάκις, τῆς δὲ θείας ἀδιαστάτως αἰεὶ κατορθοῦν, ἐπεὶ τὸ διαμαρτάνειν ἀλλότριον ἀνωμολόγηται θείας δυνάμεως. κατασκευάζουσι μέντοι συμβολικῶς ὡσανεὶ πύργον τὸν περὶ κακίας λόγον οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς, τί βουλόμενοι ἢ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ὑπολείπεσθαι τὸ δυσώνυμον; XXIV.

116 λέγουσι γάρ· “ποιήσωμεν ἑαυτῶν ὄνομα.” ὦ περιττῆς καὶ κεχυμένης ἀναισχυντίας. τί φατε; νυκτὶ καὶ βαθεῖ σκοτῶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀδικήματα συγκρύπτειν ὀφείλοντες καὶ προκάλυμμα αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀληθῆ, τὴν γοῦν προσποιήτον αἰδῶ πεποιῆσθαι ἢ χάριτος ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ἢ διαδύσεως τῶν ἐφ' ὁμολογουμένοις ἀμαρτήμασι τιμωριῶν, τοσοῦτον τῆς τόλμης ἐπιβαίνετε, ὥστε οὐ μόνον<sup>1</sup> πρὸς φῶς καὶ λαμπρότατον ἥλιον ἐναυγάξεσθε<sup>2</sup> μήτε τὰς ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἀπειλὰς μήτε τὰς ἀπαραιτήτους ἐκ θεοῦ δίκας τοῖς οὕτως

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μόνον οὐ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐναυγάξεσθαι, which might be kept as depending on ἀξιούτε.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Ebr.* 199.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 114-116

that tower not only has human misdeeds for its base, but it seeks to rise to the region of celestial things, with the arguments of impiety and godlessness in its van. Such are its pronouncements,<sup>a</sup> either that the Deity does not exist, or that it exists but does not exert providence, or that the world had no beginning in which it was created, or that though created its course is under the sway of varying and random causation, sometimes leading it amiss, though sometimes no fault can be found. For this last an analogy is often seen in ships and chariots. For the course of 115 the one on the water and of the other on land often goes straight without helmsman or charioteer. But providence demands, they say, more than a rare and occasional success. Human providence frequently achieves its purpose, the divine should do so always and without exception, since error is admitted to be inconsistent with divine power.<sup>b</sup>

Further, when these victims of delusion build up under the symbol of a tower their argument of vice, what is their object but to leave a record of their ill-savoured name? XXIV. For they say, "let us make 116 our name." What monstrous and extravagant shamelessness! What is this you say? You ought to be hiding your misdeeds in night and profound darkness, and to have taken, if not true shame, at least the simulation of it to veil them, whether to keep the goodwill of the more decent sort, or to escape the punishments which wait on open sins. Instead, to such a pitch of impudent hardihood have you come, that you not only let the full sunlight shine upon you and fear neither the threats of better men, nor the inexorable judgements of God, which

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 556.

## PHILO

ἀνοσιουργοῖς ἀπαντωμένας καταδείσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχόσε φήμας ἀγγέλους τῶν οἰκείων ἀδικημάτων περιπέμπειν ἀξιούτε, ὡς μηδεὶς ἀμύητος μηδ' ἀνήκοος γένοιτο τῶν ὑμετέρων, ᾧ σχέτλιοι

117 καὶ παμμίαροι, τολμημάτων. ὀνόματος

οὖν ποίου γλίχεσθε; ἢ τοῦ τοῖς πραττομένοις οἰκειοτάτου; ἄρ' οὖν ἔν ἐστι μόνον; γένει μὲν ἴσως ἔν, μυρία δὲ τοῖς εἶδεσιν, ἃ, κὰν ἡσυχάζητε, ἑτέρων λεγόντων ἀκούσεσθε· προπέτεια τοίνυν ἐστὶ μετὰ ἀναισχυντίας, ὕβρις μετὰ βίας, βία μετὰ ἀνδροφονίας, σὺν μοιχείαις φθοραί, σὺν ἀμέτροις ἡδοναῖς ἀόριστος ἐπιθυμία, μετὰ θράσους ἀπόνοια, μετὰ πανουργίας ἀδικία, κλοπαὶ μετὰ ἀρπαγῆς, σὺν ψευδολογίαις ψευδορκίαι, μετὰ παρανομιῶν ἀσέβειαι. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τῶν τοιούτων

118 ἐστ' ὀνόματα. καλὸν γ' ἐναυχήσῃσι κάπισεμνύεσθαι δόξαν θηρωμένους τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ μὴν ἔνιοι

μέγα φρονούσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα ἰσχὺν

[423] ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτοι<sup>1</sup> | νομισθῆναι παρὰ πᾶσι καρπωσάμενοι, οὓς τοῦ πολλοῦ θράσους ἢ ὀπαδὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη τίσεται καίτοι τάχα τὸν οἰκείον οὐ μαντευόμενος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προορωμένους ὄλεθρον· φασὶ γάρ· “ πρὶν διασπαρῆναι,” φροντίσωμεν ὀνό-

119 ματός τε καὶ δόξης. οὐκοῦν, εἶπομι' ἂν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι σκεδασθήσεσθε γινώσκετε; τί οὖν ἀμαρτάνετε; ἀλλὰ μήποτε τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἀφρόνων διασυνίστησιν, οἱ καίτοι μεγίστων ἐπικρεμαμένων οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοιούτων. Mangey and Wend. τοιούτους. But the ordinary usage of Greek demands the nominative when referring to the subject of the main verb, and this is usually, if not always, followed by Philo, e.g. ἀδικούντες 120.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 116-119

confront the authors of such unholy deeds, but you also deliberately send to every part rumours to report the misdeeds of which you yourselves are guilty, that none may fail to learn and hear the story of your shameless crimes. O wretched, utter miscreants !

What sort of name, then, do you desire ? Is it the 117 name that best befits your deeds ? Is it one name only ? One general name perhaps, but a thousand specific ones, which you will hear from the lips of others even if your own are silent. Recklessness with shamelessness, insolence with violence, violence with murder, seductions with adulteries, unbridled lust with unmeasured pleasures, desperation with foolhardiness, injustice with knavery, thefts with robbery, perjuries with falsehoods, impieties with law-breakings, these and the like are the names for such deeds as yours. It is indeed a fine cause for pride 118 and boasting, when you pursue so eagerly the repute which these names give, names at which you should in all reason hide your heads for shame.

With some indeed their pride in these names comes from the belief that they have gained invincible strength by the fact that all men think them such, and these God's minister Justice will punish for their great audacity. Though perhaps they have not merely a presentiment, but a clear foresight of their own destruction. For they say, "before we are dispersed" (Gen. xi. 4) let us take thought for our name and glory. Do you then know, I would say to 119 them, that you will be scattered ? Why then do you sin ? But surely it bespeaks the mind of fools that they do not shrink from iniquity, though the gravest

## PHILO

- ἀδήλως ἄλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολλάκις τιμωριῶν ἀδικεῖν ὅμως οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι· γνωριμώταται δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαὶ ἀδηλοῦσθαι νομισθεῖσαι, ἃς ἐκ θεοῦ
- 120 κατασκήπτειν συμβέβηκε. πάντες γὰρ οἱ φαυλότατοι λαμβάνουσιν ἐννοίας περὶ τοῦ μὴ λήσειν τὸ θεῖον ἀδικοῦντες μηδὲ τὸ δίκην ὑφέξειν εἰσάπαν
- 121 ἰσχυροὶ διακρούσασθαι· ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἴσασιν, ὅτι σκεδασθήσονται; καὶ μὴν λέγουσι “ πρὶν ἡμᾶς διασπαρῆναι”· ἀλλὰ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔνδοθεν ἐλέγχει καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἀθεότητες κεντεῖ, ὡς ἄκοντας εἰς συναίνεσιν ἐπισπάσασθαι περὶ τοῦ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους πάντα πρὸς ἀμείνονος φύσεως ἐφορᾶσθαι καὶ δίκην ἐφεστάναι τιμωρὸν ἀδέκαστον, ἀσεβῶν πράξεις ἐχθραίνουσαν ἀδίκους καὶ λόγους
- 122 τοὺς συνηγόρους αὐταῖς. **XXV.** ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἀπόγονοι πάντες οὗτοι τῆς αἰεὶ μὲν ἀποθνησκούσης, μηδέποτε δὲ τεθνηκυίας μοχθηρίας, ἧς Κάιν ἐστὶν ὄνομα. ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ Κάιν υἱὸν γεννήσας, ὃν Ἐνώχ ἐκάλεσεν, ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ [καὶ] κτίζων εἰσάγεται πόλιν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὰ γενητὰ καὶ θνητὰ οἰκοδομῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θειοτέρας
- 123 κατασκευῆς λαχόντων ἀνατροπῇ; ὁ γὰρ Ἐνώχ ἐρμηνεύεται χάρις σου· τῶν δ' ἀνοσίων ἕκαστος διάνοιαν μὲν ἠγείται χαρίζεσθαι ἑαυτῷ τὰς τε καταλήψεις καὶ διανοήσεις, ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἀκούειν ὠτα καὶ μυκτῆρας ὁσφραίνεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑαυταῖς, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὰ φωνῆς ὄργανα τὸ λέγειν, θεὸν δὲ

\* This conception of wickedness as being in one sense immortal, though at the same time a perpetual process of dying to the true life, is Philo's interpretation of the sign given to Cain that no one should kill him (Gen. iv. 15),

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 119-123

penalties often menace them, openly and not obscurely. The punishments of God's visitation may be thought to be hidden from our sight, but they are really well known. For all, however wicked, receive 120 some general notions to the effect that their iniquity will not pass unseen by God, and that they cannot altogether evade the necessity of being brought to judgement. Otherwise how do they know that they 121 will be scattered? They certainly do say, "before we are dispersed." But it is the conscience within which convicts them and pricks them in spite of the exceeding godlessness of their lives, thus drawing them on reluctantly to assent to the truth that all human doings are surveyed by a superior being and that there awaits them an incorruptible avenger, even justice, who hates the unjust deeds of the impious and the arguments which advocate those deeds.

XXV. But all these are descended from the depravity 122 which is ever dying and never dead, whose name is Cain.<sup>a</sup> Is not Cain, when he had begotten a son whom he called Enoch, described as founding a city to bear his son's name (Gen. iv. 17), and thus in a sense raising a building of created and mortal things to subvert those to which has fallen the honour to be the work of a diviner architect? For Enoch is by 123 interpretation "thy gift," and each of the unholy thinks that his understanding gives him his apprehension and reflections, that his eyes give him sight, his ears hearing, his nostrils smell, and the other senses the functions that belong to themselves severally, and again that the vocal organs give him speech, but God, he thinks, is either not the cause in any sense

coupled with the absence of any mention of his death in Genesis. Cf. *Quod Det.* 177, *De Fuga* 60.

## PHILO

- ἢ μὴ συνόλως ἢ μὴ ὡς πρῶτον αἴτιον [ὄν].<sup>1</sup>
- 124 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὧν ἐγεωπόνησε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτῷ ταμιεύεται, καρποὺς δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον αὐθις προσ-  
 ενεγκεῖν θεῷ λέγεται καίτοι παραδείγματος ὑγιоῦς  
 ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτος· ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ πρωτό-  
 τοκα, οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῆς ποιμένης ἔκγονα ἱερουργεῖ,  
 τὰς τῶν γινομένων πρεσβυτέρας αἰτίας κατὰ τὸ  
 πρεσβύτατον τῶν αἰτίων ὁμολογῶν συνίστασθαι.
- 125 τῷ δ' ἀσεβεῖ τούναντίον δοκεῖ, αὐτοκράτορα μὲν  
 εἶναι τὸν νοῦν ὧν βουλεύεται, αὐτοκράτορα δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν αἴσθησιν ὧν αἰσθάνεται· δικάζειν γὰρ ἀνυπ-  
 αιτίως καὶ ἀψευδῶς τὴν μὲν τὰ σώματα, τὸν δὲ  
 126 πάντα. τούτων δὲ τί | ἂν γένοιτο ἐπιληπτότερον  
 [424] ἢ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλεγχόμενον; ἢ οὐχὶ  
 καὶ ὁ νοῦς πολλάκις ἐπὶ μυρίων ὄσων ἠλέγχθη  
 παρανοῶν, καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις ἅπασαι ψευδομαρ-  
 τυριῶν ἐάλωσαν οὐ παρ' ἀλόγοις δικασταῖς, οὐς  
 εἰκὸς ἀπατᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς  
 127 δικαστηρίῳ, ἣν οὐ θέμις δεκάζεσθαι; καὶ μὴν  
 σφαλλομένων γε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τε  
 νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν κριτηρίων ἀνάγκη τὰκόλουθον  
 ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς τῷ μὲν τὰς ἐννοίας, τῇ δὲ  
 τὰς ἀντιλήψεις ἐπομβρεῖ, καὶ ἔστιν οὐ τῶν καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς μερῶν χάρις τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δι' ὄν  
 καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν δωρεαὶ πᾶσαι.
- 128 XXVI. τὸν φιλαυτίας κληῖρον παραλαβόντες παῖδες  
 παρὰ πατρὸς συναυξῆσαι γλίχονται μέχρι οὐρανοῦ,  
 ἕως ἂν ἡ φιλάρετός τε καὶ μισοπόνηρος δίκη

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps *ὄντα*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *ἀρχὰς*.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 556.

<sup>b</sup> Or "to whom also we owe our very being." δι' ὄν seems



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 124-128

or not the first cause. And therefore 124  
Cain retained in his own keeping the firstlings of the  
fruits of his husbandry and offered, as we are told,  
merely the fruits at a later time, although he had  
beside him a wholesome example. For his brother  
brought to the altar the first-born younglings of the  
flock, not the after-born, thus confessing that even  
the causes which come higher in the chain of causa-  
tion<sup>a</sup> owe their existence to the Cause which is highest  
and first of all. The impious man thinks the opposite, 125  
that the mind has sovereign power over what it  
plans, and sense over what it perceives. He holds  
that the latter judges material things and the former  
all things, and that both are free from fault or error.  
And yet what could be more blameworthy or more 126  
clearly convicted of falsehood by the truth than these  
beliefs? Is not the mind constantly convicted of  
delusion on numberless points, and all the senses  
judged guilty of false witness, not before unreasoning  
judges who may easily be deceived, but at the bar  
of nature herself whom it is fundamentally impossible  
to corrupt? And surely if the means of judgement 127  
within us, supplied by mind and sense, are capable  
of error, we must admit the logical consequence,  
that it is God who showers conceptions on the mind  
and perceptions on sense, and that what comes into  
being is no gift of any part of ourselves, but all are  
bestowed by Him, through whom we too have been  
made.<sup>b</sup> XXVI. Having received from 128  
their father self-love as their portion, his children  
desire to add to it and raise it heaven high, until  
Justice who loves virtue and hates evil comes to the

here to differ little from  $\delta'$  οὐδ. It thinks of God as the  
cause rather than as the maker.

## PHILO

- παρελθοῦσα καθέλη τὰς πόλεις, ἃς ἐπετείχισαν  
 ψυχῇ τῇ ταλαίνῃ, καὶ τὸν πύργον, οὗ τοῦνομα ἐν  
 τῇ τῶν κριμάτων<sup>1</sup> ἀναγραφομένη βίβλῳ δεδηλωται.  
 129 ἔστι δὲ ὡς μὲν Ἑβραῖοι λέγουσι Φανουήλ, ὡς δὲ  
 ἡμεῖς ἀποστροφή θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ κατεσκευασμένον  
 ὀχύρωμα διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων πιθανότητος οὐδενὸς  
 ἔνεκα ἐτέρου κατεσκευάζετο ἢ τοῦ μετατραπῆναι  
 καὶ μετακλιθῆναι διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς·  
 130 οὐ τί ἂν γένοιτο ἀδικώτερον; ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε τὴν  
 τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τούτου καθαίρεσιν ὁ πειρατῆς τῆς  
 ἀδικίας καὶ φονῶν<sup>2</sup> αἰεὶ κατ' αὐτῆς εὐτρέπισται, ὃν  
 Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι Γεδεών, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται πειρα-  
 τήριον· “ ὦμοσε ” γάρ φησι “ Γεδεών τοῖς ἀνδράσι  
 Φανουήλ λέγων· ἐν τῷ με ἐπιστρέφειν μετ' εἰρήνης  
 131 τὸν πύργον τούτον κατασκάψω.” πάγκαλον καὶ  
 πρεπωδέστατον αὔχημα μισοπονήρῳ ψυχῇ κατὰ  
 ἀσεβῶν ἠκονημένη τὸ βεβαιουῖσθαι καθαιρήσειν  
 πάντα λόγον ἀποστρέφειν διάνοιαν ὀσιότητος ἀνα-  
 πείθοντα. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ  
 νοῦς ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸ ἀποκλῖνον καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενον  
 132 αὐτοῦ πᾶν<sup>3</sup> λύεται. τούτου δὲ καιρὸς ἔστι τῆς  
 καθαιρέσεως, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἢ φησιν, οὐ  
 πόλεμος, ἀλλ' εἰρήνη· διανοίας γὰρ εὐσταθεῖα καὶ  
 ἡρεμία, ἣν εὐσέβεια γεννᾶν πέφυκεν, ἀνατρέπεται  
 πᾶς λόγος, ὃν ἐδημιούργησεν ἀσέβεια.  
 133 πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πύργου τινὰ τρόπον ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτον ἤγειραν, ὡς ἄψασθαι τῶν οὐρανοῦ περά-  
 των· οὐρανὸς δὲ συμβολικῶς ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἔστι,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a slip for κριτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. φρονῶν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. πάλιν.

<sup>a</sup> This is of course what the LXX. means by ἐπιστρέφειν.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 128-133

aid. She razes to the ground the cities which they fortified to menace the unhappy soul, and the tower whose name is explained in the book of Judges. That name is in the Hebrew tongue Penuel, but in our own "turning from God." For the stronghold which was built through persuasiveness of argument was built solely for the purpose of diverting and deflecting the mind from honouring God. And what greater sin against justice could there be than this? But there stands ready armed for the destruction of this stronghold the robber who despoils injustice and ever breathes slaughter against her, whom the Hebrews call Gideon, which is interpreted the "Robbers' Hold." Gideon swore, we read, to the men of Penuel saying, "When I return with peace I will demolish this tower" (Jud. viii. 9). A grand boast, most fitting to the evil-hating soul whose edge has been made sharp against the impious, that it receives the strength to pull down every argument which would persuade the mind to turn away from holiness. And the words are true to nature, for when the mind "returns,"<sup>a</sup> all in it that was starting aside or turning away is brought to nothing. And the fit time for destruction of this, though clean contrary to expectation, is, as Gideon says, not war but peace. For it is through that stability and tranquillity of understanding, which it is the nature of piety to engender, that every argument is overturned which impiety has wrought. Many too have exalted their senses, as though they were a tower, so that they touch the boundaries of heaven, that is symbolically our mind, wherein range and dwell Philo perhaps gives it the sense of "turns round," "is converted."

## PHILO

καθ' ὃν αἱ ἄριστα καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις περιπολοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τολμῶντες αἰσθησιν μὲν διανοίας προκρίνουσιν, ἀξιοῦσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὰ νοητὰ πάντα ἐλεῖν ἀνὰ κράτος, εἰς μὲν δούλων τάξιν τὰ δεσπόζοντα, εἰς δὲ ἡγεμόνων τὰ φύσει δοῦλα μεθαρμόσασθαι βιαζόμενοι.

- 134 [425] XXVII. | Τὸ δέ, “ κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον ” τροπικώτερον πάντως ἀκουστέον· προσιέναι γὰρ ἢ ἀπιέναι ἢ κατιέναι ἢ τούναντίον <ἀν>έρχεσθαι ἢ συνόλως τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ζώοις σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἴσχεσθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον ὑπολαμβάνειν ὑπερωκεάνιος καὶ μετα-
- 135 κόσμιος, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἔστιν ἀσέβεια. ταῦτα δὲ ἀνθρωπολογεῖται παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀνθρωπομόρφου θεοῦ διὰ τὰς τῶν παιδευομένων ἡμῶν, ὡς πολλάκις ἐν ἑτέροις εἶπον, ὠφελείας. ἐπεὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τῷ κατιόντι τὸν μὲν ἀπολεί-
- 136 πειν, τὸν δὲ ἐπιλαμβάνειν τόπον ἀναγκαῖον; ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπλήρωται τὰ πάντα, περιέχοντος, οὐ περιεχομένου, ᾧ πανταχοῦ τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι μόνῳ· οὐδαμοῦ μὲν, ὅτι καὶ χώραν καὶ τόπον αὐτὸς τοῖς σώμασι συγγεγέννηκε, τὸ δὲ πεποιηκὸς ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων θέμις εἰπεῖν περιέχεσθαι, πανταχοῦ δέ, ὅτι τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ διὰ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἀέρος τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ τείνας μέρος οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπε τοῦ κόσμου, πάντα δὲ συναγαγὼν διὰ πάντων ἀοράτοις ἔσφιγγε δεσ-

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 133-136

those divine forms of being which excel all others. They who do not shrink from this give the preference to sense rather than understanding. They would use perceptible things to subdue and capture the world of things intelligible, thus forcing the two to change places, the one to pass from mastery to slavery, the other from its natural servitude to dominance.

XXVII. The words, "the Lord came down to see 134 the city and the tower" (Gen. xi. 5), must certainly be understood in a figurative sense. For to suppose that the Deity approaches or departs, goes down or goes up, or in general remains stationary or puts Himself in motion, as particular living creatures do, is an impiety which may be said to transcend the bounds of ocean or of the universe itself. No, as I 135 have often said elsewhere, the lawgiver is applying human terms to the superhuman God, to help us, his pupils, to learn our lesson. For we all know that when a person comes down he must leave one place and occupy another. But God fills all things; He 136 contains but is not contained. To be everywhere and nowhere is His property and His alone. He is nowhere, because He Himself created space and place coincidentally with material things, and it is against all right principle to say that the Maker is contained in anything that He has made. He is everywhere, because He has made His powers extend through earth and water, air and heaven, and left no part of the universe without His presence, and uniting all

## PHILO

- μοῖς, ἵνα μή ποτε λυθείη, οὐ χάριν μελετήσας ὦ<sup>1</sup>
- 137 \* \* \*. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπεράνω τῶν δυνάμεων ὄν  
ἐπινοεῖται περιττεύειν, οὐ \* \* \* κατὰ τὸ εἶναι  
μόνον<sup>2</sup>. τούτου δύναμις δέ, καθ' ἣν ἔθθηκε καὶ  
διατάξατο τὰ πάντα, κέκληται μὲν ἐτύμως θεός,  
ἐγκεκόλπισται δὲ τὰ ὅλα καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ παντός
- 138 μερῶν διελήλυθε. τὸ δὲ θεῖον καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ  
ἀκατάληπτον καὶ πανταχοῦ ὄν ὄρατόν τε καὶ κατα-  
ληπτόν οὐδαμοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν \* \* \* “ ὦδε  
στάς ἐγὼ πρὸ τοῦ σέ,”<sup>3</sup> δείκνυσθαι καὶ καταλαμ-  
βάνεσθαι δοκῶν, πρὸ πάσης δείξεως καὶ φαντασίας
- 139 ὑπερβαλῶν τὰ γεγονότα. τῶν οὖν μεταβατικῆς  
κινήσεως ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἐφαρμόττει τῷ κατὰ  
τὸ εἶναι θεῷ, τὸ ἄνω, τὸ κάτω, τὸ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, τὸ  
ἐπ' εὐώνυμα, τὸ πρόσω, τὸ κατόπιν· ἐν οὐδενί  
γὰρ τῶν λεχθέντων ἐπινοεῖται, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν μετα-
- 140 τρεπόμενος ἐναλλάττοι χωρία. λέγεται δ'  
οὐδὲν ἦττον κατελθὼν ἰδεῖν, ὃ προλήψει πάντα οὐ  
γενόμενα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι σαφῶς  
κατειληφώς, προτροπῆς ἔνεκα καὶ διδασκαλίας, ἵνα

<sup>1</sup> I have not attempted to translate these corrupt words which appear in Mangey's edition as οὐ χάριν μελίσας ἔσω (“on account of which I will celebrate it in song”!) Wend. suggested θεοῦ χάρισιν συνημμένα with no lacuna. But this bears little resemblance to the text. I suggest οὐ χάριν <ἐ>μελ<λ>ε τῆς ἀσω<μάτου>, followed by some such words as οὐσίας πληροῦσθαι. This will fit the argument well. God is everywhere, because His binding things with invisible bonds necessarily (<ἐ>μελλε) involves His filling all things with His being.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests <οὐκ> ἐπινοεῖται περὶ τόπον, οὐ κατα-  
<λαμβάνομενον, εἰ μὴ κατὰ> τὸ εἶναι μόνον. As an alternative I suggest ἐπινοεῖται πέρα τοῦ εἶναι που κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον (“is conceived of as transcending the idea of being in any particular place and in terms of existence only”). See App. p. 556.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 136-140

with all has bound them fast with invisible bonds, that they should never be loosed. . . . That aspect 137 of Him which transcends His Potencies cannot be conceived of at all in terms of place, but only as pure being, but that Potency of His by which He made and ordered all things, while it is called God in accordance with the derivation of that name,<sup>a</sup> holds the whole in its embrace and has interfused itself through the parts of the universe. But this divine nature 138 which presents itself to us, as visible and comprehensible and everywhere, is in reality invisible, incomprehensible and nowhere. . . . And so we have the words "Here I stand before thou wast" (Ex. xvii. 6). "I seem," He says, "the object of demonstration and comprehension, yet I transcend created things, preceding all demonstration or presentation to the mind."<sup>b</sup> None of the terms, then, which express move- 139 ment from place to place, whether up or down, to right or to left, forward or backward, are applicable to God in His aspect of pure being. For no such term is compatible with our conception of Him, so that He must also be incapable of displacement or change of locality.

All the same Moses 140 applies the phrase "came down and saw" to Him, who in His prescience had comprehended all things, not only after but before they came to pass, and he did so to admonish and instruct us, that the absent,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 556.

<sup>b</sup> See note on *De Sac.* 67.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence has been completely confused in the MSS. Wend. reconstructs it as follows: τὸ δὴ θεῖον ὄρατόν τε καὶ καταληπτὸν καὶ πανταχοῦ φαντασιαζόμενον ἀόρατον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ οὐδαμοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν ὡς ἀψευδέστατον ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν χρησμόν, ἐν ᾧ λέλεκται (*cf. De Mig.* 183), and this seems to be the general sense. In the next words *στὰς* should probably be *ἐστηκα*.

## PHILO

- μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οἷς οὐ πάρεστιν, ἀβεβαίῳ χρώ-  
 μενος εἰκασία, μακρὰν ἀφεστῶς προπιστεύῃ, ἀλλ'  
 ἄχρι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐλθὼν καὶ διακύψας εἰς  
 ἕκαστα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ αὐγασάμενος· ὄψιν γὰρ  
 ἀπλανῆ πρὸ ἀκοῆς ἀπατεῶνος ἄξιον μάρτυρα  
 141 τίθεσθαι. οὐ χάριν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄριστα πολι-  
 [426] τευομένοις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος | ἀκοὴν<sup>1</sup> μὴ μαρ-  
 τυρεῖν, ὅτι φύσει τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ  
 δεκάζεσθαι ταλαντεύει· καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι φησὶν  
 ἐν τοῖς <ἀπ>αγορευτικοῖς· “οὐ παραδέξῃ ἀκοὴν  
 ματαίαν,” οὐχὶ μόνον τοῦτο λέγων, <μὴ><sup>2</sup> παρα-  
 δέχεσθαι ψευδῆ λόγον ἢ εὐήθη δι’ ἀκοῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ὅτι πρὸς τὴν σαφῆ τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν μακρὸν  
 ὅσον ὄψεως ὑπερίζουσα διελέγχεται γέμουσα  
 ματαιότητος ἀκοή.
- 142 XXVIII. Ταύτην φασὲν αἰτίαν εἶναι τοῦ λέγε-  
 σθαι “τὸν θεὸν καταβεβηκέναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν  
 πύργον θεάσασθαι.” οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται  
 “ὃν ὠκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.” ἴσως  
 γὰρ ἂν τις εἴποι τῶν οὐκ εὐαγῶν ἐπιχλευάζων  
 ἅμα· καινὸν<sup>3</sup> ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκει μάθημα ὁ νομο-  
 θέτης, ὅτι πύργους καὶ πόλεις οὐχ ἕτεροί τινες,  
 ἀλλὰ παῖδες ἀνθρώπων ἀνοικοδομοῦνται. τίς γὰρ  
 τά γ’ οὕτως ἐμφανῆ καὶ περίοπτα καὶ τῶν λίαν  
 143 ἔξεστηκότων ἀγνοεῖ; ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πρόχειρον τοῦτο  
 καὶ κατημαξευμένον ἐν τοῖς ἱερωτάτοις χρησιμοῖς  
 ἀναγεγράφθαι <νομίσης>, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἀποκεκρυμ-  
 μένον ἰχνηλατεῖται διὰ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ὀνομάτων.

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀκοῆ. See App. p. 556.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. prints a lacuna after λέγων with note that Cohn suggests <ὅτι οὐ θέμις>. Mangey <μὴ>.

<sup>3</sup> Heinemann suggests ἀναγκαῖον for ἅμα καινόν.



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 140-143

who are at a long distance from the facts, should never form conclusions hastily or rely on precarious conjectures, but should come to close quarters with things, inspect them one by one and carefully envisage them. For the certitude of sight must be held as better evidence than the deceitfulness of hearing. And therefore among those who live under the best institutions a law has been enacted against giving as evidence what has been merely heard, because hearing's tribunal has a natural bias towards corrupt judgement. In fact Moses says in his prohibitions, "Thou shalt not accept vain hearing" (Ex. xxiii. 1), by which he does not merely mean that we must not accept a false or foolish story on hearsay, but also that as a means of giving a sure apprehension of the truth, hearing is proved to lag far behind sight and is brimful of vanity. 141

XXVIII. This is the reason we assign for the words "God came down to see the city and the tower," but the phrase which follows, "which the sons of men built" (Gen. xi. 5), is no idle addition, though perhaps some profane person might say with a sneer, "a novel piece of information this which the lawgiver here imparts to us, namely that it is the sons of men and not some other beings who build cities and towers." "Who," he would continue, "even among those who are far gone in insanity, does not know facts so obvious and conspicuous?" But you must suppose that it is not this obvious and hackneyed fact which is recorded for us in our most holy oracles, but the hidden truth which can be traced under the surface meaning of the words. 143

## PHILO

144

τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; οἱ πολλοὺς ἐπιγραφόμενοι τῶν ὄντων ὡσανεὶ πατέρας καὶ τὸ πολυθεὸν εἰσηγούμενοι στίφος ἀπειρίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολυμιγίαν τῶν πραγμάτων καταχέαντες καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς τέλος ἡδονῇ παραδόντες δημιουργοὶ τῆς εἰρημένης πόλεως καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀκροπόλεως, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, γεγόνασι, τὰ ποιητικὰ τοῦ τέλους τρόπον οἰκοδομημάτων συναύξοντες, τῶν ἐκ πόρνης ἀποκυθηθέντων οὐδέν, ὡς γ' οἶμαι, διαφέροντες, οὓς ὁ νόμος ἐκκλησίας ἀπελήλακε θείας εἰπών· “οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐκ πόρνης εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου,” ὅτι, καθάπερ περὶ πολλὰ τέλη πλανώμενοι τοξόται καὶ μηδενὸς εὐστόχως ἐφιέμενοι σκοποῦ, μυρίας ἀρχὰς καὶ αἰτίας τῆς τῶν ὄντων ὑποθέμενοι γενέσεως ψευδωνύμους πάσας τὸν ἓνα ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἡγνόησαν.

145

οἱ δὲ ἐπιστήμη κεχρημένοι τοῦ ἑνὸς υἱοῦ θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται δεόντως, καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων· “υἱοὶ ἐστε κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ” καὶ “θεὸν τὸν γεννήσαντά σε” καὶ “οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατήρ;” ἔπεται μέντοι τοῖς οὕτω τὴν ψυχὴν διατεθεῖσι μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι νομίζειν, ὅπερ τῷ τέλει τῆς ἡδονῆς πρὸς ἐμπειροπολέμων ἀνδρῶν ἀντιτειχίζεται πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν

146

[427]

καὶ καθαίρεσιν ἐκείνου. | καὶ μηδέπω μέντοι τυγχάνη τις ἀξιοχρεως ὢν υἱὸς θεοῦ προσαγορευέσθαι, σπουδαζέτω κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ λόγον, τὸν ἀγγέλων πρεσβύτατον, ὡς ἂν ἀρχάγγελον, πολυώνυμον ὑπάρχοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὄνομα θεοῦ καὶ λόγος καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα

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\* An obvious reference to Stoics and Epicureans.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 144-146

What then is this truth? Those who 144 ascribe to existing things a multitude of fathers as it were and by introducing their miscellany of deities have flooded everything with ignorance and confusion, or have assigned to pleasure the function of being the aim and end of the soul, have become in very truth builders of the city of our text and of its acropolis. They pile up as in an edifice all that serves to produce that aim or end and thus differ not a whit to my mind from the harlot's offspring, whom the law has banished from God's congregation with the words "he that is born of a harlot shall not enter the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 2). For like bowmen, whose shots roam from mark to mark and who never take a skilful aim at any single point, they assume a multitude of what they falsely call sources and causes to account for the origin of the existing world and have no knowledge of the one Maker and Father of all. But they who 145 live in the knowledge of the One are rightly called "Sons of God," as Moses also acknowledges when he says, "Ye are sons of the Lord God" (Deut. xiv. 1), and "God who begat thee" (*ibid.* xxxii. 18), and "Is not He Himself thy father?" (*ibid.* 6). Indeed with those whose soul is thus disposed it follows that they hold moral beauty to be the only good, and this serves as a counterwork engineered by veteran warriors to fight the cause which makes Pleasure the end and to subvert and overthrow it.<sup>a</sup> But if there 146 be any as yet unfit to be called a Son of God, let him press to take his place under God's First-born, the Word, who holds the eldership among the angels, their ruler as it were. And many names are his, for he is called, "the Beginning," and the Name of

## PHILO

- ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ ὄρων, Ἰσραήλ, προσαγορεύεται.
- 147 διὸ προήχθη ὀλίγω πρότερον ἐπαινεῖσαι τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν φασκόντων ὅτι “ πάντες ἐσμέν υἱοὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου”· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μήπω ἱκανοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ τοι τῆς ἀειδοῦς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ, λόγου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου· θεοῦ γὰρ
- 148 εἰκῶν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος. καὶ πολλαχοῦ μέντοι τῆς νομοθεσίας υἱοὶ πάλιν Ἰσραήλ καλοῦνται, τοῦ ὄρωντος οἱ ἀκούοντες, ἐπειδὴ μεθ’ ὄρασι ἀκοὴ δευτερείοις τετίμηται καὶ τὸ διδασκόμενον τοῦ χωρὶς ὑφηγήσεως ἐναργεῖς τύπους τῶν ὑποκειμέ-
- 149 νων λαμβάνοντος αἰεὶ δεύτερον. ἄγαμαι καὶ τῶν ἐν βασιλικαῖς βίβλοις ἱεροφαντηθέντων, καθ’ ἃς οἱ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἀκμάσαντες καὶ βιώσαντες ἀνὺπαιτίως υἱοὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσαντος Δαβὶδ ἀναγράφονται, οὗ περιόντος οὐδ’ οἱ πρόπαπποι τούτων ἦσαν ἴσως<sup>1</sup> γεγεννημένοι· ψυχῶν γὰρ ἀπαθανατιζομένων ἀρεταῖς, οὐ φθαρτῶν σωματικῶν ἔστι γένεσις, ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοκάγαθίας ἡγεμόνας ὡσανεὶ γεννητὰς καὶ πατέρας ἀναφέρεσθαι συμβαίνει.
- 150 XXIX. Κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀδικίαις σεμννομένων εἶπε κύριος· “ ἰδοὺ γένος ἐν καὶ χεῖλος ἐν πάντων,” ἴσον τῷ ἰδοὺ μία οἰκειότης καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ πάλιν ἁρμονία καὶ συμφωνία ἢ αὐτὴ πάντων ὁμοῦ, μηδενὸς ἡλλοτριωμένου τὴν γνώμην μηδ’ ἀπᾶδοντος, καθάπερ ἔχει καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀμούσων· τὸ γὰρ φωνητήριον αὐτοῖς ὄργανον πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις ἔστιν ὅτε δι’ ὄλων ἐκμελὲς καὶ ἀπωδὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πιστῶς.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. in § 41.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 557.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 146-150

God, and His Word, and the Man after His image, and "he that sees," that is Israel. And 147

therefore I was moved a few pages above<sup>a</sup> to praise the virtues of those who say that "We are all sons of one man" (Gen. xlii. 11). For if we have not yet become fit to be thought sons of God yet we may be sons of His invisible image, the most holy Word. For the Word is the eldest-born image of God. And 148 often indeed in the law-book we find another phrase, "sons of Israel," hearers, that is, sons of him that sees, since hearing stands second in estimation and below sight, and the recipient of teaching is always second to him with whom realities present their forms clear to his vision and not through the medium of instruction.

I bow, too, in admiration 149 before the mysteries revealed in the books of Kings, where it does not offend us to find described as sons of God's psalmist David those who lived and flourished many generations afterwards (1 Kings xv. 11; 2 Kings xviii. 3),<sup>b</sup> though in David's lifetime probably not even their great-grandparents had been born. For the paternity we find ascribed to the standard-bearers of noble living, whom we think of as the fathers who begat us, is the paternity of souls raised to immortality by virtues, not of corruptible bodies.

XXIX. But of those who glory in their iniquities, 150 the Lord said "behold there is one race and one lip of them all" (Gen. xi. 5), that is, behold they are one connexion of family and fellowship of race, and again all have the same harmony and fellowship of voice; there is none whose mind is a stranger to the other nor his voice discordant. It is so also with men who have no gift of music. Sometimes their vocal organ, though every note is entirely tuneless and

## PHILO

- οὐ μετρίως καθέστηκε, πρὸς ἀναρμοστίαν ἄκρως ἡρμοσμένον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀσύμφωνον συμφωνίαν
- 151 μόνον ἄγον. καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτίδος τὸ κατασκευαστόν<sup>1</sup> τὸ παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· αἶ τε<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἀμφημεριναὶ καὶ διάτριτοι καὶ τεταρταῖζουσαι παρὰ παισὶν ἰατρῶν λεγόμεναι περίοδοι μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας κατασκήπτουσι
- 152 τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τάξιν φυλάττουσαι.
- [428] Τὸ δὲ “ καὶ τοῦτο ἤρξαντο | ποιῆσαι ” μετ' οὐ μετρίου σχετλιασμοῦ λέλεκται, διότι τοῖς ραδιουργοῖς οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους μόνον συγχεῖν δίκαια ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων ἐπιβαίνειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀδικίαν μὲν σπείραντες, ἀσέβειαν δὲ θερίσαντες. ὄφελος δὲ τοῖς ἀθλίους οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀδικοῦντες ἀλλήλους πολλὰ ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἀνύτουσιν ἔργοις βεβαιούμενοι τὰ βουλαῖς ἀγνώμοσιν ἐπιλογισθέντα, οὕτως καὶ ἀσεβοῦντες· ἀζήμια γὰρ καὶ ἀπήμονα τὰ θεῖα, τοῦ δὲ πλημμελεῖν εἰς αὐτὰ οἱ δυσκάθαρτοι τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐρίσκονται μόνον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τέλος φθάνουσιν
- 154 οὐδέποτε. διὸ καὶ λέγεται τοῦτο· “ ἤρξαντο ποιῆσαι.” κορεσθέντες <γὰρ> οἱ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἄπληστοι τῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀέρι, ἃ φθαρτῆς φύσεως ἔλαχε, κακῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ θείας φύσεις μετατάξασθαι διενοήθησαν, ἃς τι<sup>3</sup> τῶν ὄντων ἔξω τοῦ κακηγορεῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ διαθεῖναι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν· καὶ αὐτὸ μέντοι τὸ βλασφημεῖν οὐ τοῖς κακηγορουμένοις ἐπιφέρει τινὰ ζημίαν, ἃ τῆς ἰδίου φύσεως οὐποτ' ἐξίσταται, ἀλλὰ
- 155 τοῖς κατατιτωμένοις συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους. οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> See App. p. 557.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔτι.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 150-155

highly unmelodious, is supremely harmonized to produce disharmony, with a consonance which it turns to mere dissonance. And the same studied regularity 151 may be noticed in fever. For the recurrences which are called in the medical schools quotidian, or tertian, or quartan, make their visitation about the same hour of the day or night and maintain their relative order.

The words "And they have begun to do this" 152 (Gen. xi. 6), express strong scorn and indignation. They mean that the miscreants, not content with making havoc of the justice due to their fellows, went further. They dared to attack the rights of heaven, and having sown injustice, they reaped impiety. Yet the wretches had no profit of it. For while in 153 wronging each other they achieved much of what they wished and their deeds confirmed what their senseless scheming had devised, it was not so with their impiety. For the things that are God's cannot be harmed or injured, and when these reprobates turn their transgressions against them, they attain but to the beginning and never arrive at the end. Therefore we have these words, "They have begun 154 to do." For when, insatiate in wrongdoing, they had taken their fill of sins against all that is of earth and sea and air whose allotted nature is to perish, they bethought them to turn their forces against the divine natures in heaven. But on them nothing that exists can usually have any effect save evil speech, though indeed even the foul tongue does not work harm to those who are its objects (for they still possess their nature unchanged), but only brings disasters beyond cure on the revilers. Yet that they 155

<sup>3</sup> So Mangey: MSS. ἄ ἐστι: Wend. conjectures, but does not print, ἄς [ἐστι] τῶν κακῶν. See App. p. 558.

## PHILO

ἐπειδὴ μέντοι μόνον ἤρξαντο πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐλθεῖν ἀδυνατήσαντες ἀσεβείας, διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὡς διαπραξαμένους ἕκαστα ὧν διανοήθησαν αἰτιατέον· οὐδ' χάριν καὶ τετελειωκένας φησὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτοὺς οὐ τελειώσαντας, ἐπειδὴν λέγει· “ κύριος κατέβη ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον,” οὐχ ὄν οἰκοδομησαί μελλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὄν “ ὠκοδόμησαν ” ἤδη.

156

XXX. τίς οὖν πίστις τοῦ μὴ τετελειουργῆσθαι τὴν κατασκευὴν; ἡ ἐνάργεια πρώτη γῆς γὰρ ὅτιοῦν μέρος ἀμήχανον οὐρανοῦ ψαῦσαι διὰ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν<sup>1</sup> αἰτίαν, ὅτιπερ οὐδὲ κέντρον περιφερείας ἄπτεται· δευτέρα<sup>2</sup> δ', ὅτι ὁ αἰθήρ, ἱερὸν πῦρ, φλόξ ἐστὶν ἄσβεστος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα παρὰ τὸ αἶθειν, ὃ δὴ καίειν ἐστὶ κατὰ  
157 γλῶτταν, εἰρημένον. μάρτυς δὲ μία μοῖρα τῆς οὐρανοῦ πυρᾶς ἡλῖος, ὅς τοσοῦτον γῆς ἀφεστῶς ἄχρι μυχῶν τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐπιπέμπων αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατείνοντα μέχρι τῆς οὐρανοῦ σφαίρας ἀέρα φύσει ψυχρὸν ὄντα τῇ μὲν ἀλαίειν, τῇ δὲ καταφλέγει· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὅσα ἢ μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν αὐτοῦ τῆς φορᾶς ἢ ἐγκάρσια παραβέβληται ἀλαίει μόνον, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς ἢ ἐπ' εὐθείας ὄντα καὶ προσανακαίει βίᾳ. εἰ δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, τοὺς ἀναβαίνειν τολμῶντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐμπερηῆσθαι κεραυνωθέντας, ἀτελοῦς αὐτοῖς τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης ἐπινοίας γενομένης;  
158 τοῦτ' ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι διὰ τῶν αὐθις λεγομένων·

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests τὴν ἔμπροσθεν <λεχθείσαν>. The reference is to § 5.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δεύτερον.



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 155-158

only began and were unable to reach the end of their impiety is no reason why they should not be denounced as they would had they carried out all their intentions. Therefore he speaks of their having completed the tower, though they had not done so. "The Lord," he says, "came down to see the city and tower which they had built" already, not which they intended to build (Gen. xi. 5).

XXX. What proof then have we that the structure 156 was not already completed? First, self-evident facts. No part of the earth can possibly touch the heaven for the reason already mentioned, namely that it is just as impossible as it is for the centre to touch the circumference. Secondly, because the aether, that holy fire, is an unquenchable flame, as its very name shews, derived as it is from *αἰθεῖν*, which is a special term<sup>a</sup> for "burn." This is attested by a single part 157 of the heavenly expanse of fire, namely the Sun, which, in spite of its great distance, sends its rays to the corners of the earth, and both earth and the naturally cold extent of air, which divides it from the sphere of heaven, is warmed or consumed by it as the case may be. For to all that is at a long distance from its course or lies at an angle to it, it merely gives warmth, but all that is near it or directly under it it actually destroys with the force of its flames. If this is so, the men who ventured on the ascent could not fail to be blasted and consumed by the fire, leaving their vaulting ambition unfulfilled. That it was unfulfilled<sup>b</sup> seems to be suggested by 158 Moses in the words which follow. "They ceased,"

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 27.

<sup>b</sup> *τοῦτο* can only refer to *ἀτελοῦς*, not to the curiously literalistic arguments given in the preceding section.

## PHILO

“ἐπαύσαντο” γάρ φησιν “οἰκοδομοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον,” οὐ δῆπου τελειώσαντες, | [429] ἀλλὰ τελειουργῆσαι κωλυθέντες διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην σύγχυσιν.

- Οὐ μὴν ἐκπεφεύγασι τὴν τῶν διαπράξεων αἰτίαν οἱ πρὸς τῷ βουλευσασθαι καὶ ἐγκεχειρηκότες.
- 159 XXXI. τὸν γοῦν οἰωνόμαντιν καὶ τερατοσκόπον περὶ τὰς ἀβεβαίους εἰκασίας ματαιάζοντα—καὶ γὰρ μάταιος<sup>1</sup> ἐρμηνεύεται Βαλαάμ—φησὶν ὁ νόμος τῷ ὄρωντι καταράσασθαι καίτοι διὰ τῶν λόγων εὐφήμευς ποιησάμενον εὐχάς, σκοπῶν οὐ τὰ λεχθέντα ἃ προμηθεΐα θεοῦ μετεχαράττετο οἷα δόκιμον ἀντὶ κιβδήλου νόμισμα, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν, ἐν ἣ τὰ βλάψοντα πρὸ τῶν ὠφελησόντων<sup>2</sup> ἀνεπολεῖτο. ἔστι δὲ φύσει πολέμια ταῦτα, στοχασμὸς ἀληθείας καὶ ματαιότης ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἡ δίχα<sup>3</sup> ἐνθουσιασμοῦ μαντεία νηφούση σοφία.
- 160 καὶ ἂν ἐξ ἐνέδρας μέντοι τις ἐπιχειρήσας ἀνελεῖν τινα μὴ δυνηθῆ κτείνειν, τῇ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑποχος δίκη καθέστηκεν, ὡς ὁ γραφεὶς περὶ τούτων δηλοῖ νόμος· “ἐὰν” γάρ φησι “τις ἐπιθῆται τῷ πλησίον ἀποκτείνει αὐτὸν δόλω καὶ καταφύγῃ, ἀπὸ<sup>4</sup> τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι”· καίτοι ἐπιτίθεται μόνον, οὐκ ἀνήρηκεν, ἀλλ’ ἴσον ἠγγήσατο ἀδίκημα τῷ κτείνειν τὸ βουλευσάσαι τὸν φόνον· οὐ χάριν οὐδ’ ἰκέτη γενομένῳ δέδωκεν ἀμνηστίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἐκέλευσεν ἀπάγειν

<sup>1</sup> Mangey may be right in suggesting μάταιος <λαδς>, the interpretation of the name given in *De Cher.* 32.

<sup>2</sup> mss. βλάψοντα . . . ὠφελησάντων.

<sup>3</sup> So mss.: Mangey and Wend. διὰ, quite untenably, I think. The index gives no example where ἐνθουσιασμός is

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 158-160

he says, "building the city and the tower" (Gen. xi. 8), obviously not because they had finished it, but because they were prevented from completing it by the confusion that fell upon them.

Yet as the enterprise was not only planned but undertaken, they have not escaped the guilt which would attend its accomplishment. XXXI. We have 159 a parallel in Balaam, that dealer in auguries and prodigies and in the vanity of unfounded conjectures, for the name Balaam is by interpretation "vain." The law-book declares that he cursed the Man of Vision, though in words he uttered prayers of blessing, for it considers not what he actually said, words restamped under God's providence, like a true coin substituted for the false, but his heart, in which he cherished thoughts of injury rather than of benefit. There is a natural hostility between conjecture and truth, between vanity and knowledge, and between the divination which has no true inspiration and sound sober wisdom.

And indeed if a 160 man makes a treacherous attempt against another's life, but is unable to kill him, he is none the less liable to the penalty of the homicide, as is shewn by the law enacted for such cases. "If," it runs, "a man attacks his neighbour to kill him by guile and flees to refuge, thou shalt take him from the altar to put him to death" (Ex. xxi. 14). And yet he merely "attacks" him and has not killed him, but the law regards the purpose of murder as a crime equal to murder itself, and so, even though he takes sanctuary, it does not grant him the privileges of sanctuary, but bids him be taken even from the

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used in this depreciating sense. The *δίχα ἐνθουσιασμοῦ μαντεία* repeat *οἰωνόμαντις*.  
4 MSS. ἐπι.

## PHILO

- 161 τὸν ἀνιέρῳ γνώμη χρησάμενον. ἀνίερος δὲ οὐ ταύτῃ μόνον, ὅτι κατὰ ψυχῆς τῆς αἰεὶ ζῆν δυναμένης ἀρετῶν κτήσει τε καὶ χρήσει τὸν διὰ προσβολῆς κακίας φόνον ἐβούλευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι θεὸν τῆς ἀνοσιουργοῦ τόλμης αἰτιᾶται· τὸ γὰρ “καταφύγη” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, διότι πολλοὶ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀποδιδράσκουν ἐθέλοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ῥύεσθαι τῶν ἐφ’ οἷς ἠδίκησαν ἀξιούντες ἑαυτοὺς τιμωριῶν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄγος τῷ κακοῦ μὲν μηδενὸς ἀγαθῶν δ’ ἀπάντων αἰτίῳ προσβάλλουσι θεῷ. διὸ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν βωμῶν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀπάγειν ὅσιον εἶναι ἐνομίσθη.
- 162 Δίκην δ’ ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀθεότητι λόγους οἰκοδομουμένων καὶ συγκροτούντων ὀρίζει, ἣν ἴσως τινὲς τῶν ἀφρόνων οὐ βλάβην, ἀλλ’ ὠφέλειαν ὑποτοπήσουσιν· “οὐ γὰρ ἐκλείψει” φησὶν “ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν.” ὡ τῆς ἀπεριγράφου καὶ ἀμέτρου κακοδαιμονίας, πάνθ’ οἷς ἂν ὁ φρενοβλαβέστατος ἐπιθῆται νοῦς, ὑποχείρια εἶναι καὶ ὑπήκοα, καὶ μηδὲν, <μὴ> μέγα μὴ μικρόν, ὑστερίζει τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ’ ὡσπερὶ
- [430] φθάνοντα προαπαντᾶν πρὸς τὰς | χρείας ἐκάστας.
- 163 XXXII. ψυχῆς ταῦτα φρονήσεως χηρευούσης ἐστὶν ἐπίδειξις μηδὲν τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐχούσης ἐμποδῶν. εὐξαιτο γὰρ ἂν ὁ μὴ σφόδρα ἀνιάτως ἔχων τὰ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ νοῦ πάντ’ ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κλέπτειν ἢ μοιχεύειν ἢ ἀνδροφονεῖν ἢ ἱεροσυλεῖν ἢ τινι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων ἐπιτιθέμενος εὐδοῇ, μυρία δ’ εὐρίσκη τὰ κωλυ-

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 160-163

holy place, because the purpose he has harboured is unholy. Its unholiness does not merely consist in 161 this, that it plans death to be dealt by the arm of wickedness against the soul which might live for ever by the acquisition and practice of virtue, but in that it lays its abominable audacity to the charge of God. For the words "flee to refuge" lead us to the reflexion that there are many who, wishing to shirk all charges to which they are liable and claiming to escape the penalties of their misdeeds, ascribe the guilty responsibility,<sup>a</sup> which really belongs to themselves, to God who is the cause of nothing evil, but of all that is good. And therefore it was held no sacrilege to drag such as these from the very altar.

The punishment which he decrees against those 162 who "build" up and weld together arguments for godlessness is indeed extreme, though perhaps some foolish people will imagine it to be beneficial rather than injurious. "Nothing shall fail from them of all that they attempt to do," it says (Gen. xi. 6). What a misery, transcending limitation and measurement, that everything which the mind in its utter infatuation attempts should be its obedient vassal not backward in any service whether great or small, but hastening as it were to anticipate its every need. XXXII. This is a sign of a soul lacking good sense, 163 which finds no obstacle in all that lies between it and its sin. For he who is not far gone in mortal error would pray that all the promptings of his mind's purposes should fail him, so that when he attempts to commit theft or adultery, or murder or sacrilege, or any similar deed, he should not find an easy path,

<sup>a</sup> *ἄγος* implies guilt which demands, and is felt to demand, expiation.

## PHILO

- σιεργήσοντα. κωλυθείς<sup>1</sup> μὲν γὰρ τὴν μεγίστην νόσον, ἀδικίαν, ἀποβάλλει, σὺν ἀδείᾳ δ' ἐπεξεληθὼν
- 164 ταύτην ἀναδέξεται. τί οὖν ἔτι τὰς τῶν τυράννων τύχας ὡς μακαρίων<sup>2</sup> ζηλοῦτε καὶ θαυμάζετε, δι' ἃς εὐπετῶς ἕκαστα ἐπεξίασιν, ὧν ἂν ὁ ἐκλελυτ-  
τηκῶς κάκτεθρηιωμένος τέκη νοῦς, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς δέον ἐπιστένειν, εἴ γε ἀπορία καὶ [ἡ] ἀσθένεια κακοῖς λυσιτελές, ὡς περιουσία καὶ ἰσχύς ἀγαθοῖς
- 165 ὠφελιμώτατον; εἷς δέ τις τῶν ἀφρόνων ἠσθημένος, εἰς ὄσσην κακοδαιμονίας ὑπερβολὴν ἄγει ἢ τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρία, μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπε· “ μείζων ἢ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι.” παγ-  
χάλεπον γὰρ ἀχαλίνωτον ἐάθῃναι ψυχὴν ἀτίθασον οὖσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, ἣν μόλις ἠνίαις μετ' ἐπανατάσεως
- 166 μαστίγων ἔστι κατασχόντα πρᾶναι. διόπερ λόγιον τοῦ ἔλεω θεοῦ μεστὸν ἡμερότητος ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς ὑπογράφων τοῖς παιδείας ἐρασταῖς ἀνήρηται τοιόνδε· “ οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω.” τῶν γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμῶν χαλασθέντων, οἷς δι-  
εκρατεῖτο, ἢ μεγίστη παρέπεται συμφορὰ, καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὃς τοῖς ὅλοις δεσμοῦς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις περιῆψεν ἀρρήκτους, αἷς τὰ πάντα
- 167 σφίγγας ἅλντα εἶναι βεβούληται. λέγει μέντοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι, ὅτι “ πάνθ' ὅσα δεσμῶ καταδέδεται, καθαρὰ ἔστιν,” ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀκαθάρτου φθορᾶς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κώλυσις.

<sup>2</sup> So Wend.: mss. ὦ μακάριοι, and so Mangey. I do not feel sure that Wend. is right. Philo is fond of these Platonic forms of address, and ὦ μακάριοι, like ὦ θαυμάσιε, conveys a note of expostulation, which is suitable enough here.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 558.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps “punishment,” as Philo understands the

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 163-167

but rather a host of obstacles to hinder its execution. For if he is prevented, he is rid of that supreme malady, injustice, but if he carries out his purpose in security that malady will be upon him. Why then 164 do you continue to envy and admire the fortunes of tyrants,<sup>a</sup> which enable them to achieve with ease all that the madness and brutal savagery of their minds conceive, and hold them blessed, when rather our hearts should bewail them, since poverty and bodily weakness are a positive benefit to the bad, just as abundance of means and strength are most useful to the good?

One of the foolish 165 who saw to what a pitch of misery free licence to sin leads said boldly, "That I should be let free is the greater indictment<sup>b</sup>" (Gen. iv. 13). For it is a terrible thing that the soul, so wild as it is by nature, should be suffered to go unbridled, when even under the rein and with the whip in full play it can hardly be controlled and made docile. And therefore the 166 merciful God has delivered an oracle full of loving-kindness which has a message of good hope to the lovers of discipline. It is to this purport. "I will not let thee go nor will I abandon thee" (Josh. i. 5). For when the bonds of the soul which held it fast are loosened, there follows the greatest of disasters, even to be abandoned by God who has encircled all things with the adamantine chains of His potencies and willed that thus bound tight and fast they should never be unloosed. Further in another place he says, "All 167 that are bound with a bond are clean" (Num. xix. 15), for unbinding is the cause of destruction which is

word. The text has been expounded in the same sense in *Quod Det.* 141. E.V. "My punishment is greater than I can bear."

αἴτιον ἢ διάλυσις. μηδέποτ' οὖν ἰδὼν τινα τῶν φαύλων οἷς ἂν ἐπιθῆται πᾶσιν εὐμαρῶς ἐπεξιόντα θαυμάσης ὡς κατορθοῦντα, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ὡς ἀποτυγχάνοντα οἰκτίζει, ὅτι ἀφορία μὲν ἀρετῆς, κακίας δὲ εὐφορία χρώμενος διατελεῖ.

168 XXXIII. Σκέψασθαι δ' οὐ παρέργως ἄξιον, τίν' ἔχει λόγον τὸ εἰρημένον ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· “δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶτταν.” φαίνεται γὰρ διαλεγόμενός τιςιν ὡς ἂν συνεργοῖς αὐτοῦ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τάνθρώπου κατασκευῆς ἀναγράφεται.

169 “εἶπε” γάρ φησι “κύριος ὁ θεός· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν” τοῦ “ποιήσωμεν” πλήθος ἐμφαίνοντος· καὶ πάλιν “εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἰδοὺ, γέγονεν Ἀδὰμ ὡς εἰς [431] ἡμῶν, τῷ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν”· | τὸ γὰρ “ὡς εἰς ἡμῶν” οὐκ ἐφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλειόνων

170 τίθεται. λεκτέον οὖν ἐκείνο πρῶτον, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἰσότιμον ὑφέστηκε θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰς ἄρχων καὶ ἡγεμῶν καὶ βασιλεύς, ᾧ πρυτανεύειν καὶ διοικεῖν μόνῳ θέμις τὰ σύμπαντα. τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἰς βασιλεύς

οὐκ ἐπὶ πόλεων καὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ κόσμου καὶ θεοῦ· ἐνός γὰρ ἓνα ποιητὴν τε καὶ πατέρα πάλιν καὶ δεσπότην ἀναγ-

171 καῖον εἶναι. XXXIV. τούτου δὴ προδιομολογηθέντος ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη συνυφαίνειν τὰ ἀρμόζοντα. τίν' οὖν ἔστι, σκοπῶμεν· εἰς ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυθήτους περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει δυνάμεις ἀρωγοῦς

\* *Iliad*, ii. 204, 205.



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 167-171

unclean. Never then, when you see any of the wicked accomplishing with ease whatsoever he attempts, admire him for his success, but contrariwise pity him for his ill-luck, for his is a life of continual barrenness in virtue and fruitfulness in vice.

XXXIII. We should give careful consideration to 168 the question of what is implied by the words which are put into the mouth of God. "Come and let us go down and confuse their tongue there" (Gen. xi. 7). For it is clear that He is conversing with some persons whom He treats as His fellow-workers, and we find the same in an earlier passage of the formation of man. Here we have "The Lord God 169 said 'let us make man in our own image and likeness'" (Gen. i. 26); where the words "let us make" imply plurality. And once more, "God said, 'behold Adam has become as one of us by knowing good and evil'" (Gen. iii. 22); here the "us" in "as one of us" is said not of one, but of more than one. Now we must 170 first lay down that no existing thing is of equal honour to God and that there is only one sovereign and ruler and king, who alone may direct and dispose of all things. For the lines :

It is not well that many lords should rule;  
Be there but one, one king,<sup>a</sup>

could be said with more justice of the world and of God than of cities and men. For being one it must needs have one maker and father and master.

XXXIV. Having reached agreement on 171 this preliminary question our next step will be to gather the relevant considerations into a coherent argument. Let us consider what these are. God is one, but He has around Him numberless Potencies,

## PHILO

- καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ γενομένου πάσας, αἷς ἐμφέρονται  
καὶ αἱ κολαστήριοι· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ κόλασις οὐκ  
ἐπιζήμιον, ἀμαρτημάτων οὔσα κώλυσις καὶ ἐπαν-  
172 ὀρθωσις. διὰ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ ἀσώματος  
καὶ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος, τὸ τοῦ φαινομένου τοῦδε  
ἀρχέτυπον, ἰδέαις ἀοράτοις συσταθείς, ὡσπερ οὗτος  
173 σῶμασιν ὄρατοῖς. καταπλαγέντες οὖν τινες τὴν  
ἐκατέρου τῶν κόσμων φύσιν οὐ μόνον ὄλους  
ἐξεθείωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς  
μερῶν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα  
οὐρανόν, ἅπερ οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντες θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν.  
ὧν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν<sup>1</sup> κατιδὼν Μωυσῆς φησι· “ κύριε,  
κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν ” <εἰς> ἐνδειξιν τῆς παρ’  
174 ὑπηκόους ἄρχοντος διαφορᾶς. ἔστι δὲ  
καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων ἱερώτατος  
χορὸς ὀπαδὸς τῶν οὐρανίων· ἀγγέλους τὰς ψυχὰς  
ταύτας εἴωθε καλεῖν ὁ θεσπιωδὸς λόγος· πάντ’ οὖν  
τὸν στρατὸν ἐκάστων<sup>2</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἀρμοττούσαις δια-  
κεκοσμημένον τάξεσιν ὑπηρέτην καὶ θεραπευτὴν  
εἶναι συμβέβηκε τοῦ διακοσμήσαντος ἡγεμόνος, ᾧ  
ταξιαρχοῦντι κατὰ δίκην καὶ θεσμὸν ἔπεται·  
λιποταξίου γὰρ οὐ θέμις ἀλῶναί ποτε τὸ θεῖον  
175 στρατεύμα. βασιλεῖ δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν  
ἐμπρεπὲς ὀμιλεῖν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν  
τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑπηρεσίας, οἷσπερ ἀρμόττει  
μὴ ὑπὸ μόνου πῆγνυσθαι θεοῦ. χρεῖος μὲν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἐπίνοιαν.

<sup>2</sup> Mangey suggests ἐκατέρων, Wend. ἐκείνων. See App. p. 558.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 558.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Deut. iv. 19, which Philo probably has in mind.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 171-175

which all assist and protect created being, and among them are included the powers of chastisement. Now chastisement is not a thing of harm or mischief, but a preventive and correction of sin. Through these 172 Potencies the incorporeal and intelligible world was framed, the archetype of this phenomenal world, that being a system of invisible ideal forms, as this is of visible material bodies. Now the nature of 173 these two worlds has so struck with awe the minds of some, that they have deified not merely each of them as a whole,<sup>a</sup> but also their fairest parts, the sun, the moon and the whole sky,<sup>b</sup> and have felt no shame in calling them gods. It was the delusion of such persons that Moses saw, when he says " Lord, Lord, King of the Gods " <sup>c</sup> (Deut. x. 17), to shew the difference between the ruler and the subjects.

There is, too, in the air a sacred company of unbodied 174 souls, commonly called angels in the inspired pages, who wait upon these heavenly powers. So the whole army composed of the several contingents, each marshalled in their proper ranks, have as their business to serve and minister to the word of the Captain who thus marshalled them, and to follow His leadership as right and the law of service demand. For it must not be that God's soldiers should ever be guilty of desertion from the ranks.<sup>d</sup> Now the King may fitly 175 hold converse with his powers and employ them to serve in matters which should not be consummated by God alone. It is true indeed that the Father of

<sup>c</sup> Very inaccurately quoted for ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, ὁδὸς θεὸς τῶν θεῶν.

<sup>d</sup> For the leading ideas of the following sections, viz. God as the cause of good alone and His employment of subordinates, see notes on *De Op.* 72, and *De Agr.* 128, with the references to Plato there given.

## PHILO

οὐδενός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ παντός πατήρ, ὡς δεῖσθαι τῆς ἀφ' ἐτέρων, εἰ ἐθέλοι δημιουργῆσαι, <συμπράξεως>,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ πρόπον ὁρῶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς γινομένοις ταῖς ὑπηκόοις δυνάμεσιν ἔστιν ἃ διαπλάττειν ἐφῆκεν, οὐδὲ ταύταις εἰσάπαν αὐτοκράτορα δούς τοῦ τελεσιουργεῖν ἐπιστήμην,<sup>2</sup> ἵνα μὴ τι πλημμεληθείη τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς γένεσιν.

- 176 XXXV. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προτυπῶσαι ὧν δὲ χάριν, ἤδη λεκτέον· ἡ μὲν φύσις τῶν ζώων εἷς τε ἄλογον καὶ λογικὴν μοῖραν, ἐναντίας ἀλλή-  
 [432] λαις, ἐτμήθη τὸ πρῶτον, | ἡ δ' αὖ λογικὴ πάλιν εἷς τε τὸ φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον εἶδος, φθαρτὸν μὲν τὸ ἀνθρώπων, ἀθάνατον δὲ τὸ ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων, αἱ κατὰ τε ἀέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦσι.
- 177 κακίας δὲ ἀμέτοχοι μὲν εἰσιν αὐται, τὸν ἀκήρατον καὶ εὐδαίμονα κλῆρον ἐξ ἀρχῆς λαχοῦσαι καὶ τῷ συμφορῶν ἀνηνύτων οὐκ ἐνδεθεῖσαι χωρῖω, σώματι, ἀμέτοχοι δὲ καὶ <αἱ> τῶν ἀλόγων, παρόσον ἀμοιροῦσαι διανοίας οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ λογισμοῦ συμβαινόντων ἐκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀλίσκονται.
- 178 μόνος δὲ σχεδὸν ἐκ πάντων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔχων ἐπιστήμην αἰρεῖται μὲν πολλάκις τὰ φαυλότατα, φεύγει δὲ τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια, ὥστ' αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ προνοίας ἀμαρτήμασι
- 179 καταγινώσκεισθαι. προσηκόντως οὖν τὴν  
 τούτου κατασκευὴν ὁ θεὸς περιῆψε καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ λέγων· “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον,” ἵνα αἱ μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου<sup>4</sup> κατορθώσεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνα-

<sup>1</sup> The insertion is perhaps unnecessary, as ὑπηρεσίας (which Mangey suggested in preference to συμπράξεως) might possibly be understood from the previous sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests ἐξουσίαν, cf. § 181. If alteration is required, I should prefer ἐπιστάσιαν. Cf. *De Cher.* 24.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 175-179

All has no need of aught, so that He should require the co-operation of others, if He wills some creative work, yet seeing what was fitting to Himself and the world which was coming into being, He allowed His subject powers to have the fashioning of some things, though He did not give them sovereign and independent knowledge for completion of the task, lest aught of what was coming into being should be miscreated.

XXXV. This outline was 176  
needed as premisses. Now for the inferences. Living nature was primarily divided into two opposite parts, the unreasoning and reasoning, this last again into the mortal and immortal species, the mortal being that of men, the immortal that of unbodied souls which range through the air and sky. These 177  
are immune from wickedness because their lot from the first has been one of unmixed happiness, and they have not been imprisoned in that dwelling-place of endless calamities—the body. And this immunity is shared by unreasoning natures, because, as they have no gift of understanding, they are also not guilty of wrongdoing willed freely as a result of deliberate reflection. Man is practically the only 178  
being who having knowledge of good and evil often chooses the worst, and shuns what should be the object of his efforts, and thus he stands apart as convicted of sin deliberate and aforethought.

Thus it was meet and right that when man was 179  
formed, God should assign a share in the work to His lieutenants, as He does with the words “let us make men,” that so man’s right actions might be attribut-

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<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ὡς ταῦτα* or *ὡς ταύτη*.

<sup>4</sup> So Wend. and Mangey: MSS. *νοῦ*, which might be defended as equivalent to the *ψυχῆ λογικῆ* below.

## PHILO

φέρωνται μόνον, ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. θεῶ  
 γὰρ τῷ πανηγεμόνι ἐμπρεπὲς οὐκ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὴν  
 ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁδὸν ἐν ψυχῇ λογικῇ δι' ἑαυτοῦ δημιουρ-  
 γῆσαι· οὐ χάριν τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψε τὴν  
 τούτου τοῦ μέρους κατασκευήν. ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸ  
 ἀντίπαλον τῷ ἀκουσίῳ, τὸ ἐκούσιον, εἰς τὴν τοῦ  
 παντὸς συμπλήρωσιν κατασκευασθὲν ἀναδειχθῆναι.

- 180 XXXVI. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ λελέχθω.  
 προσήκει δὲ κακίῳ λογιῶσθαι, ὅτι μόνων ἀγαθῶν  
 ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς αἴτιος, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν,  
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων καὶ τελειό-  
 τατον ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸς ἦν. ἐμπρεπέστατον<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὰ  
 οἰκεία τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει δημιουργεῖν ἄριστα τῷ  
 ἀρίστῳ,<sup>2</sup> τὰς μέντοι κατὰ πονηρῶν κολάσεις διὰ  
 181 τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν βεβαιοῦσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ  
 λόγῳ καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ τελειωθέντος ἐξ  
 ἀσκήσεως τόδε· “ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος,  
 ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ρυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν”  
 ὁμολογεῖ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἤδη, ὅτι τὰ μὲν γνήσια  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ φιλαρέτους τρέφει ψυχάς, ἐπὶ θεὸν  
 ἀναφέρεται μόνον ὡς αἴτιον, ἣ δὲ τῶν κακῶν μοῖρα  
 ἀγγέλοις ἐπιτέτραπται πάλιν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἔχουσι  
 τὴν τοῦ κολάζειν αὐτοκράτορα ἐξουσίαν, ἵνα  
 μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς φθορὰν τεινόντων ἢ σωτήριος  
 182 αὐτοῦ κατάρχη φύσις. διὸ λέγει· “δεῦτε καὶ  
 καταβάντες συγγέωμεν.” οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβεῖς  
 τοιαύτης ἐπάξιον δίκης τυγχάνειν, ἰλεως καὶ εὐερ-  
 γέτιδας καὶ φιλοδώρους αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις οἰκειοῦσθαι  
 τιμωρίαις. εἰδὼς μέντοι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ὠφελίμους ὑπαρχούσας δι' ἐτέρων αὐτὰς ὤρισεν·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐμπρεπέστατα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τῶν ἀρίστων οἱ τὸν ἀριστον.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 179-182

able to God, but his sins to others. For it seemed to be unfitting to God the All-ruler that the road to wickedness within the reasonable soul should be of His making, and therefore He delegated the forming of this part to His inferiors. For the work of forming the voluntary element to balance the involuntary had to be accomplished to render the whole complete.

XXXVI. So much for this point, but 180  
it is well to have considered this truth also, that God is the cause of good things only and of nothing at all that is bad, since He Himself was the most ancient of beings and the good in its most perfect form. And it best becomes Him that the work of His hands should be akin to His nature, surpassing in excellence even as He surpasses, but that the chastisement of the wicked should be assured through His underlings. My thoughts are attested also by the words 181  
of him who was made perfect through practice, "the God who nourisheth me from my youth; the angel who saveth me from all evils" (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16). For he, too, hereby confesses that the truly good gifts, which nourish virtue-loving souls, are referred to God alone as their cause, but on the other hand the province of things evil has been committed to angels (though neither have they full and absolute power of punishment), that nothing which tends to destruction should have its origin in Him whose nature is to save. Therefore he says, "Come and 182  
let us go down and confound them." The impious indeed deserve to have it as their punishment, that God's beneficent and merciful and bountiful powers should be brought into association with works of vengeance. Yet, though knowing that punishment was salutary for the human race, He decreed that it

## PHILO

- ἔδει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐπανορθώσεως ἀξιοθῆναι, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς τῶν ἀενάων αὐτοῦ χαρίτων ἀμιγεῖς κακῶν [433] | οὐκ ὄντων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομιζομένων φυλαχθῆναι.
- 183 XXXVII. Τίς δέ ἐστιν ἡ σύγχυσις, ἐρευνητέον. πῶς οὖν ἐρευνήσομεν; οὕτως, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται· πολλάκις οὖς πρότερον οὐκ ἤδειμεν, ἀπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐχόντων ἐμφέρειαν ἐγνωρίσαμεν· οὐκοῦν καὶ πράγματα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἃ μὴ ῥάδιον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καταλαμβάνεσθαι, δῆλα γένοιτ' ἂν κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκειῶν αὐτοῖς
- 184 ὁμοιότητα. τίνα οὖν ἐστι συγχύσει πράγματα ὅμοια; ἡ μίξις, ὥσπερ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, καὶ κρᾶσις· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν μίξις ἐν ξηραῖς, ἡ δὲ κρᾶσις ἐν
- 185 ὑγραῖς οὐσίαις δοκιμάζεται. μίξις μὲν οὖν σωματικῶν διαφερόντων ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ παράθεσις, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις σωρὸν ποιήσειε κριθᾶς καὶ πυροῦς καὶ ὀρόβους καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα εἶδη τῶν σπαρτῶν εἰς ταῦτ' εἰσενεγκῶν, κρᾶσις δ' οὐ παράθεσις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνομοίων μερῶν εἰς ἄλληλα εἰσδυομένων δι' ὄλων ἀντιπαρέκτασις, ἔτι δυναμένων ἐπιτεχνήσει τινὶ διακρίνεσθαι τῶν ποιότητων, ὡς ἐπὶ οἴνου καὶ
- 186 ὕδατός φασι γίνεσθαι· συνελθούσας μὲν γὰρ τὰς οὐσίας ἀποτελεῖν κρᾶσιν, τὸ δὲ κραθὲν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀναπλοῦσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη ποιότητος· σπόγγῳ γὰρ ἠλαιωμένῳ τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι, τὸν δ' οἶνον ὑπολείπεσθαι· μήποτε

° Philo here seems to assign the work of punishment to the lower division of the ministers rather than to the Potencies, though elsewhere he treats it as belonging to the Kingly Potency indicated by the name of ὁ Κύριος, e.g. *De Abr.* 144, 145. Here the "angels" have the whole province of evil assigned to them, whether to save from it, as with Jacob, or to inflict it.



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 182-186

should be exacted by others.<sup>a</sup> It was meet that while mankind was judged to deserve correction, the fountains of God's ever-flowing gifts of grace should be kept free not only from all that is, but from all that is deemed to be, evil.

XXXVII. We must now inquire what is meant by 183  
"confusion." What should be our method? The following in my opinion. We often obtain a knowledge of persons whom we have not known before from their kinsfolk or those who bear some resemblance to them. And so in the same way things which in themselves are not easy to apprehend may reveal their nature through their likeness to their congeners. <sup>b</sup> What things then resemble confusion? 184  
"Mechanical mixture," to use the old philosophical term, and "chemical mixture." The first presents itself for examination in dry substances, the latter in liquid. Mechanical mixture of different bodies 185 occurs when they are juxtaposed in no regular order, as when we collect barley and wheat and pulse or any other kind of grain and pile them together. Chemical mixture is not juxtaposition, but the mutual coextension and complete interpenetration of dissimilar parts, though their various qualities can still be distinguished by artificial means, as is said to be the case with water and wine. These substances 186 if united do produce, we are told, a chemical mixture, but all the same that mixture can be resolved <sup>c</sup> into the different qualities out of which it was composed. A sponge dipped in oil will absorb the water and leave the wine. Probably the explanation is that

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 558 on this and the following sections.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 558.

## PHILO

- ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ ὕδατος ἢ σπογγίᾳς γένεσις ἐστὶ, τὸ μὲν οἰκείον, ὕδωρ, πέφυκεν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ κράματος, τὸ δ' ἄλλότριον ὑπολεί-  
 187 πεσθαι, ὁ οἶνος. σύγχυσις δέ ἐστι φθορὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιότητων πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἀντι-  
 παρεκτεινομένων εἰς διαφερούσης μιᾶς<sup>1</sup> γένεσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν ἰατρικῇ τετραφαρμάκου συντέτευχε·  
 κηρὸς γὰρ καὶ στέαρ καὶ πίττα ῥητίνη τε, οἶμαι, συνελθόντα ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ, συντεθείσης δὲ ἀμή-  
 χανον ἔτι<sup>2</sup> τὰς ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη διακριθῆναι δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἐκάστη μὲν αὐτῶν ἠφάνισται, πασῶν δ' ἡ  
 φθορὰ μίαν ἐξαίρετον ἄλλην ἐγέννησε δύναμιν.  
 188 ὅταν δ' ἀπειλῇ σύγχυσιν τοῖς ἀσεβέσι λογισμοῖς ὁ θεός, οὐ μόνον ἐκάστης κακίας τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀφανισθῆναι κελεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συν-  
 εραμισθὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μήτε τὰ μέρη καθ' ἑαυτὰ μήθ' ἢ πάντων σύνοδος τε καὶ συμφωνία περι-  
 βάληται τινα ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῆς ἀμείνονος  
 189 μοίρας. οὐδ' χάριν φησί· “ συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶτταν, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἕκαστος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ πλησίον,” ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ· κωφὸν ἕκαστον ἐργασώμεθα τῶν κακίας μερῶν, ὡς μήτε ἰδίαν ἀφιέν<sup>3</sup> <φωνήν> μήτε συνηχοῦν ἐτέρῳ βλάβης  
 190 αἴτιον γίνηται. XXXVIII. ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἐμφανέσι καὶ προχείροις μόνον  
 [434] ἐπακολουθοῦντες οἴονται νυνὶ γένεσιν | διαλέκτων Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ βαρβάρων ὑπογράφεσθαι· οὗς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μίαν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀφιέναι.

\* See App. p. 558.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “another single special power.” This use of δύναμις which suggests both “nature” and “value” cannot be translated by any single or at least any singular word.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 186-190

since the sponge is produced out of water, it tends to absorb out of the mixture the substance which is akin to it, the water, and leave the foreign substance, the wine. But confusion is the annihilation<sup>a</sup> of the original varieties or qualities, which become coextensive through all the parts and thus produce a single and quite different quality. An example of this is the quadruple drug used in medicine. This is produced, I believe, by the combination of wax, tallow, pitch and resin, but, when the compound has been formed, it is impossible to analyse or separate the properties which went to form it. Each of them has been annihilated, and from this loss of identity in each has sprung another single something with properties peculiar to itself.<sup>b</sup> But when God threatens impious thoughts with confusion He does not order merely the annihilation of the specific nature and properties of each separate vice. The order applies also to the aggregate to which they have contributed. He means that neither their separate parts, nor yet their united body and voice, shall be invested with strength to destroy the better element. And therefore he says, "Let us confound their tongue there, that each of them may not understand the voice of his neighbour" (Gen. xi. 7), and this is equivalent to "let us make each part of vice mute that it may not by its separate utterance nor yet in unison with the others be the cause of mischief."

XXXVIII. This is our explanation, but those who merely follow the outward and obvious think that we have at this point a reference to the origin of the Greek and barbarian languages. I

For this use of *ἐξάλπετος* cf. *De Op.* 62, where the senses have each their *ἐξάλπετος ὕλη*.

## PHILO

- οὐκ ἂν αἰτιασάμενος—ἴσως γὰρ ἀληθεῖ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 χρῶνται λόγῳ—παρακαλέσαιμ' ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ τούτων  
 στήναι, μετελθεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τροπικὰς ἀποδόσεις,  
 νομίσαντας τὰ μὲν ῥητὰ τῶν χρησμῶν σκιάς τινας  
 ὡσανεὶ σωμάτων εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἐμφαινομένας δυνά-  
 191 μεις τὰ ὑφ' ἐστῶτα ἀληθεῖα πράγματα. δίδωσι  
 μέντοι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀφορμὰς τὸ εἶδος τοῖς μὴ τυφλοῖς  
 διάνοιαν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτός, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἐφ'  
 ὧν νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· τὸ γὰρ γινόμενον σύγχυσι  
 προσεῖπε. καίτοι γε εἰ διαλέκτων γένε-  
 σιν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐδήλου, κἂν ὄνομα εὐθυβολώτερον  
 ἐπεφήμισεν ἀντὶ συγχύσεως διάκρισιν· οὐ γὰρ  
 συγχέεται τὰ τεμνόμενα, διακρίνεται δ' ἔμπαλιν,  
 καὶ ἔστιν οὐ μόνον ἐναντίον ὄνομα ὀνόματι, ἀλλ'  
 192 ἔργον ἔργῳ. σύγχυσις μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐστὶ  
 φθορὰ τῶν ἀπλῶν δυνάμεων εἰς συμπεφορημένης  
 μιᾶς γένεσιν, διάκρισις δὲ ἐνὸς εἰς πλείω τομῆ,  
 καθάπερ ἐπὶ γένους καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸ εἰδῶν ἔχει  
 συντέτευχεν. ὥστε εἰ μίαν οὖσαν φωνὴν ἐκέλευσε  
 τέμνειν ὁ σοφὸς εἰς πλειόνων διαλέκτων τμήματα,  
 προσεχεστέροις ἂν καὶ κυριωτέροις ἐχρήσατο τοῖς  
 ὀνόμασι, τομὴν ἢ διανέμησιν ἢ διάκρισιν ἢ τι  
 ὁμοιότροπον εἰπῶν, οὐ τὸ μαχόμενον αὐτοῖς,  
 193 σύγχυσιν. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἢ σπουδῆ διαλυσαὶ τὸ κακίας  
 στίφος, τὰς ὁμολογίας αὐτῆς ἀκυρῶσαι, τὴν κοινω-  
 νίαν ἀνελεῖν, τὰς δυνάμεις ἀφανίσαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι,  
 τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος, ὃ δειναῖς ὠχυρώσατο παρα-

<sup>a</sup> Or more literally "the destruction of the simple uncompounded natures, to produce a single compounded nature."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Moses, not God. Philo often calls God ὁ μόνος σοφός, but not ὁ σοφός. The command is thought of as emanating from Moses, because the language in which it is clothed is his.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 190-193

would not censure such persons, for perhaps the truth is with them also. Still I would exhort them not to halt there, but to press on to allegorical interpretations and to recognize that the letter is to the oracle but as the shadow to the substance and that the higher values therein revealed are what really and truly exist. Indeed the lawgiver himself gives 191 openings for this kind of treatment to those whose understanding is not blinded, as he certainly does in the case now under discussion, when he calls what was then taking place a "confusion."

Surely if he had merely meant that different languages then originated, he would have applied a more correct term and called it "separation" rather than "confusion." For when things are divided they are not "confused," but quite the contrary, "separated." And the contradiction is not merely one of name but of fact. Confusion—the process of fusing 192 together—is, as I have said, the annihilation of the individual properties, and the production thereby of a single whole with its own properties,<sup>a</sup> whereas separation is the division of one into several, as in the case of genus and the species, which form the genus. And therefore if the Sage's <sup>b</sup> command was to divide speech, the single whole, by section into several languages, he would have used more apposite and exact terms such as dissection or distribution or separation, and not their opposite, confusion. But 193 his purpose and desire is to break up the company of vice, to make her agreements of none effect, to do away with her fellowship, to annihilate and destroy her powers, to overthrow the might of her queenship which by her abominable transgressions she had

## PHILO

- 194 νομίαις, καθελείν. οὐχ ὀράς ὅτι καὶ τῶν ψυχῆς ὁ πλάστης μερῶν οὐδέν οὐδενὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου κοινωνίαν ἤγαγεν; ἀλλ' ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἀκούσειαν, ὦτα δὲ οὐκ ἂν θεάσαιτο, χυλὸς δὲ ἐνστόμιος<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἂν ὄσφροίτο, οὐδ' ἂν γεύσαιτο ῥίνες, ὃ τ' αὖ λόγος οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πάθοι, οὐδ' ἔμπαλιν ῥῆξαι φωνὴν δύναται' ἂν
- 195 αἰσθησις. ἔγνω γὰρ ὁ τεχνίτης, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν ἕκαστον τούτων τῆς τοῦ πλησίον φωνῆς λυσιτελές ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσιν ἀσυγχύτοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζώων ὠφέλειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν ἀφῆρησθαι,<sup>2</sup> τὰ δὲ τῆς κακίας εἰς <σύγ>χυσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἀχθῆναι παντελῆ, ἵνα μήτε συμφωνήσαντα μήτε καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὄντα ζημία τοῖς ἀμείνοσι γένηται.
- 196 Παρὸ καὶ λέγει· “διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐκεῖθεν,” ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ ἐσκέδασεν, ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἀφανεῖς ἐποίησε· τὸ γὰρ σπείρειν <ἀγαθῶν, κακῶν δὲ αἴτιον τὸ διασπείρειν>, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιδόσεως καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ἑτέρων ἔνεκα συμβαίνει, τὸ δ' ἀπωλείας καὶ φθορᾶς. βούλεται δὲ ὁ
- [435] φυτουργὸς θεὸς σπείρειν μὲν ἐν τῷ παντὶ | καλοκάγαθίαν, διασπείρειν δὲ καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πολιτείας τὴν ἐπάρατον ἀσέβειαν, ἢ ἤδη ποτὲ παύσωνται τὴν κακίας πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἀθεότητος πύργον οἰκοδομοῦντες μισάρετοι τρόποι.
- 197 τούτων γὰρ σκεδασθέντων οἱ πάλαι πεφευγότες τὴν τυραννίδα τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἐνὶ κηρύγματι κάθοδον

<sup>1</sup> So Wend.; cf. *De Ebr.* 190: mss. ἐνστοματίας or ἐν στόματι. The latter does not seem impossible.

<sup>2</sup> mss. καὶ εἰ . . . ἀφήρηται.

## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 194-197

made so strong. Observe that he who 194  
fashioned the living being, brought none of its parts  
into fellowship with any other. The eyes cannot  
hear, nor the ears see ; the palatal juices cannot  
smell, nor the nostrils taste ; nor again can speech  
have any of the sensations which the senses produce,  
just as on the other hand the senses have no power  
of utterance. For the great Contriver knew that it 195  
was well for them that none should hear the voice of  
his neighbour. He willed rather in the interests of  
animal life, that each part of the living organism  
should have the use of its own particular powers  
without confusion with others, and that fellowship of  
part with part should be withdrawn from them, while  
on the other hand the parts of vice should be brought  
into confusion and complete annihilation, so that  
neither in unison nor separately by themselves should  
they become a source of injury to their betters.

That is why he adds—The Lord dispersed them 196  
thence (Gen. xi. 8), that is He caused them to be  
scattered, to be fugitives, to vanish from sight. For  
while sowing is the cause of good, dispersing or  
sowing broadcast is the cause of ill. The purpose of  
the first is to improve, to increase, to create some-  
thing else ; the purpose of the second is to ruin and  
destroy. But God the Master-planter wills to sow  
noble living throughout the All, and to disperse and  
banish from the Commonwealth of the world the  
impiety which He holds accursed. Thus the evil  
ways which hate virtue may at last cease to build  
the city of vice and the tower of godlessness. For 197  
when these are scattered, those who have been living  
in exile for many a day under the ban of folly's  
tyranny, shall receive their recall under a single

## PHILO

εὐρήσουσι, γράψαντός τε καὶ βεβαιώσαντος <θεοῦ>  
τὸ κήρυγμα, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, ἐν οἷς  
διείρηται ὅτι “ ἐὰν ἦ ἡ διασπορά σου ἀπ’ ἄκρου  
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκεῖθεν  
198 συνάξει σε ”. ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀρετῶν συμφωνίαν  
ἐμπρεπὲς ἀρμόζεσθαι θεῷ, τὴν δὲ κακιῶν<sup>1</sup> διαλύειν  
τε καὶ φθείρειν. οἰκειότατον δὲ κακίας ὄνομα  
σύγχυσις· οὗ πίστις ἐναργῆς πᾶς ἄφρων, λόγοις  
καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ πράξεσιν ἀδοκίμοις καὶ πεφορη-  
μέναις χρώμενος.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κακίαν.

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. the two ideas which have been connected with  
σύγχυσις are φθορά and διασπορά. The first of these is here



## THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 197-198

proclamation, even the proclamation enacted and ratified by God, as the oracles shew, in which it is declared that "if thy dispersion be from one end of heaven to the other he shall gather thee from thence" (Deut. xxx. 4). Thus it is a work well-befitting to 198 God to bring into full harmony the consonance of the virtues, but to dissipate and destroy the consonance of vices. Yes, confusion is indeed a most proper name for vice, and a standing evidence of this is every fool, whose words and purposes and deeds alike are worthless and unstable.<sup>a</sup>

expressed by *ἀδόκιμος* which often means something not merely worthless but cast away as such. The second is expressed by *πεφορημένος*. But see App. p. 559.



ON THE MIGRATION OF  
ABRAHAM

(DE MIGRATIONE ABRAHAMI)



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this treatise is Gen. xii. 1-4 and 6. This naturally falls into two divisions, of which the first contains the words of God to Abraham. This again is analysed as follows :

- I. (a) The command to depart from country, kindred and father's house.
- (b) To the land which I will shew thee (this constitutes the first promise or gift to Abraham).
- (c) And I will make thee a great nation (Second Gift).
- (d) And I will bless thee (Third Gift).
- (e) And I will magnify thy name (Fourth Gift).
- (f) And thou shalt be blessed (Fifth Gift).
- (g) I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee.

And in thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed (the gifts to others through Abraham.)

In the second part we deal successively with the statements.

- (a) He went as God spake to him.
- (b) And Lot went with him.
- (c) And Abraham was seventy-five years old, when he went forth out of Haran.
- (d) And Abraham travelled through the land to

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the length of it, to the place Shechem to the high oak.

“Land” means spiritually body, “kinsfolk,” senses (2-4), while “father’s house” is speech, and this last is illustrated by the way in which the Logos itself is spoken of as God’s house (4-6). Thus the command is to alienate ourselves from these and so to “depart” to higher realities (7-12). Biblical examples of this departing follow: Abraham from Lot, the Exodus of Israel from Egypt (13-15), and in connexion with this Philo propounds the idea that when we read of Joseph’s body being placed in a coffin in Egypt, and later of his bones being taken to Canaan at the Exodus, we have an allegory of the spiritual burial of the lower qualities, and the survival of the higher qualities of the mixed or Joseph mind (16-17). An enumeration of these higher qualities as shewn in the story of Joseph follows (18-23), and from this we pass back to the theme of “departure,” as shewn in the order of Moses to make the Passover “with speed” (24-25), and (with a difference <sup>a</sup>) in the injunction in Gen. xxxi. 3 to Jacob to turn back to his father’s land, which must be understood in the sense of wisdom (26-30). The last words of that passage, “I will be with thee,” lead to a meditation on how independent of our efforts is the Divine presence and inspiration, which Philo illustrates from his own experience in literary composition (31-35), whence we pass almost insensibly to the consideration of the words of the First Gift, “The land which I will shew thee.” After some thoughts about the “thing shewn,” *i.e.* the perfect good, “the person who sees,” *i.e.* the wise man, and the “Shewer,” *i.e.* God (36-42),

<sup>a</sup> For the difference see note on § 26.

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Philo points out that the shewing is in the future, thus calling for Abraham's faith. He illustrates it further from the words of Deut. xxxiv. 4, "I shewed it to thine eyes but thou shalt not possess it," and this points to the thought that possession of the perfect good is more than seeing it (43-46). And yet seeing is higher than hearing, and thus God's words are said in certain places to be seen rather than heard, a noteworthy usage when we remember that hearing in the ordinary sense is even less than the other senses capable of being associated with sight (47-52).

We pass on to the Second Gift. "I will make thee a great nation." Here nation can be taken to mean "multitude of qualities." "Great" shews something more, namely that the qualities grow to their full stature (53-55). A great nation is elsewhere defined as one which draws nigh to God (56-59). Indeed, mere quantity or multitude is often spoken of as an evil thing, which is vanquished by the little and good (59-63). The many-footed is called an abomination in Leviticus. This reminds us that the footless which crawls on its belly, is equally an abomination (64-65). And thence he digresses for the moment to suggest that the breast stands for the spirited element, as the belly stands for desire, and it is when both these are excised as in the sacrificial directions of Lev. viii., and reason is left supreme, that we get both multitude and greatness (65-68). From another point of view the many-footed and the footless are respectively the polytheist and the atheist (69).

The Third Gift is "I will bless thee" (*εὐλογήσω*). Looking at the composition of the word, Philo takes this to mean "I will give thee excellent Logos." Now Logos is both thought and speech, and this last

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leads him to the idea that mastery of language is needed by the sage and that otherwise he will be unable to hold his own against the sophist (70-75). This is illustrated first from the case of Cain and Abel and then from that of Moses, and there follows a commentary on Exodus iv. 10-16 in which "Aaron thy brother" is shewn to represent the speech or eloquence which rejoices when it finds clear conceptions to express (76-81). It is this use of language in the service of truth which is shewn by the story of Moses with Aaron's rod outdoing the Egyptian magicians (82-85).<sup>a</sup>

The Fourth Gift is "I will magnify thy name." Here "name" is interpreted as equivalent to what we seem. The seeming indeed is worthless without the being, but true happiness consists in both (86-88). The need of obedience to established custom is a necessary consequence, and here Philo takes the opportunity to define his attitude to the literal Law, Sabbath, Circumcision, Feast-days. Though these have their soul, namely the spiritual interpretation, they have also their body, and the body is the house of the soul, and must not be set at nought (89-94). The same lesson is taught by the "lesser substance" bequeathed by Abraham to the children of the concubines who, though of less account, were still children (94). So too Leah accounted herself blessed, because women will count her such, and by women are meant those comparatively earth-bound souls whose esteem is nevertheless valuable (95-96). This leads to an illustration from the work entrusted by Moses to the women—the senses, that is—but the senses also must have their due if happiness is to be

<sup>a</sup> Much of this part reproduces parts of *Quod Det.*



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had (97-100). This thought is further developed from Isaac's prayer that Jacob may have the wealth of earth as well as of heaven, and from Aaron's robe on which the sensible world is figured by the bells whose sound was to be audible when he entered the Holy Place (101-104). So the sensible must second the music of the mental in the great Choir, and the three-fold phrase of Ex. xxi., the "needful," the "raiment," and the "fellowship," means that the sensible and the mental must be so blended that we shall find in the first the sacrament of the second (104-105).

Yet in the three next sections Philo swings round to the other point of view. The Fifth Gift is "Thou shalt be blessed." Here he reads *εὐλογητός* (meet to be blessed), for the *εὐλογημένος* (subject to blessing) of our texts, and thence deduces, in spite of all that has been said, that true blessedness is to him who is worthy of it rather than to him who is so reputed by men (106-108).

In the next words, "I will bless them who bless thee, and curse them who curse thee," we go on to shew what the Abraham mind can do for others. It stands to reason that to praise the praiseworthy is in itself a praiseworthy act, if done in sincerity. But this is an important exception, and thus the blessing of Israel by Balaam, splendid as it is, only brought on him God's curse (109-115). Conversely, curses which are meant to benefit, such as the rebukes of those who have charge of the young, bring blessings on those who speak them. All depends on the intention (115-117).

The next words "And in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed" shew that the blessing con-

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ferred by the Abraham spirit is not to be limited to those who know its value. In one sense indeed the words may be applied to the individual himself. The perfect mind will sanctify all its tribes, that is, all its faculties (118-119). But in the wider sense the righteous man both by his influence and prayers is a pillar of society. We see this in God's words to Moses (I will be merciful to them for thy word); in the willingness to spare Sodom, if only a few righteous could be found there; most of all in the story of Noah, who victorious over the deluge of moral decay, founded the line of Israel, which, though obscured at times, will be brought to the light again, when that season comes of which God spoke to Sarah (120-126).

The second part of the treatise begins with the words: "And Abraham went as the Lord spake." Philo interprets this to mean that his way of going was in accordance with God's word, *i.e.* his life was in accordance with God's laws (127-132). And he proceeds to ask what the "end" and the "reward" of such "going" is. The true end and reward is to be able to recognize that the only thing we can know is our own ignorance (133-135). This leads to a denunciation of speculation about the universe instead of self-examination (136-138). A rambling discussion of some texts follows (139-142).<sup>a</sup> And then in contrast to the "going" of Abraham, we have the weaklings who lag behind and are "cut off" as the "weary" part of Israel was by Amalek (143-144), though indeed there is a better kind of weariness which is typified by Leah (144-145). The treatment of this part concludes with the thought which has been fully developed in *Quod Deus*, that the true path

<sup>a</sup> For such thread of thought as there is see note.

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of the soul is, as Aristotle taught, along the Mean (146-147).

“Lot went with him.” As Lot means “turning away,” we see that this was a companionship not to imitate but to hinder, and this is proved by his later disaster and Abraham’s separation from him (148-150). That this separation did not take place at once shews that the Abraham soul has still much to learn. The hindrance which is caused by such conflicting companionship is symbolized by the “mixed multitude,” which went up from Egypt and caused Israel to wander for forty years (150-155). (Incidentally we hear of this multitude weeping and this leads to a short digression on good and bad tears (155-157).) While some refuse all intercourse with this mixed multitude others make alliance with it, as Joseph, ever the man of compromise, did when he was accompanied by the Egyptians to his father’s funeral (158-163). Some illustrations of good fellow-travelling (*συμπορεύεσθαι*) are now given. Abraham’s comrades in war; Isaac going with Abraham to the sacrifice, signifying the union of natural gifts with effort (164-167).<sup>a</sup> And while it is natural that higher minds should be drawn up to God, as Aaron and his fellow priests were, Moses will cry “Unless thou journey with me (*συμπορεύη*) bring me not up hence,” for God must be our fellow-traveller (168-172). Abraham, too, “journeyed with the angels.” For though in the imperfect state the Logos leads us, the perfected will walk at his side (173-175).

“Abraham was seventy-five years old when he went forth out of Haran.” What do these words mean? We remember that originally he went from

<sup>a</sup> See further note on § 167.

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Chaldea to Haran. Now Chaldea is astrology, which conceives of the universe as a whole where all the parts work in harmony with each other (176-179). So far Moses agrees with it : it is when the astrologers ignore God and His creative goodness that he disagrees (180-183). And when he shews Abraham as leaving Chaldea for Haran, that is, for the place of the senses, which is also the house of the mind, he is bidding us discard astrological speculations for the Socratic study of ourselves (184-189). And when we have done this we may leave Haran also, to contemplate God Himself, just as Saul had to be taken from the " baggage " before he could grasp the kingship (189-197).

" Seventy-five years old." Seventy is the number of the higher mind and reason (198-202), five of the senses (203-206), and both these are proved by many texts (203-206). The combination indicates an intermediate and necessary stage in the soul's progress (207). And so Rebecca bids Jacob even in his hour of triumph fly to Haran, for compromise with the senses is often necessary for a time (208-213). Yet Jacob also will ultimately leave Haran and " make a house for himself," that is, " the fear of God " which won, according to Ex. i. 21 " " their houses ' for the midwives " (214-215).

" He travelled through the land to the length of it to the place Shechem, to the high oak." " Travelled through " shews us the course of the soul in its search for wisdom, a search which must cover the whole land *i.e.* whole of ethical philosophy (216-220). In Shechem, which means " shouldering," and in the oak, we find a symbol of the solid labour which such travelling entails (221-223). But we remember that in Genesis

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we have a man Shechem, who represents evil labour, the seducer of Dinah. Or rather, the would-be seducer. For to Philo's mind the spiritual Dinah being Virtue can never be corrupted, and the treatise ends with the thought that the vengeance of her brothers and defenders will overtake the seducer with his purpose unattained (224-end).

- 1 I. “Καὶ εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ἄπελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν σοι δεῖξω· καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ εὐλογήσω σε καὶ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογητός. καὶ εὐλογήσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε καταράσομαι, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ
- 2 πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.” βουλευθεὶς ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν καθῆραι πρῶτον αὐτῇ δίδωσιν ἀφορμὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντελῆ τὴν ἐκ τριῶν χωρίων μετανάστασιν, σώματος, αἰσθήσεως, λόγου τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γῆν σώματος, τὴν δὲ συγγένειαν αἰσθήσεως, τὸν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκον λόγου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι σύμβολον.
- 3 διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν σῶμα καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἔλαβε τὴν σύστασιν καὶ ἀναλύεται πάλιν εἰς γῆν—μάρτυς δὲ Μωυσῆς, ὅταν φῆ· “γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση.” καὶ γὰρ παγῆναί φησιν αὐτὸ χοῦν εἰς ἀνθρωπιάν μορφήν τοῦ θεοῦ διαπλάσαντος, ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸ λυόμενον εἰς τὰ δεθέντα λύεσθαι—, αἰσθησις δὲ συγγενὲς καὶ ἀδελφόν ἐστι διανοίας, ἄλογον λογικῆς, ἐπειδὴ μιᾶς ἄμφω μέρη ψυχῆς ταῦτα, πατρὸς δὲ
- [437] οἶκος ὁ | λόγος, ὅτι πατὴρ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς σπείρων

## ON THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM

I. " And the Lord said unto Abraham, Depart out 1  
of thy land, and out of thy kindred, and out of thy  
father's house, into the land which I shall shew thee ;  
and I will make thee a great nation and will bless thee  
and will make thy name great, and thou shalt be  
blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and  
them that curse thee I will curse, and in thee shall all  
the tribes of the earth be blessed " (Gen. xii. 1-3).

God begins the carrying out of His will 2  
to cleanse man's soul by giving it a starting-point for  
full salvation in its removal out of three localities,  
namely, body, sense-perception, and speech. " Land"  
or " country " is a symbol of body, " kindred " of  
sense-perception, " father's house " of speech. How  
so? Because the body took its substance out of 3  
earth (or land) and is again resolved into earth. Moses  
is a witness to this, when he says, " Earth thou art  
and into earth shalt thou return " (Gen. iii. 19) ; in-  
deed he also says that the body was clay formed into  
human shape by God's moulding hand, and what  
suffers solution must needs be resolved into the  
elements which were united to form it. Sense-per-  
ception, again, is of one kin and family with under-  
standing, the irrational with the rational, for both  
these are parts of one soul. And speech is our  
" father's house," " father's " because Mind is our

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εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν τὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις  
 καὶ διανεμῶν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐπιμέλειάν  
 τε καὶ ἐπιτροπήν ἀνημμένους ἀπάντων, οἶκος δέ,  
 ἐν ᾧ διαιτᾶται, τῆς ἄλλης<sup>1</sup> ὑπεξηρημένος οἰκίας ὁ  
 λόγος· καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἐστία, καὶ νοῦ λόγος  
 4 ἐνδιαίτημα. ἑαυτὸν γοῦν καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐνθυμήματα  
 τέκη, ὡσπερ ἐν οἴκῳ τῷ λόγῳ διαθεῖς καὶ δια-  
 κοσμῆσας ἐπιδείκνυται. μὴ θαυμάσης  
 δέ, εἰ νοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κέκληκεν οἶκον·  
 καὶ γὰρ τὸν τῶν ὄλων νοῦν, τὸν θεόν, οἶκον ἔχειν  
 5 φησὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον. οὐ τὴν φαντασίαν ὁ  
 ἀσκητῆς λαβὼν ἀντικρυς ὁμολογεῖ ὅτι “ οὐκ ἔστι  
 τοῦτο ἄλλ' ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ,” ἴσον τῷ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ οἶκος  
 οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο τῶν εἰς δεῖξιν ἐρχομένων ἢ συνόλως  
 πιπτόντων ὑπ' αἴσθησιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀόρατος,  
 ἀειδής, ψυχῇ μόνον ὡς ψυχῇ καταλαμβανόμενος.  
 6 τίς ἂν οὖν εἴη πλὴν ὁ λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν  
 γέ εἰσι εἰληφότων, οὐ καθάπερ οἶκος ἐνελημ-  
 μένος ὁ τῶν ὄλων κυβερνήτης πηδαλιουχεῖ τὰ  
 σύμπαντα, καὶ ὅτε ἐκοσμοπλάσσει χρησάμενος  
 ὀργάνῳ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον τῶν ἀποτελου-  
 μένων σύστασιν ;

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὄλης, which perhaps might be retained in the sense of the “homestead as a whole.”

<sup>a</sup> Or “chamber,” *cf.* *Il.* vi. 490 and elsewhere, where *oikos* is clearly the inner part of the house. For the thought that while mind has a wider range, its most intimate home is speech, *cf.* the explanation of τὸν ἐγγιστα as speech in *De Ebr.* 71.

<sup>b</sup> Or “this is not the House of God, only (yet) there is a House of God.” Mr. Whitaker defended his translation by suggesting that Philo is following the occasional use of ἀλλ' ἢ in the LXX for “certainly,” *e.g.* 2 Chron. xix. 3. But the explanation which follows seems to me to point to the alternative translation given above, and in this case the use



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 3-6

father, sowing in each of the parts of the body the faculties that issue from itself, and assigning to them their workings, being in control and charge of them all; house—because mind has speech for its house<sup>a</sup> or living-room, secluded from the rest of the homestead. It is Mind's living-place, just as the hearth-side is man's. It is there that Mind displays in 4 orderly form itself and all the conceptions to which it gives birth, treating it as a man treats a house.

And marvel not at Moses having given to speech the title of Mind's house in man; for indeed he says that God, the Mind of the universe, has for His house His own Word. It was the vision of 5 this Word that the Self-trainer received when he emphatically declares "This is assuredly not the House of God"<sup>b</sup> (Gen. xxviii. 17), as much as to say "The House of God is not this that is all round me, consisting of things at which we can point or that fall under sense-perception generally, no, not such is God's House, but invisible, withdrawn from sight, and apprehended only by soul as soul.<sup>c</sup> Who, then, can 6 that House be, save the Word who is antecedent to all that has come into existence? the Word, which the Helmsman of the Universe grasps as a rudder to guide all things on their course? Even as, when He was fashioning the world, He employed it as His instrument, that the fabric of His handiwork might be without reproach.

of ἀλλ' ἤ would be something like that in Deut. iv. 12 (quoted in 48). In *De Som.* i. 185 we have another way of taking the verse.

<sup>c</sup> Or "soul in the true sense of the word." Philo means that he is not using the word in the wider sense of the whole soul or life of the animal, but for the mind or dominant principal. See App. p. 560.

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7 Π. Ὡς μὲν τοίνυν γῆν μὲν τὸ σῶμα, συγγένειαν  
 δὲ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οἶκον δὲ πατὴρ τὸν λόγον αἰνίτ-  
 τεται, δεδηλώκαμεν. τὸ δὲ “ ἄπελθε ἐκ τούτων ”  
 οὐκ ἔσθ’<sup>1</sup> ὅμοιον τῷ διαζεύχθητι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν,  
 ἐπεὶ θάνατον ἦν διαγορεύοντος ἢ πρόσταξις, ἀλλ’  
 ἴσον τῷ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλοτριώθητι, πρὸς μηδενὸς  
 8 περισχεθεὶς αὐτῶν ὑπεράνω στῆθι πάντων· ὑπήκοοί  
 σοῦ εἰσι, μηδέποτε ὡς ἡγεμόσι χρῶ· βασιλεὺς  
 ὢν ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι πεπαιδευσο, πάντα  
 τὸν αἰῶνα γίνωσκε σεαυτὸν, ὡς καὶ Μωυσῆς  
 πολλαχοῦ διδάσκει λέγων “ πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ ”·  
 οὕτως γὰρ ὢν τε ὑπακούειν καὶ οἷς ἐπιτάττειν  
 9 προσῆκεν αἰσθήσῃ. ἄπελθε οὖν ἐκ τοῦ  
 περὶ σεαυτὸν γεώδους, τὸ παμμίαιρον, ᾧ οὗτος,  
 ἐκφυγῶν δεσμωτήριον, τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὰς ὥσπερ  
 εἶρκτοφύλακας ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ παντὶ  
 σθένει καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει, μηδὲν τῶν εἰς κάκωσιν  
 παρεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀθρόα συλλήβδην ἐπανατεινά-  
 10 μενος. ἄπελθε καὶ τῆς συγγενοῦς αἰσ-  
 θήσεως· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ κέχρηκας ἐκάστη σεαυτὸν  
 καὶ γέγονας ἀλλότριον τῶν δεδανεισμένων ἀγαθὸν  
 ἀποβεβληκῶς τὸ ἴδιον. οἶδας δέ, κἂν πάντες ἤσου-  
 χάζωσιν, ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ σε ἄγουσι καὶ ὦτα καὶ ἡ  
 ἄλλη τῆς συγγενείας πληθὺς ἅπασα πρὸς τὰ φίλα  
 11 ἑαυτοῖς. ἐὰν δὲ ἐθελήσης κομίσασθαι | τὰ σαυτοῦ  
 [438] δάνεια καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν κτήσιν περιβαλέσθαι μηδὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐκέθ’.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 7-11

II. We have now shewn how Moses uses "earth" 7  
to represent the body, "kindred" to represent sense-  
perception, "thy father's house" to represent  
speech. The words "Depart out of these" are not  
equivalent to "Sever thyself from them absolutely,"  
since to issue such a command as that would be to  
prescribe death. No, the words import "Make thy-  
self a stranger to them in judgement and purpose ;  
let none of them cling to thee ; rise superior to them  
all ; they are thy subjects, never treat them as 8  
sovereign lords ; thou art a king, school thyself once  
and for all to rule, not to be ruled ; evermore be com-  
ing to know thyself, as Moses teaches thee in many  
places, saying "Give heed to thyself" (Ex. xxiv. 12),  
for in this way shalt thou perceive those to whom  
it befits thee to shew obedience and those to whom  
it befits thee to give commands. Depart, 9  
therefore, out of the earthly matter that encompasses  
thee : escape, man, from the foul prison-house, thy  
body, with all thy might and main, and from the  
pleasures and lusts that act as its jailers ; every terror  
that can vex and hurt them, leave none of them  
unused ; menace the enemy with them all united and  
combined. Depart also out of sense- 10  
perception thy kin. For at present thou hast made  
a loan of thyself to each sense, and art become the  
property of others, a portion of the goods of those  
who have borrowed thee, and hast thrown away the  
good thing that was thine own. Yes, thou knowest,  
even though all men should hold their peace, how  
eyes draw thee, and ears, and the whole crowd of  
thine other kinsfolk, towards what they themselves  
love. But if thou desire to recover the self that thou 11  
hast lent and to have thine own possessions about

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- αὐτῆς διαζεύξας ἢ ἀλλοτριώσας μέρος, εὐδαίμονος μεταποιήση βίου, χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν οὐκ ὀθνείων ἀλλ' οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν εἰς αἰεὶ καρπούμενος.
- 12 ἀλλὰ μετανάστηθι κακὰ τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγου, ὃν πατὴρ οἶκον ὠνόμασεν, ἵνα μὴ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων ἀπατηθεὶς κάλλεσι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν κάλλους, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς δηλούμενοις πράγμασι, διαζευχθῆς. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἢ σκιὰν σωμάτων ἢ μίμημα ἀρχετύπων φέρεσθαι πλέον· σκιᾷ μὲν δὴ καὶ μιμήματι ἕοικεν ἐρμηνεία, σώμασι δὲ καὶ ἀρχετύποις αἱ τῶν διερμηνευομένων φύσεις πραγμάτων, ὧν τὸν ἐφιέμενον τοῦ εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δοκεῖν χρή περιέχεσθαι διοικιζόμενον ἀπ'
- 13 ἐκείνων. III. ἐπειδὴν γοῦν ὁ νοῦς ἀρξήται γνωρίζειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐνομιλεῖν θεωρήμασιν, ἅπαν τὸ κλινόμενον τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἶδος ἀπώσεται, ὃ κέκληται παρ' Ἑβραίοις Λώτ. οὗ χάριν ὁ σοφὸς εἰσάγεται λέγων ἄντικρυς· “ διαχωρίσθητι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·” συνοικεῖν γὰρ ἀμήχανον τὸν ἀσωμάτων καὶ ἀφθάρτων ἔρωτι κατεσχημένον τῷ πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ
- 14 ῥέποντι. παγκάλως οὖν ὁ ἱεροφάντης μίαν τῆς νομοθεσίας ὅλην ἱερὰν βίβλον Ἐξαγωγὴν ἀνέγραψεν οἰκείον ὄνομα εὐράμενος τοῖς περιεχομένοις χρησμοῖς· ἄτε γὰρ παιδευτικὸς ὢν καὶ πρὸς νουθεσίαν καὶ σωφρονισμόν ἐτοιμότητος τῶν οἴων τε νουθετεῖσθαι καὶ σωφρονίζεσθαι πάντα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 11-14

thee, letting no portion of them be alienated and fall into other hands, thou shalt claim instead a happy life, enjoying in perpetuity the benefit and pleasure derived from good things not foreign to thee but thine own. Again, quit speech also, " thy 12

father's house," as Moses calls it, for fear thou shouldst be beguiled by beauties of mere phrasing, and be cut off from the real beauty, which lies in the matter expressed. Monstrous it is that shadow should be preferred to substance or a copy to originals. And verbal expression is like a shadow or copy, while the essential bearing of the matters conveyed by words resembles substance and originals; and it behoves the man, whose aim it is to be rather than to seem, to dissociate himself from the former and hold fast to the latter. III. So we find 13

that when the Mind begins to know itself and to hold converse with the things of mind, it will thrust away from it that part of the soul which inclines to the province of sense-perception, the inclining which among the Hebrews is entitled " Lot." Hence the wise man is represented as saying outright, " Separate thyself from me " (Gen. xiii. 9). For it is impossible for one who is possessed by love for all that is incorporeal and incorruptible to dwell together with one who leans towards the objects of sense-perception doomed to die. Right well, then, did the Sacred 14 Guide inscribe one entire sacred book of the Law-giving " Exagoge " or " Leading out," for the name thus found was appropriate to the oracles contained in it. For being well qualified to train men and fully furnished for the admonition and correction of those who were capable of admonition and correction, he contemplates the task of taking out all the population

## PHILO

- λεὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας, τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων αὐτῆς ἐξελεῖν διανοεῖται, χαλεπώτατον καὶ βαρύτατον ἄχθος ἡγούμενος ὄρατικὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν πιεσθῆναι καὶ ἐπιτάγμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν, ἅτ' ἂν αἱ ἀνηλεεῖς προστάττωσιν
- 15 ἐπιθυμίαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν στενάξαντας καὶ πολλὰ ἐκδακρύσαντας τὴν σωματικὴν εὐθηνίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθόνους περιουσίας—λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐστέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ”—ὑφηγησαμένου τοῦ Ἰλω θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἕξοδον ὁ προφήτης αὐτοῦ ρύεται.
- 16 Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τὰς πρὸς σῶμα σπονδὰς ἔθεντο καὶ ὡσπερ λάρνακι ἢ σορῶ ἢ ὅπως ὀνομάζειν ἐτέρως φίλον τῶδε ἐνετάφησαν. ὧν τὰ μὲν ὅσα φιλοσώματα καὶ φιλοπαθῆ μέρη λήθη παραδοθέντα κατορύττεται· εἰ δέ πού τι φιλάρετον παραέβλαστε, μνήμαι ἀνασώζεται, δι' ὧν τὰ
- 17 καλὰ ζωपुरεῖσθαι πέφυκε. IV. τὰ γοῦν ὀσῶτα Ἰωσήφ, λέγω δὴ τὰ μόνα ὑπολειφθέντα τῆς τοσαύτης ψυχῆς ἀδιάφθορα καὶ ἀξιωμακόμενευτα εἶδη, περιποιεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, ἄτοπον ἡγούμενος
- [439] καθαρὰ | μὴ καθαροῖς συνεζευχθαι. τὰ
- 18 δ' ἀξιωμακόμενευτα ταῦτα ἦν· τὸ πιστεῦσαι ὅτι “ ἐπισκέφεται ὁ θεὸς ” τὸ ὄρατικὸν γένος καὶ οὐ

<sup>a</sup> “Things outside the body” (see note on *Quod Det.* 7) interpret the “inhabitants of Egypt” in § 14, as “the things of the body” interpret Egypt.

<sup>b</sup> For the interpretation of these “works” or tasks as slavery to the passions and the like cf. *De Conf.* 93.

<sup>c</sup> Here begins the digression about Joseph which continues to the end of § 24. The opening words of § 16 are a meditation on Gen. 1. 26 “And Joseph died (ἐτελεύτησε, cf. μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς) and was buried, and they laid him in a coffin (σορῶ), in Egypt.” The lesson deduced is that the compromising

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 14-18

of the soul right away from Egypt, the body, and away from its inhabitants ; deeming it a most sore and heavy burden that an understanding endowed with vision should be under the pressure of the pleasures of the flesh, and should submit to such injunctions as its merciless cravings may lay upon it. These, indeed, groaned over and greatly bewailed 15 their bodily well-being, and the lavish abundance of things outside the body,<sup>a</sup> which was theirs, for we read that " the children of Israel groaned by reason of their works <sup>b</sup> " (Ex. ii. 23). When they do this, the gracious God instructs His prophet regarding their coming out, and His prophet delivers them.

<sup>c</sup> But some make a truce with the body and main- 16 tain it till their death, and are buried in it as in a coffin or shell or whatever else you like to call it. All the body-loving and passion-loving portions of these are laid in the grave and consigned to oblivion. But if anywhere by the side of these there grows up a virtue-loving tendency, it is saved from extinction by memories, which are a means of keeping alive the flame of noble qualities.

IV. So the Holy 17 Word, deeming it unfitting that pure things should have impure things associated with them, provides for the safe-keeping of Joseph's bones, by which I mean the only relics of such a soul as were left behind untouched by corruption and worthy of perpetual memory (Gen. l. 25).<sup>d</sup> Those of the 18 latter kind were these ; Joseph's confidence that " God will visit " the race that has vision (Gen. l. 24),

Joseph-nature is " buried in the body " and forgotten, but it may have higher things or " bones ". These are remembered and serve to kindle excellence in others.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 560.

## PHILO

παραδώσει μέχρι παντός αὐτὸ ἀμαθία, τυφλῆ  
 δεσποίνῃ, τὸ διακρίναι τά τε θνητὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ  
 τὰ ἄφθαρτα καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅσα περὶ τὰς σώματος  
 ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παθῶν ἀμετρίας θνητὰ ὄντα  
 Αἰγύπτῳ καταλιπεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφθάρτων  
 σπονδῆν<sup>1</sup> ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως μετὰ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων  
 εἰς τὰς ἀρετῆς πόλεις διακομισθῆ, καὶ ὄρκω τὴν  
 19 σπονδῆν ἐμπεδώσασθαι. τίνα οὖν τὰ  
 ἄφθαρτα; ἢ πρὸς ἡδονῆν ἀλλοτρίωσις τὴν λέγου-  
 σαν· συννευσθῶμεν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπο-  
 λαύσωμεν ἀγαθῶν, ἢ μετὰ καρτερίας ἀγχίνοια, δι'  
 ἧς τὰ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν νομιζόμενα ἀγαθὰ ὡς  
 ἂν ἐνύπνια ὄντα \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> διακρίνει καὶ διαστέλλει,  
 ὁμολογῶν τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων συγκρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ θεόν, τὰς δὲ ἀδήλους  
 καὶ ἀσαφεῖς φαντασίας κατὰ τὸν πλάνητα καὶ  
 τύφου μεστὸν μήπω κεκαθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων βίον  
 ταῖς διὰ σιτοπόνων καὶ μαγείρων καὶ οἰνοχόων  
 20 τέρψεσι χαίροντα, τὸ μὴ ὑπήκοον, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντα  
 Αἰγύπτου πάσης, τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας, ἀνα-  
 γραφῆναι, τὸ αὐχεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ γένος εἶναι Ἑβραίων,  
 οἷς ἔθος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ μεταν-  
 ἵστασθαι—περάτης γὰρ ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐρμηνεύεται—,  
 τὸ σεμνύνεσθαι ὅτι “ ὦδε οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδέν ”—τὸ  
 γὰρ μηδὲν τῶν ἐνταῦθα σπουδαζομένων<sup>3</sup> παρὰ τοῖς  
 φαύλοις ἐργάσασθαι, διαμισῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀποστραφῆ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. σπονδῆν.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. conjectures <τῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντων>. I am not sure that it is necessary to suppose any lacuna.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. σπουδαζόντων.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 560, on § 17.

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to the description of Potiphar in the LXX (Gen. xxxix. 1) as chief cook.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 18-20

and will not utterly hand it over to Ignorance, that blind task-mistress ; his discernment between the mortal and the incorruptible portions of the soul and his leaving behind to Egypt those which had to do with bodily pleasures and other forms of unrestrained passion, while concerning the incorruptible parts he made an agreement, that they should accompany those who went up to the cities of virtue, and should be conveyed thither, and had the agreement secured by an oath. What, then, are the un- 19  
corrupted parts ?<sup>a</sup> His having nothing to do with Pleasure when she says, " Let us lie together " (Gen. xxxix. 7) and enjoy the good things of mankind : the shrewdness coupled with the resoluteness which enabled him to recognize the products of empty fancies which many accounted to be good, and to distinguish them as mere dreams from those which are really so ; and to confess that the true and certain interpretations of things are given under God's guidance (Gen. xl. 8), while the doubtful imaginations that have no certainty follow the rule and line of the erring and deluded life of men who have not undergone purification, a life that finds its joy in the delights provided by bakers and cooks<sup>b</sup> and butlers. Other traits of incorruption were these : he was pro- 20  
claimed not the subject, but the ruler of all Egypt, the domain of the body (Gen. xli. 41) : he was proud to own himself a member of the Hebrew race (Gen. xl. 15), whose wont it is, as the name " Hebrew " or " Migrant " indicates, to quit the objects of sense-perception and go after those of Mind : he gloried in the fact that " here he had done nothing " (*ibid.*), for to have performed no single act such as the worthless people there admired, but to have utterly

## PHILO

- 21 ναι πάντα οὐ μετρίως ἐπαινετόν—, τὸ ἐμπαίξειν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ πάντων παθῶν ἀμετρίαις, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ μηδέπω γέγονεν ἀγαπᾶν ἱκανός, τὸ ζωῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀληθοῦς— (V.) ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας ὁ ὄρων, καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον ἦν καταπλαγῆναι, φησί· “ μέγα μοί ἐστιν, εἰ ἔτι ὁ υἱός μου Ἰωσήφ ζῆ,” ἀλλὰ μὴ κεναῖς δόξαις καὶ τῷ νεκρο-
- 22 φορουμένῳ σώματι συντέθηκε—, τὸ ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι “ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι,” τῶν δ’ εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθόντων οὐδενός, τὸ γνωριζόμενον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πάντας τοὺς φιλοσωμάτους κινήσαι καὶ σαλευσαι τρόπους ἐστάναι παγίως ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων οἰομένους δογμάτων καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπώσασθαι, τὸ φάναι μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπεστάλθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς
- 23 ἔνομον ἐπιστασίαν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα  
τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα τῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ ἱερωτέρας ὄντα τάξεως, Αἴγυπτον τὸν σωματικὸν οἶκον οἰκεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὐδ’ ἐνθάπτεται σορῶ τὸ παράπαν,
- [440] ἔξω δὲ παντὸς τοῦ θνητοῦ | κεχωρηκότα παρέπε-
- 24 ται<sup>1</sup> θεσμοθέτη λόγῳ Μωυσῆ ποδηγετοῦντι· τροφεὺς γὰρ καὶ τιθηνὸς οὗτος ἀστείων ἔργων, λόγων, βουλευμάτων, ἃ, κὰν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνακραθῆ ποτε διὰ τὴν ὑποσύγχυτον τοῦ θνητοῦ πολυμιγίαν, οὐδὲν ἦττον διακρίνει<sup>2</sup> παρελθῶν, ἵνα μὴ μέχρι παντὸς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. and Mangey put a comma after ἐπιστασίαν and correct ἀνέχεται, ἐνθάπτεται, παρέχεται of the mss. to the corresponding infinitives. See App. p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> mss. διακρίνεται. See App. p. 561.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 560.

<sup>b</sup> The thought of the body as a dead thing from the first, which the soul supports, has been more fully developed in *Leg. All.* iii. 69 f. Cf. also *De Agr.* 25.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 21-24

hated and eschewed them all, was conduct that called 21  
for no slight praise : he derided lusts and all passions  
and their gross excesses (Gen. xxxix. 14, 17) :<sup>a</sup> he  
feared God (Gen. xlii. 18) even though he was not  
yet ready to love Him : when in Egypt he claimed  
as his own the life that is real life, (V.) a claim which  
caused Israel to marvel in just amazement, and to  
cry, "It is a great matter in my eyes if my son Joseph  
still *lives*" (Gen. xlv. 28), and has not shared the  
death of vain opinions, and of the body the corpse  
he carries with him :<sup>b</sup> he confesses that he is God's 22  
(Gen. l. 19),<sup>c</sup> not the property of any created being :  
when making himself known to his brethren he thrust  
perforce from his presence, shaken and tottering, all  
those frames of mind that make the body their  
delight and think that their own doctrines afford them  
a firm standing (Gen. xlv. 1 f.) : he declared that  
he had not received his commission at the hands of  
men, but had been appointed by God (Gen. xlv. 7 f.)  
to be duly constituted controller of the body and of  
things outside the body.<sup>d</sup> And these are 23  
but a few of the traits indicative of the better and  
holier standing, which utterly refuse to dwell in  
Egypt the bodily tenement, are never buried in a  
coffin at all, but, having passed out of all that is  
mortal, follow the guiding steps of Moses, the Law-  
giving Word. For Moses is the nursing-father who 24  
rears with fostering care noble deeds, words, designs,  
which, albeit often mingled with their opposites owing  
to the chaos and confusion which besets mortality,  
he none the less comes forward and separates from

<sup>c</sup> E.V. "Am I in the place of God?"

<sup>d</sup> Again, as in § 15, the two lower goods serve to interpret  
"Lord of all his *house* and ruler of all the *land of Egypt*."

## PHILO

καλοκάγαθίας σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ ἀφανισθέντα οἰχῆται.

- 25 Καὶ προτρέπεται μάλα ἐρρωμένως ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν παντὸς ἀτόπου χρηματίζουσαν μητέρα, μὴ μέλλοντας καὶ βραδύνοντας, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλοντι τάχει χρωμένους· φησὶ γὰρ μετὰ σπουδῆς δεῖν θύειν τὸ Πάσχα, τὸ δέ ἐστὶν ἐρμηνευθὲν διάβασις, ἢ ἀνευδοιάστω γνώμη καὶ προθυμία συντόνω χρώμενος ὁ νοῦς τὴν τε ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ποιῆται διάβασις καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν εὐχαριστίαν, ὃς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προσδοκῆσαντα
- 26 αὐτὸν ἐξείλετο.

- VI. καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, εἰ τὸν ὑπηγμένον κράτει πάθους ἀλόγου προτρέπει μὴ ἐνδιδόναι μηδὲ τῇ ῥύμη τῆς ἐκείνου φορᾶς κατασυρῆναι, βιάσασθαι δὲ ἀντισχόντα κἄν, εἰ μὴ δύναίτο, ἀποδρᾶναι; δευτέρα γὰρ ἔφοδος εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ δυναμένοις δρασμὸς ἐστίν· ὁπότε καὶ τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν φύσει καὶ μηδέποτε παθῶν δοῦλον γεγεννημένον, αἰεὶ δὲ ἀθλοῦντα τοὺς πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἄθλους, οὐκ ἐᾷ μέχρι παντὸς τοῖς παλαίσμασι χρήσασθαι, μὴ ποτε τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς εἰς ταῦτὸ συνόδου χαλεπὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων κῆρα ἀναμάξῃται· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἀντιπάλου κακίας
- 27 ἐγένοντο μιμηταί, ὡς ἀρετῆς ἔμπαλις ἕτεροι. διὸ λόγιον ἐχρήσθη τοιόνδε· “ ἀποστρέφου εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ εἰς τὴν γενεάν σου, καὶ ἔσομαι

<sup>a</sup> The thought of §§ 26-30 seems to be that while ordinary souls, typified by Israel leaving Egypt, must shun outward temptations, because they will prove too strong for them, even the Jacob-souls, who have proved their superiority, will do well to detach themselves and become immersed in that

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 24-27

the rest, that the germs and shoots of moral excellence may not permanently be obliterated and lost.

Moses also urges the Israelites to quit right stoutly 25 her who bears the name of mother of every monstrous thing, with no slow or lingering steps, but with exceeding speed ; for he bids them with haste to sacrifice the Passover (Ex. xii. 11), which means " a passing over," to the intent that the Mind with resolute purpose and unfailling eagerness may carry out both its passing away from the passions without turning back, and its thanksgiving to God its Saviour, Who brought it forth into liberty when it looked not for it.

VI. And what is there to wonder at 26 in his urging the mind, that had been brought under the control of irrational passion, not to give in, nor to be swept down by the violence of that passion's current, but to resist with all its might, and, should it fail, even to run away ? For flight remains as an alternative way of reaching safety for those who are not able to repel the danger. See how Moses deals with one who was by nature a sturdy fighter and had never become the slave of passions, but was always engaged in the conflict with each one of them ?<sup>a</sup> Even him he forbids to keep up his wrestlings to the end, lest one day, by perpetually meeting them, he should contract from them a pernicious taint : for many before now have proved imitators of an opponent's vice, as others on the other hand have imitated his virtue. For this reason a Divine intimation was 27 vouchsafed to him to this effect : " Turn back to the land of thy father and thy kindred, and I will be with thee " (Gen. xxxi. 3) ; as much as to say " Thou

higher wisdom represented by Isaac, which is beyond all worldly thoughts.

## PHILO

- μετὰ σοῦ," ἴσον τῷ γέγονας μὲν ἀθλητῆς τέλειος καὶ βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ἡξιώτης ἀγωνοθετοῦσης ἀρετῆς καὶ προτεινούσης ἀθλά σοι τὰ νικητήρια· κατάλυσον δὲ ἤδη τὸ φιλόνεικον, ἵνα μὴ πάντοτε πονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πονηθέντων ἀπόνασ-
- 28 θαι δυναθῆς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ καταμένων οὐδέποτε εὐρήσεις τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἔτι συνοικῶν καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς ἐνδιατρίβων ποιότησιν, ὧν Λάβαν ἐστὶν ἕξαρχος—ὄνομα δὲ ποιότητος τοῦτ' ἐστίν—, ἀλλὰ μετανάστην χρὴ γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν πατρώαν γῆν τὴν ἱεροῦ λόγου καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῶν ἀσκητῶν πατρός· ἢ δ' ἐστὶ σοφία, τῶν φιλαρέτων ψυχῶν
- 29 ἄριστον ἐνδιαίτημα. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ σοι τὸ αὐτομαθές, τὸ αὐτοδίδακτον, τὸ νηπίας καὶ γαλακτώδους τροφῆς ἀμέτοχον, τὸ χρησμῶ θείῳ καταβαίνειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον κεκωλυμένον καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐντυγχάνειν δελεαζούσαις ἡδοναῖς,
- 30 ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἰσαάκ. οὐ τὸν κλῆρον παραλαβὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀποθήσῃ τὸν πόνον· αἱ γὰρ ἀφθονίαι τῶν
- [441] ἐτοιμῶν καὶ κατὰ χειρὸς ἀγαθῶν | ἀπονίας αἰτιαί. πηγῇ δέ, ἀφ' ἧς ὄμβρει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἢ τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ σύνοδος ἐστίν· οὐ χάριν ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὰ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν φησιν· "ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ."
- 31 VII. Τί οὖν ἂν ἐπιλίποι καλὸν τοῦ τελεσφόρου [παντός] παρόντος θεοῦ μετὰ χαρίτων τῶν παρθένων αὐτοῦ θυγατέρων, ἃς ἀδιαφθόρους καὶ ἀμιάντους ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ κουροτροφεῖ; τότε μελέται μὲν καὶ πόνοι καὶ ἀσκήσεις ἡσυχάζουσιν,

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps an allusion to Gen. xxi. 8 "and the child grew and was weaned" (ἀπεγαλακτίσθη).

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 27-31

hast proved thyself a perfect athlete, and been awarded prizes and crowns with Virtue presiding and holding forth to thee the meed of victory : but now it is time for thee to have done with strife, lest thou be ever toiling, and have no power to reap the fruits of thy toil. This thou wilt never find while thou remainest where thou art, dwelling still with the objects of sense-perception, and spending thy days surrounded by bodily existence in its varied aspects, whose head and chief is Laban, bearing a name meaning variety of character. Nay, thou must change thine abode and betake thee to thy father's land, the land of the Word that is holy and in some sense father of those who submit to training : and that land is Wisdom, abode most choice of virtue-loving souls. In this country there awaiteth thee the nature which is its own pupil, its own teacher, that needs not to be fed on milk as children are fed,<sup>a</sup> that has been stayed by a Divine oracle from going down into Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2) and from meeting with the ensnaring pleasures of the flesh. That nature is entitled Isaac. When thou hast entered upon his inheritance, thou canst not but lay aside thy toil ; for the perpetual abundance of good things ever ready to the hand gives freedom from toil. And the fountain from which the good things are poured forth is the companionship of the bountiful God. He shews this to be so when to set His seal upon the flow of His kindnesses, He says " I will be with thee." VII. What fair thing, then, could fail when there was present God the Perfecter, with gifts of grace, His virgin daughters, whom the Father that begat them rears up uncorrupted and undefiled ? Then are all forms of studying, toiling, practising at rest ; and without

## PHILO

- ἀναδίδοται δὲ ἄνευ τέχνης φύσεως προμηθεία πάντα  
 32 ἀθρόα πᾶσιν ὠφέλιμα. καλεῖται δ' ἡ  
 φορὰ τῶν αὐτοματιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἄφεσις, ἐπειδή-  
 περ ὁ νοῦς ἀφείται τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιβολὰς  
 ἐνεργειῶν καὶ ὡσπερ τῶν ἐκουσίων ἠλευθέρωται  
 διὰ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν ὑομένων καὶ ἀδιαστάτως  
 33 ἐπομβρούντων. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα θαυμασιώτατα φύσει  
 καὶ περικαλλέστατα. ὧν μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὠδίνῃ δι'  
 ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ, τὰ πολλὰ ἀμβλωθρίδια, ἠλιτόμηνα·  
 ὅσα δὲ ἂν ἐπινίφων ὁ θεὸς ἄρδῃ, τέλεια καὶ ὀλόκληρα  
 34 καὶ πάντων ἄριστα γεννᾶται. τὸ ἐμ-  
 αυτοῦ πάθος, ὃ μυριάκις παθῶν οἶδα, διηγούμενος οὐκ  
 αἰσχύνομαι· βουλευθεὶς ἔστιν ὅτε κατὰ τὴν συνήθη  
 τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν δογμάτων γραφὴν ἔλθειν καὶ  
 ἂ χρῆ συνθεῖναι ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶς,<sup>1</sup> ἄγονον καὶ στείραν  
 εὐρῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἄπρακτος ἀπηλλάγην, τὴν μὲν  
 κακίστας τῆς οἰήσεως, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄντος κράτος  
 καταπλαγείς, παρ' ὄν<sup>2</sup> τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνοίγνυσθαι  
 35 τε καὶ συγκλείεσθαι μήτρας συμβέβηκεν. ἔστι δὲ  
 ὅτε κενὸς ἐλθὼν πλήρης ἐξαίφνης ἐγενόμην ἐπι-  
 υφομένων καὶ σπειρομένων ἄνωθεν ἀφανῶς τῶν  
 ἐνθυμημάτων, ὡς ὑπὸ κατοχῆς ἐνθέου κορυβαντιῶν  
 καὶ πάντα ἀγνοεῖν, τὸν τόπον, τοὺς παρόντας,  
 ἑμαυτόν, τὰ λεγόμενα, τὰ γραφόμενα. ἔσχον γὰρ  
 ἐρμηνείαν,<sup>3</sup> εὕρεσιν, φωτὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ὀξύτερκε-  
 στάτην ὄψιν, ἐνάργειαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀριδηλο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἰδῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οὐ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύει, which Wend. prints, though pronouncing it corrupt: Markland suggested ἔσχον γὰρ ἐρμηνείας ῥεῦσιν. See App. p. 561.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 31-35

interference of art by contrivance of Nature there come forth all things in one outburst charged with benefit for all. And the harvest of spontaneous good things is called "Release,"<sup>a</sup> inasmuch as the Mind is released from the working out of its own projects, and is, we may say, emancipated from self-chosen tasks, by reason of the abundance of the rain and ceaseless shower of blessings. And these are of a most marvellous nature and passing fair. For the offspring of the soul's own travail are for the most part poor abortions, things untimely born ; but those which God waters with the snows of heaven come to the birth perfect, complete and peerless.

I feel no shame in recording my own experience, a thing I know from its having happened to me a thousand times. On some occasions, after making up my mind to follow the usual course of writing on philosophical tenets, and knowing definitely the substance of what I was to set down, I have found my understanding incapable of giving birth to a single idea, and have given it up without accomplishing anything, reviling my understanding for its self-conceit, and filled with amazement at the might of Him that is to Whom is due the opening and closing of the soul-wombs. On other occasions, I have approached my work empty and suddenly become full, the ideas falling in a shower from above and being sown invisibly, so that under the influence of the Divine possession I have been filled with corybantic frenzy and been unconscious of anything, place, persons present, myself, words spoken, lines written. For I obtained language, ideas, an enjoyment of light, keenest vision, pellucid dis-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 561.

## PHILO

τάτην, οἷα γένοιτ' ἂν δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκ σαφειστάτης δειξέως.

- 36 VIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν δεικνύμενον τὸ ἀξιόρατον καὶ ἀξιοθέατον καὶ ἀξιεραστόν ἐστι, τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθόν, ὃ καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς πικρίας πέφυκε μεταβάλλον γλυκαίνειν, ἡδυσμάτων συμπάντων παράρτυμα κάλλιστον, δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ μὴ τρέφοντα τροφή γίνεται σωτήριος· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ κύριος ξύλον, καὶ ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ,” τὸν κεχυμένον καὶ πλαδῶντα καὶ πικρίας γέμοντα νοῦν, ἵνα
- 37 γλυκανθεὶς ἡμερωθῇ. τὸ δὲ ξύλον τοῦτο οὐ μόνον τροφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθανασίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται· τὸ γὰρ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ φησὶ πεφυτεῦσθαι, τὴν ἀγαθότητα δορυφορομένην ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀρετῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς πρά-  
[442] ξεων· αὕτη | γὰρ τὸν μεσαίτατον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν
- 38 ψυχῇ κεκλήρωται τόπον. ὁ δὲ ὄρων ἐστὶν ὁ σοφός· τυφλοὶ γὰρ ἢ ἀμυδροὶ τὰς ὄψεις οἷ γε ἄφρονες. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἐκάλουν πρότερον τοὺς βλέποντας· καὶ ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐσπούδασεν ὥτα ὀφθαλμῶν ἀντιδουὺς ἰδεῖν ἂ πρότερον ἤκουε, καὶ τυγχάνει τοῦ καθ' ὅρασιν κλήρου τὸν ἐξ
- 39 ἀκοῆς ὑπερβάς. εἰς γὰρ τὸν ὄρωντα Ἰσραὴλ μεταχαράττεται τὸ μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας νόμισμα, οὐπερ ἐπώνυμος ἦν Ἰακώβ, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ ὄραν γίνεται φῶς τὸ θεῖον, ἀδιαφοροῦν ἐπιστήμης, ἢ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς διοίγνυσιν ὄμμα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὥτων τηλαυγεστέρας καὶ ἀριδηλοτέρας<sup>2</sup> ἄγει καταλήψεις.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγαθῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τηλαυγεστάτας καὶ ἀριδηλοτάτας. The alternative (Mangey) is to retain the superlatives and correct ὥτων to νοητῶν or ὄντων.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 35-39

tinctness of objects, such as might be received through the eyes as the result of clearest shewing.<sup>a</sup>

VIII. Now the thing shewn is the thing worthy to 36  
be seen, contemplated, loved, the perfect good, whose  
nature it is to change all that is bitter in the soul  
and make it sweet, fairest seasoning of all spices,  
turning into salutary nourishment even foods that do  
not nourish. So we read "The Lord shewed him a tree,  
and he cast it into the water" (Ex. xv. 25), that is  
into the flabby, flaccid mind teeming with bitterness,  
that its savagery might be sweetened away. This 37  
tree offers not nourishment only but immortality also,  
for we are told that the Tree of Life has been planted  
in the midst of the Garden (Gen. ii. 9), even Goodness  
with the particular virtues and the doings which  
accord with them to be its bodyguard. For it is  
Virtue that has obtained as its own the central and  
most honourable place in the soul. Such 38  
is that which is shewn, and he that sees it is the wise  
man, for fools are blind or dim-sighted. That is why  
in former times they called the prophets seers (1 Sam.  
ix. 9); and the Trainer of self was eager to exchange  
ears for eyes, and to see what before he heard, and,  
going beyond the inheritance which has hearing as  
its source, he obtains that of which sight is the ruling  
principle. For the current coin of learning and teach- 39  
ing from which Jacob took his title is reminted into  
the seeing Israel. Hereby comes to pass even the  
seeing of the Divine light, identical with knowledge,  
which opens wide the soul's eye, and leads it to  
apprehensions distinct and brilliant beyond those

<sup>a</sup> The concluding word "*shewing*" serves to bridge over transition from this meditation on the Spontaneous Blessings to the discussion of the First Gift to Abraham, *i.e.* "the land which I will *shew* thee."

## PHILO

ὡσπερ γὰρ διὰ μουσικῆς τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν καὶ διὰ  
 πάσης τέχνης τὰ ἐν ἐκάστη καταλαμβάνεται, οὕτω  
 40 καὶ διὰ σοφίας τὸ σοφὸν θεωρεῖται. σοφία δὲ οὐ  
 μόνον φωτὸς τρόπον ὄργανον τοῦ ὄραν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ αὐτὴν ὄρα. αὕτη θεοῦ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον [ἡλίου]  
 φέγγος, οὗ μίμημα καὶ εἰκὼν ἡλίου. ὁ  
 δὲ δεικνὺς ἕκαστα ὁ μόνος ἐπιστήμων θεός· ἄνθρω-  
 ποι μὲν γὰρ τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπίστασθαι λέγονται μόνον  
 ἐπιστήμονες· ὁ δὲ θεός τῷ εἶναι ἦττον ἢ πέφυκε  
 λέγεται· νικῶνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων  
 41 οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἅπαξ λόγοι. τὴν δὲ σοφίαν  
 αὐτοῦ διασυνίστησιν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον  
 δεδημιουργηκένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην  
 τῶν γεγονότων ἰδρυκένας βεβαιοτάτα παρ' ἑαυτῷ·  
 42 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ὅσα  
 ἐποίησεν,” οὐκ ἴσον τῷ ὄψιν ἐκάστοις προσέβαλεν,  
 ἀλλ' εἶδησιν καὶ γνώσωσιν καὶ κατάληψιν ὧν ἐποίησεν  
 εἶχεν. <οὐ> τοίνυν<sup>1</sup> εὐπρεπὲς ὑφηγεῖσθαι καὶ  
 διδάσκειν καὶ δεικνύναι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦ-  
 σιν ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἐπιστήμονι, ὅστις οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὧν ἐποίησεν. εἶχε τοίνυν, which Mangey retained, changing ὅτι μὴ to ἀλλὰ μὴ. See App. p. 562.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Israel-soul, the seer, first sees the light, *i.e.* knowledge, and this in its turn enables the soul's eye to see the objects of knowledge, and so knowledge (or wisdom) is the "instrument" of sight (§ 40). ἀδιαφοροῦν agrees with φῶς, not with τὸ ὄραν.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 39-42

gained by the ears.<sup>a</sup> For as the application of the principles of music<sup>b</sup> is apprehended through the science of music, and the practice of each science through that science, even so only through wisdom comes discernment of what is wise. But wisdom is 40 not only, after the manner of light, an instrument of sight, but is able to see its own self besides. Wisdom is God's archetypal luminary and the sun is a copy and image of it.

But he that shews each several object is God, who alone is possessed of perfect knowledge. For men are only said to have knowledge because they seem to know ; whereas God is so called because He *is* the possessor of knowledge though the phrase does not adequately express this nature ; for all things whatever that can be said regarding Him that is fall far short of the reality of His powers. He gives clear proof of His wisdom not 41 only from His having been the Artificer of the universe, but also from His having made the knowledge of the things that had been brought into existence His sure possession. For we read " God saw all 42 things that He had made " (Gen. i. 31). This does not just mean that He set His eyes on each of them, but that He had insight<sup>c</sup> and knowledge and apprehension of the things which He had made. It follows then that to give teaching and guidance on each several thing, in fact to " shew " them, to the ignorant is proper only for the One who knows, seeing that He has not, as a man has, been profited by

<sup>b</sup> That τὰ κατά means the "practical application" is brought out more clearly in *Quod Det.* 114, where we have τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην (sc. ἀρετήν) ἐνεργήματα.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 562.

## PHILO

ὑπὸ τέχνης ὠφέληται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν ἀνωμολόγηται.

- 43 IX. Παρατετηρημένως δὲ οὐ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέλλοντα τῇ ὑποσχέσει χρόνον προδιώρισται, εἰπὼν οὐχ ἦν δείκνυμι ἀλλ' "ἦν σοι δείξω," εἰς μαρτυρίαν πίστεως ἣν ἐπίστευσεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεῷ, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸ εὐχάριστον, ἀλλ' ἐκ προσδοκίας τῶν μελλόντων· ἀρτηθείσα γὰρ καὶ ἐκκρεμασθείσα ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς καὶ ἀνενδοίαστα νομίσασα ἤδη παρεῖναι τὰ μὴ παρόντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑποσχομένου βεβαιότητα<sup>1</sup> πίστιν, ἀγαθὸν |
- [443] τέλειον, ἄθλον εὔρηται· καὶ γὰρ αὐθις λέγεται, ὅτι "ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ," καὶ Μωυσεῖ δὲ ὁμοίως πᾶσαν ἐπιδειξάμενος τὴν γῆν φησίν, ὅτι "ἔδειξα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, κακεῖ οὐκ εἰσελεύση."
- 45 μὴ μέντοι νομίσης ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ πανσόφου, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀπερισκέπτων, τοῦτο εἰρησθαι· καὶ γὰρ εὔηθες τοὺς δούλους οἰηθῆναι πρὸ τῶν φίλων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρετῆς χώραν διανεμ-
- 46 σθαι. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνό σοι βούλεται παραστήσαι, ὅτι ἕτερος νηπίων καὶ ἕτερος τελείων χώρός ἐστιν, ὁ μὲν ὀνομαζόμενος ἄσκησις, ὁ δὲ καλούμενος σοφία, ἔπειτα ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει ὄρατὰ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ κτητά· κτήσασθαι μὲν γὰρ τὰ θειοτέρας μοίρας λαχόντα πῶς ἐνεστιν ; ἰδεῖν δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἅπασιν, ἔστι δ' αὐτὸ μόνον<sup>2</sup> τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ὀξυωπεστάτῳ γένει, ᾧ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βεβαιοτάτην.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ.

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<sup>a</sup> Or, as Mangey, "referring to the death of."

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 42-46

science and its lore, but is acknowledged to be Himself the Source and Fountain-head of science and knowledge in all their forms.

IX. There is a deliberate intention when his words 43 take the form of a promise and define the time of fulfilment not as present but future. He says not " which I am shewing " but " which I will shew thee " (Gen. xii. 1). Thus he testifies to the trust which the soul reposed in God, exhibiting its thankfulness not as called out by accomplished facts, but by expectation of what was to be. For the soul, clinging in 44 utter dependence on a good hope, and deeming that things not present are beyond question already present by reason of the sure stedfastness of Him that promised them, has won as its meed faith, a perfect good ; for we read a little later " Abraham believed God " (Gen. xv. 6). To Moses, too, He says in like manner, when He had shewn to him all the Land, " I shewed it to thine eyes, but thou shalt not enter in " (Deut. xxxiv. 4). You must not think that 45 this was said, as some unconsidering people suppose, to humiliate<sup>a</sup> the all-wise leader ; for indeed it is folly to imagine that the servants of God take precedence of His friends in receiving their portion in the land of virtue. No, what he wishes to bring home to you 46 first of all is that children have one place and full-grown men another, the one named training, the other called wisdom : secondly, that the fairest things in nature are objects of sight rather than of possession. For how is it possible to become possessed of things whose allotted place is nearer to the Divine ? Yet to see them is within the bounds of possibility : though not for all. It is exclusively for the purest and most keen-eyed class, on whom the Father of all

## PHILO

- ἴδια ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὁ τῶν ὄλων πατήρ ἔργα μεγί-  
 47 στην πασῶν χαρίζεται δωρεάν. θεωρη-  
 τικοῦ γὰρ τίς ἀμείνων βίος ἢ μᾶλλον οικειούμενος  
 λογικῶ; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς τῶν θνητῶν ζώων  
 φωνῆς κριτήριον ἐχούσης ἀκοὴν τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ  
 λόγους οἱ χρησιμοὶ φωτὸς τρόπον ὄρωμένους μη-  
 νύουσι· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐώρα τὴν  
 φωνήν,” οὐκ ἤκουεν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἀέρος πληξίς  
 ἦν διὰ τῶν στόματος καὶ γλώττης ὀργάνων τὸ  
 γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ φέγγος ἀρετῆς τὸ περιαιυγέστατον,  
 λογικῆς ἀδιαφοροῦν πηγῆς, ὃ καὶ ἐτέρωθι μνηύεται  
 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ ὑμεῖς ἐωράκατε, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ λελάληκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς,” οὐχὶ ἠκούσατε, διὰ  
 48 τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ἔστι δ’ ὅπου τὰ ἀκουστὰ τῶν  
 ὀρατῶν καὶ ἀκοὴν ὀράσεως διακρίνει λέγων·  
 “ φωνὴν ῥημάτων ὑμεῖς ἠκούσατε, καὶ ὁμοίωμα οὐκ  
 εἶδετε ἀλλ’ ἢ φωνήν,” ἄγαν περιττῶς· τὴν μὲν γὰρ  
 εἰς ὄνομα καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ συνόλως τὰ τοῦ λόγου μέρη  
 τεμνομένην ἀκουστὴν εἰκότως εἶπεν—ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀκοῆς  
 δοκιμάζεται—, τὴν δὲ μὴ ῥημάτων μὴδ’ ὀνομά-  
 των ἀλλὰ θεοῦ φωνήν, ὄρωμένην τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς  
 49 ὀμματι, ὀρατὴν δεόντως εἰσάγει. προειπῶν δὲ τὸ  
 “ ὁμοίωμα οὐκ εἶδετε” ἐπιφέρει “ ἀλλ’ ἢ φωνήν,”  
 ἦν πάντως εἶδετε—τὸ γὰρ προσυπακουόμενον  
 τοῦτ’ ἂν εἶη— ὥσθ’ οἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι ὄρασιν  
 ἔχουσι τὴν ἐν ψυχῇ κριτήριον, ἀκοὴν δ’ οἱ εἰς  
 ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἰδέας μεριζόμενοι.  
 50 καινὸς δ’ ὢν ἐν ἅπασιν τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ τοῦτ’

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<sup>a</sup> Philo connects the “voice of words” with the gram-  
 matical use of ῥήματα for verbs and supposes the verse to  
 mean “ordinary human voice you hear, but God’s voice  
 you see.”



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 46-50

things, by shewing to them His own works, bestows an all-surpassing gift. For what life is 47 better than a contemplative life, or more appropriate to a rational being? For this reason, whereas the voice of mortal beings is judged by hearing, the sacred oracles intimate that the words of God are seen as light is seen; for we are told that "all the people saw the Voice" (Ex. xx. 18), not that they heard it; for what was happening was not an impact on air made by the organs of mouth and tongue, but virtue shining with intense brilliance, wholly resembling a fountain of reason, and this is also indicated elsewhere on this wise: "Ye have seen that I have spoken to you out of Heaven" (Ex. xx. 22), not "ye heard," for the same cause as before. In one 48 place the writer distinguishes things heard from things seen and hearing from sight, saying, "Ye heard a voice of words, and saw no similitude but only a voice" (Deut. iv. 12), making a very subtle distinction, for the voice dividing itself into noun and verb and the parts of speech in general<sup>a</sup> he naturally spoke of as "audible," for it comes to the test of hearing: but the voice or sound that was not that of verbs and nouns but of God, seen by the eye of the soul, he rightly represents as "visible." And after first 49 saying "Ye saw no similitude" he adds "but only a Voice," evidently meaning the reader to supply in thought "which you did see." This shews that words spoken by God are interpreted by the power of sight residing in the soul, whereas those which are divided up among the various parts of speech<sup>b</sup> appeal to hearing. Fresh and original as is the 50 insight which he shews in all cases, there is a special

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 562.

## PHILO

ιδίως καὶ ξένως κεκαιούργηκεν εἰπὼν ὄρατὴν εἶναι τὴν φωνήν, τὴν μόνην σχεδὸν τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν οὐχ ὄρατὴν ὑπεξηρημένης διανοίας· τὰ μὲν γὰρ [444] κατὰ | τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις πάνθ' ὄρατά, τὰ χρώματα, οἱ χυλοί, οἱ ἀτμοί, τὰ θερμά, τὰ ψυχρά, τὰ λεία, τὰ τραχέα, τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ σκληρά, ἢ σώματα.

51 τί δέ ἐστι τοῦτο, σαφέστερον ἐρῶ· ὁ χυλὸς ὄρατός ἐστιν, οὐχ ἢ χυλός, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον σῶμα, τὸ γὰρ ἢ χυλὸς εἴσεται ἢ γεῦσις· καὶ ὁ ἀτμός, ἢ μὲν ἀτμός, ὑπὸ ῥινῶν ἐξετασθήσεται, ἢ δὲ σῶμα, καὶ πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταύτη  
52 δοκιμασθήσεται. φωνὴ δὲ οὐθ' ὡς ἀκουστόν οὐθ' ὡς σῶμα, εἰ δὴ καὶ σῶμά ἐστιν, ὄρατόν εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ δύο ταῦτα τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀόρατα, νοῦς καὶ λόγος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοιον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἠχεῖον<sup>1</sup> τῷ θείῳ φωνῆς ὀργάνῳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερον ἀέρι κίρναται καὶ πρὸς τὸν συγγενῆ τόπον καταφεύγει, τὰ ὦτα, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀκράτου<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀμιγοῦς ἐστι λόγου, φθάνοντος μὲν ἀκοὴν διὰ λεπτότητα, ὀρωμένου δὲ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ βλέπειν ὀξύτητα.

53 X. Οὐκοῦν μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν θνητῶν πρώτην ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται τῇ ψυχῇ δωρεάν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐπίδειξιν καὶ θεωρίαν τῶν ἀθανάτων, δευτέραν <δὲ> τὴν εἰς πλήθος ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγεθος τῶν ἀρετῆς δογμάτων ἐπίδοσιν· λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα,” διὰ μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους τὸ πλήθος, διὰ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἠχεῖ (ἠχή) ἐν ὀρ ἠχημα.

<sup>2</sup> mss. (and, strange to say, all editions) ἀκρατοῦς, a word impossible in this context.

\* The thought seems to be that, while none of our sensa-

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 50-53

and unusual originality in this instance in his saying that the voice is visible, practically the only thing in us, if understanding be left out of consideration, which is not visible : for the objects of the senses other than the eyes are all of them, colours, savours, perfumes, things warm, things cold, things smooth, things rough, things soft and hard, visible as bodies.

What this means I will state more <sup>51</sup> clearly. The savour is visible, not as a savour, but only as a body, for as savour, it is the taste that will know it ; and the odour, as odour, will be assayed by the nostrils, but as body, by the eyes also ; and the rest will be subject to the same double test.<sup>a</sup> But it is not the nature of voice to be visible whether we regard it as something audible or as body, if body indeed it is ;<sup>b</sup> but of our properties these two are invisible, mind and speech. The truth is that our <sup>52</sup> sound-producer is not similar to the Divine organ of voice ; for ours mingles with air and betakes itself to the place akin to it, the ears ; but the Divine is an organ of pure and unalloyed speech, too subtle for the hearing to catch it, but visible to the soul which is single in virtue of its keenness of sight.

X. So then, the first boon which God vouchsafes <sup>53</sup> to the soul after it has relinquished mortal things is, as I have said, the shewing of things immortal and the power to contemplate them ; and the second, progress in the principles of virtue, alike as regards number and " greatness " : for He says, " And I will make thee to become a great nation," implying by the word " nation " their number, and by the tions are visible, those of taste, smell, and touch are produced by visible objects.

<sup>b</sup> According to the Stoics *φωνή* is a body, but Philo does not unreservedly accept this.

## PHILO

τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον αὐξήσιν παραλαμ-  
 54 βάνων. τὴν δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερον εἶδος, τό-  
 τε ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τὸ ἐν πλήθει, παραυξήσιν διασυν-  
 ἴσθησι καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς· “ ἰδὸν ” γάρ-  
 φησι “ τὸ γένος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ μέγα πλήθος, ”  
 ἐπειδὴ γε ἀμφότερα τῷ ὁρατικῷ τοῦ ὄντος γένει  
 προσμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς πληθύν τε καὶ μέγεθος κτησα-  
 μένω, τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ λόγον κατορθώματα.

55 οὐ γάρ, ὅπερ ἂν τις τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εἰρμόν  
 διαφυλάττων, πολὺ πλήθος, ἀλλὰ μέγα εἶπεν, εἰδὼς  
 τὸ πολὺ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀτελὲς μέγεθος, εἰ μὴ προσλάβοι  
 δύναμιν νοήσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης. τί γὰρ ὄφελος  
 πολλὰ μὲν θεωρήματα παραλαμβάνειν, ἕκαστον δὲ  
 αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἀρμόττον μέγεθος μὴ συναυξήσαι;  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγρὸς τέλειος, ᾧ μυρία μὲν ὄσα ἐνυπάρχει  
 φυτὰ χαμαίζηλα, τέλειον δὲ μηδὲν ἔρνος γεωργικῆ  
 τέχνη συνανέβλασθεν ἤδη καρποτοκεῖν δυνάμενον.

56 τοῦ δὲ μεγέθους καὶ πλήθους τῶν  
 καλῶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἢ ἀδιάστατος περὶ θεοῦ  
 μνήμη καὶ ἡ κατάκλησις τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας  
 πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον καὶ συγκεχυμένον καὶ συνεχῆ  
 τοῦ βίου πόλεμον· λέγει γάρ· “ ἰδὸν λαὸς σοφὸς καὶ  
 ἐπιστήμων τὸ ἔθνος τὸ μέγα τοῦτο· ὅτι ποῖον ἔθνος  
 μέγα, ᾧ ἐστι θεὸς ἐγγίζων ὡς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν  
 ἐν πάσιν οἷς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεσώμεθα ; ”

57  
 [445] οὐκοῦν ὅτι καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν δύνάμις | ἀρωγὸς  
 εὐτρεπῆς ἐφεδρεῦει παρὰ θεῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγεμῶν

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “ growth to something better.”

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 562.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 54-57

word "great" their improvement in quality.<sup>a</sup> How 54  
great their advance was in either respect, alike in  
"greatness" and in number, is made evident by the  
words of the King of Egypt, "Lo the race of the  
children of Israel is a great multitude" (Ex. i. 9).  
There he bears witness to the race that has eyes to  
see Him that is, that it has acquired both multitude  
and greatness, high achievement, that is, both in  
conduct of life and in principle.<sup>b</sup> For he did not say, 55  
as a man strictly observing the association of noun  
and epithet would say, "much multitude," but "a  
great multitude," knowing that "much" is but an  
incomplete greatness, if it stands by itself without  
the addition of the power to understand and know.  
For what advantage is there in receiving (from our  
teachers) the results of study in plenty, unless we go  
on to develop each of them to its fitting stature?  
For a field, too, is but an imperfect one which con-  
tains any number of plants only a little above the  
ground, but in which no fully formed growth has shot  
up aided by skilful tillage and able now to yield fruit.

The greatness and large number of the 56  
good and noble has for its beginning and end the  
perpetual recollection of God, and the calling down  
of the aid that comes from Him, to counter the in-  
testine warfare of life, unbroken in its bewildering  
irregularity, for it says: "Lo this great nation is a  
wise and understanding people: for what kind of  
great nation is there, which has God drawing nigh to  
it, as the Lord our God in all things in which we call  
upon Him?" (Deut. iv. 6 f.). So far it 57  
has been shewn that there is waiting ready and  
equipped at God's side strong help to come to our  
succour, and that the Sovereign Ruler will Himself

## PHILO

- ἐγγυτέρω πρόσσεισιν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀξίων ὠφελίσθαι, δεδήλωται. XI. τίνες δ' οἱ τούτων ἐπάξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσίν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι οἱ σοφίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐρασταὶ πάντες; οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων, ὃν εἶπε, λεώς, ὧν ἕκαστος μέγας εἰκότως ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλων ὀρέγεται, ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ λίαν ὑπερβαλλόντως, τοῦ μὴ διαζευχθῆναι θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ συνεγγίζοντος σταθερῶς ἄνευ καταπλήξεως ὑπομεῖναι.
- 58 οὗτος ὁ ὅρος ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου λεώ,<sup>1</sup> τὸ τῷ θεῷ συνεγγίζειν ἢ “ὦ θεὸς συνεγγίζει.” ὁ μὲν δὴ κόσμος καὶ ὁ κοσμοπολίτης σοφὸς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀναπέπλησται, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὄμιλος πλείοσι μὲν κέχρηται κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ ἐλάττοσι· σπάνιον γὰρ ἐν πεφυρμένῳ
- 60 καὶ συγκεχυμένῳ βίῳ τὸ καλόν. διόπερ ἐν χρησιμοῖς ἄδεται· “οὐχ ὅτι πολυπληθεῖτε παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, προείλετο κύριος ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξελέξατο— ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε ὀλιγοστοὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη—, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν κύριον ὑμᾶς.” εἰ γὰρ τις βουληθεῖ τὸν ὄχλον μιᾶς ψυχῆς ὥσπερ κατὰ ἔθνη διανεῖμαι, πολλὰς μὲν ἂν εὔροι τάξεις ἀκοσμούσας, ὧν ἡδοναὶ ἢ ἐπιθυμίαι ἢ λύπαι ἢ φόβοι ἢ πάλιν ἀφροσύνη καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ αἱ τούτων συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφαί<sup>2</sup> ταξιαρχοῦσι, μίαν δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον εὐ διακεκοσμημένην, ἧς ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ἀφηγεῖται.
- 61 παρὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἄδικον πλήθος πρὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ δικαίου προτετίμηται, παρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὸ σπάνιον ἀγαθὸν πρὸ μυρίων ἀδίκων· ὦ καὶ παρ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θεοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, as Wend. suggests, ἀδελφαὶ <κακίαι>.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 57-61

draw near for the benefit of those who are worthy to receive His benefits. XI. But who are they that are worthy to obtain these? Is it not clear that all the lovers of wisdom and knowledge are so? For 58 these are the wise and understanding people which was spoken of, each member of which is with good reason great, since he reaches out after great things; and after one most eagerly, never to be severed from God, the supremely Great, but without dismay steadfastly to abide His approach as He draws near. This 59 is the defining mark of the people that is "great," to draw nigh to God, or to be that "to which God draws nigh."

Now the world and the wise man, the world-citizen,<sup>a</sup> is filled full of good things many and great, but the remaining mass of men experiences evil things in greater number, but fewer good things; for in the medley and confusion of human life that which is fair and goodly is rare and scanty. And for this reason the sacred oracles con- 60 tain this utterance: "Not because ye are numerous beyond all the nations did the Lord prefer and choose you out: for ye surpass all the nations in fewness; but because the Lord loveth you" (Deut. vii. 7 f.). For were a man to desire to distribute, as it were into nations, the crowd contained in a single soul, many disorderly companies would he find, commanded by pleasures or desires or griefs or fears or again by follies and wrongdoings, and the nearest kinsfolk of these, but one only well-ordered, of which right reason is the captain.

Now, in the judge- 61 ment of men the multitude of the unjust is preferred to the single just; but in God's judgement the few good to the myriad unjust; and He charges the just

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Op.* 3.

## PHILO

αγγέλλει μηδέποτε τοιούτῳ συναινέσαι πλήθει. “ οὐκ ἔση ” γάρ φησι “ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπὶ κακία. ” ἄρ’ οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγων χρή; μετ’ οὐδενὸς μὲν οὖν φαύλου· εἰς δ’ ὧν ὁ φαῦλος πολὺς ἔστι κακίας, ὧ συντάσσεσθαι μεγίστη ζημία· τούναντίον γὰρ ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἀκαταπλήκτῳ χρωμένους

62 δυνάμει προσήκει. “ ἐὰν ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐξέλθης εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου καὶ ἴδῃς ἵππον, ” τὸ ὑπέραυχον καὶ σκιρτητικὸν πάθος ἀφηνιάζον, “ καὶ ἀναβάτην, ” τὸν ἐποχούμενον αὐτῷ φιλοπαθῆ νοῦν, “ καὶ λαὸν πλείονά σου, ” τοὺς ζηλωτὰς τῶν εἰρημένων φαλαγγηδὸν ἐπιόντας, “ οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ”· εἰς γὰρ ὧν ἐνὶ τῷ πάντων ἡγεμονίᾳ χρῆσις συμμαχῶ, “ ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου μετὰ

63 σοῦ. ” τούτου γὰρ ἡ σύνοδος καθαιρεῖ πολέμους, εἰρήνην ἀνοικοδομεῖ, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνήθη κακὰ ἀνατρέπει, τὸ σπάνιον καὶ θεοφιλὲς γένος ἀνασώζει, ὧ πᾶς ὁ γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μισεῖ καὶ βδελύττεται

64 τὰ τῶν γεωδεστέρων στίφη. XII. “ ἂ γὰρ πολυπληθεῖ ” φησί “ ποσὶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔρπετοῖς τοῖς <ἔρπουσιν> ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ φάγεσθε,

[446] ὅτι βδελύγματά ἐστιν. ” | ἀλλ’ οὐ μίσους ἐστὶν ἐπαξία ψυχῇ μὴ καθ’ ἐν μέρος ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλείστα βαίνουσα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ σώματος περιλιχνεύουσα καὶ συνόλως εἰς τὰς οὐρανοῦ θείας

65 περιόδους ἀνακῦψαι μὴ δυναμένη; καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ τὸ πολὺ πουν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἄπουν ἐν ἔρπετοῖς ψεκτόν, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν αἰτίαν, τὸ δ’ ὅτι



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 61-65

never to agree with such a multitude : for He says " Thou shalt not be with many to engage in wickedness " (Ex. xxiii. 2). Should we then be so with few ? Nay, not with any bad man : and the bad man, one though he be, is made manifold by wickednesses, and to range oneself by his side is a very great disaster : on the contrary it behoves us to shew a vigour free from terror and resist him and be at war with him. For it says " If thou go out to war against 62 thine enemies and see horse and rider," that is passion, the insolent, the restive, the unruly, and the passion-loving mind mounted on it, " and a people more numerous than thou art," even the devoted followers of these leaders advancing in serried mass " thou shalt not be afraid of them." One as thou art thou shalt have One fighting on thy side, even the Ruler of all, as it says, " for the Lord Thy God is with thee " (Deut. xx. 1). This companionship 63 brings wars to an end, builds up peace, overthrows the host of evil things to which we grow accustomed, rescues the scanty band of those beloved of God, every loyal adherent of which loathes and hates the battalions of the earth-bound.

XII. For 64 it says : " Whatsoever hath many feet among all creeping things that creep upon the earth, ye shall not eat, for they are an abomination " (Lev. xi. 42). Now, is not a soul deserving of hatred which moves over the ground not on one part of itself but on all or most parts, even licking with a relish the things of the body, and altogether incapable of lifting its eyes to the holy revolutions of heaven ? And further 65 among creeping things just as that which has many feet is disallowed, so too is that which has no feet, the former for the reason just given, the latter be-

## PHILO

ὄλον δι' ὄλων πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ γῆν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀλλ'  
 οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐξαιρόμενον· πάντα γὰρ  
 τὸν πορευόμενον ἐπὶ κοιλίαν ἀκάθαρτον εἶναί φησι,  
 τὸν τὰς τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονὰς μεταδιώκοντα αἰνιτ-  
 66 τόμενος. ἔνιοι δὲ προσυπερβάλλοντες οὐ  
 μόνον τῷ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐχρήσαντο γένει, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὸ ἀδελφὸν αὐτῇ πάθος, τὸν θυμόν, προσεκτή-  
 σαντο, βουληθέντες ὄλον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον  
 ἐκζωπυρῆσαι μέρος, τὸν δὲ νοῦν διαφθεῖραι· τὸ γὰρ  
 εἰρημένον λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ὄφεως, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ παντὸς  
 ἀλόγου καὶ φιλοπαθοῦς ἀνθρώπου χρησμός ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς ἐστι θεῖος· “ ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ  
 πορεύσῃ” περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ στέρνα ὁ θυμός, τὸ δὲ  
 67 ἐπιθυμίας εἶδος ἐν κοιλίᾳ. πορεύεται δὲ ὁ ἄφρων  
 δι' ἀμφοτέρων, θυμοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, αἰεὶ μηδένα  
 διαλείπων χρόνον, τὸν ἡνίοχον καὶ βραβευτὴν νοῦν  
 ἀποβαλὼν· ὁ δ' ἐναντίος τούτῳ θυμόν μὲν καὶ  
 ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκτέμνεται, κυβερνήτην δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται  
 λόγον θεῖον, καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ θεοφιλέστατος, ὅς,  
 ὅταν τὰς ὀλοκαύτους τῆς ψυχῆς ἱεουργῇ θυσίας,  
 “ τὴν μὲν κοιλίαν ἐκπλυνεῖ,” τουτέστιν ὄλον τὸ  
 ἐπιθυμίας εἶδος ἐκνύβεται, τὸ δὲ “ στηθύνιον ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως ἀφελεῖ,” σύμπαντα  
 δήπου τὸν πολεμικὸν θυμόν, ἵνα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος  
 καὶ ἄμεινον τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ λογικόν, μηδενὸς ἀντι-  
 σπῶντος ἔτι καὶ μεθέλκοντος ἐλευθέρους καὶ εὐγε-  
 νέσι τῷ ὄντι χρήσῃται πρὸς τὰ καλὰ πάντα ὄρμαϊς.  
 68 οὕτως γὰρ εἷς τε πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 65-68

cause it lies its full length sprawling upon the earth, lifted out of it by nothing even to the smallest extent : for it says that all that goeth upon the belly is unclean (*ibid.*), indicating by this figure the man who is in pursuit of the pleasures of the belly.

But some, exceeding all bounds, in their determination to kindle into activity all the irrational portion of the soul, and to destroy the mind, have not only indulged all that comes under the head of desire, but taken to them also its brother passion, fierce spirit. For that which was said, " Upon thy breast and thy belly shalt thou go " (Gen. iii. 14), in the literal sense applies to the serpent, but is really a truly Divine oracle applying to every irrational and passion-loving man ; for the breast is the abode of fierce spirit, and desire dwells in the belly. The fool's whole course 67 through every moment of his journey depends on this pair, fierce spirit and desire ; since he has got rid of mind, who is the charioteer and monitor. The man of the opposite character has excised fierce spirit and desire, and chosen as his patron and controlling guide the Divine Word. Even so Moses, best beloved of God, when offering the whole burnt sacrifices of the soul, will " wash out the belly " (Lev. viii. 21), that is, will cleanse away desire in every shape, but " the breast from the ram of consecration he will take away " (Lev. viii. 29). This means, we may be sure, the warlike spirit in its completeness ; and the object of taking it away is that the better portion of the soul, the rational part, that is left, may exercise its truly free and noble impulses towards all things beautiful, with nothing pulling against it any longer and dragging it in another direction.

In these circumstances it will improve both in number 68

## PHILO

- ἐπιδώσει· λέγεται γάρ· “ ἕως τίνος παροξυνούσιν ὁ λαὸς οὗτος; καὶ ἕως τίνος οὐ πιστεύουσί μοι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησα ἐν αὐτοῖς; πατάξω αὐτούς θανάτῳ καὶ ἀπολώ αὐτούς, καὶ ποιήσω σέ καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολὺ ἢ τοῦτο.” ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ χρώμενος πολὺς ὄμιλος καταλυθῆ τῆς ψυχῆς, πάντως εὐθύς ὁ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως διεξηρητημένος
- 69 ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ πολὺπουν καὶ ἄπουν, ἐναντία ὄντα ἐν τῷ γένει τῶν [447] ἐρπετῶν, ἀκάθαρτα | ἀναγράφεται, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἄθεος καὶ πολύθεος ἀντίπαλοι ἐν ψυχῇ δόξαι βέβηλοι. σημεῖον δέ· ἀμφοτέρας ὁ νόμος ἐκκλησίας ἱερᾶς ἀπελήλακε, τὴν μὲν ἄθεον θλαδίαν καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον εἶρξας ἐκκλησιάζειν, τὴν δὲ πολύθεον τὸν ἐκ πόρνης ὁμοίως κωλύσας ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν· ἄθεος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄγονος, πολύθεος δὲ ὁ ἐκ πόρνης τυφλώττων περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ πατέρα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς γονεῖς ἐπιγραφόμενος.<sup>1</sup>
- 70 XIII. Δύο μὲν αὐται δωρεαὶ προείρηνται, θεωρητικοῦ τε ἐλπίς βίου καὶ πρὸς πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος τῶν καλῶν ἐπίδοσις. τρίτη δ' ἐστὶν εὐλογία, ἧς ἄνευ βεβαιώσασθαι τὰς προτέρας χάριτας οὐκ ἔστι· λέγει γάρ· “ καὶ εὐλογήσω σε,” τουτέστιν ἐπαινετὸν λόγον δωρήσομαι· τὸ γὰρ εἶ πάντως ἐπ'

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αἰνιττόμενος. See App. p. 562.

<sup>o</sup> Cf. De Ebr. 213.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 68-70

and greatness : for it is said : " How long shall the people provoke ? and how long shall they refuse to trust Me in all the signs which I wrought among them ? I will smite them with death and will destroy them, and I will make thee and thy father's house a nation great and numerous beyond this one " (Num. xiv. 11 f.). For, in the soul when once the great concourse is broken up, in which fierce spirit and desire prevail, there rises and springs up without fail another concourse, even that which wholly depends on the rational nature. Now 69 just as the creature with many feet and that without feet, opposite species in the genus of creeping things, are proclaimed unclean, so also atheism and polytheism, mutually antagonistic doctrines in the soul, are alike profane. Here is the indication of this : the Law has expelled both of these doctrines from the sacred assembly, atheism, by debarring a eunuch from membership of it ;<sup>a</sup> polytheism, by likewise forbidding the son of a harlot to be a listener or speaker in it (Deut. xxiii. 1 f.). For the sterile man is godless ; and the son of a whore is a polytheist, being in the dark about his real father, and for this reason ascribing his begetting to many, instead of to one.

XIII. Two gifts have been already spoken of, which 70 are these, a hope held out of a life of contemplation, and progress towards abundance and "greatness" of things fair and beautiful. A third gift is " blessing " or excellence of reason and speech, and apart from this it is not possible to make the former gracious gifts secure. He says " And I will bless thee," *i.e.* " I will endow thee with excellent reason and speech." " Blessing " or " eulogy " is a word compounded of

## PHILO

- 71 ἀρετῆς· λόγος δὲ ὁ μὲν πηγῇ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ ἀπορροῇ, πηγῇ μὲν ὁ ἐν διανοίᾳ, προφορὰ δὲ ἡ διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης ἀπορροῇ. ἐκάτερον δὲ εἶδος λόγου βελτιωθῆναι πολὺς πλοῦτος, διάνοιαν μὲν εὐλογιστίᾳ πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μείζω χρωμένην, προφορὰν δὲ ὑπὸ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἠνιοχουμένην.
- 72 πολλοὶ γὰρ λογίζονται μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα, ὑπὸ δὲ ἑρμηνέως κακοῦ προϋδόθησαν, λόγου, μουσικὴν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον οὐκ ἐκπονήσαντες· οἱ δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἑρμηνεύσαι μὲν ἐγένοντο δυνατώτατοι, βουλευσασθαι δὲ φαυλότατοι, καθάπερ οἱ λεγόμενοι σοφισταί· τούτων γὰρ ἀχόρευτος μὲν καὶ ἄμουσος ἡ διάνοια, πάμμουσοι δὲ αἱ διὰ τῶν φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων
- 73 διέξοδοι. χαρίζεται δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀτελὲς οὐδέν, πλήρη δὲ καὶ τέλεια πάντα· διὸ καὶ νῦν τὴν εὐλογίαν οὐχ ἐνὶ λόγου τμήματι, τοῖς δὲ μέρεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιπέμπει δικαίων τὸν εὐεργετούμενον καὶ ἐνθυμείσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τὰ νοηθέντα δυνατῶς· ἡ γὰρ τελειότης δι' ἀμφοῖν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ τε ὑποβάλλοντος τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καθαρῶς καὶ τοῦ διερμηνεύοντος αὐτὰ
- 74 ἀπταιστώσως. ἡ οὐχ ὀρᾶς τὸν Ἄβελ—ὄνομα δέ ἐστι τὰ θνητὰ πενθοῦντος καὶ τὰ ἀθάνατα εὐδαιμονίζοντος—, ὡς ἀνεπιλήπτω μὲν κέχρηται διανοίᾳ, τῷ δὲ μὴ γεγυμνάσθαι περὶ λόγους ἡττηται πρὸς δεινοῦ παλαῖσαι Κάιν<sup>1</sup> τέχνη μᾶλλον ἢ ῥώμη περι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ.

\* For Philo's use of εὐλογιστία in connexion with εὐλογεῖν see note on *De Sobr.* 18.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 71-74

“ well ” and “ logos. ” Of these, “ well ” connotes 71  
nothing but excellence: “ logos ” has two aspects, one  
resembling a spring, the other its outflow; “ logos ” in  
the understanding resembles a spring, and is called  
“ reason, ” while utterance by mouth and tongue is  
like its outflow, and is called “ speech. ” That each  
species of logos should be improved is vast wealth, the  
understanding having good reasoning<sup>a</sup> at its command  
for all things great and small, and utterance being  
under the guidance of right training. For many 72  
reason excellently, but find speech a bad interpreter  
of thought and are by it betrayed, through not having  
had a thorough grounding in the ordinary subjects of  
culture. Others, again, have shewn great ability in  
expounding themes, and yet been most evil thinkers,  
such as the so-called sophists; for the understanding  
of these men is wholly untrained by the Muses, whose  
united voice is heard in the output of the vocal organs.  
But God bestows on those who obey Him no im- 73  
perfect boon. All His gifts are full and complete.  
And so, in this case also, He does not send the blessing  
or “ logos-excellence ” in one division of logos, but  
in both its parts, for He holds it just that the recipient  
of His bounty should both conceive the noblest con-  
ceptions and give masterly expression to his ideas.  
For perfection depends, as we know, on both divisions  
of logos, the reason which suggests the ideas with  
clearness, and the speech which gives unflinching  
expression to them.

Do you not notice 74  
Abel, whose name stands for one to whom things  
mortal are a grief and things immortal are full of  
happiness, how, though he has the advantage of a  
faultless understanding, yet through lack of training  
in speaking he is worsted by Cain, a clever wrestler

## PHILO

- 75 γενέσθαι δυναμένου; διὸ καὶ θαυμάζων τῆς περὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμοιρίας τὸν τρόπον αἰτιῶμαι τοσοῦτον, ὅτι προκληθεὶς εἰς ἄμιλλαν λόγων ἤκεν ἀγωνιούμενος, δέον ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἡρεμίας στήναι πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα τῷ φιλονείκῳ, εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐβούλετο πάντως διαγωνίσασθαι, μὴ πρότερον κόνισσασθαι ἢ
- [448] τοῖς | τεχνικοῖς παλαίσμασιν ἐνασκηθῆναι· τῶν γὰρ ἀγροικοσόφων οἱ τὰ πολιτικὰ κεκομψευμένοι μάλι-
- 76 στά πως εἰώθασι περιεῖναι. XIV. διὸ καὶ  
Μωυσῆς ὁ πάνσοφος παραιτεῖται μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἐπίσκεψιν ἔλθειν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἀληθείας φέγγος ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ἐναστράπτειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας αὐτῆς ἀθανάτων λόγων, ἄγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἥττον πρὸς τὴν θέαν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ πλειόνων ἔμπειρος γενέσθαι πραγμάτων—ἀποχρῶσι γὰρ αἱ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερωτάτων αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ζητήσεις τῷ φιλοθεάμονι—, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σοφιστῶν, οἷς αἱ<sup>1</sup> μυθικαὶ πιθανότητες πρὸ τῆς τῶν
- 77 ἀληθῶν ἐναργείας τετίμηνται. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τοῖς τοῦ πανηγεμόνος ἔμπεριπατῆ πράγμασιν ὁ νοῦς, οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου προσδεῖται πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν νοητῶν μόνῃ διάνοια ὀφθαλμὸς ὄξυωπέστατος· ὅταν δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ αἴσθησιν ἢ πάθος ἢ σῶμα, ὧν ἔστιν ἡ Αἰγύπτου χώρα σύμβολον, δεήσεται καὶ τῆς περὶ λόγους τέχνης ὁμοῦ καὶ
- 78 δυνάμεως. οὗ χάριν ἐπάγεσθαι τὸν Ἄαρὼν αὐτῷ διείρηται, τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον· “οὐκ ἰδοῦ” φησὶν “Ἄαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου;”

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔσαι.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 75-78

able to prevail by skill rather than strength ? Where- 75  
fore, admiring as I do his character for its rich natural  
endowment, I find fault with him in so far as, when  
challenged to a contest of words, he came forward to  
engage in it, whereas he ought to have maintained  
his wonted quietude, totally disregarding his quarrel-  
some brother ; and, if he was quite bent on fighting  
it out, not to have entered the lists until he had had  
some practice in scientific grips and tricks ; for village  
sages usually get the worst of it when they encounter  
those who have acquired the cleverness of the town.

XIV. That is why Moses, the man of all 76  
wisdom, though he excuses himself from investigating  
well-worded and specious arguments, from the time  
that God began to flash into him the light of truth by  
means of the undying words of the very self of Know-  
ledge and Wisdom (Ex. iv. 10), yet is led none the  
less to look into them, not for the sake of gaining  
acquaintance with a greater number of subjects—for  
the lover of contemplation finds researches touching  
God and His most holy powers all-sufficing—but with  
a view to getting the better of the sophists in Egypt,  
for whom specious sounding fables are of more value  
than the clear evidence of realities. Yes, whensoever 77  
the mind is moving amid matters concerned with the  
Ruler of all, it needs no extraneous help in its study,  
inasmuch as for objects of intellectual apprehension  
unaided mind is an eye of keenest sight : but when it  
is occupied besides with matters affected by sense-  
perception or passion or the body, of which the land of  
Egypt is a symbol, it will need alike the art of speaking  
and ability in exercising it. For the sake 78  
of this he was enjoined to call to his aid Aaron, the  
logos in utterance. “ Lo,” saith He, “ is not Aaron

## PHILO

μιᾶς γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως μητρὸς οὔσης  
 ἀδελφὰ δῆπου τὰ γεννήματα. “ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι  
 λαλήσει.” διανοίας μὲν γὰρ τὸ καταλαμβάνειν,  
 προφορᾶς δὲ τὸ λαλεῖν ἴδιον. “λαλήσει” φησὶν  
 “αὐτός σοι.” τὰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ταμιευόμενα μὴ  
 79 δυνάμενος ὁ νοῦς ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ πλησίον ἐρμηνεῖ  
 χρῆται λόγῳ πρὸς τὴν ὧν πέπονθε δῆλωσιν. εἴτ’  
 ἐπιλέγει. “ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἐξελεύσεται εἰς συνάντησίν  
 σοι,” ἐπειδὴ τῷ ὄντι ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν  
 ὑπαντῶν, ῥήματα καὶ ὀνόματα προστιθεῖς χαράττει  
 τὰ ἄσημα, ὡς ἐπίσημα ποιεῖν. καὶ “ἰδὼν σε”  
 φησὶ “χαρήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ.” γήθει γὰρ ὁ λόγος  
 καὶ εὐφραίνεται,<sup>1</sup> ὅταν μὴ ἀμυδρὸν ἦ τὸ ἐνθύμημα,  
 διότι τηλαυγοῦς ὄντος ἀπταιστώ καὶ εὐτρόχῳ  
 διερμηνεύσει χρῆται κυρίων καὶ εὐθυβόλων καὶ  
 γεμόντων πολλῆς ἐμφάσεως εὐπορῶν ὀνομάτων.  
 80 XV. ἐπειδὴν γοῦν ἀδηλότερα πῶς ἢ τὰ νοήματα,  
 κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνει καὶ ὀλισθῶν πολλάκις μέγα  
 πτώμα ἔπεσεν, ὡς μηκέτι ἀναστῆναι δύνασθαι.  
 “καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δώσεις τὰ ῥήματά μου  
 εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ,” ἴσον τῷ ὑπηχῆσεις αὐτῷ τὰ  
 ἐνθυμήματα, ἃ ῥημάτων καὶ λόγων ἀδιαφορεῖ  
 81 θείων· ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ ὑποβολέως οὐ φθέγγεται ὁ  
 λόγος, ὑποβολεὺς δὲ λόγου νοῦς, ὡς νοῦ θεός.  
 “καὶ αὐτός σοι προσλαλήσει πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἔσται σου στόμα· σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔση τὰ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐφορεῖ.

<sup>a</sup> Or “express.” ἀπαγγελία is often used in rhetoric as a synonym for ἐρμηνεία. See on § 35.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 563.

<sup>c</sup> Or “in himself” (ἐν αὐτῷ). See App. p. 563.

<sup>d</sup> The phrase ῥημάτων καὶ λόγων must not be confused with the common collocation ῥ. καὶ ὀνομάτων (“verbs and nouns”)

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 78-81

thy brother ? ” For the logical nature being the one mother of them both, its offspring are of course brothers. “ I know that he will speak ” (He continues). For it is the property of understanding to apprehend, and of utterance to speak. “ He,” saith He, “ will speak for thee.” For the mind, unable to report<sup>a</sup> the thoughts stored up in it, employs speech which stands hard by as an interpreter, for the making known of its experiences. Then He adds, “ Lo, it is 79 he that shall come out to meet thee ” : for it is indeed a fact that speech meeting the mind’s conceptions, and wedding the parts of speech to them, mints them like uncoined gold, and gives the stamp of expression to what was unstamped and unexpressed before.<sup>b</sup> And saith He, “ On seeing thee he will rejoice in it<sup>c</sup> ” (Ex. iv. 14) : for speech does exult and is glad, when the conception is not indistinct, because it finds that the wording which issues from its rich store of terms apt and expressive and full of vividness is fluent and unhalting when the thought is luminous. XV. And similarly when the ideas to be expressed are 80 in any way deficient in clearness, speech is stepping on empty air and is apt to slip and have a bad fall and be unable to get up again. “ And thou shalt speak to him and shall put My words into his mouth.” This is equivalent to saying “ Thou shalt suggest to him the thoughts,” for “ thoughts ” are nothing else than God’s “ words ” or speech.<sup>d</sup> For without the prompter 81 speech will give forth no utterance, and mind is the prompter of speech, as God is of mind. “ And he shall speak to the people for thee, and he shall be thy mouth, and thou shalt be his Godward things ”

for speech in general. Here the *ρημάτων* echoes the *ρήματα* of the quoted text, and is then interpreted by *λόγων* (speech).

## PHILO

τὸν θεόν”· ἐμφαντικώτατα τό τε “ προσλαλήσει  
 σοι ” φάναι, ὡς διερμηνεύσει τὰ σά, καὶ ὅτι  
 [449] “ ἔσται σου | στόμα”· διὰ γὰρ γλώττης καὶ στό-  
 ματος φερόμενον τὸ τοῦ λόγου νᾶμα συνεκφέρει  
 τὰ νοήματα. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν λόγος ἐρμηνεὺς διανοίας  
 πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ διάνοια γίνεται τῷ λόγῳ τὰ  
 πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ταῦτα δὲ ἔστιν ἐνθυμήματα, ὧν  
 82 μόνος ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσκοπος. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν  
 ἔστι τῷ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀγῶνα σοφιστικὸν ἀπαντᾶν  
 ἐπιμεμεληθῆσθαι λόγων ἐρρωμένως οὕτως, ὡς μὴ  
 μόνον ἐκφεύγειν τὰ παλαίσματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεπι-  
 τιθέμενον ἀμφοτέροις, τέχνη τε καὶ δυνάμει, περι-  
 83 εῖναι. ἢ οὐχ ὄρας τοὺς ἐπαιδοὺς καὶ φαρμακευτὰς  
 ἀντισοφιστεύοντας τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ καὶ τοῖς παραπλη-  
 σίοις τολμῶντας ἐγχειρεῖν, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν  
 ἰδίαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποφῆναι περιβόητον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ  
 διασῦραι καὶ χλευάσαι τὰ γινόμενα; καὶ γὰρ τὰς  
 βακτηρίας εἰς δρακόντων μεταστοιχειοῦσι φύσεις,  
 καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς αἵματος χροῖαν μετατρέπουσι, καὶ  
 τῶν βατράχων τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐπωδαῖς ἀνέλκου-  
 σιν ἐπὶ γῆν, καὶ πάντα οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὰ πρὸς  
 τὸν οἰκεῖον ὄλεθρον συναύξοντες ἀπατᾶν δοκοῦντες  
 84 ἀπατῶνται. πρὸς οὓς πῶς ἐνῆν ἀπαντῆσαι μὴ τὸν  
 ἐρμηνεῖα διανοίας λόγον, Ἄαρῶν ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐτοι-  
 μασάμενον; ὃς νῦν μὲν εἴρηται στόμα,<sup>1</sup> αὖθις δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. σόφισμα.

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<sup>a</sup> The sense of the section is that human thoughts being in the charge of or inspired by God may be called God's words, and thus the mind which conceives them is "the Godward things," i.e. stands in the relation of God to the mouth.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 81-84

(Ex. iv. 15 f.). Very vivid are his expressions. Not only does he say "he shall speak to them for thee," as much as to say "he shall put thy thoughts into words"; but he adds "he shall be thy mouth"; for the stream of speech flowing over tongue and mouth carries forth the thoughts with it. But, whereas speech is understanding's interpreter manward, understanding occupies toward speech the position of its Godward things, namely thoughts and intents, which are in God's charge solely.<sup>a</sup> It is a 82 vital matter, then, for one about to face a contest with sophists to have paid attention to words with such thoroughness as not only to elude the grips of his adversary but to take the offensive in his turn and prove himself superior both in skill and strength. You must have observed how the aim of those who 83 use charms and enchantments, when they bring their trickery into play against the Divine word and dare to attempt to do things like those which it does, is not so much to win honour for their own skill as to traduce and ridicule the miracles which are taking place. They transform the rods into real snakes, and turn the water to the colour of blood, and by incantations draw up on to land what frogs are still left<sup>b</sup> (Ex. vii. 12, 22, viii. 7), and, as they add one thing to another tending to their own destruction, they are cheated, miserable fools, while they think that they are cheating. How would it have been possible for Moses to 84 encounter these men, had he not had in readiness speech the interpreter of thought, who is called Aaron? In this place Aaron or speech is spoken of as a "mouth"; further on he will also bear the

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* after Aaron had called up frogs over the whole land of Egypt.

## PHILO

καὶ προφήτης κεκλήσεται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐπιθειά-  
σας προσρηθῆ θεός· “ δίδωμι γάρ σε ” φησί “ θεὸν  
Φαραώ, καὶ Ἀαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔσται σου  
προφήτης.” ὡ ἀκολουθίας ἐναρμονίου· τὸ γὰρ  
ἐρμηνεύον τὰ θεοῦ προφητικόν ἐστι γένος ἐνθέω

85 κατοκωχῆ τε καὶ μανία χρώμενον. τοι-  
γαροῦν “ ἡ ράβδος ἡ Ἀαρὼν κατέπιε τὰς ἐκείνων  
ράβδους,” ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ λόγιον· ἐγκαταπίνονται γὰρ  
καὶ ἀφανίζονται πάντες οἱ σοφιστικοὶ λόγοι τῇ τῆς  
φύσεως ἐντέχνῳ ποικιλίᾳ, ὡς ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι “ δάκ-  
τυλος θεοῦ ” τὰ γινόμενά ἐστιν, ἴσον τῷ γράμμα  
θεῖον διαγορευθὲν αἰεὶ σοφιστείαν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἡττᾶ-  
σθαι· δακτύλῳ γὰρ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πλάκας, ἐν αἷς  
ἐστηλιτεύθησαν οἱ χρησιμοί, φησὶν ὁ ἱερός λόγος  
γραφῆναι. διόπερ οὐκέτι δύνανται οἱ φαρμακευταὶ  
στήναι ἐναντίον Μωυσεῖ, πίπτουσι δ’ ὡς ἐν ἀγῶνι  
ρώμῃ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου νικηθέντες καρτερᾶ.<sup>1</sup>

86 XVI. Τίς οὖν ἡ τετάρτη δωρεά; τὸ μεγαλ-  
ώνυμον· φησὶ γάρ· “ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου.” τὸ  
δέ ἐστίν, ὡς γ’ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τοιόνδε· ὥσπερ τὸ  
ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ καλόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι  
λυσιτελές. καὶ ἀμείνων μὲν δόξης ἀλήθεια, εὐδαι-  
μον δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· μυρίοι γὰρ ἀνόθως καὶ ἀκολα-  
κεύτως προσελθόντες ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸ γνήσιον αὐτῆς  
ἐναυγασάμενοι κάλλος, τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς  
φήμης οὐ φροντίσαντες ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, κακοὶ

87 νομισθέντες οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοί. καὶ μὴν |  
[450] οὐδὲ τοῦ δοκεῖν ὄφελος μὴ πολὺ πρότερον τοῦ εἶναι

<sup>1</sup> Mangey suggests κραταιοτέρᾳ.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 84-87

name of " prophet," when the mind too is inspired and entitled " God." For He says " I give thee as God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet " (Ex. vii. 1). How perfect is the harmony shewn in the sequence of thought ! For it is the prophet kind, when under the influence of a Divine possession and ecstasy, that interprets the thoughts of God. Accordingly " Aaron's rod swallowed 85 up their rods " (Ex. vii. 12), as the oracle shews. For all the arguments of sophists are devoured and done away with by Nature's many-sided skill, and the acknowledgement is made that these events are the Finger of God (Ex. viii. 19), and the word " Finger " is equivalent to a divine rescript, declaring that sophistry is ever defeated by wisdom ; for holy writ, speaking of the tables on which the oracles were engraved, says that they were written by the Finger of God (Ex. xxxii. 16). Wherefore the sorcerers can no longer stand before Moses, but fall as in a wrestling-bout vanquished by the sturdy strength of the opponent (Ex. viii. 18).

XVI. What, then, is the fourth gift ? That of a 86 great name ; for He says " I will make thy name great " (Gen. xii. 2). The meaning of this appears to me to be as follows. As it is an advantage to be good and morally noble, so is it to be reputed such. And, while the reality is better than the reputation, happiness comes of having both. For very many, after coming to Virtue's feet with no counterfeit or unreal homage and with their eyes open to her genuine loveliness, through paying no regard to the general opinion have become the objects of hostility, just because they were held to be bad, when they were really good. It is true that there is no good in being 87

## PHILO

- προσόντος, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ σωμάτων πέφυκεν ἔχειν· εἰ γὰρ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὸν νοσοῦντα ὑγιαίνειν ἢ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα νοσεῖν ὑπολάβοιεν, ἢ δόξα καθ' αὐτὴν
- 88 οὔτε νόσον οὔτε ὑγείαν ἐργάσεται. ᾧ δὲ ἀμφότερα δεδώρηται ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ εἶναι καλῶ καὶ ἀγαθῶ καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι, οὗτος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐδαίμων καὶ τῶ ὄντι μεγαλῶνυμος. προνοητέον δ' ὡς μεγάλου πράγματος καὶ πολλὰ τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον ὠφελούντος εὐφημίας. περιγίνεται δ' αὕτη σχεδὸν ἅπασιν, ὅσοι χαίροντες σὺν ἀσμενισμῶ μηδὲν κινουσι τῶν καθεστηκότων νομίμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν οὐκ ἀμελῶς φυλάττουσιν.
- 89 Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ τοὺς ῥητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἄγαν ἠκρίβωσαν, τῶν δὲ ῥαθύμως ὀλιγόρησαν· οὓς μεμψαίμην ἂν ἔγωγε τῆς εὐχερείας· ἔδει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ζητήσεώς τε τῶν ἀφανῶν ἀκριβεστέρας καὶ ταμείας τῶν φανερῶν ἀνεπι-
- 90 λήπτου. νυνὶ δ' ὡσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μόνοι ζῶντες ἢ ἀσώματοι ψυχαὶ γεγονότες καὶ μήτε πόλιν μήτε κώμην μήτ' οἰκίαν μήτε συνόλως θίασον ἀνθρώπων εἰδότες, τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπερκύψαντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν γυμνήν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρευνῶσιν· οὓς ὁ ἱερός λόγος διδάσκει χρηστῆς ὑπολήψεως πεφροντικέναι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσι λύειν, ἃ θεσπέσιοι καὶ μείζους ἄνδρες
- 91 ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὤρισαν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἡ



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 87-91

thought to be this or that, unless you are so long before you are thought to be so. It is naturally so in the case of our bodies. Were all the world to suppose the sickly man to be healthy, or the healthy man to be sickly, the general opinion by itself will produce neither sickness nor health. But he on whom God 88 has bestowed both gifts, both to be morally noble and good and to have the reputation of being so, this man is really happy and his name is great in very deed. We should take thought for fair fame as a great matter and one of much advantage to the life which we live in the body. And this fair fame is won as a rule by all who cheerfully take things as they find them and interfere with no established customs, but maintain with care the constitution of their country.

There are some who, regarding laws in their literal 89 sense in the light of symbols of matters belonging to the intellect, are overpunctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easy-going neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a more full and exact investigation of what is not seen and in what is seen to be stewards without reproach. As it is, as though they were living alone by them- 90 selves in a wilderness, or as though they had become disembodied souls, and knew neither city nor village nor household nor any company of human beings at all, overlooking all that the mass of men regard, they explore reality in its naked absoluteness. These men are taught by the sacred word to have thought for good repute, and to let go nothing that is part of the customs fixed by divinely empowered men greater than those of our time. It is quite true 91

## PHILO

ἑβδόμη δυνάμειος μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀγένητον, ἀ-  
 πραξίας δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ γενητὸν δίδαγμα ἔστι, τὰ  
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ νομοθετηθέντα λύωμεν, ὡς πῦρ ἐναυεῖν  
 ἢ γεωπονεῖν ἢ ἀχθοφορεῖν ἢ ἐγκαλεῖν ἢ δικάζειν ἢ  
 παρακαταθήκας ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ δάνεια ἀναπράττειν ἢ  
 τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν, ὅσα κὰν τοῖς μὴ ἑορτώδεσι καιροῖς  
 92 ἐφέϊται· μηδ' ὅτι ἡ ἑορτὴ σύμβολον ψυχικῆς εὐ-  
 φροσύνης ἔστι καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίας,  
 ἀποταξώμεθα ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἑτησίους ὥρας παν-  
 ηγύρεσι· μηδ' ὅτι τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι ἡδονῆς καὶ  
 παθῶν πάντων ἐκτομὴν καὶ δόξης ἀναίρεσιν ἀσε-  
 βουῶς ἐμφαίνει, καθ' ἣν ὑπέλαβεν ὁ νοῦς ἰκανὸς  
 εἶναι γεννᾶν δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀνέλωμεν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ περι-  
 τομῇ τεθέντα νόμον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν  
 ἀγιστείας καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμελήσομεν, εἰ μόνοις  
 93 προσέξομεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλουμένοις. ἀλλὰ  
 χρῆ ταῦτα μὲν σώματι εἰκέναι νομίζειν, ψυχῇ δὲ  
 [451] ἐκεῖνα· ὡσπερ οὖν σώματος, ἐπειδὴ | ψυχῆς ἔστιν  
 οἶκος, προνοητέον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων  
 ἐπιμελητέον· φυλαττομένων γὰρ τούτων ἀριδηλό-  
 τερον κἀκεῖνα γνωρισθήσεται, ὧν εἰσιν οὗτοι  
 σύμβολα, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μέμ-  
 94 φεις καὶ κατηγορίας ἀποδιδράσκειν. οὐχ  
 ὀρᾶς, ὅτι καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ σοφῷ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ  
 καὶ μικρὰ προσεῖναι φησι, καὶ καλεῖ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα

<sup>a</sup> The force of *περὶ* would perhaps be given better by  
 "inherent in." The thought is that the Sabbatical rest  
 reminds us that all our labouring is ineffectual compared  
 with the eternal activity of God. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 170, and  
*De Cher.* 87 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Or "keeping of festivals (in general)." Cf. *De Spec.*  
*Leg.* ii. 41.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 91-94

that the Seventh Day is meant to teach the power of the Unoriginate and the non-action of created beings.<sup>a</sup> But let us not for this reason abrogate the laws laid down for its observance, and light fires or till the ground or carry loads or institute proceedings in court or act as jurors or demand the restoration of deposits or recover loans, or do all else that we are permitted to do as well on days that are not festival seasons. It is true also that the Feast<sup>b</sup> is a symbol of 92 gladness of soul and of thankfulness to God, but we should not for this reason turn our backs on the general gatherings of the year's seasons. It is true that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit, under which the mind supposed that it was capable of begetting by its own power : but let us not on this account repeal the law laid down for circumcising. Why, we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shewn us by the inner meaning of things. Nay, we should look on all these outward observances 93 as resembling the body, and their inner meanings as resembling the soul. It follows that, exactly as we have to take thought for the body, because it is the abode of the soul, so we must pay heed to the letter of the laws. If we keep and observe these, we shall gain a clearer conception of those things of which these are the symbols ; and besides that we shall not incur the censure of the many and the charges they are sure to bring against us. Notice that it 94 says that wise Abraham had good things both great and small, and it calls the great ones " property,"

## PHILO

ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπαρκτά, ἃ τῷ γνησίῳ κληρονομεῖν ἐφέϊται μόνῳ, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ δόματα, ὧν οἱ νόθοι καὶ ἐκ παλλακῶν ἀξιοῦνται; ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν ἔοικε τοῖς φύσει, ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς θέσει νομίμοις.

- 95 XVII. "Αγαμαι καὶ τῆς παναρέτου Λείας, ἣτις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσὴρ γενέσεως, ὅς ἐστι τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νόθου σύμβολον πλούτου, φησί· "μακαρία ἐγώ, ὅτι μακαριοῦσί με αἱ γυναῖκες." στοχάζεται γὰρ ὑπολήψεως ἐπιεικοῦς, δικαιοῦσα μὴ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀρρένων καὶ ἀνδρείων ὡς ἀληθῶς λόγων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, παρ' οἷς ἡ ἀλώβητος φύσις καὶ τὸ ἀληθές ἀδέκαστον τετίμηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν θηλυτέρων, οἳ τῶν φαινομένων πάντα τρόπον ἤττηνται μηδὲν ἔξω τούτων θεωρητὸν νοῆσαι δυνάμενοι.
- 96 τελείας δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστι καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι μεταποιεῖσθαι, καὶ σπουδάζειν μὴ μόνον παρὰ
- 97 τῇ ἀνδρωνίτιδι εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐστίας ἐπαινεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων κατασκευὴν οὐ μόνον ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψε ποιεῖσθαι· τά τε γὰρ νήματα πάντα τῆς ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου καὶ βύσσου καὶ τριχῶν αἰγείων ἐπιτελοῦσι, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν κόσμον ἀόκνως εἰσφέρουσι, "σφραγίδας, ἐνώτια, δακτυλίους, περιδέξια, ἐμπλόκια," πάνθ' ὅσα χρυσὸν εἶχε τὴν ὕλην, τὸν σώματος κόσμον ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι τοῦ τῆς
- 98 εὐσεβείας· προσφιλοτιμούμεναι μέντοι καὶ τὰ κάτοπτρα ἑαυτῶν συγκαθιεροῦσιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ λουτῆρος κατασκευὴν, ἵν' οἱ μέλλοντες ἱεουργεῖν

<sup>a</sup> Philo interprets the ὑπάρχοντα of the LXX (property), as equivalent to the philosophical term ὑπαρκτά (really existing). See App. p. 563.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 94-98

that is, realities,<sup>a</sup> which went by entail to his legitimate son alone. The small ones it calls "gifts," and to receive these the base-born sons of the concubines are deemed worthy (Gen. xxv. 5, 6). The former correspond to natural, the latter to positive laws.

XVII. I admire also all-virtuous Leah, because 95 when Asher was born, symbol of counterfeit wealth the outward and visible, she cries "Happy am I, for the women will call me happy" (Gen. xxx. 13). She aims at being favourably regarded, thinking praise due to her not only from thoughts<sup>b</sup> masculine and truly manly, by which the nature that has no blemish and truth impervious to bribes is held in honour, but also from those which are more feminine, which are wholly at the mercy of appearances and powerless to understand anything presented to contemplation outside them. It is characteristic of a perfect soul to 96 aspire both to be and to be thought to be, and to take pains not only to have a good reputation in the men's quarters, but to receive the praises of the women's as well.

It was for this reason that Moses 97 gave in charge not to men only but to women also to provide the sacred appointments of the Tabernacle: for it is the women who do all the weavings of blue and scarlet and linen and goat's hair (Ex. xxxv. 22 f.), and they contribute without hesitation their own jewellery, "seals, ear-rings, rings, bracelets, hair-clasps," all that was made of gold, exchanging the adornment of their persons for the adornment of piety. Nay, in their abounding enthusiasm, they 98 dedicate their mirrors for the making of the laver (Ex. xxxviii. 26), to the end that those who are about

<sup>b</sup> Or "ways of thinking" "attitudes of mind"; cf. *De Plant.* 61.

## PHILO

ἀπονιπτόμενοι χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, τὰ ἐγχειρήματα οἷς ἐφορμεῖ καὶ ἐνίδρυνται<sup>1</sup> ὁ νοῦς, ἐνοπτριζώνται ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ μνήμην τῶν ἐσόπτρων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ λουτήρ δεδημιούργηται· οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰσχος ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδει περιόψονται γινόμενον, ἤδη δὲ τὸ νηστείας καὶ καρτερίας ἀνάθημα ἀναθήσουσιν ἱεροπρεπέστατον καὶ τελεώτατον ἀναθημάτων.

99 ἀλλ' αὐται μὲν ἀσταί τε καὶ ἀστεῖαι γυναῖκες [αἰσθήσεις] ὡς ἀληθῶς, παρ' αἷς ἡ ἀρετὴ Λεῖα τετιμῆσθαι βούλεται, αἱ δὲ προσαναφλέγουσαι τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄθλιον νοῦν ἀπόλιδες· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι καὶ "γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ Μωάβ." ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐκάστη | τῶν τοῦ ἀφρονος αἰσθήσεων ἐξαπτομένη πρὸς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐμπίπρησι τὸν νοῦν, πολλὴν καὶ ἀπέρατον φλόγα ἐπισχέουσα μετὰ ῥύμης ἀνηνύτου καὶ φορᾶς; ἄριστον οὖν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τὸ γυναικῶν τάγμα ἐν ψυχῇ, τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τῶν κατὰ μέρος λογισμῶν· οὕτως γὰρ ἀμείνονι βίου

100  
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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἐφίδρυνται (G.H.W.); cf. ἐφιδρύσεις of feet, *Leg. All.* iii. 138.

<sup>a</sup> This point, in which "hands" are clearly interpreted by ἐγχειρήματα, and "feet" by ἐφορμεῖ καὶ ἐνίδρυνται, follows in the LXX after the statement that the laver was made out of the mirrors of the women. In the Hebrew this does not appear in this place, but the ordinance that the laver should be so used comes in both Hebrew and LXX in Ex. xxx. 19 f.

<sup>b</sup> "Fasting," in the spiritual sense of course, is interpreted by καρτερίας. The word is used because in the LXX the women who offered the mirrors fasted on the day when the

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 98-100

to perform sacred rites, as they are washing hands and feet,<sup>a</sup> that is, the purposes which they take in hand and which form the base and support of the mind, may be helped to see themselves reflected by recollecting the mirrors out of which the laver was fashioned : for if they do this they will not overlook any ugly thing shewing itself in the appearance of the soul, and being thus purified will dedicate the most sacred and perfect of offerings, the offering of fasting<sup>b</sup> and perseverance.

These, in whose eyes Leah, that is 99 virtue, desires to be honoured are citizen women and worthy of their citizenship ; but there are others without citizenship who kindle a fire to add to the misery of the wretched mind ; for we read that " women further kindled in addition<sup>c</sup> a fire against Moab " (Num. xxi. 30). Is it not the case, that each 100 one of the fool's senses, kindled by the objects of sense, sets the mind on fire, pouring upon it a great and impassable flame, in violent and resistless current ? It is best, then, that the array of women, that is of the senses, in the soul, should be propitiated, as well as that of the men, that is of our several thoughts : for in this way shall we feel the journey of

base of the laver was made. The Hebrew word which seems to be obscure is given in A.V. as " assembled," in R.V. " serving." By ἤδη Philo seems to mean that only when the " mirror " has been used for self-examination, and the " feet and hands " of the soul cleansed, can the true offering of " fasting " be made.

<sup>c</sup> The προσ- in προσαναφλέγουσαι reproduces the προσεξέκασαν of the text. How Philo interprets the prefix appears in *Leg. All.* iii. 234. The fire kindled by the senses is an *addition* to purely mental troubles.

- 101 διεξόδω χρησόμεθα. XVIII. παγκάλως<sup>1</sup>  
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ αὐτομαθῆς Ἰσαὰκ εὐχεται τῷ  
 σοφίας ἐραστῇ καὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ λαβεῖν  
 ἀγαθὰ· φησὶ γάρ· “ δώη σοι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου  
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πίότητος τῆς γῆς,” ἴσον  
 τῷ πρότερον μὲν συνεχῆ σοι τὸν νοητὸν καὶ οὐρά-  
 νιον ὑετὸν ἄρδοι, μὴ λάβρως ὡς ἐπικλύσαι, ἀλλ’  
 ἡρέμα καὶ πράως καθάπερ δρόσον ὡς ὀνήσαι·  
 δεύτερον δὲ τὸν αἰσθητὸν καὶ γήινον πλοῦτον  
 χαρίσαιτο λιπαρὸν καὶ πίονα, τὴν ἐναντίαν πενίαν  
 ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν ἀφανάνας.
- 102 Ἐὰν μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα λόγον ἐξετάζης,  
 εὐρήσεις συνωδὰ φρονούντα καὶ τὴν ἱεράν ἐσθήτα  
 αὐτῷ πεποικιλμένην ἔκ τε νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν  
 δυνάμεων· ἥς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μακροτέρων ἢ κατὰ τὸν  
 παρόντα καιρὸν δεῖται λόγων καὶ ὑπερθετέον, τὰ  
 δὲ πρὸς τοῖς πέρασιν ἐξετάσωμεν, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ
- 103 βάσει. οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐστὶ “ πέτα-  
 λον χρυσοῦν καθαρὸν, ἔχον ἐκτύπωμα σφραγίδος,  
 ἀγίασμα κυρίω,” ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους  
 τοῦ ὑποδύτου κώδωνες καὶ ἄνθια. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνη μὲν  
 ἡ σφραγὶς ἰδέα ἐστὶν ἰδεῶν, καθ’ ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐτύπωσε

<sup>1</sup> Previous editions print παγκάλως with the preceding sentence as adverb to *χρησόμεθα*. But this seems a little overdone as praise of the more or less compromising life here described. An examination of the other 35 examples of *παγκ.* in the index shows that Philo generally uses it near the beginning of the sentence, in nearly all in praise of some saying or incident in Scripture, and in all in connexion with some verb, expressed or implied, of speaking. The form *παγκάλως διὰ τοῦτο καὶ* is exceptional, but differs very slightly from the common *διὰ τοῦτο παγκάλως*.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 101-103

life better than it else would be.

XVIII.

Admirable therefore also is the prayer of Isaac the 101  
self-taught for the lover of wisdom that he may receive  
the good things both of mind and of sense : " May  
God give thee," he says, " of the dew of heaven and  
of the fatness of the earth " (Gen. xxvii. 28), which is  
equivalent to saying in the first place " May He pour  
down on thee perpetually the heavenly rain appre-  
hended by mind alone, not violently so as to deluge  
thee, but in gentle stillness like dew so as to do thee  
good "; and secondly " May He grant thee the  
earthly, the outward and visible wealth ; may that  
wealth abound in marrow and fatness and may its  
opposite, the poverty of the soul and its parts, be  
withered and dried up by His grace."

If again you examine the High Priest the Logos,<sup>a</sup> 102  
you will find him to be in agreement with this, and  
his holy vesture to have a variegated beauty derived  
from powers belonging some to the realm of pure  
intellect, some to that of sense-perception. The  
other parts of that vesture call for a longer treatment  
than the present occasion allows, and must be de-  
ferred. Let us however examine the parts by the  
extremities, head and feet. On the head, then, there 103  
is " a plate of pure gold, bearing as an engraving of  
a signet, ' a holy thing to the Lord ' " (Ex. xxviii. 32);  
and at the feet on the end of the skirt, bells and  
flower patterns (Ex. xxviii. 29 f.). The signet spoken  
of is the original principle behind all principles, after  
which God shaped or formed the universe, incorporeal,

<sup>a</sup> Or " the Logos as revealed in the High Priest." The  
thought that the High Priest (in general, not Aaron in  
particular) represents the Divine Logos is worked out in  
*De Fug.* 108 ff. In *De Gig.* 52 the phrase is given a less  
exalted meaning.

## PHILO

τὸν κόσμον, ἀσώματος δήπου καὶ νοητή, τὰ δ' ἄνθρα καὶ οἱ κώδωνες αἰσθητῶν ποιότητων σύμβολα, ὧν ὄρασις καὶ ἀκοή τὰ κριτήρια.

- 104 ἄγαν δ' ἐξητασμένως ἐπιφέρει ὅτι "ἔσται ἀκουστή φωνή αὐτοῦ εἰσιόντος εἰς τὰ ἅγια," ἵνα πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ θεῖα καὶ ὄντως ἅγια εἰσιούσης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις ὠφελούμεναι κατ' ἀρετὴν συνηχῶσι καὶ ὅλον τὸ σύστημα ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἐμμελῆς καὶ πολυάνθρωπος χορός, ἐκ διαφερόντων φθόγγων ἀνακεκραμένων ἐν μέλος ἐναρμόνιον συνᾶδῃ, τὰ μὲν ἐνδόσιμα τῶν νοημάτων ἐμπνεόντων—ἡγεμόνες γὰρ τοῦ χοροῦ τούτου τὰ νοητὰ—, τὰ δ' ἐπόμενα τῶν αἰσθητῶν συναναμελπόντων, ἃ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος
- 105 χορευταῖς ἀπεικάζεται. συνόλως γάρ, ἥ φησιν ὁ νόμος, "τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν," τὰ τρία ταῦτα, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔδει, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν βεβαίως προσέμειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν δέοντα <τὰ> νοητὰ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ δεῖ καὶ ἃ χρὴ γενέσθαι λόγῳ φύσεως, ὁ δὲ ἱματισμὸς τὰ περὶ τὸν φαινόμενον τοῦ βίου κόσμον, ἡ δ' ὁμιλία ἡ καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν εἰρημένων εἰδῶν συνέχεια καὶ μελέτη, ἣν οἶα τὰ ἀφανῆ νοητὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ φαίνηται.

- 106  
[453] XIX. | Πέμπτη τοῖνυν ἐστὶ δωρεὰ ἢ κατὰ ψιλὸν μόνον τὸ εἶναι<sup>1</sup> συνισταμένη· λέλεκται δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> Mangey regarded this as corrupt and proposed κατὰ τὸ εὐλογημένον αὐτὸν εἶναι. Possibly we might read τὸ <τι> εἶναι.

<sup>a</sup> In R.V. "Her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage." By "fellowship" or perhaps "intimacy" Philo may mean either that the νοητὰ are brought into close association with the αἰσθητὰ, or that the soul is brought into intimate touch with both.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 103-106

we know, and discerned by the intellect alone ; whereas the flower patterns and bells are symbols of qualities recognized by the senses and tested by sight and hearing. And he has well weighed <sup>104</sup>

his words when he adds : " His sound shall be audible when he is about to enter into the Holy Place " (Ex. xxviii. 31), to the end that when the soul is about to enter the truly holy place, the divine place which only mind can apprehend, the senses also may be aided to join in the hymn with their best, and that our whole composite being, like a full choir all in tune, may chant together one harmonious strain rising from varied voices blending one with another ; the thoughts of the mind inspiring the keynotes—for the leaders of this choir are the truths perceived by mind alone—while the objects of sense-perception, which resemble the individual members of the choir, chime in with their accordant tuneful notes. For, to say all in a word, <sup>105</sup> we must not, as the Law tells us, take away from the soul these three things, " the necessaries, the clothing, the fellowship " <sup>a</sup> (Ex. xxi. 10), but afford each of them steadily. Now, the " necessaries " are the good things of the mind, which are necessary, being demanded by the law of nature ; the " clothing," all that belongs to the phenomenal world of human life ; and the " fellowship," persistent study directed to each of these kinds, that so in the world of sense we may come to find the likeness of the invisible world of mind.

XIX. To proceed then ; the fifth gift is that which <sup>106</sup> consists in simple being only, <sup>b</sup> and it is mentioned

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* in being (something) as opposed to " seeming," which was the keynote of the Fourth Gift. See critical note.

- προτέρας, οὐχ ὡς εὐτελεστέρα ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπερκύπτουσα καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα πάσας. τί γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦ πεφυκέαι καὶ ἀψευδῶς καὶ ἀπλάστως ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐλογίας ἐπάξιον τελεώτερον;
- 107 “ ἔση ” γάρ φησιν “ εὐλογητός, ” οὐ μόνον εὐλογη-  
 μένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις τε καὶ  
 φήμαις παραριθμεῖται, τὸ δὲ τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 108 εὐλογητῷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἐπαινετὸν εἶναι τοῦ  
 ἐπαινεῖσθαι διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ τὸ  
 ψεκτὸν εἶναι τοῦ ψέγεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον—τὰ μὲν  
 γὰρ τῷ πεφυκέαι, τὰ δὲ τῷ νομίζεσθαι λέγεται  
 μόνον, φύσις δὲ ἡ ἀψευδῆς δοκίσεως ἐχυρότερον—  
 οὕτως καὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ὅπερ  
 ἦν εἰς εὐλογίαν ἄγεσθαι δοξαζόμενον, τὸ πεφυκέαι<sup>1</sup>  
 εὐλογίας ἀξιον, κἂν πάντες ἡσυχάζωσι, κρεῖττον,  
 ὅπερ εὐλογητὸν ἐν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς ἄδεται.
- 109 XX. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἄθλα<sup>2</sup> τῷ γενησομένῳ δωρεῖ-  
 ται σοφῷ· ἂ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπονέμει διὰ τὸν  
 σοφόν, ἐξῆς ἴδωμεν· “ εὐλογήσω ” φησί “ τοὺς  
 εὐλογοῦντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε κατ-  
 110 ἀράσομαι. ” τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ  
 ταῦτα γίνεσθαι παντὶ τῷ δῆλον, λέγεται δ' οὐ δι'  
 ἐκεῖνο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν  
 εὐάρμοστον ἀκολουθίαν· τὸν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὁ  
 ἐπαινῶν ἐγκωμιστὸς καὶ ὁ ψέγων ἔμπαλιν ψεκτός.  
 ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ ψόγον οὐχ οὕτως ἢ τῶν λεγόντων  
 καὶ γραφόντων πιστοῦται δύναμις, ὡς ἢ τῶν γινο-  
 μένων ἀλήθεια· ὥστ' οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν οὔτε ψέγειν ἂν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸ εὐλογεῖσθαι . . . τῷ πεφυκέαι.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐσθλά.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 106-110

after those which precede it not as being of less value than they, but as outtopping and over-passing them all. For what could be more perfect than to be by nature good and free from all feigning and pretence, and worthy of blessing? For he says "Thou shalt 107 be one to be blessed" (Gen. xii. 2), not only "one who has been blessed," for the latter is reckoned by the standard of the opinions and report of the many; but the former by that of Him Who is in reality "blessed." For as being praiseworthy differs for the 108 better from being praised, and being blameworthy for the worse from being blamed, the one pair expressing an inherent character, and the other nothing more than men's opinion of us; and nature that cannot lie is a more sure foundation than opinion; so being blessed by men, which we have found to be an introduction into blessing by the avenue of repute, is inferior to natural worthiness of blessing, even though that finds no expression on human lips; and it is this which is celebrated in the sacred oracles as "blessed."

XX. These are the prizes which He bestows upon 109 him who is to become wise. Let us see next those which He accords to others too for the wise man's sake. "I will bless," He says, "those that bless thee, and those that curse thee I will curse" (Gen. xii. 3). That these promises as well as the others are made to 110 shew honour to the righteous man is clear to everybody, but they are set forth not on that account only, but because they so admirably fit in with and follow the truth of facts, for encomiums are due to him who praises the good man and blame again to him who blames him. Praise and blame are not accredited so much by the ability of speakers and authors, as by the truth of facts; so that we do not feel that either

## PHILO

- δοκοῖεν, ὅσοι τι ψεῦδος ἐν ἑκατέρῳ παραλαμ-  
 111 βάνουσι εἶδει.<sup>1</sup> τοὺς κόλακας οὐχ ὄρας,  
 οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἀποκναίουσι τῶν κολα-  
 κευομένων τὰ ὦτα θρύπτοντες, οὐκ ἐπινεύοντες ἐφ'  
 ἑκάστῳ τῶν λεγομένων αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήσεις  
 μακρὰς συνείροντες καὶ ραψωδοῦντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι  
 μὲν τῇ φωνῇ πολλάκις, αἰεὶ δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατ-  
 112 ἀρώμενοι; τί οὖν ἄν τις εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι; ἄρ' οὐχ  
 ὡσπερ ἐχθροὺς μᾶλλον ἢ φίλους τοὺς λέγοντας  
 οὕτως<sup>2</sup> καὶ ψέγειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπαινεῖν, κἂν δράματα  
 ὅλα συντιθέντες ἐγκωμίων ἐπάδωσι;
- 113 τοιγαροῦν ὁ μάταιος Βαλαάμ ὕμνους μὲν εἰς τὸν  
 θεὸν ὑπερβάλλοντας ἄδων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ "οὐχ ὡς  
 ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός," ἁσμάτων τὸ ἱεροπρεπέστατον,  
 ἐγκώμια δ' εἰς τὸν ὄρωντα, Ἰσραήλ, μυρία διεξ-  
 ερχόμενος ἀσεβῆς μὲν καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ παρὰ τῷ  
 σοφῷ κέκριται νομοθέτῃ, καταρᾶσθαι δέ, οὐκ  
 114 εὐλογεῖν,<sup>3</sup> νενομίσται. τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις φησὶν  
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνταχθέντα μάντιν<sup>4</sup> γενέσθαι  
 [454] κακὸν κακῶν, ἀρὰς | μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ θέμενον χαλεπω-  
 τάτας γένει τῷ θεοφιλεῖ, εὐχὰς δὲ ἀναγκασθέντα  
 διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης ὑπερφυεστάτας προφη-  
 τεῦσαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ λεγόμενα καλὰ ὄντα ὁ φιλάρετος  
 ὑπήχει θεός, τὰ δ' ἐννοούμενα—φαιλότερα γὰρ ἦν—  
 115 ἔτικτεν ἢ μισάρετος διάνοια. μαρτυρεῖ  
 δὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων χρησμὸς· "οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκε" φησὶν  
 "ὁ θεὸς τῷ Βαλαάμ καταράσασθαί σοι, ἀλλ'  
 ἔστρεψε τὰς καταράς εἰς εὐλογίαν," καίτοι πάντων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἴδιον.

<sup>2</sup> So all MSS. (except H<sup>2</sup>): Wend. *δυνας*.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. εὐλογῶν (-ον).

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μάτην or μηνυτήν.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 110-115

term is applicable to the words of those who give falsehood any place in either. Do you 111  
not see the toadies who by day and night batter to pieces and wear out the ears of those on whom they fawn, not content with just assenting to everything they say, but spinning out long speeches and declaiming and many a time uttering prayers with their voice, but never ceasing to curse with their heart? What then would a man of good sense say? Would 112  
he not say that those who talk in this way talk as though they were enemies rather than friends, and blame rather than praise, even though they compose and recite whole oratorios of panegyric to charm them? Accordingly, that empty one, 113  
Balaam, though he sang loftiest hymns to God, among which is that most Divine of canticles " God is not as man " (Num. xxiii. 19), and poured out a thousand eulogies on him whose eyes were open, even Israel, has been adjudged impious and accursed even by the wise lawgiver, and held to be an utterer not of blessings but of curses. For Moses says that as 114  
the hired confederate of Israel's enemies he became an evil prophet of evil things, nursing in his soul direst curses on the race beloved of God, but forced with mouth and tongue to give prophetic utterance to most amazing benedictory prayers: for the words that were spoken were noble words, whose utterance was prompted by God the Lover of Virtue, but the intentions, in all their vileness, were the offspring of a mind that looked on virtue with loathing. Evidence of this is afforded by the oracles relating to 115  
the matter; for it says " God did not give Balaam leave to curse thee, but turned his curses into blessing " (Deut. xxiii. 5), though indeed every word he

## PHILO

- ὅσα εἶπε πολλῆς γεμόντων εὐφημίας. ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ ταμειομένων ἐπίσκοπος ἰδὼν, ᾧ κατιδεῖν ἕξεστι μόνῳ, τὰ ἀθέατα γενέσει, τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἀπὸ τούτων ψῆφον ἤνεγκε, μάρτυς ἀψευδέστατος ὁμοῦ καὶ κριτῆς ἀδέκαστος ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν·  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸναντίον ἐπαινετὸν βλασφημεῖν καὶ κατηγορεῖν δοκοῦντα τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ  
 116 διάνοιαν εὐλογεῖν τε καὶ εὐφημεῖν. σωφρονιστῶν ὡς ἔοικε τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔθος, παιδαγωγῶν, διδασκάλων, γονέων, πρεσβυτέρων, ἀρχόντων, νόμων ὀνειδιζόντες γάρ, ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ κολάζοντες ἕκαστοι τούτων ἀμείνους τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπεργάζονται τῶν παιδευομένων. καὶ ἐχθρὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδενί, φίλοι δὲ πᾶσι πάντες· φίλων δὲ ἀνόθῳ καὶ ἀκιβδήλῳ χρωμένων εὐνοία τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον ἐλευθερο-  
 117 στομεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ κακονοεῖν. μηδὲν οὖν μήτε τῶν εἰς εὐλογίας καὶ εὐχὰς μήτε τῶν εἰς βλασφημίας καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν προφορᾷ διεξόδους ἀναφερέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ διάνοιαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐκάτερον εἶδος τῶν λεχθέντων δοκιμάζεται.  
 118 XXI. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρῶτον διὰ τὸν ἀστείον ἐτέροις συντυγχάνειν φησί, ὅταν ἢ ψόγον ἢ ἔπαινον ἢ εὐχὰς ἢ κατάρας ἐθελήσωσιν αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι· μέγιστον δ' ἐξῆς, ὅταν ἡσυχάζωσιν ἐκεῖνοι, τὸ μηδὲν μέρος φύσεως λογικῆς ἀμέτοχον εὐεργεσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the text speaks of his “curses,” though actually there was no cursing at all.

<sup>b</sup> The translation supposes that Philo is alluding to the Athenian office of *σωφρονισταί*, officials appointed to look after the morals of the Ephebi in general and particularly in the gymnasia. Philo certainly often introduces special Attic terms from his reading. But it is at least as probable



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 115-118

uttered was charged with fulness of benediction.<sup>a</sup> But He Who looks upon what is stored up in the soul, saw, with the Eye that alone has power to discern them, the things that are out of sight of created beings, and on the ground of these passed the sentence of condemnation, being at once an absolutely true Witness, and an incorruptible Judge. For on the same principle praise is due to the converse of this, namely, when one seems to revile and accuse with the voice, and is in intent conveying blessing and benediction. This is obviously the custom of 116 proctors,<sup>b</sup> of home tutors, schoolmasters, parents, seniors, magistrates, laws : all of these, by reproaches, and sometimes by punishments, effect improvement in the souls of those whom they are educating. And not one of them is an enemy to a single person, but all are friends of them all : and the business of friends inspired by genuine and unfeigned goodwill is to use plain language without any spite whatever. Let no 117 treatment, then, that is marked by prayers and blessings on the one hand, or by abusing and cursing on the other hand, be referred to the way it finds vent in speech, but rather to the intention ; for from this, as from a spring, is supplied the means of testing each kind of spoken words.

XXI. This is Moses' first lesson ; he tells us what 118 befalls others for the virtuous man's sake, whenever they consent to visit him with blame or praise, with prayers or imprecations : but greatest of all is that which follows ; he tells us that, when these hold their peace, no portion of rational existence is left without its share of benefit bestowed : for He says that " In

that the word here means "moral censors" in general, and sums up the various forms of guardianship which follow.

## PHILO

- 119 σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.” ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο  
 δογματικώτατον· ἐὰν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἄνοσος καὶ ἀπή-  
 μων διατελῆ, ταῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπάσαις φυλαῖς  
 τε καὶ δυνάμεσιν ὑγιαίνουσαις χρῆται, ταῖς τε  
 καθ’ ὄρασιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ ὅσαι αἰσθητικαὶ καὶ  
 πάλιν ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ  
 ὅσαι ἀντὶ παθῶν εἰς εὐπάθειαν<sup>1</sup> μεταχαράττονται.
- 120 ἤδη μέντοι καὶ οἶκος καὶ πόλις καὶ  
 χώρα καὶ ἔθνη καὶ κλίματα γῆς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς καλο-  
 κάγαθίας προμηθουμένου μεγάλης ἀπήλαυσαν εὐ-  
 δαιμονίας, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτω μετὰ γνώμης ἀγαθῆς  
 ὁ θεὸς καὶ δύνάμιν ἔδωκεν ἀνανταγώνιστον, ὡς  
 μουσικῶ καὶ παντὶ τεχνίτῃ τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν καὶ
- 121 πᾶσαν τέχνην ὄργανα ἢ ξύλων ὕλην πυρί. τῷ γὰρ  
 ὄντι ἔρεισμα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ὁ  
 δίκαιος, καὶ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχει, προφέρων εἰς  
 [455] μέσον ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν | χρησομένων ἀφθονα  
 δίδωσιν, ὅσα δ’ ἂν μὴ εὐρίσκη παρ’ ἑαυτῷ, τὸν  
 μόνον πάμπλουτον αἰτεῖται θεόν· ὁ δὲ τὸν οὐράνιον  
 ἀνοιξάσας θησαυρὸν ὀμβρεῖ καὶ ἐπινίφει τὰ ἀγαθὰ  
 ἀθρόα, ὡς τῶν περιγεῖων ἀπάντων τὰς δεξαμενὰς
- 122 πλημμυρούσας ἀναχυθῆναι. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν ἰκέτην  
 ἑαυτοῦ λόγον οὐκ ἀποστραφεῖς εἴωθε δωρεῖσθαι·  
 λέγεται γὰρ ἐτέρωθι Μωυσέως ἰκετεύσαντος·  
 “ ἴλεως αὐτοῖς εἰμι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου”. τοῦτο δέ,  
 ὡς ἔοικεν, ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῷ “ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read *εὐπαθείας*. Elsewhere the plural is used when in contrast with *πάθη*.

<sup>a</sup> *λόγος* seems to anticipate *ῥῆμα*. Otherwise we might translate “His suppliant Word,” as Moses is sometimes identified with the Divine Logos.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 118-122

thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed " (Gen. xii. 3). This is a pregnant and significant 119 announcement ; for it implies that, if the mind continues free from harm and sickness, it has all its tribes and powers in a healthy condition, those whose province is sight and hearing and all others concerned with sense-perception, and those again that have to do with pleasures and desires, and all that are undergoing transformation from the lower to the higher emotions.

Further there have been in- 120 stances of a household or a city or a country or nations and regions of the earth enjoying great prosperity through a single man giving his mind to nobility of character. Most of all has this been so in the case of one on whom God has bestowed, together with a good purpose, irresistible power, just as He gives to the musician and every artist the instruments which his music or his art requires, or as He gives to fire logs as its material. For in truth the righteous man is the 121 foundation on which mankind rests. All that he himself has he brings into the common stock and gives in abundance for the benefit of all who shall use them. What he does not find in his own store, he asks for at the hands of God, the only possessor of unlimited riches ; and He opens his heavenly treasury and sends His good things, as He does the snow and the rain, in ceaseless downpour, so that the channels and cavities of earth's whole face overflow. And it 122 is His wont to bestow these gifts in answer to the word<sup>a</sup> of supplication, from which He does not turn His ear away ; for it is said in another place, when Moses had made a petition, " I am gracious to them in accordance with thy word " (Num. xiv. 20) ; and this is evidently equivalent to " In thee shall all the tribes

## PHILO

- σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.” οὗ χάριν  
καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ πεπειραμένος τῆς ἐν ἅπασι  
τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος πεπίστευκεν ὅτι, κἂν πάντα  
τὰ ἄλλα ἀφανισθῆ, μικρὸν δέ τι λείψανον ἀρετῆς  
ὥσπερ ἐμπύρευμα διασώζεται, διὰ τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο  
κἀκεῖνα οἰκτεῖρει, ὡς πεπτωκότα ἐγείρειν καὶ  
123 τεθνηκότα ζωπυρεῖν. σπινθήρ γὰρ καὶ ὁ βραχύ-  
τατος ἐντυφόμενος, ὅταν καταπνευσθεῖς ζωπυρηθῆ,  
μεγάλην ἐξάπτει πυράν· καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον οὖν  
ἀρετῆς, ὅταν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ὑποθαλλόμενον  
ἀναλάμψῃ, καὶ τὰ τέως μεμυκότα καὶ τυφλὰ ἐξ-  
ωμμάτωσε καὶ τὰ ἀφανανθέντα ἀναβλαστῆν ἐποίη-  
σε καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ ἀγωνίας<sup>1</sup> ἐστείρωτο εἰς εὐφορίαν εὐ-  
τοκίας περιήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸ σπάνιον ἀγαθὸν ἐπι-  
φροσύνη θεοῦ πολὺ γίνεται χεόμενον, ἐξομοιοῦν τὰ  
124 ἄλλα ἑαυτῷ. XXII. εὐχώμεθα οὖν τὸν  
ὡς ἐν οἰκίᾳ στῦλον νοῦν μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἄνθρωπον δὲ  
ἐν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν δίκαιον διαμένειν εἰς  
τὴν τῶν νόσων ἄκεσιν· τούτου γὰρ ὑγιαίνοντος τὰς  
εἰς παντελῆ σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἀπογνωστέον ἐλπίδας,  
διότι<sup>2</sup> οἶμαι ὁ σωτὴρ θεὸς τὸ πανακέστατον φάρ-  
μακον, τὴν ἴλεω δύναμιν, τῷ ἰκέτῃ καὶ θεραπευτῇ  
προτείνας ἑαυτοῦ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν καμνόντων  
σωτηρίαν ἐπιτρέπει, καταπλάττοντι τῶν ψυχῆς  
τραυμάτων, ἅπερ ἀφροσύνη καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ ὁ  
ἄλλος τῶν κακιῶν ὄμιλος ἀκονηθεῖς διεΐλεν.  
125 ἐναργέστατον δὲ παράδειγμα Νῶε ὁ  
δίκαιος, ὃς τῷ μεγάλῳ κατακλυσμῷ τῶν τοσοῦτων  
μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγκαταποθέντων ἐρρωμένως

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγνοίας.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δι' οὗ ἔτι.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 122-125

of the earth be blessed."

And it is by reason of this that Abraham, the wise, when he had made trial of God's unvarying loving-kindness, believed that, even if all else be done away, but some small relic of virtue be preserved as a live coal to kindle with, for the sake of this little piece He looks with pity on the rest also, so as to raise up fallen things and to quicken dead things (Gen. xviii. 24 ff.). For a 123 smouldering spark, even the very smallest, when it is blown up and made to blaze, lights a great pile; and so the least particle of virtue, when, warmed into life by bright hopes, it has shone out, gives sight to eyes that erst were closed and blind, and causes withered things to bloom again, and recovers to prolific fertility all that were barren by nature and therefore without offspring. Even so scanty goodness by God's favour expands and becomes abundant, assimilating all else to itself.

XXII. Let us pray then that, like a 124 central pillar in a house, there may constantly remain for the healing of our maladies the righteous mind in the soul and in the human race the righteous man; for while he is sound and well, there is no cause to despair of the prospect of complete salvation, for our Saviour God holds out, we may be sure, the most all-healing remedy, His gracious Power, and commits it to His suppliant and worshipper to use for the deliverance of those who are sickly, that he may apply it as an embrocation to those soul-wounds which were left gaping by the sword-edge of follies and injustices and all the rest of the horde of vices.

The 125 most patent example is righteous Noah, who, when so many parts of the soul had been swallowed up by the

## PHILO

- ἐπικυματίζων καὶ ἐπινηχόμενος ὑπεράνω μὲν ἔστη τῶν δεινῶν ἀπάντων, διασωθεὶς δὲ μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ρίζας ἐβάλετο, ἐξ ὧν οἶα φυτὸν τὸ σοφίας ἀνεβλάστησε γένος· ὅπερ ἡμεροτοκῆσαν τοὺς τοῦ ὄρωντος, Ἰσραήλ, τριττοὺς ἤνεγκε καρπούς, αἰῶνος μέτρα, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν
- 126 Ἰακώβ· καὶ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται καὶ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀρετῇ, ἣν ἀκαιρίαὶ μὲν ἴσως ἀνθρώπων ἐπισκιαζουσιν, ὁ δὲ ὀπαδὸς θεοῦ καιρὸς ἀποκαλύπτει πάλιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ φρόνησις ἀρρενογονεῖ Σάρρα, οὐ κατὰ τὰς χρονικὰς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀχρόνους ἀκμὰς καὶ εὐκαιρίας ἐπανθούσα·
- [456] λέγεται γάρ· | “ἐπαναστρέφων ἤξω πρὸς σέ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἔξει υἱὸν Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ σου.”
- 127 XXIII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς καὶ τοῖς γενησομένοις τελείους καὶ δι' αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἑτέροις εἴωθε χαρίζεσθαι, δεδήλωται. λέγεται δὲ ἐξῆς ὅτι “ἐπορεύθη Ἀβραὰμ καθάπερ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ κύ-
- 128 ριος.” τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄριστα φιλοσοφήσασιν ἀδόκονον τέλος, τὸ ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει ζῆν· γίνεται δέ, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὴν ἀρετῆς ἀτραπὸν ἐλθὼν κατ' ἴχνος ὀρθοῦ λόγου βαίῃ καὶ ἔπηται θεῷ, τῶν προστάξεων αὐτοῦ διαμεμνημένος καὶ πάσας αἰὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις
- 129 βεβαιούμενος. “ἐπορεύθη γάρ, καθὰ ἐλάλησεν

<sup>a</sup> Here for the moment Noah represents the righteous mind in the soul, but in the rest of the section he is rather the righteous man in the race.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly, to judge from the similar passage in *De Sobr.* 65, Shem, or perhaps more generally the ancestors of Abraham.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 563.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 125-129

great Flood,<sup>a</sup> valiantly riding upon the waves that buoyed him up, stood firm high above every peril, and, when he had come safe through all, put forth from himself fair roots and great,<sup>b</sup> out of which there grew up like a plant wisdom's breed and kind; which, attaining goodly fertility, bore those threefold fruits of the seeing one, even of "Israel," that mark the threefold divisions of eternity,<sup>c</sup> Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; for in the All virtue is, shall be, has been: covered 126 with a dark shadow, it may be, by men's missings of the due season but revealed again by due season that ever follows in God's steps. In such due season does "Sarah" who is sound sense, give birth to a man-child, putting forth her fruit not according to the changes of the year measured by lapse of time, but in accordance with a fitness and fulness of season that time does not determine: for it is said "I will certainly return unto thee according to this season when the time comes round; and Sarah thy wife shall have a son" (Gen. xviii. 10).

XXIII. We have now dealt with the subject of the 127 gifts which God is wont to bestow both on those who are to become wise and for their sake on others. We are told next that "Abraham journeyed even as the Lord spoke to him" (Gen. xii. 4). This is the aim extolled 128 by the best philosophers, to live agreeably to nature;<sup>d</sup> and it is attained whenever the mind, having entered on virtue's path, walks in the track of right reason and follows God, mindful of His injunctions, and always and in all places recognizing them all as valid both in action and in speech. For "he journeyed just as the 129

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Op.* 3 and note. Philo here as elsewhere (*e.g.* *Quis Rerum* 214) is suggesting that Greek philosophy is derived from Moses.

## PHILO

- αὐτῷ κύριος” τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τοιοῦτον· ὡς λαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς—λαλεῖ δὲ παγκάλως καὶ ἐπαινετῶς—, οὕτως ὁ σπουδαῖος ἕκαστα δρᾷ τὴν ἀτραπὸν εὐθύνων ἀμέμπτως τοῦ βίου, ὥστε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγων
- 130 ἀδιαφορεῖν θείων. ἐτέρωθι γοῦν φησιν ὅτι ἐποίησεν Ἀβραὰμ “ πάντα τὸν νόμον μου ”· νόμος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα ἢ λόγος θεῖος προστάτων ἃ δεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ἃ μὴ χρή, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ φάσκων ὅτι “ ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ νόμον.” εἰ τοίνυν λόγος μὲν ἐστι θεῖος ὁ νόμος, ποιεῖ δ’ ὁ ἀστείος τὸν νόμον, ποιεῖ πάντως καὶ τὸν λόγον· ὥσθ’, ὅπερ ἔφην, τοὺς
- 131 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγους πράξεις εἶναι τοῦ σοφοῦ. τέλος οὖν ἐστι κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν τὸ ἔπεσθαι θεῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις φησίν· “ ὀπίσω κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ,” κινήσει <μη><sup>1</sup> χρώμενον τῇ διὰ σκελῶν—ἀνθρώπου μὲν γὰρ ὄχημα γῆ, θεοῦ δὲ εἰ καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος, οὐκ οἶδα—, ἀλλ’ ἔοικεν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα δόγματα παριστὰς ἀκολουθίαν, ὧν ἡ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
- 132 πάντων αἰτίου γίνεται τιμῆν. XXIV. ἐπιτείνων δὲ τὸν ἀκάθεκτον πόθον τοῦ καλοῦ παραινεῖ καὶ κολλᾶσθαι αὐτῷ· “ κύριον ” γάρ φησι “ τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ.” τίς οὖν ἢ κόλλα; τίς; εὐσέβεια δήπου καὶ πίστις· ἀρμόζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἐνοῦσιν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἀφθάρτῳ φύσει διάνοιαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. κινήσει μὲν.

<sup>a</sup> In the LXX, however, the verb is ἐφύλαξε, and not ἐποίησε which is demanded by the argument.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 129-132

Lord spake to him ” : the meaning of this is that as God speaks—and He speaks with consummate beauty and excellence—so the good man does everything, blamelessly keeping straight the path of life, so that the actions of the wise man are nothing else than the words of God. So in another place He says, “ Abraham 130 did a ‘ all My law ’ ” (Gen. xxvi. 5) : “ Law ” being evidently nothing else than the Divine word enjoining what we ought to do and forbidding what we should not do, as Moses testifies by saying “ he received a law from His words ” (Deut. xxxiii. 3 f.). If, then, the law is a Divine word, and the man of true worth “ does ” the law, he assuredly “ does ” the word : so that, as I said, God’s words are the wise man’s “ doings.” To follow God is, then, according 131 to Moses, that most holy man, our aim and object, as he says elsewhere too, “ thou shalt go in the steps of the Lord thy God ” (Deut. xiii. 4). He is not speaking of movement by the use of our legs, for, while earth carries man, I do not know whether even the whole universe carries God ; but is evidently employing figurative language to bring out how the soul should comply with those Divine ordinances, the guiding principle of which is the honouring of Him to Whom all things owe their being.

XXIV. Using 132 still loftier language to express the irrepressible craving for moral excellence, he calls on them to *cleave* to Him. His words are : “ Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and Him shalt thou serve, and to Him shalt thou cleave ” (Deut. x. 20). What then is the cementing substance ? Do you ask, what ? Piety, surely, and faith : for these virtues adjust and unite the intent of the heart to the incorruptible Being : as Abraham when he believed is said to “ come near

## PHILO

- 133 πιστεύσας “ ἐγγίζειν θεῶ ” λέγεται. εἰάν  
 μέντοι πορευόμενος μήτε κάμη, ὡς ὑπενδούς  
 ὀκλάσαι, μήτε ῥαθυμήσῃ, ὡς παρ’ ἐκάτερα ἐκ-  
 τραπόμενος πλανᾶσθαι τῆς μέσης καὶ εὐθυτενοῦς  
 διαμαρτῶν ὁδοῦ, μιμησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς  
 δρομεῖς τὸ στάδιον ἀπταιστώσως ἀνύσῃ τοῦ βίου,  
 στεφάνων καὶ ἄθλων ἐπαξίῶν τεύξεται πρὸς τὸ  
 134 τέλος ἐλθῶν. ἢ οὐ τοῦτ’ εἰσὶν οἱ στέφανοι καὶ τὰ  
 [457] ἄλλα, μὴ ἀτυχῆσαι τοῦ | τέλους τῶν πονηθέντων,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐφικέσθαι τῶν δυσεφίκτων φρονήσεως περά-  
 των; τί οὖν τοῦ φρονεῖν ὀρθῶς ἐστὶ  
 τέλος; ἀφροσύνην ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ γενητοῦ  
 καταψηφίσασθαι· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν οἶεσθαι εἰδέναι  
 πέρασ ἐπιστήμης, ἐνὸς ὄντος μόνου σοφοῦ τοῦ καὶ  
 135 μόνου θεοῦ. διὸ καὶ παγκάλως Μωυσεῖ καὶ  
 πατέρα τῶν ὄλων καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν γενομένων  
 αὐτὸν εἰσήγαγεν εἰπών· “ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα  
 ὅσα ἐποίησε, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν·” οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐξῆν  
 τὰ συσταθέντα κατιδεῖν ἄκρως ὅτι μὴ τῷ πεποιη-  
 136 κότι. πάριτε νῦν οἱ τύφου καὶ ἀπαι-  
 δευσίας καὶ πολλῆς ἀλαζονείας γέμοντες, οἱ δοκη-  
 σίσοφοι καὶ μὴ μόνον ὃ ἐστὶν ἕκαστον εἰδέναι  
 σαφῶς ἐπιφάσκοντες,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας προσ-  
 αποδιδόναι διὰ θρασύτητα τολμῶντες, ὥσπερ ἢ τῇ  
 τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει παρατυχόντες καὶ ὡς ἕκαστα  
 καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελεῖτο κατιδόντες ἢ σύμβουλοι περὶ  
 τῶν κατασκευαζομένων τῷ δημιουργῷ γενόμενοι.  
 137 εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων ἅπαξ ἀπάντων μεθέμενοι γνωρί-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔτι φάσκοντες.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 133-137

to God " (Gen. xviii. 23). If, however, as 133  
he goes on his way, he neither becomes weary, so that  
he gives in and collapses, nor grows remiss, so that he  
turns aside, now in this direction, now in that, and  
goes astray missing the central road that never  
diverges; but, taking the good runners as his example,  
finishes the race of life without stumbling, when he  
has reached the end he shall obtain crowns and prizes  
as a fitting guerdon. Are not the crowns and prizes 134  
just this, not to have missed the end of his labours,  
but to have obtained those final aims of good sense  
that are so hard of attainment? What,  
then, is the end of right-mindedness? To pronounce  
on himself and all created being the verdict of folly;  
for the final aim of knowledge is to hold that we know  
nothing, He alone being wise, who is also alone God.  
Accordingly Moses does right well in representing 135  
Him as both the Father of the universe and Overseer  
of the things created, where he says: " God saw all  
things which He had made, and lo! they were fair  
exceedingly " (Gen. i. 31): for it was not possible for  
anyone perfectly to see the things which had been  
formed save their Maker. Come forward 136  
now, you who are laden with vanity and gross stupidity  
and vast pretence, you that are wise in your own  
conceit and not only declare (in every case) that you  
perfectly know what each object is, but go so far as to  
venture in your audacity to add the reasons for its  
being what it is, as though you had either been stand-  
ing by at the creation of the world, and had observed  
how and out of what materials its several parts were  
fashioned, or had acted as advisers to the Creator  
regarding the things He was forming—come, I say, 137  
and then, letting go all other things whatever, take

## PHILO

σατε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἷτινές ἐστε σαφῶς εἶπατε, κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν, κατὰ τὸν λόγον, καθ' ἓν τι καὶ τὸ βραχυτάτον τῶν εἰδῶν. τί ἐστὶν ὄρασις ἀποφύνασθε καὶ πῶς ὄρατε, τί ἀκοή καὶ πῶς ἀκούετε, τί γεῦσις, τί ἀφή, τί ὄσφρησις καὶ πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐνεργεῖτε ἢ τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ τούτων

138 πηγαί, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ταῦτα συμβέβηκε. μὴ γάρ μοι περὶ σελήνης καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον οὕτως μακρὰν διωκισμένων καὶ τὰς φύσεις διαφερόντων ἀερομυθεῖτε, ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν, πρὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ γνῶναι. τμηκαῦτα γὰρ ἴσως καὶ περὶ ἐτέρων διεξιούσι πιστευτέον· πρὶν δὲ οἷτινές ἐστε αὐτοὶ παραστήσαι, μὴ νομίζετε κριταὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ μάρτυρες ἀψευδέστατοί ποτε γενήσεσθαι.

139 XXV. Τούτων δὴ τούτον ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον τελειωθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἀποδώσει τὸ τέλος τῷ τελεσφόρῳ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτατον γράμμα· νόμος γάρ ἐστι τὸ τέλος εἶναι κυρίου. πότε οὖν ἀποδίδωσιν; ὅταν “ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ” παραγένηται, παρελθὼν τὰς πλείους μοίρας τῶν χρονικῶν διαστημάτων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς

140 τὴν ἄχρονον μεταβαίνων φύσιν· τότε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν ἱεουργήσει, οὐχὶ ἄνθρωπον—οὐ γὰρ τεκνοκτόνος ὁ σοφός—, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετώσης ψυχῆς γέννημα ἄρρεν, τὸν ἐπανθήσαντα καρπὸν αὐτῆ, ὃν πῶς ἤνεγκεν οὐκ ἔγνω, βλάστημα θεῖον,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 563.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* since God is all and self nothing. But perhaps “when these things are so,” “the mind being now perfected,” *i.e.* when it has reached the τέλος described in § 133, after which the argument was interrupted to explain what the τέλος is.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 137-140

knowledge of yourselves, and say clearly who you are, in body, in soul, in sense-perception, in reason and speech, in each single one, even the most minute, of the subdivisions of your being. Declare what sight is and how you see, what hearing is and how you hear, what taste, touch, smelling are, and how you act in accordance with each of them, or what are the springs and sources of these, from which is derived their very being. For pray do not, O ye senseless ones, spin 138 your airy fables<sup>a</sup> about moon or sun or the other objects in the sky and in the universe so far removed from us and so varied in their natures, until you have scrutinized and come to know yourselves. After that, we may perhaps believe you when you hold forth on other subjects: but before you establish who you yourselves are, do not think that you will ever become capable of acting as judges or trustworthy witnesses in the other matters.

XXV. This being the case,<sup>b</sup> the Mind, when he has 139 reached the summit, will render the sum of his tribute to God the consummator, in accordance with the all-holy writ, for there is a law that the sum<sup>c</sup> is the Lord's (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.). When, then, does he render it? When he has arrived "on the third day at the place which God had told him of" (Gen. xxii. 3), having passed the greater number of the divisions of time, and already quitting them for the existence that is timeless: for then too he will sacrifice his only son, 140 no human being (for the wise man is not a slayer of his offspring), but the male progeny of the rich and fertile soul, the fruit that blossomed upon it. How the soul bore it she does not know: it is a Divine growth; and

<sup>c</sup> Or "due." Philo is playing on the double meaning of *τέλος*.

## PHILO

- οὐ φανέντος ἢ δόξασα κυοφορήσαι τὴν ἄγνοιαν τοῦ συμβάντος ἀγαθοῦ διηγείται φάσκουσα· “ τίς ἀναγγελεῖ Ἀβραάμ ” ὡς ἀπιστοῦντι<sup>1</sup> δῆπου περὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοματοῦς γένους ἀνατολήν, ὅτι “ θηλάζει παιδίον Σάρρα,” οὐχὶ πρὸς Σάρρας θηλάζεται; τὸ γὰρ αὐτοδίδακτον τρέφεται μὲν ὑπ’ οὐδενός, |
- [458] τροφή δ’ ἐστὶν ἄλλων, ἅτε ἱκανὸν διδάσκειν καὶ  
 141 μανθάνειν οὐ δεόμενον. “ ἔτεκον γὰρ υἷόν,” οὐχ ὡς γυναῖκες Αἰγύπτιαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς αἱ Ἑβραῖαι ψυχαί, “ ἐν τῷ γήρα μου,” ὅτε τὰ μὲν ὅσα αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ μεμάρανται, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ καὶ ἀθάνατα ἀνήβηκεν, ἃ
- 142 γέρως καὶ τιμῆς ἐστὶν ἐπάξια. καὶ ἔτεκον μαιευτικῆς τέχνης οὐ προσδεθεισα· τίκτομεν γὰρ καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τινας ἐπινοίας καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄνευ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους συνεργούντων, σπείροντος καὶ γεννῶντος θεοῦ τὰ ἀστεία γεννήματα, ἃ τῷ δόντι προσηκόντως κατὰ τὸν ἐπ’ εὐχαριστία τεθέντα νόμον ἀποδίδονται· “ τὰ γὰρ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου ” φησὶ “ διατηρήσατε προσφέρειν ἐμοί.”
- 143 XXVI. Τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν ἐπομένων λόγοις καὶ προστάξεσι νομίμοις καὶ ταύτῃ βαδίζόντων, ἧ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀφηγηται· ὁ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπειθοῦντι.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 563.

<sup>b</sup> “Midwife,” in allusion to Ex. i. 19; “goodly,” to Ex. ii. 2 (LXX. ἀστείον: cf. Heb. xi. 23). The connexion of thought in §§ 139-142 is as follows. The idea that Isaac’s sacrifice typifies the offering of the soul’s consummation suggests other thoughts about this soul-birth: (1) that the soul is unconscious of what it is bearing, (2) that it comes in the

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 140-143

when it appeared she that seemed to have given birth to it acknowledges her ignorance of the good thing that had occurred in the words " who shall announce to Abraham " (for she assumed that he did not believe in the rising up of the breed that learns without a teacher), " who shall tell Abraham that Sarah is suckling a child " (Gen. xxi. 7) ? It does not say " a child is being suckled by Sarah,"<sup>a</sup> for the kind that is taught without a teacher is nourished by no one, but is a source of nourishment to others, being capable of teaching and not needing to learn. " For 141 I bare a son," she continues, not as Egyptian women do in their bodily prime (Ex. i. 19), but as the Hebrew souls do, " in my old age " (Gen. xxi. 7), at a time, that is, when all things that are mortal and objects of sense-perception have decayed, while things immortal and intellectually discerned have grown young again, meet recipients of honour and esteem.

Furthermore, " I gave birth " without requiring 142 extraneous aid from the midwife's skill : for we give birth even before there come in to us any imaginations of man's knowledge, without the co-operation that custom supplies, for God begets and sows the seed of those goodly births, which, as is meet and right, are rendered to Him Who gave them, in fulfilment of the law laid down for thanksgiving : " My gifts, My endowments, My fruits " He says, " be careful to offer unto Me " (Num. xxviii. 2).<sup>b</sup>

XXVI. This is the end of the way of those who 143 follow the words and injunctions of the law, and march in whatever direction God leads the way : but

ripeness of spiritual " old age " ; and this contrast between Sarah and the Egyptians suggests a further contrast, namely that the Hebrew-soul needs no " midwife."

## PHILO

- ὑπενδούς ὑπὸ τοῦ πεινῶντος ἡδονῆς καὶ λείχου  
 παθῶν, ὄνομα Ἀμαλήκ—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ λαὸς  
 144 ἐκλείχων—, ἐκτετμήσεται. μηνύουσι δὲ οἱ χρησιμοὶ  
 ὅτι λοχῶν ὁ τρόπος οὗτος, ἐπειδὴν τὸ ἐρρωμενέ-  
 στερον τῆς ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως κατίδη περαιωθέν,  
 ὑπανιστάμενος τῆς ἐνέδρας τὸ κεκμηκὸς μέρος ὡς  
 “ οὐραγίαν κόπτει.” κάματος δ’ ὁ μὲν  
 ἔστιν εὐένδοτος ἀσθένεια λογισμοῦ μὴ δυναμένου  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ<sup>1</sup> ἀρετῆς ἀχθοφορῆσαι πόνους, ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς  
 οὗτος εὐρισκόμενος εὐαλωτότατος, ὁ δὲ ἔστιν  
 ὑπομονὴ τῶν καλῶν, τὰ μὲν καλὰ ἀθρόα ἐρρωμέ-  
 νως ἀναδεχομένους, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν φαύλων, κἂν εἰ  
 κουφότατον εἴη, βαστάσαι δικαίων, ἀλλ’ ὡς βαρύ-  
 145 τατον ἄχθος ἀπορρίπτων. διὸ καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν ὁ νόμος εὐθυβόλῳ προσεῖπεν ὀνόματι Λείαν,  
 ἣτις ἐρμηνευθεῖσα λέγεται κοπιῶσα· τὸν γὰρ τῶν  
 φαύλων βίον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φύσει κοπιῶδη  
 προσηκόντως αὕτη νενόμικε καὶ οὐδὲ προσιδεῖν  
 ἀξιοῖ, τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀποκλίνουσα.  
 146 σπουδαζέτω δ’ ὁ νοῦς μὴ μόνον  
 ἀνενδότως καὶ εὐτόνως ἔπεσθαι θεῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν  
 εὐθείαν ἀτραπὸν ἰέναι πρὸς μηδέτερα νεύων, μήτε  
 τὰ δεξιὰ μήτε τὰ εὐώνυμα, οἷς ὁ γήινος Ἐδῶμ  
 ἐμπεφώλευκε, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ περιουσίαις,  
 τοτὲ δὲ ἐλλείψεσι καὶ ἐνδείαις χρώμενος. ἄμεινον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπ’.

<sup>a</sup> As Heinemann suggests, there may be a play on λείχων and λοχῶν.

<sup>b</sup> For Philo’s treatment of this interpretation of Leah’s name see note on *De Cher.* 41.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 143-146

the man who gives in under the assaults of the foe, who hungers after pleasure and is lickerish for passion, whose name is "Amalek," which means "a people licking up"—this man shall find himself cut off. The oracles signify that the Amalek type of 144 character lies in ambush,<sup>a</sup> when it is aware that the more stalwart portion of the soul-army has gone by, rises up from its ambushade and "smites or 'cuts' the hindmost" (Deut. xxv. 17 f.) or the labouring rear.

"Labouring" may be used of a readiness to give in, a feebleness of reason's functioning, an inability to bear the burdens needed to win virtue. This is a condition which, when found lagging at the extreme rear, falls an easy prey. Or the word may connote brave endurance in a noble cause, a sturdy readiness to undertake all noble tasks together, a refusal to support the weight of any base thing, though it be the very lightest, nay a rejection of it as though it were the heaviest burden.

Hence it comes that the Law gave Virtue the appro- 145 priate name "Leah," which when translated is "growing weary"<sup>b</sup>; for Virtue has, as she well may do, made up her mind that the way of life of the wicked, so essentially burdensome and heavy, is full of weariness, and she refuses so much as to look at it, turning her gaze away from it and fixing it on the morally beautiful alone.

But let the mind be bent 146 not only on following God with alert and unflinching steps, but also on keeping the straight course. Let it not incline to either side, either to what is on the right hand or to what is on the left, where Edom, of the earth earthy, has his lurking holes, and thus be the victim now of excesses and extravagances, now of shortcomings and deficiencies. For better is it to

## PHILO

γὰρ ὁδῶ τῇ μέσῃ βαδίζειν ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βασιλικῇ, ἣν ὁ μέγας καὶ μόνος βασιλεὺς θεὸς ταῖς φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς ἠῦρυνεν ἐνδιαίτημα κάλλιστον.

147 διὸ καὶ τινες τῶν τὴν ἡμερον καὶ κοινωνικὴν μετιόντων φιλοσοφίαν μεσότητος τὰς ἀρετὰς εἶπον εἶναι, ἐν μεθορίῳ στήσαντες αὐτάς, ἐπειδὴ τό τε [459] ὑπέραυχον ἀλαζονείας γέμον πολλῆς | κακὸν καὶ τὸ<sup>1</sup> ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀφανοῦς μεταποιεῖσθαι σχήματος εὐεπίβατον, τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν κεκραμένον ἐπιεικῶς ὠφέλιμον.

148 XXVII. Τὸ δὲ “ ὥχετο μετ’ αὐτοῦ Λῶτ ” τίνα ἔχει λόγον σκεπτόεν. ἔστι μὲν οὖν Λῶτ ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἀπόκλισις· κλίνεται δὲ ὁ νοῦς τοτὲ μὲν τάγαθόν, τοτὲ δ’ αὖ τὸ κακὸν ἀποστρεφόμενος. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα πολλάκις περὶ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεωρεῖται· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες ἐνδοιασταὶ καὶ ἐπαμφοτερισταί, πρὸς ἑκάτερον τοῖχον ὥσπερ σκάφος ὑπ’ ἐναντίων πνευμάτων διαφερόμενον ἀποκλίνοντες ἢ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀντιρρέποντες, ἐφ’ ἑνὸς στηριχθῆναι βεβαίως ἀδυνατοῦντες, ὧν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀμείνω τροπὴν ἐπαινετέον· φορᾶ

149 γάρ, ἀλλ’ οὐ γνώμη γίνεται. τούτων καὶ ὁ Λῶτ ἐστὶ θιασώτης,<sup>2</sup> ὃν φησιν οἴχεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ σοφίας ἔραστοῦ. καλὸν δ’ ἦν ἀρξάμενον ἐκείνῳ παρακολουθεῖν ἀπομαθεῖν ἀμαθίαν καὶ μηκέτι παλιδρομησαὶ πρὸς αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ μιμησάμενον τὸν ἀμείνω βελτιωθῆναι συνέρχεται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακείνῳ παρασχεῖν ἀντισπάσματα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. θεατῆς.

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<sup>a</sup> For the thought of this section see *Quod Deus* 162 ff., where the meaning of “excess” and “deficiency” is fully explained.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 146-149

walk on the central road, the road that is truly "the king's" (Num. xx. 17), seeing that God, the great and only King, laid it out a broad and goodly way for virtue-loving souls to keep to.<sup>a</sup> Hence it is that some 147 of those who followed the mild and social form of philosophy,<sup>b</sup> have said that the virtues are means, fixing them in a borderland, feeling that the overweening boastfulness of a braggart is bad, and that to adopt a humble and obscure position is to expose yourself to attack and oppression, whereas a fair and reasonable mixture of the two is beneficial.

XXVII. We have to consider what is meant by 148 "Lot went with him" (Gen. xii. 4). "Lot" by interpretation is "turning aside" or "inclining away." The mind "inclines," sometimes turning away from what is good, sometimes from what is bad. Oftentimes both tendencies are observable in one and the same person: for some men are irresolute, facers both ways, inclining to either side like a boat tossed by winds from opposite quarters, or swaying up and down as though on a pair of scales, incapable of becoming firmly settled on one: with such there is nothing praiseworthy even in their taking a turn to the better course; for it is the result not of judgement but of drift. Of this crew Lot is a member, who is 149 said to have left his home with the lover of wisdom. When he had set out to follow his steps, it would have been well for him to unlearn lack of learning and to have retraced his steps to it no more. The fact is, however, that he comes with him, not that he may imitate the man who is better than he and so gain improvement, but actually to create obstacles which pull him back, and drag him elsewhere and

<sup>b</sup> Probably a definite reference to the Peripatetic school.

- καὶ μεθολκὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔνθεν <καὶ ἔνθεν><sup>1</sup>  
 150 ὀλίσθους. τεκμήριον δέ· ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν  
 ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον οἰχθήσεται ληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ τὰς ἐξ ἐνέδρας  
 ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτοῦ φυλαξάμενος πάση μηχανῇ δι-  
 οικισθήσεται. τὸν δὲ διοικισμὸν αὐθις  
 μὲν, οὐπω δὲ ποιήσεται. νῦν μὲν γὰρ τὰ θεωρή-  
 ματα αὐτῶ ὡς ἂν ἄρτι ἀρχομένῳ τῆς θείας θεωρίας  
 πλαδᾶ καὶ σαλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἤδη παγέντα κραταιό-  
 τερον ἰδρυθῆ, δυνήσεται τὸ δελεάζον καὶ κολακεῦον  
 ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀκατάλλακτον καὶ δυσθήρατον φύσει  
 151 διαζευξάτω. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσθ' ὁ δυσσπότριπτον<sup>2</sup> ὃν  
 παρέπεται ψυχῇ κωλύον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠκυ-  
 δρομεῖν· τοῦθ', ἡνίκα καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπελείπομεν,  
 τὴν σωματικὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ἀπομαθεῖν τὰ πάθη  
 σπουδάσαντες κατὰ τὰς τοῦ προφήτου λόγους,  
 Μωυσέως,<sup>3</sup> ὑφηγήσεις, ἠκολούθησεν ἡμῖν, ἔλλαμ-  
 βανόμενον τῆς περὶ τὴν ἕξοδον σπουδῆς καὶ τῷ  
 τάχει τῆς ἀπολείψεως ὑπὸ φθόνου βραδυτήτας  
 152 ἐμποιούν· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ καὶ ἐπίμικτος πολὺς  
 συνανέβη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βόες καὶ κτήνη  
 πολλὰ σφόδρα,” ὁ δὲ ἐπίμικτος οὗτος ἦν τὰ κτη-  
 νώδη καὶ ἄλογα τῆς ψυχῆς, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν,  
 δόγματα. XXVIII. παγκάλως δὲ καὶ εὐθυβόλως  
 τὴν τοῦ φαύλου ψυχὴν ἐπίμικτον καλεῖ· συνηρημένη  
 γὰρ καὶ συμπεφορημένη καὶ μιγὰς ὄντως ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἔνθεν <καὶ ἔνθεν>, sc. ὅδον G.H.W.: Wend. con-  
 jectures κατὰ τὴν ὅδον ἐμποιεῖν (or ἐνθεῖναι).

<sup>2</sup> Mangey δυσσπότριπτον, which suits παρέπεται better.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ προφήτου λόγους (one MS. λόγον) Μω.]  
 so Mangey, who inserts (again with one MS.) καὶ after Μω.:  
 Wend.'s correction is certainly right, cf. *De Cong.* 170  
 ὁ προφήτης λόγος ὄνομα Μωυσῆς.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 150-152

make him slip in this direction or that. Here 150 is a proof of it. We shall find Lot having a relapse, suffering from the old complaint, carried off a prisoner of war by the enemies in the soul; and Abraham, resorting to every device to guard against his ambushes and attacks, setting up separate quarters.<sup>a</sup>

This separation he will effect later on, but not as yet. For at present he is but a novice in the contemplation and study of things Divine and his principles are unformed and wavering. By and by they will have gained consistency and rest on a firmer foundation, and he will be able to dissociate from himself the ensnaring and flattering element as an irreconcilable and elusive foe. For it is this from 151 which the soul can so hardly disengage itself as it clings to it and hinders it from making swift progress in reaching virtue. This it was, when we were abandoning Egypt, all the bodily region, and were hastening to unlearn the passions in obedience to the instructions of the word of prophecy,<sup>b</sup> even Moses,—it was this, I say, that followed us, checking our zeal to be gone, and moved by envy to retard the speed of our departure: for we read “and a mixed multi- 152 tude went up with them, both<sup>c</sup> sheep and oxen and beasts very many” (Ex. xii. 38), and this mixed multitude was, in fact, the soul’s herd of beast-like doctrines. XXVIII. And very well and appropriately does he call the soul of the bad man “mixed”: for it is brought together and collected and a medley in

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 564.

<sup>b</sup> A reference to Ex. xii. 11, quoted with the same interpretation above, § 25.

<sup>c</sup> “both” better than “and” as the next words show, though later the thought is changed, and the *ἐπιμικτος* becomes human.

## PHILO

- πλειόνων καὶ μαχομένων δοξῶν, μία μὲν οὔσα  
 153 ἀριθμῶ, μυριάς δὲ τῷ πολυτρόπῳ. διὸ καὶ τῷ  
 ἐπίμικτος πρόσκειται πολὺς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἓν  
 [460] μόνον ἀφορῶν ἀπλοῦς καὶ | ἀμιγῆς καὶ λείος ὄντως,  
 ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου προτιθέμενος πολὺς καὶ  
 μιγὰς καὶ δασὺς ἀληθεία. οὗ χάριν οἱ χρησμοὶ τὸν  
 μὲν ἀσκητὴν τῶν καλῶν Ἰακώβ λείον, τὸν δὲ τῶν  
 154 αἰσχίστων Ἡσαῦ δασὺν εἰσάγουσι. διὰ  
 τὸν ἐπίμικτον καὶ δασὺν τοῦτον ὄχλον ἐκ μιγάδων  
 καὶ συγκλύδων συμπεφυρμένον δοξῶν ἠκυδρομη-  
 σαι δυνάμενος ὁ νοῦς, ὅτε τὴν σωματικὴν χώραν  
 ἀπεδίδρασκεν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις δια-  
 δέξασθαι τὸν ἀρετῆς κλῆρον φωτὶ τρισσῶ, μνήμη  
 τῶν παρεληλυθότων καὶ ἑναργεῖα<sup>1</sup> τῶν παρόντων  
 καὶ τῇ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδι, τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν  
 ἀριθμόν, μῆκος τοσοῦτου χρόνου, τρίβεται τὴν ἐν  
 κύκλῳ περιάγων καὶ ἀλώμενος ἔνεκα τοῦ πολυ-  
 τρόπου, τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀνυσιμωτάτην οὔσαν δέον.  
 155 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μὴ μόνον ὀλίγοις εἶδουσι  
 ἐπιθυμίας χαίρων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπο-  
 λιπεῖν δικαιοῶν, ἵνα ὅλον δι' ὅλων τὸ γένος, ᾧ πᾶν  
 εἶδος ἐμφέρεται, μετέρχεται· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ὁ  
 ἐπίμικτος ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπεθύμησεν ἐπιθυμίαν ”  
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ γένους, οὐχ ἑνός τινος τῶν εἰδῶν, “ καὶ  
 καθίσαντες ἔκλαιον.” σунήσι γὰρ ὀλιγο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐνεργεῖα.

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<sup>a</sup> Philo takes *ἐπιθυμίαν*, which in the LXX. is a cognate accusative representing the familiar Hebrew way of intensifying the verb (though that more often employs the dative; cf. *Leg. All.* i. 90), as if it was the direct object of *ἐπεθύμησεν*. The verb does occasionally take an accusative, though

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 152-155

very deed, consisting of many discordant opinions, one in number but myriad in its manifoldness. For 153 this reason it is called a "multitude" or "numerous" as well as "mixed"; for he that has an eye to a single aim only is single and unmixed and truly smooth and level, but he that sets before himself many aims for his life is manifold and mixed and truly rough. It is for this reason that the oracles represent Jacob, the trainer of himself for nobility, as smooth, but Esau, who exercised himself in basest things, as rough with hair (Gen. xxvii. 11).

What befell the Mind, when it escaped from Egypt 154 the country of the body, was due to this mixed and rough multitude, a conglomeration of promiscuous and diverse opinions. It could have made rapid progress and in three days (Gen. xxii. 3) have entered upon the inheritance of virtue by a threefold light, memory of things gone by, clear sight of things present, and the expectation of things to come. Instead of this, for the space of forty years, for all that length of time, it wears itself out wandering and going round circle-wise, in obedience to the "manifold" element with its many twistings, when it behoved it to have taken the straight way which was the speediest.

It is this mixed mul- 155 titude which takes delight not in a few species of lusting only, but claims to leave out nothing at all, that it may follow after lust's entire genus, including all its species. For we read "the mixed people that was among them 'craved after lust,'<sup>a</sup> after the genus itself, not some single species, 'and sat down and wept'" (Num. xi. 4).

For the understand- commonly the genitive, on which he falls back in the next words.

## PHILO

- δρανοῦσα ἢ διάνοια καί, ὅποτε μὴ δύναται τυχεῖν ὦν ὀρέγεται, δακρῦει καὶ στενάζει· καίτοι ὤφειλε χαίρειν παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἀτυχοῦσα καὶ μεγάλην εὐπραγίαν νομίζειν τὴν ἔνδειαν καὶ ἀπουσίαν
- 156 αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀρετῆς σφαδάζειν καὶ δακρῦειν ἔθος, ἢ τὰς τῶν ἀφρόνων ὀδυρομένοις συμφορὰς διὰ τὸ φύσει κοινωνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἢ διὰ περιχάρειαν. γίνεται δὲ αὕτη, ὅταν ἀθρόα ἀγαθὰ μὴδὲ προσδοκηθέντα ποτὲ αἰφνίδιον ὀμβρήσαντα πλημμυρῇ· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν εἰρησθαί μοι δοκεῖ “δακρυόεν γελά-
- 157 σασα”· προσπεσοῦσα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου ἢ εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστη χαρὰ ψυχῇ μείζονα αὐτὴν ἢ πρότερον ἦν ἐποίησεν, ὡς διὰ τὸν ὄγκον μηκέτι χωρεῖν τὸ σῶμα, θλιβόμενον δὲ καὶ πιεζόμενον ἀποστάζειν λιβάδας, ἃς καλεῖν ἔθος δάκρυα, περὶ ὧν ἐν ὕμνοις εἴρηται· “ψωμιεῖς ἡμᾶς ἄρτον δακρῦων” καὶ “ἐγένετο τὰ δάκρυά μοι ἄρτος ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.” τροφή γάρ ἐστι διανοίας τὰ τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου καὶ σπουδαίου γέλωτος ἐμφανῆ δάκρυα, ἐπειδὴν ὁ θεῖος ἐντακεῖς ἡμερος τὸν τοῦ γενητοῦ θρήνον ἄσμα εἰς τὸν ἀγένητον ὕμνου ποιήσῃ.<sup>1</sup>
- 158 XXIX. “Ἐνιοι μὲν οὖν τὸν μιγάδα καὶ δασὺν τοῦτον ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ διατειχίζουσιν ἀφ' ἑαυ-
- [461] τῶν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ | μόνῳ γένει χαίροντες· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑταιρίαν τίθενται, μεσιτεύειν τὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ποιήσειεν.

<sup>a</sup> Hom. *Il.* vi. 484.

<sup>b</sup> E.V. “Thou hast fed us.” The future perhaps makes Philo’s perversion of the meaning a little less unreasonable.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 155-158

ing is conscious of its feebleness, and when it cannot obtain what it is longing for, it weeps and groans ; and yet it had cause to rejoice at missing passions and sicknesses, and to consider the dearth and absence of them great prosperity. And yet indeed it is 156 not unusual for the devotees of virtue themselves to be much moved and to shed tears, either when bemoaning the misfortunes of the unwise owing to their innate fellow-feeling and humaneness, or by reason of being overjoyed. This last occurs when, as is sometimes the case, a sudden shower of unexpected good things falls, and they come all at once like a flood. I fancy that it is to this that we must refer the expression of the poet,

She laughed with glad tears in her eyes.<sup>a</sup>

For joy, that best of the good emotions, when it 157 has fallen upon the soul unexpectedly, makes it larger than it was before, so that owing to its size the body has no longer room for it, and as it is squeezed and compressed it distils moist drops, which we are in the habit of calling "tears." Of these it is said in the Psalms, "Thou shalt feed us<sup>b</sup> with the bread of tears" (Ps. lxxix. [lxxx.] 6), and "My tears have been my bread by day and by night" (Ps. xli. [xlii.] 4). For tears, that rise to the surface from the inward heart-felt laughter, are food to the understanding, coming when the love of God has sunk deep in and turned the dirge of created being into a canticle of praise to the Uncreate.

XXIX. While some regard this rough and motley 158 type as outcast, and keep it at a distance from themselves, having delight in the God-beloved kind only, others actually form ties of fellowship with it,

## PHILO

- 159 *ἐαυτῶν βίον ἀξιοῦντες καὶ μεθόριον ἀνθρωπίνων  
 τε καὶ θείων ἀρετῶν τιθέντες, ἢ ἑκατέρων ἐφάπ-  
 τονται, καὶ τῶν ἀληθεία καὶ τῶν δοκῆσει. τούτου  
 τοῦ δόγματος ὁ πολιτευόμενός ἐστι τρόπος, ὃν  
 Ἰωσήφ ὀνομάζειν ἔθος, ᾧ συναπέρχονται μέλλοντι  
 τὸν πατέρα κηδεύειν “ πάντες οἱ παῖδες Φαραῶ καὶ  
 οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ  
 πρεσβύτεροι τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πανοικία  
 αὐτοῦ, Ἰωσήφ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ  
 160 οἰκία ἡ πατρικὴ αὐτοῦ.” ὄρας ὅτι μέσος τῆς  
 Φαραῶ καὶ τῆς πατρικῆς οἰκίας ὁ πολιτικὸς οὗτος  
 τάττεται, ἵνα καὶ τῶν κατὰ σῶμα, τὴν Αἴγυπτον,  
 καὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν, ἅπερ ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ οἴκῳ  
 θησαυροφυλακεῖται, κατ’ ἴσον ἐφάπτηται<sup>1</sup>; ὅταν  
 μὲν γὰρ λέγῃ “ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμι ” καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα  
 συγγενῇ τούτῳ, τοῖς τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας ἐμμένει  
 νομίμοις· ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ “ τὸ δευτερεῖον ἄρμα ” τοῦ  
 βασιλεύειν νοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀνέρχῃται, Φαραῶ, τὸν  
 161 Αἰγυπτιακὸν πάλιν ἰδρύεται τύφον. ἀθλιώτερος  
 δ’ ὁ νομιζόμενος ἐνδοξότερος εἶναι βασιλεύς, ὃς τῷ  
 προηγουμένῳ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐποχεῖται· τὸ γὰρ μὴ  
 ἐν καλοῖς διαπρέπειν ἐπιφανέστατον αἰσχος, ὡς τὸ  
 φέρεσθαι τὰ ἐν τούτοις δευτερεῖα κουφότερον κακόν.  
 162 τὸ μέντοι γε ἐπαμφοτερίζον αὐτοῦ  
 καταμάθοις ἂν κακ τῶν ὄρκων οὕς πεποιήται, τοτὲ  
 μὲν ὀμνὺς “ νῆ τὴν ὑγείαν Φαραῶ,” τοτὲ δ’ ἔμπαλιν*

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐφῆται (ἐφεῖται).

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 158-162

holding that their own place in human life should be midway, set as a borderland between virtues human and Divine, and thus they aim at being in touch with both the real and the reputed virtues. To this school 159 belongs the politician's frame of mind, to which it is customary to give the name "Joseph." When he is about to bury his father there go off with him "all the servants of Pharaoh and the elders of his house and all the elders of Egypt and all his whole household,<sup>a</sup> Joseph and his brethren and all his father's house" (Gen. l. 7 f.). Do you notice that this 160 politician takes his position in the midst between the house of Pharaoh and his father's house? that his object is to be equally in touch with the concerns of the body, which is Egypt, and those of the soul which are kept as in a treasury in his father's house? For when he says "I belong to God" (Gen. l. 19) and other things of this kind, he is abiding by the customs of his father's house. But when he mounts "the second chariot" of the mind that fancies itself a king, even Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 43), he again sets up the idol of Egyptian vanity.<sup>b</sup> Though indeed more wretched 161 than he is the king who is thought to be more glorious, who rides in the principal chariot: for to win distinction in things that are without moral beauty is a most patent disgrace, just as to carry off the second prize in such things is a less weighty evil. Of his 162 proneness to face both ways you may get an idea from the oaths which he is represented as taking, at one moment swearing "yea by the health of Pharaoh" (Gen. xlii. 16) and then on the contrary, "no, by the

<sup>a</sup> The LXX has ἡ πανοικία Ἰωσήφ (evidently genitive), but Philo's comments shew that he took it as in the translation.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 564. πάλιν perhaps "on the other hand."

## PHILO

- “ οὐ τὴν ὑγίαιαν Φαραώ.” ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν περιέχων τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὄρκος τῆς πατρικῆς ἂν εἴη διάταγμα οἰκίας ἀεὶ φονώσης κατὰ τοῦ πάθους καὶ βουλομένης αὐτὸ τεθνάναι, ὁ δ’ ἕτερος Αἰγύπτου, ἧ
- 163 φίλον ἐστὶ τοῦτο σώζεσθαι. διόπερ καίτοι τοσαύτης πληθύος συνανιούσης ἐπίμικτον ὄχλον οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν ἄκρως ὄρατικῶ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ πᾶν ὁ μὴ ἀρετῇ ἢ ἀρετῆς ἔργον ἀναμειχθαι καὶ συγκεχύσθαι δοκεῖ, τῷ δὲ ἔτι χαμαιζήλω καθ’ αὐτὰ τὰ γῆς ἄθλα ἀξιέραστα καὶ ἀξιοτίμητα νενόμισται.
- 164 XXX. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ὡς κηφήνα τοὺς μελιττῶν<sup>1</sup> ὠφελίμους πόνους λυμαίνεσθαι διεγνωκότα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπακολουθοῦντα διατειχιεῖ, καθάπερ ἔφην, ὁ φρονήσεως ἔραστής, τοὺς δὲ ἔνεκα μιμήσεως παρεπομένους κατὰ τὸν τῶν καλῶν ζῆλον ἀποδέξεται μοίρας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀρμοττούσας δασάμενος· “ τῶν ” γάρ φησι “ συμπορευθέντων ἀνδρῶν μετ’ ἐμοῦ Ἐσχῶλ, Αὐνάν, Μαμβρῆ οὗτοι λήψονται μερίδα ”· λέγει δὲ τοὺς εὐφυεῖς τρόπους καὶ φιλο-  
165 θεάμονας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἐσχῶλ εὐφυΐας σύμβολον

<sup>1</sup> μελιττῶν is my conjecture for the ms. μὲν αὐτῶν. See App. p. 564.

<sup>a</sup> The LXX has νῆ (some texts μᾶ) τὴν ὑγίαιαν Φαραώ, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθητε. Philo presumably found οὐ in his copy. It will make the point a little more sensible, if we understand him to take the words “ I will not swear by the health of Pharaoh, (but) you shall not go forth.”

<sup>b</sup> The meaning of the section seems to be as follows. To the Israel mind the mixed cavalcade of Ex. xli. is confusion; that of Gen. l. is not so to the Joseph mind. Moses regulates his language in speaking of each multitude by what the two minds would think of them.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 162-165

health of Pharaoh " <sup>a</sup> (Gen. xlii. 15). The oath containing the negative is one that his father's house would prescribe, being always a mortal foe to passion and wishing it dead ; the other oath is one that Egypt might prescribe, for passion's welfare is dear to it. It 163 is for all these reasons that, though so great a number went up with Joseph, Moses does not call them a mixed multitude ; for whereas in the view of the man whose vision is quite perfect and who is a lover of virtue, all that is not virtue and virtue's doing seems to be mixed up and to be in confusion, in the eyes of the man who still cherishes low aims earth's prizes are deemed to be in themselves worthy of love and worthy of honour. <sup>b</sup>

XXX. The lover of sound sense will, therefore, as I 164 said, set a barrier between him and the man who, like a drone, has set himself to make havoc of the useful labours of the bees, and who follows for the sake of doing this, while those who in their enthusiasm for all that is morally excellent accompany them on their journey from a wish to copy them, he will welcome and allot to them such portions as are suitable : for Abraham says " of the men that journeyed with me Eshcol and Aunan, <sup>c</sup> these shall receive Mamre as their portion " (Gen. xiv. 24) ; meaning characters well endowed by nature and lovers of the higher vision. For Eshcol is a symbol of good natural ability, his 165

<sup>c</sup> Though Wend.'s punctuation evidently takes Mamre (as no doubt it is) as nom., Philo's language shews clearly that Mamre is, not has, the κληρος. That he should so take it, is not surprising. Except here and perhaps in Gen. xiv. 13, he would find no suggestion that Mamre was a man. It is either a town or occurs in the phrase ἡ δρῦς Μαμβρή. Even in Gen. xiv. 13 the words might without violation of grammar be so taken as to avoid such a suggestion.

## PHILO

[462] πυρὸς ἔχων ὄνομα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ | εὐφυῆς εὐτολμον καὶ ἔνθερμον καὶ ἐχόμενον ὧν ἂν προσάψῃται, ὁ δὲ Αὐνὰν τοῦ φιλοθεάμενος—ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἔρμηνεύεται<sup>1</sup>—τῷ καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς ὑπ' εὐθυμίας<sup>2</sup> ὄμματα διοίγνυσθαι. τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐστὶν ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος κλήρος, προσαγορευόμενος Μαμβρῆ, ὁ μεταληφθὲν ἀπὸ ὀράσεως καλεῖται· τῷ δὲ θεωρητικῷ τὸ ὄρᾶν συνωδόν τε καὶ οἰκειότατον.

166 ἐπειδὴν δὲ τούτοις ἀλείπταις χρησάμενος ὁ νοῦς μηδὲν ἑλλείπη τῶν πρὸς ἄσκησιν, συνομαρτεῖ καὶ συντρέχει τελεία φρονήσει, μήθ' ὑπερέχων μήθ' ὑπερεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἰσαίτατα καὶ ἰσοστάσια βαίνων. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ λόγιον ἐν ᾧ σαφῶς εἴρηται, διότι “πορευθέντες ἀμφοτέροι ἅμ' ἦλθον<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον

167 ὃν εἶπεν ὁ θεός.” ὑπερβάλλουσά γε ἰσότης ἀρετῶν, ἀμιλλησαμένων<sup>4</sup> πόνου μὲν πρὸς εὐεξίαν, τέχνης δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοδίδακτον φύσιν, καὶ δυναθέντων ἴσα τὰ ἀθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνέγκασθαι· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ζωγραφία καὶ πλαστικὴ μὴ μόνον ὡς νῦν ἀκίνητα καὶ ἄψυχα ἐδημιούργουν, ἴσχυον δὲ κινούμενά τε καὶ ἔμψυχα τὰ γραφόμενα καὶ πλαττόμενα ποιεῖν· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἂν φύσεως ἔργων οὔσαι τὸ πάλαι μιμητικαὶ τέχναι φύσεις αὐταὶ γεγενῆσθαι τὰ νῦν.

<sup>1</sup> Wend. prints ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἔρμηνεύεται τῷ κτλ. without dashes. But clearly the opening of the soul's eye is not the reason why the name Aunan means eyes.

<sup>2</sup> For ὑπ' εὐθυμίας (most mss. ὑπὲρ) see App. p. 565.

<sup>3</sup> mss. and Wend. ἀνῆλθον: the correction (Heinemann's) is certain. The reference is to Gen. xxii. 8, not, as W. supposed, Gen. xxii. 3. That they came *together* is the point of both this and the following section.

<sup>4</sup> mss. ἀμίλλης ἀμείνων.

<sup>a</sup> The gist of this and the preceding sections may be summed up thus. When the Abraham soul of Gen. xiv. has

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 165-168

name meaning "fire," for natural ability like fire is full of daring, and hot, and fastens on whatever it touches. Aunan represents the vision-lover, for it means "eyes," since the eyes of the soul also are opened by cheerfulness. And of both of these the contemplative life is the inheritance receiving the name of Mamre, which in our language is "from seeing"; and there is an intimate connexion between seeing and contemplation. When 166  
the mind, having such trainers as these, omits nothing that will make for its training, it runs by the side of perfect sound sense, neither getting in front nor dropping behind, but taking strides of the same length and strength. This is manifest from the plain statement of the oracle that they "both journeyed and came together to the place of which God had told him" (Gen. xxii. 8). There is indeed an extra- 167  
ordinary equality in virtues, when labour has vied with natural fitness, and acquired skill with self-tutored nature, and the pair have proved capable of carrying off virtue's prizes in equal measure. It is just as though painting and sculpture were producing not only as they do now creations destitute of movement and life, but had the power to make the works of brush and chisel living and moving things; it would then be felt, that whereas they were formerly arts copying Nature's works, they had now become themselves embodiments of nature.<sup>a</sup> XXXI. One 168

been trained by journeyings with the *εύφυής* and the *φιλοθεάμων*, it will rise to the stage of the Abraham of Gen. xxii., who went *together* with Isaac, that is *διδασκτική ἀρετή* side by side with *αὐτομαθῆς ἀρετή*. When this higher stage is reached, the old antithesis between labour and natural gifts, between art the imitator and nature the creator, is wiped out. See further App. p. 565.

- 168 XXXI. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἄνω μετέ-  
 ωρος ἔξαρθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν κάτω  
 τοῖς θνητοῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν ἔασει, πάντα δ' ὡσπερ  
 ἐκ σειρᾶς ἐκκρεμασθέντα συνεπισπάσεται. διὸ καὶ  
 λόγιον ἐχρήσθη τῷ σοφῷ τοιόνδε· “ ἀνάβηθι πρὸς  
 κύριόν σου, σὺ καὶ Ἰσαρὼν καὶ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιουδ  
 169 καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τῆς γερουσίας Ἰσραήλ.” τοῦτο  
 δέ ἐστι τοιοῦτον· ἀνάβηθι, ὦ ψυχή, πρὸς τὴν  
 τοῦ ὄντος θεῶν εὐαρμόστως, λογικῶς, ἐκουσίως, ἀ-  
 φόβως, ἀγαπητικῶς, ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἀγίοις καὶ τελείοις  
 ἑβδομάδος δεκαπλασιασθείσης. Ἰσαρὼν μὲν γὰρ  
 προφήτης λέγεται Μωυσέως ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ὁ  
 γεγωνὸς<sup>1</sup> λόγος προφητεύων διανοία, Ναδάβ δὲ  
 ἐκούσιος ἐρμηνεύεται, ὁ μὴ ἀνάγκη τιμῶν τὸ θεῖον,  
 καὶ Ἀβιουδ πατήρ μου· οὗτος ὁ μὴ δι' ἀφροσύνην  
 δεσπότης μᾶλλον ἢ πατὴρ διὰ φρόνησιν ἄρχοντος  
 170 θεοῦ δεόμενος. αἰδ' εἰσὶν αἱ τοῦ βασιλεύειν ἀξίου  
 νοῦ δορυφόροι δυνάμεις, ἃς συνέρχεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 παραπεμπούσας αὐτὸν θέμις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 δέος ἐστὶν ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θεῶν ψυχῆν  
 δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀγνοούσῃ τὴν ὁδόν, ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἅμα  
 καὶ τόλμης ἐπαρθείσῃ—μεγάλα δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀνεπι-  
 ιστημοσύνης καὶ πολλοῦ θράσους παραπτώματα—  
 171 διόπερ εὐχεται Μωυσῆς αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι  
 [463] ἡγεμόνι πρὸς τὴν | πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγουσαν ὁδόν· λέγει  
 γάρ· “ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς σὺ συμπορεύῃ, μὴ με ἀναγάγῃς  
 ἐντεῦθεν.” διότι πᾶσα κίνησις ἢ ἄνευ θείας ἐπι-  
 φροσύνης ἐπιζήμιον, καὶ ἄμεινον ἐνταυθοῖ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. γεγωνὸς.

<sup>a</sup> Here Moses and Aaron represent λογικῶς (combining understanding and speech), Nadab ἐκουσίως, Abihu ἀφόβως καὶ ἀγαπητικῶς, while εὐαρμόστως embraces all four.

<sup>b</sup> See above, § 84.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 168-171

that has been exalted so high above the earth will no longer suffer any parts of his soul to have their converse down below among things mortal, but will draw them all up with him, just like bodies hanging on a rope. So a divine intimation was given to the wise man to this effect : " Come up to thy Lord, thou and Aaron and Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the Senate of Israel " (Ex. xxiv. 1). This means : " Come 169 up, O soul, to behold the Existent One, come with thy being in harmony, that is, with thy speech and reason active, come willingly, fearlessly, affectionately,<sup>a</sup> come in the holy and perfect measures of seven multiplied tenfold." For " Aaron " is called in the Laws Moses' prophet (Ex. vii. 1),<sup>b</sup> speech acting as prophet to understanding, and " Nadab," meaning voluntary, is he that under no constraint does honour to the Deity, while " Abihu " means " my father," and represents the man who stands in need of God to govern him, not as a master owing to his folly, but much rather as a father owing to his good sense. These are the powers that form the bodyguard of the 170 mind that is worthy of sovereignty, and it is meet that they should accompany the King as His escort.

But the soul has reason to fear ascending in its own strength to the sight of Him that is, ignorant as it is of the way, lifted up as it is at once by ignorance and by daring, and grievous are the falls that have been occasioned by lack of knowledge and excess of boldness ; and therefore Moses prays that 171 he may have God Himself, to guide him to the way that leads to Him ; for he says : " If Thou Thyself goest not with me on my journey, lead me not up hence " (Ex. xxxiii. 15) : for loss is entailed by all movement that is not under Divine direction, and it

## PHILO

- μένειν τὸν θνητὸν βίον ἀλητεύοντας, ὡς τὸ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἢ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξάραντας ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἀνατραπήναι· καθάπερ μυρίοις συνέβη τῶν σοφιστῶν, οἵτινες ὠήθησαν σοφίαν πιθανὴν εἶναι λόγων εὐρεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πραγ-
- 172 μάτων ἀληθεστάτην πίστιν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι δηλοῦται· μή με ἄνω μετέωρον ἐξάρης, πλοῦτον ἢ δόξαν ἢ τιμὰς ἢ ἀρχὰς ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα τῶν ἐν ταῖς λεγομέναις εὐτυχίαις δωρησάμενος, εἰ μὴ μέλλοις αὐτὸς συνέρχεσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ζημίας καὶ ὠφελείας μεγίστας πολλάκις περιποιεῖται τοῖς ἔχουσιν, ὠφελείας μὲν, ὅταν ἀφηγηῆται τῆς γνώμης ὁ θεός, βλάβας δέ, ὅταν τούναντίον· μυρίοις γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ
- 173 ὄντα κακῶν ἀνηκέστων γέγονεν αἴτια. ὁ δὲ ἐπόμενος θεῶ κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον συνοδοιπόροις χρήται τοῖς ἀκολούθοις αὐτοῦ λόγοις, οὓς ὀνομάζειν ἔθος ἀγγέλους· λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι “ Ἀβραὰμ συνεπορεύετο συμπροπέμπων αὐτούς.” ὃ παγκάλῃς ἐπανισώσεως, καθ’ ἣν ὁ παραπέμπων παρεπέμπετο, διδοὺς ὁ ἐλάμβανεν, οὐκ ἀνθ’ ἑτέρου ἑτερον, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μόνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀντιδόσεις
- 174 ἔτοιμον. ἕως μὲν γὰρ οὐ τετελειώται, ἡγεμόνι τῆς ὁδοῦ χρήται λόγῳ θείῳ· χρησιμὸς γὰρ ἔστιν· “ ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὅπως εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἠτοίμασά σοι. πρόσεχε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰσάκουε αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀπείθει αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ὑποστείληται

<sup>a</sup> See on *De Conf.* 28.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 171-174

is better to stay where we are, roaming, with the bulk of mankind, through this mortal life, rather than to lift ourselves heavenward and incur shipwreck as imposters. This has been the fate of multitudes of sophists, through their imagining that wisdom consists in finding specious arguments, and not in appealing to the solid evidence of facts. But 172

perhaps the force of the prayer may be such as this : " Raise me not up on high, endowing me with wealth or fame or honours or offices, or aught else that is called good fortune, unless Thou Thyself art about to come with me." For these things often bring upon those who have them very great losses as well as very great advantages, advantages, when the judgment is under God's guidance ; hurts, when this is not so : for to thousands the things I have named, not being really good things, have become the cause of incurable evils. Now he that follows 173

God has of necessity as his fellow-travellers the words and thoughts<sup>a</sup> that attend Him, angels as they are often called. What we read is that " Abraham travelled with them, joining with them in escorting them on their way " (Gen. xviii. 16). What a glorious privilege to be put on a level with them ! The escort is escorted ; he gives what he was receiving ; not one thing in return for another, but just one thing only that lies ready to be passed backwards and forwards from one to the other. For as long as he falls short of 174 perfection, he has the Divine Word as his leader : since there is an oracle which says, " Lo, I send My messenger before thy face, to guard thee in thy way, that he may bring thee in into the land which I have prepared for thee : give heed to him, and hearken to him, disobey him not ; for he will by no means with-

## PHILO

- 175 σε· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομά μου ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ." ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς ἄκραν ἐπιστήμην ἀφίκηται, συντόνως ἐπιδραμῶν ἰσοταχήσει τῷ πρόσθεν ἡγουμένῳ τῆς οδοῦ· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ οὕτως ὄπαδοι γενήσονται τοῦ πανηγεμόνος θεοῦ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἑτεροδόξων παρακολουθοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λώτ, ὃς ἔκλινε τὴν ψυχὴν ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκαμπῆ φύεσθαι δυναμένην, διοικισθέντος.
- 176 XXXII. "Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ἦν" φησὶν "ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ Χαρράν." περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τῶν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ —λόγον γὰρ ἔχει συνωδὸν τοῖς πρόσθεν εἰρημένους —αὐτῆς ἀκριβῶσομεν. τίς δὲ ἔστι Χαρράν καὶ τίς ἢ ἐκ ταύτης ἀποικία τῆς χώρας, πρότερον ἐρευνήσωμεν. οὐδένα τοίνυν τῶν ἐντετυχηκότων τοῖς νόμοις ἀγνοεῖν εἰκός, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἀναστὰς γῆς Ἀβραὰμ ᾤκησεν εἰς [464] Χαρράν, | τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖθι κακ ταύτης μετανίσταται, ὡς δευεῖν ἤδη
- 178 τόπων ἀπόλειψιν πεποιῆσθαι. τί οὖν λεκτέον; Χαλδαῖοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεπονηκένοι καὶ διαφερόντως δοκοῦσιν ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γενεθλιαλογικὴν, τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς μετεώροις καὶ τὰ οὐράνια τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρμοζόμενοι καὶ ὡσπερ διὰ μουσικῆς λόγων τὴν ἐμμελεστάτην συμφωνίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῇ τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἀλληλα κοινωνίᾳ καὶ συμπαθείᾳ, τόποις μὲν διεzeugμένων,
- 179 συγγενείᾳ δὲ οὐ διωκισμένων. οὗτοι τὸν φαινό-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 565.

<sup>b</sup> That this is the meaning of διὰ μουσικῆς λόγων, rather than "by a music of λόγοι," in which case λόγοι would be used in the Stoic sense of "nature-forces," is shewn by *De Mut.*

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 174-179

draw from thee ;<sup>a</sup> for My name is on him ” (Ex. xxiii. 20 f.). But when he has arrived at full knowledge, he 175 will run with more vigorous effort, and his pace will be as great as that of him who before led the way ; for so they will both become attendants on the All-leading God, and no holder of strange doctrines will follow after them any more. Nay, even Lot has been severed from their company, for he bent aside his soul which had the capacity to grow up straight and unswerving.

XXXII. “ And Abraham was,” he says “ seventy 176 and five years old when he went out from Haran ” (Gen. xii. 4). On the number of the five and seventy years, whose import agrees with what has just been said, we will dwell in detail at a later time. Let us first examine the significance of Haran and of the removal from this country. No one versed in the 177 Laws is likely to be unaware that at an earlier date Abraham migrated from Chaldea and dwelt in Haran, and that after his father’s death there, he removes from that country also, so that he has at this point already quitted two places. What remark 178 does this call for ? The Chaldeans have the reputation of having, in a degree quite beyond that of other peoples, elaborated astronomy and the casting of nativities. They have set up a harmony between things on earth and things on high, between heavenly things and earthly. Following as it were the laws of musical proportion,<sup>b</sup> they have exhibited the universe as a perfect concord or symphony produced by a sympathetic affinity between its parts, separated indeed in space, but housemates in kinship. These 179

184 *θείου και θνητοῦ συγκερασθέντων και κατὰ τοὺς τῆς τελείας μουσικῆς λόγους ἀρμωσθέντων.*

## PHILO

μενον τούτον κόσμον ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν ὑπετόπησαν εἶναι μόνον, ἢ θεὸν ὄντα αὐτὸν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ θεὸν περιέχοντα, τὴν τῶν ὄλων ψυχὴν· εἰμαρμένην τε καὶ ἀνάγκην θεοπλαστήσαντες ἀσεβείας πολλῆς κατέπλησαν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ἀναδιδάξαντες ὡς δίχα τῶν φαινομένων οὐδενός ἐστιν οὐδὲν αἴτιον τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων αἱ περίοδοι τά τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐκάστω τῶν ὄντων ἀπονέμουσι.

- 180 Μωυσῆς μέντοι τῇ μὲν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι κοινωνία καὶ συμπαθεία τοῦ παντὸς ἔοικε συνεπιγράφεσθαι, ἕνα καὶ γενητὸν ἀποφηνάμενος τὸν κόσμον εἶναι—γενομένου γὰρ καὶ ἐνὸς ὑπάρχοντος εὐλογον τὰς γε στοιχειώδεις οὐσίας ὑποβεβλήσθαι τοῖς ἀποτελουμένοις τὰς αὐτὰς ἅπασι κατὰ μέρη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ σωμάτων συμβέβηκε τῶν ἠνωμένων ἀλληλουχεῖν—,
- 181 τῇ δὲ περὶ θεοῦ δόξῃ διαφέρεσθαι· μήτε γὰρ τὸν κόσμον μήτε τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν τὸν πρῶτον εἶναι θεὸν μηδὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἢ τὰς χορείας αὐτῶν τὰ πρεσβύτατα τῶν συμβαινόντων ἀνθρώποις αἴτια, ἀλλὰ συνέχεσθαι μὲν τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἀοράτοις δυνάμεσιν, ἅς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐσχάτων ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ περάτων ὁ δημιουργὸς ἀπέτεινε, τοῦ μὴ ἀνεθῆναι τὰ δεθέντα καλῶς προμηθοῦμενος· δεσμοὶ γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ
- 182 παντὸς ἄρρηκτοι. διό, κἄν που τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγεται “ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω,” μηδεὶς ὑποτοπησάτω τὸν κατὰ

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 91 and note.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 565.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps “taking wise forethought that what was bound,” etc. But I think the passage is probably reminiscent of *Timaeus* 41A τὸ καλῶς ἀρμολογεῖν καὶ ἔχον εἰς λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. For the position of καλῶς cf. *De Dec.* 27 τὰ γεγονότα καλῶς θεωρεῖν.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 179-182

men imagined that this visible universe was the only thing in existence, either being itself God or containing God in itself as the soul of the whole.<sup>a</sup> And they made Fate and Necessity divine, thus filling human life with much impiety, by teaching that apart from phenomena there is no originating cause of anything whatever, but that the circuits of sun and moon and of the other heavenly bodies determine for every being in existence both good things and their opposites.

Moses, however, while he seems 180 to confirm the sympathetic affinity of its parts displayed throughout the universe, is at variance with their opinion concerning God. He endorses the former doctrine by declaring the universe to be one and to have been made ; for if it came into being and is one, it stands to reason that all its completed several parts have the same elementary substances for their substratum, on the principle that interdependence of the parts is a characteristic of bodies which constitute a unity.<sup>b</sup> He differs from their opinion about 181 God, holding that neither the universe nor its soul is the primal God, and that the constellations or their revolutions are not the primary causes of the things that happen to men. Nay, he teaches that the complete whole around us is held together by invisible powers, which the Creator has made to reach from the ends of the earth to heaven's furthest bounds, taking forethought that what was well bound<sup>c</sup> should not be loosened : for the powers of the Universe are chains that cannot be broken.

Wherefore, even 182 though it be said somewhere in the Law-book " God in heaven above and on the earth below " (Deut. iv. 39), let no one suppose that He that is is spoken of,

## PHILO

τὸ εἶναι λέγεσθαι—τὸ γὰρ ὄν περιέχειν ἀλλ' οὐ περιέχεσθαι θέμις—, δύναμιν δ' αὐτοῦ, καθ' ἣν  
 183 ἔθηκε καὶ διατάξατο καὶ διεκόσμησε τὰ ὄλα. αὕτη δὲ κυρίως ἐστὶν ἀγαθότης, φθόνον μὲν τὸν μισ-  
 ἀρετον καὶ μισόκαλον ἀπεληλακυῖα ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς, χάριτας δὲ γεννώσα αἰς τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς γένεσιν ἄγουσα ἀνέφηεν· ἐπεὶ τό γε ὄν φαντασιαζόμενον δόξῃ πανταχοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, ὡς ἀψευδέστατον ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν χρησμόν, ἐν ᾧ  
 [465] λέλεκται· | “ ὦδε ἐγώ,” ἄδεικτος ὡς ἂν δεικνύ-  
 μενος, ἀόρατος ὡς ἂν ὀρατὸς ὢν, “ πρὸ τοῦ σέ”· πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς τοῦ γενητοῦ, ἔξω βαίνων ἐκείνου καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἐμφερόμενος.

184 XXXIII. Τούτων λεγομένων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Χαλ-  
 δαϊκῆς δόξης ἀνατροπῇ τοὺς ἔτι τὴν γνώμην χαλδαῖζοντας μετακλίνειν καὶ μετακαλεῖν οἶεται δεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀρχόμενος ὦδε· τί, φησὶν, ᾧ θαυμάσιοι, τοσοῦτον αἰφνίδιον ἀρθέντες ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς ὕψος ἐπυνήχεσθε καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ὑπερκύψαντες αἰθεροβατεῖτε, ὡς ἡλίου κινήσεις καὶ σελήνης περιόδους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τὰς ἐμμελεῖς καὶ ἀοιδίμους ἀκριβοῦν χορείας; ταῦτα γὰρ μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶν ἐπινοίας ἅτε εὐδαιμονεστέρας καὶ θειοτέρας μοίρας λαχόντα.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 138 and *De Sac.* 67 (with note).

<sup>b</sup> The meaning is that while the Pentateuch contains the just-mentioned disproof of astrology, at the same time (note the present λεγομένων) it gives practical advice to those inclined that way. This advice is given in the statement that “Abraham went from Chaldaea to Haran,” it being implied that these persons should do the same. What “going to Haran” means is expanded into the discourse of §§ 184 ff.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 182-184

since the existent Being can contain, but cannot be contained. What is meant is that potency of His by which He established and ordered and marshalled the whole realm of being. This potency is nothing else <sup>183</sup> than loving-kindness ; it has driven away from itself envy with its hatred of virtue and of moral beauty ; it is the mother of gracious deeds by which, bringing into created existence things that were not, it displayed them to view ; for that which is, though in opinion it be imagined everywhere, in reality shews itself nowhere, so that that is a most true oracle in which the words " Here am I " which describe Him—Him that cannot be pointed out, as though He were being pointed out, Him that is invisible, as though He were visible—are followed by the words, " before that thou wert made " (Ex. xvii. 6) <sup>a</sup> : for He is before all creation ; His goings are outside it ; nor is He present in any of the things that come after Him.

XXXIII. All this is said to refute the Chaldean <sup>184</sup> opinion, but side by side <sup>b</sup> with this Moses deems it his duty to change the way of thinking of those whose judgement still inclines to Chaldeanism, and to recall them to the truth, and he begins his lesson in this way : " How strange it is, my friends, that you have been suddenly lifted to such a height above the earth and are floating there, and, leaving the lower air beneath you, are treading the ether above, thinking to master every detail respecting the movements of the sun, and of the circuits of the moon, and of the glorious rhythmical dances of the other constellations. These <sup>c</sup> are too high to be reached by your powers of thought, for a lot is theirs happy and divine beyond

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.*, the sun, etc., as usual in Philo regarded as divine beings.

## PHILO

- 185 κατάβητε οὖν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ καταβάντες μὴ  
 πάλιν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ ποταμούς καὶ φυτῶν  
 καὶ ζώων ἰδέας ἐξετάζετε, μόνους δὲ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ  
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐρευνᾶτε, μὴ ἐτέρωθι μᾶλλον  
 οἰκῆσαντες ἢ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς· διαθεώμενοι γὰρ τὰ  
 κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον, τὸ δεσπόζον ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ  
 ὑπήκοον, τὸ ἔμψυχον, τὸ ἄψυχον, τὸ λογικόν, τὸ  
 ἄλογον, τὸ ἀθάνατον, τὸ θνητόν, τὸ ἄμεινον, τὸ  
 χεῖρον, εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμην θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ
- 186 σαφῆ λήψεσθε. λογιεῖσθε γὰρ ὅτι, ὡς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι  
 νοῦς, καὶ τῷ παντί ἐστι, καὶ ὡς ὁ ὑμέτερος ἀρχὴν  
 καὶ δεσποτείαν τῶν περὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναψάμενος ἕκαστον  
 τῶν μερῶν ὑπήκοον ἀπέφηεν ἐαυτῷ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ  
 τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιβεβλημένος αὐτο-  
 κράτορι νόμῳ καὶ δίκῃ τὸν κόσμον ἡνιοχεῖ προμη-  
 θούμενος οὐ τῶν ἀξιονικοτέρων αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι δοκούντων.
- 187 XXXIV. μεταναστάντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν  
 περιεργίας ἑαυτοῦς, ὅπερ εἶπον, οἰκῆσατε, τὴν μὲν  
 Χαλδαίων γῆν, δόξαν, καταλιπόντες, μετοικισά-  
 μενοι δὲ εἰς Χαρρὰν, τὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως χωρίον,
- 188 ὃ δὴ σωματικός ἐστιν οἶκος διανοίας. Χαρρὰν γὰρ  
 ἐρμηνεύεται τρώγλη, τρώγλαι δὲ σύμβολα αἰσθή-  
 σεως ὁπῶν<sup>1</sup> εἰσίν· ὁπᾶς γὰρ καὶ φωλεοὺς τρόπον τινα  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὀράσεως, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὠτα, ῥίνας δὲ  
 ὀσμῶν καὶ γεύσεως φάρυγγα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σώ-
- 189 ματος κατασκευὴν ἀφῆς εἶναι συμβέβηκε. τούτοις  
 οὖν ἔτι διατρίψαντες<sup>2</sup> ἐνηρεμήσατε καὶ σχολάσατε  
 καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἀκριβώσατε,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τόπων.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιδιατρίψαντες.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 185-189

the common. Come down therefore from heaven, 185  
and, when you have come down, do not begin in turn  
to pass in review earth and sea and rivers, and plants  
and animals in their various kinds ; but explore your-  
selves only and your own nature, and make your  
abode with yourselves and not elsewhere : for by  
observing the conditions prevailing in your own  
individual household, the element that is master in it,  
and that which is in subjection, the living and the  
lifeless element, the rational and the irrational, the  
immortal and the mortal, the better and the worse,  
you will gain forthwith a sure knowledge of God and  
of His works. Your reason will shew you that, as 186  
there is mind in you, so is there in the universe, and  
that as your mind has taken upon itself sovereign  
control of all that is in you, and brought every part  
into subjection to itself, so too He, that is endued with  
lordship over all, guides and controls the universe by  
the law and right of an absolute sway, taking fore-  
thought not only for those which are of greater, but  
for those which are of less importance in our eyes.

XXXIV. Quit, then, your meddling with 187  
heavenly concerns, and take up your abode, as I have  
said, in yourselves ; leave behind you opinion, the  
country of the Chaldeans, and migrate to Haran, the  
place of sense-perception, which is understanding's  
bodily tenement. For the translation of Haran is 188  
" hole," and holes are figures of openings used by  
sense-perception : for eyes are, in a way, openings  
and lairs used by sight, ears by hearing, nostrils to  
receive scents, the throat for tasting, and the whole  
structure of the body for touch. Gain, therefore, by 189  
a further sojourn, a peaceful and unhurried familiarity  
with these, and to the utmost of your power get an

## PHILO

καὶ τὸ ἐν ἑκάστοις εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον καταμαθόντες  
τὸ μὲν φύγετε, τὸ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἐλέσθε.

[466] ἐπειδὴν μέντοι σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὸν ἴδιον |  
διασκέψησθε οἶκον καὶ ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ  
τῶν μερῶν ἀυγάσησθε, διακινήσαντες αὐτοὺς τὴν  
ἐνθένδε μετανάστασιν ζητεῖτε, οὐ θάνατον ἀλλ'

190 ἀθανασίαν καταγγέλλουσιν. ἧς δειγμάτων σαφῆ καὶ  
ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐγκατελιημ-  
μένοι φωλεοῖς κατόψεσθε, τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τοῖς βαθέσιν  
ὑπνοῖς—ἀναχωρήσας γὰρ ὁ νοῦς καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὑπεξελθὼν  
ἐαυτῷ προσομιλεῖν ἄρχεται ὡς πρὸς κάτοπτρον  
ἀφορῶν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἀπορρυψάμενος πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ  
τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φαντασιῶν ἀπεμάξατο τὰς  
περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀψευδεστάτας διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων  
μαντείας<sup>1</sup> ἐνθουσιᾶ—, τοτὲ δὲ κὰν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσιν·

191 ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ τινος τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν κατα-  
σχεθεῖς θεωρημάτων ἀχθῆ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῷ μὲν  
ἔπεται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσα κατὰ τὸν σωματικὸν  
ὄγκον ἀμνημονεῖ δῆπου. κὰν ἐμποδίζωσιν αἱ  
αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβῆ θέαν τοῦ νοητοῦ, μέλει  
τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσι καθαιρεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· τὰς  
τε γὰρ ὄψεις καταμύουσι καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράττουσι  
καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων <αἰσθήσεων> ἐπέχουσιν ὁρμὰς  
καὶ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ σκότῳ διατρίβειν ἀξιοῦσιν, ὡς  
μὴ πρὸς τινος αἰσθητοῦ τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα, ᾧ νοητὰ  
βλέπειν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, ἐπισκιασθῆ.

192 XXXV. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν τρόπον μαθόντες ἀπό-

<sup>1</sup> Mangey (and also H<sup>2</sup>) ταῖς . . ἀψευδεστάταις . . μαντείας  
which perhaps suits the construction better. No example is  
given in the Lexica of an accusative in this sense after  
ἐνθουσιᾶν.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 189-192

exact knowledge of the nature of each, and, when you have thoroughly learned what is good and bad in each, shun the one, and choose the other.

And when you have surveyed all your individual dwelling with absolute exactitude, and have acquired an insight into the true nature of each of its parts, bestir yourselves and seek for your departure hence, for it is a call not to death but to immortality. You 190 will be able to descry sure indications of this, even while held fast in the dens and caves of the body and of the objects of sense. In deep sleep the mind quits its place, and, withdrawing from the perceptions and all other bodily faculties, begins to hold converse with itself, fixing its gaze on truth as on a mirror, and, having purged away as defilements all the impressions made upon it by the mental pictures presented by the senses, it is filled with Divine frenzy and discerns in dreams absolutely true prophecies concerning things to come. Thus is it at times. Or again it may be in waking hours. For when the 191 mind, possessed by some philosophic principle, is drawn by it, it follows this, and needs must be oblivious of other things, of all the concerns of the cumbersome body. And if the senses are a hindrance to the exact sight of the spiritual object, those who find happiness in beholding are at pains to crush their attack ; they shut their eyes, and stop up their ears, and check the impulses bred by their other senses, and deem it well to spend their days in solitude and darkness, that no object of sense-perception may bedim the eye of the soul, to which God has given the power to see things spiritual. XXXV. If 192 in this way you learn to effect a divorce <sup>a</sup> from what

<sup>a</sup> For this legal phrase see note on *De Cher.* 115.

## PHILO

- λειψιν τοῦ θνητοῦ χρηματίζειν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ  
 ἀγενήτου παιδευθήσεσθε δόξας· εἰ μὴ νομίζετε τὸν  
 μὲν ὑμέτερον νοῦν ἀποδυσάμενον σῶμα, αἰσθησιν,  
 λόγον, δίχα τούτων γυμνὰ<sup>1</sup> δύνασθαι τὰ ὄντα ὄραν,  
 τὸν δὲ τῶν ὄλων νοῦν, τὸν θεόν, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ὑλικῆς  
 φύσεως πάσης ἐστάναι περιέχοντα, οὐ περιεχόμενον,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐπινοία μόνον ἐπεξεληλυθέναι ὡσπερ ἄν-  
 θρωπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ οὐσιώδει, οἷα ἀρμόττει θεόν.
- 193 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερος νοῦς οὐ δεδημιούργηκε τὸ  
 σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἔργον ἑτέρου· διὸ καὶ περιέχεται  
 ὡς ἐν ἀγγείῳ τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ τῶν ὄλων νοῦς τὸ  
 πᾶν γεγέννηκε, τὸ πεποιηκὸς δὲ τοῦ γενομένου  
 κρεῖττον· ὡστ' οὐκ ἂν ἐμφέροιτο τῷ χείρονι, δίχα  
 τοῦ μηδὲ ἀρμόττειν πατέρα ἐν υἱῷ περιέχεσθαι,  
 υἱὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιμελείαις συναύξεσθαι.
- 194 οὕτω κατὰ βραχὺ μεταβαίνων ὁ νοῦς  
 ἐπὶ τὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος ἀφίξεται πατέρα,  
 γενεθλιαλογικῆς ἀποστάς τὸ πρῶτον, ἥτις παρ-  
 ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν τὸν κόσμον θεὸν τὸν  
 πρῶτον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ δημιούρ-  
 γημα, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων φοράς τε καὶ κινή-  
 σεις αἰτίας ἀνθρώποις κακοπραγίας καὶ τούναντίον
- 195 εὐδαιμονίας. ἔπειτ' εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν  
 ἐλθὼν τὴν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, φιλοσοφήσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν  
 ἴδιον οἶκον, τὰ περὶ σώματος, τὰ περὶ αἰσθήσεως,  
 τὰ περὶ λόγου, καὶ γνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα
- [467] ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν τε  
 τέτυκται,

<sup>1</sup> mss. γυμνὸν. this correction of Wendland's, though supported by the run of the sentence, and perhaps by § 90, seems to me doubtful.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 192-195

is mortal, you will go on to receive an education in your conceptions regarding the Uncreate. For you surely do not imagine that, while your mind, having divested itself of body, sense-perception, speech, can, apart from these, see in their nakedness<sup>a</sup> the things that are, the Mind of the universe, God, has not His abiding-place outside all material nature, containing, not contained, or doubt that He has gone forth beyond its confines not in thought alone, as man does, but in essential being also, as befits God. For our mind 193 has not created the body, but is the workmanship of Another; and it is therefore contained in the body as in a vessel. But the Mind of all things has brought the universe into existence; and that which has made is superior to the thing made, so that it could not be included in its inferior; nor indeed would it be fitting that a father should be contained in a son, but rather that a son should attain full growth under his father's care.

In this way the mind 194 gradually changing its place will arrive at the Father of piety and holiness. Its first step is to relinquish astrology, which betrayed it into the belief that the universe is the primal God, instead of being the handywork of the primal God, and that the courses and movements of the constellations are the causes of bad and good fortune to mankind.

Next it enters upon the consideration of itself, makes 195 a study of the features of its own abode, those that concern the body and sense-perception, and speech, and comes to know, as the phrase of the poet puts it,

All that existeth of good and of ill in the halls of thy homestead.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or "when thus naked"; see critical note.

<sup>b</sup> Hom. *Od.* iv. 392.

## PHILO

- ἔπειτ' ἀνατεμών ὁδὸν τὴν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ  
καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐλπίσας τὸν δυστόπαστον καὶ  
δυστέκμαρτον πατέρα τῶν ὄλων κατανοῆσαι, μαθὼν  
ἀκριβῶς ἑαυτὸν εἶσεται τάχα που καὶ θεόν, οὐκέτι  
μένων ἐν Χαρράν, τοῖς αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνοις, ἀλλ' εἰς  
ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστραφεῖς· ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἔτι κινούμενον  
αἰσθητῶς μᾶλλον ἢ νοητῶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντος  
196 ἐλθεῖν ἐπίσκεψιν. XXXVI. οὐδ' χάριν καὶ  
ὁ ταχθεὶς τὴν ἀρίστην τάξιν παρὰ θεῷ τρόπος,  
ὄνομα Σαμουήλ, οὐχ ὑφηγεῖται τὰ τῆς βασιλείας  
δίκαια τῷ Σαοῦλ [οὐδ'] ἔτι διατρίβοντι ἐν τοῖς  
σκεύεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὸν ἐξελεύσῃ.  
πυνθάνεται μὲν γάρ, εἰ ἔτι ἔρχεται ἐνθάδε ὁ ἀνὴρ,  
ἀποκρίνεται δὲ τὸ λόγιον· “ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς κέκρυπται  
197 ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι.” τί οὖν προσήκει τὸν ἀκούσαντα,  
φύσει παιδευτικὸν ὄντα, ποιῆσαι, ὅτι μὴ μετὰ  
σπουδῆς αὐτὸν ἐξελεύσῃ; “ἐπιδραμῶν” γάρ  
φησι “λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν,” διότι τοῖς ἀγγείοις  
τῆς ψυχῆς, σώματι καὶ αἰσθήσει, <ἐν>διατρίβων  
οὐκ ἦν ἀξιόχρεως ἀκοῦσαι τῶν τῆς βασιλείας  
δογμάτων καὶ νόμων—βασιλείαν δὲ σοφίαν εἶναι  
λέγομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα—, μεταναστὰς  
δέ, ἡνίκα τῆς ἀχλύος σκεδασθείσης ὀξυδορκήσῃ  
ἔμελλεν. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰσθήσεως χώραν,  
ὄνομα Χαρράν, ἀπολιπεῖν οἶεται δεῖν ὁ ἐπιστήμης  
ἑταῖρος.
- 198 Ἀπολείπει δὲ ἐτῶν γεγονῶς πέντε καὶ ἑβδομή-  
κοντα· ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς,

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<sup>a</sup> Not so much to examine its own nature, which is not ruled out in Haran, cf. § 185, but to attain the detached and mystical condition described in § 190.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 195-198

The third stage is when, having opened up the road that leads from self, in hope thereby to come to discern the Universal Father, so hard to trace and unriddle, it will crown maybe the accurate self-knowledge it has gained with the knowledge of God Himself. It will stay no longer in Haran, the organs of sense, but withdraw into itself.<sup>a</sup> For it is impossible that the mind whose course still lies in the sensible rather than the mental should arrive at the contemplation of Him that is. XXXVI. This 196 is why the character appointed to the highest post in God's service, who is called "Samuel," does not set forth the duties of kingship to Saul, while still lingering amid the baggage, but when he has drawn him out thence. For he inquires of the Lord whether the man is still on his way hither, and the divine reply is, "Lo, *he* hath hidden himself among the baggage." What, then, does it become the recipient of this 197 answer to do, endowed as he is by nature with power to exercise discipline, save to draw him forth with all haste? So we read, "he ran thither and taketh him thence" (1 Sam. x. 22 f.), because, while lingering amid such vessels of the soul as body and sense-perception, he was not competent to listen to the principles and rules of kingship—and we pronounce wisdom to be kingship, for we pronounce the wise man to be a king. These principles could only be learnt through his changing his place, when the dark mist would disperse and he would have keen vision. No wonder, then; that the associate of knowledge deems it necessary to quit also the country of sense-perception, called Haran.

When he quits the country he is five and seventy 198 years old; and this number represents the border-

πρεσβυτέρας τε καὶ νεωτέρας, ἔτι δὲ φθαρτῆς καὶ  
 199 ἀφθάρτου μεθόριος φύσεώς ἐστι. νοητὸς μὲν γὰρ  
 καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀφθαρτος λόγος ὁ τῶν ἑβδομη-  
 κοντα, αἰσθητὸς δὲ καὶ νεώτερος ὁ ταῖς πέντε  
 ἰσάριθμος ὢν αἰσθήσεσι. τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ἔτι γυμνα-  
 ζόμενος<sup>1</sup> ἀσκητῆς ἐξετάζεται, μηδέπω δεδυνημένος  
 ἐνέγκασθαι τὰ τέλεια νικητήρια· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι  
 “ ἦσαν αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ ἐξ Ἰακώβ πέντε καὶ ἑβδο-  
 200 μῆκοντα”· τοῦ<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἀθλοῦντος καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ κτή-  
 σεως ἀρετῆς ἱερὸν ὄντως ἀγῶνα μὴ διαφθείροντος  
 ψυχαὶ μὲν πρὸ σωμάτων γεννήματα, οὐπω δ’  
 ἐκτετμημένοι<sup>3</sup> τὸ ἄλογον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι τὸν αἰσθήσεως  
 ὄχλον ἐφέλκόμενοι. παλαιόντος γὰρ καὶ κονιομένου  
 καὶ περνίζοντος Ἰακώβ ἐστὶν ὄνομα, οὐ νενικη-  
 201 κότος· ὅταν δὲ τὸν θεὸν ὄραν ἱκανὸς εἶναι δόξας  
 Ἰσραὴλ μετονομασθῆ, μόνῳ χρήσεται τῷ ἑβδομη-  
 [468] κοστῷ λόγῳ, | τὴν πεντάδα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐκ-  
 τεμών· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα ψυχαῖς  
 κατέβησαν οἱ πατέρες σου εἰς Αἴγυπτον.”  
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀριθμὸς Μωυσέως τοῦ σοφοῦ γνώρι-  
 μος· τοὺς γὰρ ἀριστίνδην ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους  
 ἐπιλελεγμένους ἑβδομήκοντα εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ  
 πρεσβυτέρους ἅπαντας, οὐχ ἡλικίαις ἀλλὰ φρονήσει  
 καὶ βουλαῖς, γνώμαις τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτρόποις ζηλώ-  
 202 σεσιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἱερουργεῖται τε  
 καὶ ἀποδίδοται θεῷ, ὅταν οἱ τέλειοι τῆς ψυχῆς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιγυμναζόμενος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τούτου.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. δὲ κεκτημένοι, which Mangey follows, reading τὸν λόγον with H<sup>2</sup> for τὸ ἄλογον.

<sup>a</sup> Or “fail in,” “spoil.” For this rather curious use of διαφθεῖρω cf. *De Cong.* 165 τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ βίου διήθλησαν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀήττητον φυλάξαντες.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 198-202

land between perceptible and intelligible being, between older and younger, between corruptible and incorruptible. For seventy represents the principle 199 of intellectual apprehension, of seniority and of incorruption, while the principle that corresponds numerically to the five senses is that of juniority and sense-perception. Under the head of this principle is classed the Trainer of self still at his exercises, not yet qualified to carry off the prize of complete victory ; for we read, " the full number of souls sprung from Jacob was five and seventy " (Ex. i. 5) : for the 200 offspring of the champion who does not make havoc<sup>a</sup> of the truly holy contest for the winning of virtue, are not bodies but souls, souls from which the irrational element has not yet been eliminated, and which still have sense-perception's gang hanging on to them. For " Jacob " is a name belonging to one wrestling, and preparing for the arena, and tripping up his adversary, not of one who has won the victory. But when, now deemed capable of seeing God, he 201 shall have received the new name of " Israel," he will have resort only to the principle of seventy, having cut out the five which pertains to the senses ; for it is written " amounting to seventy souls thy fathers went down into Egypt " (Deut. x. 22).

This is the number intimately associated with the wise Moses ; for the men picked out for their excellence from all the host were seventy, and all of them elders, not in age but in good sense and counsel and judgement and ways of thinking worthy of men of old. Sacrifices and dues paid 202 to God are determined by this number, whenever

## PHILO

συναχθῶσι καὶ συγκομισθῶσι καρποί· τῇ γὰρ τῶν σκηνῶν ἑορτῇ χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων θυμάτων ἑβδομηκοντα μόσχους ἀνάγειν θυσίαν ὀλόκαυστον διείρηται. κατὰ τὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων φιάλαι κατασκευάζονται—ἐκάστη γὰρ ἑβδομηκοντα σικλῶν ἐστὶν ὀλκῆς—, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἔνσπονδα καὶ συμβατήρια καὶ φίλα τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀλκὸν ἔχει δύναμιν, τὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν καὶ ἄγιον λόγον, ὃν Αἴγυπτος, ἢ μισάρετος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς φύσις, πενθοῦσα εἰσάγεται· ἑβδομηκοντα γὰρ ἡμέραις καταριθμεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πένθος.

- 203 XXXVII. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ὡς ἔφην, Μωυσέως γνώριμος, ὁ δὲ τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων τοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀσπαζομένου, ὃν ἔθος καλεῖν Ἰωσήφ. τοσαύτην γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιήται, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ὁμογαστριον ἀδελφόν, τὸν αἰσθήσεως ἔκγονον ὄντα—ἦκιστα γὰρ ὁμοπατρίους οἶδε—, πέντε ἐξάλλοις δωρεῖται· στολαῖς, διαπρεπεῖς ἡγούμενος τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ κόσμου καὶ τιμῆς
- 204 ἀξίας. ὅλη δὲ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ νόμους ἀναγράφει, ὅπως τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς καὶ φόρους καὶ δασμοὺς ὡς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζωσι· τὸν γὰρ σίτον ἀποπεμπτοῦν κελεύει, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ὕλας καὶ τροφὰς ἀφθόνους θησαυροφυλακεῖν ταῖς πέντε αἰσθήσεων, ὅπως ἐκάστη τῶν οἰκείων ἀνεπισχέτως ἐμπιπλάμηνη τρυφᾷ καὶ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἐπεισφορομένοις βαρύνουσα βαπτίζῃ· ταῖς γὰρ τῶν αἰσθήσεων

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\* The translation is an attempt to preserve something of the play on words, ὀλκῆ weight (lit. "drawing down of the scale") suggesting ὀλκός "attracting."

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 202-204

the ripe fruits of the soul are gathered in and collected ; for it is prescribed at the Feast of Tabernacles, over and above the other sacrifices, to offer seventy young bullocks as a burnt offering (Num. xxix. 13-36). The bowls of the princes are fashioned in keeping with the principle of seventy—for each of them is of the weight of seventy shekels (Num. vii. 13 ff.)—since everything in the soul that tends to peace and friendship and agreement has a truly weighty power<sup>a</sup> of attraction, that sacred principle set forth by seventy, which Egypt, the virtue-hating and passion-loving nature, is represented as mourning over ; for among them mourning is reckoned as lasting seventy days (Gen. l. 3).

XXXVII. This number, then, is, as I have said, 203 intimately associated with Moses ; but the number belonging to the five senses with him who hails as friends the body and the things outside the body, him who is usually called “ Joseph.” So great is his devotion to these, that, while hardly owning the tie of a common fatherhood, he bestows upon his uterine brother, the offspring of sense-perception, five changes of raiment (Gen. xlv. 22), deeming the senses pre-eminent and deserving of adornment and honour. He sets up laws moreover for all Egypt, 204 that honour may be paid to the senses and tribute and contributions rendered to them as sovereigns every year : for he commands the Egyptians to pay a fifth part of the corn, which means that they are to store in treasuries materials and food in abundance for the five senses, that so each of them incessantly glutting itself with its own objects may wanton and drown the mind under the weight of all that it devours. For understanding is starved when the senses feast,

## PHILO

- εὐωχίαις λιμὸν ἄγει διάνοια, ὡς ἔμπαλιν ταῖς  
 205 νηστείαις εὐφροσύνας. οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι  
 καὶ πέντε Σαλπαὰδ θυγατέρες, ἃς ἀλληγοροῦντες  
 αἰσθήσεις εἶναί φαμεν, ἐκ τοῦ δήμου Μανασσῆ  
 γεγόνασιν, ὃς υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ ἐστι, χρόνῳ μὲν πρεσβύ-  
 τερος ὢν, δυνάμει δὲ νεώτερος; εἰκότως· καλεῖται  
 γὰρ ἐκ λήθης, τὸ δὲ ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα  
 ἀναμνήσει.<sup>1</sup> ἀνάμνησις δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται  
 μνήμης, ἧς Ἐφραῖμ ἐπώνυμος γέγονεν, ὃς καρπο-  
 φορία μεταληφθεὶς προσαγορεύεται· καρπὸς δὲ κάλ-  
 λιστος καὶ τροφιμώτατος ψυχῆς τὸ ἄλγηστον ἐν  
 206 μνήμαις. λέγουσι γοῦν τὰ ἐναρμόνια ἑαυταῖς αἰ  
 παρθένοι· “ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν”—ἀλλ’ ὁ  
 θάνατος ἀναμνήσεώς ἐστι λήθη—“καὶ ἀπέθανεν οὐ  
 δι’ ἁμαρτίαν ἑαυτοῦ”—παγκάλως· οὐ γὰρ ἐκούσιον  
 [469] ἡ λήθη | πάθος, ἀλλ’ ἐν τι τῶν οὐ παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἐπι-  
 γινόμενον ἔξωθεν—, “υἱοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ,”  
 ἀλλὰ θυγατέρες, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν μνημονικὸν ἄτε φύσει  
 διανιστάμενον<sup>2</sup> ἀρρενογονεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπιλανθανόμενον  
 ὕπνω λογισμοῦ χρώμενον θηλυτοκεῖ· ἄλογον γάρ,  
 ἀλόγου δὲ μέρους ψυχῆς αἰσθήσεις θυγατέρες.  
 207 Εἰ δέ τις τὸν μὲν τάχει παρέδραμε, Μωυσῆ δὲ  
 ἠκουλούθησε, μήπω δυνηθεὶς ἰσόδρομος αὐτῷ  
 γενέσθαι κεκραμένῳ καὶ μιγάδι ἀριθμῷ χρήσεται,  
 τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῷ, ὃς ἐστὶ σύμβολον  
 αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς φύσεως, συγκεκραμένῳ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἀμφοῖν εἰς εἶδους ἐνὸς ἀνεπιλήπτου<sup>4</sup> γένεσιν.  
 208 XXXVIII. ἄγαμαι σφόδρα καὶ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> mss. αἰσθήσει(ς).

<sup>2</sup> The present can hardly give the required meaning “awake.” I suggest *διανεσταμένον*. See App. p. 565.

<sup>3</sup> mss. *συναραμένων, συναρομένων*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mangey* <οὐκ> ἀνεπιλήπτου. See App. p. 565.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 204-207

as on the other hand it makes merry when they are fasting. Do you not notice, that the five 205 daughters of Zelophehad, whom we take to be a figure of the senses, are of the tribe of Manasseh, who is Joseph's son, elder in age, younger in efficiency? Fitly is he younger, for his name means "from forgetfulness," and that is a thing equivalent to "recalling to mind." But the first prize goes to Memory, the second to Recollection, and Ephraim is named after Memory, for his name when translated is "Fruit-bearing," and the fairest and most nourishing fruit of the soul is remembering with no forgetfulness. And so the maidens say what perfectly fits in with 206 what they really are. "Our father died"—yes, the death of recollection is forgetfulness—"and he died by reason of no sin of his own"—quite rightly said, for forgetfulness is no voluntary experience, but one of those things that are not in our power, coming upon us from outside—"and he had no sons" (Num. xxvii. 3), but only daughters, for whereas the faculty of memory, being naturally wide awake, has male progeny, forgetfulness, wrapt in a slumber of reasoning power, has female offspring; for it is irrational, and the senses are daughters of the irrational portion of the soul.

But if anyone has outstripped Joseph in speed and 207 followed Moses, while he still lacks power to keep pace with him, he will live under a mixed and hybrid number, namely seventy-five, which denotes the nature alike of mind and sense-perception, which are both mingled together to produce a single kind, that does not call for our censure.<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 565.

## PHILO

ὑπομονὴν Ῥεβέκκαν, ἐπειδὴν τῷ τελείῳ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 καὶ τὰς τῶν παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν τραχύτητας καθ-  
 ηρηκότι παραινῆ τότε εἰς Χαρρὰν ἀποδρᾶναι· λέγει  
 γάρ· “ νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἄκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ  
 ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου εἰς  
 Χαρρὰν καὶ οἴκησον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς, ἕως  
 τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ σου ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπιλάβηται ἃ πεποίηκας  
 209 αὐτῷ.” παγκάλως δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁδὸν  
 δρασμὸν εἶρηκεν· ὄντως γὰρ δραπέτης ὁ νοῦς τότε  
 γίνεται, ὅταν καταλιπὼν τὰ οἰκεία ἑαυτῷ νοητὰ  
 τράπηται πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον τάγμα τῶν αἰσθητῶν.  
 ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ τὸ δραπετεύειν χρήσιμον, ἐπειδὴν  
 τις αὐτὸ ποιῆ μὴ ἔνεκα ἔχθους τοῦ πρὸς τὸν κρείτ-  
 τονα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι χάριν πρὸς τοῦ  
 210 χείρονος. τίς οὖν ἢ παραίνεσις τῆς  
 ὑπομονῆς; θαυμασιωτάτη καὶ περιμάχητος· ἐάν  
 ποτε, φησὶν, ὄρᾳς ἀνηρεθισμένον καὶ ἐξηγριωμένον  
 τὸ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς πάθος ἐν σαυτῷ ἢ τινι ἑτέρῳ,  
 ὃ ἢ ἄλογος καὶ ἀτίθασος ζωοτροφεῖ<sup>1</sup> φύσις, μὴ  
 μᾶλλον αὐτὸ ἀκονήσας ἐκθηριώσης—δῆξεται γὰρ  
 ἴσως ἀνίατα—, καταψύχων δὲ τὸ ζέον αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 πεπυρωμένον ἄγαν ἡμέρωσον· τιθασὸν γὰρ καὶ  
 211 χειρόηθες εἰ γένοιτο, ἥκιστα ἂν βλάψαι. τίς οὖν ὁ  
 τρόπος τῆς τιθασείας καὶ ἡμερώσεως αὐτοῦ; μεθ-  
 αρμοσάμενος καὶ μετασκευασάμενος, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν,  
 ἀκολούθησον τὸ πρῶτον οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> Mangey ζωοτροφεῖ. See App. p. 566.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 208-211

I profoundly admire also Patience or Rebecca, when 208 she exhorts him who is full-grown in soul and has overthrown the harsh tyranny of vice and passion, even then<sup>a</sup> to flee away to Haran. She says, " Now therefore, my child, hearken to my voice, and arise and flee away to Laban my brother in Haran, and abide with him some days, until the wrath and anger of thy brother turn away from thee, and he forget what thou hast done to him " (Gen. xxvii. 43-45). Excellently well does she call the journey to the 209 senses a flight or running away ; for the mind proves itself indeed a runaway, whenever it forsakes the objects of intellectual apprehension which are proper to it, and turns to the opposite array of the objects of sense-perception. Yet sometimes even running away is serviceable, when a man does it not out of hatred for the better, but that he may not be exposed to the designs of the worse. What, then, is the 210 advice of Patience ? A most marvellous and valuable one ! If ever, she says, thou seest stirred up to savagery in thyself or some other person the passion of wrath and anger, one of the stock bred and reared by our irrational and untamed nature, beware of whetting its fierceness and yet more rousing the beast in it, when its bites may be incurable, but cool down its excessive heat and perfervid temper and quiet it, for should it become tame and manageable it will inflict but little hurt. What, then, is the method of 211 bringing it to a quiet and subdued state ? Adapt and transform yourself in outward appearance and follow for the moment whatever it pleases, and opposing

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* even in the hour of victory over Esau. The "tides of the spirit," he means, often demand a return to common things, after the spirituality has been at its highest.—Wend. who wished to read either τῆν or ποτε, did not grasp this.

## PHILO

- μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείς ὁμολόγησον τὰ αὐτὰ φιλεῖν τε καὶ μισεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐξευμενισθήσεται. πραϋνθέντος δὲ ἀποθήσῃ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι προσδοκῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου κακὸν πείσεσθαι μετὰ ῥαστώνης ἐπανελεύσῃ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπι-  
 212 μέλειαν. εἰσάγεται γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο Χαρρὰν θρεμμάτων μὲν ἀνάπλεως, οἰκήτορσι δὲ κεχηρμένη κτηνοτρόφοις· τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη χωρίον ἀλόγῳ φύσει καὶ τοῖς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν αὐτῆς ἀνειληφόσιν ἐπιτηδειότερον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν  
 213 αἰσθήσεων; πυθομένου γοῦν τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ “ πόθεν  
 [470] | ἔστε ” ἀποκρίνονται τάληθές οἱ ποιμένες ὅτι “ ἐκ Χαρρὰν.” ἐκ γὰρ αἰσθήσεως αἱ ἄλογοι ὡς ἐκ διανοίας αἱ λογικαὶ δυνάμεις εἰσὶ. προσπυθομένου δέ, εἰ γινώσκουσι Λάβαν, φασὶν εἰκότως εἰδέναί· γνωρίζει γὰρ τὸ χρῶμα καὶ πᾶσαν ποιότητα αἰσθησις, ὡς οἴεται, χρωμάτων δὲ καὶ ποιότητων ὁ  
 214 Λάβαν σύμβολον. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπειδὴν ἤδη τελειωθῆ, τὸν μὲν τῶν αἰσθήσεων οἶκον ἀπολείψει, τὸν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ψυχῆς ἰδρύεται, ὃν ἔτι ὢν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀσκήσεσιν<sup>1</sup> ἀναζωγραφεῖ· λέγει γάρ· “ πότε ποιήσω καὶ γὰρ ἐμαντῶ οἶκον; ” πότε τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ αἰσθήσεων ὑπεριδῶν νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν οἰκήσω, λόγῳ θεωρητοῖς πράγμασι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αἰσθήσεσι.

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<sup>a</sup> I understand these two sections to contain, not so much advice to soothe an angry man by pretending to conform to his views and wishes, as a description of the right attitude of the mind to αἰσθησις and πάθος. It is well, when we feel or see the ebullience of passion in ourselves or others to come down from the contemplation of νοητά and accommodate ourselves to outward things. Afterwards the mind may return to the care of its proper charges (τῶν ἰδίων), the mind

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 211-214

no single suggestion of its, profess to share its likes and dislikes. In this way it will be made quite friendly. And when it has been softened, you will drop your feigning, and, free now from the expectation of suffering any evil at its hands, you will comfortably return to the care of your own charges.<sup>a</sup>

For this is the reason<sup>b</sup> why Haran is 212 represented as full of beasts, and having cattle-rearers as its inhabitants; for what place could be more suitable for irrational nature and those who have taken upon them the charge and patronage of it, than our senses? For instance, when the trainer of self 213 inquires "Whence are ye?" the shepherds answer truly "from Haran" (Gen. xxix. 4); for the irrational faculties come from sense-perception, as do the rational from understanding. When he further inquires whether they know Laban, they naturally say that they know him (Gen. xxix. 5): for sense-perception is familiar, so it imagines, with every colour and every quality, and Laban is the symbol of colours and varieties of quality.

But as 214 for Jacob himself, when at last he has been perfected, he quits, as we shall find, the dwelling-place of the senses, and founds that of the soul in the true sense<sup>c</sup> of the word, the dwelling-place which he pictures to himself while still immersed in his toils and exercises; for he says, "When shall I also make for myself a dwelling-place?" (Gen. xxx. 30). When shall I, looking beyond things perceived and the senses which perceive them, inhabit mind and understanding, educated in and associating with matters being thought of as the shepherd of the herd of *νοητά*; cf. *De Mut.* 114. But see App. p. 566.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* because Haran is the place of *αἰσθησις*.

<sup>c</sup> See on § 5 above.

## PHILO

- συντρεφόμενος<sup>1</sup> καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος, καθάπερ αἱ  
 ζητητικαὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν ψυχαί—μαίας αὐτὰς ἔθος  
 215 ὀνομάζειν—; καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ ποιοῦσι σκεπάσματα  
 οἰκεῖα καὶ φυλακτήρια φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς· τὸ δὲ  
 εὐεργέστατον οἰκοδόμημα ἦν ὁ θεοῦ φόβος τοῖς  
 φρουρὰν καὶ τεῖχος αὐτὸν ἀκαθαίρετον πεποιη-  
 μένοις. “ἐπειδὴ” γάρ φησιν “ἐφοβοῦντο αἱ μαῖαι  
 τὸν θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας.”
- 216 XXXIX. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Χαρρὰν  
 τόπων ὁ νοῦς λέγεται “διοδεῦσαι τὴν γῆν ἕως τοῦ  
 τόπου Συχέμ ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλὴν.” τί δέ  
 ἔστι τὸ διοδεῦσαι, σκεψώμεθα· τὸ φιλομαθὲς ζητη-  
 τικὸν καὶ περιέργον ἔστι φύσει, πανταχῇ βαδίζον  
 ἀόκνως καὶ πανταχόσε διακῦπτον καὶ μηδὲν ἀδι-  
 ερεῦνητον τῶν ὄντων μήτε σωμάτων μήτε πραγ-  
 μάτων ἀπολιπεῖν δικαιοῦν. λίχνον γὰρ ἐκτόπως  
 θεαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων εἶναι πέφυκεν, ὡς μὴ  
 μόνον τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 ξενικῶν καὶ πορρωτάτω διωκισμένων ἐφίεσθαι.
- 217 λέγουσι γοῦν, ὡς ἔστιν ἄτοπον ἐμ-  
 πόρους μὲν καὶ καπήλους γλίσχρων ἔνεκα κερδῶν  
 διαβαίνειν τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν κύκλῳ  
 περιεῖναι ἅπασαν, μὴ θέρος, μὴ χειμῶνα, μὴ πνεύ-  
 ματα βίαια, μὴ ἐναντία, μὴ νεότητα, μὴ γῆρας, μὴ  
 νόσον σώματος, μὴ φίλων συνήθειαν, μὴ τὰς ἐπὶ  
 γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκεῖοις ἀλέκ-  
 τούς ἠδονάς, μὴ πατρίδος καὶ πολιτικῶν φιλανθρω-  
 πῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, μὴ χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συστρεφόμενος.

<sup>a</sup> Hebrew “He made them houses,” *i.e.* gave them families, to perpetuate their names.—Driver.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 214-217

which form reason's contemplation, even as souls do that are in quest of things out of sight? To such 215 souls it is customary to give the name of "midwives," for, like the midwives in Egypt, these make places of shelter and security fit for virtue-loving souls: and the fear of God is as of old the most sure dwelling-place for those who have made Him their guard and impregnable fastness. For it says, "Since the midwives feared God, they made for themselves houses"<sup>a</sup> (Ex. i. 21).

XXXIX. To resume. The mind, when it has gone 216 forth from the places about Haran, is said to have travelled through the country as far as the place of Shechem, to the lofty oak-tree (Gen. xii. 6). Let us consider what is meant by "travelled through." Love of learning is by nature curious and inquisitive, not hesitating to bend its steps in all directions, prying into everything, reluctant to leave anything that exists unexplored, whether material or immaterial. It has an extraordinary appetite for all that there is to be seen and heard, and, not content with what it finds in its own country, it is bent on seeking what is in foreign parts and separated by great distances.

We are reminded that 217 merchants and traders for the sake of trifling profits cross the seas, and compass the wide world, letting stand in their way no summer heat nor winter cold, no tempestuous or contrary winds, neither youth nor age, no sickness of body, neither the daily intercourse with friends nor the pleasure too great for words which we take in wife and children and in all else that is our own, nor the enjoyment of our fatherland and of all the gracious amenities of civic life, nor the safe use of money and property and abundance of other

## PHILO

- τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας ἀσφαλῆ χρῆσιν, μὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτιοῦν συνόλως μέγα ἢ μικρὸν ἐμποδῶν  
 218 τιθεμένους, τοῦ δὲ καλλίστου καὶ περιμαχήτου καὶ μόνῳ τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκειοτάτου χάριν, σοφίας, μὴ οὐχὶ θάλατταν μὲν ἅπασαν περαιουῖσθαι, πάντα δὲ γῆς μυχὸν ἐπέρχεσθαι, φιλοπευστοῦντας εἴ πού τι καλὸν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ μετὰ  
 [471] σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τῆς | πάσης ἰχνηλατεῖν, ἄχρισ ἂν ἐγγένηται τῶν ζητουμένων καὶ ποθου-  
 219 μένων εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔλθειν. διόδευσον μέντοι, ψυχῇ, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπον, εἰ θέλεις, ἕκαστον τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαγοῦσα εἰς ἐπικρισιν, οἷον εὐθέως τί τὸ σῶμα καὶ τί ποιοῦν ἢ πάσῃσιν διανοία συνεργεῖ, τί ἡ αἰσθησις καὶ τίνα τρόπον τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν ὠφελεῖ, τί λόγος καὶ τίνων γινόμενος ἐρμηνεύς πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν συμβάλλεται, τί ἡδονὴ καὶ τί ἐπιθυμία, τί λύπη καὶ φόβος καὶ τίς ἢ πρὸς ταῦτα ἰατρικὴ, δι' ἧς ἢ ληφθεὶς τις εὐμαρῶς διεκδύσεται ἢ οὐχ ἀλώσεται πρὸς αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν, τί τὸ ἀφραίνειν, τί τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν, τί τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τίς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων πληθὺς νοσημάτων, ὅσα ἢ φθοροποιὸς ἀποτίκτειν πέφυκε κακία, καὶ τίς ἢ τούτων ἀποστροφή, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐναντία τί τὸ δίκαιον ἢ τὸ φρόνιμον ἢ τὸ σῶφρον, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, τὸ εὐβουλον, ἀρετὴ συνόλως ἅπασα καὶ εὐπάθεια. καὶ ὄν τρόπον  
 220 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἴωθε περιγίνεσθαι δι-  
 ὀδευσον μέντοι καὶ τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον

<sup>a</sup> Philo here seems, as not unfrequently, to use *εὐπάθεια* in a more general sense, not as in §§ 119 and 157 in the strict Stoic sense of justifiable emotions.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 217-220

good things, nor in a word anything else either great or small. If so, it is monstrous, such speakers urge, 218 when we stand to gain a thing most fair, worth all men's striving for, the special prerogative of the human race, namely wisdom, to refrain from crossing every sea, from exploring earth's every recess, in the joy of finding out whether there is in any place aught that is fair to see or hear, and from following the quest of it with utmost zest and keenness, until we can come to the enjoyment of the things that we are seeking and longing for.

Travel through 219  
man also, if thou wilt, O my soul, bringing to examination each component part of him. For instance, to take the first examples that occur, find out what the body is and what it must do or undergo to co-operate with the understanding; what sense-perception is and in what way it is of service to its ruler, mind; what speech is, and what thoughts it must express if it would contribute to nobility of character; what pleasure is, and what desire is; what pain and fear are, and what the healing art is that can counteract them, by means of which a man shall either, if he falls into their hand, without difficulty make his escape, or avoid capture altogether; what it is to play the fool, what to be licentious, what to be unjust, what the multitude of other sicknesses to which it is the nature of pestilential wickedness to give birth, and what the preventive of these; and on the other hand, what righteousness is, or good sense, or self-mastery, courage, discretion, in a word virtue generally and moral welfare,<sup>a</sup> and in what way each of them is wont to be won.

Travel again through 220  
the greatest and most perfect man, this universe, and

## PHILO

- ἄνθρωπον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, καὶ διάσκεψαι τὰ μέρη, ὡς τόποις μὲν διέζευκται, δυνάμεσι δὲ ἦνται, καὶ τίς ὁ ἀόρατος οὗτος τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ ἐνώσεως πᾶσι δεσμός. ἐὰν μέντοι σκοπούμενος μὴ ραδίως καταλαμβάνης ἃ ζητεῖς, ἐπίμενε μὴ κάμων· οὐ γὰρ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ<sup>1</sup> ληπτὰ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μόλις πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις πόνοις ἀνευρισκόμενα.
- 221 οὐ χάριν ὁ φιλομαθῆς τοῦ τόπου Συχέμ ἐνείληπται, μεταληφθὲν δὲ τοῦνομα Συχέμ ὠμίαςις καλεῖται, πόνου σύμβολον, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μέρεσι τούτοις ἀχθοφορεῖν ἔθος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρωθι μέμνηται λέγων ἐπὶ τινος ἀθλητοῦ τούτου τὸν τρόπον· “ ὑπέθηκε τὸν ὦμον εἰς τὸ πονεῖν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ γεωργός.”
- 222 ὥστε μηδέποτε, ὦ διάνοια, μαλακισθεῖσα ὀκλάσης, ἀλλά, κἂν τι δοκῇ δυσθεώρητον εἶναι, τὸ ἐν σαυτῇ βλέπον διανοίξασα διάκυσσον εἴσω καὶ ἀκριβέστερον τὰ ὄντα ἐναύγασαι καὶ μήτε ἐκοῦσα μήτε ἄκουσά ποτε μύσης· τυφλὸν γὰρ ὕπνος, ὡς ὄξυωπὲς ἐγρήγορσις. ἀγαπητὸν δὲ τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς προσβολῆς<sup>2</sup> εἰλικρινῆ τῶν ζητουμένων
- 223 λαβεῖν φαντασίαν. οὐχ ὄρᾶς ὅτι καὶ δρῦν ὑψηλὴν ἐν Συχέμ πεφυτεῦσθαί φησιν αἰνιττόμενος τὸν ἀνένδοτον καὶ ἀκαμπῆ, στερρόν τε καὶ ἀρραγέστατον παιδείας πόνον ; ὦ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> Wendland and Mangey τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ. The reading here printed is, according to Wend., that of all mss. except H<sup>2</sup>. Wend. later (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 34) repudiated ἐκεχ. and was inclined instead to adopt a suggestion of Cohn, *ραστῶνη*, based on *De Sacr.* 37. But the phrase οὐ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ληπτὸν (not to be caught with one hand) is a quotation from Plato, *Soph.* 226 A, where it is said to be a proverbial phrase (τὸ λεγόμενον) and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness here. See further App. p. 566.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. προσβολῆς.



## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 220-223

scan narrowly its parts, how far asunder they are in the positions which they occupy, how wholly made one by the powers which govern them, and what constitutes for them all this invisible bond of harmony and unity. If, however, in your investigation, you do not easily attain the objects of your quest, keep on without giving in, for these "need both hands to catch them," and only by manifold and painful toil can they be discovered. That is why the lover of 221 learning took possession of the place called Shechem, a name which when translated is "shouldering," a figure of toil, since it is with these parts of the body that we are accustomed to carry loads, as Moses himself calls to mind elsewhere speaking in this wise of one who worked and strove, "he submitted his shoulder to labour, and became a tiller of the soil" (Gen. xlix. 15).

Never, then, O my 222 understanding, do thou shew weakness and slacken, but even if aught seem to be hard to discern, open wide the organ in thyself that sees, and stoop to get a view of the inside, and behold with more accurate gaze the things that *are*, and never either willingly or unwillingly close thine eyes; for sleep is a blind thing, as wakefulness is a thing of keen sight. And it is a sufficient<sup>a</sup> reward to obtain by unremitting inspection a clear impression of the things thou art in search of.

Do you not see that he says 223 further that a tall oak had been planted in Shechem, thus shewing in a figure the toil of education as a hard and unbreakable substance that never yields or bends?

<sup>a</sup> Or "one with which we must be content." The word is generally used of something we accept in default of something better. What that is in this case has been shewn in § 46. There is a higher realization than seeing, viz. possessing, but that is not given to men.

## PHILO

τέλειον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον κεχρηῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ<sup>1</sup> τὸ ψυχῆς  
δικαστήριον, ὄνομα Δείνα—κρίσις γὰρ ἑρμηνεύε-  
ται—, συλληφθῆ πρὸς τοῦ τὸν ἐναντίον μοχθοῦντος  
224 πόνου, τὸν φρονήσεως ἐπίβουλον.<sup>2</sup> ὁ γὰρ  
[472] ἐπώνυμος τοῦ τόπου τούτου Συχέμ, Ἐμῶρ υἱὸς  
ᾧν, ἀλόγου φύσεως—καλεῖται γὰρ Ἐμῶρ ὄνος—,  
ἀφροσύνην ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ συντραφεὶς ἀναισχυντία  
καὶ θράσει τὰ κριτήρια τῆς διανοίας μαιίνειν ὁ  
παμμίαρος καὶ φθείρειν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἰ μὴ θάπτον  
οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσται<sup>3</sup> καὶ γνώριμοι, Συμεῶν τε  
καὶ Λευί, φραξάμενοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀσφαλῶς ἐπέξ-  
ῆλθον, ἔτι ὄντας ἐν τῷ φιληδόνῳ καὶ φιλοπαθεῖ καὶ  
ἀπεριτμήτῳ πόνῳ καθελόντες· χρησμοῦ γὰρ ὄντος,  
ὡς “οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε πόρνη τῶν τοῦ βλέποντος,  
Ἰσραὴλ, θυγατέρων,” οὗτοι τὴν παρθένον ψυχὴν  
225 ἔξαρπάσαντες λαθεῖν ἤλπισαν. οὐ γὰρ  
ἐρημία γε τῶν βοηθησόντων τοῖς παρασπονδου-  
μένοις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κἂν οἴωνται τινες, οἰήσονται  
μόνον, ἀπελεγθῆσονται δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ψευδοδοξούν-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μὴ δέ.

<sup>2</sup> So all MSS. except H<sup>2</sup>; this has τοῦ . . . ἐπιβούλου, which Wend. adopts.

<sup>3</sup> Wend. suggested and later (*Rhein. Mus.* lviii. 34) accepted *ἐρασταί*. But see *De Ebr.* 94, where Simeon is *φιλήκοος*, “for his name means *ἀκοή*.”

<sup>a</sup> Or “tribunals.”

<sup>b</sup> The phrase is apparently an interpretation of the next word, *ἀσφαλῶς*, which itself is taken from the LXX *εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀσφαλῶς*. This word, which in the E.V. is translated “unawares” (margin, “boldly”), was presumably understood by the LXX translators as “running no risks because the Shechemites were disabled.” Philo reads into it the thought that Virtue must fortify itself against Vice before it can take the offensive.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 223-225

It is a vital matter that he who would be perfect should ply this toil, to the end that the soul's court of justice, called "Dinah," which means "judgement," may not be ravished by him who sinks under the opposite kind of toil, which is the insidious foe of sound sense.

For the man who bears the <sup>224</sup> name of this place, Shechem, being son of Hamor, that is of an irrational being—for "Hamor" means "ass"—practising folly and nursed in shamelessness and effrontery, essayed—foul wretch that he was—to corrupt and defile the judgement faculties<sup>a</sup> of the understanding. But the hearers and pupils of sound sense, Symeon and Levi, were too quick for him. They made secure their own quarters<sup>b</sup> and went forth against them in safety, and overthrew them when still occupied in the pleasure-loving, passion-loving, toil<sup>c</sup> of the uncircumcised: for albeit there was a Divine decree that "of the daughters of Israel, the seeing one, none might ever become a harlot" (Deut. xxiii. 17), these men hoped to carry off unobserved the virgin soul (Gen. xxxiv.).<sup>d</sup> Vain hope, for <sup>225</sup> there is no lack of succourers to victims of a breach of faith; but even if some imagine that there is, they will only imagine, but will be convicted by events of

<sup>a</sup> A reference to LXX Gen. xxiv. 25 *ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ*, where *πόνος* refers to their disablement from circumcision (E.V. "when they were sore"). This strangely-used word comes in happily for Philo's allegory of Shechem as the false *πόνος*.

<sup>d</sup> Philo takes great liberties with the story, ignoring the actual seduction of Dinah (*μαλνεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν*) and the circumcision of Hamor and Shechem (*ἀπεριτμήτῳ πόνῳ*). He gives, however, a sort of apology for this in § 225 by suggesting that in the spiritual sphere the defilement of the truly virtuous soul, and the "circumcision" of the truly wicked, are only illusory.

## PHILO

τες. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡ μισοπόνηρος καὶ ἀμείλικτος καὶ ἀδικουμένων ἀρωγὸς ἀπαραίτητος δίκη, σφάλουσα τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰσχυρόντων ἀρετήν, ὧν πεσόντων εἰς παρθένον πάλιν ἡ δόξασα αἰσχυρῆναι μεταβάλλει ψυχὴ· δόξασα δ' εἶπον, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐφθείρετο· τῶν γὰρ ἀκουσίων οὐδὲν τοῦ πάσχοντος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πάθος, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦ μὴ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀδικούντος τὸ πραττόμενον ἔργον.

## THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 225

holding a false opinion. For Justice has indeed existence, Justice the abhorrer of wickedness, the relentless one, the inexorable, the befriender of those who are wronged, bringing failure upon the aims of those who shame virtue, upon whose fall the soul, that had seemed to have been shamed, becomes again a virgin. Seemed, I said, because it never was defiled. It is with sufferings which we have not willed, as it is with wrongdoings which we have not intended. As there is no real doing in the second case, so there is no real suffering in the first.



WHO IS THE HEIR OF DIVINE  
THINGS  
(QUIS RERUM DIVINARUM HERES)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS treatise, the longest of the whole series and containing many fine passages, is a straightforward commentary with comparatively few digressions on Gen. xv. 2-18.

2. And Abram says, Master, what wilt Thou give me? I depart childless. But the son of Masek, the woman born in my household, is this Damascus Eliezer.

3. And Abram said, Since Thou hast given me no seed, the son of my household shall be my heir.

4. And immediately the voice of the Lord came to him, saying, He shall not be thy heir, but he who shall come forth from thee, he shall be thy heir.

5. And He led him forth outside and said to him, Look up indeed into heaven, and count the stars if thou shalt be able to number them, and He said, So shall be thy seed.

6. And Abram believed on God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

7. And He said to him, I am the God who brought thee from the land of the Chaldeans to give thee this land to inherit.

8. And he said, Master, by what shall I know that I shall inherit it?

9. And He said to him, Take Me a heifer of three years old, and a goat of three years old, and a



## WHO IS THE HEIR

ram of three years old, and a turtledove and a pigeon.

10. And he took for Him all these, and divided them in the middle, and placed them facing each other ; but the birds he did not divide.

11. And the birds came down to the bodies their half pieces, and Abram sat with them.

12. And about sunset a trance (ecstasy) fell upon Abram, and lo, a great dark terror falls upon him.

13. And it was said to Abram, Knowing thou shalt know that thy seed shall be a sojourner in a land not their own, and they shall enslave them and ill-treat them and humble them four hundred years.

14. And the nation which they shall be slaves to I will judge, and after this they shall come forth hither with much substance (stock) .

15. But thou shalt depart to thy fathers in peace, nourished in a good old age (or, as Philo, "nourished with peace").

16. And in the fourth generation they shall turn away hither, for the iniquities of the Amorites are not yet fulfilled until now.

17. And when the sun was at its setting, a flame arose, and lo, a furnace (oven) smoking, and torches of fire, which went in the midst of these half pieces.

18. In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram saying, To thy seed will I give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates.

The first point to which Philo calls attention is Abraham's boldness of speech, the proper attitude of the faithful servant (1-9). Silence indeed is more fitting in the ignorant, as is expressed in the text, "Be silent and listen" (10), and we should remember

## PHILO

that this includes the silence of the soul, which is the opposite of that wandering mind, which so often accompanies mere silence of speech (11-13). But that the wise have a right to boldness of speech is shewn emphatically in the story of Moses, and here Philo quotes several of his pathetic appeals to God and concludes that such appeals are the mark of the "friend of God" (14-21). Yet in Abraham's words there is a sense of pious awe or caution (εὐλάβεια) as well as boldness. Philo notes the term "Master" connoting a greater degree of fear than "Lord," and thence passes on into an impassioned meditation expressing the combination of awe and gratitude, which the words "Master what wilt thou give me?" (which he takes in the sense of "what more canst thou give, who hast given all?") call up in the mind of the devout worshipper (15-22). And in the same way he treats the verse, "Shall I depart childless?" Shall I, that is, be denied the spiritual offspring of higher thought? Shall I have no heir but the son of Masek (34-39).

Thus we are necessarily led to the interpretation of Masek the "homeborn" and her son. The name means "from a kiss" and kiss (φίλημα) differs from love (φιλεῖν) as marking a lower and less genuine kind of affection (40-41). Thus it may stand for the life of sense, which the wise will regard as a servant, but not love (42). Philo then gives two examples where "kiss" (καταφιλεῖν) signifies the kiss of insincerity, while φιλεῖν shews true affection, and then introduces somewhat inappropriately his favourite parable of the Hated and the Beloved Wife (Deut. xxi. 15-17), the latter of whom he identifies with Masek (45-49) and touches on the analogy

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between the two wives and Leah and Rachel (50). Masek's son Damascus represents all of us who honour Sense. The name means "Blood of sackcloth" and thus symbolizes the animal or "blood"-life as opposed to the life of mind and reason (52-57). Damascus is also called Eliezer (God is my help) which signifies the inability of the blood-life to maintain itself without God's help. And again his inferiority is marked by the absence of any named father (58-62).

Abraham's question then means "can this blood-life be the heir of higher things?" and the profound inward conviction symbolized by the voice of God answers—No, not that, but he that shall come out of thee shall be thy heir (63-68). These words Philo audaciously understands to mean that the "heir" must come out of, or leave, that is surrender and dedicate to God, not only body, sense and speech,<sup>a</sup> but his whole self (69-74). What the inheritance is is shewn by the next words, "He led him forth outside and said, 'Look (or 'See') up into heaven,'" for heaven is another name for the treasure-house of divine blessings, as it is called in Deuteronomy (75-76), and to be able to "see" up to this is the privilege of the true Israel which does not like its unworthy representatives in the wilderness refuse to "look to the Manna," preferring the onions and fishes of Egypt (76-80). As for the phrase "He led him up out outside," there is no tautology, for since we may well be called both outside and inside, if our inward feelings are not in accord with our outward actions, so the phrase shews that the Abraham-mind

<sup>a</sup> Which, on Philo's interpretation of Gen. xii. 1, were symbolized by the "land," "kinsfolk" and "father's house," which Abraham was commanded to leave.

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is altogether outside, outside that is of the trammels of sense, speech and body and above all of SELF (81-85).

The next words "count the stars" do not refer to mere number, as is shewn by "so (not "so many") shall be thy seed," but to the "star-like" nature of the soul-children, and the stars themselves are not those which we see, but the vastly greater glories of the Ideal Universe, of which these are but the copies (86-89).

The next verse raises the question why Abraham's believing God should be counted to him for righteousness. How can anyone disbelieve God? Philo replies that while in itself there is nothing marvellous in this belief, yet in view of the proneness of human nature to trust in lower things, it may well be described as a "just" or "righteous" action (90-95).

In verse 7, the words "I am the God who brought thee from the land of the Chaldeans to give thee this land to inherit," send our thoughts to a fulfilled boon, as well as that which is to come: God had brought the soul out of the land of star-lore, where heaven itself is God, and has led him to the land of "wisdom," that is of acknowledging the Creator instead of the creature (96-99).

Abraham's question in verse 8 "How shall I know?" does not imply doubt of the promise, but only the natural desire to know how it will come about, and the immediate answer of God shews that the question is accepted as right (100-102). In the answer (verse 9), we first note the words "take for me," which indicate first that all we have we do but receive (103), and secondly that we should receive or "take" them for God and not for ourselves. Philo develops this theme in his familiar manner in appli-

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cation to our senses, mind and all other gifts (104-111). An illustration of this from the phrase *My* first-fruits or "beginnings" leads to some thoughts on the divine origin of the fruits of the earth, as well as of human parentage (112-119). And again if the beginnings are God's so also are the ends (120-121), and finally we have to remember that God deigns to "take" from us, as He shewed, when He took the Levites as a ransom for the others (123-124).

Proceeding with the same verse, the heifer signifies the soul, the ram speech, and the goat sense-perception. They are all "three years old," the perfect number signifying beginning, middle and end, while the solitary turtle-dove and the sociable pigeon are respectively divine and human wisdom. The first three are divided, soul into reasoning and unreasoning, speech into true and false, sense-perception into real and illusory, while the two "wisdoms" are incapable of division (125-132). This work of division is one of the functions of the creative Logos and is illustrated from various aspects of creation (133-140). But we must note also that the three creatures divided in the story are divided in the middle, that is equally, and this brings us to the disquisition "about the division into equals and opposites," which supplies the second half of the traditional title of the treatise and occupies the next sixty-five sections.

Equality which in actual practice cannot be obtained exactly and is therefore an attribute of the divine Division by the Logos (141-143) may be equality in number or magnitude or capacity, and again it may be numerical or proportional (144-145). Philo illustrates all these at somewhat wearisome

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length. He first gives a catalogue of natural phenomena where we find the numerical balance (146-151), and then examples of proportional equality, concluding with the thought of man as the Microcosm and the Cosmos (152-155), and this leads him on to shew how God deals with small and great on the same principle (156-160). Moses too shews his reverence for equality partly by his praises of justice, the very essence of which is equality, and also in the examples of it scattered throughout the Law. Such are the divisions of day and night, of man and woman, and others mentioned in the early chapters of Genesis (161-165), and in the body of the Law itself, the Divine Presence dividing the Cherubim, that is the two Potencies, on the ark, and the division of the Ten Commandments into two tables of five each (166-169), which gives occasion for stating shortly the meaning of each commandment (169-173). Other examples are the permanent sacrifices (174), the two sets of the shewbread (175), the two jewels on the High Priest's robe (176), the two mountains of blessing and cursing, and the two goats of Lev. xvi. with a short digression on the meaning of the rite (177-181). Two other examples which follow give occasion for longer mystical meditation. The blood which was poured partly on the altar and partly into the mixing-bowls shews how divine wisdom, that is mind in its pure form, is an offering to God, and human wisdom, set by God in the mixing-bowls of the senses, may be purified by the cleansing blood (182-185). So too the offering of the half-shekel indicates the ransoming of the suppliant soul, while the un-offered half stands for the mind which is content with its slavery (186-190). Again we have

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examples of equal division in the Manna, where he that had much had not too much, and he that had little did not lack (191), and the Passover, where the lamb is to be distributed, so that each may have sufficient (192-193). And after two other briefly mentioned examples there follows a longer allegorical treatment of the ingredients of the incense-offering interpreted as the thanksgiving of the four elements and therefore of the World (194-200), and finally a fine passage in which citing the story of Aaron standing between the living and the dead, and the cloud which divided the host of Egypt from Israel, he describes the work of the Logos as mediating between the creature and the Creator, on the one hand proclaiming the divine mercy, on the other hand standing surety for the ultimate obedience of mankind—a passage which must surely have deeply impressed his Christian readers (201-206).

The words "facing each other" suggest that these divisions are into opposites, and so we find this phenomenon of oppositeness running throughout creation. In a long catalogue which begins with such physical examples as hot and cold and ends with human qualities, Philo brings this out and finally points out in triumph that it is in vain for the Greeks to boast of this philosophy of opposites as due to Heracleitus, since Moses knew and shewed it long before (207-214).

We might now pass on, but there is one example of division which Philo feels needs special attention. As in the story of Genesis three creatures were divided, there were six halves, and therefore the dividing Logos stands in the sacred position of seventh. We have a parallel to this in the great chandelier of the

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Tabernacle and Philo deals with this in considerable detail, shewing that its general structure is seven-fold, *i.e.* three of each kind on each side of the main stalk (215-220). He goes on to suggest that it represents the seven planets with the sun in the centre, as well as the three pairs of soul division mentioned above with the Logos as the seventh (221-225). And this gives him opportunity for two other remarks on the chandelier. He notes that while the incense-altar (as mentioned before) represents thanksgiving of the elements, and the table with its loaves thanksgiving of the creatures formed of these elements, the chandelier signifies the thanksgiving of the heavens (226). And so while we are told the dimensions of the first two we hear nothing of the dimensions of the chandelier, in accordance with the truth that heaven has no bounds of which the human mind has ken (227-229).

“The birds he did not divide.” We have already had a brief explanation of this, but it needs filling out. While the unreasoning part of the soul has its seven divisions, the mind (the pigeon of the story) like the sphere of the fixed stars, which is its heavenly analogy, has no divisions, and so too the turtle-dove, the Logos, is indivisible: and yet both though undivided themselves are perpetually dividing and distinguishing everything that comes before them (230-236).

“The birds came down to the bodies, the half pieces.” Here of course “birds” is used in a different sense, as is shewn by their “coming down,” for it is the nature of birds to fly up (237-238). Rather these birds are like the reptiles banned in Leviticus, and have left their natural home of



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heaven for earth. They are the numberless thoughts which beset the mind and drag it "down" and feast upon the bodily element in us (239-243). And when we read that "Abraham sat down with them" it signifies the wise man's attitude to these thoughts. He is like the statesman who puts an end to foreign wars, that is to wicked thoughts which attack the soul, and to civil faction, that is to the contention of opposing doctrines (243-246). And here once again Philo catalogues the different theories of the schools on physical and theological problems, and pictures the Sage, who sits down with them, as half-midwife, half-judge, discarding the evil offspring of the soul and saving the good (246-248).

And about sunset an "ecstasy" fell upon Abraham. Philo enumerates four meanings of this word—madness, astonishment, mental tranquillity (or vacancy) and prophetic inspiration (249). He proceeds to give examples of each (250-252), but two examples of the second, viz. that Isaac was in an "ecstasy," *i.e.* astonished, when Jacob brought him the savoury meats, and Jacob was in an "ecstasy" *i.e.* astonished, that Joseph still lived and ruled over Egypt, cause him to break off strangely into the lessons which may be drawn from these two passages (252-256).<sup>a</sup> When he resumes he gives an example of the third meaning, viz. the ecstasy (trance) "which fell upon Adam and he slept" (267), and proceeds to the fourth, which he holds to be the meaning of the word in our text. He shews that either in the sense of predictor or of spokesman Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and above all Moses are prophets (258-262). And the phrase "about sunset," he

<sup>a</sup> See notes on these sections.

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thinks, well suits this meaning. For when the "sun" of the mind is in action, we cannot be god-possessed. It is when something higher takes possession of him and plays upon him like the musician on the chords that the prophet becomes the voice of God (263-266).

We turn to the promises given to Abraham in verses 13-16. "Thy seed shall be a sojourner in a land not their own." The soul-children must dwell a while in that "earth" which stands for bodily things (262-268). They will serve for four hundred years, and with Philo's usual recklessness about numbers the four hundred years stand for the four passions (who are also the people whom they serve and whom God will judge), and what slavery to the passions means is described briefly (269-271). But when the redemption comes, we shall depart with much substance or stock, to be our supply for the journey. This supply is the fruits of education, beginning with the school learning, which creates the desire for the higher philosophy (272-274).

"But thou shalt depart to thy fathers, nourished with peace, in a good old age." First we note the contrast here implied between the peace of the Sage and the war and slavery described above (275). Secondly, that he "departs," not "dies" (276). But who are the "fathers"? Not those whom he left behind in Chaldea, from whom God had called him away (277-279). Some think the heavenly bodies are meant, some the "ideas," others again the four elements to which our bodies return. And Philo seems ready to accept this, if we add also the "fifth element," to which the soul returns—at any rate he gives no other (279-283). When the promise adds

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“nourished with peace,” it contrasts the wise man’s lot with the spiritual welfare of ordinary men. In that war our enemies may be the “external things” or the passions and vices within us. And then Philo repeats in a slightly different form the parable of the guards of the soul and body which he has already used in *De Ebr.* 201 and *De Conf.* 18 (284-286). That the peace cannot be literally meant is clear when we remember that Abraham’s life was beset by war, exile and even want (286-288). Yet all these, allegorically considered, are blessings—war against wrongdoing, exile from the false star-lore, want of passion (289). And the “good old age” must mean the life of wisdom, for a day well-spent is more than years of folly (290-292).

“And in the fourth generation they shall return here.” The “fourth generation” is interpreted to mean the fourth of the seven-year periods of life. In the first the child knows nothing of good or evil. The second is the time when vice shews itself, partly owing to the natural disposition, partly to mishandled education. In the third comes the healing influence of philosophy, and thus in the fourth the man is in his strength ready to travel to the land of wisdom (293-299).

“For the sins of the Amorites are not yet filled up.” Some read a fatalistic meaning into these words, but Moses is no fatalist (300-301). The name “Amorites” means “talkers” and here they are the deceivers who misuse the gift of speech. It is not till sophistry is convicted, and thus “filled,” that we can fly from the land of lies and seek the wisdom indicated by “here” (302-306).

“When the sun was at its setting a flame arose

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and behold a smoking furnace." The flame of virtue often appears late and at the close of life (307), and while we are still in the land of the Amorites it is like the smoke of a furnace. Smoke brings tears to the eyes and so when we see virtue in this obscured form, we weep for its perfected form (308-310). In another way this furnace or oven may be the type of the earnest soul, which contains and "cooks" the nourishment supplied by the virtues (311). As for "the torches of fire which went in the midst of the half-pieces," they are the judgements of God, passing through and dividing all things (312).

Finally we have the summing up. In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham saying, "to thy seed will I give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates." Here then we have the wise man declared the heir. For we have already seen that the land is wisdom (313-315), and when he adds the words about the rivers we must note that Egypt is put first and Euphrates last. For the process of perfecting begins with Egypt, the body, and the bodily things which are necessary to our existence, and ends with the great river of God's wisdom with all its joys and blessings (315-316).

In this treatise we once more have, as in the *De Sacrificiis*,<sup>a</sup> the help of the Papyrus discovered in Upper Egypt in 1889 and stated to be as early as, and probably earlier than, the 6th century. A very cursory examination of Wendland's *Apparatus Criticus*, will shew how valuable is this addition to our textual authorities. Particularly interesting is the frequent

\* See Introduction to that treatise, vol. ii. p. 93.

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note "Pap. (Mangey)," shewing how often the acumen of Mangey anticipated the discovery. But like all documents it is not infallible, and while in most cases I thoroughly endorse Wendland's preference for the readings of the Papyrus against those of the mss.,<sup>a</sup> there are a few in which I think he has been too subservient to it; and there are also many places in which though it supports the mss. there is evidently or probably some corruption, on which conjecture may exercise its ingenuity.

<sup>a</sup> As the object of the critical notes is chiefly to indicate to the reader where the text adopted has no ms. authority (see Preface, pp.v-vi), I have not, except in a very few special instances, recorded the cases in which the Papyrus's readings are accepted by Wendland in preference to those of the Codices.

[473] ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΣ Ο ΤΩΝ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ  
ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ  
ΤΑ ΙΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΤΟΜΗΣ

- 1 I. Ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης συντάξει τὰ περὶ μισθῶν ὡς ἐνῆν ἐπ' ἀκριβείας διεξήλθομεν· νυνὶ δὲ πρόκειται ζητεῖν, τίς ὁ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων κληρονόμος ἐστίν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ θεσπισθέντος ὁ
- 2 σοφὸς ἤκουσε λογίου τοιούτου· “ὁ μισθός σου πολὺς ἔσται σφόδρα,” πυνθάνεται φάσκων· “δέσποτα, τί μοι δώσεις; ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολύομαι ἄτεκνος. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Μασέκ<sup>1</sup> τῆς οἰκογενοῦς μου οὗτος Δαμασκὸς Ἐλιέζερ,” καὶ πάλιν “ἐπειδὴ ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔδωκας σπέρμα, ὁ δὲ οἰκογενῆς μου κληρο-
- 3 νομήσει με.” καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν τὸ τοῦ χρησιμωδοῦντος ἀξίωμα καὶ μέγεθος καταπλαγείς ἄφρωνος καὶ ἀχανῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ δέος, ἀλλὰ τοι τῷ περιχαρεῖ; ἐπιστομίζουσι γὰρ ὡς αἱ σφοδραὶ λῦπαι καὶ αἱ ὑπερβάλλουσαι χαραί.
- 4 διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἰσχυρόφρωνος ὁμολογεῖ καὶ βραδύγλωσσος γενέσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ ἀψευδῆς ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ προφήτου μαρτυρία· τότε γὰρ εἰκὸς τὸ μὲν φωνητήριον

<sup>1</sup> So Pap.: mss. μου ὁ ἐκ.

## WHO IS THE HEIR OF DIVINE THINGS

### AND ON THE DIVISION INTO EQUALS AND OPPOSITES

I. In the preceding treatise<sup>a</sup> we have discussed as 1 carefully as was possible the question of rewards. Now our task is to inquire who is the heir of divine things. When the Sage heard the oracular promise to this purport, "Thy reward shall be exceeding great," 2 he answers with the question, "Master, what wilt thou give me? I go hence childless. The son of Masek, she who was born in my house, is this Damascus Eliezer."<sup>b</sup> And again he says "Since thou hast given me no seed, he that was born in my house shall be my heir" (Gen. xv. 1-3). Yet we 3 should have expected that he (for who would not?) would have been struck mute and speechless in amazement at the majesty and greatness of the Giver of the oracle, if not for fear, at any rate for exceeding joy. For men are tongue-tied by overwhelming joy, as well as by violent grief. This it is that led Moses 4 to confess that he has become feeble of voice and slow of tongue, ever since God began to hold converse with him (Ex. iv. 10). And the testimony of the prophet is true indeed. For at such times it is natural that

always used, but a lost treatise on Gen. xv. 1, part of which verse is quoted in the second section.

<sup>b</sup> R.V. "He that shall be the possessor of my house is Dammesek Eliezer." (A.V. "The steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus.")

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ὄργανον ἐπέχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν λόγον ἀρθρούμενον ἀνυποτάκτῳ φορᾷ χρῆσθαι, νοημάτων οὐ ῥημάτων ἐπάλληλα κάλλη μετ' εὐτρόχου  
 5 καὶ ὑψηγόρου δυνάμεως φιλοσοφοῦντα. θαυμάσιοι δὲ ἀρεταὶ ἢ τε εὐτολμία καὶ ἢ ἐν τῷ δέοντι παρρησία πρὸς τοὺς ἀμείνους, ὡς καὶ τὸ κωμικὸν ἀψευδῶς μᾶλλον ἢ κωμικῶς εἰρησθαι δοκεῖν

ἂν πάνθ' ὁ δοῦλος ἡσυχάζειν' μανθάνη,  
 πονηρὸς ἔσται· μεταδίδου παρρησίας.

8 II. πότε οὖν ἄγει παρρησίαν οἰκέτης πρὸς δεσπότην; ἄρ' οὐχ ὅταν ἡδικηκότι μὲν  
 [474] ἑαυτῷ μηδὲν | συνειδῆ, πάντα δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κεκτη-  
 7 μένου καὶ λέγοντι καὶ πράττοντι; πότε οὖν ἄξιον καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλον ἐλευθεροστομεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην ἢ ὅταν ἀμαρτημάτων καθαρῆ καὶ τὸ φιλοδέσποτον ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος κρίνη, πλείονι χαρᾷ χρώμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θεράπων θεοῦ γενέσθαι, ἢ εἰ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐβασίλευσε τὸ γῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ θαλάττης ἀναιψάμενος ἀκονιτι  
 8 κράτος; τὰς δὲ φιλοδεσπότους θεραπείας καὶ λειτουργίας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ διασυνίστησιν ἀκροτελεύτιον λογίου τοῦ χρησθέντος αὐτοῦ τῷ υἱεῖ·  
 “ δώσω σοι καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ταύτην, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκουσεν Ἀβραάμ ὁ πατήρ σου τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς, καὶ ἐφύλαξε τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά μου καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου.”  
 9 μέγιστον δ' ἐγκώμιον οἰκέτου μηδενὸς ὧν ἂν



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 4-9

the organ of speech should be held in check, while the language of the understanding becomes articulate and flows in resistless stream, as its wisdom pours forth beauty after beauty, not of words but of thoughts, with a power as easy as it is sublime. Yet courage 5 and well-timed frankness before our superiors are admirable virtues also, so that there seems to be more truth than comedy in the words of the comic poet,<sup>a</sup>

The servant, trained to keep a quiet tongue ·  
Whate'er befalls, is sure to prove a knave.  
Grant to thy man some measure of free speech.

II. When, then, is it that the servant 6 speaks frankly to his master? Surely it is when his heart tells him that he has not wronged his owner, but that his words and deeds are all for that owner's benefit. And so when else should the slave of God 7 open his mouth freely to Him Who is the ruler and master both of himself and of the All, save when he is pure from sin and the judgements of his conscience are loyal to his master, when he feels more joy at being the servant of God than if he had been king of all the human race and assumed an uncontested sovereignty over land and sea alike? The loyalty of 8 Abraham's service and ministry is shewn by the concluding words of the oracle addressed to Abraham's son, "I will give to thee and thy seed all this land, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seed, because Abraham thy father hearkened to My voice and kept My injunctions, My commands, My ordinances and My statutes" (Gen. xxvi. 3-5). It is 9 the highest praise which can be given to a servant that he neglects none of his master's commands, that never hesitating in his labour of love he employs all

<sup>a</sup> Menander.

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- προστάξῃ ὁ δεσπότης ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἀόκνως δὲ καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν πάντα σπουδάζειν αἰσίῳ
- 10 γνώμῃ κατορθοῦν. III. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἀκούειν ἀλλ' οὐ λέγειν ἐμπρεπές, ἐφ' ὧν λέγεται "σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε," πάγκαλον παρ-ἀγγελημα. θρασύτατον γὰρ καὶ λαλίστατον ἀμαθία, ἧς πρῶτον μὲν ἔστιν ἄκος ἡσυχία, δεύτερον δὲ προσοχὴ τῶν ἀξιόν τι προφερομένων ἀκοῆς.
- 11 μηδεὶς μέντοι νομισάτω τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐμφαίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ "σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε," ἀλλὰ καὶ προτρέψασθαι δυνατώτερον ἕτερον· οὐ γὰρ παραινεῖ μόνον γλώττῃ σιωπᾶν καὶ ὧσιν ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ
- 12 καὶ ψυχῇ ταῦτα παθεῖν ἀμφοτέρα. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀκρόασιν ἤκοντές τινος οὐκ ἐληλύθασιν ταῖς διανοαῖσι, ἀλλ' ἔξω πλανῶνται καὶ μυρία περὶ μυρίων ἑαυτοῖς διεξέρχονται, τὰ συγγενικά, τὰ ὀθνεῖα, τὰ ἴδια, τὰ κοινά,<sup>1</sup> ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μὴ μεμνήσθαι, πάνθ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐξῆς συναριθμούμενοι, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς πολὺν θροῦν ἀδυνατοῦσι τοῦ λέγοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι· λέγει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀνδριάσιν, οἷς ὧτα μὲν ἔστιν, ἀκοαὶ
- 13 δ' οὐκ ἔνεισιν. εἰάν οὖν μηδενὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφοιτῶντων ἢ ἔνδον ταμιευομένων πραγμάτων ὁ νοῦς ἀξιώσῃ προσομιλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμίαν ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἡσυχάσας πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν ἀποτείνῃ, σιωπήσας κατὰ τὸ Μωυσέως παρ-ἀγγελημα δυνήσεται μετὰ τῆς πάσης προσοχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι, ἐτέρως δ' οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι.

<sup>1</sup> Wend. δημόσια: Cohn κοινά: the Papyrus according to Wend. has *sex litteras evanidas*: the mss. omit altogether. I prefer κοινά as the regular antithesis to ἴδια in Philo.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 9-13

and more than all his powers as he strives by sound judgement to bring all his business to a successful issue.

III. There are indeed some whom it <sup>10</sup> befits to hear but not to speak, those to whom the words apply, "Be silent and hear" (Deut. xxvii. 9). An excellent injunction! For ignorance is exceeding bold and glib of tongue; and the first remedy for it is to hold its peace, the second to give ear to those who advance something worth hearing. Yet let no one <sup>11</sup> suppose that this exhausts the significance of the words "be silent and hear." No, they enjoin something else of greater weight. They bid us not only be silent with the tongue and hear with the ears, but be silent and hear with the soul also. For many <sup>12</sup> who come to hear a discourse have not come with their minds, but wander abroad rehearsing inwardly numberless thoughts on numberless subjects, thoughts on their families, on outsiders, on things private and things public, which properly should be forgotten for the moment. All these, we may say,<sup>a</sup> form a series of successions in the mind, and the inward uproar makes it impossible for them to listen to the speaker, who discourses as in an audience not of human beings, but of lifeless statues who have ears, but no hearing is in those ears.

If then the mind deter- <sup>13</sup> mines to have no dealing with any of the matters which visit it from abroad or are stored within it, but maintaining peace and tranquillity addresses itself to hear the speaker, it will be "silent," as Moses commands, and thus be able to listen with complete attention. Otherwise it will have no such power.

IV. For the ignorant then it is well to <sup>14</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or "All or practically all," ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν serving, as usual, to qualify a round statement.

## PHILO

IV. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀμαθέσι συμφέρον ἡσυχία, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιστήμης ἐφιεμένοις καὶ ἅμα φιλοδεσπότηις ἀναγκαιότατον ἢ παρρησία κτήμα. λέγεται γοῦν ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ: “ κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς σιγήσετε,” καὶ χρησμός εὐθύς ὑπόκειται [475] τοιόσδε: “ καὶ εἶπε | κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν· τί βοᾷς πρὸς μέ;” ὡς δέον καὶ σιωπᾶν τοὺς μηδὲν ἄξιον ἀκοῆς ἐροῦντας καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἔρωτι σοφίας θείῳ πεπιστευκότας καὶ μὴ μόνον λέγειν σὺν ἡρεμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς μείζονος ἐκβοᾶν, οὐ στόματι καὶ γλώττῃ, δι’ ὧν ἄερα λόγος ἔχει σφαιρούμενον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῇ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ παμμουσῶ καὶ μεγαλοφωνοτάτῳ ψυχῆς ὀργάνῳ, οὗ θνητὸς μὲν ἀκροατῆς οὐδὲ εἷς, ὁ δὲ 15 ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος μόνος. τὸ γὰρ νοητῆς ἀρμονίας εὐάρμοστον καὶ σύμφωνον μέλος ὁ νοητὸς μουσικὸς μόνος καταλαβεῖν ἱκανός, τῶν δὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει φυρομένων οὐδὲ εἷς. ὅλου δὲ τοῦ διανοίας ὀργάνου κατὰ τὴν διὰ πασῶν ἢ δις διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν ἐξηχοῦντος ὁ ἀκροατῆς ὡσανεὶ πυνθάνεται πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐ πυνθανόμενος— πάντα γὰρ γνώριμα θεῷ— “ τί βοᾷς πρὸς μέ;” καθ’ ἰκεσίαν κακῶν ἀποτροπῆς ἢ κατ’ εὐχαριστίαν 16 μετουσίᾳ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κατὰ ἀμφοτέρα; V. λάλος δὲ οὕτως ὁ ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος καὶ ἄλογος εἶναι δοκῶν ἀνευρίσκεται, ὥστε πῆ μὲν οὐ μόνον λέγων ἀλλὰ καὶ βοῶν εἰσάγεται, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἀπαύστῳ καὶ ἀδιαστάτῳ χρώμενος λόγων 17 ῥύμη. “ Μωυσῆς ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐλάλει, καὶ ὁ

<sup>a</sup> Or “Why dost thou shout?” But the other is more probably Philo’s interpretation, since he implies that God does not disapprove of Moses’ speaking.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 14-17

keep silence, but for those who desire knowledge and also love their master, frank speech is a most essential possession. Thus we read in Exodus, "The Lord will war for you and ye shall be silent," and at once there follows a divine oracle in these words, "What is it that thou shoutest to me?"<sup>a</sup> (Ex. xiv. 14, 15). The meaning is that those should keep silent who have nothing worth hearing to say, and those should speak who have put their faith in the God-sent love of wisdom, and not only speak with ordinary gentleness but shout with a louder cry. That cry is not made with mouth and tongue, through which, as we are told, the air assumes a spherical<sup>b</sup> shape and thus is rendered perceptible by the sense of hearing, but by the organ of the soul, uniting all music in its mighty tones, heard by no mortal whatsoever, but only by Him Who is uncreated and imperishable. For the 15 sweet and harmonious melody of the mind's music can only be apprehended by the mind's musician, not by any of those who are entangled in sense. But when the full organ of the understanding sounds forth its symphony of the single or double octave, the Hearer asks—asks we may call it, though He does not really ask, since all things are known to God—"What is it that thou criest so loud to me?" Is it in supplication for ills to be averted, or is in thanksgiving for blessings imparted, or in both? V. And he that 16 seemed to be feeble of speech and slow of tongue and wordless is found to be so loquacious, that in one place he is represented as not only speaking, but shouting, and in another as pouring forth a stream of words without cessation or pause. For "Moses," we read, 17 "was talking to God, and God was answering him

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 567.

## PHILO

θεὸς ἀπεκρίνετο αὐτῷ φωνῆ,” οὐ κατὰ συντέλειαν ἐλάλησεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μηχανομένην παράτασιν ἐλάλει, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐ κατὰ συντέλειαν

18 ἐδίδαξεν, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἀπεκρίνετο. ὅπου δὲ ἀπόκρισις, ἐκεῖ πάντως ἐρώτησις. ἐρωτᾶ δὲ ἕκαστος ὃ μὴ ἐπίσταται, μαθεῖν ἀξιῶν γνούς τε τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην ὠφελιμώτατον ἔργον εἶναι ζητεῖν, ἐρωτᾶν, πυνθάνεσθαι, μηδὲν δοκεῖν εἶδέναι

19 μηδέ τι οἶεσθαι παγίως κατεληφέναι. σοφοὶ μὲν οὖν ὑφηγητῆ καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρῶνται θεῷ, οἱ δ’ ἀτελέστεροι τῷ σοφῷ. διὸ καὶ λέγουσι· “ λάλησον σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, μὴ ποτε ἀποθάνωμεν.” τσαύτη δ’ ἄρα χρῆται παρρησία ὁ ἀστείος, ὥστε οὐ μόνον λέγειν καὶ βοᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη καὶ καταβοᾶν ἐξ ἀληθοῦς πίστεως

20 καὶ ἀπὸ γνησίου τοῦ πάθους θαρρεῖ. τὸ γὰρ “ εἰ μὲν ἀφείς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου ἧς ἔγραψας ” καὶ τὸ “ μὴ ἐγὼ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔλαβον πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, ἢ ἐγὼ ἔτεκον αὐτόν, ὅτι λέγεις μοι· λάβε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κόλπον σου, ὥσει ἄραι τιθηνὸς τὸν θηλάζοντα; ” καὶ τὸ “ πόθεν μοι κρέα δοῦναι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, ὅτι κλαίουσιν ἐπ’ ἐμοί; μὴ πρόβατα καὶ βόες σφαγήσονται ἢ πᾶν τὸ ὄψος τῆς θαλάσσης συναχθήσεται καὶ ἀρκέσει; ” καὶ

[476] τὸ “ κύριε, διὰ τί | ἐκάκωσας τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον; καὶ ἵνα τί ἀπέσταλκάς με; καὶ ἀφ’ οὗ πεπόρευμαι πρὸς Φαραὼ λαλῆσαι ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι, ἐκάκωσε

\* παρατατικός is the technical term in the Greek grammarians for the imperfect tense. On κατὰ συντέλειαν or συντελικός see App. p. 567.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 17-20

with a voice " (Ex. xix. 19). We do not have the tense of completed action " he talked," but the tense of prolonged and continuous action " he was talking " ; and similarly God did not teach him (as a complete action) but was answering him always and uninterruptedly. Now an answer always pre- 18  
supposes a question ; and everyone asks what he does not know, because he thinks it good to learn and is aware that of all the steps which he can take to get knowledge, the most profitable is to seek, to ask questions, to think that he has no knowledge, and not to imagine that he has a firm apprehension of anything. Now wise men take God for their guide and 19  
teacher, but the less perfect take the wise man ; and therefore the Children of Israel say " Talk thou to us, and let not God talk to us lest we die " (Ex. xx. 19).

But the man of worth has such courage of speech, that he is bold not only to speak and cry aloud, but actually to make an outcry of reproach, wrung from him by real conviction, and expressing true emotion. Take the words " if Thou wilt forgive them their sin, 20  
forgive them ; but if not, blot me out of the book which Thou hast written " (Ex. xxxii. 32) ; and " Did I conceive all this people in the womb, or did I bring them forth, because Thou sayest unto me, ' take them to thy bosom, as a nurse lifts the suckling ' ? " (Num. xi. 12) ; or again " Whence shall I get flesh to give to this people, because they weep against me ? Shall sheep and oxen be slaughtered, or all the meat that is in the sea be collected and suffice ? " (Num. xi. 13, 22). Or " Lord, why hast Thou afflicted this people and why hast Thou sent me ? And ever since I went to Pharoah to speak in Thy name, he has afflicted the people, and Thou hast not saved

## PHILO

- τὸν λαόν, καὶ οὐκ ἐρρύσω τὸν λαόν σου," ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔδεισεν ἄν τις καὶ πρὸς ἓνα τῶν ἐν μέρει βασιλέων εἰπεῖν· ὁ δ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι
- 21 καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἐθάρρησεν. τοῦτο δ' ἄρα πέρας ἦν οὐ τόλμης ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' εὐτολμίας αὐτῷ, διότι οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες φίλοι θεοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον νομοθέτην. παρρησία δὲ φιλίας συγγενές· ἐπεὶ πρὸς τίνα ἄν τις ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον παρρησιάσαιο; παγκάλως οὖν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς φίλος ἄδεται Μωυσῆς, ἵν' ὅσα ἐπὶ θάρσει παρακεκινδυνευμένα διεξέρχεται φιλία μάλ-  
 λον ἢ αὐθαδεία προφέρεσθαι δοκῇ. θρασύτης μὲν γὰρ αὐθάδους, φίλου δὲ θαρραλεότης οἰκείον.
- 22 VI. Ἄλλὰ σκόπει πάλιν, ὅτι εὐλαβεία τὸ θαρ-  
 ρεῖν ἀνακέκραται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ "τί μοι δώσεις;" θάρσος ἐμφαίνει, τὸ δὲ "δέσποτα" εὐλάβειαν. εἰωθὼς δὲ χρῆσθαι μάλιστα διτταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου προσρήσει, τῇ θεὸς καὶ τῇ κύριος, οὐδετέραν νῦν παρείληφεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεσπότην, λίαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ σφόδρα κυρίως· καίτοι συνώνυμα ταῦτ' εἶναι
- 23 λέγεται, κύριος καὶ δεσπότης. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἐστιν, ἐπινοίαις αἱ κλήσεις διαφέρουσι· κύριος μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὸ κῦρος, ὁ δὲ βέβαιόν ἐστιν, εἴρηται, κατ' ἐναντιό-  
 τητα ἀβεβαίου καὶ ἀκύρου, δεσπότης δὲ παρὰ τὸν δεσμόν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ δέος οἶμαι—ὥστε τὸν δεσπότην κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἔτι ὡσανεὶ φοβερὸν κύριον, οὐ μόνον τὸ κῦρος καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀνημμένον ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέος καὶ φόβον ἱκανὸν ἐμποιῆσαι—
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## WHO IS THE HEIR, 20-23

Thy people" (Ex. v. 22, 23). Anyone would have feared to say these or like words, even to one of the kings of particular kingdoms; yet he had the courage to utter these thoughts to God. He reached this <sup>21</sup> limit, I will not say of daring in general but of good daring, because all the wise are friends of God, and particularly so in the judgement of the most holy law-giver. Frankness of speech is akin to friendship. For to whom should a man speak with frankness but to his friend? And so most excellent is it, that in the oracles Moses is proclaimed the friend of God (Ex. xxxiii. 11), to shew that all the audacities of his bold discourse were uttered in friendship, rather than in presumption. For the audacity of rashness belongs to the presumptuous, the audacity of courage or confidence to a friend.

VI. But observe on the other hand that confidence <sup>22</sup> is blended with caution. For while the words "What wilt thou give me" (Gen. xv. 2) shew confidence, "Master," shews caution. While Moses usually employs two titles in speaking of the Cause, namely God and Lord, here he uses neither, but substitutes "Master." In this he shews great caution and exactness in the use of terms. It is true that "Lord" and "Master" are said to be synonyms. But though one and the same thing <sup>23</sup> is denoted by both, the connotations of the two titles are different. *Κύριος* (Lord) is derived from *κῦρος* (power) which is a thing secure and is the opposite of insecure and invalid (*ἄκυρος*), while *δεσπότης* (master) is from *δεσμός* (bond) from which I believe comes *δέος* (fear). Thus *δεσπότης* is a lord and something more, a terrible lord so to speak, one who is not only invested with the lordship and sovereignty of all things, but is also capable of inspiring fear and

## PHILO

τάχα μέντοι καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὄλων δεσμός<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ  
 συνέχων αὐτὰ ἅλυστα καὶ σφίγγων διαλυτὰ ὄντα<sup>2</sup>  
 24 ἐξ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ δὲ φάσκων “δέσποτα,  
 τί μοι δώσεις” δυνάμει ταῦτα διεξέρχεται· οὐκ  
 ἀγνωῶ σου τὸ ὑπερβάλλον κράτος, ἐπίσταμαι τὸ  
 φοβερόν τῆς δυναστείας, δεδιώς καὶ τρέμων  
 25 ἐντυγχάνω καὶ πάλιν θαρρῶ· σὺ γὰρ ἐθέσπισάς  
 μοι μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, σύ μοι γλώσσαν παιδείας  
 ἔδωκας τοῦ γινῶναι ἡνίκα δεῖ φθέγγασθαι, σὺ τὸ  
 στόμα ἀπερραμμένον ἐξέλυσας, σὺ διοίξας ἐπὶ  
 πλεόν ἤρθρωσας, σὺ τὰ λεκτέα συνεβίβασας  
 εἰπεῖν τὸν χρησμόν βεβαιούμενος ἐκεῖνον· “ἐγὼ  
 ἀνοιξῶ τὸ στόμα σου, καὶ συμβιβάσω σε ἃ μέλλεις  
 [477] | λαλήσειν.” τίς γὰρ ἐγενόμην, ἵνα σύ μοι  
 26 λόγου μεταδῶς, ἵνα μισθὸν ὁμολογήης, χάριτος καὶ  
 δωρεᾶς ἀγαθὸν τελεώτερον; οὐ τῆς πατρίδος  
 εἰμι μετανάστης; οὐ τῆς συγγενείας ἀπελήλαμαι;  
 οὐ τῆς πατρώας οἰκίας ἠλλοτριῶμαι; οὐκ ἀπο-  
 κήρυκτον καὶ φυγάδα πάντες ἔρημον καὶ ἄτιμον  
 27 ὀνομάζουσιν; ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, δέσποτα, ἢ πατρίς,  
 σὺ ἢ συγγένεια, σὺ ἢ πατρῶα ἐστία, σὺ ἢ ἐπιτιμία,  
 ἢ παρρησία, ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀοίδιμος καὶ ἀναφ-  
 28 αῖρετος πλοῦτος. διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ θαρρήσω λέγειν  
 φρονῶ; διὰ τί δ’ οὐ πεύσομαι μαθεῖν τι πλεόν  
 ἃ ἀξιῶν; ἀλλ’ ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ θαρρεῖν πάλιν ὁμο-  
 λογῶ δεδιέναι καὶ καταπεπλήχθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει  
 τὴν ἄμικτον ἐν ἐμοὶ μάχην φόβος τε καὶ θάρσος,  
 ὡς ἴσως ὑπολήψεται τις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνακεκρα-  
 29 μένην συμφωνίαν. ἀπλήστως οὖν εὐωχοῦμαι τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δεσπότης; Pap. δεσμων.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (and Pap.) διαλύοντα.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 567.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 23-29

terror ; perhaps too, since he is the bond of all things, one who holds them together indissolubly and binds them fast, when in themselves they are dissoluble.

He who says, " Master, what wilt thou 24  
give me ? " virtually says no less than this, " I am not ignorant of Thy transcendent sovereignty ; I know the terrors of Thy power ; I come before Thee in fear and trembling, and yet again I am confident. For Thou hast vouchsafed to bid me fear not ; Thou 25  
hast given me a tongue of instruction that I should know when I should speak (Isaiah l. 4),<sup>a</sup> my mouth that was knitted up Thou hast unsewn, and when Thou hadst opened it, Thou didst strengthen its nerves for speech ; Thou hast taught me to say what should be said, confirming the oracle ' I will open thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt speak ' (Ex. iv. 12). For who was I, that Thou shouldst impart speech to 26  
me, that Thou shouldst promise me something which stood higher in the scale of goods than ' gift ' or grace, even a ' reward '. Am I not a wanderer from my country, an outcast from my kinsfolk, an alien from my father's house ? Do not all men call me excommunicate, exile, desolate, disfranchised ? But 27  
Thou, Master, art my country, my kinsfolk, my paternal hearth, my franchise, my free speech, my great and glorious and inalienable wealth. Why 28  
then shall I not take courage to say what I feel ? Why shall I not inquire of Thee and claim to learn something more ? Yet I, who proclaim my confidence, confess in turn my fear and consternation, and still the fear and the confidence are not at war within me in separate camps, as one might suppose, but are blended in a harmony. I find then a feast 29  
which does not cloy in this blending, which has

## PHILO

κράματος, ὃ με ἀναπέπεικε μήτε ἄνευ εὐλαβείας παρρησιάζεσθαι μήτε ἀπαρρησιάστως εὐλαβεῖσθαι. τὴν γὰρ οὐδένειαν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ μετρεῖν ἔμαθον καὶ τὰς ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀκρότητας τῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν περιβλέπεσθαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴν “ γῆν καὶ τέφραν ” καὶ εἴ τι ἐκβλητότερον ἑμαυτὸν αἰσθωμαί, τηνικαῦτα ἐντυγχάνειν σοι θαρρῶ, ταπεινὸς γεγονώς, καταβεβλημένος εἰς χοῦν, ὅσα εἰς γε τὸ μηδ’ ὑφεστάναι δοκεῖν ἀνεστοιχειωμένος.

- 30 VII. καὶ τοῦτό μου τὸ πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστηλογράφησεν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ μνημείῳ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Μωυσῆς. “ ἐγγίσας ” γὰρ φησιν “ Ἀβραὰμ εἶπε· νῦν ἠρξάμην λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σποδός, ” ἐπειδὴ τότε καιρὸς ἐντυγχάνειν γένεσιν τῷ πεποιηκότι, ὅτε τὴν ἑαυτῆς
- 31 οὐδένειαν ἔγνωκεν. τὸ δὲ “ τί μοι δώσεις; ” οὐκ ἀποροῦντός ἐστι φωνὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει ὧν ἀπήλαυκεν ἀγαθῶν εὐχαριστοῦντος. “ τί μοι δώσεις; ” ἔτι γὰρ ἀπολείπεται τι πλέον προσδοκῆσαι; ἄφθονοι μὲν, ὧ φιλόδωρε, αἱ σαὶ χάριτες καὶ ἀπερίγραφοι καὶ ὄρον ἢ τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαι, πηγῶν τρόπον πλείω<sup>1</sup>
- 32 τῶν ἀπαντλουμένων ἀνομβροῦσαι. σκοπεῖν δὲ ἄξιον οὐ μόνον τὸν αἰεὶ πλημμυροῦντα χειμάρρουν τῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀρδομένας ἡμῶν ἀρούρας· εἰ γὰρ περιττὸν ἀναχυθείη τὸ ρεῦμα, λιμνῶδες καὶ τελματῶδες ἀντὶ καρποφόρου γῆς ἔσται τὸ πεδίον. πρὸς εὐφορίαν οὖν<sup>2</sup> μεμετρημένης, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀμέτρου δεῖ τῆς ἐπιρ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τελείων (Pap.?).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. γὰρ (some with Pap. οὐ).

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 29-32

schooled my speech to be neither bold without caution, nor cautious without boldness. For I have learnt to measure my own nothingness, and to gaze with wonder on the transcendent heights of Thy loving-kindnesses. And when I perceive that I am earth and cinders or whatever is still more worthless, it is just then that I have confidence to come before Thee, when I am humbled, cast down to the clay, reduced to such an elemental state,<sup>a</sup> as seems not even to exist.

VII. And the watchful 30  
pen of Moses has recorded this my soul's condition in his memorial of me. For Abraham, he says, drew near and said, ' Now I have begun to speak to the Lord, and I am earth and ashes ' (Gen. xviii. 27), since it is just when he knows his own nothingness that the creature should come into the presence of his Maker. The words ' What wilt Thou give me ? ' 31  
are the cry not so much of uncertainty as of thankfulness for the multitude and greatness of the blessings which one has enjoyed. ' What wilt Thou give me ? ' he says. Is there aught still left for me to expect ? Lavish indeed, Thou bounteous God, are Thy gifts of grace, illimitable without boundary or end, welling up like fountains to replace and more than replace what we draw. But we should look not only 32  
to the ever-flowing torrent of Thy loving-kindnesses but also to the fields—they are ourselves—which are watered by them. For if the stream pour forth in over-abundance, the plain will be marshy and fenny, instead of fruitful soil. I need then that the inflow on me should be in due measure for fertility, not un-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 567.

## PHILO

- 33 ροῆς ἐμοί. διὸ πεύσομαι “ τί μοι δώσεις ” ἀ-  
 μύθητα δοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντα ὅσα θνητὴν φύσιν  
 [478] χωρῆσαι | δυνατὸν ἦν; ὁ γὰρ λοιπὸν ἐπιζητῶ  
 μαθεῖν τε καὶ κτήσασθαι,<sup>1</sup> τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, τίς ἂν  
 γένοιτο ἄξιος τῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν [καὶ] κληρο-  
 34 νόμος. ἢ “ ἐγὼ ἀπολυθήσομαι ἄτεκνος,”  
 ὀλιγοχρόνιον καὶ ἐφήμερον καὶ ὠκύμορον λαβὼν  
 ἀγαθόν, εὐχόμενος τούναντίον, πολυήμερον καὶ  
 μακροχρόνιον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἀθάνατον, ὡς  
 δυνηθῆναι καὶ σπέρματα βαλέσθαι καὶ ρίζας  
 ἐχυρότητος ἔνεκα ἀποτεῖναι καὶ ἄνω πρὸς οὐρανὸν  
 35 τὸ στέλεχος ἀνεγείρον μετεωρίσαι; τὴν γὰρ  
 ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετὴν βαίνειν μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, φθάνειν  
 δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵν’ ἐκεῖ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας  
 36 ἔστιαθεῖσα τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἀπήμων διαμένη. ἄ-  
 τεκνον γὰρ καὶ στείραν οἶδ’ ὅτι ψυχὴν ὁ τὰ μὴ  
 ὄντα φέρων καὶ τὰ πάντα γεννῶν μεμίσηκας, ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ χάριν ἔδωκας ἐξαίρετον τῷ διορατικῷ γένει τὸ  
 μηδέποτε στερηθῆναι καὶ ἀτοκῆσαι, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς  
 προσνεμηθεὶς ἐφίεμαι κληρονόμου δικαίως. ἄ-  
 σβεστον γὰρ αὐτὸ καταθεώμενος αἰσχιστον εἶναι  
 νομίζω τὴν ἔμαντοῦ ἔφεσιν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ καλοῦ περιδεῖν  
 37 καταλυθεῖσαν. ἰκέτης οὖν γίνομαι καὶ ποτινώμαι,  
 ἵνα σπερμάτων καὶ ἐμπυρευμάτων ὑποτυφομένων  
 τὸ ἀρετῆς ἀνακαίηται καὶ ἀναφλέγηται σωτήριον  
 φέγγος, ὃ λαμπαδεύομενον ἐπαλλήλοις διαδοχαῖς  
 38 ἰσοχρόνιον γενήσεται κόσμῳ. ζῆλον καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀσκητικοῖς ἔδωκας τέκνων τῶν ψυχῆς σπορᾶς

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἐπιζητῶ τέκνον κτήσασθαι (Pap. μανειν τε και?).

<sup>2</sup> My correction for mss. and Pap. φύσιν; see App. p. 567.  
 But another, and possibly preferable, solution would be τοῦ  
 <φιλο>κάλου agreeing with ἔμαντοῦ.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 33-38

measured. Therefore I will ask 'What wilt Thou 33  
 give me?' Thou whose gifts have been countless,  
 almost to the very sum of what human nature can  
 contain. For all that I still seek to learn and to  
 gain is but this 'Who should be a worthy heir of  
 thy benefits?' Or shall I go hence child- 34  
 less (Gen. xv. 2), the recipient of a boon shortlived,  
 dying with the day, passing swiftly to its doom; I,  
 who pray for the opposite, a boon of many days and  
 years, proof against decay or death, so that it can lay  
 the seed and extend the roots, which shall make the  
 growth secure, and raise and uplift the stalk heaven-  
 wards. For man's excellence must not tread the 35  
 earth, but press upwards to heaven, that it may  
 banquet there on incorruption and remain unscathed  
 for ever. For I know that Thou, who givest<sup>a</sup> being 36  
 to what is not and generatest all things, hast hated  
 the childless and barren soul, since Thou hast given  
 as a special grace to the race of them that see that  
 they should never be without children or sterile.  
 And I myself having been made a member of that  
 race justly desire an heir. For when I contemplate  
 the race's security from extinction, I hold it a deep  
 disgrace to leave my own desire of excellence to  
 come to naught. Therefore I beseech and suppli- 37  
 cate that out of the smouldering tinder and embers  
 the saving light of virtue may burn up with full flame  
 and carried on as in the torch-race by un failing suc-  
 cession may be coeval with the world. Also in the 38  
 votaries of practice Thou hast implanted a zeal to sow  
 and beget the children of the soul, and when they

<sup>a</sup> A curious use of *φέρω*, but paralleled by *De Mut.* 192  
*τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς φέροντι καὶ αὔξοντι καὶ πληροῦντι καρποῦς θεῶ;*  
*cf. ibid.* 256.

## PHILO

- καὶ γενέσεως, καὶ μοιραθέντες ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐξελάλησαν εἰπόντες· “ τὰ παιδία οἷς ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδά σου,” ὧν ἀκακία καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τιθήνη, ὧν ἄβατοι καὶ ἀπαλαὶ καὶ εὐφυεῖς ψυχαί, τῶν ἀρετῆς παγκάλων καὶ θεοειδεστάτων εὐπαρά-  
 39 δεκτοὶ χαρακτήρων. δίδαξον δέ με κάκεινο, εἰ “ ὁ υἱὸς Μασέκ τῆς οἰκογενοῦς μου ” τῶν σῶν χαρίτων ἱκανὸς γενέσθαι κληρονόμος ἐστίν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν τὸν μὲν ἐλπίζόμενον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὃν δ' ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐλπίζω.
- 40 VIII. Τίς δὲ ἡ Μασέκ καὶ τίς αὐτῆς ὁ υἱός, οὐ παρέργως ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐρμηνεύεται τοίνυν Μασέκ ἐκ φιλήματος. φίλημα δὲ διαφέρει τοῦ φιλεῖν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ψυχῶν ἔνωσιν ἀρμοζομένων εὐνοία, τὸ δὲ ἐπιπόλαιον καὶ ψιλὴν δεξιῶσιν χρείας τινὸς εἰς  
 41 ταῦτ' οὐ συναγαγούσης ἔοικεν ἐμφαίνειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀνακύπτει οὐκ ἔστι τὸ κύπτει οὐδ' ἐν τῷ καταπίνειν ἦν πάντως τὸ πίνειν οὐδ' ἐν μαρσίππῳ ὁ ἵππος, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ καταφιλεῖν τὸ φιλεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μυρίους εἰκοντές τινες ταῖς  
 42 τοῦ βίου χαλεπαῖς ἀνάγκαις δεξιούνται. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἢ ἐκ φιλήματος ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἀψευδοῦς φιλίας ἡμῖν συσταθεῖσα, φράσω μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος· ἢ  
 [479] ζῶν ἢ σὺν αἰσθήσει, ἢ πᾶσιν ὠχυρωμένη, | ἢς ἀνέραστος οὐδεὶς, ἦν δέσποιναν μὲν οἱ πολλοί, θεράπωναν δὲ οἱ ἀστείοι νομίζουσιν, οὐκ ἀλλόφυλον ἢ ἀργυρώνητον, ἀλλ' οἰκογενῆ καὶ τρόπον

<sup>a</sup> A reminiscence of Plato, *Phaedrus* 245 A. See note on 249.

<sup>b</sup> Philo curiously ignores the quite common use of φιλεῖν = to kiss. Possibly it may have carried with it the idea of a kiss given in true affection, which was absent in the compound.



are thus endowed they have cried out in their pleasure, 'The children, wherewith Thou hast shewn mercy to Thy servant' (Gen. xxxiii. 5). Of such children innocence is the nurse and fostermother; their souls are virgin and tender and rich in nature's gifts,<sup>a</sup> ready to receive the glorious and divine impressions of virtue's graving. Tell me this too, 39 whether the son of Masek, she who was born in my house, is fit to become the heir of thy gifts of grace. For till now I have not received him whom I hope for, and he, whom I have received, is not the heir of my hopes."

VIII. Who Masek and her son are is a matter for 40 careful consideration. Well, the name Masek is interpreted "From a kiss." Now "kiss" is not the same as "loving." The latter appears to signify the uniting of souls which goodwill joins together, the former merely the bare superficial salutation, which passes when some occasion has caused a meeting. For just as in ἀνακύπτειν (rising up) there 41 is no idea of κύπτειν (stooping) nor in καταπίνειν (swallowing) the whole idea of πίνειν (drinking), nor in μάρσιππος (pouch) that of ἵππος (horse), so neither in καταφιλεῖν (kissing) do we have φιλεῖν (loving).<sup>b</sup> For people bowing to the hard necessities of life in hundreds of cases greet their enemies thus. Who then she is, with whom we are brought into 42 contact "from" or "in consequence of a kiss," and not from true friendship, I will shew without disguise. It is the life of the senses, the assured possession of us all, for which all have a feeling of affection. The multitude regard her as a mistress, the good as their servant, not a servant of alien race or purchased with money, but homeborn and in a

## PHILO

- τινὰ ὁμόφυλον. οὗτοι καὶ πεπαίδευνται καταφι-  
 λεῖν αὐτήν, οὐ φιλεῖν, ἐκείνοι δὲ ὑπερφυῶς ἀγαπᾶν  
 43 καὶ τριπόθητον ἡγεῖσθαι. Λάβαν δ' ὁ  
 μισάρετος οὐδὲ καταφιλήσαι δυνήσεται τὰς προσ-  
 κекληρωμένας τῷ ἀσκητικῷ δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ὑπο-  
 κρίσεως καὶ ψευδῶν πλασμάτων ἀνηρηκῶς τὸν  
 ἑαυτοῦ βίον, ὡσανεὶ δυσχεραίνων, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 ἀλγῶν, φησίν· “οὐκ ἠξιώθη καταφιλήσαι τὰ  
 παιδιά μου καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας.” εἰκότως γε καὶ  
 προσηκόντως· εἰρωνείαν γὰρ μισεῖν ἀκαταλλάκτως  
 44 ἐπαιδεύθημεν. ἀγάπησον οὖν ἀρετὰς καὶ ἄσπασαι  
 ψυχῇ τῇ σεαυτοῦ καὶ φίλησον ὄντως, καὶ ἡκιστα  
 βουλήσῃ τὸ φιλίας παράκομμα ποιεῖν, καταφιλεῖν.  
 “μὴ γάρ ἐστιν αὐταῖς ἔτι μερὶς ἢ κληρονομία ἐν  
 τῷ σῶ οἴκῳ; οὐχ ὡς αἱ ἀλλότριαι ἐλογίσθησαν  
 παρὰ σοί; ἢ οὐ πέπρακας αὐτάς, καὶ κατέφαγες  
 τὸ ἀργύριον,” ἵνα μηδὲ εἰσαυθίς ἀνακομίσασθαι  
 δυνηθῆς τὰ σώστρα, καὶ τὰ λύτρα κατεδηδοκῶς;  
 προσποιοῦ νῦν βούλεσθαι καταφιλεῖν ὁ πᾶσι τοῖς  
 κριταῖς ἄσπονδος. ἀλλ' οὐ γαμβρόν<sup>1</sup>  
 καταφιλήσει Μωυσῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γνησίου τοῦ  
 ψυχῆς πάθους φιλήσει· “ἐφίλησε” γάρ φησιν  
 “αὐτόν, καὶ ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους.”
- 45 IX. ζωῆς δὲ τριττὸν γένος, τὸ μὲν πρὸς θεόν, τὸ  
 δὲ πρὸς γένεσιν, τὸ δὲ μεθόριον, μικτὸν ἀμφοῖν.  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεὸν οὐ κατέβη πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ  
 ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς σώματος ἀνάγκας. τὸ δὲ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey and Wend.: mss. and Pap. Ἀαρὼν. It may be questioned whether this is not what Philo wrote, by confusing Ex. xviii. 7 with iv. 27, where Moses meets Aaron (συνῆμνησεν αὐτῷ . . . καὶ κατεφίλησαν ἀλλήλους).

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 42-45

sense a kinswoman. The wise have been trained to greet her with a kiss, but not to love her, the others to love her deeply and regard her worthy of a triple measure of their affection. Now 43

Laban the virtue-hater will not be able even to kiss the qualities which are allotted to the Man of Practice. Still since he has made hypocrisy and false inventions the cardinal principle of his life, he says, as though in dudgeon, though he has no real grief, "I was not held worthy to kiss my children and my daughters" (Gen. xxxi. 28). The refusal of the kiss is natural and proper. For we the children have been trained to hate dissimulation, with a hatred that refuses all dealing. Hold then the virtues dear, 44 embrace them with thy soul and love them truly, and thou wilt never desire to be the maker of that travesty of friendship, the kiss. "Have they, we shall say, any part or inheritance in your home? Were they not counted as aliens in your sight, or have you not sold them and devoured the money?" (Gen. xxxi. 14, 15). You devoured the price of their redemption, lest you should ever again be able to buy them back. And now you pretend to wish to kiss them, you in the judgement of all their deadly foe.

Moses on the other hand will not kiss his father-in-law, but loves him with genuine heart-felt affection. For "he loved him" we read "and they greeted each other" (Ex. xviii. 7).

IX. Now there are three kinds of life, 45 one looking Godwards, another looking to created things, another on the border-line, a mixture of the other two. The God-regarding life has never come down to us, nor submitted to the constraints of the body. The life that looks to creation has never risen

## PHILO

γένεσιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἀνέβη οὐδ' ἐζήτησεν ἀναβῆναι,  
 φωλεῦον δὲ ἐν μυχοῖς Ἰαίδου τῷ ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ  
 46 χαίρει. τὸ δὲ μικτόν ἐστιν, ὃ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ  
 τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀγόμενον τάξεως θειάζει καὶ θεο-  
 φορεῖται, πολλάκις δ' ὑπὸ τῆς χείρονος ἀντι-  
 σπώμενον ἐπιστρέφει. τοῦθ', ὅταν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ πλά-  
 στιγγος ἢ τῆς κρείττονος ζωῆς μοῖρα τοῖς ὅλοις  
 βρίσῃ, συνεπισπασθὲν τὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ζωῆς<sup>1</sup> βάρος  
 47 κουφότατον ἄχθος ἀπέφηγε. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς  
 πρὸς θεὸν ζωῆς γένος ἀκουτι στεφανώσας εἰς  
 ἐπίκρισιν τὰ λοιπὰ ἄγει δυσὶν ἀπεικάζων γυναιξίν,  
 ὧν τὴν μὲν ἀγαπωμένην, τὴν δὲ μισουμένην καλεῖ  
 48 προσφυέστατα θεῖς ὀνόματα. τίς γὰρ οὐ τὰς δι'  
 ὀφθαλμῶν, τίς δ' οὐ τὰς δι' ὠτῶν, τίς δ' οὐ τὰς  
 διὰ γεύσεως ὀσφρήσεώς τε καὶ ἀφῆς ἡδονὰς καὶ  
 τέρψεις ἀποδέχεται; τίς δ' οὐ τὰ ἐναντία με-  
 μίσηκεν, ὀλιγοδείαν, ἐγκράτειαν, αὐστηρὸν καὶ ἐπι-  
 στημονικὸν βίον, γέλωτος καὶ παιδιᾶς ἀμέτοχον,  
 [480] συννοίας καὶ | φροντίδων καὶ πόνων μεστόν, φίλον  
 τοῦ θεωρεῖν, ἀμαθίας ἐχθρόν, χρημάτων μὲν καὶ  
 δόξης καὶ ἡδονῶν κρείττω, ἤττω δὲ σωφροσύνης  
 καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ βλέποντος οὐ τυφλοῦ πλούτου;  
 πρεσβύτερα μὲν οὖν αἰεὶ τὰ γεννήματα  
 49 τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς. X. ὁ δὲ Μωυσῆς, εἰ καὶ  
 νεώτερα χρόνῳ, [καὶ] ταῦτα φύσει πρεσβεῖων ἀξιοῖ

<sup>1</sup> Pap. between ζωῆς and βάρος inserts *αντηεν*. May this perhaps stand for Ἰανταίειον? The myth of Antaeus, who became helpless when lifted by Heracles from the ground, would suit the parable well. Cf. Σισύφειος *De Cher.* 78, Ταντάλειος below, §269. It is true of course that these stories were far better known than that of Antaeus.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 45-49

at all nor sought to rise, but makes its lair in the recesses of Hades and rejoices in a form of living, which is not worth the pains. It is the mixed life,<sup>a</sup> which 46 often drawn on by those of the higher line is possessed and inspired by God, though often pulled back by the worse it reverses its course. And when the better life placed as a weight on the scales completely preponderates, the mixed life carried with it makes the opposite life seem light as air in the balance. Now 47 Moses while he gives the crown of undisputed victory to the Godward kind of life, brings the other two into comparison by likening them to two women, one of whom he calls the beloved and the other the hated. These names are very suitable, for who does not look 48 with favour on the pleasures and delights that come through the eyes, or the ears, or through taste and smell and touch? Who has not hated the opposites of these?—frugality, temperance, the life of austerity and knowledge, which has no part in laughter and sport, which is full of anxiety and cares and toils, the friend of contemplation, the enemy of ignorance, which puts under its feet money and mere reputation and pleasure, but is mastered by self-restraint and true glory and the wealth which is not blind but sees.

Now the children of virtue, the hated one, are always the senior. X. And Moses holds them 49 to be by their nature worthy of the rights of the senior, even though they be younger in point of

that of the *ἀσκητής* in *De Som.* i. 151, who is midway between the wise who live in the Olympian region and the bad who live in the recesses of Hades. In fact the "mixed" seems to represent the ordinary virtuous man (*ὁ προκόπτων*), and in the sequel is equated to the Hated Wife and to Leah, both of whom regularly represent Virtue. For the last part of the sentence see App. p. 568.

## PHILO

τὰ διπλᾶ διδούς, τῶν δὲ ἀφαιρῶν τὴν ἡμίσειαν. ἔαν γὰρ γένωνται, φησίν, ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, ἡγαπημένη καὶ μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν ἀμφοτέραι, μέλλων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διανέμειν οὐ δυνήσεται πρεσβείων ἀξιῶσαι τὸν υἱὸν τῆς ἡγαπημένης, ἡδονῆς, — νέος γὰρ οὗτος, εἰ καὶ χρόνῳ πολὺς<sup>1</sup> γένοιτο, — ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς μισουμένης, φρονήσεως, πρεσβύτερον ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς ὄντα, ὡς διμοιρίαν ἀπονεύμαι.

50 τὴν δὲ τροπικωτέραν τούτων ἀπόδοσιν ἐν ἑτέροις εἰρηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῶν ἐν χερσὶ τρεψώμεθα ἐκεῖνο προὑποδείξαντες, ὅτι τῆς μισουμένης ὁ θεὸς λέγεται τὴν μήτραν διοίξας γένεσιν ἀστείων ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἀνατεῖλαι, τῆς φιλεῖ-

51 σθαι νομιζομένης αὐτίκα στειρουμένης. “ἰδὼν” γὰρ φησι “κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεῖα, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς· Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἦν στεῖρα.” ἄρ’ οὐχ ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ κυοφορῇ καὶ τίκτειν ἄρχηται τὰ ψυχῇ πρόποντα, τηνικαῦτα ὅσα αἰσθητὰ στειρούμενα ἀτοκεῖ, οἷς πρόσεστιν ἢ ἐκ φιλήματος ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἢ διὰ γνησίου φιλίας ἀποδοχῆ; XI.

52 ταύτης οὖν τῆς κατ’ αἴσθησιν ζωῆς, ἣν καλεῖ Μασέκ, υἱὸς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐστι τιμῶν καὶ θαυμάζων τὴν τροφὸν καὶ τιθήνην τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους, αἴσθησιν, ἣν καὶ ὁ γῆνιος νοῦς, ὄνομα Ἀδάμ, ἰδὼν διαπλασθεῖσαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παλαιὸς (Pap. παλιος).

<sup>a</sup> Or, if the *καί*, is retained, “And if any be younger in point of years, even them too in virtue of their nature does Moses hold worthy,” etc. In this case *ταῦτα*, and consequently the text quoted from Deuteronomy, is restricted to the *νεώτερα* χρόνῳ. Philo implies, what he actually argues

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 49-52

years,<sup>a</sup> for he gives them the double portion, and takes from the others their half-share. "For if a man," he says, "has two wives, one beloved and one hated, and both bear him children, when he purposes to divide his possessions, he shall not be able to adjudge the elder's rights to the son of the beloved (that is, of Pleasure) for he is but 'young,' even if years have made him grey-headed, but to the son of Prudence, the hated wife, the son who from earliest childhood is an 'elder,' he must give these rights and thus assign to him a double portion" (Deut. xxi. 15-17). Now we have given the allegorical inter- 50 pretation of this more closely elsewhere<sup>b</sup> and therefore let us turn to the next part of our theme. One thing however we must first point out, namely that we are told that God by opening the womb of the hated wife brought to its rising the birth of worthy practices and excellent deeds, while she, who was thought to be beloved, immediately became barren. For "the Lord" it runs "seeing that Leah is hated 51 opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Gen. xxix. 31). Is it not just then, when the soul is pregnant and begins to bear what befits a soul, that all objects of sense become barren and incapable of child-bearing, those objects which find acceptance with us "from the kiss" and not through genuine friendship. XI. This life of the senses, then, which he calls 52 Masek, has for her son each one among us who honours and admires the nurse and foster-mother of our mortal race, that is Sense, on whose just-fashioned form the earthly mind, called Adam, looked and gave

in *De Sobr.* 22, that the words of Deut. make the son of the Beloved to be, in the literal sense, the elder.

<sup>b</sup> In *Leg. All.* ii. 48, *De Sac.* 19 ff., *De Sobr.* 21 ff.

- 53 ζωὴν ἐκείνης<sup>1</sup> ὠνόμασεν. “ἐκάλεσε” γάρ φησιν  
 “Ἄδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ζωή, ὅτι  
 αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων,” τῶν πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν τὸν ψυχῆς τεθνηκότων δήπου βίον. οἱ  
 δὲ ζῶντες ὄντως μητέρα μὲν ἔχουσι σοφίαν,  
 αἰσθησὶν δὲ δούλην πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπιστήμης ὑπὸ  
 φύσεως δημιουργηθεῖσαν.
- 54 Ὅνομα δὲ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ ζωῆς, ἦν ἐκ φιλή-  
 ματος ἐγνωρίσαμεν, διασυνίστησι Δαμασκόν<sup>2</sup>—τὸ δὲ  
 μεταληφθέν ἐστὶν αἷμα σάκκου,—σφόδρα δυνατῶς  
 καὶ εὐθυβόλως σάκκον μὲν τὸ σῶμα αἰνιξάμενος,  
 55 αἷμα δὲ ζωὴν τὴν ἔναιμον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ψυχὴ διχῶς  
 λέγεται, ἥ τε ὅλη καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτῆς μέρος, ὃ  
 κυρίως εἰπεῖν ψυχὴ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμὸς  
 ὃ τε κύκλος σύμπας καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον μέρος τὸ  
 ᾧ βλέπομεν, ἔδοξε τῷ νομοθέτῃ διττὴν καὶ τὴν  
 [481] οὐσίαν εἶναι ψυχῆς, αἷμα μὲν τῆς ὅλης, τοῦ | δ’  
 ἡγεμονικωτάτου πνεῦμα θεῖον. φησὶ γοῦν ἀντι-  
 56 κρυς· “ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἱμά ἐστίν.” εὖ  
 γὰρ τὸ προσνεῖμαι τῷ σαρκῶν ὄχλῳ τὴν αἵματος  
 ἐπιρροήν, οἰκεῖον οἰκείῳ· τοῦ δὲ νοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν  
 ἐξ οὐδενὸς ἤρτησε γενητοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατα-  
 πνευσθεῖσαν εἰσήγαγεν· “ἐνεφύσησε” γάρ φησιν “ὁ  
 ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ προὴν  
 ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν,”  
 ἥ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ποιητοῦ λόγος ἔχει  
 57 τυπωθῆναι. XII. ὥστε διττὸν εἶδος ἀνθρώπων,

<sup>1</sup> ? ἐκείνην with Pap. and some mss. See App. p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> So mss.: Wend. from Pap. Δαμασκός. But would not Philo have written τὸ Δαμασκός if he used the nominative?

<sup>a</sup> See note on the phrase “soul as soul,” *De Mig.* 5.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 52-57

the name of what was his own death to her life. "For Adam," it says, "called the name of his wife 53 'Life,' because she is the mother of all things living" (Gen. iii. 20), that is doubtless of those who are in truth dead to the life of the soul. But those who are really living have Wisdom for their mother, but Sense they take for a bond-woman, the handiwork of nature made to minister to knowledge.

The name of the child born of the life which we 54 have explained as the "life from a kiss" he puts before us as Damascus, which is interpreted as "the blood of a sackcloth robe." By sackcloth robe he intimates the body, and by blood the "blood-life," and the symbolism is very powerful and apt. We use "soul" in two senses, both for the whole 55 soul and also for its dominant part, which properly speaking is the soul's soul,<sup>a</sup> just as the eye can mean either the whole orb, or the most important part, by which we see. And therefore the lawgiver held that the substance of the soul is twofold, blood being that of the soul as a whole, and the divine breath or spirit that of its most dominant part. Thus he says plainly "the soul of every flesh is the blood" (Lev. xvii. 11). He does well in assigning the blood with its 56 flowing stream to the riot<sup>b</sup> of the manifold flesh, for each is akin to the other. On the other hand he did not make the substance of the mind depend on anything created, but represented it as breathed upon by God. For the Maker of all, he says, "blew into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7); just as we are also told that he was fashioned after the image of his Maker (Gen. i. 27). XII. So we have two kinds of men, one 57

<sup>b</sup> Or "horde." See note on *Quod Deus 2*.

## PHILO

τὸ μὲν θείῳ πνεύματι λογισμῶ βιούντων, τὸ δὲ  
 αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ ζώντων. τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος  
 ἐστὶ πλάσμα γῆς, ἐκεῖνο δὲ θείας εἰκόνας ἐμφερὲς  
 58 ἐκμαγεῖον. χρεῖος δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μετρίως  
 ὁ πεπλασμένος ἡμῶν χροῦς καὶ ἀναδεδευμένος  
 αἵματι βοηθείας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ· διὸ λέγεται “οὗτος  
 Δαμασκὸς Ἐλιέζερ”—ἐρμηνευθεὶς δὲ ἐστὶν Ἐλιέζερ  
 θεὸς μου βοηθός,—ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἔναιμος ὄγκος ἐξ  
 ἑαυτοῦ διαλυτὸς ὦν καὶ νεκρὸς συνέστηκε καὶ  
 ζωπυρεῖται προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπερέχοντος  
 καὶ ὑπερασπίζοντος, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἰδρυθῆναι  
 παγίως δυνηθέντος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν.  
 59 οὐχ ὀρθῶς ὅτι καὶ Μωυσέως ὁ δεύτερος τῶν υἱῶν  
 ὁμωνυμεί τούτῳ; “τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα” φησί “τοῦ  
 δευτέρου Ἐλιέζερ,” καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρει· “ὁ  
 γὰρ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου βοηθός μου, καὶ ἐξείλατό  
 60 με ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραώ.” τοῖς δ' ἔτι τῆς ἐναίμου καὶ  
 αἰσθητῆς ζωῆς ἐταίροις ἐπιτίθεται ὁ σκεδάσαι τὰς  
 θεοσεβείας δεινὸς τρόπος, ὄνομα Φαραώ, οὐ τὴν  
 παρανομίας καὶ ὠμότητος μεστήν δυναστείαν  
 ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν  
 Ἐλιέζερ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἐπελπίσαι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ  
 61 μόνου σωτῆρος θεοῦ βοήθειαν. παγ-  
 κάλως δὲ τὸν Δαμασκὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ πατρὸς, ἀλλ'  
 ἀπὸ μητρὸς τῆς Μασέκ διασυνέστησεν, ἵνα διδάξῃ  
 ὅτι ἡ ἔναιμος ψυχὴ, καθ' ἣν ζῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα, τοῦ  
 πρὸς γυναικῶν μητρώου γένους οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν,  
 62 ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἀμέτοχον. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ ἀρετὴ  
 Σάρρα· μόνου γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν μεταποιεῖται,

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 57-62

that of those who live by reason, the divine inbreathing, the other of those who live by blood and the pleasure of the flesh. This last is a moulded clod of earth, the other is the faithful impress of the divine image.

Yet this our piece of moulded clay, 58 tempered with blood for water, has imperative need of God's help, and thus we read "this Damascus Eliezer." Now Eliezer interpreted is "God is my helper," for this mass of clay and blood, which in itself is dissoluble and dead, holds together and is quickened as into flame by the providence of God, who is its protecting arm and shield, since our race cannot of itself stand firmly established for a single day. Observe, too, that the second son of Moses 59 bears the same name. "The name of the second," he says, "was Eliezer," and then he adds the reason: "for the God of my father is my helper and delivered me from the hand of Pharaoh" (Ex. xviii. 4). But those who still consort with the life of sense and 60 blood suffer the attacks of the spirit so expert in scattering<sup>a</sup> pious thoughts and deeds, the spirit called Pharaoh, whose tyranny rife with lawlessness and cruelty it is impossible to escape, unless Eliezer be born in the soul and looks with hope to the help which God the only Saviour can give.

Right well, too, does Moses describe Damascus as the 61 son not of his father but of his mother, Masek, to shew us that the blood-soul, by which irrational animals also live, has kinship with the maternal and female line, but has no part in male descent. Not 62 so was it with Virtue or Sarah, for male descent is the sole claim of her, who is the motherless ruling

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the regular epithet of Pharaoh, ὁ σκεδαστὴς τῶν καλῶν, e.g. *De Sac.* 48.

## PHILO

ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ πάντων θεοῦ μόνου γεννηθεῖσα ἡ ἀμήτωρ ἀρχή· “ἀληθῶς” γάρ φησιν “ἀδελφή μου ἔστιν ἐκ πατρός, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ μητρός.”

- 63 XIII. “Α μὲν οὖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον προακοῦσαι, διεπτύξαμεν· καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν ἀσάφειαν ἢ πρότασις αἰνιγματώδη. τί δὲ ὁ φιλομαθῆς ζητεῖ, διερμηνευτέον ἀκριβέστερον· μήποτ’ οὖν ἔστι τοιοῦτον, [482] εἰ δύναταί | τις ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἐναίμου ζωῆς καὶ μεταποιοῦμενος ἔτι τῶν κατ’ αἴσθησιν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων κληρονόμος.
- 64 τούτων μόνος ἀξιούται ὁ καταπνευσθεὶς ἄνθρωπος, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ θείας μοίρας ἐπιλαχών, ὁ καθαρῶτατος νοῦς, ἀλογῶν οὐ μόνον σώματος ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ψυχῆς τμήματος, ὅπερ ἄλογον ὑπάρχον αἵματι πέφυρται, θυμοὺς ζέοντας καὶ πεπυρω-
- 65 μένας ἐπιθυμίας ἀναφλέγον. πυνθάνεται γοῦν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἐπειδὴ ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔδωκας σπέρμα τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ αὐτοδίδακτον, τὸ θεοειδές, ἀρὰ γε “ὁ οἰκογενῆς μου κληρονομήσει με,” ὁ
- 66 τῆς ἐναίμου ζωῆς ἔγγονος; τότε καὶ ἐπισπεύσας ὁ θεὸς ἔφθασε τὸν λαλοῦντα, τῆς ῥήσεως προαποστείλας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διδασκαλίαν. “εὐθύς” γάρ φησι “φωνὴ θεοῦ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ λέγειν· οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὗτος,” τῶν εἰς τὴν δι’ αἰσθήσεως δεῖξιν ἐρχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἀσώματοι γὰρ φύσεις νοητῶν πραγμάτων εἰσι
- 67 κληρονόμοι. παρατετήρηται δὲ ἄκρως τὸ μὴ

<sup>a</sup> ἀρχή no doubt carries with it, in addition to the sense of “beginning” or “first principle,” the thought of sovereignty

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 62-67

principle<sup>a</sup> of things, begotten of her father alone, even God the Father of all. For "indeed," it runs, "she is my sister from the father, not from the mother" (Gen. xx. 12).

XIII. So much for the elucidation needed as a preliminary; for the problem was seen to involve 63  
obscurities and difficulties. We must now explain more exactly what it is that the lover of learning seeks to know. Surely it is something of this kind: "Can he who desires the life of the blood and still claims for his own the things of the senses become the heir of divine and incorporeal things?" No; one 64  
alone is held worthy of these, the recipient of inspiration from above, of a portion heavenly and divine, the wholly purified mind which disregards not only the body, but that other section of the soul which is devoid of reason and steeped in blood, aflame with seething passions and burning lusts. His question, we see, takes this form: "Since thou 65  
hast not given me that other seed, the mentally perceived, the self-taught, the divine of form, shall the child of my household be my heir, he who is the offspring of the blood-life?" At that point 66  
God in His turn hastens to forestall the questioner, with a message of instruction, which we may almost say anticipates his speaking. For "straightway," we are told, "a voice of God came to him with the words 'He shall not be thy heir'" (Gen. xv. 4). No, none of those who fall under the evidence which the senses give. For it is incorporeal natures that inherit intellectual things. The wording is chosen 67  
very carefully. Moses does not say "God said"

which Philo regularly connects with the name of Sarah, e.g. *De Cher.* 7.

## PHILO

“ εἶπεν ” ἢ “ ἐλάλησεν ” φάναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ “ φωνῆ θεοῦ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ” ὡσπερ εὐτόμως ἐμβοήσαντος καὶ ἀρρηκτως ἐνηχήσαντος, ἵν’ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν διαδοθεῖσα ἡ φωνὴ μηδὲν ἔρημον ἔαση καὶ κενὸν ὑψηγῆσεως ὀρθῆς μέρος, ἀλλὰ πάντα διὰ πάντων ὑγιαίνουσας μαθήσεως ἀναπλησθῆ.

- 68 XIV. τίς οὖν γενήσεται κληρονόμος;  
οὐχ ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος εἰρκτῇ λογισμὸς καθ’ ἐκούσιον γνώμην, ἀλλ’ ὁ λυθείς τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ἐλευθερωθείς καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν προεληλυθὼς καὶ καταλελοιπῶς, εἰ οἶόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν. “ ὅς γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σοῦ ” φησίν,
- 69 “ οὗτος κληρονομήσει σε.” πόθος οὖν  
εἴ τις εἰσέρχεταιί σε, ψυχῇ, τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν κληρονομήσαι, μὴ μόνον “ γῆν,” τὸ σῶμα, καὶ “ συγγένειαν,” <τὴν> αἴσθησιν, καὶ “ οἶκον πατρός,” τὸν λόγον, καταλίπης, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαυτὴν ἀπόδραθι καὶ ἔκστηθι σεαυτῆς, ὡσπερ οἱ κατεχόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες βακχευθεῖσα καὶ θεοφορηθεῖσα κατὰ τινα προφητικὸν ἐπιθειασμόν·
- 70 ἐνθουσιώσης γὰρ καὶ οὐκέτ’ οὔσης ἐν ἑαυτῇ διανοίας, ἀλλ’ ἔρωτι οὐρανίῳ σεσοβημένης κάκμεμηνυίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἡγμένης καὶ ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> εἰλκυσμένης, προϊούσης ἀληθείας καὶ τὰν ποσὶν ἀναστελλούσης, ἵνα κατὰ λεωφόρου
- 71 βαῖνοι τῆς ὁδοῦ, κλῆρος οὗτος. πῶς  
οὖν μετανίστασο τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων, λέγε θαρροῦσα ἡμῖν, ὦ διάνοια, ἢ τοῖς ἀκούειν τὰ νοητὰ δεδιδαγμένοις ἐνηχεῖς, αἰεὶ φάσκουσα ὅτι μετωκισάμην τοῦ σώματος, ἡνίκα τῆς σαρκὸς ἠλόγουν ἤδη, καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ὅποτε τὰ αἰσθητὰ

<sup>1</sup> Or αὐτὸν as some mss.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 67-71

or " God spake," but " a voice of God came to him." It suggests a loud, sonorous, continuous appeal, pitched so as to spread abroad throughout the soul, whereby no part shall be left to which its right instruction has not penetrated, but all are filled from end to end with sound learning. XIV.

Who then shall be the heir? Not that way of thinking which abides in the prison of the body of its own free will, but that which released from its fetters into liberty has come forth outside the prison walls, and if we may so say, left behind its own self. For " he who shall come out of thee," it says, " shall be thy heir " (Gen. xv. 4).

Therefore, my soul, 69 if thou feelest any yearning to inherit the good things of God, leave not only thy land, that is the body, thy kinsfolk, that is the senses, thy father's house (Gen. xii. 1), that is speech, but be a fugitive from thyself also and issue forth from thyself. Like persons possessed and corybants, be filled with inspired frenzy, even as the prophets are inspired. For it is the mind which is under the divine afflatus, 70 and no longer in its own keeping, but is stirred to its depths and maddened by heavenward yearning, drawn by the truly existent and pulled upward thereto, with truth to lead the way and remove all obstacles before its feet, that its path may be smooth to tread—such is the mind, which has this inheritance.

To that mind I say, " Fear not to 71 tell us the story of thy departure from the first three. For to those who have been taught to give ear to the things of the mind, thou ever repeatest the tale." " I migrated from the body," she answers, " when I had ceased to regard the flesh ; from sense, when I came to view all the objects of sense as having

## PHILO

- πάντα ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντα ἔφαντασιώθη  
 [483] καταγνοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς τῶν | κριτηρίων ὡς νενοθευ-  
 μένων καὶ δεδεκασμένων καὶ ψευδοῦς ὑποπεπλη-  
 σμένων δόξης, καταγνοῦσα δὲ καὶ τῶν κρινομένων,  
 ὡς δελεάσαι καὶ ἀπατηῆσαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς  
 φύσεως ἀρπάσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐτρεπισμένων·  
 μετανέστην καὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἥνίκα πολλὴν ἀλογίαν  
 αὐτοῦ κατέγων καίτοι μετεωρίζοντος καὶ φυσῶν-  
 72 τος ἑαυτόν. ἐτόλμα γὰρ τόλμημα οὐ μικρόν, διὰ  
 σκιῶν μοι σώματα, διὰ ῥημάτων πράγματα, ἄπερ  
 ἀμήχανον ἦν, δεικνύναι· καίτοι σφαλλόμενος περι-  
 ελάλει καὶ περιέρρει κοινότητι τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰς  
 ἰδιότητας τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀδυνατῶν ἐμφάσει  
 73 τρανῆ παραστήσαι. παθοῦσα δ' ὡς ἄφρων καὶ  
 νήπιος παῖς ἔμαθον, ὡς ἄμεινον ἦν ἄρα πάντων  
 μὲν τούτων ὑπεξελθεῖν, ἐκάστου δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις  
 ἀναθεῖναι θεῷ τῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα σωματοῦντι καὶ  
 πηγνύντι καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν αἰσθάνεσθαι παρα-  
 σκευάζοντι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ λέγειν ὀρέγοντι.  
 74 τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ὄνπερ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ὑπεξελήλυθας, ὑπέξελθε καὶ μετανάστηθι σεαυτῆς.  
 τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; μὴ ταμιεύσῃ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ  
 διανοεῖσθαι καὶ καταλαμβάνειν σεαυτῆ, φέρουσα  
 δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάθες τῷ τοῦ νοεῖν ἀκριβῶς καὶ  
 καταλαμβάνειν ἀνεξαπατήτως αἰτίῳ.  
 75 XV. Τὴν δὲ ἀνάθεςιν δέξεται τῶν πανιέρων  
 τεμενῶν τὸ ἀγιώτερον· δύο γὰρ ἔοικε συστήναι, τὸ  
 μὲν νοητόν, τὸ δ' αἰσθητόν. αἰσθητῶν μὲν οὖν  
 φύσεων ὁ κόσμος οὗτος, ἀοράτων δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ  
 76 νοητὸς τὸ πάνθειόν ἐστιν. ὅτι δ' ὁ

\* The translation takes κοινότητι as dative of cause after



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 71-76

no true existence, when I denounced its standards of judgement as spurious and corrupt and steeped in false opinion, and its judgements as equipped to ensnare and deceive and ravish truth away from its place in the heart of nature ; from speech, when I sentenced it to long speechlessness, in spite of all its self-exaltation and self-pride. Great indeed was its 72 audacity, that it should attempt the impossible task to use shadows to point me to substances, words to point me to facts. And, amid all its blunders, it chattered and gushed about, unable to present with clear expression those distinctions in things which baffled its vague and general vocabulary.<sup>a</sup> Thus 73 through experience, as a foolish child learns, I learnt that the better course was to quit all these three, yet dedicate and attribute the faculties of each to God, who compacts the body in its bodily form, who equips the senses to perceive, and extends to speech the power of speaking.” Such is the mind’s 74 confession, and to it I reply, “ even as thou hast quitted the others, quit thyself, depart from thyself.” And what does this “ departing ” mean ? It means “ do not lay up as treasure for thyself, thy gifts of thinking, purposing, apprehending, but bring them and dedicate them to Him Who is the source of accurate thinking and unerring apprehension.”

XV. This dedication will be enshrined in the holier 75 of the great sanctuaries. For two such sanctuaries, we feel, exist, one sensible, one mental. This world is the cathedral<sup>b</sup> of the sense-perceived order, the world which the mind discovers of the truly invisible order. Now that he who has gone forth 76

*ἀδυνατῶν.* It may be, however, dative of means after *παρὰστήσαι.* <sup>b</sup> See App. p. 568.

## PHILO

ὑπεξελθὼν ἐξ ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ γλιχόμενος ὀπαδὸς εἶναι θεοῦ τοῦ φύσεως ἀοιδίμου πλούτου κληρονόμος ἐστί, μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· “ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω καὶ εἶπεν· ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,” ἐπειδήπερ οὗτος ὁ τῶν θείων θησαυρὸς ἀγαθῶν—“ἀνοίξαι γάρ σοι” φησί “κύριος τὸν θησαυρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαθόν, τὸν οὐρανόν,” ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰς τελεωτάτας εὐφροσύνας ὁ χορηγὸς ἀδιαστάτως ἕει— “ἀνάβλεψον” δὲ εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ τυφλοῦ τῶν ἀγελαίων ἀνθρώπων γένους, ὃ βλέπειν δοκοῦν πεπήρωται.

- 77 πῶς γὰρ οὐ πεπήρωται, ὅτε κακὰ μὲν ἀντ’ ἀγαθῶν, αἰσχρὰ ἀντὶ καλῶν, ἄδικα ἀντὶ δικαίων καὶ πάθη μὲν ἀντ’ εὐπαθειῶν, θνητὰ δὲ ἀντ’ ἀθανάτων ἤρηται, καὶ νουθετητὰς μὲν καὶ σωφρονιστὰς, ἔτι δὲ ἔλεγχον καὶ παιδείαν ἀποδιδράσκει, κόλακας δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους ἀργίας καὶ ἀμαθίας
- 78 καὶ θρύψεως δημιουργοὺς ἀποδέχεται; μόνος οὖν βλέπει ὁ ἀστείος, οὗ χάριν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ὠνόμασαν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὄρωντας. ὁ δὲ ἔξω προεληλυθὼς οὐ μόνον ὄρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεὸν ὄρων προσερρήθη, Ἰσραήλ [ὅς ἐστι θεὸν ὄρων].

[484] οἱ δέ, κἄν ποτε | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διοίξωσι, πρὸς γῆν ἀπονενεύκασιν τὰ γήινα μετιόντες καὶ τοῖς ἐν

- 79 Ἄιδη συντρεφόμενοι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνατείνει τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους, πεπαιδευταὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ μάννα ἀφορᾶν, τὸν θεῖον λόγον, τὴν οὐράνιον ψυχῆς φιλοθεάμονος ἀφθαρτον τροφήν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κρόμμυα καὶ τὰ σκόρδα, τὰ περιοδυνῶντα τὰς κόρας καὶ κακοῦντα<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wend. from Pap. ἐξ ἡμῶν νοητῶν καὶ κτλ. See App. p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κυκλώντα.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 76-79

from us and desires to be God's attendant is the heir of the glorious wealth that nature has to give is testified by Moses in the words "He led him out outside and said 'Look up into heaven'" (Gen. xv. 5). For heaven is the treasury of divine blessings. "May the Lord," he says, "open to thee His good treasure, the heaven" (Deut. xxviii. 12)—that heaven from which the bountiful Giver rains down continually His most perfect joys. Yes, look up, and thus convict of their errors the multitude of common men, the blind race, which has lost the sight which it thinks it possesses. How could it be other than 77 blind, when it prefers bad to good, base to honourable, unjust to just, and again lower passions to higher emotions, the mortal to the immortal; when once more it shuns the voice of the warner and the censor, and with them conviction and instruction, while it welcomes flatterers and the words that lead to pleasure, the makers of idleness and ignorance and luxury? And so it is only the man of worth 78 who sees, and therefore they of old called prophets "seers" (1 Sam. ix. 9). He who advances "outside" is called not only the seer, but the seer of God, that is Israel.

But the others even if they do ever open their eyes have bent them earthwards; they pursue the things of earth and their conversation is with the dwellers in Hades. The one ex- 79 tends his vision to the ether and the revolutions of the heaven; he has been trained also to look steadfastly for the manna, which is the word of God, the heavenly incorruptible food of the soul which delights in the vision. But the others see but the onions and the garlic, which give great pain and trouble to their eyes and make them close, or the

## PHILO

- καὶ καταμύειν ποιοῦντα, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράσων  
καὶ νεκρῶν ἰχθύων δυσσομίας, οἰκείας Αἰγύπτου  
80 τροφάς. “ ἐμνήσθημεν ” γάρ φασι “ τοὺς ἰχθύας,  
οὓς ἠσθίομεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δωρεάν, καὶ σικύας,  
πέπονας, πράσα, κρόμμου, σκόρδα· νυνὶ δὲ ἡ  
ψυχὴ ἡμῶν κατάξηρος, οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰς τὸ μάννα  
οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν.”
- 81 XVI. Συντείνει δὲ πρὸς ἠθοποιίαν καὶ τὸ  
“ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω,” ὃ τινες εἰώθασιν ὑπ’  
ἀμουσίας ἠθους γελᾶν φάσκοντες· εἴσω γάρ τις  
ἐξάγεται, ἢ ἔμπαλιν εἰσέρχεται ἔξω; ναί, φαίην  
ἂν, ὧ καταγέλαστοι καὶ λῖαν εὐχερεῖς· ψυχῆς γὰρ  
τρόπους ἰχνηλατεῖν οὐκ ἐμάθετε ἀλλὰ σωμάτων,  
<καὶ><sup>1</sup> τὰς ἐν τούτοις μεταβατικὰς κινήσεις μόνας  
ἐρευνᾶτε. διὸ καὶ παράδοξον ὑμῖν φαίνεται εἴ τις  
ἐξέρχεται εἴσω ἢ εἰσέρχεται ἔξω· τοῖς δὲ Μωυ-  
σέως γνωρίμοις ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπωδόν  
82 ἐστίν. ἢ οὐκ ἂν εἶποιτε, τὸν μὴ τέλειον ἀρχιερέα,  
ὁπότε ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τὰς πατρώους ἀγιστείας  
ἐπιτελεῖ, ἔνδον εἶναί τε καὶ ἔξω, ἔνδον μὲν τῷ  
φανερῷ σώματι, ἔξω δὲ ψυχῇ τῇ περιφοίτῳ καὶ  
πεπλανημένῃ, καὶ ἔμπαλιν τινα μηδὲ γένους ὄντα  
τοῦ ἱερωμένου θεοφιλῆ καὶ φιλόθεον ἔξω τῶν  
περιρραντηρίων ἐστώτα ἐσωτάτῳ διατρίβειν, ἀπο-  
δημίαν ἠγοούμενον ὄλον τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον,  
ὁπότε δὲ δύναίτο τῇ ψυχῇ μόνη ζῆν, ἐν πατρίδι  
83 καταμένειν ὑπολαμβάνοντα<sup>2</sup>; καὶ γὰρ φλιᾶς μὲν  
ἐστίν ἔξω πᾶς ἄφρων, κἂν συνημερεύων μηδ’  
ἀκαρὲς ἀπολείπηται, εἴσω δὲ πᾶς σοφός, κἂν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> <καὶ> ins. W.H.D.R.: Wend. places the comma after ἐμάθετε. See App. p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> mss. and Pap. ὑπολαμβάνει(ν).

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other ill-smelling things, the leeks and dead fishes, which are food proper to Egypt ; “ we remember,” 80 they say, “ the fishes which we used to eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers and the gourds, the leeks, the onions, the garlic. But now our soul is dried up, our eyes have nothing to look to, save the manna ” (Num. xi. 5, 6).

XVI. There is a moral bearing too in the phrase 81 “ He led him out outside,” which some, because of the grossness of their moral sense, are in the habit of holding up to ridicule. “ Can any be led out inside,” they ask, “ or conversely go in outside ? ” “ Indeed they can,” I would reply. In your ludicrous, thoughtless folly you have never learnt to trace the ways of the soul, but only of bodies, and all you look for is their movements from place to place. Therefore it seems to you a contradiction in terms that one should go out inside or go in outside. But we the disciples of Moses find nothing conflicting in such phrases. Would you not agree that the 82 high priest whose heart is not perfect is both inside and outside, when he is performing the ancestral rites in the inmost shrine ; inside in his visible body, outside in his wandering vagrant, soul ; and on the contrary that one who loves and is loved by God, even if he is not of the consecrated line, though he stands outside the sacred limits<sup>a</sup> abides right inside them ? For he holds all his life in the body to be a sojourning in a foreign land, but when he can live in the soul alone, he feels that he is a dweller in his fatherland. Every fool is outside the threshold, 83 even if he spend the livelong day within, nor leave it for a moment ; and every wise man is inside it

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Deus* 2.

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- μόνον χώραις ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις κλίμασι γῆς διωκισμένος τυγχάνη· κατὰ δὲ Μωυσῆν οὕτως ὁ φίλος ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ὥστε ἀδιαφορεῖ ψυχῆς· λέγει γάρ· “ὁ φίλος, ὁ ἴσος τῇ ψυχῇ σου.”
- 84 καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς μέντοι “ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται” κατ’ αὐτὸν ὅταν εἰσῆι εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, “ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ,” οὐ σωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν κινήσεσιν. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, ὅτε μὲν καθαρῶς λειτουργεῖ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θεῖος· ὅτε δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τινί, τέτραπται καταβάς ἀπ’ οὐρα-
- [485] νοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γῆν ἐξέρχεται, | καὶ
- 85 ἔτι μένη τὸ σῶμα ἔνδον αὐτῷ. ὀρθότατα οὖν εἴρηται· “ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω” τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δεσμωτηρίων, τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φωλεῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀπατεῶνα λόγον σοφιστειῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτ-  
εξουσίῳ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γνώμη νοεῖν τε καὶ κατα-  
λαμβάνειν.
- 86 XVII. Προαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω φησίν· “ἀνά-  
βλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἂν δυνηθῆς ἐξαριθμῆσαι αὐτούς. οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου.” παγκάλως εἶπεν “οὕτως ἔσται,” ἀλλ’ οὐ τοσοῦτον, τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἰσάριθμον. οὐ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρία ἄλλα τῶν εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελῆ
- 87 βούλεται παρεμφῆναι. οὕτως οὖν ἔσται, φησίν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ὀρώμενον αἰθέριον, οὕτως οὐράνιον, οὕτως αὐγῆς γέμον ἀσκίου καὶ καθαρᾶς—οὐρανοῦ γὰρ ἀπελήλαται νύξ καὶ αἰθέρος τὸ σκότος,—ἀστερο-

<sup>a</sup> The real meaning of the text is, of course, “there shall not be another man in the temple till the priest comes out.”

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though he be separated from it not merely by countries but even by vast latitudes. And in Moses' view a friend is so near that he differs not a whit from one's own soul, for he says, "the friend, who is equal to thy soul" (Deut. xiii. 6). Again, according to Moses, the priest when he goes into the holy of holies "will not be a man until he comes out" (Lev. xvi. 17); no man, that is, in the movements of his soul though in the bodily sense he is still a man. For when the mind is ministering to God in purity, it is not human, but divine. But when it ministers to aught that is human, it turns its course and descending from heaven, or rather falling to earth, comes forth, even though his body still remains within. Most rightly, then, is it said, "He led him out outside," outside of the prison-houses of the body, of the lairs where the senses lurk, of the sophistries of deceitful word and thought; above all He led him out of himself, out of the belief that he thought and apprehended through an intelligence which acknowledged no other authority and owed no allegiance to any other than itself.

XVII. When the Lord led him outside He said "Look up into heaven and count the stars, if thou canst count their sum. So shall be thy seed" (Gen. xv. 5). Well does the text say "so" not "so many," that is, "of equal number to the stars." For He wishes to suggest not number merely, but a multitude of other things, such as tend to happiness perfect and complete. The seed shall be, He says, as the ethereal sight spread out before him, celestial as that is, full of light unshadowed and pure as that is, for night is banished from heaven and darkness from ether. It shall be the very likeness of the stars,

- ειδέστατον, εὖ διακεκοσμημένον, τάξει χρώμενον ἀκλινεῖ τῇ κατὰ ταυτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούση.
- 88 βούλεται γὰρ ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ, εἰ δὲ χρή καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντα εἰπεῖν, οὐρανὸν ἐπίγειον ἀποφῆναι τὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχὴν ἔχουσαν <ἐν ἑαυτῇ καθάπερ><sup>1</sup> ἐν αἰθέρι καθαρὰς φύσεις, τεταγμένας κινήσεις, χορείας ἐμμελεῖς, θείας περιόδους, ἀρετῶν ἀστεροειδестаτάς καὶ περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγὰς. εἰ δ' ἀμήχανον αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν,
- 89 πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον νοητῶν; ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ κρῖνον τοῦ κρινόντος<sup>2</sup> ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον—νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ἄμεινον αἰσθήσεως, διανοίας δὲ ἀμβλύτερον αἰσθησις,—ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὰ κρινόμενα διενήνοχεν· ὥστε μυρίῳ πλήθει τὰ νοητὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὑπερβάλλειν. τοῦ γὰρ ψυχῆς ὄμματος βραχυτάτῃ μοῖρα οἱ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὀφθαλμοί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡλίῳ, λυχνούχοις δὲ οὗτοι μελετώσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐξάπτεσθαι τε καὶ σβέννυσθαι.
- 90 XVIII. Ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἐπιλέγεται “ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ ” πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ πεπιστευκότος. καίτοι, τάχα ἂν τις εἴποι, τοῦτ' ἄξιον ἐπαινοῦ κρίνετε; τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν τι λέγοντι καὶ ὑπισχνουμένῳ θεῷ προσέχοι τὸν νοῦν, κἂν εἰ πάντων ἀδικώτατος καὶ ἀσεβέστατος ὢν τυγ-
- 91 χάνοι; πρὸς ὃν ἐρουῦμεν ὧ γενναίε, μὴ ἀνεξετάστως ἢ τὸν σοφὸν ἀφέλη τὰ πρόποντα ἐγκώμια ἢ τοῖς ἀναξίοις τὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετῶν, πίστιν, μαρ-

<sup>1</sup> The insertion by Wend. corresponds in length nearly with some illegible words in Pap. It is omitted altogether in mss.

<sup>2</sup> mss. and Pap. κρινόμενον.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, as Wend. conjectures, μέλλουσι.



marshalled in goodly array, following an unswerving order which never varies or changes. For He 88 wished to picture the soul of the Sage as the counterpart of heaven, or rather, if we may so say, transcending it, a heaven on earth having within it, as the ether has, pure forms of being, movements ordered, rhythmic, harmonious, revolving as God directs, rays of virtues, supremely starlike and dazzling.<sup>a</sup> And if it be beyond our powers to count the stars which are visible to the senses, how much more truly can that be said of those which are visible to the mind. For I hold that even as of the two 89 faculties of judgement one is better and one worse, since mind is better than sense and sense duller than understanding, even so do the objects which these two faculties judge differ; and thus things intelligible vastly exceed in number the things perceptible by sense. The eyes of the body are but the tiniest part of the eye of the soul. That is like the sun; the others are like candles, whose business is to be lighted and extinguished.

XVIII. The words "Abraham believed God" (Gen. 90 xv. 6) are a necessary addition to speak the praise due to him who has believed. Yet, perhaps it may be asked, do you consider this worthy of praise? When it is God who speaks and promises, who would not pay heed, even though he were the most unjust and impious of mankind? To such a questioner we will 91 answer, "Good sir, do not without due scrutiny rob the Sage of his fitting tribute, or aver that the unworthy possess the most perfect of virtues, faith,

<sup>a</sup> For the general sense of this section cf. *Timaeus* 47 B-E, though there is not much likeness of phraseology, except in *περιόδους*, on which see note on § 185

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- τυρήσης ἢ τὴν ἡμετέραν περὶ τούτω γνώσιν  
 92 αἰτιάσῃ. βαθυτέραν γὰρ εἰ βουλευθείης ἔρευναν καὶ  
 μὴ σφόδρ' ἐπιπόλαιον ποιήσασθαι, σαφῶς γνώσῃ,  
 ὅτι μόνω θεῷ χωρὶς ἑτέρου προσπαράληψεως  
 οὐ ῥάδιον πιστεῦσαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν ᾧ  
 συνεζεύγμεθα συγγένειαν· ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ χρήμασι  
 καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρχῇ καὶ φίλοις ὑγείᾳ τε καὶ ῥώμῃ  
 93 σώματος καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀναπείθει πεπι-  
 [486] στευκένας. τὸ δὲ | ἐκνύσασθαι τούτων ἕκαστον  
 καὶ ἀπιστῆσαι γενέσει τῇ πάντα ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀπίστῳ,  
 μόνῳ δὲ πιστεῦσαι θεῷ τῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μόνῳ  
 πιστῷ μεγάλης καὶ ὀλυμπίου ἔργον διανοίας ἐστί,  
 οὐκέτι πρὸς οὐδενὸς δελεαζομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.
- 94 XIX. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι “ λογισθῆναι τὴν  
 πίστιν εἰς δικαιοσύνην αὐτῷ ”· δίκαιον γὰρ οὐδὲν  
 οὕτως, ὡς ἀκράτῳ καὶ ἀμιγεί τῇ πρὸς θεὸν μόνον  
 95 πίστει κεχρηῆσθαι. τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ἀκόλουθον  
 τοῦτο τῇ φύσει παράδοξον ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὴν τῶν  
 πολλῶν ἀπιστίαν ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐλέγχων ὁ ἱερός λόγος  
 φησὶν, ὅτι τὸ ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ ὄντι βεβαίως καὶ ἀκλινῶς  
 ὀρμεῖν θαυμαστὸν μὲν παρ' ἀνθρώποις, οἷς ἀγαθῶν  
 ἀδόλων κτήσις οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ θαυμαστὸν δὲ παρ'  
 ἀληθείᾳ βραβευούσῃ, δικαιοσύνης δ' αὐτὸ μόνον  
 ἔργον.
- 96 XX. “ Εἶπε δὲ ” φησί “ πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐγὼ ὁ  
 θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαίων, ὥστε  
 δοῦναί σοι τὴν γῆν ταύτην κληρονομήσαι.” τοῦτ'  
 οὐχ ὑπόσχεσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιᾶς ὑποσχέσεως  
 97 βεβαίωσιν ἐμφαίνει. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάλαι δωρηθὲν  
 ἀγαθὸν ἕξοδος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς μετεωρο-

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or censure our claim to knowledge of this matter. For if you should be willing to search more deeply 97 and not confine yourself to the mere surface, you will clearly understand that to trust in God alone and join no other with Him is no easy matter, by reason of our kinship with our yokefellow, mortality, which works upon us to keep our trust placed in riches and repute and office and friends and health and strength and many other things. To purge away each of 93 these, to distrust created being, which in itself is wholly unworthy of trust, to trust in God, and in Him alone, even as He alone is truly worthy of trust—this is a task for a great and celestial understanding which has ceased to be ensnared by aught of the things that surround us.”

XIX. And it is 94 well said “his faith was counted to him for justice” (Gen. xv. 6), for nothing is so just or righteous as to put in God alone a trust which is pure and unalloyed. Yet this act of justice and conformity with 95 nature has been held to be a marvel because of the untrustfulness of most of us. And it is in reproof of us that the holy text tells us, that to rest on the Existent only, firmly and without wavering, though it is a marvel in the sight of men who have no hold of good things unsullied, is deemed no marvel at the judgement-bar of truth, but just an act of justice and nothing more.

XX. The text continues “He said to him, I am 96 the God who brought thee out of the land of the Chaldaeans, to give thee this land to inherit” (Gen. xv. 7). These words indicate not only a promise, but also the confirmation of an old promise. The good bestowed in the past was his departure 97 from Chaldaean sky-lore, which taught the creed

- λογίας, ἥτις ἀνεδίδασκεν οὐ θεοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἅπασι τοῖς οὐσι φοραῖς καὶ τεταγμέναις περιόδοις ἀστέρων ἀριθμείσθαι καὶ ἐνθένδε τὴν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ γένεσιν ἠρτήσθαι—ταῦτα δ' ἡ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ὁμαλή καὶ τεταγμένη κίνησις τοὺς εὐχερεστέρους ἀνέπεισε τερατεύεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ Χαλδαίων ὄνομα μεταληφθὲν ὁμαλότητι
- 98 παρωνυμεί,—τὸ δὲ νέον ἀγαθὸν κληρονομήσαι σοφίαν τὴν ἄδεκτον μὲν αἰσθήσει, νῶ δ' εἰλικρινεστάτῳ καταλαμβανομένην, δι' ἧς ἀποικιῶν ἡ ἀρίστη βεβαιοῦται μετανισταμένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ἀστρονομίας ἐπὶ φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβεβαίου εἰκασίας ἐπὶ πάγιον κατάληψιν καὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον, ἀπὸ τοῦ
- 99 κόσμου πρὸς τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα αὐτοῦ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰς γνώμας χαλδαῖζοντας οὐρανῶ πεπιστευκένας, τὸν δ' ἐνθένδε μεταναστάντα τῷ ἐπόχῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡνιόχῳ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, θεῶ, φασὶν οἱ χρησμοί. καλὸς γε ὁ κλῆρος, μείζων ἴσως τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, ἐπάξιος δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ διδόντος.
- 100 XXI. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖ χρηστὰ ἐλπίσαι καὶ θαυμάσια ἡλίκα προσδοκῆσαι τῷ σοφίας ἐραστῇ διὰ τῶν θεσπισθέντων· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ τρόπον γνώσεται καθ' ὃν ἐφίξεται τῆς τοῦ κλήρου διαδοχῆς,
- [487] παγχάλεπον | ἡγείται, ἅτε διψῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀπλήστως ἔχων αὐτῆς· διὸ πυνθάνεται φάσκων· “δέσποτα, κατὰ τί γνώσομαι, ὅτι κληρονομήσω
- 101 αὐτήν;” ἴσως ἂν τις εἴποι μάχεσθαι τοῦτο τῷ

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that the world was not God's work, but itself God, and that to all existing things the vicissitudes of better and worse are reckoned by the courses and ordered revolutions of the stars, and that on these depends the birth of good and ill. The even tenour, the uniformly ordered motion of the heavenly bodies have induced weak-minded people to adopt this fantastic creed. Indeed, the name Chaldaean when interpreted corresponds to even tenour or levelness. The new good gift is inheritance of the 98 wisdom which cannot be received by sense, but is apprehended by a wholly pure and clear mind. Through this wisdom the best of all migrations becomes an established fact, the migration of the soul which passes from astrology to real nature study, from insecure conjecture to firm apprehension, and to give it its truest expression, from the created to the uncreated, from the world to its Maker and Father. Thus the oracles tell us that 99 those whose views are of the Chaldaean type have put their trust in heaven, while he who has migrated from this home has given his trust to Him who rides on the heaven and guides the chariot of the whole world, even God. Excellent indeed is this heritage, too great it may be for the powers of the recipient, but worthy of the greatness of the Giver.

XXI. But it is not enough for the lover of wisdom 100 to have high hopes and vast expectations through the oracular promises. If he does not know in what way he will attain the succession of the heritage, it irks him greatly; so thirsty is he for knowledge and insatiate of it. And therefore he asks, "Master, by what shall I know that I shall inherit it?" (Gen. xv. 8). Now perhaps it may be said that this ques- 101

- πεπιστευκένας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπορεῖν ἐνδοιάζοντος, τὸ δὲ μηκέτι ζητεῖν ἔργον εἶναι πεπιστευκότος. λεκτέον οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπορεῖ καὶ πεπίστευκεν, οὐ μὴν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. πεπίστευκε μὲν γὰρ ὅτι κληρονόμος ἔσται σοφίας, τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτὸ μόνον ζητεῖ καθ' ὃν ἂν γένοιτο· τὸ δ' ὅτι γενήσεται, πάντως κατὰ τὰς θείας
- 102 ὑποσχέσεις βεβαίως κατεῖληφεν. τὸν πόθον οὖν, ᾧ κέχρηται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν, ἐπαινέσας ὁ διδάσκαλος ἀρχεται τῆς ὑφηγήσεως ἀπὸ στοιχειώδους εἰσαγωγῆς, ἐν ἣ πρώτον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον γέγραπται “λάβε μοι”. βραχεῖα μὲν ἢ λέξεις, πολλή δὲ ἡ δύναμις· ἐμφαίνει γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγα.
- 103 πρώτον μὲν, ἴδιον, φησὶν, οὐδὲν ἔχεις ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ἂν νομίσης ἔχειν, ἕτερος παρέσχηκεν. ἐξ οὗ συνάγεται ὅτι θεοῦ τοῦ διδόντος κτήματα πάντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς μεταίτου<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν
- 104 προτεινούσης γενέσεως. δεύτερον δέ, καὶ λάβης, λάβε μὴ σεαυτῷ, δάνειον δὲ ἢ παρακαταθήκην νομίσας τὸ δοθὲν τῷ παρακαταθεμένῳ καὶ συμβαλόντι ἀπόδος, πρεσβυτέραν χάριν χάριτι νεωτέρα, προκατάρχουσαν ἀντεκτινούση δικαίως
- 105 καὶ προσηκόντως ἀμειψάμενος. XXII. μυριοὶ γὰρ ἕξαρνοι παρακαταθηκῶν ἐγένοντο ἱερῶν, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ὡς ἰδίοις ὑπ' ἀμέτρου τῆς πλεονεξίας καταχρησάμενοι. σὺ δέ, ᾧ γενναίε, παντὶ σθένει πειρῷ μὴ μόνον ἀσινῇ καὶ ἀκιβδήλευτα φυλάττειν ἂ ἔλαβες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν, ἵν' ὁ παρακαταθέμενος μηδὲν ἔχη τῆς παρὰ σοῦ

<sup>1</sup> So Pap., evidently rightly: the mss. have μετ' αὐτὸν or μετ' αὐτοῦ.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 101-105

tion is inconsistent with the belief ascribed to him. It is the doubter, we may be told, who feels difficulties; what the believer does is to cease from further questioning. We must say, then, that the difficulties and the fact of belief are both there, but do not apply to the same subject. Far from it! He has believed that he will be the inheritor of wisdom; he merely asks how this shall come to pass. That it will come to pass is a fact that he has completely and firmly grasped in virtue of the divine promises. And so his Teacher praising the desire 102 for learning which he shews, begins His instruction with a rudimentary lesson, in which the first and most vital words are "take for me" (Gen. xv. 9). A short phrase, but with a wide meaning, for it suggests not a few thoughts.

First it says to us 103 "you have no good thing of your own, but whatever you think you have, Another has provided." Hence we infer that all things are the possession of Him who gives, not of creation the beggar, who ever holds out her hands to take.

The second is "even 104 if you take, take not for yourself, but count that which is given a loan or trust and render it back to Him who entrusted and leased it to you, thus as is fit and just requiting goodwill with goodwill." His was the earlier, yours is the later; His made the advance, yours shall repay. XXII. For vast is 105 the number of those who repudiate the sacred trusts and in their unmeasured greed use up what belongs to Another as though it was their own. But thou, my friend, try with all thy might, not merely to keep unharmed and unalloyed what thou hast taken, but also deem it worthy of all carefulness, that He who entrusted it to thee may find nothing to blame

PHILO

- 106 φυλακῆς αἰτιάσασθαι. παρακατέθετο δέ σοι αὐτῶ  
 ψυχῆν, λόγον, αἴσθησιν ὁ ζωοπλάστης, ἃ συμ-  
 βολικῶς δάμαλις, κριός, αἶξ ἐν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς  
 ὠνομάσθησαν. ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ὑπὸ  
 φιλαυτίας ἐνοσφίσαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐταμιεύσαντο πρὸς  
 107 καιριωτάτην ἀπόδοσιν. τῶν μὲν οὖν νοσφιζο-  
 μένων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν· τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν  
 ψυχῆν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ λόγον, πάνθ' ὁμοῦ ταῦτ'  
 οὐ φησιν ἑαυτοῦ κτήματ' εἶναι, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι,  
 τὸ λέγειν, τὸ καταλαμβάνειν οἰόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτῶ  
 108 μόνῳ κεῖσθαι; τῶν δὲ τὴν πίστιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον  
 ὄντως διαφυλαττόντων ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς.  
 οὔτοι ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἀνατεθείκασι θεῷ, ψυχῆν,  
 αἴσθησιν, λόγον· ἔλαβον γὰρ οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ'  
 ἐκείνῳ πάντα ταῦτα, ὥστε εἰκότως ὠμολόγησαν  
 κατ' αὐτὸν εἶναι τὰς ἐκάστων ἐνεργείας, τοῦ νοῦ  
 τὰς διανοήσεις, τοῦ λόγου τὰς ἐρμηνείας, τῆς  
 109 αἰσθήσεως τὰς φαντασίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἑαυτοῖς ταῦτα ἐπιγράφοντες ἄξια τῆς ἑαυτῶν  
 [488] βαρυδαιμονίας | ἐκληρώσαντο, ψυχῆν μὲν ἐπί-  
 βουλον, ἀλόγοις πάθεισι πεφυρμένην καὶ πλήθει  
 κακιῶν κατειλημμένην, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας  
 καὶ λαγνείας ὥσπερ ἐν χαμαιτυπείῳ περιυβρι-  
 ζομένην, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἀδικημάτων ὥσπερ  
 ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθειργμένην μετὰ κακούργων,  
 οὐκ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἃ πᾶσι τοῖς  
 κριταῖς [ἢ τιμωρηταῖς] ἀγώγιμα γέγονε, λόγον δὲ  
 στόμαργον, ἠκονημένον κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, βλα-  
 βερὸν μὲν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, αἰσχύνην δὲ τοῖς  
 κεκτημένοις ἐπιφέροντα, αἴσθησιν δὲ ἀκόρεστον,  
 ἐμφορουμένην μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ  
 ἀκράτορος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μηδέποτε ἐμπλησθῆναι



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 106-109

in thy guardianship of it. Now the Maker of all that 106  
lives has given into thy trust soul, speech, and sense,  
which the sacred scripture calls in its parable heifer,  
ram, and goat (Gen. xv. 9). Some in their selfishness  
at once annex these, others store them up, to repay  
when the moment for repayment has come. Those 107  
who appropriate the trust are countless in number.  
For which of us does not assert that soul and sense  
and speech, each and all are his own possession,  
thinking that to perceive, to speak, to apprehend,  
rest with himself alone. But small is the number of 108  
those who guard the trust as something holy and  
inviolable. These have dedicated these three, soul,  
sense, and speech, to God, for they "took" them all  
for God, not for themselves; so that they naturally  
acknowledge that through Him come the activities  
of each, the reflections of the mind, the language in  
which speech expresses itself, the pictures pre-  
sented to sense. Those, then, who assert 109  
their ownership of the three, receive the heritage  
which their miserable state deserves; a soul male-  
volent, a chaos of unreasoning passions, held down  
by a multitude of vices; sometimes mauled by greed  
and lust, like a strumpet in the stews, sometimes fast  
bound as in a prison by a multitude of ill deeds,  
herded with malefactors, not of human kind, but  
habits which an unanimous judgement has declared  
worthy of arrest; speech brow-beating, keen-  
edged against truth, working harm to its victims and  
shame to its employers; sense insatiable, ever  
imbibing the objects of sense, yet through its un-

## PHILO

- δυναμένην, ἀλογοῦσαν τῶν σωφρομιστῶν, ὡς  
 παρορᾶν καὶ παρακούειν καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐπ' ὠφέλεια  
 110 διεξέρχωνται παραπτύειν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες  
 μὴ ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ θεῷ τούτων ἕκαστον αὐτῷ  
 ἀνέθεσαν, ἱεροπρεπῆς καὶ ἅγιον ὄντως φυλάξαντες  
 τῷ κτησαμένῳ, τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλο  
 ἢ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῦ διανοῆται, τὸν  
 δὲ λόγον, ἵν' ἀχαλίνῳ στόματι ἐγκωμίοις καὶ  
 ὕμνοις καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοῖς γεραίρῃ τὸν τῶν ὄλων  
 πατέρα, τὰς πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν ἀπάσας ἀρετὰς εἰς  
 ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ἔργον συγκροτῶν καὶ ἐπίδει-  
 κνύμενος, τὴν δὲ αἰσθησιν, ἵνα φαντασιουμένη τὸν  
 αἰσθητὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰς  
 μεταξὺ φύσεις, ζῶά τε καὶ φυτά, ἐνεργείας τε καὶ  
 δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσαι κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις,  
 111 ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς ψυχῇ διαγγέλλῃ. νῷ γὰρ  
 ὁ θεὸς καταλαμβάνειν τὸν μὲν νοητὸν κόσμον δι'  
 ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ ὄρατὸν δι' αἰσθήσεως ἐφήκεν. εἰ  
 δὴ δύναιτό τις πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι ζῆσαι θεῷ μᾶλλον  
 ἢ ἑαυτῷ, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰσθήσεων εἰς τὰ αἰσθητὰ  
 διακύβας ἕνεκα τοῦ τάληθές εὐρεῖν, διὰ δὲ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ὄντα ὄντως φιλοσοφήσας, διὰ  
 δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ὄργανου καὶ τὸν κόσμον  
 καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ὑμνήσας, εὐδαίμονι καὶ μακαρίῳ  
 βίῳ χρήσεται.
- 112 XXIII. Ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ “ λάβε μοι ” παρεμφαί-  
 νεσθαι νομίζω. βουληθεὶς μέντοι καὶ τῆς θείας  
 ἀρετῆς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπὶ γῆν κατα-  
 πέμψαι δι' ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀτυχήσῃ  
 τῆς ἀμείνονος μοίρας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἱεράν  
 σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάζει, σοφίας

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 109-112

controlled avidity incapable of reaching satisfaction, regardless of its monitors, blind, deaf and derisive to all that they preach for its benefit. But 110 those who have "taken," not for themselves but for God, have dedicated each of the three to Him, guarding them for the Owner, as in truth sanctified and holy: the thinking faculty, that it should think of nothing else but God and His excellences; speech, that with unbridled mouth it should honour the Father of all with laud and hymn and benediction, that it should concentrate all the graces of expression to be exhibited in this task only; sense, that it should report faithfully and honestly to the soul the pictures presented to it by the whole world within its ken, heaven and earth and the intermediate forms of nature, both living creatures and plants, their activities, their faculties, their conditions whether in motion or rest. For God has permitted the mind to comprehend of itself the world 111 of the mind, but the visible world only through sense. Oh! if one can live with all the parts of his being to God rather than to himself, using the eye of sense to penetrate into the objects of sense and thus discover the truth, using the soul to study the higher verities of mental things and real existences, using the organ of his voice to laud both the world and its Maker, he will live a happy and blessed life.

XXIII. This is what I hold the words "take for 112 me" to suggest. Here is another illustration. When God willed to send down the image of divine excellence from heaven to earth in pity for our race, that it should not lose its share in the better lot, he constructs as a symbol of the truth the holy tabernacle and its contents to be a representation

## PHILO

- 113 ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. τῆς γὰρ ἀκαθαρσίας ἡμῶν ἐν μέσῳ φησὶ τὴν σκηνην ἰδρῦσθαι τὸ λόγιον, ἢν' ἔχωμεν ᾧ καθαρθησόμεθα ἐκνιψάμενοι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα ἡμῶν τὸν
- [489] ἄθλιον καὶ | δυσκλείας γέμοντα βίον. τὰ συντείνοντα οὖν πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἴδωμεν ὃν τρόπον εἰσφέρειν προσέταξεν. “ἐλάλησε” φησὶ “κύριος πρὸς Μωυσὴν λέγων· εἰπὸν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ λάβετε μοι ἀπαρχάς, παρὰ πάντων οἷς ἂν δόξῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ, λήψεσθε τὰς ἀπαρχάς μου.”
- 114 οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα παραίνεσις μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ θεῷ λαβεῖν, τίς τε ὁ διδούς ἐστὶν ἐξετάζοντας καὶ τὰ δοθέντα μὴ σινομένους, ἀσινῆ δὲ καὶ ἄμωμα τέλειά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὀλόκληρα διαφυλάττοντας. τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς δογματικώτατα ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῷ· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ θεὸν
- 115 ἐξετάζονται μόνον. ἐρεῦνησον δέ, εἰ θέλεις γινῶναι, ἕκαστα, φυτὰ, ζῶα, τέχνας, ἐπιστήμας. ἄρ' οὖν αἱ πρῶται τῶν φυτῶν ἀρχαὶ σπέρματα καὶ καταβολαὶ<sup>1</sup> γεωργίας ἢ τῆς ἀοράτου φύσεώς εἰσιν ἀόρατα ἔργα; τί δ' αἱ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων γενέσεις; οὐχ ὡσανεὶ μὲν συναιτίους ἔχουσι τοὺς τοκέας, τὴν δ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβυτάτην
- 116 καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αἰτίαν τὴν φύσιν; τέχναις δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμαις οὐ πηγὴ καὶ ρίζα καὶ θεμέλιος<sup>2</sup> καὶ εἴ

<sup>1</sup> So some mss.: Mangey and Wend. adopt the reading of others (and Pap.?), τῶν φυτῶν σπερματικαὶ καταβολαί. See App. p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> So mss.; Wend. (from Pap.) θεμέλιοι; but the evidence of the index shows that Philo regularly uses the singular

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 113-116

and copy of wisdom. For the oracle tells us that the 113  
tabernacle "was set up in the midst of our uncleanness" (Lev. xvi. 16) that we may have wherewith to scour and wash away all that defiles our life, miserable and laden with ill fame as it is.

Let us consider, then, how he bade them contribute the ways and means needed for the building of the tabernacle. "The Lord spake unto Moses," it says, saying: "Speak to the sons of Israel and take ye for me first beginnings; from all who are so minded in their heart, ye shall take my first beginnings" (Ex. xxv. 1, 2). Here then also we have an exhortation not to 114  
take for ourselves but for God, closely considering who the Giver is and doing no damage to the gifts, but preserving them undamaged and faultless, aye perfect and complete. In this dedication of the beginnings to God Moses teaches us a high truth. For indeed the beginnings of things both material and immaterial are found to be by God only. Look 115  
well, if you would have knowledge, at each several kind, plants, living creatures, arts, sciences. What of the first beginnings of plants? Do they consist in the dropping of the seed by the farmer, or are they the invisible works of invisible nature?<sup>a</sup> What of the generation of men and the other animals? Are not the parents as it were the accessories, while nature is the original, the earliest and the real cause? So again with the arts and sciences. Is not nature 116  
the underlying fact, the fountain or root or foundation, or whatever name you give to the beginning

<sup>a</sup> For the identification of Nature with the Divine Agency in things *cf.* *De Sac.* 98 and note.

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when speaking of a single thing, *e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 138  
*ὡσπερ τις ἀρχὴ καὶ θεμέλιος.*

## PHILO

τι ἄλλο πρεσβυτέρας ὄνομα ἀρχῆς ὑπόκειται ἢ φύσις, ἢ πάντ' ἐποικοδομεῖται τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην θεωρήματα; φύσεως δὲ μὴ προϋποκειμένης ἀτελῆ τὰ πάντα. ἐνθένδε μοι δοκεῖ τις ὀρμηθεὶς εὐστόχως εἰπεῖν

ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἡμισυ παντός,

- ἀρχὴν αἰνιξάμενος τὴν φύσιν, ἣτις ὡσανεὶ ρίζα καταβέβληται πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου συναύξησιν, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ παντός ἀπένειμεν. XXIV.
- 117 εἰκότως οὖν τὸ λόγιον ἀνέθηκε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ ἡγεμόνι θεῷ. καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις "εἶπεν" φησὶν "κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· ἀγιάσόν μοι πᾶν πρωτότοκον, πρωτογενές, διανοῖγον πᾶσαν μήτραν ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους· ἐμοὶ
- 118 ἔστιν". ὥστε ἀνωμολογήσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων, ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ δυνάμει κτήματα θεοῦ, καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ πρωτογενῆ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πᾶν γένος ἀφθαρτον, δικαίως τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ προσνεμηθήσεται, καὶ εἴ τι καὶ συνόλως μήτραν διοιγνύει<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ λόγου,
- 119 ἕως κτήνους, αἰσθήσεώς τε καὶ σώματος. ὁ γὰρ διοιγνύς τὴν μήτραν ἐκάστων, τοῦ μὲν νοῦ πρὸς τὰς νοητὰς καταλήψεις, τοῦ δὲ λόγου πρὸς τὰς διὰ φωνῆς ἐνεργείας, τῶν δὲ αἰσθήσεων πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐγγινομένας φαντασίας, τοῦ δὲ σώματος πρὸς τὰς οἰκείους αὐτῷ σχέσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις ἀόρατος καὶ σπερματικὸς καὶ τεχνικὸς

<sup>1</sup> Wend. prints εἰ τις (Pap.) διοιγνύειν (Pap. and some mss.). He suggests *ds olós te kai* for *εἰ τις και* to preserve the infinitive.

<sup>a</sup> Apparently a proverbial saying already quoted in *Quod*

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 116-119

which precedes all else, and is not the lore of each science a superstructure built on nature, whereas if we do not start with this as a groundwork, all that lore is imperfect? It was this, I take it, which led someone to say so aptly

The beginning is half the whole.<sup>a</sup>

In these words the hidden meaning of "beginning" is nature, the underlying root as it were, the setting needed for growth in each case, to whose credit the writer assigned half the whole. XXIV. Not without reason then did the oracle dedicate "beginnings" to the great Leader, God. And elsewhere he says "The Lord spake unto Moses saying 'sanctify to me every first born, first in generation, which openeth every womb among the sons of Israel from man to beast. It is to Me'" (Ex. xiii. 1, 2). Thus it is admitted here also that the first in time and value are God's possessions and especially the first in generation.<sup>b</sup> For since genus in every case is indestructible, to the indestructible God will it be justly assigned. And that is true too of one who opens the womb of all from man, that is reason and speech, to beast, that is sense and body. For he that opens the womb of each of these, of mind, to mental apprehensions, of speech, to the activities of the voice, of the senses, to receive the pictures presented to it by objects, of the body, to the movements and postures proper to it, is the invisible, seminal artificer, the divine Word, 117 118 119

*Det. 64. Cf. Plato, Leg. vi. 753 ε, and the δσφ πλέον ἡμῶν παντός of Hesiod, Op. 40.*

<sup>b</sup> The -γενῆ in πρωτογενῆ is equated by Philo with γένος in its philosophical sense. The play cannot be well brought out in translation.

## PHILO

- θεῖός ἐστι λόγος, ὃς προσηκόντως ἀνακείσεται τῷ  
 120 πατρὶ. καὶ μὴν ὡςπερ αἱ ἀρχαὶ θεοῦ,  
 οὕτως καὶ τὰ τέλη θεοῦ. μάρτυς δὲ Μωυσῆς  
 προστάττων ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὸ τέλος τῷ  
 121 κυρίῳ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ. πῶς; φυτοῦ  
 μὲν ἀρχὴ σπέρμα, τέλος δ' ὁ καρπός, ἐκάτερον οὐ  
 γεωργίας, ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἔργον. πάλιν ἐπιστήμης  
 [490] ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡ φύσις, | ὡς ἐδείχθη, πέρας δ' οὐδ'  
 ἦλθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. τέλειος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν οὐδενὶ  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀψευδῶς αἱ τελειότητες  
 καὶ ἀκρότητες ἐνός εἰσι μόνου. φοροῦμεθ' οὖν  
 λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ τέλους καὶ ἀρχῆς μεθορίῳ,  
 μαθάνοντες, διδάσκοντες, γεωπονοῦντες, ἐργαζό-  
 μενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ὡς ἂν ἰδρῶντες,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα τι  
 122 καὶ γένησις πράττειν δοκῇ. γνωριμώτερον μέντοι  
 τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ τέλη κατὰ θεὸν ὡμολόγησεν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως εἰπὼν. “ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 ἐποίησε” καὶ πάλιν “συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν  
 123 οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.” νυνὶ μὲν οὖν  
 “λάβετε μοι” φησὶ διδοὺς τὰ πρέπονθ' ἑαυτῷ  
 καὶ προτρέπων τὰ δοθέντα μὴ κιβδηλεύειν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀξίως τοῦ δόντος φυλάττειν, αὐθις δ' ἐν ἑτέροις ὁ  
 μηδενὸς χρεῖος ὢν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λαμβάνων μηδὲν  
 ὁμολογήσει λαμβάνειν, ἔνεκα τοῦ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν  
 ἀλεῖψαι καὶ προθυμίαν ὁσιότητος ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ  
 πρὸς θεραπείαν ἀκουῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἀπο-  
 δεχομένου καὶ δεχομένου τὰς ψυχῆς ἐκουσίους  
 124 ἀρεσκείας καὶ γνησίους θεραπείας. “ἰδοὺ” γάρ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡσανεὶ δρῶντες (but Pap. ὡσαν ἰδρουντες).



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 119-124

which will be fitly dedicated to its Father.

And as the beginnings are God's, so also are the ends. 120

Moses testifies to this when he bids set apart and accord the end to the Lord (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.). And what happens in the world testifies to it also. How 121

so? you ask. In the plant the seed is the beginning and the fruit the end, and both are the work of nature, not of husbandry. Again in science, the beginning,

as has been shewn, is nature, but its limit is actually outside the range of human possibilities. For no

one reaches perfection in any of his pursuits, but undoubtedly all perfection and finality belong to One alone. And so we are fain<sup>a</sup> to range in the border-

land between beginning and end, learning, teaching, tilling, and whatever work we carry on, labouring

with the sweat of our brow, as it were, that the mere creature may seem to accomplish something. Still 122

more clearly indeed does Moses acknowledge that beginnings and ends are willed by God, when he says in the creation-story, "In the beginning He made" (Gen. i. 1), and afterwards, "God finished the heavens and the earth" (Gen. ii. 1, 2).

And so in the text we are treating, He says "take 123

ye for Me," thus giving to Himself what is His due and bidding us not to adulterate the gifts, but

guard them in a way worthy of the Giver. And again elsewhere, He that has no need of aught and therefore takes nothing will acknowledge that He

"takes," in order to train us to piety, and to implant a zeal for holiness, and to spur us to His service, as

one who welcomes and accepts the free-will homage and genuine service of the soul. For He says "be- 124

<sup>a</sup> This is an idiomatic use of *λοιπόν*, "it is left to us," "we have to." Thus it almost = "therefore."

## PHILO

φησιν “ εἴληφα τοὺς Λευίτας ἀντὶ παντὸς πρωτοτόκου διανοίγοντος μήτραν παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ· λύτρα αὐτῶν ἔσονται.” οὐκοῦν λαμβάνομεν καὶ δίδομεν, ἀλλὰ κυρίως μὲν λαμβάνομεν, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ δίδοναι λεγόμεθα δι’ ἧς αἰτίας εἶπον. εὐθυβόλως δὲ λύτρα ὠνόμασε τοὺς Λευίτας· εἰς ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐξαιρεῖται τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς τὸ πρόσφυγα καὶ ἰκέτην γενέσθαι θεοῦ. τοῦτο δ’ ἡ ἱερωμένη φυλὴ Λευιτῶν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

- 125 XXV. Λελαληκότες οὖν τὰ πρόποντα περὶ τούτων ἀναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπερεθέμεθα γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ὀφειλόντων ἀκριβωθῆναι. “ λάβε μοι ” φησί “ δάμαλι ” ἄζυγα καὶ ἀκάκωτον, ἀπαλὴν ἔτι καὶ νέαν καὶ σφριγῶσαν, ἠνιόχησιν καὶ παιδείαν καὶ ἐπιστάσιαν εὐμαρῶς δέξασθαι δυναμένην ψυχὴν· “ λάβε μοι κριόν,” λόγον ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ τέλειον, ἰκανὸν μὲν τὰ σοφίσματα τῶν ἀντιδοξούντων ἀνατεμεῖν τε καὶ λῦσαι, ἰκανὸν δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν τῷ χρωμένῳ
- 126 περιποιῆσαι· “ λάβε μοι ” καὶ τὴν ἄπτουσαν<sup>1</sup> αἰσθησιν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, “ αἶγα,” πάντα “ τριετίζοντα,” κατ’ ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγέντα, ἀρχὴν μεσότητα τελευτὴν ἔχοντα· πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> mss. *διάγουσαν* (but Pap. *διπτουσαν*). Why not *διᾶπτουσαν*, as Mangey before the discovery of Pap. suggested? This would still preserve the derivation of *αἶξ* from *ᾶττ*- which Philo obviously intends.

<sup>a</sup> “ Ransom ” (*cf. De Sac.* 118) does not appear in the Hebrew (E.V. “ The Levites shall be mine ”).

<sup>b</sup> Clearly, to suit the heifer, *ψυχή* must here be used in the limited sense of the mind or reasonable soul; yet in § 122 it is divided into reasonable and unreasonable. So, too, with

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 124-126

hold, I have taken the Levites in place of everyone who opens the womb from among the sons of Israel ; they shall be their ransom " (Num. iii. 12). So then we take and give, but in the full sense of the word we take only ; it is by a license of language that we are said to give, for the reasons which I have mentioned. Note that He gives the Levites a correct name in calling them " ransom." <sup>a</sup> For nothing so well redeems the mind to freedom, as to take refuge with God and become His suppliant. And such is the profession of the consecrated tribe of Levi.

XXV. We have said what was fitting on these points. 125  
Let us now return to the original subject, for we postponed much of what requires precise discussion. Take for me, it says, a " heifer " unyoked, undamaged, tender, young and fresh in spirit, a soul, <sup>b</sup> that is, which can easily receive guidance and instruction and ruling ; " take for me a ram," that is speech active in argument and fully developed, competent to analyse and refute the sophisms of controversialists and to provide its possessor with a safe and well-ordered life ; <sup>c</sup> take for me also the sense that dashes and darts on 126  
to the sensible world, the she-goat that is ; and take them all three years old, that is, formed according to the perfect number with beginning, middle and end. And further take for

the ram and the goat. By definition they correspond to the good side of *λόγος* and *αίσθησις*, but in § 132 are divided into good and bad. See also on § 225.

<sup>c</sup> Rhetoric is here conceived of as a means of defending the innocent, and therefore a safeguard against injustice. But there is also an allusion to the thought developed in *De Mut.* 246, that the sheep is the best of animals because its wool provides man with protection from the weather and decent covering (*ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον*).

PHILO

- δὲ τούτοις “ τρυγὸνα καὶ περιστερὰν;” τὴν τε θείαν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν, πτηνὰς μὲν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἄνω πηδᾶν μεμελετηκυίας, διαφερούσας δ’ ἀλλήλων, ἣ διαφέρει γένος εἶδους ἢ
- 127 μίμημα ἀρχετύπου. φιλέρημος μὲν γὰρ ἡ θεία  
[491] σοφία, διὰ τὸν μόνον θεόν, | οὐ κτήμᾶ ἐστι, τὴν μόνωσιν ἀγαπῶσα—συμβολικῶς αὕτη τρυγὸν καλεῖται—, ἡμερος δὲ καὶ τιθασὸς καὶ ἀγελαῖος ἡ ἑτέρα, τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἄσθη περιπολοῦσα καὶ διαίτη τῇ μετὰ θνητῶν ἀσμενίζουσα· περιστερᾶ ταύτην
- 128 ἀπεικάζουσιν. XXVI. ταύτας μοι δοκεῖ τὰς ἀρετὰς Μωυσῆς αἰνιξάμενος μαίας Ἑβραίων ὀνομάσαι Σεπφώραν τε καὶ Φουάν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὄρνιθιον, Φουὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὸν ἐρμηνεύεται. τῆς μὲν οὖν θείας ἐπιστήμης ὄρνιθος τρόπον τὸ αἰεὶ μετεωροπολεῖν ἴδιον, τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐμποιεῖν, ὧν τὸ ἐρυθριᾶν ἐφ’ οἷς ἄξιον
- 129 δεῖγμα ἐναργέστατον. “ ἔλαβεν δὲ ” φησὶν “ αὐτῷ πάντα ταῦτα.” τοῦτ’ ἔπαινός ἐστι τοῦ σπουδαίου, τὴν ἱερὰν ὧν ἔλαβε παρακαταθήκην, ψυχῆς, αἰσθήσεως, λόγου, θείας σοφίας, ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιστήμης, καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδόλως μὴ ἑαυτῷ, μόνω δὲ τῷ πεπιστευκότι φυλάξαντος.
- 130 εἰτ’ ἐπιλέγει· “ διεῖλεν αὐτὰ μέσα,” τὸ τίς μὴ προστιθείς, ἵνα τὸν ἄδεικτον ἐννοῆς θεὸν τέμνοντα τὰς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξῆς ἀπάσας ἡρμόσθαι καὶ ἠνώσθαι δοκούσας φύσεις τῷ τομῆι τῶν συμπάντων ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ, ὃς εἰς τὴν ὄξυτάτην ἀκονηθεὶς ἀκμὴν διαιρῶν

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 126-130

me a turtle-dove and a pigeon, that is divine and human reason, both of them winged creatures, skilled by practice to speed upwards, yet differing from each other, as the genus differs from the species, or the copy from the archetype. For Divine wisdom 127 is a lover of solitudes, since loneliness is dear to her because of the solitary God who is her owner, and thus in parable she is called the turtle-dove. The other is gentle and tame and sociable, frequenting the cities of men and pleased to dwell with mortals. Men liken her to a pigeon. XXVI. These virtues 128 Moses, I think, spoke of in allegory when he named the midwives of the Hebrews, Zipporah and Phuah (Ex. i. 15), for Zipporah is by interpretation "bird" and Phuah "ruddy." It is a special property of divine wisdom that it ever soars aloft like a bird, of human wisdom that it implants modesty and discretion; and a blush, where the matter calls for blushing, is the clearest proof of the presence of these qualities. "Abraham took all 129 these for Him" (Gen. xv. 10) says the text. These words speak the praise of the man of worth who faithfully and honestly guards the sacred trust, which he has received of soul, sense, and speech, of divine wisdom and human knowledge, but guards it not for himself, but solely for Him who gave the trust. Then he continues, "he divided 130 them in the middle," but he does not add who this "he" is. He wishes you to think of God who cannot be shewn, as severing through the Severer of all things, that is his Word, the whole succession of things material and immaterial whose natures appear to us to be knitted together and united. That severing Word whetted to an edge of utmost

## PHILO

- 131 οὐδέποτε λήγει. τὰ γὰρ αἰσθητὰ πάντα ἐπειδὴν  
 μέχρι τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ λεγομένων ἡμερῶν διεξέλθη,  
 πάλιν ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ λόγῳ θεωρητὰ εἰς ἀμυθήτους  
 καὶ ἀπεριγράφους μοίρας ἄρχεται διαιρεῖν οὗτος ὁ  
 τομεύς, καὶ “τὰ πέταλα τοῦ χρυσίου τέμνει  
 τρίχας,” ὡς φησι Μωυσῆς, εἰς μῆκος ἀπλατῆς
- 132 ἀσωμάτοις γραμμαῖς ἐμφερές. ἕκαστον  
 οὖν τῶν τριῶν διεῖλε μέσον, τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν εἰς  
 λογικὸν καὶ ἄλογον, τὸν δὲ λόγον εἰς ἀληθές τε  
 καὶ ψεῦδος, τὴν δὲ αἴσθησιν εἰς καταληπτικὴν  
 φαντασίαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· ἅπερ εὐθὺς τμήματα  
 “ἀντιπρόσωπα τίθησιν ἀλλήλοις,” λογικὸν ἄλογον,  
 ἀληθές ψεῦδος, καταληπτὸν ἀκατάληπτον, ἀπο-  
 λιπῶν τὰ πτηνὰ ἀδιαίρετα· τὰς γὰρ ἀσωμάτους  
 καὶ θείας ἐπιστήμας εἰς μαχομένας ἐναντιότητας  
 ἀδύνατον τέμνεσθαι.
- 133 XXVII. Πολὺν δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὄντα λόγον  
 τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰς ἴσα τομῆς καὶ περὶ ἐναντιοτήτων  
 οὔτε παρήσομεν οὔτε μηκυνοῦμεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔστιν  
 ἐπιτέμνοντες ἀρκεσθησόμεθα μόνοις τοῖς καιρίοις.
- [492] καθάπερ | γὰρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ μέλη μέσα  
 διεῖλεν ὁ τεχνίτης, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς
- 134 οὐσίαν, ἥνικα τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργει. λαβὼν  
 γὰρ αὐτὴν ἥρξατο διαιρεῖν ὧδε· δύο τὸ πρῶτον  
 ἐποίει τμήματα, τό τε βαρὺ καὶ κοῦφον, τὸ παχυ-  
 μερές ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτομεροῦς διακρίνων· εἴθ’  
 ἑκάτερον πάλιν διαιρεῖ, τὸ μὲν λεπτομερές εἰς  
 αἶρα καὶ πῦρ, τὸ δὲ παχυμερές εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν,  
 ἃ καὶ στοιχεῖα αἰσθητὰ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου, ὡσανεὶ
- 135 θεμελίους, προκατεβάλετο. πάλιν δὲ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ

<sup>a</sup> καταληπτικός and καταληπτός seem to be convertible

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 131-135

sharpness never ceases to divide. For when it has 131 dealt with all sensible objects down to the atoms and what we call "indivisibles," it passes on from them to the realm of reason's observation and proceeds to divide it into a vast and infinite number of parts. It divides the "plates of gold," as Moses tells us, "into hairs" (Ex. xxxvii. 10), that is into length without breadth, like immaterial lines. So it 132

divided each of the three in the middle, the soul into rational and irrational, speech into true and false, sense into presentations, where the object is real and apprehended, and presentations where it is not.<sup>a</sup> These sections He at once placed "opposite to each other," rational to irrational, true to false, apprehending to non-apprehending. The birds He left undivided, for incorporeal and divine forms of knowledge cannot be divided into conflicting opposites.

XXVII. The subject of division into equal parts 133 and of opposites is a wide one, and discussion of it essential. We will neither omit nor protract it, but abridge it as far as possible and content ourselves with the vital points only. Just as the great Artificer divided our soul and limbs in the middle, so too, when He wrought the world, did He deal with the being of all that is. This He took and began to 134 divide as follows. First He made two sections, heavy and light, thus distinguishing the element of dense from that of rare particles. Then again He divided each of these two, the rare into air and fire, the dense into water and land, and these four He laid down as first foundations, to be the sensible elements of the sensible world. Again He made 135

terms, since the mind may be conceived of as grasping the *φαντασία* or *vice versa*. See further App. p. 569.

## PHILO

- κοῦφον καθ' ἑτέρας ἔτεμνεν ἰδέας, τὸ μὲν κοῦφον  
 εἰς ψυχρὸν τε καὶ θερμὸν—ἐπεφήμισε δὲ τὸ μὲν  
 ψυχρὸν ἀέρα, τὸ δὲ θερμὸν φύσει πῦρ—, τὸ δὲ βαρὺ  
 εἰς ὑγρὸν τε αὖ καὶ ξηρὸν· ἐκάλεσε δὲ τὸ μὲν ξηρὸν  
 136 γῆν, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ. ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων ἄλλας  
 τομὰς ἐδέχετο· γῆ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἠπείρους καὶ νήσους  
 διηρείτο, ὕδωρ δὲ εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ  
 ὄσον πότιμον <καὶ οὐ πότιμον><sup>1</sup>, ἀήρ δὲ εἰς τὰς  
 θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος τροπὰς, πῦρ δὲ εἰς τὸ χρειῶδες  
 —ἄπληστον δ' ἔστι καὶ φθαρτικὸν τοῦτο—καὶ κατὰ  
 τούναντίον εἰς τὸ σωτήριον, ὅπερ εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ  
 137 σύστασιν ἀπεκληροῦτο. ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ  
 ὄλοσχερῆ, οὕτω καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἔτεμνεν, ὧν τὰ  
 μὲν ἄψυχα, τὰ δ' ἔμψυχα ἦν· καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων τὰ  
 μὲν ἐν ταυτῷ μένοντα, ὧν δεσμὸς ἕξις, τὰ δ' οὐ  
 μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλ' αὐξητικῶς κινούμενα, ἃ φύσις  
 ἢ ἀφάνταστος ἐζώου· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀγρίας  
 ὕλης οἰστικά ἀγρίων καρπῶν, οἱ τροφή θηρίοις  
 εἰσίν, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρου, ὧν γεωργία τὴν προ-  
 στασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔλαχε· τίκτει δὲ καρποὺς  
 τῷ πάντων ἡμερωτάτῳ ζώων πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν,  
 138 ἀνθρώπῳ. καὶ μὴν ὄν τρόπον τὰ ἄψυχα, καὶ τὰ  
 ψυχῆς μεμοιραμένα διήρει—τούτων γὰρ ἐν μὲν  
 ἀλόγων, ἐν δὲ λογικῶν ἀπέκρινεν εἶδος—καὶ λαβῶν  
 ἐκάτερον πάλιν ἔτεμνεν τὸ μὲν ἄλογον εἰς ἀτίθασόν

<sup>1</sup> <καὶ οὐ πότιμον> is my insertion. Cf. *De Som.* i. 18 in a similar discussion, καὶ τὸ μὲν πότιμον, τὸ δ' οὐ πότιμον. A triple division into sea, rivers, and drinkable is not very reasonable.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 569.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 135-138

a second division of heavy and light on different principles. He divided the light into cold and hot, giving to the cold the name of air and to the naturally hot the name of fire. The heavy He divided into wet and dry, and He called the dry "land" and the wet "water." Each of these was subjected to 136 further dissections. Land was divided into continents and islands, water into sea and rivers and into drinkable and undrinkable, air into the changes which mark summer and winter, and fire into the merely useful variety, which is also voracious and destructive, and on the other hand the preservative variety which was set apart to form the heaven.<sup>a</sup>

Just as He divided the main con- 137  
stituents of the universe, so did He also with their subdivisions. These are partly living and partly lifeless. Among the lifeless some remain in the same place, held together by the tie of "cohesion"<sup>b</sup>; others move by expansion, without changing their position, vitalized by a natural and unconscious<sup>c</sup> growth, and among them, those which are of wild stuff produce wild fruits, which serve for food to the beasts of the field. Others are of a stuff which admits of cultivation, the management of which is a charge allotted to husbandry, and these produce fruits for the enjoyment of the animal most removed from the wild, that is man. Further, as He had divided the 138  
lifeless, so did He with those which participate in life, distinguishing one species as rational, the other as irrational. Then again He split up each of these. The irrational He divided into the domesticated

<sup>b</sup> See note on *Leg. All.* ii. 22, and the fuller explanation both of *ἔξις* and *φύσις* in this sense in *Quod Deus* 35 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Or "incapable of receiving impressions"; cf. *De Op.* 13, *De Plant.* 13.

## PHILO

- τε καὶ χειρόηθες εἶδος, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν εἰς ἀφθαρτόν  
 139 τε καὶ θνητόν. καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ δύο μοίρας εἰργά-  
 ζετο, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὴν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπ-  
 εφήμισε. καὶ κατ' ἄλλον μὲν[τοι]<sup>1</sup> τρόπον τὸ ζῶον  
 εἰς ἄρρεν ἔτεμνε καὶ θῆλυ, ἐδέχετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλας  
 ἀναγκαίας τομάς, αἱ διέστελλον πτηνὰ μὲν χερ-  
 σαίων, χερσαῖα δὲ ἐνύδρων, ἐνυδρα δὲ ἀμφοῖν τῶν  
 140 ἄκρων. οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἀκονησάμενος τὸν τομέα  
 τῶν συμπάντων αὐτοῦ λόγον διήρει τὴν τε ἄμορφον  
 καὶ ἄποιον τῶν ὅλων οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπο-  
 κριθέντα τέτταρα τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ διὰ  
 τούτων παγέντα ζῶα τε αὐτὰ καὶ φυτά.
- 141 XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ μόνον φησὶ “διεῖλεν,”  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ “μέσα διεῖλεν,” ἀναγκαῖον κἄν ὀλίγα  
 περὶ τῶν ἴσων τμημάτων ὑπομνήσαι. τὸ μὲν  
 [493] γὰρ ἄκρως κατὰ μέσον | διαιρεθὲν ἴσα ἀποτελεῖ  
 142 τμήματα. ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς δύναται  
 ἀκριβῶς ἂν ποτε εἰς ἴσα διελεῖν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη  
 τῶν τμημάτων τὸ ἕτερον ἐνδεῖν ἢ περιττεύειν, καὶ  
 εἰ μὴ μείζονι, ἀλλὰ τοι βραχεῖ μέρει πάντως, ὃ  
 τάχα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκφεύγει τοῖς ἀδρομερεστέροις  
 ἐκ φύσεως καὶ ἔθους προσβάλλουσιν ὄγκοις, τοὺς  
 δὲ ἀτόμους καὶ ἀμερεῖς καταλαβεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσαν.
- 143 ἰσότητος δὲ οὐδέν γενητόν<sup>2</sup> αἴτιον ἀδεκάστῳ λόγῳ  
 τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρίσκεται. εἰσὶν οὖν ὁ θεὸς μόνος  
 ἀκριβοδίκαιος εἶναι καὶ μέσα μόνος δύνασθαι  
 διαιρεῖν τὰ τε σώματα καὶ πράγματα, ὡς μηδὲν

<sup>1</sup> Wend.'s text retains μέντοι and places a colon after θῆλυ, thus making an antithesis between the sex-division of mankind and that of animals as a whole, which seems not very reasonable. Possibly also ἐτέμνε<το>.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἴσον (Pap. ηττον).

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 138-143

and undomesticated, and the rational into immortal and mortal. Of the mortal He made two portions, 139 one of which He named men, the other women. And while following one principle<sup>a</sup> He split up the animal kingdom as a whole into male and female, it was also subjected to other necessary partitions, which distinguished the winged from land animals, these from the aquatic, the last named being inter- 140 mediate to the other two. Thus God sharpened the edge of his all-cutting Word, and divided universal being, which before was without form or quality, and the four elements of the world which were formed by segregation from it, and the animals and plants which were framed with them as materials.

XXVIII. But the text not only says "He divided" 141 but also "He divided them in the middle"; and it is therefore necessary to make a few remarks on the subject of equal sections, for when anything is divided exactly in the middle it produces equal sections. Now no man can divide anything into 142 equal sections with exactitude, but one of the sections is sure to be either less or greater than the other. Even if there is no great difference, there must always be a small one which easily eludes our perception, which by nature and habit establishes contact with masses of greater volume, but is unable to grasp those which do not admit of partition or division. No created thing is found to produce equality 143 if tested by the unprejudiced standard of truth. It seems, then, that God alone is exact in judgement and alone is able to "divide in the middle" things material and immaterial, in such a way that no

<sup>a</sup> Or "on another principle," if Wend.'s text and punctuation is followed. See critical note.

## PHILO

τῶν τμημάτων μηδ' ἀκαρεῖ καὶ ἀμερεῖ τινι πλεόν  
 ἢ ἔλαττον γενέσθαι, τῆς δ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἄκρας  
 144 ἰσότητος μεταλαχεῖν ἰσχύσαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴσον  
 μίαν εἶχεν ἰδέαν, ἰκανῶς ἂν τὰ λεχθέντα εἴρητο,  
 πλείονων δ' οὐσῶν οὐκ ἀποκνητέον τὰ ἀρμόττοντα  
 προσθεῖναι. λέγεται γὰρ ἴσον καθ' ἓνα  
 μὲν τρόπον ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ὡς δύο δυσὶ καὶ τρία τρισὶ  
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταύτῃ, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ἐν μεγέθεσιν,  
 ὧν μήκη, πλάτη, βάθη, διαστάσεις εἰσὶν, παλαιστῆς  
 γὰρ παλαιστῆ καὶ πήχει πήχυς ἴσα μεγέθει·  
 δυνάμει δὲ ἔστιν ἄλλα, ὡς τὰ ἐν σταθμοῖς καὶ  
 145 μέτροις. ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἔστιν ἰσότητος  
 ἰδέα καὶ ἡ διὰ ἀναλογίας, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα  
 τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ βραχέα τοῖς μείζουσιν ἴσα  
 νενόμισται· ἢ καὶ πόλεις ἐπὶ καιρῶν εἰώθασι  
 χρῆσθαι κελεύουσαι τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας εἰσφέρειν, οὐ δήπου ἐν ἀριθμῷ,  
 ἀλλ' ἀναλογία τοῦ περὶ τὸν κληρὸν<sup>1</sup> τιμήματος,  
 ὥστ' ὁ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν εἰσενεγκῶν τῷ τὸ τάλαντον  
 εἰσενεγκόντι δόξαι ἂν ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὸ ἴσον.

146 XXIX. τούτων προϋποτυπωθέντων  
 ἴδε πῶς μέσα διελῶν ἴσα διεῖλε κατὰ πάσας τὰς  
 ἰσότητος ἰδέας ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ γενέσει.  
 ἀριθμῷ μὲν οὖν ἴσα τὰ βαρέα τοῖς κούφοις ἔτεμνε,  
 δύο δυσὶ, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, τὰ βάρος ἔχοντα, τοῖς  
 φύσει κούφοις, ἀέρι καὶ πυρί, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐνί, τὸ  
 μὲν ξηρότατον τῷ ὑγροτάτῳ, γῆν ὕδατι, τὸ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> mss. and Pap. καιρὸν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 569.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 570.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 143-146

section is greater or less than another by even an infinitesimal difference, and each can partake of the equality which is absolute and plenary. Now if 144 equality had only one form, what has been said would be enough ; but as it has several forms we must not shrink from adding what is fitting.

The term " equal " is applied in one way to numbers, as when we say that two is equal to two, and three to three, and the same with other numbers. It is applied in another way to magnitudes, the dimensions of which are lengths, breadths and depths. For one handbreadth is equal to another handbreadth and one cubit to another cubit in magnitude. Other things again are equal in capacity or force, as is the case with weights and measures of content.<sup>a</sup>

One essential form of equality is the proportional, in 145 which the few are regarded as equal to the many, and the small to the greater.<sup>b</sup> This is often employed by states on special occasions when they order each citizen to make an equal contribution from his property, not of course numerically equal, but equal in the sense that it is proportionate to the valuation of his estate, so that one who had paid 100 drachmas might be considered to have given a sum equal to one who paid a talent.

XXIX. In 146 the light of this preliminary sketch, observe how God in " dividing in the middle," actually did divide equally according to all the forms of equality, when he created the universe. First, as to equality of number he made the light parts equal in number to the heavy parts, earth and water which are heavy being two, and fire and air which are naturally light being two also. Again by this division we have one and one in the driest and the wettest, that is earth

## PHILO

- ψυχρότατον τῷ θερμοτάτῳ, πυρὶ ἀέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 δὲ τρόπον καὶ σκότος φωτὶ καὶ ἡμέραν νυκτὶ καὶ  
 χειμῶνι θέρος καὶ ἔαρι μετόπωρον καὶ ὅσα τούτων  
 147 συγγενῆ· μεγέθει δ' ἴσα ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν τοὺς  
 παραλλήλους κύκλους, τοὺς τε ἰσημερινούς, ἔαρινόν  
 καὶ μετοπωρινόν, καὶ τοὺς τροπικούς, θερινόν τε  
 καὶ χειμερινόν, ἐπὶ γῆς δὲ ζώνας, δύο μὲν ἴσας  
 ἀλλήλαις, αἱ πρὸς τοῖς πόλοις εἰσὶ κατεψυγμέναι  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀοίκητοι, δύο δὲ τὰς μεθορίους  
 τούτων τε καὶ τῆς διακεκαυμένης, ἃς δι' εὐκρασίαν  
 φασὶν οἰκεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τοῖς νοτίοις, τὴν  
 148 δὲ πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις κειμένην. μήκει  
 δ' ἴσα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ χρόνου διαστήματα, ἡ μεγίστη  
 [494] ἡμέρα τῇ μεγίστῃ νυκτὶ καὶ πάλιν ἡ | βραχυτάτῃ  
 τῇ βραχυτάτῃ καὶ ἡ μέση τῇ μέσῃ. τὰ δὲ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν ἴσα μεγέθη μάλιστα  
 149 μηνύειν αἱ ἰσημερίαι δοκοῦσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς  
 ἔαρινῆς ἄχρι θερινῶν τροπῶν ἡ μὲν ἡμέρα πρόσθεσιν,  
 ἡ δὲ νύξ ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεται, ἕως ἂν ἡ τε μεγίστη  
 ἡμέρα καὶ βραχυτάτῃ νύξ ἀποτελεσθῶσιν· ἀπὸ δὲ  
 θερινῶν τροπῶν ἀνακάμπτων ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν  
 ὁδὸν οὔτε θάττον οὔτε βραδύτερον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ  
 αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα διαστήματα, τάχισιν  
 ἴσοις χρώμενος μέχρι τῆς μετοπωρινῆς ἰσημερίας  
 ἔρχεται, καὶ ἴσην ἀποτελέσας ἡμέραν νυκτὶ παρ-  
 αύξειν ἄρχεται τὴν νύκτα μειῶν τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρι  
 150 χειμερινῆς τροπῆς· καὶ ὅταν ἀποτελέσῃ νύκτα μὲν  
 μεγίστην, ἡμέραν δὲ βραχυτάτην, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
 πάλιν διαστήματα ἀνακάμπτων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔαρινὴν  
 ἰσημερίαν ἀφικνεῖται. οὕτως τὰ χρόνων διαστή-

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 146-150

and water, and in the coldest and the hottest, that is air and fire. In the same way we have one and one in darkness and light, in day and night, in winter and summer, in spring and autumn, and in the other examples of the same nature. For equality of magnitude, He gave us the parallel circles in heaven, those of the equinox in spring and autumn, and those of the solstice in summer and winter, while on earth there are the zones, two of which are equal to each other, namely those which adjoin the poles, frigid and therefore uninhabited, and two which are bordered by the last named and the torrid zone, these two habitable, as we are told, because of their temperate climate, one of them on the south side and the other on the north. The time intervals, 148 too, are equal in length, the longest day to the longest day and the shortest to the shortest and the two which come half-way to each other. And equality in magnitude in the other days and nights is shewn particularly well in the equinoxes. For from the 149 spring equinox to the summer solstice something is continually taken from the night and added to the day, until the longest day and shortest night are finally reached. And after the summer solstice the sun turns back along the same course, moving neither quicker nor slower, but with the same unchanging intervals, and thus maintaining equal speed it reaches the autumn equinox, and after completing the equality of day and night begins to increase the night and diminish the day until the winter solstice. And when it has brought the night to its longest and 150 the day to its shortest, it turns back again observing the same intervals and arrives at the spring equinox. In this way the time intervals, though they seem to

## PHILO

ματα ἄνισα εἶναι δοκοῦντα ἰσότητος τῆς κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐν οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀλλ' ἐν διαφορούσαις τοῦ ἔτους ὥραις μεταποιεῖται. XXX.

- 151 τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῶν ζώων καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων θεωρεῖται. ποὺς γὰρ ποδὶ καὶ χεὶρ χεὶρὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα ἴσα μεγέθει, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῖς κατ' εὐώνυμα.

τὰ δ' ἴσα δυνάμει πάμπολλά ἐστὶν ἐν τε ξηροῖς καὶ ὑγροῖς, ὧν ἡ ἐπὶ κρισις ἐν μέτροις καὶ πλάστιγξι καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις θεωρεῖται.

- 152 Ἐναλογία δὲ σχεδὸν τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ἴσα, μικρά τε αὐ καὶ μεγάλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ. λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀκριβέστατα περὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐξητακότες, ὅτι ἀναλογία μὲν ἴσα τὰ τέτταρα στοιχειᾶ ἐστὶν, ἀναλογία δὲ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας κραθεὶς τὸ ἴσον ἐκάστω τῶν μερῶν ἀπονεμούσῃ συνέστη τε

- 153 καὶ συσταθεὶς εἰς ἅπαν διαμένει· καὶ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς μέντοι τέτταρα, ξηρόν, ὑγρόν, ψυχρόν τε αὐ καὶ θερμόν, τὴν δι' ἀναλογίας ἰσότητα κερασαμένην ἀρμόσασθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο <ἡμᾶς><sup>1</sup> ἢ κρᾶσιν εἶναι τῶν τεσσάρων δυνάμεων ἀναλογίας ἰσότητι κρα-

- 154 θεισῶν. XXXI. ἐπιὼν δέ τις ἕκαστα μῆκος ἂν ἄπειρον τῷ λόγῳ δύναιτ' ἂν περιθεῖναι. τὰ <γὰρ> βραχύτατα ζῶα τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀναλογία σκοπῶν ἴσα ἂν εὖροι, ὡς χελιδόνα ἀετῷ καὶ τρίγλαν κήτει καὶ μύρμηκα ἐλέφαντι. καὶ γὰρ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ πάθη, ἀλγηδόνες τε καὶ ἡδοναί, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἰκειώσεις καὶ ἀλλοτριώσεις καὶ ὅσα ζώων

<sup>1</sup> ἡμᾶς is absent from the mss., but Pap. has *ητιαιαν*.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 150-154

be unequal, may lay claim to equality of magnitude, not indeed at the same, but at different seasons of the year. XXX. Much the same may 151 be observed in the parts of living animals, particularly of men. For one foot or one hand is equal in magnitude to the other and in almost all cases the same holds that the right side is equal to the left.

As for equality in force or capacity there is a host of examples in both wet and dry substances, of which we form our estimate by means of measures of content, balances and the like.

As for proportional equality, we find it practically 152 in everything great or small, throughout the whole world. Those who have most carefully examined the facts of nature say that the four elements are proportionally equal, and that the whole world received and retains for ever its frame, through being compounded according to this same proportion, which assigned an equal measure to each of the parts. They tell us, too, that our four constituents, dry, wet, 153 cold and hot, have been mixed and harmonized by proportional equality and that we are nothing more than a compound of the four factors mixed on this principle. XXXI. If we went into each case, we 154 could prolong the consideration of the subject to infinity. For we should find on observation that the smallest animals are proportionally equal to the largest, as the swallow to the eagle, the mullet to the whale, and the ant to the elephant. For their body, soul<sup>a</sup> and feelings, whether of pain or pleasure, and also their affinities and their aversions and every other sensation of which animal nature is capable,

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* their *φαντασία* and *ὄμμα*; see *Leg. All.* ii. 23. Perhaps "consciousness" or "animal nature."

## PHILO

- φύσις χωρεῖ, πάντα σχεδόν ἔστιν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ  
 155 τῆς ἀναλογίας ἰσούμενα κανόνι. οὕτως ἐθάρρησαν  
 ἔνιοι καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τὸ βραχύτατον ζῶον,  
 ἄνθρωπον, ἴσον ἀποφῆναι κατιδόντες ὅτι ἐκάτερον  
 ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καθέστηκε λογικῆς, ὥστε  
 καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες βραχὺν μὲν κόσμον τὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον, μέγαν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔφασαν τὸν κόσμον  
 156 εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ δι-  
 δάσκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγνώσαν ὅτι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ τέχνη,  
 [1495] καθ' ἣν | ἐδημιούργει τὰ σύμπαντα, οὔτε ἐπίτασιν  
 οὔτε ἄνεσιν δεχομένη, μένουσα δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀκρότητα τελείως ἕκαστον τῶν  
 ὄντων δεδημιούργηκε, πάσιν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ πάσαις  
 ταῖς πρὸς τελειότητα ἰδέαις καταχρησαμένου τοῦ  
 157 πεποιηκότος. XXXII. “κατὰ γὰρ τὸν μικρὸν  
 καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν,” ὡς φησι Μωυσῆς, ἔκρινε  
 γεννῶν καὶ σχηματίζων ἕκαστα, μήτε δι' ἀφάνειαν  
 ὕλης ὑφελών τι τοῦ τεχνικοῦ μήτε διὰ λαμπρότητα  
 158 προσθείς· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῶν τεχνιτῶν εἰσι δόκιμοι,  
 ἃς ἂν παραλάβωσιν ὕλας, εἴτε πολυτελεῖς εἶεν  
 εἴτε καὶ εὐτελέσταται, δημιουργεῖν ἐθέλουσιν  
 ἐπαινετῶς. ἤδη δὲ τινες καὶ προσφιλοκαλοῦντες  
 τὰ ἐν ταῖς εὐτελεστέραις οὐσίαις τεχνικώτερα τῶν  
 ἐν ταῖς πολυτελέσιν εἰργάσαντο βουλευθέντες προσ-  
 θήκη τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην ἐνδέον  
 159 ἐπαισιῶσαι. τίμιον δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ὕλαις παρὰ θεῷ·  
 διὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέδωκε πᾶσι τέχνης ἐξ ἴσου. παρὸ  
 καὶ ἐν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς λέγεται· “εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ  
 πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν,” τὰ δὲ τοῦ

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 570.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 154-159

are with hardly an exception alike when equalized by the rule of proportion. On this principle some have ventured to affirm that the tiny animal man is equal to the whole world, because each consists of body and reasonable soul, and thus they declare that man is a small world and alternatively the world a great man.

This pronouncement of theirs is not wide of the mark. They judge that the master art of God by which He wrought all things is one that admits of no heightening or lowering of intensity<sup>a</sup> but always remains the same and that through its transcendent excellence it has wrought in perfection each thing that is, every number and every form that tends to perfectness being used to the full by the Maker. XXXII. For He judged equally about the little and the great, to use Moses' words (Deut. i. 17), when He generated and shaped each thing, nor was He led by the insignificance of the material to diminish, or by its splendour to increase, the art which He applied. For all craftsmen of repute, whatever materials they use, whether they be costly or of the cheapest, wish so to use them, that their work shall be worthy of praise. In fact people have been known to produce a higher class of work with the cheaper than with the more costly substances; their feeling for beauty was enhanced<sup>b</sup> and by additional science they wished to compensate for inferiority of material. But with God no kind of material is held in honour, and therefore He bestowed upon them all the same art, and in equal measure. And so in the holy Scriptures we read, "God saw all things which He had made and behold, they were very good" (Gen. i.

<sup>b</sup> Probably a reminiscence of the *φιλοκαλούμεν μετ' εὐτελείας* of Thuc. ii. 40.

## PHILO

- αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντα ἐπαίνου παρὰ τῷ ἐπαινοῦντι
- 160 πάντως ἐστὶν ἰσότημα. ἐπήνεσε δὲ ὁ θεὸς οὐ τὴν δημιουργηθεῖσαν ὕλην, τὴν ἄψυχον καὶ πλημμελῆ καὶ διαλυτὴν, ἔτι δὲ φθαρτὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀνώμαλόν τε καὶ ἄνισον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τεχνικὰ ἔργα κατὰ μίαν ἴσῃν καὶ ὁμαλὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὁμοίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποτελεσθέντα. παρὸ καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀναλογίας κανόνισιν ἴσα καὶ ὅμοια πάντα πᾶσιν ἐνομήσθη κατὰ τὸν τῆς τέχνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης λόγον.
- 161 XXXIII. Ἰσότητος δὲ εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἐπαινέτης γέγονε Μωυσῆς, πρῶτον μὲν ὑμνῶν ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἧς ἴδιον, ὡς καὶ αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, τὸ δίχα τέμνειν εἰς μοίρας τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἴσας, εἶτα ψέγων ἀδικίαν, τὴν ἀνισότητος τῆς ἐχθίστης δημιουργόν.
- 162 ἀνισότης δὲ τοὺς διδύμους πολέμους ἔτεκε, τόν τε ξενικὸν καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον, ὡς ἔμπαλιν εἰρήνην ἰσότης. τὰ δ' ἐγκώμια δικαιοσύνης καὶ τοὺς ψόγους ἀδικίας ἐναργέστατα διασυνίστησιν, ὅταν λέγῃ· “οὐ ποιήσετε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει, ἐν μέτροις, ἐν σταθμοῖς, ἐν ζυγοῖς· ζυγὰ δίκαια καὶ στάθμια δίκαια καὶ μέτρα δίκαια καὶ χοῦς δίκαιος ἔσται ὑμῖν,” καὶ ἐν Ἐπινομίδι “οὐκ ἔσται ἐν μαρσίππῳ σου στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον, μέγα ἢ μικρόν· οὐκ ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου μέτρον καὶ μέτρον, μέγα ἢ μικρόν· στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἔσται σοι, ἵνα πολυήμερος γένη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσί σοι ἐν κλήρῳ, ὅτι βδέλυγμα κυρίῳ

<sup>a</sup> δίκη being supposed to be derived from δίχα.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 159-162

31), and things which receive the same praise must be of equal honour in the eyes of the praiser. Now 160  
God praised not the material which He had used for His work, material soul-less, discordant and dissoluble, and indeed in itself perishable, irregular, unequal, but He praised the works of His own art, which were consummated through a single exercise of power equal and uniform, and through knowledge ever one and the same. And thus by the rules of proportion everything was accounted similar and equal to everything else, according to the principle which His art and His knowledge followed.

XXXIII. Moses too above all others shews him- 161  
self a eulogist of equality ; first by always and everywhere lauding justice too whose special property it is, as the name itself seems to shew,<sup>a</sup> to divide into two equal parts things material and immaterial ; secondly by censuring injustice, the creator of inequality in its most hateful form. Inequality is the mother 162  
of the twins, foreign war and civil war, just as its opposite, equality, is the mother of peace. Moses presents most clearly his glorification of justice and his censure of injustice, when he says " ye shall do nothing unjust in judgement, in measures, in weights, in balances ; your balances shall be just, your weights just and your measures just and your quart just " (Lev. xix. 35, 36) and in Deuteronomy, " There shall not be in thy bag divers weights, great and small : there shall not be in thy house divers measures, great and small. A true and a just weight thou shalt have, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God gives thee in inheritance, because every one who doeth these things is an abomination to the Lord, every one who doeth injustice

## PHILO

- 163 πᾶς ποιῶν ταῦτα, πᾶς ποιῶν ἄδικα.” οὐκοῦν ὁ φιλοδίκαιος θεὸς ἀδικίαν βδελύττεται καὶ μεμίσηκε, στάσεως καὶ κακῶν ἀρχήν. ποῦ δ’ ἰσότητα τὴν δικαιοσύνης τροφὸν ὁ νομοθέτης οὐκ ἀποδέχεται ἀρξάμενος | ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ γενέσεως; “διεχώρισε” γὰρ φησὶν “ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος νύκτα.” ἡμέραν γὰρ καὶ νύκτα καὶ
- 164 φῶς καὶ σκότος ἰσότης ἔταξε<sup>1</sup> τοῖς οὐσι. διείλεν ἰσότης καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δύο τμήματα, ἄνισα μὲν ταῖς ῥώμαις, πρὸς ὃ δὲ ἔσπευσεν ἢ φύσις, τρίτου τινὸς ὁμοίου γένεσιν, ἰσαίτατα. “ἐποίησε” γὰρ φησὶν “ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν” οὐκέτ’ αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ “αὐτοὺς” ἐπιφέρει πληθυντικῶς, ἐφαρμόττων τὰ εἶδη τῶ γενέει διαιρεθέντα, ὡς εἶπον, ἰσότητι. XXXIV.
- 165 ψυχὸς γε μὴν καὶ καῦμα καὶ θέρος καὶ ἔαρ ἀνέγραψε, τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας πάλιν τῶ αὐτῶ τομεί διαιρουμένας. αἶ γε μὴν πρὸ ἡλίου τρεῖς ἡμέραι ταῖς μεθ’ ἡλίου ἰσάριθμοι γεγόνασιν, ἐξάδος τμηθείσης ἰσότητι πρὸς αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου δῆλωσιν· αἰῶνι μὲν γὰρ τὰς πρὸ ἡλίου τρεῖς ἀνατέθεικε, χρόνῳ δὲ τὰς μεθ’ ἡλίου, ὅς ἐστι μίμημα αἰῶνος.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Wend. suggests, ἔταξεν (so Pap.) <έν> τοῖς οὐσι.

<sup>a</sup> The point of the sentence is not clear. Perhaps he means that, as we have already shewn (§ 99) that day and night are essentially equal, Moses, by putting them at the outset of the creation story, praises equality. Or the stress may lie on ἀνὰ μέσον as in itself indicating equality (so in § 166). But in this case γὰρ is unintelligible. Perhaps correct to ἄρα.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 163-166

(Deut. xxv. 13-16). So then the God who loves 163 justice hates and abominates injustice, the source of faction and evil.

As for equality, the nurse of justice, where does the Lawgiver fail to shew his approval? We find it first in the story of the creation of the whole heaven. "God separated," he says, "between the light and between the darkness, and God called the light day and the darkness night" (Gen. i. 4, 5). For equality gave day and 164 night, light and darkness, their place among the things which are.<sup>a</sup> Equality too divided the human being into man and woman, two sections unequal indeed in strength, but quite equal as regards what was nature's urgent purpose, the reproduction of themselves in a third person. "God made man," he says, "made him after the image of God. Male and female He made"—not now "him" but "them" (Gen. i. 27). He concludes with the plural, thus connecting with the genus mankind the species which had been divided, as I said, by equality. XXXIV. Then he mentions cold and heat, summer 165 and spring, the seasons of the year, as being separated by the same divider, equality (Gen. viii. 22). Again the three days before the sun's creation are equal in number to the three which followed it (Gen. i. 5 ff.), the whole six being divided by equality to express time and eternity.<sup>b</sup> For God dedicated the three before the sun to eternity, and the three after it to time, which is a copy of eternity.<sup>c</sup> And the 166

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 570.

<sup>c</sup> A reminiscence of *Timaeus* 37 D. See *Quod Deus* 32 and note. The analogy to the *Timaeus* shews that  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega$  and not  $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  is the antecedent of  $\delta\varsigma$ , as otherwise it might have been thought to be by comparison with *De Mig.* 40.

## PHILO

- 166 τὰς δὲ τοῦ ὄντος πρώτας δυνάμεις, τὴν τε χαριστικήν, καθ' ἣν ἔκοσμοπλάστει, ἢ προσαγορεύεται θεός, καὶ τὴν κολαστικήν, καθ' ἣν ἄρχει καὶ ἐπιστατεῖ τοῦ γενομένου, ἢ προσονομάζεται κύριος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησιν ἔστῶτος ἐπάνω μέσου διαστέλλεσθαι. “λαλήσω γάρ σοι” φησὶν “ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δυεῖν Χερουβὶμ,” ἢ ἐπιδείξῃ ὅτι αἱ πρεσβύταται τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις ἰσάζουσιν, ἢ τε δωρητικὴ καὶ κολαστήριος, αὐτῷ
- 167 τομεῖ χρώμεναι. XXXV. τί δ'; αἱ στήλαι τῶν γενικῶν δέκα νόμων, ἃς ὀνομάζει πλάκας, οὐ δύο εἰσὶν ἰσάριθμοι τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι, λογικῶ καὶ ἀλόγῳ, ἃ παιδευθῆναί τε καὶ σωφρονισθῆναι χρή, τεμνόμεναι πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεσμοθέτου<sup>1</sup> μόνου; “αἱ γὰρ πλάκες ἔργον θεοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ ἡ γραφὴ γραφὴ θεοῦ κεκολαμμένη ἐν ταῖς πλαξί.” καὶ μὴν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς δέκα λόγων, οἱ κυρίως εἰσὶ θεσμοί, διαίρεσις ἴση γέγονεν εἰς πεντάδας, ὧν ἡ μὲν προτέρα τὰ πρὸς θεὸν δίκαια,
- 169 ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους περιέχει. τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεὸν δικαίων πρῶτός ἐστι θεσμὸς ὁ ἐναντιούμενος τῇ πολυθέῳ δόξῃ, διδάσκων ὅτι μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος· δεύτερος δὲ ὁ περὶ τοῦ μὴ θεοπλαστεῖν τὰ μὴ αἷτια γραφῶν καὶ πλαστῶν ἐπιβούλοις τέχναις, ἃς<sup>2</sup> Μωυσῆς ἐξήλασε τῆς καθ'

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read θεσμοθέτου <θεοῦ>. The absolute use of θεσμοθέτης for God as legislator does not seem to have a parallel.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. *als* from Pap. This is undue subservience to the Papyrus. The relative attraction is confined in Greek to defining relative clauses, *i.e.* those without which the antecedent is unintelligible. See Madvig, *Greek Syntax*, 103 R. 1.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 166-169

primary Potencies of the Existent, namely that through which He wrought the world, the beneficent, which is called God, and that by which He rules and commands what He made, that is the punitive, which bears the name of Lord, are as Moses tells us, separated by God Himself standing above and in the midst of them. "I will speak to thee," it says, "above the mercy-seat in the midst of the two Cherubim" (Ex. xxv. 21).<sup>a</sup> He means to shew that the primal and highest Potencies of the Existent, the beneficent and the punitive, are equal, having Him to divide them. XXXV. Again, 167 are not the slabs of the ten general laws, which he calls tables, two, thus equal in number to the parts of the soul, the rational and irrational, which must be trained and chastened? These tables too were cut<sup>b</sup> by the Divine Legislator and by Him only. For "the tables were the work of God and the writing on them was the writing of God, graven on the tables" (Ex. xxxii. 16). Further, the ten words 168 on them, divine ordinances in the proper sense of the word, are divided equally into two sets of five, the former comprising duties to God, and the other duties to men. The first commandment among the duties 169 to God, is that which opposes the creed of polytheism, and its lesson is that the world has one sole ruler. The second forbids us to make gods of things which are not the causes of existence, employing for that purpose the mischievous arts of the painter and sculptor which Moses expelled from his common-

<sup>a</sup> The same interpretation of the Cherubim is given in *De Fuga* 100, and (of the Cherubim in Gen. iii.) *De Cher.* 27 ff.

<sup>b</sup> "Cut" covers both the cutting out and the graving of the tables, but also suggests the thought of God as the *τομείς*.

## PHILO

- αὐτὸν πολιτείας αἰδίων φυγὴν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ψηφι-  
 [497] σάμενος, ἢν' ὁ μόνος καὶ | πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τιμᾶται  
 170 θεός· τρίτος δὲ ὁ περὶ ὀνόματος κυρίου,<sup>1</sup> <οὐ τοῦ>  
 ὁ οὐδ' ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν—ἄρρητον γὰρ τὸ ὄν—,  
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐπιφημισθέντος, διείρηται  
 γὰρ αὐτὸ μὴ λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ ματαιῶ· τέταρτος δὲ  
 ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου καὶ ἀμήτορος ἑβδομάδος,  
 ἵνα τὴν ἀπραξίαν αὐτῆς μελετῶσα γένεσις εἰς  
 μνήμην τοῦ ἀοράτως πάντα δρῶντος ἔρχηται·  
 171 πέμπτος δὲ ὁ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος  
 ἱερὸς ἔχων τὴν ἀναφορὰν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπὶ τὸν σποράς καὶ γενέσεως τοῖς ὅλοις αἴτιον,  
 παρ' ὃν μήτηρ τε καὶ πατήρ γεννᾶν ἔδοξαν, οὐ  
 172 γεννῶντες, ἀλλ' ὄργανα γενέσεως ὄντες. μεθόριος  
 δ' ὁ θεσμὸς οὗτος ἐγράφη<sup>2</sup> τῆς τε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν  
 τεινούσης πεντάδος καὶ τῆς ἀποτροπᾶς τῶν πρὸς  
 τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀδικημάτων περιεχούσης, ἐπειδήπερ  
 οἱ θνητοὶ γονεῖς τέλος εἰσὶν ἀθανάτων δυνάμεων,  
 αἱ πάντα γεννῶσαι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέτρεψαν ὑστάτῳ  
 καὶ τῷ θνητῷ γένει μιμησαμένῳ τὴν περὶ τὸ  
 γεννᾶν τέχνην σπείρειν· ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ γενέσεως  
 ὁ θεός, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον καὶ ἀτιμότατον, τὸ θνητὸν  
 173 εἶδος, τέλος. ἢ δ' ἑτέρα πεντάς ἐστιν ἀπαγό-  
 ρευσις μοιχείας, ἀνδροφονίας, κλοπῆς, ψευδομαρ-  
 τυρίας, ἐπιθυμίας. οὗτοι γενικοὶ σχεδὸν πάντων  
 ἀμαρτημάτων εἰσὶ κανόνες, ἐφ' οὓς ἕκαστον

<sup>1</sup> I suggest κυρίου <τοῦ θεοῦ> in accordance with the i.xx.; κύριος alone is not the name given to both Potencies, as the sequel implies. See App. p. 570.

<sup>2</sup> So Wend. from Pap.: mss. ἐτάγη.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 570.

<sup>b</sup> Or "seventh day." See App. p. 570.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 169-173

wealth<sup>a</sup> and sentenced to perpetual banishment. The purpose of this law is that the sole and true god may be duly honoured. The third is concerned with 170 the name of the Lord, not that name the knowledge of which has never even reached the world of mere becoming—He that is cannot be named in words—but the name which is given to His Potencies. We are commanded not to take this name in vain. The fourth is concerned with the number Seven,<sup>b</sup> the ever-virgin, the motherless. Its purpose is that creation, observing the inaction which it brings, should call to mind Him who does all things invisibly.<sup>c</sup> The fifth is about honouring parents. This is of the 171 sacred kind, since its reference is not to men, but to Him who causes all things to be sown and come into being, through whom it is that the father and mother appear to generate, though they do not really do so, but are the instruments of generation. This commandment was graven on the borderline 172 between the set of five which makes for piety to God and the set which comprises the prohibitions against acts of injustice to our fellows. The mortal parentage is but the final form which immortal powers take. They in virtue of their nature generate all things, but have permitted mortality also at the final stage to copy their creative art and to beget. For God is the primary cause of generation, but the nethermost and least honoured kind, the mortal-kind, is the ultimate. The other set of five forbids 173 adultery, murder, theft, false witness, covetousness. These are general rules forbidding practically all sins,

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Mig.* 91. The sense needed here is rather "who ever works." Perhaps *ἀεί* has fallen out before *ἀοπάτως*.

PHILO

- ἀναφέρεσθαι τῶν ἐν εἴδει συμβέβηκεν.
- 174 XXXVI. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐνδελεχεῖς θυσίας ὄρᾳς εἰς ἴσα διηρημένας, ἣν τε ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν οἱ ἱερεῖς προσφέρουσι τῆς σεμιδάλεως καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν δυεῖν ἀμνῶν, οὓς ἀναφέρειν διείρηται. πρῶτῳ γὰρ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν λεχθέντων καὶ τὰ ἕτερα δειλινῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἱεουργεῖν ὁ νόμος, ἵνα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νύκτωρ ἀρδομένων ἅπασιν ἀγαθῶν ὁ θεὸς εὐχαριστήται.
- 175 ὄρᾳς καὶ τοὺς προτιθεμένους ἄρτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, ὡς <εἰς> ἴσα μέρη διανεμηθέντες οἱ δώδεκα ἀριθμῶ καθ' ἑξάδα τίθενται μνημεῖα τῶν ἰσαρίθμων φυλῶν, ὧν τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἢ ἀρετὴ Λεῖα κεκλήρωται ἐξ τεκοῦσα φυλάρχας, τὴν δ' ἕτεραν ἡμίσειαν οἱ τε Ῥαχὴλ
- 176 καὶ οἱ τῶν παλλακῶν νόθοι. ὄρᾳς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδήρου δύο λίθους τῆς σμαράγδου πρὸς τε τοῖς δεξιοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εὐωνύμοις ἰσότητι διηρημένους, οἷς καθ' ἑξάδα ἐγγέλυπται τὰ τῶν δώδεκα φυλαρχῶν ὀνόματα, θεία γράμματα ἐστηλιτευμένα, θείων φύσεων ὑπομνήματα.
- 177 τί δ'; οὐχὶ δύο ὄρη συμβολικῶς δύο γένη λαβῶν καὶ πάλιν ἰσότητι διακρίνας ἀναλογούσῃ τὸ μὲν ἀπένειμε τοῖς εὐλογούσι, τὸ δ' αὖ τοῖς κατ-
- [498] αρωμένοις ἐξ ἑφ' ἑκατέρου | στήσας φυλάρχας, ἵνα τοῖς χρείοις νουθεσίας οὖσιν ἐπιδείξῃ, ὅτι καὶ ἰσάριθμοι <ταῖς> εὐλογίαις αἱ ἀραι καὶ σχεδόν, εἰ

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the twelve signs of the Zodiac. See *Quaest. in Ex.* ii. 109, where this is definitely stated, the two emeralds being supposed to represent the two hemispheres, to each of which six of the twelve signs at different parts of the year belong.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 173-177

and to them the specific sins may in each case be referred. XXXVI. To pass to a different 174  
matter, you find the same division into equal parts in the permanent sacrifices, both in the oblation of fine flour, which the priests offer for themselves, and in that offered on behalf of the nation, consisting of the two lambs which they are ordered to bring. In both these the law prescribes that half of the offerings named shall be sacrificed in the morning and half in the evening (Lev. vi. 20; Ex. xxix. 38, 39), that God may be thanked both for the day-time and the night-time blessings which He showers upon all.

Observe also the loaves set forth upon 175  
the holy table, how the twelve are divided into equal parts and placed in sets of six each, as memorials of the twelve tribes, half of them belonging to Leah or Virtue the mother of six patriarchs, and half to the children of Rachel and the base-born sons of the concubines. You see, too, how the two emeralds on 176  
the long robe, one on the right and one on the left, are divided equally, on which are cut the names of the twelve patriarchs, six on each, inscribed by divine graving, to remind us of divine beings (Ex. xxviii. 9-12).<sup>a</sup>

Once more, does not Moses 177  
take two mountains, that is symbolically two kinds, and again distinguishes between them according to proportional equality, assign one to those who bless, the other to those who curse? Then he places upon them the twelve patriarchs (Deut. xxvii. 11-13) to shew to those who need warning, that curses are equal in number to blessings and (if we may say so

So also *De Spec. Leg.* i. 87, though there it is said of the twelve stones on the breastplate in Ex. xxviii. 21. For divine natures = heavenly bodies *cf. De Conf.* 133.

## PHILO

178 θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἰσότιμοι; ὁμοίως γὰρ οἱ τε ἔπαινοι  
τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ οἱ ψόγοι τῶν μοχθηρῶν ὠφελουσιν,  
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ φυγεῖν τὸ κακὸν τῷ τάγαθὸν ἐλέσθαι  
παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονουσιν ὁμοιον καὶ ταυτὸν ἐνομίσθη.

179 XXXVII. καταπλήττει με καὶ ἡ τῶν  
προσαγομένων τῷ ἰλασμῷ δυεῖν τράγων ἐπὶ κρισις  
ὁμοῦ καὶ διανομὴ τεμνομένων ἀδήλων καὶ ἀτεκμάρτων  
τομεῖ, κλήρω· λόγων γὰρ δυεῖν ὁ μὲν τὰ τῆς θείας  
ἀρετῆς πραγματευόμενος ἀνιερουταὶ καὶ ἀνατίθεται  
θεῷ, ὁ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κακοδαιμονίας  
ἐζηλωκῶς γενέσει τῇ φυγάδι· καὶ γὰρ ὃν ἔλαχεν  
αὕτη κληρον, ἀποπομπᾶιον καλοῦσιν οἱ χρησιμοί,  
ἐπειδὴ μετανίσταται καὶ διώκισται καὶ μακρὰν  
180 ἀπελήλαται σοφίας. ἐπισήμων γε μὴν καὶ ἀσήμων  
ὡσπερ νομισμάτων, οὕτως καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐν  
τῇ φύσει πολλῶν ὁ ἀόρατος τομεὺς οὐ δοκεῖ σοι  
διελεῖν πάντ' εἰς μοίρας ἴσας καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίσημα  
καὶ δόκιμα τῷ παιδείας ἐραστῇ, τῷ δὲ ἀμαθαίνοντι  
τὰ ἀτύπωτα καὶ ἄσημα προσνεῖμαι; “ ἐγένετο ”  
γὰρ φησι “ τὰ μὲν ἄσημα τοῦ Λάβαν, τὰ δὲ  
181 ἐπίσημα τοῦ Ἰακώβ.” καὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ, τὸ  
κῆρινον, ὡς εἶπέ τις τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐκμαγεῖον,  
σκληρὰ μὲν οὔσα καὶ ἀντίτυπος ἀπωθεῖ καὶ  
ἀποσειέται τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους χαρακτηῆρας καὶ  
ἀσχημάτιστος ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαμένει, πειθήνιος δ'  
ὑπάρχουσα καὶ μετρίως ὑπέικουσα βαθεῖς τοὺς  
τύπους δέχεται καὶ ἀναμαξαμένη τὰς σφραγίδας  
ἄκρως διαφυλάττει τὰ ἐνσημανθέντα ἀνεξάλειπτα  
182 εἶδη. XXXVIII. θαυμαστὴ μέντοι καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Plant.* 61 and note.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 178-182

without offence) of equal value. For praises given 178 to the good and censure given to the bad are equally beneficial, since, in the judgement of men of sense, avoiding evil and choosing good are one and the same.

XXXVII. I am deeply impressed, 179 too, by the contrast made between the two he-goats offered for atonement, and the difference of fate assigned to them even when the division is effected by that uncertain and fortuitous divider, the lot. We see two ways of thinking; one whose concern is with things of divine virtue is consecrated and dedicated to God; the other whose aspirations turn to poor miserable humanity is assigned to creation the exile. For the lot which fell to creation is called by the oracles the lot of dismissal<sup>a</sup> (Lev. xvi. 8), because creation is a homeless wanderer, banished far away from wisdom. Further, nature abounds in things 180 which bear some shape or stamp and others which do not, even as it is with coins, and you may note how the invisible Severer divides them all into equal parts and awards those that are approved by their stamp to the lover of instruction, but those that have no stamp or mark to the man of ignorance. For we are told "the unmarked fell to Laban, but the marked to Jacob" (Gen. xxx. 42). For the soul is a 181 block of wax, as one of the ancients said,<sup>b</sup> and if it is hard and resistant it rejects and shakes off the attempted impressions and inevitably remains an unformed mass, whereas if it is docile and reasonably submissive it allows the imprints to sink deep into it, and thus reproducing the shape of the seal preserves the forms stamped upon it, beyond any possibility of effacement. XXXVIII. Marvellous too 182

<sup>b</sup> *Theaetetus* 191 c; cf. *Quod Deus* 43.

## PHILO

- ἡ τοῦ τῶν θυσιῶν αἵματος ἴση διανομή, ἣν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Μωυσῆς φύσει διδασκάλῳ χρησάμενος διένειμε. “λαβὼν” γάρ φησι “τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος ἐνέχεεν εἰς κρατῆρας· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ προσέχεε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον,” ὅπως ἀναδιδάξῃ, ὅτι τὸ σοφίας ἱερὸν γένος διττὸν ἐστι, τὸ μὲν θεῖον, τὸ δὲ ἀν-
- 183 θρώπινον· καὶ τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἄκρατον, οὗ ἔνεκα τῷ ἀμιγεί καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν μονάδι ὄντι σπένδεται θεῷ, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον μικτὸν καὶ κεκραμένον, ὃ τοῦ μικτοῦ καὶ συνθέτου καὶ κεκραμένου γένους κατασκευάζονται ἡμῶν, ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κοινωνίαν καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ κρᾶσιν μερῶν τε καὶ ἡθῶν ἐργασόμενον.
- 184 ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἄκρατον μέρος ὃ ἀκραιφνέστατος νοῦς ἐστιν, ὃς ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταπνευσθεὶς ἄνωθεν ὅταν ἄνοσος καὶ ἀπήμων διαφυλαχθῇ, τῷ καταπνεύσαντι καὶ ἀπαθῇ παντὸς κακοῦ διαφυλάξαντι προσηκόντως ὅλος εἰς ἱερὰν
- [499] σπονδὴν ἀναστοιχειωθείς ἀνταποδίδοται· | τὸ δ’ αὖ μικτὸν γένος τὸ αἰσθήσεών ἐστιν, ᾧ κρατῆρας
- 185 οἰκείους ἡ φύσις ἐδημιούργησε. κρατῆρες δὲ ὀράσεως μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὠτα καὶ μυκτῆρες ὀσφρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰ ἀρμόττουσαι δεξαμεναί. τούτοις ἐπιχει τοῖς κρατήρησιν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῦ αἵματος ἀξιῶν τὸ ἄλογον ἡμῶν μέρος ψυχωθῆναι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ λογικὸν γενέσθαι, ταῖς μὲν νοῦ θεαῖς περιόδοις<sup>1</sup> ἀκολουθήσαν, ἀγνεῦσαν δὲ τῶν ὀλκὸν ἀπατεῶνα προτεινόντων δύναμιν αἰσθητῶν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. and Pap. *νουθεσίας* (-as). The text here printed is according to Wend.’s conjecture, though he does not actually adopt it. See App. p. 571.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 571.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 182-186

is the equal distribution of the sacrificial blood which the high priest Moses,<sup>a</sup> following Nature's guidance, made. He took, we read, the half of the blood and poured it into mixing-bowls and the half he poured upon the altar (Ex. xxiv. 6), to shew us that sacred wisdom is of a twofold kind, divine and human. The divine kind is without mixture or 183 infusion and therefore is poured as an offering to God, who knows no mixture or infusion and is in His isolation a unity. But the human is mixed with infusion and thus is scattered abroad upon us, who are a mixed compounded product of infusion, to create in us oneness of mind and fellowship, and in fact a "mixing" of our various parts and ways of conduct. But the part of the soul which is free from mixture and infusion is the mind in its perfect purity. This mind filled with the breath of inspira- 184 tion from heaven above is guarded from malady and injury, and then reduced to a single element is fitly rendered in its entirety as a holy libation to Him who inspired it and guarded it from all evil that could harm it. The mixed kind is the senses, and for this nature has created the proper mixing-bowls. The eyes are the "bowls" of sight, the 185 ears of hearing, the nostrils of the sense of smell, and each of the others has its fitting vessel. On these bowls the holy Word<sup>b</sup> pours of the blood, desiring that our irrational part should be quickened and become in some sense rational, following the divine courses of the mind, and purified from the objects of sense, which lure it with all their deceitful and seductive force. And was 186

<sup>b</sup> The High Priest as often is identified with the Logos. Cf. *De Mig.* 102.

## PHILO

- 186 ἀρά γε οὐχὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ δίδραχμον διενεμήθη τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ἡμῖσιν αὐτοῦ, τὴν δραχμὴν, καθιερώμεν λύτρα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς κατατιθέντες, ἣν ὁ μόνος ἀψευδῶς ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἐλευθεροποιὸς θεὸς ὤμῆς καὶ πικρᾶς παθῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων δεσποτείας ἰκετευθεὶς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ χωρὶς ἰκεσίας, ἀνὰ κράτος ἐκλύει, τὸ δ' ἕτερον μέρος τῷ ἀνελευθέρῳ καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖ γένει καταλίπωμεν, οὗ κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ λέγων· “ ἠγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου,” τὸν ἠγεμόνα ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦν, “ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου,” τὴν φίλην καὶ οἰκουρὸν παθῶν αἰσθησιν, “ καὶ τὰ παιδιά,” τὰ κακὰ τούτων
- 187 ἔγγονα, “ οὐκ ἄπειμι ἐλεύθερος.” ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ γένει κληρὸν ἄκληρον καὶ ἀποπομπαιὸν ἐκ τοῦ διδράχμου δοθῆναι, ἐναντίον τῇ ἀνατεθειμένῃ δραχμῇ τε καὶ μονάδι· μονὰς δὲ οὔτε προσθήκην οὔτε ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεσθαι πέφυκεν, εἰκὼν οὔσα τοῦ
- 188 μόνου πλήρους θεοῦ. χαῦνα γὰρ τά γε<sup>1</sup> ἄλλα ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, εἰ δέ που καὶ πυκνωθείη, λόγῳ σφίγγεται θείῳ. κόλλα γὰρ καὶ δεσμὸς οὗτος πάντα τῆς οὐσίας ἐκπεπληρωκῶς· ὁ δ' εἷρας καὶ συνυφήνας ἕκαστα πλήρης αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κυρίως ἐστίν, οὐ
- 189 δεηθεὶς ἑτέρου τὸ παράπαν. XXXIX. εἰκότως οὖν ἐρεῖ Μωυσῆς· “ ὁ πλουτῶν οὐ προσθήσει, καὶ ὁ πενόμενος οὐκ ἐλαττώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμῖσους τοῦ διδράχμου,” ὅπερ ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφην, δραχμὴ τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> My correction for τε in Wend.'s and Mangey's texts.

<sup>a</sup> Or, if we follow the parallel passage in *De Cher.* 73 where the children of mind are the various mental activities, 376

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 186-189

not the consecrated didrachmon portioned out on the same principle? We are meant to consecrate one half of it, the drachma, and pay it as ransom for our own soul (Ex. xxx. 12, 13), which God who alone is truly free and a giver of freedom releases with a mighty hand from the cruel and bitter tyranny of passions and wrongdoings, if we supplicate him, sometimes too without our supplication. The other half we are to leave to the unfree and slavish kind of which he is a member who says "I have come to love my master," that is "the mind which rules within me," and my wife, that is "sense" the friend and keeper of the passion's household, "and the children," that is the evil offspring of the passions.<sup>a</sup> "I will not go out free" (Ex. xxi. 5). For 187 to such a kind, as its share in the didrachmon, must needs be given the lot which is no lot, the lot of dismissal which is the opposite of the dedicated drachma. The drachma is a unit, and a unit admits neither of addition nor subtraction, being the image of God who is alone in His unity and yet has fullness. Other things are in themselves without coherence, 188 and if they be condensed, it is because they are held tight by the divine Word, which is a glue and bond, filling up all things with His being.<sup>b</sup> He who fastens and weaves together each separate thing is in literal truth full of His own self, and needs nothing else at all. XXXIX. With reason then will Moses say, 189 "He that is rich shall not add, and he that is poor shall not diminish, from the half of the didrachmon" (Ex. xxx. 15). That half, as I said, is both a drachma

and those of sense the various sense processes, *τούτων* will refer to *νοῦς* and *αἰσθησις*. But *κακά* points rather to *πάθη* as the parents.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 571.

## PHILO

μονάς· ἢ πᾶς ἂν ἀριθμὸς εἴποι τὸ ποιητικὸν  
ἐκεῖνο

ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι.

- 190 λήγει τε γὰρ ἀναλυόμενος ὁ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἀπει-  
ράκις ἄπειρος ἀριθμὸς εἰς μονάδα, ἄρχεται τε αὖ  
πάλιν ἀπὸ μονάδος εἰς ἀπερίγραφον συντιθέμενος  
πλήθος. διόπερ οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν, ἀλλὰ στοιχείον καὶ  
ἀρχὴν ἀριθμοῦ ταύτην ἔφασαν, οἷς ζητεῖν ἐπι-  
191 μελές. ἔτι τοίνυν τὴν οὐράνιον τροφήν—  
σοφία δέ ἐστιν—τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν καλεῖ μάννα,  
διανέμει πᾶσι τοῖς χρησομένοις θεῖος λόγος ἐξ  
[500] ἴσου, πεφροντικῶς | διαφερόντως ἰσότητος. μαρ-  
τυρεῖ δὲ Μωυσῆς λέγων· “ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν ὁ τὸ  
πολύ, καὶ ὁ τὸ ἔλαττον οὐκ ἠλαττόνησεν,” ἠνίκα  
τῷ τῆς ἀναλογίας ἐχρήσαντο θαυμαστῶ καὶ περι-  
μαχῆτῳ μέτρῳ· δι' οὗ συνέβη μαθεῖν, ὅτι ἕκαστος  
“ εἰς τοὺς καθήκοντας ” παρ' ἑαυτῷ συνέλεξεν οὐκ  
ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμοὺς καὶ τρόπους· ὁ  
γὰρ ἐπέβαλεν ἐκάστῳ τοῦτ' ἀπεκληρώθη προ-  
νοητικῶς, ὡς μήθ' ὑστερῆσαι μήτ' αὖ περιττεῦσαι.
- 192 XL. τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον τῆς κατ'  
ἀναλογίαν ἰσότητος ἔστιν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγο-  
μένου Πάσχα. Πάσχα δέ ἐστιν, ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ  
μὲν ἄλογον πάθος ἀπομαθεῖν μελετᾷ, τὴν δ'  
193 εὐλογον εὐπάθειαν ἐκουσίως πάσχη· διείρηται γάρ,  
“ ἐὰν ὀλίγοι ὦσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ὥστε μὴ ἱκανοὺς  
εἶναι εἰς τὸ πρόβατον, τὸν πλησίον γείτονα προσ-

<sup>a</sup> Hom. *Iliad* ix. 97.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* all numbers are after all only so many units.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 571.

<sup>d</sup> Or, as Philo seems to understand the phrase, “those

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 189-193

and a unit, to which every number might well address the words of the poet,

With thee I'll cease, with thee I will begin.<sup>a</sup>

For the whole series of numbers to infinity multiplied by infinity ends when resolved in the unit<sup>b</sup> and begins with the unit when arranged in an unlimited series. And therefore those who study such questions declare that the unit is not a number at all, but the element and source from which number springs.<sup>c</sup>

Further, the heavenly food of the soul, wisdom, which Moses calls "manna," is distributed to all who will use it in equal portions by the divine Word, careful above all things to maintain equality. Moses testifies to this in the words, "He that had much, had not too much, and he that had less did not lack" (Ex. xvi. 18), when they measured by the admirable and precious standard of proportion. And through this we come to understand how when each collected in his own store for his "belongings,"<sup>d</sup> these belongings are not human beings so much as thoughts and dispositions. For what fell to each was of set purpose so allotted, that there was neither short-coming nor superabundance.

XL. We may find a similar example of this proportioned equality in what is called the Passover, which is held when the soul studies to unlearn irrational passion and of its own free will experiences the higher form of passion which reason sanctions. For it is laid down that "if there be few in the house, so that they are not enough for the sheep, they shall

which were meet and right for him," connecting it no doubt with the Stoics' *τὰ καθήκοντα*. The E.V. is different — "They gathered every man according to his eating."

## PHILO

λαβεῖν, κατ' ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν, ἵν' ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναριθμῆται," μοῖραν, ἧς ἔστιν ἐπάξιός τε καὶ χρεῖος, εὕρισκόμενος.

- 194 ἔπειδ' ἀν δὲ καὶ τρόπον χώρας τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰς τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἐβελήσῃ διανεμῆναι, τοῖς πλείοσι πλεονάζειν καὶ τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἐλαττοῦν τὴν κατάσχεσιν προστάττει, δικαίων μῆτε τοὺς μείζους ἐλαττόνων ἀξιούν—κενοὶ γὰρ ἐπιστήμης ἔσονται—μῆτε τοὺς ἐλάττους μειζόνων· χωρῆσαι γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν οὐ δυνήσονται. XLI.

- 195 τῆς δὲ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἰσότητος ἐναργέστατον δεῖγμα ἔστι τὰ τε τῶν δώδεκα ἀρχόντων ἱερὰ δῶρα καὶ ἔτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων διανεμόμενα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· “ ἐκάστῳ ” γὰρ φησὶ “ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρὼν ἔσται τὸ ἴσον.” παγκάλῃ δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν
- 196 σύνθεσιν τῶν ἐκθυμιωμένων ἔστιν ἰσότης· λέγεται γάρ· “ λάβε σεαυτῷ ἡδύσματα, στακτὴν, ὄνυχα καὶ χαλβάνην ἡδυσμοῦ καὶ λίβανον διαφανῆ, ἴσον ἴσω, καὶ ποιήσουσιν αὐτὸ θυμίαμα, μύρον μυρσιβοῦ ἔργον συνθέσεως καθαρᾶς, ἔργον ἅγιον.” ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν μερῶν ἐκάστῳ φησὶ δεῖν ἴσον συνέρχεσθαι
- 197 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄλου κρᾶσιν. ἔστι δ' οἶμαι τὰ τέτταρα ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν τὸ θυμίαμα συντίθεται, σύμβολα τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ἀποτελέσθη σύμπας ὁ κόσμος. στακτὴν μὲν γὰρ ὕδατι, γῆ δὲ ὄνυχα, χαλβάνην δὲ ἀέρι, τὸν δὲ διαφανῆ λιβανωτὸν πυρὶ ἀπεικάζει· στακτὴ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὰς σταγόνας ὕδατῶδες, ξηρὸν δὲ ὄνυξ καὶ γεῶδες, τῇ δὲ χαλβάνῃ τὸ ἡδυσμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀέρος ἔμφασιν

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 193-197

take in the next neighbour, according to the number of souls, that each may reckon what is sufficient for him" (Ex. xii. 4), thus gaining the portion which he deserves and needs. On the other hand, 194 when Moses would portion out virtue, like a country, to virtue's inhabitants he bids the more have more and the less to lessen their possession (Num. xxxv. 8), for he holds it right not to adjudge smaller shares to the greater, since then they will be devoid of knowledge, nor greater to the less, since they will not be able to contain the greatness of their shares.

XLI. Of numerical equality we have 195 the clearest example in the sacred gifts of the twelve rulers (Num. vii. 10 ff.) and further in the distributions made to the priests from the gifts. Each of the sons of Aaron, it says, shall have what is equal (Lev. vi. 40). We have also a splendid 196 example of equality in the composition of the frankincense offering. For we read "take to thyself sweet spices, oil drop of cinnamon, cloves and galbanum of sweetening and clear gum of frankincense, each in equal parts and they shall make of it incense, a perfume work of the perfumer of pure composition, a holy work" (Ex. xxx. 34, 35). Each of the parts, we see from his words, must be brought in equal measure, to make the combination of the whole. Now these 197 four, of which the incense is composed, are, I hold, a symbol of the elements, out of which the whole world was brought to its completion. Moses is likening the oil drop to water, the cloves to earth, the galbanum to air, and the clear gum to fire. For oil drop is watery because of its dripping, cloves are dry and earthy, and the words "of sweetening" are added to galbanum, to bring out the idea of air

## PHILO

- προσετέθη—τὸ γὰρ εὐῶδες ἐν ἀέρι,—τῷ δὲ λιβα-  
 198 ωτῷ τὸ διαφανὲς πρὸς φωτὸς ἔνδειξιν. διὸ  
 καὶ τὰ βάρους ἔχοντα τῶν κούφων διεχώρισε, τὰ  
 μὲν τῷ συμπλεκτικῷ συνδέσμῳ ἐνώσας, τὰ δὲ  
 [501] διαλελυμένως ἐξενεγκῶν· ἔφη γάρ· “ λάβε σεαυτῷ  
 ἡδύσματα, στακτὴν, ὄνυχα,” ταῦτα ἀσύνδετα, τῶν  
 βάρους ἔχόντων, ὕδατός τε καὶ γῆς, σύμβολα, εἶτα  
 ἀφ’ ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς μετὰ συμπλοκῆς “ καὶ χαλβάνην  
 ἡδυσμοῦ καὶ λίβανον διαφανῆ,” ταῦτα πάλιν καθ’  
 ἑαυτά, τῶν κούφων, ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, [τὰ] σημεῖα.  
 199 τὴν δὲ τούτων ἐμμελῆ σύνθεσιν τε καὶ κράσιν τὸ  
 πρεσβύτατον καὶ τελειότατον ἔργον ἅγιον ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν κόσμον, ὃν διὰ  
 συμβόλου τοῦ θυμιάματος οἴεται δεῖν εὐχαριστεῖν  
 τῷ πεποιηκότι, ἵνα λόγῳ μὲν ἢ μυρεψικῆ τέχνη  
 κατασκευασθεῖσα σύνθεσις ἐκθυμιάται, ἔργῳ δὲ  
 ὁ θεῖα σοφία δημιουργηθεὶς κόσμος ἅπας ἀνα-  
 200 φέρηται πρῶτὴ καὶ δειλινῆς ὀλοκαυτούμενος. βίος  
 γὰρ ἐμπρεπῆς κόσμῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ  
 συνεχῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως εὐχαριστεῖν, μονονοῦκ  
 ἐκθυμῶντι καὶ ἀναστοιχειοῦντι ἑαυτὸν πρὸς ἔν-  
 δειξιν τοῦ μηδὲν θησαυρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅλον ἑαυτὸν  
 ἀνάθημα ἀνατιθέναι τῷ γεγεννηκότι θεῷ.  
 201 XLII. θαυμάζω καὶ τὸν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀ-  
 πνευστὶ δραμόντα συντόνως ἱερὸν λόγον, “ ἵνα  
 στῆ μέσος τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ζώντων·  
 εὐθὺς ” γὰρ φησι Μωυσῆς “ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦ-  
 σις.” ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔμελλε κοπάσαι καὶ ἐπικουφίσαι  
 τὰ περιθρύπτοντα καὶ καταγνύντα καὶ συντρί-  
 382



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 197-201

since air has fragrance, and the word "clear" to gum to indicate light. For the same reason he set 198 the heavy substances apart from the light, connecting the latter in a single phrase by means of the conjunction "and," but stating the heavy in the unconnected form. First he said "take to thyself sweet spices, oil drop of cinnamon, cloves, both these with the asyndeton, symbols of the heavy substances earth and water." Then he makes a fresh beginning using the conjunction, "and galbanum of sweetness and clear gum of frankincense," and these two, which indicate the light elements, air and fire, are also joined by an "and." And the mixture thus harmoniously 199 compounded proves to be that most venerable and perfect work, a work in very truth holy, even the world, which he holds should under the symbol of the incense offering give thanks to its Maker, so that while in outward speech it is the compound formed by the perfumer's art which is burnt as incense, in real fact it is the whole world, wrought by divine wisdom, which is offered and consumed morning and evening in the sacrificial fire. Surely it is a 200 fitting life-work for the world, that it should give thanks to its Maker continuously and without ceasing, wellnigh evaporating itself into a single elemental form, to shew that it hoards nothing as treasure, but dedicates its whole being at the shrine of God its Begetter.

XLII. I marvel 201 too when I read of that sacred Word, which ran in impetuous breathless haste "to stand between the living and the dead." For at once, says Moses, "the breaking was abated" (Num. xvi. 47, 48). And indeed how could all that shatters and crushes and ruptures our soul fail to be abated and lightened,

## PHILO

βοντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν, διακρίναντος καὶ δια-  
 τειχίσαντος τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τοὺς ὀσίους, οἱ ζῶσιν  
 ἀψευδῶς, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνοσίων, οἱ τεθνήκασιν πρὸς  
 202 ἀλήθειαν, λογισμῶν; τῷ γὰρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πολλάκις  
 νοσοῦντων καὶ οἱ σφόδρα ὑγιαίνοντες ἐνδεξάμενοι  
 τὴν ἐκείνων νόσον ἐμέλλησαν τελευτῆσαι. τοῦτο  
 δ' ἀμήχανον ἔτι παθεῖν ἦν διαζευχθέντας ὄρω  
 μέσῳ παγέντι δυνατωτάτῳ, ὃς τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ  
 ἐπιδρομὰς τοῦ χείρονος μέρους ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος  
 203 ἀπώσσει. τεθαύμακα δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴν κατ-  
 ακούων τῶν λογίων ἀναδιδάσκωμαι, ὃν τρόπον  
 εἰσηλθὲν ἡ νεφέλη μέση τῆς τε Αἰγυπτιακῆς καὶ  
 τῆς Ἰσραηλιτικῆς στρατιᾶς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ φιλο-  
 παθοῦς καὶ ἀθέου τὸ ἐγκρατὲς καὶ θεοφιλὲς γένος  
 οὐκέτ' εἴασε διώκεσθαι τὸ σκεπαστήριον καὶ  
 σωτήριον τῶν φίλων, ἀμυντήριον δὲ καὶ κολαστή-  
 204 ριον τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄπλον, ἡ νεφέλη. διανοίαις μὲν  
 γὰρ ἀρετώσαις ἡρέμα σοφίαν ἐπιφεκάζει, τὴν ἀπαθῆ  
 φύσει παντὸς κακοῦ, λυπραῖς δὲ καὶ ἀγόνοις ἐπι-  
 στήμης ἀθρόας κατανίφει τιμωρίας, κατακλυσμὸν  
 205 φθορὰν οἰκτίστην ἐπιφέρουσα. τῷ δὲ  
 ἀρχαγγέλῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ λόγῳ δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν  
 ἐξαίρετον ὃ τὰ ὄλα γεννήσας πατῆρ, ἵνα μεθόριος  
 στὰς τὸ γενόμενον διακρίνη τοῦ πεποιηκότος. ὃ  
 δ' αὐτὸς ἰκέτης μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ κηραίνοντος  
 αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄφθαρτον, πρεσβευτῆς δὲ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος  
 206 πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον. ἀγάλλεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ καὶ  
 [502] σεμνυνόμενος αὐτὴν | ἐκδιηγεῖται φάσκων· “ καὶ γὰρ  
 εἰστήκειν ἀνὰ μέσον κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν,” οὔτε  
 ἀγένητος ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὢν οὔτε γενητὸς ὡς ὑμεῖς,  
 ἀλλὰ μέσος τῶν ἄκρων, ἀμφοτέροις ὀμηρεῦων,  
 παρὰ μὲν τῷ φυτεύσαντι πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 201-206

when the God-beloved separates and walls off the consecrated thoughts, which veritably live, from the unholy which are truly dead? For often proximity 202 to the sick brings to the very healthiest the infection of their sickness and sure death in its train. But this fate was no longer possible to the consecrated, hedged in by the mightiest of pales, fixed in the midst to repel from the better sort the onslaught and inroads of the worse. Still more am I lost in admira- 203 tion, when I listen to the oracles and learn how the cloud entered in the midst between the hosts of Egypt and Israel (Ex. xiv. 20). For the further pursuit of the sober and God-beloved race by the passion-loving and godless was forbidden by that cloud, which was a weapon of shelter and salvation to its friends, and of offence and chastisement to its enemies. For on minds of rich soil that cloud sends 204 in gentle showers the drops of wisdom, whose very nature exempts it from all harm, but on the sour of soil, that are barren of knowledge, it pours the blizzards of vengeance, flooding them with a deluge of destruction most miserable. To His 205 Word, His chief messenger, highest in age and honour, the Father of all has given the special prerogative, to stand on the border and separate the creature from the Creator. This same Word both pleads with the immortal as suppliant for afflicted mortality and acts as ambassador of the ruler to the subject. He glories in this prerogative and proudly 206 describes it in these words ' and I stood between the Lord and you ' (Deut. v. 5), that is neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides ; to the parent, pledging the creature that it should never altogether

## PHILO

σύμπαν ἀφηνιάσαι ποτὲ καὶ ἀποστῆναι τὸ γεγονὸς ἀκοσμίαν ἀντὶ κόσμου ἐλόμενον, παρὰ δὲ τῷ φύντι πρὸς εὐελπιστίαν τοῦ μήποτε τὸν ἴλεω θεὸν περιιδεῖν τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύομαι τὰ εἰρηναῖα γενέσει παρὰ τοῦ καθαιρεῖν πολέμους ἐγνωκότος εἰρηνοφύλακος αἰεὶ θεοῦ.

- 207 **XLIII.** Διδάξας οὖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῆς εἰς ἴσα τομῆς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιστήμην ἄγει φάσκων ὅτι τὰ τμήματα “ ἔθηκεν ἀντιπρόσωπα ἀλλήλοις.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ σχεδὸν ἐναντία εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀρκτέον
- 208 δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων· θερμὸν ἐναντίον ψυχρῷ καὶ ξηρὸν ὑγρῷ καὶ κοῦφον βαρεῖ καὶ σκότος φωτὶ καὶ νύξ ἡμέρα, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ἡ ἀπλανῆς τῇ πεπλανημένη φορᾶ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀέρα αἰθρία νεφώσει, νηνεμία πνεύμασι, θέρει χειμῶν, ἔαρι μετόπωρον—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθεῖ, τῷ δὲ φθίνει τὰ [δ’] ἔγγεια,—πάλιν ὕδατος τὸ γλυκὺ τῷ πικρῷ καὶ
- 209 γῆς ἡ στείρα τῇ γονίμῳ. καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ἐναντία προὔπτα, σώματα ἀσώματα, ἔμφυχα ἄψυχα, λογικὰ ἄλογα, θνητὰ ἀθάνατα, αἰσθητὰ νοητά, καταληπτὰ ἀκατάληπτα, στοιχεῖα ἀποτελέσματα, ἀρχὴ τελευτή, γένεσις φθορά, ζωὴ θάνατος, νόσος ὑγεία, λευκὸν μέλαν, δεξιὰ εὐώνυμα, δικαιοσύνη ἀδικία, φρόνησις ἀφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία δειλία, σωφροσύνη ἀκολασία, ἀρετὴ κακία, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐτέρας πάντα
- 210 εἶδη τοῖς τῆς ἐτέρας εἶδεσι πᾶσι· πάλιν γραμματικὴ ἀγραμματία, μουσικὴ ἀμουσία, παιδεία ἀπαιδευσία, συνόλως τέχνη ἀτεχνία· καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέχναις, φωνήεντα στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄφωνα, ὀξεῖς καὶ

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 206-210

rebel against the rein and choose disorder rather than order ; to the child, warranting his hopes that the merciful God will never forget His own work. For I am the harbinger of peace to creation from that God whose will is to bring wars to an end, who is ever the guardian of peace."

XLIII. Having taught us the lesson of equal 207  
division the Scripture leads us on to the knowledge  
of opposites, by telling us that "He placed the  
sections facing opposite each other" (Gen. xv. 10).  
For in truth we may take it that everything in the  
world is by nature opposite to something else. Let  
us begin with what comes first. Hot is opposite to 208  
cold, dry to wet, light to heavy, darkness to light,  
night to day. In heaven we have the course of the  
fixed stars opposite to the course of the planets, in  
the air cloudless to cloudy, calm to wind, summer to  
winter, spring when earth's growths bloom to autumn  
when they decay, again in water, sweet to bitter,  
and in land, barren to fruitful. And the other op- 209  
posites are obvious: corporeal, incorporeal ; living,  
lifeless ; mortal, immortal ; sensible, intelligible ;  
comprehensible, incomprehensible ; elementary,  
completed ; beginning, end ; becoming, extinction ;  
life, death ; disease, health ; white, black ; right,  
left ; justice, injustice ; prudence, folly ; courage,  
cowardice ; continence, incontinence ; virtue, vice ;  
and all the species of virtue are opposite to all the  
species of vice. Again we have the opposite con- 210  
ditions of the literary and the illiterate, the cultured  
and the uncultured, the educated and the un-  
educated, and in general the scientific and the un-  
scientific, and in the subject matter of the arts or  
sciences there are vocal sounds or vowels and non-

## PHILO

- βαρεῖς φθόγγοι, εὐθείαι καὶ περιφερεῖς γραμμαί·  
 211 καὶ ἐν ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς ἄγονα γόνιμα, πολυτόκα  
 ὀλιγοτόκα, ὠπτόκα ζωοτόκα, μαλάκια<sup>1</sup> ὄστρακό-  
 212 δερμα, ἄγρια ἡμερα, μονωτικά ἀγελαῖα· καὶ πάλιν  
 πενία πλοῦτος, δόξα ἀδοξία, δυσγένεια εὐγένεια,  
 ἔνδεια περιουσία, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, νόμος ἀνομία, εὐ-  
 φυΐα ἀφυΐα, ἀπονία πόνος, νεότης γῆρας, ἀδυναμία  
 δύναμις, ἀσθένεια ῥώμη. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ καθ' ἕκα-  
 στον ἀναλέγεσθαι ἀπερίγραφα καὶ ἀπέρατ'<sup>2</sup> ὄντα  
 213 τῷ πλήθει; παγκάλως οὖν ὁ τῶν τῆς  
 φύσεως ἐρμηνεύς πραγμάτων, τῆς ἀργίας καὶ  
 ἀμελετησίας ἡμῶν λαμβάνων οἶκτον ἐκάστοτ'  
 ἀφθόνως<sup>3</sup> ἀναδιδάσκει, καθὰ καὶ νῦν, "τὴν ἀντι-  
 πρόσωπον" ἐκάστων θέσιν οὐχ ὀλοκλήρων, ἀλλὰ  
 [503] τμημάτων ὑπαρχόντων· | ἐν γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν  
 214 ἐναντίων, οὐ τμηθέντος γνώριμα τὰ ἐναντία. οὐ  
 τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ φασιν Ἕλληνες τὸν μέγαν καὶ  
 ἀοίδιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἡράκλειτον κεφάλαιον τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ προστησάμενον φιλοσοφίας αὐχεῖν ὡς ἐφ'  
 εὐρέσει καινῆ; παλαιὸν γὰρ εὖρεμα Μωυσέως  
 ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐναντία τμημάτων λόγον  
 ἔχοντα ἀποτελεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐναργῶς ἐδείχθη.  
 215 XLIV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἀκριβώ-  
 σομεν. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὴ παρησυχασθῆναι·  
 τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα διχοτομήματα τριῶν ζώων δίχα  
 διαιρεθέντων<sup>4</sup> ἐξ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔβδομον τὸν τομέα

<sup>1</sup> Or μαλακά as mss. Wend prints μαλάκεια (presumably from Pap.), but μαλάκια is the ordinary form.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀπέραν(σ)τα: Pap. ἀπορατ. See App. p. 572.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ἕκαστον ἀφανῶς (Pap. ἀφονως).

<sup>4</sup> mss. διαιρεθέντων: Pap. δίχα αἰρεθέντων.

<sup>a</sup> Probably Moses rather than God.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 210-215

vocal sounds or consonants, high notes and low notes, straight lines and curved lines. In animals 211 and plants there are barren and productive, prolific and unprolific, viviparous and oviparous, soft-skinned and shell-skinned, wild and tame, solitary and gregarious. In another class there are poverty and 212 riches ; eminence and obscurity ; high birth and low birth ; want and abundance ; war, peace ; law, lawlessness ; gifted nature, ungifted nature ; labour, inaction ; youth, age ; impotence, power ; weakness, strength. Why attempt to enumerate all and each of them, when their number is infinite and illimitable ?

How excellent then is 213 this lesson, which the interpreter<sup>a</sup> of Nature's facts in his pity for our sluggishness and carelessness lavishes on us always and everywhere, as he does in this passage, that in every case it is not where things exist as wholes, but where they exist as divisions or sections, that they must be "set facing opposite each other." For the two opposites together form a single whole, by the division of which the opposites are known. Is not this the truth which 214 according to the Greeks Heracleitus, whose greatness they celebrate so loudly, put in the fore front of his philosophy and vaunted it as a new discovery ? Actually, as has been clearly shewn, it was Moses who long ago discovered the truth that opposites are formed from the same whole, to which they stand in the relation of sections or divisions.

XLIV. This point will be discussed in detail else- 215 where. But there is another matter which should not be passed over in silence. What are called the half-pieces of the three animals when they are divided into two made six altogether and thus the

## PHILO

- εἶναι λόγον, διαστέλλοντα τὰς τριάδας, μέσον  
 216 αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένον. τὸ παραπλήσιόν μοι δοκεῖ σαφέ-  
 στατα μεμνηῦσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λυχνίας· δε-  
 δημιούργηται γὰρ ἐξ καλαμίσκους ἔχουσα, τρεῖς  
 ἑκατέρωθεν, ἐβδόμη δὲ αὐτῇ μέση, διαιρούσα καὶ  
 διακρίνουσα τὰς τριάδας. “τορευτὴ” γάρ ἐστι,  
 τεχνικὸν καὶ δόκιμον θεῖον ἔργον, “ἐξ ἑνὸς  
 χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ”. τὸ γὰρ ἓν καὶ μόνον καὶ  
 καθαρὸν ὄντως ἐβδομάδα τὴν ἀμήτορα γεγέννηκεν  
 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, μὴ προσχρησάμενον ὕλη τὸ  
 217 παράπαν. χρυσοῦν δ’ οἱ ἐγκωμιάζοντες  
 πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα λέγουσι τῶν εἰς ἔπαινον, δύο  
 δὲ τὰ ἀνωτάτω, ἓν μὲν, ὅτι ἰὸν οὐ παραδέχεται,  
 ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι εἰς ὑμένας λεπτοτάτους ἀρραγῆς  
 διαμένων ἐλαύνεται τε καὶ χεῖται. σύμβολον οὖν  
 εἰκότως μείζονος φύσεως γέγονε, ἧ ταθεῖσα καὶ  
 κεχυμένη καὶ φθάσασα πάντη πλήρης ὅλη δι’  
 ὅλων ἐστίν, εὐαρμόστως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συνυφήνασα.  
 218 περὶ τῆς προειρημένης λυχνίας ὁ  
 τεχνίτης διαλεγόμενος πάλιν φησίν, ὅτι “ἐκ τῶν  
 καλαμίσκων εἰσὶν οἱ βλαστοὶ ἐξέχοντες, τρεῖς  
 ἑκατέρωθεν, ἐξισούμενοι ἀλλήλοις· καὶ τὰ λαμπάδια  
 αὐτῶν, ἃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, καρυωτὰ ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰ ἀνθέμια ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἧ ὥσιν ἐπ’  
 αὐτῶν οἱ λύχνοι καὶ τὸ ἀνθέμιον τὸ ἔβδομον ἐπ’  
 ἄκρου τοῦ λαμπαδίου ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν,  
 στερεὸν ὅλον χρυσοῦν· καὶ ἐπτὰ λυχνοὺς ἐπ’  
 219 αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> χρυσοῦς”. ὥστε διὰ πολλῶν ἤδη κατα-  
 σκευάζεσθαι, ὅτι ἐξὰς εἰς δύο τριάδας ὑπὸ μέσου  
 τοῦ ἐβδόμου λόγου διήρηται, καθάπερ ἔχει νυνί·

<sup>1</sup> mss. and Pap. αὐτοῖς: Wend. supports his correction by § 221 (LXX. αὐτῆς, i.e. λυχνίας).



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 215-219

Severer, the Word, who separates the two sets of three and stationed himself in their midst, was the seventh. The same is clearly shewn, I think, in 216 the holy candlestick also, which is wrought with six branches, three on each side, and itself in the middle makes the seventh, dividing and separating the threes. It is "chased," a work of art, approved and divine, made "of one piece of pure gold" (Ex. xxv. 36). For the One, alone and absolutely pure, has begotten the Seven, whom no mother bore, begotten her by himself alone, and employing no other medium whatsoever.

Now those who sound the praises 217 of gold, among its many laudable qualities, place these two highest, first that it is proof against rust, secondly that when it is beaten and fused into the thinnest possible sheets, it remains unbroken. Thus it naturally becomes the symbol of a higher nature, which when stretched and fused and reaching out on every side, is still complete in its fullness throughout and weaves everything else into a harmonious whole.

Again, of the aforesaid 218 candlestick the Master-craftsman says in his discourse that "there are branchlets jutting out from the branches, three on each side, equal to each other, and their lamps at the end of them come out from them in nut shape, and the flower-patterns in them, that the candle-bearers may be on them, and the seventh flower-pattern at the end of the lamp, on the top above, all of solid gold, and seven golden candle-bearers on it" <sup>a</sup> (Ex. xxxviii. 15-17). Thus 219 by many proofs it is now established that the Six is divided into two Threes by the Word, the Seventh in their midst, just as we find in the present passage.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 572.

PHILO

- πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ λυχνία σὺν τοῖς ὀλοσχερεστάτοις  
 μέρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἃ ἕξ ἐστίν, <ἕξ ἐπτὰ><sup>1</sup> ἐπάγη,  
 λαμπαδίων ἐπτὰ, ἀνθεμίων ἐπτὰ, λύχνων ἐπτὰ.  
 220 διαιροῦνται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξ λύχνου τῷ ἐβδόμῳ, τὰ δὲ  
 ἀνθέμια ὁμοίως τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τὰ λαμπάδια τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου καὶ μέσου, οἱ δὲ  
 ἕξ καλαμίσκοι καὶ οἱ ἐκπεφυκότες ἴσοι βλαστοὶ  
 [504] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ | στελέχους τῆς <λυχνίας οὔσης><sup>2</sup>  
 221 ἐβδόμης. XLV. πολὺν δ' ὄντα τὸν  
 περὶ ἐκάστου λόγον ὑπερθετέον εἰσαυθίς. τοσοῦτο  
 δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον ὑπομνηστέον, ὅτι τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν  
 τῶν ἐπτὰ πλανήτων χορείας μίμημά ἐστιν ἡ ἱερὰ  
 222 λυχνία καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐπτὰ λύχνοι. πῶς;  
 ἐρήσεταιί τις ἴσως· ὅτι, φήσομεν, ὄνπερ τρόπον οἱ  
 λύχνοι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πλανήτων ἕκαστος φωσ-  
 φορεῖ· λαμπρότατοι γὰρ ὄντες ἀυγοειδεστάτας ἄχρι  
 γῆς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀκτίνας, διαφερόντως δ' ὁ  
 223 μέσος τῶν ἐπτὰ, ἥλιος. μέσον δ' αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον  
 ἐπεὶ μέσῃν ἐπέχει χώραν, ὡς ἠξιώσαντινες, καλῶ,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι πρὸς  
 ὑπασπιζόντων ἐκατέρωθεν ἀξιώματος ἔνεκα καὶ  
 μεγέθους καὶ ὠφελειῶν, ἃς τοῖς ἐπιγείοις ἅπασιν  
 224 παρέχει, δίκαιος ἄλλως ἐστί. τὴν δὲ τῶν πλα-  
 νηήτων τάξιν ἀνθρωποὶ παγίως μὴ κατειληφότες—τί  
 δ' ἄλλο τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἴσχυσαν κατανοῆσαι  
 βεβαίως;—εἰκοτολογοῦσιν, ἄριστα δ' ἐμοὶ στοχάζε-  
 σθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὴν μέσῃν ἀπονενεμηκότες ἠλίω

<sup>1</sup> <ἕξ ἐπτὰ> is my insertion: Wend. notes the corruption in the mss., since the genitives λαμπαδίων etc. have no construction.

<sup>2</sup> My insertion; τῆς ἐβδόμης clearly needs a noun. Mangey  
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## WHO IS THE HEIR, 219-224

For the whole candlestick with its principal parts, six in number, consists of sevens, seven lamps, seven flower-patterns, seven candle-bearers. The six 220 candle-bearers are divided by the seventh, and so also the flower-patterns by the middle one, and the lamps in the same way by their seventh in the middle, and the six branches and the six branchlets which grow out of them by the main-stalk of the candlestick, which is seventh to them. XLV. On 221

each of these there is much to say, but it must be postponed to another occasion. Only thus much should be noted. The holy candlestick and the seven candle-bearers on it are a copy of the march of the choir of the seven planets.<sup>a</sup> How so? perhaps we 222 shall be asked. Because, we shall reply, each of the planets is a light-bringer, as the candle-bearers are. For they are supremely bright and transmit the great lustre of their rays to the earth, especially the central among the seven, the sun. I call it central, 223 not merely because it holds the central position, which some give as the reason, but because apart from this it has the right to be served and attended by its squires on either side, in virtue of its dignity and magnitude and the benefits which it provides for all that are on the earth. Now the order of the planets 224 is a matter of which men have no sure apprehension—indeed is there any other celestial phenomenon which can be known with real certainty?—and therefore they fall back on probabilities. But the best conjecture, in my opinion, is that of those who

<sup>a</sup> This explanation of the candlestick is also given by Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 6, 7.

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proposed τῆς ἐβδόμης <λυχνίας>. I suggest that the similarity of οὐσης to οὖς τῆς caused the omission.

## PHILO

τάξιν, τρεῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς ἴσους εἶναι λέγοντες, ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν μὲν φαίνοντα, φαέθοντα, πυρόεντα, εἰθ' ἥλιον, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ στίλβοντα, φωσφόρον, τὴν ἀέρος γείτονα σελήνην.

225 ἐπίγειον οὖν βουλευθεὶς ἀρχετύπου τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν σφαίρας ἑπταφεγγοῦς μίμημα παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ τεχνίτης γενέσθαι πάγκαλον ἔργον προσέταξε, τὴν λυχνίαν, δημιουργηθῆναι. δέδεικται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς ψυχὴν ἐμφύερα αὐτῆς· ψυχὴ γὰρ τριμερῆς μὲν ἐστὶ, δίχα δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν, ὡς ἐδείχθη, τέμνεται, μοιρῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐξ ἑβδομος εἰκότως τομεὺς ἦν ἀπάντων ὁ ἱερός καὶ θεῖος λόγος.

226 XLVI. ἄξιον δὲ μηδ' ἐκείνο παρ-  
ησυχασθῆναι· τριῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις σκευῶν, λυχνίας, τραπέζης, θυμιατηρίου, τὸ μὲν θυμιατήριον εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν στοιχείων εὐχαριστίαν ἀνάγεται, ὡς ἐδείχθη πρότερον, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸ μοίρας ἔχει τῶν τεττάρων, γῆς μὲν τὰ ξύλα, ὕδατος δὲ τὰ ἐπιθυμιώμενα—πρότερον γὰρ τηκόμενα εἰς λιβάδας αὐθις ἀναλύεται,—τὸν δὲ ἀτμὸν ἀέρος, πυρὸς δὲ τὸ ἔξαπτόμενον—καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις δὲ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ χαλβάνης ὄνυχός τε καὶ στακτῆς τῶν στοιχείων σύμβολον,—ἡ δὲ τράπεζα εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων εὐχαριστίαν—ἄρτοι γὰρ καὶ σπονδεῖα ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῇ, οἷς ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι τὰ τῆς τροφῆς δεόμενα,—ἡ δὲ λυχνία εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν

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<sup>a</sup> Elsewhere (e.g. *De Conf.* 21) this tripartite division is into νοῦς, θῦμος and ἐπιθυμία. But we nowhere have any suggestion of these being subdivided, and the ὡς ἐδείχθη leaves no doubt that the reference is to the classification given in § 132, where the three parts were ψυχὴ, λόγος (as speech) and αἶσθησις. The best we can make of it is that

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 224-226

assign the middle place to the sun and hold that there are three above him and the same number below him. The three above are Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and the three below are Mercury, Venus and the Moon, which borders on the lower region of air. So the Master-craftsman, wishing that we should 225 possess a copy of the archetypal celestial sphere with its seven lights, commanded this splendid work, the candlestick, to be wrought. We have shewn, too, its resemblance to the soul. For the soul is tripartite, and each of its parts, as has been shewn, is divided into two,<sup>a</sup> making six parts in all, to which the holy and divine Word, the All-severer, makes a fitting seventh.

XLVI. Another point too 226 should not be passed over in silence. The furniture of the sanctuary is threefold, candlestick, table and altar of incense. In the altar, as was shewn above,<sup>b</sup> we have the thought of thanksgiving for the elements, for the altar itself contains parts of the four elements. Its wood is of earth, the incense offered on it of water, since it is first melted and then resolved into drops, while the perfume is of air and the part which is ignited of fire; moreover the compound made of frankincense, galbanum, cloves and oil of cinnamon (Ex. xxx. 34) is a symbol of the elements. In the table we have thanksgiving for the mortal creatures framed from these elements, since loaves and libations, which creatures needing food must use, are placed on it. In the candlestick we have thanksgiving for all the celestial world, here *ψυχή* is the whole *ψυχή* in its wider sense, there in the sense of the mind or *ψυχή ψυχῆς* (cf. § 55). But even so we shall not get consistency. See note on § 125.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* in § 199, though there it is the *θυμίαμα* only and not the *θύματήριον* which gives thanks.

PHILO

- κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάντων, ἵνα μηδὲν μέρος τοῦ  
 [505] κόσμου | δίκην ἀχαριστίας ὄφλη, ἀλλ' εἰδῶμεν ὅτι  
 πάντα τὰ μέρη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐχαριστεῖ, τὰ  
 στοιχεῖα, τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, οὐ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς μόνον,  
 227 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ. XLVII. ἄξιον  
 δὲ σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τῆς τραπέζης καὶ τοῦ θυμια-  
 τηρίου τὰ μέτρα δηλώσας τῆς λυχνίας οὐδὲν  
 ἀνέγραψε· μήποτε δι' ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν στοιχεῖα  
 καὶ τὰ θνητὰ ἀποτελέσματα, ὧν ἡ τράπεζα καὶ τὸ  
 θυμιατήριον σύμβολα, μεμέτρηται περατωθέντα  
 ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ—αἶε γὰρ τὸ περιέχον τοῦ περιεχομένου  
 μέτρον,—ὁ δ' οὐρανός, οὗ σύμβολόν ἐστιν ἡ  
 228 λυχνία, ἀπειρομεγέθης ἐστὶ. περιέχεται γὰρ ὑπ'  
 οὐδενὸς σώματος, οὔτε ἰσομεγέθους αὐτῷ οὔτε  
 ἀπείρου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὸ κενοῦ κατὰ Μωυσῆν<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὴν  
 ἐν τῇ ἐκπυρώσει<sup>2</sup> μυθευομένην τερατολογίαν· ἔστι  
 δὲ ὄρος αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός, ἡνίοχος καὶ κυβερνήτης  
 229 αὐτοῦ. ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπερίληπτον τὸ ὄν, οὕτως καὶ  
 τὸ ὀριζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μέτροις τοῖς εἰς τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν ἐπίνοιαν ἤκουσιν οὐ μεμέτρηται, καὶ  
 τάχα ἐπεὶ κυκλοτερῆς ὦν καὶ ἄκρως εἰς σφαῖραν  
 ἀποτετορνευμένος μήκους καὶ πλάτους οὐ μετέχει.  
 230 XLVIII. Εἰπὼν οὖν τὰ πρόποντα περὶ τούτων  
 ἐπιλέγει· “ τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα οὐ διείλεν,” ὄρνεα καλῶν  
 τοὺς πτηνοὺς καὶ πεφυκότας μετεωροπολεῖν δύο

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' . . . Μωυσῆν comes in Pap. after σώματος in the previous line, and in the mss. which do not omit it after περιέχεται γάρ. But see App. p. 572.

<sup>2</sup> Some mss. and Pap. πυρώσει, others πυργώσει, which Mangey adopted, rejecting ἀλλ' . . . Μωυσῆν and supposing a reference to the tower of Babel.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 226-230

that so no part of the universe may be guilty of unthankfulness and we may know that all its parts give thanks, the elements and the creatures framed from them, not only those on earth, but those in heaven.

XLVII. A question worth consideration is why the writer states the measurements of the table and the altar but says nothing about the measurements of the candlestick. Probably the reason is that the four elements and the mortal creatures framed from them, which are symbolized by the table and the altar, are measured and defined within limits by heaven, since that which contains is the measurement of that which is contained. On the other hand heaven, which is symbolized by the candlestick, is of infinite magnitude, not comprehended by any material substance either equal in size to it or infinite, nor again, as Moses shews, by a void, the existence of which is implied in the marvelmongers' fable of the general conflagration.<sup>a</sup> God is its boundary, God who guides and steers it. And so just as the Existent is incomprehensible, so also that which is bounded by Him is not measured by any standards which come within our powers of conception. Perhaps too it is immeasurable in the sense that being circular and rounded off into a perfect sphere it possesses neither length nor breadth.

XLVIII. Having said what was fitting on these matters, Moses continues, "the birds He did not divide" (Gen. xv. 10). He gives the name of birds to the two words or forms of reason, both of which are flagration, *ἐκπύρωσις*, with that of the void is explained in *De Aet.* 102. Fire implies expansion, and so when the world is thus immensely expanded it must expand into a void. In the same sense *S. V. F.* li. 537. There still remain, however, difficulties in the passage. See App. p. 572.

PHILO

- λόγους, ἓνα μὲν ἀρχέτυπον <τὸν> ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς,  
 231 ἕτερον δὲ μίμημα τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντα. καλεῖ  
 δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἰκόνα θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς εἰκόνος ἔκμαγεῖον. “ἐποίησε”  
 γάρ φησιν “ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον” οὐχὶ εἰκόνα  
 θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ “κατ' εἰκόνα”. ὥστε τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ἡμῶν νοῦν, ὃς δὴ κυρίως καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστι, τρίτον εἶναι τύπον ἀπὸ τοῦ πε-  
 ποιηκότος, τὸν δὲ μέσον παράδειγμα μὲν τούτου,  
 232 ἀπεικόνισμα δὲ ἐκείνου. φύσει δὲ ἄτμη-  
 τος ὁ ἡμέτερος γέγνε νοῦς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄλογον  
 ψυχῆς μέρος ἐξαχῆ διελὼν ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐπτὰ  
 μοίρας εἰργάζετο, ὄρασιν, ἀκοήν, γεῦσιν, ὄσφρησιν,  
 ἀφήν, φωνήν, γόνιμον, τὸ δὲ λογικόν, ὃ δὴ νοῦς  
 ὠνομάσθη, ἄσχιστον εἶασε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς  
 233 ὁμοιότητα οὐρανοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ λόγος ἔχει  
 τὴν μὲν ἐξωτάτω<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀπλανῆ σφαῖραν ἄτμητον  
 φυλαχθῆναι, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς ἐξαχῆ τμηθεῖσαν ἐπτὰ  
 κύκλους τῶν λεγομένων πλανήτων ἀποτελέσαι.  
 ὁ γάρ, οἶμαι, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῆ, τοῦτο οὐρανοῦ ἐν  
 κόσμῳ. τὰς οὖν νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς δύο φύσεις,  
 τὴν τε ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παντί, συμβέβη-  
 κεν ὀλοκλήρους καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους εἶναι. διὸ λέγεται.  
 [506] “τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα οὐ | διεῖλε.” περιστερᾶ  
 234 μὲν <οὖν> ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἐπειδὴ τιθασὸν καὶ  
 σύντροφον ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ ζῶον, εἰκάζεται, τῷ δὲ  
 τούτου παραδείγματι ἢ τρυγῶν. ὁ γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος  
 φιλέρημος καὶ μονωτικός, ἐν ὄχλῳ τῷ τῶν γεγο-  
 νότων καὶ φθαρσομένων οὐχὶ φυρόμενος, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἐξωτάτην : Pap. ανωτατω (ἐξωτάτω in *De Cher.* 22).

<sup>a</sup> See *De Op.* 117 and note.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 230-234

winged and of a soaring nature. One is the archetypal reason above us, the other the copy of it which we possess. Moses calls the first the "image of 231 God," the second the cast of that image. For God, he says, made man not "the image of God" but "after the image" (Gen. i. 27). And thus the mind in each of us, which in the true and full sense is the "man," is an expression at third hand from the Maker, while between them is the Reason which serves as model for our reason, but itself is the effigies or presentment of God. Our 232 mind is indivisible in its nature. For the irrational part of the soul received a sixfold division from its Maker who thus formed seven parts, sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, voice and reproductive faculty.<sup>a</sup> But the rational part, which was named mind, He left undivided. In this he followed the analogy of the heaven taken as a whole. For we are told that 233 there the outermost sphere of the fixed stars is kept unsevered, while the inner sphere by a sixfold division produces the seven circles of what we call the wandering stars.<sup>b</sup> In fact I regard the soul as being in man what the heaven is in the universe. So then the two reasoning and intellectual natures, one in man and the other in the all, prove to be integral and undivided and that is why we read "He did not divide the birds." Our mind is 234 likened to a pigeon, since the pigeon is a tame and domesticated creature, while the turtle-dove stands as the figure of the mind which is the pattern of ours. For the Word, or Reason of God, is a lover of the wild and solitary, never mixing with the medley of things that have come into being only to perish,

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Timaeus* 36 D and *De Cher.* 22 f.

## PHILO

- ἄνω φοιτᾶν εἰθισμένος αἰεὶ καὶ ἐνὶ ὁπαδὸς εἶναι  
 μόνῳ μεμελετηκῶς. ἄτμητοι μὲν οὖν αἱ δύο  
 φύσεις, ἣ τε ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἣ ὑπὲρ  
 ἡμᾶς τοῦ θείου λόγου, ἄτμητοι δὲ οὐσαι μυρία  
 235 ἄλλα τέμνουσιν. ὃ τε γὰρ θεῖος λόγος τὰ ἐν τῇ  
 φύσει διεΐλε καὶ διένειμε πάντα, ὃ τε ἡμέτερος  
 νοῦς, ἅττ' ἂν παραλάβῃ νοητῶς πράγματά τε καὶ  
 σώματα, εἰς ἀπειράκεις ἄπειρα διαιρεῖ μέρη καὶ  
 236 τέμνων οὐδέποτε λήγει. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει διὰ  
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων  
 ἐμφέρειαν. τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἀμιγές, ἄκρατον, ἀμερέ-  
 στατον ὑπάρχον ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ γέγονεν αἴτιον  
 μίξεως, κράσεως, διαιρέσεως, πολυμερείας· ὥστε  
 εἰκότως καὶ τὰ ὁμοιωθέντα, νοῦς τε ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ  
 ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἀμερεῖς καὶ ἄτμητοι ὑπάρχοντες  
 διαιρεῖν καὶ διακρίνειν ἕκαστα τῶν ὄντων ἐρρω-  
 μένως δυνήσονται.
- 237 XLIX. Λαλήσας οὖν περὶ τῶν ἀτμήτων καὶ  
 ἀδιαιρέτων ὄρνέων φησὶν ἐξῆς· “κατέβη δὲ ὄρνεα  
 ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, τὰ διχοτομήματα,” ὁμωνυμία  
 μὲν χρησάμενος, τὴν δὲ πραγματικὴν διαμάχην  
 ἐναργέστατα τοῖς ὄραν δυναμένοις διασυνιστάς·  
 παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ ἔστι τὸ καταβαίνειν ὄρνεα,  
 238 τοῦ μετεωροπολεῖν ἕνεκα πετερωθέντα. καθάπερ  
 γὰρ τοῖς χερσαίοις οἰκειότατον χωρίον γῆ καὶ  
 μάλιστα τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς, ἃ μηδ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἰλυ-  
 σπώμενα ἀνέχεται, φωλεοὺς δὲ καὶ καταδύσεις  
 ζητεῖ τὸν ἄνω χῶρον ἀποδιδράσκοντα διὰ τὴν  
 πρὸς τὰ κάτω συγγένειαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ

<sup>a</sup> The Hebrew has a different word for these birds, which

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 234-238

but its wonted resort is ever above and its study is to wait on One and One only. So then the two natures, the reasoning power within us and the divine Word or Reason above us, are indivisible, yet indivisible as they are they divide other things without number. The divine Word separated and apportioned all that 235 is in nature. Our mind deals with all the things material and immaterial which the mental process brings within its grasp, divides them into an infinity of infinities and never ceases to cleave them. This is 236 the result of its likeness to the Father and Maker of all. For the Godhead is without mixture or infusion or parts and yet has become to the whole world the cause of mixture, infusion, division and multiplicity of parts. And thus it will be natural that these two which are in the likeness of God, the mind within us and the mind above us, should subsist without parts or severance and yet be strong and potent to divide and distinguish everything that is.

XLIX. After speaking of the birds which were 237 left unsevered and undivided, he continues "and the birds came down to the carcasses, the half-pieces" (Gen. xv. 11). He employs the same word "birds,"<sup>a</sup> but shews very clearly to those who have eyes to see the contrast in fact between the two kinds of birds. For it is against nature that birds whose wings were given them to soar on high should come down. Just as earth is the most suitable place for creatures 238 of the land, particularly reptiles, which in their wriggling course cannot even bear to be above ground, but make for holes and crannies and, since their natural place is below, avoid what is above, the A.V. translates by "fowls," the R.V. by "birds of prey."

## PHILO

τοῖς πτηνοῖς ὁ ἀήρ ἐνδιαίτημα οἰκείον, κούφοις  
 διὰ τὴν πτέρωσιν ὁ φύσει κούφος. ὅταν οὖν τὰ  
 ἀεροπόρα αἰθεροβατεῖν ὀφείλοντα καταβαίῃη, πρὸς  
 χέρσον ἀφικνούμενα τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἀδυνατεῖ  
 239 χρῆσθαι βίῳ. τούναντίον δὲ Μωυσῆς  
 καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἔρπετῶν ἄνω δύναται πηδᾶν οὐ  
 μετρίως ἀποδέχεται· φησὶ γοῦν· “ ταῦτα φάγεσθε  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔρπετῶν τῶν πετεινῶν, ἃ πορεύεται ἐπὶ  
 τεσσάρων, ἃ ἔχει σκέλη ἄνωτέρω τῶν ποδῶν,  
 ὥστε πηδᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.” ταῦτα  
 δ’ ἐστὶ σύμβολα ψυχῶν, ὅσαι τρόπον ἔρπετῶν  
 προσερριζωμέναι τῷ γήινῳ σώματι καθαρθεῖσαι  
 μετεωροπολεῖν ἰσχύουσιν, οὐρανὸν ἀντικαταλλάξά-  
 240 μенаι γῆς καὶ φθορᾶς ἀθανασίαν. πάσης οὖν  
 βαρυδαιμονίας ἀναπεπλήσθαι νομιστέον ἐκείνας,  
 αἵτινες ἐν ἀέρι καὶ αἰθέρι τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τρα-  
 φεῖσαι μετανέστησαν τὸν θείων ἀγαθῶν κόρον οὐ |  
 [507] δυνηθεῖσαι φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ θνητῶν καὶ κακῶν χωρίον  
 γῆν. ἐπιφοιτῶσι δ’ ἔννοιαι μυρίαὶ περὶ μυρίων  
 πραγμάτων ὄσων, αἱ μὲν ἐκούσιοι, αἱ δὲ κατ’  
 ἄγνοίαν, οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαι πτηνῶν, αἷς τὰ κατιόντα  
 241 ἐξωμοίωσεν ὄρνεα. τῶν δὲ ἐννοιῶν ἡ  
 μὲν ἄνω φορὰ τὴν ἀμείνω τάξιν ἔλαχε συνοδοι-  
 πορούσης ἀρετῆς τῆς πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον<sup>1</sup> καὶ θεῖον  
 χῶρον<sup>2</sup> ἀγούσης, τὴν χεῖρω δὲ ἡ κάτω κακίας  
 ἀφηγουμένης καὶ ἀντισπώσης βία. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. οὐρανὸν; Pap. θειων ουρανιων.

<sup>2</sup> So mss.: Wend. from Pap. χορὸν. While χορὸς θεῖος is common in Philo (cf. *Phaedrus* 247 A), we have in a passage similar to this, *De Som.* i. 151, σοφοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν δλύμπιον καὶ

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 238-241

so too the air is the suitable habitat for the birds, its natural lightness matching with the lightness which the wings give them. So when the denizens of the air, who should rather be explorers of the realm of ether, "descend," it is to the land that they come and there they cannot live their natural life.

Conversely Moses gives high approval <sup>239</sup> to those reptiles which can leap upwards. Thus he says, "These shall ye eat of the flying reptiles which go on four legs, which have legs above their feet, so as to leap with them from the earth" (Lev. xi. 21). These are symbols of the souls which though rooted like reptiles to the earthly body have been purified and have strength to soar on high, exchanging earth for heaven, and corruption for immortality. Surely <sup>240</sup> then we must suppose that misery wholesale and all-pervading must be the lot of those souls which reared in air and ether at its purest have left that home for earth the region of things mortal and evil, because the good things of God bred in them an intolerable satiety. And here they become the resort of thoughts and notions, numberless as the subjects with which they are concerned, some willingly admitted, some in mere ignorance. These thoughts are just like winged creatures and it is to them that he likens "the birds which come down."

Some of our thoughts fly up, others <sup>241</sup> down. To the upward flight falls the better lot, for it has for its fellow-traveller virtue leading it to the divine and heavenly region; to the downward flight the worse lot falls, since vice goes in front and pulls it with might and main if it resists. How

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*οὐράνιον χῶρον ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν*, where *χορδῶν* is impossible, and *χῶρον* suits *τόπων* better.

## PHILO

τὰ ὀνόματα οὐχ ἤκιστα τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐναντιότητα· ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον παρὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν ὀνομάσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄρσιν—αἵρεται γὰρ καὶ μετεωρίζεται διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων ἐρᾶν,—  
 242 πίπτειν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ βιάζεσθαι. τὰ γοῦν πολέμια τῆς ψυχῆς ἐννοήματα ἐπιποτώμενα καὶ ἐπιφοιτῶντα κάτεισι μὲν αὐτά, καταβάλλει δὲ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αἰσχροῦς ἐπιφερόμενα σώμασιν οὐ πράγμασιν,<sup>1</sup> αἰσθητοῖς οὐ νοητοῖς, ἀτελέσιν οὐχ ὀλοκλήροις, ἐφθαρμένοις οὐχὶ τοῖς ζῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωμάτων δίχα διαιρεθέντων τμήμασιν ἐπιφοιτᾷ· τὰ δ' οὕτως διαιρεθέντα ἀμήχανον ἀρμονίαν δέξασθαι καὶ ἔνωσιν, τῶν πνευματικῶν τόνων, οἱ συμφυέστατος δεσμός  
 243 ἦσαν, διακοπέντων. L. εἰσηγεῖται δὲ γνώμην ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκων, ὅτι δικαιοσύνη μὲν καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ ψυχῆς, ἀδικία δὲ καὶ πᾶσα κακία σώματος ἐρῶσι, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῷ ἐτέρῳ φίλα τῷ ἐτέρῳ πάντως ἐχθρά ἐστι, καθὰ καὶ νῦν· αἰνιττόμενος γὰρ τοὺς ψυχῆς πολεμίους ὄρνεα εἰσήγαγε γλιχόμενα ἐμπλέκεσθαι καὶ ἐμφύεσθαι σώμασι καὶ σαρκῶν ἐμφορεῖσθαι, ὧν τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ ἐπιδρομὰς ἐπισχεῖν βουληθεῖς ὁ ἀστείος λέγεται αὐτοῖς συγκαθίσαι,<sup>2</sup> οἷα πρόεδρος τις ἢ πρόβουλος

<sup>1</sup> So mss. and Pap.: Wend. σώμασι καὶ πράγμασι. See App. p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> So LXX.: mss. and Pap. ἐγκαθίσαι.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* κακία is derived from the two words κάτω κεχωρηκέναι, the consonants in the second word being supposed to supply the second κ in κακία.

<sup>b</sup> For this use of πνεῦμα cf. πνεύματος ἐνωτικοῦ δυνάμει *De Op.* 131, and the definition of ξῆσις in *Quod Deus* 35 as 404

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 241-243

opposite are the climes to which these two belong is shewn most clearly by their names. Virtue is so named not only because we choose it (*αἴρεσις*) but also from its uplifting (*ἄρσις*), for it is lifted up and soars on high, because it ever yearns for the celestial. Vice is so called because it has "gone down"<sup>a</sup> and compels those who have to do with it to fall down likewise. Thus thoughts hostile to the soul, 242 when they hover over it or perch upon it, not only come down themselves, but also bring downfall to the understanding, when in hideous fashion they pounce upon things material, not immaterial; which are of the senses, not of the intelligence; of imperfection, not of soundness; of corruption not of life. For they perch not only on bodies, but on sections of bodies divided in two. And it is impossible that bodies so divided should admit of joining or unifying, since the currents of spirit force,<sup>b</sup> which were their congenital ligament, have been broken into.

L. Moses also brings before 243 us a thought of profound truth in teaching us that justice and every virtue love the soul, while injustice and every vice love the body; that what is friendly to the one is utterly hostile to the other—a lesson given in this passage as elsewhere. For in a figure he pictures the enemies of the soul as birds, eager to intertwine and ingraft themselves in bodies and to glut themselves with flesh, and it is to restrain the onsets and inroads of such that the man of worth is said to sit down in their company (Gen. xv. 11), like a chairman or president of a council.

*πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἑαυτό.* In fact the three terms *πνεῦμα*, *ἔξις*, *τόνος* for a permeating and binding force seem more or less convertible. See the sections headed *πνεῦμα*, *ἔξις*, *τόνος* in *S. V. F.* ii. 439-462.

## PHILO

- 244 ὧν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ τὰ οἰκεία ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίου  
στάσεως διεισθῆκει καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ στίφη διεφέρετο,  
βουλὴν ἀπάντων συναγαγὼν ἐσκόπει περὶ τῶν  
διαφόρων, ἢν', εἰ δύναίτο, πειθοῖ χρώμενος καὶ τὸν  
ξενικὸν πόλεμον καταλύσαι καὶ τὴν ἐμφύλιον  
ταραχὴν ἀνέλοι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ νέφος ἐπιρ-  
ράξαντας ἀκαταλλάκτως ἔχοντας λυσιτελὲς ἦν ἀπο-  
σκεδάσαι, τοῖς δὲ τὴν παλαιὰν συγγένειαν οἰκειώσα-  
245 σθαι. δυσμενεῖς μὲν οὖν ἄσπονδοι καὶ  
ἀκατάλλακτοι γράφονται ψυχῆς ἀφροσύναι καὶ  
ἀκολασίαι δειλίαι τε καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι  
ἐκ πλεοναζούσης ὀρμῆς εἰώθασιν φύεσθαι ἄλογοι  
ἐπιθυμίαι, σκιρτῶσαι καὶ ἀπαυχενίζουσαι καὶ τὸν  
εὐθὺν δρόμον τῆς διανοίας ἐπέχουσαι, πολλάκις  
[509] | δὲ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῆς σχῆμα σπαράττουσαι  
246 τε καὶ καταβάλλουσαι. τὰ δὲ τῶν  
ἐνσπόνδων εἶναι δυναμένων προσκρούσματα τοιαυτὰ  
ἔστιν, ὁποίας εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς σοφιστῶν  
δῶγματικὰς ἔριδας· ἧ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἓν ἀπονέουσι  
τέλος, θεωρίαν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων,  
λέγουτ' ἂν εἶναι φίλοι, ἧ δ' οὐχ ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν  
ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ζητήσεσιν, ἐμφυλίῳ στάσει  
χρησθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀγένητον εἶναι λέγοντες τὸ  
πᾶν τοῖς γένεσιν εἰσηγουμένοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν  
οἱ φθαρῆσεσθαι τοῖς φθαρτὸν μὲν εἶναι φύσει,  
μηδέποτε δὲ φθαρησόμενον διὰ τὸ κραταιοτέρῳ  
δεσμῷ, τῇ τοῦ πεποιηκότος βουλήσει, συνέχεσθαι,  
καὶ οἱ μηδὲν εἶναι ὁμολογοῦντες ἀλλὰ πάντα

<sup>a</sup> This seems to be the force of the imperfects. Philo is falling back upon his reading and no doubt the conditions described in the following sections belong rather to a past time than to his own.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 244—246

History tells us<sup>a</sup> how when discord reigned at home 244 through civil faction, or hostile bands were at variance, such a one would summon a council of all concerned and investigate the points of difference, that if possible he might by his powers of persuasion make an end of the external war or put down the civil commotion. In the one case he would scatter abroad the foes who rushed in irreconcilable hatred like a storm cloud, in the other he would restore the old feeling of intimate kinship—each a useful work.

Now the list of deadly and irreconcilable 245 enemies of the soul comprises its follies, its acts of cowardice and injustice and all the other irrational lusts so constantly born of over-abundant appetite,<sup>b</sup> which prance and struggle against the yoke and hinder the straight onward course of the understanding, and often rend and overthrow its whole frame.

But with those who might be 246 allies the causes of offence are such as we find in the wranglings of the sophists on questions of dogma. In so far as their minds are fixed on one end to discover the facts of nature, they may be said to be friends, but in that they do not agree in their solutions of particular problems they may be said to be engaged in civil strife. Thus those who declare the universe to be uncreated are at strife with those who maintain its creation; those who say that it will be destroyed with those who declare that though by nature destructible it will never be destroyed, being held together by a bond of superior strength, namely the will of its Maker; those who maintain that nothing is, but all things become, with those who hold the opposite opinion; those who argue at

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 90 and note.

## PHILO

- γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι τάναντία, καὶ οἱ πάντων χρημάτων ἄνθρωπον μέτρον εἶναι διεξιόντες τοῖς τὰ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τὰ διανοίας κριτήρια συγχέουσι, καὶ συνόλως οἱ πάντα ἀκατάληπτα εἰσηγούμενοι τοῖς γνωρίζεσθαι πάμπολλα φάσκουσιν. καὶ ἥλιος μέντοι καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός, γῆ τε καὶ ἀήρ καὶ ὕδωρ, τά τε ἐξ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν πάντα τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς ἔριδας καὶ φιλονεικίας παρεσχήκασιν, οὐσίας καὶ ποιότητας, μεταβολάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τροπὰς καὶ γενέσεις, ἔτι δὲ φθορὰς αὐτῶν ἀναζητοῦσιν· μεγέθους τε πέρι καὶ κινήσεως τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν οὐ πάρεργον ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔρευναν ἑτεροδοξοῦσιν οὐ συμφερόμενοι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ μαιευτικὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δικαστικὸς ἀνὴρ συγκαθίσας θεάσῃται τὰ τῆς ἐκάστου γεννήματα ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἄξια τροφῆς ἀπορρίψῃ, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια διασώσῃ καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἀρμοστούσης ἀξιώσῃ. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μεστὰ διαφωνίας γέγονε τὸν πιθανὸν καὶ στοχαστικὸν νοῦν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδιδρασκούσης· τὸ γὰρ δυσεύρετον καὶ δυσθῆρατον αὐτῆς τὰς λογικὰς, ὡς οἶμαι, στάσεις ἐγέννησε.
- 249 LI. “ Περὶ δὲ ἡλίου ” φησί “ δυσμὰς ἕκστασις ἐπέπεσεν<sup>1</sup> τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ἰδοὺ φόβος σκοτεινὸς μέγας ἐπιπίπτει αὐτῷ.” ἕκστασις ἢ μὲν ἐστὶ λύττα μανιώδης παράνοϊαν ἐμποιοῦσα κατὰ γῆρας ἢ μελαγχολίαν ἢ τινα ὁμοιότροπον ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἢ δὲ σφοδρὰ κατάπληξις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑξαπιναιῶς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So LXX: MSS. ἔπεσε: Pap. ἐπεστήσε.

<sup>a</sup> For the philosophical opinions mentioned in this section see App. p. 574.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 246-249

length that man is the measure of all things with those who make havoc of the judgement-faculty of both sense and mind; and, to put it generally, those who maintain that everything is beyond our apprehension with those who assert that a great number of things are cognizable.<sup>a</sup> And indeed sun 247 and moon and the whole heaven, also earth and air and water and practically all that they produce, have been the cause of strife and contention to the inquirers when they probe into their essential natures and qualities, their changes and phases, the processes by which they come into being and finally cease to be. For as to the magnitude and movement of the heavenly bodies with all their absorbing research they come to different and conflicting opinions, until the man-midwife<sup>b</sup> who is also the judge takes his seat in their midst and observes the brood of each disputant's soul, throws away all that is not worth rearing, but saves what is worth saving and approves it for such careful treatment as is required. The history of philosophy is full of 248 discordance, because truth flees from the credulous mind which deals in conjecture. It is her nature to elude discovery and pursuit, and it is this which in my opinion produces these scientific quarrellings.

LI. "About sunset" it continues, "an 'ecstasy' 249 fell upon Abraham and lo a great dark terror falls upon him" (Gen. xv. 12). Now "ecstasy" or "standing out" takes different forms. Sometimes it is a mad fury producing mental delusion due to old age or melancholy or other similar cause. Sometimes it is extreme amazement at the events which

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Socrates' use of the figure in *Theaetetus* 151 c and elsewhere.

PHILO

- [509] ἀπροσδοκῆτως | συμβαίνειν εἰωθόσιν, ἥ δὲ ἡρεμία  
 διανοίας, εἰ δὴ πέφυκέ ποτε ἡσυχάζειν, ἥ δὲ  
 πασῶν ἀρίστη ἔνθεος κατοκωχή τε καὶ μανία, ἥ  
 250 τὸ προφητικὸν γένος χρῆται. τῆς μὲν  
 οὖν πρώτης ἐν ταῖς <ἐν> Ἐπινομίδι γραφείσαις  
 ἀραῖς διαμέμνηται—παραπληξίαν γάρ φησι καὶ  
 ἀορασίαν καὶ ἔκστασιν διανοίας καταλήψεσθαι τοὺς  
 ἀσεβοῦντας, ὡς μηδὲν διοίσειν τυφλῶν ἐν μεσημ-  
 βρία καθάπερ ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ ψηλαφόντων,—  
 251 τῆς δὲ δευτέρας πολλαχοῦ—“ ἐξέστη”  
 γάρ φησιν “ Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην, καὶ εἶπε·  
 τίς οὖν ὁ θηρεύσας μοι θήραν καὶ ἐνεγκῶν  
 μοι, καὶ ἔφαγον ἀπὸ πάντων πρὸ τοῦ σέ ἐλθεῖν,  
 καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτόν; καὶ εὐλογημένος ἔστω;”  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἀπιστοῦντος τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὅτι  
 “ ζῆ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἄρχει πάσης γῆς Αἰγύπτου”·  
 “ ἐξέστη” γάρ φησι “ τῇ διανοίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευ-  
 σεν αὐτοῖς,” καὶ ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν· “ τὸ γὰρ ὄρος ” φησί “ τὸ Σινὰ ἐκαπνίζετο  
 ὄλον διὰ τὸ καταβεβηκέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ ἐν  
 πυρί, καὶ ἀνέβαινον ὁ καπνὸς ὡσεὶ ἀτμὶς καμίνου·  
 καὶ ἐξέστη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς σφόδρα,” καὶ ἐν τῷ Λευι-  
 τικῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τελείωσιν ἡμέρα τῇ  
 ὀγδόῃ, ὅποτε “ ἐξῆλθε πῦρ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατ-  
 ἔφαγε τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, τὰ τε ὀλοκαυτώ-  
 ματα καὶ τὰ στέατα”· λέγεται γὰρ εὐθύς· “ καὶ  
 εἶδε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐξέστη, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσω-  
 πον·” ἥ γὰρ τοιαύτη ἔκστασις πτόησιν καὶ  
 δειρῆν κατάπληξιν ἐμποιεῖ—  
 252 Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡσαῦ,

so often happen suddenly and unexpectedly. Sometimes it is passivity of mind, if indeed the mind can ever be at rest ; and the best form of all is the divine possession or frenzy<sup>a</sup> to which the prophets as a class are subject.

The first form is mentioned 250 in the curses described in Deuteronomy, where he says that madness and loss of sight and "ecstasy" of mind will overtake the impious, so that they shall differ in nought from blind men groping at noonday as in deep darkness (Deut. xxviii. 28, 29).

The second we have in several places. Isaac was 251 astonished with a great ecstasy and said, "who is it then who has made a hunting and brought to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest and I blessed him, and let him be blessed" (Gen. xxvii. 33). And again when Jacob disbelieved those who told him that "Joseph lives and is ruler over all Egypt," he was in an "ecstasy," we are told, "in his mind, for he did not believe them" (Gen. xlv. 26). Also in Exodus, in the account of the congregation, it says, "for Mount Sinai was all covered with smoke, because God came down to it in fire and the smoke rose up like vapour of a furnace, and all the people were in a great 'ecstasy'" (Ex. xix. 18). Also in Leviticus at the completion of the sacrifices on the eighth day, when "fire came out from heaven and devoured what was on the altar, both the whole burnt offerings and the fats"; for the next words are, "and all the people saw it and were in an 'ecstasy,' and fell upon their faces" (Lev. ix. 24): a natural consequence, for an "ecstasy" in this sense produces great agitation and terrible consternation.

Incidentally in the story of Jacob and Esau there 252

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 574.

## PHILO

ὅτι εἰδὼς κυνηγεῖν αἰεὶ θηρεύεται καὶ πτερνίζεται  
 τὴν τέχνην ἐπὶ βλάβῃ κτησάμενος, οὐκ ὠφελεία,  
 θηρεύειν δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐσπούδασε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 Ἰακώβ, ὅτι θηρεύει μὴ μάθων, ἀλλὰ φύσει κινού-  
 μενος, τὸ πάθος, καὶ φέρει τῷ δοκιμαστῇ, ὃς εἰ  
 δοκιμὸν ἐστὶ διαγνώσεται, διὸ ἀπὸ πάντων φάγε-  
 253 ται;<sup>1</sup> πάντα γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐδώδιμα καθ-  
 ἔστηκεν, ἢ ζήτησις, ἢ σκέψις, ἢ ἀνάγνωσις, ἢ ἀκρόα-  
 σις, ἢ προσοχή, ἢ ἐγκράτεια, ἢ ἐξαδιαφόρησις τῶν  
 ἀδιαφόρων. ἀπὸ πάντων δὲ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς δῆπου-  
 θεν ἔφαγεν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπολείπε-  
 σθαι καὶ τῷ ἀσκητῇ τροφὰς οἰκείας ὡς ἄθλα.  
 254 “πρὸ τοῦ σέ ἐλθεῖν” φυσικῶς· εἰ  
 γὰρ ἔλθῃ τὸ πάθος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἀπο-  
 λαύσομεν ἐγκρατείας· ἐλέγχει δὲ καὶ τὸν φαῦλον  
 ὡς βραδὺν καὶ ὀκνηρὸν καὶ μελλητὴν πρὸς τὰ  
 παιδείας ἔργα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἀκολασίας.  
 255 ἐργοδιώκτας οὖν Αἴγυπτος ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
 παθῶν ἐπισπεύδοντας ἀπόλαυσιν, Μωυσῆς δ'

<sup>1</sup> Wend. does not put a mark of interrogation. If this is not a mere misprint, he must have understood οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι as “there is no need to wonder.”

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<sup>a</sup> The irrelevance of these five sections to the disquisition on “ecstasy” led Mangey to consider them an interpolation from another treatise. But the irrelevance does not differ in kind from Philo’s other ramblings, and we have a sort of apology for it in § 256. The remarks are based on the texts quoted to illustrate the second sense of “ecstasy” in § 251. He feels that though they were quoted for that purpose, they each have their moral which he does not wish to omit.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 574.

<sup>c</sup> The allegory of §§ 252-254 is very confused. Jacob

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 252-255

are thoughts well worthy of our admiration.<sup>a</sup> Esau, though he has the knowledge needed for the chase, is ever hunted and supplanted, because he has acquired his skill not to do good but harm, and moreover is never quick or zealous in his hunting. Jacob hunts passion not through teaching, but moved to it by nature, and brings the game to the tester who will decide whether it will stand the test. For this purpose the tester will eat of all that he brings. For all the elements of practice are food fit for eating, 253 inquiry, examination, reading, listening to instruction, concentration, perseverance, self-mastery, and power to treat things indifferent as indeed indifferent.<sup>b</sup> Of all these the tester naturally eats samples<sup>b</sup> only, not the whole. For the Practiser must have his proper food left to him, like prizes for his efforts.

Another lesson. The words "before 254 thou camest" are true to nature. For if passion has entered the soul we shall not get enjoyment from self-mastery. Secondly, they convict the bad of sloth and slackness and backwardness to the tasks of instruction, though not to those of incontinence.<sup>c</sup> And so it is Egypt which has its "task-drivers" 255 (Ex. v. 6) who urge others to the enjoyment of the

"hunts," *i.e.* supplants, *πάθος* symbolized by Esau (though elsewhere Esau is rather folly). But the game he brings so quickly (a sign as in *De Sac.* 64 and elsewhere of gifts sent direct from nature and God) turns out to be the qualities of the "Practiser." These qualities are submitted to the testing soul before *πάθος* can enter it, otherwise their flavour would be lost. Here Esau is still *πάθος*, but the next moment he is rather the worthless man hunting in a sense for the good, but failing through procrastination and slackness, and thus a contrast to the zeal of the man of worth. This zeal for the good implies an equal zeal to flee from evil, and the texts in § 255 illustrate this.

ἔμπαλιν μετὰ σπουδῆς παραγγέλλει τὸ Πάσχα ἐσθίειν, τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων διάβασιν εὐωχεῖσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας φησὶν· “ εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐβραδύναμεν, |  
 [510] ἤδη ἂν ὑπεστρέψαμεν δὶς,” οὗ φησι κατέβημεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπανεσώθημεν.

256 εἰκότως καὶ Ἰακώβ τεθαύμακεν, εἰ ἔτι ὁ ἐν σώματι νοῦς, Ἰωσήφ, ζῆ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἄρχει τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄρχεται πρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιῶν ἂν τις ὑποδείγματα τάληθές ἰχνεύειν δυνηθείη. πρόκειται δ’ οὐ περὶ τούτων νῦν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, διὸ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τρεπτέον,  
 257 τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς γένεσιν φιλοσοφεῖ—“ ἐπέβαλε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ” φησὶν “ ἕκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνωσεν,” ἕκστασιν τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἡρεμίαν τοῦ νοῦ παραλαμβάνων· ὑπνος γὰρ νοῦ ἐγρήγορσις ἐστὶν αἰσθήσεως, καὶ γὰρ ἐγρήγορσις διανοίας αἰσθήσεως ἀπραξία,—

258 LII. τῆς δὲ τετάρτης ὁ νῦν σκοποῦμεν· “ περὶ δὲ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἕκστασις ἐπέπεσεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ.” ἐνθουσιῶντος καὶ θεοφορήτου τὸ πάθος. ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον διασυνίστησιν<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν προφήτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμα ρητὸν ἐστηλιτευμένον <ἐν> ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, ἡνίκα τις ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἄρχουσαν ἀρετὴν, Σάρραν, αὐτοῦ διοικίξειν, ὡς οὐκ ἴδιον σοφοῦ καὶ μόνου κτήμα, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ φρόνησιν ἐπιμορφάζοντος.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀλλὰ συνίστησι: Pap. (?) συνιστησι.

<sup>a</sup> For the interpretation of the tasks as lower pleasures cf. *De Conf.* 93.

<sup>b</sup> Of course the first is what the Judah of the story did



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 255-258

passions ;<sup>a</sup> it is Moses who bids eat the Passover and celebrate the crossing from passion "with haste" (Ex. xii. 11). So too Judah, "for if we had not delayed, we should already have returned twice over" (Gen. xliii. 10). He does not mean "we should have gone down twice to Egypt," but "we should have come up thence in safety."<sup>b</sup> Natural too 256 is the wonder of Jacob that the mind within the body still lives to virtue and rules that body (Gen. xlv. 26), instead of being ruled by it.

In the same way if we went through the other examples we should be able to trace the truth they teach, but the task before us now is not to work these out in detail, and therefore we must turn to the next point. We have the third sort of ecstasy when 257 Moses finds a lesson of wisdom in the story of the creation of woman. God "cast," he says, "an ecstasy on Adam and he slept" (Gen. ii. 21). Here by ecstasy he means passivity and tranquillity of mind. For sleep of mind is waking of sense, since waking of the understanding is inaction of sense.

LII. The fourth kind of ecstasy we 258 find in the passage we are now examining. "About sunset there fell upon Abraham an ecstasy," that is, what the inspired and God-possessed experience. Yet it is not merely this experience which proves him a prophet, but we have also the actual word written and recorded in the holy Scriptures, when another tried to take Sarah from his home, Sarah the virtue whose nature is to rule, as though that virtue was not the peculiar possession of the wise and of him alone, but belonged to any who counterfeits good

mean, but the delay which the Judah-mind, as Philo sees it, regrets can only be delay in escaping from Egypt.

## PHILO

- “ ἀπόδος ” γάρ φησι “ τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,  
 ὅτι προφήτης ἐστὶ καὶ προσεύξεται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ  
 259 ζήσεις.” παντὶ δὲ ἀστείῳ προφητεῖαν ὁ  
 ἱερὸς λόγος μαρτυρεῖ· προφήτης γὰρ ἴδιον μὲν  
 οὐδὲν ἀποφθέγγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα ὑπ-  
 ηχοῦντος ἑτέρου· φαύλῳ δ’ οὐ θέμις ἐρμηνεῖ γενέ-  
 σθαι θεοῦ, ὥστε κυρίως μοχθηρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐνθουσιᾷ,  
 μόνῳ δὲ σοφῷ ταῦτ’ ἐφαρμόττει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος  
 ὄργανον θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡχείον, κρουόμενον καὶ πλητ-  
 260 τόμενον ἀοράτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. πάντας γοῦν ὁπό-  
 σους ἀνέγραψε δικαίους κατεχομένους καὶ προ-  
 φητεύοντας εἰσήγαγεν. ὁ Νῶε δίκαιος·  
 ἀρ’ οὐ καὶ εὐθύς προφήτης; ἢ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ  
 κατάρας ἃς ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰθῆς γενεαῖς ἐποιήσατο  
 ἔργων ἀληθείᾳ βεβαιωθείσας οὐ κατεχόμενος  
 261 ἐθέσπισε; τί δὲ Ἰσαάκ; τί δὲ Ἰακώβ;  
 καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τε ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα  
 διὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους προσηρήσεων ὁμο-  
 λογοῦνται προφητεύσαι. τὸ γὰρ “ συνάχθητε, ἵνα  
 ἀπαγγείλω τί ἀπαντήσεται ὑμῖν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτῳ τῶν  
 ἡμερῶν ” ἐνθουσιῶντος ἦν· ἢ γὰρ τῶν μελλόντων  
 262 κατάληψις ἀνοίκειος ἀνθρώπῳ. τί δὲ |  
 [511] Μωυσῆς; οὐ προφήτης ἄδεται πανταχοῦ; λέγει  
 γάρ· “ ἐὰν γένηται ὑμῶν προφήτης κυρίου, ἐν  
 ὁράματι αὐτῷ γνωσθήσομαι, Μωυσῆ δὲ ἐν εἶδει,  
 καὶ οὐ δι’ αἰνιγμάτων,” καὶ πάλιν “ οὐκ ἀνέστη  
 ἔτι προφήτης ὡς Μωυσῆς, ὃν ἔγνω κύριος αὐτὸν  
 263 πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον.” παγκάλως

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 258-263

sense. For the text runs, " restore the woman to the man, because he is a prophet and shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live " (Gen. xx. 7). Now 259

with every good man it is the holy Word which assures him his gift of prophecy. For a prophet (being a spokesman) has no utterance of his own, but all his utterance came from elsewhere, the echoes of another's voice. The wicked may never be the interpreter of God, so that no worthless person is " God-inspired " in the proper sense. The name only befits the wise, since he alone is the vocal instrument of God, smitten and played by His invisible hand. Thus, all whom Moses describes as just are 260 pictured as possessed and prophesying.

Noah was just. Is he not in the same breath shewn as a prophet ? Were not the curses which he called down on subsequent generations, the prayers which he made on their behalf, all of which the actual event confirmed, uttered by him under divine possession ?

What of Isaac ? What of Jacob ? 261 They too are confessed as prophets by many other evidences, but particularly by their speeches addressed to their children. For " Gather ye together that I may proclaim what shall happen to you at the end of the days " (Gen. xlix. 1) were the words of one inspired. For apprehension of the future does not belong to man.

What of Moses ? Is he 262 not everywhere celebrated as a prophet ? For it says, " if a prophet of the Lord arise among you, I will be known to him in vision, but to Moses in actual appearance and not through riddles " (Num. xii. 6, 8), and again " there no more rose up a prophet like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face " (Deut. xxxiv. 10).

Admirably then 263

## PHILO

- οὖν τὸν ἐνθουσιῶντα μηνύει φάσκων “περὶ ἡλίου  
 δυσμᾶς ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν.” LIII. ἡλίον διὰ  
 συμβόλου τὸν ἡμέτερον καλῶν νοῦν· ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν  
 ἡμῖν λογισμός, τοῦτο ἐν κόσμῳ ἡλίος, ἐπειδὴ  
 φωσφορεῖ ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν τῷ παντὶ φέγγος  
 αἰσθητὸν ἐκπέμπων, ὁ δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς νοητὰς  
 264 διὰ τῶν καταλήψεων αὐγᾶς. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἔτι  
 περιλάμπει καὶ περιπολεῖ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς μεσημ-  
 βρινὸν οἷα φέγγος εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναχέων,  
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὄντες οὐ κατεχόμεθα· ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς  
 δυσμᾶς γένηται, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ  
 ἔνθεος ἐπιπίπτει κατοκωχὴ τε καὶ μανία. ὅταν  
 μὲν γὰρ φῶς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιλάμψη, δύεται τὸ ἀν-  
 θρώπινον, ὅταν δ’ ἐκείνο δύηται, τοῦτ’ ἀνίσχει  
 265 καὶ ἀνατέλλει. τῷ δὲ προφητικῷ γένοι φιλεῖ τοῦτο  
 συμβαίνειν· ἐξοικίζεται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς  
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἀφίξιν, κατὰ δὲ  
 τὴν μετανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰσοικίζεται· θέμις  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοικῆσαι. διὰ  
 τοῦτο ἡ δύσις τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν  
 σκότος ἔκστασιν καὶ θεοφόρητον μανίαν ἐγέννησε.  
 266 τὸ δὲ ἀκόλουθον προσυφαίνει τῇ γραφῇ  
 φάσκων “ἐρρέθη πρὸς Ἀβραάμ”· ὄντως γὰρ  
 ὁ προφήτης, καὶ ὁπότε λέγειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειαν ἡσυχάζει, καταχρῆται δὲ ἕτερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς  
 φωνητηρίοις ὄργανοις, στόματι καὶ γλώττῃ, πρὸς  
 μήνυσιν ὧν ἂν θέλῃ· τέχνη δὲ ἀοράτῳ καὶ παμ-  
 μούσῳ ταῦτα κρούων εὐήχη καὶ παναρμόνια καὶ  
 γέμοντα συμφωνίας τῆς πάσης ἀποτελεῖ.
- 267 LIV. Τίνα δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρρέθη προθεσπισθέντα,

<sup>a</sup> Philo apparently finds in the impersonal ἐρρέθη a sug-  
 418

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 263-267

does he describe the inspired when he says " about sunset there fell on him an ecstasy." LIII. " Sun " is his name under a figure for our mind. For what the reasoning faculty is in us, the sun is in the world, since both of them are light-bringers, one sending forth to the whole world the light which our senses perceive, the other shedding mental rays upon ourselves through the medium of apprehension. So 264 while the radiance of the mind is still all around us, when it pours as it were a noonday beam into the whole soul, we are self-contained, not possessed. But when it comes to its setting, naturally ecstasy and divine possession and madness fall upon us. For when the light of God shines, the human light sets ; when the divine light sets, the human dawns and rises. This is what regularly befalls the fellowship of 265 the prophets. The mind is evicted at the arrival of the divine Spirit, but when that departs the mind returns to its tenancy. Mortal and immortal may not share the same home. And therefore the setting of reason and the darkness which surrounds it produce ecstasy and inspired frenzy. To connect 266 what is coming with what is here written he says " it was said to Abraham " <sup>a</sup> (Gen. xv. 3). For indeed the prophet, even when he seems to be speaking, really holds his peace, and his organs of speech, mouth and tongue, are wholly in the employ of Another, to shew forth what He wills. Unseen by us that Other beats on the chords with the skill of a master-hand and makes them instruments of sweet music, laden with every harmony.

LIV. It is well to hear what these predictions 267

gestion that the prophetic inspiration comes to the prophet in a mysterious way, which he does not understand.

## PHILO

καλὸν ἀκοῦσαι· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τῷ φιλαρέτῳ κατοικεῖν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῆ τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ παροικεῖν ὡς ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ μόνον ἐπιτρέπει χώρα. “ γινώσκων ” γάρ φησι “ γνώση, ὅτι πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν γῆ οὐκ ἴδια.” παντὸς δὲ φαύλου συγγενὲς τὸ σώματος χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ μελετᾷ κατοικεῖν, οὐ παροικεῖν.

- 268 ἐν μὲν δὴ παιδεύμα τούτο· ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι τὰ δουλείαν καὶ κάκωσιν καὶ δεινήν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, ταπεινώσιν ἐπάγοντα τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἔστιν “ οὐκ ἴδια<sup>1</sup> ”· νόθα γὰρ καὶ ξένα διανοίας τὰ σώματος ὡς ἀληθῶς πάθη, σαρκὸς ἐκπεφυκότα, ἣ προσ-
- 269 ἐρρίζωται. τετρακόσια δὲ ἔτη γίνεται ἡ δουλεία κατὰ τὰς τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν δυνάμεις. ἀρχούσης μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς μετεωρίζεται καὶ φυσᾶται
- [512] τὸ φρόνημα, χαύνῳ | κουφότητι ἐξαιρόμενον· ὅταν δὲ ἐπιθυμία κρατήσῃ, ἔρως ἐγγίνεται τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡσπερ ἀπ’ ἀγχόνης ἐλπίδος ἀτελοῦς ἐκρέμασε· διψῆ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ, πιεῖν δὲ ἀδυνατεῖ
- 270 ταντάλειον τιμωρίαν ὑπομένουσα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς λύπης δυναστείαν συνάγεται καὶ συστέλλεται φυλλορροούντων καὶ ἀφαναινομένων τρόπον δένδρων· τὸ γὰρ εὐθαλὲς αὐτῆς καὶ πῖον ἰσχυαίνεται. φόβου γε μὴν τυραννήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἔτι μένειν ἀξιοῖ, δρασμῶ δὲ καὶ φυγῇ χρῆται, μόνως ἂν οὕτως σωθῆσθαι προσδοκῶν· ἐπιθυμία μὲν γὰρ ὄλκον ἔχουσα

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἴδια] so two mss.; Pap. apparently doubtful, for Wend. gives “ Pap. (οικιδ)ια.” The other mss. have οἰκῖδια, which Mangey, Wend., and apparently all editors and translators read. But apart from οἰκῖδιον not occurring elsewhere in Philo, οὐκ ἴδια is wanted as a lesson on the last two words of the text, the former lesson being on πάροικον, and this second lesson is further emphasized by νόθα καὶ ξένα.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 267-270

were, which were thus said to him. First that God does not grant as a gift to the lover of virtue that he should dwell in the body as in homeland, but only permits him to sojourn there, as in a foreign country. For "knowing thou shalt know," he says, "that thy seed shall be sojourners in a land<sup>a</sup> which is not their own" (Gen. xv. 3). But every fool takes the body for the place of his nativity and studies to dwell there, not to sojourn.

This is one lesson. 268

Another is that the things of earth which bring slavery and ill-treatment and dire humiliation,<sup>b</sup> to use his own words, are "not our own." For the passions of the body are truly bastards, outlanders to the understanding, growths of the flesh in which they have their roots.

"And the slavery is for 269  
four hundred years"; thus he shews the powers exercised by the four passions. When pleasure rules, the temper is high flown and inflated, uplifted with empty levity. When desire is master, a yearning for what is not arises and suspends the soul on unfulfilled hope as on a noose. For the soul is ever athirst yet never able to drink, suffering the torments of a Tantalus. Under the sovereignty of grief it is 270  
pinched and shrinks, like trees which shed their leaves and wither; for its bloom and richness turn into leanness. Finally when fear has made itself lord no one thinks it good to stand his ground, but abandons himself to flight, expecting that in this alone will safety be found. For while desire has a power of attraction and forces us to the pursuit of the

<sup>a</sup> Or "earth," as Philo interprets it below.

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to the unquoted part of the text *καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κακώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτοὺς*.

## PHILO

δύναμιν, κἄν φεύγη τὸ ποθούμενον, διώκειν ἀναγκάζει, φόβος δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀλλοτριότητα ἐμποιῶν διοικίζει καὶ μακρὰν τοῦ φαινομένου διίστησιν.

- 271 LV. αἱ δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἡγεμονίαι παθῶν βαρεῖαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπάγουσι δουλείαν, ἄχρῃς ἂν ὁ βραβευτῆς καὶ δικαστῆς θεὸς διακρίνη τὸ κακούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦντος καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξέλθαι παντελῆ, τῷ δὲ τὰπίχειρα ὧν
- 272 ἐξήμαρτεν ἀποδῶ. λέγεται γάρ· “ τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ᾧ ἂν δουλεύσωσι κρινῶ ἐγώ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς.” ἀνάγκη γὰρ θνητὸν ὄντα τῷ τῶν παθῶν ἔθνει πιεσθῆναι καὶ τὰς οἰκείους τῷ γενομένῳ κῆρας ἀναδέξασθαι, βούλημα δὲ θεοῦ τὰ σύμφυτα κακὰ τοῦ γένους
- 273 ἡμῶν ἐπικουφίζειν· ὥστε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰ οἰκεία πεισόμεθα ὧμῶν γενόμενοι δεσποτῶν δούλοι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐργάσεται ἑαυτῷ, ἄφεισιν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ταῖς ἰκέτισιν αὐτοῦ ψυχαῖς προκηρύξας, οὐ μόνον λύσιν δεσμῶν καὶ ἐξοδὸν ἐκ τῆς περιπεφρουρημένης εἰρκτῆς παρασχόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφόδια δούς, ἅπερ ἀποσκευὴν ἐκάλεσε. τί δὲ τοῦτ'
- 274 ἐστίν; ἐπειδὴν ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς ὁ νοῦς ἐνδεθῆ ταῖς σώματος ἀνάγκαις, εἶτα ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς δελεασθεῖς οἶα ἀνδρόγυνος ἢ γύνανδρος τὰ ἡδέα ἀσπάσσηται κακὰ, μείνας δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἀνήρ ὄντως τραχηλίζει μᾶλλον ἢ τραχηλίζεσθαι δύνηται, τοῖς τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς

<sup>a</sup> ἀνάγκαις echoes the δουλώσωσι of the text just quoted, as κακὰ echoes the κακώσωσι.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 270-274

desired object even though it flee from our grasp, fear on the other hand creates a sense of estrangement and sunders and removes us far from the sight we dread.

LV. The sovereignties of the 271  
passions here named entail a grievous slavery on their subjects, until God the arbiter and judge makes a separation between the ill-treater and the ill-treated, brings forth the one to full liberty and renders to the other the recompense for his misdeeds. For we read, "the nation whom they shall 272  
serve I will judge, and after this they shall come out hither with much stock" (Gen. xv. 14). It must needs be that mortal man shall be oppressed by the nation of the passions and receive the calamities which are proper to created being, but it is God's will to lighten the evils which are inherent in our race. So while we shall suffer at first such things as 273  
are proper to ourselves, enslaved as we are to cruel masters, God will accomplish the work which is proper to Himself in proclaiming redemption and liberty to the souls which are His suppliants, and not only will He provide release from bonds and an issue from the closely-guarded prison, but give us also the viaticum which he here calls "stock."  
What is the meaning of this? It is when the mind 274  
which has come down from heaven, though it be fast bound in the constraints<sup>a</sup> of the body, nevertheless is not lured by any of them to embrace like some hybrid, man-woman or woman-man,<sup>b</sup> the pleasant-seeming evils, but holding to its own nature of true manhood has the strength to be victor instead of victim in the wrestling-bout. Reared in all the lore of the schools, it acquires therefrom

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 574.

## PHILO

ἐντραφεῖς<sup>1</sup> ἅπασιν,<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ὧν θεωρίας λαβὼν ἡμερον ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν, ἐρρωμένως ἀρετάς, ἐκτήσατο, μετανιστάμενος καὶ κάθοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐρισκόμενος πάντ' ἐπάγεται τὰ παιδείας, ἅπερ ἀποσκευὴ καλεῖται.

275 LVI. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν ἐπιλέγει·  
 “ σὺ δὲ ἀπελεύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου μετ’  
 εἰρήνης τραφεῖς ἐν γῆρα καλῶ.” οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν |  
 [513] ἀτελεῖς καὶ πολεμούμεθα καὶ δουλεύομεν καὶ μόλις  
 ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπικρεμασθέντων φοβερῶν εὐρισκόμεθα,  
 τὸ δὲ τέλειον γένος ἀδούλωτον, ἀπολέμητον, εἰρήνη καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ βεβαιοτάτῃ ἐντρεφόμενον.

276 δογματικῶς δὲ τὸν ἀστείον οὐκ ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀλλ’ ἀπερχόμενον εἰσήγαγεν, ἵν’ ἄσβεστον καὶ ἀθάνατον τὸ τῆς κεκαθαρμένης ἄκρως ψυχῆς ἀποφανῆ γένος, ἀποδημία τῇ ἐνθένδε πρὸς οὐρανὸν χρῆσόμενον, οὐ διαλύσει καὶ φθορᾶ, ἣν  
 277 ἐπάγειν θάνατος δοκεῖ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ

“ ἀπελεύσῃ ” γέγραπται τὸ “ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου ”· ποίους πατέρας, ἄξιον σκέψασθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Χαλδαίων χώρᾳ βεβιωκότας, οἷς μόνοις ἐχρήσατο συγγενέσιν, οὐκ ἂν λέγοι, διὰ τὸ χρησιμῶ τῶν ἀφ’ αἵματος ἀπάντων διωκίσθαι. “ εἶπε ” γάρ φησι “ κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ἄπελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν σοι δείξω·  
 278 καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα.” τὸν γὰρ ἄλλο-

<sup>1</sup> mss. and Pap. ἐγγραφεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> A noun seems to be wanted either as a substitute for or in addition to ἅπασιν. Wend. suggests προπαιδύμασι or παιδεύμασι (or perhaps μαθήμασι).

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 274-278

a longing for the higher contemplation, and wins the sturdy virtues of self-mastery and perseverance ; and thus when the pilgrim wins his return to his native land, he takes with him all these fruits of instruction, which are here called " stock." <sup>a</sup>

LVI. Having said thus much on these points also <sup>275</sup> he continues, " but thou shalt depart to thy fathers nourished with peace, in a goodly old age " <sup>b</sup> (Gen. xv. 15). So then we who are imperfect are victims both of war and slavery, and hard-won is our release from the terrors which menace us. But the perfect are a race subject neither to war nor slavery, but nourished in peace and freedom sure and secure.

And when he represents the good man as not dying <sup>276</sup> but departing, there is sound doctrine in the words. He would have the nature of the fully purified soul shewn as unquenchable and immortal, destined to journey from hence to heaven, not to meet with dissolution and corruption, which death appears to bring.

After " thou shalt depart " come <sup>277</sup> the words " to thy fathers." What fathers ? This is worth inquiring. For Moses could not mean those who had lived in the land of the Chaldeans, who were the only kinsfolk Abraham had, seeing that the oracle had set his dwelling away from all those of his blood. For we read, " the Lord said unto Abraham ' depart from thy land and from thy kinsfolk and from the house of thy father unto the land which I shall shew thee, and I will make thee into a great nation ' " (Gen. xii. 1, 2). Was it <sup>278</sup> reasonable that he should again have affinity with the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 575.

<sup>b</sup> The μετ' εἰρήνης or ἐν εἰρήνῃ of the LXX is of course intended to go with ἀπελεύση.

## PHILO

- τριωθέντα ἐπιφροσύνη θεία πῶς ἦν τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 εὐλογον οἰκειοῦσθαι πάλιν; πῶς δὲ τὸν ἔθνους  
 καὶ γένους ἐτέρου μέλλοντα ἡγεμόνα ἔσσεσθαι  
 προσκληροῦσθαι τῷ παλαιῷ; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐχαρίζετο  
 καινὸν τρόπον τινὰ καὶ νέον ἔθνος καὶ γένος αὐτῷ  
 ὁ θεός, εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἀρχαίου κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς  
 279 ἀπεσχοίνιζεν. ἐθνάρχης γὰρ καὶ γενάρχης ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ἀφ' οὗ καθάπερ ἀπὸ ρίζης  
 τὸ σκεπτικὸν καὶ θεωρητικὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως  
 πραγμάτων ἀνέβλασθεν ἔρνος, ὄνομα Ἰσραήλ·  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ “ τὰ παλαιὰ ἐκ προσώπου νέων ἐκφέρειν ”  
 διείρηται. ποῦ γὰρ ἀρχαιολογίας ἔτι καὶ παλαιῶν  
 καὶ κατημαξευμένων ἐθῶν ὄφελος, οἷς ἐξαπιναίως  
 οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἀθρόα καὶ νέα ὤμβρησεν ἀγαθὰ;  
 280 LVII. πατέρας οὖν οὐχ ὧν μετ-  
 ἀνάστατος ἐγένετο ἢ ψυχὴ καλεῖ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς  
 Χαλδαϊκοῖς κατορωρυγμένους μνήμασιν, ἀλλ' ὡς  
 μὲν ἐνιοί φασι, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἀστέρας—τὴν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀπάντων γένεσιν  
 διὰ τούτων λόγος ἔχει συνίστασθαι,—ὡς δέ τινες  
 νομίζουσι, τὰς ἀρχετύπους ἰδέας, τὰ νοητὰ καὶ  
 ἀόρατα ἐκεῖνα τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ ὄρωμένων τούτων  
 παραδείγματα, πρὸς ἃ τὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοιαν  
 281 μετοικίζεσθαι. τινὲς δὲ πατέρας ὑπ-  
 ετόπασαν εἰρῆσθαι τὰς τέτταρας ἀρχάς τε καὶ  
 δυνάμεις, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ὁ κόσμος, γῆν ὕδωρ  
 αἴρα καὶ πῦρ· εἰς γὰρ ταύτας ἕκαστον τῶν γενο-  
 282 μένων φασὶν ἀναλύεσθαι δεόντως. καθάπερ γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Sac.* 79.

<sup>b</sup> Mangey took this to mean “ whose souls have departed,”  
 “ quorum animae demigrarunt,” and he might have alleged  
 in support *De Sac.* 10 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα μετανάστασιν ψυχῆς of

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 278-282

very persons from whom he had been alienated by the forethought of God? Or that he who was to be the captain of another race and nation should be associated with that of a former age? God would not bestow on him a fresh and in a sense a novel race and nation, if he were not cutting him right adrift from the old. Surely he is indeed the founder of the nation 279 and the race, since from him as root sprang the young plant called Israel, which observes and contemplates all the things of nature. So we are told to bear out the old from the face of the new (Lev. xxvi. 10).<sup>a</sup> Rightly, for how shall they on whom the rain of new blessings has fallen in all its abundance, sudden and unlooked for, still find profit in old-world lore and the ruts of ancient customs?

LVII. No; by 280 "fathers" he does not mean those whom the pilgrim soul has left behind,<sup>b</sup> those who lie buried in the sepulchres of Chaldaea, but possibly, as some say, the sun, moon and other stars to which it is held that all things on earth owe their birth and framing, or, as others think, the archetypal ideas which, invisible and intelligible *there*, are the patterns of things visible and sensible *here*—the ideas in which, as they say, the mind of the Sage finds its new home.

Others again have surmised that by "fathers" are 281 meant the four first principles and potentialities, from which the world has been framed, earth, water, air and fire. For into these, they say, each thing that has come into being is duly resolved. Just as nouns and 282

Moses' death. But apart from the singular  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , such a description of the death of the "fathers" would be pointless here, and the allegorical use of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  and kindred words throughout this meditation (*e.g.* § 274) leaves no doubt that the words are to be taken as in the translation.

## PHILO

ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ λόγου μέρη πάντα συνέστηκε μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχείων, ἀναλύεται δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἔσχατα ἐκείνα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἕκαστος ἡμῶν συγκριθεὶς ἐκ τῶν τεττάρων καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀφ' ἐκάστης οὐσίας μικρὰ [514] μόρια, | καθ' ὠρισμένας περιόδους καιρῶν ἐκτίνει τὸ δάνειον, εἰ μὲν τι ξηρὸν εἶη, ἀποδιδούς γῆ, εἰ δὲ τι ὑγρὸν, ὕδατι, εἰ δὲ ψυχρὸν, ἀέρι, εἰ δ' ἔνθερον, πυρί. τὰ μὲν σωματικὰ ταῦτα, τὸ δὲ νοερὸν καὶ οὐράνιον τῆς ψυχῆς γένος πρὸς αἰθέρα τὸν καθαρῶτατον ὡς πατέρα ἀφίξεται. πέμπτη γάρ, ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἔστω τις οὐσία κυκλοφορητική, τῶν τεττάρων κατὰ τὸ κρείττον διαφέρουσα, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τε ἀστέρες καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς ἔδοξε γεγενῆσθαι, ἧς κατ' ἀκόλουθον θετέον καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα.

284 LVIII. Τὸ δὲ “ μετ' εἰρήνης τραφεῖς ” οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ προσδιώρισται, ἀλλ' ὅτι σχεδὸν τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ πολέμου κακοῖς πᾶσι τρέφεται. πόλεμος δ' ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτός ἐστιν, ὃν ἀδοξία καὶ πενία καὶ δυσγένεια καὶ τὰ ὁμοιότροπα ἐπάγουσιν, ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων, κατὰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀσθένειαι, λῶβαι, πηρώσεις παντελεῖς καὶ κηρῶν σωρὸς ἄλλων ἀμυθῆτων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν πάθη, νοσήματα, ἀρρωστήματα, αἰ<sup>1</sup> ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν ὁμοτυράνων χαλεπαὶ καὶ βαρύταται ἐπαναστάσεις 285 καὶ ἀκαθαίρετοι δυναστεῖαι. “ μετ' εἰρήνης οὖν

<sup>1</sup> My correction for ms. and Pap.? δι': Wend. proposed ἐτι δ'.

<sup>a</sup> στοιχεῖα being the regular term for the letters of the alphabet.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 575.

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verbs and all parts of speech which are composed of the "elements" in the grammatical sense<sup>a</sup> are finally resolved into the same, so too each of us is composed of the four mundane elements, borrowing small fragments from the substance of each, and this debt he repays when the appointed time-cycles are completed, rendering the dry in him to earth, the wet to water, the cold to air, and the warm to fire.<sup>b</sup> These all 283 belong to the body, but the soul whose nature is intellectual and celestial will depart to find a father in ether, the purest of the substances.<sup>c</sup> For we may suppose that,<sup>d</sup> as the men of old declared, there is a fifth substance, moving in a circle,<sup>b</sup> differing by its superior quality from the four. Out of this they thought the stars and the whole of heaven had been made and deduced as a natural consequence that the human soul also was a fragment thereof.

LVIII. The words "nourished with peace" are 284 not a pointless addition, but mean that the greater part of the human race are with little exception "nourished" for war and all its attendant evils. Now war sometimes arises from things outside us, waged against us by ill-repute and poverty and mean birth and the like. Sometimes it arises from intestine enemies—in the body, sicknesses, maimings, complete disablements of the senses and numberless other calamities piled on each other; in the soul, passions, diseases and infirmities of mind, the fierce and bitter insurrections, the inexpugnable despotisms of folly and injustice and their fellow usurpers. So, then, if a man be "nourished with peace" he 285

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo is willing to accept this explanation of "fathers," if with the four elements for the body is coupled the fifth for the soul.

## PHILO

- τραφείς" γαληνὸν καὶ εὖδιον κτησάμενος βίον,  
 εὐδαίμον' ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μακάριον . . . <sup>1</sup>.  
 πότε οὖν τοῦτο συμβήσεται; ὅταν εὐδοῇ μὲν τὰ  
 ἔκτος πρὸς εὐπορίαν καὶ εὐδοξίαν, εὐδοῇ δὲ τὰ  
 σώματος πρὸς ὑγίειάν τε καὶ ἰσχύν, εὐδοῇ δὲ τὰ  
 286 ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀπόλασιν ἀρετῶν. χρήζει γὰρ ἕκαστον  
 οἰκείων δορυφόρων· δορυφορεῖται δὲ σῶμα μὲν  
 εὐδοξία καὶ περιουσία καὶ ἀφθονία πλούτου, ψυχὴ  
 δὲ τῷ τοῦ σώματος ὀλοκλήρῳ καὶ κατὰ πάντα  
 ὑγιεινῷ, ὃ δὲ νοῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμας  
 θεωρημάτων· ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε εἰρήνης οὐχ ἦν αἱ πόλεις  
 ἄγουσι μέμνηται, σαφές ἐστι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι  
 ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς· μεγάλους <γὰρ> καὶ βαρεῖς  
 πολέμους Ἀβραὰμ ἀνεδέξατο, οὓς καθηρηκῶς  
 287 φαίνεται. καὶ ἡ τῆς πατρῴας μέντοι γῆς ἀπόλεψις  
 μετανισταμένῳ καὶ πάλιν οἰκῆσαι μὴ δυναμένῳ,  
 φορουμένῳ δὲ ὧδε κἀκεῖσε καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ  
 ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἀλωμένῳ τῷ μὴ θεοπροπίοις καὶ  
 τισι θεσφότοις πεπιστευκότι βαρὺς ἦν πόλεμος.  
 ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τρίτον τι τῶν φοβερῶν προσ-  
 επιδαψιλεύσασθαι, λιμόν, μεταναστάσεως καὶ  
 288 πολέμου κακὸν χεῖρον. ποίαν οὖν εἰρήνην ἤγαγεν;  
 τὸ γὰρ, οἶμαι, μετανίστασθαι καὶ ἀνίδρυτον εἶναι  
 καὶ βασιλέων ἀμάχοις ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμεσι<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 λιμῷ πιέζεσθαι πόλεμον οὐχ ἓνα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ  
 289 πολυτρόπους ἔοικε μηνύειν. ἀλλ' ἓν γε ταῖς δι'  
 ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεσιν εἰρήνης ἀκράτου δείγμα  
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἶναι συμβέβηκε· παθῶν γὰρ |

<sup>1</sup> The sentence seems imperfect as it stands; either read as Mangey <ὁ> γαληνὸν κτλ. sc. ἐστι or more likely a verb has been lost: Wend. ἀπελεύσεται (or perhaps ἀπεισι after τραφεῖς).

<sup>2</sup> mss. and Pap. δυνάμενον or μὴ δυνάμενον: Mangey's text has βασιλεύσιν . . . μὴ δυνάμενον.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 285-289

will depart, having gained a calm, unclouded life, a life of true bliss and happiness. When will this be found? When there is welfare outside us, welfare in the body, welfare in the soul, the first bringing ease of circumstance and good repute, the second health and strength, the third delight in virtues. For each part needs its own proper guards.<sup>a</sup> 286

The body is guarded by good repute and unstinted abundance of wealth, the soul by the complete health and soundness of the body, the mind by the acquired lore of the various forms of knowledge. Such is the meaning of the text. For that he is thinking of a peace other than that which states enjoy is clear to those who are versed in the holy Scriptures. For Abraham underwent great and severe wars, which he is shewn to have fought to the finish. And 287

further, the mere leaving of his fatherland, to emigrate without any possibility of dwelling there again, to be borne hither and thither and to wander over desolate and untrodden roads were in itself a grievous war for one who had no divine message or promise wherein to trust. Still more he had, to crown this profusion of terrors, a third, famine (Gen. xii. 10), an evil worse than migration and war. What kind 288

of peace, then, was his? For surely to be a homeless emigrant, to be confronted by kings with overwhelming forces and to feel the stress of famine would seem to indicate not one war only, but many and manifold. But if we turn to the allegorical exposi- 289

tion of the words, each of these three proves to be an evidence of peace pure and simple. For dearth and

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 18 f.

## PHILO

[515] ἔνδεια καὶ λιμὸς καὶ καθαίρεσις ἐχθρῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ μετανάστασις ἀπὸ Χαλδαικῆς δόξης πρὸς τὴν φιλόθεον, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος αἰσθητοῦ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν καὶ πεπονηκὸς αἴτιον, εὐνομίαν καὶ εὐστάθειαν κατασκευάζουσιν.

- 290 Ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ τῷ τοιαύτην ἄγοντι εἰρήνην καλὸν γῆρας, οὐ δήπου τὴν πολυχρόνιον ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ φρονήσεως ζωὴν· τὸ γὰρ εὐήμερον πολυετίας κρεῖττον, ὅσω καὶ βραχύτερον φῶς σκότους αἰωνίου. μίαν γὰρ ἡμέραν ὑγιῶς εἶπέ τις προφητικὸς ἀνὴρ βούλεσθαι βιώναι μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ μυρία ἔτη ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου, θάνατον<sup>1</sup> μέντοι τῶν φαύλων αἰνιττόμενος
- 291 βίον. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ νῦν ἔργοις μᾶλλον ἢ ῥήμασι<sup>2</sup> διασυνίστησι Μωυσῆς· ὃν γὰρ ἀναγράφει γήρα χρησόμενον καλῶ, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ὀλιγοχροניώτατον εἰσήγαγε, φιλοσοφῶν καὶ διδάσκων ἡμᾶς, τίς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐγῆρας ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ πολὺν<sup>3</sup> τύφον ἐπὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ σώματός ποτε ἀποδεξώμεθα γέμοντα αἰσχύνης καὶ πολλῶν ὄνειδῶν, ἀλλ' εὐβουλίαν καὶ σταθερότητα ψυχῆς ἰδόντες τὸ γέρως ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρώνυμον καλὸν
- 292 γῆρας ἐπιφημίσωμέν τε καὶ μαρτυρήσωμεν. δογματικῶς οὖν ἄκουε κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τὸν ἀστείον εὐγῆρων καὶ μακροβιώτατον, ὀλιγοχροניώ-

<sup>1</sup> Pap. θανατον: mss. σκιάν: perhaps θανάτου σκιάν.

<sup>2</sup> Pap. εν τοις . . ρημασι: mss. ἔργον . . ῥήμα.

<sup>3</sup> Pap. πολυ: mss. παλαιὸν (πολιόν). See App. p. 575.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 289-292

famine of passions, the rout of enemies in the shape of wrongdoings, the migration from the creed of the Chaldeans to the creed of the lovers of God, that is, from the created and sensible to the intelligible and creative Cause—these build up the fabric of good order and stability.

To him who enjoys a peace like this Moses 290 promises a goodly old age, not meaning, we may be sure, the life of long duration, but the life lived wisely. For the welfare of a day ranks as far above multitude of years, as the briefer daylight above an eternity of darkness. It was a wholesome saying of a man of prophetic gifts that he would rather live a single day with virtue than ten thousand years in the shadow of death (Ps. lxxxiv. [lxxxiii.] 11)<sup>a</sup> where under the figure of death he indicates the life of the wicked. And Moses in the present instance shews 291 the same by the facts he records rather than by words. For this Abraham, whom he here describes as destined to a goodly old age, is represented by him as more short-lived than practically all who went before him. Thus he shews to us, who are his scholars in wisdom, who it is whose old age is happy, to the end that we should not look with favour on all the abounding vanity of the outward body, a vanity full of shame and rich in reproaches, but recognizing in right judgement and stability of soul that goodly old age, which both in name and nature is twin brother of "reward,"<sup>b</sup> give it its rightful title and testify to its truth. Learn then thy lesson and hear 292 how the lawgiver tells us that happy old age and longest span of life is only for the good, but briefest

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 575.

<sup>b</sup> For the play on γῆρας and γέρας cf. *De Sobr.* 16.

## PHILO

- τατον δὲ τὸν φαῦλον, ἀποθνήσκειν αἰὶ μανθάνοντα,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀρετῆς ζωὴν ἤδη τετελευτηκότα.
- 293 LIX. Λέγεται δ' ἐξῆς· “τετάρτη δὲ γενεᾷ  
 ἀποστραφήσονται ὧδε,” οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον  
 μνηυθῆ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἱερὰν οἰκήσουσι γῆν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελείαν ἀποκατάστασιν ψυχῆς παρα-  
 στήσαι. γίνεται δὲ ὡσανεὶ τετάρτη γενεᾷ· ὃν
- 294 δὲ τρόπον, ἄξιον συνδιασκέψασθαι. ἀποκυθὲν τὸ  
 βρέφος ἄχρι τῆς πρώτης ἑπταετίας ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ  
 παιδικῇ ψυχῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς μεμοίραται, λείψω  
 μάλιστα ἐμφεροῦς κηρῶ, τοῖς ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν  
 χαρακτήρησι μήπω τετυπωμένης· καὶ γὰρ ὅσα  
 γράφεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὑγρότητι ἐπαλειφόμενα συγχεῖται.
- 295 πρώτη μὲν ἦδε ὡσανεὶ γενεὰ ψυχῆς· δευτέρα δέ,  
 ἣτις μετὰ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν κακοῖς ἀρχεται  
 συζῆν, ἃ τε ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἴωθε γεννᾶν ψυχὴ καὶ ὅσα  
 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσμένη δέχεται. διδάσκαλοί τε  
 γὰρ ἀμαρτημάτων μυρίοι, τίτθαι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ  
 καὶ γονεῖς καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόλεις γεγραμμένοι καὶ  
 ἄγραφοι νόμοι θαυμάζοντες ἃ χρὴ γελᾶσθαι, καὶ  
 ἄνευ τῶν διδαξόντων αὐτομαθῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ πρὸς  
 τὰ ὑπαίτια, ὡς ὑπ' εὐφορίας αἰὶ κακῶν βρίθειν.
- 296 “ἔγκειται” γὰρ φησι Μωυσῆς “ἡ διάνοια τοῦ  
 [516] ἀνθρώπου | ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκ νεότητος.”  
 ἡδ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαρτοτάτη γενεὰ μὲν συμβολικῶς,  
 κυρίως δὲ ἡλικία, καθ' ἣν τό τε σῶμα ἡβᾷ καὶ ἡ  
 ψυχὴ πεφύσσηται, τῶν ἐντυφομένων ἀναρριπιζο-

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<sup>a</sup> The phrase is apparently intended to be the converse of the Platonic thought of the wise man studying to die to the body, cf. *De Gig.* 14. But it seems strange, and Mangey suggested *λανθάνοντα*. Possibly *φθάνοντα*, which would carry on the thought of *ὀλιγοχρονώτατον*.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 292-296

is the life of the wicked, since he is ever studying to die<sup>a</sup> or rather has died already to the life of virtue.

LIX. Next we have "but in the fourth generation 293 they shall come back hither" (Gen. xv. 16). These words are meant not only to state the date at which they should inhabit the holy land, but to bring before us the thought of the complete restoration of the soul. That restoration may be said to come in the fourth generation. How it comes deserves our careful consideration. The infant from the day of its 294 birth for the first seven years, that is through the age of childhood, possesses only the simplest elements of soul, a soul which closely resembles smooth wax and has not yet received any impression of good or evil, for such marks as it appears to receive are smoothed over and confused by its fluidity. This is 295 what we may call the first generation of the soul. The second is that which follows childhood and begins to associate with evils, both these engendered by the soul of its own motion, and those which are willingly accepted at the hands of others. For the instructors to sin are legion, nurses and "pedagogues"<sup>b</sup> and parents and the laws of cities, written and unwritten, which extol what should be derided; and apart from and before such instruction, the soul is its own pupil in the school of guilt, so that it is throughout weighed down by its capacity for producing ill. "The mind 296 of man," says Moses, "is carefully intent upon wickedness from youth" (Gen. viii. 21). The curse is heaviest on this "generation," to use the figurative term for the literal "age," in which the body is in its bloom and the soul inflated, when the smouldering passions are being fanned into a flame, consuming

<sup>b</sup> Or "home-tutors."

## PHILO

- μένων παθῶν, “ ἄλως τε καὶ ἀστάχυς καὶ πεδία ”
- 297 καὶ ὅσα ἂν τύχῃ καταπιμπράντων. ταύτην τὴν ἐπίνοσον γενεὰν ἢ ἡλικίαν ὑπὸ τινος τρίτης οἶα ὑπὸ ἰατρικῆς φιλοσοφίας νοσηλευθῆναι χρή, κατεπασθεῖσαν λόγοις ὑγιεινοῖς καὶ σωτηρίοις, δι’ ὧν κένωσιν μὲν ἐνδέξεται τῆς ἀμέτρου τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πλησμονῆς, πλήρωσιν δὲ λιμηρᾶς κενώσεως τῶν κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἐρημίας δεινῆς.
- 298 μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν οὖν ταύτην γενεᾷ τετάρτῃ φύεται ψυχῇ δύναμις τε καὶ ῥώμη κατὰ τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως βεβαιωτάτην ἀνάληψιν καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἀρεταῖς ἀκλινές τε καὶ πάγιον. τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον· “ τετάρτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ ἀποστραφήσονται ὧδε.” κατὰ γὰρ τὸν δειχθέντα τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν ἀποστραφεῖσα τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἡ ψυχὴ κληρονόμος
- 299 ἀποδεικνύται σοφίας. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμὸς, καθ’ ὃν οὔτε ἀγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν λαβεῖν ἔνοιαν ἔστιν, ἀτυπώτου τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπαρχούσης· δεύτερος δέ, καθ’ ὃν φορᾷ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων χρώμεθα· τρίτος δέ, ἐν ᾧ θεραπευόμεθα, τὰ νοσερὰ διωθούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῶν παθῶν ἀφηβῶντες· τέταρτος δέ, ἐν ᾧ παντελοῦς ὑγιείας καὶ ῥώσεως μεταποιούμεθα, ὅποτε ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὰ φαῦλα τοῖς καλοῖς ἐγχειρεῖν δοκοῦμεν, πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστι.
- 300 LX. Τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τίνος, αὐτὸς μὲνύσει λέγων· “ οὐπω γὰρ ἀναπεπλήρωνται αἱ ἀνομίαι τῶν Ἀμορραίων.” δίδωσι δὲ ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅτι Μωυσῆς εἰμαρμένην καὶ ἀνάγκην ὡς αἰτίας τῶν γινομένων

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 296-300

“ threshing-floor and standing corn and fields ”  
(Ex. xxii. 6) and whatever lies in their path. This 297  
stricken generation or age must be tended on its  
sickbed by a third, taking the form of philosophy  
with its healing art, and put under the spell of sound  
and salutary reasonings. Through these it will be  
able to void the vast overload of sins and to fill its  
void, its starvation, its fearful emptiness of right  
actions.

So after this healing treatment 298  
there grows in the fourth generation within the soul  
power and vigour, because it has fully and firmly  
apprehended good sense and is immovably estab-  
lished in all virtues. This is what is meant by the  
saying “ in the fourth generation they shall turn  
back hither.” For under that fourth number, to  
which he points, the soul turns back from sinning and  
is declared the heir of wisdom. The first number is 299  
that under which it is impossible to form any con-  
ception of good or ill and the soul receives no  
impressions. Under the second we experience the  
onrush of sin. The third is that in which we receive  
the healing treatment, when we cast off the elements  
of sickness and the crisis of passion is reached and  
passed. The fourth is that in which we make good  
our claim to complete health and strength, when we  
feel that we are turning back from wickedness and lay-  
ing our hands to the good. Till then we may not do so.<sup>a</sup>

LX. How that “ until ” is fixed he will himself 300  
shew us, when he says “ for the iniquities of the  
Amorites are not yet fulfilled ” (Gen. xv. 16). Such  
words as these give weaker minds a handle for sup-  
posing that Moses represents fate and necessity as

<sup>a</sup> For the thought of §§ 293-299 *cf.* *De Sacr.* 18 f. and  
note.

## PHILO

- 301 ἀπάντων εισάγει. χρή δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἀκολουθίαν μὲν καὶ εἰρμὸν καὶ ἐπιπλοκὰς αἰτιῶν ἄτε φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοφράδμων ἀνὴρ οἶδεν, τούτοις δ' οὐκ ἀνάπτει τὰς τῶν γινομένων αἰτίας. ἐφантаσιώθη γὰρ πρεσβύτερον ἄλλο ἐποχούμενον τοῖς ὅλοις ἡνίοχου τρόπον ἢ κυβερνήτου· πη-  
 δαλιουχεῖ γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ κόσμου σκάφος, ᾧ τὰ πάντα ἐμπλεῖ, καὶ τὸ πτηνὸν ἄρμα, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν, ἡνιοχεῖ χρώμενον αὐτεξουσίῳ καὶ αὐτο-  
 302 κράτορι βασιλείᾳ. τί οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων λεκτέον; ἐρμηνεύονται Ἀμορραῖοι λαλοῦντες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ δωρηθὲν ὑπὸ φύσεως, τὸν λόγον, μυρίοι τῶν λαβόντων διέφθειραν ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἀπίστως τῇ δούσῃ προσενεχθέντες. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ γόητες, οἱ κόλακες, οἱ πιθανῶν σοφισμάτων εὔρεται, ἰ  
 [517] φενακίσαι καὶ παρακρούσασθαι μόνον εὖ εἰδότες, τοῦ ἀψευδεῖν οὐ πεφροντικότες. ἐπιτηδεύουσι μέντοι καὶ ἀσάφειαν, ἀσάφεια δὲ βαθὺ σκότος ἐν  
 303 λόγῳ, κλέπταις δὲ συνεργὸν τὸ σκότος. οὗ χάριν Μωυσῆς τὸν ἀρχιερέα δηλώσει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ διακεκόσμηκεν, ἀρίδην ἀξιῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀληθῆ τὸν τοῦ σπουδαίου λόγον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὸν ἄδην καὶ ψευδῆ μεταδιώκουσιν, ᾧ συνεπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἀγελαίων καὶ ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων ἀπατώ-  
 304 μενος ὄχλος. ἕως μὲν οὖν “ οὐκ ἀναπεπλήρωται τὰ ἀμαρτήματα τῶν Ἀμορραίων,” τουτέστι τῶν σοφιστικῶν λόγων διὰ τὸ ἀνεξέλεγκτον, ἀλλ' ἔτι

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<sup>a</sup> Presumably the critics meant that the text represented God as wishing to bring the people to the Holy Land earlier, but unable to do so till some other event had taken place.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 301-304

the cause of all events.<sup>a</sup> But we should recognize 301 that while as a philosopher and interpreter of God he understood that causes have their sequence, connexion and interplay, he did not ascribe the causation of events to these subsidiary factors. He envisaged something else higher than and antecedent to these, a Someone who is borne on the universe like a charioteer or pilot. He steers the common bark of the world, in which all things sail; He guides that winged chariot, the whole heaven, exerting an absolute sovereignty which knows no authority but its own.

What then must be our 302 explanation of these particular words? This.—The name Amorites is by interpretation “talkers.” Now speech is the greatest boon given by nature to mankind, but the gift has been marred by thousands of the recipients who have dealt ungratefully and faithlessly with the power which gave it. Such are impostors, flatterers, inventors of cunning plausibilities, who know well how to cheat and mislead, but that only, and have no thought for honest truth. And further, they practise a lack of clearness, which in speech is profound darkness, and darkness is the fellow-worker of thieves. It is for this reason that 303 Moses adorned the high priest with Manifestation and Truth<sup>b</sup> (Ex. xxviii. 26), judging that the speech of the man of worth should be transparent and true. But the speech which most aim at is obscure and false, and this is accepted by all the deluded multitude of common and unmeritable men. So long then as 304 “the sins of the Amorites,” that is of sophistical arguments, “are not fulfilled,” because they have

<sup>b</sup> The Urim and Thummim of the E.V. (Ex. xxviii. 30), *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 123 f.

## PHILO

- ὄλκον<sup>1</sup> ἔχοντα δύναμιν ταῖς πιθανότησιν ἡμᾶς  
 ἐπάγεται, [καὶ] ἀποστραφῆναι καὶ καταλιπεῖν  
 αὐτὰ οὐ δυνάμενοι τῷ δελεάζεσθαι καταμένομεν.
- 305 ἔάν δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ ψευδεῖς πιθανότητες  
 διελεγχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν πίστεων καὶ πλήρεις  
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιχειλεῖς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι περιφανῶσιν,  
 ἀποδρασόμεθα ἀμεταστρεπτί καὶ μονοноῦ τὰ  
 ἀπόγαια ἀράμενοι τῆς τῶν ψευσμάτων καὶ σοφι-  
 σμάτων χώρας ἐξαναθησόμεθα, τοῖς ἀληθείας  
 ναυλοχωτάτοις ὑποδρόμοις καὶ λιμέσιν ἐνορμί-
- 306 σασθαι ἐπειγόμενοι. τοιοῦτον δὴ τὸ δηλούμενον  
 ὑπὸ τῆς προτάσεως· ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἀποστραφῆναι  
 καὶ μισῆσαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν τὸ πιθανὸν ψεῦδος, εἰ  
 μὴ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ ἁμάρτημα πλήρες ἀναφανείη καὶ  
 τέλειον· ἀναφανεῖται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ περιέργως<sup>2</sup>  
 διελεγχθῆναι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀντίταξιν καὶ  
 βεβαίωσιν.
- 307 LXI. Λέγει δὲ ἐξῆς· “ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ ἥλιος  
 πρὸς δυσμαῖς, φλόξ ἐγένετο,” δηλῶν ὅτι ἀρετὴ  
 πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ὀψίγονον καὶ μὴν, ὡς ἔφασάν τινες,  
 πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς τοῦ βίου δυσμαῖς βεβαιούμενον.  
 ἀρετὴν δὲ ἀπεικάζει φλογί· καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ φλόξ  
 καίει μὲν τὴν παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην, φωτίζει δὲ τὸν  
 γείτονα ἀέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐμίπηρησι μὲν τὰ  
 ἁμαρτήματα ἢ ἀρετῇ, φέγγους δὲ τὴν ὅλην ἀνα-
- 308 πίμπλησι διάνοιαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι τῶν  
 ἀδιαιρέτων καὶ ἀμερίστων λόγων ἐπικρατούντων  
 ταῖς πιθανότησιν, οὓς Ἀμορραίους ἀνακαλεῖ,  
 περιφανεστάτην καὶ ἄσκιον αὐγὴν ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνά-

<sup>1</sup> mss. and Pap. ἔτι ἐνδίολκον, a word otherwise unknown, though retained in the lexica. It is difficult to see on what principles it is formed.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 304-308

not been refuted, but still in virtue of their powers of attraction seduce us with their plausibilities, while their enticements make us powerless to turn from and leave them, we remain where we are.<sup>a</sup>

But if ever all the plausible fallacies are refuted by 305 true beliefs, and thus the cup is filled to the brim and their sins appear in their true light, we shall run for our lives without a backward glance, or (shall we say ?) slip our cable and sail clean away from the land of falsehood and sophistry, eager to find an anchorage in the most secure of all roadsteads, the haven of truth. Such is the lesson expressed in the 306 problem here presented. For it is impossible to turn back from, to hate, to leave the plausible falsehood, unless the sin involved in it be revealed complete and consummated. And this revelation will be made when, confronted by the firm evidence of truth, it receives the much-needed<sup>b</sup> refutation.

LXI. He continues, "but when the sun was at its 307 setting a flame arose" (Gen. xv. 17). Thus he shews that virtue is a late birth and indeed, as some have said, established firmly only at the very close of life's day. He likens virtue to a flame, for just as the flame consumes the fuel which lies at hand but gives light to the air in its neighbourhood, so virtue burns up the sins but fills the whole mind with its beam.

But while those unanalysed and un- 308 classified ways of thinking, which he calls Amorites, govern us with their plausibilities, we cannot see the

<sup>a</sup> Or "remain unable," etc.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "not unnecessarily." Or, if we read *παρέργως* (see crit. note), "thoroughly and carefully."

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<sup>2</sup> So Pap. and some mss.: others *μὴ παρέργως*, a very common collocation in Philo, cf. (e.g.) § 40. So Mangey.

## PHILO

μεθα· κλιβάνου δ' ειλικρινές πῦρ οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη καπνιζομένου τρόπον διακειόμεθα, σπινθήρσι μὲν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑποτυφόμενοι, μήπω δὲ καθαρῶ πυρὶ δοκιμασθῆναι καὶ κραταιωθῆναι  
 309 δυνάμενοι. πολλή δὲ τῶ σπείραντι τοὺς σπινθήρας χάρις, ἵνα μὴ νεκρῶν τρόπον σωμάτων ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ παθῶν καταψυχθῆ, ἀλλ' ἔνθερμος ὢν καὶ χλιαινό-  
 310 μένος ὑπεκκαύμασιν ἀρετῆς ζωπυρῆται μέχρι τοῦ τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἱερόν, ὡς ὁ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιούδ, καπνὸς δὲ γίνεται  
 [518] μὲν πρὸ πυρός, | δακρύνειν δὲ βιάζεται τοὺς πλησιάζοντας. ἀμφοτέρα δὲ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν· τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀγγελοῖς προσχωροῦντες<sup>1</sup> τελειότητα ἐλπίζομεν, καὶ εἰ μήπω δυναίμεθα τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ διάγομεν ἀνιῶμενοι. πολὺς γὰρ ὅταν ἡμερος ἐντακῆ, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποθουμένου θήραν ἐπισπεύδει καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ συλ-  
 311 λαβεῖν κατηφεῖν ἀναγκάζει. κλιβάνῳ δὲ νῦν ἐξωμοίωσε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδα τελειώσεως ἔχοντος, ἐπειδὴ τροφῆς πεττο-  
 μένης<sup>2</sup> ἐκότερον ἀγγεῖόν ἐστιν, ὁ μὲν τῆς διὰ σιτίων φθαρτῶν, ἡ δὲ τῆς δι' ἀφθάρτων ἀρετῶν.  
 αἱ δὲ λαμπάδες τοῦ πυρὸς αἱ δαδουχούμεναι τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς . . . ἀγγέλοις mss. and Pap.: Wend. corrects to ταῖς . . . αὐγαῖς. For προσχωροῦντος (so Wend.) the mss. have προσχορεύοντες or προχορεύοντες (Pap.?): Mangey ἐγχορεύοντες. See App. p. 575.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. inserts συγκρατιοῦν from Pap. which apparently has κραταιοῦν preceded by a space, or illegibility, of some kind, which he regards as representing three letters. But συγκρατιοῦν is unknown to the lexica, and if it exists must be transitive, and we should expect τροφήν rather than τροφῆς. If Pap. is to be followed, I should suggest ὡσεὶ (or

rays in their full unshadowed brightness. We are in the same plight as the furnace which has no clear fire, but to use his own word (Gen. xv. 17) is "smoking." The flickerings of knowledge are smouldering within us, but we cannot as yet bear the strengthening test of pure fire. Yet great thanks are due to 309 Him who sowed these flickering sparks, to the end that the mind should not be chilled by passion like dead bodies, but, warmed and heated by the glowing coals of virtue, be quickened into flame, till it finds its full conversion into sacred fire, like Nadab and Abihu<sup>a</sup> (Lev. x. 2).

Now smoke comes 310 before fire and forces those who approach it to shed tears. Both these, in the moral sphere, are a common experience. When we draw near to the forerunners of virtue we hope for its consummation, and if we cannot yet attain it our days are spent in sorrow and tears. For when some strong absorbing yearning has sunk into us, it urges us on to the quest of the desired object and forces us to be heavy of heart, until it is within our grasp.

Again in this 311 passage he compares the soul of him who loves learning and hopes for its consummation to a furnace or oven, because each serves as a vessel wherein is prepared nourishing food, in the one case the food of corruptible meats, in the other that of incorruptible virtues.

Again the torches of fire borne as in the mystic torch-rite are the judgements of

<sup>a</sup> For the construing of the fate of Nadab and Abihu as an exaltation by fire to heaven *cf. Leg. All. ii. 58.*

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*οὐα) κραταιόν.* But, as in § 76, I have thought it better to omit it.

## PHILO

- δαδούχου θεοῦ κρίσεις<sup>1</sup> εἰσίν, αἱ λαμπραὶ καὶ διανγεῖς, αἷς ἔθος μέσον τῶν διχοτομημάτων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἐναντιοτήτων, ἐξ ὧν ἅπας ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκε,
- 312 διάγειν. λέγεται γάρ· “λαμπάδες πυρός, αἱ διήλθον μέσον τῶν διχοτομημάτων,” ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι αἱ θεῖαι δυνάμεις διὰ μέσων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἰοῦσαι φθείρουσι μὲν οὐδὲν—μένει γὰρ ἀπαθῆ τὰ διχοτομήματα,—διαιροῦσι δὲ καὶ διαστελλοῦσι σφόδρα καλῶς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις.
- 313 LXII. Τῆς οὖν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπιστήμης κληρονόμος δεόντως ἀποδείκνυται ὁ σοφός· “ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ” φησὶν “ἐκείνῃ διέθετο κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ διαθήκην λέγων· τῷ σπέρματί σου δώσω τὴν γῆν
- 314 ταύτην.” ποίαν γῆν δηλοῖ, εἰ μὴ τὴν προειρημένην, ἐφ’ ἣν ποιεῖται τὴν ἀναφοράν; ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ καρπὸς κατάληψις ἀσφαλῆς καὶ βεβαία τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας, καθ’ ἣν τὰ σύμπαντα τοῖς τομεύσιν ἑαυτοῦ διαφυλάττει ἀπαθῆ τὰ ἀγαθὰ κακοῦ κατὰ
- 315 τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς τὴν γένεσιν ἀφθάρτοις.<sup>2</sup> εἶτ’ ἐπιλέγει· “ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου [ποταμοῦ] Εὐφράτου,” δηλῶν ὅτι οἱ τέλειοι τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ σώματος καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τῶν ὀργανικῶν μερῶν, ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ ἔνεστι—χρήσιμα γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ μετὰ σώματος βίῳ παιδείαν,—τὰ δὲ τέλη ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν, τὸν μέγαν ὡς ἀληθῶς

<sup>1</sup> κρίσεις is the reading of the mss. (Pap. not stated): Wend. unreasonably, as it seems to me, even if he finds it in Pap., corrects to κρίσις.

<sup>2</sup> The last part of this sentence is noted by Wend. as corrupt. I suggest and have translated καθ’ ἣν τὰ σύμπαντα τοῖς τομεύσιν ἑαυτοῦ δια<κρίνας> φυλάττει ἀπαθῆ τὰ ἀγαθὰ κακοῦ καθὰ πρέπει τοῖς τὴν γένεσιν ἀφθάρτοις. See App. p. 576.

## WHO IS THE HEIR, 311-315

God the torch-bearer, judgements bright and radiant, whose wont it is to range between the half-pieces, that is between the opposites of which the whole world is composed. For we read " torches of fire 312 which passed through between the half-pieces " (Gen. xv. 17). Thus you may know how highly excellent is the work of the Potencies of God as they pass through the midst of material and immaterial things. They destroy nothing—for the half-pieces remain unharmed—but divide and distinguish the nature of each.

LXII. Rightly then is the Sage declared to be the 313 heir of the knowledge of the truths here mentioned. For " on that day," says Moses, " God made a covenant with Abraham, saying, " to thy seed will I give this land " (Gen. xv. 18). What land does he 314 mean, but that which was mentioned before to which he now refers,<sup>a</sup> the land whose fruit is the sure and stedfast apprehension of the wisdom of God, by which through His dividing powers He separates all things and keeps untouched by evil those that are good, as it is meet they should be kept for those who are born to life imperishable?<sup>b</sup> Then 315 he continues, " from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates " (Gen. xv. 18). Here he shews how it stands with the perfected. Their perfecting begins with the body and sense and the parts which serve as organs, without which we cannot live, since they are needed for our training while in the life of the body. It ends in the attainment of the wisdom of God, that truly great river, brimming over with

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in Gen. xv. 17, which was interpreted as wisdom in §§ 98 and 99.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 576. ◦

## PHILO

ποταμόν, χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
316 πλημμυροῦντα ἀγαθῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
Εὐφράτου ἕως τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ποταμοῦ τὴν χώραν  
περιέγραψεν—οὐ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἂν ἀρετὴν εἰς τὰ σωματικὰ  
πάθη κατεβίβασεν,—ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν “ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου.” ἀπὸ γὰρ  
τῶν θνητῶν αἱ βελτιώσεις γίνονται πρὸς τὰ  
ἄφθαρτα.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey, οὕτως, “for that would have been to” etc.



## WHO IS THE HEIR, 316

joy and gladness<sup>a</sup> and all other blessings. For note 316 that he does not fix the limits of the land as stretching from the river Euphrates to the river of Egypt<sup>b</sup>—he would never have made virtue take a downward course into the bodily passions—but in the opposite order, from the river of Egypt to the great Euphrates. For all progress in good begins with the mortal and proceeds to the imperishable.

<sup>a</sup> There is evidently a play on the resemblance of *Εὐφράτης* and *εὐφροσύνη*; cf. its description as *εὐφραίνοντα τὴν διανοίαν* *Leg. All.* i. 72.

<sup>b</sup> Or “the river Aegyptus.” In the *Quaestiones* (Gen. iii. 5) Philo, commenting on this passage, quotes *Odyssey* xiv. 255 to shew that the old name for the Nile was Egyptus.



ON MATING WITH  
THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES  
(DE CONGRESSU QUAERENDAE  
ERUDITIONIS GRATIA)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I have thought it better not to attempt to alter the traditional Latin title (which is given by Wendland without *quaerendae*), absurd as it is. The subject of the treatise is the training of the mind by the school subjects, the training being termed "mating," or "intercourse," because the union of Abraham with Hagar is the allegorical form in which it is set. The Greek would be better expressed, though possibly not in the best Latin, by "De coniugio cum primordiis erudiendi."



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this treatise is Gen. xvi. 1-6 with some omissions.

1. Now Sarai, Abram's wife, was not bearing to him, and she had a handmaiden, an Egyptian, named Hagar.

2. And Sarai said to Abram : " Behold the Lord hath shut me out from bearing. Go in therefore unto my handmaiden that I may have children from her." And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

3. And Sarai the wife of Abram, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, took Hagar, the Egyptian, her handmaid, and gave her to Abram her husband as a wife.

4. And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived, and she saw that she was with child, and her mistress was dishonoured before her.

5. And Sarai said to Abram, " I am wronged at thy hands. I have given my handmaiden to thy bosom. But seeing that she was with child, I was dishonoured before her. The Lord judge between thee and me."

6. And Abram said to Sarai, " Behold thy handmaid is in thy hands. Do with her as is pleasing to thee." And Sarai afflicted her.

This treatise, though it has little of the eloquence and spirituality which brighten most of the others, has a special interest of its own. Nowhere else in

## PHILO

Philo nor, so far as I know, in any other Greek writer do we find so full a treatment of the Stoic doctrine, that the accepted school course or Encyclyia was the proper preparation for philosophy.<sup>a</sup> Apart from this there are many remarks on the value of the different subjects and the relations of teacher and pupil, which are both sensible and acute, however fantastical we may think their allegorical setting.

Philo begins by pointing out that while Virtue or Wisdom which are represented by Sarah is never barren, she is at this stage in the story Sarai (Σάρα not Σάρρα), that is wisdom in the individual, who is as yet incapable of begetting by her. Stress therefore is to be laid on "she was not bearing for him" (1-12), and when in Sarah's own words this limitation is not mentioned, we must ascribe it to the delicacy of feeling which true wisdom shews for others (13). The immature soul must therefore resort to the handmaid, the Encyclyia, and the list of these is given with some remarks on the educational value of each (14-19). The first thing we note about the handmaid of the story is her race. She is an Egyptian, of the body that is, and the Encyclyia depend on the senses in a way in which the higher philosophy does not (20-21). Secondly her name—Hagar, means a sojourner, and the relation of the sojourner to the full citizen expresses that of the Encyclyia to philosophy (22-23).

The thought that Abraham, the soul which learns by teaching, needs Hagar, naturally leads to the consideration of the case of Jacob, the soul which progresses through practice. He has two wives and

<sup>a</sup> For some remarks on this and Philo's attitude in general towards "secular" education see General Introduction, Vol. I, pp. xvi ff.

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two concubines, and the functions of these four are described in a long and difficult allegory<sup>a</sup> (24-33). On the other hand Isaac has but one wife and no concubine. Thus again he appears in his regular part as the "self-taught," the "gifted by nature," for such a soul has not the need of the extraneous aids which the other two require (34-38). Thence we pass to remarks on other cases of wives and concubines, a short one on Manasseh (39-43), and a more elaborate one on Nahor, Abraham's brother<sup>b</sup> (44-53). Finally comes the thought that the bad also has a wife in the mind, which bears vice, and a concubine in the body, which bears passion. This is founded on the notice of Esau's son's concubine and passes into a denunciation of the Esau-mind itself, as the nature which represents both hardness and fiction (54-62).

"He hearkened to the voice of Sarah." This raises the thought how little real attention there is in the people who attend lectures and the like, how little memory even if they attend, and how little practice even if they remember (63-68). But further, the phrase "listened to her voice," instead of "listened to her," suggests the natural attitude of the Abraham-mind, as against the Jacob-mind which "practises" and thus thinks more of personal example than of what is said (69-70).

"Sarai the *wife* of Abram took Hagar and *gave* her to Abram." Virtue (or philosophy) is actively willing to give to the immature soul its preparation through the Encyclia (71, 72), while on the other hand the seemingly unnecessary repetition of the word "wife" shews the stress which philosophy justly lays on her status. She is always the wife and the

<sup>a</sup> See notes on § 24.

<sup>b</sup> See note on § 45.

## PHILO

other only the handmaid (73). Philo illustrates this from his personal experience. He tells how he delighted as a youth in literature, mathematics and music, yet always recognized that they were but stepping-stones to the higher study of ethics, which teaches us to control the lower nature, and how thus he avoided the error of those who treat these inferior studies as an occupation for life (74-80).

Abraham had "dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan" when he took Hagar. Even for the Encyclopaedia the soul is not at first fit. Childhood, in which we are dominated by bodily things, and early boyhood, in which we learn the difference between right and wrong, are both too early. While Egypt signifies the body and its passions, Canaan stands for vice, and it is only after we have passed some time in the stage in which vice is possible that we have the ability for these solid studies (81-88). But the number ten is not to be pressed. It is just the perfect number (89), and Philo takes the opportunity to descant on the prominence of it in the Pentateuch. Noah as tenth from Adam (90); Abraham as tenth combatant against the nine kings, a number which signifies hostility (91-93); the offering of tithes on various occasions, followed by the familiar insistence on the duty to offer of everything mental as well as bodily (94-106); the passover in which the lamb is killed on the tenth day (106); the Atonement and the proclamation of the Jubilee also on that day (107-108). Other examples follow, most of which, as for instance the account of the presents with which Isaac wooed Rebecca, and the ten curtains of the tabernacle, whose four colours represented the four elements, digress into morals and fancies drawn from



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES

the content of these passages, quite apart from the Ten interest (109-119). He concludes with the remarks that after all these examples were unnecessary, since the Ten Commandments in themselves are enough to prove his point (120).

After reiterating the necessity of postponing school instruction to a suitable age, Philo proceeds to the words "He went in unto her." This indicates the right attitude of the scholar to the teacher (121-122), but the teacher also will often do well to make the advances, as Leah did to Jacob (122-123), though again Knowledge may sometimes veil her face to try the sincerity of her pupils, as Tamar did before she gave herself to Judah (124-125). So too the word *συνέλαβε*, "she conceived" (lit. "she took"), has in Greek no mark of the gender, and thus in our allegory we may interpret that the "taking" is mutual (126).

Contrasted with this right view of the relation of the two is the arrogance of many teachers who think that the progress of their gifted pupils is due to themselves (127). When knowledge takes this attitude it may be described by the phrase "to have in the womb," used of Hagar's pregnancy, whereas Rebecca was said to "receive in the womb," for the "receive" and "have" represent respectively reverent humility and self-conceit (128-130). He finds "received" used in the story of Moses' birth and this leads to an eulogy of Moses and the tribe of Levi (131-134). Somewhat loosely connected with this is a short interpretation of a law by which the man who struck a woman and caused a premature birth was punished by a fine or death, according as the child born dead was fully formed or not. To destroy the fruits of another's mind is always a crime, but a greater

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when the idea is fully formed, than when it is not (135-138).

“When she saw that she was pregnant.” Philo is confident that the first “she” is Sarah because philosophy sees into the nature of the “arts” which make up the Encyclicia better than the arts see themselves. He gives the accepted definitions of “art” and “knowledge” and likens their relation to each other to that of sense to mind (139-145). Then follows a remarkable illustration of this, shewing that at the back of geometry lie the definitions of point, line and the like, which come from philosophy, and similarly that though the *grammaticus* may expound literature, he must go to philosophy for the nature of the parts of speech and the logic of sentences (146-150).

Philosophy rightly resents the ignoring of her claims which is represented in the words “I was dishonoured before her,” and to her complaints the true student will answer with Abraham’s words: “She is in thy hands,” and leave the lower knowledge to the treatment expressed in “and she afflicted or ill-treated her,” always remembering however that by this word (ἐκάκωσε) only admonishing or correcting is meant (151-157).

What form the admonishing would take Philo does not discuss, but passes off into a justification of his giving this meaning to ἐκάκωσεν and this takes up the rest of the treatise. Consideration of the demoralizing effects of luxury shews that affliction if regulated by law is beneficial (158-160), and the use of the unleavened bread, called in Deuteronomy bread of affliction, and of bitter herbs at the Paschal Feast agree with this, for feasts are things of joy and the

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES

ordinance must mean that chastening toil is a joy to the earnest soul (161-162). So too at the end of the story of the bitter water of Marah we read that at Marah God gave Israel laws—the law of justice (163). The same text says that at Marah God tried Israel, tried them that is with the test of toil to which so many succumb (164-165). Yet again the waters of Marah became sweet, that is the toil is sweetened by the love of toil (166). The lesson of the unleavened bread at the Passover is confirmed by the unleavened shewbread and the prohibition of leaven in the sacrifices (167-169). So when we find in Deuteronomy “ He afflicted thee and made thee weak with hunger ” coupled with “ He fed thee with Manna ”—the word of God—we understand that the affliction is one of discipline and the famine a dearth of passion and vice (170-174). So too when Isaac blesses Jacob, even slavery is part of the blessing, and in Proverbs “ the Lord chastens whom He loves ” (175-177). Philo concludes the argument with what he thinks a clinching proof, that if the law speaks of “ ill-treating or afflicting with evil,” it implies that afflicting may exist without evil (178-179).<sup>a</sup>

The last section reiterates the necessity of giving the passage an allegorical sense, and implies, if it does not actually say so, that on the literal view the story would be nothing more than an unworthy record of women's jealousies.

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 178.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ  
ΠΡΟΠΑΙΔΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ

<sup>1</sup> [519] I. “Σάρα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἔτικτεν αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ παιδίσκη Αἰγυπτία, ἣ ὄνομα Ἄγαρ. εἶπε δὲ Σάρα πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· ἰδοὺ, συνέκλεισέ με κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν, εἴσελθε πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου, ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃς ἐξ αὐτῆς.” τὸ Σάρας ὄνομα μεταληφθέν ἐστὶν “ἀρχὴ μου”. φρόνησις δὲ ἡ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ σωφροσύνη ἡ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ μέρους δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἦν περὶ ἐμὲ μόνον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ἐμοῦ μόνου· ἐπιστατεῖ γὰρ μου καὶ ἡγεμονεῖ πειθαρχεῖν ἐγνωκότος, βασιλὶς ἐκ φύσεως ὑπάρ-  
<sup>3</sup> χουσα. ταύτην Μωυσῆς, τὸ παραδοξό-  
τατον, καὶ στείραν ἀποφαίνει καὶ πολυγονωτάτην, εἴ γε τὸ πολυανθρωπότατον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁμολογεῖ γενέσθαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς μὲν τὰ φαῦλα πάντα ἐστείρωται, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν εὐτοκία χρῆται τοιαύτη, ὡς μηδὲ μαιευτικῆς  
<sup>4</sup> τέχνης—φθάνει γὰρ ἀποτίκτουσα—δεῖσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ διαλείποντα τὸν πλείω χρόνον ἅπαξ ἢ δις τὸ πλείστον τοὺς οἰκείους δι’ ἐνιαυτοῦ φέρει καρπούς, καθ’ ὃν ἔταξεν ἀριθμὸν ἐκάστοις ἢ φύσις ἐναρμοζόμενον ταῖς ἐτησίαις

<sup>a</sup> For the thought cf. *De Cher.* 5.

## ON MATING WITH THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES

I. "Now Sarah the wife of Abraham was not bearing 1  
him children, but she had an Egyptian handmaiden  
named Hagar, and Sarah said to Abraham, 'Behold  
the Lord hath closed me that I should not bear. Go  
in unto my handmaid and beget children from her'"  
(Gen. xvi. 1, 2). Now Sarah's name is, by interpre- 2  
tation, "sovereignty of me," and the wisdom in me,  
the self-control in me, the individual righteousness  
and each of the other virtues whose place is confined  
to the "me," are a sovereignty over me only.<sup>a</sup> That  
sovereignty rules and dominates me, who have willed  
to render obedience to it, in virtue of its natural  
queenship. This ruling power Moses 3  
represents as at once barren and exceedingly prolific,  
since he acknowledges that from her sprang the most  
populous of nations. A startling paradox, yet true.  
For indeed virtue is barren as regards all that is bad,  
but shews herself a fruitful mother of the good; a  
motherhood which needs no midwifery, for she bears  
before the midwife comes.<sup>b</sup> Animals and plants bear 4  
the fruit proper to them only after considerable in-  
tervals, once or twice at most in the year, the number  
being determined for each by nature and adjusted

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to Ex. i. 19; *cf. De Mig.* 142.

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ῥαις· ἀρετὴ δὲ οὐ διαλείπουσα ἀνελλιπῶς δὲ καὶ ἀδιαστάτως κατὰ τοὺς ἡμερεῖς χρόνους αἰεὶ γεννᾷ, βρέφη μὲν οὐδαμῶς, λόγους δὲ ἀστείουσ καὶ [520] βουλάς | ἀνεπιλήπτους καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις.

5 II. ἀλλ' οὔτε πλοῦτος, ᾧ μὴ δυνατόν ἐστι χρῆσθαι, τοὺς κεκτημένους ὠφελεί οὔτε ἡ φρονήσεως εὐτοκία, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὠφέλιμα τίκτη. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰσάπαν ἀξίους ἔκρινε τῆς συμβιώσεως αὐτῆς, οἱ δ' οὔπω <τὴν> ἡλικίαν ἔδοξαν ἔχειν, ὡς ἐπαινετῆς καὶ σώφρονος οἰκουρίας ἀνέχεσθαι· οἷς τὰ προτέλεια τῶν γάμων ἐφῆκε ποιεῖσθαι, ἐλπίδα καὶ τοῦ θύσειν τοὺς γάμους

6 παρασχούσα. Σάρα οὖν, ἡ ἀρχουσά μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῆ, ἔτικτε μὲν, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔτικτε· οὐ γὰρ ἡδυνάμην πω νέος ὢν τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς παραδέχεσθαι, τὸ φρονεῖν, τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν, τὸ εὐσεβεῖν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νόθων παίδων, οὓς ἀπεκύησάν μοι αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι. τροφαὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπιμέλειαὶ καὶ φροντίδες ἄληκτοι<sup>1</sup> τῶν γνησίων καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀστῶν

7 ὀλιγωρεῖν ἠνάγκασαν. καλὸν οὖν εὐχεσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν μὴ μόνον τίκτην, ἢ καὶ δίχα εὐχῆς εὐτοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίκτην, ἵνα τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ γεννημάτων αὐτῆς μεταλαγχάνοντες εὐδαιμονώμεν. εἴωθε γὰρ θεῷ μόνῳ τίκτην, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ὢν ἔτυχεν ἀγαθῶν εὐχαρίστως ἀποδιδούσα τῷ τὴν ἀειπάρθενον μήτραν, ὡς φησι

8 Μωυσῆς, ἀνοίξαντι. καὶ γὰρ τὴν λυχνίαν, τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ μιμήματος παράδειγμα, ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀλεκτοι.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. in Ex. xxv. 37, in the "pattern shewn to Moses in the mount" (v. 40), the lamps are to give light ἐξ ἐνὸς προ-460

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 4-8

to the seasons of the year. But virtue has no such intervals. She bears ceaselessly, successively, from moment to moment, and her offspring are no infants, but honest words, innocent purposes and laudable acts.

II. But as wealth which one cannot use <sup>5</sup> does not profit the owner, so the motherhood of virtue profits not if the offspring be not profitable for ourselves. Some she judges quite worthy to share her life, but others she thinks have not yet reached the age to submit to her admirable and chaste and sober domesticity. Such she allows to celebrate the preliminaries of marriage, and holds out hopes of consummating the full rite in the future.

So Sarah, the <sup>6</sup> virtue which rules my soul, was a mother, but not a mother for me. For young as I was I could not yet receive her offspring, wisdom, justice, piety, because of the multitude of bastard children whom vain imaginations had borne to me. The nurture of these, the constant supervision, the ceaseless anxiety, compelled me to take little thought of the genuine, the truly free-born. It is well then to pray that virtue <sup>7</sup> may not only bear (she does that in abundance without our prayers), but also may bear for ourselves, that we, by sharing in what she sows and genders, may enjoy happiness. For in ordinary course she bears for God only, thankfully rendering the first-fruits of the blessings bestowed upon her to Him who, as Moses says, opens the womb which yet loses not its virginity (Gen. xxix. 31).

In confirmation of <sup>8</sup> this we read that the candlestick, that is the original pattern of the later copy,<sup>a</sup> gives light from one part

*σῶπον* (E.V. "over against it"). In the narrative of the making of the candlestick, Ex. xxxviii. 5 f. (xxxvii. 17), this point is not repeated.

## PHILO

τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους φησὶ φαίνειν, δηλονότι τοῦ πρὸς θεόν· ἐβδόμη γὰρ οὔσα καὶ μέση τῶν ἐξ καλαμίσκων διχα διηρημένων εἰς τριάδας, ἐκατέρωθεν δορυφορούντων, ἄνω τὰς αὐγὰς ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸ ὄν,<sup>1</sup> λαμπρότερον ἡγουμένη τὸ φέγγος ἢ ὡς δύνασθαι θνητὴν αὐτῷ προσβάλλειν ὄψιν.

- 9 III. διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φησι μὴ τίκτειν τὴν Σάραν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τινι μὴ τίκτειν. οὐ γὰρ ἔσμεν ἱκανοὶ δέξασθαι πω γονὰς ἀρετῆς, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐντύχοιμεν αὐτῆς τῇ θεραπαίνιδι· θεραπαίνις δὲ σοφίας ἢ διὰ  
10 τῶν προπαιδευμάτων ἐγκύκλιος μουσική.<sup>2</sup> ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν οἰκίαις αὔλαιοι πρόκεινται κλισιάδων, ἐν δὲ πόλεσι τὰ προάστεια, δι' ὧν εἴσω βαδίζειν ἔνεστιν, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῆς πρόκειται τὰ ἐγκύκλια· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἐκείνην φέρουσα.
- 11 Χρῆ δ' εἰδέναι, ὅτι τῶν μεγάλων ὑποθέσεων μεγάλα καὶ τὰ προοίμια εἶναι συμβέβηκε. μεγίστη δὲ ὑπόθεσις ἀρετῆ· καὶ γὰρ περὶ μεγίστην ὕλην καταγίνεται, τὸν σύμπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον. εἰκότως οὖν οὐ βραχέσι χρήσεται προοιμίοις, ἀλλὰ γραμματικῇ, γεωμετρῖα, ἀστρονομία, ῥητορικῇ,  
[521] μουσικῇ, τῇ | ἄλλη λογικῇ θεωρίᾳ πάσῃ, ὧν ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἢ Σάρας θεραπαίνις "Ἄγαρ, ὡς  
12 ἐπιδείξομεν. "εἶπε" γὰρ φησι "Σάρα πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· ἰδοὺ συνέκλεισέ με κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν· εἴσελθε πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου, ἵνα τεκνοποιήσης ἐξ αὐτῆς." τὰς σωματῶν πρὸς σώματα μίξεις καὶ ὁμιλίας ἡδονὴν ἐχούσας τὸ τέλος ὑπεξ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔν.

<sup>2</sup> Some MSS. add καὶ ἡ λογικὴ σοφισμάτων γεῦσις (νεῦσις), the last word being evidently a corruption for εὔρεσις. Cf. § 29. The interpolators did not understand that μουσική is here used in the more general sense.



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 8-12

only, that is the part where it looks towards God. For being seventh in position, and placed between the six branches, divided as they are into triplets which guard it on either side, it sends its rays upwards towards the Existent, as though feeling that its light were too bright for human sight to look upon it (Ex. xxv. 37, 31).

III. This is why Moses <sup>9</sup> does not say that Sarah did not bear, but only that she did not bear for some particular person. For we are not capable as yet of receiving the impregnation of virtue unless we have first mated with her handmaiden, and the handmaiden of wisdom is the culture gained by the primary learning of the school course. For, just as in houses we have outer doors in front of <sup>10</sup> the chamber doors, and in cities suburbs through which we can pass to the inner part, so the school course precedes virtue ; the one is a road which leads to the other.

Now we must understand that great themes need <sup>11</sup> great introductions ; and the greatest of all themes is virtue, for it deals with the greatest of materials, that is the whole life of man. Naturally, then, virtue will employ no minor kind of introduction, but grammar, geometry, astronomy,<sup>a</sup> rhetoric, music, and all the other branches of intellectual study. These are symbolized by Hagar, the handmaid of Sarah, as I shall proceed to shew. For Sarah, we are told, said <sup>12</sup> to Abraham : " Behold, the Lord has shut me out from bearing. Go in unto my handmaid, that thou mayest beget children from her." In the present discussion, we must eliminate all bodily unions or

See App. p. 577.

## PHILO

- αιρετέον τοῦ παρόντος λόγου· κοῦ γὰρ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἔστι σύνοδος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐφιεμένου παιδοποιεῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιτο εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ τοι τὴν θεραπευίθη αὐτῆς, τὴν μέσσην παιδείαν, ἐγγυᾶσθαι διδασκο-
- 13 μένου. IV. ἄξιον δὲ τῆς αἰδοῦς καταπλαγῆναι σοφίαν, ἥτις τὸ βραδὺ πρὸς γένεσιν ἢ τελέως ἄγονον οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίσαι, καίτοι τοῦ χρησμοῦ τάληθές εἰπόντος, ὅτι “ οὐκ ἔτικτεν,” οὐ διὰ φθόνον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνεπιτηδειότητα· “ συνέκλεισε ” γάρ φησι “ μὲ κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν,” καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθησιν “ ὑμῖν,” ἵνα μὴ προφέρειν ἀτυχίαν καὶ ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέροις
- 14 δοκῆ. “ εἴσελθε ” οὖν φησι “ πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου,” τὴν τῶν μέσων καὶ ἐγκυκλίων ἐπιστημῶν μέσσην παιδείαν, “ ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃ πρότερον ἐξ αὐτῆς”· αὐθις γὰρ δυνήσῃ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν δέσποιαν ὁμιλιῶν <ἐπὶ> γενέσει παίδων
- 15 γνησίων ἀπόνασθαι. γραμματικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορίαν τὴν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ἀναδιδάξασα<sup>1</sup> νόησιν καὶ πολυμάθειαν ἐργάσεται καὶ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν ἀναδιδάξει τῶν ὅσα αἰ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφοπλαστοῦσι, διὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας, αἷς τοὺς ἀδομένους παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἠρωάς τε καὶ
- 16 ἡμιθέους λόγος ἔχει χρῆσασθαι. μουσικὴ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρρυθμον [ἐν] ῥυθμοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἀνάρμοστον ἁρμονία, τὸ δ’ ἀπωδὸν καὶ ἐκμελὲς μέλει κατεπάδουσα τὸ ἀσύμφωνον εἰς συμφωνίαν ἄξει. γεωμετρία δ’ ἰσότητος καὶ ἀναλογίας ἐμβαλ-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, ἀναπτύξασα. See § 148 and note.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ delicate feeling.” The genitive is one of cause, a common construction with *θανμάζω* and similar verbs.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 12-16

intercourse which has pleasure as its object. What is meant is a mating of mind with virtue. Mind desires to have children by virtue, and, if it cannot do so at once, is instructed to espouse virtue's handmaid, the lower instruction. IV. Now we may 13

well feel profound admiration for the discretion<sup>a</sup> shewn by Wisdom. She refrains from reproaching us with our backwardness or complete impotence in generation, though, as the text truly stated, it was through our unfitness that she was not bearing, and not because she grudged us offspring. Thus she says, "The Lord has shut me out from bearing," and does not go on to add, "for you." She does not wish to seem to upbraid and reproach others for their misfortune. "Go in, then," she says, "to 14

my handmaid, the lower instruction given by the lower branches of school lore, that first you may have children by her," for afterwards you will be able to avail yourself of the mistress's company to beget children of higher birth. For grammar 15

teaches us to study literature in the poets and historians, and will thus produce intelligence and wealth of knowledge. It will teach us also to despise the vain delusions of our empty imagination by shewing us the calamities which heroes and demi-gods who are celebrated in such literature are said to have undergone.<sup>b</sup>

Music will charm away the 16  
unrhythmic by its rhythm, the inharmonious by its harmony, the unmelodious and tuneless by its melody,<sup>c</sup> and thus reduce discord to concord. Geometry will sow in the soul that loves to learn the seeds of equality

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 577.

<sup>c</sup> The accepted division of music was into rhythm, harmony, and melody; *cf. De Agr.* 137.

## PHILO

- λομένη τὰ σπέρματα εἰς ψυχὴν φιλομαθῆ γλαφυρότητι συνεχοῦς θεωρίας δικαιοσύνης ζῆλον
- 17 ἔμπουήσει. ῥητορικὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς θεωρίαν ἀκονησαμένη καὶ πρὸς ἑρμηνείαν γυμνάσασα τὸν λόγον καὶ συγκροτήσασα λογικὸν ὄντως ἀποδείξει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπιμεληθεῖσα τοῦ ἰδίου καὶ ἐξαιρέτου, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἢ
- 18 φύσις δεδώρηται. διαλεκτικὴ δὲ ἢ ῥητορικῆς ἀδελφὴ καὶ δίδυμος, ὡς εἰπόντινες, τοὺς ἀληθεῖς τῶν ψευδῶν λόγους διακρίνουσα καὶ τὰς τῶν σοφισμάτων πιθανότητος ἐλέγχουσα μεγάλην νόσον ψυχῆς, ἀπάτην, ἀκέσεται. τούτοις οὖν καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις ἐνομιλῆσαι καὶ ἐμπρομελετῆσαι λυσιτελές· ἴσως γάρ, ἴσως, ὃ πολλοῖς συνέβη, διὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ταῖς βασιλίαις ἀρεταῖς
- 19 γνωρισθησόμεθα. οὐχ ὄρας, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σῶμα [522] ἡμῶν οὐ πρότερον πεπηγυῖαις | καὶ πολυτελέσι χρεῖται τροφαῖς, πρὶν ἢ ταῖς ἀποικίλοις καὶ γαλακτώδεσιν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ βρεφώδει; τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παιδικὰς μὲν νόμισον εὐτρεπίσθαι τροφὰς τὰ ἐγκύκλια καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θεωρήματα, τελειότερας δὲ καὶ πρεπούσας ἀνδράσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰς ἀρετάς.
- 20 V. Οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τῆς μέσης παιδείας χαρακτῆρες διὰ δυεῖν παρίστανται συμβόλων, τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. γένος μὲν ἐστὶν Αἴγυπτία, καλεῖται δὲ Ἄγαρ, τοῦτο δὲ ἑρμηνευθέν ἐστὶ παροίκησης· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἐγχορεύοντα ταῖς ἐγκυκλίαις θεωρίαις καὶ πολυμαθείας ἑταῖρον ὄντα τῷ γεώδει καὶ Αἴγυπτίῳ προσκεκληρῶσθαι σώ-

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 16-20

and proportion, and by the charm of its logical continuity will raise from those seeds a zeal for justice.

Rhetoric, sharpening the mind to the observation of facts, and training and welding thought to expression,<sup>a</sup> will make the man a true master of words and thoughts, thus taking into its charge the peculiar and special gift which nature has not bestowed on any other living creature. Dialectic, the sister and twin,<sup>b</sup> as some have said, of Rhetoric, distinguishes true argument from false, and convicts the plausibilities of sophistry, and thus will heal that great plague of the soul, deceit. It is profitable then to take these and the like for our associates and for the field of our preliminary studies. For perhaps indeed it may be with us, as it has been with many, that through the vassals we shall come to the knowledge of the royal virtues. Observe too that our body is not nourished in the earlier stages with solid and costly foods. The simple and milky foods of infancy come first. Just so you may consider that the school subjects and the lore which belongs to each of them stand ready to nourish the childhood of the soul, while the virtues are grown-up food, suited for those who are really men.

V. The primary characteristic marks of the lower education are represented by two symbols giving its race and its name. In race it is Egypt, but its name is Hagar, which is by interpretation "sojourning."<sup>c</sup> The votary of the school studies, the friend of wide learning, must necessarily be associated with the earthly and Egyptian body; since he needs eyes

<sup>a</sup> The *θεωρία* represents the technical *εὐπείσις*. See on *De Mig.* 35.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 577.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *Leg. All.* iii. 244.

## PHILO

- ματι, χρήζοντα καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὡς ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ ὧτων, ὡς προσσεχεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων, ὡς ἕκαστον
- 21 τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀναπτύξαι. δίχα γὰρ τοῦ κρίνοντος τὸ κρινόμενον οὐ πέφυκε καταλαμβάνεσθαι· κρίνει δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν αἰσθήσις, ὥστ' ἀκριβωθῆναί τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, ἐν οἷς ἡ πλείων μοῖρα τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως. αἰσθήσις δέ, τὸ σωματοειδέστερον ψυχῆς μέρος, τῷ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἀγγεῖω προσερρίζωται, τὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγγεῖον Αἴγυπτος διὰ συμβόλου προσονομάζεται.
- 22 Χαρακτήρ μὲν εἰς ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους οὖτος, ὃν ἡ θεραπαινὶς ἀρετῆς ἔλαχεν· ὃ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος ποῖός ἐστιν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. τὴν μέσην παιδείαν παροίκου λόγον ἔχει συμβέβηκεν· ἐπιστήμη μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ πᾶσα αὐθιγενῆς καὶ αὐτόχθων καὶ πολίτις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι μόνη τοῦ παντός, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι παιδεῖαι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων καὶ ὑστάτων ἄθλων τυγχάνουσαι μεθόριοι ξένων καὶ ἀστῶν εἰσιν· οὐδετέρου τε γὰρ γένους ἀκράτου καὶ πάλιν ἀμφοῖν κατὰ τινα κοινωνίαν ἐφάπτονται.
- 23 πάροικος γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἐνδιατρίβειν ἀστοῖς, τῷ δὲ μὴ κατοικεῖν ἀλλοδαποῖς ἰσοῦται· καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ παῖδες, ἧ μὲν κληρονομοῦσι τὰ τῶν θεμένων, τοῖς γνησίοις, ἧ δ' οὐ γεγέννηται πρὸς αὐτῶν, τοῖς ὀθνείοις. ὃν δὴ λόγον ἔχει δέσποινα μὲν πρὸς θεραπαινίδα, γυνὴ δὲ ἀστὴ πρὸς παλλακὴν, τοῦτον ἔξει τὸν λόγον ἀρετῆ Σάρρα πρὸς παιδείαν Ἄγαρ· ὥστ' εἰκότως τοῦ θεωρίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐζηλωκότος, Ἀβραὰμ ὄνομα, γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ, Σάρρα, γυνή, παλλακὴ δὲ Ἄγαρ, ἡ ἐγκύκλιος μουσικὴ πᾶσα.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 20-23

to see and read, ears to listen and hear, and the other senses to unveil the several objects of sense. For the 21 thing judged cannot be apprehended without one to judge it, and it is sense which judges the sensible, and therefore without sense it is always impossible to obtain accurate knowledge of any of the phenomena in the sensible world which form the staple of philosophy. Sense being the bodily part of the soul is riveted to the vessel of the soul as a whole, and this soul-vessel is symbolically called Egypt.

This, then, is one of the marks of the handmaid of 22 virtue, namely that of race. Let us now consider the nature of the other mark, that of name. The lower education is in the position of a sojourner. For knowledge and wisdom and every virtue are native born, indigenous, citizens in the truest sense, and in this they are absolutely alone; but the other kinds of training, which win second or third or last prizes, are on the border-line between foreigners and citizens. For they belong to neither kind in its pure form, and yet in virtue of a certain degree of partnership they touch both. The sojourner in so far as he is staying in the 23 city is on a par with the citizens, in so far as it is not his home, on a par with foreigners. In the same way, I should say, adopted children, in so far as they inherit from their adopters, rank with the family; in so far as they are not their actual children, with outsiders. Sarah, virtue, bears, we shall find, the same relation to Hagar, education, as the mistress to the servant-maid, or the lawful wife to the concubine, and so naturally the mind which aspires to study and to gain knowledge, the mind we call Abraham, will have Sarah, virtue, for his wife, and Hagar, the whole range of school culture, for his concubine.

## PHILO

- 24 Ὡτινι μὲν οὖν φρόνησις ἐκ διδασκαλίας περι-  
 γίνεται, τὴν Ἄγαρ οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοκιμάζοι· πάντῃ γὰρ  
 ἀναγκαία ἢ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων κτήσις. VI. εἰ  
 δέ τις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἄθλους ἐγνωκῶς δια-  
 πονεῖν μελέταις χρήται συνεχέσιν ἀνευδότης ἔχων  
 πρὸς ἀσκησιν, δύο μὲν ἀστάς, παλλακὰς δὲ τὰς  
 [523] ἴσας, τῶν ἀστῶν | θεραπαινίδας, ἄξεται. φύσιν  
 25 δὲ καὶ ἰδέαν ἔλαχεν αὐτῶν ἐκάστη διάφορον.  
 αὐτίκα τῶν ἀστῶν ἢ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑγιεινοτάτη καὶ  
 εὐσταθεστάτη καὶ εἰρηνικωτάτη κίνησις, ἣν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμασε Λείαν. ἢ δὲ ἔοικεν  
 ἀκόνῃ, καλεῖται δὲ Ῥαχήλ, πρὸς ἣν ὁ φίλαθλος  
 καὶ φιλογυμναστής νοῦς παραθηγόμενος ὀξύνεται·  
 ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ ὄρασις βεβηλώσεως, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ  
 βεβήλωσ ὄρα, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, ὅτι τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ  
 αἰσθητὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀκήρατον φύσιν τῶν ἀοράτων  
 καὶ νοητῶν οὐκ εὐαγῆ βέβηλα δὲ εἶναι νομίζει.  
 26 τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς ἡμῶν διμεροῦς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν λογικὸν τὸ δὲ ἄλογον ἐχούσης, ἀρετὴν ἐκατέρῳ  
 ὑπάρχειν συμβέβηκε, Λείαν μὲν τῷ λογικῷ, τῷ δὲ  
 27 ἀλόγῳ<sup>1</sup> Ῥαχήλ. γυμνάζει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ  
 μὲν διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀλόγου μερῶν  
 πάντων καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν ὦν ἀλογεῖν ἄξιον,  
 δόξης καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῆς, ἃ περιβλεπτα καὶ
- <sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸ λογικὸν καὶ τὸ ἄλογον, which might be kept, if with  
 some MSS. we read ἐκατέρον ἔχειν above for ἐκατέρῳ ὑπάρχειν.

<sup>a</sup> The allegory of §§ 24-33 is in some ways difficult and very different from Philo's usual way of treating the two wives of Jacob. Elsewhere Rachel is αἰσθησις or σώματος εὐμορφία. Here no doubt she is connected with τὸ ἄλογον and trains us through the senses and so far is entitled to have the bodily function of "swallowing" as her handmaid, but her function is to teach us the inferiority of sense, while Leah is no longer the virtue which "refuses" vice and is "weary" with effort



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 24-27

He then who gains wisdom by instruction will not 24  
reject Hagar, for the acquisition of these preliminary  
subjects is quite necessary, (VI.) but, anyone whose  
mind is set on enduring to the end the weary contest in  
which virtue is the prize, who practises continually for  
that end, and is unflagging in self-discipline, will take  
to him two lawful wives and as handmaids to them two  
concubines.<sup>a</sup> And to each of them is given a different 25  
nature and appearance. Thus one of the lawful wives  
is a movement, sound, healthy and peaceful, and  
to express her history Moses names her Leah or  
"smooth."<sup>b</sup> The other is like a whetstone. Her  
name is Rachel, and on that whetstone the mind  
which loves effort and exercise sharpens its edge.  
Her name means "vision of profanation," not be-  
cause her way of seeing is profane, but on the contrary,  
because she judges the visible world of sense to be  
not holy but profane, compared with the pure and  
undefiled nature of the invisible world of mind. For 26  
since our soul is twofold, with one part reasoning and  
the other unreasoning, each has its own virtue or  
excellence, the reasoning Leah, the unreasoning  
Rachel.

The virtue we call Rachel, acting 27  
through the senses and the other parts of our un-  
reasoning nature, trains us to despise all that should  
be held of little account, reputation and wealth and  
(see note on *De Cher.* 41), but the virtue which proceeds to  
noble life without a conflict. In fact, she is rather akin to  
the *αὐτομαθής* Isaac, and Rachel to the *ἀσκητής* Jacob. Why  
this Leah needs oratorical power for her handmaid is not  
clear to me.

<sup>b</sup> Philo here and in § 31 adopts the Epicurean term *λεία κίνησις*, which he has used with disparagement in *De Post.* 79, and with a qualification in *De Agr.* 142 (see notes). The name is also derived from the Greek instead of the Hebrew in *Leg. All.* ii. 59, but in a somewhat different sense.

## PHILO

περιμάχητα ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀγελαῖος ἀνθρώπων ὄχλος  
 κρίνει δεδεκασμέναις μὲν ἀκοαῖς, δεδεκασμένῳ δὲ  
 28 καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ τῶν αἰσθήσεων δικαστηρίῳ· ἡ δὲ  
 ἀναδιδάσκει τὴν ἀνώμαλον καὶ τραχεῖαν ὁδὸν  
 ἄβατον φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς ἐκτρέπεσθαι, λείως δὲ  
 διὰ τῆς λεωφόρου βαίνειν ἄνευ πταισμάτων καὶ  
 29 τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ὀλίσθων. ἀναγκαίως οὖν  
 τῆς μὲν προτέρας ἔσται θεραπαινὶς ἢ διὰ τῶν  
 φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων ἐρμηνευτικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἡ  
 λογικὴ<sup>1</sup> σοφισμάτων εὗρεσις εὐστόχῳ πιθανότητι  
 καταγοητεύουσα, τῆς δὲ ἀναγκαῖαι τροφαί, πόσις τε  
 30 καὶ βρώσις. ὀνόματα δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν δυεῖν θεραπει-  
 νίδων ἀνέγραψε, Ζέλφαν τε καὶ Βάλλαν. ἡ μὲν  
 οὖν Ζέλφα μεταληφθεῖσα πορευόμενον καλεῖται  
 στόμα, τῆς ἐρμηνευτικῆς καὶ διεξοδικῆς σύμ-  
 βολον δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ Βάλλα κατάποσις, τὸ πρῶ-  
 τον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον θνητῶν ζώων ἔρεισμα·  
 καταπόσει γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν ἐνορμεῖ, καὶ τὰ  
 τοῦ ζῆν πείσματα ἐκ ταύτης ὡς ἀπὸ κρηπίδος  
 31 ἐξήπται. πάσαις οὖν ταῖς εἰρημέναις  
 δυνάμεσιν ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐνομιλεῖ, ταῖς μὲν ὡς ἐλευθέ-  
 ραις καὶ ἀσταῖς, ταῖς δὲ ὡς δούλαις καὶ παλλακίσιν.  
 ἐφίεται μὲν γὰρ τῆς Λείας κινήσεως—λεία δὲ  
 κίνησις ἐν μὲν σώματι γινομένη ὑγείαν, ἐν δὲ ψυχῇ  
 καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἂν ἐργάσαιτο—,  
 Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἀγαπᾷ πρὸς τὰ πάθη παλαίων καὶ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> I suspect a lacuna between λογικὴ and σοφισμάτων. See App. p. 577.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 577.

<sup>b</sup> In the interpretation of Zilpah's name διεξοδικῆς represents πορευόμενον and ἐρμηνείας (-ευτικῆς) represents στόμα. The former corresponds to the εὗρεσις of technical rhetoric and

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 27-31

pleasure, which the vulgar mass of ordinary men who accept the verdict of dishonest hearsay and the equally dishonest court of the other senses, judge worthy of their admiration and their efforts. Leah 28 teaches us to avoid the rough and uneven path, impassable to virtue-loving souls, and to walk smoothly along the level highway where there are no stumbling-blocks or aught that can make the foot to slip.

Necessarily then Leah will have for her 29 handmaid the faculty of expression by means of the vocal organs, and on the side of thought the art of devising clever arguments whose easy persuasiveness is a means of deception,<sup>a</sup> while Rachel has for her's the necessary means of sustenance, eating and drinking. Moses has given us, as the names of these 30 two handmaidens, Zilpah and Bilhah (Gen. xxx. 3, 9). Zilpah by interpretation is "a walking mouth,"<sup>b</sup> which signifies the power of expressing thought in language and directing the course of an exposition, while Bilhah is "swallowing," the first and most necessary support of mortal animals. For our bodies are anchored on swallowing, and the cables of life are fastened on to it as their base.

With all 31 these aforesaid faculties the Man of Practice mates, with one pair as free-born legitimate wives, with the other pair as slaves and concubines. For he desires the smooth, the Leah movement, which will produce health in the body, noble living and justice in the soul. He loves Rachel when he wrestles with the passions and when he goes into training to gain self-control, thus appears in § 33 as *ἡ κατὰ διάνοιαν πηγὴ διεξοδος*, a rather vague word, signifying a fully worked out narrative or disquisition, is used because the *ὁδός* in it corresponds to *πορευόμενον*. Hence the use of the word "course" in the translation.

## PHILO

- ἐγκράτειαν ἀλειφόμενος καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς πᾶσιν  
 32 ἀντιπαττόμενος. διττοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελείας τρόποι,  
 ἢ κατὰ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κατὰ  
 [524] ἀντίταξιν καὶ ὑφαίρεσιν κακῶν ὡς ἐν | πολέμῳ.  
 Λεία μὲν οὖν ἔστι, καθ' ἣν συμβαίνει τὰ πρε-  
 σβύτερα καὶ ἡγεμονεύοντα ἀγαθὰ καρποῦσθαι,  
 Ῥαχὴλ δέ, καθ' ἣν τὰ ὡς ἂν ἐκ πολέμου λάφυρα.  
 33 τοιαύτη μὲν ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἀστὰς συμβίωσις. χρήζει  
 δὲ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Βάλλας μὲν, καταπόσεως, ἀλλὰ ὡς  
 δούλης καὶ παλλακίδος—ἄνευ γὰρ τροφῆς καὶ ζωῆς  
 οὐδ' ἂν τὸ εὖ ζῆν περιγένοιτο, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέσα τῶν  
 ἀμεινόνων αἰεὶ θεμέλιοι,—χρήζει δὲ καὶ Ζέλφας,  
 διεξοδικῆς ἐρμηνείας, ἵνα τὸ λογικὸν αὐτῷ διχόθεν  
 συνερανίζηται πρὸς τελειώσιν, ἔκ τε τῆς κατὰ  
 διάνοιαν πηγῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ φωνητήριον  
 ὄργανον ἀπορροῆς.
- 34 VII. Ὅτι οὗτοι μὲν καὶ πλειόνων γυναικῶν καὶ  
 παλλακίδων, οὐκ ἀστῶν μόνον, ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο,  
 ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ μνηνοῦσι γραφαί· τῷ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ οὔτε  
 πλείους γυναιῖκες οὔτε συνόλως παλλακή, μόνη δ'  
 35 ἡ κουρίδιος ἄχρι παντὸς συνοικεῖ. διὰ τί; ὅτι  
 καὶ ἡ διδακτικὴ ἀρετὴ, ἣν Ἀβραὰμ μέτεισι,  
 πλειόνων δέεται, γνησίων μὲν τῶν κατὰ φρόνησιν,  
 νόθων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐγκύκλια προπαιδεύματα  
 θεωρημάτων, καὶ ἡ δι' ἀσκήσεως τελειομένη, περὶ  
 ἣν Ἰακώβ ἐσπουδακεῖν φαίνεται· διὰ πλειόνων  
 γὰρ καὶ διαφερόντων αἱ ἀσκήσεις δογμάτων, ἡγου-  
 μένων ἐπομένων, προαπαντῶντων ὑστεριζόντων,  
 πόνους τοτὲ μὲν ἐλάττους τοτὲ δὲ μείζους ἐχόντων.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 31-35

and takes his stand to oppose all the objects of sense. For help may take two forms. It may act by giving 32 us enjoyment of the good, the way of peace, or by opposing and removing ill, the way of war. So it is Leah through whom it comes to pass that he reaps the higher and dominant blessings, Rachel through whom he wins what we may call the spoils of war. Such is his life with the legitimate wives. But the 33 Practiser needs also Bilhah, "swallowing," though only as the slave and concubine, for without food and the life which food sustains we cannot have the good life either, since the less good must always serve as foundation for the better. He needs Zilpah too, the gift of language giving expression to the course of an exposition, that the element of words and thoughts may make its twofold contribution to the perfecting process, through the fountain of thought in the mind and the outflow through the tongue and lips.

VII. Now Abraham and Jacob, as the Holy Scrip- 34 tures tell us, became the husbands of several women, concubines as well as legitimate wives, but Isaac had neither more wives than one nor any concubine at all, but his lawful wife is the one who shares his home throughout. Why is this? It is because the virtue 35 that comes through teaching, which Abraham pursues, needs the fruits of several studies, both those born in wedlock, which deal with wisdom, and the base-born, those of the preliminary lore of the schools. It is the same with the virtue which is perfected through practice, which Jacob seems to have made his aim. For many and different are the truths in which practice finds its exercising ground, truths which both lead and follow, hasten to meet it and lag behind, and entail sometimes greater, sometimes less

## PHILO

- 36 τὸ δὲ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, οὐ κεκοινώνηκεν Ἰσαάκ, ἢ εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστη χαρά, φύσεως ἀπλήης καὶ ἀμιγοῦς καὶ ἀκράτου μεμοίραται, μήτε ἀσκήσεως μήτε διδασκαλίας δεόμενον, ἐν οἷς παλλακίδων ἐπιστημῶν, οὐκ ἀστῶν μόνον, ἐστὶ χρεία. θεοῦ γὰρ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καλὸν ὀμβρήσαντος ἀμήχανον ἦν ἔτι δούλαις καὶ παλλακαῖς συμβιῶναι τέχναις, νόθων δογμάτων οἶα
- 37 παίδων ὀρεχθέντα. δεσποίνης γὰρ καὶ βασιλίδος ἀρετῆς ὁ τούτου λαχὼν τοῦ γέρως ἀνὴρ ἀναγράφεται· καλεῖται δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλησιν ὑπομονή, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑρεβέκκα. ζητεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἄπονον καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον εὐράμενος σοφίαν δι' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως καὶ εὐτοκίαν ψυχῆς οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς βελτίω-
- 38 σιν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐν ἐτοιμῷ τέλεια τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρα χάρισι ταῖς πρεσβυτέραις ἐπιπνευσθέντα, βούλεται δὲ καὶ εὐχεται ταῦτα ἐπιμεῖναι. παρό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ εὐεργέτης, ἵνα διαιωνίζωσιν αἱ χάριτες αὐτοῦ τῷ λαβόντι, γυναιῖκα τὴν ἐπιμονὴν ἐγγυῆσαι.
- 39 VIII. Ἀνάμνησίς γε μὴν μνήμης τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται καὶ ὁ ἀναμνησκόμος τοῦ μεμνημένου·
- [525] ὁ μὲν | γὰρ ἔοικε τῷ συνεχῶς ὑγιαίνοντι, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἐκ νόσου ἀναλαμβάνοντι· λήθη γὰρ νόσος μνήμης.
- 40 ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ὑπομνήσει χρώμενον ἐκλαθέσθαι πρότερον ὧν ἐμέμνητο. τὴν μὲν οὖν μνήμην Ἑφραῖμ, ἐρμηνευόμενον καρποφορίαν, ὁ ἱερός ὀνομάζει λόγος, τὴν δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐκ λήθης Μανασσῆν
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## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 36-40

labour. But the self-learnt kind, of which Isaac is a 36 member, that joy which is the best of the good emotions, is endowed with a simple nature free from mixture and alloy, and wants neither the practice nor the teaching which entails the need of the concubine as well as the legitimate forms of knowledge. When God rains down from heaven the good of which the self is a teacher and learner both, it is impossible that that self should still live in concubinage with the slavish arts, as though desiring to be the father of bastard thoughts and conclusions. He who has obtained this prize is enrolled as the husband of the queen and mistress virtue. Her name in the Greek means "constancy"; in the Hebrew it is Rebecca. He who has gained the wisdom that comes without 37 toil and trouble, because his nature is happily gifted and his soul fruitful of good, does not seek for any means of betterment: for he has ready beside him in 38 their fulness the gifts of God, conveyed by the breath of God's higher graces, but he wishes and prays that these may remain with him constantly. And therefore I think his Benefactor, willing that His graces once received should stay for ever with him, gives him Constancy for his spouse.

VIII. Again, reminiscence takes the second place 39 to memory, and so with the reminded and the rememberer. The conditions of these two resemble respectively continuous health and recovery from disease, for forgetting is a disease of memory. The 40 man who is reminded must necessarily have forgotten what he remembered before. So the holy word names memory Ephraim, which by interpretation is "fruit-bearing," while reminding or reminiscence is called in the Hebrew Manasseh, that is "from

## PHILO

- 41 προσαγορεύουσιν Ἑβραῖοι. ὄντως γὰρ ἡ μὲν τοῦ μεμνημένου ψυχὴ καρποφορεῖ ἃ ἔμαθεν οὐδὲν ἀποβάλλουσα αὐτῶν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀναμνήσει χρωμένου ἔξω λήθης γίνεται, ἢ πρὶν ὑπομνησθῆναι κατέσχητο. μνημονικῶ μὲν οὖν ἀνδρὶ ἀστὴ συμβιοῖ γυνή, μνήμη, ἐπιλανθανομένῳ δὲ παλλακίς, ἀνάμνησις, Σύρα τὸ γένος, ἀλαζὼν καὶ ὑπέραυχος· Συρία γὰρ
- 42 ἐρμηνεύεται μετεωρία.<sup>1</sup> τῆς δὲ παλλακίδος ταύτης, ἀναμνήσεως, υἱὸς ἔστι Μαχεῖρ, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσιν, ὡς δὲ Ἕλληνες, πατρός<sup>2</sup>. νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀναμνησκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα νοῦν αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ὑπομνησθῆναι, καὶ οὐ λογιζονται, ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἐχώρησέ ποτε καὶ λήθην, οὐκ ἂν δεξάμενος
- 43 αὐτήν, εἰ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦν τὸ μεμνησθαι. λέγεται γάρ· “ ἐγένοντο υἱοὶ Μανασσῆ, οὓς ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ ἡ παλλακὴ ἡ Σύρα, τὸν Μαχεῖρ· Μαχεῖρ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Γαλαάδ.”

Καὶ Ναχωρ μέντοι, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβραάμ, ἔχει δύο γυναῖκας, ἀσθὴν τε καὶ παλλακὴν· ὄνομα δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀστῆς Μελχά, Ῥουμὰ δὲ τῆς παλλακίδος.

44 ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱστορικὴ γενεαλογία ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀναγραφείσα παρὰ τῷ σοφῷ νομοθέτῃ—μηδεὶς τοῦτ' εὖ φρονῶν ὑπονοήσειεν,—ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων ψυχὴν ὠφελῆσαι δυναμένων διὰ συμβόλων ἀνάπτυξις. τὰ δ' ὀνόματα μεταβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον εἰσόμεθα τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀληθῆ. φέρ' οὖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐρευνήσωμεν.

<sup>1</sup> So mss.: Wendland μετέωρα, which the mss. have in *Leg. All.* iii. 18. The neuter plural seems strange; μετεωρία, however, is only quoted from Latin writers and in the sense of “forgetfulness.”

<sup>2</sup> Cohn suggested <ἐργήγορσις> πατρός, from “Onomastica, ed. Lag. 195. 68.” This I have not been able to see.



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 41-44

forgetfulness.” For it is quite true that the soul of 41  
the rememberer has the fruits of what he learned and  
has lost none of them, whereas the soul of the reminded  
comes out of forgetfulness which possessed him before  
he was reminded. The man of memory then is  
mated to a legitimate wife, memory ; the forgetful  
man to a concubine, reminiscence, Syrian by race,  
boastful and arrogant, for Syria is by interpretation  
“ loftiness.” This concubine has for a son, in the 42  
Hebrew, Machir, meaning with us “ the father’s,”  
for people who recall to memory think that the father  
mind was the cause of their being reminded, and do  
not reflect that this same mind also contained the  
forgetfulness, for which it would not have had room,  
if memory were present with it. We read, “ The 43  
sons of Manasseh were those whom the Syrian con-  
cubine bore to him, Machir, and Machir begat  
Gilead ” (Gen. xlv. 20).<sup>a</sup>

Nahor too, the brother of Abraham, has two wives,  
legitimate and concubine, and the name of the  
legitimate wife was Milcah, and the name of the  
concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 23, 24). Now let no 44  
sane man suppose that we have here in the pages  
of the wise legislator an historical pedigree. What  
we have is a revelation through symbols of facts  
which may be profitable to the soul. And if we  
translate the names into our own tongue, we shall  
recognize that what is here promised is actually the  
case. Let us inquire then into each of them.

<sup>a</sup> This verse is not in the Hebrew here, but the substance  
of it appears in both Hebrew and LXX in 1 Chron. vii. 14.

- 45 IX. Ναχώρ ἐρμηνεύεται φωτὸς ἀνάπαισις, Μελχὰ δὲ βασιλίσσα, Ῥουμὰ δὲ ὀρώσά τι. τὸ μὲν οὖν φῶς ἔχειν κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον καὶ ἡρεμοῦν καὶ ἀκίνητον οὐ τέλειον ἀγαθόν· ἡσυχία μὲν γὰρ τὰ κακὰ χρῆσθαι λυσιτελές, τὰ  
 46 δὲ ἀγαθὰ κινήσει συμφέρον. τίς γὰρ ὄνησις εὐφώνου ἡσυχάζοντος ἢ μὴ αὐλοῦντος αὐλητοῦ ἢ κιθαριστοῦ μὴ κιθαρίζοντος ἢ συνόλως τεχνίτου τὰ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην μὴ ἐνεργοῦντος; ἢ γὰρ ἄνευ πράξεως θεωρία ψιλὴ πρὸς οὐδὲν ὄφελος τοῖς ἐπιστήμοσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ παγκρατιάζειν ἢ πυκτεῦειν ἢ παλαίειν εἰδὼς ἐξαγκωνισθεὶς ἀπόνοιτ' ἂν ἀθλήσεως ἢ ὁ τὴν τοῦ τρέχειν ἐπιστήμην ἐκμαθὼν, εἰ ποδαγρικῶ χρῆσαιτο πάθει ἢ τινα ἄλλην περὶ  
 47 τὰς βάσεις κῆρα ἀναδέξαιτο. φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς ἡλιοειδέστατον ἐπιστήμη· καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ὄμματα αὐγαῖς, καὶ ἡ διάνοια σοφία περιλάμπεται καὶ |  
 [526] ὀξυδερκέστερα ἐμβλέπειν ἐγχρισμένη καινοῖς αἰεὶ  
 48 θεωρήμασιν ἐθίζεται. φωτὸς οὖν ἀνάπαισις ἐρμηνεύεται Ναχώρ εἰκότως· ἢ μὲν γὰρ Ἀβραάμ ἐστὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ συγγενῆς, φωτὸς τοῦ κατὰ σοφίαν μετέσχηκεν· ἢ δ' οὐ συναποδεδήμεκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς τὸν κοσμοπλάστην ἀποδημίαν, χωλὴν καὶ ἀτελῆ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκτήσατο, ἀναπαυομένην καὶ μένουσαν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀνδριάντος  
 49 ἀψύχου τρόπον πεπηγυῖαν. τῆς γὰρ Χαλδαϊκῆς

<sup>a</sup> In the allegory of §§ 45-53, Nahor represents any philosophy which does not rise to the acknowledgement of God, not merely astrology, though for a moment in § 49 it seems to be identified with it. Rather its highest study is astrology, a science for which, so far as it recognizes the harmony of the heavens, Philo has considerable respect, *cf.*

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 45-49

IX. Nahor means "rest of light"<sup>a</sup>; Milcah, "queen"; 45  
and Reumah, "seeing something." Now to have light  
in the mind is good, yet what is at rest, quiet and  
immovable, is not a perfect good; it is well that  
things evil should be in a state of stillness; motion  
on the other hand is the proper condition for the good.  
For what use is the flute-player, however fine a per- 46  
former he may be, if he remain quiet and does not  
play, or the harpist if he does not use his harp, or in  
general any craftsman if he does not exercise his  
craft? No knowledge is profitable to the possessors  
through the mere theory if it is not combined with  
practice: a man may know how to contend in the  
pancratium, to box or to wrestle, yet if his hands be  
tied behind his back he will get no good from his  
athletic training; so too with one who has mastered  
the science of running, if he suffers from gout or from  
any other affliction of the feet. Now knowledge is 47  
the great sunlight of the soul. For as our eyes are  
illuminated by the sun's rays, so is the mind by  
wisdom, and anointed with the eyesalve of ever fresh  
acquisitions of knowledge it grows accustomed to  
see with clearer vision. Nahor is therefore properly  
called "rest of light": in so far as he is wise Abra- 48  
ham's kinsman, he has obtained a share in wisdom's  
light; but in so far as he has not accompanied him  
abroad in his journey from the created to the un-  
created, and from the world to the world's Framer,  
the knowledge he has gained is halting and incom-  
plete, resting and staying where it is, or rather stand-  
ing stockstill, like a lifeless statue. For he does not 49

*De Mig.* 178 ff. Its lower study is sceptical quibbling, and these two represent respectively the lawful wife and the concubine.

## PHILO

- οὐ μετανίσταται χώρας, τουτέστι τῆς περὶ ἀστρονομίαν θεωρίας οὐ διαζεύγνυται, τὸ γενόμενον πρὸ τοῦ πεποικηκότος καὶ κόσμον πρὸ θεοῦ τετιμηκώς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν θεὸν αὐτοκράτορα νομίζων, οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος ἔργον θεοῦ.
- 50 X. Μελχὰν δὲ ἄγεται γυναικα, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἢ πόλεων ἀφηγουμένην, <ἦν> τύχη, βασιλίδα, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμον αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκείνη. καθάπερ γὰρ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἅτε κράτιστον ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων, βασιλέα τῶν αἰσθητῶν εἶποι τις ἂν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, οὕτως καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμην, ἣν μετίασιν οἱ ἀστρονομοῦντες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι διαφερόντως,
- 51 βασιλίδα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν. γυνὴ μὲν οὖν ἦδε ἀστή, παλλακὴ δὲ ἣ ἔν τι τῶν ὄντων ὀρώσα, κἂν εἰ πάντων εὐτελέστατον ὑπάρχοι. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀρίστῳ γένοι τὸ ἄριστον ὄραν, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, συμβέβηκεν—Ἰσραὴλ γὰρ ὄρων θεὸν ἐρμηνεύεται,—τῷ δὲ δευτερείων ἐφιεμένῳ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐναρμόνιον τάξιν καὶ πάμμουσον ὡς ἀληθῶς χορείαν.
- 52 τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ σκεπτικοί, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει κρατίστων, αἰσθητῶν τε καὶ νοητῶν, οὐκ ἐφαπτόμενοι, περὶ μικρὰ μέντοι σοφίσματα τριβόμενοι καὶ γλισχρολογούμενοι. τούτοις ἣ ὀρώσά τι κἂν<sup>1</sup> τὸ μικρότατον παλλακὴς Ῥουμὰ συνοικεῖ μὴ δυναμένοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἐλθεῖν ἔρευναν,
- 53 ἐξ ὧν τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον ὀνήσουσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἰατροῖς ἣ λεγομένη λογιατρεία πολὺ τῆς τῶν καμνόντων ὠφελείας ἀποστατεῖ—φαρμάκοις γὰρ καὶ χειρουργίαις καὶ διαίταις, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγοις, αἱ νόσοι θεραπεύονται,—οὕτω καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 49-53

remove from the land of Chaldaea, that is he does not sever himself from the study of astrology; he honours the created before the creator, and the world before God, or rather he holds that the world is not the work of God but is itself God absolute in His power.

X. But in Milcah he marries 50 a queen, not a ruler of men or perhaps cities, but one who merely bears the same name with a different meaning. For just as heaven, being the best and greatest of created things, may be rightly called the king of the world of our senses, so the knowledge of heaven, which the star-gazers and the Chaldaeans especially pursue, may be called the queen of sciences. Milcah, then, is the legitimate wife, but the concubine 51 is she who sees one thing of what is, though it be but the meanest of all. Now to see the best, that is the truly existing, is the lot of the best of races, Israel, for Israel means seeing God. The race or kind that strives for the second place sees the second best, that is the heaven of our senses, and therein the well-ordered host of the stars, the choir that moves to the fullest and truest music.

Third are the 52 sceptics, who do not concern themselves with the best things in nature, whether perceived by the senses or the mind, but spend themselves on petty quibbles and trifling disputes. These are the house-mates of Reumah, who "sees something," even the smallest, men incapable of the quest for the better things which might bring profit to their lives. In 53 the case of physicians what is called word-medicine is far removed from assistance to the sick, for diseases are cured by drugs and surgery and prescriptions of diet, but not with words; and so too in philosophy

## PHILO

λογοπῶλαι καὶ λογοθηραὶ τινες αὐτὸ μόνον εἰσί, τὸν ἀρρωστημάτων γέμοντα βίον θεραπεύειν οὔτε ἐθέλοντες οὔτε ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἐκ πρώτης δὲ ἡλικίας ἄχρι γήρως ἐσχάτου γνωσιμαχοῦντές τε [527] καὶ συλλαβομαχοῦντες οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν, | ὥσπερ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπ' ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων [καὶ] ἀπεράντῳ καὶ ἀνηνύτῳ περιεργία κειμένης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ τὸ ἦθος, τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου <βίου> πηγῆν, ἄμεινον καταστήσασθαι, τὰς μὲν κακίας ὑπερορίους φυγαδεύσαντα αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ ἀρετὰς εἰσοικίσαντα.<sup>1</sup>

- 54 XI. Παλλακὰς μέντοι [ἦ]<sup>2</sup> δόξας καὶ δόγματα προσίενται καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι. φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι Θαμνά, ἡ παλλακὴ Ἐλιφὰς τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἡσαῦ, ἔτεκε τῷ Ἐλιφὰς τὸν Ἀμαλήκ. ὡ τῆς τοῦ ἀπογόνου λαμπρᾶς δυσγενείας· ὅψει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν δυσγένειαν, ἐὰν ἀποστὰς τοῦ περὶ ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα εἰρησθαι νομίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνατομῆς
- 55 ἐπισκέπτῃ. τὴν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλογον καὶ ἄμετρον ὄρμην τοῦ πάθους Ἀμαλήκ προσαγορεύει· μεταληφθεὶς γάρ ἐστι λαὸς ἐκλείχων· καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις τὴν παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀναλίσκει, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀναζέον τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πάντα ἐπιλιχμᾶται καὶ διαφθείρει.
- 56 τούτου τοῦ πάθους πατὴρ Ἐλιφὰς ἀναγράφεται δεόντως· ἐρμηνεύεται γάρ· θεὸς με διέσπειρεν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅταν ἀνασκεδάσῃ ἢ διασπείρῃ καὶ σκορα-

<sup>1</sup> τινε must be understood as subject to καταστήσασθαι; otherwise grammar will require φυγαδεύσαντας (-es?) and εἰσοικίσαντας (-es?).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read παλλακὰς μέντοι <καὶ ἀστὰς>, δόξας κτλ. See App. p. 578.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 53-56

there are men who are merely word-mongers and word-hunters, who neither wish nor practise to cure their life, brimful of infirmities as it is, but from their earliest years to extreme old age contend in battles of argument<sup>a</sup> and battles of syllables and blush not to do so. They act as though happiness depended on the endless fruitless hypercriticism of words as such,<sup>b</sup> instead of on establishing on a better basis character, the fount of human life,<sup>c</sup> by expelling the vices from its borders and planting there the virtues as settlers in their stead.

XI. The wicked, too, take to them as concubines, 54 opinions and doctrines. Thus he says that Timna, the concubine of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, bore Amalek to Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 12). How distinguished is the misbirth of him whose descent is here given! What the misbirth is you will see, if you cast away all thought that these words refer to men and turn your attention to what we may call the anatomy of soul-nature.<sup>d</sup> It is then the unreasoning and un- 55 measured impulse or appetite of passion which he calls Amalek, for the word by translation means "people licking up." For as the force of fire consumes the fuel laid before it, so too the boiling of passion licks up and destroys all that stands in its way. This passion is rightly declared to 56 have Eliphaz for its father, for Eliphaz means "God hath dispersed me." And is it not true that when God scatters and disperses the soul and ejects

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 577.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "nouns and verbs," see note on *De Mig.* 49.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 578.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "observe the soul as it were by anatomy."

## PHILO

- κίση τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ θεός, τὸ ἄλογον εὐθύς γεννᾶται πάθος; τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὄρατικὴν αὐτοῦ φιλόθεον ὄντως διάνοιαν, κληματίδα εὐγενῆ, καταφυτεύει ρίζας ἀποτεινῶν πρὸς αἰδιότητα καὶ εὐφορίαν καρπῶν διδοὺς πρὸς κτῆσι καὶ ἀπό-
- 57 λαισιν ἀρετῶν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς εὐχεται φάσκων· “εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτούς,” ἵνα μὴ ἐφ- ἡμερα ἀλλ' ἀθάνατα καὶ μακραίωνα γένηται τὰ θεῖα βλαστήματα. τῆν δὲ ἄδικον καὶ ἄθεον ψυχὴν φυγαδεύων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πορρωτάτω διέσπειρεν εἰς τὸν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων χώρον. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος προσφυέστατα ἀσεβῶν καλεῖται, οὐχ ὁ μυθεύμενος ἐν “Αἰδου· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν “Αἰδῆς ὁ τοῦ μοχθηροῦ βίος ἐστίν, ὁ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος.
- 58 XII. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἐστηλιτευμένον· “ἠνίκα διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ,” τοὺς γηγῆνους ἅπαντας τρόπους οὐράνιον οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐσπουδακότας ἰδεῖν ἤλασεν, ἀοίκους καὶ ἀπόλιδας καὶ σποράδας ὄντως ἐργασάμενος. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν φαύλων οὐκ οἶκος, οὐ πόλις, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν εἰς κοινωνίαν οὐδὲν διασώζεται, ἀλλ' ἀνίδρυτος ὢν σπεῖρεται, πάντῃ φορούμενος καὶ μετανιστάμενος αἰεὶ καὶ μηδαμόθι στηριχθῆναι δυνάμενος.
- 59 γίνεται οὖν τῷ φαύλῳ ἐξ ἀσθῆς μὲν κακία, τὸ δὲ πάθος ἐκ παλλακῆς. λογισμοῦ γὰρ ἡ μὲν ὅλη [528] ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἀσθὴ σύμβιος | —ψυχὴ δὲ ἐπίληπτος τίκτει κακίας,—ἡ δὲ τοῦ σώματος φύσις παλλακῆ,

<sup>a</sup> Or “graft.”

<sup>b</sup> Or simply “recorded.”

<sup>c</sup> i.e. including the ἄλογον part of the soul as well as the “soul's soul” or mind. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 55.



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 56-59

it with contumely from His presence unreasoning passion is at once engendered? The mind which truly loves God, that has the vision of Him, He "plants in," as a branch<sup>a</sup> of goodly birth, and He deepens its roots to reach to eternity and gives it fruitfulness for the acquisition and enjoyment of virtue. That is why Moses prays in these words, 57 "Bring them in and plant them in" (Ex. xv. 17), that the saplings of God's culture may not be for a day but age-long and immortal. On the other hand he banishes the unjust and godless souls from himself to the furthest bounds, and disperses them to the place of pleasures and lusts and injustices. That place is most fitly called the place of the impious, but it is not that mythical place of the impious in Hades. For the true Hades is the life of the bad, a life of damnation and blood-guiltiness, the victim of every curse.

XII. And elsewhere we have this text, 58 graven as on a stone,<sup>b</sup> "When the Highest divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam" (Deut. xxxii. 8), that is, when He drove away all the earthly ways of thinking which have no real desire to look on any heaven-sent good, and made them homeless and cityless, scattered in very truth. For none of the wicked have preserved for them home or city, nor aught else that tends to fellowship, but they are scattered without settlement, driven about on every side, ever changing their place, nowhere able to hold their ground.

So then the wicked man 59 begets vice by his legitimate wife and passion by his concubine. For the soul as a whole<sup>c</sup> is the legitimate life-mate of reason, and if it be a soul of guilt it brings forth vices. The bodily nature is the concubine, and

## PHILO

- δι' ἧς ἡ γένεσις τοῦ πάθους θεωρεῖται· ἡδονῶν γὰρ  
 60 καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν χώρα τὸ σῶμα. καλεῖται δὲ  
 Θαμνά, ἧς μεταληφθέν ἐστὶ τοῦνομα ἔκλειψις  
 σαλευομένη· ἐκλείπει γὰρ καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ  
 πάθει, σάλον καὶ κλύδωνα πολὺν ἀπὸ σώματος  
 ἐνδεξαμένη διὰ τὸν καταρραγέοντα βαρὺν χειμῶνα  
 61 ἐξ ἀμετρίας ὀρμῆς. κεφαλὴ δὲ ὡς ζώου  
 πάντων τῶν λεχθέντων μερῶν ὁ γενάρχης ἐστὶν  
 Ἡσαῦ, ὃς τοτὲ μὲν ποίημα, τοτὲ δὲ δρυὶς ἐρμη-  
 νεύεται, δρυὶς μὲν, παρόσον ἀκαμπῆς καὶ ἀνένδοτος  
 ἀπειθής τε καὶ σκληραύχην φύσει, συμβούλω  
 χρώμενος ἀνοία, δρύϊνος ὄντως, ποίημα δέ, παρ-  
 ὄσον πλάσμα καὶ μῦθος ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ἀφροσύνης  
 βίος, τραγωδίας καὶ κενοῦ κόμπου καὶ πάλιν  
 γέλωτος καὶ κωμικῆς χλεύης ἀνάπλεως, ὑγιᾶς ἔχων  
 οὐδέν, κατειψευσμένος, ἐκτετοξευκῶς ἀλήθειαν, τὴν  
 ἀποιοῦν καὶ ἀνείδειον καὶ ἀπλαστον φύσιν ἐν οὐδεὶ  
 62 λόγῳ τιθέμενος, ἧς ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐρᾷ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ  
 Μωυσῆς φάσκων, ὅτι “ ἦν Ἰακώβ ἀπλαστος,  
 οἰκῶν οἰκίαν,” ὥστε ὁ ἐναντίος τούτῳ ἄοικος ἂν  
 εἶη, πλάσματος καὶ ποιήματος καὶ μυθικῶν λήρων  
 ἑταῖρος, μᾶλλον δὲ σκηνη καὶ μῦθος αὐτός.  
 63 XIII. Ἡ μὲν δὴ λογισμοῦ φιλοθεάμονος πρὸς  
 ἀστὰς καὶ παλλακίδας δυνάμεις σύνοδος, ὡς οἶόν  
 τε ἦν, εἴρηται· τὸν δ' εἰρμὸν τοῦ λόγου συνυφαν-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. note on *De Sac.* 17.

<sup>b</sup> Throughout these sections there is a play upon the technical literary use of ποίημα and πλάσμα. While ποίημα in this sense is a poem in general, πλάσμα is used of fictitious but possible material such as was used in comedy, while μῦθος gives the legendary matter which formed the staple of tragedy. The double use of ποίημα in *Quod Det.* 125 is somewhat similar.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 59-63

we see that through it passion is generated, for the body is the region of pleasures and lusts. This 60 concubine is called Timna, whose name translated is "tossing faintness." For the soul faints and loses all power through passion when it receives from the body the flood of tossing surge caused by the storm wind which sweeps down in its fury, driven on by unbridled appetite.

And of all the mem- 61  
bers of the clan here described Esau is the progenitor, the head as it were of the whole creature,—Esau whose name we sometimes interpret as "an oak," sometimes as "a thing made up."<sup>a</sup> He is an oak because he is unbending, unyielding, disobedient and stiff-necked by nature, with folly as his counsellor, oak-like in very truth; he is a thing made up because the life that consorts with folly is just fiction and fable, full of the bombast of tragedy on the one hand and of the broad jesting of comedy on the other;<sup>b</sup> it has nothing sound about it, is utterly false and has thrown truth overboard; it makes no account of the nature which is outside qualities<sup>c</sup> and forms and fashionings, the nature which the Man of Practice loves. To this Moses testifies when he says, "Jacob 62 was a plain or unfashioned man, living in a house" (Gen. xxv. 27). And therefore Esau his opposite must be houseless, and the friend of fiction and make-up and legendary follies, or rather himself the actor's stage and the playwright's legend.

XIII. We have now to the best of our ability 63 described the mating of the reason which yearns to see and learn with the faculties both of the lawful and the concubine type. We must now continue the thread of our discourse by examining the words

<sup>c</sup> Again a play (not translatable) on *πολιμα*.

## PHILO

τέον τὰκόλουθα διερευνῶντας. “ ὑπήκουσε ” φησὶν  
 “ Ἄβραάμ τῆς φωνῆς Σάρρας ”· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ  
 τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν ἀρετῆς τὸν μαθητὴν πειθ-  
 64 αρχεῖν. οὐ πάντες δὲ πειθαρχοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοις  
 σφοδρὸς ἔρως ἐντέτηκεν ἐπιστήμης· ἐπεὶ καθ’  
 ἑκάστην σχεδὸν ἡμέραν τὰ τε ἀκροατήρια καὶ τὰ  
 θέατρα πληροῦνται, διεξέρχονται δὲ ἀπνευστὶ συν-  
 εῖροντες τοὺς περὶ ἀρετῆς λόγους οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες.  
 65 ἀλλὰ τί τῶν λεγομένων ὄφελος; ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ  
 προσέχειν ἐτέρωσε τὸν νοῦν ἀποστείλαντες οἱ μὲν  
 πλοῦ καὶ ἐμπορίας, οἱ δὲ προσόδων καὶ γεωργίας,  
 οἱ δὲ τιμῶν καὶ πολιτείας, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφ’ ἑκάστης  
 τέχνης καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως κερδῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ τιμω-  
 ρίας ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς ἐπι-  
 θυμίαις ἀπολαύσεων καὶ συνόλως ἐτέρων ἕτεροι  
 διαμέμνηνται, ὡς ἔνεκα τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων κεκω-  
 φῆσθαι, τοῖς μὲν σώμασι παρεῖναι μόνον, ταῖς δὲ  
 διανοαῖς ἀπηλλάχθαι, εἰδώλων καὶ ἀνδριάντων  
 66 διαφέρειν μηδέν. εἰ δέ τινες καὶ προσ-  
 ἔχουσι, τοσοῦτον χρόνον καθέζονται μόνον ἀκού-  
 οντες, ἀπαλλαγέντες δ’ οὐδενὸς τῶν εἰρημένων δια-  
 μέμνηνται, καὶ ἦκον τερφθῆναι δι’ ἀκοῆς μᾶλλον  
 ἢ ὠφελθῆναι· ὥστε οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἴσχυσεν ἢ ψυχὴ  
 συλλαβεῖν καὶ κυφορῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἅμα τὸ κινεῖν τὴν  
 [529] ἡδονὴν αἴτιον | ἡσύχασε καὶ ἡ προσοχὴ κατεσβέσθη.  
 67 τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἷς ἔναυλα μὲν τὰ  
 λεχθέντα ὑπηχεῖ, σοφισταὶ δὲ ἀντὶ φιλοσόφων  
 ἀνευρίσκονται. τούτων ὁ μὲν λόγος ἐπαινετός, ὁ  
 δὲ βίος ψεκτός ἐστι· δυνατοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν,  
 68 ἀδύνατοι δὲ εἰσι πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα. μόλις οὖν

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 63-67

which follow. Abraham, it says, "hearkened to the voice of Sarah" (Gen. xvi. 2), for the learner must needs obey the commands of virtue. Yet not all do obey, only those in whom the strong longing for knowledge has become ingrained. Hardly a day passes but the lecture-halls and theatres are filled with philosophers discoursing at length, stringing together without stopping to take breath their disquisitions on virtue. Yet what profit is there in their talk? For instead of attending, the audience dismiss their minds elsewhere, some occupied with thoughts of voyaging and trading, some with their farming and its returns, others with honours and civic life, others on the profits they get from their particular trade and business, others with the vengeance they hope to wreak on their enemies, others with the enjoyments of their amorous passions, the class of thought in fact differing with the class of person. Thus, as far as what is being demonstrated is concerned, they are deaf, and while they are present in the body are absent in mind, and might as well be images or statues.

And any who do attend sit all the time merely hearing, and when they depart they remember nothing that has been said, and in fact their object in coming was to please their sense of hearing rather than to gain any profit; thus their soul is unable to conceive or bring to the birth, but the moment the cause which stirred up pleasure is silent their attention is extinguished too.

There is a third class, who carry away an echo of what has been said, but prove to be sophists rather than philosophers. The words of these deserve praise, but their lives censure, for they are capable of saying the best, but incapable of doing it.

## PHILO

ἔστιν εὐρεῖν προσεκτικὸν καὶ μνημονικόν, τὸ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν προτιμῶντα, ἃ δὴ μαρτυρεῖται τῷ φιλομαθεῖ διὰ τοῦ “ ὑπήκουσε τῆς φωνῆς Σάρρας.” οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων ἀλλ’ ὑπακούων εἰσάγεται· τὸ δέ ἐστι τοῦ συναινεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν εὐθυβολώτατον

69 ὄνομα. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ δὲ πρόσκειται τὸ “ τῆς φωνῆς,” ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς φωνούσης Σάρρας ὑπακοῦσαι. ἴδιον γὰρ τοῦ μανθάνοντος φωνῆς καὶ λόγων ἀκροᾶσθαι, διδάσκεται γὰρ τούτοις μόνοις· ὁ δὲ ἀσκήσει τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ διδασκαλία κτώμενος οὐ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς λέγουσι προσέχει, μιμούμενος τὸν ἐκείνων βίον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ  
70 μέρος ἀνεπιλήπτοις πράξεσι. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἥνικα εἰς τὸν συγγενικὸν γάμον πέμπεται· “ εἰσήκουσεν Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,” οὐ τῆς φωνῆς οὐδὲ τῶν λόγων—τοῦ γὰρ βίου μιμητὴν ἔδει τὸν ἀσκητὴν, οὐκ ἀκροατὴν λόγων εἶναι· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον τοῦ διδασκομένου, ἐκείνο δὲ τοῦ διαθλοῦντος,—ἵνα κἀνταῦθα διαφορὰν ἀσκητοῦ καὶ μανθάνοντος καταλάβωμεν, τοῦ μὲν κοσμομένου κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον.

71 XIV. “ Λαβοῦσα ” οὖν φησι “ Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ Ἀβραάμ ἤγαγε τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν, τὴν ἑαυτῆς παιδίσκην, μετὰ δέκα ἔτη τοῦ οἰκῆσαι Ἀβραάμ ἐν γῆ Χαναάν, ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀβραάμ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς αὐτῷ γυναικα.” βάσκανον μὲν καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες φύσει κακία, ἡμερον δὲ καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ εὐμενὲς

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 68-71

Rarely then shall we find one who combines attention, 68  
memory and the valuing of deeds before words, which  
three things are vouched for in the case of Abraham,  
the lover of learning, in the phrase " He hearkened to  
the voice of Sarah," for he is represented not as hear-  
ing, but as hearkening, a word which exactly ex-  
presses assent and obedience. There is a 69  
point, too, in the addition " to the voice," instead of  
" he hearkened to Sarah speaking." For it is a  
characteristic mark of the learner that he listens to a  
voice and to words, since by these only is he taught.  
whereas he who acquires the good through practice,  
and not through teaching, fixes his attention not on  
what is said, but on those who say it, and imitates  
their life as shewn in the blamelessness of their  
successive actions. Thus we read in the case of 70  
Jacob, when he was sent to marry into his mother's  
family, " Jacob heard his father and mother, and went  
to Mesopotamia " (Gen. xxviii. 7). " Heard *them*,"  
it says, not their voice or words, for the practiser must  
be the imitator of a life, not the hearer of words, since  
the latter is the characteristic mark of the recipient  
of teaching, and the former of the strenuous self-  
exerciser. Thus this text too is meant as a lesson to  
us that we may realize the difference between a  
learner and a practiser, how the course of one is  
determined by what a person says, the other by the  
person himself.

XIV. The verse continues, " So Sarah the wife of 71  
Abraham, ten years after Abraham dwelt in Canaan,  
took Hagar the Egyptian her handmaid and gave  
her to Abraham her husband as his wife " (Gen.  
xvi. 3). Now vice is malignant and sour and ill-  
minded by nature, while virtue is gentle and sociable

## PHILO

- ἀρετή, πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας ὠφελεῖν  
 72 ἢ δι' αὐτῆς ἢ δι' ἑτέρων ἐθέλουσα. νυνὶ γοῦν μήπω  
 δυναμένοις ἡμῖν ἐκ φρονήσεως παιδοποιεῖσθαι τὴν  
 ἑαυτῆς ἐγγυᾶ θεραπευρίδα, τὴν ἐγκύκλιον, ὡς ἔφην,  
 παιδεῖαν, καὶ μονοноῦ προξενεῖν καὶ νυμφοστολεῖν  
 ὑπομένει· αὐτὴ γὰρ λέγεται λαβοῦσα διδόναι τῷ  
 73 ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς γυναῖκα ταύτην. ἄξιον δὲ  
 διαπορηῆσαι, διὰ τί νυνὶ πάλιν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ  
 εἶπε τὴν Σάρραν, πολλάκις ἤδη πρότερον μεμηνυ-  
 κῶς· οὐ γὰρ μακρολογίας τὸ φαυλότατον εἶδος,  
 ταυτολογίαν, ἐπιτετήδευκε. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἐπειδὴ  
 μέλλει τὴν θεραπευρίδα φρονήσεως, τὴν ἐγκύκλιον  
 παιδεῖαν, ἐγγυᾶσθαι, φησὶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐξελάβετο τῶν  
 πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῆς ὁμολογιῶν, ἀλλ' οἶδε μὲν  
 ἐκείνην ἑαυτοῦ νόμῳ καὶ γνώμῃ γυναῖκα, ταύτην δὲ  
 ἀνάγκῃ καὶ βία καιροῦ. τοῦτο δὲ παντὶ συμβαίνει  
 φιλομαθεῖ· μάρτυς δ' ὁ πεπονηθὼς γένοιτο ἂν ἀψευ-  
 74 δέστατος. | ἐγὼ γοῦν ἠνίκα πρῶτον  
 [530] κέντροις φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτῆς ἀν-  
 ηρεθίσθην, ὠμίλησα κομιδῇ νέος ὢν μιᾶ τῶν θερα-  
 παινίδων αὐτῆς, γραμματικῇ, καὶ ὅσα ἐγέννησα ἐκ  
 ταύτης, τὸ γράφειν, τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν, τὴν ἱστορίαν  
 75 τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς, ἀνέθηκα τῇ δεσποίνῃ. καὶ  
 πάλιν ἑτέρα συνελθόν, γεωμετρία, καὶ τοῦ κάλλους  
 ἀγάμενος—εἶχε γὰρ συμμετρίαν καὶ ἀναλογίαν ἐν  
 τοῖς μέρεσι πᾶσι—τῶν ἐγγόνων οὐδὲν ἐνοσφισάμην,  
 76 ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀστῇ φέρων ἐδωρησάμην. ἐσπούδασα καὶ  
 τρίτῃ συνελθεῖν—ἦν δὲ εὐρυθμος, εὐάρμοστος, ἐμ-



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 71-76

and kindly, willing in every way, either by herself or others, to help those whom nature has gifted. Thus in the case before us, since as yet we are unable 72 to beget by wisdom, she gives us the hand of her maiden, who is, as I have said, the culture of the schools; and she does not shrink, we may almost say, to carry out the wooing and preside over the bridal rites; for she herself, we are told, took Hagar and gave her as wife to her husband. Now 73

it is worth considering carefully why in this place Moses again calls Sarah the wife of Abraham, when he has already stated the fact several times; for Moses did not practise the worst form of prolixity, namely tautology. What must we say then? This. When Abraham is about to wed the handmaid of wisdom, the school culture, he does not forget, so the text implies, his faith plighted to her mistress, but knows that the one is his wife by law and deliberate choice, the other only by necessity and the force of occasion. And this is what happens to every lover of learning; personal experience will prove the most infallible of testimonies. For instance 74

when first I was incited by the goads of philosophy to desire her I consorted in early youth with one of her handmaids, Grammar, and all that I beget by her, writing, reading and study of the writings of the poets, I dedicated to her mistress. And again I kept 75 company with another, namely Geometry, and was charmed with her beauty, for she shewed symmetry and proportion in every part. Yet I took none of her children for my private use, but brought them as a gift to the lawful wife. Again my ardour moved 76 me to keep company with a third; rich in rhythm, harmony and melody was she, and her name was

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μελής, μουσική δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο—καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 διατονικὰ χρώματα καὶ ἑναρμόνια, συνημμένα,  
 διεξευγμένα μέλη, τῆς διὰ τεττάρων, τῆς διὰ  
 πέντε, τῆς διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίας ἐχόμενα, καὶ  
 πάλιν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀπεκρυψάμην, ἵνα πλουσία μοι  
 γένηται ἢ ἀσπὴ γυνή, μυρίων οἰκετῶν ὑπηρετου-  
 77 μένη πλήθει. τινὲς γὰρ τοῖς φίλτροις τῶν  
 θεραπαινίδων δελεασθέντες ὀλιγώρησαν τῆς δεσ-  
 ποίνης, φιλοσοφίας, καὶ κατεγήρασαν οἱ μὲν ἐν  
 ποιήμασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν γραμμαῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐν χρωμάτων  
 κράσεσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις μυρίοις, οὐ δυνηθέντες  
 78 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπὴν ἀναδραμεῖν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐκάστη τέχνη  
 γλαφυρότητας, ὀλοκούς τινὰς δυνάμεις, ὑφ' ὧν ἔνιοι  
 ψυχαγωγούμενοι καταμένουσιν, ἐκκλησησμένοι τῶν  
 πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁμολογιῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐμμένων ταῖς  
 συνθήκαις πορίζει πάντα πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀρέσκειαν αὐτῆς. εἰκότως οὖν τῆς πίστεως αὐτὸν  
 ἀγάμενος ὁ ἱερός λόγος φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἦν αὐτῷ  
 γυνὴ Σάρρα, ὅτε τὴν θεραπαινίδα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης  
 79 ἀρέσκειαν ἠγάγετο. καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ τὰ ἐγκύκλια  
 συμβάλλεται πρὸς φιλοσοφίας ἀνάληψιν, οὕτω καὶ  
 φιλοσοφία πρὸς σοφίας κτήσιν. ἔστι γὰρ φιλο-  
 σοφία ἐπιτήδευσις σοφίας, σοφία δὲ ἐπιστήμη  
 θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων.  
 γένοιτ' ἂν οὖν ὥσπερ ἡ ἐγκύκλιος μουσικὴ φιλο-  
 80 σοφίας, οὕτω καὶ φιλοσοφία δούλη σοφίας. φιλο-  
 σοφία δὲ ἐγκράτειαν μὲν γαστρός, ἐγκράτειαν δὲ

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 76-80

Music, and from her I begat diatonics, chromatics and enharmonics, conjunct and disjunct melodies, conforming with the consonance of the fourth, fifth or octave intervals.<sup>a</sup> And again of none of these did I make a secret hoard, wishing to see the lawful wife a lady of wealth with a host of servants ministering to her. For some have been ensnared by the 77 love lures of the handmaids and spurned the mistress, and have grown old, some doting on poetry, some on geometrical figures, some on the blending of musical "colours,"<sup>b</sup> and a host of other things, and have never been able to soar to the winning of the lawful wife.<sup>c</sup> For each art has its charms, its powers of attraction, 78 and some beguiled by these stay with them and forget their pledges to Philosophy. But he who abides by the covenants he has made provides from every quarter everything he can to do her service. It is natural, then, that the holy word should say in admiration of his faithfulness that even then was Sarah his wife when he wedded the handmaid to do her service. And indeed just as the school subjects 79 contribute to the acquirement of philosophy, so does philosophy to the getting of wisdom. For philosophy is the practice or study of wisdom, and wisdom is the knowledge of things divine and human and their causes.<sup>d</sup> And therefore just as the culture of the schools is the bond-servant of philosophy, so must philosophy be the servant of wisdom. Now philo- 80 sophy teaches us the control of the belly and the

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 122, *De Post.* 104, *De Agr.* 137.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 578.

<sup>c</sup> For the tendency to prolong the study of the *Encyclia* beyond what Philo considered the proper time cf. *De Ebr.* 51.

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 579.

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- τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα, ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ γλώττης ἀναδιδάσκει. ταῦτα λέγεται μὲν εἶναι δι' αὐτὰ αἰρετά, σεμνότερα δὲ φαίνοιτ' ἄν, εἰ θεοῦ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρεσκείας ἕνεκα ἐπιτηδεύοιτο. μεμνησθαι οὖν δεῖ τῆς κυρίας, ὅποτε μέλλοιμεν αὐτῆς <τὰς> θεραπαινίδας μνάσθαι· καὶ λεγόμεθα μὲν ἄνδρες εἶναι τούτων, ὑπαρχέτω δ' ἡμῖν ἐκείνη πρὸς
- 81 ἀλήθειαν γυνή, μὴ λεγέσθω.
- [531] XV. | Δίδωσι δ' οὐκ εὐθύς εἰς τὴν Χανααίων γῆν ἀφικομένῳ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δεκαετίαν τῆς ἐκεῖ διατριβῆς. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἐπισκεπτέον· ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ συντρόφοις τοῖς πάθεσι μόνοις χρῆται, λύπαις, ἀλγηδόσι, πτόαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, ἃ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔρχεται, μήπω τοῦ λογισμοῦ βλέπειν δυναμένου τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ καὶ ἣ διαφέρει ταῦτα ἀλλήλων ἀκριβοῦν, ἀλλ' ἔτι νυστάζοντος καὶ ὡς ἐν ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ καταμεμυκός.
- 82 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὅταν ἐκβαίνοντες τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας μειρακιούσθαι μέλλωμεν, τὸ δίδυμον στέλεχος εὐθύς ἐκ μιᾶς, ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία, φύεται ρίζης· καὶ ποιούμεθα μὲν τὴν κατάληψιν ἀμφοῖν, αἰρούμεθα δὲ πάντως τὴν ἑτέραν, οἱ μὲν εὐφυεῖς
- 83 ἀρετὴν, κακίαν δ' οἱ ἐναντίοι. τούτων προϋποτυπωθέντων εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι παθῶν μὲν Αἴγυπτος σύμβολόν ἐστι, κακιῶν δὲ ἡ Χανααίων γῆ· ὥστ' εἰκότως ἀναστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τὸν
- 84 λεὼν εἰς τὴν Χανααίων εἰσάγει χώραν. ἄνθρωπος γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἅμα μὲν τῇ γενέσει τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πάθος ἔλαχεν οἰκεῖν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀλγηδόσι προσερριζωμένος, αὐθις δ' ἀποικίαν στέλλεται τὴν πρὸς

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 80-84

parts below it, and control also of the tongue. Such powers of control are said to be desirable in themselves, but they will assume a grander and loftier aspect if practised for the honour and service of God. So when we are about to woo the handmaids we must remember the sovereign lady, and let us be called their husbands, but let her be not called but be in reality our true wife.

XV. Next Sarah gives Hagar to Abraham, not at 81 once after his arrival in the land of the Canaanites, but after he has stayed there for ten years. The meaning of this requires careful consideration. In the first stage of our coming into existence the soul is reared with none but passions to be its comrades, griefs, pains, excitements, desires, pleasures, all of which come to it through the senses, since the reason is not yet able to see good and evil and to form an accurate judgement of the difference between them, but is still slumbering, its eyes closed as if in deep sleep. But as time goes on, when we leave 82 the stage of boyhood and are adolescent, there springs from the single root the twofold stalk, virtue and vice, and we form an apprehension of both, but necessarily choose one or the other, the better-natured choosing virtue, the opposite kind vice.

Following on this preliminary sketch 83 we must know that Egypt symbolizes sense, and the land of the Canaanites vice, and thus it is natural that when Moses brings the people out of Egypt he should lead them into the country of the Canaanites. The man, as I have said, at his first coming into being 84 receives for his habitation Egyptian passion, and his roots are fixed in pleasures and pains; but after awhile he emigrates to a new home, vice. The

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κακίαν, ἤδη τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὀξυώπεστερον ἐπιδεδωκότος καὶ καταλαμβάνοντος μὲν ἀμφότερα, ἀγαθὸν τε αὐτὸ καὶ κακόν, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον αἰρουμένου διὰ τὸ πολὺ μετέχειν τοῦ θνητοῦ, ὧς τὸ κακὸν οἰκείον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούναντίον τῷ θείῳ, τὸ ἀγαθόν.

85

XVI. ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν φύσει πατρίδες αὐται, παιδικῆς μὲν ἡλικίας τὸ πάθος, Αἴγυπτος, ἡβώσης δὲ κακία, ἡ Χαναανίτις. ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς λόγος, καίτοι σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τὰς τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους πατρίδας ἡμῶν, ὑποτίθεται τὰ πρακτέα καὶ συν-οῖσοντα παραγγέλλων μισεῖν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ νόμιμα  
86 καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν ἐν οἷς φησι· “ καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν· κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐν ἣ κατοικήσατε ἐπ' αὐτῆς, οὐ ποιήσετε· καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Χαναάν, εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ εἰσάγω ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ, οὐ ποιήσετε· καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν οὐ πορεύσεσθε· τὰ κρίματά μου ποιήσετε, καὶ τὰ προστάγματά μου φυλάξεσθε, πορεύεσθε ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν. καὶ φυλάξεσθε πάντα τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου, καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά. ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς·  
87 ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.” οὐκοῦν ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ζωῇ περιπατοῦντός<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσεσι  
[532] καὶ προστάξεσιν, | ὥστε θάνατος ἂν εἴη τὰ τῶν ἀθέων ἐπιτηδεύματα. τίνα δὲ τὰ ἀθέων εἴρηται·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περὶ παντός.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 84-87

reason has by this time advanced to a higher degree of vision, and while it apprehends both alternatives, good and evil, chooses the worst, because mortality is so large an ingredient in the reason, and evil is native to mortality as its opposite, good, is to the divine.

XVI. Now according to nature 85 these are the native-lands of the two ages : Egypt, that is passion, of the age of childhood ; Canaan, that is vice, of the age of adolescence. But the holy word, though it knows full well what are the native-lands of our mortal race, sets before us what we should do and what will be for our good, by bidding us hate the habits and the customs and the practices of those lands. It does so in the following words, " And the 86 Lord spake unto Moses, saying : ' Speak unto the sons of Israel, and thou shalt say unto them " I am the Lord your God. According to the practices of the land of Egypt, in which ye dwelt therein, ye shall not do ; and according unto the practices of the land of Canaan, into which I bring you there, you shall not do, and by their customs ye shall not walk. Ye shall do My judgements and ye shall keep My ordinances, walk in them. I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep all My ordinances and My judgements, and ye shall do them. He that doeth them shall live in them. I am the Lord your God ' " (Lev. xviii. 1-5). So then the true life is the life of him 87 who walks in the judgements and ordinances of God, so that the practices of the godless must be death. And what the practices of the godless are we have been told. They are the practices of passion and

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τὰ πάθους καὶ κακιῶν ἐστίν,<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀνοσιουργῶν<sup>2</sup> πλήθη φύεται.

88 Μετὰ δεκαετίαν οὖν τῆς πρὸς Χαναναίους μεταοικίας ἀξόμεθα τὴν Ἄγαρ, ἐπειδήπερ εὐθὺς μὲν γενόμενοι λογικοὶ τῆς φύσει βλαβεράς ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας μεταποιούμεθα, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ, δεκάδι, νομίμου<sup>3</sup> παιδείας τῆς ὠφελεῖν δυναμένης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐρχόμεθα.

89 XVII. Τὸν δὲ περὶ δεκάδος λόγον ἐπιμελῶς μὲν ἠκρίβωσαν μουσικῶν παῖδες, ὕμνησε δὲ οὐ μετρίως ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς, ἀναθεὶς αὐτῇ τὰ κάλλιστα, τὰς ἀρχάς,<sup>4</sup> τὰς ἀπαρχάς, τὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐνδελεχῆ δῶρα, τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα διατήρησιν, τὸν ἰλασμόν, τὴν διὰ πεντηκονταετίας ἄφεσίν τε καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας λήξεις ἐπάνοδον, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἀδιαλύτου σκηνῆς, ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη μεμνήσθαι.

90 τὰ δὲ καίρια οὐ παρετέον.<sup>5</sup> αὐτίκα τὸν Νῶε ἡμῖν—πρῶτος δ' οὗτος δίκαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀνερρήθη γραφαῖς—ἀπὸ τοῦ διαπλασθέντος ἐκ γῆς εἰσάγει δέκατον, οὐκ ἐνιαυτῶν πλήθος παραστήσαι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τινὰ δὲ ἀθεώρητα πάθους καὶ κακιῶν ἐστίν.—The text printed is my conjecture. Mangey retains the ms. text and translates, ignoring the neuter τινὰ, “quidam non perpendunt affectus et vitia.” Markland’s ἀτινα δὴ is an improvement, but still leaves ἀθεώρητα in the unnatural sense of “regardless of” (and therefore “practising”). Moreover, the words are quite pointless. With the correction the argument proceeds quite logically. The later part of the quotation tells us that he who does God’s ordinances will live. It follows that the practices of the godless are death. If you ask what are the practices of the godless, the first part of the text has told us (εἰρηται) that they are the practices of Egypt and Canaan, that is (see § 85) passion and vice. We might perhaps get even nearer to the mss. by omitting τὰ before ἀθέων.



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 87-90

vices, from which spring the many multitudes of the impious and the workers of unholiness.

So then ten years after our migration to the 88 Canaanites we shall wed Hagar, since as soon as we have become reasoning beings we take to ourselves the ignorance and indiscipline whose nature is so mischievous<sup>a</sup> and only after a time and under the perfect number ten do we reach the desire for the lawful discipline which can profit us.

XVII. Now the lore of the decad has been care- 89 fully discussed in detail in the schools of the musicians, and is extolled in no ordinary degree by the holiest of men, Moses, who connects with it things of special excellence, governments, the first-fruits, the recurrent gifts of the priests, the observation of the passover, the atonement, the liberation and return to the old possessions in the fiftieth year, the furnishing of the permanent tabernacle, and others without number. These it would take too long to mention, but crucial examples must not be omitted.

For instance, he represents Noah, the first man re- 90 corded as just in holy scriptures, as the tenth descendant from the man who was moulded from the earth; and in doing so he does not wish to set before

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "the natural (and harmful) ignorance," which, though a less obvious way of taking the words, agrees better with the thought that ignorance is the *παρῆς* of the man.

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<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read *ἀνοσιῶν ἔργων*; general practices are the progenitors of particular deeds.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *νομίμω* (-ως).

<sup>4</sup> So one MS.: the rest *εὐχὰς*, which Mangey preferred, but see beginning of § 92, and the thought of *ἀρχὰς* recurs in § 110.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. *παρεατέον* or *παριτέον*.

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- βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ διδάξει σαφῶς, ὅτι ὡσπερ δεκάς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πέρασ τελειότατον, οὕτω τὸ δίκαιον ἐν ψυχῇ τέλειον καὶ πέρασ ὄντως
- 91 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πολλαπλασιαζομένην ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν τριάδα πρὸς ἐνάτου γένεσιν ἀριθμοῦ πολεμιωτάτην ἐξείπον οἱ χρησιμοί, τὴν δὲ ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν μονάδα πρὸς ἐκπλή-
- 92 ρωσιν δεκάδος ὡς φίλην ἀπεδέξαντο. σημεῖον δέ τὰς ἐννέα τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχάς, ἠνίκα ἡ ἐμφύλιος ἀνερριπίσθη στάσις, τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν πρὸς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις κονισαμένων καὶ πόρθησιν καὶ κατασκαφὴν κινδυνευούσης τρόπον πόλεως τῆς ὄλης<sup>1</sup> ἀναδέχεσθαι ψυχῆς, ἐκστρατεύσας ὁ σοφὸς
- 93 Ἀβραὰμ κατέλυσε δέκατος ἐπιφανείς. οὗτος ἀντὶ χειμῶνος γαλήνην καὶ ὑγίαν ἀντὶ νόσου καὶ ζωῆν, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀντὶ θανάτου παρεσκεύασε, τοῦ νικηφόρου θεοῦ τροπαιοφόρον αὐτὸν ἀναδείξαντος, ᾧ καὶ τὰς δεκάτας χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης
- 94 ἀνατίθησι. καὶ παντὸς μέντοι τοῦ ἐλθόντος “ ὑπὸ τὴν ράβδον,” λέγω δὲ τὴν παιδείαν, ἡμέρου καὶ τιθασοῦ θρέμματος τὸ δέκατον ἀποκρίνεται, νόμου προστάξει γινόμενον “ ἅγιον,” ἵν' ἐκ πολλῶν διδασκώμεθα τὴν δεκάδος πρὸς θεὸν οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐννέα ἀριθμοῦ πρὸς τὸ
- 95 θνητὸν ἡμῶν γένος. XVIII. ἀλλὰ γὰρ [533] οὐκ ἀπὸ ζώων | μόνον ἀπάρχεσθαι δεκάτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅσα ἐκ γῆς βλαστάνει διείρηται. “ πᾶσα ” γὰρ φησι “ δεκάτη τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. αὐλῆς: Wend. conjectures ἀλούσης.

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 59. Here the phrase seems to be used of the animal or unreasoning nature, ignoring the mind. For the “city” of the story is Sodom, which is a “soul blind of

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 90-95

us any particular number of years, but to shew us clearly that, just as ten is the end of the numbers which start from one and most perfect, so justice in the soul is perfect and the true end of our life's actions.

For when three is multiplied by 91 itself and thus produces the number nine, the oracles pronounce it to be a number of great hostility, while the added one which completes the ten they approve of as friendly. This is shewn in the incident of 92 Abraham and the nine kings. When the civil war burst into flames, and the four passions prepared for combat with the five senses, when the whole soul<sup>a</sup> was on the point to suffer sacking and razing like a city, wise Abraham took the field, and appearing as the tenth, made an end of all nine governments (Gen. xiv.). He provided calm in the place of storm, health for 93 sickness, and life we may truly say for death, being declared the winner of the trophies by God the victory-giver, to whom too he dedicated the tenths as thank-offerings for his victory (Gen. xiv. 20).

Further, everything that comes "under the rod," the 94 rod of discipline,<sup>b</sup> that is every tame and docile creature, has a tenth set apart from it which by the ordinance of the law becomes "holy" (Lev. xxvii. 32), that so through many reminders we may learn the close connexion of ten with God and of nine with our mortal race.

XVIII. But indeed it is 95 commanded to offer tenths as first-fruits, not only from animals, but from all that springs from the earth. "Every tenth of the earth," it says, "from the seed

reason" (§ 109). Wendland's ἀλούσης (agreeing with πάλως) may be right.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 89 f., *De Post.* 97. For ten as the number of παιδεία cf. note on *De Sac.* 122.

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σπέρματος καὶ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξυλίνου ἐστὶν ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ· καὶ πᾶσα δεκάτη βοῶν καὶ προβάτων, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν διέλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ῥάβδον, 96 τὸ δέκατον ἔσται ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ.” ὄρας, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ὄγκου σωματικοῦ, ὃς γεώδης καὶ ξύλινος ὄντως ἐστίν, οἶεται δεῖν ἀπάρχεσθαι; ἡ γὰρ ζωὴ καὶ διαμονὴ καὶ αὐξήσις καὶ ὑγίεια αὐτῷ θεία γίνεται χάριτι. ὄρας δ’ ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ζῶων ἀλόγων—ταῦτα δ’ εἰσὶν αἰσθήσεις—πάλιν ἀπάρχεσθαι διείρηται; τὸ γὰρ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὀσφραίνεσθαι καὶ γεύεσθαι, ἔτι δὲ ἄπτεσθαι δωρεαὶ θεῖαι, ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐχαριστητέον.

97 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυλίνοις καὶ γήινοις σώματος ὄγκοις<sup>1</sup> οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἀλόγοις ζώοις, ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐπαινεῖν διδασκόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ νῷ, ὃς κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, κρείττων ἐν χείροσι καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ.

98 διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι τὰ πρωτότοκα καθιέρωσε πάντα, τὴν δεκάτην, λέγω Λευιτικὴν φυλὴν, ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν, αἱ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ λογισμὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἄξιον τὰς συνέσεως καὶ ἀγχυνοίας καταλήψεώς τε καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων, ὅσαι περὶ αὐτόν εἰσι, ἀπαρχὰς ἀνατιθέναι θεῷ τῷ τὴν εὐφορίαν τοῦ διανοεῖσθαι 99 παρασχόντι. ἐνθένδε ὁ μὲν ἀσκητικὸς ὄρμηθεις εὐχόμενος εἶπε· “ πάντων ὧν ἂν μοι δῶς, δεκάτην ἀποδεκατώσω σοί,” ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὁ μετὰ τὰς ἐπινικίους εὐχὰς ἀναγραφείς, ἃς ὁ τὴν αὐτομαθῆ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. σωματικοῖς.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 95-99

and from the fruit of wood, and every tenth of oxen and sheep, and everything that passes through in the number under the rod the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord" (Lev. xxvii. 30, 32). Observe that he thinks 96 that first-fruits are due from our body, the cumbersome mass which is indeed of earth and of wood. For its life and survival, growth and health, come to it by the grace of God. Note too that we are also bidden to give first-fruits of the unreasoning creatures within us, the senses, for sight and hearing and smell and taste and touch also are gifts of God for which we must give thanks.

Yet not only for the 97 wooden and earthen mass of the body, not only for the unreasoning creatures, the senses, are we taught to praise the Benefactor, but also for the mind which may be truly called the man within the man, the better part within the worse, the immortal within the mortal. This is why, I believe, He sanctified all the 98 first-born, and took as their ransom the tenth, that is the tribe of Levi, that they should observe and maintain holiness and piety and the rites which are offered for the honour of God. For the first and best thing in us is the reason, and it is only right that from its intelligence, its shrewdness, its apprehension, its prudence and the other qualities which belong to it, we should offer first-fruits to God, who gave to it its fertility of thinking. It was this feeling which 99 prompted the Man of Practice when he vowed thus, 'Of all that thou givest me, I will give a tenth to thee' (Gen. xxviii. 22); which prompted the oracle that follows the blessing given to the victor by Melchisedek the holder of that priesthood, whose

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- καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον λαχὼν ἱερωσύνην ποιεῖται Μελ-  
 χισεδέκ, “ ἔδωκε γὰρ αὐτῷ ” φησὶν “ δεκάτην ἀπὸ  
 πάντων,” ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’ αἴσθησιν τὸ καλῶς αἰσθάνε-  
 σθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ λόγον τὸ εὖ λέγειν, ἀπὸ τῶν
- 100 κατὰ νοῦν τὸ εὖ διανοεῖσθαι. παγκάλως  
 οὖν καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἅμα ἐν εἴδει παραδιηγήματος,  
 ἡνίκα τῆς οὐρανοῦ καὶ θείας τροφῆς τὸ μνημεῖον  
 ἐν στάμνῳ χρυσῷ καθιεροῦτο, φησὶν ὡς ἄρα “ τὸ  
 γομὸρ τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων ἦν.” ἐν ἡμῖν  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρία μέτρα εἶναι δοκεῖ, αἴσθησις, λόγος,  
 νοῦς· αἰσθητῶν μὲν αἴσθησις, ὀνομάτων δὲ καὶ  
 ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὁ λόγος, νοητῶν δὲ
- 101 νοῦς. ἀφ’ ἐκάστου δὴ τῶν τριῶν μέτρων τούτων  
 ἀπαρκτέον ὡσπερ τινὰ ἱερὰν δεκάτην, ἵνα καὶ τὸ  
 λέγειν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ καταλαμβάνειν  
 ἀνυπαίτιως καὶ ὑγιεινῶς κατὰ θεὸν ἐξετάζηται· τὸ
- [534] γὰρ ἀληθινὸν καὶ | δίκαιον μέτρον τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ  
 102 καθ’ ἡμᾶς ψευδῆ τε καὶ ἄδικα. XIX. εἰκότως οὖν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν τὸ μὲν δέκατον τοῦ μέτρον τῆς  
 σεμιδάλεως τοῖς ἱερείοις ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν συναν-  
 ενεχθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἕνατος ἀριθμὸς, τὸ λείψανον τοῦ  
 δεκάτου, παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παραμενεῖ.
- 103 τούτοις συνάδει καὶ ἡ τῶν ἱερέων ἐνδελεχῆς θυσία·  
 τὸ γὰρ δέκατον τὸ τοῦ οἴφι σεμιδάλεως αἰεὶ δι-  
 είρηται προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς. ἔμαθον γὰρ τὸν ἕνατον  
 ὑπερβαίνοντες αἰσθητὸν δοκῆσαι θεὸν τὸν δέκατον  
 καὶ μόνον ὄντα ἀψευδῶς προσκυνεῖν. ἐννέα γὰρ  
 ὁ κόσμος ἔλαχε μοίρας, ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὀκτώ, τὴν  
 τε ἀπλανῆ καὶ ἑπτὰ τὰς πεπλατηγημένας ἐν τάξεσι

<sup>a</sup> Or “Him who is tenth and alone truly exists”; or  
 “Him who is truly tenth and alone” (cf. § 10), referring to  
 the mystical identity of the Ten and the One.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 99-104

tradition he had learned from none other but himself. For "he gave him," it runs, "a tenth from all" (Gen. xiv. 20); from the things of sense, right use of sense; from the things of speech, good speaking; from the things of thought, good thinking.

Admirable then, and demanded by the facts, are the 100 words added as a sort of side utterance, when while telling us how the memorial of the divine and heaven-sent food was enshrined in a golden jar he continues, "the omer was the tenth part of three measures" (Ex. xvi. 36). For we seem to contain three measures, sense, speech, mind; sense measuring the objects of sense, speech the parts of speech and what we say, and mind the things of mind. Of each of these three 101 measures we must offer as it were a holy tenth, that speech, sense perception and apprehension may be judged soundly and blamelessly according to God's standard, for this is the true and just measure, while our measures are false and unjust. XIX. So too it 102 is only natural that in the matter of sacrifices the tenths of the measure of fine flour should be brought with the victims to the altar (Ex. xxix. 40), while the numbers up to nine, what is left by the tenth, remain with ourselves.

And the recurrent oblation of the priests is in agreement with this; they 103 are commanded to offer always the tenth of the ephah of fine flour (Lev. vi. 20), for they have learned to rise above the ninth, the seeming deity, the world of sense, and to worship Him who is in very truth God, who stands alone as the tenth.<sup>a</sup> For to the 104 world belong nine parts, eight in heaven, one of the stars which wander not and seven of those that wander, though the order of their wandering is ever

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φερομένας ταῖς αὐταῖς, ἐνάτην δὲ γῆν σὺν<sup>1</sup> ὕδατι  
καὶ ἀέρι· τούτων γὰρ μία συγγένεια τροπᾶς καὶ  
105 μεταβολᾶς παντοίας δεχομένων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ  
τὰς ἐννέα ταύτας μοίρας καὶ τὸν παγέντα κόσμον ἐξ  
αὐτῶν ἐτίμησαν, ὁ δὲ τέλειος τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν  
ἐννέα, δημιουργὸν αὐτῶν, δέκατον θεὸν· ὅλον γὰρ  
ὑπερκύψας τὸ ἔργον ἐπόθει τὸν τεχνίτην, καὶ  
ικέτης καὶ θεραπευτῆς ἐσπούδαζεν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι.  
διὰ τοῦτο δεκάτην ἐνδεδελεχῆ τῷ δεκάτῳ καὶ μόνῳ  
106 καὶ αἰωνίῳ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀνατίθησι. τοῦτ'  
ἐστὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν τῷ ψυχικὸν Πάσχα, ἢ <ἀπὸ>  
παντὸς πάθους καὶ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ διάβασις πρὸς  
τὸ δέκατον, ὃ δὴ νοητὸν ἐστὶ καὶ θείον· λέγεται  
γάρ· “δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου λαβέτωσαν ἕκα-  
στος πρόβατον κατ’ οἰκίαν,” ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῷ  
δεκάτῳ καθιερωθῆ τὰ θύματα διατηρηθέντα ἐν τῇ  
ψυχῇ κατὰ δύο μοίρας ἐκ τριῶν πεφωτισμένη,  
μέχρις ἂν ὅλη δι’ ὅλων γενομένη φέγγος οὐράνιον,  
οἷα πλησιφαῆς σελήνη κατὰ δευτέρας ἑβδομάδος  
παραύξησιν, μὴ μόνον φυλάττειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερουρ-  
γεῖν ἤδη δύνηται τὰς ἀσινεῖς καὶ ἀμώμους προ-  
107 κοπᾶς. τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰλασμός<sup>2</sup>—καὶ γὰρ  
οὗτος δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς βεβαιοῦται, τὸν δέκατον  
ἰκετευούσης θεὸν ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὴν σὺν (ἐν).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἰλασμούς.

<sup>a</sup> The imperfects are difficult. The translation suggests that though “gnomic” like the aorist ἐτίμησαν, and not referring specially to the past, they differ from the aorist in expressing continuity. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 17.

<sup>b</sup> The thought of the section is that the sheep taken on the tenth day, when the moon is two thirds on its way to fullness, is an allegory of a soul which has reached a certain stage of



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 104-107

the same, while earth with water and air make the ninth, for the three form a single family, subject to changes and transformations of every kind. Now 105 the mass of men pay honour to these nine parts and to the world which is formed from them, but he that has reached perfection honours Him that is above the nine, even their maker God, who is the tenth. For he continues to soar above all the artificer's work and desire<sup>a</sup> the artificer Himself, ever eager to be His suppliant and servant. That is why the priest offers recurrently a tenth to Him who is tenth and alone and eternal.

We find this "ten" plainly 106 stated in the story of the soul's passover, the crossing from every passion and all the realm of sense to the tenth, which is the realm of mind and of God; for we read "on the tenth day of this month let everyone take a sheep for his house" (Ex. xii. 3), and thus beginning with the tenth day we shall sanctify to Him that is tenth the offering fostered in the soul whose face has been illumined through two parts out of three, until its whole being becomes a brightness, giving light to the heaven like a full moon by its increase in the second week. And thus it will be able not only to keep safe, but to offer as innocent and spotless victims its advances on the path of progress.<sup>b</sup>

We find the same in the pro- 107 pitiation which is established on the tenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 27), when the soul is suppliant to God the tenth, and is schooled to know the humilia-

progress and preserves (or increases?) it till it reaches its consummation, when it offers itself to God. For the connexion of the sheep with moral progress *cf. De Sac.* 112 *προκοπήs δὲ πρόβατον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα* (derived from *προβαίνω*) *σύμβολον. φωτισμός* and *παραύξησηs* are the regular terms for the "lighting up" and increasing of the moon.

- οὐδένεϊαν τοῦ γενητοῦ περίνοια<sup>1</sup> λογισμοῦ πεποι-  
 θυίας καὶ τὰς ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς καλοῖς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ  
 ἀκρότητας τοῦ ἀγενήτου δεδιδραγμένης. Ἰλεως οὖν  
 καὶ ἄνευ ἱκετείας Ἰλεως εὐθύς γίνεται τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς  
 108 οἰήσει φυσωμένοις. τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἄφεις,  
 τοῦτ' ἐλευθερία παντελῆς ψυχῆς ὃν ἐπλανήθη τε  
 πλάνον ἀποσειομένης καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπλανῆ φύσιν  
 μεθορμιζομένης καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κλήρους ἐπανιούσης,  
 [535] οὗς ἔλαχεν, ἥνικα λαμπρὸν | ἔπνει καὶ τοὺς περὶ  
 τῶν καλῶν πόνους ἤθλει.<sup>2</sup> τότε γὰρ αὐτὴν τῶν  
 ἀθλῶν ἀγάμενος ὁ ἱερός λόγος ἐτίμησε, γέρας  
 ἐξαίρετον δούς, κλῆρον ἀθάνατον, τὴν ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ  
 109 γένει τάξιν. τοῦτο καὶ Ἀβραάμ ὁ σοφός  
 ἱκετεύει, μελλούσης ἐμπίπρασθαι λόγῳ μὲν τῆς  
 Σοδομίτιδος γῆς, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς ἐστειρωμένης τὰ  
 καλὰ καὶ τυφλῆς τὸν λογισμὸν ψυχῆς, ἢ, ἐὰν  
 εὐρεθῆ τὸ δικαιοσύνης μνημείον, ἢ δεκάς, ἐν αὐτῇ,  
 τύχη τινὸς ἀμνηστίας· ἄρχεται μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱκεσίας  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀριθμοῦ, πεντηκοντάδος,  
 λήγει δὲ εἰς δεκάδα, τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπολύτρωσιν.  
 110 XX. ἀφ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Μωυσῆς  
 μετὰ τὴν χιλιάρχων καὶ ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ πεντη-  
 κοντάρχων αἴρεσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσι δεκαδάρχους χειρο-  
 τονεῖν, ἢ, εἰ μὴ δύναιτο διὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
 τάξεων βελτιοῦσθαι ὁ νοῦς, ἀλλὰ τοι διὰ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> mss. περινοίαν (-as): Mangey adopted περινοία, but took it as "having learnt by sagacity of reason the nothingness," etc., a sense which πεποιθυίας cannot, I think, bear. The translation given above is just grammatical, but awkward in the extreme. For conjectures see Appendix, p. 579.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἤνθει.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 107-110

tion and nothingness of its trust in the sagacity of a created reason, and how transcendent and supreme is the Uncreated in all that is good. And so He becomes propitious, and propitious even at once without their supplication, to those who afflict and belittle themselves and are not puffed up by vaunting and self-pride.

We find it in the "release" (Lev. xxv. 9 ff.), in the perfect freedom of soul which shakes off the wandering of its past and finds a new harbour in the nature which wanders not, and returns to the heritages which it received in the years when the breath of its spirit was fresh and strong, and travail which has the good for its prize exercised its energy. For then the holy word, in admiration of its efforts, honoured it, and gave it a special guerdon, an undying heritage, its place in the order of the imperishable.

We find it in the suppliant prayer of wise Abraham, who when fire was about to consume what is called the land of Sodom, but is in reality a soul barren of good and blind of reason, prayed that if there should be found in it that token of righteousness, the ten, it might receive some remission of punishment (Gen. xviii. 32). He begins indeed his supplication with fifty, the number of release, but ends with ten, which closes the possibility of redemption.

XX. It is on the same principle, as it seems to me, that Moses, after choosing rulers of thousands and hundreds and fifties, appointed rulers of tens last of all (Ex. xviii. 25), so that if the mind could not be bettered through the work of the senior ranks, it might get purification through the hindermost.

institution of the Jubilee year, Philo refers to its proclamation on the 10th day of the month.

- 111 ὑστάτων καθαίρηται. πάγκαλον δὲ δόγμα καὶ ὁ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς παῖς ἔμαθεν, ἥνικα τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην ἐπρέσβευε πρεσβείαν, αὐτομαθεὶ σοφῶ προξενῶν οἰκειοτάτην ἀρετὴν, ἐπίμονήν. “δέκα γὰρ καμήλους λαμβάνει,” τὴν δεκάδος, λέγω δὲ παιδείας ὀρθῆς, ἀνάμνησιν, ἀπὸ πολλῶν
- 112 ἀπείρων μὲν οὖν τοῦ κυρίου μνημῶν. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ “τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνου” δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἄργυρον οὐδὲ χρυσὸν ἢ τινα ἄλλα τῶν ἐν ὕλαις φθαρταῖς—τὴν γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ πρόσρησιν οὐδέποτε τούτοις ἐπέφημισε Μωυσῆς,—ἀλλὰ τὰ γνήσια, ἃ δὴ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ μόνα, ἐφοδιάζεται καὶ ἐμπορεύεται, διδασκαλίαν, προκοπὴν, σπουδὴν, πόθον, ζῆλον, ἐνθουσιασμούς, προφητείας, τοῦ κατορθοῦν ἔρωτα· οἷς ἐμμελετῶν καὶ ἐνασκούμενος, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐκ πελάγους ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμένι μέλλῃ, λήψεται δύο μὲν ἐνώτια, ἀνὰ δραχμὴν ὀλκὴν, ψέλια δὲ δέκα χρυσῶν ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῆς προξενουμένης. ὡ θεοπρεποῦς κόσμου, δραχμὴν μίαν<sup>1</sup> εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα καὶ μονάδα ἀρραγῆ καὶ ὀλκὸν φύσει—ἀκοὴν γὰρ οὐδενὶ σχολάζειν ἐμπρεπές, ὅτι μὴ λόγῳ ἐνί, ὅς ἂν τὰς τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀρετὰς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ καλῶς διεξέρχεται,—δέκα δὲ χρυσῶν τὰ ἐγχειρήματα· πράξεις γὰρ αἱ κατὰ σοφίαν τελείους ἀριθμοῖς βεβαιοῦνται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκάστη τιμιωτέρα χρυσοῦ.
- 114 XXI. τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰσφορά, ἣν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μὲν: perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, μὲν μίαν.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 111-114

And that is the high truth, too, which 111  
the servant of the lover of learning had mastered  
when he went as ambassador on that splendid errand,  
wooing for the man of self-taught wisdom the bride  
most suited to him, constancy (Gen. xxiv. 10) ; for  
out of the many or rather countless memories of his  
lord, he takes "ten camels," that is the "reminding"<sup>a</sup>  
which right instruction figured by the ten produces.  
He takes too of "his goods," clearly meaning not 112  
gold or silver or any others which are found in perish-  
able materials, for Moses never gave the name of  
good to these ; but genuine goods, which are soul-  
goods only, he takes for his journey's provisions and  
his trading wares,—teaching, progress, earnestness,  
longing, ardour, inspiration, prophecy, and the love of  
high achievement. By practice and exercising him- 113  
self in these, when the time comes for him to leave  
the seas, so to speak, and anchor in harbour, we shall  
find that he takes two ear-rings, drawing a weight<sup>b</sup> of a  
drachma, and bracelets of ten weights of gold for the  
hands of the bride, whom he courts for his master  
(Gen. xxiv. 22). Truly a glorious adorning, first that  
the thing heard should be a single drachma, a unit  
without fractions whose nature is to draw, for it is  
not well that hearing should devote itself to aught  
save one story only, a story which tells in noble words  
the excellences of the one and only God ; secondly,  
that the undertakings of the hands should be of  
ten weights of gold, for the actions of wisdom rest  
firmly on perfect numbers and each of them is more  
precious than gold. XXI. Such too is that 114  
tribute of the princes, chosen as the best that they

<sup>a</sup> For the symbolism of camels = memory, and Philo's reasons for it, *cf. De Post.* 148 f.

<sup>b</sup> For the play on *ὀλκή, ὀλκός*, see *De Mig.* 202.

## PHILO

ἐποίησαντο, ἥνίκα ἡ ψυχὴ κατασκευασθεῖσα ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἱεροπρεπῶς τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἤγεν αὐτῆς εὐχαριστοῦσα τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ ὑφηγητῇ θεῷ. “θυῖσκη γὰρ δέκα χρυσῶν πλήρη θυμιάματος ἀνατίθηναι,” ἵνα τὰς ὑπὸ φρονήσεως καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένας αὔρας ὁ μόνος ἐπικρίνη σοφός.

115 ἔπειδὰν δὲ δόξωσιν εἶναι προσηνεῖς, τὸ ἐφύμιον |  
[536] ἄσεται Μωυσῆς λέγων· “ὡσφρανθῆ κύριος ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας,” τὸ ὁσφρανθῆναι τιθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ συναινεσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος οὐδὲ μυκτῆρων ἢ τινων ἄλλων ὀργανικῶν μερῶν χρεῖος.

116 προῖων δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὴν σκηνὴν, “δέκα αὐλαίας” ἐρεῖ· τὸ γὰρ τῆς ὅλης πηγμα σοφίας ἀριθμὸν τέλειον εἶληχε, δεκάδα· σοφία δὲ αὐλή καὶ βασιλείον ἐστι τοῦ πανηγεμόνος καὶ

117 μόνου βασιλέως αὐτοκράτορος. ὁ μὲν δὴ νοητὸς οἶκος οὗτος, αἰσθητὸς δ’ ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς αὐλαίας ἐκ τοιούτων συνύφηεν, ἃ τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων σύμβολά ἐστιν· ἐκ γὰρ βύσσου καὶ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου δημιουργοῦνται, τεττάρων, ὡς ἔφην, ἀριθμῷ.<sup>1</sup> σύμβολον δὲ γῆς μὲν ἡ βύσσοσ—φύεται γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης,—ἀέρος δὲ ὁ ὑακίνθος—μέλας γὰρ οὗτος φύσει,—ὔδατος δὲ ἡ πορφύρα—τὸ γὰρ τῆς βαφῆς αἴτιον ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wendland ἀριθμῶν.

<sup>a</sup> Or “chosen (by God) in virtue of the princes’ special rank or merit”; cf. Plato, *Legg.* 855 c τὸ τῶν περυσινῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην ἀπομερισθὲν δικαστήριον. Mangey’s translation, “per optimates viritim facta collatio,” gives no adequate sense to ἀριστίνδην.

<sup>b</sup> There is an obvious play on αὐλή and αὐλαίας which cannot be reproduced in English.

<sup>c</sup> Or “the adornment (*i.e.* the curtains) is perceived by

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 114-117

had,<sup>a</sup> which they offered when the soul, equipped by the love of wisdom, celebrated its dedication in right holy fashion, giving thanks to the God who was its teacher and guide. For the worshipper offers "a censer of ten gold weights, full of incense" (Num. vii. 14, 20, etc.), that God who alone is wise might choose the perfumes exhaled by wisdom and every virtue. And when these perfumes are pleasant in 115 His judgement, Moses will celebrate them in a hymn of triumph in the words "The Lord smelt a scent of sweet fragrance" (Gen. viii. 21). Here he uses smell in the sense of accept, for God is not of human form, nor has need of nostrils or any other parts as organs.

And further on he will speak of 116 God's dwelling-place, the tabernacle, as being "ten curtains" (Ex. xxvi. 1), for to the structure which includes the whole of wisdom the perfect number ten belongs, and wisdom is the court<sup>b</sup> and palace of the All-ruler, the sole Monarch, the Sovereign Lord. This dwelling is a house perceived by the mind, yet 117 it is also the world of our senses,<sup>c</sup> since he makes the curtains to be woven from such materials as are symbolical of the four elements; for they are wrought of fine linen, of dark red,<sup>d</sup> of purple and of scarlet, four in number as I said. The linen is a symbol of earth, since it grows out of earth; the dark red of air, which is naturally black; the purple of water, since the means by which the dye is produced, the shell-fish

sense." The translation above is given in the belief that the thought is something less obvious. Philo finding the tabernacle apparently identified with the curtains (*ποιήσεις σκηνην δέκα αύλαίας*) infers the mystical identity of the two worlds, *cf. De Mig. 205*. But it is difficult to extract this sense from the words as they stand. Perhaps read *αισθητός δέ και κόσμος*.<sup>d</sup> Or "dark blue."

## PHILO

- θαλάττης, ἡ ὁμωνυμοῦσα κόγχη,—πυρὸς δὲ τὸ κόκκινον· ἐμφερέστατον γὰρ φλογί.
- 118 πάλιν γε μὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀφηγιάσασαν, ἡνίκα τὸν ἀντίθεον<sup>1</sup> ἀπεσέμνυνε νοῦν τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀναδοῦσα αὐτῷ, τὸν θρόνον, τὸ σκῆπτρον, τὸ διάδημα, δέκα πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις ὁ τῶν ὄλων
- 119 ἐπίτροπος καὶ κηδεμῶν νουθετεῖ. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπισχνεῖται τῷ σοφῷ οὔτε πλειόνων οὔτε ἐλαττόνων, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ μόνον δέκα ἐθνῶν ἀπώλειαν καὶ παντελεῖ φθορὰν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων χώραν δώσειν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ, πανταχοῦ δεκάδι καὶ πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ πρὸς ψόγον καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ πρὸς κόλασιν καταχρηῆσθαι δικαίων.
- 120 καίτοι τί τούτων μεμνήμεθα; τὴν γὰρ ἱερὰν καὶ θείαν νομοθεσίαν<sup>2</sup> δέκα τοῖς σύμπασι λόγοις Μωυσῆς ἀναέγραφεν· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι θεσμοί, τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπείρων νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, ρίζαι καὶ ἀρχαὶ <καὶ> πηγαὶ ἀέναοι διαταγμάτων προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις περιεχόντων ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ
- 121 τῶν χρωμένων. XXII. εἰκότως οὖν μετὰ δεκαετίαν τῆς εἰς Χαναναίων γῆν<sup>3</sup> ἀφίξεως ἢ πρὸς τὴν Ἄγαρ κοινωνία γίνεται· οὐ γὰρ εὐθύς λογικοὶ γενόμενοι πλαδῶσης ἔτι τῆς διανοίας ὀρεχθῆναι παιδείας τῆς ἐγκυκλίου δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν σύνεσιν καὶ ἀγχίνουσαν κραταιωσάμενοι μηκέτι κούφη καὶ ἐπιπολαίω, ἀλλὰ βεβαίᾳ καὶ παγίᾳ γνώμῃ περὶ ἀπάντων χρώμεθα.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀντίθετον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐκκλησίαν — a very drastic alteration, for which, however, there seems no alternative; unless indeed we substituted ἀναεδίδαχεν for ἀναέγραφεν. But the congregation though often called "holy" could hardly be called "divine."



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 117-121

which bears the same name, comes from the sea ; and the scarlet of fire, since it closely resembles flame. Again rebellious Egypt, when it 118 glorified the mind which usurps the place of God, and bestowed on it the emblems of sovereignty, the throne, the sceptre, the diadem, is admonished through ten plagues and punishments by the Guardian and Ruler of all.

In the same way He promises 119 to wise Abraham that He will work the ruin and complete destruction of just ten nations, neither more nor less, and will give the land of the victims to his descendants (Gen. xv. 18-20). Thus everywhere he thinks well to extend the meaning of the ten, to cover both praise and blame, honour and chastisement.

But why note such examples as 120 these, when the holy and divine law is summed up by Moses in precepts which are ten in all, statutes which are the general heads, embracing the vast multitude of particular laws, the roots, the sources, the perennial fountains of ordinances containing commandments positive and prohibitive for the profit of those who follow them ?

XXII. It is quite natural, then, that the mating with 121 Hagar should take place when ten years have elapsed from the arrival in the land of the Canaanites ; for we cannot desire the training of the schools the moment we become reasoning beings, as the understanding is still soft and flaccid. That only comes when we have hardened our intelligence and quickness of mind and possess about all things a judgement which is no longer light and superficial, but firm and steady.

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<sup>3</sup> All mss. but one γῆς, which points to Mangey's conjecture τῆς εἰς Χαναανῶν <ἐκ Χαλδαίων> γῆς.

- 122 [537] Διὸ τὰκόλουθον προσυφαίνεται | τὸ “ εἰσῆλθε  
 πρὸς Ἄγαρ”. ἦν γὰρ ἀρμόττον τῷ μανθάνοντι  
 πρὸς ἐπιστήμην διδάσκαλον φοιτᾶν, ἵνα ἀναδιδαχθῆ  
 τὰ προσήκοντα ἀνθρώπου φύσει παιδεύματα. νυνὶ  
 μὲν ὁ γνώριμος εἰς διδασκάλου βαδίζων εἰσάγεται·  
 προεκτρέχει δὲ πολλάκις ἐξοικίσασα φθόνον ἀφ’  
 123 ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας εὐφυνῶς ἐπισπᾶται. τὴν  
 γοῦν ἀρετὴν, Λεῖαν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν προαπαντῶσαν καὶ  
 λέγουσαν τῷ ἀσκητῇ· “ πρὸς μὲ εἰσελεύσῃ σήμε-  
 ρον,” ἥνικα ἐκεῖνος ἀγρόθεν ἐπαρήει. ποῦ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ  
 ὤφειλεν <εἰς>ελθεῖν ὁ τῶν ἐπιστήμης σπερμάτων  
 καὶ φυτῶν ἐπιμελητής, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς τὴν γεωρ-  
 124 γηθεῖσαν ἀρετὴν ; XXIII. ἔστι δ’ ὅτε  
 καὶ ἀποπειρωμένη τῶν φοιτητῶν, ὡς ἔχουσι προ-  
 θυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς, οὐχ ὑπαντᾶ μὲν, ἐγκαλυψα-  
 μένη δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ὡσπερ Θάμαρ ἐπὶ τριόδου  
 καθέζεται, πόρνης δόξαν παρασχούσα τοῖς ὁδῶ  
 βαδίζουσιν, ἵνα οἱ περιέργως ἔχοντες ἀνακαλύ-  
 ψαντες ἀναφήνωσι καὶ καταθεάσωνται τὸ ἄφαιστον  
 καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ παρθένιον ὄντως αἰδοῦς καὶ  
 125 σωφροσύνης ἐκπρεπέστατον κάλλος. τίς οὖν ὁ  
 ἔξεταστικός καὶ φιλομαθῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἄσκεπτον  
 καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον τῶν ἐγκεκαλυμμένων πραγμάτων  
 παραλιπεῖν ἀξιῶν ἔστιν, ὅτι μὴ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος  
 καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ὁμολογίαις ἐμ-  
 μένων τε καὶ χαίρων, ὄνομα Ἰούδας ; “ ἐξέκλινε ”  
 γὰρ φησι “ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ εἶπεν· ἔασόν  
 με εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς σέ ”—ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔμελλε παρα-  
 βιάζεσθαι—καὶ σκοπεῖν, τίς τε ἡ ἐγκεκαλυμμένη  
 126 δύναμις ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ τί παρεσκευάσται. μετὰ τοίνυν

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. and Wendland ποῦ.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 122-126

That is why the text continues with the words that 122 follow, "He went in unto Hagar" (Gen. xvi. 4), for it was well that the learner should resort to knowledge as his teacher, to be instructed in the lessons suited to human nature. In the present case the pupil is represented as going to the teacher's school, but often knowledge rids herself of grudging pride, runs out to meet the gifted disciples, and draws them into her company. And so we may see that Leah, 123 or virtue, goes forth to meet the Man of Practice when he was returning from the field, and says to him, "Thou shalt come in unto me to-day" (Gen. xxx. 16); for whither indeed should he go in, he who is tending the seeds and saplings of knowledge, save to virtue, the field of his husbandry?

XXIII. But sometimes she makes trial of her scholars, 124 to test their zeal and earnestness; and then she does not meet them, but veils her face and sits like Tamar at the cross-roads, presenting the appearance of a harlot to the passers-by (Gen. xxxviii. 14, 15). Her wish is that inquiring minds may unveil and reveal her and gaze upon the glorious beauty, inviolate, undefiled and truly virginal, of her modesty and chastity. Who then is he, the investigator, the lover 125 of learning, who refuses to leave aught of the things that are veiled, unexamined and unexplored? He can only be the chief captain, the king, whose name is Judah, who persists and rejoices in confessing and praising God. "He turned aside his path to her" (Gen. xxxviii. 16) it says, and said "Suffer me to come in unto thee." "Suffer me," he means (for he would not use force to her), "suffer me to see what is the virtue which veils its face from me, and what purpose it is prepared to serve." And so then after he went 126

## PHILO

τὸ εἰσελθεῖν γέγραπται “καὶ συνέλαβε” καὶ τὸ “τίς” ῥητῶς οὐ μεμνήνται· συλλαμβάνει γὰρ καὶ συναρπάζει ἢ μὲν τέχνη τὸν μανθάνοντα ἐρωτικῶς ἔχει ἀναπεΐθουσα ἑαυτῆς, ὁ δὲ μανθάνων τὴν διδάσκουσαν, ὅποτε φιλομαθῆς εἴη.

- 127 Πολλάκις δέ τις τῶν μέσας ἐπιστήμας<sup>1</sup> ὑφηγουμένων γνωρίμου τυχῶν εὐφυοῦς ἠΰχησεν ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ μόνος ὑπολαβὼν τῷ φοιτητῇ γεγονέναι τῆς εὐμαθίας αἴτιος, καὶ μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ἑαυτὸν ὑψαυχενεῖ· καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς εὖ μάλα ἀνασπάσας τετύφωται καὶ παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων συνδιατρίβειν πάμπολλα αἰτεῖ· οὓς δ’ ἂν αἰσθηταὶ πένητας μὲν, διψῶντας δὲ παιδείας, ἀποστρέφεται, ὥσπερ θησαυρόν τινα σοφίας μόνος ἀνευρηκῶς.
- 128 τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ “ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν,” οἰδεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι καὶ ὄγκον πλείονα τοῦ μετρίου περιβεβλήσθαι, δι’ ὧν καὶ τὴν κυρίαν τῶν μέσων ἐπιστημῶν, ἀρετὴν, ἔδοξάν τινες ἀτιμάζειν, ἐπιτιμον οὖσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς. ὅσαι μὲν οὖν ψυχαὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως κνοφοροῦσι <μετὰ><sup>2</sup> πραγμάτων τικτουσιν ὁμως, τὰ συγκεχυμένα διακρίνουσαι καὶ |

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πολλάκις δέ τινα τῶν μέσων ἐπιστημῶν ὑφηγουμένου(-η), which Mangey keeps with ὑφηγούμενος.

<sup>2</sup> <μετὰ> is my insertion: Mangey takes πραγμάτων as object of κνοφοροῦσι (surely impossible) and reads ὁμοίως for ὁμως (i.e. all these souls bear in the same way): Wendland proposed <ἀνευ> πραγμάτων . . . ἀπόνως. I understand Philo to mean that these souls, before they attain their εὐτοκία, have to go through the pains suggested by διαστέλλουσαι τὰ συγκεχυμένα. I have not found the combination μετὰ πραγμάτων as antithesis to the common ἀνευ, but σὺν πράγμασι and μετὰ πραγματείας are quoted.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 126-129

in to her, we read of a conceiving or taking<sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxxviii. 18). Who it is who conceives or takes we are not told in so many words. For the art or science that is studied does seize and take hold of the learner and persuades him to be her lover, and in like manner the learner takes his instructress, when his heart is set on learning.

Often on the other hand some teacher of the lower 127 subjects, who has chanced to have a gifted pupil, boasts of his own teaching power, and supposes that his pupil's high attainments are due to him alone. So he stands on tiptoe, puffs himself out, perks up his neck and raises high his eyebrows, and in fact is filled with vanity, and demands huge fees from those who wish to attend his courses ; but when he sees that their thirst for education is combined with poverty, he turns his back on them as though there were some treasures of wisdom which he alone has discovered.

That is the condition called 128 "having in the womb," a swollen, vanity-ridden condition, robed in a vesture of inordinate pride, which makes some people appear to dishonour virtue, the essentially honourable mistress in her own right of the lower branches of knowledge. The souls then 129 whose pregnancy is accompanied with wisdom, though they labour, do bring their children to the birth, for they distinguish and separate what is in con-

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* grammatically the subject of *συνέλαβε* may be either. Philo must not be thought to deny that in the literal story the subject must be Tamar, but spiritually both learner and teacher may be said *συνλαμβάνειν* in its original sense of to seize or take, and he considers himself entitled to find this secondary thought in the text.

## PHILO

- [538] διαστέλλουσαι, καθάπερ ἡ Ῥεβέκκα—λαβοῦσα γὰρ ἐν γαστρὶ τῶν διττῶν διανοίας<sup>1</sup> ἔθνῶν ἐπιστήμην, ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας, εὐτοκία χρωμένη τὴν ἑκατέρου φύσιν διαστέλλει τε καὶ διακρίνει.—ὄσαι δὲ ἄνευ φρονήσεως, ἢ ἀμβλίσκουσιν ἢ δύσεριν καὶ σοφιστὴν βάλλοντα καὶ τοξεύοντα ἢ βαλλόμενον
- 130 καὶ τοξευόμενον ἀποκύουσι. καὶ μήποτε εἰκότως· αἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνειν, αἱ δὲ ἔχειν ἐν γαστρὶ οἴονται, παμμεγέθους <οὔσης> διαφορᾶς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν νομίζουσαι τὴν αἴρεσιν<sup>2</sup> καὶ γένεσιν ἑαυταῖς ἐπιγράφουσαι σεμνομυθοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ λαμβάνειν ἀξιούσαι τὸ μὲν μηδὲν οἰκεῖον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν συνομολογοῦσι, τὰ δὲ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς γονὰς ἐξωθεν ἀρδομένας καταλαμβάνουσαι καὶ θαυμάζουσαι<sup>3</sup> τὸν διδόντα κακὸν μέγιστον, φιλαυτίαν, ἀγαθῶ τελείῳ,
- 131 θεοσεβεία, διωθοῦνται. XXIV. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ νομοθετικῆς τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώποις κατεβλήθη σπέρματα· “ἦν γὰρ τις” φησὶν “ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί, ὃς ἔλαβε τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευί, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτήν. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔλαβε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρρεν· ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀστείον ὃν ἐσκέπασαν
- 132 αὐτὸ μῆνας τρεῖς.” οὗτός ἐστι Μωυσῆς, ὁ καθαρώτατος νοῦς, ὁ ἀστείος ὄντως, ὁ νομοθετικὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ προφητείαν ἐνθουσιώσῃ καὶ θεοφορήτῳ σοφία λαβών, ὃς γένος ὦν τῆς Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διανοίαις.

<sup>2</sup> The word hardly makes sense: ? ἄροσιν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ θαυμάζουσι.

• Cf. *De Cher.* 9 ff.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 129-132

fusion within them, just as Rebecca, receiving in her womb the knowledge of the two nations of the mind, virtue and vice, distinguished the nature of the two and found therein a happy delivery (Gen. xxv. 23). But where its pregnancy is without wisdom, the soul either miscarries or the offspring is the quarrelsome sophist <sup>a</sup> who shoots with the bow (Gen. xxi. 20), or is the target of the bowman. And this contrast is to be expected. For the one kind of soul thinks that it receives in the womb, and the other that it has in the womb, and that is a mighty difference. The latter, supposing that they "have," with boastful speech ascribe the choice and the birth to themselves. The former claim but to receive, and confess that they have of themselves nothing which is their own. They accept <sup>b</sup> the seeds of impregnation that are showered on them from outside, and revere the Giver, and thus by honouring God they repel the love of self, repel, that is, the greatest of evils by the perfect good. 130

XXIV. In this way 131  
too were sown the seeds of the legislative art which we men enjoy. "There was," says the Scripture, "a man of the tribe of Levi who took one of the daughters of Levi and had her to wife, and she received in her womb and bore a male child, and seeing that he was goodly they guarded him for three months" (Ex. ii. 1, 2). This is Moses, the mind of purest quality, 132  
the truly "goodly," <sup>c</sup> who, with a wisdom given by divine inspiration, received the art of legislation and prophecy alike, who being of the tribe of Levi both

<sup>b</sup> Or "seize upon." The word expresses something less passive than λαμβάνειν but escapes the thought of self-satisfaction which he finds in εχειν.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Conf.* 106.

## PHILO

- τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀμφιθαλῆς τῆς  
 133 ἀληθείας ἔχεται. μέγιστον δὲ ἐπάγγελμα  
 τοῦ γενάρχου τῆς φυλῆς ἐστὶ ταύτης· θαρρεῖ γὰρ  
 λέγειν, ὅτι αὐτὸς μοι μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς τιμητέος,  
 ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, οὐ γῆ, οὐ θάλασσα,  
 οὐ ποταμοί, οὐκ ἄερος φύσις, οὐ πνευμάτων οὐχ  
 ὠρῶν<sup>1</sup> μεταβολαί, οὐ ζώων οὐ φυτῶν ἰδέαι, οὐχ  
 ἥλιος, οὐ σελήνη, οὐκ ἀστέρων πλήθος ἐν τάξεσιν  
 ἐναρμονίους περιπολούντων, οὐχ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός  
 134 τε καὶ κόσμος, μεγάλης καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς ψυχῆς τὸ  
 αὔχημα, γένεσιν ὑπερκύπτειν καὶ τοὺς ὅρους αὐτῆς  
 ὑπερβάλλειν καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἀγενήτου περιέχεσθαι  
 κατὰ τὰς ἱεράς ὑφηγήσεις, ἐν αἷς διείρηται “ ἔχε-  
 σθαι αὐτοῦ.” τοιγάρτοι τοῖς ἐχομένοις καὶ ἀδια-  
 στατῶς θεραπεύουσιν ἀντιδίδωσι κλῆρον αὐτόν.  
 ἐγγυᾶται δέ μου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν λόγιον, ἐν ᾧ  
 135 λέγεται· “ κύριός αὐτὸς κλῆρος αὐτοῦ.” οὕτως  
 ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνουσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἔχουσαι<sup>2</sup> αἱ ψυχαὶ  
 τίκτειν πεφύκασιν. καθάπερ δ' οἱ σώμα-  
 τος ὀφθαλμοὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀμυδρῶς πολλάκις δὲ  
 τηλαυγῶς ὀρῶσι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ὄμμα τοτὲ μὲν ὑποσυγκεχυμένας καὶ ἀδήλους  
 [539] τοτὲ δὲ καθαρὰς καὶ τρανὰς δέχεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 136 πραγμάτων | ἰδιότητος. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀσαφῆς καὶ ἀδη-  
 λουμένη προσβολὴ ἔοικε τῷ μήπω κατὰ γαστρὸς  
 ἐμβρῦον διατυπωθέντι, ἡ δὲ ἐναργῆς καὶ τρανῆ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀέρων οἱ καίρων.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔχουσαι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνουσαι.

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<sup>a</sup> Or “being of the tribe of Levi and equally fortunate both on his father's and his mother's side, holds fast to truth.” But the point of the last words is not clear in this rendering.



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 132-136

on the father's and the mother's side has a double link<sup>a</sup> with truth. Great indeed is the profession of the founder of this tribe.<sup>b</sup> He has the courage to say, God and God alone must I honour, not aught of what is below God, neither earth nor sea nor rivers, nor the realm of air, nor the shiftings of the winds and seasons, nor the various kinds of animals and plants, nor the sun nor the moon nor the host of the stars, performing their courses in ranks of ordered harmony, no, nor yet the whole heaven and universe. A great and transcendent soul does such a boast bespeak, to soar above created being, to pass beyond its boundaries, to hold fast to the Uncreated alone, following the sacred admonitions in which we are told to cling to Him (Deut. xxx. 20), and therefore to those who thus cling and serve Him without ceasing He gives Himself as portion, and this my affirmation is warranted by the oracle which says, "The Lord Himself is his portion" (Deut. x. 9). Thus<sup>c</sup> we see the capacity to bear comes to souls by "receiving" rather than by "having in the womb."

But just as the eyes of the body often see dimly and often clearly, so the distinguishing characteristics which things present sometimes reach the eye of the soul in a blurred and confused, sometimes in a clear and distinct form. When the vision thus presented is indistinct and ill-defined, it is like the embryo not yet fully formed in the depths of the womb; when it is distinct and definite, it bears

<sup>b</sup> Levi, not Moses as Wendland seems to think. See App. p. 579.

<sup>c</sup> οὕτως takes us back to the argument, interrupted in § 133 by the meditation on the tribe of Levi, and, as often, marks the conclusion of the argument. In §§ 138-139 we have a different point, though suggested by it.

## PHILO

- μάλιστα τῷ διαπεπλασμένῳ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτός μερῶν τετεχνιτευμένῳ καὶ τὴν
- 137 ἀρμόττουσαν ἰδέαν ἀπειληφότι. νόμος  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγράφη πάνυ καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως  
 τεθεὶς οὗτος· “ ἐὰν μαχομένων ἀνδρῶν δύο πατάξῃ  
 τις γυναῖκα ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐξέλθῃ τὸ παιδίον  
 αὐτῆς μὴ ἐξεικονισμένον, ἐπιζήμιον ζημιωθήσεται·  
 καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιβάλῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς γυναικός, δώσει  
 μετὰ ἀξιώματος· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξεικονισμένον ᾖ, δώσει  
 ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς.” οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁμοιον, τέλειόν τε  
 καὶ ἀτελὲς διανοίας ἔργον διαφθεῖραι, οὐδὲ εἰκα-  
 ζόμενον καὶ καταλαμβανόμενον, οὐδὲ ἐλπιζόμενον
- 138 καὶ ἤδη ὑπάρχον. διὰ τοῦτο ὅπου μὲν ἐπιτίμιον  
 ἄδηλον ἐπ' ἀδήλω πράγματι, ὅπου δὲ ὠρισμένον  
 ἐπὶ τελείῳ νομοθετεῖται, τελείῳ δὲ οὐχὶ τῷ πρὸς  
 ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ τινα τέχνην τῶν ἀνεπιλήπ-  
 των γενομένῳ· κυφορεῖ γὰρ αὐτό<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ἢ λαβοῦσα,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, οἷσιν πρὸ ἀτυφίας ἐπ-  
 αγγελλομένη. καὶ γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἀμβλίσκειν τὴν ἐν  
 γαστρὶ λαβοῦσαν, ἐπεὶ τὸ φυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ σπειραν-  
 τος ἐμπρεπὲς τελεσφορεῖσθαι· τὴν δὲ ἔχουσαν οὐκ  
 ἀνοίκειον, ἅτε νόσῳ χωρὶς ἰατροῦ κατεσχημένην.
- 139 XXV. Μὴ νομίσης δὲ τὴν Ἄγαρ λέγεσθαι ἑαυτὴν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτόν.

<sup>a</sup> Philo means that “perfected” or “fully grown” is here used of things on a lower plane. Since the woman of the enactment is said “to have in the womb,” the allegory cannot mean that the perfected work of the mind is one of moral perfection. It refers rather to the fully formed ideas produced by “a system of conceptions coordinated for some useful end” (see the definition of “art” in § 141). Such arts have nothing wrong about them (*ἀνεπιλήπτων*), but cannot rank with the study of virtue. For this reduced sense of *ἀνεπιλήπτος* see note on *De Mig.* 207.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 136-139

a close analogy to the same embryo when fully shaped, with each of its parts inward and outward elaborated, and thus possessed of the form suited to it.

Now there is a law well and suitably enacted to deal 137 with this subject which runs thus : " When two men are fighting if one strikes a woman who has in the womb, and her child comes forth not fully formed, he shall be surely fined : according as the husband of the woman shall lay upon him he shall be fined with a valuation, but if the child be fully formed he shall give life for life " (Ex. xxi. 22, 23). This was well said, for it is not the same thing to destroy what the mind has made when it is perfect as when it is imperfect, when it is guesswork as when it is apprehended, when it is but a hope as when it is a reality. Therefore in one the thing in question and the 138 penalty are alike indefinite, in the other there is a specified penalty for a thing perfected. Note however that by " perfected " we do not mean perfected in virtue, but that it has attained perfection in some one of the arts to which no exception can be taken.<sup>a</sup> For the child in this case is the fruit of one who has in the womb, not has received in the womb, one whose attitude is that of self-conceit rather than of modesty. And indeed miscarriage is impossible for her who " has received in the womb," for it is to be expected that the Sower should bring the plant to its fulness : for her who " has in the womb " it is natural enough ; she is the victim of her malady, and there is no physician to help her.<sup>b</sup>

XXV. Do not suppose that by the words " When 139

<sup>b</sup> Or " if there is no physician." Philo, that is, may not intend to deny the possibility of a better fate for those " who have in the womb."

## PHILO

ὄραν ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν διὰ τοῦ “ ἰδοῦσα<sup>1</sup> ὅτι ἐν  
 γαστρὶ ἔχει,” ἀλλὰ τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῆς Σάρραν. καὶ  
 γὰρ ὕστερον αὕτη περὶ ἑαυτῆς φησιν· “ ἰδοῦσα ὅτι  
 140 ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχει, ἠτιμάσθη<sup>2</sup> ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς.” διὰ  
 τί; ὅτι αἱ μέσαι τέχναι, καὶ εἰ τὰ καθ’ αὐτάς, ὧν  
 εἰσιν ἐγκύμονες, ὀρώσιν, ἀλλά τοι πάντως ἀμυδρῶς  
 ὀρώσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήμαι τηλαυγῶς καὶ σφόδρα  
 ἐναργῶς καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἐπιστήμη γὰρ πλέον  
 ἐστὶ τέχνης, τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ  
 141 λόγου προσειληφύια. τέχνης μὲν γὰρ ὄρος οὗτος·  
 σύστημα ἐκ καταλήψεων συγγεγυμνασμένων<sup>3</sup> πρὸς  
 τι τέλος εὐχρηστον, τοῦ εὐχρήστου διὰ τὰς κακο-  
 τεχνίας ὑγιῶς προστιθεμένου· ἐπιστήμης δέ· κατά-  
 ληψις ἀσφαλῆς καὶ βέβαιος, ἀμετάπτωτος ὑπὸ  
 142 λόγου. μουσικὴν μὲν οὖν καὶ γραμ-  
ματικὴν καὶ τὰς συγγενεῖς καλοῦμεν τέχναις—καὶ  
γὰρ οἱ ἀποτελούμενοι δι’ αὐτῶν τεχνῆται λέγονται  
μουσικοὶ τε καὶ γραμματικοί,—φιλοσοφίαν δὲ καὶ  
τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτάς  
 [540] ἐπιστήμονας· | φρόνιμοι γὰρ εἰσι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ  
 φιλόσοφοι, ὧν οὐδὲ εἷς ἐν τοῖς τῆς διαπεπονημένης  
 ἐπιστήμης σφάλλεται δόγμασι, καθάπερ οἱ προ-  
 ειρημένοι ἐν τοῖς τῶν μέσων τεχνῶν θεωρήμασιν.

<sup>1</sup> LXX εἶδεν, which perhaps should be read here.

<sup>2</sup> So LXX: MSS ἠτ(ο)ιμάσθη.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐγγεγυμνασμένων (-ον), which may be right. See App. p. 580.

<sup>a</sup> See App. 580.

<sup>b</sup> Or “apprehensions” as below. But the word seems to be used in a slightly different sense in the two definitions.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps “results arrived at,” in contrast to principles (δόγματα). That is to say, the difference between δόγματα

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 139-142

she saw that she had in the womb" (Gen. xvi. 4), it is meant that Hagar saw that it was so with herself. It is her mistress Sarah who saw, for afterwards Sarah says of herself, "Seeing that she had in the womb, I was dishonoured before her" (Gen. xvi. 5). Why is 140 this? Because the lower arts, even if they see their own products, which are carried in their womb, necessarily see them but dimly, while they are clearly and very distinctly apprehended by knowledge in its various forms. For knowledge is something more than art, as it has in addition a stability which no argument can shake. The definition of art is as 141 follows: <sup>a</sup> a system of conceptions <sup>b</sup> co-ordinated to work for some useful end, "useful" being a very proper addition to exclude mischievous arts. Knowledge on the other hand is defined as a sure and certain apprehension which cannot be shaken by argument.<sup>a</sup>

We give the name of arts 142 therefore to music, grammar and the kindred arts, and accordingly those who by means of them reach fulness of accomplishment are called artists, whether they are musicians or grammarians; but we give the name of knowledge to philosophy and the other virtues, and that of men of knowledge to those who possess these virtues. Those only are prudent and temperate and philosophers who without exception do not err in the dogmatic conclusions belonging to that form of knowledge which they have mastered by their diligence in the way that the above-mentioned err in the more theoretical conclusions<sup>c</sup> of the lower

and θεωρήματα, which are often combined by Philo, lies not so much in that the latter are uncertain (Euclid did not consider his θεωρήματα uncertain), as in that they are slighter, and do not rise to the status of an important principle.

## PHILO

- 143 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν ὀρώσιν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς δι' ὀφθαλμῶν τηλαυγέστερον, καὶ ἀκούει μὲν ὦτα, ὁ δὲ νοῦς δι' ὠτων ἄμεινον, καὶ ὀσφραίνονται μὲν οἱ μυκτῆρες, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ διὰ ῥινῶν ἐναργέστερον, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις τῶν καθ' αὐτὰς ἀντιλαμβάνονται, καθαρώτερον δὲ καὶ εἰλικρινέστερον ἢ διάνοια—κυρίως γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἧδ' ἐστὶν ὀφθαλμὸς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀκοὴ δὲ ἀκοῆς καὶ ἐκάστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἴσθησις εἰλικρινεστέρα, χρωμένῃ μὲν ἐκείναις ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ὑπηρέτισι, δικάζουσα δ' αὐτὴ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων, ὡς τοῖς μὲν συναινεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀποστρέφεισθαι,—οὕτως αἱ μὲν λεγόμεναι μέσαι τέχναι ταῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δυνάμεσιν ἐοικυῖαι τοῖς θεωρήμασιν ἐντυγχάνουσι κατά τινας ἀπλᾶς ἐπιβολάς, ἀκριβέστερον δὲ ἐπιστήμαι
- 144 καὶ σὺν ἐξετάσει περιττῇ. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς αἴσθησιν, τοῦτ' ἐπιστήμη πρὸς τέχνην ἐστὶ· καθάπερ γὰρ αἴσθησις τις αἰσθήσεων, ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἐκάστη μικρὰ ἅττα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει παρεσπάσατο, περὶ ἃ πονεῖται καὶ πραγματεύεται, γραμμὰς μὲν γεωμετρία, φθόγγους δὲ μουσική, φιλοσοφία δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν· ὕλη γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος καὶ
- 145 πᾶσα ἢ τῶν ὄντων ὄρατὴ τε καὶ ἀόρατος οὐσία. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἢ τὰ ὅλα καθορώσα θεᾶται καὶ τὰ μέρη, καὶ ἄμεινον ἐκείνων, ἅτε ὀφθαλμοῖς μείζοσι καὶ ὀξυδερκεστέροις ἐνοματωθεῖσα; εἰκότως οὖν ἡ κυρία φιλοσοφία τὴν μέσσην παιδείαν, τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Wendland supplies οὕτως τέχνη τις τεχνῶν ἐπιστήμη.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "through simple applications (of the mind)." Cf. note on *De Post.* 79.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 143-145

arts. The following illustration may serve. The 143  
eyes see, but the mind through the eyes sees further  
than the eyes. The ears hear, but the mind through  
the ears hears better than the ears. The nostrils  
smell, but the soul through the nose smells more  
vividly than the nose, and while the other senses  
apprehend the objects proper to them, the under-  
standing apprehends with more purity and clarity.  
For we may say quite properly that the mind is the  
eye's eye and the hearing's hearing and the purified  
sense of each of the senses ; it uses them as ushers in  
its tribunal, but itself passes judgement on the natures  
of the objects presented, giving its assent to some  
and refusing it to others. In the same way, what we  
call the lower or secondary arts, resembling as they do  
the bodily faculties, handle the questions which they  
answer without involved consideration,<sup>a</sup> but know-  
ledge in each case does so with greater accuracy and  
minute examination. What the mind is to sense, 144  
that knowledge is to art ; for just as, to repeat the  
statement, the soul is the sense of the senses, [so  
knowledge is the art of arts.] So each of the arts has  
detached and annexed some small items from the  
world of nature which engage its efforts and atten-  
tion : geometry has its lines, and music its notes, but  
philosophy takes the whole nature of existing things ;  
for its subject matter is this world and every form of  
existence visible and invisible. Why wonder, then, 145  
if when it surveys the whole of things it sees also the  
parts, and sees them better than those others, fur-  
nished as it is with stronger eyes and more penetrat-  
ing sight ? Naturally then will the pregnancy of the  
handmaid, the lower instruction, be more visible to

## PHILO

- θεραπεινίδα αὐτῆς, ἐγκύμονα θεάσεται μᾶλλον ἢ  
 146 ἐαυτὴν ἐκείνη. XXVI. καίτοι γ' οὐδέ  
 τοῦτό τις ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ μέρος τὰς  
 ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ σπέρματα, ἐξ ὧν ἀναβλαστεῖν ἔδοξε  
 τὰ θεωρήματα, φιλοσοφία δεδωρήται. ἰσόπλευρα  
 γὰρ καὶ σκαληνὰ κύκλους τε καὶ πολυγώνια καὶ τὰ  
 ἄλλα σχήματα γεωμετρία προσεξεῦρε, σημείου δὲ  
 καὶ γραμμῆς καὶ ἐπιφανείας καὶ στερεοῦ φύσιν, ἃ  
 δὴ ρίζαι καὶ θεμέλιοι τῶν λεχθέντων εἰσίν, οὐκέτι  
 147 γεωμετρία. πόθεν γὰρ αὐτῇ λέγειν ὀριζομένη, ὅτι  
 σημεῖον μὲν ἐστὶν οὐ μέρος οὐδέν, γραμμὴ δὲ  
 μῆκος ἀπλατές, ἐπιφάνεια δὲ ὁ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος  
 μόνον ἔχει, στερεὸν δὲ ὁ τὰς τρεῖς ἔχει διαστάσεις,  
 μῆκος, πλάτος, βάθος; ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνάκειται  
 φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ περὶ ὄρων πραγματεία πᾶσα τῷ  
 148 φιλοσόφῳ. τό γε μὴν γράφειν καὶ  
 ἀναγινώσκειν γραμματικῆς τῆς ἀτελεστέρας ἐπ-  
 ἀγγελμα, ἣν παρατρέποντές τινες γραμματιστικὴν  
 καλοῦσι, τῆς δὲ τελειοτέρας ἀνάπτυξις τῶν παρὰ  
 [541] ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν. | ἐπειδὴν οὖν περὶ  
 τῶν τοῦ λόγου διεξέρχωνται μερῶν, τότε οὐ τὰ  
 φιλοσοφίας εὐρήματα παρασπῶνταιί τε καὶ παρ᾽  
 149 ἐργολαβοῦσι; ταύτης γὰρ ἴδιον ἐξετάζειν, τί σύν-  
 δεσμος, τί ὄνομα, τί ῥῆμα, τί κοινὸν ὄνομα, τί  
 ἴδιον, τί ἔλλιπές ἐν λόγῳ, τί πλήρες, τί ἀποφαντόν,  
 τί ἐρώτημα, τί πύσμα, τί περιεκτικόν, τί εὐκτικόν,

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<sup>a</sup> Or "prose-writers" in general. On the definition of γραμματικῆ here given see App. p. 580.

<sup>b</sup> The word (παρεργολαβεῖν) is not known elsewhere. L. & S. translate "take as an accessory." Stephanus (impossibly) "quaestum ex aliqua re facere." I understand the word, in accordance with the common use of πάρεργον for



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 145-149

the mistress philosophy than it is to the handmaid herself. XXVI. And indeed this too is 146

general knowledge that all the particular arts have their origins and the germs from which the conclusions they reach seem to spring, as a gift from philosophy. For such further matters as isosceles and scalene triangles, and circles and polygons and the other figures are the discovery of geometry; but when we come to the nature of the point, the line, the superficies and the solid which are the roots and foundations of those named above, we leave geometry behind. For whence does she obtain the 147 definition of a point as that which has no parts, of a line as length without breadth, of superficies as that which has length and breadth only, and of a solid as that which has three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth? For these belong to philosophy, and the whole subject of definitions is the philosopher's province.

Again the lower stage of grammar, 148 sometimes by a slight modification of *γραμματική* called *γραμματιστική*, undertakes to teach reading and writing, while the task of the higher stage is the elucidation of the writings of the poets and historians.<sup>a</sup> When therefore they discourse on the parts of speech, are they not encroaching on, and casually appropriating<sup>b</sup> the discoveries of philosophy? For it is the 149 exclusive property of philosophy to examine what a conjunction is, or a noun, or a verb, or a common as distinguished from a proper noun, or in the sentence what is meant by defective or complete or declaratory or inquiry, or question, or comprehensive, or pre-

a thing of secondary importance, to imply that they adopt these terms without any thought of how they are arrived at or any conception of their importance.

## PHILO

- τί ἀρατικόν<sup>1</sup>. τὰς γὰρ περὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ ἀξιωμα-  
των καὶ κατηγορημάτων πραγματείας ἧδ' ἐστὶν ἡ  
150 συνθεῖσα. ἡμίφωνον δὲ ἡ φωνῆεν ἡ παντελῶς  
ἄφωνον στοιχείον ἰδεῖν, καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον τούτων  
εἴωθε λέγεσθαι; καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ φωνῆς καὶ στοι-  
χείων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ἰδέα οὐ φιλοσοφία  
πεπόνηται καὶ κατήνυσται; βραχείας δ' ὥσπερ  
ἀπὸ χειμάρρου σπάσαντες λιβάδας καὶ βραχυτέρας  
ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ἐναποθλίψαντες τὸ κλαπὲν οἱ  
φῶρες οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι προφέροντες ὡς ἴδιον.
- 151 XXVII. Οὐδ' χάρις φρναττόμενοι τῆς κυρίας, ἡ  
τὸ κῦρος ὄντως καὶ ἡ τῶν θεωρουμένων ἀνάκειται  
βεβαίωσις, ἀλογοῦσι. συναισθημένη δὲ αὕτη τῆς  
ὀλιγωρίας τούτων ἐλέγξει καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας  
φήσει· ἀδικοῦμαι καὶ παρασπονδοῦμαι τό γε ἐφ'  
152 ὑμῖν ὁμολογίας παραβαίνουσιν. ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐνεκολ-  
πίσασθε τὰ προπαίδεύματα, τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπειῆδος  
τὰ ἔγγυα, τὴν μὲν ὡς γαμετὴν ἐξετιμήσατε, ἐμὲ  
δὲ οὕτως ἀπεστράφητε, ὡς μηδὲ πώποτε ἐς ταῦτόν  
ἐλθόντες. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐγὼ μὲν ταῦτα περὶ ὑμῶν  
ὑπέιληφα, ἐκ τῆς φανερᾶς πρὸς τὴν οἰκέτιν ὁμιλίᾳ  
τὴν ἀδηλον πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὴν ἀλλοτριώσιν τεκμαιρο-  
μένη· εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἐναντίως ἡ ὡς ὑπέιληφα διά-  
κεισθε, γινῶναι μὲν ἀμήχανον ἑτέρω, ῥάδιον δὲ  
153 μόνω θεῷ. διόπερ οἰκείως ἐρεῖ· “κρίναι ὁ θεὸς  
ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ,” οὐ προκατεγνωκυῖα ὡς

<sup>1</sup> τί εὐκτικόν, τί ἀρατικόν is deduced by Wendland from εὐκτικόν M, ὀρατικόν A, εὐ τί κακὸν ἀρα SF, εὐ κακὸν δὲ τί H. For ἀρατικόν cf. *De Agr.* 140.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 149-153

catory, or imprecatory. For to her is due the system which embraces the study of complete sentences and propositions and predicates.<sup>a</sup> Again, the observation 150 of the semi-vowel, the vowel and the completely voiceless or consonant, and the usage of each, and the whole field of phonetics and the elements of sound and the parts of speech, have been worked out and brought to its consummation by philosophy. From this, as from a torrent, the plagiarists have drawn a few small drops, squeezed them into their still smaller souls, and do not blush to parade what they have filched as their own.

XXVII. So in their insolence they neglect the mis- 151  
tress to whom the lordship really belongs, to whom is due the firm foundation of their studies. And she, conscious of their neglect, will rebuke them and speak with all boldness. "I am wronged and betrayed, in so far as you have broken faith with me. For ever since you took to your arms the lower forms 152  
of training, the children of my handmaid, you have given her all the honour of the wedded wife, and turned from me as though we had never come together. And yet perhaps, in thinking this of you, I may be but inferring from your open company with her my servant a less certain matter, your alienation from me. But to decide whether your feelings are as I have supposed, or the opposite, is a task impossible for any other, but easy for God alone," and therefore 153  
Sarah will say quite properly, "God judge between you and me" (Gen. xvi. 5). She does not hastily  
been already explained in the note to the parallel passage *De Agr.* 140, 141, see App. p. 580. It is a good example of Philo's capacity for looking at things from opposite points of view, that these distinctions are scoffed at as superfluous refinements, here they belong to true philosophy.

## PHILO

- ἡδίκηκόςτος, ἀλλ' ἐνδοιάζουσα ὡς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ κατορθοῦντος· ὅπερ ἀψευδῶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀναφαίνεται δι' ὧν ἀπολογούμενος καὶ τὸν ἐνδοιασμὸν αὐτῆς ἐξιώμενός φησιν· “ ἴδου ἡ παιδίσκη ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου, χρῶ αὐτῇ, ὡς ἂν σοι ἀρεστόν ᾗ.”
- 154 καὶ γὰρ ὁ παιδίσκην εἰπὼν ἀμφοτέρα ὁμολογεῖ, τότε δούλην καὶ τὸ νηπιάν<sup>1</sup> εἶναι—τὸ γὰρ τῆς παιδίσκης ὄνομα ἑκατέρω τούτων ἐφαρμόζει,—συνολογεῖ δὲ πάντως εὐθύς καὶ τάναντία, τῇ μὲν νηπιὰ τὴν τελείαν, τῇ δὲ δούλῃ τὴν κυρίαν, μονοноῦ βοῶν ἀντικρυς, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν καὶ ὡς νεωτέραν καὶ ὡς θεραπαινίδα ἀσπάζομαι, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν ὡς τελείαν καὶ δέσποιναν
- 155 ἐκτετίμηκα. τὸ δὲ “ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου ” δηλοῖ μὲν τὸ ὑποχείριός ἐστὶ σοι. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον· τὰ μὲν τῆς δούλης εἰς χεῖρας |
- [542] ἀφικνεῖται σώματος—σωματικῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων καὶ δυνάμεων τὰ ἐγκύκλια χρεῖα,—τὰ δὲ τῆς κυρίας εἰς ψυχὴν ἔρχεται· λογισμοῖς γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τε φρόνησιν
- 156 καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἀνατίθεται. ὥσθ' ὅσω δυνατώτερον καὶ δραστικώτερον καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις κρεῖττον διάνοια χειρός<sup>2</sup> ἐστὶ, τοσοῦτω τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν θαυμασιωτέραν εἶναι νενόμικα καὶ διαφερόντως ἐκτετίμηκα. λαβοῦσα οὖν, ᾧ καὶ ὑπάρχουσα καὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ νομιζομένη κυρία, τὴν ἐμὴν ἅπασαν παιδείαν ὡς θεραπαινίδι χρῶ, “ ὡς
- 157 εὐάρεστόν σοι.” τὸ δὲ σοὶ εὐάρεστον οὐκ ἀγνοῶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νήπιον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. χρείος.

<sup>a</sup> The argument implies that “thy hands” refers to the body, a natural thought if the address was to the soul, but not so appropriate when addressed to philosophy. For another suggestion see App. p. 581.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 153-157

condemn Abraham as a wrongdoer, but expresses a doubt as though perhaps his heart may be true and upright. That it is so is shewn unmistakably soon after, when he makes his defence and thereby heals her doubts. "Behold," he says, "the servant girl is in thy hands. Deal with her as is pleasing to thee" (Gen. xvi. 6). Indeed in calling her a servant girl <sup>154</sup> he makes a double admission, that she is a slave and that she is childish, for the name suits both of these. At the same time the words involve necessarily and absolutely the acknowledgment of the opposites of these two, of the full-grown as opposed to the child, of the mistress as opposed to the slave. They amount almost to a loud and emphatic confession: I greet the training of the schools, he implies, as the junior and the handmaid, but I have given full honour to knowledge and wisdom as the full-grown and the mistress. And the words "in thy hands" <sup>155</sup> mean no doubt "she is subject to thee," but they also signify something more, namely that while what is implied by the slave belongs to the domain of the hands in the bodily sense, since the school subjects require the bodily organs and faculties, what is implied by the mistress reaches to the soul, for wisdom and knowledge and their implications are referred to the reasoning faculties.<sup>a</sup> "And so," says Abraham, "in <sup>156</sup> the same degree as the mind is more powerful, more active and altogether better than the hand, I hold knowledge and wisdom to be more admirable than the culture of the schools and have given them full and special honour. Do thou then, who both art the mistress and art held as such by me, take all my training and deal with it as thy handmaid, 'even as is well-pleasing to thee.' And what is well-pleasing

## PHILO

ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προσηγές, καὶ ὠφέλιμον, εἰ καὶ μακρὰν τοῦ ἡδέος ἀφέστηκεν.

- Ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ὠφέλιμον τοῖς ἐλέγχου δεομένοις νοουθεσία, ὃ ἐτέρῳ ὀνόματι κάκωσιν ὁ ἱερός μὲν λέγει λόγος. XXVIII. διόπερ ἐπιφέρει· “καὶ ἐκάκωσεν αὐτήν,” ἴσον τῷ ἐνουθέτησε καὶ ἐσωφρόνισε. λυσιτελές γὰρ σφόδρα τοῖς ἐν ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐκεχειρία, καθάπερ ἵπποις ἀφηνιασταῖς, ὅξυ κέντρον, ἐπεὶ μάστιγι μῶλις καὶ ἀγωγῇ δαμασθῆναι καὶ τιθασευσθῆναι δύνανται. ἢ τὰ προκείμενα ἄθλα οὐχ ὀρᾶς τοῖς ἀνεπιπλήκτοις<sup>1</sup>; λιπῶσιν, εὐρύνονται, παίνονται, λαμπρὸν πνέουσιν· εἶτα αἴρονται τὰ ἀσεβείας, οἱ πανάθλιοι καὶ βαρυδαίμονες, οἰκτρὰ βραβεῖα, <ἐπ’ > ἀθεότητι κηρυττόμενοι καὶ στεφανούμενοι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν λείως ῥέουσιν εὐτυχίαν ὑπέλαβον ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ὑπαργύρους καὶ ὑποχρύσους θεοὺς, νομίσματος κεκιβδηλευμένου τὸν τρόπον, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ὄντως ὄντος ἐκλαθόμενοι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν οἷς φησιν· “ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐγκατέλιπε θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν”· ὥστε εἰ ἢ ἐπὶ πλέον ἄνεσις τὸ μέγιστον κακόν, ἀσέβειαν, ὠδίνει, τούναντίον ἢ μετὰ νόμου κάκωσις ἀγαθὸν τέλειον ἀποτίκτει, τὴν αἰίδιμον νοουθεσίαν.
- 161 ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθεῖς καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἐορτῆς τὸ σύμ-

<sup>1</sup> mss. τοῖς ἀνεπιπλήκτως or τοὺς ἀνεπιπλήκτους. The former may perhaps suggest τοῖς ἀνεπιπλήκτως <ζῶσι>.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 581.

<sup>b</sup> The article is difficult. The translation assumes that τοὺς . . . ὑποχρύσους is a belated epithet to ἑαυτοὺς like οἱ πανάθλιοι above. But this is very awkward. Perhaps better “they think themselves to be gods, these gods (of the pagans) whose very gold and silver is unreal.” There is an

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 157-161

to thee I know full well is altogether good, even if it be not agreeable, and profitable even if it be far removed from pleasant."

Yes, good and profitable. And such to those who need convincing of their errors is the admonishing which the holy text indicates under its other name of affliction. XXVIII. Therefore he adds "and she afflicted her" (Gen. xvi. 6), which means she admonished and chastised her. For the sharp spur is indeed profitable to those who live in security and ease, just as it is to unruly horses, since it is difficult to master or break them in merely with the whip or guiding hand. Or do you fail to see the rewards which await the unrebuked?<sup>a</sup> They grow sleek and fat, they expand themselves, and the breath of their spirit is lusty and strong, and then to their utter sorrow and misery they win the woeful prizes of impiety, proclaimed and crowned as victors in the contest of godlessness. For because of the smooth flow of their prosperity, veneered as they are with gold and silver,<sup>b</sup> like base coin, they fancy themselves to be gods, forgetting Him who is the true coin, the really Existent. I have Moses' testimony when he says, "He waxed fat, grew thick, was widened, and abandoned the God who made him" (Deut. xxxii. 15). It follows that if increased laxity is the parent of that greatest of ills, impiety, contrarywise affliction, regulated by law, breeds a perfect good, that most admirable thing, admonition.<sup>c</sup> On this same principle he calls the unleavened bread,

allusion to Ex. xx. 23 *θεὸς ἀργυροῦς καὶ θεὸς χρυσοῦς οὐ ποιήσετε*. For the use of the prefix ὑπ- see App. p. 581.

<sup>c</sup> As *κἀκωσις μετὰ νόμου* has been stated to be another name for *νουθεσία*, this remark is extraordinarily weak. See App. p. 582.

## PHILO

βολον “ ἄρτον κακώσεως ” εἶπε, τὰ ἄζυμα. καίτοι  
 τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἑορταὶ καὶ θαλαὶ περιποιούσιν  
 ἰλαρὰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ εὐθυμίας, οὐ κακώσεις ;  
 ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ὡς ὀνόματι κατακέχρηται πόνου, τοῦ  
 162 σωφρονιστοῦ. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν ἀσκητικαῖς ἀθλήσεσι καὶ ἠβώσι πόνοις  
 εἴωθε περιγίνεσθαι· ψυχῆς δὲ ἑορτὴ ζῆλος ὁ τῶν  
 ἀρίστων καὶ τελεσφορῶν πόνος. οὗ χάριν  
 διείρηται καὶ “ ἐπὶ πικρίδων τὰ ἄζυμα ἐσθίειν ”  
 οὐχ ὡς προσεψήματος, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὴ οἰδεῖν καὶ  
 ἀναζεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐστάλθαι δὲ καὶ συνῆχθαι  
 πρὸς ἀηδίας οἱ πολλοὶ τίθενται, πικρὸν ἠγούμενοι  
 [543] τὸ | ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν εὐφροσύνη καὶ  
 163 ἑορτὴ διανοία φιλάθλῳ. XXIX. ταύτης  
 ἕνεκά μοι δοκεῖ τῆς αἰτίας ἐν χωρίῳ, ὃ κέκληται  
 πικρία, τὰ νόμιμα ἀναδίδαχθῆναι· ἡδὺ μὲν γὰρ  
 τὸ ἀδικεῖν, ἐπίπονον δὲ τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν· τοῦτο  
 δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀψευδέστατος νόμος. ἐξελθόντες γάρ,  
 φησιν, ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν παθῶν “ ἦλθον εἰς  
 Μερρά, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο πιεῖν ὕδωρ ἐκ Μερρῶν·  
 πικρὸν γὰρ ἦν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπωνομάσθη τὸ ὄνομα  
 τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου πικρία. καὶ διεγόγγυζεν ὁ λαὸς  
 κατὰ Μωυσῆ λέγοντες· τί πίομεθα ; ἐβόησε δὲ  
 Μωυσῆς πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ κύριος  
 ξύλον, καὶ ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐγλυ-  
 κάνθη τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐκεῖ ἔθετο αὐτῷ δικαιώματα καὶ  
 164 κρίσεις, κακεῖ αὐτὸν ἐπέιραζεν.” ἡ γὰρ  
 ἀδηλος ἀπόπειρα καὶ δοκιμασία τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἐν

<sup>a</sup> Or “ at the height of its vigour.” But the word is strange and perhaps to be suspected.

<sup>b</sup> Though these words run on in the LXX, there is really a stop at “ judgements,” which brings to an end the proof of



## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 161-164

the symbol of the first feast, "bread of affliction." And yet we all know that feasts and highdays produce cheerfulness and gladness, not affliction. Clearly he is extending the meaning of the word as a name for the chastener, toil, for the most numerous and most important of goods are wont to result from repeated strenuous contention and keen toiling, and the soul's feast is ardour for the best, and the consummation of toil. That is why we also have the command to "eat the unleavened bread with bitter herbs" (Ex. xii. 8), not as a relish, but because the mass of men hold that when they no longer swell and boil with desires, but are confined and compressed, they are in a state of discomfort; and they think that the unlearning of passion is a bitterness, though to a mind that welcomes effort that same is a joy and a feast.

XXIX. For this cause I believe the lesson of the statutes of the law was given in a place whose name is bitterness, for injustice is pleasant and just-dealing is troublesome, and this is the most infallible of laws. For when they had gone out of the passions of Egypt, says the text, "they came to Marah, and they could not drink water from Marah, for it was bitter. Therefore the name of that place was called bitterness, and the people murmured against Moses, saying what shall we drink? And Moses called aloud to the Lord, and the Lord shewed him a tree; and he threw it into the water, and the water was sweetened. There He laid down for him ordinances and judgements" (Ex. xv. 23-25).

"And there He tried him" (*ibid.*), the text continues. Yes, for the trial and proving of the soul,

the connexion of *κακωσις* and its bitterness with law. The final words raise a new point, its connexion with "trial."

## PHILO

- τῷ πονεῖν καὶ πικραίνεσθαι· ὅπη γὰρ ταλαντεύσει,  
 χαλεπὸν διαγνῶναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ προκαμόντες  
 ἀνέπεσον, βαρὺν ἀντίπαλον ἠγησάμενοι τὸν πόνον,  
 καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑπ' ἀσθενείας ὥσπερ ἀπειρηκότες  
 ἀθληταὶ καθῆκαν, παλινδρομεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπὶ  
 165 τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ πάθους ἐγνωκότες. οἱ δὲ τὰ  
 φοβερὰ καὶ δεινὰ τῆς ἐρήμης πάνυ τλητικῶς καὶ  
 ἐρρωμένως ἀναδεχόμενοι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ βίου  
 διήθλησαν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀήττητον φυλάξαντες  
 καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίων κατέξαναστάντες,  
 ὡς πείναν, δίψος, [ρίγος,] κρύος, θάλπος, ὅσα τοὺς  
 ἄλλους εἴωθε δουλοῦσθαι, κατὰ πολλὴν ἰσχὺος  
 166 περιουσίαν ὑπάγεσθαι. αἴτιον δὲ ἐγένε-  
 νετο οὐ ψιλὸς ὁ πόνος, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ γλυκανθῆναι·  
 λέγει γάρ· “ἐγλυκάνθη τὸ ὕδωρ,” γλυκὺς δὲ καὶ  
 ἡδὺς πόνος ἐτέρῳ ὀνόματι φιλοπονία καλεῖται. τὸ  
 γὰρ ἐν πόνῳ γλυκὺ ἔρως ἐστὶ καὶ πόθος καὶ ζῆλος  
 167 καὶ φιλία τοῦ καλοῦ. μηδεὶς οὖν τὴν τοκαύτην  
 κάκωσιν ἀποστρεφέσθω, μηδ' “ἄρτον κακώσεως”  
 νομισάτω ποτὲ λέγεσθαι τὴν ἐορτῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης  
 τράπεζαν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελείᾳ· τρέφεται  
 γὰρ τοῖς παιδείας δόγμασιν ἢ νουθετουμένη ψυχῇ.  
 168 XXX. τὸ ἄζυμον πέμμα τοῦτο οὕτως  
 ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ὥστε χρησιμοῖς προστέτακται δώδεκα  
 ἄρτους ἄζυμους ταῖς φυλαῖς ἰσαρίθμους προτιθέναι  
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις χρυσοῦς τραπέζης, καὶ  
 169 καλοῦνται προθέσεως. καὶ νόμῳ δὲ ἀπείρηται  
 πᾶσαν ζύμην καὶ πᾶν μέλι προσφέρειν τῷ βρωμῷ·  
 χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἢ τὰς γλυκύτητας τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 164-169

with all its uncertainty, lies in toil and bitterness of heart, and it is uncertain because it is hard to discern which way the balance will incline. Some faint ere the struggle has begun, and lose heart altogether, counting toil a too formidable antagonist, and like weary athletes they drop their hands in weakness and determine to speed back to Egypt to enjoy passion. But there 165 are others who, facing the terrors and dangers of the wilderness with all patience and stoutness of heart, carry through to its finish the contest of life, keeping it safe from failure and defeat, and take a strong stand against the constraining forces of nature, so that hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and all that usually enslave the rest, are made their subjects by their preponderating fund of strength.

But this result is brought about not by toil unaided, 166 but by toil with sweetening. He says "the water was sweetened," and another name for the toil that is sweet and pleasant is love of labour. For what is sweet in toil is the yearning, the desire, the fervour, in fact the love of the good. Let no one, 167 then, turn away from affliction such as this, or think that, when the table of joy and feasting is called the bread of affliction, harm and not benefit is meant. No, the soul that is admonished is fed by the lessons of instruction's doctrine.

XXX. So holy 168 is this unleavened bake-meat, that the oracles ordain that twelve unleavened loaves, corresponding to the number of the tribes, be set forth on the golden table in the inmost shrine, and these are called the loaves of setting forth (Ex. xxv. 29). And further it is 169 forbidden by law to bring any leaven or any honey to the altar (Lev. ii. 11). For it is a hard matter to consecrate as holy the sweet flavours of bodily

## PHILO

- ἡδονῶν ἢ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀραιὰς καὶ χαίνουσ ἐπ-  
 ἄρσεις καθιεροῦν ὡς ἅγια, τὰ φύσει βέβηλα καὶ  
 170 ἀνίερα ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ εἰκότως  
 ἐπισεμνυόμενος ὁ προφήτης λόγος, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς,  
 ἐρεῖ· “ μνησθήσῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἤγαγέ σε  
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἐρήμῳ, ὅπως ἂν κακώσῃ σε καὶ  
 ἐκπειράσῃ σε καὶ διαγνωσθῇ τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ σου, εἰ  
 [544] φυλάξεις ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἢ | οὐ· καὶ ἐκάκωσέ σε καὶ  
 ἐλιμαγχόνησέ σε καὶ ἐψώμισέ σε τὸ μάννα, ὃ οὐκ  
 ἤδειςαν οἱ πατέρες σου, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ  
 171 ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ; ” τίς  
 οὖν οὕτως ἀνόσιός ἐστιν, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν κακωτὴν  
 τὸν θεὸν καὶ λιμὸν, οἴκτιστον ὄλεθρον, ἐπάγοντα  
 τοῖς ἄνευ τροφῆς ζῆν μὴ δυναμένοις; ἀγαθὸς γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος, εὐεργέτης, σωτήρ, τροφεύς,  
 πλουτοφόρος, μεγαλόδωρος, κακίαν ὄρων ἱερῶν  
 ἀπεληλακῶς· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ γῆς ἄχθη, τὸν τε Ἀδὰμ  
 καὶ Εὐᾶν,<sup>1</sup> ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.  
 172 μὴ παραγώμεθα οὖν ταῖς φωναῖς,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ τὰ δι'  
 ὑπονοιῶν σημαίνόμενα σκοπῶμεν καὶ λέγωμεν, ὅτι  
 τὸ μὲν “ ἐκάκωσε ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ἐπαίδευσε καὶ  
 ἐνουθέτησε καὶ ἐσωφρόνισε, τὸ δὲ “ λιμῷ παρ-  
 ἔβαλεν ” οὐ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν εἰργάσατο ἔνδειαν,  
 ἀλλ' ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν φόβων τε καὶ λύπης καὶ  
 ἀδικημάτων καὶ συνόλως ἀπάντων ὅσα ἢ κακιῶν  
 173 ἐστὶν ἢ παθῶν ἔργα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐπιλεγό-  
 μενον ἐξῆς· “ ἐψώμισέ σε τὸ μάννα. ” Ἄρα γε τὸν  
 τὴν ἄπονον καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον τροφήν δίχα σπουδῆς

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wendland Κάιν.

<sup>2</sup> See App. p. 582.

## THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 169-173

pleasures or the risings of the soul in their leaven-like thinness and sponginess, so profane and unholy are they by their very nature. Is it not, then, 170

with legitimate pride that the prophet-word called Moses says, as we shall find, "Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee in the wilderness, that He might afflict thee and prove thee and the thoughts in thy heart might be tested, whether thou wilt keep His commandments or not, and He afflicted thee and made thee weak by famine and fed thee with manna which thy fathers knew not, that He might proclaim to thee that not alone on bread shall man live, but on every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God" (Deut. viii. 2). Who then is so impious as to suppose that God is 171 an afflictor, or evil-entreater, and that He sends famine, death in its most miserable form, on those who cannot live without food? For God is good and the cause of what is good, the benefactor, the saviour, the nourisher, the enricher, the bountiful giver, and He has expelled evil-mindedness from the holy boundaries. For so He banished those cumberers of the earth, both Adam and Eve,<sup>a</sup> from Paradise.

Let us not, then, be misled by the actual 172 words, but look at the allegorical meaning that lies beneath them, and say that "afflicted" is equivalent to "disciplined and admonished and chastened," and that "subjected to famine" does not mean that He brought about a dearth of food and drink, but a dearth of pleasures and desires and fears and grief and wrong-doings, and in general all the works of the vices or the passions. And this is confirmed by the words that 173 follow, "He fed thee with the manna." He who provided the food that costs no toil or suffering, the

## PHILO

- τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκ γῆς, ὡς ἔθος, ἀναδοθεῖσαν, ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δέ, τεράστιον ἔργον, ἐπ' εὐεργεσία τῶν χρησομένων παρασχόμενον ἄξιον λέγειν λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ἢ τούναντίον εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας
- 174 ἀδείας τε καὶ εὐνομίας αἴτιον; ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγελαῖοι νομίζουσι τοὺς λόγους θείους τρεφομένους ἀθλίως καὶ ταλαιπώρως ζῆν—ἀγευστοὶ γάρ εἰσι τοῦ παντρόφου γεύματος σοφίας,—οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπαθείαις καὶ εὐφροσύναις λελήθασιν διάγοντες.
- 175 XXXI. οὕτω τοίνυν ἡ ποιά κάκωσις ὠφέλιμόν ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ταπεινώσατον αὐτῆς, ἡ δουλεία, μέγα ἀγαθὸν νενόμισται. καὶ ταύτην ἠΰξαστό τις ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς πατήρ υἱῶ, τῷ ἄφρονι Ἡσαῦ ὁ ἄριστος Ἰσαάκ. εἶπε γάρ που·
- 176 “ἐπὶ μαχαίρα σου ζήσεις, καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου δουλεύσεις,” λυσιτελέστατον κρίνων τῷ πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης αἰρουμένῳ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν μάχαις ὀπλοφοροῦντι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ὑπηκόῳ γενέσθαι καὶ δουλεύσαι καὶ ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἅττ' ἂν ὁ σωφροσύνης ἐραστῆς
- 177 ἐπικελεύσῃ, πᾶσι πειθαρχεῖν. ἐνθὲνδε μοι δοκεῖ τις τῶν φοιτητῶν Μωυσέως, ὄνομα εἰρηνικός, ὃς πατρίῳ γλώττῃ Σαλομῶν καλεῖται, φάναι· “ παιδείας θεοῦ, υἱέ, μὴ ὀλιγῶρει, καὶ μὴ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος ἐλέγχει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.” οὕτως ἄρα ἡ ἐπίπληξις καὶ νουθεσία [545] καλὸν νενόμισται, | ὥστε δι' αὐτῆς ἢ πρὸς θεὸν

° Or “agreement,” “covenant,” words which describe the normal relation of God and Israel. Wendland, suspecting the word, conjectures ὁμολογείται συγγένεια γίνεσθαι.

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food which without the cares and pains of men came not from the earth in the common way, but was sent, a wonder and a marvel from heaven for the benefit of those who should use it—can we rightly speak of Him as the author of famine and affliction? Should we not on the contrary call Him the author of thriving and prosperity and secure and ordered living? But 174 the multitude, the common herd, who have never tasted of wisdom, the one true food of us all, think that those who feed on the divine words live in misery and suffering, and little know that their days are spent in continued well-being and gladness.

XXXI. Thus so profitable a thing is affliction of one 175 sort, that even its most humiliating form, slavery, is reckoned a great blessing. Such slavery we read of in the holy scriptures as invoked by a father on his son, by the most excellent Isaac on the foolish Esau. There is a place where he says, "Thou shalt live on 176 thy sword and shalt be a slave to thy brother" (Gen. xxvii. 40). He judges it most profitable for him who chooses war instead of peace, who by reason of his inward tumult and rebellion is armed as it were with the weapons of war, that he should become a subject and a slave and obey all the orders that the lover of self-control may impose. Therefore, I think, 177

did one of Moses' disciples, who is named a man of peace, which is in our ancestral tongue Solomon, say as follows: "My son, despise not the discipline of God, nor faint when thou art rebuked by Him, for whom the Lord loveth He rebukes and scourges every son whom He receiveth" (Prov. iii. 11, 12). So we see that reproaching and admonition are counted so excellent a thing, that they turn our acknowledgment<sup>a</sup> of God into kinship with Him, for what relation

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- ὁμολογία συγγένεια γίνεται. τί γὰρ οἰκειότερον  
 178 υἱῷ πατρὸς ἢ υἱοῦ πατρί; ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ  
 λόγον ἐκ λόγου συνείροντες μηκύνειν δοκῶμεν,  
 ἐναργεστάτην δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων πίστιν παρεξό-  
 μεθα τοῦ τὴν ποιὰν κάκωσιν ἀρετῆς ἔργον εἶναι·  
 νόμος γὰρ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος· “πᾶσαν χήραν καὶ  
 ὀρφανὸν οὐ κακώσετε· ἐὰν δὲ κακία κακώσητε  
 αὐτούς.” τί λέγει; ἄρ' ὑπὸ τινος ἐστὶν ἄλλου  
 κακοῦσθαι; εἰ γὰρ κακίας ἔργα μόνης αἰ κακώσεις,  
 περιττὸν τὸ ὁμολογούμενον γράφειν, ὃ καὶ δίχα  
 179 προσθήκης ἀνομολογηθήσεται. φήσῃ δὲ πάντως·  
 οἶδα καὶ ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς ἐλεγχόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ φρονή-  
 σεως παιδευόμενον. διόπερ οὐ πᾶσαν κάκωσιν ἐν  
 αἰτία τίθεμαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν δικαιοσύνης καὶ  
 νομοθετικῆς ἔργον οὖσαν—ἐπιπλήξει γὰρ σωφρονί-  
 ζει—μάλιστα θαυμάζω, τὴν δὲ ἀφροσύνης καὶ  
 κακίας, βλαβερὰν ὑπάρχουσαν, ἀποστρέφομαι καὶ  
 κακίζω δεόντως.
- 180 “Ὅταν οὖν τὴν Ἄγαρ κακουμένην ὑπὸ Σάρρας  
 ἀκούσης, μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ζηλο-  
 τυπίαις εἰωθότων γίνεσθαι ὑπονοήσης· οὐ γὰρ περὶ  
 γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ διανοιῶν, τῆς μὲν  
 γυμναζομένης ἐν τοῖς προπαιδεύμασι, τῆς δὲ τοὺς  
 ἀρετῆς ἄθλους διαθλούσης.

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<sup>a</sup> The argument in these sections depends, as often, on Philo's failure to understand the well-known Hebrew idiom. Cf., e.g., his treatment of βρώσει φάγη (Gen. ii. 16) in *Leg. All.* i. 97 and of θανάτῳ ἀποθανείσθε of the same text in *Leg. All.* i. 105.



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can be closer than that of a father to a son, or a son to a father? But lest the series of argument following argument should seem tedious and prolix, I will add but one proof, and that the clearest, to those here given, to shew that affliction or ill-usage of a kind is a work of virtue.<sup>a</sup> There is a law in the following terms: "Ye shall not evil-entreat any widow or orphan, but if ye evil-entreat them with evil<sup>b</sup>" (Ex. xxii. 22). What does he mean? Is it that one can be evil-entreated by some other thing than evil? For if evil-treatments are the work of evil and nothing else, it is superfluous to add what is a matter of agreement and will be admitted even without any further words. No doubt he means to say, "I know that one 179 may be rebuked by virtue and disciplined by wisdom, and therefore I do not hold all afflicting or evil-entreating to be blameworthy." When it is the work of justice and the power of the law which chastens by reproof I am filled with admiration. When it is the work of folly and vice and therefore harmful, I turn away from it and call it by the evil names that are its due.

When, then, you hear of Hagar as afflicted or evil- 180 entreated by Sarah, do not suppose that you have here one of the usual accompaniments of women's jealousy. It is not women that are spoken of here; it is minds—on the one hand the mind which exercises itself in the preliminary learning, on the other, the mind which strives to win the palm of virtue and ceases not till it is won.

<sup>b</sup> Or "evil-mindedness," and so throughout for *κακία*.



## APPENDIX TO DE CONFUSIONE

§ 5. *All of whom are agreed that the earth is the centre of the universe.* Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 13, 293 α τῶν πλείστων ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου κείσθαι (sc. τὴν γῆν) λεγόντων. The contrary opinion, that the centre is fire, was held by the Pythagoreans. Cf. also Diog. Laert. ix. 57.

§ 24. *Creeping and flying . . . beasts.* Evidently these represent the θῦμος and ἐπιθυμία in the whole ψυχή, though Philo does not show which is which, cf. § 21. Judging from that we may suppose that the "flying" are the ἐπιθυμῖαι.

§ 27. *Veiled under their name of Sodomite.* The phrase κατὰ γλώττιαν does not imply a Hebrew word, for the other two examples in the index (αἰθεῖν 156 below, "Ἀρης from ἀρήγειν, *Leg. ad Gaium* 112) are both Greek. A γλώσσα is often an obscure word which requires explanation (hence our *glossary*). So ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ποιητὰς ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς κατὰ γλώσσαν γράφοντας ποιήματα, Lucian, *Lexiph.* 25. Cf. "lingua secretior, quas Graeci γλώσσας vocant," Quintilian, i. 35.

§ 44. *Jer. xv. 10.* Other mss. of the LXX have οὐκ ὠφέλησα οὐδὲ ὠφέλησάν με, and so some of the mss. of Philo. Origen, however, remarks that while most of the copies of the LXX have ὠφέλ-, the best and those most conforming to the Hebrew have ὠφείλ-. Wendland adopted ὠφείλ- on the grounds (1) that the better mss. of Philo have it, (2) that it is supported by the interpretation given in § 50. This last seems to me very doubtful, and altogether there is little or nothing to choose between the two.

§ 46. *Fullest peace.* The epithet ἀπόλεμος is applied to εἰρήνη in *De Fug.* 174, but in the sense of the true (inward) peace, and in somewhat the same way in *De Op.* 142. Here it seems pointless, unless we suppose that εἰρήνη conveys to

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Philo something short of an unbroken peace. The first half of this sentence almost repeats *De Gig.* 51.

§ 52. *The touch*, etc. The sentence as taken in the translation is extremely awkward. Further, the analogy of *De Plant.* 133, where ἀφή is called ἡ ἀνά πᾶν τὸ σῶμα σκιδραμένη δύναμις, suggests that τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων is the faculty of touch. This might be obtained if we omit the second τῶν and transpose κατὰ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τὸ after δυνάμεων, i.e. "about the faculties or sensations residing in our bodies corresponding to the particular substances which come in contact with them."

§ 55. τροφόν. This reading, which personifies Midian, fits better with τὸν ἐκγονοῦν αὐτῆς than τροφήν. On the other hand, the latter might be regarded as an allusion to Num. xxv. 2 "the people ate of their sacrifices," and Ps. cv. (cvi.) 28 καὶ ἐτελέσθησαν τῷ Βεελφεγῶρ καὶ ἔφαγον τὰς θυσίας νεκρῶν. To suppose an allusion to the Psalm will give extra point to νεκρῶν. Philo may have understood it to refer to the worshippers instead of to the idols.

*Ibid.* ὑμνοῦντα. This alteration of one letter will enable the sentence to be translated without any other change, though it is true that it would be more natural to take ἀφῶνον καὶ νεκρῶν as predicate after ἀποδεῖξαι rather than, as it is taken in the translation, as a further attribute to χορῶν. If ὑμνοῦντα is retained with Wendland (and his suggestion that it is an antithesis to ὀρώντος has some support from *De Mig.* 222 τυφλὸν γὰρ ὕπνος), some other alteration is required. Wendland himself suggested γελάσαντες or ἀγαπήσαντα for γελασθέντα. Mangey's suggestion of τελεσθέντα is very tempting, cf. *De Mut.* 196. But I see no way of fitting it into the construction. It can hardly be supposed that the idiom of τελεῖσθαι τελετήν can be extended to τελεῖσθαι Μαδιάμ.

§ 70. *Submerged*. Or "have taken refuge in." Cf. the use of ὑπόδρομος *Quod Deus* 156. Philo reads this sense into the LXX. ἐφυγον ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ, which meant presumably "fled with the water over or threatening them." E.V. "fled against it."

§ 90. *The other members of that fraternity and family*. This passage follows the Stoic classification. The four passions and the four vices mentioned are those of the Stoics, who added, as secondary to the primary four, incontinence (ἀκρασία), stupidity (βραδύνοια), ill-advisedness (δυσβουλία),

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Diog. Laert. vii. 93. It is these last three which presumably are meant here.

§ 99. *An appearance of brick.* Wendland was inclined to correct *εἶδος* to *ἔργον*, in accordance with the quotation of the text above, and *εἶδος* might well be a slip of the scribe induced by the preceding *εἶδει*. But on the other hand *εἶδος* seems to be needed to represent the *δοκεῖ* of the interpretation. It seems to me safer to regard it as a slip of Philo himself, who for the moment thought that the *εἶδος* of the quotation went with *πλινθον* instead of with *στερεώματος*.

§ 103. *The asphalt was clay.* In the original quotation in § 2 the mss. shew, as the LXX itself, *ἄσφαλτος ἐγένετο ὁ πῆλος*. The question naturally arises whether we should emend the text there to bring it into conformity with this, as Wendland suggests (see footnote there). On the whole it seems to me better to leave it and to suppose that Philo here rests his argument on the order of the words. He seems sometimes to attribute an extraordinary value to order, cf. *Quod Deus* 72 and *De Mig.* 140.

§ 106. It is impossible to reproduce in translation the thoughts which the *ἀστέιος* of Ex. ii. 2 suggests here to Philo. Struck, like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 23), with the word applied to the infant Moses in the sense of a fine child, on which he also comments in *De Congressu* 132, he naturally enough connects it with the Stoic use for "virtuous." But he also remembers its connexion with *ἄστυ*, and this enables him to identify the *ἀστέιον παιδίον* with another ideal of the Stoics, the "world-citizen"; see *De Op.* 3 and note. The same play on the double meaning of *ἀστέιος* appears in § 109 *ἀστέιοι . . . πολιτεύματι*.

§ 108. *θεοῦ δε ἕμνος.* In support of the emendation suggested in the footnote, it may be noted that Ps. xlv. (xlvi.) 4 is actually interpreted in a way very similar to what I suggest here in *De Som.* ii. 246 ff. There we are told that the "city of God" signifies in one sense the world, in another, the soul of the Sage.

It is no objection, I think, that *ἡ τοιαύδε* naturally, though not necessarily, refers to *πολιτεία* rather than *πόλις*. If the city is God's, its *πολιτεία* must be God's also.

§ 111. *ὁ νοῦς.* While the use of "the mind" in the sense of an evil mind is quite Philonic, it does not occur elsewhere in this passage, and just above we have *ὁ ἀφρων*.

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The very easy correction to *δνους* seems to me therefore very probable.

§ 115. I have not been able to find elsewhere this argument or statement that the apparent examples of a providential administration of the world are sufficiently explained by τὸ αὐτόματον, and are not frequent enough to amount to even human, much less divine, providence. Philo does not repeat it in the arguments adduced by the inquirer in *De Prov.* 11. The sections of the *De Nat. Deorum* in which Cotta discusses "deorumne providentia mundus regatur" are lost.

§ 124. *The causes which come higher*, etc. I.e. apparently, mind and sense, which are nearer to the original Cause than the circumstances which we often call "causes." The word seems to be introduced to interpret the "firstlings" in Abel's offering. But a more natural sense would be obtained if we suppose that the scribe by a not unnatural slip wrote *πρεσβυτέρας* for *νεωτέρας*.

Philo seems to use *αἰτία* for secondary causes in preference to *αἴτιον*. He only uses it of God when contrasting Him with other *αἰτίαι*.

§ 137. *περιττεύειν*, κτλ. For my suggestion of *πέρα τοῦ εἶναι* *που* for *περιττεύειν οὐ* cf. Aristotle, *Phys.* iv. 1, p. 208 b 29 διὰ τὸ νομίζειν, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πάντα εἶναι που καὶ ἐν τόφῳ. For *πέρα* cf. *πέρα μνήμης καὶ νοήσεως ἰστάμενον*, *De Mut.* 12.

*Ibid.* In accordance with the derivation of that name. I.e. *θεός* from *τίθημι*. Philo always uses *ἔτυμον* and *ἐτύμως* in this technical way, cf. e.g. *De Vita Mos.* i. 17 *δίδωσιν ὄνομα θεμένη Μωσῆν ἐτύμως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν ὀνομάζουσι Αἰγύπιοι*. The one example of those given in the index which at first sight appears to be an exception shews the rule most clearly. In *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73 we have *οἱ ἐτύμως ἐπτά σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες*, which we might naturally suppose to mean that they were truly called wise. But examination shews that the allusion is to the supposed derivation of *σοφός* from *σεβασμός*, from which also *ἐπτά* is, according to Philo, derived (*De Op.* 127).

§ 141. *ἀκοὴν μὴ μαρτυρεῖν*. This is the form in which the mss. give the phrase in a similar passage in *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, and which is regularly used by Demosthenes and Isaeus. Wendland on that passage notes that here *ἀκοῆ* should be corrected to *ἀκοήν*.

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Philo is no doubt alluding to the Attic orators, particularly to Dem. *Contra Eubuliden* p. 1300 *πάσι προσήκειν . . . μηδεμίαν προσάγειν ἀκοήν πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα*. οὕτω γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀδικὸν καὶ σφόδρα πάλαι κέκριται, ὥστ' οὐδὲ μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοήν ἐῷσιν οἱ νόμοι, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πάνυ φαύλοις ἐγκλήμασι. So too in ps.-Dem. *Contra Steph.* ii. p. 1130, *Contra Leoch.* p. 1027, where exception is made if the person who was heard is dead. See *Dict. of Ant.* art. "Akoēn Marturein." In *De Spec. Leg.* Philo definitely says, what he perhaps implies here, that the Attic legislators took the principle from Moses.

§ 149. Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. xxvi, supposes the reference to be to Ezra viii. 2. This is quite unnecessary. Ezra is nowhere else quoted by Philo, and Ryle's idea, that the use of βασιλικαί instead of the usual βασιλειαί points to a different group from the books of Kings, is fanciful.

§ 151. ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτίδος τὸ κατασκευαστόν. While the general sense of this is clear, the text is very doubtful. κατασκευαστόν ("artificial") for the regularity which seems artificial is strange but not impossible, and τὸ παραπλήσιον may be used as an adverb. But the word πολίτις, only known as the feminine of πολίτης, is impossible here, where fever or malaria is clearly meant.

I suggest very hesitatingly that τῆς πολιτίδος may be a corruption of τῆς σπληνίτιδος. The word σπληνίτις for a disease of the spleen is not found in the medical writers, but they constantly insist on the enlargement of the spleen as a regular symptom of malaria (see W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria*, index).

Wendland would correct to ἐπὶ τῆς πυρετοῦ καταβολῆς τὸ παραπλήσιον, which bears little resemblance to the text.

Mangey thought that the whole passage was an irrelevant interpolation. On the contrary, as an illustration of Philo's point, that we find harmony and regularity in things evil, it seems very appropriate.

*Ibid.* eis αὐτά. The phrase is, as it stands, unintelligible. I suggest and have translated eis αὐτὰς or eis αὐτὰς αὐτήν (with regard to themselves, i.e. each other). I understand Philo to mean that while the attacks recur at the same hour, they vary somewhat in nature, but the varieties also have a regular order. Whether this is medically untrue, or whether if it is, Philo is likely to have thought it true, I do not know.

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Wendland suggested *αὐτὴν αἰεὶ*. Mangey read *εἰς τὰ γούδα*. I think *ἰσότητα* might be worth considering.

§ 154. *ὅς τι τῶν δυνάτων*. This seems to me less unsatisfactory than Wendland's reading. But *τι=ότιοῦν* in this position is strange. Possibly *οὐ τι* (adverbial). Also *ἔθος*, for which Wendland would substitute *θέμις*, is odd. Altogether the text is unsatisfactory.

§ 164. *The fortunes of tyrants*. Philo doubtless has in mind the description of the miserable condition of tyrants in *Republic*, Bk. ix., particularly 576 B.

§ 165. *Free licence to sin*. This use of *ἐκεχειρία* (cf. *τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρίαν*, *De Jos.* 254) seems peculiar to Philo. It suggests that when it occurs without such explanatory phrases, as in *De Cher.* 92 and *De Sac.* 23, the meaning is rather licence in general, than, as it was translated there, "freedom from stress of business."

§ 173. *Each of them as a whole*. Did anyone deify the *νοητὸς κόσμος*? Philo perhaps means that the deification of the visible world *ipso facto* involved that of the invisible.

§ 174. *ἐκάστων*. I retain this, supposing that the army of the subordinates are regarded as formed of three kinds, (1) the Potencies who as agents in the creation of the two worlds stand above the rest, (2) the divine natures in heaven, i.e. the heavenly bodies, (3) the "souls" or angels in the lower air.

§§ 184-187. The sense of these sections is given also by Stobaeus, as from Chrysippus (*S.V.F.* ii. 471), with the same illustrations from the wine and water and oiled sponge, and much the same language throughout. There is, however, a complete difference in his use of the term *μίξις*, which he distinguishes from *παράθεσις* and applies to the *ἀντιπαρέκτασις δι' ὄλων* in dry substances while *κράσις* is reserved for the same in liquids. His example of *μίξις* is the mixture of fire and iron in heated iron. It does not follow that Philo made a mistake; the use of terms seems to have varied. Cf. *ibid.* 473.

§ 186. *Resolved*. Or "expanded." Some mss. *ἀναπληροῦσθαι*. See on the word Liddell & Scott (1927). The suggestion there that the word suggests "resolving into simple elements" is unnecessary.

§ 187. *Confusion is the annihilation*. Cf. *S.V.F.* 473 (also from Chrysippus) *τὰς δὲ τινὰς (sc. μίξεις γίνεσθαι) συγχύσει*,



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δι' ὄλων τῶν τε οὐσιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ποιότητων συμφθειρομένων ἀλλήλαις, ὡς γίνεσθαι φησιν ἐπὶ τῶν λατρικῶν φαρμάκων, κατὰ σύμφθαρσιν τῶν μιγνυμένων ἄλλου τινὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεννωμένου σώματος.

§ 198. Heinemann in a note added to Stein's translation considers that *πεφορημένος* is unsuitable here and suggests *πεφυρημένος*. But this comes from *φυράω*, which will not give any suitable meaning, and the word of which he is thinking is no doubt *πεφυρμένος*, from *φύρω*, which is certainly often combined with *συγχέω*, cf. particularly *Spec. Leg.* iv. 77 *διαίρειτω καὶ διακρινέτω τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἵνα μὴ φύρηται συγχεόμενα τοῖς παρασήμοις τὰ δόκιμα*. However, the explanation of *πεφορημένος* given in the footnote seems to me satisfactory, cf. the combination of *πεφορημένος* with *ἄσωτος* to indicate the profligate in *De Fug.* 28, and *πάντη φορούμενος* associated with *σπείρεται* in the sense of *διασπείρεται* in *De Cong.* 58.

## APPENDIX TO DE MIGRATIONE

§ 5. *Soul as soul.* This phrase, which occurred in *Quod Det.* 9, belongs, as Posner points out, to Stoic usage. See *Sext. Emp. Adv. Math.* vii. 233. The Stoics call the *φαντασία* a *τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ* ὡς ἂν ἐν ψυχῇ, because "impression on the soul" might in itself be applied to a pain felt in any part of the living organism. The addition, ὡς ἂν ἐν ψυχῇ signifies that it is "no chance part" which is affected, but the mind or dominant principle.

§ 17. *Untouched by corruption and worthy of perpetual memory.* What is the distinction between ἀξιομημόνευτα and ἀφθάρτα or ἀδιάφθορα? Apparently the former are Joseph's vision of, or hope for, the future, while the latter are the record of his life, so far as it is good. Philo may mean that while the record remains in the background as an example, the hope becomes the inspiring principle of the succeeding generations. If so, "ever to be borne in mind" might perhaps give better the sense of ἀξιομημόνευτα.

§ 21. *He derided lusts*, etc. Neither Mangey nor Wendland give the reference to Gen. xxxix. 14 and 17, where Potiphar's wife says "Lo, he hath brought in a Hebrew servant to mock at us" (ἐμπαίζειν ἡμῶν). Presumably they supposed the words to be a general description of Joseph's continence. But the form shews that it is a separate item in Joseph's virtues, each based on a separate text. "Us" is interpreted as meaning "all the passions." That in the story the "mocking" referred to Joseph's alleged misconduct matters little or nothing to Philo.

§ 23. ἀνέχεται . . . ἐνθάπτεται . . . παρέπεται. I have no hesitation in rejecting Mangey's and Wendland's emendation of these to infinitives. Not only would these require, as Wendland indeed saw, the insertion of τὸ (or rather οἶον τὸ to agree with πολλὰ), and perhaps the change of οὐ to μή, but

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the sense seems to me quite inferior. This particular "trait" has already been given as one of the *ἀξιωμασημόμενυτα* in § 18. I understand the sentence to sum up all that has been said and to assert that the good deeds and words are the "bones," which themselves cry to be taken from Egypt, and in fact never have been buried at all, a phrase quite inapplicable to Joseph himself. There would of course from this point of view be no objection to reading *ἐνθάπτεσθαι* dependent on *ἀνέχεται*, but no sufficient reason for the alteration.

§ 24. *διακρίνει παρελθόνων*. The text is very perplexing. As H has *παρελθόντα*, Wendland suggests as a possibility *διακρίνεται παρ' ἐλπίδα*. This seems to me out of place. Mangey suggested *διακρίνεται παραλυθέντα*. The reading which Wendland actually prints, and which has been reproduced here, is not satisfactory, as the *παρελθόνων* is very pointless. I should hesitatingly suggest either *διακρίνει παρελθόνων*, "removes" and "separates," or better, as retaining the *διακρίνεται* of all mss., *διακρίνεται παρεισεληθόντων*, "is separated from adventitious accretions." *παρεισέρχομαι* in the sense of "invading surreptitiously" is used by Philo, *De Op.* 150, *De Ebr.* 157.

§ 32. *Release*. An allusion to the ordinance by which in the sabbatical year the land (here compared to the mind) was to be left fallow, Ex. xxxiii. 11 *τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἄφεσιν ποιήσεις καὶ ἀνήσεις αὐτήν, καὶ ἔδονται οἱ πτωχοὶ τοῦ ἔθνους σου*. In Lev. xxv. 4-7 we have the same ordinance, but with *ἀνάπανσις* for *ἄφεσις*. Philo understands that the land by divine grace will bear plentifully of itself. Compare his *φορὰ τῶν αὐτοματιζομένων ἀγαθῶν* with *τὰ αὐτόματα ἀναβαλίνοντα* of Lev. He may also be thinking of the somewhat similar ordinance of the Jubilee year, *ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως*, though there *ἄφεσις* means release for the people rather than for the land. On *ὡσπερ τῶν ἐκουσίῳν* Mangey wrote "omnino male" and proposed *ὡς φόρτων τῶν ἐτησίῳν*. But *ἐκούσιος* is in Philo's thought the direct antithesis of *αὐτόματος*.

§ 35. *ἔσχον γὰρ ἐρμηνείαν, εὔρεσιν*. I have adopted Markland's *ἔσχον* for *σχεδόν*, but see every reason against changing *εὔρεσιν*. The five elements of composition are *εὔρεσις, τάξις* or *οἰκονομία, ἐρμηνεία* (otherwise called *φράσις, λέξις, ἀπαγγελία*), *μνήμη, ὑπόκρισις*. Philo enumerates them in *De Som.* i. 205. Of these terms the two last belong entirely to spoken oratory, and *τάξις* would be out of place. When inspiration comes, the two things that come are "ideas" and "language."

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These two (in Latin *inventio* and *elocutio*) are often given as the kernel of composition, e.g. Quintilian, Pr. 12 "omnia inventionione atque elocutione explicanda sunt." See note on *De Cher.* 105.

§ 42. *Insight.* The not very common word εἰδησις is evidently introduced with reference to εἶδεν. So in the other place where Philo uses it (*De Plant.* 36), it is connected with the tree of knowledge, which in Gen. ii. 9 is the tree τοῦ εἶδέναι.

*Ibid.* To give teaching . . . to the ignorant, etc. Or it might be taken "to give teaching . . . is proper not for the ignorant, but only for the One who knows." Mangey translates the reading he adopted (see critical note), "decebat igitur ignorantes docere, commonstrareque illis singula, non vero scientem," apparently meaning that it is right to teach the ignorant, but not to teach God who knows. But apart from the question whether εἶχε εὐπρεπές can mean "decebat," this has no bearing on the proof that it is God who "shews."

§ 49. *The various parts of speech.* By Philo's time the primitive division into verbs, nouns, and conjunctions (the first two often standing alone in popular language) had been greatly developed and this is recognized in the συνδῶλος of § 48. The phrase οἱ εἰς ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἰδέας μεριζόμενοι may recur to the primitive division and suggest that there are only two main ἰδεαί (so the translation), or he may mean that verbs and nouns have their various ἰδεαί or subdivisions, the pronoun being a form of the noun and the adverb of the verb. See the *loci classici* in Quintilian, i. 4. 18, and Dion. Hal. *De Comp.* 2.

§ 54. *Both in conduct of life and in principle.* Philo's conception of moral "greatness," as shewn by his illustrations in § 55, is a full development and intensification of each particular virtue, and this he equates with the power to understand and know. Possibly, therefore, here τὰ περι τὸν βίον κατορθώματα = πλήθος, and τὰ περι λόγον = μέγεθος. If so, the former will represent the καθήκοντα or "daily duties" of the Stoics, and the latter their κατορθώματα proper, which connoted to them inwardness and sustained moral purpose. See note on *Quod Deus* 100.

§ 69. ἐπιγραφόμενος. This correction of Wendland's for αἰνιττόμενος is based on the close imitation of the passage in Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 25 αἰνιττεται δε . . . τὸν πολλοὺς ἐπι-

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γραφόμενον ψευδωνύμου θεοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ μόνου ὄντος θεοῦ, ὡσπερ ὁ ἐκ τῆς πόρνης τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπιγράφεται πατέρας ἀγνοία τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πατρός. Mangey suggested ἀναπλαττόμενος, which is not as good sense, though nearer to the mss.

§ 79. *Mints them . . . before.* The paraphrastic translation is an attempt to bring out Philo's play upon ἀσημος and ἐπίσημος as signifying (1) uncoined and coined money, (2) obscure and clear or conspicuous.

*Ibid. In it.* Philo quotes Ex. iv. 14 in three other places. In *De Mut.* 168 the mss. have as here ἐν αὐτῷ. In *Quod Det.* 126 and 135, they have, as the LXX itself, ἐν ἑαυτῷ and the comment on the latter of these shews that this is what Philo wrote. While printing ἐν αὐτῷ I feel very doubtful as to its correctness here and in *De Mut.*

§ 94. *Realities.* For the philosophical use of ὑπαρκτά cf. τεκμήριον τοῦ ὑπαρκτῆν εἶναι τὴν ἀρετὴν, Diog. Laert. vii., and ἔστι μὲν ὑπαρκτὸν πρᾶγμα σοφία, *De Mut.* 37. Compare the same point in *De Sac.* 43, where the force of ὑπαρκτά was unfortunately not properly recognized in the translation. Similarly in *Leg. All.* iii. 197 Ἀβραὰμ . . . τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα . . . κατέχει, ἀποπέμπεται δὲ τὴν ἵππον τοῦ βασιλέως Σοδόμων ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπαρκτά τῶν παλλακῶν, it now seems clear to me that we should read τὰ <μὴ> ὑπαρκτά, perhaps also τῶν <ἴων τῶν> παλλακῶν.

§ 125. *The threefold divisions of eternity.* Or "time." This curious interpretation of the three patriarchs is perhaps explained in § 154. "The clear sight of things present," and the "expectation of things to come," fit in fairly well with the αὐτομαθῆς and the προκόπτων, the characters regularly assigned to Isaac and Jacob, while the "memory of the past" suits, though not so well, the διδακτικὴ ἀρετὴ of Abraham. He may also be thinking of Ex. iii. 15, where "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" is God's αἰώνιον ὄνομα.

§ 138. *Spin your airy fables.* The word ἀερομυθεῖτε need not mean more than talk windily, cf. the use of ἀερόμυθος in the list of vices in *De Sacr.* 33. But there may be a special significance in it here, as the moon at any rate bordered on the ἀήρ (*S. V. F.* ii. 527).

§ 140. *It does not say,* etc. This amazing argument admits of no satisfactory explanation. It clearly demands that παιδίον may be nominative, but Mangey's suggestion to

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read Σάρραν is out of the question. Apart from other difficulties, the natural negation would be οὐχὶ Σάρρα. Nor can Philo be supposed to have really thought that Σάρρα was indeclinable, seeing that he uses Σάρρας in the same sentence and elsewhere Σάρραν itself. The least unsatisfactory explanation I can give is that he means that Σάρρα, like other O.T. names, which though capable of being declined in Greek are not declined, *e.g.* Ἀαρών, might conceivably be undeclinable and that therefore Moses, wishing to suggest that, though literally Sarah suckles Isaac, spiritually Isaac suckles Sarah, uses this form rather than the passive, in which no ambiguity would be possible. Possibly also he puts some reliance on παιδίον preceding Σάρρα. See on *De Conf.* 102.

§ 150. The allusions in this section are (1) to Lot's settling in Sodom (Gen. xii. 32), which naturally signifies his "old complaint" of ἀμαθία, *cf.* *De Conf.* 27, (2) to his capture (xiv. 12) by the Four Kings, signifying the four passions, *cf.* *De Congressu* 22, (3) the quarrel between the shepherds of Lot and Abraham (xiii. 7), which Philo unfairly turns into a conflict between the two men.

§ 160. *The idol of Egyptian vanity.* The meaning of this is not clear. In the other places where Philo uses Αἰγυπτιακὸς τύφος it is with reference to the Golden Calf as being a return to Egyptian idolatry. The meaning therefore here may be that by riding behind Pharaoh he acknowledges him as a god. But in *De Som.* ii. 46, where this incident is referred to, Joseph himself is ὑποτυφόμενος, and *ibid.* 16 we have ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν ὡς ἐφ' ἄρμα. This suggests that ἰδρύεται here may mean "seats himself on," but no real parallel is forthcoming. Mangey suggested ἐνδύεται.

§ 164. μελιτῶν. The μὲν αὐτῶν of the mss. seems to me to break down in two ways. There is no antithesis for the μὲν. Philo's μὲν indeed is occasionally not followed by δέ, but in these cases there is, wherever I have noted them, an antithesis to something which has gone before. Again, the plural αὐτῶν is quite out of place where both the people concerned are in the singular, and the one cannot be supposed to have any share in the labours of the other. It will be admitted that μελιτῶν makes excellent sense. Textually the ΛΙ of ΜΕΛΙΤΤΩΝ passes very easily into Ν, and Ῥ with no great difficulty into Τ, and when ΜΕΝΤΤΩΝ had

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thus been obtained the insertion of **A** to make sense would naturally follow.

§ 165. *ὕπ' εὐθυμίας*. It is not clear what cheerfulness has to do with the *φιλοθεάμων* or why it opens the eyes of the soul. As all mss. (except H<sup>2</sup>) have *ὑπὲρ εὐθυμίας*, it is possible, I think, that the true reading may be *ὕπ' ἐρεῦνης θείας*, which exactly describes the *φιλοθεάμων*. Compare *τῆς τῶν θείων ἐρεῦνης*, *Leg. All.* iii. 71 and (for the objective use of *θείος*) *τῆς θείας θεωρίας*, § 150 above, and *θείος ἡμερος*, § 157.

§ 167. *Arts copying Nature's works*, etc. Cf. *De Ebr.* 90, where art is the *μίμημα* and *ἀπεικόνισμα* of nature, on which Adler remarks that, as the context shews, it does not mean that art imitates natural objects, but that it follows Nature's methods. So here *ἔργων* may be "ways of working," "processes."

§ 174. *ὑποστειλῆται σε . . .* The Hebrew and E.V. have "will not pardon thy transgression." Did the LXX. mean much the same "he will not shrink (from punishing)"? At any rate Philo would seem to have taken it in some such sense, for where the text is quoted in the *Quaestiones* (in Exod. ii. 13) the Latin version of the Armenian has "non enim verebitur te."

§ 180. *For if it came into being and is one*, etc. Philo takes *ἓν* in the full sense of the Stoic *ἡνωμένον* (cf. note on *Quod Det.* 49) and argues that if the world is *ἡνωμένον*, it must be composed of the same elements throughout and this, it is implied, will in itself effect *συμπάθεια*. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* ix. 78 (*S.V.F.* ii. 1013) puts the Stoic argument in much the same way but in reverse order. Only *ἡνωμένα* exhibit *συμπάθεια*, and since there is *συμπάθεια* between the parts of the Cosmos, the Cosmos must be an *ἡνωμένον σῶμα*.

§ 206. *διανιστάμενον*. My suggestion of *διανεσταμένον* is made provisionally subject to better knowledge as to this perfect passive in the compounds of *ἴστημι*. In *Timaeus* 81 D there is at any rate some authority for *διεσταμένοι*. So the LXX in Num. xxxi. 48 *καθεσταμένοι*. Here a few mss. have *διενιστάμενον*. The present must mean "waking up," as in *Quod Deus* 97. Cohn's suggestion of *διασυνιστάμενον* (presumably meaning "proved to be such," i.e. *μνημονικόν*) does not give much point to *ἄτε*.

§ 207. *That does not call for our censure*. The application of the adjective *ἀνεπιλήπτων*, which usually denotes high

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praise, to the hybrid number seventy-five is at first sight strange, and Mangey's proposal <οὐκ> ἀνεπιλήπτου is textually, considering our experience of the omissions of the negative in Philo, quite sound. But it would really give an inferior sense. The stress is here laid on the virtues of seventy-five, not on its shortcomings, and if we give ἀνεπιλήπτου a somewhat reduced sense as in the translation (cf. ταμείας ἀνεπιλήπτου § 89, and *De Cong.* 138), that stress is well brought out. Midway between Joseph and Moses stands the Jacob soul, ὁ προκόπτων, and in its progress the seventy-five is a necessary and therefore "blameless" stage. This is immediately illustrated by §§ 208 ff., where Jacob even in victory is well-advised to return to Haran, that is, to the world of sense and even (§ 209), of opportunism.

§ 210. ζωοτροφεῖ. Mr. Whitaker was inclined to adopt Mangey's suggestion of ζωπυρεῖ, which is in accordance with ζέον καὶ πεπυρωμένον. On the other hand ζωοτροφεῖ serves to carry on the parable in which the passions are the wild cattle reared by the κτηνοτρόφοι of Haran.

§§ 210, 211 (footnote). *De Som.* ii. 85 ff. looks as if the advice to temporize with angry people is to be taken more literally than I have suggested in the note.

§ 221. τῆ ἐτέρα. Further consideration shews beyond doubt that in *De Sac.* 37 where we printed, following Cohn and Mangey, οὐ τῆ ῥαστώνη ταῦτα ληπτά we should have put τῆ ἐτέρα or θατέρα. There one ms. has ῥαστώνη, others οὐ τη and οὐχ ἀπλῶς, while by far the best authority, the Papyrus, has ουθετερα, the origin of which is obvious. The phrase seems for some reason to have puzzled the scribes. It is strange that the two German scholars also failed to understand it, for even the old editions of Liddell & Scott record τῆ ἐτέρα λαμβάνειν "to get with little trouble," a proverb," and give the reference to Plato.



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§ 14. *A spherical shape.* Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 158 ἀκούειν δὲ τοῦ μεταξύ τοῦ τε φωνούντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἀέρος πληττομένου σφαιροειδῶς, εἶτα κυματούμενον καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσπίπτοντος, ὡς κυματοῦται τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξαμένῃ ὕδωρ κατὰ κύκλους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθέντος λίθου, "we hear when the air between the sonant body and the organ of hearing suffers concussion, a vibration which spreads spherically and then forms waves and strikes upon the ears, just as the water in a reservoir forms wavy circles when a stone is thrown into it" (Hicks's translation). So too Plut. *Epit.* iv. 20 (Diels, *Dox.* p. 409), where contrasting the effect of the stone in the pool, he adds καὶ αὕτη μὲν (the pool) κυκλικῶς κινεῖται, ὃ δ' αἶψα σφαιρικῶς.

§ 17. *Tense of . . . completed action.* The Greek grammarians named the four tenses of past time (χρόνος παρεληλυθῶς) as follows: imperfect, παρατατικός; aorist, ἀόριστος; perfect, παρακείμενος; pluperfect, ὑπερσυντελικός. The name συντελικός for the aorist is sometimes, but rarely, found (see *Greek Gramm.* Part II. vol. iii. p. 85), but its use, perhaps to cover both aorist and perfect, is reflected in the name for the pluperfect and in the Latin term, *perfectum tempus*.

§ 25. *Thou hast given me a tongue of instruction, etc.* The reference for this almost verbatim quotation from Isaiah is given by J. Cohn. It seems to have escaped previous editors.

§ 29. ἀνεστοιχειωμένος. The word, which recurs in §§ 184 and 200, seems to mean "reduced to a single element"; cf. *De Vit. Mos.* ii. 288 ὃς αὐτὸν δυνάδα ἐντα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, εἰς μονάδος ἀνεστοιχείου φύσιν. L. & S. "into its elements."

§ 36. ἔφεσιν (mss. φύσιν). I have ventured on this correction because the ms. reading seems to me untranslatable.

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Mangey has "sinere ut naturae meae bonum interest"; Yonge, "to be indifferent to the sight of my own nature separated from the good"; J. Cohn, "wenn mein Wesen untergehen und nicht mehr die Schönheit schauen würde." I do not see how any of these can be got out of the Greek. Though not common, *ἔφεςις* in the sense of "desire" is sufficiently authenticated and, if right, was of course intended to echo *ἐφίεμαι*. At the same time, *τὴν ἑμᾶντοῦ φύσιν* makes a good antithesis to *γένος*, and the corruption may lie in *τοῦ καλοῦ* (as I have alternatively suggested), or in *καταλυθεῖσαν*.

§ 46. *And when the better life*, etc. The metaphor is not very clear. It would be made clearer (though at the expense of some awkwardness) if we take *συνεπισπασθέν* to agree with *βάρος* instead of with *τοῦθ'*. In that case the meaning would be that when that part of the mixed which belongs to the better life preponderates in its side of the scales, the base life in the other scale is pulled up and kicks the beam.

§ 52. *Gave the name*, etc. I do not see much sense in this expression, even if *ἠνύμασεν* can be taken (as by J. Cohn), as merely meaning "he described as." I am inclined to think that the *ἐκείνην* of Pap. is right. Though grammatically superfluous after *ἦν*, so much so as to be almost ungrammatical, it may be partly accounted for by the desire to emphasize the antithesis to *ἑαυτοῦ*, and it gives a clear sense: "he gave to her who was his own death the name of Life."

§ 75. *πάνθειον*. It is curious that the Lexica have not noticed the occurrence of this word in Philo, here and in *De Aet.* 10. Otherwise, apart from definite notices of the Pantheon at Rome, the only example given is a passage in Aristotle quoted by a scholiast and referring to the Pantheon at Olympia.

§ 76. As *νοητῶν*, added by the Papyrus after *ἡμῶν*, cannot be translated as it stands, I have not inserted it. It may be a mere slip induced by the *νοητός* above. Cohn suggested *ἔξω γηίνων <καὶ ἐφίεμενος> νοητῶν*. The phrase *ὑπεξελθὼν ἐξ ἡμῶν* for *ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ* is certainly strange, but may be modelled on the *ὅς ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σοῦ* of the text.

§ 81. *ἀλλὰ σωματικῶν <καὶ> τὰς ἐν τούτοις*. Wendland's text makes the *ἐν τούτοις* almost unintelligible, unless we may suppose that *ταῦτα* stands for the phenomenal world; cf. §280 and *De Ebr.* 132 (and note). The insertion of *καὶ* and

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change of punctuation removes the difficulty satisfactorily, though *ἐν* is hardly the preposition we should expect. Mangey's suggestion of *ἐν τόποις* gets some support from *De Sac.* 68.

§ 115. *σπέρματα καὶ καταβολαί*. It is hard to decide between this reading and Wendland's ("Are the seed-droppings of the plants the works of agriculture or invisible works of invisible nature?"). My preference for the former chiefly rests on a feeling that while *σπέρματα* may well be thought of as nature's work (*cf.* § 121), this cannot be said of the human agency expressed in *καταβολαί*.

§ 132. *Where the object, etc.* For the difference between *φαντασία καταληπτική* and *ἀκατάληπτος* see Diog. Laert. vii. 46 *τῆς δὲ φαντασίας τὴν μὲν καταληπτικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀκατάληπτον· καταληπτικὴν μὲν . . . τὴν γινομένην ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπεσφραγισμένην καὶ ἐναπομεμαγμένην· ἀκατάληπτον δὲ τὴν μὴ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος, ἢ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος μὲν, μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπάρχον· τὴν μὴ τρανῆ μηδὲ ἔκτυπον*, "there are two species of presentation, the one apprehending a real object, the other not. The former . . . is defined as that which proceeds from a real object, agrees with that object itself, and has been imprinted seal-fashion and stamped upon the mind; the latter, or non-apprehending, that which does not proceed from any real object, or, if it does, fails to agree with the reality itself, not being clear or distinct" (Hicks's translation).

§ 136. *Fire . . . heaven*. The doctrine of the two kinds of fire is Stoic. See *S.V.F.* i. 120 where the "useful" fire is called *ἄτεχνον* (non-creative?), and the other *τεχνικόν*. The best parallel to Philo's language is in Cic. *De natura deorum*, ii. 40 from Cleanthes where of one he says, "ignis, quem usus vitae requirit, confector est et consumptor omnium idemque, quocumque invasit, cuncta disturbat ac dissipat": of the other, "contra ille corporeus vitalis et salutaris omnia conservat, alit, auget, sustinet sensuque adficit."

§ 144. *Other things are equal in capacity, etc.* Wendland's punctuation (a comma after *μεγέθει*) suggests that he understood the words as Mangey, Cohn, and Yonge all do, "cubit compared with cubit is equal in magnitude, but different in power" (Mangey "gravitate"). But this is hardly sense. It is quite easy to understand *ἴσα* from the preceding *ἴσα μεγέθει*, and we thus get the third form of equality, of which

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weights and measures of capacity are a natural example, and which is referred to again in § 151.

§ 145. *One essential form is the proportional, etc.* Wendland refers to Aristot. *Pol.* viii. 1, p. 1301 b, where proportional equality is called *λόγῳ* or *κατ' ἀξίαν*. But there is no need to suppose any definite reference. The idea of *ἀναλογία* runs through all Greek arithmetic.

§ 156. *No heightening or lowering of intensity.* A Stoic phrase. The Stoics laid down that Virtue and the Good admitted neither of *ἐπίτασις* nor *ἀνεσις* (*S. V. F.* iii. 92), and in this differed from the *τέχναι* which did admit of such variations and gradations (*ibid.* 525). Thus Philo's words are a way of saying that God's art is like the Good and not like human art. For the antithesis of *ἐπίτασις* and *ἀνεσις* in a rather different sense *cf. Quod Deus* 162.

§ 165. *The three which followed the sun's creation.* This may no doubt mean that the fourth day, on which the sun was created, divided the first, second and third from the fifth, sixth and seventh. But the stress so constantly laid on the *ἕξάς* of creation, and equality (not the fourth day) being given as the divider, make it more probable that the three *μεθ' ἡλιου* are the fourth, fifth and sixth. If so, it is strange that the fourth should be called "after the sun." Should we read *μεθ' ἡλιου* in both places?

§ 169. *From his commonwealth.* Or "from his own commonwealth." On a similar passage, *De Gig.* 59, I suggested that Philo was hinting at a comparison between the *πολιτεία* of Moses and that of Plato, which expelled some forms of poetry for the same reasons as are here given for expelling painting and sculpture, viz. their tendency to produce illusion and deception. No such reason, however, is given here, and further observation of Philo's usage inclines me to think that his use of the reflexive pronoun in such phrases is not to be pressed.

§ 170. <οὐ τοῦ> δ κτλ. That the negative has fallen out is evident. Mangey however proposed <οὐχ> δ, which is quite possible, though *οὐ τοῦ δ* is more strictly grammatical. If, as suggested in the footnote, we read *τοῦ κυρίου <τοῦ θεοῦ>*, it would certainly be preferable to follow it by *οὐχ δ*. That Philo should have written six *ου*'s in succession is hardly credible.

*Ibid.* *The number Seven.* The definite use by Philo of

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ἑβδομάς for the seventh day (ἑβδομή) is certainly rare, but is difficult to avoid here, or in *De Vit. Mos.* i. 205. For the epithets applied to the ἑβδομάς cf. *De Op.* 100, and *Leg. All.* i. 15. In the first of them the idea is ascribed to philosophers other than the Pythagoreans, in the second to the Pythagoreans themselves.

§ 182. *The high priest Moses.* As Moses in the history is not high priest, Mangey thought this should be corrected to ἀρχιπροφήτης. But Moses' function here is that of high priest, and he is actually given the title in *De Vit. Mos.* ii. 75 and elsewhere.

§ 185. νοῦ θείαις or νουθεσίαις. How is the latter to be translated? "Following the admonitions in its revolutions"? Mangey, who suggested and perhaps intended to translate προόδοις for περιόδοις, has "sequendo castigationis ductum"; Yonge, "following the guidance of admonition"; J. Cohn, "zu bestimmter Zeit den Mahnungen Folge leistet." There is no suggestion that any of these adopted νουθεσίαις, which is given by one ms. and would make the phrase more tolerable. I accept Wendland's conjecture with confidence, and suggest that νοῦ περιόδοις is taken from *Timaeus* 47 B ἵνα τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ κατιδόντες τοῦ νοῦ περιόδους χρῆσάμεθα ἐπὶ τὰς περιφορὰς τὰς τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν διανοήσεως, and again (*ibid.* D) ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδοις. We have already had the combination θείαις περιόδοις in § 88, where the general sense of the passage is in close agreement with *Timaeus* 47, and though there is less analogy between that and the context here, Philo's love of the dialogue will account for his here introducing the phrase.

§ 188. *Filling . . . being.* J. Cohn and Leisegang (*Index*) take this as "filled all existing things." But is πάντα τῆς οὐσίας for πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν Greek? On the other hand it seems doubtful whether ἐκπληροῦν is, like πληροῦν, followed by the genitive. Perhaps read πάντα <τὰ> τῆς οὐσίας.

§ 190. *And therefore those who study such questions, etc.* Cf. *Diog. Laert.* viii. 25 of the Pythagorean tenets: ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυνάδα ὡς ἂν ἕλλην τῇ μονάδι αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποστῆναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀόριστου δυνάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς, "the principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from this monad the undefined dyad or two serves as material substratum to the monad, which is cause; from the monad and the undefined dyad spring numbers" (Hicks's translation).

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§ 212. *ἀπέρατα* or *ἀπέραντα*. If, as would appear from Liddell & Scott (1927), the evidence for the existence of *ἀπέρατος* in the sense of "unlimited" depends mainly or entirely on Philo, it seems doubtful whether it is worth much. Two examples of *ἀπέρατος* are given in the index apart from this passage. In one of these *ἀπέρατος φλόξ*, *De Mig.* 100, the natural meaning is "impassable." In the other, *De Fug.* 57, we have *ἀπέρατος αἰών* in all mss. Here, as stated in the footnote, the mss. are all for *ἀπέραντα*, though the Papyrus may be said to favour the other. Unless better evidence is forthcoming, there would seem to be good grounds for following the mss. here, and correcting to *ἀπέραντος*, as Mangey wished, in *De Fug.* 57.

§ 218. *Lamps . . . candle-bearers*. I do not vouch for the accuracy of the translation of these terms, which concern the study of the LXX rather than that of Philo. Mangey gives "cauliculi" for *λαμπάδια* (but also for *καλαμίσκοι*), and "lucernae" for *λύχνοι*. J. Cohn translates the two by "Kelche" and "Lampen." When he gives "Kelche" (cups) he is presumably equating *λαμπάδια* with *κρατῆρες* in the parallel account of the chandelier in Ex. xxv. 31. The received text of the LXX has *ἐνθήμια* (sockets?) for *ἀνθήμια*.

§ 228. *The general conflagration*. While the general sense of the section is made perfectly clear by the passages referred to in the footnote, there remain the following questions:

(a) The position of the words *ἀλλὰ . . . Μωσῆν*. Wendland was confident that these words had been written in the margin of the archetype and inserted in different places by different scribes, and omitted by others, and only at last placed in their right position by himself. This is probable enough, but is it quite certain that the Papyrus erred in placing them between *σώματος* and *οὔτε ἰσομεγέθους*, since in *De Aet.* 102 the void, as postulated by the Stoics, is said to be *ἄπειρον* (and so too *S.V.F.* ii. 536-540)? Is it impossible that Philo while quoting this should safeguard his statement by adding *ἰσομεγέθους*?

(b) How did Moses disprove the void? Does Philo mean that since in *De Aet.* 19 Moses is said to have asserted the eternity of the world in Gen. viii. 22, he thereby denied the *ἐκπύρωσις*, and consequently the void also? If so, the meaning of *διὰ* will differ somewhat from that given in the translation, *i.e.* "nor does the fable of the *ἐκπύρωσις*, if we

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follow Moses, justify us in postulating the existence of the void.”

(c) The chief difficulty of the passage is that *διά* must be unnaturally strained to yield either meaning. I am inclined to think there is a corruption somewhere. I suggest, very tentatively of course, a lacuna after *διά*, e.g. *δια<φερόμενον τοῖς εισηγουμένοις> τὴν ἐν τῇ κτλ.*; cf. *De Mig.* 180.

§ 242. *σώμασιν οὐ πράγμασιν.* I feel little doubt that Wendland was wrong in changing *οὐ* to *καί*. The balance of the sentence and the stress laid on *σώματα* throughout the passage, which is a meditation on *τὰ σώματα τὰ διχοτομήματα* of his text, in themselves support the ms. reading. Wendland may have taken *πράγματα* to be an interpretation of *διχοτομήματα*. But surely Philo's interpretation of the word (an interpretation of course entirely opposed to that which he has given in the earlier chapters) is that “bodies cut in two” signify the lifelessness and incompleteness of material things. The question, however, must be decided by the other passages where *σώματα* and *πράγματα* are set in antithesis. These are as follows:

(a) *De Mut.* 60 *ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν . . . μώμους ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀμώμοις προσάπτειν ἐθελόντων οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ πράγμασι.* (The *πράγματα* attacked by these cavillers are the allegorical explanations of literal difficulties.)

(b) *Ibid.* 173 *Πεντεφρῆ τὸν . . . ἀρχιμάγειρον . . . ἐν ἀψύχοις καὶ νεκροῖς καλινδούμενον οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ πράγμασι.* I.e., the chief cook in the spiritual sense lives in an environment of dead ideas.

(c) *De Som.* ii. 101 *εὐξαίμην ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δυνηθῆναι τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τούτων ἐμμεῖναι βεβαίως· ὀπτῆρες γὰρ καὶ κατὰσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι πραγμάτων οὐ σωμάτων εἰσὶν ἀκριβοδίκαιοι.* This is said of the sons of Jacob representing the wise, and rebuking the empty dreams of Joseph.

In all these apparently *πράγματα* signifies things belonging to the mental world, ideas in fact, though they need not necessarily be good, as in (b), just as the *νοῦς* of Egypt is an evil mind. But the antithesis becomes clearer in

(d) *Ibid.* 134 *τὸν μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἥλιον, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὃ μὲν τοῖς σώμασιν ὁ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν πράγμασιν ἐμπαρέχει φῶς.* Here *πράγματα* is definitely connected with *νοητά* as opposed to *αἰσθητά*, and the sense is exactly in agreement with our passage, as I understand it.

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§ 246. The different opinions mentioned in this section represent problems which Philo would constantly have heard disputed in contemporary discussions. In so far as they refer to the historic schools, we may say (1) that the creation of the universe was maintained by the Stoics and Epicureans and denied by the Peripatetics; (2) the words about the eternity of the universe and the reason given for it are almost a quotation from *Timaeus* 41 B, though there it is the "lesser gods," not the universe, which are spoken of; (3) "becoming" and "being" may be assigned respectively to Heracleitus and the Eleatic school, but Philo was familiar with the antithesis in Plato, e.g. *Theaetetus* 152, where also (4) he found the famous saying of Protagoras that "man is the measure of all things." He takes it in what may have been its original, though perhaps not the generally accepted, meaning, as opposed to the sceptical view that our mind and senses are untrustworthy, and so also in the other two places where he quotes it (*De Post.* 35 and *De Som.* ii. 193), though there it is its profanity as claiming for man what belongs only to God which is stressed. (5) "Those who maintain that everything is beyond our apprehension" are the sceptics, both those of the school of Pyrrho and the later Academy, while "those who assert that a great number of things are cognizable" are the non-sceptical philosophers in general, none of whom would assert more than that knowledge was generally, but not universally, attainable.

§ 249. *Divine possession or frenzy.* Philo in this description of prophetic "ecstasy" evidently has in mind *Phaedrus* 244 E and 245 A in which the words *κατοκωχή τε και μανία* occur (followed at once by the phrase *ἀπαλήν και ἄβατον ψυχήν* which he has already used in § 38). Cf. § 264.

§ 253. *To treat things indifferent as indeed indifferent.* So in *Quod Det.* 122 it is the characteristic of justice *ἐξαιαφορεῖν τὰ μεθόρια κακίας και ἀρετῆς*, such as wealth, reputation and office, while on the other hand in *De Post.* 81, if Mangey's emendation is accepted, the misuser of natural gifts *ἐξαιαφορεῖ τὰ διάφορα*. The words *ἐξαιαφορεῖν* and *-ησις* are not quoted from any other writer than Philo.

*Ibid.* *ἀπαρχάς* is used here in a general sense, as there is no thought of offering to a god; cf. Dion. Hal. *De Comp.* iii. *λόγων ἀπαρχάς*, "specimen passages."

§ 274. *Or woman-man.* This addition is strange. In the



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other two places recorded, where Philo uses the word, it is as here coupled with *ἀνδρόγυνος*, but in contrast with it of a woman who adopts masculine dress or habits—an idea which is quite alien here. I suspect that it is an interpolation.

*Ibid. Stock.* See General Introduction, vol. i. p. xvi, though the statement there requires some correction. The *ἀποσκευή* is not the Encyclia, but the whole fruits of *παιδεία* of which the Encyclia are the first stage.

§ 282. The phraseology of the section is taken from *Timaeus* 42 Ε πυρός καὶ γῆς ὑδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου δανειζόμενοι μόρια, ὡς ἀποδοθησόμενα πάλιν.

§ 283. *Moving in a circle.* Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, i. 2 and 3, where it is laid down that while the four elements have a rectilinear, the ether or fifth element has a circular movement. So also Philo of the heaven in *De Somn.* i. 21. See also *Quod Deus* 46 and note.

§ 290. *In the shadow of death.* The LXX actually has (like the Hebrew) ἐπὶ σκηνώμασι ἁμαρτωλῶν. This curious slip of memory was no doubt partly due to the sound σκ in both phrases.

§ 291. *πολύν.* This reading of Wendland's, based on the πολύ of Pap., does not seem to me satisfactory. Wendland himself, while noting the *πολιόν* of G, says "fortasse recte." Yet "grey-haired vanity" also seems strange. I should prefer to read *πολιῶν* (fem.) or *πολιᾶς*, both well-known terms for old age.

§ 310. *τοῖς . . . ἀγγέλοις.* While I retain and translate this, I do not think it satisfactory. The use of *ἄγγελος* is strange and only distantly paralleled by *De Mut.* 162 αὐγὴ γὰρ αὐγῆς ἄγγελος. But though Wendland accepted Mangey's *ταῖς . . . αὐγαῖς* as certain, it seems to me even less satisfactory, at any rate when coupled with Wendland's *προσχωροῦντες* or Mangey's *ἐγχορεύοντες*. There is no great likeness of form, and the sense is poor. The clause evidently interprets *κάπνος γίνεται πρὸ πυρός*. At this stage there are no "rays," and while "hope" may fairly stand for "smoke," to say "when we approach the rays we hope," is a poor equivalent to "smoke comes before fire," and Mangey's "as we move amid the rays we hope" is none at all. It would, however, be much improved if we read *πρῶ (πρωί) ἐγχορεύοντες*, i.e. "in our *first* stage of experiencing the rays, we hope" (and nothing more).

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Perhaps we might bring it still nearer to the mss. by putting *ἀγγέλους* for *ἀγγέλοις*. The oven or furnace is actually called an *ἀγγεῖον ἀρετῆς* a few lines below, and though there, as well as in § 308, we are the furnace, not in it, such a variation of the figure is not impossible. After all it is not really the furnace which smokes, but the fuel in it, and if we read *τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀγγεῖοις πρῶ (πρωί) ἐγχορεύοντες τελειότητα ἐλπίζομεν*, we have a text almost identical with that of the mss. and Pap., and giving a sense intelligible in itself (though not in complete agreement with its environment), that "when we are in the early stage of playing the part of fuel in the furnaces in which virtue is produced, we emit only the smoke of hoping for the full flame." (This general use of *χορεύω* and *ἐγχορεύω* is common enough in Philo, see e.g. *De Fug.* 45 ὁ ἐτι χορεύων ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίω.)

§ 314. καθ' ἣν . . . ἀφθάρτοις. The text suggested in the footnote, which might be varied by <διακρίνας> διαφυλάττει for δια<κρίνας> φυλάττει, and κατὰ τὰ ἄ for καθά, is fairly near to the mss. and seems to me to give a satisfactory sense. Mangey strangely accepted Markland's feeble suggestion of τοῖς τιμῶσιν αὐτόν for τοῖς τομεύσιν ἐαυτοῦ.

*Ibid.* Who are born to life imperishable. With the change of ἐπί to πρέπει (or perhaps to ἔδει), these words present no difficulty. I understand them to be an interpretation, which in fact is needed, of τῷ σπέρματί σου. That the "seed of Abraham" should be called "those who in their origin are incorruptible" is natural enough.

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§ 11. *Astronomy.* Astronomy of an elementary kind was regularly included among the Encyclia, but is not named by Philo in his other lists of the subjects, doubtless because, as often in other writers, it is regarded as a branch of geometry. Cf. Quintilian, i. 10. 46 "quid quod se eadem geometria tollit ad rationem usque mundi? in qua siderum certos constitutosque cursus numeris docet."

§ 15. *The calamities . . . undergone.* This thought of the ethical value of history and poetry (epic and tragic) has already been brought out in *De Sac.* 78 f. See also *De Abr.* 23.

§ 18. *Sister and twin.* Though ὡς εἶπόν τινες indicates that this is a definite quotation from some writer or writers, the close relation of dialectic to rhetoric, though much discussed by the Stoics (see *S. V. F.* i. 75, ii. 294), is not described by this phrase in any source known to us. Aristotle speaks of rhetoric as being (1) ἀντίστροφον (counterpart), (2) παραφνές (offshoot), (3) μέρος (part), (4) ὁμοίωμα (copy), of rhetoric (Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 1. 1, i. 2. 7).

§ 29. *On the side of thought . . . deception.* It seems to me almost incredible that Leah's handmaid, oratory or rhetoric, should on the side of ideas be limited to sophistical rhetoric, though one might understand this sort being admitted with the other, as indeed we find in *De Agr.* 13. Below in § 33 there is no such disparagement. I am strongly inclined to suspect a lacuna such as ἡ λογική sc. δύναμις <τῆς διανοίας, οὐχ> ἡ κτλ. Or for τῆς διανοίας we might conjecture τῶν πραγμάτων (facts), in which case ἡ λογική would still agree with εὐρεσις.

§ 53. *Battles of argument.* Elsewhere in Philo this word and γνωσιμαχία seem to be used generally for contention, without any particular meaning attaching to γνωσι-. Here, however, in combination with συλλαβομαχοῦντες, it seems

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necessary to give the *γνωσι-* a more definite meaning, such as "of argument" or "as to knowledge."

§ 54. *The fount of human life.* Cf. *S.V.F.* i. 205 ἡθός ἐστι πηγὴ βίου, ἀφ' ἧς αἱ κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ρέουσι.

*Ibid.* <ἀστάς>. That ἀστάς has been lost, as suggested in the footnote, seems to me very probable, though possibly a better form of the sentence, preserving the first ἦ of all mss., and the ἦ before δόγματα of some, would be παλλακὰς μέντοι ἦ ἀστάς, δόξας ἦ δόγματα. It is true that no Biblical example of the ἀστή of the wicked man is given, but in § 59 her existence as the mother of κακία, while the παλλακή is the mother of πάθος, is assumed. If we make this insertion, the conjunction of δόξα (= παλλακή) with δόγμα (= ἀστή) gets a clear meaning. As it stands, this conjunction, which is not recorded elsewhere, is otiose. But in *De Sac.* 5 we have them contrasted, the καλὸν δόγμα, Abel, with the ἄτοπος δόξα, Cain, and in general δόγμα, though, as in this case, it may be bad, is associated with principles and convictions arrived at by reason in contrast to unreasoning δόξα. That the former should produce vicious principles (κακία) and the latter fleeting passion is quite in keeping.

§ 77. *Doting on poetry . . . musical colours.* Clem. Al. (*Strom.* i. p. 332) reproduces these words as κατεγήρασαν οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν μουσικῇ, οἱ δὲ ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν γραμματικῇ, οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ ἐν ῥητορικῇ. Hence Mangey strangely thought that γραμμαῖς should be corrected to γραμματικῇ, though in his translation he retains it as "delineationibus." But Philo's ποιήμασι gives Clement's γραμματικῇ, as his γραμμαῖς gives γεωμετρία. γραμμαῖς cannot mean "drawing," as Yonge certainly and Mangey presumably supposed. It is a regular term for geometrical figures, and γραμμικαὶ ἀποδείξεις for geometrical proofs (Quintilian i. 10. 38.) Mangey translates χρωμάτων κράσει by "temperaturis colorum," which leaves it doubtful whether he thought, as Yonge did, that it meant painting. There can be no reasonable doubt that it refers to the χρώματα of music. Though Aristotle laid stress on γραφικὴ as a means of education, it never appears among the Encyclia. On the other hand the χρώματα, as shown in § 76, are an important element in music. Aristides Quintilianus (p. 18) gives this explanation of the name: χρῶμα, τὸ διὰ ἡμιτονίων συντεινόμενον· ὡς γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος χρῶμα καλεῖται, οὕτω τὸ διὰ μέσων ἀμφοῖν θεωρούμενον

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χρῶμα καλεῖται. This suggests that κράσεις χρωμάτων may mean blendings which constitute χρώματα rather than blendings of them, but I leave this to the experts.

§ 79. *For philosophy, etc.* For this Stoic definition cf. *S. V. F.* ii. 36 τὴν φιλοσοφίαν φασὶν ἐπιτήδευσιν εἶναι σοφίας, τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἐπιστήμην θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. Cicero gives it in a form nearer to Philo, *De Off.* ii. 5 "nec quicquam aliud est philosophia . . . praeter studium sapientiae. Sapientia autem est, ut a veteribus philosophis definitum est, rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque, quibus eae res continentur, scientia."

§ 107. περινοῖα λογισμοῦ πεποιθίας. The translation given assumes (1) that πεποιθίας (of a soul trusting) is not coordinate with the other participles, (2) that γενητοῦ agrees with λογισμοῦ; neither of which seems likely, though grammatically possible. Moreover, Philo would probably have written τοῦ πεποιθέναι instead of πεποιθίας. Wendland conjectured περὶ πάντα λογισμῶ μεμαθηκίας. This seems very arbitrary. Cohn suggested περινοῖα καὶ λογισμῶ πεπονθίας. But if this means "experiencing through reasoning the nothingness of creation," it does not seem to me Greek. I suggest as slightly better to transfer περ. λογ. πεπ. and read ἰκετευούσης θεὸν ψυχῆς περινοῖα λογισμοῦ <οὐ> πεποιθίας καὶ τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ οὐδενείαν τοῦ γενητοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς καλοῖς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ ἀκρότητας τοῦ ἀγενήτου δεδιδαγμένης. This will make good sense and run smoothly, and it seems more likely that Philo thinks that human sagacity (περίνοια) or even human reason proves worthless in this supreme abasement, than that it is the agent by which the soul is schooled to humiliate itself, as Cohn's and Wendland's suggestions imply. Textually the loss of οὐ after λογισμοῦ is negligible and the departure from the mss., apart from the slight change of -αν to -α, lies in the transference of the three difficult words. I shall not be surprised however if it does not give general satisfaction.

§ 133. *The founder of this tribe.* Wendland gives as reference for the saying "God alone must I honour" Ex. xx. 3, *i.e.* the First Commandment, and therefore presumably took the γενάρχης to be Moses. But the reference is, I think, to the Blessing of Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 9) "who saith to his father and his mother I have not seen thee, and his brothers he knew not and his sons he disclaimed." In *Leg.*

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*All.* ii. 51 Philo has made a very similar use of this text (though there the father and the mother are mind and body), inferring from it that the Levi-mind rejects all such things for the sake of having God as his portion, in accordance with the words of Deut. x. 9, which he again quotes here. And the same interpretation of Deut. xxxiii. 9 is given in *De Fug.* 89, where Levi is called ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ θιάσου τούτου.

§ 141. *A system of conceptions*, etc. For this Stoic definition cf. *S. V. F.* i. 73, ii. 93 f. Sometimes in a longer form, συγγεγυμνασμένων καὶ ἐπὶ τέλος εὐχρηστον τῷ βίῳ λαμβανόντων (έχόντων) τὴν ἀναφόραν, where the masculine λαμβανόντων shews that συγγ. also is masculine and that not the conceptions but the things conceived of are coordinated. As ἐγγεγυμνασμένων appears in some examples (see *S. V. F.* i. 73), Wendland is perhaps somewhat rash in altering to συγγ. If ἐγγ. is retained, translate "exercised upon."

*Ibid.* For the definition of ἐπιστήμη, given in practically the same words as here, see *S. V. F.* i. 68.

§ 148. *Elucidation of the . . . poets and historians.* This definition with minor variations was the accepted one. In the grammar of Dionysius Thrax, which furnished the model for the later grammarians, both Greek and Latin, it appears in the form ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. The definition brings out the important fact that γραμματική originally suggested literary study rather than what we call grammar.

§ 149. The only terms in this list which either need explanation or have not had it on *De Agr.* 140, 141 are ἀποφαντὸν and περιεκτικόν. From Diog. Laert. vii. 65 it appears that ἀποφαντὸν which I have rendered by "declaratory" = ἀξιωμα, i. e. a statement which must be either true or false, which cannot be said of the forms of speech (ἐρώτημα, etc.) which follow. While D. L. himself defines ἀξιωμα as πράγμα αὐτοτέλές ἀποφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, he has confused his interpreters by quoting Chrysippus: ἀξιωμα ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποφαντὸν ἢ καταφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὅλον Ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, Δίῳ περιπατεῖ. This has led Hicks to translate ἀποφαντὸν "capable of being denied," as opposed to καταφαντὸν. But this is surely to confuse ἀποφαντός from ἀποφαίνω with ἀποφατικός from ἀπόφημι. Liddell & Scott both in the earlier and in the recent edition make the confusion worse, as while giving ἀποφ. as "asserting," they say under καταφ. "to be affirmed,

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opposed to ἀποφαντός." I feel no doubt that ἀποφ. is "affirming" or "capable of being affirmed," and I should explain the καταφαντόν of Chrysippus as a synonym, which some preferred, unless indeed he means that ἀποφ. is used of such sentences as ἡμέρα ἐστί, and καταφ. of such as Δίων περιπατεῖ. Also it might easily be a gloss.

It should be added that as to ἀποφαντικός, sometimes used for the indicative mood, the examples shew that no doubt is possible, and ἀποφαντικός can hardly be separated from ἀποφαντός.

As for περιεκτικόν, it is most probably a mistake for προστακτικόν (imperative), which appears in D. L.'s list. At any rate if it is genuine, it must have some meaning unknown to us. The only sense in which we meet the word is for a place in which a number of things or persons are collected, e.g. ἀμπελών, παρθενών. Stephanus, indeed, has a statement, which L. & S. have copied, that περιεκτικόν ῥήμα is a verb in the middle voice, but no authority is given. And both these meanings are impossible in a list which contains different forms of sentences.

§ 155. "In thy hands." I suspect that Philo suggests in this section that the Greek of the text quoted may mean not only "The handmaid is in thy hands (or power)," but also "Thy handmaid is in the hands." It must be remembered that when he gives two alternative meanings for a passage, he does not think, as we should, that one *must* be the right one. To his mind they may both be intended. If we suppose that he is here commenting on "Thy handmaid is in the hands," the argument will become much clearer. The supposition will involve reading here ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ for ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου, but there is not much difficulty in this. A scribe failing to see the point might very naturally add σου.

§ 159. *Unrebuked*. Or "whose licence is unchecked." Mangey suspected ἀνεπίληκτος in this sense, and perhaps it more generally means "not liable to rebuke," "blameless." But see Plato, *Legg.* 695 B, where it is applied to the undisciplined boyhood of Cyrus's sons, who left to women and eunuchs became οἴους ἦν εἰκὸς αὐτοῦς γενέσθαι τροφῆ ἀνεπιλήκτω τραφέντας. So too in manhood they are τρυφῆς μεστοὶ καὶ ἀνεπιληξίας.

*Ibid.* ὑπαργύρους καὶ ὑποχρύσους. These adjectives, which Mangey translated by "aureos et argenteos," ignoring the

## PHILO

ὑπο-, are at first sight very difficult. All the evidence in the dictionaries hitherto given goes to prove that the prefix indicates not that the silver or gold conceals some other metal, but that it is covered or concealed by it. Thus while ὑπάργυρος may suggest a base coin, because the silver is coated with gold, ὑπόχρυσος would only suggest gold concealed by some baser metal. An article, however, by A. Körte in *Hermes*, 1929, pp. 262 f., to which Dr. Rouse called my attention, brings considerable evidence from inscriptions of the third century, as well as a line from Menander, 170 ff. (ὑπόχρυσος δακτύλιός τις οὔτσσί, αὐτὸς σιδηροῦς), to shew that ὑποχ. is used of iron rings or the like gilded over. Körte does not deal with ὑπάργυρος, but the same principle will apply. He connects the prefix with the common use of ὑπο- in adjectives, particularly in medical language, to indicate "somewhat," e.g. ὑπόλευκος "whitish." While he translates ὑπόχρυσος "gilded," it need not be inferred, I think, that the word in itself means this. Rather the two words are opposed to ὀλόχρυσος, ὀλάργυρος, and indicate that the gold and silver are not the predominant, or at least not the sole elements. But since, as a matter of fact, the admixture of gold or silver would regularly take the form of a coating, "veneered" or "plated" may stand.

§ 160. *Admonition.* I do not think that Philo can have written *νουθεσίαν*. Apart from the absurdity pointed out in the footnote, the ὥστε demands something inferred from the text, which has stated that those who live without *κάκωσις* forsake God. The inference must be that those who are under *κάκωσις* cleave to Him. I think Philo must have written *εὐσέβειαν* or *θεοσέβειαν*, which by some blunder was changed to *νουθεσίαν* as *νομοθεσίαν* to *ἐκκλησίαν* in § 120.

§ 171. *Ève.* Here again one can only suppose a similar blunder, possibly assisted by the similarity of **KAIETAN** to **KAIN**. Though Wendland retains the ms. text, it seems to me incredible that Philo should have thought that Cain was expelled from Paradise. At any rate, even if Philo wrote Cain, he meant to write Eve.



# PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES  
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

V

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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## PREFACE TO VOLUME V

IN this volume we reach the end of the third of Cohn and Wendland's six volumes, and with it the end also of what is perhaps the most important part of Philo's work, in which, to repeat the words used by us in the General Introduction, he expounds what he considers to be the inner and spiritual meaning of various incidents and texts in Genesis.<sup>a</sup>

Mr. Whitaker remains a substantial contributor to this volume, even more so than in Vol. IV. At his death in 1930 he left in ms. the whole of *De Fuga* and *De Somniis*, i., and about a fifth of *De Somniis*, ii. They had not been revised, but though I have made considerable alterations and corrections, especially in *De Somniis*, i., and though the introductions entirely, and the notes almost entirely, are my unassisted work, the translation of this part is fundamentally his. Still, as I said in the Preface to Vol. IV., both in what I have left unchanged and in what I have altered or corrected I must take the final responsibility.

<sup>a</sup> For some account of the nature of the work which still remains to be done see General Introduction, Vol. I. p. x.

## PREFACE

I wish to call the attention of such readers as are interested in the minutiae of the text of this and the preceding volumes to the supplementary list printed on pp. 613 ff., where also I have modified somewhat the remarks I made on this subject in the Preface to Vol. IV.

F. H. C.

*February 1934.*

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

#### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)  
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini)  
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate  
Caini)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit)  
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)  
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)  
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-  
guarum)  
On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione  
Abrahami)  
Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)  
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae  
Eruditionis gratia)
- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)  
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)  
On Dreams (De Somniis)
- VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)  
On Joseph (De Iosepho)  
Moses (De Vita Mosis)

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)  
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On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)  
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Hypothetica<sup>1</sup> (Apologia pro Iudaeis)  
On Providence<sup>1</sup> (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)
- GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING  
(DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE <sup>a</sup>)

<sup>a</sup> In Mangey's and earlier editions the Latin title is given as *De Profugis*.

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS treatise, which follows at once on the preceding, continues the exposition of Genesis xvi. from the middle of vs. 6 to vs. 12, omitting vs. 10. These verses are quoted in full in § 1, but the discussion is chiefly confined to a few words or phrases, namely "fled," "found," and "fountain." The first point to be noted is that Hagar fled. Flight may be due to three different causes: hatred, fear, and shame (2-3). Hagar is an example of the third, and the story shows that the inward monitor or Elenchus, which is typified by the angel, taught her that this shame must be tempered by courage (4-6).

But we must first say something about the other two causes of flight. Hatred was the cause of Jacob's flight from Laban. Here the two may stand from one point of view for the materialistic and the theistic creed respectively, and from another for the fool and the wise (7-13). On either interpretation the Jacob soul, finding itself unable to correct the Laban soul, will flee from association with it and repudiate it. Jacob's wives, that is his powers, joined in this repudiation, and that part of their speech in which they say that God has taken from Laban his wealth and glory and given them to themselves lead to a short meditation on true wealth and glory (15-19). A further proof of the need of flight is drawn from



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

Other thoughts on flight are suggested by the cities of refuge. The law states that the intentional murderer shall be put to death, but that the unintentional homicide may find refuge in an appointed place (53). Before, however, considering this latter point, he notes that the first clause of the law runs : " If a man strikes another and he dies, let him be put to death with death." Philo, as so often, fails to understand that the last words of this are the Greek translation of the common Hebrew idiom for " surely be put to death," and infers that " dying with death " indicates the real, the spiritual death (54-55). Other texts are quoted to shew that, as virtue is the true life, vice is the true death (56-59), though, in another sense, vice can never die, as shewn by the sign given to Cain (60-64). Another part of the same text, where it is said of the involuntary homicide that God delivered the victim to his hands, suggests that God employs subordinate ministers for the lower, though beneficial and necessary, work of punishment, and this he supports, as elsewhere, by the use of " we " in the first chapter of Genesis, and the entrustment of cursing to the less worthy and of blessing to the worthier tribes (65-74). Again, the words " I will give thee a place " may be understood to mean that God Himself is the place where the innocent can take refuge (75-76). When we read that the wilful murderer who takes refuge in a sanctuary shall be dragged from it and put to death, it means that the voluntary evil-doer, who takes refuge with God, that is, ascribes to Him the responsibility for his sins, blasphemes (77-82); and how deadly a sin blasphemy against the Divine Parent is, is shown by the very next words where the

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death penalty is assigned to those who speak ill of their earthly parents (83-84). The cities of refuge are only for those who truly understand the difference between the voluntary and involuntary (85-86).

As to the cities of refuge, four questions arise : (1) why they are in Levitical territory ; (2) why they are six in number ; (3) why three are beyond Jordan and three in Canaan ; (4) why the refugee must remain till the death of the High Priest (87). The answer to the first is that the Levites themselves are fugitives from human ties, and also, as in the story of Exodus xxxii., the slayers of their kinsfolk, interpreted as the body, the unreasoning nature, and speech (88-93). To the second and the third questions the answer is that, of the six potencies of God where the guiltless may take refuge, three stand far above humanity, while three are closer to our nature (95-105). To answer the fourth point, which he thinks can hardly be understood literally without absurdity, Philo identifies the High Priest with the Logos and points out various analogies between the two. He thus explains the ordinance as meaning that, while this High Priest lives in the soul, the sins which have been banished cannot return (106-118).

The second part of the treatise (119-175) is concerned with finding, which naturally calls up the idea of seeking. We have four variants of this : not seeking and not finding, seeking and finding, not seeking and finding, seeking and not finding (119-120). The first of these is dismissed very rapidly with one or two illustrations of which Pharaoh's obstinacy is the chief (121-125). Seeking and finding is shewn in the case of Joseph who, prompted by a " man," that is the inward monitor, " found " his

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

brethren in Dothan, the place of those who have abandoned delusion (126-131); of Isaac who asked "where is the victim?" and "found" that God would provide it (132-135); of the Israelites who asked about the manna, and "found" that it was the Word of God (137-139); of Moses who, when questioning his mission, "found" the answer in "I will be with you" (140-142). For seeking and not finding we have the examples of Laban seeking the images, the Sodomites seeking the door, Korah seeking the priesthood, and Pharaoh seeking Moses to kill him (143-148). Then follows a more elaborate allegorizing of the story of Judah's intercourse with Tamar into a picture of the earnest soul wooing piety, to which he first gives as pledges the ring of trustworthiness, the chain of consistency, and the staff of discipline, and afterwards, to test her fidelity, sends the kid which represents the good things of secular life. The connexion of this story with the subject lies in the phrase "the messenger did not 'find' her" (149-156). Then, after a shorter spiritualizing of the incident of the goat of the sin-offering in Leviticus x. (157-160),<sup>a</sup> the story of the Burning Bush is interpreted as the fruitless desire of the soul to know the causes of phenomena which are ever perishing and yet are ever renewed (161-165).

The fourth head of finding without seeking suggests many points which have been noted elsewhere; primarily, of course, the self-taught nature, Isaac, and then the delivery of the Hebrew women before the midwives come, the speed with which Jacob found the meat which God delivered into his hand, and the automatic growth on the fallow land in the

<sup>a</sup> See note *ad loc.*

## PHILO

Sabbatical year (166-172). This last naturally leads to some thought on the Sabbatical gift of peace (173-174), but to Philo's mind the best example is the promise to the Israelites in Deuteronomy of cities, houses, cisterns, vineyards, oliveyards, for which they have not laboured, all of them really types of spiritual blessings (175-176).

The next phrase in the text which calls for discussion is "spring of water." "Spring" is used as the symbol for five different things: first for the mind, which in the Creation story is described as the spring which waters the whole face of the earth, *i.e.* of the body (177-182); secondly it is used for education, and thus the twelve springs of Elim or "gateway" signify the Encyclia, the gateway to knowledge; and, since beside these springs there grew up seventy palm-trees, we have a short digression on the virtues of the two numbers (183-187). Thirdly there are the springs of folly, and this is illustrated by the phrase "uncovering the fount of the woman," where the woman is sense and her husband mind, and uncovering the fount comes when the sleeping mind allows each of the senses to have free play (188-193). Fourthly there are the springs of wisdom, from which Rebecca drew (194-196); and fifthly God Himself, Who is called by Jeremiah the fountain of life. And since Jeremiah adds that the wicked dig for themselves broken cisterns which hold no water, we see the contrast with the wise who, like Abraham and Isaac, dig real wells (197-201).

The fountain by which Hagar was found was the fountain of wisdom, but hers was not yet a soul which could draw from it (202). The treatise concludes with shorter notes on a few other phrases

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

in the passage. When the angel asked, "Whence comest thou, and whither goest thou?" it was not because he did not know the answer, since his omniscience is shewn by his knowing that the child would be a boy. The first part of the question was a rebuke for her flight, the second an indication of the uncertainty of the future (205-206). Something is added about the description given in the angel's words of the Ishmael or sophist nature (207-211). And finally we note that Hagar acknowledges the angel as God, for to one in her lower stage of servitude God's servants are as God Himself (211-end).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΕΣΕΩΣ

[546]  
1 I. | “Καὶ ἐκάκωσεν αὐτὴν Σάρα, καὶ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῆς. εὗρε δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Σούρ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· παιδίσκη Σάρας, πόθεν ἔρχῃ, καὶ ποῦ πορεύῃ; καὶ εἶπεν· ἀπὸ προσώπου Σάρας τῆς κυρίας μου ἐγὼ ἀποδιδράσκω. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· ἀποστράφηθι πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν σου καὶ ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· <ἴδου> σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις, καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, ὅτι ἐπήκουσε κύριος τῇ ταπεινώσει σου. οὗτος ἔσται ἀγροῖκος ἄνθρωπος· αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτόν.”

2 εἰρηκότες ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων καὶ περὶ κακώσεως, ἐξῆς τὸν περὶ φυγάδων ἀναγράφομεν τόπον. μέμνηται γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν φάσκων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄγαρ, ὅτι κακωθεῖσα “ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς κυρίας.”

3 Αἰτίας οὖν ἔγωγε τρεῖς εἶναι νομίζω φυγῆς, μῖσος, φόβον, αἰδῶ. μῖσει μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκες

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

I. " And Sarai evil-entreated her, and she fled <sup>1</sup> from her face. And an angel of the Lord found her at the fountain of water in the wilderness, at the fountain in the way to Shur. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, ' Handmaid of Sarai, whence comest thou ? and whither goest thou ? ' And she said, ' From the face of Sarai my mistress I am fleeing. ' And the angel of the Lord said unto her, ' Return to thy mistress, and humble thyself under her hands ' (Gen. xvi. 6-9). And the angel of the Lord said unto her, ' Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son ; and thou shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation. He shall be a dweller in the fields ; his hands shall be against all men, and all men's hands shall be against him ' " (*ibid.* 11, 12).

Having in the <sup>2</sup> preceding treatise said what was fitting about the courses of preliminary training and about evil-entreatment, we will next proceed to set forth the subject of fugitives. For the Lawgiver has in several places made mention of those who run away, as he does here, saying of Hagar that upon being evil-entreated " she ran away from the face of her mistress."

There are, I think, three motives for flight : hatred, <sup>3</sup> fear, and shame. From hatred wives leave husbands

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ἄνδρας καὶ ἄνδρες γυναῖκας ἀπολείπουσι, φόβῳ δὲ  
 τοὺς γονεῖς παῖδες καὶ δεσπότας οἰκέται, αἰδοῖ δὲ  
 τοὺς ἑταίρους, ὅποτε μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι πράξειαν  
 αὐτοῖς, οἱ φίλοι· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πατέρας οἶδα διὰ τὸ  
 ἀβροδίαιτον αὐστηρὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον βίον παίδων  
 ἐκτραπομένους<sup>1</sup> καὶ δι' αἰδῶ τὸν ἀγρὸν πρὸ τῆς  
 4 πόλεως οἰκεῖν ἐλομένους. τῶν τριῶν τούτων αἰτιῶν  
 ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ὑπομνήματα.  
 ὁ γοῦν ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ μίσει μὲν τὸν πενθερὸν  
 [547] Λάβαν, φόβῳ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡσαῦ | ἀποδιδράσκει,  
 5 ὡς αὐτίκα παραστήσομεν.<sup>2</sup> ἢ δ' Ἄγαρ ἀπαλλάτ-  
 τεται δι' αἰδῶ· σημεῖον δὲ τὸ ὑπαντᾶν  
 αὐτῇ ἄγγελον, θεῖον λόγον, ἃ χρῆ παραινέσοντα  
 καὶ ὑψηγησόμενον ἐπανόδου τῆς εἰς τὸν δεσποίνης  
 οἶκον, ὃς καὶ θαρσύνων φησὶν· “ ἐπήκουσε κύριος  
 τῆ ταπεινώσει σου,” ἦν οὔτε διὰ φόβον ἔσχες οὔτε  
 διὰ μῖσος—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγεννοῦς, τὸ δὲ φιλαπεχθή-  
 6 μονος πάθος ψυχῆς,—ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ σωφροσύνης  
 ἀπεικονίσματος, αἰδοῦς. εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν, εἰ διὰ  
 φόβον ἀπεδίδρασκε, τῆ τὸν φόβον ἐπανατειναμένη  
 παρηγορησαί πρᾶσπαθεῖν· τῆνικαῦτα γὰρ ἀσφαλές  
 ἦν ἐπανερχεσθαι τῆ φυγούσῃ, πρότερον δ' οὔ.  
 ἀλλὰ τῆ μὲν οὐδεὶς προεντυγχάνει ἅτε ἐξευμενι-  
 σθείσῃ δι' ἑαυτῆς, τὴν δὲ ὁ δι' εὐνοίαν φίλος ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ σύμβουλος ἔλεγχος διδάσκει μὴ αἰδέσθαι μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐτολμία χρῆσθαι· ἦμισυ γὰρ ἀρετῆς εἶναι  
 τὴν δίχα τοῦ θαρρεῖν αἰδῶ.

7 II. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀκριβεστέρους χαρακτηῆρας ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἐντραπομένους (W.H.D.R.), a frequent synonym  
 for αἰδέσθαι. <sup>2</sup> MSS. παραστήσομαι.

<sup>a</sup> Or “by conviction” (personified). See note on *Quod  
 Deus* 125.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 3-7

and husbands wives ; from fear children leave their parents and servants their masters ; from shame friends leave their fellows when something they have done displeases them. I know fathers whose effeminacy has made them unwilling to face the strict and philosophic life of their sons, and who out of shame have chosen to live in the country instead of in the city. Instances of the working of these 4 three motives are to be found in the sacred writings. Jacob, the Practiser, as we shall presently shew, flies from his father-in-law Laban out of hatred, from his brother Esau out of fear. Hagar's motive 5 for departing is shame. A sign of this is the fact that an angel, a Divine Word, meets her to advise the right course, and to suggest return to the house of her mistress. This angel addresses her in the encouraging words, "The Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation" (Gen. xvi. 11), a humiliation prompted neither by fear nor by hatred, the one the feeling of an ignoble, the other of a quarrelsome soul, but by shame, the outward expression of inward modesty. Had she run away 6 owing to fear, the angel would probably have moved her who had inspired the fear to a gentler frame of mind ; for then, and not till then, would it have been safe for the fugitive to go back. But no angel first approached Sarai, seeing that she is favourably disposed of her own accord. But it is Hagar who is taught by the angel monitor,<sup>a</sup> whose goodwill to her makes him at once her friend and counsellor, not to feel only shame, but to be of good courage as well ; pointing out that shame apart from confidence is but a half virtue.

II. The ensuing argument will bring to light the 7

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ἐξῆς μηνύσει λόγος. ἐπανιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τὰ προτα-  
 θέντα<sup>1</sup> κεφάλαια καὶ ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῶν μίσους χάριν  
 ἀποδιδρασκόντων. “ ἔκρυψε ” γάρ φησιν “ Ἰακώβ  
 Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον, τοῦ μὴ ἀπαγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ ὅτι  
 ἀποδιδράσκει, καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ  
 8 πάντα.” τίς οὖν αἰτία τοῦ μίσους; ποθεῖς γὰρ  
 ἴσως δὴ τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> μαθεῖν. εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὴν ἄποιον  
 καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον οὐσίαν θεοπλα-  
 στοῦντες, τὸ κινοῦν αἴτιον οὔτε εἰδότες οὔτε παρὰ  
 τῶν εἰδόντων μαθεῖν σπουδάσαντες, ἀγνοία δὲ καὶ  
 ἀμαθία κεκρημένοι τοῦ καλλίστου μαθήματος, οὐ  
 πρώτου καὶ μόνου τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκπονεῖν ἦν  
 9 ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ Λάβαν τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ τούτου·  
 τὴν γὰρ ἄσημον αὐτῷ ποιήμην οἱ<sup>3</sup> χρησιμοὶ προσ-  
 νέμουσιν· ἄσημος δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις ἢ ἄποιος  
 ὕλη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἢ ἀμαθῆς ψυχὴ καὶ ἀπαιδ-  
 10 γώγητος. ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος μοίρας, οἱ  
 νοῦν ἔφασαν ἐλθόντα πάντα διακοσμῆσαι, τὴν ἐξ  
 ὀχλοκρατίας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀταξίαν εἰς ἀρχῆς  
 νομίμου, βασιλείας, τάξιν ἀγαγόντα. τοῦ θιάσου  
 τούτου χορευτῆς Ἰακώβ ἐστίν, ὃς ἐπιστατεῖ τῆς  
 ἐπισήμου ποικίλης ἀγέλης· ἐπίσημον δὲ πάλιν καὶ  
 ποικίλον ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις τὸ εἶδος, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώποις  
 ἢ εὐπαίδευτος καὶ φιλομαθῆς διάνοια.  
 11 πολλοῦ δὴ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικοῦ σπάσας ὁ ἐπίσημος  
 καὶ μοναρχίας ἀληθοῦς ἑταῖρος ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν  
 ἄσημον, ὑλικὰς μὲν, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, θεοπλαστοῦντα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προτεθέντα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τι τοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οὐ.

<sup>a</sup> The allusion to Anaxagoras in § 10 perhaps suggests that some definite persons or school is meant, possibly his predecessors the Ionic philosophers. See App. p. 581.

<sup>b</sup> See Diog. Laert. ii. 6 (the opening words of Anaxagoras's

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 7-11

more subtle traits of shame. I must now go back to the heads suggested, and must begin with those who run away because of hatred. We are told that "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark, so as not to tell him that he is fleeing, and he fled, himself and all that belonged to him" (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). What, 8 then, was the cause of the hatred? You would like perhaps to be told this. There are people who fashion their God out of substance devoid of quality or form or shape <sup>a</sup>; but the moving Cause they neither know, nor have taken any trouble to learn from those who do know Him. They have neither mastered nor do they study the fairest subject of all, the first, nay the only one, whose knowledge it was a vital matter for them to acquire. Laban is of this class; for the 9 sacred oracles assign to him the flock that is without mark (Gen. xxx. 42); and in the universe it is the matter devoid of quality and in men the ignorant and untutored soul that is without mark. Others there 10 are of the better part, who said that Mind came and ordered all things,<sup>b</sup> bringing the disorder that prevailed in existing things as the result of mob-rule into the order of regular government under a king. Of this company Jacob is a votary, who is in charge of the variegated flock, marked and distinguished; and in the universe it is form that has variety and distinction, while among men it is the understanding, well-trained and loving to learn. The man of mark, associate of true monarchy, has 11 imbibed in full measure the inbred spirit of fellowship, and comes to the man of no mark, when he fashions, as I said before, material sovereignties as

treatise), πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ δικέκμησε.

## PHILO

- ἡγεμονίας, ἔξω δὲ τούτων δραστήριον μηδεμίαν  
 12 νομίζοντα, διδάξων ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθογνωμονεῖ. γέγονέ  
 τε γὰρ ὁ κόσμος καὶ πάντως ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς  
 γέγονεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ποιούντος λόγος αὐτός ἐστιν ἢ  
 σφραγίς, ἣ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον μεμόρφωται· παρὸ  
 [548] καὶ τέλειον | τοῖς γινομένοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρακο-  
 λουθεῖ τὸ εἶδος, ἅτε ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ εἰκῶν τελείου  
 13 λόγου. τὸ γὰρ γενόμενον ζῶον ἀτελὲς μὲν ἐστὶ  
 τῷ ποσῷ—μάρτυρες δὲ αἱ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην  
 παραυξήσεις,—τέλειον δὲ τῷ ποιῷ· μένει γὰρ ἢ  
 αὐτῇ ποιότης ἅτε ἀπὸ μένοντος ἐκμαγεῖσα καὶ  
 14 μηδαμῇ τρεπομένου θείου λόγου. III.  
 ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ νόμιμον<sup>1</sup> ἐπιστάσιαν  
 κεκώφωται, δρασμὸν εἰκότως βουλεύεται· δέδιδε  
 γάρ, μὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἰσχυσαὶ ὀνησαὶ ἔτι καὶ  
 ζημιωθῆ. βλαβεραὶ γὰρ αἱ μετὰ ἀνοήτων συνουσίαι,  
 καὶ ἄκουσα πολλάκις ἢ ψυχὴ τῆς ἐκείνων φρενο-  
 βλαβείας ἀπομάττεται τὰ εἶδωλα· καὶ ὄντως ἐστὶν  
 ἐχθρὸν φύσει παιδεία ἀπαιδευσία καὶ φιλοπονία  
 15 ἀμελετησία. παρὸ καὶ φωνῆν αἱ ἀσκη-  
 τικαὶ δυνάμεις ἀφείσαι κεκράγασι τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ  
 μίσους παραδιηγούμεναι· “ μὴ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἔτι μερὶς  
 ἢ κληρονομία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν; οὐχ  
 ὡς ἀλλότριαι λελογίσμεθα αὐτῷ; πέπρακε γὰρ  
 ἡμᾶς καὶ κατέφαγε καταβρώσει τὸ ἀργύριον ἡμῶν.  
 πᾶς ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἢ δόξα, ἣν ἀφείλετο ὁ θεὸς τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν.”  
 16 ἐλεύθεραι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμῆ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *μόμιμον*.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 581.

<sup>b</sup> Or “giving in addition.”

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 11-16

Divine, and holds no sovereignty outside of these to be efficient,—comes to him to teach him that he is mistaken. For the world has come into being, and 12 assuredly it has done so under the hand of some Cause ; and the Word of Him who makes it is Himself the seal, by which each thing that exists has received its shape. Accordingly from the outset form in perfection accompanies the things that come into being, for it is an impress and image of the perfect Word. For the living creature that has come 13 into being is imperfect in quantity, as is shewn by its constant growth as its age advances, but perfect in quality ; for the same quality continues, inasmuch as it is the impress of a Divine Word ever continuing and free from every kind of change.<sup>a</sup> III. 14

Jacob, seeing that Laban has grown deaf to instruction or lawful authority, naturally plans to run away, fearing lest, besides being unable to help, he should suffer harm at his hands. For association with men devoid of sense is hurtful, and the soul often involuntarily takes the impressions of their mad folly ; and in the nature of things culture feels a repugnance towards lack of culture, and painstaking towards carelessness. And so the faculties of the 15 Practiser lift their voice aloud, proclaiming<sup>b</sup> their grounds for hatred : “ Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father’s house ? Are we not counted of him strangers ? For he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured our money. All the riches and the glory, which God took away from our father, shall be for us and for our children ” (Gen. xxxi. 14-16). For being free both in names<sup>c</sup> and in senti- 16

<sup>a</sup> I can give no satisfactory explanation of “ names.” See App. pp. 581 f.

## PHILO

μασιν οὐδένα τῶν ἀφρόνων νομίζουσι πλούσιον ἢ  
 ἔνδοξον εἶναι, πάντας δ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀδόξους  
 καὶ πένητας, κἂν βασιλέων πολυχρύσων τύχας  
 ὑπερβάλλωσιν. οὐ γάρ φασι τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ  
 πατρός, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀφαιρεθέντα πλοῦτον, οὐδὲ τὴν  
 ἐκείνου δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀφαιρεθείσαν αὐτοῦ δόξαν  
 17 σχήσειν. ἐστέρηται δ' ὁ φαῦλος τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ  
 πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς εὐδοξίας· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ  
 ταῦτα φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς  
 περιποιούσι διαθέσεις, ὧν αἱ φιλάρετοι ψυχαὶ κληρο-  
 18 νομοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν οὐ τὰ προσόντα τῷ μοχθηρῷ,  
 τὰ δ' ὧν ἐκείνος ἐστέρηται περιουσία καὶ εὐκλεία  
 τοῖς ἀστείοις ἐστίν· ἐστέρηται δὲ ἀρετῶν, αἱ δὴ  
 κτήματα τῶνδε γεγόνασιν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι  
 λεχθὲν συνάδῃ· “ τὰ βδελύγματα Αἰγύπτου θύσομεν  
 κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ”· τέλεια γὰρ καὶ ἄμωμα ἱερεῖα αἱ  
 ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατὰ ἀρετὰς πράξεις, ἃς τὸ φιλο-  
 19 παθὲς Αἰγύπτιον βδελύττεται σῶμα. καθάπερ γὰρ  
 ἐνταῦθα φυσικῶς τὰ βέβηλα παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἱερὰ  
 παρὰ τοῖς ὀξὺ καθορώσι λέγεται καὶ πάντα θύεται,  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὧν ἐστέρηται καὶ ἀφήρηται  
 πᾶς ἄφρων, τούτων κληρονόμος ἔσται ὁ καλο-  
 [549] κἀγαθίας ἐταῖρος· ταῦτα | δὲ ἐστὶ δόξα ἀληθοῦς  
 ἐπιστήμης ἀδιαφοροῦσα καὶ πλοῦτος οὐχ ὁ τυφλός,  
 ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ὄντων ὀξυδερκέστατος, ὃς οὐδὲν παρα-  
 δέχεται νόμισμα κίβδηλον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄψυχον τὸ  
 παράπαν, εἰ καὶ δόκιμον εἶη.

\* The meaning seems to be that while the three Aristotelian  
 ἀγαθὰ, viz. τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν, τὰ περὶ σῶμα and τὰ ἐκτός may be  
 δόκιμα in a sense, for even the Stoics admitted “ preferable  
 indifferents ” among the two latter, only the first is accept-  
 able to the true Practiser. See *Quod Det.* 7 and note, also  
*De Gig.* 38.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 16-19

ments, they deem no senseless man to be rich or glorious, but all such, speaking broadly, to be poor and inglorious, even if they surpass in fortune wealthy kings. For they do not say that they will have their father's wealth, but that which was taken away from their father, nor his glory, but the glory that was taken away from him. The worthless man is destitute 17 of the real riches and the true gloriousness ; for these good things are won by sound sense and self-mastery and the dispositions akin to these, which are the inheritance of virtue-loving souls. Accordingly it is not 18 the things that pertain to the good-for-nothing man, but those of which he has been stripped, that are affluence and renown to the worthy. Virtues are what has been stripped from him, and has become the property of the worthy, thus bringing into harmony what is said elsewhere : " we will sacrifice the abominations of Egypt to the Lord our God " (Exod. viii. 26) ; for victims perfect and free from blemish are the virtues and virtuous conduct, and these the Egyptian body, in its devotion to the passions, abominates. For even as in this passage, understood in 19 accordance with reality, things which Egyptians reckon profane are called sacred in the estimation of the keen-sighted, and are all offered in sacrifice ; exactly in the same way, the things of which every foolish man has been deprived and stripped, these the comrade of nobility of character will inherit. And these are real glory, indistinguishable from knowledge, and wealth, not the blind wealth, but that which has the keenest sight for the things that actually are, which accepts no counterfeit coinage, nay nothing whatever that is soulless, even though it be approved coin.<sup>a</sup>

## PHILO

- 20 Προσηκόντως οὖν ἀποδράσεται τὸν τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀμέτοχον, ὃς καὶ ἐν οἷς ἕτερον αἰτιᾶται διαβάλλων ἑαυτὸν λέληθεν, ἐπειδὰν φῆ· “εἰ ἀν- ἡγγειλάς μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἄν σε.” αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο φυγῆς ἦν ἄξιον, εἰ μυρίων δεσποτῶν δούλος ὢν, ἐπιμορφάζων ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν, ἐλευθερίαν
- 21 ἄλλοις ἐκήρυττες. ἐγὼ δέ, φησί, τῆς ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ συνεργὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἀλλ’ ὑπήκουσα χρησμῶν θείων κελευόντων ἐνθένδε
- 22 ἀπαίρειν, οἳ καὶ μέχρι νῦν με ποδηγετοῦσι. πῶς δ’ ἂν με ἐξαπέστειλας; ἢ, ὡς σεμνολογούμενος διεξήεις, μετ’ “εὐφροσύνης” τῆς ἐμοὶ λυπηρᾶς καὶ “μουσικῶν” ἀμουσῶν καὶ “τυμπάνων” [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> κτύπων ἀνάρθρων καὶ ἀλόγων πληγὰς ἐμφορούντων ψυχῇ δι’ ὠτων καὶ μετὰ “κιθάρας,” ἀλύρων καὶ ἀναρμόστων οὐκ ὀργάνων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὧν ἕνεκα φυγὴν ἐβούλευσα, σὺ δ’, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀντισπάσματά μου τῆς φυγῆς ἐπενόεις, ἵνα παλινδρομήσω διὰ τὸ ἀπα- τηλὸν καὶ εὐπαράγωγον φύσει τῶν αἰσθήσεων, αἷς μόλις ἴσχυσα ἐπιβῆναι.
- 23 IV. Μῖσος μὲν δὴ τοῦ λεχθέντος δρασμοῦ γέγονεν αἴτιον, φόβος δὲ τοῦ λεχθησομένου. “εἶπε” γάρ φησι “Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς Ἰακώβ· ἰδοῦ, Ἡσαῦ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ (σοι) ἀποκτεῖναί σε. νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἄκουσόν μου τῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου εἰς Χαρρὰν καὶ οἴκησον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς, ἕως τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> I have bracketed καὶ as disturbing the symmetry of the sentence. The LXX has μετ’ εὐφροσύνης καὶ μετὰ μουσικῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας. Each of the four terms receives in turn its negative qualification.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 20-23

Right fitly, therefore, will Jacob run away from the 20 man who has no part in the good things of God, the man who, even in finding fault with another, impugns himself without knowing it when he says, "If thou hadst told me, I would have sent thee forth" (Gen. xxxi. 27). For this alone would have been a sufficient ground for flight, if, when you were the slave of ten thousand masters, you assumed the style of dominion and lordship and proclaimed liberty to others. I how- 21 ever, says Jacob, took no man to help me to find the way that leads to virtue, but paid heed to Divine oracles bidding me depart hence, and to this moment they guide my steps. And how wouldst thou have 22 sent me forth? Would it have been, as thou didst grandiloquently recount, "with merriment" that caused me pain, and "music" all unmusical, and "drums" noises inarticulate and meaningless, inflicting blows on the soul through the ears, "and with cithara" (*ibid.*), not instruments but modes of conduct void of melody or harmony? Nay, these are the very things that made me plan flight; but you, it seems, devised them as means of diverting me back from flight, to induce me to retrace my steps for the sake of the power to cheat and mislead inbred in those senses which I had with difficulty gained strength to tread underfoot.

IV. Hatred, then, was the cause of the flight that 23 has been spoken of, but fear of that of which I am about to speak. For we read as follows: "Rebecca said to Jacob, 'Lo, Esau thy brother threatens to kill thee. Now therefore, child, listen to my voice and arise and flee to Laban my brother to Haran, and live with him for some days, until the wrath and

## PHILO

ἀποστρέψαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ ἐπιλάθῃται ἃ πεποίηκας αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπο-  
 24 στείλασα μεταπέμφομαί σε ἐκείθεν.” ἄξιον γὰρ δεδιέναι, μὴ τὸ χεῖρον τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἐξ ἐνέδρας λοχῆσαν ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κοιισάμενον ἀνατρέψῃ καὶ καταβάλλῃ τὸ κρεῖττον. συμβουλή δ’ ἀρίστη τῆς ὀρθογνώμονος ἐπιμονῆς, ‘Ρεβέκκας ἦδε·  
 25 ἐπειδὴν ἴδῃς, φησί, τὸν φαῦλον πολὺ(ν) ῥέοντα κατὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ ὧν ἀλογεῖν προσῆκε πολὺν λόγον ἔχοντα, πλούτου, δόξης, ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰδικεῖν ἐπαινοῦντα ὡς αἴτιον ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων—πολυαργύρους γὰρ καὶ πολυχρύσους καὶ ἐνδόξους τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μάλιστα γίνεσθαι,—μὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν τραπόμενος εὐθὺς ἀχρηματίαν καὶ ἀτυφίαν αὐστηρόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύσης· ἀνερεθίσεις γὰρ τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ βαρύτερον ἐχθρὸν ἀλείψεις κατὰ  
 26 σεαυτοῦ. τί ἂν οὖν ἐργασάμενος ἐκφύγῃς τὰ παλαιίσματ’ αὐτοῦ, σκόπει. συνεχέσθητι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύμασι λέγω, τοῖς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ποιητικοῖς, τιμαῖς, ἀρχαῖς, ἀργύρῳ, χρυσῷ,  
 [550] κτήμασι, χρώμασι, σχήμασι διαφόροις, κάλλεσι, καὶ ὅταν ἐντύχῃς, οἷα δημιουργὸς ἀγαθὸς εἶδος ἄριστον ταῖς ὑλिकाῖς οὐσίαις ἐγγάραξον καὶ ἐπαι-  
 27 νετὸν ἀποτέλεσον ἔργον. ἢ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ναῦν ἰδιώτης μὲν παραλαβὼν σώζεσθαι δυναμένην ἀνατρέπει, κυβερνητικὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν ἀπολλυμένην

<sup>a</sup> For a comparison of this interpretation of fleeing from Esau’s wrath with that given in *De Mig.* 210, 211 see App. p. 582.

<sup>b</sup> Or “prepare,” “give strength to,” a definite reference to the gymnastic school. So below *παλαιίσματα* = wrestling-grips.

anger of thy brother turn away, and he forget the things which thou hast done to him : and I will send and fetch thee thence ' ' (Gen. xxvii. 42-45). For <sup>24</sup> there is reason to fear lest the worse part of the soul set an ambush and lie in wait, or even openly arm, and then overthrow and cast down the better part. And this is excellent advice given by Rebecca, that is, by judicious Patience.<sup>a</sup> Whenever, she says, you <sup>25</sup> see the base one flowing in full current against virtue, and taking much account of things which it ought to disregard, of wealth, fame, pleasure, when he extols injustice as the author of each of these, and points out that it is mostly wrongdoers who attain to fame and to abundance of gold and silver, do not take at once the opposite direction, and practise penury and humility and a strict and un-social mode of life ; for in this way you will rouse your adversary's spirit and stimulate <sup>b</sup> a more dangerous foe to the contest against you. Consider, <sup>26</sup> then, by what course of action you are to escape his machinations. Adapt yourself, not to his pursuits and practices, but to the objects which serve to create them <sup>c</sup>—honours, offices, silver, gold, possessions, different forms and colours, beautiful objects. And whenever you meet with these, do as a good artist does, and engrave upon the material substances a form as good as possible, and thus accomplish a work which may win men's praise. You know well how, when <sup>27</sup> an unskilled man takes charge of a vessel that is quite capable of making a safe voyage, he upsets it, whereas a skilled helmsman often saves one which

<sup>c</sup> Or τῶν εἰρημένων may refer to wealth, fame, and pleasure, § 25. See App. pp. 582 f.

## PHILO

πολλάκις ἔσωσε, καὶ τῶν καμνόντων οἱ μὲν ἀπειρία τῶν θεραπευόντων χρησάμενοι σφαλερῶς τὰ σώματα ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐμπειρία καὶ τὰς σφαλερὰς νόσους ἀπέφυγον; καὶ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν; αἰεὶ γὰρ τὰ μετὰ τέχνης ἔλεγχός ἐστι τῶν σὺν ἀτεχνία γινομένων, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀληθῆς ἔπαινος ἀψευδῆς  
 28 ἐκείνων ἐστὶ κατηγορία.

V. εἰς οὖν θέλης διελέγξαι τὸν πολυχρήματον φαῦλον, μὴ ἀποστραφῆς τὴν ἐν χρήμασι περιουσίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπῆς ὀβολοστάτης καὶ τοκογλύφος, βαρυδαίμων ἀνὴρ, ἀναφανεῖται ἢ ἔμπαλιν ἄσωτος πεφορημένος, λαφύττειν καὶ σπαθῶν ἐτοιμότητος, ἑταιρῶν καὶ πορνοτρόφων καὶ μαστροπῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀκολάστου θιάσου χορηγὸς  
 29 φιλοτιμότητος. σὺ δὲ ἔρανον παρέξεις πένησι φίλων, χαριεῖ<sup>1</sup> δωρεὰς τῇ πατρίδι, συνεκδώσεις θυγατέρας ἀπόροις γονεῦσιν αὐταρκεστάτην προῖκα ἐπιδούς, μονονοῦκ εἰς μέσον προθεῖς τὰ ἴδια καλέσεις ἐπὶ μετουσίαν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀξίους χάρι-  
 30 τος.

τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ δοξομανοῦντα καὶ ἐπικομπάζοντα βουλευθεῖς ὄνειδίσαι μοχθηρόν, δυνηθεῖς ἐντιμος εἶναι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς τὸν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔπαινον· οὕτως γὰρ τὸν μακρὰ βαίοντα καὶ φρυαττόμενον ἄθλιον ὑποσκελιεῖς. ὁ μὲν γε τῷ ἐπιφανεῖ καταχρήσεται πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ἀμεινόνων ἐτέρων, αὐξων τοὺς χεῖρους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· σὺ δὲ ἔμπαλιν τοῖς ἀξίοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χάριτο(α)s.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 27-30

is sinking ; and how sick folk, under the care of inexperienced attendants, fall into a dangerous condition of body, while those who meet with experienced attendants recover even from dangerous diseases. I need not labour the point. It is invariably the case that what is done with skill shews up and convicts what is done without it, and true praise accorded to the one is sure condemnation of the other.

V. If, then, you desire <sup>28</sup> thoroughly to expose the worthless man of wealth, do not refuse abundance of wealth. He, miserable creature, will be seen in his true colours, either with the instincts of a slave rather than a gentleman, a skinflint and a splitpenny ; or on the other hand as living in a whirl of prodigality, ever ready to fling away money and to guzzle—an ever-active patron of courtesans, pimps, panders, and every licentious crew. You will contribute freely to needy friends, <sup>29</sup> will make bountiful gifts to serve your country's wants, you will help parents without means to marry their daughters, and provide them with an ample dowry ; you will all but throw your private property into the common stock and invite all deserving of kindness to take a share.

In exactly the <sup>30</sup> same way, when someone is crazy after fame and full of boastfulness, if you wish to cast reproach on the sorry fellow, do not turn your back upon popular applause if you have an opportunity of winning honour, and then, while the poor braggart strides conceitedly along, you will send him tumbling. While he will misuse his distinguished position to insult and disgrace others better than himself, and will exalt worse men above them, you on the other hand will make all worthy men sharers in the ad-

## PHILO

- ἅπασι μεταδώσεις τῆς εὐκλείας, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν περιποιῶν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, βελτιῶν δὲ τοὺς χείρους
- 31 νουθεσίᾳ. κἂν ἐπ' ἄκρατον μέντοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας ἴης, θαρρῶν ἴθι· τὸν γὰρ ἀκράτορα αἰσχυνεῖς διὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ δεξιότητος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τὰς ἀπλήστους διοίξας ἐπιθυμίας ἀκόσμως ἐμφορήσεται καὶ τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐπισπάσεται καὶ πάντ' ἐπιλιχμώμενος οὐκ ἐρυθριάσει· καὶ διακορῆς ἐδωδῆς ἐπειδὰν γένηται, χανδὸν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, “πίνων” γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην παρέξει τοῖς ὀρώσι.
- 32 σὺ δ' ἄνευ μὲν ἀνάγκης χρῆση τοῖς μετρίοις, ἐὰν δέ που βιασθῆς εἰς πλειόνων ἀπόλαυσιν ἐλθεῖν, λογισμὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἡδονὴν εἰς ἀηδίαν οὐδέποτε ἐκτρέψεις, ἀλλ', εἰ χρῆ τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν τοῦτον, νηφάλια μεθυσθήσῃ.
- 33 VI. μέμψαιτ' ἂν οὖν δεόντως ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῖς ἀν-  
[551] εξετάστως ἀπολείπουναι τὰς ἐν τῷ | πολιτικῷ βίῳ πραγματείας καὶ πορισμοὺς καὶ δόξης καὶ ἡδονῆς καταπεφρονηκέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλαζονεύονται γάρ, οὐ καταφρονουσί, τὸ ῥυπᾶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζειν αὐστηρῶς τε καὶ αὐχμηρῶς ἀποζῆν δελέατα προτιθέντες, ὡς δὴ κοσμιότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ  
34 καρτερίας ἐρασταί. τοὺς δ' ἀκριβεστέρους ἀπατᾶν οὐ δύνανται διακύπτοντας εἴσω καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐν ἐμφανεί παραγομένους. ταῦτα γὰρ προκαλύμματα

<sup>a</sup> Or “good behaviour.” See App. p. 583.

<sup>b</sup> *Odyssey* xxi. 294:

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιδῆς, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους  
βλάβπει, ὅς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλη μῆδ' αἴσιμα πίνῃ.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 30-34

vantages of your good name, securing the position of the better kind, and improving the worse by your counsel.

Again, if you go to a luxurious 31  
repart where the wine flows freely, go without hesitation ; for you will put the intemperate man to shame by having yourself well in hand.<sup>a</sup> He will fall upon his belly and open his insatiable appetites before he opens his mouth, cram himself in unseemly fashion, grab at his next neighbour's food, and gobble up everything without a blush ; and when he is thoroughly sated with eating, he will as the poets say " drink with a yawning maw,"<sup>b</sup> and incur the mocking and ridicule of all who see him. But you, 32  
when there is no compulsion, will drink in moderation ; and should you be forced in any case to indulge more freely, you will place the compulsion under the charge of reason, and never debase pleasure to the displeasure of others, but, if we may so speak, get soberly drunken.<sup>c</sup>

VI. Truth would there- 33  
fore rightly find fault with those who without full consideration give up the business and financial side of a citizen's life, and say that they have conceived a contempt for fame and pleasure. For they do not despise these things, they are practising an imposture. Their dirty bodies and gloomy faces, the rigour and squalour of their pinched life, are so many baits to lead others to regard them as lovers of orderliness and temperance and endurance. But they are 34  
unable to deceive the more sharp-sighted, who peer inside and refuse to be taken in by what meets the eye. For they thrust this back as mere screening

<sup>a</sup> For the milder sense carried by *μεθύειν* see Introduction to *De Plant.* Vol. III. p. 209, where St. John ii. 10 *δραν μεθυσθῶσι* (R.V. " have drunk freely ") was quoted.

## PHILO

ὄντα ἐτέρων ἀναστείλαντες, τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἔνδον, ὅποια ἄττα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ἐθεάσαντο καί, εἰ μὲν εἷη καλά, ἐθαύμασαν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχρά, ἐχλεύασαν καὶ  
35 τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ἐμίσησαν. λέγωμεν οὖν

τοῖς τοιούτοις· τὸν ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινωνήτον μονότροπόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ζηλοῦτε; τί γὰρ τῶν ἐν κοινωσίᾳ καλῶν προεπεδείξασθε; ἀργυρισμὸν ἀποστρέψατε; γενόμενοι γὰρ χρηματισταὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἠθελήσατε; τῶν γαστρὸς καὶ μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἐπιμορφάζοντες ἀλογεῖν, ἡνίκα τὰς εἰς ταῦτα ἀφθόλους ὕλας εἴχετε, ἐμετριάσατε; δόξης καταφρονεῖτε; γενόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τιμαῖς ἀτυφίαν ἠσκήσατε; πολιτείαν ἐγελάσατε ὑμεῖς, ἴσως ὡς χρήσιμόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ κατανοή-  
36 σαντες. πρότερον οὖν ἐγγυμνάσασθε καὶ

προεμμελετήσατε τοῖς τοῦ βίου πράγμασιν ἰδίους τε καὶ κοινοῖς καὶ γενόμενοι πολιτικοὶ τε καὶ οἰκονομικοὶ δι' ἀδελφῶν ἀρετῶν, οἰκονομικῆς τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὴν εἰς ἕτερον καὶ ἀμείνω βίον ἀποικίαν στείλασθε· τὸν γὰρ πρακτικὸν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ βίου, προάγωνά τινα ἀγῶνος τελειοτέρου, καλὸν πρότερον διαθλῆσαι. οὕτως τὴν ὄκνου καὶ ἀργίας κατηγορίαν ἀποδρά-  
37 σεσθε. οὕτως καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ μὲν

ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἄχρι πεντηκονταετίας διείρηται, ἀπαλλαγείσι δὲ τῆς πρακτικῆς ὑπηρεσίας σκοπεῖν



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 34-37

of quite different things, and get a view of the true nature of the things concealed within, which, if they are beautiful, they admire, but if ugly, ridicule and loathe them for their hypocrisy. To such 35

men, then, let us say : Do you affect the life that eschews social intercourse with others, and courts solitary loneliness ? Well, what proof did you ever give before this of noble social qualities ? Do you renounce money-making ? When engaged in business, were you determined to be just in your dealings ? Would you make a show of paying no regard to the pleasures of the belly and the parts below it—say, when you had abundant material for indulging in these, did you exercise moderation ? Do you despise popular esteem ? Well, when you held posts of honour, did you practise simplicity ? State business is an object of ridicule to you people. Perhaps you have never discovered how serviceable a thing it is. 36

Begin, then, by getting some exercise and practice in the business of life both private and public ; and when by means of the sister virtues, household-management and statesmanship, you have become masters in each domain, enter now, as more than qualified to do so, on your migration to a different and more excellent way of life. For the practical comes before the contemplative life ; it is a sort of prelude to a more advanced contest ; and it is well to have fought it out first. By taking this course you will avoid the imputation of shrinking from it through sheer laziness. 37

It was on this principle too that the Levites were charged to perform their active service until the age of fifty (Numb. iv. 3 ff.), but, when released from their practical ministry, to make everything an object of

## PHILO

ἕκαστα καὶ θεωρεῖν, τῆς ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ βίῳ  
κατορθώσεως γέρας λαβόντας ἕτερον βίον, ὃς  
ἐπιστήμη καὶ θεωρία μόνη χαίρει.

38 καὶ ἄλλως ἀναγκαῖον, τοὺς τῶν θείων ἀξιοῦντας  
μεταποιεῖσθαι δικαίων τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πρότερον  
ἐκπληρῶσαι· πολλὴ γὰρ εὐήθεια τῶν μειζόνων ὑπο-  
λαμβάνειν ἐφίξεσθαι ἀδυνατοῦντας τῶν ἐλαττόνων  
περιγίνεσθαι. γνωρίσθητε οὖν πρότερον τῇ κατ'  
ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῇ, ἵνα καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν συσταθῆτε.

39 VII. Τοιαῦτα ὑφηγεῖται τῷ ἀσκητικῷ ἢ ὑπομονῇ,  
τὰς δὲ λέξεις ἀκριβωτέον. “ἴδου” φησὶν “Ἡσαῦ  
ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ σοι”—ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ δρύινος  
καὶ ὑπ’ ἀμαθίας ἀπειθῆς τρόπος, ὄνομα Ἡσαῦ,  
ἐγκότως ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῆς θνητῆς ζωῆς προ-  
τείνων ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ δελέατα, χρήματα, δόξαν,  
ἡδονάς, τὰ συγγενῇ τούτοις, κατὰ σοῦ φονᾶ;—“σὺ  
δέ, ὦ τέκνον, ἀπόδραθι τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγῶνα·

[552] οὐπω γὰρ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς | ἐπιδέδωκέ σοι τὰ τῆς  
ρώμης, ἀλλ’ ἔτι οἶα παιδὸς<sup>1</sup> οἱ ψυχικοὶ τόνοι μαλ-  
40 θακώτεροι.” διὸ καὶ τέκνον αὐτὸν προσεῖπε, τὸ δ’  
ἐστὶν εὐνοίας καὶ ἡλικίας ὄνομα ἐν ταύτῳ· τὸν γὰρ  
ἀσκητικὸν τρόπον καὶ νέον παρὰ τὸν τέλειον καὶ  
φιλίας ἄξιον εἶναι τίθεμεν. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἱκανὸς  
μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ προτιθέμενα παισὶν<sup>1</sup> ἄθλα ἄρασθαι, τὰ  
δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐδέπω δυνατός· ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἄριστον  
41 ἄθλον ἢ θεοῦ μόνου θεραπεία. τοιγαροῦν ἐπειδὰν  
μήπω τελείως καθαρθέντες, δόξαντες δὲ αὐτὸ<sup>2</sup> μόνον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φησὶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τοῦτο.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 37-41

observation and contemplation ; receiving as a prize for duty well done in the active life a quite different way of life whose delight is in knowledge and study of principles alone. And apart from this, 39 it is a vital matter that those who venture to make the claims of God their aim and study should first have fully met those of men ; for it is sheer folly to suppose that you will reach the greater while you are incapable of mastering the lesser. Therefore first make yourselves familiar with virtue as exercised in our dealings with men, to the end that you may be introduced to that also which has to do with our relation to God.

VII. Such is the substance of the advice which 39 Patience gives to the Man of Practice, but the actual words need detailed treatment. "Behold," she says, "Esau thy brother is threatening thee." Is it not the case that the character which is hard and wooden, whose ignorance makes it disobedient, the character called "Esau," nurses a grudge, and, offering the baits of this mortal life to destroy thee, money, fame, pleasures, and the like, is bent on killing thee ? "But do thou, my child, flee from the present contest : for not yet has thy strength reached its full development, but, as is natural in a boy, the sinews of thy soul lack firmness." This is why she addressed 40 him as "child," a title at the same time expressive of kindly feeling and suited to a tender age ; for we regard the character of the Practiser both as young compared with the fully developed and as lovable. Such a one is quite capable of winning the prizes that are offered to boys, but is not as yet able to carry off those offered to men ; and the best prize that men can obtain, is to minister to the only God. So, when 41 we present ourselves at the courts in which we are

## PHILO

ἐκνύφασθαι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα ἡμῶν τὸν βίον, ἐπ' αὐλὰς τῆς θεραπείας ἀφικώμεθα, θάπτον ἢ προσελθεῖν ἀπεπηδήσαμεν, τὴν αὐστηρὰν δίαιταν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἄνπνον θρησκείαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν συνεχῆ καὶ

42 ἀκάματον πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες. ἀποφεύγετε οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸ κάκιστον καὶ τὸ ἄριστον, κάκιστον μὲν τὸ μυθικὸν πλάσμα, τὸ ἄμετρον καὶ ἐκμελὲς ποίημα, τὸ ὑπ' ἀμαθίας σκληρὸν καὶ δρύινον ὄντως νόημα καὶ πείσμα, ὧν Ἡσαῦ ἐπώνυμος, ἄριστον δὲ τὸ ἀνάθημα· τὸ γὰρ θεραπευτικὸν γένος ἀνάθημά ἐστι θεοῦ, ἱερώμενον

43 τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχιερωσύνην αὐτῷ μόνῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνδιατρίβειν κακῶ βλαβερώτατον, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθῷ τελείῳ σφαλερώτατον. ὁ γοῦν Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ τῶν γονέων διοικίζεται· ἀσκητικὸς γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἔτι διαθλῶν φεύγει μὲν κακίαν, ἀρετῇ δὲ τελεία καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ συζῆν

44 ἀδυνατεῖ. VIII. διόπερ ἀποδημήσει πρὸς Λάβαν, οὐ τὸν Σύρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς μητρός, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἀφίξεται· λευκὸς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται Λάβαν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ οὐχ ὑψαυχενήσει, φυσώμενος ταῖς τυχηραῖς εὐπραγίαις· μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ ὁ Σύρος ἐστὶ μετέωρος. νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ Σύρου Λάβαν οὐχὶ μέμνηται, τοῦ δὲ

45 Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφοῦ. αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν βίον ὕλαι φαύλῳ μὲν παραδοθεῖσαι μετέωρον ἐξαίρουσι τὸν κενὸν φρονήσεως νοῦν, ὅστις ὠνόμασται Σύρος, ἐραστῇ δὲ παιδείας ἐπιμένοντι τοῖς καλοκάγαθιαις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀρέσκειαν.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Cong.* 61, 62 and note.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 41-45

to minister not yet thoroughly purified, but having just washed off, as we think, the spots which smirch our life, we hurry away from that ministry more quickly than we came to it, not brooking its severe way of living, and the unsleeping observance and the continuous and unflagging toil which it demands.

Flee, then, at present both that which <sup>42</sup> is worst, and that which is best. Worst is the fabulous fiction,<sup>a</sup> the poem without metre or melody, the conception and persuasion <sup>b</sup> which ignorance has rendered hard and wooden in very deed. From this Esau derives his name. Best is the dedicated offering; for the ministering kind is a sacred offering to God, consecrated for the great high priesthood to Him alone. To spend one's days with evil is most hurtful : <sup>43</sup> to do so with perfect goodness most dangerous. So Jacob both flees from Esau and moves away from his parents; for being bent on practice and still engaged in a contest, he flies from evil, but is incapable of sharing the life of perfect virtue that learns untaught. VIII. Consequently he will go abroad to Laban, not <sup>44</sup> the Syrian, but his mother's brother. This means that he will arrive amid the splendours of life, for "Laban" signifies "bright." And when he has arrived, he will not be elated by his good fortune and have a lofty mien; for, though "aloft" is the translation of "Syrian," there is no mention here of the Syrian Laban, but only of the brother of Rebecca. For the <sup>45</sup> ways and means of life placed at the disposal of a worthless man carry his mind up into the height, empty as it is of sound sense, and such a mind is called "Syrian," but for the man enamoured of discipline, steadfastly and firmly persisting in the prin-

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "confidence." See App. p. 583.

σταθερῶς καὶ παγίως δόγμασιν \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφός, τῆς ἐπιμονῆς· οἰκεῖ δὲ τὴν Χαρράν, ἣ μεταληφθεῖσά εἰσι τρώγλαι, σύμβολον τῶν αἰσθήσεων<sup>2</sup>. ὁ γὰρ ἔτι χορεύων ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ χρεῖος τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὀργάνων ἐστίν.

- 46 “ οἴκησον ” οὖν φησὶν “ ὦ τέκνον, μετ’ αὐτοῦ ”  
 μὴ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα, ἀλλ’ “ ἡμέρας τινάς, ” τοῦτο  
 [553] δ’ ἐστὶ τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων | χώραν κατάμαθε, γνῶθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ μέρη, τί τε ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ πῶς ἐνεργεῖν πέφυκε καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ θαύματα κινῶν καὶ νευροσπαστῶν ἀόρατος ἀοράτως εἶτε ὁ ἐν σοὶ νοῦς εἶτε ὁ τῶν συμπάντων.
- 47 ἐπειδὰν δὲ σαυτὸν ἐξετάσης, καὶ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ Λάβαν ἀκριβῶσον, τὰς τῆς κενῆς δόξης λαμπρὰς νομιζόμενας εὐπραγίας, ὑφ’ ὧν μηδεμιᾶς ἀλῶς, πάσας δ’ οἶα ἀγαθὸς δημιουργὸς τεχνικῶς ταῖς οἰκείαις ἐφάρμοσον χρεῖαις. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπιδείξῃ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ πεφυρμένῳ τούτῳ βίῳ σταθερὸν καὶ εὐπαίδευτον ἦθος, μεταπέμψομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα τύχῃς οὐπὲρ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἄθλου· τὸ δ’ ἄθλον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀκλινῆς καὶ ἀνένδοτος<sup>3</sup> τοῦ μόνου θεραπεία σοφοῦ.
- 48 IX. Τὰ δ’ ὅμοια καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑφηγεῖται, μικρὰ προσθείς· λέγει γάρ· “ ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Βαθουήλ, τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς μητρὸς σου, καὶ λάβε ἐκεῖθεν σαυτῷ γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Λάβαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς  
 49 σου.” πάλιν καὶ οὗτος οὐ Σύρον εἶπε τὸν Λάβαν, ἀλλὰ Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφόν, μέλλοντα κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν

<sup>1</sup> For the lacuna real or supposed see App. p. 583.

<sup>2</sup> Mangey τῶν <ὀπῶν τῶν> αἰσθήσεων; cf. *De Mig.* 188.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀνευδο(ύ)αστος.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 45-49

principles of nobility of character . . . this is the brother of Rebecca, or "Persistence"; and he dwells in "Haran," which in our language is "cavities," a symbol of the senses; for the man who is still moving upon the stage of this mortal life cannot dispense with the organs of sense. This mother 46 therefore says, "child, make thine abode with him," not for ever, but "for a few days" (Gen. xxvii. 44). This means "Learn well the country of the senses; know thyself, and the parts of which thou dost consist, what each is, and for what it was made, and how it is meant to work, and who it is that, all invisible, invisibly sets the puppets<sup>a</sup> in motion and pulls their strings, whether it be the Mind that is in thee or the Mind of the Universe. And when thou hast 47 examined thyself, make too a precise scrutiny of all that is peculiar to Laban, even the triumphs of vainglory which are accounted so brilliant. Be not caught by any of these, but, like a good craftsman, skilfully adapt them all to thine own requirements. For if, when placed in this turbid scene of state and city life, thou shalt have displayed a steadfast and well-disciplined character, I will fetch thee thence (Gen. xxvii. 45), that thou mayest obtain the very prize obtained by thy parents: and the prize is the unfaltering and untiring ministry to the only wise Being."

IX. Similar instructions are given him by his father, 48 with slight additions; for he says, "Rise up and flee away into Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father, and take to thee thence a wife from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother" (Gen. xxviii. 2). Notice here again how he too, when 49 speaking of Laban as intended to become a con-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Op.* 117.

## PHILO

τῷ ἀσκητῇ κῆδος συνάπτειν. “ ἀπόδραθι οὖν εἰς  
 τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,” τουτέστιν εἰς μέσον τὸν χει-  
 μάρρουν ποταμὸν τοῦ βίου, καὶ μὴ ἐπικλυθεὶς  
 ἐγκαταποθῆς, στηριχθεὶς δὲ βαιοτάτην<sup>1</sup> ἄνωθεν καὶ  
 50 τῶν πραγμάτων σθεναρῶς ἀπώθει. τὸν  
 γὰρ σοφίας οἶκον εὐδίων καὶ γαληνὸν λιμένα  
 εὐρήσεις, ὃς ἐνορμιζόμενόν σε ῥαδίως ὑποδέξεται·  
 σοφίας δὲ ὄνομα Βαθουήλ ἐν χρησιμοῖς ἄδεται,  
 τοῦτο δὲ μεταληφθὲν θυγάτηρ θεοῦ προσαγορεύε-  
 ται, καὶ γνησία γε θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀειπάρθενος, ἀψαύ-  
 στου καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως ἐπιλαχοῦσα διὰ τε τὴν  
 51 εαυτῆς κοσμιότητα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ γεννή-  
 σαντος. πατέρα δὲ τῆς Ῥεβέκκας Βα-  
 θουήλ εἶπε. καὶ πῶς ἦ γε θυγάτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 σοφία, λέγοιτ’ ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι πατήρ; ἢ διότι  
 ὄνομα μὲν θῆλυ σοφίας ἐστίν, ἄρρεν δὲ ἡ φύσις;  
 καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι προσήσεις μὲν ἔχουσι  
 γυναικῶν, δυνάμεις δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἀνδρῶν τελειο-  
 τάτων· ἐπειδὴ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θεόν, κἂν εἰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἀπάντων πρεσβύτατον εἶη, δευτέραν ἔχον<sup>2</sup> χώραν  
 θῆλυ ὡς ἂν παρὰ ἄρρεν τὸ τὰ ὅλα ποιοῦν ἐλέχθη  
 κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τᾶλλα ὁμοιότητα· αἰεὶ γὰρ προνομίαν  
 τοῦ ἄρρενος ἔχοντος ἐνδεῖ καὶ ὑστερίζει τὸ θῆλυ.

52 λέγωμεν οὖν μηδὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι δια-  
 φορᾶς φροντίσαντες τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν  
 ἄρρενά τε καὶ πατέρα εἶναι, σπείροντα καὶ γεννῶντα  
 ἐν ψυχαῖς μάθησιν, παιδείαν, ἐπιστήμην, φρόνησιν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βεβαιοτάτην.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔχεις οὐ ἔχει.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 49-52

nexion by marriage with the Practiser, called him not "Syrian" but "brother of Rebecca." "Flee away," he says, "into Mesopotamia," into the midst, that is, of the torrent of life's river, and take care that thou be not overwhelmed by it and drowned, but set thyself firmly, and beat back with vigour the current of affairs as it comes dashing upon thee with utmost violence, from above and from either side and from all directions. For thou shalt find 50 the house of wisdom a calm and fair haven, which will welcome thee kindly as thou comest to thy moorings in it; and it is wisdom's name that the holy oracles proclaim by "Bethuel," a name meaning in our speech "Daughter of God"; yea, a true-born and ever-virgin daughter, who, by reason alike of her own modesty and of the glory of Him that begot her, hath obtained a nature free from every defiling touch.

He called Bethuel Rebecca's father. 51 How, pray, can Wisdom, the daughter of God, be rightly spoken of as a father? Is it because, while Wisdom's name is feminine, her nature is manly? As indeed all the virtues have women's titles, but powers and activities of consummate men. For that which comes after God, even though it were chiefest of all other things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed feminine to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe who is masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For pre-eminence always pertains to the masculine, and the feminine always comes short of and is lesser than it.

Let us, then, pay no heed to the discrepancy in the 52 gender of the words, and say that the daughter of God, even Wisdom, is not only masculine but father, sowing and begetting in souls aptness to learn, dis-

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καλὰς καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις. ἐνθένδε ὁ ἀσκητῆς  
 [554] Ἰακώβ μνᾶται γάμον ἑαυτῷ· πόθεν γὰρ | ἄλλοθεν  
 ἢ ἐκ τοῦ σοφίας οἴκου κοινωνὸν εὐρήσει γνώμην  
 ἀνεπίληπτον, ἣ πάντα συνδιατρίβει τὸν αἰῶνα;

53 X. Λελάληκε δ' ἀκριβέστερον περὶ φυγῆς, ἠνίκα  
 τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐτίθει νόμον, ἐν ᾧ πάντ'  
 ἐπεξῆλθε τὰ εἶδη, τὸ ἐκουσίου φόνου, τὸ ἀκουσίου,  
 τὸ ἐπιθέσεώς τε καὶ<sup>1</sup> βουλευσεως. λέγε τὸν νόμον·  
 "ἐὰν πατάξῃ τις τινα καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, θανάτῳ θανα-  
 τοῦσθω· ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἑκὼν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν  
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, δώσω σοι τόπον, οὐ  
 φεύξεται ὁ φονεύσας. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιθῆται τῷ  
 πλησίον ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ,  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι."

54 . σαφῶς εἰδώς, ὅτι περιττὸν ὄνομα οὐδὲν  
 τίθησιν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πραγματολογεῖν ἀμυθήτου  
 φορᾶς, ἠπόρουσαν κατ' ἑμαυτόν, διὰ τί τὸν ἐκουσίως  
 κτείναντα οὐκ εἶπε θανατοῦσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ  
 55 θανατοῦσθαι· τίμη γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὁ ἀποθνήσκων ἢ θανα-  
 τῳ τελευτᾷ; φοιτήσας οὖν παρὰ γυναῖκα σοφὴν,  
 ἣ σκέψις ὄνομα, τοῦ ζητεῖν ἀπηλλάγην· ἐδίδαξε  
 γὰρ με, ὅτι καὶ ζῶντες ἐνιοὶ τεθνήκασιν καὶ τεθνη-  
 κότες ζῶσιν. τοὺς μὲν γε φαύλους ἄχρι γήρως  
 ὑστάτου παρατεινοντάς νεκροὺς ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν  
 μετ' ἀρετῆς βίον ἀφηρημένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστείους,  
 καὶ τῆς πρὸς σῶμα κοινωνίας διαζευχθῶσι, ζῆν  
 εἰσαεῖ, ἀθανάτου μοίρας ἐπιλαχόντας.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸ ἐπιθέσεως, τὸ βουλήσεως, but see § 78, where assault and premeditation form a single head.

<sup>a</sup> So Mangey; Wendland places the comma before ὑπό, perhaps taking it "through my perpetual tendency to argue I began" etc. See on *De Som.* i. 230.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 52-56

cipline, knowledge, sound sense, good and laudable actions. It is from this household that Jacob the Practiser seeks to win a bride. To what other place than to the house of wisdom shall he go to find a partner, a faultless judgement, with whom to spend his days for ever ?

X. The lawgiver has spoken in greater detail on 53 the subject of flight when laying down the law respecting manslaughter, in which he goes into all the different forms, that of intentional slaying, that of unintentional, that of deliberate assault. Read the Law : " If a man smite another and he die, let him die the death. But he that did not intend it, but God delivered him into his hands, I will give thee a place to which the slayer shall flee. And if a man attack his neighbour to slay him by guile and he take refuge, from the altar shalt thou take him to put him to death " (Exod. xxi. 12-14). Well 54

knowing that he never puts in a superfluous word, so vast is his <sup>a</sup> desire to speak plainly and clearly, I began debating with myself why he said that the intentional slayer is not to be put to death only but " by death to be put to death." " In what other 55 way," I asked myself, " does a man who dies come to his end save by death ? " So I attended the lectures of a wise woman, whose name is " Consideration," and was rid of my questioning ; for she taught me that some people are dead while living, and some alive while dead. She told me that bad people, prolonging their days to extreme old age, are dead men, deprived of the life in association with virtue, while good people, even if cut off from their partnership with the body, live for ever, and are granted immortality. XI. She confirmed what 56

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56 XI. ἐπιστοῦτο μέντοι καὶ χρησιμοῖς τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον, ἐνὶ μὲν τοιῶδε· “οἱ προσκείμενοι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ζήτε πάντες ἐν τῇ σήμερον”· τοὺς γὰρ πρόσφυγας καὶ ἰκέτας τοῦ θεοῦ μόνους ζῶντας οἶδε, νεκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐκείνοις δ’, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν μαρτυρεῖ διὰ τοῦ προσθεῖναι “ζήτε ἐν

57 τῇ σήμερον.” σήμερον δ’ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπέρατος<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀδιεξίτητος αἰὼν· μηνῶν γὰρ καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ συνόλως χρόνων περίοδοι δόγματα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκτετιμηκότων· τὸ δ’ ἀψευδὲς ὄνομα αἰῶνος ἢ σήμερον. ἥλιος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλαττόμενος ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν αἰεὶ, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ποτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν ἰών, παρ’ ὃν ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ, τὰ αἰῶνος μέτρα, διεκρί-

58 θησαν· ἐτέρῳ δ’ ἐπιστοῦτο τοιῶδε χρησμῶ· “ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν”— οὐκοῦν, ὦ πάνσοφε, τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ, τὸ δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἡ κακία ὁ θάνατος· καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις· “αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ σου καὶ ἡ μακρότης τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.” ὄρος ἀθανάτου βίου κάλλιστος οὗτος, ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ θεοῦ ἀσάρκῳ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ κατεσχῆσθαι.

59  
555] Οὕτως | οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς Ναδαῶβ καὶ Ἀβιουδ, ἵνα

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἀπέρατος. See note on *Quis Rerum* 212.

<sup>a</sup> Or “eternity,” but there is not here that opposition between time and eternity which we sometimes have in Philo, e.g. *Quod Deus* 32. Perhaps “the ages” is the best English equivalent.

<sup>b</sup> The thought is not very clear. Perhaps “the sun measures time by its presence and absence. Thus it is always some day and therefore at each moment ‘to-day.’”

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 56-59

she said by holy oracles also, one of them to this effect: "Ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God are alive all of you at this day" (Deut. iv. 4). For only those who have taken refuge in God and become His supplicants does Moses recognize as living, accounting the rest to be dead men. Indeed he evidently ascribes immortality to the former by adding "ye are alive 'to-day.'" Now "to-day" <sup>57</sup> is the limitless age that never comes to an end; for periods of months and years, and of lengths of time generally, are notions of men arising from the high importance which they have attached to number. But the absolutely correct name for "endless age" <sup>a</sup> is "to-day." For the sun never changes, but is always the same, going now above, now below, the earth; and through it day and night, the measures of endless age, are distinguished. <sup>b</sup> Another <sup>58</sup> oracle by which she verified her statement was this: "Behold, I have given before thy face life and death, good and evil" (Deut. xxx. 15). Accordingly, thou wisest of teachers, goodness and virtue is life, evil and wickedness is death. Again, elsewhere: "This is thy life and length of days, to love the Lord thy God" (Deut. xxx. 20). This is a most noble definition of deathless life, to be possessed by a love of God and a friendship for God with which flesh and body have no concern.

It is thus that the priests Nadab and Abihu <sup>c</sup> die <sup>59</sup>

It might be given more clearly by translating in a different order; "For the sun, though its course is sometimes above sometimes below the earth, and thus creates the distinction between daytime and night-time, which serves as a measure of the ages, is always the same sun." Perhaps read  $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta$  for  $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta\nu$ . The same thought appears in *Leg. All.* iii. 25.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 58, *Quis Rerum* 309.

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ζήσωσιν, ἀποθνήσκουσιν θνητῆς ζωῆς ἄφθαρτον ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι βίον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον μετανιστάμενοι· ἐφ' ὧν<sup>1</sup> τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἄδεται, ὅτι<sup>2</sup> ἐτελεύτησαν ἐνώπιον κυρίου, τουτέστιν ἔζησαν· νεκρὸν γὰρ οὐ θέμις εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ πάλιν “ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ εἶπε κύριος· ‘ ἐν τοῖς ἐγγιζουσί μοι ἁγιασθήσομαι,’ ” “ νεκροὶ δ’ ” ὡς καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις λέγεται, “ οὐκ αἰνέσουσι κύριον ”· ζώντων γὰρ τὸ ἔργον.

60 Κάιν δ’ ὁ ἐναγῆς καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀποθνήσκων εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγιόν ἐστιν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χρησθὲν τοιοῦτον· “ ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Κάιν σημεῖον, τοῦ μὴ  
61 ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν εὐρίσκοντα.” διὰ τί; ὅτι, οἶμαι, ἡ ἀσέβεια κακὸν ἐστὶν ἀτελεύτητον, ἐξαπτόμενον καὶ μηδέποτε<sup>3</sup> σβεσθῆναι δυνάμενον, ὡς τὸ ποιητικὸν ἀρμόττειν ἐπὶ κακίας εἰπεῖν·

ἡ δέ τοι οὐ θνητή, ἀλλ’ ἀθάνατον κακὸν ἐστίν, ἀθάνατον δ’ ἐν τῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν βίῳ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὴν ἐν θεῷ ζωὴν ἄψυχον καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ “ κοπρίων,”  
62 ὡς ἔφη τις, “ ἐκβλητότερον.” XII. ἀλλ’ ἔδει γε πάντως χώρας ἀπονεμηθῆναι διαφερούσας πράγμασι διαφέρουσιν, οὐρανὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶ, τὰ δὲ περιγεια κακῶ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἀνώφοιτόν ἐστι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ῶ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὅτε (τότε).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. μηδέπω.

<sup>a</sup> In E.V. Ps. cxv. 17.

<sup>b</sup> The real meaning of the text no doubt is “ He set a sign upon Cain, in order that no one should kill him.” But the fuller discussion of the text in *Quod Det.* 177 shows that Philo, with little respect for grammar, takes it as in the translation, viz. that the distinctive mark of the Cain-soul is that it can never be killed.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 59-62

in order that they may live, receiving an incorruptible life in exchange for mortal existence, and being translated from the created to the uncreate. Over them a proclamation is uttered betokening immortality, "They died before the Lord" (Lev. x. 2), that is "They came to life," for a corpse may not come into God's presence. And again, "This is that which the Lord hath said, 'I will be sanctified in them that draw nigh unto me'" (Lev. x. 3), "But dead men," as we hear in the Psalms, "shall not praise the Lord" (Psalm cxiii. 25)<sup>a</sup>: for that is the work of living men. On the other hand, 60 of Cain the accursed fratricide's death no mention is found anywhere in the Books of the Law—nay, there is an oracle uttered concerning him which says, "The Lord God set a sign on Cain, even this, that no man that found him should kill him" (Gen. iv. 15).<sup>b</sup> Why so? Because, I suppose, impiety is 61 an evil that cannot come to an end, being ever set alight and never able to be quenched, so that we may fitly apply to wickedness the poet's words:

No mortal is she, but a deathless ill.<sup>c</sup>

It is in life as we know it that it is "deathless," for in relation to the LIFE in God it is a lifeless corpse, "more utter refuse than dung," as one has said.<sup>d</sup> XII. Now, it was quite fitting that different regions 62 should be allotted to different things, heaven to a good thing, the earthly parts to an evil thing. That which is good is a thing upward-soaring; and should

<sup>c</sup> *Odyssey* xii. 118.

<sup>d</sup> Heraclitus. The phrase *νεκρες κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι* is quoted as from him by several writers. See Bywater, *Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae* 85.

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- κᾶν εἴ ποτε ἔλθοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς—φιλόδωρος γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ,—σπουδάζει παλινδρομῆσαι δικαίως· τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἐνταυθοῖ καταμένει, πορρωτάτω θείου χοροῦ διωκισμένον, περιπολοῦν τὸν θνητὸν βίον καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους
- 63 ἀποθανεῖν. τοῦτό τις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφία θαυμασθέντων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ἐφώνησε μεγαλειότερον ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ φάσκων· “ ἄλλ’ οὐτ’ ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατόν—ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη—οὔτε ἐν θεοῖς<sup>2</sup> αὐτὰ ἰδρῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ θνητὴν φύσιν καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖ<sup>3</sup>. διὸ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένθε ἐκείσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὄσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως
- 64 γενέσθαι.” εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Καῖν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖται, τὸ κακίας σύμβολον, ἣν αἰεὶ δεῖ ζῆν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει παρ’ ἀνθρώποις. <sup>4</sup> ὥστ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὸ “ θανάτῳ θανατοῦσθαι ” λέλεκται τὸν ἀνδροφόνον διὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας αἰτίας.
- 65 XIII. Τὸ δὲ “ οὐχ ἐκῶν, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν ” ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρώντων πάνυ καλῶς εἴρηται. δοκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια γνώμης τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔργα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια θεοῦ· λέγω δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ὅσα

<sup>1</sup> So Plato: mss. γὰρ τῷ θεῷ.

<sup>2</sup> So Plato: mss. θεοῖς, which Wendland retains. Philo may have deliberately wished to avoid the thought of “ gods.”

<sup>3</sup> So Plato: mss. περιπολεῖν, which Wendland retains.

<sup>4</sup> Wendland puts a colon before ὥστε. But the following clause does not belong to the Cain meditation, which is a digression, but refers to the whole argument begun in § 54 and broken off in § 60.

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 583 f.



it ever come to us, in the bounty of its Father, it hastens, as is meet and right, to retrace its steps; but that which is evil stays here, removed as far as possible from the Divine Company,<sup>a</sup> making our mortal life its haunt, and incapable of quitting the human race by dying. This truth found noble 63 utterance in the *Theaetetus*, where a man highly esteemed, one of those admired for their wisdom, says: "Evils can never pass away; for there must always remain something which is antagonistic to good. Having no place among the gods in heaven, of necessity they hover around the mortal nature and this earthly sphere. Wherefore we ought to fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to fly away is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy, just, and wise."<sup>b</sup> Naturally, therefore, Cain will 64 not die, being the symbol of wickedness, which must of necessity ever live among men in the race that is mortal. There is, then, for the reasons that have been pointed out, definite point in the direction that the manslayer "be put by death to death."

XIII. The words, "not intentionally, but God 65 delivered him into his hands," are admirably employed of those who commit an unintentional homicide. The writer feels that intentional acts are acts of our own determination, and that unintentional acts are God's acts: I mean not the sins, but, on the contrary, all acts that are a punishment for sins.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Theaetetus* 176 A, B (Jowett's translation).

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* Philo distinguishes between the ordinary sense of ἀκούσια meaning our involuntary and unavoidable slips and that in which it indicates the acts in which we are unconsciously God's ministers. In § 76 he seems to drop this distinction.

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- 66 [556] ἁμαρτημάτων ἐστὶ κόλασις. | ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ θεῷ  
 τὸ κολάζειν ἅτε πρώτῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ νομοθέτῃ,  
 κολάζει<sup>1</sup> δὲ <δι> ὑπηρετούντων ἐτέρων, οὐ δι'  
 ἑαυτοῦ. τὰς μὲν γὰρ χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ  
 εὐεργεσίας αὐτὸν ἀρμόττει προτείνειν ἅτε ἀγαθὸν  
 καὶ φιλόδωρον ὄντα φύσει, τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας οὐκ  
 ἄνευ μὲν ἐπικελεύσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέως ἅτε  
 ὑπάρχοντος, δι' ἄλλων δέ, οἱ πρὸς τοιαύτας χρείας  
 67 εὐτρεπεῖς εἰσι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ  
 λόγῳ ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐν οἷς φησιν· “ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων  
 με ἐκ νεότητος, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων  
 τῶν κακῶν.” τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτερα ἀγαθὰ, οἷς  
 ἡ ψυχὴ τρέφεται, ἀνέθηκε θεῷ, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα, ὅσα  
 ἐκ φυγῆς ἁμαρτημάτων περιγίνεται, θεράποντι  
 68 θεοῦ. διὰ τοῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ ἡνίκα τὰ τῆς  
 κοσμοποιίας ἐφιλοσόφει, πάντα τᾶλλα εἰπὼν ὑπὸ  
 θεοῦ γενέσθαι μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἂν μετὰ  
 συνεργῶν ἐτέρων ἐδήλωσε διαπλασθέντα. “εἶπε”  
 γὰρ φησιν “ὁ θεός· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ'  
 εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν,” πλήθους διὰ τοῦ “ποιήσωμεν”  
 69 ἐμφαινομένου. διαλέγεται μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν ὄλων  
 πατὴρ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, αἷς τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν  
 τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἔδωκε διαπλάττειν μιμουμέναις  
 τὴν αὐτοῦ τέχνην, ἡνίκα τὸ λογικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν  
 ἐμόρφου, δικαίων ὑπὸ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τὸ ἡγεμονεῦον  
 ἐν ψυχῇ, τὸ δ' ὑπήκοον πρὸς ὑπηκόων δημιουργ-  
 70 γείσθαι. κατεχρήσατο <δὲ> καὶ ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 δυνάμεσιν οὐ διὰ τὸ λεχθὲν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐμελλεν

<sup>1</sup> mss. κολάζειν, which perhaps might be retained. To understand ἐμπρεπὲς from ἀπρεπὲς might be paralleled in Philo.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 66-70

For it is unbecoming to God to punish, seeing that 66  
He is the original and perfect Lawgiver : He punishes  
not by His own hands but by those of others who  
act as His ministers. Boons, gifts, benefits it is  
fitting that He should extend, since He is by nature  
good and bountiful, but punishments by the agency  
of others who are ready to perform such services,  
though not without his command given in virtue of  
his sovereignty.

The Practiser testifies 67  
to what I say in the words, " God who nourishes me  
from youth, the Angel who delivers me out of all  
my evils " (Gen. xlviii. 15 f.). He ascribes to God  
the more important good things, by which the soul  
is nourished, and the less important, which come  
about by escape from sins, to God's minister. <sup>a</sup>

It is for this reason, I imagine, that Moses, when 68  
treating in his lessons of wisdom of the Creation of  
the world, after having said of all other things that  
they were made by God, described man alone as  
having been fashioned with the co-operation of  
others. His words are : " God said, let us make  
man after our image " (Gen. i. 26), " let us make " <sup>b</sup>  
indicating more than one. So the Father of all things 69  
is holding parley with His powers, whom He allowed  
to fashion the mortal portion of our soul by imitating  
the skill shewn by Him when He was forming that  
in us which is rational, since He deemed it right that  
by the Sovereign should be wrought the sovereign  
faculty in the soul, the subject part being wrought  
by subjects. And He employed the powers that 70  
are associated with Him not only for the reason  
mentioned, but because, alone among created

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 177, *De Conf.* 181.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 169.

- ἢ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μόνη κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐννοίας λαμβάνειν καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐτέραις, εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν ἀμφοτέραις. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἠγγήσατο τὴν κακῶν γένεσιν ἐτέροις ἀπονεῖμαι δημιουργοῖς, τὴν δὲ
- 71 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ. XIV. διὸ καὶ λεχθέντος πρότερον “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ πλήθους, ἐπιφέρεται τὸ ὡς ἂν ἐφ’ ἐνός· “ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.” τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου, ὃς δὴ νοῦς ἐστὶ καθαρῶτατος, εἰς ὃ μόνος θεὸς δημιουργός, τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου καὶ κεκραμένου μετ’ αἰσθήσεως τὸ πλήθος.
- 72 οὗ χάριν ὁ μὲν κατ’ ἐξοχὴν ἄνθρωπος σὺν τῷ ἄρθρῳ μεμῆνυται—λέγεται γάρ· “ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τὸν ἀειδῆ καὶ ἄκρατον ἐκείνον λογισμὸν,—ὃ δὲ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦδε προσθήκης· τὸ γὰρ “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ἐμφαίνει τὸν ἐξ ἀλόγου καὶ λογικῆς συνυφανθέντα φύσεως.
- 73 ἐπόμενος τούτοις τό τε εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸ καταρᾶσθαι τοῖς ὑπαιτίοις ἀνέθηκεν οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καίτοι γε ἀμφοτέρων ἐχόντων ἔπαινον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἀξίους ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει τὴν ἐν ἐγκωμίοις, τὸ δ’ ἄρα τῶν φαύλοις τίθεσθαι δευτέραν τάξιν, τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα χειρο-
- [557] τονηθέντων— | εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγῆται δώδεκα ἀριθμῶ, φυλάρχας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζειν ἔθος—ἐξ μὲν τοὺς ἀμείνους ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐλογίας, Συμεῶν, Λευί, Ἰούδαν, Ἰσάχαρ, Ἰωσήφ καὶ Βενιαμίν, τοὺς δ’ ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τῆς κατάρας, τὸν τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸν ὕστατον τῶν Λείας, Ῥουβὴν καὶ Ζαβουλών, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θεραπεινίδων νόθους

<sup>a</sup> Literally, “unless it is possible,” which of course it is not, *ei μή*, as often, indicating a *reductio ad absurdum*.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 70-73

beings, the soul of man was to be susceptible of conceptions of evil things and good things, and to use one sort or the other, since it is impossible for him to use both.<sup>a</sup> Therefore God deemed it necessary to assign the creation of evil things to other makers, reserving that of good things to Himself alone.

XIV. Wherefore also, while in the former 71 case the expression used was "let us make man," as though more than one were to do it, there is used afterwards an expression pointing to One, "God made the man" (Gen. i. 27). For of the real man, who is absolutely pure Mind, One, even the only God, is the Maker; but a plurality of makers produce man so-called, one that has an admixture of sense-perception. That is why he who is man in 72 the special sense is mentioned with the article. The words run "God made the man," that invisible reasoning faculty free from admixture. The other has no article added; for the words "let us make man" point to him in whom an irrational and rational nature are woven together. In 73 adherence to the same principle he ascribes the blessing of the good and the cursing of the guilty to different persons. Both, it is true, receive praise, but blessing those worthy of blessing enjoys the prerogative which belongs to eulogies, while the laying of curses on the evil occupies but a second place. Therefore of those appointed for this purpose, the chiefs of the race, twelve in number, whom we are accustomed to call tribe-leaders, he set the six best over the blessing, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph and Benjamin; and the other six over the cursing, the first and the last of the sons of Leah, Reuben and Zabulon, and the four bastard-born of

## PHILO

- 74 *τέτταρας*. τῆς γὰρ βασιλείου καὶ (τῆς) ἱερωμένης φυλῆς οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τάξει χορευούσιν, Ἰούδας τε καὶ Λευί. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄξια θανάτου δρῶντας ἐτέρων χερσὶν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐπὶ τιμωρία, βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκειν, ὅτι ἡ κακοῦ φύσις μακρὰν ἀπελήλαται χοροῦ θείου, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ μιμηλάζον ἀγαθὸν κακῶ, ἢ τιμωρία, δι' ἐτέρων βεβαιοῦται.
- 75 Τὸ δὲ “ δώσω σοι τόπον, οὗ φεύξεται ὁ φονεύσας ” ἀκουσίως, πάνυ καλῶς εἰρησθαί μοι δοκεῖ· τόπον γὰρ καλεῖ νῦν οὐ χώραν ἐκπεπληρωμένην ὑπὸ σώματος, ἀλλὰ δι' ὑπονοιῶν αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν, ἐπειδὴ περιέχων οὐ περιέχεται καὶ ὅτι καταφυγὴ τῶν ὄλων ἐστί. θέμις οὖν τῷ δόξαντι τροπῇ χρῆσασθαι ἀκουσίῳ φάναι κατὰ θεὸν συμβῆναι τὴν τροπῇ, ὅπερ<sup>1</sup> οὐ θέμις τῷ ἐκουσίως ἀμαρτόντι. “ δώσειν ” δέ φησιν οὐ τῷ κτείναντι, ἀλλ' ᾧ διαλέγεται, ὥσθ' ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν οἰκήτορα, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν φεύγοντα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ὁ θεὸς πατρίδα οἰκεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἂν αὐτόχθονι, δεδώρηται, τῷ δ' ἐν ἀκουσίῳ γενομένῳ σφάλμασι καταφυγὴν, ὡς ὀθνεῖω ξένην, οὐχ ὡς πατρίδα ἀστώ.
- 77 XV. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίῳ φιλοσοφήσας περὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως καὶ βουλευσεως ἐξῆς νομοθετεῖ φάσκων· “ εἰ δέ τις ἐπιθῆται τῷ πλησίον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὥσπερ.

<sup>a</sup> The point of the sentence is not quite clear. Perhaps the meaning is that by placing the two clearly superior tribes in the first list, Moses indicates that this list is as a whole superior.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 584.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 74-77

the handmaids (Deut. xxvii. 12 f.). For the leaders 74 of the royal and of the priestly tribe hold a position in the former list, Judah and Levi.<sup>a</sup> Quite naturally, then, does He give up for punishment into the hands of others those who commit acts deserving death. He wishes to teach us that the nature of evil is far removed from the Divine Company, inasmuch as even the good thing which imitates evil, punishment, is ratified by means of others.

The terms in which the announcement " I will 75 give thee a place where the " unintentional " slayer shall take refuge " is made, seem to me to be excellently chosen. For here He uses the word " place," not of a space entirely filled by a body,<sup>b</sup> but symbolically of God Himself, since He contains and is not contained, and because He is the Refuge for the whole universe. It is lawful, therefore, for one 76 who feels that he has fallen into an unintentional offence, to say that the offence came about as God ordained, a statement which the deliberate wrongdoer may not make. Further He says that He " will give " not to the slayer but to him whom He is addressing,<sup>c</sup> which shews that the dweller in the place is a different person from him who escapes thither. For to His Word, as to one indigenous, God has given His knowledge as a fatherland to dwell in, but to one who has fallen into unintentional offences He has given it as a place of refuge, as a strange land to an alien, not as a fatherland to one with a citizen's rights.

XV. After treating in this way of unintentional 77 acts he goes on to legislate concerning assault and premeditation, saying, " If a man set upon his

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo takes the " thee " of the text to be the Logos.

## PHILO

ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλω καὶ καταφύγη<sup>1</sup>” ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, τὸν προειρημένον συμβολικῶς τόπον, παρ’ ὃν ζῆν συμβέβηκε τοῖς πᾶσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέρωθί  
78 φησιν· “ὃς ἂν φύγη ἐκεῖ, καὶ ζήσεται.” ἀλλ’ οὐ ζωὴ μὲν ἔστιν αἰώνιος ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὄν καταφυγή, θάνατος δ’ ὁ ἀπὸ τούτου δρασμός; εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτίθεται, πάντως ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὸ σὺν δόλω πραττόμενον ἐκουσίως ἔνοχον, ὡς τὸ ἀδόλως  
79 ἔμπαλιν οὐδ’ ὑπαίτιον. οὐδὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπούλως καὶ δολερῶς καὶ ἐκ προνοίας πραττομένων ἀδικημάτων ἄξιον λέγειν γίνεσθαι κατὰ θεόν, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔφην, οἱ τῶν κακῶν<sup>2</sup> εἰσι θησαυροί, παρὰ θεῷ δὲ οἱ μόνων  
80 ἀγαθῶν. ὃς ἂν οὖν καταφύγη, τὸ δ’ ἔστιν ὃς ἂν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ θεὸν αἰτιᾶται, κολαζέσθω, τῆς μόνοις ἰκέταις πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καταφυγῆς, τοῦ βωμοῦ, στερουόμενος, καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· ἀμώμων γὰρ ἱερείων, λέγω  
[558] δὲ ψυχῶν ἀσινῶν καὶ κεκαθαρμένων, τὸ | θυσιαστήριον ἀνάπλεῶν ἔστι· δυσίατος δὲ ἢ παντελῶς ἀνίατος μῶμος τὸ φάσκειν καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον εἶναι  
81 τὸ θεῖον. φίλαντοι δὴ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι σπουδᾶσαντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι τρόποι πάντες εἶναι βαινέτωσαν ἔξω περιρραντηρίων, ἵν’ ὡς μιαιοὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι μηδ’ ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὴν ἱερὰν φλόγα τῆς ἀνακαιομένης ἀσβέστου ψυχῆς καὶ θεῷ καθαγιζομένης ὀλοκλήρῳ  
82 καὶ παντελεῖ δυνάμει θεάσωνται. παγκάλως τις τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν εἰς ταῦτ’ οὗτο συν-

<sup>1</sup> So according to Mangey in the New College ms.: Wend.’s mss. have καταφύγη ποιεῖ, from which Cohn suggests, I think with great probability, καταφύγη· πῶι;

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κακιῶν.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 77-82

neighbour to slay him by guile and flee for refuge " (Exod. xxi. 14) to God, even to Him Who has been already symbolically called a place, Who is the occasion of life to all; for in another place likewise it says, " Whosoever shall flee there shall live " (Deut. xix. 5). And is it not life eternal to take refuge with Him 78 that is, and death to flee away from Him? But if a man sets upon another he certainly deliberately commits a wrong, and that which is done intentionally with guile incurs guilt, even as, on the other hand, no blame attaches to the act in which there is no guile. Accordingly it is not right to say that any wrongs 79 committed with secret hostility and with guile and as the result of premeditation are done as God ordains; they are done as we ordain. For as I have said, the treasures of evil things are in ourselves; with God are those of good things only. Whosoever, 80 therefore, takes refuge, that is, whosoever blames not himself but God for his sins, let him be punished, by being deprived of the refuge which is a place of deliverance and safety for suppliants only, namely the altar. Is not this meet and right? For the place of sacrifice is wholly occupied by victims free from blemish, that is by innocent and purified souls; and it is a blemish that can hardly, if at all, be remedied, to assert that the Deity is the cause of evil things as of all others. All such characters have made self- 81 love their aim rather than love of God. Let them go forth outside the hallowed precincts, that in their foulness and uncleanness they may not behold even from afar the sacred flame of the soul ascending in unquenchable fire, and with power entire and unimpaired being sacrificed to God. In daring 82 and noble language one of the wise men of old has

## PHILO

δραμῶν ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι “ θεὸς οὐδαμῇ οὐ-  
 δαμῶς ἄδικος, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἶόν τε δικαιοτάτος, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὁμοιότερον οὐδὲν ἢ ὃς ἂν ἡμῶν αὐ<sup>1</sup>  
 γένηται ὅτι δικαιοτάτος. περὶ τοῦτον<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἡ ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς δεινότης ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐδενία τε καὶ ἀν-  
 ανδρία. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτου γνώσις σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ  
 ἀληθινή, ἡ δὲ ἄγνοια ἀμαθία τε καὶ κακία ἐναργής.  
 αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι δεινότητες δοκοῦσαι καὶ σοφαίαι ἐν μὲν  
 83 πολιτικαῖς δυναστείαις γιγνόμεναι φορτικάι, ἐν δὲ  
 ἀγεσθαι τὸν ἀνιέρων καὶ κακῆγορον τῶν θείων ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἱερωτάτων καὶ ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐπὶ τιμωρία φησὶν  
 ἐξῆς· “ ὃς τύπτει πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, τελευτάτω ”  
 καὶ ὁμοίως “ ὁ κακῆγορῶν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα  
 84 τελευτάτω.” μονονοῦ γὰρ βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅτι  
 τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον βλασφημούντων οὐδενὶ συγγνώμης  
 μεταδοτέον. εἰ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς θνητοὺς κακῆγορή-  
 σαντες γονεῖς ἀπάγονται τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τίος  
 ἀξίους χρὴ νομίζειν τιμωρίας τοὺς τὸν τῶν ὄλων  
 πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν βλασφημεῖν ὑπομένοντας; τίς  
 δ’ ἂν γένοιτο αἰσχίων κακῆγορία ἢ τὸ φάσκειν μὴ  
 παρ’ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ θεὸν γένεσιν εἶναι τῶν  
 85 κακῶν; ἐλαύνετε οὖν, ἐλαύνετε, ᾧ μύσται καὶ  
 ἱεροφάνται θείων ὀργίων, τὰς μιγάδας καὶ σύγ-  
 κλυδας καὶ πεφυρμένας, δυσκαθάρτους καὶ δυσεκ-  
 πλύτους ψυχὰς, αἱ ἄκλειστα μὲν ᾧτα, ἄθυρον δὲ  
 γλῶτταν, ὄργανα τῆς ἑαυτῶν βαρυδαιμονίας εὐ-  
 τρεπῆ, περιφέρουσιν, ἵνα καὶ πάντων καὶ ᾧν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> So Plato: mss. εἶ.

<sup>2</sup> Plato τούτου (presumably neuter): Wend. does not note this: I retain τοῦτον with doubt.

<sup>a</sup> *Theaetetus* 176 c. See App. p. 584.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 82-85

brought out the truth which I am enforcing. "In no case and in no way," he says, "is God unrighteous: He is absolute righteousness; and nothing exists more like Him than whoso of us in his turn attains to the greatest possible righteousness. It is by his relation to Him that a man's real attainment is determined, as well as his worthlessness and failure to attain real manhood. For to know Him is true wisdom and virtue, and ignorance of Him is manifest stupidity and wickedness. All other seeming attainments and proofs of wisdom so called, if displayed in gaining political power, are merely vulgar; if in practising handicrafts, merely mechanical." <sup>a</sup> XVI. After 83 directing, then, that the man who is profane and reviles things sacred be led away from the most holy spots and given up to punishment, he goes on to say, "He that smiteth father or mother, let him die," and likewise "he that revileth father or mother, let him die" (Exod. xxi. 15 f.). He as good as proclaims in a loud 84 voice that no pardon must be granted to a blasphemer against God. For if those who have reviled mortal parents are led away for execution, what penalty must we consider that those have merited who take upon them to blaspheme the Father and Maker of the universe? And what more foul reviling could be uttered than the statement, that the origination of evil lies not at our door but at God's? Drive off, 85 then, ye initiates and hierophants of holy mysteries, drive off the motley crowd, flotsam and jetsam, souls hardly capable of cleansing and purifying, carrying about wherever they go ears ever unclosed, and tongue ever unconfined, ready instruments of their miserable condition in their longing to hear all that heaven forbids us to hear, and to tell out such things

## PHILO

θέμις ἀκούωσι καὶ πάντα<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅσα μὴ χρεῶν ἐκλα-  
 86 λῶσιν. ὅσοι δὲ διαφορὰν ἐκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων  
 ἐπαιδεύθησαν καὶ εὐφημον στόμα ἀντὶ κακηγόρου  
 γλώττης ἔλαχον, κατορθοῦντες μὲν ἐπαινετοί,  
 σφαλλόμενοι δὲ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην οὐ πάνυ ψεκτοί·  
 διὸ καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῖς εἰς καταφυγὴν ἀπεκρίθησαν.

87 XVII. | "Ἀξίον δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτὰ τὰ  
 [559] ἀναγκαῖα μάλιστα ἀκριβῶσαι. ἔστι δ' ἀριθμῶ τέτ-  
 ταρα· ἐν μὲν, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἄλλαι φυλαὶ  
 πόλεων ἔλαχον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἡ Λευιτικὴ μόνη, φυγάσι  
 πόλεις ἀπεκρίθησαν· δεύτερον δέ, διὰ τί ἐξ ἀριθμῶ  
 καὶ οὔτε πλείους οὔτε ἐλάττους· τρίτον, τί δήποτε  
 τρεῖς μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, αἱ δ' ἕτεραι<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῇ  
 Χαναanaίων γῆ· τέταρτον, διὰ τί προθεσμία τοῖς  
 φυγάσιν ὄρισται τοῦ κατελθεῖν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως  
 88 θάνατος. λεκτέον οὖν περὶ ἐκάστου τὰ  
 ἀρμόττοντα, ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντας. εἰς  
 τὰς ἀπονεμηθείσας Λευίταις μόνοις πόλεις φεύγειν  
 διείρηται πάνυ προσηκόντως· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λευῖται  
 τρόπον τινὰ φυγάδες εἰσὶν, ἔνεκα ἀρεσκείας θεοῦ  
 γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 89 θνητὴν συγγένειαν ἀπολελοιπότες. ὁ γοῦν ἀρχ-  
 ηγέτης τοῦ θιάσου τούτου λέγων εἰσάγεται τῷ  
 πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ· "οὐχ ἐώρακα ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀδελφοὺς οὐ γινώσκω, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπογινώσκω"

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ πάντων or omit.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὰς ἕτερας: perhaps retain and add e.g. λέγει.

<sup>a</sup> Or "achieve (full) righteousness" (in something of the Stoic sense), i.e. are free from the ἀκούσια as well as the ἐκούσια; cf. *De Agr.* 177 ff.

<sup>b</sup> The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: the blasphemer who ascribes ἐκούσια ἀμαρτήματα to God and not only he but all the profane and irreverent must be avoided,

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 86-89

as should never find utterance. But all who have 86  
been trained to discriminate between intentional and  
unintentional actions, and have been given lips that  
can keep a holy silence in place of a reviling tongue,  
are praiseworthy when they go aright,<sup>a</sup> and are not  
much to blame when they fail without meaning it :  
that is why cities of refuge were set apart for them  
(Num. xxxv.).<sup>b</sup>

XVII. It is worth while to treat with particular 87  
detail those aspects of the subject which are of vital  
importance.<sup>c</sup> They are four in number : first, why  
cities set apart for fugitives were chosen, not from the  
cities allotted to the other tribes, but from those  
assigned to the tribe of Levi only ; secondly, for what  
reason they were six in number, and neither more  
nor less ; thirdly, why three were beyond the Jordan,  
and the others in the land of Canaan ; fourthly, why  
the time appointed beforehand for the return of the  
fugitives was the death of the High Priest.

On each of these points we must say what is pertinent, 88  
beginning with the first. The direction to fly to the  
cities allotted to Levites only is wholly appropriate,  
for the Levites too are in a certain sense fugitives,  
having, for the sake of being well-pleasing to God,  
forsaken parents and children and brothers and all  
their mortal kindred. So the original founder of this 89  
company is represented as saying to his father and  
mother, " I have not seen you, my brethren I know  
not, and my sons I know no more " (Deut. xxxiii. 9),

while those who know better than to be guilty of this  
particular blasphemy and of profanity in general will find  
in God a refuge for their unintentional errors.

<sup>c</sup> The translation ignores *αὐτά*. Perhaps it is used like  
the frequent *αὐτὸ μόνον* for "just these," in which case  
*ἀναγκαῖα* may be taken as "absolutely necessary."

## PHILO

ὑπὲρ τοῦ δίχα μεβολκῆς θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν. ἢ δ' ἀψευδῆς φυγῆ στέρησις τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλιότητων ἐστίν. φυγάδας οὖν φυγάσι παρακατατίθεται πρὸς τὴν ὦν εἰργάσαντο ἀμνηστίαν, δι' ὁμοί-  
 90 τητα ἔργων. ἀρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἢ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο, (ὅτι) ἢ τῶν νεωκόρων Λευιτικῆ φυλῆ τοὺς θεοπλαστήσαντας τὸν χρυσοῦν μόσχον, τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν τύφον, ἠβηδὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατέκτειναν, ὀργῇ δικαίᾳ σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῶ καὶ τινι κατοκωχῇ θεοφορήτῳ χρησάμενοι; "καὶ κτείνει ἕκαστος ἀδελφὸν καὶ πλησίον καὶ τὸν ἔγγιστα," ἀδελφὸν μὲν ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ λογικοῦ πλησίον τὸ ἄλογον, τὸν δὲ ἔγγιστα νοῦ τὸν προ-  
 91 φορικὸν λόγον. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μόνως θεραπευτικὸν γένοιτο τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀναλυθεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν, διαζευχθέντος καὶ διακοπέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιθυμιῶν· εἶτα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβαλούσης, ὡς ἔφην, τὸ πλησίον τοῦ λογικοῦ, τὸ ἄλογον—καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> χειμάρρου τρόπον πενταχῇ σχιζόμενον διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων οἷα δεξαμενῶν τὴν τῶν παθῶν  
 92 ἀνεγείρει φορᾶν—· εἴθ' ἐξῆς τοῦ λογισμοῦ διοικίσαντος καὶ διαζεύξαντος τὸν ἐγγυτάτω δοκοῦντα εἶναι, τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον, ἢ' ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπολειφθῆ μόνος, ἔρημος σώματος, ἔρημος αἰσθή-

<sup>1</sup> Unless Philo uses the nominative for the demonstrative, αὐτό seems pointless: perhaps τοῦτο.

<sup>a</sup> So L. & S. render the word; perhaps rather "all those of military age," = Latin *pubes*.

<sup>b</sup> In the parallel passage *De Ebr.* 69 ff. the "neighbour" is the senses themselves.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 89-92

that I may without distraction minister to Him that is. And a flight that is real exile is loss of our nearest and dearest. It is on the ground, then, of a similarity in their doings that the Lawgiver commits fugitives to the keeping of fugitives, that they may obtain an amnesty for what they had done. Was 90  
 this, then, the only reason, or was it also because the Tribe of Levi, consisting of those who had the care of the Tabernacle, rushed upon and slew from the young upwards<sup>a</sup> those who fashioned into a god the golden calf, the Egyptian folly? They did this under the impulse of righteous anger accompanied by an inspiration from above and a God-sent possession: "And each man slays brother and neighbour and his nearest" (Exod. xxxii. 27), for the body is "brother" of the soul, the irrational part of us neighbour of the rational, and the word of utterance "next of kin" to mind. For in this way only could 91  
 that which is best in ourselves become capable of ministering before Him Who is Best of all Existences, if in the first place the man were resolved into soul, his brother body and its interminable cravings being broken off and cut in twain; if in the next place the soul rid itself, as I have said, of that neighbour of our rational element, the irrational,<sup>b</sup> which like a torrent in five divisions pours through the channels of all the senses and rouses the violence of the passions; if in 92  
 the next place the reasoning faculty sever and banish from itself that which has the appearance of being closest to it, the word of utterance. All this is to the end that the word or thought<sup>c</sup> within the mind may be left behind by itself alone, destitute of body,

<sup>c</sup> With *ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν* sc. *λόγος* = *ἐνδιάθετος*, the regular antithesis to *προφορικός*.

## PHILO

σεως, ἔρημος γεγωνοῦ λόγου προφορᾶς· ἀπολειφθεῖς γάρ, τῇ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν διαίτη χρώμενος, τὸ μόνον <ὄν> καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμεθέλκτως ἀσπάσεται. |  
 93 [560] πρὸς γε μὴν τοῖς εἰρημένοις κἀκείνο ὑπομνηστέον, ὅτι ἡ Λευιτικὴ φυλὴ νεωκόρων καὶ ἱερέων ἐστίν, οἷς ἡ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνάκειται λειτουργία· λειτουργοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρῶντες, εἴ γε κατὰ Μωυσῆν “ ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ” τοὺς θανάτου ἄξια εἰργασμένους πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς σεμνύνειν, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ὑπαιτίους κολάζειν.

94 XVIII. Αὐταὶ μὲν εἰσιν αἱ αἰτίαι, ὧν ἔνεκα οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες εἰς μόνας τὰς τῶν νεωκόρων φεύγουσι πόλεις. τίνες δέ εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἀριθμῶ ἕξ, ἐπομένως λεκτέον. μήποτ’ οὖν ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἐχυρωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη μητρόπολις, οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον πόλις, ὁ θεῖός ἐστι λόγος,  
 95 ἐφ’ ὃν πρῶτον καταφεύγειν ὠφελιμώτατον. αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι πέντε, ὡς ἂν ἀποικίαι, δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὧν ἄρχει ἡ ποιητικὴ, καθ’ ἣν ὁ ποιῶν λόγῳ τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησε· δευτέρα δ’ ἡ βασιλική, καθ’ ἣν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ἄρχει τοῦ γενομένου· τρίτη δ’ ἡ ἰλως, δι’ ἧς ὁ τεχνίτης οἰκτεῖρει

<sup>a</sup> Mangey and Wend. suspected τοῦ λέγοντος and suggested *δντος* or *ἡγεμόνος*. But Philo sometimes thinks of the Logos as in the literal sense the “word” which God speaks. It is particularly natural here in connexion with creation, where every creative act is preceded by “God said.” Cf. *De Som.* i. 75.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 92-95

destitute of sense-perception, destitute of utterance in audible speech ; for when it has been thus left, it will live a life in harmony with such solitude, and will render, with nothing to mar or to disturb it, its glad homage to the Sole Existence.

Another point to be called to mind, in addition to 93 those which have been mentioned, is that the Tribe of Levi is that of ministers of the Tabernacle and priests, on whom rests the service of the Sanctuary, and those who commit unintentional homicide are also engaged in a service, since, as Moses tells us, " God delivers into their hands " (Exod. xxi. 13) for destruction those that have done deeds worthy of death. But, while the Levites were appointed for the exaltation of the good, these others were appointed for the chastisement of the guilty.

XVIII. Such are the reasons for the perpetrators 94 of unintentional homicide taking refuge only in the cities of the Tabernacle attendants. We must next say what those cities are, and why they are six in number. It would seem, then, that the chiefest and surest and best mother-city something more than just a city, is the Divine Word, and that to take refuge first in it is supremely advantageous. The other 95 five, colonies as it were, are powers of Him who speaks that Word,<sup>a</sup> their leader being creative power, in the exercise of which the Creator produced the universe by a word <sup>b</sup> ; second in order is the royal power, in virtue of which He that has made it governs that which has come into being ; third stands the gracious power, in the exercise of which the Great Artificer takes pity and compassion on his own work ;

<sup>b</sup> Or " He who created the world through the Word wrought His work," etc.

## PHILO

καὶ ἔλεεί τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον· τετάρτη δ' ἡ \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> νομο-  
 θετικῆς μοῖρα, δι' ἧς ἃ μὴ χρῆ γίνεσθαι ἀπαγορεύει.  
 96 πάγκαλοι δὲ καὶ εὐερέκεσταται πόλεις,  
 ἀξίων σώζεσθαι ψυχῶν τὸν αἰῶνα ἄρισταί γε κατα-  
 φυγαί· χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ἡ διάταξις,  
 ἀλείφει καὶ ῥῶσαι πρὸς εὐελπιστίαν (ἱκανή· ἧς)  
 τίς ἂν ἐδυνήθη μᾶλλον τοσαύτην τῶν δυναμένων  
 εὐεργετεῖν ἀναδείξαι ἀφθονίαν διὰ τὰς διαφορὰς  
 τῶν ἐν τροπαῖς ἀκουσίοις γενομένων, οἷς οὔτε ἰσχύς  
 97 οὔτε [ἧ] ἀσθένεια ἡ αὐτῆ; προτρέπει δὴ τὸν μὲν  
 ὠκυδρομεῖν ἱκανὸν συντείνειν ἀπνευστὶ πρὸς τὸν  
 ἀνωτάτω λόγον θεῖον, ὃς σοφίας ἐστὶ πηγὴ, ἵνα  
 ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ νάματος ἀντὶ θανάτου ζῶν ἀίδιον  
 ἄθλον εὕρηται· τὸν δὲ μὴ οὕτως ταχὺν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ποιητικὴν καταφεύγει δύναμιν, ἣν Μωυσῆς ὀνο-  
 μάζει θεόν, ἐπειδὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἐτέθη καὶ διεκοσμήθη  
 τὰ σύμπαντα—τῷ γὰρ ὅτι γέγονε τὸ πᾶν καταλα-  
 βόντι μεγάλου<sup>2</sup> κτῆσις ἀγαθοῦ περιγίνεται, ἡ τοῦ  
 πεποικηκότος ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δ' εὐθὺς ἀναπείθει τὸ  
 98 γενόμενον ἐρᾶν τοῦ φυτεύσαντος—· τὸν δὲ μὴ οὕτως  
 ἔτοιμον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν—φόβῳ γὰρ ἄρχοντος τὸ  
 ὑπήκοον, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὐνοία πατρὸς τὸ ἔκγονον,  
 ἀνάγκη σωφρονιζούσῃ νουθετεῖται—· τῷ δὲ μὴ  
 φθάνοντι πρὸς τοὺς λεχθέντας ὄρους ὡς μακρὰν  
 διεστῶτας ἀφικνεῖσθαι καμπτήρες εἴσω πεπήγασιν  
 ἕτεροι δυνάμεων ἀναγκαίων, τῆς ἴλεω, τῆς προσ-  
 ταττούσης ἃ δεῖ, τῆς ἀπαγορευούσης ἃ μὴ δεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> Wend. proposes, to fill up the lacuna, νομοθετικῆ, δι' ἧς προστάττει ἃ δεῖ, πέμπτη δ' ἡ. See below, §§ 98, 100, 104.

<sup>2</sup> mss. μεγάλη.

<sup>a</sup> An allusion as often to the derivation of θεός from τίθημι.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 95-99

fourth (is the legislative power, by which He prescribes duties incumbent on us; and fifth) that division of legislation, by which He prohibits those things which should not be done. Right goodly cities 96  
are they, and exceeding strong in their ramparts, noblest refuges for souls meet to be in safety for ever: kind and beneficent is the ordinance, with power to stimulate and brace to hopefulness. What ordinance could better shew the rich abundance of these beneficial powers adapted to the differences in the victims of involuntary lapses, so various both in their strength and in their weakness? The man who is capable of 97  
running swiftly it bids stay not to draw breath but pass forward to the supreme Divine Word, Who is the fountain of Wisdom, in order that he may draw from the stream and, released from death, gain life eternal as his prize. One less swift-footed it directs to the power to which Moses gives the name "God," since by it the Universe was established and ordered.<sup>a</sup> It urges him to flee for refuge to the creative power, knowing that to one who has grasped the fact that the whole world was brought into being a vast good accrues, even the knowledge of its Maker, which straightway wins the thing created to love Him to whom it owes its being. One who is less ready it 98  
urges to betake himself to the kingly power, for fear of the sovereign has a force of correction to admonish the subject, where a father's kindness has none such for the child. For him who fails to reach the posts just mentioned, because he thinks them too far distant, another set of goals have been set up nearer the starting-point—the gracious power, the power which enjoins duties, and that which forbids offences; those in fact which are indispensable. For he that 99

## PHILO

- 99 ὁ τε γὰρ προλαβὼν, | ὡς οὐκ ἀπαραίτητον ἀλλ'  
 [561] εὐμενὲς δι' ἡμερότητα φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, κἂν  
 ἀμάρτη πρότερον, αὐθις μετενόησεν ἀμνηστίας  
 ἐλπίδι, ὁ τε ἔννοϊαν λαβὼν, ὅτι νομοθέτης ὁ θεός  
 ἐστιν, πειθαρχῶν οἷς ἂν προστάτῃ πᾶσιν εὐδαι-  
 μονήσει· ὁ δ' ὕστατος ὑστάτην εὐρήσεται κατα-  
 φυγὴν, ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ μετουσίαν  
 100 προηγουμένων ἀγαθῶν. XIX. αἶδ' εἰσὶν  
 <αἶ> ἕξ πόλεις, ἃς καλεῖ φυγαδευτήρια, ὧν αἱ μὲν  
 πέντε ἀπεικονίσθησαν καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 ἀγίοις τὰ μιμήματα, προστάξεως μὲν καὶ ἀπ-  
 αγορεύσεως οἱ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ νόμοι, τῆς δ' ἰλεω  
 δυνάμεως τὸ ἐπίθημα τῆς κιβωτοῦ—καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ  
 ἰλαστήριον,—ποιητικῆς δὲ καὶ βασιλικῆς τὰ ὑπό-  
 101 πτερα καὶ ἐφιδρυμένα Χερουβίμ· ὁ δ' ὑπεράνω  
 τούτων λόγος θεῖος εἰς ὄρατὴν οὐκ ἦλθεν ἰδέαν,  
 ἅτε μηδενὶ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἐμφορῆς ὦν, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτὸς εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων θεοῦ, τῶν νοητῶν ἅπαξ ἀπάν-  
 των ὁ πρεσβύτατος, ὁ ἐγγυτάτω, μηδενὸς ὄντος  
 μεθορίου διαστήματος, τοῦ μόνου,<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἔστιν ἀψευδῶς,  
 ἀφιδρυμένος.<sup>2</sup> λέγεται γάρ· “λαλήσω σοι ἄνωθεν  
 τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δυεῖν Χερουβίμ,”  
 ὡσθ' ἡνίοχον μὲν εἶναι τῶν δυνάμεων τὸν λόγον,  
 ἔποχον δὲ τὸν λαλοῦντα, ἐπικελευόμενον τῷ ἡνίοχῳ  
 102 τὰ πρὸς ὀρθὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἡνίοχῃσιν. ὁ  
 μὲν οὖν ἄνευ τροπῆς, ἐκουσίῳ μὲν ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τῆς ἀκουσίῳ γεγονώς, αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν κλήρον  
 ἔχων, ἐν αὐτῷ μόνῳ κατοικήσει· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸ (τῷ) μόνον.

<sup>2</sup> So MSS.: Wendland ἐφιδρυμένος.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 584.

<sup>b</sup> Philo apparently takes “thee” to be the Logos; cf.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 99-102

has made sure that the Godhead is not inexorable, but kindly, owing to gentleness of nature, even if he have first sinned, afterwards repents in hope of forgiveness ; and he that has taken in the thought that God is Lawgiver, will by obeying all His injunctions attain happiness ; while the last of the three will gain a third and last refuge, the averting of ills, even if he fail to obtain a share of God's principal good gifts.

XIX. Such are the six cities, which 100  
Moses calls "places of refuge" (Num. xxxv. 12), five of which were represented by symbolic figures which are in the sanctuary, the Laws laid up in the ark being symbols of injunction and prohibition ; the lid of the ark, which he calls the Mercy-seat, representing the gracious power ; while the creative and kingly powers are represented by the winged Cherubim that rest upon it. The Divine Word, Who is 101  
high above all these, has not been visibly portrayed, being like to no one of the objects of sense. Nay, He is Himself the Image of God, chiefest of all Beings intellectually perceived, placed nearest, with no intervening distance, to the Alone truly existent One.<sup>a</sup> For we read : " I will talk with thee <sup>b</sup> from above the Mercy-seat, between the two Cherubim " (Ex. xxv. 21), words which shew that while the Word is the charioteer of the Powers, He Who talks is seated in the chariot, giving directions to the charioteer for the right wielding of the reins of the Universe.

He, then, that has shewn himself free from even un- 102  
intentional offence—intentional is not to be thought of—having God Himself as his portion (Deut. x. 9), will have his abode in Him alone ; while those who

§ 76. See also note on § 95, though here the Logos is spoken to, not the word spoken.

## PHILO

προνοίας ἀλλ' ἀβουλήτοις χρησάμενοι σφάλμασι καταφυγὰς ἔξουσι τὰς εἰρημένας ἀφθόνοους καὶ πλουσίας οὕτως.<sup>1</sup>

- 103 Τῶν δὲ πρὸς καταφυγὴν πόλεων τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι πέραν, αἱ μακρὰν ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους ἀφεστᾶσι. τίνες αὐταί; ὁ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος λόγος καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ καὶ βασιλικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ· τούτων γὰρ ὁ τε
- 104 οὐρανὸς καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐπικοινωνεῖ. αἱ δὲ προσεχεῖς<sup>2</sup> ἡμῖν καὶ ἐφαπτόμεναι τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπικήρου γένους, ᾧ μόνῳ συμβέβηκε διαμαρτάνειν, αἱ ἐντὸς εἰσι τρεῖς, ἡ ἰλεως, ἡ προστακτικὴ τῶν ποιητέων, ἡ ἀπαγορευτικὴ τῶν μὴ ποιητέων· αὐταί
- 105 γὰρ ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐφάπτονται. τίς γὰρ ἀπαγορεύσεως χρεῖα τοῖς μὴ μέλλουσιν ἀδικήσειν, τίς δὲ προσταξέως τοῖς μὴ πεφυκῶσι σφάλλῃσθαι, τίς δὲ τῆς ἰλεω τοῖς μηδ' ὄλως ἀμαρτησομένοις; ἀλλὰ τό γε ἡμέτερον γένος χρεῖον γέγονε τούτων διὰ τὸ πεφυκῆναι καὶ ἐπικλινῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τε τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ ἀκούσια ἀμαρτήματα.
- 106 XX. Τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν ἦν τῶν προταθέντων ἡ προθεσμία τῆς τῶν πεφευγόντων καθόδου, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ θάνατος, πολλὴν ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ μοι παρέχουσα δυσκολίαν. ἄνισος γὰρ ἡ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δρασάντων νομοθετεῖται, εἴ γε οἱ
- [562] μὲν | πλείω χρόνον ἀποδράσσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττω· μακροβιώτατοι γὰρ (οἱ μὲν), οἱ δὲ ὀλιγοχρονιώ-
- 107 τατοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων εἰοί· καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι, οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται καθίστανται· καὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ οἱ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης

<sup>1</sup> πόλεις perhaps (as Wendland) is needed. For the strange οὕτως Wendland suggests οὐσας: perhaps rather *ὄντως*.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 102-107

have fallen, not of set purpose but against their will, will have the refuges which have been mentioned, so freely and richly provided.

Now of the cities of refuge three are beyond the 103 River, far removed from our race. Which are these? The Word of the Sovereign Ruler, and His creative and His kingly power: for in fellowship with these are heaven and all the universe. But those which are 104 close to us and in actual contact with perishable mankind, the only race which sin has befallen, are the three within—the gracious power, the power which enjoins things that are to be done, and that which prohibits those which are not to be done; for these touch us closely. For what need is there of 105 prohibition in the case of those who are sure to do no wrong? What need of injunction for those whose nature exempts them from failure? And what need of recourse to the Gracious Power for those who will commit no sin at all? But our race stands in need of these powers by reason of its natural proneness both to intentional and unintentional sins.

XX. The fourth and only remaining point of those 106 proposed for consideration was the time prescribed for the return of the fugitives, namely, that of the death of the High Priest. If taken literally, this point presents, I feel, great difficulty. The penalty inflicted by law on those whose offences are identical is unequal, if some are to be fugitives for a longer, some for a shorter, period; for of the High Priests some are very long-lived, some the reverse; some are 107 appointed in youth, some in old age; and of those guilty of unintentional homicide some went into exile

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπικοινων(ι)αὶ δὲ προσεχεῖς: Mangey ἐστὶ κουνῶναι δὲ καὶ προσεχεῖς.

## PHILO

- ἔφυγαδεύθησαν, οἱ δ' ἤδη μέλλοντος τελευτᾶν τοῦ  
 ἱερωμένου, ὡς τοὺς μὲν αἰῶνα μακρόν τινα τῆς  
 πατρίδος ἔστερηῆσθαι, τοὺς δ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἡμέραν,  
 εἰ τύχοι, μεθ' ἣν τὸν αὐχένα ἐπαίροντες καὶ φρυα-  
 τόμενοι καὶ γελῶντες τοὺς ἄγχιστα γένους τῶν  
 108 ἀνηρημένων ἀφίξονται. τὸ ἄπορον οὖν  
 καὶ δυσαπολόγητον ἀποδρασόμεθα τῆς δι' ὑπονοιῶν  
 φυσικῆς ἀποδόσεως ἐφιεμένοι. λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν  
 ἀρχιερέα οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι  
 πάντων οὐχ ἔκουσίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων  
 109 ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ πατρί, τῷ  
 νῶ, οὔτε ἐπὶ μητρί, τῇ αἰσθήσει, φησὶν αὐτὸν  
 Μωυσῆς δύνασθαι μιαίνεσθαι, διότι, οἶμαι, γονέων  
 ἀφθάρτων καὶ καθαρωτάτων ἔλαχεν, πατρὸς μὲν  
 θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἐστὶ πατήρ, μητρὸς  
 110 δὲ σοφίας, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν· καὶ διότι  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν κέχρισται ἐλαίῳ, λέγω δὲ τὸ ἡγεμο-  
 νικὸν φωτὶ αὐγοειδεῖ περιλάμπεται, ὡς ἀξιόχρεως  
 “ ἐνδύσασθαι τὰ ἱμάτια ” νομισθῆναι—ἐνδύεται δ'  
 ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τοῦ ὄντος λόγος ὡς ἐσθῆτα τὸν  
 κόσμον (γῆν γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ  
 τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἐπαμπίσχεται), ἣ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ψυχῇ  
 τὸ σῶμα, ἣ δὲ τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια τὰς ἀρετάς—  
 111 καὶ ὅτι τὴν κεφαλὴν “ οὐδέποτε ἀπομιτρῶσει,” τὸ

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<sup>a</sup> Or “with,” “through,” as Philo understands the preposition. The meaning of the original is that as contact with a corpse entails defilement, the priests are only to touch the bodies of their nearest of kin (Lev. xxi. 2), but the High Priest not even these. Philo's allegory understands it to mean that with the ordinary man both father mind and mother sense may cause defilement, but the Logos is of other parentage.

<sup>b</sup> Or “the soul in the partial sense,” *i.e.* excluding the



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 107-111

at the outset of the High Priest's priesthood, some when the holder of the sacred office was nearing his end. Thus some have been cut off from their native place for a very long time indeed, others merely for a day, it may be, after which they will arrive with their heads in the air, insolently laughing at the nearest relatives of those whom they have slain.

Let us, then, have recourse to the scientific mode of 108 interpretation which looks for the hidden meaning of the literal words, and we shall escape from the difficulty and be able to give a reasonable account of the matter. We say, then, that the High Priest is not a man, but a Divine Word and immune from all unrighteousness whether intentional or unintentional. For Moses says that he cannot defile himself either 109 for <sup>a</sup> the father, the mind, nor for the mother, sense-perception (Lev. xxi. 11), because, methinks, he is the child of parents incorruptible and wholly free from stain, his father being God, who is likewise Father of all, and his mother Wisdom, through whom the universe came into existence; because, more- 110 over, his head has been anointed with oil, and by this I mean that his ruling faculty is illumined with a brilliant light, in such wise that he is deemed worthy "to put on the garments." Now the garments which the supreme Word of Him that is puts on as raiment are the world, for He arrays Himself in earth and air and water and fire and all that comes forth from these; while the body is the clothing of the soul considered as the principle of physical life,<sup>b</sup> and the virtues of the wise man's understanding. Moses 111 also says that "he shall never remove the mitre"

"ruling principle"; cf. *De Op.* 117 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δῖχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος.

## PHILO

- βασιλείον οὐκ ἀποθήσεται διάδημα, τὸ σύμβολον  
 τῆς οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος μὲν, ὑπάρχου δὲ καὶ θαυ-  
 μαστῆς ἡγεμονίας, “ οὐδ’ αὖ τὰ ἱμάτια διαρρήξει ”·
- 112 ὃ τε γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος λόγος δεσμὸς ὢν τῶν ἀπάντων,  
 ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ συνέχει τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγει  
 κωλύων αὐτὰ διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαρτᾶσθαι· ἢ τ’ ἐπὶ  
 μέρους ψυχῆ, καθόσον δυνάμεως μεμοίραται, τῶν  
 τοῦ σώματος οὐδὲν ἀποσχίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποτέμνεσθαι  
 μερῶν παρὰ φύσιν ἐᾶ, τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ πάντα ὀλό-  
 κληρα ὄντα ἄρμονίαν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἀδιάλυτον ἄγει  
 τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα· ὃ τε κεκαθαρμένος τοῦ σοφοῦ  
 νοῦς ἀρρήκτους καὶ ἀπήμονας διαφυλάττει τὰς  
 ἀρετάς, τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῶν συγγένειάν τε καὶ  
 κοινωνίαν ἄρμολάμενος εὐνοίᾳ παγιωτέρα.
- 113 XXI. οὗτος “ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν,”  
 ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς, “ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ”· θάνατος δὲ
- [563] ψυχῆς ὁ μετὰ κακίας | ἐστὶ βίος, ὥστε οὐδέ τις  
 ἄγους, ὦν προσβάλλειν ἀφροσύνη φιλεῖ, ποτὲ προσ-
- 114 ἀψεται. τούτῳ καὶ παρθένος ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γένους  
 ἀρμόζεται, καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ ἀδιάφθορος  
 εἰς αἰὲ γνῶμη· χήρας γὰρ καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης καὶ  
 βεβήλου καὶ πόρνης ἀνὴρ οὐδέποτε γίνεται, πόλεμον  
 ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πρὸς αὐτὰς αἰὲ συγκροτῶν.  
 ἐχθρὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χηρεύειν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐκβεβλη-  
 σθαι καὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι  
 ἂν ἦ βέβηλον πῆσμα καὶ ἀνίερον· τὸ δὲ πολυμιγῆς

<sup>a</sup> So G.H.W. This translation assumes that προσβάλλειν is used idiomatically, *sc.* ὀσμῆν. See examples in L. & S., *e.g.* κρέα ἰχθύων προσβάλλει, “the flesh smells like fish.” But the  
 70

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 111-114

from his head ; he shall not, that is to say, lay aside the kingly diadem, the symbol not of absolute sovereignty, but of an admirable vicereignty ; “ nor ” again “ shall he rend his clothes ” (Lev. xxi. 10) ; for the Word of Him that is is, as has been stated, the bond of all existence, and holds and knits together all the parts, preventing them from being dissolved and separated ; just as the principle of physical life, in so far as it has been endowed with power, suffers none of the parts of the body to be split or cut off contrary to nature, but, so far as in it lies, all the parts are complete, and maintain unbroken a mutual harmony and oneness ; and, in like manner, the purified mind of the wise man preserves the virtues free from breach or hurt, linking in a yet firmer concord the affinity and fellowship which is theirs by nature.

XXI. The High Priest, so Moses says, 113  
 “ shall not go in to any dead soul ” (Lev. xxi. 11).  
 Death of soul is a life in the company of vice, so that what is meant is that he is never to come in contact with any polluting object, and of these folly always stinks.<sup>a</sup> To him there is betrothed moreover a maiden 114  
 of the hallowed people, pure and undefiled and of ever inviolate intention ; for never is he wedded to a widow or one divorced or to a profane woman or to a harlot (*ibid.* 13 f.), but against them he ever wages a truceless and unrelenting warfare. For hateful to him is widowhood from virtue, and the plight of one cast out and driven from her doors, and any conviction that is profane and unholy. But the promiscuous, use of such a phrase here seems to me rather strange, and I should prefer to remove the comma, take  $\omega\nu$  as  $=\tau\omega\nu$  & and translate “ of those which folly is wont to send in its way.” Cf. *Quod Det.* 98. Or perhaps with Mangey read  $\psi$  and translate “ which folly loves to approach.”

## PHILO

- καὶ πολὺάνδρον καὶ πολὺθεον, ἄθεον<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν κακόν, πόρνην, οὐδὲ προσιδεῖν ἀξιοί, τὴν ἓνα ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἡγεμόνα θεὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένην ἡγα-
- 115 πηκῶς. ὑπερβολὴ τις περὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τελειότητος ἐνορᾶται. τὸν μὲν γε τὴν μεγάλην εὐξάμενον εὐχὴν οἶδέ που καὶ ἀκουσίως σφαλλόμενον, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ· λέγει γάρ· “ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐξάπινα, παραχρῆμα μιανθήσεται”· τὰ γὰρ ἀβούλητα<sup>2</sup> ἔξωθεν αἰφνίδιον κατασκήπτοντα παραχρῆμα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ πρὸς αἰῶνα μῆκιστον μαιίνει, ἅτε ὄντα ἀκουσία. τούτων δ’ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκουσίων
- 116 ὑπεράνω στὰς ἀλογεῖ. ταῦτα δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι λέλεκται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὅτι φυσικωτάτῃ προθεσμίᾳ καθόδου φυγάδων ὁ τοῦ
- 117 ἀρχιερέως ἐστὶ θάνατος. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἱερώτατος οὗτος λόγος ζῆ καὶ περίεστιν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀμήχανον τροπὴν ἀκουσίον εἰς αὐτὴν κατελθεῖν· ἀμέτοχος γὰρ καὶ ἀπαράδεκτος παντὸς εἶναι πέφυκεν ἀμαρτήματος. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ αὐτὸς διαφθαρεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς διαζευχθεῖς, κάθοδος εὐθύς δίδοται τοῖς ἀκουσίοις<sup>3</sup> σφάλμασιν· εἰ γὰρ μένοντος καὶ ὑγιαίνοντος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξωκίζετο, μετ-

<sup>1</sup> Mangey and Cohn would omit ἄθεον as inappropriate here, in which case surely καὶ should also be omitted before πολὺθεον or ἄθεον μὲν οὖν entirely (as Cohn). But see App. p. 584.

<sup>2</sup> mss. τὰ (τῶν) γὰρ ἀβουλοῦν(λή)των: perhaps, as Wendland suggests, τῶν γὰρ ἀβουλήτων <τινά>.

<sup>3</sup> So mss.: Wendland ἐκουσίοις following Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi* 2. 13, who in a paraphrase of the passage has “incipit anima peccatis patere voluntariis.” If this is right, presumably the thought is that while the offences when expelled were involuntary, if they return it will be as voluntary sins. The transition would be less abrupt if καὶ

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 114-117

polyandrous cause of polytheism, or rather atheism, the harlot, he deigns not even to look at, having learned to love her who had adopted, as her one Husband and Father, God the All-sovereign.

In this character we see perfection in something like 115 its highest form. On the other hand, as to the man who has vowed the Great Vow, the lawgiver seems to recognize that he does stumble unintentionally, even if not with deliberate intent; for he says, "If one die by him suddenly, he shall at once be defiled" (Num. vi. 9): for that which suddenly swoops down upon us from without, apart from any wish of our own, defiles the soul at once, though not for an interminable period, owing to its being unintentional.<sup>a</sup> But with such involuntary defilements, even as with those that are voluntary, the High Priest has no concern, but stands far up beyond their reach.

The observations which I have been making are 116 not beside the mark, but are meant to shew that the fixing of the High Priest's death as the term for the return of the exiles is in perfect accordance with the natural fitness of things (Num. xxxv. 25). For so long as this holiest Word is alive and is still 117 present in the soul, it is out of the question that an unintentional offence should come back into it; for this holy Word is by nature incapable of taking part in and of admitting to itself any sin whatever. But if the Word die, not by being itself destroyed, but by being withdrawn out of our soul, the way is at once open for the return of unintentional errors; for if it was abiding within us alive and well when they were

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Deus* 89, *De Agr.* 175 and note.

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was inserted after *δίδοται*, or we might read *ἀκουσίους* <*καὶ ἐκουσίους*>, cf. the end of § 115.

## PHILO

- 118 ανισταμένου πάντως εισοικισθήσεται. γέρας γὰρ ἑξάϊρετον ὁ ἀμίαντος ἀρχιερεύς, ἔλεγχος, ἐκ φύσεως κεκάρπωται τὸ μηδέποτ' εἰς αὐτὸν παραδέξασθαι τόπον γνώμης ὄλισθον.<sup>1</sup> διόπερ ἄξιον εὐχεσθαι ζῆν ἐν ψυχῇ τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλέα, δικαστὴν ἔλεγχον, ὃς ὄλον ἡμῶν τὸ διανοίας ἀποκεκληρωμένος δικαστήριον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀγομένων εἰς κρίσιν δυσωπείται.
- 119 XXII. Λελαληκότες οὖν τὰ ἀρμόττοντα περὶ φυγάδων τὴν κατὰ τὸν εἶρμόν ἀκολουθίαν συνυφανοῦμεν. λέγεται γὰρ ἐξῆς<sup>2</sup>. “ εὗρεν αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου,” κάθοδον ψηφισάμενος ὑπ' αἰδοῦς  
 [564] κινδυνευσοῦση ψυχῇ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ μονονοῦ | προπομπὸς γινόμενος τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπλανῆ γνώμην  
 120 ἐπανόδου. χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ  
 τὰ περὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ ζητήσεως φιλοσοφηθέντα τῷ νομοθέτῃ μὴ ἡσυχασθῆναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰσάγει μηδὲν μῆτε ζητοῦντας μῆτε εὐρίσκοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ κατορθοῦντας, ἐνίους δὲ θάτερον περιπεποιημένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὐρίσκουσιν, οἱ δ' εὐρίσκουσιν οὐ ζητήσαντες.
- 121 οἱ μὲν οὖν μῆτε εὐρέσεως  
 μῆτε ζητήσεως ἐφιέμενοι τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπαιδευσιᾶ καὶ ἀμελετησιᾶ χαλεπῶς ἠκίσαντο καὶ δυνάμενοι ὄξυ καθορᾶν ἐπηρώθησαν. οὕτως φησὶ “ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> The text as it stands is untranslatable: Mangey suggests τὸ παράπαν for τόπον: I suggest ὄλισθον, “any room for lapse of purpose,” i.e. for any ἐκούσιον ἀμάρτημα.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

<sup>a</sup> The interpretation of §§ 116-118 does not seem to be in keeping with what has gone before. Hitherto it was the

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 117-121

removed, assuredly when it departs and goes elsewhere they will be reinstated. For the Monitor, the 118 undefiled High Priest, enjoys as the fruit of his nature the special prerogative of never admitting into himself any uncertainty of judgement. Wherefore it is meet that we should pray that He who is at once High Priest and King may live in our soul as Monitor on the seat of justice, seeing that he has received for his proper sphere the entire court of our understanding, and faces unabashed all who are brought up for judgement there.<sup>a</sup>

XXII. Having now said all that was called for on 119 the subject of fugitives, we will go on to treat of what comes next in natural sequence. The next words are "An angel of the Lord found her" (Gen. xvi. 7)—the angel who decreed a return home to a soul whose shame was like to lead into wandering, and well-nigh was its escort back to the frame of mind which wanders not.

It will be an advantage 120 that the lawgiver's reflections about finding and seeking should not be passed over. He represents some as neither seeking nor finding anything, others as succeeding in both, some as having mastered one but not the other, either seeking and not finding, or finding without having sought.

Those with 121 no desire either to find or to seek grievously impair their faculty of reason, by refusing to train and exercise it, and, though capable of being keen-sighted, become blind. This is his meaning when he says that

"involuntary offenders" themselves who found a refuge in the Powers of which the Logos himself was the chief. Here the thought is that the *offences* have been *banished* and will not return so long as we retain the Logos. He has in fact passed from the sense of  $\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega$  = "to take refuge" to that of  $\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega$  = "be banished."

## PHILO

- γυναῖκα Ἰὼτ στραφεῖσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω γενέσθαι  
 στήλην," οὐ μυθοπλαστῶν, ἀλλὰ πράγματος ἰδιό-  
 122 τητα μηνύων. ὃς γὰρ ἂν ὀλιγωρήσας τοῦ διδά-  
 σκοντος ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας ἐμφύτου τε ὁμοῦ καὶ συν-  
 ἤθους τὰ μὲν πρόσω καταλίπη, δι' ὧν ὄραν καὶ  
 ἀκούειν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυνάμεσιν ἔστι χρῆσθαι  
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐπίκρισιν, ἐκτρα-  
 χηλίσας δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦπίσω περιαγάγη, τὰ τυφλὰ  
 τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τοῦ  
 σώματος μερῶν ἐξηλωκώς, ἀψύχου καὶ κωφῆς  
 123 λίθου τρόπον στηλιτεύεται. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἔσχον, ἧ φησι Μωυσῆς, οἱ τοιοῦτοι τρόποι " καρ-  
 δίαν συνιέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὠτα  
 ἀκούειν," ἀλλὰ τυφλὸν καὶ κωφὸν καὶ ἀνόητον καὶ  
 πάντῃ πηρὸν βίον ἀβίωτον ἑαυτοῖς ἐξείργασαντο,  
 124 οὐδενὶ τῶν δεόντων ἐφιστάντες. XXIII. ἡγεμῶν  
 δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ χοροῦ τούτου ὁ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας  
 βασιλεύς. "ἐπιστραφεῖς" γὰρ φησι "Φαραὼ  
 εἰσηλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέστησε  
 τὸν νοῦν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ," ἴσον τῷ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τὸ  
 παράπαν, ἀλλ' εἶασεν αὐτὸν οἷα φυτὸν ἀγεώργητον  
 125 ἀφαναίνεσθαι καὶ στειρούμενον ἀγονία χρῆσθαι. οἱ  
 μὲν γε βουλευόμενοι καὶ σκοπούμενοι καὶ πάντ'  
 ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάζοντες ἀκονῶσι καὶ παραθήγουσιν  
 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ γυμναζόμενος τοὺς οἰκείους φέρει  
 καρπούς, ἀγχινοῖάν τε καὶ σύνεσιν, δι' ὧν (τὸ  
 ἀφενάκιστον περιγίνεται. ὁ δ' ἀπερίσκεπτος ἀμ-  
 βλύνει καὶ περιθραύει τὰς φρονήσεως ἀκμάς.  
 126 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλογον καὶ ἀψύχον ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν  
 τοιούτων θίασον ἑατέον, τὸν<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῶν σκέψει καὶ  
 εὐρέσει χρωμένων ἐπικριτέον. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ὁ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῶν.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 121-126

“ Lot’s wife turned backwards and became a pillar ” (Gen. xix. 26), and here he is not inventing a fable but indicating precisely a real fact. For a man who is led by innate and habitual laziness to pay no attention to his teacher neglects what lies in front of him, which would enable him to see and hear and use his other faculties for the observation of nature’s facts. Instead he twists <sup>a</sup> his neck and turns his face backwards, and his thoughts are all for the dark and hidden side—of life, that is, not of the body and its parts, and so he turns into a pillar and becomes like a deaf and lifeless stone. Speaking of

such characters as these Moses says that they did not get “ a heart to understand, and eyes to see, and ears to hear ” (Deut. xxix. 4), but wrought out for themselves a life that was no life, blind and deaf and unintelligent and in every way maimed, setting themselves to nothing that demands their thoughts. XXIII. As leader of this company we see the king of the country which symbolizes the body ; for we read that “ Pharaoh turned and went into his house, and did not set his heart even to this ” (Ex. vii. 23, R.V. mg.), as much as to say that he set it to nothing at all, but allowed it like an untilled plant to wither away and become barren and bear nothing. It is whetted and made keen by those who consider and observe and examine all things carefully ; and when it is in exercise it bears its proper fruits, shrewdness and insight, which save it from being duped ; but the unobservant man blunts and crushes the edges of intelligence.

We must, then, let alone the irrational and truly lifeless company of such men as these, and scan well that of those who practise looking and finding. Our

<sup>a</sup> Or “ (almost) dislocates.”

## PHILO

- πολιτικός μὲν ἦκιστα δὲ δοξομανῆς τρόπος, ἐφ-  
 ιήμενος τῆς ἀμείνονος γενεᾶς, ἣν ἀρεταὶ κεκλή-  
 ρωνται, ζητῶν τε καὶ ἀνευρίσκων αὐτὴν εἰσάγεται.
- 127 “ εὖρε ” γάρ φησιν “ ἄνθρωπος τὸν Ἰωσήφ πλανώ-  
 μενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἠρώτησεν αὐτόν· τί ζητεῖς;  
 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου ἐγὼ ζητῶ, ἀνάγ-  
 γειλόν μοι, ποῦ βόσκουσιν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἄν-  
 θρωπος· ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν· ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτῶν  
 λεγόντων· πορευθῶμεν εἰς Δωθαῖν. καὶ ἐπορεύθη  
 [565] Ἰωσήφ κατόπιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ | εὖρεν  
 128 αὐτοὺς ἐν Δωθαῖν.” ἐρμηνεύεται Δωθαῖν ἔκλειψις  
 ἱκανή, σύμβολον ψυχῆς οὐ μέσως ἀλλὰ τελείως  
 ἀποδεδρακυίας τὰς κενὰς δόξας, αἱ γυναικῶν μάλ-  
 λον ἢ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν εἰοικασί. διὸ πάνυ  
 καλῶς ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα “ τὰ γυναικεῖα ἐκλείπει,”  
 περὶ ἃ πονοῦμεθα οἱ τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ θῆλυον ὄντως  
 βίον μεταδιώκοντες. ὁ δὲ σοφὸς καὶ “ ἐκλείπων  
 προστίθεται ” κατὰ Μωυσῆν, φυσικώτατα· τὴν  
 γὰρ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀφαίρεσιν πρόσθεσιν ἀληθείας  
 129 εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δὴ τις ἔτ’ ἐν θνητῷ καὶ  
 πολυμιγεί καὶ πολυμόρφῳ βίῳ διατρίβων καὶ  
 κεχρημένος ἀφθόνοις ταῖς πρὸς περιουσίαν ὕλαις  
 σκέπτεται καὶ ζητεῖ περὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸ καλὸν μόνον ἀφορώσης γενεᾶς, ἄξιος ἀποδοχῆς  
 ἐστίν, ἂν μὴ πάλιν τὰ ὀνειράτα καὶ φαντάσματα  
 τῶν νομιζομένων καὶ φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑπανα-  
 130 πλεύσαντα παρενημερήσῃ. μένων γὰρ ἐν ἀκιβδη-  
 λεύτῳ τῇ ψυχικῇ σκέψει, κατ’ ἴχνος τῶν ζητου-

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “gave up the ghost . . . and was gathered (to his people).” Cf. *De Sac.* 5.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. seeking for the goods of the soul, instead of those of the body and outside the body.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 126-130

first example shall be the man who takes part indeed in public life, but is very far from having a mad thirst for fame : his ambition is for that better family, which the virtues have taken as their heritage, and he is represented as both seeking and finding it. For 127 we are told that " a man found Joseph wandering in the plain, and asked him, ' What art thou seeking ? ' and he said ' I am seeking my brethren ; tell me, where are they feeding their flocks ? ' And the man said to him, ' They have departed hence, for I heard them saying, Let us go to Dothan.' And Joseph went his way after his brethren, and found them in Dothan" (Gen. xxxvii. 15-17). Dothan means " a thorough for- 128 saking," and is the symbol of a soul that has in no half measure but completely run away from those empty notions which resemble the practices of women rather than those of men. Accordingly it is finely said that Sarah, who is Virtue, " forsakes the ways of women " (Gen. xviii. 11), those ways on which we toil who follow after the unmanly and really feminine life. But the wise man too " forsaking is added " (Gen. xxv. 8),<sup>a</sup> as Moses says in perfect accord with the nature of things : for the subtraction of vainglory is the addition of reality. If a man, while spending his 129 days in this mortal life full of such diverse elements and assuming so many phases, and while he has at his disposal abundant material for a life of luxury, makes that better family, which has an eye only for what is morally excellent, his study and quest, he is worthy of approbation, if the dreams and phantoms of things that have the name and appearance of good things do not rise to the surface again and get the better of him. For if he continues in that soul<sup>b</sup> 130 inquiry and keeps it free from alloy, he will not give

## PHILO

- μένων βαίνων καὶ ἐπακολουθῶν οὐκ ἀνήσει πρό-  
 131 τερον ἢ τοῖς ποθουμένοις ἐντυχεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν' αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> παρὰ μοχθηροῖς ἀνευρήσει· διὰ τί; “ἀπ-  
 ἤρκασι γὰρ ἐντεύθεν;” τὰς μὲν ἡμετέρας σπουδὰς ἐκλιπόντες, μετοικισάμενοι δ' εἰς τὸν ἔρημον κακῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔλεγχος, ὃς ἀποροῦσαν καὶ σκεπτομένην καὶ ζητοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἰδὼν εὐλαβεῖται, μὴ πλανηθεῖσα διαμάρτη τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ.
- 132 XXIV. Πάνυ τεθαύμακα κάκεινους, τὸν μὲν φιλοπευστοῦντα περὶ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ἄκρων καὶ λέγοντα· “ἰδοὺ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ποῦ τὸ πρόβατον τὸ εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν,” τὸν δ' ἀποκρινόμενον· “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἑαυτῷ πρόβατον εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν, τέκνον” καὶ ὕστερον τὸ ἀντιδοθὲν εὐρίσκοντα· “ἰδοὺ γὰρ κριὸς εἰς κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων ἐν  
 133 φυτῷ Σαβέκ.” ἴδωμεν οὖν, τί ὁ μὲν ζητῶν ἀπορεῖ, ὁ δ' ἀποκρινόμενος ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τρίτον τί τὸ εὐρισκόμενον ἦν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πυνθάνεται τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἰδοὺ τὸ δρῶν αἴτιον, τὸ πῦρ· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἡ ὕλη, τὰ ξύλα· ποῦ τὸ τρίτον, τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα; οἶον ἰδοὺ ὁ νοῦς, ἔνθερμον καὶ πεπυρω-  
 134 μένον πνεῦμα· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ νοητά, ὡσανεὶ ὕλαι· ποῦ τὸ τρίτον, τὸ νοεῖν; πάλιν ἰδοὺ ἡ ὄρασις, ἰδοὺ τὸ χρῶμα, ποῦ τὸ ὄραν; καὶ συνόλως ἰδοὺ ἡ αἰσθησις, τὸ κριτήριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, αἱ ὕλαι· τὸ οὖν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐδενὶ τῶν: Wendland οὐδὲν αὐτῶν.

<sup>a</sup> For this interpretation of the “man” of Gen. xxxvii. 15 cf. *Quod Det.* 23.

<sup>b</sup> E.V. “thicket.” “Sabek” is a translation of the Hebrew word for thicket, which the LXX apparently took for the name of a plant.

<sup>c</sup> Or “the thing effected.”

<sup>d</sup> Or “spirit.” See App. pp. 584 f.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 130-134

up walking in the track of the objects of his quest, and following them up until he has reached those for whom he yearns. But none of them will he find 131 among the worthless. Why so? Because "they have departed hence," forsaking all that we care about, and have removed into the abode of the pious where no evil men are found. The speaker is the true "man,"<sup>a</sup> the Monitor, set over the soul, who, seeing its perplexity, its inquiring, its searching, is afraid lest it go astray and miss the right road.

XXIV. Another instance is that of those well- 132 known two whom I hold in great admiration. One is full of curiosity about the middle term between two others, and says, "Lo, the fire and the wood; where is the sheep for a whole burnt-offering?" The other replies, "God will see for Himself a sheep for a whole burnt-offering, Child"; and afterwards finds the substitute provided, for "behold a single ram held by the horns in a Sabek shrub"<sup>b</sup> (Gen. xxii. 7, 8, 13). Let us see, then, what the inquirer's difficulty is, and 133 what the answerer declares; and in the third place what the thing found was. Well, the inquiry he makes is of this kind: "Behold, the efficient cause, the fire; behold also, the passive object, the material, the wood; where is the third term, the finished result<sup>c</sup>?" As though he should say, "Behold the 134 mind, breath<sup>d</sup> all warm and on fire; behold also the objects which the mind perceives, materials, as it were; where is the third term, the mind's perception?" Or once more, "Here is sight; here is colour; where is the seeing?" and, quite generally, "Lo, here is sense-perception, the instrument for forming judgements; yes, and the objects of sense-perception, the material for it to work upon; where,

## PHILO

- 135 αἰσθάνεσθαι ποῦ; ταῦτα πυνθανομένῳ δεόντως ἀποκρίνεται· “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἑαυτῷ”· θεοῦ γὰρ ἔργον ἴδιον τὸ τρίτον. ἐπιφροσύνῃ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ἡ δ’ ὄρασις ὄρα καὶ πᾶσα αἴσθησις αἰσθάνεται. “κριὸς δ’ εὐρίσκειται κατεχόμενος,” τουτέστι λόγος ἡσυχάζων
- 136 καὶ ἐπέχων. ἄριστον γὰρ ἱερεῖον ἡσυχία καὶ | [566] ἐποχὴ περὶ ὧν πάντως οὐκ εἰσι πίστεις. ῥητὸν γὰρ μόνον τοῦτο “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται,” ᾧ γνώριμα τὰ πάντα, ὃς λαμπροτάτῳ φωτί, ἑαυτῷ, τὰ ὅλα αὐγάζει· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα οὐ ῥητὰ γενέσει, ἧς πολὺ κατακέχυται τὸ σκότος· ἡρεμία δ’ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν σκότῳ.
- 137 XXV. Ζητήσαντες καὶ τί τὸ τρέφον ἐστὶ τὴν ψυχὴν—“οὐ γὰρ” ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς “ἦδεισαν τί ἦν”—εὐρον μαθόντες ῥῆμα θεοῦ καὶ λόγον θεῖον, ἀφ’ οὗ πᾶσαι παιδεῖαι καὶ σοφίαι ῥέουσιν ἀένναοι. ἡδ’ ἐστὶν ἡ οὐράνιος τροφή, μηνύεται δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ αἰτίου λέγοντος· “ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὕψω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ”·
- 138 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὴν αἰθέριον σοφίαν ὁ θεὸς ταῖς εὐφύεσι καὶ φιλοθεάμοσις ἄνωθεν ἐπιψεκάζει διανοίαις· αἱ δὲ ἰδοῦσαι καὶ γευσάμεναι καὶ σφόδρ’ ἡσθεῖσαι ἔμαθον μὲν ὃ ἔπαθον, τὸ δὲ διαθὲν ἀγνοοῦσι. διὸ πυνθάνονται· “τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο,” ὃ μέλιτος γλυκύτερον, χιόνος δὲ λευκότερον εἶναι πέφυκε; διδαχ-

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 134-138

then, is the act of perceiving ? ” To these inquiries <sup>135</sup>  
the other gives the only right answer, “ God will  
see for Himself ” ; for the third term is God’s special  
work. For it is by His taking thought for them that  
the mind apprehends, and sight sees, and every sense  
perceives.

As for the words “ A ram is  
found held fast,” this is reason keeping quiet and in  
suspense. For the best offering is quietness and sus- <sup>136</sup>  
pense of judgement, in matters that absolutely lack  
proofs. The only word we may say is this, “ God will  
see.” To Him all things are known ; He sees all  
things distinctly, by clearest light, even by Himself.  
No other word can be spoken by created beings on  
whom the darkness has been shed in full measure ;  
and in darkness, safety lies in keeping still.

XXV. Another instance. When they sought what <sup>137</sup>  
it is that nourished the soul (for, as Moses says, “they  
knew not what it was ”) (Exod. xvi. 15), they became  
learners and found it to be a saying of God, that is  
the Divine Word, from which all kinds of instruction  
and wisdom flow in perpetual stream. This is the  
heavenly nourishment, and it is indicated as such in  
the sacred records, when the First Cause in his own  
person says, “ Lo, it is I that am raining upon you  
bread out of the heaven ” (*ibid.* 4) ; for in very deed <sup>138</sup>  
God drops from above the ethereal wisdom upon  
minds which are by nature apt and take delight in  
Contemplation ; and they see it and taste it and are  
filled with pleasure, being fully aware of what they  
feel, but wholly ignorant of the cause which produced  
the feeling. So they inquire “ What is this ” (*ibid.*  
15) which has a nature making it sweeter than honey  
and whiter than snow ? And they will be taught by

## PHILO

- θήσονται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοπρόπου, ὅτι “ οὗτός ἐστιν  
 139 ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν ἔδωκε κύριος αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.” τίς οὖν  
 ὁ ἄρτος, εἶπέ. “ τοῦτο ” φησί “ τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συν-  
 ἔταξε κύριος.” ἡ θεία σύνταξις αὕτη τὴν ὄρατικὴν  
 ψυχὴν φωτίζει τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γλυκαίνει, φέγγος μὲν  
 τὸ ἀληθείας ἀπαστρέπτουσα, πειθοῖ δέ, ἀρετῆ  
 γλυκεία, τοὺς διψῶντας καὶ πεινῶντας καλοκά-  
 γαθίας ἐφηδύνουσα.
- 140 Ζητήσας καὶ ὁ προφήτης αὐτός, τί τὸ τοῦ κατορ-  
 θοῦν αἴτιον, ἀνεῦρεν ὅτι ἡ θεοῦ μόνου σύνοδος.  
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἠπόρει, τίς εἰμι καὶ τίς ὢν τὸ ὄρατικὸν  
 γένος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντος ἀντιθέου  
 τρόπου ῥύσσομαι, διδάσκεται χρησμῶ, ὅτι “ ἔσομαι  
 141 μετὰ σοῦ.” ζητήσεις δ’ αἱ τῶν κατὰ μέρος  
 ἔχουσι μὲν γλαφυρὰν θεωρίαν καὶ φιλόσοφον—  
 πῶς γὰρ οὔ;—ἡ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου καὶ  
 ἀσυγκρίτου καὶ πάντων αἰτίου θεοῦ ζήτησις  
 εὐφραίνει μὲν εὐθύς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν, ἀτελής  
 δ’ οὐ γίνεται, προὔπαντῶντος διὰ τὴν ἴλεω φύσιν  
 ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς παρθένοις χάρισι καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένου  
 ἑαυτὸν τοῖς γλιχομένοις ἰδεῖν, οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν—  
 ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς “ ἀπέστρεψε τὸ  
 πρόσωπον· εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ κατεμβλέψαι ἐνώπιον  
 τοῦ θεοῦ,”—ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐνεχώρει γεννητὴν φύσιν τῇ  
 142 ἀπερινοήτῳ<sup>1</sup> δυνάμει προσβαλεῖν. ἀναγέγραπται  
 καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς· “ ἐπιστρα-  
 φήσεσθε ” γὰρ φησι “ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *περι νοητὰ* (-ῶ).

\* These words of course really refer to the orders which follow as to the gathering of the manna. Philo takes them to refer to the preceding verse and thus identifies the manna with the “saying” and therefore also with the Logos. So also *Leg. All.* iii. 173.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 138-142

the seer that "This is the bread, which the Lord hath given them to eat" (*ibid.* 15). Tell me, then, of 139 what kind the bread is. "This saying," he says, "which the Lord ordained" <sup>a</sup> (*ibid.* 16). This Divine ordinance fills the soul that has vision alike with light and sweetness, flashing forth the radiancy of truth, and with the honied grace of persuasion imparting sweetness to those who hunger and thirst after nobility of character.

A seeker also was the prophet himself, to know 140 the cause of successful achievement, and he found that it was the presence with him of the only God. For when he asked in doubt, "Who am I, and what is there in me that I should deliver the race of vision from the character which fancies itself king and sets itself up against God?" he is instructed by a message from God, "I will be with thee" (Exod. iii. 11 f.). It is true, of course, that the seeking of partial and subordinate objects calls out in us the exercise of delicate and profound thought; but the seeking of 141 God, best of all existences, incomparable Cause of all things, gladdens us the moment we begin our search, and never turns out fruitless, since by reason of His gracious nature He comes to meet us with His pure and virgin graces, and shews Himself to those who yearn to see Him, not as He is, which is a thing impossible, since even Moses "turned away his face, for he was afraid to look upon God" (Exod. iii. 6), but so far as it was allowable that created nature should direct its gaze towards the Power that is beyond conception. This promise also is included in 142 the Exhortations,<sup>b</sup> where it is said "Ye shall turn

<sup>b</sup> See note on § 170.

PHILO

[567] ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐρήσετε αὐτόν, ὅταν | ἐκζητήσητε αὐτόν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν.”

143 XXVI. Ἀποχρώντως λελαληκότες καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐξῆς τρεψώμεθα κεφάλαιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ μὲν ζητεῖν ἦν, τὸ δ' εὐρίσκειν οὐχ εἶπετο. Λάβαν γοῦν ἀναζητήσας ὅλον τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον “ οὐχ εὗρεν ” ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς “ τὰ εἶδωλα ”· πλήρης γὰρ πραγμάτων, οὐκ ὀνειράτων

144 καὶ κενῶν φαντασμάτων ἦν. οὐδ' οἱ τυφλοὶ διάνοιαν Σοδομίται σπουδάσαντες ἐκθύμως αἰσχῦναι τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀμιάντους λόγους εὑρον τὴν εἰς τοῦτ' ἄγουσαν ὁδόν, ἀλλ', ὡς φησι τὸ λόγιον, “ παρελύθησαν ζητοῦντες τὴν θύραν,” καίτοι γε ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν περιθέοντες καὶ πάντα κινήσαντες λίθον πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐκφύλου  
145 καὶ ἀσεβοῦς ἐπιθυμίας. ἤδη τινὲς καὶ

ἀντὶ πυλωρῶν βασιλεῖς ἐθελήσαντες γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν βίῳ, τάξιν, καταλύσαι οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀδίκως ἐλπισθείσης εὐπραγίας ἐσφάλησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦν ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον ἐκβαλεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν. ἱερωσύνης γὰρ τοὺς Κορὲ θιασώτας ὀρεχθέντας  
146 \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> ὁ νόμος διαμαρτεῖν φησιν ἀμφοῖν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ παῖδες καὶ ἄνδρες μανθάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν ἡλικιῶν εἰσιν ἀρμόττουσαι διδασκαλαίαι, οὕτως πεφύκασιν εἶναί τινες αἰεὶ παιδικαὶ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἐν σώμασι γεγηρακόσι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. proposes to fill up the lacuna: μὴ ἀρκουμένους τῇ νεωκόρων τάξει. Perhaps καίτοι ἤδη . . . ἔχοντας would account better for the loss of the words in the mss.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ although ” . . . still.” ὥσπερ . . . οὕτως seem here

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 142-146

back to the Lord your God, and shall find Him, when ye shall seek after Him, with all your heart, and with all your soul " (Deut. iv. 29 f.).

XXVI. Having said enough about those who seek 143 and find, let us turn next to our third head, in which there is, we said, seeking, but no finding follows. Laban falls under this head. He searched the whole of the soul-dwelling of the Practiser, and as Moses says " found not the idols " (Gen. xxxi. 33); for it was full of real things, not of dreams and empty phantoms.

The men of Sodom, too, blind 144 in understanding, when madly bent on bringing shame upon the sacred and undefiled Words, did not find the way that leads to this, but, as the sacred passage says, " wearied themselves in seeking the door " (Gen. xix. 11), although they ran all round the house and left no stone unturned to carry out their unnatural and unholy lust.

It has happened before 145 now, that men having conceived the desire to become kings instead of gate-keepers and to overthrow order, the most beautiful thing in human life, have not only failed of the success which they had unjustly hoped for, but have been compelled to part with the advantage which they held in their hands. For the Law tells us that the men of Korah's company, when they aimed at (priesthood and were not satisfied with the post of Tabernacle attendants), failed of both (Num. xvi.). For just as boys and men do not learn the 146 same things, but either age has its appropriate teachings, so <sup>a</sup> it is the nature of some souls to be always childish even in bodies that have grown old, and, on the other hand, to be full grown in bodies just reach-

to be used in this adversative sense, as *ut* and *ita* often are in Latin, but I do not know of any parallel.

## PHILO

ἔμπαλιν τελειόταται ἐν ἄρτι ἀκμάζουσι καὶ ἡβῶσιν. ὄφλοιεν ἂν οὖν εὐθήθειαν, ὅσοι μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐρώσιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιτάσει σφοδρότητος ἀπορρήττεται.

- 147 καὶ Φαραὼ “ ζητῶν ἀνελεῖν Μωυσῆν,” τὸ προφητικὸν γένος, οὐδέποτε εὐρήσει, καίτοι χαλεπὸν ἀκηκοῶς κατ’ αὐτοῦ λόγον ὡς ἐπικεχειρηκότος καθελεῖν τὴν σώματος ἅπασαν ἡγεμονίαν δυσὶ
- 148 προσβολαῖς· ὧν τὴν μὲν προτέραν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τρόπον, ὃς ἐπετείχιζεν ἡδονὴν ψυχῇ—“ πατάξας γὰρ αὐτὸν ” οὐσία σποράδι “ κατέχωσεν, ἄμμω,” τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομίσας ἀμφοτέρα εἶναι τὰ δόγματα, καὶ ἡδονὴν ὡς πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀτόμους ὡς τῶν ὄλων ἀρχάς, —τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν πρὸς τὸν κατακερματίζοντα τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν ψυχῇ, τὸ δὲ σώματι, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀπονέμοντα. ὀλόκληρον γὰρ αὐτὸ βούλεται εἶναι, τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, διανοία μόνῃ, προσκεκληρωμένον καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐφαρμόττον.
- 149 XXVII. Οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνίκητον ἀρετὴν καὶ πικραινομένην ἐπὶ ταῖς καταγελάστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπουδαῖς, ὄνομα Θάμαρ, ὃ διαπεμφθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν [568] ζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἀνευρίσκει, | φυσικώτατα· λέγεται γάρ· “ ἀπέστειλε δὲ Ἰούδας τὸν ἔριφον ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιμένου τοῦ Ὀδολλαμίτου κομίσασθαι τὸν ἀρραβῶνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικός· καὶ οὐχ εὗρεν αὐτήν. ἐπηρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· ποῦ

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<sup>a</sup> Philo evidently interprets the two attacks as directed (1) against the Epicureans, (2) against the Peripatetics. The two schools however are not put on the same footing. The Epicurean is an Egyptian, who is smiting the Hebrew Stoic;

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 146-149

ing the prime of youth. All such as are enamoured of things too great for their nature will be convicted of foolishness, since every effort beyond our strength breaks down through over-violent straining.

Pharaoh, again, seeking to destroy Moses (Exod. ii. 147 15), that is, the prophetic nature, will never find him, albeit he has heard a grievous charge against him, namely, that he has attempted to overthrow the entire dominion of the body in two attacks.<sup>a</sup> The first of 148 these he made against the Egyptian character, which was assailing the soul from the vantage-ground of pleasure; for "after smiting him he covered him with sand" (Exod. ii. 12), a drifting, disconnected substance. He evidently regarded both doctrines as having the same author, the doctrine that pleasure is the prime and greatest good, and the doctrine that atoms are the elementary principles of the universe. Another attack (*ibid.* 13) was directed against him who splits up the nature of good into subdivisions, and assigns one to soul, one to body, one to things outside us. For he would have the good to be a complete whole, apportioned to the best element in us, to understanding alone, and in agreement with nothing lifeless.

XXVII. Again, it is in perfect keeping with the 149 nature of things that invincible Virtue, bitterly vexed at men's absurd aims—Tamar is her name—is not found by the messenger dispatched to seek her; for it is said, "And Judah sent the kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd the Adullamite, to receive the pledge from the woman's hand: and he found her not. And he asked the men of the place, in the second case the wrongdoer whom Moses rebukes is a Hebrew as well as his opponent.

## PHILO

ἐστὶν ἢ πόρνη ἢ γενομένη ἐν Αἰνὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ;  
 καὶ εἶπον· οὐκ ἦν ἐνταῦθα πόρνη. καὶ ἀπεστράφη  
 πρὸς Ἰούδας καὶ εἶπεν· οὐχ εὖρον, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι  
 οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ὧδε πόρνην.  
 εἶπε δὲ Ἰούδας· ἐχέτω αὐτά, ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε κατα-  
 γελασθῶμεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέσταλκα τὸν ἔριφον τοῦ-  
 τον, σὺ δὲ οὐχ εὖρηκας.” ὡ θαυμαστῆς δοκιμασίας,  
 150 ὡ ἱεροπρεποῦς πείρας. ἀρραβῶνά τις ἔδωκεν  
 ὠνητικῶς ἔχουσα διάνοια τοῦ καλλίστου κτήματος,  
 θεοσεβείας, διὰ τριῶν ἐνεχύρων ἢ συμβόλων, δακ-  
 τυλίου, ὀρμίσκου, ῥάβδου,<sup>1</sup> βεβαιότητα καὶ πίστιν,  
 εἰρμὸν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ βίου  
 πρὸς λόγον, ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκλινῆ παιδείαν, ἣ λυσιτελές  
 151 ἐπερεΐδεσθαι. τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦτον εἰ καλῶς  
 ἔδωκε, βασανίζει. τίς οὖν ἢ βάσανος; καθεῖναι  
 τι δέλεαρ ὀλκῶ κεχρημένον δυνάμει, δόξαν ἢ  
 πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίαν σώματος ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων,  
 καὶ γινῶναι πρὸς πότερα καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος  
 ταλαντεύσει· ῥοπή γὰρ εἰ γένοιτο πρὸς τι τούτων,  
 ὁ ἀρραβῶν οὐ βέβαιος. ἀπέστειλεν οὖν τὸν ἔριφον  
 κομίσασθαι τὸν ἀρραβῶνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικός, οὐ  
 τοῦτο προηρημένος πάντως ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ εἴ  
 152 ποτε ἀναξία τοῦ κατέχειν ἐκείνη γένοιτο. γενή-  
 σεται δὲ πότε; ἤνικα ἂν τὰ διαφέροντα ἀδιαφόρων  
 ἀντικαταλλάξῃται, τῶν γνησίων ἀγαθῶν τὰ νόθα  
 προτιμήσασα· γνήσια μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὰ πίστις, εἰρμὸς  
 καὶ ἀκολουθία λόγων πρὸς ἔργα, παιδείας κανῶν  
 ὀρθῆς, ὡς ἔμπαλιν κακὰ ἀπιστία, τὸ ἀνακόλουθον,  
 ἀπαιδευσία, τὰ δὲ νόθα, ὅσα τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς  
 153 ἀπῆρώρηται. ζητῶν οὖν “ οὐκ ἀνεύρειν

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests the insertion of *δηλούσα* before *διὰ*: better, as Cohn, *δοῦσα* after *ῥάβδου*.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 149-153

‘Where is the harlot that was at Enaim by the way-side?’ And they said, ‘There was no harlot here.’ And he returned to Judah and said, ‘I have not found her, and the men of the place say that there is no harlot here.’ And Judah said ‘Let her have them, but let us never be laughed to scorn; I have sent this kid, and thou hast not found her’” (Gen. xxxviii. 20-23). O admirable assay! O sacred test! A mind, 150 bent on purchasing that fairest possession, piety, gave a pledge in the form of three securities or symbols, a signet ring, a cord, a staff (*ibid.* 18): the first, steadfastness and fidelity; the second, sequence and correspondence of word with life and life with word; the third, straight and unbending discipline, on which it is an advantage to lean.<sup>a</sup> The mind is putting 151 to the test whether it did well to give this pledge. What, then, is the test? To drop some bait possessed of attractive power, fame or riches or health of body, or something of this kind, and to ascertain towards which side it sinks as on a pair of scales; for should there be an inclination towards any of these, the pledge is not safe. So he sent the kid thus to recover the pledge from the woman, not with the purpose of getting it back in any case, but only if she should ever prove unworthy to retain it. When 152 will she be proved such? Whenever she exchanges things that matter for things that do not, preferring counterfeits to genuine goods. Now genuine goods are fidelity, sequence and correspondence of words with acts, a standard of right discipline (as on the other hand evils are faithlessness, inconsistency, lack of discipline); while the counterfeits are all things that depend upon irrational impulse. He 153

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 585.

## PHILO

αὐτὴν”· δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνεύρετον ἐν πεφυρμένῳ βίῳ τὸ καλόν. κἂν διαπύθῃται, εἰ ἔστι περὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ καλοῦ πεπορνευμένη ψυχῇ, ῥητῶς ἀκούσεται, ὅτι οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε ἦν πρότερον· ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ἢ μαχλὰς ἢ τριοδίτις σοβὰς ἢ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ἐπειωνίζουσα ἢ καθαρσίῳσι καὶ λουτροῖσι τὰ ἐκτὸς φαιδρυνομένη, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ῥυπῶσα, ἢ καθάπερ τὰ πινάκια χρώμασι τὴν ὄψιν ὑπογραφομένη χήτει φυσικῆς εὐμορφίας ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον πολυάνδρον κακὸν ὡς ἀγαθὸν μεταδιώκουσα ἢ πολυγαμίας ἐρῶσα ἢ πρὸς μυρία σπειρομένη<sup>1</sup> ἢ ὑπὸ μυρίων σωμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπαιζομένη καὶ

154 περιωβριζομένη κείθι οὐκ ἔστι. ταῦτα ὁ διαπεμψάμενος ἀκούσας, φθόνον ἠλλοτριωκῶς ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἴλεως γέγηθεν οὐ μετρίως

[569] | καὶ φησι· μὴ γὰρ οὐ δι’ εὐχῆς ἐστὶ μοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἀστείαν τε καὶ ἀστὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι, κοσμιότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαισι διαπρέπουσαν ἀρεταῖσι, ἐνὶ προσέχουσιν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς οἰκουρίαν ἀγαπῶσαν καὶ μοναρχίᾳ χαίρουσαν. εἰ δὴ τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν, ἐχέτω τὰ δεδομένα, καὶ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὸν εἰρμὸν λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ βίου πρὸς λόγον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, βεβαιότητα

155 καὶ πίστιν. ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε γελασθῶμεν ἀνάξια

<sup>1</sup> A difficult phrase which Mangey regarded as spurious: perhaps read *μυρίων*, “she becomes the seed-plot of thousands.”



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 153-155

sought there and " did not find her " ; for that which is morally excellent is hard or even impossible to find in a life of turmoil. And if he make careful inquiries whether there be in all the region of that which is morally excellent a soul that has played the harlot, he will be told definitely that there neither is nor was aforesaid, for that there is not there any licentious one, or a wanton, or a street-walker, or one prostituting for gain the flower of her youth, or making bright what is outside by baths and cleansings while she is foul within, or in default of natural beauty painting her face as pictures are coloured, or what is called the " many-husband " pest, following after evil as though it were good, or a lover of polygamy, or dispersing herself upon a thousand different objects material and immaterial alike, or mocked and outraged by that multitude. He who had sent the messenger, on hearing this, being one who had put envy far from him and was of a gracious disposition, rejoices greatly and says : " Is it not my heart-felt prayer that my understanding should be a true and high-born lady,<sup>a</sup> eminent for chastity and modesty and all other virtues, devoted to one husband and keeping watch with delight over the home of one, and exulting in a sole ruler ? If in truth she is such an one, let her keep the things which have been given her, both discipline and the correspondence of word with life and of life with word, and the most vital of all, steadfastness and fidelity. But let us never be laughed to scorn in the belief that we

<sup>a</sup> The allegory seems to get a little confused at this point. Properly the mind is the purchaser of the lady Virtue or Piety.

## PHILO

- κεχαρίσθαι δόξαντες, καίτοι γ' ὑπολαβόντες ἐπιτηδειότατα τῇ ψυχῇ δεδωρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι τὸν βουλόμενον τρόπου βάσανον καὶ δοκιμασίαν λαβεῖν, πεποίηκα, δέλεαρ καθεὶς καὶ διαπεμψάμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐπεδείξατο
- 156 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν οὐκ εὐάλωτον. ἄδηλον δὲ ἐμοὶ τὸ διὰ τί (τίς)<sup>1</sup> οὐκ εὐάλωτος· μυρίους γὰρ εἶδον τῶν ἄγαν φαύλων τὰ αὐτὰ δρῶντας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοῖς λίαν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ διανοίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθεια, τοῖς δὲ ὑπόκρισις ἀσκεῖται· χαλεπὴ δ' ἡ διάγνωσις ἀμφοῖν· πολλάκις γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρενημερήθη τὸ εἶναι.
- 157 XXVIII. Καὶ τὸν χίμαρον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ φιλάρετος ζητεῖ μὲν, οὐχ εὐρίσκει δέ· ἤδη γὰρ, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ λόγιον, ἐνεπέπρηστο. τί δ' αἰνίττεται, σκεπτέον· τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ μετανοεῖν σοφοῦ· παγγχάλεπον δὲ καὶ δυσεύ-
- 158 ρετον τοῦτό γε. φησὶν οὖν ὁ χρησμός, ὅτι “ ζητῶν ἐξεζήτησε Μωυσῆς ” ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ τὸν περὶ ἁμαρτημάτων μετανοίας λόγον. ἐσπούδαζε γὰρ ἀνευρεῖν ἀπαμπισχομένην τὸ ἀδικεῖν ψυχὴν καὶ ἄνευ αἰσχύνης γυμνὴν προϊούσαν ἁμαρτημάτων. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐχ εὔρε, τῆς φλογός, λέγω δὲ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τίς is my insertion: Wend. prints δῆλον for the ms. ἄδηλον, but this does not agree with the sequel. The test was necessary, because experience shews that without such a test we may easily be deceived. It would be possible to read τίς indefinite instead of τίς interrogative; but the double interrogative (what makes who?) is idiomatic Greek. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 296.

“ Or “of little value.” Philo interprets the lxx “Let her have them (*i.e.* the pledges), but let us never be laughed to scorn” as meaning that to suppose that the material gift of the kid should be taken in exchange for the spiritual,

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 155-158

thought our gifts unmerited; <sup>a</sup> we did indeed suppose that they were presents perfectly adapted to the soul. But while I, on my part, did what one who wished to test and try a character would naturally do, when I offered a bait, and sent a messenger, that character on its part made it evident that it was by its nature no easy prey. But I could not tell what it is <sup>156</sup> which makes one an easy prey and another not; for I have seen great numbers of the exceedingly wicked sometimes acting exactly like the very good, but not for the same reason, since one set is putting truth into practice, the other set hypocrisy: and it is hard to distinguish these two; for many a time being is outdone by seeming."

XXVIII. Again, the goat of the sin-offering is <sup>157</sup> sought for by the lover of virtue, but he does not find it; for, as the passage of Holy Writ shews, it had already been burnt (Lev. x. 16). We must consider what he means by this figure. To do no sin is peculiar to God; to repent, to the wise man; and this latter is a very difficult thing, and hard to find. So the oracle says that "Moses diligently sought" <sup>158</sup> in this mortal life the secret of repentance for sins; for he was intent on discovering a soul divesting itself of unrighteousness, and going forth without shame, naked of misdeeds. But nevertheless he did not find one, for the flame, in other words the irrational im-

would expose the offerer to the charge that he thought the latter of little value (or perhaps unduly depreciated the soul to which the offer is made). It is not so. The offer is the test which every aspiring soul must put to itself.

It might perhaps be suggested that the scorn is Tamar's, and the gift scorned the kid, and this is supported by the description of her in § 149. But it is difficult to fit this in with the rest of the sentence.

## PHILO

- ὀξύκνητοτάτης ὀρμῆς ἀλόγου, καταδραμούσης καὶ  
 159 ὅλην ψυχὴν ἐπινημηθείσης. νικᾶται γὰρ τὰ μὲν  
 ἐλάττω πρὸς τῶν πλειόνων, τὰ δὲ βραδύτερα πρὸς  
 τῶν ὠκυδρομωτέρων, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα πρὸς τῶν  
 παρόντων· ἐσταλμένον δὲ καὶ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον ἢ  
 μετάνοια, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ταχὺ καὶ συνεχὲς ἐν τῷ  
 θνητῷ βίῳ τὸ ἀδικεῖν. εἰκότως οὖν ἐν τροπῇ τις  
 γενόμενός φησι μὴ δύνασθαι “ τοῦ περὶ ἁμαρτίας  
 ἐμφαγεῖν ”· μὴ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν τὸ συνειδὸς αὐτῷ  
 μετανοίᾳ τραφῆναι· διὸ λέγεται· “ ἤκουσε Μωυσῆς,  
 160 καὶ ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ. ” τὰ γὰρ πρὸς γένεσιν τῶν πρὸς  
 θεὸν μακρὰν ἀπέζευκται· τῇ μὲν γὰρ τὰ φανερὰ  
 μόνα, τῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ γνώριμα. παραπαίει  
 δ’, ὅς ἂν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καταψευδόμενος ἔτ’ ἀδικῶν  
 μετανενοηκέναι φάσκη· ὁμοιον ὡς εἰ καὶ ὁ νοσῶν  
 [570] τὸν | ὑγιαίνοντα καθυποκρίνοιτο· μᾶλλον γάρ, ὡς  
 ἔοικε, νοσήσει μηδὲν τῶν εἰς ὑγίειαν προσφόρων  
 ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀξιῶν.
- 161 XXIX. Ἐζήτει ποτὲ προαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλο-  
 μαθοῦς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, αἷς τὰναγκαιότατα τῶν ἐν  
 τῷ κόσμῳ πραγμάτων ἐπιτελεῖται· θεώμενος γὰρ  
 ὅσα ἐν γενέσει φθειρόμενα καὶ γεννώμενα, ἀπολ-  
 λύμενά τε αὐτὰ καὶ διαμέμοντα, τέθηπε καὶ κατα-  
 πέπληκται καὶ ἐκβοᾷ φάσκων· “ τί, ὅτι ὁ βᾶτος

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<sup>a</sup> The main point of the story of Lev. x. 16-20, some of the details of which seem to be difficult, is that the goat should have been eaten by the priests instead of being burnt. Aaron pleaded in defence “there have befallen me such things as these,” *i.e.* the death of his sons Nadab and Abihu. “In spite of the sacrifice offered on behalf of Aaron and his house, two of his sons have perished; with such a

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 158-161

pulse exceeding swift in its movements, had overrun and devoured the whole soul. For the fewer are over- 159  
powered by the more numerous, and the slower by the more fleet, and things that tarry by things that are present ; and repentance is a restricted and slow and tarrying thing, whereas wrongdoing is copious and swift and constantly present in this mortal life. Naturally, then, one who has come into a state of lapse from virtue says that he is " unable to eat of the sin-offering," since his inward feeling does not permit him to be fed by repentance, wherefore it is said " Moses heard it, and it pleased him " (Lev. x. 19 f.). For our 160  
relation to other created beings is a very different thing from our relation to God ; for to creation only things manifest are known, but to God hidden things also. The man who, lying against the truth, maintains while still doing wrong that he has repented, is a madman. It is just as if the sick man were to act the part of the healthy man : he will clearly get worse through declining to have recourse to any means conducive to health.<sup>a</sup>

XXIX. Again, on one occasion the prophet, led on 161  
by his love of acquiring knowledge, was seeking after the causes by which the most essential occurrences in the universe are brought about ; for observing all created things wasting away and coming to the birth, perishing and yet remaining, he is smitten with amazement and cries out saying, " Why is it that the bush

token of the divine displeasure resting upon him could he, immediately afterwards, feel himself entitled to eat the sacrifice?" (Driver). Philo interprets the goat as Repentance, which is consumed by the fire of unreasoning appetite, and therefore " not found " ; and to eat of it and thus to assume a repentance which is not sincere will make the sinner's condition worse.

PHILO

- 162 καίεται καὶ οὐ κατακαίεται<sup>1</sup>. τὸν γὰρ ἄβατον [οὐ]<sup>1</sup>  
 πολυπραγμονεῖ χῶρον, θείων ἐνδιαίτημα φύσεων,  
 ἀλλ' ἤδη μέλλων ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀτελῆ πόνον διαθλεῖν  
 ἐπικουφίζεται ἐλέω καὶ προμηθείᾳ τοῦ πάντων  
 σωτήρος θεοῦ, ὃς ἔχρησεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων. “ μὴ  
 ἐγγίσης ᾧδε,” ἴσον τῷ μὴ πρόσιθι τοιαύτη δια-  
 σκέψει· περιεργίας γὰρ καὶ φιλοπραγμοσύνης μεί-  
 ζονος ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην δύναμιν τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλὰ  
 τὰ μὲν γεγονότα θαύμαζε, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας, δι' αἷς ἢ  
 163 γέγονεν ἢ φθείρεται, μὴ πολυπραγμόνει. “ ὁ γὰρ  
 τόπος ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας ” φησί “ γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν.”  
 ποῖος τόπος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ὁ αἰτιολογικός, ὃν  
 μόνον ταῖς θείαις ἀνῆψε φύσεις, ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα  
 νομίσας ἰκανὸν εἶναι αἰτιολογίας ἐφάψασθαι;  
 164 ὁ δ' ἄρα διὰ πόθον ἐπιστήμης ὑπερ-  
 κύψας ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον ζητεῖ περὶ τοῦ κοσμο-  
 ποιοῦ, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ δυσόρατος οὗτος καὶ δυστόπαστος,  
 σῶμα ἢ ἀσώματος ἢ ὑπεράνω τι τούτων ἢ φύσις  
 ἀπλή, οἷα μονάς, ἢ σύγκριμα ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων.  
 καὶ τοῦθ' ὄρων ὡς ἔστι δυσθήρατον καὶ δυσπερι-  
 νόητον, εὔχεται παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ, τίς  
 ἐστὶν ὁ θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἤλπισε δυνήσεσθαι γινῶναι  
 165 παρ' ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν μετ' αὐτόν. ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 ἴσχυσε<sup>2</sup> μηδὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος ἐρευνᾶν οὐσίας·

<sup>1</sup> [οὐ]: so Mangey: Wend., who retains it, may have thought that the *βάτος* represented the laws of causation in the visible world while the *ἄβατος χῶρος* was the supernatural sphere; but this is impossible in view of τὰς δὲ αἰτίας . . . μὴ πολυπραγμόνει below. Wend. probably also did not realize that *βάτος* was supposed by Greek philologists to be derived from *ἄβατος*. It would however be possible to retain οὐ if a question-mark is placed after *φύσεων* (“are not his thoughts busy?”).

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 161-165

is burning and not being consumed ? ” (Exod. iii. 2 f.), for his thoughts are busy over the untrodden place, 162 familiar only to Divine natures. But when now on the point of engaging in an endless and futile labour, he is relieved of it by the kindness and providence of God the Saviour of all men, who from out of the hallowed spot warned him “ Draw not nigh hither ” (*ibid.* 5), as much as to say “ Enter not on such an inquiry ”; for the task argues a busy, restless curiosity too great for human ability : marvel at all that has come into being, but as for the reasons for which they have either come into being or are decaying, cease to busy thyself with them. For “ the place on which 163 thou standest is holy ground,” it says (*ibid.* 5). What kind of place or topic is meant ? Evidently that of causation, a subject which He has assigned to Divine natures only, deeming no human being capable of dealing with the study of causation.

But the prophet owing to desire of knowledge lifts 164 his eyes above the whole universe and becomes a seeker regarding its Creator, asking of what sort this Being is so difficult to see, so difficult to conjecture. Is He a body or incorporeal, or something exalted above these ? Is He a single Nature, a Monad as it were ? Or a composite Being ? What among all that exists ? And seeing that this is a problem hard to pursue, hard to take in by thought, he prays that he may learn from God Himself what God is : for he had no hope of being able to ascertain this from another, from one of those that are inferior to Him. Nevertheless he did not succeed in finding anything 165 by search respecting the essence of Him that is. For

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἤκουσε.

## PHILO

“ τὰ γὰρ ὀπίσω μου ” φησὶν “ ὄψει, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ μὴ ἴδῃς.” αὐταρκες γάρ ἐστι σοφῶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἐπόμενα καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν γινῶναι, τὴν δ’ ἡγεμονικὴν οὐσίαν ὁ βουλόμενος καταθεάσασθαι τῷ περιαιυγεί τῶν ἀκτίνων πρὶν ἰδεῖν πηρὸς ἔσται.

- 166 XXX. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίτου διειλεγμένοι κεφαλαίου μέτιμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ τε-  
 [571] λευταῖον | τῶν προταθέντων, καθ’ ὃ μὴ γενομένης ζητήσεως φιλεῖ προαπαντᾶν εὗρεσις. ἐν τούτῳ τάττεται πᾶς αὐτομαθῆς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος σοφός· οὐ γὰρ σκέψῃσι καὶ μελέταις καὶ πόνοις ἐβελτιώθη, γενόμενος δ’ εὐθύς εὐτρεπισμένην εἶρε σοφίαν ἄνωθεν ὀμβρηθεῖσαν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ, ἧς ἀκράτου σπάσας εἰστιάθη καὶ διετέλεσε μεθύων τὴν μετ’  
 167 ὀρθότητος λόγου νήφουσαν μέθην. οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν Ἰσαὰκ ὠνόμασαν οἱ χρησμοί, ὃν οὐχ ἑτέρῳ μὲν χρόνῳ συνέλαβεν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ ἔτεκεν ἢ ψυχὴ· “ συλλαβοῦσα ” γάρ φησιν “ ἔτεκεν ” ὡς ἂν ἀχρόνως. οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὁ γεννώμενος, ἀλλὰ νόημα καθαρῶτατον, φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσει καλόν· οὐ χάριν καὶ ἢ τίκτουσα αὐτὸ λέγεται “ τὰ γυναικεῖα ἐκλιπεῖν,” τὰ συνήθη καὶ εὐλογα καὶ ἀνθρώ-  
 168 πινα. καινὸν γὰρ καὶ κρεῖττον λόγου καὶ θεῖον ὄντως τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις ἐπινοίαις, ἀλλ’ ἐνθέῳ μανίᾳ συνιστάμενον. ἢ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι οὐ δέονται πρὸς τὸν τόκον μαιῶν Ἑβραῖαι, “ τίκτουσι ” δ’, ὡς φησι Μωυσῆς, “ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 165-168

he is told "What is behind Me thou shalt see, but My face thou shalt by no means see" (Exod. xxxiii. 23). For it amply suffices the wise man to come to a knowledge of all that follows on after God and in His wake, but the man that wishes to set his gaze upon the Supreme Essence, before he sees Him will be blinded by the rays that beam forth all around Him.

XXX. Having said thus much about the third <sup>166</sup> head also, we will go on to the fourth and last of those proposed for consideration, in which there has been no "seeking," and yet "finding" meets us unbidden. Under this head is ranged every wise man who learns directly from no teacher but himself; for he does not by searchings and practisings and toilings gain improvement, but as soon as he comes into existence he finds wisdom placed ready to his hand, shed from heaven above, and of this he drinks undiluted draughts, and sits feasting, and ceases not to be drunken with the sober drunkenness which right reason brings. This is he whom Holy Writ <sup>167</sup> calls "Isaac," whom the soul did not conceive at one time and give birth to at another, for it says "she conceived and gave birth" (Gen. xxi. 2) as though timelessly. For he that was thus born was not a man, but a most pure thought, beautiful not by practice but by nature. And for this reason she that gave birth to it is said "to have forsaken the ways of women" (Gen. xviii. 11), those human ways of custom and mere reasoning. For the nature of <sup>168</sup> the self-taught is new and higher than our reasoning, and in very deed Divine, arising by no human will or purpose but by a God-inspired ecstasy. Do you not know that Hebrew mothers need no midwives for their delivery, but as Moses says "before the mid-

## PHILO

τὰς μαίας,” λέγω δὲ μεθόδους, τέχνας, ἐπιστήμας, φύσει μόνῃ χρώμεναι συνεργῶ; παγκάλους δὲ καὶ προσφυστάτους ὄρους ἀποδίδωσι τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, ἕνα μὲν τοιοῦτον, τὸ ταχὺ εὕρισκό-  
 169 μενον, ἕτερον δὲ “ὁ παρέδωκεν ὁ θεός.” τὸ μὲν οὖν διδασκόμενον μακροῦ χρόνου δείται, τὸ δὲ φύσει ταχύ τε καὶ τρόπον τινα ἄχρονόν ἐστι· κάκεινο μὲν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτο δὲ θεὸν ὑφηγητὴν ἔχει. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρότερον ὄρον κατέταξεν ἐν πεύσει· “τί τοῦτο ὁ ταχὺ εὔρες, ὦ τέκνον,” τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν ἀποκρίσει φάσκων· “ὁ παρέδωκε  
 170 κύριος ὁ θεός.” XXXI. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτος ὄρος τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, τὸ ἀναβαῖνον αὐτόματον. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς· “οὐ σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτόματα ἀναβαίνοντα αὐτῆς”· τέχνης γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς χρεῖα τὰ φύσει, τοῦ θεοῦ σπείροντος αὐτὰ καὶ τῇ γεωργικῇ τέχνῃ τελεσφοροῦντος ὡς ἂν αὐτόματα τὰ οὐκ αὐτόματα, πλὴν παρόσον ἐπινοίας ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔδεξθη  
 171 τὸ παράπαν. οὐ προτρέπει δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται· παραινῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν· μὴ σπείρητε, μὴ ἀμήσητε, ἀποφαινόμενος δέ· “οὐ σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτόματα”· οἷς γὰρ ἀπαυτοματίζουσιν ἐκ φύσεως ἐπιτυγχάνομεν, τούτων οὔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς οὔτε τὰ τέλη παρ’ ἑαυτοὺς  
 [572] | ὡς ἂν αἰτίους<sup>1</sup> εὕρισκομεν. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν ὁ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀναιτίους: Mangey ἀναιτίων.

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<sup>a</sup> Since in the other six places where Philo uses the phrase the quotation comes from Deuteronomy, it is perhaps more probable that here also he thinks he is quoting that book.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 168-171

wives" (Exod. i. 19), that is before systems, arts, sciences, come in, they give birth with the co-operation of nature alone? Admirable and most suitable are the marks which the Lawgiver sets forth to define the direct learner: one, "that which is quickly found," another, "that which God delivered." While that which is taught needs a long 169 time, that which comes by nature is rapid, and, we may say, timeless; and, while the one has man as teacher, the other has God. The former mark he sets down in a question: "What is this which thou didst find quickly, Child?" the other in a reply, in the words "that which God the Lord delivered" (Gen. xxvii. 20).

XXXI. There is besides 170 a third mark of the direct learner, namely that which comes up of itself. For it is said in the Exhortations<sup>a</sup>: "Ye shall not sow, nor shall ye reap its growths that come up of themselves" (Lev. xxv. 11): for natural growths require no artificial treatment, since God sows them and by His art of husbandry brings to perfection, as though they were self-grown, plants which are not self-grown, save only so far as they had no need whatever of human attention. His 171 words are not those of exhortation, but of statement<sup>b</sup>: for, in commanding, he would have said "do not sow," "do not reap"; instead he says in the form of a statement, "Ye shall not sow, nor assuredly shall ye reap that which is self-grown." For when we observe such growths as spring up spontaneously by nature, we find that we are not responsible either for their beginning or their end. Now the seed is

<sup>b</sup> Or, more fully, "statement of what he thinks (will happen)." For this argument from the indicative form of the words cf. *De Ebr.* 138.

## PHILO

- 172 σπόρος, τελευτή δὲ ὁ ἄμητος<sup>1</sup> ἄμεινον δ' ἐκείνο ἐκδέξασθαι· πᾶσα ἀρχὴ καὶ πᾶν τέλος αὐτόματόν ἐστιν, ἴσον τῷ φύσεως, οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἔργον· οἷον ἀρχὴ τίς τοῦ μαθάνειν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἢ ἐν τῷ διδασκομένῳ φύσις εὐπαράδεκτος οὐσα πρὸς τὰ κατὰ μέρος θεωρήματα; τίς δὲ τοῦ τελειοῦσθαι; πάλιν, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, ἢ φύσις. προκοπᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ ὁ διδάσκων ἱκανός, τὴν δ' ἐπ' ἄκρον τελειότητα ὁ θεὸς μόνος,
- 173 ἢ ἀρίστη φύσις. ὁ τούτοις ἐντρεφόμενος τοῖς δόγμασι τὴν αἰδίον εἰρήνην ἄγει, πόνων ἀφειμένος ἀτρύτων. ἀδιαφορεῖ δ' ἐβδομάδος εἰρήνη κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην· ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ δοκεῖν
- 174 ἐνεργεῖν ἀποτιθεμένη γένεσις ἀναπαύεται. προσηκόντως οὖν λέγεται· “καὶ ἔσται τὰ σάββατα τῆς γῆς ὑμῖν βρώματα,” δι' ὑπονοιῶν· τρόφιμον γὰρ καὶ ἀπολαυστόν μόνον ἢ ἐν θεῷ ἀνάπαυσις, τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν περιποιούσα, τὴν ἀπόλεμον εἰρήνην. ἢ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνακέκρται ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ, ἢ δὲ ψυχῆς ἀμιγῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπάσης
- 175 ἐστίν. ἐναργέστατα δέ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν ἄνευ ζητήσεως εὔρεσιν παριστάνειν διὰ τούτων· “ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσι σου δοῦναί σοι, πόλεις

<sup>1</sup> Wendland puts a full stop after αὐτόματα, a colon after ἐνρίσκομεν, and a full stop after ἄμητος. The last at any rate seems to me to obscure the connexion of thought. See note <sup>a</sup> below.

<sup>a</sup> The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: to say that we shall not sow or reap (in the sense of bringing to the harvest) self-grown plants is a truism. Sowing must mean “beginning” and reaping “ending” and the text is

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 172-175

the beginning and the reaping the end; and the 172  
text is better understood in this way: every begin-  
ning and every end is "automatic," in the sense that  
it is not our doing but that of nature.<sup>a</sup> For instance,  
what is the beginning of the act of learning? Evi-  
dently it is the nature residing in the pupil with its  
receptivity towards the several subjects of study.  
What again is the beginning of the completion of  
learning? Undoubtedly it is nature. It is within  
the power of the teacher to lead us from one stage  
of progress to another; God only, Nature at its best,  
can produce in us the full completion.

The man that is nurtured on these doctrines enjoys 173  
the peace that never ends, released from unabating  
toils. Peace and Seven are identical according to  
the Legislator: for on the seventh day<sup>b</sup> creation puts  
away its seeming activity and takes rest. So, taken 174  
in a symbolic sense, the words "And the sabbath of  
the land shall be food for you" (Lev. xxv. 6) are to the  
point; for nothing is nourishing and enjoyable food,  
save rest in God, securing as it does for us the greatest  
boon, the peace which is unbroken by war. For the  
peace which is made by one city with another is  
mixed with and marred by intestine war; but the  
peace of the soul has no admixture of discord what-  
ever.

But it is by the following that the 175  
Lawgiver seems to me most clearly to supply an  
example of finding without seeking: "When the  
Lord thy God shall have led thee into the land which  
He swore unto thy fathers to give thee, cities great  
intended to teach us that all our actions begin and end  
from God.

<sup>b</sup> Or "the seventh (anything)." See note on *De Mut.* 260.  
Philo clearly has the sabbatical year in mind as well as the  
sabbath itself.

## PHILO

- μεγάλας καὶ καλάς, ἃς οὐκ ᾤκοδόμησας, οἰκίας  
 πλήρεις πάντων ἀγαθῶν, ἃς οὐκ ἐνέπλησας, λάκ-  
 κους λελατομημένους, οὓς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησας, ἀμ-  
 πελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, οὓς οὐ κατεφύτευσας.”
- 176 ὄρᾳς τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν κεχυμένων μεγάλων καὶ  
 ἐτοιμῶν πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν;  
 εἰκάζονται δὲ πόλεσι μὲν αἱ γενικαὶ ἀρεταί, διότι  
 ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐρύνονται, οἰκίαις δ' αἱ ἐν εἴδει—  
 στέλλονται γὰρ εἰς βραχύτερον αὐται κύκλον,—  
 λάκκοις δὲ αἱ εὐφυεῖς ψυχαί, αἱ εὐπαράδεκτοι  
 σοφίας ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ὕδατος, ἀμπελῶσι δὲ καὶ ἐλαιῶ-  
 σιν αἱ προκοπαὶ καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις·  
 καρπὸς δ' ἐπιστήμης ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος, ἄκρατον  
 εὐφροσύνην περιποιῶν ὡς ἀπ' οἴνου καὶ νοητὸν  
 φέγγος ὡς ἀπὸ φλογός, ἧς ἔλαιον τροφή.
- 177 XXXII. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως εἰπόντες μέτ-  
 ιμεν ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῆς ἐφόδου. “εὐρεν”  
 οὖν φησιν “αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς  
 τοῦ ὕδατος.” λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς πηγῆ, ἓνα  
 μὲν τρόπον ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἕτερον δὲ ἡ λογικῆ  
 ἕξις καὶ παιδεία, τρίτον δ' ἡ φαύλη διάθεσις,  
 τέταρτον ἡ σπουδαία καὶ ἐναντία ταύτης, πέμπτον
- 178 αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὄλων | ποιητῆς καὶ πατῆρ. τὰς δὲ  
 [573] τούτων πίστεις οἱ ἀναγραφέντες δηλοῦσι χρησιμοί-  
 τινες οὖν εἰσιν, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἄδεται τις ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 τῆς νομοθεσίας μετὰ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν εὐθὺς  
 τοιοῦδε· “πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινε ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ
- 179 ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.” οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἀλληγορίας καὶ φύσεως τῆς κρύπτεσθαι φιλοῦσης

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Deus* 94 ff.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 585.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 175-179

and fair, which thou buildedst not, houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, cisterns cut out, which thou cuttedst not, vineyards and olive-yards, which thou plantedst not " (Deut. vi. 10 f.). Seest 176 thou the lavish abundance of the good things showered upon them, great and ready for possession and enjoyment? The generic virtues are likened to cities, because they have the greatest expanse; the special virtues to houses, for these are restricted to a narrower compass; souls endowed with good native ability are likened to cisterns, being ready to receive wisdom as these do water; vineyards and olive-yards represent progress and growth and yield of fruits; and the fruit of knowledge is the life of contemplation, winning for us unmixed gladness as from wine, and intellectual light as from a flame which oil feeds.<sup>a</sup>

XXXII. In what preceded we have spoken about 177 finding, having previously dealt with flight. We will now pass on in turn to the points which follow next in our plan of treatment. We read, then, "An angel of the Lord found her at the water-spring" (Gen. xvi. 7). "Spring" is a word used in many senses. In the first place, our mind is so called; secondly, the reasoning habit<sup>b</sup> and education; thirdly, the bad disposition; fourthly, its opposite, the good disposition; fifthly, the Maker and Father of the Universe Himself. The proofs of this statement are 178 supplied by the Oracles of Scripture: let us see what they are. There is one such declaration in the beginning of the Book of the Law, immediately after the record of the Creation of the World, running as follows: "A spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). Those who are 179 unversed in allegory and the nature-truth which

## PHILO

- ἀμύητοι τὴν εἰρημένην εἰκάζουσι πηγὴν τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ποταμῷ, ὃς κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀναχεόμενος λιμνάζει τὴν πεδιάδα, μονονοῦκ ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ
- 180 δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δοκῶν. ὁ γὰρ χειμῶνος ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις οὐρανόσ, τοῦτ' Αἰγύπτῳ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὁ Νεῖλός ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ γῆν τὸν ὑετὸν ἀποστέλλει, ὁ δὲ κάτωθεν ἄνω, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὕων ἄρδει τὰς ἀρούρας. ὅθεν ὀρηθεῖς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἄθεον ἀνέγραψε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τρόπον γῆν οὐρανοῦ προκρίνοντα καὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα.
- 181 ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ τούτων καὶ αὐθὶς ποτε ἐνέσται λέγειν, ὅταν ἐπιτρέπωσιν οἱ καιροί· νυνὶ δὲ—στοχαστέον γὰρ τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν—ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ λεκτέον τὸ “ πηγὴν ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ποτίζειν πᾶν τὸ πρό-
- 182 σωπον τῆς γῆς ” τοιοῦτον εἶναι· τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν εἰκὸς πηγῇ δυνάμεις πολλὰς οἶα διὰ γῆς φλεβῶν ἀνομβροῦν, τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας ἄχρι τῶν αἰσθήσεων [ὀργάνων],<sup>1</sup> ὀφθαλμῶν, ὤτων, ῥινῶν, τῶν ἄλλων, ἀποστέλλει· αἱ δ' εἰσὶ παντὸς ζώου περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πρόσωπον. ποτίζεται οὖν ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡγεμονικοῦ τὸ σῶματος ἡγεμονικὸν πρόσωπον, τὸ μὲν ὄρατικὸν πνεῦμα τείνοντος εἰς ὄμματα, τὸ δὲ ἀκουστικὸν εἰς οὖς, εἰς δὲ μυκτῆρας τὸ ὀσφρήσεως, τὸ δ' αὖ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῶν αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνων: I retain Wendland's text with grave doubt. He bases his correction on the feminine *ai*. But I see no great difficulty in referring this to the “faculties” which if they spring from the mind exhibit themselves in the face. The phrase *αἰσθήσεως ὄργανα* as applied to the eyes, etc., is quite common, *e.g.* *De Som.* i. 55, and indeed is more correct than *αἰσθήσεις*.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 179-182

loves to conceal its meaning compare the spring mentioned with the River of Egypt, which rises in flood yearly and turns the plain into a lake, seeming to exhibit a power well-nigh rivalling the sky. For 180 what the sky is in winter to other countries, this the Nile is to Egypt in the height of summer : the one sends the rain from above upon the earth, the other, strange to say, rains up from below and waters the fields. This afforded Moses ground<sup>a</sup> for branding the Egyptian character as atheistical in its preference for earth above heaven, for the things that live on the ground above those that dwell on high, and the body above the soul.

However, it will 181 be possible to speak of this hereafter, when opportunity permits. At present the need for aiming at brevity compels me to take up the interpretation of the passage allegorically, and to say that "a spring going up and watering all the face of the earth" has the meaning I am about to give. Our dominant 182 faculty resembles a spring : and from it like the spring water through the veins of the earth well up many powers which it sends forth till they reach the senses, eyes, ears, nostrils, and so on. Every animal has those in its head and face. Thus the dominant faculty in the soul waters, as from a spring, the face, which is the dominant part of the body, extending to the eyes the spirit<sup>b</sup> of vision, that of hearing to the ears, to the nostrils that of smelling,

<sup>a</sup> Literally "starting from which," *i.e.* this is the original cause of the facts which led Moses to brand, etc. *Cf. De Mos.* ii. 193 ff., where the blasphemy of the son of an Egyptian father (Lev. xxiv. 10-15) is ascribed to the atheism of Egypt and this to their deification of a mere river.

<sup>b</sup> Or "current."

## PHILO

γεύσεως εἰς στόμα καὶ τὸ ἀφῆς εἰς σύμπασαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

- 183 XXXIII. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς παιδείας πολύτροποι πηγαί, αἷς ὀρθοὶ καὶ τροφιμώτατοι λόγοι, καθάπερ στελέχη φοινίκων, παρανέβλαστον. “ἦλθον” γάρ φησιν “εἰς Αἰλίμ, καὶ ἐν Αἰλίμ ἦσαν δώδεκα πηγαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων· παρενέβαλον δὲ ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὰ ὕδατα.” Αἰλίμ πυλῶνες ἐρμηνεύονται, εἰσόδου τῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν σύμβολον· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας ἀρχαὶ πυλῶνες, καὶ ἀρετῆς τὰ ἐγκύκλια προπαιδεύματα.
- 184 τέλειος δ’ ἀριθμὸς ὁ δώδεκα, μάρτυς δ’ ὁ ζωδιακὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ κύκλος, τοσοῦτοις κατηστερισμένος φωσφόροις ἄστροις· μάρτυς καὶ ἡ ἡλίου περίοδος· μῆσὶ γὰρ δώδεκα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ περατοῦ κύκλον, ἰσαριθμοὺς τε τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆσὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ
- 185 νυκτὸς ὥρας ἄγουσιν ἄνθρωποι. Μωυσῆς δ’ οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑμνεῖ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀναγράφων, ἄρτους δώδεκα τῆς προθέσεως νομοθετῶν, λίθους, ἐν οἷς αἱ γλυφαί, δώδεκα τῇ ἱερᾷ ἐσθῆτι τοῦ ποδήρου ἐνδύματος ἐπὶ τῷ λογίῳ
- 186 συνυφαίνειν | κελεύων. ὑμνεῖ μέντοι
- [574] καὶ τὴν δεκάδι πολυπλασιαζομένην ἑβδομάδα, νυνὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα φοίνικας παρὰ ταῖς πηγαῖς εἶναι λέγων, ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μόνους ἑβδομήκοντα, οἷς τὸ θεῖον ἐπενεμήθη καὶ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ πάλιν ἱερεῖα μόσχων ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν διαιρέσεσι καὶ τάξεσιν ἑναρμονίους ἑορτῇ τῶν σκηνῶν προσαγομένων· βουθυτοῦνται γὰρ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ τρισκαίδεκα ταύρων γενομένης· οὕτως γὰρ κατὰ

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 182-186

that of tasting to the mouth, and that of touch to the whole surface.

XXXIII. There are also a variety of springs of 183  
education, by the side of which there grow up, like  
stems of palm-trees, upright forms of reason rich in  
nourishing food. For we read that "they came to  
Elim, and in Elim there were twelve springs of  
water, and seventy stems of palm-trees; and they  
encamped there by the waters" (Exod. xv. 27).  
"Elim" means "gateways," a figure of the entrance  
to virtue; for just as gateways are the beginnings  
of a house, so are the preliminary exercises of the  
schools the beginning of virtue. And 184

twelve is a perfect number. The zodiac circle in the  
sky is a witness to this, being adorned with that  
number of luminous constellations: a further in-  
stance is the sun's circuit, for it completes its round  
in twelve months, and men keep the hours of day and  
night equal in number to the months of the year.  
And Moses celebrates this number in several places, 185  
telling us of twelve tribes in the nation, directing  
twelve loaves to be set forth on the Table, bidding  
them weave twelve inscribed stones on the "oracle"  
in the holy vestment of the high priest's full-length  
robe (Ex. xxviii. 17 ff.).

He also pro- 186  
claims the ten-fold seven, telling in this passage of  
seventy palm-trees by the springs, and in another of  
the Divine Spirit of prophecy bestowed on only  
seventy elders (Num. xi. 16), and again of seventy  
calves offered as victims at the Feast of Tabernacles  
arranged in divisions following a regular series: for  
they are not all sacrificed at once, but on different  
days, beginning with thirteen bull-calves (Num.  
xxix. 13 ff.); for in this way, the number being

## PHILO

- τὴν ἐνὸς ὑφαίρεσιν αἰεὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐβδόμης ἔμελλεν ὁ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα συντεθεῖς ἀριθμὸς ἐκπληροῦσθαι.
- 187 παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς τοὺς θυρώνας ἀρετῆς, τὰ προπαιδεύματα, καὶ θεασάμενοι πηγὰς καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς ἔρηγ φοινίκων στρατοπεδεύειν οὐ παρὰ τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ὕδασι λέγονται. διὰ τί; ὅτι φοινίκι μὲν καὶ ταινίαις οἱ παντελοῦς ἀρετῆς ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ ἄθλα κοσμοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ἔτι (ἐγ)χορευόντες τοῖς προπαιδεύμασιν ἄτε μαθήσεως διψῶντες παρὰ ταῖς δυναμέναις ἄρδειν καὶ ποτίζειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμασι ἰδρύνονται.
- 188 XXXIV. Τοιαῦται μὲν εἰσιν αἱ παιδείας τῆς μέσης πηγαί, τὴν δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπισκεψώμεθα, περὶ ἧς λελάληκεν ὁ νομοθέτης ὧδε· “ὅς ἂν κοιμηθῆ μετὰ γυναικὸς ἀποκαθημένης, τὴν πηγὴν αὐτῆς ἀπεκάλυψε, καὶ αὕτη ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ῥύσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς· ἐξολοθρευθήτωσαν ἀμφοτέροι”· γυναιῖκα τὴν αἴσθησιν καλεῖ, νοῦν<sup>1</sup> ἄνδρα αὐτῆς
- 189 ὑποτιθέμενος. ἀποκάθεται δὲ αἴσθησις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπωτάτω καθέζεται, ὅταν νοῦν ἀπολιποῦσα, τὸν γνήσιον ἄνδρα, ἐφιδρύνεται, τοῖς δελεάζουσι καὶ φθείρουσιν αἰσθητοῖς καὶ ἐρωτικῶς ἐκάστοις ἐμπλέκηται· τότε οὖν εἰ πρὸς ὕπνον τράποιτο ὁ νοῦς, ἐγρηγορέναι δέον, “τὴν πηγὴν” τῆς αἰσθήσεως “ἀπεκάλυψεν” αὐτὸν—αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν, ὡσπερ ἔφην, ἡ αἰσθήσεως πηγὴ,—τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἄστεγον καὶ ἀτείχιστον καὶ εὐεπιβούλευτον κατεσκευάσεν
- 190 ἑαυτόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κακείνη “ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ῥύσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς”· ῥέουσα γὰρ πᾶσα αἴσθησις πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἐπικαλύπτεται μὲν καὶ στέλλεται διακρατουμένη λογισμῶ, κατα-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὖν.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 186-190

diminished by one every day up to the seventh, the aggregate of seventy would be made up.

When they have arrived at the vestibules of virtue, 187 the subjects of preliminary instruction, and have beheld springs and palms growing by them, they are said to encamp, not by the trees but by the waters. Why is this? Because palm and fillets are the adornment of those who carry off the prizes of consummate virtue, but those whose sphere is still that of the preliminary studies, athirst as they are for learning, settle down beside the springs of knowledge which are able to water their souls and give them drink.

XXXIV. Such are the springs of the lower educa- 188  
tion. Let us now consider the spring of folly, respecting which the Lawgiver has spoken in these terms: "Whosoever shall have slept with a woman in her separation hath unclosed her spring, and she hath unclosed the flow of her blood; let them both be put to death" (Lev. xx. 18): he gives to sense-perception the name woman, suggesting Mind as her husband. Sense-perception is "in separation," 189 which is "sitting a long way off," when, having forsaken Mind, her lawful husband, she plants herself on the objects of sense that ensnare and corrupt, and passionately embraces them one after another. At such a time, then, if Mind go to sleep, when he ought to be awake, "he has unclosed the spring" of sense-perception, himself to wit—for, as I have already said, he himself is the spring of sense-perception—that is, he has exposed himself, without covering or wall of defence, to the plots of his enemies. More- 190  
over she too "unclosed the flow of her blood"; for every sense, in its flow towards the external object of sense, is covered over and drawn in when con-

## PHILO

- λείπεται δὲ ἔρημος χηρεύσασα ἡγεμόνος ὀρθοῦ<sup>1</sup>.  
 κακὸν δὲ βαρύντατον ὡς πόλει τὸ ἀτείχιστον, καὶ  
 191 ψυχῇ τὸ ἀφύλακτον. πότε ὄν ἀφύλακτος γίνεται;  
 ἢ ὅταν ἄστεγος μὲν ὄρασις κεχυμένη πρὸς τὰ ὄρατά,  
 ἄστεγος δὲ ἀκοή φωναῖς ἀπάσαις ἐπαντλουμένη,  
 ἄστεγοι δὲ ὄσμαι καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς δυνάμεις κατα-  
 λειφθῶσι,<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν οἱ κατατρέχοντες βούλωνται  
 διαθεῖναι παθεῖν ἐτοιμότητα, ἄστεγος δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 προφορικὸς λόγος, ὃς μυρία τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ἅτε  
 [575] μηδενὸς τὴν | φορὰν ἀνωθοῦντος, ἀκαιρῶς ἐξ-  
 ελάλησε; ῥυεῖς<sup>3</sup> γοῦν ἀκωλύτως μεγάλας βίων ὑπο-  
 θέσεις ὀρθὰς οἶα ἐν γαλήνῃ πλεούσας περιέτρεψεν.  
 192 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας κατακλισμός, ἐν  
 ᾧ “ ἀνεώχθησαν μὲν οἱ καταρράκται τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,”  
 λέγω δὲ τοῦ νοῦ, “ ἀπεκαλύφθησαν δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ  
 τῆς ἀβύσσου,” τουτέστι τῆς αἰσθήσεως. μόνως  
 γὰρ οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ κατακλύζεται, ἄνωθεν μὲν ὥσπερ  
 ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ τοῦ νοῦ καταρραγέντων ἀδικημάτων,  
 κάτωθεν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ γῆς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἀνομι-  
 193 βρησάντων παθῶν. οὗ χάριν ἀπαγορεύει Μωυσῆς  
 “ ἀσχημοσύνην πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἀποκαλύπτειν,”  
 εἰδὼς σαφῶς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶ κακὸν τὰ ἀμαρτήματα  
 τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως μὴ ἐπέχειν καὶ ἐπι-  
 κρύπτειν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ κατορθώματα προφέρειν εἰς  
 μέσον.  
 194 XXXV. Αἰδ’ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πηγαί,  
 τὴν δὲ φρονήσεως ἐρευνητέον. εἰς ταύτην ἢ ὑπο-  
 μονὴν κάτεισι, Ῥεβέκκα, καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς ὄλον πληρῶ-

<sup>1</sup> Has λόγου fallen out? ὀρθοῦ ἡγεμόνος seems strange.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καταλείψωσι (-ουσι or -ουσαι).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly we should read ῥυεῖσι. See App. p. 585.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 190-194

trolled by reason, but is left destitute when widowed of an upright ruler, and as it is the most grievous evil for a city to be without walls, so is it for a soul to be without a protector. When, then, is it without a protector? Is it not when sight, spread abroad amid objects of sight, is left uncovered; uncovered too the hearing, flooded by every kind of sound; uncovered the powers of smell and others of like kin, full ready for any experience to which marauding foes may wish to subject them; uncovered again the faculty of speech, giving ill-timed utterance to a thousand things that should have been kept quiet, since there is no one to force back the current? In its unhindered flow it has wrecked great life-projects, which were like ships in fair weather sailing on even keel.

This is the great deluge in which "the cataracts of heaven," that is of the mind, "were opened," "and the fountains of the abyss," that is of sense-perception, "were unclosed" (Gen. vii. 11).<sup>a</sup> For only in this way is a deluge brought upon the soul, when as though from heaven, that is the mind, wrongdoings burst upon it as in a cataract; and from sense-perception below, as it were from the earth, passions come welling up. That is why Moses prohibits the "disclosing of the shame of father and mother" (Lev. xviii. 7), well knowing how great an evil it is not to keep back and conceal the sins of the mind and of sense-perception, but to make them public as though they were achievements of righteousness.

XXXV. Such are the springs of sinful deeds: let us investigate that of sound sense. To this Patience, called Rebecca, goes down, and, when she has filled

<sup>a</sup> See *De Conf.* 23 and note.

## PHILO

- σασα ἀγγεῖον ἀναβαίνει, τὴν κάθοδον ἀνοδον  
 εἰπόντος τοῦ νομοθέτου φυσικώτατα· πρὸς γὰρ  
 ὕψος ἐξαιρείται τὸ ἀρετῆς, ἣτις ἂν ἀπ' ἀλαζονείας  
 195 τῆς ὑπεραύχου διανοῆται κατέρχεσθαι. λέγει γάρ·  
 “καταβᾶσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἐπλησε τὴν ὑδρίαν,  
 καὶ ἀνέβη.” ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἡ θεία σοφία, ἐξ ἧς αἱ τε  
 κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστῆμαι ποτίζονται καὶ ὅσαι ψυχαὶ  
 φιλοθεάμονες ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀρίστου κατέσχηνται.
- 196 ταύτῃ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῇ πηγῇ προσφυστάτα  
 ὀνόματα τίθεται, “κρίσιν” αὐτὴν καὶ “ἀγίαν”  
 προσαγορεύων. “ἀναστρέψαντες” γὰρ φησὶν  
 “ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τῆς κρίσεως, αὕτη ἐστὶ  
 Κάδης”· καλεῖται δὲ Κάδης ἀγία. μονοноῦ βοᾷ  
 καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία ἀγία τέ ἐστιν  
 οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένη γήινον καὶ κρίσις τῶν ὅλων, ἣ  
 πᾶσαι αἱ ἐναντιότητες διαζεύγνυνται.
- 197 XXXVI. Λεκτέον δ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ  
 ἀρίστης πηγῆς, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων διὰ προφη-  
 τικῶν ἐθέσπισε στομάτων. εἶπε γάρ που· “ἐμὲ  
 ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ὤρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκ-  
 κους συντετριμμένους, οἱ οὐ δυνήσονται συσχεῖν  
 198 ὕδωρ.” οὐκοῦν ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη (πηγὴ),  
 καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· τὸν γὰρ σύμπαντα τοῦτον  
 κόσμον ὤμβρησε. καταπέπληγμαι δ' ἀκούων, ὅτι  
 ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἡδε ἡ πηγὴ· μόνος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ψυχῆς  
 καὶ ζωῆς καὶ διαφερόντως λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς  
 μετὰ φρονήσεως ζωῆς αἴτιος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὕλη  
 νεκρόν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλέον τι ἢ ζωὴ, πηγὴ τοῦ ζῆν,  
 199 ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ἀένναος. οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Post.* 136.

<sup>c</sup> Or “sifting.”



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 194-199

the whole vessel of the soul, goes up ; for the law-giver speaks of the descent as an ascent with perfect truth to the nature of things, for a soul that resolves to come down from over-weening imposture is exalted thereby to virtue's height.<sup>a</sup> For it says: " And having 195 gone down to the spring she filled the water-pot, and came up " (Gen. xxiv. 16). This spring is the Divine Wisdom, from which both the several fields of knowledge are watered, and all contemplation-loving souls which are possessed by a love of that which is best. To this spring the sacred message applies most 196 appropriate names, calling it " judgement " <sup>b</sup> and " holy." For it says : " They returned and came to the Spring of Judgement ; this is Kadesh " (Gen. xiv. 7) ; and " Kadesh " means " holy." One might think that it cries aloud that the wisdom of God is both holy, containing no earthy ingredient, and a sifting of all the universe, whereby all opposites are separated from each other.<sup>c</sup>

XXXVI. And now we have to speak of the supreme 197 and most excellent Spring, which the All-Father declared by the mouth of prophets. For He said in a certain place : " Me they forsook, a spring of Life, and dug for themselves broken cisterns, which shall fail to hold water " (Jer. ii. 13). God, therefore, is the 198 chiefest spring, and well may He be so called, for this whole universe is a rain that fell from Him. But I bow in awe when I hear that this spring is one of Life: for God alone is the Cause of soul and life, and pre-eminently of the rational soul, and of the Life that is united with wisdom. For matter is a dead thing, but God is something more than Life, an ever-flowing Spring of living, as He Himself says. But 199

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quis rerum* 133 f. and 207 f.

## PHILO

ἀποδράντες, ἄγευστοι τοῦ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποτοῦ  
 διατελέσαντες, ὠρυξαν, οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς, ἑαυτοῖς  
 ἀλλ' οὐ θεῶ τὸ πρῶτον, τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις τῶν |  
 [576] οὐρανίων καὶ ὀλυμπίων προκρίναντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ  
 200 φροντίδος τῶν αὐτομάτων καὶ ἐτοιμῶν. ἔπειτα  
 ὀρύττουσιν οὐχ ὡς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ, οἱ σοφοί,  
 φρέατα, βαθείας ἐπιστήμας ποτίμους λόγους ἀνα-  
 διδούσας, ἀλλὰ λάκκους, ἴδιον οὐδὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν  
 ἔχοντας τρόφιμον καλόν, τῆς δ' ἕξωθεν χρήζοντας  
 ἐπιρροῆς, ἣ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκ διδασκαλίας ἐπαντλούν-  
 των αἰετῶν ὑψηλῶν ἀκοαῖς τῶν μανθανόντων  
 ἀθρόα τὰ ἐπιστήμης δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, καὶ  
 φρενὶ κατασχεῖν καὶ μνήμη τὰ παραδοθέντα ταμι-  
 201 εὔεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> νυνὶ δ' εἰσὶν "οἱ λάκκοι συντετριμμένοι,"  
 τουτέστι πᾶσαι τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ψυχῆς αἱ δεξαμεναὶ  
 τεθραυσμέναι καὶ διαρρέουσαι, μὴ δυνάμεναι συ-  
 σχεῖν καὶ φυλάξαι τὴν τῶν οἴων τε ὠφελεῖν ἐπιρ-  
 ροήν.

202 XXXVII. "Ἄ μὲν οὖν περὶ πηγῶν καιρὸς ἦν  
 εἰπεῖν λέλεκται. πάνυ δ' ἐξήτασμένως τὴν Ἄγαρ  
 εἰσάγουσιν οἱ χρησιμοὶ εὐρισκομένην μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 πηγῆς, οὐκ ἀρυτομένην δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς. οὐπω γάρ  
 ἔστιν ἰκανὴ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα τῷ σοφίας ἀκράτῳ  
 ποτῷ χρῆσθαι, πλησίον δ' οὐ κεκῶλνται ποιεῖσθαι  
 203 τὰς διατριβάς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ λεωφόρος  
 πᾶσα ἣ κατὰ παιδείαν ὁδὸς ἐχρωτάτη καὶ εὐ-  
 ερκεστάτη. διὸ φησὶν "ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Σούρ" αὐτὴν  
 εὐρεθῆναι, τείχος δὲ ἧ εὐθυσμὸς ἐρμηνεύεται Σούρ.

<sup>1</sup> Something is wrong with this sentence. The translation follows Cohn's suggestion to insert ὡς after θεωρήματα (Mangey κελυόντων, Wend. παραινούτων with much the same effect). None of these seems to me satisfactory. See App. p. 585.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 199-203

the impious flee from Him, persist in leaving untasted the water of immortality, and dig in their madness for themselves but not for God, putting their own works above the celestial gifts of heaven, and the results of forethought above those which come spontaneously and ready for their use. That is their first 200 folly. In the next place they dig, not as did the wise, Abraham and Isaac, wells (Gen. xxi. 30, xxvi. 18), deep sources of knowledge from which draughts of reason are drawn, but cisterns, having no excellent thing of their own to afford nourishment, but needing the inflow from without, that must come from teaching, as the instructors keep on pumping in unbroken stream into the ears of their pupils the principles and conclusions which constitute knowledge, that they may both grasp what is imparted to them with their intelligence and treasure it in their memory. As it is 201 the "cisterns" are "broken," that is to say, all the receptacles of the ill-conditioned soul are crushed and leaking, unable to hold in and keep the inflow of what might do them good.

XXXVII. On the subject of springs all that the 202 occasion required has now been said. But it is with a most carefully considered meaning that Hagar is represented by the sacred oracles as found by the spring but not drawing water from it (Gen. xvi. 7). For a soul, while making gradual progress, is not yet capable of availing itself of Wisdom's untempered draught, but such a soul is not prevented from staying hard by her. Now the road of discipline 203 is all a highway, thoroughly safe and well guarded. Wherefore it says that she was found in the way to Shur<sup>a</sup> (*ibid.*), and "Shur" means "wall" or "straighten-

<sup>a</sup> Or "the way (called) Shur."

- ἐνλαλῶν οὖν ὁ ἔλεγχος τῇ ψυχῇ φησιν αὐτῇ·  
 “πόθεν ἔρχη, καὶ ποῦ πορεύη;” τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ  
 ἐνδοιάζων καὶ οὐ πυνθανόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ δυσωπῶν  
 καὶ ὀνειδίζων προφέρεται· θέμις γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν  
 204 τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀγγέλῳ. σημεῖον δέ· καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
 γαστρός, ἅπερ ἄδηλα γενέσει, σαφῶς οἶδεν ἐν οἷς  
 φησιν· “ἰδοὺ σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις, καὶ τέξῃ παιδίον,  
 καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ.” τὸ γὰρ  
 γνῶναι, ὅτι τὸ κυφορούμενον ἄρρεν ἐστίν, οὐκ  
 ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν προαίρεσιν  
 ἢ χρήσεται τοῦ βίου ὁ μήπω γεγεννημένος, ὅτι  
 205 ἀγροῖκος, ἀλλ’ οὐ πολιτικὴ καὶ ἡμερος.<sup>1</sup> τὸ  
 “πόθεν οὖν ἔρχη;” πρὸς ἐπίπληξιν<sup>2</sup> λέγεται τῆς  
 ἀποδιδρασκούσης ψυχῆς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ κυρίαν  
 γνώμην, ἧς θεραπείς οὐ λεγομένη μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἔργοις ὑπάρχουσα μέγα κλέος ἔμελλεν [ἐξ]οῖσθαι.  
 “ποῖ δὲ καὶ πορεύη;” τὰ ἄδηλα μετατρέχεις, τὰ  
 206 ὁμολογούμενα ἀπορρίψασα. καλὸν οὖν  
 αὐτὴν ἐπαινεῖσαι χαίρουσαν ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ<sup>3</sup>. δείγματα  
 δὲ τοῦ χαίρειν ἐξενήνοχε τό τε μὴ κατηγορῆσαι  
 τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ τὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθεῖναι ἑαυτῇ  
 τοῦ δρασμοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς τὸ δεύ-  
 τερον πύσμα τὸ “ποῦ πορεύη;” ἄδηλον γάρ, περὶ  
 [577] δὲ τῶν ἀδῆλων ἐπέχειν | ἀσφαλές τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον.  
 207 XXXVIII. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τῆς  
 πειθαρχίας αὐτὴν ὁ ἔλεγχος “ἀποστραφηθὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν κυρίαν σου” φησί· λυσιτελές γὰρ τῇ μαν-  
 θανούσῃ ἢ τῆς διδασκούσης ἐπιστασία καὶ τῇ ἀτελεῖ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγροικον . . . πολιτικὸν . . . ἡμερον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπιπλήξεως.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. νουθεσίαν.

<sup>a</sup> It is difficult to give any sense to οὖν. Perhaps read γοῦν (transitional).

ing." The inward monitor, then, speaking within the soul, says to it, "Whence comest thou, and whither art thou going?" (*ibid.* 8). In thus addressing her he does not express doubt or inquiry; rather he is reproaching and putting her to shame; for we may not think that an angel is ignorant of anything affecting us. Here is a proof of it: even the secrets of the 204 womb, which are hidden from created beings, the angel knows with certainty, as his words shew: "Lo, thou art with child, and shalt give birth to a boy, and shalt call his name Ishmael" (*ibid.* 11). For it is not in the power of man to know that the embryo is a male, nor to know the principle that is to govern the life of one who is not yet born, that it will be the way of the rude country-side, not the refined one of civic life. So the words "Whence comest thou?" 205 are spoken to rebuke the soul that is running away from the better judgement, "the mistress," a mistress whom to serve as handmaiden could not but win her high renown, if the service be one of deeds rather than of name. And the words "Whither goest thou?" mean "Thou hast cast away acknowledged gains, and art running after uncertainties."

We may well praise her for receiving reproof with 206 gladness.<sup>a</sup> Of her gladness she has given plain evidence by not accusing her mistress, and by laying the blame of her flight upon herself, and by making no answer to the second question "Whither art thou going?" for it was uncertain, and regarding uncertainties suspension of judgement is not only safe but requisite.

XXXVIII. Her monitor, then, 207 pleased with her for her compliance, bids her "Go back to thy mistress"; for the teacher's authority is an advantage to the learner, and bond-service

## PHILO

- ἢ παρὰ φρονήσει δουλεία. ὅταν δ' ὑποστρέψῃς,  
 "ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς" καλὴν  
 ταπεινώσειν φρονήματος ἀλόγου καθαίρεισιν περι-  
 208 ἔχουσαν. οὕτως γὰρ πρᾶυτόκοις ὠδίσι ἀρρενα  
 γενεὰν ἀποκνήσεις, ὄνομα Ἰσμαήλ, ἀκοαῖς θείαις  
 σωφρονισθεῖσα· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἰσμαήλ ἀκοή  
 θεοῦ. ἀκοή δ' ὀράσεως τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται,  
 ὄρασιν δὲ ὁ γνήσιος υἱὸς καὶ πρωτόγονος Ἰσραὴλ  
 κεκλήρωται· μεταληφθεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὀρῶν θεόν.  
 ἀκούειν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ψευδῶν ὡς ἀληθῶν ἔνεστιν,  
 ὅτι ἀπατηλὸν ἀκοή, ἀψευδὲς δ' ὄρασις, ἣ τὰ ὄντα  
 ὄντως κατανοεῖται.
- 209 Τὸν δὲ γεννηθέντα τρόπον χαρακτηρίζει διὰ τε  
 τοῦ λέγειν ἀγροῖκον ἔσεσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἀγροϊκόσοφον,  
 μήπω τῆς τιθασοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολιτικῆς ὄντως μοίρας  
 ἠξιωμένον—αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρετή, δι' ἧς πέφυκεν  
 ἡμεροῦσθαι τὸ ἦθος,— καὶ διὰ τοῦ  
 φάσκεν· "αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ  
 χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν"· σοφιστοῦ γὰρ βούλημα  
 τοῦτο τὸ λίαν σκεπτικὸν ἐπιμορφάζοντος καὶ λόγοις  
 210 χαίροντος ἐριστικοῖς. οὗτος καὶ πάντας βάλλει  
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ  
 κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἐναντιούμενος, καὶ βάλλεται πρὸς  
 ἀπάντων, εἰκότως ἀμυνομένων ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείων  
 ἐκγόνων ὧν ἔτεκεν αὐτῶν ἢ ψυχὴ δογμάτων.
- 211 ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον προσυπογράφει χαρα-  
 κτῆρα φάσκων· "κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν κατοικήσει," μονονοῦκ ἄντικρυς ἐπιδεικ-  
 νύμενος τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον διαμάχην καὶ ἀντί-  
 στασιν αἰώνιον.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θείας ἢ θιάσσον.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 207-211

under Good Sense a gain to her that is imperfect. "And when thou hast returned humble thyself under her hands" (*ibid.* 9), with a noble humiliation which carries with it the overthrow of irrational high-mindedness. For so doing thou shalt give birth with 208 easy travail to a male offspring, Ishmael by name (*ibid.* 11), since thou shalt have been chastened by hearkening to words of God; for "Ishmael" means "hearkening to God." Hearing takes the second place, yielding the first to sight, and sight is the portion of Israel, the son free-born and first-born; for "seeing God" is the translation of "Israel." It is possible to hear the false and take it for true, because hearing is deceptive, but sight, by which we discern what really is, is devoid of falseness.

The character thus given birth to is described first 209 by the statement that it will be rude, of rude "mother wit" as it were, not yet admitted to the privilege of the refined and truly civilized lot, virtue, that is, the natural refiner and tamer of character; next by the words "his hands shall be against all men, and all men's hands against him" (*ibid.* 12); for this is just the Sophist's way, with his pretence of excessive open-mindedness, and his love of arguing for arguing's sake. This character aims its shafts at 210 all representatives of the sciences, opposing each individually and all in common, and is the target of them all since they naturally shew fight, as in defence of offspring of their own, that is of the doctrines to which their soul has given birth. And he 211 adds a third characteristic in the words "he shall dwell face to face with all his brethren" (*ibid.*), words which are almost a distinct picture of combat face to face and perpetual opposition.

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Ἡ κυφοροῦσα οὖν τὸν σοφιστὴν λόγον ψυχὴ φησι τῷ λαλοῦντι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχω· “ σὺ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιδὼν με,” ἴσον τῷ σὺ ποιητῆς εἰ τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ ἐκγόνων,<sup>1</sup> καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως·

212 ἐλευθέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀστῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ψυχῶν ὁ ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἐλευθεροποιὸς δημιουργός, δούλων δὲ δούλοι· ἄγγελοι δ’ οἰκέται θεοῦ, νομιζόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἔτ’ ἐν πόνοις καὶ δουλείαις ὑπαρχόντων θεοί.

213 τὸ φρέαρ φρέαρ οὐ ἐνώπιον εἶδον.” ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔμελλες, ὦ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἐπιστήμη προπαιδευμάτων ἐμβαθύνουσα, καθάπερ διὰ κατόπτρου τῆς παιδείας τὸν αἴτιον τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἰδεῖν; οἰκειότατος δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ τοιοῦτου φρέατος τόπος “ ἐν μέσῳ Κάδης καὶ Βαράδ ”· ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Βαράδ μὲν ἐν κακοῖς, Κάδης δὲ ἀγία· μεθόριος γὰρ ἀγίων καὶ βεβήλων ὁ ἐν προκοπαῖς, ἀποδιδράσκων μὲν τὰ φαῦλα, μήπω δ’ ἱκανὸς ὢν τελείοις συμβιοῦν ἀγαθοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> The combination is somewhat strange, and Mangey suggested *ἔργων* for *ἐκγόνων*. I should conjecture as an alternative *κνημάτων* for *βουλευμάτων*.

<sup>a</sup> The connexion of thought is obscure. Perhaps: the angel has decreed what the offspring of the Hagar or slave-soul will be. He is therefore its maker, and as making is the attribute of God, she naturally gives that name to God's subordinate minister.



## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 211-213

The soul, then, which is pregnant with the sophist-principle says to the monitor who is talking to her : "Thou art God that didst look upon me," which is equivalent to saying "Thou art the Maker of my wishes and offspring"; and well may she say this, 212 for of free and really high-born souls He who is free and sets free is the Creator, while slaves are makers of slaves : and angels are God's household-servants, and are deemed gods by those whose existence is still one of toil and bondage.<sup>a</sup> "For this

reason," it says, "she called the well 'Well where I saw Him before me'"<sup>b</sup> (*ibid.* 14). Nay, how couldst 213 thou fail, thou soul, who in thy progress art dipping deep into the school-lore knowledge, to see reflected in thy training as in a mirror the Author of that knowledge?

Most appropriate too is the situation of such a well "between Kadesh and Bered" (*ibid.* 14) : "Bered" means "in evils," and Kadesh "holy," for he that is in gradual progress is on the borderland between the holy and the profane, fleeing from bad things, but not yet competent to share the life of perfect goodness.

<sup>b</sup> E.V. Beer-lahai-roi, explained in the margin as "the well of the living one who seeth me." Whatever the exact meaning of the LXX was, the next sentence shows that Philo interpreted it as in the translation (*ἐνώπιον* probably taken as an adjective with *αὐτόν* understood).



ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES  
(DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS treatise is an exposition of various points arising in Gen. xvii. 1-5 and 15-22.

1. Abraham became ninety-nine years old, and the Lord was seen by Abraham<sup>a</sup> and said to him, "I am thy God: be well pleasing before Me and become blameless.

2. And I will set my covenant between Me and between thee. . . ."

3. And Abraham fell upon his face and God spake to him, saying:

4. "And I, behold my covenant is with thee. . . ."

5. And thy name shall no longer be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham. . . ."

15. And God said to Abraham, "Sarai thy wife, her name shall not be called Sarai. Sarah shall be her name.

16. And I will bless her, and give thee a child from her, and I will bless her, and she shall be for nations, and kings of nations shall be from her.<sup>b</sup>"

17. And Abraham fell on his face and laughed,

<sup>a</sup> Or "Abram," as the LXX has and the course of the story requires. But the mss. quote the text with Ἀβραάμ.

<sup>b</sup> So Philo (as also the Hebrew and E.V.). LXX "I will bless *him* and *he* shall be . . . from *him*."

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES

and he spake in his mind, saying, "Shall a son be born to one of a hundred years, and shall Sarah being ninety years bear a son?"

18. And Abraham said to God, "Let this Ishmael live before thee!"

19. And God said to Abraham, "Yes, behold Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac. . . .

20. But as for Ishmael, behold I have heard thee, and behold I have blessed him, I will increase him, I will multiply him; he shall beget twelve nations.

21. But my covenant I will establish to Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee at this season in the other year."

"Abraham was ninety-nine years old, and the Lord appeared to him and said, 'I am thy God.'" After a passing remark on the significance of ninety-nine as indicating the approach to the sacred hundred (1-2) we go on to "appeared" or "was seen." Now God cannot be seen by the eye, but only by the mind (3-6), and indeed God in His essence cannot be apprehended by mind, any more than mind can apprehend itself. And so Moses was told that he could only see what was behind God, not His face (7-10). It follows that no proper name can be given to the God Who is, and when in Exodus He calls Himself the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob it must be regarded as a *κατάχρησις* or licence of language (11-14). We must infer then that what appeared to Abraham was not God the Existent but His sovereign potency which in Scripture is called the Lord (15-17), and yet this sovereign potency also

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says "I am thy God." Is not God the God of all men? we may ask. No, He is Lord to the bad, God to the earnest striver, God and Lord to the perfect (18-19). Thus He is spoken of as God to Moses, but Lord to Pharaoh and Lord God to Israel (19-23). But not only is God the good man's God, but also the good man is God's man, and we must remember that only by living up to the latter relation can we reach the former (24-26). Now while the Existent is absolute His potencies are relative. Kings, benefactors and makers must rule, benefit and make something (27-28). When God is called man's God, it implies that God has made him, but God did not make the bad at all, and those between good and bad only through His subordinates, as the "Let us make" in Genesis shews (29-31). Therefore to have God for maker in the full sense is the highest honour. Who then are those who can claim this? Philo at first seems to limit the claim to the detached and ascetic kind who have risen entirely above all that is bodily (32-33). But such, he acknowledges, are rare: a thought which he supports with the phrase, "Enoch was not found," and indeed philosophers have laid down rightly or wrongly that the wise man and wisdom do not actually exist (34-38). We must admit therefore the possibility of a more social form of goodness which can claim God for its maker, and this is indicated in the next words, "Be well pleasing before Me," which have a different meaning from "Be well pleasing to Me," for he who serves men is not only well pleasing to God but well pleasing before God (39-42). This double duty to man and God is symbolized by the two robes of the high priest and other duplicates, and the very fact that God

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existed before creation and only created out of His beneficence shews that we must combine supreme reverence for Him with due regard for the human nature which He has made (43-46).

The next words, "And become blameless," may indicate that an abstinence from sin is a lower stage than the positive virtue which the Stoics called *κατόρθωμα*. But Philo does not lay stress on this, for he feels that to man subject so constantly to temptation, such abstinence is the most that can be asked (47-51), and indeed it is to the blameless that God promises to set His covenant "between Me and thee," that is, to let nothing but His grace stand between the two (51-53).

When Abraham heard the promise he fell upon his face, where "fell" indicates the acknowledgement that God stands but humanity cannot stand, and "face" means sense, speech and mind, all of which lie prostrate unless God give the power to stand (54-56). Then comes the reassurance, "And I, behold my covenant is with thee," words which to Philo's mind suggest that God is Himself the covenant, and thus some more essentially divine gift is implied than those which God covenants to give to men in general. This special gift is then explained as the bestowal of a new name, and this brings Philo to the subject which occupies the next sixty sections and has somewhat unduly supplied the traditional name of the treatise (57-59).

That the divine blessing should take the form of adding an *alpha* to the name Abram and subsequently of a *rho* to that of his wife has, Philo tells us, attracted the jeers of the profane, and he mentions the miserable end of one such scoffer (60-62).

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As a matter of fact he agrees with the criticism if taken literally, and only differs in the inference he draws. That God should add letters to names, and that this should be held a divine benefaction, is absurd (63-64), but this only points to the conclusion that a change of name stands for a change of nature. Philo repeats the explanation given several times elsewhere that Abram which means "uplifted father" stands for the Chaldean, the astrologer, while Abraham is the "elect father of sound," where father means mind, the father of sound or speech, and the whole therefore stands for the elect or wise mind. The change then is really a moral change from the study of God's works to the study of God Himself, in fact from astrology to piety, and the text may be taken as a divine instruction that studies of the former kind are of no real value (66-67). So too the change of Sarai's name to Sarah, that is from "my sovereignty" to "sovereign," indicates the superiority of generic wisdom to wisdom as shown in the individual (77-80).

From these two cases which belong to the subject of the treatise Philo proceeds to deal with others outside it. Jacob the supplanter or wrestler is naturally renamed as Israel who sees God, because the divine vision is the guerdon which awaits the athlete soul (81-82). But it is a curious fact that while Abraham after the renaming is never called Abram, the names of Jacob and Israel are constantly interchanged in the subsequent narrative. To explain this Philo goes back to the familiar antithesis of Abraham as virtue acquired by teaching and Jacob as virtue acquired by practice. Abraham the scholar who has God Himself as teacher advances to know-



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ledge continuously. The Practiser who has only his own will to urge him has many periods of weariness when he returns to his old nature, and this is supported by the observation that Abraham gets the new name from God, Jacob from the angel (83-87). Again, Isaac has no other name, and this is appropriate to the Self-taught, who by instinct is perfect from the first, and has not, like Abraham, to learn, or Jacob, to practise (88). In Joseph we have a change of another kind. His original name means addition, and describes the superfluities which the conventional mind desires, but Pharaoh renames him Psonthophanech or "mouth which judges in answer," and thus brings out the fact that the man of wealth and prosperity is supposed by the world to be able to pronounce with wisdom on all sorts of questions (89-91). In a somewhat similar way the child who is called by his father Benjamin, "the son of days," or "sunlight," and thus represents the vainglory which seems so brilliant to the world, is recognized by the mother, that is the soul, which dies in giving birth to him, as Benoni, or the son of sorrows (92-96). And here the mention of Joseph and his mother seems to lead Philo into an irrelevant interpolation of the analogy between Reuben and Simeon on the one hand and Ephraim and Manasseh on the other. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be to me, said Jacob, as Reuben and Simeon, which Philo interprets as shewing the similarity of the gifted nature, Reuben, to memory, Ephraim, and again of Simeon, the learner, to Manasseh, recollection (97-102).

We now return to further examples of double names. In Exodus ii. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, appears in one place to be called Raguel.

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Jethro the "superfluous" as in other places is taken as the type of the worldling, and there follows a curiously perverted<sup>a</sup> allusion to the meeting with Moses described in Exodus xviii. in which Jethro is made to advise Moses to leave the teaching of the divine ordinances for that of human convention and unequal justice (103-104). Raguel on the other hand is the "shepherding of God," and indicates the better side of the Jethro nature, when it accepts the authority of the good shepherd, Moses. An elaborate justification of this idea follows. Jethro or Raguel is called the priest of Midian, and while Midian which means "from judgement" sometimes stands for the outcasts excluded by judgement, as it does in the story of the Midianite seduction of Israel and the vindication by Phineas (105-109), it may also stand for the rightly judging nature which is akin to the prophetic. When then we read of the seven daughters who were succoured at the well by Moses, we recognize the seven bodily faculties which after the vain attempt of the enemy to seduce them from their proper office return to their father, the mind. That father is rightly called Raguel, not Jethro, and the welcome which this father proposes in the narrative to extend to Moses indicates the same higher nature (110-120).

The next illustration is the change of Joshua's name from Hoshea, the latter, "he is saved," signifying a particular individual or concrete embodiment of a state, the former "salvation of the Lord," and thus a state or condition, which is permanent, while the individual perishes. Philo brings this into comparison with the statement about Caleb, that there

<sup>a</sup> See note *a* on § 104.

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was another spirit in him, inferring that though there is no change of name the man himself was wholly changed (121-125). Finally we have the example of the different titles given to Moses himself. First, the name Moses, the "receiving" or "handling," fitly given to him who receives the power of legislation; secondly, the man of God, given to him as blessing the people, and finally god to Pharaoh, this godship being especially shown in his willingness to intercede for the sinner (125-129).

Here we leave the change of names and return to the exposition of the text. But the mention of Sarah's change of name in §§ 77-80 seems to have drawn Philo away from the discussion of the intervening verses 6-14 to those which describe her blessedness. Verse 16 runs, "I will give to thee a son from her" (130). The words "I will give" surely imply that the gift is the giver's own to give, and thus they assert that the Isaac, whose name means "laughter," is the spiritual Isaac, inward laughter or joy, of which God is the true parent (131). This thought of the divine parentage is illustrated by the phrase, "The Lord opened Leah's womb," and by the story of Tamar and Judah, which Philo allegorizes, though in a shorter form, as he does in *De Fuga*, and it is actually asserted by Sarah when she says "The Lord has made laughter (that is Isaac) for me" (132-137). But she also adds, "whoever shall hear (*i.e.* understand it) will rejoice with me," thus suggesting that this truth is one which the pagan mind may easily misunderstand, and therefore must be reserved for the ears of the wise, and Philo accordingly presses into his service the words of Hosea, "Thy fruit is from me, the wise will under-

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stand," bringing out the double truth that all is from God and that the wise alone understand this (138-140).

The words "from her," ἐξ αὐτῆς, have been by some interpreted as "outside her," *i.e.* by divine agency, and also as the single word ἐξ αὐτῆς "immediately," but Philo himself seems to adopt the natural view that, Sarah being assumed to be Virtue or Wisdom, the phrase asserts that none but virtue can be the mother of the good (141-142). And if indeed she has been called barren it is because Virtue is barren of Evil, even as Hannah or Grace was also barren and yet was the mother of the Mystic Seven (143-144). As for "child" the singular brings out that the idea of the good is single in contrast with the many particulars, while the word itself (τέκνον) coming from τίκτω declares the reality of Virtue's motherhood (145-147). "I will bless her and she shall be for nations" tells us that in the manifold classes or nations of things in general Virtue is the one source of well-being (148-150), and in "kings of nations shall be from her" we can trace the Stoic doctrine that the sage alone is king (151-153).

Abraham hearing this falls and laughs. Philo as always refuses to entertain the idea that Abraham and Sarah's laughter is one of incredulity. His falling is, as before, an acknowledgement of unworthiness; the laughter is humble joy (154-156). At this point he raises the question that as Isaac, laughter or joy, is not yet born, how could Abraham laugh? (157). This strange idea, however, gives him an opportunity for a fine disquisition on anticipation. He describes how young animals and young plants show a joyous promise of their future maturity, how the dawning of day smiles in expectation of the sunrise, how hope

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gives joy before the fact, just as fear gives grief, and the senses anticipate the feast before it is realized, and so man could laugh while laughter is yet unborn (158-165). Again, the joyous laughter of both Abraham and Sarah teaches us that joy is only for the good. If the wicked seem to smile it has no reality (166-169), and thus the so-called joy of Egypt at the coming of Jacob and his sons was either assumed or at the most a hope that they might seduce them as they had seduced Joseph (170-171); and this supposition leads him to discuss in detail the seeming-kindly promises made to Jacob by Pharaoh, and pronounce them to be nothing more than the temptations of the bodily element which the mind of the wise rejects (172-174).

Philo now has to deal with the words so difficult on his premises, "He said in his heart, shall this happen to one of a hundred years old, and shall Sarah being ninety years old bear a son?" His first explanation stresses the words "in his heart"; they imply that the doubt, so inconsistent with Abraham's faith, was momentary with all the rapidity of thought, and died without reaching the lips (175-180). And if it is argued that it was unworthy of him to doubt even for a moment this is asking too much. The faith of weak mortals cannot be expected to be as the unswerving faith of God (181-187). But Philo would seem himself to incline to a "more courageous" explanation that the words are really a prayer: "Oh, that this perfect birth may take place under the perfect numbers of ninety and a hundred" (188). There follow several examples of a hundred as a special number, though as for ninety he cannot say anything more than that it is the difference between

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the sacred ten and the more sacred hundred (189-192). This explanation demands that "said in his heart (or mind)" signifies "sincerely," for sincerity is the mark of the virtuous, whereas the wicked do not speak in or according to their minds. Thus when Shechem, the emblem of foolish labour, is said to have spoken "according to the mind" of Dinah, the emblem of justice, we may understand that he spoke contrary to his own mind (193-195). Thus Shechem stands for the insincere who prate of virtue and deceive the multitude, but are ultimately unmasked by the champions of truth, represented by Simeon and Levi in the story of Shechem's punishment (196-200).

Jacob's next words are "Let this Ishmael live before thee," each part of which has to be examined (200-201). First, since Ishmael=hearing God, this seems to distinguish the right hearing from the hearing which hears only to misuse, as did Balaam's (202-205). This is illustrated by other cases, where Philo supposes that the "this" serves to distinguish outwardly similar but different examples (206-209). Again, "live" points to the true life of the soul, and amounts to a prayer of the same nature as Jacob's prayer that Reuben or natural goodness should live and not die (209-216), and when he adds "before God" he prays that this God-hearing may have the inestimable blessing of realizing the divine omnipotence (216-217). But we must not suppose that the prayer for Ishmael shows despair of the birth of Isaac. It is rather the cry of the soul which feels its inadequacy to sustain God's highest gifts (218-219). But this consciousness of our inadequacy must not prevent us from dedicating thankfully such

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gifts as each of us possesses. If we cannot reach the highest that is no reason why we should not cherish the little we can do (220-227), and we have illustrations of this in Abraham's plea for Sodom if only a little goodness could be found in it, and Esau's hope that Isaac might have some blessing yet to give, even if the best was given to Jacob (228-230). Thus the best prayer of the soul is that God should give us what befits our weakness, for "shall not the hand of the Lord suffice" to benefit low as well as high? (231-232).

It is primarily to carry on this thought that Philo here introduces the subject of the three different kinds of sin-offering and purification according to the capacity of the offerer, the sheep, the two birds and the fine flour (233-235). But this soon passes into the very different suggestion that the three are atonements for sins of thought, word and deed, otherwise expressed as mind, mouth and hand. He then goes on to shew that while sins of thought are more venial than sins of speech and these than sins of deeds (and this is recognized in the code of punishments), the first-named are really the most difficult to avoid, for thoughts cannot be controlled as language can (235-244). The appropriateness of the three offerings is explained by saying that the sheep the most useful of animals is suited to our noblest part, the mind, the birds to the winged nature of words, and the fine flour as worked by the hand to deeds which the hand commits (245-251).

To resume the exposition of the text, the divine reply to this prayer for Ishmael is, "Yes, Sarah shall bear thee a son," where the "yes" (*vai*) marks the divine assent or nod (*νεύω*). Thus God

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answers the one request by two gifts (252-255). The greater gift is the self-taught Isaac nature of which, rare as it is in its highest form, we have a foretaste in the fact that our powers of sense and mental processes are acquired without teaching (256-257). Why wonder, then, that the unlaboured virtue symbolized by Isaac should be given direct from heaven, like the manna and the automatic harvest of the sabbatical year? (258-260). Further, this child is free from womanish passion and will be rightly named "laughter," the natural outcry of the glad (261-262). The next words, "I have blessed Ishmael, but my covenant I will stablish with Isaac," shews that, while God gives the stronger the higher wisdom of the self-taught, he also gives the weaker the lower wisdom of the schools.

The next words are, "whom Sarah shall bear at this season and in the other year." By season (*καιρός*) we may understand God Himself, the season or opportunity, which forsakes the wicked but dwells in the good, and by the "other year" is meant eternity, the life of the world of thought which was also meant when Isaac "in that year found the hundredfold crop" (264-269). Finally the words "He completed talking with him and God went up from Abraham" indicate that when we have learnt our lesson we must be left to meditate on and practise it, a truth which every good teacher knows (270).

The ms. authority for this treatise seems to be unusually weak. Wendland found only two mss. of any antiquity (A and B), both of them according to him of the same (and inferior) family. Mangey also



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used two late mss. in the libraries of New College, Oxford, and Trinity, Cambridge. I have collated the latter of these, but without any results to speak of. Perhaps this lack of ms. support may serve me as some apology for having introduced so many conjectural emendations of my own into the text.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΩΝ  
ΕΝΕΚΑ ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ

[578]

1 I. | “ Ἐγένετο Ἀβραὰμ ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα,  
καὶ ὤφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς σου.” ὁ ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνε-  
νήκοντα ἀριθμὸς ἑκατοντάδος γείτων ἐστίν, ἧ  
τὸ αὐτομαθὲς ἐπέλαμψε γένος, Ἰσαάκ, εὐπαθειῶν  
2 ἀρίστη, χαρά· τῷ γὰρ ἑκατονταετεί γίνεται. ἔστι  
δὲ καὶ Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς ἱερεῦσιν ἀπαρχὴ διδομένη·  
δεκάτας γὰρ λαβόντες, ἀπὸ τούτων ὡς ἂν ἀπ’  
οικείων καρπῶν ἑτέρας ἀπάρχονται ἑκατοστὸν<sup>1</sup>  
λόγον περιεχούσας. προκοπῆς μὲν γὰρ δεκάς,  
ἑκατοντὰς δὲ τελειότητος σύμβολον. σπεύδει δὲ ὁ  
μέσος αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀκρότητα, φύσεως εὐμοιρία χρώ-  
μενος· ᾧ φησιν ὀφθῆναι τὸν τῶν ὄλων κύριον.  
3 ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης τοῖς σώματος ὀφθαλ-  
μοῖς γίνεσθαι τὴν προσβολήν—οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ  
αἰσθητὰ μόνα ὀρῶσι, τὰ δ’ αἰσθητὰ σύγκριτα,  
φθορᾶς ἀνάμεσα, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀσύγκριτον, ἄφθαρ-  
τον—ἀλλὰ τὸ δεχόμενον τὴν θεῖαν φαντασίαν τὸ  
4 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ὄμμα. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως ὅσα μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἑκατὸν.

<sup>a</sup> Here used in the strict Stoic sense of reasonable forms of πάθος. See note on *Quod Det.* 120. So also in *De Mig.* 157, *De Cong.* 36, and below, §§ 131, 188.

## ABOUT THOSE WHOSE NAMES ARE CHANGED AND WHY THEY HAVE THEIR NAMES CHANGED

I. "Abraham became ninety-nine years old and the Lord was seen by Abraham and said to him, 'I am thy God'" (Gen. xvii. 1). Nine plus ninety is next neighbour to a hundred, the number irradiated by the self-taught nature Isaac who is joy, the best of the good emotions.<sup>a</sup> For Isaac is born to Abraham when a hundred years old. A hundred also represents the first-fruits given to the priests by the Tribe of Levi. For when the Levites receive the tenths they offer from them, just as though they were their own produce, other tenths in which we find the hundred (Num. xviii. 26). For ten is a symbol of progress and a hundred of perfection. Now he who is in the intermediate stage is always pressing forward to the summit, employing the gifts with which nature has blessed him, and it is by such a one that Moses tells us that the Lord of all was seen. Yet do not suppose that the vision was presented to the eyes of the body. They see only the objects of sense and those are composite, brimful of corruptibility, while the divine is uncompounded and incorruptible. It is the eye of the soul which receives the presentation of the divine vision. Moreover what the eyes

## PHILO

- [579] οἱ<sup>1</sup> σώματος ὀφθαλμοὶ | θεωροῦσι, συνεργῶ φωτὶ  
 χρώμενοι καταλαμβάνουσιν, ὃ διαφέρει τοῦ θ'  
 ὀρωμένου καὶ τοῦ ὀρώντος· ὅσα δὲ ἢ ψυχῇ, αὐτὴ  
 δι' ἑαυτῆς ἄνευ τινὸς ἄλλου συμπράξεως· αὐτὰ  
 5 γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐστὶ φέγγος τὰ νοούμενα. τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας διδασκόμεθα· ὃ γὰρ  
 νοῦς τὸ ἄκλειστον καὶ ἀκοίμητον προσβαλὼν ὄμμα  
 τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τοῖς θεωρήμασιν εἶδεν αὐτὰ οὐ  
 νόθῳ φωτὶ, γνησίῳ δὲ ὅπερ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐξέλαμψεν.  
 6 ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης ὀφθέντα θεὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, τοῦτο  
 γίνεσθαι νόει χωρὶς φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ· νοήσει γὰρ  
 τὸ νοητὸν εἰκὸς μόνον καταλαμβάνεσθαι. πηγὴ δὲ  
 τῆς καθαρωτάτης αὐγῆς θεὸς ἐστίν· ὥσθ' ὅταν  
 ἐπιφαίνεται ψυχῇ, τὰς ἀσκίους καὶ περιφανεστάτας  
 ἀκτῖνας ἀνίσχει.
- 7 II. Μὴ μέντοι νομίσης τὸ ὄν, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειαν ὄν, ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τινὸς καταλαμβάνεσθαι.  
 ὄργανον<sup>2</sup> γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχομεν, ᾧ δυνασό-  
 μεθα ἐκεῖνο φαντασιωθῆναι, οὔτ' αἰσθησιν—αἰσθη-  
 τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν—οὔτε νοῦν.<sup>3</sup> Μωυσῆς οὖν ὁ τῆς  
 ἀειδοῦς φύσεως θεατῆς [καὶ θεόπτης]<sup>4</sup>—εἰς γὰρ τὸν  
 γνώφον φασὶν αὐτὸν οἱ θεῖοι χρησμοὶ εἰσελθεῖν,  
 τὴν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον οὐσίαν αἰνιττόμενοι—  
 πάντα διὰ πάντων ἐρευνήσας ἐζήτει τὸν τριπόθητον  
 8 καὶ μόνον ἀγαθὸν τηλαυγῶς ἰδεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *μόνοι*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *ὄραν*.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ισχύον*, which Mangey translates by "facultatem."  
 But a better antithesis to *αἰσθησις* seems to be required.  
 Perhaps <νοῦ> *ισχύον*.

<sup>4</sup> That *θεόπτης* is unknown elsewhere, except in quite late  
 writers, is hardly sufficient reason for expunging it, as  
 Wendland following Cohn does. Philo might easily coin it.  
 But it cannot be taken with *τῆς ἀειδοῦς φύσεως*, and seems

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 4-7

of the body behold they apprehend through the cooperation of light, and light is something different from either the seer or the thing seen, whereas what the soul beholds it beholds by its own agency without the assistance of any other. For the conceptions of the mind are a light to themselves. Our learning 5 of the sciences follows the same rule. The mind applies its eye which never closes or sleeps to the principles and conclusions set before it and sees them by no borrowed but a genuine light which shines forth from itself. And so when you hear that God 6 was seen by man, you must think that this takes place without the light which the senses know, for what belongs to mind can be apprehended only by the mental powers. And God is the fountain of the purest radiance, and so when He reveals Himself to a soul the rays He puts forth are free from all shadow and of intense brightness.

II. Do not however suppose that the Existent 7 which truly exists is apprehended by any man ; for we have in us no organ by which we can envisage it, neither in sense, for it is not perceptible by sense, nor yet in mind. So Moses the explorer of nature which lies beyond our vision, Moses who, as the divine oracles tell us, entered into the darkness<sup>a</sup> (Ex. xx. 21), by which figure they indicate existence invisible and incorporeal, searched everywhere and into everything in his desire to see clearly and plainly Him, the object of our much yearning, Who alone is good.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 586.

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pointless if taken by itself. Wend. himself conjectured *θεοπρόπος*. I should prefer *ἐπόπτης*, a well-known term in the mysteries and differing enough from *θεάτης* to give it some point.

## PHILO

εὔρισκεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμφερῆ τινα ἰδέαν τῷ ἐλπίζο-  
μένῳ, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διδασκαλίαν ἀπογνοὺς  
ἐπ' αὐτὸ καταφεύγει τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ δεῖται  
λέγων· “ ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω  
σε”· καὶ ὁμως ἀμοιρεῖ τῆς προθέσεως, ἀνταρ-  
κεστάτης δωρεᾶς τῷ θνητῶν ἀρίστῳ γένει νομι-  
σθείσης τῆς <τῶν> μετὰ τὸ ὄν σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ  
9 καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιστήμης. λέγεται γάρ· “ ὄψει  
τὰ ὀπίσω μου, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ὀφθήσεταιί  
σοι,” ὡς τῶν ὅσα μετὰ τὸ ὄν σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ  
καὶ πραγμάτων εἰς κατάληψιν ἐρχομένων, εἰ καὶ  
μὴ πάντα ἤδη καταλαμβάνεται, μόνου δ' ἐκείνου  
10 μὴ πεφυκότος ὀραῖσθαι. καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὸ  
ὄν ἀνθρώποις ἀκατάληπτον, ὅποτε καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ  
νοῦς ἄγνωστος ἡμῖν; τίς γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐσίαν εἶδεν;  
ἥς ἢ ἀδηλότης μυρίας ἔριδας σοφισταῖς ἐγέννησεν  
ἐναντίας εἰσηγουμένοις γνώμας ἢ καὶ ὄλοις γένεσιν  
11 ἀντιστατούσας. ἦν οὖν ἀκόλουθον τὸ  
μηδ' ὄνομα κύριον ἐπιφημισθῆναι δύνασθαι τῷ  
ὄντι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. οὐχ ὀραῖς ὅτι φιλοπευστοῦντι  
[580] τῷ | προφήτῃ, τί τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ  
ζητοῦσιν ἀποκριτέον, φησὶν ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν,”  
12 ἴσον τῷ εἶναι πέφυκα, οὐ λέγεσθαι; τοῦ δὲ μὴ  
παντάπασιν ἀμοιρῆσαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος  
προσρήσεως τοῦ ἀρίστου, δίδωσι καταχρηῆσθαι ὡς

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 8-12

And when there was no sign of finding aught, not 8  
even any semblance of what he hoped for, in despair  
of learning from others, he took refuge with the  
Object of his search Himself and prayed in these words :  
“ Reveal Thyself to me that I may see Thee with  
knowledge ” (Ex. xxxiii. 13). And yet he fails to  
gain his object. To know what lies below the Existent,  
things material and immaterial alike, is a most ample  
gift even for the best sort among mortals, as God  
judges, for we read, “ Thou shalt see what is behind 9  
Me, but My face thou shalt not see ” (*ibid.* 23). It  
means that all below the Existent, things material  
and immaterial alike, are available to apprehension  
even if they are not all actually apprehended as yet,  
but He alone by His very nature cannot be seen.  
And why should we wonder that the Existent cannot 10  
be apprehended by men when even the mind in each  
of us is unknown to us ? For who knows the essential  
nature of the soul, that mystery which has bred  
numberless contentions among the sophists who pro-  
pound opinions contrary to each other or even totally  
and generically opposed ? It is a logical 11  
consequence that no personal name even can be  
properly assigned to the truly Existent. Note that  
when the prophet desires to know what he must  
answer to those who ask about His name He says  
“ I am He that is ” (Ex. iii. 14), which is equivalent  
to “ My nature is to be, not to be spoken.” Yet that 12  
the human race should not totally lack a title to give  
to the supreme goodness He allows them to use by  
licence of language, as though it were His proper

## PHILO

- ἂν ὀνόματι κυρίῳ τῷ<sup>1</sup> “ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ” τῶν  
 τριῶν φύσεων, διδασκαλίας, τελειότητος, ἀσκή-  
 σεως, ὧν σύμβολα Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἰακώβ ἀνα-  
 γράφεται. “ τοῦτο γάρ μου ” φησὶν “ ὄνομα  
 αἰώνιον ” ὡς ἂν ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αἰῶνι ἐξεταζό-  
 μενον, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πρὸ αἰῶνος, “ καὶ μνημόσυνον,”  
 οὐ τὸ πέρα μνήμης καὶ νοήσεως ἰστάμενον, καὶ  
 13 πάλιν “ γενεαῖς,” οὐ φύσεσιν ἀγενήτοις. κατα-  
 χρήσεως γὰρ ὀνόματος θείου δεῖ τοῖς εἰς τὴν θνητὴν  
 γένεσιν ἐλθοῦσιν, ἵν’, εἰ καὶ μὴ πράγματι, ὀνόματι  
 γοῦν προσερχόμενοι ἀρίστῳ κατ’ αὐτὸ κοσμῶνται.  
 δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ λόγιον ἐκ προσώπου θεσπισθὲν τοῦ  
 τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμόνος περὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ δεδηλωσθαι  
 ὄνομά τι<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ κύριον. “ ὥφθην ” φησὶ “ πρὸς  
 Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ θεὸς ὧν αὐτῶν,  
 καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου κύριον οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς.”  
 τοῦ γὰρ ὑπερβατοῦ μετατεθέντος ἐξῆς ἂν τοιοῦτος  
 εἶη λόγος· “ ὄνομά μου τὸ κύριον οὐκ ἐδήλωσα  
 αὐτοῖς,” ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν καταχρήσει διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας  
 14 αἰτίας. οὕτω μέντοι τὸ ὄν ἀρρητόν ἐστιν, ὥστ’  
 οὐδὲ αἱ ὑπηρετούμεναι<sup>3</sup> δυνάμεις κύριον ὄνομα ἡμῖν  
 λέγουσι· μετὰ γοῦν τὴν πάλην, ἣν ὑπὲρ κτήσεως

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡς ἐν ὀνόματι τῷ κυρίῳ: Wend. prints following the text as quoted in the *Parallela* of Joh. Damasc. (D) ὡς ἂν ὁ ὧν ὀνόματι τοιούτῳ. At the same time for ὡς ἂν ὁ ὧν he conjectures ὁ ἀκατονόμαστος ὧν. I do not indeed see how the text of Joh. Dam. can be construed as it stands, and have followed in the main the ms. text, substituting with J. D. ἂν for ἐν and correcting τῷ κυρίῳ το κυρίῳ τῷ, a correction perhaps supported by J. D. τοιούτῳ.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey: mss. ὀνόματι: Wend. τὸ ὄνομα (from Joh. Dam.). See App. p. 586.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, ὑπηρετοῦσαι. Any use of the middle seems to be later than Philo.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 12-14

name,<sup>a</sup> the title of Lord God of the three natural orders, teaching, perfection, practice,<sup>b</sup> which are symbolized in the records as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. For this He says is "My age-long name," belonging as it were to the age of human existence, not to that when age as yet was not, "a memorial" too, not set, that is, beyond memory or apprehension, and again "to generations" (*ibid.* 15), not to beings that were never generated. For those who are born into 13 mortality must needs have some substitute for the divine name, so that they may approach if not the fact at least the name of supreme excellence and be brought into relation with it. And this is shown by the oracle proclaimed as from the mouth of the Ruler of all in which He says that no proper name of Him has been revealed to any. "I was seen," He says, "of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, being their God, and My name of 'Lord' I did not reveal to them" (Ex. vi. 3). For when the transposition<sup>c</sup> is reset in the proper order it will run thus, "My proper name I did not reveal to thee," but, He implies, only the substitute, and that for reasons already mentioned. So 14 impossible to name indeed is the Existent that not even the Potencies who serve Him tell us a proper name. Thus after the wrestling-bout in which the Man

<sup>a</sup> Philo seems to mix in this passage two somewhat different uses of the grammatical term *κύριον ὄνομα*: (1) a noun used in its literal or strict sense, opposed to metaphorical or loose usage (*ἐν καταχρήσει*, see note on *De Cher.* 121); (2) a proper or personal name.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 586.

<sup>c</sup> Philo seems to mean that while *το ὄνομά μου κύριον* will naturally mean "my name *κύριος*," the text should (or perhaps may also) be regarded as an "hyperbaton" or "unusual order" of *ὄνομά μου τὸ κύριον*, "my proper name" For the technical use of the term see App. pp. 586 f.

## PHILO

ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐπάλαισε, φησὶ τῷ ἀοράτῳ ἐπιστάτῃ· “ἀνάγγελόν μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου,” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷς τὸ ὄνομά μου;” καὶ οὐ μηνύει τὸ ἴδιον καὶ κύριον. ἀπόχρη γὰρ σοι, φησὶν, ὠφελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐφημίας, τὰ δὲ γενητῶν σύμβολα, ὀνόματα, μὴ ζήτηε παρά

15 φύσεσιν ἀφθάρτοις· III. μηδ’<sup>1</sup> οὖν διαπόρει, εἰ τὸ τῶν ὄντων πρεσβύτατον ἄρρητον, ὅποτε καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι οὐ ῥητὸς ἡμῖν· καὶ μὴν

[581] εἰ ἄρρητον, καὶ | ἀπερινόητον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· ὥστε τὸ “ὥφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ” λέγεσθαι ὑπονοητέον οὐχ ὡς ἐπιλάμπωντος καὶ ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίου—τίς γὰρ ἀνθρώπειος νοῦς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς φαντασίας ἱκανὸς ἐστὶ χωρῆσαι;—ἀλλ’ ὡς μιᾶς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεων, τῆς βασιλικῆς, προφαινομένης· ἡ γὰρ

16 κύριος πρόσρησις ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἐστί. νοῦς δὲ ἡμῶν ἡνίκα ἐχαλδαίζε μετεωρολεσχῶν, τῷ κόσμῳ τὰς δραστηρίους ἦν περιέπων<sup>2</sup> δυνάμεις ὡς αἰτίας· γενόμενος δὲ μετανάστης ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλδαϊκοῦ δόγματος ἔγνω ἡνιοχούμενον καὶ κυβερνώμενον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνος, οὗ τῆς ἀρχῆς φαν

17 τασίαν ἔλαβε. διὸ λέγεται “ὥφθη” οὐ τὸ ὄν, ἀλλὰ κύριος· οἶον ἐφάνη ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μήτ’.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. περιμπέπων. I have left the text as Wend. prints it, but it is not satisfactory: περιέπειν is rather “to honour,” and if it is read we should expect τοῦ κόσμου, or as Mangey τὰ κόσμου governed by μετεωρολεσχῶν. Perhaps περιάπτων. cf. *De Ebr.* 73. But the periphrasis with ἦν is in itself somewhat strange.

<sup>a</sup> I understand ἀοράτῳ, for which Mangey would substitute ἀρρήτῳ, to refer to the wrestling of the story taking

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 14-17

of Practice engaged in his quest of virtue, he says to the unseen master,<sup>a</sup> "Announce to me Thy name," and he said "Why dost thou ask this my name?" (Gen. xxxii. 29), and he refuses to tell his personal and proper name. "It is enough for thee," he means, "to profit through my benediction, but as for names, those symbols which indicate created beings, look not for them in the case of imperishable natures." III. Think it not then a hard saying that the Highest 15 of all things should be unnamable when His Word has no name of its own which we can speak. And indeed if He is unnamable He is also inconceivable and incomprehensible. And so the words "The Lord was seen of Abraham" (Gen. xvii. 1) must not be understood in the sense that the Cause of all shone upon him and appeared to him, for what human mind could contain the vastness of that vision? Rather we must think of it as the manifestation of one of the Potencies which attend him, the Potency of kingship, for the title Lord betokens sovereignty and kingship. While our mind pursued 16 the airy speculations of the Chaldeans it ascribed to the world powers of action which it regarded as causes. But when it migrated from the Chaldean creed it recognized that the world had for its charioteer and pilot a Ruler Whose sovereignty was presented to it in vision. And therefore the words are "The 17 Lord (not "The Existent") was seen of him," as though it would say, The king has been manifested, king indeed from the first, but hitherto unrecognized

place at night and stopping at dawn. Wendland suspected *ἐπιστάτη* and proposed *παλαιστῆ*, but Philo conceives of the angel rather as a master of the contest (*ἀγωνοθέτης*) training his pupil by wrestling with him; *cf. De Som. i. 129.*

## PHILO

- ὢν, οὐπω δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ γνωριζόμενος, ἦ καὶ ὄψι-  
 μαθῆς μὲν, οὐ μὴν εἰσάπαν ἀμαθῆς διετέλεσεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐφантаσιώθη τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ  
 18 ἡγεμονίαν. φανείς δ' ὁ ἄρχων ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 εὐεργετῆ τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ θεατὴν φάσκων· “ ἐγὼ  
 εἰμι θεὸς σός.” τίνος γάρ, εἶπομι' (ἄν), οὐ θεὸς  
 ὑπάρχεις τῶνδε ὅσα εἰς γένεσιν ἦλθεν; ἀλλὰ  
 διδάξει με ὁ ὑποφήτης αὐτοῦ λόγος, ὅτι οὐ περὶ  
 τοῦ κόσμου νῦν λέγει, οὐδ' δημιουργὸς πάντως ἐστὶ  
 καὶ θεός, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν, ἃς οὐ τῆς  
 19 αὐτῆς ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωκε. δικαιοὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν  
 φαύλων λέγεσθαι κύριος καὶ δεσπότης, τῶν δ' ἐν  
 προκοπαῖς καὶ βελτιώσεσι θεός, τῶν δ' ἀρίστων  
 καὶ τελειοτάτων ἀμφότερον, κύριος ὁμοῦ καὶ θεός.  
 αὐτίκα γέ τοι ἔσχατον ὄρον ἀσεβείας ἰδρυσάμενος  
 τὸν Φαραῶν [κύριον καὶ] θεὸν τούτου οὐδέποτε  
 προσεῖπεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν σοφὸν Μωυσῆν—  
 λέγει γάρ· “ ἰδοὺ δίδωμί σε θεὸν Φαραῶν ”—  
 κύριον δὲ ὠνόμασε πολλαχοῦ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 20 χρησθέντων· ἄδεται δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα· “ τάδε λέγει  
 κύριος,” καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ· “ ἐλάλησε κύριος πρὸς  
 Μωυσῆν λέγων· ἐγὼ κύριος, λάλησον Φαραῶν  
 βασιλεῖ Αἰγύπτου, ὅσα ἐγὼ λαλῶ πρὸς σέ,” καὶ  
 21 Μωυσῆς πρὸς αὐτόν· “ ὅταν ἐξέλθω τὴν πόλιν,  
 ἐκπετάσω τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς κύριον, καὶ αἱ φωναὶ  
 παύσονται, καὶ ἡ χάλαζα καὶ ὁ ὑετὸς οὐκ ἔσται·  
 ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι κυρίου ἡ γῆ,” οἰονεὶ πᾶσα ἡ σωματικὴ  
 καὶ γεώδης σύστασις, “ καὶ σύ,” ὁ ἀγαλματοφοροῦ-

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* at the beginning of the speech to which the earlier quotation, “Behold I give thee etc.,” belongs. But as

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 17-21

by the soul, which so long unschooled has not remained in ignorance for ever but has received the vision of the Sovereignty which rules over all that is.

But the Sovereign when manifested 18 confers a still higher gift on him who sees and hears him. He says to him, "I am thy God." Which indeed amongst all this multitude of created things does not have Thee for its god? I might ask. But His interpreting word will shew me that He does not here speak of the world of which doubtless He is Creator and God, but of human souls which do not in His eyes deserve to be cared for all alike. His will 19 is to be called the Lord and Master of the bad, the God of those who are on the way to betterment, but of the best and most perfect both at once God and Lord. For instance, when He has set Pharaoh before us as the crowning example of impiety He never calls Himself his God but gives that name to wise Moses, "Behold I give thee as god to Pharaoh" (Ex. vii. 1). But He often names Himself as Lord in the oracles which He gives. We find such utterances as these, "These things saith the Lord" 20 (Ex. vii. 17), and at the beginning of His speech <sup>a</sup> "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 'I am the Lord, speak unto Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, all that I speak unto thee'" (Ex. vi. 29). And Moses says to Pharaoh, "When I go forth from the city I 21 will spread out my hands to the Lord, and the sounds shall cease and the hail and the rain shall not be, that thou mayest know that to the Lord belongs the earth" (that is all the bodily earth-compounded frame), "and thou" (that is the mind which the body

another quotation has intervened, this is rather forced. I should like to read *ἐν ἀρχῇ, καί, i.e.* "as an opening phrase."

## PHILO

- μενος νοῦς, “καὶ οἱ θεράποντές σου,” οἱ κατὰ μέρος δορυφοροῦντες λογισμοί. “ἐπίσταμαι γάρ, ὅτι οὐδέπω πεφόβησθε τὸν κύριον,” ἴσον τῷ οὐ τὸν λεγόμενον ἄλλως, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα
- 22 [582] δεσπότην. κύριος γὰρ γενητὸς πρὸς | ἀλήθειαν οὐδεὶς, κἂν ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα εὐρύνας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνάψηται· μόνος δ’ ὁ ἀγένητος ἀψευδῶς ἡγεμῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δεδιὼς καὶ καταπεπληγμένος ἄθλον ὠφελιμώτατον αἶρεται<sup>1</sup> νουθεσίας, τὸν δὲ ὀλίγωρον ἐκδέχεται πάντως οἰκτρὸς ὄλεθρος.
- 23 οὐκοῦν κύριος ἀφρόνων ἐπιδέδεικται τὸν ἄρχοντος ἐπανατεινόμενος οἰκεῖον φόβον, θεὸς δὲ βελτιουμένων γράφεται, καθὼς καὶ νῦν· “ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σός,” “ἐγὼ (ὁ) θεὸς σου, αὐξάνου καὶ πληθύνου,” τελείων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων, κύριος ὁμοῦ καὶ θεός, ὡς ἐν δέκα λόγοις· “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός σου” καὶ ἐτέρωθι· “κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων
- 24 ὑμῶν.<sup>2</sup>” δικαιοῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν φαῦλον ὡς ὑπὸ κυρίου δεσπόζεσθαι, ἢ εὐλαβούμενος καὶ στένων ἐπικρεμάμενος ἔχη τὸν δεσποτικὸν φόβον, τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ εὐεργετεῖσθαι, ὅπως ταῖς εὐποιαῖς τελειότητος ἐφίκηται, τὸν δὲ τέλειον καὶ ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ εὐεργετεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ· διαμένει γὰρ οὕτως<sup>3</sup> εἰσάπαν ἄτρεπτος, ἐκείνως<sup>3</sup> δὲ πάντως ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ.
- 25 δηλοῦται δὲ τοῦτο μάλισθ’ ὡς ἐπὶ Μωυσέως· “αὕτη” γάρ φησιν “ἡ εὐλογία ἦν εὐλόγησε Μωυσης, ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ.” ὡ παγκάλῃς καὶ ἱεροπρεποῦς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αἰρείται.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἡμῶν.

<sup>3</sup> οὕτως and ἐκείνως are my corrections of the οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος of the MSS. and editors. It seems clear to me that

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 21-25

carries with it) "and thy servants" (that is the several thoughts which form its guard), "for I know that ye have not yet feared the Lord" (Ex. ix. 29), meaning that Lord who is not merely so-called but is Lord in very truth. For none that is created is truly a lord, though he be invested with a rule that spreads from pole to pole. Only the Uncreated is truly ruler, and he who lives in fear and awe under that Ruler's government receives a prize of truest value in His reproofs, while he who despises them has before him nothing but to perish miserably.

So then He is shown to be the Lord of the foolish in that He holds over them the terrors that are proper to the sovereign. Of those who are on the way to betterment He is called in scripture God, as in this present passage, "I am thy God," or "I am thy God, increase and multiply" (Gen. xxxv. 11). Of the perfect He is both Lord and God as in the Decalogue "I am thy Lord God" (Ex. xx. 2), and elsewhere "The Lord God of your fathers" (Deut. iv. 1), for it is His will that the wicked man should be under His sway as his Lord, and thus with awe and groaning feel the fear of the Master hanging over him; that the man of progress should be benefited by Him as God and thus through those kindnesses reach perfection; that the perfect should be guided by Him as Lord and benefited by Him as God. For through the one he remains free from lapses, through the other he is most surely God's man.

This is best shown in Moses' case. "This is the blessing," we read, "which Moses gave, the man of God" (Deut. xxxiii. 1). To what a glorious, what a

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the sentence explains *ἡγεμονεύεσθαι* and *εὐεργετεῖσθαι* of the preceding clause and refers to the *τελείος* only.

## PHILO

- ἀντιδόσεως ἀξιωθείς, θείας προνοίας ἀντιδοῦναι  
 26 ἑαυτόν. ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀν-  
 θρωπὸν τε (θεοῦ) γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπου θεόν·  
 ἀνθρωπον μὲν γάρ θεοῦ, ὡς κτῆμα· ἀνθρώπου  
 δὲ θεόν, ὡς αὔχημα καὶ ὠφέλημα.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὴ βούλει  
 διανοίας κλῆρον τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν, αὐτὸς πρότερον  
 γενοῦ κλῆρος ἀξιόχρεως αὐτοῦ· γενήσῃ δέ, ἂν τοὺς  
 χειροποιήτους καὶ ἔκουσίους ἅπαντας μώμους<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐκφύγῃς.
- 27 IV. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο προσῆκεν ἀγνοεῖν,  
 ὅτι τὸ "ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σὸς" λέγεται καταχρη-  
 στικῶς, οὐ κυρίως. τὸ γὰρ ὄν, ἧ ὄν ἐστίν, οὐχὶ τῶν  
 πρὸς τι· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πλήρες καὶ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ  
 ἱκανόν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως καὶ μετὰ  
 28 τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ παντός ἐν ὁμοίῳ. ἀτρεπτον γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀμετάβλητον, χρῆζον ἑτέρου τὸ παράπαν  
 οὐδενός, ὥστε αὐτοῦ μὲν εἶναι τὰ πάντα, μηδενός  
 δὲ κυρίως αὐτό. τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων, ἃς ἔτεινεν εἰς  
 γένεσιν ἐπ' εὐεργεσία τοῦ συσταθέντος, ἐνίας  
 συμβέβηκε λέγεσθαι ὡσανεὶ πρὸς τι, τὴν βασιλικήν,

<sup>1</sup> The mss. and editors have this sentence as follows: ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀνθρωπὸν τε γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρωπον θεοῦ· ἀνθρωπον μὲν γάρ, θεοῦ ὡς κτῆμα· ἀνθρωπον δὲ θεοῦ, ὡς αὔχημα καὶ ὠφέλημα. The changes I have introduced, though involving little textual alteration, viz. the insertion of θεοῦ in one place, and the change of ἀνθρωπον θεοῦ twice over to ἀνθρώπου θεόν, make a vital change in the thought. As the text stands in the mss. there is little point in the antithesis between being a man simply and being God's man, and the next sentence does not carry on the antithesis, but indicates one between man being God's and God being man's. Moreover αὔχημα and ὠφέλημα should be genitives in apposition with θεοῦ. The thought in the corrected text is as follows: The phrase "I am thy God" makes God to be man's. "Moses the man of God" makes



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 25-28

holy exchange is he promoted that in return for God's protecting care he should give himself to God. But do not suppose that God becomes man's in the same way that man becomes God's, for a man is God's as His possession, God is man's to be his glory and assistance. If thou wouldst have God as thy heart's portion, first become thyself a portion worthy for Him to take, and that thou shalt become if thou escape such faults as are thine own handiwork and come of free will.

IV. We should remember this also that the words "I am thy God" are used by licence of language and not in their proper sense, for the Existent considered as existent is not relative. He is full of Himself and is sufficient for Himself. It was so before the creation of the world, and is equally so after the creation of all that is. He cannot change nor alter and needs nothing else at all, so that all things are His but He Himself in the proper sense belongs to none. But the Potencies which He has projected into creation to benefit what He has framed are in some cases spoken of as in a sense relative,<sup>a</sup> such as

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 587.

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man to be God's. But the two relations are different. Man is God's because he is God's possession. God is man's only in the sense that he can glory in Him and gain help from Him. He then continues "if we wish to establish this latter relation we must first establish in the right way the former and thus become not merely God's possession, which we are in any case, but a possession worthy of Him."

<sup>2</sup> My correction for ms. and editions' νόμους. I can see no sense in this. For μώμους *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 141 διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν μήθ' ἐκούσιον μήτ' ἀκούσιον μῶμον. For χειροποιήτους *cf.* its application to shipwrecks or famine caused needlessly by human ignorance or malice (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 154 and iii. 203).

## PHILO

τὴν εὐεργετικὴν βασιλεὺς γὰρ τινος καὶ εὐεργέτης  
 29 τινός, ἐτέρου πάντως βασιλευμένου καὶ εὐεργε-  
 [583] τουμένου. τούτων συγγενής ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ  
 δύναμις, ἢ καλουμένη θεός· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς  
 δυνάμεως ἔθηκε τὰ πάντα ὁ γεννήσας καὶ τεχνι-  
 τεύσας πατήρ, ὥστε τὸ “ ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σός ” ἴσον  
 30 ἐστὶ τῷ ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιητῆς καὶ δημιουργός. μεγίστη  
 δὲ δωρεὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ λαχεῖν ἀρχιτέκτονος, οὗ καὶ  
 σύμπασι ὁ κόσμος ἔλαχε. φαύλου μὲν γὰρ ψυχῆν  
 οὐ διέπλασεν—ἐχθρὸν γὰρ θεῷ κακία,—τὴν δὲ  
 μέσσην οὐ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον  
 Μωυσῆν, ἐπειδὴ κηροῦ τρόπον ἔμελλεν αὕτη  
 31 δέξασθαι καλοῦ τε καὶ αἰσχροῦ διαφορὰν. διόπερ  
 λέγεται· “ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμε-  
 τέραν,” ἴν’, εἰ μὲν δέξεται φαῦλον τύπον, ἐτέρων  
 φαίνεται δημιουργήματα, εἰ δὲ καλόν, τοῦ τῶν καλῶν  
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν μόνων τεχνίτου. πάντως οὖν σπου-  
 दाῖος ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ὧ φησιν· “ ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σός,”  
 ποιητοῦ μόνου λαχῶν ἄνευ συμπράξεως ἐτέρων.  
 32 ἅμα μέντοι καὶ τὸ πολλαχοῦ κατασκευαζόμενον  
 αὐτῷ δόγμα συνάγει διδάσκων, ὅτι μόνων ἀγαθῶν  
 καὶ σοφῶν δημιουργός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ πᾶσι ὁ  
 θίασος<sup>1</sup> τὴν <τῶν> ἐκτὸς ἀφθονοῦ<sup>2</sup> κτήσιν ἑαυτὸν  
 ἐκὼν ἀφήρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σαρκὶ φίλων  
 33 ὠλιγώρηκεν. εὐέκται μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφριγῶντες

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read <τοι>οὗτος δὲ πᾶσι ὁ θίασος <δς>. See App. p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐκ τοῦ ἀφθόνου.

<sup>a</sup> θεός being derived from τίθημι; see note on *De Conf.* 137.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Op.* 72 ff., *De Conf.* 168 ff., *De Fug.* 68 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Or “indeed here with other lessons” (ἅμα), i.e. those of §§ 18 and 28.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 28-33

the kingly and the beneficial, for a king is a king of someone and a benefactor the benefactor of someone, while the subject of the kingship and the recipient of the benefit is necessarily something different. Akin to these two is the creative Potency 29 called God, because through this the Father who is its begetter and contriver made <sup>a</sup> the universe, so that "I am thy God" is equivalent to "I am the Maker and Artificer." And the greatest gift we can have 30 is to have Him for our Architect, Who was also the Architect of the whole world, for He did not form the soul of the bad, since wickedness is at enmity with Him, and in framing the soul which is in the intermediate stage He was not the sole agent according to the holiest of men, Moses, since such a soul would surely admit like wax the different qualities of noble and base. And therefore we read, 31 "Let us make man after our image" (Gen. i. 26), so that according as the wax received the bad or the noble impress it should appear to be the handiwork of others or of Him Who is the framer of the noble and the good alone.<sup>b</sup> Surely then he is a man of virtue to whom God says "I am thy God," for he has God alone for his maker without the co-operation of others. At the same time <sup>c</sup> Moses teaches us here 32 by implication the doctrine which he so often <sup>d</sup> lays down that God is the maker of the wise and good only. And all that company <sup>e</sup> have voluntarily stripped themselves of the external goods which are so abundantly supplied to us, and further have despised what is dear to the flesh. Fine, lusty and athletic 33

<sup>a</sup> In the other texts where God says "We" (see *De Conf.* 16) and Gen. xlviii. 15, 16 (*ibid.* 181).

<sup>e</sup> See App. p. 587.

## PHILO

ἀθληταὶ τὸ δούλον ἐπιτετειχικότες ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα,  
 ὡχροὶ δὲ καὶ διερρηγικότες καὶ κατεσκελετευμένοι  
 τρόπον τινὰ οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας, ταῖς ψυχικαῖς δυνά-  
 μεσι καὶ τοὺς σωματικούς τόνους προσκεκληρω-  
 κότες καί, εἰ δεῖ τᾶληθές εἰπεῖν, εἰς ἓν εἶδος τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἀναλυθέντες καὶ ἀσώματοι διάνοιαι γεγο-  
 34 νότες. φθείρεται οὖν εἰκότως τὸ γεῶδες καὶ  
 καταλύεται,<sup>1</sup> ὅταν ὄλος δι' ὄλων ὁ νοὺς εὐαρεστεῖν  
 προέλῃται θεῷ. σπάνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 γένος καὶ μόλις εὕρισκόμενον, πλὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον  
 γενέσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ χρησθέν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνώχ  
 λόγιον τόδε· “εὐηρέστησε δὲ Ἐνώχ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ  
 35 οὐχ εὕρισκετο.” ποῦ γὰρ (ἂν) σκεψάμενός τις  
 εὔροι τᾶγαθὸν τοῦτο; ποῖα πελάγη διαβαλῶν;  
 (πρὸς) τίνας νήσους, τίνας ἠπειρούς ἐλθῶν; παρὰ  
 36 βαρβάρους ἢ παρ’ Ἑλλησιν; ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ μέχρι νῦν  
 τῶν φιλοσοφία τετελεσμένων εἰσὶ τινες, οἱ λέγουσιν  
 ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν σοφόν;  
 μηδένα γὰρ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως ἄχρι  
 τοῦ παρόντος βίου κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀνυπαίτιον  
 νομισθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον εἶναι θνητῷ σώματι  
 37 ἐνδεδεμένον εἰσάπαν εὐδαιμονῆσαι. ταῦτα δ’ εἰ  
 [584] μὲν ὀρθῶς | λέγεται, σκεψόμεθα ἐν καιρῷ· νυνὶ  
 δ’ ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ λογίῳ φήσομεν, ὅτι ἔστι  
 μὲν ὑπαρκτὸν πρᾶγμα σοφία, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔραστής  
 αὐτῆς, σοφός, ὑπάρχων δὲ ὅμως ἡμᾶς τοὺς φαύ-  
 λους διαλέληθεν· ἀγαθὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἐθέλει κακῷ  
 38 συνέρχεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται· “οὐχ εὕρισκετο”  
 ὁ εὐαρεστήσας τρόπος τῷ θεῷ, ὡς ἂν δήπου ὑπ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κατακλύζεται.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 33-38

are those who use the body as a menace to the soul. Pale, wasted and withered, so to speak, are the children of discipline. They have made over the bodily muscles to serve the powers of the soul and in fact are resolved into a single form, that of soul, and become unbodied minds. Naturally then the earthly 34 element is destroyed and dissolved when the mind in all its powers has a fixed purpose to be well pleasing to God.

But that kind is rare and hardly to be found, though that such should be is not impossible. This is shown by the oracle vouchsafed about Enoch. " Enoch was well pleasing to God and was not found " <sup>a</sup> (Gen. v. 24), for where 35 could one search and find this good thing, what seas should he cross, what islands, what continents should he visit? Shall he look for it among the Greeks or the barbarians? Indeed are there not still among 36 the disciples of philosophy some who say that a wise man is non-existent <sup>b</sup> and therefore wisdom also? None, they say, from the beginning of man's creation up to the life of to-day has been held to be completely free from fault, for absolute happiness is impossible to one who is imprisoned in the mortal body. Whether 37 these statements are true we will inquire at the proper occasion. At present we will accept the text and say that wisdom is indeed something which exists, and so too is the lover of wisdom, the sage, but, though he exists, we who are evil fail to see him, for good cannot keep company with bad. Therefore 38 we are told that " he was not found," this type of character which was well pleasing to God, meaning

<sup>a</sup> E.V. " Enoch walked with God ; and he was not ; for God took him " (LXX μετέθηκε). For " found " see App. p. 587.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 587 f.

## PHILO

- αρκτὸς μὲν ὢν, ἀποκρυπτόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτὸ  
 σύνοδον ἡμῶν ἀποδιδράσκων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετατεθῆναι  
 λέγεται, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μεταναστῆναι καὶ μετοικίαν  
 στείλασθαι τὴν ἀπὸ θνητοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον.
- 39 V. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔνθεον μανίαν μανέντες  
 ἐξηγγιώθησαν, ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς τιθασοῦ καὶ  
 ἡμέρου σοφίας ἑταῖροι. τούτοις καὶ εὐσέβεια  
 διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖται καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια οὐχ  
 ὑπεροράται. μάρτυρες δ' οἱ χρησμοί, ἐν οἷς λέγεται  
 τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· “εὐαρέσκει  
 ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ,” τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἔργοις παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῆ, ὡς ἐφόρῳ
- 40 καὶ ἐπισκόπῳ. τιμῶν γὰρ γονεῖς ἢ πένητας ἐλεῶν  
 ἢ φίλους εὐεργετῶν ἢ πατρίδος ὑπερασπίζων ἢ  
 τῶν κοινῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους δικαίων ἐπι-  
 μελούμενος εὐαρεστήσεις μὲν πάντως τοῖς χρω-  
 μένοις, θεοῦ δ' ἐνώπιον εὐαρεστήσεις· ἀκοιμήτῳ  
 γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ βλέπει πάντα καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα  
 χάριτι ἐξαιρέτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ καὶ ἀποδέχεται.
- 41 τοιγάρτοι καὶ ὁ ἀσκητῆς εὐχόμενος ταῦτὸν ἀπο-  
 δηλώσει φάσκων· “ὁ θεός, ᾧ εὐηρέστησαν οἱ  
 πατέρες μου” καὶ προστίθῃσιν “ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,”  
 χάριν τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν πραγματικὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ  
 “θεῷ” εὐαρεστεῖν πρὸς τὸ “ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ”·  
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφότερα περιέχει,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ θάτερον μόνον.
- 42 οὕτω καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς παραινεί  
 λέγων· “τὸ εὐάρεστον ποιήσεις ἐνώπιον κυρίου  
 τοῦ θεοῦ σου,” οἷον τοιαῦτα πρᾶττε, ἃ γενήσεται  
 ἐπάξια τοῦ φανῆναι θεῷ καὶ ἄπερ ἰδὼν ἀποδέξεται·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παρέχει.

<sup>a</sup> As E.V. in Hebrews xi. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Quis Rerum* 127.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Fug.* 170.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 38-42

doubtless that though actually existing he was hidden from us and shunned our company. And to confirm this we read that he was "translated" <sup>a</sup> (*ibid.*), that is, changed his abode and journeyed as an emigrant from the mortal life to the immortal.

V. These are men inspired with heaven-sent madness, men who have gone out into the wild. But there are others who have followed a tame and gentle wisdom,<sup>b</sup> and such are both eminent in the practice of piety and do not despise human things. This is attested by the oracle in which it is said to Abraham, with God as speaker, "Be well pleasing before Me" (Gen. xvii. 1), that is, "be well pleasing not to Me only but to My works, while I as judge watch and survey thee." For if you honour parents or show 40 mercy to the poor or do kindness to your friends or defend your country or observe with care your duties to all men in general, you will surely be well pleasing to all with whom you have to do, but also well pleasing before God. For He with an eye that never sleeps beholds all things, and what is good He summons to Himself and approves with special favour. And therefore the Practiser in his prayer will show 41 us the same truth. "The God," he says, "to whom my fathers were well pleasing," and adds "before Him" (Gen. xlvi. 15) to show us the difference in fact between being pleasing "to Him" and "before Him." The latter embraces both kinds of well pleasing, the former is confined to one only. And 42 so Moses in his Exhortations<sup>c</sup> charges them in these words: "Thou shalt do what is well pleasing before the Lord thy God" (Deut. xii. 28), meaning do such things as shall be worthy to appear before God, and when seen to be approved by Him, and such

## PHILO

ταῦτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὁμοίους<sup>1</sup> εἴωθε χωρεῖν.  
 43 ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμηθεῖς τὴν τε σκηνην δυσὶ  
 περιβόλων ὀρίοις συνύφαινε, μέσον ἀμφοῖν κάλυμμα  
 θείσ, ὅπως διακρίνηται τῶν εἴσω τὰ ἔξω, καὶ τὴν  
 νομοφυλακίδα ἱερὰν κιβωτὸν ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν  
 ἐχρύσωσε, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱερεῖ διττὰς ἀνέδωκε  
 στολάς, τὴν μὲν λιγὴν ἔνδον, τὴν δὲ ποικίλην ἔξω  
 44 μετὰ τοῦ ποδήρους. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 σύμβολα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς εἴσω πρὸς θεὸν  
 ἀγνευούσης καὶ [ἐν] τοῖς ἔξω πρὸς τὸν αἰσθητὸν  
 κόσμον καὶ βίον καθαρευούσης. εὐστόχως οὖν  
 ἐκεῖνο πρὸς τὸν παλαιστὴν νικηφόρον ἐλέχθη μέλ-  
 λοντα τοῖς νικητηρίοις ἀναδειῖσθαι στεφάνοις. τὸ  
 [585] γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ | κήρυγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. “ἰσχυσας  
 45 μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός.” τὸ γὰρ  
 καθ' ἑκατέραν τάξιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ  
 ἀγένητον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γεγόμενον, οὐ μικρὰς  
 ἐστὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ', εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, κόσμου  
 καὶ θεοῦ μεθορίου· συνόλως τε προσήκει τὸν ἀστείον  
 ὀπαδὸν εἶναι θεοῦ· μέλει γὰρ τῷ πάντων ἡγεμόνι  
 46 καὶ πατρὶ τοῦ γενομένου. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι  
 καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἱκανὸς ἦν αὐτὸς  
 ἑαυτῷ ὁ θεὸς καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ  
 αὐτὸς ἔμενεν, οὐ μεταβαλὼν; διὰ τί οὖν ἐποίει τὰ  
 μὴ ὄντα; ἢ ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόδωρος ἦν; εἴτ'  
 οὐχ εἰσόμεθα οἱ δοῦλοι τῷ δεσπότῃ, θαυμάζοντες

<sup>1</sup> The text is questioned by Mangey and Wendland and Cohn, who proposed different emendations, in the first two cases bearing little likeness to the original. Cohn suggested *ἐκτὸς ὁμοίως*. I see no reason to dispute the text. The use of *οἱ ὅμοιοι* for “our neighbours” in antithesis to God is exactly paralleled in *Quis Rerum* 172 τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀδικημάτων,



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 42-46

deeds as these commonly extend to our fellow-men.

It was this thought which prompted 43  
Moses when he wove the tabernacle, dividing its  
precincts into two, and set a curtain between the  
parts to distinguish the inner from the outer (Ex. xxvi.  
33); when too he gilded the sacred ark which holds  
the laws both within and without (Ex. xxv. 10), and  
gave the high priest two robes, the linen robe to be  
worn within, the many-coloured one with the long  
skirt to be worn outside (Ex. xxviii. 4, Lev. vi. 10).  
These and the like are symbols of a soul which in 44  
inward things is undefiled towards God and in out-  
ward things is pure towards the world of our senses  
and human life. And so those were fitting words  
which were said to the victorious wrestler when he  
was about to be crowned with garlands of triumph.  
For "Thou hast been strong with God and mighty  
with men" (Gen. xxxii. 28) were the words which pro-  
claimed his victory. To win honour in both spheres, in 45  
our duty both towards the uncreated and the created,  
requires no petty mind, but one which stands in  
very truth midway between the world and God.  
And in sum the man of worth should follow in the  
steps of God, for the Ruler and Father of all cares  
for His creatures. We all know that before the 46  
creation of the world God was sufficient unto Him-  
self and that after the creation He remained the  
same, unchanged. Why then did He make the  
things which were not? Why, save because He was  
good<sup>a</sup> and bountiful? Shall not then we His slaves

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 588.

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where no question is raised by the objectors to this passage.  
For *χωρεῖν εἰς* cf. § 150.

## PHILO

- μὲν τὸν αἴτιον ὑπερφυῶς, τῆς δὲ καθ' αὐτοὺς  
 φύσεως μὴ ὑπερορῶντες;
- 47 VI. Εἰπὼν δὲ “εὐαρέστει ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ” προσ-  
 επιλέγει· “καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος,” ἀκολουθία καὶ  
 εἰρμῶ χρώμενος. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐγχείρει τοῖς  
 καλοῖς, ἵνα εὐαρεσθῆς· εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν γε ἀμαρτη-  
 μάτων ἀπέχου, ἵνα μὴ τυγχάνῃς μέμφεως. ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ κατορθῶν ἐπαινετός, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀδικῶν οὐ
- 48 ψεκτός. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρεσβυτικὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀθλον κατορθοῦσι  
 πρόκειται, τὸ εὐαρεστον, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ μὴ ἀμαρ-  
 τάνουσι, τὸ ἄμεμπτον. τάχα δὲ καὶ γενέσει τῇ  
 θνητῇ τὸ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν ἴσον καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γρά-  
 φεται τῷ κατορθοῦντι. “τίς γάρ,” ὡς ὁ Ἰώβ
- 49 ἦ ζωῆ;” ἄπειρα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, ἅπερ ἐκνίψασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι  
 παντελῶς οὐκ ἔνεστιν. ἀπολείπονται γὰρ ἐξ  
 ἀνάγκης παντὶ θνητῷ συγγενεῖς κήρες, ἅς λωφῆσαι  
 μὲν εἰκός, ἀναιρεθῆναι δ' εἰσάπαν ἀδύνατον.
- 50 δίκαιον οὖν ἢ φρόνιμον ἢ σώφρονα ἢ συνόλως  
 ἀγαθὸν τέλειον ἐν πεφυρμένῳ βίῳ ζητεῖ τις;  
 στέργε, κἂν μὴ ἀδικον ἢ μὴ ἄφρονα ἢ μὴ ἀκό-  
 λαστον ἢ μὴ δειλὸν ἢ μὴ παντελῶς φαῦλον εὕρησ.<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ αἰ τῶν κακιῶν ἀνατροπαί, τῶν δ'  
 ἀρετῶν ἢ ἐντελής κτήσις ἀδύνατος ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ
- 51 καθ' ἡμᾶς. εὐλόγως οὖν ἔφη· “γίνου ἄμεμπτος,”

<sup>1</sup> So mss., but the adjective seems to be only known in the sense of “senile” or “antiquated.” Probably, as Wend. suggests, read *πρεσβύτατον*.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *εὐρήσεις*. Or perhaps *κἂν <εἰ>* . . . *εὐρήσεις* (W.H.D.R.). The *καὶ* in any case however seems otiose, and *ἐὰν* . . . *εὕρης* would be more natural.

<sup>a</sup> For the general thought of this passage with the same

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 46-51

follow our Master with profoundest awe and reverence for Him Who is the Cause, yet not forgetting the calls of our common humanity? <sup>a</sup>

VI. After saying "Be well pleasing before Me" <sup>47</sup> He adds further "and become blameless." This is in close sequence to the preceding. "Best it is," He means, "to set your hand to excellence and thus be well pleasing, but failing this at least abstain from sins and thus escape blame." For positively righteous conduct <sup>b</sup> brings praise to the doer, but abstention from iniquity saves him from censure. The highest prize of "well pleasing" may be won <sup>48</sup> by positive well-doing, the second, freedom from blame, by avoidance of sin. And yet perhaps for the creature of mortal kind the former is declared by Scripture to coincide with the latter. For who, as Job says, is pure from defilement, even if his life be but for one day? (Job xiv. 4). Infinite indeed are <sup>49</sup> the defilements that soil the soul, which it is impossible to wash and scour away altogether. For there still remain evils which are bound up with the life of every mortal, which may well be abated but cannot be wholly destroyed. Should we then seek to <sup>50</sup> find in the medley of life one who is perfectly just or wise or temperate or good in general? Be satisfied, if you do but find one who is not unjust, is not foolish, is not licentious, is not cowardly, is not altogether evil. We may be content with the overthrow of vices, and the complete acquisition of virtues is impossible for man, as we know him. With good reason then did He say, "Become blame- <sup>51</sup>

illustration from the two robes and the words of Gen. xxxii. <sup>28</sup> cf. the fuller exposition in *De Ebr.* 80-87.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 588.

[586] μέγα πλεονέκτημα πρὸς εὐδαίμονα | βίον ὑπολαβὼν  
εἶναι τὸ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ἀνυπαίτιον.

τῷ δὲ ἡρημένῳ ζῆν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον καὶ κληρον  
κατὰ διαθήκας ἀπολείψειν ὁμολογεῖ τὸν ἀρμόζοντα  
δοῦναι μὲν θεῷ, λαβεῖν δὲ σοφῷ. φησὶ γάρ·  
52 “ θήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ  
μέσον σοῦ.” διαθήκαι δὲ ἐπ’ ὠφελεία γράφονται  
τῶν δωρεᾶς ἀξίων, ὥστε σύμβολον εἶναι διαθήκην  
χάριτος, ἣν μέσῃν ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ τε ὀρέ-  
53 γοντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνοντος. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ  
εὐεργεσίας τοῦτό ἐστι, μὴ εἶναι θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς  
μέσον, ὅτι μὴ τὴν παρθένον χάριτα. τὸν δὲ περι  
διαθηκῶν σύμπαντα λόγον ἐν δυσὶν ἀναγέγραφα  
συντάξεις καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παλινωδεῖν ἐκῶν  
ὑπερβαίνω καὶ ἅμα μὴ βουλόμενος ἀπαρτᾶν τὸ  
συμφυῆς τῆς πραγματείας.

54 VII. Λέγεται δ’ ἐξῆς· “ ἔπescen Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ  
πρόσωπον.” ἄρ’ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὑποσχέσει θείαις  
γνώναί τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους οὐ-  
δένειαν καὶ πεσεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἐστῶτα εἰς ἔνδειξιν  
τῆς ὑπολήψεως, ἣν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε ἔσχε καὶ θεοῦ,  
ὅτι ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστῶς κινεῖ τὴν σύμπασαν  
στάσιν, οὐ διὰ τῶν σκελῶν—οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος,  
—ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐμφαί-  
55 νουσαν,<sup>1</sup> ὁ δ’ οὐδέποτε ἐν ταυτῷ βεβαίως ἰδρυμένος

<sup>1</sup> κινεῖ . . . ἐμφαίνουσιν. Following Wend. I have left this part of the sentence as the mss. have it. But it is clearly corrupt, and Markland, Cohn and Wend. have suggested various emendations. The translation is based on a suggestion of my own that for στάσιν we should read τάσιν (self-extension). Cf. *De Sac.* 68 ἔστηκα . . . οὐ μεταβατικῶς κινούμενος . . . ἀλλὰ τονικῆ χρώμενος τῇ κινήσει, also *De Post* 30.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 51-55

less," for He holds that freedom from sin and guilt is a great furtherance towards a happy life.

And to him who has elected to live in this fashion He promises to leave a covenanted portion such as is fitting for God to give and man to receive, for He says "I will set my covenant between Me and 52 between thee" (Gen. xvii. 2). Now covenants are drawn up for the benefit of those who are worthy of the gift, and thus a covenant is a symbol of the grace which God has set between Himself Who proffers it and man who receives. And this is the 53 crowning benefaction, that there is nothing between God and the soul save the virgin grace. But I have dealt with the whole subject of covenants in two treatises, and I willingly pass it over to avoid repetition, and also because I do not wish to interrupt the continuity of the discussion.

VII. The next words are "Abraham fell on his 54 face." Ah, what else should he do, when he heard the divine promises, but know himself and the nothingness of our mortal race, and fall at the feet of Him Who stands, to show what conception he held of himself and God? He knew that God stands with place unchanged, yet moves the universal frame of creation, His own motion being the motion of self-extension (not the movement of the legs, for He is not of human form), but a motion whereby He shows His unalterable, unchanging nature. He 55 knew that he himself is never firmly set in a stable

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I regard this however as very conjectural. If it were adopted, the rest of the passage might run somewhat as follows: *κινεί τὴν σύμπασαν <φύσιν or γένεσιν or σύστασιν κατὰ> τάσιν . . . ἀλλὰ <τὸ> ἀτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐμφαίνουσαν.* (Markland in place of the insertion of *τό* suggested *ἐμφαίνων οὐσίαν.*)

## PHILO

ἄλλοτε ἀλλοίας δέχεται μεταβολὰς καὶ ὑποσκελιζόμενος, ὁ δυστυχῆς,—ὄλισθος γὰρ σύμπας ὁ βίος  
 56 ἔστιν αὐτῷ—μέγα πτώμα πίπτει; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν  
 ἄκων ἀμαθῆς, ὁ δ' ἐκὼν εὐάγωγος· οὐδ' χάριν καὶ  
 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πεσεῖν λέγεται, ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις,  
 ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν, μονοῦ βοῶν καὶ  
 κεκραγῶς, ὅτι πέπτωκε μὲν αἰσθησις ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 ἀδυνατοῦσα αἰσθάνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ προμηθεΐα τοῦ  
 σωτῆρος ἀνεγερθεῖη πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποκειμένων  
 σωμάτων ἀντίληψιν, πέπτωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ λόγος  
 ἐρμηνεύσαι τι τῶν ὄντων ἀδυνατῶν, εἰ μὴ διανοίξας  
 τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀρθρώσας ὁ τὸ φω-  
 νητήριον ὄργανον κατεσκευακῶς καὶ ἄρμοσάμενος  
 πλήξειε τοὺς φθόγγους μουσικῶς, πέπτωκε δὲ καὶ  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς νοῦς τὰς καταλήψεις ἀφηρημένος, εἰ  
 μὴ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγείρας ὁ ζωοπλάστης ἰδρύσαιτο  
 καὶ ἐνομματώσας ὀξυδερκέσι κόραις ἀγάγοι πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων θέαν πραγμάτων.

57 VIII. | Ἀγάμενος οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποδιδρά-  
 [587] σκοντα τρόπον καὶ ἐκούσιον πτώμα πίπτοντα διὰ  
 τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἣν ὠμολόγησε περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, ὅτι  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔστως ἐν ἣν ἄρα, τῶν μετ' αὐτὸ  
 τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς παντοίας<sup>1</sup> ἐνδεχομένων,  
 ἐνηχεῖ τε καὶ λόγου μεταδίδωσι φάσκων· “ καγῶ,  
 58 ἴδου ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ.” τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτον  
 ὑποβάλλει νοῦν· εἶδη μὲν διαθήκης ἐστὶ πάμπολλα  
 χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀπονέμοντα, τὸ δ'  
 ἀνώτατον γένος διαθηκῶν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἶμι. δείξας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παντοίων.

<sup>a</sup> Literally “he both speaks with emphasis (or “instructs”) and gives him a share of the speech.” See App. p. 588.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 55-58

position, that he is ever subject to various changes, and that throughout his life, which is one long slipping, he trips and falls, woe to him ! and how great is that fall. Sometimes it is through involuntary 56 ignorance, sometimes through voluntary yielding to temptation, and so we read also that it was on his face that he fell. By face is meant his senses and his mind and his speech, and the gesture is little less than a loud insistent utterance. Fallen is sense, it cries, unable of itself to perceive, were it not by a dispensation of God's saving providence set on its feet to the perception of material substances : fallen is speech, because it were unable to express in language anything that is, did not He Who framed and adjusted to harmony the instrument of the voice beat out the music of its notes, opening the mouth and giving strength to the nerves of the tongue : fallen too is the royal mind, robbed of its powers of apprehension, did not the Framer of all that lives raise it up and establish it, and planting in it far-piercing eyes, lead it to the sight of the immaterial world.

VIII. The frame of mind which shrank from Him 57 and fell spontaneously won God's high approval by thus acknowledging of the Existent that it is He alone Who stands and that all below Him are subject to change and mutation of every kind. He addresses him with an insistence which is also a call to partnership.<sup>a</sup> "And I," He says, "—see, My covenant is with thee" (Gen. xvii. 4). The meaning suggested is to 58 this purport—there are very many kinds of covenant, assuring bounties and gifts to the worthy, but the highest form of covenant is "I myself." He shews and

## PHILO

γὰρ ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐνήν δειχθῆναι τὸν ἄδεικτον, διὰ τοῦ φάναι “καὶ γὰρ” ἐπιλέγει· “ἰδοὺ ἡ διαθήκη μου”· ἡ πασῶν χαρίτων ἀρχὴ τε καὶ πηγὴ αὐτός

59 εἶμι ἐγώ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δι’ ἐτέρων τὰς εὐεργεσίας εἴωθε προτείνειν ὁ θεός, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, ἡλίου, σελήνης, οὐρανοῦ, δυνάμεων ἄλλων ἀσωμάτων, τοῖς δὲ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, κλήρον ἀποφίνας τῶν λαμβανόντων ἑαυτόν, οὓς εὐθέως καὶ προσρήσεως

60 ἐτέρας ἡξίωσε. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “οὐ κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβράμ, ἀλλ’ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραάμ.” ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαπεχθημόνων καὶ μώμους αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀμώμοις προσάπτειν ἐθελόντων οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ πράγμασι καὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον πολεμοῦντων τοῖς ἱεροῖς πάνθ’ ὅσα μὴ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἐν λόγῳ διασφύζειν δοκεῖ σύμβολα φύσεως τῆς αἰεὶ κρύπτεσθαι φιλούσης ὑπάρχοντα μετ’ (οὐκ)<sup>1</sup> ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης φανύσαντες ἐπὶ διαβολῇ προφέρουσι, διαφερόντως δὲ τὰς τῶν

61 ὀνομάτων μεταθέσεις. καὶ πρῶην ἤκουσα χλευάζοντος καὶ κατακερτομοῦντος ἀνδρὸς ἀθέου καὶ ἀσεβοῦς, ὃς ἐτόλμα λέγειν· μεγάλαί δὲ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσαι δωρεαί, ἃς φησι Μωυσῆς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὄλων ὀρέγειν· στοιχείου (γὰρ) προσθήκη, τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄλφα, [στοιχείῳ περιττεύει]<sup>3</sup> καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρα προσθέσει τοῦ ῥῶ θαυμαστὴν ἡλικὴν ἔδοξεν εὐεργεσίαν παρεσχῆσθαι \* \* \* τὴν Ἀβραὰμ γυναικα Σάραν Σάρραν ὠνόμασε δις τὸ ῥῶ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> This or Wend.’s other suggestion of δίχα is needed to correspond with φιλούσης κρύπτεσθαι, which would be pointless with the ms. reading μετ’ ἀκριβοῦς (“hunting everywhere for examples”).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δὲ.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 58-61

points to Himself, as far as He can be shewn Who is above all shewing, by the words "And I," and adds, "behold my covenant," the beginning and the fountain of all bounties is "I myself." For to some God 59 is wont to extend His benefactions by other means, earth, water, air, sun, moon, heaven, and other agencies not material, but to others by Himself alone, making Himself the portion of those who receive Him. On these He presently bestows as their due 60 a different name. "Thy name shall not be called Abram ('Αβράμ)," we read, "but Abraham ('Αβραάμ)" (Gen. xvii. 5).

Some of the quarrelsome and captious type of people who wish to attach blame where it is not due, not so much to material things as to actions and ideas,<sup>a</sup> and wage war to the death against what is holy, when they find anything which seems to them to fall short in propriety if taken literally, while really it is a symbol of the nature-truth which loves concealment, make no careful search for that truth, but disparage it and hold it up to obloquy. And this they do especially with the changes of names.

Not long ago I heard the scoffing and railing of a 61 godless and impious fellow who dared to speak thus: "Vast and extraordinary indeed are the gifts which Moses says come from the hand of the Ruler of all. What a boon He is supposed to have provided by adding a single letter, an alpha, and again by another addition of a rho, for He (turned Abram ('Αβράμ) into Abraham ('Αβραάμ) by doubling the alpha, and) Abraham's wife Sarai (Σάρα) into Sarah (Σάρρα) by

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

<sup>3</sup> See App. pp. 588 f.

## PHILO

λαβών.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα συνείρων ἀπνευστὶ καὶ  
 62 ἐπισαρκάζων ἅμα διεξήει. τῆς μὲν οὖν φρενο-  
 βλαβείας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔδωκε τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν  
 δίκην· ἀπὸ γὰρ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως  
 ἐπ' ἀγχόνην ἤξεν, ἢ ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ δυσκάθατος  
 μηδὲ καθαρῶ θανάτῳ τελευτήσῃ.

IX. Δικαίως δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καὶ ἕτερον  
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀλῶναι τὰς ὑπονοίας ἐκκόψαιμεν,  
 φυσιολογούντες καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ λεγόμενα  
 63 ταῦτα πάσης ἐπάξια σπουδῆς. οὐ (γὰρ) γράμματα  
 ἄφωνα ἢ φωνήεντα ἢ συνόλως ῥήματα καὶ ὀνόματα  
 [588] χαρίζεται ὁ θεός, | ὅποτε καὶ γεννήσας φυτὰ τε αὐ  
 καὶ ζῶα ἐκάλεσεν ὡς πρὸς ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
 ὄν<sup>2</sup> ἐκ πάντων δι' ἐπιστήμην ἐχώρισεν, ἢ ἐκάστοις  
 τὰ οἰκεία ὀνόματα θῆται. “πᾶν” γάρ φησιν “ὁ  
 ἂν ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Ἀδάμ, τοῦτο ὄνομα τοῦ κληθέντος  
 64 ἦν.” εἴθ' ὅπου οὐδὲ τὰς ὀλοκλήρους θέσεις τῶν  
 ὀνομάτων ὁ θεὸς ἡξίωσεν ἐπιφημίσειν, ἐπιτρέψας  
 ἀνδρὶ σοφῶ, τῷ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀρχηγέτῃ, τὸ  
 ἔργον, ὑπονοεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι μέρη τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ  
 συλλαβὰς ἢ γράμματα, οὐ φωνήεντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἄφωνα, αὐτὸς προσετίθει καὶ μεθῆρμοζε, καὶ  
 ταῦτ' ἐπὶ προφάσει δωρεᾶς καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσης  
 65 εὐεργεσίας; οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 χαρακτῆρες δυνάμεων εἰσι, βραχεῖς μεγάλων,  
 αἰσθητοὶ νοητῶν, φανεροὶ ἀδήλων· αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις  
 ἐν δόγμασιν ἀρίστοις, ἐν ἀψευδέσι καὶ καθαραῖς

<sup>1</sup> I leave this sentence as Wendland prints it, with the ms. τὸ ἐνὸς corrected to τοῦ, προσθεῖς to προσθέσει and τὴν ῥῶ to τὸ ῥῶ, and in the translation have followed what he supplies for the supposed lacuna after παρεσχῆσθαι. For other possibilities see App. pp. 588 f.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ὁς (Mangey ὁς καὶ πάντων δι' ἐπιστήμης ἐχώρησε).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 61-65

doubling the rho." And in a sneering way he ran over the list of such cases without a moment's pause. Well, it was not long before he paid the penalty 62 which his wicked folly called for. For a slight and trivial cause he hastened to hang himself, and thus even a clean death was denied to the unclean miscreant.

IX. It is only right that to prevent any other falling a victim to the same errors we should eradicate misgivings of this sort <sup>a</sup> by resorting to the truths of nature and shewing that what we thus read is worthy of our most earnest consideration. Letters, 63 whether vowels or consonants and the parts of speech in general, are not the gifts of God's grace, seeing that when He created the plants and animals He summoned them to man as their ruler, set apart by Him from them all in virtue of his knowledge, that he might give each kind their distinguishing names. "Everything," he says, "which Adam called them, that was their name" (Gen. ii. 19). If God did not 64 think fit to assign names even in their completed form, but committed the task to a man of wisdom, the founder of the human race, is it proper to suppose that parts of names or syllables or single letters, not merely vocal vowels but mute consonants, were added and altered by Himself, and a gift and pre-eminent benefaction alleged to be conferred thereby? It is quite impossible. Such changes of name are signs <sup>b</sup> of 65 moral values, the signs small, sensible, obvious, the values great, intelligible, hidden. And these values are found in noble verities, in unerring and pure notions,

<sup>a</sup> This use of *ὑπονομίας* is strange, though Wend.'s suggestion of *τὰς <τοιαύτας> ὑπ.* or Mangey's *τὰς <κακὰς> ὑπ.* would make it more natural. See App. p. 589.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 589.

## PHILO

- ὑπολήψεσιν, ἐν ψυχῆς βελτιώσεσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐξετάζονται.  
 τὸν δὲ ἔλεγχον λαμβάνειν εὐμαρὲς τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ποιησαμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ νυνὶ μετονομασθέντος.
- 66 Ἀβραὰμ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται μετέωρος πατήρ, Ἀβραὰμ  
 δὲ πατήρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἡχοῦς. ἥ δὲ διαφέρει ταυτ'  
 ἀλλήλων, εἰσόμεθα σαφέστερον, ἐπειδὴν τὸ δηλού-
- 67 μενον ὑφ'<sup>2</sup> ἑκατέρου πρότερον ἀναγνώμεν. μετέω-  
 ρον τοίνυν ἀλληγοῦροντές φαμεν τὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἑαυτὸν  
 εἰς ὕψος ἀΐροντα καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα τὰ μετάρσια,  
 μετεωροπόλον τε καὶ μετεωρολογικόν, ἐρευνῶντα  
 τί ἡλίου μέγεθος, τίνες αὐτοῦ φοραί, πῶς τὰς  
 ἔτησίους ὥρας διανέμει προσίων καὶ ἐξαναχωρῶν  
 πάλιν ἰσοταχέσι ταῖς ἀνακυκλήσεσι, καὶ σελήνης  
 περὶ φωτισμῶν, σχηματισμῶν, μειώσεως, αὐξή-  
 σεως, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων κινήσεως, ἀπλανοῦς
- 68 τε καὶ πεπλανημένης. ἥ γὰρ τούτων ἐξέτασις οὐκ  
 ἀφυοῦς καὶ ἀγόνου ψυχῆς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς  
 μάλιστα εὐφυοῦς καὶ δυναμένης ὀλόκληρα καὶ  
 τέλεια γεννᾶν ἔγγονα. διὸ καὶ τὸν μετεωρολογικόν  
 “πατέρα” εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄγονος σοφίας.
- 69 X. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σύμβολα οὕτως ἀκρι-  
 βοῦται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ὡς ὑποδείξομεν· ἦν  
 δὲ τρία, πατήρ καὶ ἐκλεκτὸς καὶ ἡχοῦς. φαμέν δὴ  
 τὴν μὲν ἡχὴν τὸν προφορικὸν εἶναι λόγον—τοῦ γὰρ  
 ζώου ἡχείον ὄργανόν ἐστι τὸ φωνητήριον,—τούτου  
 δὲ πατέρα τὸν νοῦν—ἀπὸ γὰρ διανοίας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ  
 [589] πηγῆς φέρεται τὸ τοῦ λόγου νᾶμα,— | ἐκλεκτὸν  
 δὲ τὸν τοῦ σοφοῦ· ὃ τι γὰρ ἄριστον, ἐν τούτῳ.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ψυχαῖς βελτίοσιν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀφ'.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 65-69

and in soul-betterments. The proof of this is easy, starting from the change of name here before us, for Abram is interpreted as "uplifted 66 father," Abraham as "elect father of sound."<sup>a</sup> How the two differ we shall understand more clearly if we first discover the meaning of each. Resorting then to 67 allegory we say that "uplifted" is one who rising from earth to the heights surveys the supraterrrestrial, conversing with and studying the phenomena of the upper world, investigating the size of the sun and its courses, how it regulates the seasons of the year by its revolutions as it advances and retreats at the same rate of speed; one who considers also the different illuminations of the moon, its phases, its waning and waxing, and the movement of the other stars both in the fixed and the planetary order. To inquire into such 68 matters bespeaks a soul not devoid of natural gifts or unproductive, but highly gifted and capable of engendering offspring perfect and without blemish; and therefore he called the student of the upper world "father" because he is not unproductive of 69 wisdom.

X. Such is our definition of the 69 meanings conveyed under the symbol of the name Abram; those conveyed by "Abraham" are such as I proceed to describe. They are three in number—"father," "elect" and "of sound." We say that sound stands for the uttered word, for in living creatures the instrument of sound is the vocal power. Its father is the mind, since the stream of speech issues from the understanding as its fount. The elect mind is the mind of the wise, since it contains what

<sup>a</sup> The interpretation of Abram and Abraham has already been given in *De Cher.* 4 f. and *De Gig.* 62 f. That of Sarai and Sarah in *De Cher.* 5 f.

## PHILO

- 70 κατὰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς προτέρους χαρακτῆρας ὁ φιλο-  
 μαθῆς καὶ μετεωρολέσχης ἐσκιαγραφείτο, κατὰ δὲ  
 τοὺς ἀρτίως ὑποτυπωθέντας ὁ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον  
 δ' ὁ σοφὸς ἐδηλοῦτο. μηκέτ' οὖν ὀνομάτων ἀλ-  
 λαγὴν ὑπολάβης χαρίζεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
 71 συμβόλων ἡθῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν. τὸν γὰρ πραγ-  
 ματευόμενον τὰ περὶ φύσεως οὐρανοῦ πρότερον,  
 ὃν μαθηματικὸν ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν  
 μετουσίαν καλέσας ἀρετῆς σοφὸν καὶ ἀπέδειξε καὶ  
 ὠνόμασεν, ἐπιφημίσας τὸν μεταχαραχθέντα τρόπον,  
 ὡς μὲν Ἑβραῖοι εἶποιεν· ἂν, Ἀβραάμ, ὡς δ' ἂν  
 72 Ἕλληνες, πατέρα ἐκλεκτὸν ἡχοῦς. τίνος γάρ,  
 φησὶν, ἔνεκα χορείας καὶ περιόδους ἀστέρων ἐρευνηᾶς  
 καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω πρὸς αἰθέρα πεπήδηκας;  
 ἀρ' ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον τὰ ἐκεῖ περιεργάσῃ; καὶ τίς  
 ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης περιεργίας γένοιτ' ἂν ὠφέλεια;  
 τίς καθαίρεισις ἡδονῆς; τίς ἐπιθυμίας ἀνατροπή;  
 τίς λύπης ἢ φόβου κατάλυσις; ποία παθῶν, ἃ  
 73 κλονεῖ καὶ συγχεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐκτομή; καθάπερ  
 γὰρ δένδρων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ καρπῶν οἰστικά  
 γένοιτο, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ<sup>1</sup> τρόπον οὐδὲ φυσιολογίας, εἰ  
 μὴ μέλλοι κτήσιν ἀρετῆς ἐνεγκεῖν· ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς  
 74 αὐτῆς οὗτός ἐστι. διὸ καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς ἀγρῶ  
 τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεικάσαντες λόγον φυτοῖς  
 μὲν ἐξωμοίωσαν τὸ φυσικὸν μέρος, αἵμασιαῖς δὲ  
 καὶ περιβόλοις τὸ λογικόν, καρπῶ δὲ τὸ ἠθικόν,  
 ὑπολαβόντες<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τείχῃ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα  
 τοῦ καρποῦ κατεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων καὶ  
 τὰ φυτὰ δεδημιουργῆσθαι γενέσεως καρποῦ χάριν.  
 75 οὕτως οὖν ἔφασαν καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ δεῖν τὴν τε  
 φυσικὴν καὶ λογικὴν πραγματείαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν  
 ἀναφέρεσθαι, ἥ βελτιοῦται τὸ ἦθος κτήσεως ὁμοῦ

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 70-75

is best. So then the first set of signs delineated the 70 lover of learning, the meteorologist, while those just sketched reveal the wisdom-lover or rather the wise. Cease then to suppose that the Deity's gift was a change of name, instead of a betterment of character symbolized thereby. Him who was erstwhile busied 71 in the study of the nature of heaven—the astrologer as some call him—He summoned to a partnership in virtue and both made him and named him wise, giving to the spiritual outlook thus recast the title of Abraham, as the Hebrews would call it, and in our language, Elect Father of Sound. For what purpose, 72 He asks, do you investigate the rhythmic movements and revolutions of the stars? Why this great leap from earth up to the realm of ether? Is it just to busy yourself in idle labour with what is there? And what good can result from all that idle busying? How will it serve to subdue the urge of pleasure, to overthrow the power of lust, to suppress fear or grief? What surgery has it for passions which agitate and confound the soul? Just as there is no use for 73 trees, if they are not capable of bearing fruit, so too also with nature-study, if it is not going to bring the acquisition of virtue. For virtue is its fruit, and 74 therefore some of the ancients, comparing the study of philosophy to a field, likened the physical part to plants, the logical to the walls and fences, and the ethical to the fruit.<sup>a</sup> They considered that the walls 75 round the field are built by the owners to guard the fruit and the trees grown to produce it, and that in the same way in philosophy physical and logical research should be brought to bear on ethics by which

<sup>a</sup> See *De Agr.* 14 and *Leg. All.* i. 57, and notes.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δὲ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀπολαμβάντες.

## PHILO

76 καὶ χρήσεως ἀρετῆς ἐφιέμενον. τοιαῦτα ἐδιδάχθημεν περὶ τοῦ λόγῳ μὲν μετονομασθέντος, ἔργῳ δὲ μεταβαλόντος ἀπὸ φυσιολογίας πρὸς τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μεταναστάντος ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρίας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πεποηκότος ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἧς εὐσέβειαν, κτημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἐκτήσατο.

77 XI. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρας νῦν ἐροῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μετονομάζεται εἰς Σάρραν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς στοιχείου πρόσθεσιν τοῦ ῥῶ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ τυγχάνοντα μηνυτέον·  
 [590] ἐρμηνεύεται Σάρα μὲν | ἀρχή μου, Σάρρα δὲ  
 78 ἄρχουσα. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον εἰδικῆς σύμβολον ἀρετῆς ἐστι, τὸ δ' ὕστερον γενικῆς. ὅσω δὲ γένος εἶδους διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ ἔλαττον, τοσοῦτῳ τὸ δεύτερον ὄνομα τοῦ προτέρου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶδος καὶ βραχὺ καὶ φθαρτόν, τὸ δὲ γένος πολὺ τε αὐ  
 79 καὶ ἄφθαρτον. βούλεται δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ μικρῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀθάνατα χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐμπρεπὲς αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. ἡ μὲν <γὰρ> ἐν τῷ σπουδαίῳ φρόνησις αὐτοῦ μόνου ἐστὶν ἀρχή, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι ὁ ἔχων, εἰ λέγοι· ἀρχή μου ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνησις· ἡ δὲ ταύτην τυπώσασα, ἡ γενικὴ φρόνησις, οὐκέτι τοῦ δεινός ἐστὶν ἀρχή,  
 80 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀρχή. τοιγαροῦν ἐκείνη μὲν ἢ ἐν εἶδει τῷ ἔχοντι συμφθαρῆσεται, ἢ δὲ σφραγίδος τρόπον αὐτὴν τυπώσασα παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένη θνητοῦ διατελέσει πρὸς αἰῶνα ἄφθαρτος. οὕτω καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν αἰ μὲν ἐν εἶδει συναπόλλυνται τοῖς κτησαμένοις, γεωμέτραις, γραμματικοῖς, μουσικοῖς· αἰ δὲ γενικαὶ μένουσιν ἀνώλεθροι. προσ-



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 75-80

the character is bettered and yearns to acquire and also to make use of virtue. This is how we have 76 learned to regard the story of Abraham. Literally his name was changed, actually he changed over from nature-study to ethical philosophy and abandoned the study of the world to find a new home in the knowledge of its Maker, and from this he gained piety, the most splendid of possessions.

XI. We will now deal with the case of Sarah his 77 wife. Her name Sarai (*Σάρα*) is changed to Sarah (*Σάρρα*) by the addition of one letter, rho. These are the names, now for the facts<sup>a</sup> indicated by them. Sarai means my sovereignty, Sarah sovereign. The 78 former is a symbol of specific virtue, the latter of generic, and in the same measure as the genus is greater than the species is the second name greater than the former. The species is small and perishable, the genus is large and imperishable. And the gifts 79 which God wills to bestow are great and immortal in exchange for small and perishable, and to give such is a work well suited to Him. Wisdom in the good man is a sovereignty vested in himself alone, and its possessor will not err if he says "The wisdom in me is my sovereignty." But in the wisdom which is its archetype, the generic wisdom, we cease to have the sovereignty of the particular individual, but sovereignty its very self. And therefore that specific 80 wisdom will perish with its possessor, while the other which like a seal gave it its shape, being free from all mortal element, will continue for ever imperishable. So too with the arts: the specific arts perish with their owners, the geometricians, the grammarians, the musicians: the generic arts remain imperishable.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 589.

## PHILO

υπογράφει δὲ ἀναδιδάσκων ἐν ταυτῷ, ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ βασιλὶς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄρχουσα καὶ ἡγεμονεύουσα τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων.

- 81 XII. Ἴακῶβ καὶ τὸν Ἰακῶβ μετονομάζεσθαι συμβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἰακῶβ πτερνιστής, ὁ δὲ Ἰσραήλ ὄρων τὸν θεὸν καλεῖται. πτερνιστοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἀσκοῦντος ἀρετὴν τὰς βάσεις τοῦ πάθους, αἷς ἐφίδρυσται, καὶ εἴ τι ὄχυρόν καὶ ἰδρυμένον ἐν αὐταῖς κινεῖν καὶ σαλεύειν καὶ ἀνατρέπειν—ταῦτα δὲ οὐ δίχα ἀγωνίας ἀκονιτὶ<sup>1</sup> φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τις τοὺς φρονήσεως ἄθλους διαθλῶν γυμνάζηται τε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς γυμνάσματα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους καὶ τραχηλίζοντας αὐτὴν λογισμοὺς παλαίη,—τοῦ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ὄρωντος τὸ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος ἀστεφάνωτον ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ
- 82 τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ βραβεῖα ἄρασθαι. τίς δ' ἂν εὐανθέστερος καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερος πλέκοιτο νικηφόρῳ ψυχῇ στέφανος ἢ δι' οὗ τὸν ὄντα δυνήσεται θεωρεῖν ὀξυδερκῶς; καλόν γε ἀσκητικῇ ψυχῇ πρόκειται τὸ ἄθλον, ἐνομματωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μόνου θεᾶς ἀξίου τηλαυγῆ κατανόησιν.
- 83 XIII. Ἄξιον δὲ ἀπορηῆσαι, διὰ τί ὁ μὲν Ἀβραάμ, ἀφ' οὗ μετωνομάσθη, τῆς αὐτῆς προσρήσεως ἀξιούται μηκέτι καλούμενος ὀνόματι τῷ προτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ Ἰακῶβ προσρηθεὶς Ἰσραήλ οὐδὲν ἤττον αὐθις
- [591] πάλιν Ἰακῶβ ἐπὶ πλεόν ὀνομάζεται. | λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα χαρακτῆρές εἰσιν, οἷς ἡ διδακτικὴ
- 84 τῆς ἀσκητικῆς ἀρετῆς διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διδασκαλία βελτιωθεὶς, εὐμοίρου λαχῶν φύσεως, ἡ περιποιεῖ τὸ ἄληστον αὐτῷ διὰ συνεργοῦ μνήμης,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπονητὶ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 80-84

Incidentally another lesson suggested at the same time is that every virtue is a queen and a sovereign and a ruler of the course of human life.

XII. We shall also find that the change of Jacob's 81 name to Israel is much to the purpose. Why so? Because Jacob is the supplanter, and Israel he who sees God. It is the task of a supplanter in the practice of virtue to disturb and shake and upset the supports on which passion rests, and all the firmness and stability which they have. That is a work which cannot commonly be done without hard effort and the stains of the arena, but only when one maintains the contests of wisdom to the end, and drilled in the gymnastics of the soul wrestles with the thoughts which oppose and hold it fast in their grip. The task of him who sees God is not to leave the sacred arena uncrowned, but carry off the prizes of victory. And 82 what garland more fitting for its purpose or of richer flowers could be woven for the victorious soul than the power which will enable him to behold the Existent with clear vision? Surely that is a glorious guerdon to offer to the athlete-soul, that it should be endowed with eyes to apprehend in bright light Him Who alone is worthy of our contemplation.

XIII. It is worth inquiring why Abraham, after 83 the change of name, is not called by his old name, but always receives the same title as his right, whereas Jacob, after he is addressed as Israel, is in spite of this called Jacob many and many a time. We must reply that these are signs differing according as virtue acquired by teaching differs from virtue acquired by practice. He who is improved through 84 teaching, being endowed with a happy nature, which with the co-operation of memory assures his retentive-

## PHILO

μονῆ<sup>1</sup> χρήται, ὧν ἔμαθεν ἀπρίξ ἐπειλημμένος καὶ  
 βεβαίως περιεχόμενος· ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς ἐπειδὴν γυμνά-  
 σηται συντόνως, διαπνεῖ πάλιν καὶ ὑπανίεται, συλ-  
 λεγόμενος καὶ ἀνακτώμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν  
 τεθρυμμένην<sup>2</sup> δύναμιν, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ τὰ σώματα  
 ἀλειφόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν  
 καμώντες, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς αὐτοῖς ἀπορρα-  
 γεῖεν αἱ δυνάμεις διὰ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ σύντονον τῆς  
 85 ἀθλήσεως, ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν  
 διδαχθεὶς ἀθανάτω χρώμενος ὑποβολεῖ τὴν ὠφέ-  
 λειαν ἔναυλον καὶ ἀθάνατον ἴσχει, μὴ τρεπόμενος·  
 ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς καὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον ἔχων αὐτὸ μόνον  
 καὶ τοῦτο γυμνάζων καὶ συγκροτῶν, ἵνα τὸ οἰκεῖον  
 πάθος τῷ γενητῷ καταβάλλῃ,<sup>3</sup> κἂν τελειωθῆ, καμῶν  
 86 πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπάνεισι γένος. τλητικώτερος μὲν  
 γὰρ οὗτος, εὐτυχέστερος δ' ἐκεῖνος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 χρήται διδασκάλῳ ἐτέρῳ, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ζητεῖ τε  
 καὶ σκέπτεται καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖ, μετὰ σπουδῆς  
 ἐρευνῶν τὰ φύσεως, ἀδιαστάτῳ χρώμενος καὶ  
 87 συνεχεῖ πόνω. διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Ἀβραάμ, ἐπειδὴ  
 μένειν ἔμελλεν ἐν ὁμοίῳ, μετωνόμασεν ὁ ἄτρεπτος  
 θεός, ἵν' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐστῶτος καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ  
 ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος τὸ μέλλον στήσεσθαι παγίως  
 ἰδρυθῆ, τὸν δὲ Ἰακώβ ἄγγελος ὑπηρέτης τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 λόγος, ἵν' ὁμολογηθῆ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν μετὰ τὸ ὄν  
 ἀκλινούς καὶ ἀρρεπούς αἴτιον βεβαιότητος, ἀλλ'  
 ἀρμονίας τῆς ὡς ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῷ περιεχούσης

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μόνη.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τεθρυμμένην.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. μεταβάλλη.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 84-87

ness, gets a tight grip and a firm armhold of what he has learned and thus remains constant. The Practiser on the other hand, after strenuous exercise, takes a breathing-space and a relaxation while he collects and recovers the force which has been enfeebled by his labours. In this he resembles the athletes who anoint their bodies. When they are weary with exercise they pour oil upon their limbs to prevent their forces being utterly shattered by the intensity and severity of the contest.

Again, the Man of Teaching has to aid him the voice 85 of his monitor ringing in his ears, deathless as that monitor himself, and thus never swerves : the Man of Practice has only his own will which he exercises and drills to aid him to overthrow the passion natural to created being, and, even if he reaches the consummation, yet through weariness he returns to his old kind. He is more patient of toil, the other more blessed by 86 fortune. This last has another for his teacher, while the toiler, self-helped only, is busied in searching and inquiring and zealously exploring the secrets of nature, engaged in labour ceaseless and unremitting. Therefore did Abraham in token of the even tenor 87 of his future life receive his new name from God, the unchangeable, that the stability of his future might be set on a firm foundation by Him Who stands and is ever the same in nature and condition. But Jacob was re-named by an angel, God's minister, the Word, in acknowledgement that what is below the Existent cannot produce permanence unswerving and unwavering, but only such harmony as is found in a musical instrument wherein the tones now stretched to a

## PHILO

ἐπιτάσεις καὶ ἀνέσεις φθόγγων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μέλους ἔντεχνον κρᾶσιν.

- 88 XIV. Ἄλλα τριῶν ὄντων τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄκροι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ δὲ μέσος Ἰσαὰκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔλαχεν εἰς αἰὲ προσρήσεως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἡ μὲν διδακτικῆ<sup>1</sup> ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀσκητικὴ δέχονται τὰ πρὸς βελτίωσιν — ἐφίεται γὰρ δὴ ὁ μὲν διδασκόμενος ἐπιστήμης ὧν ἀγνοεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀσκήσει χρώμενος στεφάνων καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἀθλῶν φιλοπόνῳ καὶ φιλοθεάμονι ψυχῇ, — τὸ δ' αὐτοδίδακτον καὶ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ἅτε φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσει συνιστάμενον, ἐξ [592] ἀρχῆς ἴσον καὶ τέλειον καὶ ἄρτιον ἠνέχθη, | μηδενὸς ἐνδέοντος τῶν εἰς πλήρωσιν ἀριθμοῦ.

- 89 Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁ τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτηδείων προστάτης Ἰωσήφ· ἀλλάττει γὰρ τοῦνομα, Ψονθομφανήχ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς χώρας βασιλέως ἐπικληθείς. ὃν δὲ λόγον ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα, μηνυτέον. Ἰωσήφ ἐρμηνεύεται πρόσθεμα· προσθήκη δ' ἐστὶ τῶν φύσει τὰ θέσει, χρυσός, ἄργυρος, κτήματα, πρόσοδοι, οἰκετῶν θεραπείαι, κειμηλίων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας ἄφθονοι ὕλαι, τῶν ἡδονῆς  
90 ποιητικῶν ἀμύχανοι τὸ πλήθος παρασκευαί. ὧν τὸν ποριστὴν καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν Ἰωσήφ ὀνόματι εὐθυβόλῳ καλεῖσθαι συμβέβηκε πρόσθεμα, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἕξωθεν ἐπεισοδιαζομένων καὶ προστιθεμένων τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν προστασίαν ἀνῆπται. μαρτυροῦσι

<sup>1</sup> mss. διδακτῆ, which might be retained, cf. § 263.

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<sup>a</sup> Literally “as in a musical instrument containing heightenings and lowerings of notes to the artistic blending of melody.”

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 87-90

high pitch, now relaxed to a low, are blended into melody by the artist's skill.<sup>a</sup>

XIV. Again, while the race has three founders it 88 is the first and last of these, Abraham and Jacob, whose names were changed, while the middle founder, Isaac, has the same name throughout. Why is this? Because both the scholar's form of virtue and the practiser's are open to improving influences, since the former desires to know what he is ignorant of, the latter desires crowns of victory and the prizes offered to a soul which rejoices to toil and seek the vision of the truth. On the other hand the kind which has no teacher or pupil but itself, being made what it is by nature rather than by diligence, goes on its way from the first equal and perfect like an even number<sup>b</sup> with no other needed as complement.

Not so with the controller of bodily necessities, 89 Joseph. For he changes his name and receives the title of Psonthomphanech<sup>c</sup> (Gen. xli. 45) from the king of the country. The meaning of this also needs explanation. Joseph is by interpretation "addition," and conventional goods are an adjunct of natural goods. The former are such as gold, silver, chattels, revenues, services of menials, abundant stocks of heirlooms and furniture and all other luxuries, and the instruments of pleasure ready to hand in numberless forms. The provider and superintendent of these, 90 Joseph, is found to have the appropriate name of "Addition," since he is invested with the direction of the imported adventitious wealth which is an addition to the natural. This is attested by the

<sup>b</sup> ἀπτερον here combines its ordinary sense of "perfect" or "complete" with its technical use for an "even" number.

<sup>c</sup> Hebrew and E.V. Zaphenath-paneah.

## PHILO

- δ' οἱ χρησιμοὶ δηλοῦντες ὅτι τὰς τροφὰς τῆς  
 σωματικῆς χώρας ἀπάσης, Αἰγύπτου, θησαυρισά-  
 91 μενος ἐσιτάρχει. XV. τοιοῦτος μὲν τις  
 ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῶν γνωρισμάτων γνωρίζεται· ὁ δὲ  
 Ψονθομφανήχ ποιός ἐστι, θεασώμεθα. ἐρμηνεύεται  
 οὖν ἐν ἀποκρίσει στόμα κρίνον. οἶεται γὰρ πᾶς  
 ἄφρων τὸν πολυχρήματον καὶ περιρρεόμενον ταῖς  
 ἐκτὸς οὐσίαις εὐθύς εἶναι καὶ εὐλόγιστον, ἱκανὸν  
 μὲν πρὸς ἃ ἂν πύθηται τις ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἱκανὸν  
 δὲ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμας εἰσηγήσασθαι συμ-  
 φερούσας, καὶ συνόλως τὸ φρόνιμον ἐν τῷ τυχηρῷ  
 τίθεται, δέον ἔμπαλιν τὸ τυχηρὸν ἐν τῷ φρονίμῳ·  
 ἄξιον γὰρ τὸ ἄστατον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἠνιοχεῖσθαι.  
 92 καὶ μὴν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ὁμο-  
 γάστριον ὁ μὲν πατὴρ Βενιαμίν, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ υἱὸν  
 ὀδύνης προσαγορεύει, φυσικώτατα· μεταληφθεὶς  
 γὰρ ὁ Βενιαμίν ἐστὶν υἱὸς ἡμερῶν, ἡμέρα δὲ τῷ  
 ἀφ' ἡλίου αἰσθητῷ φωτὶ καταλάμπεται, τούτῳ δὲ  
 93 τὴν κενὴν δόξαν ἐξομοιοῦμεν. ἔχει γάρ τινα λαμ-  
 πρότητα αἰσθητὴν ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ  
 ἀγελαίων ἐπαίνοις, ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις ψηφί-  
 σμασιν, ἐν ταῖς ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων ἀναθέσεσιν,  
 ἐν πορφύραις καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς, ἐν ἄρμασι  
 καὶ τεθρίποισι καὶ παραπομπαῖς ὄχλων. ὁ τού-  
 των οὖν ζηλωτῆς εἰκότως υἱὸς ἡμερῶν, αἰσθητοῦ  
 [593] φέγγους καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν | κενὴν δόξαν λαμ-  
 94 πρότητος, ὠνομάσθη. τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος λόγος  
 καὶ πατὴρ ὄντως εὐθυβόλον καὶ κύριον ὄνομα αὐτῷ  
 τίθεται, ἡ δὲ παθοῦσα ψυχὴ τὸ ᾧ πέπονθεν ἀρμότ-  
 τον· ὀδύνης γὰρ υἱὸν καλεῖ. διὰ τί; ὅτι οἱ ἐν



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 90-94

oracles which state that he stored up the food and managed the provisioning of the whole land (*ibid.* 48) of the body. XV. Such a character the 91 tokens given lead us to find in Joseph. Let us consider the nature of Psonthomphanech. His name means "mouth which judges in answer." For every fool thinks that the man of wealth who lives surrounded by a sea of outward kinds of substance must of necessity be able to reason aright, be capable of answering questions put to him and capable of originating judgements of value. And in general the fool holds wisdom to be subordinate to chance, instead of chance to wisdom, as he should do, since the unstable ought to be guided on its course by the stable. And also his uterine brother 92 is addressed by his father as Benjamin and by his mother as Son of sorrow, and that is true to facts. For Benjamin by interpretation is Son of days, and the day is illumined by the sunlight visible to our senses, to which we liken vainglory. Such glory has 93 a certain brilliance to the outward sense, in the laudations bestowed by the vulgar multitude, in the decrees which are enacted, in the dedications of statues and images, in purple robes and golden crowns, in chariots and four-horse cars and crowded processions. He who affects these things was with good reason named the Son of days, that is of the visible light and of the brilliance of vainglory. This name 94 which exactly expresses the fact is given him by his father the head of the house, the reason. But the soul gives him the one that agrees with the experience by which she herself has learned. She calls him a son of sorrow. Why? Because those

## PHILO

- ταῖς κεναῖς φερόμενοι<sup>1</sup> δόξαις ὑπολαμβάνονται μὲν  
 95 εὐδαιμονεῖν, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ κακοδαιμονοῦσι. τὰ  
 γὰρ ἀντιπνέοντα πολλά, βασκανία, φθόνοι, συνεχεῖς  
 ἔριδες, φιλονεικίαι ἀκατάλλακτοι μέχρι θανάτου,  
 δυσμένειαι παισὶ παίδων κατὰ διαδοχὰς παρα-  
 96 διδόμεναι, κλῆρος οὐ κτητός. ἀναγκαίως οὖν ὁ  
 θεοφράδμων ἐν αὐταῖς ὠδίσιν ἀποθνήσκουσαν, ἣ  
 τίκτει κενοδοξίαν, παρέστησεν. “ἀπέθανε” γάρ  
 φησι “Ῥαχὴλ δυστοκήσασα,” ἐπειδὴ τῷ ὄντι  
 ψυχῆς ἔστι θάνατος δόξης αἰσθητῆς καὶ κενῆς  
 σπορά τε καὶ γέννησις.
- 97 XVI. Τί δ’; οἱ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ παῖδες, Ἐφραΐμ  
 τε καὶ Μανασσῆς, οὐ πάνυ φυσικῶς ἐξωμοιοῦντο  
 δυσὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις υἱοῖς τοῦ Ἰακώβ, Ῥουβὴν  
 τε καὶ Συμεών; λέγει γάρ. “οἱ δύο υἱοί σου, οἱ  
 γενόμενοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πρὸ τοῦ με ἔλθειν εἰς  
 Αἴγυπτον, ἐμοί εἰσιν. Ἐφραΐμ καὶ Μανασσῆς ὡς  
 Ῥουβὴν καὶ Συμεών ἔσονται μοι.” τίνα οὖν  
 τρόπον οἱ δύο τοῖς δυσὶν ἐφαρμόζονται, θεασώμεθα.
- 98 Ῥουβὴν μὲν σύμβολον εὐφυΐας ἐστίν—ἐρμηνεύεται  
 γὰρ ὄρων υἱός—ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ὁ εὐθιξία καὶ εὐφυΐα  
 χρώμενος ὁρατικός,—Ἐφραΐμ δέ, ὡς πολλάκις  
 εἶπομεν ἐν ἑτέροις, μνήμη—μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ  
 ἐστὶ καρποφορία, καρπὸς δὲ ψυχῆς ἄριστος ἢ  
 μνήμη—συγγενὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον οὕτως [τῷ]
- 99 ἑτέρῳ, ὡς εὐφυεῖ<sup>2</sup> τὸ μεμνήσθαι. πάλιν ὁ Συμεών

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey, φερόμενοι, cf. *De Ebr.* 57 τίς . . .  
 τῶν ἔτι φυρομένων ἐν κεναῖς δόξαις;

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps <τῷ> εὐφυεῖ.

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<sup>a</sup> As noted in the Introduction, §§ 97-102 are obviously  
 irrelevant, as none of the four persons discussed have any

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 94-99

who are swept along by the current of empty opinion are thought to be happy, but are in reality most unhappy, for many are the counterblasts, envy, 95 jealousies, continuous quarrelling, rancorous enmities unreconciled till death, feuds handed down successively to children's children, an inheritance which cannot be possessed. And so God's interpreter 96 could not but represent the mother of vainglory as dying in the very pangs of childbirth. Rachel died, we read, in hard labour (Gen. xxxv. 16, 19), for the conception and birth of vainglory, the creature of sense, is in reality the death of the soul.

XVI. Again, when the sons of Joseph, Ephraim 97 and Manasseh, were likened to the two elder sons of Jacob, Reuben and Simeon, have we not something perfectly true to nature? <sup>a</sup> Jacob says, "Thy two sons who were born in Egypt before I came to Egypt are mine. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me" (Gen. xlviii. 5). Let us observe how the two pairs tally with each other. Reuben, whose name is by interpretation "Seeing 98 son," is the symbol of natural excellence, because the man who enjoys facility of apprehension and natural excellence is endowed with sight. Ephraim, as we have often said elsewhere, <sup>b</sup> is the symbol of memory. For he is by interpretation "Fruit-bearing," and memory is the best fruit of the soul. And no two things can be so close akin as memory and natural excellence. Again, Simeon is another 99

change of name. The only link is that they show how different names symbolize contrasting qualities. Possibly the thought is partly induced by the proximity of the two sons of Rachel, *cf.* the digression in *Quis Rer.* 252-266.

<sup>b</sup> See *Leg. All.* iii. 91 f., *De Sobr.* 27 f., *De Mig.* 205 f., *De Cong.* 40 f.

## PHILO

- ὄνομα μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας ἐστίν—εἰσακοή  
 γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται,—μανθάνοντος δ' ἴδιον ἀκούειν  
 τε καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς  
 ἀναμνήσεως σύμβολον· καλεῖται γὰρ ἐκ λήθης.
- 100 τῷ δ' ἐκ λήθης ἔξω προϊόντι συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἀναμνησθεσθαι· μαθήσεως δὲ ἀνά-  
 μνησις οἰκείον. πολλάκις γὰρ τοῦ μανθάνοντος  
 ἀπορρεῖ τὰ θεωρήματα μὴ δυναμένου δι' ἀσθένειαν  
 κρατεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπαναπλεῖ. τὸ μὲν  
 οὖν τῆς ἀπορροῆς πάθος ὀνομάζεται λήθη, τὸ δὲ
- 101 τῆς παλιρροίας ἀνάμνησις. ἄρ' οὐ προσφυῶς  
 εὐφυῖα μὲν [ἧ] μνήμη, μαθήσει δὲ ἀνάμνησις ἐφ-  
 αρμόζεται; καὶ μὴν ὃν λόγον ἔχει Συμεὼν πρὸς  
 Ῥουβήν, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μάθησις πρὸς φύσιν, τοῦτον  
 ἔχει λόγον Μανασσῆς πρὸς Ἐφραῖμ, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ
- 102 πρὸς μνήμην ἀνάμνησις. ὡς γὰρ τὸ εὐφυές ἄμεινον  
 τοῦ μανθάνοντος — τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ὀράσει, τὸ
- [594] δὲ ἀκοῇ· ἀκοῇ δὲ ὀράσεως | τὰ δευτέρα φέρεται,—  
 οὕτω τὸ μνημονικὸν τοῦ ἀναμνησκομένου παν-  
 ταχοῦ κρεῖττον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν λήθη κέκραται, τὸ δὲ  
 ἀμιγές καὶ ἄκρατον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους διαμένει.
- 103 XVII. Καὶ μὴν τὸν γε τοῦ ἀρχιπροφήτου πεν-  
 θερὸν τοτὲ μὲν Ἰσθὸρ τοτὲ δὲ Ῥαγουήλ οἱ χρησιμοὶ  
 καλοῦσιν· Ἰσθὸρ μὲν, ὅταν τῦφος εὐήμερῃ· μετα-  
 ληφθεὶς γὰρ ἐστὶ περισσός, περιττὸν δὲ ἀψευδεῖ  
 βίῳ τῦφος, γέλωτα μὲν τὰ ἴσα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τῷ  
 βίῳ τιθέμενος, τὰ δὲ πλεονεξίας ἄνισα σεμνύνων.
- 104 οὗτος καὶ ἀνθρώπεια θείων καὶ ἔθνη νόμων καὶ  
 βέβηλα ἱερῶν καὶ θνητὰ ἀθανάτων καὶ συνόλως τὸ  
 δοκεῖν τοῦ εἶναι προτιμῶ. καὶ ἐπιτολμήσας αὐτο-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 99-104

name for learning and teaching, since Simeon is by interpretation "hearing," and it is the peculiar mark of the learner that he hears and attends to what is said, while Manasseh is the symbol of recollection, for his name is "From forgetfulness." The advance 100 from forgetfulness necessarily involves recollection, and recollection is akin to learning. For what he has acquired often floats away from the learner's mind, because in his weakness he is unable to retain it, and then emerges and starts again. When it flows away we say he is in a state of forgetfulness, and when it returns we call it a state of recollection. Surely then memory closely corresponds to natural 101 excellence and recollection to learning. And the same relation which Simeon or learning bears to Reuben or nature is borne by Manasseh or recollection to Ephraim or memory. For just as natural 102 excellence which resembles sight is better than learning which resembles hearing, the inferior of sight, so memory is in every way the superior of recollection, since while that is mixed with forgetfulness memory remains from first to last free from mixture or contamination.

XVII. Again, the chief prophet's father-in-law is 103 sometimes called in the oracles Jethro and sometimes Raguel. He is Jethro when vanity is flourishing, for Jethro is by interpretation "superfluous," and vanity is to the verities of life a superfluity deriding as it does equalities and the mere necessities of life and glorifying surplusage and inequality.<sup>a</sup> Jethro values 104 the human above the divine, custom above laws, profane above sacred, mortal above immortal, and in general seeming above being. And he ventures

<sup>a</sup> Or "the inequalities produced by covetousness."

## PHILO

κέλευστος εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου παρέρχεται τάξιν, ὑφηγούμενος τῷ σοφῷ μὴ<sup>1</sup> ἀναδιδάσκειν ἅ μόνα μανθάνειν ἄξιον, “ τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον,” ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνθρώπων συμβόλαια, τῆς ἀκοινωνήτου σχεδὸν αἷτια κοινω- νίας. καὶ ὁ μέγας πάντα πειθαρχεῖ, νομίσας ἀρ- μόττον εἶναι μικροῖς μὲν τὰ μικρά, μεγάλοις δὲ  
 105 τὰ μεγάλα δίκαια τίθεσθαι. μεταβαλὼν δὲ πολ- λάκις ὁ δοκησισοφος οὗτος καὶ μεταβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων, ἃ δὴ τυφλὸς ἔλαχεν ἠνιοχεῖν, ἀναζη- τήσας τὴν θείαν ἀγέλην μέρος οὐ μεμπτὸν αὐτῆς γίνεται, θαυμάσας τῆς φύσεως τὸν ἀγελάρχην καὶ τῆς ἐπιστασίας ἀγάμενος, ἧ<sup>2</sup> χρῆται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θρεμμάτων<sup>2</sup> ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ  
 106 ‘Ραγουήλ ποιμασία θεοῦ. XVIII. τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον εἴρηται, τὰς δὲ πίστεις ὑφηγησεται. πρῶτον μὲν θεραπευτὴν αὐτὸν κρίσεως καὶ δίκης

<sup>1</sup> Wendland [μὴ] ἀναδιδάσκειν . . . <μὴ> τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. So also Mangey, more doubtfully. See note <sup>a</sup> below.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. σχημάτων.

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<sup>a</sup> The suggestion of Mangey and Wendland to explain away this extraordinary perversion of the story of Jethro's visit to Moses by transferring the negatives seems to me quite untenable. If it brings the passage into better agreement with the LXX, it does so at the cost of making nonsense of the whole, by representing something which is to Jethro's credit as being to his discredit. Moreover, the text as it stands substantially agrees with the account of the interview given more shortly in *De Ebr.* 37. Philo apparently gets his interpretation by stopping short at v. 17 of Ex. xviii. and ignoring the rest. Moses has said that he teaches the people “the ordinances of God and the law,” and Jethro replies οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖς. The sequel goes on to shew that Jethro means that Moses should employ subordinates for

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## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 104-106

to come self-bidden and take the position of an adviser and suggests to the sage that he should not teach the only thing worth learning, the ordinances of God and the law, but the contracts which men make with each other, which as a rule produce dealings where the partners have no real partnership.<sup>a</sup> And the great ones <sup>b</sup> of the earth accept all he says, and think that it is right to give great justice to the great and little justice to the little.<sup>c</sup> Yet often this 105  
wiseacre changes round and leaves the flock which had him in his blindness for their leader: he seeks the herd of God and becomes therein a member without reproach, so much does he admire the nature of its herdsman and reverence the skill in governing which he shews in the charge of his flock. For the meaning of Raguel (Ex. ii. 18) is "the shepherding of God." XVIII. I have stated the sum 106  
of the matter, Moses will shew us the proofs. In the first place he describes him as one who honours

minor matters, and the last part of § 104 seems to be a vague reproduction of this, but completely twisted, whether through perversity or lapse of memory, so as to describe a policy of injustice called in *De Ebr.* "playing the demagogue, and laying down laws contrary to the laws of nature."

<sup>b</sup> *Prima facie* no doubt we should take ὁ μέγας as meaning Moses, particularly as Moses in the story does accept Jethro's suggestion. But in view of the impossibility of Philo ascribing to Moses the acceptance of such advice, I take it generically, and this fits in with the evidently intended antithesis to μεγάλοις μεγάλα.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek might mean "assigns important administrations of justice, etc.," but here again the overwhelming argument of the necessity of discrediting Jethro demands the translation given. Philo is perhaps thinking of Deut. i. 17, and xxiv. 13-16, where the thought suggested in the translation appears.

## PHILO

- εἰσηγεῖται· ἡ γὰρ προσηγορία τῆς Μαδιὰμ μετα-  
ληφθεῖσα ἐκ κρίσεως ὀνομάζεται. διττὸν δὲ τοῦτο.  
δηλοῖ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἔκκρισιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν, ἡ καὶ  
τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας λεγο-  
μένους εἴωθε συμβαίνειν· μυρίοι γὰρ ἀνεπιτήδευοι  
φανέντες ἤδη πρὸς τῶν ἀθλοθετῶν ἐξεκρίθησαν.  
107 οὔτοι [τε] τελεταῖς ἀνιέροις ταῖς Βεελφεγῶρ τελε-  
σθέντες καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος στόμα<sup>1</sup> πάντα εὐ-  
[595] ρύναντες πρὸς τὴν | τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιχειομένων ρευ-  
μάτων ὑποδοχὴν—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Βεελφεγῶρ  
ἀνωτέρω στόμα δέρματος—κατέκλυσαν τὸν ἡγε-  
μόνα νοῦν καὶ ἀφείσαν<sup>2</sup> εἰς βυθὸν ἔσχατον, ὡς μηδ’  
ἀνανήξασθαι μηδὲ μικρὸν ὅσον δυνηθῆναι ἀνασχεῖν·  
108 καὶ τοῦτο ἔπαθεν, ἕως ὃ εἰρηνικὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ  
θεοῦ τρανός, Φινεές, ὑπέρμαχος αὐτοκέλευστος  
ἦλθε, φύσει μισοπόνηρος ὢν καὶ ζήλῳ τῶν καλῶν  
κατεσχημένος· ᾧ σειρομάστην λαβόντι, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν  
ἡκονημένον καὶ ὄξυν λόγον, μαστεύειν καὶ ἀνα-  
ζητεῖν ἕκαστα ἰκανόν, ἐξεγένετο μὴ φενακισθῆναι,  
ῥώμη δὲ καρτερᾶ χρησαμένῳ κατακεντηῆσαι διὰ  
τῆς μήτρας τὸ πάθος, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔτι κακὸν θεήλατον  
109 τίκτη. πρὸς τούτους καὶ ὁ μέγιστος ἐνίσταται τῷ  
ὀρατικῷ γένει πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ τῶν διαγωνισαμένων

<sup>1</sup> mss. στόματα.

<sup>2</sup> So Wend. for mss. ἐπήεσαν: better perhaps as Mangey ἐπίεσαν.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* ἐκ κρίσεως may be taken as a single word ἐκκρίσεως, or as “belonging to judgement,” though in ἐκ λήθης (§ 100) the ἐκ is supposed to indicate the opposite of the noun.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 589.

<sup>c</sup> Or “mouth above skin” (or “leather,” *cf.* δερμάτων ἄγκον Βεελφεγῶρ, *De Conf.* 55). I take the application to be that δέρμα indicates the body, and, if the form given in the



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 106-109

judgement and justice. For the word Midian when translated appears as "from judgement or sifting." This has a twofold significance.<sup>a</sup> It means in one sense sifting out and sifting off, which we often see in the case of those who enter for the so-called sacred games.<sup>b</sup> For thousands of these who have been judged to be unfit have been known to be sifted out by the stewards. Midianites, in this sense, initiated 107 in the unholy rites of Baal Peor (Num. xxv. 3), and widening all the orifices of the body to receive the streams which pour in from outside (for the meaning of Baal Peor is "mouth of skin above"<sup>c</sup>), flood the ruling mind and sink it to the lowest depths, so that it cannot float up to the top or rise ever so little. And this was its condition until the Man of Peace, 108 an evident<sup>d</sup> priest of God, Phinehas (*ibid.* 12, 13), came a self-bidden champion. He is a hater of evil by nature and possessed by zeal for the good. And when he took the lance,<sup>e</sup> that is the sharp-edged word, able to probe and explore each thing, power was granted him, that duped by none and armed with mighty strength he should pierce passion through the womb, that it should henceforth bring to birth no plague of God's sending (*ibid.* 7, 8). It is against 109 these Midianites that the nation of vision sets on foot the greatest of wars in which none of their

translation is right, *ἀνωτέρω* suggests that in this case the body has usurped the superiority which belongs to the mind.

<sup>a</sup> A strange use of *τρανός*. No satisfactory emendation is suggested. Wend.'s *τρανός* <λόγος> is fairly satisfactory in itself, but the *λόγον* which follows is an objection.

<sup>e</sup> For *σειρομάστιν* and other points in this sentence see the parallels, *Leg. All.* iii. 242, *De Post.* 183, *De Ebr.* 73, and notes thereon.

## PHILO

- “ διεφώνησεν οὐδείς,” ἀλλ’ ἄτρωτος καὶ σῶος ἐπανήλθε, τοῖς νικητηρίοις ἀναδούμενος στεφάνοις.
- 110 XIX. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Μαδιὰμ ἐδηλοῦτο· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ κριτικὸν<sup>1</sup> καὶ δικαστικὸν εἶδος, ὃ καὶ κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκειοῦται γένει τῷ προφητικῷ. “ τῷ ἱερεῖ,” φησὶν οὖν, τῆς κρίσεως καὶ τῆς δίκης “ εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ θυγατέρες,” συμβολικῶς αἱ τοῦ ἀλόγου δυνάμεις, γονή τε καὶ φωνή καὶ
- 111 πατρός. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἑπτὰ δυνάμεων τούτων αἱ προβάσεις καὶ παρανξήσεις τοῦ πατρὸς νοῦ ταῖς ἐγγινομέναις καταλήψεσι συνίστανται. “ παραγενόμεναι ” δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκάστη, χρώματα μὲν καὶ σχήματα ὄρασις, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοή, ἀτμούς δὲ ὄσφρησις, χυλοὺς δὲ γεῦσις καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πρὸς τὰ ἀρμόττοντα ἑαυταῖς, “ ἀντλοῦσι ” τρόπον τινὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, “ ἕως ἂν πληρώσωσι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δεξαμενάς, ἐξ ὧν ποτίζουσι<sup>2</sup> τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρὸς,” τὴν καθαρωτάτην λέγω τοῦ λογισμοῦ ποιήμην, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον περιφέρουσιν ἐν ταύ-
- 112 τῷ. “ παραγενόμενοι ” δ’ οἱ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας ἑταῖροι, πονηρᾶς ἀγέλης ἡγεμόνες, ἐλαύνουσιν αὐτὰς τῆς κατὰ φύσιν χρήσεως. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἄγουσιν εἴσω πρὸς οἶα δικαστὴν καὶ βασιλέα τὸν νοῦν, ἢν’ ἄρχοντι χρώμεναι τῷ βελτίστῳ κατορ-
- 113 θῶσιν· οἱ δ’ ἀντικάθηνται διώκοντες καὶ τὰναντία παραγγέλλοντες, ἕξω<sup>3</sup> τὸν νοῦν ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κρεῖττον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πίνουσι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐξόν.

<sup>a</sup> See notes on *De Conf.* 56 and *De Ebr.* 114. Here there is no allusion to the original meaning of the word, and the derived sense of “is lost” may be given in the translation.

<sup>b</sup> *προβάσεις* evidently alludes to the idea that *πρόβατον* is

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 109-113

combatants was "lost"<sup>a</sup> (Num. xxxi. 49), but returned safe and unwounded, crowned with the garlands of victory.

XIX. The above is one of the 110 types indicated by the word Midian; another is the judicial, justice-dispensing type which by marriage is akin to the prophetic sort. "The priest" of judgment and justice, he says, "had seven daughters" (Ex. ii. 16). The daughters stand as a symbol for 111 the seven faculties of the unreasoning element, namely reproductive power, speech, and the five senses. "Daughters," it adds, "who kept the sheep of their father," for through these seven faculties come the advances<sup>b</sup> and growths which repeated apprehension produces in the father, the mind. Each of these faculties "arrives at" its own, sight at colours and forms, hearing at sounds, smell at scents, taste at flavours, and the others at the objects appropriate to each in particular. Each "draws up," so to speak, external objects of sense until they "fill the troughs" of the soul "from which they water the sheep of the father," and by these I mean the purest of flocks, the flock of reasoning which brings with it at once protection and adornment.<sup>c</sup> But then "arrive" the comrades of envy and malice, 112 the shepherds of an evil herd, and drive them from the uses prescribed by nature (*ibid.* 17). For whereas the daughters take outside objects inside to the mind, which is as it were their judge and king, hoping thus under the best of rulers to perform their duty aright, the others beset and pursue them and give the 113 opposite orders, namely that they should entice the

derived from *προβαίνω*, cf. *De Sac.* 112 *προκοπήs δὲ πρόβατον*,  
*ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, σύμβολον.*

<sup>c</sup> This is explained later in § 246.

## PHILO

- ἀγωγήμα παραδιδόναι τὰ φαινόμενα, μέχρις “ ἀνα-  
 [596] στὰς ” | ὁ τέως ἡρεμεῖν τρόπος δοκῶν φιλάρετος  
 καὶ ἐπιθειάσας, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς, ὑπερασπίσει καὶ  
 “ ῥύσεται αὐτὰς ” τῶν κατεχόντων, ποτίμοις λόγοις
- 114 θρέψας τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιμήνην. ἐκφυγοῦσαι δὲ  
 τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῶν διανοίας μὲν ἐχθρῶν, τὰ δὲ  
 περίπτα ὡσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ μόνα ἐξηλωκότων  
 οὐκέτι πρὸς Ἰοθόρ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥαγουήλ ἀφ-  
 ικνοῦνται. καταλελοίπασι μὲν γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τῦφον  
 συγγένειαν, ὑκείωνται δὲ ἀγωγῇ νομίμῳ, μοῖρα  
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης ἀξιῶσασαι γενέσθαι, ἧς ὁ θεῖος  
 ἀφηγεῖται λόγος, ὡς δηλοῖ τοῦνομα· ποιμασία γάρ
- 115 ἔστι θεοῦ. XX. ποιμήνης δ’ ἐπιμελουμένου τῆς  
 ἰδίας, ἐξ ἑτοίμου ἀγαθὰ πάρεστιν ἀθρόα τοῖς πειθα-  
 ροῦσι καὶ μὴ ἀφηγιάζουσι τῶν θρεμμάτων. ἄδεται  
 δὲ καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις ἄσμα τοιοῦτον· “ κύριος ποιμαίνει
- 116 με, καὶ οὐδὲν με ὑστερήσει.” πεύσεται<sup>1</sup> οὖν εἰκότως  
 ὁ ποιμένι (καὶ) βασιλεῖ χρώμενος τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ  
 νοῦς τῶν ἐπτὰ θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ· διὰ τί συν-  
 τεῖναι μετὰ πολλοῦ τάχους τήμερον ἀφίχθε;  
 πρότερον γὰρ ὅτ’ ἐνετυγχάνετε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πειστέον.

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<sup>a</sup> The thought is obscure. Cohn and Wend. proposed ἀγωγήμον παραδιδόναι τοῖς φαινόμενοις (or πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα). If the text is kept, I suggest that the thought may be that while the mind holds its proper seat, it makes the right use of αἰσθητά, but if it is enticed out into the body-loving region, αἰσθητά are used by it as slaves or prisoners. This would be brought out more clearly if we made the easy correction καὶ ἐκεῖ παραδιδόναι. But Mangey’s emendation of ποιμαίνε-  
 200

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 113-116

mind outside and there deliver over phenomena into its hand.<sup>a</sup> And in this way they will persist until the mind which loves virtue and is inspired by God, called Moses, shall "arise" from his former seeming quietude, protect and "save" the maidens from their subjugators, and nourish the flock of the father with words and thoughts, sweet as water to drink. And 114 when the maidens have escaped the onset of those who are the mind's enemies and have no aspiration but for the superfluities of life as though life were mere play-acting,<sup>b</sup> they return not now to Jethro but to Raguel. For they have discarded their kinship with vanity, and become affiliated to the guidance and rule of law,<sup>c</sup> resolved to become a part of the holy herd which is led by God's Word as its name shews, for Raguel means "the shepherding of God." XX. And since God cares for His own flock He has 115 ready at hand a multitude of gifts for those of His charges who obey Him and do not rebel. In the Psalms there is a hymn of this kind, "The Lord is my shepherd, and nothing shall be lacking to me" (Ps. xxiii. (xxii.) 1). So then we shall not be surprised 116 to find the mind which has the Divine Word for its shepherd and king asking of its seven daughters, "Why have ye returned with such speed and so eagerly to-day?" (Ex. ii. 18). For at other times when you visited the objects of sense you spent a *μενα* for *φαινόμενα* would greatly simplify the imagery and deserves all consideration. See App. pp. 589 f.

<sup>b</sup> If this is right *περιπτα* is used in a somewhat different sense from § 199 for "appendages"; cf. Aristot. *Nic. Eth.* x. 8. 12 οὐδὲν δὴ προσδεῖται τῆς ἡδονῆς ὁ βίος αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ περιπτοῦ τυφός. For *τραγωδία* cf. *De Post.* 165 οἱ τραγωδῖαν τὸν βίον . . . νομίζοντες. But the words may refer to the masks of actors, and if so would be more in line with §§ 198, 199.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 590.

## PHILO

- μακρὸν χρόνον ἔξω διατρίβουσαι μόλις ἐπανήειτε  
 δελεαζόμεναι πρὸς αὐτῶν· νυνὶ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι  
 παθοῦσαι συντόμως<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐπανήκετε.
- 117 φήσουσιν οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ αὐταὶ γεγόνασιν αἷταιι τοῦ  
 τὸν δίαυλον ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
 ἀπνευστὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ρύμης δραμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ  
 ῥυσάμενος αὐτὰς ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας  
 ἀγέλης ποιμένων. Αἰγύπτιον δὲ καλοῦσι Μιωσσην,  
 τὸν οὐ μόνον Ἑβραῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου  
 γένους ὄντα Ἑβραίων, ὃ ἱερᾶται μόνον, οὐ δυνά-
- 118 μенаι τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ὑπερβῆναι. μεθόριοι γὰρ  
 αἱ αἰσθήσεις οὖσαι [τῶν] νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν  
 ἀγαπητὸν ἐὰν ἑκατέρων ἐφίωνται, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὸ  
 μόνων τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἄγωνται· τὸ δ' οἶεσθαι ὅτι  
 μόνοις ποτὲ τοῖς κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐπανέξουσιν εὐθήεια  
 πολλή. οὐ χάριν ἀμφότερα τιθέασι, διὰ μὲν τοῦ  
 “ ἄνθρωπος ” τὰ μόνω λόγῳ θεωρητὰ μηνύουσαι,  
 διὰ δὲ τοῦ “ Αἰγύπτιος ” παριστᾶσαι τὰ αἰσθητά.
- 119 ταῦτ' ἀκούσας καὶ πάλιν πεύσεται· “ ποῦ ἔστιν ” ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος; ἐν τίνι μέρει τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς οἰκεῖ<sup>2</sup> τὸ  
 λογικὸν εἶδος; “ ἵνα τί αὐτὸν ” ῥαδίως οὕτω  
 “ καταλελοίπατε, ” ἀλλ' οὐχ ἅπαξ ἐντυχοῦσαι περι-  
 ἔσχετε κτῆμα κάλλιστον καὶ λυσιτελέστατον ἑαυταῖς;
- 120 ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν “ αὐτὸν καλέσατε, ὅπως  
 ἂν φάγη ” καὶ τραφῆ ταῖς ὑμετέραις βελτιώσεσι  
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειώσεσι. τάχα γὰρ καὶ οἰκήσει  
 [597] | παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ πτηνὸν καὶ [τὸ] θεοφόρητον καὶ  
 προφητικὸν γένος, ὄνομα Σεπφώραν, ἄξεται.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συντόμως.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἰκεῖον (Mangey οἰκεῖ οὖν).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 116-120

long time out there and almost refused to return, so greatly were you enticed by them. But now something or other has induced you to come back with this unwonted eagerness. So they will reply that 117 this hasty breathless racing out to the world of sense and back again is not due to themselves but to the man who rescued them from the shepherds of the savage herd, and they call Moses an Egyptian (*ibid.* 19), Moses who was not only a Hebrew, but of that purest Hebrew blood which alone is consecrated. They cannot, that is, rise above their own nature. For the senses are on the border-line between the 118 intelligible realm and the sensible, and all that we can hope is that they should desire both realms and not be led by the latter only. To suppose that they will ever give their affections to the things of mind only would be the height of folly, and therefore they give both titles. By the word "man" they point out the world which reason alone discerns,<sup>a</sup> by "Egyptian" they represent the world of sense. On 119 hearing this the father will ask again, where is the man? (*ibid.* 20). In what part of your surroundings does the element of the reason dwell? Why have you left him so easily, and why when you once fell in with him did you not take to your arms that treasure, so beautiful above all, so profitable to yourselves? But if you have not as yet, at least now "invite him 120 that he may eat" (*ibid.* 20) and feed on your advance to higher stages of goodness and a closer affinity to him. Perhaps he will even dwell among you and wed the winged, inspired and prophetic nature called Zipporah (*ibid.* 21).

<sup>a</sup> For "Man" standing for the true man, the mind, *cf.* *De Agr.* 9, *Quis Rerum* 231, *De Fug.* 71, and elsewhere.

## PHILO

- 121 XXI. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ὠσηὲ μετονομάζει Μωυσῆς εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν ποιὸν εἰς ἕξιν μεταχαράττων. Ὠσηὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται <σώζεται><sup>1</sup> ποιὸς οὗτος, Ἰησοῦς δὲ
- 122 σωτηρία κυρίου, ἕξως ὄνομα τῆς ἀρίστης. ἕξεις γὰρ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς ποιῶν ἀμείνους, ὡς μουσικὴ μουσικοῦ καὶ ἰατρικὴ ἰατροῦ καὶ παντὸς τεχνίτου τέχνη πᾶσα,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀιδιότητι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεωρήματα ἀπταιίστῳ ἀκρότητι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἕξις ἀίδιον, ἐνεργοῦν, τέλειον, ὁ δὲ ποιὸς θνητόν, πάσχον, ἀτελές· κρείττον δὲ θνητοῦ μὲν τὸ ἄφθαρτον, πάσχοντος δὲ τὸ δρῶν αἴτιον, τὸ δὲ τέλειον
- 123 ἀτελοῦς. οὕτω μετεχαράχθη καὶ τὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος νόμισμα πρὸς ἰδέαν βελτίονα. ὁ δὲ Χάλεβ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄλος ἀλλάττεται. “ ἐγένετο ” γὰρ φησι “ πνεῦμα ἕτερον ἐν αὐτῷ,” ὡσανεὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μεταβαλόντος πρὸς ἄκραν τελειότητα. καὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἐστι Χάλεβ πᾶσα καρδιά·
- 124 τοῦτο δὲ σύμβολον τοῦ μὴ ἐκ μέρους ἐπαμφοτερίζουσαν καὶ ἀντιρρέπουσαν, ἀλλ' ὅλην δι' ὅλου τὴν ψυχὴν μεταβεβλήσθαι πρὸς τὸ δόκιμον, κἂν εἴ τι

<sup>1</sup> <σώζεται>: my insertion, which I hope will meet with general acceptance. That Philo should have supposed that “Hoshea” meant “this person of a particular kind” seems to me absurd (for Siegfried’s defence of it see App. p. 590). Philo’s meaning, as I understand it, is that the finite verb necessarily implies a subject and therefore stands to the abstract noun as the ποιὸς does to the ποιότης or ἕξις. It will be seen that the juxtaposition of two -εται’s might easily lead to the omission of one. For the interpretation of a name by a finite verb cf. below, § 189.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey (approved by Wend.): mss. ποιά, which cannot mean “of any kind,” and if we take it as “some particular kind” does not balance well with παντός.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 121-124

XXI. So much for this. But Moses also changes 121 the name of Hoshea to Joshua (Num. xiii. 17), thus transforming the individual who embodies a state into the state itself.<sup>a</sup> For Hoshea by interpretation is "he," that is a particular individual, "is saved." But Joshua is "safety of the Lord," a name for the best possible state. For states are better than the 122 individuals who embody them, as music is better than the musician and medicine than the physician, and every art than every artist, better both in everlastingness and in power and in unerring mastery over its subject matter. The state is everlasting, active, perfect; the individual is mortal, acted on, imperfect; and the imperishable is higher and greater than the mortal, the acting cause than that on which it acts, and the perfect than the imperfect. Thus in the 123 above also we see the coin which represents the man re-minted in a better form. But in Caleb we have a total change of the man himself. For we read "there was another spirit in him" (Num. xiv. 24), as though the ruling mind in him was changed to supreme perfection. For Caleb is by interpretation "all heart," and this is a figurative way of shewing 124 that his was no partial change of a soul wavering and oscillating, but a change to proved excellence of the whole and entire soul which dislodged anything that

<sup>a</sup> *ποιός* (a person of a particular kind) is regularly used in antithesis to other *ποιοί* or *ἀποιοί*; but it may also be used in antithesis to *ποιότης*, cf. *ποιόν τι ἀλλ' οὐ ποιότητα*, *Theaetetus* 182 A. In this case the *ποιός* is the concrete of the abstract *ποιότης*. Philo has used it in exactly the same way in *Leg. All.* i. 67, 79, and also in *Leg. All.* ii. 18, where *ὁ κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ποιός* is *φρόνιμος* or *σώφρων*, etc., corresponding to *φρόνησις*, *σωφροσύνη*, etc.

## PHILO

μη̄ πάνυ ἐπαινετὸν εἶη,<sup>1</sup> λόγοις τοῖς περὶ μετανοίας ἐξοικίσασαν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκνυψαμένη τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα καὶ τοῖς φρονήσεως λουτροῖς χρησαμένη καὶ καθαρσίῳ<sup>2</sup> ἔμελλε φαιδρύνεσθαι.

- 125 XXII. Τὸν δὲ ἀρχιπροφήτην συμβέβηκεν εἶναι πολυώνυμον. ὁπότε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς χρησιμωδομένους χρησμοὺς ἐρμηνεύων ὑφηγεῖται, προσαγορεύεται Μωυσῆς· ὁπότε δ' εὐχόμενος εὐλογεῖ τὸν λεών, ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ· ἤνικα δὲ Αἴγυπτος τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσεβηθέντων δίκας ἐκτίνει, τοῦ βασιλεύοντος
- 126 τῆς χώρας Φαραῶ θεός. διὰ τί δέ; ὅτι τὸ μὲν νόμους μεταγράφειν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἐντευξομένων ψηλαφῶντός ἐστι καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντος αἰεὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνακεκλημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεσπιωδοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ εἰληφότος παρ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλην δωρεάν, ἐρμηνείαν καὶ προφητείαν νόμων ἱερῶν· μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ Μωυσῆς καλεῖται λῆμμα, δύναται δὲ
- 127 καὶ ψηλάφημα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας. τὸ δέ γε εὐχεσθαι καὶ εὐλογεῖν οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου τὴν πρὸς γένεσιν μη̄ ἑωρακότος συγγένειαν, προσκεκληρωκότος δὲ ἑαυτὸν τῷ πάν-
- 128 των ἡγεμόνι καὶ πατρί· ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἴ τω ἐξεγένετο εὐλογιστῖα χρῆσθαι, τὸ δέ γε καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἑτέροις περιποιεῖν τὸ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο μείζονος καὶ τελειο-
- [598] τέρας ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θειαζούσης | ἦν

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἦ.

<sup>2</sup> mss. καθαρσίω.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps τὸ δέ γε <τόδε> καὶ.

<sup>a</sup> Or "a thing received," the natural meaning of the word, i.e. Moses is named after the gift which he has received.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning is obscure. Perhaps the fact that Moses "handled" the laws shews that his name of "receiving" must also be understood to include the kindred meaning of

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 124-128

was not entirely laudable by thoughts of repentance ; for when it thus washed away its defilements, and made use of the lustrations and purifications of wisdom, it could not but be clean and fair.

XXII. The chief of the prophets proves to have 125 many names. When he interprets and teaches the oracles vouchsafed to him he is called Moses ; when he prays and blesses the people, he is a Man of God (Deut. xxxiii. 1) ; and when Egypt is paying the penalties for its impious deeds he is the god (Ex. vii. 1) of Pharaoh, the king of the country. Why 126 these three ? Because to enact fresh laws for the benefit of those to whom they would apply is the task of one whose hands are ever in touch with divine things, one who is called up (Ex. xxiv. 1) by the Lawgiver who speaks in oracles, one who has received from Him a great gift, the power of language to express prophet-like the holy laws. For Moses, if translated, is a "receiving" <sup>a</sup> and it also means a handling, as shewn above. <sup>b</sup> Secondly, to pray and bless 127 is not for any chance person but for a man who has had no eyes <sup>c</sup> for his kinship to created being and has given himself to be the portion of Him who is ruler and father of all. For one must be content if it be 128 granted to him to follow right reasoning himself, but to procure the good gift for others is what only a greater, more perfect, truly God-inspired soul can "handling." The derivation here given applies only to the last part of the name. The common ancient derivation that "Mo" represented the Egyptian μῶν, "water," is given by Philo, *De Mos.* i. 17. In *Leg. All.* iii. 231 ψηλάφημα was used for "groping" (in darkness).

<sup>c</sup> Clearly an allusion to the blessing of Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 9), "who said to his father and mother 'I have not seen thee' (οὐχ ἑώρακα)." Cf. *De Fug.* 89 and elsewhere. Mangey and Wend. needlessly suspect the word.

## PHILO

- ἐπάγγελμα, ἧς ὁ τυχὼν εἰκότως θεοῦ<sup>1</sup> κεκληθήσεται. θεὸς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἄτε σοφὸς ὢν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρχων παντὸς ἄφρονος, κἂν εἰ τοῖς βασιλείοις σκήπτροις ἐκεῖνος ἐφιδρούιτο μεγαλαυχῶν. καὶ
- 129 διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἤκιστα<sup>2</sup>. βούλεται γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμῶν, κἂν ἀφόρητα ἀδικοῦντές τινες μέλλωσι κολάζεσθαι, παραιτητὰς ἔχειν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἳ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἴλω δύναμιν ἀπομιμούμενοι μετριώτερον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον χρῆσονται ταῖς τιμωρίαις· θεοῦ δὲ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν ἴδιον.
- 130 XXIII. Ἀποχρώντως οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀλλαγῆς τε καὶ μεταθέσεως εἰρηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐφόδου τρεψόμεθα κεφάλαια. εἶπετο δ' εὐθύς ἡ γένεσις Ἰσαὰκ· καλέσας γὰρ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Σάρραν ἀντὶ Σάρας φησὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ· “δῶσω σοι (ἐξ αὐτῆς) τέκνον.” ἐν μέρει δ'
- 131 ἕκαστον ἀκριβωτέον. ὁ τοίνυν κυρίως διδοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἴδιόν τι πάντως ἑαυτοῦ δίδωσιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀψευδές ἐστι, γένοιτ' ἂν Ἰσαὰκ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὁ συνώνυμος τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν εὐπαθειῶν, χαρᾶς, γέλως ὁ ἐνδιάθετος, υἱὸς θεοῦ<sup>3</sup> τοῦ διδόντος

<sup>1</sup> mss. θεός, which Wend. prints, though noting that *ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ* seems the right reading. But *θεοῦ* by itself is a simpler and, I think, quite sufficient correction.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. puts no stop at *μεγαλαυχῶν*, apparently treating it as “boasting on account of this (what?) in particular.” Mangey gives a full stop after *μεγαλαυχῶν*, but inserts <εὔχεται> after *ἤκιστα*. I suggest that *θεός ἐστι* is to be understood; see note <sup>b</sup> on opposite page. *τοῦτο* looks forward, as e.g. *De Op.* 72, 100, *De Som.* i. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Wend. and Mangey both punctuate *γέλως, ὁ ἐνδιάθετος υἱὸς θεοῦ* (which Drummond translates “the ideal son of God”). But can *ἐνδιάθετος* mean this? I understand it in its usual sense of opposition to *προφορικός*, cf. *De Mig.*

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 128-131

promise, and the possessor of such a soul will with good reason be called God's man.<sup>a</sup> Thirdly, this same person is a god, because he is wise and therefore the ruler of every fool, even though that fool boast ever so loudly in the support of his royal sceptre. And he is a god for this reason in particular. It is the will 129 of the ruler of all that though there be some doomed to punishment for their intolerable misdeeds, they should have mediators to make intercession for them, who imitating the merciful power of the Father will dispense punishment with more moderation and in a kindlier spirit. Beneficence is the peculiar prerogative of a god.<sup>b</sup>

XXIII. We have now dealt sufficiently with the 130 change and substitution of names and will proceed to the next points in our inquiry. What followed at once was the promise of the birth of Isaac. For after calling his mother Sarah instead of Sarai He says to Abraham, "I will give thee a child from her" (Gen. xvii. 16). Each part of this must be severally examined. First, then, the giver of anything in the 131 proper sense of the word must necessarily give something which belongs to himself, and if this is so Isaac must be not the man Isaac but the Isaac whose name is that of the best of the good emotions, joy, the Isaac who is the laughter of the heart, a son of God,

<sup>a</sup> Philo, as often, connects *εὐλογιστία* with *εὐλογία*. See note on *De Sobr.* 18.

<sup>b</sup> The thought is: Moses' "godship" to Pharaoh was particularly shewn in his not punishing him summarily, but allowing him so many chances of repenting, and in interceding with God for him, *e.g.* Ex. ix. 29.

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157 τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου καὶ σπουδαίου γέλωτος, and so below § 154 τὸν ψυχῆς γέλωτα.

## PHILO

- αὐτὸν μείλιγμα καὶ εὐθυμίαν εἰρητικωτάταις ψυχαῖς.
- 132 ἄτοπον μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἄνδρα εἶναι, ἐξ ἑτέρου δὲ νόθα καὶ μοιχίδια παιδοποιεῖσθαι· καὶ μὴν τὸν γε θεὸν ἄνδρα τῆς φιλαρέτου διανοίας Μωυσῆς ἀναγράφει δι' ὧν φησιν· “ ἰδὼν κύριος, ὅτι μισεῖται Λεῖα, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς.” ἔλεον γὰρ καὶ οἶκτον λαβὼν τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους μισουμένης ἀρετῆς καὶ ψυχῆς τῆς φιλαρέτου στείροϊ μὲν \* \* \* τὴν φιλόκαλον φύσιν, ἀνοίγνυσι δὲ τῆς εὐπαιδίας πηγὴν εὐτοκίαν αὐτῇ χαριζόμενος.<sup>1</sup>
- 134 ἡ δὲ Θάμαρ ἐγκύμων τε γενομένη θείων σπερμάτων καὶ τὸν μὲν σπείραντα οὐκ ἰδοῦσα—λέγεται γὰρ τότε “ ἐγκαλύψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον,” ὡς Μωυσῆς, ἠνίκα ἀπεστράφη εὐλαβούμενος τὸν θεὸν ἰδεῖν,—τὰ δὲ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια διαθρήσασα καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ δικάσασα, ὅτι θνητὸς ταῦτ' οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀνέκραγεν· “ οὐτινος ταῦτ' ἐστίν,
- 135 ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχω.” τίνος ὁ δακτύλιος, ἡ πίστις, ἡ τῶν ὄλων σφραγίς, ἡ ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα, ἡ τὰ πάντ' ἀνειδέα ὄντα καὶ ἄποια σημειωθέντα ἐτυπώθη; τίνος δὲ καὶ (ὁ) ὀρμίσκος, ὁ κόσμος, ἡ εἰμαρμένη,<sup>2</sup> ἀκολουθία καὶ ἀναλογία τῶν συμπάντων εἰρμὸν ἔχουσα ἀδιάλυτον; τίνος δὲ καὶ ἡ ράβδος, τὸ ἐρηρυσμένον, τὸ ἀκράδαντον, τὸ ἄτρεπτον, ἡ νοθεσία, ὁ σωφρονισμὸς, ἡ παιδεία, τὸ

<sup>1</sup> An alternative to supposing a lacuna may be obtained by emending φιλόκαλον to φιλόκακον (or better ἀφιλόκαλον, W.H.D.R.), and referring αὐτῇ to εὐπαιδίας.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey suggests: Wend. prints ἡ [ὁ κόσμος] εἰμαρμένη; mss. ἡ ὁ κόσμος εἰμαρμένη. I see no reason to exclude ὁ κόσμος, which naturally suggests “order” as well as “world.” Wend. also puts a question at παιδεία, as if σκῆπτρον began an explanation of another of Judah's gifts. Clearly

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 131-135

who gives him as a means to soothe and cheer truly peaceful souls. It were a monstrous thing that one 132 should be a husband, and another the parent, parent therefore of bastards born in adultery, and yet Moses writes of God as the husband of the virtue-loving mind when he says, "The Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb" (Gen. xxix. 31), for moved by pity and compassion for the virtue 133 hated by our mortal race and for the soul that loves virtue hesends barrenness (on the favourite and gives honour) to the nature which loves excellence and opens the fountain of happy parentage by granting her welfare in childbirth. And Tamar 134 too; she bore within her womb the divine seed, but had not seen the sower.<sup>a</sup> For we are told that at that hour she veiled her face (Gen. xxxviii. 15), just as Moses when he turned aside fearing to look upon God (Ex. iii. 6). But she closely scanned the symbols and tokens, and judging in her heart that these were the gifts of no mortal she cried aloud, "To whomsoever these belong, he it is by whom I am with child" (Gen. xxxviii. 25). Whose is the ring, 135 the pledge of faith, the seal of the universe, the archetypal idea by which all things without form or quality before were stamped and shaped? Whose is the cord, that is, the world-order, the chain of destiny,<sup>b</sup> the correspondence and sequence of all things, with their ever-unbroken chain? Whose is the staff, that is the firmly planted, the unshaken, the unbending; the admonition, the chastening, the

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 134-136 *cf. De Fug.* 149 ff.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 590.

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this is not so. The staff suggests (1) immovableness, (2) discipline, (3) royalty. I suggest <ῆ> ἀκολουθία.

PHILO

- 136 σκῆπτρον, ἡ βασιλεία, τίνος; ἀρ' οὐχὶ μόνου  
 [599] θεοῦ; τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἐξομολογητικὸς | τρόπος,  
 Ἰούδας, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῆς τῷ κατεχομένῳ καὶ θεο-  
 φορήτῳ παρρησιάζεται λέγων· “δεδικαίωται, ἥς  
 ἔνεκα αἰτίας ἐγὼ οὐδενὶ θνητῷ αὐτὴν ἔδωκα,”  
 ἀσεβὲς ἡγούμενος μαίνειν βεβήλοις τὰ θεῖα.
- 137 XXIV. μηνύει δὲ καὶ ἡ τρόπον μητρὸς  
 ἀποκνήσασα φρόνησις τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ὅτι  
 θεὸς αὐτὸ ἔσπειρε· τεχθέντος γὰρ ἐπισεμνύεται  
 φάσκουσα· “γέλωτά μοι ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος,” ἴσον  
 τῷ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ διέπλασεν, ἐδημιούργησεν, ἐγέν-  
 138 νησεν, ἐπειδὴ γέλωτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν. ἀλλ' οὐ παντός  
 ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ ἄκουσμα τοῦτο, πολλοῦ τοῦ  
 δεισιδαιμονίας ῥυέντος παρ' ἡμῖν κακοῦ καὶ τὰς  
 ἀνάνδρους καὶ ἀγενεῖς ψυχὰς ἐπικλύσαντος. διὸ  
 προστίθησιν· “ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖταιί  
 μοι,” ὡς ὀλίγων ὄντων, οἷς τὰ ὦτα ἀναπέπταται  
 καὶ ἀνωρθίασται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων λόγων  
 ὑποδοχὴν, οἱ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς ἄρα μόνου θεοῦ σπεί-  
 ρειν καὶ γεννᾶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργον ἴδιον· πρὸς οὓς οἱ  
 139 ἄλλοι πάντες κεκώφηνται. στόματι δ' οἰδᾶ ποτε  
 προφητικῶ θεσπισθέντα διάπυρον τοιόνδε χρῆσμον·  
 “ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὁ καρπὸς σου εὗρηται. τίς σοφὸς καὶ  
 συνήσει ταῦτα; συνετὸς καὶ γνώσεται αὐτά;”  
 τὸν δ' ὑπηχοῦντα καὶ κρούοντα ἀόρατον ἀοράτως  
 τὸ φωνῆς ὄργανον ἐνενόουν καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἅμα  
 140 καταπληττόμενος καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον. εἰ γάρ τι  
 ἀγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐσί \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὁ σύμπας  
 οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> I see no clear reason for supposing a lacuna here.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 135-140

discipline ; the sceptre, the kingship ! whose are they ? Are they not God's alone ? And therefore the temper which makes confession of thankfulness, that is Judah, pleased at the divine inspiration which masters her, says with all boldness, " She is justified since I gave her to no mortal " (*ibid.* 26), for he holds it impiety to defile the divine with things profane.

XXIV. So, too, the wisdom which as in motherhood brought forth the nature of the self-taught declares that God had begotten it. For when the child is born she says with pride, " The Lord has made laughter for me " (Gen. xxi. 6). That is the same as saying " He formed, He wrought, He begot, Isaac," since Isaac and laughter are the same. But this saying is not for all to hear, so strongly does the evil tide of superstition flow in our minds and drown unmanly and degenerate souls.<sup>a</sup> And therefore she adds " Whoever shall hear will rejoice with me " (*ibid.*) as though there were few whose ears are opened and pricked up to receive these holy words, which teach us that to sow and beget the excellent is the peculiar task of God alone. To this lesson all but those few are deaf. I remember too an oracle given by a prophet's mouth in words of fire which runs thus: " From Me thy fruit has been found. Who is wise and he shall understand them, who is understanding and he shall know them ? " (Hos. xiv. 9, 10).<sup>b</sup> Under the prophet's words I recognized the voice of the invisible master whose invisible hand plays on the instrument of human speech, and I was lost in admiration at the saying also. For all that is good in the range of existing things or rather the whole heaven and universe is in very truth God's fruit, the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 590.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Plant.* 138.

## PHILO

καρπός ἐστιν, ὕφ' οἷα δένδρου συνεχόμενος τῆς αἰδίου καὶ ἀειθαλοῦς φύσεως. συνετῶν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν, οὐκ ἀσήμων.

- 141 XXV. Τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ “ δώσω σοι ” λέλεκται, τὸ δ' “ ἐξ αὐτῆς ” μνηυτέον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔξω γινόμενον αὐτῆς ἐδέξαντο νομίζοντες ἄριστον κεκρίσθαι παρὰ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ τὸ μηδὲν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἴδιον αὐτῆς καλόν, ἀλλὰ προσγινόμενον ἔξωθεν κατὰ τὴν μεγαλόνοιαν τοῦ
- 142 χάριτας ὀμβροῦντος θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραυτικά (κατὰ)<sup>1</sup> τάχος ἴσον γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἔξ αὐτῆς τῷ παραχρήμα, εὐθύς, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἄνευ μελλήσεως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αἱ θεῖαι φιλοῦσι συμβαίνειν δωρεαὶ φθάνουσαι καὶ τὰ χρόνων διαστήματα. τρίτοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν μητέρα τοῦ γενητοῦ εἶναι λέγοντες ἀγαθοῦ, λαμβάνουσαν τὰς γονὰς παρὰ μηδενὸς θνητοῦ.
- 143 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ζητοῦντας, εἰ στείρα τίκτει—Σάρραν γὰρ εἰσάγοντες πάλαι στείραν οἱ χρησιμοὶ νῦν ὅτι γενήσεται μήτηρ ὁμολογοῦσι,—λεκτέον ἐκείνο, ὅτι
- [600] γυνὴ μὲν στείρα τίκτειν οὐ πέφυκεν, ὥσπερ | οὐδὲ τυφλὸς βλέπειν οὐδὲ κωφὸς ἀκούειν, ψυχὴ δ' ἢ πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα ἐστερωμένη καὶ παθῶν ἀμετρίας καὶ κακιῶν ἄγονος μόνη σχεδὸν εὐτοκία χρῆται, τὰ ἀξίεραστα τίκτουσα, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ κατὰ τὸ ἀδόμενον ἄσμα ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, “ Ἀννης, ἣ φησιν· “ στείρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτὰ, ἣ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις 144 ἠσθένησε.” καλεῖ δὲ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν ἐκ μιγᾶδων

<sup>1</sup> My insertion. That κατὰ would be easily lost between -κα and τα- is obvious. The adverb τάχος appears to be poetical.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 140-144

inseparable growth, as it were, of the tree of His eternal and never-fading nature. And to know and confess such things is for the wise and understanding, not for men of no account.

XXV. So much for the phrase "I will give to thee." We must now explain "from her." Some understand by it that which comes into being outside her, thinking that in the judgement of right reason the best decision is that the soul should declare that nothing good belongs to herself, but all is an addition from outside, through the high benevolence of God Who showers His gifts of grace.

Others take it as "immediate," "with speed." They say that  $\xi\xi$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  is equivalent to "straightway," "at once," "without postponement," "without delay," and this is the way in which the gifts of God are wont to be given, outrunning even the moments of time.

There is a third class who say that virtue is the mother of any good that has come into being, receiving the seeds of that being from nothing that is mortal.

Again, some ask whether the barren can bear children, since the oracles earlier describe Sarah as barren and now admit that she will become a mother. Our answer to this must be that it is not in the nature of a barren woman to bear, any more than of the blind to see or of the deaf to hear. But as for the soul which is sterilized to wickedness and unfruitful of the endless host of passions and vices, scarce any prosper in childbirth as she. For she bears offspring worthy of love, even the number seven according to the hymn of Hannah, that is, grace, who says "The barren hath borne seven, but she that is much in children hath languished" (1 Sam. ii. 5).

## PHILO

- καὶ συγκλύδων λογισμῶν συμπεφορημένην διά-  
 νοιαν, ἣ διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ὄχλων καὶ  
 θορύβων ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τίκτει, στείραν δὲ τὴν μὴ  
 παραδεχομένην θνητὸν ὡς γόνιμον σπόρον, ἀλλὰ  
 τὰς τῶν φαύλων ὀμιλίας καὶ συνουσίας ἀμβλίσ-  
 κουσάν<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ διαφθείρουσαν, περιεχομένην δὲ τῆς  
 ἐβδόμης καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν εἰρηνικωτάτου· τούτου  
 γὰρ ἐγκύμων τε εἶναι βούλεται καὶ μήτηρ λέγεσθαι.
- 145 XXVI. Τοιοῦτον ἦν καὶ τὸ “ ἐξ αὐτῆς ”· τὸ δὲ  
 τρίτον, ὃ δὴ “ τέκνον ” ἐλέγετο, νῦν διασκεψώμεθα.  
 πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ μὴ πολλὰ  
 τέκνα φάναι δώσειν, ἐν δὲ χαριεῖσθαι μόνον. διὰ  
 τί δέ; ὅτι τὸ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν πλήθει μᾶλλον ἢ
- 146 δυνάμει πέφυκεν ἐξετάζεσθαι. μουσικὰ μὲν γάρ,  
 εἰ τύχοι, καὶ γραμματικὰ καὶ γεωμετρικὰ καὶ  
 δίκαια καὶ φρόνιμα καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σώφρονα πάμ-  
 πολλά ἐστιν· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο (τὸ) μουσικὸν καὶ  
 γραμματικὸν καὶ γεωμετρικόν, ἔτι δὲ δίκαιον καὶ  
 σώφρον φρόνιμόν τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἐν αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ  
 ἀνωτάτω, μηδὲν ιδέας ἀρχετύπου διαφέρον, ἀφ'  
 οὗ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀμύθητα ἐκεῖνα διεπλάσθη.
- 147 ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐν φάναι δώσειν· νυνὶ δὲ  
 τέκνον εἶρηκεν οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὐδ' ἀπερισκέπτως,  
 ἀλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ παραστήσαι, ὅτι οὐκ ὀθνεῖον οὐδ'  
 ὑποβολιμαῖον οὐδ' αὖ θετὸν ἢ νόθον, ἀλλὰ γνήσιον  
 καὶ ἀστείον [ὅτι οὐκ ὀθνεῖον] ὄντως ἀστῆς ψυχῆς

<sup>1</sup> My correction for ms. ἀναλίσκουσαν, for which Wend. suggests ἀποδιδράσκουσαν and Mangey ἀναλυσκάζουσαν. Cf. its use in *Theaetetus* 149 D, which Philo may have in mind. See App. pp. 590 f.

<sup>a</sup> For this use of ἐβδόμη for ἐβδομάς see note on § 260.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 591.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 144-147

She applies the word "much" to the mind which is a medley of mixed and confused thoughts, which, because of the multitude of riots and turmoils that surround it, brings forth evils past all remedy. But the word "barren" she applies to the mind which refuses to accept any mortal sowing as fruitful, the mind which makes away with and brings to abortion all the intimacies and the matings of the wicked, but holds fast to the "seventh"<sup>a</sup> and the supreme peace which it gives. This peace she would fain bear in her womb and be called its mother.

XXVI. Such is the meaning of "from her." Let 145 us now examine the third part of the phrase used, namely "child." First then we may well wonder why He does not say He will give many children, but will grant one only. Why? Because excellence cannot be estimated by number but rather by value. For, to take examples at random, there are ever so 146 many musical, grammatical and geometrical things, and just and prudent and courageous and temperate things, but music and grammar and geometry in the abstract and again justice and temperance and prudence and courage in the abstract are each of them one thing, the original, the same as the archetypal idea, and from this origin the many and indeed infinite particulars<sup>b</sup> have been formed. So much for 147 His saying that He will give one, but the word actually used in this passage, "bairn," is used not without care or consideration. He wishes to shew that the child is not alien or supposititious, nor again adopted or bastard, but the truly genuine and free-natured<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> For this play upon *ἀστῆς* and *ἀστειῶν* (for which Mangey needlessly wished to substitute *ἀστῶν*) cf. *De Mig.* 99 *ἀσται τε καὶ ἀστεῖαι γυναῖκες* and note on *De Conf.* 106.

## PHILO

ἔγγονον. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν τόκον τὸ τέκνον εἴρηται πρὸς ἔμφασιν οἰκειότητος, ἧ φυσικῶς ἀρμόζεται τέκνα γονεῦσιν.

- 148 XXVII. “ Εὐλογήσω ” δέ φησιν “ αὐτήν, καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἔθνη,” δηλῶν ὅτι<sup>1</sup> οὐ μόνον ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ ὡς ἂν εἰς ἔθνη τὰ προσεχέστατα<sup>2</sup> εἶδη τέμνεται καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς εἵδεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι [601] συμβέβηκεν ὡς ζώων οὕτω καὶ πραγμάτων | εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ ἔθνη, οἷς μέγα ὄφελος ἀρετὴν προσ-
- 149 εἶναι. τὰ γὰρ ἔρημα καὶ χῆρα φρονήσεως πάντα ἐπιζήμια, καθάπερ οἷς οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει ἥλιος ἐξ ἀνάγκης ζοφερά. ἀρετῇ μὲν γὰρ γεωπόνος ἄμεινον φυτῶν ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ ἡνίοχος ἄρμα ἐν ἵπποδρομίαις ἄπταιστον ἐλαύνει, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτης [οἰακονόμος] οἰακονομεῖ κατὰ πλοῦν τὸ σκάφος. ἀρετὴ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πόλιν καὶ χώραν βέλτιον οἰκεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, οικονομικούς, πολιτικούς, κοινωνικούς ἄνδρας δημιουργοῦσα.
- 150 ἀρετῇ καὶ νόμους ἀρίστους εἰσηγήσατο καὶ τὰ εἰρήνης κατεβάλετο πανταχοῦ σπέρματα· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ἕξεως πέφυκε γίνεσθαι τάναντία, πόλεμος, ἀνομία, κακοπολιτεῖαι, συγχύσεις, δύσπλοιοι, περιτροπαί, ἧ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἀργαλεωτάτη νόσος, πανουργία, ἀφ’ ἧς ἀντὶ τεχνῶν κακοτεχνίαι προσερρήθησαν. ἀναγκαίως οὖν εἰς ἔθνη χωρήσει ἡ ἀρετὴ, ζώων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλα καὶ ἀθρόα συστήματα, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν δεχομένων ὠφελείᾳ.
- 151 XXVIII. Λέγεται δὲ ἐξῆς, ὅτι “ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔθνῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσονται.” οὗς γὰρ κυοφορεῖ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δηλονότι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πρὸς ἔσχατα τὰ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 147-151

offspring of a free-born soul. For "bairn" derived from "bearing" is used to bring out the affinity which is the natural tie between parents and children.

XXVII. "I will bless her," He continues, "and 148 she shall be for nations." He shews hereby that not only is generic virtue divided into its proximate species and their subdivisions, as into nations, but also that actions and ideas have nations in a sense, just as living creatures have, and that to these nations the addition of virtue is most beneficial. For every- 149 thing that lacks or has lost prudence is a source of mischief, just as all must be in darkness on which the sun does not shine. By virtue the husbandman takes better care of his plants; by virtue the charioteer guides his chariot in the horse-race without a fall; by virtue the helmsman steers his vessel safe through the voyage. Virtue again produces better conditions in households, city and country, by producing men who are good household managers, statesmanlike and neighbourly. Virtue, too, introduces the best laws, 150 and sows everywhere seeds of peace. And in proof of this we see that where the opposite condition prevails the natural result is the opposite of these blessings, namely war, lawlessness, misgovernment, confusion, disasters at sea, revolutions, and in the realm of the sciences that most painful disease knavery, which causes them to be called perversions of art,<sup>a</sup> rather than arts. Virtue then will necessarily extend to nations, that is, large and comprehensive combinations both of living creatures and of actions and ideas, and will thus benefit those who receive her.

XXVIII. Next we read "And kings of nations 151 shall be from her," for those whom she conceives and

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 591.

## PHILO

- ἀποτίκτει, πάντες εἰσὶν ἡγεμόνες, οὐ κλήρω, πράγματι ἀβεβαίω, καὶ χειροτονία ἐμμίσθων τὰ πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον αἰρεθέντες, ἀλλ' 152 ὑπὸ φύσεως εἰς αἰὲ κατασταθέντες αὐτῆς. οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἐμὸς μῦθος, ἀλλὰ χρησμῶν τῶν ἱερωτάτων ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς εἰσάγονταί τινες λέγοντες τῷ Ἀβραάμ· “ βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ εἶ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν,” οὐ τὰς ὕλας ἐξετάσαντες,—τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν ἀνδρὶ μετανάστη καὶ μηδὲ πόλιν οἰκοῦντι, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐρήμην καὶ ἄβατον ἀλωμένω γῆν;—ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ βασιλικὴν ἔξιν κατανοήσαντες, ὥστ' ἀνομολογήσαι 153 κατὰ Μωυσῆν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ὁ μὲν φρόνιμος ἡγεμὼν ἀφρόνων ἐστὶν εἰδὼς ἅ χρῆ ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἅ μὴ, ὁ δὲ σώφρων ἀκολάστων τὰ περι τὰς αἰρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς ἠκριβωκῶς οὐκ ἀμελῶς, δειλῶν δὲ ὁ ἀνδρείος ἅ δει ὑπομένειν καὶ ἅ μὴ σαφῶς ἐκμαθῶν, ἀδίκων δὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἰσότητος ἐν τοῖς ἀπονεμητέοις ἀρρεποῦς στοχαζόμενος, ὁ δ' ὅσιος ἀνοσίων [ἐν] ἀρίσταις ὑπολήψεσι ταῖς περι θεοῦ κατεσχημένος.
- 154 XXIX. Ταύταις εἰκὸς ἦν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τὸν νοῦν ἐκφυσηθέντα μετέωρον ἀρθῆναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς | [602] ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροτάτοις εἰώθαμεν ὑψαυχενεῖν, πίπτει καὶ εὐθύς γελᾷ τὸν ψυχῆς γέλωτα, σκυθρωπάζων μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, μειδιῶν δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ, πολλῆς καὶ ἀκράτου χαρᾶς εἰσοικισα- 155 μένης. ἀμφοτέρα δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συμβαίνει τῷ μείζονα ἐλπίδος ἀγαθὰ κληρονομοῦντι σοφῶ, γελᾶν τε καὶ πίπτειν· τὸ μὲν εἰς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν διὰ κατάγνωσιν τῆς θνητῆς οὐδε-



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 151-155

bears are all rulers, chosen not for a short time by the uncertainty of lot or by the votes of men for the most part hirelings, but rulers appointed for ever by Nature herself. And this is no invention of mine, 152 but a statement made by the most holy oracles, wherein certain people appear as saying to Abraham "Thou art a King from God among us" (Gen. xxiii. 6). They did not consider his material resources, for what such were there in an emigrant, who was not even the inhabitant of a city but a wanderer over a wide and desolate and trackless land? Rather they perceived the kingship in his mind, and thus Moses confesses that the Sage alone is king.<sup>a</sup> For in truth the prudent man is ruler of 153 the imprudent, for he knows what he should and should not do, and the temperate of the intemperate, for he has studied carefully how to choose and how to avoid: the brave man of the coward because he has learned with certainty what he should and should not endure: the just of the unjust, because he aims at unbiased equality in what he has to award:<sup>a</sup> the holy of the unholy because high and true conceptions of God prevail with him.

XXIX. These promises might well have puffed up 154 the mind to soar into the heights. But to convict us, so often proud-necked at the smallest cause, he falls down and straightway laughs (Gen. xvii. 17) with the laughter of the soul, mournfulness in his face, but smiles in his mind, where joy vast and unalloyed has made its lodging. For the sage who receives an 155 inheritance of good beyond his hope these two things are simultaneous—to fall and to laugh. He falls as a pledge that the proved nothingness of mortality

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 591.

## PHILO

- νείας, τὸ δ' εἰς εὐσεβείας βεβαίωσιν διὰ τὸ μόνον<sup>1</sup>  
 χαρίτων καὶ ἀγαθῶν νομίζειν τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον.
- 156 πιπτέτω μὲν δὴ καὶ σκυθρωπαζέτω γένεσις, φυσι-  
 κῶς—ἀνίδρυτός τε γὰρ καὶ ἐπίλυπος<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ἑαυτῆς  
 ἐστίν,—ἀνιστάσθω δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ γελάτω· τὸ  
 γὰρ ἔρεισμα αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ χαρὰ μόνος οὗτός ἐστιν.
- 157 Εἰκότως δ' ἂν ἀπορήσειέ τις, πῶς ἐνδέχεται  
 γελᾶν τινα, μήπω γέλωτος εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 γένεσιν ἐλθόντος· ὁ γὰρ Ἰσαάκ ἐστὶ γέλως, ὃς  
 κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν σκέψιν οὕτω γεγένηται.  
 ὥσπερ γὰρ οὔτε βλέπειν χωρὶς ὀφθαλμῶν οὔτ'  
 ἀκούειν χωρὶς ὠτῶν οὔτε δίχα μυκτῆρων ὀσφραί-  
 νεσθαι οὐδ' αὖ ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσιν ἄνευ τῶν  
 κατ' αὐτὰς ὀργάνων χρῆσθαι οὔτε καταλαμβάνειν  
 δίχα λογισμοῦ, οὕτως οὐδὲ γελᾶν εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ μὴ
- 158 γέλως ἐδεδημιούργητο. τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; πολλὰ  
 ἢ φύσις τῶν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι διὰ τινων συμ-  
 βόλων προμηνύει. ἢ τὸν νεοττὸν οὐχ ὄρας, ὃς,  
 πρὶν ἀέρι ἐπινήχεσθαι, πτερύσσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς  
 ταρσοὺς διασειεῖν φιλεῖ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πέτεσθαι
- 159 δυνήσεσθαι προευαγγελιζόμενος; ἀμνὸν δ' ἢ χί-  
 μαρον ἢ βοῦν ἔτι νεογνὸν οὐκ εἶδες, μήπω τῶν  
 κεράτων ἐκπεφυκότων, ὅποτε διερεθίζει τις, ἀντι-  
 βεβηκότα καὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις ὀρμῶντα πρὸς  
 ἄμυναν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ φύσις τὰ ἀμυντήρια ὄπλα ἀνα-
- 160 δίδωσιν; ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς θηριομαχίαις οὐκ εὐθὺς  
 οἱ ταῦροι τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἀναπείρουσιν, ἀλλ'  
 εὖ μάλα διαβάντες καὶ μετρίως τὸν αὐχένα χαλά-  
 σαντες καὶ θάτερον ἐκκλίναντες καὶ ταυρωπὸν  
 ὄντως ἀποβλεψάμενοι τηρικαῦτα ἐπίασιν, ἔργου  
 ἐξόμενοι. τὸ δὲ γινόμενον ὄρουσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐκάλεσαν, οἷς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῦ μόνων (τοῦ perhaps rightly).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 155-160

keeps him from vaunting : he laughs to shew that the thought that God alone is the cause of good and gracious gifts makes strong his piety. Let created 156 being fall with mourning in its face ; it is only what nature demands, so feeble in footing is it, so sad of heart in itself. Then let it be raised up by God and laugh, for God alone is its support and its joy.

One might reasonably question how it is possible 157 for anyone to laugh, when laughter had not yet come into being among us. For Isaac is laughter, which according to the view before us is not yet born. For as we cannot see without eyes nor hear without ears, nor smell without nostrils nor use the othersenses without the corresponding organs, nor apprehend without the power of thought, so the act of laughing would be against all probability if laughter had not yet been created. What shall we say then ? Nature 158 often provides signs which shew us beforehand future happenings. Do you not often see how the fledgling, before it actually oars its way in the air, likes to flutter or shake its wings, thus giving a welcome promise of ability to fly hereafter ? Or how the lamb or the he- 159 goat or the youngling ox, if one provoke it, fronts its opponent and starts to defend itself with those parts from which spring the weapons of defence which Nature provides ? Again, in the arena the bulls do 160 not at once gore their antagonists, but set their legs well apart, bend their necks slightly, and turn them either way with a truly bull-like glare, and only then do they attack and shew a mind to set to in earnest. This kind of thing, one impulse, that is, precluding

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. *ἐπίλυτος*.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ἐρυσιν*.

## PHILO

- ὀνοματοποιεῖν ἔθος, ὄρμην τινα πρὸ ὄρμῆς ὑπ-  
 161 ἀρχουσαν. XXX. ὅμοιον δὴ τι<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ  
 πολλὰ πάσχει· ἐπιζομένου γὰρ τὰγαθοῦ προγήθει,  
 ὡς τρόπον τινα χαίρειν πρὸ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι  
 πρὸ εὐφροσύνης. εἰκάσαι δ' ἄν τις αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ  
 περὶ τὰ φυτὰ συμβαίνοντι· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα,<sup>2</sup> ὅποτε  
 μέλλοι καρποφορεῖν, προβλαστάνει καὶ προανθεῖ |  
 [603] καὶ χλοηφορεῖ. τὴν ἡμερίδα ἄμπελον ἴδε, ὡς ὑπὸ  
 162 φύσεως τεθαυματούργηται, κληματίσιν, ἔλιξι, μω-  
 χεύμασι, πετάλοις, οἰνάροις, ἃ φωνὴν (μονον)οὐκ  
 ἀφιέντα μηνύει τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι καρπῷ τοῦ  
 δένδρου χαρὰν. καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μέντοι προγελαῖ πρὸς  
 βαθὴν ὄρθρον μέλλοντος ἀνίσχαι ἡλίου· αὐγὴ γὰρ  
 αὐγῆς<sup>3</sup> ἄγγελος καὶ φῶς φωτὸς ἀμυδρότερον τηλ-  
 163 αυγεστέρου προεξέρχεται. ἦκοντι μὲν οὖν ἤδη τῷ  
 ἀγαθῷ συνομαρτεῖ χαρὰ, προσδοκωμένῳ δὲ ἐλπίς·  
 ἀφικομένῳ μὲν (γὰρ) χαίρομεν, μέλλοντος<sup>4</sup> δὲ  
 ἐλπίζομεν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔχειν  
 συμβέβηκεν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρουσία τοῦ κακοῦ λύπην,  
 ἡ δὲ προσδοκία φόβον ἐγέννησεν. φόβος δὲ ἄρα  
 ἦν οὐδὲν ἢ λύπη πρὸ λύπης, ὡσπερ ἐλπίς χαρὰ  
 πρὸ χαρᾶς· ὁ γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς λύπην φόβος,  
 164 τοῦτο πρὸς χαρὰν ἐλπίς. σημεῖα δὲ τοῦ λεγο-  
 μένου καὶ αἰσθήσεις ἐναργῆ περιφέρουσι· γεύσεως  
 γὰρ ὄσφρησις προκαθημένη τὰ πρὸς ἐδωδὴν καὶ  
 πόσιν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα προδικάζει· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ προ-  
 γευστρίδα αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν εἰς τὴν ἐνάργειαν<sup>5</sup>  
 ἀπιδόντες εὐθυβόλως ἔνιοι. πέφυκε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς  
 ὡσανεὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ προγεύεσθαι καὶ δια-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δῆτα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. αὐτὰ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. αὐτῆς.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μέλλοντι, which perhaps retain, reading with Mangey  
 <ἐπ>ελπίζουεν.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 160-164

another, is called *orouisis*,<sup>a</sup> or "springing," by those who practise word-coining. XXX. Much the same 161 often befalls the soul. When good is hoped for, it rejoices in anticipation, and thus may be said to feel joy before joy, gladness before gladness. We may find in this a likeness to what happens in the vegetable world. They too, when they are going to bear fruit, put forth shoots, flowers and leaves in anticipation. Observe the cultivated vine, what a wonderful piece 162 of nature's handiwork it is, with its twigs, tendrils, suckers, petals, leaves, which seem almost to break out into speech and proclaim their joy at the coming fruit of the tree. And the day laughs in forecast while the dawning is still young because the sunrise is coming. For beam heralds beam and the dimmer light leads the way for the clearer. And so the good 163 when it has come is accompanied by joy, and when it is expected, by hope. For we rejoice at its arrival and hope when it is coming. Similarly with their opposites. The presence of evil produces grief, and its expectation fear. And so fear is grief before grief, just as hope is joy before joy. For fear, I think, bears the same relation to grief as hope does to joy. The senses, too, carry with them clear signs of what 164 is here stated. Smell presides over taste and passes judgement in advance on practically all that serves for food or drink. And therefore some looking to the obvious fact have given to smell the apposite name of fore-taster. And so it is natural for hope to taste beforehand as it were the coming good and to recom-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 591.

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<sup>5</sup> MSS. *ἐνέργειαν*. The change seems to me very doubtful: *ἐνέργεια* is frequently used in connexion with the sense organs, e.g. *De Abr.* 154, 158.

## PHILO

- συνιστάνειν αὐτὸ ψυχῇ τῇ βεβαίως κτησομένη.  
 165 κὰν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις μέντοι πεινήσας τις καὶ  
 διψήσας, πηγὰς ἐξαίφνης ἰδὼν ἢ δένδρα παντοῖα  
 ἡμέροις βρίθοντα καρποῖς, μήπω φαγὼν ἢ πῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀρυσάμενος<sup>1</sup> ἢ δρεψάμενος ἐλπίδι τῆς  
 ἀπολαύσεως προπληροῦται. εἴτ' οἰόμεθα ταῖς μὲν  
 τοῦ σώματος τροφαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς χρήσεως ἐστιᾶ-  
 σθαι δύνασθαι, τὰς δὲ τῆς διανοίας οὐχ ἰκανὰς εἶναι  
 καὶ ὁπότε μέλλοιεν ἐστιᾶν προευφραίνειν;  
 166 XXXI. Ἐγέλασεν οὖν εἰκότως μήπω δοκοῦντος  
 ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει σπαρῆναι τοῦ γέλωτος· καὶ οὐ  
 μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ γελᾷ. λέγεται γὰρ  
 αὐθις· “ ἐγέλασε δὲ Σάρρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα· οὐπω  
 μὲν μοι γέγονεν ἕως τοῦ νῦν ” ἄνευ μελέτης ἀπ-  
 αυτοματιζόν ἀγαθόν· ὁ δ' ὑποσχόμενος “ κύριός  
 μου καὶ πρεσβύτερος ” πάσης γενέσεώς ἐστιν, ᾧ  
 167 πιστεύειν ἀναγκαῖον. ἅμα μέντοι καὶ ἀναδιδάσκει,  
 ὅτι ἡ τ' ἀρετὴ χαρτόν ἐστι φύσει καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν  
 αἰεὶ γέγηθε, καὶ τοῦναντίον ὅτι ἡ τε κακία λυπηρόν  
 καὶ ὁ ἔχων ὀδυνηρότατος. ἔτι νῦν θαυμάζομεν  
 τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς λέγοντας τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐπάθειαν<sup>2</sup>  
 168 εἶναι; ἰδοὺ γὰρ Μωυσῆς χορηγὸς ἀνεύρηται τοῦ  
 σοφοῦ τούτου δόγματος, χαίροντα καὶ γελῶντα  
 παραγαγὼν τὸν ἀστείον· ἀλλαχόθι δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸν  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς εἰς ταῦτόν ἀφικνουμένους  
 αὐτῷ. “ ἰδὼν γὰρ σε ” φησὶ “ χαρήσεται ἐν  
 [604] αὐτῷ,” | ὡς τῆς τοῦ σπουδαίου προσόψεως αὐτὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἰδρυσάμενος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀπάθειαν.

<sup>a</sup> This perversion of the laughter of Abraham and Sarah has some excuse in the case of the latter in the obscurity of the LXX in which the E.V. “ After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?” appears as here quoted. So also in *Leg. All.* iii. 217 f.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 164-168

mend it to the soul which will have it for its solid possession. Again the hungry or thirsty traveller, if 165 he suddenly sees in his journeying springs of water or trees of every kind laden with refreshing fruits, finds a preliminary satisfaction in the hope of future enjoyment, before he eats or drinks and even before he draws the water or plucks the fruit. And if we can find a feast in what feeds the body before we actually eat, can we possibly suppose that what feeds the mind is unable to give us a foretaste of gladness when the feast it provides is still to come ?

XXXI. Well then might he laugh even though 166 laughter seems to have been as yet unborn in our mortal race, and not only did he himself laugh but his wife also. For again we find Sarah laughed, saying in herself, "Not yet has this befallen me till now," this unstudied, self-sprung good. Yet He that promised, she says, is "my Lord" (Gen. xviii. 12) and "older" than all creation, and I needs must believe Him.<sup>a</sup> At 167 the same time Moses teaches us this lesson that virtue is by its very nature a thing for joy,<sup>b</sup> and that he who possesses it ever rejoices, while vice on the contrary is grievous and its possessor most unhappy. After this need we extol those philosophers who declare that virtue is a state of happy feeling<sup>c</sup> ? For, 168 see, we find in Moses the primary authority for this wise doctrine, since he pictures the good man as rejoicing and laughing, and elsewhere not the good man only but those also who come into company with him. "Seeing thee," he says, "he will rejoice at it" (Ex. iv. 14).<sup>d</sup> He suggests that the mere sight

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 591.

<sup>c</sup> Or "well-being." See App. p. 591.

<sup>d</sup> See note on *De Mig.* 79.

## PHILO

- μόνον ἰκανῆς οὔσης ἀναπληρῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν  
 εὐφροσύνης, ἀποφορτισαμένην τὸ ἀπεχθέστατον  
 169 ψυχῆς κακῶν, λύπην. φαύλω δ' οὐδενὶ χαίρειν  
 ἐφέεται, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν προφητικαῖς ἄδεται  
 ῥήσεσι· “χαίρειν οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν, εἶπεν ὁ  
 θεός.” λόγος γὰρ ὄντως καὶ χρησμός ἐστι θεῖος,  
 σκυθρωπὸν καὶ ἐπίλυπον καὶ μεστὸν βαρυδαιμο-  
 νίας εἶναι τὸν παντὸς μοχθηροῦ βίον, κἂν προσ-  
 170 ποιῆται τῷ προσώπῳ μειδιᾶν. οὐ γὰρ  
 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους χαίρειν ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν,  
 ἡνίκα τοὺς ἀδελφούς Ἰωσήφ ἤκοντας ἤκουσαν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπιμορφάζειν<sup>1</sup> καθυποκρινομένους τὸ δοκεῖν.  
 οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐπιστὰς ἔλεγχος ἀφρόνων δι' ἡδονῆς  
 ἐστιν, ὡσπερ οὐδ' ἰατρὸς ἀκρατεῖ νοσοῦντι. πόνος  
 μὲν γὰρ τοῖς συμφέρουσι, ῥαστώνη δὲ τοῖς βλα-  
 βεροῖς ἔπεται· πόνου δὲ ῥαστώνην προκρίναντες  
 εἰκότως τοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα εἰσηγουμένοις ἀπεχθά-  
 171 νονται. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἀκούσης ὅτι “ἐχάρη Φαραῶν  
 καὶ ἡ θεραπεία αὐτοῦ” διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
 Ἰωσήφ ἄφιξιν, μὴ νόμιζε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἡδεσθαι,  
 εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνο ἴσως, ὅτι προσδοκῶσιν αὐτὸν  
 <νοῦν><sup>2</sup> μεταβαλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν, οἷς  
 συνετράφη, πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνηνύτους ἐπι-  
 θυμίας, τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ προγονικὸν ἀρετῆς συγ-  
 172 γενοῦς νόμισμα παρακόψαντα. XXXII. τοιαῦτα  
 δ' ἐλπίσας ὁ φιλήδονος νοῦς αὐτάρκες οὐχ ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπομορφάζειν.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν <νοῦν>: my correction for αὐτόν in MSS. and all editions. As the text stands, αὐτόν can only refer to Joseph and this is hardly sense. How could the arrival of the brethren, always representing the good, cause Joseph already more or less corrupted by Egypt to change for the worse? The sequel clearly shows that it is the brethren and Jacob?



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 168-172

of the worthy is enough to make the mind cast off the soul's most hateful burden, grief, and to fill it with joy. And to none of the wicked is rejoicing 169 permitted, as indeed the orations of the prophets proclaim: "Rejoicing is not for the impious, said God" (Is. xlvi. 22). It is indeed a divine saying and oracle that the life of every worthless man is one of gloom and sorrow and full of misery, even though he affect to wear a smiling face. I would 170 not say that the Egyptians really rejoiced when they heard that Joseph's brethren had come. Rather they assumed in hypocrisy the appearance of joy. For no fool when confronted by conviction is pleased with it, any more than the dissolute man on his sick-bed with the physician. For the profitable is followed by toil, the noxious by ease. And fools because they prefer ease to toil are naturally at enmity with those who would advise them to their profit. And so when 171 you hear that "Pharaoh rejoiced and his servants" (Gen. xlv. 16) at the coming of the brothers of Joseph, do not suppose that they were really pleased, except perhaps at one thought: they expected once more to lead away the mind to desert its foster-brethren the goods of the soul for the numberless lusts of the body, and to debase its old ancestral coinage, the coinage of virtue its birth-fellow. XXXII. With such 172 hopes the pleasure-loving mind is not content merely

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in particular whom they hope to corrupt. But *συνεγράφη* and *παρακόψαντα* forbid us to correct to *αὐτοῦς*. The suggestion of *αὐ* is not necessary to the sense, but it enriches it, as well as diminishing the departure from the mss. Egypt hopes to do with the new arrivals what it has already done with Joseph. This is supported by § 173, where the ills which will be inflicted on them are those which Joseph has already suffered.

## PHILO

λαμβάνει τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ ἄρτι πρὸς τὰ σω-  
 φροσύνης γυμνάσια φοιτῶντας ἐπιθυμιῶν δελέασιν  
 ἀγκιστρεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ  
 καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ὑπάξεται λόγον, οὐδ' τὰ λυτ-  
 173 τῶντα πάθη παρήβηκε. λέγει γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰς ζημίας  
 ὡς ὠφελείας προτείνων· “ παραλαβόντες τὸν πατέρα  
 καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν ἦκετε πρὸς μέ ” ἐπ’  
 Αἰγύπτου<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ τούτου βασιλέως, ὃς  
 καὶ τὰ πατρῶα ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντως ὑπάρχοντα  
 ἀγαθὰ ἔξω προεληλυθότα τοῦ σώματος— φύσει γὰρ  
 ἐστὶν ἐλεύθερα— ἀντισπᾶ βιαζόμενος δεσμοτηριῶ  
 πάνυ πικρῶ παραδοῦναι, καταστήσας εἰρκοφύλακα,  
 ὡς φησι τὸ λόγιον, Πεντεφρῆ τὸν σπάδοντα καὶ  
 ἀρχιμάγειρον σπάνει κεχρημένον τῶν καλῶν καὶ  
 τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτετμημένον, ἔτι δὲ  
 σπείρει καὶ φυτεύει τι τῶν κατὰ παιδείαν ἀδυνα-  
 τοῦντα, μαγείρου τρόπον κτείνοντα τὰ ζῶντα καὶ  
 κατὰ μέρη καὶ κατὰ μέλη κόπτοντα καὶ διαιροῦντα  
 καὶ ἐν ἀψύχοις καὶ νεκροῖς καλωδούμενον οὐ σώμασι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς περιέργοις παρ-  
 αρτύσειν ἀνεγείροντα καὶ ἀνερεθίζοντα τὰς τῶν  
 ἀνηνύτων παθῶν ὀρμάς, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν τιθασεύοντα  
 174 πρᾶναι. ὁ δὲ καὶ “ δώσω ” φησὶν “ ὑμῖν πάντων  
 [605] τῶν ἀγαθῶν Αἰγύπτου, καὶ | φάγεσθε τὸν μυελὸν  
 (τῆς) γῆς.” ἀλλ’ ἐροῦμεν αὐτῶ· σώματος ἀγαθὸν  
 οὐ προσιέμεθα οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ἰδόντες· ἱκανὸς γὰρ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests ἐπ’ <ἀγαθὰ>, and adds “ certe corruptela latet.” I doubt whether there is anything very unusual in this use of ἐπί with the genitive.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. at present only the brethren representing virtue at its earliest stages have come to Egypt. Egypt hopes also to win over the more perfected virtue of Jacob.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 172-174

to angle with the baits of every lust for the younger sort, the novices in the training-schools of temperance, but revolts from the idea that it should be unable to subjugate the older thinking, in which the frenzy of passion has passed its prime.<sup>a</sup> He makes other offers, offers which mean loss though he speaks of them as profit. "Take your father and your wealth," he says, "and come to me" (*ibid.* 18) into Egypt, come, that is, to this King of terror, who when our paternal and our truly real wealth had in virtue of its natural liberty left the body behind in its advance, draws it back and throws it with violence into a prison of exceeding bitterness; and over this prison he sets for keeper, as the oracular text tells us, Potiphar (Gen. xxxix. 1) the eunuch and chief cook<sup>b</sup>: eunuch, because he has scant store of excellence and has lost by mutilation the soul's organs of generation, unable further to sow and beget anything that tends to discipline; cook, because in cook-like fashion he slaughters living beings, chops and divides them, piece by piece, limb by limb, and moves in a chaos of lifeless carcasses, immaterial rather than material;<sup>c</sup> and with his elaborately seasoned dishes arouses and excites the appetites of fruitless passions, appetites which should rather be tamed and calmed. And also,<sup>174</sup> says the Pleasure-lover, "I will give you of all the good things of Egypt, and ye shall eat the marrow of the land" (Gen. xlv. 18). But we will answer him, "We do not accept the body's good, for we have seen the things of the soul. For so deeply has our strong

<sup>b</sup> So LXX. E.V. "an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard"; *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 236.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

## PHILO

- τριπόθητος ἐκείνων ἡμερος ἐντακεῖς πάντων ὅσα τῇ σαρκὶ φίλα λήθην ἐργάσασθαι.
- 175 XXXIII. Τοιαύτη μὲν τις ἢ ψευδώνυμος χαρὰ τῶν ἀφρόνων, ἣ δὲ ἀληθῆς πρότερον εἴρηται, μόνοις ἀστείοις ἐφαρμόζουσα. “ πεσῶν οὖν ἐγέλασεν,” οὐκ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πεσῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ· ἔσθη μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄτρεπτον, ἔπεσε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οἰήσεως.
- 176 διὸ καὶ τοῦ μὲν δοκησισόφου καταβληθέντος φρονήματος, ἀνεγερθέντος δὲ τοῦ φιλοθέου καὶ περὶ τὸν ἀκλινῆ μόνον ἰδρυθέντος, γελάσας εὐθύς “ εἶπε τῇ διανοίᾳ· εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται, καὶ ἡ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν οὔσα τέξεται;”
- 177 μὴ (μὲν)τοι νομίσης, ὦ γενναῖε, τὸ “ εἰπεῖν ” οὐχὶ τῷ στόματι, ἀλλὰ “ τῇ διανοίᾳ ” προσκεῖσθαι παρέργως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐξητασμένως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἔοικε διὰ τοῦ φάσκειν “ εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται ” περὶ τῆς Ἰσαὰκ ἐνδοιάσαι γενέσεως, ἐφ’ ἣ πρότερον ἐλέγετο πιστεῦσαι, ὡς ἐδήλου τὸ χρησθὲν πρὸ μικροῦ τόδε· “ οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὗτος, ἀλλ’ ὃς ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σου ”· εἶπ’ εὐθύς εἶπεν· “ ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.”
- 178 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀκόλουθον οὐκ ἦν ἐνδοιάσαι τῷ πιστευκότητι, πεποίηκε τὸν ἐνδοιασμὸν οὐ πολυχρόνιον, μηκυνόμενον μέχρι γλώττης καὶ στόματος, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ὀξύκνητον διάνοιαν ἰστάμενον. “ τῇ γὰρ διανοίᾳ ” φησὶν “ εἶπεν,” ἦν τῶν εἰς ποδώκειαν ἐπαινουμένων οὐδὲν ἂν ἰσχύσαι παρα-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 174-178

yearning for these sunk into us that it can make us forget all that is dear to the flesh."

XXXIII. Such indeed is the joy falsely so-called 175  
of the fool. The true joy has been described above,  
the joy which befits the virtuous alone. "And so  
Abraham fell and laughed" (Gen. xvii. 17). He fell  
not from God but from himself, for in clinging to the  
immovable Being he stood, but fell from his own  
conceit. And so when the spirit which is wise in its 176  
own conceits had been thrown to the ground and  
the spirit of love to God raised up and firmly planted  
round Him who alone never bends, he laughed at  
once and said in his mind, "Shall this happen to one  
of a hundred years old, and shall Sarah being ninety  
years old bear a son?" But do not think, 177  
good reader, that when "he said" is followed by  
"in his mind" instead of "with his mouth," the  
addition has little meaning. No, it is made with  
very careful purpose. Why so? Because in saying  
"Shall this happen to one of a hundred years," he  
seems to doubt the birth of Isaac in which in an  
earlier place he was said to believe, as was shown by  
the oracular words delivered a little time before.  
Those ran, "He shall not be thine heir, but one who  
shall come from thee," and then immediately fol-  
lowed the words, "And Abraham believed God and  
it was accounted to him for righteousness" (Gen. xv.  
4, 6). So then, since doubt was not consistent with 178  
his past belief, Moses has represented the doubt not  
as long-lived, or prolonged to reach the mouth and  
tongue, but staying where it was with the swiftly  
moving mind. For, says the text, "He said in his  
mind," which none of the creatures whose swiftness  
of foot we admire can outrun, and indeed no form

## PHILO

- δραμεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πτηγὰς φύσεις ἀπάσας  
 179 ἔφθακεν. ἀφ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλληνισ-  
 ποιητῶν ὁ δοκιμώτατος "ὡς εἰ πτερόν ἢ νόημα"  
 φάναι, δηλῶν τὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος τάχος, κατ' ἐπίτασιν  
 ὕστερον τοῦ πτεροῦ τὸ νόημα θείσ. ἐπὶ πολλὰ γὰρ  
 ἢ διάνοια ἐν ταύτῳ πράγματα ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματα  
 στείχει μετὰ ἀλέκτου φορᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάττης αὐτίκα πέρατα φθάνει συναιρούσα καὶ  
 τέμνουσα τὰ ἀπειρομεγέθη διαστήματα<sup>1</sup>. κατὰ δέ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναπηδᾷ, ὡς  
 δι' ἄερος εἰς αἰθέρα ἀνέρχεται καὶ μόλις περὶ τὴν  
 180 ἐσχάτην τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀψίδα ἴστασθαι. τὸ γὰρ  
 ἔνθερμον καὶ διάπυρον ἡρεμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔα· διὸ  
 πολλὰ ὑπερβάλλουσα καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ  
 τούτου ὄρου ἔξω φέρεται πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῶν ιδεῶν  
 παγέντα συγγενικῶς. γέγονεν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἀστείον  
 ἢ τροπὴ βραχεῖα, ἄτομος, ἀμερῆς, οὐκ αἰσθητή, |  
 [606] νοητὴ δὲ μόνον, τρόπον τινὰ ἄχρονος.
- 181 XXXIV. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τις εἴποι· τί οὖν γε, ὅτι  
 πεπιστευκῶς ἴχνος ἢ σκιὰν ἢ αὐραν<sup>2</sup> ἀπιστίας  
 δέχεται τὸ παράπαν; οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν μοι  
 βούλεσθαι δοκεῖ ἢ τὸν γενόμενον ἀποφαίνειν ἀ-  
 γένητον καὶ τὸν θνητὸν ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸν φθαρτὸν  
 ἀφθαρτον καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, θεόν.
- 182 τὴν γὰρ πίστιν, ἧς ἔλαχεν ἄνθρωπος, οὕτω βέβαιόν  
 φησι δεῖν εἶναι, ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς περὶ τὸ  
 ὄν, τῆς ἀρτίου καὶ περὶ πάντα πλήρους. λέγει

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπειρα μεγέθη διὰ στόματος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὠραν.

of bird nature has such speed. This is, I think, the 179  
 reason why the poet most highly esteemed among  
 the Greeks says, "like a bird's wing or a thought."<sup>a</sup>  
 He is showing the swiftness of the mind's intensity,  
 and to bring this out more strongly he puts thought  
 after the bird's wing. For the mind moves at the  
 same moment to many things material and immaterial  
 with indescribable rapidity and reaches at once the  
 boundaries of land and sea, covering and dividing<sup>b</sup>  
 distances of infinite magnitude. At the same time  
 it leaps so high from the earth that it passes through  
 the lower to the upper air and scarcely comes to a  
 stop even when it reaches the furthestmost sphere  
 of the fixed stars. For its fiery fervent nature forbids 180  
 it to rest and its onward journey carries it across  
 wide spaces outside the limits of all this world of  
 sense to the world framed from the ideas to which it  
 feels itself akin. So then in the case of the virtuous  
 man the swerving was short, instantaneous and in-  
 finitesimal, not belonging to sense but only to mind,  
 and so to speak timeless.

XXXIV. But 181  
 perhaps it may be said, why did he, when once he  
 had believed, admit any trace or shadow or breath  
 of unbelief whatsoever? It seems to me that this  
 question amounts to a wish to make out the created  
 to be uncreated, the mortal immortal, the perishable  
 imperishable, and if it is not blasphemy to say it,  
 man to be God. Such a person asserts that the faith 182  
 which man possesses should be so strong as to differ  
 not at all from the faith which belongs to the Existent,  
 a faith sound and complete in every way. For Moses

<sup>a</sup> *Odyssey* vii. 36, cf. the saying of Thales (Diog. Laert. i. 35) *τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει.*

<sup>b</sup> The sense of the word is not clear. Wend. suggests *συντέμνουσα* "cutting down," "making a short cut of."

## PHILO

- γὰρ Μωυσῆς ἐν ᾧδῃ τῇ μείζονι· “θεὸς πιστός,  
 183 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία ἐν αὐτῷ.” πολλὴ δὲ ἄγνοια  
 νομίζειν, τὰς θεοῦ ἀρετὰς τὰς ἀρρεπεῖς καὶ παγω-  
 τάτας χωρῆσαι ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου δύνασθαι· ἀγα-  
 πητὸν γὰρ εἰκόνας αὐτῶν κτήσασθαι δυνηθῆναι,  
 πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀριθμοῖς τῶν ἀρχετύπων  
 184 ἐλαττουμένας· καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· ἀκράτους μὲν  
 γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς θεοῦ ἀρετάς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
 ὁ θεὸς οὐ σύγκριμα, φύσις ὧν ἀπλή, κεκραμένας  
 δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν  
 κράματα, θείου καὶ θνητοῦ συγκερασθέντων καὶ  
 κατὰ τοὺς τῆς τελείας μουσικῆς λόγους ἀρμοσθέν-  
 των· τὸ δ’ ἐκ πλείονων συνεστῶς φυσικὰς πρὸς  
 185 ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ἀνθολκὰς ἔχει. εὐδαίμων δ’  
 ὅτω ἐξεγένετο τὸν πλείω τοῦ βίου χρόνον πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀμείνω καὶ θειοτέραν μοῖραν ταλαντεύειν· ἅπαντα  
 γὰρ τὸν αἰῶνα ἀμήχανον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον  
 θνητὸν ἄχθος ἔστιν ὅτε ἀντέρρευσε καὶ ἐφεδρεῦ-  
 σαν ἐκαιροφυλάκησε τὰς ἀκαιρίας τοῦ λογισμοῦ,  
 186 ὡς ἀντιβιάσασθαι. XXXV. “πεπίστευκεν οὖν  
 Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ,” ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄνθρωπος πεπίστευκεν,  
 ἵνα τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ θνητοῦ γνῶς καὶ μάθης οὐκ ἄλλως  
 αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐκ φύσεως, τὴν τροπὴν. ἀλλ’  
 εἰ βραχεῖα καὶ ἀκαρῆς γέγονεν, ἄξιον εὐχαριστεῖν·  
 πολλοὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι τῇ ρύμη καὶ φορᾷ κατα-  
 187 κλυσθέντες καὶ τῇ βίᾳ εἰσάπαν ἠφανίσθησαν. οὐκ  
 ἔστι γάρ, ὧ γενναῖε, κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν  
 ἀρτίπους ἢ ἐν θνητῷ σώματι ἀρετῇ, ἀλλὰ παρα-  
 πλῆσιόν τι πάσχουσα νάρκη, μικρὸν ὅσον ὑπο-

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<sup>a</sup> The common title for Deut. xxxii. in contrast to the song of Ex. xv.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 182-187

says in the Greater Song,<sup>a</sup> " God is faithful and there is no injustice in Him " (Deut. xxxii. 4), and it argues 183 great ignorance to think that the soul of man can contain the unwavering, absolutely steadfast excellences of God. Enough for man is the power to possess the images of these, images in the scale of number and magnitude far below the archetypes. And surely this is to be expected, for the excellences 184 of God must needs be unmixed since God is not compounded but a single nature, whereas man's excellences are mixed, since we, too, are mixtures, with human and divine blended in us and formed into a harmony in the proportions of perfect music, and a compound of more than one ingredient is subject to natural counter-forces drawing it to each of these ingredients. Happy is he to whom it is 185 granted to incline towards the better and more god-like part through most of his life. For it is impossible that it should be so with him throughout the whole length of life, since sometimes the opposing load of mortality throws its weight into the scales, and biding its time waits to find its chance in the mischances of reason and so prove too strong for him. XXXV. " Abraham then has believed God," but only 186 as a man, so that you may recognize the weakness, the distinctive mark of the mortal, and learn that, if he swerves, his swerving arises only according to nature. But if that swerving is short and momentary, thanks are due, for many others have been overwhelmed by the rushing of the tide and died a violent death in the waters. For, good friend, if you believe 187 the holy Moses, virtue is not sound-footed in our mortal and bodily nature, but limps ever so little and is subject to a sort of stiffness, for we are told that

## PHILO

- χωλαίνουσα. “ἐνάρκησε” γάρ φησι “τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ, ᾧ καὶ ἐπέσκαζεν.”
- 188 “Ἴσως δ’ ἂν τῶν εὐθαρσεστέρων εἴποι τις παρελθῶν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀπιστοῦντός ἐστιν ἡ προφορά, ἀλλ’ εὐχομένου, ἢν’, εἰ μέλλοι τῶν εὐπαθειῶν ἡ ἀρίστη γεννᾶσθαι, χαρά, μὴ ἑτέροις ἀριθμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ [607] τοῖς ἐνενηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν<sup>1</sup> τεχθῆ, ἵνα τὸ | τέλειον
- 189 ἀγαθὶ τελείοις ἀριθμοῖς εἰς γένεσιν ἔλθῃ. τέλειοι δ’ οἱ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοί, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς ἱερωτάτας ἀναγραφάς. ἴδωμεν δ’ αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον<sup>2</sup>. Σὴμ εὐθέως μὲν, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε, πρόγονος δὲ τοῦ ὀρατικοῦ γένους, “ἑκατὸν ἑτῶν εἶναι λέγεται, ἥνικα ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀρφαξάτ,” ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται συνετάραξε τάλαιπωρίαν· καλὸν γε ἔγγονον ψυχῆς κλονεῖν καὶ συγχεῖν καὶ διαφθείρειν τὴν τάλαιπυρον καὶ γέμουσαν κακῶν ἀδικίαν.
- 190 ἀλλὰ καὶ “Ἀβραὰμ ἄρουραν φυτεῖ” χρώμενος<sup>3</sup> ἑκατοστῶ λόγῳ πρὸς ἀναμέτρησιν τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ “ἑκατοστεύουσαν εὐρίσκει κριθήν.” καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἱεράς σκηνῆς Μωυσῆς κατασκευάζει πήχεσιν ἑκατόν, τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ
- 191 δύσεις ἐκμετρούμενος διάστημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀπαρχῆς ἀπαρχὴ ὁ ἑκατοστὸς λόγος, ὃν Λευῖται τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἀπάρχονται· λαβοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰς δεκάτας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους διείρηται καθάπερ ἀπὸ κτημάτων οἰκείων τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδόναι ὡς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῖς ἐνενηκονταέταις οὔσι: Mangey proposed ἑκατονταέταις. I should suggest τοῖς ἐνενηκονταέταις <καὶ ἑκατονταέταις> οὔσι. The latter word occurs in the narrative of Gen. xvii. 17, though, as apparently elsewhere, in the third declension. Perhaps here -εσι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἑκάτερα.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. χώματος.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 187-191

“the width of the thigh was stiffened, and he halted on it” (Gen. xxxii. 25, 31).

But perhaps some more courageous spirits might 188 come forward and say that the utterance does not even indicate any disbelief, but a prayer, that if joy, the best of good emotions, is to be born, its birth should be confined to the numbers ninety and a hundred, that so the perfect good may enter on its existence under perfect numbers. The numbers here 189 named are perfect numbers, particularly according to the sacred writings. Let us consider each of them separately. To begin with Shem, the son of the just Noah, the ancestor of the nation of vision; he is said to have been a hundred years old when he begat Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 10), the meaning of whose name is “he disturbed affliction.” And surely it is excellent that the soul’s offspring should harass and confound and destroy injustice, afflicted and full of evils as it is. Abraham too “plants 190 an acre”<sup>a</sup> and adopts the hundred in measuring out the plot (Gen. xxi. 33), and Isaac “finds barley a hundredfold” (Gen. xxvi. 12); and Moses in building the court of the tabernacle takes a hundred cubits in measuring out the distance from east to west (Ex. xxvii. 9). And a hundred too appears 191 in the firstfruit of firstfruit which the Levites offer to the consecrated priest (Num. xviii. 28), for when they receive the tenths from the nation, they are bidden to treat them as their own possessions and to give to the priest what may be called a holy tenth

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo interprets *ἀρουραν* in the technical sense of a piece of land of 100 square cubits, *cf.* ἡ δὲ ἀρουρα ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη, Herodotus ii. 168, *cf.* *De Plant.* 75.

192 δεκάτην <δεκάτων><sup>1</sup> λόγων ἱεράν. πολλὰ δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα σκοπῶν εὔροι πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀριθμοῦ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμφερόμενα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ παρὸν διεξαρκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἀλλ' εἰάν τῶν

ἐκατὸν ἀφέλης δεκάτην ἱεράν ἀπαρχὴν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς φέροντι καὶ αὔξοντι καὶ πληροῦντι καρποὺς θεῷ, ἕτερον ἀριθμὸν <τέλειον> τὸν ἐνεήκοντα ἀπολείψεις. πῶς γὰρ οὐ τέλειος, μεθόριος ὢν πρώτης καὶ δεκάτης <δεκάδος>,<sup>2</sup> καθ' ὃν διακρίνεται τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων<sup>3</sup> τρόπον καταπετάσματος τοῦ μέσου, ᾧ τὰ ὁμογενῆ διαστελλεται κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς εἶδεσι τομάς.

193 XXXVI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀστεῖος ἐλάλει τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰ ἀστεῖα ὄντως, ὁ δὲ φαῦλος ἐρμηνεύει ἔστιν ὅτε παγκάλως τὰ καλά, πράττει δὲ αἰσχροῦς τὰ αἰσχιστα, καθάπερ καὶ Συχέμ ὁ ἔγγονος ἀνοίας. Ἐμῶρ γὰρ ἔστι πατρός, ὃς μεταληφθεὶς ὄνος καλεῖται, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἔστιν ὦμος, πόνου σύμβολον. ἄθλιος δὲ καὶ ταλαιπωρίας μεστὸς πόνος, ὃν ἄνοια γεννᾷ, ὥσπερ ὠφέλιμος, ᾧ συγγενῆς

<sup>1</sup> <δεκάτων>: my insertion. Wendland proposes *ἐτέρας δεκάτας* <ἐκάτοστον> λόγον περιέχουσας οἱ δεκάτην ὡς ἀπαρχὴν ἱεράν: Mangey δεκάτην ἐκατόστῳ λόγῳ ἱεράν. I do not know why they preferred these wide departures from the mss. to the obvious correction which is printed above. The periphrasis with *λόγος* for the ordinal is quite common, as their conjectures indeed admit, and I do not think the plural is any objection.

<sup>2</sup> <δεκάδος>: again my insertion. Wend. <δευτέρας>, in which I can see no meaning. Ninety is certainly the borderland between ten and a hundred, which is here called the tenth ten to bring out the analogy with the veil which separates the ἅγια.

<sup>3</sup> I suggest τὰ ἅγια <τῶν ἀγίων> τῶν ἀγίων (the holy place from the holy of holies), cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 55. This will bring

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 192-193

of tenths. And by observation we might discover 192 contained in the laws many other examples in praise of the number here mentioned, but the above is quite sufficient for the present.

But if you separate from the hundred a tenth as the sacred first offering to God who brings the fruits of the soul to their beginning,<sup>a</sup> their increase and their fulfilment, you will leave behind another perfect number, ninety, for it must needs be perfect, placed as it is in a debatable land between the first and the tenth ten, and thus serve to separate sanctities from sanctities like the veil in the midst of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 33), by which things of the same genus are distinguished through division into their respective species.

XXXVI. The virtuous man then spoke truly virtuous words and "with his mind."<sup>b</sup> But the wicked man sometimes gives admirable expression to noble thoughts, but his actions are most vile and their method equally so. Such a one is Shechem, the son of folly, for his father is Hamor whose name is translated by "ass," while his own is interpreted as "shoulder," the symbol of toil. The toil which is fathered by unintelligence is miserable and full of affliction, just as that which has intelligence for its

<sup>a</sup> For this use of *φέρω* see note on *Quis Rerum* 36. So also in § 256 below. In § 225 the use is somewhat different, as there *φέρειν* precedes *τίκτειν*.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* *ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ* must under this second interpretation be understood not, as in the first interpretation, as indicating a passing thought, but as "sincerely." Though Philo does not state this expressly, it is implied by the antithesis with *κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρθένου* below.

out more clearly the correspondence with the first and the tenth ten. Perhaps also insert *διὰ* after *τρόπον*, in which case the form of the sentence will be the same as *τούτων* (eight words) *τὸν τρόπον De Conf. 69.*

PHILO

- 194 ἀγχίνουα. φασὶ γοῦν οἱ χρησμοὶ ὅτι “ ἐλάλησε  
κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρθένου ” ταπεινώσας  
αὐτὴν πρότερον ὁ Συχέμ. ἄρ’ οὐκ<sup>1</sup> ἐξητασμένως  
ἐλέχθη τὸ “ ἐλάλησε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρ-  
θένου,” μονονοῦκ εἰς δῆλωσιν τοῦ τάναντία οἷς  
[608] κρίσις, ἢ | πάρεδρος θεοῦ δίκη, ἢ ἀειπάρθενος·  
ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ ἐκάτερον Δεῖνα, κρίσις ἢ δίκη.
- 195 ταύτην οἱ ἐπιχειροῦντες ἄφρονες διαφθείρειν διὰ  
τῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βουλευμάτων καὶ ἐπι-  
τηδευμάτων εὐπρεπεία λόγου διαδιδράσκουσι τὸν  
ἔλεγχον. χρή γοῦν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς λε-  
γομένοις πράττειν ἢ ἀδικοῦντας ἡσυχάζειν· ἡμισυ  
γάρ, φασί, κακοῦ ἡσυχία· καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐπι-  
τιμῶν τῷ πρεσβείων μὲν ἀξιώσαντι γένεσιν, δευ-  
τερείων δὲ τὸν ἄφθαρτον θεόν φησιν· “ ἡμαρτες,  
196 ἡσύχασον.” τὸ γὰρ ἐκτραγωδεῖν καὶ ἐπικομπάζειν  
τὰ κακὰ διπλοῦν ἀμάρτημα. σχεδὸν δ’ οἱ πολλοὶ  
πεπόνθασι τοῦτο· λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ τῇ παρθένῳ  
ἀρετῇ τὰ φίλα καὶ δίκαια,<sup>3</sup> καιρὸν δ’ οὐδένα  
παριᾶσιν, ἐν ᾧ δυνηθέντες αὐτὴν οὐχ ὕβριουσι καὶ  
κακώσουσι. ποία γὰρ πόλις οὐκ ἔστι μεστὴ τῶν  
197 τῆν ἀειπάρθενον ὑμνούντων ἀρετῆν; οἱ τὰ ὦτα  
τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ἀποκναίουσι διεξιόντες τὰ  
τοιαῦτα· ἢ φρόνησις ἀναγκαῖον, ἢ ἀφροσύνη βλα-  
βερὸν· αἰρετὸν ἢ σωφροσύνη, ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἀκολασία·  
ὑπομονῆς ἄξιον ἢ ἀνδρεία, φυγῆς ἢ δειλία· συμ-  
φέρον ἢ δικαιοσύνη, ἀσύμφορον ἢ ἀδικία· τὸ ὅσιον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐν.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests ἐχρῆν (rather χρῆν) οὐν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. δίκη.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 194-197

congener is profitable. Thus the oracles say that 194 Shechem spake "according to the mind of the virgin" after first humiliating her (Gen. xxxiv. 2, 3). Are not these words "according to the mind of the virgin" added with exact thought so as almost to shew that his actions were the opposite of his words? For Dinah is incorruptible judgement, the justice which is the assessor of God, the ever virgin, for the word "Dinah" by interpretation is either judgement or justice. The fools who attempt to seduce her by 195 their plottings and their practices repeated day by day seek by means of specious talking to escape from conviction. Now they should either make their actions conform to their words or if they persist in iniquity keep still. For by keeping still men say evil is halved. And so Moses by rebuking him who adjudges the chief honours to creation and only the second to the imperishable God says, "Thou hast sinned, be still" (Gen. iv. 7).<sup>a</sup> For to rant and boast 196 of evil doings is a double sin. But what regularly happens with the multitude is this: they are ever addressing words of friendship and fairness to the maiden Virtue, but they let no occasion slip without using it to outrage and maltreat her if they can. What city is not crowded with those who hymn virtue the ever virgin? They tear to pieces the ears of all 197 they meet with such disquisitions as these, prudence is necessary, imprudence is harmful, temperance deserves our choice, intemperance our hatred; courage is worthy of perseverance<sup>b</sup> therein, cowardice of avoidance; justice is profitable, injustice unprofitable; holiness is honourable, unholiness disgraceful;

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's use of this text see note on *De Sobr.* 50.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 591 f.

## PHILO

καλόν, τὸ ἀνόσιον αἰσχρόν· τὸ θεοσεβὲς ἐπαινετόν,  
τὸ ἀσεβὲς ψεκτόν· [τὸ] οἰκειότατον ἀνθρώπου φύσει  
τὸ εὖ καὶ βουλευέσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν,  
198 ἀλλοτριώτατον τὸ κακῶς τούτων ἕκαστον. ταῦτα  
καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀεὶ συνείροντες τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ  
βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ πάντα σύλλογον  
καὶ θίασον ἀνθρώπων<sup>2</sup> ἀπατῶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ προσω-  
πέια καλὰ αἰσχίσταις ὄψεσι περιτιθέντες προνοία  
199 τοῦ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρώντων ἐλέγχεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν  
ὄφελος· ἀφίξονται γάρ τινες εὖ μάλα ἐρρωμένοι  
καὶ τῷ περὶ ἀρετὴν ζήλω κατεσχημένοι καὶ τὰ  
περικαλύμματα καὶ περιάπτα ταῦτα, ὅσα λόγῳ  
κακοτεχνούντες<sup>3</sup> συνύφηναν, ἀπαμφιάσαντες καὶ  
γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνγάσαντες  
εἴσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀποκείμενα τῆς φύσεως  
ἀπόρρητα· εἰτ' ἔξω προαγαγόντες τὴν αἰσχύνην<sup>4</sup>  
καὶ τὰ ὀνειδῆ πάντα αὐτῆς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ πᾶσιν  
ἐπιδείξονται, οἷα τις οὔσα, ὡς αἰσχρὰ καὶ κατα-  
γέλαστος, οἷαν ἐκ τῶν περιάπτων, ὡς νόθην ἐπ-  
200 ἐμόρφαζεν εὐμορφίαν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρεπεῖς  
τῶν οὕτως βεβήλων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τρόπων δύο  
μέν εἰσιν ἀριθμῶ, Συμεῶν καὶ Λευί, γνώμη δὲ εἰς.  
διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοὺς ἐν  
τάξει ἑνὸς κατηρίθμει, διὰ τὸ σύμφωνον τῆς ὁμο-  
νοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἑν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος ὀρμῆς,<sup>5</sup> ὁ  
δὲ Μωσῆς οὐδὲ δυνάδος ἔτι μέμνηται, ἀλλ' ὄλον  
[609] τὸν | Συμεῶν εἰς τὸν Λευὶ ἐνεχάραξε<sup>6</sup> δύο οὐσίας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βούλεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἄνθρωποι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. κατατεχνούντες.

<sup>4</sup> So MSS.: Wend. prints τὰ αἰσχη. I do not see any sufficient reason for the change.

<sup>5</sup> I have put a comma after ὀρμῆς, instead of a full stop as



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 197-200

piety is praiseworthy, impiety blameworthy ; right purposing, speaking and acting is most conformable to man's nature, wrong purposing, speaking and acting most alien to the same. With a perpetual string<sup>198</sup> of this or suchlike talk they deceive the law-courts, the theatres, the council-chambers and every gathering and group of men, like people who set handsome masks on the ugliest of faces to prevent the ugliness being detected by the eyes of others. But it is<sup>199</sup> all useless. The vindicators will come strong and doughty, inspired with zeal for virtue. They will strip off all this complication of wraps and bandages which the perverted art of the talkers has put together, and beholding the soul naked in her very self they will know the secrets hidden from sight in the recesses of her nature ; and then exposing to every eye in clear sunlight her shame and all her disgraces they will point the contrast between her real character, so hideous, so despicable, and the spurious comeliness which disguised in her wrappings she counterfeited. And the champions who stand ready<sup>200</sup> to repel such profane and impure ways of thinking are two in number, Simeon and Levi, but they are one in will. That is why in the blessings, while their father ranked them under a single head (Gen. xlix. 5), because their minds are in concord and harmony and their purpose set in one and the same direction, Moses ceases even to mention the pair, but compresses the whole of Simeon into Levi (Deut. xxxiii.

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Mangey and Wend. The "blessings" refer to the two blessings of Jacob and Moses.

<sup>6</sup> Is this word, often used by Philo of impressing a stamp, appropriate to this case where Simeon is wholly absorbed? I suggest *ἐνέναξε*. The compound is not noted in the lexicon, but *νάσσω* exactly expresses the idea. Or *ἐνέπλασε* (W.H.D.R.).

## PHILO

κερασάμενος, ἀφ' ὧν ἓνα εἰργάσατο οἶον ἰδέα μιᾷ τυπωθέντα, τὸ ἀκούειν τῷ πράττειν ἐνώσας.

- 201 XXXVII. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἔγνω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν,<sup>1</sup> λαλήσας<sup>2</sup> τὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας μεστὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν, ὁ σπουδαῖος ἔπαθεν ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πίστιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γενητὸν ἀπιστίαν. εἰκότως οὖν φησι δεόμενος· “ Ἰσμαὴλ οὗτος ζήτω ἐνώπιόν σου,” οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἕκαστον τῶν ὀνομάτων τιθεῖς, τὸ “ οὗτος,” τὸ “ ζήτω,” τὸ “ ἐνώπιόν σου.” ταῖς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁμωνυμίαις ἠπατήθησαν
- 202 οὐκ ὀλίγοι. τί δ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω, σκεπτέον· ἐρμηνευθεῖς Ἰσμαὴλ ἐστὶν ἀκοή θεοῦ, τῶν δὲ θείων δογμάτων οἱ μὲν ἀκούουσιν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων. ἢ τὸν οἰωνοσκοπὸν Βαλαὰμ οὐχ ὄρας; οὗτος εἰσάγεται “ ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ ἐπιστάμενός τε ἐπιστήμην
- 203 παρὰ ὑψίστου.” ἀλλὰ τί ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀκροάσεως, τί δ' ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης ὦνατο, γνώμη μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ψυχῆς ἄριστον ὄμμα λυμήνασθαι, ὃ δὴ μόνον τὸν θεὸν ὄραν πεπαίδευται, μὴ δυνηθεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ σωτήρος κράτος ἀήττητον; τοιγαροῦν ὁ μὲν κατακεντούμενος ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τραύματα πολλὰ δεξάμενος ἐν μέσοις τραυματίαις ἀπώλετο, διότι σοφιστεία μαντικῇ τὴν θεοφόρητον προφητείαν
- 204 παρεχάραξε.<sup>3</sup> δεόντως οὖν εὔχεται ὁ ἀστείος, ἵν' οὗτος μόνος Ἰσμαὴλ ὑγιαίνῃ, διὰ τοὺς μὴ γνη-

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀπαγγελίαν.

<sup>2</sup> mss. and all editions λαλοῦσαν. I have made this correction, feeling that, though ἔγνω λαλοῦσαν is a more natural construction, it is impossible that the divine message should be spoken of as full of εὐλάβεια or even of αἰδώς. I under-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 200-204

8), and thus blending the two natures he makes them one, bearing the stamp of a single form, and unites hearing with action.

XXXVII. So when he understood the promise and 201 spoke "according to his mind" these words, so full of reverence and pious awe, the man of worth was moved by a twofold feeling, faith towards God, distrust of the creature. It is natural then that he should pray in these words, "Let this Ishmael live before thee" (Gen. xvii. 18), and each of the phrases here included, namely, "this," "live," "before Thee," are applied by him appropriately. I say appropriately because many are deceived by the application of the same terms to denote different things. What I mean by this should be considered. 202 Ishmael by interpretation is "hearing God," but the divine truths are heard by some to their profit, by some to the harm of themselves and others.

Observe that dealer in augury, Balaam. He is described as "hearing the oracles of God and knowing knowledge from the Most High" (Num. xxiv. 16), but what did he profit from such hearing 203 or such knowledge, he who attempted to bring ruin on the soul's best eye which alone has been trained to see God? But yet what he willed he could not, so strong was the Saviour's invincible might. Therefore, stabbed by his own madness, he received many wounds and perished "in the midst of the wounded" (Num. xxxi. 8) because with his soothsayer's mock wisdom he defaced the stamp of heaven-sent prophecy. Rightly then it is "this Ishmael" for whose 204 health alone the man of virtue prays, because of

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stand *λαλήσας . . . διάνοιαν* to repeat *εἶπε τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ* as interpreted in §§ 193 ff. <sup>3</sup> *MSS. προε(ν)χάραξε.*

## PHILO

σίως ἀκούοντας τῶν ἱερῶν ὑφηγήσεων· οἷς ἀπέιπε  
 Μωυσῆς ἀντικρυς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν φοιτᾶν τοῦ παν-  
 205 ηγεμόνος. τεθλασμένοι γὰρ τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς δια-  
 νοίας ἢ καὶ τελείως ἀποκοπέντες οἱ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν  
 καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποσεμνύνοντες ὡς μόνον τῶν  
 κατ' ἀνθρώπους αἴτια πραγμάτων ἢ οἱ πολυθείας  
 ἔρασταὶ καὶ τὸν πολύθεον ἐκτετιμηκότες θίασον,  
 οἱ ἐκ πόρνης γεγονότες, τὸν ἕνα ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα  
 φιλαρέτου ψυχῆς θεὸν οὐκ εἰδότες, ἄρ' οὐκ εἰκότως  
 206 ἐλαύνονται τε καὶ φυγαδεύονται; παρα-  
 πλήσιόν μοι δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν καὶ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ<sup>1</sup> γονεῖς ἐπ' οἰνοφλυγία· λέγουσι γάρ· “ὁ  
 υἱὸς ἡμῶν οὗτος ἀπειθεῖ,” διὰ τῆς προσθήκης τῆς  
 “οὗτος” μνηνύοντες, ὅτι εἰσὶν ἕτεροι παῖδες καρ-  
 τερικοὶ καὶ σώφρονες, τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι τοῦ ὀρθοῦ  
 λόγου καὶ παιδείας πειθαρχοῦντες· οὗτοι γὰρ ψυχῆς  
 ἀψεудέστατοι γονεῖς, ὑφ' ὧν κατηγορηθῆναι μὲν  
 [610] | αἰσχιστον, ἐπαινεθῆναι δ' εὐκλεέστατον.  
 207 τὸ (δέ) “οὗτός ἐστιν Ἄαρὼν καὶ Μωυσῆς, οἷς  
 εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ  
 Αἰγύπτου” καὶ τὸ “οὗτοὶ εἰνὶν οἱ διαλεγόμενοι  
 Φαραὼ βασιλεῖ,” ταῦτα μὴ νομίζωμεν εἰρησθαι  
 208 παρεργως ἢ τὰς δείξεις μὴ πλέον τι τῶν ὀνομάτων  
 παρεμφαίνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Μωυσῆς μὲν ἐστὶ νοῦς  
 ὁ καθαρῶτατος, Ἄαρὼν δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ, πεπαί-  
 δευται δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς θεοπρεπῶς<sup>2</sup> ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ  
 ὁ λόγος ὁσίως ἐρμηνεύειν τὰ ὅσια, μιμητάζοντες δὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τούτου for τοῦ υἱοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Should we read *θεοπροπῶς* <*θεοπροπῶν*> as the balance of the sentence perhaps suggests?

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Mig.* 69.

<sup>b</sup> For the full development of this theme see *De Ebr.* 13-94.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 204-208

those others who do not hear with honest mind the holy instructions, whom Moses absolutely forbade to resort to the assembly of the Ruler of all. Such as in their pride extol their own mind and senses as the sole causes of all that happens amongst men—these are they who have spiritually lost the organs 205 of generation by crushing or complete mutilation; such again as love the creed which holds that gods are many and pays all honour to that fellowship of deities—these are the children of the harlot who knows not the one husband and father of the virtue-loving soul,—are not all such with good reason expelled and banished? (Deut. xxiii. 1, 2).<sup>a</sup>

The parents too who accuse their son of wine-bibbing 206 seem to make a like use of the pronoun. They say "This son of ours is disobedient" (Deut. xxi. 20), and thus by the addition of "this" they shew that they have other sons, strong-willed and self-controlling, who obey the injunctions of right reason and instruction. For these two are the soul's parents who can never lie, and to be accused by them is the greatest disgrace, as their praise is the highest glory.<sup>b</sup>

To take another instance, "It is this Moses and 207 Aaron whom God bade lead the sons of Israel from Egypt" (Ex. vi. 26), or "These are they who talked with Pharaoh the king" (*ibid.* 27). In neither of these cases must we suppose that the words are used carelessly and that the demonstrative pronouns served no other purpose than to indicate<sup>c</sup> the names. For since Moses is mind at its purest, and Aaron is 208 its word, and each have been trained to holy things, the mind to grasp them as a God should and the word to express them worthily, the professors of

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 592.

## PHILO

οἱ σοφισταὶ καὶ παρακόπτοντες τὸ δόκιμον νόμισμα τοῦτό φασι<sup>1</sup> καὶ νοεῖν ὀρθῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου καὶ λέγειν ἐπαιετῶς. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπατώμεθα παραθέσει τῶν κεκιβδηλευμένων πρὸς τὰ δόκιμα δι' ὁμοιότητος τοῦ χαρακτῆρος, βάσανον ἔδωκεν, ἣ  
 209 διακριθῆσεται. τίς οὖν ἢ βάσανος; τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας τὸν ὀρατικὸν καὶ φιλοθεάμονα νοῦν καὶ φιλόσοφον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο δυνηθεὶς Μωυσῆς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ὁ δὲ ἀδυνατήσας, ὁ λεγόμενος μόνον, μυρίας δὲ σεμνότητας ὀνομάτων ἐπαμπισχόμενος, γελᾶται.

Ζῆν δὲ εὐχεται τῷ Ἰσμαήλ, οὐ τῆς μετὰ σώματος ζωῆς ἐπιστροφόμενος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ θεῖον ἄκουσμα ἐπὶ ψυχῇ διαιωνίζον ἐγείρη τε αὐτὸν καὶ ζωπυρῆ.  
 210 XXXVIII. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀκρόασιν λόγων καὶ μάθησιν δογμάτων ἱερῶν εὐχεται ζῆν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ εὐφυῖαν λέγει γάρ· “ζήτω Ῥουβὴν καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω”. ἀρά γε ἀθανασίαν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν εὐχόμενος, ἀνθρώπῳ πρᾶγμα ἀ-  
 211 δύνατον; οὐ δήπου. τί οὖν ἔσθ' ὃ βούλεται παραστήσαι, λεκτέον. πάντα τὰ ἀκούσματα καὶ μαθήματα ἐποικοδομεῖται καθάπερ θεμελίῳ προκαταβεβλημένῳ φύσει παιδείας δεκτικῆ, φύσεως δὲ μὴ προϋπαρχούσης ἀνωφελῆ πάντα. δρυὸς γὰρ ἢ λίθου κωφῆς οὐδὲν ἂν δόξαιεν οἱ ἀφυεῖς διαφέρειν· ἔγκολλον γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀρμόζοιτο, πάντα δ' ὡς ἀπὸ στερροῦ τινος ἀποπάλλεται καὶ ἀποπηδᾷ.  
 212 τὰς δὲ τῶν εὐφυῶν ψυχὰς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν κηροῦ τρόπον

<sup>1</sup> I should suggest *φαίνονται* as making better sense.

<sup>a</sup> Ascribed by inadvertence to the Blessing of Jacob, instead of to that of Moses.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 208-212

false wisdom mimic and debase this authentic coin, and say that what they think of the most excellent is just, and what they say of it worthy of praise (Ex. vii. 11). And so that when the spurious is set beside the authentic we may not be deceived by the likeness of the stamp he has given us a touchstone by which they may be distinguished. What is this <sup>209</sup> touchstone? It is that he brought out of the land of the body the mind which could see and which loved wisdom and the vision. For he who could do this is "This Moses," and he who could not, who had but the name and clothed himself with a multitude of grand-sounding titles, is made a laughing-stock.

When he prays that Ishmael may live, he is not concerned with the life of the body, but prays that what he hears from God may abide for ever with the soul and stir him into living flame; XXXVIII. and <sup>210</sup> while Abraham prays, as we have said, that the grace of hearkening to holy words and learning holy truths may live, Jacob, the Man of Practice, prays for the life of natural goodness, for he says "Let Reuben live and not die" (Deut. xxxiii. 6).<sup>a</sup> Is he here praying that he should never know death and corruption, a gift impossible for a man? Surely not. Let us say then what he wishes to shew us. <sup>211</sup> All that is heard or learned is a superstructure, built on the foundation of a nature receptive of instruction, for if nature be not there to begin with all else is useless. For those who are ungifted by nature would seem to differ not at all from an oak or mute stone, for nothing can adhere or fit into them, but all is shaken off and rebounds as from a solid substance. But in the souls of the naturally <sup>212</sup>

## PHILO

λελειασμένου μήτε<sup>1</sup> ἄγαν στερεοῦ μήτε<sup>1</sup> ἄγαν ἀπαλοῦ  
 κεκερασμένας μετρίως, παραδεχομένας τὰ ἀκούσ-  
 ματα καὶ θεάματα ῥαδίως πάντα καὶ ἐναποματτο-  
 μένας ἄκρως αὐτὰς τὰ εἶδη, μνήμης ἐναργεῖς τινὰς  
 213 εἰκόνας. ἦν γοῦν ἀναγκαῖον εὐξασθαι τῷ | λογικῷ  
 [611] γένει τὸ εὐφυὲς ἄνοσον καὶ ἀθάνατον παρεῖναι.  
 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου, ὃς ἐστὶν ἀψευ-  
 δεστάτη ζωὴ, μετέχουσιν ὀλίγοι, οὐχὶ τῶν ἀγε-  
 λαίων φημί—τούτων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τῆς ἀληθοῦς ζωῆς  
 κεκοινῶνηκεν,—ἀλλ' εἴ τισιν ἐξεγένετο τὰς τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων φυγεῖν σπουδὰς καὶ θεῷ μόνῳ ζῆσαι.  
 214 παρὸ καὶ λίαν τεθαύμακεν ὁ ἀσκη-  
 τικὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, εἴ τις ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ βίου ποταμῷ  
 φορούμενος ὑπ'<sup>2</sup> οὐδεμιᾶς ῥύμης κατασύρεται,  
 δύναιτο δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ πολλῷ ῥέοντι ἀντισχεῖν  
 καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀμέτρου φορὰν (ἀν)ῶσαι καὶ λαίλαπι  
 215 κενῆς δόξης μὴ ἀναρπασθῆναι. λέγει γοῦν οὐχ ὁ  
 Ἰακώβ τῷ Ἰωσήφ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος παντὶ  
 τῷ τὸ μὲν σῶμα εὐεκτοῦντι, ἐν ἀφθόνοις δὲ ταῖς  
 εἰς περιουσίαν ὕλαις ἐξεταζομένῳ καὶ πρὸς μηδε-  
 μιᾶς ἀλισκομένῳ. “ ἔτι γὰρ σὺ ζῆς ”; θαυμαστὸν  
 ἐκφωνήσας λόγον καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ὑπερδεδρα-  
 μηκότα,<sup>3</sup> οἱ μικρᾶς πρὸς εὐτυχίαν αὔρας λαβόμενοι,  
 πάντα κάλων ἀνασεύσαντες, λαμπρὰ φυσῶμεν καὶ  
 πνεύσαντες μέγα καὶ σύντονον πλησίστιοι πρὸς  
 τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τῶν παθῶν φερόμεθα καὶ οὐ  
 πρότερον στέλλομεν τὰς ἀνειμένας καὶ κεχαλασ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μετὰ . . . μετὰ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀπ'.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀποδεδραμηκότα.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 212-215

good we see a duly-tempered mixture like smooth wax, neither too solid nor too soft ; a mixture which easily receives all that is seen and heard and itself reproduces perfectly the forms impressed upon it in lifelike copies preserved by memory.<sup>a</sup> Thus he was 213 bound to pray that the nation of reason should possess natural goodness free from disease and death. For the life of virtue, which is LIFE in its truest form, is shared by few, and these few are not found among the vulgar herd, none of whom has part or lot in true life, but are only those to whom it is granted to escape the aims which engross humanity and to live to God alone. And therefore the Man 214 of Practice and Courage wondered exceedingly that one who was borne along in the midstream of human life is not swept down by any rush of the swirling waters, but can breast the strong current of riches and stem the tide of pleasure's ceaseless urge and keep his feet against the hurricane of vainglory. And so Jacob says to Joseph, though indeed it is 215 rather the holy Word speaking to every man who in addition to bodily welfare is placed amidst abundance of the gear which makes for luxury, yet is proof against it all, " For thou still livest " (Gen. xlv. 30). A marvellous utterance, which has travelled beyond the range of the common life which we lead, we who if we but catch a puff of the air of prosperity loosen every reef and let the breeze blow fresh and clear, and then with our strong steady wind to swell our canvas speed on to the enjoyments of the passions, and never do we draw in the loose and slack licence

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quis Rerum* 181 where the simile is definitely referred to Plato (*Theaetetus* 191 c).

## PHILO

- μένας ἀκρατῶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἕως ἂν ἐξοκείλαντες ὅλω τῷ ψυχῆς ναυαγήσωμεν σκάφει.
- 216 XXXIX. Παγκάλως οὖν τοῦτον τὸν Ἰσμαῆλ εὐχομέθα<sup>1</sup> ζῆν. προστίθησιν οὖν “ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ζήτω,<sup>2</sup>” τέλος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τιθέμενος ἐπισκόπου καὶ ἐφόρου τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὴν
- 217 διάνοιαν ἀξιωθῆναι. εἰ γὰρ παιδαγωγοῦ μὲν παρόντος οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι ὁ ἀγόμενος, ὑφηγητῆς δὲ ἐγγὺς ὢν ὠφελεῖ τὸν μανθάνοντα, πρεσβυτέρου δὲ παρατυγχάνοντος αἰδοῖ καὶ σωφροσύνη κοσμεῖται νέος, πατὴρ δὲ ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν μέλλοντα ἀδικεῖν ἐκώλυσαν ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας αὐτὸ μόνον ὀφθέντες, ἡλίκαις τισὶν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀγαθῶν χρήσεσθαι νομίζομεν τὸν ὑπολαμβάνοντ’ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ θεωρεῖσθαι; τὸ γὰρ τοῦ παρόντος αἰεὶ εἰ περιβλέπεται<sup>3</sup> ἀξίωμα δεδιῶς καὶ τρέμων ἀνὰ κράτος τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἀποδράσεται.
- 218 Τὸν δὲ Ἰσμαῆλ ὅταν εὐχῆται ζῆν, οὐκ ἀπέγνωκε τὴν γένεσιν Ἰσαάκ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πεπίστευκε μὲν τῷ θεῷ \* \* \*<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂ δοῦναι θεῷ, ταῦτα καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λαβεῖν δυνατόν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα χαρίσασθαι ῥᾶδιον, ἡμῖν δ’ οὐκ εὐμαρὲς τὰς προτεινομένας δέξασθαι
- 219 δωρεάς. ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἰ τῶν ἐκ πόνου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So mss.: Wendland εὔχεται. I do not think the change is necessary; see note a on opposite page.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ζῆ.

<sup>3</sup> παρόντος αἰεὶ εἰ περιβλέπεται] this (or perhaps παρόντος εἰ) is my suggestion for ms. παρόντος καὶ περιβλέπεται. Wend. proposes αἰεὶ περιβλεπόμενος, Mangey καὶ προσβλέποντος.

<sup>4</sup> The lacuna might be filled by ἀπιστεῖ δὲ τῷ γεννητῷ, cf. § 201 (rather this than § 178 as Wend.).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 215-219

of our lusts until we strike the rocks and wreck the whole bark of the soul.

XXXIX. We<sup>a</sup> do well indeed then when we pray 216 that this Ishmael may live. And so he adds "before God," holding that in this lies the crown of happiness—that the mind should be privileged to live under the survey and watchful care of the Supreme Excellence. For when the tutor is present his charge<sup>b</sup> 217 will not go amiss; the teacher at the learner's side brings profit to him; the company of his senior gives to the youth the grace of modesty and self-control; the mere sight of father or mother can silently prevent the son from some intended wrongdoing. Imagine then the vastness of the blessings which we must suppose will be his who believes that the eye of God is ever upon him, for if he reverences the dignity of Him who is ever present, he will in fear and trembling fly from wrongdoing with all his might.

But when he prays that Ishmael may live he does 218 not despair of the birth of Isaac, as I have said before, but while he has trusted in God (he recognizes the weakness of humanity), for the gifts which God can give are not all such as man in his turn can receive, since for Him it is easy to bestow gifts, ever so many, ever so great, but for us it is no light matter to receive the proffered boons. For it is enough for 219

<sup>a</sup> The objection of Cohn and Wendland to the first person ignores the fact that Philo constantly regards the stories and sayings of the Pentateuch as representing the spiritual experiences of every generation. It is "the holy word speaking to everyone," as just above in § 215. Compare *νοῦς ἡμῶν* in § 16. Good examples appear in *De Som.* i. 143 and 226, ii. 170. Cohn's *εὐχόμεθα* does not fit in well with Philo's use of *παγκάλως* (see note on *De Mig.* 101). There would be no objection to *εὐξόμεθα*, but the change seems unnecessary.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 592.

## PHILO

- μελέτης συντρόφων καὶ συνηθεστέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐπι-  
 [612] λάχοιμεν, | τῶν δ' ἄνευ τέχνης ἢ συνόλως ἀνθρω-  
 πίνης ἐπινοίας ἀπαυτοματιζόντων καὶ ἐξ ἑτοίμου  
 γινομένων οὐδ' ἐλπίς ἐφικέσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ ἄτε  
 θεῖα ὄντα θειοτέραις καὶ ἀκηράτοις φύσει ἀπ-  
 ηλλαγμέναις θνητοῦ σώματος εὐρίσκειν ἀναγκαῖον.
- 220 ἐδίδαξε<sup>1</sup> δὲ Μωυσῆς κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν χειρῶν τὰς  
 εὐχαρίστους ὁμολογίας ποιείσθαι, τὸν ἀγχίνουν  
 ἀνάθημα ἀνατιθέντα τὸ συνετὸν καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον,  
 τὸν λόγιον τὰς ἐν λόγῳ πάσας ἀρετὰς ἀνιερόντα  
 διὰ τε ᾧδῆς καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην τοῦ ὄντος  
 ἐγκωμίων, καὶ κατ' εἶδος τὸν φυσικὸν φυσιολογίαν,  
 τὸν ἠθικὸν πᾶσαν τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὸν  
 τεχνικὸν καὶ ἐπιστήμονα τὰ θεωρήματα τῶν τεχνῶν
- 221 καὶ ἐπιστημῶν. οὕτως εὐπλοῖαν μὲν ναύτης καὶ  
 κυβερνήτης, εὐφορίαν δὲ καρπῶν γεωπόνος, εὐ-  
 τοκίαν δὲ ζώων ἀγελάρχης, ὑγείαν δὲ καμνόντων  
 ἰατρός, ὁ δ' αὖ στρατείας ἡγεμῶν τοῦ πολέμου  
 κράτος καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς ἢ βασιλικὸς τὴν νόμιμον  
 προστασίαν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ἀναθήσει, καὶ συνελόντα  
 φράσαι πάντων ὅσα ἢ ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος ἢ τῶν  
 ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ ἔστιν ὁ μὴ φίλαυτος αἴτιον ἀποφανεῖ
- 222 τὸν ἀψευδῶς μόνον αἴτιον θεόν. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν  
 ἀφανεστέρων καὶ ταπεινοτέρων εἶναι δοκούντων  
 ἐλπίδος ἀπογνώσει τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀποκνησάτω  
 ἱκέτης εὐχάριστος γενέσθαι θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν  
 ἔτι προσδοκᾷ τῶν μειζόνων, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὧν  
 ἔλαχεν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν εὐχαριστεῖτω.
- 223 μυρίων δ' ἔλαχε, γενέσεως, ζωῆς, τροφῆς, ψυχῆς,  
 αἰσθήσεως, φαντασίας, ὀρμῆς, λογισμοῦ. λογισμὸς  
 δὲ βραχὺ μὲν ὄνομα, τελειότατον δὲ καὶ θειότατον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔδειξε.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 219-223

us to obtain the good fruits of toil and effort, those more familiar gifts which grow up with us, but such as spring up independently without art or any form of human devising, which come ready-made to the recipient, we cannot even hope to attain. These are gifts of God, and therefore to discover them is the inevitable destiny of natures closer to God and undefiled and released from the mortal body. Yet 220 Moses taught us to make our acknowledgements of thanks according to the power of our hands (Num. vi. 21), the man of sagacity dedicating his good sense and prudence, the master of words consecrating all the excellences of speech in praises to the Existent in poem or prose, and from others offerings after their kind, natural philosophy, ethical philosophy, the lore of the arts and sciences from the several students of the same. In this way the sailor 221 will dedicate success of voyage, the husbandman fruitfulness of crops, the herdsman the teeming increase of his livestock, the physician the health of his patients, or again the general his victory in war, the statesman or crowned head his lawful pre-eminence or sovereignty, and in short he who is not self-centred will avow as the cause of all goods of the soul or body or outside the body Him who in very truth is the one sole Cause of aught. Let none 222 then of the lowly or obscure in repute shrink through despair of the higher hope from thankful supplication to God, but even if he no longer expects any greater boon, give thanks according to his power for the gifts which he has already received. Vast is the number 223 of such gifts, birth, life, nurture, soul, sense-perception, mental picturing, impulse, reasoning. Now "reasoning" as a name is but a little word, but as

## PHILO

ἔργον, τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆς ἀπόσπασμα ἢ, ὅπερ  
 224 ὀσιώτερον εἰπεῖν τοῖς κατὰ Μωυσῆν φιλοσοφοῦσιν,  
 εἰκόνοσ θείας ἐκμαγεῖον ἐμφερές. XL. ἐπαινεῖν  
 ἄξιον καὶ τῶν κατασκόπων τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας  
 μὲν αὐτόπρεμνον τὸ ἀρετῆς ὄλον ἀνασπάσαι καὶ  
 βαστάσαι στέλεχος, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, κλη-  
 ματίδα γοῦν καὶ ἕνα βότρυν λαβόντας, δεῖγμα καὶ  
 μέρος τῆς συμπάσης, ὃ φέρειν αὐτὸ μόνον ἴσχυον.  
 225 εὐκτὸν μὲν ἀθρόω τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐγ-  
 χορεύειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην  
 φύσιν, ἀγαπῶμεν, εἴ τω ἐξεγένετο μιᾷ τινι τῶν  
 [613] κατὰ μέρος | ἐντυχεῖν, σωφροσύνη ἢ ἀνδρεία ἢ  
 δικαιοσύνη ἢ φιλανθρωπία. φερέτω γὰρ ἐν<sup>1</sup> τι  
 ἀγαθὸν ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τικτέτω, μὴ πάντων ἀφορος  
 226 καὶ στείρα γινέσθω. σὺ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἐπι-  
 τάγματα ἐπιτάξεις υἱεὶ τῷ σεαυτοῦ; εἰ μὴ τοῖς  
 οἰκέταις ἡμέρωσ χρηῖ, μηδὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις κοινω-  
 νικῶσ· εἰ μὴ κοσμίωσ γυναικί, μηδὲ γονεῦσι τιμη-  
 τικῶσ· εἰ μητρὸς ὀλιγωρεῖσ καὶ πατρός, ἀσέβει  
 καὶ εἰσ τὸ θεῖον. εἰ χαίρεισ ἠδονῆ, μη(δὲ)· φιλα-  
 ργυρίας ἀποστῆσ. ἐφίεσαι πολυχρηματίας; καὶ  
 227 κενοδοξεί. τί γάρ; οὐ μετριάξειν ἐν ἐνίοις ἀξιοῖσ,  
 εἰ μὴ ἐν πᾶσι δύνασαι; οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἴποι ὁ υἱός·  
 τί λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ; ἢ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τέλειον  
 κακὸν βούλει σοι τὸν υἱὸν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐνός.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 223-227

a fact it is something most perfect and most divine, a piece torn off from the soul of the universe, or, as it might be put more reverently <sup>a</sup> following the philosophy of Moses, a faithful impress of the divine image. XL. Well may we commend those members 224 of the scouting party who tried to pluck up by the roots the trunk of virtue and carry it away, and when they could not, took at least a branch and a single cluster, which was all they could carry (Num. xiii. 24), as a specimen and part of the whole. We should 225 indeed pray that our course may lie amid the collected body of the many virtues. But if this be too great for human nature, let us be content whenever it be granted to consort with one of the specific virtues, with temperance, or courage, or justice or humanity. Let the soul carry in its womb and bring to the birth one good thing at least and not be unfruitful and barren of them all. Would 226 you lay upon your own son such injunctions as these? If you do not treat your servants kindly, neither must you have neighbourly dealings with your equals. If you do not behave well to your wife, you must not honour your parents either. If you despise your father and mother, you must also shew impiety towards God. If you delight in pleasure, you must not refrain from covetousness. Do you covet great riches? Then also give way to vain conceit. What, 227 I would ask, do you mean that it is wrong to use self-control in some things if you cannot do so in all? The son would surely reply, What do you mean, father? Would you have your son become either completely bad or completely good, and will you not phrase ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆ, cf. *De Mig.* 179 and note on *Leg. All.* i. 91.

## PHILO

- ἀγαπήσεις, εἰ πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὰ μέσα ἔλοιτο;  
 228 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Σοδομιτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ πεντηκον-  
 τάδος εἰς δεκάδα<sup>1</sup> τελευτᾶ, ποτνιῶμενος καὶ ἰκε-  
 τεύων, ἴν', εἰ μὴ εὐρίσκοιτο ἐν γενέσει ἢ παντελῆς  
 εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφεις, ἧς σύμβολον ὁ πεντηκοστός  
 λόγος ἱερός, ἡ μέση παιδεία παραληφθῆ δεκάδι  
 229 ψυχῆς μελλούσης ἀπόλυσιν; τῶν ἀναγῶγων οἱ  
 πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ τῶν ἀλύρων καὶ ἀμούσων οἱ  
 (ἐγ)κεχορευκότες τῇ ἐγκυκλίῳ μουσικῇ πλείους  
 ἀφορμὰς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ αὐξεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> σχεδὸν ἐκ  
 παίδων τοῖς περὶ καρτερίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ  
 ἀρετῆς πάσης λόγοις ἐπαντληθέντες. διὸ εἰ καὶ  
 μὴ παντελῶς ἐξερρύψαντο καὶ ἀπελούσαντο τὸ  
 ἀδικεῖν φαιδρυνόμενοι δέ,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ μετρίως γοῦν καὶ  
 230 μέσως ἐρρύψαντο. τὸ παραπλήσιον ὁ  
 Ἡσαῦ λέγειν ἔοικε τῷ πατρί· “ μὴ εὐλογία σοι  
 μία ἐστὶ, πάτερ; εὐλόγησον καὶ μέ, πάτερ.” ἄλλαι  
 γὰρ ἄλλοις ἀποκεκρίσθωσαν, τελείοις μὲν τέλειαι,  
 μέσαι δὲ ἀτελέσιν, ὡς ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματῶν·  
 ὑγιαινόντων γὰρ καὶ νοσοῦντων ἕτερα μὲν γυμνάσ-  
 ματα, ἕτεραι δὲ τροφαί, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ δίαιταν,  
 οὐ τὰ αὐτά, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν τὰ πρόσφορα, ἵνα μηδ'  
 ὄλως νοσήσωσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ οἰκεία, ὅπως πρὸς  
 231 τὸ ὑγιεινότερον μεταβάλωσι. πολλῶν οὖν ἀγαθῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πεντάδα.<sup>2</sup> MSS. εὐξεσθαι.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀρετῆς.

<sup>4</sup> Clearly corrupt: Mangey proposed δῆ, Wendland τελείως. The simplest correction would be οἶδε, if this can stand so at the end of a clause. (It does so stand in *De Conf.* 87, but in the sense of “the following.”)



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 227-231

be satisfied if he chooses the midway course in preference to the extremes? It was 228

such a feeling that made Abraham, in the case of the destruction of Sodom, begin with fifty and end with ten (Gen. xviii. 24 f.) when he besought and supplicated that if the means of complete release to liberty (Lev. xxv. 10), which is symbolized by fifty, be not forthcoming in created beings, the lower training, which is numerically reckoned as ten, may be accepted to respite the soul which stands on the verge of condemnation.<sup>a</sup> The trained have the 229 advantage over the untrained, and those who are familiar with the culture of the schools over minds untuned to the muse; they start with better opportunities for growth, because as a rule from boyhood they have been bathed in a stream of ideas which deal with endurance and self-control and every virtue. And therefore if these have not entirely scoured and washed away their iniquity in the cleansing process, they are in a moderate and half-way degree purged.

Esau's words to his 230 father seem to have a like meaning: "Hast thou one blessing, my father? bless me also, O my father" (Gen. xxvii. 38). For different blessings should be set apart for different persons: perfect blessings for the perfect, half-way for the imperfect, just as we find with men's bodies: for the healthy and the sick require different exercises and different diet, and in all other matters which affect their way of living the same treatment is impossible. The healthy need what agrees with them to prevent their falling sick at all, and the sick need what fits their condition to bring them round to better health. Since then the 231

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Sac.* 122.

## PHILO

- ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ δοκοῦν ἐφαρμόττειν  
 μοι τοῦτο χάρισαι, κὰν μικρότατον ἦ, στοχασά-  
 μενος ἐκείνου μόνου, εἰ δυνήσομαι τὸ δοθὲν φέρειν  
 εὐμαρῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπειπῶν ὁ  
 232 δυστυχῆς ὀκλάσω. τί δ' οἴομεθα ἐμφαίνεσθαι διὰ  
 τοῦ· “ μὴ χεὶρ κυρίου οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει”; ἄρ' οὐχὶ  
 τὸ πάντῃ τὰς τοῦ ὄντος φθάνειν δυνάμεις ἐπ'  
 εὐεργεσία μὴ μόνον τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 [614] ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι | δοκούντων; οἷς τὰ ἀρμότ-  
 τουτα χαρίζεται πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς  
 σταθμήματα καὶ μέτρα σταθμώμενος καὶ διαμετρῶν  
 ἰσότητι παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐκάστοις.
- 233 XLI. Καταπλήττει με οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ὁ τεθεὶς  
 νόμος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκδυομένοις τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ  
 μεταγινώσκειν δοκοῦσι. κελεύει γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶ-  
 τον ἱερεῖον προσάγειν θῆλυ πρόβατον ἄμωμον.  
 “ ἐὰν δὲ ” φησί “ μὴ ἰσχύῃ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ τὸ  
 ἱκανὸν εἰς πρόβατον, οἷσει περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἧς  
 ἤμαρτε δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νεοσσούς περιστερῶν,  
 234 ἓνα περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἓνα εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα. ἐὰν  
 δὲ μὴ εὐρίσκη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ζεύγος τρυγόνων ἢ  
 δύο νεοσσούς περιστερῶν, οἷσει τὸ δῶρον τὸ δέκατον  
 οἶφι σεμίδαλιν. οὐκ ἐπιχεεῖ<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἔλαιον οὐδ'  
 ἐπιθήσει ἐπ' αὐτὸ λίβανον, ὅτι περὶ ἁμαρτίας ἐστί.  
 καὶ οἷσει αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ δραξάμενος ὁ  
 ἱερεὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλήρη τὴν δράκα τὸ μνημόσυνον  
 235 ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.” οὐκοῦν τρισὶ  
 μετανοίας τρόποις ἰλάσκεται τοῖς εἰρημένοις,  
 κτήνεσιν ἢ πτηνοῖς ἢ λευκοπύροις, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> So LXX: MSS. ἐπιχρίσει.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 231-235

goods which nature has to bestow are many, grant me, O Lord, that which befits me in Thy sight, though it be but the smallest, looking to one thing only, that the gift be such as I can bear with ease, not one that slight as it is will bring me, poor weakling, fainting to the ground. And what do we suppose is 232 meant by the words, "Shall not the hand of the Lord suffice?" (Num. xi. 23). Surely this, that the powers of the Existent reach everywhere to benefit not only the highly placed but also those of lowlier reputation. And on these He bestows what befits them, according to the soul-measurements and appraisements of each, measuring and appraising in Himself<sup>a</sup> by the rule of equality the due proportion to each.

XLI. I am profoundly struck by the law enacted 233 for those who put off their sins and appear to be repentant. It bids them bring first as the victim a ewe without blemish, but "if his hand," it continues, "have not strength for a sheep, he shall bring for the sin which he has committed two turtledoves or two young pigeons, one for sin and one for a burnt offering. But if his hand does not find a pair of turtledoves 234 or two young pigeons, he shall bring for his gift fine flour the tenth of an ephah. He shall not pour upon it oil, nor put upon it frankincense, because it is a sin offering, and shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take from it a complete handful and lay the memorial upon the altar" (Lev. v. 7 ff.). Moses, then, employs for propitiation 235 the three methods of repentance here mentioned, beasts or birds or wheaten flour, adapted doubtless

<sup>a</sup> Or (reading *ισότητι <τῆ> παρ' ἐαυτῶ*) "the equality inherent in Himself."

## PHILO

- καθαιρομένον καὶ μετανοούντος δήπου δύναμιν· οὔτε γὰρ μικρὰ μεγάλων οὔτε μεγάλα μικρῶν δεῖται καθαρσιῶν, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνάλογον ἴσων
- 236 καὶ ὁμοίων. τί δήποτ' οὖν διὰ τριῶν ἢ κάθαρσις, ἄξιον ἐρευνησαι. σχεδὸν τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα συμβέβηκεν ἐν τρισὶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, διανοία, λόγοις, πράξειςιν. οὗ χάριν κὰν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς Μωυσῆς διδάσκων, ὅτι ἢ ἀγαθοῦ<sup>1</sup> κτήσις οὐτ' ἀδύνατός ἐστιν οὔτε
- 237 δυσθήρατος, φησίν· οὐκ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτῆναι δεῖ οὐδ' ἄχρι περάτων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν “ἐγγύς, καὶ σφόδρα ἐγγύς” —εἶτα μόνον οὐκ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς δεικνύς<sup>2</sup>— “πᾶν ἔργον” φησί “τῷ στόματί σου καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ταῖς χερσί,” συμβολικῶς ἐν λόγοις, ἐν βουλαῖς, ἐν ἔργοις· ἐκ γὰρ εὐβουλίας καὶ εὐλογίας καὶ εὐπραξίας τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐδαιμονίαν συνίστασθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν ἐκ τῶν
- 238 ἐναντιῶν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τό τε κατορθοῦν καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν χωρίους ἐστί, καρδία, στόματι, χερί· καὶ γὰρ βουλευόνται τινες εὐγνωμονέστατα καὶ
- [615] λέγουσιν ἄριστα καὶ πράττουσι | τὰ πρακτέα. τριῶν δὲ ὄντων κουφότατόν ἐστι τὸ βουλευέσθαι ἢ μὴ χρή, βαρύτερον δὲ τὸ χειρουργεῖν τὰ ἄδικα,
- 239 μέσον δὲ τὸ λέγειν ἢ μὴ δεῖ. συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ κουφότατον δυσσποτριπτότατον εἶναι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ψυχῆς τροπὴν εἰς ἡρεμίαν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ θᾶπτον ἂν τις χειμάρρου φορὰν ἐπίσχοι ἢ ψυχῆς τροπὴν ρέουσιν ἀκατασχέτως· ἀμύθητα γὰρ ἐνθύμια ἄλλα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγαθῆ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δεικνύσι. The correction is mine and I have also

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 235-239

to the capacity of the penitent who is purified, for small things do not need great, nor great things small purifications, but such as are like and equal on the principle of proportion. Why then there 236 should be three ways of repentance is worth inquiry. Practically cases both of sinning and of achieving righteousness fall into three classes, thoughts and words and deeds. And therefore in his Exhortations Moses, when he is shewing that the acquisition of the good is neither impossible nor hard to pursue, says, "You need not fly up to heaven nor go to the ends 237 of earth and sea to lay hold of it, but near and very near (and with the next words he shews the nearness as it were almost visible to the eye) is every work to thy mouth and heart and hands" (Deut. xxx. 12 ff.). In these three words he figures words, thoughts and intentions, deeds. For good thinking and intending, good speaking and good doing make up, he means, human happiness just as their opposites make up 238 unhappiness, since achievement of righteousness and sinning are found in all these three places, heart, mouth and hand. For indeed some think and intend with excellent judgement and speak what is best and do what they should do. Of the three wrong thinking and intending is the least serious, and actually carrying out injustice is the most serious, while saying what we should not stands midway between the two. Yet in practice the least serious proves to 239 be the most difficult to rid ourselves from, for it is a hard matter to bring to a standstill the soul's changing movements. Their irresistible stream is such that we could sooner stem the rush of a torrent, for thoughts

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removed the full stop at *ἐγγύς*. The quotation, though free, goes on continuously.

## PHILO

- ἐπ' ἄλλοις τρικυμίας τρόπον ἐπιτρέχει, φοροῦντα καὶ κυκῶντα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν βιαίως ἀνατρέποντα.
- 240 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄριστον τῆς καθάρσεως καὶ τελεώτατον τοῦτ' ἐστί, μηδ' ἐνθυμείσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων, ἀλλ' εἰρήνη καὶ εὐνομία, ὣν ἡγεμών ἐστι δικαιοσύνη, πολιτεύσασθαι· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον, λόγοις μὴ διαμαρτάνειν ψευδόμενον ἢ ψευδορκοῦντα ἢ ἀπατῶντα ἢ σοφιζόμενον ἢ συκοφαντοῦντα ἢ συνόλως στόμα καὶ γλῶτταν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τινῶν ἀνιέντα,<sup>1</sup> οἷς χαλινὸν ἦν ἄμεινον περιθεῖναι καὶ
- 241 δεσμὸν ἄρρηκτον. XLII. διὰ τί δὲ τὸ λέγειν τοῦ νοεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα βαρύτερον ἀμάρτημα, ῥᾶον ἰδεῖν. ἐνθυμεῖται μὲν τις οὐ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἔστιν ὅτε, ἀλλ' ἀβουλῶν· ὣν γὰρ οὐ θέλει λαμβάνειν ἐννοίας ἀναγκάζεται, τῶν δ' ἀκουσίων
- 242 οὐδὲν ὑπαίτιον. λέγει δέ τις ἐκῶν, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ εὐφημον προΐεται φωνήν, ἀδικεῖ κακοδαιμονῶν, ὃ μὴδ' ἐκ τύχης ἐθέλων τι τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων φθέγγασθαι· ᾧ λυσιτελὲς τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἡσυχίαν δεξιούσθαι· κάπειτα μὴ ἡσυχάζων τις δύναται
- 243 δῆπου βουλευθεῖς σιωπᾶν. τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ λέγειν βαρύτερον ἀμάρτημα ἢ ἄδικος πράξις ἐστι· “λόγος γὰρ ἔργου” φασὶ “σκιά,” σκιάς δὲ βλαπτούσης πῶς οὐ τὸ ἔργον βλαβερώτερον; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς τὴν μὲν γνώμην ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἐπιτιμιῶν ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀκουσίοις τὰ πολλὰ μεταβολαῖς χρωμένην καὶ τροπαῖς καὶ πάσχουσαν μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισφοιτώντων νοημάτων ἕξωθεν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνέντα.

<sup>a</sup> Or “silence.” See App. p. 592.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 592.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 239-243

after thoughts in countless numbers pour on like a huge breaker and drive and whirl and upset its whole being with their violence. This then is 240

the best and most perfect form of purification, never even to admit any heinous thoughts, but to live with our fellow-citizens in peace and law observance, that order of which justice is the guiding influence. And the second best is to abstain from sinfulness of word, either by lying or perjury or subtlety or calumny, and in general from aiming at the ruin of others by giving a free rein to the mouth and tongue which it were better to bridle and bind with chains of adamant.

XLII. It is easy to see why 241  
wrong-speaking is a graver matter than wrong-thinking. A man's thoughts are sometimes not due to himself, but come without his will. He is compelled to admit ideas on subjects which he has no wish to consider, and where there is no will no blame is due. But speaking is voluntary, so that if a man 242  
gives utterance to language which offends, he is wronging others, unhappy in this, that even when there is an opportunity of speaking something of a kinder nature he is not willing to use it. Such a person would do best to court complete freedom from disturbance,<sup>a</sup> and if he has not this freedom he can surely if he wills it keep silence. But 243

the unjust action is a more grievous sin than any speaking, for the word is the shadow of the act,<sup>b</sup> men say, and if the shadow be harmful, the act must be more harmful. And therefore Moses exempts mere intention from accusation and penalty. He knew that it was largely subject to involuntary changes and swervings, and rather the passive victim of the thoughts which flock into it than an active agent.

## PHILO

ἡ δρῶσαν· τὰ δ' ὅσα ἂν ἐξέλθῃ διὰ τοῦ στόματος, ταῦτ' εἰς ἀπόλογον καὶ εὐθύνας ἄγει, ὡς ἂν δὴ τοῦ  
 244 λέγειν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχοντος. ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν λόγων εὐθυναὶ μετριώτεραι, αἱ δ' ὑπαιτίων<sup>1</sup> ἔργων ἀργαλεώτεραι. μεγάλας γὰρ τάττει τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλα ἀδικούσι καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξιοῦσιν ἃ γνώμη μὲν ἀγνώμονι ἐβουλεύσαντο, προπετεία δὲ γλώττης  
 245 ἐξέλαλησαν. XLIII. τὰ δὲ καθάρσια | τῶν τριῶν, [616] διανοίας, λόγου, πράξεως, εἴρηκεν [οὖν] πρόβατον καὶ ζεύγος τρυγόνων ἢ περιστερῶν καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἱεροῦ μέτρου δέκατον, ἀξιῶν προβάτῳ μὲν διάνοιαν καθαίρεσθαι, λόγον δὲ τοῖς πτηνοῖς, σεμιδάλει δὲ  
 246 πρᾶξιν. διὰ τί; ὅτι, καθάπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄριστον ὁ νοῦς, καὶ ἐν ζώων ἀλόγων γένει τὸ πρόβατον ἅτε ἡμερώτατον ὑπάρχον καὶ καρπὸν ἐτήσιον ἀνατέλλον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν<sup>2</sup> ὁμοῦ καὶ κόσμον ἀνθρώπων· ἐσθῆς γὰρ τὰς ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους ἀνείργει βλάβας καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς φύσεως ἐπισκιάζουσα πρὸς εὐκοσμίας τοῖς χρωμένους ἐστί.  
 247 σύμβολον οὖν ἔστω τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου καθάρσεως, διανοίας, τὸ ζώων ἄριστον, τὸ πρόβατον, λόγου δὲ τὰ πτηνά· κοῦφόν τε γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ πτηνὸν φύσει, βέλους θάπτον φερόμενος καὶ πάντῃ διάττων. τὸ γὰρ ἅπαξ λεχθὲν ἀναδραμεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔξω δὲ φερόμενον, τάχει πολλῶ τρέχον, πλήττει τὰ ὦτα καὶ διὰ πάσης ἀκοῆς  
 248 ἐρχόμενον εὐθὺς ἤχεϊ. δίδυμος δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἀληθῆς, ὁ δὲ ψευδής· οὗ μοι δοκεῖ χάριν ζεύγει τρυγόνων ἢ περιστερῶν ἐξομοιωθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὑπαίτιαι.

<sup>2</sup> Or ἀσφάλειαν as Mangey; cf. § 111, also ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐκοσμῖαν *Quis Rerum* 125.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 243-248

But all that issues through the mouth he requires to make its defence and stand its trial on the principle that our speech is in our own power. But in these 244 trials words are judged more leniently, culpable actions more severely, for he appoints great penalties for the authors of great misdeeds, those who carry into actual execution what their ill-intended intentions have planned or their reckless tongues have uttered. XLIII. For the purgation of these three, thought, 245 speech and action, he has named the sheep, the pair of doves or pigeons and the tenth of an ephah, the sacred measure, of fine flour, holding that thought should be purged with the sheep, speech with the birds, action with the fine flour. Why? Because just as 246 the mind is the best element in us, so the sheep takes the same place among the unreasoning animals considered as a whole, in virtue of its superior gentleness and the annual produce which it raises by itself, to benefit men and adorn them at the same time. For raiment averts mischief from frost and heat, and by veiling what nature would have hidden promotes decency in the wearers. Let us take then 247 the best animal, the sheep, as representing in a figure the purging of our best part, the mind, and similarly the birds as representing speech. For speech is light and winged by nature, moving swifter than an arrow, and flashing its way in every direction. For the word once spoken cannot return, but when carried outside races at a high speed, strikes the ears, and passing right through the whole region of hearing straightway turns into sound. Also 248 speech is twofold, partly true and partly false, and thence I think its comparison to a pair of doves or

## PHILO

- τῶν δὲ πτηνῶν τὸ μὲν περὶ ἁμαρτίας φησὶ δεῖν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ὀλοκαύτωμα θύειν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν μὲν ἀληθῆ λόγον ὄλον δι' ὄλου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι ἱερόν <τε καὶ> τέλειον, τὸν δὲ ψευδῆ διημαρτησθαί τε
- 249 καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως δεῖσθαι. πράξεως  
 δέ, ὡς ἔφην, σύμβολον ἢ σεμίδαλις· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην συμβέβηκεν οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ ἐπινοίας καθαίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ σιτοπόνων, ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποηκότων, διακρίνεται. διὸ καὶ φησι· “δραξάμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς πλήρη τὴν δράκα τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> ἀνοίσει,” διὰ τῆς δρακὸς τὸ
- 250 ἐγχείρημα καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐμφαίνων. ἄγαν δ’ ἐξήτασμένως ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ κτήνους εἶπεν· “ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἰσχύῃ ἢ χεὶρ τὸ ἱκανὸν εἰς πρόβατον,” ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πτηνῶν· “ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐρίσκη.” διὰ τί; ὅτι μεγάλης μὲν ἰσχύος καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσης δυνάμεώς ἐστι καταλῦσαι τὰς τῆς διανοίας τροπάς, οὐ μεγάλης
- 251 δὲ ῥώμης τὰ λόγων ἐπισχεῖν ἁμαρτήματα. πάντων γὰρ ἀλεξίκακον τῶν διὰ φωνῆς ἁμαρτανομένων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡσυχία, ἢ παντί τω ῥάδιον χρῆσθαι· πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ λάλον καὶ ἀμετροεπὲς οὐχ εὐρίσκουσι πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ.
- 252 XLIV. Ταύταις καὶ ταῖς παραπλησίαις τομαῖς καὶ διαστολαῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐντραφεῖς καὶ ἐνασκηθεῖς ὁ ἀστείος ἄρ’ οὐκ εἰκότως εὐχεσθαι ἂν δόξαι τὸν Ἰσμαῆλ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ δύναται κνοφορῆσαι
- 253 πω | τὸν Ἰσαάκ; τί οὖν ὁ χρηστὸς θεός; ἐν  
 [617] αἰτησαμένῳ δύο δίδωσι καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον εὐξαμένῳ

<sup>1</sup> So LXX: MSS. αὐτῶν.

<sup>a</sup> κνοφορῆσαι rather strangely used for γεννᾶν. Has ἀρετὴ fallen out?

pigeons. Moses directs that one bird should serve as a sin offering, and that the other should be offered by fire in its entirety, because it is a condition of true speech that it is entirely holy and perfect while false speech is the product of sin and needs reformation.

The fine flour is, as I have said, the symbol 249 of action, for it is a condition of flour that it is not brought into a pure state without art and contrivance but is sifted by the hands of corn-grinders, who have made a practice of this process. It accords with this when he says: "The priest shall take a complete handful and offer its memorial"—by the handful bringing out the thought of handiwork and action. And he makes a very careful contrast in 250 speaking of the beasts and the birds. Of the first he says "If his hand be not strong enough for the sheep," and of the second "If his hand do not find." Why is this? Because it needs great strength and a very high degree of power to suppress the changing movements of the mind, but it needs no great might to restrain trespasses of speech. For against tres- 251 passes committed with the voice there is a remedy as I have said before in quietude, of which everyone can easily avail himself, though many through their loquacity and measureless chattering do not find any limit to put upon their words.

XLIV. These and similar ways of analysing and 252 distinguishing things become familiar to the man of virtue through breeding and practice, and does it not therefore seem natural that he should pray that Ishmael may live, if he cannot as yet be the parent<sup>a</sup> of Isaac? What then does God in His kindness do? 253 Abraham had asked for one thing, God gives him two.

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χαρίζεται τὸ μείζον. “ εἶπε ” γάρ φησι “ τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ναί, ἰδοὺ Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου τέξεται σοι υἱόν ”· εὐθυβόλος γε ἡ συμβολικὴ ἀπόκρισις ἡ ναί. τί γὰρ ἐμπρεπέστερον ἢ τὰγαθὰ ἐπινεύειν θεῶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 254 ταχέως ὁμολογεῖν; ἀλλ’ οἷς ἐπινεύει τὸ θεῖον, ἅπας ἄφρων ἀνανένευκε. τὴν γοῦν Λείαν μισουμένην εἰσάγουσιν οἱ χρησμοί· διὸ καὶ τοιαύτης ἔτυχε προσρήσεως· ἐρμηνευθεῖσα γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνανευομένη καὶ κοπιῶσα διὰ τὸ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀρετὴν ἀποστρέφεισθαι καὶ κοπῶδη νομίζειν ἐπιτάγματα  
 255 οὐχ ἡδέα πολλάκις ἐπιτάττουσαν. ἀλλὰ τοσαύτης ἀποδοχῆς ἠξίωται παρὰ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος,<sup>2</sup> ὥστε τὴν μήτραν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διοιχθεῖσαν σπορὰν θείας<sup>3</sup> γονῆς παραδέξασθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πράξεων γένεσιν. μάθε οὖν, ὦ ψυχῆ, ὅτι καὶ “ Σάρρα, ” ἡ ἀρετὴ, “ τέξεται σοι υἱόν, ” οὐ μόνον Ἄγαρ, ἡ μέση παιδεία· ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔγγονον διδακτόν, ταύτης δὲ  
 256 πάντως αὐτομαθές ἐστι. μὴ θαυμάσης <δ’>, εἰ πάντα φέρων σπουδαῖα ὁ θεὸς ἤνεγκε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γένος, σπάνιον μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, πάμπολυ δ’ ἐν οὐρανῷ. μάθοις δ’ ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ἄνθρωπος. ἀρά γε οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ διδαχθέντες ὀρώσι; τί δ’; οἱ μυκτῆρες ὀσφραίνονται μαθήσει; ἄπτονται δ’ αἱ χεῖρες ἢ οἱ πόδες προΐασι  
 257 κατ’ ἐπιτάγματα ἢ παραινέσεις ὑψηγητῶν; αἱ δ’ ὁρμαὶ καὶ φαντασίαι—πρῶται δ’ εἰσὶν αὗται κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις<sup>4</sup> ψυχῆς—διδασκαλίᾳ συνέστησαν;

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θεοῦ ἢ θεὸν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. θείου.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. πελίσσεις.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 253-257

He had prayed for the less, God grants him the greater. He said to him, we read, "Yes, Sarah thy wife shall bear a son" (Gen. xvii. 19). How significant is that answer "Yes," fraught as it is with inner meaning. For what can be more befitting to God than to grant and promise His blessings in a moment and with a sign of assent? Yet those who receive a 254 sign of assent from God are refused assent by every fool. Thus the oracles represent Leah as hated and for this reason she received such a name.<sup>a</sup> For by interpretation it means "rejected and weary," because we all turn away from virtue and think her wearisome, so little to our taste are the commands she often lays upon us. But from the Ruler of all she was awarded 255 such acceptance that her womb which He opened received the seed of divine impregnation (Gen. xxix. 31), whence should come the birth of noble practices and deeds. Learn then, soul of man, that Sarah also, that is virtue, shall bear thee a son, as well as Hagar, the lower instruction. For Hagar's offspring is the creature of teaching, but Sarah's learns from none other at all than itself. And wonder 256 not that God, who brings about all good things, has brought into being this kind also, and though there be few such upon earth, in Heaven vast is their number. You may learn this truth from the other elements, out of which man is constituted. Have the eyes been taught to see, do the nostrils learn to smell, do the hands touch or the feet advance in obedience to the orders or exhortations of instructors? As for 257 our impulses and mental pictures, which are the primal conditions of the soul, according as it is in motion or at rest, are they made what they are by

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Cher.* 41.

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παρὰ δὲ σοφιστὴν φοιτήσας ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν νοεῖν  
 καὶ καταλαμβάνειν ἔμαθε; πάντα ταῦτ' ἀφειμένα<sup>1</sup>  
 διδασκαλίας ἀπαυτοματιζούση φύσει χρῆται πρὸς  
 258 τὰς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας. τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζεις, εἰ καὶ  
 ἀρετὴν ἀπονον καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον ὁ θεὸς ὀμβρήσει  
 μηδεμιᾶς δεομένην ἐπιστασίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελεῆ; εἰ (δὲ) καὶ μαρτυρίαν  
 βούλει λαβεῖν, Μωυσέως ἀξιοπιστοτέραν εὐρήσεις;  
 ὅς φησι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ γῆς εἶναι  
 τὰς τροφάς, μόνῳ δὲ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τῷ ὄρατικῷ.  
 259 ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ἀνθρώποι γεωπόνου συν-  
 εργοῦσι, τὰς δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ νίφει χωρὶς συμ-  
 πράξεως ἐτέρων ὁ μόνος αὐτουργὸς θεός. καὶ  
 μὴν λέγεται. "ἴδου ὕψω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ."  
 τίνα οὖν ἀπ' (οὐρανοῦ) τροφήν<sup>2</sup> ἐνδίκως ὕεσθαι  
 260 λέγει, ὅτι μὴ τὴν οὐράνιον | σοφίαν; ἦν ἀνωθεν  
 [618] ἐπιπέμπει ταῖς ἡμερον ἀρετῆς ἐχούσαις ψυχαῖς ὁ  
 φρονήσεως εὐθηϊαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν χέων<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ ὅλα  
 ἄρδων καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἱερᾷ ἐβδόμη, ἣν σάββατον  
 καλεῖ. τότε γὰρ τὴν τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν φορὰν  
 ἔσεσθαί φησιν, οὐκ<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ὅλης τέχνης ἀνατελλόντων,<sup>4</sup>  
 ἀλλ' αὐτογενεῖ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖ φύσει βλαστανόντων  
 καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους φερόντων καρπούς.

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἐφειμένα.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀποτροφήν.

<sup>3</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἔχων.

<sup>4</sup> I should be inclined to correct to οὐδ' and perhaps to ἀνατελούντων, in which case the phrase, which Mangey and Wend. would emend by substituting respectively ὑλικῆς (?) and ἀνθρωπίνης for ὅλης, would not, I think, present any difficulty. Another possibility would be ἐκ πολλῆς.

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<sup>a</sup> Wendland gives the reference for this as Ex. xvi. 23 ff. But this can hardly be right, as no manna fell on the  
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## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 257-260

teaching? Does our mind attend the school of the professor of wisdom and there learn to think and to apprehend? All these exempt from teaching make use of self-worked independent nature for their respective activities. Why then need you still wonder 258 that God showers virtue without toil or trouble, needing no controlling hand but perfect and complete from the very first? And if you would have further testimony of this can you find any more trustworthy than Moses, who says that while other men receive their food from earth, the nation of vision alone has it from heaven? The earthly food is produced with 259 the co-operation of husbandmen, but the heavenly is sent like the snow by God the solely self-acting, with none to share his work. And indeed it says "Behold I rain upon you bread from heaven" (Ex. xvi. 4). Of what food can he rightly say that it is rained from heaven, save of heavenly wisdom which is sent from 260 above on souls which yearn for virtue by Him who sheds the gift of prudence in rich abundance, whose grace waters the universe, and chiefly so in the holy seventh (year) which he calls the Sabbath?<sup>a</sup> For then he says there will be a plentiful supply of good things spontaneous and self-grown, which even all the art in the world could never raise, but springing up and bearing their proper fruit through self-originated, self-consummated nature.

Sabbath. The reference is clearly to the Sabbatical year of Lev. xxv. 4, 5, definitely called "Sabbath," on which he has dwelt in *De Fug.* 170 ff. ἡ ἐβδόμη seems to be used for ἐβδομάς in *De Decal.* 159 and *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 40, as well as in § 144 above. Presumably nó noun but ἡμέρα can be understood, but by frequent use it has come to be a noun, which Philo can extend to cover any sacred period, day, month, or year.

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- 261 XLV. Τέξεται οὖν σοι ἡ ἀρετὴ υἱὸν γενναῖον ἄρρενα, παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον θήλεος πάθους, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πάθος, ὅπερ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάθης, πείσῃ δὲ πάντως χαράν· ὥστε καὶ τὸ
- 262 σύμβολον αὐτῆς ὄνομα θήσεις, γέλωτα. καθάπερ λύπη καὶ φόβος ἰδίας ἀναφθέγγεις ἔχουσιν, ἃς ἂν τὸ βιασάμενον καὶ κρατήσαν ὄνομα(το)ποίησιν πάθος, οὕτως εὐβουλία καὶ εὐφροσύνη φυσικαῖς ἐκφωνήσεσιν ἀναγκάζουσι χρῆσθαι, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τις κυριωτέρας καὶ εὐθυβολωτέρας κλήσεις, κἂν τυγχάνῃ
- 263 περὶ τὰς κλήσεις σοφός. διό φησιν· “εὐλόγηκα αὐτόν, αὐξήσω αὐτόν, πληθυνῶ, δώδεκα ἔθνη γεννήσει,” τὸν κύκλον καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἅπαντα τῶν σοφιστικῶν προπαιδευμάτων. “τὴν δὲ διαθήκην μου στήσω πρὸς Ἰσαάκ,” ἢ ἑκατέρας ἀρετῆς τὸ ἀνθρώπων μεταποιῆται γένος, διδακτῆς τε καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς, τὸ μὲν ἀσθενέστερον διδασκομένης, ἐτοιμῆς δὲ τὸ ἐρρωμένον.
- 264 XLVI. “Εἰς δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τέξεται σοι,” φησὶν, ἡ σοφία χαράν. ποῖον, ὧ θαυμασιώτατε, δεικνύεις καιρὸν; ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ γενέσεως ἀδεικτον μόνον; ὁ γὰρ ἀληθὴς αὐτὸς (ἂν) εἴη καιρὸς, ἀνατολὴ τῶν ὄλων, ἢ εὐπραξία καὶ εὐκαιρία γῆς, οὐρανοῦ, τῶν μεταξύ φύσεων, ζώων
- 265 ὁμοῦ καὶ φυτῶν ἀπάντων. ὅθεν καὶ Μωυσεῖς ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀποδεδρακόσι καὶ μὴ θέλουσι τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἄρασθαι πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους· “ἀφέστηκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν.” μόνον γὰρ οὐκ ἄντικρυς ὁμο-

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Post.* 122, where however the καιρός is the false god who deserts his votaries.



## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 261-265

XLV. Virtue then shall bear thee a true-born, 261  
male child, one free from all womanish feelings, and  
thou shalt call his name by the feeling which he raises  
in thee, which feeling is most surely joy. And there-  
fore thou shalt give him a name significant of joy,  
even laughter. Just as fear and grief have their own 262  
special ejaculations, which the overpowering force of  
emotion coins, so moods of happy planning or of  
gladness compel us to break out into natural utter-  
ances, as aptly and exactly expressing our meaning  
as any which an adept in the study of names could  
devise. Therefore he says: "I have blessed him, I 263  
will increase and multiply him: he shall beget twelve  
nations (that is, the whole round and train of the  
early branches of the professional schools), but my  
covenant will I establish with Isaac" (Gen. xvii. 20 f.).  
Thus both forms of virtue, one where the teacher is  
another, one where teacher and learner are the  
same, will be open to human kind. And where man  
is weak he will claim the former, where he is strong  
the latter which comes ready to his hands.

XLVI. "But at this season," he continues, "she shall 264  
bear to thee," that is, wisdom shall bear joy. What is  
the season you set before us, Master? Wonder of  
wonders! Is it not the season which is as no other,  
which no created being can set forth? For the true  
season, the dayspring of the universe, when all is  
well and seasonable with earth and heaven, and the  
intermediate natures, both living creatures and plants,  
can be no other than Himself. And therefore Moses 265  
feared not to say to the fugitives from danger who  
shrank from waging the war for virtue against their  
antagonists, "The season hath departed from them,  
but the Lord is among you" (Num. xiv. 9).<sup>a</sup> Here he

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λογεῖ τὸν θεὸν καιρόν, ὃς παντὸς μὲν ἀσεβοῦς  
μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν, ἀρετώσαις δ' ἐμπεριπατεῖ  
266 ψυχαῖς. " περιπατήσω " γὰρ φησιν " ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ  
ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός." οἱ δὲ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους  
καιροὺς εἶναι λέγοντες οὐ κυρίως καταχρῶνται τοῖς  
[619] ὀνόμασιν, ἅτε μὴ πάνυ | τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ-  
μάτων ἠκριβωκότες, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ εἰκῆ μετ-  
έχοντες.

267 XLVII. Ἐπιτείνων δὲ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ γεννω-  
μένου φησὶν αὐτὸ " ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἑτέρῳ "   
γεννηθήσεσθαι, ἐνιαυτὸν ἕτερον οὐ <τὸ> τοῦ  
χρόνου μηνῶν διάστημα, ὃ ταῖς σεληνιακαῖς ἢ  
ἡλιακαῖς ἀναμετρεῖται περιόδοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔκτοπον  
καὶ ξένον καὶ καινὸν ὄντως, ἕτερον τῶν ὀρωμένων  
καὶ αἰσθητῶν, ἐν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἐξεταζό-  
μενον, ὅπερ τὸ χρόνου παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχέτυπον  
εἶληκεν, αἰῶνα. αἰὼν δὲ ἀναγράφεται τοῦ νοητοῦ  
268 βίος κόσμου, ὡς αἰσθητοῦ χρόνος. ἐν ᾧ ἐνιαυτῷ  
καὶ " τὴν ἑκατοστεύουσαν εὕρισκει κριθὴν " ὃ τὰς  
θεοῦ χάριτας ἐπὶ γενέσει πλειόνων σπειρας ἀγαθῶν,  
ἢ ὡς πλείστοι τῶν ἐπαξίων τυχεῖν μεταλάβωσιν.  
269 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ σπείραντι καὶ θερίζειν ἔθος· ὃ δ'  
ἔσπειρε μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ἐχθρὰν φθόνου καὶ  
κακίας ἀρετὴν, εὐρεῖν δέ, ἀλλ' οὐ θερίσαι λέγεται·  
ὃ γὰρ στάχυν ἀδρότερον τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ  
πλήρη πεποιηκῶς ἕτερος ἦν, ὃς<sup>1</sup> εὐτρεπισάμενος  
καὶ ἐτοιμασάμενος ἐλπίδας μείζους καὶ πλείους  
δωρεὰς προὔθηκε τοῖς ζητοῦσιν εἰς εὐρεσιν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὁ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 265-269

acknowledges with hardly any disguise that God is the Season which departs far away from all the impious, but walks in rich and fertile souls. "For I will walk among you," he says, "and will be your God" (Lev. xxvi. 12). But they who say that season means the changes of the year strain the terms from their proper meaning, for they have not carefully studied the real natures of things but are deeply tainted with looseness of thought.

XLVII. He goes on to say—thereby heightening the glory of the child to be—that he will be born "in the other year" (Gen. xvii. 21). And by other year he does not mean an interval of time which is measured by the revolutions of sun and moon, but something truly mysterious, strange and new, other than the realm of sight and sense, having its place in the realm of the incorporeal and intelligible, and to it belongs the model and archetype of time, eternity or aeon.<sup>a</sup> The word aeon signifies the life of the world of thought, as time is the life of the perceptible. In this same year, too, is "the hundredfold crop of barley found" (Gen. xxvi. 12) by him who sows the gifts of God to produce an increase of blessings, and thereby increases to the uttermost the number of those who shall deservedly partake of it. But note that the sower generally reaps. Yet he, though he sowed, and thereby displayed the virtue which hates envy and vice, is not said to reap but to find. For He who ripened the ear of His benefits and filled it with corn was Another, even He who prepares and matures higher hopes and more abundant bounties and puts them forth to be found by those who seek.

<sup>a</sup> From *Timaeus* 37 D, as also in *Quis Rerum* 165, *Quod Deus* 32, where see note.

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270 XLVIII. Τὸ δὲ “ συνετέλεσε λαλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἐτελείωσε κενὸν ὄντα σοφίας πρότερον καὶ ἀθανάτων λόγων ἐπλήρωσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλειος ὁ μαθητῆς ἐγένετο, “ ἀνέβη ” <φησὶ> “ κύριος ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ ” δηλῶν, οὐχ ὅτι διεζεύχθη—φύσει γὰρ θεοῦ ὁπαδὸς ὁ σοφός,—ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκούσιον τοῦ μαθητοῦ βουλόμενος παραστήσαι, ἵν', ὅπερ<sup>2</sup> ἔμαθε, μηκέτι ἐφ-εστῶτος τοῦ διδάσκοντος χωρὶς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἐθειουργῶ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστῳ προθυμία χρώμενος, ἐνεργῆ δι' ἑαυτοῦ. δίδωσι γὰρ ὁ διδάσκαλος τῷ μαθόντι τόπον πρὸς τὴν ἄνευ ὑποβολῆς ἐκούσιον μελέτην, ἀλήστου μνήμης ἐγχαράττων βεβαιοτάτον εἶδος.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps αὐτοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὡσπερ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 270

XLVIII. The words "he completed talking to 270 him" (Gen. xvii. 22) are equivalent to "He perfected the hearer himself," who before was devoid of wisdom, and filled him with thoughts that cannot die. And when the learner had become perfect, "the Lord went up from Abraham," says Moses (*ibid.*). He does not mean that Abraham was parted from Him, for by his very nature the sage is God's attendant, but he wished to shew the independence of the learner. His purpose is that when the superintendence of the master is withdrawn, and no compulsion is applied, the pupil may make an exhibition of his own powers, and shewing a diligence which is voluntary and self-imposed may work out by his own efforts what he has learnt. For it is the way of a teacher to give his pupil opportunity of independent practice without suggestions from himself, and thus set upon him the stamp of indelible memory in its surest form.



ON DREAMS, THAT THEY ARE  
GOD-SENT  
(QUOD A DEO MITTANTUR SOMNIA  
OR MORE BRIEFLY  
DE SOMNIIS)





## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK I

THIS treatise, as we learn from its opening section is really the second of those which deal with dreams. The first, which is lost, treated of dreams in which the dreamer's own thoughts had no part. This second treatise is concerned with dreams in which the mind is inspired and can thus foresee the future. The two examples of this kind are taken from the history of Jacob. The first is the familiar story of the heavenly ladder at Bethel, and this with introductions and digression occupies §§ 2-188. The second is the dream of Genesis xxxi. in which he sees the different markings of his flock and is bidden to return to his native land. This takes up the rest of the treatise. The first of these dreams is quoted in § 3, the second in § 189.

Philo, after noting the difference of subject between this treatise and the preceding and quoting the substance of the vision (1-3), finds it necessary to discuss the verses which lead up to it. "And Jacob went out from the well of the oath and journeyed to Haran, and he met with a place. For the sun was set, and he took one of the stones of the place and set it at his head and slept in that place" (4-5). The first question is, What is the well? A well is knowledge, which like the well water is hidden and can only be gained by toil (6-8). But from this particular well Isaac did

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not find water, and this means that full knowledge is beyond us. The more we learn the more we find remains to be learnt (8-11).

But why the "well of the oath"? Because this impossibility of obtaining full knowledge is a truth which everyone can safely affirm without fear of perjury (12-13). But we observe that while Isaac digs four wells it is only the fourth which receives this name (14). So too in the universe and in the man we find three things which can be known in a sense and a fourth which cannot. The world has four constituents—earth, air, water, heaven. We can give some account of the first three, but on the fourth all sorts of theories are held. And here he takes the occasion to mention various views as to the nature of the sun, moon, and stars, nearly all of which can be illustrated from earlier writers (15-24). So, too, with man. Here the four are body, senses, speech and mind, and our partial knowledge of the first three, compared with our complete ignorance of the fourth, is treated in the same way (25-32). The thought may be illustrated from the phrase in Leviticus that "the fourth year is holy and for praise," for heaven with its music of the spheres and the human mind alike have been created to praise their maker (33-38). This meditation concludes with a censure of those who suppose that the story of the four wells can be taken in its literal sense (39-40).

Haran, as explained already elsewhere,<sup>a</sup> signifies the land of the senses, and it is only right and natural that the soul should sometimes leave the well of boundless knowledge, the world of mind, and take Haran for its refuge, but not for its lasting home (41-45). That is

<sup>a</sup> *De Mig.* 176 ff.

## ON DREAMS, I.

only for the Laban soul, which is contrasted with Jacob as Terah is with Abraham. For while Abraham came out of Haran, Terah died there (45-48). This leads Philo to further thoughts on the subject of Terah. His name means "observer of scent," and the second part of the name suggests the thought of those who like the hound scent the distant virtue but do not win it, a condition inferior to the best, yet not without value (48-51). The other part of the name, "observer," reminds us that Terah dwelt in Chaldea before he came to Haran, *i.e.* that his observation concerned itself with the vanities of astrology, whereas his migration to Haran shews the conversion of the soul to the Socratic principle of "Know Thyself" (52-58). But Terah goes no further, and it is only Abraham who leaves Haran for the highest quest of all (59-60).

And now what is the place which he "lights upon" or "meets"? "Place" apart from the ordinary sense may indicate either the Logos which God fills and in which He stands, or God Himself (61-64). After a short discussion of the text in the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, "he came to the place . . . and saw the place from afar," in which he finds an inconsistency requiring explanation (64-67), he lays down with confidence that in the Jacob story the place is the Logos (68-71).

"The sun was set." Here the sun is God Himself, whose setting in the mind leaves room for the inferior influence of "words" <sup>a</sup> to take the lead, and some illustration of the symbolism in which the sun or at least light stands for God is given (72-76). But we must note, however, in passing that elsewhere the

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 72.

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sun is a figure for other things. Sometimes it stands for the mind (77-78), even for such inferior light as that of the senses, and he reminds us that the sunlight hides the glory of the stars as sense hides the light of true knowledge (79-84). Again it stands sometimes for the Logos (85-86). Yet on the whole the thought of the sun representing God holds the field, and two illustrations of this follow. In the first of these the phrase "expose" (or "hang") the malefactor "before the sun" is understood to mean that the confession of sin to the all-seeing God is the necessary preliminary to repentance and forgiveness (87-91). The second leads to one of those curious diatribes in which Philo tries to shew that a simple and indeed humane ordinance of the law cannot be accepted literally.<sup>a</sup> The text is that in which the creditor, who has taken the debtor's cloak as security, is bidden to return it at sunset (92). Various objections to a literal interpretation are raised. Is it worthy of God to legislate on such a trivial matter? (93-94). Why should not the creditor keep the cloak, and what is it a security for? (95-98). Why should it not be restored in the daytime also (99), and even the wording of the ordinance is declared to be absurd if taken literally (99-101). We are therefore driven to the allegorical interpretation that the garment stands for speech or reason, and that those who deprive themselves or others of reason must restore it before the divine sun sets in their hearts (102-114). So then, applying this interpretation to the story, we see the Practiser sometimes illumined by the sun-like rays of God Himself, sometimes left to the less brilliant light of the Logos and finding in that a sufficient blessing

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Agr.* 148 ff.

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(115-117). Before closing this part of the discussion Philo notes that some, while agreeing that the place is the Logos, take the sun to mean mind and sense together, and construe the setting of these as meaning the humble acknowledgement of the inability of human faculties to attain real truth (118-119).

“ He took of the stones of the place and slept.” Before we consider the allegorical meaning of this we may note how the story in its literal sense inculcates the duty of simple living, and Philo takes the occasion to deliver one of his frequent commonplaces against luxury (120-126). Allegorically, however, the stones of the place are Logoi, here definitely regarded as spiritual beings, and one stone, apparently the divine Logos itself, serves him for the pillow of his mind, the head of his soul (127-128). From this thought he passes for a moment to compare the story of the same Logos as the instructor and rewarder of Jacob in the wrestling story of Genesis xxxii., and the lesson to be learnt from the incident of his numbed or shrinking thigh. This concludes the commentary on the incidents which lead up to the dream of the ladder (129-132).

We now pass on to the interpretation of the vision itself. The ladder from one point of view symbolizes the air, the habitation of unbodied souls, some of whom descend into human bodies and become engrossed in earthly things, while others rise above all such. And again, there are higher spiritual beings, the angels, who act as intermediaries between God and man (133-145). But in another sense, the ladder is the soul on which the divine words move up and down—up to draw it upwards, down to help it in its abasement (146-149). Or again, the ladder may show

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the life of the Practiser, with its perpetual advancing and back-sliding (150-152), or, once more, the oscillations of fortune as we see them in ordinary life (153-156).

“The Lord ‘stood firmly,’ or was established, on the ladder.” These words naturally suggest to Philo his favourite “thought” of the divine “standing” which alone establishes all things (157-159), and he goes on to consider the phrase: “I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac.” Why “the Lord God” in one case and “God” in the other? Philo, as usual, assuming that Lord represents the sovereign and God the creative and beneficent potency, argues that the Abraham-nature which learns through teaching needs both these, while the Isaac-nature of the self-taught needs only the latter (160-163); and this thought gives him an occasion to extol such allegorical interpretations and to call upon devout souls to seek for them (164-165). Another point in the phrase is that Abraham is called Jacob’s father, while Isaac is not. Again the same principle of the three types, teaching, nature, practice, will help us. While Jacob is still Jacob the supplanter and embodies practice, he is more akin to Abraham. When he becomes Israel who sees God, he will have Isaac for his father (166-172). Other phrases in the divine speech are commented on shortly with devout reflections, of which the most characteristically Philonic are those on the words, “In thee shall all tribes of the earth be blessed,” and “I will turn thee back to this land.” From the first he draws the lesson that the “tribes” in the individual, the senses, are blessed by the virtuous mind within, while the tribes in the wider sense are inevitably influenced for

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good by the lover of wisdom. On the second he points out that it may refer to the immortality of the soul, which, released from the body, returns to the heaven from which it came.

He now turns to Jacob's waking words and feelings. A difficult and fantastic explanation is given, of which the main points are (1) that his fear is caused by realizing that God is not in any place, (2) that in the words, "This is none other than the House of God," "this" is the visible world of sense which is also the gate of heaven, because it is only through our experience of it that we get our knowledge of the world of mind (182-188).

If Philo's treatment of the ladder dream may seem in parts a feeble perversion of one of the most familiar and beautiful stories in Genesis, his treatment of the dream which follows brings out his gift for extracting striking ideas from the most unpromising material. After quoting the passage Gen. xxxi. 11-13 in full (189), he begins by pointing out that a vision may be granted to men by the ministers of God, as well as by God Himself (190), and that God speaks in different terms, according as He speaks as a sovereign or a teacher or a friend. That Jacob is a friend appears from His addressing him by name, as Moses and Abraham are addressed (191-196). Passing on to the substance of the dream, the rams and he-goats who mount the sheep and goats are two *logoi*, here no longer spiritual beings but thoughts or ways of thinking which impregnate tender souls inspiring either repentance or a desire for positive well-doing (197-200). These *logoi* are described as pure white, speckled or varied, ashy-spotted or sprinkled. At the first of these he glances at present only for a

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moment, and passes on to a consideration of "variegation" as it is shewn in the pageant of the universe and in the world of learning, where the student gathers from each branch of knowledge its various parts and weaves them into a gaily coloured piece of work such as Bezaleel the "variegator" made (201-207). As for the ashy-spotted, while recognizing that literally this means marked with ash-coloured spots, he turns it for the purpose of his allegory into sprinkled with ashes and water, the ritual of purification, thus signifying the abasement of the humble soul (208-210). He notes how all three are symbolized in the high priest, who must first purify himself with ashes and water, who wears both the varied breastplate and the white linen robe, which represents a higher type of detachment from human aims and deceptions (213-218). In contrast with this is the Joseph soul, with its coat of varied colours, which of the three types has only variegation, and even that in a lower sense (219-224). Let us avoid variegation of this kind, and thus frustrate Laban whose wiles are shewn in the next verse of the text, "I have seen all that Laban does to thee," and that he will be frustrated is shewn by the continuation, "I am the God Who appeared to thee in God's place" (224-227). These last words carry Philo away on to the distinction between "the God" and "God" or "a God," the conclusion of which seems to be that, just as in condescension to human weakness God allows Himself to be spoken of in anthropomorphic terms, so He reveals Himself in the form of angels or "gods" (232-236).<sup>a</sup>

The next words are: "Where thou anointedst Me a pillar." Philo for the moment ignores "anointedst,"

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 230.



## ON DREAMS, I.

and fastens on the word "pillar," taking it in the sense of a monumental slab. Such a slab is erected or made to stand, is inscribed and is dedicated; and he enlarges on these three ideas, particularly on dedication. The dedication must be to God, and those who dedicate a pillar to themselves are blasphemously affirming the stability of human things, and will, like Lot's wife, become themselves lifeless "pillars" of salt (244-248). He now deals with the word "anointedst": since ἀλείφειν means also train for the arena, and the ἀλείπτῆς is a trainer, he easily gets the thought that to anoint the pillar is spiritually to train in the soul the doctrine which the pillar represents, namely the stability of God. Such a training will also dedicate the soul (249-251), and so also the words "Thou didst vow a vow" is a dedication of the maker of the vow (252-254). The treatise concludes with an exhortation to the soul to learn all these lessons from the Practiser's story, and thus, as is promised in the last words of the text, return to the land of its nativity (255-end).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΕΜΠΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΤΟΥΣ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΥΣ

A

[620] I. | Ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης γραφῆ περιεῖχε τῶν θεο-  
<sup>1</sup>πέμπτων ὀνείρων τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδος ταπτο-  
μένους, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ θεῖον ἐλέγομεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν  
ἐπιβολὴν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐπιπέμπειν φαντασίας.  
ἐν ταύτῃ δ', ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, δηλώσομεν τοὺς  
<sup>2</sup>ἐφαρμόττοντας τῷ δευτέρῳ. δεύτερον δ' εἶδος, ἐν  
ᾧ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς τῷ τῶν ὄλων συγκινούμενος  
ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κατέχεσθαι τε καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι δοκεῖ,  
ὡς ἰκανὸς εἶναι προλαμβάνειν καὶ προγινώσκειν τι  
τῶν μελλόντων. ὄναρ δ' ἐστὶ πρῶτον  
οἰκίον εἶδει τῷ σημαινομένῳ τὸ φανὲν ἐπὶ τῆς  
<sup>3</sup>οὐρανοῦ κλίμακος τόδε· “ καὶ ἐνυπνιάσθη· καὶ ἰδοὺ  
κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γῆ, ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφ-  
ικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος  
ἐπιστήρικτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ εἰμι<sup>1</sup> ὁ θεὸς  
'Αβραάμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ· μὴ  
φοβοῦ· ἡ γῆ, ἐφ' ἧς σὺ καθεύδεις, σοὶ δώσω αὐτήν  
καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, καὶ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου  
ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς γῆς, καὶ πλατυνθήσεται<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> So MSS., and also LXX. But perhaps ἐγὼ κύριος as in §§ 159, 166, and 173. See the argument based on this in § 160.

# ON DREAMS

## BOOK I

I. The treatise before this one embraced that first 1 class of heaven-sent dreams, in which, as we said, the Deity of His own motion sends to us the visions which are presented to us in sleep. In the present treatise we shall, to the best of our ability, bring before our readers dreams which find their right place under our second head. The second kind of dreams is that in 2 which our own mind, moving out of itself together with the Mind of the Universe, seems to be possessed and God-inspired, and so capable of receiving some foretaste and foreknowledge of things to come.<sup>a</sup>

The first dream belonging to the class thus indicated is that which appeared to the dreamer on the stairway of Heaven: "And he dreamed, and 3 behold a stairway set up on the earth, of which the top reached to heaven, and the angels of God were ascending and descending upon it. And the Lord stood firmly on it; and He said, 'I am the God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac; fear not; the land whereon thou sleepest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; and thy seed shall be as the sand of the earth, and shall spread abroad

<sup>a</sup> For this classification of dreams see App. pp. 593 f.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *πληθυνθησέ(ον)ται*. But *πλατ.* as LXX in § 175.

## PHILO

θάλασσαν καὶ λίβα καὶ βορρᾶν καὶ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ (ἐν) τῷ σπέρματί σου· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ, διαφυλάσσω σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πάση, ἣ ἄν πορευθῆς· καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω, ἕως τοῦ ποιῆσαί με

[621] <sup>4</sup> πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησά σοι.” | προκατασκευὴ δ’ ἐστὶ τῆς φαντασίας ἀναγκαία, ἣν ἀκριβώσαντες εὐμαρῶς ἴσως δυνησόμεθα καὶ τὰ δηλούμενα ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας καταλαβεῖν. τίς οὖν ἢ προκατασκευή; “καὶ ἐξῆλθε” φησὶν “Ἰακώβ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Χαρρᾶν, καὶ ἀπήντησε τόπῳ· ἔδν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος· καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκε πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ”· κάπειτ’ εὐθύς ἐστι τὸ ὄναρ.

5 οὐκοῦν ἄξιον ἐν ἀρχῇ ταυτὶ τρία διαπορηῆσαι· ἐν μὲν τί τὸ τοῦ ὄρκου φρέαρ καὶ διὰ τί οὕτως ἄνομάσθη, δεύτερον δὲ τίς ἢ Χαρρᾶν καὶ διὰ τί ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος φρέατος ἐξελλθὼν εἰς Χαρρᾶν ἔρχεται εὐθύς, τρίτον τίς ὁ τόπος καὶ διὰ τί, ὅταν γένηται κατ’ αὐτόν, ὁ μὲν ἥλιος δύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμάται.

6· Π. Σκοπῶμεν οὖν αὐτίκα τὸ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν δοκεῖ σύμβολον εἶναι τὸ φρέαρ ἐπιστήμης· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπιπόλαιος αὐτῆς ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ πάνυ βαθεῖα· οὐδ’ ἐν φανερώ πρόκειται, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀφανείῳ κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ· οὐδὲ ῥαδίως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ μόλις ἀνευρίσκεται. καὶ ταυτ’

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<sup>a</sup> Or “the next thing is that he comes to Haran.” Of course in the narrative Jacob does not come at once to Haran, nor is the scene of the vision in Haran. But, since both Well and Haran are to Philo conditions of soul, the

## ON DREAMS, I. 3-6

to the west and the south and the north and the east ; and in thee shall be blessed all the tribes of the earth, and in thy seed. And, behold, I am with thee, guarding thee in every way by which thou goest, and will bring thee back into this land, for I will by no means forsake thee, until I have done all things whatsoever I have spoken unto thee ' ' (Gen. xxviii. 12-15).

The vision is introduced 4 by a prefatory passage necessary for its understanding, and if we study this in detail we shall perhaps be able easily to grasp the meaning of the vision. What then is this prefatory passage ? It runs thus : " And Jacob went out from the Well of the Oath, and made his journey to Haran ; and he met with a place ; for the sun set ; and he took one from the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and he slept in that place " (*ibid.* 10 f.) ; and then at once follows the dream.

It is worth while, then, at the 5 outset to investigate these three points, firstly, what " the Well of the Oath " is and why it was so called ; secondly, what " Haran " is, and why it is that on coming out from the Well aforesaid he comes at once " to Haran ; thirdly, what " the place " is, and why, when he reaches it, the sun sets, and he himself goes to sleep.

II. Let us consider the first to begin with. To me, 6 then, the Well seems to be a symbol of knowledge ; for the nature of knowledge is to be very deep, not superficial ; it does not display itself openly, but loves to hide itself in secrecy ; it is discovered not easily but with difficulty and with much labour. And all statement that he journeys from one to the other with no mention of any intervening place (for the τόπος of the vision is no place in the ordinary sense) implies that the second soul state is the immediate successor to the first.

## PHILO

οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀμύθητα ὅσα θεωρή-  
 7 ματα ἔχουσῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων  
 θεωρεῖται. ἦν γοῦν ἂν ἐθέλης ἑλοῦ τῶν τεχνῶν,  
 μή μοι τὴν ἀρίστην, ἀλλὰ τὴν πασῶν ἀφανεστάτην,  
 ἦν ἐλεύθερος μὲν ἴσως οὐδεὶς ἐν πόλει τραφεῖς  
 ἐκῶν ἐπιτηδεύσειεν ἂν, ἐν ἀγρῶ δὲ μόλις ἄκων  
 οἰκέτης δυσκόλῳ καὶ δυστρόπῳ παλαίων δεσπότη  
 8 βιαζομένῳ πολλὰ δρᾶν τῶν ἀβουλήτων. εὐρεθή-  
 σεται γὰρ οὐχ ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλον τὸ πρᾶγμα,  
 οὐ θατέρα ληπτόν,<sup>1</sup> δυσεύρετον, δυσπεριγένητον,  
 ἐχθρὸν μὲν ὄκνῳ καὶ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ, σπουδῆς  
 δὲ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἰδρώτων τε καὶ φροντίδων μεστόν.  
 οὗ χάριν οὐδ' ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ φρέατι  
 τούτῳ φασὶν οἱ ὀρύττοντες εὐρεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη  
 τῶν ἐπιστημῶν οὐ δυσεύρετα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 9 ἀνεύρετα παντελῶς εἶναι συμβέβηκε. γραμματι-  
 κώτερος δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γεωμετρικώτερος ἕτερος  
 ἐτέρου γίνεται τῷ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις  
 ἀμήχανον εἶναι ὄροις περιγραφῆναι· πλείω γὰρ αἰε  
 τῶν εἰς μάθησιν ἠκόντων τὰ ἀπολειπόμενα ἐκδέ-  
 χεται καὶ ἐφεδρεύει, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἄπτεσθαι περάτων  
 ἐπιστήμης ὑπολαμβανόμενον ἡμιτελῆ παρ' ἐτέρῳ  
 κριτῇ νομίζεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ καὶ  
 10 ἄρτι ἄρχεσθαι δοκεῖν. “ βραχὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος,”  
 ἔφη τις, “ ἢ δὲ τέχνη μακρά,” ἦς ἄριστα κατα-

<sup>1</sup> mss. θήρα (some θηρατοῦ) ληπτόν (some μεμπτόν). The correction to θατέρα is mine. See note to *De Mig.* 220, where grounds are given for retaining against Wend. the τῇ ἐτέρᾳ of the mss., and for reading οὐ θατέρα in *De Sac.* 37, in accordance with the Papyrus. This proverbial phrase quoted in Plato, *Soph.* 226 A seems for some reason to have eluded both scribes and editors.

## ON DREAMS, I. 6-10

this may be seen not only in branches of knowledge which contain a whole multitude of important problems, but in the simplest<sup>a</sup> studies as well. Just 7 choose any art you please, not the best of them I beg of you, but the most ignoble of them all, which perhaps no free man whatever brought up in a city would voluntarily practise, and even in the country a servant who has to grapple with a harsh and ill-conditioned master, who forces him to many a distasteful task, would only undertake reluctantly. For it will be found to be not a simple but a subtle 8 matter, one "which needs both hands to take it," hard to discover and hard to master, a foe to hesitation and negligence and indifference, demanding abundance of zest and enthusiasm, of hard toil and anxious thought.

This is why the diggers of this well say that they found no water in it (Gen. xxvi. 32), inasmuch as the ends pursued in the different branches of knowledge prove to be not only hard to reach, but absolutely beyond finding. That is why 9 one man is a better scholar or geometrician than another, because no limit can be set to the extensions and enlargements of his subject in all directions. For what still remains is always waiting to engage us in fuller force than what we have already learned; so that the man who is supposed to have reached the very end of knowledge, is considered in the judgement of another to have come half way; while if Truth give her verdict, he is pronounced to be just beginning. For "life is short," said one, "and art 10 is long"<sup>b</sup>; and he best apprehends its greatness

<sup>a</sup> Or "meanest" = ἀφανεστάτην below.

<sup>b</sup> The well-known opening aphorism of Hippocrates, though there ἡ τέχνη is *the* art (of medicine).

## PHILO

- λαμβάνει τὸ μέγεθος ὁ ἀψευδῶς ἐμβαθύνων αὐτῇ  
 [622] καὶ ὡσπερ φρέαρ | αὐτὴν ὀρύττων. διὸ  
 καὶ τελευτώντά τινα πολὺν ἤδη καὶ ὑπέργηρων  
 λόγος ἔχει δακρύνειν, οὐ δι' ἀνανδρίαν φόβῳ θανάτου,  
 ἀλλὰ διὰ παιδείας ἕμερον ὡς νῦν πρῶτον εἰς αὐτὴν  
 11 εἰσιόντα, ὅτε πανύστατ' ἔξεισιν. ἀνθεὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ  
 πρὸς ἐπιστήμην, ὁπότε αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμαί  
 χρόνου μήκει μαραίνονται. πρὶν οὖν ἠβῆσαι καὶ  
 ἐννεάσαι τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβεστέρα κατα-  
 λήψει, χαλεπὸν ὑποσκελισθῆναι. τὸ δὲ πάθος  
 τοῦτο κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν φιλομαθῶν, οἷς  
 νέα ἐπὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀναλάμπει θεωρή-  
 ματα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὁπότε μὴ στείρα  
 καὶ ἄγονος εἶη, τικτούσης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φύσεως  
 ἀτεκμάρτως ἐκ ταυτομάτου προφανούσης τοῖς  
 διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκουσι.
- Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστήμης φρέαρ ὄρον καὶ τελευτὴν  
 12 οὐκ ἔχον τοιοῦτον<sup>1</sup> ἀπεδείχθη. διὰ τί δὲ ὄρκος<sup>2</sup>  
 ὠνομάσθη, λεκτέον· τὰ ἐνδοιαζόμενα τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων ὄρκῳ διακρίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀβέβαια βεβαιοῦται  
 καὶ τὰ ἄπιστα λαμβάνει πίστιν· ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνο συν-  
 ἀγεται, ὅτι περὶ οὐδενὸς ἂν τις οὕτως βεβαιώσαιοτο,  
 ὡς περὶ τοῦ τὸ σοφίας γένος ἀπερίγραφον καὶ  
 13 ἀτελεύτητον εἶναι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνωμότῳ  
 διεξιόντι περὶ τούτων συνεπιγράφεσθαι· ὁ δὲ μὴ  
 λίαν εἰς συναίνεσιν<sup>3</sup> εὐχερῆς ἐνωμότῳ γενομένῳ  
 συναινείτω. μηδεὶς δὲ ὀμνύναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ὄρκον

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps τοιοῦτον <θν>.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὄρκου.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. σύνεσιν.

<sup>a</sup> The plural ὧν is due to the threefold form of the statement in the preceding clause, but the logic of what follows



## ON DREAMS, I. 10-13

who honestly sounds its depths, and digs it like a well.

So there is a story that a grey-haired man of great age shed tears when dying, not in any cowardly fear of death, but by reason of his yearning for education, and the thought that he is now first entering upon it, when he takes his final leave of it. For the soul is just blossoming into knowledge, 11 when the body's bloom is withering away through the passing of years. So it is a hard fate to be tripped up by the heels before one has attained the prime of youthful strength to apprehend things more accurately. This experience is common to all who love to learn, who see new results of thought and study rise like a shining light in addition to the old. Many of these does the soul, if it be not cursed with barrenness, bring forth ; many does Nature of herself shew to those whose understanding is sharp-sighted, without giving any sign beforehand of their coming.

So then the well of knowledge, the well without limit or ending, has been shewn to be such as I have described. Why it was named " Oath " I must now 12 tell you. Matters that are in doubt are decided by an oath, insecure things made secure, assurance given to that which lacked it. From this we conclude that there is nothing which can be asserted with <sup>a</sup> greater certainty than that wisdom is essentially without end or limit. While then it is well to agree with one who 13 discourses on these truths even if he takes no oath, let anyone who is not very prone to assent do so when the speaker is on his oath. And no one need shrink from taking such an oath, for he may rest assured that is not clear. Presumably the thought is that since the oath creates certainty, the name of oath given to the well gives absolute certainty that the well is such as we have found it to be.

## PHILO

ἀναδυέσθω σαφῶς εἰδῶς, ὅτι ἐν εὐόρκων γραφή-  
σεται στήλαις.

- 14 III. Ἄλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἐπόμενον δ' ἂν εἴη  
σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τεττάρων ὀρυττομένων φρεάτων  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τὸ τέταρτον  
15 καὶ τελευταῖον “ ὄρκος ” προσερρήθη. μήποτ'  
οὖν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐκείνο βούλεται παραστήσαι, ὅτι  
κἂν τῷ παντὶ τεττάρων ὄντων, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν  
ὁδε ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰσαρίθμων, ἐξ ὧν  
διαπλασθέντες εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἶδος ἐτυπώ-  
θημεν, τὰ μὲν [οὖν] τρία πέφυκεν ἀμηγέπη κατα-  
λαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον πᾶσι  
16 τοῖς κριταῖς ἐστίν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ γῆν καὶ  
ὔδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν τέτταρα τὰ πάντα εἶναι  
συμβέβηκεν· ὧν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κἂν δυσευρέτου, ἀλλ'  
οὐκ εἰσάπαν ἀνευρέτου μοίρας ἤξιώται.
- 17 καὶ γὰρ γῆν, ὅτι ἐστὶ σῶμα βαρὺ καὶ ἀδιάλυτον  
καὶ στερέμνιον καὶ τεμνόμενον εἰς ὄρη καὶ πεδιάδας  
χώρας καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ θαλάττῃ διαιρούμενον, ὡς  
τὰ μὲν νησιάζειν, τὰ δὲ ἠπειροῦσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ  
μὲν αὐτῆς λεπτόγεων, τὸ δὲ βαθύγειον, καὶ τὸ  
μὲν τραχὺ καὶ στρυφνὸν καὶ λιθῶδες καὶ εἰσάπαν  
ἄγονον, τὸ δὲ λείον καὶ μαλακὸν καὶ γονιμώτατον, |  
18 καὶ μυρία πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα καταλαμβάνομεν·  
[623] καὶ πάλιν ὔδωρ ὅτι πολλά τε τῶν  
εἰρημένων ἔχει κοινὰ πρὸς γῆν καὶ ἐξαιρέτα ἕτερα·  
τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλυκύ, τὸ δ' ἀλμυρόν, τὸ δ'  
ἄλλαις διακεκριμένον ἰδέαις· καὶ τὸ μὲν πότιμον,  
τὸ δ' οὐ πότιμον—καὶ ἐκάτερον οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς  
θάτερον, οὐ τὸ ἕτερον, καὶ οἷς μὴ θάτερον, πάντως

° For the general sense of §§ 12, 13 cf. *De Plant.* 82.

## ON DREAMS, I. 13-18

his name will appear on the register of those who have sworn truly.<sup>a</sup>

III. Enough on these points. The next thing to 14 inquire is why, when four wells are dug by Abraham and Isaac and those about them (Gen. xxi. 25, xxvi. 19-23), the fourth and last received as its name "Oath." Probably Moses wishes to shew us alle- 15 gorically that while both the constituents of which the universe is composed, and those from which we ourselves were moulded and so fashioned into human shape, are four in number, three of them are such as can in one way or another be apprehended, but the fourth is universally held to be beyond our powers of apprehension. In the world, then, we find the 16 constituents that make up the whole to be four, earth, water, air, heaven. To three of these properties have been allotted, the discovery of which may be difficult, but is not wholly impossible.

For, as 17 regards earth, we perceive that it is a body, heavy, indissoluble, firm, cut up into mountain-ranges and level plains, divided by rivers and sea, so that parts of it are islands, part continents; that some of it has a light thin soil, some of it a deep soil; some of it rough, stiff, stony, and altogether barren, some level and soft and very fertile. These and a thousand other points we apprehend.

As to water 18 again, we perceive that it has several of the properties just enumerated in common with land, and others peculiar to itself; for some of it is sweet, some brackish, other parts marked by other differences; some water is fit to drink, other water unfit. We know too it has not either of these properties alike for all; one kind of water is drinkable by some but not by others, and what is undrinkable by some is

## PHILO

- τὸ ἕτερον,—καὶ τὸ μὲν φύσει ψυχρόν, τὸ δὲ φύσει  
 19 θερμόν—εἰσὶ γὰρ μυρίαὶ πολλαχόθι πηγαὶ ζέον  
 ὕδωρ ἐκδιδοῦσαι, οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 κατὰ θάλατταν· ἤδη γοῦν ἐφάνησαν φλέβες ἀν-  
 ομβροῦσαι ζέον ὕδωρ ἐν μέσοις πελάγεσιν, ἃς ἡ  
 τοσαύτη τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ πελαγῶν ἀνάχυσις ἐξ αἰῶνος  
 ἐπικλύζουσα οὐκ ἴσχυσε σβέσαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ  
 20 ποσὸν ἀνεῖναι— καὶ πάλιν ὅτι ὁ ἀῆρ ἔχει φύσιν  
 εἴκουσαν ἀντιπερισταμένοις<sup>1</sup> τοῖς σώμασιν, ὄργανον  
 ὦν ζωῆς, ἀναπνοῆς, ὀράσεως, ἀκοῆς, τῶν ἄλλων  
 αἰσθήσεων, πυκνότητος καὶ μανότητος κινήσεις  
 τε καὶ ἡρεμίας ἐνδεχόμενος, τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς  
 παντοίας τρεπόμενός τε καὶ μεταβάλλων, χειμῶνας  
 καὶ θέρη γεννῶν καὶ τὰς μετοπωρινὰς καὶ ἐαρινὰς  
 ὥρας, ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλος πέφυκε περατοῦσθαι.  
 21 IV. Τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων αἰσθανόμεθα, ὁ δ'  
 οὐρανὸς ἀκατάληπτον ἔχει τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ  
 σαφὲς γνώρισμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλας. τί γὰρ  
 ἂν εἴποιμεν; ὅτι πεπηγώς ἐστι κρύσταλλος, ὡς  
 ἠξιώσαντινες; ἢ ὅτι πῦρ τὸ καθαρώτατον; ἢ  
 ὅτι πέμπτον κυκλοφορικὸν σῶμα, μηδενὸς τῶν  
 τεττάρων στοιχείων μετέχον; τί δ'; ἢ ἀπλανῆς  
 καὶ ἐξωτάτω σφαῖρα πρὸς τὸ ἄνω βάθος ἔχει ἢ  
 αὐτὸ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπιφάνεια βάθους ἐρήμη, τοῖς  
 22 ἐπιπέδοις σχήμασιν ἔοικυῖα; τί δ'; οἱ ἀστέρες  
 πότερον γῆς εἰσὶν ὄγκοι πυρὸς πλήρεις—ἄγκεα γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. with most mss. ἀντιπεριστάμενος.

## ON DREAMS, I. 18-22

quite drinkable by others ; and that some is by nature cold, some by nature hot : for there are a 19 thousand springs, in many places giving forth boiling water, and that not only on land, but in the sea. Yes, there have before now appeared veins emitting boiling water in mid ocean, which all the force of the surrounding seas pouring over them from time immemorial has been powerless to quench or even in any measure to check. Again we perceive that the 20 air has a nature which gives way to the pressure of the objects around it ; that it is the instrument of life, of breathing, of sight, hearing and the other senses ; that it admits of density and rarity, of motion and stillness, that it undergoes all kinds of change ; that it is the source of winter and summer, and of the autumn and spring seasons, that is, of the constituent parts that fix the limits of the year's cycle.

IV. All these we perceive ; but heaven has sent 21 to us no sure indication of its nature, but keeps it beyond our comprehension.<sup>a</sup> For what can we say ? That it is a fixed mass of crystal, as some have thought ? Or that it is absolutely pure fire ? Or that it is a fifth substance, circular in movement, with no part in the four elements ? Again, we ask, has the fixed and outmost sphere upward-reaching depth, or is it nothing but a superficies, without depth, resembling plane geometrical figures ? Again : are 22 the stars lumps of earth full of fire ? Some people

<sup>a</sup> For these theories about the heavenly bodies see App. p. 594.

## PHILO

- καὶ νάπας καὶ μύδρους<sup>1</sup> διαπύρους εἶπον αὐτοὺς εἶναι τινες, αὐτοὶ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ μύλωνος, ἐν οἷς τὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ὄντες ἐπάξιοι—ἢ συνεχῆς καί, ὡς εἶπέ τις, πυκνὴ ἄρμονία, πηλήματα ἀδιάλυτα αἰθέρος; ἔμφυχοι δὲ καὶ νοεροὶ ἢ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀμέτοχοι; προαιρετικὰς δὲ ἢ κατηναγκασμένας αὐτὸ μόνον κινήσεις
- 23 ἔχοντες; τί δέ; σελήνη πότερον γνήσιον ἢ νόθον ἐπιφέρεται φέγγος ἡλιακαῖς ἐπιλαμπόμενον ἀκτίσιν
- [624] ἢ καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἰδίᾳ τούτων οὐδέτερον, | τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὡς ἂν ἐξ οἰκείου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου πυρὸς κρᾶμα; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀρίστου τε καὶ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ σώματος ὄντα, οὐρανοῦ, ἄδηλα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα, στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις, οὐ παγίῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐφορμούντα· ὥστε κἂν ὁμόσαι τινὰ θαρρήσαντα, ὅτι θνητὸς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἰσχύσει τούτων ἐναργῶς καταλαβεῖν οὐδέν. ὄρκος διὰ τούτ' ὠνομάσθη τὸ τέταρτον καὶ ξηρὸν φρέαρ, ἢ τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ζήτησις ἀτελεύτητος καὶ πάντῃ δυσεύρετος,<sup>2</sup> οὐρανοῦ.
- 25 V. Ἰδωμεν δέ, ὅν τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τέταρτον διαφερόντως καὶ κατ' ἐξάαιρετον λόγον ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι πέφυκεν. οὐκοῦν τέτταρα τὰ ἀνωτάτω τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστι, σῶμα, αἴσθησις, λόγος, νοῦς· τούτων μὲν δὴ τὰ τρία οὐ κατὰ πάσας

<sup>1</sup> Several mss. *δρυμοὺς*, which at first sight may seem to fit *ἀγκα* καὶ *νάπας* better, but see note below and App. p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *δυσόρατος*.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Aet.* 47, where the theory that the stars are μύδροι is ascribed to *ἐνιοὶ τῶν οἰα περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλυαρούντων*

## ON DREAMS, I. 22-25

have declared them to be dells and glades and masses of fiery metal, for which they themselves deserve a prison and mill-house, in which such instruments are kept to punish impiety.<sup>a</sup> Or are the stars an unbroken, and, as one has said, "close" harmony, indissoluble compresses of ether? Are they living and intelligent, or devoid of intelligence and conscious life? Are their motions determined by choice or simply by necessity? Does the moon contribute a 23 light of its own or a borrowed light caused by the rays of the sun shining on it? Or is it neither the one nor the other by itself absolutely, but the combined result of both, a mixture such as we might expect from a fire partly its own, partly borrowed? Yes, all these and suchlike points pertaining to heaven, that fourth and best cosmic substance, are obscure and beyond our apprehension, based on guess-work and conjecture, not on the solid reasoning of truth; so much so that one may confidently take 24 one's oath that the day will never come when any mortal shall be competent to arrive at a clear solution of any of these problems. This is why the fourth and waterless well was named "Oath," being the endless and altogether baffling quest of the fourth cosmic region, heaven.

V. Let us see in what way that which occupies the 25 fourth place in ourselves too is of such a nature as to be eminently and peculiarly incomprehensible. The factors in us of highest significance are four, body, sense-perception, speech, mind. Three of these are *τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ*. Whether such a form of torture was actually used in prisons in Philo's time I do not know. There is probably some allusion to the story that Anaxagoras was prosecuted for declaring the sun to be *α μύδρος διάπυρος*, Diog. Laert. ii. 12.

## PHILO

- ἄδηλα τὰς ἰδέας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἔχει τινὰ δείγματα ἐν  
 26 ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ καταλαμβάνεσθαι. τί δ' ἔσθ' ὃ φημι;  
 ὅτι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τριχῆ διαστατὸν καὶ ἐξαχῆ  
 κινητόν, ἴσμεν, διαστάσεις μὲν τρεῖς ἔχον, μῆκος,  
 βάθος, πλάτος, κινήσεις δὲ τὰς διπλασίας ἕξ, τὴν  
 ἄνω, τὴν κάτω, τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὴν ἐπὶ εὐώνυμα,  
 τὴν πρόσω, τὴν εἰς τὸ κατόπιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι  
 ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι  
 ἡβᾶ, φθίνει, γηράσκει, τελευτᾶ, διαλύεται, σαφῶς  
 27 ἴσμεν. καὶ πρὸς αἰσθησιν μέντοι γε οὐ  
 παντάπασι ἀμβλεῖς καὶ πηροὶ γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πενταχῆ σχίζεται καὶ ὄργανα  
 ἐκάστης ἐστὶν ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθέντα οἰκεία,  
 ὀράσεως μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὠτα, ῥῖνες δὲ  
 ὀσφρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ οἷς ἐναρμόζεται,  
 καὶ ὅτι ἄγγελοι διανοίας εἰσὶ διαγγέλλουσαι χρώ-  
 ματα, σχήματα, φωνάς, ἀτμῶν καὶ χυλῶν ιδιότητας,  
 συνόλως σώματα καὶ ὅσαι ποιότητες ἐν τούτοις,  
 καὶ ὅτι δορυφόροι ψυχῆς εἰσιν, ὅσα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἢ  
 ἀκούσωσι δηλοῦσαι κἂν εἴ τι βλαβερόν ἐξωθεν  
 ἐπίοι προορώμεναί τε καὶ φυλαττόμεναι, ὡς μὴ  
 λάθρα παρεισρενὲν αἴτιον ζημίας ἀνηκέστου τῆ  
 28 δεσποίνῃ γένηται. καὶ φωνὴ δ' οὐκ  
 εἰσάπαν ἀποδιδράσκει τὴν ἡμετέραν κρίσιν, ἀλλ'  
 ἴσμεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὀξεῖα, ἡ δὲ βαρεῖα, καὶ ἡ μὲν  
 ἐμμελής καὶ ἐναρμόνιος, ἡ δὲ ἀπωδὸς καὶ λίαν  
 ἀνάρμοστος, καὶ πάλιν ἡ μὲν μείζων, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων·  
 διαφέρουσι καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίοις, γένεσι, χρώμασι,  
 διαστήμασι, συνημμέναις στάσεσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ διεξευγμέναις,

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. τάσεσι, which Mangey and Wend. adopt. See App. p. 595.



## ON DREAMS, I. 25-28

not obscure in all their aspects, but contain in themselves some indications by which they can be understood. What do I mean? We know that the body 26 is threefold in dimensions and sixfold in movements, having three dimensions, length, depth, breadth, and twice as many, namely six, movements, upward, downward, to the right, to the left, forward, backward. Nor are we ignorant that it is a vessel for the soul, and we are perfectly aware that it comes to maturity, wears out, grows old, dies, is dissolved.

With respect to sense-perception, also, 27 we are not wholly dim-sighted, and blind, but we are able to say that it is divided into five parts, and that each part has its special organs fashioned by Nature, eyes for seeing, ears for hearing, nostrils for smelling, and for the others the organs in which they find their fit place,<sup>a</sup> and that they are understanding's messengers, bringing to it reports of colours, forms, sounds, distinct scents and savours, in a word, of material substances and their qualities, and that they are bodyguards of the soul, making known all that they have seen or heard. And should any hurtful thing approach from without, they are aware of it beforehand, and on their guard against it, lest it should stealthily make its way in and cause incurable damage to their mistress.

Sound, too, does not 28 entirely elude our discernment. We know that one sound is shrill, another deep, one tuneful and melodious, another discordant and most unmusical, and again, one louder and another softer. They differ also in countless other respects, in genera, tone colours, intervals, conjunct or disjunct systems, and har-

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the mouth, and for touch "the whole structure of the body," *De Mig.* 188.

## PHILO

- ταῖς διὰ τεττάρων, ταῖς διὰ πέντε, ταῖς διὰ πασδων  
 29 συμφωνίαις. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν-  
 άρθρου φωνῆς, ἣν μόνος ἐκ πάντων ζῶων ἔλαχεν  
 ἄνθρωπος, ἔστιν ἃ γνωρίζομεν· οἶον ὅτι ἀπὸ  
 διανοίας ἀναπέμπεται, ὅτι ἐν τῷ στόματι ἀρ-  
 θροῦται, ὅτι ἡ γλῶσσα πλήττουσα<sup>1</sup> τῇ τῆς φωνῆς  
 τάσει τὸ ἔναρθρον ἐνσφραγίζεται καὶ λόγον, ἀλλ'  
 [625] οὐ ψιλὴν | αὐτὸ μόνον φωνὴν ἀργὴν καὶ ἀδιατύ-  
 πωτον ἤχον ἀπεργάζεται, ὅτι κήρυκος ἡ ἔρμηνέως  
 ἔχει τάξιν πρὸς τὸν ὑποβάλλοντα νοῦν.
- 30 VI. Ἐὰρ οὖν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς,  
 ὃ ἡγεμὼν νοῦς, καταληπτὸς ἔστιν; οὐ δῆπου. τί  
 γὰρ αὐτὸν οἰόμεθα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι; πνεῦμα  
 ἢ αἷμα ἢ σῶμα συνόλως—ἀλλ' οὐ σῶμα, ἀσώματον  
 δὲ λεκτέον—ἢ πέρας ἢ εἶδος ἢ ἀριθμὸν ἢ ἐνδελέχειαν<sup>2</sup>
- 31 ἢ ἀρμονίαν ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων; γεννώμενον<sup>3</sup> δ' εὐθύς  
 ἢ<sup>4</sup> ἔξωθεν εἰσκρίνεται ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος  
 ἢ ἔνθερμος ἐν ἡμῖν φύσις οἷα σίδηρος ἐν χαλκῆως  
 πεπυρωμένος ὑδατι ψυχρῷ πρὸς τὸ κραταιότατον  
 στομοῦται; διότι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ψῦξιν ὠνομάσθαι  
 ψυχῇ δοκεῖ. τί δέ; τελευτώντων σβέννυται καὶ  
 32 συμφθεῖρεται τοῖς σώμασιν ἢ πλείστον ἐπιβιοῖ  
 χρόνον ἢ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀφθαρτόν ἐστι; ποῦ  
 δ' ἐμπεφώλευκεν ὁ νοῦς αὐτῷ<sup>5</sup>; ἄρα οἶκον κεκλή-  
 ρωται; οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀν-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read πλάττουσα. Cf. *Quod Deus* 84 τυπούται ὡσπερ ὑπὸ δημιουργοῦ τινος γλώττης.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps ἐντελέχειαν. See App. p. 596.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps read γεννωμένων, cf. τελευτώντων below.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps ἢ.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ is difficult. To refer it to σῶμα understood from σώμασι as in the translation is possible, but strange. Mangey αὐτός. Perhaps αὐτῶν as one ms., partitive gen. after ποῦ. Or it may be an insertion from αὐτῷ below. (So G. H. W.)

monies of the fourth, the fifth, the octave.<sup>a</sup>

In articulatesound, moreover, an advantage possessed 29  
by man alone of all living creatures, there are partic-  
ulars of which we are aware ; as, for example, that  
it is sent up from the understanding, that it is in the  
mouth that it acquires articulation, that it is the beat  
or stroke of the tongue that imparts articulation and  
speech to the tension of the voice, but does not pro-  
duce simply just an idle sound and unshapen noise,  
since it holds to the suggesting mind the office of its  
herald and interpreter.

VI. Is, then, the fourth element in ourselves, the 30  
dominant mind, capable of being comprehended ?<sup>b</sup>  
By no means. For what do we suppose it to be  
essentially ? Breath or blood or body in general ?  
Nay, we must pronounce it no body but incorporeal.  
Do we regard it as boundary-line, or form, or number,  
or continuity, or harmony, or what amongst all that  
exists ? At our birth is it at once introduced into us 31  
from without ? Or does the air which envelops it  
impart intense hardness to the warm nature within  
us, such as the red-hot iron receives when plunged at  
the smithy into cold water ? The name of " soul "  
would seem to have been given to it owing to the  
" cooling " which it thus undergoes. Again : when  
we die, is it quenched and does it share the decay  
of our bodies, or live on for a considerable time, or  
is it wholly imperishable ? And where in the body 32  
has the mind made its lair ? Has it had a dwelling  
assigned to it ? Some have regarded the head, our  
body's citadel, as its hallowed shrine, since it is about

<sup>a</sup> For these terms *cf. De Cong.* 76 and other reff. there given. For "genera" and "systems" see App. p. 595.

<sup>b</sup> For illustration of these theories about the mind see App. pp. 596 f.

## PHILO

- ἰέρωσαν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴν, περὶ ἣν καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις  
 λοχῶσιν, εἰκὸς εἶναι νομίσαντες ἐγγὺς οἶα μεγάλου  
 βασιλέως ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς δορυφόρους· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ  
 καρδίας αὐτὸν ἀγαλματοφορεῖσθαι διανοηθέντες  
 33 γνωσιμαχοῦσιν. αἰεὶ δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον,  
 οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ παρὰ τὴν ἀέρος καὶ γῆς  
 καὶ ὕδατος φύσιν, νοῦς δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ σῶμα  
 καὶ αἰσθησιν καὶ τὸν ἐρμηγέα λόγον.  
 μήποτε μέντοι καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος “ ἅγιον καὶ  
 αἰνετὸν ” ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 34 ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γεγονόσιν  
 ἅγιον οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν κόσμῳ, καθ' ὃν αἱ  
 ἄφθαρτοι καὶ μακραίωνες φύσεις περιπολοῦσιν, ἐν  
 ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ νοῦς, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον ὢν, καὶ  
 μάλιστα κατὰ Μωυσέα λέγοντα· “ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς  
 τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ  
 35 ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.” καὶ ἑκάτερον δὲ  
 αἰνετὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι δοκεῖ προσειρηθῆσαι·  
 τὰ γὰρ δυνάμενα τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ ὕμνους καὶ  
 εὐδαιμονισμοὺς ἐκτραγωδεῖν τοῦ γεννήσαντος πα-  
 τρὸς ταῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐρανὸς τε καὶ νοῦς. ἄνθρωπος  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐξαιρέτου παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα γέρως ἔλαχε,  
 θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς αἰεὶ μελωδεῖ, κατὰ  
 τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν πάμμουσον ἀρμονίαν  
 36 ἀποτελῶν· ἥς εἰ συνέβαινε τὴν ἡχὴν εἰς τὰς  
 ἡμετέρας φθάνειν ἀκοάς, ἔρωτες ἂν ἀκάθεκτοι καὶ  
 λελυττηκότες ἡμεροὶ καὶ ἄπαστοι καὶ μανιώδεις |  
 [626] ἐγίνοντο οἰστροὶ, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπέχεσθαι

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* for giving praise, as the sequel shews that Philo understood the word rather than “praiseworthy.” So also in his treatment of the same passage in *De Plant.* 117 ff., where, however, he quotes the text more correctly, “in the fourth year all its fruit shall be ἅγιος καὶ αἰνετός.”

## ON DREAMS, I. 32-36

the head that the senses have their station, and it seems natural to them that they should be posted there, like bodyguards to some mighty monarch. Others contend pertinaciously for their conviction that the heart is the shrine in which it is carried. So 33 in every case it is the fourth of the series that is beyond comprehension. In the universe it is the heaven in contrast with the nature of air and earth and water ; in man it is mind over against the body, and sense-preception, and the speech which gives expression to thought. It may well be that it is for this reason that the fourth year is designated in the sacred documents " holy and for praise <sup>a</sup> " (Lev. xix. 24) ; for among created things, that which 34 is holy is, in the universe, the heavens, in which natures imperishable and enduring through long ages have their orbits ; in man it is mind, a fragment of the Deity, as the words of Moses in particular bear witness, " He breathed into his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul " (Gen. ii. 7). And 35 each of these appears to me to be correctly spoken of as " for praise." For it is in the heaven and in the mind that capacity resides to set forth in solemn strains hymns of praise and blessing in honour of the Father who is the author of our being. For man is the recipient of a privilege which gives him distinction beyond other living creatures, that, namely, of worshipping Him that is ; while the heaven is ever melodious, producing, as the heavenly bodies go 36 through their movements, the full and perfect harmony. If the sound of it ever reached our ears, there would be produced irrepressible yearnings, frantic longings, wild ceaseless passionate desires, compelling to abstain even from necessary food, for no longer

## PHILO

- τρεφομένους μηκέθ' ὡς θνητοὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς  
 διὰ φάρυγγος, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ μέλλοντες ἀπαθανατί-  
 ζεσθαι δι' ὧτων μουσικῆς τελείας ἐνθέοις ὡδαῖς·  
 ὧν ἀκροατὴν Μωυσῆν ἀσώματον γενόμενον λόγος  
 ἔχει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας  
 μήτε ἄρτου μήτε ὕδατος ψαῦσαι τὸ παράπαν.
- 37 VII. ὁ τοίνυν οὐρανός, τὸ μουσικῆς ἀρχέτυπον  
 ὄργανον, ἄκρως ἠρμόσθαι δοκεῖ δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον  
 ἢ ἵνα οἱ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ τῶν ὄλων πατρὸς ἀδόμοι  
 ὕμνοι μουσικῶς ἐπιψάλλωνται. καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν μέντοι Λεῖαν ἀκούομεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ τετάρ-  
 του γενέσεως υἱοῦ μηκέτι τίκτειν δυναμένην, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπέχουσαν ἢ ἐπεχομένην τὰς γονάς· εὔρισκε γάρ,  
 οἶμαι, πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ξηράν τε καὶ  
 στεῖραν, ἠνίκα Ἰούδαν, τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, τὸν
- 38 τέλειον καρπὸν, ἠνθησε. διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν τὸ  
 λέγειν “ἴστασθαι τίκτουςαν” τοῦ μὴ εὐρίσκειν  
 ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φρέατι τοὺς παῖδας Ἰσαὰκ ὕδωρ,  
 ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ ἑκατέρου τῶν συμβόλων ἐμφαίνεται  
 τὸ πάντα διψῆν θεοῦ, παρ' ὃν αἱ γενέσεις καὶ
- 39 τροφαὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἄρδονται. μικρο-  
 πολῖται μὲν οὖν τινες ἴσως ὑπολήφονται περὶ  
 φρεάτων διορυχῆς τὸν τοσοῦτον εἶναι λόγον τῷ  
 νομοθέτῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ μείζονι ἐγγραφέντες πατρίδι,  
 τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, τελειοτέρων φρονημάτων ὄντες,<sup>1</sup>  
 εἴσονται σαφῶς, ὅτι περὶ τεττάρων ἐστίν, οὐ  
 φρεάτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς μερῶν ἢ ζήτησις  
 τοῖς ὀρατικοῖς καὶ φιλοθεάμοσι, γῆς, ὕδατος,

<sup>1</sup> This genitive of quality is doubtful Greek. Wend. suggests ἐπιλαχόντες.

## ON DREAMS, I. 36-39

should we take in nourishment from meat and drink through the throat after the fashion of mortals, but, as beings awaiting immortality, from inspired strains of perfect melody coming to us through our ears. To such strains it is said that Moses was listening, when, having laid aside his body, for forty days and as many nights he touched neither bread nor water at all (Ex. xxiv. 18). VII. It seems, then, that the 37 heaven, the original archetype of all musical instruments, was tuned with consummate skill for no other purpose than that the hymns sung in honour of the Universal Father may have a musical accompaniment.

And further we hear of Leah or Virtue being no longer capable of bearing children after the birth of her fourth son. She stayed, or rather was stayed, from childbirth, for she found, I imagine, all giving birth on her part dried up and unproductive, when she had put forth the bloom of "Judah," or Confession of thankfulness, which is the perfect fruit. To say that she "stood still from bearing" (Gen. 38 xxix. 35) differs not at all from saying that the servants of Isaac found no water in the fourth well (Gen. xxvi. 32), since what is brought out by each of the figures is that all things are athirst for God, through Whom the birth of things, and their food when born, is watered into fruitfulness.

It may be 39 that men of narrow citizenship will suppose that the lawgiver delivers this very full discourse about digging wells, but those who are on the roll of a greater country, even this whole world, men of higher thought and feeling, will be quite sure that the four things propounded as a subject of inquiry to the open-eyed lovers of contemplation are not four wells, but the four parts of this universe, land, water, air, heavens.

## PHILO

- 40 *ἀέρος, οὐρανοῦ. ὧν ἕκαστον ἐπινοίαις εἰς ἄκρον πεποιημέναις<sup>1</sup> διεξεληθόντες ἐν μὲν τοῖς τρισὶν εὐρόν τινα καταληπτά—διὸ καὶ τρία ὀνόματα ἐπεφήμισαν τοῖς εὐρεθείσιν, ἀδικίαν, ἔχθραν, εὐρυχωρίαν,—ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, οὐρανῶ, καθάπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν· τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον φρέαρ ἄνυδρον καὶ ξηρὸν εὐρίσκεται καὶ ὄρκος διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν προσαγορεύεται.*
- 41 VIII. *Τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ζητήσωμεν ἐρευνῶντες, τίς ἢ Χαρρὰν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος ἐξεληθὼν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται. ἔστι τοίνυν, ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, Χαρρὰν μητρόπολις τις αἰσθήσεων. ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ τοτὲ μὲν ὀρυκτῆ, τοτὲ δὲ τρῶγλαι, δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑνὸς δηλουμένου*
- 42 *πράγματος. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα ἡμῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄργανα τρόπον τινα ἐξορώρκεται, καὶ γέγονεν ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων ἐκάστης ὀπῆ τις* [627] *αἰσθήσεως, ἐν ἣ πέφυκε φωλεύειν. | ὅταν οὖν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος, ὃ καλεῖται ὄρκος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ λιμένος ἐξαναχθῆ, παραγίνεται εὐθύς εἰς Χαρρὰν ἀναγκαίως· τὸν γὰρ ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀορίστου<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀπειρομεγέθους ἐπιστήμης χωρίου κατ' ἀναγκαῖον αἰσθήσεις ἄνευ ξεναγῶν ὑποδέχον-*
- 43 *ται. κινεῖται γὰρ ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχὴ πολλάκις μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, ὅλον τὸν σωματικὸν ὄγκον ἐκδύσα καὶ τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλον ἀποδρᾶσα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαμμισχομένη. τὴν μὲν οὖν γυμνὴν κίνησιν*

<sup>1</sup> So mss. and Wend. : Mangey *πεπονημέναις*.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey : mss. and Wend. *ἀρίστου*.

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<sup>a</sup> That Philo takes the trouble to record these three names suggests that he attaches some allegorical meaning to them. Possibly remembering that in the narrative the



## ON DREAMS, I. 40-43

On each of these they bring to bear powers of 40 thought of finest perfection, and find in three of them certain things within their comprehension, and to these discoveries of theirs they give three names, "injustice," "enmity," "spaciousness"<sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxvi. 20 ff.). In the fourth, the heavens, as we pointed out not long ago, they find nothing whatever comprehensible. For the fourth well is found to be dry and waterless, and is entitled "oath" for the reason which has been mentioned.

VIII. Let us now examine the following context, 41 and inquire what Haran is and why one who goes away from the well comes to it (Gen. xxviii. 10). Haran is, then, as it seems to me, a sort of mother-city of the senses. For it is rendered sometimes "dug," sometimes "holes," one thing being signified by both words. For our body has after a fashion 42 been dug out to make places for the organs of the senses, and each of the organs has been constituted a kind of "dug-out" of each sense, which nature provides for its lair. Whenever, therefore, a man has put out from the well which is called "Oath," as it were from a port, of necessity he forthwith arrives<sup>b</sup> at Haran. For the man who sets forth on a journey from the place of knowledge, boundless and illimitable in its vastness, needs no escorting guides, but is without fail received by the senses. For our 43 soul moves often by itself, stripping itself of the entire encumbrance of the body and escaping from the noisy pack of the senses, and often again when clad in these wrappings. What is apprehensible first two record the quarrels over the wells, he means that land and sea are the scene of human strife. The name of "spaciousness" fits air quite well.

<sup>b</sup> See on § 5 above.

## PHILO

αὐτῆς τὰ νοήσει μόνη καταληπτὰ ἔλαχε, τὴν δὲ  
 44 μετὰ σώματος τὰ αἰσθητά. εἴ τις οὖν ὁμιλεῖν  
 εἰσάπαν ἀδυνατεῖ διανοία μόνη, δευτέραν κατα-  
 φυγὴν αἰσθησιν εὐρίσκεται, καὶ ὅστις ἂν σφαλῆ  
 τῶν νοητῶν, αὐτίκα πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητά κατασύρεται·  
 δεύτερος γὰρ αἰεὶ πλοῦς ὁ πρὸς αἰσθησιν τοῖς  
 μὴ δυνηθεῖσι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν εὐπλοῆσαι.  
 45 καλὸν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ γενομένους μὴ  
 καταγηράσαι καὶ διαιωνίσαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ξένη  
 διατρίβοντας παροίκων τρόπον αἰεὶ μετανάστασιν  
 ζητεῖν καὶ ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὴν πατρίαν γῆν. Λάβαν  
 μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶδος, οὐ γένος, οὐκ ἰδέαν, οὐκ  
 ἐννόημα, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν νοήσει μόνη καταλαμβανο-  
 μένων οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς εἰδώς, ἡρτημένος δὲ τῶν  
 ἐμφανῶν, ἅπερ εἰς ὄψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς καὶ τὰς συγ-  
 γενεῖς δυνάμεις ἔρχεται, πατρίδος ἡξίωται Χαρράν,  
 ἣν ὡς ξένην ὁ φιλάρετος Ἰακώβ πρὸς ὀλίγον οἰκεῖ  
 46 χρόνον, τῆς οἴκαδε ἐπανόδου διαμεμνημένος. φησὶ  
 γοῦν ἢ μήτηρ, ἢ ὑπομονή, Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς αὐτόν·  
 “ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου  
 εἰς Χαρράν, καὶ οἴκησον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς.”  
 ἄρα οὖν κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομένει ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐν  
 τῇ χώρα τῶν αἰσθήσεων καταβιῶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας  
 ὀλίγας καὶ βραχύν τινα χρόνον διὰ τὰς τοῦ συνδέτου  
 σώματος ἀνάγκας,<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ μακρὸς αἰὼν αὐτῷ καὶ  
 βίος ἐν τῇ νοητῇ πόλει ταμιεύεται;

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests the addition of παροικεῖ, but βιῶναι can easily be understood out of καταβιῶναι.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 597.

## ON DREAMS, I. 43-46

by intellect only is the lot of its unclad movement, while to that accompanied by the body fall the objects of sense-perception. If therefore a man is absolutely incapable of holding intercourse with the understanding by itself, he wins in sense-perception a second-best refuge, and a man who has been balked of the things of the intellect is forthwith swept down to those of sense-perception. For those who have failed to make a good voyage under the sails of the sovereign mind can always fall back upon the oars of sense-perception.<sup>a</sup>

But it is an excellent course even when you have fallen into this plight not to grow old and live your life in it, but feeling that you are spending your days in a foreign country as sojourners to be ever seeking for removal and return to the land of your fathers. For it is Laban, a man without knowledge of species or genus or archetypal form, or conception or of any whatever of the objects of solely intellectual apprehension, but dependent wholly on things patent and palpable, which are cognizable by seeing and hearing and the powers akin to them,—he it is that has been deemed worthy of having Haran for his country, in which Jacob the lover of virtue dwells as in a foreign land for a little while, with his mind ever set on the return to his home. We recognize this in the words spoken to him by Rebecca, or Patience, his mother: “Be up and off,” she says, “to Haran to my brother Laban, and dwell with him for some days” (Gen. xxvii. 43 f.). Do you mark, then, that the Practiser does not brook to spend a lifetime in the territory of the senses, but a few days and a short time in compliance with the necessities of the body to which he is tied, but that it is in the city discerned by the intellect that a life-long

## PHILO

- 47 IX. παρό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, Ἀβραὰμ ὄνομα, μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομεῖναι τῇ Χαρρὰν ἐνδιατρίψαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “Ἀβραὰμ ἦν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ Χαρρὰν,” καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Θάρρα, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κατασκοπὴ ὄσμης, μέχρι τελευτῆς
- 48 ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσαντος. ῥητῶς γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 [628] ἀναγραφαῖς | δηλοῦται, ὅτι “ἀπέθανε Θάρρα ἐν Χαρρὰν”· κατάσκοπος γὰρ ἦν ἀρετῆς, οὐ πολίτης, καὶ ὄσμαῖς ἀλλ’ οὐ τροφῶν ἀπολαύσεσιν ἐχρήτο, μήπω ἱκανὸς ὦν ἐμπίπλασθαι φρονήσεως, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γεύεσθαι, τοῦτο δ’ αὐτὸ μόνον ὀσφραίνεσθαι.
- 49 καθάπερ γὰρ τοὺς θηρατικούς τῶν σκυλάκων λόγος ἔχει καὶ τὰ πορρωτάτω τῶν θηρίων πτώματα ῥινηλατοῦντας ἀνευρίσκειν ἠκονημένους ὑπὸ φύσεως διαφερόντως τὴν περὶ τὰς ὄσμας αἴσθησιν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένην ἠδέϊαν αὔραν ὁ παιδείας ἐραστῆς ἰχνηλατεῖ καὶ ποθεῖ μὲν ἐκείναις ἐντυχεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἀναδίδονται τὸ θαυμασιώτατον γάνωμα τοῦτο, μὴ δυνάμενος δ’ ἐν κύκλῳ κενὴν περιάγει τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὀσφραϊνόμενος αὐτὸ μόνον καλοκάγαθίας [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> σιτίων ἱερωτάτης κνίσσης· οὐ γὰρ ἀρνεῖται
- 50 λίχνος ἐπιστήμης καὶ φρονήσεως εἶναι. μακάριοι μὲν οὖν οἷς ἐξεγένετο τῶν σοφίας φίλτρων ἀπόνασθαι καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐστιαθῆναι καὶ ἐνευφρανθεῖσιν<sup>2</sup> ἔτι διψῆν, ἄπληστον

<sup>1</sup> [καὶ]: so Wend. suggests (or as an alternative ἀρετῶν for σιτίων), though he retains καὶ in the text.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνευφρανθεῖσιν.

<sup>a</sup> See notes on *Quod Deus* 92 and *De Sac.* 43; see further, App. pp. 597 f.

enduring is in store for him ? IX. Owing 47  
 to this, as it seems to me, the grandfather also of his  
 knowledge,<sup>a</sup> called Abraham, did not brook a prolonged  
 stay in Haran. For we read " Abraham was seventy-  
 five years old when he went forth from Haran " (Gen. xii. 4), although his father lived there until his  
 death. His father's name was " Terah," which means  
 " scent-exploring." Thus it is expressed in plain 48  
 words in the sacred records that " Terah died in  
 Haran " (Gen. xi. 32) : for he was there as a spy or  
 explorer of virtue, not as a holder of its franchise, and  
 he had recourse to scents, not to enjoyment of nourish-  
 ing foods, not being capable as yet of being filled with  
 sound sense, nay, not even of tasting it, but simply  
 and solely of smelling it. For just as we are told that 49  
 hounds used in the chase have by nature the sense of  
 smell especially keen, so that by following the scent  
 they can track out and find the dead bodies of wild  
 animals at the greatest distance, in the same way  
 does the man who is enamoured of discipline follow  
 the path of the sweet effluvium given forth by justice  
 and other virtues. Fain would he reach them, so  
 wondrously delicious is the fragrance they give forth,  
 but since he cannot, he turns his baffled<sup>b</sup> head this way  
 and that, and snuffs, for he can do no more, at the  
 exhalation of nobility, the holiest of meats<sup>c</sup> : for he  
 does not deny that he is greedy of knowledge and sound  
 sense. Blessed indeed are those to whom it is granted 50  
 to have joy of the love-charms of wisdom, and to  
 banquet on the truths she has discovered, and after  
 revelling in these delights still to be athirst, bringing

<sup>b</sup> Or " unfed," *i.e.* the mouth is empty.

<sup>c</sup> Or *ιερωτάτης* may agree with *κνίσσης* " the holiest exhalation of the viands of nobility."

## PHILO

- καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπιφερομένοις ἡμερον ἐπιστήμης.
- 51 δεύτερα δ' οἴσονται, οἷς ἀπολαῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔξεγένετο τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, κνισσοῦν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς· αὔραις γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὗτοι ζωπυρηθήσονται, καθάπερ τῶν καμνόντων οἱ παρειμένοι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τροφῇ χρῆσθαι τὰς εἰς ἀνάληψιν προσφέρονται ὀσμάς, ἃς ἰατρῶν παῖδες λιποθυμίας ἄκη
- 52 σωτήρια προευτρεπίζονται. X. κατα-  
λιπῶν μέντοι τὴν Χαλδαίαν γῆν εἰς Χαρρὰν λέγεται  
μετανίστασθαι Θάρρα, τὸν τε υἱὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ  
τοὺς ὁμογνίους<sup>1</sup> τῆς οἰκίας ἐπαγόμενος, οὐχ ἴν' ὡς  
παρὰ συγγραφέως ἱστορικοῦ μάθωμεν, ὅτι μετ-  
ανάσται τινὲς ἐγένοντο, τὴν μὲν πατρῶαν γῆν κατα-  
λιπόντες, τὴν δὲ ξένην ὡς πατρίδα οἰκήσαντες,  
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μάθημα βιωφελέστατον καὶ ἀρμόττον
- 53 ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἀμεληθῆναι. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι;  
 Χαλδαῖοι μὲν ἀστρονομοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Χαρρὰν  
 πολῖται περὶ τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων τόπον πραγ-  
 ματεύονται. φησὶν οὖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῷ κατα-  
 σκόπῳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων· τί περὶ ἡλίου  
 ζητεῖς, εἰ ποδιαῖός ἐστιν, εἰ τῆς γῆς μείζων ἀπάσης,  
 εἰ πολλαπλάσιος αὐτῆς; τί δὲ περὶ φωτισμῶν  
 σελήνης, εἰ νόθον ἔχει φέγγος, εἰ γνησίῳ μόνῳ  
 χρῆται; τί δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων φύσεως  
 ἢ περιφορᾶς ἢ συμπαθείας πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ
- 54 τὰπίγεια; τί δὲ βαίνων ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπὲρ νεφέλας  
 πηδᾶς; τί δ' ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι φῆς δύνασθαι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὁμογνώμονας.

<sup>a</sup> Or "topic." The word probably carries both senses.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 598.

## ON DREAMS, I. 50-54

a craving for knowledge which knows no fullness nor satiety. But those will carry off the second prize, to 51 whom it was given not indeed to win enjoyment of the holy table but to fill their souls with the steam of its viands: for these will be quickened and enkindled with breaths of virtue, even as invalids, who are enfeebled because they cannot take nourishment, inhale the reviving preparations which the schools of physicians make up and have ready as effective remedies for faintness.

X. The informa- 52  
tion that Terah left the land of Chaldaea and migrated to Haran, taking with him his son Abraham and his kindred, is given us not with the object that we may learn as from a writer of history, that certain people became emigrants, leaving the land of their ancestors, and making a foreign land their home and country, but that a lesson well suited to man and of great service to human life may not be neglected. What 53  
is this lesson? The Chaldaeans are astronomers, while the citizens of Haran busy themselves with the place<sup>a</sup> of the senses. Accordingly Holy Writ addresses to the explorer of the facts of nature certain questions—"Why do you carry on investigations about the sun, as to whether it is a foot indiameter,<sup>b</sup> whether it is larger than the whole earth, whether it is many times its size<sup>b</sup>? And about the illuminations of the moon, whether it has a borrowed light, or whether it employs one entirely its own? And why do you search into the nature of the other heavenly bodies, or into their revolutions or the ways in which they affect each other and affect earthly things? And 54  
why, treading as you do on earth, do you leap over the clouds? And why do you say that you are able to lay hold of what is in the upper air, when

## PHILO

προσερριζωμένος χέρσω; τί δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀτεκμάρ-  
των τεκμαίρεσθαι τολμᾶς; τί δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖς  
ἂ μὴ σε δεῖ, τὰ μετέωρα; τί δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
μαθήμασιν εὐρεσιλογίαν ἄχρῖς οὐρανοῦ τείνεις; τί  
[629] δ' ἀστρονομεῖς μετεωρολεσχῶν; | μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ σέ  
καὶ ἄνω, ὧ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐγγὺς σαυτοῦ κατα-  
νόησον, μᾶλλον δὲ σαυτὸν ἀκολακεύτως ἐρευνήσον.  
55 πῶς οὖν ἐρευνήσεις; ἴθι νοερῶς εἰς  
Χαρρὰν τὴν ὀρυκτὴν, τὰς τρώγλας καὶ ὀπάς τοῦ  
σώματος, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι ὀφθαλμούς, ὄτα, ῥίνας,  
τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ αἰσθήσεως ὄργανα, καὶ φιλο-  
σόφησον ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ πρεπωδεστάτην φιλο-  
σοφίαν ἀνθρώπων, ζητῶν, τί ὄρασις, τί ἀκοή, τί  
γεῦσις, τί ὄσφρησις, τί ἀφή, τί καὶ συνόλως  
αἰσθησις· κἄπειτα τί τὸ ὄραν καὶ πῶς ὄρας, τί  
τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ πῶς ἀκούεις, τί τὸ ὀσφραίνεσθαι  
ἢ γεύεσθαι ἢ ἄπτεσθαι καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν  
56 εἴωθε γίνεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καλῶς  
ἐπεσκεφέθαι, τὸν τοῦ παντός ἐξετάζειν οὐχ ὑπερ-  
βολὴ μανίας; καὶ οὕτω σοι μείζον ἐπίταγμα ἐπι-  
τάττω, τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἐφ'  
ὧ μέγα φρονεῖς· καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐποτε  
57 δυνήσῃ. ἀνάβαινε νῦν εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ κατ-  
αλαζονεῦου περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, μήπω δεδυνημένος  
γινῶναι κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα  
ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 598.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* while the Haran-life is primarily the exploration of the senses, it does include the exploration of mind (Terah or Socrates) as opposed to the practising (Abraham), which will lead to the highest spiritual knowledge. It is, however, a later stage, and this is signified by οὕτω. So also in *De Mig.*, particularly § 185.



ON DREAMS, I. 54-57

you are rooted to the ground? Why do you venture to determine the indeterminate? And why are you so busy with what you ought to leave alone, the things above? And why do you extend even to the heavens your learned ingenuity? Why do you take up astronomy and pay such full and minute attention to the higher regions? Mark, my friend, not what is above and beyond your reach but what is close to yourself,<sup>a</sup> or rather make yourself the object of your impartial scrutiny. What form, then, will 55 your scrutiny take? Go in spirit to Haran, 'excavated' land, the openings and cavities of the body, and hold an inspection of eyes, ears, nostrils, and the other organs of sense, and engage in a course of philosophy most vital and most fitting to a human being. Try to find out what sight is, what hearing is, what taste, smell, touch are: in a word what sense-perception is. Next, ask what it is to see and how you see, what it is to hear and how you hear, what it is to smell or taste or handle, and how each function is habitually performed. But before you have made 56 a thorough investigation into your own tenement, is it not an excess of madness to examine that of the universe? And there is a weightier charge which I do not as yet lay upon you,<sup>b</sup> namely to see your own soul and the mind of which you think so proudly: I say 'see,' for to comprehend it you will never be able. Go to! Mount to heaven and brag of what 57 you see there, you who have not yet attained to the knowledge of that of which the poet speaks in the line

All that existeth of good and of ill in the halls of thy homestead."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> *Od.* iv. 392. See App. p. 598.

## PHILO

καταγαγών δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τὸν κατάσκοπον καὶ ἀντισπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ ζητήσεως γνώθι<sup>1</sup> σαυτὸν, εἶτα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιμελῶς ἐκπόνησον, ἵνα τῆς ἀν-  
 58 θρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιλάβῃς. τὸν τρόπον τοῦ-  
 τον Θάρρα μὲν Ἑβραῖοι, Σωκράτην δὲ Ἑλληνες  
 ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον ἐγγηράσαι φασὶν τῇ  
 περὶ τοῦ γνώθι σαυτὸν ἀκριβεστάτῃ σκέψει, μηδὲν  
 ἔξω τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν  
 ἄνθρωπος ἦν, Θάρρα δ' αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ  
 γνώναί τινα ἑαυτὸν προκείμενος οἶα δένδρον εὐ-  
 ερνέστατον, ἵν' ἔχοιεν εὐμαρῶς οἱ φιλάρετοι τὸν περὶ  
 ἡθοποιίαν δρεπόμενοι καρπὸν σωτηρίου καὶ ἡδίστης  
 59 ἐμπίπλασθαι τροφῆς. τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἡμῖν  
 οἱ φρονήσεως κατάσκοποι, τῶν δὲ ἀθλητῶν καὶ  
 ἀγωνιστῶν αὐτῆς αἱ φύσεις τελειότεραι· δικαιοῦσι  
 γὰρ οὗτοι τὸν περὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σύμπαντα λόγον  
 ἀκριβῶς καταμαθόντες ἐπὶ τι μείζον ἕτερον χωρεῖν  
 θεώρημα, καταλιπόντες τὰς αἰσθήσεως ὁπὰς, αἱ  
 60 Χαρρὰν ὀνομάζονται. τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπιδόσεις  
 καὶ βελτιώσεις πρὸς ἐπιστήμης ἄκρας ἀνάληψιν  
 ἐσχηκῶς Ἀβραάμ· ὅτε γὰρ μάλιστα ἔγνω, τότε  
 μάλιστα ἀπέγνω ἑαυτὸν, ἵνα τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 ὄντος εἰς ἀκριβῆ γνώσιν ἔλθῃ. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως  
 ἔχειν· ὁ λίαν καταλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν λίαν ἀπέγνωκε τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read <τὸ> γνώθι.

<sup>a</sup> Or as Mangey, "drawing away the explorer . . . know thyself." For further discussion of the whole passage see App. pp. 598 f.

But bring the explorer down from heaven and away from these researches draw the "Know thyself,"<sup>a</sup> and then lavish the same careful toil on this too, in order that you may enjoy the happiness proper to man. This character Hebrews call "Terah,"<sup>58</sup> Greeks "Socrates." For they say that "Know thyself" was likewise the theme of life-long pondering to Socrates, and that his philosophy was concerned exclusively with his own self. Socrates, however, was a human being, while Terah was self-knowledge itself, a way of thinking set before us as a tree of great luxuriance, to the end that lovers of virtue might find it easy, as they pluck the fruit of moral knowledge, to take their fill of nourishment saving and most sweet.

Such do we find <sup>59</sup> those to be whose part it is to explore good sense : but more perfect than theirs is the nature with which those are endowed who train themselves to engage in the contest for it. These, when they have thoroughly learned in all its details the whole study of the sense-perceptions, claim it as their prerogative to advance to some other greater object of contemplation, leaving behind them those lurking-places of sense-perception, to which the name of Haran is given. Among these <sup>60</sup> is Abraham who gained much progress and improvement towards the acquisition of the highest knowledge : for when most he knew himself, then most did he despair <sup>b</sup> of himself, in order that he might attain to an exact knowledge of Him Who in reality is. And this is nature's law : he who has thoroughly comprehended himself, thoroughly despairs of him-

<sup>b</sup> The play on  $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$  )(  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega$  is unavoidably lost in the English.

## PHILO

[630] ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ | γενητοῦ σαφῶς προλαβὼν οὐδένεϊαν,  
ὁ δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν γινώσκει τὸν ὄντα.

61 XI. Τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ Χαρρὰν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ  
ἀπολείπων τὸ τοῦ ὄρκου φρέαρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται,  
δεδήλωται. σκεπτέον δὲ τὸ τρίτον καὶ ἀκόλουθον,  
τίς ὁ τόπος, ᾧ ὑπαντᾷ· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι “ἀπ-  
62 ἦντησε τόπῳ.” τριχῶς δὲ ἐπινοεῖται τόπος, ἅπαξ  
μὲν χώρα ὑπὸ σώματος πεπληρωμένη, κατὰ δεύ-  
τερον δὲ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὃν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν  
ὄλον δι’ ὄλων ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός.  
“εἶδον” γάρ φησι “τὸν τόπον οὐ εἰστήκει ὁ  
θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ,” ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ καὶ ἱεουργεῖν  
ἐφήκεν ἀλλαχόθι κωλύσας· διείρηται γὰρ ἀνα-  
βαίνειν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος ὁ  
θεός, κακεῖ θύειν τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια  
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀμώμους θυσίας ἀνάγειν.

63 κατὰ δὲ τρίτον σημαινόμενον αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται  
τόπος τῷ περιέχειν μὲν τὰ ὅλα, περιέχεσθαι δὲ  
πρὸς μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς, καὶ τῷ καταφυγῆν τῶν συμ-  
πάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ  
χώρα ἑαυτοῦ, κευρωτικῶς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμφερόμενος  
64 μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἶμι τόπος, ἀλλ’  
ἐν τόπῳ, καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ὁμοίως· τὸ γὰρ  
περιεχόμενον διαφέρει τοῦ περιέχοντος, τὸ δὲ θεῖον  
ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς περιεχόμενον ἀναγκαίως ἐστὶν αὐτὸ  
τόπος ἑαυτοῦ. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι λόγιον  
τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ Ἀβραὰμ τότε· “ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν

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\* Cf. *De Conf.* 96 and note.

## ON DREAMS, I. 60-64

self, having as a step to this ascertained the nothingness in all respects of created being. And the man who has despaired of himself is beginning to know Him that is.

XI. What Haran is and why the man who leaves 61 the Well of the Oath comes to it, has been made evident. We must consider the point which naturally comes next, our third point, namely what the place is which he lights upon or meets, for we read "he met a place" (Gen. xxviii. 11). Now "place" has a 62 threefold meaning, firstly that of a space filled by a material form, secondly that of the Divine Word, which God Himself has completely filled throughout with incorporeal potencies; for "they saw," says Moses, "the place where the God of Israel stood" (Ex. xxiv. 10).<sup>a</sup> Only in this place did he permit them to sacrifice, forbidding them to do so elsewhere: for they were expressly bidden to go up "to the place which the Lord God shall choose" (Deut. xii. 5), and there to sacrifice "the whole burnt offerings and the peace offerings" (Ex. xx. 24) and to offer the other pure sacrifices.

There is a third 63 signification, in keeping with which God Himself is called a place, by reason of His containing things, and being contained by nothing whatever, and being a place for all to flee into, and because He is Himself the space which holds Him; for He is that which He Himself has occupied, and naught encloses Him but Himself. I, mark you, am not a place, but in a place; 64 and each thing likewise that exists; for that which is contained is different from that which contains it, and the Deity, being contained by nothing, is of necessity Itself Its own place.

Witness is borne to what I am saying by this oracle delivered in Abraham's

## PHILO

τόπον ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· καὶ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς  
 65 ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τὸν τόπον μακρόθεν.” ὁ ἔλθων εἰς  
 τὸν τόπον, εἶπέ μοι, μακρόθεν αὐτὸν εἶδεν; ἀλλὰ  
 μήποτε δυεῖν πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὁμωνυμία δια-  
 φερόντων, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον θεῖός ἐστι λόγος, τὸ  
 66 δὲ ἕτερον ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεός. ὁ δὴ ξεναγηθεὶς  
 ὑπὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸν πρότερον ἀφικνεῖται τόπον,  
 εὐράμενος τῆς ἀρεσκείας κεφαλὴν καὶ τέλος τὸν  
 θεῖον λόγον, ἐν ᾧ γενόμενος οὐ φθάνει πρὸς τὸν  
 κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ὄρα μακρόθεν·  
 μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον θεωρεῖν  
 ἰκανός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μακρὰν τὸν θεὸν εἶναι πάσης  
 γενέσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ὄρα καὶ τὸ πορρωτάτω τὴν  
 κατάληψιν αὐτοῦ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης διανοίας δι-  
 67 ωκίσθαι. μήποτε μέντοι γε οὐδὲ τόπον νῦν ἀλλη-  
 γορῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου παρείληφεν, ἀλλ’ ἔστι τὸ  
 δηλούμενον τοιοῦτον· “ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, καὶ  
 ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδεν” αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον,  
 εἰς ὃν ἦλθε, μακρὰν ὄντα τοῦ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ  
 68 ἀρρήτου καὶ κατὰ πάσας ἰδέας ἀκαταλήπτου θεοῦ.  
 [631] XII. | Τούτων προδιωρισμένων, ὅταν εἰς Χαρράν,  
 τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀσκητής, “ὑπαντᾷ τόπῳ,”  
 οὔτε τῷ ἐκπεπληρωμένῳ ὑπὸ σώματος θνητοῦ—  
 μετέχουσι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ γηγενεῖς ἐκπεπληρω-  
 κότες χώραν καὶ τόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον ἐπ-  
 ἔχοντες—οὔτε τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ, οὐ μὲν ἔννοιαν  
 λαβεῖν ἦν ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος ποιούμενον τὰς δια-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Post.* 17 f.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. the second *τόπος* as well as the first may indicate the Logos, if *μακρόθεν* be taken as meaning “afar” rather than “from afar.”

## ON DREAMS, I. 64-68

case : “ He came to the place of which God had told him : and lifting up his eyes he saw the place from afar ” (Gen. xxii. 3 f.).<sup>a</sup> Tell me, pray, did he who 65 had come to the place see it from afar ? Nay, it would seem that one and the same word is used of two different things : one of these is a divine Word, the other God Who was before the Word. One who has 66 come from abroad under Wisdom’s guidance arrives at the former place, thus attaining in the divine word the sum and consummation of service. But when he has his place in the divine Word he does not actually reach Him Who is in very essence God, but sees Him from afar : or rather, not even from a distance is he capable of contemplating Him ; all he sees is the bare fact that God is far away from all Creation, and that the apprehension of Him is removed to a very great distance from all human power of thought. Nay, it may be that neither in this part of the text <sup>b</sup> 67 does the lawgiver use “ place ” as a figurative description of the First Cause, but that what is signified is something like this : “ he came to the place and looked up and saw with his eyes ” the place itself to which he had come, that it was a long way off from God for Whom no name nor utterance nor conception of any sort is adequate.

XII. Having laid down these preliminary defini- 68 tions, we resume our story. When the Practiser comes to Haran, or Sense-perception, he “ meets a place.” This “ place ” is not that filled by a mortal body, for of that all earth-born men have their share, for they have filled a space and occupy of necessity some place. Nor is it that best one, the third named above, of which it would hardly have been possible for him to form a conception by dwelling at the well

## PHILO

τριβάς, ὃ προσηγορεύετο ὄρκος, ᾧ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς  
 γένος, Ἰσαάκ, ἐνδιδαιτᾶται μηδέποτε τῆς πρὸς θεὸν  
 πίστεως καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀφιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ  
 τῷ μέσῳ λόγῳ θείῳ, τὰ ἄριστα ὑφηγουμένῳ καὶ  
 69 ὅσα πρόσφορα τοῖς καιροῖς ἀναδιδάσκοντι. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἀξιῶν<sup>1</sup> ὁ θεὸς εἰς αἴσθησιν ἔρχεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ  
 λόγους ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα τῶν φιλαρέτων ἀποστέλλει·  
 οἱ δ' ἰατροῦνσι καὶ ἐκνοσηλεύουσι τὰ ψυχῆς ἀρρω-  
 στήματα, παραινέσεις ἱεράς ὡσπερ νόμους ἀκινή-  
 τους τιθέντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τούτων γυμνάσια καλοῦντες  
 καὶ τρόπον ἀλειπτῶν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ῥώμην  
 70 ἀνανταγώνιστον ἐμφύοντες. δεόντως οὖν εἰς αἴ-  
 σθησιν ἐλθὼν οὐκέτι θεῷ, λόγῳ δ' ὑπαντᾷ θεοῦ,  
 καθὰ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς σοφίας Ἀβραάμ.  
 λέγεται γάρ· “ ἀπῆλθε κύριος, ὡς ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν  
 τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἀβραάμ ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν  
 τόπον αὐτοῦ”· δι' οὗ συνάγεται τὸ λόγοις τοιούτοις  
 ἐντυγχάνειν ἱεροῖς, ὧν ὁ πρὸ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς ἀπ-  
 ἤλλακται, μηκέτι τὰς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τείνων φαντασίας,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν μεθ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων.  
 71 ὑπερφυέστατα δ' ἔχει τὸ μὴ φάναι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν  
 τόπον, ἀλλ' ἀπαντῆσαι τόπῳ· ἐκούσιον μὲν γὰρ  
 τὸ ἔρχεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπαντᾶν πολλάκις ἀκούσιον, ἢ  
 ἐξαπιναιῶς ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπιφαινόμενος ἀπροσ-  
 δόκητον χαρὰν ἐλπίδος μείζονα ἐρήμη ψυχῇ συνοδοι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπαξιῶν.

<sup>a</sup> The thought is not very clear. Perhaps “even if he had remained in that higher region, which is the permanent home of the Isaac-soul, he could scarcely (or perhaps “only with difficulty”) have reached the apprehension of the divine, which even Isaac saw only dimly.”



## ON DREAMS, I. 68-71

called "Oath," where Isaac has his abode, the self-taught nature that never desists from faith toward God and dim conception of Him.<sup>a</sup> No: the "place" on which he "lights" is the place in the middle sense, the Word of God, shewing, as it does, the way to the things that are best, teaching, as it does, such lessons as the varying occasions require. For 69 God, not deeming it meet that sense should perceive Him, sends forth His Words to succour the lovers of virtue, and they act as physicians of the soul and completely heal its infirmities, giving holy exhortations with all the force of irreversible enactments, and calling to the exercise and practice of these and like trainers implanting strength and power and vigour that no adversary can withstand. Meet and right then is it that Jacob, having come 70 to Sense-perception, meets not now God but a word of God, even as did Abraham, the grandfather of his wisdom.<sup>b</sup> For we are told that "the Lord departed, when He ceased speaking to Abraham, and Abraham returned to his place" (Gen. xviii. 33). By "returning to his place" is implied the meeting with sacred Words of a kind from which the God Who is prior to all things has withdrawn, ceasing to extend visions that proceed from Himself, but only those that proceed from the potencies inferior to Him.

There is an extraordinary fitness in saying not that 71 he came to the place, but that he met with a place; for coming is a matter of choice, but there is often no exercise of choice in meeting. Thus should the divine Word, by manifesting Itself suddenly and offering Itself as a fellow-traveller to a lonely soul, hold out to it an unlooked-for joy—which is greater

<sup>b</sup> See § 47 above.

## PHILO

πορεῖν μέλλων προτείνει. καὶ γὰρ Μωυσῆς “ ἐξάγει τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν συνάντησιν τοῦ θεοῦ,” σαφῶς εἰδῶς ἐρχόμενον αὐτὸν ἀοράτως πρὸς τὰς ποθοῦσας ψυχὰς ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ.

72 XIII. Τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρει, δι’ ἣν τόπω ὑπήνητησεν. “ ἔδυσ” γὰρ φησιν “ ὁ ἥλιος,” οὐχ ὁ φαινόμενος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ μεγίστου θεοῦ περιφεγγέστατον καὶ περιανγέστατον φῶς. τοῦθ’ ὅταν μὲν ἐπιλάμψη διανοία, τὰ δεύτερα λόγων δύεται φέγγη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ αἰσθητοὶ τόποι πάντες ἐπισκιάζονται. ὅταν δ’ ἐτέρωσε χωρήσῃ.

73 πάντ’ εὐθύς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. μὴ θαυμάσης δέ, εἰ ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· θεῷ γὰρ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ δόξῃ νενόμισται, δύο μόνα ἐστίν, ἀοράτον τε καὶ ὄρατόν,

74 [632] ψυχὴ μὲν ἀοράτον, ὄρατόν δὲ ἥλιος. τὴν | μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἐμφέρειαν δεδήλωκεν ἐν ἐτέροις εἰπών· “ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν,” καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀνδροφόνων τεθέντι νόμῳ πάλιν· “ ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τὴν δὲ ἡλίου διὰ

75 συμβόλων μεμήνηκε. ῥάδιον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ τοῦτο κατιδεῖν, ἐπειδὴ

<sup>a</sup> Or simply “greater than it hoped for.” But see the contrast between *χαρά* and *ἐλπίς* in *De Mut.* 163 f.

<sup>b</sup> Note how Philo, having already reduced *λόγος* from the Divine Logos to God’s *λόγοι*, here reduces it still further to “words” in general.

<sup>c</sup> Philo here seems to abandon his regular interpretation

## ON DREAMS, I. 71-75

than hope.<sup>a</sup> For Moses too, when he "leads out the people to meet God" (Ex. xix. 17), knows full well that He comes all unseen to the souls that yearn to come into His presence.

XIII. The lawgiver further states the reason why 72  
Jacob "met" a place: "for the sun was set," it says (Gen. xxviii. 11), not this sun which shews itself to our eyes, but the light of the supreme and invisible God most brilliant and most radiant. When this shines upon the understanding, it causes those lesser luminaries of words <sup>b</sup> to set, and in a far higher degree casts into shade all the places of sense-perception; but when it has gone elsewhere, all these at once have their dawn and rising. And marvel not if the 73  
sun, in accordance with the rules of allegory, is likened to the Father and Ruler of the universe: for although in reality nothing is like God, there have been accounted so in human opinion two things only, one invisible, one visible, the soul invisible, the sun visible. The soul's likeness to God the lawgiver has 74  
shewn elsewhere, by saying "God made man, after the image of God made He him" (Gen. i. 27),<sup>c</sup> and again, in the law enacted against murderers, "he that sheddeth man's blood, in requital for his blood shall there blood be shed, because in the image of God made I man" (Gen. ix. 6); while the sun's likeness to God he has indicated by figures.

In other ways also it is easy to discern this by a 75  
process of reasoning.<sup>d</sup> In the first place: God is of *κατ' εικόνα θεοῦ* as "made in the likeness of the image," *i.e.* of the Logos. (See *e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 96.)

<sup>d</sup> This "reasoning," in which, though the term "sun" is not applied to God, it may be inferred from the context, goes on to the end of § 76. The "figurative" use of the word in this sense is given in §§ 87 ff.

## PHILO

- πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ—“ κύριος γὰρ φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου ” ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται—καὶ οὐ μόνον φῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς ἐτέρου φωτὸς ἀρχέτυπον, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἀρχετύπου πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀνώτερον, λόγον ἔχον παραδείγματος <παραδείγματος>.<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν γὰρ παράδειγμα ὁ πληρέστατος ἦν αὐτοῦ λόγος, φῶς—“ εἶπε ” γὰρ φησὶν “ ὁ θεός· γενέσθω φῶς,”— αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδενὶ
- 76 τῶν γεγονότων ὅμοιος. ἔπειθ' ὡς ἥλιος ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα διακρίνει, οὕτως φησὶ Μωυσῆς τὸν θεὸν φῶς καὶ σκότος διατειχίσαι· “ διεχώρισε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκοτούς ”· ἄλλως τε ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τοῦμφανές ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν, ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὢν.
- 77 XIV. Λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἥλιος, ἅπαξ μὲν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὃν οἰκοδομοῦσιν ὡς πόλιν καὶ κατασκευάζουσι οἱ γένεσιν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου θεραπεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ἐφ' ὧν εἴρηται ὅτι “ ὠκοδόμησαν πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τῷ Φαραώ, τήν τε Πειθῶ,” τὸν λόγον ᾧ τὸ πείθειν ἀνάκειται, “ καὶ Ῥαμεσσή,”

<sup>1</sup> <παραδείγματος>. This is my own insertion. The text, as it stands in the mss.—(1) God is above all archetypes; (2) He is the “ model,” *i.e.* archetype; (3) the Logos is the archetype and in this is contrasted with God—seems incoherent. For παράδειγμα παραδείγματος *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 96 ὡςπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος . . . οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, and *De Op.* 25 εἰκὼν εἰκόνος.

## ON DREAMS, I. 75-77

light, for there is a verse in one of the psalms, " the Lord is my illumination and my Saviour " (Ps. xxvii. [xxvi.] 1). And He is not only light, but the archetype of every other light, nay, prior to and high above every archetype, holding the position of the model of a model. For the model or pattern was the Word which contained all His fullness—light, in fact<sup>a</sup>; for, as the lawgiver tells us, " God said, ' let light come into being ' " (Gen. i. 3), whereas He Himself resembles none of the things which have come into being.

Secondly : as the sun makes day 76 and night distinct, so Moses says that God kept apart light and darkness ; for " God," he tells us, " separated between the light and between the darkness " (Gen. i. 4). And above all, as the sun when it rises makes visible objects which had been hidden, so God when He gave birth to all things, not only brought them into sight, but also made things which before were not, not just handling material as an artificer, but being Himself its creator.

XIV. In the course of sacred revelation " Sun " is 77 used in several figurative senses. To begin with, it is used of the human mind, which is erected and set up as a city by those who under compulsion serve creation in preference to the uncreated One. Of them we read that " they built strong cities for Pharaoh, namely Peitho," speech, to which persuading is dedicated, " and Raamses," sense-perception, by

<sup>a</sup> The word *φῶς* here puzzled Mangey, who suggested its omission, which would make the quotation pointless. I think the text may stand. The Logos *is* light, for if God said " let there be light," this was a *λόγος* in the sense of a saying. Cf. note on *De Fug.* 95. The straining would be lessened if we suppose that the next three words of the quotation, *καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς*, have fallen out.

## PHILO

τὴν αἴσθησιν, ὑφ' ἧς ὥσπερ ὑπὸ σέων ἡ ψυχὴ  
 διεσθίεται—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σεισμὸς σητός,— “καὶ  
 τὴν Ὠν,” τὸν νοῦν, ἣν Ἡλίου πόλιν ὠνόμασεν,  
 ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἥλιος τοῦ παντὸς ἡμῶν ὄγκου τὴν  
 ἡγεμονίαν ἀνῆπται καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ὥσπερ  
 78 ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὄλον τείνει. τὸν δὲ ἱερέα καὶ θερα-  
 πευτὴν τοῦ νοῦ πενθερὸν ἐπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τὴν  
 τοῦ σώματος πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενος, ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ.  
 “ἔδωκε” γὰρ φησὶν “αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα  
 79 Πετεφρῆ ἱερέως Ἡλίου πόλεως.” |  
 [633] δεῦτερον δὲ ἥλιον καλεῖ συμβολικῶς τὴν αἴσθησιν,  
 ἐπειδὴ τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα δείκνυσι διανοίᾳ. περὶ  
 ἧς λελάληκεν ὧδε· “ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῷ, ἡνίκα  
 παρῆλθε τὸ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ”. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ταῖς  
 ἱερωτάταις ἰδέαις καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκόσιν ἀσωμάτοις  
 ὅταν μηκέτι δυνώμεθα συνδιατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρωσε  
 τρεπόμενοι μεταχωρήσωμεν, ἀλλῷ φωτὶ τῷ κατὰ  
 αἴσθησιν χρώμεθα σκότους πρὸς τὸν ὑγιῆ λόγον  
 80 οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς διαφέροντι· ὅπερ ἀνατείλαν ὄρασιν  
 μὲν καὶ ἀκοήν, ἔτι δὲ γεῦσιν καὶ ὄσφρησιν καὶ  
 ἀφῆν ὥσπερ κοιμωμένας ἀνήγειρε, φρόνησιν δὲ<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ σοφίαν ἐγρη-  
 81 γορυίας εἰς ὕπνον ἔτρεψεν. οὐ χάριν ἀγνεύειν  
 οὐδένα πρὸ ἐσπέρας φησὶν ὁ ἱερός λόγος δύνασθαι,  
 τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν κινήσεων ἔτι  
 παρευημερουμένης. ἄφυκτον δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἱερεῦσι νόμον ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τε.

<sup>a</sup> Because the Senses are Mind's daughters, *vide* § 88.

<sup>b</sup> Or “statement.” See below on § 101. The future indicative instead of the imperative indicates a spiritual fact, *viz.*

## ON DREAMS, I. 77-81

which the soul is eaten through as though by moths : the name means "moth-shock" ;—"and On," the mind, which Moses called Sun-city (Ex. i. 11), since the mind, like a sun, has assumed the leadership of our entire frame and bulk, and makes its forces reach, like the sun's rays, to every part of it. And everyone 78 who has accepted the citizenship of the body, and the name of such is Joseph, chooses for his father-in-law the priest and devotee of Mind.<sup>a</sup> For Moses says that Pharaoh "gave him Asenath, daughter of Potiphora, priest of Heliopolis" (Gen. xli. 45).

Secondly, Moses uses "sun" figuratively for sense- 79 perception, inasmuch as it shews all objects of sense to the understanding. It is of sense-perception that Moses has spoken on this wise : "the sun arose upon him when he passed by the appearance of God" (Gen. xxxii. 31) ; for in truth, when we are no longer able to remain in company with holiest forms, which are as it were incorporeal images, but turn in a different direction and go elsewhere, we are led by another light, even that which answers to sense-perception, a light, as compared with sound reason, differing no whit from darkness. When this sun has 80 risen it wakes up sight and hearing, yea taste and smell and touch, from their seeming sleep, but sound sense and justice and knowledge and wisdom, which it finds awake, it plunges in sleep. This is why the 81 sacred word says that no one can be clean until the even (Lev. xi. *passim*), the understanding being till then at the mercy of the movements of sense-perception.

For the priests too he lays down an inexorable law, in the form of a prediction,<sup>b</sup> in the

that whoever is not cleansed cannot really partake of holy things.

## PHILO

τίθησιν, ἐπειδὴν λέγει· “ Οὐκ ἔδεται ἀπὸ τῶν  
ἀγίων, ἐὰν μὴ λούσῃται τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καὶ δύῃ  
82 ὁ ἥλιος καὶ γένηται καθαρὸς.” δηλοῖ γὰρ σαφέ-  
στατα διὰ τούτων, ὅτι εὐαγῆς εἰσάπαν οὐδεὶς ἐστίν,  
ὡς ταῖς ἀγίαις καὶ ἱεροπρεπέσι χρῆσθαι τελεταῖς,  
ᾧ τὰς αἰσθητὰς τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἔτι  
τετιμῆσθαι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δέ τις αὐτὰς οὐκ ἀπο-  
δέχεται, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῷ φρονήσεως ἐπι-  
λάμπεται φέγγει, δι’ οὗ δυνήσεται τὰς τῶν κενῶν  
83 δοξῶν ἐκνίπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπολούεσθαι κηλίδας. ἢ  
τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι τὰναντία καὶ ἀνα-  
τέλλων καὶ δυσόμενος ἐργάζεται; ἐπειδὴν γὰρ  
ἀνίσχη, τὰ μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἅπαντα περιλάμπεται,  
τὰ δὲ κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἀποκρύπτεται· δύντος δ’  
ἔμπαλιν οἱ μὲν ἀστέρες προφαίνονται, τὰ δὲ περί-  
84 γεια συσκιάζεται. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν,  
ὅταν μὲν τὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φέγγος ὡς ἥλιος  
ἀνατείλῃ, τὰς ὀλυμπίους καὶ οὐρανίους ὡς ἀληθῶς  
ἐπιστήμας κρύπτεσθαι συμβέβηκεν· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς  
δυσμᾶς γένηται, τὰς ἀστεροειδεστάτας καὶ θειο-  
τάτας ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἀρετῶν αὐγὰς, ὅτε καὶ καθαρὸς  
ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κρυπτόμενος αἰσθητοῦ γίνεται.

85 XV. κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον σημαινόμενον  
ἥλιον καλεῖ τὸν θεῖον λόγον, τὸ τοῦ κατ’ οὐρανὸν  
περιπολοῦντος, ὡς πρότερον ἐλέχθη, παράδειγμα,  
ἐφ’ οὗ λέγεται· “ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,  
καὶ Λῶτ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Σηγῶρ, καὶ κύριος ἔβρεξεν  
86 ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ.” ὁ γὰρ  
τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ γεῶδες ἡμῶν σύστημα



## ON DREAMS, I. 81-86

words : “ He will not eat of the holy things unless he have washed his body with water, and the sun be set, and he have become clean ” (Lev. xxii. 6 f.). For he 82 makes it perfectly evident by this declaration that no one is absolutely free from pollution, so as to celebrate the holy and reverend mysteries, by whom the splendours of this mortal life, objects as they are of sense-perception, are still held in honour. But if a man disdains them, the consequence is that he is shone upon by the light of sound sense, and by means of it he will be able completely to purge and wash out of himself the defilements of vain opinions. Or look 83 at the sun itself. Do you not see that the effect of its rising is the reverse of that of its setting ? When it has risen, all things on earth are lit up, while those in the heavens are obscured : on the contrary, when it has set the stars appear, and earthly objects are hidden. It is precisely the same with us. When the 84 light of our senses has risen like a sun, the various forms of knowledge, so truly heavenly and celestial, disappear from sight : when it reaches its setting, radiances most divine and most star-like sent forth from virtues come into view : and it is then that the mind also becomes pure because it is darkened by no object of sense.

XV. The third meaning 85 in which he employs the title sun is that of the divine Word, the pattern, as has been already mentioned, of the sun which makes its circuit in the sky. It is of the divine Word that it is said, “ The sun went forth upon the earth, and Lot entered into Zoar, and the Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire ” (Gen. xix. 23 f.). For the Word of God, when 86 it arrives at our earthy composition, in the case of

## PHILO

- ἀφίκηται, τοῖς μὲν ἀρετῆς συγγενέσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποκλίνουσιν ἀρήγει καὶ βοηθεῖ, ὡς καταφυγὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς πορίζειν παντελῆ, τοῖς δὲ ἀντιπάλοις ὄλεθρον καὶ φθορὰν ἀνίατον ἐπι-
- 87 πέμπει. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τέταρτον σημαίνοντον ἥλιος μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμών, ὡς εἶπον ἦδη, δι' οὗ τὰ ἀνίατα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων
- [634] ἀνακαλύπτεται συσκιάζεσθαι δοκοῦντα· | πάντα γὰρ ὡς δυνατά, οὕτως καὶ γνώριμα θεῷ.
- 88 παρὸ καὶ τοὺς καταλυθέντας τῶν τόνων τῶν ψυχικῶν, ἀκολάστως καὶ λαγνίστερον ὀμιλοῦντας ταῖς νοῦ θυγατράσιν, αἰσθήσεσιν, ὡς χαμαιτύπαις καὶ
- 89 πόρναις, ἐνδειχθησομένους πρὸς ἥλιον ἄγει. φησὶ γάρ· “καὶ κατέλυσεν ὁ λαὸς ἐν Σαττὶν”—ἄκανθαι δ' ἐρμηνεύεται, παθῶν κεντούντων καὶ τιτρωσκόντων ψυχὴν σύμβολον,—“καὶ ἐβεβηλώθη” φησὶν “ἐκπορνεῦσαι εἰς τὰς θυγατέρας Μωάβ”—αἱ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, κεκλημέναι νοῦ θυγατέρες· Μωάβ γὰρ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐρμηνεύεται,—καὶ προστίθησι· “λάβε πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίσον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται ὀργὴ κυρίου ἀπὸ Ἰσραήλ.”
- 90 οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι βουλόμενος ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς περιέλαμψεν ἀκτίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἥλιον τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἐκάλεσεν, ᾧ πάντα προὔπτα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας ἀοράτως ἐπιτελεῖται· γενομένων δ' ἐμφανῶν ἰλεῷ φησιν ἔσεσθαι τὸν

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\* An allusion to the interpretation of Lot's name as ἀπόκλισις “sometimes from what is good, sometimes from what is bad,” *De Mig.* 148. There is a similar allusion below, § 246, but there to the wrong kind of ἀπόκ.

## ON DREAMS, I. 86-90

those who are akin to virtue and turn away <sup>a</sup> to her, gives help and succour, thus affording them a refuge and perfect safety, but sends upon her adversaries irreparable ruin.

In a fourth sense, as I 87 have already said, the title of "Sun" is applied to the Ruler of the Universe Himself, through Whose agency irremediable sins, when apparently concealed, are disclosed. For to God all things are known, even as all things are possible.

In accordance 88

with this we see Him bringing to the sun to be laid bare those energies of the soul that have been unstrung by lewd and licentious intercourse with Mind's daughters, the senses, as though they were common strumpets. For he says "and the people abode in 89

Shittim"—the meaning of this name is "thorns," a symbol of passions pricking and wounding the soul—"and was defiled to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab"—these are the senses, entitled daughters of Mind; for the translation of "Moab" is "from a father." The lawgiver adds the command given him: "Take all the chiefs of the people and set them up publicly <sup>b</sup> unto the Lord before the sun, and the anger of the Lord shall be turned away from Israel" (Num. xxv. 1, 4). It was not only that, in 90

his desire that the hidden deeds of unrighteousness should be made manifest, he caused the rays of the sun to shine about them. More than this, he gave the figurative title of "Sun" to the universal Father, to Whose sight all things are open, even those which are perpetrated invisibly in the recesses of the understanding. He says that when they have been made manifest, the One gracious Being will be found

<sup>b</sup> E.V. "hang them up," which the LXX may have meant. Philo, however, interprets it by *ἐμφανή γενέσθαι*.

## PHILO

- 91 **μόνον** ἔλεω. διὰ τί; ὅτι, ἐὰν ὑπολαβοῦσα διάνοια λήσασθαι τὸ θεῖον ἀδικοῦσα, ὡς μὴ πάντα καθορᾶν δυνάμενον, κρύφα καὶ ἐν μυχοῖς διαμαρτάνη καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς εἴτε καὶ ὑφηγησαμένου τινὸς ἐννοήσῃ, ὅτι ἀμήχανον ἄδηλον εἶναί τι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῆς πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀναπτύξῃ καὶ εἰς μέσον προενεγκοῦσα καθάπερ εἰς ἡλιακὸν φῶς ἐπιδειξήται τῷ τῶν ὄλων ἐπισκόπῳ φήσασα μετανοεῖν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἀγνώμονι γνώμη χρωμένη κακῶς ἐδόξαζε—μηδὲν γὰρ ἄδηλον, γνώριμα δὲ καὶ δῆλα πάντα, οὐ τὰ πραχθέντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ,—κεκάθαρται καὶ ὠφέληται καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κολαστὴν ἔλεγχον ἡμέρων κεν ὄργῃ δικαίᾳ χρώμενον, εἰ τὸ μετανοεῖν ἀδελφὸν νεώτερον ὄν τοῦ μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἀποδέχεται.<sup>1</sup>
- 92 **XVI.** Φαίνεται μέντοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι κατὰ σύμβολον ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου τὸν ἥλιον παραλαμβάνων, ὡς ἐν τῷ γραφέντι νόμῳ περὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐνεχούροις δανειζόντων· λέγε τὸν νόμον· “ἐὰν ἐνεχύρασμα ἐνεχυράσῃς τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ πλησίον, πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθήσεται; ἐὰν οὖν καταβολήσῃ πρὸς μέ, εἰσακούσομαι αὐτοῦ· ἐλεήμων
- 93 γάρ εἰμι.” ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον τοὺς οἰομένους τὴν τοσαύτην σπουδὴν εἶναι τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ ἀμπεχόνης, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίξειν, ἀλλὰ τοί γε ὑπομιμνή-

<sup>1</sup> Wend. was inclined to insert *μη* either before *δικαία* or *ἀποδέχεται*. I think the text may well stand. The *εἰ* (or possibly *εἰ γέ*) clause serves to repeat in a short summary the long series of *ἐάν* clauses which precede.

## ON DREAMS, I. 91-93

gracious. Why so? Because, if the understanding, 91  
imagining that its wrongdoing will escape the notice  
of God as though He were not able to see all things,  
sin secretly in deep recesses; if subsequently,  
whether of itself or by the leading of another, it come  
to realize that it is impossible that anything should  
be otherwise than clear to God; if it unfold itself and  
all its doings, and bringing them out into the open  
expose them as it were in the sunlight to Him Whose  
eye is upon all things; if it say that it repents of the  
evil opinions which it formerly held in reliance upon  
an ill-judging judgement; if it acknowledge that  
nothing is withdrawn from His sight, but that all  
things are ever known and manifest to Him, not only  
those which have been done already, but the far  
greater body of those which are but contemplated in  
the future;—then has it gained cleansing and benefit  
and has appeased the just wrath of the convicting  
wielder of the lash who was standing over it. So is  
it with the soul if it embraces repentance, younger  
brother of complete guiltlessness.

XVI. There are other cases in which the lawgiver 92  
evidently takes the sun figuratively as applying to the  
First Cause, as in the Law enacted with reference to  
those who lend money on security. Read the Law:  
“If thou take thy neighbour’s garment to pledge thou  
shalt restore it to him before the setting of the sun; for  
this is his only covering, it is the garment of his shame.  
Wherein shall he sleep? If then he cry unto Me, I will  
hear him, for I am compassionate” (Ex. xxii. 26 f.).  
Do not those who suppose that the lawgiver feels 93  
all this concern about a cloak deserve, if not reproach,

## PHILO

σκειν φάσκοντας· τί λέγετε, ὦ γενναῖοι; ὁ τῶν ὄλων κτίστης καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐλεήμονα ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' οὕτως εὐτελοῦς πράγματος, ἱματίου μὴ ἀποδοθέντος

94 [635] χρεώστη | πρὸς δανειστοῦ, καλεῖ; τὸ μέγεθος καθάπαξ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ πάντα μεγάλου θεοῦ μὴ συνεωρακότων τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην μικρολογίαν τῇ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ πλήρει μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας φύσει

95 παρὰ θέμιν καὶ δίκην προσνεμόντων. τί γὰρ ἄτοπον ποιοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ῥύσια κατέχοντες δανεισταὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἄχρισ ἂν τὰ ἴδια ἀναπράξωνται; πένητες οἱ χρεῶσται, φήσει τις ἴσως, καὶ ἄξιον ἐλεεῖν αὐτούς. εἴτ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν γράφαι νόμον, δι' οὗ τούτους<sup>1</sup> ἐρανοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ χρεώστας ἀποφανοῦσιν ἢ ἐπ' ἐνεχύροις τοῦ δανεῖζειν κωλύσαι<sup>2</sup>; ὁ δὲ ἐφείς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἅ ἔλαβον πρὸ καιροῦ μὴ προιεμένοις δυσχεραῖνοι ὡς ἀσεβοῦσι.

96 πενίας δ' εἰς αὐτά τις ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ πέρατα καὶ ράκιον ἐν ἀμπεχόμενος δανειστὰς καινοὺς ἐπάγεται τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρώντων παρεῖς ἔλεον, ὃς τοῖς κεκρημένοις ταῖς τοιαύταις κακοπραγίαις κατ' οἰκίαν καὶ παρ' ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ

97 καὶ πανταχοῦ προκέχυται; νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ μόνον εἶχε προκάλυμμα αἰδοῦς, ὦ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρητα συνεσκίαζε, τοῦτο φέρων προὔτεινε· ῥύσιον ὑπὲρ τίνος, εἰπέ μοι; ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρας ἀμείνονος ἐσθῆτος; τροφῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίας ἄπορος

<sup>1</sup> So mss.: Mangey and earlier editions *τούτοις*. The accusative seems only found here and once in Antiphon. See L. & S. 1927.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey with one ms.: Wend. with the rest *κωλύσοισι*, which is ungrammatical. He suggests *τὸ δανεῖζειν κωλύει*

## ON DREAMS, I. 93-97

at least a reminder, in such terms as, "What are you saying, good sirs? Does the Creator and Ruler of the universe speak of Himself as compassionate in regard to so trifling a matter, a garment not returned to a debtor by a lender of money? To entertain such ideas is a mark of men who have utterly failed to see the greatness of the excellence of the infinitely great God, and against every principle human or divine attribute human pettiness to the Being Who is unoriginate and incorruptible and full of all blessedness<sup>95</sup> and happiness. What is there outrageous in money-lenders keeping the securities in their own hands, until they have got back their own? Someone will say perhaps that the debtors are poor men, and deserve pity. In that case would it not be better to make a law for contributing to the needs of such people instead of making them debtors, or for prohibiting lending upon security? But the legislator who has permitted this cannot reasonably be indignant with those who do not give up before the time what they have received, and treat them as devoid of<sup>96</sup> piety. And does a man who has reached practically the extreme limit of poverty, and is clothed with a single rag, endeavour to attract fresh money-lenders, while he lets pass unheeded the compassion, which goes forth abundantly from all beholders, indoors, at temples, in the market-place, everywhere, to those<sup>97</sup> who experience such misfortunes? But in this case he is supposed to bring and offer the sole covering of his shame, with which he veiled nature's secret parts. And security for *what*? tell me that. Is it for a better garment to take its place? For no one is at

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Μωυσῆς, which I do not understand. I suggest κωλυθήσονται, or preferably κωλύσονται.

PHILO

οὐδείς, ἄχρισ ἂν πηγαὶ μὲν ἀναβλύζωσι, ποταμοὶ  
 δὲ χεῖμαρροι πλημμυρῶσι,<sup>1</sup> γῆ δὲ τοὺς ἔτησίους  
 98 ἀναδιδῶ<sup>2</sup> καρπούς. οὕτω δὲ ἢ βαθύπλουτός τις ἢ  
 λίαν ὠμὸς ὁ δανειστής, ὡς ἢ τετράδραχμον τάχα  
 δὲ καὶ ἔλαττον <μῆ><sup>3</sup> ἐθέλειν τῷ συμβαλεῖν ἢ οὕτω  
 πενιχρῶ δανείζειν ἀλλὰ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι ἢ ὁ μόνον  
 ἦν ἱμάτιον ἐκείνῳ λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπερ ἑτέρῳ  
 ὀνόματι λωποδυτεῖν εἰκότως ἂν λέγοιτο; καὶ γὰρ  
 λωποδύταις ἔθος ἀπαμπίσχουσι τὰς μὲν ἐσθῆτας  
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, γυμνοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποφαίνειν.  
 99 διὰ τί δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀνεί-  
 μονά τινα κοιμηθῆναι προϋνόησεν, ἡμέρας δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦ μὴ ἐργηγορότα γυμνὸν ἀσχημονεῖν οὐκέθ'  
 ὁμοίως ἐφρόντισεν; ἢ οὐ νυκτὶ μὲν καὶ σκότῳ  
 κρύπτεται πάντα, ὡς ἦττον ἢ μηδ' ὄλως αἰδεῖσθαι,  
 ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ φωτὶ ἀνακαλύπτεται, ὡς τότε μᾶλλον  
 100 ἐρυθριαῶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι; διὰ τί δ' οὐ  
 διδόναι τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόναι προσέταξεν;  
 ἀπόδοσις γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις γίνεται, τὰ δ' ἐνέχυρα  
 τῶν δεδανεικῶτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν δεδανεισμένων  
 ἐστίν. ἐκείνο δὲ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι λαβόντι τῷ  
 χρεώσῃ πρόσκοιτον τὸ ἱμάτιον οὐ προσέταξε μεθ'  
 ἡμέραν περιελεῖν ἀναστάντι καὶ κομίσει τῷ  
 101 δανειστῇ; καὶ μὴν τῷ γε τῆς ἐρμηνείας  
 ἰδιοτρόπῳ καὶ ὁ βραδύτατος ἕτερόν τι τοῦ ῥητοῦ  
 [636] κατανοεῖν ἂν | προαχθείη· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἀφορισμῶ

<sup>1</sup> So Wend: the mss. have either ποταμῶν, χεῖμαρροι δὲ πλημ. (in one case ποταμῶν, χεῖμαρροι δὲ ποταμῶν πλημ.) or ποταμοὶ δὲ πλημ. I suggest as an alternative to Wend.'s πότιμοι, χεῖμαρροι δὲ πλημ. <sup>2</sup> mss. ἀναδίδωσι.

<sup>3</sup> <μῆ>: so Mangey: Wend. rejects the insertion, presumably taking the meaning to be "content himself with throwing a farthing to him."



## ON DREAMS, I. 97-101

a loss for the bare necessities of food, so long as springs gush forth, and rivers run down in winter, and earth yields her fruits in their season. And is the creditor 98 either so swallowed up in riches or so exceedingly cruel as to be unwilling to afford a tetradrachm (or less it may be) to anybody, or make a loan rather than a free gift to one so poor, or to take as security the man's only garment, an act which might well be given another name and called coat-snatching? For that is the coat-snatcher's way; when they remove people's apparel they carry it off, and leave the owners naked.

And why did he take 99 thought for night and that no one should sleep without clothing,<sup>a</sup> but shewed no such care for the day and that a man should not be indecent in his waking hours? Or is it not the case that by night and darkness all things are hidden, so that nakedness causes less shame or none at all, whereas by the light of day all things are uncovered, so that then one is more obliged to blush?

And why did he 100 enjoin not the *giving* but the *returning* of the garment? For we *return* what belongs to another, whereas the securities belong to the lenders rather than to the borrowers. And do you not notice that he has given no direction to the debtor, after taking the garment to use as a blanket, when day has come to get up and remove it and carry it to the money-lender?

And indeed the peculiarities of the wording might 101 well lead even the slowest-witted reader to perceive the presence of something other than the literal meaning of the passage: for the ordinance bears the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 599.

## PHILO

ἢ παραινέσει ἔοικε τὸ διάταγμα. παραινῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν τις· τὸ ἐνεχυρασθὲν ἱμάτιον, ἐὰν τοῦτ' ἦ μόνον τῷ χρεώσῃ, πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἀπόδος, ἵν' ἔχη νύκτωρ ἀμπέχεσθαι, ἀφοριζόμενος δὲ οὕτως, ὡς νῦν ἔχει· “(ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ)<sup>1</sup>· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθήσεται;”

- 102 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ῥητῆς πραγματείας σοφιστὰς καὶ λίαν τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότας εἰρήσθω, λέγωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ἀλληγορίας νόμοις τὰ πρόποντα περὶ τούτων. φαμὲν τοίνυν λόγου σύμβολον ἱμάτιον εἶναι. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους εἰωθυίας τῷ σώματι κατασκήπτειν βλάβας ἐσθῆς ἀπωθεῖται καὶ ἐπισκιάζει τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἔστιν
- 103 ἀρμόττων σώματι κόσμος ἢ ἀμπεχόνῃ. κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λόγος δώρημα κάλλιστον ἐδόθη παρὰ θεοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τῶν νεωτεριζόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὄπλον ἀμυντήριον—ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ζώων ἢ φύσις οἰκείους ἔρκεσιν ὠχύρωσε, δι' ὧν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν ἀποκρούσεται, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ μέγιστον ἔρυμα καὶ φρουρὰν ἀκαθαίρετον λόγον δέδωκεν, οὐ κραταιῶς οἷα πανοπλίας ἐνειλημμένος οἰκείον καὶ προσφύεστατον ἔξει δορυφόρον· τούτῳ δὲ προαγωνιστῇ χρώμενος δυνήσεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> The insertion, which seems necessary to the sense (see App. p. 600), is approved by Wend., though not incorporated in the text.

<sup>a</sup> Or “explanatory statement.” See App. pp. 599 f.

<sup>b</sup> This, or “rational speech and thought,” seems the best translation here to cover the alternations between thought and speech throughout this interpretation. Speech seems to

## ON DREAMS, I. 101-103

marks of an explanatory statement rather than of an exhortation. A man giving an exhortation would have said, "If the garment given as security be the only one the borrower has, return it before evening, that he may have it to wrap round him at night." But if he makes a statement<sup>a</sup> he would put as it stands: "thou shalt give it back to him, for this is the only wrapper he has, this is the garment without which he is not decent; what is he to sleep in?" (Ex. xxii. 27).

XVII. Let what has been said and other considerations of the same kind suffice for the self-satisfied pedantic professors of literalism, and let us in accordance with the rules of allegory make such remarks on this passage as are appropriate. Well, then, we say that a garment is a figure for rational speech.<sup>b</sup> For clothing keeps off the mischiefs that are wont to befall the body from frost and heat; it conceals nature's secret parts; and the raiment is a fitting adornment to the person. In like manner, rational 102 speech was bestowed on man by God as the best of gifts. First of all, it is a weapon of defence against those who threaten him with violence. For as nature has fortified other living creatures each with appropriate means of guarding themselves whereby they may beat off those who attempt to do them an injury, so has she given to man a most strong redoubt and impregnable fort in rational speech. Grasping this with all his might as a soldier does his weapons, he will have a body-guard meeting his every need. Having this to fight before him, he will be able to ward off the hurts which his enemies would fain

be the dominant idea in §§ 103 and 104, thought or reason in most of the rest.

## PHILO

- 104 φερομένας ἀπωθείσθαι ζημίας, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ὀνειδῶν ἀναγκαιότατον περίβλημα—δεινὸς γὰρ συγκρῦψαι καὶ συσκιᾶσαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγος—τρίτον δὲ πρὸς ὄλου τοῦ βίου κόσμον· ὁ γὰρ βελτιῶν ἕκαστον καὶ πάντα
- 105 ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον οὗτός ἐστιν. ἄλλὰ γὰρ εἰσι λῶβαί τινες καὶ κῆρες ἀνθρώπων, οἳ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐνεχυράζουσιν ἀφαιρούμενοι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἔχοντας καί, συναυξῆσαι δέον, ὄλον ὑποτέμνονται, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δηοῦντες χωρία καὶ τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν φθείρειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, ὃς ἀφειθεὶς μεγάλη τοῖς χρησαμένοις ἂν ὄνησις ἦν.
- 106 πόλεμος οὖν ἐστὶν ἐνίοις ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πρὸς τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν, οἷτινες τὰς βλάστας αὐτῆς ἀποκείρουσιν ἐν χρωῖ καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἐπιφύσεις ἐκθλίβουσιν, ἄγονον καὶ στείραν, ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν,
- 107 καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπεργαζόμενοι. ὀρμῶσαν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἀκατασχέτω ρύμη καὶ πληχθεῖσαν ἔρωτι τῶν φιλοσοφίας θεωρημάτων ὑπὸ βασκανίας καὶ φθόνου δείσαντες, μὴ μεγάλα πνεύσασα καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀρθεῖσα τὰς γλισχρολογίας αὐτῶν καὶ πιθανὰς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρέσεις ἐπικλύση χειμάρρου τρόπον, ἐτέρωσε ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κακοτεχνίαις τὴν φορὰν ἔτρεψαν, εἰς
- [637] βαναύσους καὶ | ἀνελευθέρους τέχνας μετοχτευσάμενοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀμβλώσαντες καὶ ἐπιφράξαντες ἄργον τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς κατέλιπον, ὥσπερ βαθύγειον καὶ εὐδαίμονα γῆν ὀρφανῶν παιδῶν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. αἰ and ἀφαιρούμεναι. See note <sup>a</sup> below.

<sup>a</sup> If οἱ and ἀφαιρούμενοι are read, the enemies of λόγος are presumably persons who exercise an evil influence on others. If αἰ and ἀφαιρούμεναι, they are evil forces within us. The

## ON DREAMS, I. 104-107

inflict upon him. In the second place, rational speech 104 is a most necessary covering for matters of shame and reproach ; it has great ability to conceal and hide up men's sins. Thirdly, it serves as an adornment of the whole life : for this it is that makes each one of us better and leads every man to something higher.

But there are some men who—mischievous pests that they are<sup>a</sup>—actually hold rational speech in pawn, and rob its possessors of it, and, when they ought to foster its growth, cut it utterly down, like those who ravage the fields of their enemies and endeavour to destroy both the wheat and the other crops, which if left alone would have been a great boon to the consumers. What I mean is that there 106 are some who wage an unrelenting war against the rational nature, men who cut down to the ground its first shoots, and squeeze the life out of its earliest growths, so rendering it to all intents and purposes barren and unproductive of noble doings. For there 107 are times when, seeing it bent with irresistible impulse on education and smitten with a passionate love of the truths which philosophy has discovered, they conceive a jealous and malicious fear lest, grandly inspired and highly exalted, it should sweep like a torrent over their hair-splittings and plausible inventions for the overthrow of truth, and by their perversions of art<sup>b</sup> change the direction of its current, providing a channel leading to low and illiberal arts and sciences. Not infrequently they sterilize and block it up, and leave its natural greatness fallow and unfruitful, like bad guardians of orphans who let a rich former is suggested by §§ 106 and 107. At the end of the meditation, however, we seem to pass into the other thought. See note on § 112.

<sup>b</sup> See note on *De Mut.* 150.

## PHILO

- τροποι κακοὶ χέρσον, καὶ οὐκ ἠδέσθησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλεέστατοι τὸ μόνον ἱμάτιον ἀνθρώπου περι-  
 συλῶντες, λόγον· “ ἔστι ” γάρ φησι “ τοῦτο περι-  
 108 βόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον.” τί πλὴν ὁ λόγος; ὥσπερ  
 γὰρ ἵππου τὸ χρεμετίζειν ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ὑλακτεῖν  
 κυνὸς καὶ βοὸς τὸ μυκᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ ὠρύεσθαι  
 λέοντος, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπου τὸ λέγειν καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ὁ λόγος. τοῦτον γὰρ ἔρυμα, περίβλημα, παν-  
 οπλίαν, τεῖχος τὸ ζῶον τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ὁ ἄν-  
 θρωπος, ἐκ πάντων ἴδιον κεκάρπωται.
- 109 XVIII. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “ τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτὸ  
 μόνον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ.” τίς ἄλλος<sup>1</sup> γὰρ οὕτως  
 τὰ ὀνειδῆ καὶ τὰ αἴσχη τοῦ βίου συσκιάζει καὶ  
 συγκρύπτει, ὡς λόγος; ἀμαθία μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγου  
 φύσεως συγγενὲς αἴσχος, παιδεία δὲ ἀδελφὸν λόγου,  
 110 κόσμος οἰκεῖος. “ ἐν τίνι οὖν κοιμηθήσεται,”  
 τουτέστιν ἡρεμήσει καὶ διαναπαύσεται ἄνθρωπος,  
 πλὴν ἐν λόγῳ; λόγος γὰρ τὸ βαρυποτμότατον  
 ἡμῶν γένος ἐπικουφίζει. ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς λύπαις  
 ἢ φόβοις ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις κακοῖς πιεσθέντας εὐμένεια  
 καὶ συνήθεια<sup>2</sup> καὶ δεξιότης φίλων πολλάκις ἐθερά-  
 πευσεν, οὕτως οὐ πολλάκις ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ τὸ βαρύτατον  
 ἄχθος, ὅπερ ἐπιτιθέασιν ἡμῖν αἶ τε τοῦ συνδέτου  
 σώματος ἀνάγκαι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἕξωθεν κατα-  
 σκηπτόντων ἀπροόρατοι συντυχίαι, μόνος ὁ ἀλεξι-  
 111 κακος λόγος ἀπωθεῖται. φίλος γὰρ καὶ γνώριμος  
 καὶ συνήθης καὶ ἐταῖρος ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἐνδεδεμένος,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἡρμοσμένος καὶ ἠνωμένος κόλλη τινὶ  
 φύσεως ἀλύτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προ-  
 λέγει τὰ συνοίσοντα καὶ συμβάντος τινὸς ἀβουλήτου

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καλῶς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. συνέχεια.

## ON DREAMS, I. 107-111

and fertile farm become a wilderness. In fact, void of pity beyond all men, they are not ashamed to strip a man of his only garment, reason; for it says "this is all he has to put round him" (Ex. xxii. 27). What is this 108 save reason? For as neighing is peculiar to a horse, and barking to a dog, and lowing to a cow, and roaring to a lion, so is speech and reason itself to man. For with this has man, the dearest to God of all living creatures, been dowered as specially his own, to be his stronghold, protection, armour, wall. XVIII. This 109 is why he adds "this garment is the only cover of his unseemliness" (Ex. xxii. 27). For who is there that in so fair a fashion removes from sight what might cause shame or entail reproach in man's life, as does reason? For ignorance, the kin of the irrational nature, is a matter of shame, while culture, near akin to reason, is his proper adornment: "In 110 what, then, shall he sleep?" or, in other words, wherein shall a man find calmness and complete repose, save in reason? For reason brings relief to those of us whose fate is the most grievous. Even, then, as the kindness and companionship and courtesy of friends has many a time healed and comforted those who were oppressed by sorrows or fears or some other ills, so not often but always is it mischief-averting reason that alone dislodges the overwhelming burden laid upon us by the distresses incident to our yokefellow the body, or by the unforeseen disasters that swoop down on us from without. For reason is our friend, 111 familiar, associate, comrade, bound up with us, or rather cemented and united with us by an invisible and indissoluble natural glue. That is why it both foretells what will be expedient, and, when something undesirable has occurred, is at hand with unsolicited

## PHILO

- πάρεστιν αὐτοκέλευστος βοηθήσων, οὐ τὴν ἑτέραν φέρων μόνον ὠφέλειαν, ἣν ὁ μὴ δρῶν σύμβουλος
- 112 ἢ ὁ συναγωνιστῆς ἡσυχος, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρας. οὐ γὰρ ἡμίεργον ἐπιτετήδευκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρον· ὅς γε, καὶ σφαλῆ πείρας ἐν οἷς διανοεῖται ἢ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται [ἢ] ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀφικνεῖται βοήθημα, παρηγορίαν. φάρμακον γὰρ ὡς τραυμάτων, καὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ σωτήριον, ὃν “ πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου ” φησὶ δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀποδοῦναι, τουτέστι πρὶν τὰς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ καταδύναμι περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγὰς, ἃς δι' ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰς νοῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον οὐρανόθεν ἀποστέλλει.
- 113 παραμένοντος γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ τοῦ θεοειδεστάτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου φωτὸς ἀποδώσομεν τὸν ἐνεχυρασθέντα λόγον, ὡς ἱμάτιον, ἃν ἐγγένηται τῷ λαβόντι τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα τὴν τε αἰσχύνην τοῦ βίου περιστέλλαι καὶ τῆς θείας ἀπόνασθαι δωρεᾶς καὶ μετ' ἡρεμίας ἀναπαύσασθαι παρουσία τοιούτου
- [638] συμβούλου | καὶ προασπιστοῦ τάξιν ἣν ἐτάχθη
- 114 μηδέποτε λείποντος. ἕως οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸ ἱερὸν φέγγος ὁ θεὸς ἀκτινοβολεῖ, σπούδασον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὸ ρύσιον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ κυρίῳ· δύντος γάρ, ὡς πᾶσα Αἴγυπτος, ψηλαφητὸν ἕξεις σκότος τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ πληχθεὶς ἀορασία καὶ ἀγνοία, ὧν ἐδόκεις ἐπικρατεῖν πάντων ἀφαιρεθήσῃ, πρὸς τοῦ βλέποντος

<sup>a</sup> From this point to the end of this discussion the taker of λόγος seems to be the man's evil self who must restore it to the owner or true self before it is too late. He perhaps means to imply that if he does so, the sufficient though inferior light of λόγος may serve him, as it did the Practiser, in place of the true divine illumination. If he does not, he will be plunged into utter darkness.



## ON DREAMS, I. 111-114

aid, bringing not only one or other of the two kinds of help, that of the adviser who does not act, or that of the fellow-combatant who does not speak, but both of these. For the power which reason exercises does 112 not work by half measures, but is thoroughgoing on every side, and if it fails in its plans or in its execution of them, it has recourse to the third mode of help-giving, namely consolation.<sup>a</sup> For as there are healing applications for wounds, so are the disorders of the soul healed by reason, of which the lawgiver says that it must be restored "before the setting of the sun" (Ex. xxii. 26), which means before the going down of those all-illuminating rays of the God who is greatest and most present to help, who by reason of His compassion for our race sends them forth from heaven into the mind of man. For while there is 113 abiding in the soul that most God-like and incorporeal light, we shall restore the reason which had been given in pledge, as a garment is given, in order that he, who has received back the possession which is man's peculiar prerogative, may have opportunity to cover over all that is a shame to human life, to get the full benefit of the divine gift, and to enjoy calm repose through the presence of a counsellor and defender so true, so sure never to abandon the post in which he has been stationed. While, then, God 114 still pours upon you the rays of His sacred light, hasten while it is day to restore to its owner the pledge you have seized. For when that light has set, you, like "all Egypt" (Ex. x. 21), will experience for ever a darkness that may be felt, and smitten with sightlessness and ignorance will be deprived of the possessions of all of which you deemed yourself master, and be perforce enslaved by Israel, the

## PHILO

Ἰσραήλ, ὃν ἐρρυσίαζες ἀδούλωτον ὄντα φύσει, δουλούμενος ἀνάγκη.

- 115 XIX. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν δόλιχον ἀπεμηκύναμεν οὐκ ἄλλου του χάριν ἢ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὅτι ἡ ἀσκητικὴ διάνοια κινήσειν ἀνωμάλοις πρὸς τε εὐφορίαν καὶ τούναντίον χρωμένη καὶ τρόπον τινα ἀνιούσα καὶ κατιούσα συνεχῶς, ὅταν μὲν εὐφορῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος αἴρηται, ταῖς ἀρχετύποις καὶ ἀσωμάτοις ἀκτίσι τῆς λογικῆς πηγῆς τοῦ τελεσφόρου θεοῦ περιλάμπεται, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνει καὶ ἀφορῇ, ταῖς ἐκείνων εἰκόσιν, ἀθανάτοις λόγοις, οὓς καλεῖν ἔθος
- 116 ἀγγέλους. διὸ καὶ νῦν φησιν· “ἀπήντησε τόπῳ· ἔδου γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος.” ὅταν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολίπωσιν αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐγαί, δι’ ὧν σαφέσταται αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνονται καταλήψεις, ἀνατέλλει τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον λόγων, οὐκέτι πραγμάτων, φέγγος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· σελήνη γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἡλίου φερομένη καταδύντος ἐκείνου φῶς ἀμυδρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀποστέλλει.
- 117 καὶ τὸ ὑπαντᾶν μέντοι τόπῳ ἢ λόγῳ τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὸν πρὸ τόπου καὶ λόγου θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἀνταρκεστάτη δωρεά, διότι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφώτιστον εἰσάπαν οὐκ ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄκρατον ἐκείνο φέγγος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔδου, τὸ κεκραμένον ἐκαρπώσαντο. “τοῖς γὰρ υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ φῶς ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς κατεγίνοντο,” φησὶν ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ, ὡς νύκτα καὶ σκότος αἰεὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι, μεθ’ ὧν οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ὄμματα πρὸ τῶν σώματος πεπηρωμένοι

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* §§ 87-114, which have supported the argument that the sun which set was God Himself and thus lead up to the thought that the Practiser must sometimes pass from the greater to the lesser illumination.

## ON DREAMS, I. 114-117

Seeing One, whom, though by nature immune from bondage, you seized as your chattel.

XIX. This long course<sup>a</sup> we have run to no other end 115 than to shew how it fares with the Practiser's mind. Its movements are uneven, sometimes towards fruitfulness, sometimes to the reverse ; it is continually, as it were, ascending and descending. In the time of fruitfulness and uplifting, there shine upon it the archetypal and incorporeal rays of the fountain of reason, God the consummator, but when it sinks low and fails to yield, its light is the images of these rays, immortal "words" which it is customary to call angels.<sup>b</sup> That is why, in this passage, he says "he 116 met a place ; for the sun was set" (Gen. xxviii. 11). For when the soul is forsaken by the rays of God, by means of which apprehensions of things are gained in greatest distinctness, there rises the secondary feebler light, not as before of facts but of words,<sup>c</sup> just as is the case in this material world ; for the moon, ranking second to the sun when that has set, sends forth upon the earth a dimmer light. And further, to meet a 117 "place" or "word" is an all-sufficient gift to those who are unable to see God Who is prior to "place" and "word," inasmuch as they did not find their soul entirely bereft of illumination, but when that glorious undiluted light sank out of their sky, they obtained that which has been diluted. For we read in Exodus (x. 23), "For the children of Israel there was light in all their dwellings," so that night and darkness are for ever banished, with which they live whose blindness is not of the body, but of the soul, who know not

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* they are so called in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> *λόγοι* and *λόγος*, which in these sections passes so bewilderingly through its many shades of meaning, seems here to be reduced to its lowest value.

## PHILO

- 118 ζῶσιν, ἀρετῆς ἀγὰς οὐκ εἰδότες. ἔνιοι  
 δὲ ἥλιον μὲν ὑποτοπήσαντες εἰρήσθαι νυνὶ συμ-  
 βολικῶς αἰσθησὶν τε καὶ νοῦν, τὰ νενομισμένα  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι κριτήρια, τόπον δὲ τὸν  
 θεῖον λόγον, οὕτως ἐξεδέξαντο· ἀπήντησεν ὁ ἀσκη-  
 τῆς λόγῳ θείῳ δύντος τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου
- 119 φέγγους. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ  
 αἰσθητὰ αἰσθησις οἶεται παγίως καταλαμβάνειν καὶ  
 ἄνω περιπολεῖν,<sup>1</sup> μακρὰν ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀφέστηκεν·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκάτερον ἀσθένειαν ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καταδύσει χρυσάμενον  
 ἀποκρυφθῆ, προῦπαντᾶ δεξιούμενος εὐθύς ὁ ἔφεδρος
- [639] ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς ὀρθὸς λόγος ἑαυτὴν | μὲν ἀπο-  
 γινωσκούσης, τὸν δὲ ἐπιφοιτῶντα ἔξωθεν ἀφανῶς  
 ἀναμενούσης.
- 120 XX. Φησὶ τοίνυν ἐξῆς ὅτι “ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκε πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ;  
 καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ.” θαυμάσαι ἂν  
 τις οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν ὑπονοίαις πραγματείαν καὶ  
 φυσιολογίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ῥητὴν πρὸς πόνου
- 121 καὶ καρτερίας μελέτην ὑφήγησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῖ  
 τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον ἀβροδιαίτῳ βίῳ χρῆσθαι  
 καὶ τρυφᾶν ζηλοῦντα τὰς τῶν λεγομένων μὲν εὐδαι-  
 μόνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ κακοδαιμονίας γεμόντων  
 σπουδὰς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας, οἷς πᾶς ὁ βίος ὕπνος  
 καὶ ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον νομοθέτην.
- 122 οὗτοι μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὅταν τὰ ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ  
 βουλευτηρίοις καὶ θεάτροις καὶ πανταχοῦ πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps περιπολεῖ. See note a below.

<sup>a</sup> Or “their path is above the horizon.” I should prefer to read περιπολεῖ. The infinitive dependent on οἶεται equates the “position above the horizon” with apprehension. But

## ON DREAMS, I. 118-122

virtue's rays. Some, supposing that in 118  
this passage "sun" is a figurative expression for  
sense and mind, our own accepted standards of  
judgement, and "place" for the divine word, have  
understood the passage in this way: "the Practiser  
met a divine word when the mortal and human light  
had gone down." For so long as mind and sense- 119  
perception imagine that they get a firm grasp, mind  
of the objects of mind and sense of the objects of  
sense, and thus move aloft in the sky,<sup>a</sup> the divine Word  
is far away. But when each of them acknowledges  
its weakness, and going through a kind of setting  
passes out of sight, right reason is forward to meet  
and greet at once the practising soul, whose willing  
champion he is when it despairs of itself and waits for  
him who invisibly comes from without to its succour.

XX. We read next that "he took one of the stones 120  
of the place and set it under his head, and slept  
in that place" (Gen. xxviii. 11). Our admiration is  
extorted not only by the lawgiver's allegorical and  
philosophical teaching, but by the way in which the  
literal narrative inculcates the practice of toil and  
endurance. For he does not deem it worthy of one 121  
whose heart is set upon virtue to fare sumptuously  
and live a life of luxury affecting the tastes and  
ambitions of people who are called fortunate but are  
in reality laden with ill-fortune, whose whole life  
in the eyes of the most holy lawgiver is a sleep and  
a dream. In the daytime these people, when they 122  
have got through their outrages upon other men in  
law-courts, and council-chambers, and theatres, and

it is really the *thought* that it apprehends which constitutes  
that position, just as the renunciation of the thought con-  
stitutes the setting.

## PHILO

- ἄλλους ἀδικήματα διεξέλθωσιν, οἵκαδε ἀφικνοῦνται τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον, οἱ δυστυχεῖς, καταστρέψοντες, οὐ τὸν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὸν συμφυᾶ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶκον, τὸ σῶμα, τροφὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους εἰσφέροντες καὶ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἄρδοντες, ἕως (ἂν) βύθιος μὲν ὁ λογισμὸς οἴχηται, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμονῆς ἔκγονα πάθη διαναστάντα, λύττη χρώμενα ἀκαθέκτω, προσπεσόντα καὶ ἐμπλακέντα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι, τὸν πολὺν οἶστρον ἀπερυγόντα λωφήσῃ. 123 νύκτωρ δέ, ὅποτε καιρὸς εἶη πρὸς κοῦτον τραπέσθαι, πολυτελεῖς κλίνας καὶ εὐανθεστάτας στρωμνὰς εὐτρεπισάμενοι μαλακῶς σφόδρα κατακλίνονται, τὴν γυναικῶν ἐκμιμούμενοι τρυφήν, αἷς ἢ φύσις ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνειμένη χρῆσθαι διαίτη, παρὸ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μαλθακωτέρου κόμματος ὁ 124 τεχνίτης καὶ ποιητῆς αὐταῖς εἰργάζετο. τοιοῦτος οὐδεὶς γνῶριμος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρες, σωφροσύνης καὶ κοσμιότητος καὶ αἰδοῦς ἐρασταί, ἐγκράτειαν, ὀλιγοδείαν, καρτερίαν ὥσπερ κρηπίδας τινας ὄλου τοῦ βίου καταβεβλημένοι, ψυχῆς ἀσφαλεῖς ὑποδρόμους, οἷς ἀκινδύνως καὶ βεβαίως ἐνορμιεῖται, χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ δόξης κρείττους, σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ νεωτερίζειν ἄρχεται λιμός, ὑπερόπται, πείναν δέχεσθαι καὶ δίψαν θάλπος τε καὶ κρύος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δυσκαρτέρητα ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς κτήσεως ἐτοιμότητοι, ζηλωταί

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸ μόνον does not make sense. Wend. proposes πλὴν for καί, but this hardly agrees with ἐφ' ὅσον . . . λιμός. Perhaps αὐτῶν, so translation (or αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν, omitting the preceding καί as some mss. do).

## ON DREAMS, I. 122-124

everywhere, come home, poor wretches, to ruin their own abode, not that which consists of buildings, but the abode which is bound up by nature with the soul, I mean the body. Into it they convey an unlimited supply of eatables one after another, and steep it in quantities of strong drink, until the reasoning faculty is drowned, and the sensual<sup>a</sup> passions born of excess are aroused and raging with a fury that brooks no check, after falling upon and entangling themselves with all whom they meet, have disgorged their great frenzy and have abated. At night, when it is time to retire to bed, they recline exceedingly delicately on costly couches and gaily-coloured bedding with which they have provided themselves, aping the luxury of women to whom nature allows an easier mode of life, agreeable to the body of softer stamp<sup>b</sup> which the Creator Artificer has wrought for them. None such is a disciple of the holy Word, but only those who are really men, enamoured of moderation, propriety, and self-respect : men who have laid down as the foundation, so to speak, of their whole life self-control, abstemiousness, endurance, which are safe roadsteads of the soul, in which it can lie firmly moored and out of danger ; men superior to the temptations of money, pleasure, popularity, regardless of meat and drink and of the actual necessities of life, so long as lack of food does not begin to threaten their health ; men perfectly ready for the sake of acquiring virtue to submit to hunger and thirst and heat and cold and all else that is hard to put up with ; men keen to get

<sup>a</sup> Or "sexual," though that is usually with Philo τὰ μετὰ γαστέρα, but cf. ὑπογαστρίων *De Som.* ii. 147. Otherwise "born in the depths of the belly."

<sup>b</sup> A common phrase, cf. ἔοικε δ' εἶναι τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος Aristoph. *Plut.* 862.

## PHILO

- τῶν εὐποριστοτάτων, ὡς μηδ' ἐπ' εὐτελεῖ χλαίνη ποτὲ δυσωπηθῆναι, τοῦναντίον δὲ τὰς πολυτελεῖς ὄνειδος καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ βίου ζημίαν νομίσαι.
- 125 τούτοις πολυτελής μὲν ἐστι κλίνη μαλακὸν<sup>1</sup> ἔδαφος, στρωμνὴ δὲ θάμνοι, πόαι, βοτάναι, φύλλων πολλή χύσις, τὰ δὲ πρὸς κεφαλῆς λίθοι τινὲς ἢ βραχεῖς
- [640] γεώλοφοι τοῦ ἰσοπέδου | μικρὸν ἀνέχοντες. τὸν βίον τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τρυφῶντες σκληροδίαιτον καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ζῶντες ἤδιστον ὀνομάζουσιν· ἀνδράσι γὰρ οὐ λεγομένοις ἀλλ' οὖσιν
- 126 ὄντως ἐφαρμόζει. οὐχ ὄρῳ, ὅτι καὶ νῦν βασιλικαῖς ὕλαις καὶ παρασκευαῖς περιουσιάζοντα τὸν ἀθλητὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰσάγει χαμευνοῦντα καὶ λίθῳ προσκεφαλαίῳ χρώμενον καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἄρτον καὶ ἱμάτιον, τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον, αἰτούμενον, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐν ταῖς κεναῖς δόξαις ἐχλεύαζεν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς θαυμαστικῶς ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ κατεκερτόμει; οὗτός ἐστι παράδειγμα ἀρχέτυπον ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἐκτεθλυσμένῳ καὶ ἀνδρογύνῳ παντὶ πολέμιος.
- 127 XXI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν (τοῦ) φιλοπόνου καὶ φιλαρέτου πρόχειρος ἔπαινος εἴρηται, τὸ<sup>2</sup> δὲ κατὰ σύμβολον μνηνόμενον ἐρευνητέον. εἰδέναι δὲ νῦν προσήκει, ὅτι ὁ θεῖος τόπος καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ χώρα πλήρης ἀσωμάτων ἐστὶ λόγων· ψυχαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀθάνατοι οἱ λόγοι
- 128 οὗτοι. τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ἓνα λαβῶν, ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλεγόμενος τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ ὡσανεὶ

<sup>1</sup> Mangey ὀμαλόν. But there is no reason why the hardy should not select soft ground. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 56.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὸν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 600.



## ON DREAMS, I. 124-128

things most easily procured, who are never ashamed of an inexpensive cloak, but on the contrary regard those which cost much as matter for reproach and a great waste of their living. To these men a soft bit 125 of ground is a costly couch ; bushes, grass, shrubs, a heap of leaves, their bedding ; their pillow some stones or mounds rising a little above the general level. Such a mode of life as this the luxurious call hard faring, but those who live for what is good and noble describe it as most pleasant ; for it is suited to those who are not merely called but really are men.

Do you not see how, in the passage 126 before us, the lawgiver represents the athlete of noble pursuits, in enjoyment of a princely abundance of materials <sup>a</sup> for comfort, as sleeping on the ground, and using a stone as his pillow, and a little later in his prayers asking for nature's wealth, bread and raiment (Gen. xxviii. 20) ? For he <sup>b</sup> ever held up to ridicule the wealth which depends on the vain opinions of men, and scoffed at those who regarded it with reverence. In him we have the original pattern of the practiser's soul, one at war with every man that is effeminate and emasculated.

XXI. So much, then, for the praise of the lover of 127 toil and virtue in the literal sense of the passage. We have still to explore its symbolic teaching. In doing so it is of importance to know that the divine " place " and the holy land is full of incorporeal " words " ; and these words are immortal souls. Of these words 128 he takes one, choosing as the best the topmost one,

<sup>b</sup> Is " he " Moses or Jacob ? The *οὗτος* in the next sentence points to the latter. In neither case is it clear what exactly Philo is referring to. If it is Jacob, he may perhaps consider his dealings with Laban as justifying the statement.

## PHILO

- σώματος ἡνωμένου κεφαλὴν<sup>1</sup> πλησίον ἰδρύεται  
 διανοίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τρόπον τινὰ  
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πρόφασιν  
 μὲν ὡς κοιμησόμενος, τὸ δ' ἄληθές ὡς ἀναπαυ-  
 σόμενος ἐπὶ λόγῳ θείῳ καὶ σύμπαντα ἑαυτοῦ τὸν  
 129 βίον κουφότατον ἄχθος ἐπαναθήσων ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ  
 ἄσμενος ἐπακούει καὶ δέχεται τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὡς  
 φοιτητὴν ἐσόμενον τὸ πρῶτον, εἶθ' ὅταν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς φύσεως ἀποδέξῃται, χειρο-  
 δετεῖ<sup>2</sup> τρόπον ἀλείπτου καὶ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια καλεῖ,  
 καὶ διερειδόμενος παλαίειν ἀναγκάζει, μέχρις ἂν  
 ἀνανταγώνιστον αὐτῷ ῥώμην ἐγκατασκευάσῃ, τὰ  
 ὦτα θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις<sup>3</sup> μεταβαλὼν εἰς ὄμματα καὶ  
 καλέσας αὐτὸν<sup>4</sup> μεταχαραχθέντα καινὸν τύπον  
 130 Ἰσραήλ, ὀρῶντα. τότε καὶ τὸν νικη-  
 τήριον ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ στέφανον. ὁ δὲ στέφανος  
 ἔκτοπον ἔχει καὶ ξένον καὶ ἴσως οὐκ εὐφημον  
 ὄνομα· καλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου νάρκα.  
 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἐνάρκησε τὸ πλάτος,” βραβείων  
 καὶ κηρυγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τιμαῖς ἀπάντων θαν-  
 131 μασιώτατον ἀριστεῖον· εἰ γὰρ ἡ δυνάμειος ἀκαθ-  
 αιρέτου ψυχὴ μεταλαβοῦσα καὶ τελειωθείσα ἐν  
 ἄθλοις ἀρετῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρον αὐτὸν ἀφικομένη  
 τοῦ καλοῦ μὴ πρὸς ὕψος ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἀρθεῖη

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κεφαλῆς. All editors from Turnebus have accepted the correction, but I should prefer to retain κεφαλῆς and omit καὶ. The mind, not the stone-logos, is to the whole ψυχὴ what the head is to the whole body.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. χειροδοτεῖ, an impossible word. The correction χειροδετεῖ, due originally to Wyttenbach, introduces a word not known elsewhere, but a very natural formation. Mangey's συγκροτεῖ, though favourably regarded by Wend., seems arbitrary.

## ON DREAMS, I. 128-131

occupying the place which the head does in the whole<sup>a</sup> body, and sets it up close to his understanding (Gen. xxviii. 11) ; for the understanding is, we may say, the soul's head. He does so professedly<sup>b</sup> to sleep upon it, but in reality to repose on the divine word, and lay his whole life, lightest of burdens, thereon. The 129 divine word readily listens to and accepts the athlete to be first of all a pupil, then when he has been satisfied of his fitness of nature, he fastens on the gloves as a trainer does and summons him to the exercises, then closes with him and forces him to wrestle until he has developed in him an irresistible strength, and by the breath of divine inspiration he changes ears into eyes, and gives him when remodelled in a new form the name of Israel—He who sees.

It is then too that he confers on him the 130 crown of victory. Now the crown has a strange and outlandish and perhaps ill-sounding name ; for the name given it by the president of the contest is " numbness " ; for we read that " the broad part grew numb " (Gen. xxxii. 25), a guerdon the most wondrous of all awards ever announced in honour of a victor. For if the soul which had been made partaker 131 of indomitable power, and has attained perfection in contests for the winning of virtues, and has reached the very limit of the good and beautiful, instead of being lifted up in arrogance and stepping high in

<sup>a</sup> Or " the body regarded as a unity." For the Stoic use of the word see notes on *De Mig.* 180 and *Quod Det.* 49.

<sup>b</sup> Or according to the surface meaning.

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<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ἐπιβολαίς*.

<sup>4</sup> The majority of mss. have *τὸν*, which seems to me to give a clearer construction. Or has *κατὰ* fallen out between *μεταχαραχθέντα* and *καινὸν* ?

- μηδ' ἀκροβατοῦσα ἐπικομπάζοι, ὡς ἀρτίοις ποσὶ  
 [641] μακρὰ βαίνειν δυναμένη, ναρκήσειε δὲ καὶ | σταλείη  
 τὸ εὐρυνθὲν<sup>1</sup> οἷήσει πλάτος, εἶθ' ἔκουσίως ὑπο-  
 σκελίσασα ἑαυτὴν χωλεύοι, τῶν ἀσωμάτων ὅπως  
 ὑστερίζοι φύσεων, ἤττασθαι δοκοῦσα νικηφορήσει.  
 132 τὸ γὰρ πρεσβείων ἐξίστασθαι γνώμη μᾶλλον <ἦ>  
 ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν λυσιτελέστατον<sup>2</sup> νενόμισται,  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι τιθε-  
 μένων ἄθλων τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν ἑτέροις ἀξιώματος  
 μεγέθει πλείστον ὅσον ὑπερβάλλει.  
 133 XXII. Τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τῆς θεοπέμπτου  
 φαντασίας ᾧδ' ἔχει, τρέπεσθαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν καιρὸς  
 ἦδη καὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἀκριβοῦν ἕκαστον.  
 "ἐνυπνιάσθη" φησί "καὶ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγ-  
 μένη ἐν τῇ γῆ,<sup>3</sup> ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν  
 οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ  
 κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ'  
 134 αὐτῆς." κλίμαξ τοίνυν ἐν μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ συμ-  
 βολικῶς λέγεται ὁ ἀήρ, οὗ βάσις μὲν ἐστὶ γῆ,  
 κορυφὴ δ' οὐρανός· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς σεληνιακῆς  
 σφαίρας, ἣν ἐσχάτην μὲν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν κύκλων,  
 πρώτην δὲ τῶν<sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ φροντι-  
 σταὶ τῶν μετεώρων, ἄχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὁ ἀήρ πάντη  
 135 ταθεῖς ἔφθακεν. οὗτος δ' ἐστὶ ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων  
 οἶκος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τῷ ποιητῇ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου  
 μέρη καλὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι ζῶων ἀναπληρῶσαι. διὰ  
 τοῦτο γῆ μὲν τὰ χερσαῖα ἐγκατεσκευάζε, θαλάτταις  
 δὲ καὶ ποταμοῖς τὰ ἔνυδρα, οὐρανῷ δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας  
 —καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος τούτων οὐ μόνον ζῶων, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read εὐρυνθὲν <ἀν> (G.H.W.).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἷς εὐτελέστατον: Mangey ὡς ἐντελέστατον, with at least equal probability. Or ἐντελέστατον alone?

vaunting mood, conscious of power to take long strides on sound feet, should turn numb and shrink in the broad limb enlarged by conceit, and then after thus voluntarily disabling itself go with limping gait, that so it might fall behind the incorporeal beings—though seemingly worsted it will be the victor. For 132 to give up prizes to one's betters of free choice and not under compulsion is accounted highly profitable, since even the second prizes offered in this contest immeasurably transcend in greatness of honour the first prizes in all other contests.

XXII. Such, then, is the prelude of the God-sent 133 vision, and it is now time to turn to the vision itself, and to examine in detail its several points. "He dreamed," it runs, "and behold a stairway set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it; and the Lord stood firmly upon it" (Gen. xxviii. 12). "Stairway" when applied to the universe is a 134 figurative name for the air; whose foot is earth and its head heaven. For the air extends in all directions to the ends of the earth from the sphere of the moon which is described by meteorologists as last of the heavenly zones, and first of those which are related to us.<sup>a</sup> The air is the abode of incorporeal souls, since 135 it seemed good to their Maker to fill all parts of the universe with living beings. He set land-animals on the earth, aquatic creatures in the seas and rivers, and in heaven the stars, each of which is said to be not a living creature only but mind of the purest kind

<sup>a</sup> For the following sections *cf.* *De Gig.* 7 ff. For τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (κύκλων) see App. p. 600.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. εἰς τὴν γῆν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τοῖς or τῆς. See App. p. 600.

## PHILO

- καὶ νοῦς ὅλος δι' ὅλων ὁ καθαρώτατος εἶναι λέγεται·  
 —ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ τμήματι τοῦ παντός,  
 ἀέρι, ζῶα γέγονεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσθήσει καταληπτά,  
 136 τί τοῦτο; καὶ ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀόρατον. καὶ μὴν εἰκός  
 γε ἀέρα γῆς μᾶλλον καὶ ὕδατος ζωοτροφεῖν, διότι  
 καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὗτος ἐψύχωσεν· ἐποίει γὰρ  
 αὐτὸν ὁ τεχνίτης ἀκινήτων μὲν σωμάτων ἕξιν,  
 κινουμένων δὲ ἀφαντάστως φύσιν, ἥδη δὲ ὄρμη  
 137 καὶ φαντασίᾳ χρῆσθαι δυναμένων ψυχῆν. οὐκ  
 ἄτοπον οὖν, δι' οὗ τὰ ἄλλα ἐψυχώθη, ψυχῶν  
 ἀμοιρεῖν; διὸ μηδεὶς τὴν ἀρίστην φύσιν ζῶων τοῦ  
 ἀρίστου τῶν περιγείων, ἀέρος, ἀφαιρείσθω· οὐ γὰρ  
 μόνος ἐκ πάντων ἔρημος οὗτος, ἀλλ' οἷα πόλις  
 εὐανδρεῖ πολίτας ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀθανάτους ψυχὰς  
 138 ἔχων ἰσαριθμούς ἄστροις. τούτων τῶν  
 ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίαςιν ἐνδεθησόμεναι σώμασι  
 θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγειότατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, αἱ  
 δ' ἀνέρχονται, διακριθεῖσαι πάλιν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ  
 φύσεως ὀρισθέντας ἀριθμούς καὶ χρόνους.
- 139 τούτων αἱ μὲν τὰ σύντροφα καὶ συνήθη τοῦ |  
 [642] θνητοῦ βίου ποθοῦσαι παλινδρομοῦσιν αὐθις, αἱ δὲ  
 πολλὴν φλ.α.ριαν αὐτοῦ καταγνοῦσαι δεσμοπήριον  
 μὲν καὶ τύμβον ἐκάλεσαν τὸ σῶμα, φυγοῦσαι δ'  
 ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς ἢ μνήματος ἄνω κούφοις πτεροῖς  
 πρὸς αἰθέρα ἐξαρθεῖσαι μετεωροπολοῦσι τὸν αἰῶνα.

<sup>a</sup> Or better "some are descending . . . others ascending." The latter are not, as the next sentence shews, the higher souls described in § 140, who never come to earth, but those who have come down and return at the fixed period. For this last point *cf. De Plant. 14*: "some enter into mortal

## ON DREAMS, I. 135-140

through and through ; and therefore in air also, the remaining section of the universe, living creatures exist. If they are not to be apprehended by sense, what of that? The soul too is a thing invisible. 136 Indeed it is more to be expected that air should be the nurse of living creatures than that land and water should, seeing that it is air that has given vitality to the creatures of land and water, for the Great Artificer made air the principle of coherence in motionless bodies, the principle of growth in bodies which move but receive no sense-impressions, while in bodies that are susceptible of impulse and sense-impression He made it the principle of life. Is it not then incon- 137 sistent that the element through which other things obtained vitality should be empty of living souls? Accordingly let no one take away nature at its best, as it is in living creatures, from the best of earth's elements, air : for so far is air from being alone of all things untenanted, that like a city it has a goodly population, its citizens being imperishable and immortal souls equal in number to the stars.

Of these souls some, such as have earthward tendencies 138 and material tastes, descend<sup>a</sup> to be fast bound in mortal bodies, while others ascend,<sup>a</sup> being selected for return according to the numbers and periods determined by nature. Of these last 139

some, longing for the familiar and accustomed ways of mortal life, again retrace their steps, while others pronouncing that life great foolery call the body a prison and a tomb, and escaping as though from a dungeon or a grave, are lifted up on light wings to the upper air and range the heights for ever. Others 140

bodies and quit them again," *κατά τινας ὀρισμένas περιόδους*. See further App. p. 600.

## PHILO

- 140 ἄλλαι δ' εἰσὶ καθαρώταται καὶ ἄρισται, μειζόνων φρονημάτων καὶ θειοτέρων ἐπιλαχοῦσαι, μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν, ὕπαρχοι δὲ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, ὥσπερ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀκοαὶ καὶ ὄψεις, ἐφορῶσαι πάντα καὶ
- 141 ἀκούουσαι. ταύτας δαίμονας μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι, ὁ δὲ ἱερός λόγος ἀγγέλους εἶωθε καλεῖν προσφυστέρῳ χρώμενος ὀνόματι· καὶ γὰρ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐγγόνοις καὶ τὰς
- 142 τῶν ἐγγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι. παρὸ καὶ ἀνερχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ κατιόντας εἰσήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τῶν μηνυσόντων ὁ πάντῃ<sup>1</sup> ἐφθακῶς θεὸς δεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς ἐπικήροις ἡμῖν συνέφερε μεσίταις καὶ διαιτηταῖς λόγοις χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ τεθηνέαι καὶ πεφρικέαι τὸν παμπρύτανιν καὶ τὸ
- 143 μέγιστον ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ κράτος. οὐ λαβόντες ἔννοιαν ἐδεήθημέν ποτέ τις τῶν μεσιτῶν λέγοντες· “ἀλήσων σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, μὴ ποτε ἀποθάνωμεν.” οὐ γὰρ ὅτι κολάσεις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπερβαλλούσας καὶ ἀκράτους εὐεργεσίας χωρῆσαι δυνάμεθα, ἅς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείνῃ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπηρέταις ἄλλοις.
- 144 παγκάλως δὲ ἐστηριγμένον ἐν τῇ γῆ διὰ συμβόλου κλίμακος φαντασιοῦται τὸν αἴρα· τὰς γὰρ ἀναδιδόμενας ἐκ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις λεπτυνομένας ἐξαεροῦσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ὥστε βάσιν μὲν καὶ ρίζαν
- 145 αἴρος εἶναι γῆν, κεφαλὴν δὲ οὐρανόν. λέγεται γοῦν, ὅτι σελήνη πύλημα μὲν ἄκρατον αἰθέρος οὐκ ἔστιν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πάντα.

<sup>a</sup> Wend. compares Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 2. 10 τοὺς βασιλεῖωσ καλουμένους ὀφθαλμοὺσ καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖωσ ᾶτα.



## ON DREAMS, I. 140-145

there are of perfect purity and excellence, gifted with a higher and diviner temper, that have never felt any craving after the things of earth, but are viceroys of the Ruler of the universe, ears and eyes, so to speak, of the great king,<sup>a</sup> beholding and hearing all things. These are called "demons" by the other philo- 141  
sophers, but the sacred record is wont to call them "angels" or messengers, employing an apter title, for they both convey the biddings of the Father to His children and report the children's need to their Father.<sup>b</sup> In accordance with this they are represented 142  
by the lawgiver as ascending and descending: not that God, who is already present in all directions, needs informants, but that it was a boon to us in our sad case to avail ourselves of the services of "words" acting on our behalf as mediators, so great is our awe and shuddering dread of the universal Monarch and the exceeding might of His sovereignty. It was our 143  
attainment of a conception of this that once made us address to one of those mediators the entreaty: "Speak thou to us, and let not God speak to us, lest haply we die" (Ex. xx. 19). For should He, without employing ministers, hold out to us with His own hand, I do not say chastisements, but even benefits unmixed and exceeding great, we are incapable of receiving them. It is a fine thought that 144  
the dreamer sees the air symbolized by a stairway as firmly set on the earth; for the exhalations given forth out of the earth are rarefied and so turned into air, so that earth is air's foot and root and heaven its head. Do they not tell us that the moon is not an unmixed 145  
mass of ether, as each of the other heavenly bodies

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Gig.* 16, and quotation from Plat. *Symposium* there given.

## PHILO

ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων, κράμα δὲ ἕκ τε αἰθερώδους οὐσίας καὶ ἀερώδους· καὶ τό γε ἐμφαινόμενον αὐτῇ μέλαν, ὃ καλοῦσί τινες πρόσωπον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ τὸν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἀέρα, ὃς κατὰ φύσιν μέλας ὢν ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ τείνεται.

- 146 XXIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν κόσμῳ λεγομένη συμβολικῶς κλίμαξ τοιαύτη ἐστί, τὴν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις σκοποῦντες εὐρήσομεν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἧς βάσις μὲν τὸ ὠσανεὶ γεῶδές ἐστιν, αἴσθησις, κεφαλὴ δ' ὡς ἂν
- 147 τὸ οὐράνιον, ὃ καθαρῶτατος νοῦς. ἄνω δὲ καὶ  
 [643] κάτω διὰ πάσης | αὐτῆς οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι χωροῦσιν ἀδιαστάτως, ὅποτε μὲν ἀνέρχονται, συνανασπῶντες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ διαζευγνύντες καὶ τὴν θεάν ὦν' ἄξιον ὄραν μόνων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅποτε δὲ κατέρχονται, οὐ καταβάλλοντες—οὔτε γὰρ θεὸς οὔτε λόγος θεῖος ζημίας αἴτιος,—ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνοντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα καὶ συμμαχίας, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἔτι ὡσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ, τῷ σώματι, φορου-  
 148 μένην ψυχὴν σωτήριον πνέοντες ἀναζωῶσι. ταῖς μὲν δὴ τῶν ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένων διανοίαις ἀψοφητὶ μόνος ἀοράτως ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμὼν ἐμπεριπατεῖ—καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ χρησθὲν τῷ σοφῷ θεοπρόπιον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται· “ περιπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός,”—ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἔτι ἀπολουομένων, μήπω δὲ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκνυφισμένων τὴν ῥυπῶσαν καὶ κεκληιδωμένην (ἐν) σώμασι βαρέσει ζωὴν ἄγγελοι, λόγοι θεῖοι, φαιδρύνοντες αὐτὰς τοῖς καλοκάγαθίας  
 149 δόγμασιν.<sup>1</sup> ὅσα δὲ ἐξοικίζεταί κακῶν<sup>2</sup> οἰκητόρων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δμμασιν: Mangey ῥύμμασιν, cf. Plat. Rep. 429 E, 430 A.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κατὰ τῶν οἰ κακὰ κάκ (ἐκ) τῶν: Mangey κακὰ κακῶν.

## ON DREAMS, I. 145-149

is, but a blend of ethereal and aerial substance ; and that the black which appears in it, which some call a face, is nothing else than the commingled air which is naturally black and extends all the way to heaven<sup>a</sup>?

XXIII. Such then is that which in the universe 146  
is figuratively called stairway. If we consider that which is so called in human beings we shall find it to be soul. Its foot is sense-perception, which is as it were the earthly element in it, and its head, the mind which is wholly unalloyed, the heavenly element, as it may be called. Up and down throughout its whole 147  
extent are moving incessantly the " words " of God, drawing it up with them when they ascend and disconnecting it with what is mortal, and exhibiting to it the spectacle of the only objects worthy of our gaze ; and when they descend not casting it down, for neither does God nor does a divine Word cause harm, but condescending out of love for man and compassion for our race, to be helpers and comrades, that with the healing of their breath they may quicken into new life the soul which is still borne along in the body as in a river.<sup>b</sup> In the understandings of those who have 148  
been purified to the utmost the Ruler of the universe walks noiselessly, alone, invisibly, for verily there is an oracle once vouchsafed to the Sage, in which it is said : " I will walk in you, and will be your God " (Lev. xxvi. 12) : but in the understandings of those who are still undergoing cleansing and have not yet fully washed their life defiled and stained by the body's weight there walk angels, divine words, making them bright and clean with the doctrines of all that is good and beautiful. It is quite manifest 149

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 600.

<sup>b</sup> From *Timæus* 43 A. Cf. *De Gig.* 13.

## PHILO

στίφη, ἵνα εἰς ὁ ἀγαθὸς εἰσοικίσηται, δῆλόν ἐστι. σπουδαῖζε οὖν, ὦ ψυχὴ, θεοῦ οἶκος γενέσθαι, ἱερὸν ἄγιον, (ἐν)διαίτημα κάλλιστον· ἴσως γάρ, ἴσως ὃν ὁ κόσμος ἅπας, καὶ σὺ οἰκοδεσπότην σχήσεις ἐπιμελούμενον τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας, ὡς εὐερκεστάτη καὶ ἀπήμων εἰσαεὶ διαφυλάττοιτο.<sup>1</sup>

- 150 Ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὁ ἀσκητῆς φαντασιούται κλίμακι ἐοικότα· φύσει γὰρ ἀνώμαλον πρᾶγμα ἄσκησις, τοτὲ μὲν προΐουσα εἰς ὕψος, τοτὲ δ' ὑποστρέφουσα πρὸς τούναντίον, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν καθάπερ ναῦς εὐπλοία τῇ τοῦ βίου, τοτὲ δὲ δυσπλοία χρωμένη. ἑτερήμερος γάρ, ὡς ἔφη τις, τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὁ βίος, ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶν καὶ ἐργη-
- 151 γορώς, ἄλλοτε δὲ τέθνεὺς ἢ κοιμώμενος. καὶ τάχα οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τοῦτο λέγεται· σοφοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλύμπιον καὶ οὐράνιον χῶρον ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, ἄνω φοιτᾶν αἰεὶ μεμαθηκότες, κακοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἄιδου μυχοῦς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀποθνήσκουν ἐπιτετηδευκότες καὶ εἰς γῆρας ἐκ σπαργάνων φθορᾶς
- 152 ἐθάδες ὄντες. οἱ δ' ἀσκηταὶ—μεθόριοι γὰρ τῶν ἄκρων εἰσὶν—ἄνω καὶ κάτω πολλάκις ὡς ἐπὶ κλίμακος βαδίζουσιν, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἀνελκόμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς χείρονος ἀντισπώμενοι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης ταύτης βραβευτῆς θεὸς ἀναδῶ τὰ βραβεῖα τάξει τῇ βελτίονι, τὴν ἐναντίαν εἰσάπαν καθελών.

<sup>1</sup> In the mss. the words διαίτημα . . . διαφυλάττοιτο appear in § 155 after αἰεὶ γίνονται and are replaced by ἰσχυροὶ . . . παραπαιόντων, which Wend. has transferred to that section. (Apparently though Mangey prints these adjectives in the fem. sing., the uncorrected mss. have them in the masc. plur., which in itself shews their impossibility here.)

## ON DREAMS, I. 149-152

what troupes of evil tenants are ejected, in order that One, the good one, may enter and occupy. Be zealous therefore, O soul, to become a house of God, a holy temple, a most beauteous abiding-place ; for perchance, perchance the Master of the whole world's household shall be thine too and keep thee under His care as His special house, to preserve thee evermore strongly guarded and unharmed.

It may be too that the Practiser has his own life 150 presented to him in his vision as resembling a stairway ; for practising is by nature an uneven business, at one moment going onward to a height, at another returning in the opposite direction, and at one time like a ship making life's voyage with fair winds, at another with ill winds. For the life of practisers is, as one has said, a life " of alternate days,"<sup>a</sup> sometimes alive and wakeful, sometimes dead or asleep. And 151 this suggestion is not perhaps wide of the mark. For while it is the portion of the wise to dwell in the heavenly region of Olympus, since they have ever learned to make the heights their resort, and the depths of Hades are the abode allotted to the bad, who from first to last have made dying their occupation, and from the cradle to old age are accustomed to corruption, the practisers—midway between those 152 extremes—are often stepping up and down as upon a stairway, either being drawn upwards by the better portion or dragged in the opposite direction by the worse, until God, the umpire of this strife and conflict, bestows the prizes on the better order, and brings its opposite to perdition.

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* xi. 303 (of Castor and Pollux) ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶονσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε τεθνᾶσι, cf. *De Decal.* 56.

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- 153 XXIV. Ἐμφαίνεται δ' ἔτι καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶδωλον,<sup>1</sup>  
 ὅπερ οὐκ ἄξιον ἡσυχασθῆναι. τὰ ἀνθρώπων πράγ-  
 ματα κλίμακι πέφυκεν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀνώ-  
 154 μαλον | αὐτῶν φορὰν. ἡ μία γάρ, ὡς ἔφη τις,  
 [644] ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὸν δὲ ἦρεν ἄνω,  
 μηδενὸς ἐν ὁμοίῳ πεφυκός τος μένειν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν,  
 155 ἀλλὰ παντοίας μεταβαλλόντων τροπᾶς. ἢ οὐκ  
 ἄρχοντες μὲν ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν, ἰδιῶται δ' ἐξ ἀρχόντων,  
 πένητες δ' ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἐκ πενήτων πολυχρή-  
 ματοι καὶ ἔνδοξοι μὲν ἐξ ἡμελημένων, ἐπιφανέ-  
 στατοι δὲ ἐξ ἀδόξων αἰεὶ γίνονται καὶ ἰσχυροὶ μὲν  
 ἐξ ἀσθενῶν, ἐκ δὲ ἀδυνάτων δυνατοὶ καὶ συνετοὶ  
 μὲν ἐξ ἀφραιόντων, εὐλογιστότατοι δὲ ἐκ παρα-  
 156 παιόντων· καὶ ὁδὸς τις ἧδ' ἐστὶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω  
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἀστάτοις καὶ ἀν-  
 ἰδρῦτοις χρωμένη συντυχίαις, ὧν τὸ ἀνώμαλον οὐκ  
 ἀδήλοισ ἀλλὰ σαφέσι τεκμηρίοις ὁ ἀψευδέστατος  
 ἐλέγχει χρόνος.
- 157 XXV. Ἐμήνυε δὲ τὸ ὄναρ ἐστηριγμένον ἐπὶ τῆς  
 κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον, κύριον· ὑπεράνω γὰρ  
 ὡς ἄρματος ἠνίοχον ἢ ὡς νεὼς κυβερνήτην ὑπο-  
 ληπτέον ἵστασθαι τὸ ὄν ἐπὶ σωμαίων, ἐπὶ ψυχῶν,  
 ἐπὶ πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ λόγων, ἐπὶ ἀγγέλων, ἐπὶ γῆς,  
 ἐπ' αἴρος, ἐπ' οὐρανοῦ, ἐπ' αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων,  
 ἐπ' ἀοράτων φύσεων, ὅσαπερ θεατὰ καὶ ἀθέατα·  
 τὸν γὰρ κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐξάψας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀν-  
 158 αρτήσας τὴν τοσαύτην ἠνιοχεῖ φύσιν. μηδεὶς δ'  
 ἀκούων, ὅτι ἐπεστήρικτο, νομισάτω τι συνεργεῖν  
 θεῷ πρὸς τὸ παγίως στήναι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογισάσθω,  
 ὅτι τὸ δηλούμενον ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ στήριγμα καὶ  
 ἔρεισμα καὶ ὀχυρότης καὶ βεβαιότης ἀπάντων ἐστὶν

<sup>1</sup> See App. pp. 600 f.

## ON DREAMS, I. 153-158

XXIV. I must not fail to mention another idea 153  
which is present in the vision. The affairs of men are  
naturally likened to a ladder owing to their uneven  
course. For one day, as the poet says,<sup>a</sup> brings one 154  
man down from on high, and lifts another up, and  
nothing relating to man is of a nature to remain as it  
is, but all such things are liable to changes of every  
kind. Are not private citizens continually becoming 155  
officials, and officials private citizens, rich men be-  
coming poor men and poor men men of ample means,  
nobodies becoming celebrated, obscure people be-  
coming distinguished, weak men strong, insignificant  
men powerful, foolish men men of understanding,  
witless men sound reasoners? Such is the road on 156  
which human affairs go up and down, a road liable to  
shifting and unstable happenings, their uneven tenor  
manifestly laid bare by time's unerring test.

XXV. The dream shewed the Ruler of the angels 157  
set fast upon the stairway, even the Lord: for high  
up like a charioteer high over his chariot or a helms-  
man high over his ship must we conceive of Him that  
is standing over bodies, over souls, over doings, over  
words, over angels, over earth, over air, over sky, over  
powers descried by our senses, over invisible beings,  
yea all things seen and unseen: for having made the  
whole universe to depend on and cling to Himself,  
He is the Charioteer of all that vast creation. Let 158  
nobody, when he hears of His being set fast, think  
that anything co-operates with God to help Him to  
stand firmly. Let him account the truth signified by  
it to be equivalent to the statement that the sure God  
is the support and stay, the firmness and stability of

<sup>a</sup> From Euripides, *Ino*. See Nauck, *Frag. trag.* 420. Cf. *De Mos.* i. 31.

## PHILO

ὁ ἀσφαλὴς θεός, ἐνσφραγιζόμενος οἷς ἂν ἐθέλη τὸ ἀσάλευτον· ἐπερείδοντος<sup>1</sup> γὰρ καὶ συστηρίζοντος αὐτοῦ μένει τὰ συσταθέντα ἀνώλεθρα κραταιῶς.

159 ὁ τοίνυν ἐπιβεβηκῶς τῇ οὐρανοῦ κλίμακι λέγει τῷ φαντασιουμένῳ τὸ ὄναρ· “ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ· μὴ φοβοῦ.” ὁ χρησμὸς οὗτος τὸ ἔρυμα<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα ἦν, ὃς αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδασκειν, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ὄλων κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ταῦτα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, πατέρων καὶ πάππων ἐπιγραφεῖς καὶ ἐπικληθεῖς ἐκάτερον, ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν ὃ τε κόσμος ἅπας καὶ ὁ φιλάρετος ἔχη κλῆρον· ἐπεὶ καὶ λέλεκται· “ κύριος

160 αὐτὸς κλῆρος αὐτῷ.” XXVI. μὴ νομίσης δὲ παρέργως τοῦ μὲν Ἰβραὰμ νυνὶ λέγεσθαι κύριον καὶ θεόν, τοῦ δὲ Ἰσαάκ θεὸν αὐτὸ

[645] μόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ | αὐτηκόου καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς φύσει περιγινόμενης σύμβολον ἐπιστήμης ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Ἰβραὰμ διδασκομένης· καὶ τῷ μὲν αὐτόχθονι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι,

161 τῷ δὲ μετανάστη καὶ ἐπηλύτῳ. τὴν γὰρ χαλδαῖζουσαν ἀλλογενῆ καὶ ἀλλόφυλον γλώτταν τῶν περὶ ἀστρονομίαν μετεωρολεσχῶν ἀπολιπῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν λογικῶ ζῶν παρεγένετο, τὴν τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Mangey ὑπερείδοντος, as also in § 241. See App. p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *τέρμα* or *δραμα*. Wend. prints the former but conjectures *ἔρυμα*. (Perhaps τὸ τ' ἔρυμα.) Another possibility is *ἔρμα*: Mangey καὶ *δραμα*.

<sup>a</sup> The figure is clearly legal. The κλῆρος under Attic law went by lineal descent, and if registered as held by a man's father and grandfather necessarily passed on to him. God therefore becomes both God and Lord to Jacob (ἐκάτερον



all things, imparting as with the impress of a seal to whom He will the power of remaining unshaken. For it is because He establishes and holds it together that the system of created things remains strongly and mightily free from destruction. He, then, 159

that stands upon the stairway of heaven says to him who beholds the dream-vision, "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac: fear not" (Gen. xxviii. 13). This oracle was the fort and most firm buttress of the practising soul. It clearly taught him that He Who is Lord and God of the universe is both Lord and God of his family, registered under both titles as held by father and grandfather, to the end that the world at large and the lover of virtue may have the same inheritance: for it has been said, "the Lord Himself is his inheritance" <sup>a</sup> (Deut. x. 9).

XXVI. Do not think that it 160 is without special point that in this passage the divine relationship to Abraham is expressed by the words "Lord and God," that to Isaac by the word "God" only. For Isaac is a figure of knowledge gained by nature, knowledge which listens to and learns from no other teacher but itself, while Abraham is a figure of knowledge gained by instruction; and Isaac is a dweller on his native soil, while Abraham is an emigrant and a stranger in the land. For, abandon- 161  
ing the foreign alien tongue of Chaldaea, the tongue of sky-prating astrology, he betook him to the language that befits a living creature endowed with reason, even the worship of the First Cause of all things.

referring to this double aspect, not to "father and grandfather"). Philo here ignores the point made in the next section, that God is not called "the Lord" of Isaac. The plural *πατέρων καὶ πάππων* is perhaps used because the truth applies to all *φιλάρετοι*.

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- 162 πάντων αἰτίου θεραπείαν. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ τρόπος  
 δεῖν δυνάμεων τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων ἐστὶ χρεῖος,  
 ἡγεμονίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας, ἵνα τῷ μὲν κράτει τοῦ  
 ἡγεμόνος ὑπακούη τῶν νομοθετουμένων, τῷ δὲ  
 χαριστικῷ μεγάλα ὠφελῆται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῆς κατὰ  
 τὸ χαρίζεσθαι μόνης· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ νοθετούσης  
 ἀρχῆς ἐβελτιώθη, φύσει περιπεποιημένος τὸ καλόν,  
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὀμβρηθείσας ἄνωθεν δωρεὰς ἀγαθὸς
- 163 καὶ τέλειος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο. χαριστικῆς μὲν οὖν  
 δυνάμεως θεός, βασιλικῆς δὲ κύριος ὄνομα. τί  
 οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι πρεσβύτερον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ τυχεῖν  
 ἀκράτου καὶ ἀμιγοῦς εὐεργεσίας, τί δὲ νεώτερον  
 ἢ τὸ κεκραμένης ἔκ τε ἡγεμονίας καὶ δωρεᾶς; ὁ  
 μοι δοκεῖ συνιδῶν ὁ ἀσκητῆς εὐξασθαι θαυμασιω-  
 τάτην εὐχὴν, ἵνα αὐτῷ γένηται κύριος εἰς θεόν·  
 ἐβούλετο γὰρ μηκέτι ὡς ἄρχοντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ'
- 164 ὡς εὐεργέτην ἀγαπητικῶς τιμᾶν. ἀρ'  
 οὐχὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ  
 τοὺς τυφλοὺς διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκήσειν, πρὸς τῶν  
 ἱερωτάτων ἐνομματουμένους λογίων, ὡς φυσιогνω-  
 μονεῖν καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ῥητοῖς ἐφορμεῖν; ἀλλὰ  
 κἂν ἡμεῖς καμμύσαντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα μὴ  
 σπουδάζωμεν ἢ μὴ δυνώμεθα ἀναβλέπειν, αὐτός,  
 ὦ ἱεροφάντα, ὑπήχει καὶ ἐπιστάτει καὶ ἐγχερίων μὴ  
 ποτε ἀπείης, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἱερῶν λόγων

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 601.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* with eye-salve, *cf.* Rev. iii. 18.

## ON DREAMS, I. 162-164

This character stands in need of two tending powers, 162  
governance and kindness, in order that by the  
authority of the ruler it may be led to give heed to  
his ordinances, and by his graciousness be greatly  
benefited. The other character needs the power of  
kindness only, for, having obtained by nature good-  
ness and beauty of character, he was not one who had  
been improved by the admonishments of a governor,  
but as the result of the gifts showered upon him from  
above he shewed himself good and perfect from the  
outset. Now the name denoting the kind and gracious 163  
power is "God," and that denoting the kingly ruling  
power is "Lord." What good thing, then, would a  
man say was of the first rank, but the meeting with  
unmixed untempered kindness? And to what would  
he assign the second place, save to kindness which was  
a blend of governing and giving? It seems to me  
that it was by discerning this that the Practiser was  
led to pray a prayer worthy of the utmost admiration,  
that the Lord would become to him God (Gen. xxviii.  
21): for he wished no longer to be in dread of Him as  
ruler, but lovingly to honour Him as bestower of  
kindness. Might it not have been ex- 164  
pected, I ask, that these and like lessons would  
cause even those who were blind in their understand-  
ing to grow keen-sighted, receiving from the most  
sacred oracles the gift of eyesight, enabling them to  
judge of the real nature of things, and not merely  
rely on the literal sense? But even if we do close the  
eye of our soul and either will not take the trouble or  
have not the power to regain our sight, do thou thy-  
self, O Sacred Guide, be our prompter <sup>a</sup> and preside  
over our steps and never tire of anointing <sup>b</sup> our eyes,  
until conducting us to the hidden light of hallowed

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- φέγγος ἡμᾶς μυσταγωγῶν ἐπιδείξης τὰ κατὰ-  
 165 κλειστα καὶ ἀτελέστοις ἀόρατα κάλλη. σοὶ μὲν  
 δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐμπρεπές· ψυχαὶ δ' ὅσαι θείων  
 ἐρώτων ἐγεύσασθε, καθάπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου  
 διαναστᾶσαι καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀποσκεδάσασαι πρὸς  
 τὴν περίβλεπτον θεάν ἐπείχθητε μεθέμεναι τὸν  
 βραδὺν καὶ μελλητὴν ὄκνον, ἵν' ὅσα θεάματα καὶ  
 ἀκούσματα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔνεκα ὠφελείας ὁ ἀγυνο-  
 θέτης εὐτρέπισε κατανοήσητε.
- 166 XXVII. Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν αἰοίδιμα τῶν πρὸς  
 ἐπίδειξιν, ἐν δ' οὖν καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν πρὸ μικροῦ· τὸν  
 μὲν γὰρ γένει πάππον τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ πατέρα εἶπε  
 [646] τὸ λόγιον, τῷ δ' ὡς | ἀληθῶς πατρὶ τὸ τοῦ γεννή-  
 σαντος οὐκ ἐπεφήμισεν ὄνομα. λέγει γάρ· “ ἐγὼ  
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου ”—καίτοι  
 πάππος οὗτος ἦν—καὶ πάλιν “ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ, ”
- 167 εἶτ' οὐ προστίθησι “ τοῦ πατρός σου. ” οὐκουν  
 ἄξιον τὴν τούτων αἰτίαν ἐρευνῆσαι; πάνυ γε.  
 τίς οὖν ἐστι, μὴ παρέργως σκοπήσωμεν. τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν ἢ φύσει ἢ ἀσκήσει ἢ μαθήσει περιγίνεσθαί  
 φησι, διὸ καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς γενάρχας τοῦ ἔθνους  
 σοφοὺς πάντας ἀνέγραφεν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς οὐχ  
 ὀρμηθέντας ἰδέας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειχ-  
 168 θέντας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν Ἀβραὰμ  
 ἡγεμόνι ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἀγούσης ἐχρήσατο  
 διδασκαλία, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις, ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, δείζομεν,  
 ὁ δὲ μέσος Ἰσαὰκ αὐτηκόω καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ τῇ  
 φύσει, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἰακώβ ἀσκητικαῖς μελέταις,
- 169 καθ' ἃς οἱ ἑναθλοὶ καὶ ἑναγώνιοι πόνοι. τριῶν οὖν

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Cong.* 35 f.

words thou display to us the fast-locked lovelinesses invisible to the uninitiate. Thee it beseems to do 165 this ; but all ye souls which have tasted divine loves, rising up as it were out of a deep sleep and dispelling the mist, hasten towards the sight to which all eyes are drawn ; put away the heavy-footed lingering of hesitation, that you may take in all that the Master of the contests has prepared in your behoof, for you to see and hear.

XXVII. The notable examples which may be used 166 to shew these are countless. The text just quoted is one of them. For the oracle spoke of the man, who in kin was the Practiser's grandfather, as his father ; but did not, when mentioning his actual father, give him the title of parent. The words are : " I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father "—and yet he was his grandfather—and again, " the God of Isaac " (Gen. xxviii. 13), without the addition of " thy father." Now, is it not worth while to investigate the 167 cause of this ? Assuredly it is. So let us carefully inquire what it is. The lawgiver says that virtue is gained either by nature or by practice or by learning, and has accordingly recorded the patriarchs of the nation as three in number, all wise men.<sup>a</sup> They had not at the start the same form of character, but they were all bent on reaching the same goal. Abraham, 168 the earliest of them, had teaching as his guide on the way that leads to the good and beautiful, as we shall shew to the best of our ability in another treatise. Isaac who comes between him and Jacob had as his guide a nature which listens to and learns from itself alone. Jacob, the third of them, relied on exercises and practisings preparatory for the strenuous toil of the arena. There being, then, three 169

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- τρόπων ὑπαρχόντων, ἐξ ὧν σοφία περιγίνεται, τοὺς ἄκρους μάλιστα συμβέβηκεν ἠνώσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀσκήσει ἔγγονον τοῦ μαθήσει, τὸ δὲ φύσει συγγενές μὲν—ὑποβέβληται γὰρ ὡς ρίζα πᾶσιν,—ἀναντα-
- 170 γωνίστου δὲ καὶ ἐτοίμου γέρωσ ἔλαχεν. ὥστε εἰκότως Ἀβραὰμ ὁ βελτιωθείς διδασκαλία πατῆρ Ἰακώβ λέγεται, τοῦ μελέτη συγκροτηθέντος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου μᾶλλον ἢ δύναμις ἀκουστικῆ πρὸς μάθησιν ἐτοιμοτάτη δυνάμεως ἀσκητικῆς καὶ
- 171 ἐπιτηδείου πρὸς ἄθλησιν. εἰάν μέντοι ὁ ἀσκητῆς οὗτος εὐτόνως δράμη πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ τηλαυγῶσ ἴδῃ ἃ πρότερον ἀμυδρῶσ ὠνειροπόλει, μετατυπωθεὶς τῷ κρείττονι χαρακτῆρι καὶ προσ-αγορευθεὶς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ θεὸν ὄρων, ἀντὶ τοῦ περνήζοντος Ἰακώβ πατέρα οὐκέτι τὸν μαθόντα Ἀβραάμ, ἀλλὰ τὸν φύσει γεννηθέντα ἀστείον Ἰσαὰκ ἐπι-
- 172 γράφεται. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμός ἐστι μῦθος, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγεγραμμένος στήλαις. “ἀπάρας” γάρ φησιν “Ἰσραήλ αὐτὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὄρκου, καὶ ἔθυσσε θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσαὰκ.” ἄρ’ ἦδη κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐ περὶ φθαρτῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’, ὡς ἐλέχθη, περὶ φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὁ παρῶν λόγος; ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον τοτὲ μὲν Ἰακώβ ὀνομάζεται πατρὸς Ἀβραάμ, τοτὲ δὲ

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methods by which virtue accrues, it is the first and third that are most intimately connected ; for what comes by practice is the offspring and product of that which comes by learning ; whereas that which comes by nature is, to be sure, of kin with them, being like a root at the bottom of all three, but the prerogative allotted to it is one which none contests and which needs no effort. Thus it is quite natural to say that 170 Abraham, who owed his improvement to teaching, was father of Jacob, who was shaped and drilled by exercises, meaning not so much that the man Abraham was father of the man Jacob, as that the faculty of hearing which is a most ready instrument for learning begets and produces the faculty of exercise and practice so serviceable in contest. If, 171 however, our practiser exert himself and run to the end of the course, and come to see clearly what he formerly saw dimly as in a dream, and receives the impress of a nobler character and the name of " Israel," " he that seeth God," in place of " Jacob," " the supplanter," he no longer claims as his father Abraham, the man who learned, but Isaac the man who was born good by nature. This is not a story 172 invented by me, but an oracle inscribed upon the sacred tables. For we read that " Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to the well of the oath, and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac " (Gen. xlv. 1). Do you by this time perceive that the discourse before us is not about mortal men, but, as already stated, about the facts of nature? For you observe that the same subject is at one time named Jacob, with Abraham as his

## PHILO

- Ἰσραὴλ πατὸς Ἰσαὰκ καλεῖται διὰ τὴν ἠκριβω-  
μένην αἰτίαν.
- 173 XXVIII. Εἰπὼν τοίνυν “ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς  
Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ ”  
ἐπιφέρει· “ μὴ φοβοῦ, ” κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον· πῶς  
γὰρ ἔτι φοβηθησόμεθα, τὸ φόβου καὶ παντὸς  
πάθους λυτήριον σὲ τὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν ὄπλον  
[647] ἔχοντες; ὃς καὶ | τοὺς ἀρχετύπους τῆς παιδείας  
ἡμῶν τύπους ἀδηλουμένους ἐμόρφωσας, ἵν’ ἐμ-  
φανεῖς ὦσιν, Ἀβραὰμ μὲν διδάξας, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ  
γεννήσας· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑφηγητῆς, τοῦ δὲ πατὴρ  
ὑπέμεινας ὀνομασθῆναι, τῷ μὲν τὴν γνωρίμου
- 174 τάξιν, τῷ δὲ τὴν υἱοῦ παρασχών. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
τὴν γῆν, λέγω δὲ τὴν παμφορωτάτην καὶ εὐ-  
καρποτάτην ἀρετὴν, ἐφ’ ἧς καθεύδει ὁ ἀσκητῆς  
ἀναπαυόμενος τῷ τὸν μὲν αἰσθήσεως κοιμᾶσθαι  
βίον, τὸν δὲ ψυχῆς ἐγρηγορέναι, δώσειν ὁμολογεῖς,  
ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρηνικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν, ἣν  
οὐκ ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ταλαιπωριῶν  
εἴλετο, οὐχ ὄπλα βαστάζων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρῶν,  
ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀρετῆς παθῶν καὶ
- 175 κακιῶν στίφος καθαιρῶν. τὸ δὲ σοφίας γένος  
ἄμμω γῆς ἐξομοιοῦται διὰ τε πληθὺν ἀπερίγραφον,  
καὶ διότι τὰς μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ἐπιδρομὰς ἢ  
ὑποταίνιος ἄμμος ἀνακρούεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀμαρ-  
τημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων ὁ παιδείας λόγος. οὗτος  
δὲ κατὰ τὰς θείας ὑποσχέσεις ἄχρι τῶν περάτων  
τοῦ παντὸς εὐρύνεται καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ἀποφαίνει  
τῶν τοῦ κόσμου κληρονόμον μερῶν, φθάνοντα  
πάντῃ, πρὸς τὰ ἐῷα, πρὸς τὰ ἐσπέρια, τὰ κατὰ  
μεσημβρίαν, τὰ προσάρκτια· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 219.



father, and at another is styled Israel with Isaac as his father, the reason for this being that which has been set forth in detail.

XXVIII. So, after saying " I am the Lord God of 173 Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac," he adds " fear not " (Gen. xxviii. 13). The words come naturally after the others ; for how shall we any longer be afraid, when we have Thee our Defender, a weapon that brings deliverance from fear and every passion ? Moreover, it was Thou that didst bring out of obscurity into distinctness the original patterns of our education, Abraham whose teacher, and Isaac whose parent<sup>a</sup> Thou wast : for Thou didst condescend to be named instructor of the one and father of the other, giving one the position of pupil, the other that of son. It is because Thou art this that Thou dost 174 promise that Thou wilt give him the land also, virtue I mean abounding in all manner of fruits, whereon the Practiser slumbers, asleep to the life of sense, but awake to that of the soul and therefore at rest. Thou graciously approvest his peaceful repose, which he won not without war and war's hardships, a war in which he bore no arms and destroyed no men (away with the thought !) but overthrew the troop of passions and vices that oppose virtue. Wisdom's race 175 is likened to the sand of the earth (*ibid.* 14), both because its number is without limit and because the sand-bank forces back the inroads of the sea, as those of sinful and unjust deeds are kept back by trained reason. And this, in accordance with the Divine promises, is broadening out to the very bounds of the universe, and renders its possessor inheritor of the four quarters of the world, reaching to them all, to East, and West, and South and North : for it is said, " It

## PHILO

- “ πλατυνθήσεται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ λίβα καὶ βορρᾶν  
 176 καὶ ἀνατολάς.” ἔστι δ’ ὁ ἀστεῖος οὐκ ἴδιον μόνον  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἅπασιν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὴν  
 ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ προτείνων ὠφέλειαν. ὡς γὰρ ἥλιος  
 ἀπάντων ἐστὶ φῶς τῶν ὄψεις ἐχόντων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ  
 σοφὸς τῶν ὅσοι λογικῆς κεκοινωνήκασιν φύσεως·  
 XXIX. “ ἐνευλογηθήσονται γὰρ ἐν σοὶ ” φησί  
 177 “ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαί.” ὁ δὲ χρησμός οὗτος  
 ἐφαρμόττει καὶ αὐτῷ τινι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἑτέρῳ  
 πρὸς ἕτερον. εἴαν τε γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦς ἀρετῆ  
 τελεία καθαρῆ, καὶ αἱ τοῦ περὶ ἐμὲ γεώδους  
 φυλαὶ συγκαθαίρονται, ἃς ἔλαχον αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ  
 ἡ μεγίστη δεξαμενὴ, τὸ σῶμα· εἴαν τέ τις κατ’  
 οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν ἢ χώραν ἢ ἔθνος γένηται φρονήσεως  
 ἐραστής, ἀνάγκη τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἀμείνουσι βίῳ χρῆσθαι.  
 178 καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐκθυμώμενα τῶν ἀρωμάτων  
 εὐωδίας τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀναπύμπλησι, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον ὅσοι γείτονες καὶ ὄμοροι σοφοῦ, τῆς ἀπ’  
 αὐτοῦ σπῶντες αὔρας ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρομένης βελ-  
 τιοῦνται τὰ ἦθη.  
 179 XXX. Μεγίστη δέ ἐστιν εὐεργεσία ψυχῆ  
 πονούση καὶ διαθλούση συνοδοιπόρον ἔχειν τὸν  
 ἐφθακότα πάντη θεόν· “ ἰδοὺ ” γὰρ φησιν “ ἐγὼ  
 μετὰ σοῦ.” τίνας οὖν ἂν ἔτι χρεῖοι γενοίμεθα  
 πλοῦτου, σὲ τὸν ἀληθείᾳ πλοῦτον ἔχοντες μόνον  
 “ διαφυλάσσοντα ἐν ὁδῷ ” τῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀγούση  
 κατὰ πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς τομάς; οὐ γὰρ ἐν μέρος  
 [648] ἐστὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ | βίου τὸ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ

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<sup>a</sup> An interpretation of “all the way, wheresoever thou goest.”

shall spread abroad, to the West and to the South and to the North and to the East?" (*ibid.* 14). The man of worth is not just a good to himself but a common good to all men. From his ready store he proffers the boon which is his to give. For as the sun is a light to all who have eyes, so is the wise man to such as are partakers of a rational nature, XXIX. for he says "in thee shall all tribes be blessed" (*ibid.* 14). 176

Now this divine utterance has its application to a man both in his relation to his own separate being, and as a social being related to others. For if the mind which is in me have been rendered pure by perfect virtue, then the "tribes" of that which is earthly in me are sharers of its purifying, those I mean which pertain to the senses and to that chiefest container, the body. Again, if one belonging to a household or city or country or nation become a lover of sound sense, it must be that that household and city and country and nation has a better mode of life. For just as the exhalations from aromatic herbs fill those who come near them with a sweet fragrance, in the same way those who belong to the circle and neighbourhood of a wise man, drinking in the atmosphere which spreads far and wide around him, are improved in character. 177

XXX. It is a vast boon to a toiling and striving soul to have as a Fellow-traveller God whose presence reaches everywhere: for we read, "Behold, I am with thee" (*ibid.* 15). Of what riches can we any longer stand in need, when we have Thee Who art alone the true riches, "keeping us on the way" which leads to virtue, along all its sections? <sup>a</sup> For there is not one part only of the life according to reason which tends to righteousness and virtue gener- 178

## PHILO

τὴν ἄλλην τεῖνον ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ μυρία ὄσα, ἐξ ὧν ἔστιν ὀρμωμένους φρονήσεως ἐφικνεῖσθαι.

- 180 XXXI. Παγκάλως δὲ εἴρηται καὶ τὸ “ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην.” καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἦν, τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ μείναντα μὴ ἀποδημήσαι πρὸς αἰσθησιν· δεύτερος δὲ πλοῦς, ἐφ’
- 181 ἑαυτὸν ὑποστρέψαι πάλιν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς ὑπαινίττεται δόγμα διὰ τούτου· ἀπολιποῦσα μὲν γὰρ τὸν οὐράνιον τόπον, ὡς καὶ μικρῶ πρότερον ἐλέχθη, καθάπερ εἰς ξένην χώραν ἦλθε τὸ σῶμα. φησὶ δ’ οὐ μέχρι τοῦ παντός καθειργμένην αὐτὴν ὁ γεννήσας περιόψεσθαι πατήρ, ἀλλ’ οἶκτον λαβὼν λύσειν τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἄχρι τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀσφαλῶς παραπέμψειν καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀνήσειν ἢ τὰς διὰ λόγων ὑποσχέσεις ἀληθείας ἔργοις βεβαιωθῆναι· θεοῦ γὰρ ἴδιον λέγειν
- 182 πάντως τὰ γενησόμενα. καίτοι τί τοῦτό φαμεν; ἔργων γὰρ ἀδιαφοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι.

Διακινήθεισα οὖν καὶ διαναστάσα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ζητήσεις ἢ ἀσκητικῆ ψυχῆ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπετόπησεν εἶναι τὸ ὄν ἐν τόπῳ, μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχοῦσα τῷ δυστοπιάστῳ τῆς σκέψεως περι-

183 δεῆς γίνεται καὶ μετανοεῖν ἄρχεται. “ἐξηγέρθη” γάρ φησιν “Ἰακώβ καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἔστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ᾔδην.” καὶ ἄμεινον

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<sup>a</sup> This explanation of Jacob's waking words, that the soul when it first wakes to awareness of God first localizes Him, then realizing how the subject transcends human thought sees the error of such localizing, yet still finds in the world of place and sense the manifestation of divine goodness and the means by which we can rise to higher conceptions, is obtained (1) by taking *τόπος* first as "place" and then as "topic"; (2) by treating *οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο* with an

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ally, but an infinite number of them, each a fresh starting-point on the road to wisdom.

XXXI. Right good too are the words " I will bring thee again into this land " (*ibid.*). For excellent would it have been for the reasoning faculty to have remained in its own keeping and not have left its home for that of sense-perception ; but, failing that, it is well that it should return to itself again. Perhaps, too, in these words he hints at the doctrine of the immortality of the soul : for, as was said a little before, it forsook its heavenly abode and came into the body as into a foreign land. But the Father who gave it birth says that He will not permanently disregard it in its imprisonment, but will take pity on it and loose its chains, and escort it in freedom and safety to its mother-city, and will not stay his hand until the promises given by words have been made good by actual deeds : for it is the special attribute of God and of Him alone to say what will surely come to pass. And yet what need to say this ? For His words are in no way different from deeds.

So, then, the practising soul, now fully roused and ready for the inquiry into what concerns Him that is, at first made the conjecture that He is in a place, but after a little while, it is seized with fear at the unscrutable nature of the quest and begins to change its mind.<sup>a</sup> For we read " Jacob rose up and said, that the Lord is in this place, but I knew it not " (*ibid.* 16). And it would have been better, I should say, to be

audacity surprising even in Philo. He first takes it by itself = " this is not the case," then coupled with *ἀλλ' ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ*. In this last interpretation he reverses that given in *De Mig.* 5 where the world of sense was *not* the house of God, the name of God there indicating the Self-existent, here restricted to the Creative Potency.

## PHILO

- ἦν, εἴποιμ' ἂν, ἀγνοεῖν ἢ ἔν τινι θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τὸν περιέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ πάντα.
- 184 XXXII. δικαίως οὖν ἐφοβήθη καὶ εἶπε θαυμαστικῶς· “ὡς φοβερὸς ὁ τόπος οὗτος.” ὄντως γὰρ τῶν ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ τόπος ἀργαλεώτατος, ἐν ᾧ ζητεῖται, ποῦ καὶ εἰ συνόλως ἔν τινι τὸ ὄν, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ὑφεστῶς χῶραν τινὰ κατείληφε, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλην ἀπονεμόντων, ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἢ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ μετακόσμιόν τινα, τῶν δὲ φασκόντων, ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει τὸ ἀγένητον ὁμοιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὅλοις ὑπερβάλλον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ὠκυδρομωτάτην διάνοιαν ὑστερίζουσαν μακρῶ τῆς καταλήψεως ὁμολογεῖν ἠττάσθαι.
- 185 διόπερ εὐθύς ἀνέκραγεν· “οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο,” ὁ ἐδόξασα, “ὅτι ἔστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ”· περιέχει γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ περιέχεται κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεικνύμενον καὶ ὄρατόν, ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὔτοσι κόσμος, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ, μιᾶς τῶν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων, καθ' ἣν ἀγαθὸς ἦν.
- 186 τὸν δὲ κόσμον (ὄν)<sup>1</sup> οἶκον ὠνόμασε καὶ πύλην τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐρανοῦ προσεῖπε. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστι; τὸν ἐκ τῶν ιδεῶν συσταθέντα ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι
- [649] κατὰ τὰς θείας χορηγίας κόσμον νοητὸν | οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἄλλως καταλαβεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
- 187 αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ὀρωμένου τούτου μετάβασιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἀσώματον ἐννοῆσαι δυνατὸν ὅτι μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας ἀπὸ σωματίων·

<sup>1</sup> <δν> Mr. Whitaker's insertion.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 601.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps meaning the Logos. But see App. pp. 601 ff. for a full discussion of the whole passage.

ignorant than to suppose that God is in some place Who Himself contains and encompasses all things. XXXII. Rightly, therefore, was he afraid and said 184 in an awestruck tone, "How dreadful is this place" (*ibid.* 17). For indeed most difficult of the "places" in the study of nature's verities is that in which men inquire as to where, and whether at all *in* any thing the Existent Being is. Some say that everything that subsists occupies some space, and of these one allots to the Existent One this space, another that, whether inside the world or a space outside it in the interval between worlds.<sup>a</sup> Others maintain that the Unoriginate resembles nothing among created things, but so completely transcends them, that even the swiftest understanding falls far short of apprehending Him and acknowledges its failure.

Wherefore he straightway cried aloud "This is not" 185 (*ibid.* 17); this that I supposed, "that the Lord is in some place" (*ibid.* 16), is not so; for according to the true reckoning He contains, but is not contained. But this that we can point out and see, this world discerned by sense, is, as I now know, nothing but a house of "God," that is, of one of the Potencies of the Existent, that is, the Potency which expresses His goodness. The world which he named a "house," he 186 also described as "gate of" the real "heaven" (*ibid.* 17). Now what is this? The world which only intellect can perceive, framed from the eternal forms in Him<sup>b</sup> Who was appointed in accordance with Divine bounties, cannot be apprehended otherwise than by passing on to it from this world which we see and perceive by our senses. For neither indeed is it 187 possible to get an idea of any other incorporeal thing among existences except by making material objects

## PHILO

ἡρεμούντων μὲν γὰρ ἐνοήθη τόπος, χρόνος δὲ  
 κινουμένων, σημεῖα δὲ καὶ γραμμαὶ καὶ ἐπιφάνειαι  
 καὶ συνόλως πέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωτάτω περικει-  
 188 μένης οἶον ἀμπεχόνης. κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον οὖν καὶ  
 ὁ νοητὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμος ἐνοήθη· πύλη  
 τις οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνου. ὡς γὰρ οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰς πόλεις  
 θεάσασθαι διὰ πυλῶν εἰσίασιν, οὕτως ὅσοι τὸν  
 αἰδιῆ κόσμον καταλαβεῖν ἐθέλουσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ  
 ὄρατοῦ φαντασίας ξεναγοῦνται. ὁ δὲ νοητῆς ὑπο-  
 στάσεως κόσμος ἄνευ ἡστινοσοῦν σχημάτων ὄψεως,  
 μόνης δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀρχετύπου ιδέας τῆς ἐν τῷ δια-  
 χαραχθέντι πρὸς τὸ θεαθὲν αὐτῷ εἶδος ἄνευ σκιᾶς  
 μετακληθήσεται, πάντων αὐτῷ τειχῶν καὶ πάσης  
 πύλης ἀπαρθέντων εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τινος ἀθρῆσαι,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀλέκτω τινὶ καὶ δυσερμηνεύτῳ  
 θέα διδεῖν κάλλος ἀναλλοίωτον.<sup>2</sup>

189 XXXIII. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἄλλis. ἐφαρμόζει  
 δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει καὶ ἕτερος ὄνειρος, ὁ περὶ τῆς  
 ποικίλης ἀγέλης, ὃν περιαναστὰς ὁ φαντασιωθεὶς  
 διηγεῖται φάσκων· “εἶπέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ  
 καθ' ὕπνον· Ἰακώβ. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστὶ; καὶ  
 εἶπεν· ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἴδε τοὺς  
 τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ πρό-  
 βατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας διαλεύκους καὶ ποικίλους καὶ  
 σποδοειδεῖς ραντούς. ἐώρακα γὰρ ὅσα σοι Λάβαν  
 ποιεῖ. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθεις σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ,  
 οὗ ἤλειψάς μοι στήλην καὶ ἠῤῥω μοι εὐχῆν. νῦν

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὦν. The correction is Mr. Whitaker's and seems to me better than Wend.'s <ὄς> . . . ἦν or Mangey's πύλης ὄντος.

<sup>2</sup> The last part of this section from ὁ δὲ νοητῆς is bracketed by Wend. as a Christian interpolation. See App. pp. 602 f.

\* Or “woke up.” Cf. *De Som.* ii. 106.



our starting-point. The conception of place was gained when they were at rest : that of time from their motion, and points and lines and superficies, in a word extremities from the robe-like exterior which covers them. Correspondingly, then, the conception <sup>188</sup> of the intelligible world was gained from the one which our senses perceive : it is therefore a kind of gate into the former. For as those who desire to see our cities go in through gates, so all who wish to apprehend the unseen world are introduced to it by receiving the impression of the visible world. The world whose substance is discernible only by intellect apart from any sight whatever of shapes or figures, but only by means of the archetypal eternal form present in the world which was fashioned in accordance with the image beheld by him with no intervening shadow,—that world shall change its title, when all its walls and every gate has been removed and men may not catch sight of it from some outside point, but behold the unchanging beauty, as it actually is, and that sight no words can tell or express.

XXXIII. On this matter enough has been said. <sup>189</sup> There is another dream of the same type as the one we have been studying. It is the one concerning the flock whose markings varied. When he to whom it appeared has risen up <sup>a</sup> he relates it in these words : “The angel of God said unto me in sleep, ‘Jacob,’ and I said, ‘What is it?’ and he said, ‘Look up with thine eyes and see the he-goats and the rams leaping upon the sheep and the goats how they are pure white and speckled and ashy-sprinkled. For I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am God that appeared unto thee in God’s Place, where thou anointedst unto Me a pillar and vowedst unto Me

## PHILO

οὖν ἀνάστηθι καὶ ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ταύτης καὶ  
 ἀπελθε εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς γενέσεώς σου, καὶ ἔσομαι  
 190 μετὰ σοῦ.” ὁρᾷς ὅτι θεοπέμπτους ὀνειρούς ἀνα-  
 γράφει ὁ θεῖος λόγος οὐ μόνον τοὺς κατὰ τὸ  
 πρεσβύτατον τῶν αἰτίων προφαινομένους, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῶν ὑποφητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀπαδῶν  
 ἀγγέλων, οἱ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος μοίρας πρὸς τοῦ  
 191 γεννήσαντος ἠξίωονται πατρός. σκόπει  
 μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον. ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῖς μὲν  
 ὡς βασιλεὺς ἅ χρῆ πράττειν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος παραγ-  
 γέλλει, τοῖς δὲ ὡς γνωρίμοις διδάσκαλος τὰ πρὸς  
 ὠφέλειαν ὑφηγεῖται, τοῖς δὲ ὡς σύμβουλος γνώμας  
 εἰσηγούμενος τὰς ἀρίστας τὸ συμφέρον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν  
 οὐκ εἰδότας μεγάλα ὠφελεί, τοῖς δὲ ὡς φίλος  
 ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μετὰ πειθοῦς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων  
 ἀναφέρει, ὧν οὐδένα τῶν ἀτελέστων ἐπακοῦσαι  
 192 [650] θέμις. ἔστι | δ' ὅτε καὶ πυνθάνεται τινων, ὥσπερ  
 τοῦ Ἀδάμ. “ πού εἶ; ” πρὸς ὃ ἀποκρίναιτ' ἄν  
 τις οἰκείως “ οὐδαμοῦ, ” τῷ τάνθρώπεια πάντα ἐν  
 ὁμοίῳ μὴ μένειν, ἀλλὰ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ  
 σώματι καὶ τοῖς ἐκτός. ἀνίδρυτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ  
 λογισμοί, φαντασίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων  
 οὐχὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀλλ' ἐναντίας ἔχοντες, ἀνίδρυτον  
 δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὡς μηνύουσιν αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι  
 γήρωσ τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπασῶν τροπαί, ἀνίδρυτα δὲ  
 καὶ τὰ ἐκτός ἐπηωρημένα φορᾶ τύχης αἰεὶ σαλευ-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 53 for a somewhat different view.

## ON DREAMS, I. 189-192

a vow. Now therefore arise and go forth out of this land and depart into the land of thy nativity, and I will be with thee' ” (Gen. xxxi. 11-13). You see that 190 the Divine word proclaims as dreams sent from God not only those which appear before the mind under the direct action of the Highest of Causes, but those also which are revealed through the agency of His interpreters and attendant messengers who have been held meet to receive from the Father to Whom they owe their being a divine and happy portion.

Observe also what follows. The sacred 191 word deals with some as a king, enjoining on them authoritatively what they are to do, with some as a teacher indicating to pupils what will be for their good, with some as a counsellor suggesting the best decisions, and greatly benefiting them since of themselves they do not know the advantageous course to take. Towards others it acts as a friend with winning condescension imparting to them even many secret truths which are not allowed to reach the ears of the uninitiated. Sometimes it addresses an inquiry to 192 this or that one, as it does to Adam, asking “Where art thou?” (Gen. iii. 9), an inquiry to which one might with fitness make the reply “Nowhere,”<sup>a</sup> seeing that nothing pertaining to man remains as it is, but all things are in motion, and this is true of soul, and of body, and of things external. For instability characterizes our reasonings, receiving as they do from the same objects not the same but contrary impressions. It characterizes also our body, as is shewn by the changes that occur in every period of life from infancy to old age. It characterizes too matters affecting us from without, tossed about as they are on the current of ever restless chance.

## PHILO

- 193 ούσης. XXXIV. ἐπειδὴν μέντοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν φίλων ἔλθῃ συνέδριον, οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται λέγειν ἢ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσαι καὶ ὀνομαστί προσειπεῖν, ἵνα τὰ ὦτα ἀνορθιάσαντες, ἡσυχία καὶ προσοχῇ χρώμενοι, τῶν θεσμιωδουμένων εἰς ἄληστον μνήμην ἀκούωσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτέρωθι λέγεται·
- 194 “ σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε.” τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ βάτου Μωϋσῆς ἀνακαλεῖται—“ ὡς γὰρ εἶδε ” φησὶν “ ὅτι προσάγει ἰδεῖν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βάτου λέγων· Μωυσῆ, Μωυσῆ. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· τί ἐστίν; ”
- Ἄβραάμ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ μόνου παιδὸς ὀλοκαυτώσεως, ἥνικα τε ἱερουργεῖν ἤρχετο καὶ ὁπότε δούς ἀπόπειραν εὐσεβείας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ἐπί-
- 195 κλησιν Ἰσαάκ, ἐκωλύθη· ἀρχομένου μὲν γὰρ φησιν, ὅτι “ ὁ θεὸς ἐπέιραζε τὸν Ἄβραάμ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἄβραάμ, Ἄβραάμ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπε· λάβε τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ἀνένεγκε, ” ἤδη δὲ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνενηνοχότος, τότε “ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγων· Ἄβραάμ, Ἄβραάμ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπε· μὴ ἐπιβάλης τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ τὸ παιδάριον, μηδὲ ποιήσης αὐτῷ μηδέν.”
- 196 Εἰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ φιλικοῦ θιάσου καὶ ὁ ἀσκητῆς ὢν εἰκότως προνομίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιωθεὶς ἀνακαλεῖται· “ εἶπε γάρ μοι ” φησὶν “ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ καθ’

<sup>a</sup> Or “it,” i.e. the Sacred Word.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “Council.” Though God deals with His friends separately, they may be thought of as forming an intimately associated body. Cf. φιλικοῦ θιάσου § 196.

## ON DREAMS, I. 193-196

XXXIV. When, however, God <sup>a</sup> has come 193  
to the company <sup>b</sup> of His friends, He does not begin to  
say His say before He has addressed each such friend  
calling him by name, in order that they may prick up  
their ears, and with stillness and attention so listen to  
the sacred precepts as to remember them for ever ;  
for it is also said in another place, “ Keep silence, and  
hearken ” (Deut. xxvii. 9). It is on this wise that 194  
Moses is addressed at the Bush, for we read “ When  
He saw that he drew nigh to look, the Lord called him  
from out of the bush saying, ‘ Moses, Moses.’ And he  
said, ‘ What is it ? ’ ” (Ex. iii. 4). And  
Abraham, at the offering up of his beloved and only  
son as a burnt offering, is so addressed, both when he  
was beginning <sup>c</sup> to offer the sacrifice, and when, after  
giving proof of his piety, he was prevented from  
causing to disappear from among men the nature  
which learns untaught, called Isaac. For when he 195  
was at the beginning we are told “ God did prove  
Abraham, and said unto him, ‘ Abraham, Abraham ’ ;  
and he said ‘ Here am I.’ And He said, ‘ Take thy  
beloved son, whom thou lovedst, even Isaac, and offer  
him up.’ ” And when he had now brought the victim  
to the altar, then “ an angel of the Lord called to him  
out of heaven, saying ‘ Abraham, Abraham.’ And  
he said, ‘ Here am I.’ And he said, ‘ Lay not thine  
hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto  
him ’ ” (Gen. xxii. 1, 2, 9-12).

The Practiser being one of the band of friends 196  
of God is, as we might expect, accorded the same  
prerogative and addressed by name ; for we read  
“ The angel of God said to me in sleep, ‘ Jacob.’ And

<sup>c</sup> An odd use for “ at the opening of the story of the sacrifice.”

- 197 ὕπνον· Ἰακώβ. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστίν;” ἀνακληθεὶς δὲ προσοχῇ χρῆται, τὰ φανέντα σημεῖα πειρώμενος ἀκριβοῦν, ἔστι δὲ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν λόγων οἷα θρεμμάτων· ὀχεῖαί τε καὶ γενέσεις· “ἀναβλέψας” γὰρ φησι “τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τοὺς τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ
- 198 πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας.” αἰπολίου μὲν δὴ τράγος, ποιμνῆς δὲ κριὸς ἡγεμῶν ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα ταῦτα δεῦν λόγων σύμβολα τελείων, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος καθαίρει καὶ κενοῖ ψυχὴν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τρέφει καὶ πλήρη κατορθωμάτων ἐργάζεται. τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγελάρχαι λόγοι· αἱ δὲ ἀγέλαι προβάτοις καὶ αἰξὶ φερωνύμως διατεθεῖσαι ἄπτουσι καὶ προβαίνουσι μετὰ σπουδῆς
- 199 πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. ἀναβλέψας | οὖν τὸ τέως με-  
[651] μυκὸς ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας εἶδε τοὺς ἀναλογούντας τράγοις καὶ κριοῖς τελείους λόγους ἡκονημένους πρὸς τε μείωσιν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ὧν χρηὶ πράττειν συναύξησιν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας, τὰς ἔτι νέας καὶ ἀπαλὰς ψυχὰς ἄρτι ἡβώσας καὶ ἄνθει τῷ τῆς ἀκμῆς ὠραῖζομένας, ἀναβαίνουσιν οὐκ ἄλογον ἡδονὴν διώκοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀοράτῳ σπορᾷ
- 200 φρονήσεως χρώμενοι δογμάτων. εὐπαις γὰρ ὁ γάμος οὗτος οὐ σώματα συμπλέκων, ἀλλ’ εὐφύεσι ψυχαῖς τελείας ἀρετὰς ἀρμοζόμενος. ἐπιβαίνετε οὖν οἱ σοφίας ὀρθοὶ λόγοι πάντες, ὀχεύετε, σπείρετε, καὶ ἦν ἂν ἴδητε ψυχὴν βαθεῖαν, εὐγειον, παρθένον, μὴ παρέλθητε, καλέσαντες δ’ εἰς τὴν ὀμιλίαν καὶ συνουσίαν ἑαυτῶν τελειώσατε καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἀπερ-

<sup>a</sup> i.e. πρόβατον is derived from προβαίνω, αἰξ from ἀίσσω.

## ON DREAMS, I. 197-200

I said, 'What is it?' (Gen. xxxi. 11). And having 197  
been addressed by name he pays attention, endeavouring  
to note precisely the signs which appeared: and  
the signs are the couplings and breedings of thoughts  
in the guise of animals; for we read: "He lifted up  
his eyes and saw the he-goats and the rams mounting  
upon the sheep and the goats" (*cf.* Gen. xxxi. 12).  
A he-goat is leader of a herd of goats, a ram of a flock 198  
of sheep; and these animals are figures of two  
perfect ways of thinking, of which the one cleanses  
and purges a soul from sin, and the other nourishes  
it and renders it full of high achievements. Such are  
the leading thoughts at the head of the herds within  
us; and the herds, possessed of dispositions answering  
to the names of sheep and goats<sup>a</sup> which represent  
them, dart and go forward towards righteousness with  
earnestness. Having therefore opened the hitherto 199  
closed eye of the understanding, Jacob saw the perfect  
thoughts which correspond to he-goats and rams  
brought to the sharpest edge both for the diminishing  
of sins and the increase of all that we ought to do,—  
saw how they mount the sheep and the goats, that is  
to say the souls that are still young and tender, just  
fresh and in the very prime and flower of youth,—  
saw that they do so, not in the pursuit of irrational  
pleasure, but using the invisible seed of the doctrines  
of sound sense. For rich in offspring is this wedlock, 200  
seeing that it does not bring one body to the embraces  
of another but mates well-endowed souls with perfect  
virtues. Mount then, all ye right thoughts and  
reasonings of wisdom, impregnate, impart seed, and  
whenever you catch sight of a soul of deep rich virgin  
soil, pass it not by, but inviting it to union and inter-  
course with yourselves, render it pregnant and so

## PHILO

- γάσασθε· τέξεται γὰρ πάντα ἀστεία, γενεὰν ἄρρενα  
 “ διαλεύκων, ποικίλων, σποδοειδῶν ραντῶν.”
- 201 XXXV. “ Ἦν δ’ ἔχει τῶν γεννημάτων τούτων  
 ἕκαστον δύναμιν, ἐρευνητέον. διάλευκοι μὲν τοίνυν  
 εἰσὶν οἱ τηλαυγέστατοι καὶ ἀριδηλότατοι, τοῦ  
 “ διὰ ” πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τιθεμένου, ἀφ’  
 οὗ διάδηλον καὶ διάσημον τὸ μέγਾਲως δῆλον καὶ  
 202 μέγਾਲως ἐπίσημον ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἐστί. βούλεται  
 οὖν τῆς τὸν ἱερὸν σπόρον παραδεξαμένης ψυχῆς  
 τὰ πρωτότοκα γεννήματα διάλευκα εἶναι, φωτὶ  
 εὐοκίοντα οὐκ ἀμυδρῶ, φέγγει δὲ τηλαυγεστάτω, οἷα  
 γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀφ’ ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἄσκιος ἐν αἰθρία  
 κατὰ μεσημβρίαν αὐγή· βούλεται δὲ καὶ  
 ποικίλα οὐ πολυμόρφου καὶ πολυτρόπου<sup>1</sup> λέπρας  
 ἀκαθάρτου τρόπου, διὰ γνώμης ἀβεβαιότητα χρησό-  
 μενα ἀστάτω καὶ φορουμένῳ βίῳ, ἀλλὰ γράμμασιν  
 ἐγκεκολαμμένα, καὶ σφραγίσιν διαφόροις δοκίμοις  
 δὲ πάσαις τετυπωμένα, ὧν αἱ ιδιότητες ἀνα-  
 μιχθεῖσαι καὶ ἀνακραθεῖσαι μουσικὴν συμφωνίαν  
 203 ἐργάσσονται. τὴν γὰρ ποικιλτικὴν<sup>2</sup> τέχνην  
 ἐνόμισαν μὲν τινες οὕτως ἡμελημένον καὶ ἀφανὲς  
 εἶναι πρᾶγμα, ὥστε ὑφάνταις αὐτὴν ἀνέθεσαν.  
 ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα τέθηπα,  
 καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅταν εἰς τὰ γῆς τμήματα καὶ τὰς ἐν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πολυμόρφω (καὶ ποικίλω) καὶ πολυτρόπω. I prefer Mangey’s ποικίλα οὐ ποικίλα πολυμόρφω καὶ πολυτρόπω.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ποικίλην.

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 209.

<sup>b</sup> The introduction of the idea of “engraved with seals” into the description of ποικίλα is based, I suspect, on Ex. xxxvi. 15 (xxxix. 8) ff., where the λογέιον described as an ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικίλα is said to have stones ἐγγεγραμμένας



## ON DREAMS, I. 200-203

effect its consummation ; for all that it brings forth shall be goodly, male offspring " consisting of pure white, speckled and ashy-sprinkled " <sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxxi. 10).

XXXV. We must search for the force and meaning <sup>201</sup> of each of these births. Thoroughly-white, then, are the brightest and most conspicuous, " thorough " being often applied to what is great, whence has come the custom of calling what is largely evident and largely notable " thoroughly-evident " and " thoroughly-notable." His wish then is that the <sup>202</sup> firstborn progeny of the soul which has received the holy seed should be " thoroughly-white," resembling not a dim light, but a brilliant shining, such as a cloudless ray coming from the sun's beams would appear in a clear atmosphere at noontide.

It is his wish that they be also variegated, not after the fashion of foul leprosy the changeful disease, which assumes so many different forms, nor destined, owing to lack of firmness of judgement, to lead an unstable agitated life, but engraved with inscriptions, and stamped with seals differing one from another but all of them genuine,<sup>b</sup> the blending and combination of their proper marks producing a harmony like that of music.

For the art of variegation <sup>203</sup> has been looked upon by some as so obscure and paltry a matter that they have relegated it to weavers. I on the contrary regard with awe not only the art itself but its very name, and most of all when I fix my eyes upon the sections of the earth, upon the

*eis σφραγίδας.* "Genuine" I take to be suggested by Gen. xxx. 42, where the *ποικίλα* of the lambs are called *ἐπίσημα* contrasted with the *ἄσημα* which Laban takes. This antithesis of *ἐπίσημα* )( *ἄσημα* naturally suggests coins, and this again *δόκιμα* )( *ἄδόκιμα*. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 180, *De Fuga* 9. The thought recurs in §§ 208, 226, 255.

## PHILO

οὐρανῶ σφαίρας καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν διαφορὰς  
 καὶ τὸ παμποίκιον ὕφασμα, τουτονὶ τὸν κόσμον,  
 204 ἀπίδω. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πλέγματος παντὸς τούτου  
 δημιουργὸν εὐρετὴν τῆς ποικιλικῆς ἐπινοεῖν εὐθὺς  
 ἐπιστήμης ἀναγκάζομαι, καὶ σέβομαι μὲν τὸν  
 εὐρόντα, τιμῶ δὲ τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν, τὸ δ' ἔργον κατα-  
 πέπληγμαί, καίτοι μηδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος αὐτοῦ  
 δυνηθεὶς ἰδεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φανέντος μοι μέρους,  
 εἰ δὴ καὶ πέφηνεν, ἀκριβῶς τὸ ὄλον εἰκάζων ἀνα-  
 205 λογίας ἐλπίδι. θαυμάζω μέντοι καὶ | τὸν  
 [652] σοφίας ἐραστήν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν τέχνην ἐπιτετή-  
 δευκε, πολλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα ἐκ διαφερόντων εἰς  
 ταῦτὸ συνάγειν<sup>1</sup> καὶ συνυφαίνειν ἀξιῶν. λαβὼν γὰρ  
 ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς παιδικῆς γραμματικῆς δύο τὰ πρῶτα,  
 τό τε γράφειν καὶ τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς  
 τελειότερας τὴν τε παρὰ ποιηταῖς ἐμπειρίαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας ἀνάληψιν, παρὰ δὲ ἀριθ-  
 μητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας τὸ ἀνεξαπάτητον ἐν οἷς  
 ἀναλογίας καὶ λογισμῶν ἐστι χρεία, παρὰ δὲ  
 μουσικῆς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα,<sup>2</sup> τὰ τε ἑναρμόνια καὶ  
 χρωματικὰ καὶ διατονικὰ συνημμένα τε αὖ καὶ  
 διεξευγμένα μέλη, παρὰ δὲ ῥητορικῆς εὐρεσιν,  
 φράσιν, τάξιν, οἰκονομίαν, μνήμην, ὑπόκρισιν, παρὰ  
 δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὅσα τε ἐν ταύταις παραλέλειπται  
 καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ὧν ἅπας ὁ ἀνθρώπων βίος συνέστηκεν,  
 ἐν ἔργον εὐανθέστατον ἡρμόσατο, εὐμάθειαν πολυ-  
 206 μαθεία μίξας. καὶ τὸν τούτου τοῦ πλέγ-  
ματος δημιουργὸν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Βεσελεὴλ ἐκάλεσεν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συνάγων.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. places the commas differently. See App. pp. 603 f.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Cong.* 148.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 604.

spheres of heaven, the many different kinds of animals and plants, and that vast variegated piece of embroidery, this world of ours. For I am straightway 204 compelled to think of the artificer of all this texture as the inventor of the variegator's science, and I do homage to the inventor, I prize the invention, I am dumbfounded at the result, and that though I am incapable of seeing even the smallest part of it, but from the part brought within the range of my vision, if indeed it has been brought, I form in detail a conjecture about the whole on the strength of what analogy leads me to expect. Further- 205

more, I admire the lover of wisdom, for having taken up this same art, in that he sees fit, when he finds a multitude of different things, to bring them together out of difference into oneness and to weave them together. For instance, he takes from the "grammar" taught to children the two first subjects, writing and reading; from the more advanced "grammar" acquaintance with the poets and a learning of ancient history<sup>a</sup>; from arithmetic and geometry absolute accuracy in matters which require a making of calculations and noting of proportion; from music rhythms and metres and melodies enharmonic, chromatic, diatonic, conjunct too and disjunct; from rhetoric, conception, expression, arrangement, treatment, memory, delivery<sup>b</sup>; from philosophy everything that has been omitted in the items given already, and all things else that constitute the whole life of men,—and from these combined he frames a single work gay and bright to a degree, blending wide learning with readiness to learn still more.

The artificer of this fabric was 206 called by the holy word Bezaleel (Ex. xxxi. 2 ff.),

## PHILO

ὅς ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἐστὶν ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ. τὰ γὰρ μιμήματα οὗτος, τὰ δὲ παραδείγματα ἀρχιτεκτονεῖ Μωυσῆς· διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν οἷα σκιάς ὑπεγράφετο, ὁ δ' οὐ σκιάς, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχετύπους ἐδη-  
 207 μιούργει φύσεις. εἰ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἅγια ποι-  
 κιλτικῇ τέχνῃ κατεσκευάσται καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ποικιλτῆς  
 μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἱεροφαντηθείσι χρησιμοῖς ἀνείρηται  
 XXXVI. καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλὸν ποικίλμα, ὃδε ὁ  
 κόσμος, ἐπιστήμῃ πανσόφῳ τετελεσειούργηται, πῶς  
 οὐκ ἄξιον ὡς ἐργαλεῖον<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀποδέχε-  
 208 σθαι ποικιλτικὴν; ἧς<sup>2</sup> ἀφίδρυμα ἱερώτατον πᾶς ὁ  
 σοφίας οἶκος ἀγαλματοφορήσει καὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀφ' ἧς ποικίλων λόγων ἰδέας ὁ  
 ἀσκητῆς ἐκπονεῖ· μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς διαλεύκους εὐθύς  
 τοὺς ποικίλους εἶδε, παιδείας κόμματι χαραχθέντας.  
 209 Τρίτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ σποδοειδεῖς ῥαντοί. καίτοι τίς  
 οὐκ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι τῷ γένει καὶ τούτους εἶναι  
 ποικίλους; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ περὶ θρεμ-  
 μάτων διαφορᾶς ἢ τοσαύτη σπουδῆ, περὶ μέντοι  
 210 τῆς πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ. βούλεται  
 γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτην<sup>3</sup> ἰόντα σποδῶ καὶ ὕδατι περιρ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μεγαλεῖον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οὔ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ταῦτα οἱ ταύτη.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. Bezaleel is called σοφός ("filled with the spirit of wisdom" Ex. xxxi. 3), and the work is ἔργον ποικιλτοῦ (Ex. xxvi. 36 and elsewhere).

<sup>b</sup> The section is obscure, but the meaning perhaps may be something as follows. Knowledge shaped by the tool of variegation in divine hands stands like a sacred statue in the temple of the universe. And this serves as a model to the Practising Soul (=the lover of wisdom in § 205), when he creates the varieties of human knowledge described in that section. The point of the last words is that this agrees with the order of the vision in which the διάλευκοι, here standing for the higher ideal knowledge, are followed by the ποικίλοι.

## ON DREAMS, I. 206-210

which is when interpreted "in the shadow of God." For it is the copies of which he is chief builder, whereas Moses builds the patterns; for this reason the one drew an outline as it were of shadows, while the other fashioned no shadows, but the existences themselves that served as archetypes.

Now if the holy tabernacle was built by the variegator's art, and the name of "variegator" or embroiderer is reserved for the sage in the oracles of revelation,<sup>a</sup> XXXVI. and the beautiful variegated fabric of God, even this world of ours, has been wrought in its completeness by a knowledge full of all wisdom, how can we do otherwise than welcome variegation as a tool for the making of knowledge? Its most holy image shall be enshrined in all the house of Wisdom both in heaven and on earth. And from it are derived the varieties of thinking which the Practiser's labour creates, for after those of thorough-white he straightway saw those that were variegated, bearing the impress of the stamp of training.<sup>b</sup>

Third come the ashy-sprinkled. And yet what man of sound sense would not say that these also are of the variegated kind? The fact is that it is not about the difference between beasts that the lawgiver shews this deep concern, but rather about the way that leads to nobility of life.<sup>c</sup> For he wishes the man who goes in quest of this to besprinkle himself with

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo does not deny that the literal meaning of *σποδοειδής παντοί* is ash-coloured and spotted (or with ash-coloured spots?) and that this indicates much the same as variegated, but spiritually what is intended is "sprinkled with ashes and water," the allegorical meaning of which is explained in the next section.

## PHILO

- ραίνεσθαι, διότι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ λόγος ἔχει φυρα-  
θέντα καὶ μορφωθέντα πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρωποπλάστου  
εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀποκριθῆναι σῶμα, οὐ χειρόκμητον,  
211 ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἔργον ἀοράτου. σοφίας οὖν ἔστιν  
ἀρχὴ μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἑαυτοῦ, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν  
συνεκρίθη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αἰὲ λαμβάνειν· οὕτως γὰρ  
[653] μεγαλαυχίαν, τὸ κακῶν | θεομισέστατον, ἐκνύψαιτ'  
ἄν. τίς γὰρ εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενος, ὅτι τέφρα καὶ  
ὕδωρ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τῆς γενέσεως αἱ ἀρχαί, φουσηθεὶς  
212 ὑπ' οἰήσεως μετέωρος ἀρθήσεται; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
τοὺς μέλλοντας ἱεουργεῖν περιρραίνεσθαι τοῖς λεχ-  
θεῖσιν ἐδικαίωσεν, οὐδένα θυσιῶν ἄξιον νομίσας,  
ὃς μὴ πρότερον ἑαυτὸν ἔγνωκε καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην  
οὐδένειαν κατεῖληφεν, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη στοιχείων  
τὸ μηδενὸς ἄξιος εἶναι τεκμηράμενος.
- 213 XXXVII. Τὰ τρία ταῦτα σημεῖα, τὸ διάλευκον,  
τὸ ποικίλον, τὸ σποδοειδὲς ραντόν, περὶ μὲν τὸν  
ἀσκητὴν ἅτε μήπω τέλειον ἀτελῆ, περὶ δὲ τὸν  
214 τέλειον φαίνεται καὶ αὐτὰ τέλεια. ὃν δὲ τρόπον,  
θεασώμεθα· τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα, ὅποτε μέλλοι τὰς  
νόμῳ προστεταγμένας ἐπιτελεῖν λειτουργίας, ὁ  
ἱερός ἐδικαίωσε λόγος ὕδατι καὶ τέφρα περιρ-  
ραίνεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἑαυτοῦ—καὶ  
γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε ἐντευξόμενος ἦει τῷ  
θεῷ, γῆν καὶ σποδὸν εἶπεν ἑαυτόν,—ἔπειτ' ἐν-  
δύεσθαι τὸν ποδῆρη χιτῶνα καὶ τὸ ποικίλον ὁ

\* "Ashes," however, are not mentioned here. See App. p. 604.

ashes and lustral water, inasmuch as it is recorded that earth and water mixed together and shaped were by the power of the Moulder of men set apart to form this body of ours, wrought as no handiwork, but a product of nature working all unseen. It is, then, 211 the beginning of wisdom not to be forgetful of one's own self, but ever to set before one's eyes the elements of which one consists; for in this way a man would purge out of himself high vaunting, the most God-  
 abhorred of evil things. For who, when he lays to heart that ashes and water are for him the beginnings of existence, will be puffed up by conceit and raised aloft? That is why the lawgiver required those who 212 were about to sacrifice to besprinkle themselves with the materials I have mentioned. He held no one worthy of offering sacrifices who has not first come to know himself and comprehended human nothingness, inferring from the elements of which he is composed that he is nothing worth.

XXXVII. These three signs, the thorough-white, 213 the variegated, the ashy-sprinkled, are seen to be imperfect in the Practiser inasmuch as he is not yet perfect, whereas in the perfect man they too are perfect. Let us see in what way this is true. When 214 the great High-priest was about to perform the public services enjoined by law, the holy word required that he should in the first place sprinkle himself with water and ashes (Ex. xxix. 4)<sup>a</sup> as a reminder to him of himself—for even that wise one, Abraham, when he was on his way to intercede with God, spoke of himself as earth and ashes (Gen. xviii. 27)—in the next place that he should put on the tunic reaching to the feet, and over it that which he has entitled the

## PHILO

- κέκληκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιστήθιον, τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν  
 215 φωσφόρων ἄστρον ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. δύο  
 γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἱερὰ θεοῦ, ἐν μὲν ὄδε ὁ κόσμος, ἐν  
 ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεῖος λόγος,  
 ἕτερον δὲ λογικὴ ψυχὴ, ἧς ἱερεὺς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 ἄνθρωπος, οὗ μίμημα αἰσθητὸν ὁ τὰς πατρίους  
 εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ἐστιν, ᾧ τὸν εἰρημένον  
 ἐπιτέτραπται χιτῶνα ἐνδύεσθαι, τοῦ παντός ἀντί-  
 216 ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄνθρωπος. δύο  
 μὲν οὖν ἦδη, τὸν τε ῥαντὸν καὶ τὸν ποικίλον τύπον,  
 ἔχων ἐπιδέδεικται· τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τελειότατον,  
 ὃς ὀνομάζεται διάλευκος, αὐτίκα σηματοῦμεν.  
 ὅταν εἰς τὰ ἐσωτάτω τῶν ἀγίων ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος  
 ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσῆ, τὴν μὲν ποικίλην ἐσθῆτα ἀπαμπί-  
 σχεται, λιπῆν δὲ ἑτέραν, βύσσου τῆς καθαρωτάτης  
 217 πεποιημένην, ἀναλαμβάνει. ἡ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον  
 εὐτονίας, ἀφθαρσίας, ἀνγοειδεστάτου φέγγους· ἀρ-  
 ραγῆς τε<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἡ ὀθόνη καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀπο-  
 θνησκόντων γίνεται καὶ ἔτι λαμπρότατον καὶ  
 φωτοειδέστατον ἔχει μὴ ἀμελῶς καθαρθεῖσα χρώμα.  
 218 διὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκείνο αἰνίττεται, ὅτι τῶν ἀδόλως  
 καὶ καθαρῶς θεραπευόντων τὸ ὄν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὃς  
 μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνην κέχρηται κατα-  
 φρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἃ δελεά-  
 [654] ζοντα κηραίνει καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐργάζεται, | ἔπειτα  
 ἀφθαρσίας ἐφίεται γελάσας ὅσα οἱ θνητοὶ τυφο-  
 πλαστοῦσι, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀληθείας ἀσκίῳ φέγγει  
 καὶ περιαιγεῖ καταλάμπεται, μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. καθαρά τε, others ἀρραγεστέρα (-έστατον).

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 87.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. not of wool, cf. *De Ebr.* 86.



## ON DREAMS, I. 214-218

embroidered or variegated breastplate (Ex. xxix. 5), a representation and copy of the shining constellations.<sup>a</sup> For there are, as is evident, two temples of God : 215 one of them this universe, in which there is also as High Priest His First-born, the divine Word, and the other the rational soul, whose Priest is the real Man ; the outward and visible image of whom is he who offers the prayers and sacrifices handed down from our fathers, to whom it has been committed to wear the aforesaid tunic, which is a copy and replica of the whole heaven, the intention of this being that the universe may join with man in the holy rites and man with the universe.

The High Priest has 216 now been exhibited as having two characteristic marks, the sprinkled and the variegated : the third and most perfect, which is styled thorough-white, we will now proceed at once to indicate. When this same High Priest goes into the inmost part of the Holy Place, he divests himself of the variegated robe, and puts on another one of linen made from the purest kind (Lev. xvi. 4), a figure of strong fibre, 217 imperishableness, most radiant light : for fine linen is hard to tear, and is made from no mortal creature,<sup>b</sup> and moreover when carefully cleaned has a very brilliant and luminous colour. What is symbolically 218 intimated by these figures is, that among those who worship Him that is with guileless purity, there is not one that does not, in the first place, exercise strength of will and judgement by a contempt for human interests which ensnare and hurt and enfeeble us ; and, in the second place, laugh to scorn all the unsubstantial aims of mortal men, and set his heart on immortality ; and, last of all, live irradiated by the cloudless splendour of truth, no longer entertaining

## PHILO

- ψευδοῦς δόξης, ἃ σκότῳ φίλα εἶναι συμβέβηκε, προσιέμενος.
- 219 XXXVIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τρισὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις τυπωθεῖς σφραγίσιν, τῇ διαλεύκῳ, τῇ ποικίλῃ, τῇ σποδοειδεῖ ῥαντῇ, τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἀναγεγράφθω· τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πολιτείας ἐφιέμενον, Ἰωσήφ ὄνομα, τῶν μὲν ἄκρων ἰδεῖν ἔστι μὴ μεταποιούμενον χαρακτήρων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ
- 220 μέσου καὶ ποικίλου. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι χιτῶνα ποικίλον ἔσχεν, οὔτε καθαρσίοις περιρρανάμενος ἱεροῖς, ἀφ' ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἂν ἔγνω τέφρας καὶ ὕδατος συμφόρημα, οὔτε τῆς πανλεύκου καὶ φωτοειδιστάτης ἐσθῆτος, ἀρετῆς, ψαῦσαι δυνηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπαμπισχόμενος ὕφασμα παμποίκιλον, ᾧ βραχύτατον μέρος ἀληθείας ἐγκαταμέμικται, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλαι μοῖραι ψευδῶν εὐλόγων πιθανῶν εἰκότων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ Αἰγύπτου πάντες ἀνέβλαστον σοφισταί, οἰωνομάντεις, ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, τερατοσκόποι, δεινοὶ παλεῦσαι καὶ κατεπᾶσαι καὶ γοητεῦσαι, ὧν τὰς ἐπιβούλους τέχνας
- 221 μέγα ἔργον διεκδῦναι. διὸ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦτον εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς φυσικῶς αἵματι πεφυρμένον, ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ πολιτευομένου βίος πέφυρται, πολεμῶν τε καὶ πολεμούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προσπιπτουσῶν ἀβουλήτων συντυχιῶν βαλλόμενος καὶ
- 222 τοξευόμενος. ἐρεῦνησον οὖν τὸν λίαν δημοτικόν, ᾧ τὰ πόλεως πράγματα ἐφορμεῖ, μὴ καταπλαγεῖς τοὺς θαυμαστικῶς ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἐμφωλευούσας νόσους εὐρήσεις, πολλὰς δ' ἐξημμένον κῆρας καὶ βιαίως ἐκάστην τὴν ψυχὴν αὐχενίζουσαν καὶ ἀφανῶς αὐτῇ προσπαλαίουσαν καὶ

any of the creations of false opinion so dear to darkness.

XXXVIII. Let this stand as my description of the 219 great High Priest marked with the three seals aforesaid, the thorough-white, the variegated, and the ashy-sprinkled. The man whose desires are set on human statecraft, Joseph by name, lays claim, as we can see, neither to the first nor to the third of these marks, but to the intervening one, the variegated, only. For we are told that he had a coat of varied 220 colours (Gen. xxxvii. 3). He did not besprinkle himself with lustral rites, from which he would have learned that he was an amalgam of ashes and water, and was incapable of touching the all-white and gleaming vestment, which is virtue, but arrayed himself in the woven robe of statecraft, a robe richly variegated, containing but a most meagre admixture of truth, but many large portions of false, probable, plausible, conjectural matter, out of which sprang up all the sophists of Egypt, augurs, ventriloquists, soothsayers, proficients in decoying, charming, and bewitching, whose insidious artifices it is no easy task to escape. So Moses shews the insight of a philosopher 221 in introducing this coat all blood-stained (Gen. xxxvii. 31), since the whole life of the statesman is stained, warring and being warred upon, receiving blows and shots from the mishaps which befall it. Search then 222 the man who is thoroughly immersed in public business, the man on whom the interests of the state depend, and do not be daunted by those who hold him in admiration. You will find many a disease lurking in him, many a baneful thing fastened upon him, each one of them violently gripping his soul and invisibly wrestling with it, striving to overthrow it

## PHILO

- ζητοῦσαν ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν, ἢ τοῦ πλήθους  
 τῇ προστασίᾳ δυσχεράναντος ἢ κατὰ ἀντεπίθεσιν  
 223 δυνατωτέρου ἀνδρός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ φθόνος βαρὺς  
 καὶ δυσαπότριπτος ἐχθρός, ἐπιφυόμενος ἀεὶ ταῖς  
 λεγομέναις εὐπραγίαις, ὃν οὐ ῥάδιον ἐκφυγεῖν.
- 224 XXXIX. τί οὖν ὡς ἐσθῆτα πολυτελεῆ  
 τὴν ἐπηρθισμένην πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενοι γαυριῶμεν,  
 τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τῆς φανεράς ὄψεως ἀπατώμενοι, τὸ  
 δ' ἀφανὲς καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐπίβουλον καὶ σφαλερὸν  
 225 αἰσχος αὐτῆς οὐ κατανοοῦντες; ἀποδυσάμενοι δὴ  
 τὸν ἀνθηρὸν τοῦτον χιτῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ἐνδυνάμεθα  
 ἀρετῶν ποικίλμασιν ἐνυφασμένον· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ  
 τὰς ἐνέδρας ἀποδρασόμεθα, ἃς ἀτεχνία καὶ ἀν-  
 επιστημοσύνη καὶ ἀπαιδευσία καθ' ἡμῶν τιθέασιν,  
 226 ὧν ὁ Λάβαν ἐστὶ θιασώτης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ  
 ἐκάθηρεν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῖς εἰς ἀγιστείαν |  
 [655] εὐτρεπισθείσι περιρραντηρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις  
 φιλοσοφίας ἀληθοῦς κατεποίκιλε λόγοις ἀγαγῶν  
 εἰς τὸ δοκίμιον καὶ διασήμους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ  
 λαμπροὺς ἐποίησεν, αἰτιᾶται τὸ ἐπίβουλον ἦθος,  
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν λεχθέντων ἀνηρεθισμένον λώβην.  
 227 φησὶ γάρ· “ἐώρακα ὅσα σοι Λάβαν ποιεῖ,”  
 τάναντία δῆπουθεν οἷς ἔδωρησάμην ἐγώ, τὸ δυσ-  
 κάθαρτον καὶ τὸ ἀδόκιμον, τὸ πάντη σκοταῖον.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ χρὴ κατεπτηχῆναι τὸν  
 ἐλπίδι θείας συμμαχίας ἐφορμοῦντα, ᾧ καὶ λέγεται·  
 “ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ.”  
 228 πάγκαλόν γε αὔχημα ψυχῇ, τὸ ἀξιοῦν θεὸν ἐπι-  
 φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐνομιλεῖν αὐτῇ. μὴ παρέλθης δὲ τὸ  
 εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐξέτασον, εἰ τῷ ὄντι δύο

and cast it down, either because the multitude are dissatisfied with his leadership, or because a more powerful rival is attacking him. Envy again is a grievous foe, difficult to shake off, a growth which always settles on what men call "doing well," and hard it is to escape from. XXXIX. Why

then do we invest ourselves with the gauds of political importance, as with some costly garment, and bear ourselves proudly in it, deceived by the fairness of what meets the eye, and not perceiving its insidious and dangerous ugliness which is out of sight and hidden from observation? Come, let us cast off this showy tunic, and put on the sacred one inwoven with the varied embroidery of virtues. So shall we escape also the ambushments, which unskilfulness, ignorance and indiscipline set for our ruin, to which company Laban belongs. For when the holy word

had cleansed us with the water of sprinkling made ready for our sanctification, and bringing us to the test had decked us with the varied richness of the secrets of true philosophy, and had made us clear and distinct and bright, it censures the evil-designing character stirred up to spoil the effects of the said treatment. For he says, "I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee" (Gen. xxxi. 12), the reverse, that is, of all that I bestowed upon thee, even sore foulness and spuriousness and darkness in every part.

Yet there can be no cowering fear for the man who relies on the hope of the divine comradeship, to whom are addressed the words "I am the God who appeared to thee in the place of God" (Gen. xxxi. 13). Surely a right noble cause of vaunting it is for a soul, that God deigns to shew Himself to and converse with it. And do not fail to mark the language used, but carefully

## PHILO

εἰσι θεοί· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ  
 ὀφθείς σοι,” οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐμῷ, ἀλλ’ “ ἐν τόπῳ  
 229 θεοῦ,” ὡς ἂν ἐτέρου. τί οὖν χρῆ λέγειν; ὁ μὲν  
 ἀληθεῖα θεὸς εἰς ἔστιν, οἱ δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει λεγόμενοι  
 πλείους. διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν τῷ παρόντι  
 τὸν μὲν ἀληθεῖα διὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου μεμήνυκεν εἰπών·  
 “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός,” τὸν δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει χωρὶς  
 ἄρθρου φάσκων· “ ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ,” οὐ τοῦ  
 230 θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ μόνον “ θεοῦ.” καλεῖ δὲ θεὸν τὸν  
 πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ νυνὶ λόγον, οὐ δεισιδαιμονῶν  
 περὶ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλος προ-  
 τεθειμένος, πραγματολογῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐτέροις  
 σκεψάμενος, εἰ ἔστι τι τοῦ ὄντος ὄνομα, σαφῶς  
 ἔγνω ὅτι κύριον μὲν οὐδέν, ὁ δ’ ἂν εἶπη τις, κατα-  
 χρώμενος ἐρεῖ· λέγεσθαι γὰρ οὐ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ  
 231 μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὄν. XL. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ  
 καὶ τὸ θεσπισθὲν λόγιον τῷ πυνθανομένῳ, εἰ ἔστιν  
 ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν,” ἴν’ ὢν δυνατὸν  
 ἀνθρώπῳ καταλαβεῖν μὴ ὄντων περὶ θεόν, ἐπιγνῶ  
 232 τὴν ὑπαρξίν.<sup>1</sup> ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ θερα-  
 πευτρῖσιν αὐτοῦ ψυχαῖς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστιν  
 ἐπιφαίνεσθαι διαλεγόμενον ὡς φίλον φίλαις, ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> The construction is extremely awkward. The majority of mss. have *ἀδύνατον*, which coupled with Wend.’s conjecture of *τῶν* for *μὴ* would give a more tolerable sentence. Mangey’s translation, also reading *ἀδύνατον*, “that man may believe in the existence of those qualities in God the absence of which is incomprehensible to him,” gives a sense which is suited to the argument which follows, but how could such an inference be drawn from *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*?

<sup>a</sup> Philo of course fails to understand that the LXX *τόπος θεοῦ* is a translation of the Hebrew place-name Bethel.

<sup>b</sup> If this is the right translation of the passage, Philo would seem to use *δεισιδαιμονία*, as the Latin *superstitio*

inquire whether there are two Gods ; for we read “ I am the God that appeared to thee,” not “ in my place ” but “ in the place of God,” as though it were another’s.<sup>a</sup> What, then, are we to say? He that is 229 truly God is One, but those that are improperly so called are more than one. Accordingly the holy word in the present instance has indicated Him Who is truly God by means of the articles saying “ I am the God,” while it omits the article when mentioning him who is improperly so called, saying “ Who appeared to thee in the place ” not “ of the God,” but simply “ of God.” Here it gives the title of 230 “ God ” to His chief Word, not from any superstitious nicety in applying names, but with one aim before him, to use words to express facts.<sup>b</sup> Thus in another place, when he had inquired whether He that is has any name, he came to know full well that He has no proper name,<sup>c</sup> and that whatever name anyone may use of Him he will use by licence of language ; for it is not the nature of Him that is to be spoken of, but simply to be.

XL. Testimony to this is 231 afforded also by the divine response made to Moses’ question whether He has a name, even “ I am He that is ” (Ex. iii. 14). It was given in order that, since there are not in God things which man can comprehend, man may recognize His subsistence. To the souls indeed which are incorporeal and are 232 occupied in His worship it is likely that He should reveal Himself as He is, conversing with them as friend with friends ; but to souls which are still in a

sometimes is, for over-fine scrupulousness in the use of words. But is this possible? See App. pp. 604 f. for this and the connexion of thought in these sections.

<sup>a</sup> The reference is to Ex. vi. 3. See *De Mut.* 13 f.

## PHILO

δὲ ἔτι ἐν σώματι ἀγγέλοις εἰκαζόμενον, οὐ μετα-  
 βάλλοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν—ἄτρεπτος γάρ,—ἀλλὰ  
 δόξαν ἐντιθέντα ταῖς φαντασιουμέναις ἑτερόμορφον,  
 ὡς τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ μίμημα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον  
 233 ἐκεῖνο εἶδος ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι. παλαιὸς  
 μὲν οὖν ἄδεται λόγος, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώποις εἰ-  
 καζόμενον ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις περιουστει τὰς πόλεις ἐν  
 κύκλῳ, τὰς τε ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας ἐξετάζον·  
 καὶ τάχα μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῶς, πάντως δὲ λυσιτελῶς  
 234 καὶ συμφερόντως ἄδεται. ὁ δὲ λόγος  
 σεμνότερον καὶ ἀγιώτερον ταῖς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος  
 ἐννοίαις αἰεὶ χρώμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων  
 [656] βίον | παιδεῦσαι γλιχόμενος ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν εἰκασεν,  
 235 οὐ μέντοι τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους οὐδενί· πρόσωπον διὰ  
 τοῦτο καὶ χεῖρας καὶ βάσεις καὶ στόμα καὶ φωνὴν  
 ὀργὰς τε καὶ θυμούς, ἔτι δὲ ἀμυντήρια ὄπλα καὶ  
 εἰσόδους μέντοι καὶ ἐξόδους καὶ τὰς ἄνω καὶ κάτω  
 καὶ πανταχῇ κινήσεις περιέβηκεν, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τῶν λόγων ἀναφέρων, ἀλλὰ  
 236 πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελεῖν τῶν μανθανόντων. εἰσὶ γάρ  
 τινες ἀμβλεῖς πάνυ τὰς φύσεις, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι  
 θεὸν ἄνευ σώματος ἐπινοῆσαι τὸ παράπαν· οὓς  
 ἀμήχανον ἑτέρως ἢ τρόπον τοῦτον νοουθετεῖν λέγον-  
 τας, ὅτι ὡς ἀνθρώπος ὁ θεὸς ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐξανα-  
 χωρεῖ καὶ κάτεισι καὶ ἀνέρχεται καὶ φωνῇ χρῆται  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις δυσχεραίνει καὶ ἀπαρ-  
 αιτήτως πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ἔχει καὶ βέλη μέντοι.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps <ιερός> λόγος.

<sup>a</sup> An obvious allusion to *Od.* xvii. 485:

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εὐκότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,  
 παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πόληας,  
 ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.



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body, giving Himself the likeness of angels, not altering His own nature, for He is unchangeable, but conveying to those which receive the impression of His presence a semblance in a different form, such that they take the image to be not a copy, but that original form itself. Indeed an old saying 233 is still current that the deity goes the round of the cities, in the likeness now of this man now of that man, taking note of wrongs and transgressions.<sup>a</sup> The current story may not be a true one, but it is at all events good and profitable for us that it should be current. And the sacred word ever enter- 234 taining holier and more august conceptions of Him that is, yet at the same time longing to provide instruction and teaching for the life of those who lack wisdom, likened God to man, not, however, to any particular man.<sup>b</sup> For this reason it has ascribed to 235 Him face, hands, feet, mouth, voice, wrath and indignation, and, over and beyond these, weapons, entrances and exits, movements up and down and all ways, and in following this general principle<sup>c</sup> in its language it is concerned not with truth, but with the profit accruing to its pupils. For some there are 236 altogether dull in their natures, incapable of forming any conception whatever of God as without a body, people whom it is impossible to instruct otherwise than in this way, saying that as a man does so God arrives and departs, goes down and comes up, makes use of a voice, is displeased at wrongdoings, is inexorable in His anger, and in addition to all this has provided Himself with shafts and swords and all other

<sup>b</sup> For the thought in this and the following sections *cf.* *De Sac.* 94 f., *Quod Deus* 53 f.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *Quod Deus* 53.

## PHILO

- καὶ ξίφη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τιμωρίας ὄργανα  
 237 ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τῶν ἀδίκων προευτρέπισται. ἀγα-  
 πητὸν γάρ, ἐὰν τῷ διὰ τούτων ἐπικρεμασθέντι  
 φόβῳ σωφρονισθῆναι δυναθῶσι. καὶ σχεδὸν δύο  
 εἰσὶν αὐταὶ μόναι αἱ τῆς νομοθεσίας πάσης ὁδοί,  
 μία μὲν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπονεύουσα, δι' ἧς  
 κατασκευάζεται “οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός,”  
 ἑτέρα δὲ ἢ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νωθεστέρων δόξας, ἐφ'  
 ὧν λέγεται· “παιδεύσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός, ὡς εἶ τις  
 παιδεύσειεν ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.”
- 238 XLI. τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζομεν, εἰ ἀγγέλοις, ὁπότε  
 καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν δεομένων ἐπικουρίας  
 ἀπεικάζεται; ὡσθ' ὅταν φῆ· “ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός  
 ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ,” τότε νόησον, ὅτι τὸν  
 ἀγγέλου τόπον ἐπέσχευ ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, οὐ μετα-  
 βάλλων, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μήπω δυναμένου τὸν ἀληθῆ  
 239 θεὸν ἰδεῖν ὠφέλειαν. καθάπερ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθήλιον  
 αὐγὴν ὡς ἥλιον οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν  
 ἰδεῖν ὀρώσι καὶ τὰς περὶ σελήνην ἄλως ὡς αὐτὴν  
 ἐκείνην, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνα, τὸν  
 240 ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὡς αὐτὸν κατανοοῦσιν. οὐχ  
 ὀρᾶς τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν Ἄγαρ, ὅτι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ  
 φησί· “σὺ ὁ θεός ὁ ἐπιδῶν με;” οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὴ  
 τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἰδεῖν αἴτιον, γένος οὕσα τῶν ἀπ'  
 Αἰγύπτου. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἄρχεται βελτιούμενος  
 τὸν ἡγεμόνα πασῶν τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων φαν-  
 241 τασιοῦσθαι. διὸ καὶ αὐτός φησιν· “ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps “on the present occasion,” contrasted not only with the Hagar story, but also with the Ladder Vision. The thought seems to be that while the Hagar-mind and even the Jacob-mind, in its lower stage, draw no distinction between the higher and the lower manifestations of the divine and mistake the Angel or the Logos for “the God,”

instruments of vengeance against the unrighteous. For it is something to be thankful for if they can be 237 taught self-control by the terror held over them by these means. Broadly speaking the lines taken throughout the Law are these two only, one that which keeps truth in view and so provides the thought " God is not as man " (Num. xxiii. 19), the other that which keeps in view the ways of thinking of the duller folk, of whom it is said " the Lord God will chasten thee, as if a man should chasten his son " (Deut. viii. 5).

XLI. Why, then, do we wonder any 238 longer at His assuming the likeness of angels, seeing that for the succour of those that are in need He assumes that of men? Accordingly, when He says " I am the God who was seen of thee in the place of God " (Gen. xxxi. 13), understand that He occupied the place of an angel only so far as appeared, without changing, with a view to the profit of him who was not yet capable of seeing the true God. For just as those 239 who are unable to see the sun itself see the gleam of the parhelion and take it for the sun, and take the halo round the moon for that luminary itself, so some regard the image of God, His angel the Word, as His very self. Do you not see how Hagar, who is the 240 education of the schools, says to the angel " Thou art the God that didst look upon me " ? (Gen. xvi. 13) ; for being Egyptian by descent she was not qualified to see the supreme Cause. But in the passage upon which we are occupied,<sup>a</sup> the mind is beginning, as the result of improvement, to form a mental image of the sovereign Ruler of all such Potencies. Hence it is 241

the Practiser has now reached the point where he can comprehend the highest as really implicit in the lower, and this truth is revealed to him by God Himself.

## PHILO

- θεός," οὐ τὴν εἰκόνα ὡς ἐμὲ πρότερον ἐθεάσω καὶ  
 στήλην ἐπίγραμμα ἐγκολάψας ἱερώτατον ἀνέθηκας·  
 τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐμήνυεν, ὅτι μόνος ἔστηκα ἐγὼ  
 καὶ τὴν τῶν πάντων φύσιν ἰδρυσάμην, τὴν ἀταξίαν  
 καὶ ἀκοσμίαν εἰς κόσμον καὶ τάξιν ἀγαγὼν καὶ τὸ  
 πᾶν ἐπερείσας,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα στηριχθῆ βεβαίως τῷ κραταιῷ  
 [657] καὶ ὑπάρχω μου | λόγῳ.
- 242 XLII. Στήλη γὰρ τριῶν πραγμάτων σύμβολον,  
 στάσεως ἀναθέσεως ἐπιγράμματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
 στάσις καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δεδήλωται, ἡ δὲ ἀνάθεσις  
 243 ἀναγκαῖα μνηυθῆναι· πᾶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος  
 ἀνάθημα θεοῦ τοῦ πεποιηκότος τὸ ἀνάθημα· καὶ  
 ὅσαι μέντοι κοσμοπολίτιδες ψυχαὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς,  
 ἑαυτὰς ἀνιεροῦσιν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀντισπώμεναι θνη-  
 τοῦ, καθαγιαζούσαι δὲ καὶ καλλιεροῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτῶν  
 244 ἄφθαρτον βίον οὐδέποτε κάμνουσι. μάταιος δ'  
 ὅστις μὴ θεῷ στήλην ἀνατίθῃσιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ, τὰ  
 γενέσεως ἰστάς τῆς πάντῃ σαλευομένης καὶ ἐπι-  
 γραμμάτων καὶ ἐπαίνων ἀξιῶν, ἃ ψόγου καὶ κατ-  
 ηγορίας μεστὰ ὄντα καλὸν ἦν ἢ μὴ γραφῆναι τὸ  
 245 παράπαν ἢ γραφέντα εὐθὺς ἀπαλειφθῆναι. διὸ καὶ  
 φησὶν ἀντικρὺς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος· "οὐ στήσεις σεαυτῷ  
 στήλην". ἔστηκε γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειαν οὐδέν, κἂν διαρραγῶσιν τινες ψευδόμενοι.  
 246 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἴονται μόνον παγίως ἐρηρεῖσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> See on § 158.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνθρώπων.

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<sup>a</sup> There is of course no suggestion of an inscription either in Gen. xxxi. 13 or in the original story, cf. Gen. xxviii. 18. But Philo, familiar with inscriptions on dedicatory slabs, takes the phrase "he set it up as a pillar" to mean that the soul, firmly convinced of God's stability, records (cf. ἕμους ἐγχαράξεις, § 256) its conviction and dedicates itself.

that He Himself says "I am the God," whose image thou didst aforetime behold deeming it to be I Myself, and didst dedicate a pillar engraved with a most holy inscription<sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxxi. 13); and the purport of the inscription was that I alone am standing (Ex. xvii. 6) and that it was I alone that established the being of all things, bringing confusion and disorder into order and array, and sustained the universe to rest firm and sure upon the mighty Word, who is My viceroy.

XLII. For "pillar" is a symbol of three things, of standing, of dedicating, of inscription. The standing and inscription have been made clear, but the dedicating demands explanation. The whole heaven and the whole world is an offering dedicated to God, and He it is who has created the offering; and all God-beloved souls, citizens of the world, consecrate themselves, allowing no mortal attraction to draw them in the opposite direction, and they never grow weary of devoting and sanctifying their own imperishable life. Foolish is the man who dedicates a pillar not to God but to himself, erecting<sup>b</sup> what pertains to creation with its tossing this way and that, and holding worthy of laudatory inscriptions things which, richly deserving to be denounced and reprov'd, had better never have been made subjects for inscriptions at all, or if once so made have been forthwith erased. This is why the holy word says expressly "Thou shalt not erect a pillar to thyself" (Deut. xvi. 22); for in reality nothing human does stand, even though some falsely say so till they burst.<sup>c</sup> Nay, they do not only think that they are firmly established but also that

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "making to stand." See App. p. 605.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Corona* § 21 οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος and *ibid.* § 87.

## PHILO

- ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἀξιοὶ καὶ ἐπιγραμμαμάτων εἶναι, τοῦ μόνου τιμῆς ἀξίου καὶ ἐστῶτος ὄντως ἐπιλεησμένοι. ἀποκλίναντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκτραπομένους τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξέτρεψεν αἰσθησις, ἢ σύμφυτος αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> γυνή, καὶ
- 247 ἠνάγκασεν ἐξοκεῖλαι. τοιγάρτοι περικαταχθείσα<sup>2</sup> ὡς ναῦς ἢ ὄλη ψυχὴ τρόπον στήλης ἀνετέθη. τὴν γὰρ Λῶτ γυναῖκα ἐπιστραφεῖσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω φασὶν οἱ χρησμοὶ γενέσθαι στήλην ἀλός, εἰκότως
- 248 γε καὶ προσηκόντως· εἰ γὰρ τις μὴ τὰ πρόσω, τὰ θέας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀξια, διορᾷ—ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ ἀρετὰς ἔργα,—περιβλέπεται δὲ τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νώτια, κωφὴν δόξαν καὶ τυφλὸν πλοῦτον καὶ ἀναίσθητον εὐσαρκίαν καὶ νοῦ κενὴν εὐμορφίαν καὶ ὅσα συγγενῇ τούτοις μεταδιώκων, ἄψυχος ἀνακείσεται στήλη περὶ ἑαυτὴν καταρρυεῖσα· οἱ γὰρ ἅλες οὐ βέβαιοι.
- 249 XLIII. Παγκάλως οὖν ὁ ἀσκητῆς μελέτη συνεχεῖ μαθῶν, ὅτι γένεσις κινήτων ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, τὸ δὲ ἀγένητον ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἀνίστησι τῷ θεῷ στήλην καὶ ἀναστήσας ἀλείφει· λέγεται γάρ·
- 250 “ἠλειψάς μοι στήλην.” ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης ἐλαίῳ λίθον ἀλείφεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μόνου ἐστάναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν ψυχῇ δόγμα γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ συνασκεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλειπτικῆς ἐπιστήμης, οὐχ ἢ τὰ σώματα πιαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἧς διάνοια ἰσχύει
- 251 κτάται καὶ ῥώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον. φίλαθλος γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> mss. αὐτῶ.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests *περικαταγεῖσα*. But the form *κατεάχθη* has sufficient authority.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 605.

<sup>b</sup> Or “looks round with admiration,” as elsewhere in Philo.

they deserve honours and inscriptions, being oblivious of Him Who is alone deserving of honour and really stands. For when they turn away and stray out of the course which leads to virtue, sense-perception, the woman inherent in their nature, makes them stray still more, and forces them to run aground. Wherefore shattered to pieces like a ship, the whole 247 soul is set up<sup>a</sup> after the fashion of a pillar. For the sacred records say that Lot's wife having turned to what was behind her became a pillar of salt (Gen. xix. 26). And that is fit and natural, for if one has 248 not a clear view of what is farther on, of what is worth seeing and hearing, of virtues, that is to say, and virtuous actions, but turns round to look at<sup>b</sup> what is behind and at his back ; if he pursues the deafness of glory, the blindness of wealth, the stupidity of bodily robustness, and the empty-mindedness of external beauty, and all that is akin to these, he will be set up as a soulless pillar, with its substance streaming down from it ; for salt has no firmness.

XLIII. Right well, then, does the Practiser, having 249 learned by continuous exercises that creation is of itself a thing of movement, whereas the Unoriginate is free from alteration and from movement, raise a pillar to God, and having raised it anoints it : for we read " Thou anointedst unto Me a pillar " (Gen. xxxi. 13). But imagine not that here we have a 250 stone anointed with oil ; rather that the doctrine of God as the only Being that stands is exercised and practised in a soul with the trainer's science, not that by which bodies are made stout and brawny, but that by which understanding acquires a vigour and strength which no opponent can overcome. For he 251

## PHILO

- καὶ φιλογυμναστῆς ὁ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-  
 [658] τηδευμάτων ὠρμημένος | θήραν· ὥστ' εἰκότως τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν ἰατρικῆς τέχνης ἀλειπτικὴν ἐκπονήσας,  
 πάντα τοὺς περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀλείψας  
 καὶ συγκροτήσας λόγους, ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ  
 252 ἐχυρώτατον ἀναθήσει θεῷ. διὸ καὶ μετὰ  
 τὴν τῆς στήλης ἀνάθεσιν φησιν, ὅτι " ἠΰξω μοι  
 εὐχὴν." εὐχὴ δέ ἐστι κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀνάθεσις,  
 ὅποτε μὴ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν  
 κεκτημένον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδιδούς διδόναι λέγεται θεῷ  
 253 δῶρον. " ἅγιος " γάρ φησιν " ἐστὶν ὁ τρέφων  
 κόμην τρίχα κεφαλῆς " ὁ εὐξάμενος<sup>1</sup>. εἰ δὲ ἅγιος,  
 ἀνάθημα πάντως, μηδενὸς ἔτ' ἀνιέρου καὶ βεβήλου  
 254 προσαπτόμενος. ἐγγυᾶται δέ μου τὸν λόγον ἢ  
 προφήτης καὶ προφητοτόκος " Ἄννα, ἥς μεταληφθὲν  
 τοῦνομα καλεῖται χάρις. τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν διδόναι φησὶ  
 τῷ ἀγίῳ δῶρον Σαμουήλ, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον,  
 ἀλλὰ τρόπον ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ κατεχόμενον ἐκ  
 μανίας θεοφορήτου. Σαμουήλ δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται  
 τεταγμένος θεῷ.  
 255 Τί οὖν ἔτι, ψυχὴ, ματαιάζεις καὶ κενὰ πονεῖς,  
 ἀλλ' οὐ φοιτᾷς πρὸς τὸν ἀσκητὴν, τὰ κατὰ τοῦ  
 πάθους καὶ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀναλαβεῖν ὄπλα καὶ  
 παλαισμάτα μαθησομένη; τάχα γὰρ μαθοῦσα ἀγέ-  
 λαρχήσεις, οὐκ ἀσήμου καὶ ἀλόγου καὶ ἀναγώγου,  
 256 δοκίμου δὲ καὶ λογικῆς καὶ ποικίλης ἀγέλης· ἥς

<sup>1</sup> Most mss. have ὁ εὐξάμενος, Wend. with some εὐξάμενος. The article is needed. The argument is that the vow involves self-dedication, because, though in itself it is merely a dedication of the hair, ἅγιος shews that the man himself is included.



that has set out for the pursuit of noble practices is a lover of contest and a lover of exercises. Hence having thoroughly mastered the sister art to that of the physician, namely that of the trainer, having put all thoughts of virtue and piety through a course of training and drill, he will dedicate to God an offering most beautiful and firmly established.

Accordingly after the dedication of the pillar he goes on to say, "Thou didst vow to me a vow" (*ibid.*). Now a vow is in the fullest sense a dedication, seeing that a man is said to give a gift to God when he renders to Him not only his possessions but himself the possessor of them. For the lawgiver says, "He shall be holy that letteth the locks of the hair of his head grow long" (Num. vi. 5), that is, the man who has made the vow; and if he is holy, he is nothing else than a dedicated offering, seeing that he no more comes in contact with anything unhallowed and profane. What I say is vouched for by that prophetess and mother of a prophet, Hannah, whose name is in our tongue "Grace." For she says that she is giving as a gift to the Holy One her son Samuel (1 Sam. i. 11),<sup>a</sup> not meaning a human being but rather an inspired temper possessed by a God-sent frenzy. And "Samuel" means "appointed for God."

Why then, O soul, dost thou any longer trifle and engage in profitless labours, and not rather become a pupil of the Practiser, and learn to use weapons and engage in wrestlings against passion and vainglory? For haply, when thou hast learned, thou shalt be a herdsman, not of a herd without mark, without reason, without discipline, but of one bearing the stamp of genuineness, endowed with reason, and with varied

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 605.

## PHILO

εἰ γένοιο ἡγεμών, τὸ μὲν οἰκτρὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος ὀλοφυρῆ, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐ παύσῃ προστρεπομένη,<sup>1</sup> τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ ἐπιλείψεις εὐδαιμονίζουσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕμνους ἱεροπρεπεῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράξεις, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγῃς εὐτρόχως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾄδῃς μουσικῶς τὰς τοῦ ὄντος ἀρετάς. οὕτως γὰρ δυνήσῃ καὶ εἰς τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης μακρὰν καὶ ἀνήνυτον ζάλην<sup>2</sup> ἐκφυγοῦσα.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προτρεπομένη.

<sup>2</sup> The majority of mss. have ἀλήτ(θ)ειαν. I suggest ἄλην, cf. τὸν νοῦν ἐξ ἄλης πολυχρονίου πάντη πλανηθέντα *De Praem.* 117.

## ON DREAMS, I. 256

markings. Shouldst thou become its leader, thou wilt 256  
bewail the pitiable race of men, but wilt never cease  
to approach the Deity with supplications ; thou wilt  
never tire of proclaiming the blessedness of God, nay,  
wilt grave on pillars holy hymns, that thou mayest  
not only tell in eloquent language but also sing in  
sweet melody the excellences of Him that is. For  
so shalt thou be able also to return to thy father's  
house, and be quit of that long endless distress which  
besets thee in a foreign land.



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK II

THIS long treatise, the conclusion of which has been lost, seems to me to have a poverty of thought which makes it the weakest of the whole series. And though it may be merely a coincidence, it is a curious fact that it is hardly ever quoted or referred to by later writers. Further, it has less manuscript authority than any other, except *De Posteritate Caini*. Only one ms. used by Wendland contains it, and even this, as the many footnotes to the text will shew, has a quite unusual number of corruptions and lacunas.<sup>a</sup>

The treatise follows at once on the preceding and deals with the third kind of dreams, the characteristic of which is that they contain no direct divine message, but something is seen by the dreamer, obscure in itself but explained by the art of dream interpretation. There are three pairs of dreams, one those of Joseph himself as a boy (1-154), another of the chief baker and chief butler in prison (155-214), another of Pharaoh (215 to the end), the two last pairs being interpreted by Joseph himself.

After the distinction between the three kinds of dreams has been noted (1-4), the subject of Joseph's

<sup>a</sup> It is also contained in the ms. in Trinity College Library referred to in the Introduction to *De Mutatione*. I have collated it and found it to be a close representation of the A used by Wendland, with much the same corruptions and lacunas. For such results as I have obtained see App. p. 606.

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two dreams is introduced (5-7) ; but, before they are discussed, we must remember what Joseph represents. Here he is not so much the politician as the representative of the ordinary mixed character in whom the claims of the soul are constantly disputed by those of the body and external things ; and in such a character vainglory (*κέννη δόξα*) or vanity (*τυφός*) is sure to appear (8-16).

The first dream begins, "I thought we were binding sheaves." After noting that "thought" indicates the vagueness of the Joseph-mind (17-20), Philo points out that the dreamer only supposes himself and his brothers to be engaged in the inferior task of binding, not of reaping, which needs, he thinks, the skill to distinguish the good corn from the worthless (21-22). This leads to a further thought on spiritual reaping. We find the phrase, "When you reap your reaping," which he takes to mean that when the harvest of virtue is reaped there is a further stage where this very reaping is reaped away in the consciousness that it is of God and not of ourselves (23-24). Some similar duplicates are adduced, and the double cave of Machpelah and the two kinds of music are taken to indicate a similar sort of distinction between our acceptance of the good in creation and our acknowledgement of its dependence on the divine, and so "Ye shall not consummate the rest of the reaping" implies that the consummation does not belong to man (25-30).

But what are the sheaves? Evidently in some degree drawn by the similarity of sound in *δράγματα* and *πράγματα*, Philo interprets them as "doings" used in the sense of chief characteristics. He describes in much the same terms as elsewhere the

## ON DREAMS, II.

leading attributes of the eleven brothers (31-41). The leading attribute of Joseph is vainglory, and this is illustrated by a few incidents in Joseph's life and by the interpretation of his name as "addition," for vainglory adds luxuries to the simple life (41-47). This leads to a long commonplace against luxury as shewn in food and drink (48-51), clothing (52-53), houses (54-55), beds (56-57), unguents (58-59), drinking-cups (60-61), and golden crowns instead of flower garlands (64). Luxury, in fact, is the beast which was supposed to have devoured Joseph and thus made Jacob mourn for him, a contrast to Nahab and Abihu in whose case Moses forbade all mourning (64-67). At this point the connexion of thought gets difficult.<sup>a</sup> Cutting off the hand of the immodest woman is treated as the duty of cutting ourselves off from absorption in lower aims and contrasted with the full handful which the priest takes and offers (68-74), and we then recur to the thought of 23 ff., though stated in a different way, that the spiritual reaping of virtues must be dedicated to God (75-77).

"My sheaf rose up and stood upright and your sheaves turned round and did homage to mine." This example of the arrogance of vainglory suggests to Philo the ascendancy of the tyrant in ordinary life and the need of caution in dealing with him. In such cases frank speaking is no virtue, any more than sailing in the teeth of a storm or than facing wild beasts when unarmed (78-89). Abraham did homage to the children of Heth for the cave of Machpelah, and so must the weak propitiate the mighty (90-92). The brethren, however, do not take this line, for they reply, "Shalt thou indeed be king and lord over us?"

<sup>a</sup> See note *ad loc.*

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This shews us that their opposition to Joseph represents the resistance of right reason to vainglory in the soul. We may dismiss, therefore, any thoughts of the unbrotherliness of the ten, and see merely the refusal of the better part within us to acknowledge any king but God (93-100). And Philo himself, while confessing his weakness, feels that even when he is most helpless he desires to follow this better judgement (101-104). And perhaps too the Joseph in us will be converted. What else indeed is suggested by the story of Joseph, with its various signs of something higher, crowned by his final acceptance by Moses, when his bones are carried by the liberated people out of Egypt? (105-109).

The second dream was that of the sun, moon and stars bowing down to Joseph. It chiefly differs from the first in being concerned with heavenly instead of earthly phenomena (110-112). Philo, after noting apparently without actual disapprobation the theory that the divine natures of the heavenly bodies do actually contend for pre-eminence (113-114), explains the dream from one point of view as describing the arrogance of those who regard themselves as superior not only to men but to nature (115-116). Thus Xerxes turned land into sea by cutting through Mount Athos and shot his arrows at the sun (117-120). The foolish Germans try to repel the tide with armed forces (121-122), and a little before in Alexandria a tyrannous ruler, when trying to coerce the Jews into Sabbath-breaking, had argued with them that, in the event of a deluge or earthquake or thunderstorm, they would not hesitate to forgo their regular customs, and that he himself was as powerful as any of these natural forces (123-129). Such a person,



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Philo thinks, will consider himself aggrieved if the seasons do not conform to his expectations (130-132). But a more general interpretation is possible. We may regard the sun as right reason, the moon as discipline or education, and the stars as the thoughts engendered by these two in the soul, which the lower Joseph-like thoughts would fain bring into subjection (133-135). Thus while Jacob's answer, "What is this dream which thou hast dreamt?" implies that Joseph is describing a spiritual conflict of this nature (135-138), the words that follow, "Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren bow down before thee?" are the refusal of right reason to submit to vanity (139-140). At the same time, we are told that his father kept the saying in his heart; and from this Philo diverges to the need for caution and self-distrust. How constantly do we find examples of long success ended by disaster, of good life followed by moral decay in old age (141-149)! And this thought suggests the image of the fountain of peace which we sometimes taste and then find denied to us—a sad condition, yet better than to drink our fill of the fountain of unreason, when the unreasoning powers master the governing element in the soul and produce that anarchy which the experience both of men and animals shews to be fatal to happiness (149-154).

In the dreams of the chief butler and baker the two men represent drunkenness and gluttony (155-158). The dream of the butler is then quoted in full (159). We note that its opening words, "In my sleep," are appropriate to that deep drunken sleep in which all the wicked are plunged (160-162), and also "the vine was before me" shews the love which the

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wicked feel for the sources of their spiritual drunkenness (162-163). But before going further we must observe that the vine may be also a symbol of gladness of the true kind. Philo describes at some length how convivial meetings shew sometimes good feeling and at other times quarrelsomeness and hatred (164-168). We find this favourable meaning of "vine" in the story of the scouting party of Numbers xiii. Those seekers for virtue who are unable to carry the main stalk of wisdom and joy cut off and carry away at least one great cluster (169-171). And how good a thing is this gladness is shewn by the application of the word to God Who is glad when men do well (172-178), and from which we may deduce that our duty is to make Him glad (179-180). But the vine of the cup-bearer is not of this sort. He will indeed plead that it cannot be, seeing that he is cup-bearer to Pharaoh, not to God Whose cup-bearer is the Logos himself (181-183). How different are these two! Pharaoh's cup-bearer is called an eunuch: the Logos on the other hand is represented by the High Priest: and what is signified spiritually by eunuch and high priest is described at some length in Philo's usual way (184-190). If we need a further description of the vine of folly we shall find it in the text which speaks of the vine of Sodom and the branch of Gomorrah, for Sodom is blindness and Gomorrah (the measure) typifies the human mind which holds itself and not God to be the measure of all things (191-194). A few more phrases in the dream are then dealt with. As *πυθμῆν* may mean not only stalk but root or extremity, Philo finds a figure of the way in which folly brings the soul down to extreme misery (195-199). Again, "Pharaoh's cup was in my hand"

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indicates that our own hands or actions are needed to give passion full scope (199-201) ; and " I squeezed the grapes into the cup " represents how the fool glories in using every drop of the drink of folly (202-204).

The dream of the chief baker is dismissed very shortly. The three baskets which he carries are the pleasures of the past, the present and the future, while the birds which descend and devour the baked meats are the divine retributions which overtake the pleasure-seeker and leave him headless and crucified (205-214).

We now pass on to the two parallel dreams of Pharaoh in which the seven lean devour the seven fat kine, and the seven bad the seven good ears. But in what has been preserved at any rate no notice is taken of the substance of these dreams, and the discussion is confined with digressions to the opening phrases of the first dream : " I thought I stood upon the edge of the river." After quoting the two dreams (215-218), Philo takes the words " I thought I stood." Here we have the Pharaoh-mind profanely claiming the standing which belongs only to God, and this thought is supported by some familiar texts (219-222). Yet God imparts this stability primarily to the Logos which under the name of Covenant is said to be made to stand upon the just Noah, thus shewing that the just man becomes as it were the pedestal (223-225) ; secondly to the wise man, for Abraham stands before God and Moses stood " between God and you," thus shewing the sage as something intermediate between God and man (226-233) ; and thirdly to the progresser who stands midway between the full life of virtue and the death of vice

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(234-236). How vain then is the claim of the Pharaoh-mind to stand (237) !

The river is speech, which may be either good or bad (238-240). In its good sense, which includes reason, we find it in the river of Eden which divides into four heads (*ἀρχαί*) or virtues ; and as *ἀρχαί* means also rules or sovereignties, we have a hint of the thought of the sage as king (241-244). Also we find in the Psalms the phrase "the river of God," clearly indicating the divine Logos (245), and as we hear also of the river "making glad the city of God," Philo digresses to consider what the city of God is. In one sense it is the world ; in another the righteous soul ; and its name of Jerusalem, vision of peace, fits this meaning well, for God is peace and dwells in the peace-loving soul (246-258). Also Abraham is given all the land from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates where the latter is soul and what soul loves, and the former does not mean that the river of Egypt or body is included in the gift ; rather that river is bad and soulless speaking and thinking, and its nature is typified by its producing frogs and bringing death to the fish which represent true thoughts (259-260).

The edge or lip (*χέλος*) reminds us that the closing of the lips gives silence, and their opening speech, and we must remember that each has its proper season (261-263). Various texts enjoining silence are quoted (264-267), but there are also occasions which call for song, like the song of triumph of Exodus xv. or that of the well in Numbers xxi., or for oratory like that enjoined in Deut. xxii. on the bringing of firstfruits, and a short meditation on the details of this passage follows (268-273). With the wicked

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wrong speaking is more frequent than wrong silence, and three kinds of such speaking are distinguished (274-275). There are the pleasure-lovers represented by Pharaoh who was met by Moses at the "lip" of the river (276-278); the sophists represented by the people of Egypt, who were seen dead at the "lip" of the sea (279-282); the deniers of divine providence represented by the builders of Babel of whom it is said "the whole earth was of one lip" (283-284). The confusion which overtakes this third class, who are the advocates of anarchy, is enlarged on, and while repentance will bring forgiveness, persistence can only bring the divine punishment (285-295). This point is supported by a text from Leviticus on the soul which "distinguishes with its lips to do ill or well," which Philo understands as a presumptuous claim to knowledge of the nature of good and ill. Yet this too, by proclaiming its sin, may win forgiveness (296-299).

The fragment which follows begins a discussion, why the phrase "lip of the river" is only found in connexion with the river of Egypt. Philo censures the critics who regard such points as hair-splitting, and reiterates his conviction that the Scripture does not mean to teach us geography but the realities of life. The continuation is lost (302-end).

## B'

[659] I. | Τὸ τρίτον εἶδος τῶν θεοπέμπτων ὀνείρων  
<sup>1</sup> ἀναγράφοντες εἰκότως ἂν ἐπίμαχον Μωυσῆν καλοῖ-  
 μεν,<sup>1</sup> ἵν', ὡς ἔμαθεν οὐκ εἰδώς, ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 ἀναδιδάξῃ περὶ τῶν σημείων, ἕκαστον αὐγάζων.  
 συνίσταται δὲ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος, ὅποταν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις  
 ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ κινουμένη καὶ ἀναδονοῦσα ἑαυτὴν  
 κορυβαντιᾶ καὶ ἐνθουσιῶσα δυνάμει προγνωστικῇ  
<sup>2</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίζῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἦν  
 ἄρχοντος τῆς κινήσεως θεοῦ καὶ ὑπηχούντος ἀορά-  
 τως τὰ ἡμῖν μὲν ἄδηλα, γνώριμα δὲ ἑαυτῶ· τὸ  
 δὲ δεύτερον τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας τῇ τῶν ὄλων  
 συγκινουμένης ψυχῇ καὶ θεοφορήτου μανίας ἀνα-  
 πιμπλαμένης, ἧ<sup>2</sup> θέμις πολλὰ τῶν ἀποβησομένων  
<sup>3</sup> προαγορεύειν. διὸ ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὰς μὲν  
 κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον<sup>3</sup> φαντασίας τρανῶς  
 πάνν καὶ ἀριδῆλως ἐμήνυσεν, ἅτε τοῦ θεοῦ χρησιμοῖς  
 σαφέσιν εἰκότα διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων ὑποβάλλοντος,  
 τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον οὔτε σφόδρα τηλαυγῶς οὔτε  
 σκοτίως ἄγαν· ὧν<sup>4</sup> ὑπόδειγμα ἡ ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup> τῆς οὐρανοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καλεῖ μὲν (καλοῦμεν).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. σημαινόμενος.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ὄν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. εἰ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ὑπὸ.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Som.* i. 1-2.

## BOOK II

I. In setting forth the third kind of God-sent 1  
dreams we may fitly summon Moses to our assist-  
ance, that, as he learned when he did not know, he  
may teach us too in our ignorance regarding their  
tokens, by throwing light on each. This third kind  
of dreams arises whenever the soul in sleep, setting  
itself in motion and agitation of its own accord, be-  
comes frenzied, and with the prescient power due to  
such inspiration foretells the future. The first kind 2  
of dreams we saw to be those in which God originates  
the movement and invisibly suggests things obscure  
to us but patent to Himself: while the second kind  
consisted of dreams in which the understanding moves  
in concert with the soul of the Universe and becomes  
filled with a divinely induced madness, which is per-  
mitted to foretell many coming events.<sup>a</sup>

In accordance with these distinctions, the Sacred 3  
Guide gave a perfectly clear and lucid interpretation  
of the appearances which come under the first de-  
scription, inasmuch as the intimations given by God  
through these dreams were of the nature of plain  
oracles. Those which fall under the second descrip-  
tion he interpreted neither with consummate clear-  
ness nor with excessive indistinctness. A specimen  
of these is the Vision that appeared on the heavenly

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κλίμακος φανείσα ὄψις. αὕτη γὰρ αἰνιγματώδης  
 μὲν ἦν, τὸ δὲ αἰνίγμα οὐ λίαν τοῖς ὀξύ καθορᾶν  
 4 δυναμένοις ἀπεκρύπτετο. αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον  
 εἶδος φαντασίαι μᾶλλον τῶν προτέρων ἀδηλούμεναι<sup>1</sup>  
 διὰ τὸ βαθὺ καὶ κατακορῆς ἔχειν τὸ αἰνίγμα  
 ἐδεήθησαν καὶ τῆς ὄνειροκριτικῆς ἐπιστήμης.  
 πάντες γοῦν οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ ἀναγραφέντες<sup>2</sup> ὄνειροι τῷ  
 νομοθέτῃ διακρίνονται πρὸς σοφῶν τὴν λεχθεῖσαν |  
 5 τέχνην ἀνδρῶν. τίνος οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὄνει-  
 [660] ροι; ἢ παντί τῳ δῆλον, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, οἱ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου Φαραὼ καὶ οὗς ὁ τε<sup>3</sup> ἀρχισιτο-  
 6 ποιὸς καὶ ἀρχιονοχόος εἶδον αὐτοί<sup>4</sup>; πρέποι δ' ἂν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων αἰεὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀπάρχεσθαι.  
 πρῶτοι δ' εἰσιν οὗς ἐθεάσατο Ἰωσήφ, ἀπὸ δυεῖν  
 τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, διττὰς  
 φαντασίας λαβῶν· ἀπὸ μὲν γῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀμητὸν  
 ὄναρ—τοιούτου δ' ἐστίν· “ ὦμην ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν  
 δράγματα ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη δὲ τὸ ἐμὸν  
 δράγμα,”—τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν<sup>5</sup> ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον \* \* \*<sup>6</sup>  
 “ ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἔνδεκα ἀστέρες  
 7 προσεκύνουν με.” διάκρισις δὲ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου  
 μετὰ σφοδρᾶς ἐπανατάσεως τοιαύτη· “ μὴ βασι-  
 λεύων βασιλεύσεις ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ἢ κυριεύων κυριεύσεις  
 ἡμῶν; ” τοῦ δὲ ὑστέρου ὀργὴ πάλιν δικαία· “ ἄρα  
 γε ἐλευσόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί  
 σου προσκυνῆσαι σοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; ”

8 II. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ θεμελίῳν τρόπον προκατα-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δηλούμεναι.      <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀναγραφόντες.      <sup>3</sup> MSS. οὕτε.

<sup>4</sup> So MSS.: perhaps αὐτοῦ.      <sup>5</sup> MSS. τὸ.

<sup>6</sup> Both Mangey and Wend. suppose a lacuna here, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐράνου· λέγει γὰρ. It does not seem to me absolutely necessary.



## ON DREAMS, II. 3-8

stairway. For this vision was indeed enigmatic, but the riddle was not in very high degree concealed from the quick-sighted. The appearances of the 4 third kind being more obscure than the former, owing to the deep and impenetrable<sup>a</sup> nature of the riddle involved in them, demanded a scientific skill in discerning the meaning of dreams. Accordingly all the dreams of this sort recorded by the lawgiver received their interpretation at the hands of men who were experts in the aforesaid science. Whose 5

then are the dreams? Does not everybody perceive that they are those of Joseph, those of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and those which the chief baker and chief butler themselves saw? It would seem fitting 6 always to begin our teaching with those which come first; and first to come are those which Joseph saw when from the divisions of the universe, two in number, heaven and earth, two visions were presented to him. From the earth came the dream of the reaping. It runs on this wise: "Methought that we were binding sheaves in the midst of the plain, and my sheaf rose up" (Gen. xxxvii. 7). The other has to do with the zodiac: "As it were the sun and the moon and eleven stars worshipped me" (*ibid.* 9). On the former dream an interpretative 7 judgement is pronounced in a tone of vehement menace to this effect: "Shalt thou indeed be king over us? or shalt thou indeed be lord over us?" (*ibid.* 8). The latter dream again incurs well-merited displeasure: "Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren come to bow down to the ground to worship thee?" (*ibid.* 10).

II. So much by way of a foundation. As we go 8

<sup>a</sup> Or "intense blackness." See note on *Leg. All.* ii. 67.

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βεβλήσθω, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς σοφῆς ἀρχιτέκτονος, ἀλληγορίας, ἐπόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν ἐποικοδομῶμεν, ἐκάτερον δὴ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὄνειράτων ἀκριβοῦντες. ἃ δὲ χρῆ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκοῦσαι, λεκτέον· τὴν τὰγαθοῦ φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἔτειναν ἐπὶ πολλά, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ προσεκλήρωσαν μόνω· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκέρασαν, οἱ δὲ  
 9 καὶ ἄκρατον εἶασαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰπόντες, ἀμιγῆ διαφυλάξαντες αὐτήν, ἀπένειμαν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, λογισμῷ, οἱ δὲ μίξαντες τρισὶν ἐφήρμοσαν, ψυχῇ, σώματι, τοῖς ἐκτός. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν τῆς μαλακωτέρας καὶ τρυφερᾶς διαίτης, τὸν πλείω χρόνον ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι καὶ τοῖς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐκτεθηλυμμένοις ἔθεσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπαργάνων ἀνατραφέντες· οἱ δ' ἕτεροι σκληροδίαιτοι, πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρῶν κουροτροφηθέντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ φρονήματα, τὸ συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ ἡδέος ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ τροφαῖς ἀθλητικαῖς πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥώμην, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν,  
 10 χρώμενοι. *δυεῖν δὴ θιάσων ἡγεμόνας εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς, τοῦ μὲν γενναίου τὸν αὐτομαθῆ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον Ἰσαάκ—ἀναγράφει γὰρ αὐτὸν (ἀπο)γαλακτιζόμενον, ἀπαλαῖς καὶ γαλακτώδεσι νηπίαῖς τε καὶ παιδικαῖς τροφαῖς οὐ δικαιοῦντα χρῆσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' εὐτόνοις καὶ τελείαις, ἅτε ἐκ βρέφους εὔ πρὸς ἀλκὴν πεφυκότα καὶ ἐπακμάζοντα καὶ ἀνηβῶντα αἰεί,—τοῦ δὲ εἴκοντος*

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διὰ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔθνεσι.

## ON DREAMS, II. 8-10

on to build the superstructure let us follow the directions of Allegory, that wise Master-builder, while we investigate the details of either dream. There are, however, in both dreams some prefatory remarks to be listened to first. Some have given the nature of that which is good a wide application, making it extend to many objects ; while others have assigned it only to that which is most excellent : the former have regarded it as mixed, while the latter have left it free from admixture. Now, those who have main- 9 tained that only the morally beautiful is good, preserving it unmixed, have attributed the good to the reasoning faculty, the noblest part in us ; while those who have regarded it as mixed have associated it with three things, soul, body, and things external to us. The latter class belong to the softer and luxurious way of life, having been reared up for the greater part of the time from their very cradle in the women's quarter and in the effeminate habits of the women's quarter. Those others are austere of life, reared by men, themselves too men in spirit, eager for what will do them good rather than for what is pleasant, and taking food suited to an athlete with an eye to strength and vigour, not to pleasure.

There are two companies as leaders of which Moses 10 introduces Isaac and Joseph. The noble company is led by Isaac who learns from no teacher but himself, for Moses represents him as weaned (Gen. xxi. 8), absolutely disdaining to make any use of soft and milky food suited to infants and little children, and using only strong nourishment fit for grown men, seeing that from a babe he was naturally stalwart, and was ever attaining fresh vigour and renewing his youth. The company which yields and is ready to

## PHILO

- 11 καὶ εὐενδότου τὸν Ἰωσήφ. οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλογοῖ  
 μὲν τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετῶν, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ  
 [661] τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐσταθείας, | ἐφίεται (δὲ) καὶ  
 τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς εὐπορίας· ἀνθέλκεται δὲ εἰκότως  
 πολλὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου προτεθειμένους, καὶ ἀντι-  
 σπώμενος ὑφ' ἐκάστου σείεται<sup>1</sup> καὶ κλονεῖται μὴ  
 12 δυνάμενος στηριχθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥσπερ αἱ  
 ἔνσπονδοὶ πόλεις εἰρήνην ἄγουσι \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀντι-  
 επιτίθενται, ὡς ἐν μέρει κρατεῖν τε καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι·  
 πολλὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ῥυεῖσα πρὸς<sup>3</sup> πλοῦτον καὶ  
 δόξαν ὁρμὴ τὰς περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν φροντίδας  
 ἐξενίκησεν, εἶτα ἀντιβιασθεῖσα πάλιν ὑπὸ ἀμφοῖν  
 13 (ἢ) ὑπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐνικήθη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον  
 ἀθροαὶ καὶ αἱ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καταρραγεῖσαι πάντα  
 ἐξῆς τὰ νοητὰ ἐπέκλυσάν τε καὶ ἡφάνισαν· εἴτ' οὐκ  
 εἰς μακρὰν ἀντιπνεύσασα σοφία λάβρω καὶ σφοδρῶ  
 πνεύματι τό τε ῥεῦμα τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐχάλασε καὶ  
 συνόλως τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀπάσας σπουδὰς  
 14 τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπράννε. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ κύκλος  
 εἰλεῖται περὶ τὴν πολύτροπον ψυχὴν αἰδίου πολέμου·  
 καθαιρεθέντος γὰρ ἐνὸς ἐχθροῦ φύεται πάντως  
 δυνατώτερος ἕτερος, ὕδρας τῆς πολυκεφάλου τὸν  
 τρόπον· καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνης φασὶν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκτμη-  
 θείσης κεφαλῆς ἀναβλαστάνειν ἄλλην, αἰνιττόμενοι  
 τὸ πολύμορφον καὶ πολύγονον τῆς ἀθανάτου κακίας  
 15 δυσάλωτον γένος. μηδὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *ιέται*.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests the insertion of *αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι*, ἀλλὰ πολε-  
 μοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις. But see note on opposite page.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *περὶ*.

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<sup>a</sup> Some more neutral word or phrase is required rather

## ON DREAMS, II. 11-15

give in is led by Joseph, for he is one who does not 11  
indeed take no account of the excellences of the soul,  
but is thoughtful for the well-being of the body also,  
and has a keen desire to be well off in outward things ;  
and he is naturally drawn in different directions since  
he has set before him many ends in life, and as he  
experiences one counter-attraction after another, he  
is shaken this way and that and can never attain to  
fixity. For indeed our aims<sup>a</sup> do not rest in peace like 12  
cities under a treaty, (but engage in war and deliver  
attacks) and counter-attacks, in turn winning victory  
and suffering defeat. For at times the appetite  
flows strongly to wealth and reputation and com-  
pletely masters the interests of body and soul, and  
then again is met and driven back by an opposing  
force, and vanquished by both or one of them. In 13  
the same way the pleasures of the body descend upon  
us in gathered force like a cataract deluging and  
obliterating one after another all the things of the  
mind ; and then, after no long interval, Wisdom with  
strong and vehement counterblast both slackens the  
impetus of pleasures and mitigates in general all the  
appetites and ambitions which the bodily senses  
kindle in us. Such is the cycle of unceasing warfare 14  
ever revolving round the many-sided soul ; for, when  
one foe has been laid low, another yet mightier is  
sure to spring up, after the fashion of the many-  
headed Hydra ; for we are told that on it another  
head grew to take the place of that which had been  
cut off ; and this is a figurative way of teaching how  
hard it is to vanquish undying vice so varied in its  
form, so varied in its offspring. Do not, then, 15

than Wend.'s *ἐπιθυμῖαι, ε.γ. σπουδαί*. The combat is not between  
the lusts, but between soul, body, and external interests.

## PHILO

- κρίνας ποτέ προς \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> τῷ Ἰωσήφ, ἀλλ' ἴσθι ὅτι πολυμιγοῦς καὶ κεκραμένης<sup>2</sup> δόξης ἐστὶν εἰκῶν. ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐγκρατείας εἶδος, ὃ τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἰακῶβ
- 16 τυπωθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ ἄλογον<sup>3</sup> αἰσθήσεως, μητρῶω γένει τῷ κατὰ Ῥαχὴλ ἐξεικονισθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς σπέρμα, ὃ ἀρχιοινοχῶν καὶ ἀρχισιτοποιῶν καὶ ἀρχιμαγεύρων συνδιαιτήσεις ἐνεσφράγισαν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ τῆς κενῆς<sup>4</sup> δόξης, ἐφ' ἣν ὡς ἐφ' ἄρμα διὰ τὸ κοῦφον ἀναβαίνει, φυσώμενος καὶ μετέωρον αἰωρῶν<sup>5</sup> ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει ἰσότητος.
- 17 III. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ χαρακτήρ διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ὑποτυποῦται· τῶν δ' ὄνειράτων ἐκάτερον μὲν ἀκριβωτέον, πρότερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τῶν δραγμάτων ἐρευνητέον. “ ὦμην ” φησὶν “ ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν δράγματα.” τὸ μὲν “ ὦμην ” εὐθέως ἀδηλοῦντος καὶ ἐνδοιάζοντος καὶ ἀμυδρῶς ὑπολαμβάνοντος, οὐ παγίως καὶ τηλαυγῶς ὀρῶντος,
- 18 ἀνάφθεγμα<sup>6</sup> ἐστὶ. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου διανισταμένοις καὶ ἔτι ὄνειρώττουσιν ἀρμόττον λέγειν “ ὦμην,” οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐγρηγορόσι<sup>7</sup> παντελῶς καὶ
- 19 τρανώς ἐμβλέπουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακῶβ “ ὦμην ” ἐρεῖ, ἀλλ' “ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη, ἧς [662] ἡ κεφαλὴ | ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,” καὶ πάλιν·

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a lacuna in A (Wend.'s ms.) of ten to eleven letters, for which he suggests -κλήρου μόνον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κεκρυμμένης.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. λογικόν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. καινῆς.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἑώρων.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνάφθεγμα. Wend. suspected this word, which is not noted in Stephanus, nor the old L. & S. But ἀναφθέγγομαι is well supported and ἀνάφθεγμα itself is quoted in L. & S. 1927 from Philodemus as well as from here.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. ἐγρηγόρσει.

## ON DREAMS, II. 15-19

select any single thing (and regard it) as Joseph's sole portion, but be well assured that he represents Opinion with its vast medley of ingredients. For there is manifest in him, on the one hand, the rational strain of self-control, which is of the masculine family, fashioned after his father Jacob : manifest, 16 again, is the irrational strain of sense-perception, assimilated to what he derives from his mother, the part of him that is of the Rachel type : manifest also is the breed of bodily pleasure, impressed on him by association with chief butlers and chief bakers and chief cooks : manifest too is the element of vain-glory, on to which as on to a chariot his empty-headedness makes him mount up, when (Gen. xli. 43) puffed with pride he lifts himself aloft to overthrow equality from its seat.

III. In what we have said so far we have been 17 giving a rough sketch of Joseph's character. We must now consider in detail each of his dreams. And the one which must be examined first is the one concerning the sheaves. "Methought," says he, "that we were binding sheaves" (Gen. xxxvii. 7). The very first word, "methought," is the utterance of one at a loss, hesitating, dimly supposing, not seeing steadily and distinctly. For "methought" 18 is a word which becomes those waking up out of deep sleep and still in dreamland, not those who are thoroughly awake and see things clearly. You will 19 not find the Practiser Jacob saying "methought," but "behold a stairway firmly fixed, whose top reached to heaven" (Gen. xxviii. 12), and again "at

## PHILO

- “ ἤνικα ἐνεκίσσων τὰ πρόβατα, εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ τράγοι καὶ οἱ κριοὶ ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἴγας, διάλευκοι καὶ ποικίλοι καὶ σποδοειδεῖς ῥαντοί.”
- 20 τῶν γὰρ τὸ καλὸν δι’ ἑαυτὸ αἰρετὸν νομιζόντων καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντασίας εἰλικρινεστέρας καὶ καθαρωτέρας ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς μεθ’ ἡμέραν δοκιμωτέρας πράξεις.
- 21 IV. “Αγαμαὶ δ’, ὅταν ἀκούω τοῦ διηγουμένου τὸ ὄναρ, ὅτι ὑπέλαβε δράγματα καταδεῖν, οὐ θερίζειν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ἔργον, τοῦτο δ’ ἡγεμόνων καὶ γεωργίας ἐμπειροτάτων τὸ
- 22 ἐπιτήδευμα. τὸ γὰρ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν σκυβάλων ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τροφίμα μὴ τροφίμων καὶ νόθων γνήσια καὶ ἀνωφελοῦς ρίζης καρπὸν ὠφελιμώτατον, μὴ ἐν οἷς ἡ γῆ βλαστάνει μᾶλλον ἢ<sup>1</sup>
- 23 διάνοια φύει, τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐστίν. ὁ γοῦν ἱερὸς λόγος τοὺς ὀρώντας εἰσάγει θερίζοντας καί, τὸ παραδοξότατον, οὐ κριθὰς ἢ πυρούς, ἀλλὰ τὸν θερισμόν αὐτὸν ἐκθερίζοντας· λέγεται οὖν· “ ὅταν θερίζητε τὸν θερισμόν ὑμῶν, οὐ συντελέσετε τὸ
- 24 λοιπὸν τοῦ θερισμοῦ.” βούλεται γὰρ τὸν ἀστείον οὐ μόνον κριτὴν εἶναι τῶν διαφερόντων, <διακρίνοντα> καὶ διαστέλλοντα <τὰ><sup>2</sup> ἐξ ὧν γίνεται τινα καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν δοκεῖν ἀναιρεῖν, ἀμῶντα τὸν ἀμητὸν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν<sup>3</sup> ἀποτέμνοντα διὰ τὸ καὶ πεποιθέναι καὶ Μωυσεῖ λέγοντι πιστεύειν, ὅτι “ μόνου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ κρίσις ἐστίν,” παρ’ ὧν αἱ συγκρίσεις

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps μᾶλλον ἢ <ἢ ἢ> διάνοια.

<sup>2</sup> <τὰ> my insertion.

<sup>3</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἐπιβουλήν. For ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν cf. *De Som.* i. 1.



## ON DREAMS, II. 19-24

the time that the sheep conceived, I saw them with my eyes in my sleep, and behold the he-goats and the rams leaped upon the sheep and the goats wholly white, and streaked, and sprinkled as though with ashes " (Gen. xxxi. 10, 11). For the very visions seen 20 in their sleep are of necessity clearer and purer in the case of those who deem the morally beautiful eligible for its own sake, even as their doings by day are bound to be more worthy of approbation.

IV. Now, when I listen to him who is telling the 21 dreams I marvel at his deeming that they were tying up sheaves, not reaping them. The former is the work of unskilled underlings, the latter the business of masters and of those thoroughly well versed in farm work. For the power to distinguish necessities of 22 life from refuse, and plants which supply nourishment from those which do not, and genuine from spurious, and a highly profitable fruitage from a root that is devoid of profit, in things yielded by the understanding, not in those which the soil puts forth, is a mark of consummate excellence. So the sacred story 23 represents those whose eyes are open as reaping, and, what is most unexpected, not reaping barley or wheat but reaping out the reaping itself : accordingly it is said " When ye reap your reaping, ye shall not finish that which remains of the reaping " (Lev. xix. 9). For the lawgiver wishes the virtuous man to be not 24 only a judge of things that differ, distinguishing and separating things which produce and their productions, but to do away with the very conceit that he has the power to distinguish, mowing the very mowing and cutting away the workings of his own mind, in obedience to and belief in Moses' saying that " judgement belongs to God only " (Deut. i. 17),

## PHILO

- καὶ αἱ διακρίσεις τῶν ἀπάντων· ὑφ' οὗ καλὸν ὁμολογεῖν ἠττάσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀοιδίμου νίκης εὐ-  
 25 κλεέστερον. ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ τὸν θερισμὸν θερίζειν  
 τὸ δις περιτέμνειν, ὅπερ ὡς ὅτε<sup>1</sup> ἔκαινούργησεν  
 ἐξευρῶν περιτομῆς περιτομήν, τὴν “ἀγνείαν  
 ἀφαγνίζεσθαι,<sup>2</sup>” τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτὴν  
 καθαίρεσθαι, παραχωροῦντας τῷ θεῷ τὸ φαιδρύνειν  
 καὶ μηδέποτε νομίσαντας ἰκανοὺς εἶναι ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης τὸν κηλίδων ἀνάμεστον  
 ἐκνύσασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι<sup>3</sup> βίον.  
 26 ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τὸ διπλοῦν σπήλαιον,  
 αἱ διπλαῖ καὶ περιμάχητοι μνήμαι,<sup>4</sup> ἧ τε περὶ τοῦ  
 γεγονότος καὶ ἧ περὶ τοῦ πεπονηκότος, αἷς ἐν-  
 τρέφεται ὁ ἀστείος, θεωρῶν μὲν τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, φιλο-  
 πευστῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννήσαντος πατρός.  
 27 ἀφ' ὧν οἶμαι καὶ τὴν ἐν μουσικῇ δις διὰ πασῶν  
 εὔρεθῆναι συμφωνίαν· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ  
 τὸν δημιουργὸν τελειοτάταις μελωδίαις εὐδαιμονί-  
 28 ζεσθαι δυσίν, οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ  
 [663] ὑμνούμενα | διέφερον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς μελωδίας  
 καὶ συμφωνίας διακεκρίσθαι, τὴν μὲν συνημμένην  
 ἀπονέμοντας<sup>5</sup> τῷ συνημμένῳ καὶ ἐκ διαφερόντων

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests ὅπερ ὡσαύτως: perhaps ὡσπερ ποτέ.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀφανίζεσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ἐκνύσαι καὶ ἀπολούσαι.

<sup>4</sup> So mss.: Wend. γνώμαι. See note *a* below.

<sup>5</sup> Mangey ἀπονέμοντα: Wend. conjectures ἀπονέμοντος <τοῦ λόγου>: or perhaps <τοῦ οντος>? I can see no construction for either -τα or -τας.

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<sup>a</sup> Memories (μνήμαι), a quite intelligible word, though in itself less natural than judgements or opinions (γνώμαι), is, I believe, right. Cf. *De Post.* 62, where after speaking of the “double cave” (LXX for Machpelah) he says ἡ Χεβρών αὐτῆ, μνήμας ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα. The thought is

## ON DREAMS, II. 24-28

with Whom in all matters comparisons and distinctions rest : to acknowledge defeat at whose hands is a noble thing and more glorious than far-famed victory. Like the "reaping the reaping" is the 25 two-fold circumcision, which we meet with in such a case as that of the lawgiver devising as a new practice a circumcision of circumcision (Gen. xvii. 13), or "the consecration of a consecration" (Num. vi. 2), that is, the purification of the very purification of the soul, when we yield to God the prerogative of making bright and clean, and never entertain the thought that we ourselves are sufficient apart from the divine overseeing guidance to cleanse our life and remove from it the defilements with which it 26

To this class belongs also the "double cave" (Gen. xxiii. 9), that pair of precious memories<sup>a</sup> concerned, one with all that has come into being, the other with Him who has made it. These constitute the nurture of the man of worth, for whom all things in the universe are objects of contemplation, and who loves to inquire also concerning the Father who brought them into being. I imagine 27 that the discovery of the double diapason<sup>b</sup> in music is to be traced to this same pair. For both the work and its Fashioner must needs be celebrated by two quite perfect melodies, not the same in each case. For since the themes of praise were different it was 28 necessary for the corresponding musical harmonies to be distinct also, the conjunct assigned to the conjunct universe, compacted as it is of different

perhaps drawn from the word *μνημεῖον* applied to the cave in Gen. xxiii. 6. For the favourable way in which duality is regarded in these sections, contrasted with that in § 70, see note *ad loc.*, App. p. 608.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 606 f.

## PHILO

- ἀρμοσθέντι κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ διεζευγμένην τῷ πάσης γενέσεως διεζευγμένῃ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν θεῷ.
- 29 γνώμην δὲ ἀποφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ ἱεροφάντης φιλάρετον λέγων· “οὐ συντελέσετε<sup>1</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θερισμοῦ,” μεμνημένος τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεως, καθ’ ἣν ὠμολόγει “τὸ τέλος εἶναι κυρίου,” παρ’ ὃν τὸ<sup>2</sup> κῦρος καὶ ἡ τούτων βεβαίωσις ἐστίν.
- 30 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ θερίζειν ἀμύητος αὐχεῖ λέγων<sup>3</sup>. “ὦμην ἂ μὴ ἐθέρισα καταδεῖν σὺν ἑτέροις δράγματα,” καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο παρ’ ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι δούλων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ἦδε ἐστὶν ὑπηρεσία, καθὰ καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον εἶπον.
- 31 Δράγματα δ’ ἀλληγοροῦντές φαμεν εἶναι πράγματα, ὧν ἕκαστος ὡς οἰκείας τροφῆς ἐπιδράττεται, ἐν ἣ ἕξεισθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἐλπίζει.
- 32 V. μυρίαὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν δραγμάτων, λέγω δὴ τῶν ὡσανεὶ τρεφόντων πραγμάτων, διαφοραί, μυρίαὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιδραττομένων καὶ αἰρουμένων τὰ δράγματα, ὡς ἀπάσας οὐτ’ εἰπεῖν οὐτ’ ἐπινοῆσαι δυνατόν· τινὰς δ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον δείγματος ἔνεκα ἐρμηνεῦσαι, ὧν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ διηγούμενος ἐπεμνήσθη.
- 33 φησὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· “ὦμην ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν δράγματα.” ἀδελφοὶ δ’ εἰσὶν ὁμοπάτριοι μὲν δέκα, ὁμογάστριος δὲ εἷς· ἐκάστου δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦνομα σύμβολον ἀναγκαιοτάτου πράγματός ἐστι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συντελέσαι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. παρόντος.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. λέγειν.

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<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps better “you will not,” *i.e.* Philo, as elsewhere, understands the indicative (*ἀποφαίνεται*), to lay down a spiritual fact rather than a command. See note on *De Som.* i. 101, and references there given. The section has perhaps no connexion of thought with the preceding. His

## ON DREAMS, II. 28-33

parts, the disjunct reserved for Him Who is in virtue of His existence disjunct from all creation, even God. There is again a statement breathing love of virtue 29 expressed in the words of the Sacred Guide, "Ye shall not<sup>a</sup> make an end of what remains of the reaping" (Lev. xix. 9), for he does not forget the principle with which he set out, acknowledging that "the end is the Lord's" (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.), with whom rests the lordship and establishment of these things.

But in fact the man who has never learned the 30 mysteries of reaping vaunts him saying, "Methought I was in company with others binding sheaves which I had not reaped" (Gen. xxxvii. 7), and failed, as I pointed out a little while ago, to take into account that this is a service performed by unskilled slaves.

When we assign to words their figurative meaning 31 we say that sheaves are "doings" which each of us grasps with the hand as his proper nourishment, hoping that he will find life and occupation therein for ever. V. Now, the varieties of the sheaves, that 32 is to say of the doings which may be called our nourishment, are so countless, so countless also the various sorts of men who lay hold of and make choice of the sheaves, that it is impossible to recount or even to conceive of them all. It may not, however, be out of place to instance some of these varieties which are introduced in his story of his dream. For he says to 33 his brothers, "Methought we were binding sheaves" (*l.c.*). Brothers he has ten who are sons of the same father as he, one who is son of the same mother; and the name of each of them is the symbol of a most

point in quoting the text lay in the first part "reap the reaping," but as usual he is drawn into making some comment on the rest of the verse.

## PHILO

- Ῥουβὴν μὲν εὐφυῆς—υἱὸς γὰρ ὄρων καλεῖται, ἧ  
 μὲν υἱός, οὐ τέλειος, ἧ δὲ ὄρατικός καὶ ὀξύ καθορῶν,  
 34 εὐφυῆς,—μαθήσεως δὲ Συμεῶν—εἰσακοῇ γὰρ  
 ἐρμηνεύεται,—ἐνεργειῶν δὲ καὶ πράξεων σπου-  
 δαίων καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἁγίων Λευί, τῶν δὲ εἰς θεὸν  
 ᾠδῶν τε καὶ ὕμνων Ἰούδας, Ἰσάαχαρ δὲ μισθῶν,  
 οἱ ἐπ' ἔργοις καλοῖς ἀποδίδονται<sup>1</sup>—τάχα δ' αὐτὰ  
 τὰ ἔργα ὁ τέλειος μισθὸς ἦν,—Ζαβουλῶν δὲ φωτός,  
 ἐπειδὴ ρύσις<sup>2</sup> νυκτερίας ὀνομάζεται—ρέουσης δὲ  
 καὶ ἀπολιπούσης νυκτὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης φῶς ἀνίσχει,—  
 35 διακρίσεως δὲ καὶ τομῆς<sup>3</sup> πραγμάτων Δάν, ἐπι-  
 θέσεως δὲ καὶ ἀντεπιθέσεως πειρατικῆς Γάδ,  
 Ἀσὴρ δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ<sup>4</sup> πλούτου—μακαρισμὸς γὰρ  
 ἐρμηνεύεται, ἐπειδὴ μακάριον κτῆμα νενόμισται  
 36 πλοῦτος,—εἰρήνης δὲ Νεφθαλεῖμ—διανοίγεται  
 (γὰρ) καὶ εὐρύνεται πάντα εἰρήνῃ, ὡς συγκλείεται  
 [664] | πολέμῳ· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα μεταληφθὲν πλατυσμὸς ἢ  
 διανεωγμένον ἐστί,—Βενιαμὴν δὲ τοῦ νέου καὶ  
 γέροντος χρόνου· λέγεται γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεὶς υἱὸς  
 ἡμερῶν<sup>5</sup> εἶναι, ἡμέραις δὲ καὶ νυξίν ὁ νέος ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ γέρον αἰῶν<sup>6</sup> ἀναμετρεῖται.  
 37 Ἐπιδράττεται γοῦν ἕκαστος τῶν οἰκείων καὶ  
 ἐπιδραξάμενος τὰ μέρη πάντα συνδεῖ· ὁ μὲν  
 εὐφυῆς εὐθιξίας, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης, ἐν οἷς ἡ  
 εὐφυῆς· ὁ δὲ εὐμαθῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἡσυχίας, προσ-  
 οχῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐγχειρητῆς [τῆς] θαρραλεότητος, παρα-  
 38 κекινδυνευμένης ἐβτολμίας· ὁ δὲ εὐχάριστος ἐπαί-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιδίδονται.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ψυχικοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. φύσις.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἡμῶν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. τροπῆς.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. αἰῶνα.

## ON DREAMS, II. 33-38

essential "doing." "Reuben" is the symbol of good natural endowments, for "seeing son" he is called, in so far as he is a son not perfect, but in so far as he is a man with power to see and keenness of vision, well endowed by nature. Symeon, which 34 means "diligent listening," is the symbol of aptness to learn; Levi of excellent activities and practices and sacred ministries; Judah of songs and hymns addressed to God; Issachar of rewards rendered as recompense for noble deeds, the deeds themselves, it may be, constituting the perfect reward; Zabulon of light, since he is named "night's flowing," and when night fails and flows away, light of necessity dawns; of distinguishing and analysing matters Dan is the 35 symbol; Gad of piratical attack and counter-attack; Asher, whose name signifies "felicitation," symbolizes natural wealth, which has the reputation of being a possession conferring felicity; Naphthali's name 36 denotes a "broadening" or "flung wide open," and so he is a symbol of peace, by which all things are opened out and given width, just as they are shut in by war. Benjamin is a symbol of time, both that of youth and that of old age, for his name is said to mean "son of days," and youth and old age are alike measured by days and nights.

Thus each one of them grasps the sheaves that 37 are proper to him, and when he has grasped them binds all these parts together. The man well endowed by nature grasps quickness of apprehension, persistence, goodness of memory, the qualities in which excellence of natural endowment shows itself; the apt learner grasps listening, silence, attention; the enterprising man, venturesomeness and courage ready to take risks; the man of thanksgiving takes 38

## PHILO

- νων, ἐγκωμίων, ὕμνων, εὐδαιμονισμῶν κατὰ τε τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἄδειν· ὁ δὲ μισθῶν ἐφιέμενος ἀόκνου συνεχείας, τλητικωτάτης καρτερίας καὶ
- 39 ἐπιμελείας σὺν εὐκαταφροντίστῳ<sup>1</sup> ταχυτήτι· ὁ δὲ φῶς ἀντὶ σκότους μεταδιώκων ἐγρηγόρσεως, ὄξυωπίας· ὁ δὲ τομῆς καὶ διακρίσεως πραγμάτων ζηλωτῆς λόγων ἠκονημένων, τοῦ μὴ ὑφ' ὁμοίων ὡς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπατάσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν,
- 40 τοῦ ἀδεκάστου· ὁ δὲ πειρατικώτερον ἐνεδρεύων τοὺς ἀντιλοχῶντας ἀπάτης, φενακισμοῦ, γοητείας, σοφισμάτων, προσποιήσεως, ὑποκρίσεως, ἅπερ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ψεκτὰ ὄντα κατ' ἐχθρῶν γινόμενα ἐπαινῆται· ὁ δὲ πλουτεῖν τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον ἐπιτηδεύων ἐγκρατείας, ὀλιγοδετίας· ὁ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐρῶν εὐνομίας,
- 41 εὐδικίας,<sup>2</sup> ἀτυφίας, ἰσότητος. VI. ἐκ τούτων τὰ τῶν ὁμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν δράγματα καταδεῖται, τὰ<sup>3</sup> δὲ τοῦ ὁμογαστρίου ἐξ ἡμερῶν καὶ χρόνου, τῶν οὐδενὸς αἰτίων ὡς ἀπάντων αἰτίων.
- 42 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἐνυπνιαστής καὶ ὄνειροπόλος—ἦν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα—τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὡς μεγίστου καὶ λαμπροτάτου καὶ βιωφελεστάτου κτήματος ἐπιδράττεται. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπ' ὄνειράτων, ἃ νυκτὶ φίλα, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας γνωρίζεται, οὐκ ἀπὸ πραγμάτων τηλαυγῶν ἐναργείας,<sup>4</sup> ἃ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμέρας δεῖται.
- 43 εἶτ' ἐπίτροπος ἢ κηδεμὼν Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἀνα-

<sup>1</sup> So MSS.: Wend. ἀνανταγωνίστῳ. See App. p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. εὐδοκίας.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. τοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐνεργείας.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* everything happens in time, but is not caused by it. Wend.'s proposed emendation τῶν δ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίων, ὧν δ'



hold of commendations, eulogies, odes, panegyrics both in speech and song ; the man who is bent on rewards, lays his hand on unflinching assiduity, fortitude that never gives in, and the carefulness in which speed is combined with caution ; he who is in pursuit 39 of light replacing darkness grasps wakefulness and keen-sightedness ; the man who aims at analysis and accurate distinctions, lays hold of keen-edged arguments, of power to resist the delusion of confusing likeness and identity, of impartiality, of integrity ; he 40 who pirate-like counters ambush by ambush grasps trickery, quackery, sorcery, fallacies, pretence, feigning, practices which are in themselves reprehensible but when resorted to in dealing with enemies are belauded ; he that makes it his object to be rich in nature's riches, will lay his hands on self-control and parsimony ; the lover of peace on good order, just dealing, freedom from arrogance, equality. VI. These are the constituent parts of the sheaves 41 bound by the brothers of the dreamer, sons of the same father as he, while the sheaf of his uterine brother is made up of days and time, cause of nothing as cause of everything.<sup>a</sup> The dreamer 42 himself, interpreter of dreams to boot, lays hold of vainglory, deeming it a possession of highest importance and splendour and advantage to human life. Accordingly it is in the first instance from dreams, things beloved of night, that he becomes known to the sovereign of the land of the body, not from "doings" luminous with the self-evidence of manifest fact, things which need day to exhibit them. The next step is that he is proclaimed procurator or 43

*οὐκ ἀνευ πάντα* gives the sense, but is both arbitrary and unnecessary.

## PHILO

κηρύττεται, ταῖς τιμαῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰσόμενος  
 δευτερεία, ἅπερ ἤττης καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀφανέστερα  
 καὶ καταγελαστότερα παρὰ φρονήσει γράφεται  
 44 δικάζουση. εἶτα “ κλοιὸν χρυσοῦν,”  
 ἀγχόνην ἐπιφανῆ, κύκλον καὶ τροχὸν ἀνάγκης  
 ἀτελευτήτου, περιτίθεται<sup>1</sup>—οὐκ ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὸ  
 ἐξῆς ἐν βίῳ καὶ τὸν εἰρμὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ-  
 [665] μάτων, ὡς ἡ Θάμαρ· οὐ | γὰρ κλοιός, ἀλλὰ  
 ὀρμίσκος αὐτῆς ὁ κόσμος—καὶ δακτύλιον μέντοι  
 βασιλικόν, δῶρον (ἄδωρον),<sup>2</sup> πίστιν ἄπιστον, ἐναν-  
 τιούμενον τῷ δοθέντι πάλιν<sup>3</sup> τῇ Θάμαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 45 βασιλέως τοῦ ὀρώντος, Ἰσραήλ, Ἰούδα. δίδωσι  
 γὰρ οὗτος τῇ ψυχῇ σφραγίδα, πάγκαλον δῶρον,  
 διδάσκων ὅτι (ὁ θεός) ἀσχημάτιστον οὖσαν τὴν  
 τῶν πάντων οὐσίαν ἐσχημάτισε καὶ ἀτύπτωτον  
 ἐτύπωσε καὶ ἄποιον ἐμόρφωσε καὶ τελειώσας τὸν  
 ὅλον ἐσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνι καὶ ἰδέα, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ  
 46 λόγῳ. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνός γε<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δευ-  
 τερεῖον ἄνεισιν ἄρμα [ἧ] ὑποτυφούμενος ὑπ’ αἰώρας  
 φρενῶν καὶ κενοῦ φυσήματος καὶ σιταρχεῖ, τῷ  
 σώματι θησαυροφυλακῶν καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ  
 πορίζων τὰς τροφάς· ἐπιτειχισμὸς δὲ κατὰ τῆς  
 47 ψυχῆς βαρὺς οὗτός ἐστι. τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει καὶ  
 ζηλώσει τοῦ βίου μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τοῦνομα οὐχ  
 ἦκιστα· πρόσθεσις γὰρ Ἰωσήφ ἐρμηνεύεται. κενὴ  
 δὲ δόξα προστίθησιν αἰεὶ γνησίῳ μὲν τὸ νόθον,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περιτιθέναι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Soph. *Ajax*, 665.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. αὐτῆς: Mangey αὐτῇ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τε.

<sup>a</sup> Or “cord,” cf. *De Fug.* 150, *De Mut.* 135. The interpretation of the ὀρμίσκος given here combines the two different interpretations given in those passages. See note on *De Fuga* 150.

## ON DREAMS, II. 43-47

protector of all Egypt, to stand second only to the sovereign in the signs of honour shewn to him, a position set down as more insignificant and absurd in wisdom's judgement than the infliction of indignity and defeat.

In the next place he puts **44** round his neck "a golden collar" (Gen. xli. 41 f.), a manifest halter, a circlet and hoop of unending necessity, not a life of orderly sequence, not the chain which marks Nature's doings: these are properties of Tamar, whose adornment is not a collar but a necklace<sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxxviii. 18). Yes, and he puts on his finger a royal ring (Gen. xli. 42), a gift and pledge, by which nothing is given, nothing pledged, in sharp contrast once more to that which was given to Tamar by Judah, king of the nation that sees, even Israel. For this king gives the soul a seal (Gen. **45** xxxviii. 18), a gift all-beauteous, by which he teaches it that when the substance of the universe was without shape and figure God gave it these; when it had no definite character God moulded it into definiteness, and, when He had perfected it, stamped the entire universe with His image and an ideal form, even His own Word.<sup>b</sup>

To go back to Joseph. **46** He mounts the second chariot (Gen. xli. 43), elated by mental dizziness and empty conceit, and becomes the victualler (*ibid.* 48) and keeper of the body's treasuries, providing food for it from all quarters: and thus threatens serious danger to the soul. Not **47** the least significant testimony to his principle and ambition for life is his name. "Joseph" means an "adding," and vainglory is always making additions. To what is genuine it adds what is counterfeit, to

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Mut.* 135. For the distinction between *εἰκῶν* and *ἰδέα* see App. p. 607.

## PHILO

οἰκείῳ δὲ τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἀληθεῖ<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος, αὐτάρκει δὲ τὸ πλεονάζον, ζωῆ δὲ θρύψιν, βίῳ δὲ τύφον.

- 48 VII. Τί δ' ἐστὶν ὁ βούλομαι δηλοῦν, σκόπει. σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς τρεφόμεθα, κἂν ἢ εὐτελεστάτη μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον. τί οὖν ἡ κενὴ δόξα προσεπέθηκεν ἀμῆτων καὶ μελιπήκτων πεμμάτων γένη μυρία καὶ οἴνων ἀμυθῆτων πολυέργους καὶ παμποικίλους κράσεις πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μετουσίαν τροφῆς παρηρτυμένας;
- 49 πάλιν ἡδύσματα πρὸς ἐδωδὴν ἀναγκαῖα γήτεια καὶ λάχανα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκροδρῦων καὶ ἔτι τυρὸς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὁμοιότροπον· εἰ δὲ θέλεις, ἐπὶ σαρκοβόρων ἀνθρώπων ἰχθύς ἔτι καὶ κρέας πρὸς
- 50 τούτοις γράφομεν. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ αὐταρκες ἦν ἀπανθρακίσαντας καὶ αὐτοσχεδίως ὀπτήσαντας πυρὶ τρόπον ἡρωικῶν ὄντως ἀνδρῶν προσφέρεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> ὁ γαστρίμαργος μόνον ὄρμᾳ, σύμμαχον δὲ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ λίχνον πάθος ἐγείρας ὀψαρτύτας καὶ τραπεζοποιούς εὐδοκίμους τὴν τέχνην ἀναζητεῖ καὶ περι-
- 51 βλέπεται. οἱ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τῆς ταλαινῆς γαστρὸς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνευρημένα δελέατα ἀνακινήσαντες καὶ χυλῶν ιδιότητας σκευάσαντές τε καὶ διαθέντες ἐν κόσμῳ προσσαίνουσι καὶ τιθασεύουσι γλῶτταν· εἴτ' εὐθύς ἀγκιστρεύονται τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὴν ἐπιβάθραν, γεῦσιν, δι' ἧς ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου δοῦλος ὁ δειπνοθήρας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεφάνη.
- 52 τίς γε μὴν οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἀμπεχόνῃ πρὸς τὰς [666] ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγινομένας βλάβας τῷ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀληθέσι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τούτων.

## ON DREAMS, II. 47-52

what is appropriate what is alien, to what is true  
what is false, to what is sufficient what is excessive,  
to vitality debauchery, to life's maintenance vanity.

VII. Mark what it is that I wish to make clear. 48  
Food and drink nourishes us, though it be the plainest  
barley-cake and water from the spring. Why then  
has vainglory superadded countless sorts of milk  
cakes and honied pastry and elaborate and diversified  
blends of innumerable wines highly seasoned with a  
view to indulgence in pleasure rather than partaking  
of nourishment? Again, relishes of the simplest 49  
kind are onions, greens, many fruits and cheese, and  
anything else of that kind as well : if you like, we  
will put down beside these fish and meat in the case  
of men who are not vegetarians. Would it not, then, 50  
have been quite sufficient, after broiling them on the  
coals or roasting them in a rough and ready way just  
as real heroes used to do,<sup>b</sup> to eat them? Nay, this  
is not all that your epicure craves for. Having pro-  
cured the alliance of vainglory and stirred up the  
greediness within him he is on the look-out for and  
hunts up pastry-cooks to dress their food and serve  
their table, men who are famous masters of their art.  
These set at work the baits that have been found out 51  
ages ago to tempt our miserable belly, and make up  
and arrange in proper order decoctions of special  
flavour with which they coax the tongue into sub-  
servience : hereupon they forthwith get on to their  
hook the sense of taste which gives them access  
to the senses in general : and by means of taste  
the glutton is quickly revealed as no freeman but a  
slave. Clothing, as everybody knows, was 52  
produced at first to guard against the harm done to

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 607.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. e.g. *Il.* ix. 211 ff.

## PHILO

- σώματι κατεσκευάσθη τὸ πρῶτον; ἀλεξάνεμος  
 53 μέν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ πού φασι, χειμῶνι \* \* \*.<sup>1</sup> τίς  
 οὖν τὰς πολυτελεῖς ἀλουργίδας, τίς τὰ διαφανῆ καὶ  
 λεπτὰ θέριστρα, τίς τὰς ἀραχνοῦφείς ἀμπεχόνας,  
 τίς τὰ ἐπηηθισμένα ἢ βαφαῖς ἢ πλοκαῖς διὰ τῶν  
 βάπτειν ἢ ὑφαίνειν ποικίλα ἐπισταμένων καὶ τὴν ἐν  
 ζωγραφία μίμησιν παρενημερούντων δαιδαλεύεται;  
 τίς; οὐχ ἢ κενὴ δόξα;
- 54 VIII. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐδέησεν  
 ἡμῖν αἰτίας, καὶ ὅπως μὴ πρὸς θηρίων ἢ θηριωδεσ-  
 τάτων<sup>2</sup> τὰς φύσεις ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτρεχόντων βλαπτώ-  
 μεθα. τί οὖν τὰ μὲν ἐδάφη καὶ τοὺς τοίχους  
 πολυτελέσι λίθοις διακοσμοῦμεν; τί δὲ Ἀσίαν  
 καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πᾶσαν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰς νήσους  
 ἐπερχόμεθα, κίονας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους καὶ  
 55 ἐπιστυλίδας ἐρευνῶντες; τί δὲ περὶ Δωρίου καὶ  
 Ἰωνικὰς καὶ Κορινθιακὰς γλυφὰς καὶ ὅσα<sup>3</sup> οἱ  
 ἐντρυφῶντες (τοῖς καθεστῶσι<sup>4</sup> νόμοις προσεξεῦρον  
 σπουδάζομέν τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, κιονόκρανα  
 κοσμοῦντες; τί δὲ χρυσορόφους ἀνδρῶνας καὶ  
 κυναικωνίτιδας κατασκευάζομεν; ἀρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν  
 56 γενὴν δόξαν; καὶ μὴν πρὸς γε ὕπνον  
 μαλακὸν μὲν ἔδαφος αὐταρκές ἦν—ἐπεὶ καὶ μέχρι  
 νῦν τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς χαμευνεῖν ἐκ  
 παλαιῶν ἐθῶν κατέχει λόγος,—εἰ δὲ μή, σιτβάς  
 γοῦν (ἦ)<sup>5</sup> ἐκ λίθων λογάδων ἢ ξύλων εὐτελῶν  
 57 πεποιημένη κλίνη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐλεφαντόποδες τὰ  
 ἐνήλατα καὶ κλινητῆρες ὀστράκοις πολυτελέσι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna of one line: supply e.g. τῷ δὲ θέρει ἀναψύχουσα as Wend. (or σκιάζουσα?). <sup>2</sup> Perhaps θηριωδεστέρων.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ὄσους.

<sup>4</sup> mss. ζῶσι. See App. pp. 607 f.

<sup>5</sup> <ἦ> my insertion.

ON DREAMS, II. 52-57

the body by great cold and heat, "wind-proof," as I think the poets have it,<sup>a</sup> in winter and (cooling in summer). Who, then, is the cunning worker of those 53 costly sea-purples, those light transparent summer gauzes, those spider-web shawls, those costumes dyed or woven into gay colouring by hands expert in producing variety by either art, which outdo the painter's power of imitating nature? Who? I ask. Is it not vainglory?

VIII. Once more, we 54 felt the need of a house to live in for the same reasons, and that we may not suffer from the incursions of wild beasts or of men worse than beasts. Why then do we decorate the pavements and walls with costly marbles? Why do we scour Asia and Libya and all Europe and the islands searching for choicest columns and architraves? Why for the adornment 55 of the capitals of our columns do we vie with each other in enthusiasm over Doric and Ionic and Corinthian carvings and other embellishments devised by those who scorn to keep to the established styles? Why do we build men's and women's apartments with golden ceilings? Is it not owing to vainglory?

For sleep, all that was needed was a 56 soft piece of ground (for it is reported that to this very day the Naked Philosophers among the Indians retain their primitive custom of making earth their couch), or, if more was required, a bed of rushes<sup>b</sup> or of unhewn stones or common timber. But in fact 57 beds with ivory legs to their framework are provided, and sofas with costly mother-of-pearl and many-hued

<sup>b</sup> Or "straw." If  $\eta$  is omitted as in other editions,  $\sigma\tau\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  is used as an adjective, for which I have not seen any authority, nor is the meaning clear.

## PHILO

ποικίλαις χελώναις ἐνδεδεμέναις μετὰ πολλῶν  
 πόνων καὶ δαπανημάτων ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατα-  
 σκευάζονται, τινὲς δὲ ὀλοάργυροι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι καὶ  
 λιθοκόλλητοι στρωμναῖς<sup>1</sup> ἀνθηροποικίλοις καὶ χρυ-  
 σοπάστοις ὡς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ πομπήν, οὐ τὴν  
 καθ' ἡμέραν χρήσιν, διακεκοσμημένοι,<sup>1</sup> ὧν<sup>2</sup> δημι-  
 58 ουργὸς ἢ κενὴ δόξα. τί δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας  
 ἐκθλιβομένου καρποῦ πλέον ἔδει ζητεῖν πρὸς ἀλείμ-  
 ματα; καὶ γὰρ λεαίνει καὶ κάματον σώματος λύει  
 καὶ εὐσαρκίαν ἐμποιεῖ, κἂν εἴ τι κεχαλασμένον  
 εἴη, σφίγγει πυκνότητι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἐτέρου  
 59 ῥώμην καὶ εὐτονίαν ἐντίθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπετει-  
 χίσθη<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ὠφελουσι τὰ ἡδέα τῆς κενῆς δόξης  
 ἀλείμματα, εἰς ἃ καὶ μυρεψοὶ πονοῦσι καὶ χῶ-  
 ραι μεγάλαι συντελοῦσι, Συρία, Βαβυλών, Ἰνδοί,  
 Σκύθαι, παρ' οἷς αἱ τῶν ἀρωμάτων γενέσεις εἰσὶ.  
 60 IX. πρὸς γε μὴν τὸ πίνειν τίνος ἔδει  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φύσεως ἐκπώματος ἀκρότησι τέχνης  
 εἰργασμένου; τὸ δὲ ἔκπωμα αἱ ἡμέτεραι χεῖρές |  
 [667] εἰσιν, ἃς εἰς ταυτό τις συναγαγὼν καὶ κοιλάνας, εὐ  
 μάλα τῷ στόματι προσθείς, ἐπιχέοντος ἐτέρου τὸ  
 ποτὸν οὐ μόνον ἄκος τῆς<sup>4</sup> δίψης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλεκτον  
 61 ἡδονὴν κτᾶται. εἰ δὲ ἔδει πάντως ἐτέρου, τὸ  
 γεωργικὸν κισσύβιον οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλων  
 ἐπιφανῶν τέχνας<sup>5</sup> ἀναζητεῖν ἔδει; τί δὲ ἀργυρῶν  
 καὶ χρυσῶν κυλίκων ἄφθονον πλῆθος κατασκευά-  
 ζεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν φρναττόμενον μέγαρα τύφον  
 καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αἰώρας φορουμένην<sup>6</sup> κενὴν δόξαν;

<sup>1</sup> MSS. στρωμναῖ and διακεκοσμημένοι: A ἀνθηροποικίλους καὶ χρυσοπάστους: Trin. -οις -οις ἔργοις. The text as here printed is by Mr. Whitaker's emendation, cf. *De Som.* i. 123.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὧς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀπετειχίσθη.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τε.

<sup>5</sup> I should prefer to read τεχνίτας, cf. § 50.



## ON DREAMS, II. 57-61

tortoiseshell inlaid with much toil and outlay of money and expenditure of time. Some are all of silver or all of gold or of mosaic work elaborately furnished with bedding of gold tissue and brocaded with flowers evidently for show and display, not for everyday use. Of these vainglory is the artist.

For unguents what need was there to 58 look for anything more than the fruit-juice pressed from the olive? For indeed it produces smoothness, and counteracts physical exhaustion, and brings about good condition. If a muscle be relaxed it braces it and renders it firm, nor is there anything surpassing it for infusing tone and vigour. But to attack the 59 position of such wholesome kinds vainglory's delicate unguents were set up. For these great countries where spices grow are laid under contribution, Syria, Babylon, the lands of the Indians and the Scythians; and on these the labour of perfumers is expended.

IX. Again, for drinking what more was 60 needed than Nature's cup, art's very masterpiece? Of that cup our hands are the material. Let a man hold them close together and hollow them; then let him carefully lift them to his mouth while someone else pours the water into them. He obtains not only the quenching of his thirst, but pleasure untold. But if a different one must needs have been 61 found, was not the rustic mazer sufficient? Was it necessary to go in search of works of art by other famous artists? Why was it necessary that a lavish quantity of gold and silver goblets should be manufactured save for the sake of vanity, so loud in its insolence, and vainglory swinging so dizzily to and fro?

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<sup>6</sup> MSS. φορουμένης.

## PHILO

- 62 ὅταν καὶ στεφανοῦσθαί τινες ἀξιῶσι μὴ δάφνης μηδὲ κιττοῦ, μὴ ἕων ἢ κρίνων ἢ ῥόδου ἢ θαλλοῦ συνόλως ἢ τινος<sup>1</sup> ἄνθους εὐώδει στεφάνω παρελθόντες τὰ θεοῦ δῶρα, ἃ διὰ τῶν ἐτησίων ὠρῶν ἀναδίδωσι, χρυσοῦς <δ'> ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, βαρύτατον ἄχθος, αἰωρῶσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση καὶ πληθούσῃ<sup>2</sup> χωρὶς αἰδοῦς, ἄλλο τι<sup>3</sup> νομιστέον ἢ ὅτι κενῆς δόξης εἰσὶ δούλοι, φάσκοντες οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνες εἶναι;
- 63 Ἐπιλείπει με ἡ ἡμέρα τὰς διαφθορὰς<sup>4</sup> τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου βίου διεξιόντα. καίτοι τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν; τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοός ἐστι, τίς δὲ οὐ θεατής; τίς μὲν οὖν οὐ τρίβων καὶ ἐθάς<sup>5</sup>; ὥστε παγκάλως προσθήκη τὸν ἀτυφίας μὲν ἐχθρόν,
- 64 τύφου δ' ἐταῖρον<sup>6</sup> ὠνόμασεν ὁ ἱερός λόγος. καθάπερ γὰρ τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἐπιφύονται βλάσται περισσαί, μεγάλαι τῶν γνησίων λῶβαι, ἃς καθαίρουσι καὶ ἀποτέμνουσι προνοία τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ γεωργοῦντες, οὕτω τῷ ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἀτύφῳ βίῳ παρανέβλασθεν ὁ κατεψευσμένος καὶ τετυφωμένος, οὗ μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας οὐδεὶς εὐρηγται γεωργὸς ὃς τὴν
- 65 βλαβερὰν ἐπίφυσιν αὐταῖς ρίζαις ἀπέκοψε. τοιγαροῦν εἰδότες οἱ φρονήσεως ἀσκηταὶ τὸ κατάπλαστον<sup>7</sup> τοῦτ' αἰσθήσει πρῶτον, (εἶτα) διανοία μεταδιώκοντα ἄντικρυς ἐκβοῶσι· “θηρίον πονηρὸν ἤρπασε
- 66 καὶ κατέφαγεν Ἰωσήφ.” ἀλλ' οὐ θηρίον ἐξηγριωμένον ὢν ὁ πολυπλοκώτατος τῶν πεφυρμένων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἰ τινος.<sup>2</sup> MSS. πλήθους.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἄτε.<sup>4</sup> MSS. διαφθορὰς.<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἔθος.<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἔτερον.<sup>7</sup> MSS. κατάπλειστον.

<sup>a</sup> The common phrase for the forenoon, e.g. Plat. *Gorg.* 469 D.

## ON DREAMS, II. 62-66

When, again, we see people wanting 62  
to be crowned not with a garland of laurel or ivy, not  
with a sweet-smelling wreath of violets or lilies or  
roses or olive or any flower at all, but passing by God's  
gifts, which He distributes as the seasons of the year  
run their course ; when they poise over their head  
golden wreaths, a grievous weight, without any shame  
in mid-market at the hour when it is full,<sup>a</sup> what else  
can we think of them than that they are slaves of  
vainglory, though they assert that they are not  
only free, but actually lords and rulers of many  
others ?

The day will pass before I have given the sum of 63  
the corruptions of human life, and indeed why need  
we dwell at length upon them ? For who has not  
heard, who has not seen them ? Indeed who is not  
conversant and familiar with them ? And therefore  
the Holy Word did well in giving the name of Addition  
to one who was the enemy of simplicity and the  
friend of vanity. For just as we find on trees, to the 64  
great damage of the genuine growth, superfluities  
which the husbandmen purge and cut away to provide  
for their necessities, so the true and simple life has  
for its parasite the life of falsity and vanity, for which  
no husbandman has hitherto been found to excise  
the mischievous overgrowth, root and all. And so 65  
the practisers of sound sense, perceiving that Joseph  
first with his senses, and afterwards with his under-  
standing, pursues this way of artificiality, cry out-  
right, " An evil beast has seized and devoured him " <sup>b</sup>  
(Gen. xxxvii. 33). And indeed this life of confused 66  
mankind, so full of complications, of vain inventions,

<sup>b</sup> That in the history this statement is a falsehood makes  
no difference to Philo's exegesis. Cf. *De Mig.* 21 and note.

## PHILO

ἀνθρώπων τυφοπλαστηθεὶς βίος, οὗ πλεονεξία καὶ πανουργία σοφαὶ δημιουργοί, τοὺς προσιόντας ἅπαντας εὐχαίεται; τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἔτι ζῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς νεκροῖς προτεθήσεται<sup>1</sup> πένθος, ἀξίαν ὀλοφύρσεως καὶ θρήνων καρπουμένους ζωήν· ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἰακώβ τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἔτι ζῶντα πενθεῖ.

67 ἀλλ' οὐ Μωυσῆς ἐάσει τοὺς περὶ Ναδάβ<sup>2</sup> ἱεροὺς λόγους πενθεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίου πονηροῦ θηρὸς ἀρπασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ριπῆς ἀσβέστου καὶ ἀθανάτου φέγγους ἀνελήφθησαν, ὅτι τὴν ἔνθερμον καὶ διάπυρον καὶ σαρκῶν ἀναλωτικὴν καὶ ὄξυ-  
[668] κίνητον πρὸς τὴν<sup>3</sup> | εὐσέβειαν σπουδὴν, ἣ γενέσεως μὲν ἔστιν ἀλλοτρία, θεοῦ δὲ οἰκεία, τὸν μελλήτην<sup>4</sup> ὄκνον ἐκποδῶν ἀνελόντες, εὐαγῶς καθιέρωσαν, οὐ δι' ἀναβαθμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐλθόντες—ἀπείρηται γὰρ νόμῳ,—ἀλλὰ δεξιῶ πνεύματι ἐπουρίσαντες<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἄχρι τῶν οὐρανοῦ περιόδων παραπεμφθέντες, θυσίας ὀλοκαύτου καὶ ὀλοκάρπου τρόπον εἰς αἰθερίου ἀγὰς ἀναλυθέντες.

68 X. Ἀποκοπτέον οὖν, ᾧ ψυχὴ πειθαρχοῦσα τῷ διδάσκοντι, τὴν σεαυτῆς χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξῆται τῶν γεννητικῶν ἢ γενέσεως ἢ ἀνθρωπείων

69 σπουδασμάτων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. πολλάκις γὰρ ὑφ' \* \* \*<sup>6</sup> προσαψαμένην<sup>7</sup> τῶν διδύμων χεῖρα ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προστεθήσεται.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Ἀδάμ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. τε.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μὲν δὴ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀπουρίσαντες.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps ὑφ<ρηγείται τὴν>.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. προσαψαμένων.

<sup>a</sup> Evidently an allusion to the "strange fire" (πῦρ ἀλλότριον) which N. and A. offered. Philo gives here a glimpse of the way in which he arrived at the strange perversion of the story which he consistently makes (*De Fuga* 59 and elsewhere).

<sup>b</sup> The connexion of thought seems to be drawn from the fact that δράγματα are things grasped, cf. ἐπιδράττεται § 37, and 472

## ON DREAMS, II. 66-69

which has covetousness and knavery for its cunning architects, what is it but a ferocious beast which feasts on all who come near to it? And therefore such as these will be the subject of mourning, as though they were dead, even while they still live, since the life that they obtain is meet to be lamented and bewailed; for Jacob, we are told, mourned for Joseph while still alive. On the other 67 hand Moses will not suffer Nadab and his brother, those holy principles, to be mourned (Lev. x. 6). They were not seized by a savage, evil beast, but were taken up by a rush of fire unquenchable, by an undying splendour, since in sincerity they cast aside sloth and delay, and consecrated their zeal, hot and fiery, flesh-consuming and swiftly moving, to piety, a zeal which was alien<sup>a</sup> to creation, but akin to God. They did not mount by steps to the altar, which the law had forbidden (Ex. xx. 26), but wafted by a favouring breeze and carried even to the revolving heavens were there like the complete and perfect burnt offering resolved into ethereal rays of light.

X. So then, O soul, that art loyal to thy teacher, 68 thou must cut off thy hand, thy faculty, when it begins to lay hold of the genitals, whether they be the created world or the cares and aims of humanity.<sup>b</sup> For he often<sup>c</sup> bids us cut away the hand that has taken 69

we therefore have the contrast between what should and what should not be grasped. The life of luxury described in the preceding sections is here equated with the *γεννητικά*, and this leads on to the contrast of the true *δράγμα* or *δράξ* described in §§ 71 ff.

<sup>c</sup> If *πολλάκις* is retained, the meaning must be that Moses' frequent injunctions to honour God and virtue rather than man and human things is equivalent to "cutting off the hand." But I suspect that we should read *πολλαχόθεν*, "for many reasons."

## PHILO

κόπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐδεξιώσατο ἦν ἐχθαίρειν ἐχρήν ἠδονήν, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι παρ' ἡμᾶς τὸ σπείρειν ἐνόμισεν, εἶθ' ὅτι τῷ γενομένῳ τὴν τοῦ  
 70 ποιούντος ἀνέθηκε<sup>1</sup> δύναμιν. οὐχ ὄρας, ὅτι ὁ γήινος ὄγκος, Ἀδάμ, ὅταν ἄψηται τοῦ διδύμου ξύλου, θνήσκει, δυάδα τιμήσας πρὸ μονάδος καὶ τὸ γενόμενον πρὸ τοῦ πεποικηκός ἐκθαυμάσας; ἀλλὰ σύ γε τοῦ μὲν “καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς” βαῖνε καὶ τὰς καταγελάστους τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου σπουδὰς ὡς τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην χάρυβδιν ἀποδίδρασκε καὶ μηδὲ ἄκρω, τὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦτο, ποδὸς  
 71 δακτύλω<sup>2</sup> ψαύσης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαποδύσῃ λειτουργίαις, ὄλην τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν εὐρύνασα εὖ μάλα τῶν παιδείας καὶ σοφίας θεωρημάτων ἐπίδραξαι. καὶ γὰρ πρόσταξις ἐστὶ τοιαύτη· “ἐὰν ψυχὴ προσφέρῃ δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν, σεμίδαλις ἔσται τὸ δῶρον,” εἶτ' ἐπιφέρει· “καὶ δραξάμενος πλήρη τὴν δράκα ἀπὸ τῆς σεμιδάλεως σὺν τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ λιβάνῳ ἐπιθήσει<sup>3</sup> τὸ μνημόσυνον  
 72 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.” ἄρ' οὐ παγκάλως ψυχὴν εἶπεν ἀσώματον τὴν μέλλουσαν ἱεουργεῖν,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν δίδυμον ἐκ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου συνεστῶτα ὄγκον; τὸ γὰρ εὐχόμενον, τὸ εὐχάριστον, τὸ θυσίας ἀμώμους<sup>5</sup> ἀληθῶς ἀνάγον ἐν μόνον ἦν ἄρα,  
 73 ἢ ψυχὴ. τίς οὖν ἢ ψυχῆς ἀσωμάτου θυσία; τίς ἢ σεμίδαλις, ἐκκεκαθααρμένης<sup>6</sup> ταῖς παιδείαις<sup>7</sup> ὑποθή-

<sup>1</sup> ἐνέθηκε.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τῷ τοῦ λόγου ποδὶ τοῦτο: Wend. δὴ τοῦτο. Perhaps omit ποδὶ as a duplicate of δακτύλω. <sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπιτίθησι.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἱεουργίαν.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀμώμων.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἐκκεκαθααρμένη.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. παιδείαις.

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX for the word which E.V. translates “secrets.”

## ON DREAMS, II. 69-73

hold of the "pair" <sup>a</sup> (Deut. xxv. 11, 12), first because it has thereby given a welcome to the pleasure which it should hate, secondly because it has judged that to beget rests with ourselves, and thirdly because it has ascribed to the created the power of its maker. Observe that Adam, <sup>a</sup> that mass of earth, <sup>b</sup> is doomed to 70 die when he touches the twofold tree (Gen. ii. 9 <sup>c</sup>), thus honouring the two before the one, and revering the created rather than the maker. Not so be it with thee. Pass clear away "from the smoke and wave," <sup>d</sup> and flee fast from the silly cares and aims of mortal life as from that dread Charybdis and touch it not, as the saying goes, with the tip of thy toe.

But when thou hast stripped thyself to serve the holy 71 rites, then widen hand and power and take a right good grip of the lessons of instruction and wisdom, for there is an ordinance running thus: "If a soul bring a gift or sacrifice, the gift shall be fine flour," and then it continues, "and taking a full handful from the fine flour, with the oil and all the frankincense, he shall lay the memorial on the altar" (Lev. ii. 1, 2). This is an excellent saying, that the server 72 of the sacrifice should be an unbodied soul, not the twofold gross mass compounded of mortal and immortal. For that which prays, which gives thanks and offers sacrifice truly without blemish, must be as he says a "one" only, the soul. What then is the 73 offering of an unbodied soul? What but the fine flour, the symbol of a will, purified by the councils of

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Gen. iii. 19, "the earth, out of which thou wast taken."

<sup>c</sup> Or better, Gen. iii. 3, see App. p. 608.

<sup>d</sup> *Od.* xii. 219:

τούτου (i.e. Charybdis) μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔεργε  
νῆα.

## PHILO

καις γνώμης σύμβολον, τροφήν ἄνοσον καὶ ζῶην  
 74 ἀνυπαίτιον ποιεῖν ἱκανῆς; ἀφ' ἧς δραξάμενον<sup>1</sup> τὸν  
 ἱερέα ὅλη τῇ δρακί, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ πάσαις ταῖς διανοίαις  
 λαβαῖς, πλήρη τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν εἰλικρινεστάτων καὶ  
 καθαρωτάτων δογμάτων γενομένην αὐτὴν ὡς  
 ἱερεῖον τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνάγειν προστέτακται, πύονα  
 καὶ λιπῶσαν, θείῳ φωτὶ χαίρουσαν<sup>2</sup> καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ  
 δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀναδιδομέναις  
 καταπνεομένην αὔραις, ὡς εὐωδέστατον καὶ προσ-  
 ηνέστατον αἰεὶ καρποῦσθαι βίον· τὸ γὰρ ἔλαιον καὶ  
 [669] ὁ | λιβανωτός, ὧν ἐπιδράττεται σὺν τοῖς λευκο-  
 75 πύροις ὁ ἱερεύς,<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα αἰνίττεται. XI. διὰ  
 τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐξαίρετον ἑορτὴν ἀνέθηκε τῷ  
 δράγματι, πλὴν οὐ παντί, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς  
 γῆς. “ ὅταν ” γάρ φησιν “ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν γῆν,  
 ἣν ἐγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν, καὶ θερίζετε τὸν θερισμὸν  
 αὐτῆς, οἴσετε δράγματα ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ θερισμοῦ  
 76 ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα,” τὸ δέ ἐστιν· ὅταν εἰσέλθῃς,  
 ὦ διάνοια, εἰς τὴν ἀρετῆς χώραν, ἣν ἐμπρεπὲς μόνῳ  
 δωρεῖσθαι θεῷ, τὴν εὐβοτον, τὴν εὐγειον, τὴν  
 καρποφόρον, εἶτα οἰκεία εἶ γ' ἔσπειρας<sup>4</sup> ἀγαθὰ  
 θερίζῃς αὐξηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τελεσφόρου, μὴ πρό-  
 τερον οἴκαδε συγκομίσης, τουτέστι μὴ ἀναθῆς μηδ'<sup>5</sup>  
 ἐπιγράψῃς σεαυτῇ τὴν τῶν περιγινομένων αἰτίαν,  
 ἣ ἀπάρξασθαι τῷ πλουτάρχῳ καὶ τὰ πλουτιστήρια  
 77 ἔργα ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀναπεύθοντι. καὶ λέγεται<sup>6</sup> “ τὴν  
 ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὑμῶν ” αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ  
 τῆς γῆς, προσφέρειν, ἵνα ἀμῶμεν καὶ θερίζωμεν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δραξάμενος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. χαίρουσι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἱερός.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. εἶ γε σπείρας: Wend. [εἶ γε] σπείρασ'. The form adopted is my conjecture.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀναθεῖς μὴ.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. λέγετε.



## ON DREAMS, II. 73-77

instruction, fit to produce nourishment that gives no sickness and life that knows no guilt. From such a 74 sacrifice is the priest bidden to take his handful, take it with his whole hand, that is with all the grips of the mind, to offer the best of sacrifices, even the whole soul, brimful of truths of all sincerity and purity—a soul, too, rich with fatness, gladdened by light divine and perfumed with the breaths exhaled from justice and the other virtues, thus fitted to enjoy for ever a life of all fragrance and sweetness. For this is signified by the oil and the frankincense with which the priest fills his hand as well as with the wheaten flour.

XI. Therefore also Moses dedicated 75 a special feast for the “hand-grip of corn,” only not for all but for such as come from the holy land, for “When,” he says, “ye come into the land which I give you and ye reap its reaping, ye shall bring hand-grips of corn as a firstfruit unto the priest” (Lev. xxiii. 10). That means, “When, my mind, thou comest to 76 virtue’s land, the gift fit for God alone, the land of goodly pasturage and tilth and fruit-bearing, and then if so be that thou hast sown in accordance with it, thou reapest the good when brought to its increase by God the consummator, do not bear the harvest home, that is, do not assign or ascribe to thyself the cause of the produce until thou hast rendered the firstfruit to Him Who is the source of riches and moves thee to practise the husbandry of thy enrichment.” And we are told to bring the “firstfruit of your 77 reaping,” that is not of the land but of ourselves, that we may mow and reap ourselves, by con-

## PHILO

- ἑαυτοῦς,<sup>1</sup> πάνθ' ὅσα καλὰ καὶ τροφίμα καὶ σπου-  
 दाῖα βλαστήματα καθιεροῦντες.
- 78 XII. Ἄλλ' ὃ γε τῶν ἐνυπνίων μύστης ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 μυσταγωγὸς θαρρεῖ λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνέστη τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 δράγμα καὶ ὠρθώθη. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καθάπερ οἱ  
 γαῦροι τῶν ἵππων τὸν ἀνχένα μετέωρον ἐξάραντες,  
 ὅσοι θιασῶται τῆς κενῆς δόξης εἰσίν, ἐπάνω πάντων  
 79 τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις πραγμάτων· εἶτα ἀπὸ δημα-  
 γωγίας ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν βαδίζοντες καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν  
 πλησίον καταβάλλοντες, τὰ δὲ οἰκεία διανιστάντες<sup>2</sup>  
 καὶ παγίως ὀρθοῦντες, ὅσα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀδούλωτα  
 φύσει φρονήματα, καὶ ταυθ' ὑπάγεσθαι μηχανῶνται.
- 80 διὸ προστίθησι· “ περιστραφέντα δὲ τὰ δράγματα  
 ὑμῶν προσεκύνησαν τὸ ἐμὸν δράγμα.” τέθηπε  
 γὰρ ὁ μὲν αἰδοῦς ἐραστής τὸν σκληραύχενα, ὁ δὲ  
 εὐλαβῆς τὸν αὐθάδη, ὁ δὲ ἰσότητα<sup>3</sup> τιμῶν τὸν  
 ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ἄνισον,<sup>3</sup> καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως·
- 81 ἄτε γὰρ θεωρὸς ὢν οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου βίου  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συμπάντων ὁ ἀστείος  
 οἶδεν ὅσον εἴωθε πνεῖν ἀνάγκη, τύχη, καιρὸς, βία,  
 δυναστεία, καὶ ὅσας ὑποθέσεις καὶ ἡλικας εὐπρα-  
 γίας ἀπνευστὶ δραμούσας ἄχρῃ οὐρανοῦ κατέσεισαν
- 82 καὶ κατέρραξαν. ὥστε ἀναγκαίως εὐλάβειαν ἐπ-  
 ασπιδώσεται,<sup>4</sup> τοῦ μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δεῖνὸν παθεῖν  
 συγγενὲς φυλακτήριον· ὃ γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς πόλιν
- 83 τεῖχος, τοῦτ' εὐλάβεια πρὸς ἕκαστον. ἄρ' οὖν οὐ  
 παραπαίουσι καὶ μεμήνασιν ὅσοι παρρησίαν ἄκαιρον<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἑαυτοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. διαναστάντες.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὀσιότητα . . . ἀνίσιον.

<sup>4</sup> So Trin.: Α ἐπισπιδῶσεται which Wend. retains, con-  
 jecturing ἐπισπάσεται, but cf. ἐνασπιδώσομαι Aristophanes,  
*Ach.* 368.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀπειρον.

## ON DREAMS, II. 77-83

secrating every nourishing, excellent and worthy growth.

XII. But he who was both the initiated and the 78 initiator in the mysteries of dreams boldly said that his sheaf rose and stood upright (Gen. xxxvii. 7). For indeed as skittish horses rear their necks proudly on high, so all the votaries of vainglory set themselves up above everything, above cities and laws and ancestral customs and the affairs of the several citizens. Then they proceed from the leadership of 79 the people to dictatorship over the people, and while they bring low the state of their neighbours they cause their own to rise and stand upright and firm, and thus they bring into subjection even souls whose spirit is naturally free and unenslaved. That is why 80 he adds, "Your sheaves turned round and made obeisance to my sheaf" (*ibid.*). For the lover of modesty is overawed by the stiff-necked, and the cautious by the self-willed, and the honourer of equality by one who is unequal both in relation to himself and others. And surely that is natural, for 81 the man of worth who surveys, not only human life but all the phenomena of the world, knows how mightily blow the winds of necessity, fortune, opportunity, force, violence and pryncedom, and how many are the projects, how great the good fortunes which soar to heaven without pausing in their flight and then are shaken about and brought crashing to the ground by these blasts. And therefore he must 82 needs take caution to shield him, as an inseparable safeguard to prevent any grave disaster suddenly befalling him, for caution is to the individual man what a wall is to a city. Surely then they are all 83 lunatics and madmen who take pains to display un-

## PHILO

σπουδάζουσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, βασιλευσι καὶ τυράν-  
 νοις ἔστιν ὅτε λέγειν τε καὶ ποιεῖν ἐναντία τολ-  
 μῶντες, οὐκ αἰσθανόμενοι,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι (οὐ) τοὺς ἀρχένας  
 μόνον ὡσπερ τὰ θρέμματα ὑπεζεύχθησαν, ἀλλ'  
 [670] ὅλα τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς | ψυχὰς γύναιά τε καὶ  
 τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλων ἑταίρων<sup>2</sup> (καὶ)  
 συγγενῶν πολυάνθρωπον οἰκειότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν  
 ἐκδέδενται, καὶ ἕξεστι τῷ ἡνιόχῳ καὶ ἐπόχῳ<sup>3</sup> μετὰ  
 πάσης εὐμαρείας κεντεῖν, ἐλαύνειν, ἐπέχειν, ἀνα-  
 χαιτίζειν, ἄττ' ἂν ἐβελήσῃ μικρὰ καὶ μείζω δια-  
 84 τιθέναι; τοιγαροῦν στιζόμενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι  
 καὶ ἀκρωτηριαζόμενοι καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου  
 χαλεπὰ πάντα ὡμῶς καὶ ἀηλεῶς ἀθρόα ὑπο-  
 μένοντες, ἀπαχθέντες ἐπὶ πᾶσι θνήσκουσι.  
 85 XIII. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ<sup>4</sup> τῆς ἀκαίρου παρρησίας τὰ ἐπί-  
 χειρα, οὐ παρρησίας παρά γε εὐφρονοῦσι κριταῖς,  
 ἀλλ' εὐθειας καὶ φρενοβλαβείας καὶ μελαγ-  
 χολίας ἀνιάτου γέμοντα.<sup>5</sup> τί λέγεις; χειμῶνά  
 τις ὄρων ἀκμάζοντα καὶ βαρὺ πνεῦμα ἐναντίον  
 καὶ λαίλαπα καταγιγίζουσιν καὶ κυματούμενον  
 86 πέλαγος, ἐνορμίζεσθαι δέον, ἐξορμίζεται καὶ ἐξ-  
 ανάγεται; τίς ἢ κυβερνήτης ἢ ναύκληρος οὕτω  
 ποτέ ἐμεθύσθη καὶ παρώνησεν, (ὡς) ὅσων εἶπον  
 κατασκευσάντων ἐβελῆσαι πλεῖν, ἵνα<sup>6</sup> ὑπέραντλος  
 ἄνωθεν ἐπιχυθείσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ναῦς γενομένη  
 πλωτῆρσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταποθῇ; τῷ γὰρ βου-  
 λομένῳ πλεῖν ἀκινδύνως εὐδίων πνεῦμα οὐριόν τε  
 87 καὶ λείον ἀναμένειν ἐξῆν. τί δέ; ἄρκτον τις (ἢ  
 σὺν ἄγριον ἢ)<sup>7</sup> λέοντα μετὰ συρμοῦ θεασάμενος  
 ἐπιόντα, πρᾶνναι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι δέον, ἐξαγριαίνει

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αἰσθάνονται.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπ' ὡμῳ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐτέρων.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐπί.

timely frankness, and sometimes dare to oppose kings and tyrants in words and deeds. They do not perceive that not only like cattle are their necks under the yoke, but that the harness extends to their whole bodies and souls, their wives and children and parents, and the wide circle of friends and kinsfolk united to them by fellowship of feeling, and that the driver can with perfect ease spur, drive on or pull back, and mete out any treatment small or great just as he pleases. And therefore they are branded and scourged and 84 mutilated and undergo a combination of all the sufferings which merciless cruelty can inflict short of death, and finally are led away to death itself.

XIII. These are the rewards of un- 85 timely free-speaking, which in the eyes of sensible judges is not free-speaking at all; rather they are the guerdons of silliness and frenzy and incurable brain-sickness. Why? Who if he sees a storm at its height, a fierce counter-wind, a hurricane swooping down and a tempest-tossed sea, sets sail and puts out to sea when he should remain in harbour? What pilot or skipper 86 was ever so utterly intoxicated as to wish to sail with all these terrors launched upon him, only to find the ship water-logged by the down-rushing sea and swallowed up, crew and all. For he who would have a safe voyage can always wait for the sunny breeze to take him gently and smoothly on his way. Again, 87 would anyone who has seen a bear or a lion or wild boar sweeping along to attack him, instead of soothing and calming them as he should, provoke them to

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<sup>5</sup> γέμοντα though accepted by editors is quite illogical. The rewards are not full of folly. I suggest γέρα ὄντα.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἵνα ὄσον εἶπον κατασκηψάντων ἐθειλήση πλύνειν.

<sup>7</sup> Lacuna in A eight to nine letters.

## PHILO

καὶ ἀνερεθίζει, ὅπως θοίαν καὶ εὐωχίαν ὤμο-  
 88 βόροις ἀνηλεεστάτοις<sup>1</sup> εὐτρεπίσῃ ἑαυτόν; εἰ μὴ  
 καὶ φαλαγγίοις καὶ ἀσπίσι ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα<sup>2</sup> τὸν φθοροποιὸν ἰὸν (ἐπιφέρεται)  
 οὐδενὶ λυσιτελὲς ἀνθίστασθαι,<sup>3</sup> θάνατον ἀπαραί-  
 τητον τοῖς ἅπαξ δηχθεῖσιν ἐπάγουσιν· ἀγαπητὸν  
 γὰρ κατεπάδοντας καὶ χειροήθη ποιοῦντας μηδὲν  
 89 ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν παθεῖν. εἴτ' οὐκ εἰσω ἄνθρωποι  
 τινες συῶν, φαλαγγίων, ἀσπίδων ἀγριώτεροι καὶ  
 ἐπιβουλότεροι; ὧν τὸ ἐπίβουλον καὶ δυσμενὲς  
 ἀμήχανον ἐτέρως ἢ τιθασείαις καὶ μειλίγμασι  
 χρωμένους διεκδῦναι. τοιγάρτοι ὁ σοφὸς  
 Ἄβραάμ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Χέτ—ἐρμηνεύονται δὲ  
 ἐξιστάντες—προσκυνήσει, τῶν καιρῶν τοῦτο<sup>4</sup> δρᾶν  
 90 ἀναπειθόντων. οὐ<sup>5</sup> γὰρ τιμῶν γε τοὺς ἐκ φύσεως  
 καὶ γένους καὶ ἔθων ἐχθροὺς λογισμοῦ, οἳ τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς νόμισμα, παιδείαν, ἐξιστάντες καὶ κατα-  
 κερματίζοντες οἰκτρῶς ἀναλίσκουσιν, ἐπὶ τὸ προσ-  
 κυνεῖν ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρὸν κράτος αὐτῶν καὶ  
 τὴν δυσάλωτον ἰσχὺν δεδιὼς καὶ φυλαττόμενος  
 ἐρεθίζειν,<sup>6</sup> μέγα καὶ ἐχυρὸν κτῆμα καὶ ἀγώνισμα  
 ἀρετῆς, σοφῶν ψυχῶν ἄριστον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὸ  
 [671] διπλοῦν σπήλαιον, | ὃ μαχόμενον μὲν καὶ πολε-  
 μοῦντα οὐκ ἐνῆν, ὑπερχόμενον<sup>7</sup> δὲ καὶ θεραπεύοντα  
 91 τῷ λόγῳ κομμεῖται.<sup>8</sup> τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς,

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀνηλεεστάτην.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ὅσοι.

<sup>3</sup> I print Wend.'s text, but it ignores the difficulty of οὐδενί. This negative after εἰ μὴ must be wrong, unless we substitute ἀλυσιτελὲς for λυσιτελὲς or ἐξ(αφ)ίστασθαι for ἀνθίστασθαι. Mangey proposed ἐπιφέρεται ὁδοῦσι, perhaps meaning the second word to replace οὐδενί. If so ὁδόντι would be better. I think Philo is capable of having written ὁδοντοφορεῖ.

<sup>4</sup> mss. τοῦ (Trin. τὸν καιρὸν).

## ON DREAMS, II. 87-91

savagery just to offer himself as a banquet to satisfy the cruel appetites of the carnivorous brutes? As well 88 might we think it advisable to fight against the stinging scorpions and asps of Egypt and all other creatures possessed of fatal poison whose single bite carries with it inevitable death—creatures whom we may well be content to tame with charms and ensure that they do us no grievous harm. Then are there not some 89 men more fierce and malicious than boars, scorpions or asps, men whose spite and malice can only be avoided by using some method of taming and soothing them?

And therefore we shall find wise Abraham doing obeisance to the sons of Cheth (Gen. xxiii. 7), whose name means “removing,” when the fitness of the circumstances prompted him to do so. For it was not out of any feeling of respect for those 90 who by nature and race and custom were the enemies of reason, who remove instruction, the true coinage of the soul, and change it into petty coins and waste it miserably, that he brought himself to do obeisance. Rather it was just because he feared their power at the time and their formidable strength and took care to give no provocation, that he will win that great and secure possession, that prize of virtue, the double cave which is the most excellent abiding-place of wise souls: the cave which could not be won by war and fighting, but with reason shewn in subservience and respectful treatment.<sup>a</sup> Again, do not we too, when 91

<sup>a</sup> In the earlier edition τῶ λόγῳ was changed to τῶ <ἀ>λόγῳ “paying court to their unreason.” But this is untenable as *θεραπεύω* is not found with a dative.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ὁ.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. ὑπερμαχόμενον.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἐρυθριάζειν.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. κομείσθαι.

## PHILO

- ὅταν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβωμεν, εἰώθαμεν ἐξίστασθαι μὲν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξίστασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις; ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐναντίας γνώμης καὶ οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτῆς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, τοῖς δὲ ὑποζυγίοις διὰ φόβον τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς
- 92 ἡμᾶς νεωτερισθῆναι. καὶ διδόντων μὲν τῶν καιρῶν ἐπιτιθεμένους τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν βίαν καλὸν καταλύσαι, μὴ ἐπιτρεπόντων δὲ ἀσφαλὲς ἡσυχάσαι, βουλομένοις δὲ τιν'<sup>1</sup> ὠφέλειαν εὐρίσκεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρμόττον τιθασεῦσαι.
- 93 XIV. Διὸ καὶ νῦν ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς μὴ ὑποχωροῦντας τῷ τῆς κενῆς προστάτῃ δόξης, ἀλλὰ ἀνθισταμένους καὶ λέγοντας· “μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ἡμῖν;” οὐπω γὰρ ἰσχυρότα<sup>3</sup> ὀρώσιν αὐτόν, οὐχ ὡς φλόγα ἡμμένον τε καὶ λάμποντα ἐν ἀφθόνῳ ὕλῃ νεμόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὡς<sup>4</sup> σπινθῆρα ἐντυφόμενον, ὄνειρώττοντα δόξαν, οὐκ
- 94 ἐναργῶς ἤδη μετιόντα. χρηστάς γὰρ ἐλπίδας ὑποβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς, ὡσεὶ καὶ μὴ ἀλῶναι δυνησόμενοι. παρὸ λέγουσι· “μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν βασιλεύσεις;” ἴσον τῷ ζώντων, ὄντων,<sup>5</sup> ἰσχυόντων, ἐμπνεόντων ἡμῶν οἷοι δυναστεύσεις; ἀσθενησάντων μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἐπικρατήσεις, ἐρρωμένων δὲ ἐν
- 95 ὕψηλῳ μοίρᾳ τετάξῃ. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ἐπειδὰν μὲν γὰρ ἐν διανοίᾳ (ὁ) ὀρθὸς ἰσχύη λόγος, ἡ κενὴ καταλύεται δόξα, ῥώννυται δὲ ἀσθενήσαντος. ἕως οὖν<sup>6</sup> ἔτι σώαν ἔχει τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἢ ψυχὴν καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς μέρος ἠκρωτηρίασται, θαρρείτω βάλλειν καὶ τοξεύειν τὸν ἐναντιούμενον τύφον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὴν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. βασιλεύσης.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐσχηκότα.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐθ' ὡς.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps om. ὄντων or transpose with ζώντων.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. οὐ.



## ON DREAMS, II. 91-95

we are spending time in the market-place, make a practice of standing out of the path of our rulers and also of beasts of carriage, though our motive in the two cases is entirely different? With the rulers it is done to shew them honour, with the animals from fear and to save us from suffering serious injury from them. And if ever occasions permit it is good to 92 subdue the violence of enemies by attack, but if they do not permit the safe course is to keep quiet, and if we wish to gain any help from them the fitting course is to soften and tame them.

XIV. Praise therefore is due to those also who are 93 here under consideration, because they did not give way to the champion of vainglory but resisted him and said: "Shalt thou indeed reign over us? Not so" (Gen. xxxvii. 8). For they see that he is not yet become strong, that he is not as a flame fully kindled and shining brightly with abundance of fuel to feed it, but is still a mere smouldering spark, one who sees glory but as in a dream and does not yet pursue it with clear waking vision. In their hearts 94 they have a comfortable hope that they may even be able to escape his clutches, and so they say: "Shalt thou indeed be king over us?" that is, "Dost thou think to lord it over us while we still have life, existence, strength, breath? When we have grown weak, thou wilt perhaps have the mastery, but while we are strong thou wilt hold but the rank of a subject." And that is but natural, for when right reason 95 is strong in the mind, vainglory is brought low, but gains strength when reason is weak. While, then, the soul still preserves its power and no part of it is amputated, let it take courage to ply the opposing vanity with missiles and arrows and use full liberty

## PHILO

- ἐλευθεροστομείτω φάσκουσα· οὔτε βασιλεύσεις  
οὔτε κυριεύσεις οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐτέρων·  
96 ἀλλὰ σου τὰς ἐπανατάσεις<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐφόδω  
μιᾷ καταδραμούμεθα σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις καὶ  
ὑπασπισταῖς, φρονήσεως ἐγγόνοις· ἐφ' ὧν λέγεται  
ὅτι “ προσέθεντο μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἕνεκα τῶν ἐνυπνίων  
97 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕνεκα τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ.” ἀλλ' οὐ  
ῥήματα μὲν καὶ ἐνύπνια πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ τυφὸς ἂν  
εἰδωλοποιῆ, πράγματα δὲ καὶ σαφεῖς ἐνάργεια<sup>2</sup> τὰ  
ὅσα ἐπ' ὀρθὸν βίον καὶ λόγον ἀναφέρεται; καὶ  
τὰ μὲν μίσους ἅτε κατεψευσμένα, τὰ δὲ φιλίας ἅτε  
ἀληθείας τῆς ἐπεράστου γέμοντα ἐπάξια.  
98 μηδεὶς οὖν ἔτι κατηγορεῖν ἐπιτολμάτων<sup>3</sup> τῶν το-  
σοῦτων τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν ὡς μισανθρώπου καὶ  
μισαδέλφου δείγμα ἦθους ἐκφερόντων, ἀλλὰ μαθῶν,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ὁ νῦν ἐπικρινόμενός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ  
τῶν ἐν ἐκάστου τῇ ψυχῇ τρόπων<sup>4</sup> ὁ δοξομανῆς καὶ  
φιλότυφος, ἀποδεχέσθω τοὺς ἄσπονδον ἔχθραν καὶ  
[672] μῖσος ἀκατάλλακτον πρὸς | αὐτὸν αἰρομένους<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
μηδέποτε τὸν στυγηθέντα πρὸς ἐκείνων στερεξάτω,  
99 γνοὺς ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι<sup>6</sup> δικασταὶ γνώμης  
οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐσφάλησαν ὑγιοῦς, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες καὶ  
παιδευθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄντως βασιλέα, τὸν  
κύριον, προσκυνεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἴ  
τις τὴν θεοῦ τιμὴν νοσφίζεται καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας<sup>7</sup> αὐτοῦ  
100 μετακαλεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν θεραπείαν. XV. διὸ  
θαρροῦντες ἐροῦσιν· “ μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις  
ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ” ἢ ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμεν αὐτόνομοι,  
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀθανάτου βασιλέως, τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπαναστάσεις.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ τολμοσάτων.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. αὐτοῦς ἐρωμένους.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐνέργειαί.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τρόπος.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. τοσοῦτοι.

ON DREAMS, II. 95-100

of speech. "Thou shalt not lord or king it over us," it will say, "nor over others while we live, but we 96 will with a single onset bear down thy threats and menaces, with the aid of the spear and shield-bearers, the children of sound sense, of whom it is said 'they went on to hate him because of his dreams and because of his words'" (*ibid.*). And are not all the phantoms 97 created by vanity but dreams and words? while all things which concern right living and thinking are facts and clear realities, and the former because of their falsity deserve our hatred, while the latter because they are filled full of the loveliness of truth deserve our love.

Let no one then after 98 this dare to accuse these persons so rich in virtue as though they were displaying the marks of a misanthropic and unbrotherly character, but understanding that it is no man that is here judged but one of the traits or feelings that exist in every man's soul (in this case the mad craving for glory and love of vanity), let him give his approval to those who are moved by implacable loathing and enmity against a mind of this sort, and never tolerate the object of their abhorrence. For he knows for a certainty that 99 such judges could never have failed to give a sound verdict, but as their training from the first has taught them who is the true king, the true lord, they hate the thought of giving homage and honour to one who appropriates the honour due to God and calls away his suppliants to do service to himself. XV. Therefore they will boldly say: "Wilt thou indeed 100 be king and king it over us, or dost thou fail to know that we are not self-ruling but under the kingship of an immortal king, the one and only God? Wilt

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<sup>7</sup> MSS. *οικέτας*, which I think might be retained.

## PHILO

βασιλευόμεθα; τί δέ; “κυριεύων κυριεύσεις ἡμῶν;” μὴ γὰρ οὐ δεσποζόμεθα καὶ ἔχομέν τε καὶ ἔξομεν εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον; ὧ δουλεύοντες οὕτω γεγήθαμεν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ δουλεύειν θεῷ πάντων ἄριστον, ὅσα ἐν γενέσει τετίμηται.

- 101 εὐξάιμην ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δυναθῆναι τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τούτων ἐμμεῖναι βεβαίως· ὀπτήρες γὰρ καὶ κατάσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι πραγμάτων, οὐ σωμάτων, εἰσὶν ἀκριβοδίκαιοι,<sup>1</sup> πάντα νήφοντες τὸν αἰῶνα, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰωθότων δελεάζειν
- 102 ἀπατάσθαι. μεθύω δὲ ἄχρι νῦν ἐγὼ καὶ ἀσαφείᾳ πολλῇ κέχρημαι καὶ βάρκτρων καὶ τῶν ποδηγετησόντων ὡσπερ οἱ τυφλοὶ δέομαι· σκηριπτομένῳ<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἐγγένοιτ’ ἂν ἴσως μήτε προσπατεῖν μήτε
- 103 ὀλισθαίνειν. εἰ δέ τινες ἀνεξετάστους καὶ ἀπερισκέπτους εἰδότες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ σπουδάζουσι<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ἐξητακόσιον ἅ χρῆ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ περισκεμμένως ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπισταμένοις, ἴστωσαν ὅτι δυσαναπορεύτοις βαράθροις περιπαρέντες οὐδ’ ἐπειγόμενοι<sup>4</sup> προελθεῖν ἔτι δυνήσονται.
- 104 ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκείνοις, ὅταν μικρὸν ἀνεθῶ τῆς μέθης, οὕτως εἰμὶ ἔνσπονδος, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον εἶναι νομίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὐδὲν ἤττον τὸν ἐνυπνιαστήν, ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκείνοι, προβαλοῦμαι καὶ στυγήσω· καὶ οὐδεὶς εὖ φρονῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέμψαιτ’ ἂν με τῷ<sup>5</sup> τὰς πλειόνων<sup>6</sup> γνώμας τε καὶ ψήφους αἰεὶ
- 105 νικᾶν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀμείνω βίον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀκριβεῖς, δίκαιοι.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄ σκ(lacuna of five letters)μένω: Trin. σκίμπονος χρεῖά ἐστιν, ἠρεισμένῳ γάρ.

<sup>3</sup> Ἄ σπου(lacuna of seven letters): Trin. σπουδὴν παρέχοντες.

## ON DREAMS, II. 100-105

thou indeed be lord and lord it over us? Are we not under a master, and have we not and shall we not have for ever the same lord, bondage to whom gives us more joy than his freedom does to any other?" For of all things that are held in honour in this world of creation bondage to God is the best.

So I myself would pray that I might hold firmly to 101  
 their judgements, for they are the scouts, the watchers, the overseers of mental facts, not of material things,<sup>a</sup> strict in censorship, never failing in soberness, thus no more misled by the lures which so commonly deceive. But hitherto I have been as a drunken man 102  
 beset by constant uncertainty, and like the blind I need staff and guiding hands, for had I a staff to lean on I might perhaps be saved from stumbling or slipping. But those who know themselves to be 103  
 lacking in self-testing and thoughtfulness and yet do not take pains to follow those who have tested and thought out everything with care, those who know the road of which they themselves are ignorant, may be sure that they are pinned amid impassable ravines and with all their efforts will be unable to advance further. And I, when the drunken fit abates a little, 104  
 am in such close alliance with them that I take their friends for my friends and their enemies for my enemies. Indeed, even in my present state I will reject and hate the dreamer because they hate him; and no one of sense can blame me for this because the votes and decisions of the majority must always prevail. . . . But when he changes his life 105

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐπιγινόμενοι.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. μετὰ.

<sup>6</sup> Α πλείω (Trin. πλείους).

## PHILO

μεταβάλη καὶ μηκέτ' ἐνυπνιάζεται μηδὲ ταῖς  
 κεναῖς τῶν κενοδόξων φαντασίαις ἰλυσπώμενος  
 κακοπαθῆ μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ σκότος καὶ πραγμάτων  
 ἀδήλων καὶ ἀτεκμάρτων συντυχίας ὄνειροπολῆ,  
 106 περιαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βαθέος ὕπνου διατελῆ μὲν  
 ἐγρηγορώς, ἐνάργειαν δὲ πρὸ ἀσαφείας καὶ πρὸ  
 ψευδοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀλήθειαν καὶ πρὸ νυκτὸς  
 ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς πρὸ σκότους ἀποδέχεται καὶ τὴν  
 μὲν γυναικα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, σώματος ἡδονήν, εἰς  
 αὐτὴν<sup>1</sup> εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαῦσαι  
 107 παρακαλοῦσαν ἀποστρέφεται διὰ πόθον ἐγκρατείας  
 [673] | καὶ ζῆλον εὐσεβείας ἀλεκτον, ὧν δὲ ἔδοξεν ἀλλο-  
 τριωθῆναι συγγενικῶν καὶ πατρῶων ἀγαθῶν μετα-  
 ποιῆται πάλιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἀρετῆς ἑαυτῷ μέρος  
 δικαίων ἀνακτᾶσθαι καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπανιῶν  
 βελτιώσεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ κορυφῆς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ  
 τέλους ἰδρυθεῖς ἀναφθέγγεται, ὃ παθὼν ἀκριβῶς  
 ἔμαθεν, ὅτι “ τοῦ θεοῦ ” ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι  
 108 τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἠκόντων αἰσθητοῦ τὸ παράπαν, οἱ  
 μὲν ἀδελφοὶ καταλλακτηρίους ποιήσονται συμ-  
 βάσεις, τὸ μῖσος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κακόνουν<sup>2</sup> εἰς  
 εὖνοιαν μεταβαλόντες, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τούτων ὀπαδὸς—  
 πείθεσθαι γὰρ ὡς δεσπόταις οἰκέτης ἔμαθον—  
 109 ἐπαινῶν οὐκ ἐπιλείψω τῆς μετανοίας ἐκείνων· εἶ  
 γε καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἀξιέραστον καὶ  
 ἀξιομνημόνευτον οὖσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐκ  
 φθορᾶς ἀνασώζει διὰ συμβόλου τῶν ὀστέων, ἃ  
 κατορωρύχθαι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν  
 εἶναι (ἐν) Αἰγύπτῳ, παγχάλεπον ἠγούμενος, εἶ τι  
 ἦνθησεν ἢ ψυχὴ καλόν, τοῦτ' εἶσαι μαρανθῆναι  
 καὶ κατακλυσθὲν ἀφανισθῆναι πλημμύραις, ἃς ὁ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτὸν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κακὸν.

## ON DREAMS, II. 105-109

for the better and renounces his idle visions, his troublous crawling and cringing amid the vain fantasies of the vainglorious, and the dreams of night and darkness and the chance issues of things vague and obscure ; when he rises from his deep slumbering 106 to abiding wakefulness and welcomes clearness before uncertainty, truth before false supposition, day before night, light before darkness ; when moved by a yearning for continence and a vast zeal for piety he rejects bodily pleasure, the wife of the Egyptian, as she bids him come in to her and enjoy her embraces (Gen. xxxix. 7) ; when he claims the goods of his kins- 107 men and father from which he seemed to have been disinherited and holds it his duty to recover that portion of virtue which falls to his lot ; when he passes step by step from betterment to betterment and, established firmly as it were on the crowning heights and consummation of his life, utters aloud the lesson which experience had taught him so fully, " I belong to God " (Gen. l. 19), and not any longer to any sense object that has been created,—then his brethren will 108 make with him covenants of reconciliation, changing their hatred to friendship, their ill-will to good-will, and I, their follower and their servant, who have learnt to obey them as masters, will not fail to praise him for his repentance. And with good reason too, 109 since Moses the revealer preserves from destruction the story of his repentance, so worthy of love and remembrance, under the symbol of the bones which he held should not be suffered to remain buried for ever in Egypt (Ex. xiii. 19). For he deemed it a grievous shame to suffer any fair blossom of the soul to be withered or flooded and drowned by the streams

## PHILO

- τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτιος ποταμός, τὸ σῶμα, διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ῥέων ἐνδελεχῶς ἐκδίδωσιν.
- 110 XVI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν δραγμάτων<sup>1</sup> φανείσα ὄψις ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διάκρισις εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν καιρὸς ἤδη σκοπεῖν, καὶ ὡς ὄνειροκριτικῇ τέχνῃ
- 111 διαστέλλεται. “εἶδεν” οὖν φησιν “ἐνύπνιον ἕτερον καὶ διηγήσατο τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· ὥσπερ (ὁ) ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἕνδεκα ἀστέρες προσεκύνουν με. καὶ ἐπέτιμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ εἶπε· τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὃ ἐνυπνιασθῆς; ἀρά γε ἐλθόντες ἐλευσόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου προσκυνῆσαι σοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; ἐζήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοί,
- 112 ὁ δὲ πατὴρ διετήρησε τὸ ῥῆμα.” φασὶ τοίνυν οἱ μετεωρολογικοί, τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον μέγιστον ὄντα τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν δυοκαίδεκα (ἕκ) ζῳδίων,<sup>2</sup> ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε, κατηστερίσθαι, ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰλουμένους ἕκαστον διεξέρχεσθαι τῶν ζῳδίων, οὐκ ἰσοταχεῖς,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ χρόνοις ἀνίστοις, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα, τὴν δὲ δωδεκατημορίῳ τούτων μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἡμερῶν δυεῖν καὶ ἡμίσεος ἐστίν.
- 113 ἔδοξεν οὖν ὁ τὴν θεόπεμπτον φαντασίαν ἰδὼν ὑπ’ ἀστέρων ἕνδεκα προσκυνεῖσθαι, δωδέκατον συντάττων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ συμπλήρωσιν
- 114 κύκλου. μέμνημαι<sup>4</sup> δὲ καὶ πρότερόν τινας ἀκούσας ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ῥαθυμῶς τῷ μαθήματι προσενεχθέντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποὶ μόνου δοξομανοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες καὶ περὶ πρω-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.

<sup>2</sup> <ἕκ> is my insertion: Wend. ζῳδοῖς: Mangey ζῳδίων <σημείους>.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἰσοταχοῦς: perhaps ἰσοταχῶς.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μέμνηται.



## ON DREAMS, II. 109-114

which the Egyptian river of passion, the body, pours forth unceasingly through the channel of all the senses.<sup>a</sup>

XVI. So much for the vision drawn from earth— 110  
the vision of the sheaves and the interpretation put upon it. It is now fitting to examine the other, and to see how the rules of dream-interpretation explain it. He saw, the text says, another dream and told it 111  
to his father and brethren, and said "it was as though the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me." And his father rebuked him and said, "What is this dream that thou hast dreamt? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to do obeisance to thee on the earth?" And his brothers were angry with him, but his father kept the saying in memory (Gen. xxxvii. 9-11). Well, the students of the upper world tell us that the 112  
Zodiac, the largest of the circles of heaven, is formed into constellations out of twelve signs, called *zodia* or "creatures" from which also it takes its name. The sun and the moon, they say, ever revolve along the circle and pass through each of the signs, though the two do not move at the same speed, but at unequal rates as measured in numbers, the sun taking thirty days and the moon about a twelfth of that time, that is two and a half days. He then who saw that heaven- 113  
sent vision dreamt that the eleven stars made him obeisance, thus classing himself as the twelfth to complete the circle of the zodiac. Now, 114  
I remember once hearing a man who had applied himself to the study in no careless or indolent manner say that it is not only men who have a mad craving for glory, but the stars too have rivalry for precedence

<sup>a</sup> For the sense of §§ 105-109 *cf.* *De Mig.* 16-25.

## PHILO

- 115 τείων ἀμιλλώμενοι δικαιοῦσιν οἱ μείζους | αἰεὶ πρὸς  
 [674] τῶν ἐλαττόνων δορυφορεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν,  
 ὅπως ἂν ἀληθείας ἢ εἰκαιολογίας ἔχῃ, παρετέον  
 τοῖς μετεωροθήραις σκοπεῖν. λέγομεν  
 δὲ ἡμεῖς, [ὡς] ὅτι ὁ σπουδῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ φιλονεικίας  
 ἀλόγου καὶ κενῆς δόξης ἐραστής, αἰεὶ φυσώμενος  
 ὑπ' ἀνοίας, οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους ὑπερκύπτειν ἀλλὰ  
 116 καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἀξιοῖ. καὶ νομίζει μὲν  
 ἑαυτοῦ χάριν τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι, ἀναγκαῖον δ'  
 εἶναι δασμὸν ἕκαστον ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,  
 γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, οὐρανόν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-  
 ηθείας ὑπερβολῇ χρῆται, ὥστε οὐκ ἰσχύει λογί-  
 σασθαι, ὃ κὰν παῖς ἀφρων ἐνοηθείη, ὅτι τεχνίτης  
 οὐδεὶς ἔνεκα μέρους ποτὲ ὄλον, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ  
 ὄλου μέρος δημιουργεῖ· μέρος δὲ τοῦ παντὸς  
 ἀνθρωπος, ὥστε γεγωνῶς<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸ συμπλήρωμα τοῦ  
 κόσμου δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ συντελοῖη.<sup>2</sup>  
 117 XVII. φλυαρίας δὲ ἄρα τοσαύτης γέμουσί τινες,  
 ὥστε ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ ὁ κόσμος τοῖς βουλή-  
 μασιν αὐτῶν ἔποιτο. διὰ τοῦτο Ξέρξης  
 μὲν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
 καταπληξαι, μεγαλουργίας ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιεῖτο, και-  
 118 νουργῶν τὴν φύσιν· γῆν μὲν γὰρ μετεστοιχείου  
 καὶ θάλατταν, ἀντιδιδούς πελάγει μὲν ἠπειρον,  
 ἠπείρω δὲ πέλαγος, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζευγνὺς  
 γεφύραις,<sup>3</sup> ὄρος δὲ τὸν Ἄθω ρηγνὺς εἰς βαθεῖς  
 κόλπους, οἱ πληρούμενοι θαλάττης ὁ νέος καὶ  
 χειρόκμητος<sup>4</sup> εὐθύς πόντος ἦσαν, τὸ παλαιὸν<sup>5</sup> τῆς  
 119 φύσεως ἐξαλλοιωθεῖς· τὰ δὲ περίγεια, ὡς ἐδόκει,  
 θαυματουργήσας ἀνέβαινε ταῖς τετολημμέναις ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. γέγονεν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. συντελώνη.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ζευγνύσθαι φυραῖς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 114-119

and consider it right that the greater should have the lesser for their squires. How far this is true or mere 115  
idle talk is a question I must leave to the investigators of the upper world.

But we say that the lover of ill-considered aims, irrational contentions and vainglory is always puffed up by folly and claims to exalt himself not only above men but above the world of nature, and thinks that all things have come into 116  
being for his sake and that they must each of them, earth, water, air, heaven, pay their tribute to him as king. And so extreme is the stupidity under which he labours that he has not the reasoning power to see what even a brainless child could understand, that no craftsman makes the whole for the sake of the part, but rather the part for the sake of the whole, and that a man is a part of the all, so that as he has come into being to help to complete the universe it would be only right for him to subscribe his contribution to it. XVII. But some people we see are so brimful of folly 117  
that they are aggrieved if the whole world does not follow their wishes.

Thus Xerxes, the king of the Persians, wishing to strike terror into his enemies, made a display of action on a grand scale by creating a revolution in nature ; for he converted two elements, earth into sea, and sea into earth, giving 118  
dry land to the ocean and ocean in exchange to the dry land, by bridging over the Hellespont and breaking up Mount Athos into deep hollows, which filled with salt water at once formed a new and artificial sea entirely transformed from its ancient nature. And having played the conjurer, as he thought, 119  
with the regions of earth he proceeded in the boldness of his schemes to mount to heaven also,

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<sup>4</sup> MSS. χειρότμητος.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. τῷ παλαιῷ.

## PHILO

- νοίαις συνανάγων ἀσέβειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁ δύστηνος, ὡς τὰ ἀκίνητα κινήσων καὶ τὸν θεῖον στρατὸν καθαιρήσων, καί, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀφ' ἱερᾶς
- 120 ἤρχετο· τὸν γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἐκεῖ, τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἡμέρας ἡλίον, ἐτόξευεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀφανεῖ βέλει φρενοβλαβείας τιτρωσκόμενος οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἀδυνάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνοσιωτάτων ἔργων ἐρᾶν, ὧν καὶ θάτερον μεγάλη τῷ ἐγχειροῦντι
- 121 δύσκληια ἦν. Γερμανῶν δὲ πολυανθρωποτάτην μοῖραν—ἀμπωτίζει<sup>1</sup> δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ θάλαττα—λόγος ἔχει κατὰ τὰς ἐκεῖ παλιρροίας ἐπιδρομὰς ὠθουμένους μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἐπανατεινόμενους γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη, θέοντας ὡς στίφος πολεμίων
- 122 τὸ κυματούμενον πέλαγος ὑπαντιάζειν· (οὓς) ἄξιον μισεῖν μὲν, ὅτι ἐναντία ὄπλα δι' ἀθεότητα κατὰ τῶν ἀδουλώτων τῆς φύσεως αἰρεῖσθαι τολμῶσι μερῶν, χλευάζειν δέ, ὅτι ἀδυνατοῖς ἐγχειροῦσιν ὡς δυνατοῖς,<sup>2</sup> νομίζοντες ὡς ζῶον καὶ ὕδωρ κεντεῖσθαι, τιτρώσκεσθαι, κτείνεσθαι δύνασθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀλγεῖν, δεδιέναι, φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀποδιδράσκειν καὶ ὅσα ψυχῆς πάθη κατὰ τε ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδόνας ἀναδέχεσθαι.
- 123 [675] XVIII. Χθές | δ' οὐ πρόην ἄνδρα τινὰ οἶδα τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν, ὅς, ἐπειδὴ<sup>3</sup> τὴν προστασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχεν Αἰγύπτου, τὰ πάτρια κινεῖν ἡμῶν διενόηθη καὶ διαφερόντως τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ φρικωδέστατον<sup>4</sup> περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὑπάρχοντα νόμον καταλύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν (ἐν αὐτῇ)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀμπωτίζειν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δυνατόν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. have ἐπειδὴ before τὰ πάτρια.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἀγιωδέστατα καὶ φρικωδέστατα (Mangey ἀγιωδέστατον).

## ON DREAMS, II. 119-123

taking, unhappy wretch, impiety as his fellow climber. He thought to remove the irremovable and to overthrow the divine host, and, to quote the proverb, he began with the "sacred line."<sup>a</sup> For he aimed his 120 arrows at the best of the heavenly bodies, the sun who rules the day, and little knew that he himself was wounded by the unseen bolt of insanity, not merely because the feats he hoped to do were impossible, but because they were utterly unholy, either of which reflects great discredit on the attempter.

And the Germans of the most thickly 121 populated part, where the sea ebbs and flows, when the flood-time comes there, try eagerly, we are told, to repel its onsets, brandishing their unsheathed swords and running like a hostile band to meet the oncoming waves.<sup>b</sup> They deserve our detestation in 122 that in their godlessness they dared to take arms to oppose the parts of nature which know no servitude. They deserve our ridicule because they attempt the impossible as though it were possible, and think that water like a living creature can be speared, wounded, killed, or again can feel pain and fear,<sup>c</sup> or, in its terror at the attack, run away, and in fact feel all the sensations of the living soul, both pleasurable and painful.

XVIII. Not long ago I knew one of the ruling class<sup>c</sup> 123 who when he had Egypt in his charge and under his authority purposed to disturb our ancestral customs and especially to do away with the law of the Seventh Day which we regard with most reverence and awe. He tried to compel men to do service to him on it and

<sup>a</sup> With *ιεράς*, sc. *γραμμῆς*. See App. p. 608.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 608 f.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 609.

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<sup>5</sup> <έν ἀντῆ> is my insertion: Markland proposed it as substitute for ἀντῶ.

## PHILO

- αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸ καθεστῶς ἔθος, νομίζων ἀρχὴν ἔσσεσθαι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδαιτησίως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων παραβάσεως, εἰ
- 124 τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ πάτριον ἀνελεῖν δυνηθεῖη. καὶ μὴθ' οὓς ἐβιάζετο ὄρων εἰκοντας τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι μῆτε τὴν ἄλλην πληθὺν ἡρεμοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ βαρέως καὶ τραχέως φέρουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀνδραποδισμῷ καὶ πορθήσει καὶ κατασκαφῇ πατρίδος πενθοῦντάς τε καὶ κατηφοῦντας, ἡξίου λόγῳ
- 125 διδάσκειν παρανομεῖν, φάσκων· εἰ πολεμίων ἔφοδος αἰφνίδιον γένοιτο ἢ κατακλυσμοῦ φορὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις παραρρήξαντος τὸ χῶμα ἢ ριπή πυρὸς ἢ κεραυνία φλόξ ἢ λιμὸς ἢ λοιμὸς ἢ σεισμός ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ χειροποίητα καὶ θεήλατα, μεθ'
- 126 ἡσυχίας πάσης οἴκοι διατρίψετε; ἢ μετὰ τοῦ συνήθους σχήματος προελεύσεσθε, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν εἴσω χεῖρα συναγαγόντες, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμπεχόνης παρὰ ταῖς λαγόσι πῆξαντες, ἵνα μηδ'
- 127 ἄκοντές τι τῶν εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι παράσχησθε; καὶ καθεδείσθε ἐν τοῖς συναγωγίοις ὑμῶν, τὸν εἰωθότα θίασον ἀγείροντες καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰς<sup>1</sup> ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκοντες κἂν εἴ τι μὴ τρανὲς εἴη διαπτύσσοντες<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ διὰ μακρηγορίας
- 128 ἐνευκαιροῦντές τε καὶ ἐνσχολάζοντες; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀποσεισάμενοι πάντα ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων σωμάτων, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, καὶ κτημάτων καὶ χρημάτων, ὡς μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀφα-
- 129 νισθεῖη, βοήθειαν ἀποδύσεσθε.<sup>3</sup> καὶ μὴν οὗτος αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τὰ λεχθέντα, ἔφη, πάντα εἰμί,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀσφαλεῖς τε.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. διαπτύοντες.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀποδύεσθαι.

## ON DREAMS, II. 123-129

perform other actions which contravene our established custom, thinking that if he could destroy the ancestral rule of the Sabbath it would lead the way to irregularity in all other matters, and a general backsliding. And when he saw that those on whom 124 he was exercising pressure were not submitting to his orders, and that the rest of the population instead of taking the matter calmly were intensely indignant and shewed themselves as mournful and disconsolate as they would were their native city being sacked and razed, and its citizens being sold into captivity, he thought good to try to argue them into breaking the law. "Suppose," he said, "there was a sudden 125 inroad of the enemy or an inundation caused by the river rising and breaking through the dam, or a blazing conflagration or a thunderbolt or famine, or plague or earthquake, or any other trouble either of human or divine agency, will you stay at home perfectly quiet? Or will you appear in public in 126 your usual guise, with your right hand tucked inside and the left held close to the flank under the cloak lest you should even unconsciously do anything that might help to save you? And will you sit in your 127 conventicles and assemble your regular company and read in security your holy books, expounding any obscure point and in leisurely comfort discussing at length your ancestral philosophy? No, you will 128 throw all these off and gird yourselves up for the assistance of yourselves, your parents and your children, and the other persons who are nearest and dearest to you, and indeed also your chattels and wealth to save them too from annihilation. See then," he went on, "I who stand before you am 129

## PHILO

- τυφώς, πόλεμος, κατακλυσμός, κεραυνός, λιμηρὰ<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ λοιμώδης νόσος, ὁ τινάπτων καὶ κυκῶν τὰ  
 παγίως ἐστῶτα σεισμός, εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκης οὐκ  
 130 ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῆς ἐγγὺς ἐστῶσα δύναμις. τί  
 οὖν τὸν<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα λέγοντα ἢ διανοούμενον αὐτὸ μόνον  
 εἶναι φῶμεν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἐκτόπιον; ὑπερωκεάνιον μὲν  
 οὖν ἢ μετακόσμιόν τι καινὸν κακόν, εἴ γε τῷ πάντα  
 μακαρίῳ ὁ πάντα βαρυδαίμων ἑαυτὸν ἐξομοιοῦν  
 131 ἐτόλμησεν. ὑπερθεῖτ' ἂν<sup>3</sup> οὗτος ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην  
 [676] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας βλασφημεῖν, | ὅποτε τι  
 τῶν ἐλπισθέντων κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἢ<sup>4</sup> μὴ  
 συνόλως ἢ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀποβαίνοι, φλογμὸν μὲν  
 θέρους, κρυμὸν δὲ [καὶ] χειμῶνος βαρὺν κατα-  
 σκήπτουτος, ἔαρος δὲ καὶ μετοπώρου, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς  
 εὐκαρπίαν<sup>5</sup> ἐστειρωμένου, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς νοσημάτων  
 132 γενέσεις εὐτοκία χρωμένου; πάντα μὲν οὖν ἀνα-  
 σείων κάλων<sup>6</sup> ἀχαλίνου στόματος καὶ κακηγόρου<sup>7</sup>  
 γλώττης, ὥσπερ τὸν εἰωθότα δασμὸν οὐκ ἐνεγ-  
 κόντας τοὺς ἀστέρας<sup>8</sup> αἰτιάσεται, τιμᾶσθαι μονοноῦ  
 καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι δικαίων<sup>9</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων<sup>10</sup>  
 τὰπίγεια καὶ περιττότερον ἑαυτὸν, ὅσω καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀνθρωπος ὢν διενηνοχέαι ζώων δοκεῖ.  
 133 XIX. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῆς κενῆς ἡμῖν  
 δόξης γράφονται, τοὺς δὲ χορευτὰς ἐν μέρει κατ'  
 αὐτοὺς<sup>11</sup> ἴδωμεν. οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. λοιμύρα.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὑπερθ . . . αν.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἦρος ἀκαρπίαν.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. κατηγόρου.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. δικαίον.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. καθ' αὐτοὺς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἦν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. εἶ.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἀνασελεῖν καλὸν.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. δ' ἐτέρας.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. οὐρανῶν.

<sup>a</sup> Or "between the worlds." See on *De Som.* i. 184.



## ON DREAMS, II. 129-133

all the things I have named. I am the whirlwind, the war, the deluge, the lightning, the plague of famine or disease, the earthquake which shakes and confounds what was firm and stable ; I am constraining destiny, not its name but its power, visible to your eyes and standing at your side." What shall we say 130 of one who says or even merely thinks these things ? Shall we not call him an evil thing hitherto unknown : a creature of a strange land or rather one from beyond the ocean and the universe<sup>a</sup>—he who dared to liken to the All-blessed his all-miserable self ? Would he 131 delay to utter blasphemies against the sun, moon and the other stars, if what he hoped for at each season of the year did not happen at all or only grudgingly, if the summer<sup>b</sup> visited him with scorching heat or the winter<sup>b</sup> with a terrible frost, if the spring failed in its fruit-bearing or the autumn shewed fertility in breeding diseases ? Nay, he will loose 132 every reef of his unbridled mouth and scurrilous tongue and accuse the stars of not paying their regular tribute, and scarce refrain from demanding that honour and homage be paid by the things of heaven to the things of earth, and to himself more abundantly inasmuch as being a man he conceives himself to have been made superior to other living creatures.

XIX. Such is our description of the leaders of vain- 133 glory : let us now consider separately the rank and file which follow them. They are for ever plotting

<sup>b</sup> Wend. notes that Cohn wished to transpose "summer" and "winter." Though this may at first sight seem more likely, I think Wend. is right in following the mss. Railing at extremes of the natural is more impious than railing at the unnatural, and the words about spring and autumn bear this out.

## PHILO

- ἀσκηταῖς ἀρετῆς· οὓς ὅταν ἴδωσι σπουδάζοντας τὸν αὐτῶν βίον ἀληθεία ἀδόλω φαιδρύνειν καὶ ὡς πρὸς σεληνιακὸν ἢ τὸ ἀφ' ἡλίου καθαρὸν φέγγος αὐγάζειν, ἀπατῶντες<sup>1</sup> ἢ βιαζόμενοι κωλύουσιν, εἰς τὸν ἀσεβῶν ἀνήλιον χῶρον εἰσελαύνοντες, ὃν ἐπέχουσι νυξ βαθεῖα καὶ σκότος ἀτελεύτητον καὶ εἰδώλων καὶ φασμάτων καὶ ὄνειράτων ἔθνη<sup>2</sup> μυρία, κακεῖ κατα-
- 134 δύσαντες προσκυνεῖν ὡς δεσπότης ἀναγκάζουσι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἥλιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ μὲν<sup>3</sup> τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν πράγμασιν ἐμπαρέχει φῶς, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν, ἣ κέχρηται, σελήνην—ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ ἡ ἑκατέρας εἰλικρινεστάτη καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτη χρῆσις ἐστίν,—ἀδελφοὺς δὲ τοὺς παιδείας καὶ ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς (ὡς) ἂν ἐγγόνους ἀστείους λόγους, οὓς πάντας ὀρθὴν ἀτραπὸν εὐθύνοντας τοῦ βίου παλαίσμασι πολυτρόποις καὶ πολυμηχάνοις αὐχενίζοντες ἐκτραχηλίζειν καὶ καταρράττειν ὑποσκελίζοντες<sup>4</sup> οἱ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς μήτε λέγειν μήτε φρονεῖν ἐγνωκότες
- 135 ἀξιοῦσι. διὸ καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶ τῷ τοιούτῳ τιθασῶς<sup>5</sup> ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ Ἰακώβ, ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ τούτου πρεσβύτερος ὀρθὸς λόγος φάσκων· “τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον
- 136 τοῦτο ἐνυπνιασθῆς;” ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνύπνιον εἶδες· ἢ ὑπέλαβες, ὅτι τὰ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀνθρωπείων ἀνάγκη δοῦλα ἔσται καὶ ὑπήκοα τὰ ἄρχοντα καί, τὸ ἔτι παραδοξότερον, οὐκ ἄλλων ὑπήκοα ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπαντῶντες.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔθνη.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἢ . . . ἐπειδήπερ . . . μὲν <Trin. οἱ μὲν>.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ὑποσκελίζοντας.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. τιθάσω.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

<sup>b</sup> Logically this should be “the stars.”

mischievous and evil against the practisers of virtue, and when they see them zealous to brighten their life with the light of guileless truth and irradiate it with moonbeams as it were and with pure sunlight, they hinder them by deceit or violence and drive them down to the sunless region of the impious where deep night reigns and endless darkness, and innumerable tribes of spectres and phantoms and dream-illusions. And when they have brought them to their setting there they compel them to do obeisance to themselves as masters. For we understand by the sun the 134 practiser of wisdom, since it provides light for material things even as the other does for the immaterial things of the soul.<sup>a</sup> And by the moon we understand the instruction which serves the wise, for both render a service most pure and useful in lightening a night, while the excellent thoughts and reasonings, the children as it were of instruction and the practising soul, are the brethren.<sup>b</sup> These it is who rule aright the straight path of life, but those who purpose to say nothing and think nothing that is wholesome deem well to ply them all with wrestling-grips of manifold turns and twists, with the throat-clutch which dislocates the neck, or the leg-fall which brings the wrestler with a thud to the ground.

And therefore one of this sort is gently 135 rebuked by his father, not Jacob, but by that right reason which is higher and greater than Jacob. "What is this dream which you dreamt?" (Gen. xxxvii. 10), he says. "You did not dream," he 136 means, "or did you suppose that the naturally free would be forced into slavery to the human, the powers which rule into subjection and, more unreasonable still, made subject not to some others but

## PHILO

τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδ' ἐτέρων δοῦλα ἀλλὰ τῶν δουλευόντων; εἰ μὴ ἄρα κράτει<sup>1</sup> θεοῦ τοῦ μόνου πάντα δυνατοῦ, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν καὶ τὰ φορούμενα θέμις ἰδρύσασθαι, μεταβολὴ τῶν καθ' 137 εστῶτων γένοιτο πρὸς τὰναντία. | ἐπεὶ τίνα ἕξει [677] λόγον τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ τὴν καθ' ὕπνον φαντασίαν ἰδόντι; μὴ γὰρ ἐκὼν εἶδον αὐτήν; ἐρεῖ, τί μοι τὰ τῶν ἐκ προνοίας ἡδικηκότων ἐπάγεις<sup>3</sup> ἐγκλήματα; τὸ προσπεσὸν ἕξωθεν καὶ πληξάν μου 138 τὴν διάνοιαν αἰφνίδιον ἄκοντος διηγησάμην. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι περὶ ὀνειράτος ὁ παρῶν λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ πραγμάτων εὐοικότων ἐνυπνίσις· ἃ τοῖς μὴ λίαν κεκαθαρμένοις μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ περιμάχητα εἶναι δοκεῖ, μικρὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀμυδρὰ καὶ χλεύης ἐπάξια παρ' ἀδεκάστοις<sup>4</sup> ἀληθείας βραβευταῖς.

139 XX. Ἄρ' οὖν, φησίν, ἐλεύσομαι μὲν <ὁ> ὀρθὸς λόγος, ἐγώ, ἀφίξεται δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς θιάσου ψυχῆς<sup>5</sup> μήτηρ ὁμοῦ καὶ τροφός, ἀρετῶσα παιδεία, συντενοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν ἕγγονοι καὶ στάντες ἀντικρὺς οὕτω κατὰ στοίχον ἐν κόσμῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξάραντες προσ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κρατεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὀρίζεσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπάγης.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. παρὰ δὲ ἐκάστοις.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ψύχη which Wend. brackets. Mangey on the other hand would read ψυχῆς and bracket θιάσου. But the latter is evidently needed to represent the brothers, and that the δυνάμεις should be called the θίασος ψυχῆς seems to me quite natural.

<sup>a</sup> The thought seems to be that Jacob's question means "it was no dream but a spiritual delusion." If it was a

ON DREAMS, II. 136-139

to those whom they rule, and slaves to none but those who themselves are in slavery?"<sup>a</sup> That could only be if<sup>b</sup> by the power of God who alone can do all things, whose right it is to move the immovable and to make stable the inconstant, the present state of things should be changed to its opposite. Nay, no 137 dream! for what sense would there be in rebuking or showing anger to one who has seen an illusion in his sleep? "Was it of my free will that I saw it?" he would say. "Why charge me as you charge those who have deliberately gone wrong? I did but tell you what came upon me from without and struck my mind suddenly through no action of my own." But the fact is that we are not concerned here with 138 a dream, but with things that resemble dreams: things which seem great and brilliant and desirable to those who are not very well purified, but are small and dull and ridiculous in the eyes of uncorrupted judges of truth.

XX. What he means is 139 this: "Shall I right reason come: shall fruitful instruction the mother and nurse of the soul-company that yearns for knowledge come too, shall the children of us two press forward, and shall we all standing straight opposite ranged in order with lifted hands

dream no blame would attach (§ 137). I have therefore put a colon, as Mangey, after *εἶδες*, instead of a mark of interrogation as Wend. The question form, however, in the rest of the sentence does not fit in very well. I suggest *οὐκ εἶδες <μᾶλλον> ἢ ὑπέλαβες*, a favourite form with Philo for *οὐκ . . . ἀλλά*.

<sup>b</sup> The *εἰ μή* clause is connected with *παραδοξότερον*. "It would only fail to be paradoxical, if" etc.

## PHILO

- 140 *ευξώμεθα τύφον; πρότερον ύφέντες,<sup>1</sup> είτα καταβαλόντες έαυτούς είς τό έδαφος ποτινιασθαι και προσκυνείν έπιχειρήσωμεν; αλλά μή έπιλάμψαι ποτέ τούτοις γινομένοις ήλιος, έπει<sup>2</sup> βαθύ μέν σκότος κακοίς, τηλαυγές δέ φώς άγαθοίς έφαρμόζει. τί δ' αν γένοιτο μείζον κακόν ή τόν πλαστόν και φένακα τύφον αντί της άπλάστου και άψευδούς άτυφίας έπαινείσθαι τε και θαυμάζεσθαι;*
- 141 *Παγκάλως δέ προσδιέσταλται<sup>3</sup> τό "διετήρησεν ό πατήρ τό ρήμα". ψυχής γάρ ου νεωτέρας ουδέ άγόνου και έστερωμένης, αλλά τώ οντι πρεσβυτέρας και γεννάν έπισταμένης έργον έστι συζήν εύλαβεία και μηδενός καταφρονείν τό παράπαν, αλλά τό άδραστον και άνίκητον του θεου κράτος κατεπτηχέναι και περιαθρείν έν κύκλω, τί άρα*
- 142 *άποβήσεται τό τέλος αυτή. δια τουτο και την Μωυσέως αδελφήν—έλπις δέ παρ' ήμίν τοίς αλληγορικοίς ονομάζεται—φασιν άποσκοπεύν<sup>4</sup> μακρόθεν οι χρησμοί, προς τό του βίου δήπου τέλος έμβλέπουσαν, ίνα αίσιον άπαντήση, του τελεσφόρου κατα*
- 143 *πέμψαντος αυτό<sup>5</sup> άνωθεν άπ' ουρανοϋ. πολλοί γάρ πολλάκις πλωτά μεγάλα<sup>6</sup> διαβαλόντες<sup>7</sup> και μακρόν*

<sup>1</sup> mss. *άφέντες*, which Wend. retains. For the punctuation and meaning see note *a* below.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *έπί*.

<sup>3</sup> mss. *προδιέσταλται*.

<sup>4</sup> mss. *άποσκοπεύειν*.

<sup>5</sup> mss. *αυτώ*.

<sup>6</sup> So mss.: Mangey and Wend. *άπλωτα πελάγη*, cf. § 180. The change seems to me unnecessary. It is true that I find no example of *πλωτά* as a substantive, but the sense is better. Philo is speaking of what frequently happens.

<sup>7</sup> mss. *διαλαβόντες*.

<sup>a</sup> Wendland and Mangey punctuate *τύφον πρότερον άφ-* (*Mangey ύφέντες*, i.e. "casting away our former pride." This seems to me impossible in view of the use of *τύφος*

address our prayers to vanity? Shall we first bow <sup>a</sup> 140 and then cast ourselves to the ground in supplication and obeisance?" No, may the sun never shine on these happenings, since deep darkness befits things evil and bright light the good, and what greater evil could there be than that vanity the fictitious and deceiver should receive praise and admiration, usurping the place of its opposite, simplicity in whom there is no fiction or falsity.

There is a further excellent lesson in the words, 141 "The father retained the saying" (Gen. xxxvii. 11). For surely it is the business of a soul which is no youngster nor barren nor sterile but verily an elder and skilled in parenthood, to take caution for its life-mate, to despise nothing at all but to crouch in awe before the power of God which none can evade or defeat, and to look with circumspection to see what end shall befall it. And so the oracles say that the 142 sister of Moses, to whom we who deal in allegory give the name of "Hope," "spied out from a distance" (Ex. ii. 4), looking doubtless to the consummation of life, that it may meet us with good auspice sent down from high heaven by the Consummator. For many a time and to many has it happened that 143 they have crossed wide spaces of navigable waters

throughout. To cast away *τῦφος* in Philo's sense would be a worthy action, not as here unworthy. Moreover in § 140 it is clearly indicated as the recipient of misplaced homage. I feel no doubt that *τῦφον* is the object of *προσευξώμεθα*. As I have translated it, there are three stages: (1) standing with uplifted hands, (2) bowing, (3) falling prostrate, the last representing the LXX *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*. But I should like clearer authority for *ὑφεῖναι ἑαυτούς* = "to bow," and the use of *πρότερον* for *πρώτον* may seem strange, but *cf. De Mos. ii. 49 and 184*. Still the considerations mentioned above against the other interpretation seem to me overwhelming. See also App. p. 609.

## PHILO

πλοῦν οὐρίοις πνεύμασιν ἀκίνδυνοι παραπεμφθέντες  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς λιμέσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐναυάγησαν, μέλλοντες  
 144 ἤδη προσορμίζεσθαι. μυρίοι<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ  
 πολυετεῖς πολέμους ἀνά κράτος ἐλόντες καὶ ἄτρωτοι  
 διατελέσαντες, ὡς μηδ' ἐπιφάνειαν ἄκραν νυχθῆναι,<sup>2</sup>  
 [678] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ | πανηγύρεως κοινοδήμου καὶ  
 δημοτελοῦς ἑορτῆς<sup>3</sup> τελεῖν \* \* \*<sup>4</sup> ὀλοκλήροις καὶ  
 παντελέσι, μεθ' ἰλαρᾶς ἐπιστρέψαντες εὐθυμίας ἐν  
 ταῖς ἰδίαις ὑφ' ὧν ἦκιστ' ἐχρῆν ἐπεβουλευθήσαν  
 οἰκίαις, τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦτο, "βόες ἐπὶ φάτνῃ"<sup>5</sup>  
 145 σφαγέυτες. XXI. ὥσπερ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπροσδόκητοι  
 καὶ ἀτέκμαρτοι συντυχίαι κατασκήπτειν<sup>6</sup> φιλοῦσιν,  
 οὕτω καὶ τὰς περὶ ψυχὴν δυνάμεις ἀντρωθοῦσι πρὸς  
 τὰναντία καὶ ἀντιμετακλίνουσιν, ἣν οἰαί τε' ὦσι,  
 καὶ ἀνατρέψαι βιάζονται. τίς γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 146 τοῦ βίου παρελθὼν ἄπτωτος ἔμεινε; τίς δ' οὐχ  
 ὑπεσκεκίσθη; εὐδαίμων δ' ὁ μὴ πολλάκις. τίτι  
 δ' οὐκ ἐφήδρευεν ἡ τύχη, διαπνέουσα καὶ συλ-  
 λεγομένη ῥώμην, ἵνα συμπλακεῖσα εὐθὺς ἐξαρπάσῃ,  
 147 πρὶν φθάσαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον κονίσασθαι; οὐκ ἤδη<sup>8</sup>  
 τινὰς ἴσμεν ἐκ παίδων εἰς γῆρας ἀφιγμένους, οἱ  
 μηδεμιᾶς ἐπήσθοντο<sup>9</sup> ταραχῆς εἴτε δι' εὐμοιρίαν<sup>10</sup>  
 φύσεως εἴτε διὰ τὴν τῶν τρεφόντων καὶ παιδευ-  
 ὄντων ἐπιμέλειαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα, βαθείας δ'  
 εἰρήνης ἀναπλησθέντας τῆς<sup>11</sup> (ἐν) ἑαυτοῖς, ἣ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, τῆς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀρχέτυ-  
 πον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐδαίμονας νομισθέντας, ὅτι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μυρίους.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. μιχθῆναι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἑορτὰς.

<sup>4</sup> A lacuna of ten letters. I have translated Mangey's μέλεσιν for τελεῖν and Wendland's suggestion of ἐπανελεθεῖν for the lacuna. τελεῖν, however (intransitive), = "end up" may be genuine.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. φάτνης.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. κατασκάπτειν.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. ἐν οἰοί τε.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. εἰ δὴ.



## ON DREAMS, II. 143-147

and passed a long voyage in safety escorted by favourable breezes, and then in the harbour itself have suddenly been shipwrecked just when they were on the point to cast anchor. Multitudes, too, have 144 fought manfully for years in cruel warfare and remained unwounded without even a scratch or a pinprick : they have returned in mirth and in gladness as though war were a public festival and a civic banquet, without a limb missing or unsound, and then in their own homes have been conspired against by those who should have been the last to do such a deed and slaughtered as the saying goes like " oxen at the stall." <sup>a</sup> XXI. And just as sudden and un- 145 expected evils are wont to bring these outward afflictions upon us, so too they push the soul's faculties in the opposite direction or deflect them to a side course if they can, or seek violently to overturn them. For who that has entered the arena of life remains without a fall ? Who has never been tripped up and 146 thrown ? Happy he who has fallen but seldom. Has there been any for whom fortune was not ever lying in wait, taking breath and collecting her strength, to grip him in her arms and carry him off before he can prepare to meet her ? Do we not know by 147 experience of men who have passed from childhood to old age without feeling any disturbance of soul, because nature has so blessed them, or through the care of those who rear and train them or through both—men full of the profound inward peace which is the only true peace of which the peace of cities is but a copy—men who have therefore been held

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* iv. 535 (of the death of Agamemnon).

<sup>9</sup> MSS. ἐπέιθοτον.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. εὐμάρειαν.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. τῆν.

## PHILO

- ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> τῶν παθῶν ἀναρριπιζόμενον ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον,  
 ἀργαλεώτατον ὄντα πολέμων, οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπήσθητο,  
 εἰτ' ἐν αὐταῖς τοῦ βίου ταῖς δυσμαῖς ἐξοκείλαντάς  
 τε καὶ ναυαγήσαντας ἢ περὶ γλώτταν ἄθυρον ἢ περὶ  
 γαστέρα ἀπληστον ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπογαστρίων  
 148 ἀκράτορα λεγνείαν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν μειρακιώδη  
 τῶν ἀσώτων, ἄτιμον, ἀποκήρυκτον, αἰσχροὺν βίον  
 ἐζήλωσαν “ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ,” οἱ δὲ τὸν πανοῦργον  
 καὶ συκοφάντην καὶ ῥαδιουργόν, ἀπαρχόμενοι φιλο-  
 πραγμοσύνης, ὅτε εἰκὸς ἦν ἤδη καὶ παλαιὰν οὖσαν  
 149 καταλῦσαι. διὸ χρὴ τὸν θεὸν ποτινῆσθαι  
 καὶ λιπαρῶς ἱκετεύειν, ὅπως τὸ ἐπικηρον ἡμῶν  
 γένος μὴ παρέλθῃ, κελεύσῃ δὲ διαιωρίζειν αὐτοῦ  
 τὸν σωτήριον ἔλεον· χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἰρήνης ἀκράτου  
 150 γευσσαμένους κωλυθῆναι κορεσθῆναι. XXII. ἀλλὰ  
 φέρε, δύψης κουφότερόν ἐστι κακὸν ὁ λιμὸς οὗτος,  
 ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἔχων παρηγοροῦντας. ὅταν δὲ  
 ἀφ' ἐτέρας πηγῆς, ἧς θολερὸν καὶ νοσερὸν τὸ  
 νᾶμα, διὰ τὸν (τοῦ) πιεῖν ἡμερον ἐμφορεῖσθαι  
 δέη, τότε ἀνάγκη γλυκυπίκρου πληρουμένους<sup>2</sup>  
 ἡδονῆς ἐν ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ διαζῆν, τοῖς βλαβεροῖς ὡς  
 ὠφελίμοις ἐπιτρέχοντας ἀγνοία τοῦ συμφέροντος.  
 151 ἢ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἀνιανοτάτη φορὰ γίνεται τούτων,  
 ἐπειδὰν αἱ ἄλογοι δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθέμεναι  
 152 ταῖς τοῦ λογισμοῦ κρατήσωσιν. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἢ  
 [679] βουκόλια | βουκόλοις ἢ ποιμέσι ποίμνια ἢ αἰπόλοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπὸ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πληρουμένης.

<sup>a</sup> Il. xxii. 60 and elsewhere.

<sup>b</sup> The thought seems to be that the unsatisfied yearning for the peace which we have lost is a less evil than the desire for pleasure, because the very yearning has something com-

## ON DREAMS, II. 147-152

happy because they have never known even in their dreams the intestine war kindled by passion, the cruellest of wars—and then at the very eventide of life they have been wrecked on the rock of an unlocked tongue or insatiate greed of belly, or in uncontrolled lasciviousness of the lower-lying parts. For some “on the threshold of old age”<sup>a</sup> affect the 148 life of prodigal youth, a life dishonoured, abandoned, shamed. Others affect a life of knavery, slander and roguery, starting on their restless course just when, were it an old habit, we should expect them to discard it.

And therefore we should earnestly 149 entreat and supplicate God that He should not pass by our perishing race but charge His saving mercy to remain with us to the end, for it is a grievous thing that when we have tasted peace in its purity we should be hindered from taking our fill of it. XXII. And yet this hunger<sup>b</sup> for peace, assuaged as it is by 150 yearning and desire, is a lighter ill than thirst; but when in our eagerness to quench our thirst we have to drink of another fountain whose water is muddy and noisome, we must needs, replete with bitter-sweet pleasure, lead the life which is not worth living, pursuing the harmful as though it were profitable in our ignorance of our own interest. And the stream of 151 these evils becomes most grievous when the unreasoning forces of the soul attack and overpower the forces of reason. Whilst the herd obeys its 152 herdsman, or the flocks of sheep or goats obey the

forting in it. But it is strange that these two should be put in antithesis as “hunger” and “thirst,” particularly as *ἀκράτου* in the previous sentence and *ἐτέρας πηγῆς* in this suggest that the *λιμός* includes thirst as well as hunger, *cf. De Ebr. 148*. I suspect that *διψῆς* is a gloss or interpolation. If so, translate *λιμός* by “famine.”

## PHILO

- αἰπόλια πειθαρχεῖ, τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀγέλας κατορθοῦται· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν θρεμμάτων οἱ ἐπιστατοῦντες ἀγέλαρχαι γίνονται, πλημμελεῖται τὰ πάντα καὶ συμβαίνει ἀταξία μὲν ἐκ τάξεως, ἀκόσμία δ' ἐξ εὐκοσμίας, ταραχὴ δ' ἐξ εὐσταθείας καὶ σύγχυσις ἐκ διακρίσεως, ἅτε μηδεμιᾶς ἔτι νομίμου καθεστῶσης ἐπιστασίας· εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ἤδη καθήρητο.
- 153 τί οὖν; οὐκ οἴομεθα καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς θρεμμάτων μὲν ἀγέλην εἶναι, παρόσον ἀποτέμνηται ψυχὴν<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἄλογον στίφος, ἀγέλαρχην δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν; ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ἔρρωταί τε καὶ ἰκανὸς ἀγελαρχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐνδίκως ἅπαντα<sup>2</sup> καὶ συμφερόντως ἐπιτελεῖται.
- 154 ὅταν δὲ ἀσθενεῖα τις ἐπιγένηται τῷ βασιλεῖ, συγκάμνει ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον· καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα ἠλευθερώσθαι δοκεῖ, τότε μάλιστα γίνεται ἐτοιμότητον ἄθλον κείμενον τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸ μόνον κοίσεισθαι. πέφυκε γὰρ ἀναρχία μὲν ἐπίβουλον, ἀρχὴ δ' εἶναι σωτήριον, καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ νόμος καὶ δίκη τετίμηται· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σὺν λόγῳ.
- 155 XXIII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὀνειράτα ὦδε ἠκριβώσθω· τὰ δὲ τῆς γαστριμαργίας εἶδη πόσις τε καὶ βρώσις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν οὐκ (ἀ)ποικίλων,<sup>3</sup> τῇ δὲ μυρίων ὄσων ἡδυσμάτων καὶ παραρτυμάτων χρεῖα. ταῦτα μέντοι δυσὶ φροντισταῖς ἐπανατίθεται, τὰ μὲν τῆς περιέργου πόσεως ἀρχαιονοχόῳ, τὰ δὲ
- 156 τῆς ἀνθηροτέρας<sup>4</sup> ἐδωδῆς ἀρχαιοποιοῦ. σφόδρα δ' ἐξήτασμένως μῖα νυκτὶ φαντασιούμενοι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> My correction for ms. ψυχῆς. I understand ἀποτέμνομαι to be used as in *De Cher.* 4 ἦν ἀποτέμνηται μαθηματικῆ, and ψυχῆ, as so often, in its lower sense. Wend. retains ψυχῆς and suggests <λόγον> ἐκτέμνηται.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἔχοντα.

<sup>3</sup> My correction: Wend. οὐ ποικίλων: mss. οὐ ποικίλα. This

shepherd or goatherd, all goes well with them ; but, when the controlling herdsmen prove weaker than their charges, everything goes awry. Arrangement gives way to disarrangement, order to disorder, steadiness to disturbance, organization to confusion, since the lawful control no longer subsists. For if it ever existed it is now destroyed. What follows ? 153 Must we not believe that, since the troop of unreason has made the soul its province, we have within ourselves a herd of brute cattle and a herdsman too, the ruling mind ? But while the mind is strong and capable of playing the herdsman, all things are managed with justice and profit ; but when weakness 154 befalls the king, the subject element must suffer also, and it is just when the victim thinks he is most at liberty that he becomes the easiest of prizes, which whoso would win needs but little preparation for the contest. For it is the nature of anarchy to plot mischief and of government to bring salvation, and chiefly so where law and justice are honoured, and that means government based on reason.

XXIII. Here we may conclude our close study of 155 the dreams of vainglory. As for gluttony it has two forms—drinking and eating, and the spicings and the flavourings needed are by no means simple in the former, but innumerable in the latter. These are entrusted to two caretakers : the liquor treated with nicety to a chief butler, the more elaborate edibles to a chief baker. There is a carefully considered mean- 156 ing in describing the dreams as appearing to both

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is difficult to reconcile with *περιέργου* below, and still more inconsistent with *οἶνων . . . παμποικίλους κράσεις* in § 48.

<sup>4</sup> So mss. : Wend. *ἀναγκαιότερας*, quite needlessly I think. L. & S. 1927 quote *δειπναριον ἀνθηρόν* from Diphilus.

## PHILO

ονείρους εισάγονται· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν χρεῖαν  
 σπεύδουσιν ἀμφοτέροι, τροφήν οὐχ ἀπλήν, ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ τέρψεως εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. καὶ  
 ἑκάτερος μὲν περὶ τροφῆς ἡμισυ πονεῖται, ἀμφό-  
 157 τεροὶ δὲ περὶ πᾶσαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θάτερον μέρος  
 ὄλκον θατέρου· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φαγόντες εὐθύς ὀρέγον-  
 ται ποτοῦ καὶ αὐτίκα ἐδωδῆς οἱ πιόντες· ὥστε  
 οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς  
 158 φαντασίας ἀμφοτέροις ἀναγεγράφθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 ἀρχαιονοχόος οἰνοφλυγίαν, ὁ δὲ ἀρχισιτοποιὸς  
 λαιμαργίαν ἔλαχε. φαντασιούται δὲ ἑκάτερος τὰ  
 οἰκεῖα, ὁ μὲν οἶνον καὶ τὸ γεννητικὸν οἴνου φυτόν,  
 ἄμπελον, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ κανῶν διακειμένους ἐκκεκαθ-  
 159 ἀρμένους ἄρτους καὶ κανηφοροῦντα ἑαυτόν. ἀρμότ-  
 τον δὲ ἂν εἶη πρότερον τὸ πρότερον ἐξετάζειν ὄναρ,  
 ἔστι δὲ τοιούδε· “ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ἦν ἄμπελος  
 ἐναντίον μου· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ τρεῖς πυθμένες καὶ  
 αὐτὴ θάλλουσα ἀνενηνοχυῖα βλαστούς· πέπειροι  
 βότρυνες σταφυλῆς. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον Φαραῶ ἐν τῇ  
 [680] χειρί μου· | καὶ ἔλαβον τὴν σταφυλὴν καὶ ἐξέθλιψα  
 αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἔδωκα τὸ ποτήριον  
 160 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας Φαραῶ.” θαυμασίως γε  
 προανεφθέγγετο καὶ ἀψευδῶς ἔχει τὸ “ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ  
 μου.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ μὴ τὴν δι' οἴνου μέθην  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν δι' ἀφροσύνης<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτηδεύων, ὀρθότητι  
 καὶ ἐγρηγόρσει δυσχεραίνων, ὥσπερ οἱ κοιμώμενοι  
 καταβέβληται καὶ παρέϊται καὶ καταμέμυκε τὰ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ὄμματα, οὐδὲν οὐθ' ὄραν οὐτ' ἀκούει τῶν  
 161 θείας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀξίων οἰός τε ὢν· ἠττημένος δὲ  
 τυφλὴν καὶ ἀχειραγώγητον, οὐχ ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίαν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διὰ σωφροσύνης.

## ON DREAMS, II. 156-161

these in a single night. They both aim at serving the same need, for it is not simple nutrition which they prepare but nutrition accompanied with pleasure and delight. And though the labour of each deals with but a half of nutrition they are both concerned with the whole : each half attracts the other, for after 157 eating men at once desire to drink and after drinking no less quickly to eat, and this is one of the chief reasons for assigning the same time to the dreams of both. Now the province of the chief butler is drunken- 158 ness and of the chief baker gluttony. Each in his vision sees what fits his trade, wine and the parent plant of wine, the vine, in the first case, in the second loaves of the finest meal disposed on baskets which the baker saw himself carrying (Gen. xl. 16, 17). It 159 would be well to examine the former dream first. It runs as follows : " In my sleep there was a vine over against me, and on the vine were three stalks,<sup>a</sup> and itself was blossoming having put forth shoots. The grapes in the cluster were ripe, and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand, and I took the cluster and squeezed it into the cup and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand " (Gen. xl. 9-11). The prefacing 160 with the words " in my sleep " is as striking as the words are true. For indeed he who gives way to the intoxication which is of folly rather than of wine bears a grudge against upright standing and wakefulness, and lies prostrate and sprawling like sleepers with the eyes of his soul closed, unable to see or hear aught that is worth seeing or hearing. And thus 161 brought low, as he passes through life he finds no road but a pathless tract where neither eye nor hand

<sup>a</sup> Or " roots," as Philo for the purpose of his allegory takes it in § 195.

## PHILO

- τοῦ βίου διεξέρχεται, βάτοις καὶ τριβόλοις περι-  
πειρόμενος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν κυλιόμενος  
καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιφερόμενος, ὡς ἐκείνους τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν  
162 οἰκτρῶς διαφθείρειν. ὁ δὲ βαθὺς καὶ διωλύγιος  
ὑπνος, ᾧ πᾶς κατέχεται φαῦλος, τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς  
καταλήψεις ἀφαιρεῖται, ψευδῶν δὲ εἰδώλων καὶ  
ἀβεβαίων φαντασμάτων ἀναπίμπλησι τὴν διάνοιαν,  
τὰ ὑπαίτια (ὡς) ἐπαινετὰ ἀναπειθῶν ἀποδέχεσθαι.  
καὶ γὰρ νυκτὶ λύπην ὡς χαρὰν ὄνειροπολεῖ καὶ οὐκ  
αἰσθάνεται, ὅτι τὸ ἀφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ παραπαίειν  
163 \* \* \* φυτόν,<sup>1</sup> ἄμπελον, ὄρα. “ ἦν ” γάρ φησιν  
“ ἄμπελος ἐναντίον μου,” τὸ ποθοῦμενον τῷ  
ποθοῦντι, κακία κακῶ· ἦν καθ' ἑαυτῶν λελήθαμεν  
οἱ ἀνόητοι γεωργοῦντες, ἧς τὸν καρπὸν ἐσθίομέν τε  
καὶ πίνομεν εἰς ἑκάτερον τροφῆς κατατάπτοντες  
εἶδος, ἧς ὡς ἔοικεν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμισείας τῆς βλάβης  
ἀλλ' ἀρτίου καὶ ὀλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς<sup>2</sup> μετα-  
ποιούμεθα.
- 164 XXIV. Προσῆκει δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀμ-  
πέλιον μέθυσμα τοὺς χρησομένους ἅπαντας οὐχ  
ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐναντίως διατίθησιν, ὡς  
τοὺς μὲν ἀμείνους, τοὺς δὲ χείρους ἑαυτῶν ἐξετά-  
165 ζεσθαι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ σύννον καὶ σκυθρωπὸν  
ἐπανῆκε καὶ τὰς φροντίδας ἐχάλασεν ὀργὰς τε  
καὶ λύπας ἐπράυνε τά τε ἦθη πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς  
ἐπαιδαγώγησε καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυταῖς ἴλεως  
ἐποίησε· τῶν δὲ ἔμπαλιν τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐπήλειψε  
καὶ τὰς ὀδύνας<sup>3</sup> ἐπέσφιγξε καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας ἐκίνησε  
καὶ τὰς ἀγροικίας ἀνήγειρεν, ἄκλειστον στόμα  
καὶ γλωτταν ἀχαλίνωτον καὶ αἰσθήσεις ἀθύρους

<sup>1</sup> A lacuna of nine to ten letters in A. Perhaps supply  
γεννητικόν.



ON DREAMS, II. 161-165

can guide him. He is pierced by brambles and thorn-bushes and sometimes rolls over precipices or charges into others, bringing miserable destruction both to himself and them. And that deep and abysmal sleep 162 which holds fast all the wicked robs the mind of true apprehensions, and fills it with false phantoms and untrustworthy visions and persuades it to approve of the blameworthy as laudable : thus in the present case the dreamer treats sorrow as a joy and does not perceive that the vine of his vision is the plant which <produces> folly and madness. " There was," he said, 163 " a vine before me " (Gen. xl. 9), the wanted and the wanted, wickedness and the wicked, facing each other. That vine we fools till, little thinking that it is to our own harm, and we eat and drink its fruit, thus ranking it with both kinds of nutriment, a possession which proves to entail no half measure but a wholesale complete totality of mischief.

XXIV. But we should not fail to understand that a 164 strong drink produced by the vine does not affect all who take it in the same way ; often it acts in opposite ways so that some may be reckoned as bettered by it and others worsened. With some it relaxes 165 pensiveness and gloom, lightens the stress of cares, softens wrath and fears, tutors the temperament to reasonableness and makes the soul contented with itself. With others it lubricates anger, screws up grief, excites amorousness and rouses discourtesy. It unlocks the mouth and unbridles the tongue, unbars the senses, maddens the passions, and makes the

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. παντελῶς. Wend. corrects βλάβης to βλάβη, and also the four adjectives to datives. The uses of ἐπί with the genitive are so wide that I do not think so general an alteration is justified.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὠδίναις.

## PHILO

- καὶ λελυττηκότα πάθη κάζηγγιωμένον καὶ ἐπτοη-  
 166 μένον πρὸς πάντα νοῦν<sup>1</sup> ἀποτελοῦν· ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν  
 μὲν τῶν προτέρων κατάστασιν ἢ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα  
 νηνέμῳ αἰθρία ἢ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀκύμονι  
 γαλήνῃ ἢ τῇ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις εἰρηνικωτάτῃ  
 εὐσταθείᾳ εἰκέναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑστέρων ἢ βιαίῳ  
 καὶ συντόνῳ πνεύματι ἢ χειμαίνοντι καὶ κυμα-  
 τουμένῳ πελάγει ἢ στάσει, ἀσπόνδου καὶ ἀκηρύκτου  
 167 πολέμου δυσωνυμωτέρᾳ<sup>2</sup> ταραχῇ. δυεῖν γοῦν |  
 [681] συμποσίων τὸ μὲν πέπλησται γέλωτος, παιδιᾶς,  
 ἐπαγγελιομένων, ἀγαθὰ<sup>3</sup> ἐλπίζόντων, χαριζομένων,  
 εὐθυμίας, εὐφημίας, ἰλαρότητος, εὐφροσύνης, ἀδείας·  
 168 τὸ δὲ συννοίας, κατηφείας, προσκρουσμάτων,  
 λαιδοριῶν, τραυμάτων, βριμουμένων, ὑποβλεπο-  
 μένων, ὑλακτούντων, ἀγχόντων, καταπαγκρατια-  
 ζόντων, ἀκρωτηριαζόντων ὦτα καὶ ῥίνας καὶ ἄπερ  
 ἂν τύχη τοῦ σώματος (μέρη καὶ μέλη),<sup>4</sup> τὴν [τοῦ]  
 παντὸς τοῦ βίου μέθην καὶ παροιμίαν ἐν ἀνιέρῳ  
 ἀγῶνι μετὰ αἰσχροουργίας τῆς πάσης ἐπιδεικνυ-  
 169 μένων. XXV. ἀκόλουθον οὖν (ἂν) εἶη λογίζεσθαι,  
 ὅτι καὶ ἄμπελος δυεῖν σύμβολον πραγμάτων ἐστίν,  
 ἀνοίας τε καὶ εὐφροσύνης. ἐκάτερον  
 δέ, καίτοι<sup>5</sup> μνηνύμενον ἐκ πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ μακρη-  
 170 γορῶμεν, δι' ὀλίγων ἐπιδείξομεν. ἡνίκα ἡμᾶς διὰ  
 τῆς τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἐρήμης ὁδοῦ,  
 φιλοσοφίας, ἀγαγὼν καὶ ὡσπερ εἰς ὄρος<sup>6</sup> ἀνα-  
 βιβάσας τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἔστησεν ἐπὶ σκοπῆς καὶ  
 ἐκέλευε περιαιθεῖν τὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετῆς χώραν,  
 εἴτε εὐγείος καὶ βαθεῖα καὶ χλοηφόρος καὶ καρπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὖν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δυσωνύμῳ.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps transpose to ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγγελιομένων.

<sup>4</sup> A lacuna of ten to twelve letters in A.

## ON DREAMS, II. 165-170

mind savage and wild and flustered with everything it meets. Thus the condition in the former case 166 seems to resemble still cloudless weather in the air, or unruffled calm in the sea, or undisturbed peace and tranquillity in the city ; while that of the latter resembles a fierce violent blast, a stormy billowy sea or civil faction, the turmoil of which is more hateful than even uncivilized warfare. Thus in one of two 167 convivial gatherings we may find nothing but laughter and sport, guests promising, expecting and conferring kindnesses, pleasant feelings and pleasant talk, cheerful faces, glad hearts and freedom from restraint ; in the other nothing but anxiety, depres- 168 sion, quarrellings, revilings, woundings, while the guests snort, scowl and bark, and fight it out with neck-grips, wrestling and fisticuffs, gnawing off ears and noses or any limbs or parts of the body that come handy,<sup>a</sup> and thus exhibiting their life-long inebriation and tipsiness with every kind of misconduct in this far from sacred contest. XXV. The deduction 169 follows that the vine symbolizes two things—folly and gladness. Each of them is shewn by many proofs, but to avoid prolixity I will give only a few. There was a time when he led us along the 170 way of philosophy, the way of the desert, barren of passions and of wrongdoings, and took us as to the high land and there set right reason on a peak of wide view and bade it survey the whole land of virtue, whether it is rich and deep of soil, fertile of grass and

<sup>a</sup> *Cf. De Plant.* 160.

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<sup>5</sup> MSS. *καὶ τὸ.*

<sup>6</sup> MSS. *ἐμπορος.* This admirable correction is Wend.'s conjecture, though not printed in the text. *Cf. Num.* xiii. 18 *καὶ ἀναβήσεσθε εἰς τὸ ὄρος.*

## PHILO

- τόκος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγαθῇ<sup>1</sup> μὲν καὶ τὰ σπειρόμενα  
 μαθήματα συναυξῆσαι, ἀγαθῇ δὲ τὰ φυτεύόμενα  
 καὶ δενδρούμενα δόγματα στελεχῶσαι, εἴτε καὶ  
 τούναντίον, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὡσανεὶ πόλεων πράξεων,  
 εἰ (εὐερκέσταται)<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὀχυρώταται ἢ γυμναὶ καὶ  
 ἀπημφιασμένοι οἷα κύκλον<sup>3</sup> τὸ βέβαιον, καὶ περὶ  
 οἰκητόρων, εἰ πρὸς τε πλήθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν  
 ἐπιδεδώκασιν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὀλιγανδροῦσιν ἢ δι'  
 171 ὀλιγανδρίαν ἀσθενοῦσιν, τότε οὐ δυνηθέντες ὄλον  
 τὸ σοφίας στέλεχος βαστάσαι κληματίδα μίαν  
 καὶ βότρυν σταφυλῆς τεμόντες ἤραμεν<sup>4</sup> χαρᾶς  
 σαφέστατον δείγμα, κουφότατον ἄχθος, βλάστημα  
 καὶ καρπὸν ὁμοῦ καλοκαγαθίας ἐπιδειξόμενοι τοῖς  
 διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκοῦσι τὴν εὐκληματοῦσαν καὶ  
 172 βοτρυηφόρον ἄμπελον. XXVI. ταύτην,<sup>5</sup>  
 ἣς μοῖράν τινα λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, εὐσκόπως ἐξ-  
 ομοιοῦσιν εὐφροσύνη. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοί τις τῶν  
 πάλαι προφητῶν, ὃς ἐπιθειάσας εἶπεν· “ ἄμπελων  
 173 κυρίου παντοκράτορος οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.” ὁ μὲν  
 Ἰσραήλ ἐστὶ νοῦς θεωρητικὸς θεοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου  
 —καὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται θεὸν ὁρῶν,—οἶκος δὲ  
 διανοίας ὅλη ψυχὴ. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἄμπελων ἱερώ-  
 τatos, τὸ θεῖον βλάστημα καρποφορῶν, ἀρετῆν.  
 174 οὕτω μέντοι τὸ φρονεῖν εὖ, τὸ εὐ-  
 φροσύνης ἔτυμον,<sup>6</sup> μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν, ὥστε φησὶ  
 Μωυσῆς καὶ θεὸν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι χρῆσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ.

<sup>2</sup> A lacuna of ten to twelve letters in A.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. κύκλων: Wend. suggests οἷα <τειχῶν> κύκλον.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. γέμοντες ἤραν μετὰ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ταύτης.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἔτοιμον.

## ON DREAMS, II. 170-174

fruit, and well fitted both to give increase to the lessons there sown and to raise the stalk of tree-like verities there planted, or the opposite of all this; survey, too, the actions which are as cities, whether they are thoroughly well fenced and secure, or uncovered and stripped of the security which is as a wall; survey the inhabitants, too, whether they have increased in number and strength, or whether they are weak through fewness, or few through weakness<sup>a</sup> (Num. xiii. 18-21). And it was then that, unable to carry 171 the whole main-stalk of wisdom, we cut a single branch and cluster of grapes and raised it up, a manifest sign of joy, as the lightest of burdens, meaning by the vine so rich in clustering grapes to shew forth to those of keen mental vision the sprouting and fruit-bearing alike of noble living (Num. xiii. 24).<sup>b</sup>

XXVI. This vine of which we could take but a part 172 men aptly liken to gladness, and in this I have the witness of one of the ancient prophets who under inspiration said, "The vineyard of the Lord Almighty is the house of Israel" (Is. v. 7). Israel is the mind 173 which contemplates God and the world, for Israel means "seeing God," while the house of the mind is the whole soul, and this is that most holy vineyard which has for its fruit that divine growth, virtue.

So great and splendid is happy thinking, for that is 174 the original meaning<sup>c</sup> of gladness or *εὐφροσύνη*, that Moses tells us that God does not disdain to feel and

*εἶσιν ἢ πολλοί*. If Philo interprets the inhabitants as qualities in the individual soul, "fewness" may indicate spiritual narrowness, and "strength" want of intensity or depth of such virtue as it possesses, and by this duplication he suggests that the two defects are apt to react upon each other, *cf.* his treatment of *μέγεθος* and *πλήθος* *De Mig.* 53 f.

<sup>b</sup> *Cf. De Mut.* 224.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Conf.* 137.

## PHILO

- [682] καὶ τότε μάλιστα, ὅποτε τὸ ἀνθρώπων | γένος  
ἐκτρέποιο μὲν ἁμαρτήματα,<sup>1</sup> ἐπικλῖνοι δὲ καὶ  
ἐπιστρέφοι<sup>2</sup> πρὸς δικαιοσύνην, ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ  
175 φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἐπόμενον. “ ἐπι-  
στρέψει ” γάρ φησι “ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εὐφραν-  
θῆναι ἐπὶ σέ εἰς ἀγαθὰ, καθότι ἠυφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς  
πατράσι σου, εἰάν εἰσακούσης τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ,  
φυλάσσειν πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα  
καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ  
176 τοῦ νόμου τούτου.” τί<sup>3</sup> ἂν δύναίτο μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς  
ἡμερον ἢ καλοκάγαθίας ζῆλον ἐμφῦσαι; βούλει,  
φησὶν, ὧ διανοια, εὐφραίνεσθαι θεόν; εὐφράνθητι  
αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνάλωμα μὲν μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς μηδέν—  
τίνος γὰρ τῶν σῶν χρεῖός ἐστιν;—ἀλλ’ ἔμπαλιν  
177 ὅσα σοι δίδωσιν ἀγαθὰ χαίρουσα δέξαι. διδοὺς  
γάρ, ὅταν ἄξιοι χάριτος ὦσιν οἱ λαμβάνοντες,  
εὐφραίνεται· εἰ μὴ νομίζεις, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὑπαιτίως  
ζῶντες παραπικραίνειν καὶ παροργίζειν ἐνδίκως  
λέγουτ’ ἂν θεόν, οἱ δ’ ἐπαιετῶς οὐχὶ εὐφραίνειν.  
178 ἀλλὰ πατέρας μὲν καὶ μητέρας, τοὺς θνητοὺς  
γονεῖς, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς τέκνων εὐφραίνουσιν  
ἀρεταί, μυρίων ὅσων ἐνδεεῖς<sup>4</sup> ὄντας· τὸν δὲ τῶν  
ὄλων γεννητὴν καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνδεᾶ τὸ παράπαν οὐχ  
179 ἢ καλοκάγαθία τῶν γενομένων<sup>5</sup>; μα-  
θοῦσα οὖν, ὧ διανοια, ἡλίκον <κακὸν> μὲν ἐστιν  
ὄργῃ θεοῦ, ἡλίκον δὲ ἀγαθὸν εὐφροσύνη θεοῦ,  
μηδέν μὲν τῶν ὄργῃς ἀξίων ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ κίνει τῷ  
σεαυτῆς, μόνα δὲ δι’ ὧν εὐφρανεῖς θεὸν ἐπιτήδεε.  
180 ταῦτα δὲ εὐρήσεις οὐ μακρὰς καὶ ἀτριβεῖς διεξιὼν  
ὁδοὺς ἢ ἄπλωτα πελάγη περαιούμενος ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἁμαρτημάτων.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps τί δ’ = MSS. τίς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπιτρέποι.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. οὐδὲ εἰς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 174-180

shew it, particularly when the human race turns away from its sins and inclines and reverts to righteousness, following by a free-will choice the laws and statutes of nature. "For the Lord, thy God," he says, "will 175 turn to be glad over thee for good, as He was glad over thy fathers, if thou shalt hear His voice, to keep all His commandments and ordinances and the judgments which are written in the book of this law" (Deut. xxx. 9, 10). What could be better able to 176 implant the yearning for virtue or an ardour for noble living than this? Dost thou wish, O mind, that God should be glad? Be glad thyself, and bring Him no costly gift (for what does He need of what is thine?), but contrariwise accept rejoicing all the good things which He gives thee. For it gladdens Him to give 177 when the recipients are worthy of His bounty, since you surely must admit that if those who live a life of guilt can be rightly said to provoke and anger God, those whose life is laudable may be equally well said to gladden Him. Mortal parents, fathers and 178 mothers, vast as are their deficiencies, are gladdened by nothing so much as by the virtues of their children. And shall not the Begetter of all, in Whom is no deficiency at all, be gladdened by the noble living of His creatures? So then, my mind, having 179 learned how great an evil is the wrath of God, and how great a good is the gladness of God, stir not up to thine own destruction aught that deserves His anger, but practise those things only by which thou shalt make God glad. And these thou shalt not find 180 by traversing long roads where no foot has trodden, or by crossing seas where no ship has sailed, nor by

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<sup>5</sup> MSS. λεγομένων, which Wend. prints, though conjecturing γεν-.

## PHILO

γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀπνευστὶ συντείνων ὄρους· οὐ γὰρ πορρωτάτω διώκισται καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔξω πεφυγάδευται, ἀλλ', ἣ φησι Μωυσῆς, ἐγγὺς οὕτωςι τάγαθὸν παρίδρυταί σοι καὶ συμπέφυκε, τρισὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένον, καρδία, στόματι, χερσί, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ διανοία, λόγῳ, πράξεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ καλὰ καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, συμπληρούμενον<sup>1</sup> ἔκ τε εὐβουλίας κοὶ εὐπραξίας καὶ εὐλογίας.

- 181 XXVII. Λέγωμεν οὖν τῷ θάτερον εἶδος γαστριμαργίας, πολυποσίαν, ἐπιτηδεύοντι ἀρχαιονοχῶ· τί κακοπαθεῖς, ὦ ἀνόητε; δοκεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀγωγὰ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην εὐτρεπιζέσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐξάπτεις φλόγα,
- 182 πολλὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄφθονον ἐπιφέρων ὕλην. ἀλλ', ἴσως ἂν εἴποι, μή με προπετῶς αἰτιῶ, πρὶν με σκέψασθαι. οἰνοχοεῖν ἐτάχθην, οὐ μὴν δὴ σωφροσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐνεσκευασμένῳ, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ λαιμάρῳ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀκρατεῖ |
- [683] καὶ ἀδίκῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσεβείᾳ μέγα φρονοῦντι, ὃς ἐτόλμησέ ποτε εἰπεῖν· “οὐκ οἶδα τὸν κύριον”· ὡς εἰκότως ἐγὼ τὰ ἐκείνῳ δι' ἡδονῆς ἐπιτετήδευκα.
- 183 μὴ θαυμάσης δέ, ὅτι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀντίθεος νοῦς εὐφραίνεται, Φαραῶ. τίς οὖν οἰνοχόος θεοῦ; ὁ σπονδοφόρος, ὁ μέγας ὄντως ἀρχιερεὺς, ὃς τὰς τῶν ἀενάων χαρίτων λαβῶν πρόψεις ἀντεκτίνει, πλήρες ὅλον τὸ σπονδεῖον ἀκράτου μεθύσματος ἐπιχέων, ἑαυτόν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συμπληρούμενα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. μάργω.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the Logos; the symbolism is analogous to that in which the Logos is the εἰκὼν of God, but παράδειγμα of creation, cf. on § 45.



## ON DREAMS, II. 180-183

pressing without a pause to the boundaries of land and ocean. For they do not dwell apart in the far distance, nor are they banished from the habitable world, but, as Moses says (Deut. xxx. 12-14), the good is stationed just beside thee and shares thy nature, close bound with the three most essential parts, heart, mouth and hands, that is mind, speech, actions, since to think and speak and do the morally good is the essential thing, a fullness composed of good purposing, good action and good speaking.

XXVII. Let us say then to one whose business is 181 one form of belly-gorging, namely deep-drinking, that is to the chief butler, "Why in this evil plight, thou fool? Thou thinkest that thy preparations conduce to gladness of mind, but in reality thou kindlest the flame of lack of mind and lack of continence and feedest it with fuel in lavish abundance." But he, perhaps, may answer: "Do not upbraid me 182 so rashly, without first considering how I stand. My appointed task is to be cup-bearer, not to one invested with self-control and piety and the other virtues, but to one steeped in greed, licentious, unjust, priding himself on his impiety, he who once dared to say, 'I know not the Lord' (Ex. v. 2). Naturally I, on my side, have busied myself with what gives him pleasure." And wonder not that 183 God and Pharaoh, the mind which usurps the place of God, find gladness in things opposite to each other. Who then is God's cup-bearer? He who pours the libation of peace, the truly great high priest who first receives the loving-cups of God's perennial bounties, then pays them back when he pours that potent undiluted draught, the libation of himself.<sup>a</sup>

- ὄρας οἰνοχόων διαφορὰς τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ἀνα-  
 184 λογούσας. διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ τοῦ Φαραῶ  
 κατὰ τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐπιτεινομένου τὸν σκληραύχενα  
 καὶ πάντων ἀκράτορα λογισμὸν εὐνοῦχός εἰμι, τὰ  
 γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτετμημένος, μετανάστης  
 μὲν τῆς ἀνδρωνιτίδος,<sup>1</sup> φυγὰς δὲ καὶ τῆς γυναι-  
 κωνιτίδος, οὔτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, οὔτε προέσθαι  
 οὔθ' ὑποδέξασθαι σπορὰν δυνάμενος, ἀμφίβολος,  
 οὐδέτερος, ἀνθρωπέου παράκομμα νομίσματος,  
 ἄμοιρος ἀθανασίας, ἢ τέκνων ἢ ἐγγόνων διαδοχαῖς  
 εἰς<sup>2</sup> αἰὲ ζωπυρεῖται, συλλόγου καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἱερᾶς  
 ἀπεσχοιτισμένος· θλαδίαν γὰρ καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον  
 ἄντικρυς διειρήθαι μὴ εἰσιέναι. XXVIII.
- 185 ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἄμωμός<sup>3</sup> ἐστίν, ὀλόκληρος, ἀνὴρ  
 παρθένου, (τὸ) παραδοξότατον, οὐδέποτε γυναι-  
 κουμένης, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν τὰ γυναικεῖα κατὰ τὴν  
 πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὀμιλίαν ἐκλιπούσης, καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ  
 μόνον οὗτος, ἀμιάντους καὶ παρθένους γνῶμας
- 186 σπεῖρειν ἱκανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ λόγων ἱερῶν· ὧν  
 οἱ μὲν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ-  
 μάτων, Ἐλεάζαρ καὶ Ἰθάμαρ, οἱ δὲ λειτουργοὶ  
 θεοῦ, τὴν οὐράνιον φλόγα ἀνακαίειν καὶ ζωπυρεῖν  
 ἐπειγόμενοι· τρίβοντες γὰρ αἰὲ τοὺς περὶ ὀσιότητος  
 λόγους καθάπερ ἐκ πυρείων τὸ θεοειδέστατον εὐ-
- 187 σεβείας γένος ποιοῦσιν ἐκλάμπειν. ὁ δὲ τούτων  
 ὑψηλῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ πατὴρ οὐχ ἢ τυχοῦσα μοῖρα  
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐ χωρὶς<sup>4</sup> σύγ-  
 κλητος οὐκ ἂν ἀθροισθεῖη ποτὲ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῶν ἀνδρωνιτίδων.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀλώμενος.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ταῖς.<sup>4</sup> MSS. οὐ χωρεῖ.

## ON DREAMS, II. 183-187

Mark how the differences between the cup-bearers correspond to those whom they serve. Thus I, the servant of that Pharaoh who 184 keeps his stubborn incontinent thinking in an intensity of looseness, am an eunuch (Gen. xl. 7), gelded of the soul's generating organs, a vagrant from the men's quarters, an exile from the women's, a thing neither male nor female, unable either to shed or receive seed, twofold yet neuter, base counterfeit of the human coin, cut off from the immortality which, through the succession of children and children's children, is kept alight for ever, roped off from the holy assembly and congregation. "For he that hath lost the organs of generation is absolutely forbidden to enter therein" (Deut. xxiii. 1).

XXVIII. But the high priest is blameless, 185 perfect, the husband of a virgin (Lev. xxi. 12, 13) who, strange paradox, never becomes a woman, but rather has forsaken that womanhood through the company of her husband (Gen. xviii. 11). And not only is he a husband, able to sow the seed of undefiled and virgin thoughts, but a father also of holy intelligences. Some of these survey and watch the 186 facts of nature as Eleazer and Ithamar (Ex. xxviii. 1). Others are God's ministers, hastening to kindle and keep alive the heavenly flame.<sup>a</sup> For rubbing together words and thoughts on holiness they cause piety, that most godlike of qualities, to flash forth as though from tinder. And he who is at once the preceptor 187 and father of these is no ordinary part of the holy congregation but one without whom the solemn council of the soul's parts could never be convened

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Nadab and Abihu, *cf.* § 67.

## PHILO

- μερῶν βουλή τὸ παράπαν, ὁ πρόεδρος, ὁ πρύτανις, ὁ δημιουργός, ὁ καὶ χωρὶς ἄλλων μόνος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 188 σκοπεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν ἕκαστα ἱκανός. οὗτος  
 σὺν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐξεταζόμενος ὀλίγος,<sup>1</sup> πολὺς δέ,  
 ὅταν μονωθῆ, γίνεται, δικαστήριον (ὄλον), ὄλον  
 βουλευτήριον, ὄλος δῆμος, ὄλος ὄχλος, σύμπαν  
 ἀνθρώπων γένος, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ τάληθές εἰπεῖν δεῖ,  
 189 μεθόριός τις θεοῦ (καὶ ἀνθρώπου) φύσις, τοῦ μὲν  
 [684] ἐλάττων, ἀνθρώπου δὲ κρείττων. “ὅταν” γάρ  
 φησιν “εἰσὶν εἰς | τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς,  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται.” τίς οὖν, εἰ μὴ ἄνθρωπος;  
 ἀρά γε θεός; οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι—τόν γὰρ τοῦ ὀνό-  
 ματος τοῦδε κληρὸν ὁ ἀρχιπροφήτης ἔλαχε Μωυσῆς  
 ἐτι ὡν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, προσρηθεὶς Φαραὼ θεὸς—οὐδὲ<sup>2</sup>  
 ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρων τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς ἂν  
 βάσεως καὶ κεφαλῆς, ἐφαπτόμενος.  
 190 XXIX. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἕτερον εἶδος ἀμπέλου, ὅπερ  
 εὐφροσύνη κεκλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς μέθυσμα,  
 ἢ ἄκρατος εὐβουλία, καὶ ὁ ἀρυσάμενος οἰνοχόος ἐκ  
 τοῦ θείου κρατήρος, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀρετῶν  
 191 πεπλήρωκεν ἐπὶ χεῖλη,<sup>3</sup> δεδήλωται. τὸ δὲ ἀνοίας  
 καὶ λύπης καὶ παροινίας ἤδη μὲν τρόπῳ τινὶ τύπῳ  
 δὲ ἑτέρῳ<sup>4</sup> ἐκτυποῦται διὰ τῶν ἑτέρωθι<sup>5</sup> λεχθέντων  
 ἐν ᾧδῃ τῇ μείζονι. “ἐκ γὰρ - ἀμπέλου” φησὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὁ λόγος.

<sup>2</sup> mss. οὐτε: perhaps, as Wend. suggests, <οὐτε οὖν θεός>, οὐτε.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps write ἐπιχειλή.

<sup>4</sup> mss. ἕτερον. This emendation of Hoeschel, which however did not satisfy Wend., seems to me quite sufficient (or perhaps ἑτέρως). After τρόπῳ τινὶ sc. δεδήλωται.

<sup>5</sup> mss. ἑτέρων.

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<sup>a</sup> I do not know why Mangey and Cohn should have wished to correct δημιουργός to ἱεροῦργος or δῆμαρχος. The 528

## ON DREAMS, II. 187-191

at all, its chairman, its president, its chief magistrate,<sup>a</sup> who alone, and by himself, and without any other, is capable of considering and executing all things. When he is in line with others he is one of a few, but 188 when he stands alone he is a "many," a whole judgment-court, a whole senate, a whole people, a whole multitude, a whole human race, or rather, to tell the real truth, a being whose nature is midway between <man and> God, less than God, superior to man. "For when the high priest enters the Holy of Holies 189 he shall not be a man" (Lev. xvi. 17).<sup>b</sup> Who then, if he is not a man? A God? I will not say so,<sup>c</sup> for this name is a prerogative, assigned to the chief prophet, Moses, while he was still in Egypt, where he is entitled the God of Pharaoh (Ex. vii. 1). Yet not a man either, but one contiguous with both extremes, which form, as it were, one his head, the other his feet.

XXIX. We have explained one kind of vine, that 190 which is the property of gladness, and the potent drink which it gives, undiluted wise counsel, and also the cup-bearer who draws it from the divine mixing-bowl which God Himself has filled to the brim with virtues. The other kind, the vine of folly 191 and grief and wine frenzy, has already been explained in a way, but it is represented typically otherwise by the words spoken elsewhere in the Greater Song.<sup>d</sup>

term, used in various Greek states, would be quite familiar to Philo through Thucydides and Demosthenes.

<sup>b</sup> For this use of the text, quoted again below, § 231, see note on *Quis Rerum* 84.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* in the narrative Aaron is not called *θεός*, though Moses is, and this symbolizes the relation of the Logos to the Existent.

<sup>d</sup> See note on *De Mut.* 182.

- “Σοδόμων ἢ ἄμπελος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ κληματὶς αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας· ἡ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρυς πικρίας αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup>. θυμὸς δρακόντων  
 192 ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνιάτος.” ὄρας ὅσα τὸ ἀφροσύνης μέθυσμα ἐργάζεται, τὸ πικρὸν, τὸ κακότηες, τὸ ἀκρόχολον, τὸ περιθύμον, τὸ ἀτίθασον, τὸ δηκτικόν, τὸ ἐπίβουλον. ἐμφαντικώτατα δὲ ἀφροσύνης ἔρνος ἐν Σοδόμοις φησὶν εἶναι—τύφλωσις δὲ ἢ στείρωσις ἐρμηνεύεται Σόδομα, —ἐπειδὴ τυφλὸν καὶ ἄγονον καλῶν ἀφροσύνη, ὑφ’ ἧς ἀναπεισθέντες τινὲς μετρεῖν καὶ σταθμᾶσθαι καὶ ἀριθμεῖν πάντα καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσαν· Γομόρρα  
 193 (γὰρ) μεταληφθέν ἐστι μέτρον. Μωυσῆς δὲ στάθμην καὶ μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὄλων ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν. δηλοῖ δὲ διὰ τούτων φάσκων· “οὐκ ἔσται ἐν μαρσίππῳ σου στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον, μέγα ἢ μικρόν· οὐκ ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου (μέτρον καὶ μέτρον), μέγα ἢ μικρόν· στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον  
 194 ἔσται σοι.” ἀληθὲς δὲ καὶ δίκαιον μέτρον τὸ τὸν μόνον δίκαιον θεὸν ὑπολαβεῖν πάντα μετρεῖν καὶ σταθμᾶσθαι καὶ ἀριθμοῖς καὶ πέρασι καὶ ὅροις τῆν τῶν ὄλων περιγράψαι φύσιν, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ ψευδὲς τὸ νομίσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ταῦτα συμβαίνειν.  
 195 Ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος ἅμα καὶ ἀρχαιονοχόος τοῦ Φαραῶ τὸ ἀφροσύνης γεννητικὸν φυτόν, ἄμπελον, φαντασιωθεὶς προσαναζωγραφεῖ τρεῖς πυθμένας, ἵνα τὰς ἐν τῷ διαμαρτάνειν κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτῆς.

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to the saying of Protagoras, “Man is the  
 530

## ON DREAMS, II. 191-195

“ Their vine,” he says, “ is of the vine of Sodom and their tendrils of Gomorrah, their grapes are grapes of gall, a cluster of bitterness to them. Their wine is the wrath of dragons and the incurable wrath of asps ” (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33). You see what the 192  
potent wine-cup of folly produces : bitterness, evil temper, sudden passionateness, deep anger, savageness, stinging spite, maliciousness. Most forcible are his words when he says that the plant of folly is in Sodom, for Sodom means blinding or making barren, since folly is blind and unproductive of excellence, and through its persuasions some have thought good to measure and weigh and count everything by the standard of themselves, for Gomorrah by interpretation is “ measure.” But Moses held that 193  
God, and not the human mind, is the measure and weighing scale and numbering of all things.<sup>a</sup> And he shews it in these words : “ There shall not be in thy pouch divers weights, great and small. There shall not be in thy house divers measures great and small. A true and a just weight thou shalt have ” (Deut. xxv. 13-15). And the true and just measure 194  
is to hold that God Who alone is just measures and weighs all things and marks out the confines of universal nature with numbers and limits and boundaries, while the false and unjust measure is to think that these things come to pass as the human mind directs.

This eunuch and chief cup-bearer in one to Pharaoh, 195  
after seeing in his vision the parent plant of folly, the vine, goes on to picture it with three roots, to suggest the extremes which can be reached in sinning through

measure of all things.” Cf. *De Post.* 35 and *Quis Rerum* 246 (and note).

PHILO

- ἔσχατιὰς παρεμφήνη· πυθμὴν γὰρ τὸ ἔσχατον.  
 196 XXX. | ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἀφροσύνη πᾶσαν ψυχὴν  
 [685] ἐπισκιάσῃ καὶ κατασχῆ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς ἄφετον  
 μηδὲ ἐλεύθερον μέρος εἶσῃ, οὐ μόνον ὅσα τῶν  
 ἀμαρτημάτων ἰάσιμα δρᾶν ἀναγκάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 197 ὅσα ἀνίατα. τὰ μὲν οὖν θεραπείαν ἐνδεχόμενα  
 ῥᾶστα καὶ πρῶτα γράφεται, τὰ δὲ ἀθεράπευτα  
 παγχάλεπα καὶ ὕστατα, πυθμέσιν ἀναλογοῦντα.  
 198 καὶ καθάπερ, οἶμαι, ἡ φρόνησις ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἐλαττόνων ὠφελεῖν, λήγει δὲ εἰς τὰς ὑπερ-  
 βολὰς τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ  
 ἡ ἀφροσύνη καταβιάζουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνωθεν  
 καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀφιστᾶσα παιδείας μακρὰν ὀρθοῦ  
 λόγου διοικίζει καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἔσχατιῶν καθαιρεῖ.  
 199 τὸ δ' ὄναρ ἐδήλου μετὰ τοὺς πυθ-  
 μένας ἀνθοῦσαν καὶ βλαστάνουσαν καὶ καρπο-  
 φοροῦσαν τὴν ἄμπελον—“ αὐτὴ ” γάρ φησι “ θάλ-  
 λουσα ἀνενηνοχυῖα βλαστούς· πέπειροι<sup>1</sup> βότρυνες  
 σταφυλῆς,”—ἦν εἶθε (ἦν)<sup>2</sup> ἀκαρπία χρῆσθαι καὶ  
 μηδέποτε χλοηφορῆσαι καὶ πάντα μεμαράνθαι τὸν  
 200 αἰῶνα. τί γὰρ ἂν εἶη μείζον κακὸν [ἦ] θαλλούσης  
 καὶ εὐφορούσης<sup>3</sup> ἀφροσύνης; ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 “ τὸ ποτήριον Φαραώ,” ἡ δεξαμενὴ τῆς ἀνοίας  
 καὶ παροιρίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἀπαύ-  
 στου μέθης, “ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου,” φησὶν, ἔστιν, ἴσον  
 τῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐγχειρήσεσι καὶ ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ  
 δυνάμεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ γε τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπινοιῶν  
 201 εὐδοήσει τὸ πάθος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν  
 ταῖς τοῦ ἡνιόχου χερσὶ τὰς ἡνίας εἶναι προσῆκεν,  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ κυβερνήτου τοὺς οἶακας—μόνως

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περὶ ἦν.



## ON DREAMS, II. 195-201

the three divisions of time, for the root is the extreme. XXX. When then folly overshadows and masters 196 the whole soul and suffers no part of it to go at large and in freedom, it compels him to commit, not only such sins as may be remedied, but also such as are incurable. The sins which admit of healing treat- 197 ment are described as the lightest and first in the list ; those that are beyond treatment as hard indeed and coming last, thus corresponding to roots. And 198 just as wisdom begins its benefits with the lesser of right actions and ends with them at their highest point, so folly, I think, forces the soul down from the height and little by little removes it from instruction and sets its dwelling far apart from right reason and brings it in ruin to the uttermost extremes.

After the roots the dream shewed him 199 the vine blossoming and sprouting and bearing fruit. " It was blossoming itself, having put forth shoots. The grapes of the cluster were ripe " (Gen. xl. 10). Would that fruitlessness might be its lot, that it might never put forth green shoots and remain withered for all time, for what greater evil could 200 there be than that folly should blossom and be fruitful ?

Again, the cup of Pharaoh, the receptacle of senselessness and wine-frenzy and ceaseless life-long intoxication, is, he says, " in my hand " (Gen. xl. 11), that is, in the enterprises which I take in hand, in my projects and faculties, for without the activities of my mind passion by itself will make little headway. The reins should be in the 201 hands of the driver, and the rudder in the hands of

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<sup>2</sup> <ῆν> is my insertion: Wend. notes *εἶθε* as corrupt, and suggests *εὐκτέον* or *κρείττον* or *εἰκός*. <sup>3</sup> MSS. *ἐμφορούσης*.

## PHILO

γὰρ οὕτως κατορθοῦται δρόμος μὲν ἄρματι, σκάφει δὲ πλοῦς,—οὕτως ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θάτερον εἶδος τῆς γαστριμαργίας τεχνιτεύοντος, οἰνοφλυγίαν, ἢ τοῦ ἀκρατοῦς<sup>1</sup> ἔστιν ἐκπλήρωσις.<sup>2</sup>

202 ἀλλὰ τί παθὼν ὑπέμεινεν αὐχεῖν ἐπ' ἀρνήσεως μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμολογίας ἐπαξίῳ πράγματι; ἢ οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν μὴ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν διδάσκαλον ἀκρασίας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ τὰ ὑπεκκαύματα τοῦ πάθους ἐπαναθεῖναι<sup>3</sup> ὡς εὐρετῆ καὶ αὐτουργῶ<sup>4</sup> τεθρυμμένου καὶ κατεαγότος αἰσχίστου βίου;

203 τοιοῦτον δ' ἔστιν· ἀφροσύνη σεμννύεται ἐφ' οἷς εἰκὸς ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι· νυνὶ μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν δεξαμενὴν τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς, τὸ ποτήριον, περιφέρειν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πᾶσιν ἀγάλλεται,<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν σταφυλὴν εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκθλίβειν· τὸ δ' ἔστι τὸ ἐκπληρωτικὸν τοῦ πάθους δημιουργεῖν καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἰς φῶς ἄγειν.

204 ὡς γὰρ τὰ βρέφη γλιχόμενα τροφῆς, ὅποτε μέλλοι σπᾶν τοῦ γάλακτος, ἐκθλίβει καὶ πιέζει τὸν μαστὸν τῆς τρεφούσης, οὕτω τὴν πηγὴν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ οἰνο-  
[686] φλυγίας ὀμβρεῖ | κακόν, ὃ δημιουργὸς τῆς ἀκρασίας πιέζει κραταιῶς, ἵνα ταῖς ἐκθλιβομέναις λιβάσιν ἡδίστη τροφῆ χρῶτο.

205 XXXI. Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βεβακχευμένος ἀκράτῳ, παροίνιον καὶ παράληρον κακόν καὶ ἀνίατον, γραφέσθω· τὸν δὲ συγγενῆ τούτου γάστρων<sup>6</sup> καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, πολυφαγίας καὶ λαιμαργίας ἑταῖρον, τὰ περὶ ἔδωδῶν ἀκρατῶς τεχνιτεύοντα,

206 πάλιν ἐπισκεπτέον. καίτοι οὐ πολλῆς δεῖ πρὸς τὴν θήραν αὐτοῦ φροντίδος· ἔστι γὰρ ἐκμαγεῖον ἐμ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀκράτου.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἢ πλήρωσις.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπαναθεῖναι.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. αὐτογεωργοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀγγέλλεται.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. γάστρων.

ON DREAMS, II. 201-206

the pilot, since only so can the chariot go aright in the race or the ship on its voyage. Even so in the hand and power of the craftsman, who produces one form of belly-gorging, namely wine-bibbing, is the task of filling the incontinent man.<sup>a</sup> But 202 what was he thinking of, that he did not shrink from boasting over an action which called for denial rather than confession? Were it not a better course, instead of confessing that he was the teacher of incontinence, to ascribe the incentives to passion to the incontinent one himself as inventor and author of his own base, unmanly, invertebrate life? But 203 the fact is that folly prides herself on matters which should make her hide her face in shame. In this case she not only glories in carrying round the cup, the receptacle of the incontinent soul, and displaying it to all, but in squeezing the grapes into it, and this means manufacturing the stuff which brings passion to its fullness and drawing it out of concealment into the light. For just as babes who want to be fed, 204 when they are going to suck the milk, squeeze and press the nurse's breast, so the maker of incontinence presses hard on the fountain from which the curse of wine-bibbing pours like rain, to find in the squeezed droppings a nourishment of delicious sweetness.

XXXI. Thus then let us describe that wine- 205 maddened, raving, incurable pest, the man frenzied by strong liquor. But his fellow, himself too a belly-slave, the friend of gross eating and gluttony, the dissolute artificer of viands, must be considered in his turn. Yet we need little thought in our quest of 206 him, for the dreamer's vision is the closest possible

<sup>a</sup> Or (*ἀκρατοῦς* neut.) "filling the cup (*i.e.* the soul) with incontinence."

## PHILO

- φερέστατον αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰκόνας ὁ φανείς ὄνειρος.  
 ἀκριβώσαντες (οὖν) αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὡσπερ ἔμφασιν  
 207 ἐν κατόπτρῳ θεασόμεθα. “ ὤμην ” γάρ φησι  
 “ τρία κανᾶ χονδριτῶν αἴρειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς  
 μου.” κεφαλὴν μὲν τοίνυν ἀλληγοροῦντές φαμεν  
 εἶναι ψυχῆς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, ἐπικεῖσθαι δὲ  
 τούτῳ πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεφώνησέ ποτε ἐπιτον(ῶς)<sup>1</sup>.  
 208 “ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο ταῦτα πάντα.” στειλάμενος οὖν  
 πομπὴν ὧν ἐτεχνίτευσε κατὰ γαστρὸς τῆς ταλαίνης  
 ἐπιδείκνυται, καὶ κανηφορῶν ὁ ἀνόητος οὐκ αἰδεῖται  
 τοσοῦτῳ βαρυνόμενος τριττῷ κανῶν<sup>2</sup> ἄχθει, τοῦτο  
 209 δ’ ἐστὶ τρισὶ χρόνου μέρεσι. τὴν γὰρ ἡδονὴν οἱ  
 θιασῶταί φασι αὐτῆς ἔκ τε μνήμης τῶν παρεληλυ-  
 θότων τερπνῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀπολαύσεως τῶν ἐνεστηκότων  
 210 καὶ ἐξ ἐλπίδος τῶν μελλόντων συνεστάναι· ὥστε τὰ  
 τρία κανᾶ τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν ἐξομοιοῦ-  
 σθαι, τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν κανῶν πέμματα τοῖς ἐκάστῳ  
 τῶν μερῶν ἐφαρμόζουσι, παρεληλυθότων μνήμαις,  
 ἐνεστηκότων μετουσίαις, μελλόντων προσδοκίαις,  
 τὸν δὲ βαστάζοντα ταῦτα πάντα τῷ φιληδόνῳ, ὃς  
 οὐκ ἀφ’ ἐνὸς γένους ἀκρασίας, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ πάντων  
 σχεδὸν εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν τῆς ἀκολασίας ἄσπονδον  
 καὶ φιλιῶν ἀλῶν ἐπιδεᾶ τράπεζαν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν.  
 211 ἧς ἀπολαύει μόνος ὡσπερ ἐν δημοθουινίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 Φαραῶ, σπορὰν καὶ σκέδασιν καὶ φθορὰν ἐγκρα-

<sup>1</sup> My conjecture: mss. ἐπὶ τὸν. The editors have suggested ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τοῦδε, ἐπὶ τοῦδε or τούτου. See note a below.

<sup>2</sup> mss. κακόν.

<sup>a</sup> The various emendations of ἐπὶ τὸν mentioned in the critical note seem to me all open to the same objection, that the subject of ἐξεφώνησε is the mind itself, identified with Jacob, cf. *De Som.* i. 240 as well as the similar application of the text in *Leg. All.* i. 61. To take Moses as the subject

## ON DREAMS, II. 206-211

reproduction of his image, and through careful study of the dream we shall see him reflected as it were in a mirror. "I thought," it says, "that I lifted three 207 baskets of wheaten loaves on my head" (Gen. xl. 16). "Head" we interpret allegorically to mean the ruling part of the soul, the mind on which all things lie, and once indeed that mind cried out loudly and bitterly,<sup>a</sup> "All these things have been upon me" (Gen. xlii. 36). So then he marshals the procession of all the arts 208 which he contrived against the unhappy belly, and bearing the ritual<sup>b</sup> basket himself is not ashamed, poor fool, to be burdened with a triple load of baskets, that is with the three divisions of time. For pleasure is 209 said by her votaries to consist of the memory of past, the enjoyment of present and the hope of future delights.<sup>c</sup> Thus the three baskets are likened to the 210 three divisions of time, and the baked meats in the baskets to the concomitants of each of these divisions, memories of the past, participations of the present, expectations of the future, and he who bears all these to the pleasure-lover, who has loaded the table not with one general kind of incontinence, but with practically every species and genus of licentiousness, and that board has no peace-draughts and lacks the salts of friendship. At this board there is one ban- 211 queter only, and yet to him it is as a public feast: that banqueter is King Pharaoh, who has made dispersion and scattering and the undoing of con-

is hardly possible. We should therefore expect *ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ* or *ἑαυτόν*, but this is still further away from the mss. On the other hand *ἐπιτονῶς* is very suitable to this peculiarly bitter cry of Jacob.

<sup>b</sup> Philo is evidently connecting the baskets of the dream with the procession of *κανηφόροι* at Attic festivals.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 609.

## PHILO

- τείας ἐπιτετηδευκώς· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σκεδασμός. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὑπέρογκον καὶ βασιλικὸν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς εἰκὸς<sup>1</sup> σωφροσύνης ἀγαθοῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἀπεικὸς βδελυρίας ἐπιτηδεύμασι σεμνύνεσθαι, πρὸς ἀπληστίαν καὶ λαιμαργότητα καὶ τὸ ἀβρο-
- 212 δίαιτον ἐξοκείλαντι. τοιγάρτοι τὰ πτηνά, τὸ δ' ἔστιν αἱ ἐπιποτώμεναι ἕξωθεν ἀτέκμαρτοι συντυχίαι, πάντα πυρὸς τρόπον ἐπιδραμοῦνται καὶ ἀναφλέξουσι καὶ τῇ παμφάγῳ δυνάμει καταναλώσουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ λείψανον γοῦν ὑπολείπεσθαι πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ κανηφοροῦντι, ὃς ἤλπισε τὰς εὐρέσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> μέχρι παντὸς αἰῶνος οἷσειν
- 213 ἀναφαιρέτους ἐν | βεβαίῳ. χάρις δὲ τῷ νικηφόρῳ [687] θεῷ, ὃς ἀτελεῖς τὰς εἰς ἄκρον πεπονημένας<sup>3</sup> σπουδὰς τοῦ φιλοπαθοῦς ἐργάζεται, πτηνὰς φύσεις ἐπιπέμπων ἀοράτως πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ φθορὰν αὐτῶν. περισυληθεῖς<sup>4</sup> οὖν ὁ νοῦς ὧν ἐδημιούργησεν, ὥσπερ τὸν αὐχένα ἀποτμηθεῖς ἀκέφαλος καὶ νεκρὸς ἀνευρεθήσεται, προσηλωμένος ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνασκολοπισθέντες τῷ<sup>5</sup> ξύλῳ τῆς ἀπόρου καὶ πενιχρᾶς
- 214 ἀπαιδευσίας. ἕως μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν λυμαίνεται τῶν ἐξαπιναιῶς εἰωθότων ἀπροοράτως ἐπιφοιτᾶν, εὐδοεῖν δοκοῦσιν αἱ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς τέχναι· κατασκηψάντων δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἀνατρέπονται, καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς αὐταῖς συνδιαφθείρεται.
- 215 XXXII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν διηρημένων τὸ γεύσεως ἐργαστήριον ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τροφῆς εἶδει, πόσεώς τε καὶ βρώσεως οὐχὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἀλλὰ περιττῆς καὶ ἀκράτορος, ὀνειράτα δεδήλωται· τὰ δὲ (τοῦ)

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκόσι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps as Mangey πεπονημένας.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. περισυλληφθεῖς.

tinence his business, for his name means " scattering." And he shews his great importance and kingship not in delighting in the seemly, the good cheer of temperance, but in glorying in the unseemly, the practices of foulness, wrecked as he is on the rocks of insatiableness and greediness and luxurious living.

And therefore the birds (Gen. xl. 17), that is the 212 unforeseen chance events which swoop upon us from without, will overrun like fire all the contents and set them ablaze and consume them with their devouring force, so that not a fragment is left to be enjoyed by the basket-bearer who had hoped to carry his inventions and projects for ever as a secure and permanent possession never to be taken from him. But thanks 213 be to the victorious God who, however perfect in workmanship are the aims and efforts of the passion-lover, makes them to be of none effect by sending invisibly against them winged beings to undo and destroy them. Thus the mind stripped of the creations of its art will be found as it were a headless corpse, with severed neck nailed like the crucified to the tree of helpless and poverty-stricken indiscipline. For so long as they remain unharmed by the visitors, 214 whose way it is to arrive suddenly and unforeseen, the arts which cater for the enjoyment of pleasure seem to flourish. But when these visitors swoop down out of the unseen, these arts are turned upside-down and the craftsman perishes with them.

XXXII. We have now explained the dreams of the 215 two partners in the workshop of the palate, where both kinds of provender, drink and food, and these not of the necessary, but of the superfluous and intemperate kind, are produced. Our next im-

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<sup>b</sup> MSS. *αὐτῶ* (Mangey *αὐ τῶ*).

## PHILO

- τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσαι ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντος, ὄνομα Φαραῶ, κατὰ τὸ
- 216 ἀκόλουθον αὐτίκα διερευνητέον. “ ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ” φησὶν “ ὥμην ἐστάναι παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ ὡσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέβαινον βόες ἐπτὰ, ἐκλεκταὶ ταῖς σαρκί καὶ καλαὶ τῷ εἶδει, καὶ ἐνέμοντο ἐν τῷ ἄχει. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἕτεραι ἐπτὰ βόες ἀνέβαινον ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πονηραὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τῷ εἶδει καὶ λεπταὶ ταῖς σαρκί, ἃς οὐκ εἶδον τοιαύτας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
- 217 αἰσχροτέρας. καὶ κατέφαγον αἱ βόες αἱ λεπταὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τὰς ἐπτὰ βόας τὰς πρώτας· τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἐκλεκτάς, καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν· (καὶ οὐ διάδηλοι ἐγένοντο ὅτι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν),<sup>1</sup> καὶ αἱ ὄψεις αὐτῶν αἰσχραὶ, καθὰ καὶ τὴν
- 218 ἀρχὴν [εἶπον]. ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ἐκοιμήθην, καὶ εἶδον πάλιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου, καὶ ὡς ἐπτὰ στάχυες ἀνέβαινον ἐν πυθμένι ἐνί, πλήρεις καὶ καλοί· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάχυες λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμόφθοροι ἀνεφύοντο ἐχόμενοι· καὶ κατέπιον οἱ ἐπτὰ στάχυες<sup>1</sup> τοὺς
- 219 καλοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλήρεις.” ὄρας μὲν δὴ (τὸ) προοίμιον τοῦ φιλαύτου, ὃς κινητὸς καὶ στρεπτός καὶ μεταβλητὸς ὢν κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν φησιν· “ ὥμην ἐστάναι,” καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσαστο, ὅτι μόνῳ θεῷ τὸ ἀκλινὲς καὶ πάγιόν ἐστιν οἰκείον
- 220 καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ φίλος. τῆς μὲν ἀκλινοῦς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμειωσ σαφειστάτη πίστις ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, αἰεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων—ὁπότε δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἀρρεπῆς, ὁ δημιουργὸς πῶς οὐ βέβαιος;—εἶτα μέντοι καὶ οἱ ἀψευδέστατοι μάρτυρες ἱεροὶ
- 221 χρησιμοί· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ·

<sup>1</sup> καὶ . . . αὐτῶν inserted by Wend. from LXX. Similarly



## ON DREAMS, II. 215-221

mediate duty is to investigate the dreams of him who believed himself to be the king of these two, and the other faculties of the soul, namely Pharaoh. "In 216 my sleep," he says, "I thought I was standing by the edge of the river, and it was as though from the river came up seven kine of choice flesh and well favoured, and they fed in the reed grass. And, lo, seven other kine came up behind them from the river, evil and ugly to look on, and lean-fleshed, such that I never saw uglier in all Egypt. And the lean and 217 ugly kine ate up the seven first kine, the choice and well favoured, and they passed into their bellies. But it could not be seen that they had passed into their bellies, and their looks remained ugly as at the first. And after I had waked I slept, and saw again 218 in my sleep that seven ears of corn came up on one stalk, full and good, and other seven ears thin and wind-blasted grew up beside them, and the seven ears swallowed up the good and full ears" (Gen. xli. 17-24).

You note the opening words of 219 the self-lover, who, in body and soul alike, is the subject of movement and turning and change. "I thought I stood," he says, and does not reflect that to be unswerving and stable belongs only to God and to such as are the friends of God. God's unswerving 220 power is proved most clearly by this world which ever remains the same unchanged, and, since the world is firmly balanced, its maker must needs be steadfast. We have other infallible witnesses in the sacred oracles, for we have these words with God as speaker : 221

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in § 218 perhaps after *κατέπιον οἱ ἑπτὰ στάχυνες* insert *οἱ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμοφθόροι τοὺς ἑπτὰ στάχυνας*.

## PHILO

[688] “ὡδε ἐγὼ ἔστηκα ἐκεῖ<sup>1</sup> πρὸ τοῦ σέ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐν Χωρήβ,”<sup>2</sup> ἴσον τῷ | οὗτος<sup>3</sup> ἐγὼ ὁ ἐμφανῆς καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὡν ἐκεῖ τέ εἰμι καὶ πανταχοῦ, πεπληρωκὼς τὰ πάντα, ἐστὼς ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ μένων, ἄτρεπτος ὢν, πρὶν ἢ σέ ἢ τι<sup>4</sup> τῶν ὄντων εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ πρεσβυτάτης ἰδρυμένος<sup>5</sup> δυνάμεως ἀρχῆς, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡ τῶν ὄντων γένεσις ὤμβρησε καὶ

222 τὸ σοφίας ἐπλήμμυρε νᾶμα. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι “ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος” ἐν ἑτέροις εἴρηται. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς περὶ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον φάσκων· “εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ,” τὸ μὴ μεταβάλλειν διὰ τῆς στάσεως καὶ ἰδρύσεως αἰνιττόμενος.

223 XXXIII. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοσαύτη περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ τοῦ βεβαίου, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς ἐπιλελεγμέναις φύσεσιν ἐχυρότητος, ὡς ἀρίστου κτήματος, μεταδίδωσιν. αὐτίκα γέ τοι τὴν πλήρη χαρίτων διαθήκην ἑαυτοῦ—νόμος δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ λόγος τῶν ὄντων ὁ πρεσβύτατος—ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ βάσεως τῆς τοῦ δικαίου ψυχῆς ἄγαλμα θεοειδὲς ἰδρύσεσθαι παγίως φησίν, ἐπειδὴν λέγει τῷ Νῶε· “στήσω τὴν

224 διαθήκην μου πρὸς σέ.” παρεμφαίνει δὲ καὶ δύο ἕτερα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀδιαφορεῖ διαθήκης θεοῦ, ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χαρίζονται τὰ διαφέροντα τῶν λαμβανόντων, ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἑαυτοῖς· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ δεδώρηται καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἑαυτῷ· τὸ γὰρ “στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς σέ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔστη καὶ ἐκέισε.      <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐγχωρεῖν. See App. p. 609.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οὗτως.      <sup>4</sup> MSS. σὲ ἐπὶ.      <sup>5</sup> MSS. ὀρώμενος.

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's interpretation of this text see note on *Dē Sac.* 67.

## ON DREAMS, II. 221-224

“ Here I stand there before thou wast, on the rock in Horeb ”<sup>a</sup> (Ex. xvii. 6), which means, “ This I, the manifest, Who am here, am there also, am everywhere, for I have filled all things. I stand ever the same immutable, before thou or aught that exists came into being, established on the topmost<sup>b</sup> and most ancient source of power, whence showers forth the birth of all that is, whence streams the tide of wisdom.” For I am He “ Who brought the fountain of 222 water from out the steep rock,”<sup>c</sup> as it says elsewhere (Deut. viii. 15). And Moses too gives his testimony to the unchangeableness of the deity when he says “ they saw the place where the God of Israel stood ” (Ex. xxiv. 10), for by the standing or establishment he indicates his immutability.

XXXIII. But 223 indeed so vast in its excess is the stability of the Deity that He imparts to chosen natures a share of His steadfastness to be their richest possession. For instance, He says of His covenant filled with His bounties, the highest law and principle, that is, which rules existent things, that this God-like image shall be firmly planted with the just soul as its pedestal. For so He declares when he says to Noah, “ I will establish My covenant on thee ” (Gen. ix. 11). And 224 these words have two further meanings. First that justice and God’s covenant are identical ; secondly that while the gifts bestowed by others are not the same as the recipients’, God gives not only the gifts, but in them gives the recipients to themselves. For He has given myself to me and everything that is to itself, since “ I will establish my covenant with thee ”

<sup>b</sup> The play on ἀκροτάτης and ἀκροτόμου cannot be reproduced in the translation.

<sup>c</sup> Or as E.V. “ rock of flint.”

## PHILO

- 225 “ σοί <σε><sup>1</sup> δωρήσομαι.” σπουδάζουσι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ θεοφιλεῖς τὸν φιλοπραγμοσύνης χειμῶνα ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ἐν ᾧ σάλος καὶ κλύδων αἰεὶ κυκᾶται, τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐδίοις καὶ ναυλοχωτάτοις
- 226 ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμέσιν. οὐχ ὄρας, οἶα περὶ Ἀβραὰμ λέγεται τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὡς<sup>2</sup> ἔστιν “ ἔστως ἐνώπιον κυρίου ”; πότε γὰρ εἰκὸς δύνασθαι στήναι διάνοιαν μηκέθ’ ὡς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ταλαντεύουσαν ἢ ὅτε ἀντικρὺς ἔστι θεοῦ, ὀρώσά τε καὶ ὀρωμένη;
- 227 διχόθεν<sup>3</sup> γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρρεπές, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ὄραν τὸν ἀσύγκριτον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀνθέλκεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρασθαι, ὅτι ἦν ἀξίαν ἔκρινεν εἰς ὄψιν ὃ ἡγεμὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ<sup>4</sup> (ἐλθεῖν, τῷ) ἀρίστῳ μόνῳ προσεκλήρωσεν, αὐτῷ. καὶ Μωυσεῖ μέντοι θεοπρόπιον ἐχρήσθη τοιόνδε· “ σὺ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ’ ἐμοῦ, ” δι’ οὗ τὰ λεχθέντα ἄμφω παρίσταται, τό τε μὴ κλίνεσθαι τὸν ἀστεῖον καὶ ἡ τοῦ
- 228 ὄντος περὶ πάντα βεβαιότης. XXXIV. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι τὸ τῷ θεῷ συνεγγίζον οἰκειοῦται κατὰ τὸ ἀτρεπτον αὐτοστατοῦν, καὶ ἡρεμήσας ὁ νοῦς, ἡλίκον ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἡρεμία, σαφῶς ἔγνω καὶ θαυμάσας
- [689] αὐτῆς | τὸ κάλλος ὑπέλαβεν, ὅτι ἡ θεῷ μόνῳ προσκεκλήρωται ἢ τῇ μεταξὺ φύσει θνητοῦ καὶ
- 229 ἀθανάτου γένους. φησὶ γοῦν· “ καὶ γὰρ εἰστήκειν ἀνὰ μέσον κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν, ” οὐχὶ τοῦτο δηλῶν,

<sup>1</sup> <σε>. This obvious correction is given by Mangey, but is not accepted by Wend.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὄρα.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. διεχθέν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἑαυτῷ.

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<sup>a</sup> I understand the thought of §§ 224, 225 to be: (1) the words “ I will make my covenant to stand to (or on) thee ” give Noah the stability of the covenant and make him

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## ON DREAMS, II. 225-229

is the same as "I will give thyself to thee."<sup>a</sup> And it 225  
is the earnest desire of all the God-beloved to fly  
from the stormy waters of engrossing business with  
its perpetual turmoil of surge and billow, and anchor  
in the calm safe shelter of virtue's roadsteads.

See what is said of wise Abraham, how 226  
he was "standing in front of God" (Gen. xviii. 22),  
for when should we expect a mind to stand and no  
longer sway as on the balance save when it is opposite  
God, seeing and being seen? For it gets its equipoise 227  
from these two sources: from seeing, because when  
it sees the Incomparable it does not yield to the  
counter-pull of things like itself; from being seen,  
because the mind which the Ruler judges worthy to  
come within His sight He claims for the solely best,  
that is for Himself.

To Moses, too, this  
divine command was given: "Stand thou here with  
Me" (Deut. v. 31), and this brings out both the points  
suggested above, namely the unswerving quality of  
the man of worth, and the absolute stability of Him  
that is. XXXIV. For that which draws near to God 228  
enters into affinity with what is, and through that  
immutability becomes self-standing.<sup>b</sup> And when the  
mind is at rest it recognizes clearly how great a  
blessing rest is, and, struck with wonder at its beauty,  
has the thought that it belongs either to God alone  
or to that form of being which is midway between  
mortal and immortal kind. Thus he says: "And 229  
I stood between the Lord and you" (Deut. v. 5),

part of it as the pedestal of the statue; (2) as Noah is pre-  
eminently *ὁ δίκαιος*, the covenant is also *τὸ δίκαιον*; (3) and  
as by the giving of the covenant *τὸ δίκαιον* is given to *ὁ*  
*δίκαιος*, Noah is given to himself.

<sup>b</sup> Or "here-standing." Philo has perhaps coined the word  
to express *αὐτοῦ στῆθι*.

## PHILO

ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ποδῶν ἠρήρειστο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο  
 βουλόμενος ἐμφῆναι, ὅτι ἢ τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια  
 χειμῶνων μὲν καὶ πολέμων ἀπαλλαγείσα, νηνέμω  
 δὲ γαλήνη καὶ βαθεῖα εἰρήνη χρωμένη κρείττων μὲν  
 230 ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, θεοῦ δὲ ἐλάττων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀγελαῖος ἀνθρώπειος νοῦς σείεται<sup>1</sup> καὶ κυκᾶται πρὸς  
 τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ὁ δ' ἄτε μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων  
 ἀμέτοχος κακῶν· μεθόριος δὲ ὁ ἀστείος, ὡς κυρίως  
 εἰπεῖν μήτε θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι μήτε ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ  
 τῶν ἄκρων ἐφαπτόμενον, ἀνθρωπότητι μὲν θνητοῦ  
 231 γένους, ἀρετῇ δὲ ἀφθάρτου. τούτῳ παραπλήσιόν  
 ἔστι καὶ τὸ χρησθὲν λόγιον ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερέως·  
 “ ὅταν ” γάρ φησιν “ εἰσὶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων,  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ.” εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 γίνεται τότε ἄνθρωπος, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ θεός, ἀλλὰ  
 λειτουργὸς θεοῦ,<sup>2</sup> κατὰ μὲν τὸ θνητὸν γενέσει, κατὰ  
 232 δὲ τὸ ἀθάνατον οἰκειούμενος τῷ ἀγενήτῳ. τὴν δὲ  
 μέσσην τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἕως<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἐξέλθῃ πάλιν εἰς τὰ  
 τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκεία. καὶ πέφυκεν  
 οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅταν μὲν ἐξ ἔρωτος θείου κατασχεθεῖς  
 ὁ νοῦς, συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ἄχρι τῶν ἀδύτων, ὄρμη  
 καὶ σπουδῇ πάσῃ χρώμενος προέρχεται, θεοφορού-  
 μενος ἐπιλέλησται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπιλέλησται δὲ  
 καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, μόνου (δὲ) μέμνηται καὶ ἐξήρτηται  
 τοῦ δορυφορουμένου καὶ θεραπευομένου, ᾧ τὰς  
 ἱεράς καὶ ἀναφείς καθαγιαζῶν ἀρετὰς ἐκθυμιᾷ.  
 233 ἐπειδὴν δὲ στή (τὸ) ἐνθουσιῶδες καὶ ὁ πολὺς  
 ἡμερος χαλάσῃ, παλινδρομήσας ἀπὸ τῶν θείων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἕεται.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. conjectures δῆλον <δ> ὅτι οὐδὲ θεός, τί ἄλλο ἢ  
 λειτουργός.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. εἴληχέναι ὡς.

\* The repetition of this text in the same treatise in two

## ON DREAMS, II. 229-233

where he does not mean that he stood firm upon his feet, but wishes to indicate that the mind of the Sage, released from storms and wars, with calm still weather and profound peace around it, is superior to men, but less than God. For the human mind of the common 230 sort shakes and swirls under the force of chance events, while the other, in virtue of its blessedness and felicity, is exempt from evil. The good man indeed is on the border-line, so that we may say, quite properly, that he is neither God nor man, but bounded at either end by the two, by mortality because of his manhood, by incorruption because of his virtue. Similar to this is the oracle given about the high 231 priest: "When he enters," it says, "into the Holy of Holies, he will not be a man until he comes out" (Lev. xvi. 17).<sup>a</sup> And if he then becomes no man, clearly neither is he God, but God's minister, through the mortal in him in affinity with creation, through the immortal with the uncreated, and he retains this 232 midway place until he comes out again to the realm of body and flesh. That it should be so is true to nature. When the mind is mastered by the love of the divine, when it strains its powers to reach the inmost shrine, when it puts forth every effort and ardour on its forward march, under the divine impelling force it forgets all else, forgets itself, and fixes its thoughts and memories on Him alone Whose attendant and servant it is, to whom it dedicates not a palpable offering, but incense, the incense of consecrated virtues. But when the inspiration is 233 stayed, and the strong yearning abates, it hastens back from the divine and becomes a man and meets

different interpretations, in § 189 of the Logos, here of the Perfect Man, is unusual, if not unprecedented.

## PHILO

ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐντυχῶν, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις ἐφήδρευεν, ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκκύψαντα ἐνδοθεν ἐξαρπάσῃ. XXXV.

234 τὸν μὲν οὖν τέλειον οὔτε θεὸν οὔτε ἄνθρωπον ἀναγράφει Μωυσῆς, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφην,<sup>1</sup> μεθόριον τῆς ἀγενήτου καὶ φθαρτῆς φύσεως· τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα πάλιν ἐν τῇ μεταξύ χώρα ζώντων καὶ τεθνηκότων τάττει, ζῶντας μὲν καλῶν τοὺς συμβιοῦντας φρονήσει, τεθνηκότας δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνη χαίροντας.

235 λέγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀαρὼν ὅτι “ ἔστη ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν τεθνηκότων (καὶ τῶν ζώντων), καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις.” ὁ γὰρ προκόπτων οὔτε ἐν τοῖς τεθνηκόσι τὸν ἀρετῆς βίον ἐξετάζεται, πόθον καὶ ζῆλον ἔχων

[690] τοῦ καλοῦ, οὔτε ἐν τοῖς | μετὰ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τελείας ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονίας—ἔτι γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πέρασ

236 ἐνδεῖ,—ἀλλ' ἐκατέρων ἐφάπτεται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἐπιλέγεται τὸ “ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις,” ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαύσατο· παύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τελείων τὰ περιθραύοντα καὶ κατακλῶντα καὶ καταγνύντα τὴν ψυχὴν, μειοῦται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προκοπτόντων ὡς ἂν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνακοπτόμενα καὶ στελλόμενα.

237 XXXVI. Τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ ἰδρύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀμετάβλητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον εἰς αἰὲ μνηῆς πρῶτον μὲν ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τὸ ὄν, ἔπειτα δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ ὄντος λόγον, ὃν διαθήκην ἐκάλεσε, τρίτον δὲ περὶ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τὸν προκόπτοντα, τί παθῶν ὁ φαῦλος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος νοῦς ὠήθη μόνος ἴστασθαι δύνασθαι, φορούμενος ὥσπερ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ καὶ κατασυρόμενος ταῖς τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων διὰ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔφη.



## ON DREAMS, II. 233-237

the human interests which lay waiting in the vestibule ready to seize upon it, should it but shew its face for a moment from within.

XXXV. Moses 234

then describes the perfect man as neither God nor man, but, as I have said already, on the border-line between the uncreated and the perishing form of being. While, on the other hand, the man who is on the path of progress is placed by him in the region between the living and the dead, meaning by the former those who have wisdom for their life-mate and by the latter those who rejoice in folly, for we are told 235 of Aaron that "he stood between the dead and the living, and the breaking abated" (Num. xvi. 48). For the man of progress does not rank either among those dead to the life of virtue, since his desires aspire to moral excellence, nor yet among those who live in supreme and perfect happiness, since he still falls short of the consummation, but is in touch with both. And therefore he quite properly concludes with the 236 phrase "the breaking abated," not "ceased." For in perfection all the influences which break and crush and fracture the soul do cease, but in the stage of progress they diminish, being so to speak cut down and confined, but nothing more.

XXXVI. We find, then, that stability or fixity or 237 permanent immobility, in virtue of its immutable and unchangeable quality, subsists as an attribute primarily to the Existing Being, secondly to His Word which He calls His covenant, thirdly to the Sage, and fourthly to the man of gradual progress. What then could make the wicked mind, fit subject for every manner of curse, think that he could stand alone, when he is carried to and fro as in a flood and swept down by eddy after eddy of the torrent of

## PHILO

- νεκροφορουμένου σώματος δίναις ἐπαλλήλοις;  
 238 “ ὤμην ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐστάναι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ” λόγον δὲ συμβολικῶς ποταμὸν εἶναι φάμεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκάτερος ἔξω τε φέρεται καὶ ῥέων συντόνω<sup>1</sup> χρῆται τῷ τάχει καὶ τοτὲ μὲν εὐφορεῖ<sup>2</sup> πλημμύραις ὁ μὲν ὕδατος, ὁ δὲ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων, τοτὲ<sup>3</sup> δὲ ἀφορεῖ χαλῶμενος καὶ συνίζων·  
 239 καὶ ὠφελουσι μέντοι ὁ μὲν ἄρδων τὰς ἀρούρας, ὁ δὲ τὰς τῶν φιληκόων ψυχάς, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε βλάπτουσι κυμήναντες, ὁ μὲν τὴν ὄμορον γῆν ἐπικλύσας, ὁ δὲ ἀνακυκῆσας καὶ συγγέας τὸν τῶν οὐ προσ-  
 240 ἐχόντων λογισμόν. οὗτος μὲν εἰκάζεται ποταμῶ. διττὴ δὲ λόγου φύσις, ἡ μὲν ἀμείνων, ἡ δὲ χείρων, ἀμείνων μὲν ἢ ὠφελουσα, χείρων δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 241 ἀναγκαῖον ἢ βλάπτουσα. παραδείγματα δὲ ἐκατέρας τοῖς δυναμένοις ὄραν ἀνέθηκε Μωϋσῆς ἀριδηλότατα· “ ποταμὸς ” γάρ φησι “ πορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφ-  
 242 ορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς. ” καλεῖ δὲ τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὄντος σοφίαν Ἐδέμ, ἧς ἐρμηνεῖα τρυφή, διότι, οἶμαι, ἐντρυφήμα καὶ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ σοφίας θεός, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις ἄδεται· “ κατατρυφήσον τοῦ κυρίου. ” κάτεισι δὲ ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας ποταμοῦ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἵνα ἄρδῃ καὶ ποτίξῃ τὰ ὀλύμπια καὶ οὐράνια φιλαρέτων ψυχῶν βλα-  
 243 στήματα καὶ φυτά, ὡσανεὶ παράδεισον. ὁ δὲ ἱερός οὗτος λόγος ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, λέγω δὲ εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς σχίζεται, ὧν ἐκάστη βασιλὶς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφορίζεσθαι εἰς ἀρχάς οὐ τοπικοῖς ὄροις,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ βασιλεία ἔοικεν, ἢ ἐπιδείξας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐτόνω.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐμφορεῖ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὅτε.

## ON DREAMS, II. 237-243

which that dead burden the body is the channel? For "I thought," he says, "that I stood on the edge 238 of the river" (Gen. xli. 17). River, I submit, is here a symbol of speech, since both flow outward and with a swift strong current, and both are sometimes fruitful in producing inundations, water in one case, words in the other, sometimes unfruitful when they slacken or subside. And both may be beneficial by 239 irrigating, one the fields, the other the souls of docile hearers; both at times do harm, the river by flooding the adjoining land, speech by reducing the mental powers of the inattentive to chaos and confusion. In this way speech is like a river, but it has a twofold 240 nature better and worse, the better beneficial, the worse necessarily injurious. Moses has 241 provided examples of both, of the plainest kind to those who have the gift of vision. "A river," he says, "goes out of Eden to water the garden; thence it separates into four heads" (Gen. ii. 10), and he 242 gives the name of Eden, which is by interpretation "delight," to the wisdom of the Existent, because no doubt wisdom is a source of delight to God and God to wisdom, and so in the Psalms the singer bids us to "delight in the Lord" (Ps. xxxvii. (xxxvi.) 4). The Divine Word descends from the fountain of wisdom like a river to lave and water the heaven-sent celestial shoots and plants of virtue-loving souls which are as a garden. And this holy Word is 243 "separated into four heads," which means that it is split up into the four virtues, each of which is royal. For separation into heads or rules is not like separation into local regions but into kingdoms, and when he

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<sup>4</sup> MSS. τοπικὸὺς ἕρους. Possibly we might read the more logical οὐ <τῷ εἰς> τοπικὸὺς ἕρους ἀλλὰ βασιλείας ἔοικεν.

## PHILO

- [691] τὰς ἀρετὰς<sup>1</sup> εὐθὺς ἀποφήνη | καὶ τὸν χρώμενον  
 αὐταῖς σοφὸν βασιλέα, κεχειροτονημένον οὐ πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς καὶ ἀδεκάστου  
 244 καὶ μόνης ἐλευθέρας φύσεως. λέγουσι γὰρ τῷ  
 Ἀβραάμ οἱ κατιδόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀστείον· “ βασι-  
 λεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ εἶ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν,” δόγμα τιθέμενοι.  
 τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβουσιν, ὅτι μόνος ὁ  
 σοφὸς ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος  
 ἀρχή τε καὶ βασιλεία.
- 245 XXXVII. Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰκάσας ποταμῶ  
 τις τῶν ἐταίρων Μωυσέως ἐν ὕμνοις εἶπεν· “ ὁ  
 ποταμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπληρώθη ὑδάτων.” καί(τοι)  
 τινὰ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ρεόντων ἄλογον κυριολογεῖσθαι·  
 ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, πλήρη τοῦ σοφίας νάματος τὸν  
 θεῖον λόγον διασυνίστησι, μηδὲν ἔρημον καὶ κενὸν  
 ἑαυτοῦ μέρος ἔχοντα, . . .<sup>2</sup> δέ, ὡς εἶπέ τις, ὄλον  
 δι' ὄλων ἀναχεόμενον καὶ αἰρόμενον εἰς ὕψος διὰ  
 τὴν συνεχῆ καὶ ἐπάλληλον τῆς ἀενάου πηγῆς  
 246 ἐκείνης φοράν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἄσμα  
 τοιοῦτον· “ τὸ ὄρημα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐφραίνει  
 τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ.” ποίαν πόλιν; ἢ γὰρ νῦν  
 οὐσα ἱερὰ πόλις, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἅγιος νεὼς ἔστι, μακρὰν  
 ὡσπερ θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν συνώκισται· ὡς  
 δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι τοῦ προφανοῦς ἕτερόν τι βούλεται  
 247 δι' ὑπονοιῶν παραστήσαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦ θεοῦ  
 λόγου ρύμη \* \* \*<sup>3</sup> καὶ συνεχῶς μεθ' ὀρητῆς ἐν<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἀρετὰς <ἀρχὰς>, “declares the virtues to be sovereignties,” an easy correction which will bring out the sense more clearly.

<sup>2</sup> The lacuna in the mss. here was filled by Hoeschel, whom Mangey and Wend. have followed, with μᾶλλον. But ὡς εἶπέ τις is regularly used by Philo after some quoted word or phrase. See App. p. 610.

points to virtues he means thereby to declare that the Sage who possesses them is a king, a king appointed not by men but by nature, the infallible, the incorruptible, the only free elector. Thus it was 244 said to Abraham by those who saw his worthiness : " thou art a king from God with us " (Gen. xxiii. 6).<sup>a</sup> And thus they laid down the doctrine for the students of philosophy, that the Sage alone is a ruler and king, and virtue a rule and a kingship whose authority is final.<sup>b</sup>

XXXVII. It is this Word which one of Moses' 245 company compared to a river, when he said in the Psalms " the river of God is full of water " (Ps. lxv. (lxiv.) 10); where surely it were senseless to suppose that the words can properly refer to any of the rivers of earth. No, he is representing the Divine Word as full of the stream of wisdom, with no part of it empty or devoid of itself but a . . . , as it has been called, filled through and through with the influx and lifted up on high by the constant never-failing outflow from that perennial fountain.

And there is another psalm 246 which runs thus : " The strong current of the river makes glad the city of God " (Ps. xlvi. (xlv.) 4). What city ? For the existing holy city, where the sacred temple also is, does not stand in the neighbourhood of rivers any more than of the sea. Thus it is clear that he writes to shew us allegorically something different from the obvious. It is perfectly true 247 that the impetuous rush of the divine word borne along <swiftly> and ceaselessly with its strong and

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Abr.* 261.

<sup>b</sup> See *De Mut.* 152 and note.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ῥύμην, then λ and lacuna of six to eight letters in A. I suggest λαιψηρῶς. See App. p. 610. <sup>4</sup> MSS. μεθορμίσαι.

## PHILO

- τάξει φερομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀναχεῖ τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 248 εὐφραίνει. πόλιν γὰρ θεοῦ καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον  
 τὸν κόσμον καλεῖ, ὃς ὅλον τὸν κρατῆρα τοῦ θείου  
 πόματος<sup>2</sup> δεξάμενος (ἡκρατί)σατο<sup>3</sup> καὶ γανωθεὶς  
 ἀναφαιρέτου καὶ ἀσβέστου τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν  
 [ἐπὶ τὸν] αἰῶνα εὐφροσύνης ἐπέλαχε, καθ' ἕτερον  
 δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἣ λέγεται καὶ ἐμπερι-  
 πατεῖν ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐν πόλει. “ περιπατήσω ” γάρ  
 249 φησιν “ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι [ἐν] ὑμῶν<sup>4</sup> θεός.” καὶ  
 ψυχῇ δ' εὐδαίμονι τὸ ἱερώτατον ἔκπωμα προτει-  
 νούσῃ<sup>5</sup> τὸν ἑαυτῆς λογισμὸν τίς ἐπιχεῖ τοὺς ἱεροὺς  
 κυάθους τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι μὴ (ὁ)  
 οἰνοχόος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συμποσίαρχος λόγος, οὐ  
 διαφέρων τοῦ πόματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄκρατος ὢν,  
 τὸ γάνωμα, τὸ ἥδυσμα, ἡ ἀνάχυσις, ἡ εὐθυμία,  
 τὸ χαρᾶς, τὸ εὐφροσύνης ἀμβρόσιον, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασι χρῆσώμεθα, φάρμακον;  
 250 XXXVIII. ἡ δὲ θεοῦ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων Ἱερου-  
 σαλήμ καλεῖται, ἧς μεταληφθὲν τοῦνομα ὄρασις  
 [692] ἔστιν εἰρήνης. ὥστε μὴ ζήτει τὴν τοῦ | ὄντος  
 πόλιν ἐν κλίμασι<sup>6</sup> γῆς—οὐ γὰρ ἐκ ξύλων ἢ λίθων  
 δεδημιούργηται,—ἀλλ' ἐν ψυχῇ ἀπολέμῳ καὶ  
 ὀξύδορκούσῃ (τέλος)<sup>7</sup> προτεθειμένη τὸν [δέ] θεω-  
 251 ρητικὸν καὶ εἰρηναῖον βίον. ἐπεὶ καὶ τίνα σεμνό-  
 τερον καὶ ἀγιώτερον εὗροι τις ἂν οἶκον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι  
 θεῶ ἢ φιλοθεάμονα διάνοιαν, πάνθ' ὄραν ἐπειγο-  
 μένην καὶ μηδὲ ὄναρ στάσεως ἢ ταραχῆς ἐφιεμένην;  
 252 ὑπηχεῖ δέ μοι πάλιν τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀφανῶς ἐνομιλεῖν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀναχεῖται.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ποταμὸς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. σατο preceded by lacuna of three to four letters:  
 Mangey <ἡρῶ>σατο.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐν ὑμῖν.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. προτείνουσι.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. κλήμασι.

<sup>7</sup> MSS.: lacuna of five to six letters in A.

## ON DREAMS, II. 247-252

ordered current does overflow and gladden the whole universe through and through. For God's city is the name in one sense for the world which has received the whole bowl, wherein the divine draught is mixed, and feasted thereon and exultingly taken for its possession the gladness which remains for all time never to be removed or quenched. In another sense he uses this name for the soul of the Sage, in which God is said to walk as in a city. For "I will walk in you," he says, "and will be your God" (Lev. xxvi. 12). And, when the happy soul holds out the sacred goblet of its own reason, who is it that pours into it the holy cupfuls of true gladness, but the Word, the Cup-bearer of God and Master of the feast, who is also none other than the draught which he pours—his own self free from all dilution, the delight, the sweetening, the exhilaration, the merriment, the ambrosian drug (to take for our own use the poet's terms) whose medicine gives joy and gladness?

XXXVIII. Now the city of God is called in the Hebrew Jerusalem and its name when translated is "vision of peace." Therefore do not seek for the city of the Existing among the regions of the earth, since it is not wrought of wood or stone, but in a soul, in which there is no warring, whose sight is keen, which has set before it as its aim to live in contemplation and peace. For what grander or holier house could we find for God in the whole range of existence than the vision-seeking mind, the mind which is eager to see all things and never even in its dreams has a wish for faction or turmoil? I hear once more the voice of the invisible spirit, the familiar

## PHILO

- πνεῦμα ἀόρατον καὶ φησιν· ὦ οὗτος, ἕοικας ἀνεπιστήμων εἶναι καὶ μεγάλου καὶ περιμαχίτου πράγματος, ὅπερ ἀφθόνως—πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα
- 253 εὐκαίρως<sup>1</sup> ὑφηγησάμην—ἀναδιδάξω. ἴσθι δὴ, (ὦ) γενναίε, ὅτι θεὸς μόνος ἢ ἀψευδестаτή καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, ἢ δὲ γεννητὴ καὶ φθαρτὴ οὐσία πᾶσα συνεχῆς πόλεμος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐκούσιον, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἢ οὐσία· ὃς ἂν οὖν ἰσχύσῃ πόλεμον μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκην καὶ γένησιν καὶ φθορὰν καταλιπεῖν, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον, πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον, πρὸς τὸ ἐκούσιον, πρὸς εἰρήνην, λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐνδίκως ἐνδιαίτημα καὶ πόλις εἶναι θεοῦ.
- 254 μηδὲν οὖν διαφερέτω σοι ἢ ὄρασιν εἰρήνης ἢ ὄρασιν θεοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι δὲ τῶν πολυωνύμων τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων οὐ θιασῶτις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξαρχός ἐστιν εἰρήνη.<sup>2</sup>
- 255 XXXIX. Καὶ Ἀβραὰμ μέντοι τῷ σοφῷ δώσειν φησὶ κλῆρον γῆς “ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ) τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου,” οὐ χώρας<sup>3</sup> ἀποτομὴν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀμείνω μοῖραν. Αἰγύπτου μὲν γὰρ ἀπεικάζεται ποταμῷ τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup> ἐγγινόμενα πάθη, τῷ δὲ Εὐφράτῃ (ψυχῇ)
- 256 καὶ τὰ φίλα ταύτη. δόγμα δὴ τίθεται βιωφελέστατον καὶ συνεκτικώτατον, ὅτι ὁ σπουδαῖος κλῆρον ἔλαχε ψυχὴν καὶ τὰς ψυχῆς ἀρετάς, ὥσπερ ὁ φαῦλος ἔμπαλιν σῶμα καὶ τὰς σώματος καὶ διὰ
- 257 σώματος κακίας. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ δύο<sup>4</sup> δηλοῖ, ἐν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀκαίρως.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. θιασῶτης and εἰρήνης which Wend. prints, though suggesting the corrections here printed. The second might perhaps be taken without the first, and so Mangey.



secret tenant, saying, " Friend, it would seem that there is a matter great and precious of which thou knowest nothing, and this I will ungrudgingly shew thee, for many other well-timed lessons have I given thee. Know then, good friend, that God alone is <sup>253</sup> the real veritable peace, free from all illusion, but the whole substance of things<sup>a</sup> created only to perish is one constant war. For God is a being of free will ; the world of things is Fatality.<sup>a</sup> Whosoever then has the strength to forsake war and Fatality, creation and perishing, and cross over to the camp of the uncreated, of the imperishable, of free-will, of peace, may justly be called the dwelling-place and city of God. Let it be then a matter of indifference that <sup>254</sup> you should give to the same object two different names, vision of God and vision of peace. For indeed the Potencies of the Existent have many names, and of that company peace is not only a member but a leader."

XXXIX. Again God promises wise Abraham a <sup>255</sup> portion of land " from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates " (Gen. xv. 18), not meaning a section of country, but rather the better part in ourselves. For our body and the passions engendered in it or by it are likened to the river of Egypt, but the soul and what the soul loves to the Euphrates. Here he <sup>256</sup> lays down a doctrine of the greatest importance and value to life, namely, that the good man has received for his portion soul and the soul's virtues, even as the bad on the other hand has body and the vices which belong to and arise through the body. Now " from " <sup>257</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or " our whole existence " . . . " our existence is ruled by necessity."

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οὐχ ὁρᾶς.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. αὐτὸ.

## PHILO

τὸ σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἀφ' οὗ λέγεται, ἕτερον δὲ (τὸ) χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ λέγωμεν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἄχρι ἐσπέρας (ὥρας) εἶναι δώδεκα καὶ ἀπὸ νεομηνίας ἄχρι τριακάδος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, συγκατατάττομεν τὴν τε πρώτην ὥραν καὶ τὴν νεομηνίαν·

[693] ὅταν δέ τις ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως φῆ | τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀπέχειν σταδίου τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας, δίχα τῆς πόλεως δήπου

258 φησίν. ὥστε καὶ νῦν τὸ “ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου” νομιστέον τὸ χωρὶς ἐκείνου παραλαμβάνεσθαι· βούλεται γὰρ διοικίσας ἡμᾶς τῶν σωματικῶν, ἅπερ ἐν ῥύσει καὶ φορᾶ<sup>1</sup> φθειρομένη καὶ φθειρούση θεωρεῖται, κλήρον ψυχῆς λαβεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἀφθαρσίας ἀξίων ἀρετῶν.

259 οὕτω μέντοι τὸ εἰκάσθαι ποταμῶ λόγον ἐπαινετὸν ἰχνηλατοῦντες<sup>2</sup> εὐρήκαμεν. ὁ δὲ ψεκτὸς αὐτὸς ἄρα ἦν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμός, ἀνάγωγός τις καὶ ἀμαθής, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀψυχος λόγος· οὗ χάριν καὶ εἰς αἷμα μεταβάλλει, τρέφειν οὐ δυνάμενος—ὁ γὰρ ἀπαιδευσίας λόγος οὐ πότιμος—καὶ εὐτοκεῖ μέντοι βατράχοις ἀναίμοις καὶ ἀψύχοις, καινὸν καὶ τραχὺν ἦχον, ἄλγημα ἀκοῆς,

260 ἀπηχοῦσι. λέγεται δέ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντες ἰχθύες ἐφθάρησαν, οἱ συμβολικῶς εἰσι τὰ νοήματα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐννήχεται καὶ ἐγγίνεται ὡς ἐν ποταμῶ τῷ λόγῳ, ζῶις ἐοικότα καὶ ψυχοῦντα αὐτόν· ἐν δὲ ἀπαιδεύτῳ λόγῳ τέθνηκε τὰ ἐνθυμήματα· συνετὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ κολῳῶν τινὰς ἀκόσμους καὶ ἀμετροεπεῖς, ὡς εἶπέ τις, φωνάς.

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey for mss. φθορᾶ, which Wend. retains.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ὀχνηλατοῦντες.

## ON DREAMS, II. 257-260

has two meanings, one where the thing from which what we are describing starts is included, the other where it is excluded. For when we say that there are twelve hours from early morning to evening, or thirty days from the new moon to the end of the month, we take into our reckoning the first hours in the former case and the new moon itself in the latter. But when one says that the field is three or four stades distant from the city, clearly he does not include the city. So in this case we must suppose 258 that in the phrase "from the river of Egypt" "from" is used in this exclusive sense. For Moses would have us remove right away from bodily things, which present themselves amid restless flux and motion, which destroys and is destroyed, and receive the soul as our heritage with the virtues which are indestructible and worthy to be such. Thus 259 our investigation has shewn what was meant when the speech which deserves praise was compared to a river. It follows that speech which calls for censure was none other than the river of Egypt—speech, that is, which is ill-trained, ignorant and practically soulless. And therefore it changes into blood (Ex. vii. 20), since it cannot provide nourishment, for the speech of indiscipline none can drink. And further it is prolific of frogs, bloodless, soulless creatures, whose cry is a strange harsh noise, painful to the hearers. We are told, too, that all the fish in it died 260 (*ibid.* 21), and by fish thoughts are symbolized. For thoughts swim and are bred in speech as in a river, and like living creatures give vitality to it. But set in undisciplined speech ideas die. For in such speech there is no sense to be found, only "bawling" cries disordered and "unregulated," as the verse has it.<sup>a</sup>

## PHILO

- 261 XL. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἄλις. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον στάσιν καὶ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖλη ποταμοῦ φαντασιωθῆναι ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων· “ ὤμην ἐστάναι παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ,” ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἶη
- 262 καὶ περὶ χεῖλους τὰ καίρια ὑπομνήσαι.<sup>1</sup> φαίνεται τοίνυν ἔνεκα δυεῖν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἢ φύσις χεῖλη ζώοις καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ἀρμόσασθαι· ἐνὸς μὲν ἡσυχίας—ἔρυμα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ φραγμὸς ὀχυρώτατος φωνῆς,—ἐτέρου δὲ ἐρμηνείας· διὰ γὰρ τούτων τὸ τῶν λόγων νᾶμα φέρεται<sup>2</sup>· συναχθέντων μὲν γὰρ ἐπέχεται, φέρεσθαι δ’ ἀμήχανον
- 263 μὴ διαστάντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γυμνάζει καὶ συγκροτεῖ πρὸς ἄμφω, τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν, ἑκατέρου τὸν ἀρμόττοντα καιρὸν παραφυλάττοντας. οἷον ἀκοῆς ἄξιόν τι λέγεται; πρόσεχε μηδὲν ἐναντιούμενος ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατὰ τὸ Μωυσέως παρ-
- 264 ἀγγελμα, τὸ “ σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε.” τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἐριστικὰς γνωσιμαχίας ἀφικνουμένων οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς κυρίως οὔτε λέγειν οὔτ’ ἀκούειν νομισθεῖη, τῷ
- 265 δὲ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν \* \* \*<sup>3</sup> ὠφέλιμον. πάλιν ὅταν ἴδῃς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς τὴν ἰλεω τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν ὑπερέχουσαν καὶ προασπίζουσαν, ἡρέμησον· οὐ γὰρ δεῖται |
- [694] συμμαχίας ὁ βοηθὸς οὗτος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτου δεῖγμα τὸ<sup>4</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς κατακείμενον, τὸ “ κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς
- 266 σιγήσεσθε.” εἰάν γε μὴν ἴδῃς τὰ γνήσια ἔγγωνα καὶ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου φθειρόμενα, τὸ ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπονοῆσαι.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀναφέρεται.<sup>3</sup> The MSS. have here a lacuna of, in A, sixteen to eighteen letters, for which Wend. suggests ἀκούειν τὸ ἡσυχάζειν. I

XL. Enough on these points ; but since in the 261 words " I thought I stood by the edge of the river " he declares that his dream contained not only a " standing " and a " river," but also the edges or " lips " of a river, I am bound to make such observations as are suitable on the subject of " lip." Nature 262 clearly has provided animals and men in particular with lips for two most necessary purposes. One is to keep silence ; for the lips form the strongest possible fence and barrier for confining sound. The other is to give expression to thought ; for the stream of words flows through the lips. When they are closed that stream is held back, and until they part it cannot take its course. In this way the lips 263 train and exercise us for both purposes, speech and silence, and they teach us to watch for the proper occasion for either. For example : Is something said worth hearing ? Oppose it not but pay attention silently according to the command of Moses, " Be still and hear " (Deut. xxvii. 9). None of those who 264 enter upon wordy controversies can be properly held either to speak or to hear ; he who would do (either) in the true sense will find (silence) useful. Again when 265 amid the wars and ills of life you see the merciful hand and power of God extended over you as a shield, be still. For that Champion needs no ally, and we have a proof of this in the words which Holy Scripture keeps amid its treasures, " The Lord shall war for you and ye shall be silent " (Ex. xiv. 14). Once more, 266 if you see the firstborn of Egypt, true children of their parents, perishing (Ex. xi. 5), even lust, pleasure,

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suggest (and have translated) *ἐκάτερον* rather than *ἀκούειν* as more pointed. If we wish to say anything sensible, we must listen quietly first.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. *δείγματα*.

## PHILO

· θυμῆν, τὸ ἡδεσθαι, τὸ λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ ἀφραίνειν,<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῆ, καταπλαγείς ἡσύχαζε, 267 τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος ὑποπτῆξας. “ οὐ γὰρ γρύξει” φησί<sup>2</sup> “ κύων τῇ γλώσση, οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους,” ἴσον τῷ οὔτε τὴν κυνώδη γλώσσαν ὑλακτοῦσάν τε καὶ κρίζουσαν<sup>3</sup> οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρωπον, ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, οὔτε τὸ κτηνώδες θρέμμα, τὴν αἴσθησιν, προσήκει γαυριᾶν, ὅταν ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ παρ’ ἡμᾶς ὄλον ἕξωθεν τὸ συμμαχικὸν αὐτοκέλευστον ὑπερασπιοῦν ἦκη.

268 ΧΛΙ. πολλοὶ δὲ συμβαίνουσι καιροὶ μὴ ἐφαρμόζοντες ἡσυχία, ὡδὰς δὲ καὶ<sup>4</sup> καταλογάδην ῥήσεις ἐπιζητοῦντες· ὧν πάλιν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀνακειμένα ὑπομνήματα. πῶς; ἀγαθοῦ τις γέγονεν ἀπροσδόκητος μετουσία; καλὸν οὖν εὐχαριστήσαι καὶ 269 τὸν ἐπιπέμφαντα ὑμνήσαι. τί οὖν τὸ ἀγαθόν; τέθνηκε τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον ἡμῖν πάθος καὶ πρηγὲς ἄταφον ἔρριπται; μὴ μέλλωμεν οὖν,<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ (χορὸν) στησάμενοι τὴν ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ἄδωμεν ὡδήν, παρακελευόμενοι λέγειν πᾶσιν· “ ἄσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται· ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην 270 ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν τοῦ πάθους φθορὰ<sup>6</sup> καὶ μετανάστασις ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τέλειον ἀγαθόν· ἡ δὲ σοφίας εὗρεσις ὑπερβάλλον καλόν· ἥς εὐρεθείσης ἅπας ὁ λεῶς οὐ καθ’ ἐν μέρος μουσικῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἀρμονίας

<sup>1</sup> mss. εὐφραίνειν.

<sup>2</sup> mss. γρυξί φασί.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ἀράζουσαν (Mangey γρύζουσαν).

<sup>4</sup> ὡδὰς δὲ καὶ my correction: mss. τὰς δὲ. See note a on opposite page.

<sup>5</sup> mss. ὑμῖν: I should prefer (as Cohn) ὑμνεῖν.

<sup>6</sup> mss. φορὰ.

## ON DREAMS, II. 266-270

grief and fear, and injustice, folly, licentiousness with all their brethren and kin, stand in awe and be silent, bending low before the tremendous power of God. "For not a dog shall make a sound," it says, 267 "with his tongue, neither from men to beast" (*ibid.* 7), which means that neither the dog-like tongue which barks so loud, nor the man in us, the ruling mind, nor the beast-like creature, sense, should vaunt themselves when, upon the downfall of all that is our own, assistance comes self-bidden from without to shield us.

XLI. But occasions 268

often arise which ill accord with silence and call for speech in song or prose,<sup>a</sup> and of such, too, we may find instructive examples in the same storehouse. How so? Suppose some portion of good has fallen to us unexpectedly. It is well then to give thanks and hymn the sender. And what is that good? 269 Suppose that the passion which was attacking us is dead and has been flung out headlong without burial. Let us not delay, but setting in order our choir raise the most sacred of anthems, bidding all to say "Let us sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously. Horse and rider he hath cast into the sea" (Ex. xv. 1). But though, no doubt, the destruction 270 and removal of passion is a good, yet it is not a perfect good, but the discovery of wisdom is a thing of transcendent excellence. And when that is discovered, all the people will sing not with one part of music only, but with all its harmonies and melodies.

<sup>a</sup> I have ventured on this correction, which textually is fairly easy, because (1) of the three examples which follow two are song and one prose; (2) in the other two passages, noted in the index, there is the same contrast: *De Mut.* 220 δι' ᾠδῆς καὶ τῶν κατ. ἐγκωμίων: *De Abr.* 23 διὰ ποιήματων καὶ τῶν κατ. συγγραμμάτων.

## PHILO

- 271 καὶ μελωδίας ἄσεται. “ τότε ” γάρ φησιν “ ἦσεν Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἄσμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος,” λέγω δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πάλαι μὲν κεκρυμμένης, ἀναζητηθείσης δὲ αὖθις καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνευρημένης βαθείας τὴν φύσιν ἐπιστήμης, ἢ νόμος τὰς τῶν φιλοθεαμόνων
- 272 ἄρδειν λογικὰς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀρούρας. τί δέ; ὅταν συγκομίσωμεν τὸν γνήσιον διανοίας καρπὸν, οὐ παραγγέλλει ἡμῖν ὁ ἱερός λόγος ὥσπερ ἐν καρτάλω τῷ λογισμῷ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς εὐφορίας ὧν ἤνθησεν, ὧν ἐβλάστησεν, ὧν ἐκαρποφόρησεν ἢ ψυχὴ καλῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἄντικρυς οὕτω ῥητορεύειν, τὰ εἰς τὸν τελεσφόρον θεὸν ἐγκώμια λέγοντας· “ ἐξεκάθηρα τὰ ἅγια ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας
- [695] μου ” καὶ ἐταμιευσάμην | ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ οἴκῳ, ταμίας καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἐπιστήσας τοὺς ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν νεωκορίαν.
- 273 οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λευῖται καὶ προσήλυτοι καὶ ὄρφανοὶ καὶ χῆραι· οἱ μὲν ἰκέται,<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ μετανάσται καὶ πρόσφυγες, οἱ δὲ ἀπωρφανισμένοι καὶ κεχηρευκότες γενέσεως, θεὸν δὲ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπευτρίδος<sup>3</sup> ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα γνήσιον ἐπιγεγραμμένοι.
- 274 XLII. Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν ἐμπρεπέστατον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον μεμελητήκασιν οἱ φαῦλοι· καὶ γὰρ ἡσυχίας ἐπιλήπτου καὶ ἐρμηνείας ὑπαιτίου ζηλωταὶ γεγονόασιν, ἐκάτερον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων συγκρο-
- 275 τοῦντες. τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἂ μὴ δεῖ· τὸ γὰρ στόμα διανοίξαντες καὶ ἑάσαντες ἀχαλίνωτον, καθάπερ ρεῦμα ἀκατά-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἰκέται.

<sup>3</sup> So MSS.: perhaps θερ. ψυχ.



## ON DREAMS, II. 271-275

For "then," says the text, "Israel sang this song upon the well" (Num. xxi. 17), and by the "well" I mean knowledge, which for long has been hidden, but in time is sought for and finally found—knowledge whose nature is so deep, knowledge which ever serves to water the fields of reason in the souls of those who desire to see.

Again when we reap the true harvest of the mind, does not the holy Word bid us bring, stored in the basket (Deut. xxvi. 2, 4) of our reasoning faculties, the firstfruits of that rich crop of things excellent, the product of the flowering, the sprouting, the fruit-bearing of ourselves, and as we display them pronounce with words of forthright oratory our laudings of God who gives fulfilment, in such words as these: "I have purged the things hallowed from my home and stored them in the house of God (*ibid.* 13) under the stewardship and guardianship of those who have been chosen for their high merit to the sacred temple-ministry." These are the Levites and the proselytes, the orphans and widows (*ibid.*); the first suppliants, the second those who have left their homes and taken refuge with God, the others those who are as orphans and widows to creation, and have adopted God as the lawful husband and father of the servant-soul.

XLII. Such is the most fitting rule for speaking and keeping silence. But the practice of the wicked is quite the contrary. For they ardently pursue a guilty silence and a reprehensible speech, and they work both as an engine for the ruin of themselves and others. Yet it is in speech—in saying what they ought not—that they exercise themselves the most. For they open their mouths and leave them un-

## PHILO

σχετον, φέρεσθαι τὸν ἀκριτόμυθον, ἧ φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, λόγον ἰᾶσι,<sup>1</sup> μυρία τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν προσ-  
 276 επισύροντα. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συνηγορίαν ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ πάσης πλεοναζούσης ὀρμῆς ἐτράποντο, ἄλογον πάθος ἐπιτειχίζοντες ἡγεμόνι λογισμῶ, (οἱ δὲ αὖ)<sup>2</sup> καὶ ταῖς ἐριστικαῖς φιλονεικίαις (ἐπ)αποδυσάμενοι συνεπλάκησαν, ἐλπίσαντες τὸ ὄρατικὸν πηρῶσαι<sup>3</sup> γένος καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν καὶ βαράθρων,<sup>4</sup> ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο  
 277 διαναστῆναι, δυνήσεσθαι ρίψαι. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀντιπάλους ἑαυτοὺς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπέφηναν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θείας· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἤλασαν.

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν φιλοπαθοῦς ἕξαρχος ἀναγράφεται θιάσου τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας ὁ βασιλεύς, Φαραῶ· λέγεται γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ· “ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ στήσῃ συναντῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ  
 278 χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.” τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον ἐπὶ τὴν φορὰν καὶ ἀνάχυσιν αἰεὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου πάθους ἐξιέναι· τοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ πολλῶ ρέοντι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας λόγοις ὑπαντιάσαι οὐ τοῖς ποσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ, βεβαίως καὶ ἀκλινῶς, ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμίου χεῖλους, τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῆς γλώττης, ἅπερ ἦν ὄργανα λόγου· παγίως γὰρ ἐπιβὰς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται τὰς συνηγορούσας τῷ πάθει πιθανότητος ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐῶσι.

<sup>2</sup> The lacuna of five to six letters is filled up by Wend. with ἔτι δέ. For my reasons for preferring οἱ δὲ αὖ (or ἔνιοι δέ) see note *b* below.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. πληρῶσαι.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. βάθρων.

<sup>a</sup> *Pl.* ii. 246.

<sup>b</sup> That we have here the second of three classes, and not a

## ON DREAMS, II. 275-278

bridled, and suffer their "promiscuous"<sup>a</sup> speech, to use the poet's term, to take its course like an unchecked torrent whirling along with its vast quantities of unprofitable stuff. And so some betake themselves to pleading the cause of pleasure and lust and of every superabundant appetite and raise up unreasoning passion to menace the ruling reason. (Others<sup>b</sup>) disencumber themselves to engage in disputatious controversies, hoping thereby to blind the race of vision and to be able to hurl them over precipices and chasms, from which they can never rise again. Some, 277 too, have set themselves up to oppose the virtue not only of men but of God; to such a pitch of madness have they advanced.

The first of these three, the company of the pleasure-lovers, are described as having for their leader the king of the country of Egypt. For God says to the prophet, "Behold he himself goeth forth to the water, and thou shalt stand meeting him by the edge (lip) of the river" (Ex. vii. 15).<sup>c</sup> It is as characteristic of 278 him, that he should ever go out to the spreading tide of unreasoning passion, as it is of the wise to meet its strong current, whose waters are the advocacy of pleasure and lust—meet it not with his feet, but with his judgement, steadfastly and unswervingly, on the "lip" of the river, that is on the mouth and tongue, the organs of speech. For firmly resting on these supports he will be able to overthrow and lay low the plausibilities which plead the cause of passion.

further denunciation of the first of two, as Wend.'s reading implies, seems clear to me from the sequel. The class here introduced are described further in §§ 279-280.

<sup>c</sup> Each of the three classes is furnished with a *χελος* text, in this case Ex. vii. 15. So far as philosophical schools are suggested, these are clearly the Epicureans.

## PHILO

- 279 ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὄρατικοῦ γένους ἐχθρὸς ὁ τοῦ  
 Φαραὼ λαὸς ἐστίν, ὃς ἐπιτιθέμενος καὶ διώκων καὶ  
 δουλούμενος ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἕως κακὰς ὦν<sup>1</sup>  
 διέθηκε τὰς ἀμοιβὰς εὖρατο, πελάγει<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἀδικη-  
 μάτων καὶ τρικυμίας, ἃς τὸ λυ(ττων πάθος)<sup>3</sup>  
 [696] ἀνήγειρε, καταποντωθεῖς, | ὡς ὑπερβάλλουσαν θεάν  
 καὶ νίκην ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ χαρὰν ἐλπίδος  
 280 μείζονα τὸν καιρὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐκείνον. διὸ λέγεται·  
 “ εἶδεν Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τεθνηκότας παρὰ  
 τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης.” μεγάλη γε ἡ ὑπέρμαχος  
 χεῖρ, ἀναγκάζουσα παρὰ στόματι καὶ χεῖλεσι καὶ  
 λόγῳ πίπτειν τοὺς τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα κατὰ τῆς  
 ἀληθείας ἀκονησαμένους, ἵνα μὴ ὀθνεῖοις ἀλλὰ  
 ἰδίῳις ὄπλοις οἱ καθ’ ἐτέρων ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὰ  
 281 θνήσκωσι. τρία δ’ εὐαγγελίζεται τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ  
 κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀπώλειαν Αἰγυπτιακῶν παθῶν,  
 ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μὴ παρ’ ἐτέρῳ χωρίῳ,<sup>4</sup> (ἀλλὰ) τῆς  
 ἀλμυρᾶς καὶ πικρᾶς πηγῆς, ὡς ἂν θαλάττης,  
 χεῖλεσι, δι’ ὧν ὁ πολέμιος ἀρετῆς σοφιστῆς λόγος  
 ἐξεκέχυτο, τελευταῖον δὲ τὴν θεάν τοῦ πτώματος.  
 282 μηδὲν γὰρ ἀόρατον εἶη καλόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς \* \* \*<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
 λαμπρὸν ἥλιον ἄγοιτο· καὶ γὰρ τούναντίον εἰς βαθὺν  
 σκότος καὶ \* \* \*<sup>6</sup> ἄξιον τὸ κακόν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν  
 μηδ’ ἐκ τύχης ἰδεῖν<sup>7</sup> ποτε γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν  
 μείζουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς αἰεὶ περιαθροῖτο. τί δὲ οὕτως

<sup>1</sup> I suggest κακὰς <κακῶν> ὦν. <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐστρατοπελάγει.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. lacuna of four to five letters after λυ, which Wend. fills up as above. Why not λυττων or λυττων simply? We are not, I think, concerned with πάθος here.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐτέρων χωρίων.

<sup>5</sup> The lacuna here is of six to eight letters. Wend. suggests ἄσκιον φῶς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 279-282

Secondly,<sup>a</sup> we find the enemy of the race 279 that has vision in the people of Pharaoh who attacked and persecuted and enslaved virtue without ceasing, until they received the requital of evil for the evil they meted out to others, submerged in the sea of their wrongdoings and in the mighty billows, which their raving had called up, and thus that occasion brought a peerless spectacle, an undisputed victory, and a joy which transcended hope. Therefore we read: 280 " Israel saw the Egyptians dead along the lip of the sea " (Ex. xiv. 30). Mighty is that champion arm by whose constraining force mouth and lips and speech became the scene of the fall of those who had whetted them as instruments against the truth, that so their own weapons, not those of strangers, should bring death to those who had taken them against others. Three messages, the best of tidings, does this text 281 proclaim to the soul, one that the passions of Egypt have perished, a second that the scene of their death is none other than the lips of that fountain bitter and briny as the sea, those very lips through which poured forth the sophist-talk which wars against virtue, and finally that their ruin was seen. For we may pray that 282 nothing that is good and beautiful should be unseen, but rather should be brought into clear light and bright sunshine, while its opposite evil deserves only to be brought into night and profound darkness and (night). And never may even a casual glimpse of evil come our way, but may the good be surveyed with ever growing eyesight. And what is so truly good as that

<sup>a</sup> The second class, whose *χείλος* text is Ex. xiv. 30, are presumably the sophists in general; *cf.* *σοφιστής λόγος* § 281.

<sup>6</sup> Lacuna of six to eight letters. For various suggestions to fill it see App. p. 610.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. *δείν*.

PHILO

ἀγαθόν, ὡς ζῆσαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τὰ φαῦλα;  
 283 XLIII. τρίτοι<sup>1</sup> τοῖνυν ἦσαν οἱ τῆν τῶν  
 λόγων δεινότητα μέχρις οὐρανοῦ τείναντες. οὗτοι  
 μελέτην κατὰ τῆς φύσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἐμελέτησαν φάσκοντες, μόνον εἶναι  
 τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὀρώμενον τοῦτο, οὔτε γενόμενόν  
 ποτε οὔτ' αὐθις φθαρησόμενον, ἀγέννητον δὲ καὶ  
 284 ἀφθαρτον, ἀνεπιτρόπευτον, ἀκυβέρνητον, ἀπροστα-  
 σίαστον. εἶτ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἄλλα συνθέντες ἐπιχειρή-  
 ματα, δόγμα ἀδόκιμον οἰκοδομοῦντες εἰς ὕψος οἷα  
 πύργον ἐξῆραν. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι " ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ  
 χεῖλος ἓν," συμφωνία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν πάντων  
 285 ἀσύμφωνος ἐπὶ τῷ κινήσει τὸ συνεκτικώτατον ἐν  
 τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀρχήν. τοιγαροῦν ἐλπίσαντας αὐτοὺς  
 εἰς οὐρανὸν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ἀναδραμεῖσθαι ἐπὶ καθ-  
 αιρέσει τῆς αἰωνίου βασιλείας ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἀκαθ-  
 αίρετος καταβάλλει χεῖρ, καὶ τὸ οἰκοδομηθὲν δόγμα  
 286 συνανατρέψασα. κέκληται δὲ ὁ τόπος " σύγχυσις,"  
 οἰκεῖον ὄνομα τῷ καινουργηθέντι τολμήματι. τί  
 γὰρ ἀναρχίας συγχυτικώτερον; οὐκ οἰκίαι μὲν  
 ἀνηγεμόνευτοι προσκρουσμάτων γέμουσι καὶ ταρα-  
 287 χῆς; ἀβασίλευτοι δ' ἐαθεῖσαι πόλεις ὑπὸ ὀχλο-  
 κρατίας, ἐναντίον καὶ μεγίστου, φθείρονται; καὶ  
 χῶραι δὲ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ κλίματα γῆς, ὧν ἀρχαὶ  
 288 κατελύθησαν, οὐ παλαιὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐδαιμονίας  
 [697] ἀπέβαλον; καὶ τί δεῖ | τὰ ἀνθρώπινα λέγεσθαι;

<sup>1</sup> mss. and all editors *τρεις*. See note *a* below.

<sup>a</sup> I have no hesitation in reading *τρίτοι* for *τρεις*, a corruption very easily produced by the use of the same symbol for the cardinal and ordinal. For Mangey's explanation of *τρεις* see App. p. 610. This third class biblically represented by the Babel-builders, with Gen. xi. 1 for their *χειλις* text, cor-

## ON DREAMS, II. 282-288

the excellent should live and the bad die ?

XLIII. Third on the list<sup>a</sup> were those who extended 283  
the activities of their word-cleverness to heaven  
itself, men who gave themselves to studies directed  
against nature or rather against their own soul. They  
declared that nothing exists beyond this world of  
our sight and senses, that it neither was created nor  
will perish, but is uncreated, imperishable, without  
guardian, helmsman or protector. Then piling enter- 284  
prises one upon another they raised on high like  
a tower their edifice of unedifying doctrine.<sup>b</sup> For  
we read that "all the earth was one lip" (Gen.  
xi. 1), a harmony of disharmony, that is a blend of all  
the parts of the soul, to dislodge from its position the  
greatest binding force in the universe, government.  
And therefore when they hoped to soar to heaven in 285  
mind and thought, to destroy the eternal kingship,  
the mighty undestroyable hand cast them down and  
overturned the edifice of their doctrine. And the 286  
place is called "confusion," a fitting name for wild  
audacious revolution. For what is more fraught  
with confusion than want of government ? Are not  
houses that have no ruler full of offences and disturb-  
ance ? Are not cities left without a king destroyed 287  
by the opposite of king-rule, the greatest of evils,  
mob-rule ? Do not countries and nations and regions  
of the earth lose their old abundant happiness when  
their governments are dissolved ? And why should 288  
we appeal to the case of mankind ? For the other  
responds philosophically to the Epicureans and Sceptics, so  
far as the denial of providence is concerned. For *ἀγέννητον*  
*καὶ ἀφθαρτον* see App. pp. 610 f.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "base" or spurious doctrine. The translation given  
is an attempt to produce something parallel to the untrans-  
latable oxymoron of the Greek.

## PHILO

οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ ἄλλαι τῶν ζώων ἀγέλαι, πτηνῶν, χερσαίων, ἐνύδρων, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀγελάρχου συν-εστᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ ποθοῦσι καὶ περιέπουσιν αἰεὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα, ὡς μόνον ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον, οὐ κατὰ  
 289 τὴν ἀπουσίαν σκεδάννυνται καὶ διαφθείρονται. εἴτ' οἰόμεθα τοῖς μὲν περιγείοις, ἃ βραχυτάτη μοῖρα τοῦ παντός ἐστιν, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναρχίαν δὲ κακῶν εἶναι αἰτίαν, τὸν δὲ κόσμον οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος θεοῦ προήγησιν εὐδαιμονίας τῆς  
 290 ἄκρας πεπληρῶσθαι; δίκην οὖν ἀρμόττουσαν οἷς ἐτίθεντο<sup>1</sup> διδόασιν· φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ἱερὸν (τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀνίερρον) πρὸς<sup>2</sup> ἀναρχίας φυρόμενον ἐπέιδον, συγχυθέντες οἱ<sup>3</sup> συγγέαντες. ἕως δὲ οὐπω τιμωρίαν δεδώκασιν, ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας φυσώμενοι τὴν μὲν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ἀνοσίοις λόγοις καθαιροῦσιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀρχοντας καὶ βασιλέας ἀναγράφουσι, τὸ ἀκαθαίρετον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος γενέσει τῇ ἀκαταστάτῳ<sup>4</sup> ἀπολλυμένη καὶ φθειρομένη περι-  
 291 ἄπτοντες. XLIV. ἐπιτραγωδοῦντες γοῦν καὶ ἐπικομπάζοντες<sup>5</sup> εἰώθασιν οἱ καταγέλαστοι λέγειν ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἡμεῖς οἱ δυναστεύοντες· ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄρμει<sup>6</sup> τὰ πάντα· ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων

<sup>1</sup> Probably read <ἐπ>ετίθεντο, or as Mangey <δι>ετίθεντο, a favourite word of Philo, but not as far as I have seen used by him in this sense in the middle. <sup>2</sup> MSS. περι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. and all edd. οὐ. For discussion of the text of the sentence see note *a* below.

<sup>4</sup> So MSS.: Wend. ἀδιαστάτῳ without adequate reason, so far as I can see.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἐπιστομίζοντες.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ὄρμᾳ.

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<sup>a</sup> Wendland, who prints φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ἱερὸν περὶ . . . ἀναρχίας φυρόμενοι (so also Mangey for φυρόμενον from Trin.) ἐπέιδον, does not make any attempt how to fill up the supposed lacuna. The suggestion I have made gives, I think, a very



## ON DREAMS, II. 288-291

collections of animals, whether of the air, or the land or the water, do not hold together any more than men without someone to captain them, but they always desire the presence of their proper leader and pay him honour as the sole author of their welfare, and in his absence they scatter and are destroyed. Can we then suppose that, while the creatures of the earth, who are but a tiny portion of the universe, find in government the cause of their well-being and in anarchy the cause of their ills, the world does not owe the supreme blessedness which fills it to the leadership of God its king?

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So then these aggressors against heaven suffered a penalty befitting their attempts. Having brought disorder into the holy, they saw their own unholiness disordered by anarchy; they had wrought confusion and were confounded.<sup>a</sup> But so long as they remain unpunished, puffed up by their delusion, they deal out destruction to the government of the universe with their unholy words, enroll themselves as rulers and kings, and make over the undestroyable sovereignty of God to creation which passes away and perishes and never continues in one stay.<sup>b</sup> XLIV. Thus it is their way to talk bombastic, boastful absurdities such as "We are the leaders, we are the potentates; all things are based on us. Who can cause good or its opposite,

satisfactory sense, and if it is accepted the second suggestion of *οἱ συγγέαντες* for *ὁ συγγ.* producing a similar antithesis will follow almost certainly. *περί* will require correction, and I have hesitated between *παρά* and *πρός*. The former comes more easily from *περί*, and may perhaps be used in the same sense as *πρός*, but *πρός* seems to have been corrupted to *περί* in § 12.

<sup>b</sup> The description of the third class, though primarily an attack on philosophical creeds, passes in this and the subsequent sections into a general denunciation of human pride.

## PHILO

τίνες αἴτιοι (ὅτι μὴ)<sup>1</sup> ἡμεῖς; τὸ (εὖ καὶ) κακῶς ἐργάσασθαι τίσιν ὅτι μὴ ἡμῖν ἀψευδέστατα ἀνάκειται; φλυαροῦσι δὲ ἄλλως οἱ δυνάμεως ἀοράτου τὰ πάντα φάσκοντες ἐξῆφθαι, ἣν πρυτανεύειν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἀνθρωπέων τε καὶ θείων νομίζουσι.

292 τοιαῦτα καταλαζονευσάμενοι, ἐὰν μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης νήψαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς γένωνται καὶ τῆς παροιρίας, ἣν παρώνησαν,<sup>2</sup> εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐλθόντες αἰδεσθῶσι καὶ κακίσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ὑπ' ἀγνώμονος γνώμης ἐξαμαρτάνειν προήχθησαν,<sup>3</sup> ἀκολακεύτω καὶ ἀδεκάστῳ χρησάμενοι συμβούλῳ μετανοία,<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἴλω τοῦ ὄντος δύναμιν ἐξευμενισάμενοι παλινωδαίαις ἀντὶ βεβήλων ἱεραῖς, ἀμνηστίαν

293 εὐρήσονται παντελεῆ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀφηγιασταὶ καὶ σκληραύχενες μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς γενόμενοι σκιρτῶσιν, ὡς αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνες ὄντες, ἀπαραιτήτῳ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ἀμειλίκτῳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐν ἅπασι μικροῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις οὐδένειαν

294 αἰσθήσονται. ὁ γὰρ ἐπιβεβηκῶς ἠνίοχος ὡς ἄρματι  
[698] πτηνῶ τῷδε τῷ | κόσμῳ χαλινὸν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὸ κεχασμένον τῶν ἠνίων ὀπίσω βία τείνας καὶ τοὺς κημοὺς<sup>5</sup> ἐπισφίγξας, μᾶστιξι καὶ κέντροις ἀναμνήσει τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἧς ἐπελάθοντο διὰ τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ ἡμερον τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὥσπερ  
295 οἱ κακοὶ δούλοι. τὸ γὰρ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπεικὲς εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκτρέποντες ἐπιμορφάζουσι τὸ ἀδέσποτον, μέχρις ἂν τὴν ῥοώδη τε καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν νόσον, ἀντὶ φαρμάκων τὰς τιμωρίας προσφέρων, ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna of four to five letters.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄ παρανοίας ἦν παρηνώμησαν: Trin. παροιρίας ἦν παρηνώμησαν (not παρώνησαν as Mangey states).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. προήχθησαν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μετανοίας.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. κόσμους.

## ON DREAMS, II. 291-295

save we? With whom does it really and truly rest to benefit or harm, save us? They are but idle babblers who say that all things are linked to an invisible power, and think that this power presides over everything in the world whether human or divine.”

Such is their presumptuousness. 292

Yet, if they pass from this intoxication to sobriety, and become themselves again; if realizing the sottishness of their past they feel shame and self-reproach for the sins to which their ill-judging judgement has led them; if they take repentance for their counsellor, a counsellor impervious to flattery and bribery; if they propitiate the merciful power of Him that is by recantations in which holiness replaces profanity, they will obtain full pardon. But if they 293 continue for ever to plunge and prance like stiff-necked horses disobedient to the rein, as though they were free and independent and rulers of others, necessity inexorable and implacable will make them feel that in all things great and small they are as nothing. For the charioteer who has mounted the 294 winged chariot<sup>a</sup> of this world will put his bridle upon them and pull back with force the hitherto slackened reins till they are taut, tighten the muzzles, and with whip and spur recall to them the nature of that imperious authority, which the kindness and gentleness of the ruler had caused them to forget, as bad servants do. For such misconstrue the mildness of 295 the master as failure to govern, and ape the state of those who have no master, until the owner stems the full flood of the disease, by applying punishments

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 611.

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- 296 κεκτημένος ἐπισχῆ. διὸ λέγεται· “ ψυχὴ ἄνομος ἢ διαστέλλουσα τοῖς χεῖλεσι κακοποιῆσαι ἢ καλῶς ποιῆσαι,” εἶθ’ ὕστερον<sup>1</sup> “ ἐξαγορεύσει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἑαυτῆς.” τί φῆς, ὦ γέμουσα ἀλαζονείας; οἶδας γάρ, τί ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν ἢ καλὸν
- 297 ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ὄσιον ἢ τίνα τίσιν ἐφαρμόττει; ἢ τούτων ἐπιστήμη τε καὶ δύναμις ἀνάκειται μόνῳ θεῷ, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ φίλος. μάρτυς δὲ καὶ χρησμός, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται· “ ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω·
- 298 πατάξω καὶ γὰρ ἰάσομαι.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπιπόλαιον ἔσχεν ἢ δοκησίσοφος ψυχὴ τὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὴν ὀνειρώξων, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἢ δυστυχῆς ἐξηνεμώθη, ὡς καὶ ἐνώμοτον γενέσθαι περὶ τοῦ βεβαίως καὶ παγίως ταῦθ’ ἐστάναι, ἃ ψευδῶς
- 299 ὑπέλαβεν. εἰάν οὖν τὸ παλμῶδες καὶ παφλάζον τοῦ νοσήματος ἀρξῆται χαλᾶν, τὰ τῆς ὑγείας ἐμπυρεύματα κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐκζωπυρούμενα βιάσεται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαγορεύσαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ κακίσαι ἑαυτὴν, εἶτα πρὸς βωμοῖς ἰκέτιν γενέσθαι, ποτνωμένην λιταῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις, (αἷς) ἀμνηστίας μόναις ἐπιλαχεῖν ἔστιν.
- 300 XLV. Ἐξῆς δ’ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἐπαπορήσειε, τί δὴ ποτε τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμὸν μόνον ἀνέγραψεν ἔχοντα χεῖλη, τὸν δ’ Εὐφράτην ἢ τίνα τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ποταμῶν οὐκέτι. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ φησι· “ στήση συναντῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ
- 301 ποταμοῦ” \* \* \*. καίτοι τινὲς ἴσως ἐπιχλευά-

<sup>1</sup> Wend., evidently mistakenly, prints εἶθ’ ὕστερον as part of the quotation. There are twenty words in Leviticus between ποιῆσαι and ἐξαγορεύσει, cf. εἶτ’ ἐπφέρει § 71.

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “If any one swear rashly with his lips to do evil or to do good,” i.e. to do anything whatever. The real  
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## ON DREAMS, II. 295-301

in the place of remedies. Thus we read 296  
 " the lawless soul which distinguishes with its lips to  
 do well or do ill,"<sup>a</sup> and then later " shall proclaim its  
 sin " (Lev. v. 4, 5). O soul, brimful of presumptuous  
 folly, what is this which thou claimest? Knowest thou  
 what is truly good, or excellent, or just, or holy, or  
 what befits who? No, the knowledge and mastery 297  
 of these is a gift reserved for God alone, and for whoso  
 is God's friend. And this is testified by the oracle in  
 which we are told " I will kill and make to live : I  
 will smite and I will heal " (Deut. xxxii. 39). But 298  
 indeed when the soul, wise in its own conceit, enter-  
 tained this dream of things beyond its ken, it was no  
 fleeting thought, but to its sorrow so puffed up with  
 windy pride was it that it swore an oath<sup>b</sup> that these  
 things stood firm and established, which were but its  
 false imaginations. If then the throbbing fever of its 299  
 disease begins to abate, the embers of health will  
 gradually kindle into a blaze and force it first to  
 " proclaim its sin," that is reproach itself, then come  
 to the altar as a suppliant, beseeching grace with  
 prayers and vows and sacrifices, by which alone it  
 can obtain forgiveness.

XLV. Next we might reasonably inquire why 300  
 Moses speaks of the river of Egypt alone as having  
 " lips " and refrains from doing so in the case of the  
 Euphrates and other holy rivers. For while we have  
 in one place " thou shalt stand meeting him on the  
 lip of the river " (Ex. vii. 15). . . .<sup>c</sup> Yet some perhaps 301  
 meaning is that any rash oath can only obtain remission by  
 admitting the error.

<sup>b</sup> LXX (following on *καλῶς ποιῆσαι*) *ὅσα ἐὰν διαστείλῃ ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος μεθ' ὄρκου.*

<sup>c</sup> Some text or texts must have dropped out, illustrating  
 the point. See App. p. 611.

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ζοντες ἐροῦσι, μὴ δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰς ζητήσεις  
εἰσάγειν· γλισχρολογίαν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφέλειάν  
τινα ἐμφαίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡδυσμάτων  
τρόπον παρηρτύσθαι ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς βελ-  
τιώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὑπολαμβάνω·  
καὶ οὐδεμίαν τῶν ζητούντων καταγνωστέον εὐρεσι-  
302 λογίαν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ ζητοῖεν, ἔμπαλιν ἀργίαν. οὐδὲ  
γὰρ περὶ ποταμῶν ἐστὶν ἱστορίας ἢ παρούσα  
[699] σπουδὴ, περὶ δὲ βίων | τῶν εἰκαζομένων ποταμίους  
ρεύμασι, ἐναντιουμένων ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ  
σπουδαίου βίος ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν λόγοις δὲ ὁ τοῦ  
φαύλου θεωρεῖται. λόγος δὲ γλώττη καὶ στόματι  
καὶ χεῖλεσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς \* \* \*.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χεῖλη.

## ON DREAMS, II. 301-302

may say scoffingly that such points should not be brought into our inquiries, as savouring of petty trifling rather than any profitable process. But I hold that such matters are like condiments set as seasoning to the Holy Scriptures, for the edification of its readers, and that the inquirers are not to be held guilty of any far-fetched hair-splitting, but on the contrary of dereliction if they fail so to inquire. For the subject which now engages our researches is 302 not the lore of rivers as such, but that of lives which are compared to the currents of rivers and are of opposite kinds. For the lives of the good and the bad are shewn, one in deeds, the other in words, and words belong to the tongue, mouth and lips . . .





## APPENDIX TO *DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE*

§ 8. *There are people who fashion*, etc. Has Philo in mind *Phaedo* 96 b ff., where Socrates contrasts, or seems to contrast, the views of earlier philosophers, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heracleitus, etc., with the higher thought suggested to him by Anaxagoras's dictum? Certainly there is no close resemblance between these theories, as noted there, and the views mentioned by Philo here, but he might perhaps without much difficulty have regarded the negation of a final cause implied in the former as the deification of some original ἄλη.

§§ 11-13. Jacob's expostulation with Laban is interpreted as an argument against the earlier philosophers who assumed an evolution in creation. On the contrary, he asserts, everything was made as it was to be, and had its ποῖόν from the first. The counterpart of this in the story is the protest of Jacob in Gen. xxx. 25-end, which results in his claiming the marked (ἐπίσημα) animals for himself, and leaving the ἄσημα to Laban. (In E. V. these are respectively the stronger and the feebler.)

For the Stoic equation of ποῖόν with εἶδος and the maintenance of its identity throughout cf. *S. V. F.* ii. 395.

§ 16. *Names*. Mangey, who suggested, not very helpfully, γένεσι, pointed out that there is nothing in the actual names of Leah and Rachel which suggests freedom. Possibly the thought may be that ἀσκητικαὶ δυνάμεις, with stress on ἀσκ., are essentially free, but this seems strained. Mr. Whitaker had put "their standing," probably supposing that the allusion is to the freedom they have gained from Laban's control, as expressed in their speech. Possibly again "in the terms they use," or "their language," δνόματα being sometimes used for "words" in general as well as for "names," and this would at least give a good antithesis to ἐνθυμήμασι. But both these postulate an unnatural meaning

## PHILO

for the word. If we suppose a corruption  $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$   $\delta\rho\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$  would be a possible correction.

§§ 25 ff. Fleeing from Esau.—Philo's views on this are perplexing. We shall perhaps best understand them by remembering that he keeps passing from the internal to the external danger, from the Esau within us to the Esau without. In §24 Esau is definitely the inward enemy. In §§25 ff. he may be either or both, but the temptation to make this topic an occasion for one of those "diatribes" or "commonplaces" which he enjoys so much, though to us they may seem to be unworthy interruptions of the argument, carries him away till by § 28 it is clearly the outward  $\phi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . This enemy is to be met by a judicious and benevolent use of the good things of life, and after exhausting this subject Philo returns quite clearly in § 39 to the inward conflict. The advice of Patience for this, though given in a very different style, is practically the same. He who is not yet fitted for the highest life must accommodate himself to the lower conditions and make the best possible use of them.

In *De Mig.* 210-212 the danger is at the start said to be "either in thyself or in another person." We then pass on to language which if literally taken seems to leave "thyself" out of the question and to inculcate a degrading subservience to another. But as stated in the footnote to that passage, I believe that the thought is really the same as here, and that the principle of accommodation to the facts of life is parabolically compared to the insincere subservience of the worldly-wise. The long diatribe in *De Som.* ii. 80-92 must no doubt be reckoned with. But here Philo is dealing with a very different subject,  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , and his advice can hardly be said to contain anything degrading, unless it is the description of Abraham's dealings with the children of Heth, §§ 89-90. But is not this also a parable of the same kind as I have supposed in *De Mig.*? Both parables may in a sense be compared to that of the Unjust Judge.

§ 26.  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ . The translation suggested in the footnote seems preferable, not only because  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\rho$ . more naturally refers to something further back, though it is perhaps sometimes used of something in the immediate neighbourhood, but because Philo frequently uses  $\tau\hat{\alpha}$   $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$   $\eta\varsigma$   $\eta\delta\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$ . See e.g. *Leg. All.* ii. 107  $\tau\hat{\alpha}$   $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  (*i.e.*  $\eta\delta\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$ ),  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\delta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha$   $\tau\iota\mu\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota$ , where, however,  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha$  and

## APPENDICES

τιμαί are ranked as ποιητικά, not as here as products. See also index to *S. V. F.* on ποιητικά and τελικά.

§ 31. δεξιότης. L. & S. 1927 have added "kindliness, courtesy," to their earlier "cleverness," etc., and refer to Philo ii. 30, *i.e.* *De Abr.* 208. There and in the other two of the four passages where I have noted the word this is suitable. But here the usage is somewhat wider. Philo's use of the word seems to extend to gentlemanly behaviour of any kind.

§ 42. πείσμα. Wendland suspects this word. But its use in this sense, though perhaps not common, is well supported. Here Philo is evidently led to it by the desire to accumulate names in -μα in antithesis to ἀνάθημα, and having once used it here was perhaps encouraged to use it again in § 114, where it seems to have the same meaning. Elsewhere it has the commoner sense of "cable."

§ 45. δόγμασιν \* \* \* οὔτος. Wendland, after giving Mangey's note in which, reading ἐπιμένοντα for -τι, he suggested the insertion of προτρέπονσι or some similar word to complete the sense, adds "sed plura desunt"; *i.e.* he considered that not only was something needed to shew what happens to the Lover of Discipline, but also an explanation of the Brother of Rebecca to lead up to οὔτος. This is perhaps the most probable view, but I do not think it is certain that there is any lacuna, or indeed any correction needed at all. If οὔτος is referred to βίος, the statement that while the resources of ordinary life are a danger to the fool, this ordinary life is to the man of discipline the testing-ground and therefore the brother of persistence, makes good enough sense. We have to set against it the distance of βίον from οὔτος, and that we should rather have expected ταῦτα.

Mangey's suggestion implies that the Lover of Discipline, who presumably is the person sent to the Brother of Persistence, is here identified with that Brother. This also, though confusing, is perhaps not impossible. But if so, the simplest emendation would be οὐχ, ὅς for οὔτος, *i.e.* the resources of life are a danger to the fool, but *not so* to the Man of Persistence, who is the Brother of Rebecca. Or perhaps οὐ, τῷ οὐ νοῦς, *i.e.* while the mind of the fool is the Syrian, the mind of the Lover of Discipline is the other Laban, which is not unduly elated.

§ 62. *Removed . . . from the Divine Company.* Wendland

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notes this and the similar phrase in § 74 as alluding to *Phaedrus* 247 A *φθόνος γὰρ ἔξω θεῶν χοροῦ ἴσταται*. The same thought has already appeared in *Leg. All.* i. 61, iii. 7. Philo, however, does not use it here in the sense of the original, which means that the Divine Company cannot feel envy. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 249 he definitely quotes it and with the proper meaning. So also *Quod Omnis Prob.* 13.

§ 75. *Space entirely filled by a body*. This is in accordance with the Stoic definition. A *τόπος* must be completely filled by *σῶμα*; if partially filled it remains a *χώρα*. See *S. V. F.* ii. 504 f.

§ 82. This quotation from the *Theaetetus* follows almost immediately on the passage cited in § 68. Each of them is, I think, considerably longer than any citation from Plato to be found elsewhere, and the former is the only passage in this series of treatises in which he gives a reference to the dialogue quoted. The curious way in which in this second passage he disguises the fact that he is practically continuing an earlier quotation might suggest that he took both passages from some collection and did not know the reference for the latter, but probably it may be regarded as merely one of his mannerisms.

§ 101. *Placed nearest, etc.* Or "set up," *ἀφιδρυμένος*, in accordance with the common use of *ἀφιδρυμα* for an image, carrying on the thought of *εἰκῶν*. Drummond translates *ἐγγ. ἀφ.* by "the nearest model to," but if by this is meant the "closest reproduction of," the phraseology of *μηδενὸς ὄντος μεθορίου διαστήματος* seems strange. Wendland's *ἐφιδρυμένος* seems to me pointless.

§ 114. *ἄθεον*. To expunge this word as inappropriate seems to me rather hypercritical; that polytheism is essentially atheism is a natural remark. In fact Philo has made a very similar if not identical observation in *De Ebr.* 110, where the mss. have *τὸ γὰρ πολύθεον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀφρόνων ψυχαῖς ἀθεότητα*, after which Wendland supplies *κατασκευάζει*, but Mangey's *ἀθεότης* is quite possible.

§ 134. "*Breath*" or "*spirit*." It seems impossible to get any satisfactory equivalent for the Stoic *πνεῦμα*, "a stuff or body akin to the element of air, but associated with warmth and elasticity" (Arnold); see note on *Quis Rerum* 242. For the term as applied to *νοῦς* cf. *De Som.* i. 30. I have not seen other examples in Philo or elsewhere, but it is very

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commonly applied to *ψυχή*, e.g. Diog. Laert. vii. 157, where Zeno is said to define *ψυχή* as *πνεῦμα ἐνθερμον*. For the idea that *πνεῦμα* is *ὑγρότερον καὶ ψυχρότερον* in plants, *ξηρότερον καὶ θερμότερον* in animals, see *S. V. F.* ii. 787 ff.

§ 150. In the shorter form of the allegory in *De Mut.* 134 f. the pledges are given a different meaning. This is natural because there Judah is no longer the human soul wooing virtue, but God Himself impregnating the soul. Consequently the pledges are not the attributes which constitute human virtue, but those which belong to God's working in the universe.

§ 177. *The reasoning habit.* Or "the acquisition of the reasoning faculty." Since in the section where Philo deals with *πηγή* in the sense of *παιδεία* this phrase does not recur, it would seem that he regards the two as more or less synonymous. This agrees with his use of *λογικὴ ἔξις* in *Leg. All.* i. 10 where it is applied to the mental condition of children when they first begin to reason. The use of it in *Leg. All.* iii. 210 is somewhat similar.

§ 191. *ῥύσις* or *ῥυεὶς*. The chief objection to *ῥυεὶς* is that it involves referring *οὗτος* in the next sentence to *προφορικὸς λόγος*, whereas it is clear that the "great deluge" is the *ῥύσις* of all the senses (and the mind). If *ῥύσις* is read, *γούν* would be taken, as not unfrequently, as transitional to the development of the *ῥύσις* of the text, which up to now has only been treated incidentally. It would be better perhaps in this case, though not necessary, to read *ἀκώλυτος*.

§ 200. This defective sentence seems to need something which will give a forcible contrast to the actual unretentiveness described in the next sentence. I suggest *κεὶ φρενὶ . . . ταμειέσθαι ἔστι*, i.e. they require the inpouring even if they can hold it (which they can't). Variants of this might be *κἂν . . . ἦ* or *εἰ εἴη*, in the latter case the *εἰ* clause being the protasis to *ἢ γένοιτ' ἂν . . .* in the sense of "which would (rather than "must") be the result, if only . . ." Dr. Rouse suggests *ἄ δεῖ* for *καί*, which will give much the same sense, but would, I think, require the omission of *τά* before *παραδοθέντα*.

## APPENDIX TO *DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM*

§ 7. *Into the darkness.* Philo treats this text in much the same way in *De Post.* 14 ff., and follows it up in the same way with Ex. xxxiii. 13. But there he insists on a point which he does not make here, viz. that the search is not altogether fruitless, since to realize that τὸ ὄν is incomprehensible is in itself a vast boon.

§ 12. *The three natural orders, etc.* This favourite idea of the "educational trinity" stated by Aristotle in the form παιδεία δεῖν τριῶν, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως, is several times applied by Philo to Isaac, Abraham, and Jacob respectively. See note on *De Sac.* 5-7. But the representation of Isaac as τελειότης (Joh. Dam.) or ὁσιότης (mss.) instead of as φύσις or αὐτομαθής does not seem appropriate, and is not, as far as I have seen, paralleled elsewhere. It may be worth consideration whether Philo wrote τῶν τριῶν, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως, and when φύσεως had been corrupted to φύσεων the blank thus created for Isaac was variously filled up. That the things symbolized should then be given in their ordinary order and the symbols in their historical order would not, I think, be unnatural. Mangey proposed φύσεως in place of ὁσιότητος, which seems somewhat more arbitrary.

§ 13. *ὄνομά τι.* This reading, which, supported as it is by the mss. ὄνοματι, has almost as much authority as Joh. Dam.'s τὸ ὄνομα, seems to me decidedly preferable in sense. In the next sentence Philo seems to lay down that τὸ ὄνομά μου κύριον is not a natural way of expressing "my proper name," and it is unlikely that he would himself adopt this order of the words.

*Ibid. Transposition.* Hyperbaton defined as an "arrangement of words or thoughts changed from the consecutive order" (λέξεων ἢ νοήσεων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν κεινημένη τάξις) is a wide term of which the grammarians give several subdivisions, including tmesis and parenthesis. Quoted examples

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somewhat similar to the hyperbaton here as supposed by Philo are "transtra per et remos" and γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθῶν (for περιεγέλασε). See Ernesti *s.v.* and indices to *Greek and Latin Grammarians*.

§ 28. *In a sense relative.* On ὡσαυτὶ πρὸς τι Drummond writes (*Philo Judaeus*, vol. ii. pp. 48, 49): "When we ascribe to Him titles which are descriptive of relation, we refer only to certain aspects of His being, certain 'powers' which, because they are directed towards objects, are *quasi*-relative. The limitation *quasi* seems to imply that the dependence of the correlative terms is not mutual, but is all on one side, and that not the divine side. The powers of the self-existent are put forth into exercise without experiencing any alteration in their intrinsic character through the reaction of the objects to which they are applied; so that, although their names involve a relation, it would be truer to say that their objects are relative to them than that they are relative to their objects." It is perhaps worth noting that ὡς πρὸς τι (*quasi ad aliquid*) was an accepted grammatical name for exclusive opposites as "night," "day," and "life," "death," distinguished from πρὸς τι, *e.g.* "father," "son." See index to *Grk. Gramm.* Philo, however, cannot be using ὡσαυτὶ in this sense, as βασιλεὺς and εὐεργέτης are clearly πρὸς τι.

§ 32. *And all that company.* Compare the Stoic dogma αὐστηρὸς εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, Diog. Laert. vii. 117, *S. V. F.* iii. 637-639. At the same time it is strange to find Philo limiting the wise entirely to this kind, in view of what he says in §§ 39 ff., and though his alternations between the Stoic strictness and the τιθασὸς καὶ ἡμερος σοφία of the Peripatetics are often startling, I think it may be worth while to consider the textually easy suggestion in the footnote: <τοῖ>οὗτος δὲ πᾶς ὁ θίσιος <ὸς>.

§ 34. *Was not found.* This wording of the LXX suits Philo's argument admirably, since one phrase of theirs was that the wise man μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν ἀνεύρετός ἐστι (*S. V. F.* iii. 32, p. 216).

§ 36. *A wise man is non-existent.* Other Stoic pronouncements more or less in this sense, though not quite so absolute, are that the wise man like the Phoenix appears once in 500 years, Seneca, *Ep.* 42. 1; that there have been not more than one or two of them, Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* vi. 8. 13; that Hercules or Ulysses may have realized the ideal, Seneca,

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*De Const.* 2. 1, and that Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus all fell short of it, Quintilian xii. 1.

§ 46. *Because He was good.* Evidently taken from *Timaeus* 29 D, E λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἣν τινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ ξυριστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὧν πάντα ὁ τι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ. But by stopping short at ἀγαθός and ignoring the last ten words Philo seems rather to miss Plato's point. See note on *De Cher.* 125.

§ 47. *Positively righteous conduct.* Philo here uses κατορθοῦ in a sense slightly different from the regular Stoic use. With them the κατορθώματα are actions done from a good motive and part of a generally virtuous course of conduct, and are opposed to καθήκοντα or common duties; here it is opposed to simple abstention from evil-doing. See note on *Quod Deus* 100.

§ 57. ἐνηχεῖ. The word is inadequately treated in the *Lexica*. L. & S. "whisper, prompt," cited from Philo (omitted in later editions) cannot be maintained in face of *Quis Rerum* 67, where it is coupled with ἐμβοήσαι. The six examples quoted from Philo in the index as well as in others from later writers in Stephanus suggest that, as with κατηχεῖν, the main idea is insistent or reiterated address, thus passing easily (again like κατηχεῖν) into "instruction." So perhaps here, where the thought may be that generally the teacher stands superior to the taught, but in this case treats him as an equal. Cf. also *Quis Rerum* 71.

§ 61. Wendland's expunging of στοιχείω περιττεῖ is rather arbitrary. Short of this there are three possibilities: (a) read as Markland στοιχείου περιττόν. This seems pointless, unless we might take it as a reference to the cacophony of a repeated α (the combination αα is certainly rare); (b) <ὡς> στοιχείω περιττεῖ<ν>, i.e. to be better off by a letter—again somewhat pointless; (c) <τὸ> στοιχείω περιττεῖ<ν> and transfer to after παρεσχῆσθαι—"a fine boon—to be better off by a letter." This would certainly be effective, if the transference is not too drastic.

For τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀλφα perhaps read ἐνός, τοῦ ἀλφα. Cf. § 77.

Need we suppose with Wendland that a clause has slipped out after παρεσχῆσθαι? Abraham's case has been dealt with; Sarah's has not. It is possible, I think, to regard τὴν <γάρ>



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Ἄβραμ . . . παραλαβὼν as a parenthetical explanation by Philo himself of the addition of rho.

§ 62. *Misgivings of this sort.* Or simply "ideas," i.e. that God actually changes names, cf. ὑπονοεῖν, § 64. In this case the insertion of *τοιαύτας* seems necessary. Possibly, however, ὑπονοίας is used in the regular Philonic sense of underlying or allegorical meanings, and the corruption lies in ἐκκόψαιμεν (ἐκκαλύψαιμεν?). In this case the insertion of *τοιαύτας* is not needed.

§ 65. *Signs.* The use of *χαρακτήρ* here, as compared with 70 and 83, all of which must stand together, is difficult. Ordinarily *χαρ.*, if it does not mean literally a stamp, is not a type or symbol, but a trait or characteristic, and this suits § 83, for the two kinds of virtue. It may with some forcing suit § 70, for though the names are the *χαρακτῆρες* they represent characteristics. But here this is not so, for the *χαρ.* which are small, sensible, and obscure must be the names and *not* what they represent. I have tried to evade the difficulty by translating "signs."

§ 77. *Facts.* Philo here uses *τυγχάνοντα* more or less in the sense in which it was used in the Stoic theory of speech. They distinguished between (1) *φωνή*, the actual word spoken; (2) *σημαινόμενον* or *σημαινόμενον πρᾶγμα*, otherwise called *λεκτόν*, the meaning understood by the hearer; (3) *τύχανον*, the actual object spoken of. Cf. *S.V.F.* ii. 166. Philo seems to make this distinction in *Leg. All.* ii. 15 τοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἢ τοῦ σημαινομένου. Here he perhaps uses *τυγχ.* for *σημ.*, and though in Plutarch *Adv. Colotem* 1119 E the Epicureans are censured by the Stoics for eliminating *σημ.* and retaining only *φωνή* and *τύγχ.*, the Stoics themselves are said to do the same in *S.V.F.* ii. 236.

§ 106. *The so-called sacred games.* Cf. *De Agr.* 116 f, where after describing the pentathlon and other contests he says τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγώνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερός οὐδεὶς, κὰν πάντες ἄνθρωποι μαρτυρῶσιν . . . ὁ τοίνυν Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν μόνος ἂν λέγοιτο ἐνδίκως ἱερός, οὐχ ὅν τιθέασιν οἱ τὴν Ἥλιω οἰκοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ κτήσεως τῶν θείων καὶ ὀλυμπίων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρετῶν.

§ 113. If Mangey's correction of *φαινόμενα* to *ποιμαινόμενα* is adopted the picture becomes clear. The shepherd-mind and its sheep "the flock of reasoning" are naturally inseparable, and if the mind is enticed out into the bodily

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region, the flock will be easily given over by the senses into the hands of the "shepherds of an evil herd."

§ 114. *Guidance and rule of law.* In the Stoic sense of law see *S. V. F.* iii. 613, 614 λόγος ὀρθὸς προστακτικὸς μὲν ὦν ποιητέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸν δὲ ὦν οὐ ποιητέον, and therefore the wise man alone is νόμιμος.

§ 121. ποῖος οὗτος. Siegfried in a pamphlet, *Die hebräischen Worterklärungen des Philo*, pp. 21, 22, has the following note which I transcribe for the benefit of Hebraists: "τὸν Ὄση ἐμετονομάζει Μωσῆς εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, indem er den irgendwie beschaffenen zu einer bestimmten Qualität umprägt. Denn Ὄση ἐστὶν = ποῖος οὗτος 'irgendwie beschaffen ist dieser' Hebräisch dachte sich Philo Ὄση ἐστὶν etwa = הַיֵּשׁוּעַ. Er mochte meinen אֵךְ bediente an sich 'irgendwie,' da אֵךְ mit הַיֵּשׁוּעַ = 'wie' ist."

However plausible this explanation may be as far as the Hebrew goes, it cannot be fitted into the Greek. ποῖος is not "irgendwie beschaffen," which would rather be ὅποιος οὖν or even ἄποιος. And even if ποῖος can mean this, it is incompatible with the use in the next sentence and in the references given in the footnote to *Leg. All.* Mangey makes the same mistake when he translates "salus qualiscumque."

§ 135. *Chain of destiny.* Though there is no real philological connexion between εἰμαρμένη and εἰρμός, it seems to have been regularly assumed. See *S. V. F.* ii. 915-921, e.g. 918 ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἰρμός τις οὖσα αἰτιῶν ἀπαράβατος· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ Στωικοὶ ὀρίζονται.

§ 138. *Superstition, etc.* It is noticeable that here also as in *De Cher.* 48 Philo insists on the esoteric character of the doctrine, that God was the father of the child of a human mother, as something which should not be mentioned to profane ears. See also *Leg. All.* iii. 219. Presumably he felt that it easily lent itself to confusion with pagan myths.

§ 144. ἀμβλισκουσαν for ἀναλίσκουσαν. In support of this conjecture and the suggestion that Philo may have in mind *Theaetetus* 149 D, it may be noted that Plato in the same passage speaks of the midwives regulating συνοῦσται, also that, in the parallel passage in Hannah's hymn, *Quod Deus* 14, we saw some reason to suspect a quotation from the *Theaetetus*. He alludes again to the treatise in § 212 and quotes it at some length in *De Fuga* 63 and 82.

It may be objected, no doubt, that ἀμβλισκειν used trans-

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itively would properly apply to the fruits of the *συνουσία*, rather than to the *συνουσία* itself; but this does not come out clearly from the words of the *Theaetetus*. I do not at any rate think that *ἀναλίσκουσαν* can be right.

§ 146. *Many and indeed infinite particulars*. For this "recognized formula of the Platonic school" cf. particularly *Philebus* 14 c, 15 v ff.

§ 150. *Perversions of art*. Cf. Quintilian ii. 15. 2 "(rhetorice) quidam pravitatem quandam artis, id est κακοτεχνίαν, nominaverunt."

§ 152. *The Sage alone is king*. This Stoic "paradox," see *S.V.F.* iii. 617, has already appeared in *De Sobr.* 57 and *De Mig.* 197, and appears later in *De Som.* ii. 244.

§ 153. The definitions of the four virtues are those regularly accepted by the Stoics, see *S.V.F.* iii. 262. Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 63.

§ 160. *Orousis*. See *S.V.F.* iii. 169, where it is defined as *φορὰ διανοίας ἐπί τι μέλλον*, but (*ibid.* 173) the *ὁρμή πρὸ ὁρμῆς* is called *ἐπιβολή*.

§ 167. *Virtue is . . . a thing for joy*. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 43 "semper sapiens beatus est. Atque etiam omne bonum laetabile est."

*Ibid.* *A state of happy feeling*. Who are the philosophers alluded to? Hardly the Stoics. I have found no evidence that they identified *εὐπάθεια* with *ἀρετή*, and it is *prima facie* unlikely. Outside Stoicism the word seems to be used rather with the suggestion of bodily welfare, or at least without the higher sense which Philo, who several times couples it with *ἀρετή*, often gives it. See note on *De Mig.* 219. I can hardly think, however, that he speaks without authority and should conjecture that there were philosophers who like him used it as = *εὐδαιμονία* and naturally therefore equated it with *ἀρετή*, perhaps also like him colouring it with the Stoic insistence on joy as "the best of the higher emotions."

The mss. reading *ἀπάθειαν* was retained by Mangey, and has in its favour that the Stoics definitely identified *ἀπ.* with *ἀρ.* (*οἱ Στωικοὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίθενται ἐν τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ* Ps.-Plut. *Hom.* 134, cf. *S.V.F.* iii. 201), but the context clearly makes it impossible.

§ 197. *Worthy of perseverance*. Though neither Mangey nor Wendland question the reading, this use of *ὑπομονή*

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seems to me strange, for *ἀνδρεία* consists of *ὑπομονή*, or at least of knowledge of *ἃ δεῖ ὑπομένειν*, cf. § 153, and no one could be said *ὑπομένειν ἀνδρείαν*. I think *ἐπιμονῆς* should be read, used by Philo for "persistence," e.g. *Quod Det.* 118. The phrase then = *δεῖ ἐπιμένειν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ*. A tempting emendation would be *ὑπομονῆ* *ὑπομονῆς ἀξίω* ἢ *ἀνδρεία*, *φυγῆ ἢ δειλία*, which would be in exact accordance with the Stoic definition, but definition would be somewhat out of place here.

§ 207. *Demonstrative pronouns . . . indicate.* Both *δείξεις* and *παρεμφάλειν* are technical terms in Greek grammar, the former, however, being used to describe the function performed by pronouns in general, personal as well as demonstrative. Possibly therefore "pronouns" would be a better translation here than "demonstrative pronouns," see *Grk. Gramm.* Part II. vol. i. p. 9. The meaning of *παρεμφάλειν* is best seen from the use of *ἀπαρέμφατος* as the regular term for the infinitive, because it does not particularize any gender, number, or person like the "paremphatic" words. See an article by myself in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1921.

§ 217. *His charge.* Mangey and Wendland question *ὁ ἀγομένος*, proposing *ὁ εἰσαγόμενος* or *ὁ παιδαγωγούμενος*. I understand Philo to be thinking of the derivation of *παιδαγωγός* from *παῖς* and *ἄγω*, and probably also of the fact that one chief function of the *παιδ.* was to escort the boy to school.

§ 242. *Freedom from disturbance.* This translation is put forward as a desperate attempt to give some sense to the text as it stands. If we take *ἡσυχία* in the natural sense of "silence," as it clearly is used, with reference to this passage, in § 251, the whole becomes absurdly pointless. Even with Wendland's conjecture of *ἐπεὶ τοι* for *κἄπειτα*, "if a man does not keep silence he can surely be silent if he wishes" is strangely inept. I believe the passage is corrupt. The sense required is, speaking is voluntary, and therefore abstention from kind words and speaking unkind words are equally wrong. This might be obtained by correcting to *ὁ μὴδ' ἐκ τύχης ἐθέλων τι τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων φθέγγασθαι, οὐδὲ (or καὶ οὐδ') λυσιτελῆς τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἡσυχίαν δεξιούσθαι, μὴ ἡσυχάζων' ἐπεὶ τοι τις κτλ.* In this case *εἰ μὴ . . . φωνῆν* would mean "if he fails to speak kindly."

§ 243. *The word is the shadow of the act.* This saying is ascribed to Democritus, Diog. Laert. ix. 37, Ps.-Plut. *De Lib. Educandis* 14.

## APPENDIX TO *DE SOMNIIS*, I.

§§ 1-2. Wendland calls attention to the resemblance between these sections coupled with *De Som.* ii. 1-2, and the classification ascribed to Posidonius in Cic. *De Div.* i. 64: "Tribus modis censet (*sc.* Posidonius) deorum adpulsu homines somniare, uno, quod provideat animus ipse per sese, quippe qui deorum cognatione teneatur, altero, quod plenus aer sit immortalium animorum, in quibus tamquam insignitae notae veritatis appareant, tertio, quod ipsi di cum hominibus colloquantur." Of these the first agrees fairly well with Philo's third: "When the soul, setting itself in motion and agitation of its own accord, becomes frenzied, and with the prescient power due to such inspiration foretells the future."

There are also distinct points of contact between Posidonius' second kind and the dreams of this book. In the first vision it is the Logos which Jacob "meets," and the Logoi are described in § 127 in words which recall the "animi immortales" of Posidonius. Also the point is made in § 241 that it was God's "image," not God Himself, which the dreamer beheld. In the second vision it is the Angel who speaks, and the point that God uses His ministers for this purpose is stressed in § 190. Whether any such connexion can have been made between Posidonius's third kind and Philo's first, *i.e.* the dreams treated in the lost book, seems to me more doubtful. If, as Wendland supposes, these were the warnings sent to Abimelech (Gen. xx. 3-7), and to Laban (Gen. xxxi. 24), it is true that in both these cases "God" is said to have come and spoken, but would Philo have admitted that these were real visions of the Self-existent? Moreover the main ideas underlying the two classifications are different. With Posidonius it is the distinction between the natures of the divine monitors, with Philo the presence

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or absence of human volition. The conclusion seems to be that while he probably had the Stoic classification in mind, he has put it into a very different shape.

§§ 21-23. The illustrations which follow are mostly drawn primarily from Wendland's article in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1897, pp. 1074-1079. Wendland refers usually to Diels's *Doxographi*, to which I subjoin the references as well as to the sources from which Diels took them.

§ 21. *Crystal* (or *ice*?). Empedocles said *στερέμιον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀέρος παγέντος ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς* (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* i. 23, p. 500 H., Diels p. 339).

*Pure fire.* Parmenides, Heraclitus, Strato, Zeno, said *πύρινον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν* (Stob. *ib.*, Diels p. 340).

*Fifth substance.* Aristotle *ἐκ πέμπτου σώματος (οὐρανόν)* (Stob. i. 23, p. 502 H., Diels *ib.*).

§ 22. *Lumps of earth.* Thales *γεώδη μὲν, ἔμπυρα δὲ τὰ ἄστρα* (Stob. i. 24, p. 506 H., Diels p. 342).

*Dells and glades.* Wendland quotes from Diels p. 356 (Stob. i. 26, p. 552 H.) that Anaxagoras and Democritus said that the moon was *στερέωμα διάπυρον ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ πέδια καὶ ὄρη καὶ φάραγγας*. But a better illustration would be that Democritus called its face an *ἀποσκίασμα τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μερῶν*. *ἀγκη γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔχει καὶ νάπας* (Stob. *ib.* p. 564 H., not in Diels). But apart from both these being said of the moon and not of the stars, the statement that they were "dells and glades" is totally different from saying that they have them. I should suggest that Philo misunderstood Democritus and supposed him to mean that the stars were fiery hollows in the plain of heaven.

*Masses of fiery metal.* Archelaus said that they were *μύδρους διαπύρους δέ* (Stob. i. 24, p. 508 H., Diels p. 342). The same was said by Anaxagoras and Democritus of the sun (Stob. i. 25, pp. 528 and 532 H., Diels p. 349). See footnote.

*Unbroken and close harmony.* No illustration is forthcoming for this, and I can make no clear suggestion as to the meaning. *πυκνός* (Lat. *spissus*) is a term used in music with compounds *ἀ-*, *βαρύ-*, *ὀξύ-*, *μεσό-* *πυκνός*, and applied to *φθόγγος*. Whether there can be any connexion with this, I must leave to others. Stephanus also quotes from Pollux, as epithets of a flute-player, *εὐστομος, πυκνός, ξυνεχής*.

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That the stars *produced* a harmony is of course a well-known Pythagorean belief.

*Indissoluble compresses of ether.* Anaximander called them *πιλήματα αέρος τροχοειδῆ, πυρὸς ἔμπλεα* (Stob. i. 24, p. 510 H., Diels p. 342). As there seems little connexion between this view and that of the "harmony" one is tempted to insert ἦ before *πιλήματα*.

*Living and intelligent.* Zeno said that each of the stars is *νοερὸν καὶ φρόνιμον* (Stob. i. 25, p. 538 H., Diels p. 467).

§ 23. *Borrowed light.* Ascribed to Thales in the first instance and held by Pythagoras, Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras and Metrodorus (Stob. i. 26, p. 558 H.). *A light of its own* to Anaximander, Xenophanes, Berosus (Stob. i. 26, p. 556, Diels p. 358).

§ 28. *Genera . . . systems.* On this section I have consulted two high musical authorities, Professor Percy Buck and Dr. Rootham, though neither of them must be considered responsible for the choice of words in these two cases. As *γένη* is the technical term in Greek music for the three "modifications," enharmonic, diatonic and chromatic (see Aristides Quintilianus i. 9), I have followed the *Dictionary of Antiquities* in translating it "genera." Other words suggested are "groupings" or "scales." Again as to *στάσει* (or *τάσει*) as applied to conjunct and disjunct tetrachords the same authorities shew that the regular term is *συστήματα* (A. Q. i. 8), and I have sought safety in adhering to this. Professor Buck suggests "relationships (of tetrachords)." As to the reading, while *στάσις* is certainly not a full equivalent for *σύστημα*, it seems possible here in the sense of "placing" or "setting." *τάσις* is a "pitch." Professor Buck notes that the word is so far appropriate that conjunct and disjunct tetrachords can be placed at any "pitch" you like, but could we say that the *συνημμένον* in general is one *τάσις* and *διεξευγμένον* another? I am inclined to suggest *συστάσει*. In *σύστασις* we have a fairly near synonym for *σύστημα*, easily corrupted into *στάσις* or *τάσις*, and perhaps preferred by Philo as avoiding the jingle with *διαστήμασι*. (Or again *τάξει* might be possible, though textually less satisfactory.)

§§ 30-32. Illustrations mostly drawn, as those on §§ 21-23, from Diels are as follows. It should be noted that, properly speaking, they apply to the *ψυχῆ* rather than to the *νοῦς*.

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§ 30. *Breath*. "Zeno concretum corpori spiritum (dixit animam)" (Cicero, *Somn. Scip.* i. 14. 19, Diels p. 213). Much the same is said of Hippocrates and Democritus, *ibid.*

*Blood*. "Empedocles et Critias sanguinem," *ibid.*

*Boundary-line*. Or "limit"? Wendland cites Iamblichus quoted in Stob. *Ecl.* i. 41, p. 858 H. to the effect that Aristotle reduced the properties of the soul to three, thus *πέρας τῶν ἀπειρῶν ἀνευρών*. But does this mean more than that the properties of the soul are really infinite? I should imagine the opinion to be Pythagorean and to embody to some extent the idea of *πέρας* as it appears in Philolaus's dictum that all things are composed *ἐξ ἀπειρῶν τε καὶ περαιωνόντων*, cf. Plato, *Philebus*, 16 and 23.

*Form*. "Posidonius ideam (animam dicit)" (Cic. *ibid.*). Perhaps more to the point *ὡς δὲ τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν τινες ὑφηγοῦνται, εἰδὸς ἐστὶ τὸ (ἐπι?) περὶ τοῖς σώμασι* (Stob. i. 41 from Iamblichus). See also definition of *ἐντελέχεια*.

*Number*. Pythagoras *ἀριθμὸν αὐτὸν κινούντα* (Stob. i. 41, p. 794 H., Diels p. 386); Cicero, *Somn. Scip.* i. 14. 19, Diels p. 213, "Xenocrates numerum se moventem."

*Continuity*. I have retained *ἐνδελέχειαν* in the text, as Wendland, with grave doubt. The somewhat slight arguments in its favour are (1) the unanimous authority of the mss., (2) Cic. *Tusc.* i. 22 "Aristoteles . . . animum *ἐνδελέχειαν* appellat novo nomine quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem." And if this is as it seems a mistake of Cicero's it is one which Philo may easily have made. On the other hand Diog. Laert. v. 32 of Aristotle is clear for *ἐντελέχεια*. The soul is incorporeal, *ἐντελέχειαν οὔσαν τὴν πρώτην σώματος φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ δυνάμει ζωῆν ἔχοντος. λέγει δ' ἐντελέχειαν, ἧς ἐστὶν εἰδὸς τι ἀσώματον*. And so also Stob. i. 41, p. 796 H., Diels p. 387. If *ἐντ-* has to be translated I should prefer to keep "entelechy" rather than "realization" (Hicks), or "actuality" (L. & S.).

*Harmony*. Pythagoras and Philolaus, Cic. *ibid.*, Diels *ibid.*

§ 31. *Introduced . . . from without*. Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, Xenocrates, Cleanthes, *θύραθεν εἰσκρίνεσθαι τὸν νοῦν* (Stob. i. 40, p. 790 H., Diels p. 392).

*The air . . . impart hardness, etc.* Cf. *S.V.F.* ii. 804-808, where this theory is mentioned with the use of the same



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verb *στομοῦται* and the same derivation of *ψυχή* from *ψῦξις* (originally given by Plato, *Crat.* 399 ε).

§ 32. *Head . . . heart.* See note on *De Sac.* 136. "Citadel" from *Timaeus* 70 α, where Archer-Hind quotes from Galen, *De Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* ii. 230 *καθάπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ κεφαλῇ δίκην μεγάλου βασιλέως ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ἴδρυται.*

§ 44. *Sails of the sovereign mind . . . oars of sense-perception.* I have retained Mr. Whitaker's translation which brings out the original meaning of the proverbial *δεύτερος πλοῦς* (see L. & S.). Philo's insistence on the nautical idea, as shewn in *εὐπλοῆσαι*, suggests that he is not using the phrase casually, as no doubt it often was used. But since *πρός* suggests the goal of the sailor rather than the means he employs, it may perhaps be thought better to translate "those voyagers who have failed to reach the sovereign mind can always take the 'second-best voyage' to sense." Philo again uses the phrase, which Plato had made familiar to him, in § 180 below and *De Dec.* 84, but with no special emphasis on the metaphor.

§ 47. *Grandfather . . . of his knowledge.* I take this opportunity of making good an omission in earlier volumes. The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Philo (P. Oxy. ix. 1173, xi. 1356), to which my attention has been called by a paper by Mr. W. G. Waddell (*Études de Papyrologie*, tom. i., Le Caire, 1932), had entirely escaped our notice, though published some twenty years ago. Though of about the same date as the Paris Papyrus (see Introductions to *De Sac.* and *Quis Rerum*), it appears to be exceedingly fragmentary, and I doubt whether it would have influenced our text, with the possible exception to be now mentioned. One of the pieces (Fr. 3) contains fragments of that part of *De Sac.* (§ 43) in which the parallel phrase *πάππῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας* occurs, and on which, following Cohn, we threw some suspicion. It now appears from Mr. Waddell's analysis of this Papyrus that in a lacuna between *μεμάθηκε δὲ ταῦτα* and *ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας* there is room for about seven letters more than what appears in the other authorities, viz. *παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ τῆς*, and he suggests *παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ <τῷ πατρὶ> τῆς*. The fact is noticeable, and standing by itself would certainly increase the natural suspicion of this odd phrase. But, on the other hand, the recurrence here of an almost identical expression applied to the same two persons, Abraham and Jacob, points to the conclusion

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that "grandfather of his education" (or "knowledge") is right, and that some other explanation is needed for the phenomena of the Papyrus. Cohn himself (*Hermes*, 1897, p. 140) cast doubt on his own suspicions, basing himself on *Quod Deus* 92. But the far more conclusive evidence of this phrase in *De Som.* i. seems still to have escaped his notice; unless indeed, which I can hardly think possible, he took *ἐπιστήμης* as dependent on *βρομα*, as Mangey does.

§ 53. *Whether it is a foot in diameter.* So Heraclitus *εἶρος ποδὸς ἀνθρώπου* (Stob. i. 25, p. 526 H., Diels p. 351).

*Many times its size.* Perhaps referring to Anaximander's opinion that the circle of the sun is 28 times that of the earth, though the visible portion which we call the sun is equal to the earth (Stob. i. 25, p. 524, Diels *ibid.*). Cf. Cic. *Acad.* ii. 82 "quem mathematici amplius duodeviginti (? duodetriginta) partibus confirmant maiorem esse quam terram. Mihi quidem pedalis videtur." For other opinions which Philo may have in mind see Reid's note *in loc.*

§ 54. *What is above . . . close to yourself.* Wendland compares with this the words ascribed by Tertullian to Epicurus (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 229). Other writers assign the saying to Socrates.

§ 57. *All that existeth, etc.* This quotation, which has already been made by Philo in a similar context, *De Mig.* 195, has special appropriateness because it was said to have been applied by Socrates himself to his own inquiries (Diog. Laert. ii. 21).

*Ibid.* The exact meaning of § 57 is not very clear. The thought suggested in the translation is that the meteorologist is ironically told that he may mount to heaven if he will, but the only good he can do by this is to get hold of the "explorer" and bring him down to earth. Philo seems to forget that the whole speech is addressed to the *κατάσκοπος*, see § 53.

Again, if *γνώθι σαυτὸν*, or, as we should certainly expect, *<τὸ> γ. σ.*, is the object of *ἀντισπάσας*, the passage has a curious resemblance to the "e caelo descendit *γνώθι σεαυτὸν*" of Juv. xi. 27. This phrase receives no illustration from the commentators on Juvenal, and I suspect may be founded on some proverbial line, which Philo also makes use of. If on the other hand *γ. σ.* is the principal verb and *ἀντισπάσας* governs *τὸν κατάσκοπον*, it will be almost necessary

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to omit *εἶτα*, as Mangey and indeed the majority of the mss. do.

§ 99. *ἀνείμονα*. The only quotation given for this word either in Stephanus or the revised L. & S. is *Od.* iii. 348:

*ἀνείμονος ἢ πενιχροῦ,  
ὣ οὐ τι χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα πόλλ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
οὐτ' αὐτῷ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξείνοισιν ἐνεύδειν.*

The fact that in both passages the word is used of sleeping with inadequate covering suggests that we have here a distinct reminiscence of Homer. Note also the appearance of *πενιχρός*, a rare word in Philo, just above. But he also uses the word in *De Spec.* i. 83 of the priests when clad *ἐν μόνοις τοῖς χιτωνίσκοις*, and perhaps in *De Gig.* 53, where I have suggested *ἀνείμονι* for the mss. *ἀνειμένη*.

§ 101. *Explanatory statement*. L. & S. 1927 give this passage as an example of *ἀφορισμός* = "a pithy sentence," "aphorism." I do not see anything pithy in it, or, if there is, how it bears on Philo's view that the form of the passage favours an allegorical rather than a literal interpretation. The argument is clearly very similar to, and I believe identical with, that of 82 above, *De Fuga* 171 and *De Ebr.* 138, where stress is laid on the use of the future indicative instead of the imperative. In all these cases the thought was that the words indicated not a personal prohibition but a fact in spiritual life. I suggest that here it is the same, though it is true that it is not a universal fact that the "taker" of "reason" will restore it before the spiritual sunset.

In the other cases the verb used is *ἀποφαίνεται* or *ἀποφαίνεται γνωμῆν*. That here we have *ἀφορισμός* and *ἀφορίζομενος* will cause little difficulty if it is remembered that *ἀποφαντική* and *ὀριστική* are convertible terms for the indicative mood. The latter word is generally used by Apollonius Dyscolus (see index to *Grk. Gramm.* vol. i.). Thus after mentioning that both terms are used he adds *ἰδίας μέντοι ἐννοίας ἔχεται ἡ ὀριστική, διὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἀποφαίνομενοι ὀρίζομεθα* (*Syn.* 25 b), *i.e.* the name *ὀριστική* carries with it the idea not only of a fact stated, but of a particular fact parted off from others. So too the statement itself is regularly called *ὀρισμός*. That we have here the prefix *ἀφ-* cannot weigh, I think, against the otherwise overwhelming evidence that the words are used in this grammatical sense.

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I have followed Wendland's suggestion of inserting ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ because it seems almost impossible that Philo would have failed to make the point. But the continuation of the quotation is by no means otiose. The verbs are all in the indicative and (except the last) state facts, while in the hortatory form we have the subjunctive expressing purpose. It is a possible conjecture that in some grammatical terminology, otherwise unknown, a sentence containing several indicatives was called an ἀφορισμός instead of an ὄρισμός.

§ 126. *Princely abundance of materials.* As the text stands the sense is presumably that the conditions described are as good as those of royal state. But a comparison with *Quod Det.* 13, where Jacob is spoken of as possessing βασιλεὺς περιουσίαν, leaves the possibility that Philo is contrasting his simple living with the patriarchal wealth. If this is the meaning we might conjecture that καίτοι has fallen out after καὶ νῦν.

§ 134. *First of those which are related to us (or near to us?).* I do not understand what this expression, which implies two sets of κύκλοι, means, or know of any cosmological theory which would justify them. As τῶν for MSS. τοῖς or τῆς is purely conjectural, I should prefer to omit it or substitute τό. We should then get the natural statement that the moon-sphere is the last of the Eight, taking them down from the top, but first if they are taken up from the earth.

§ 138. *The numbers and periods determined by nature.* What is the reference in these words, called in *De Plant.* 14 "certain fixed periods"? Have we an allusion to the three περίοδοι χιλιετείς of *Phaedrus* 248 ε ff., assigned to the philosophical souls, while the unjust remain on earth for 10,000 years? Compare also *Rep.* x. 617, and the poem of Empedocles quoted by Thompson on the *Phaedrus* passage.

§ 145. Aristotle speaks of the moon as ἐν μεθορίοις ἀέρος τεταγμένην καὶ τῆς πέμπτης οὐσίας μετέχουσαν (*Stob.* i. 26, p. 564 H., Diels p. 356). Also μὴ εἶναι αὐτῆς ἀκήρατον τὸ σύγγραμμα διὰ τὰ πρόσγεια αερώματα τοῦ αἰθέρος, ὃν προσαγορεύει σῶμα πέμπτον (*Stob.* 16, Diels p. 361). For the last part compare the Stoic opinion, τοῦ ἀέρος διαμεταίνοντος ἐμφασιν γίνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ <προσώπου> *S.V.F.* ii. 673.

§ 153. εἶδωλον. This use of the word is very strange. The nearest parallel for its use as an "idea" or "mental conception" is *Xen. Symp.* 4. 21 οὕτω σαφὲς ἔχω εἶδωλον αὐτοῦ ἐν

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τῆ ψυχῆ, ὡς, εἰ πλαστικός ἢ ζωγραφικός ἦν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον ἐκ τοῦ εἰδῶλου ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ὁμοίον αὐτῷ ἀπειργασάμην. But both the genitive following and the context put this on a different footing. Wendland suggests ἐμφαίνει δ' ἔτι καὶ τοιοῦτον <τὸ> or ἐμφαίνεται . . . τῷ εἰδῶλι. Both these assume that εἰδῶλον can be used for a dream in general. If the word is to stand I should prefer to read τοιοῦτου εἰδῶλον, "an image or picture of the following idea."

§ 158. ἐπερείδοντος. The mss. have this word in the active here and § 241, and *De Plant.* 7 in the sense of "support" or "establish." In each case editors have suggested ὑπερίδω (Mr. Whitaker in *De Plant.* 7 ἀπ-). The lexica certainly give no evidence for this meaning for ἐπ-, which would naturally mean "to make to rest upon" (something in the dative), and Philo frequently uses it so in the passive. As, however, stability is generally given in this way, it is not unnatural that the word should get this extended meaning, and it seems hardly wise to overrule the repeated evidence of the mss.

§ 164. *Prompter.* This is perhaps as near as we can get to the meaning of ὑπήχει. But the word, which is frequently used by Philo, seems to carry with it the thought of a voice heard inwardly and not audible in the ordinary sense. Thus it is sometimes coupled with ἐνδοθεν, and several times (*e.g.* *De Mut.* 139) applied to the divine voice which speaks to the prophet, to the memories or echoes of the lecturer's words which the student carries away with him (*De Cong.* 67), and to the "haunting" voice of enticing pleasure (*De Post.* 155). Other examples in this volume are *De Som.* ii. 2 and 252. This usage is entirely ignored in L. & S. Stephanus quotes some of these passages, but inadequately translates by "succinere."

§ 184. *A space outside it in the interval between worlds.* An allusion to the Epicurean doctrine that the gods' habitation was the μετακόσμια (*intermundia*). Cf. (Ἐπίκουρος φησι) καθῆσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τοῖς μετακοσμίοις οὕτω καλουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 240 (quoted from Hippolytus); "deos induxit Epicurus . . . habitantes tamquam inter duos lucos sic inter duos mundos propter metum ruinarum," Cic. *De Div.* ii. 40.

§§ 186-188. The two chief difficulties are the phrases ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι and ὁ κόσμος μετακληθήσεται. Mr. Whitaker's

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theory as to the first, that the "appointed one" is the Logos, may be tenable in so far as there is good evidence for the thought that the intelligible world is in the Logos or is itself the Logos, see *De Op.* 17 and 20, and it has the great merit that it takes the text as it stands. But the application of "Him who was appointed in accordance with divine bounties" (or "elections," reading χειροτονίας for χορηγίας as Mr. Whitaker proposed) to the Logos does not seem to me natural, and at any rate it does not lead up to any explanation of the difficulty in § 188.

My alternative suggestion cannot, of course, claim to be more than a guess, but I think it has the merit that without any great change of the text it provides an explanation of the whole passage which is consistent throughout and is thoroughly after Philo's manner.

I will take § 188 first. Wendland excludes the whole of the last sentence as a Christian interpolation describing the Celestial City. I see little grounds for this. The New Jerusalem of the Revelation has walls and gates, though it is true that the latter are always open. Possibly Wendland took μετακληθήσεται as meaning "shall receive a new name" in allusion to Rev. ii. 17, and though this sense of the word has little evidence recorded in the lexica it is a quite possible and natural meaning, and has been adopted in the translation. But this carries us but a little way to Wendland's theory of Christian interpolation.

On the supposition that the passage is genuine, the general sense is clear enough that while ordinarily we can only know the intelligible world through our experience of the sensible world, there are conditions in which, or persons to whom, it is known directly. As I have said, the only difficulty is the phrase ὁ κόσμος μετακληθήσεται. If μετακ. is taken as "shall change its name" I can see no sense that Philo could have meant. If we give the word its usual sense of "summoned" we expect a person instead of ὁ κόσμος for the subject, and presumably that person will be Moses, and the higher type of soul that Moses represents. This will be quite consistent with other passages, e.g. *De Mut.* 7, where the darkness which Moses enters is the contemplation of the incorporeal and invisible substance, and there is a very close analogy in *Leg. All.* iii. 100: "There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed which has been initiated into the great

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mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the first cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated. This mind is Moses." Here there is the difference that the thing directly seen is God Himself, not the world of mind, but otherwise the thought is the same. I propose then to correct *κόσμος* to *κοσμολόγος*, "the world explorer," whose world is that of intelligible substance or reality. That the word is not given in the lexica matters not at all; it is a perfectly natural formation which anyone might make on the analogy of *μετεωρολόγος*, etc., and the phrase *κοσμολόγος νοητῆς ὑποστάσεως* is as natural at any rate as *κόσμος ν. ὑ.* The only other emendation actually needed is *ἐν τῷ <νῷ> διαχαραχθεῖσα* for *ἐν τῷ διαχαραχθέντι*, though it is possible that *μακρόθεν* may have fallen out before or after *θεαθέν*, cf. Ex. xx. 21, "the people stood afar off (*μακρόθεν*), but Moses entered the darkness." I should explain the corruption in the first case by supposing that *νῷ* dropped out and that then *-θείσης* was altered to *-θέντι* for grammatical reasons.

The translation of the first half of the sentence will then be: "But the world-explorer whose world is intelligible reality will need no sight of outward shapes, but only the archetypal 'idea' engraved in the mind, and by this he will be summoned to the Form (or Vision), which he sees not in shadow but in substance" (or "will be summoned with no intervening shadow to the Form which he has beheld from afar"). *μετακληθήσεται* will be an echo of *ἐκάλεσε Κύριος τὸν Μωυσῆν*, Ex. xxiv. 16, and *εἶδος* of *εἶδος*, *ibid.* 17.

In § 186 the only difficult words are *ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι*. I suggest that here we have the foreshadowing of the next section, *i.e.* that they state the exception to the general sense of this section. This can be obtained by correcting *ἐν* to *πλήν*, an easy correction in itself, though it is a more serious difficulty that *κόσμον νοητόν* can hardly stand in that position and some rearrangement is required, the simplest being to transfer the words to after *συσταθέντα*.

§ 205. *ῥυθμούς καὶ μέτρα κτλ.* Wendland puts no comma after *μέτρα* but one after *διατονικά*, thus implying that enharmonic, etc., are *μέτρα*. This, which perhaps is a mere slip, is quite impossible. *μέτρα* must be used in the sense which it regularly bears in the accepted division of music into

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melody, rhythm, metre, viz. what we mean by metre, cf. Aristides Quintilianus i. 4, where we have *μελωδία, ρυθμός, λέξις* followed at once by *περὶ τὴν λέξιν τὸ μέτρον*, and later (i. 10) by a full discussion of *μετρική*. The triple division is given by Philo in *De Cher.* 105, *De Sob.* 36, and *De Agr.* 137, where the enharmonic, etc., are given as subdivisions of *μέλος*.

*Ibid.* From rhetoric, etc. Here we have the fundamental divisions of rhetoric which appear in the same form in most of the rhetorical treatises, except that it is perhaps unusual to find both *τάξις* and *οἰκονομία*, the latter, which covers the management and organization of the material, either superseding the former, or including it as a subdivision. Synonyms for *φράσις* are *λέξις, ἀπαγγελία, ἐρμῆνεια*, the last named of which is used by Philo in *De Cher.* 105, and, I believe, in *De Mig.* 35. See notes on those two passages.

§ 214. *Ashes*. As the point is essential to Philo's illustration, one must suppose that he found, or thought he had found, some authority for the statement that ashes were used in purificatory ritual. The nearest evidence I can find is the use of the "ashes of the heifer" in Num. xix. 9, alluded to in Hebrews ix. 13. Possibly *τέφρα*, like *κονία*, may have been a name for some kind of lye or soap, but I know of no evidence for it.

§ 230. *Not from any superstitious nicety*, etc. The explanation I should prefer to give to this passage is that Philo feels that his distinction between *θεός* and *ὁ θεός* might subject him to the charge of giving the name of *θεός* to inferior beings, which would constitute *δεισιδαιμονία* in the ordinary sense. What then is the meaning of *πραγματολογεῖν*? Judging from the sequel it is not so much "to use words to express facts" as "to accommodate language to practical needs." The course of thought seems to be: (1) any name for God is a *κατάχρησις* permitted for the needs of men (§ 230), a point further illustrated in § 231 (the spacing should perhaps be placed at the end of that section rather than at the beginning); (2) God allows men to think that He has been really seen by them (§ 234), and this is illustrated by the pagan legend (§ 233), and the anthropomorphic language of the law (§§ 234-237); (3) He in the same way speaks here of the Angel or Logos as God, though it really was God's



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image which was seen, and thus *πραγματολογεῖ*, etc., suits His words to the capacity of His hearers.

It may be thought that this strains the meaning of *πραγματολογεῖν*. The fact is that this word, which has been used in *De Fug.* 54, is rare and of uncertain meaning. Besides these two instances only two others are quoted. In Diog. Laert. ix. 52 it appears to mean "argue," or make a business of arguing, and so possibly in *De Fug.* 54 (see note). In Anaximenes, *Rhet. ad Alex.* 32 (31) ἵνα πραγματοποιοῦντες ἀπλοῦν τὸν λόγον καὶ μὴ ποικίλον ποιῶμεν, it seems to mean "speaking plainly and intelligibly," and this is not far from the sense suggested by the context here.

§ 244. *Erecting*. It is a pity that the impossibility of using the phrase "make to stand" prevents the translator from bringing out fully the insistence with which Philo harps on the thought of "standing" in connexion with *στήλη*. He finds the idea, no doubt, in the word itself, and repeats it not only in the *ἔστηκα* of § 241 and *στάσις* of § 242, but also in *ιστάς* § 244, *στήσεις* § 245, *ἀνίστησι*, *ἀναστήσας* § 249.

§ 247. *Set up*. Similarly the thought of *ἀνάθεσις* is repeated in *ἀνετέθη* here, and *ἀνακείσεται* (*κείμαι* as often being treated as the passive of *τίθημι*), though in these cases the idea of "dedication" seems to be reduced to the literal "set up," unless, as perhaps is possible, it is used in the sense of "devoted" under a curse, *cf.* the common use of *ἀνάθεμα*, or (in the first case) unless there is an allusion to models of wrecked ships or pieces of the actual wreck being dedicated as votive offerings by the saved. For votive pictures of this kind see Mayor on *Juv.* xii. 27.

§ 254. *1 Sam. i. 11*.—Wendland erroneously gives the reference as to v. 28 ("I lend him as a loan"), as also in *Quod Deus* 6, on which passage, carelessly following Wendland, I suggested in a note that Philo in v. 28 had a different version of the text from the LXX. A German reviewer pointed out the mistake.

## APPENDIX TO *DE SOMNIIS*, II.

Note on text.—The Trinity ms. which Cohn on a cursory inspection (Cohn on *De Op.* p. xxx) declared to be worthless as a whole, and which was therefore practically ignored in his and Wendland's reconstruction of the text, does not seem, in this treatise at least, to deserve such a wholesale condemnation. While it certainly shares with A the great majority of that ms.'s mistakes and adds a fair number of its own, there is a not negligible number of cases where it is more correct. In three cases Wendland has adopted the reading of "Mangey e codice Cantabr. Coll. S. Trin.," viz. *σύγχυσις* § 152, *πᾶσαν* § 196, *ἐκατέρας* § 241, as well as *φυρόμενοι* § 290, which Mangey had given on the authority of ms. Vat., a name apparently unidentified. But besides these there are several examples in which Wendland in correcting the text of A has actually reproduced that of Trin. Such are *παρανέβλαστε* § 64, *ἀγείροντες* § 127, *εἰ δὲ δεῖ* § 128, *φῶς* § 140, *δντος* § 250, *κλίματα* § 287.

The lacunas in Trin. are also of some interest. While they occur in the same places, except twice where the text runs on continuously, they do not by any means always occupy the same spaces, being in several cases considerably longer. This rouses a suspicion whether Wendland is justified in basing his conjectures, as he does to some extent, on the length of the spaces in A. Professor Minns indeed tells me that the tendency of scribes is to shorten the gaps, and that the greater length may point to the possibility that though Trin. (fifteenth or sixteenth century) is much later than A (thirteenth century) it may belong to a better tradition. In spite, however, of my doubts on this point, I have thought it wiser to record Wendland's notes on the length of the spaces in A.

§ 27. *Double diapason*. Or perhaps "the two ways of completing the scale," *i.e.* the conjunct tetrachords symbolize

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the attitude of the soul when it contemplates the universe by itself. In the disjunct tetrachords it is still concerned in the first tetrachord with creation, but breaks off and passes in the second to the contemplation of the Creator, whom it recognizes to be something different and transcending creation.

§ 38. *εὐκαταφροντιστώ*. This is certainly an odd-looking word, but it is correctly formed, if we assume *καταφροντίσω* as an intensive form, like so many *κατα*'s, of the simple verb; and though only one instance of the verb in this sense (Polybius xxviii. 11. 10) is quoted, and that is said in L. & S. 1927 to be a doubtful reading, this is not much argument in dealing with Philo. On the whole, though the word is regarded as corrupt in Stephanus, I do not see much reason to doubt its genuineness. Wendland is somewhat rash in printing *ἀνανταγωνιστώ*. It is not only far from the mss. but has less point. The seeker after rewards needs not only persistence but care, and though swiftness is requisite his swift actions must be "well thought out." I should say much the same of Mangey's *εὐκαταφόρω*.

§ 45. *Image and ideal form*, etc. Are *εἰκῶν* and *ἰδέα* merely synonyms? They are combined in much the same way, though without any definite mention of the Logos, in *Leg. All.* i. 33, 42 and 53. I should suggest that in all these cases the Logos is the *εἰκῶν* of God, but the *ἰδέα* to creation. The usage is thus parallel to the phrases in which man is said to be the *εἰκῶν εἰκόνομος*, and God the *παράδειγμα παραδειγματός*. See on *De Som.* i. 75.

§ 48. *Barley-cake and water*. Wendland refers to Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 13 (Usener, *Epicurea* 602) ὁ αὐτὸς (*i.e.* Epicurus) ἔλεγεν ἐτοίμως ἔχειν καὶ τῷ Διὶ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας διαγωνίσεσθαι μάζαν ἔχων καὶ ὕδωρ.

§ 55. οἱ ἐντροφῶντες <τοῖς καθεστῶσι νόμοις, mss. ζῶσι νόμοις. This emendation of Mangey, accepted by Wendland, implies the use of *ἐντροφάω* = "scorn," a sense which the word does bear, but not apparently elsewhere in Philo, with whom it means "delight in." I am inclined to think that ζω- at any rate may be right. ζῶον, ζωωτός, ζωύφιον, ζωοφόρος are all used of sculptured or painted figures not confined to animals, and *cf.* ζωγραφία itself. ζωοφόροις would suit the context excellently as it is particularly used of friezes. It is, however, rather far from ζῶσι νόμοις in form. I would ask for con-

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sideration of the nearer ζωωμένοις. Though the dictionaries know nothing of any use of ζωω = to carve figures, it is more or less implied by ζωωτός.

§ 70. Wendland by giving the reference to Gen. ii. 9 implies that the twofold tree combines the tree of life with the tree of knowledge. It is more probable, I think, that the latter only is meant, twofold because it is the knowledge of good and evil. The reference is certainly also to Gen. iii. 3, where we have οὐ μὴ ἀψησθε αὐτῆς, thus linking up the story of the tree with the prohibition against "taking hold of the pair." While in *De Op.* 154 Philo interprets the knowledge of good and evil as φρόνησις, i.e. the power to distinguish the two and choose the good, in *Leg. All.* i. 101 f. the tree is the cause of good and evil, abstinence from which is abstinence from evil. Cf. also *ibid.* 61. The thought comes out most clearly in *Quaestiones Gen.* i. 15, where speaking of the tree he says that when good and evil are mingled together, the combination contains the beginning of death ("ubi vero bonum et malum commixta sint, principium habent mixturae mortis").

On the other hand, the tree of life may be the "monad" which Adam neglects. Cf. *παρελθόντες τὸ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου φυτὸν, De Op.* 156.

Observe the condemnation of duality in this section contrasted with the approval of it in §§ 26-28, a contrast which Philo surely has in mind. When the soul couples its contemplation of creation with acknowledgement of the Creator, duality is blessed; when it mingles good with evil, duality is accursed.

§ 119. The "sacred line." For what little is known of the technical meaning of τὸν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς κινεῖν in the game of πεσσοί see L. & S. on γραμμῆ, and *Dict. of Ant.* s.v. *latrunculi*. In the other passages quoted it seems to be a proverbial phrase for "try the last chance." This does not fit here. Possibly we might suppose that if the piece on the sacred line was the last to be moved in defence, it would also ordinarily be the last to be attacked, whereas Xerxes attacks it first. More probably Philo, seeing an effective play of words on the sacredness of the heavens and the sacred line of the draught-board, strains the phrase to cover something especially rash and desperate.

§ 121. *The Germans*, etc. Wendland quotes Strabo vii. 2. 1 οὐδ' εὖ οὐδ' ὀ φήσας ἑπλα αἰρεσθαι πρὸς τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοὺς

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*Κέλτρου*. The same is said by Aelian, *Hist.* ii. 23, of the "Kelts," probably meaning the Germans. It is suggested that this story gave Shakespeare the idea of "taking arms against a sea of troubles."

§ 122. *Speared, wounded, etc.* So Aelian, *ibid.* ὡσπεροῦν ἢ φοβῆσαι δυνάμενοι ἢ τρῶσαι.

§ 123. *One of the ruling class.* Mangey positively declared that this person was Flaccus. It is as positively denied by Edersheim (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, article on Philo) and by Ewald (*Geschichte Volkes Israel*, vol. vi. p. 253 n. 1). There is certainly nothing said in the treatise *In Flaccum* of an attempt to enforce Sabbath-breaking; and if it had been made, it is most unlikely that Philo would have passed it over. In fact the attempt here mentioned seems to have been unsuccessful, and the point lies in the arrogant and (in Philo's eyes) blasphemous language in which the threat was couched. The immediate predecessors of Flaccus were Iberus (not Severus as in Mangey's text, see Reiter's note on *In Flaccum* 2) and Vitrasius Pollio (Dion Cassius lviii. 19. 6), and either of these may have been the governor here alluded to.

§ 140. *Shall we first bow, etc.* Assuming, as in the footnote, that ἀφέντες may be corrected to ὑφέντες (or καθέντες, cf. *De Plant.* 145), and that πρότερον can be used in antithesis to εἶτα, the following alternative is possible, <δ> (i.e. χεῖρας) ὑφ(καθ)έντες, i.e. the hands are first raised in prayer, then lowered as the suppliant prostrates himself.

§ 209. *Pleasure is said by her votaries, etc.* The Epicurean view that present ills are mitigated by the memory of past good is several times referred to. See Usener, *Epicurea* 436-439. The closest parallel to this passage is Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 34. 95 "(praecepit Epicurus) corpus gaudere tamdiu, dum praesentem sentiret voluptatem, animum et praesentem percipere pariter cum corpore et prospicere venientem nec praeteritam praeterfluere sinere: ita perpetuas et contextas voluptates in sapiente fore semper, cum expectatio speratarum voluptatum cum perceptarum memoria iungeretur."

§ 221. Mangey retained ἐγχωρεῖν ("before thou wast dwelling"), supposing that Philo read or thought he read it in the Lxx. But the argument here and elsewhere shews that he understood εἶναι.

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§ 245. The lacuna.—Mangey in proposing to fill this up with μάλλον recognized its inappropriateness to *ὡς εἰπέ τις*, which he wished to correct to *ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις*. This seems to me unnecessary. One would prefer to suppose some single poetic noun which would signify a waterspout, but I do not know of any such. The missing letters, however, may easily be some epithet applied to rushing water in general (e.g. βαθυδίνης) or adverb (e.g. ἀμβολάδην) or some longer phrase. Wendland does not state the length of the lacuna in A. In Trin. it is over twenty letters. It is a fairly likely guess, considering the number of Homeric phrases in this treatise, that this too comes from Homer. For *τις* applied to Homer cf. § 260 below, and *De Somniis*, i. 150.

§ 247. For the lacuna here Wendland suggests *ἐπαλλάγως* or *ἀπαύστως*, for example. But I do not see why the initial λ, which also appears in Trin. should be ignored in this case.

§ 282. For this lacuna the following suggestions have been proposed: *νυκτός* (Hoeschel), *νύκτα πεσεῖν* (Cohn), *νύκτα αἰώνιον* (Wendland), *νύκτα ἀκτέον* (Mangey), *αἰώνιον* or *ἀκτέον* being corrections for *ἄξιον*. Except for the doubtful evidence of space (in Trin. it is about fifteen letters), I see no objection to *νύκτα* alone. It is easy to supply *ἄγεσθαι*.

§ 283. *Third on the list*. Mangey, retaining *τρῆς*, suggested as possible that the three Aloeidae are meant, cf. *De Conf.* 4. But the Aloeidae, Otus and Ephialtes, were two, not three. Apart from this, the explanation seems to me very improbable. In *De Conf.* 4 the story of the Aloeidae is no doubt compared to that of the Babel-builders, but only by the scoffers. While Philo often illustrates his points from Greek myths, I know of no instance where he accepts them in the way which Mangey's suggestion involves.

*Ibid. Uncreated, imperishable.* Cf. *De Op.* 7, where the belief that the world was *ἀγένητος καὶ ἀίδιος* is described as an impious falsehood ascribing inactivity (*ἀπραξία*) to God. On this Cohn quotes the statement that Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Melissus held that it was *ἀγένητος καὶ ἀίδιος καὶ ἀφθαρτος* (Diels, *Doxographi*, p. 332), and the somewhat similar words of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. x. 39), *τὸ πᾶν ἀει τοιούτων ἦν ὅλον νῦν ἔσται, καὶ ἀεὶ τοιούτων ἔσται*. Philo, however, in the treatise *De Aet.* maintains that it is *ἀφθαρτος*, and indeed ascribes this belief to Moses (§ 19). May a recon-

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ciliation of these conflicting views be found in the opinion mentioned in *Quis Rerum* 246 φθαρτὸν μὲν εἶναι, μηδέποτε δὲ φθαρησόμενον? The Maker can destroy it, but never will. See note on that passage. Cf. also *De Dec.* 58.

§ 294. *Winged chariot.* From *Phaedrus* 246 εὐὸ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται. So also in *Quis Rerum* 301.

§ 300. *Ex. vii. 15.* It is idle to guess what text or texts followed. Though Euphrates, except in Gen. ii. 15, is only mentioned as a boundary, this and the other three rivers of that passage, as well as the "river of God" in Ps. xli., would serve his purpose. His point is that spiritually the "river of Egypt" alone is identified with mere speech. He seems in § 302 to ignore the fact that in §§ 238 f. he has identified all rivers with λόγος. Possibly the sequel went on to shew that in good rivers speech is reasonable speech which is inseparable from action.





SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF CASES IN VOLS. I-V.,  
NOT RECORDED IN THE FOOTNOTES, WHERE  
THE TEXT PRINTED IS NOT VOUCHERD  
FOR BY ANY MANUSCRIPT OR ANCIENT  
AUTHORITY

The following list has been drawn up in order to carry out, though in a belated and not very convenient manner, the principle laid down in the preface to Vol. IV., viz. that the places in which the text printed has no ms. authority should be recorded. In that preface I stated that while no consistent attempt had been made to do this in the first two volumes, it was otherwise with Vols. III. and IV. The reviewer of Vol. III., to whose criticism I was replying, rejoined in his review of Vol. IV. that this statement was not quite borne out by the facts. I am grateful to him, for on re-examination of the footnotes to these two volumes, and also of those in Vol. V. which was already in type, I was forced to the conclusion that to a great extent he was right. Not only had a few, though I think very few, of the major emendations been unnoticed in the footnotes, but the fact that while so many minor examples were recorded several others not obviously less important were omitted might justly be said to be misleading.

I hope this catalogue is fairly complete. The only exceptions which I have deliberately made are that I take no notice of (1) mistakes in accents and breathings, (2) orthographical mistakes, using the word in a stricter sense than that which I gave it in the preface to Vol. IV., *i.e.* for cases where the scribe intends the same word as that which is printed but has spelt it otherwise, (3) changes in the order of words, (4) wrong division of words, in which the actual letters are correct, *e.g.* *μὲν εἰ* for *μένει*, (5) grammatical blunders such as *ἄταν* with an optative or *εἰ* with an infinitive.

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In the heading of the list, by mss. must be stood under besides the codices, not only the Papyrus in the two treatises where it is available, but the excerpts from earlier writers adduced by Cohn and Wendland in their Apparatus Criticus.

## VOL. I

### DE OFFICIO MUNDI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
15	εὐθυβόλω αὐτῇ	εὐθυβόλως αὐτήν	113	εἰσι	εἰσεισι (ἴησι)
50	τοῦ φύσει	τῇ φύσει	117	εἰς πέντε	πρὸς πέντε
54	ἐμπαρεῖχε	παρεῖχεν (ἐμπαρ- έχει)	135	δ γὰρ	τὸ γὰρ
56	ἐναργείας	ἐνεργείας	136	ἐκατέρων	ἐκάτερον (-α)
58	ἀποκρύψει	ἐπικρύψει	147	ἐξήρται	ἐξήρηται
72	ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ	ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ	151	ἐναπεματτε- το	ἀπεμάττετο
78	αἰς ἀπάσαις	αἰς ἀπάσαν (οἰς ἅπασι)	154	γνωριστικοῦ	γνωστικοῦ (ὀριστικοῦ)
80	ἀπαντᾶται	ἀπαντᾶ τε	156	προσελθὼν	προσελθεῖν (-ὼν)
81	παραγαγεῖν	παρελθεῖν	158	ἀναρριπίζου- σαι	ἀναρριπτοῦ- σαι
85	ἄροτον	ἄροτρον		ἄθρῶν	ἄθροον
104	ἀμφοτέρων	ἀμφότερα	165	κάν	καὶ (κάκ)
107	καθ' ὃν	καθ' ἣν	166	ἐρῶντα	ἔρωτα
108	ἐκ τῶν τεσ- σάρων	ἣ τῶν διὰ τεσσάρων	171	καθ' οὓς	καθὼς

### LEGUM ALLEGORIA, I

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
1	δὴ ἀμφοτέ- ρων	δι' ἀμφοτέ- ρων	6	τῶν ἐξηκόν- των	ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων (ἐξῆς ἰόν- των)
3	διαιρετόν	διαιρετέον	15	μονάδι	μονάδος
6	περατωθέντα	περαιωθέντα	99	τότε δὲ	τὸ δὲ

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

## LEGUM ALLEGORIA, II

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
14	ἐστ' ἄν	ἔταν	104	ἐπιστομίζειν	ἐπιστοματί- ζειν
31	τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ	τοῦτο δ' ἔστι	108	ἐχορήγησεν	ἐχώρησεν
39	ἐναργεῖας	ἐνεργεῖας			
73	αἱ ἡλικίαι	καὶ ἡλικίαι			

## LEGUM ALLEGORIA, III

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
1	θεὸν	θεοῦ	69	νοήσης	ποιήσης (-ειε)
2	ὅτε	ὅτι	78	νομίζουσι	ὀνομάζουσι
9	ἐνώπιον	ἐν τόπῳ	81	προσφερέτω	προφερέτω
11	σύμπαντα	σύμπασα	83	Ἀβρὰμ	Ἀβραὰμ
16	λογισμῶ	λογισμῶν	84	ἄλεκτον	ἄληκτον
21	κακιῶν	κακῶν	87	ἀναχεῖ τε	ἀναχεῖται
22	συνηχοῦσαι	συνηχοῦσι	94	παθῶν	ποταμῶν
24	μηδὲν	μηδέ	96	ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ	ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός
25	ἡμερήσιος	ἡμέριος	104	ὑπὸ θεοῦ	ἀπὸ θεοῦ
27	ἀποκρύπτει	ἐπικρύπτειν	105	ἐπεὶ	ἐπὶ
29	ὁ γὰρ	ὁ δὲ	110	ἀκακίαν	κακίαν
31	παρὰλλάττον	παράλογον	115	ἤτρον	ἦτρον
32	τετρημένῳ	τετρωμένῳ	121	σαφῶς	σοφῶς
38	ἐπίκηρον τύπτοντα ἐνώσεως	ἐπὶκαιρον τύπτον γνώσεως	123	κεκριμένον ἀσάφειαν	κεκρυμμένον σαφήνειαν
40	νοερά ἐντὸς	νεαρά ἐκτὸς	128	Μωυσῆ ἐκ- τέμνοντος	Μωσῆς ἐκ- τέμνων
45	ἀνεμαῖοι	ἀνεμοὶ (ἀναι- μοὶ)	132	μετριο- πάθειαν	μετριοπαθῶς
49	ἐπίστασιν γυμνή	ἐπίσπασιν γυμνή	133	τούτου	τοῦτο
53	οὐδαμοῦ	οὐδαμῶς	134	ἡνιόχου	ἡνιόχων
54	ἀποκρυπτό- μενοι	ἐπικρυπτό- μενοι	135	ἀπονός... ᾧ	ἀπονός . . . οὐς
57	κατέλαβε	ἀντέλαβετο (ἀντέλαβε)	137	παραχώρη- σιν	παραχώρησιν
58	ὄγκον	οἶκον	139	μετὰ ταῦτην	μετὰ ταῦτα
67	φύσιν μοχθηρὰν	φήσιν μοχθηρίαν	140	τελείος	τελείως
68	διδούς	διδούσῃ	144	προκόπτον- τος	προσπίπτον- τος

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§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
144	ἐπλυνεν	πλύνειν	202	ἐξαδιαφορεῖν	ἐξω διαφορεῖν
149	ἐμέτοις	ἐτι αὐτοῖς	203	τὸ ἔρκω βεβαιῶσαι	τῷ ἔρκω βεβαιώσας
150	καὶ ἐκσπερματιεῖ σπέρμα	ἐκ σπερμάτων εἰς σπέρμα	206	πιστοῦν . . . πιστῶσαι	πιστεύειν . . . πιστεῦσαι
152	οἰκῶν	ὀσῶν		ἑαυτοῦ μόνος	ἑαυτοῦ μόνου
155	ἀκράτου ἀμέτρου	ἀκράτῳ ἀμέτρῳ	207	ἰσχυρότατος	εὐχάριστος
157	διορύξεις	θωρήξῃ	209	εὐσεβές	εὐθές
160	οὐκ ἔστι κινήσεως	οὐκέτι αἰκίσεως	211	ἀνιαρῶς	ἀνιαροῖς
162	ὅπως ἢ οὐ. ὀράς	ὅταν ἢ οὐχ ὀράς	215	εὐλογιστεῖτε	εὐλογιστεῖται
163	οὐ χωρήσει	οὐκ ὀνήσει	217	γεννῶντα	γεννῶσαν
164	καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαιότητα	καὶ ἀνελπιστίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ βεβαιότητα	220	αἰσθήσεως ἑαυτὰ	αἰσθήσεων ἑαυτῆν
174	ἀναγγεῖλη	ἀναγγεῖλωσι	226	πάντας	πάντως
178	ἐπιγράφων . . . τὸ δοκεῖν	ἐπιγράφω . . . τῷ δοκεῖν	229	διατάσεις ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τῶν τε λογισμῶν	διαστάσεις ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τε τῶν λογισμῶν
180	αὐτὴν μωμησάμενος τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας	ἑαυτὸν μωμησάμενος τὰ ψυχῶν μέτρα	231	ἀπώλου	πῶλις
181	υἱός	υἱός	232	λαλοῦντων λόγου	λαοῦ φωνῆν
183	ὄντω ἢ ἔρωτι	ὄντων ἔρωτι	235	ὀσμῆν	ὄπως
184	εὐπρεπές	εὐπρεπές	236	ὀς πῶς πρὸ ἀλληγορίας	πρὸς ἀλληγορίαν
186	τὸ ὄρων	τῷ ὄραν	239	ἐντὸς	ἐνθεν
188	τῷ γὰρ ὀφείλεται	τῷ γὰρ ὀφείλεται	242	ἐκκεκρυμμένην θείου χοροῦ	ἐγκεκρυμμένην θείου χορῶ
190	μαχομένην	μαχομένους	243	ἕλης	ἕλης
193	κοινωνήσεις	κοινωνήσας	246	ὀς . . . ἐξ-ετάζεται	ὄς . . . ἐξ-ετάξεσθαι
195	ἀνάξιος εἶ	ἀνάξιας	247	δρῶντος	δρῶντες
199	τρυπᾶσθαι δουλεύειν	τρυπᾶσθω δουλεύῃ	248	ὀρμῇ πυρός	ὀρμῇ πρὸς

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

## VOL. II

### DE CHERUBIM

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
4	ἀνεπάνακτος	ἀνέπακτος	91	ἀ δ' ἄν	ἀς δ'
7	γεγωνός	γεγωνός	96	καίτοι ταῖς	καὶ τοιαύταις
19	ποιήσας	ποιῆσαι	102	μνήμη	μνήμαι
23	ἐξαχῆ	ἐξ ἀρχῆς	103	μετανάστιν	μετανάστην (-στασίν)
24	ἐπιστάσιαν	ἐπίστασιν	105	πᾶσιν	πᾶσαν
48	ἐπιστήμη	ἐπιστήμης	120	ξένην	κηνὴν καινὴν
52	μεταβαλ- λούση	μεταβαλ- (λ)ούσης	121	κυρίως	κύριος
59	ἐτύγγανεν	τυγγάνει(-ῆ, -οι)	124	ἐπειδὴ	ἐπὶ δὲ
81	τι	τινί		νοῦν ὡς	νοῦν ὡς

### DE SACRIFICIIS ABELIS ET CAINI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
97	κέκτησαι ... προσάγης ... σαυτοῦ	κέκτηται ... προσάγη ... ἑαυτοῦ	131	ἀφ' οὐ	ὕφ' οὐ

### QUOD DETERIUS POTIORI INSIDIARI SOLEAT

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
6	δηλῶν ὅτι	δηλῶν ὅτι (δηλον- ὅτι). So also § 114	77	ἐνεσημήναν- το	ἐσημήναντο
12	ἀφ' ὧν	ὕφ' ὧν	80	πάλιν	πάλαι
42	διεργεῖσθαι	διαιρεῖσθαι et alia	95	ἐπέξεύξαμεν μόνος	ὑπέξεύξαμεν νόμος
44	ἐπιδεικνύν- ται ψυχῆς νόσους τε	ἐπιδεικνύν- τες (-as) ψυχὰς νό- σους (ὄσ- σος) τε	96	ἀπὸ	ἐπὶ
49	κοινῶς	κοινῶν	108	τροφῆς	τροφεῖα
51	ἐνδεξαμένη	ἐνδεξαμένη	111	ἀπαθανατί- ζει	ἀπαθανατί- ζεται
58	ἐπὶ	ὑπὸ	113	ἔτι	ἐπὶ
61	ἔδοξε	δύξει	119	οὐδὲν αὐτῆν	οὐδὲ αὐτῆς
62	εἵπομ' ἄν ἀνάξιος	εἵπομεν ἀξιος	121	δικαιοσύνη ταύτης	δικαιοσύνην ταύτην
69	διὰ τὸ	διὰ τοῦ	139	ἐλπίζουσης	ἐλπίζουσα (-ιν)
			154	εἰ τὸ ἔν	εἴτ' οὐν
			161	ἀναγκαῖον	ἀναγκαίως

## PHILO

## DE POSTERITATE CAINI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
6	τοῦ ἀπολει- πομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ	τὸ ἀπολει- πόμενον ἐαυτοῦ	49	μεγέθους ἐνδιαίτημα	μέγεθος διαίτημα
12	ἔχεσθαι	εἴχεσθαι	50	τειχῶν πόλει	τείχη πόλεων
14	ὄντος	οὗτος		κατὰ γῆν	καὶ γῆν
17	πῶς ἔστι	πῶς ἔτι	51	κατασκευά- ζειν ὁ Κάιν	κατασκευά- ζει δ καὶ
19	νομίζει	νομίζεις	52	ἐταῖροι	ἔτεροι
20	ἐπιβουλὰς ψαῦσαι	ἐπιβουλὰς ψεύσασθαι	53	βουλευθεὶς ἔστι λόγον	βουληθεὶς ἔστιν ἠλόγον
21	ὅς ἀφάντασ- τον τοῦ ὄντος	ὡς ἀφάντασ- τον ὄντως	54	ἄρα τῆς ἀναγκάζουσι	ἀρετῆς ἀνακράζουσι
22	χώραν ᾧρα ἐπήσθηται ταλαντεύ- ουσα	κακίαν ᾧρας ἐπήρτηται θαλαττεύ- ουσα	56	ἀποτίκτουσι τὸν	ἀποτίκτου- σιν αὐτὸν
24	ἀναπαύσει σε παρὰ	ἀναπαύσεις περὶ	60	Τάνιν φυσικώτατον	τὰ νῦν φυσικώτα- τοις
25	τῶν αὐτῶν μηδενὸς περὶ αὐτὰ	τῶν ἀστῶν μηδὲν ὡς περὶ αὐτὰς	62	διαφερόντων Τάνεως	διαφερόντως τοῖς νεωστὶ
30	τοικῶς ᾄδου	τοπικῶς ἁειδοῦς	66	ἀγειρομένης	ἐγειρομένης
33	τίνα	τί	67	εὐχόμενος	ἐχόμενος
34	ἀνοσίου εἰσηγησά- μενοι	. . . οἰσι ἡγησάμενοι	68	εἰσελεύσεται προστάτης ἐαθὲν αὐτό	ἐξελεύσεται πρὸς τὰς ἐσθὲν ἐαυτή
35	τίς φασὶ	τί φησὶ	70	ἐπιτυχόντα ἅμα	ἀποτυχόντα ἀλλὰ
36	ἀδιεξίτητος	διεξιόντος	72	τῶν τὸν . . .	τούτων . . .
37	κερασάμενος	κερασαμέ- νοις		ἀπολα- χόντων	ἀπολα- χόντα
38	καλῶ	καλῶς	73	πάθος ἄλο- γον	πάθους ἄλο- γος
41	εἶπον ἄλλων	εἶπε ἄλλων	77	Μωυσῆ	Μωυσῆς
42	ἐπιγρά- φοντες	ἀναγρά- φοντες	79	εὐθίκτους ἐπιβουλὰς	εὐθήκτους ἐπιβουλὰς
47	πολυτρόπου	πολυτρόφου	81	τὰ διάφορα ἐξαδια- φορεῖν	εὐδιαφορᾶ ἀδιάφορος ῶν
48	καρτερᾶς	καρτερίας	83	ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀνακυκλεῖν	ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀνακυκλεῖν

## SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

§	TEXT	MSS.		§	TEXT	MSS.
90	ἐκείνῳ ἀνεπιστή- μονες	ἐκάστω ἀνεπιστή- μονι		110	καταλέγε- σθαι συστέλλων	κατάγεσθαι διαστέλλων
91	αὐτοῦ	αὐτῶν		112	ἔτι δ'	ὅτι δ'
93	μεταλλοῶν	μεταποιῶν		114	κτησάμενοι	στησάμενοι
94	τοσοῦτον δεῖ . . . ἐπι- τρέπειν προῖσθαι	τοσοῦτων δεῖν . . . ἐπιτρέπει προῖσθαι		116	ἀκριβῶς τού- των ἕκα- στον	ἀφθόνως οὐς ἕκαστος
95	ἐνὸς ἐν ἀντι- καταλλάτ- τεσθαι	ἐνὶ ἕνατι καταλλάτ- τειν		117	σκοπῶν κτῆσεως	σκοποῦ κτίσεως
98	ποιμένων	ποιμνῶν		119	οὐδενὸς ἄλ- λου ἀλλὰ νοημά- των	οὐδενὸς ἄλλα ἀλλ' ὀνομά- των
99	ὑπὸ τῶν	ὑπὲρ τῶν		120	λάχωσι ψυχῆς	λάβωσι ψυχῆ
100	φησι ἐπαμφοτερί- ζειν	φασι ἐπαμφοτερί- ζει		121	ἐπελάθετο μένηται	ἐπελάθου μένηται
101	παρέρχεσθαι  ἀστείως καὶ αὐστηρῶς	περιέρχε- σθαι  ἀστείῳ καὶ αὐστηρῶ		122	σοφία πιαί- νόμενοι	σοφίας πε- παινώμε- νοι
104	τῶν κύκλων διαχεομένην τὴν ἀκοήν φύσις	τὸν κύκλον διαχεομένης τῆς ἀκοῆς φωνῆ		130	βάθους ἀξιοῖ	πάθους ἀξιον
105	ὄσα φθαρτὸν γένους ᾧ τετίμη- ται	ὄσως ἀφθαρτον γένος ὡς τετίμη- ται		135	ἐπομβρήσει	ἐπιὸμβρήσει
106	κλάσει ταῖς ἐπαλλή- λοις . . . μεταβολαῖς	κλάσιν τῇ ἐπαλλή- λοις μετα- βολῇ		136	πηγὴν πλη- σαι σπουδαίου	γῆν ἀντλή- σαι σπουδαῖον
107	ἐμμελῆς πληχθεῖς	εὐμελῆς πληχθεῖς		137	τοῖς παιδεύ- μασι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις τῆς αἰσθή- σεως	τοὺς παιδεύ- μασι καὶ ἐγκυκλίους τῶν αἰσθή- σεως
108	συνωδὸς τις  τέκνοις	συνωδὸς ἐστίν τέχνοις		142	ἐν ἐτέροις ἐτέρων	ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἐταίρων
109	οὐδὲ τὰς τυ- χούσας	οὐδὲ τυχῆς		145	κορεσθέντας ἐξυβρίσαι	κορεσθὲν ἐξ- ύβρισε
				148	ἀπόλαυσιν ποτίσασα	ἀνάπαυσιν ποταμὸς
				150	τῶν ἂ χρῆ	τί χρῆ
				151	προχέασα	προσχέασα
				156	ἐπαγόμενα	ἐλαυνόμενα

## PHILO

§ TEXT	MSS.	§ TEXT	MSS.
159 ἄ γε	ἀλλά γε	169 ἐξανέστησε	ἐξανέστησας
161 ἱεράκων	δορκάδων	171 ζῶων	ζωὴν
162 τῶν δὲ ὑπερ- βάλλουσαν	τὴν δὲ ὑπερ- βάλλου- σαν	173 Σῆμ̄ εις	ἡμεῖς
163 μέρους	μέρος	174 ἐπιδόσεις	ἐπιτάσεις
ἰδρυθείη	ἰδρυνθῆναι	176 κατακλύσαι	καταλύσαι
164 λόγῳ	λόγων	178 τροφήν	τροφὴν
καταλέσαν- τας	καταλύσαν- τας	179 χλεύην	χλόην
165 τυφογερόν- των	τύφων ἐρών- των	181 οὐκοῦν	οὐκ ἂν
169 εὐθυωρίαν	εὐθὺ θεωρίαν	ὠφέληθῆς	ὠφέλησαι
οὐσίαν	ιδέα	ἐθῶν	ἐθῶν
αὐτῷ	αὐτοῖς	ἐκχεῖς	ἔχεις
		183 καταπαύσας	κατακαύσας
		185 καταλύσαι	καταγήσαι
		σχῆσει	σχῆσειν

### DE GIGANTIBUS

§ TEXT	MSS.
26 γνωρίμων	γνωρίμων (-ω)

## VOL. III

### QUOD DEUS IMMUTABILIS SIT

§ TEXT	MSS.	§ TEXT	MSS.
49 χρησόμενον	χρησάμενον	121 εισάγει	εισάγει
62 οὐδ'	οὐτ'	150 ὄσοις	ὄσα
66 τῆς ψυχῆς	τῆ ψυχῆ	162 προῖτωσαν	προσίτωσαν (προσιέτω- σαν)
85 πρὸς	περὶ		
104 ἠξιωμένον	ἠξιώμεναι		

(Delete footnote on p. 56 "1 MSS. ἰδίῳ.")

### DE AGRICULTURA

§ TEXT	MSS.	§ TEXT	MSS.
4 τὸ μὴ . . . εἶναι	τῷ μὴ . . . εἶναι	34 ἐξώκειλαν	ἐξοκείλουσι <i>et alia</i>
30 ἐξαχῆ	ἐξ ἀρχῆς	41 προτιμῶσιν	περιποιούσιν (-ειεν, -ῆσειν)



## SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
43	τὰ αὐτὰ	τὰ δυνατὰ	156	ἔρχεται	εὐχεται
71	τέχνης	τέχνη	157	προκοπὰς	προτροπὰς
78	ἄλλων	δλων	158	ἐλπίζει	ἐλπίζεται
96	παντελοῦς	παντελῶς		ἐπιμελὲς	ἐπιμελῶς
97	κραταιοτά- της	κραταιοτέρας	159	μελετώντων	μελετῶν
106	τὰς τῆς	τὰ τῆς		ἢ δυσμενῆς	ἢ δυσμενεῖς
109	πάθους	πάθος		αὐτοῖς	αὐτοῦς
113	τούτων ἀγώ- νων ἄθλα	τούτων ἀ- θλων (?)	161	ἐπιστήμης	ἐπιστήμην (-η)
	ἢ ὁ κατα- παλάσας	εἰ καταπα- λάσας	162	τοῦ μὲν οὖν	τοῦτο μὲν
	ἢ ὁ . . .	ἢ δν (οἶον)		ἑαυτοῦ	ἑαυτῶν
	δυνάμενος	. . . δυνά- μενος		ἐπισταμένου	ἐπισταμέ- νους
120	περίσειν	περίσασα		ἐπιπροσθεῖ	ἐπιπροσθεν
122	συνορθιάζη- ται	συνορθιάζη		σκότος	εἰκότως
	διδασκαλι- κώτατον	διδασκαλι- κώτερον		τοῦ . . .	τδ... φέγγος
123	ῶ	δ		φέγγους	
129	θαυμάζετε	θαυμάζειν	164	τὸν τῆς ἐπι- στήμης	τὸν τ' ἐπι- στήμης
	αὖ	οὐ	165	διότι	δι' δν (ὦν)
138	γεωμέτραι	γεωμετρία	167	φθειρομένοις	συμφθειρο- μένοις
141	ἔτι δ'	εἰ δ'	171	ἀργαλεώτα- τον	ἀργαλεωτά- των
	ἐλάττω	ἔλαττον		φύσιν	φησιν
142	προσηνῆ	πεινῆν (πεί- ναν)	176	αἰφνίδιον	αἰφνιδίως
143	τιμῆν	τιμῆ	178	ἐνδιατρίψαι	διατρίψαι
			179	τὰς τῆς	τὸ τῆς
			181	τῶν ἄκρας	τὰς ἄκρας

### DE PLANTATIONE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
3	δέος	δέον (δὲ)	65	τῶ... κάλλει	τοῦ . . . κάλ- λους
4	ιδρῦσθαι	ιδρύσασθαι	75	πλάτει	πλάτους
14	οὐ ταῖς	οὔσαις	83	οὐδ' ἐν νῶ	οὐδὲ νῶ
24	κούφον	κούφος	93	τε καὶ τέλος	τινα κάλλισ- τον λαμ- βάνεσθαι
42	ἀμετόχων	μετόχων		ὑπολαμβά- νεσθαι	
61	ἀποσεμνύ- νων μὲν	ἀποσεμνυό- μενον			

## PHILO

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
102	ἀφθονον τοῖς	ἀφθόνως (ἀφθονον)	159	κεκλασμένοι	κεχαλασ- μένοι
133	παντοδαπάς	(ἀ)παντα ποιούσα	160	τὸν ἀκρατον	τὸ ἀκρατον
135	τράπηται	τραπή	165	ἤρτημένος	ἤρτημένον
138	τούτω	τούτο	169	ᾧ παίζειν	δς (οὐς) παί- ζειν
141	ἐξερευνή- σωμεν	ἐξερευνή- σομεν		ᾧ . . .	οὐ (οὐ) . . .
150	ὅτι ὁμωνυμία	τὴν ὁμωνυ- μίαν		παρώκη- σεν	παρώκη- σεν
155	οἰνώσεως	γνώσεως	171	κακῶ δέ	κακὰ δέ
			176	ἀλλ' οὖν	ἀρ' οὖν

### DE EBRIETATE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
6	ἀπαμπί- σχουσα	ἀπαν πιούση <i>et alia</i>	115	συντίθεντα	συντεθέντα
7	ἐπαμπί- σχεται	ἐπαμπίσεται <i>et alia</i>	120	δ παρέδωκε	ἀ παρέδωκε
38	παγίως	πλαγίως	143	φυρούσης . . .	φυρούσας . . .
58	εἰκότως	εἰκός		συγχεού- σης	συγχεού- σας
70	τοῦ φιλαρέ- του καὶ θείου	τῶ φιλαρέτω καὶ θείω	192	τούτων δὴ	τούτων ἤδη
71	πάντως	πάντων	193	προπιστεύ- ειν	προσπιστεύ- ειν
73	μόνου	νόμου	203	συναινέσεως	συνέσεως
76	ἄγον	ἄγων (ἀγῶνα)	218	ἀνθίμου	ἀνάιμου
80	οὔτοι τοίνυν	οὔτοι νῦν (οὐ τοίνυν)	221	τὰς ἀμύστεις	τοὺς ἀμύ- στεις
95	θρῆνοναυτοῖς	θρῆνον αὐτῶν	222	μαιμάζει	μαρμάζει (wrongly given in footnote)
			223	ἀκράτορος	ἀκρότητος (-a)

(Delete on p. 412 footnote "1 MSS. παρὰ.")

### DE SOBRIETATE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
1	περίεστι	περιέσται	8	πανσαμένου	πανσαμένω
6	ὀφείλοντα	ὀφειλόμενα		. . . ἐκείνου	. . . ἐκείνω

## SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
11	οὐκοῦν τέκνα	οὐκοῦν τε	29	χρόνου . . .	χρόνω . . .
12	κάλλους ἀτε- λέστερα	καλῶν ἀτε- λέστερα		εὐρηγται	εὐρηται
23	ἐπαγωγό- τατα	ἀγάγοτα <i>et alia</i>	30	αὐτοῦ	αὐτῶ
28	ὀνόματι	ὄνομα τῶ	36	γεωργικά	γεωργεῖ καὶ
			40	εὐσεβείας	εὐσέβειαν
			57	ἀφειμένος	ἀφιέμενος
			61	ὕγεία	ὕγείαις

### VOL. IV

#### DE CONFUSIONE LINGUARUM

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
22	αὐτῇ νηί	αὐτὴν ἦ	126	δεκάζεσθαι	δεκ(δικ)- άσασθαι
34	ἀδοκίμων ἀψευδῶς	δοκίμων ἀψευδῶν	134	προσιέναι . . .	προσεῖναι . . .
54	ψυχῇ	ψυχῆς		ἀπιέναι	ἀπειναι
58	ποιήσωμεν καὶ ἀκου- σάμεθα	ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκου- σόμεθα	138	ὦδε στὰς	ὀ δὲ στὰς
65	οὐκ ἄνοια δεινῇ	οἶα δεῖν ἦ (οὐ δεινόν)	141	δεκάζεσθαι εὐήθη	δικάζεσθαι εὐθῆ
66	καταπεπον- τωμένης	καταπεπον- τωμένος (-ην)	151	κατασκή- πτουσι	κατα(ε)σκευ- άκασι
67	ἀφορμῇ	ἀφροσύνη	158	πρὸς τῷ	πρὸς τὸ
78	ξένην	ξένον	162	λόγους	λόγων
118	ἀπὸ τούτων καρπωσάμε- νοι	ἀπ' αὐτῶν καρπωσαμέ- νους (-οις)	165	ἐπανατάσεως	ἐπαναστά- σεως
119	τιμωρίαι	τέχλαι	176	ἐναντίας	ἐναντίαις (-α)
			181	μόνον ὡς ἕλεως	μόνων ἕλεω
			195	σύγχυσις	χύσις
			196	τὴν κακίας	τῆς κακίας

#### DE MIGRATIONE ABRAHAMI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
15	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦς	59	ἐν πεφυρ- μένῳ	ἐμπεφυρ- μένῳ
46	τὰ . . . μοίρας λαχόντα	τὰς . . . μοίρας λαχόντα			(ἐμπεφορη- μένῳ)

## PHILO

§ TEXT	MSS.	§ TEXT	MSS.
64 ἐν πᾶσι	ἐπὶ πᾶσι	151 ἀπελείπομεν	ἀπολει- πομεν
89 καὶ ταμείας	καὶ ταμίας (κατὰ μᾶς)		(-ομένων, -ομένην)
90 ἐαυτῆς	ἐαυτῇ (-οῦς)	155 συνίησι	σύνεισι
108 δοξαζόμενον	διδασκόμε- νον	167 γε	τε
142 δόντι	ιδόντι	ἔργων	ἔργον
150 ἐπὶ	ὑπὸ	215 εὐερέεστατον	εὐερέεστα- τον
		224 λαθεῖν	παθεῖν

### QUIS RERUM DIVINARUM HERES

§ TEXT	MSS.	§ TEXT	MSS.
21 τὸν . . . νομοθέτην	τὸ (τὸν) . . . νομοθέτη- μα	113 λήψεσθε	λήψεσθαι
23 τῶν ὄλων δεσμὸς	τῶν ὄλων δεσμῶν (δεσπότης)	142 ἀκριβῶς ἂν	αγριαν
34 ἀνεγείρον	ἀνεγείρων (-ω)	143 γενητὸν	ηττον, ἴσον
71 μὴ πρὸς	τὰ πρὸς	161 ἐχθίστης	εχθιστου (αι- σχίστης)
79 καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους, πεπαίδευ- ται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ	Omitted by Codices. Pap. καὶ τας οὐρ . . . δους πε- παίδευτοι . . . το	193 μοίραν	μοίρας
		201 διακρίναντος	διακρίναντος
		ἐνδεξάμενοι	ἐκδεξάμενοι
		249 εἰ δὴ	εἰ δε (ἐπειδὴ)
		251 ἱερῶν	ἱερέων

### DE CONGRESSU ERUDITIONIS GRATIA

§ TEXT	MSS.	§ TEXT	MSS.
119 ἐργάσεσθαι	ἐργάασθαι	170 ἢ οὐ· καὶ ἐκάκωσε	ἢ οὐκ ἐκά- κωσε

(In § 87 correct in text and footnote *κακίας* to *κακιῶν*.)

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

## VOL. V

### DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
15	ἡ . . . ἀλ- λότριαι	καὶ . . . ἀλ- λότριαι	140	τὸ τοῦ	τούτου (τοῦ)
25	πολὺν	πολὺ	148	τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν	τῷ (τὸ) ἐν ἡμῖν
91	ἀποβαλοῦ- σης	ἀποβαλλοῦ- σης	181	μὴν περὶ	μὲν περὶ
92	διοικήσαντος	διοικήσαντος	191	παθεῖν	ἀπαθεῖν (ἀ παθεῖν)

### DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
8	τῷ θνητῶν . . . γενεῖ	τῷ θνητῶ γένει	173	τιθασεύοντα	τιθασσεύ- οντας
17	ἐφάντα- σιώθη	ἐφάντα- σιάσθη	174	τὸν μυελὸν	τῶν μυελῶν
53	συντάξεις	πράξεις	217	χρήσεσθαι	χρήσασθαι
56	πλήξειε	πλήξει	221	ἀποφανεῖ	ἀποφαίνει
63	πάν	πάντα	230	ἐστί	ἔσται
73	οὐδὲ	οὐδὲν	248	τῶν δὲ πτη- νῶν τὸ μὲν	τῶν δὲ πτη- νῶν τὰ μὲν
113	αὐτὰς	αὐτὰ	257	σοφιστῆν	σοφιστῆ
			260	αὐτομάτων	αὐτομαθῶν

### DE SOMNIIS, I

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
82	λαμπρότη- τας ἔτι	λαμπρότητι (-τος)	131	ναρκήσειε	ναρκήσει (-οι)

### DE SOMNIIS, II

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
25	ἐξευρῶν	ἐξεύρον	62	στεφανοῦ- σθαι . . .	στεφανοῦσι . . . ἀξιούσι
49	ἐδωδῆν . . . γήτεια	ἐπωδῆν . . . γοητεία	65	μεταδιώ- κοντα	μεταδιώ- κοντες
49	ἀνθρώπων	ἀνθρωπος	100	βασιλεύσεις	βασιλεύσης
53	βάπτειν	ῥάπτειν			
61	ἀφθονόν	ἀφθόνων			

## PHILO

§	TEXT	MSS.		§	TEXT	MSS.
139	συντενοῦσι	συντείνουσι		194	ψευδές	ψευδῶς (Tr. ψεύδος)
147	ἀρχέτυπον	ἀρχετύπων		203	εἰς αὐτὸ	ταυτὸ
149	κελεύση	κελεύσει		206	θεασόμεθα	θεασώμεθα
154	ἀναρχία . . .	ἀναρχίαν . . .		211	ἀπολαύει	ἀπολαύειν
	ἀρχῆ	ἀρχὴν		223	αὐτίκα γε	αὐτίκα δὲ
158	κανῶν	κανὸν (Trin. ικανόν)		250	ὄξυδορκούση	ὄξυδορκούσι
169	ὅτι καὶ	ὅτι κἀν		258	διοκίσας	διοικήσας
172	εὐσκόπως	εὐσκόποις		259	ἀναίμοις	ἀνέμοις
181	τῷ θάτερον	τὸ θάτερον		260	ἐγγίνεται	ἐγγενεῖται
	εὐφροσύνην	εὐφροσύνης			κολφῶν	κωλύων
184	εὐνούχος εἰμι	εὐνούχος εἰ μὴ		278	ὑπὲρ ἡδονῆς	ἄπερ ἡδονῆς
				279	ἐπιτιθέμενος	ἐπιθέμενος

# PHILO

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

F. H. COLSON, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

IN TEN VOLUMES

(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

VI



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## PREFACE TO VOLUME VI

MR. WHITAKER left no work of any kind bearing on the contents of this volume, and it therefore appears in my name only.

The great difference of subject matter from the five previous volumes has made the long detailed analytical introductions less necessary and where the narrative runs on continuously for a considerable length almost useless. I have accordingly retained them only in a very modified form. I have continued to divide the annotation into footnotes which seemed needed for the comprehension of the passages and appendix notes mainly for illustration, but both footnotes and appendix are considerably diminished.

One point perhaps requires apology or at least justification. What appears here as the Second Book of the Life of Moses was before the publication of Cohn's edition divided into two, a Second Book of twelve Chapters, and a Third Book of thirty-nine. Cohn who has demonstrated the erroneousness of this division,<sup>a</sup> takes the middle course of numbering the Chapters as of two books, but the sections as of one. Since Cohn originated the arrangement by sections this was probably the wiser course. But now that citation by sections is superseding the old citation by

## PREFACE

chapters this difference of arrangement between sections and chapters seemed to me confusing and I have accordingly numbered the chapters continuously from 1 to 50; and therefore in tracing a reference to a particular chapter of *De Vita Mosis*, iii. my readers will have to subtract twelve. I hope any inconvenience caused by this will be diminished by the fact that most, if not all, references to Philo in earlier writers cite not only the chapters of a treatise but the Mangey pages, which of course remain unchanged.

I may add that Dr. Rouse's help, which has been generously given throughout, has been particularly useful in this volume.

F. H. C.

*April 1935.*

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In this volume we enter<sup>a</sup> upon the second main division of Philo's works. The preceding five volumes have been occupied with what is usually called the commentary or allegorical commentary. We now pass on to his Exposition of the Laws to which the biographical treatises in this volume serve as an introduction. Philo starts with the assumption that the Pentateuch as a whole is a law-book written by the lawgiver himself. But this law-book obviously opens and continues with a large amount of material which is not, strictly speaking, legislative but narrative. Hence the theory is developed that Moses began with describing the foundation of the world-commonwealth or cosmopolis which was to be governed by the laws, and followed it by describing the lives of those who had observed those laws while still unwritten and were therefore themselves "living laws," as well as

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps I shall rather say "re-enter," as *De Abr.* assumes that the *De Opificio* is the opening book of the "Exposition." And so the German translators begin with the *De Op.* and proceed at once to *De Abr.* In this translation we have followed the traditional arrangement, which is also that adopted by Cohn and Wendland, not perhaps without justification. It must be noted that if *De Op.* begins the Exposition, it serves the same purpose for the Commentary which begins with Gen. ii. 1, and seems to assume that the story of Creation has been adequately dealt with.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the rewards which obedience, and the punishments which disobedience, in the past had incurred. He has already in the *De Opificio* expounded Moses' story of the cosmogony. In the four treatises contained in this volume and two others which have not been preserved he deals with the rest of what he calls the historical part of the legislation.

The general plan of the first three of these six treatises, namely the extant *Abraham* and the lost *Isaac* and *Jacob*, was to shew that Moses set before us the history of the soul in two triads. The first triad, Enos, Enoch and Noah, represent respectively Hope, Repentance or Improvement, and Justice. These three are the imperfectly wise, for though Justice is the Queen of virtues and indeed Noah is called perfect, he is only perfect in his generation—that is, relatively only—and therefore falls below the second triad of the truly wise. This triad, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, represent respectively Wisdom or Virtue as acquired by teaching, nature and practice. The first triad is disposed of in §§ 7-47 of *De Abrahamo*; the second forms the subject of the rest of that treatise, and no doubt of the two that have been lost.

The formula Nature (natural ability), Teaching, Practice as covering the necessary requirements for education is a commonplace in ancient scholastic literature. Philo is the first, so far as I know, to apply it to spiritual life, and we have met with this application frequently in the Allegorical Commentary.<sup>a</sup> But though it is one of his leading ideas, he takes little pains to show how it fits the three great Patriarchs. The chequered career of Jacob, "long

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Sac.* 5 f., *De Cong.* 35 f., *De Mut.* 12 and note, *De Som.* i. 160, 167, 173.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

trained in the athletics of adversity,"<sup>a</sup> qualifies him no doubt for the name of the Practiser so regularly applied to him, but it is difficult to see how Abraham pre-eminently represents wisdom acquired by teaching. True, he receives and obeys the Divine instructions, but so do Isaac and Jacob, though perhaps in a lesser degree, and Isaac's name of the Self-Taught does not exclude discipleship to God. What, if anything, Philo found in the life of Isaac to justify this epithet applied to him almost as often as Practiser is to Jacob he never tells us.<sup>b</sup> I imagine that the idea rests chiefly on the meaning of the name. Isaac is "laughter" and therefore "joy," and joy is the result, or as he calls it, the reward when the mind finds what it seeks instinctively and without labour.<sup>c</sup>

The *De Abrahamo* after the first 47 sections gives the main incidents of Abraham's life, not in chronological order, but to illustrate his piety, hospitality, tact and kindness, courage and self-control. In every case except the last, which describes Abraham's resignation at the death of Sarah, the narrative is followed by an allegorical interpretation. The general principles of these allegories is much the same as in the Commentary, but the method is in one respect very different. No knowledge of the Pentateuch beyond the passage under discussion is supposed to be possessed by the reader, and consequently there is

<sup>a</sup> *De Ios.* 26.

<sup>b</sup> Though Stanley discovered in Isaac a gentleness and meditateness which distinguishes him from the other two. See, for "the gentle Isaac," *Jewish Church*, i. p. 32.

<sup>c</sup> See, particularly *De Praemiis* 50, where also faith is said to be the "reward" of the soul which learns by teaching, since instruction requires the readiness of the instructed to believe. This passage perhaps gives us the best clue to the meaning which Philo attaches to the formula.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

none of the rambling from text to text or of the inseting in the main allegory of minor allegories suggested by casual phrases, which constitutes the most striking characteristic and the chief difficulty of the other set of treatises.

The *De Iosepho* is something of an excrescence in the scheme. The qualities of the ideal "politician" or "statesman" might serve as an effective supplement to those of the contemplative and philosophical life, but they do not bear much relation to the three types of Nature, Teaching and Practice, and when Philo in the *De Praemiis*<sup>a</sup> gives a sort of recapitulatory survey of the historical part of the law-book, while Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses are all discussed again, there is no word of Joseph. I should imagine that he felt, what of course is true, that in the Joseph chapters of Genesis he had a fine dramatic story which could not be without undue compression worked into the life of Jacob, a story rich in incidents which offer themselves for epic narrative, and in situations which gave full scope for the rhetorical exhibitions in which his age delighted. If in view of contemporary misgovernment he felt a pleasure in showing how justly Egypt had once been governed by a Jew, the feeling was only natural.

The treatment of the life of Joseph in the *De Iosepho* makes a startling contrast to the persistent depreciation to which his character has been subjected throughout the Allegorical Commentary. There he is the man wise in his own conceit,<sup>b</sup> the philosopher of statecraft rather than truth,<sup>c</sup> the honourer of spurious goods,<sup>d</sup> whose study is of the body and vain imaginations,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> §§ 22-56.

<sup>b</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 179.

<sup>c</sup> *Quod Det.* 7

<sup>d</sup> *De Sob.* 14.

*De Agr.* 56.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the many-sided vanity of life.<sup>a</sup> One explanation given is that the two opposing views belong to different periods and stages in Philo's life. Professor Goodenough<sup>b</sup> ascribes it to the difference of audiences addressed in the Exposition and the Commentary, or to a chronic vacillation in Philo's own temperament, or to both together. I am inclined to think that the "chronic vacillation of character" is enough in itself, though I should prefer to call it a chronic tendency to see both sides of a question alternately or even simultaneously. Philo undoubtedly looks upon the philosophical life as the highest, and the practical life which includes the political as a necessary evil. But he is as firm upon the necessity of the latter as on the superiority of the former, and further the lower may be conceived of as a discipline or stepping-stone to the higher. If this is realized, the twofold representation of Joseph will not present insuperable difficulties. The main fact in the life of Joseph was that he lived in Egypt and was Pharaoh's viceroy. Since Egypt spiritually is the body and the King of Egypt the body-loving mind, Joseph may represent the agent which that king employs for his baser purposes. He is not from this point of view a historical person, but a *τρόπος* or temperament<sup>c</sup> and Philo has no difficulty in finding isolated facts and passages which can be made to

<sup>a</sup> *De Conf.* 71. Besides these and many others note especially the sustained depreciation in *De Som.* ii. 10-16 and often later in the same treatise.

<sup>b</sup> "Philo's Exposition of the Law and his *De Vita Mosis*," *Harvard Theological Review*, April 1933.

<sup>c</sup> Or "one of the traits or feelings existing in every man's soul," as he is definitely stated to be in *De Som.* ii. 98. From this point of view we are told to forget the actual cruelty of the brothers.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

bear this out. His coat of many colours, his name of "addition" signifying adventitious goods, his mounting the second chariot, his swearing by the health of Pharaoh, the arrogant claims of his dreams, can all be pressed into service, while anything that does not fit can, if needed, be ignored.<sup>a</sup> On the other hand, political life is also capable of bringing out higher qualities, and of those the historical Joseph is the obvious exemplar. In fact, Philo's treatment of Joseph gives us the clearest example of his belief that the spiritual truths which may "break out of the Word" are manifold, not only different, but even at first sight contradictory.<sup>b</sup>

On the whole, these two treatises proceed on the same general method, though in *De Iosepho* the rhetorical element is far more and the allegorical less conspicuous. But the two books on the life of Moses stand to some extent by themselves. The opening of the first book does not suggest that it is a sequel to the four that have preceded, but assigns a different reason for its composition, viz. that its object is to make the story and character of the great legislator

<sup>a</sup> Not but that opposing facts are sometimes too strong and numerous to be ignored. Thus in *De Mig.* 16-24, when the allegory is based on the carrying of Joseph's bones to Canaan, these "bones" or memorable actions are catalogued, and even in *De Som.* ii., where the representation of him as the impersonation of vanity is most developed, the hope is held out that ultimately he will be reconciled with his brethren (§ 108). Again, when the allegory demands a more favourable view, as when the point is that he *finds* his brethren, he becomes the man who mixes in public life, but has no thirst for fame (πολιτικὸς μὲν ἦκιστα δὲ δοξομανής, *De Fuga* 126).

<sup>b</sup> For instance, the coat of many colours, which has served in *De Som.* i. 219 to represent the falseness of the mere politician, stands in *De Ios.* 32 for the resourcefulness in peace and war of the true statesman.



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

known to the outer world. The constitution of the book is also very different. Allegory is almost entirely banished from the narrative and confined to explanation of the priest's vestments and the form and apparatus of the Tabernacle. Regarded as biography, they are not so satisfactory as the *De Abrahamo* and the *De Iosepho*. Philo's arrangement of the life of Moses under the four heads of king, lawgiver, priest and prophet does, no doubt, serve for a logical basis to the work, but it leads him into many oddities. While the story of Moses as king or leader is carried on consistently to the end of Exodus xviii., what next to the deliverance itself is the central point of the story, the theophany on Sinai, is entirely omitted; the account of Balaam and Balak, which has little to do with Moses himself, is given at disproportionate length, while the stories of the Red Sea and the Manna and the Golden Calf are given twice over.

These and other considerations have led what is probably the great majority of scholars to think that the two books are not an integral part of the Exposition, but a work composed on a separate occasion, and (at least in the eyes of those who consider the Exposition to be intended primarily for Jewish readers) <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Any discussion of this disputed question may be left till we come to the Laws themselves in the next volume. Meanwhile I find it difficult to resist the general impression that Philo in writing the *De Abrahamo* and *De Iosepho* as well as the *De Vita Mosis*, in which the fact is admitted, had Gentiles rather than Jews in view. Observe, for instance (unless it is to be put down as a mere mannerism), the strict economy of names in all four books. Just as neither Balaam nor even Aaron in the third and fourth is ever mentioned by name, so too Lot in the first and the brothers in the second (even when they act or speak individually) are only indicated by their relationship to Abraham or Jacob.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

for a different audience. While not venturing to hold the contrary I do not feel enough confidence in Philo's consistency of method to regard this as certain. Anyhow, the fact is clear that, however and for whomsoever composed, the two books effect what indeed is implied in the recapitulatory survey in the *De Praemiis*, where Moses is joined with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as the recipient of the rewards of obedience which the Pentateuch in Philo's view is intended to preach. Without them his survey of the lessons of the history which is begun in the *De Abrahamo* and his portrait of the "Living Laws"<sup>a</sup> would be hopelessly incomplete, and their right place in the series is that which has been given them in all editions and is retained in this translation.

Taking the four books as a whole I would make two comments. One is that the separate stories are admirably told with much fire, vigour and lucidity. The "stilted and frigid"<sup>b</sup> speeches repel us, but to Greek readers living in the age of Epideictic oratory they would be congenial enough. As for the narratives themselves, none of us would wish to exchange them for the sacred simplicity of our own version. But the Gentile readers who had no such associations must have found them a pleasant contrast to the harsh Greek of the Septuagint.

<sup>a</sup> Moses is of course primarily the lawgiver, rather than himself the law, and Philo may possibly have shrunk from saying that Moses the biographer *intended* his own biography to serve the same purpose as the biographies of the patriarchs. Still the title of "Living Law" is applied to him in *De Mos.* i. 162.

<sup>b</sup> The epithets are quoted from my own judgement of them as given in the General Introduction to Vol. I. p. xxii. I am inclined now to modify them with regard to some of the speeches.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The second point is the essential fidelity with which Philo adheres to the narrative of Scripture. Though he professes to draw also from the Tradition of the Elders, there is little or none of the legendary accretions with which the Book of Jubilees, the so-called "Antiquities of Philo" and even Josephus, to say nothing of later Rabbinical tradition, endeavour to embellish the history of the Patriarchs and of Moses.<sup>a</sup> There is of course any amount of amplification: that is according to the practice of many if not most ancient historians, who consider it their business not merely to state but to interpret facts—to infer what the actors probably would have felt, said, or done in the given circumstances. A good example is the description of the battle of Abraham and 318 men against the four kings,<sup>b</sup> where the LXX "he came upon them by night and smote them" is expanded into "he attacked the enemy by night when they had supped and were preparing to go to sleep. Some fell helpless victims to him in their beds, others who took arms against him were completely annihilated," with a few more words about the extinction of the whole army. As Josephus, *Ant.* i. 177,<sup>c</sup> gives similar details,

<sup>a</sup> The closest approach to this is the account of Moses' education in *Mos.* i. 21 ff., but even this is merely a statement of what an Egyptian prince would, in Philo's view, have naturally been taught.

<sup>b</sup> *De Abr.* 233 f.

<sup>c</sup> As the relation of Josephus's narrative to Philo's may be of interest to some readers, I may remark here that Cohn in the introduction to his fourth volume, p. xxv, considers that Josephus did make use of Philo, particularly of *Mos.* i. and ii. He quotes ten examples of similar thought and phrases, mainly the former. Thackeray, in his notes to the Loeb translation of *Ant.* i. and ii., cites some five instances of the kind from the *De Abr.* and *De Ios.* The resemblance of thought in *Ant.* i. 18 f. to the opening of *De Op.* is far more striking, but clearly Josephus may have read that work or

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

this is quoted as a "striking parallel," but surely it merely describes what is naturally to be expected in a successful night attack by a small force against a larger.

As for the text, we find nothing corresponding to the difficulties and corruptions which we found in the first five volumes. In the first place the mss., at least those which are used by Cohn, are far more numerous. They vary from thirteen in number to eleven, whereas in the other set of treatises the maximum was seven, and in three cases the editor was forced to rely on one or two codices, none of them remarkable for accuracy. Secondly, the straightforward narrative as opposed to the tortuous argument of the Allegorical Commentary was apparently handled by the scribes with greater ease and accuracy. Consequently, though there are plenty of the minor differences certain to be found in this larger number of mss. so that the Apparatus Criticus is no shorter, the emendations adopted by Cohn are few and in only one case has the present translator ventured to add any to the list.

its opening, without reading or at least making systematic use of the other treatises. I think this last should be regarded as somewhat uncertain, but see note on pp. 608 f.

# LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

## SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)  
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoria)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini)  
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate  
Caini)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit)  
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)  
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)  
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-  
guarum)  
On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione  
Abrahami)  
Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)  
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae  
Eruditionis gratia)
- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)  
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)  
On Dreams (De Somniis)
- VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)  
On Joseph (De Iosepho)  
Moses (De Vita Mosis)

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)  
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
- VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)  
On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)  
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)  
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)  
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)  
Flaccus (In Flaccum)  
Hypothetica<sup>1</sup> (Apologia pro Iudaeis)  
On Providence<sup>1</sup> (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)
- GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

ON ABRAHAM  
(DE ABRAHAMO)

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE ABRAHAMO*

AFTER stating his intention to follow Moses in describing the "living" before proceeding to the written Laws (1-6) Philo deals with the first and less perfect triad. First Enos the hoper, whose name equivalent to "Man" shows that hope is the first mark of a true man (7-10). Secondly repentance represented by Enoch, who was "transferred" *i.e.* to a better life and was "not found," for the good are rare and solitary (17-26). Thirdly, Noah, who was "just" in comparison with the wicked generation destroyed by the Flood (27-46).

The higher triad of the three great Patriarchs are not only typical of the trinity, Teaching, Nature and Practice, but are also the parents of Israel, the soul which attains to the sight of God (48-59). To come to Abraham himself, the literal story of his migrations shows his self-sacrifice (60-67); allegorically it denotes the soul's journey from godless astronomy first to self-knowledge (Haran), then to the knowledge of God (68-88). His adventures in Egypt (89-98) suggest that the tortures which plagued Pharaoh represent what the sensual mind suffers from the virtues which, while it professes to love them, are incompatible with it (99-106). Next comes the story of the three Angelic Visitors (107-118). Allegorically they represent the Self-existent and the beneficent and sovereign potencies apprehended according as the soul can rise to the full conception or is moved by hope of benefits or fear, and Philo points out that while men distrust these last motives, God does not hold them worthless (119-132). In fact the tale of the destruction of the Cities of the Plain represents the Self-existent as leaving these tasks to His subordinates



## ON ABRAHAM

(133-146). This leads him to an allegory in which the five cities are the five senses, the noblest of which, sight, is figured by Zoar (147-166).

Next comes the sacrifice of Isaac (167-177). The greatness of Abraham is vindicated against hostile criticisms based on the frequency of similar stories of child immolation (178-199). Allegorically the story means that a devout soul often feels a duty of surrendering its "Isaac," Joy, which nevertheless through God's mercy it is allowed to retain (200-207).

These narratives have illustrated Abraham's piety. Next comes his kindness to men as shewn in his settlement of the dispute with Lot (208-216). This dispute may be taken to represent allegorically the incompatibility of love for the goods of the soul with love for bodily or external things (217-224). Then his courage appears in his victory over the four kings who had routed the armies of the five cities (225-235), and this conflict is allegorized as one between the four passions and the five senses, in which the intervention of reason turns the scale against the former (236-244). Philo now goes on to say something of the virtues of Sarah, particularly as shewn by her advocacy of the mating with Hagar (245-254) and this leads on to an account of the grief coupled with resignation shown by Abraham at her death (255-261). The treatise concludes with an eloquent praise of Abraham's faith and of his right to the title of "Elder" and the crowning tribute that he both did the law and was himself the Law (262-end).

ΒΙΟΣ ΣΟΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑΝ  
 ΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΕΝΤΟΣ Η ΝΟΜΩΝ ΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ  
 (ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ) Ο ΕΣΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

- [1] I. Τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἐν πέντε βίβλοις ἀναγραφέν-  
 1 των ἢ πρώτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐπιγράφεται Γένεσις ἀπὸ  
 τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἣν ἐν ἀρχῇ περιέχει,  
 λαβοῦσα τὴν πρόσρησιν, καίτοι μυρίων ἄλλων  
 ἐμφερομένων πραγμάτων, ὅσα κατ' εἰρήνην ἢ πό-  
 λεμον ἢ φορὰς καὶ ἀφορίας ἢ λιμὸν καὶ εὐθηνίαν  
 ἢ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς φθορὰς διὰ πυρὸς καὶ  
 ὕδατος ἢ τὸνναντίον γενέσεις καὶ εὐτροφίας ζώων  
 καὶ φυτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀέρος καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρῶν  
 εὐκρασίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν ἀρετῇ τῶν δὲ κακίᾳ  
 2 συμβιωσάντων· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ  
 κόσμου μέρη, τὰ δὲ παθήματα, τελειότατον δὲ καὶ  
 πληρέστατον ὁ κόσμος, αὐτῷ τὴν ὅλην βίβλον  
 ἀνέθηκεν. ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἢ κοσμο-  
 ποιία διατέτακται, διὰ τῆς προτέρας συντάξεως,  
 [2] ὡς οἶόν τε | ἦν, ἠκριβώσαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς νόμους  
 3 κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς <καὶ> ἀκόλουθον ἀναγκαῖον διερευ-  
 νᾶσθαι, τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκόνων ὑπέρ-  
 θεσιν ποιησάμενοι τοὺς καθολικωτέρους καὶ ὡς ἂν

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the Deluge and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Philo classes these two together, ignoring the purely local character of the latter. Compare his treatment of the two in *Mos.* ii. 52-65, and *cf. ib.* 263.

## ON ABRAHAM

THAT IS, THE LIFE OF THE WISE MAN MADE PERFECT  
THROUGH TEACHING, OR THE FIRST BOOK ON UN-  
WRITTEN LAWS

I. The first of the five books in which the holy laws are written bears the name and inscription of Genesis, from the genesis or creation of the world, an account of which it contains at its beginning. It has received this title in spite of its embracing numberless other matters; for it tells of peace and war, of fruitfulness and barrenness, of dearth and plenty; how fire and water wrought great destruction of what is on earth;<sup>a</sup> how on the other hand plants and animals were born and throve through the kindly tempering of the air and the yearly seasons, and so too men, some of whom lived a life of virtue, others of vice. But since some of these things are parts of the world, and others events which befall it, and the world is the complete consummation which contains them all, he dedicated the whole book to it.

The story of the order in which the world was made has been set forth in detail by us as well as was possible in the preceding treatise<sup>b</sup>; but, since it is necessary to carry out our examination of the law in regular sequence, let us postpone consideration of particular laws, which are, so to speak, copies, and examine first those which are more general and

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the *De Opificio*. See General Introduction to this volume, p. ix, note a.

## PHILO

- 4 ἀρχετύπους προτέρους διερευνήσωμεν. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ καλῶς βιώσαντες, ὧν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱερωτάταις ἐστηλιτεῦσθαι γραφαῖς συμβέβηκεν, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνων ἔπαινον αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας προτρέψασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμοιον ζῆλον ἀγαγεῖν.
- 5 οἱ γὰρ ἔμψυχοι καὶ λογικοὶ νόμοι ἄνδρες ἐκείνοι γεγόνασιν, οὓς δυοῖν χάριν ἐσέμνυνεν· ἐνὸς μὲν βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξει, ὅτι τὰ τεθειμένα διατάγματα τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἀπάδει, δευτέρου δὲ ὅτι οὐ πολὺς πόνος τοῖς ἐθέλουσι κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ζῆν, ὁπότε καὶ ἀγράφῳ τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ, πρὶν τι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναγραφῆναι τῶν ἐν μέρει, ῥαδίως καὶ εὐπετῶς ἐχρήσαντο οἱ πρῶτοι· ὡς δεόντως ἂν τινα φάναι, τοὺς τεθέντας νόμους μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ὑπομνήματα εἶναι βίου τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀρχαιολογοῦντας
- 6 ἔργα καὶ λόγους, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκείνοι γὰρ οὔτε γνώριμοι καὶ φοιτηταὶ γενόμενοί τινων οὔτε παρὰ διδασκάλοις ἂν χρῆ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀναδιδαχθέντες, αὐτήκοοι δὲ καὶ αὐτομαθεῖς, ἀκολουθίαν φύσεως ἀσπασάμενοι, τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, πρεσβύτατον θεσμόν εἶναι ὑπολαβόντες ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἠννομήθησαν, ὑπαίτιον μὲν οὐδὲν γνώμῃς ἐκουσίῳ ἐργασάμενοι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τύχης ποτνιῶμενοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ λιταῖς καὶ ἱκεσίαις ἐξευμενιζόμενοι πρὸς ὀλοκλήρου μετουσίαν ζωῆς δι' ἀμφοτέρων κατορθουμένης τῶν τε ἐκ προνοίας καὶ τῶν ἄνευ ἐκουσίου γνώμης.
- 7 II. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀρχὴ μετουσίᾳ ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ἐλπίς καὶ ταύτην οἶα λεωφόρον ὁδὸν ἢ φιλάρετος

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\* See App. p. 597.

## ON ABRAHAM, 4-7

may be called the originals of those copies. These 4  
are such men as lived good and blameless lives,  
whose virtues stand permanently recorded in the  
most holy scriptures, not merely to sound their  
praises but for the instruction of the reader and as  
an inducement to him to aspire to the same ; for in 5  
these men we have laws endowed with life and  
reason,<sup>a</sup> and Moses extolled them for two reasons.  
First he wished to shew that the enacted ordinances  
are not inconsistent with nature ; and secondly that  
those who wish to live in accordance with the laws  
as they stand have no difficult task, seeing that the  
first generations before any at all of the particular  
statutes was set in writing followed the unwritten  
law with perfect ease, so that one might properly  
say that the enacted laws are nothing else than  
memorials of the life of the ancients, preserving to  
a later generation their actual words and deeds.  
For they were not scholars or pupils of others, nor 6  
did they learn under teachers what was right to say  
or do : they listened to no voice or instruction but  
their own : they gladly accepted conformity with  
nature, holding that nature itself was, as indeed  
it is, the most venerable of statutes, and thus their  
whole life was one of happy obedience to law. They  
committed no guilty action of their own free will or  
purpose, and where chance led them wrong they  
besought God's mercy and propitiated Him with  
prayers and supplications, and thus secured a perfect  
life guided aright in both fields, both in their pre-  
meditated actions and in such as were not of freely-  
willed purpose.

II. Since, then, the first step towards the possession 7  
of blessings is hope, and hope like a high road is

## PHILO

ἀνατέμνει καὶ ἀνοίγει ψυχὴ σπουδάζουσα τυχεῖν  
 τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καλοῦ, τὸν πρῶτον ἐλπίδος  
 ἔραστην προσεῖπεν “ἄνθρωπον” τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ  
 γένους ὄνομα κατ’ ἐξαίρετον χάριν δωρησάμενος  
 8 αὐτῷ—Χαλδαῖοι γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἐνὼς καλοῦσιν  
 —ὡς μόνου πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντος ἀνθρώπου τοῦ τὰ  
 ἀγαθὰ προσδοκῶντος καὶ ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἐφίδρυ-  
 μένου· ἐξ οὗ δῆλον, ὅτι τὸν δύσελπιν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον  
 ἀλλ’ ἀνθρωποειδὲς ἡγείται θηρίον τὸ οἰκειότατον  
 9 ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς, ἐλπίδα, ἀφηρημένον. ὅθεν καὶ  
 παγκάλως ὑμνήσαι βουλόμενος τὸν εὐέλπιν προ-  
 ειπὼν, ὅτι οὗτος ἠλπισεν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὄλων πατέρα  
 [3] καὶ ποιητὴν, ἐπιλέγει· “αὕτη ἡ βίβλος | γενέσεως  
 ἀνθρώπων,” καίτοι πατέρων καὶ πάππων ἤδη  
 γεγονότων· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀρχηγέτας τοῦ μικτοῦ  
 γένους ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι, τουτονὶ δὲ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου  
 10 καὶ διηθημένου, ὅπερ ὄντως ἐστὶ λογικόν. καθάπερ  
 γὰρ ποιητῆς Ὁμηρος, μυρίων ποιητῶν ὄντων, κατ’  
 ἔξοχὴν λέγεται, καὶ τὸ μέλαν ᾧ γράφομεν, καίτοι  
 παντὸς ὃ μὴ λευκὸν ἐστὶ μέλανος ὄντος, καὶ ἀρχῶν  
 Ἀθήνησιν ὃ ἐπώνυμος καὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων  
 ἄριστος, ἀφ’ οὗ οἱ χρόνοι καταριθμοῦνται, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον καὶ τὸν ἐλπίδι χρώμενον “ἄνθρωπον” κατ’  
 ἔξοχὴν ὠνόμασε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἄλλων ἀφησυχάσας

<sup>a</sup> Philo uses “Chaldaean” as a synonym for Hebrew frequently in these works, though not in the treatises contained in Vols. I.-V.

<sup>b</sup> This argument, founded on Gen. iv. 26, LXX “He called his name Enos; he hoped to call on the name of the Lord God” (E.V. “then began men to call upon the name of the Lord”) and on the fact that Enos is a poetical Hebrew term for “man,” has already been given in substantially the same form in *Quod Det.* 138.

## ON ABRAHAM, 7-10

constructed and opened up by the virtue-loving soul in its eagerness to gain true excellence, Moses called the first lover of hope "Man," thus bestowing on him as a special favour the name which is common to the race (for the Chaldean<sup>a</sup> name for Man is Enos),<sup>8</sup> on the grounds that he alone is a true man who expects good things and rests firmly on comfortable hopes.<sup>b</sup> This plainly shows that he regards a despondent person as no man but a beast in human shape, since he has been robbed of the nearest and dearest possession of the human soul, namely hope. And, therefore, in his wish to give the highest praise<sup>9</sup> to the hoper, after first stating that he set his hope on the Father and Maker of all, he adds, "this is the book of the coming into being of men," though fathers and grandfathers had already come into being. But he held that they were the founders of the mixed race, but Enos of that from which all impurity had been strained, in fact of the race which is truly reasonable. For just as we give the title of<sup>10</sup> "the poet" to Homer in virtue of his pre-eminence, though there are multitudes of poets besides him, and "the black"<sup>c</sup> to the material with which we write, though everything is black which is not white, and "the Archon"<sup>d</sup> at Athens to the chief of the nine archons, the Archon Eponymos, from whose year of office dates are calculated, so too Moses gave the name of man in pre-eminence to him who cherished hope and left unnoticed the many others as un-

<sup>c</sup> μέλαν being the regular word for "ink."

<sup>d</sup> The 1st Archon was called simply ὁ ἀρχων, the 2nd ἀρχων βασιλεύς, the 3rd ἀρχων πολέμαρχος, the other nine θεσμοθέται. The addition of ἐπώνυμος ("who gives his name to dates," etc.) seems to be a later use.

## PHILO

- ὡς οὐκ ἀξίων τῆς αὐτῆς προσήσεως ἐπιλαχεῖν.
- 11 εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὴν βίβλον γενέσεως τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου προσεῖπεν, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, διότι γραφῆς καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος ὁ εὐελπις, οὐ τῆς ἐν χαρτιδίοις ὑπὸ σπητῶν διαφθαρησομένοις, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐν ἀθανάτῳ τῇ φύσει, παρ' ἧ τὰς σπουδαίας πράξεις ἀναγράφτους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.
- 12 εἰ μέντοι καταριθμήσειέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ γηγενοῦς, τὸν ὑπὸ μὲν Χαλδαίων Ἐνώς Ἑλλάδι δὲ διαλέκτῳ προσαγορευόμενον “ ἀνθρω-  
13 πον ” εὐρήσει τέταρτον. ἐν ἀριθμοῖς δὲ ἡ τετρὰς τετίμηται παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσόφοις, ὅσοι τὰς ἀσωμάτους οὐσίας καὶ νοητὰς ἠσπάσαντο, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ Μωυσεῖ τῷ πανσόφῳ, ὃς σεμνύνων τὸν τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν φησιν ὅτι “ ἅγιός ἐστι καὶ αἰνετός”· δι' αὐτῶν δ' αἰτίας ἐλέχθη, διὰ τῆς προτέρας  
14 συντάξεως εἴρηται. ἅγιος δὲ καὶ ἐπαινετός ὁ εὐελπις, ὡς τοῦναντίον ἀναγνος καὶ ψεκτός ὁ δύσελπις, φόβῳ πρὸς ἅπαντα συμβούλῳ κακῶ χρώμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐχθρόν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ φασίν, ὡς ἐλπίδα φόβῳ καὶ φόβον ἐλπίδι· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· προσδοκία μὲν γὰρ ἐκάτερον, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἢ δ' ἔμπαλιν κακῶν, ἀκατάλλακτοι δ' αἱ φύσεις τούτων καὶ ἀσύμβατοι.
- 15 III. τσαῦτα μὲν ἀπόχρη περὶ ἐλπίδος εἰπεῖν, ἣν

<sup>a</sup> So in *Quod Det.* 139 that “the hoper is written in the book of God” is deduced from “this is the book of the generation of men” following on Gen. iv. 26. Of course the phrase introduces what is coming and begins a fresh paragraph. For a similar misunderstanding cf. the treatment of Gen. ii. 4, in *Leg. All.* i. 19, and of Gen. vi. 9 in § 31 below.

<sup>b</sup> Enos as Adam's grandson would naturally be third, or, if Abel and Cain are reckoned, fifth. Philo may obtain the



## ON ABRAHAM, 11-15

worthy to receive the same title. He did 11  
well, too, in speaking of the *book* of the coming into  
being of the true man.<sup>a</sup> The word was appropriate  
because the hoper deserves a memorial written not  
on pieces of paper which moths shall destroy but in  
the undying book of nature where good actions are  
registered.

Further, if we reckon the 12  
generations from the first, the earth-born man, we  
shall find that he, who is called by the Chaldeans  
Enos and in our tongue Man, is fourth.<sup>b</sup> Now the 13  
number four has been held in high honour by the  
other philosophers who devoted themselves to the  
study of immaterial and conceptual realities, and  
especially by the all-wise Moses who when glorifying  
that number speaks of it as "holy and for praise,"<sup>c</sup>  
and why he so called it has been shewn in the former  
treatise.<sup>d</sup> Holy, too, and praiseworthy is the hopeful 14  
man, just as on the contrary the despondent is unholy  
and blameworthy, since in all things he takes fear  
for his evil counsellor; for no two things are more at  
enmity with each other, men say, than fear and hope,  
and surely that is natural, for each is an expectation,  
hope of good, fear on the other hand of evil, and  
their natures are irreconcilable and incapable of  
agreement.

### III. No more need be said about 15

number he requires by omitting either Abel, because in Gen.  
iv. 25 Seth is spoken of as a substitute for him, or Cain as  
accursed. See App. p. 597.

<sup>c</sup> Or "praiseworthy." See Lev. xix. 24 "In the fourth  
year the fruit shall be holy and *alverbós* to the Lord." In *De  
Plant.* 119, Philo takes *alverbós* (probably rightly) as meaning  
something for which we may praise the Lord. So, too, in  
*De Som.* i. 33, though there it is the fourth year which is  
*alverbós*. Here the adjective is applied to the number itself  
and, as the sequel shews, means worthy of praise.

<sup>d</sup> *De Op.* 47 ff.

## PHILO

- ἐπὶ θύραις οἶα πυλωρὸν ἢ φύσις ἰδρύσατο βασιλίδων τῶν ἔνδον ἀρετῶν, αἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντυχεῖν μὴ ταύτην
- 16 προθεραπεύσαντας. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν οἱ νομοθέται, πολλὰ δὲ οἱ πανταχοῦ νόμοι πραγματεύονται περὶ τοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν ἀναπλῆσαι· ὁ δ' ἄνευ παραιέσεως δίχα τοῦ κελευσθῆναι γενόμενος εὐελπίς ἀγράφῳ μὲν νόμῳ δὲ πάλιν αὐτομαθεῖ τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην πεπαίδευται, ὃν ἢ φύσις ἔθηκε.
- 17 Δευτέραν δ' ἔλαχε τάξιν μετὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις μετάνοια καὶ βελτίωσις· ὅθεν ἐξῆς ἀναγράφει τὸν ἀπὸ χείρονος βίου πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνω μεταβαλόντα, ὃς καλεῖται παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις Ἐνώχ, ὡς δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν “ κεχαρισμένος,” ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ταυτὶ λέλεκται, ὡς ἄρα
- [4] | “ εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνώχ τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐχ ἠύρισκετο,
- 18 ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.” ἢ γὰρ μετάθεσις τροπὴν ἐμφαίνει καὶ μεταβολήν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ βέλτιον ἢ μεταβολή, διότι προμηθεῖα γίνεται θεοῦ· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ σὺν θεῷ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον πάντως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἀλυσιτελές.
- 19 εὖ δ' εἴρηται τὸ “ οὐχ ἠύρισκετο ” ἐπὶ τοῦ μετατεθειμένου, τῷ τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπίληπτον ἀπαληλίφθαι βίον καὶ ἠφανίσθαι καὶ μηκέθ' εὕρισκεσθαι, καθάπερ εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο, ἢ τῷ τὸν μετατιθέμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ βελτίῳι ταχθέντα τάξει δυσεύρετον εἶναι φύσει· πολύχουν μὲν γὰρ ἢ κακία, διὸ καὶ πολλοῖς γνῶριμον, σπάνιον δ' ἢ ἀρετὴ, ὡς
- 20 μηδ' ὑπ' ὀλίγων καταλαμβάνεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλως ὁ

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<sup>a</sup> Gen. v. 24. The LXX version “ Enoch was well-pleasing to God, and he was not found because God translated him ”

## ON ABRAHAM, 15-20

the subject of hope, set by nature as a door-keeper at the portals of the royal virtues within, to which access cannot be gained unless we have first paid our respects to her. Great indeed are the efforts 16 expended both by lawgivers and by laws in every nation in filling the souls of free men with comfortable hopes; but he who gains this virtue of hopefulness without being led to it by exhortation or command has been educated into it by a law which nature has laid down, a law unwritten yet intuitively learnt.

The second place after hope is given to repentance 17 for sins and to improvement, and, therefore, Moses mentions next in order him who changed from the worse life to the better, called by the Hebrews Enoch but in our language "recipient of grace." We are told of him that he proved "to be pleasing to God and was not found because God transferred him,"<sup>a</sup> for 18 transference implies turning and changing, and the change is to the better because it is brought about by the forethought of God. For all that is done with God's help is excellent and truly profitable, as also all that has not His directing care is unprofitable.

And the expression used of the trans- 19 ferred person, that he was not found, is well said, either because the old reprehensible life is blotted out and disappears and is no more found, as though it had never been at all, or because he who is thus transferred and takes his place in the better class is naturally hard to find. For evil is widely spread and therefore known to many, while virtue is rare, so that even the few cannot comprehend it. Besides, 20

(E.V. "Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him") is familiar from Hebrews xi. 5. See App. p. 597).

## PHILO

- μὲν φαῦλος ἀγορὰν καὶ θέατρα καὶ δικαστήρια  
 βουλευτήριά τε καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάντα σύλλογον  
 καὶ θίασον ἀνθρώπων ἅτε φιλοπραγμοσύνη συζῶν  
 μετατρέχει, τὴν μὲν γλῶτταν ἀνιείς πρὸς ἄμετρον  
 καὶ ἀπέραντον καὶ ἄκριτον διήγησιν, συγχέων  
 ἅπαντα καὶ φύρων, ἀληθέσι ψευδῇ καὶ ῥητοῖς  
 ἄρρητα καὶ ἴδια κοινοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς βέβηλα καὶ  
 σπουδαίοις γελοῖα ἀναμιγνύς, διὰ τὸ μὴ πεπαι-  
 δεῦσθαι τὸ ἐν καιρῷ κάλλιστον, ἡσυχίαν, τὰ δὲ ὦτα
- 21 ἐπουρίσας<sup>1</sup> ἔνεκα πολυπράγμονος περιεργίας· τὰ γὰρ  
 ἑτέρων εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτ' αὖ κακὰ γλίχεται μανθάνειν,  
 ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν φθονεῖν, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ ἠδεσθαι·  
 βάσκανον γὰρ καὶ μισόκαλον καὶ φιλοπόνηρον ὁ
- 22 φαῦλος φύσει. IV. ὁ δ' ἀστεῖος ἔμπαλιν ἀπράγ-  
 μονος ζηλωτῆς βίου γεγωνὸς ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν  
 ἀγαπᾷ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀξίων, οὐ διὰ  
 μισανθρωπίαν—φιλάνθρωπος γάρ, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος,  
 —ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προβεβλησθαι κακίαν, ἣν ὁ πολὺς  
 ὄχλος ἀσπάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν ἀξίον,
- 23 λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλόν. ὧν ἔνεκα  
 συγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι τὰ πολλὰ καταμένει μόλις τὰς  
 κλισιάδας ὑπερβαίνων ἢ διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφοιτῶντας  
 συνεχέστερον ἔξω πόλεως προελθὼν ἐν μοναγρία  
 ποιεῖται τὰς διατριβὰς ἡδίων συμβιωταῖς χρώμενος  
 τοῖς ἅπαντος τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀρίστοις, ὧν τὰ  
 μὲν σώματα διέλυσεν ὁ χρόνος, τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς αἰ  
 ἀπολειφθεῖσαι γραφαὶ ζωπυροῦσι διὰ τε ποιημάτων  
 καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων, οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπουρίσας] so Cohn, but the text is very doubtful. Some mss. have ἐπορθιάσας εὐπορίας (with variations of order and spelling), others ἐπουριάσας or ἐπουριάς. The natural sense of ἐπουρίξω (lit. "direct with a favouring wind") seems by itself

## ON ABRAHAM, 20-23

the worthless man whose life is one long restlessness haunts market-places, theatres, law-courts, council-halls, assemblies, and every group and gathering of men; his tongue he lets loose for unmeasured, endless, indiscriminate talk, bringing chaos and confusion into everything, mixing true with false, fit with unfit, public with private, holy with profane, sensible with absurd, because he has not been trained to that silence which in season is most excellent. His ears 21 he keeps alert in meddlesome curiosity, ever eager to learn his neighbour's affairs, whether good or bad, and ready with envy for the former and joy at the latter; for the worthless man is a creature naturally malicious, a hater of good and lover of evil. IV. The man of worth on the other hand, having acquired 22 a desire for a quiet life, withdraws from the public and loves solitude, and his choice is to be unnoticed by the many, not because he is misanthropical, for he is eminently a philanthropist, but because he has rejected vice which is welcomed by the multitude who rejoice at what calls for mourning and grief where it is well to be glad. And therefore he mostly 23 secludes himself at home and scarcely ever crosses his threshold, or else because of the frequency of visitors he leaves the town and spends his days in some lonely farm, finding pleasanter society in those noblest of the whole human race whose bodies time has turned into dust but the flame of their virtues is kept alive by the written records which have survived them in poetry or in prose and serve

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strange in this context. I should prefer to read *επορθιάσας ἐπ' οὐρας* ("pricked up and ready to catch any chance"). It is true that *επορθιάζω* is not used elsewhere with *ᾠρα*, but *ἀνορθιάζω* is several times so used by Philo. See further on *Mos.* i. 283.

## PHILO

- 24 πέφυκε βελτιοῦσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὅτι ὁ μετα-  
 τεθείς “οὐχ εὐρίσκετο” δυσεύρετος καὶ δυσθήρατος  
 ὢν. μεθορμίζεται οὖν εἰς παιδείαν ἐξ ἀμαθίας καὶ  
 ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν ἔκ τε δειλίας εἰς |  
 [5] ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἐξ ἀσεβείας εἰς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ πάλιν  
 ἔκ μὲν φιληδονίας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, ἔκ δὲ φιλοδοξίας  
 εἰς ἀτυφίαν· ὢν τίς ἢ πλοῦτος ἐπάξιος ἢ βασιλείας  
 25 καὶ δυναστείας κτήσις ὠφελιμωτέρα; εἰ γὰρ χρή  
 τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ὁ μὴ τυφλὸς ἀλλ’ ὄξυ βλέπων  
 πλοῦτος ἢ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐστὶ περιουσία, ἣν εὐθὺς  
 γνήσιον καὶ εὖνομον παρὰ τὰς νόθους καὶ ψευδωνύ-  
 μους ἀρχὰς ὑποληπτέον ἡγεμονίαν ἐνδίκως ἅπαντα  
 26 πρυτανεύουσιν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι  
 τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται μετάνοια τελειότητος, ὥσπερ  
 καὶ ἀνόσου σώματος ἢ πρὸς ὑγίαν ἐξ ἀσθενείας  
 μεταβολή. τὸ μὲν οὖν διηνεκές καὶ τέλειον ἐν  
 ἀρεταῖς ἐγγυτάτω θείας ἴσεται δυνάμει, ἢ δ’ ἀπό-  
 τινος χρόνου βελτίωσις ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν εὐφυοῦς ψυχῆς  
 ἐστὶ μὴ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἐπιμενούσης ἀλλ’ ἀδροτέροις  
 καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὄντως φρονήμασιν ἐπιζητούσης εὐδίων  
 κατάστασιν [ψυχῆς] καὶ τῇ φαντασίᾳ τῶν καλῶν  
 ἐπιτρεχούσης.
- 27 V. “Ὅθεν εἰκότως τῷ μετανενοηκότι τάττει κατὰ  
 τὸ ἐξῆς τὸν θεοφιλῆ καὶ φιλάρετον, ὃς Ἑβραίων  
 μὲν τῇ γλώττῃ καλεῖται Νῶε, τῇ δὲ Ἑλλήνων  
 “ἀνάπαυσις” ἢ “δίκαιος,” οἰκειόταται προσρήσεις  
 σοφῶ· ἐμφανῶς μὲν ὁ δίκαιος, ἄμεινον γὰρ οὐδὲν  
 δικαιοσύνης, τῆς ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἡγεμονίδος, ἢ καθάπερ  
 ἐν χορῶ καλλιστεύουσα πρεσβεύει· ἢ δ’ ἀνάπαυσις,  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦναντίον τὴν παρὰ φύσιν κίνησιν ταραχῶν

<sup>a</sup> “Unnatural movement of the soul” is a phrase used by the Stoics to define πάθος *S. V. F.* iii. 462 and 476.

## ON ABRAHAM, 24-27

to promote the growth of goodness in the soul. That 24 was why he said that the "transferred" was not found, being hard to find and hard to seek. So he passes across from ignorance to instruction, from folly to sound sense, from cowardice to courage, from impiety to piety, and again from voluptuousness to self-control, from vaingloriousness to simplicity. And what wealth is equal in worth to these, or what possession of royalty or dominion more profitable? For in very truth the wealth which is not blind 25 but keen of sight is abundance of virtues, which consequently we must needs hold to be, in contrast to the bastard governments falsely so-called, genuine and equitable sovereignty ruling in justice over all.

But we must not forget that repentance 26 holds the second place to perfection, just as a change from sickness to health is second to a body free from disease; so, then, unbroken perfection of virtues stands nearest to divine power, but improvement in the course of time is the peculiar treasure of a soul gifted by nature, which does not stay in childish thoughts but by such as are more robust and truly manly seeks to gain a condition of serenity and pursues the vision of the excellent.

V. Naturally, therefore, next to the repentant he 27 sets the lover of virtue and beloved by God, who in the Hebrew language is called Noah but in ours "rest" or "just," both very suitable titles for the Sage. "Just" is obviously so, for nothing is better than justice, the chief among the virtues, who like the fairest maiden of the dance holds the highest place. But "rest" is appropriate also, since its opposite, unnatural movement,<sup>a</sup> proves to be the cause

## PHILO

- καὶ θορύβων στάσεών τε καὶ πολέμων αἰτίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἣν μετίασιν οἱ φαῦλοι, ἡρεμαῖον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ σταθερὸν ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰρηνικὸν βίον
- 28 οἱ καλοκάγαθίαν τετιμηκότες. ἐπόμενος δ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι σάββατα καλοῦσιν, ἀνάπαυσιν ὀνομάζει, οὐχ, ὡς οἴονται τινες, ὅτι δι' ἐξ ἡμερῶν τῶν συνήθων ἔργων ἀπέιχετο τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ὁ ἑβδομος ἀριθμὸς ἐν τε τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰὲ ἀστασίαστος καὶ ἀπόλεμος καὶ ἀφιλόνηκος καὶ
- 29 εἰρηνικώτατος ἀπάντων ἀριθμῶν ἐστι. μάρτυρες δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος αἱ ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ τὸν ἄπαυστον καὶ συνεχῆ πόλεμον ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ συγκροτοῦσιν, αἱ τε πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος, αἱ μὲν πόθῳ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὧν εἰάν μὴ τυγχάνωσιν, ἀνιῶνται, ὁ δ' ἀχαλίνῳ
- 30 στόματι μυρία τῶν ἡσυχαστέων ἐκλαλῶν· ἡ δ' ἐβδόμη δύναμις ἡ περὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, ὃς ὅταν ἐπικυδέστερος γένηται τῶν ἐξ καὶ δυνατωτέρα ῥώμῃ κατακρατήσας ἀναχωρήσῃ, μόνωσιν ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν <χαίρων><sup>1</sup> ὀμιλίαις ὡς ἀπροσδεῆς ὢν ἑτέρου καὶ αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῷ, τηνικαῦτα φροντίδων καὶ πραγμα-
- [6] τειῶν | ἀπαλλαγείς τῶν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει βίον εὐδίων καὶ γαληνὸν ἀσπάζεταιται.
- 31 VI. Οὕτως δ' ἀποσεμνύνει τὸν φιλάρετον, ὥστε καὶ γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν οὐ, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πάππων ἢ προπάππων ἢ προγόνων ποιεῖται κατάλογον, ὅσοι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἢ πρὸς γυναικῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ τιῶν ἀρετῶν, μόνον οὐχὶ βοῶν ἄντι-

<sup>1</sup> Or read τὰς . . . ὀμιλίαις omitting χαίρων.



## ON ABRAHAM, 27-31

of turmoil and confusion and factions and wars. Such movement is sought by the worthless, while a life which is calm, serene, tranquil and peaceful to boot is the object of those who have valued nobility of conduct. He shews consistency, too, when he 28 gives to the seventh day, which the Hebrews call sabbath, the name of rest; not, as some think, because the multitude abstained after six days from their usual tasks, but because in truth the number seven, both in the world and in ourselves, is always free from factions and war and quarrelling and is of all numbers the most peaceful. This statement is attested by 29 the faculties within us, for six <sup>a</sup> of them wage ceaseless and continuous war on land and sea, namely the five senses and speech, the former in their craving for the objects of sense, deprivation of which is painful to them, speech because with unbridled mouth it perpetually gives utterance where silence is due. But the seventh faculty is that of the 30 dominant mind, which, after triumphing over the six and returning victorious through its superior strength, welcomes solitude and rejoices in its own society, feeling that it needs no other and is completely sufficient for itself, and then released from the cares and concerns of mortal kind gladly accepts a life of calmness and serenity.

VI. So highly does Moses extol the lover of virtue 31 that when he gives his genealogy he does not, as he usually does in other cases, make a list of his grandfathers, great-grandfathers and ancestors in the male and female line, but of certain virtues, and this is

<sup>a</sup> Elsewhere, when Philo's argument requires it, the faculties, excluding mind, are seven by the addition of reproduction (τὸ γόνιμον), *De Op.* 117, *De Mut.* 111.

## PHILO

- κρυς, ὅτι οἰκία καὶ συγγένεια καὶ πατρὶς οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἑτέρα σοφῶ ὅτι μὴ ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς πράξεις· “αὐταὶ” γάρ φησιν “αἱ γενέσεις Νῶε· Νῶε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος, τέλειος ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ,
- 32 τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησεν.” οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι νῦν “ἄνθρωπον” οὐ κοινῶ τύπῳ τὸ λογικὸν θνητὸν ζῶον καλεῖ, τὸν μέντοι κατ' ἕξοχὴν, ὃς ἐπαληθεύει τοῦνομα τὰ ἀτίθασα καὶ λελυττηκότα πάθη καὶ τὰς θηριωδεστάτας κακίας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεληλακῶς.
- 33 σημεῖον δέ· μετὰ τὸν “ἄνθρωπον” ἐπιλέγει τὸν “δίκαιον” εἰπὼν “ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος,” ὡς ἀδίκου μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἀνθρώπου (κυριώτερον δ' εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπομόρφου θηρίου), μόνου δὲ ὃς ἂν ζηλωτῆς ἢ
- 34 δικαιοσύνης. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ “τέλειον” γεγενῆσθαι διὰ τούτου παριστάς, ὡς οὐ μίαν ἀρετὴν ἀλλὰ πάσας ἐκτήσατο καὶ κτησάμενος ἐκάστη κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον χρώμενος διετετέλεσεν.
- 35 ἐπιστεφανῶν δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἀγωνιστὴν ἐκνεκρικώτα κηρύγματι λαμπροτάτῳ προσεπικοσμεῖ φάσκων, ὅτι “τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησεν”· οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν τῇ φύσει κρεῖττον; τίς καλοκάγαθίας ἐναργέστερος<sup>1</sup> ἔλεγχος; εἰ γὰρ οἱ δυσारेσθήσαντες τῷ θεῷ κακοδαίμονες, οἷς εὐαρεσθήσαι συνέβη πάντως
- 36 εὐδαίμονες. VII. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μέντοι ταῖς τοσαύταις ἀρεταῖς ὑμνήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπέειπε, ὅτι “τέλειος ἦν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ,” δηλῶν ὅτι οὐ καθάπαξ ἀλλὰ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν κατ'
- 37 ἐκείνῳ τὸν χρόνον γεγονότων ἀγαθὸς ἦν. ἤδη γάρ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῆς κ. ἐναργέστατος.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. vi. 9, cf. *Quod Deus* 117.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. “a man, a just one.” As the Greek adjective needs no substantive expressed, *ἄνθρωπος*, which would be otherwise

## ON ABRAHAM, 31-37

little less than a direct assertion that a sage has no house or kinsfolk or country save virtues and virtuous actions ; " for these," he says, " are the generations of Noah. Noah, a man just and perfect in his generation, was well-pleasing to God." <sup>a</sup> But we must not <sup>32</sup> fail to note that in this passage he gives the name of man not according to the common form of speech, to the mortal animal endowed with reason, but to the man who is man pre-eminently, who verifies the name by having expelled from the soul the untamed and frantic passions and the truly beast-like vices. Here <sup>33</sup> is a proof. After " man " he adds " just," implying by the combination <sup>b</sup> that the unjust is no man, or more properly speaking a beast in human form, and that the follower after righteousness alone is man.

He says, too, that Noah became " perfect," thereby <sup>34</sup> shewing that he acquired not one virtue but all, and having acquired them continued to exercise each as opportunities allowed. And as he crowns him <sup>35</sup> as victor in the contest, he gives him further distinction by a proclamation couched in words of splendid praise, " he was well-pleasing to God." What better thing than this has nature to give ? What clearer proof can there be of nobility of life ? For, if those who have been ill-pleasing to God are ill-fated, happy most surely are those whose lot it is to be well-pleasing to God.

VII. But Moses makes <sup>36</sup> a good point when, after praising him as possessed of all these virtues, he adds that he was perfect in his generation, thus shewing he was not good absolutely but in comparison with the men of that time. For <sup>37</sup>

superfluous, must have a special emphasis. Assuming, as Philo does, that the LXX follows the usage of classical Greek, the argument has some weight.

## PHILO

οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιμνησθήσεται σοφῶν ἑτέρων, οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνανταγώνιστον ἔσχον, οὐ πονηροῖς ἀντεξετασθέντες οὐδ' ὅτι βελτίους ἐγένοντο τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀποδοχῆς καὶ προνομίας ἀξιωθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι φύσιν εὐμοιρον κτησάμενοι διετήρησαν αὐτὴν ἀδιάστροφον, οὐ φυγόντες μοχθηρὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς περιπεσόντες, προηγουμένως δὲ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων ἀσκηταὶ

38 γενόμενοι τὸν βίον ἐπεκόσμου. θαυμασιώτατοι μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες ἐκείνοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐλευθέραις καὶ εὐγενέσι ἐχρήσαντο, μὴ κατὰ μίμησιν ἢ ἐναντίωσιν ἑτέρων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδεξάμενοι, θαυμάσιος δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν γενεᾶς διεννηοχῶς καὶ μηδενὶ συνενεχθεῖς ὦν ἐζήλωσαν οἱ πολλοί· δευτερείων μὲν οὗτος ἐφίξεται, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων ἐκείνοις

39 ἀναδώσει ἢ φύσις. τὰ μέντοι δευτερεία καὶ αὐτὰ [7] μεγάλα· τί | δ' οὐχὶ μέγα καὶ περιμάχητον ὦν ὀρέγεται καὶ δωρεῖται θεός; σαφεστάτη δὲ πίστις αἱ τῶν χαρίτων ὑπερβολαί, ὦν οὗτος ἔτυχεν.

40 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀδικημάτων φορὰν ἤνεγκεν ὁ χρόνος ἐκείνος καὶ πᾶσα χώρα καὶ ἔθνος καὶ πόλις καὶ οἰκία καὶ ἕκαστος ἰδία πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀνεπέπληστο, πάντων ἐκουσίως καὶ ἐκ προνοίας ὡς ἐν ἀγῶνι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ διαμαρτάνειν πρωτείων ἀμιλλωμένων—μετὰ σπουδῆς γὰρ ἀπάσης ἐφιλονεῖκουσιν, ἕκαστου τὸν πλησίον μεγέθει κακίας ὑπερβαλεῖν ἐπειγομένου καὶ μηδὲν παραλείποντος τῶν

41 πρὸς ἐπίληπτον καὶ ἐπάρατον βίον. VIII. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ θεὸς εἰκότως δυσχεράνας, εἰ τὸ ζῶον τὸ ἄριστον

## ON ABRAHAM, 37-41

we shall shortly find him mentioning other sages whose virtue was unchallenged, who are not contrasted with the bad, who are adjudged worthy of approval and precedence, not because they were better than their contemporaries but because they possessed a happily-gifted nature and kept it unperturbed, who did not have to shun evil courses or indeed come into contact with them at all, but attained pre-eminence in practising that excellence of words and deeds with which they adorned their lives. The highest admiration, then, is due to those 38 in whom the ruling impulses were of free and noble birth, who accepted the excellent and just for their own selves and not in imitation of or in opposition to others. But admiration is also due to him who stood apart from his own generation and conformed himself to none of the aims and aspirations of the many. He will win the second prize, though the first will be awarded by nature to those others. Yet great also is 39 the second prize in itself, for how could anything fail to be great and worthy of our efforts which God offers and gives ?

And the clearest proof of this is the exceeding magnitude of the bounties which Noah obtained. That time bore its harvest of iniquities, and 40 every country and nation and city and household and every private individual was filled with evil practices ; one and all, as though in a race, engaged in rivalry pre-willed and premeditated for the first places in sinfulness, and put all possible zeal into the contention, each one pressing on to exceed his neighbour in magnitude of vice and leaving nothing undone which could lead to a guilty and accursed life. VIII. Naturally this roused the wrath of God, to think that 41 man, who seemed the best of all living creatures,

## PHILO

εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ συγγενείας ἀξιωθὲν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ κοινωνίας, δέον ἀρετὴν  
 ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἐζήλωσε κακίαν καὶ τὰ εἶδη πάντα  
 κακίας, δίκην ὀρίζει τὴν προσήκουσαν, ἀφανίσαι  
 τοὺς τότε ὄντας κατακλυσμῷ διανοηθεῖς, οὐ μόνον  
 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι καὶ τοῖς χθαμαλωτέροις ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτάτοις ὄρεσι κατοικοῦντας.  
 42 ἢ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλη θάλαττα μετέωρος ὡς οὐδέπω  
 πρότερον ἀρθεῖσα διὰ τῶν στομάτων ἀθρόα ρύμη  
 τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰσερρῦη πελάγεσι, τὰ δὲ πλημ-  
 μύραντα νήσους καὶ ἠπείρους ἐπέκλυσε, πηγῶν δ'  
 ἀενάων καὶ ποταμῶν αὐθιγενῶν τε καὶ χειμάρρων  
 ἐπάλληλοι φοραὶ συνῆπτον ἀλλήλαις ἀναχεόμεναι  
 43 καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἐπαιρόμεναι ἐπέβαινον. οὐ μὴν  
 οὐδὲ ὁ ἀῆρ ἠρέμει· πάντα γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν βαθύ  
 καὶ συνεχὲς νέφος ἐπέιχε καὶ πνεύματα ἦν ἐξαίσια  
 πάταγοί τε βροντῶν καὶ ἐπιλάμψεις ἀστραπῶν καὶ  
 κεραυνῶν φοραί, καταρρηγνυμένων ὄμβρων ἀπαύσ-  
 των, ὡς νομίσαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς εἰς μίαν φύσιν  
 τὴν ὕδατος ἀναστοιχειούμενα σπεύδειν, ἕως τοῦ μὲν  
 ἀνωθεν καταράττοντος τοῦ δὲ κάτωθεν ἐπανιόντος  
 μετάρσια ἦρθη τὰ ρεῖθρα, οἷς οὐ μόνον ἡ πεδιάς καὶ  
 ὄση χθαμαλή κατακλυσθεῖσα ἠφανίσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 44 τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων ὄρων αἱ κορυφαί. πάντα γὰρ τὰ  
 μέρη τῆς γῆς ἔδυν ὕδατος, ὡς πᾶσαν καθ-  
 ηρπᾶσθαι καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀκρωτηριασθέντα μεγάλῳ  
 τμήματι τὸν παντελῆ καὶ ὀλόκληρον, ὃ μήτε εἰπεῖν

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\* LXX Gen. vii. 11 "the fountains of the abyss were broken up." By the Hebrew word translated in the LXX by *ἄβυσσος* is understood the "ocean which both encircled the world, and occupied the vast hollows beneath the earth" (Driver). Philo seems to represent the first part of this conception by

## ON ABRAHAM, 41-44

who had been judged worthy of kinship with Him because he shared the gift of reason, had, instead of practising virtue as he should, shewn zeal for vice and for every particular form of it. Accordingly He appointed the penalty which fitted their wickedness. He determined to destroy all those who were then alive by a deluge, not only those who dwelt in the plains and lower lands, but also the inhabitants of the highest mountains. For the great deep<sup>a</sup> rose on 42 high as it had never risen before, and gathering its force rushed through its outlets into the seas of our parts, and the rising tides of these flooded the islands and continents, while in quick succession the streams from the perennial fountains and from the rivers spring-fed or winter-torrents pressed on to join each other and mounted upwards to a vast height. Nor 43 was the air still, for a deep unbroken cloud covered the heaven, and there were monstrous blasts of wind and crashings of thunder and flashings of lightning and downfall of thunderbolts, while the rainstorms dashed down ceaselessly, so that one might think that the different parts of the universe were hurrying to be resolved into the single element of water, until, as in one form it rushed down from above and in another rose up from below, the streams were lifted on high, and thus not only the plains and lowlands were submerged and lost to sight, but even the peaks of the highest mountains. For all parts of the 44 earth sank below the water, so that it was entirely carried away as though by violence, and the world seemed mutilated by the loss of a great section, its completeness and perfection destroyed and defaced,

“the great sea or deep,” and the second by the “perennial fountains.”

## PHILO

μήτε νοῆσαι θέμις, λελωβῆσθαι δοκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 καὶ ὁ ἀήρ, ἕξω μέρους βραχέος τοῦ κατὰ σελήνην,  
 ἅπας ἀνήλωτο νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος φορᾶς  
 καὶ βίας, ὅπερ ἀνὰ κράτος τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν  
 45 ἐπέσχε. τότε δὴ τότε εὐθύς ἐφθείρετο ὅσα σπαρτὰ  
 καὶ δένδρα—φθείρει γὰρ ὡς ἔνδεια καὶ πλήθος  
 ἄμετρον,—ἔθνησκον δ' αἱ μυρίαὶ τῶν ζώων ἀγέλαι  
 ἡμέρων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγρίων· ἦν γὰρ εἰκός, τοῦ κρατί-  
 στου γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιζομένου, μηδὲν ὑπολει-  
 φθῆναι τῶν χειρόνων, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου  
 χρείας ἐγένετο δοῦλα τρόπον τινὰ δεσποτικαῖς  
 46 προστάξεσιν ὑπηρετήσοντα. τοσοῦτων |

[8] δὴ καὶ τηλικούτων ἐπιρραξάντων κακῶν, ἅπερ  
 ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς ὤμβρησε—πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ  
 κόσμου μέρη, δίχα τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐκινήθη  
 παρὰ φύσιν, ὡς ἂν βαρεῖαν καὶ θανατώδη νόσον  
 νοσήσαντα,—μόνος δὲ εἰς οἶκος ὁ τοῦ λεχθέντος  
 ἀνδρὸς δικαίου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς διασωρίζεται δύο  
 λαβόντος τὰς ἀνωτάτω δωρεάς, μίαν μὲν, ἣν εἶπον,  
 τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τούτοις συναπολέσθαι, ἑτέραν δὲ τὸ  
 πάλιν ἀρχηγέτην αὐτὸν ὑπάρξαι νέας ἀνθρώπων  
 σπορᾶς· ἠξίωσε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τέλος τοῦ  
 γένους ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, τέλος μὲν τῶν  
 πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, τῶν δὲ μετὰ τὸν κατα-  
 κλυσμὸν ἀρχήν.

47 IX. Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος,  
 τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τεθειμένα ἄθλα αὐτῷ, ὅποια  
 δεδήλωκεν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος. τῶν δ' εἰρημένων τριῶν  
 εἴτε ἀνδρῶν εἴτε ψυχῆς τρόπων ἐναρμόνιος ἡ τάξις·  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ τέλειος ὀλόκληρος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὁ δὲ μετα-  
 τεθειμένος ἡμέτερος, τοῦ βίου τὸν μὲν πρότερον  
 χρόνον ἀναθεὶς κακία, τὸν δ' ὕστερον ἀρετῇ, πρὸς



## ON ABRAHAM, 44-47

a thing too terrible for words or even for thoughts. Indeed even the air, except a small portion belonging to the moon, had been completely made away with, vanquished by the rush and violence of the water which perforce occupied its place. Then <sup>45</sup> indeed at once all crops and trees perished, for excessive quantity of water is as destructive as the lack of it, and the numberless herds of animals died, tame and wild alike ; for it was to be expected that if the highest kind, the human, was annihilated none of the inferior kinds would be left, since they were made for man's needs, as slaves in a sense meant to obey their masters' orders.

When all these <sup>46</sup> evils, so many and so vast, had burst upon the world in the downpour which that occasion brought, and the unnatural convulsion had shaken all its parts save the heavenly as with a grievous and deadly plague, one house alone, that of the man called just and dear to God, was preserved. Thus he received two gifts of the highest kind—one that, as I have said, he did not perish with the rest, the other that he should be in his turn the founder of a new race of men. For God deemed him worthy to be both the last and the first of our kind—last of those who lived before the flood and first of those who lived after it.

IX. Such was he who was best of his contemporaries, and such were the prizes awarded to him, the nature of which is made clear in holy writ. Now the three mentioned above, whether we think of them as men or types of soul, form a series of regular gradation : the perfect man is complete from the first ; the transferred stands half-way, since he devoted the earlier part of his life to vice but the latter to

ἦν μετανέστη καὶ μετωκίσατο, ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων, ὡς αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, ἐλλιπής, ἐφιέμενος μὲν αἰεὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, μήπω δ' ἐφικέσθαι τούτου δεδυνημένος, ἀλλ' ἔοικώς τοῖς πλέουσιν, οἱ σπεύδοντες εἰς λιμένας καταίρειν θαλαττεύουσιν ἐνορμίσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι.

- 48 X. Ἡ μὲν οὖν προτέρα τριάς τῶν ἀρετῆν ἐπιποθησάντων δεδήλωται. μείζων δέ ἐστιν ἢ ἕτερα, περὶ ἧς νυνὶ λεκτέον. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παιδικῇ μαθήμασιν ἔοικεν, αὕτη δὲ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητικῶν γυμνάσμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὄντως ἀλειφομένων ἀγῶνας, οἱ σωμασκίας καταφρονούντες τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάζουσιν εὐεξίαν ἐφιέμενοι τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παθῶν
- 49 νίκης. οἷς μὲν οὖν διενήνοχεν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειγόμενος, αὐτῆς ἀκριβέστερον ἐροῦμεν· ἃ δὲ χρῆνὴ περὶ τῶν τριῶν συλλήβδην
- 50 προειπεῖν, ἀναγκαῖον μὴ παρασιωπήσαι. τούτους τοίνυν συμβέβηκε μιᾶς οἰκίας καὶ ἐνὸς γένους εἶναι—ὁ γὰρ τελευταῖος υἱὸς μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μέσου, υἱωνὸς δὲ τοῦ πρώτου—καὶ πάντας φιλοθέους ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, ἀγαπήσαντας τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν καὶ ἀνταγαπηθέντας πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἠξίωσε, καθάπερ δηλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν αἷς συνεβίουν κοινωνῆσαι τῆς προσρήσεως
- 51 αὐτοῖς.<sup>1</sup> τὸ γὰρ ἴδιον ὄνομα τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐναρμοσάμενος ἤνωσε, τὴν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν σύνθετον κλήσιν ἐπιφημίσας ἑαυτῷ· “ τοῦτο γάρ μου ” φησὶν “ ὄνομά ἐστιν αἰώνιον, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς
- [9] Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ ”—ἀντὶ τοῦ | καθάπαξ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> So most mss.: Cohn prints αὐτοῦ, but suggests the insertion of αὐτοῦς.

## ON ABRAHAM, 47-51

virtue to which he passed over and migrated ; the hopper, as his very name shews, is defective inasmuch as though he always desired the excellent he has not yet been able to attain to it, but resembles sailors eager to put into port, who yet remain at sea unable to reach their haven.

X. So now we have explained the first trinity of 48 those who yearn for virtue ; but greater is the second trinity of which we have now to speak. The first we may compare to the studies of children, but the latter to the exercises of athletes who are preparing for games which are really sacred,<sup>a</sup> men who despise bodily training but foster robustness of soul in their desire for victory over their antagonists, the passions. How each of these differed from the others while 49 pressing on to one and the same goal will be described in detail later ; but there is something to be said about them taken as a whole which must not be omitted. We find that these three are all of one 50 house and one family. The last is the son of the second and grandson to the first. All alike are God-lovers and God-beloved, and their affection for the true God was returned by Him, Who deigned, as His utterances shew, in recognition of their high and life-long virtues to make them partners in the title which He took, for He united them by joining His special name 51 to theirs and calling Himself by one combined of the three. "For this," He said, "is my eternal name<sup>b</sup>—the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob," relative instead of absolute,<sup>c</sup> and surely that

<sup>a</sup> In contrast to the falsely called "holy" games of the Greeks; *cf. De Agr.* 116 f.

<sup>b</sup> Ex iii. 15, *cf. De Mut.* 12 f.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 597.

## PHILO

- πρός τι· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὀνόματος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐ δεῖται, μὴ δεόμενος δ' ὁμως ἐχαρίζετο τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων κλήσιν οἰκειαν, ἢ ἔχοντες καταφυγὴν πρὸς ἰκεσίας καὶ λιτὰς μὴ ἀμοιρῶσιν
- 52 ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς. XI. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
 ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν ὁσίων εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ, μηνύματα δ' ἐστὶ φύσεως ἀδηλοτέρας καὶ πολὺ βελτίονος τῆς ἐν αἰσθητοῖς. τρόπους γὰρ ψυχῆς ἔοικεν ὁ ἱερός διερευνᾶσθαι λόγος, ἀστείους ἅπαντας, τὸν μὲν ἐκ διδασκαλίας, τὸν δ' ἐκ φύσεως, τὸν δ' ἐξ ἀσκήσεως ἐφιέμενον τοῦ καλοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος, ἐπὶ κλήσιν Ἀβραάμ, σύμβολον διδασκαλικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ μέσος, Ἰσαάκ, φυσικῆς, ὁ δὲ τρίτος, Ἰακώβ,
- 53 ἀσκητικῆς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγνοητέον, ὅτι μετεποιεῖτο τῶν τριῶν ἕκαστος δυνάμεων, ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πλεοναζούσης κατ' ἐπικράτειαν· οὔτε γὰρ διδασκαλίαν ἄνευ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως τελειωθῆναι δυνατόν οὔτε φύσις ἐπὶ πέρας ἐστὶν ἐλθεῖν ἱκανὴ δίχα τοῦ μαθεῖν καὶ ἀσκήσαι οὔτε ἀσκησις, εἰ μὴ προθεμελιωθεῖ φύσει τε καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ.
- 54 προσηκόντως οὖν καὶ τὴν τῶν τριῶν λόγῳ μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργῳ δ' ὡς εἶπον ἀρετῶν οἰκειότητα συνῆψε, φύσεως, μαθήσεως, ἀσκήσεως,<sup>1</sup> ἃς ἐτέρῳ ὀνόματι Χάριτας ἰσαριθμούς ἀνθρωποι καλοῦσιν, ἢ τῷ κεχαρίσθαι τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει τὰς τρεῖς δυνάμεις πρὸς τελειότητα τοῦ βίου ἢ παρόσον αὐταὶ δεδώρηται ψυχῇ λογικῇ ἑαυτάς, δῶρημα τέλειον καὶ κάλλιστον, ἵνα καὶ τὸ αἰώνιον ὄνομα τὸ δηλούμενον ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐπὶ τριῶν μὴ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων
- 55 μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν εἰρημένων δυνάμεων λέγῃται. ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ φθαρτὴ φύσις, ἀφθαρτος δ' ἡ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φύσις μάθησις ἀσκησις.

## ON ABRAHAM, 51-55

is natural. God indeed needs no name ; yet, though He needed it not, He nevertheless vouchsafed to give to humankind a name of Himself suited to them, that so men might be able to take refuge in prayers and supplications and not be deprived of comforting hopes.

XI. These words do indeed appear to 52 apply to men of holy life, but they are also statements about an order of things which is not so apparent but is far superior to the order which is perceived by the senses. For the holy word seems to be searching into types of soul, all of them of high worth, one which pursues the good through teaching, one through nature and one through practice. The first called Abraham, the second Isaac and the third Jacob, are symbols of virtue acquired respectively by teaching, nature and practice. But indeed we must not fail 53 to note that each possesses the three qualities, but gets his name from that which chiefly predominates in him ; for teaching cannot be consummated without nature or practice, nor is nature capable of reaching its zenith without learning and practising, nor practice either unless the foundation of nature and teaching has first been laid. Very properly, then, 54 Moses thus associated these three together, nominally men, but really, as I have said, virtues—teaching, nature, practice. Another name is given to them by men, who call them the Graces, also three in number ; either because these values are a gift of God's grace to our kind for perfecting its life, or because they have given themselves to the reasonable soul as a perfect and most excellent gift. Thus the eternal name revealed in his words is meant to indicate the three said values rather than actual men. For the nature of man is perishable, but that of 55

## PHILO

ἀρετῶν· εὐλογώτερον δὲ ἐπιφημίζεσθαι τὸ ἄιδιον ἀφθάρτοις πρὸ θνητῶν, ἐπεὶ συγγενὲς μὲν αἰδιότητος ἀφθαρσία, ἐχθρὸν δὲ θάνατος.

- 56 XII. Χρὴ μέντοι μὴδ' ἐκείνο ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον τὸν γηγενῆ πατέρα τῶν ἄχρι τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ φύντων εἰσήγαγε, τὸν δὲ μόνον ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης φθορᾶς ὑπολειφθέντα πανοίκιον ἔνεκα δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης καλοκαγαθίας τοῦ νεάσοντος αὐθις καινοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων, τὴν δὲ περίσεμνον τριάδα καὶ περιμάχητον ἐνὸς εἶδους ἐπιλεγόμενον “ βασιλείον καὶ ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος
- 57 ἅγιον ” οἱ χρησιμοὶ καλοῦσι. μὴνύει δὲ τοῦνομα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ· προσονομάζεται γὰρ Ἑβραίων γλώττῃ τὸ ἔθνος Ἰσραήλ, ὅπερ ἐρμηνευθέν ἐστὶν “ ὄρων θεόν.” ὄρασις δ' ἡ μὲν δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν ἀπάσαις καλλιστεύει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ διὰ μόνης καταλαμβάνεται τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὄντων, ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος, ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικοῦ προ-
- [10] φέρει τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεις· αὕτη | δέ
- 58 ἐστὶ φρόνησις ὅψις οὕσα διανοίας. ὅτω δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐξεγένετο τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐν τῇ φύσει δι' ἐπιστήμης καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν συμπάντων ὄραν, ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐδαιμονίας ἴστω προεληλυθώς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνωτέρω θεοῦ, πρὸς ὃν εἴ τις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τείνας
- 59 ἔφθακε, μονὴν εὐχέσθω καὶ στάσιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάπτεαι ὁδοὶ καματηραὶ καὶ βραδεῖαι, ἡ δὲ κατὰ πρανοῦς φορά, συρμὸν ἔχουσα τὸ πλεόν ἢ κάθοδον,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸν αἰδιον.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xix. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. note on *Quod Deus* 46.

## ON ABRAHAM, 55-59

virtue is imperishable. And it is more reasonable that what is eternal should be predicated of the imperishable than of the mortal, since imperishableness is akin to eternity, while death is at enmity with it.

XII. There is another thing which we must not fail <sup>56</sup> to know : while Moses represented the first man, the earth-born, as father of all that were born up to the deluge, and Noah who with all his house alone survived that great destruction because of his justice and excellent character in other ways as the father of the new race which would spring up afresh, the oracles speak of this august and precious trinity as parent of one species of that race, which species is called "royal" and "priesthood" and "holy nation."<sup>a</sup> Its high position is shewn by the name ; <sup>57</sup> for the nation is called in the Hebrew tongue Israel, which, being interpreted, is "He who sees God." Now the sight of the eyes is the most excellent of all the senses, since by it alone we apprehend the most excellent of existing things, the sun and the moon and the whole heaven and world ; but the sight of the mind, the dominant element in the soul, surpasses all the other faculties of the mind, and this is wisdom which is the sight of the understanding.<sup>b</sup> But he to <sup>58</sup> whom it is given not only to apprehend by means of knowledge all else that nature has to shew, but also to see the Father and Maker of all, may rest assured that he is advanced to the crowning point of happiness ; for nothing is higher than God, and whoso has stretched the eyesight of the soul to reach Him should pray that he may there abide and stand firm ; for <sup>59</sup> journeys uphill are toilsome and slow, but the downhill course where one is swept along rather than

## PHILO

ταχεία καὶ ῥάστη. πολλὰ δὲ τὰ κάτω βιαζόμενα, ὧν οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ἀνακρεμάσας τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ θεὸς ὀλκῆ δυνατωτέρα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσῃται.

- 60 XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κοινῇ περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀναγκαίως προειρήσθω. λεκτέον δ' ἐξῆς, ἐν οἷς ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ προήνεγκεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν εὐσεβείας, ἀρετῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης, ζηλωτῆς γενόμενος ἐσπούδασεν ἔπεισθαι θεῷ καὶ καταπειθῆς εἶναι τοῖς προσταττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προστάξεις ὑπολαμβάνων οὐ τὰς διὰ φωνῆς καὶ γραμμάτων μηνυμένας αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διὰ τῆς φύσεως τρανοτέροις σημείοις δηλουμένας, ἃς ἡ ἀληθεστάτη τῶν αἰσθήσεων πρὸ ἀκοῆς τῆς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀβεβαίου
- 61 καταλαμβάνει. θεώμενος γάρ τις τὴν ἐν τῇ φύσει τάξιν καὶ τὴν παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα πολιτείαν, ἣ χρῆται ὁ κόσμος, ἀναδιδάσκεται, φθεγγομένου μηδενός, εὖνομον καὶ εἰρηνικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύειν εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐξομοίωσιν ἀποβλέποντα. ἐναργέσταται δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀποδείξεις εἰσίν, ἃς περιέχουσιν αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαί· πρώτην δὲ λεκτέον, ἣ
- 62 καὶ πρώτη τέτακται. XIV. λογίω πληχθεῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρίδα καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ πατρῶον οἶκον καταλιπεῖν καὶ μεταναστῆναι, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανιῶν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς τὴν ξένην μέλλων ἀπαίρειν, ἐπέσπευδὲ συντείνων, νομίζων ἰσότημον εἶναι τῷ τελειῶσαι τὸ
- 63 ταχέως τὸ προσταχθὲν ἀνύσαι. καίτοι τίνα ἕτερον

<sup>a</sup> Philo seems to assume that the command to leave country and kindred, cf. Gen. xii. 1, was given to Abraham in Chaldaea and not in Haran. So perhaps the A.V. "the



## ON ABRAHAM, 59-63

descends is swift and most easy. And many are the forces which would bear us down, yet none of them avail when God sets the soul suspended to His potencies and with a mightier attraction draws it to Himself.

XIII. So much for what was needed by way of 60 preliminary discussion on the three in common. We must now speak of the superior merits shewn by each separately, beginning with the first. Abraham, then, filled with zeal for piety, the highest and greatest of virtues, was eager to follow God and to be obedient to His commands ; understanding by commands not only those conveyed in speech and writing but also those made manifest by nature with clearer signs, and apprehended by the sense which is the most truthful of all and superior to hearing, on which no certain reliance can be placed. For anyone who 61 contemplates the order in nature and the constitution enjoyed by the world-city whose excellence no words can describe, needs no speaker to teach him to practise a law-abiding and peaceful life and to aim at assimilating himself to its beauties. But the clearest proofs of his piety are those which the holy scriptures contain, and the first which should be mentioned is that which comes first in order. XIV. Under the force of an oracle <sup>a</sup> which bade him leave 62 his country and kinsfolk and seek a new home, thinking that quickness in executing the command was as good as full accomplishment, he hastened eagerly to obey, not as though he were leaving home for a strange land but rather as returning from amid strangers to his home. Yet who else would be likely 63

Lord had said," as against the R.V. "the Lord said." Philo may have implied the same from Gen. xv. 7. Cf. Acts vii. 2.

## PHILO

εἰκὸς οὕτως ἀκλινῇ καὶ ἄτρεπτον γενέσθαι, ὡς μὴ φίλτροις ὑπαχθῆναι καὶ ὑπενδοῦναι συγγενῶν καὶ πατρίδος, ὧν ὁ πόθος ἐκάστῳ τρόπον τινὰ συγγεγένηται καὶ συνηύξεται καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον

64 τῶν ἠνωμένων μερῶν συμπέφυκε; μάρτυρες δὲ οἱ νομοθέται τὴν δευτερεύουσαν θανάτου τιμωρίαν κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐαλωκότων ὀρίσαντες φυγὴν, οὐ δευτερεύουσαν, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, παρ' ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ, πολὺ δὲ ἀργαλεωτέραν, εἴ γε πέρασ μὲν κακοπραγιῶν ὁ θάνατος, ἀρχὴ δ', οὐ πέρασ, ἢ φυγὴ καινοτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τοῦ χωρὶς ἀλγηδόνων μυρίους ἐπάγουσα θανάτους τοὺς

[11] σὺν αἰσθήσει. | κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἔνιοι πόθῳ χρηματι-  
65 σμοῦ πλέοντες ἢ κατὰ πρεσβειάν ἢ κατὰ θέαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς δι' ἔρωτα παιδείας, ὄλκους ἔχοντες δυνάμεις τῆς ἕξω μονῆς οἱ μὲν τὰς ἐπικερδείας, οἱ δὲ τὸ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ καιρῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καὶ μεγίστοις ὀνήσαι, οἱ δὲ ἱστορίαν ὧν πρότερον ἠγνόουν τέρψιν ἅμα καὶ ὠφέλειαν τῇ ψυχῇ παρασκευάζουσαν—τυφλοὶ γὰρ παρ' ὄξυ βλέποντας ἀναποδήμητοι παρ' ἐκδεδημηκότας—, ὁμως ἐπείγονται τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος ἰδεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ συνήθεις ἀσπάσασθαι συγγενῶν τε καὶ φίλων ἠδίστης καὶ ποθεινοτάτης ὄψεως ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ πολλάκις τὰς πράξεις, ὧν ἕνεκα ἐξεδήμησαν, μηκυνομένας ὀρώντες κατέλιπον ἡμέρῳ τῶν

66 προσηκόντων ἐλθθέντες βιαιοτάτῳ. μετ'

## ON ABRAHAM, 63-66

to be so firm and unmoved of purpose as not to yield and succumb to the charms of kinsfolk and country? The desire of these may be said to be born and grow with each of us and is a part of our nature as much as or even more than the parts which unite to make the whole. And this is attested by the 64 legislators who have appointed banishment as the penalty second only to death for those who have been convicted of the greatest crimes, though indeed, in my opinion, it is not second to death, if truth gives its verdict, but rather a far heavier punishment, since death ends our troubles but banishment is not the end but the beginning of other new misfortunes and entails in place of the one death which puts an end to pains a thousand deaths in which we do not lose sensation. Some men go on voyages for trading 65 purposes in their desire for making money or on embassies or in their love of culture to see the sights of a foreign land. These are subject to influences driving them to stay abroad, in some cases financial gains, in others the chance of benefiting their country, when occasion offers, in its most vital and important interests, in others acquiring knowledge of things which they did not know before and thus providing at once pleasure and profit to the soul, for the stay-at-home is to the travelled as the blind are to the keen-sighted. Yet all these are eager to see and salute their native soil, and to greet their familiars and to have the sweet and most desired enjoyment of beholding their kinsfolk and friends. And often when they find the business for which they left home protracting itself they abandon it, drawn by the constraining desire for their own belongings.

But Abraham, the moment he was 66

## PHILO

- ὀλίγων δὲ οὗτος ἢ καὶ μόνος ἅμα τῷ κελευσθῆναι  
μετανίστατο καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν  
ἀποικίαν ἐστέλλετο, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἕμερον  
67 παρευημεροῦντος ἔρωτος οὐρανίου. οὐδενὸς οὖν  
φροντίσας, οὐ φυλετῶν, οὐ δημοτῶν, οὐ συμφοιτη-  
τῶν, οὐχ ἑταίρων, οὐ τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος ὅσοι πρὸς  
πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἦσαν, οὐ πατρίδος, οὐκ ἀρχαίων  
ἔθῶν, οὐ συντροφίας, οὐ συνδιαιτήσεως, ὧν ἕκαστον  
ἀγωγόν τε καὶ δυσαπόσπαστον ὄλκον ἔχον δύναμιν,  
ἐλευθέραις καὶ ἀφέτοις ὀρμαῖς ἢ τάχιστα μεταν-  
ίσταται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς,  
εὐδαίμονος χώρας καὶ κατ' ἐκείνον ἀκμαζούσης τὸν  
χρόνον, εἰς τὴν Χαρραίων γῆν, ἔπειτα οὐ μακρὰν  
ὑστερον καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, περὶ οὗ  
λέξομεν ἐκείνο πρότερον εἰπόντες.
- 68 XV. Αἱ δηλωθεῖσαι ἀποικίαι τῷ μὲν ῥητῷ τῆς  
γραφῆς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ γεγονάσι, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς  
ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ νόμους ὑπὸ φιλαρέτου ψυχῆς τὸν  
69 ἀληθῆ ζητούσης θεόν. Χαλδαῖοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς  
μάλιστα διαπονήσαντες ἀστρονομίαν καὶ πάντα ταῖς  
κινήσεσι τῶν ἀστέρων ἀναθέντες ὑπέλαβον οἰκο-  
νομεῖσθαι τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ δυνάμεσιν, ἃς περιέχουσιν  
ἀριθμοὶ καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀναλογίαι, <καὶ> τὴν ὀρατὴν  
οὐσίαν ἐσέμνυνον τῆς ἀοράτου καὶ νοητῆς οὐ  
λαβόντες ἔννοιαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις τάξιν δι-  
ερευνώμενοι κατὰ τε τὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν περιόδους καὶ κατὰ  
τὰς τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρῶν μεταβολὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
τῶν οὐρανίων πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια συμπάθειαν τὸν  
κόσμον αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι θεόν, οὐκ εὐαγῶς τὸ

## ON ABRAHAM, 66-69

bidden, departed with a few or even alone, and his emigration was one of soul rather than body, for the heavenly love overpowered his desire for mortal things. And so taking no thought for anything, 67 either for his fellow-clansmen, or wardsmen, or schoolmates, or comrades, or blood relations on father's or mother's side, or country, or ancestral customs, or community of nurture or home life, all of them ties possessing a power to allure and attract which it is hard to throw off, he followed a free and unfettered impulse and departed with all speed first from Chaldea, a land at that time blessed by fortune and at the height of its prosperity, and migrated to Haran; then not long afterwards he left this too for another place, about which we shall speak after dealing with something else to which I now proceed.<sup>a</sup>

XV. The migrations as set forth by the literal text 68 of the scriptures are made by a man of wisdom, but according to the laws of allegory by a virtue-loving soul in its search for the true God. For the 69 Chaldeans were especially active in the elaboration of astrology and ascribed everything to the movements of the stars. They supposed that the course of the phenomena of the world is guided by influences contained in numbers and numerical proportions. Thus they glorified visible existence, leaving out of consideration the intelligible and invisible. But while exploring numerical order as applied to the revolution of the sun, moon and other planets and fixed stars, and the changes of the yearly seasons and the interdependence of phenomena in heaven and on earth, they concluded that the world itself

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xi. 31 and xii. 5. For the meaning of "another place" see on § 85.

## PHILO

- 70 γενόμενον ἑξομοιώσαντες τῷ πεποικηκότι. ταύτη  
 τοι τῇ δόξῃ συντραφεῖς καὶ χαλδαῖσας μακρόν τινα  
 [12] χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου | διοίξας τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ὄμμα καὶ καθαρὰν αὐγὴν ἀντὶ σκότους  
 βαθέος βλέπειν ἀρξάμενος ἠκολούθησε τῷ φέγγει  
 καὶ κατείδεν, ὃ μὴ πρότερον ἐθεάσατο, τοῦ κόσμου  
 τινὰ ἠνίοχον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφεστῶτα καὶ σωτη-  
 ρίως εὐθύνοντα τὸ οἰκείον ἔργον, ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ  
 προστασίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μερῶν ὅσα θείας  
 71 ἐπάξια φροντίδος ποιούμενον. ὅπως οὖν βεβαιώ-  
 σηται τὴν φανείσαν ὄψιν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ παγιώτερον,  
 αὐθὶς φησιν ὁ ἱερός λόγος αὐτῷ· “ τὰ μεγάλα, ὧ  
 οὗτος, ὑποτυπώσει βραχυτέρων πολλάκις γνωρί-  
 ζηται, πρὸς ἃ τις ἀπιδὼν ἠῤῥησε τὴν φαντασίαν  
 ἀπεριγράφοις μεγέθει. παραπεμφάμενος οὖν τοὺς  
 τε κατ’ οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦντας καὶ τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν  
 ἐπιστήμην μετανάστηθι πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀπὸ  
 τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως, τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, πρὸς  
 βραχυτέραν, δι’ ἧς δυνήσῃ μᾶλλον καταλαβεῖν τὸν  
 72 ἔφορον τοῦ παντός.” διὰ τοῦτο τὴν  
 πρώτην ἀποικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς εἰς τὴν  
 Χαρραίων λέγεται ποιήσασθαι. XVI. Χαρρὰν δὲ  
 Ἑλληνιστὶ “ τρώγλαι ” λέγονται, κατὰ σύμβολον  
 αἱ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰσθήσεων χῶραι, δι’ ὧν ὥσπερ  
 ὀπῶν ἐκάστη διακύπτειν πέφυκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
 73 οἰκείων ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων, εἶποι τις ἄν,  
 ὄφελος ἦν, εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἀόρατος καθάπερ θαυματο-  
 ποιὸς ἔνδοθεν ὑπῆχει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, ἃς

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<sup>a</sup> The allegorical meaning of Haran is given more fully and clearly in *De Mig.* 176 ff. and *De Som.* i. 41 ff. Haran

## ON ABRAHAM, 69-73

was God, thus profanely likening the created to the Creator. In this creed Abraham had been reared, 70 and for a long time remained a Chaldean. Then opening the soul's eye as though after profound sleep, and beginning to see the pure beam instead of the deep darkness, he followed the ray and discerned what he had not beheld before, a charioteer and pilot presiding over the world and directing in safety his own work, assuming the charge and superintendence of that work and of all such parts of it as are worthy of the divine care. And so to establish more firmly 71 in his understanding the sight which had been revealed to him the Holy Word follows it up by saying to him, "Friend, the great is often known by its outlines as shown in the smaller, and by looking at them the observer finds the scope of his vision infinitely enlarged. Dismiss, then, the rangers of the heavens and the science of Chaldea, and depart for a short time from the greatest of cities, this world, to the lesser, and thus you will be better able to apprehend the overseer of the All."

This is why he is said to emigrate first from the land of 72 Chaldea to that of Haran.<sup>a</sup> XVI. Now Haran in our language means "holes," a symbol for the seats of our senses through which each of them naturally peers as through orifices to apprehend what belongs to it. Yet what use, we might ask, would they be if 73 the invisible mind were not there like a juggler to prompt its faculties, sometimes relaxing and giving

being the place of sense-perception is the bodily tenement of the mind (*De Mig.* 187), and therefore stands for Socratic self-knowledge as a whole in contrast to astrological speculation. It thus gives the conviction that there is a higher power than mind and thus leads to the second migration from self-knowledge to knowledge of God.

## PHILO

τοτὲ μὲν ἀνιείς καὶ ἐπιχαλῶν τοτὲ δὲ ἀντισπῶν καὶ  
 ἀνθέλκων βία κίνησιν ἐμμελῆ καὶ πάλιν ἡσυχίαν  
 ἐμπαρεῖχε τοῖς θαυμασίοις; τοῦτο ἔχων παρὰ  
 σεαυτῷ τὸ παράδειγμα ῥαδίως οὐ σφόδρα ποθεῖς  
 74 λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατανοήσεις. οὐ γὰρ ἐν σοὶ  
 μὲν νοῦς ἔστιν ἡγεμῶν ἐπιτεταγμένος, ὧ καὶ τοῦ  
 σώματος ἅπανα κοινωνία πειθαρχεῖ καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν  
 αἰσθήσεων ἔπεται, ὁ δὲ κόσμος, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ  
 μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον ἔργον, οὐ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα  
 συμβέβηκεν εἶναι μέρη, βασιλέως ἰαμοιρεῖ τοῦ  
 συνέχοντος<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐνδίκως ἐπιτροπεύοντος. εἰ δ'  
 ἀόρατος ὁ βασιλεύς, μὴ θαυμάσης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ἐν  
 75 σοὶ νοῦς ὄρατός. ταῦτά τις ἐπιλογιζόμενος καὶ οὐ  
 πόρρωθεν ἀλλ' ἐγγύθεν ἀναδιδασκόμενος ἔκ τε  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἴσεται σαφῶς, ὅτι ὁ  
 κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πρῶτος θεός, ἀλλ' ἔργον τοῦ  
 πρώτου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμπάντων πατρός, ὃς ἀειδῆς  
 ὢν πάντα φαίνει μικρῶν τε αὐ καὶ μεγάλων δια-  
 76 δεικνὺς τὰς φύσεις. σώματος γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐκ  
 ἠξίωσε καταλαμβάνεσθαι, τάχα μὲν ἐπειδὴ θνητὸν  
 αἰδίου ψαύειν οὐχ ὅσιον ἦν, τάχα δὲ καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν  
 τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐχώρησε  
 τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἐκχεομένας αὐγάς, ὅποτε οὐδὲ  
 ταῖς ἀφ' ἡλίου προσβλέπειν ἀκτίσιν οἶα τέ ἐστι.  
 [13] XVII. | τεκμήριον δὲ ἐναργέστατον τῆς ἀποικίας,  
 77 ἦν ἀπ' ἀστρονομίας καὶ τῆς χαλδαϊζούσης δόξης  
 ἢ διάνοια ἐστείλατο· λέγεται γὰρ εὐθύς ἅμα τῇ  
 μεταναστάσει τοῦ σοφοῦ· “ ὦφθη δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ  
 Ἀβραάμ ” ὧ δηλον ὅτι πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐμφανής,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συνέχοντος.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xii. 7. But this “ appearance ” comes when Abraham is in Canaan. If Philo is following Genesis carefully the



## ON ABRAHAM, 73-77

them a free rein, sometimes forcibly pulling and jerking them back, and thus causing its puppets at one time to move in harmony, at another to rest? With this example in yourself you will easily apprehend that which you so earnestly desire to know. For it cannot be that while in yourself there is a mind 74 appointed as your ruler which all the community of the body obeys and each of the senses follows, the world, the fairest, and greatest and most perfect work of all, of which everything else is a part, is without a king who holds it together and directs it with justice. That the king is invisible need not cause you to wonder, for neither is the mind in yourself visible. Anyone who reflects on these things and 75 learns from no distant source, but from one near at hand, namely himself and what makes him what he is, will know for certain that the world is not the primal God but a work of the primal God and Father of all Who, though invisible, yet brings all things to light, revealing the natures of great and small. For 76 He did not deem it right to be apprehended by the eyes of the body, perhaps because it was contrary to holiness that the mortal should touch the eternal, perhaps too because of the weakness of our sight. For our sight could not have borne the rays that pour from Him that is, since it is not even able to look upon the beams of the sun. XVII. We have a very 77 clear proof of the mind's migration from astrology and the Chaldean creed in the words which follow at once the story of the departure of the Sage. "God," it says, "was seen by Abraham." <sup>a</sup> This shews that God was not manifested to him before, when in his

*μετανάστασις* must embrace both migrations. But the sequel suggests that he mistakenly assigns it to the Haran period.

## PHILO

- ὅτε χαλδαῖζων τῇ τῶν ἀστέρων χορεία προσείχεν  
 ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας εὐ-  
 ἄρμοστον καὶ νοητὴν φύσιν οὐδεμίαν ἀπλῶς κατα-  
 78 λαμβάνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετεχώρησε καὶ μεθωρμίσαστο,  
 κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον ἔγνω τὸν κόσμον ὑπήκοον ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ αὐτοκράτορα, οὐ πρυτανεύοντα ἀλλὰ πρυτα-  
 νεύομενον ὑπ' αἰτίου τοῦ πεπονηκότος, ὅπερ ἡ  
 79 διάνοια τότε πρῶτον ἀναβλέψασα εἶδε. πολλὴ γὰρ  
 αὐτῆς πρότερον ἀχλὺς ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κατ-  
 εκέχυτο, ἦν ἐνθέρμοις καὶ διαπύροις δόγμασιν  
 ἀνασκεδάσασα μόλις ἴσχυσεν ὡς ἐν αἰθρία καθαρᾷ  
 τοῦ πάλαι κρυπτομένου καὶ ἀειδοῦς φαντασίαν  
 λαβεῖν· ὅς ἔνεκα φιλανθρωπίας ἀφικνουμένην τὴν  
 ψυχὴν ὡς ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀπεστράφη, προὔπαντήσας  
 δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔδειξε, καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν  
 80 ἰδεῖν τὸν βλέποντα. διὸ λέγεται, οὐχ ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς  
 εἶδε θεόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι "ὁ θεὸς ὤφθη" τῷ σοφῷ· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἦν ἀδύνατον καταλαβεῖν τινα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν ὄν, μὴ παραφήναντος ἐκείνου ἑαυτὸν καὶ  
 ἐπιδείξαντος.
- 81 XVIII. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ἡ τοῦ  
 ὀνόματος ὑπαλλαγὴ καὶ μετάθεσις. ἐκαλεῖτο γὰρ  
 "Ἀβραμ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα, προσερρήθη δ' ὕστερον  
 'Αβραάμ, φωνῇ μὲν ἐνὸς στοιχείου τοῦ ἄλφα  
 διπλασιασθέντος, δυνάμει δὲ μεγάλου πράγματος  
 82 καὶ δόγματος ἐνδειξαμένου τὴν μεταβολὴν. "Ἀβραμ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐρμηνευθὲν ἔστι "πατὴρ μετέωρος,"  
 'Αβραάμ δὲ "πατὴρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἡχοῦς," τὸ μὲν  
 πρότερον ἐμφαῖνον τὸν ἀστρολογικὸν καὶ μετεωρο-  
 λογικὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, οὕτως τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν

## ON ABRAHAM, 77-82

Chaldean way he was fixing his thoughts on the choric movement of the stars with no apprehension at all of an harmonious and intelligible order of things outside the world and the sphere of sense. But when he had departed and changed his habitation he could not help but know that the world is not sovereign but dependent, not governing but governed by its Maker and First Cause. And this his mind then saw for the first time with its recovered sight. For before a great mist had been shed upon it by the things of sense, and only with difficulty could it dispel this mist under the warmth and fervour of higher verities and so be able as in clear open sky to receive the vision of Him Who so long lay hidden and invisible. He in His love for mankind, when the soul came into His presence, did not turn away His face, but came forward to meet him and revealed His nature, so far as the beholder's power of sight allowed. That is why we are told not that the Sage saw God, but that God was seen by him. For it were impossible that anyone should by himself apprehend the truly Existent, did not He reveal and manifest Himself.

XVIII. What has been said is attested by the alteration and change in his name, for his original name was Abram, but afterwards he was addressed as Abraham.<sup>a</sup> To the ear there was but a duplication of one letter, alpha, but in fact and in the truth conveyed this duplication shewed a change of great importance. Abram is by interpretation "uplifted father"; Abraham, "elect father of sound." The former signifies one called astrologer and meteorologist.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xvii. 5. For the interpretation of Abram and Abraham (Greek Abraam) cf. *De Cher.* 4, 7, *De Gig.* 62, 64, *De Mut.* 66.

## PHILO

- δογμάτων ἐπιμελούμενον, ὡς ἂν τις πατὴρ ἐγγόνων  
 83 ἐπιμεληθείη, τὸ δ' ὕστερον τὸν σοφόν. διὰ μὲν γὰρ  
 τῆς ἡχῆς τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον αἰνίττεται, διὰ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν—πατὴρ γὰρ ὁ ἐνδιά-  
 θετος φύσει τοῦ γεγωνοῦ πρεσβύτερός γε ὢν καὶ  
 τὰ λεκτέα ὑποσπεύρων—, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιλέκτου τὸν  
 ἀστείον· εἰκαῖος μὲν γὰρ καὶ πεφυρμένος ὁ φαῦ-  
 λος τρόπος, ἐκλεκτὸς δὲ ὁ ἀγαθός, ἐπικριθεὶς ἐξ  
 84 ἀπάντων ἀριστίνδην. τῷ μὲν οὖν μετεωρολογικῶ  
 μείζον οὐδὲν τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ᾧ  
 καὶ τὰς τῶν γινομένων αἰτίας ἀνατίθησιν· ὁ δὲ  
 σοφὸς ἀκριβεστέροις ὄμμασιν ἰδὼν τι τελεώτερον  
 νοητὸν ἄρχον τε καὶ ἡγεμονεῦον, ὅφ' οὐ τᾶλλα |  
 [14] δεσπόζεται καὶ κυβερνᾶται, πολλὰ κατεμύψατο  
 τῆς προτέρας ζωῆς ἑαυτὸν ὡς τυφλὸν βίον δι-  
 εξεληλυθότα, σκηριπτόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς,  
 ἀβεβαίῳ καὶ ἀνιδρῦτῳ φύσει πράγματι.  
 δευτέραν δ' ἀποικίαν στέλλεται λογίῳ πάλιν πεισ-  
 85 θεὶς ὁ ἀστέιος οὐκέτ' ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς  
 χώραν ἐρήμην, ἐν ἣ πλαζόμενος διετέλει μὴ δυσ-  
 αρεστῶν τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ τῷ δι' αὐτὴν ἀνιδρῦτῳ.  
 86 καίτοι τίς ἕτερος οὐκ ἂν ἡχθέσθη μὴ μόνον τῆς  
 οἰκείας ἀπανιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως  
 ἐλαυνόμενος εἰς δυσβάτους καὶ δυσπορεύτους ἀνο-  
 δίας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν μετατραπόμενος ἐπαλινδρόμη-  
 σεν οἴκαδε, βραχέα μὲν φροντίσας τῶν μελλουσῶν  
 ἐλπίδων, τὴν δὲ παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν σπεύδων ἐκ-  
 φυγεῖν, εὐήθειαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀδήλων χάριν ἀγαθῶν

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<sup>a</sup> Gen. xii. 9. LXX "And Abram departed and having journeyed encamped in the wilderness." E.V. "And Abram journeyed going on still towards the south." Philo conveniently ignores the earlier movements of Abraham in

## ON ABRAHAM, 82-86

logist, one who takes care of the Chaldean tenets as a father would of his children. The latter signifies 83 the Sage, for he uses "sound" as a figure for spoken thought and "father" for the ruling mind, since the inward thought is by its nature father of the uttered, being senior to it, the secret begetter of what it has to say. "Elect" signifies the man of worth, for the worthless character is random and confused, while the good is elect, chosen out of all for his merits. Now to the meteorologist nothing at all seems 84 greater than the universe, and he credits it with the causation of what comes into being. But the wise man with more discerning eyes sees something more perfect perceived by mind, something which rules and governs, the master and pilot of all else. And therefore he blames himself severely for his former life, feeling that all his years have been passed in blindness with no staff to support him but the world of sense, which is by its nature an insecure and unstable thing.

The second migration 85 which the man of worth undertakes, again in obedience to an oracle, is not as before from state to state but into a desert country in which he continued to wander, never complaining of the wandering or the insecurity which it caused.<sup>a</sup> Yet who else would not 86 have felt it a burden not only to be severed from his own country, but also to be driven out of all city life into pathless tracts where the traveller could hardly find a way? Who would not have turned his course and hurried back homeward, paying little regard to future hopes, but eager to escape his present hardships, and thinking it folly to choose admitted evil

Canaan and fastens on the ultimate goal—the wilderness, as a symbol of the solitude of the mystic.

## PHILO

- 87 ὁμολογούμενα αἰρεῖσθαι κακά; μόνος δ' οὕτοσι τούναντίον πεπονημένοι φαίνεται, βίον ἡδιστον νομίζων τὸν ἄνευ συνδιαιτήσεως τῆς τῶν πολλῶν. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· οἱ γὰρ ζητοῦντες καὶ ἐπιποθοῦντες θεὸν ἀνευρεῖν τὴν φίλην αὐτῷ μόνωσιν ἀγαπῶσι, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σπεύδοντες πρῶτον ἐξομοιοῦσθαι τῇ μακαρίᾳ καὶ εὐδαίμονι φύσει.
- 88 ἐκατέραν οὖν ἀπόδοσιν πεποιημένοι, τὴν τε ῥητὴν ὡς ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ψυχῆς, ἀξιεράστον καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀπεφύγαμεν, τὸν μὲν πεισθέντα λογίοις ἐκ δυσασπασμάτων ἀφελκυσθέντα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν, ὅτι οὐ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπατηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας ἔστη τὸν ὄρατὸν κόσμον ὑπολαβὼν μέγιστον καὶ πρῶτον εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλὰ ἀναδραμῶν τῷ λογισμῷ φύσιν ἑτέραν ἀμείνω τῆς ὄρατῆς νοητὴν ἐθεάσατο καὶ τὸν ἀμφοῖν ποιητὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡγεμόνα.
- 89 XIX. Ταῦτα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τὰ προτέλεια, οἷς ἔπονται πράξεις οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητοι. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος αὐτῶν οὐ παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῖς γευσασμένοις ἀρετῆς, οἱ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰώθασιν χλευάζειν ἕνεκα μεγέθους τῶν περὶ
- 90 ψυχῆν ἀγαθῶν. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν ὁ θεὸς τὴν εἰρημένην πράξιν αὐτίκα τὸν ἀστείον ἀμείβεται μεγάλη δωρεᾷ, τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ κινδυνεύσαντα πρὸς δυνατοῦ καὶ ἀκρατοῦς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιβουλευθῆναι
- 91 διατηρήσας ἄψευστον τε καὶ σῶνον. ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε τοιάνδε. καρπῶν ἀφορίας

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<sup>a</sup> For §§ 91-98 see Gen. xii. 10-20.

## ON ABRAHAM, 87-91

for the sake of uncertain good? Yet he alone ap- 87  
pears to have had feelings the opposite of these, and  
to have thought that no life was so pleasant as one  
lived without association with the multitude. And  
that is natural, for those who seek God and yearn  
to find Him love the solitude which is dear to Him,  
and in this way first of all hasten to make themselves  
like His blessed and happy nature. So in 88

both our expositions, the literal as applied to the man  
and the allegorical as applied to the soul, we have  
shewn both man and soul to be worthy of our affec-  
tion. We have shewn how the man in obedience to  
divine commands was drawn away from the stubborn  
hold of his associations and how the mind did not  
remain for ever deceived nor stand rooted in the  
realm of sense, nor suppose that the visible world was  
the Almighty and Primal God, but using its reason  
sped upwards and turned its gaze upon the intel-  
ligible order which is superior to the visible and upon  
Him who is maker and ruler of both alike.

XIX. This is the opening of the story of the friend 89  
of God, and it is followed by actions which call for  
anything but contempt. But their greatness is not  
clear to everyone, but only to those who have tasted  
virtue and who recognize the greatness of the good  
things which belong to the soul and therefore are wont  
to deride those which win the admiration of the multi-  
tude. God, then, approving of the action just re- 90  
lated, at once rewards the man of worth with a great  
gift; for when his marriage was threatened through  
the designs of a licentious potentate, God kept it  
safe and unharmed. "The occasion which led up to 91  
the attempted outrage originated in the following  
way. There had been a failure of the crops for a

## PHILO

ἐπὶ συχνὸν χρόνον γενομένης, τοτὲ μὲν διὰ πολλήν  
 καὶ ἄμετρον ἐπομβρίαν τοτὲ δὲ δι' αὐχμὸν καὶ  
 ζάλην, αἱ κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις συνεχεῖ λιμῶ πιε-  
 σθεῖσαι κεναὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἦσαν, ἄλλων ἀλλαχόσε  
 σκιδναμένων κατὰ ζήτησιν τροφῆς καὶ πορισμὸν  
 92 τῶν ἀναγκαίων. πυθόμενος οὖν Ἀβραὰμ ἄφθονον  
 εὐθηνίαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τοῦ μὲν πο-  
 ταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις λιμνάσαντος ἐν καιρῷ τὰ  
 πεδία, τῶν δὲ τὸν σπόρον εὔσταχυν ἐνεγκόντων καὶ  
 [15] ἀναθρεψαμένων | εὐκρασίαις πνευμάτων, ἀπαίρει  
 93 πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπαγόμενος. ἦν δ' αὐτῷ γυνὴ τήν τε  
 ψυχὴν ἀρίστη καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν καθ' αὐτὴν περικαλ-  
 λεστάτη· ταύτην ἰδόντες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐν τέλει  
 καὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας ἀγάμενοι—λανθάνει γὰρ τοὺς ἐν  
 94 ἔξοχαῖς οὐδέν—μηνύουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. μεταπεμ-  
 ψάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπον καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκπρεπε-  
 στάτην ὄψιν, βραχὺ φροντίσας αἰδοῦς καὶ νόμων τῶν  
 ἐπὶ τιμῇ ξένων ὀρισθέντων, ἐνδοὺς ἀκρασία δι-  
 ενοεῖτο λόγῳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον, τὸ  
 95 δ' ἄληθές αἰσχύνειν. ἦ δ' ἄτε ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῆ παρ'  
 ἀκρατεῖ τε καὶ ὠμοθύμῳ δυνάστη τοῦ βοηθήσοντος  
 ἀποροῦσα—οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔσθενεν ἀρήγειν τὸν  
 ἐπικρεμάμενον ἐκ τῶν δυνατωτέρων φόβον δεδιώς  
 —ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἄμ' ἐκείνῳ καταφεύγει  
 96 συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ. λαβὼν δὲ τῶν ξένων  
 οἰκτον ὁ εὐμενῆς καὶ ἰλεως καὶ ὑπέρμαχος τῶν  
 ἀδικουμένων ἀλγηδόνας δυσκαρτερήτους καὶ χαλε-  
 πὰς τιμωρίας ἐπάγει τῷ βασιλεῖ, παντοίων κακῶν  
 ἀναπλήσας αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν δυσιάτων, ὡς τὰς  
 μὲν ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἀγούσας ὀρέξεις ἀπάσας ἐκκεκόφ-  
 θαι, τὰς δ' ἐναντίας παρεισεληλυθῆναι φροντίδας



## ON ABRAHAM, 91-96

considerable period, at one time through a great and excessive rainfall, at another through drought and stormy weather ; and the cities of Syria, hard pressed through continual famine, were stripped of their inhabitants who scattered in different directions to seek for food and to procure necessities. Abraham, then, 92 learning that there was a rich and abundant supply of corn in Egypt, where the river by its seasonal flooding had turned the plains into pools, and well-tempered winds had produced and fostered a fine growth of corn, set off thither with his whole household. He had a wife distinguished greatly for her 93 goodness of soul and beauty of body, in which she surpassed all the women of her time. When the chief people of Egypt saw her and admired her beauty, since the highly placed leave nothing unobserved, they told the king. He sent for the 94 woman, and, marking her surpassing comeliness, paid little regard to decency or the laws enacted to shew respect to strangers, but gave rein to his licence and determined nominally to take her in marriage, but in reality to bring her to shame. She who in a 95 foreign country was at the mercy of a licentious and cruel-hearted despot and had no one to protect her, for her husband was helpless, menaced as he was by the terror of stronger powers, joined him in fleeing for refuge to the last remaining championship, that of God. And God, Who is kindly and merciful and 96 shields the wronged, had pity for the strangers and plied the king with almost intolerable pains and grievous penalties. He filled him body and soul with all manner of scarce curable plagues. All appetite for pleasure was eradicated and replaced by visitations of the opposite kind, by cravings for release

## PHILO

- περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀνηνύτων βασάνων, ὑφ' ὧν γυμναζόμενος μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐξετραχηλίζετο.
- 97 παραπέλαυσε δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ σύμπας ὁ οἶκος αὐτῷ, μηδενὸς ἐπὶ τῇ ταρανομίᾳ δυσχεράναντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἕνεκα τοῦ συναινεῖν μόνον οὐ συγ-
- 98 χειρουργησάντων τὸ ἀδίκημα. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἢ μὲν ἀγνεία τῆς γυναικὸς διασώζεται, τοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ὁ θεὸς ἠξίωσεν ἐπιδειξάσθαι γέρας αὐτῷ μέγιστον παρασχών, ἀσινῆ καὶ ἀνύβριστον ὅσον οὐπω κινδυνεύσαντα διαφθαρῆναι τὸν γάμον, ὃς οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὀλίγων ἀριθμὸν νιῶν ἢ θυγατέρων γεννᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅλον ἔθνος καὶ ἔθνῶν τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ὃ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἱερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν λαχεῖν.
- 99 XX. Ἦκουσα μέντοι καὶ φυσικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀλληγορούντων, οἳ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα συμβολικῶς ἔφασκον σπουδαῖον εἶναι νοῦν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοῦνομα ἐρμηνευθείσης δυνάμεως τεκμαιρόμενοι τρόπον ἀστείον ἐν ψυχῇ, τὴν δὲ τούτου γυναιῖκα ἀρετὴν, ἧς τοῦνομά ἐστι Χαλδαῖστὶ μὲν Σάρρα, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ “ ἄρχουσα,” διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀρετῆς ἀρχικώτερον εἶναι καὶ ἡγεμονικώτερον. γάμος δέ, ὃν μὲν ἀρμόζεται ἡδονῇ, σωματικῶν κοινωνίαν ἔλαχεν, ὃν δὲ σοφία, λογισμῶν καθάρσεως ἐφιεμένων καὶ τελείων ἀρετῶν. ἐναντιώτατοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶν οἱ λεχθέντες γάμοι.
- 101 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τῶν σωματικῶν σπεῖρει μὲν τὸ

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\* Or “students of the (higher) truths of Nature,” almost in some contexts (*e.g.* *Mos.* ii. 216) = “theologians.” Nature is so closely akin to the divine (see note on *De Sac.* 98) that allegorical truths such as these especially belong to its study,

## ON ABRAHAM, 96-101

from the endless tortures which night and day haunted and racked him almost to death. The whole 97 household, too, shared the punishment with him, since none had shewn indignation at the outrage, but all by consenting were almost accomplices in the misdeed. Thus the chastity of the woman was pre- 98 served, while the nobility and piety of the man was evidenced by God, Who deigned to grant him this signal boon, that his marriage, which would have been in almost immediate danger of violation, should remain free from harm and outrage, that marriage from which was to issue not a family of a few sons and daughters, but a whole nation, and that the nation dearest of all to God, which, as I hold, has received the gift of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of all mankind.

XX. I have also heard some natural philosophers <sup>a</sup> 99 who took the passage allegorically, not without good reason. They said that the husband was a figure for the good mind, judging by the meaning given for interpretation of this name that it stood for a good disposition of soul. The wife, they said, was virtue, her name being in Chaldean Sarah but in our language a sovereign lady,<sup>b</sup> because nothing is more sovereign or dominant than virtue. Now in a marriage where 100 the union is brought about by pleasure, the partnership is between body and body, but in the marriage made by wisdom it is between thoughts which seek purification and perfect virtues. Now the two kinds of marriage are directly opposed to each other. For 101 in the bodily marriage the male sows the seed and the

*cf. De Post.* 7 τὴν δι' ἀλληγορίας ὁδὸν φυσικοῖς φίλην ἀνδράσι, and *De Mut.* 62 φυσιολογούντες. See further App. p. 597.

<sup>b</sup> *Cf. De Cher.* 8, *De Mut.* 77.

## PHILO

ἄρρεν, γονὴν δ' ὑποδέχεται τὸ θῆλυ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν |  
 [16] ἐν ψυχαῖς σύνοδον ἔμπαλιν ἢ μὲν ἀρετὴ τάξιν  
 γυναικὸς ἔχει δοκοῦσα σπεῖρειν πέφυκε βουλὰς  
 ἀγαθὰς καὶ λόγους σπουδαίους καὶ βιωφελεστάτων  
 εἰσηγήσεις δογμάτων, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς εἰς τὴν ἀνδρὸς  
 χώραν τάττεσθαι νομισθεὶς τὰς ἱεροπρεπεῖς καὶ  
 θείας ὑποδέχεται σποράς· ἢ μήποτε τὸ λεχθὲν  
 ἔψευσται δι' ἀπάτην ὀνομάτων, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ μὲν  
 νοῦς ἄρρενος ἢ δ' ἀρετὴ θήλεος μετέχει χαρακτήρος  
 102 ἐν φωναῖς. εἰ δέ τις τὰς ἐπισκιαζούσας κλήσεις  
 ἀπαμφιάσας γυμνὰ τὰ πράγματα βουλευθεῖη κα-  
 θαρῶς ἰδεῖν εἴσεται διότι ἄρρεν μὲν ἔστιν ἢ ἀρετὴ  
 φύσει, παρόσον κινεῖ καὶ διατίθησι καὶ καλὰς  
 ἐννοίας καλῶν πράξεων καὶ λόγων ὑπηχεῖ, θῆλυ  
 δὲ ὁ λογισμὸς κινούμενος καὶ παιδευόμενος καὶ  
 ὠφελούμενος καὶ συνόλως ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἐξεταζό-  
 103 ριον. XXI. ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ φαυλότατοι  
 τῷ λόγῳ τιμῶσι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν ἀρετὴν ὅσα τῷ  
 δοκεῖν, χρῶνται δ' αὐτῆς τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν οἱ  
 ἀστεῖοι μόνοι. διὸ καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς,  
 ὅπερ ἔστι συμβολικῶς νοῦς φιλοσώματος, καθυπο-  
 κρινόμενος ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ προσποιήτον ἐπιμορφάζει  
 κοινωνίαν, πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν ὁ ἀκρατῆς καὶ πρὸς  
 σωφροσύνην ὁ ἀκόλαστος καὶ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην  
 ὁ ἀδικος, καὶ καλεῖ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς ἑαυτὸν τῆς παρὰ  
 104 τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐφημίας γλιχόμενος. ὅπερ κατιδὼν  
 ὁ ἔφορος—μόνῳ γὰρ ἔξεστι θεῷ ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν—  
 ἐμίσησε καὶ προὔβαλετο καὶ βασάνοις ἤλεγξεν  
 ἀργαλεωτάταις ἦθος κατεψευσμένον. αἱ δὲ βάσανοι  
 διὰ τίνων ὀργάνων; ἢ πάντως διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 μερῶν, ἅπερ ἐπεισιόντα χαλεπῶς αἰκίζεται καὶ

## ON ABRAHAM, 101-104

female receives it ; on the other hand in the matings within the soul, though virtue seemingly ranks as wife, her natural function is to sow good counsels and excellent words and to inculcate tenets truly profitable to life, while thought, though held to take the place of the husband, receives the holy and divine sowings. Perhaps however the statement <sup>a</sup> above is a mistake due to the deceptiveness of the nouns, since in the actual words employed *νοῦς* has the masculine, and *ἀρετή* the feminine form. And if anyone is willing to divest 102 facts of the terms which obscure them and observe them in their nakedness in a clear light he will understand that virtue is male, since it causes movement and affects conditions and suggests noble conceptions of noble deeds and words, while thought is female, being moved and trained and helped, and in general belonging to the passive category, which passivity is its sole means of preservation. XXI. All men, then, 103 even the most worthless, professedly honour and admire virtue so far as outward appearance goes, but only the worthy practise its injunctions. And so the king of Egypt, under which figure is symbolized the mind which loves the body, acts a part as in a theatre and assumes a counterfeited fellowship, he, the licentious with chastity, the profligate with self-control, the unjust with justice, and in his desire to earn a good repute with the multitude invites virtue to join him. Seeing this, God the surveyor, since He alone 104 can scan the soul, hates and rejects the sham character and submits it to the test of most painful tortures. What are the instruments of these tortures ? Surely the different parts of virtue which enter in and plague

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* that virtue is wife, and mind husband ; but see App. pp. 597-598.

## PHILO

- τιτρώσκει; βάσανος μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀπληστίας ὀλιγοδεΐα, βάσανος δὲ λαγνείας ἐγκράτεια· στρεβλοῦται δὲ καὶ ὁ φιλόδοξος ἀτυφίας εὐημερούσης καὶ
- 105 ὁ ἄδικος δικαιοσύνης ἐπαινουμένης. μίαν γὰρ ἀμήχανον ψυχὴν κατοικεῖν δύο τὰς ἐχθρὰς φύσεις, κακίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν· οὐ χάριν, ἐπειδὴν συνενεχθῶσιν, ἀσύμβατοι καὶ ἀκατάλλακτοι στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι συγκροτοῦνται, καίτοι τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰρηνικωτάτην φύσιν ἐχούσης, ἣ φασιν ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι, ὅταν εἰς χειρῶν ἀμιλλαν ἰέναι μέλλῃ, τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι πρότερον, ἢ, εἰ μὲν ἰσχύοι καταγωνίσασθαι, συνιστῆται, εἰ δ' ἀσθενεστέρα χρωτο τῇ δυνάμει, μηδὲ συγκαταβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν
- 108 ἀγῶνα θαρρήσῃ· κακίαν μὲν γὰρ ἠττᾶσθαι οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἣ συγγενὲς ἀδοξία, ἀρετὴν δὲ ὄνειδος, ἣ πάντων οἰκειότατον εὐκλεία, δι' ἣν πέφυκε νικᾶν ἢ διατηρεῖν αὐτὴν ἀήττητον.
- 107 XXII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίων ἄξενον καὶ ἀκόλαστον εἶρηται. τοῦ δὲ τοιαῦτα πεπονθότος ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν, ὃς μεσημβρίας |
- [17] θεασάμενος τρεῖς ὡς ἄνδρας ὀδοιποροῦντας—οἱ δὲ θειότερας ὄντες φύσεως ἐλελήθεσαν—προσδραμὼν ἰκέτευε λιπαρῶς μὴ παρελθεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν σκιηνήν, ἀλλ' ὡς πρόπον εἰσεληλυθότας ξενίων μετασχεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς διανοίας εἰδότες ἀληθεύοντα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐπινεύουσι.
- 108 πληρωθεὶς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν χαρᾶς πάντ' ἐσπούδαζεν εἰς τὸ ἀνυπέρθeton τῆς ὑποδοχῆς καὶ τῇ μὲν γυναικί φησι “σπεῦσον καὶ τρία μέτρα ποίησον ἐγκρυφῶν,” αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ βουκόλια συντείνας, ἀπαλὸν καὶ
- 109 εὐσαρκον ἀγαγὼν μόσχον, οἰκέτη παραδίδωσιν. ὁ

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 107-118 see Gen. xviii.

## ON ABRAHAM, 104-109

and wound him grievously? For greediness is tortured by frugal contentment and lewdness by continence. And so the vainglorious is racked when simplicity prevails, and the unjust when justice is praised. For 105 it is impossible for the single soul to have for its tenant two hostile natures, vice and virtue, and therefore when they meet factions and wars are set on foot incapable of truce or reconciliation. And yet virtue's nature is most peaceable, and she is careful, so they say, to test her own strength before the conflict, so that if she is able to contend to the end she may take the field, but if she finds her strength too weak she may shrink from entering the contest at all. For vice 106 feels no disgrace in defeat, since ill-repute is congenital to her, but to virtue it is a reproach, for nearest and dearest to her is good fame which makes it natural for her to be victorious or at least to keep herself undefeated.

XXII. \*I have described the inhospitality and 107 licentiousness of the Egyptians. Turning to the victim of this outrage, we may well admire his kindness of heart. When at noon he saw three travellers in the form of men, for their diviner nature was not apparent to him, he ran to them and earnestly begged of them not to pass his tent but to enter as was fitting and partake of hospitality. But they, knowing, not so much by his words as by the feeling he showed, that he spoke the truth, assented without hesitation. And he, his soul full of joy, was eager to carry out 108 the reception without delay, and said to his wife: "Hasten and bake three measures of cakes in the ashes." Meanwhile he himself hurried to the stalls and brought a tender and well-fed calf which he gave to the servant who killed it and dressed it with all 109

## PHILO

- δὲ καταθύσας σκευάζει τάχιστα· βραδὺς γὰρ οὐδεὶς πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν ἐν οἴκῳ σοφοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ δούλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι προθυμότατοι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ξενιζομένων ὑπηρεσίας.
- 110 ἔστιαθέντες δ' οὐ τοῖς εὐτρεπισθεῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τοῦ ξενοδόχου γνώμῃ καὶ πολλῇ τινι καὶ ἀπεράντῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ παρέχουσιν ἄθλον ἐλπίδος μείζον αὐτῷ, υἱοῦ γνησίου γένεσιν εἰς νέωτα βεβαιωθησομένην ὑποσχόμενοι δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ τῶν τριῶν ἀρίστου— λέγειν γὰρ ἐν ταῦτῳ πάντα ἀθρώους ἦν ἀφιλόσοφον, ἐνὶ δὲ λέγοντι τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπινεύειν
- 111 ἐμπρεπές— ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπισχνουμένοις ἔνεκα τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀπίστου βεβαίως προσεῖχον· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπερήλικες γεγονότες διὰ μακρὸν γῆρας
- 112 ἀπεγνώκεσαν παιδὸς σποράν. ἀκούσασαν οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα ἐν ἀρχῇ φησι γελάσαι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, εἰπόντων “ μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πᾶν ῥῆμα; ” καταιδεσθεῖσαν ἠρνήσθαι τὸν γέλωτα· πάντα γὰρ ἤδει θεῷ δυνατὰ σχεδὸν ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων τουτί τὸ
- 113 δόγμα προμαθοῦσα. τότε μοι δοκεῖ πρῶτον οὐκέθ' ὁμοίαν τῶν ὀρωμένων λαβεῖν φαντασίαν, ἀλλὰ σεμνοτέραν ἢ προφητῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων μεταβαλόντων ἀπὸ πνευματικῆς καὶ ψυχοειδοῦς οὐσίας εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδέαν.
- 114 XXIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλόξενον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται, πάρεργον ὃν ἀρετῆς μείζονος· ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ θεοσέβεια, περὶ ἧς καὶ πρότερον εἵπομεν, ἧς δεῖγμα σαφέστατον τὰ νῦν λεχθέντα ἔστιν ὡς ἐπὶ ξένων ἀνδρῶν.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Sarah's denial of her laughter is ascribed to a recognition that the Visitor was divine, rather than as in



## ON ABRAHAM, 109-115

speed. For in a wise man's house no one is slow in showing kindness ; but women and men, slaves and free, are full of zeal to do service to their guests. After 110 feasting not so much on the viands prepared for them as on the goodwill of their host, and on this example of a great and unbounded generosity, they presented him with a reward surpassing his hopes, by promising him the birth of a son born in wedlock. And this promise, which was to be made good in the next year, was given through one, and that the highest, of the three. For wise refinement demanded that all should not speak together at once but rather that one should speak and the others shew assent. But to Abraham 111 and Sarah the thing seemed incredible, and therefore they did not pay serious regard even to the promises of the three. For as they had passed the years of parenthood their great age had made them despair of the birth of a son. So the scripture says that the 112 wife first laughed at the words and afterwards when they said, " Is anything impossible with God ? " was ashamed and denied her laughter, for she knew that all things were possible with God, a truth which she had learnt long ago, and even from the cradle. It 113 was then, I think, that she first saw in the strangers before her a different and grander aspect, that of prophets or angels, transformed from their spiritual and soul-like nature into human shape.<sup>a</sup>

XXIII. We have described Abraham's hospitality 114 which was but a by-product of a greater virtue. That virtue is piety, of which we have spoken before, and it is quite clearly seen in this story, even if we think of the strangers as men. Some may feel that the 115

Genesis to fear. Otherwise Philo here gives the natural interpretation of the incident. See note on § 206.

## PHILO

- 115 εἰ δ' εὐδαιμόνα καὶ μακάριον οἶκον ὑπέλαβον εἶναι  
τινες, ἐν ᾧ συνέβη καταχθῆναι καὶ ἐνδιατρίψαι  
σοφούς, οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσαντας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅσον διακῦψαι  
μόνον, εἴ τι πάθος ἐνεώρων ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἔνδον  
ὄντων ἀνίατον, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τίνα ὑπερβολὴν  
εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακαριότητος εἶναι φῶ περι τὴν  
οἰκίαν, ἐν ἣ καταχθῆναι καὶ ξενίων λαχεῖν ὑπ-  
έμειναν ἄγγελοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων,<sup>1</sup> ἱεραὶ καὶ θείαι  
φύσεις, ὑποδιάκονοι καὶ ὑπαρχοὶ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ,  
[18] | δι' ὧν οἶα πρεσβευτῶν ὅσα ἂν θελήσῃ τῷ γένει  
116 ἡμῶν προθεσπίσαι διαγγέλλει. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὴν  
ἀρχὴν εἰσελθεῖν ὑπέμειναν, εἰ μὴ καθάπερ νεὼς εὖ  
συντεταγμένον πλήρωμα τοὺς ἔνδον ἅπαντας ἤδεσαν  
ἐνὶ πειθαρχούντας κελεύσματι τῷ τοῦ προεστηκότος  
ὡσανεὶ κυβερνήτου; πῶς δ' ἂν ἐστιωμένων καὶ  
ξενιζομένων παρέσχον ὑπόληψιν, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐστιά-  
τορα συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμόδουλον ἡγούντο τῷ αὐτῶν  
προσπεφευγότα δεσπότη; νομιστέον μέντοι καὶ  
κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιδούναί  
πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκίας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὔρα  
117 τινὶ τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιπνευσθέντα. τὸ δὲ συμ-  
πόσιον οἶον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐν εὐωχίαις  
ἀφέλειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένων πρὸς τὸν ἐστιάτορα τῶν  
ἐστιωμένων καὶ γυμνοῖς ἤθεσι προσαγορευόντων  
καὶ ὁμιλίας τὰς ἀρμοττούσας τῷ καιρῷ ποιου-  
118 μένων. τεράστιον δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ πίνοντας πινόντων  
καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐσθιόντας ἐσθιόντων παρέχειν φαντασίαν.  
ἀλλὰ ταυτί γε ὡς ἀκόλουθα· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἐκείνο  
τερατωδέστατον, ἀσωμάτους ὄντας [τοῦδε σώματος]

<sup>1</sup> So one ms. The others ἀνθρώπους, which Cohn prints in the text, but later declared for -ων. The accusative, however = "in relation with men" is not impossible.

## ON ABRAHAM, 115-118

house must have been happy and blessed in which such an event as this took place, that wise men halted there and made a stay who would not have deigned even to look inside if they saw anything hopelessly wrong in the souls of the inmates. And, if this is so, I do not know how to express the vast happiness and blessedness of that house where angels did not shrink from halting and receiving hospitality from men—angels, those holy and divine beings, the servitors and lieutenants of the primal God whom He employs as ambassadors to announce the predictions which He wills to make to our race. For how could they have 116 brought themselves to enter at all if they had not known that all the household, like a well ordered crew, was obedient to a single call from him who steered them like a pilot? And how should they have given ground for the idea that they feasted and received hospitality unless they thought that the giver of the feast was their kinsman and fellow-servant who had sought refuge with their master? Indeed we must suppose that at their entrance all parts of the house advanced still further in goodness and felt some breath of the inspiration of perfect virtue. The 117 conduct of the meal was such as it should be. The guests showed to their entertainer the frank simplicity of a festive gathering. Their manner in addressing him was unreserved, and their converse suited to the occasion. It is a marvel indeed that 118 though they neither ate nor drank they gave the appearance of both eating and drinking.<sup>a</sup> But that is a secondary matter; the first and greatest wonder is that, though incorporeal, they assumed human

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 598.

## PHILO

εἰς ἰδέαν ἀνθρώπων μεμορφῶσθαι χάριτι τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀστέιον· τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκα ταῦτα ἐθαυματουργεῖτο ἢ τοῦ παρασχεῖν αἰσθησιν τῷ σοφῷ διὰ τρανοτέρας ὄψεως, ὅτι οὐ λέληθε τὸν πατέρα τοιοῦτος ὢν;

- 119 XXIV. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ῥήτης ἀποδόσεως ὡδὶ λελέχθω· τῆς δὲ δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀρκτέον. σύμβολα τὰ ἐν φωναῖς τῶν διανοία μόνη καταλαμβανομένων ἐστίν· ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἐν μεσημβρία θεῷ περιλαμφθῆ καὶ ὅλη δι' ὅλων νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀναπλησθεῖσα ταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ κεχυμέναις αὐγαῖς<sup>1</sup> ἄσκιος γένηται, τριττὴν φαντασίαν ἐνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει, τοῦ μὲν ὡς ὄντος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων δυοῖν ὡς ἂν ἀπαυγαζομένων ἀπὸ τούτου σκιῶν· ὁποῖόν τι συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἐν αἰσθητῷ φωτὶ διατρίβουσιν· ἢ γὰρ ἐστῶτων ἢ κινουμένων
- 120 διτταὶ σκιαὶ πολλάκις συνεμπίπτουσι. μὴ μέντοι νομισάτω τις ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὰς σκιάς κυριολογεῖσθαι· κατάχρησις ὀνόματός ἐστι μόνον πρὸς ἐναργεστέραν ἔμφασιν τοῦ δηλουμένου πράγματος, ἐπεὶ τό γε
- 121 ἀληθὲς οὐχ ὡδε ἔχει· ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ὡς ἂν τις ἐγγύτατα τῆς ἀληθείας ἰστάμενος εἴποι, πατὴρ μὲν τῶν ὅλων
- [19] ὁ μέσος, ὃς ἐν ταῖς | ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται ὁ ὢν, αἱ δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερα αἱ πρεσβύταται καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις, ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ, ἡ δ' αὖ βασιλικὴ· προσαγορεύεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ θεός, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἔθηκέ τε καὶ διεκόσμησε τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, θέμις γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν
- 122 τὸ πεποιηκὸς τοῦ γενομένου. δορυφορούμενος οὖν

<sup>1</sup> mss. (with the exception of H<sup>2</sup>) τὰς . . κεχυμένας αὐγάς, which perhaps might be kept, as Cohn suggests, by correcting ἄσκιος γένηται to ἀσκίους δέχεται or ἀσπάσηται.

## ON ABRAHAM, 118-122

form to do kindness to the man of worth. For why was this miracle worked save to cause the Sage to perceive with clearer vision that the Father did not fail to recognize his wisdom?

XXIV. Here we may leave the literal exposition 119 and begin the allegorical. Spoken words contain symbols of things apprehended by the understanding only. When, then, as at noon-tide God shines around the soul, and the light of the mind fills it through and through and the shadows are driven from it by the rays which pour all around it, the single object presents to it a triple vision, one representing the reality, the other two the shadows reflected from it. Our life in the light which our senses perceive gives us a somewhat similar experience, for objects standing or moving often cast two shadows at once. No 120 one, however, should think that the shadows can be properly spoken of as God. To call them so is loose speaking, serving merely to give a clearer view of the fact which we are explaining, since the real truth is otherwise. Rather, as anyone who has approached 121 nearest to the truth would say, the central place is held by the Father of the Universe, Who in the sacred scriptures is called He that is as His proper name, while on either side of Him are the senior potencies, the nearest to Him, the creative and the kingly. The title of the former is God,<sup>a</sup> since it made and ordered the All; the title of the latter is Lord, since it is the fundamental right of the maker to rule and control what he has brought into being. So the central Being with each of His pot- 122

<sup>a</sup> Evidently an allusion to the accepted derivation of *θεός* from *τιθημι*. Cf. *De Conf.* 137 *δύναμις καθ' ἣν ἐθηκε καὶ διετάξατο τὰ πάντα κέκληται ἐτύμως θεός*, where *ἐτύμως* shews that an etymology is intended (see note). Cf. also *De Mut.* 29.

## PHILO

- ὁ μέσος ὑφ' ἑκατέρας τῶν δυνάμεων παρέχει τῇ ὁρατικῇ διανοίᾳ τοτὲ μὲν ἑνὸς τοτὲ δὲ τριῶν φαντασίαν, ἑνὸς μὲν ὅταν ἄκρως τύχη καθαρθεῖσα καὶ μὴ μόνον τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γείτονα μονάδος δυάδα ὑπερβᾶσα πρὸς τὴν ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἀσύμπλοκον καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεᾶ τὸ παράπαν ἰδέαν ἐπείγεται, τριῶν δὲ ὅταν μήπω τὰς μεγάλας τελεσθεῖσα τελετὰς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς βραχυτέραις ὀργιάζηται καὶ μὴ δύνηται τὸ ὄν ἄνευ ἐτέρου τινὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου καταλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν
- 123 δρωμένων, ἢ κτίζον ἢ ἄρχον. δεύτερος μὲν οὖν, ὡς φασι, πλοῦς οὗτος, μετέχει δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον δόξης θεοφιλοῦς· ὁ δὲ πρότερος τρόπος οὐ μετέχει, ἀλλ' αὐτός ἐστι θεοφιλῆς δόξα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ δόξης πρεσβυτέρα καὶ παντὸς τιμιωτέρα τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀλήθεια. γνωριμώτερον δὲ τὸ δηλούμενον
- 124 παραστατέον. XXV. τρεῖς εἰσιν ἡθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τάξεις, ὧν ἑκάστη διακεκλήρωται μίαν τῶν εἰρημένων φαντασιῶν ἢ μὲν ἀρίστη τὴν μέσῃν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος, ἢ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, τὴν εὐεργέτιν, ἢ θεὸς ὄνομα, ἢ δὲ τρίτῃ τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα,
- 125 τὴν ἀρχικὴν, ἢ καλεῖται κύριος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄριστα τῶν ἡθῶν τὸν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ τινὸς ὄντα θεραπεύει πρὸς μηδενὸς ἐτέρου μεθελκόμενα, τῷ τετάσθαι μοναδικῶς πρὸς τὴν ἑνὸς τιμήν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν διὰ τῆς εὐεργέτιδος συνίσταται καὶ γνωρίζεται

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<sup>a</sup> For this proverbial phrase see note on *De Som.* i. 44.

## ON ABRAHAM, 122-125

encies as His squire presents to the mind which has vision the appearance sometimes of one, sometimes of three : of one, when that mind is highly purified and, passing beyond not merely the multiplicity of other numbers, but even the dyad which is next to the unit, presses on to the ideal form which is free from mixture and complexity, and being self-contained needs nothing more ; of three, when, as yet uninitiated into the highest mysteries, it is still a votary only of the minor rites and unable to apprehend the Existing alone by Itself and apart from all else, but only through Its actions, as either creative or ruling. This is, as they say, a "second best 123 voyage <sup>a</sup>" ; yet all the same there is in it an element of a way of thinking such as God approves. But the former state of mind has not merely an element. It is in itself the divinely-approved way, or rather it is the truth, higher than a way of thinking, more precious than anything which is merely thought. But it would be well to state the point in a more familiar guise. XXV. There are three classes of human 124 temperaments, each of them so constituted that the vision presents itself in one of the three ways above-mentioned. To the best class it presents itself in the middle form, that of the essentially existent ; to the next best, in that which stands on the right, the beneficent, which bears the name of God ; to the third, in that on the left, the governing, which is called Lord. Temperaments of the last kind 125 worship the solely Self-existent and nothing can make them swerve from this, because they are subject to the single attraction which leads them to honour the one. Of the other two types, one is introduced and made known to the Father by

## PHILO

- 126 δυνάμεως τῷ πατρί, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς.  
 ὁ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἄνθρωποι  
 μὲν ἐπειδὴν αἰσθωνται κατὰ πρόφασιν ἑταιρείας  
 προσιόντας αὐτοῖς τινας ἐπὶ θήρα πλεονεξιῶν, ὑπο-  
 βλέπονταί τε καὶ ἀποστρέφονται τὴν προσποίητον  
 127 σφόδρα ἐπιζήμιον· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἅτε βλάβην οὐκ ἐπι-  
 δεχόμενος ἅπαντας τοὺς καθ' ἡντινοῦν ἰδέαν προ-  
 αιρουμένους τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ἄσμενος προσκαλεῖται,  
 μηδένα σκορακίζειν ἀξιῶν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον  
 οὐκ ἄντικρυς τοῖς ἀκοῶς ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ θεο-  
 128 πίζει τάδε· “ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων κείσεται  
 τοῖς ἐμὲ θεραπεύουσι δι' ἐμὲ αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα  
 τοῖς δι' ἑαυτούς, ἢ τυχεῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίζουσιν ἢ  
 τιμωριῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρήσεσθαι προσδοκῶσι· καὶ  
 γὰρ εἰ ἔμμισθος ἢ τῶνδε θεραπεία καὶ μὴ ἀδέκα-  
 στος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐντὸς εἰλεῖται θείων περι-  
 129 βόλων καὶ οὐκ ἕξω πλάζεται. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα τοῖς |  
 [20] μὲν ἐμὲ τιμῶσι δι' ἐμὲ κείσεται φίλια, τοῖς δὲ διὰ  
 τὰς χρείας φίλια μὲν οὐ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀλλοτρίοις  
 νομίζεσθαι· δέχομαι γὰρ καὶ τὸν τῆς εὐεργετιδός  
 μου δυνάμεως βουλόμενον μεταλαχεῖν εἰς μετουσίαν  
 ἀγαθῶν καὶ τὸν φόβῳ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δεσ-  
 ποτικὴν ἰλασκόμενον ἐξουσίαν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κολά-  
 σεως· οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ, διότι πρὸς τῷ χεῖρους μὴ  
 γίνεσθαι καὶ βελτίους ἔσονται τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς  
 130 θεραπείας εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν εὐσέβειαν ἀσκή-  
 σαντες. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τρόποι διαφέρουσιν,  
 ἀφ' ὧν ποιοῦνται τὰς πρὸς τὴν ἀρέσκειαν ὀρμάς,  
 οὐκ αἰτιατέον, ὅτι σκοπὸς εἰς καὶ τέλος ἔν ἐστιν  
 131 αὐτοῖς, τὸ θεραπεύειν ἐμέ.” ὅτι δ' ἡ



## ON ABRAHAM, 125-130

the beneficial, the other by the kingly potency.

My meaning is something as follows : 126  
men, when they see others approaching them under  
profession of friendship, in quest of advantages to  
be gained from them, look askance and turn away ;  
they fear that counterfeited adulation and suavity  
which they regard as exceedingly pernicious. But 127  
God cannot suffer injury, and therefore He gladly  
invites all who set themselves to honour Him under  
any form whatsoever, and in His eyes none such  
deserves rejection. Indeed one might almost say  
that to those whose souls have ears God speaks  
plainly as follows : “ My first prizes will be set apart 128  
for those who honour Me for Myself alone, the  
second to those who honour Me for their own sakes,  
either hoping to win blessings or expecting to obtain  
remission of punishments, since, though their worship  
is for reward and not disinterested, yet all the same  
its range lies within the divine precincts and does not  
stray outside. But the prizes set aside for those 129  
who honour Me for Myself will be gifts of friend-  
ship ; to those whose motive is self-interest they do  
not show friendship but that I do not count them as  
aliens. For I accept both him who wishes to enjoy  
My beneficial power and thus partake of blessings  
and him who propitiates the dominance and authority  
of the master to avoid chastisement. For I know well  
that they will not only not be worsened, but actually  
bettered, through the persistence of their worship  
and through practising piety pure and undefiled.  
For, however different are the characters which pro- 130  
duce in them the impulses to do My pleasure, no  
charge shall be brought against them, since they  
have one aim and object, to serve Me.”

- τριττὴ φαντασία δυνάμει<sup>1</sup> ἐνός ἐστὶν ὑποκειμένου, φανερόν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ θεωρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ῥητῆς γραφῆς τάδε περιεχούσης·
- 132 ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς ἰκετεύει τοὺς εὐκότας ὁδοιπόρους τρεῖς ξενισθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶ, διαλέγεται τούτοις οὐχ ὡς τρισίν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνί, καὶ φησι· “ κύριε, εἰ ἄρα εὖρον χάριν παρὰ σοί, μὴ παρέλθης τὸν παῖδά σου.” τὸ γὰρ “ κύριε ” καὶ τὸ “ παρὰ σοί ” καὶ τὸ “ μὴ παρέλθης ” καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἓνα πέφυκεν ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς πλείους λέγεσθαι· ἡνίκα δὲ ξενιζόμενοι φιλοφρονοῦνται τὸν ξενοδόχον, πάλιν εἰς ὑπισχνεῖται ὡς μόνος αὐτὸς παρὼν γνησίου παιδὸς σποράν διὰ τῶνδε· “ ἐπανιὼν ἦξω πρὸς σέ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς νέωτα, καὶ ἔξει υἱὸν Σάρρα ἢ γυνή σου.”
- 133 XXVI. Φανερώτατα μέντοι καὶ διαπονητότατα<sup>2</sup> μηνύει διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς τὸ δηλούμενον. ἡ Σοδομιτῶν χώρα, μοῖρα τῆς Χανανίτιδος γῆς, ἦν ὕστερον ὠνόμασαν Συρίαν Παλαιστίνην, ἀδικημάτων μυρίων ὄσων γεμισθεῖσα καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐκ γαστριμαργίας καὶ λαγνείας ὅσα τε μεγέθη καὶ πλήθη τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν ἐπιτειχίσασα ἤδη παρὰ τῷ δικαστῇ
- 134 τῶν ὄλων κατέγνωστο. αἴτιον δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν ἀμετρίας ἐγένετο τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἢ τῶν χορηγιῶν ἐπάλληλος ἀφθονία· βαθύγειος γὰρ καὶ εὐνδρος οὕσα ἢ χώρα παντοίων ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εὐφορία καρπῶν ἐχρήτο· “ μεγίστη δ' ἀρχὴ κακῶν ”

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suspects *δυνάμει*, needlessly, I think. No doubt *δυνάμει* is properly opposed to *οὐσία* or *ἐντελεχεία*. Cf. *De Op. 47, Leg. All. i. 61*. But the statement here is that the vision of one is the reality *which lies behind* the vision of three. *Actually* a *φαντασία* can only be of that which appears.

## ON ABRAHAM, 131-134

That the triple vision is in reality <sup>a</sup> a vision of a single 131 object is clear not merely from the principles of allegory but from the literal text which contains the following account. When the Sage supplicates the 132 three seeming travellers to accept his hospitality, he discourses with them as though they were one and not three. He says, "Sir, if indeed I have found favour with thee, do not thou pass thy servant by." Here "Sir" and "with thee" and "do not thou pass" and the other like phrases must be addressed to one and not to more than one; and during their entertainment, when they show courtesy to their host, we find one only, as though no other was present, promising the birth of a son born in wedlock in the following words: "I will return and come to thee at this season next year, and Sarah, thy wife, shall have a son."<sup>b</sup>

XXVI. <sup>c</sup> He brings out the point most clearly and 133 elaborately in what follows. The land of the Sodomites, a part of the land of Canaan afterwards called Palestinian Syria, was brimful of innumerable iniquities, particularly such as arise from gluttony and lewdness, and multiplied and enlarged every other possible pleasure with so formidable a menace that it had at last been condemned by the Judge of All. The inhabitants owed this extreme licence to the 134 never-failing lavishness of their sources of wealth, for, deep-soiled and well-watered as it was, the land had every year a prolific harvest of all manner of fruits,

<sup>a</sup> Or "virtually." See critical note.

<sup>b</sup> See Gen. xviii. 3 and 10.

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 133-141 see Gen. xix.

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<sup>2</sup> Some mss. *ἀδιαπονητότατα* or *ἀδιαπόνητα*: Cohn suggests *ἀδιαπορητότατα*.

## PHILO

- ὡς εἶπέ τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ “ τὰ λίαν ἀγαθά.”
- 135 ὧν ἀδυνατοῦντες φέρειν τὸν κόρον ὥσπερ τὰ θρέμματα σκιρτῶντες ἀπαυχενίζουσι τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, ἄκρατον πολὺν καὶ ὀψοφαγίας καὶ ὀχειάς ἐκθέστους μεταδιώκοντες· οὐ γὰρ μόνον θηλυματοῦντες ἀλλοτρίους γάμους διέφθειρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἄρρεσιν ἐπιβαίνοντες, τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας οἱ δρῶντες φύσιν οὐκ αἰδούμενοι, παιδοσποροῦντες ἠλέγχοντο μὲν ἀτελεῖ γονὴν σπεύροντες, ὁ δ’ ἔλεγχος πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος, ὑπὸ
- 136 βιαιοτέρας νικωμένων ἐπιθυμίας. εἴτ’ ἐκ τοῦ κατ’
- [21] | ὀλίγον ἐθίζοντες τὰ γυναικῶν ὑπομένειν τοὺς ἄνδρας γεννηθέντας θήλειαν κατεσκευάσαν αὐτοῖς νόσον, κακὸν δῦσμαχον, οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα μαλακότητι καὶ θρύψει γυναικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεννεστέρας ἀπεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τό γε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἦκον μέρος τὸ σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος διέφθειρον· εἰ γοῦν Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι συμφωνήσαντες ἐζήλωσαν τὰς τοιαύτας ὁμιλίας, ἠρήμωντο ἂν ἐξῆς αἱ πόλεις ὥσπερ λοιμῶδει νόσω
- 137 κενωθεῖσαι. XXVII. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ θεὸς οἶκτον ἄτε σωτὴρ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος τὰς μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνόδους γινομένας ἔνεκα παίδων σπορᾶς ἠϋξῆσεν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα, τὰς δ’ ἐκφύλους καὶ ἐκθέστους διαμισήσας ἔσβεσε καὶ τοὺς ὀργῶντας ἐπὶ ταύτας προβαλόμενος οὐχὶ τὰς ἐν ἔθει καινουργήσας δ’ ἐκτόπους καὶ παρηλλαγμένας
- 138 τιμωρίας ἐτιμωρήσατο. κελεύει γὰρ ἐξαίφνης τὸν ἀέρα νεφωθέντα πολὺν ὄμβρον οὐχ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐφ’ αὐτοῖς OR ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς.

<sup>a</sup> ἀρχὴ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν, | ὠγαθέ, τὰ λίαν ἀγαθά. Menander.

## ON ABRAHAM, 134-138

and the chief beginning of evils, as one has aptly said, is goods in excess.<sup>a</sup> Incapable of bearing such satiety, 135 plunging like cattle, they threw off from their necks the law of nature and applied themselves to deep drinking of strong liquor and dainty feeding and forbidden forms of intercourse. Not only in their mad lust for women did they violate the marriages of their neighbours, but also men mounted males without respect for the sex nature which the active partner shares with the passive; and so when they tried to beget children they were discovered to be incapable of any but a sterile seed. Yet the discovery availed them not, so much stronger was the force of the lust which mastered them. Then, as little by little they accus- 136 tomed those who were by nature men to submit to play the part of women, they saddled them with the formidable curse of a female disease. For not only did they emasculate their bodies by luxury and voluptuousness but they worked a further degeneration in their souls and, as far as in them lay, were corrupting the whole of mankind. Certainly, had Greeks and barbarians joined together in affecting such unions, city after city would have become a desert, as though depopulated by a pestilential sickness. XXVII. But God, moved by pity for mankind whose 137 Saviour and Lover He was, gave increase in the greatest possible degree to the unions which men and women naturally make for begetting children, but abominated and extinguished this unnatural and forbidden intercourse, and those who lusted for such He cast forth and chastised with punishments not of the usual kind but startling and extraordinary, newly-created for this purpose. He bade the air grow sud- 138 denly overclouded and pour forth a great rain, not of

## PHILO

- πυρὸς ὕειν· ἀθρόας δὲ νιφούσης ἀδιαστάτῳ καὶ  
 ἀπαύστῳ ῥύμη φλογός, ἐκαίοντο μὲν ἀγροὶ καὶ  
 λειμῶνες καὶ λάσια ἄλση καὶ ἔλη δασύτατα καὶ  
 δρυμοὶ βαθεῖς, ἐκαίετο δ' ἡ πεδιάς καὶ ὁ τοῦ σίτου  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σπαρτῶν ἅπας καρπός, ἐκαίετο δὲ  
 καὶ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἢ δενδροφόρος, στελεχῶν ῥίζαις  
 139 αὐταῖς ἐμπιπραμένων· ἐπαύλεις δὲ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ  
 τείχη καὶ ὅσα ἐν οἰκοδομαῖς ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ δημόσια  
 πάντα συγκατεπίμπραντο καὶ ἡμέρα μιᾷ αἱ μὲν  
 εὐάνδρουσαι πόλεις τάφος τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐγεγέ-  
 νητο, αἱ δ' ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων κατασκευαὶ τέφρα  
 140 καὶ λεπτὴ κόνις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν φανερωῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 γῆς ἅπαντα κατανάλωσεν ἡ φλόξ, ἤδη καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 αὐτὴν ἔκαιε κατωτάτῳ διαδύσα καὶ τὴν ἐν-  
 ὑπάρχουσαν ζωτικὴν δύναμιν ἔφθειρεν εἰς ἀγονίαν  
 παντελῆ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδ' αὐθίς ποτε καρπὸν ἐνεγκεῖν  
 ἢ χλοηφορῆσαι τὸ παράπαν δυνηθῆναι· καὶ μέχρι νῦν  
 καίεται, τὸ γὰρ κεραύνιον πῦρ ἠκιστα σβεννύμενον  
 141 ἢ νέμεται ἢ ἐντύφεται. πίστις δὲ σαφεστάτη τὰ  
 ὀρώμενα· τοῦ γὰρ συμβεβηκότος πάθους μνημείον  
 ἔστιν ὃ τε ἀναδιδόμενος αἰεὶ καπνὸς καὶ ὃ μεταλ-  
 λεύουσι θεῖον· τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν χώραν παλαιᾶς  
 εὐδαιμονίας ἐναργέστατον ὑπολείπεται δείγμα πόλις  
 μία τῶν ὁμόρων καὶ ἡ ἐν κύκλῳ γῆ, πολυάνθρωπος  
 μὲν ἡ πόλις, εὐχորτος δὲ καὶ εὐσταχὺς καὶ συνόλως  
 καρποφόρος ἡ γῆ, πρὸς ἔλεγχον δίκης γνώμη θεία  
 δικασθείσης.
- 142 XXVIII. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦ δηλῶσαί με  
 τὰς μεγαλουργηθείσας συμφορὰς καινὰς ταῦτα  
 διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο βουλόμενος παραστήσαι, ὅτι  
 τῶν τριῶν ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων τῷ σοφῷ δύο

## ON ABRAHAM, 138-142

water but fire. And when the flames streamed down massed in one constant and perpetual rush, they burnt up the fields and meadows, the leafy groves, the overgrowths of the marshland and the dense thickets. They burnt the plainland and all the fruit of the corn and other crops. They burnt the forest-land on the mountains, where trunks and roots alike were consumed. The conflagration reached to byres and 139 houses and walls and all public and private property contained in buildings; and in one day populous cities had become the grave of the inhabitants and fabrics of stone and timber had turned into ashes and fine dust. And when the flame had utterly consumed 140 all that was visible and above ground it penetrated right down into the earth itself, destroyed its inherent life-power and reduced it to complete sterility to prevent it from ever bearing fruit and herbage at all. And to this day it goes on burning, for the fire of the thunderbolt is never quenched, but either continues its ravages or else smoulders. And the clearest proof 141 is what is still visible, for a monument of the disastrous event remains in the smoke which rises ceaselessly and the brimstone which the miners obtain; while the ancient prosperity of the country is most plainly attested by the survival of one of the cities of the neighbourhood and the land round it; for the city is thickly populated and the land rich in corn and pasturage and fertile in general, thus providing a standing evidence to the sentence decreed by the divine judgement.

XXVIII. However, I have given these details not in 142 order to describe the unprecedented calamity of God's mighty working, but in my wish to shew something else. Scripture tells us that of the three who appeared

## PHILO

- [22] *μόνους εἰς τὴν | ἀφανισθεῖσαν χώραν τὰ λόγια φησιν  
ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν οἰκητόρων, τοῦ τρίτου μὴ*  
 143 *δικαιώσαντος ἤκειν· ὃς κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν ἔννοιαν  
ἦν ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὢν, ἀρμόττον ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι  
τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ παρὼν δι' αὐτοῦ χαρίζεσθαι, μόναις  
δ' ἐπιτρέπειν ταῖς δυνάμεσι καθ' ὑπηρεσίαν τὰ  
ἐναντία χειρουργεῖν, ἵνα μόνων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος,*  
 144 *κακοῦ δὲ μηδενὸς προηγουμένως νομίζηται. τοῦτό  
μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων οἱ μιμούμενοι τὴν  
θείαν φύσιν πράττειν, τὰς μὲν χάριτας δι' ἑαυτῶν  
προτείνοντες, τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας δι' ἑτέρων βεβαιούν-*  
 145 *τες. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν δυεῖν δυνάμεων ἡ μὲν εὐ-  
εργέτις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ κολαστήριος, ἑκατέρα κατὰ τὸ  
εἶκὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῇ Σοδομιτῶν γῆ, διότι τῶν  
ἀρίστων ἐν αὐτῇ πέντε πόλεων τέτταρες μὲν ἔμελ-  
λον ἐμπίπρασθαι, μία δὲ ἀπαθῆς παντὸς κακοῦ  
σῶος ὑπολείπεσθαι. ἐχρῆν γὰρ διὰ μὲν τῆς κολα-  
στηρίου γίνεσθαι τὴν φθοράν, σώζεσθαι δὲ διὰ τῆς*  
 146 *εὐεργέτιδος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ σωζόμενον μέρος  
οὐχ ὀλοκλήρους καὶ παντελεῖς εἶχεν ἀρετάς, δυνάμει  
μὲν τοῦ ὄντος εὐεργετεῖτο, προηγουμένως δὲ τῆς  
ἐκείνου φαντασίας ἀνάξιον ἐνομίσθη τυχεῖν.*  
 147 **XXIX.** *Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν φανερωῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
πολλοὺς ἀπόδοσις ἢ δ' ἐστίν· ἡ δ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καὶ  
πρὸς ὀλίγους, ὅσοι τρόπους ψυχῆς ἐρευνῶσιν ἀλλ'  
οὐ σωματίων μορφάς, αὐτίκα λεχθήσεται. συμ-  
βολικῶς ἡ πεντάπολις αἰ ἐν ἡμῖν πέντε αἰσθήσεις  
εἰσί, τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὄργανα, δι' ὧν ἅπασαι μικραί*

<sup>a</sup> Or "primarily."

<sup>b</sup> The idea that God's direct agency appears only in doing good and that He leaves punishment to His subordinates has been already worked out in *De Conf.* 168 ff. on the text "let



to the Sage in the guise of men two only went on to the land whose existence was blotted out to destroy the inhabitants, but the third thought good not to accompany them. In my opinion that one was the 143 truly Existent, who held it fitting that He should be present to give good gifts by His own agency, but should leave the execution of the opposite of good entirely in the hands of His potencies acting as His ministers, that so He might appear to be the cause of good only, but not directly<sup>a</sup> the cause of anything evil.<sup>b</sup> This is the practice, I think, of kings also, who 144 imitate the divine nature. They are their own agents in granting boons, but employ others to enforce punishment. But since of the two potencies 145 one is beneficial and the other punitive it was natural that each should make his appearance in the land of the Sodomites, since of the five most flourishing cities in it four were to be burnt but one was to be left, preserved from all evil that could harm it. It was right that the punitive should be employed for destruction, but the beneficial for preservation. Yet since the 146 virtues of the part preserved were not complete and perfect, while it received benefits through a potency of the Existent, it was not thought worthy to be granted the vision of Him directly.

XXIX. Such is the natural and obvious rendering 147 of the story as suited for the multitude. We will proceed at once to the hidden and inward meaning which appeals to the few who study soul characteristics rather than bodily forms. Symbolically the group of five cities is the five senses in us, the instruments of the pleasures which, whether great or small, are

us go down and confuse their tongue," and so, too, in *De Fuga* 68 ff. Cf. also *De Op.* 72 ff.

## PHILO

- 148 τε αὐ καὶ μεγάλοι τελεσιουργοῦνται. ἡ γὰρ ὀρώντες χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ποικιλίας ἔν τε ἀψύχοις καὶ ψυχῇ ἔχουσιν ἠδόμεθα ἢ φωνῶν ἐμμελεστάτων ἀκούοντες ἢ κατὰ γεῦσιν ἔν τοῖς περὶ ἔδωδῆν καὶ πόσιν ἢ κατ' ὄσφρησιν ἔν εὐωδίαῖς ἀτμῶν ἢ ἔν μαλακοῖς καὶ θερμοῖς ἔτι δὲ λείοις κατὰ
- 149 τὴν ἀφήν. ζωωδέσταται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνδραποδωδέσταται τῶν πέντε τρεῖς εἰσιν αἰσθήσεις, γεῦσις, ὄσφρησις, ἀφή, περὶ ἧς τῶν θρεμμάτων καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ γαστριμαργότατα καὶ συνουσιαστικώτατα μάλιστα ἐπτόηται· δι' ὅλης γὰρ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἢ τροφῶν ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖται ἢ πρὸς τὰς
- 150 ὀχείας ὀρμῆ. δύο δ' εἰσὶν ἐμφιλόσοφοι καὶ ἡγεμονίδες, ἀκοὴ καὶ ὄρασις· βραδύτερα δὲ πως καὶ θηλυτέρα ὠτα ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀρατὰ φθανόντων ὑπὸ εὐτολμίας καὶ οὐκ ἀναμενόντων, ἄχρῖς ἂν ἐκεῖνα κινήσῃ, προῦπαντιαζόντων δὲ καὶ ἀντικινήσαι γλιχομένων. ἀκοὴ μὲν οὖν, διότι βραδεία καὶ
- [23] θηλυτέρα, δευτερεύουσαν τάξιν τετάχθω, | προνομία δ' ἔστω τις ἐξαιρέτος ὀράσει· ταύτην γὰρ ὁ θεὸς βασιλίδα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέφηνεν ἐπάνω θεὸς ἀπασῶν καὶ ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἀκροπόλεως ἰδρυσάμενος οἰκειοτάτην
- 151 ἀπειργάσατο ψυχῇ. τεκμηριώσαιτο δ'  
 ἂν τις ἐκ τοῦ συμμεταβάλλειν ταῖς ἐκείνης τροπαῖς· λύπης μὲν γὰρ ἐγγινομένης, ὀφθαλμοὶ συννοίας γέμουσι καὶ κατηφείας, χαρᾶς δ' ἔμπαλιν, ὑπομειδιῶσι καὶ γεγῆθασι, φόβου δὲ κρατήσαντος, ταραχώδους γέμουσιν ἀταξίας, κινήσεις καὶ παλμοὺς
- 152 καὶ περιστροφὰς ἀτάκτους ἐνδεχόμενοι· εἰ δ' ὀργὴ κατάσχοι, τραχυτέρα πως καὶ ὑφαιμος ἢ ὄψις, καὶ ἔν μὲν τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν τινὸς ἡρεμεῖ καὶ ἐκνένευκε, μόνον οὐ συνεκτείνουσα τῇ διανοίᾳ

## ON ABRAHAM, 148-152

brought to their accomplishment by the senses. For 148  
we get pleasure either by seeing varieties of colours  
and shapes in objects, whether possessed of physical  
life or not, or by hearing very melodious sounds or  
through taste in matters of food and drink, or through  
smell in fragrant perfumes or through touch in soft  
and warm and also in smooth substances. Now of the 149  
five, the three most animal and servile are taste, smell,  
and touch, which cause particular excitation in the  
cattle and wild beasts most given to gluttony and  
sexual passion. For all day and night they fill them-  
selves with food insatiably or are at rut. The other 150  
two have a link with philosophy and hold the leading  
place—hearing and sight. But the ears are in a way  
more sluggish and womanish than eyes. The eyes  
have the courage to reach out to the visible objects  
and do not wait to be acted on by them, but anticipate  
the meeting, and seek to act upon them instead.  
Hearing, then, sluggish and more womanish as it is,  
must be put in the second place and a special preced-  
ence must be given to sight, for God has made it the  
queen of the other senses and set it above them all,  
and, establishing it as it were on a citadel, has  
associated it most closely with the soul.

We may find a proof of this in the way in which it 151  
changes with the soul's phases. When the soul feels  
grief, the eyes are full of anxiety and depression.  
When on the other hand it feels joy, they smile and  
rejoice. When fear is supreme, they are full of tur-  
bulent confusion, and move and quiver and roll con-  
fusedly. If anger prevails, the organ of sight is 152  
harsher and bloodshot, and during reflection and care-  
ful consideration of any question it has a quiet and  
distant appearance, almost as though it was accommo-

- 153 *ἑαυτήν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναψύξεσι καὶ ἀνέσεσι συνανιέται*  
*καὶ χαλάται· καὶ προσιώντι μὲν φίλῳ προευαγ-*  
*γελίζεται τὸ τῆς εὐνοίας πάθος εὐδίῳ καὶ γαληνῷ*  
*βλέμματι, εἰ δ' ἐχθρὸς τύχοι, τὸ δυσάρεστον τῆς*  
*ψυχῆς πάθος προμηνύει· καὶ θρασύτητι μὲν προπη-*  
*δώσι καὶ προεκτρέχουσιν ὀφθαλμοί, αἰδοῖ δὲ πρῶως*  
*ἡρεμοῦσι· [καὶ] ὡς συνελόντι φράσαι ψυχῆς εἰκόνα*  
*δεδημιουργῆσθαι τὴν ὄρασιν ἀκρότητι τέχνης εὖ*  
*μεμμημένης ἐναργὲς ἐμφαίνουσιν εἰδωλον οἷα διὰ*  
*κατόπτρου τὴν φύσιν ὄρατὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐχούσης.*
- 154 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ταύτη μόνον τὰς ἄλλας*  
*αἰσθήσεις ὑπερβάλλει τὸ κάλλος ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ*  
*καὶ διότι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσι—τὴν γὰρ*  
*καθ' ὕπνον ἀπραξίαν οὐ παραληπτέον—ἐπιλείπουσιν*  
*αἱ χρήσεις· ὅποτε γὰρ μὴ κινήσειέ τι τῶν ἐκτός,*  
*ἡσυχάζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀναπεπταμένων*  
*ἐνέργειαι συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀδιάστατοι μηδέποτε πληρου-*  
*μένων εἰσὶ καὶ ταύτη παριστάντων, ἣν ἔχουσι πρὸς*
- 155 *ψυχὴν συγγένειαν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἀεικίνητος*  
*οὔσα μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διανίσταται, τοῖς δ'*  
*ἅτε σαρκὸς πλείστον μετέχουσιν αὐτάρκης ἐδόθη*  
*δωρεά, μέρος ἡμισυ τοῦ παντός χρόνου καὶ βίου*  
*διατελεῖν ἐνεργούντας τὰς ἀρμοττούσας ἐνεργείας.*
- 156 *XXX. ὁ δ' ἐστὶν ἀναγκαιότατον τῆς*  
*ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ὠφελείας, ἥδη λεκτέον· μόνη*  
*γὰρ ὀράσει τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ θεὸς ἀνέτειλε φῶς, ὁ*  
*καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ κάλλιστον καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἱεραῖς*
- 157 *βίβλοις ὠνομάσθη καλόν. διττὴ δὲ φωτὸς φύσις·*  
*τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρειώδους πυρός, φθαρτοῦ*  
*φθαρτόν, ἐκλάμπει σβέσιν ἐνδεχόμενον, τὸ δὲ*

\* For the distinction between the "useful" and the  
 "heavenly" fire cf. *Quis Rerum* 136 and note.

## ON ABRAHAM, 152-157

dating itself to the outlook of the mind. In times of mental refreshment and relaxation it relaxes also and is at its ease. When a friend approaches, its peaceful and sunny look is the happy herald of the kindly feeling within, while in the case of an enemy it gives a warning of the soul's displeasure. Courage makes the eyes dart swiftly forward. Modesty makes them gentle and reposeful. In short, one may say that sight has been created as an image of the soul, and through the perfection of the art which has produced so faithful a copy presents a clear and mirror-like reflection of the original whose nature is in itself invisible.

But indeed it is not only in this way that the excellence of the eyes exceeds the other senses, but also because in waking moments, since we need not consider their inaction in sleep, they cease to function. For when no outward object moves them they are still, whilst the eyes when open are constant and unceasing in their activities; they have always room for more, and in this way they shew their kinship with the soul. But, while the soul is always in motion and wakeful day and night, the eyes in which the fleshly is the principal ingredient must rest satisfied with the gift of continuing to exercise the activities which befit them for half the whole span of time and human life.

XXX. But the most vital part of the benefit we gain from sight remains now to be told. God made the light to shine upon sight alone of the senses, and light is the best of existing things and was the first to be called good in the sacred books. Now light has a double nature: one is the effulgence of the fire of common use,<sup>a</sup> perishable as that which produces it and liable to extinction, the other, the

## PHILO

- ἄσβεστον καὶ ἀδιάφθορόν ἐστιν, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φερόμενον, ὡσπερ ἀπ' ἀενάων πηγῶν ἐκάστου τῶν ἀστέρων αὐγὰς ἐκχέοντος· ἐκατέρω δ' ἡ ὄψις ἐνομιλεῖ καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων προσβάλλει τοῖς ὄρατοῖς εἰς ἀκριβεστάτην ἀντί-
- 158 ληψίν. ἔτι τοίνυν ἐπιχειρῶμεν ὀφθαλμοὺς λόγοις ἐγκωμιάζειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν
- [24] | στηλιτεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ, τοὺς ἀστέρας; ἡλίου γὰρ αὐγαὶ καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν τοῦ χάριν γεγόνασιν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνεργείας εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὄραν ὑπηρεσίαν;
- 159 διὸ καὶ προσχρῶμενοι τῇ πασῶν ἀρίστη δωρεᾷ φωτὶ καταθεῶνται τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, γῆν, φυτὰ, ζῶα, καρπούς, πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις ποταμοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς τε καὶ χειμάρρους πηγῶν τε διαφοράς, ὧν αἱ μὲν ψυχρὸν αἱ δὲ θερμὸν νᾶμα προχέουσι, πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα συνισταμένων τὰς φύσεις — ἀμύθητοι δὲ εἰσιν ἰδέαι καὶ ἀπερίληπτοι λόγοι, — καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν οὐρανόν, ὃς ἀληθεῖα κόσμος ἐν κόσμῳ δεδημιούργηται, καὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανόν κάλλη καὶ θεῖα ἀγάλματα. τίς οὖν τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἐπαυχῆσει διαβῆναί ποτε τοσοῦτον;
- 160 XXXI. ἀλλ' ἔασαντες τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις τὸ σύμφυτον ἡμῖν θρέμμα πλαινοῦσας, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐξετάσωμεν τὴν λόγου μεταποιουμένην ἀκοήν· ἧς ὁ σύντονος καὶ τελειότατος δρόμος ἴσταται κατὰ ἀέρα τὸν περίγειον, ὅταν βία πνευμάτων καὶ κτύποι βροντῶν συρμὸν πολὺν καὶ χαλεπὸν πάταγον
- 161 ἐξηχώσιν. ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐν ἀκαρεῖ φθάνουσιν εἰς οὐρανόν καὶ τὰ πέρατα τοῦ παντός, ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς ὁμοῦ καὶ δύσεις ἄρκτον τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν,

## ON ABRAHAM, 157-161

unquenchable and imperishable, brought to us from heaven above, where each of the stars pours forth its rays as though from perennial fountains. With each of these the sight is conversant, and through both it strikes upon visible objects so as to apprehend them with all exactness. Need we still try to expend words 158 in extolling the eyes, when God has set graven in the heaven their true praises, the stars ? For with what purpose have the rays of the sun and moon and the other stars, planets or fixed, been made save to serve the action of the eyes and to minister to sight ? And 159 so it is, by using light, the best of gifts, that men contemplate the world's contents, earth, plants, living creatures, fruits, seas with their tides, rivers spring-fed or winter torrents, various kinds of fountains, some sending up a cold, others a warm, stream, and all the phenomena of the air with their several natures, the different forms of which are so countless that speech can never include them all ; above all, heaven, which in truth has been framed as a world within a world, and the divine and hallowed forms which beautify it. Which of the other senses, then, can boast that it ever traverses so great a span ? XXXI. Let us leave out of consideration those senses 160 which do but fatten in its manger the beast which shares our nature, lust, and examine the one which does lay claim to reason, hearing. When its traveling is tense and at its fullest, that is when the violent winds with their long, sweeping sound or the loud thunders with their terrific claps make themselves heard, it halts within the air that surrounds the earth. But the eyes leave earth and in an instant 161 reach heaven, and the boundaries of the universe, east, west, north and south alike, and when they

PHILO

- (καὶ) ἀφικνούμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεωρεῖν ἔλκουσιν ἐπὶ  
 162 τὰ φανέντα τὴν διάνοιαν. ἡ δὲ τὸ παρα-  
 πλήσιον ἐνδεξαμένη πάθος οὐκ ἤρεμει, ἀλλ' ἄτε  
 ἀκοίμητος καὶ ἀεικίνητος οὖσα, παρὰ τῆς ὄψεως  
 τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰ νοητὰ θεωρεῖν τὰς ἀφορμὰς λα-  
 βούσα, εἰς σκέψιν ἦλθε, πότερον τὰ φανέντα ταῦτ'  
 ἐστὶν ἀγένητα ἢ γενέσεως ἔλαβεν ἀρχὴν καὶ πότερον  
 ἄπειρα ἢ πεπερασμένα καὶ πότερον εἰς ἢ πλείονές  
 εἰσι κόσμοι καὶ πότερον τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα τῶν  
 ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἢ φύσιν ἐξαίρετον οὐρανόσ καὶ τὰ  
 ἐν αὐτῷ κεκλήρωται θειοτέρας καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 163 τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ἐπιλαχόντα· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν  
 ὁ κόσμος, ὑπὸ τίνος γέγονε καὶ τίς ὁ δημιουργὸς  
 κατ' οὐσίαν ἢ ποιότητα καὶ τί διανοηθεὶς ἐποίησε καὶ  
 τί νῦν πράττει καὶ τίς αὐτῷ διαγωγή καὶ βίος καὶ  
 ὅσα ἄλλα περιττὸς νοῦς φρονήσει συμβιῶν εἴωθε  
 164 διερευνᾶσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνάκειται  
 τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐξ οὗ δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι σοφία καὶ  
 φιλοσοφία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς εἴληφεν ἐτέρου  
 τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίδος τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὀρά-  
 σεως, ἣν καὶ μόνην ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας  
 διέσωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς τέσσαρας φθείρας, ὅτι αἱ μὲν  
 σαρκὶ καὶ τοῖς σαρκὸς πάθεσιν ἐδούλευσαν, ἡ δὲ  
 ἴσχυσεν ἀνατείνειν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ βλέπειν καὶ |  
 [25] τέρψεισ ἐτέρας ἀνευρεῖν πολὺ βελτίους τῶν σωμα-  
 τικῶν ἡδονῶν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρίας καὶ  
 165 τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. μίαν οὖν ὥσπερ ἐκ πενταπόλεως τῶν  
 πέντε αἰσθήσεων τὴν ὄρασιν ἐξαιρέτου γέρως τυχεῖν  
 ἀρμόττον ἦν καὶ φθειρομένων τῶν ἄλλων διαμένειν,

° For the thought cf. *Timaeus* 47A "whence," i.e. from the knowledge which sight gives us, "we have derived  
 82



## ON ABRAHAM, 161-165

arrive draw the understanding to the observation of what they have seen. And the understanding affected in like manner is not quiescent, but, unsleeping and constantly in motion as it is, takes the sight as the starting-point for its power of observing the things of the mind, and proceeds to investigate whether these phenomena are uncreated or had some beginning of creation, whether they are infinite or finite, whether there is one world or more than one, whether the four elements make up all things, or on the other hand heaven and its contents enjoy a special nature of their own and have been given a substance which differs from the others and is more divine. Further, if the world has been created, who is the Creator? What is His essence and quality? What was His purpose in making it? What does He do now and what is His occupation and way of life? And all the other questions which the curious mind with good sense ever at its side is wont to explore. But these and the like belong to philosophy, whence it is clear that wisdom and philosophy owe their origin to no other of our faculties but to the princess of the senses, sight.<sup>a</sup> And this alone of all the bodily region did God preserve when He destroyed the four, because they were in slavery to flesh and the passions of flesh, while the sight had the strength to stretch its neck upwards, and to look, and to find in the contemplation of the world and its contents pleasures far better than those of the body. It was fitting, then, that the one of the five senses which form, so to speak, a group of five cities, should receive a special privilege and continue to exist when the others were philosophy." A similar adaptation of the same passage was made in *De Op.* 54, where see note.

## PHILO

- ὅτι οὐ περὶ τὰ θνητὰ εἰλεῖται μόνον ὡς ἐκεῖναι, μετανίστασθαι δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀφθάρτους φύσεις ἀξιοῖ
- 166 χαίρουσα τῇ θεᾷ τούτων. διό και παγκάλως “ μικράν ” τε και “ οὐ μικράν ” τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οἱ χρησμοὶ διασυνιστᾶσιν αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν ὄρασιν· μικρὰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεται εἶναι, διότι βραχὺ μέρος τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι, μεγάλη δέ, διότι μεγάλων ἐφίεται τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν και κόσμον γλιχομένη καταθεάσασθαι.
167. XXXII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπιφανείσης ὄψεως και τῶν αἰοιδίμων και παγκάλων ξενίων, ἐν οἷς δοκῶν ἐστιᾶν ὁ ξενοδόχος εἰστιᾶτο, καθ’ ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἦν, ἀκριβοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον δεδηλωται. μεγίστην δὲ πρᾶξιν ἀξίαν ἀκοῆς οὐχ ἡσυχαστέον· ὀλίγου γὰρ δέω φάναι πάσας ὅσαι θεοφιλεῖς ὑπερβάλλει. λεκτέον δὲ τὰ καιρία περὶ
- 168 αὐτῆς. υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς γαμετῆς γίνεται τῷ σοφῷ γνήσιος, ἀγαπητὸς και μόνος, τό τε σῶμα κάλλιστος και τὴν ψυχὴν ἄριστος· ἤδη γὰρ τελειότερας τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξέφαιεν ἀρετάς, ὡς τὸν πατέρα μὴ πάθει μόνον εὐνοίας φυσικῆς ἀλλὰ και γνώμη καθάπερ ἡθῶν δικαστὴν ἰσχυρᾶ τινι κεχρηῆσθαι
- 169 φιλοστοργία. διακειμένῳ δ’ οὕτως ἐξαπιναιῶς θεσπίζεται λόγιον οὐποτ’ ἐλπισθέν, σφαγιαῖσαι τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τινος ὑψηλοτάτου κολωνοῦ πορρωτάτω
- 170 πόλεως ἀποστάντα τριῶν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν. ὁ δὲ καιτοι

\* Gen. xix. 20 πόλις αὕτη ἐγγὺς . . . ἢ ἐστι μικρά. . . . οὐ μικρά ἐστι; R.V. “This city is near . . . and it is a little one. . . . Is it not a little one?” Philo either fails to see that the last three words are a question, or more probably thinks that the grammatical possibility of treating them as a statement is a sufficient ground for extracting an allegorical lesson.

## ON ABRAHAM, 165-170

destroyed, because its range is not confined to mortal things, as theirs is, but it aspires to find a new home amid imperishable beings and rejoice in their contemplation. And therefore it is excellently said, 166 when the oracles represent this city first as small and then as not small, figuring thereby sight.<sup>a</sup> For sight is said to be small in that it is a little part of all we contain, but great in that great are its desires, since it is the whole world and heaven which it yearns to survey.

XXXII. <sup>b</sup> I have now told with all the care that lay 167 within my powers the story of the vision which was manifested to Abraham and of that splendid and magnificent exchange of hospitality, where the host who seemed to give the feast was himself the feasted. But his greatest action which deserves reporting must not be passed over in silence. For I might almost say that all the other actions which won the favour of God are surpassed by this; and on this subject I must say what is needed. The wife of the 168 Sage bore to him in full wedlock his only and dearly-cherished son, a child of great bodily beauty and excellence of soul. For already he was showing a perfection of virtues beyond his years, so that his father, moved not merely by a feeling of natural affection but also by such deliberate judgement as a censor of character might make, cherished for him a great tenderness. Such were his feelings when 169 suddenly to his surprise there came a divine message that he should sacrifice his son on a certain lofty hill at a very considerable distance,<sup>c</sup> as much as three days' journey, from the city. He, though devoted to 170

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 167-177 see Gen. xxii. 1-19.

<sup>c</sup> Strictly speaking ἀποστάνα agrees with ἰδόν. Perhaps we should read ἀποστάνος.

## PHILO

- ἀλέκτω πόθῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκκρεμάμενος οὔτε τὴν  
 χρόαν μετέβαλεν οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγνάμφθη, γνώμη  
 δ' ἀνευδότω καὶ ἀρρεπεὶ διέμεινεν ἀκλινῆς, οἷος καὶ  
 πρόσθεν ἦν· ἔρωτι δὲ θείῳ δεδαμασμένος ἀνὰ κράτος  
 ἐνίκα πάντα ὅσα συγγενείας ὀνόματα καὶ φίλτρα  
 καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἐξειπῶν τὸ λόγιον, ἐκ πολυ-  
 ανθρώπου θεραπείας οἰκετῶν δύο μόνους τοὺς πρε-  
 σβυτάτους καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδεσπότες παραλαβὼν,  
 ὡς ἔνεκά τινος ἱεουργίας τῶν ἐν ἔθει τέταρτος
- 171 ἐξήκει σὺν τῷ παιδί. τὸν δὲ προσταχθέντα χῶρον  
 ὡσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ἰδὼν ἐκ μακροῦ τοῖς μὲν  
 θεράπουσι κελεύει καταμένειν, τῷ δὲ παιδί πῦρ καὶ  
 ξύλα δίδωσι κομίζειν, αὐτὸ δικαίως τὸ ἱερεῖον  
 τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπηχθίσθαι, κουφότατον βάρος·
- 172 οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐσεβείας ἀπονώτερον. βαδίζοντες δ'  
 ἰσοταχῶς οὐ τοῖς σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς διανοίαις  
 [26] ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπίτομον, ἧς ὁσιότης τὸ τέλος, ἐπὶ τὸν |
- 173 προσταχθέντα τόπον ἀφικνοῦνται. κᾶπειθ' ὁ μὲν  
 πατὴρ συνεκόμιζε λίθους, ἵνα δείμαιο βωμόν, ὁ δὲ  
 υἱὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὄρων ὅσα πρὸς ἱεουργίαν εὐτρεπῆ,  
 ζῶον δὲ μηδέν, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸν πατέρα “ ἰδοὺ τὸ  
 πῦρ ” ἔφη “ καὶ τὰ ξύλα, πάτερ, ποῦ τὸ ἱερεῖον; ”
- 174 ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ἅ δρᾶν ἔμελλεν εἰδὼς καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ  
 συσκιάζων ὑπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος κἂν συνεχύθη καὶ  
 δακρύων πληρωθεὶς ἔμφασιν τοῦ γενησομένου παρ-
- 175 ἔσχεν ἐκ τῆς περιπαθήσεως ἡσυχάζων. ὁ δ'  
 οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεξάμενος τροπὴν οὔτε κατὰ τὸ σῶμα  
 οὔτε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν σταθερῶ μὲν τῷ βλέμματι  
 σταθερῶ δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ φησι πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν  
 ἀποκρινόμενος· “ ὦ τέκνον, ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἱερεῖον

<sup>a</sup> Literally “ the names and love-charms of kinship.”

<sup>b</sup> In Genesis Isaac does not carry the fire.

## ON ABRAHAM, 170-175

his son with a fondness which no words can express, shewed no change of colour nor weakening of soul, but remained steadfast as ever with a judgement that never bent nor wavered. Mastered by his love for God, he mightily overcame all the fascination expressed in the fond terms of family affection,<sup>a</sup> and told the divine call to none of his household, but taking out of his numerous following two only, the oldest and most loyal, he went forth with his son, four in all, as though to perform one of the ordinary rites. But, when, like 171 a scout on some commanding point, he saw the appointed place afar off, he bade his servants stay there, but gave his son the fire <sup>b</sup> and wood to carry; for he thought it good that the victim himself should bear the load of the instruments of sacrifice, a light burden indeed, for nothing is less toilsome than piety. They walked with equal speed of mind rather 172 than body along the short straight road at the end of which is holiness and came to the appointed place.<sup>c</sup> And then, while the father was collecting stones to 173 build the altar, the son, seeing everything else ready for sacrifice but no animal, looked at his father and said: "My father, behold the fire and the wood, but where is the victim?" To anyone else who 174 knew what he was about to do, and was hiding it in his heart, these words would have brought confusion and tearfulness and he would have remained silent through extreme emotion, and thus given an indication of what was going to happen. But Abraham 175 admitted no swerving of body or mind, and with visage and thought alike unmoved he said in answer to the question, "Child, God will provide Himself a

<sup>c</sup> LXX Gen. xxii. 8 *καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ δύο ἄμα*. Philo has gained from this phrase a fuller spiritual lesson in *De Mig.* 166 f.

## PHILO

- ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πολλῇ, δι' ἣν ἴσως ἀπογινώ-  
 σκεις εὐρεθήσεσθαι· πάντα δ' ἴσθι θεῶν δυνατὰ καὶ  
 ὅσα ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ καὶ ἀπόρῳ κεῖται παρ' ἀνθρώ-  
 176 ποις." καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ἦ τάχιστα τὸν υἱὸν  
 ἕξαρπάσας ἐπιτίθησι τῷ βωμῷ καὶ σπασάμενος τῇ  
 δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ἐπέφερεν ὡς ἀναιρήσων· φθάνει δ'  
 ὁ σωτήρ θεὸς ἀπ' αἴρος φωνῇ μεσολαβήσας τὸ  
 ἔργον, ἧ προσέταττεν ἀνέχειν καὶ μὴ ψαῦσαι τοῦ  
 παιδός, ὀνομαστὶ καλέσας δις τὸν πατέρα, ἵν'  
 177 ἐπιστρέψας καὶ ἀντισπάσας διακωλύσῃ τὴν σφαγὴν  
 ἐργάσασθαι. XXXIII. καὶ ὁ μὲν διασώζεται, τὸ  
 δῶρον ἀντιχαρισαμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν φέροντα  
 ἐν οἷς εὐσεβεῖτο ἀντιτιμήσαντος· τῷ δ' ἤδη καὶ ἡ  
 πρᾶξις, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ τέλος ἐπηκολούθησεν, ὀλόκλη-  
 ρος καὶ παντελής οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων διανοίαις  
 ἀνάγραπτος ἐστηλίτευται.
- 178 Ἄλλὰ τοῖς φιλαπεχθήμοσι καὶ πάντα διαβάλλου-  
 λουσιν, οἱ ψόγον πρὸ ἐπαίνου τιμᾶν ἐθίζονται, τὸ  
 πραχθὲν ἔργον οὐ δοκεῖ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, ὡς  
 179 ἡμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι. πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ  
 ἄλλους φασὶ τῶν πάνυ φιλοικείων καὶ φιλοτέκνων  
 ἐπιδουναὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 πατρίδων σφαγιασθησομένους, λυτήρια ἢ πολέμων ἢ  
 αὐχμῶν ἢ ἐπομβρίας ἢ νοσημάτων λοιμικῶν γενη-  
 σομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ νενομισμένης εὐσεβείας, εἰ  
 180 καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὔσης· Ἑλλήνων μὲν γε τοὺς  
 δοκιμωτάτους, οὐκ ἰδιώτας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασι-  
 λείς, ὀλίγα φροντίσαντας ὧν ἐγέννησαν διὰ τῆς  
 τούτων ἀναιρέσεως δυνάμεις στρατευμάτων μεγά-  
 λας καὶ πολυανθρώπους ἐν μὲν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τεταγ-

## ON ABRAHAM, 175-180

victim, even in this wide desert, which perhaps makes you give up hope of finding it ; but know that to God all things are possible, including those that are impossible or insuperable to men." And, as he said 176 this, he hastily seized his son, laid him on the altar and with his drawn knife in his right hand was preparing with it to deal the death blow. But ere he did so, God the Saviour stopped the deed half-way with a voice from the air, in which He ordered him to stay and not touch the lad. And twice He called the father by name to turn him and draw him back from his purpose and thus prevent his carrying out the slaughter. XXXIII. So Isaac was saved, since 177 God returned the gift of him and used the offering which piety rendered to Him to repay the offerer, while for Abraham the action, though not followed by the intended ending, was complete and perfect, and the record of it as such stands graven not only in the sacred books but in the minds of the readers.

But quarrelsome critics who misconstrue every- 178 thing and have a way of valuing censure above praise do not think Abraham's action great or wonderful, as we suppose it to be. They say that many other 179 persons, full of love for their kinsfolk and offspring, have given their children, some to be sacrificed for their country to serve as a price to redeem it from wars or drought or excessive rainfall or pestilence, others for the sake of what was held to be piety though it is not really so. Indeed they say that 180 among the Greeks men of the highest reputation, not only private individuals but kings, have with little thought of their offspring put them to death, and thereby saved armed forces of great strength and magnitude when enlisted as their allies, and

## PHILO

- μένας διασῶσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ μερίδι τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτο-  
 181 βοεὶ διαφθεῖραι· βαρβαρικὰ δὲ ἔθνη μέχρι πολλοῦ  
 παιδοκτονίαν ὡς ὄσιον ἔργον καὶ θεοφιλὲς προσέσ-  
 θαι, ὧν μεμνήσθαι τοῦ ἄγους καὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον  
 Μωυσῆν· αἰτιώμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ μιάσματος  
 182 φάσκει, ὅτι “ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας  
 [27] κατακαίουσι τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν”. Ἰνδῶν δὲ | τοὺς  
 γυμνοσοφιστὰς ἄχρι νῦν, ἐπειδὴν ἀρχηται καταλαμ-  
 βάνειν ἢ μακρὰ καὶ ἀνίατος νόσος, τὸ γῆρας, πρὶν  
 βεβαίως κρατηθῆναι, πυρὰν νήσαντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐμ-  
 πιπράναι, δυναμένους ἔτι πρὸς πολυετίαν ἴσως  
 ἀντισχεῖν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ γύναια προαποθανόντων  
 ἀνδρῶν ὀρμησαὶ γεγηθότα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν πυρὰν  
 καὶ ζῶντα τοῖς ἐκείνων σώμασιν ὑπομεῖναι συγ-  
 183 καταφλεχθῆναι· ταῦτα μὲν εἰκότως ἂν τις τῆς  
 εὐτολμίας θαυμάσειεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος  
 καταφρονητικῶς ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ ὡς ἐπ’  
 ἀθανασίαν αὐτὸν ἰέμενα καὶ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντα·  
 XXXIV. τὸν δὲ τί προσῆκεν ἐπαινεῖν ὡς ἐγχειρη-  
 τὴν κεκαιουργημένης πράξεως, ἣν καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ  
 βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅλα ἔθνη δρῶσιν ἐν καιροῖς;  
 184 ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τούτων βασκανίαν καὶ πικρίαν  
 ἐκεῖνα λέξω· τῶν καταθρόντων παῖδας οἱ μὲν ἔθει  
 τοῦτο δρῶσιν, ὥσπερ ἐνίουσ ἔφασκον τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων, οἱ δὲ δι’ ἀβουλήτους καὶ μεγάλας ὑποθέσεις  
 πόλεων τε καὶ χωρῶν ἐτέρως κατορθοῦσθαι μὴ  
 δυναμένων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀνάγκη τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπι-

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\* Philo may be thinking of Iphigeneia and Macaria in Euripides' *Heracleidae*, though neither exactly fits the circumstances.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xii. 31.



## ON ABRAHAM, 180-184

destroyed them without striking a blow when arrayed as enemies.<sup>a</sup> Barbarian nations, they add, have for 181 long admitted child sacrifice as a holy deed and acceptable to God, and this practice of theirs is mentioned by the holy Moses as an abomination, for, charging them with this pollution, he says that "they burn their sons and daughters to their gods."<sup>b</sup> Again they point out that in India the gymno- 182 sophists even now when the long incurable disease of old age begins to take hold of them, even before they are completely in its clutches, make up a funeral pile and burn themselves on it, though they might possibly last out many years more. And the womenfolk when the husbands die before them have been known to hasten rejoicing to share their pyre, and allow themselves to be burned alive with the corpses of the men.<sup>c</sup> These women might reasonably, 183 no doubt, be praised for their courage, so great and more than great is their contempt for death, and the breathless eagerness with which they rush to it as though it were immortality. XXXIV. Why, then, they ask, should we praise Abraham, as though the deed which he undertook was unprecedented, when private individuals and kings and whole nations do it when occasion calls? To their 184 malignity and bitterness I reply as follows. Some of those who sacrifice their children follow custom in so doing, as was the case according to the critics with some of the barbarians. Others have important and painful reasons for their action because their cities and countries cannot but fail otherwise. These give their children partly under compulsion and the

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's knowledge of the Indian custom see App. p. 598.

## PHILO

διδόασιν ὑπὸ δυνατωτέρων βιασθέντες, οἱ δὲ δόξης  
 καὶ τιμῆς ἐφιέμενοι καὶ εὐκλείας μὲν τῆς ἐν τῷ  
 185 παρόντι, εὐφημίας δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕστερον. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἔθει σφαγιάζοντες οὐδὲν ὡς ἔοικε μέγα δρῶσιν·  
 ἐγχρονίζον γὰρ ἔθος ἐξισοῦται φύσει πολλάκις, ὡς  
 καὶ τὰ δυσυπομόνητα καὶ δυσκαρτέρητα ῥαδίως  
 ἐπελαφρίζειν, τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν φοβερῶν ἐξευ-  
 186 μαρίζον. τῶν δ' ἕνεκα δέους ἐπιδιδόντων ἔπαινος  
 οὐδεὶς· ὁ γὰρ ἔπαινος ἐν ἔκουσίοις κατορθώμασι  
 γράφεται, τὰ δ' ἀβούλητα ἑτέροις ἀνάκειται πράγ-  
 μασι, ἢ καιροῖς ἢ τύχαις ἢ ταῖς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων  
 187 ἀνάγκαις. εἰ δέ τις δόξης ὀρεγόμενος υἴὸν ἢ  
 θυγατέρα προΐεται, ψέγοιτ' ἂν ἐνδίκως μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἐπαινοῖτο, θανάτῳ τῶν φιλάτων ὠνούμενος τιμῆν,  
 ἣν καὶ κεκτημένος ὠφείλειν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν  
 188 τέκνων ἀπορρίπτειν. ἐρευνητέον οὖν, εἰ  
 ὑπὸ τίνος τῶν λεχθέντων ἠττηθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἔμελλε  
 σφαγιάζειν τὸν υἴον, ἔθους ἢ τιμῆς ἢ δέους. ἔθος  
 μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐπὶ παιδοκτονίᾳ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Μεσο-  
 ποταμίας καὶ τὸ Χαλδαίων ἔθνος οὐ παραδέχεται, ἐν  
 οἷς ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπεβίωσε τὸν πλείονα χρόνον, ὡς τῇ  
 συνεχείᾳ τῶν δρωμένων ἀμβλυτέραις ταῖς τῶν δει-  
 189 νῶν φαντασίαις κεκρατῆσθαι<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ  
 φόβος τις ἦν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων—οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ χρησθὲν  
 αὐτῷ μόνῳ λόγιον ἦδει τις—, οὐδέ τις συμφορὰ  
 κοινῇ κατέληφεν, ἣς ἔδει τὴν θεραπείαν ἀναιρέσει  
 190 γενέσθαι τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου παιδός. ἀλλὰ θηρώ-  
 [28] μενος | ἔπαινον τῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὤρμησε;

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey suggests, κεχρησθαι.

## ON ABRAHAM, 184-190

pressure of higher powers, partly through desire for glory and honour, to win fame at the time and a good name in the future. Now those who are led 185 by custom to make the sacrifice would not seem to be doing anything great, for long-standing custom often becomes equal to nature, so that in matters where patience and resolution are difficult to attain it gives ease and relief by reducing their terrors to moderate dimensions. Where the gift is made 186 through fear no praise is due, for praise is recorded for voluntary good deeds, while for those which are involuntary other things are responsible, favourable occasions, chances or force brought to bear by men. And if anyone throws away a son or a daughter 187 through desire for glory he will be justly blamed rather than praised, for with the life of his dearest he is purchasing an honour which he ought to cast aside, if he possessed it, to ensure the safety of his children. We must therefore examine 188 whether Abraham, when he intended to sacrifice his son, was mastered by any of these motives, custom or love of honour or fear. Now in Babylonia and Mesopotamia and with the nation of the Chaldeans with whom he was brought up and lived the greater part of his life the custom of child slaughter does not obtain, so as to suggest that his realization of its horrors was rendered less powerful by the regularity of such a practice. Surely, too, he had nothing to 189 fear from man, since no one knew of the oracular message which he alone had received ; nor was he under the pressure of any public misfortune which could be remedied only by the immolation of a child of special worth. Or was the quest of praise from the 190 multitude the motive which urged him to the deed ?

## PHILO

- καὶ τίς ἔπαινος ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, μηδενὸς τοῦ μέλλοντος  
 ἐπευφημήσειν παρόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δυεῖν οἰκετῶν  
 μακρὰν ἐπίτηδες ἀπολειφθέντων, ἵνα μὴ ἐγκαλ-  
 λωπίξασθαι καὶ ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι δοκῇ μάρτυρας
- 191 ἐπαγόμενος ὧν εὐσέβει; XXXV. στόμασιν οὖν  
 ἀχαλίνοις καὶ κακηγόροις θύρας ἐπιθέντες μετρια-  
 ζέτωσαν τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς μισόκαλον φθόνον καὶ  
 ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν εὖ βεβιωκότων μὴ σινέσθωσαν, ἃς  
 ἀρμόττον ἦν εὐφημίᾳ συνεπικοσμεῖν.
- ὅτι δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐπαινετὴ καὶ ἀξιέραστος ἡ πράξις, ἐκ
- 192 πολλῶν εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τὸ  
 πείθεσθαι θεῷ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι σεμνὸν  
 καὶ περιμάχητον εἶναι νομιζόμενον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα  
 ἐπετήδευεν, ὡς μηδενὸς πώποτε τῶν προστεταγ-  
 μένων ἀλογησαί, ἄνευ δυσκολίας καὶ ἀηδίας, κἂν  
 πόνων τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνων μεστὸν ἦ· παρὸ καὶ τὸ  
 χρησθὲν ἐπὶ τῷ νιῷ γενναιότατα καὶ στερρότατα
- 193 ἤνεγκεν. ἔπειτ' οὐκ ὄντος ἔθους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ,  
 καθάπερ ἴσως παρ' ἐνίοις ἐστίν, ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν, ὃ  
 τῇ συνεχείᾳ τὰς τῶν δεινῶν φαντασίας εἴωθεν  
 ἐκλύειν, αὐτὸς ἔμελλε πρῶτος ἄρχεσθαι καινοτάτου  
 καὶ παρηλλαγμένου πράγματος, ὃ μοι δοκεῖ μηδεὶς  
 ἂν ὑπομείναι, καὶ εἰ σιδήρου τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ἀδάμαντος  
 κατεσκευάσσο· “ φύσει ” γὰρ ὡς εἶπέ τις “ ἔργον
- 194 μάχεσθαι.” γνήσιόν τε υἷὸν πεποιημένος μόνον  
 τοῦτον εὐθύς εἶχε καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς εὐ-  
 νοίας γνήσιον, ὑπερβάλλον τοὺς σῶφρονας ἔρωτας
- 195 καὶ τὰς φιλίας, ὅσαι δι' ὀνόματος γεγόνασι. προσῆν

## ON ABRAHAM, 190-195

What praise could there be in a solitude where no one was present to report his fame afterwards, but even the two servants had been purposely left afar off lest he should appear to be making a boastful parade by bringing witnesses to his pious conduct? XXXV. Let them, therefore, set bolt and bar to 191 their unbridled evil-speaking mouths, control their envy and hatred of excellence and not mar the virtues of men who have lived a good life, virtues which they should rather help to glorify by their good report. That the deed really deserves our praise and love can easily be seen in many ways. First, 192 then, he made a special practice of obedience to God, a duty which every right-minded person holds to be worthy of all respect and effort. Hitherto he had not neglected any of God's commands, nor ever met them with repining or discontent, however charged with toils and pains they might be, and therefore he bore the sentence pronounced on his son with all nobleness and firmness. Secondly, since 193 human sacrifice was not in that country, as it was perhaps in some, sanctioned by custom which is so apt through constant repetition to weaken the realization of the terrible, he would have been the first himself to initiate a totally new and extraordinary procedure, and this, to my mind, is a thing which no one could have brought himself to do even if his soul had been made of iron or adamant, for, as it has been said, it is hard work to fight against nature. And, 194 as he had begotten no son in the truest sense but Isaac, his feeling of affection for him was necessarily on the same high level of truth, higher even than the chaste forms of love and also the much talked-of ties of friendship. Further, he had a most potent 195

## PHILO

δέ τι καὶ βιαστικώτατον φίλτρον, τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀλλ' ἐν γήρα γεγεννηκέναι τὸν παῖδα· τοῖς γὰρ ὀψιγόνοις ἐπιμεμήνασί πως οἱ τοκεῖς, ἢ τῷ μακρὸν ἐπιποθῆσαι χρόνον τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἢ τῷ μηκέθ' ἐτέρους ἐλπίζειν ἔσεσθαι, τῆς φύσεως ἐνταῦθα ἰσταμένης ὡς ἐπὶ τελευταῖον καὶ ὕστατον

196 ὄρον. ἐκ πολυπαιδίας μὲν οὖν ἓνα προέσθαι θεῷ καθάπερ ἀπαρχὴν τινα τέκνων παράδοξον οὐδέν, ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ζῶσιν ἡδονὰς οὐ μικρὰ παραμύθια καὶ μειλίγματα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγιασθέντι λύπης· ὃν δὲ μόνον τις ἔσχεν ἀγαπητὸν διδούς λόγου παντὸς μείζον ἔργον διαπράττεται, μηδὲν οἰκειότητι χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅλη τῇ ῥοπῇ πρὸς τὸ θεοφιλές

197 ταλαντεύων. ἐκεῖνο μὲν δὴ ἐξάαιρετον καὶ μόνῳ σχεδόν τι τούτῳ πεπραγμένον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας πατρίδων ἢ στρατευμάτων ἐπιδιδῶσι σφαγιασθησομένους τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, ἢ οἴκοι καταμένουσιν ἢ μακρὰν ἀφίστανται τῶν βωμῶν ἢ, κἂν παρατυγχάνωσι, τὰς ὀψεις ἀποστρέφονται θεά-

198 σασθαι μὴ ὑπομένοντες, ἄλλων ἀναιρούντων· ὁ δ' [29] ὥσπερ ἱερεὺς | αὐτὸς κατήρχετο τῆς ἱερουργίας, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστῳ φιλοστοργότατος πατὴρ· ἐμέλισε δ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ νόμῳ τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων κατὰ μέλη τὸν υἱὸν ἱερουργῶν. οὕτως οὐ τὸ μὲν τι μέρος ἀπέκλιε πρὸς τὸν παῖδα, τὸ δέ τι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ' ὅλην τὴν ψυχὴν δι' ὅλων ὀσιότητι προσεκλήρωσεν ὀλίγα φροντίσας συγγενικοῦ αἵ-

199 ματος. τί δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς ἐτέρους κοινόν; τί δ' οὐκ ἐξάαιρετον καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρεῖττον;

## ON ABRAHAM, 195-199

incentive to love in that he had begotten the boy in his old age and not in his years of vigour. For parents somehow dote on their late-born children, either because they have longed for their birth for so many years or because they do not hope to have any more, since nature comes to a halt at this point as its final and furthestmost boundary. For a father 196 to surrender one of a numerous family as a tithe to God is nothing extraordinary, since each of the survivors continues to give him pleasure, and this is no small solace and mitigation of his grief for the one who has been sacrificed. But one who gives his only darling son performs an action for which no language is adequate, since he concedes nothing to the tie of relationship, but his whole weight is thrown into the scale on the side of acceptability with God. The following point is exceptional, and his conduct 197 in it is practically unique. Other fathers, even if they give their children to be sacrificed for the safety of their country or armies, either stay at home or stand far away from the altars, or, if they are present, turn away their eyes, since they cannot bear the sight, and leave others to kill the victim. But here 198 we have the most affectionate of fathers himself beginning the sacrificial rite as priest with the very best of sons for victim. Perhaps too, following the law of burnt offering, he would have dismembered his son and offered him limb by limb. Thus we see that he did not incline partly to the boy and partly to piety, but devoted his whole soul through and through to holiness and disregarded the claims of their common blood. Which of all the points men- 199 tioned is shared by others? Which does not stand by itself and defy description? Thus everyone who

## PHILO

ὡς τόν γε μὴ φύσει βάσκανον καὶ φιλοπόνηρον καταπλαγῆναι καὶ θαυμάσαι τῆς περιττῆς ἄγαν εὐσεβείας, οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα εἶπον ἀθρόα εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ κἄν ἐν τι τῶν πάντων· ἰκανὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐνὸς φαντασία τύπῳ τινὶ βραχεῖ—βραχὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον σοφοῦ—μέγεθος ψυχῆς καὶ ὕψος ἐμφῆναι.

- 200 XXXVI. Ἄλλα γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς ῥητῆς καὶ φανεράς ἀποδόσεως ἴσταται τὰ λεχθέντα, φύσιν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδηλοτέραν ἔοικε παρεμφαίνειν, ἣν οἱ τὰ νοητὰ πρὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ὄρᾶν  
 201 δυνάμενοι γνωρίζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ τοιάδε· ὁ μελλήσας σφαγιάζεσθαι καλεῖται Χαλδαῖστί μὲν Ἰσαάκ, Ἑλληνιστί δὲ μεταληφθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος “ γέλως ”· γέλως δ' οὐχ ὁ κατὰ παιδιὰν ἐγγινόμενος σώματι παραλαμβάνεται τὰ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ  
 202 διάνοιαν εὐπάθεια καὶ χαρά. ταύτην ὁ σοφὸς ἱερουργεῖν λέγεται δεόντως θεῷ διὰ συμβόλου παριστάς, ὅτι τὸ χαίρειν μόνῳ θεῷ οἰκειότατόν ἐστιν· ἐπίλυπον μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος καὶ περιδεές, ἢ παρόντων κακῶν ἢ προσδοκωμένων, ὡς ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν χερσὶν ἀβουλήτοις ἀνιᾶσθαι ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ κραδαίνεσθαι· ἄλυπος δὲ καὶ ἄφοβος καὶ παντὸς πάθους ἀμέτοχος ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακαριότητος παντελοῦς  
 203 μόνῃ μετέχουσα. τῷ δὴ τὴν ἀληθῆ ταύτην ὁμολογίαν ὠμολογηκότι τρόπῳ χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ὁ θεός, φθόνον ἐληλακῶς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, προσηκόντως ἀντιχαρίζεται τὸ δῶρον, καθ' ὅσον ἔχει δυνάμειος ὁ ληψόμενος, καὶ μόνον οὐ ταῦτα θεσπίζει

<sup>a</sup> In the strict Stoic sense of the word, for reasonable forms of πάθος. See note on *De Mut.* 1 and references there given.



## ON ABRAHAM, 199-203

is not malignant or a lover of evil must be overwhelmed with admiration for his extraordinary piety ; and he need not take into consideration at once all the points which I have mentioned, for any single one of them would be enough. For to picture in the mind one of these, however small the form which the picture takes, though no action of the Sage is small, is enough to show the greatness and loftiness of his soul.

XXXVI. But the story here told is not confined to 200 the literal and obvious explanation, but seems to have in it the elements of a further suggestion, obscure to the many but recognized by those who prefer the mental to the sensible and have the power to see it. It is as follows. The proposed victim is 201 called in Chaldaean Isaac, but, if the word is translated into our language, Laughter. But the laughter here understood is not the laughter which amusement arouses in the body, but the good emotion<sup>a</sup> of the understanding, that is joy. This the Sage is 202 said to sacrifice as his duty to God, thus showing in a figure that rejoicing is most closely associated with God alone. For mankind is subject to grief and very fearful of evils either present or expected, so that men are either distressed by disagreeables close at hand or are agitated by troublous fear of those which are still to come. But the nature of God is without grief or fear and wholly exempt from passion of any kind, and alone partakes of perfect happiness and bliss. The frame of mind which has made this true 203 acknowledgement God, Who has banished jealousy from His presence in His kindness and love for mankind, fitly rewards by returning the gift in so far as the recipient's capacity allows. And indeed we may

## PHILO

204 λέγων· “ τὸ μὲν τῆς χαρᾶς γένος καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρου πλὴν ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων κτῆμα, σαφῶς οἶδα, κεκτημένος δ’ ὅμως οὐ φθονῶ τοῖς ἀξίοις χρῆσθαι· ἄξιός δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βουλήμασιν ἔποιτο; τούτῳ γὰρ ἤκιστα μὲν ἀνιάσθαι ἤκιστα δὲ φοβεῖσθαι συμβήσεται πορευομένῳ ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν, ἢ πάθεισι μὲν καὶ κακίαις ἐστὶν ἄβατος, εὐπαθείαις δὲ καὶ ἀρεταῖς

205 ἐμπεριπατεῖται.” μηδεὶς δ’ ὑπολαβέτω τὴν ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ

[30] καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ | κέκραται<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, περιττεύοντος τοῦ κρείττονος· ὄνπερ τρόπον καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγῆ σκοτόους ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀέρι ζοφερῷ κεκρα-

206 μένον φαίνεται. ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς αἰτίας δοκεῖ μοι καὶ πρότερον γελάσασα ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐπώνυμος Σάρρα πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν γέλωτα, καταδείσασα μὴ ποτε ἄρα τὸ χαίρειν οὐδενὸς ὄν γενητοῦ, μόνου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, σφετερίζεται· διόπερ θαρσύνων αὐτὴν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησί· μηδὲν εὐλαβη-

207 θῆς, ὄντως ἐγέλασας καὶ μέτεστί σοι χαρᾶς. οὐ γὰρ εἶασεν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος λύπαις καὶ ὀδύναις καὶ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρ-  
 ἐμίξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, εὐδιάσαι καὶ γαληνιάσαι ποτέ τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας· τὴν δὲ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀλλ’ ἐγκέκραται or ἀλλὰ κρέμαται et alia. Perhaps ἀλλὰ κρᾶμά τι.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xviii. 12 and 15. Sarah’s laughter has been explained in the obvious way in § 112. Here we have a more  
 100

## ON ABRAHAM, 204-207

almost hear His voice saying : " All joy and rejoicing 204  
I know well is the possession of none other save Me  
alone, the Father of All. Yet I do not grudge that  
this My possession should be used by such as are  
worthy, and who should be worthy save one who  
should follow Me and My will, for he will prove to  
be most exempt from distress and fear if he travels  
by this road which passion and vice cannot tread,  
but good feelings and virtue can walk therein."

But let no one suppose that joy de- 205  
scends from heaven to earth pure and free from any  
mixture of grief. No, it is a mixture of both, though  
the better element is the stronger, just as light too  
in heaven is pure from any mixture of darkness but  
in regions below the moon is clearly mixed with  
dusky air. This was the reason, I think, why Sarah 206  
who bears the name of virtue first laughs, and then,  
in reply to her questioner, denies the laughter.<sup>a</sup>  
She feared lest she should be grasping for herself  
the joy which belongs not to created being but to  
God alone. Therefore, the holy word bids her be of  
good cheer and says : " Be not afraid : thou didst  
indeed laugh and dost participate in joy." For the 207  
Father did not suffer the whole course of the human  
race to move amid griefs and pains and burdens which  
admit no remedy, but mixed with them something  
of the better nature and judged it well that the soul  
should at times dwell in sunshine and calm ; and as

spiritual interpretation. That the laughter signified joy, not  
incredulity, has already been suggested in *Leg. All.* iii. 217 f.  
and *De Mut.* 166. In neither of these places, however, has  
the subsequent denial been dealt with. The interpretation  
here suggested that the soul begins to doubt whether joy is  
not more than humanity can expect appears again in *Spec.*  
*Leg.* ii. 54.

## PHILO

- σοφῶν καὶ τὸν πλείω χρόνον τοῦ βίου γήθειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου θεωρήμασιν ἐβουλήθη.
- 208 XXXVII. Τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβείας, εἰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἀφθονία, λελέχθω. διερευνητέον δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ δεξιότητα· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν εὐσεβῆ τε εἶναι καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκάτερον, ὁσιότης μὲν πρὸς θεόν, δικαιοσύνη δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, θεωρεῖται. πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ πεπραγμένα μακρὸν ἂν εἴη διεξιέναι, δυεῖν δὲ ἡ
- 209 τριῶν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπιμνησθῆναι. πολυάργυρος καὶ πολύχρυσος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὧν καὶ θρεμμάτων πολυζώους ἔχων ἀγέλας καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ αὐτοχθόνων τοῖς ἱκανὰ κεκτημένοις ἐν τῷ περιουσιάζειν ἀμιλλώμενος καὶ πλουσιώτερος γεγωνῶς ἢ κατὰ μέτοικον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐμέμφθη τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν εἰς πείραν ἐλθόντων
- 210 ἐπαινούμενος διετελέσεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τις, οἷα φιλεῖ πολλάκις, ἐκ θεραπόντων καὶ τῶν συνδιατριβόντων ἄμιλλα καὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἐγένετο, ταύτην ἐπειράτο διαλύειν ἡσυχῇ βαρυτέρῳ ἢθει τὰ φιλόνευκα καὶ ταραχώδη καὶ στασιαστικὰ πάντα προβε-
- 211 βλημένος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεληλακῶς. καὶ θαυμαστόν οὐδέν, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τοιοῦτος ἦν, οἱ βαρυτέρα καὶ δυνατωτέρα χειρὶ συμφωνήσαντες ἡμύναντο ἂν ἄρχοντα χειρῶν ἀδίκων, ὅποτε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γένει μὲν οἰκείους, γνώμη δ' ἡλλοτριω-

<sup>a</sup> Or "kindness and courtesy." See note on *De Fuga* 31.

<sup>b</sup> For Abraham's wealth *cf.* Gen. xiii. 2 and xxiv. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Or "seriousness." But the word seems strange.

## ON ABRAHAM, 207-211

for the soul of the wise He willed that it should pass the chief part of its life in glad-hearted contemplation of what the world has to show.

XXXVII. These examples must suffice for our 208  
treatment of Abraham's piety, though others might be found in great plenty. But we must also examine the good and wise behaviour<sup>a</sup> shown in his dealings with men. For the nature which is pious is also kindly, and the same person will exhibit both qualities, holiness to God and justice to men. It would be too long, indeed, to describe all his actions, but it would not be out of place to mention two or three. Though he was exceedingly rich<sup>b</sup> in silver and gold 209 and possessed many herds of numerous live-stock and in abundance of wealth rivalled those of the natives and original inhabitants who possessed good means, and became more opulent than would be expected of an immigrant, he incurred no censure from those who received him into their midst but continued to be praised by all who had experience of him. But, if, as often happens, any of his ser- 210  
vants or regular associates had a quarrel or difference with his neighbours, he would try to put an end to it quietly, banishing and expelling from the soul by means of his greater dignity<sup>c</sup> of character all that tended to strife and confusion and faction. And we need not wonder that he so bore himself to 211  
strangers who could have united to repel him with their superior weight of strength if he was the aggressor in injustice, when we see what moderation he showed to those who, connected with him by birth but estranged from him in moral principles, stood

Mangey wished to read *πρῶτέρῳ*. Cohn notes that the Armenian seems to have read *πρῶτέρῳ τὰ βαρύτερα*.

## PHILO

- μένους, ἐρήμους καὶ μόνους καὶ πολλῶ καταδεέ-  
 στερα κεκτημένους ἐμετρίαζεν, ἐλαττούμενος ἐκὼν  
 212 ἐν οἷς πλεονεκτεῖν ἐδύνατο. ἦν γὰρ ἀδελφιδοῦς  
 αὐτῷ, τῆς πατρίδος ὅτε μετανίστατο, συνεξελλυ-  
 θῶς, ἀβέβαιος, ὑπαμφίβολος, ἀντιρρέπων ὡδε  
 [31] κἀκεῖσε, τοτὲ μὲν προσσαίνων | φιλικοῖς ἀσπά-  
 σμασι, τοτὲ δὲ ἀφηνιάζων καὶ ἀπαυχενίζων διὰ τὴν  
 213 τῶν τρόπων ἀνωμαλίαν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ οἰκετικὸν  
 αὐτῷ δύσειρι καὶ ταραχῶδες ἦν σωφρονιστὴν οὐκ  
 ἔχον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ποιμενικὸν μακρὰν τοῦ δεσπό-  
 του διεξυγμένον· ἀπελευθεριάζοντες γοῦν ὑπ'  
 αὐθαδείας ἀεὶ διεφέροντο τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν  
 θρεμμάτων τοῦ σοφοῦ τὰ πολλὰ εἴκουσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 δεσπότου πραῦπάθειαν· ὑφ' οὗ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν  
 ἐπιδόντες καὶ θράσος ἀναίσχυντον ὄργων, μηνι-  
 ῶντες ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἀκατάλλακτον ἐν αὐτοῖς ζωπυ-  
 ροῦντες, ἕως ἀπηγάγκασαν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους εἰς  
 214 ἄμνηναν ὀρμησαί. μάχης δὲ ἐμβριθεστάτης γενο-  
 μένης, ἀκούσας ὁ ἀστείος τὴν ἀντεφόρμησιν, εἰδὼς  
 ἐπικυδεστέραν οὔσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μερίδα πλήθει τε  
 καὶ δυνάμει, τὴν διαφορὰν οὐκ εἴασεν ἄχρι νίκης  
 ἐλθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐφ'  
 ἤττη τῶν ιδίων, ἀλλ' ἐν μεθορίῳ στὰς συμβατη-  
 ρίοις λόγοις τοὺς διαφερομένους κατήλλαξεν, οὐ  
 πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον.  
 215 εἰδὼς γὰρ ὅτι συνοικοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ  
 δαιτώμενοι γνωσιμαχοῦντες φιλονεικήσουσι στά-  
 σεις ἀεὶ καὶ πολέμους κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγείροντες, ἵνα

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\* For §§ 212-216 see Gen. xiii. 5-11.

## ON ABRAHAM, 211-215

alone and unsupported and with possessions far inferior to his, and how he willingly accepted to be at a disadvantage when he might have taken advantage of them. <sup>a</sup> For he had a nephew who had 212 accompanied him when he migrated from his native land, an unreliable and hesitating person, ever inclining this way and that, sometimes fawning on him with loving greetings, sometimes rebellious and refractory through the inconsistency of his different moods. Therefore his servants too were quarrel- 213 some and turbulent, as they had no one to control them, and this was particularly the case with the shepherds who were stationed at a distance from their master ; thus breaking out of control in their wilfulness they were ever quarrelling with the Sage's herdsmen who many times gave way to them because of their master's gentleness. Then, advancing to a senseless audacity which knew no shame, they grew rampant and fostered in their hearts the flame of a passion beyond hope of conciliation until they compelled their opponents to begin defending themselves against the injustice. When the fight had 214 become very serious, the man of worth, hearing how the aggressors had been countered, and knowing that his own party was more distinguished in strength and number, did not allow the quarrel to be terminated by a victory, as he did not wish to distress his nephew through seeing his own party defeated. So he took up his stand between them and reconciled the disputants by proposals of agreement, good not only for the present but for the future. For he 215 knew that if they lived together and shared the same dwelling-place they would engage in obstinate contention, for ever stirring up wars and factions against

## PHILO

- μή τοῦτο γένοιτο, συμφέρον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι παραι-  
 τήσασθαι τὸ ὁμοδίαιτον καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν διαζευῆσαι·  
 καὶ μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αἴρεσιν αὐτῷ  
 δίδωσι τῆς ἀμείνονος χώρας, ἄσμενος ὁμολογῶν ἦν  
 ἂν ἐπιλέξῃται μερίδα λήψεσθαι· κερδανεῖν γὰρ  
 216 κέρδος μέγιστον, τὴν εἰρήνην. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἕτερος  
 ἀσθενεστέρω παραχωρήσειεν οὐτινοσοῦν ἰσχυρό-  
 τερος ὢν; τίς δὲ νικᾶν δυνάμενος βούλοιτ' ἂν  
 ἡττᾶσθαι, μὴ συγχρώμενος τῷ δύνασθαι; μόνος  
 δὲ οὗτος τὸ ἄριστον. οὐκ ἐν ῥώμῃ καὶ πλεονεξία  
 τιθέμενος ἀλλ' ἐν ἀστασιάστῳ βίῳ καὶ τό γε ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἡσυχάζοντι πάντων ἔδοξεν εἶναι  
 θαυμασιώτατος.
- 217 XXXVIII. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου ἡ  
 λέξις ἐγκωμιστικὴ λέλεκται, μηνύονται δὲ καὶ  
 τρόποι ψυχῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ῥητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 νοητὰ μετιόντας, ἀρμόττον ἂν εἴη καὶ τούτους  
 218 ἀνερευνησαι. μυρίοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ἀπὸ μυρίων  
 ἀφορμῶν κατὰ παντοδαπὰς ἰδέας πραγμάτων συν-  
 ιστάμενοι, δύο δ' οἱ νυνὶ μέλλοντες ἐπικρίνεσθαι  
 τρόποι, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος,  
 πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἡγεμονικὰ τῇ  
 φύσει τιμῶν, νεώτερος δὲ ὁ τὰ ὑπήκοα καὶ ἐν  
 219 ἐσχατιαῖς ἐξεταζόμενα. πρεσβύτερα μὲν οὖν καὶ  
 ἡγεμονικὰ φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη  
 [32] καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι περὶ ἀρετὴν | καὶ αἱ κατ'  
 ἀρετὴν πράξεις· νεώτερα δὲ πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα καὶ  
 ἀρχὴ καὶ εὐγένεια, οὐχ ἡ ἀληθής, ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ  
 νομίζουσι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τὴν τρίτην μετὰ τὰ ψυχικὰ



## ON ABRAHAM, 215-219

each other. To prevent this, he thought it expedient to refuse to continue their living together and to arrange for their dwelling at a distance from each other. So, sending for his nephew, he gave him a choice of the better district, gladly agreeing that he should take whatever part he chose ; for he considered that he would thereby get peace, the greatest of gains. And yet who else would give 216 way in any single point to the weaker if he were the stronger ? Who, when he could conquer, would be willing to be defeated and not avail himself of his power ? He alone took for his ideal not the exercise of strength and self-aggrandizement but a life free from strife and so far as lay with him of tranquillity, and thereby he showed himself the most admirable of men.

XXXVIII. The actual words of the story are an 217 encomium on Abraham as a man ; but, according to those who proceed from the literal to the spiritual, characters of soul are indicated also, and therefore it will be well to investigate them too. Such char- 218 acters are numberless, proceeding from numberless starting-points and arising from every kind and variety of circumstance ; but those now to be examined are two only, one higher and senior and one lower and junior. The senior is that character which honours things primal and dominant in their nature, the junior that which honours things subject and lowest in the list. Now the senior and dominant 219 are wisdom and temperance and justice and courage and virtue regarded as a whole and actions inspired by virtue, but the junior are wealth and reputation and office and good birth, good not in the true sense but in the sense which the multitude give to it, and everything else which coming after the things of

## PHILO

- καὶ σωματικὰ τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἥτις εὐθύς ἐστι καὶ  
 220 τελευταία. τούτων οὖν τῶν τρόπων ἐκάτερος ἔχει  
 καθάπερ τινὰς ποιμένας καὶ ἀγέλας, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐκτὸς  
 ὀρεγόμενος ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, ἐσθήτας, πάντα ὅσα  
 τοῦ πλουτεῖν ὕλαι καὶ παρασκευαί, καὶ πάλιν ὄπλα,  
 μηχανήματα, τριήρεις, ἵππικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν καὶ  
 ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, τὰς πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἀφορμάς,  
 ἐξ ὧν περιγίνεται τὸ βεβαίως κρατεῖν, ὁ δὲ καλο-  
 κάγαθίας ἐραστὴς τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἀρετὴν δόγματα  
 221 καὶ τὰ σοφίας αὐτῆς θεωρήματα. προ-  
 στάται δὲ καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τούτων ἐκατέρων εἰσὶ  
 τινες οἷα θρεμμάτων ποιμένες, τῶν μὲν ἐκτὸς οἱ φιλο-  
 χρήματοι καὶ φιλόδοξοι καὶ στρατηγιῶντες καὶ ὅσοι  
 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλήθεσι δυναστείαν ἀγαπῶσι, τῶν δὲ  
 περὶ ψυχὴν ὅσοι φιλόκαλοι καὶ φιλάρετοι, μὴ τὰ  
 νόθα πρὸ τῶν γνησίων ἀλλὰ τὰ γνήσια πρὸ τῶν  
 222 νόθων ἀγαθὰ αἰρούμενοι. γίνεται οὖν φυσικὴ τις  
 αὐτοῖς ἢ διαμάχη μὴδὲν ἐγνωκόσι τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀπάδουσι καὶ διαφερομένοις αἰεὶ περὶ πράγματος  
 συνεκτικωτάτου τῶν ἐν βίῳ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις  
 223 τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν τινος  
 ἐπολεμεῖτο ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὴν στάσιν ταύτην ἐχώρει  
 μήπω κεκαθαυμένη παντελῶς, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν παθῶν  
 καὶ νοσημάτων παρευημερούντων τοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας  
 λόγους· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἤρξατο δυνατωτέρα γίνεσθαι καὶ  
 ῥώμη κραταιοτέρα τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τῶν ἐναντίων  
 δοξῶν καθαιρεῖν, πτερυξαμένη καὶ φρονήματος  
 ὑποπλησθεῖσα τὸν τὰς ἐκτὸς ὕλας τεθραυμάκοντα  
 τρόπον ἐν αὐτῇ διατειχίζει καὶ διαζεύγνυσι καὶ ὡς

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\* Or " was the subject of attack, and allowed the revolt to

## ON ABRAHAM, 219-223

soul and body takes the third place which is necessarily also the last. Each of the two characters possesses what we may call flocks and herds. The devotee of things external has silver, gold, raiment, all the materials of wealth and the means for procuring them, and again arms, engines, triremes, cavalry, infantry and naval forces, the foundations of sovereignty which produce security of power. The lover of moral excellence has the principles of each separate virtue and the truths discovered by wisdom itself.

Now those who preside and have charge over each of these two are, as it were, herdsmen of cattle. The externals are cared for by lovers of wealth or glory, the would-be generals and all who hanker for power over multitudes, the things of the soul by lovers of moral excellence and virtue, who prefer the genuine goods to the spurious and not the spurious to the genuine. So there is a natural conflict between them since they have no common principle but are for ever jangling and quarrelling about the most important thing in life, and that is the decision what are the true goods. For a time the soul was in a state of war, and was the scene of this conflict,<sup>a</sup> for as yet it was not perfectly purified, but its passions and distempers still prevailed over its healthy principles. But from the time when it began to grow more powerful and demolish by superior strength the works with which the opposing doctrines threatened it, it spreads its wings, and, its spirit grown to fullness, sets a wall and barrier between it and that side of its character which has given its admiration to the gear of external things. And it talks with it as with

proceed," *i.e.* the soul is here identified, as it certainly is below, with its own better side.

## PHILO

- 224 ἀνθρώπῳ διαλεγομένη φησίν· ἀμήχανον ὁμοδίαιτον εἶναι σε καὶ ὁμόσπονδον ἐραστῇ σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἴθι δὴ καὶ μετοικισάμενος μακρὰν ἀποζεύχθητι, μηδεμίαν ἔχων κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ σχεῖν δυνάμενος· ὅσα γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνεις εἶναι δεξιά, ταῦτ' οἶεται ἐκεῖνος εὐώνυμα, καὶ ὅσα τὸναντίον σκαιά, ταῦτα παρ' ἐκείνῳ νενόμισται δεξιά.
- 225 XXXIX. Οὐ τοίνυν εἰρηνικὸς καὶ φιλοδίκαιος αὐτὸ μόνον ἦν ὁ ἀστείος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρείος καὶ πολεμικός· οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦ πολεμεῖν—οὐ γὰρ δύσερις ἦν<sup>1</sup> καὶ φιλόνεικος,—ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ βεβαίου τῆς πρὸς τὸ
- [33] μέλλον εἰρήνης, ἣν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι καθήρουν. | σαφε-  
226 στάτη δὲ πίστις τὰ πραχθέντα. τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μοῖραν τῆς οἰκουμένης τέτταρες μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς εἰλήχεσαν, οἷς ὑπήκουεν ἔθνη τὰ ἐῷα, τὰ τε ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διέμενον ἀστασίαστα πειθαρχοῦντα τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιτάγμασι καὶ τοὺς ἐτησίους δασμοὺς ἀποφασίστως εἰσφέροντα· μόνη δὲ ἡ Σοδομιτῶν χώρα, πρὶν καταφλεχθῆναι, παραλύειν ἤρξατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπό-
- 227 στασιν ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοουμένη. πάνυ γὰρ οὔσης εὐδαίμονος πέντε βασιλεῖς ἐπεκράτουν τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τὴν γῆν δασάμενοι πολλὴν μὲν οὐκ οὔσαν, εὐσταχυν δὲ καὶ εὐδενδρον καὶ καρπῶν περίπλεων· ὁ γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὸ μέγεθος, τοῦθ' ἡ ἀρετὴ Σοδόμοις παρέσχεν, ὅθεν καὶ πλείους ἐραστὰς ἔσχεν
- 228 ἡγεμόνας τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς καταπλαγέντας. οὗτοι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας φόρους ἀπε-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὦν or omit.

<sup>a</sup> This evidently gives an allegorical interpretation to Gen.

## ON ABRAHAM, 224-228

a man and says : " It is impossible that thou and 224  
the lover of wisdom and virtue should have a common  
home and common ties. Away, change thy dwelling  
and betake thyself afar off, for thou hast not, or  
rather canst not have, fellowship with him. For all  
that thou holdest to be on the right he thinks to be  
on the left, and conversely what to thee is on the  
wrong side in his judgement stands on the right." <sup>a</sup>

XXIX. So, then, the man of worth was not merely 225  
peaceable and a lover of justice but courageous and  
warlike, not for the sake of warring, for he was not  
quarrelsome or cantankerous, but to secure peace  
for the future, the peace which the opponents were  
destroying. The clearest proof of this is his actions. <sup>b</sup> 226  
That part of the inhabited world which lies towards  
the east was in the hands of four great kings who held  
in subjection the nations of the Orient on both sides  
of the Euphrates. Now the other nations continued  
to be free from sedition, obeying the orders of the  
king, and paying their taxes without demur. Only  
the country of the Sodomites, before it was consumed  
by fire, began to undermine this peaceful condition  
by a long-standing plan of revolt. For, as it was 227  
exceedingly prosperous, it was ruled by five kings  
who taxed the cities and the land, which though not  
large was rich in corn and well wooded and teeming  
with fruits, for the position which size gave to other  
countries, was given to Sodom by its goodness, and  
hence it had a plurality of rulers who loved it and were  
fascinated by its charm. These hitherto rendered 228  
the appointed tributes to the collectors of revenue  
xiii. 9 " if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to  
the right; or if thou wilt take the right hand, then I will go  
to the left."

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 225-235 see Gen. xiv.

## PHILO

- δίδοσαν τοῖς ἐκλογεῦσι τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δυνατω-  
 τέρους ὧν ἦσαν ὑπαρχοὶ τιμῶντες ἅμα καὶ δεδιότες·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκορέσθησαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ, κόρος  
 ὕβριν ἐγέννησε, πλεόν τῆς δυνάμεως φρονήσαντες  
 ἀπαυχενίζουσι τὸ πρῶτον, εἶθ' οἶα κακοὶ δούλοι  
 δεσπόταις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτίθενται στάσει πιστεύ-  
 229 σαντες ἢ ῥώμη. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν εὐγενείας ὑπο-  
 μνησθέντες καὶ φραζάμενοι δυνατωτέρα χειρὶ μάλα  
 καταφρονητικῶς ἦσαν ὡς αὐτοβοεῖ περιεσόμενοι  
 καὶ συμπλακέντες τοὺς μὲν εὐθύς εἰς φυγὴν ἀνε-  
 σκέδασαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιστροφάδην κτείνοντες ἠβηδὸν  
 διαφθείρουσιν, αἰχμαλώτων δὲ πολὺν ὄχλον ἀγα-  
 γόντες μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης λείας διενέμοντο· προσπα-  
 ἄγουσι μέντοι καὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν εἰς μίαν  
 τῆς πενταπόλεως οὐκ ἐκ πολλοῦ μετωκηκότα.
- 230 XL. τοῦτο μηνυθὲν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς τροπῆς διασωθέντων χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἠνίασε  
 καὶ οὐκέτ' ἠρέμει διὰ τοῦτο συγκεχυμένος καὶ  
 ζῶντα πενθῶν τὸ ἀργαλεώτερον ἢ εἰ τεθνεῶτα  
 ἐπύθετο· τέλος μὲν γάρ, ὡς αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοῦ-  
 νομα, τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπάντων καὶ μάλιστα  
 231 ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς ζῶσι. διώκειν δ' εὐτρεπιζόμενος  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ῥύσασθαι τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἠπόρει συμμάχων,  
 ἅτε ξένος ὧν καὶ μέτοικος καὶ μηδεὶνδὸς τολμῶντος  
 ἀμάχοις δυνάμεσι τοσοῦτων βασιλέων καὶ ἄρτι  
 232 νενικηκότων ἐναντιοῦσθαι. καινοτάτην δ' ἐξεύρε  
 συμμαχίαν—πόρος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόροις, ὅταν δικαίων  
 καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἔργων ἐφιῆται τις, εὐρίσκεται—

<sup>a</sup> Or "to the strength" (which they wrongly supposed themselves to have). But this is awkward. I should like to read <μᾶλλον> ἢ.

## ON ABRAHAM, 228-232

out of both respect for and fear of the higher potentes whose satraps they were. But, when they had been surfeited with good things, and as so often happens satiety had begotten insolence, they grew ambitious beyond their powers and first shook off the yoke and then, like bad slaves, attacked their masters, trusting to sedition or violence.<sup>a</sup> But these 229 masters, mindful of their higher birth and armed with more powerful force, advanced in great disdain to the attack, expecting to conquer them with the utmost ease. And, when they engaged, some they sent flying helter-skelter at once, others they mowed down in wholesale massacre, while a great number were taken prisoners and distributed with the rest of the booty. Among these they took the nephew of the Sage, who had migrated not long before into one of the five cities. XL. When 230

this was reported to Abraham by one of those who escaped from the rout, it distressed him exceedingly. He could no longer rest, so severe was the shock, and mourned for the living with greater sorrow than if he had heard of his death. For he knew that death or decease, as the name itself shows, is the end of everything in life, and particularly of its ills, while the troubles which lie in wait for the living are numberless. But, when he made ready to pursue 231 the enemy to rescue his nephew, he was at a loss for allies, since he was a stranger and an immigrant, and no one dared to oppose the invincible forces of the kings, considering their number and their recent victory. But he obtained allies in quite a new 232 quarter, for resource is found where resource is none, when one is set on deeds of justice and kindness. He

## PHILO

συναγαγὼν γὰρ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τοῖς ἀργυρωνήτοις  
 προστάξας οἴκοι καταμένειν—ἔδεισε γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 αὐτομολίαν—τοὺς οἰκότριβας καταλέγει καὶ δια-  
 νείμας εἰς ἑκατονταρχίας τρισὶν ἐπήει τάξι-  
 οὺ ταύταις πεποιθώς—πολλοστὴ γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα τῶν  
 [34] παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν—, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπερμάχῳ καὶ  
 233 προαγωνιστῇ τοῦ | δικαίου θεῷ. συντείνων οὖν  
 ἔσπευδε μηδὲν τάχους ἀνιείς, ἕως καιροφυλακήσας  
 νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις δεδειπνοποιημένοις  
 ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον μέλλουσι τρέπεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν ἐν εὐναῖς ἰέρευε, τοὺς δ' ἀντιταχθέντας ἄρδην  
 ἀνήρει, πάντων δ' ἐρρωμένως ἐπεκράτει τῷ θαρ-  
 234 ραλέῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς. καὶ  
 οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκεν, ἕως τὴν μὲν ἀντίπαλον στρα-  
 τιὰν βασιλεῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἠβηδὸν ἀνελὼν πρὸ τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου κατεστόρεσε, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀν-  
 ἠγάγε μετὰ λαμπρᾶς καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης νίκης  
 ἅπασαν τὴν ἵππον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πληθὺν ὑπο-  
 235 ζυγίων καὶ λείαν ἀφθονωτάτην προσπαραλαβών. ὃν  
 θεασάμενος ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ  
 ἐπανιόντα καὶ τροπαιοφοροῦντα σῶον μετὰ σώου  
 τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως—οὐδένα γὰρ τῶν συνόντων  
 ἀπέβαλε—, καταπλαγεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως  
 καὶ ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἐννοηθεῖς, ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ἐπι-  
 φροσύνης καὶ συμμαχίας κατωρθώθη, τὰς χεῖρας  
 ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρει καὶ  
 ἐπινίκια ἔθυε καὶ πάντας τοὺς συναραμένους τῷ  
 ἀγῶνι λαμπρῶς εἰστία, γεγηθῶς καὶ συνηδόμενος  
 ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ κατορθώματι· καὶ ἦν τῷ ὄντι οἰκείον

<sup>a</sup> So LXX (ἠρίθμῃσε). E.V. "led forth."



## ON ABRAHAM, 232-235

collected his servants and, after bidding those who had been acquired by purchase to remain at home, since he feared that they might desert, he made a roll-call<sup>a</sup> of those who were home-bred, distributed them into centuries and advanced with three battalions. Yet he did not trust in these, for they were but a small fraction of the kings' forces, but in God, the champion and defender of the just. So he 233 pressed forward eagerly and never abated his speed until, watching for his chance, he attacked the enemy by night when they had supped and were preparing to go to sleep. Some fell helpless victims to him in their beds, others who took arms against him were completely annihilated, and all were mightily overcome more by his courage of soul than by the resources at his command. Nor did he stay his hand 234 until he had completely slaughtered the opposing army with their kings as well and left them lying in front of the camp. His nephew he brought back in the triumph of his brilliant and magnificent victory, taking too with him all the horses of the cavalry and the whole multitude of the other beasts and spoil in vast plenty. When the high priest of the 235 most high God saw him approaching with his trophies, leader and army alike unhurt, for he had lost none of his own company, he was astonished by the feat, and, thinking, as indeed was natural, that such success was not won without God's directing care and help to their arms, he stretched his hands to heaven and honoured him with prayers on his behalf and offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for the victory and feasted handsomely those who had taken part in the contest, rejoicing and sharing their gladness as though the success were his own; and so indeed it was, for "the

## PHILO

αὐτῶ· “κοινὰ” γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν “τὰ φίλων,” πολὺ δὲ πλεόν τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, οἷς ἐν τέλος εὐαρεστεῖν θεῶ.

- 236 XLI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αἱ ῥῆται γραφαὶ περιέχουσιν. ἀσώματα δὲ ὅσοι καὶ γυμνὰ θεωρεῖν τὰ πράγματα δύνανται, οἱ ψυχῇ μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι ζῶντες, φήσουσι τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν τέτταρας εἶναι τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν δυνάμεις, ἡδονῆς, ἐπιθυμίας, φόβου, λύπης, τοὺς δὲ πέντε τὰς ἰσαριθμούς αἰσθήσεις, ὄρασιν, ἀκοήν,
- 237 γεύσιν, ὄσφρησιν, ἀφήν. τρόπον γὰρ τινα βασιλεύουσι καὶ ἄρχουσιν ἡμῶν ἀνημμέναι τὸ κράτος, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμοίως· ὑπήκοοι γὰρ αἱ πέντε τῶν τεττάρων εἰσὶ καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς καὶ δασμούς ἀναγκάιους φέρουσιν ὑπὸ φύσεως ὀρισθέντας. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ἂν ἴδωμεν ἢ ἀκούσωμεν ἢ ὀσφρανθῶμεν ἢ γευσώμεθα ἢ ἀψώμεθα, λύπαι καὶ ἡδοναὶ καὶ φόβοι καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι συνίστανται, μηδενὸς τῶν παθῶν καθ’ αὐτὸ σθένος, εἰ μὴ ἐχορηγῆτο ταῖς διὰ τῶν
- 238 αἰσθήσεων παρασκευαῖς. αὐταὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων δυνάμεις εἰσίν, ἢ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἢ διὰ φωνῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἢ ἀκούειν ἢ διὰ χυλῶν ἢ δι’ ἀτμῶν ἢ τῶν ἐν ἀπτοῖς, ἃ μαλακὰ καὶ σκληρὰ
- [35] ἢ τραχέα | καὶ λεῖα ἢ θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐκάστω τῶν παθῶν
- 240 χορηγῆται. καὶ μέχρι μὲν οἱ λεχθέντες ἀποδίδονται φόροι, μένει τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἢ ὁμαιχμία, ὅταν δὲ μηκέθ’ ὁμοίως συντελῶνται, στάσεις εὐθύς καὶ πόλεμοι συνίστανται· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν ἔοικεν, ὅταν ἀφικνηῖται τὸ ἐπώδυνον γῆρας, ἐν ᾧ τῶν μὲν παθῶν ἀσθενέστερον οὐδὲν γίνεται, τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως κραταιότερον, ἀμυδραὶ δὲ ὄψεις

## ON ABRAHAM, 235-240

belongings of friends are held in common," as the proverb says, and this is far more true of the belongings of the good whose one end is to be well-pleasing to God.

XLI. This is what we find in the scriptures read 236  
literally ; but those who can contemplate facts  
stripped of the body and in naked reality, those who  
live with the soul rather than with the body, will say  
that of these nine kings, four are the power exer-  
cised within us by the four passions, pleasure, desire,  
fear and grief, and that the five are the five senses,  
sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. For these 237  
nine are in a sense invested with sovereignty and are  
our kings and rulers but not all in the same way.  
For the five are subject to the four, and are forced  
to pay them the tolls and tributes determined by  
nature. Grievances and pleasures and fears and desires 238  
arise out of what we see or hear or smell or taste  
or touch, and none of the passions would have  
any strength of itself if it were not furnished with  
what the senses supply ; for these supplies constitute 239  
the forces of the passions, taking the form of colours  
and shapes, or sounds spoken or heard, or flavours,  
or scents, or the qualities attached to things tangible,  
soft and hard or rough and smooth or warm and cold,  
all of which are supplied through the senses to each  
of the passions. And while the said tributes are 240  
rendered the alliance between the kings holds good,  
but when they are no longer paid discord and wars  
at once arise, and this obviously happens when old  
age with its pains arrives. For then, while none of the  
passions is weaker, and perhaps is even stronger than  
of old, yet the eyes are dim and the ears dull of

## PHILO

- καὶ ὧτα δυσήκοα καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἀμβλυτέρα, μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ἕκαστα ἀκριβοῦν καὶ δικάζειν δυναμένη μηδ' ἴσα τῷ πλήθει<sup>1</sup> ὑποτελεῖν· εἰκότως οὖν ἐξασθενήσασαι πάντα τρόπον καὶ κλιθεῖσαι δι' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παθῶν ραδίως
- 241 ἀνατρέπονται. φυσικώτατα δὲ ἐκείνο εἶρηται, ὅτι τῶν πέντε βασιλέων δύο μὲν εἰς φρέατα ἐμπίπτουσι, τρεῖς δὲ πρὸς φυγὴν ὤρμησαν· ἀφή μὲν γὰρ καὶ γεῦσις ἄχρι τῶν τοῦ σώματος βαθυτάτων ἀφικνοῦνται σπλάγχχοις παραπέμπουσαι τὰ οἰκεία πρὸς διοίκησιν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὧτα καὶ ὄσφρησις ἔξω τὰ πολλὰ βαίνουσαι ἀποδιδράσκουσι τὴν δου-
- 242 λείαν τοῦ σώματος. οἷς ἅπασιν ἐφ-εδρεύων ὁ ἀστείος, ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδε τὰ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα πρὸ μικροῦ νοσοῦντα καὶ πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ταῖς ἐννέα βασιλείαις γεγόμενον, πρὸς τὰς πέντε τῶν τεττάρων περι κράτους ἀρχῆς ἀμιλλωμένων, ἐξαπιναίως καιροφυλακήσας ἐπιτίθεται, φιλοτιμούμενος δημοκρατίαν, τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἀντὶ τυραννίδων καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἔννομον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀντὶ παρανομίας καὶ ἀδικίας, αἱ τέως ἐπεκράτουν.
- 243 ἔστι δ' οὐ πλάσμα μύθου τὸ λεχθέν, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα τῶν ἀψευδεστάτων ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς θεωρούμενον· πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὰ πάθη διατηροῦσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις χορηγοῦσαι τὰ

<sup>1</sup> I suggest πλήρει ("equal to the full quota"): Mangey πάθει or πάθεισι.

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 99 above.

<sup>b</sup> For Philo's admiration for democracy, by which he seems to mean each part of the state possessing its proper amount of power, see note on *Quod Deus* 176.

<sup>c</sup> The happy coincidence of the number of the kings with

## ON ABRAHAM, 240-243

hearing and each of the other senses blunted, so that it cannot in the same way judge each thing with accuracy or make the same contribution in amount as before. And so, weakened all round as they are and already giving way of themselves, it is natural that they should be easily routed by the opposing passions.

There is much philosophical truth<sup>a</sup> in the saying that of the five kings two fell into the wells and three took to flight. For touch and taste descend to the lowest recesses of the body and transmit to its inward parts what may properly be dealt with by them ; but eyes and ears and smell for the most part pass outside and escape enslavement by the body.

All this the man of worth was watching from his lair, and when he saw trouble festering, where but now was alliance and friendship, and war instead of peace arising between the nine kingdoms, with the four competing against the five for the sovereign power, he seized his opportunity and suddenly made the attack, ambitious to establish in the soul democracy,<sup>b</sup> the best of constitutions, instead of the rule of tyrants and overlords, and legality and justice instead of lawlessness and injustice which hitherto prevailed.

All this is no fable of my invention, but a fact, and that one of the surest which we may observe in ourselves.<sup>c</sup> For the senses, though often they may maintain concord with the passions and provide them with the objects which they per-

the accepted four passions and five senses naturally attracts Philo to this ingenious allegory. The weak point seems to be that in the story the rebellion of the five against the four is not due to the influence of Abraham, as in the allegory the refusal of the senses to minister to the passions is due to reason.

## PHILO

- αἰσθητὰ αὐτοῖς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι μηκέτ' ἀξιούσαι τὰ ἴσα τελεῖν ἢ μὴ δυνάμεναι διὰ τὸ παρ- εῖναι τὸν σωφρονιστὴν λόγον· ὃς ἐπειδὴν ἀναλάβῃ τὴν αὐτοῦ παντευχίαν, τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ τούτων δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, δύναμιν ἀνανταγώνιστον, ἐρρωμενέστατα κρατεῖ· φθαρτὰ γὰρ ἀφθάρτῳ συν-  
 244 οικεῖν οὐ θέμις. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐννέα δυναστεῖαι τεττάρων παθῶν καὶ πέντε αἰσθήσεων φθαρταὶ τε καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτιαι, ὁ δ' ὀρμητηρίῳ χρώμενος ταῖς ἀρεταῖς λόγος ἱερός καὶ θεῖος ὄντως, ἐν ἀριθμῶ ταπτόμενος δεκάδι τῇ παντελείᾳ, πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ἔλθῶν, ἐρρωμενεστέρα δυνάμει τῇ κατὰ θεὸν χρώ- μενος ἀνὰ κράτος νικᾷ τὰς εἰρημένας δυναστείας.
- [36] XLII. | Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον αὐτῷ τελευτᾷ ἢ γυνῇ  
 245 θυμηρεστάτῃ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστη, μυρία δείγματα τῆς φιλανδρίας ἐνεγκαμένη, τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπόλειψιν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἀνευδοία- στον μετάστασιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους πλάνας, τὰς κατὰ λιμὸν ἐνδείας,  
 246 τὰς ἐν πολέμοις συστρατείας. αἰεὶ γὰρ καὶ παν- ταχοῦ παρῆν οὐδένα τόπον ἢ καιρὸν ἀπολείπουσα, κοινωνὸς ὄντως βίου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγ- μάτων, ἐξ ἴσου δικαιούσα μετέχειν ἀγαθῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ κακῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔναι τὰς μὲν κακο- πραγίας ἀπεδίδρασκε, ταῖς δ' εὐτυχίαις ἐφήδρευεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις κληῖρον ὡς ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἀρμόττοντα γαμετῇ μετὰ προθυμίας πάσης ἀν-  
 247 ἐδέχετο. XLIII. πολλὰ δὲ ἔχων ἐγκώ-

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<sup>a</sup> For the perfection of ten as used in Scripture, cf. *De Cong.* 89 ff. (where Gen. xiv. is quoted among other ex- 120

## ON ABRAHAM, 243-247

ceive, often too revolt and are unwilling any longer to pay the same dues or unable to do so because of the presence of reason, the chastener. For when reason puts on its panoply of the virtues and the doctrines and the lore which embody them, armed with this irresistible power it mightily overcomes. For corruptible and incorruptible may not live together. Now the nine overlords, the four passions <sup>244</sup> and the five senses, are corruptible and the sources of corruption, but the truly divine and holy Word, whose stronghold is in the virtues, whose place in the order of number is tenth, the supremely perfect number,<sup>a</sup> comes to the contest and with the help of the mightier power of God wins an easy victory over the said overlords.

XLII. After this in the course of time he lost the <sup>245</sup> wife who was the darling of his heart and gifted with every excellence. She showed her wifely love by numberless proofs, by sharing with him the severance from his kinsfolk, by bearing without hesitation the departure from her homeland, the continual and unceasing wanderings on a foreign soil and privation in famine, and by the campaigns in which she accompanied him. Everywhere and always she was at his <sup>246</sup> side, no place or occasion omitted, his true partner in life and life's events, resolved to share alike the good and ill. She did not, like some other women, run away from mishaps and lie ready to pounce on pieces of good luck, but accepted her portion of both with all alacrity as the fit and proper test of a wedded wife.

XLIII. <sup>b</sup> Many a story I could relate in <sup>247</sup>

amples). For its arithmetical virtues *cf. De Dec.* 20 ff. See App. p. 598.

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 247-254 see Gen. xvi. 1-6.

## PHILO

- μια τῆς ἀνθρώπου διεξιέναι, ἐνὸς ὑπομνησθήσομαι,  
 ὃ γενήσεται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σαφεστάτη πίστις.  
 ἄγονος γὰρ οὐσα καὶ στείρα, δείσασα μὴ κατὰ τὸ  
 παντελὲς ἔρημος γενεᾶς ὁ θεοφιλῆς οἶκος ἀπο-  
 248 λειφθῆ, προσελθοῦσα τῷ ἀνδρὶ φησι τάδε· “πολὺν  
 μὲν ἤδη χρόνον συμβιοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις εὐαρεστοῦντες,  
 οὐδὲ χάριν καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεληλύθαμεν καὶ ἡ φύσις  
 τὴν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡρμόσατο κοινωνίαν,  
 τέκνων γενέσεις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ εἰσαυθις ἐξ  
 249 ἐμοῦ γε ὑπερήλικος ἤδη γεγонуίας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ  
 δὴ παραπόλαυε τῆς ἐμῆς ἀγονίας μηδ’ ἔνεκα τῆς  
 πρὸς ἐμὲ εὐνοίας αὐτὸς δυνάμενος εἶναι πατὴρ  
 κεκώλυσο· ζηλοτυπία γὰρ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό μοι πρὸς  
 ἐτέραν, ἣν οὐ δι’ ἐπιθυμίαν ἄλογον ἄξῃ, νόμον δὲ  
 250 φύσεως ἐκπιμπλὰς ἀναγκαῖον. οὐ χάριν οὐχ ὑπερ-  
 θήσομαι νυμφοστολεῖν ὡς τὸ ἐνδέον ἐμοὶ μέλλουσιν  
 ἐκπληροῦν· καὶ εἴ γε ἀπαντήσῃαι αἱ περὶ σπορᾶς  
 τέκνων εὐχαί, σὰ μὲν ἔσται τὰ γεννώμενα γνήσια,  
 251 θέσει δὲ πάντως ἐμά. πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς  
 ζηλοτυπίας ἐμῆν, εἰ βούλει, θεράπαιναν ἀγαθοῦ, τὸ  
 μὲν σῶμα δούλην, ἐλευθέραν δὲ καὶ εὐγενῆ τὴν  
 διάνοιαν, ἧς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων πείραν ἔλαβον καὶ  
 βάσανον, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν ἐμῆν  
 οἰκίαν ἤχθη, γένος μὲν Αἰγυπτίαν, τὴν δὲ προ-  
 252 αἶρεσιν Ἑβραίαν. ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν οὐσία πολλή καὶ  
 ἄφθονος πλοῦτος, οὐχ ὡς μετοίκους—ἤδη γὰρ τῶν  
 αὐτοχθόνων τοὺς ἐν εὐτυχίαις λαμπραῖς ὑπερβάλ-  
 λομεν—, κληρονόμος δ’ οὐδεὶς ἀποδέδεικται καὶ  
 διάδοχος, καίτοι γε εἶναι δυνάμενος, ἂν ταῖς ἐμαῖς  
 253 παραινέσεσι πεισθῆς.” ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τῆς γυναι-  
 κὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν αἰεὶ καινουμένην φιλανδρίαν καὶ  
 νεάζουσαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐξεταστικὸν



## ON ABRAHAM, 247-253

praise of this woman, but one I will mention which will be the clearest proof that the others are true. Being childless and barren and fearing lest the house beloved of God should be left entirely desolate, she 248 came to her husband and said: "Long have we lived together in mutual goodwill. But the purpose for which we ourselves came together and for which nature formed the union of man and wife, the birth of children, has not been fulfilled, nor is there any future hope of it, through me at least who am now past the age. But do not let the trouble of my 249 barrenness extend to you, or kind feeling to me keep you from becoming what you can become, a father, for I shall have no jealousy of another woman, whom you will take not for unreasoning lust but in fulfillment of nature's inevitable law. And therefore I 250 shall not be backward to lead to you a bride who will supply what is lacking in myself. And if our prayers for the birth of children are answered the offspring will be yours in full parenthood, but surely mine also by adoption. But to avoid any suspicion of 251 jealousy on my part take if you will my handmaiden, outwardly a slave, inwardly of free and noble race, proved and tested by me for many years from the day when she was first brought to my house, an Egyptian by birth, but a Hebrew by her rule of life. We have 252 much substance and abundance of wealth, not on the usual scale of immigrants, for in this we now outshine those of the native inhabitants who are noted for their prosperity, but no heir or successor has appeared, though there may be if you follow my advice." Abraham with increased admiration 253 for the wifely love, which never grew old and was ever showing itself anew, and her careful forethought

## PHILO

- καὶ προμηθὲς ἄγεται τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς δοκιμασθεῖσαν  
 [37] ἄχρι τοῦ παιδοποιήσασθαι, | ὡς δ' οἱ σαφέστατα  
 διηγούμενοί φασιν, ἄχρι τοῦ μόνον ἐγκύμονα γενέ-  
 σθαι· γενομένης δ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀποσχέσθαι διὰ  
 τε φυσικὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν, ἣν ἀπένεμε  
 254 τῇ γαμετῇ. γίνεται μὲν οὖν υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς θεραπει-  
 νίδος εὐθύς τότε, γίνεται δὲ καὶ μακροῖς χρόνοις  
 ὕστερον γνήσιος ἀπεγνωκόσι τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένε-  
 σιν, ἄθλον καλοκάγαθίας ἐλπίδος πάσης τελειότερον  
 τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ παρασχόντος.
- 255 XLIV. Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀπόχρη δείγματα περὶ τῆς  
 γυναικὸς εἰρησθαι, πλείω δ' ἐστὶν ἐγκώμια τοῦ  
 σοφοῦ, ὧν ὀλίγω πρότερον ἔνια διεξῆλθον. λέξω δὲ  
 καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν τελευταίην τῆς γυναικὸς οὐκ ἄξιον  
 256 ἔργον ἡσυχασθῆναι. τοιαύτην γὰρ ἀποβαλὼν κοι-  
 νωνὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος βίου, οἷαν ἔδειξεν ὁ λόγος καὶ  
 μηνύουσιν οἱ χρησμοί, τῆς λύπης ἐπαποδουμένης  
 ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κονιομένης ὡσπερ ἀθλητῆς  
 ἐπεκράτησε ῥώσας καὶ θαρσύνας εὖ μάλα τὸν  
 ἀντίπαλον φύσει τῶν παθῶν λογισμὸν, ᾧ συμβούλω  
 παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρώμενος τότε διαφερόντως  
 ἠξίωσε πείθεσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα παραινοῦντι καὶ  
 257 συμφέροντα. ἦν δὲ ταυτί· μήτε πλέον τοῦ μετρίου  
 σφαδάζειν ὡς ἐπὶ καινοτάτῃ καὶ ἀγενήτῃ συμφορᾷ  
 μήτε ἀπαθείᾳ καθάπερ μηδενὸς ὀδυνηροῦ συμβεβη-  
 κότες χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ μέσον πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐλό-  
 μενον μετριοπαθεῖν πειρᾶσθαι, τῇ μὲν φύσει τὸ  
 οἰκεῖον χρέος ἀπολαβούσῃ μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα, τὸ

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<sup>a</sup> Presumably as related in the traditions of which Philo speaks in *Mos.* i. 4. Naturally they credited Abraham with all the continence possible, and, indeed, it might fairly be inferred from *Gen.* xvi. 6.

## ON ABRAHAM, 253-257

for the future, took the mate whom she had approved and kept her till she had borne a child, or, as the surest version of the story runs,<sup>a</sup> only till she became pregnant, and when this occurred not long after he abstained from her through his natural continence and the honour which he paid to his lawful spouse. So a son was born just at that time to the hand- 254 maiden, but long afterwards the wedded pair, who had despaired of the procreation of children, had a son of their own, a reward for their high excellence, a gift from God the bountiful, surpassing all their hopes.

XLIV. <sup>b</sup>We need give no further proofs of the 255 merits of this wife. More numerous are those of the Sage, some of which I have praised in detail a little earlier. But I will speak of one which concerns the death of his wife, in which his conduct should not be passed over in silence. When he had lost 256 his life-long partner, whose qualities have been described in our discourse and are related in the oracles, when sorrow was making itself ready to wrestle with his soul, he grappled with it, as in the arena, and prevailed. He gave strength and high courage to the natural antagonist of passion, reason, which he had taken as his counsellor throughout his life and now particularly was determined to obey, so excellent and profitable were its exhortations. The 257 advice was that he should not grieve over-bitterly as at an utterly new and unheard-of misfortune, nor yet assume an indifference as though nothing painful had occurred, but choose the mean rather than the extremes and aim at moderation of feeling, not resent that nature should be paid the debt which is its due,

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 255-261 see Gen. xxiii.

## PHILO

δὲ συμβεβηκὸς ἡσυχῇ καὶ πρῶως ἐπελαφρίζοντα.  
 258 μαρτυρίαι δὲ τούτων ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 βίβλοις κατάκεινται, ἃς οὐ θέμις ψευδομαρτυριῶν  
 ἀλῶναι, μηνύουσαι ὅτι βραχέα τῷ σώματι ἐπι-  
 δακρύσας θάπτον ἀπανεστή τοῦ νεκροῦ, τὸ πενθεῖν  
 ἐπὶ πλεόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλότριον ἡγησάμενος σοφίας,  
 ὑφ' ἧς ἀνεδιδάχθη τὸν θάνατον νομίζειν μὴ σβέσειν  
 ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ χωρισμὸν καὶ διάζευξιν ἀπὸ σώματος,  
 ὅθεν ἦλθεν ἀπιούσης· ἦλθε δέ, ὡς ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ  
 259 δεδηλωται, παρὰ θεοῦ. καθάπερ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν  
 ἄχθοιτο τῶν μετρίων χρέος ἢ παρακαταθήκην  
 ἀποτίνων τῷ προεμένῳ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ τῆς  
 φύσεως ἀπολαμβανούσης τὰ οἰκεία χαλεπαίνειν  
 260 ᾧετο δεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀσμενίζειν. ὡς δ'  
 ἦκον οἱ ἐν τέλει τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν συναλγή-  
 σοντες, ἰδόντες οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἔθει παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 γινομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πενθοῦσιν,<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ὀλόφυρσιν, οὐ  
 θρῆνον, οὐ κοπετόν, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ  
 τῆς συμπάσης οἰκίας εὐσταθῆ καὶ νηφάλιον κατ-  
 ἠφειαν, ἐθαύμαζον οὐ μετρίως καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον  
 261 προκαταπεπληγμένοι τοῦ ἀνδρός. εἶτ' οὐ στέγοντες  
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη—  
 πάντα γὰρ ἦν ἐξαιρέτα—προσελθόντες ἐξεφώνησαν  
 [38] | “ βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ εἶ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν,” ἀληθέστατα  
 λέγοντες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι βασιλεῖαι πρὸς ἀν-  
 θρώπων καθίστανται, πολέμοις καὶ στρατείαις καὶ  
 κακοῖς ἀμυθήτοις, ἅπερ ἀντεπιφέρουσιν ἀλληλο-  
 κτονοῦντες οἱ δυνασκειῶν ἐφιέμενοι, πεζὰς καὶ  
 ἵππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιτειχίζοντες· τὴν  
 δὲ τοῦ σοφοῦ βασιλείαν ὀρέγει θεός, ἣν παραλαβὼν  
 ὁ σπουδαῖος οὐδενὶ μὲν αἴτιος γίνεται κακοῦ, πᾶσι

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read *πένθεσιν* as Cohn suggests.

## ON ABRAHAM, 257-261

but quietly and gently lighten the blow.<sup>a</sup>  
The testimonies for this are to be found in the holy 258  
books which may never be convicted of false witness.  
They show that after weeping for a little over the  
corpse he quickly rose up from it, holding further  
mourning, it appears, to be out of keeping with  
wisdom, which taught him that death is not the  
extinction of the soul but its separation and detach-  
ment from the body and its return to the place  
whence it came ; and it came, as was shown in the  
story of creation, from God.<sup>b</sup> And, as no reasonable 259  
person would chafe at repaying a debt or deposit  
to him who had proffered it, so too he must not fret  
when nature took back her own, but accept the in-  
evitable with equanimity. Now, when the chief 260  
men of the country came to sympathize and saw  
nothing of the sort of mourning which was customary  
with themselves, no wailing, no chanting of dirges,  
no beating of breasts either of men or of women, but  
a quiet sober air of sorrow pervading the whole  
house, they were profoundly amazed, though indeed  
the rest of his life had struck them with admiration.  
Then, as the greatness and glory of his virtue in all 261  
its pre-eminence were more than they could keep to  
themselves, they approached him and exclaimed :  
“Thou art a king from God among us.” The words  
were indeed true, for other kingdoms are established  
among men with wars and campaigns and numberless  
ills which the ambitious for power inflict on each  
other in mutual slaughter, with forces of foot and  
horse and ships which they raise for the strife. But  
the kingdom of the Sage comes by the gift of God,  
and the virtuous man who receives it brings no harm

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 598-599.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* in *De Op.* 135.

## PHILO

δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως ὁμοῦ καὶ χρή-  
σεως, εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν καταγγέλλων.

- 262 XLV. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνάγραφτος ἔπαινος αὐτῷ  
χρησιμοῖς μαρτυρηθεῖς, οὓς Μωυσῆς ἐθεσπίσθη,<sup>1</sup> δι'  
οὗ μηνύεται ὅτι "ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ," ὅπερ λεχ-  
θῆναι μὲν βραχύτατόν ἐστιν, ἔργω δὲ βεβαιωθῆναι  
263 μέγιστον. τίνι γὰρ ἄλλω πιστευτέον; ἀρά γε  
ἡγεμονίαις ἢ δόξαις καὶ τιμαῖς ἢ περιουσίᾳ πλούτου  
καὶ εὐγενείᾳ ἢ ὑγείᾳ καὶ εὐαισθησίᾳ ἢ ῥώμῃ καὶ  
κάλλει σώματος; ἀλλὰ ἀρχὴ μὲν πᾶσα σφαλερόν  
μυρίους ἔχουσα τοὺς λοχῶντας ἐφέδρους· εἰ δέ που  
καὶ βεβαιωθείη, μετὰ μυρίων ὄσων κακῶν, ἃ δρῶσι  
καὶ πάσχουσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις, βεβαιούται.  
264 δόξαι δὲ καὶ τιμαὶ κτῆμα σφαλερώτατον, ἐν ἀκρί-  
τοις ἡθεσι καὶ πτηνοῖς λόγοις ἀνεξετάστων ἀνθρώ-  
πων σαλευῖον· κἂν εἰ παραμένον, γνήσιον ἀγαθὸν  
265 ἔχειν οὐ πέφυκε. πλοῦτοι δὲ καὶ εὐγένειαι προσ-  
ορίζονται<sup>2</sup> μὲν καὶ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις· εἰ δὲ καὶ  
μόνοις σπουδαίοις, ἐγκώμια προγόνων καὶ τύχης  
266 ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἐχόντων εἰσίν. ἀλλ' οὐδ'  
ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγα φρονεῖν ἄξιον, ἐν οἷς  
τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα πλεονεκτεῖ· τίς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυ-  
ρότερος ἢ ῥωμαλεώτερος ταύρου μὲν ἐν ἡμέροις, ἐν  
δ' ἀγρίοις λέοντος; τίς δ' ὄξυωπέστερος ἰέρακος ἢ  
ἀετοῦ; τίς δὲ περὶ ἀκοὴν εὐτυχῆς οὕτως, ὡς τῶν  
ζῶων τὸ νωθέστατον, ὄνος; τίς δὲ περὶ τὰς ὀσφρή-  
σεις κυνὸς ἀκριβέστερος, ὃν φασι οἱ κυνηγετικοὶ

<sup>1</sup> This use of *θεσπίζω* in the passive with the person prophesying as subject is very unusual. This passage is the only example given in L. & S. revised. I should prefer to read *ἐθέσπισε*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *προσορμίζονται*.

## ON ABRAHAM, 261-266

to anyone, but the acquisition and enjoyment of good things to all his subjects, to whom he is the herald of peace and order.<sup>a</sup>

XLV. There is another record of praise attested 262 by words from Moses' prophetic lips. In these it is stated that he "trusted in God." Now that is a little thing if measured in words, but a very great thing if made good by action. For in what else should one 263 trust? In high offices or fame and honours or abundance of wealth and noble birth or health and efficacy of the senses or strength and beauty of body? But office is wholly precarious, beset by countless foes who lie in wait for it, and if by chance it is secured the security is accompanied by countless ills in which those in high positions are either the agents or the victims. Fame and honour are a most precarious 264 possession, tossed about on the reckless tempers and flighty words of careless men: and, when it abides, it cannot of its own nature contain genuine good. As for wealth and high birth, they attach themselves 265 even to the most worthless of men, and even if they were confined to the virtuous they would be a compliment not to the actual possessors but to their ancestors and to fortune. Again, neither 266 should we pride ourselves greatly on bodily endowments in which the unreasoning animals have the advantage over us; for what man is stronger or more muscular than the bull among domestic and the lion among wild beasts? Who has a keener sight than the hawk or the eagle? or who is so favoured in powers of hearing as that stupidest of animals, the ass? And as for smell, who has more accurate discernment than the hound, which, as the huntsmen

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 599.

PHILO

- ῥινηλατοῦντα τοῖς μακρὰν πτώμασιν εὐσκόπως ἐπι-  
 τρέχειν οὐ προϋδόμενον; ὅπερ γὰρ ὄψις ἐτέροις,  
 τοῦτο μυκτῆρες κυσὶ θηρευτικοῖς καὶ ἰχνευτικοῖς.  
 267 ὑγιεινότητά γε μὴν καὶ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἄνοσα  
 πλείστα τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ  
 κάλλους ἀγῶνι καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐνὶά μοι δοκεῖ νικᾶν  
 δύνασθαι τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν εὐμορφίας  
 καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν, ἀγάλματα καὶ ξόανα καὶ ζωγρα-  
 φήματα καὶ συνόλως ὅσα γραφικῆς ἔργα καὶ πλασ-  
 τικῆς ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τέχνῃ κατορθούμενα, περὶ ἃ  
 σπουδάζουσιν Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι πρὸς  
 κόσμον τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις χωρίοις  
 268 ἀνατιθέντες. XLVI. μόνον οὖν ἀψευδὲς  
 [39] | καὶ βέβαιον ἀγαθὸν ἢ πρὸς θεὸν πίστις, παρ-  
 ηγόρημα βίου, πλήρωμα χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων, ἀφορία  
 μὲν κακῶν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ φορά, κακοδαιμονίας ἀπό-  
 γνωσις, γνώσις εὐσεβείας, κλήρος εὐδαιμονίας,  
 ψυχῆς ἐν ἅπασι βελτίωσις ἐπερηρισμένης καὶ  
 ἐφίδρυμένης τῷ πάντων αἰτίῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ μὲν  
 269 πάντα, βουλομένῳ δὲ τὰ ἄριστα. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ  
 μὲν δι' ὀλισθηρᾶς ὁδοῦ βαδίζοντες ὑποσκελίζονται  
 καὶ πίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ ξηρᾶς καὶ λεωφόρου ἀ-  
 πταιίστω χρῶνται πορεία, οὕτως οἱ διὰ τῶν σω-  
 ματικῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἄγοντες  
 οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ πίπτειν αὐτὴν ἐθίζουσιν—ὀλισθηρὰ  
 γὰρ ταῦτά γε καὶ πάντων ἀβεβαιότατα,—οἱ δὲ διὰ  
 τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς θεωρημάτων ἐπὶ θεὸν σπεύ-  
 δοντες ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀκράδαντον ὁδὸν εὐθύνουσιν, ὡς  
 ἀψευδέστατα φάναι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκείνοις πεπιστευκῶς  
 ἀπιστεῖ θεῷ, ὁ δ' ἀπιστῶν ἐκείνοις πεπίστευκε θεῷ.

<sup>a</sup> Or "plenitude."

<sup>b</sup> A somewhat inadequate rendering for ἀπόγνωσις, which



## ON ABRAHAM, 266-269

tell us, led unerringly by the scent, races to the distant quarry which it has not seen ; for what sight is to other animals the nostrils are to the hounds used for hunting or tracking. Health ? Why, most of the un- 267  
reasoning animals are exceedingly healthy and as far as possible free from disease. Beauty ? In the competition for this, I should say that some lifeless objects can beat and surpass the comeliness both of men and women. Such are the images and statues and pictures and in general all the creations of the painters and the sculptors which achieve success in either art and rouse the enthusiasm of Greeks and barbarians alike, who set them up in the most conspicuous places to adorn their cities.

XLVI. Faith in God, then, is the one sure and in- 268  
fallible good, consolation of life, fulfilment <sup>a</sup> of bright hopes, dearth of ills, harvest of goods, inacquaintance <sup>b</sup> with misery, acquaintance with piety, heritage of happiness, all-round betterment of the soul which is firmly stayed on Him Who is the cause of all things and can do all things yet only wills the best. For, 269  
just as those who walk on a slippery road are tripped up and fall, while others on a dry highway tread without stumbling, so those who set the soul travelling along the path of the bodily and the external are but learning it to fall, so slippery and utterly insecure are all such things ; while those who press onward to God along the doctrines of virtue walk straight upon a path which is safe and unshaken, so that we may say with all truth that belief in the former things is disbelief in God, and disbelief in them belief in God.

generally means "despair," and, in connexion with *κακοδαιμονίας*, "confidence of the absence." Philo, however, evidently intends an antithesis of form as well as of sense.

## PHILO

- 270 ἄλλ' οὐ μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄν πίστιν αὐτῷ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀπεφήναντο "πρεσβύτερον," τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τριπλάσια καὶ πολλαπλάσια ἔτη βιωσάντων, ὧν οὐδένα παρειλήφαμεν ἀξιωθέντα ταύτης
- 271 τῆς προσρήσεως. καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείᾳ πρεσβύτερος οὐκ ἐν μήκει χρόνων ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπαινετῷ καὶ τελείῳ βίῳ θεωρεῖται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰῶνα πολὺν τρύψαντας ἐν τῇ μετὰ σώματος ζωῇ δίχα καλοκάγαθια πολυχρονίους παῖδας λεκτέον, μαθήματα πολιᾶς ἀξια μηδέποτε παιδευθέντας, τὸν δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν πίστεως ἐρασθέντα λέγοι τις ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι πρεσβύτερον,
- 272 παρωνυμουῖντα τῷ πρώτῳ. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πρῶτος ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, ὡς κυβερνήτης μὲν ἐν νηϊ, ἄρχων δ' ἐν πόλει, στρατηγὸς δ' ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ ψυχὴ μὲν ἐν σώματι, νοῦς δ' ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ πάλιν οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ, θεὸς δ' ἐν οὐρανῷ.
- 273 ὃς τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστεως ἀγάμενος τὸν ἄνδρα πίστιν ἀντιιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ, τὴν δι' ὄρκου βεβαίωσιν ὧν ὑπέσχετο δωρεῶν, οὐκέτι μόνον ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς φίλος γνωρίμῳ διαλεγόμενος· φησὶ γὰρ "κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὥμοσα," παρ' ᾧ ὁ λόγος ὄρκος ἐστίν, ἔνεκα τοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκλινῶς καὶ
- 274 παγίως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐρηρεῖσθαι. πρεσβύτερος μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶτος ἔστι τε καὶ λεγέσθω ὁ ἀστείος, νεώτερος δὲ καὶ ἔσχατος πᾶς ἀφρων, τὰ νεωτεροποιᾶ καὶ ἐν ἔσχαταῖς ταπτόμενα
- 275 μετιῶν.
- [40] Ταῦτα | μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω. τῷ δὲ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν ἐπαίνων ἐπιτιθεὶς ὥσπερ τινὰ κεφαλὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ φησιν, ὅτι τὸν θεῖον νόμον

## ON ABRAHAM, 270-275

But not only do the oracles attest his possession of 270  
the queen of virtues, faith in the existent, but he is  
also the first whom they speak of as elder,<sup>a</sup> though  
those who lived before him tripled or many times  
multiplied his years. Yet of none of them do we hear  
that he was held worthy of the title and rightly, for the  
true elder is shown as such not by his length of days  
but by a laudable and perfect life. Those who have 271  
passed a long span of years in the existence of the  
body without goodness or beauty of life must be  
called long-lived children who have never been  
schooled in the learning worthy of grey hairs; but he  
who is enamoured of sound sense and wisdom and  
faith in God may be justly called elder, a name of  
like significance to "first." For indeed the wise man 272  
is the first of the human race, as a pilot in a ship or a  
ruler in a city or a general in war, or again as a soul  
in a body and a mind in a soul, or once more heaven  
in the world or God in heaven. That God 273  
marvelling at Abraham's faith in Him repaid him with  
faithfulness by confirming with an oath the gifts which  
He had promised, and here He no longer talked with  
him as God with man but as a friend with a familiar.  
For He, with Whom a word is an oath, yet says "By  
Myself have I sworn,"<sup>b</sup> so that his mind might be  
established more securely and firmly even than it was  
before. So, then, the man of worth is elder and first, 274  
and so must he be called; but younger and last is  
every fool who pursues the ways which belong to  
rebellious youth and stand lowest in the list.

So much for all this, but to these praises of the Sage, 275  
so many and so great, Moses adds this crowning say-  
ing "that this man did the divine law and the divine

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxiv. 1; LXX. *πρεσβύτερος*, E.V. "old."    <sup>b</sup> Gen. xxii. 16.

## PHILO

καὶ τὰ θεῖα προστάγματα πάντα ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀνὴρ  
οὗτος, οὐ γράμμασιν ἀναδιδασκείας, ἀλλ' ἀγράφῳ τῇ  
φύσει σπουδάσας ὑγαινούσαις καὶ ἀνόσοις ὄρμαῖς  
ἐπακολουθήσαι· περὶ δὲ ὧν ὁ θεὸς ὁμολογεῖ, τί  
προσῆκεν ἀνθρώπου ἢ βεβαιότατα πιστεύειν;  
276 τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀρχηγέτου τοῦ  
ἔθνους ἐστίν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι φήσουσι, νόμιμος, ὡς  
δ' ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος ἔδειξε, νόμος αὐτὸς ὧν καὶ  
θεσμὸς ἄγραφος.

## ON ABRAHAM, 275-276

commands.”<sup>a</sup> He did them, not taught by written words, but unwritten nature gave him the zeal to follow where wholesome and untainted impulse led him. And when they have God’s promises before them what should men do but trust in them most firmly? Such was the life of the first, the founder 276 of the nation, one who obeyed the law, some will say, but rather, as our discourse has shown, himself a law and an unwritten statute.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxvi. 5.



ON JOSEPH  
(DE IOSEPHO)

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE IOSEPHO*

THE place of this treatise in the series, as well as the remarkable contrast between the character of Joseph as here represented and the Joseph of the allegorical commentary, have been discussed in the General Introduction to this volume. The treatise after a few words about the preparation given by the shepherd's craft for government tells the story of Joseph's dream, his brothers' jealousy, their sale of him to the merchants who in turn sold him to Potiphar and the false report which they made to Jacob (1-27). It contains the first two of the set speeches which are a distinguishing feature of the treatise, viz. Reuben's remonstrance (17-21) and Jacob's lamentation (23-27). The allegorization which follows treats a few scattered points and not the story as a whole. That politicians have to deal with institutions which are conventional rather than natural is indicated by Joseph's name of "Addition" (to Nature), that they must be resourceful by his coat of many colours, that they are often a prey to vanity by the false story that wild beasts had devoured him, that they are often bought and sold by the two sales (28-36); and it is to be noted that though the main purpose of the treatise is to show the ideal statesman, these mostly deal with the baser side of political life. When the story is resumed it relates his history in Potiphar's house till his imprisonment, in the course of which we have the eloquent but rather absurd remonstrance of Joseph to Potiphar's wife (37-53). The subjoined allegories are much more relevant than the earlier ones to the substance of the story and to the higher side of the politician. We may see the spiritual barrenness of the multitude and its tendency to



## ON JOSEPH

cater for pleasure in Potiphar, the eunuch and cook, its demands on the statesman in Potiphar's wife and the refusal of the true statesman to cringe in Joseph's rejections of her overtures (54-79). In 80-124 the story is carried on through Joseph's life in prison, his interpretation of the dreams and his release and exaltation. Then from 125-147 follows what is not so much an allegory in the proper sense as a meditation on the thought that all life is a dream and the task of a true statesman is to discover and set forth the truths which lie behind this dream. After this we have a few more definitely allegorical interpretations of some of the incidents of Joseph's exaltation as illustrating the attitude of the democracy to the politician, and an attempt to show that the different treatment by Pharaoh of the cook (Potiphar), the butler and the baker represent the different ways in which the body-loving mind regards luxuries and necessities (148-156). From this point onwards to the end the story runs on continuously through the adventures of Joseph and his brethren as it appears in Genesis with, of course, much amplification both of incidents and speeches.

## ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΥ ΟΠΕΡ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΙΩΣΗΦ

- [41] <sup>1</sup> I. Τρεῖς μὲν εἰσιν ἰδέαι, δι' ὧν τὸ ἄριστον τέλος, μάθησις, φύσις, ἄσκησις, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σοφῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἐπώνυμοι τούτων· ὧν τοὺς βίους ἀναγεγραφώς, τὸν τε ἐκ διδασκαλίας καὶ τὸν αὐτομαθῆ καὶ τὸν ἀσκητικόν, τέταρτον κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἀναγράψω τὸν πολιτικόν, οὗ πάλιν ἐπώνυμον ἓνα τῶν φυλάρχων διασυνίστησιν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας
- <sup>2</sup> συγκροτηθέντα. ἤρξατο μέντοι συγκροτεῖσθαι περὶ ἔτη γεγωνῶς ἑπτακαίδεκα τοῖς κατὰ ποιμενικὴν θεωρήμασιν, ἃ συνάδει τοῖς περὶ πόλιν· ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος “ ποιμένας λαῶν ” τοὺς βασιλεῖς εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ποιμενικὴν κατωρθωκῶς ἄριστος ἂν εἴη καὶ βασιλεύς, τῆς καλλίστης ζώων ἀγέλης, ἀνθρώπων, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
- 123 ἐν ταῖς ἐλάττωνος σπουδῆς ἀξίαις ἀναδιδαχθεῖς· καὶ καθάπερ τῷ μέλλοντι πολεμαρχεῖν καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀναγκαιότατον αἰ περὶ τὰ κνηγγέσια μελέται, τὸν |
- [42] αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἷς ἐλπίς ἐπιτροπεῦσαι πόλεως οἰκειότατον ποιμενικὴ προάγων τις οὔσα ἐπιστα-

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Il. i. 263 and often elsewhere

## ON JOSEPH

THAT IS, THE LIFE OF THE STATESMAN

I. The factors which produce consummate excellence are three in number: learning, nature, practice. And these names are represented in three of the wise men to whom Moses gives the senior place. Since I have described the lives of these three, the life which results from teaching, the life of the self-taught and the life of practice, I will carry on the series by describing a fourth life, that of the statesman. This name again has its representation in one of the patriarchs who, as Moses shews, was trained to his calling from his earliest youth. This training was first given to him at about the age 2 of seventeen by the lore of the shepherd's craft,<sup>a</sup> which corresponds closely to the lore of statesmanship. And therefore I think the order of poets often speaks of kings as shepherds of peoples,<sup>b</sup> for success in shepherding will produce the best king, since through the charge of flocks which deserve less thought and care he has been taught the charge of the noblest flock of living creatures—mankind. And, just as to the future leaders in wars, or in com- 3 manding armies, practice in the hunting-field is most necessary, so to those who hope to superintend a state nothing is so suitable as shepherding, which gives practice in the exercise of authority and

## PHILO

4 σίας καὶ στρατηγίας. ἐνορῶν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ  
 φρόνημα εὐγενές καὶ μείζον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἐθαύ-  
 μαζε καὶ περιεΐπε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων υἱῶν μᾶλλον  
 ἔστεργεν, ἐπειδὴ ὀψίγονος ἦν, ὅπερ οὐδενὸς ἦττον  
 ἀγωγόν ἐστὶν εἰς εὖνοιαν· καὶ ἄτε φιλόκαλος ὢν  
 ἐζωπύρει τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς φύσιν ἐξαιρέτοις καὶ  
 περιτταῖς ἐπιμελείαις, ἵνα μὴ ἐντύφηται μόνον,  
 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ θάττον ἐκλάμψη. II. φθόνος  
 δὲ ὁ αἰεὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐπραγίαις ἀντίπαλος καὶ  
 τότε πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν οἰκίαν κατορθοῦσαν ἐπι-  
 θέμενος διέστησε καθ' ἑνὸς πολλοὺς ἀδελφοὺς  
 ἀλείψας, οἳ τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἰσόρροπον δύσνοιαν ἐπεδείκνυντο μισοῦντες ὅσον  
 ἐστέργετο· τὸ δὲ μῖσος οὐκ ἐξελάουν, ἀλλ' ἐν  
 ἑαυτοῖς ἐταμίευον, ὅθεν εἰκότως ἀργαλεώτερον  
 ἐφύετο· τὰ γὰρ στεγόμενα πάθη μὴ διαπνέοντα τοῖς  
 6 ἐπισχοῦσι λόγοις βαρύτερα. χρώμενος οὖν ἀκάκοις  
 τοῖς ἦθεσι καὶ τὴν ὑποικουροῦσαν ἔχθραν ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν οὐ συνιείς, ὄναρ ἰδὼν αἰσιον, ὡς δὴ εὖνοις  
 διηγεῖται· “ἔδοξα” γάρ φησιν “ἀμήτου καιρὸν  
 ἐφεστάναι καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ  
 πεδίον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ συλλογὴν δρέπανα  
 λαβόντας θερίζειν, αἰφνίδιον δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν δράγμα  
 ὑπανίστασθαι καὶ μετεωρισθὲν ὀρθοῦσθαι, τὰ δὲ  
 ὑμέτερα ὡσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐπιδραμόντα τε-  
 θηπέναι καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς τῆς πάσης προσκυνεῖν.”

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<sup>a</sup> This can hardly be right: though *στρατηγία* is sometimes used in the civic sense of the praetorship, Philo is not likely to have used so predominantly military a word where the civic is in antithesis to the military. Two mss. have *δημαγωγίας*, but neither is this a very suitable word. What is wanted is *ἡγεμονίας*, or its equivalent. See also App. p. 600.

## ON JOSEPH, 4-6

generalship.<sup>a</sup> So his father, observing in him a noble 4 spirit which rose above ordinary conditions, rendered to him high admiration and respect, while his love for this child of his later years—and nothing conduces to affection more than this—exceeded his love for his other sons. And being himself a lover of excellence, by special and exceptional attentions he fostered the fire of the boy's nature, in the hope that it would not merely smoulder but burst rapidly 5 into flame.

II. <sup>b</sup>But envy, which is ever 5 the enemy of high success, in this case too set to work and created division in a household where every part had been happily flourishing, and stirred up the many brethren against the one. They displayed ill-will to Joseph as a counterpoise to his father's goodwill, and equalled his love with their hatred.<sup>c</sup> They did not, however, proclaim that hatred aloud, but kept it a secret among themselves, and thus it naturally grew to greater bitterness. For emotions which are cooped up and find no vent become more violent because expression is stifled. Joseph in the 6 simple innocence of his nature had no notion of the enmity which was lurking in his brothers' hearts, and, believing them to be friendly, told them a significant dream which he had seen. "I thought," he said, "that harvest-time was with us, and that we had all come to the plain to gather in the crops. We had taken our sickles and were reaping, when suddenly my sheaf rose and stood bolt upright, while yours, as though at a signal, rushed up in astonishment and did homage to mine with every mark of honour."

<sup>b</sup> §§ 5-27 follow fairly closely the narrative of Gen. xxxvii.

<sup>c</sup> Literally "hating him as much as he was loved" (by his father).

## PHILO

7 οἱ δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἀκριβεῖς καὶ δεινοὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἰχνηλατῆσαι πρᾶγμα<sup>1</sup> ἀδηλούμενον<sup>1</sup> εἰκόσι στοχασμοῖς “ μὴ νομίζεις ” ἔφασαν “ ἔσεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος; ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ τῆς κατεψευσμένης φαντασίας ὑπαινίττη.” τὸ δὲ μῖσος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἕζωπυρεῖτο προσλαμβάνον ἀεὶ τινα καινὴν πρόφασιν

8 εἰς συναύξησιν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπιδόμενος ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὄναρ ἰδὼν ἕτερον καταπληκτικώτερον τοῦ προτέρου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀνέφερον· ὦτο γὰρ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἔνδεκα ἀστέρας ἤκοντας προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς τὸν πατέρα θαυμάσαντα τὸ γεγονός ἐναποθέσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ ταμιεύοντα καὶ

9 σκοπούμενον τὸ ἐσόμενον. ἐμβριθῶς δ’ ἐνουθέτει τὸν παῖδα κατὰ δέος τοῦ μή τι διαμαρτεῖν καὶ φησιν· “ ἄρα δυνησόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ προσκυνῆσαί σε;—διὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡλίου τὸν πατέρα, διὰ δὲ σελήνης τὴν μητέρα, διὰ δὲ

[43] τῶν ἔνδεκα ἀστέρων τοὺς | ἔνδεκα ἀδελφούς ὑποσημαίνειν ἕοικας—ὁ μὴδὲ εἰς νοῦν ποτε ἔλθοι τὸν σόν, ὦ παῖ, λαθοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἡ μνήμη τῶν φανέντων ὑπεξέλθοι· τὸ γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκειοῖς ἐλπίζειν καὶ παραδοκεῖν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπευκτὸν ἄγαν παρ’ ἐμοὶ κριτῆ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ὅσοις ἰσότητος

10 μέλει καὶ συγγενικῶν δικαίων.” εὐλαβηθεῖς δ’ ὁ πατήρ, μή τις ἐκ τῆς συνδιαιτήσεως ἐπιγένηται ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μνησικακοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄνειράτων τῷ θεασαμένῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκπέμπει ποιμανοῦντας, τὸν δὲ οἴκοι παρεφύλαττεν ἄχρι καιροῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Most mss. πρᾶγμα δηλούμενον which Cohn in his translation adopted (taking it with διὰ συμβόλων). The order of words seems to me to favour his earlier view.

## ON JOSEPH, 7-10

His brothers, being men of keen intelligence, skillful at interpreting symbols and thus by probable conjectures discovering the obscure, replied: "Do you think that you will be our lord and king? For that is what you hint at in this lying vision." And their hatred, ever finding some new ground to augment it, was still more kindled against him. He, suspecting nothing, a few days after saw and told his brothers another dream even more astounding than the former. In this he dreamt that the sun and moon and eleven stars came and did him homage. This caused surprise to his father, who laid up the matter in his mind and carefully watched to see what the outcome would be. But, fearing that the boy had made a serious mistake,<sup>a</sup> he chid him severely, saying, "You seem to mean by the sun your father and by the moon your mother and by the eleven stars your eleven brothers. Can it be that I and your mother and your brothers shall do you homage? Let no such thought ever enter your mind, my son, and let the memory of what you saw insensibly fade away. For the idea of hoping and eagerly expecting to gain dominion over your family is very odious in my judgement, and I think that all who care for equality and justice between kinsfolk must agree."

Then, dreading lest continued association should breed disturbance and broils among the brothers through the grudge which they bore against the dreamer for his visions, Jacob sent them away to tend the sheep, but kept him at home for such season as should prove needed. He knew that time

<sup>a</sup> Or "fearing that he himself had made a mistake" (in setting store upon the dream).

## PHILO

- ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων λέγεται εἶναι χρόνος ἱατρός, ἱκανὸς καὶ πένθος ἀνελεῖν καὶ θυμὸν σβέσαι καὶ φόβον θεραπεῦσαι· πάντα γὰρ ἐξευμαρίζει καὶ
- 11 ὅσα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν δυσίατα. ὡς δ' ἐτόπασε μηδὲν ἔτι ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν ἔχθος ὑποικουροῦν, ἐκπέμπει τὸν υἱὸν ἅμα μὲν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀσπασόμενον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δηλώσοντα, πῶς ἔχουσιν αὐτοί τε καὶ αὐτῶν θρεμμάτων ἀγέλαι.
- 12 III. Ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἀρχὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι μεγάλων κακῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν παρ' ἐλπίδας ἑκατέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἐπισκῆψεσι πειθαρχῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἦει πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, οἱ δὲ μακρόθεν ἀφικνούμενον ἰδόντες ἄλλος ἄλλω διελάουον οὐδὲν εὐφημον, ὁπότε οὐδ' ὄνομαστί προσαγορεύειν ἠξίουον αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὄνειροπλήγα καὶ “ ἐνυπνιαστὴν ” καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπεφήμιζον καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προῆγον ὀργῆς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ φόνον οὐ πάντες ἀλλ' οἱ πλείους ἐβούλευον καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταφωραθῆναι ρίπτειν ἀνελόντες ἐγνώκεσαν εἰς ὄρυγμα γῆς βαθύτατον· πολλαὶ δὲ εἰσι περὶ τὸν τόπον ὕδατος
- 13 ὀμβρίου δεξαμεναί. καὶ μικροῦ τὸ μέγιστον ἄγος, ἀδελφοκτονίαν, εἰργάσαντο, εἰ μὴ παρηγορίαις τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου μόλις ἐπέισθησαν, ὃς παρῆνει μὴ ἐφάψασθαι τοῦ μιάσματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον εἰς ἐν τῶν ὀρυγμάτων ρῖψαι, διανοούμενός τι σωτήριον, ἵνα λαβὼν μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀπαθῆ παντὸς
- 14 κακοῦ παραπέμψῃ τῷ πατρί. συναινεσάντων δέ, ὁ μὲν προσιῶν ἠσπάζετο, οἱ δὲ ὡς πολέμιον συλ-



## ON JOSEPH, 10-14

is said to be the physician of the distempers and ailments of the soul and is able to remove grief, to quench anger and to heal fear, for time relieves everything, even what is naturally hard to cure. But when he guessed that they would have ceased 11 to harbour enmity in their hearts, he sent him partly to salute his brothers and partly to bring him word how it fared with themselves and the flocks under their charge.

III. This journey proved to be the source of great 12 evil and great good, both exceeding anything that could have been expected. For Joseph, in obedience to his father's commands, went to his brethren, but they, when they saw him coming afar off, talked to each other, and their language was very sinister. They did not even deign to speak of him by his name, but called him the dream-driveller and the vision-monger and similar terms. Their anger reached such a pitch that they plotted by a majority, though not unanimously, to murder him, and in order to avoid detection they determined to throw his dead body into a very deep pit in the ground. In that region there are many such, made to hold the rain-water. And they were only deterred from 13 committing that most accursed of deeds, fratricide, by the exhortation of the eldest among them, to which they reluctantly yielded. He urged them to keep their souls clear from the abominable act, and merely to throw him into one of the deep pits, thinking to contrive some means for saving him and hoping when they had gone away to take him up and send him to their father quite unharmed. When 14 they had agreed to this, Joseph approached and saluted them, but they caught hold of him as though

## PHILO

λαβόντες ἀπαμπίσχουσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν μὲν καθιμῶσι εἰς βαθεῖς βόθρους, τὴν δ' ἐρίφου αἵματι φοινίζαντες διαπέμπονται τῷ πατρὶ πρόφασιν ὡς ὑπὸ θηρίων δαπανηθέντος.

- 15 IV. Ἐκεῖνη δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τινα συντυχίαν ἔμποροὶ τινες ὠδοιπόρουσιν τῶν ἔθους ἐχόντων ἀπ' Ἀραβίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον κομίζουσιν φόρτον· οἷς ἀνελεύσαντες τὸν ἀδελφὸν πιπράσκουσιν, ἡγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην τοῦ καθ' ἡλικίαν τετάρτου· καὶ γὰρ οὗτός μοι δοκῶ δεῖσας, μὴ ποθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὀργῆν ἀμείλικτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ζωπυρούντων δολοφονηθῆ, συνεβούλευ-
- [44] σεν ἀποδόσθαι δουλείαν ὑπαλλαττόμενος | θανάτου,
- 16 κούφωτερον κακὸν μείζονος. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτατος— οὐ γὰρ παρῆν πιπρασκομένου—διακύψας καὶ μὴ κατιδὼν, ὃν ἀπολελοίπει πρὸ μικροῦ, ἐβόα καὶ ἐκεκράγει καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιρρηξάμενος ἄνω καὶ κάτω καθάπερ ἐμμανῆς ἐφέρετο τὰς χεῖρας κροτῶν καὶ τὰς τρίχας τίλλων, “ τί πέπονθε; ” λέγων·
- 17 “ εἶπατε, ζῆ ἢ τέθνηκεν; εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, δεῖξατέ μοι τὸν νεκρὸν, ἵν' ἐπιδακρύσας τῷ πτώματι λωφήσω τῆς συμφορᾶς· ἰδὼν κείμενον παρηγορηθήσομαι. τί καὶ νεκρῷ μνησικακοῦμεν; πρὸς τοὺς ἐκποδῶν φθόνος οὐδεὶς φύεται. εἰ δὲ ζῆ, ποῖ γῆς ἀπελήλυθε; φυλάττεται παρὰ τίσιν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κἀγὼ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐν ὑποψίαις εἰμί, ὡς ἀπι-
- 18 στείσθαι.” εἰπόντων δ' ὅτι πέπραται καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένων, “ καλὴν ἔμπορίαν ” εἶπεν “ ἐστείλασθε· τὰ κέρδη διανεμώμεθα· τοῖς ἀνδραποδισταῖς περὶ κακίας ἄθλων ἀμιλλησάμενοι στεφανηφορῶμεν,

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\* Or “ a fine business you have embarked on.”

## ON JOSEPH, 14-18

he were an enemy in battle and stripped him of his coat. They then let him down by ropes into the open depths. His coat they dyed red in the blood of a kid, and sent it to his father with the story that wild beasts had made away with him.

IV. Now it chanced that day that some merchants 15 belonging to a caravan which was wont to carry wares from Arabia to Egypt were travelling that way. To these they sold their brother, after hauling him up, the leader in this plan being the fourth eldest brother. He, I imagine, feared that Joseph might be treacherously murdered by the others who were inflamed with such merciless wrath against him, and therefore advised them to sell him and thus substitute the 16 lesser evil of slavery for the greater evil of death. The eldest brother had not been present at the sale. When he looked down into the pit and did not see the boy whom he had left there a short time before, he cried aloud and shouted, rent his garments and rushed up and down like a madman, beating his hands together and tearing his hair. "Tell me," he cried, "what 17 has become of him. Is he alive or dead? If he is no more, shew me his dead body, that I may weep over the corpse and thus make the calamity seem lighter. If I see him lying here I shall be comforted. Why do we still bear a grudge to the dead? Envy cannot fasten on the departed. But if he is alive where on earth has he gone? In whose charge is he kept? Tell me, for you cannot suspect me as well as him that 18 you should refuse me your confidence." When they said that he had been sold, and shewed the price that had been paid, "A fine bargain you have made,"<sup>a</sup> he said. "Let us divide the profits. We have competed with slave-dealers for the prize of wickedness ;

## PHILO

- προσυπερβάλλοντες αὐτοὺς ὡμότητι σεμνυνόμεθα·  
κατὰ ἄλλοτρίων ἐκεῖνοι συντίθενται, κατὰ δ' οἰκειο-
- 19 *τάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ἡμεῖς. κεκαινούργηται μέγα ὄνειδος, περιβόητος αἰσχύνη. μνημεῖα καλοκάγαθίας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέλιπον, ἀπολείψομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπιστίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἀθεραπεύτους διαβολάς· φθάνουσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν μεγαλουργηθέντων φῆμαι πανταχόσε, τῶν μὲν ἐπαινετῶν θαυμαζόμεναι, τῶν δ' ὑπαιτίων*
- 20 *ψόγου καὶ κατηγορίας τυγχάνουσαι. τίνα ἄρα τρόπον ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν τὴν περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀκοὴν δέξεται; τρισμακαρίῳ καὶ τρισευδαίμονι τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς βίον ἀβίωτον παρέσχησθε. τὸν πραθέντα τῆς δουλείας ἢ τοὺς πεπρακότας τῆς ὡμότητος οἰκτιεῖται; πολὺ μᾶλλον εὖ οἶδα ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸ ἀδικεῖν χαλεπώτερον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυσὶ βοηθεῖται τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἐλέω καὶ ἐλπίδι, τὸ δ' οὐδετέρου μετέχον ἅπασιν ἠτᾶται*
- 21 *τοῖς κριταῖς. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα θρηνῶν ἀπηχῶ; βέλτιον ἡσυχάζειν, μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παραπολαύσω τινὸς ἀπευκτοῦ· τραχύτατοι γὰρ <ἐστε> εἰς ὄργην καὶ ἀπαραίτητοι καὶ πνεῖ λαμπρὸς ἔτι ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ θυμός."*
- 22 *V. Ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ οὐ τάληθές, ὅτι πέπραται ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος, ὅτι τέθηκε καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐξανάλωται, πληχθεὶς τὰ μὲν ὦτα διὰ τῶν λεγομένων, τοὺς δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τοῦ φανέντος—ὁ γὰρ χιτῶν αὐτοῦ κατεσχισμένος |*  
[45] *καὶ κατηκισμένος καὶ πολλῶ αἵματι πεφοινιγμένος ἐκεκόμιστο—, συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς περιπαθήσεως*

<sup>a</sup> Or " his life under the conditions which we have created."

## ON JOSEPH, 18-22

let us wear the crown, and glory that we surpass them in cruelty, for their designs are aimed against aliens, ours against our nearest and dearest. A great and 19 novel reproach has been brought about, a far-famed disgrace. Our fathers left behind in every part of the world records of their noble conduct ; we shall leave behind us beyond all retrieving the scandal of our faithlessness and inhumanity. For, when deeds of grave import are done, the rumours of them reach everywhere, causing admiration where they are praiseworthy, censure and contumely when they are guilty. How will our father receive the report of the 20 event ? Thrice blessed he was and thrice happy, and ye have made his life with us<sup>a</sup> intolerable. Which will he pity most, the sold for his enslavement or the sellers for their cruelty ? Surely us far more than him, since it is less grievous to suffer wrong than to do it.<sup>b</sup> The former is assisted by two mighty forces, pity and hope ; the latter has no part in either, and in the judgement of all comes off the worst. But why 21 do I lament thus wildly ? It were better to hold my peace, lest I too come in for a share in some horrible fate. For ye are exceedingly savage of temper and merciless, and the fierceness in each heart is still in full blast."

V. When his father heard, not the truth that his 22 son had been sold, but the lie that he was dead and had seemingly been devoured by wild beasts, the words that he heard and the sight that he saw fell like a blow on his ears and eyes. For Joseph's tunic had been brought to him rent and marred and stained scarlet with much blood. Collapsing under his great

But I should prefer to read as Mangey suggests τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
=" as far as we can do it." <sup>b</sup> See App. p. 600.

## PHILO

ἀχανῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον ἔκειτο, μηδ' ὅσον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπᾶραι δυνάμενος, θλιβούσης καὶ ἐκτραχη-  
 23 λιζούσης τῆς συμφορᾶς. εἶθ' ὥσπερ τινὰ πηγὴν  
 δακρύων ἐξαίφνης ἀνιείς μετ' οἰμωγῆς πικρᾶς  
 παρεῖās καὶ γένεια καὶ στέρνα κατένιπτε καὶ τὰς  
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτας ἅμα τοιαῦτ' ἐπιλέγων· “ οὐχ ὁ  
 θάνατός με λυπεῖ, τέκνον, ἀλλ' ὁ τούτου τρόπος<sup>1</sup>. εἰ  
 ἐπὶ γῆς ἐτάφης τῆς σῆς, παρηγορούμην, ἐθερά-  
 πευσα, ἐνοσήλευσα πρότερον, ἀποθνήσκοντι τε-  
 λευταίων ἀσπασμῶν ἐκοινώνησα, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 συνέκλεισα, ἐπεδάκρυσσα κειμένῳ τῷ νεκρῷ, πολυ-  
 24 τελῶς ἐκήδευσα, τῶν νομιζομένων οὐδὲν παρ-  
 ἔλιπον. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης, εἶπον ἄν· τὸ  
 οἰκεῖον ὄφλημα τῆς φύσεως ἀπολαβούσης, ὧ οὗτος,  
 μὴ κατήφει· πρὸς ζῶντας αἱ πατρίδες, ἀποθανόντων  
 δὲ πᾶσα γῆ τάφος· ὠκύμορος οὐδεὶς ἢ πάντες  
 ἀνθρωποι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ μακροβιώτατος ὀλιγοχρόνιος  
 25 ἀντεξεταζόμενος αἰῶνι. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ βιαίως καὶ  
 ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἔδει θνήσκειν, ἦν ἄν μοι κουφότερον  
 κακόν, ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀναιρεθέντος, οἱ κτείναντες  
 νεκρὸν ἂν ἠλέησαν, ὡς ἐπαμήσασθαι κόνιν καὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα συγκρύψαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντων ἐγεγένητο  
 ὠμότατοι, τί πλέον εἶχον ἢ ρύψαντες ἄταφον ἀπ-  
 ἀλλάττεσθαι; τῶν δ' ἐν ὄδῳ παριόντων ἴσως τις  
 ἐπιστὰς καὶ θεασάμενος, οἴκτον τῆς κοινῆς λαβὼν  
 φύσεως, ἐπιμελείας καὶ ταφῆς ἠξίωσε. νυνὶ δ',  
 ὡς λόγος, ἀτιθάσις καὶ σαρκοβόροις θηρσὶν εὐωχία  
 καὶ θοίνη γέγονας γενεσαμένους καὶ ἐστιαθεῖσι τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τάφος.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Abr.* 257.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps a somewhat distorted reminiscence of ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος Thuc. ii. 43.

## ON JOSEPH, 22-26

emotion, he lay for a great while with closed lips, not even able to lift his head, so utterly did the calamity afflict and break him down. Then, suddenly pouring 23 forth tears like a fountain, he watered his cheeks and chin and breast and his own raiment, while bitterly wailing, and uttered such words as these: "Child, it is not your death which grieves me, but the manner of it. If you had been buried in your own land, I should have comforted and watched and nursed your sick-bed, exchanged the last farewells as you died, closed your eyes, wept over the body as it lay there, given it a costly funeral and left none of the customary 24 rites undone. Nay, even if it had been on foreign soil, I should have said to myself: 'Man, be not downcast that nature has recovered the forfeit that was her due.'<sup>a</sup> Separate countries concern the living: every land is the tomb of the dead.<sup>b</sup> Death comes early to none, or rather it comes early to all, for few are the years of the longest-lived compared with eternity. And, indeed, if you needs must have died 25 by violence or through premeditation, it would have been a lighter ill to me, slain as you would have been by human beings, who would have pitied their dead victim, gathered some dust and covered the corpse. And then if they had been the cruellest of men, what more could they have done but cast it out unburied and go their way, and then perhaps some passer-by would have stayed his steps, and, as he looked, felt pity for our common nature and deemed the tendance of burial to be its due. But, as it is, you have become, in common phrase, a rich banquet for savage carnivorous beasts who have found my own flesh and blood to their taste, and feasted thereon. I am long 26

## PHILO

- 26 ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων. ἀθλητῆς εἰμι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, εἰκῆ γεγύμνασμαι πολλαῖς κακοπαθείαις, ἀλώμενος, ξενιτεύων, θητεύων, ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἄχρι καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ὑφ' ὧν ἦκιστ' ἐχρήν· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶδον, πολλὰ δ' ἤκουσα, μυρία δ' αὐτὸς ἔπαθον τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἐφ' οἷς παιδευθεὶς μετριοπαθεῖν οὐκ ἐγνάμφθην· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἀφορητότερον, ὃ μου τὴν ῥώμην τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνατέ-
- 27 τροφε καὶ καθήρηκε. τί γὰρ μείζον ἢ οἰκτρότερον πένθος; ἢ μὲν ἐσθῆς τοῦ παιδὸς διακεκόμισται μοι τῷ πατρί, τοῦ δὲ οὐ μέρος, οὐ μέλος, οὐ βραχὺ λείψανον· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὄλος δι' ὄλων δεδαπάνηται μηδὲ ταφῆς δυνηθεὶς μεταλαχεῖν, ἢ δ' οὐδ' ἂν εἰσπεμφθῆναι μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παράπαν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀνίας ὑπόμνησιν καὶ ὧν ὑπέμεινε καίνωσιν, εἰς ἀλήστους καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐμοὶ συμφοράς." καὶ ὁ μὲν
- [46] τοιαῦτ' ἀπωδύρετο. οἱ δ' ἔμποροι | πιπράσκουσι τὸν παῖδα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν εὐνούχων τινὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχιμάγειρος.
- 28 VI. "Ἄξιον μέντοι μετὰ τὴν ῥητὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὰ ἐν ὑπονοίαις προσαποδοῦναι· σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλείστα τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀλληγορεῖται. ὁ τοίνυν ἐπικρινόμενος τρόπος παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις Ἰωσήφ καλεῖται, παρὰ δ' Ἑλλησι "κυρίου πρόσθεσις," εὐθυβολώτατον <ὄνομα> καὶ τῷ δηλουμένῳ πράγματι οἰκειότατον· προσθήκη γάρ ἐστι τῆς τὸ κῦρος ἀπάντων ἀνημμένης φύσεως ἢ κατὰ δήμους

<sup>a</sup> So LXX. E.V. "An officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard."



trained in the athletics of adversity, drilled by many a random stroke of misfortune, a wanderer, a stranger, a serf, a thrall, my very life and soul a mark for the malice of those by whom I should least have been so treated. Many desperate calamities I have seen and heard: thousands of them have I experienced myself, but trained to moderate my feelings at such I remained unmoved. But none was more unbearable than this event which has overturned and destroyed the strength of my soul. For what sorrow could be 27 greater or more pitiful? My son's raiment has been conveyed to me, his father, but not a part of him, not a limb, not a tiny fragment. But, while he has been utterly made away with beyond even any possibility of burial, his raiment too would not have been sent to me at all save to remind me of my sorrow, and to make his sufferings live again as calamities constant and indelible to myself." Thus did he bewail. But the merchants sold the boy in Egypt to one of the king's eunuchs who was his chief cook.<sup>a</sup>

VI. After this literal account of the story, it will 28 be well to explain the underlying meaning, for, broadly speaking, all or most of the law-book is an allegory. The kind of character then here under discussion is called in the Hebrew "Joseph," but in our language is "addition of a lord," a most significant title well suited to the thing which it indicates, since polity as seen in the various peoples is an addition to nature who is invested with a universal lordship.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> The interpretation of Joseph as="Addition" has appeared in *De Mut.* 89 and *De Som.* ii. 47 without any appendage. There, however, it is applied to adventitious wealth, luxuries and the like. Here the appendage "of a lord" helps Philo in the political interpretation which he gives. See further App. p. 600.

- 29 πολιτεία. ἡ μὲν γὰρ μεγαλόπολις ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ καὶ μιᾷ χρῆται πολιτεία καὶ νόμῳ ἐνί· λόγος δέ ἐστι φύσεως προστακτικὸς μὲν ὧν πρακτέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸς δὲ ὧν οὐ ποιητέον· αἱ δὲ κατὰ τόπους αὐταὶ πόλεις ἀπερίγραφοί τέ εἰσιν ἀριθμῶ καὶ πολιτείας χρῶνται διαφερούσαις καὶ νόμοις οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἄλλα γὰρ παρ' ἄλλοις ἔθῃ καὶ
- 30 νόμιμα παρεξυρημένα καὶ προστεθειμένα. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινῶνητον οὐ μόνον Ἑλλήνων πρὸς βαρβάρους ἢ βαρβάρων πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἑκατέρου γένους ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον· εἶθ' ὡς ἔοικε τὰ ἀναίτια αἰτιώμενοι, καιροῦς ἀβουλήτους, ἀγωνίαν καρπῶν, τὸ λυπρόγεων, τὴν θέσιν ὅτι παράλιος ἢ μεσόγειος ἢ κατὰ νῆσον ἢ κατὰ ἠπειρον ἢ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα, τάληθές ἡσυχάζουσιν· ἔστι δ' ἡ πλεονεξία καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπιστία, δι' ἧς οὐκ ἀρκεσθέντες τοῖς τῆς φύσεως θεσμοῖς τὰ δόξαντα συμφέρειν κοινῇ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσιν ὁμίλοις
- 31 ταῦτα νόμους ἐπεφήμισαν. ὥστε εἰκότως προσθῆκαι μᾶλλον αἱ κατὰ μέρος πολιτεῖαι μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν· προσθῆκαι μὲν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ πόλεις νόμοι τοῦ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθοῦ λόγου, προσθήκη δέ ἐστι πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ τοῦ βιοῦντος κατὰ φύσιν.
- 32 VII. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μέντοι καὶ χιτῶνα ποικίλον ἀναλαμβάνειν λέγεται· ποικίλον γὰρ πολιτεία καὶ πολύτροπον, μυρίας ὄσας ἐνδεχομένη μεταβολάς, πράγμασιν, αἰτίαις,

<sup>a</sup> This term for the Stoic ideal of the world conceived of as a state and expressed in the name *κοσμοπολίτης* has been used in *De Op.* 19 and appears again in *Mos.* ii. 51. It is not quoted from any other writer than Philo in this sense. Cf. also *μεγαλοπολίτης De Op.* 143.

## ON JOSEPH, 29-32

For this world is the Megalopolis or "great city,"<sup>a</sup> 29 and it has a single polity and a single law, and this is the word or reason of nature, commanding what should be done and forbidding what should not be done. But the local cities which we see are unlimited in number and subject to diverse polities and laws by no means identical, for different peoples have different customs and regulations which are extra inventions and additions. The cause of this is the reluctance to 30 combine or have fellowship with each other, shewn not only by Greeks to barbarians and barbarians to Greeks, but also within each of them separately in dealing with their own kin. And then we find them alleging causes for this which are no real causes, such as unfavourable seasons, want of fertility, poverty of soil or how the state is situated, whether it is maritime or inland or whether it is on an island or on the mainland and the like. The true cause they never mention, and that is their covetousness and mutual mistrusts, which keep them from being satisfied with the ordinances of nature, and lead them to give the name of laws to whatever approves itself as advantageous to the communities which hold the same views. Thus naturally particular polities are rather 31 an addition to the single polity of nature, for the laws of the different states are additions to the right reason of nature, and the politician is an addition to the man whose life accords with nature.

VII. Further, he is quite properly said to assume a 32 coat of varied colours,<sup>b</sup> for political life is a thing varied and multiple, liable to innumerable changes brought about by personalities, circumstances,

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 3. Observe that the point has not been mentioned in the narrative.

## PHILO

- πράξεων ιδιότησι, καιρῶν καὶ τόπων διαφοραῖς.
- 33 ὡσπερ γὰρ κυβερνήτης ταῖς τῶν πνευμάτων μεταβολαῖς συμμεταβάλλει τὰς πρὸς εὐπλοίαν βοηθείας, εὐθύνων τὸ σκάφος οὐχ ἐνὶ τρόπῳ, καὶ ἰατρός οὐ μᾶ χρῆται θεραπείᾳ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κάμνοντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓνα, τοῦ πάθους μὴ ἐπιμένοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηρῶν ἀνέσεις, ἐπιτάσεις, πληρώσεις, κενώσεις, αἰτίων μεταβολὰς ποικίλλει ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> πρὸς
- [47] σωτηρίαν ποτὲ μὲν ταυτὶ ποτὲ δὲ ταυτὶ | προσ-
- 34 φέρων, οὕτως, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν πολιτικὸν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί τινα πολυειδῆ καὶ πολύμορφον, ἕτερον μὲν κατ' εἰρήνην, ἕτερον δ' ἐν πολέμῳ, ἄλλον δὲ ἐπισυνισταμένων ὀλίγων ἢ πολλῶν, τῶν μὲν ὀλίγων εὐτόνως κατεξανιστάμενον, μετὰ δὲ πειθοῦς τοῖς πολλοῖς ὀμιλοῦντα, καὶ ὅπου μὲν μετὰ κινδύνου τὸ εἶναι,<sup>2</sup> διὰ τὸ κοινωφελές φθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτουργία, ὅπου δὲ πόνων ἢ σκέψις, ἐτέροις ὑπ-
- 35 ηρετεῖν ἐξιστάμενον. εὖ μέντοι τὸ φάναι πιπράσκεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δημοκόπος καὶ δημηγόρος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καθάπερ τὰ πιπρασκόμενα τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, δούλος ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου γίνεται διὰ τῶν τιμῶν, ἃς δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἀπ-
- 36 αχθεῖς ὑπὸ μυρίων δεσποτῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ θηριάλωτος εἰσάγεται· θηρίον δὲ ἀτίθασον ἢ λοχῶσα κενοδοξία συναρπάζουσα καὶ διαφθείρουσα

<sup>1</sup> Unless ἀνέσεις etc. can represent processes rather than symptoms, in which case we should have to change, as Mangey suggested, αἰτίων into σιτίων, ταῦτα is quite illogical. Cohn suggests πάντα or τὰ. The latter is adopted in the translation.

<sup>2</sup> This τὸ εἶναι seems quite impossible and the reading of some mss. τοῦ εἶναι ("danger to existence"), though thought possible by Cohn, does not commend itself. I suggest for

## ON JOSEPH, 32-36

motives, individualities of conduct, differences in occasions and places. The pilot is helped to a successful voyage by means which change with the changes of the wind, and does not confine his guidance of the ship to one method. The physician does not use a single form of treatment for all his patients, nor even for an individual if the physical condition does not remain unaltered, but he watches the lowering and the heightening of the strain, its alternations of fullness and emptiness and all the changes of symptoms,<sup>a</sup> and varies his salutary processes, sometimes using one kind and sometimes another. And so too the politician must needs be a man of many sides and many forms. He must be a different man in peace from what he is in war, another man as those who venture to oppose him are few or many, resisting the few with vigorous action but using persuasion in his dealings with the many, and when danger is involved he will, to effect the common good, outstrip all others in his personal activity, but when the prospect is one of labour merely he will stand aside and leave others to serve him. Again it is rightly said that this person is sold, for when the would-be popular orator mounts the platform, like a slave in the market, he becomes a bond-servant instead of a free man, and, through the seeming honours which he receives, the captive of a thousand masters. Again, he is also represented as the prey of wild beasts, and indeed the vainglory which lies in ambush and then seizes and destroys those who

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "causes."

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consideration τὸ *λέναι* διὰ τοῦ *κοινωφελούς* (according to the common idiom of *λέναι* διὰ). "When the path of serving the commonweal involves danger," etc.

## PHILO

τοὺς χρωμένους. οἱ δ' ὠνησάμενοι καὶ πιπράσκουσιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἀλλ' ὄχλος, ἐξ ἑτέρων ἕτεροι κατὰ τινας ἐφεδρείας καὶ διαδοχάς· οἱ δὲ τρίπρατοι κακῶν θεραπόντων τρόπον ἀλλάττουσι τοὺς κυρίους οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τοὺς προτέρους διὰ τὴν ἀψίκορον καὶ φιλόκαινον τῶν ἡθῶν ἀνωμαλίαν.

- 37 VIII. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ὁ μέντοι νεανίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀχθεὶς καὶ γενόμενος, ὡς ἐλέχθη, παρ' εὐνούχῳ δεσπότη, τῆς καλοκάγαθίας καὶ εὐγενείας πείραν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις δοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει καὶ συμπάσης τῆς οἰκίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἤδη γὰρ ὁ κτησάμενος ἔτεκμηριοῦτο διὰ πολλῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἐκεῖνος ἕκαστα λέγει τε καὶ πράττει.
- 38 τῷ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πριαμένου καθίστατο τῆς οἰκίας ἐπίτροπος, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ὑπὸ φύσεως μνωμένης αὐτῷ πόλεων καὶ ἔθνους καὶ χώρας μεγάλης ἡγεμονίαν· ἔδει γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι πολιτικὸν ἐγγυμνάσασθαι καὶ ἐνασκηθῆναι πρότερον τοῖς κατ' οἰκονομίαν· οἰκία τε γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐσταλμένη καὶ βραχεῖα καὶ οἰκονομία συνηγμένη τις πολιτεία, ὡς καὶ πόλις μὲν οἶκος μέγας,
- 39 πολιτεία δὲ κοινὴ τις οἰκονομία. δι' ὧν μάλιστα παρίσταται τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκονομικὸν τε εἶναι καὶ πολιτικόν, κὰν τὰ πλήθη καὶ μεγέθη τῶν ὑποκειμένων διαλλάττη· καθάπερ ἐπὶ ζωγραφίας ἔχει

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<sup>a</sup> The false statement, as in *De Som.* ii. 65, is treated as true for the purposes of allegory. Cf. *De Mig.* 21.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 37-53 follow the narrative of Gen. xxxix.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Abr.* 99.

## ON JOSEPH, 36-39

indulge it is a savage beast.<sup>a</sup> Once more his purchasers sell him again, for politicians have not one but a multitude of masters who buy them one from another, each waiting to take his turn in the succession, and those who are thus sold again and again like bad servants change their masters, because, capricious and fitful in character as they are and ever hankering after novelty, they cannot endure their old lords.

VIII. <sup>b</sup> Enough on this subject also. To resume the 37 story, when the youth had been brought to Egypt and as I have said placed with the eunuch as his master, he gave proof in a few days of his nobility of character and nature, and therefore he received authority over his fellow-servants and the charge of the whole household; for his owner had already observed many signs that everything which he said or did was under God's directing care. So, while in outward 38 appearance it was his purchaser who appointed him steward of his household, in fact and reality it was nature's <sup>c</sup> doing, who was taking steps to procure for him the command of whole cities and a nation and a great country. For the future statesman needed first to be trained and practised in house management; for a house is a city compressed into small dimensions, and household management may be called a kind of state management, just as a city too is a great house and statesmanship the household management of the general public.<sup>d</sup> All this shews 39 clearly that the household manager is identical with the statesman, however much what is under the purview of the two may differ in number and size. The same holds with sculpture and painting, for the

† See App. p. 600.

## PHILO

καὶ πλαστικῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδριαντοποιὸς ἢ ζωγράφος, εἴαν τε πολλὰ καὶ κολοσσιαῖα μεγέθη κατασκευάζῃ, εἴαν τε ὀλίγα καὶ βραχύτερα, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τέχνην ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ.

- 40 IX. Σφόδρα δὲ εὐδοκιμῶν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουρίαν ἐπιβουλεύεται πρὸς τῆς τοῦ δεσπότητος  
 [48] γυναικὸς ἐπιβουλήν τὴν ἐξ ἔρωτος | ἀκολάστου. τῇ γὰρ εὐμορφία ἐπιμανεῖσα τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἀκαθέκτως περὶ τὸ πάθος λυττώσα τοὺς περὶ μίξεις λόγους προσέφερεν ἐρρωμένως ἐναντιουμένῳ καὶ μηδ' ὄλως προσίεσθαι ὑπομένοντι διὰ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἐνυπάρξασαν κοσμιότητα καὶ  
 41 σωφροσύνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζωπυροῦσα καὶ ἀναφλέγουσα τὴν ἔκνομον ἐπιθυμίαν αἰεὶ μὲν ἀπεπειρᾶτο, αἰεὶ δ' ἀπετύγγανε, βία λοιπὸν προσπαθοῦσα ἐχρήτο καὶ λαβομένη τῆς ἀμπεχόνης εὐτόνως ἄχρι τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπεσπάσατο ῥώμῃ κραταιοτέρα, τοῦ πάθους ἰσχὺν ἐπιδιδόντος, ὃ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους εἴωθε νευ-  
 42 ροῦν. ὁ δὲ τῆς παρούσης ἀκαιρίας γενόμενος δυνατώτερος τὰς ἐλευθερίους καὶ ἀξίας τοῦ γένους ἔρρηξε φωνάς, “ τί βιάζῃ; ” λέγων· “ ἐξαιρέτοις ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμοις χρώμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἑβραίων  
 43 ἀπόγονοι. τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφέϊται μετὰ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην ἡλικίαν πόρναις καὶ χαμαιτύπαις καὶ ταῖς ὅσαι μισθαρνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας χρῆσθαι, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδ' ἑταῖρα ζῆν ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῆς ἑταιρούσης ὠρισταὶ δίκη θάνατος. πρὸ δὴ συνόδων νομίμων ὁμιλίαν ἑτέρας γυναικὸς οὐκ ἴσμεν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοὶ γάμων ἀγναῖς

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. Deut. xxiii. 17. The passage hardly suggests this



good statuary or painter, whether the works which he produces are many and of colossal size or few and smaller, is the same man exhibiting the same skill.

IX. But while he was winning a high reputation 40 in household affairs, his master's wife made him the object of her designs, which were prompted by licentious love ; for wrought up to madness by the beauty of the youth, and putting no restraint upon the frenzy of her passion, she made proposals of intercourse to him which he stoutly resisted and utterly refused to accept, so strong was the sense of decency and temperance which nature and the exercise of control had implanted in him. And, 41 since, as she fed the fire of lawless lust till it burst into a blaze, her constant efforts to gain him as constantly failed, at last in an accession of passion she was fain to employ violence. She caught hold of his outer garment and powerfully drew him to her bed by superior force, since passion which often braces even the weakest gave her new vigour. But 42 he shewed power which was more than a match for the untoward situation and burst into speech with a frankness worthy of his race. "What," he said, "are you forcing me to ? We children of the Hebrews follow laws and customs which are especially our own. Other nations are permitted after the fourteenth 43 year to deal without interference with harlots and strumpets and all those who make a traffic of their bodies, but with us a courtesan is not even permitted to live, and death is the penalty appointed for women who ply this trade.<sup>a</sup> Before the lawful union we know no mating with other women, but come as virgin men extreme interpretation, but Philo repeats it in *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 51.

## PHILO

- παρθένους προσερχόμεθα προτεθειμένοι τέλος οὐχ  
 44 ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ γνησίων παιδῶν σποράν. εἰς δὴ  
 ταύτην καθαρεύσας τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἄρξομαι παρα-  
 νομεῖν ἀπὸ μοιχείας, τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀδικη-  
 μάτων, ὀφείλων, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑπῆρχον  
 ἐκδεδιητημένος καὶ νεότητος ὄρμαϊς ἡγμένος καὶ  
 τὴν ἐγχώριον ἐξηλωκῶς τρυφήν, ὅμως ἀλλότριον μὴ  
 θηρᾶν γάμον· ἐφ' ᾧ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐ φονᾶ; περὶ  
 γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων εἰωθότες διαφέρεσθαι μόνον τοῦθ'  
 ὁμογνωμονοῦντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ἄξιον θανάτων  
 μυρίων ἐνόμισαν ἀκρίτους ἐκδιδόντες τοὺς ἀλόντας  
 45 τοῖς πεφωρακόσι. σὺ δ' ἐπιδαιψιλευομένη καὶ  
 τρίτον<sup>1</sup> προστίθης μοι μίασμα κελεύουσα μὴ μοι-  
 χεύειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέσποιναν καὶ δεσπότην  
 γυναικὰ διαφθείρειν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα τούτου χάριν παρ-  
 ῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν οἰκίαν, ἵν' ἀποστάς τῶν  
 ὑπηρεσιῶν, ἃς δεῖ θεράποντα παρέχειν, μεθύω  
 καὶ ἐμπαροινῶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τοῦ πριαμένου νοθεύων  
 46 αὐτοῦ γάμον, οἰκίαν, συγγένειαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ  
 ὡς δεσπότην μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτην ἤδη  
 τιμᾶν προάγομαι· πάντ' ἐπιτέτροφέ μοι τὰ οἰκεία,  
 οὐδὲν οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα ὑπεξήρηται τὸ παράπαν  
 δίχα σοῦ τῆς γυναικός· ἀνθ' ὧν ἄξιον αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς  
 [49] παραινεῖς ἀμείψασθαι; καλὰς | ὡς ἔοικεν ἀντιπαρ-  
 ἔξω δωρεὰς ταῖς προὔπηργμείαις χάρισιν οἰκείας.  
 47 ὁ μὲν δεσπότης αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα με καὶ ξένον ταῖς  
 εὐεργεσίαις ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀστὸν τὸ γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> So mss.: Cohn *τριττὸν*. If *τρίτον* is kept the three *μιάσματα* will be (1) harlotry, (2) adultery, (3) adultery with a master's wife. With *τριττὸν* they will presumably be (1) adultery, (2) adultery with a mistress, (3) adultery with a master's

## ON JOSEPH, 43-47

to virgin maidens. The end we seek in wedlock is not pleasure but the begetting of lawful children. To this day I have remained pure, and I will not take 44 the first step in transgression by committing adultery, the greatest of crimes. For even if I had always hitherto lived an irregular life, drawn by the appetites of youth and following after the luxury of this land, I ought not to make the wedded wife of another my prey. Who does not thirst for the blood of the adulterer? For while men are accustomed to differ on other matters they are all and everywhere of one mind on this; they count the culprits worthy of a multitude of deaths, and deliver them unjudged into the hands of those who have discovered their guilt. But you in your extravagance would impose upon 45 me a third pollution when you bid me not only commit adultery but also defile my mistress and my master's wife. You cannot think that for this purpose I came into your house, to decline the duties which a servant should render and play like a drunkard and a sot with the hopes of the master who bought me by debasing his bed, his household and his kin. Indeed I am called on to honour him not 46 only as a master but further as a benefactor. He has entrusted to me all his belongings and nothing at all great or small has been withdrawn from me save you, his wife. Is it well that I should requite him for this by doing what you urge me to do? A fine gift this would seem to be, a suitable return for preceding favours! The master found me a captive 47 and an alien, and has made me by his kindnesses a free man and a citizen as far as he can do it. Shall

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wife. But no stress is laid on any distinction between these two in the sequel.

## PHILO

- ἦκον μέρος ἀπειργάσατο, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ξένω  
καὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ προσενεχθήσομαι τῷ δεσπότῃ;  
τίνι ψυχῇ παραδεξάμενος τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα τοῦτο;  
προσβλέψω δὲ τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁ σιδηροῦς ἐγώ;  
τὸ συνειδὸς ἐλλαμβανόμενον ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν οὐκ  
ἔάσει προσβλέπειν, κἂν δυνηθῶ λανθάνειν· λήσομαι  
δ' οὐδαμῶς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἕξετασταὶ μυρίοι τῶν λάθρα  
48 δρωμένων, οἷς οὐ θέμις ἠσυχάζειν. ἐὼ λέγειν ὅτι,  
κἂν μηδεὶς ἕτερος αἰσθηταὶ ἢ συναισθόμενος μὴ  
κατείπη, μηνυτῆς οὐδὲν ἤττον αὐτὸς γενήσομαι κατ'  
ἑμαυτοῦ τῷ χρώματι, τῷ βλέμματι, τῇ φωνῇ,  
καθάπερ μικρῷ πρότερον εἶπον, ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότητος  
ἐλεγχόμενος· εἰ δὲ καὶ μηδεὶς κατερεῖ, τὴν πάρεδρον  
τοῦ θεοῦ δίκην καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔφορον οὔτε  
δέδιμεν οὔτ' αἰδούμεθα;”
- 49 X. Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα συνέιροντος καὶ φιλοσο-  
φοῦντος, ἐκεκώφητο πρὸς ἅπαντα· δεῖναι γὰρ αἱ  
ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ τὰς ἀκριβεστάτας τῶν αἰσθήσεων  
ἐπισκιάσαι· ὅπερ συνιδῶν ἀποδιδράσκει τὰ ἱμάτια  
καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς, ὧν ἐπέληπτο.
- 50 τοῦτο παρέσχεν αὐτῇ τὸ ἔργον εὐρεσιλογεῖν προ-  
φάσεις σκεπτομένη κατὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου, αἷς αὐτὸν  
ἀμυνεῖται· παραγενομένῳ γὰρ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τῷ αὐτῆς  
ἀνδρὶ καθυποκρινομένη τὴν σὺφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν  
καὶ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι πάνυ δυσχεραί-  
νουσαν “ἦγαγες” ἔφη “θεράποντα ἡμῖν παῖδα  
Ἑβραῖον, ὃς οὐ μόνον ἤδη τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν διέφθαρ-  
κεν εὐχερῶς καὶ ἀνεξετάστως ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ  
τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀπετόλμησεν αἰσχύναι  
51 τὸ σῶμα. ταῖς γὰρ ὁμοδούλοις οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν  
αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι μόναις ἀσελγεστάτῳ καὶ λαγνιστάτῳ  
γενομένῳ, πειρᾶν δὲ καὶ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπεχείρησεν

## ON JOSEPH, 47-51

I, the slave, deal with the master as though he were an alien and a captive? What would be my inward feelings if I agreed to this unholy act? What my looks when I face him, iron-hearted though I be? No, conscience will take hold of me and not suffer me to look him straight in the face<sup>a</sup> even if I can escape detection. And that cannot be, for there are thousands to sit in judgement on my secret doings who must not remain silent; not to mention that, 48 even if no other knows of it or reports the knowledge which he shares with me, all the same I shall turn informer against myself through my colour, my look, my voice, convicted as I said just now by my conscience. And even if no one denounce me, have we no fear or respect for justice, the assessor of God, justice who surveys all our doings?"<sup>b</sup>

X. Thus he spoke long and wisely, but she remained deaf to it all. For lust is powerful to becloud even the keenest of the senses. And seeing this he fled leaving in her hands the garments which she had grasped. This action of his gave her the opportunity to invent a story and devise charges against the youth to punish him. When her husband came in from the market she put on the air of a chaste and modest woman who regards licentious practices with the utmost indignation. "You brought to us," she said, "a Hebrew lad as servant, who has not only corrupted your soul when you lightly and thoughtlessly entrusted your household to him, but has had the audacity to dishonour my body. For not content 51 with taking merely the women who were his fellow-servants, so utterly lewd and lascivious has he shown himself, he has attempted to violate me by force,

<sup>a</sup> Or "with unchanged eyes."    <sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 600-601.

- ἐμὲ καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰ δείγματα τῆς φρενοβλαβείας ἐναργῆ καὶ δῆλά ἐστι· περιπαθήσασα γὰρ ὡς ἐξεφώνησα τοὺς ἔνδον βοηθοὺς ἐπικαλοῦσα, πτοηθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον τὴν ἐσθῆτα καταλιπὼν ἀποδιδράσκει φόβῳ συλλήψεως.” ἦν καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένη πίστιν ἐδόκει προσφέρειν τῶν λεγομένων.
- 52 ἄπερ ἀληθῆ νομίσας ὁ δεσπότης εἶναι κελεύει τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἀπαγαγεῖν δυσὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἁμαρτῶν, ἐνὶ μὲν ὅτι μὴ μεταδοὺς ἀπολογίας ἀκρίτως κατέγνω τοῦ μηδὲν ἠδίκηκότος ὡς τὰ μέγιστα παρανομήσαντος, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἐσθῆς, ἣν προῦφερον ἡ γυνὴ ὡς ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου, πίστις ἦν βίας, οὐχ ἦν ἐκεῖνος εἰργάζετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπομονὴν<sup>1</sup> ἦν ὑπέμεινεν ἐκ τῆς γυναικός· βιαζομένου μὲν γὰρ ἔργον ἦν τὴν ἀμπεχόνην τῆς δεσποίνης κατέχειν, βιασθέντος δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. συγγνωστός | δ’ ἴσως τῆς ἄγαν ἀπαιδευσίας, ἅτε τὴν δίαιταν ἐν μαγειρείῳ ποιούμενος αἵματος καὶ καπνοῦ καὶ τέφρας ἀνάπλεω,<sup>2</sup> τοῦ λογισμοῦ καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντος ἐνηρμεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὸ πεφύρθαι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ σώματος.
- 54 XI. Τρεῖς ἤδη χαρακτῆρας τοῦ πολιτικοῦ διετύπωσε, τὸν τε ποιμενικὸν καὶ τὸν οἰκονομικὸν καὶ τὸν καρτερικόν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν προτέρων εἴρηται δυεῖν, ὁ δ’ ἐγκρατῆς οὐχ ἦττον ἐκείνων πρὸς
- 55 πολιτείαν συντείνει. πρὸς μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα λυσιτελὲς ἐγκράτεια καὶ σωτήριον,

<sup>1</sup> Not only awkward, but ungrammatical. It would be simpler with Mangey to expunge τὴν ὑπ. than, as Wendland suggests, to substitute τῆς ἐπιβουλήs.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνάπλεως or -ων.

## ON JOSEPH, 51-55

me his mistress. The proofs of his insane depravity are clear and evident, for when in my great agitation I cried aloud and called those who were indoors to my aid, he was so scared at my unexpected action<sup>a</sup> that he left his garment behind and fled in fear of arrest." This garment she showed and made as though she were proffering a proof of her tale. Joseph's master, believing this to be true, ordered 52 him to be carried away to prison, and in this he committed two great errors. First he gave him no opportunity of defence, and convicted unheard this entirely innocent person as guilty of the greatest misconduct. Secondly, the raiment which his wife produced as left by the youth was a proof of violence not employed by him but suffered at her hands. For if force were used by him he would retain his mistress's robe, if against him he would lose his own. But his master may perhaps be pardoned for his 53 gross ignorance, since his days were spent in a kitchen full of blood and smoke and cinders, where the reason even more, or at least no less, than the body lives amid confusion and has no chance of quietly retiring into itself.

XI. Moses has now set before us three character- 54 istics of the statesman, his shepherd-craft, his household-management, his self-control. We have dealt with the two first, but the last-named has quite as much bearing on statesmanship. While in all the 55 affairs of life self-mastery is a source of profit and

<sup>a</sup> This is an unusual sense for ἀπελοκεπτος which regularly means with Philo "reckless" or "inconsiderate." It is possible, though less likely, that it may mean here "in his thoughtlessness," *i.e.* he did not consider what evidence he would leave behind him.

## PHILO

πρὸς δὲ τὰ πόλεως καὶ διαφερόντως, ὡς ἀφθόνως  
 τοῖς βουλομένοις μανθάνειν πάρεστι καὶ προχειρό-  
 56 τατα. τίς γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τὰς ἐξ ἀκρασίας ἔθνεσι καὶ  
 χώραις καὶ ὄλοις κλίμασι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν γῆ καὶ  
 θαλάττῃ γνωμένας συμφοράς; τῶν γὰρ πολέμων  
 οἱ πλείους καὶ μέγιστοι δι' ἔρωτας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ  
 γυναικῶν ἀπάτας συνέστησαν, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ πλείστον  
 καὶ ἄριστον ἐξαναλώθη τοῦ τε Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ  
 βαρβαρικοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἢ νεότης  
 57 ἐφθάρη. εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀκρασίας στάσεις ἐμφύλιοι  
 καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακὰ ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἀμύθητα, δῆλον  
 ὅτι τὰ ἐκ σωφροσύνης εὐστάθεια καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ  
 τελείων κτῆσις ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀπόλαυσις.

58 XII. Ἄξιον μέντοι καὶ τὰ διὰ τούτων ἐμφαινό-  
 μενα κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον παραστήσαι. ὁ πριάμενος  
 τὸν ἐπικρινόμενον εὐνοῦχος εἶναι λέγεται· δεόντως·  
 ὁ γὰρ ὠνούμενος τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄχλος ἐστὶ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν εὐνοῦχος, ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ἔχων τὰ  
 γεννητικά, τὰς δ' εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν δυνάμεις ἀφηρη-  
 μένος, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ τὰς ὄψεις ὑποχυθέντες ὀφθαλ-  
 μούς ἔχοντες τῆς δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνεργείας στέρονται  
 59 βλέπειν οὐ δυνάμενοι. τίς οὖν ἢ πρὸς ὄχλον εὐ-  
 νούχων ὁμοιότης; ὅτι ἄγονός ἐστι σοφίας δοκῶν  
 ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀρετὴν· ὅταν γὰρ μιγάδων καὶ συγ-  
 κλύδων πλήθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ταῦτόν συνέλθῃ, λέγει  
 μὲν τὰ δέοντα, φρονεῖ δὲ καὶ πράττει τὰναντία, τὰ  
 νόθα πρὸ τῶν γνησίων ἀποδεχόμενος, ἔνεκα τοῦ  
 δόξης μὲν ἠττάσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθεία καλὸν μὴ ἐπι-  
 60 τηδεύειν. ὅθεν καὶ—τὸ παραλογώτατον—γυνῆ τῷ

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<sup>a</sup> Philo is no doubt thinking primarily of the Trojan War, and it is not unlike him to magnify this into a plural. Still



## ON JOSEPH, 55-60

safety, it is particularly so in affairs of state, as those who will may learn from plentiful and obvious examples. Who does not know the misfortunes which 56 licentiousness brings to nations and countries and whole latitudes of the civilized world on land and sea? For the majority of wars, and those the greatest, have arisen through amours and adulteries and the deceits of women, which have consumed the greatest and choicest part of the Greek race and the barbarian also, and destroyed the youth of their cities.<sup>a</sup> And, if the results of licentiousness are civil strife and 57 war, and ill upon ill without number, clearly the results of continence are stability and peace and the acquisition and enjoyment of perfect blessings.

XII. We should now, however, in due course 58 show the lessons revealed to us by this story. The purchaser of the subject of our examination is said to be a eunuch; rightly so, for the multitude which purchases the statesman is in very truth a eunuch, possessing to all appearance the organs of generation but deprived of the power of using them, just as those who suffer from cataract have eyes but lack the active use of them and cannot see. How then 59 does the multitude resemble eunuchs? It is because the multitude is unproductive of wisdom, though it seems to practise virtue. For when a mixed crowd of heterogeneous persons comes together, it says what is right, but it thinks and does the opposite. It prefers the spurious to the genuine, because it is under the dominion of appearances and does not practise what is truly excellent. And, therefore, also, paradoxical though it be, this 60

he can hardly have failed to have Antony and Cleopatra also in mind.

## PHILO

ευνούχῳ τούτῳ συνοικεῖ· μνᾶται γὰρ ὄχλος ἐπι-  
 θυμίαν, ὥσπερ ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα, δι' ἧς ἕκαστα καὶ  
 λέγει καὶ πράττει σύμβουλον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος  
 ἀπάντων ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων μικρῶν τε αὐ καὶ  
 μεγάλων, ἧκιστα προσέχειν εἰωθὼς τοῖς ἐκ λογι-  
 51 σμοῦ. προσφύεστατα μέντοι καὶ ἀρχι-  
 μάγειρον αὐτὸν καλεῖ· καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον  
 ἐπιτηδεύει μάγειρος ἢ τὰς ἀνηνύτους καὶ περιττὰς  
 γαστρὸς ἡδονάς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς  
 ὄχλος τὰς δι' ἀκοῆς τέρψεις τε καὶ θρύψεις, ὑφ' ὧν  
 52 οἱ τόνοι τῆς διανοίας χαλῶνται καὶ τρόπον τινα |  
 τὰ νεῦρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλύεται. τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἰατροὺς  
 μαγείρων διαφορὰν τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; οἱ μὲν τὰ  
 ὑγιεινά, κἂν μὴ προσηνῆ τυγχάνη, μόνα διὰ  
 σπουδῆς τῆς πάσης εὐτρεπίζονται, οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν  
 63 μόνα τὰ ἡδέα τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀλογοῦντες. ἰα-  
 τροῖς μὲν οὖν εἰκόασιν ἐν δήμῳ νόμοι καὶ οἱ κατὰ  
 νόμους ἄρχοντες βουλευταὶ τε καὶ δικασταὶ φροντί-  
 ζοντες τῆς τῶν κοινῶν σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας  
 ἀκολάκευτοι, ὄψαρτυταῖς δὲ οἱ πολυάνθρωποι τῶν  
 νεωτέρων ὄμιλοι· μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐ τὰ συνοί-  
 σοντα, ἀλλὰ πῶς τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καρπώσονται  
 64 μόνον ἡδονήν. XIII. ἐρᾷ δ' ὡς ἀκόλαστος γυνή  
 καὶ ἡ τῶν ὄχλων ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ φησιν  
 αὐτῷ· “ παρελθὼν, ὦ οὗτος, εἰς ὄχλον, ᾧ συνοικῶ,  
 πάντων ἐκλαθοῦ τῶν ἰδίων ἡθῶν, ἐπιτηδευμάτων,  
 λόγων, ἔργων, ἐν οἷς ἐτράφη· ἐμοὶ δὲ πειθάρχει  
 καὶ ἐμὲ θεράπευε καὶ ὅσα δι' ἡδονῆς ἐστὶ μοι  
 65 πρᾶττε. αὐστηρὸν γὰρ καὶ αὐθέκαστον καὶ ἀλη-  
 θείας ἑταῖρον καὶ ἀκριβοδίκαιον, ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμ-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 601.

## ON JOSEPH, 60-65

eunuch is mated with a wife. For the multitude woos desire as a man woos a woman, and makes her his medium in all that he says and does, and takes her as his counsellor in all things great and small, whether decency sanctions them or not, and is wont to pay little heed to the promptings of reason.

Very aptly too does Moses call him a chief cook ; 61 for, just as the cook is solely occupied in endlessly providing superfluous pleasures for the belly, so is the multitude, considered as politicians, in choosing what charms and pleases the ears, and thus the tension of the understanding is relaxed and the sinews of the soul, so to speak, unstrung. As for 62 the difference between cooks and physicians, it is a matter of common knowledge.<sup>a</sup> The physician devotes all his energies solely to preparing what is wholesome, even if it is unpalatable, while the cook deals with the pleasant only and has no thought of what is beneficial. Now in a democracy, physi- 63 cians are represented by laws, and those who rule in accordance with the law, members of councils and juries who consider the safety and security of the common weal and are proof against flattery ; cooks by the swarming crowd of younger spirits, for they do not care what will be beneficial but only how they may reap pleasure for the moment. XIII. And like a licentious woman the desire of the multi- 64 tudes makes love to the statesman. "Forward,<sup>b</sup> lad," she says, "forward, to my mate, the multitude. Forget your own old ways, the habits, the words, the actions in which you were bred. Obey me, wait on me and do all that gives me pleasure. The stern, 65 strict, uncompromising friend of truth, stiff and solemn

<sup>b</sup> Or "when you address . . . forget."

## PHILO

νότητι πρὸς ἅπαντα χρώμενον καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν  
 εἴκοντα, μόνου περιεχόμενον αἰεὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος  
 ἄνευ θεραπείας τῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὐκ ἀνέχομαι.  
 66 διαβολὰς δ' ἐρανιῶ κατὰ σοῦ μυρίας καὶ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸν  
 ἕμὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ὄχλον, τὸν σὸν δεσπότην· ἄχρι  
 γὰρ νῦν ἀπελευθεριάζειν δοκεῖς μοι καὶ ὅτι δούλος  
 τυραννικοῦ γέγονας δεσπότην λίαν ἀγνοεῖς. εἰ δὲ  
 ἤδεις, ὅτι αὐτοπραγία μὲν οἰκειότατον ἐλευθέρῳ,  
 οἰκότηρ δ' ἀλλότριον, ἐπεπαίδευσο ἂν αὐθάδειαν μεθ-  
 ἕμενος εἰς ἐμὲ βλέπειν τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκα, ἐπι-  
 θυμίαν, καὶ δρᾶν τὰ πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν τὴν ἐμήν,  
 67 δι' ὧν μάλιστα εὐαρεστήσεις. XIV. ὁ  
 δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄντως οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ μὲν, ὅτι δεσποτικὴν  
 ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ δῆμος, αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει  
 δούλον ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερον καὶ . . .<sup>2</sup> τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἀρέσκειαν. ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἐρεῖ· “δημοκοπεῖν οὐτ'  
 ἔμαθον οὐτ' ἐπιτηδεύσω ποτέ, πόλεως δὲ προ-  
 στασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐγχειρισθείς, ὡς  
 ἀγαθὸς ἐπίτροπος ἢ πατήρ εὖνους<sup>3</sup> ἀδόλως καὶ  
 68 καθαρῶς ἄνευ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς ὑποκρίσεως. ταῦτα  
 φρονῶν ἐξετασθήσομαι μηδὲν ὑποστέλλων μηδὲ  
 συγκρύπτων φωρὸς τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ συνειδὸς  
 αὐγάζων ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ φωτί· φῶς γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια·  
 φοβηθήσομαι δ' οὐδὲν ὧν ἂν ἐπανατείνηται, κἂν  
 θάνατον ἀπειλῇ· θανάτου γὰρ ἐμοὶ κακὸν ἀργαλεώ-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn, who prints καὶ, notes “*excludendum videtur.*” It certainly seems pointless. If retained, it must mean that the charges are disseminated in general as well as made to the master in particular.

<sup>2</sup> Something is clearly lost; Mangey's πάντα δρῶντα κατὰ will make good sense.

<sup>3</sup> Here, too, Cohn indicates a lacuna and suggests δρᾶσω

## ON JOSEPH, 65-68

and inflexible in all his dealings, who clings to the beneficial only and pays no court to his audience, is to me intolerable. And I will collect any number 66 of charges against you to produce before my husband, the multitude, your master. For hitherto you have seemed to me to act as if at liberty and you are quite unaware that you have become the slave of a despotic master. But if you had known that independence may be quite properly possessed by the free man, but is denied to the slave, you would have schooled yourself to abandon your self-will and to look to me, Desire, his wife, and do what may please me as the best way to secure his favour."

XIV. Now the true statesman knows 67 quite well that the people has the power of a master, yet he will not admit that he is a slave, but regards himself as a free man and shapes his activities to please his own soul. He will frankly say, "I have never learned to cringe to the people, and I will never practise it. But since the leadership and charge of the state is put into my hands I will know how to hold it as a good guardian or an affectionate father, guilelessly and sincerely without the dissimulation which I hate. Being thus minded, I 68 will not be found cloaking and hiding anything as a thief might do, but I will keep my conscience clear as in the light of the sun, for truth is light. I will fear none of the tyrant's menaces, even though he threaten me with death, for death is a less evil than

---

or *χρηματιῶ*. It does not seem to me necessary. It is not difficult to understand *ἐμαθον και ἐπιτηδεύσω*. To understand an affirmative out of a negative is a looseness which may be found in good writers. A good example occurs in the opening lines of Horace's *Satires*.

## PHILO

- 69 *τερον ὑπόκρισις. ἦν ὑπομενω τοῦ χάριν; καὶ γὰρ εἰ δεσπότης ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ δοῦλος, εὐπατρίδης δ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἐφίεμενος ἐγγραφῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ πολιτεύματι τοῦδε*
- 70 *τοῦ κόσμου. ὅταν | γὰρ μὴ δῶρα, μὴ παρα-*
- [52] *κλήσεις, μὴ τιμῶν ἔρως, μὴ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία, μὴ ἀλαζονεία, μὴ ὁ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἡμερος, μὴ ἀκολασία, μὴ ἀνανδρία, μὴ ἀδικία, μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ὅσα ἐκ πάθους ἢ κακίας ὑπάγεται, τίνος ἔτι φοβηθήσομαι*
- 71 *δεσποτειαν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων; ἀλλ' οὐτοί γε τὴν σώματος ἐπιγράφονται κυρεΐαν, οὐ τὴν κατ' ἐμέ. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, τῆς ἐν ἐμαυτῷ διανοίας, χρηματίζω, καθ' ἣν παρεσκευασμαι βιοῦν ὀλίγα φροντίζων τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος, ὃ κἂν ὀστρέου δίκην περιπεφυκὸς ἐπηρεάζηται πρὸς τινων, ἀφειμένος<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἔνδον δεσποτῶν τε χαλεπῶν καὶ δεσποινῶν, οὐκ ἀνιάσομαι τὴν βαρυτάτην*
- 72 *ἀνάγκην ἐκπεφευγώς. εἰάν οὖν δικάζειν δέη, δικάσω μῆτε πλουσίῳ προσθέμενος διὰ τὴν περιουσίαν μῆτε πένητι διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις ἔλεον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν κρινομένων ἀξιώματα καὶ σχήματα παρακαλυψάμενος ἀδόλως βραβεύσω τὸ φανησόμενον δίκαιον. εἰάν τε βουλευῶ, γνώμας εἰσηγήσομαι τὰς κοινωφελείας, κἂν μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὦσιν· εἰάν τε ἐκκλησιάζω, τοὺς θῶπας λόγους ἐτέροις καταλιπὼν τοῖς σωτηρίοις χρῆσομαι καὶ συμφέρουσιν, ἐπιτιμῶν, νουθετῶν, σωφρονίζων, οὐκ αὐθάδειαν μανιώδη καὶ παράφορον ἀλλὰ νήφουσιν*
- 74 *παρρησίαν ἐπιτετηδευκώς. εἰ δὲ μὴ χαίρει τις ταῖς βελτιώσεσιν, ἐπιτιμάτω καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ ἐπιτρόποις*

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey: most mss. ἀφειμένον, which Cohn retains, others -ων. The masculine seems to me necessary for the sense.

## ON JOSEPH, 69-74

dissimulation. And why should I submit to it? 69  
For, though the people be a master, I am not a  
slave, but as highly-born as any, one who claims  
enrolment among the citizens of that best and  
greatest state, this world. For when neither presents 70  
nor appeals nor craving for honours nor desire for  
office nor spirit of pretentiousness nor longing for  
reputation, nor incontinence, nor unmanliness, nor  
injustice, nor any other creation of passion and vice  
can subdue me, what domination is still left for me  
to fear? Clearly, it can only be that of men, but 71  
men, while they assume the sovereignty of my body,  
are not sovereigns of the real I. For I take my  
title from the better part, the understanding within  
me, and by that I am prepared to live with little  
thought of the mortal body, the shell-like growth  
which encases me. And, though some may mal-  
treat it, yet, if I be free from the hard masters and  
mistresses within, I shall suffer no affliction, since I  
have escaped the cruellest tyranny of all. If then 72  
I have to serve on a jury, I will give my verdict  
without favouring the rich because of his abundant  
wealth, or the poor through pity of his misfortunes,  
but drawing a veil over the dignity or the out-  
ward appearance of the litigants I will in all honesty  
award what shall appear just. If I act as a councillor 73  
I will introduce such proposals as are for the common  
good, even if they be not agreeable. If I speak in  
the general assembly I will leave all talk of flattery  
to others and resort only to such as is salutary and  
beneficial, reproving, warning, correcting in words  
studied to shew a sober frankness without foolish and  
frantic arrogance. He who does not gladly receive 74  
improving advice must to be consistent censure

## PHILO

καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κηδεμόσιν, ὅτι τέκνα γνήσια καὶ ὄρφανούς παῖδας καὶ φοιτητὰς κακηγοροῦσιν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τύπτουσιν, οἷς οὔτε βλασφημίαν οὔθ' ὕβριν ὅσιον ἐπιφημίζειν, ἀλλὰ  
75 τοῦναντίον τὰ φιλίας καὶ εὐνοίας ὀνόματα. πάνυ γὰρ ἀνάξιον τὸν πολιτικὸν ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πάντα ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμοῖς χεῖρονα γενέσθαι τινὸς τὴν ἰατρικὴν  
76 τέχνην ἐπιτηδεύοντος. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐδὲν τῆς περὶ τὸν θεραπευόμενον λαμπρότητος ἐν ταῖς νομιζόμεναις εὐτυχίαις φροντίσας, οὔθ' ὅτι εὐγενῆς ἦν ἢ πολυχρήματος οὔθ' ὅτι τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδοξότατος βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος, ἐνὸς περιέχεται μόνου τοῦ σῶσαι κατὰ δύναμιν, κἂν δέη τομαῖς ἢ καύσει χρῆσθαι, καίει τε καὶ τέμνει τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ  
77 δεσπότην ὁ ὑπήκοος καὶ λεγόμενος δοῦλος. ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ ἓνα ἄνδρα πόλιν δ' ὅλην κάμνουσαν παραλαβὼν ὑπ' ἀργαλεωτέρων νόσων, ἃς κατεσκεύασαν αἱ συγγενεῖς ἐπιθυμίαι, τί πράσσειν ὀφείλω; προέμενος τὰ συνοίσοντα πᾶσι κοινῇ τὰ τοῦ δεινὸς ἢ τοῦ δεινὸς ὦτα θεραπεύειν ἀνελευθέρω καὶ σφόδρα δουλοπρεπεῖ κολακείᾳ; τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐλοιμήν ἢ πρὸς  
[53] ἡδονὴν τι φθεγξάμενος | ἐπικρῦψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀμελήσαι.

78 “ πρὸς ταῦθ' ”

ὡς ὁ τραγικός φησιν

“ ἴτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγανον.”—

“ πῖμπρα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα, γῆ δ' ἄνεισ' εἰς αἰθέρα, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ' ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.”



## ON JOSEPH, 74-78

parents and guardians and teachers and all persons in charge, because they reprimand and sometimes even beat their own children or orphan-wards or pupils, though really it is against all morality to call such treatment evil-speaking or outrage instead of friendliness and benevolence. For it were a quite 75 unworthy thing that I, the statesman, to whom are committed all the interests of the people, should, in planning for their benefit, shew myself inferior to anyone who practises the physician's art. He cares 76 not how brilliant is the good fortune, as men hold it, which attends his patient or that he is high-born or wealthy or the most glorious king or despot of his time, but devotes himself to one object only, to save him to the best of his ability, even if he must use cautery or surgery, and he applies the fire or the knife, he the subject to his ruler, he the so-called slave to his master. And I, who am called 77 to attend not on a single person but on the whole state afflicted by the more powerful distempers which its inbred lusts have produced, what ought I to do? Shall I sacrifice the future welfare of all and minister to the cares of this man and that man with flattery utterly slave-like and unworthy of the free? I would rather lie dead than with some pleasant words conceal the truth and disregard real welfare. As the tragedian says : 78

So then come fire, come sword.<sup>a</sup>  
Burn me, consume my flesh, drink my dark blood,  
Take fill of me; for sooner shall the stars  
Go 'neath the earth, and earth go up to sky  
Than thou shalt from these lips hear fawning word.

<sup>a</sup> The first line is from Eur. *Phoenissae* 521. The others also from Eur. Quoted *Leg. All.* iii. 202 and *Quod Probus* 99, where the speaker is given as Heracles.

## PHILO

- 79 οὕτως οὖν ἡρρενωμένον τὸ φρόνημα καὶ ἐκτὸς πάντων παθῶν ἰστάμενον, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἐπιθυμίας, ἀνδρα πολιτικὸν ὁ δεσπότης δῆμος οὐκ ἀνέχεται, συλλαβὼν δ' ὡς ἐχθρὸν κολάζει τὸν εὖ-νουν καὶ φίλον, πρὸ ἐκείνου τιμωρούμενος ἑαυτὸν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν τιμωριῶν, ἀπαιδευσία, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἔμαθεν ἄρχεσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βιωφελέστατον, ἐξ οὗ περιγίνεται καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν.
- 80 XV. Ἀποχρώντως δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων διειλεγμένοι τὰ ἐξῆς ἴδωμεν. ὁ διαβληθεὶς νεανίας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρωμένης γυναικὸς τῷ δεσπότηι πλασαμένης ἀντιστρόφους αἰτίας, αἷς ἦν ἔνοχος αὐτῇ, μηδ' ἀπολογίας τυχὼν εἰς εἴρκτην ἀπάγεται· καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς μέγεθος ἐπεδείξατο, ὡς καὶ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐκεῖ τεθηπέναι καὶ καταπλήττεσθαι καὶ παρηγόρημα τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀλεξίκακον εὐρηκέναι
- 81 τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν. ὅσης δ' ἀπανθρωπίας οἱ εἴρκτο-φύλακες γέμουσι καὶ ὠμότητος, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ· φύσει τε γὰρ ἀνηλεεῖς εἰσι καὶ μελέτη συγκροτοῦνται θηριούμενοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ἀγριότητα, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκ τύχης ὀρώντες ἢ λέγοντες ἢ δρῶντες, ὅσα δὲ βιαιότατα καὶ χαλεπώ-
- 82 τατα. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ σώματα εὐπαγεῖς, ὅταν τὴν ἐξ ἀθλητικῆς ἄσκησιν προσλάβωσι, νευροῦνται δύναμιν ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ εὐεξίαν ὑπερβάλλουσαν κτώμενοι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅταν ἀτίθασος καὶ ἀμείλικτος φύσις ἄσκησιν εἰς τὸ ἀνήμερον προσλάβῃ, διχόθεν ἄβατος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος οἴκτω

## ON JOSEPH, 79-82

When the statesman stands thus aloof from all 79 passions, from pleasure, from fear, from pain, from desire, with the spirit of a true man, the despot-people cannot away with him, but takes him and chastises as an enemy its friend and well-wisher. And thus it lays upon itself rather than on its victim the greatest of punishments, indiscipline, whereby it fails to learn the lesson of submission to government, that lesson most excellent and of life-long profit, which he who learns learns also how to govern.

XV. <sup>a</sup> Having sufficiently discussed these matters, 80 let us proceed to the next. The youth who had been brought into disgrace with his master by the false charges of a lovesick woman, charges which were the counterpart of those to which she was liable herself, was carried away to gaol without even any opportunity of making his defence. In the prison he displayed such a wealth of virtue that even the vilest of the inmates were astounded and over-awed, and considered that they had found in him a consolation for misfortunes and a defence against future ills. Everyone knows how full of inhumanity 81 and cruelty gaolers are ; pitiless by nature and case-hardened by practice, they are brutalized day by day towards savagery, because they never even by chance see or say or do any kindness, but only the extremes of violence and cruelty. Just as men 82 of well-built physique, if they add to this athletic training, grow sinewy and gain irresistible strength and unequalled robustness, so, whenever any uncivilized and unsoftened nature adds practice to its harshness, it becomes doubly impervious and in-

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 80-124 see Gen. xxxix. 20-xli. 45.

## PHILO

83 γίνεται, χρηστῶ πάθει καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ. ὥσπερ  
 γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὀμιλεῖται βελτιοῦνται τοὺς  
 τρόπους χαίροντες τοῖς συνοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοῖς  
 πονηροῖς συζῶντες ἀπομάττονται τι τῆς ἐκείνων  
 κακίας· δεινὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔθος ἐξομοιωῖσαι καὶ βιάσα-  
 84 σθαι πρὸς φύσιν. συνδιατρίβουσιν οὖν οἱ εἰρκτη-  
 φύλακες λωποδύταις, κλέπταις, τοιχωρύχοις, ὕβρι-  
 σταῖς, βιαίοις, φθορεῦσιν, ἀνδροφόνοις, μοιχοῖς, ἱερο-  
 σύλοις, ὧν ἀφ' ἑκάστου σπῶνται τι μοχθηρίας  
 καὶ συνερανίζουσι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολυμιγοῦς κράσεως  
 ἐν ἀποτελοῦσι πάμφυρτον καὶ παμμίαιρον κακόν.  
 85 XVI. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ τοιοῦτος | ἡμερωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς  
 [54] τοῦ νεανίσκου καλοκαγαθίας οὐ μόνον ἀδείας καὶ  
 ἐκεχειρίας μετέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐφ'  
 ἅπασιν τοῖς δεσμώταις, ὡς λόγῳ μὲν ἔνεκα προσχή-  
 ματος ἐμμένειν εἰρκτηφύλαξ, τὴν δ' ἐν ἔργοις τάξιν  
 παρακεχωρηκέναι τῷ νεανίᾳ, δι' ἧς οὐκ ὀλίγα  
 86 συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀπαχθέντας ὠφελεῖσθαι. τὸ γοῦν  
 χωρίον οὐδ' ὀνομάζειν ἔτ' ἠξίουεν εἰρκτην, ἀλλὰ  
 σωφρονιστήριον· ἀντὶ γὰρ βασάνων καὶ τιμωριῶν,  
 ἃς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπέμενον τυπτόμενοι  
 καὶ καταδύμενοι καὶ τί κακὸν οὐ πάσχοντες,  
 λόγοις καὶ δόγμασι τοῖς φιλοσοφίας ἐνουθετοῦντο  
 καὶ ταῖς ἀνυσιμωτέραις παντὸς λόγου πράξεις τοῦ  
 87 διδάσκοντος. τὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ βίον σωφροσύνης καὶ  
 πάσης ἀρετῆς οἷα γραφὴν ἀρχέτυπον εἶ δεδημιουργη-  
 μένην ἐν μέσῳ θεὸς ἐπέστρεψε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ  
 δοκοῦντας ἀνιάτως ἔχειν, οἷς μακρὰ νόσοι τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἐλώφησαν ἤδη κακίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγ-

## ON JOSEPH, 82-87

accessible to the kindly and humane emotion of pity. For, even as those who consort with the good are 83 improved in character by the pleasure they take in their associates, so those who live with the bad take on some impression of their vice. Custom has a wonderful power of forcing everything into the likeness of nature. Gaolers then spend their days 84 with footpads, thieves, burglars, men of violence and outrage, who commit rape, murder, adultery and sacrilege, and from each of these they imbibe and accumulate something of their villainy, out of which miscellaneous amalgam they produce a single body of evil, a fusion of every sort of pollution. XVI. But nevertheless one of this kind, tamed by 85 the nobility of the youth, not only allowed him some security from violence and hardship, but gave him the command of all the prisoners; and thus while he remained nominally and for the sake of appearance the keeper of the gaol, he resigned to Joseph the actual office, which thus became the source of no small benefit to those who were in confinement. Thus even the place, as they felt, could 86 not rightly be called a prison, but a house of correction. For instead of the tortures and punishments which they used to endure night and day under the lash or in manacles or in every possible affliction, they were rebuked by his wise words and doctrines of philosophy, while the conduct of their teacher effected more than any words. For by setting before 87 them his life of temperance and every virtue, like an original picture of skilled workmanship, he converted even those who seemed to be quite incurable, who as the long-standing distempers of their soul abated reproached themselves for their past

## PHILO

μένοις αὐτοὺς καὶ μετανοοῦσι καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐπιφθεγομένοις· “ ποῦ ποτ' ἄρ' ἦν πάλαι τοσοῦτον ἀγαθόν, οὐ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσφάλημεν; ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐπιλάμψαντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς πρὸς κάτοπτρον τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ὀρῶντες αὐτῶν αἰσχυρόμεθα.”

- 88 XVII. Τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον βελτιουμένων εἰσάγονται δύο εὐνοῦχοι τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ μὲν ἀρχιοινοχός, ὁ δὲ ἀρχισιτοποιός, ἐν οἷς ἐπετράπησαν κατηγορηθέντες καὶ καταγνωσθέντες. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐποιεῖτο, εὐχόμενος ὅπως οἷός τε ἢ μηδὲν χεῖρους τῶν ἀν-
- 89 ἐπιλήπτων ἀπεργάσασθαι τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ. χρόνου δ' οὐ μακροῦ διελθόντος, ἐπιὼν τοὺς δεσμώτας ὄρα συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας γέμοντας μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τοὺς εὐνοῦχους καὶ στοχασάμενος ἐκ τῆς σφοδρᾶς λύπης προσπεπτωκέναι τι νεώτερον ἐπυν-
- 90 θάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν. ἀποκριναμένων δέ, ὡς ὀνειρούς ἰδόντες ἄσης καὶ ἀδημονίας πεπλήρωνται, μηδενοῦ ὄντος τοῦ διακρινοῦντος, “ θαρσεῖτε ” ἔφη “ καὶ διηγείσθε, γνῶριμοι γὰρ ἔσονται βουλομένου θεοῦ· βούλεται δὲ τὰ συνεσκιασμένα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνακαλύπτειν τοῖς ἀλήθειαν ποθοῦσιν.”
- 91 εἶτα πρότερος ὁ ἀρχιοινοχός φησίν· “ ἔδοξα μεγάλην ἄμπελον ἐκπεφυκέναι τριῶν πυθμένων ἐν εὐερνέστατον στέλεχος, τεθληλυῖαν καὶ βοτρυηφοροῦσαν ὡς ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ὀπώρας, ὑποπερκαζούσης δὲ τῆς σταφυλῆς δρέψασθαι τῶν βοτρύων καὶ εἰς ἔκπωμα βασιλικὸν ἀποθλίβειν, ὅπερ ἱκανῶς ἔχον
- 92 ἀκράτου προσενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ.” ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν “ εὐτυχίαν ” εἶπεν “ ἢ φαντασία σοι καταγγέλλει καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀνάληψιν ἀρχῆς· αἱ γὰρ τρεῖς ρίζαι τῆς ἀμπέλου τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὑπο-

## ON JOSEPH, 87-92

and repented with such utterances as these : " Ah, where in old days was this great blessing which at first we failed to find ? See, when it shines on us we behold as in a mirror our misbehaviour and are ashamed."

XVII. While they were thus growing in goodness, 88 two eunuchs of the king were brought in, the chief butler and the chief baker, both of them accused and condemned for dereliction of duties. Joseph paid the same attention to them as to the others, in his earnest wish to raise if possible those under him to the level of those who were innocent of offence. And 89 after no long time on visiting the prisoners he saw that they were full of depression and dejection, even more than before, and, guessing from their extreme sadness that something unusual had befallen them, he asked the reason. When they answered that they 90 had had dreams which filled them with sore trouble and distress because there was no one to interpret them, he said to them : " Cheer up, and tell me these dreams, for their meaning will be known, if God wills, and He does will to unveil what is hidden to those who desire the truth." Then the chief butler 91 spoke first and said : " I dreamt that I saw a great vine, an exceedingly fine stalk growing from three roots. It was thriving and covered with grapes as in the height of the vintage season, and from a cluster which was turning ripe black I plucked some grapes and squeezed them into the royal cup, and when it had plenty of liquor I brought it to the king." Joseph 92 paused for a little, and then said : " Your vision is an announcement to you of good fortune and the recovery of your former office. The three roots of

## PHILO

γράφουσι, μεθ' ὧς ὑπομνησθήσεται σου ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος ἐνθένδε παρέξει μὲν ἀμνηστίαν, ἐπιτρέψει δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι τάξεως, καὶ ὑπὲρ βεβαιώσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς οἰνοχοήσεις ἀναδούς ἕκπωμα τῷ δεσπότῃ." καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγεγῆθει ταύτ'

93 ἀκούσας.

XVIII. ὁ δ' ἀρχισιτοποιὸς |

- [55] ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν διάκρισιν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτυχὲς ὄναρ ἰδὼν—ἦν δ' οὐ μετρίως παλίμφημον—, ἀπατηθεὶς ταῖς ἐτέρου χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι φησὶν· “ ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ κληρονομεῖν ἔδοξα καὶ τρία πλήρη κανᾶ πεμμάτων κομίζεω ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸ δ' ἀνωτάτω πλήρες εἶναι παντοίων γενῶν, οἷς ἔθος ἐστὶ χρῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα—ποικίλας δ' εἶναι τὰς πρὸς δίκαιαν βασιλικὴν σιτοπόνων περιεργίας—, ὄρνεις δὲ καθιπταμένους ἀρπάζεω ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖσθαι, μέχρις οὗ πάντ' ἀναλώσαι καὶ μηδὲν
- 94 τῶν εὐτρέπισθέντων ὑπολιπέσθαι.” ὁ δὲ “ ἐβουλόμην μὲν ” εἶπε “ μὴ παραστήναί σοι τὴν φαντασίαν ἢ φανείσαν ἡσυχασθῆναι ἢ, εἰ καὶ διηγείτο τις, μακρὰν γοῦν, ἵνα μὴ κατακούσασαι, τῶν ἐμῶν ὧτων γενέσθαι τὴν διήγησιν· ὀκνῶ τε γάρ, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, εἶναι κακῶν ἄγγελος συναλγῶ τε τοῖς ἐν συμφοραῖς, ἔνεκα φιλανθρωπίας οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν
- 95 ὑπομενονόντων ὀδυνώμενος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὀνείρων κριταῖς ἀληθεύει ἀναγκαῖον θεῖα λόγια διερμηνεύουσι καὶ προφητεύουσι, λέξω μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος· ἀψευδεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν πάντων ἄριστον, ἐπὶ
- 96 δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων καὶ ὀσιώτατον. τὰ τοιαῦτα κανᾶ σύμβολον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐστίν· ἐπισχῶν



## ON JOSEPH, 92-96

the vine denote three days, after which the king will remember you and send for you from this place. He will then grant you free pardon, and allow you to take your old post, and to confirm you in the office you will act as butler and offer the cup to your master." The chief butler rejoiced on hearing this.

XVIII. The chief baker, for his part, approved the 93 interpretation, and, thinking that he himself had had a lucky dream, though in reality it was very much the reverse, and misled by the comforting hopes of the other, proceeded as follows: "I too had a dream. I thought I was carrying three baskets—full of bake-meats—~~on my head~~, the uppermost full of all the different kinds which are regularly provided for the use of the king, for the delicacies produced by the caterers for the king's table are varied and elaborate. Then birds flew down and snatched them from my head, and gobbled them insatiably until all was consumed and nothing of the provisions was left." Joseph replied: "I could have wished that this 94 vision had never been seen by you, or, if seen, had remained unmentioned, or, if its story were told, that at least it should have been told far away from my ears to prevent my hearing it. For no one shrinks more than I from being a messenger of ill-tidings. I sympathize with those in misfortune, and kindly affection makes me feel as much pain as the actual sufferers. But the interpreters of dreams must needs 95 tell the truth, since they are prophets expounding divine oracles, and I will therefore speak without reserve; for, while veracity is best in all matters, in dealing with God's messages, anything else is profanity.<sup>a</sup> The three baskets are symbols of three days. 96

<sup>a</sup> *ἄσπιον* here in the sense of what is demanded by religion.

## PHILO

- ταύτας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνασκολοπισθῆναί σε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι κελεύσει καὶ καταπατάμενα ὄρνεα τῶν σῶν εὐωχηθήσεται σαρκῶν, ἄχρισ ἂν 97 ὅλος ἐξαναλωθῆς." καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς συγχυθεὶς ἀνατέτραπτο, καραδοκῶν τὴν ὀρισθείσαν προθεσίαν καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς ἀνίας προσδεχόμενος. ὡς δ' αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι διήλθον, γενέθλιος ἐπέστη τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν ἣ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπανηγύριζον, διαφερόντως δ' οἱ περὶ τὰ 98 βασιλεία. ἐστιωμένων οὖν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῆς θεραπείας εὐωχουμένης ὥσπερ ἐν δημοθουίᾳ, τῶν κατὰ τὸ δεσμωτήριον εὐνούχων ὑπομνησθεὶς ἀχθῆναι κελεύει καὶ θεασάμενος τὰκ τῆς τῶν οὐνείρων διακρίσεως ἐπισφραγίζεται, προστάξας τὸν μὲν ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντα, τῷ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν διείπε πρότερον ἀπονεῖμαι.
- 99 XIX. Καταλλαγεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιοινοχόος ἐκλανθάνεται τοῦ τὰς καταλλαγὰς προειπόντος καὶ ἕκαστα τῶν συμπεσόντων ἀτυχημάτων ἐπικουφίσαντος, ἴσως μὲν ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ἀχάριστος ἀμνήμων ἐστὶν εὐεργετῶν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ βουλευθέντος τὰς εὐπραγίας τῷ νεανίᾳ μὴ δι' ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἑαυτοῦ. μετὰ γὰρ 100 διετῆ χρόνον τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ χώρᾳ συμβαίνειν ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ διτταῖς φαντασίαις δι' οὐνείρου θεσπίζεται ταῦτὸν ὑποσημαινούσαις ἔνεκα 101 βεβαιοτέρας πίστεως. ἔδοξε γὰρ ἐπτὰ βόας ἀνέρπειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πίονας καὶ σφόδρα εὐσάρκους καὶ καλὰς ὀφθῆναι, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις νέμεσθαι.
- [56] μεθ' ἃς ἐτέρας ἀριθμὸν ἴσας, | ἀσάρκους τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατεσκελετευμένας καὶ εἰδεχθεστάτας, ἀνελθεῖν καὶ συννέμεσθαι ταῖς προτέραις· εἰτ' 188

## ON JOSEPH, 96-101

When these have passed, the king will order you to be impaled and beheaded, and the birds will feast upon your flesh until you are entirely devoured." The baker, as might be expected, was confounded 97 and upset, having the appointed day before his eyes and mentally anticipating its pangs. But, when the three days had passed, came the king's birthday, when all the inhabitants of the country held festive gatherings, and particularly those of the palace. So, 98 while the dignitaries were banqueting, and the servants were regaling themselves as at a public feast, the king remembered the eunuchs in the prison and bade them be brought to him. And, when he saw them, he ratified what had been forecast in the interpretation of the dreams, by ordering one to be beheaded and impaled and the other to be restored to his former office.

XIX. But, when he was reconciled to his master, 99 the chief butler forgot him who had predicted the reconciliation and alleviated all the misfortunes which befell him; perhaps because the ungrateful are always forgetful of their benefactors, perhaps also in the providence of God Who willed that the happy events which befell the youth should be due to God rather than to man. For after two years the future 100 of his country for both good and ill was revealed to the king when dreaming, in two visions with the same significance, repeated in order to carry stronger conviction. He dreamt that seven oxen came up from 101 the river, fat and well covered with flesh and fair to look upon, and browsed beside the banks. After them seven others, mere skeletons, and fleshless, so to speak, and loathsome in appearance, came up and browsed with the former seven. Then suddenly

## PHILO

- ἑξαπιναίως ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων καταβρωθῆναι τὰς  
 ἀμείνους καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλὰ μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ταῖς  
 ἐμφορηθείσαις πρὸς ὄγκον ἐπιδοῦναι τὰς γαστέρας,  
 102 ἀλλ' ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον ἐστάλθαι. περιναστὰς  
 δὲ καὶ κοιμηθεῖς πάλιν ἐτέρα πληχθῆναι φαντασία·  
 νομίσαι γὰρ ἑπτὰ πυροῦ στάχυσ ἐκπεφυκότας ἐνὸς  
 πυθμένος, ἰσαιτάτους τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, ἀξομένους  
 καὶ τεθλότας αἵρεσθαι πρὸς ὕψος μάλ' εὐρώστους·  
 εἶθ' ἐτέρους ἑπτὰ λεπτοὺς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀναπεφυ-  
 κέναι πλησίον, ὑφ' ὧν ἐπιδραμόντων καταποθῆναι  
 103 τὸν εὐσταχυν πυθμένα. ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὄψιν, τὸ  
 λειπόμενον τῆς νυκτὸς ἄπνος διατελέσας—ἤγειρον  
 γὰρ αἱ φροντίδες κεντοῦσαι καὶ τιτρώσκουσαι—,  
 μεταπέμπεται τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἅμα τῇ ἔω καὶ τὴν  
 104 φαντασίαν διηγείται. μηδενὸς δὲ στοχασμοῖς εἰκόσι  
 τάληθές ἰχνηλατῆσαι δυναμένου, παρελθὼν ὁ ἀρχι-  
 οינוχόος φησίν· “ὦ δέσποτα, τὸν ἄνδρα ὃν ζητεῖς  
 ἐλπίς ἐστίν εὐρήσειν· ἀμαρτόντας ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἀρχι-  
 σιτοποιὸν ἐκέλευσας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθῆ-  
 ναι, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ ἀρχιμαγείρου θεραπείων ἦν Ἑβραῖος,  
 ᾧτινι διηγησάμεθα ἐγὼ τε καὶ κείνος ὀνειράτα τὰ  
 φανέντα ἡμῖν· ὁ δ' οὕτως εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως  
 διέκρινεν, ὡς ὅσα προεῖπεν ἐκατέρω συμβῆναι, τῷ  
 μὲν ἦν ὑπέμεινε τιμωρίαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σοῦ τυχεῖν  
 105 ἴλεω καὶ εὐμενοῦς.” XX. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας προστάττει συντείναντας ἀνα-  
 καλεῖν τὸν νεανίαν. οἱ δ' ἀποκείραντες—βαθεῖαι  
 γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ χαῖται καθειργμένῳ κεφαλῆς καὶ  
 γενείου—καὶ ἀντὶ ῥυπώσης λαμπρὰν ἐσθήτηα ἀντι-  
 δόντες καὶ τᾶλλα φαιδρύναντες εἰσάγουσιν αὐτὸν  
 106 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· ὃς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τεκμηράμενος

## ON JOSEPH, 101-106

the better seven were devoured by the worse, and yet these after swallowing the others shewed not the smallest increase in bulk of belly but were even more, or at least not less, shrunken. The king awoke and 102 then slept again, and was beset by another vision. He thought that seven ears of wheat had sprung out of a single stalk. They were very equal in size and grew and throve and rose to a considerable height, fine and strong. Then seven others sprang up near them, thin and feeble, which overran and swallowed up the stalk which bore the good ears. After seeing 103 this the king remained sleepless for the rest of the night, kept awake by the thoughts which pricked and stung him. At dawn he sent for his wise men and told them the vision, and when no one could make any 104 likely conjecture which could give a clue to the truth, the chief butler came forward and said: "Master, we may hope to find the man whom you seek. When I and the chief baker had offended, we were by your orders cast into prison where there was a Hebrew servant of the chief cook, to whom we two told the dreams which we had seen, and he interpreted them so exactly and skilfully that all that he had predicted happened to each of us, to him the penalty which he suffered, to me my admission to your clemency and favour."

XX. The king on hearing this 105 bade them hasten and summon the youth. They obeyed, but first they had him shaven and shorn, for in his confinement the hair had grown long and thick on his head and chin. Then they put on him a bright and clean raiment instead of his filthy prison clothes, and smartened him in other ways and thus brought him to the king. The king, judging him by his ap- 106 pearance to be a man of free and noble birth, for the

## PHILO

ἄνδρα ἐλεύθερον καὶ εὐγενῆ—χαρακτήηρες γὰρ ἐπιφαίνονται τινες τῷ σώματι τῶν ὀρωμένων οὐχ ὄρατοὶ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὄμμα ὀξύδορκεῖ—“μαντεύεται” εἶπεν “ἡ ψυχὴ μου περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἀσαφεία τοὺς ὀνείρους ἐπισκιάσθησεται· δεῖγμα γὰρ σοφίας ὁ νεανίας οὗτος ὑποφαίνει, διακαλύψει τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οἷα φωτὶ σκότος ἐπιστήμη τὴν ἀμαθίαν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σοφιστῶν ἀποσκεδάσει.” καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους δι-

- 107 ἡγεῖτο. ὁ δὲ τὰξίωμα τοῦ λέγοντος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς ὥσπερ ὑπηκόω βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπήκοος βασιλεῖ, παρρησίᾳ σὺν αἰδοῖ χρώμενος διελέγετο καὶ φησιν· “ὅσα μέλλει ποιεῖν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, προμεμήνυκέ σοι. τὰς μέντοι διττὰς φαντασίας μὴ ὑπολάβῃς εἶναι διττοὺς ὀνείρους· εἰς ἔστι, τὴν ἀναδιπλωσιν ἔχων οὐ περιττήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
- 108 ἔλεγχον βεβαιοτέρας πίστεως. αἶ τε γὰρ πίονες ἑπτὰ βόες καὶ οἱ εὐβλαστοὶ καὶ εὐθαλεῖς ἑπτὰ |
- [57] στάχυες ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ δηλοῦσιν εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ ἑπτὰ ἑτέρουσ λιμοῦ αἶ ἐπανιοῦσαι ἑπτὰ βόες λεπταὶ καὶ εἰδεχθεῖς καὶ οἱ παρεφθαρ-
- 109 μένοι καὶ μεμνυκότες ἑπτὰ στάχυες. ἦξει μὲν οὖν ἑπταετία προτέρα πολλὴν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχουσα εὐκαρπίαν, πλημμύραις μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμνάζοντος τὰς ἀρούρας, τῶν δὲ πεδίων ὡς οὐπω πρότερον εὐτοκία χρωμένων· ἦξει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἑπταετία πάλιν ἐναντία χαλεπὴν ἔνδειαν καὶ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιφέρουσα, μήτ' ἀναχεομένου τοῦ ποταμοῦ μήτε τῆς γῆς λιπαινομένης, ὡς τῆς προτέρας εὐθηνίας ἐκλαθέσθαι καὶ εἴ τι λεί-
- 110 ψανον παλαιᾶς εὐετηρίας ἦν ἀναλωθῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς διακρίσεως τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν. ὑπηχεῖ δέ

## ON JOSEPH, 106-110

persons of those whom we see exhibit characteristics which are not visible to all, but only to those in whom the eye of the understanding is quick to discern, said : " My soul has a prophetic inkling that my dreams will not for ever remain veiled in obscurity, for in this youth there are signs and indications of wisdom. He will reveal the truth, and as light disperses darkness his knowledge will disperse the ignorance of our wizards." So he told him the dreams.

Joseph, nothing awed by the high dignity of the 107 speaker, spoke to him with frankness combined with modesty, rather as a king to a subject than as a subject to the king. " God has given you," he said, " warning of all that He is about to do in the land. But do not suppose that the two visions are two dreams. There is one dream repeated, though the repeating is not superfluous, but given to convince you more firmly of its trustworthiness. For both the 108 seven fat oxen and the seven well-grown and flourishing ears indicate seven years of abundance and prosperity, while the seven oxen that came up after, thin and loathly, and the seven blasted and shrunken ears mean seven other years of famine. The first period 109 of seven years, then, will come bringing a large and plentiful wealth of crops, while the river each year, with its rising waters, turns the fields into pools and the plains have a fertility never known before. But after this will come in its turn another period of seven years of the opposite kind, bringing severe dearth and lack of the means of living, with the river ceasing to overflow and the fields to get their fatness, so that men will forget the former prosperity and every trace of the old abundance will be blotted out. Such are 110 the facts which appear from the interpretation, but

## PHILO

- μοι καὶ ἐκλαλεῖ τὸ θεῖον ὑποβάλλον τὰ ὡς ἐν νόσω σωτήρια· νόσος δὲ πόλεων καὶ χωρίων ἢ βαρυτάτη λιμός, ἢ κατασκευαστέον ἀσθένειαν, ἵνα μὴ τε-
- 111 λείως ῥωσθεῖσα τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκφάγη. πῶς οὖν ἀσθενήσει; τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν, ἐν οἷς ἡ εὐφορία, τὸ πλεονάζον μετὰ τὰς αὐτάρκεις τοῖς πλήθεσι τροφὰς—ἔσται δ' ἴσως μέρος πέμπτον—θησαυριστέον ἐν πόλει καὶ κώμαις, μὴ μετακομίζοντας τὰ θέρη μακρόθεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἢ χωρίων, ἐν ἐκείνοις φυλάττοντας πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκούν-
- 112 των παρηγορίαν· συγκομίζειν δὲ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῖς δράγμασι μῆτε ἀλοῶντας μῆτε συνόλως καθαίροντας, τετάρτων ἕνεκα· ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ σκέπη χρώμενον πρὸς πλείω χρόνον διαμένειν ἀδιάφθορον· ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν γίνεσθαι τῆς εὐθηνίας ὑπόμνησιν, ἀλοῶντων καὶ λικμώντων· ἡ γὰρ μίμησις τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν δευτέραν ἔμελλεν ἡδονὴν ἀπεργάζεσθαι· τρίτου δὲ τοῦ μηδ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἐν στάχυσι καὶ δράγμασιν ἀδήλου καὶ ἀπεριγράφου τοῦ καρποῦ ὑπάρχοντος, ἵνα μὴ προαναπέσωσιν αἱ διάνοιαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐν ταῖς ἀναλώσεσι τοῦ συλλογισθέντος, ἀλλ' εὐθυμία χρώμενοι τῇ σιτίων ἀμείνονι τροφῇ—τρέφει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐλπίς—ἐπικουφίζωσι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐνδείας βαρεῖαν νόσον· τετάρτου δὲ τοῦ καὶ τοῖς θρέμ-

<sup>a</sup> For this regular use of ὑπηχεῖν in Philo for a voice heard inwardly see note on *De Som.* i. 164.

<sup>b</sup> Or "country districts"; cf. the common use of the word for farms or estates.

<sup>c</sup> There is no authority for this statement in Genesis, or the arguments adduced for it. But Philo may well have heard or read of precedents.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. when we thresh the annual allowance from the store



## ON JOSEPH, 110-113

I also hear the promptings<sup>a</sup> of the divine voice, devising safeguards for the disease, as we may call it; and famine in cities and localities<sup>b</sup> is the severest of diseases, and we must provide means of weakening it lest it grow to full strength and devour the inhabitants. How, then, shall it be weakened? What 111 is left over from the harvest of the seven years of abundance after the necessary allowance for feeding the multitudes, which perhaps will be a fifth, should be stored in the city and villages, without transporting the crops to a distance, but keeping them in the places where they have been produced, to encourage the inhabitants. And the crops should be brought 112 in just as they are in the sheaves, without threshing them or purging them in any way,<sup>c</sup> for four reasons. First, that being thus under shelter they will last longer without spoiling; secondly, that every year when they are threshed and winnowed they will serve as a reminder of the prosperous time, for we always find that imitation<sup>d</sup> of our real blessings has brought a repetition of the pleasure; thirdly, the grain cannot 113 even be reckoned when it is contained in ears and sheaves, and therefore is an uncertain and incalculable quantity. This will prevent the minds of the inhabitants from being prematurely depressed, when they see that the grain, which is a known quantity,<sup>e</sup> is being gradually consumed. On the contrary, they will have courage, nourished on a food which is better than corn, since hope is the best of nourishments, and take more lightly the heavy scourge of want. Fourthly, to provide a store of fodder for the cattle we copy what we do in the ordinary harvest and therefore are reminded of it. But Cohn in his translation adopts Mangey's *ὑπόμνησις*.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "which has been calculated."

## PHILO

- 114 *μασι χιλὸν τεταμιεύσθαι, τῶν ἀχύρων καὶ ἀθέρων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ καθάρσεως διακρινομένων. ἐπιμελητὴν δὲ τούτων χειροτονητέον ἄνδρα φρονιμώτατον καὶ συνετώτατον καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δόκιμον, ὃς γένοιτ' ἂν ἱκανὸς ἀμισῶς καὶ ἀνεπάφως εὐτρεπῆ τὰ λεχθέντα ποιεῖν μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐνδιδούς περὶ τοῦ γενησομένου λιμοῦ· χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ προκείμενοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπεσεῖν δυσ-*
- 115 *ελπιστία. εἰάν δέ τις ἐπιζητῆ τὴν αἰτίαν, φήσει δεῖν, καθάπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ προνοεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ*
- [58] *πολέμῳ παρασκευῶν, καὶ ἐν | εὐπορίαις τῶν κατ' ἔνδειαν· ἀδήλους δὲ εἶναι πολέμους καὶ λιμούς καὶ συνόλως τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν ἀβουλήτων, εἰς οὓς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι παρεσκευάσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ γενομένων τότε τὴν θεραπείαν ζητεῖν, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελος."*
- 116 *XXI. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνειρών διάκρισιν εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως στοχαζομένην τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν συμβουλίαν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ὠφελιμωτάτην κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου πρόνοιαν, τοὺς συνόντας ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν κελεύσας, ἵνα μὴ κατακούοι, "ἄρ'" εἶπεν, "ἄνδρες, εὐρήσομεν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἔχει*
- 117 *πνεῦμα θεῖον ἐν ἑαυτῷ;" συνεπαινούντων δὲ καὶ συνευφημούντων, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸν παρεστῶτα "ἐγγυς" εἶπεν "ἔστιν ὃν παραινεῖς ἀναζητεῖν, οὐ μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν ὁ φρόνιμος καὶ συνετός, ὃν ἔδει κατὰ τὰς σὰς ὑψηγήσεις σκοπεῖν, αὐτὸς ὢν τυγχάνεις· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ θεοῦ ταῦτ' ἀποφθέγγεσθαι μοι δοκεῖς. ἴθι δὴ καὶ παραλάμβανε τὴν τ' ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐπι-*
- 118 *τροπήν. εὐχέριαν δ' οὐδεὶς μου καταγνώσεται*

## ON JOSEPH, 113-118

when the bran and chaff are separated through the purging of the grain. And to take charge of all this 114 you must appoint a man of the utmost prudence and good sense and well-approved all round, one who will be competent, without exciting hatred or open resistance, to make the preparations here described without giving the multitude any idea of the coming famine. For it would be a grievous thing if they should faint in anticipation and lose heart through lack of hope. And, if anyone asks the reason for 115 these measures, he should be told that, just as in peace we must exercise forethought in preparing for war, so, too, in years of plenty must we provide against dearth. Wars and famines and times of adversity in general are uncertain, and we must stand ready to meet them, not wait till they have come and look for the remedy when nothing is available."

XXI. The king having heard both his interpreta- 116 tion of the dreams, so exactly and skilfully divining the truth, and his advice to all appearance most profitable in its foresight for the uncertainties of the future, bade his companions come closer to him so that Joseph might not hear, and said: "Sirs, shall we find another man such as this, who has in him the spirit of God?" When they with one accord praised 117 and applauded his words, he looked at Joseph who was standing by, and said: "He whom you bid us seek is near at hand, the man of prudence and sense is not far distant. He for whom according to your advice we should look is yourself, for I think that God is with you in the words you speak. Come, then, and take the charge of my house, and the superintendence of all Egypt. And no one will 118 condemn me for hastiness, for I am not actuated by

## PHILO

- μὴ φιλαυτία χρωμένον, πάθει δυσιάτῳ· αἱ τε γὰρ μεγάλαι τῶν φύσεων χρόνοις οὐ δοκιμάζονται μακροῖς, ὄγκῳ δυνάμεως βιαζόμεναι φθάνειν εἰς ἀποδοχὴν αὐτῶν ἀνυπέρθετον, τά τε πράγματα μέλλησιν καὶ διατριβὴν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, τῶν καιρῶν
- 119 ἐπειγόντων εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας παρασκευάς." εἶπ' αὐτὸν καθίστησι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ χρὴ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, βασιλέα, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπολειπόμενος αὐτῷ, τῆς δ' ἐν ἔργοις ἡγεμονίας ἐκστὰς ἐκείνῳ καὶ τᾶλλα πράττων ὅσα
- 120 ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ νεανίου. δίδωσιν οὖν αὐτῷ σφραγίδα βασιλικὴν καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα καὶ κύκλον χρυσοῦν περιδέραιον καὶ ἐπὶ δευτερεῖον τῶν ἀρμάτων ἀναβιβάσας κελεύει περιελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν, προσερχομένου κήρυκος καὶ δηλοῦντος τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν χειρο-
- 121 τονίαν. μετονομάζει δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄνειροκριτικῆς ἐγχωρίῳ γλώττῃ προσαγορεύσας καὶ ἐγγυᾶ πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερέως Ἡλίου θυγατέρα. ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, περὶ ἔτη γεγονότος ἤδη τριάκοντα.
- 122 τοιαῦτα τῶν εὐσεβῶν τὰ τέλη· κἂν γὰρ κλιθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν πίπτουσιν, ἀλλὰ διαναστάντες ὀρθοῦνται παγίως καὶ βεβαίως, ὡς μηκέθ' ὑποσκελι-
- 123 σθῆναι. τίς γὰρ ἂν προσεδόκησε μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μὲν δούλου δεσπότην, ἀντὶ δὲ δεσμώτου
- [59] πάντων ἀξιονικότατον, | καὶ τὸν ὑποδιάκονον εἰρκτοφύλακος ὑπαρχον βασιλέως ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρκτικῆς τὰ βασιλεία οἰκήσειν, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς φερόμενον ἀντὶ τῶν εἰς ἀτιμίαν ἐσχάτων;
- 124 ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ γενήσεται πολ- λάκις, ὅταν δοκῇ τῷ θεῷ· μόνον ἐντυφέσθω τι

## ON JOSEPH, 118-124

self-confidence, that passion so hard to cure. Great natures take no long time to prove themselves, but by the massiveness of their power force others to give them a rapid and immediate acceptance; and the facts of the case do not admit of delay and procrastination, since the needs of the time urge us on to make the necessary preparations." He then ap- 119 pointed him viceroy of the kingdom, or rather, if the truth be said, king, reserving indeed to himself the name of the office, but resigning to him the actual sovereignty and doing everything else that might give the young man honour. So, then, he bestowed 120 on him the royal seal and put upon him a sacred robe and a golden necklace, and setting him on his second chariot bade him go the round of the city with a crier walking in front who proclaimed the appointment to those who did not know of it. He 121 also gave him another name in the language of the country, based on his art of dream interpretation, and betrothed him to the most distinguished of the ladies of Egypt, the daughter of the priest of the Sun. These events happened when he was about thirty years old. Such is the latter end 122 of the pious; though they be bent they do not altogether fall, but arise and stand upright firm and strong, never to be brought low any more. For 123 who would have expected that in a single day the same man would turn from slave to master, from a prisoner to the highest of dignitaries, that the gaoler's underling would be the king's vice-regent and lodge in the palace instead of the gaol, thus winning the foremost place of honour instead of the lowest of dishonour? But nevertheless these things have 124 happened and will often happen when God so wills.

PHILO

- καλοκαγαθίας ἐμπύρευμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖόν ποτε ριπιζόμενον ἐκλάμψαι.
- 125 XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόκειται μετὰ τὴν ῥητὴν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ τὴν τροπικωτέραν ἐξετάζειν, λεκτέον ἂν χρῆ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς. ἴσως μὲν οὖν γελάσονται τινες τῶν εἰκαιτέρων ἀκούσαντες· ἐγὼ δ' ἐρῶ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, ὅτι ὁ πολιτικός πάντως ὄνειροκριτικός ἐστίν, οὐχὶ τῶν βωμολόχων οὐδὲ τῶν ἐναδολεσχούντων καὶ ἐνσοφιστευόντων ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν καθ' ὕπνον φαντασιῶν διάκρισιν ἀργυρισμοῦ πρόβλημα πεποιημένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν καὶ πάνδημον καὶ μέγαν ὄνειρον οὐ κοιμωμένων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργηγορότων εἰθῶς ἀκριβούν.
- 126 ὁ δὲ ὄνειρος οὗτος, ὡς ἀψευδέστατα φάναι, ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ βίος· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὕπνον φαντασίαις βλέποντες οὐ βλέπομεν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούομεν καὶ γεύομενοι ἢ ἀπτόμενοι οὔτε γεύομεθα οὔτε ἀπτόμεθα λέγοντές τε οὐ λέγομεν καὶ περιπατοῦντες οὐ περιπατοῦμεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κινήσεσι καὶ σχέσεσι χρῆσθαι δοκοῦντες οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ παράπαν χρώμεθα—κεναὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς διανοίας πρὸς οὐδὲν ὑποκείμενον ἀληθείᾳ μόνον ἀναζωγραφοῦσης καὶ ἀνειδωλοποιούσης τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα,—οὔτω καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐργηγορότων αἱ φαντασίαι τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις εἰκόασιν· ἦλθον, ἀπῆλθον, ἐφάνησαν, ἀπεπήδησαν, πρὶν καταληφθῆναι βεβαίως ἀπέπτυσαν.
- 127 ἐρευνησάτω δ' ἕκαστος αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον οἴκοθεν ἄνευ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστεων εἴσεται, καὶ μάλιστα εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος ἤδη γεγωνῶς τυγχάνοι· οὗτος ἦν ὁ ποτὲ βρέφος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παῖς, εἴτ' ἔφηβος, εἶτα μειράκιον, καὶ
- 128 νεανίας αὖθις, εἴτ' ἀνήρ, καὶ γέρων ὕστατον. ἀλλὰ

## ON JOSEPH, 124-128

Only there must be some live coal of nobility smouldering in the soul, which is sure; if it be fanned into flame, to blaze into light.

XXII. But since it is our purpose to examine the <sup>125</sup> more allegorical meaning after the literal, I must say what is needful on that also. Perhaps some of the more thoughtless will laugh at my words; but I will say quite plainly that the statesman is most certainly an interpreter of dreams, not one of the parasites, nor one of the praters who shew off their cleverness for hire and use their art of interpreting the visions given in sleep as a pretext for making money; but one who is accustomed to judge with exactness that great general universal dream which is dreamt not only by the sleeping but also by the waking.<sup>a</sup> This dream in veriest truth is human life: <sup>127</sup> for, just as in the visions of sleep, seeing we see not, hearing we hear not, tasting and touching we neither taste nor touch, speaking we speak not, walking we walk not, and the other motions which we make or postures we adopt we do not make or adopt at all, but they are empty creations of the mind which without any basis of reality produces pictures and images of things which are not, as though they were, so, too, the visions and imaginations of our waking hours resemble dreams. They come; they go; they appear; they speed away; they fly off before we can securely grasp them; let every man search into his own heart and <sup>127</sup> he will test the truth of this at first hand, with no need of proof from me, especially if he is now advanced in years. This is he who was once a babe, after this a boy, then a lad, then a stripling, then a young man, then a grown man and last an old man. But where <sup>128</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For some discussion of §§ 125-147 see App. pp. 601-602.

## PHILO

- ποῦ πάντ' ἐκεῖνα; οὐκ ἐν μὲν παιδί τὸ βρέφος  
 ὑπεξήλθεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐν παρήβῳ, ὁ δ' ἔφηβος ἐν  
 μειρακίῳ, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἐν νεανίᾳ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ δ' ὁ  
 νεανίας, ἀνὴρ δ' ἐν γέροντι, γῆρα δ' ἔπεται τε-  
 129 λευτή; τάχα μέντοι τάχα καὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἐκάστη  
 παραχωροῦσα τοῦ κράτους τῇ μεθ' ἑαυτὴν προαπο-  
 θνήσκει, τῆς φύσεως ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδασκούσης ἡσυχῇ  
 μὴ δεδιέναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θάνατον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς προ-  
 τέρους εὐμαρῶς ἠνέγκαμεν, τὸν βρέφους, τὸν  
 παιδός, τὸν ἐφήβου, τὸν μειρακίου, τὸν νεανίου, τὸν  
 ἀνδρός, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ἐστὶ γῆρως ἐπιστάντος.
- 130 **XXIII.** τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 οὐκ ἐνύπνια; οὐ κάλλος μὲν ἐφήμερον, πρὶν ἀν-  
 [60] θῆσαι μαραινόμενον; ὑγεία δὲ | ἀβέβαιον διὰ τὰς  
 ἐφέδρους ἀσθενείας; ἰσχὺς δ' εὐάλωτον νόσοις ἐκ  
 μυρίων προφάσεων; ἢ τ' ἀκρίβεια τῶν αἰσθήσεων  
 οὐ παγία ρεύματος ἐνστάσει βραχέος ἀνατρέπεται;
- 131 τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀσάφειαν τίς οὐκ  
 οἶδε; μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ πλοῦτοι μεγάλοι πολλακίς ἀπερ-  
 ρύησαν· τὰ πρωτεῖα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνωτάτω τιμαῖς  
 ἐνεγκάμενοι μυριοὶ πρὸς ἡμελημένων καὶ ἀφανῶν  
 ἀδοξίαν μετέβαλον· ἀρχαὶ βασιλέων αἱ μέγισται
- 132 καθηρέθησαν βραχεῖα καιροῦ ῥοπή. ἐγγυᾶταί μου  
 τὸν λόγον Διονύσιος ὁ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὃς Σικελίας  
 μὲν τύραννος ἦν, ἐκπεσῶν δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰς  
 Κόρινθον καταφεύγει καὶ γραμματιστῆς ὁ τοσοῦτος
- 133 ἡγεμῶν γίνεται. συνεγγυᾶται καὶ Κροῖσος ὁ  
 Λυδίας βασιλεύς, πλουσιώτατος βασιλέων, ὃς ἐλ-  
 πίσας τὴν Περσῶν καθελεῖν ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον τὴν

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Cher.* 114.

<sup>b</sup> The γραμματιστῆς is lower than the γραμματικός, cf. the



## ON JOSEPH, 128-133

are all these gone? Has not the baby vanished in the boy, the boy in the lad, the lad in the stripling, the stripling in the youth, the youth in the man, the man in the old man, while on old age follows death? <sup>a</sup> Perhaps, indeed, each of the stages, as it resigns its 129 rule to its successor, dies an anticipatory death, nature thus silently teaching us not to fear the death which ends all, since we have borne so easily the earlier deaths:—that of the babe, of the boy, of the lad, of the stripling, of the man, who are all no more when old age has come. XXIII. And the other 130 things of the body are they not dreams? Is not beauty but for a day, withering before it flowers; health insecure because of the infirmities that lie ready to attack it; strength an easy victim of the diseases which arise from numberless causes; accuracy of senses unstable and easily upset by the onset of some little humour? As for the 131 external goods, who does not know their uncertainty? Magnificent fortunes have often been dissolved in a single day. Multitudes who have won the first place with the highest honour have passed over to the unglorious lot of the unmeritable and obscure. The greatest kings have seen their empires overthrown when occasion gives a slight turn to the scale. What 132 I say is vouched for by Dionysius of Corinth, who was the tyrant of Sicily, but when he fell from power fled to Corinth and there this great sovereign became a teacher of the rudiments.<sup>b</sup> Another witness is 133 Croesus, the king of Lydia, wealthiest of monarchs, who hoped to overthrow the empire of the Persians,

definition of *γραμματιστική* as *γραμματική ἀτελεστέρα*, *De Cong.* 148. Cicero, *Tusc.* iii. 27, merely says of Dionysius “docebat pueros.”

## PHILO

- οικειαν προσαπέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἐμέλ-  
 134 λησε καταπίμπρασθαι. μάρτυρες τῶν ἐνυπνίων  
 οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, ἔθνη, χῶραι, ἢ  
 Ἑλλάς, ἢ βάρβαρος, ἠπειρωταί, νησιῶται, ἢ  
 Εὐρώπη, ἢ Ἀσία, δύοσις, ἀνατολή. μεμένηκε  
 γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παράπαν ἐν ὁμοίῳ, τροπαῖς  
 δὲ καὶ μεταβολαῖς ἐχρήσατο πάντα διὰ πάντων.  
 135 Αἴγυπτός ποτε πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν,  
 ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐστὶ δούλη. Μακεδόνες οὕτως ἐπὶ καιρῶν  
 ἠγκμασαν, ὡς ἀπάσης ἀνάψασθαι τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 τὸ κράτος, ἀλλὰ νῦν τοῖς ἐκλογεῦσι τῶν χρημάτων  
 τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων δασμοὺς ἐτη-  
 136 σίους εἰσφέρουσι. ποῦ δὲ ἢ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἰκία  
 καὶ ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν διαδόχων ἐπιφάνεια μέχρι  
 γῆς καὶ θαλάττης περάτων ἐκλάμψασα; ποῦ δ' αἰ  
 τῶν αὐτονόμων ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων ἐλευθερίαι; ποῦ  
 δ' ἔμπαλιν αἰ δουλείαι τῶν ὑπηκόων; οὐ Πέρσαι  
 μὲν Παρθυαίων ἐπεκράτουσαν, νυνὶ δὲ Περσῶν Παρ-  
 θυαῖοι διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων στροφὰς  
 καὶ τὰς ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεττείας καὶ μεταθέσεις  
 137 αὐτῶν; ἀναπλάττουσιν ἔνιοι μακρὰς τινὰς καὶ  
 ἀπεράτους εὐτυχίας ἑαυτοῖς, αἱ δ' ἀρχαὶ μεγάλων  
 κακῶν εἰσι· καὶ σπεύδοντες ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν κληρο-  
 νομίαν εὐρίσκουσι δεινὰς κακοπραγίας, καὶ τοῦ-  
 ναντίον κακὸν προσδοκῆσαντες ἀγαθοῖς ἐνέτυχον.  
 138 ἀθληταὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ ῥώμαις καὶ εὐεξίαις σωμάτων  
 μέγα φρονούντες, ἀνενδοίαστον νίκην ἐλπίσαντες,  
 ἐξαγώνιοι πολλάκις ἐγένοντο μὴ δοκιμασθέντες ἢ  
 καταστάντες εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἠττήθησαν, οἱ δ'  
 ἀπογνόντες καὶ δευτερείων ἐφίξεσθαι τὰ πρῶτα

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Deus* 173 f.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. of Alexander.

## ON JOSEPH, 133-138

and not only lost his own as well but was taken prisoner and on the point of being burnt alive. That 134 these are dreams is attested not only by single men, but by cities, nations, countries, by Greeks, by the world of the barbarians, by dwellers on the mainland, by dwellers on islands, by Europe, by Asia, by West, by East.<sup>a</sup> For nothing at all anywhere has remained in the same condition; everywhere all has been subject to changes and vicissitudes. Egypt once 135 held the sovereignty over many nations, but now is in slavery. The Macedonians in their day of success flourished so greatly that they held dominion over all the habitable world, but now they pay to the tax-collectors the yearly tributes imposed by their masters. Where is the house of the Ptolemies, and 136 the fame of the several Successors<sup>b</sup> whose light once shone to the utmost boundaries of land and sea? Where are the liberties of the independent nations and cities, where again the servitude of the vassals? Did not the Persians once rule the Parthians, and now the Parthians rule the Persians? So much do human affairs twist and change, go backward and forward as on the draught-board. Some picture for 137 their future a long and unlimited run of luck, and the outcome is great calamity, and when they press eagerly to secure what they think to be their heritage of good they find terrible misfortunes, while on the contrary when they expect evil what they meet with is good. Athletes mightily proud of the 138 strength and muscle and robustness of their bodies, hoping for undoubted victory, have often failed to pass the test and been excluded from the arena, or if admitted, have been vanquished, while others who despaired of taking even the second place have won

## PHILO

- 139 τῶν ἄθλων στεφανηφοροῦντες ἦραντο. θέρους ἀναχθέντες τινές—ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς εὐπλοίας—ἐναυάγησαν, ἕτεροι δὲ χειμῶνος ἀνατραπήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀκινδύνως ἄχρι λιμένων παρεπέμφθησαν. ὡς ἐφ' ὁμολογούμενα κέρδη συντείνουσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀγνοοῦντες τὰς ἐφέδρους ζημίας, ἔμπαλιν λογιζόμενοι βλαβήσεσθαι μεγάλων ἀπέλαυσαν |
- [61] 140 ὠφελειῶν. οὕτως ἄδηλοι μὲν αἱ τύχαι πρὸς ἑκάτερα, τὰ δ' ἀνθρώπεια ὡς ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ ταλαντεύεται βάρεσιν ἀνίσοις ἐπικουφίζόμενα καὶ καθέλκοντα· δεινὴ δ' ἀσάφεια καὶ πολὺ σκότος κατακέχυται τῶν πραγμάτων· ὡς δ' ἐν βαθεῖ ὕπνῳ πλαζόμεθα μηδὲν ἐμπεριελθεῖν ἀκριβείᾳ λογισμοῦ δυνάμενοι μηδ' εὐτόνως καὶ παγίως ἐπιδράξασθαι τινος, σκιαῖς γὰρ
- 141 ἔοικε καὶ φάσμασι. καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς τὰ πρῶτα παρέρχεται φεύγοντα τὰς ὄψεις κὰν τοῖς χειμάρροις τὸ φερόμενον ρεῦμα φθάνει παραδραμὸν ὀξύτητι τάχους τὴν κατάληψιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πράγματα φερόμενα καὶ παρεξίοντα φαντάζονται μὲν ὡς ὑπομένοντα, μένει δ' οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀκαρές,
- 142 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ὑποσύρεται. καὶ οἱ ἐγρηγορότες, ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸ ἐν ταῖς καταλήψεσιν ἀβέβαιον οὐδὲν τῶν κοιμωμένων διαφέροντες, ἀπατῶντες ἑαυτοὺς ἱκανοὶ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπλανέσι λογισμοῖς ὄραν· οἷς ἑκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἐπιστήμην ἐμπόδιος, δεκαζομένη θεάμασιν, ἀκούσμασι, χυλῶν ποιότησιν, ἀτμῶν ιδιότησι, πρὸς ἅπερ ἀποκλίνουσα συνεφέλκεται καὶ τὴν ὄλην ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐῷσα ὀρθοῦσθαι καὶ ἀπταιστώσ οἶα διὰ λεωφόρων ὁδῶν προέρχεσθαι· τὸ δ' ὑψηλο-

## ON JOSEPH, 139-142

the first prize and worn the crown. Some who 139  
embarked in summer, the safe sailing season, have  
been shipwrecked; others who sailed in winter,  
expecting to be capsized, have reached the harbour  
in security. Of merchants, some hurry to what seems  
certain gain, and little know the disasters that await  
them. Again, when they reckon that they will  
suffer loss, they win great profits. Thus fortunes 140  
are uncertain either way, and human affairs swing  
as on a scale with unequal weights, carried lightly  
up or pressing the balance down, and terrible is the  
uncertainty and vast the darkness which envelops  
the events of life. We flounder as though in deep  
sleep, unable to compass anything by accurate  
reasoning or to grasp it vigorously and firmly, for  
all are like shadows and phantoms. And as in 141  
processions the front part passes on and is lost to  
sight, and in the winter torrents the stream in its  
course speeds past us and by its violence and rapidity  
outstrips our observation, so too the events of life  
rush along past us, and though they make a show of  
remaining do not stay even for a moment, but are  
ever swept away. And those who 142  
are awake, who in the uncertainty of apprehension  
differ nothing from the sleeping, deceive themselves  
and think that they are capable of discerning differ-  
ences in the nature of things by incontrovertible  
processes of reason. Each sense impedes their attain-  
ment of knowledge, seduced whether by the sights  
it sees or by the sounds it hears, or by varieties of  
flavours, or by scents of different quality, to which  
it turns aside and is dragged along with them, and  
prevents the soul as a whole from standing erect  
and advancing without stumbling as along a high

τάπεινον καὶ μεγαλόμικρον καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἀνισότητι καὶ ἀνωμαλίᾳ συγγενὲς ἀπεργάζεται καὶ σκοτοδιναῖν ἀναγκάζει καὶ πολὺν ἐμποιεῖ ἴλιγγον.

- 143 XXIV. τοσαύτης οὖν ταραχῆς καὶ ἀταξίας ἔτι δὲ ἀσαφείας γέμοντος τοῦ βίου, παρελθόντα δεῖ τὸν πολιτικὸν ὡσπερ τινὰ σοφὸν τὴν ὄνειροκριτικὴν τὰ μεθημερινὰ ἐνύπνια καὶ φάσματα τῶν ἐγρηγορέναι δοκούντων διακρίνειν εἰκόσι στοχασμοῖς καὶ εὐλόγοις πιθανότησι περὶ ἐκάστου ἀναδιδάσκοντα, ὅτι τοῦτο καλόν, ἐκεῖνο αἰσχρόν, τοῦτο ἀγαθόν, κακὸν ἐκεῖνο, τουτὶ δίκαιον, ἀδικον τοῦναντίον, καὶ τᾶλλα ταύτῃ, τὸ φρόνιμον, τὸ ἀνδρείον, τὸ εὐσεβές, τὸ ὄσιον, τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ ὠφέλιμον, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἀνωφελές, τὸ ἀλόγιστον, τὸ ἀγεννές, τὸ ἀσεβές, τὸ ἀνόσιον, τὸ ἀσύμφορον,
- 144 τὸ βλαβερόν, τὸ φίλαυτον.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις<sup>2</sup> ἀλλότριον τοῦτο, μὴ ἐπιθύμει· ἴδιον τοῦτο, χρῶ μὴ παραχρῶμενος· περιουσιάζεις, μεταδίδου· πλούτου γὰρ τὸ κάλλος οὐκ ἐν βαλαντίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν χρηζόντων ἐπικουρίᾳ· ὀλίγα κέκτησαι, μὴ φθόνει τοῖς ἔχουσι· πένητα γὰρ βάσκανον οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐλεῆσαι· εὐδοξεῖς καὶ τετίμησαι, μὴ καταλαζονεύου· ταπεινὸς εἰ ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα μὴ καταπιπτέτω· πάντα σοι κατὰ νοῦν χωρεῖ, μεταβολὴν εὐλαβοῦ· πταίεις πολλάκις, χρηστὰ ἔλπιδε· πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> The two lists balance so closely that one may be tempted to make the balance complete, and Cohn suggests the omission of τὸ ἀνωφελές at the beginning of the second and the insertion of τὸ φιλόανθρωπον. The argument does not seem to me convincing. Perhaps, too, φιλόθεον rather than φιλόανθρωπον is the reverse of Philo's φίλαυτον. Cf. *Quod Det.* 32.

<sup>2</sup> The transition to a totally different kind of question

## ON JOSEPH, 142-144

road. And thus the senses produce the confusion of high with low and great with small, and all that is akin to inequality and irregularity, and the soul's sight swims perforce in the great dizziness which they create.

XXIV. Since, then, human life 143

is full of this vast confusion and disorder and uncertainty also, the statesman must come forward, and, like some wise expounder of dreams, interpret the day-time visions and phantoms of those who think themselves awake, and with suggestions commended by reason and probability shew them the truth about each of these visions : that this is beautiful, that ugly, this just, that unjust, and so with all the rest ; what is prudent, courageous, pious, religious, beneficial, profitable, and conversely what is unprofitable, unreasonable, ignoble, impious, irreligious, deleterious, harmful, selfish.<sup>a</sup> And he will 144

give other lessons, such as, This is another's, do not covet it ; This is your own, use it but do not misuse it ; You have abundance of wealth, give a share to others, for the excellence of wealth consists not in a full purse but in succouring the needy ; Your possessions are small, be not jealous of the rich, for envious poverty gets pity from none ; You have high reputation and have received honour, be not arrogant ; Your fortunes are lowly, let not your spirits sink also ; All goes with you as you would have it, be prepared for change ; You have made many a trip, hope for a better time, for with men

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps better " self-assertive."

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seems a little abrupt. It may be observed that what we might expect, viz. *ἄλλα οἶον*, would very easily be lost before *ἀλλότριον*.

## PHILO

- 145 γὰρ τὰναντία τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἱ τροπαί. σελήνη  
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς σαφεῖς καὶ  
 ἀριδῆλους ἔχει τὰς τρανότητας, ἅτε πάντων τῶν |  
 [62] κατ' αὐτὸν ὁμοίων μενόντων καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας  
 αὐτῆς μετρουμένων κανόσιν ἐν τάξεσιν ἐναρμονίοις  
 καὶ συμφωνιῶν ταῖς ἀρίσταις, τὰ δ' ἐπίγεια πολ-  
 λῆς ἀταξίας γέμοντα καὶ ταραχῆς ἀσύμφωνα καὶ  
 ἀνάρμοστα, ὡς κυριώτατα φάναι, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν  
 βαθὺ σκότος κατεῖληφεν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐμφέρεται τηλ-  
 αυγεστάτῳ φωτί, μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸ φῶς ἐστὶν εἰλι-  
 146 κρινέστατον καὶ καθαρώτατον. εἰ γοῦν βουλευθείη  
 διακύπτειν εἴσω τις τῶν πραγμάτων, εὐρήσει τὸν  
 οὐρανὸν ἡμέραν αἰώνιον, νυκτὸς καὶ πάσης σκιᾶς  
 ἀμέτοχον, ἅτε περιλαμπόμενον ἀσβέστοις καὶ  
 147 ἀκηράτοις ἀδιαστάτως φέγγεσιν. ὅσῳ τε δια-  
 φέρουσιν οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγρηγορότες τῶν κοιμω-  
 μένων, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ τὰ οὐράνια  
 τῶν ἐπιγείων, τὰ μὲν ἐγρηγόρσει χρώμενα ἀκοι-  
 μήτῳ διὰ τὰς ἀπλανεῖς καὶ ἀπταίστους καὶ ἐν  
 ἅπασι κατορθούσας ἐνεργείας, τὰ δ' ὑπνῷ κατεχό-  
 μενα, κἂν εἰ πρὸς βραχὺ διανασταίη, πάλιν καθελκό-  
 μενα καὶ καταδαρθάνοντα διὰ τὸ μηδὲν εὐθυτενῶς  
 δύνασθαι τῇ ψυχῇ βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ πλάζεσθαι καὶ  
 περιπταίειν· ἐπισκοτεῖται γὰρ ψευδέσι δόξαις, ὑφ'  
 ὧν ὄνειρώττειν ἀναγκαζόμενα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 ὑστερίζοντα οὐδὲν παγίως καὶ βεβαίως ἱκανὰ  
 148 καταλαμβάνειν ἐστί. XXV. συμ-  
 βολικῶς μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δευτερεῖον τῶν βασιλικῶν  
 ἀρμάτων ἀναβαίνειν λέγεται δι' αἰτίαν τοιάνδε· ὁ  
 πολιτικὸς τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται βασιλέως· οὔτε γὰρ  
 ἰδιώτης ἐστὶν οὔτε βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ἀμφοῖν μεθόριος,  
 ἰδιώτου μὲν ὧν κρείττων, ἐλάττων δ' εἰς ἀρχὴν



## ON JOSEPH, 145-148

things turn to their opposite ; The sun and moon and 145  
the whole heaven stand out in such clear and plain  
distinctness because everything there remains the  
same and regulated by the standards of truth itself  
moves in harmonious order and with the grandest  
of symphonies ; while earthly things are brimful of  
disorder and confusion and in the fullest sense of the  
words discordant and inharmonious, because in them  
deep darkness reigns while in heaven all moves in  
most radiant light, or rather heaven is light itself  
most pure and unalloyed. And indeed if one be 146  
willing to look into the inner realities he will find  
that heaven is an eternal day, wherein there is no  
night or any shadow, because around it shine without  
ceasing unquenchable and undefiled beams of light.  
And the same difference that there is here in people 147  
when asleep and when awake exists in the universe  
as a whole between the heavenly and the earthly,  
for the former is kept in unsleeping wakefulness by  
active forces which do not err or stumble and go  
always aright, but the earthly life is sunk in sleep,  
and even if it wake up for a little is dragged down  
again and falls asleep, because it can see nothing  
steadily with its soul but wanders and stumbles about  
darkened as it is by false opinions which compel it  
to dream, and thus never catching up with realities  
it is incapable of apprehending anything firmly and  
securely.

XXV. Again there is a sym- 148  
bolic meaning in saying that Joseph mounts on the  
king's second chariot, and the reason is this. The  
statesman takes a second place to the king, for he is  
neither a private person nor a king, but something  
between the two. He is greater than a private  
person but less than a king in absolute power, since

## PHILO

- αὐτεξούσιον βασιλέως, τῷ δήμῳ βασιλεῖ χρώμενος,  
 ὑπὲρ οὗ πάντα πράττειν προήρηται καθαρᾶ καὶ  
 149 ἀδολωτάτῃ πίστει. φέρεται δὲ ὡς ἐφ'  
 ἄρματείου δίφρου μετέωρος ὑπὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων  
 καὶ τῶν ὄχλων εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενος, καὶ μάλισθ'  
 ὅταν κατὰ νοῦν ἕκαστα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα χωρῆ,  
 μηδενὸς ἀντιπνέοντος μηδ' ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὡς  
 ἐν εὐπλοίᾳ πάντων σωτηρίως ὑπὸ θεοῦ κυβερνω-  
 μένων. ὃν τε δίδωσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς δακτύ-  
 λιον, ἐναργέστατον δεῖγμα πίστεώς ἐστιν, ἣν πεπί-  
 στευκεν ὅ τε βασιλεὺς δῆμος τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ ὁ  
 πολιτικὸς τῷ βασιλεύοντι δήμῳ.
- 150 ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν τράχηλον χρυσοῦς κύκλος εὐδοξίαν  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ κόλασιν ἔοικεν ὑποσημαίνειν· ἕως μὲν  
 γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν εὐδοεῖ πράγματα αὐτῷ,  
 γαυρὸς ἐστι καὶ σεμνὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων τιμώμενος·  
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πταιῖσμα συμβῆ, μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν  
 —τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπαίτιον—, ἀλλὰ τυχερόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ  
 συγγνωστόν, οὐδὲν ἤττον ἔλκεται κάτω διὰ τοῦ  
 περιουχενίου κόσμου καὶ ταπεινοῦται, μόνον οὐκ  
 ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ δεσπότου· “ τὸν περιουχένιον τοῦ-  
 τον κύκλον ἐδωρησάμην σοι καὶ κόσμον κατορθου-  
 μένων τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ ἀγχόνην ἀποτυγχανομένων.”
- 151 [63] XXVI. | Ἦκουσα μέντοι καθ' ἑτέραν ἰδέαν  
 τροπικώτερον τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀκριβοῦντων. ἦν  
 δὲ τοιάδε· τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν ἡμέτερον  
 νοῦν ἔλεγον εἶναι, τὸν τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον σωματικῆς  
 χώρας ἡγεμόνα, ὃς οἷα βασιλεὺς ἀνῆπται τὸ κράτος.
- 152 ὧ γενομένῳ φιλοσωμάτῳ τρία τὰ πλείστης ἀξιού-  
 μενα σπουδῆς διαπονεῖται, σιτία καὶ ὄψα καὶ ποτά,

## ON JOSEPH, 148-152

he has the people for his king, and to serve that king with pure and guileless good faith is the task he has set before him. He rides, too, aloft seated 149 on a chariot, raised on high both by the affairs he handles and the multitude around him, especially when everything great and small goes as he would have it, when from none comes any counterblast or opposition, and under the safe pilotage of God all is well with the voyage. And the ring which the king gives is the clearest sign of the good faith which the king-people places in the statesman and the statesman in the king-people.

The golden chain around his neck seems to indicate 150 both high fame and punishment, for while affairs of state fare well in his hands he is proud and dignified and honoured by the multitude, but when disaster befalls him, not indeed of his set purpose which would imply guilt, but by chance which is a venial matter, he is all the same dragged down to the dust by the decoration round his neck, and as he falls you may almost hear his master say : " I gave you this neck circlet both as a decoration when my business prospers and as a halter when it goes amiss." <sup>a</sup>

XXVI. I have heard, however, some scholars give 151 an allegorical exposition of this part of the story in a different form. It was as follows. The king of Egypt, they said, was our mind, the ruler of the land of the body in each of us over which he is invested with kingly power. When this mind 152 becomes enamoured of the body, its efforts are expended on three things which it deems most worthy of its care and trouble, bread, meat and drink ; and,

<sup>a</sup> The incidents of Joseph's exaltation discussed in these sections are treated somewhat differently in *De Som.* ii. 43-47.

## PHILO

παρὸ καὶ τρισὶ χρήται τοῖς τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιμελη-  
 ταῖς, ἀρχισιτοποιῶ καὶ ἀρχιοινοχόω καὶ ἀρχι-  
 μαγεύω· πρυτανεύει γὰρ ὁ μὲν τὰ περι ἔδωδὴν, ὁ  
 δὲ τὰ περι πόσιν, ὁ δ' ἐπιτέτακται τοῖς περι αὐτὰ  
 153 τὰ ὄψα ἡδύσμασιν. πάντες δέ εἰσιν εὐνοῦχοι, ἐπει-  
 δὴ ὁ φιλήδονος ἄγονός ἐστι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων,  
 σωφροσύνης, αἰδοῦς, ἐγκρατείας, δικαιοσύνης, ἀπά-  
 σης ἀρετῆς· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐχθρόν ἄλλο ἄλλω, ὡς  
 ἀρετῇ ἡδονή, δι' ἣν ἀλογοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὦν μόνον  
 ἄξιον πεφροντικέαι, ταῖς ἀκαθέκτοις ἐπιθυμίαις  
 154 χαριζόμενοι καὶ οἷς ἂν προστάττωσιν εἴκοντες. ὁ  
 μὲν οὖν ἀρχιμάγειρος οὔτ' εἰς δεσμοκτήριον ἀπ-  
 ἄγεται οὔτε τινὶ περιπίπτει λύμη διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα  
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἶναι τὰς παραρτύσεις οὐχ ἡδονὰς  
 οὔσας ἀλλ' εὐσβεστα ἡδονῶν ὑπεκκαύματα, δύο  
 δὲ τῶν περι τὴν ἄθλιον γαστέρα πραγματευομένων,  
 ἀρχισιτοποιὸς καὶ ἀρχιοινοχόος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ συνεκ-  
 τικώτατα τῶν εἰς τὸ ζῆν χρησίμων ἐστὶ βρώσις καὶ  
 πόσις, ὦν ἐπιμελείας μὲν ἄξιουμένων οἱ προεστῶτες  
 εἰκότως ἐπαίνων τυγχάνουσιν, ὀλιγωρουμένων δὲ  
 155 ὀργῆς καὶ κολάσεως ἀξιοῦνται. διαφορὰ δὲ κὰν  
 ταῖς κολάσεσιν, ὅτι διάφορος ἡ χρεία, σιτίων μὲν  
 ἀναγκαιοτάτη, οἴνου δὲ οὐ πάνυ χρησίμη· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἀκράτου δίχα ζῶσιν ἄνθρωποι ναματιαίω ὕδατι  
 156 ποτῶ χρώμενοι. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀρχι-  
 οινοχόον γίνονται καταλλαγαὶ καὶ συμβάσεις ὡς  
 ἂν ἀμαρτόντα περι τὸ ἔλαττον μέρος, ἀσύμβατα  
 δὲ καὶ ἀκατάλλακτα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχισιτοποιόν  
 ἐστὶν ἄχρι θανάτου λαμβάνοντα τὴν ὀργὴν ὡς ἂν  
 περι τὸ μέγιστον ἀδικήσαντα· τελευτῇ γὰρ ἔπεται  
 σιτίων σπάνει· οὐ χάριν καὶ ὁ περι ταῦτ' ἔξαμαρ-  
 τῶν εἰκότως θνήσκει κρεμασθεῖς, ὅμοιον κακὸν

## ON JOSEPH, 152-156

therefore, it provides three offices to provide for these, a chief baker, a chief butler and a chief cook, for the first presides over the food, the second over the drink, the third over the seasoning which adds relish to the actual meat. All are eunuchs, since 153 the lover of pleasure is barren of all the chief necessities, temperance, modesty, self-restraint, justice and every virtue; for no two things can be more hostile to each other than virtue is to pleasure, which makes the many disregard what alone deserves their care, satisfy their unbridled lusts and submit to whatever those lusts command. So, then, the chief cook is not haled 154 to prison and meets with no maltreatment, because the extra seasonings he prepares are not of the most indispensable kind and are not pleasure, but incitements to pleasure, which kindle only to be quenched. Not so with the other two whose business lies with the miserable belly, namely the chief baker and the chief butler. For the most essential of the needs of life are food and drink, and those who take charge of them are naturally held to deserve praise if they treat the charge as worthy of their care, but anger and punishment if they neglect it. The punishment 155 also differs in the two cases because the usefulness of the two differs, being absolutely vital in regard to bread-food, less so in regard to wine, for men can live without strong liquor by drinking fresh water, and 156 therefore it is possible to make terms of reconciliation with the chief butler as an offender in a less important matter. Not so with the chief baker who, being guilty in what is all-important, is the object of an anger which demands his life. For death is the consequence of lack of bread-food, and therefore the offender in this is properly put to death by hanging,

## PHILO

ὧ διέθηκε παθῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνεκρέμασε καὶ παρέτεινε τὸν πεινῶντα λιμῶ.

- 157 XXVII. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτου. ὁ μέντοι βασιλέως ὑπαρχος κατασταθεὶς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν λαβὼν ἐξήγει γνωρισθησόμενος ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους νομοὺς ἐπιῶν κατὰ πόλεις πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον ἐνειργάζετο τοῖς ὀρώσιν, οὐ μόνον ταῖς ὠφελείαις, ἃς ἐκάστοις παρείχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ὄψιν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὀμιλίαν ἀλέκτοις
- 158 καὶ ἐξαιρέτοις χάρισιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὄνειράτων σύγκρισιν<sup>1</sup> ἐνέστη προτέρα τῆς εὐθηνίας
- [64] ἢ ἑπταετία, τὸ πέμπτον | τῶν καρπῶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος συνάγων διὰ τε τῶν ὑπάρχων<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας χρείας ὑπηρέτουν αὐτῷ, τοσαύτην ἠθροισε πληθὺν δραγμάτων, ὅσῃν οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον γενομένην ἐμέμνητο· πίστις δὲ σαφειστάτη τὸ μῆδ' ἀριθμηθῆναι δύνασθαι, καίτοι μυρία τινῶν πονηθέντων, οἷς ἐπιμελές, περιεργία διαριθμήσα-
- 159 σθαι. διεξεληθόντων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔτων, ἐν οἷς εὐφόρησεν ἡ πεδιάς, ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ λιμός, ὃν ἐπιβαίνοντα καὶ συναυξόμενον οὐκ ἐχώρησεν Αἰγυπτος· ἀναχεόμενος γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς αἰεὶ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἐπικαταλαμβάνων ἄχρι περάτων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑω καὶ τῶν πρὸς δυσμὰς ἔφθασε τὴν οἰ-
- 160 κουμένην ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν κατασχών. λέγεται γοῦν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn would read *διάκρισιν*, but *cf.* *De Mig.* 19 τὰς ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς τῶν πραγμάτων συγκρίσεις (referring also to Joseph's dreams) εἶναι κατὰ θεόν.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read *τοπάρχων*, the word used (in the form *τοπάρχης*) in *Gen.* xli. 34.

## ON JOSEPH, 156-160

suffering what he has made others to suffer, for indeed he has hanged and racked the starving man with hunger.

XXVII. So much for this.<sup>a</sup> To continue the story, 157 Joseph, thus appointed viceroy to the king and promoted to the superintendence of Egypt, took a journey to make himself known to all the people of the country. He visited the nomes,<sup>b</sup> as they are called, city by city, and made his presence very welcome to those who saw him, not only through the benefits which they received from him, but through the remarkable and exceptional charm of his appearance and his general deportment. When the 158 first seven years of plenty came, as his reading of the dreams had predicted, he employed the (local) prefects and others who served him in providing for the public needs to collect a fifth part of the fruits every year, and the quantity of sheaves which he amassed surpassed anything within the memory of men. The clearest proof of this is that it was impossible even to count them, though some persons who were interested in it spent a vast amount of labour in making elaborate calculations. But when 159 the seven years during which the plains bore plentifully were ended, the famine began and spread and grew till Egypt could not hold it. It overran successively the cities and countries which lay in its path to the utmost limits of east and west, and rapidly made itself master of the whole civilized world round Egypt. In fact, it is said that never did so great a 160

<sup>a</sup> From this point on to § 257 Philo's narrative follows Gen. xli. 46-xlvii. 12 without serious interruption.

<sup>b</sup> The name regularly given to the districts of Egypt. See L. & S.

## PHILO

- μηδέποτε κοινή νόσος κατασκήψαι τοσαύτη, καθάπερ ἦν ἰατρῶν παῖδες ὀνομάζουσιν ἐρπήνα· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐπιφοιτῶσα τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἡλκωμένων σωμάτων ὅλην δι' ὅλων στοιχηδὸν
- 161 πυρὸς τρόπον ἐπινέμεται. τοὺς οὖν ἀφ' ἑκάστης δοκιμωτάτους αἰρούμενοι σιτώνας ἐξέπεμπον εἰς Αἴγυπτον· ἤδη γὰρ ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ νεανίσκου πανταχόσε διηγγέλλετο ταμειυσαμένου τροφὰς ἀφθόνους
- 162 εἰς καιρὸν ἐνδείας. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κελεύει ἀνοιχθῆναι τοὺς σωροὺς ἅπαντας, ὑπολαμβάνων εὐθυμοτέρους παρασκευάσειν τοὺς ἰδόντας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναθρέψειν πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς, ἔπειτα διὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπέντων τὰς σιταρχίας ἐπώλει τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠνητικῶς, στοχαζόμενος τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐπιὸν ὀρῶν τοῦ παρόντος ἀκριβέστερον.
- 163 XXVIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὑποσπανίζόντων ἤδη τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀγνοῶν τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς εὐτυχίαν ἐκπέμπει δέκα τῶν υἱῶν ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν τὸν νεώτατον οἴκοι κατασχών, ὃς ἦν ὁμομήτριος ἀδελ-
- 164 φὸς τῷ βασιλέως ὑπάρχῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντες ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίῳ τὰδελφῷ καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίωσιν καταπλαγέντες ἔθει παλαιῶ προσκυνούσιν, ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὄνειράτων αὐτοῦ λαμβανόντων βεβαίωσιν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς πεπρακότας θεασάμενος εὐθύς ἐγνώρισεν ἅπαντας ὑπὸ μηδενοῦς αὐτὸς γνωρισθεῖς τὸ παράπαν, μὴ βουλευθέντος πω τοῦ θεοῦ τάληθές ἀναφῆναι διὰ τινος ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας, ἃς τότε βέλτιον ἦν ἡσυχάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ὄψιν
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## ON JOSEPH, 160-165

scourge fall upon the whole community. In this it resembled what the medical schools call herpes, which attacks every part and spreads in successive stages like a fire over the whole framework of the festering body. Accordingly from each city the most ap- 161 proved persons were chosen and sent to Egypt, for already the story of Joseph's foresight in storing up abundance of food against a time of dearth had penetrated to every quarter. He first ordered all 162 the stores to be thrown open, thinking that he would thus increase the courage of those who saw them, and, so to speak, feed their souls with comforting hopes before he fed their bodies. Afterwards, through the commissioners of victualling he sold to those who wished to buy, still always forecasting the after-time and keeping a keener eye on the future than on the present.

XXVIII. In these circumstances, his father, too, 163 as the necessities of life were now growing scarce, little knowing his boy's good fortune, sent ten of his sons to buy corn, but kept at home the youngest, the uterine brother of the king's viceroy. The ten came 164 to Egypt and had an interview with their brother, thinking him to be a stranger, and awestruck at his dignified position bowed to him in the old-fashioned way, and thus at the very outset brought his dreams to fulfilment.<sup>a</sup> He, seeing those who had sold him, 165 immediately recognized them all, though none of them recognized him. It was not God's will to reveal the truth as yet, for cogent reasons which were best at the time kept secret, and therefore He

<sup>a</sup> Philo is probably thinking of Gen. xlii. 9 "Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, Ye are spies."

ἀλλάξαντος εἰς σεμνότερον εἶδος τοῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτραπέντος ἢ παρατρέφαντος τὰς ἀκριβεῖς κατα-  
 166 λήψεις τῆς διανοίας τῶν ὀρώντων. εἰτ' οὐχ ὡσπερ  
 νέος καὶ τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας διάδοχος ἀρχὴν τὴν  
 μετὰ βασιλέα πρώτην ἀναψάμενος, εἰς ὃν ἀνατολαὶ  
 [65] καὶ δύσεις ἀπέβλεπον, | ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ καὶ μεγέθει  
 τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπαρθεῖς, καιρὸν ἔχων ἀμύνης ἐμνησι-  
 κάκησεν, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατῶς τὸ πάθος ἐνεγκὼν καὶ  
 ταμιευσάμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ  
 προμηθοῦς ἐπεμόρφάζεν ἀλλοτρίωσιν καὶ βλέμμασι  
 καὶ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καθυποκρινόμενος τὸν  
 δυσχεραίνοντα “ οὐδέν ” εἶπεν, “ ὦ οὔτοι, φρονεῖτε  
 εἰρηνικόν, ἀλλὰ τις τῶν βασιλέως ἐχθρῶν κατα-  
 σκόπους ὑμᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν, ᾧ κακὰς ὑπηρεσίας ὁμο-  
 λογήσαντες ὑπηρετήσῃν λήσεσθαι μὲν ᾤθητε,  
 λανθάνει δ' οὐδέν τῶν δρωμένων ἐπ' ἐνέδρα, κἄν  
 167 βαθεῖ σκότῳ συσκιάζεται. ” πειρωμένων  
 δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ διεξιόντων, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγενήτοις  
 κατηγοροῦνται, μήτε γὰρ παρὰ δυσμενῶν ἦκειν  
 μήτ' αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀπέχθεσθαι μηδ' ἂν  
 ὑπομεῖναι ποτε τοιαύτην διακονίαν, εἶναι γὰρ τὰς  
 φύσεις εἰρηνικοὶ καὶ μεμαθηκέναι σχεδὸν ἐξ ἔτι  
 νηπίων παιδῶν τιμᾶν εὐστάθειαν παρ' ὀσιωτάτῳ  
 καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ πατρί, ᾧ δώδεκα γενομένων  
 υἱῶν ἓνα μὲν τὸν νεώτατον οὐκ ἔχοντά πω ἡλικίαν  
 ἀποδημίας οἶκοι καταμεῖναι, δέκα δὲ τοὺς ὀρω-  
 μένους ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ὑπάρχειν, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν  
 ἐκποδῶν γεγενῆσθαι—, XXIX. ταῦτ'

## ON JOSEPH, 165-167

either changed and added grandeur to the appearance of the regent or else perverted the understanding of the brothers from properly apprehending what they saw. Then, though, young as he was, promoted 166 to so high a command, invested with the first office after the king, looked up to by east and west, flushed with the vigour of his prime and the greatness of his power, with the opportunity of revenge in his hands, he might well have shewn vindictiveness, he did not do so. He bore up firmly against his feelings, and, keeping them under the management of his soul, with a carefully considered purpose, he feigned disfavour and with looks and voice and the rest of his demeanour counterfeited indignation.

“Sirs,” he said, “your intentions are not peaceful. You have been sent as spies by one of the king’s enemies, to whom you have agreed to render this base service thinking that you would escape detection. But no treacherous action passes undetected, however profound the obscurity in which it is shrouded.”

The brothers attempted 167 to defend themselves, and maintained that the charges had no foundation of fact. They had not been sent, they said, by ill-disposed persons, and they themselves had no hostility to the people of the country and could never have brought themselves to undertake such employment, being men of peaceful nature who had learned almost from infancy to value a steady and quiet life under a father of scrupulous conduct and highly favoured by God. “This father has had twelve sons, the youngest of whom has stayed at home, being not of an age to travel. Ten are we whom you see before you here, and the twelfth has passed away.”

## PHILO

- ἀκούσας ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἀπο-  
 168 δομένων τί τὴν ψυχὴν ἄρα ἐπεπόνθει; καὶ γὰρ  
 εἰ μὴ ἐξελάλησε τότε τὸ παραστὰν πάθος, ἀλλὰ  
 τούτοις ὑποτυφομένῳ καὶ ζωπυρουμένῳ πάντως τὰ  
 ἐντὸς ἐκαίετο, βαθεῖ δ' ὅμως ἤθει φησὶν αὐτοῖς·  
 “ εἰ τῷ ὄντι μὴ κατασκευόμενοι τὴν γῆν ἀφίχθε,  
 πρὸς πίστιν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐνταυθοὶ διατρίψατε  
 βραχύν τινα χρόνον, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν  
 ἀφικέσθω μετακληθεὶς ἐπιστολιμαίοις γράμμασιν.  
 169 ἂν δ' ἔνεκα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπείγησθε ἀπιέναι φοβη-  
 σομένου τάχα τὴν μακρὰν ὑμῶν διάζευξιν, οἱ μὲν  
 ἄλλοι πάντες ἀπάρατε, καταμεινάτω δ' εἰς ὀμηρεύ-  
 σων, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπανέλθητε σὺν τῷ νεωτάτῳ· τιμωρία  
 δὲ κατὰ τῶν μὴ πειθαρχούντων ἢ ἀνωτάτω προ-  
 170 κείσεται θάνατος.” καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαυτ' ἀπειλήσας  
 ὑποβλεπόμενος καὶ βαρείας ὀργῆς δείγματα παρα-  
 σχῶν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἀπηλλάττετο· οἱ δὲ συννοίας  
 καὶ κατηφείας γεμισθέντες ἐκάκιζον ἑαυτοὺς ἔνεκα  
 τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιβουλῆς “ ἐκεῖνο ” λέγοντες  
 “ τὰ δίκημα τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ κακῶν αἴτιον, τῆς  
 ἐφόρου δίκης τῶν ἀνθρωπέων πραγμάτων ἤδη τι  
 μηχανωμένης καθ' ἡμῶν· βραχύν γὰρ ἡσυχάσασα  
 χρόνον διανίσταται τὴν ἀμείλικτον καὶ ἀπαραίτητον  
 αὐτῆς ἐπιδεικνυμένη φύσιν τοῖς ἀξίοις κολάσεως.  
 171 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιοι; οἱ δεόμενον καὶ ποτνιώμενον  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἱ ἀνηλεεῖς ὑπερείδομεν οὐδὲν μὲν  
 ἐξαμαρτόντα, φαντασίας δὲ τὰς καθ' ὕπνον διὰ τὸ  
 φιλοΐκειον ὡς συνήθεσιν ἀνενεγκόντα, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ  
 θηριωδέστατοι καὶ πάντων ἀγριώτατοι δυσχεραί-  
 [66] νοντες ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὅσια—δεῖ γὰρ | ἀψευδεῖν—εἰργα-  
 172 σάμεθα. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι χεῖρω τού-

<sup>a</sup> Or “with consummate acting.” See App. p. 602.

## ON JOSEPH, 168-172

XXIX. When he heard this and found himself spoken of as dead by those who had sold him, what do we suppose were the sensations of his soul? Though he gave no utterance to the emotion which 168 he felt, yet inwardly he was consumed by the secret fire which their words had kindled. In spite of this, he said, assuming a very impressive air,<sup>a</sup> "If it is true that you have not come to spy out the land, do you as a proof of good faith to me abide here for a short time and let your youngest brother be summoned hither by letter. But, if you are anxious 169 to depart for the sake of your father who will perhaps be alarmed at his long separation from you, let all the rest set off but one remain to serve as a hostage until you return with the youngest. And any disobedience in this will entail the extreme penalty of death." Thus he threatened with grim 170 looks, and giving to all appearance signs of great anger took his departure. But they, filled with gloom and depression, began to reproach themselves for their plot against their brother. "That wrong we did," they said, "is the cause of our present evil plight. Justice, the surveyor of human affairs, is now devising our downfall. For a little while she kept quiet, but now is awake and shews her implacable and inexorable nature to those who deserve punishment. And who deserves it more than we, 171 who mercilessly disregarded the prayers and supplications of our brother, though he had committed no offence, but merely in family affection recounted to us as his intimates the visions of his sleep, in resentment for which, with unparalleled brutality and savagery, we wrought what truth forces us to admit were unholy deeds? And, therefore, let us 172

## PHILO

- των πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν, οἵτινες μόνοι σχεδὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὐπατρίδαι λεγόμενοι διὰ τὰς πατέρων καὶ πάππων καὶ προγόνων ὑπερβαλλούσας ἀρετὰς ἠσχύναμεν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐπιφανῆς
- 173 ὄνειδος κτήσασθαι σπουδάσαντες.” ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὃς καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ, συντιθεμένων τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἠναντιοῦτο, “ ἐπὶ δὴ πεπραγμένοις ” εἶπεν “ ἀνωφελεῖς αἱ μεταμέλειαί· παρεκάλουν, ἰκέτευον, ἐξετάζων ὅσον ἐστὶ τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα, μὴ θυμῷ χαρίζεσθαι· συναινεῖν δέον, ταῖς ἀβουλίαις
- 174 ἐαυτῶν εἶξατε. τοιγαροῦν καρπούμεθα τῆς αὐθαδείας καὶ ἀσεβείας τὰπίχειρα· ζητεῖται μὲν ἢ ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ τυρευθεῖσα ἐπιβουλή, ὃ δὲ ζητῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἢ θεὸς ἢ λόγος ἢ νόμος θεῖος.”
- 175 XXX. ταῦτα δ’ ἤκουεν ὁ πραθεὶς ἀδελφὸς ἡσυχῇ διαλαλούντων, ἐρμηνεύς μεταξὺ ὄντος· καὶ νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, μέλλων δακρῦειν, ὡς μὴ γένοιτο καταφανῆς, ἀποστρέφεται καὶ προχέας θερμὰ καὶ ἐπάλληλα δάκρυα καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπικουφισθεὶς, τὴν ὄψιν ἀπομαζάμενος, ἐπιστρέφει καὶ κελεύει τὸν ἡλικία δευτέρον τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν ὄψεσι ταῖς ἀπάντων δεθῆναι, τὸν αὐτῷ κατάλληλον—ὁ γὰρ ἐν πλείοσι δεύτερος τῷ παρεσχάτῳ κατάλληλος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ τελευταίῳ ὁ πρῶτος
- 176 — ἴσως μέντοι καὶ διότι τὴν πλείστην μοῖραν ἔδοξε τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων εἰσενεγκεῖν μόνον οὐ συνταγματάρχων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλείφων ἐπὶ δυσμένειαν· εἰ γὰρ συνετάχθη τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ χρηστὰ καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xlii. 23 “ they knew not that Joseph understood, for there was an interpreter between them.” By missing out the first half of this Philo obscures the point. Presumably he means the same as Genesis, viz. that they ventured on

## ON JOSEPH, 172-176

expect to suffer this, and even more than this, we who though almost alone among men we owe our title of nobly-born to the surpassing virtues of father, grandfather and ancestors, have shamed our kin and hastened to load ourselves with infamy and disgrace." The eldest of the brothers, who originally opposed them when they were forming their plot, said : " Remorse for what is done is useless. I proved to you the enormity of the crime and begged and exhorted you not to give way to your wrath, but when you should have accepted my advice you let your evil counsels have their way. And so we are 174 reaping the rewards of our self-will and impiety. The plot we hatched for him is under inquisition, but the inquisitor is no man but God or the word or law of God."

XXX. As they talked 175 thus quietly, since an interpreter was acting for them,<sup>a</sup> the brother whom they had sold heard what they said, and, overcome by his emotion and on the point to weep, turned aside to avoid discovery and let the tears stream warm and fast. Then, somewhat relieved, he wiped them from his face, turned round and bade the second eldest of the brothers to be bound in the sight of them all. This brother corresponded to himself, for the second of a large number corresponds to the last but one as the eldest does to the last. But perhaps too he thought that 176 that brother had the greatest responsibility for the wickedness, since he might be almost called the officer of the company and the ringleader of their spite. For if he had ranged himself with the eldest when

this quiet conversation, because they supposed that he would not understand them in the absence of the interpreter, who had acted before.

## PHILO

- φιλάνθρωπα βουλευομένω, νεώτερος μὲν ἐκείνου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πρεσβύτερος ὢν, ἴσως ἂν ἴσως ἐπ-εσχέθη τὰδικήμα, τῶν τὴν ἀνωτάτω τάξιν καὶ τιμὴν ἐχόντων συμπνεόντων καὶ ὁμογνωμονούντων περὶ πράγματος, ὃ κἂν<sup>1</sup> καθ' αὐτὸ πολλὴν ῥοπὴν συνεφ-
- 177 εἴλκετο· νυνὶ δ' ἀποστὰς τῆς ἡμέρου καὶ ἀμείνονος τάξεως πρὸς τὴν ἀνήμερον καὶ χαλεπὴν ἠτύτομόλησε καὶ ταύτης ἀποδειχθεὶς ἡγεμῶν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνε τοὺς συνεφαπτομένους τοῦ παρανομήματος, ὡς ἀνευδότης τὸν ἐπίληπτον ἄθλον διαθλήσαι. διὰ ταύτ' ἐξ ἀπάντων μόνος οὗτος δεθῆναι μοι δοκεῖ.
- 178 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν οἴκαδε ἐπάνοδον ἤδη παρεντρεπί-ζονται, κελεύσαντος τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπου τοῖς πυροπωλοῦσι τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὡς ξένων ἅπαντα πληρῶσαι καὶ ἣν ἔλαβον τιμὴν ἐπὶ τῶν στομίων λάθρα καταθεῖναι μὴ προειπόντας οἷς ἀπεδίδοσαν καὶ τρίτον τι προσεπιδαφιλεύεσθαι τροφάς, αἷ γένοιτ' ἂν ἱκαναὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐξαιρέτους ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραπεμφθῆναι τὴν σιτωνίαν
- 179 ἀμείωτον. ὁδοιπορούντων δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀδελφὸν ὡς εἰκὸς οἰκτιζομένων, οὐχ ἦττον δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ κατηφούντων, εἰ πάλιν ἀκούσεται συμ-
- [67] φορᾶς, καθ' ἐκάστην ὁδὸν | ἐλαττουμένης καὶ ἀποκειρομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς εὐπαιδίας, καὶ λεγόντων “ ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πιστεύσει δεδέσθαι, πρόφασιν δ' εἶναι τὰ δεσμὰ τελευτῆς ὑπολήψεται διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἅπαξ πληγέντας εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ προσπταίειν,” ἐσπέρα κατα-λαμβάνει καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καθελόντες τὰ ἄχθη τὰ μὲν ἐπεκουφίζον, αὐτοὶ δὲ βαρυτέρας ταῖς ψυχαῖς

<sup>1</sup> My correction: mss. and Cohn καὶ. Mangey ἂν ἐφέιλκετο for συνεφέιλκετο.



## ON JOSEPH, 176-179

he counselled kindness and humanity, being, though younger than he, older than the others, the wrongdoing might well have been stopped. For the two highest in position and honour would have been united in sentiment and purpose on the question, and this of itself would have had great weight to turn the scale. As it was, he left the mild, the better, side, and 177 deserted to the cruel and savage side, and being appointed their leader so encouraged his fellow-malefactors that they played out without flinching the criminal contest. It was for this reason, I think, that he alone of them all was put in bonds.

As the others were now preparing for their journey 178 homewards, the regent ordered the corn-factors to fill all their sacks, thus treating them as guests, and secondly to place secretly in the mouth of each sack the price which had been paid, without giving information of this repayment to the recipients, and thirdly to bestow an additional bounty, namely a special stock of provisions sufficient for the journey, so that the corn purchased might be brought to its destination undiminished. The brothers journeyed 179 on, pitying as was natural the one whom they left in bonds, and no less depressed at the thought of their father, how he would again hear of misfortune and feel that every journey diminished and curtailed his wealth of children. "Indeed," they said, "he will not even believe that he has been put in bonds, but think that bonds are a pretext to cloak death, since those who have once received a blow often find themselves brought up against the same calamity." As they thus talked, evening overtook them, and when they had unloaded their beasts, though these were relieved, they themselves felt the burden of their

## PHILO

- φροντίδας ἐδέχοντο· φιλεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀνα-  
 παύλαις τῶν σωμάτων ἐναργεστέρας τῶν ἀβουλήτων  
 ἢ διάνοια λαμβάνουσα φαντασίας χαλεπῶς ἄγαν  
 180 θλίβεσθαι καὶ πιέζεσθαι. XXXI. λύσας δέ τις ἐν  
 ἀγγεῖον ὄρᾳ παρὰ τῷ στομίῳ βαλάντιον ὑπόμειστον  
 ἀργυρίου καὶ διαριθμησάμενος εὔρισκεν ὅσην τοῦ  
 σίτου καθῆκε τιμὴν ἀποδοδομένην αὐτῷ καὶ κατα-  
 181 πλαγεῖς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀνέφερον. οἱ δ' οὐ χάριν  
 ἀλλ' ἐνέδραν ὑποτοπήσαντες ἠθύμουν καὶ βουλό-  
 μενοι πάντα τὰ ἀγγεῖα διερευνήσασθαι φόβῳ  
 διώξεως ἄραντες ἢ τάχιστα συντέεινον καὶ μόνον  
 οὐκ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντες πολυήμερον ὁδὸν ἐπιτεμόντες  
 182 ἀνύουσιν. εἰτ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοι τὸν πατέρα οὐκ  
 ἀδακρυτὶ περιλαβόντες ἐφίλουν ἐκάστῳ περιπλεκό-  
 μενον καὶ περιχεόμενον ἐκθύμῳς, καίτοι τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἤδη τι μαντευομένης ἀβούλητον· καὶ γὰρ προσιόντας  
 καὶ δεξιουμένους κατενόει καὶ τὸν ὑπολειφθέντα  
 υἱὸν ὡς ὑστερηκότα τῆς βραδυτήτος ἠτιᾶτο καὶ  
 πρὸς τὰς εἰσόδους ἀπέβλεπε σπεύδων τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 183 τῶν τέκνων πλήρη θεάσασθαι. μηδενὸς δ' ἕξωθεν  
 ἔτι προσεπιφοιτῶντος, διεπτοημένον ἰδόντες “ τῶν  
 ἀβουλήτων ” ἔφασαν, “ ὦ πάτερ, ἀνιαιρότερος τῆς  
 μαθήσεως ὁ ἐνδοιασμός ἐστι· μαθὼν μὲν γὰρ τις  
 ὁδὸν εὔρεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἢ δ' ἀμφίβολος ἄγνοια  
 δυσοδίας καὶ ἀπορίας αἴτιον· ἄκουε δὴ σφόδρα μὲν  
 184 ἀνιαιροῦ διηγήματος, ἀναγκαίου δὲ λεχθῆναι. ὁ  
 συμπεμφθεὶς ἡμῖν ἀδελφὸς ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν καὶ μὴ  
 ἐπανελθυσθῶς ζῆ μὲν—δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι  
 ἀπαλλάξαι σου μείζονα φόβον—, ζῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

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<sup>a</sup> More literally “from different sides,” or perhaps “taking hold of different parts.”

## ON JOSEPH, 179-184

cares weigh heavier on their souls. For when the body takes rest the mind receives clearer visions of adversities and is grievously afflicted and oppressed thereby. XXXI. One of them, loosing a particular sack, saw at its mouth a purse nearly full of silver, and, counting it, found that the exact price which he had paid for the corn had been restored to him. Filled with astonishment, he told his brothers, who, suspecting that it was not a gift but a trap, were dismayed. And though they fain would have examined all the sacks, so great was their fear of pursuit that they started off and hurried on with all speed, and racing along with hardly a pause for breath made a short matter of accomplishing a journey of many days. Then grouped around<sup>a</sup> their father they embraced him, weeping the while, and kissed him as he clung to each and folded them passionately in his arms, though his soul already had a boding of some calamity. For he took note of them as they approached and greeted him, and, thinking that the son who was actually left behind was playing the laggard, he blamed him for his slowness and kept looking to the different approaches in his eagerness to see the number of his children complete. And, seeing his agitation when no one else appeared from outside, they said: "In calamity, to learn the truth is less painful than to doubt. He who has learned the truth may find the way to safety; the ignorance of doubt produces the perplexity which finds no path. Listen, then, to a story, which, painful though it be, must needs be told. The brother who was sent with us to buy corn and has not returned is alive—you must cast from your mind the worse fear of his death—but, though alive, he remains in Egypt with the regent

## PHILO

καταμένει παρὰ τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπῳ, ὃς εἶτ' ἐκ  
 διαβολῆς εἶτε καὶ ὑποτοπήσας αὐτὸς αἰτίαν ἡμῖν  
 185 ὡς κατασκόποις ἐπέφερεν. ἀπολογουμένων<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὅσα  
 ὁ καιρὸς καὶ περὶ τε σοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς διεξιόντων<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ἀδελφῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ τεθνεῶ-  
 τος, ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ παρὰ σοὶ διατρίβοντος, ὃν ἔφαμεν  
 ἔτι νέον ὄντα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οἴκοι<sup>2</sup> καταμείναι,  
 πάντα ἀπαμπίσχοντες καὶ ἀπογυμνοῦντες τὰ τῆς  
 συγγενείας εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον οὐδὲν ἠνύσαμεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἔφη μόνην ἂν αὐτῷ πίστιν ἀμειδουῖς ὁμολογίας  
 γενέσθαι τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν τοῦ νεωτάτου παιδός,  
 οὗ χάριν καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κατεσχηκέναι ρύσιόν τε  
 186 καὶ ἐνέχυρον ἐκείνου. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίταγμα πάντων  
 ἀνιαρότατον, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς αὐτὸ προστάττει μᾶλλον  
 [68] τοῦ κελεύοντος, ᾧ | πειστέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης διὰ  
 τὰπιτήθεια, μόνης Αἰγύπτου χορηγούσης αὐτὰ  
 187 τοῖς λιμῷ πιεσθεῖσιν." XXXII. ὁ δὲ  
 βαρύτερον ἀναστενάξας "τίνα πρῶτον" εἶπεν "ὄλο-  
 φύρωμαι; τὸν παρέσχατον, ὃς οὐ τελευταῖος ἀλλὰ  
 πρῶτος ἔλαχε τὴν τῶν συμφορῶν τάξιν; ἢ τὸν  
 δεύτερον, ὃς τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν κακῶν ἤρατο, πρὸ  
 θανάτου δεσμά; ἢ τὸν νεώτατον, ὃς ἀπευκταιο-  
 τάτην ὁδὸν ἀφίξεται, ἐὰν ἄρα ἀπίη, ταῖς τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν κακοπραγίαις οὐ σωφρονισθεῖς; ἐγὼ δὲ  
 κατὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη διαρτῶμενος—μέρη γὰρ τέκνα  
 γονέων—εἰς ἀπαιδίαν κινδυνεύω περιελθεῖν ὁ πολύ-  
 188 παις καὶ εὖπαις ἄχρι πρὸ μικροῦ νομισθεῖς." ὁ δὲ  
 πρεσβύτερος "εἰς ὀμηρείαν" ἔφη "σοὶ δύο υἱοὺς  
 δίδωμι, οὓς καὶ μόνους ἐγέννησα· τούτους ἀπό-  
 κτεινον, ἐὰν μὴ σῶον ἀποδῶ τὸν ἐγχειρισθησόμενον

<sup>1</sup> The ungrammatical genitives should perhaps be corrected to nominatives.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἴκαδε.

## ON JOSEPH, 184-188

of the land, who, either on some accusations laid by others, or on his own suspicions, charged us with being spies. We made all the defence which the occasion called for. We told him of you, our father, 185 and the brothers who were absent from our company, how one of them was dead and the other was abiding with you, who, as we said, was still quite young and therefore on account of his age kept at home. But when we thus laid bare without concealment all the facts about our family we made no headway in removing his suspicion. He told us that the only proof which he would accept of the truth of our assertions was that the youngest son should be sent to him, and that to ensure this he detained the second son as pledge and security for the other. This command 186 is painful beyond everything, but is laid upon us less by him who issued it than by the needs of the time, which we must perforce obey to get those provisions which Egypt alone supplies to people who are hard pressed by famine.” XXXII. Their 187 father gave a deep groan, and said : “ Whom should I lament for first ? My youngest but one, who was not the last but the first to be placed on the list of unfortunates, or the second eldest who won the second prize of evils, bonds in place of death, or the youngest who, if he does go, will go on a journey of truly evil omen, unlessoned by the misfortunes of his brothers ? While I, divided limb by limb and part by part, since the child is part of its parent, am like to survive childless, I who but lately was held to be the father of a fine and numerous family.” His eldest son then 188 said : “ I give you my two sons, my only children, as hostages. Slay them if I do not restore to you in safety the brother whom you will entrust to my hand,

PHILO

ἀδελφόν, ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον δύο περιποιή-  
σει τὰ μέγιστα ἡμῖν, ἐν μὲν πίστιν σαφῆ τοῦ μὴ  
κατασκόπους μηδὲ πολεμίους εἶναι, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ  
τὸν ἀδελφόν τὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν δυνηθῆναι.”

- 189 σφόδρα δ' ἀχθομένου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ λέγοντος  
ἀγνοεῖν,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι δυεῖν ὄντων ὁμομητρίων ὁ μὲν ἤδη  
τέθνηκεν, ὁ δ' ἔρημος καὶ μόνος ἀπολειφθεὶς  
εὐλαβήσεται τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ζῶν προαποθανεῖται τῷ  
δέει κατὰ τὴν φοβερῶν ἐκείνων ὑπόμνησιν, ἃ  
συνέβη τὸν πρότερον παθεῖν, ταῦτα λέγοντος, τὸν  
εὐτολμότατον καὶ ἀρχικὸν φύσει καὶ δυνατὸν  
εἰπεῖν—ἦν δὲ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τέταρ-  
τος—προστησάμενοι διερμηνεύειν ἔπεισαν τὰ δο-  
190 κούντα πᾶσιν. ἐδόκει δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαίων  
ὑστεριζόντων—ὁ γὰρ κομισθεὶς πρότερος σῆτος  
ἐπιλελοίπει—, κρατοῦντος δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ πιέ-  
ζοντος, ὠνησομένους ἀπιέναι, μὴ βαδιεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ  
νεωτάτου καταμένοντος· τὸν γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐπί-  
τροπον ἀπηγορευκένοι δίχα τούτου παραγενέσθαι.  
191 λογισάμενος δὲ ἄτε σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, ὡς  
ἔστιν ἄμεινον ἕνα προέσθαι τῷ τοῦ μέλλοντος  
ἀδήλω καὶ ἀμφιβόλῳ πρὸ τῆς ὁμολογουμένης τῶν  
τοσοῦτων ἀπωλείας, ἦν ὑπομενεῖ πᾶς οἶκος ἐνδεία  
192 πιεσθεῖς, ἀνιάτῳ νόσῳ, φησὶν αὐτοῖς· “ ἄλλ' εἰ τῆς  
ἐμῆς βουλήσεως ἐπικρατέστερα τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης  
ἐστίν, εἰκτέον· ἴσως γὰρ ἴσως ἢ φύσις οἰκονομεῖ τι  
βέλτιον, ὃ μήπω ταῖς διανοίαις ἡμῶν παραφαίνειν  
193 ἀξιοῖ. λαβόντες οὖν καὶ τὸν νεώτατον, ὡς προ-  
ῆρησθε, ἅπιτε, μὴ μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν ὃν καὶ πρόσθεν  
τρόπον· πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἀργυρίου μόνον ἔδει πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἀγνοεῖν in this sense is strange: Cohn suggests ἀποκνεῖν, Mangey (better) ἀμφιγνοεῖν: I would also suggest as nearer

## ON JOSEPH, 188-193

whose coming to Egypt will procure us two very great gains, first the clear proof that we are not spies or enemies, secondly the power to recover our brother from bondage." The father was much distressed, and 189 said that he knew not what to do, since of the two full brothers one was already dead and the other left desolate and alone would dread the journey and suffer a living death through fright recalling the horrors which had befallen his precursor. When he thus spoke, they put forward the fourth in age, the most courageous of them all, a man princely in nature and powerful of speech, and persuaded him to act as spokesman of what they all thought. This was, that, since the 190 necessities of life were running short, as the first stock of corn which they had brought was exhausted and the stress of the famine pressed hard upon them, they should set out to buy more corn but would not do so if their youngest brother stayed behind, since the ruler of the land had forbidden them to appear without him. Their father, reckoning in 191 his wisdom that it was better to surrender one to the mercy of an obscure and dubious future than that many should suffer the undoubted destruction which the stress of famine, that fatal scourge, would inflict upon the whole household, said: "Nay, if the call of necessity 192 is stronger than my wishes, I must yield, for haply it may be that nature has some better gift in store, which as yet she refuses to reveal to our mind. Take, 193 then, the youngest as you propose, and depart, but not in the same fashion as before, for on the former occasion when you were unknown and had not met

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to the MSS. & ἐνδοί, "what was in his mind." The ταῦτα λέγοντος is anacoluthic in any case.

## PHILO

- σιτωνίαν ἀγνοούμενοι ἀνθρώποις καὶ μηδέν πω  
 πεπονθόσιν ἀνήκεστον, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δώρων, τριῶν  
 [69] ἔνεκα, τῆς τε | πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ σιτάρχη  
 ἀρεσκείας, ὑφ' οὗ γνωρίζεσθαί φατε, καὶ τοῦ τὸν  
 ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θάπτον πολλὰ καταθέντας  
 αὐτοῦ λύτρα καὶ τοῦ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τῆς κατασκοπῆς  
 194 ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἰάσασθαι. πάντων οὖν ὅσων ἡ  
 ἡμετέρα γῆ φέρει λαβόντες ὡσπερ τινὰς ἀπαρχὰς  
 κομίζετε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ δισσὸν ἀργύριον, τό τε  
 ἀποδοθὲν πρότερον, ὃ ἴσως ἀγνοία τινὸς ἀπεδόθη,  
 195 καὶ ἕτερον αὐτάρκες εἰς σιτωνίαν. ἐπιφέρεσθε μέν-  
 τοι καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας εὐχὰς, ἃς πρὸς τὸν σωτήρα  
 ποιούμεθα θεόν, ἵνα καὶ εὐάρεστοι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις  
 ξενιτεύοντες ἦτε καὶ ἐπανέρχησθε σῶμι τὰς ἀναγ-  
 καίας παρακαταθήκας, υἱούς, ἀποδιδόντες πατρί,  
 τὸν τε καταλειφθέντα πρότερον ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ  
 ὃν συνεπάγεσθε νυνὶ νεώτατον καὶ πραγμάτων  
 ἄπειρον." ἄραντες δὲ συνέτεινον εἰς Αἴγυπτον.  
 196 XXXIII. Εἶτ' ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀφικο-  
 μένους ἰδὼν ὃ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος ἦσθη πάνυ καὶ  
 κελεύει τῷ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμελουμένῳ πολυτελὲς  
 ἄριστον εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰσάγειν ἀλῶν  
 197 καὶ τραπέζης μεθέξοντας. εἰσαχθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐφ'  
 ὅτῳ μὴ συναισθόμενοι διεπτόητο καὶ συγχυθέντες  
 ἐτόπαζον ἐπὶ κλοπῇ μέλλειν συκοφαντεῖσθαι ὡς  
 ὑφελόμενοι τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν, ἣν πρότερον ἐν  
 τοῖς ἀγγελίοις ἀνεῦρον· εἶτα τῷ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπι-  
 μελητῇ προσελθόντες ἀπελογοῦντο περὶ οὗ μηδεὶς  
 ἐτόλμα κατηγορεῖν τὸ συνειδὸς ἰώμενοι καὶ ἅμα  
 προφέροντες ἐπεδείκνυον τὸ ἀργύριον εἰς ἀπόδοσιν.



with any fatal disaster you only needed money to pay for the corn, but now you must take presents also for three reasons, to propitiate the governor and chief victualler to whom you say you are known, to hasten the delivery of the prisoner with a considerable ransom, and to remedy the suspicion that you are spies as much as you can. Take, then, samples of all 194 the products of our land, firstfruits, as it were, and a double sum of money, to make good what was restored to you on your former visit, perhaps through someone's oversight, and also enough for purchasing the corn. Carry with you, further, my own prayers 195 which I offer to the God of our salvation that you, as strangers in the land, may be well-pleasing to the inhabitants, and also may return in safety and restore to your father the sureties which he has been forced to pledge, even his sons, both him who before was left behind in bondage and the one whom you now take with you, the youngest so inexperienced in life."

XXXIII. They set off, and hastened to Egypt. 196 On their arrival a few days afterwards the governor saw them and was greatly pleased. He bade the steward of his household prepare a sumptuous meal and bring them in to partake of his salt and board. Conducted thus, with no knowledge of what was 197 intended, they were scared and perturbed, guessing that they were to be libelled as thieves for having filched the price of the corn which they had found in the sacks on the first occasion. Then they approached the steward and made their defence, clearing their consciences of a matter on which no one was venturing to charge them, and at the same time they produced and shewed him the money which they had

## PHILO

- 198 ὁ δὲ χρηστοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις λόγοις εὐθυμο-  
 τέρους αὐτοὺς ἐποίει φάσκων· “ οὐδεὶς ἀσεβῆς  
 ἐστὶν οὕτως, ὡς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας συκοφαντεῖν,  
 ὃς ἰλεως εἶη· θησαυροὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις  
 ὤμβρησεν ἀγγείοις οὐ μόνον τροφὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 199 πλοῦτον ἐξ ἐτοίμου διδούς.” οἱ δὲ παρηγορηθέντες  
 ἐν τάξει διετίθεσαν ἅ οἴκοθεν ἐπηνέγκαντο δῶρα  
 καὶ παραγενομένῳ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῆς οἰκίας προσ-  
 ἔφερον· πυνθανομένῳ δέ, πῶς ἔχοιεν καὶ εἰ ὁ πατὴρ  
 ζῆ, περὶ οὗ πρόσθεν ἔλεγον, ἀποκρίνονται περὶ μὲν  
 αὐτῶν οὐδέν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι ζῆ καὶ ὑγιαί-  
 200 νει. κατευξάμενος δ’ ἐκείνῳ καὶ θεοφιλέστατον προσ-  
 ειπών, τὸν ὁμομήτριον περιβλεψάμενος ἀδελφὸν  
 ὡς εἶδεν, οὐ κατασχὼν ἀλλ’ ἤδη νικώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πάθους, πρὶν γενέσθαι καταφανῆς, ἐπιστρέφεται  
 καὶ δραμῶν πρόφασιν ἐπὶ τι τῶν κατεπειγόντων—  
 ἐκλαλήσαι γὰρ τάληθές καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν—ἐν μυχῶ τινι  
 τῆς οἰκίας ἀνακλαυσάμενος ἀποχεῖ τὴν τῶν δακρῦων  
 201 φοράν. XXXIV. εἶτ’ ἀπονυψάμενος λογισμῷ τῆς  
 ἀνίας ἐπεκράτησε καὶ προσελθὼν εἰστία τοὺς ξένους  
 ἀποδοὺς πρότερον καὶ τὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ νεωτάτου  
 κατασχεθέντα εἰς ὀμηρείαν· συνεισιτῶντο δὲ καὶ  
 202 ἄλλοι τῶν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίους δοκίμων. αἱ  
 δ’ ὑποδοχαὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐκάστοις ἐγίνοντο,  
 χαλεπὸν ἡγουμένου παλαιοῦς νόμους παριδεῖν, καὶ  
 ταῦτα ἐν εὐωχίᾳ τινί, ἔνθα τῶν ἀηδιῶν αἱ ἡδοναὶ  
 203 πλείους. | ἐξῆς δὲ προστάξαντος κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας  
 [70] καθέζεσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς συμ-  
 ποτικαῖς συνουσίαις κατακλίσει χρωμένῳ, ἐθαύ-

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps based on Gen. xliii. 32 “ they set on for him by himself, and them by themselves, and for the Egyptians by themselves.”

## ON JOSEPH, 198-203

brought for repayment. But he raised their courage 198  
with kind and friendly words. "No one," he said,  
"is so impious as to libel the bounties of God Whose  
mercy I invoke. For He has poured treasure into  
your sacks, thereby providing not only sustenance  
but wealth to spend as you need it." Thus en- 199  
couraged, they proceeded to set out in order the gifts  
they had brought from home, and when the master  
of the house arrived they offered them to him. He  
asked them how they were, and whether the father  
of whom they spoke before still lived, in answer to  
which they said nothing about themselves but told  
him that their father was alive and well. Joseph 200  
invoked a blessing on him and pronounced him most  
favoured by God, and then, when, looking round, he  
saw Benjamin, his own mother's son, he could not  
contain himself, but, overcome by emotion, turned  
aside before he could be observed, and hastened,  
nominally on some pressing business, as the time for  
disclosure had not come, into a corner of the house  
and there burst into weeping and let the tears stream  
forth. XXXIV. Then he washed his face, and, reason 201  
prevailing over his troubled feelings, approached his  
guests and led them to the feast, having first restored  
the prisoner who had been detained as hostage for the  
youngest. Other Egyptian dignitaries feasted with  
them. The method of entertainment 202  
followed in each case ancestral practice,<sup>a</sup> since he  
strongly disapproved of neglecting old customs,  
particularly at a festivity where the pleasures out-  
number the disagreeables. When the guests were 203  
seated, arranged by his commands in order of age, as  
at that date it was not the custom to recline at con-

## PHILO

μαζον, εἰ Αἰγύπτιοι ζηλωταὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἑβραίοις  
 εἰσὶ τάξεώς τε πεφροντικότες καὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρων  
 204 καὶ νεωτέρων τιμὰς διακρίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι. τάχα  
 μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἔφασκον, τῆς χώρας  
 ἀμαθέστερον τὰ περὶ διαίταν ἀγούσης, ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος  
 τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπιστὰς οὐ μόνον τοῖς μεγάλοις πράγ-  
 μασιν ἤρμοσεν εὐταξίαν, δι' ὧν τὰ εἰρήνης καὶ  
 πολέμου κατορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς  
 εὐτελεστέροις εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν  
 παιδιαῖς· ἰλαρότητα γὰρ ἐπιζητοῦσιν εὐωχίαι  
 205 σεμνὸν ἄγαν καὶ αὐστηρὸν συμπότην ἥκιστα παρα-  
 δεχόμενοι. τοιοῦτους ἐπαίνους ἡρέμα συνειρόντων,  
 τράπεζαι μὲν οὐ σφόδρα πολυτελεῖς εἰσκομίζονται,  
 διὰ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἀξιώσαντος τοῦ ξενοδόχου ταῖς  
 ἐτέρων ἀτυχίαις ἐντρυφᾶν· αὐτοὶ δ' ἄτε σύνεσιν  
 ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὰ ἐγκώμια παρελάμβανον,  
 ὡς ἀπειροκαλίαν, πρᾶγμα ἐπίφθονον, ἀπέστραπται,  
 λέγοντες· ὡς καὶ τὸ τοῦ συναλγοῦντος τοῖς δεο-  
 μένοις καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐστιάτορος σχῆμα διασώζει  
 μεθόριον ἀμφοῖν τιθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ  
 206 μέμψιν ἐκφεύγων. αἱ μὲν οὖν παρασκευαὶ τὸ  
 ἀμισῆς εἶχον πρόσφοροι τῷ καιρῷ γεγονυῖαι· τὸ δ'  
 ἔλλιπες ἀνεπλήρουν αἱ συνεχεῖς φιλοφροσύναι προ-  
 πόσεσιν, εὐχαῖς, παραινέσεσι ταῖς εἰς ἀνάληψιν, ἃ  
 τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ μὴ ἀμούσοις τὸ ἦθος ἡδῖω τῶν  
 ὅσα περὶ ἔδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν εὐτρεπίζουσιν οἱ φιλ-

<sup>a</sup> See Gen. xliii. 33, where the statement that they were placed in order of seniority is followed by "the men marvelled one with another."

<sup>b</sup> Philo may have found a ground for this in the phrase

## ON JOSEPH, 203-206

vivial gatherings, they were surprised to find that the Egyptians affected the same fashions as the Hebrews, and were careful of order of precedence, and knew how to discriminate between younger and older in the honours which they paid them.<sup>a</sup> "It may be," they said, "that in other times the style of life in this country was less civilized, until this man, when put over the state, introduced good order not only in the important matters which give rise to success in peace and war, but in those regarded as less important which mainly belong to the lighter side of life. For festivities demand cheerfulness and have no room for the over-grave and austere guest." While they thus quietly descanted in his praise the tables were brought in, not over-sumptuously laden,<sup>b</sup> because their host, on account of the famine, disliked the thought of luxury while others were suffering want; and they themselves had the sound sense to include in their eulogies this also, that he had shunned the odious fault of tasteless display. He had preserved, they said, the attitude both of a sympathizer with the needy and of the host at a feast, had set himself in the mean between the two and escaped censure on either count. The arrangements, then, did not offend good taste, but were suitable to the occasion, and any deficiency was made good by the constant signs of kind feeling shewn in toasts and good wishes and invitations to take refreshment, things which to liberal and cultured temperaments give more pleasure than all the preparations of food and drink provided by the lovers of high feasting for

"set on bread" in contrast to the more elaborate preparations of Gen. xviii. He apparently forgets that the steward had been ordered to provide a sumptuous meal (§ 196).

## PHILO

εστιάτορες καὶ φιλόδειπνοι τὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἄξια σπου-  
 δῆς εἰς ὀλιγοφρόνων ἐπίδειξιν πομποστολοῦντες.

207 XXXV. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἔω μεταπεμψά-  
 μενος τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς οἰκίας κελεύει τὰ ἀγγεῖα  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅσα ἐπηνέγκαντο γεμίσαι σίτου καὶ  
 πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν στομιῶν τὴν τιμὴν ἐν βαλαντίοις  
 καταθεῖναι, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ νεωτάτου καὶ τὸ κάλ-  
 λιστον τῶν ἀργυρῶν ἔκπωμα, ᾧ πίνειν ἔθος εἶχεν

208 αὐτός. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ προσταχθέντα προθύμως ἐπ-  
 ετέλει μηδένα μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν  
 τῶν κρύφα γεγονότων εἰδότες ἀνεξεύγνυσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς

209 παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασι χαίροντες. ἃ μὲν γὰρ  
 προσεδόκησαν, ταῦτα ἦν· ἐπὶ κλοπῇ τοῦ ἀπο-  
 δοθέντος ἀργυρίου συκοφαντίαν ἔξειν, ἀδελφὸν τὸν  
 ὁμηρεύοντα μὴ ἀπολήψεσθαι, προσαποβαλεῖν καὶ  
 τὸν νεώτατον ἴσως ὑπὸ τοῦ σπουδάσαντος αὐτὸν

210 ἀχθῆναι βία κατασχεθέντα. τὰ δ' ἀποβάντα αἰσίων  
 [71] τελειότερα εὐχῶν· τὸ πρὸς | τῷ μὴ συκοφαντηθῆναι  
 τραπέζης καὶ ἀλῶν, ἃ σύμβολα γνησίου φιλίας  
 ἀνθρώποις ἀνεύρηται, μεταλαχεῖν, τὸ κομίσασθαι  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνύβριστον, μηδενὸς ἐντυχόντος καὶ  
 δεηθέντος, τὸ καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν  
 πατέρα σῶνον, ἐκπεφευγότας μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ κατα-  
 σκόπων ὑπονοίας, ἄφθονον δὲ τροφῶν πλῆθος ἐπι-  
 φερομένους, χρηστὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος  
 λογιζομένους· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιλίποι τὰπιτήδεια πολλάκις,  
 ἔφασκον, οὐκέθ' ὡς πρότερον περιδεεῖς ἀλλὰ γεγη-  
 θότες ὡς πρὸς ἴδιον ἀλλ' οὐ ξένον τὸν τῆς χώρας

## ON JOSEPH, 206-210

themselves and others, who make a parade of what is unworthy of care and attention with the ostentation natural to men of little mind.

XXXV. On the next day at dawn he sent for the 207 steward of the house and bade him fill with corn all the sacks which the men had brought, and again put the purchase-money in purses at the mouths of the sacks, and also to place in that of the youngest his finest piece of silver, the cup out of which he was accustomed to drink himself. The steward readily 208 carried out his orders without anyone else being present, and they, knowing nothing of these secret doings, set off in high spirits at all their good fortune so far beyond their hopes. What they had expected 209 was to find themselves the victims of a false charge of stealing the money which had been restored to them, to fail to recover their brother who was left as hostage and perhaps also in addition to lose the youngest who might be forcibly detained by the governor who had urged his coming. What had 210 happened surpassed their most sanguine wishes. Instead of being subjected to accusation, they had been made partners in the board and salt which men have devised as the symbols of true friendship. They had recovered their brother inviolate without any intervention or entreaty. They were bringing, too, the youngest safe and sound to his father, and while they had escaped the suspicion of being spies they were taking with them a rich abundance of food and moreover had comfortable prospects for the future. "For if provisions should chance to fail," they reasoned, "we shall leave home not in extreme fear as before but with joyful hearts, knowing that we shall find in the governor of the country not a stranger but a per-

## PHILO

- 211 ἐπίτροπον ἀποδημήσομεν. XXXVI. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω διακειμένων καὶ τοιαῦτα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπολούντων, αἰφνίδιος καὶ ἀπροσδόκητος ταραχὴ καταλαμβάνει. προσταχθεὶς γὰρ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμελητῆς, ἐπαγόμενος θεραπόντων πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον, κατασεῖων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μένειν ὑποσημαίνων ἐβοηδρόμει. καὶ συντείνας ἄσθματος πλήρης “ἐπεσφράγισθε” εἶπε “καὶ τὰς προτέρας καθ’ αὐτῶν αἰτίας· ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἀμειψάμενοι πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐτρέπεσθε· τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν ὑπεξελόμενοι καὶ μείζον ἔτι προσεξεργάσασθε· πονηρία γὰρ τυχοῦσα ἀμνηστίας ἐπιδίδωσι. τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τιμιώτατον ἔκπωμα τοῦ δεσπότου, ἐν ᾧ προπόσεις προὔπινεν ὑμῖν, κεκλόφατε οἱ λίαν εὐχάριστοι, οἱ λίαν εἰρηνικοί, οἱ μὴδ’ ὄνομα κατασκοπῆς εἰδότες, οἱ διττὸν ἀργύριον εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ προτέρου κεκομικότες, ἐνέδραν ὡς ἔοικε καὶ δέλεαρ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν πλειόνων. ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν εὐδοεῖ κακία, λανθάνει δ’ αἰεὶ τεχνάζουσα καταφωρᾶται.” ταῦτα συνείροντος, ἀχανεῖς ἐπάγησαν, λύπης καὶ φόβου, τῶν ἀργαλεωτάτων κακῶν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντων, ὡς μὴδὲ διαῖραι τὸ στόμα δύνασθαι· τῶν γὰρ ἀπροσδοκῆτων κακῶν αἱ προσβολαὶ καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς περὶ λόγους ἀφωνίαν ἐμποιοῦσι. παρειμένοι δ’ ὅμως ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀλισκόμενοι τῷ συνειδῶτι καθησυχάζειν “πῶς” ἔφασαν “ἀπολογησόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τίνα; σὺ γὰρ μέλλεις ἔσεσθαι καὶ δικαστῆς ὁ κατήγορος, ὃς ὧφειλες καὶ ἐτέρων αἰτιωμένων ἡμῖν συναγορεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπειράθης· ἢ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον τὸ



## ON JOSEPH, 211-215

sonal friend.” XXXVI. While they were 211  
in this mood, and their souls occupied with these reflections, a sudden and unexpected discomfiture overtook them. For the steward, by order of his master, with a considerable body of servants, appeared in pursuit waving his hands and beckoning to them to halt. And when he arrived, all eagerness and panting 212  
hard, “You have set the seal,” he said, “to the earlier charges made against you. You have returned evil for good and once more set your feet in the same path of iniquity. You have filched the price of the corn and committed in addition a still worse crime, for villainy grows if it receives condonation. You have stolen the finest and most valuable 213  
of my master’s cups in which he pledged you, you, who were so exceedingly grateful, so exceedingly peace-loving, you who did not so much as know the meaning of ‘spy,’ you who brought double money to pay what was due before, apparently as a trap and snare to serve you in your quest for still more plunder. But wickedness does not prosper in the long run; it is ever scheming to remain hid but is detected in the end.” While he continued in this strain, they 214  
stood paralysed and speechless, suddenly seized by those most painful inflictions, grief and fear, so that they could not even open their mouths. For the onset of unexpected ills can render even eloquent speakers mute. Yet, unnerved as they were, they 215  
did not wish their silence to be construed as a sign that their conscience convicted them, and therefore they replied: “How shall we defend ourselves, and to whom? You will be our judge, you who are also our accuser, who from your experience of us should rather be the advocate did others arraign us. Could

## PHILO

εὔρεθὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις πρότερον οὐδενὸς ἐλέγ-  
 χοντος ἐκομίσαμεν ἀποδώσοντες, τσαούτη δ' ἔχρη-  
 σάμεθα τῶν τρόπων μεταβολῇ, ὡς τὸν ξενοδόχον  
 ἀμείψασθαι ζημίαις καὶ κλοπαῖς; ἀλλ' οὔτε γέγονε  
 216 τοῦτο μήτ' εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι ποτὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον. ὅς  
 δ' ἂν ἔχων ἀλῶ τὸ ἔκπωμα τῶν ἀδελφῶν, θνη-  
 σκέτω· θανάτου γὰρ τὰδίκημα, εἰ γέγονεν ὄντως,  
 τιμώμεθα διὰ πολλά· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πλεονεξία  
 καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρανομώτατον,  
 δεύτερον ὅτι τοὺς ὠφεληκότας βλάπτειν ἐπιχειρεῖν  
 ἀνοσιώτατον, τρίτον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μέγα φρονούντας  
 [72] ἐπ' εὐγενεῖα τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα | καθαιρεῖν  
 ἔργοις ὑπαιτίοις τολμᾶν ὄνειδος αἰσχιστον· οἷς  
 ἅπασιν ἔνοχος ὢν, εἴ τις ἡμῶν ὑφῆρηται, θανάτων  
 217 μυρίων ἄξια πεπραχῶς τελευτάτω." XXXVII. καὶ  
 ἅμα λέγοντες τὰ ἄχθη τῶν ὑποζυγίων καθαιροῦσι  
 καὶ προτρέπονται μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐρευνᾶν.  
 ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ νεωτάτου κατακείμενον  
 ἅτε αὐτὸς λάθρα θεῖς ἐσοφίζετο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου ποιησάμενος ἐξῆς κατὰ στοῖχον  
 ἐπακολουθῶν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐσκόπει, προφέροντος  
 ἐκάστου καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὰ ἀγγεῖα, μέχρι τοῦ  
 τελευταίου, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τὸ ζητούμενον ἀνευρέθη,  
 ὡς ἰδόντας ἀθρόους ἀνοιμῶσαι καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας  
 διαρρήξαντας ἐκδακρύειν ἐπιστένοντας καὶ ζῶντα  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔτι προθρηνοῦντας καὶ οὐχ ἦττον  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ὃς προὔλεγε τὰς συμ-  
 βησομένας τῷ υἱῷ κακοπραγίας, δι' ἃς βουλομένοις  
 218 συναποδημεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε. κατ-

## ON JOSEPH, 215-217

it be that after bringing in repayment the money we found in our sacks though no one challenged us, we completely changed our characters, so as to requite our entertainer by mulcting and robbing him? No, we have not done so, and may no such thought ever enter our mind. Let whoever of the brothers is proved to have the cup be put to death, for death is the penalty at which we assess the crime if it really has been committed, for several reasons. First, because covetousness and the desire for what is another's is against all law; secondly, because to attempt to injure benefactors is a most unholy deed; thirdly, because to those who pride themselves on their high lineage it is a most shameful reproach if they do not shrink from ruining the prestige of their ancestors by deeds of guilt. And since, if any one of us has committed this theft, he is liable on all these counts, let him die since his deed deserves a thousand deaths." XXXVII. With these words they pulled the packs from off their beasts, and bade him search with all diligence. He, who knew well that the cup was lying in the sack of the youngest son, since he had secretly put it there himself, tricked them by beginning his examination with the eldest, and continued in regular order according to their age, as each produced and shewed his sack, until he reached the last. When the object of the search was actually found in his possession, a wail arose from the whole body at the sight. They rent their clothes and wept and groaned, mourning for the death which awaited the brother who was still alive, and no less for themselves and their father who foretold the misfortunes which would befall his son and had therefore for a time refused to consent to their wish that their brother should travel

## PHILO

- ηφοῦντες δὲ καὶ συγκεχυμένοι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπέστρεφον ὁδὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλήν ἄλλ' οὐ φιλαργυρίαν ἀδελφοῦ νομίζοντες· εἶτα τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπῳ προσαχθέντες φιλάδελφον εὐνοίαν ἀπὸ γνησίου πά-  
 219 θους ἐπιδείκνυνται. προσπεσόντες γὰρ ἀθρόοι τοῖς ἐκείνου γόνασιν ὡς κλοπῇ πάντες ἔνοχοι, ὃ μὴδ' εἰπεῖν θέμις ἐπ' αὐτῶν,<sup>1</sup> ἔδακρυσσάουσαν, ἰκέτευον, ἑαυτοὺς ἐξεδίδουσαν, ἐκούσιον δουλείαν ὑπισχνούσαν, δεσπότην προσηγόρευον ἐκείνον, προβλήτους,<sup>2</sup> οἰκότριβας, ἀργυρωνήτους, οὐδὲν παραλείποντες τῶν οἰκετικῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀνεκάλουσαν ἑαυτοὺς.
- 220 ὃ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀποπειρώμενος ἤθει βαρυτάτῳ φησὶν αὐτοῖς· “ μὴδέποτε τοῦτο ἐργασαίμην, ὡς τοσοῦτους ἀπάγειν ἐνὸς ἀμαρτόντος· τί γὰρ εἰς μετουσίαν ἄξιον καλεῖν τιμωριῶν τοὺς μὴ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κοινοπραγήσαντας; ἐκείνος μόνος,  
 221 ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ἔπραξε, κολαζέσθω. πυνθάνομαι μὲν οὖν, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θάνατον ὠρίζετε κατὰ τοῦ ἀλόγους· ἐγὼ δ' ἕκαστα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἄγων καὶ ἡμερώτερον ἐπικουφίζω τὴν τιμωρίαν  
 222 δουλείαν ὀρίσας ἀντὶ θανάτου.” XXXVIII. χαλεπῶς δὲ τὴν ἀπειλήν φερόντων καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐσυκοφαντοῦντο καταδουομένων ὁ τέταρτος καθ' ἡλικίαν—ἦν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn and Mangey with some ms. authority. Most mss. have *προσηλύτους* or *προσβλήτους*. See note *a*.

<sup>a</sup> Assuming that *προβλήτους* is to be read, its place in the series as a “servile name,” followed by *οἰκότριβας* and *ἀργυρωνήτους*, suggests that it also describes a special type of slave. If so, it may perhaps refer to children who had been exposed in infancy and then annexed by persons who brought them up as their own slaves. Thus they would

with them. Downcast and confounded they returned 218  
 by the same road to the city, appalled at the event  
 and attributing it to a malicious plot and not to the  
 covetousness of their brother. Then, when brought  
 before the governor, they shewed their brotherly  
 good feeling by their genuine emotion. For, falling 219  
 in a body at his knees, as though they were all guilty  
 of the theft, a charge the mere mention of which  
 was an outrage, they wept, they besought him, they  
 put themselves at his disposal, they volunteered to  
 submit to enslavement, they called him their master  
 and themselves his slaves of any and every kind, out-  
 casts,<sup>a</sup> household bred or purchased in the market ;  
 no servile name did they leave unsaid. . But 220  
 he, to try them still further, assumed a very severe <sup>b</sup>  
 air and said : " I trust that I may never act thus, and  
 send so many to captivity for the sin of one. For  
 what good reason is there for including in the penalties  
 those who had no share in the offence ? He yonder,  
 who alone did the deed, let him suffer for it. Now, I 221  
 am told that before you entered the city <sup>c</sup> death was  
 the sentence you too approved for the guilty person,  
 but as I am ever inclined for the moderate and humaner  
 course I reduce the punishment and sentence him to  
 slavery instead of death." XXXVIII. This stern 222  
 decision had greatly distressed them, utterly de-  
 jected as they were by the false accusations made  
 against them, when the fourth in age, who combined

naturally form a third class to *οικότριβας* (taken as = *οικογένεις*)  
 and *ἀργυροπώητους*. I have not been able to find in Greek or  
 Roman legislation any allusion to such a status, but see  
 App. p. 602.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "dignified," "impressive," *cf. De Abr.* 210.  
 Possibly, as Mangey suggested, read *βαθυτέρω*, *cf. § 168 above.*

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "in front of the city."

## PHILO

δὲ τολμητῆς μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ θαρραλέος, παρρησίαν  
 τὴν ἄνευ ἀναισχυντίας ἐπιτετηδευκῶς—προσελθὼν  
 φησι· “δέομαι, δέσποτα, μὴ θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδ'  
 ὅτι τέταξαι τὴν μετὰ βασιλέα τάξιν προκαταγνῶναι  
 223 πρὸ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἡμῶν. πυνθανομένῳ σοι κατὰ  
 τὴν προτέραν ἐπιδημίαν περὶ τε ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πα-  
 [73] τρὸς ἀπεκρινάμεθα· πατήρ μὲν | ἐστὶ πρεσβύτης,  
 οὐ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον γεγηρακῶς ἢ ταῖς ἐπαλλήλοις  
 δυστυχίαις, ὑφ' ὧν γυμναζόμενος ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον  
 ἐν πόνοις καὶ δυσκαρτερήτοις κακοπαθείαις δι-  
 ετέλεσεν· ἀδελφὸς δὲ κομιδῇ νέος ἐστίν, ἐκτόπως  
 στεργόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὀψίγονός  
 ἐστὶ καὶ δυεῖν γενομένων ὁμομητρίων ἀπελείφθη  
 μόνος, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βιαίως ἀποθανόντος.  
 224 κελεύοντος δὲ σοῦ ἐνθάδε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ  
 ἀπειλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ παραγένοιτο, μηδ' ἡμῖν εἰς ὄψιν  
 ἔλθειν ἔτι τὴν σὴν ἐπιτραπήσεσθαι, κατηφούντες  
 ἀπηλλαττόμεθα καὶ μόλις οἴκαδε ἐπανελθόντες  
 225 ἔδηλοῦμεν τὰ ἀπὸ σοῦ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 μὲν ἀντέλεγε δεδιῶς σφόδρα περὶ τῷ παιδί, τῶν  
 δ' ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανιζόντων καὶ μηδενὸς ἡμῶν  
 τολμῶντος ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν ἤκειν δίχα τοῦ νεωτάτου  
 διὰ τὰς σὰς ἐπανατάσεις, μόλις πείθεται τοῦτον  
 συνεκπέμψαι μυρία μὲν αἰτιώμενος, ὅτι ἀδελφὸν  
 ἄλλον ἔχειν ὠμολογήσαμεν, μυρία δ' οἰκτιζόμενος,  
 εἰ μελλήσει διαζεύγνυσθαι· νήπιος γάρ ἐστι καὶ  
 πραγμάτων ἄπειρος, οὐ μόνον τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀλ-  
 226 λουδαίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.<sup>1</sup> πρὸς οὖν

<sup>1</sup> The singular seems strange. Mangey wished to correct  
 either to τὴν <ιδίαν> πόλιν or τὰς πόλεις. The latter is accepted

## ON JOSEPH, 222-225

boldness and courage with modesty and practised frankness of speech without effrontery, approached him and said : " My lord, I pray you not to give way to wrath, nor, because you have been appointed to the second post after the king, to condemn before you have heard our defence. When you asked us at our 223 first visit of our brother and father, we answered, ' Our father is an old man, aged not so much by years as by repeated misfortunes, whereby as in a training-school he has been continually exercised amid labours and sufferings which have tried him sore. But our brother is quite young, the idol and darling of his father, because he is the child of his later years, the only one left of the two that their mother bore, since the elder has died a violent death. Now when you 224 bade us bring that brother here, and threatened that if he did not arrive we should not even be admitted again to your presence, we departed in dejection, and, when we got home, only with reluctance told your orders to our father. He at first opposed them in 225 his great fear for the boy, but, when necessities grew scarce and yet none of us dared to come and buy corn without the youngest because of the stern warning you had given, he was with difficulty persuaded to send the boy with us. Many a time did he blame us for admitting that we had another brother. Many a time did he pity himself for the coming separation from the boy, for he is but a child and without experience, not only of life in a foreign land, but of city<sup>a</sup> life

<sup>a</sup> Cohn translates " einheimischen," which would seem to represent Mangey's *τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν* (see critical note).

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by Cohn in a similar passage in *De Decal.* 13, where the MSS. have *κατὰ πόλιν*. (The absence of the article perhaps makes a difference, and *κατὰ πόλιν* might be read in both passages.)

## PHILO

οὕτω διακείμενον τὸν πατέρα πῶς ἂν ἀφικοίμεθα;  
 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι δίχα τούτου  
 δυνησόμεθα; τελευταίην οἰκτίστην ὑπομενεῖ μόνον  
 ἀκούσας, ὡς οὐκ ἐπανελήλυθεν· εἶθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνδρο-  
 φόνους καὶ πατροκτόνους ἕκαστος ἐρεῖ τῶν φιλ-  
 απεχθημόνων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς  
 227 ἐθελοκακούντων. τὸ δὲ πλείστον τῆς κατηγορίας  
 ῥηθήσεται κατ' ἐμοῦ· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπεσχόμεν τῷ πατρὶ  
 προέσθαι παρακαταθήκην λαμβάνειν ὁμολογῶν, ἣν  
 ὑποδώσειν, ὅταν ἀπαιτηθῶ· πῶς δ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ-  
 ευμενισθείης αὐτός, ἀποδοῦναι δυναίμην; οἰκτον  
 δέομαι τοῦ πρεσβύτου λαβεῖν καὶ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθεῖν  
 τῶν κακῶν οἷσπερ ἀνιαθήσεται μὴ κομισάμενος ὃν  
 228 ἀβουλῶν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδοξας  
 ἡδικῆσθαι δίκας λάμβανε. δώσω δ' ἐθελοντῆς ἐγώ·  
 δοῦλον ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀνάγραφε τῆς ἡμέρας, ἄσμενος  
 ὑπομενῶ τὰ τῶν νεωνήτων, ἐὰν τὸ παιδίον ἐθελήσης  
 229 εἶσαι. λήψεται<sup>1</sup> δ' οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν χάριν, ἐὰν ἄρα  
 διδῶς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ παρῶν ἐπικουφισθεῖς τῶν φρον-  
 τίδων, ὁ τῶν τοσοῦτων πατῆρ ἱκετῶν ἀπάντων·  
 ἱκέται γάρ ἐσμεν καταπεφευγότες ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν  
 230 ἱερωτάτην δεξιάν, ἧς μηδέποτε διαμάρτομεν. ἔλεος  
 οὖν εἰσελθέτω σε γήρως ἀνδρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄθλους  
 κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διαπονήσαντος· τὰς κατὰ  
 Συρίαν πόλεις εἰς ἀποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τιμὴν ἐπ-  
 ἔστρεψε, καίτοι ξενικωτέροις ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμοις καὶ  
 πολὺ διεστῶσι χρώμενος, οὐ βραχεῖ τινι τῶν ἐγχω-  
 ρίων ἡλλοτριωμένος· ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ βίου καλοκάγαθία  
 καὶ τὸ σύμφωνον καὶ ὁμολογούμενον πρὸς ἔργα  
 λόγων καὶ πρὸς λόγους ἔργων ἐξενίκησεν, ὡς καὶ  
 [74] τοὺς ἔνεκα | τῶν πατρίων μὴ εἰγνώμονας μεθ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. λήψη.



## ON JOSEPH, 226-230

in general. Then, since such are our father's feelings, 226  
how can we return to him? How can we look him  
in the face without the boy? He will suffer the  
saddest of deaths on merely hearing that he has not  
returned, and we shall be called murderers and parricides  
by all the spiteful people who gloat over such  
misfortunes. And the chief stream of obloquy will 227  
be directed against me, for I pledged myself with  
many forfeits to my father, and declared that I received  
the boy as a deposit which I would restore when it was  
demanded from me. But how can I restore it, unless you  
yourself are propitiated? I pray you to take pity on the  
old man, and realize the miseries which he will suffer if  
he does not recover him whom he unwillingly entrusted to  
my hand. But do you 228  
exact the penalty for the wrongs which you believe  
yourself to have received. I will willingly pay it.  
Write me down your slave from this day onwards. I will  
gladly endure what the newly-bought endure if you will  
spare the child. This boon, if indeed you 229  
grant it, will be a boon not to the boy himself but to  
one who is not here present, whom you will relieve of  
his cares, the father of all these many suppliants.  
For suppliants we are who have fled for refuge to your  
most august right hand, which we pray may never fail us.  
Take pity, then, on the old age of one 230  
who has spent all his years labouring in the arena of  
virtue. The cities of Syria he won over to receive and  
honour him, though his customs and usages were strange  
to them and very different, and those of the country  
alien to him in no small degree. But the nobility of his  
life, and his acknowledged harmony of words with deeds  
and deeds with words, prevailed so that even those whom  
national feelings prejudiced

## PHILO

- 231 ἀρμόσασθαι. τοιαύτην μέλλεις κατατίθεσθαι χάριν, ἧς οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο τις μείζονα λαβεῖν· τίς γάρ ἂν γένοιτο πατρὶ δωρεὰ μείζων ἢ υἱὸν ἀπογνωσθέντα κομίσασθαι;”
- 232 XXXIX. Πάντα δ’ ἦσαν ἀπόπειρα καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πρότερα, πῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπου σκοποῦντος εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν ὁμομήτριον ἀδελφόν· ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ φυσικῇ τινι ἀλλοτριώσει κέχρηται, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ μητριῶν γεγονότες πρὸς
- 233 τὸν ἐξ ἐτέρας ἰσοτίμου γυναικὸς οἶκον. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὡς κατασκόπους ἠτιᾶτο καὶ περὶ τοῦ γένους ἐπυνθάνετο πρόφασιν τοῦ γνῶναι, εἰ περίεστιν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἐπιβουλήs ἀνήρηται, καὶ ἕνα κατέσχε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσας ἀπαίρειν ὁμολογήσαντας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν νεώτατον, ὃν ἰδεῖν μάλιστ’ ἐπόθει καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χαλεπῆs καὶ βαρυτάτης
- 234 ἀνίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρεγένετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐθεάσατο, μικρὸν ὅσον ἀνεθεῖs τῆs φροντίδος, καλέσας ἐπὶ ξενίαν καὶ ἐστιῶν πολυτελεστέrais εὐώχει τὸν ὁμομήτριον παρασκευαῖs, ἀποβλέπων εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος ἐκ τῆs
- 235 ὀψεωs, εἴ τις αὐτοῖs ὑποικουρεῖ φθόνος, καὶ ὡς ἀσμενίζοντας ἑώρα καὶ ἀναχεομένους ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ νεωτάτου τιμῇ, δυσὶν ἤδη μαρτυρίαιs σημειωσάμενος τὸ μηδὲν ἔχθος ὑποτύφεσθαι καὶ τρίτην ἐπενόησε, τὴν τοῦ κεκλέφθαι δοκοῦντος ἐκπώματος

<sup>1</sup> Cohn and Mangey’s punctuation seems to me faulty in this sentence. They place full stops after ἀπαλλαγῆναι and φθόνος (Mangey also after ἀνήρηται). But surely it is all one sentence introduced by διὰ τοῦτο and stating that all these steps were taken as a test.

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<sup>a</sup> Benjamin’s “mess” was five times as much as any of  
252

## ON JOSEPH, 231-235

against him were brought over to his ways. Such 231  
is the gratitude which you will earn, and what greater  
could be earned? For what greater boon could a  
father have than the recovery of a son of whose safety  
he has despaired?"

XXXIX. All this and what had gone before was 232  
intended to test what feeling they shewed under  
the eyes of the governor to his own mother's son.  
For he feared that they might have had that natural  
estrangement which the children of a stepmother  
often shew to the family of another wife who was no  
less esteemed than their own mother. This was the 233  
reason why he accused them of spying, and ques-  
tioned them on their kin in order to know whether  
that brother was alive and had not been the victim  
of a plot, and also why he detained one when he  
let the others depart after agreeing to bring the  
youngest, whom he greatly yearned to see and thus  
shake off the trouble which weighed on him so  
heavily. This again was why, though when he 234  
came to join them and seeing his brother felt just a  
little relieved, he after inviting them to the hospi-  
tality of his board entertained his mother's son on  
a richer scale than the rest,<sup>a</sup> but meanwhile observed  
each of them to judge from their looks whether they  
still cherished some secret envy. Finally it was for 235  
the same reason that when he saw how pleased and  
overjoyed they were at the honour paid to that  
brother and thus had established by two testimonies  
that there was no smouldering enmity, he devised  
this third testimony, namely to pretend that the

theirs, Gen. xliii. 34. Philo has rather strangely omitted  
to mention this in his account of the feast. Josephus, *Ant.*  
ii. 125, gives the same reason for the action.

## PHILO

- αἰτίαν ἀναθεῖς τῷ νεωτάτῳ· σαφέστατος γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἔλεγχος οὕτως γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου  
 236 διανοίας καὶ οἰκειότητος τῆς πρὸς τὸν συκοφαν-  
 τούμενον ἀδελφόν. ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἤδη συνεπί-  
 θετο περὶ τοῦ μὴ καταστασιάζεσθαι μηδ' ἐπι-  
 βουλεύεσθαι τὸν μητρῶον οἶκον λογισμὸν τε εἰκότα  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότων ἐλάμβανεν, ὡς  
 οὐκ ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀδελφῶν αὐτὰ μᾶλλον εἶη πεπονθῶς  
 ἢ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ τὰ μακρὰν ἐμβλέποντος καὶ  
 τὰ μέλλοντα οὐχ ἦττον τῶν παρόντων ὀρώντος.
- 237 XL. Εἴτ' ἐπὶ συμβάσεις καὶ καταλλαγὰς ἴετο  
 νικώμενος ὑπὸ φιλοικείου πάθους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 μηδὲν ὄνειδος προσβαλεῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἕνεκα τῆς  
 πράξεως οὐδένα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐδικαίωσε παρεῖναι
- 238 κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀναγνώρισιν· ἀλλὰ κελεύσας  
 ἅπασαν τὴν θεραπείαν μεταστῆναι, πηγὴν τινα  
 δακρύων ἐξαίφνης ἀνεῖς καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ προσελθεῖν  
 ἐγγυτέρω σημήνας, ἵνα μηδ' ἐκ τύχης ἐπακοῦσαι  
 τις ἄλλος δυνηθῆ, φησὶν αὐτοῖς· “ἐπεσκιασμένον  
 πρᾶγμα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ συγκεκρῦθαι δοκοῦν  
 μέλλων ἀνακαλύπτειν μόνος μόνοις ὑμῖν ἀπαμ-  
 πίσχῳ· ἀδελφὸν δὲν ἀπέδοσθε εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἐκεῖνος
- 239 δὲν ὄρατε νῦν παρεστῶτα αὐτός εἰμι ἐγώ.” κατα-  
 πλαγέντων δ' αὐτῶν παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ διεπτοημένων  
 καὶ ὥσπερ ὀλκῆ τι βιαίῳ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπὶ γῆν κατα-  
 βεβληκότων καὶ πεπηγότων ἀφώνων καὶ ἀχανῶν,
- [75] “μὴ κατηφέιτε” | εἶπεν, “ἀμνηστίαν ἀπάντων  
 παρέχω τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ πεπραγμένων, μηδενὸς ἑτέρου
- 240 δεῖσθε παρακλήτου· αὐτοκελεύστῳ καὶ ἔκουσῶ  
 γνώμη πρὸς συμβάσεις ἐθελοντῆς ἀφίγμαι συμβού-  
 λοις<sup>1</sup> χρησάμενος δυσί, τῇ τε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συμβόλοις.

## ON JOSEPH, 235-240

cup had been stolen, and charge the theft to the youngest. For this would be the clearest way of testing the real feeling of each, and their attachment to the brother thus falsely accused. On all these 236 grounds he was now convinced that there was no factious conspiracy to undo his mother's family, and also considering what had happened to himself he came to the conclusion that his experiences were probably due not so much to their conspiring as to the providence of God Who beholds distant events and sees the future no less than the present.

XL. So then, overcome by family affection, he 237 hastened to conclude his reconciliation. And that no reproach might attach to the brothers for their action he judged it best that no Egyptian should be present at the first recognition. Instead he bade all 238 the staff to withdraw, and then suddenly shedding a flood of tears and beckoning to them with his right hand to approach nearer so that no one else could by chance hear him, he said: "I am going to reveal to you a matter which has been shrouded in darkness and long time hidden, and I do so while you and I are all alone. The brother whom you sold into Egypt is I myself, whom you see standing beside you." When, astonished and staggered at the un- 239 expected news, they stood rooted to the spot mute and speechless with eyes cast to the ground as though drawn by some compelling force, "Be not downcast," he continued, "I forgive and forget all what you did to me. Do not ask for any other advocate. Of my own free, unbidden judgement I 240 have voluntarily come to make my peace with you. In this I have two fellow-counsellors, my reverence

## PHILO

- εὐσεβεία, ᾧ τὸ πλείστον τῆς χάριτος ἀνατίθημι, καὶ  
 τῇ φυσικῇ φιланθρωπία, ἣ πρὸς ἅπαντας δια-  
 241 φερόντως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀφ' αἵματος χρῶμαι. Καὶ  
 νομίζω τῶν συμβεβηκότων οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ θεὸν  
 αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι βουλευθέντα με τῶν αὐτοῦ χαρί-  
 τῶν καὶ δωρεῶν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς  
 ἠξίωσε τῷ γενεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρασχεῖν, ὑπη-  
 242 ρέτην γενέσθαι καὶ διάκονον. ἐναργῆ δὲ πίστιν  
 δύνασθε λαβεῖν ἐξ ὧν ὁράτε· πᾶσαν μὲν Αἴγυπτον  
 ἐπιτέτραμμαι, τιμὴν δὲ ἔχω τὴν πρώτην παρὰ τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ καὶ μὲ νέον ὄντα πρεσβύτερος ὢν ὡς πατέρα  
 τιμᾶ· θεραπεύομαί τε οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγχωρίων μόνον  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ πλείστων ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, ὅσα καὶ  
 ὑπήκοα καὶ αὐτόνομα· χρεῖα γὰρ πάντα διὰ τὴν  
 243 ἔνδειαν προεστῶτος. ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς καί,  
 τὸ τούτων ἀναγκαιότερον, αἱ τροφαὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ μόνω  
 ταμιεύονται διανέμοντι καὶ κατακερματίζοντι πρὸς  
 τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρεῖας ἐκάστοις τῶν δεομένων, ὡς  
 μήτε τι τῶν εἰς τρυφὴν περιπεῦσαι μήτε τι τῶν  
 244 εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἐνδείας ἐπιλιπεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐναβρυ-  
 νόμενος καὶ σεμννόμενος ταυτὶ διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ'  
 ἴν' αἰσθησθε, ὅτι τῶν τηλικούτων οὐδεὶς ἔμελλεν  
 ἀνθρώπων αἴτιος ἔσεσθαι δούλω καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 δεσμώτῃ γενομένῳ—καὶ γὰρ ἐδέθην ποτὲ συκο-  
 φαντηθεῖς—, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς τε καὶ  
 δυσπραγίας μεθαρμοσάμενος εἰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω καὶ  
 245 πρώτας εὐτυχίας θεὸς ἦν, ᾧ πάντα δυνατά. ταῦτα  
 ἐμοῦ διανοουμένου, μηκέτι εὐλαβῶς ἔχετε τὰς δυσ-  
 φροσύνας ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἰλαρὰν  
 μεταβαλόντες εὐθυμίαν. εὖ δ' ἂν ἔχοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν  
 πατέρα· συντεῖναι καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς

## ON JOSEPH, 240-245

for our father, which is chiefly responsible for the favour I shew you, and the natural humanity which I feel to all men, and particularly to those of my blood. (And I consider that the cause of what has 241 happened is not you but God, Who willed to use me as His servant, to administer the boons and gifts which He deigns to grant to the human race in the time of their greatest need. You can have a clear 242 proof of this in what you see. All Egypt is committed to my hands, and I hold the first place of honour with the king, and though I am young, and he my elder, he honours me as a father. I have waiting on my will not only the inhabitants of the land, but most of the other nations, whether subject or independent, for because of the dearth they all need me at the head. Silver and gold are stored in my 243 keeping alone, and, what is more necessary than these, the means of sustenance, which I distribute and parcel out to those who ask, according to their necessary requirements, so that they have no superfluities which might serve for luxury nor lack of what may satisfy actual want. But I have told you all 244 this, not because I plume and pride myself thereon, but that you may perceive that no man could have caused such greatness to come to one who was a slave and afterwards a prisoner—for I was once in bonds under a false charge—but He Who turned my condition of extreme calamity into one of unequalled and exalted good fortune was God to Whom all things are possible. Since I am so dis- 245 posed, fear no more, but cast aside your heaviness of heart and take a cheerful courage in its stead. It would be well that you should hasten to our father, and first of all give him the good tidings that you

## PHILO

- ἐμῆς εὐρέσεως εὐαγγελίσασθαι· φθάνουσι γὰρ αἱ  
 246 φῆμαι πανταχόσε.” XLI. οἱ δὲ κατὰ  
 διαδοχὴν τοὺς ἐπαίνους αὐτοῦ συνείροντες ἀπαύ-  
 στως ἀχαλίνοις στόμασιν ἐξύμουν ἄλλος ἄλλο τι  
 διεξιὼν, ὁ μὲν τὸ ἀμνησικάκον, ὁ δὲ τὸ φιλοίκειον,  
 ὁ δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν, ἅπαντες δ’ ἀθρόοι τὴν εὐσέβειαν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέροντος τὰ τέλη τῶν κατορθου-  
 μένων καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς ἀβουλήτοις ἀρχαῖς καὶ  
 247 πρώταις ἐνστάσεσι τῶν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην δυσχερά-  
 ναντος καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μετ’ αἰδοῦς καρ-  
 τερίαν· ὃς ἐν τοσαύταις γεγονῶς ἀνωμαλίαις οὔτε  
 δουλεύων βλάσφημον οὐδὲν εἶπε κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
 ὡς πεπρακότων οὔτ’ εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἀπαγόμενος ὑπ’  
 ἀθυμίας ἐξελάλησέ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων οὔτε πολὺν  
 [76] χρόνον ἐκεῖ καταμένων, οἷα | φιλεῖ, τοῖς δεσμώταις  
 ἔθους ὄντος τὰς ἰδίας ἀτυχίας ἀναμετρεῖσθαι, ἀπ-  
 248 εγύμνωσεν· ἀλλ’ ὡς μηδὲν εἰδὼς τῶν αὐτῷ συμβε-  
 βηκότων, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὅτε τὰ ὀνειράτα διέκρινεν ἢ τοῖς  
 εὐνούχοις ἢ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καιρὸν ἔχων εἰς μῆνυσιν  
 ἐπιτήδειον, ἐφθέγγαστό τι περὶ τῆς ἰδίας εὐγενείας,  
 οὐδ’ ὅτε βασιλέως ὑπαρχος ἐχειροτονεῖτο καὶ τῆς  
 Αἰγύπτου πάσης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν  
 παρελάμβανεν, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ τις εἶναι τῶν ἡμελη-  
 μένων καὶ ἀφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι εὐπατρίδης, οὐ  
 φύσει δούλος, ἀλλ’ ἐπιβουλὰς ὑφ’ ὧν ἦκιστ’ ἐχρῆν  
 249 ἀνηκέστους ὑπομεμενηκῶς καὶ συμφοράς. ἔτι δὲ  
 πρὸς τούτοις ἐρρῦή πολὺς ἔπαινος ἰσότητος αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ δεξιότητος· τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀλαζονείας καὶ

\* §§ 246–249 have no basis in Genesis. The nearest corre-  
 sponding text is xlv. 15 “and after that his brethren talked  
 258



## ON JOSEPH, 245-249

have found me, for rumours travel fast in all directions.” XLI. <sup>a</sup>The brothers, letting their 246  
 tongues run freely, ceased not to sound his praises  
 point by point. Each one had a different theme,  
 one his readiness to forgive, one his family affection,  
 one his prudence, while all united in praising his  
 piety in attributing to God the success which crowned  
 his career and abandoning all resentment at the  
 unwelcome experiences which had attended its dis-  
 tressing opening and earliest stages. They praised  
 also the pre-eminent self-restraint of his modest 247  
 reticence. He had passed through all these vicissi-  
 tudes, yet neither while in slavery did he denounce  
 his brothers for selling him nor when he was haled  
 to prison did he in his despondency disclose any  
 secret, nor during his long stay there make any  
 revelations of the usual kind, since prisoners are  
 apt to descant upon their personal misfortunes. He 248  
 behaved as though he knew nothing of his past ex-  
 periences, and not even when he was interpreting  
 their dreams to the eunuchs or the king, though he  
 had a suitable opportunity for disclosing the facts,  
 did he say a word about his own high lineage. Nor  
 yet, when he was appointed to be the king’s viceroy  
 and was charged with the superintendence and head-  
 ship over all Egypt, did he say anything to prevent  
 the belief that he was of obscure and ignoble station,  
 whereas he was really a noble, no slave by birth, but  
 the unfortunate victim of the ruthless conspiracy of  
 those who should have been the last to treat him so.  
 In addition there was a great outflow of praise of 249  
 his fairness and kind behaviour, for they knew the  
 with him.” Did Philo read or think he read *περὶ* for *πρὸς*  
*αὐτόν*?

## PHILO

- ἀπαιδευσίας ἡγεμόνων εἰδότες ἐθαύμαζον τὸ ἀνεπίφαντον καὶ ἀτραγώδητον καὶ ὡς εὐθύς ἰδὼν κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ὁδὸν ἀποκτεῖναι δυνάμενος ἢ τὸ γοῦν τελευταῖον λιμώττουσι τροφὰς μὴ παρασχεῖν πρὸς τῷ μὴ τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ ὡς χάριτος ἀξίοις δωρεὰν ἔδωκε τὰπιτήδεια τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῆναι
- 250 κελεύσας. οὕτω μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ πράσεως εἰς ἅπαν ἡγνοήθη καὶ διέλαθεν, ὥσθ' οἱ ἐν τέλει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συνήδοντο, ὡς πρῶτον ἄρτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ προεστῶτος ἡκόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ ξενίαν ἐκάλουν καὶ φθάνοντες εὐηγγελίζοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἔγεμε χαρᾶς οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ εἴπερ εὐφόρησεν ἡ πεδιάς καὶ ὁ λιμὸς εἰς
- 251 εὐθηνίαν μετέβαλε. XLII. γνοὺς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι καὶ πατήρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γενεὰ πολυάνθρωπος, προτρέπει μεταναστῆναι πανοικί τὴν βαθυγειοτάτην Αἰγύπτου μοῖραν ὁμολογήσας δεδωρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀφιζομένοις. ἀπήνας οὖν καὶ ἄρμαμάξας καὶ πλήθος ὑποζυγίων ἐπηχθισμένων τὰπιτήδεια δίδωσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ θεραπείαν ἰκανήν, ἵνα μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἀγάγωσι τὸν πατέρα.
- 252 Παραγενομένων δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄπιστα καὶ μείζονα ἐλπίδων διηγουμένων, οὐ πάνυ προσεῖχε· κἂν γὰρ οἱ λέγοντες ἀξιοπιστότατοι, ἀλλ' ἢ γε τοῦ πράγματος ὑπερβολὴ ραδίως συναινεῖν οὐκ
- 253 ἐπέτρεπεν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτης τὰς ἐν τοιούτῳ

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the last thing at any rate," *i.e.* the extreme of clemency which could be expected. Cohn takes it with λιμώττουσι—"in the extremity of famine." The position of γοῦν seems to me to be against this. Mangey *postea certe*, presumably meaning "at the conclusion of the interview."

## ON JOSEPH, 249-253

arrogance and gross rudeness of other governors, and admired the absence of obtrusiveness and blustering. They remembered how directly he saw them on their former expedition, though he might have put them to death or at the very least<sup>a</sup> refused to provide them with food against the famine, so far from taking vengeance he treated them as worthy of his favour and gave them the victuals for nothing by bidding the price to be restored to them. In 250 fact the story of their conspiracy and selling of him to slavery was so completely unknown and remained so secret that the chiefs of the Egyptians rejoiced to hear that the brothers of the governor had now for the first time come to visit him. They invited them to share their hospitality and hastened to bring the good news to the king, and universal joy reigned everywhere, no less than if the fields had borne fruit and the famine had been changed into abundance. XLII. When the king learned that his 251 viceroy had a father and that his family was very numerous, he urged that the whole household should leave its present home, and promised to give the most fertile part of Egypt to the expected settlers. He therefore gave the brothers carts and wagons and a great number of beasts laden with provisions, and an adequate body of servants, that they might bring their father safely.

When they arrived home and told the story of 252 their brother, so incredible and beyond anything he could have hoped for, he gave no heed to them at all, for, however worthy of credit the speakers might be, the extravagance of the tale did not allow him to assent to it readily. But, when the old man saw 253 the equipments suited for an occasion of the kind,

## PHILO

καιρῷ παρασκευᾶς καὶ χορηγίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
 ἀφθόνους τοῖς περὶ τούτου λεγομένοις εὐτυχήμασι  
 συναδούσας ὕμνει τὸν θεόν, ὅτι τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκλελοι-  
 254 πέναι μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἀπεπλήρωσεν. ἡ δὲ χαρὰ  
 καὶ φόβον εὐθύς ἐγέννησε τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν  
 πατρίων ἐκδικαιτήσεως· ἦδει γὰρ καὶ νεότητα  
 εὐόλισθον φύσει καὶ ξενιτείας τὴν εἰς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν  
 ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ χώρας  
 [77] τυφλωπτουσης περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἕνεκα | τοῦ  
 γενητὰ καὶ θνητὰ θεοπλαστεῖν καὶ προσέτι πλούτου  
 καὶ δόξης ἐπιθέσεις (ᾶς)<sup>1</sup> ὀλιγόφροσι διανοίαις ἐπι-  
 τίθενται καὶ διότι ἀπολειφθεῖς, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς πατρώας οἰκίας συνεξεληλυθότος<sup>2</sup> σωφρονιστοῦ,  
 μόνος ὢν καὶ ἔρημος διδασκάλων ἀγαθῶν ἔτοιμος  
 255 ἔσται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀθνείων μεταβολήν. οὕτως  
 οὖν διακείμενον ἰδὼν ᾧ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἀόρατον  
 ψυχὴν ὄραν ἔλεον λαμβάνει καὶ κοιμωμένῳ νύκτωρ  
 ἐπιφανείς φησι· “μηδὲν εὐλαβοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰς  
 Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεως· αὐτὸς ἡγεμονεύσω τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 παρέχων τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ εὐάρεστον·  
 ἀποδώσω μέντοι καὶ τὸν τριπόθητον υἱόν, ὃς ποτε  
 τεθνᾶναι νομισθεῖς ἐκ πολυτείας οὐ ζῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης ἡγεμὼν ἀναφαίνεται.” πληρω-  
 θεῖς δ’ εὐελπιστίας ἅμα τῇ ἔω γεγηθῶς ἐπέσπευδεν.  
 256 ὁ δ’ υἱὸς ἀκούσας—σκοποὶ γὰρ καὶ φραστῆρες τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ πάντ’ ἐδήλουν—οὐ μακρὰν τῶν ὀρίων ἀπ-  
 ἔχοντα<sup>3</sup> διὰ ταχέων ἀπήντα τῷ πατρί· καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 καλουμένην Ἡρώων πόλιν ἐντυχόντες ἐπιπίπτουσιν

<sup>1</sup> My insertion. The sentence evidently needs correction, which Cohn would make by expunging ἐπιτίθενται.

<sup>2</sup> Most mss. συνεξεληλυθότων or ἐξ-, one ἐξεληλυθότος.

<sup>3</sup> So mss., Cohn, and Mangey; but? ἀπέχοντι.

and that the lavish supplies of all that was needed agreed with the story they told him of his son, he praised God that He had filled the seeming gap in his house. But joy also straightway begat fear in his 254 soul at the thought of leaving his ancestral way of life. For he knew how natural it is for youth to lose its footing and what licence to sin belongs to the stranger's life, particularly in Egypt where things created and mortal are deified, and in consequence the land is blind to the true God. He knew what assaults wealth and renown make on minds of little sense, and that left to himself, since his father's house supplied no monitor to share his journey, alone and cut off from good teaching, he would be readily influenced to change to alien ways. Such were his 255 feelings when He Whose eye alone can see the invisible soul took pity, and in his sleep at night appeared to him and said, "Fear not to go to Egypt. I Myself will guide thee on the road and make the journey safe and to thy pleasure. Further, I will restore to thee the son for whom thou hast so greatly yearned,<sup>a</sup> who once was thought dead, but now, after many years, is found not only alive but a ruler of that great country." Then, filled with high hopes, he hastened at dawn to set forth rejoicing. But his son 256 when he heard it, informed of all by the scouts who watched the road, proceeded with all speed to meet his father when he was not far from the boundary. And when the two met at the place called the Heroes'

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xlvi. 4 "and Joseph shall put his hands upon thine eyes." Did Philo fail to understand this phrase, which does not occur again in the LXX? The idea of closing the eyes of the dead, otherwise expressed, was of course familiar to him in the classics, *cf.* § 23 above.

## PHILO

- ἀλλήλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνχένων ἐρείσαντες  
καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας δάκρυσι φύροντες πολυχρονίων  
ἀσπασμάτων ἀπλήστως ἐνεφοροῦντο καὶ μόλις  
257 παυσάμενοι συντέεινον ἄχρι τῶν βασιλείων. θεασά-  
μενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ὄψιν καταπλαγεὶς τῆς  
σεμνότητος ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχου πατέρα ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ  
μετὰ πάσης αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς ἐδεξιοῦτο· καὶ μετὰ  
τὰς ἐν ἔθει καὶ ἐξαιρέτους φιλοφροσύνας δίδωσιν  
αὐτῷ γῆς ἀποτομὴν ἀρετῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα εὐκαρπον,  
τούς τε υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι κτηνο-  
τρόφους τὴν πολλὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντας ἐν θρέμμασι  
καθίστησιν ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν ἰδίων αἰπόλια καὶ βου-  
κόλια καὶ ποιμένας καὶ μυρίας ὄσας ἀγέλας ἐγχειρίσας  
αὐτοῖς.
- 258 XLIII. Ὁ δὲ νεανίας τοσαύτη πίστεως ἐχρήσατο  
ὑπερβολῇ, ὥστε τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων  
εἰς ἀργυρισμὸν παρεχόντων πλείστας ὄσας ἀφορμάς,  
δυνηθεὶς δι' ὀλίγου πλουσιώτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν  
γενέσθαι, τὸν γνήσιον ὡς ἀληθῶς πρὸ τοῦ νόθου  
πλουτοῦν καὶ τὸν βλέποντα πρὸ τοῦ τυφλοῦ θαυμάσας  
ἅπαντα τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν, ὅσον ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς  
ἤθροισε τοῦ σίτου, ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως ἐθησαυρίζετο  
ταμειοῖς οὐδεμίαν δραχμὴν νοσφισάμενος, ἀλλὰ  
μόναις ἀρκεσθεὶς ταῖς δωρεαῖς, αἷς ἀμειβόμενος  
259 ἐκεῖνος ἀντεχαρίζετο. καθάπερ τε οἰκίαν μίαν

<sup>a</sup> So LXX. E.V. Goshen.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 258-260 are a very free version of Gen. xlvii. 13-26.  
Joseph's honesty is deduced from verse 14 "Joseph brought  
264

## ON JOSEPH, 256-259

City <sup>a</sup> they laid their heads upon each other's neck and while the tears smeared their raiment lingered long in embraces of which they could not take their fill, and, when at last they brought themselves to cease therefrom, pressed onwards to the king's court. When the king beheld him, overcome by his venerable appearance, he welcomed him with all modesty and respect, as though he were the father not of his viceroy but of himself. And, after the usual, and more than the usual, courtesies had passed, he gave him a portion of land, rich of soil and very fruitful. And, learning that the sons were graziers who had much substance of cattle, he appointed them keepers of his own, and put into their charge flocks and herds innumerable of goats and oxen and sheep. 257

XLIII. <sup>b</sup> Now the young man's honesty was exceedingly great, so much so that, though the times and state of affairs gave him very numerous opportunities for gaining wealth, and he might have soon become the richest of his contemporaries, his reverence for the truly genuine riches rather than the spurious, the seeing rather than the blind, led him to store up in the king's treasuries all the silver and gold which he collected from the sale of corn and refuse to appropriate to himself a single drachma, contented with nothing more than the gifts with which the king repaid his services. The excellence 259

all the money into Pharaoh's house." Philo omits the stages by which the property and land of the Egyptians passed into the king's hand, and the tax of one-fifth of the produce imposed upon them. That the gift of seed was only made in the seventh year of the famine might be fairly inferred from the LXX in verse 24 "and the land shall have its produce" (*ἔσται δὲ γεννήματα αὐτῆς*). The appointment of overseers has no parallel in Genesis.

PHILO

- Αἴγυπτον καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ χώρας ἑτέρας καὶ ἔθνη  
 πιεσθέντα τῷ λιμῷ παντὸς λόγου κρεῖττον ἐπετρό-  
 πευσεν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος κατὰ τὸ πρόπον διανέμων τὰς  
 τροφὰς καὶ ἀφορῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον λυσι-  
 τελεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὠφέλειαν.
- 260 ἦνίκα γοῦν ὁ ἕβδομος ἐνιαυτὸς τῆς ἐνδείας ἐνέστη,  
 [78] μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς γεωργοὺς—ἤδη γὰρ | τῆς  
 εὐφορίας καὶ εὐθηνίας ἐλπίς ἦν—ἐδίδου κριθάς τε  
 καὶ πυροὺς εἰς σπέρματα φροντίσας τοῦ μηδένα  
 νοσφίσασθαι καταθεῖναι δέ<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας ἃ  
 ἔλαβεν, ὀπτῆρας καὶ ἐφόρους ἐπιλέξας ἀριστίνδην,  
 οἱ τὴν σπορὰν παραφυλάξουσι.
- 261 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν λιμὸν χρόνοις μακροῖς ὕστερον  
 τελευτήσαντος τοῦ πατρός, ὑπονοία πληχθέντες  
 οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ δείσαντες, μή τι χαλεπὸν πάθωσι  
 μνησικακία,<sup>2</sup> προσελθόντες ἐδέοντο λιπαρῶς ἐπ-
- 262 ἀγόμενοι γυναῖκας καὶ γενεάν. ὁ δ' ἐπιδακρύσας  
 φησὶν· “ ὁ μὲν καιρὸς ἱκανὸς ὑπόνοιαν κατασκευά-  
 σαι τοῖς ἀφόρητα ἐργασαμένοις καὶ μὴ δι' ἑτέρου  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συνειδότης ἐλεγχόμενοις· ἢ γὰρ  
 τελευτῇ τοῦ πατρός τὸν ἀρχαῖον φόβον, ὃν πρὸ τῶν  
 καταλλαγῶν εἶχετε, κεκαίνωκεν, ὥς τοῦ μὴ λυπηῖσαι  
 τὸν πατέρα χάριν τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐμοῦ παρασχόντος.
- 263 ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὐ χρόνοις μεταβάλλομαι οὐδ'<sup>3</sup>  
 ὁμολογήσας ἐνσπονδος εἶναι δράσω ποτέ τὰ ἄ-  
 σπονδα· οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθέσεις ἀμύνης ἐκαιροφυλάκουν,  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς κολάσεως ἐχαρι-  
 ζόμεν ἐπινέμων τὸ μὲν τι τιμῇ τοῦ πατρός—δεῖ γὰρ  
 ἀψευδεῖν—, τὸ δέ τι εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκαία.

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey: Cohn and mss. καταθεῖναι τε.

<sup>2</sup> mss. μνησικακίας.



## ON JOSEPH, 259-264

with which he managed Egypt, as though it were a single household, and also the other famine-stricken lands and nations was beyond all words, and he dispensed the lands and food as was suitable, looking not only to present profit but also to future advantage. Accordingly, when the seventh year of dearth came, 260 having now reason to hope for plentiful harvests, he sent for the farmers and gave them barley and wheat as seed, and at the same time, to ensure that no one should embezzle it instead of putting it in the fields, he appointed men of high merit as inspectors and supervisors to watch the sowing.

<sup>a</sup> Many years after the famine his father died, and 261 his brothers, attacked by misgivings and fears that he might still harbour malice and wreak his vengeance on them, approached him with their wives and families and made earnest supplication. But he, moved to 262 tears, said: "The occasion might well raise misgivings in those whom conscience rather than others convicts of intolerable misdoing. My father's death has awakened the old fear which you felt before our reconciliation, with the idea that I gave you my pardon only to save my father from sorrow. But time does not change my character, nor, after promising to keep the peace with you, will I ever violate it by my actions. I was not watching for the hour of vengeance 263 repeatedly delayed, but I freely granted you immunity from punishment once for all, partly no doubt influenced, for I must tell the truth, by respect for my father, but partly by the goodwill which I cannot but feel towards you. And, even if it were 264

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 261-268 see Gen. i. 15-end.

PHILO

- 264 εἰ δὲ καὶ πατρός ἔνεκα πάντ' ἐποίουν τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ  
 φιλάνθρωπα, φυλάξω ταῦτα καὶ πατρός<sup>1</sup> τετελευ-  
 τηκότος· τέθνηκε δ' οὐδείς παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῆ τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζήσεται τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον  
 ἀγήρως, ἀθανάτῳ φύσει ψυχῇ μηκέτι ταῖς σώματος  
 265 ἀνάγκαις ἐνδεδεμένη. τί δὲ δεῖ μόνου μεμνήσθαι  
 τοῦ γενητοῦ πατρός; ἔχομεν τὸν ἀγένητον, τὸν  
 ἄφθαρτον, τὸν αἰδίου, “ὃς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ πάντων  
 ἐπακούει” καὶ τῶν ἡσυχάζοντων, τὸν αἰὶ βλέποντα  
 καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας, ὃν μάρτυρα καλῶ  
 266 τοῦ συνειδότος ἐπ' ἀψευδέσι καταλλαγαῖς. ἐγὼ  
 γάρ, καὶ μὴ θαυμάσητέ μου τὸν λόγον, τοῦ θεοῦ  
 εἰμι τοῦ τὰ πονηρὰ βουλευμάτα ὑμῶν εἰς ἀγαθῶν  
 περιουσίαν μεθαρμωσαμένου. γίνεσθε οὖν ἄφοβοι  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον χρησιμωτέρων μεθέξοντες ἢ  
 267 ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρός ἐκαρποῦσθε.” XLIV. τοι-  
 οῦτοις θαρσύνας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λόγοις, ἔργοις τὰς  
 ὑποσχέσεις ἐβεβαίον μᾶλλον οὐδὲν παραλιπῶν τῶν  
 εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν λιμόν, ἐπ'  
 εὐθηνία καὶ εὐετηρία τῆς χώρας ἤδη γεγηθότων  
 τῶν οἰκητόρων, ἐτιμᾶτο πρὸς ἀπάντων ἀμοιβὰς  
 ἀντεκτινόντων ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πεπόνθησαν ἐν καιροῖς  
 268 ἀβουλήτοις. ἡ δὲ φήμη ρυεῖσα τὰς ἐξῆς πόλεις  
 κατέπλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ εὐκλείας. ἔτη  
 δὲ βιώσας δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἐτελεύτησεν  
 εὐγῆρως ἐπ' ἄκρον ἐλθὼν εὐμορφίας καὶ φρονή-  
 269 σεως καὶ λόγων δυνάμεως. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πρὸς (or omit): some have τετελευτηκότα for -ότος.

\* Cohn places the comma after φύσει, “will live proof against old age in an immortal existence with a soul,” etc.

for my father's sake that I acted with this kindness and humanity, I will continue in the same now that he is gone. In my judgement, no good man is dead, but will live for ever, proof against old age,<sup>a</sup> with a soul immortal in its nature no longer fettered by the restraints of the body. But why should I mention 265 that father who is but a creature? We have the uncreated Father, the Imperishable, the Eternal, "Who surveys all things and hears all things,"<sup>b</sup> even when no word is spoken, He Who ever sees into the recesses of the mind, Whom I call as witness to my conscience, which affirms that that was no false reconciliation. For I,—do not marvel at my words, 266 —belong to God<sup>c</sup> Who converted your evil schemes into a superabundance of blessings. Rid yourselves, then, of fear, since in the future greater advantage will fall to your share than you enjoyed while our father was still alive." XLIV. With such words he 267 encouraged his brothers, and by his actions he confirmed his promises, leaving nothing undone which could shew his care for their interests.

But, after the famine, when the inhabitants were now rejoicing in the prosperity and fertility of the land, he was honoured by them all, who thus requited the benefits which they had received from him in the times of adversity. And rumour, float- 268 ing into the neighbouring states, filled them with his renown. He died in a goodly old age, having lived 110 years, unsurpassed in comeliness, wisdom and power of language. His personal beauty is 269

<sup>b</sup> *Il.* iii. 277, *Od.* xi. 109, xii. 323 *ὁς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει* (of the sun).

<sup>c</sup> So LXX. (*Gen.* i. 19). E.V. "Am I in the place of God (to punish you)?" Philo has made use of the text in the same sense *De Mig.* 22 and 160, *De Som.* ii. 107.

## PHILO

[79] κάλλος τοῦ σώματος ἔρως ὃς ἐξέμηνεν | ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ σύνεσιν ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀμυθήτοις τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀνωμαλίαις ὁμαλότης εὐαρμοστίαν  
 τοῖς ἀναρμόστοις καὶ συμφωνίαν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 ἀσυμφώνοις ἐργασαμένη, τὴν δὲ τῶν λόγων δύνα-  
 μιν ἢ τε τῶν ὄνειράτων διάκρισις καὶ ἢ ἐν ταῖς  
 ὁμιλίαις εὐέπεια καὶ ἢ παρακολουθήσασα πειθῶ, δι'  
 ἦν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκὼν  
 270 ὑπήκουε. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα  
 μὲν ἄχρι μειρακίου διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ,  
 τρισκαίδεκα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀβουλήτοις συντυχίαις, ἐπι-  
 βουλευόμενος, πιπρασκόμενος, δουλεύων, συκοφαν-  
 τούμενος, ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καταδούμενος, τοὺς δ'  
 ἄλλους ὀγδοήκοντα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ εὐπραγίᾳ τῇ  
 πάσῃ, λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθηνίας ἔφορος καὶ βραβευτῆς  
 ἄριστος, τὰ πρὸς ἑκάτερον καιρὸν πρυτανεύειν  
 ἱκανώτατος.

## ON JOSEPH, 269-270

attested by the furious passion which a woman conceived for him ; his good sense by the equable temper he shewed amid the numberless inequalities of his life, a temper which created order in disorder and concord where all was naturally discordant ; his power of language by his interpretations of the dreams and the fluency of his addresses and the persuasiveness which accompanied them, which secured him the obedience, not forced but voluntary, of every one of his subjects. Of these years he spent 270 seventeen up to adolescence in his father's house, thirteen in painful misfortunes, the victim of conspiracy, sold into slavery, falsely accused, chained in a prison, and the other eighty as a ruler and in complete prosperity, a most admirable supervisor and arbiter in times both of famine and plenty, and most capable of presiding over the requirements of both.



p

MOSES I  
(DE VITA MOSIS)

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE VITA MOSIS* I AND II

THE first of these two <sup>a</sup> treatises covers, as is stated at the beginning of the second, the early life and education of Moses and the main facts of his work as King; that is, as the leader of the Israelites in their escape from Egypt and adventures in the wilderness. It runs on very straightforwardly and does not call for any detailed analysis. There is only one attempt at allegory, viz. the reflections on the meaning of the vision of the Burning Bush.<sup>b</sup>

The second treatise is far more complicated. It treats the character of Moses under three heads, the legislative, the high-priestly and the prophetic, a method which necessarily precludes any chronological arrangement. The first division as it stands <sup>c</sup> begins with some general remarks on the need of these three qualifications as adjuncts to the ideal king (1-11), and proceeds to base the glory of Moses as a legislator first on the permanence of his laws (12-16), secondly on the respect paid to them by other nations (17-24) in support of which he adds an account of the making of the Septuagint (25-44). To these is to be added the greatness of the law-book itself, but this passes away into a justification of the scheme by which the

<sup>a</sup> Treated by all mss. and all editions before Cohn as three; the second ending at § 65. This is almost certainly erroneous. Philo in *De Virt.* 52 speaks of two books, and the concluding words of ii. 1 ἦν δὲ τῶν συντάττομεν περὶ τῶν ἐπομένων καὶ ἀκολούθων, if considered in connexion with the sequel, clearly imply the same.

<sup>b</sup> This is hardly an allegory in the usual sense. The vision is interpreted not in any spiritual or theological way, but as a figure of the nation's condition at the time. Contrast with *De Fuga*, 161 ff.

<sup>c</sup> On the question whether something has been lost see App. p. 606.



## ON MOSES I AND II

legislative element is preceded by the historical, and this is followed by a dissertation on how the historical part records the punishment of the wicked and the salvation of the good, this last including a detailed account of Noah and the Ark (45-65).

In the second division the discussion of Moses as priest leads to a detailed description of the tabernacle and its appurtenances (66-108 and 136-140), the priest's vesture with its symbolism (109-135), the appointment of the priests and Levites (141-158) and this last to an account of the part played by the Levites in punishing the idolatry of the Golden Calf (159-173), and finally of the vindication of the superiority of the priests by the blossoming of Aaron's rod (174-186).

The third division treating of Moses as prophet is subdivided according as his pronouncements are made from an oracle given in answer to his question or from his own prophetic inspiration (181-191). Four examples are given of each: of the former, (a) the sentence on the blasphemer (192-208), (b) on the Sabbath-breaker (209-220), (c) special regulations as to the Passover (221-232), (d) the law of inheritance (233-245). As examples of the latter he gives Moses' prophecies (a) of the destruction of the Egyptians (246-257), (b) of the manna (258-269), (c) of the slaughter of the idolaters (270-274)<sup>a</sup> and (d) the destruction of Korah and his companions (275-287). The treatise ends with a few sections about the end of Moses. Altogether the two books, between them, cover most of the story of Moses as given in the Pentateuch, the only really serious omission being that of the theophany on Sinai.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Noted however by Philo himself as an exhortation rather than a prophecy.

<sup>b</sup> This would be more intelligible if one might suppose that the Life of Moses was, from the first, intended to be an integral part of the Exposition (see Gen. Introd. pp. xv f.), since the story of Sinai is treated at considerable length in *De Decal.* 32 ff.

Other omissions are Jethro's visit to Moses, the death of Aaron, and the appointment of Joshua as successor. Philo himself remarks on his omission of the last in *De Virt.* 52 ff.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ  
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

[80]

1 I. Μωυσέως τοῦ κατὰ μὲν τινὰς νομοθέτου τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ δέ τινὰς ἑρμηνέως νόμων ἱερῶν,  
τὸν βίον ἀναγράψαι διενεώθη, ἀνδρὸς τὰ πάντα  
μεγίστου καὶ τελειοτάτου, καὶ γνώριμον τοῖς ἀξίοις  
2 μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ νόμων  
τὸ κλέος, οὓς ἀπολέλοιπε, διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκου-  
μένης πεφοιτηκὸς ἄχρι καὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς τερμάτων  
ἔφθακεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὅστις ἦν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἴσασι οὐ  
πολλοί, διὰ φθόνον ἴσως καὶ ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγοις τῶν δια-  
τεταγμένων ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις νομοθετῶν ἐναν-  
τίωσι οὐκ ἔβελησάντων αὐτὸν μνήμης ἀξιῶσαι τῶν  
3 παρ' Ἑλλησι λογίων· ὧν οἱ πλείους τὰς δυνάμεις  
ἀσ ἔσχον διὰ παιδείας ὕβρισαν ἐν τε ποιήμασι καὶ  
[81] τοῖς καταλογάδην | συγγράμμασι κωμωδίας καὶ  
συβαριτικὰς ἀσελείας συνθέντες, περιβόητον αἰ-  
σχύνην, οὓς ἔδει ταῖς φύσεσι καταχρήσασθαι πρὸς  
τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ βίων ὑφήγησιν, ἵνα  
μήτε τι καλὸν ἡσυχία παραδοθὲν ἀρχαῖον ἢ νέον  
ἀφανισθῆ λάμψαι δυνάμενον μήτ' αὐτὰς ἀμείνους  
ὑποθέσεις παρελθόντες τὰς ἀναξίους ἀκοῆς προ-  
κρίναι δοκῶσι σπουδάζοντες τὰ κακὰ καλῶς ἀπ-  
4 ἀγγέλλειν εἰς ὄνειδῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν

## ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK I

I. I purpose to write the life of Moses, whom some 1 describe as the legislator of the Jews, others as the interpreter of the Holy Laws. I hope to bring the story of this greatest and most perfect of men to the knowledge of such as deserve not to remain in ignorance of it; for, while the fame of the laws 2 which he left behind him has travelled throughout the civilized world and reached the ends of the earth, the man himself as he really was is known to few. Greek men of letters have refused to treat him as worthy of memory, possibly through envy, and also because in many cases the ordinances of the legislators of the different states are opposed to his. Most 3 of these authors have abused the powers which education gave them, by composing in verse or prose comedies and pieces of voluptuous licence, to their widespread disgrace, when they should have used their natural gifts to the full on the lessons taught by good men and their lives. In this way they might have ensured that nothing of excellence, old or new, should be consigned to oblivion and to the extinction of the light which it could give, and also save themselves from seeming to neglect the better themes and prefer others unworthy of attention, in which all their efforts to express bad matter in good language served to confer distinction on shameful

## PHILO

τούτων βασκανίαν ὑπερβάς τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα  
 μηνύσω μαθὼν αὐτὰ κακὰ βίβλων τῶν ἱερῶν, ὡς  
 θαυμάσια μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας ἀπολέλοιπε,  
 καὶ παρά τινων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους πρεσβυτέρων·  
 τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις αἰεὶ συν-  
 ὑφαίνον καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔδοξα μᾶλλον ἐτέρων τὰ περὶ  
 τὸν βίον ἀκριβῶσαι.

- 5 II. "Ἀρξομαι δ' ἀφ' οὗπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἄρξασθαι.  
 Μωυσῆς γένος μὲν ἐστὶ Χαλδαῖος, ἐγεννήθη δ' ἐν  
 Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐτράφη, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ  
 πολυχρόνιον λιμόν, ὃς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοὺς πλησιο-  
 χώρους ἐπίεξε, κατὰ ζήτησιν τροφῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον  
 πανοικὶ μεταναστάντων, γῆν πεδιάδα καὶ βαθείαν  
 καὶ πρὸς πάντα γονιμωτάτην, ὣν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη  
 φύσις δεῖται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπόν.  
 6 ὁ γὰρ ταύτης ποταμὸς θέρους ἀκμάζοντος, ἠνίκα  
 τοὺς ἄλλους φασὶ μειοῦσθαι χειμάρρους τε καὶ  
 αὐθιγενεῖς, ἐπιβαίνων τε καὶ ἀναχεόμενος πλημί-  
 μυρῆ καὶ λιμνάζει τὰς ἀρούρας, αἱ ὑετοῦ μὴ δεό-  
 μεναι φορᾶς ἀφθονίαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ἀνὰ πᾶν  
 ἔτος χορηγοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ που μεσολαβήσειεν ὄργη  
 θεοῦ δι' ἐπιπολάζουσαν ἀσέβειαν τῶν οἰκητόρων.  
 7 πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς ἔλαχε τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἀρίστων, οὓς φυλέτας ὄντας ἡ ὁμοφροσύνη μᾶλλον  
 ὠκείωσεν ἢ τὸ γένος. ἐβδόμη γενεὰ (δ') οὗτός  
 ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, ὃς ἐπηλύτης ὢν τοῦ σύμ-  
 παντος Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀρχηγέτης ἐγένετο. III.  
 8 τροφῆς δ' ἠξιώθη βασιλικῆς ἀπ' αἰτίας τοιαύσδε·

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\* For §§ 5-17 see Ex. ii. 1-10.

## MOSES I. 4-8

subjects. But I will disregard their malice, and tell 4 the story of Moses as I have learned it, both from the sacred books, the wonderful monuments of his wisdom which he has left behind him, and from some of the elders of the nation ; for I always interwove what I was told with what I read, and thus believed myself to have a closer knowledge than others of his life's history.

II. <sup>a</sup> I will begin with what is necessarily the right 5 place to begin. Moses was by race a Chaldean, but was born and reared in Egypt, as his ancestors had migrated thither to seek food with their whole households, in consequence of the long famine under which Babylon and the neighbouring populations were suffering. Egypt is a land rich in plains, with deep soil, and very productive of all that human nature needs, and particularly of corn. For the river 6 of this country, in the height of summer, when other streams, whether winter torrents or spring-fed, are said to dwindle, rises and overflows, and its flood makes a lake of the fields which need no rain but every year bear a plentiful crop of good produce of every kind, if not prevented by some visitation of the wrath of God to punish the prevailing impiety of the inhabitants. He had for his father and 7 mother the best of their contemporaries, members of the same tribe, though with them mutual affection was a stronger tie than family connexions. He was seventh in descent from the first settler, who became the founder of the whole Jewish nation.<sup>b</sup> III. He was brought up as a prince, a promotion 8 due to the following cause. As the nation of the

<sup>b</sup> See Ex. vi. 16 ff., where Moses is given as fifth from Jacob and therefore seventh from Abraham.

## PHILO

τῆς χώρας ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπι-  
 διδόντος αἰεὶ τοῦ ἔθνους, δείσας μὴ οἱ ἔποικοι  
 πλείους γενόμενοι δυνατωτέρα χειρὶ τοῖς αὐτόχθοσι  
 περὶ κράτους ἀρχῆς ἀμιλλῶνται, τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν  
 [82] ἀφαιρεῖν ἐπινοίαις ἀνοσιουργοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο | καὶ  
 κελεύει τῶν γεννωμένων τὰ μὲν θήλεα τρέφειν—  
 ἐπεὶ γυνὴ διὰ φύσεως ἀσθένειαν ὀκνηρὸν εἰς πόλε-  
 μον—, τὰ δ' ἄρρενα διαφθείρειν, ἵνα μὴ αὐξήθῃ κατὰ  
 πόλεις· εὐανδροῦσα γὰρ δύναμις δυσάλωτον καὶ  
 9 δυσκαθαίρετον ἐπιτείχισμα. γεννηθεὶς οὖν ὁ παῖς,  
 εὐθύς ὄψιν ἐνέφαιεν ἀστειοτέραν ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην,  
 ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου κηρυγμάτων, ἐφ' ὅσον  
 οἶόν τε ἦν, τοὺς γονεῖς ἀλογῆσαι· τρεῖς γοῦν φασὶ  
 μῆνας ἐφεξῆς οἴκοι γαλακτοτροφηθῆναι λανθάνοντα  
 10 τοὺς πολλοὺς. ἐπεὶ δ', οἷα ἐν μοναρχίαις φιλεῖ, καὶ  
 τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἔνιοι διηρεύων σπεύδοντες αἰεὶ τι  
 καινὸν ἄκουσμα προσφέρειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, φοβη-  
 θέντες μὴ σωτηρίαν ἐνὶ μνώμενοι πλείους ὄντες  
 αὐτοὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ παραπόλωνται, δεδακρυμένοι τὸν  
 παῖδα ἐκτιθέασιν παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ  
 στένοντες ἀπήεσαν, οἰκτιζόμενοι μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς  
 ἀνάγκης αὐτόχειράς τε καὶ τεκνοκτόνους ἀπο-  
 καλοῦντες, οἰκτιζόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τῆς παρα-  
 11 λογωτάτης ἀπωλείας. εἶθ', ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν ἀλλοκότῳ  
 πράγματι, κατηγοροῦν αὐτῶν ὡς μείζονος αἰτίων  
 συμφορᾶς· “ τί γὰρ ” ἔφασκον “ εὐθύς γεννώμενον  
 οὐκ ἐξεθήκαμεν; τὸν μὴ φθάσαντα τροφῆς ἡμέρου  
 μεταλαχεῖν οὐδ' ἄνθρωπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν·

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<sup>a</sup> Ex. ii. 2. The LXX word ἀστειός is quoted in Hebrews xi. 23 and Acts vii. 20.

## MOSES I. 8-11

newcomers was constantly growing more numerous, the king of the country, fearing that the settlers, thus increasing, might shew their superiority by contesting the chief power with the original inhabitants, contrived a most iniquitous scheme to deprive them of their strength. He gave orders to rear the female infants, since her natural weakness makes a woman inactive in war, but to put the males to death, to prevent their number increasing throughout the cities; for a flourishing male population is a coign of vantage to an aggressor which cannot easily be taken or destroyed. Now, the child from 9 his birth had an appearance of more than ordinary goodness,<sup>a</sup> so that his parents as long as they could actually set at nought the proclamations of the despot. In fact we are told that, unknown to all but few, he was kept at home and fed from his mother's breast for three successive months. But, since, as is 10 often the case under a monarch, there were persons prying into holes and corners, ever eager to carry some new report to the king, his parents in their fear that their efforts to save one would but cause a larger number, namely themselves, to perish with him, exposed him with tears on the banks of the river, and departed groaning. They pitied themselves being forced, as they said in their self-reproach, to be the murderers of their own child, and they pitied him too, left to perish in this unnatural way. Then, as was natural in so strangely cruel a 11 situation, they began to accuse themselves of having made bad worse. "Why did we not cast him away," they said, "directly he was born? The child who has not survived to enjoy a kind nurture is not usually reckoned as a human being. But we meddlers

## PHILO

ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ περιττοὶ καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους ἀνεθρέψαμεν, δαψιλεστέρας μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἀνίας, τῷ δὲ τιμωρίας ἐκπορίζοντες, ἵν' ἡδονῶν καὶ ἀλγηδόνων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι δυνάμενος ἐν αἰσθήσει κακῶν ἀργαλεωτέρων διαφθείρηται."

- 12 IV. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγνοῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπήεσαν οἰκτρῷ κατεσχημένοι πένθει, ἀδελφῆ δὲ τοῦ ἐκτεθέντος βρέφους ἔτι παρθένος ὑπὸ φιλοικείου πάθους μικρὸν ἀποθεν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ ἀποβησόμενον· ἃ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα συμβῆναι κατὰ θεὸν προμηθούμενον
- 13 τοῦ παιδός. θυγάτηρ ἦν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας ἀγαπητῆ καὶ μόνη· ταύτην φασὶ γημαμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ κυῖσκειν τέκνων ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιθυμοῦσαν καὶ μάλιστα γενεᾶς ἄρρενος, ἥ τὸν εὐδαίμονα κλῆρον τῆς πατρώας ἡγεμονίας διαδέξεται κινδυνεύοντα ἐρημίᾳ θυγατριδῶν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι.
- 14 κατηφοῦσαν δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ στένουσαν ὡς μάλιστα ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῷ βάρει τῶν φροντίδων ἀπαγορεῦσαι καὶ δι' ἔθους ἔχουσαν οἴκοι καταμένειν καὶ μηδὲ τὰς κλισιάδας ὑπερβαίνειν ἐξορμησαὶ μετὰ θεραπαινίδων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἔνθα ὁ παῖς ἐξέκειτο· κᾶπειτα λουτροῖς καὶ περιρραντηρίοις χρῆ-
- [83] σθαι μέλλουσαν ἐν τῷ δασυτάτῳ τῶν ἐλῶν | αὐτὸν
- 15 θεάσασθαι καὶ κελεῦσαι προσφέρειν. εἶτα ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν καταθεωμένην τὴν τε εὐμορφίαν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ δεδακρυμένον ὀρώσαν ἐλεεῖν, ἥδη τῆς ψυχῆς τετραμμένης αὐτῇ πρὸς μητρῶον πάθος ὡς ἐπὶ γνησίῳ παιδί· γνοῦσαν

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 603.

<sup>b</sup> The statements (1) that Pharaoh's daughter was the only child of her father, (2) that she had no child of her own, so



## MOSES I. 11-15

actually nurtured him for three whole months, thus procuring more abundant affliction for ourselves and torture for him, only that when he was fully capable of feeling pleasure and pain he should perish conscious of the increased misery of his sufferings." <sup>a</sup>

IV. While they departed ignorant of the future, 12 overcome by grief and sorrow, the sister of the infant castaway, a girl still unmarried, moved by family affection, remained at a little distance, waiting to see what would happen, all this being brought about, in my opinion, by the providence of God watching 13 over the child. The king of the country had but one cherished daughter, who, we are told, had been married for a considerable time but had never conceived a child, though she naturally desired one, particularly of the male sex, to succeed to the magnificent inheritance of her father's kingdom, which threatened to go to strangers if his daughter gave him no grandson.<sup>b</sup> Depressed and loud in lamenta- 14 tion she always was, but on this particular day she broke down under the weight of cares ; and, though her custom was to remain at home and never even cross the threshold, she set off with her maids to the river, where the child was exposed. Then, as she was preparing to make her ablutions in the purifying water, she saw him lying where the marshland growth was thickest, and bade him be brought to her. There- 15 upon, surveying him from head to foot, she approved of his beauty and fine condition, and seeing him weeping took pity on him, for her heart was now moved to feel for him as a mother for her own child.

that Moses was heir presumptive to the throne, are additions to Exodus also either given or implied by Josephus, who adds much other legendary matter, *Ant.* ii. 232 ff.

PHILO

- δ' ὅτι τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐστὶ καταδεισάντων τοῦ βασι-  
λέως τὸ πρόσταγμα βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς τροφῆς  
αὐτοῦ· μὴ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς εὐθὺς εἶναι νομίζειν εἰς τὰ  
16 βασιλεία ἄγειν. διαπορούσης δ' ἔτι, τὴν ἀδελφὴν  
τοῦ παιδὸς καθάπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τὸν ἐνδοιασμὸν  
στοχασαμένην πυνθάνεσθαι προσδραμοῦσαν, εἰ βου-  
λήσεται γαλακτοτροφηθῆναι τοῦτον<sup>1</sup> παρὰ γυναιῶ  
17 τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν οὐ πρό πολλοῦ κυήσαντι· τῆς δὲ  
βούλεσθαι φαμένης, τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ βρέφους  
μητέρα παραγαγεῖν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν, ἣν ἐτοιμότερον  
ἀσμένην ὑπισχνεῖσθαι πρόφασιν ὡς ἐπὶ μισθῶ  
τροφεύσειν, ἐπινοία θεοῦ τοῦ τὰς πρώτας τροφὰς  
τῷ παιδί γνησίας εὐτρεπίζοντος· εἶτα δίδωσιν  
ὄνομα θεμένη Μωυσῆν ἐτύμως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος  
αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν ὀνομάζουσιν  
Αἰγύπτιοι.
- 18 V. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀθρόας ἐπιδόσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις  
λαμβάνων οὐ σὺν λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ χρόνον θάττον δ'  
ἀπότιθος γίνεται, παρῆν ἢ μήτηρ ἅμα καὶ τροφὸς  
κομίζουσα τῇ δούσῃ μηκέτι γαλακτοτροφίας δεό-  
19 μενον, εὐγενῆ καὶ ἀστείον ὀφθῆναι. τελειότερον δὲ  
τῆς ἡλικίας ἰδοῦσα κακ τῆς ὄψεως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ  
πρότερον σπάσασα εὐνοίας υἷον ποιεῖται τὰ περὶ τὸν  
ὄγκον τῆς γαστρὸς τεχνάσασα πρότερον, ἵνα γνή-  
σιος ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑποβολιμαῖος νομισθῇ· πάντα δ'  
ἐξευμαρίζει θεὸς ἃ ἂν ἐβελήσῃ καὶ τὰ δυσκατ-  
20 ὀρθωτα. τροφῆς οὖν ἤδη βασιλικῆς καὶ θεραπείας  
ἀξιούμενος οὐχ οἷα κομιδῇ νήπιος ἦδετο τωθασμοῖς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῦτο (sc. βρέφος?).

## MOSES I. 15-20

And, recognizing that he belonged to the Hebrews, who were intimidated by the king's orders, she considered how to have him nursed, for at present it was not safe to take him to the palace. While 16 she was still thus debating, the child's sister, who guessed her difficulty, ran up from where she stood like a scout, and asked whether she would like to take for his foster-mother a Hebrew woman who had lately been with child. When the princess agreed, 17 she brought her own and the babe's mother in the guise of a stranger, who readily and gladly promised to nurse him, ostensibly for wages. Thus, by God's disposing, it was provided that the child's first nursing should come from the natural source. Since he had been taken up from the water, the princess gave him a name derived from this,<sup>a</sup> and called him Moses, for *Möu* is the Egyptian word for water.

V. As he grew and thrived without a break, and 18 was weaned at an earlier date than they had reckoned, his mother and nurse in one brought him to her from whom she had received him, since he had ceased to need an infant's milk. He was noble and goodly to look upon ; and the princess, seeing him so advanced 19 beyond his age, conceived for him an even greater fondness than before, and took him for her son, having at an earlier time artificially enlarged the figure of her womb to make him pass as her real and not a supposititious child. God makes all that He wills easy, however difficult be the accomplishment. So now he received as his right the nurture and 20 service due to a prince. Yet he did not bear himself

<sup>a</sup> *ἐτύμως* as regularly in Philo used with reference to the "etymology" of the word, see note on *De Conf.* 137. So again § 130 below.

## PHILO

- καὶ γέλωσι καὶ παιδιαῖς, καίτοι τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ παρειληφόντων ἀνέσεις ἔχειν ἐπιτρεπόντων καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιδεικνυμένων σκυθρωπόν, ἀλλ' αἰδῶ καὶ σεμνότητα παραφαίνων ἀκούσμασι καὶ θεάμασι, ἃ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔμελλεν ὠφελήσειν, προσεῖχε.
- 21 διδάσκαλοι δ' εὐθύς ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοι παρήσαν, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον νομῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ [84] μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς μεταπεμφθέντες· ὧν | ἐν οὐ μακρῷ χρόνῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ὑπερέβαλεν εὐμοιρία φύσεως φθάνων τὰς ὑψηλῆς, ὡς ἀνάμνησιν εἶναι δοκεῖν, οὐ μάθησιν, ἔτι καὶ προσεπινοῶν αὐτὸς τὰ
- 22 δυσθεώρητα. πολλὰ γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις καινοτομοῦσι τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην· καὶ καθάπερ τὰ εὐεκτικὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν εὐκίνητα φροντίδων ἀπαλλάττει τοὺς ἀλείπτας οὐδὲν ἢ βραχέα παρέχοντας τῶν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν, ὥσπερ καὶ γεωργοὺς τὰ εὐβλαστα καὶ εὐγενῆ δένδρα βελτιούμενα δι' ἑαυτῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εὐφυῆς ψυχῆ προαπαντῶσα τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑφ' αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν διδασκόντων ὠφελεῖται καὶ λαβομένη τινὸς ἐπιστημονικῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν “ ἵππος
- 23 εἰς πεδίον ” ὄρμη. ἀριθμοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ γεωμετρίαν τὴν τε ῥυθμικὴν καὶ ἀρμονικὴν καὶ μετρικὴν θεωρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν τὴν σύμπασαν διὰ τε χρήσεως ὀργάνων καὶ λόγων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ διεξόδοις τοπικωτέρας Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λόγιοι

<sup>a</sup> Josephus on the other hand makes him shew his superiority in his games, *Ant.* ii. 230.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 603.

<sup>c</sup> Philo may have derived this from his own knowledge of the scope of education in Egypt in the present and past, but perhaps also from Plato, *Laws* 656 D, 799 A, 819 A, where 286

## MOSES I. 20-23

like the mere infant that he was, nor delight in fun and laughter and sport, though those who had the charge of him did not grudge him relaxation or shew him any strictness; <sup>a</sup> but with a modest and serious bearing he applied himself to hearing and seeing what was sure to profit the soul. Teachers at once <sup>21</sup> arrived from different parts, some unbidden from the neighbouring countries and the provinces of Egypt, others summoned from Greece under promise of high reward. But in a short time he advanced beyond their capacities; his gifted nature forestalled their instruction, so that his seemed a case rather of recollection than of learning, and indeed he himself devised and propounded problems which they could not easily solve. For great natures carve <sup>22</sup> out much that is new in the way of knowledge; and, just as bodies, robust and agile in every part, free their trainers from care, and receive little or none of their usual attention, and in the same way well-grown and naturally healthy trees, which improve of themselves, give the husbandmen no trouble, so the gifted soul takes the lead in meeting the lessons given by itself rather than the teacher and is profited thereby, and as soon as it has a grasp of some of the first principles of knowledge presses forward like the horse to the meadow, <sup>b</sup> as the proverb goes. Arith- <sup>23</sup> metic, geometry, the lore of metre, rhythm and harmony, and the whole subject of music as shown by the use of instruments or in textbooks and treatises of a more special character, were imparted to him by learned Egyptians. <sup>c</sup> These further in-mathematics, music, and dancing are said to be the subjects most stressed by Egyptians. *Cf.*, as a summary of all that is said here, Acts vii. <sup>22</sup> "he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

## PHILO

παρεδίδοσαν καὶ προσέτι τὴν διὰ συμβόλων φιλο-  
 σοφίαν, ἣν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν  
 ἐπιδεικνυνται καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ζώων ἀποδοχῆς, ἃ  
 καὶ θεῶν τιμαῖς γεραίρουσι· τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον  
 παιδείαν Ἕλληνες ἐδίδασκον, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλησιο-  
 χώρων τὰ τε Ἀσσύρια γράμματα καὶ τὴν τῶν  
 24 οὐρανίων Χαλδαϊκὴν ἐπιστήμην. ταύτην καὶ παρ'  
 Αἴγυπτίων ἀνελάμβανε μαθηματικὴν ἐν τοῖς μά-  
 λιστα ἐπιτηδευόντων· καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις  
 ἀκριβῶς ἐν οἷς τε συμφωνοῦσι καὶ διαφέρονται  
 καταμαθῶν, ἀφιλονείκως τὰς ἔριδας ὑπερβάς, τὴν  
 ἀλήθειαν ἐζήτει, μηδὲν ψεῦδος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ  
 παραδέχεσθαι δυναμένης, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς αἰρεσιο-  
 μάχοις, οἱ τοῖς προτεθείσι δόγμασιν ὅποια ἂν τύχη  
 βοηθοῦσιν οὐκ ἐξετάζοντες, εἰ δόκιμα, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ  
 δρῶντες τοῖς ἐπὶ μισθῷ συναγορεύουσι καὶ μηδὲν  
 25 τοῦ δικαίου πεφροντικῶσιν. VI. ἤδη δὲ  
 τοὺς ὄρους τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑπερβαίνων ἐπ-  
 ἔτεινε τὴν φρόνησιν, οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι τὰς μεираκιώδεις  
 ἐπιθυμίας ἀχαλινώτους ἔων καίτοι μυρία ἔχούσας  
 ὑπεκκαύματα διὰ παρασκευὰς ἀφθόνους, ἃς αἱ  
 βασιλεῖαι χορηγοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη καὶ καρ-  
 τερία ὥσπερ τισὶν ἡνίαις ἐνδησάμενος αὐτὰς τὴν εἰς  
 26 τὸ πρόσω φอรὰν ἀνεχαίτιζε βία. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 μέντοι παθῶν ἕκαστον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μεμνηὸς καὶ  
 λελυττηκὸς φύσει τιθασεῦων κἀξημερῶν ἐπράνυν·  
 εἰ δέ που διακινήθει μόνον ἡσυχῇ καὶ πτερυζαίτο,  
 κολάσεις ἐμβριθεστέρας παρείχετο ἢ διὰ λόγων |

\* This would normally be grammar or literature, rhetoric,  
 logic and perhaps astronomy as distinguished from astrology.  
 See *De Cong.* 11 and note; also *De Som.* i. 205 and note, with  
 other references. Clement, *Strom.* i. 23, adds *ιατρική*.

structed him in the philosophy conveyed in symbols, as displayed in the so-called holy inscriptions and in the regard paid to animals, to which they even pay divine honours. He had Greeks to teach him the rest of the regular school course,<sup>a</sup> and the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries for Assyrian letters<sup>b</sup> and the Chaldean science of the heavenly bodies. This he also acquired from Egyptians,<sup>c</sup> who 24 give special attention to astrology. And, when he had mastered the lore of both nations, both where they agree and where they differ, he eschewed all strife and contention and sought only for truth. His mind was incapable of accepting any falsehood, as is the way with the sectarians, who defend the doctrines they have propounded, whatever they may be, without examining whether they can stand scrutiny, and thus put themselves on a par with hired advocates who have no thought nor care for justice.

VI. When he was now passing beyond the term of 25 boyhood, his good sense became more active. He did not, as some, allow the lusts of adolescence to go unbridled, though the abundant resources which palaces provide supply numberless incentives to foster their flame. But he kept a tight hold on them with the reins, as it were, of temperance and self-control, and forcibly pulled them back from their forward course. And each of the other passions, 26 which rage so furiously if left to themselves, he tamed and assuaged and reduced to mildness ; and if they did but gently stir or flutter he provided for them heavier chastisement than any rebuke of words

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 603.

<sup>c</sup> This seems to suggest that in Philo's time astrology, as taught on Chaldaean (*i.e.* the generally accepted) principles, differed somewhat from the form current in Egypt.

## PHILO

- [85] ἐπιπλήξεις· καὶ συνόλως τὰς πρώτας τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολὰς τε καὶ ὄρμας ὡς ἀφηνιαστὴν ἵππον ἐπετήρει δεδιώς, μὴ προεκδραμοῦσαι τοῦ ἡνιοχεῖν ὀφείλοντος λογισμοῦ πάντα διὰ πάντων συγχέωσιν· αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι καὶ κακῶν, ἀγαθῶν μὲν, ὅταν ἡγεμόνι λόγῳ πειθαρχῶσι, τῶν δ' 27 ἐναντίων, ὅταν εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκδιαιτῶνται. κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὖν οἱ τε συνδιατρίβοντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐτεθήπεσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ καινῷ θεάματι καταπληττόμενοι καὶ τίς ἄρα ὁ ἐνοικῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἀγαλματοφορούμενος νοῦς ἐστι, πότερον ἀνθρώπειος ἢ θεῖος ἢ μικτὸς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, διερευνόμενοι, τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοιον, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύπτειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐξῆρθαι.
- 28 γαστρί τε γὰρ ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων δασμῶν, οὓς ἡ φύσις ἔταξεν, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐχορήγει, τῶν τε ὑπογαστρίων ἡδονῶν εἰ μὴ μέχρι σποράς παιδῶν 29 γνησίων οὐδὲ ἐμέμνητο. γενόμενός τε διαφερόντως ἀσκητῆς ὀλιγοδεείας καὶ τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον βίον ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος χλευάσας—ψυχῇ γὰρ ἐπόθει μόνη ζῆν, οὐ σώματι—τὰ φιλοσοφίας δόγματα διὰ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἔργων ἐπεδείκνυτο, λέγων μὲν οἷα ἐφρόνει, πράττων δὲ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς λεγομένοις εἰς ἀρμονίαν λόγου καὶ βίου, ἢν' οἶος ὁ λόγος τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος καὶ οἶος ὁ βίος τοιοῦτος ὁ λόγος ἐξετάζωνται καθάπερ ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῷ συνηχοῦντες. 30 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοί, κὰν αὐτὸ μόνον αὔρα βραχεῖά τινος εὐτυχίας προσπέση, φυσῶσι καὶ πνέουσι μεγάλα καὶ καταλαζονεῦόμενοι τῶν ἀφαντέρων καθάρματα καὶ παρενοχλήματα καὶ γῆς ἄχθη καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀκλινές



## MOSES I. 26-30

could give ; and in general he watched the first directions and impulses of the soul as one would a restive horse, in fear lest they should run away with the reason which ought to rein them in, and thus cause universal chaos. For it is these impulses which cause both good and bad—good when they obey the guidance of reason, bad when they turn from their regular course into anarchy. Naturally, therefore, his associates and everyone else, struck with amazement at what they felt was a novel spectacle, considered earnestly what the mind which dwelt in his body like an image in its shrine could be, whether it was human or divine or a mixture of both, so utterly unlike was it to the majority, soaring above them and exalted to a grander height. For on his belly he bestowed no more than the necessary tributes which nature has appointed, and as for the pleasures that have their seat below, save for the lawful begetting of children, they passed altogether even out of his memory. And, in his desire to live to the soul alone and not to the body, he made a special practice of frugal contentment, and had an unparalleled scorn for a life of luxury. He exemplified his philosophical creed by his daily actions. His words expressed his feelings, and his actions accorded with his words, so that speech and life were in harmony, and thus through their mutual agreement were found to make melody together as on a musical instrument.

Now, most men, if they feel a breath of prosperity ever so small upon them, make much ado of puffing and blowing, and boast themselves as bigger than meaner men, and miscall them offscourings and nuisances and cumberers of the earth and other suchlike names, as if

## PHILO

- τῆς εὐπραγίας ἐν βεβαίῳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εὖ μάλα σφραγισάμενοι μηδὲ μέχρι τῆς ὑστεραίας ἴσως δια-
- 31 μενοῦντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ. τύχης γὰρ ἀσταθμητότερον οὐδὲν ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πεττεουσύης, ἣ μῖα πολλάκις ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν ὑψηλὸν καθαιρεῖ, τὸν δὲ ταπεινὸν μετέωρον ἐξαίρει· καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ἀεὶ γινόμενα καὶ σαφῶς εἰδότες ὅμως ὑπερόπται μὲν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων εἰσὶ, νόμους δὲ παραβαίνουσι, καθ' οὓς ἐγενήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν, ἔθνη δὲ πάτρια, οἷς μέμψις οὐδεμία πρόσεστι δικαία, κινουσιν ἐκδεδιητημένοι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀποδοχὴν οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων μνήμην λαμβάνουσιν.
- 32 VII. ὁ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν φθάσας τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐτυχίας καὶ θυγατριδοῦς μὲν τοῦ τοσοῦτου βασιλέως νομισθεῖς, τῆς δὲ παππώας ἀρχῆς ὅσον [86] οὐδέπω γεγωνῶς ἐλπῖσι | ταῖς ἀπάντων διάδοχος καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς προσαγορευόμενος, τὴν συγγενικὴν καὶ προγονικὴν ἐζήλωσε παιδείαν, τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων ἀγαθὰ, καὶ εἰ λαμπρότερα καιροῖς, νόθα εἶναι ὑπολαβὼν, τὰ δὲ τῶν φύσει γονέων, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀφανέστερα,
- 33 οἰκεία γούν καὶ γνήσια· καθάπερ τε κριτῆς ἀδέκαστος τῶν γεννησάντων καὶ τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων τοὺς μὲν εὐνοία καὶ τῶ φιλεῖν ἐκθύμωσ τοὺς δ' εὐχαριστίαις ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθεν ἡμεῖβετο καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ἡμεῖψατ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ κατεῖδεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μέγα καινουργηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσέβημα.

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<sup>a</sup> A paraphrase of the fragment of Euripides quoted *De Som.* i. 154:

ἡ μία γὰρ ἡμέρα  
τὸν μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὸν δ' ἤρ' ἄνω.

## MOSES I. 30-33

they themselves had the permanence of their prosperity securely sealed in their possession, though even the morrow may find them no longer where they are. For nothing is more unstable than Fortune, 31 who moves human affairs up and down on the draughtboard of life, and in a single day pulls down the lofty and exalts the lowly on high;<sup>a</sup> and though they see and know full well that this is always happening, they nevertheless look down on their relations and friends and set at naught the laws under which they were born and bred, and subvert the ancestral customs to which no blame can justly attach, by adopting different modes of life, and, in their contentment with the present, lose all memory of the past.

VII. But Moses, having 32 reached the very pinnacle of human prosperity, regarded as the son of the king's daughter, and in general expectation almost the successor to his grandfather's sovereignty, and indeed regularly called the young king, was zealous for the discipline and culture of his kinsmen and ancestors. The good fortune of his adopters, he held, was a spurious one, even though the circumstances gave it greater lustre; that of his natural parents, though less distinguished for the nonce, was at any rate his own and genuine; and so, 33 estimating the claims of his real and his adopted parents like an impartial judge, he requited the former with good feeling and profound affection, the latter with gratitude for their kind treatment of him. And he would have continued to do so throughout had he not found the king adopting in the country a new and highly impious course of action.

## PHILO

- 34 ξένοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἔφην πρότερον, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχηγῶν διὰ λιμὸν ἀπορία τροφῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μεταναστάντων, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἰκέται καταπεφευγότες ὡς ἐπ' ἄσυλον ἱερόν τήν τε βασιλέως πίστιν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων
- 35 ἔλεον. οἱ γὰρ ξένοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῇ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων ἰκέται γραφέσθωσαν, μέτοικοι δὲ πρὸς ἰκέταις καὶ φίλοι, σπεύδοντες εἰς ἀστῶν ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ γειννῶντες ἤδη πολίταις, ὀλίγω τῶν αὐτοχθόνων
- 36 διαφέροντες. τούτους οὖν, οἱ τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν ἀπέλιπον, εἰς δ' Αἴγυπτον ἦκον ὡς ἐν δευτέρᾳ πατρίδι μετ' ἀσφαλείας οἰκήσοντες, ὃ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμῶν ἠνδραποδίζετο καὶ ὡς πολέμου νόμῳ λαβῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἢ πριάμενος παρὰ δεσποτῶν, οἷς ἦσαν οἰκότριβες, ὑπήγετο καὶ δούλους ἀπέφαινε τοὺς οὐκ ἐλευθέρους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους καὶ ἰκέτας καὶ μετοίκους οὔτε αἰδεσθεῖς οὔτε δείσας τὸν ἐλευθέριον καὶ ξένιον καὶ ἰκέσιον καὶ ἐφέστιον θεόν, ὃς
- 37 τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἔφορος. εἴτ' ἐπιτάγματα ἐπέταττε βαρύτερα τῆς δυνάμεως ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις πόνους προστιθείς, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγορεύουσιν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας ὃ σίδηρος εἶπετο· ἐπιστάτας (γὰρ) τῶν ἔργων ἀνηλεεστάτους καὶ ὠμοθύμους οὐδενὶ συγγνώμης μεταδιδόντας ἠρέϊτο, οὓς "ἐργοδιώκτας"
- 38 ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμαζον. εἰργάζοντο δ' οἱ μὲν πηλὸν εἰς πλίνθον σχηματίζοντες, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄχυρα συγκομίζοντες—πλίνθου γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> §§ 19-33 cannot be said to have any basis at all in the biblical narrative, though they give a reasonable sketch of what Moses might be expected to have felt and done in such

## MOSES I. 34-38

<sup>a</sup> The Jews, as I have said before, were 34  
strangers, since famine had driven the founders of  
the nation, through lack of food, to migrate to Egypt  
from Babylon and the inland satrapies. They were,  
in a sense, suppliants, who had found a sanctuary  
in the pledged faith of the king and the pity felt  
for them by the inhabitants. For strangers, in my 35  
judgement, must be regarded as suppliants of those  
who receive them, and not only suppliants but  
settlers and friends who are anxious to obtain equal  
rights with the burgesses and are near to being  
citizens because they differ little from the original  
inhabitants. So, then, these strangers, who had left 36  
their own country and come to Egypt hoping to live  
there in safety as in a second fatherland, were made  
slaves by the ruler of the country and reduced to the  
condition of captives taken by the custom of war,  
or persons purchased from the masters in whose  
household they had been bred. And in thus making  
serfs of men who were not only free but guests,  
suppliants and settlers, he showed no shame or fear  
of the God of liberty and hospitality and of justice  
to guests and suppliants, Who watches over such as  
these. Then he laid commands upon them, severe 37  
beyond their capacity, and added labour to labour ;  
and, when they failed through weakness, the iron  
hand was upon them ; for he chose as superintendents  
of the works men of the most cruel and savage  
temper who showed no mercy to anyone, men whose  
name of "task-pursuer" well described the facts.  
Some of the workers wrought clay into brick, while 38  
others fetched from every quarter straw which served

a situation. From §§ 34-59 we have an amplification of Ex.  
ii. 14 end.

## PHILO

- ἄχυρα δεσμός—, οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἀποτεταγμένοι πρὸς οἰκιῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ πόλεων κατασκευὰς καὶ διωρύχων ἀνατομάς, ὑλοφοροῦντες αὐτοὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἄνευ διαδοχῆς, οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες ἀνάπαυλαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅσον καταδαρθεῖν αὐτὸ μόνον [87] ἔώμενοι, | πάντα καὶ τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπουργῶν δρᾶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύειν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς
- 39 προαναπιπτούσης. ἄλλοι γοῦν ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐξέθνησκον ὡς ὑπὸ λοιμῶδους φθορᾶς, οὓς ἀτάφους ἔξω τῶν ὀρίων ἀπερρίπτουν οὐδὲ κόνιν ἐπαμήσασθαι τοῖς σώμασιν ἐῶντες ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δακρῦσαι συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλους οὕτως οἰκτρῶς διαφθαρέντας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀδουλώτοις πάθει τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃ μόνον σχεδὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐλεύθερα ἢ φύσις ἀνῆκε, δεσποτείαν ἐπηπειλοῦν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἀνάγκης ἀνυπόιστω βάρει δυνατωτέρας πιέζοντες.
- 40 VIII. Ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ἀθυμῶν καὶ δυσχεραίνων διετέλει μήτ' ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μήτε βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἰκανὸς ὢν· ἃ δ' οἷός τε ἦν, διὰ λόγων ὠφέλει παραινῶν τοῖς μὲν ἐφεστῶσι μετριάξειν καὶ τὸ σφοδρὸν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὑπανιέναι καὶ χαλᾶν, τοῖς δ' ἐργαζομένοις φέρειν τὰ παρόντα γενναίως ἄνδρας τε εἶναι τὰ φρονήματα καὶ μὴ συγκάμνειν τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ
- 41 χρηστὰ προσδοκᾶν ἐκ πονηρῶν· πάντα γὰρ μεταβάλλειν τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ πρὸς τὰναντία, νέφωσιν εἰς αἰθρίαν, πνευμάτων βίας εἰς ἀέρα νήνεμον, κλύδωνα θαλάττης εἰς ἡσυχίαν καὶ γαλήνην, τὰ δ' 296

## MOSES I. 38-41

to bind the brick. Others were appointed to build houses and walls and cities or to cut canals. They carried the materials themselves day and night, with no shifts to relieve them, no period of rest, not even suffered just to sleep for a bit and then resume their work. In fact, they were compelled to do all the work, both of the artisan and his assistants, so that in a short time loss of heart was followed necessarily by bodily exhaustion. This was shown by the way <sup>39</sup> in which they died one after the other, as though they were the victims of a pestilence, to be flung unburied outside the borders by their masters, who did not allow the survivors even to collect dust to throw upon the corpses or even to shed tears for their kinsfolk or friends thus pitifully done to death. And, though nature has given to the untrammelled feelings of the soul a liberty which she has denied to almost everything else, they impiously threatened to exert their despotism over these also and suppressed them with the intolerable weight of a constraint more powerful than nature.

VIII. All this continued to depress and anger <sup>40</sup> Moses, who had no power either to punish those who did the wrong or help those who suffered it. What he could he did. He assisted with his words, exhorting the overseers to show clemency and relax and alleviate the stringency of their orders, and the workers to bear their present condition bravely, to display a manly spirit and not let their souls share the weariness of their bodies, but look for good to take the place of evil. All things in the world, he told <sup>41</sup> them, change to their opposites : clouds to open sky, violent winds to tranquil weather, stormy seas to calm and peaceful, and human affairs still more so,

## PHILO

- ἀνθρώπεια καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅσω καὶ ἀσταθμητότερα.  
 42 τοιούτοις κατεπάδων ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρὸς ᾤετο  
 τὰς νόσους καίτοι βαρυτάτας οὐσας ἐπικουφιεῖν·  
 αἱ δ' ὅποτε λωφήσειαν, αὐθις ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπετί-  
 θεντο φέρουσαί τι πάντως ἐκ τοῦ διαπνεῦσαι καινὸν  
 43 κακὸν ἀργαλεώτερον τῶν προτέρων. ἦσαν γάρ  
 τινες τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἀτίθασοι σφόδρα καὶ λελυτ-  
 τηκότες, μηδὲν εἰς ἀγριότητα τῶν ἰοβόλων καὶ  
 σαρκοβόρων διαφέροντες, ἀνθρωποειδῆ θηρία, τὴν  
 τοῦ σώματος μορφήν εἰς δόκησιν ἡμερότητος ἐπὶ  
 θήρα καὶ ἀπάτη προβεβλημένοι, σιδήρου καὶ ἀδά-  
 44 μαντος ἀπειθέστεροι. τούτων ἓνα τὸν βιαιότατον,  
 ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ταῖς παρακλή-  
 σεσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετραχύνετο, τοὺς τὸ προσταχθέν  
 μὴ ἀπνευστί καὶ ὀξυχειρία δρῶντας τύπτων, προπη-  
 λακίζων ἄχρι θανάτου, πάσας αἰκίζόμενος αἰκίας,  
 ἀναιρεῖ δικαίως εὐαγὲς εἶναι τὸ ἔργον· καὶ ἦν  
 εὐαγὲς τὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ ζῶντα ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλ-  
 λυσθαι.
- 45 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτει δεινὸν  
 ἠγούμενος, οὐκ εἴ τις τέθνηκεν ἢ ἀνήρηκεν ἀδίκως ἢ  
 δικαίως, ἀλλ' εἰ ὁ θυγατρίδους αὐτῷ μὴ συμφρονεῖ  
 μηδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους ὑπέιληφεν,  
 ἀλλὰ μισεῖ μὲν οὓς αὐτὸς στέργει, φιλεῖ δὲ οὓς  
 προβέβληται καὶ ἐλεεῖ πρὸς οὓς ἀτρέπτως καὶ  
 46 ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχει. IX. | λαβόμενοι δ' ἅπαξ  
 [88] ἀφορμῆς οἱ ἐν τέλει καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὑφορώμενοι—  
 ἤδεσαν γὰρ μνησικακήσοντα τῶν ἀνοσιουργημάτων



## MOSES I. 42-46

even as they are more unstable. With such soothing 42  
words, like a good physician, he thought to relieve  
the sickness of their plight, terrible as it was. But,  
when it abated, it did but turn and make a fresh  
attack and gather from the breathing-space some  
new misery more powerful than its predecessors.  
For some of the overseers were exceedingly harsh 43  
and ferocious, in savageness differing nothing from  
venomous and carnivorous animals, wild beasts in  
human shape who assumed in outward form the  
semblance of civilized beings only to beguile and  
catch their prey, in reality more unyielding than iron  
or adamant. One of these, the cruellest of all, was 44  
killed by Moses, because he not only made no con-  
cession but was rendered harsher than ever by his  
exhortations, beating those who did not execute his  
orders with breathless promptness, persecuting them  
to the point of death and subjecting them to every  
outrage. Moses considered that his action in killing  
him was a righteous action. And righteous it was  
that one who only lived to destroy men should  
himself be destroyed.

When the king heard this, he was very indignant. 45  
What he felt so strongly was not that one man  
had been killed by another whether justly or un-  
justly, but that his own daughter's son did not  
think with him, and had not considered the king's  
friends and enemies to be his own friends and  
enemies, but hated those of whom he was fond, and  
loved those whom he rejected, and pitied those to  
whom he was relentless and inexorable. IX. When 46  
those in authority who suspected the youth's in-  
tentions, knowing that he would remember their  
wicked actions against them and take vengeance

## PHILO

αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ καιρῶν ἀμυνούμενον—ἀναπεπτα-  
 μένοις ὡσὶ τοῦ πάππου μυρίας διαβολὰς ἐπήντλουν,  
 οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, οἱ δ' ἔνθεν, ὡς καὶ περὶ ἀφαιρέσεως  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐμποιῆσαι δέος, “ ἐπιθήσεται ” λέγοντες,  
 “ οὐδὲν φρονεῖ μικρόν, ἀεὶ τι προσπεριεργάζεται,  
 πρὸ καιροῦ βασιλείας ἐρᾷ, θωπεύει τινάς, ἑτέροις  
 ἀπειλεῖ, κτείνει χωρὶς δίκης, τοὺς μάλιστ' εὖνους  
 σοι προβέβληται. τί δὴ μέλλεις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἂ δια-  
 νοεῖται δρᾶν ὑποτέμνεις; μέγα τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις αἰ-  
 τῶν ἐπιβουλενομένων ἀναβολαί.”

47 Τοιαῦτα διεξιόντων, ὑπανεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ὁμο-  
 ρον Ἀραβίαν, ἔνθα διατρίβειν ἦν ἀσφαλές, ἅμα καὶ  
 τὸν θεὸν ποτνιῶμενος, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἀμηχάνων  
 ῥύσῃται συμφορῶν, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν παραλιπόντας  
 τῶν εἰς ἐπήρειαν ἀξίως τίσῃται, παράσχη δ' αὐτῷ  
 ταῦτ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀμφότερα διπλασιάσας τὴν χάριν.  
 ὁ δὲ ἐπακούει τῶν εὐχῶν ἀγάμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλό-  
 καλον ἦθος καὶ μισοπόνηρον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὰ

48 κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς θεῶν πρόπον, δικάσας. ἐν ᾧ  
 δὲ ἔμελλε δικάζειν, τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄθλους Μωυσῆς  
 διήθλει τὸν ἀλείπτῃν ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ λογισμὸν  
 ἀστεῖον, ὑφ' οὗ γυμναζόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους  
 βίους, τὸν τε θεωρητικὸν καὶ πρακτικόν, ἐπονείτο  
 φιλοσοφίας ἀνελίττων ἀεὶ δόγματα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ  
 διαγινώσκων εὐτρόχως καὶ μνήμη παρακατατι-  
 θέμενος εἰς τὸ ἄληστον αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς οἰκείας αὐτίκα

## MOSES I. 46-48

when the opportunity came, had thus once got a handle, they poured malicious suggestions by the thousand from every side into the open ears of his grandfather, so as to instil the fear that his sovereignty might be taken from him. "He will attack you," they said, "he is highly ambitious. He is always busy with some further project. He is eager to get the kingship before the time comes. He flatters some, threatens others, slays without trial and treats as outcasts those who are most loyal to you. Why do you hesitate, instead of cutting short his projected undertakings? The aggressor is greatly served by delay on the part of his proposed victim."

While such talk was in circulation, Moses retired 47 into the neighbouring country of Arabia, where it was safe for him to stay, at the same time beseeching God to save the oppressed from their helpless, miserable plight, and to punish as they deserved the oppressors who had left no form of maltreatment untried, and to double the gift by granting to himself that he should see both these accomplished. God, in high approval of his spirit, which loved the good and hated evil, listened to his prayers, and very shortly judged the land and its doings as became His nature. But, while the divine judgement was still waiting, 48 Moses was carrying out the exercises of virtue with an admirable trainer, the reason within him, under whose discipline he laboured to fit himself for life in its highest forms, the theoretical and the practical. He was ever opening the scroll of philosophical doctrines, digested them inwardly with quick understanding, committed them to memory never to be forgotten, and straightway brought his personal conduct,

- πράξεις ἐφαρμόττων ἐπαινετὰς πάσας, ἐφιέμενος οὐ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι σκοπὸν ἓνα τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον, ὃς μόνος
- 49 ἔστιν ἀρετῶν ἀρχὴ τε καὶ πηγὴ. ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ὀργὴν ἀμείλικτον βασιλέως ἀποδιδράσκων καὶ ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἀφυγμένος, μήπω τοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔθεσιν ἐνωμιληκῶς μηδὲ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος οἷς χαίρουσιν ἢ ἀλλοτριοῦνται, κἂν ἐσπούδασεν ἡσυχία χρώμενος ἀφανέστερον ζῆν τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνων ἢ βουλευθεὶς εἰς μέσον παρέρχεσθαι τοὺς γούν δυνατοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλείστον ἰσχύοντας λιπαρέσι θεραπείαις ἐξευμενίζεσθαι, παρ' ὧν τις ὠφέλεια προσεδοκᾶτο καὶ βοήθεια, εἴ τις
- 50 ἐπελθόντες ἀπάγειν πρὸς βίαν ἐπειρῶντο. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῦ εἰκότος ἀτραπὸν ἤλαυνε ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγιαινούσαις ὁρμαῖς ἐπόμενος καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐὼν ὑποσκελίζεσθαι· διὸ καὶ τῆς ὑπόουσης δυνάμεως
- [89] ἔστιν ὅτε πλέον ἐνεανιεύετο | δύναμιν ἀκαθαίρετον τὸ δίκαιον ἠγούμενος, ὑφ' οὗ προτραπείς αὐτοκέλευστος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων συμμαχίαν ἵετο.
- 51 X. Λέξω δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνον αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον πραχθέν, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν ὅσα γε τῷ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ φρονήματος μικροῦ. κτηνοτροφοῦσιν Ἄραβες καὶ νέμουσι τὰ θρέμματα οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες νέοι τε καὶ παρθένοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐχὶ τῶν ἡμελημένων καὶ ἀδόξων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
- 52 ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν. ἐπτὰ δὴ κόραι πατρὸς ἱερέως ποίμνην ἄγουσαι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τινα πηγὴν καὶ τῶν ἱμονιῶν ἐκδησάμενοι τοὺς καδίσκους ἄλλη διαδεχομένη παρ' ἄλλης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν τῷ πονεῖν ἰσομοιρίας

praiseworthy in all respects, into conformity with them ; for he desired truth rather than seeming, because the one mark he set before him was nature's right reason, the sole source and fountain of virtues.

Now, any other who was fleeing from 49 the king's relentless wrath, and had just arrived for the first time in a foreign land, who had not yet become familiar with the customs of the natives nor gained exact knowledge of what pleases or offends them, might well have been eager to keep quiet and live in obscurity unnoticed by the multitude ; or else he might have wished to come forward in public, and by obsequious persistence court the favour of men of highest authority and power, if none others, men who might be expected to give help and succour should some come and attempt to carry him off by force. But the path which he took was the opposite of what 50 we should expect. He followed the wholesome impulses of his soul, and suffered none of them to be brought to the ground. And, therefore, at times he showed a gallant temper beyond his fund of strength, for he regarded justice as strength invincible, which urged him on his self-appointed task to champion the weaker.

X. I will describe an action of his at this time, 51 which, though it may seem a petty matter, argues a spirit of no petty kind. The Arabs are breeders of cattle, and they employ for tending them not only men but women, youths and maidens alike, and not only those of insignificant and humble families but those of the highest position. Seven maidens, 52 daughters of the priest, had come to a well, and, after attaching the buckets to the ropes, drew water, taking turns with each to share the labour equally. They

## PHILO

μάλα προθύμως τὰς δεξαμενάς, αἱ πλησίον ἔκειντο,  
 53 πληροῦσιν. ἐπιφοιτήσαντες δ' ἕτεροι ποιμένες καὶ  
 τῆς τῶν παρθένων ἀσθενείας ὑπεριδόντες τὰς μὲν  
 ἐπεχείρουν μετὰ τῆς ποιμένης ἐλαύνειν, τὰ δ' οἰκεία  
 θρέμματα. προσῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ εὐτρεπισθὲν ποτόν  
 54 ἀλλότριον καρπωσόμενοι πόνον. ἰδὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς  
 τὸ γεγόμενον—οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρω—συντείνας ἔθει καὶ  
 πλησίον στὰς “ οὐ παύσεσθε ” εἶπεν “ ἀδικοῦντες,  
 τὴν ἐρημίαν νομίζοντες εἶναι πλεονεξίαν; βραχίονας  
 καὶ πήχεις ἀργοὺς τρέφοντες οὐκ ἐρυθριάτε;  
 χαῖται βαθεῖαι καὶ σάρκες ὑμεῖς ἐστε, οὐκ ἄνδρες·  
 αἱ μὲν κόραι νεανιεύονται μηδὲν ὀκνοῦσαι τῶν  
 55 πρακτέων, οἱ δὲ νεανῖαι κορικῶς ἤδη τρυφᾶτε. οὐ  
 βαδιεῖσθε; οὐχ ὑπεκστήσεσθε ταῖς πρότερον ἠκού-  
 σαις, ὧν καὶ τὸ ποτόν ἐστι; δικαίως ἂν αὐταῖς  
 ἐπαντλήσαντες, ἢν' ἀφθονώτερον ὕδωρ εἶη, καὶ τὸ  
 εὐτρεπισθὲν ἀφελέσθαι σπεύδετε; ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν  
 οὐράνιον τῆς δίκης ὀφθαλμὸν οὐκ ἀφελείσθε βλέ-  
 56 ποντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις. ἐμὲ γοῦν  
 ἐχειροτόνησε βοηθὸν οὐ προσδοκηθέντα· καὶ γὰρ  
 εἰμι σύμμαχος ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις μετὰ μεγάλης  
 χειρός, ἣν οὐ θέμις πλεονέκταις ὄραν· αἰσθήσεσθε  
 δὲ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τιτρωσκούσης, εἰ μὴ  
 57 μεταβάλοιτε.” ταῦτα διεξιόντος, φοβηθέντες, ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ λέγων ἅμα ἐνεθουσία μεταμορφούμενος εἰς  
 προφήτην, μὴ χρησμούς καὶ λόγια θεσπίζει, κατα-  
 πειθεῖς τε γίνονται καὶ τὴν ποιμήνην τῶν παρθένων  
 ἐπὶ τὰς δεξαμενάς ἄγονται πρότερον μεταστησά-  
 58 μνοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν.

XI. αἱ δ' ἐπαγήσαν

had with great industry filled the troughs which lay near, when some other shepherds appeared on the spot who, disdain- 53  
 ing the weakness of the girls, tried to drive them and their flock away, and proceeded to bring their own animals to the place where the water lay ready, and thus appropriate the labours of others. But Moses, who was not far off, seeing what had hap- 54  
 pened, quickly ran up and, standing near by, said : " Stop this injustice. You think you can take advantage of the loneliness of the place. Are you not ashamed to let your arms and elbows live an idle life ? You are masses of long hair and lumps of flesh, not men. The girls are working like youths, and shirk none of their duties, while you young men go daintily like girls. Away with you : give place to those who 55  
 were here before you, to whom the water belongs. Properly, you should have drawn for them, to make the supply more abundant ; instead, you are all agog to take from them what they have provided. Nay, by the heavenly eye of justice, you shall not take it ; for that eye sees even what is done in the greatest solitude. In me at least it has appointed a champion 56  
 whom you did not expect, for I fight to succour these injured maidens, allied to a mighty arm which the rapacious may not see, but you shall feel its invisible power to wound if you do not change your ways." As 57  
 he proceeded thus, they were seized with fear that they were listening to some oracular utterance, for as he spoke he grew inspired and was transfigured into a prophet. They became submissive, and led the maidens' flock to the troughs, after removing their own.

XI. The girls went home in high 58  
 glee, and told the story of the unexpected event to their father, who thence conceived a strong desire to

## PHILO

σθαι τοῦ ξένου τῷ πατρί. κατεμέμφετο γοῦν αὐτὰς ἐπ' ἀχαριστία τοιαῦτα λέγων· “τί παθοῦσαι μεθίετε, δέον ἄγειν εὐθύς καὶ εἴπερ ἀνεδύετο λιπαρεῖν; ἢ τινα μισανθρωπίαν μου κατέγνωτε; ἢ δεύτερον [90] περιπεσεῖν ἀδίκους οὐ | προσδοκάτε; βοηθῶν ἀπορεῖν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιλήσιμονας χαρίτων. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀναδραμοῦσαι (τὸ γὰρ ἀμάρτημα μέχρι νῦν ἔστιν ἰάσιμον) ἴτε μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ καλεῖτε ξενίων μὲν πρότερον αὐθις δὲ καὶ ἀμοιβῆς (ὀφείλεται γὰρ αὐτῷ 59 χάρις) μεθέξοντα.” συντεῖνασαι δὲ καταλαμβάνουσι αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πηγῆς καὶ δηλώσασαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οἴκαδε συμπεῖθουσι ἤκειν. ὁ δὲ πατήρ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν εὐθύς τὸ δὲ βούλημα ὀλίγον ὕστερον καταπλαγείς—ἀρίδηλοι γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαί φύσεις καὶ οὐ μήκει χρόνου γνωριζόμεναι—δίδωσι τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν αὐτῷ τῶν θυγατέρων γυναῖκα, δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν εἰς καλοκάγαθίαν μαρτυρήσας καὶ ὡς ἀξίεραστον μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἔστι τῆς ἀφ' ἐτέρου συστάσεως οὐ δεόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιφέρον τὰ γνωρίσματα.

60 μετὰ δὲ τὸν γάμον παραλαβὼν τὰς ἀγέλας ἐποίμαυε προδιδασκόμενος εἰς ἡγεμονίαν· ποιμενικὴ γὰρ μελέτη καὶ προγυμνασία βασιλείας τῷ μέλλοντι τῆς ἡμερωτάτης τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστατεῖν ἀγέλης, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τὰς φύσεις τὰ κνηγέσια—θήραις γὰρ ἐμπρομελετῶσιν οἱ πρὸς τὰς στραταρχίας ἀλειφόμενοι—<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀλόγων οἷά τινος ὕλης ὑποβεβλημένων πρὸς ἄσκησιν τῆς καθ' ἑκά-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn's punctuation (colon after κνηγέσια, comma after ἀλειφόμενοι) is faulty here. τῶν ἀλόγων κτλ. is common to both shepherding and hunting.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Ios.* 2 f.



## MOSES I. 58-60

see the stranger, which he showed by censuring them for their ingratitude. "What possessed you," he said, "to let him depart? You should have brought him straight along, and pressed him if he showed reluctance. Did you ever have to charge me with unsociable ways? Do you not expect that you may again fall in with those who would wrong you? Those who forget kindness are sure to lack defenders. Still, your error is not yet past cure. Run back with all speed, and invite him to receive from me first the entertainment due to him as a stranger, secondly some requital of the favour which we owe to him." They hurried back and found him not far from the 59 well, and, after explaining their father's message, persuaded him to come home with them. Their father was at once struck with admiration of his face, and soon afterwards of his disposition, for great natures are transparent and need no length of time to be recognized. Accordingly, he gave him the fairest of his daughters in marriage, and, by that one action, attested all his noble qualities, and showed that excellence standing alone deserves our love, and needs no commendation from aught else, but carries within itself the tokens by which it is known.

After the marriage, Moses took charge of the 60 sheep and tended them, thus receiving his first lesson in command of others; for the shepherd's business is a training-ground and a preliminary exercise in kingship for one who is destined to command the herd of mankind, the most civilized of herds, just as also hunting is for warlike natures, since those who are trained to generalship practise themselves first in the chase.<sup>a</sup> And thus unreasoning animals are made to subserve as material wherewith to gain practice in

## PHILO

- τερον καιρὸν ἀρχῆς, τὸν τε πολέμου καὶ τὸν εἰρήνης.
- 61 ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγρίων θήρα στρατηγικὸν κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἐστὶ γύμνασμα, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἡμέρων ἐπιμέλεια καὶ προστασία βασιλικὸν πρὸς ὑπηκόους ἀγώνισμα· διὸ καὶ “ ποιμένες λαῶν ” οἱ βασιλεῖς, οὐχ ὡς ὄνειδος ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπερβάλλουσα τιμῆ, προσαγορεύ-
- 62 ονται. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ μὴ πρὸς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐρευνωμένῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα— γελᾶτω δ' ὁ βουλόμενος—μόνος ἂν γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς τέλειος ὁ τὴν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀγαθός, ἐν ἐλάττοσι ζώοις παιδευθεὶς τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων· ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα πρὸ τῶν μικρῶν τελεσθῆναι.
- 63 XII. Γενόμενος οὖν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀγελαρχῶν ἄριστος καὶ ποριστῆς <τῶν> ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων συνέτεινεν ὠφέλειαν ἰκανὸς ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀποκνεῖν ἀλλ' ἐτελουργῶ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστω προθυμία<sup>1</sup> εἰς δέον τῇ προστασίᾳ χρῆσθαι μετὰ |
- [91] καθαρᾶς<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀδόλου πίστεως ἠϋξήσε τὰς ἀγέλας·
- 64 ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομέων ἤδη καὶ φθονεῖσθαι μηδὲν ὁμοιότροπον ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ποιίμαις ὀρώντων, αἷς εὐτυχές εἶναι ἐδόκει ἢ ἐν ὁμοίῳ μονή, ταῖς δὲ τὸ μὴ βελτιοῦσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐλάττωσις διὰ τὸ μεγάλας εἰωθέναι λαμβάνειν ἐπιδόσεις ἐκ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προστασία.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. χαρᾶς.

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<sup>a</sup> Possibly, as the German translation takes it, τελεσθῆναι may mean simply “accomplished,” “consummated.” But *De Sac.* 62 οἱ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια μυηθέντες, cf. *De Cher.* 49, and other allusions to the “great” mysteries seem to make it much more probable that the more picturesque meaning is intended. So Mangey, who on the strength of these two passages, and the adaptation

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## MOSES I. 60-64

government in the emergencies of both peace and war; for the chase of wild animals is a drilling-ground for the general in fighting the enemy, and the care and supervision of tame animals is a schooling for the king in dealing with his subjects, and therefore kings are called "shepherds of their people," not as a term of reproach but as the highest honour. And my opinion, based not on the opinions of the multitude but on my own inquiry into the truth of the matter, is that the only perfect king (let him laugh who will) is one who is skilled in the knowledge of shepherding, one who has been trained by management of the inferior creatures to manage the superior. For initiation in the lesser mysteries must precede initiation in the greater.<sup>a</sup>

XII. <sup>b</sup> To return to Moses, he became more skilled than any of his time in managing flocks and providing what tended to the benefit of his charges. His capacity was due to his never shirking any duty, but showing an eager and unprompted zeal wherever it was needed, and maintaining a pure and guileless honesty in the conduct of his office. Consequently the flocks increased under him, and this roused the envy of the other graziers, who did not see anything of the sort happening in their own flocks. In their case it was felt to be a piece of luck if they remained as they had been, but with the flocks of Moses any failure to make daily improvement was a set-back, so great was the progress regularly made, both in fine quality, through increased fatness and firm-

given of them by Clement, would correct *τελείσθαι* to *μειίσθαι*. But this sense of *τελείσθαι* is quite common in Philo, *cf. De Abr.* 122.

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 63-84 see Ex. iii. 1-iv. 17.

## PHILO

- εὐσαρκίας καὶ πιότητος εἰς κάλλος, εἰς δὲ πλήθος  
 ἐξ εὐτοκίας καὶ τῶν περὶ δίαιταν ὑγιεινῶν.
- 65 ἄγων δὲ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ποιίμνην εἰς τόπον εὐνδρόν τε καὶ  
 εὐχορτον, ἔνθα συνέβαινε καὶ πολλὴν πόαν προ-  
 βατεύσιμον ἀναδίδοσθαι, γενόμενος πρὸς τινι νάπει  
 θέαμα ἐκπληκτικώτατον ὄρα. βάτος ἦν, ἀκανθῶδές  
 τι φυτὸν καὶ ἀσθενέστατον· οὗτος, οὐδενὸς πῦρ  
 προσενεγκόντος, ἐξαίφνης ἀνακαίεται καὶ περι-  
 σχεθεὶς ὄλος ἐκ ρίζης εἰς ἀκρέμονα πολλῇ φλογὶ  
 καθάπερ ἀπὸ τινος πηγῆς ἀνομβρούσης διέμενε  
 σῶος, οὐ κατακαιόμενος, οἶά τις ἀπαθῆς οὐσία  
 καὶ οὐχ ὕλη πυρὸς αὐτὸς ὢν, ἀλλὰ τροφῇ χρώμενος
- 66 τῷ πυρί. κατὰ δὲ μέσσην τὴν φλόγα μορφή τις  
 ἦν περικαλλεστάτη, τῶν ὄρατῶν ἐμφορῆς οὐδενί,  
 θεοειδέστατον ἄγαλμα, φῶς αὐγοειδέστερον τοῦ  
 πυρὸς ἀπαστράπτουσα, ἦν ἂν τις ὑπετόπησεν  
 εἰκόνα τοῦ ὄντος εἶναι· καλείσθω δὲ ἄγγελος, ὅτι  
 σχεδὸν τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι διήγγελλε τρανο-  
 τέρα φωνῆς ἡσυχία διὰ τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης
- 67 ὄψεως. σύμβολον γὰρ ὁ μὲν καιόμενος  
 βάτος τῶν ἀδικουμένων, τὸ δὲ φλέγον πῦρ τῶν  
 ἀδικούντων, τὸ δὲ μὴ κατακαίεσθαι τὸ καιόμενον  
 τοῦ μὴ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων φθαρῆσεσθαι τοὺς  
 ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄπρακτον καὶ ἀνωφελῆ  
 γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν  
 ἀζήμιον, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος προνοίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ  
 λίαν φοβερὰ παρὰ τὰς ἀπάντων ἐλπίδας κατὰ
- 68 πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐξευμαρίζοντος. XIII. τὴν δὲ  
 εἰκασίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκεπτέον. ὁ βάτος, ὡς ἐλέ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τε.

## MOSES I. 64-68

ness of flesh, and in number through their fecundity and the wholesomeness of their food.

Now, as he was leading the flock to a place where the 65  
water and the grass were abundant, and where there happened to be plentiful growth of herbage for the sheep, he found himself at a glen where he saw a most astonishing sight. There was a bramble-bush, a thorny sort of plant, and of the most weakly kind, which, without anyone's setting it alight, suddenly took fire ; and, though enveloped from root to twigs in a mass of fire, which looked as though it were spouted up from a fountain, yet remained whole, and, instead of being consumed, seemed to be a substance impervious to attack, and, instead of serving as fuel to the fire, actually fed on it. In the midst of the 66  
flame was a form of the fairest beauty, unlike any visible object, an image supremely divine in appearance, refulgent with a light brighter than the light of fire. It might be supposed that this was the image of Him that is ; but let us rather call it an angel or herald, since, with a silence that spoke more clearly than speech, it employed as it were the miracle of sight to herald future events. For the 67

burning bramble was a symbol of those who suffered wrong, as the flaming fire of those who did it. Yet that which burned was not burnt up, and this was a sign that the sufferers would not be destroyed by their aggressors, who would find that the aggression was vain and profitless while the victims of malice escaped unharmed. The angel was a symbol of God's providence, which all silently brings relief to the greatest dangers, exceeding every hope. XIII. But the details of the comparison must be con- 68  
sidered. The bramble, as I have said, is a very

## PHILO

χθη, φυτὸν ἀσθενέστατον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄκεντρον, ὡς εἰ καὶ μόνον ἐπιφαύσειέ τις τιτρώσκειν, οὐτ' ἐξαναλώθη τῷ φύσει δαπανηρῷ πυρί, τοῦναντίον δὲ ἐφυλάχθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ διαμένων ὁποῖος ἦν πρὶν ἀνακαίεσθαι μηδὲν ἀποβαλὼν τὸ παράπαν αὐγὴν

[92] 69 προσέλαβε. | τοῦθ' ἅπαν ὑπογραφή τίς ἐστὶ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ὑποθέσεως,<sup>1</sup> ἢ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπέιχε, μόνον οὐ βοῶσα τοῖς ἐν συμφοραῖς. “ μὴ ἀναπίπτετε, τὸ ἀσθενὲς ὑμῶν δύναμις ἐστίν, ἢ καὶ κεντέϊ καὶ κατατρώσει μυρίους. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαναλωσάσαι γλιχομένων τὸ γένος ἀκόντων διασωθήσεσθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολείσθε, τοῖς κακοῖς οὐ κακωθήσεσθε, ἀλλ' ὅταν μάλιστα πορθεῖν νομίση τις ὑμᾶς, τότε

70 μάλιστα πρὸς εὐκλειαν ἐκλάμψετε.” πάλιν τὸ πῦρ φθοροποιὸς<sup>2</sup> οὐσία διελέγχουσα τοὺς ὠμοθύμους. “ μὴ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀλκαῖς ἐπαίρεσθε, τὰς ἀμάχους ῥώμας ἰδόντες καθαιρουμένας σωφρονίσθητε· ἢ μὲν καυστικὴ δύναμις τῆς φλογὸς ὡς ξύλον καίεται, τὸ δὲ φύσει καυστὸν ξύλον οἷα πῦρ ἐμφανῶς καίει.”

71 XIV. Τὸ τεράστιον τοῦτο καὶ τεθαυματουργημένον δείξας ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωυσεῖ, παραίνεσιν ἐναργεστάτην τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ χρησμῶν ἄρχεται προτρέπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους σπεύδειν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίας παραίτιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀποικίας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν γενησόμενον, ὁμολογῶν ἐν ἅπασιν

72 συλλήψεσθαι. “ κακουμένων γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> A strange use of the word. Cohn suggests *διαθέσεως*.

<sup>2</sup> I suggest *φθοροποιὸς* <*φθοροποιεῖται*>. See note *a*.

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<sup>a</sup> The absence of a finite verb, for *οὐσία* can hardly be predicate, is curious. Also the sense is not brought out, for the sequel shows that the point is that the fire ultimately

weakly plant, yet it is prickly and will wound if one do but touch it. Again, though fire is naturally destructive, the bramble was not devoured thereby, but on the contrary was guarded by it, and remained just as it was before it took fire, lost nothing at all but gained an additional brightness. All this is a descrip- 69  
tion of the nation's condition as it then stood, and we may think of it as a voice proclaiming to the sufferers: "Do not lose heart; your weakness is your strength, which can prick, and thousands will suffer from its wounds. Those who desire to consume you will be your unwilling saviours instead of your destroyers. Your ills will work you no ill. Nay, just when the enemy is surest of ravaging you, your fame will shine forth most gloriously." Again fire, the element 70  
which works destruction, convicts the cruel-hearted. "Exult not in your own strength" it says. "Behold your invincible might brought low, and learn wisdom. The property of flame is to consume, yet it is consumed, like wood. The nature of wood is to be consumed yet it is manifested as the consumer, as though it were the fire."

XIV. After showing to Moses this miraculous 71  
portent, so clearly warning him of the events that were to be, God begins in oracular speech to urge him to take charge of the nation with all speed, in the capacity not merely of an assistant to their liberation, but of the leader who would shortly take them from Egypt to another home. He promised to help him in everything: "For," he said, "suffering, 72  
goes out and leaves the bramble victorious. I strongly suspect that "is destroyed" has been lost and if so *φθοροποιείται* in juxtaposition to *φθοροποιός* would be preferable to *φθελπεται*. No such word is quoted in the lexica, but Philo is quite capable of coining it.

## PHILO

δυσανασχέτους ὕβρεις ὑπομενόντων, οὐδενὸς ἀν-  
 θρώπων οὐτ' ἐπικουφίζοντος οὐτ' ἐλεούντος τὰς  
 συμφοράς, οἴκτον" φησὶν " αὐτὸς ἔλαβον. καὶ  
 γὰρ <οἶδ'> ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον καὶ πάντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν  
 ἐφ' ἱκετείας καὶ λιτὰς τραπομένους ἐλπίζειν τὴν  
 ἐξ ἐμοῦ βοήθειαν· εἰμὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἥπιος καὶ  
 73 γνησίους ἱκέταις ἴλεως. ἴθι δὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα  
 τῆς χώρας μηδὲν εὐλαβηθεὶς τὸ παράπαν—ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ πρότερος τέθηκεν, ὃν ἀπεδίδρασκες διὰ φόβον  
 ἐπιβουλῆς, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτέτραπται μη-  
 δενὸς τῶν πραγμάτων σοὶ μνησικακῶν—καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 ἔθνους γερουσίαν προσπαραλαβὼν εἶπέ χρησιμῶ  
 προσκεκληθῆσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἔθνος, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ  
 πάτρια θύσῃ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἔξω τῶν ὄρων τῆς  
 74 χώρας προελθόν." ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγο-  
 μένοις ἀπιστήσοντας τοὺς τε ὁμοφύλους καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ἅπαντας " ἂν οὖν " φησὶ " πυνθάνωνται, τί  
 τὸ ὄνομα τῷ πέμψαντι, μηδ' αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἔχων ἄρ'  
 75 οὐ δόξω διαπατᾶν;" ὁ δὲ " τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λέγε "   
 φησὶν " αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, ἵνα μαθόντες  
 διαφορὰν ὄντος τε καὶ μὴ ὄντος προσαναδιδαχθῶσιν,  
 ὡς οὐδὲν ὄνομα τὸ παράπαν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κυριολογεῖται,  
 76 ᾧ μόνῳ πρόσεστι τὸ εἶναι. ἂν δ' ἀσθενέστεροι  
 τὰς φύσεις ὄντες ἐπιζητῶσι πρόσρησιν, δήλωσον  
 [93] αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον τοῦθ' ὅτι | θεὸς εἰμι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ  
 τριῶν τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ  
 καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὧν ὁ μὲν τῆς  
 διδακτῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀσκητικῆς  
 σοφίας κανὼν ἐστίν. ἂν δὲ ἔτι ἀπιστῶσι, τρισὶ  
 77 σημείοις ἀναδιδαχθέντες μεταβαλοῦσιν, ἃ πρότερον  
 οὔτε τις εἶδεν οὔτε ἤκουσεν ἀνθρώπων." ἦν δὲ τὰ



## MOSES I. 72-76

as they do, prolonged ill-treatment, and subjected to intolerable outrages, with no relief or pity for their miseries from men, I have taken compassion on them Myself. For I know that each severally, and all unitedly, have betaken themselves to prayers and supplications in hope to gain help from Me, and I am of a kindly nature and gracious to true suppliants. Now go to the king of the land, and fear 73 not at all, for the former king from whom you fled in fear that he meant mischief is dead, and the land is in the hands of another who does not remember any of your actions against you. Take with you also the elders of the nation, and tell him that the people has received a command from Me to make a three-days' journey beyond the bounds of the country, and there sacrifice according to the rites of their fathers." Moses knew well that his own nation 74 and all the others would disbelieve his words, and said: "If they ask the name of him who sent me, and I cannot myself tell them, will they not think me a deceiver?" God replied: "First tell them that 75 I am He Who is, that they may learn the difference between what is and what is not, and also the further lesson that no name at all can properly be used of Me, to Whom alone existence belongs. And, if, 76 in their natural weakness, they seek some title to use, tell them not only that I am God, but also the God of the three men whose names express their virtue, each of them the exemplar of the wisdom they have gained—Abraham by teaching, Isaac by nature, Jacob by practice.<sup>a</sup> And, if they still disbelieve, three signs which no man has ever before seen or heard of will be sufficient lesson to convert

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 75-76 cf. *De Mut.* 11 ff.

## PHILO

σημεία τοιάδε· ράβδον, ἣν εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦδαφος ρύψαι κελεύει· ἢ δ' αὐτίκα ψυχωθείσα εἶρπε καὶ τῶν ἀπόδων τὸ ἡγεμονικώτατον ὑπερμεγέθης δράκων γίνεται τελειότατος· ταχέως δ' ἀποχωρήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ζώου καὶ διὰ δέος ἤδη πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμῶν μετακαλεῖται καὶ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ἅμα τε θάρσος

78 ἐμποιήσαντος ἐπιδράττεται τῆς οὐρᾶς. ὁ δὲ ἰλυσπώμενος ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἐπαφήν ἴσταται καὶ πρὸς μῆκος εὖ μάλα ταθεὶς εὐθύς εἰς βακτηρίαν μετστοιχειοῦτο τὴν αὐτήν, ὡς θαυμάζειν μὲν τὰς μεταβολὰς ἀμφοτέρας, ποτέρα δὲ καταπληκτικωτέρα, μὴ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν, τῆς ψυχῆς ἰσορρόπῳ

79 πληχθείσης φαντασίᾳ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον, ἕτερον δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐθαυματουργεῖτο· τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἑτέραν προστάττει τοῖς κόλποις ἐπικρύψαντα μικρὸν ὕστερον προενεγκεῖν· δράσαντος δὲ τὸ κελευσθέν, ἢ χεὶρ λευκοτέρα χιόνος ἐξαπιναίως ἀναφαίνεται· πάλιν δὲ καθέντος εἰς τοὺς κόλπους καὶ ἀνενεγκόντος, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν χροᾶν

80 τρέπεται τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολαβοῦσα εἶδος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ μόνου μόνος ἐπαιδεύετο, ὡς παρὰ διδασκάλῳ γνῶριμος, ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῶν τεράτων ὄργανα, τὴν τε χεῖρα καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν, οἷς

81 προεφωδιάσθη. τρίτον δ' ἐπιφέρεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ προδιδάσκεσθαι, ἔμελλε δ' ἐκπλήττειν οὐκ ἔλαττον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γίνεσθαι λαβὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτο· “ τοῦ ποταμίου ” φησὶν “ ὕδατος ὅσον ἂν ἀρυσάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκχέης, αἷμα ξανθότατον ἔσται πρὸς τῇ χροᾷ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν

82 ἕτεροιωθὲν εἰς ἀλλαγὴν παντελῆ.” πιστὸν δ' ὡς

## MOSES I. 77-82

them." The signs were such as these. He bade 77 him cast on the ground the rod which he carried, and this at once took life and began to creep, and became that high chief of the reptile kingdom, a huge serpent grown to full strength. Moses quickly leaped away from the creature, and, in his fright, was starting to fly, when he was recalled by God, and, at His bidding and inspired by Him with courage, grasped its tail. It was still wriggling, but stopped 78 at his touch, and, stretching itself to its full length, was metamorphosed at once into the rod which it had been before, so that Moses marvelled at the double change, unable to decide which was the more astonishing, so evenly balanced was the profound impression which each made upon his soul. This 79 was the first miracle, and a second followed soon. God bade him conceal one of his hands in his bosom, and, after a little while, draw it out. And when he did as he was bid, the hand suddenly appeared whiter than snow. He did the same again, put it in his bosom and then brought it out, when it turned to its original colour and recovered its proper appearance. These lessons he received when he and God 80 were alone together, like pupil and master, and while the instruments of the miracles, the hand and the staff, with which he was equipped for his mission were both in his own possession. But the third had its birth- 81 place in Egypt. It was one which he could not carry with him or rehearse beforehand, yet the amazement which it was sure to cause was quite as great. It was this: "The water," God said, "which thou dost draw from the river and pour on the land will be blood quite ruddy, and not only its colour but its properties will be completely changed." Moses evi- 82

## PHILO

- ἔοικε καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνεφαίνετο, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀψευδές, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰ ἤδη προεπιδειχθέντα ἐπὶ τε τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς βακτηρίας θαυματουργήματα.
- 83 πιστεύων δ' ὁμως παρητέϊτο τὴν χειροτονίαν ἰσχνόφωνον καὶ βραδύγλωσσον, οὐκ εὐλογον, αὐτὸν εἶναι φάσκων καὶ μάλιστ' ἀφ' οὗ λέγοντος ἤκουε θεοῦ· νομίσας γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην λογιότητα κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῆς θείας<sup>1</sup> ἀφωνίαν εἶναι καὶ ἅμα τὴν φύσιν εὐλαβῆς ὧν
- [94] ὑπεστέλλετο | τοῖς ὑπερόγκοις, τὰ λίαν μεγάλα κρίνων οὐ καθ' αὐτόν, καὶ παρεκάλει ἕτερον ἐλέσθαι τὸν εὐμαρῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ἐπισταλέντων διαπράξασθαι δυνατόμενον. ὁ δ' ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς αἰδοῦς “ ἄρά γε ἀγνοεῖς ” εἶπε “ τὸν δόντα ἀνθρώπῳ στόμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα γλῶτταν καὶ ἀρτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἅπασαν λογικῆς φωνῆς ὀργανοποιίαν; αὐτός εἰμι ἐγώ. μηδὲν οὖν δείσης· ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἐπιμεύσαντος ἀρθρωθήσεται πάντα καὶ μεταβαλεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέτριον, ὡς μηδενὸς ἔτι ἐμποδίζοντος ῥεῖν εὐτροχον καὶ λείον ἀπὸ καθαρᾶς πηγῆς τὸ τῶν λόγων νᾶμα. χρεῖα δ' εἰ γένοιτο ἐρμηνέως, ὑποδιακονικὸν στόμα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἕξεις, ἵν' ὁ μὲν τῷ πλήθει ἀπαγγέλλῃ τὰ ἀπὸ σοῦ, σὺ δ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ θεῖα.”
- 85 XV. Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας—οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰς ἅπαν ἀντιλέγειν ἀσφαλές οὐδ' ἀκίνδυνον—ἄρας ἐβάδιζε μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, καθ' ἣν ὑπαντήσαντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πείθει συνακολουθεῖν ὑπειπὼν τὰ θεῖα λόγια· τῷ δ' ἄρα προὔπειργαστο ἡ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀληθείας.

## MOSES I. 82-85

dently felt that this too was credible, not only because of the infallibility of the Speaker, but through the proofs he had already been shewn in the miracles of the hand and the staff. But, though he 83 believed, he tried to refuse the mission, declaring that he was not eloquent, but feeble of voice and slow of tongue, especially ever since he heard God speaking to him ; for he considered that human eloquence compared with God's was dumbness, and also, cautious as he was by nature, he shrank from things sublime and judged that matters of such magnitude were not for him. And therefore he begged Him to choose another, who would prove able to execute with ease all that was committed to him. But God, 84 though approving his modesty, answered : " Dost thou not know who it is that gave man a mouth, and formed his tongue and throat and all the organism of reasonable speech ? It is I Myself : therefore, fear not, for at a sign from Me all will become articulate and be brought over to method and order, so that none can hinder the stream of words from flowing easily and smoothly from a fountain undefiled. And, if thou shouldst have need of an interpreter, thou wilt have in thy brother a mouth to assist thy service, to report to the people thy words, as thou reportest those of God to him."

XV. <sup>a</sup> Moses, hearing this, and knowing how un- 85 safe and hazardous it was to persist in gainsaying, took his departure, and travelled with his wife and children on the road to Egypt. During the journey he met his brother, to whom he declared the divine message, and persuaded him to accompany him. His brother's soul, in fact, had already, through the

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 85-95 see Ex. iv. 27, v. 22, vii. 8-13.

## PHILO

- ψυχὴ κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην θεοῦ πρὸς πειθαρχίαν, ὡς  
 ἀνενδοιάστως συναινεῖν καὶ ἐτοίμως ἔπεσθαι.  
 86 παραγενόμενοι δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον γνώμη καὶ ψυχῇ  
 μιᾷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς δημογέροντας τοῦ ἔθνους  
 συναγαγόντες ἐν ἐπορρήτῳ μηνύουσι τοὺς χρησμούς  
 καὶ ὡς ἔλεον καὶ οἶκτον λαβῶν αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἔλευ-  
 θερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐνθένδε μετανάστασιν εἰς ἀμείνω  
 χώραν ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸς ἔσεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγεμῶν  
 87 ὑπισχνεῖται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ θαρ-  
 ροῦσιν ἤδη διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ τὸν λεῶν ἱερουρ-  
 γήσοντα ἐκπέμψαι τῶν ὄρων· δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασκον ἐν  
 ἐρήμῳ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, μὴ κατὰ  
 τὰ αὐτὰ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων γινομένας,  
 ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ καὶ νόμῳ διαφεύγοντι τὴν κοινότητα  
 88 διὰ τὰς τῶν ἔθῶν ἐξαιρέτους ιδιότητας. ὁ δ' ἐξ  
 ἔτι σπαργάνων προγονικῶ τύφῳ τὴν ψυχὴν πεπιε-  
 σμένος καὶ μηδένα τὸ παράπαν νοητὸν θεὸν ἔξω τῶν  
 ὄρατῶν νομίζων ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ὕβριν εἰπών·  
 “ τίς ἐστίν οὗ χρὴ με ὑπακούειν; οὐκ οἶδα τὸν  
 λεγόμενον τοῦτον καινὸν κύριον· οὐκ ἐξαποστέλλω  
 τὸ ἔθνος ἐπὶ προφάσει ἑορτῆς καὶ θυσιῶν ἀφη-  
 89 νιάσον.” εἶθ' ἄτε χαλεπὸς καὶ βαρύμητις καὶ  
 ἀπαραίτητος τὴν ὄργην κελεύει τοὺς τοῖς ἔργοις  
 ἐφεστῶτας προπηλακίζεσθαι ὡς ἀνέσεις καὶ σχολὴν  
 ἐνδιδόντας, ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς εἶναι λέγων τὸ  
 βουλευέσθαι περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐν  
 ἀνάγκαις τούτων οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ βίος  
 90 ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ τρυφῇ. βαρυτέρας οὖν ἢ  
 πρότερον συμφορὰς ὑπομενόντων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμφί

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\* Or perhaps “shrank from publicity.” Like mysteries  
 in general, they had to be performed in secrecy.

## MOSES I. 85-90

watchful working of God, been predisposed to obedience, so that without hesitation he assented and readily followed. When they had arrived in Egypt, 86 one in mind and heart, they first summoned the senators of the nation secretly, and informed them of the oracles, and how God had, in pity and compassion for them, assured them liberty and departure from their present to a better country, and promised to be Himself their leader. After this they were now 87 emboldened to talk to the king, and lay before him their request that he should send the people out of his boundaries to sacrifice. They told him that their ancestral sacrifices must be performed in the desert, as they did not conform with those of the rest of mankind, but so exceptional were the customs peculiar to the Hebrews that their rule and method of sacrifices ran counter to the common course.<sup>a</sup> The 88 king, whose soul from his earliest years was weighed down with the pride of many generations, did not accept a God discernible only by the mind, or any at all beyond those whom his eyes beheld; and therefore he answered insolently: "Who is he whom I must obey? I know not this new Lord of whom you speak. I refuse to send the nation forth to run loose under pretext of festival and sacrifices." Then, in the harshness and ferocity and obstinacy 89 of his temper, he bade the overseers of the tasks treat the people with contumely, for showing slackness and laziness. "For just this," he said, "was what was meant by the proposal to hold festival and sacrifice—things the very memory of which was lost by the hard pressed, and retained only by those whose life was spent in much comfort and luxury." Thus they endured woes more grievous than ever, 90

## PHILO

- [95] Μωυσῆν δυσχεραινόντων ὡς | ἀπατεῶσι καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 λάθρα τὰ δὲ φανερώς κακηγορούντων καὶ ἀσεβείας<sup>1</sup>  
 αἰτιωμένων ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν θεοῦ κατεφεῦσθαι, δει-  
 κνύειν ἄρχεται Μωυσῆς ἃ προῦδιδάχθη τέρατα,  
 νομίσας τοὺς θεασομένους ἐκ τῆς ἐπεχούσης ἀπι-  
 στίας εἰς πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων μεταβαλεῖν.
- 91 ἢ δὲ τῶν τεράτων ἐπίδειξις ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.  
 XVI. πάντων οὖν τῶν δυνατῶν συρρυνέντων εἰς τὰ  
 βασιλεία, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν ὁ Μωυσέως ἀδελ-  
 φὸς καὶ κατασείσας μάλα ἐπιδεικτικῶς εἰς τοῦδαφος  
 ῥίπτει· καὶ ἡ μὲν δράκων αὐτίκα γίνεται, οἱ δ' ἐν  
 κύκλῳ κατεθεῶντο καὶ ἅμα θαυμαστικῶς ἔχοντες
- 92 ὑπὸ δέους ἐξαναχωροῦντες ἀπέφευγον. σοφισταὶ  
 δ' ὅσοι καὶ μάγοι παρετύγχανον “ τί καταπλήτ-  
 τεσθε; ” εἶπον· “ οὐδ' ἡμεῖς τῶν τοιούτων ἀμε-  
 λετήτως ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ χρώμεθα τέχνη δημιουργῶ  
 τῶν ὁμοίων.” εἶθ' ἐκάστου βακτηρίαν ἣν εἶχε  
 ῥύψαντος, δρακόντων πλήθος ἦν καὶ περὶ ἓνα τὸν
- 93 πρῶτον εἰλοῦντο. ὁ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος  
 διαναστὰς πρὸς ὕψος τὰ μὲν στέρνα εὐρύνει, τὸ δὲ  
 στόμα διοίξας ὄλκοῦ πνεύματος ῥύμη βιαιοτάτη  
 καθάπερ βόλον ἰχθύων πάντας ἐν κύκλῳ σαγηνεύσας  
 ἐπισπᾶται καὶ καταπιὼν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν τῆς
- 94 βακτηρίας μετέβαλεν. ἤδη μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκάστου τῇ  
 ψυχῇ τῶν ἐθελοκακούντων τὸ ὑποπτον διήλεγξεν ἢ  
 μεγαλοργηθεῖσα ὄψις, ὡς μηκέτι νομίζειν ἀν-  
 θρώπων σοφίσματα καὶ τέχνας εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα  
 πεπλασμένας πρὸς ἀπάτην, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν θειοτέραν
- 95 τὴν τούτων αἰτίαν, ἣ πάντα δρᾶν εὐμαρές. ἐπεὶ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀσέβειαν.



## MOSES I. 90-94

and were enraged against Moses and his companion as deceivers, abusing them, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, and accusing them of impiety in that they appeared to have spoken falsely of God. Whereupon Moses began to show the wonders which he had been previously taught to perform, thinking that the sight would convert them from the prevailing unbelief to belief in his words.

The exhibition of these wonders to the king and the Egyptian nobles followed very quickly; (XVI.) so, when all the magnates had collected at the palace, the brother of Moses took his staff, and, after waving it in a very conspicuous manner, flung it on the ground, where it immediately turned into a serpent, while the onlookers standing round were filled with wonder, fell back in fear, and were on the point of running away. But all the wizards and magicians who were present said: "Why are you terrified? We, too, are practised in such matters, and we use our skill to produce similar results." Then, as each of them threw down the staff which he held, there appeared a multitude of serpents writhing round a single one; that one, the first, showed its great superiority by rising high, widening its chest and opening its mouth, when with the suction of its breath it swept the others in with irresistible force, like a whole draught of fishes encircled by the net, and, after swallowing them up, changed to its original nature, and became a staff. By this time, the marvellous spectacle had refuted the scepticism in every ill-disposed person's soul, and they now regarded these events not as the works of human cunning or artifices fabricated to deceive, but as brought about by some diviner power to which every feat is easy.

## PHILO

καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γινομένων ἐμφανοῦς ἐναργείας οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐθρασύνοντο, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ ἀσεβείας ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐπειλημμένοι βεβαιοτάτου, μήτε τοὺς καταδουλωθέντας ἀδίκως ἐλεοῦντες μήτε τὰ διὰ τῶν λόγων<sup>1</sup> προσταπτόμενα δρῶντες, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τρανοτέραις χρησμῶν ἀποδείξεισι ταῖς διὰ σημείων καὶ τεράτων τὸ βούλημα δεδηλωκότος, ἐμβριθεστέρας ἐπανατάσεως<sup>2</sup> ἐδέησε καὶ πληγῶν ἔσμου, αἷς οἱ ἄφρονες νουθετοῦνται, οὗς λόγος οὐκ ἐπαίδευσε.

- 96 Δέκα δὲ ἐπάγονται τῇ χώρᾳ τιμωρίαί, κατὰ τῶν τέλεια ἡμαρτηκότων τέλειος ἀριθμὸς κολάσεως· ἦν<sup>3</sup> δὲ κόλασις παρηλλαχυῖα τὰς ἐν ἔθει. XVII. τὰ γὰρ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντός, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ καὶ [96] πῦρ, ἐπιτίθενται, | δικαιώσαντος θεοῦ, οἷς ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος, τὴν ἀσεβῶν χώραν φθαρῆναι, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν κράτους ἀρχῆς ἣ κέχρηται, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ σωτηρίως ἐπὶ γενέσει τῶν ὄλων σχηματίζοντος καὶ τρέποντος ὅποτε βουληθείη πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν 97 ἀσεβῶν ἀπώλειαν. διανέμει δὲ τὰς κολάσεις, τρεῖς μὲν τὰς ἐκ τῶν παχυμερεστέρων στοιχειῶν γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθησαν αἱ σωματικαὶ ποιότητες, ἐφείς τῷ Μωυσέως ἀδελφῷ, τὰς δ' ἴσας ἐξ αἴρος καὶ πυρὸς τῶν ψυχογονιμωτάτων μόνῳ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read *λογίων*, as Mangey according to Cohn suggested, though I cannot find it in his foot-notes or addenda. On *λόγου* (?) see note *a*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *ἐπαναστάσεως*.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ἦ*.

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<sup>a</sup> This seems to be the sense required, and so Mangey "divinitus imperata." But it is difficult to extract this from *λόγων*. *λόγου* "reason" will make good sense, correspond-

## MOSES I. 95-97

But, though they were compelled by the clear evi- 95  
dence of the facts to admit the truth, they did not  
abate their audacity, but clung to their old inhuman-  
ity and impiety as though it were the surest of  
blessings. They did not show mercy to those who  
were unjustly enslaved, nor carry out the orders  
which had divine authority,<sup>a</sup> since God had shown  
His will by the proofs of signs and wonders, which  
are clearer than oracles. And therefore a severer  
visitation was needed, and volley of those blows  
whereby fools whom reason has not disciplined are  
brought to their senses.

The punishments inflicted on the land were ten— 96  
a perfect number for the chastisement of those who  
brought sin to perfection. The chastisement was  
different from the usual kind, (XVII.) for the elements  
of the universe—earth, fire, air, water—carried out  
the assault. God's judgement was that the materials  
which had served to produce the world should serve  
also to destroy the land of the impious; and to show the  
mightiness of the sovereignty which He holds, what  
He shaped in His saving goodness to create the uni-  
verse He turned into instruments for the perdition  
of the impious whenever He would. He distributed 97  
the punishments in this wise: three belonging to the  
denser elements, earth and water, which have gone  
to make our bodily qualities what they are, He com-  
mitted to the brother of Moses; another set of three,  
belonging to air and fire, the two most productive

ing to *ὁ λόγος* below, but in this sense the word does not seem  
to be used in the plural. If *λογίων* is read, we must  
suppose that it is contrasted with *χρησμῶν* as covering all  
divine intimations, whereas *χρησμῶν* is confined to the spoken  
oracle. But this also lacks authority.

## PHILO

Μωυσεῖ, μίαν δὲ κοινὴν ἀμφοτέροις ἐβδόμην ἐπι-  
 τρέπει, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας εἰς συμπλήρωσιν δεκάδος  
 98 ἀνατίθησιν αὐτῷ. καὶ πρῶτας ἐπιφέρειν  
 ἄρχεται τὰς ἀφ' ὕδατος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 Αἰγύπτιοι διαφερόντως ἐκτετιμῆκασιν ἀρχὴν τῆς  
 τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζοντες, αὐτὸ  
 πρῶτον ἠξίωσε καλέσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀποδεχο-  
 99 μένων ἐπίπληξίν τε καὶ νοουθεσίαν. τί οὖν οὐκ εἰς  
 μακρὰ νουνέβη; τοῦ Μωυσεῶς ἀδελφοῦ προσ-  
 τάξει θεία κατενεγκόντος τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 ποταμόν, ὃ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίας ἄχρι θαλάσσης  
 εἰς αἶμα τρέπεται, συνεξαιματοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ  
 λίμναι, διώρυχες, κρήναι, φρέατα, πηγαί, σύμπασα  
 ἢ κατ' Αἴγυπτον οὐσία ὕδατος, ὡς ἀπορία ποτοῦ  
 τὰ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἀναστέλλειν, τὰς δ' ἀνατεμνο-  
 μένας φλέβας καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς αἰμορραγίαις κρου-  
 νηδὸν αὐλοὺς ἀκοντίζειν αἵματος, μηδεμιᾶς ἐνορω-  
 100 μένης διαυγοῦς λιβάδος. ἐναπέθνησκε δὲ καὶ τὰ  
 γένη τῶν ἰχθύων ἅπαντα, ἅτε τῆς ζωτικῆς δυνά-  
 μεως εἰς φθοροποιὸν μεταβαλοῦσης, ὡς δυσωδίας  
 πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀναπεπλησθαι, τοσοῦτων σηπο-  
 μένων ἀθρόον σωμάτων· πολλὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
 ὄχλος ὑπὸ δίψους διαφθαρεῖς ἔκειτο σωρηδὸν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν τριόδων, οὐ σθενόντων ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν  
 101 οἰκείων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐκκομίζειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ  
 ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκράτησεν, ἕως οἱ μὲν  
 Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μωυσῆν, οὗτοι δὲ τὸν θεὸν  
 ἰκέτευσαν, οἶκτον λαβεῖν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων· ὃ δὲ  
 τὴν φύσιν ἔλεως μεταβάλλει τὸ αἶμα εἰς ὕδωρ  
 πότιμον ἀποδοὺς τῷ ποταμῷ καθαρὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα

\* The above grouping of the ten plagues compels Philo to depart from the order of Exodus, as will appear in the 326

## MOSES I. 97-101

of life, He gave to Moses alone ; one, the seventh, He committed to both in common ; and the other three which go to complete the ten He reserved to Himself.<sup>a</sup>

He began by bringing into 98  
play first the plagues of water ; for, since the Egyptians had paid a specially high homage to water, which they believed to be the original source of the creation of the All, He thought well to summon water first to reprove and admonish its votaries. What, then, was the event which so soon came to 99  
pass ? The brother of Moses, at the command of God, smote the river with his staff, and at once, from Ethiopia to the sea, it turned into blood, and so did also the lakes, canals, springs, wells and fountains and all the existing water-supply of Egypt. Consequently, having nothing to drink, they dug up the ground along the banks ; but the veins thus opened spouted up squirts of blood, which shot up as in haemorrhages, and not a drop of clear liquid was anywhere to be seen. Every kind of fish died 100  
therein, since its life-giving properties had become a means of destruction, so that a general stench pervaded everything from all these bodies rotting together. Also a great multitude of men, killed by thirst, lay in heaps at the cross-roads, since their relatives had not the strength to carry the dead to the tombs. For seven days the terror reigned, until 101  
the Egyptians besought Moses and his brother, and they besought God, to take pity on the perishing. And He Whose nature is to show mercy changed the blood into water fit for drinking, and restored to the river its old health-giving flood free from im-

sequel. The first three, however, are in the same order. See Ex. vii. 14-viii. 19.

PHILO

102 *ρείθρα* καὶ *σωτήρια*. XVIII. *μικρὸν δὲ ὅσον ἀνεθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἴεντο, | ὡς ἡ τοῦ δικαίου παντάπασιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος ἢ τῶν ὑπομεινάντων μίαν τιμωρίαν δεύτερον οὐκ εἰωθότων ἐπιπλήττεσθαι· παθόντες δ' ἀνεδιδάσκοντο νηπίων παίδων τρόπον μὴ καταφρονεῖν· ἢ γὰρ κόλασις ἐπομένη κατ' ἔχνος μελλόντων μὲν ἐβράδυνε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀδικήματα θέοντας ἐπιδραμοῦσα κατελάμβανε.*

[97]

103

*Πάλιν γὰρ ὁ Μωυσέως | ἀδελφὸς κελευσθεὶς διώρυξι καὶ λίμναις καὶ ἔλεσι τὴν ῥάβδον ἐκτείνας ἐπιφέρει· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἕκτασιν βατράχων πληθὺς ἀνέρπει τοσαύτη, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀγορὰς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπαιθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπαύλεις, οἰκίας, ἱερά, πάντα ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ δημόσιον τόπον πεπληρῶσθαι, καθάπερ εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐν γένος τῶν ἐν ὑδρῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐκπέμψαι διανοηθείσης πρὸς τὴν*

104 *ἐναντίαν χώραν· ἐναντία γὰρ χέρσος ὕδατι. μήτ' οὖν ἔξω προελθεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ προκατέχεσθαι τοὺς στενωποὺς μήτ' ἔνδον δυνάμενοι μένειν—καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἤδη προκατειλήφεσαν ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων ἀνέρποντες—ἐν ἐσχάταις ἦσαν συμ-*

105 *φοραῖς καὶ σωτηρίας ἀπογνώσει. πάλιν οὖν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ὑποσχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ἔξοδον Ἑβραίοις· οἱ δὲ λιταῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐξευμενίζονται· καὶ ἐπινεύσαντος, τῶν φρύνων οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναχωροῦσι, τῶν δ' εὐθὺς διαφθαρέντων κατὰ τὰς τριόδους θημῶνες ἦσαν, σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόντων καὶ τοὺς οἴκοθεν διὰ*

## MOSES I. 102-105

purity. XVIII. For a very short time they relaxed, 102 but soon betook themselves to the same cruelty and lawlessness as before, and seemed to think that either justice had disappeared utterly from amongst men, or that those who had suffered one punishment could not be expected to receive a second blow. But, like foolish children, they were taught once more by experience not to despise the warning. For chastisement, dogging their steps, slowed down when they tarried, but when they hastened to deeds of wickedness quickened its pace and overtook them.

For once more the brother of Moses, at God's com- 103 mand, stretched forth and brought his rod upon the canals and lakes and fens ; and, as he stretched it, a multitude of frogs crept up, so numerous that not only the market-places and all the open spaces, but all the farm-buildings as well, and houses and temples and every place, public or private, was filled with them, as though it were nature's purpose to send one kind of the aquatic animals to colonize the opposite region, since land is the opposite of water. The people, who 104 could neither go out into the streets, because the passages were occupied by the frogs, nor yet stay indoors, because they had already crept up even to the tops of the houses and taken up the inmost recesses, were in the most unhappy and desperate straits. So, after the king had promised them to 105 permit the Hebrews to leave the land, they fled for refuge to those who had helped them before ; and they made intercession with God, and when their prayer was granted some of the frogs went back into the river, and others died at once and lay in heaps at the cross-roads, to which the Egyptians added the piles of those which they brought out of their houses,

## PHILO

τὰς ἀνυποίστους ὀσμάς, αἱ ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀνεφέροντο, ἃ καὶ ἔμψυχα ὄντα πολλὴν ἀηδίαν παρέχεται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι.

- 106 XIX. Διαπνεύσαντες δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀθληταὶ συλλεξάμενοι δύναμιν, ἢν' ἀπ' ἐρρωμενεστέρας ἰσχύος ἀδικῶσι, πάλιν εἰς τὴν συνήθη κακίαν ἀνέδραμον ἐκλαθόμενοι ὧν
- 107 τέως ὑπέμειναν κακῶν. ἐπισχῶν δὲ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τιμωρίας ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἐκ γῆς ἐπέφερε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσας κολαστὴν, οὗ πάλιν κατὰ τὸ προσταχθὲν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τοῦδαφος παίσαντος φορὰ σκνιπῶν ἐχύθη καὶ ταθείσα καθάπερ νέφος ἅπασαν
- 108 ἐπέσχευεν Αἴγυπτον. τὸ δὲ ζῶον, εἰ καὶ βραχύτατον, ὅμως ἀργαλεώτατον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον λυμαίνεται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κνησμοὺς ἐμποιοῦν ἀηδεῖς καὶ βλαβερωτάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰντὸς βιάζεται διὰ μυκτῆρων καὶ ὠτων· σίνεται δὲ καὶ κόρας ὀφθαλμῶν εἰσπετόμενον, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιτό τις· φυλακὴ δὲ τίς ἔμελλε πρὸς τοσαύτην ἔσεσθαι φορὰν, καὶ μάλιστα θεοῦ
- 109 κολάζοντος; ἴσως ἂν τις ἐπιζητήσῃ, διὰ τί τοῖς οὕτως ἀφανέσι καὶ ἡμελημένοις ζώοις ἐτιμωρεῖτο τὴν χώραν παρὲς ἄρκτους καὶ λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γένη τῶν ἀπιθάσων θηρίων, ἃ σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἄπτεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα, τὰς γοῦν Αἰγυπτίας ἀσπίδας, ὧν τὰ δῆγματα πέφυκεν
- 110 ἀνυπερθέτως ἀναιρεῖν. εἰ δ' ὄντως ἀγνοεῖ, μαθέτω· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς χώρας ὁ θεὸς νουθετῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐβούλετο ἢ διαφθεῖραι· βουλη-

<sup>a</sup> Or "hitherto."

<sup>b</sup> E.V. "lice"; R.V. in margin "or sand-flies or fleas." Josephus (*Ant.* 300) has φθειρές, "lice." "Most moderns



because of the intolerable stench arising from the dead bodies, and bodies of a kind which, even when alive, is highly displeasing to the senses.

XIX. But, having thus obtained a short breathing- 106  
space from punishment, and, like athletes in the arena, rallied their forces, only to gain fresh strength for evil-doing, they quickly returned to their familiar wickedness, forgetful of the evils which they had suffered so long.<sup>a</sup> Then God stayed from using water 107  
to afflict them, and used the earth instead ; but appointed the same minister of chastisement, who once more, when bidden, struck the ground with his staff, when a stream of gnats <sup>b</sup> poured forth, and spread like a cloud over the whole extent of Egypt. Now the 108  
gnat is a very small creature, but exceedingly troublesome, for it not only causes mischief to the surface of the body, and produces an unpleasant and very noxious itching, but it forces its way inside through the nostrils and ears, and also flies into and damages the pupils of the eyes, if one does not take precautions. And what precautions would be possible against such a stream, especially when it is a chastisement sent by God ? Someone perhaps may ask why 109  
He punished the land through such petty and insignificant creatures, and refrained from using bears and lions and panthers and the other kinds of savage beasts which feed on human flesh ; and, if not these, at any rate the asps of Egypt, whose bites are such as to cause immediate death. If such a person really 110  
does not know the answer, let him learn it : first, God wished to admonish the inhabitants of the land rather than to destroy them, for had He wished to annihilate

agree that *gnats* is the most probable rendering" (of the Hebrew word).—Driver.

- [98] θεῖς γὰρ ἀφανίζεῖν εἰς | ἅπαν οὐκ ἂν ζώοις ἐχρήτο  
 πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ὡσπερ συνεργοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
 111 θεηλάτοις κακοῖς, λιμῶ τε καὶ λοιμῶ. μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα κἀκείνο προσδιδασκέσθω μάθημα πρὸς  
 ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖον· τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν;  
 ἄνθρωποι μὲν γὰρ ὅταν πολεμῶσι, τὸ δυνατώτατον  
 εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐπικουρικὸν ἐξετάζουσιν, ὃ τὴν  
 αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν ἐκπλήσει· θεὸς δ' ἡ ἀνωτάτω καὶ  
 μεγίστη δύναμις ὣν οὐδενός ἐστι χρεῖος· ἐὰν δέ που  
 βουληθῆ καθάπερ ὄργανοις τισὶ χρῆσασθαι πρὸς  
 τὰς τιμωρίας, οὐ τὰ ἐρρωμενέστατα καὶ μέγιστα  
 αἰρεῖται, τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς ἥκιστα φροντίζων, ἀλλὰ  
 τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ μικροῖς ἀμάχους καὶ ἀηττήτους  
 δυνάμεις ἐγκατασκευάσας ἀμύνεται δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς  
 112 ἀδικούντας, καθὰ καὶ νῦν. τί γὰρ εὐτελέστερον  
 σκνιπός; ἀλλ' ὅμως τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν, ὡς ἀπαγορεῦσαι  
 πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐκβοᾶν ἀναγκα-  
 σθῆναι, ὅτι "δάκτυλος θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ". χεῖρα γὰρ  
 θεοῦ μηδὲ τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκουμένην ὑποστήναι  
 ἂν ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ τὸν  
 σύμπαντα κόσμον.
- 113 XX. Τοιαῦται μὲν αἱ διὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως ἀδελφοῦ  
 τιμωρίαι· ἃς δὲ αὐτὸς Μωυσῆς ὑπηρέτησε καὶ ἐξ  
 οἶων τῆς φύσεως συνέστησαν μερῶν, κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀκόλουθον ἐπισκεπτέον. ἀῆρ μὲν οὖν καὶ οὐρανός,  
 αἱ καθαρώταται μοῖραι τῆς τῶν ὄλων οὐσίας, παρ'  
 ὕδατος καὶ γῆς διαδέχονται τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτω  
 νουθεσίαν, ἧς ἐπίτροπος ἐχειροτονήθη Μωυσῆς.
- 114 ἤρξατο δὲ πρότερον τὸν ἀέρα διακινεῖν·  
 Αἴγυπτος γὰρ μόνη σχεδόν τι παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νοτίῳ

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the phrase "finger of God" is interpreted as an intervention in which only a small part of God's power is

them altogether He would not have taken animals to co-operate in His visitation, but calamities sent direct from heaven—pestilence and famine. And 111 after this the inquirer should be taught a further lesson, and one that is needed throughout life. What is this? When men make war, they look round to find the most powerful auxiliaries to fight beside them, and so compensate for their own weakness; but God, the highest and greatest power, needs no one. But if, at any time, He wills to use any as instruments for His vengeance, He does not choose the strongest and the greatest, of whose might He takes no account, but provides the slightest and the smallest with irresistible and invincible powers, and through them wreaks vengeance on the evil-doers. So it was in this case. For what is slighter than a 112 gnat? Yet so great was its power that all Egypt lost heart, and was forced to cry aloud: "This is the finger of God"; for as for His hand not all the habitable world from end to end could stand against it, or rather not even the whole universe.<sup>a</sup>

XX. Such, then, were the punishments in which 113 the brother of Moses was the agent. We have now, in due course, to examine those which were administered by Moses himself, and to shew what were the parts of nature which went to their making. We find that air and heaven, the purest portions of the universe, took on the succession to earth and water in that admonition of Egypt which Moses was appointed to superintend.

First, he began 114 to cause disturbance in the air. We must remember that Egypt is almost the only country, apart from

used. For a somewhat different interpretation of the phrase see *De Mig.* 85.

PHILO

- κλίματι χώρας τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων μίαν τὴν χειμερινὴν οὐ παραδέχεται, τάχα μὲν, ὡς λόγος, διὰ τὸ μὴ πόρρω ζώνης διακεκαυμένης εἶναι, ρέοντος τοῦ πυρώδους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφανῶς καὶ τὰν κύκλῳ πάντα ἀλεαίνοντος, τάχα δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῖς θεριναῖς τροπαῖς πλημμυρῶν ὁ ποταμὸς προαναλίσκει τὰς νεφώσεις
- 115 —ἀρχεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβαίνειν θέρους ἐνισταμένου, λήγει δὲ λήγοντος, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἐτησίου καταράττουσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν τοῦ Νείλου στομάτων, δι' ὧν ἔτι κωλυόμενος ἐκχεῖσθαι, τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὸ βίας τῶν ἀνέμων πρὸς ὕψος αἰρομένης καὶ τὰς τρικυμίας ὥσπερ μακρὸν τεῖχος ἀποτεινούσης, ἐντὸς εἰλεῖται, κάπειτα τῶν ρεῖθρων ὑπαντιαζόντων τοῦ τε κατιόντος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ θύραζε χωρεῖν ὀφείλοντος ταῖς ἀνακοπαῖς ἀνατρέχοντος εὐρύνεσθαι τε μὴ δυναμένων (αἱ γὰρ παρ' ἐκάτερα ἐκθλίβουσιν ὄχθαι), μετεωριζόμενος
- 116 ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιβαίνει—, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ περιττὸν ἦν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ χειμῶνα γενέσθαι· πρὸς δ' γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὄμβρων φοραὶ χρήσιμοι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς λιμνάζων
- 117 τὰς ἀρούρας εἰς καρπῶν ἐτησίων γένεσιν. ἡ δὲ φύσις οὐ ματαιουργός, ὡς ὑετὸν χορηγεῖν μὴ
- [99] δεομένη γῆ, καὶ | ἅμα χαίρει τῷ πολυτρόπῳ καὶ πολυσχιδεῖ τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν ἔργων τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἐξ ἐναντιοτήτων ἐναρμοσαμένη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοῖς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐκ πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν παρέχει τὴν ἐξ
- 118 ὕδατος ὠφέλειαν. οὕτως οὖν τῆς χώρας διακειμένης καὶ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ἐαριζούσης τροπαῖς καὶ τῶν μὲν πρὸς θαλάττῃ μόναίς ψεκάσιν

\* At this point Philo's order begins to depart from that of  
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## MOSES I. 114-118

those in southern latitudes, which is unvisited by one of the year's seasons—winter. The reason may be, some say, that it is not far from the torrid zone, and that the fiery heat which insensibly emanates thence warms all its surroundings. It may be, again, that the clouds are used up beforehand by the flooding of the river at the summer solstice. The river begins to rise as the summer opens, and ceases when it ceases, and during that time the Etesian winds sweep down opposite to the mouths of the Nile and put a stop to its outflow through them. For, as the sea rises to a great height through the violence of the winds, extending its huge billows like a long wall, it coops the river up within ; and then as the stream which flows from the upland springs, and the other which should find its way out but is driven inland by the obstacles which face it, meet each other, prevented as they are from expanding by the banks which compress them on either side, the river naturally rises aloft. Another possible reason is that winter is unneeded in Egypt. For the river, by making a lake of the fields, and thus producing the yearly crops, serves the purpose of rainfall. And, indeed, nature is no wastrel in her work, to provide rain for a land which does not want it. At the same time she rejoices to employ her science in works of manifold variety, and thus out of contrarities form the harmony of the universe. And therefore she supplies the benefit of water to some from heaven above, to others from the springs and rivers below. <sup>a</sup> Such was the condition of the land, enjoying springtime at mid-winter, the seaboard enriched by only slight

Exodus. His fourth plague, that of hail, is seventh in Exodus (ix. 22-35).

## PHILO

- ἀραιαῖς λιπαινομένων, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν, τὸ βασιλείου Αἰγύπτου, μηδὲ νιφομένων τὸ παράπαν, ἐξαίφνης οὕτως ἐνεωτέρισεν ὁ ἀήρ, ὥσθ' ὅσα ἐν τοῖς δυσχειμέροις ἀθρόα κατασκήψαι, φορὰς ὑετῶν, χάλαζαν πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἀνέμων συμπιπτόντων καὶ ἀντιπαταγούντων βίας, νεφῶν ῥήξεις, ἐπαλλήλους ἀστραπὰς καὶ βροντάς, κεραυνοὺς συνεχεῖς, οἱ τερατωδεστάτην ὄψιν παρείχοντο· θέοντες γὰρ διὰ τῆς χαλάζης, μαχομένης οὐσίας, οὔτε ἔτηκον αὐτὴν οὔτε ἐσβέννυντο, μένοντες δ' ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ δολιχεύοντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω διετήρουν τὴν χάλαζαν.
- 119 ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐξαίσιος φορὰ πάντων τοὺς οἰκήτορας εἰς ὑπερβαλλούσας δυσθυμίας ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἄηθες· ὑπέλαβον γάρ, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, ἐκ μηνιμάτων θείων κεκαιουργηῆσθαι τὰ συμβάντα, νεωτερίσαντος ὡς οὐπω πρότερον τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπὶ λύμη καὶ φθορᾷ δένδρων τε καὶ καρπῶν, οἷς συνεφθάρη ζῶα οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ μὲν περιψύξεσι, τὰ δὲ βάρει τῆς ἐπιπιπτούσης χαλάζης ὥσπερ καταλευσθέντα, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαναλωθέντα· ἔνια δ' ἡμίφλεκτα διέμενε τοὺς τύπους τῶν κεραυνίων τραυμάτων εἰς νοθεσίαν τῶν ὀρώντων ἐπιφερόμενα.
- 120 XXI. Λωφῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θρασυνομένων, εἰς τὸν ἀέρα Μωυσῆς τὴν ῥάβδον ἐκτείνει, κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ. κᾶπειτ' ἄνεμος καταράττει, νότος βιαιότατος, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα προσεπιτεινόμενος καὶ σφοδρυνόμενος, αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν ὢν

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<sup>a</sup> Philo's fifth plague, the locusts, is eighth in Exodus (x. 12-10).

showers, while the parts above Memphis, where the royal palace of Egypt was, experienced no rainfall at all, when suddenly a complete change came over the air, and all the visitations which belong to severe winter fell upon it in a body : rainstorms, a great quantity of heavy hail, violent winds, clashing and roaring against each other, cloudbursts, continuous claps of thunder and flashes of lightning and constant thunderbolts. These last provided a most marvellous spectacle, for they ran through the hail, their natural antagonist, and yet did not melt it nor were quenched by it, but unchanged coursed up and down and kept guard over the hail. Intense was the despondency 119 to which the inhabitants were reduced, not only by the disastrous onset of all these things, but by the strangeness of the event. For they thought, as indeed was the case, that divine wrath had brought about these novel happenings ; that the air in a way unknown before had conspired to ruin and destroy the trees and fruits, while at the same time many animals perished, some through excessive cold, others stoned to death, as it were, through the weight of the falling hail, others consumed by the fire, while some survived half-burnt and bore the marks of the wounds inflicted by the thunderbolts as a warning to the beholders.

XXI. When the plague abated, and the king and 120 his surroundings recovered their courage, Moses, at God's command,<sup>a</sup> stretched his rod into the air, and then a violent south<sup>b</sup> wind swooped down, gaining force and intensity throughout the day and night. This in itself was a source of much mischief, for the

<sup>b</sup> E.V. east wind (including winds at least from the south-east.—Driver).

## PHILO

μεγάλη ζημία· ξηρός τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ κεφαλαλγῆς καὶ βαρυήκοος, ἄσας τε καὶ ἀδημονίας ἐμποιεῖν ἱκανός, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κειμένη κατὰ τὰ νότια, δι' ὧν αἱ περιπολήσεις τῶν φωσφόρων ἀστέρων, ὡς ἅμα τῷ διακινηθῆναι τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου

121 φλογμὸν συνεπωθεῖσθαι καὶ πάντα καίειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅμ' αὐτῷ καὶ πλήθος ἀμύχανον ζώων ἐπεφέρετο φθοροποιὸν φυτῶν, ἀκρίδες, αἱ ρεύματος τρόπον ἀπαύστως ἐκχεόμεναι καὶ πάντα πληρώσασαι τὸν ἀέρα διέφαγον ὅσα οἱ κεραυνοὶ ὑπ[100] ἐλίποντο καὶ ἡ χάλαζα, ὡς | μηδὲν ἐν τῇ τοσαύ-

122 τη χώρα βλαστάνον ἔτι θεωρεῖσθαι. τότε μόλις εἰς ἀκριβεστάτην ἔννοιαν τῶν οἰκείων ἐλθόντες οἱ ἐν τέλει κακῶν προσελθόντες ἔλεγον τῷ βασιλεῖ· “μέχρι τίνος οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις τὴν ἕξοδον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; ἢ οὐπω μανθάνεις ἐκ τῶν γινομένων, ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν Αἴγυπτος;” ὁ δ' ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐφίεις ὠμολόγει, χαλάσαντος τοῦ δεινοῦ. πάλιν δ' εὐξαμένου Μωυσέως, ὑπολαβὼν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἄνεμος ἀποσκίδνησι τὰς ἀκρίδας.

123 Ἄνασκεδασθειῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἄφεσιν δυσθανατοῦντος, ἐπιγίνεται τῶν πρότερον κακῶν μείζον· λαμπρᾶς γὰρ ἡμέρας οὕσης, ἕξαπιναίως ἀναχέεται σκότος, ἴσως μὲν καὶ ἡλίου γενομένης ἐκλείψεως τῶν ἐν ἔθει τελειότερας, ἴσως δὲ καὶ συνεχείαις νεφῶν καὶ πυκνότησιν ἀδιαστάτοις καὶ πιλῆσει βιαιοσάτη τῆς τῶν ἀκτίνων φορᾶς ἀνακοπέισης, ὡς ἀδιαφορεῖν ἡμέραν νυκτὸς καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ μίαν νύκτα νομίζεσθαι μακρο-



## MOSES I. 120-123

south wind is dry and produces headache and makes hearing difficult, and thus is fitted to cause distress and suffering, particularly in Egypt which lies well to the south, where the sun and the planets have their orbits, so that when the wind sets it in motion the scorching of the sun is pushed forward with it, and burns up everything. But it also brought with 121 it a huge multitude of creatures which destroyed the plants, locusts that is, who poured forth ceaselessly like a stream, and filling the whole air devoured whatever the lightnings and hail had left, so that nothing any longer could be seen growing in all that great country. Then those in authority, reluctantly 122 brought to a full realization of their own evil plight, approached the king and said : " How long will you refuse to grant these men leave to depart ? Do you not yet understand that Egypt is destroyed ? " The king yielded, or appeared to do so, and promised to comply if he were relieved from the dire scourge. And when Moses prayed again, a wind from the sea caught and scattered the locusts.

But, when they were scattered, and the king was 123 sick to death at the thought of releasing the people, a plague <sup>a</sup> arose greater than all that had gone before ; for, in bright daylight, darkness was suddenly overspread, possibly because there was an eclipse of the sun more complete than the ordinary, or perhaps because the stream of rays was cut off by continuous clouds, compressed with great force into masses of unbroken density. The result was that night and day were the same, and indeed what else could it seem but a single night of great length, equivalent to three

<sup>a</sup> Philo's sixth plague, the darkness, is ninth in Exodus (x. 21-29).

## PHILO

- τάτην τρισὶν ἢ μέραις ἴσῃν καὶ ταῖς ἰσαριθμοῖς νυξί.  
 124 τότε δὴ φασὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐρριμμένους ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς  
 μὴ τολμᾶν ἐξανίστασθαι, τοὺς δ' ὀπότε κατεπεῖγοι  
 τι τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίων ἐπαφωμένους τοίχων  
 ἢ τινος ἑτέρου καθάπερ τυφλοὺς μόλις προέρχεσθαι.  
 καὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρειώδους πυρὸς τὸ φέγγος τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ  
 τῆς κατεχούσης ζάλῃς ἐσβέννυτο, τὸ δὲ τῷ βάθει  
 τοῦ σκότους ἀμαυρούμενον ἐνηφανίζετο, ὡς τὴν  
 ἀναγκαιοτάτην ὄψιν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑγιαίνουσαν  
 πηρὸν εἶναι μηδὲν ὄραν δυναμένην, τετράφθαι δὲ καὶ  
 τὰς ἄλλας οἷα ὑπηκόους πεσοῦσης τῆς ἡγεμονίδος.  
 125 οὔτε γὰρ λέγειν τις οὔτ' ἀκούειν οὔτε προσενέγκα-  
 σθαι τροφὰς ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχία καὶ λιμῷ παρ-  
 ἔτεινον αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σχολάζοντες,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ὅλοι συνηρπασμένοι, μέχρι  
 πάλιν Μωυσῆς λαβὼν οἶκτον ἰκετεύει τὸν θεόν· ὁ  
 δὲ φῶς ἀντὶ σκότους καὶ ἡμέραν ἀντὶ νυκτὸς ἐργά-  
 ζεται σὺν αἰθρία πολλῇ.  
 126 XXII. Τοιαύτας φασὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς διὰ  
 μόνου Μωυσέως ἐπιπλήξεις, τὴν διὰ χαλάζης καὶ  
 κεραυνῶν, τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀκρίδος, τὴν διὰ σκότους, ὃ  
 πᾶσαν ἰδέαν φωτὸς οὐ παρεδέχετο· κοινῇ δ' αὐτός  
 τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς μίαν ἐπετράπησαν, ἣν αὐτίκα  
 127 σημανῶ. κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, τέφραν ἀπὸ κα-  
 μίνου λαμβάνουσι ταῖς χερσίν, ἣν Μωυσῆς κατὰ  
 μέρος εἰς τὸν ἀέρα διέπαπτεν· ἔπειτα κονιορτὸς  
 αἰφνίδιον ἐπενεχθεὶς ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ ἀλόγοις  
 ζώοις ἀγρίαν καὶ δυσαληγὴ κατὰ τῆς δορᾶς ἀπάσης  
 [101] ἔλκωσιν εἰργάζετο καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐθὺς | συνῶδει

<sup>a</sup> Or "fire of common use," cf. *De Abr.* 157, *Quis Rerum* 136.

## MOSES I. 124-127

days and the same number of nights? Then, indeed, as we are told, some who had thrown themselves on their beds did not dare to rise from them, while others, when any of the needs of nature pressed, felt their way along the walls or any other object, proceeding with difficulty as though they were blind. For the light of artificial fire <sup>a</sup> was partly quenched by the prevailing storm wind, partly dimmed to the point of disappearance by the depth of the darkness, so that sight, the most indispensable of the senses, though sound in itself, was helpless and unable to see anything; and the other senses were discomfited, like subjects when their queen has fallen. For men <sup>125</sup> could not bring themselves to speak or hear or take food, but lay tortured in silence and famine with no heart to use any of the senses, so entirely overwhelmed were they by the disaster, until Moses again took pity and besought God, Who made light to take the place of darkness, and day of night, with bright open sky all around.

XXII. Such, we are told, were the plagues <sup>b</sup> inflicted through the agency of Moses alone, namely the plague of hail and lightning, the plague of the locusts, and that of the darkness which was proof against every form of light. One was committed to him and his brother together, which I will at once proceed to describe. They took in their hands, at <sup>127</sup> God's bidding, ashes from a furnace, which Moses scattered in the air, and then dust suddenly fell upon men and the lower animals alike. It produced an angry, painful ulceration over the whole skin, and, simultaneously with this eruption, their bodies

<sup>b</sup> Philo's seventh plague, boils, is sixth in Exodus (ix. 8-12).

## PHILO

- ταῖς ἕξανθήσεσιν ὑποπύους ἔχοντα φλυκταίνας, ἃς ἐτόπασεν ἄν τις ἀφανῶς ὑποκαιομένας ἀναζεῖν.
- 128 ἀλγηδόσι τε καὶ περιωδυνίαις κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἐκ τῆς ἐλκώσεως καὶ φλογώσεως πιεζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἔκαμνον ἐκτετρυχωμένοι ταῖς ἀνίαις—ἐν γὰρ ἄν τις ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν συνεχῆς ἔλκος ἐθεάσατο, τῶν κατὰ μέλος καὶ μέρος διεσπαρμένων εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἰδέαν ἀποκριθέντων—, ἕως πάλιν ἰκεσίαις τοῦ νομοθέτου, ἃς ὑπὲρ τῶν πασχόντων ἐποίησατο, ἡ νόσος ῥάων
- 129 ἐγένετο. κοινῇ μέντοι τὴν νοουθεσίαν ταύτην ἐπετραπήσαν δεόντως, ὁ μὲν ἀδελφὸς διὰ τὸν ἐπενεχθέντα κονιορτόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς συμβαινόντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔλαχε, Μωυσῆς δὲ διὰ τὸν ἀέρα μεταβαλόντα πρὸς κάκωσιν τῶν οἰκητόρων· ταῖς δ' ἀπ' ἀέρος καὶ οὐρανοῦ πληγαῖς οὗτος ὑπηρετεῖ.
- 130 XXIII. Λοιπαὶ δὲ τιμωρίαι τρεῖς εἰσιν αὐτουργηθεῖσαι δίχα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ὑπηρεσίας, ὧν κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην, ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, δηλώσω. πρώτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γενομένη διὰ ζώου τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει πάντων θραυστάτου, κυνομυίας, ἣν ἐτύμως ἐκάλεσαν οἱ θετικοὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων—σοφοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν—ἐκ τῶν ἀναιδεστάτων ζώων συνθέντες τοῦνομα, μυίας καὶ κυνός, τοῦ μὲν τῶν χερσαίων θραυστάτου, τῆς δὲ τῶν πτηνῶν· ἐπιφοιτῶσι γὰρ καὶ ἐπιτρέχουσιν ἀδεῶς, κἂν ἀνείργῃ τις, εἰς τὸ ἀήττητον ἀντιφιλονεικοῦσιν, ἄχρισ ἂν αἵματος καὶ σαρκῶν κορε-
- 131 σθῶσιν. ἡ δὲ κυνόμυια τὴν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τόλμαν

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<sup>a</sup> Philo's eighth plague, dog-flies (E.V. flies), is fourth in Exodus (viii. 20-30).

## MOSES I. 127-131

swelled with suppurated blisters, which might be supposed to be extravasations from inflammation lurking beneath. Oppressed as they naturally were 128 by the extreme painfulness and soreness of the ulceration and inflammation, they suffered in spirit more or no less than in body from the exhaustion which their miseries produced. For one continuous ulcer was to be seen stretching from head to foot, the sores scattered over every particular limb and part of the body being concentrated into a single form of the same appearance throughout. So it was until, again by the intercessions which the lawgiver made on behalf of the sufferers, the distemper was lightened. Rightly indeed was this chastisement 129 committed to the two in common : to the brother because the dust which came down upon the people was from the earth, and what was of earth was under his charge ; to Moses because the air was changed to afflict them, and plagues of heaven and air belonged to his ministration.

XXIII. The three remaining chastisements were 130 self-wrought, without any human agent, each of which I will proceed to describe as well as possible. In the first, a creature is employed whose ferocity is unequalled in all nature—the dog-fly.<sup>a</sup> This name, which the coiners of words in their wisdom have given it, well expresses its character, for it is a compound formed from the two most shameless animals of the land and the air—the dog and the fly. Both these are persistent and fearless in their assaults, and if one attempts to ward them off meet him with a perseverance which refuses to be beaten, until they have got their fill of flesh and blood. The dog-fly 131 has acquired the audacity of both, and is a creature

## PHILO

- προσειληφύια δηκτικὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον ζῶόν ἐστι·  
 καὶ γὰρ πόρρωθεν μετὰ ροίζου καθάπερ βέλος  
 εἰσακοντίζεται καὶ ἐπεμπίπτουσα βιαίως εὖ μάλα  
 132 ἐγχρίμπτεται. τότε δὲ καὶ θεήλατος ἦν ἡ προσ-  
 βολή, ὡς δεδιπλασιάσθαι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπιβουλήν  
 οὐκέτι μόνον τοῖς φυσικοῖς κεχρημένης πλεονεκτή-  
 μασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης, ἣ τὸ  
 ζῶον ὤπλιζε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἀνήγειρε κατὰ τῶν  
 133 ἐγχωρίων. μετὰ τὴν κυνόμυϊαν εἶπετο  
 τιμωρία πάλιν ἄνευ συμπράξεως ἀνθρωπίνης, βο-  
 σκημάτων θάνατος· βουκόλια γὰρ καὶ αἰπόλια καὶ  
 ποιμνία μεγάλα καὶ ὅσαι ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἄλλων  
 θρεμμάτων ἰδέαι πᾶσαι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς ἀφ' ἑνὸς  
 συνθήματος, ἀγεληδὸν διεφθείροντο, τὴν ἀνθρώπων  
 [102] | ἀπώλειαν, ἣ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι,  
 προμηνύουσαι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς λοιμώδεσι νόσοις·  
 λέγεται γὰρ προάγων τις εἶναι λοιμικῶν ἀρρωστη-  
 μάτων ἢ ζῶων ἀλόγων αἰφνίδιος φθορά.
- 134 XXIV. Μεθ' ἣν ἡ δεκάτη καὶ τελευταία δίκη  
 πάσας ὑπερβάλλουσα τὰς προτέρας ἐπεγένετο, θά-  
 νατος Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε πάντων—οὐ γὰρ ἐρημῶσαι  
 τὴν χώραν προηρείτο ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ νουθετῆσαι μόνον  
 —οὔτε τῶν πλείστων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐξ  
 ἀπάσης ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῆν ἐφίεις μόνων  
 τῶν πρωτοτόκων καταψηφίζεται θάνατον ἀρξάμε-  
 νος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν βασιλέως παίδων  
 καὶ λήξας εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀφανεστάτης ἀλετρίδος.
- 135 περὶ γὰρ μέσας νύκτας οἱ πρῶτοι πατέρας καὶ  
 μητέρας προσειπόντες καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων υἱοὶ πάλιν

## MOSES I. 131-135

venomous and vicious, which comes with a whirr from a distance, hurls itself like a javelin, and, with a violent onrush, fastens itself firmly on its victim. On this occasion the assault was also divinely im- 132  
pelled, so that its viciousness was doubled, prompted by avidity due not only to nature but to divine providence, which armed the creature and roused it to use its force against the population.

After the dog-fly there followed again a chastise- 133  
ment brought about without human co-operation, the death of the live-stock <sup>a</sup>; for great herds of oxen and sheep and goats, and every kind of beast of burden and other cattle, perished as by a single agreed signal in a single day, whole droves at a time, thus presaging the destruction of men which was about to follow, just as we find in epidemics. For pestilential disorders are said to be precluded by a sudden murrain among the lower animals.

XXIV. After this came the tenth and final judge- 134  
ment, transcending all its predecessors.<sup>b</sup> This was the death of the Egyptians, not of the whole population, since God's purpose was not to make a complete desert of the country, but only to teach them a lesson, nor yet of the great majority of the men and women of every age. Instead, He permitted the rest to live, but sentenced the first-born only to death, beginning with the king and ending with the meanest woman who grinds at the mill, in each case their eldest male child. For, about midnight, those who had been the 135  
first to call their parents father and mother, first to

<sup>a</sup> Philo's ninth plague, the murrain, is fifth in Exodus (ix. 1-7).

<sup>b</sup> For the tenth plague, and its sequel §§ 134-142, see Ex. xii. 29-36.

## PHILO

- πρῶτον ὀνομασθέντες ὑγιαίνοντες καὶ τὰ σώματα  
 ἔρρωμένοι πάντες ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως ἠβηδὸν  
 ἕξαπιναιῶς ἀνήρηντο καὶ οὐδεμίαν οἰκίαν ἀμοιρῆσαι  
 136 φασὶ τότε τῆς συμφορᾶς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἔω κατὰ τὸ  
 εἰκὸς ἕκαστοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπροσ-  
 δοκῆτως τετελευτηκότας, οἷς ὁμοδίαιτοι καὶ ὁμο-  
 τράπεζοι μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐγεγένητο, βαρυτάτῳ  
 πένθει κατασχεθέντες οἰμωγῆς πάντα ἐνέπλησαν,  
 ὥστε συνέβη καὶ διὰ τὴν κοινοπραγίαν τοῦ πάθους  
 ἀπάντων ἀθρόως ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκβοησάντων ἓνα  
 θρήνον ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα κατὰ πάσης τῆς  
 137 χώρας συνηγῆσαι. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις  
 διέτριβον, ἀγνοῶν ἕκαστος τὸ τοῦ πλησίον κακὸν  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἔστενε, προελθὼν δὲ καὶ γνοὺς  
 τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διπλοῦν πένθος πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ καὶ τὸ  
 κοινὸν εὐθύς ἐλάμβανεν, ἐπ' ἐλάττονι καὶ κουφοτέρῳ  
 μείζον καὶ βαρύτερον, ἅτε καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς παρα-  
 μυθίας ἀφηρημένος· τίς γὰρ ἔμελλε παρηγορεῖν  
 138 ἕτερον αὐτὸς ὢν τοῦδε χρεῖος; ὅπερ δ' ἐν τοῖς  
 τοιοῦτοις φιλεῖ, τὰ παρόντα νομίσαντες ἀρχὴν εἶναι  
 μειζόνων καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἔτι ζώντων ἀπωλείας  
 καταδείσαντες συνέδραμον εἰς τὰ βασιλεία δεδακρυ-  
 μένοι καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας περιερρηγμένοι κατεβόων τε  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς πάντων αἰτίου τῶν συμβεβηκότων  
 139 δεινῶν. εἰ γάρ, ἔλεγον, εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ Μωυσέως  
 ἐντυχόντος εἶασεν ἐξελθεῖν τὸ ἔθνος, οὐδενὸς ἂν  
 τῶν γεγονότων πειραθῆναι τὸ παράπαν· εἴξαντος  
 δ' αὐθαδεῖα τῇ συνήθει, τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἀκαίρου  
 φιλονεικίας ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαβεῖν. εἰτ' ἄλλος ἄλλον  
 παρεκάλει τὸν λεῶν μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐξ ἀπάσης

<sup>a</sup> Cf. πρώτη σ' ἐκάλεσα πατέρα καὶ σὺ παῖδ' ἐμέ, Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 122.



## MOSES I. 135-139

be called sons by them,<sup>a</sup> all in full health and robust of body, were suddenly cut off wholesale without apparent cause, and no household, as we are told, was spared this calamity. When dawn came, every family, seeing their dearest thus unexpectedly dead, who, up till the evening, had shared their home and board, were naturally struck with profound grief and filled the whole place with their lamentations. And so, since in this general disaster the same emotion drew from all a united outcry, one single dirge of wailing resounded from end to end of the whole land. And, as long as they stayed in their houses, everyone, ignorant of his neighbour's evil plight, bewailed his own only; but, when they came forth and learned what had befallen the rest, their grief was straight-way doubled. To the personal sorrow, the lighter and lesser, was added the public, greater and heavier, since they lost even the hope of consolation. For who could be expected to comfort another if he needs consolation himself? And, as so often happens in such circumstances, they thought that their present condition was but the beginning of greater evils, and were filled with fear of the destruction of those who still lived. Consequently, bathed in tears and with garments rent, they rushed together to the palace and cried out against the king as the cause of all the dire events that had befallen them. If, they said, at the very beginning, when Moses first entreated him, he had suffered the people to go forth, they would have experienced none at all of these happenings; but, as he indulged his usual self-will, the rewards of his contentiousness had been promptly reaped by themselves. Then they exhorted each other to use all speed in driving the people from the

PHILO

- τῆς χώρας ἐξελαύνειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν ἡμέραν μᾶλλον  
 140 δέ ὥραν αὐτὸ μόνον κατασχεῖν πρὸς ἀνήκεστον  
 [103] τιμωρίαν τιθέμενοι. XXV. | οἱ δ' ἐλαν-  
 νόμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν εὐγενείας εἰς  
 ἔννοιαν ἐλθόντες τόλμημα τολμῶσιν, ὁποῖον εἰκὸς  
 ἦν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ μὴ ἀμνήμονας ὧν ἐπεβου-  
 141 λεύθησαν ἀδίκως. πολλὴν γὰρ λείαν ἐκφορήσαντες  
 τὴν μὲν αὐτοῖ διεκόμιζον ἐπηχθισμένοι, τὴν δὲ τοῖς  
 ὑπόζυγίοις ἐπέθεσαν, οὐ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ἢ, ὡς  
 ἂν τις κατηγορῶν εἴποι, τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπι-  
 θυμίαν—πόθεν;—ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὧν παρὰ πάντα  
 τὸν χρόνον ὑπηρέτησαν ἀναγκαῖον μισθὸν κομιζό-  
 μενοι, εἶτα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατεδουλώθησαν ἐν ἐλάττωσι  
 καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀντιλυποῦντες· ποῦ γὰρ ἐστ'  
 ὅμοιον ζημία χρημάτων καὶ στέρησις ἐλευθερίας,  
 142 ὑπὲρ ἧς οὐ μόνον προῖεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας οἱ νοῦν  
 ἔχοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθέλουσιν; ἐν ἑκα-  
 τέρῳ δὴ κατῶρθουν, εἴθ' ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ μισθὸν  
 λαμβάνοντες, ὃν παρ' ἀκόντων<sup>1</sup> πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ  
 ἀποδιδόντων ἀπεστεροῦντο, εἴθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν φέρειν ἀξιοῦντες νόμῳ τῶν κεκρα-  
 τηκότων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χειρῶν ἤρξαν ἀδίκων, ξένους  
 καὶ ἰκέτας, ὡς ἔφην πρότερον, καταδουλωσάμενοι  
 τρόπον αἰχμαλώτων, οἱ δὲ καιροῦ παραπεσόντος  
 ἡμύναντο δίχα τῆς ἐν ὄπλοις παρασκευῆς, προασπί-  
 ζοντος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπερέχοντος τοῦ δικαίου.  
 143 XXVI. Τοσαύταις μὲν δὴ πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις  
 Αἴγυπτος ἐνουθετεῖτο, ὧν οὐδεμία τῶν Ἑβραίων

<sup>1</sup> The mss. vary here considerably and the construction in the text as here printed is difficult. A simple emendation would be λαμβάνοντες παρ' ἀκόντων ὃν, and so, except that ἀ appears instead of ὃν, it is in the paraphrase of Procopius quoted in Cohn, p. 153.

## MOSES I. 139-143

whole country, and declared that to detain them even for a single day, or rather only for an hour, would bring upon them a deadly vengeance. XXV.

The Hebrews, thus hunted as outcasts from the land, 140 and conscious of their own high lineage, were emboldened to act as was natural to them, as freemen and men who were not oblivious of the injustices which malice had inflicted on them ; for they took 141 out with them much spoil, which they carried partly on their backs, partly laid on their beasts of burden. And they did this not in avarice, or, as their accusers might say, in covetousness of what belonged to others. No, indeed. In the first place, they were but receiving a bare wage for all their time of service ; secondly, they were retaliating, not on an equal but on a lesser scale, for their enslavement. For what resemblance is there between forfeiture of money and deprivation of liberty, for which men of sense are willing to sacrifice not only their substance but their life ? In either case, their action was right, whether 142 one regard it as an act of peace, the acceptance of payment long kept back through reluctance to pay what was due, or as an act of war, the claim under the law of the victors to take their enemies' goods. For the Egyptians began the wrongdoing by reducing guests and suppliants to slavery like captives, as I said before. The Hebrews, when the opportunity came, avenged themselves without warlike preparations, shielded by justice whose arm was extended to defend them.

XXVI. With all these plagues and punishments 143 was Egypt admonished, none of which touched the

## PHILO

- καίτοι γε ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις καὶ οἰκίαις συνδιατριβόντων ἦψατο, γῆς ὕδατος ἀέρος πυρός, ἃ μέρη τῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν, ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιθεμένων· ὃ δὴ καὶ παραδοξότατον ἦν, ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον καὶ χρόνον
- 144 τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ σώζεσθαι. ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς αἶμα μετέβαλεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἑβραίοις· ἦνίκα γὰρ βουλευθεῖεν ἀρύσασθαι, τροπὴν ἐλάβρανεν εἰς πότιμον. βάτραχος ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον ἀνερπύσας ἀγορὰς καὶ ἐπαύλεις καὶ οἰκίας ἐπλήρωσεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐξανεχώρει μόνων καθάπερ διακρίνειν ἐπιστάμενος, οὓς τε χρή
- 145 κολάζεσθαι καὶ τούναντίον. οὐ σκνίπες, οὐ κυνόμυια, οὐκ ἀκρίς, ἣ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ καρποὺς καὶ ζῶα καὶ ἀνθρώπους μεγάλα ἔβλαψε, τούτοις προσέπησαν· οὐχ ὑετῶν, οὐ χαλάζης, οὐ κεραυνῶν αἱ
- [104] γενόμενα | συνεχεῖς φοραὶ μέχρι τούτων ἔφθασαν· ἐλκώσεως τῆς ἀργαλεωτάτης εἰς τὸ παθεῖν οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπήσθοντο· βαθυτάτου σκότους τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναχυθέντος, ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ διήγαγον, τοῦ ἡμερησίου φωτὸς ἐπιλάμποντος· ἀναιρουμένων τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις πρωτοτόκων, ἐτελεύτησεν Ἑβραῖος οὐδεὶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν, ὅποτε καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀμυθῆτων φθορὰ θρεμμάτων οὐδεμίαν τῶν παρὰ τούτοις
- 146 ἀγέλην συνεπεσπάσατο πρὸς ἀπώλειαν. καὶ μοί τις δοκεῖ παρατυχῶν τοῖς γενομένοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν μηδὲν ἂν ἄλλο νομίσει τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἢ θεατὰς ὧν ἕτεροι κακῶν ὑπέμενον καὶ οὐ μόνον<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cohn, following Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 23 θεατὰ δὲ Ἑβραῖοι ἐγένοντο ὧν ἕτεροι κακῶν ὑπέμενον ἀκινδύνως ἐκμανθάνοντες τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ, proposed to fill the lacuna with the last five

## MOSES I. 143-146

Hebrews, though they dwelt in the same cities and villages and houses, and though earth, water, air, fire, the constituent parts of that nature which it is impossible to escape, joined in the attack. And the strangest thing of all was that the same elements in the same place and at the same time brought destruction to one people and safety to the other. The river 144 changed to blood, but not for the Hebrews ; for, when they wished to draw from it, it turned into good drinking-water. The frog tribe crept from the water on to the land, and filled the market-places, the farm buildings and houses, but held aloof from the Hebrews alone, as though it knew how to distinguish who should be punished and who should not. Neither the gnats, nor the dog-flies nor the 145 locusts, which did so great damage to plants and fruits and animals and men, winged their way to them ; neither the rainstorm nor the hail nor the thunderbolts which fell continuously reached as far as them. That most painful ulceration was not felt, or even imagined, by them. When the others were wrapped in profound darkness, they lived in clear radiance with the light of day shining upon them. When the first-born of the Egyptians was slain, no Hebrew died, nor was it likely that they should, when even the murrain, by which numberless cattle perished, did not involve a single herd of theirs in the destruction. Indeed, I think that everyone 146 who witnessed the events of that time could not but have thought of the Hebrews as spectators of the sufferings of others, and not merely spectators

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words of the quotation. Mangey was content with *τοῦτο* only. Perhaps *ἀκινδύνους* alone would be enough, Clement's remaining five words representing *εὐσέβειαν*.

## PHILO

. . . , ἀλλὰ καὶ μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἀναδιδασκομένους, εὐσέβειαν· οὐ γὰρ ποθ' οὕτως ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν κρίσις ἐμφανῶς ἦλθε τοῖς μὲν φθορὰν τοῖς δὲ σωτηρίαν παρασχοῦσα.

147 **XXVII.** Τῶν δ' ἐξιόντων καὶ μετανισταμένων οἱ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας ἦσαν, ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὄμιλος πρεσβυτῶν, παιδῶν, γυναικῶν οὐ ράδιος ἀριθμηθῆναι· μιγάδων δὲ καὶ συγκλύδων καὶ θεραπειᾶς ὄχλος συνεχῆσθαι ὡσανεὶ νόθον μετὰ γνησίου πλήθους· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννηθέντες Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ γένει προσνεμηθέντες καὶ ὅσοι τὸ θεοφιλὲς ἀγάμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπηλύται ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες τῷ μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἐπαλλήλων κολάσεων μετεβάλλοντο σωφρονησθέντες.

148 τούτων ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν ἐχειροτονεῖτο Μωυσῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν λαβὼν οὐχ ὡσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς δυναστείας ὠθουμένων ὄπλοις καὶ μηχανήμασιν ἵππικαῖς τε καὶ πεζικαῖς καὶ ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐνοίας, ἣ χρώμενος αἰεὶ διετελεῖ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ φιλαρέτου καὶ φιλοκάλου θεοῦ

149 γέρας ἄξιον αὐτῷ παρασχόντος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν Αἰγύπτου κατέλπεν ἡγεμονίαν, θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος ὦν, ἕνεκα τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν γινομένων ἀδικημάτων πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θεμένων ἐλπίσι διὰ ψυχῆς εὐγένειαν καὶ φρονήματος μέγεθος καὶ τὸ μισοπόνηρον φύσει, τῷ

• See Ex. xii. 27, 37 f.

## MOSES I. 146-149

in safety, but learners thereby of the finest and most profitable of lessons—piety. For never was judgement so clearly passed on good and bad, a judgement which brought perdition to the latter and salvation to the former.

XXVII. The departing emigrants had among them 147 over six hundred thousand men of military age, while the rest of the multitude, consisting of old men, women-folk and children, could not easily be counted. They were accompanied by a promiscuous, nondescript and menial crowd, a bastard host, so to speak, associated with the true-born. These were the children of Egyptian women by Hebrew fathers into whose families they had been adopted, also those who, reverencing the divine favour shewn to the people, had come over to them, and such as were converted and brought to a wiser mind by the magnitude and the number of the successive punishments.<sup>a</sup>

The appointed leader of all these was Moses, invested 148 with this office and kingship, not like some of those who thrust themselves into positions of power by means of arms and engines of war and strength of infantry, cavalry and navy, but on account of his goodness and his nobility of conduct and the universal benevolence which he never failed to shew. Further, his office was bestowed upon him by God, the lover of virtue and nobility, as the reward due to him. For, when he gave up the lordship of Egypt, which 149 he held as son to the daughter of the then reigning king, because the sight of the iniquities committed in the land and his own nobility of soul and magnanimity of spirit and inborn hatred of evil led him to renounce completely his expected inheritance from the kinsfolk of his adoption, He Who presides

## PHILO

πρυτανεύοντι καὶ ἐπιμελουμένῳ τῶν ὅλων ἔδοξεν  
 αὐτὸν ἀμείψασθαι βασιλείᾳ πολυανθρωποτέρου καὶ  
 κρείττονος ἔθνους, ὅπερ ἐμέλλεν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἱεράσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 αἰεὶ ποιησόμενον εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τε κακῶν ἀποτροπῆς  
 150 καὶ μετουσίας ἀγαθῶν. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τὸν ἴδιον αὖξιν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς  
 υἱοὺς—δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ—προάγειν ἐπὶ μέγα  
 δυνάμει ἐσπούδασεν, ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι  
 κοινωνοὺς αὐθις δὲ καὶ διαδόχους ἀποφῆναι· |  
 [105] γνώμη γὰρ ἀδόλω καὶ καθαρᾷ πρὸς πάντα μικρά  
 τε αὐτῷ καὶ μεγάλα χρώμενος τὴν φυσικὴν πρὸς  
 τὰ τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν οἶα κριτῆς ἀγαθὸς ἐνίκα τῷ  
 151 περὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἀδεκάστῳ. προὔκειτο γὰρ ἐν  
 αὐτῷ τέλος ἀναγκαιότατον, ὀνήσαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους  
 καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων ὠφελείας ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ  
 πραγματεῦσθαι, μηδένα παραλιπόντι καιρὸν τῶν  
 152 συντεινόντων εἰς κοινὴν κατόρθωσιν. μόνος οὗτος  
 τῶν πῶποθ' ἡγεμονευσάντων οὐ χρυσὸν οὐκ ἄργυ-  
 ρον ἔθησαυρίσατο, οὐ δασμοὺς ἐξέλεξεν, οὐκ οἰκίας,  
 οὐ κτήματα, οὐ θρέμματα, οὐ θεραπείαν οἰκετικὴν,  
 οὐ προσόδους, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν εἰς πολυτέλειαν καὶ  
 περιουσίαν οὐδὲν ἐκτήσατο, καίτοι πάντων ἔχειν  
 153 ἀφθονίαν δυνάμενος· ἀλλ' ὑπολαβὼν πενίας ψυχικῆς  
 ἔργον εἶναι τὸν ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀποδέχεσθαι πλοῦτον  
 τοῦ μὲν ὡς τυφλοῦ κατεφρόνησε, τὸν δὲ βλέποντα  
 τῆς φύσεως ἐξετίμησε καὶ ζηλωτῆς ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἶ  
 τις ἕτερος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἐν μὲν ἐσθῆσι καὶ  
 τροφαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ δίαιταν οὐδὲν  
 ἐπιτραγωδῶν πρὸς σεμνότερον ὄγκον εὐτέλειαν καὶ  
 εὐκολίαν ἐπετήδευεν ἰδιώτου, πολυτέλειαν δὲ τῷ  
 ὄντι βασιλικὴν ἐν οἷς καλὸν ἦν πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν



## MOSES I. 149-153

over and takes charge of all things thought good to requite him with the kingship of a nation more populous and mightier, a nation destined to be consecrated above all others to offer prayers for ever on behalf of the human race that it may be delivered from evil and participate in what is good. Having received 150 this office, he did not, like some, take pains to exalt his own house, and promote his sons, of whom he had two, to great power and make them his consorts for the present and his successors for the hereafter. For in all things great and small he followed a pure and guileless policy, and, like a good judge, allowed the incorruptibility of reason to subdue his natural affection for his children. For he had set before him one 151 essential aim, to benefit his subjects ; and, in all that he said or did, to further their interests and neglect no opportunity which would forward the common well-being. In solitary contrast to those who had 152 hitherto held the same authority, he did not treasure up gold and silver, did not levy tributes, did not possess houses or chattels or livestock or a staff of slaves or revenues or any other accompaniment of costly and opulent living, though he might have had all in abundance. He held that to prize material 153 wealth shews poverty of soul, and despised such wealth as blind ; but the wealth of nature which has eyes to see he highly honoured and zealously pursued, more perhaps than any other man. In dress and food and the other sides of life, he made no arrogant parade to increase his pomp and grandeur. But, while in these he practised the economy and unassuming ways of a private citizen, he was liberal in the truly royal expenditure of those treasures which the ruler may well desire to have in abundance.

## PHILO

- 154 ἄρχοντα· ταῦτα δ' ἦσαν ἐγκράτειαι, καρτερίαι, σωφροσύναι, ἀγχίνουαι, συνέσεις, ἐπιστήμαι, πόνοι, κακοπάθειαι, ἡδονῶν ὑπεροψίαι, δικαιοσύναι, προτροπαὶ πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, ψόγοι καὶ κολάσεις ἀμαρτανόντων νόμιμοι, ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ κατορθούντων
- 155 πάλιν σὺν νόμῳ. XXVIII. τοιγαροῦν πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα πολυχρηματία καὶ τῷ παρ' ἀνθρώποις μέγα πνέοντι πλούτῳ γεραίρει θεὸς τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον ἀντιδούς πλοῦτον αὐτῷ· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς συμπάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα στοιχεῖα καὶ συγκρίματα· κοινωνὸν γὰρ ἀξιώσας ἀναφανῆναι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ λήξεως ἀνῆκε πάντα τὸν κόσμον ὡς κληρο-
- 156 νόμῳ κτήσιν ἀρμόζουσαν. τοιγαροῦν ὑπήκουεν ὡς δεσπότη τῶν στοιχείων ἕκαστον ἀλλάττον ἢ εἶχε δύναμιν καὶ ταῖς προστάξεσιν ὑπέικον· καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἴσως οὐδέν· εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν “κοινὰ τὰ φίλων,” φίλος δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἀνείρηται θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον μετέχει ἂν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς
- 157 κτήσεως, καθ' ὃ χρειῶδες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς πάντα κεκτημένος οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἄνθρωπος κέκτηται μὲν οὐδὲν κυρίως ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἑαυτόν, τῶν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κειμηλίων, καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἶός τε ἦ, μετα-
- [106] λαγχάνει. | καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· κοσμοπολίτης γὰρ ἐστὶν, ἧς χάριν αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πόλεων ἐνεγράφη, δεόντως, οὐ μέρος
- 158 χώρας ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸν κόσμον κλῆρον λαβών. τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ μείζονος τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων καὶ ποιητὴν κοινωνίας ἀπέλαυσε προσρήσεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιωθεῖς; ἄνομάσθη γὰρ ὄλου τοῦ ἔθνους

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Abr.* 235.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxxiii. 11.

## MOSES I. 154-158

These treasures were the repeated exhibition of self- 154  
restraint, continence, temperance, shrewdness, good  
sense, knowledge, endurance of toil and hardships,  
contempt of pleasures, justice, advocacy of excellence,  
censure and chastisement according to law for wrong-  
doers, praise and honour for well-doers, again as the  
law directs. XXVIII. And so, as he abjured the 155  
accumulation of lucre, and the wealth whose in-  
fluence is mighty among men, God rewarded him  
by giving him instead the greatest and most  
perfect wealth. That is the wealth of the whole  
earth and sea and rivers, and of all the other  
elements and the combinations which they form.  
For, since God judged him worthy to appear as a  
partner of His own possessions, He gave into his  
hands the whole world as a portion well fitted for His  
heir. Therefore, each element obeyed him as its 156  
master, changed its natural properties and submitted  
to his command, and this perhaps is no wonder. For  
if, as the proverb says, what belongs to friends is  
common,<sup>a</sup> and the prophet is called the friend of God,<sup>b</sup>  
it would follow that he shares also God's possessions,  
so far as it is serviceable. For God possesses all 157  
things, but needs nothing; while the good man,  
though he possesses nothing in the proper sense, not  
even himself, partakes of the precious things of God  
so far as he is capable. And that is but natural, for  
he is a world citizen, and therefore not on the roll of  
any city of men's habitation, rightly so because he has  
received no mere piece of land but the whole world  
as his portion. Again, was not the joy of his partner- 158  
ship with the Father and Maker of all magnified  
also by the honour of being deemed worthy to  
bear the same title? For he was named god and

PHILO

- θεὸς καὶ βασιλεύς· εἷς τε τὸν γνώφον, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ θεός, εἰσελθεῖν λέγεται, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν αἰδιῆ καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον τῶν ὄντων παραδειγματικὴν οὐσίαν, τὰ ἀθέατα φύσει θνητῇ κατανοῶν· καθάπερ τε γραφὴν εὐ δεδημιουργημένην ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον εἰς μέσον προαγαγὼν πάγκαλον καὶ θεοειδὲς ἔργον ἔστησε παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσι
- 159 μιμῆσθαι. εὐδαίμονες δ' ὅσοι τὸν τύπον ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ἐναπεμάξαντο ἢ ἐσπούδασαν ἐναπομάξασθαι· φερέτω γὰρ ἡ διάνοια μάλιστα μὲν τὸ εἶδος τέλειον ἀρετῆς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν γοῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὸ εἶδος ἀνευδοίαστον πόθον.
- 160 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό τις ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι ζηλωταὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων οἱ ἀφανεῖς εἰσι καί, ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστ' ὀρέγεσθαι δοκῶσι, πρὸς ταῦτα τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποτείνουσιν ὀρμάς· ἐπειδὴν γοῦν ἡγεμῶν ἀρξῆται καθηδυπαθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον ἀποκλίνειν βίον, σύμπαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὸ ὑπήκοον τὰς γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα προσαναρρήγγυσιν ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας, εἰ μὴ τινες εὐμοιρία χρῆσαιτο φύσεως ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐπίβουλον ἀλλ' εὐμενῆ
- 161 καὶ ἴω κτησάμενοι· ἐὰν δ' αὐστηροτέραν καὶ σεμνοτέραν ἔληται προαίρεσιν, καὶ οἱ λίαν αὐτῶν ἀκράτορες μεταβάλλουσι πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν ἢ φόβῳ ἢ αἰδοῖ σπουδάζοντες ὑπόληψιν ἐμποιεῖν, ὅτι ἄρα ζηλωταὶ τῶν ὁμοίων εἰσὶ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποθ' οἱ χεῖρους τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μανέντες ἀποδοκιμά-
- 162 ζοιεν. τάχα δ', ἐπεὶ καὶ νομοθέτης ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐγένετο νόμος ἔμφυχός τε καὶ λογικὸς θεῖα προνοία, ἥτις ἀγνοοῦντα αὐτὸν εἰς νομοθέτην ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐθις

## MOSES I. 158-162

king of the whole nation, and entered, we are told, into the darkness where God was,<sup>a</sup> that is into the unseen, invisible, incorporeal and archetypal essence of existing things. Thus he beheld what is hidden from the sight of mortal nature, and, in himself and his life displayed for all to see, he has set before us, like some well-wrought picture, a piece of work beautiful and godlike, a model for those who are willing to copy it. Happy are they who imprint, or 159 strive to imprint, that image in their souls. For it were best that the mind should carry the form of virtue in perfection, but, failing this, let it at least have the unflinching desire to possess that form.

And, indeed, we all know this, that 160 meaner men emulate men of distinction, and set their inclinations in the direction of what *they* seem to desire. Thus, when a ruler begins to shew profligacy and turn to a life of luxury, the whole body almost of his subjects gives full vent to the appetites of belly and sex beyond their actual needs, save in the case of some who, blessed by the gifts of nature, possess a soul kindly and propitious and free from viciousness; whereas, if that ruler adopt a more severe 161 and more serious rule of life, even the very licentious are converted to continence and are eager, either through fear or shame, to create the impression that, after all, their aims are like to his. In fact the worse, even in madness, will never be found to condemn the ways of the better. Perhaps, too, since he was 162 destined to be a legislator, the providence of God which afterwards appointed him without his knowledge to that work, caused him long before that day to be the reasonable and living impersonation of law.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xx. 21, cf. *De Mut.* 7.

## PHILO

- 163 XXIX. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν παρ' ἐκόντων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, βραβεύοντας καὶ ἐπινεύοντας θεοῦ, τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστειλεν εἰς Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην, ἣ τότε προσηγορεύετο Χανααίων, ἧς οἱ ὄροι τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διειστήκεσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. εἰτ' ἦγεν αὐτοὺς οὐ | τὴν  
 164 [107] ἐπίτομον, ἅμα μὲν εὐλαβηθεῖς, μὴ ποθ', ὑπαντιασάντων τῶν οἰκητόρων διὰ φόβον ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ γενομένου πολέμου, πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ὑποστρέψωσι εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' ἐχθρούς, νέων ἐπ' ἀρχαίους, γέλως καὶ χλεῦη γενησόμενοι καὶ χεῖρω καὶ ἀργαλεώτερα τῶν προτέρων ὑπομενοῦντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς δι' ἐρήμης ἄγων καὶ μακρᾶς δοκιμάσαι, πῶς ἔχουσι πειθαρχίας ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις χορηγίαις ἀλλ'  
 165 ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ὑποσπανίζούσαις. ἐκτραπόμενος οὖν τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας, ἐγκάρσιον ἀτραπὸν εὐρῶν καὶ νομίσας κατατείνειν ἄχρι τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης ὁδοιπορεῖν ἤρχετο. τεράστιον δέ φασι συμβῆναι κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον μεγαλουργημάτων τῆς φύσεως, ὃ μηδεὶς πω μέμνηται πάλαι γεγονός.  
 166 νεφέλη γὰρ εἰς εὐμεγέθη κίονα σχηματισθείσα προῆι τῆς πληθύος, ἡμέρας μὲν ἡλιοειδὲς ἐκλάμπουσα φέγγος, νύκτωρ δὲ φλογοειδὲς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πλάξεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλ' ἀπλανεστάτῳ ἔπεσθαι ἡγεμόνι ὁδοῦ. τάχα μέντοι καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων τις ἦν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἀφανὴς ἄγγελος, ἐγκατελιημμένος τῇ νεφέλῃ προηγητήρ, ὃν οὐ θέμις σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶσθαι.  
 167 XXX. Θεασάμενος δ' ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀνοδία χρωμένους, ὡς ᾤετο, καὶ διὰ τραχείας καὶ

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 163-180 see Ex. xiii. 17-xv. 21.

## MOSES I. 163-167

XXIX. <sup>a</sup> So, having received the authority which 163 they willingly gave him, with the sanction and assent of God, he proposed to lead them to settle in Phoenicia and Coelesyria and Palestine, then called the land of the Canaanites, the boundaries of which were three days' journey from Egypt. The course by 164 which he then led them was not the straight road. He avoided this, partly because he was apprehensive that if the inhabitants, fearing to lose their homes and personal liberty, offered them opposition, and war ensued, they might return by the same road to Egypt, and thus, exchanging one enemy for another, the new for the old, might be mocked, derided and subjected to hardships worse and more painful than what they underwent before. Partly, too, he wished by leading them through a long stretch of desert country to test the extent of their loyalty when supplies were not abundant but gradually grew scarcer and scarcer. Therefore, leaving the straight road, 165 he found one at an angle to it, and, thinking that it extended to the Red Sea, began the journey. It was then, we are told, that there occurred a prodigy, a mighty work of nature, the like of which none can remember to have been seen in the past. A cloud 166 shaped like a tall pillar, the light of which in the day-time was as the sun and in night as flame, went before the host, so that they should not stray in their journey, but follow in the steps of a guide who could never err. Perhaps indeed there was enclosed within the cloud one of the lieutenants of the great King, an unseen angel, a forerunner on whom the eyes of the body were not permitted to look.

XXX. But the king of Egypt, seeing, as he thought, 167 that they had lost their way and were traversing a

## PHILO

ἀτριβοῦς ἐρήμης βαδίζοντας ἦσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ  
 τὴν πορείαν σφάλματι, νομίσας συγκεκλεισθαι δι-  
 ἔξοδον οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεθέσθαι μετανοῶν  
 ἐπεχείρει διώκειν, ὡς ἢ φόβῳ τὴν πληθὺν ὑπο-  
 στρέψων καὶ δουλωσόμενος αὐθις ἢ ἀποκτενῶν  
 168 ἤβηδὸν ἀφηνιάζουσαν. εἶθ' ἅπασαν τὴν ἱππικὴν  
 δύναμιν παραλαβὼν ἀκοντιστάς τε καὶ σφενδονήτας  
 καὶ ἵπποτοξότας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι τῆς κούφης  
 ὀπλίσεως καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἀρ-  
 μάτων ἑξακόσια τοῖς ἐν τέλει δούς, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ  
 πρέποντος ἀξιώματος ἐπακολουθήσωσι καὶ τῆς  
 στρατείας μετὰσχωσιν, οὐδὲν τάχους ἀνεῖς ἐπεξέθει  
 καὶ συντεινῶν ἔσπευδε βουλόμενος ἑξαπιναιῶς οὐ  
 προῖδομένοις ἐπιστῆναι· τὸ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον κακὸν  
 ἀργαλεώτερον αἰεὶ τοῦ προσδοκηθέντος, ὅσω καὶ  
 τὸ ὀλιγωρηθὲν εὐεπιχειρητότερον τοῦ σὺν φροντίδι.  
 169 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐπηκολού-  
 θει νομίζων αὐτοβοεῖ περιέσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἔτυχον ἤδη  
 παρὰ ταῖς ἡἰόσι τῆς θαλάττης στρατοπεδεύοντες·  
 μελλόντων δ' ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 πάταγος ἐξηχεῖτο πολὺς, ἅτε τοσοῦτων ἀνθρώπων  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑποζυγίων μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐλαυνόντων, ὡς  
 ἐκχυθέντας<sup>1</sup> τῶν σκηνῶν περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ ὠτ-  
 [108] ακουστῆν | ἀκροβατοῦντας· εἶτ' ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ  
 λόφου μετέωρος ἢ ἀντίπαλος καταφαίνεται δύναμις  
 170 ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκτεταγμένη πρὸς μάχην. XXXI. ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τῷ παραλόγῳ καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες  
 καὶ μήτε πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρεπεῖς ὄντες διὰ σπάνιν  
 ἀμυντηρίων—οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἀλλ' εἰς ἀποικίαν  
 ἐξήεσαν—μήτε φυγεῖν δυνάμενοι—κατόπι μὲν γὰρ  
 πέλαγος, ἐχθροὶ δ' ἀντικρὺ, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἑκάτερα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκλυθέντας et alia.



## MOSES I. 167-170

rough and pathless desert, was pleased to find that disaster had befallen their journey, since he judged them to be shut in without an outlet. And, repenting that he had let them go, he essayed to pursue, expecting that he would make the multitude return in fear to renewed slavery, or massacre them wholesale if they proved refractory. Then he took with 168 him all his cavalry, javelineers, slingers, mounted archers, and all his other light-armed troops, and gave the six hundred finest of his scythed chariots to the men of rank that they might follow in suitable state and take part in the campaign. With unabated rapidity he rushed to the attack, and pushed on eagerly, wishing to come upon them suddenly and unforeseen. For the unexpected ill is ever more troublesome than the expected, since a negligently, compared with a carefully, guarded force is more liable to be successfully attacked. While he 169 pursued them with these intentions, hoping to win an uncontested victory, they, as it happened, were already encamped on the shores of the sea. And, just as they were preparing to take their early meal, first a mighty din was heard, caused by the host of men and beasts coming on at full speed; and, at the sound, they poured out of their tents, standing on tiptoe to look around and listen with both ears. Then, shortly afterwards, high on the hill, appeared the enemy's forces, armed and drawn up for battle. XXXI. At this strange, unexpected sight, they were 170 panic-stricken. They were not ready to defend themselves, for lack of the necessary weapons, for their expedition was not for war but for colonization. They could not fly, for the sea was behind them, the enemy in front, and on either side the depths of the trackless

## PHILO

- βαθεία καὶ ἀτριβῆς ἐρήμη—σφαδάζοντες καὶ τῷ  
 μεγέθει τῶν κακῶν ἀπειρηκότες, οἷα παρὰ τὰς  
 τοιαύτας φιλεῖ συμφοράς, τὸν ἄρχοντα ἠτιῶντο  
 171 φάσκοντες· “διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι μνήματα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,  
 οἷς ἀποθανόντες ἐνταφισόμεθα, ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς, ἵν’  
 ἐνταῦθα κηδεύσης ἀποκτείνας; ἢ οὐ πᾶσα δουλεία  
 κουφότερον κακὸν θανάτου; δελεάσας ἐλευθε-  
 ρίας ἐλπίδι τὸ πλῆθος τὸν χαλεπότερον περὶ τοῦ  
 172 ζῆν ἐπεκρέμασας κίνδυνον. ἠγνόεις τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ἀ(ο)πλότητα<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων πικρίαν καὶ τὸ  
 βαρύμηρι; τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀφύκτων κακῶν οὐχ  
 ὄρας; τί πρακτέον; πολεμῶμεν ἄοπλοι πρὸς ὀπλι-  
 σμένους; ἀλλὰ φεύγωμεν καθάπερ ἄρκυσι κυκλω-  
 θέντες ἀνηλεέσιν ἐχθροῖς, ἐρημίαις ἀβάτοις, ἀπλώ-  
 τοις πελάγεσιν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ πλωτά, τίς εὐπορία  
 173 σκαφῶν εἰς περαιώσιν;” ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούων τοῖς  
 μὲν συνεγίνωσκε, τῶν δὲ χρησμῶν ἐμέμνητο· καὶ  
 διανείμας τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸν λόγον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 χρόνον τῷ μὲν ἐνετύγχανεν ἀφανῶς τῷ θεῷ, ἵν’ ἐξ  
 ἀμηχάνων ῥύσῃται συμφορῶν, δι’ οὗ δ’ ἐθάρσυνε  
 καὶ παρηγόρει τοὺς καταβοῶντας “μὴ ἀνα-  
 πίπτετε” λέγων· “οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπος ἀμύνεται  
 174 καὶ θεός. τί μόνοις τοῖς εὐλόγοις καὶ πιθανοῖς προ-  
 πιστεύετε; παρασκευῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστι χρεῖος ὁ  
 θεὸς βοηθός· ἐν ἀπόροις πόρον εὑρεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ·  
 τὰ ἀδύνατα παντὶ γενητῷ μόνῳ δυνατὰ καὶ κατὰ  
 175 χειρός.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔτι καθεστῶς διεξήγει·

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀπλότητα, which all editors hitherto appear to have accepted. But what sense has “simplicity,” or any other shade of meaning which the word can bear, in this context? The correction here printed, suggested to me by Dr. Rouse, appears certain. It is true that ἀοπλότης is not found in the lexicon, nor is “unarmedness,” by which I have translated

## MOSES I. 170-175

desert. So, in the bitterness of their hearts, broken down by the greatness of their misfortune, they acted as men often act in such troubles, and began to accuse their ruler. "Was it because there were no tombs in 171 Egypt where our dead bodies could be laid that you brought us out to kill and bury us here? Is not any slavery a lighter ill than death? You enticed this multitude with the hope of liberty, and then have saddled it with the greater danger which threatens its life. Did you not know our unarmedness, and 172 the bitterness and savage temper of the Egyptians? Do you not see how great are our troubles, how impossible to escape? What must we do? Can we fight unarmed against the armed? Can we fly, surrounded as in a net by merciless enemies, pathless deserts, seas impassable to ships, or, if indeed they are passable, what supply of boats have we to enable us to cross?" Moses, when he heard these words, 173 pardoned them, but remembered the divine messages, and, using his mind and speech simultaneously for different purposes, with the former silently interceded with God to save them from their desperate afflictions, with the latter encouraged and comforted the loud-voiced malcontents. "Do not lose heart," he said, "God's way of defence is not as that of men. Why are you quick to trust in the specious and plausible and that only? When God gives help He needs 174 no armament. It is His special property to find a way where no way is. What is impossible to all created being is possible to Him only, ready to His hand." Thus he discoursed, still calm and composed; 175

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it, found in the abridged *N.E.D.* But both are natural and possible formations.

## PHILO

μικρὸν δ' ἐπισχὼν ἔνθους γίνεται καταπνευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰωθότος ἐπιφοιτᾶν αὐτῷ πνεύματος καὶ θεσπίζει προφητεύων τάδε· “ ἦν ὄρατε στρατιὰν εὐοπλοῦσαν, οὐκ ἐτ' ἀντιτεταγμένην ὄψεσθε· πεσεῖται γὰρ προτροπάδην πᾶσα καὶ βύθιος ἀφανισθήσεται, ὡς μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔτι φανῆναι, καὶ οὐ μήκει χρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί.”

- 176 XXXII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀπεφθέγγετο. καταδύντος δ' ἡλίου, νότος εὐθύς ἤρξατο κατασκήπτειν βιαιότατος, ὑφ' οὗ τὸ πέλαγος ἐξανεχώρησεν, εἰωθὸς μὲν ἀμπωτίζειν, τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὠθού-
- [109] μενον τὸ πρὸς | αἰγιαλοῖς ὑπεσύρη καθάπερ εἰς χαράδραν ἢ χάρυβδιν· ἀστήρ τε προῦφαίνεται οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πυκνὸν καὶ μέλαν νέφος ἅπαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπέιχε, γνοφώδους τῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης εἰς κατάπληξιν
- 177 τῶν διωκόντων. προσταχθεὶς δὲ Μωυσῆς τῇ βακτηρίᾳ παίει τὴν θάλασσαν· ἡ δὲ ῥαγείσα διίσταται καὶ τῶν τμημάτων τὰ μὲν πρὸς<sup>1</sup> τῷ ῥαγέντι μέρει μετέωρα πρὸς ὕψος ἐξαίρεται καὶ παγέντα τρόπον τείχους κραταιῶς ἠρέμει καὶ ἡσύχαζε, τὰ δ' ὀπίσω σταλέντα καὶ χαλινωθέντα τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω φορὰν καθάπερ ἠνίας ἀφανέσιν ἀνεχαίτιζε, τὸ δὲ μεσαίτατον, καθ' ὃ ἐγένετο ἡ ῥῆξις, ἀναξηρανθὲν ὁδὸς εὐρεία καὶ λεωφόρος γίνεται. τοῦτο ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς καὶ θαυμάσας ἐγεγῆθει καὶ πληρωθεὶς χαρᾶς ἐθάρσυνε τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἦ τάχιστα προῦ-
- 178 τρεπεν ἀναζευγνύναι. περαιούσθαι δὲ μελλόντων, σημεῖον ἐπιγίνεται τερατωδέστατον· ἡ γὰρ ὁδηγὸς νεφέλη πρωτοστατοῦσα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὰ οὐραῖα τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπως ὀπισθοφυλακῇ, καὶ ταχθεῖσα μεθόριος τῶν διω-

but, after a little, he became possessed, and, filled with the spirit which was wont to visit him, uttered these oracular words of prophecy : " The host which you see armed to the teeth you shall see no more arrayed against you. It shall all fall in utter ruin and disappear in the depths, so that no remnant may be seen above the earth. And this shall be at no distant time, but in the coming night."

XXXII. Such was his prediction. But at sunset <sup>176</sup> a south wind of tremendous violence arose, and, as it rushed down, the sea under it was driven back, and, though regularly tidal, was on this occasion more so than usually, and swept as into a chasm or whirlpool, when driven against the shore. No star appeared, but a thick black cloud covered the whole heaven, and the murkiness of the night struck terror into the pursuers. Moses now, at God's command, smote <sup>177</sup> the sea with his staff, and as he did so it broke and parted into two. Of the waters thus divided, one part rose up to a vast height, where the break was made, and stood quite firmly, motionless and still like a wall ; those behind were held back and bridled in their forward course, and reared as though pulled back by invisible reins ; while the intervening part, which was the scene of the breaking, dried up and became a broad highway. Moses, seeing this, marvelled and was glad, and in the fullness of his joy encouraged his men and bade them move on with all speed. <sup>178</sup> And, when they were about to begin the passage, a most extraordinary sign occurred. The guiding cloud, which at other times stood in front, turned round to the back of the multitude to form its rearguard, and thus posted between the pur-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps τὰ μὲν <πρόσω> πρὸς.

## PHILO

- κόντων καὶ τῶν διωκομένων τοὺς μὲν ἠνιοχοῦσα σωτηρίως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπήλαυνε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνείργε καὶ ἀνέκρουεν ἐφορμᾶν ἐπειγομένους· ἅπερ ὁρῶντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς πάντ' ἐπλήρουν τὰς τε τάξεις ὑπὸ δέους συνέχεον ἐπεμπίπτοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ζητοῦντες ἤδη φυγεῖν, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἦν
- 179 ὄφελος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι διὰ ξηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἔτι κομιδῇ νηπίων περαιοῦνται· τοὺς δὲ τὰ τμήματα τοῦ πελάγους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπικυλισθέντα καὶ ἐνωθέντα αὐτοῖς ἄρμασι καὶ ἵπποις καταποντοῖ, βορείοις πνεύμασι τῆς παλιρροίας ἀναχυθείσης καὶ μετεώροις τρικυμίασι ἐπιδραμούσης, ὡς μηδὲ πυρφόρον ὑπολειφθῆναι τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τοῖς ἐν
- 180 Αἰγύπτῳ τὰς αἰφνιδίους συμφοράς. τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον Ἑβραῖοι καταπλαγέντες ἀναιμωτὶ νίκην οὐκ ἐλπισθεῖσαν ἤρανο καὶ κατιδόντες ἐν ἀκαρεῖ φθορὰν ἀθρόαν πολεμίων δύο χορούς, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ γυναικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος στήσαντες εὐχαριστικούς ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἡῖδον, ἐξάρχοντος Μωυσέως μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τούτου ταῖς γυναιξίν· ἡγεμόνες γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν χορῶν ἐγεγένητο.
- 181 XXXIII. Ἄραντες δ' ἀπὸ θαλάττης μέχρι μέντινος ὠδοιπόρουν μηκέτι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὀρρωδοῦντες φόβον. ἐπυλιπόντος δὲ τοῦ ποτοῦ τρισὶν ἡμέραις, αἰθῆς ἐν ἀθυμίαις ἦσαν ὑπὸ δῖμους

<sup>a</sup> Or simply a "survivor," the phrase having passed into a proverb without consideration of its origin, of which  
368

## MOSES I. 178-181

suers and pursued regulated the course of the latter and drove them before it under safe protection, but checked and repelled the former when they strove to advance. When the Egyptians saw this, tumult and confusion prevailed everywhere among them. In their terror their ranks fell into disorder. They tumbled over each other, and sought to escape, but it was of no avail; for, while the Hebrews with their 179 women and children, still mere infants, crossed on a dry road in the early dawn, it was otherwise with the Egyptians. Under the north wind the returning tide was swept back, and hurled its lofty billows upon them. The two sections of the sea rolled upon them from either side, united and submerged them, horses, chariots and all, with not even a torchbearer <sup>a</sup> left to announce to the people of Egypt the sudden disaster. This great and marvellous work struck the Hebrews 180 with amazement, and, finding themselves unexpectedly victorious in a bloodless conflict, and seeing their enemies, one and all, destroyed in a moment, they set up two choirs, one of men and one of women, on the beach, and sang hymns of thanksgiving to God. Over these choirs Moses and his sister presided, and led the hymns, the former for the men and the latter for the women.

XXXIII. <sup>b</sup> They set out from the sea coast, and 181 travelled for some time, no longer in any fear of danger from the enemy. But after three days the water failed, and thirst once more reduced them

indeed there are other accounts besides that given in L. & S., viz. that it properly applied to the priest in the Spartan army who carried the sacred fire, which was not allowed to go out. So apparently even in the LXX Obadiah 18 οὐκ ἔσται πυρφόρος τῷ οἴκῳ Ἡσαΐ.

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 181-187 see Ex. xv. 22-26.

## PHILO

- καὶ πάλιν ἤρξαντο μεμψιμοιρεῖν ὡς μηδὲν εὖ προπεποιθότες· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ παρόντος προσβολὴ δεινοῦ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἡδονὰς ἀφ-  
 182 αἰρεῖται. θεασάμενοι δὲ πηγὰς ἐπιτρέχουσιν |  
 [110] ὡς ἀρυσόμενοι χαρᾶς ὑπόπλεω, δι' ἄγνοιαν τάληθους ἀπατηθέντες· πικραὶ γὰρ ἦσαν· εἶτα γευσάμενοι γναμφθέντες τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τὰ τε σώματα παρεῖντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεπτώκεσαν, οὐχ οὕτως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς νηπίοις παισὶ στένοντες, οὓς ἀδακρυτὶ ποτὸν αἰτοῦντας ὄραν οὐχ ὑπέμενον.  
 183 ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ὀλιγωροτέρων καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀβεβαίῳν καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτιῶντο ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ συμβάντα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ μετουσίαν ἀργαλεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἄμεινον εἶναι λέγοντες τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ διΐβει παραπολέσθαι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄπονον καὶ ταχεῖαν τοῦ βίου μετάστασιν οὐδὲν ἀθανασίας διαφέρειν τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι, θάνατον δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι τὸν βραδὺν καὶ μετ' ἀλγηδόνων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι τὸ φοβερὸν ἀλλ' ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπιδεικνύμενον.  
 184 τοιαύταις χρωμένων ὀλοφύρσεσι, πάλιν ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν Μωυσῆς ἐπιστάμενον τὴν ζώων καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας ἐκ τροφῆς ἠρτημένου καὶ δεσποίναις χαλεπαῖς συνεζευγμένου, βρώσει καὶ πόσει, συγγνῶναι μὲν τοῖς ἀθυμοῦσι, τὴν δὲ πάντων ἔνδειαν ἐκπλήσαι, μὴ χρόνου μήκει, δωρεᾶ δ' ἀνυπερθέτῳ καὶ ταχεῖα, διὰ τὴν τοῦ θνητοῦ φυσικὴν ὀλιγωρίαν ὀξὺν καιρὸν τῆς βοηθείας ἐπιποθοῦντος.  
 370



## MOSES I. 181-184

to despondency. Again they began to grumble at their lot, as though nothing good had befallen them hitherto. For, under the onset of the present terror, we always lose sense of the pleasantness of past blessings. Then they saw some springs and ran to draw from them, full of joy, but in their ignorance of the truth were deceived. For the water was bitter, and, when they had tasted it, the disappointment broke them down. Their bodies were exhausted and their souls dejected, not so much for themselves as for their infant children, the sight of whom, as they cried for something to drink, was more than they could face without tears. Some of the more thoughtless, men of feeble piety, even denounced the past events as not having been intended for their benefit, but rather to bring them into worse misfortunes. It were better, they said, to die thrice, not merely once, at the hands of enemies, than to perish, or worse than perish, by thirst. To depart from life swiftly and easily is, in the eyes of the wise, the same thing as never dying, and death in the true sense is that which comes slowly and painfully, whose terrors appear not in the state of death, but only in the process of dying.

While they were engaged in such lamentations, Moses again addressed his supplications to God, that, knowing the weakness of His creatures, and particularly of mankind, and the necessities of the body, which depends on food, and is tied to those stern mistresses, meat and drink, He should pardon the despondent and also satisfy the needs of all, not at some distant time but with a boon bestowed promptly and swiftly, considering the in-born short-sightedness of mortality, which desires that assistance should be rendered quickly and at the

## PHILO

- 185 ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰλεων αὐτοῦ δύναμιν φθάνει προεκπέμψας  
καὶ διοίξας τὸ τοῦ ἰκέτου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκοίμητον  
ὄμμα ξύλον δείκνυσιν, ὃ προσέταξεν ἀράμενον εἰς  
τὰς πηγὰς καθεῖναι, τάχα μὲν κατεσκευασμένον ἐκ  
φύσεως ποιοῦν δύναμιν, ἢ τάχα<sup>1</sup> ἠγγνόητο, τάχα δὲ  
καὶ τότε πρῶτον ποιηθὲν εἰς ἣν ἔμελλεν ὑπηρετεῖν
- 186 χρεῖαν. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κελευσθέντος, αἱ μὲν  
πηγαὶ γλυκαίνονται μεταβαλοῦσαι πρὸς τὸ πότι-  
μον, ὡς μηδ' εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένοντό ποτε πικραὶ  
δύνασθαι διαγνῶναι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ ἴχνος ἢ ζώπυρον  
τῆς ἀρχαίας κακίας εἰς μνήμην ὑπολελείφθαι.
- 187 XXXIV. τὸ δὲ δίψος ἀκεσάμενοι μεθ' ἡδονῆς δι-  
πλασίας, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα  
συμβεβηκὸς ἀγαθὸν εὐφραίνει μᾶλλον, ἔτι καὶ τὰς  
ὕδριας πληρώσαντες ἀνεξεύγνυσαν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ  
θοίνης καὶ ἰλαρᾶς εὐωχίας ἐστιαθέντες καὶ μεθύον-  
τες οὐ τὴν ἐν οἴνῳ μέθην ἀλλὰ τὴν νηφάλιον, ἣν  
ἠκρατίσαντο τὰς προπόσεις λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς  
εὐσεβείας τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀρχοντος.
- 188 Ἀφικνοῦνται δ' εἰς σταθμὸν δεύτερον, εὐδρόν τε  
καὶ εὐδενδρον—Αἰλεῖμ ὠνομάζετο—, πηγαῖς καταρ-  
ρέομενον δώδεκα, παρ' αἷς στελέχη νέα φοινίκων  
εὐενρέστατα ἦν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑβδομήκοντα, τοῖς ὀξὺ  
[111] τῇ | διανοίᾳ βλέπειν δυναμένοις ἀγαθῶν τῶν  
189 ἔθνικῶν ἐναργῆ σημεῖα καὶ δείγματα· φυλαί τε γάρ  
εἰσι τοῦ ἔθνους δώδεκα, ὧν ἐκάστη πηγῆς ἕξει  
λόγον εὐσεβοῦσα, χορηγούσης εὐσεβείας ἀενάους  
καὶ ἀνελλιπείς καλὰς πράξεις, γενάρχαι δὲ τοῦ  
σύμπαντος ἔθνους ἑβδομήκοντα γεγόνασι φοίνικι

<sup>1</sup> Clearly a mistake: ? τέως.

## MOSES I. 185-189

moment. Hardly had he so prayed, when God sent 185  
in advance the power of His grace, and, opening the  
vigilant eye of the suppliant's soul, bade him lift and  
throw into the spring a tree which he shewed him,  
possibly formed by nature to exercise a virtue which  
had hitherto remained unknown, or possibly created  
on this occasion for the service which it was destined  
to perform. Moses did as he was bid, whereupon the 186  
springs became sweet, and were converted into drink-  
able water, so that no one could even guess that they  
had originally been bitter, since no trace or tang re-  
mained to remind one of its former badness. XXXIV.  
When they had relieved their thirst with double 187  
pleasure, since the unexpectedness of the event gave  
a delight beyond the actual enjoyment, they filled  
their water-vessels and then resumed their journey,  
feeling as though they had risen from a banquet and  
merry-making, and elated, with the intoxication not  
of wine, but of the sober carousal which the piety of  
the ruler who led them had invited them to enjoy.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup> They then arrived at a second halting-place, one 188  
well wooded and well watered, called Elim, irrigated  
by twelve springs beside which rose young palm-  
trees, fine and luxuriant, to the number of seventy.  
Anyone who has the gift of keen mental sight may  
see in this clear signs and tokens of the national bless-  
ings. For the nation has twelve tribes, each of 189  
which, in virtue of its piety, will be represented by the  
well which supplies piety in perennial streams and  
noble actions unceasingly, while the heads of the  
whole nation are seventy, who may properly be com-

<sup>a</sup> Or more literally "the sober intoxication in which they  
indulged having first been pledged" etc.

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 188-190 see Ex. xv. 27 and cf. *De Fuga* 183 ff.

## PHILO

- τῷ τῶν δένδρων ἀρίστῳ προσηκόντως παρεικασθέντες, ὃ καὶ ὀφθῆναι καὶ καρπὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐστὶ κάλλιστον, ὅπερ καὶ τὴν ζωτικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν οὐκ ἐν ρίζαις ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα κατορωρυγμένην ἀλλ' ἀνώφοιτον, καρδίας τρόπον ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῶν ἀκρεμόνων ἰδρυμένην, ὑφ' ὧν οἷα ἡγεμονίς ὄντως
- 190 ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφορεῖται. τοιαύτην δ' ἔχει φύσιν καὶ ἡ διάνοια τῶν γευσαμένων ὁσιότητος· ἄνω γὰρ μεμάθηκε βλέπει τε καὶ φοιτᾶν καὶ μετεωροπολοῦσα ἀεὶ καὶ τὰ θεῖα διερευνησμένη κάλλη χλεύην τίθεται τὰ ἐπίγεια, ταῦτα μὲν παιδιάν, ἐκείνα δὲ σπουδὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζουσα.
- 191 XXXV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' οὐ πολὺς διήλθε χρόνος καὶ ἀπορία σιτίων ἐλίμωτον, ὥσπερ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀντεπιτιθεμένων τῶν ἀναγκαίων· δέσποινα γὰρ χαλεπαὶ καὶ βαρεῖαι, πείνα καὶ δίψα, διακληρωσάμεναι τὰς κακώσεις ἐν μέρει προσέκειντο καὶ συνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἐτέρας ἄνεσιν ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὴν ἐτέραν, ὅπερ ἦν τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἀφορητότατον, εἴ γε πρὸ μικροῦ δόξαντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δίψους
- 192 ἐφεδρεῦον κακὸν πείναν εὑρισκον. ἦν δ' οὐ μόνον ἡ παροῦσα σπάνις χαλεπὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπόγνωσις· ὀρώντες γὰρ βαθεῖαν καὶ πολλὴν ἔρημον καὶ καρπῶν ἀγονωτάτην σφόδρα ἠθύμουν· πάντα γὰρ ἦσαν ἢ τραχεῖαι καὶ ἀπορρῶγες πέτραι ἢ ἀλμυρόγεως πεδιάς ἢ ὄρη λιθωδέστατα ἢ ψάμμοι βαθεῖαι πρὸς ἠλίβατον ὕψος ἀνατείνουσαι, καὶ προσέτι ποταμὸς οὐδεὶς, οὐκ αὐθιγενής, οὐ χειμάρρους, οὐδεμία πηγὴ, σπαρτὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ δένδρον, οὐχ ἡμερον, οὐ τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης, οὐ ζῶον πτηνὸν ἢ χερσαῖον, ὅτι

## MOSES I. 189-192

pared to the palm, the noblest of trees, excellent both in its appearance and in the fruit which it bears. Also it has its life-giving principle, not, like the others, buried in its roots, but mounted aloft, seated like a heart in the very centre of the branches which stand around to guard it as their very queen. Such, too, 190 is the nature of the mind of those who have tasted of holiness. Such a mind has learned to gaze and soar upwards, and, as it ever ranges the heights and searches into divine beauties, it makes a mock of earthly things, counting them to be but child's-play, and those to be truly matters for earnest care.

XXXV. <sup>a</sup> After this no long time had elapsed when 191 they were famished for want of food. It seemed as though the forces of necessity were taking turns to attack them. For those stern mistresses, hunger and thirst, had parcelled out their inflictions and plied them with these successively, with the result that when one was relaxed the other was upon them. This was most intolerable to the victims, since, often when they thought they had got free of thirst, they soon found the scourge of hunger waiting to take its place. And the presence of the dearth was not their 192 only hardship ; there was also the despair of obtaining provisions in the future. The sight of the deep, wide desert, utterly barren of fruits, filled them with despondency. All around there was nothing but rough, broken rocks, or plains where the soil was full of salt, or very stony mountains, or depths of sand stretching upwards steep and high, and again no rivers, spring-fed or winter torrent, no well, no tilth, no woodland of trees, either cultivated or wild, no living creature either of the air or of the land, save reptiles

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 191-208 see Ex. xvi.

PHILO

- μή τῶν ἔρπετῶν τὰ ἰοβόλα πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώ-  
 193 πων, ὄφεις καὶ σκορπίοι. εἶθ' ὑπομμνησκόμενοι τῆς  
 κατ' Αἴγυπτον εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τὴν  
 τῶν ἐκεῖ πάντων ἀφθονίαν ἀντιτιθέντες τῇ πάντων  
 ἐνταῦθα ἐνδείᾳ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους  
 ἕτεροι τοιαῦτ' ἐλογοποιοῦν. " ἐπ' ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίδι  
 μεταναστάντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἄδειαν ἔχομεν οἱ ταῖς  
 194 ἔργοις ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων κακοδαιμονέστατοι. τί  
 [112] τέλος ἔσται τῆς | ἀνηνύτου καὶ μακρᾶς οὕτως ὁδοῦ;  
 πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς πλέουσι καὶ τοῖς πεζεύουσιν ὄρος  
 εἰς ὃν ἀφίξονται πρόκειται, τοῖς μὲν ἐμπόρια καὶ  
 λιμένες, τοῖς δὲ πόλις τις ἢ χώρα, μόνοις δ' ἡμῖν  
 ἄβατος ἐρημία καὶ δυσοδία καὶ χαλεπαὶ δυσελ-  
 πιστία· προϊόντων γάρ, ὥσπερ ἄχανές καὶ βαθὺ  
 πέλαγος ἀπόρευτον ἀναφαίνεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέ-  
 195 ραν εὐρυνόμενον. μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ἡμᾶς  
 τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων τὰ ὦτα πληρώσας  
 παρατείνει λιμῶ τὰς γαστέρας οὐδὲ τὰς ἀναγκαίας  
 ἐκπορίζων τροφάς· ἀποικίας ὀνόματι τοσαύτην  
 πληθὺν ἠπάτησεν ἐξ οἰκουμένης τὸ πρῶτον εἰς  
 ἀοίκητον ἀγαγών, εἶτα καὶ εἰς ἄδου προπέμπων,  
 τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ὁδόν."
- 196 XXXVI. Τοιαῦτ' ὄνειδιζόμενος οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ  
 ταῖς εἰς αὐτὸν κακηγορίαις ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὡς ἐπὶ  
 τῷ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν ἀνιδρύτῳ· πεπειραμένοι  
 γάρ μυρίων ὄσων ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου συμβεβηκότων  
 πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ καθεστὸς ἔθος ὠφείλον ὑπὸ  
 μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἄγεσθαι,  
 πεπιστευκένας δ' αὐτῷ λαβόντες ἀποδείξεις ἔναρ-  
 197 γεστάτας τοῦ περὶ ἀπάντων ἀψευδεῖν. πάλιν δ'  
 ὅτε εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε τῆς ἐνδείας, ἥς μείζον οὐδὲν

## MOSES I. 192-197

that vent poison for the destruction of mankind, such as snakes and scorpions. Then, remembering 193 the teeming fertility of Egypt, and contrasting the abundance of everything there with the lack of everything here, they were roused to anger, and expressed their feelings to each other in such words as these : " We left the country in the hope of freedom, and yet we have no security even of life. Our leader promised us happiness ; in actual fact, we are the most miserable of men. What will be the end of this 194 long, interminable journey ? Every traveller by sea or land has set before him some goal to come to, market or harbour for the one, city or country for the other ; we alone have before us a pathless wilderness, painful journeying, desperate straits. For, as we proceed, there opens out before us, as it were, an ocean, vast, deep, impassable, ever wider day by day. He exhorted and puffed us up with his words, and 195 filled our ears with empty hopes, and then tortures our bellies with hunger, not providing even the barest nourishment. With the name of colonization he has deceived this great multitude, and first carried us from an inhabited to an uninhabited world, then led us on to the grave along the road which brings life to its end."

XXXVI. Moses, when reviled in this way, was 196 indignant not so much at their denunciations of himself as at their instability of judgement. For, after experiencing strange events outside the customary without number, they should have ceased to be guided by anything that is specious and plausible, but should have put their trust in him of whose unflinching truthfulness they had received the clearest proofs. But, 197 on the other hand, when he considered the want of

κακὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐστί, συνεγίνωσκεν ὄχλον εἰδῶς ἀβέβαιοι φύσει πρᾶγμα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ διακινούμενον, ἃ λήθην μὲν τῶν προγεγονότων  
 198 ἐργάζεται, δυσελπιστίαν δ' εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα. πάντων οὖν ἐν ἀσκέτοις ὄντων ἀνίαις καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω προσδοκῶντων συμφοράς, ἃς ἐνόμιζον ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ ἐγγυτάτω παρῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον ἐπιείκειαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, τοῦτο δὲ βουλόμενος ὃν ἐχειροτόνησεν ἡγεμόνα τιμῆσαι καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὡς εὐσεβείας ἔχει καὶ ὁσιότητος ἔν τε τοῖς φανεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀδήλοισι ἅπασι διασυστήσαι ὁ θεὸς ἐλέησας  
 199 τὸ πάθος ἰᾶται. ξένας οὖν εὐεργεσίας ἐκαινοτόμει, τρανοτέραις ὅπως ἐμφάσεσι παιδευθῶσιν<sup>1</sup> ἤδη μὴ δυσανασχετεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην εὐθύς ἀποβαίῃ, τλητικῶς δ' ὑπομένειν χρηστὰ περὶ τῶν  
 200 μελλόντων προσδοκῶντες. τί οὖν συνέβη; τῇ ὑστεραία περὶ τὴν ἕω δρόσος βαθεῖα καὶ πολλὴ περὶ σύμπαν ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἦν ἐπέπιφεν ἡσυχῇ, ἀήθη ὑετὸν καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, οὐχ ὕδωρ, οὐ χάλαζαν, οὐ χιόνα, οὐ κρύσταλλον— ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ τῶν νεφῶν ἀπεργάζονται μεταβολαὶ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς—, ἀλλὰ κέγχρον βραχυτάτην καὶ λευκοτάτην, ἣ διὰ τὴν ἐπάλληλον φορὰν σωρηδὸν προῦκέχυτο τῶν σκηνῶν, ἄπιστος ὄψις· ἦν καταπλαγέντες ἐπνυθάνοντο τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, τίς τε ὁ ὑετὸς οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον  
 [113] εἶδεν | ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρὸς τί γέγονεν. ὁ δὲ κατα-  
 201 πνευσθεὶς ἐνθους γίνεται καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε· “ θνητοῖς μὲν ἀνείται πεδιάς ἢ βαθύγειος, ἦν ἀνατεμόντες

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐμφάσεσιν αἰδεσθῶσιν.



## MOSES I. 197-201

food, as great a misfortune as any that can befall mankind, he forgave them, knowing that the multitude by its very nature is an unstable thing, shaken by the circumstances of the moment, which produce oblivion of the past and despondency of the future. So, while they were all thus overwhelmed by affliction, 198 and expecting the extreme misfortunes which they believed to be close at hand, ready to attack them, God, moved partly by the clemency and benevolence to man which belongs to His nature, partly too by His wish to honour the ruler whom He had appointed, and still more to bring home to them the greatness of that ruler's piety and holiness as shewn in matters both clear and obscure, took pity on them and healed their sufferings. He, therefore, devised new and strange 199 forms of benefaction, that by clearer manifestations they might now be schooled not to shew bitter resentment if something did not at once turn out as they would have it, but bear it patiently in expectation of good to come. What, then, did happen? On the 200 morrow about daybreak, a great quantity of dew lay deep around the whole camp, showered noiselessly by God; a strange, extraordinary rain, not water, nor hail, nor snow, nor ice, such as are produced by the changes in the clouds at the winter solstice, but of grains exceedingly small and white, which, poured down in a continuous flow, lay in heaps in front of the tents. It was an incredible sight; and, in astonishment thereat, they asked their leader, "What is this rain, which no man ever saw before, and for what purpose has it come?" Moses, in answer, possessed 201 by divine inspiration, spoke these oracular words: "Mortals have the deep-soiled plainland given over to them, which they cut into furrows with the plough,

## PHILO

- εἰς αὐλακας ἀροῦσι καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ  
 κατὰ γεωργίαν δρῶσι καρποὺς ἐτησίους ἐκπορί-  
 ζοντες εἰς ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων· θεῶ δ' οὐ μία  
 μοῖρα τοῦ παντός ἀλλ' ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ὑπο-  
 βέβληται καὶ τὰ τούτου μέρη πρὸς ἅπασαν χρείαν  
 202 ὧν ἂν θέλῃ ὡς δεσπότη δουλα ὑπηρετήσοντα. νῦν  
 οὖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, τὸν ἀέρα τροφήν ἐνεγκεῖν ἀνθ'  
 ὕδατος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γῆ πολλάκις ὑετὸν ἤνεγκεν· ὁ γὰρ  
 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμὸς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς  
 ἐπιβάσει πλημμυρῶν ὅταν ἄρδῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, τί  
 ἕτερον ἢ ὑετός ἐστι κάτωθεν ἐπινίφων; ”
- 203 παράδοξον μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔργον, εἰ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔστη·  
 νυνὶ δὲ καὶ παραδοξότεροις ἄλλοις ἐθαυματοουργεῖτο.  
 ἐπενεγκάμενοι γὰρ ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν ἀγγεῖα συν-  
 εκόμιζον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν  
 ὤμων ἐπηχθισμένοι, προνοία τοῦ πρὸς πλείω χρόνον
- 204 ταμιεύεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἦν δ' ἄρα ἀταμίευτα  
 καὶ ἀθησαύριστα, δωρεὰς αἰεὶ νέας ἐγνωκότος τοῦ  
 θεοῦ χαρίζεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τότε χρῆσιν  
 αὐτάρκη σκευάσαντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς προσηγέγκαντο,  
 τῶν δ' ἀπολειφθέντων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐδὲν  
 ἔτι σῶον εὑρισκον, ἀλλὰ μεταβεβληκότα καὶ δυσ-  
 ὠδῆ καὶ μεστὰ τοιουτοτρόπων ζώων, ἃ κατὰ σῆψιν  
 εἴωθε γεννᾶσθαι· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπερρίπτουν κατὰ  
 τὸ εἶκος, ἑτέρας δ' εὐτρεπεῖς τροφὰς ἀνεύρισκον,  
 ἃς ἅμα τῇ δρόσῳ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συνέβαινε
- 205 νίφεσθαι. γέρας δ' ἐξαιρέτον ἢ ἱερά  
 ἐβδομάς εἶχεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐφέιται δρᾶν ἐν  
 αὐτῇ, πάντων δὲ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἔργων ἀν-  
 ἔχειν διεύρηται, συγκομίζειν οὐ δυναμένοις τότε τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια πρὸ μιᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὕει διπλᾶ καὶ κελεύει

## MOSES I. 201-205

and there sow their seed, and perform the other tasks of the husbandman, thus providing the yearly fruits, and through them abundance of the necessaries of life. But God has subject to Him not one portion of the universe, but the whole world and its parts, to minister as slaves to their master for every service that He wills. So now it has seemed good to Him 202 that the air should bring food instead of water, for the earth too often brings rain. What is the river of Egypt, when every year it overflows and waters the fields with its inroads, but a rainpour from beneath ? ”

This work of God was strange enough 203 even if it had stopped at this point, but actually there were other facts still stronger enhancing its marvels. For the men brought vessels from every quarter, and collected the grains, some on their beasts, others in burdens on their shoulders, thinking thus to store up provisions to last for later use. But, as it turned out, 204 it was impossible to store or hoard them, since it was God's purpose to bestow gifts ever new. For when they took a sufficient stock for their needs at the time, they consumed it with pleasure, but anything they left for the morrow they found did not keep, but changed and stank and was full of such life as is regularly bred in putrescence. This they naturally threw away, but found other food prepared for them, rained upon them with the dew every day.

A special distinction was given to the sacred seventh 205 day,<sup>a</sup> for, since it was not permitted to do anything on that day, abstinence from works great or small being expressly enjoined, and therefore they could not then gather what was necessary, God rained a double supply the day before, and bade them bring

<sup>a</sup> ἐβδομάς here is used for ἐβδόμη; cf. *Quis Rerum* 170 and note.

## PHILO

φέρειν εἰς δύο ἡμέρας αὐτάρκη τροφήν ἐσομένην·  
τὰ δὲ συγκομισθέντα σῶα διέμενεν, οὐδενὸς ἢ  
πρότερον φθαρέντος τὸ παράπαν.

- 206 XXXVII. λέξω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτου θαυμασιώ-  
τερον· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, τοσοῦτον μῆκος  
αἰῶνος, ὁδοιποροῦσιν αὐτοῖς αἱ χορηγίαι τῶν ἀναγ-  
καίων ἐν τάξεσι ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἐγίνοντο καθάπερ  
ἐν σιταρχίαις μεμετρημέναις πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβαλλούσας  
207 ἐκάστοις διανομάς. ἅμα μέντοι καὶ τὴν τριπόθητον  
ἡμέραν ἀνεδιδάσκοντο—ζητοῦντες γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ,  
τίς ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου γενέθλιος, ἐν ἣ τὸδε τὸ  
πᾶν ἀπετελέσθη, καὶ παρὰ πατέρων καὶ προγόνων  
τὴν ζήτησιν ἄλυτον διαδεξάμενοι μόλις ἐδυνήθησαν  
[114] εὐρεῖν—οὐ μόνον | χρησιμοῖς ἀναδίδαχθέντες, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τεκμηρίω πάνυ σαφεί· τοῦ γὰρ πλεονάζοντος ἐν  
ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ὡς ἐλέχθη, φθειρομένου, τὸ  
πρὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὑόμενον οὐ μόνον οὐ μετέβαλεν,  
208 ἀλλὰ καὶ μέτρον εἶχε διπλάσιον. ἡ δὲ  
χρηῆσις ἦν τοιαύδε· συλλέγοντες ἅμα τῇ ἔω τὸ νιφό-  
μενον ἤλουν ἢ ἔτριβον, εἰθ' ἔψοντες ἠδείαν πάνυ  
τροφήν οἷα μελίπηκτον προσεφέροντο μὴ δεόμενοι  
209 σιτοπόνων περιεργίας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ  
τῶν εἰς ἀβροδίατον βίον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εὐπόρουν,  
ὅσαπερ ἐν οἰκουμένην χώρα καὶ εὐδαίμονι βουλη-  
θέντος τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ἄφθονα  
χορηγεῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ· ταῖς γὰρ ἐσπέραις ὀρτυγο-  
μητρῶν νέφος συνεχὲς ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπιφερόμε-

<sup>a</sup> The meaning is that the seventh day was known to be the birthday of the world (*cf. De Op.* 89), but the people had lost count (see *Mos.* ii. 263). Philo probably noticed that while it was hallowed in Gen. ii., no sign of observation of it occurred in the narrative till this point. That the seventh is the "birthday" rather than the sixth, because, though all

in what would be sufficient for two days. And what was thus collected kept sound, nor did any of it decay at all as in the previous case. XXXVII.

There is something still more wonderful to be told. 206  
During all that long period of forty years in which they journeyed, the food required was supplied according to the rules just mentioned, like rations measured out to provide the allotment needed for each. At the same time, they learned to date aright 207  
the day of which they had dearly longed to have knowledge.<sup>a</sup> For, long before, they had asked what was the birthday of the world on which this universe was completed, and to this question, which had been passed down unsolved from generation to generation, they now at long last found the answer, learnt not only through divine pronouncements but by a perfectly certain proof. For, as we have said, while the surplus of the downpour decayed on the other days, on the day before the seventh it not only did not change, but was actually supplied in double measure.

The method they employed with the 208  
food was as follows: At dawn they collected what fell, ground or crunched it and then boiled it, when they found it a very pleasant form of food, like a honey-cake, and felt no need of elaborate cookery.

But in fact, not long after, they were 209  
well supplied with the means of luxurious living, since God was pleased to provide to them abundantly, and more than abundantly, in the wilderness all the viands which are found in a rich and well-inhabited country. For in the evenings a continuous cloud of quails appeared from the sea and overshadowed the whole

was completed on the sixth, it was seen in its perfection on the seventh, is stated in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 59.

## PHILO

νον ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπεσκίαζε τὰς πτήσεις προσγειοτάτας ποιουμένων εἰς τὸ εὖθρον· συλλαμβάνοντες οὖν καὶ σκευάζοντες ὡς φίλον ἐκάστοις κρεῶν ἀπέλαυον ἡδίστων ἅμα καὶ τὴν τροφήν παρηγοροῦντες ἀναγκαίῳ προσοψήματι.

- 210 XXXVIII. Τούτων μὲν οὖν πολλὴν ἦγον ἀφθονίαν οὐκ ἐπιλείποντων, ὕδατος δὲ καὶ πάλιν πύσσασα δεινὴ σπάνις ἐπιγίνεται· καὶ πρὸς ἀπόγνωσιν ἤδη τραπομένων σωτηρίας, λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὴν ἱερὰν βακτηρίαν ἐκείνην, δι' ἧς τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀπετέλεσε σημεῖα, θεοφορηθεὶς τὴν ἀκρό-
- 211 τομον πέτραι παῖει, ἢ δ', εἴτε προϋποκειμένης πηγῆς φλέβα καίριον διακοπέισα εἴτε καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὕδατος ἀφανέσιν ὑπονόμοις εἰς αὐτὴν ἀθρόου συρρνέντος καὶ σφόδρα ἐκθλιβέντος, ἀναστομωθείσα τῇ βίᾳ τῆς φορᾶς κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεῖται, ὡς μὴ τότε μόνον παρασχεῖν ἄκος δίψους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πλείω χρόνον τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀφθονίαν ποτοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ὕδρια πάντ' ἐπλήρωσαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, αἱ πικραὶ μὲν ἦσαν φύσει, μετέβαλον δ' ἐπιφροσύνη θείᾳ πρὸς τὸ γλύκιον.
- 212 εἰ δέ τις τούτοις ἀπιστεῖ, θεὸν οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐζήτησέ ποτε· ἔγνω γὰρ ἂν εὐθέως, ἔγνω παγίως καταλαβὼν, ὅτι τὰ παράδοξα δὴ ταῦτα καὶ παράλογα θεοῦ παίγνιά ἐστιν, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὰ τῷ

<sup>a</sup> In § 209 Philo combines the account of the sending of quails in Ex. xvi. 13 with that in Num. xi. 31-33. There, as in Philo, the quails come later than the manna, not, as in Exodus, before. On the other hand he ignores the statement in Numbers, that the demand for flesh was punished with a plague.

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 210-211 see Ex. xvii. 1-7 and Num. xx. 1-13.

## MOSES I. 209-212

camp, flying close to the land, so as to be an easy prey.<sup>a</sup> So they caught and dressed them, each according to his tastes, and feasted on flesh of the most delicious kind, thus obtaining the relish required to make their food more palatable.

XXXVIII. <sup>b</sup> Though this supply of food never failed 210 and continued to be enjoyed in abundance, a serious scarcity of water again occurred. Sore pressed by this, their mood turned to desperation, whereupon Moses, taking that sacred staff with which he accomplished the signs in Egypt, under inspiration smote the steep <sup>c</sup> rock with it. It may be that the rock con- 211 tained originally a spring and now had its artery clean severed, or perhaps that then for the first time a body of water collected in it through hidden channels was forced out by the impact. Whichever is the case, it opened under the violence of the stream and spouted out its contents, so that not only then did it provide a remedy for their thirst but also abundance of drink for a longer time for all these thousands. For they filled all their water vessels, as they had done on the former occasion, from the springs that were naturally bitter but were changed and sweetened by God's directing care. If anyone disbelieves these 212

things, he neither knows God nor has ever sought to know Him ; for if he did he would at once have perceived—aye, perceived with a firm apprehension—that these extraordinary and seemingly incredible events are but child's-play to God. He has but to turn his eyes to things which are really great and

<sup>a</sup> The epithet is taken from the allusion to the story in Deut. viii. 15. Philo has made use of it in *Leg. All.* ii. 84, and *De Som.* ii. 222. It might be translated "flinty" or "hard," as in E.V., but in both these cases Philo stresses its connexion with *ἀκρος*.

## PHILO

- ὄντι μεγάλα καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια, γένεσιν οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων χορείας καὶ φωτὸς ἀνάλαμψιν, ἡμέρας μὲν ἡλιακοῦ, νύκτωρ δὲ τοῦ διὰ σελήνης, καὶ γῆς ἴδρυσιν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τοῦ παντός, ἡπείρων τε καὶ νήσων ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθη καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν ἀμυθήτους ἰδέας, ἔτι δὲ πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις, ποταμῶν αὐθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων φοράς, ἀνάων ρεῖθρα πηγῶν, ὧν αἱ |  
 [115] μὲν ψυχρὸν αἱ δὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀνομβροῦσιν, αἲρος παντοίας τροπὰς, ἐτησίῳν ὥρῶν διακρίσεις, ἄλλα  
 213 κάλλη μυρία. ἐπιλίποι ἂν ὁ βίος τοῦ βουλομένου διηγείσθαι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα, μᾶλλον δ' ἐν τι τῶν ὀλοσχερεστέρων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, κἂν εἰ μέλλοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔσεσθαι μακροβιώτατος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντα θαυμάσια καταπεφρόνηται τῷ συνήθει· τὰ δὲ μὴ ἐν ἔθει, κἂν μικρὰ ἦ, ξέναις φαντασίαις ἐνδιδόντες καταπληττόμεθα τῷ φιλοκαίῳ.
- 214 XXXIX. Ἦδη δὲ πολλὴν καὶ ἀπόρευτον διεξεληλυθότων, ὄροι τινὲς ἀνεφαίνοντο γῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ προάστεια χώρας, εἰς ἣν μεθωρμίζοντο· νέμονται δ' αὐτὴν Φοίνικες. ἐλπίσαντες δὲ βίον εὐδιον καὶ γαληνὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσεσθαι γνώμης  
 215 ἐσφάλησαν. ὁ γὰρ προκαθήμενος βασιλεὺς πόρθησιν εὐλαβηθεῖς, ἀναστήσας τὴν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων νεότητα, μάλιστα μὲν ἀνείρξων ὑπηγντίαζεν, εἰ δὲ βιάζοντο, διὰ χειρῶν ἀμνούμενος ἀκμησι καὶ

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 214-219 see Ex. xvii. 8-16 (cf. Deut. xxv. 17-19). Philo ignores the part taken by Aaron and Hur in holding up Moses' hands.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably this refers to the inhabitants of Canaan in general, not specially to Amalek, whose defeat is described in the sequel.



worthy of his earnest contemplation, the creation of heaven and the rhythmic movements of the planets and fixed stars, the light that shines upon us from the sun by day and from the moon by night, the establishment of the earth in the very centre of the universe, the vast expanses of continents and islands and the numberless species of animals and plants, and again the widespreading seas, the rushing rivers, spring-fed and winter torrents, the fountains with their perennial streams, some sending forth cold, other warm, water, the air with its changes of every sort, the yearly seasons with their well-marked diversities and other beauties innumerable. He who 213 should wish to describe the several parts, or rather any one of the cardinal parts of the universe, would find life too short, even if his years were prolonged beyond those of all other men. But these things, though truly marvellous, are held in little account because they are familiar. Not so with the unfamiliar; though they be but small matters, we give way before what appears so strange, and, drawn by their novelty, regard them with amazement.

XXXIX. <sup>a</sup>After traversing a long and pathless 214 expanse, they came within sight of the confines of habitable land, and the outlying districts of the country in which they proposed to settle. This country was occupied by Phoenicians.<sup>b</sup> Here they had thought to find a life of peace and quiet, but their hopes were disappointed. For the king who ruled there, 215 fearing pillage and rapine, called up the youth of his cities and came to meet them, hoping to bar their way, or, if that were not feasible and they attempted violence, to discomfit them by force

## PHILO

- ἄρτι πρῶτον καθισταμένοις εἰς ἀγῶνα κεκμηκότας  
 ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ἐνδείαις σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν, ἃ κατὰ  
 216 μέρος ἀντεπετίθετο. Μωυσῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν σκοπῶν  
 γνοὺς οὐ μακρὰν διεστηκότα τὸν ἐχθρὸν στρατόν,  
 καταλέξας τοὺς ἡβῶντας καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενος  
 ἓνα τῶν ὑπάρχων Ἰησοῦν, πρὸς τὴν μείζονα συμ-  
 μαχίαν αὐτὸς ἠπείγετο· περιρρανάμενος γὰρ τοῖς  
 εἰωθόσι καθαρμοῖς ἐπὶ κολωνόν τὸν πλησίον μετὰ  
 σπουδῆς ἀναδραμῶν ἰκέτευε τὸν θεὸν ὑπερασπίσαι  
 καὶ νίκην καὶ κράτος περιποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις,  
 οὓς ἐκ χαλεπωτέρων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἄλλων  
 ἐρρύσατο μὴ μόνον τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικρεμα-  
 σθείσας συμφορὰς ἀποσκεδάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσας ὅ-  
 τε τῶν στοιχείων νεωτερισμὸς ἐκαινούργησε κατ'  
 Αἴγυπτον καὶ ὃ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἀνήνυτος λιμός.  
 217 ἤδη δὲ μελλόντων εἰς μάχην καθίστασθαι, τερατω-  
 δέστατόν τι συμβαίνει πάθος περὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ·  
 κουφόταται γὰρ ἐγίνοντο ἐν μέρει καὶ βαρύταται·  
 εἶθ' ὅποτε μὲν ἐπελαφρίζοντο πρὸς ὕψος αἰρόμεναι,  
 τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐρρώννυτο καὶ ἀνδραγαθιζόμενον  
 ἐπικυδέστερον ἐγίνετο, ὅποτε δὲ κάτω βρίσειαν,  
 ἰσχυροὶ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, μηνύοντος διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ  
 θεοῦ, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐστὶ γῆ καὶ αἱ τοῦ παντός ἐσ-  
 χατῖαι κλῆρος οἰκείος, τῶν δ' αἰθῆρ ὁ ἱερώτατος,  
 καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ παντὶ βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ γῆς  
 οὐρανός, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἔθνος περιέσται τῶν ἀντι-  
 218 πολεμούντων. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν τινος<sup>1</sup> αἱ χεῖρες οἶα

<sup>1</sup> This, though accepted without objection by editors, can hardly be right. A conjunction is clearly required, and ἄχρι τινός should be the adverb, "for a time." Perhaps ἄχρι μὲν οὐτινος (W.H.D.R.). Stephanus cites ἀχρις οὗ from Hippocrates.

## MOSES I. 215-218

of arms, seeing that his men were unwearied and fresh for the contest, while the others were exhausted with much journeying and by the famine and drought which had alternately attacked them. Moses, learning from his scouts that the enemy was 216 not far distant, mustered his men of military age, and, choosing as their general one of his lieutenants named Joshua, hastened himself to take a more important part in the fight.<sup>a</sup> Having purified himself according to the customary ritual, he ran without delay to the neighbouring hill and besought God to shield the Hebrews and give a triumphant victory to the people whom He had saved from wars and other troubles still more grievous than this, dispersing not only the misfortunes with which men had menaced them but also those so miraculously brought about in Egypt by the upheaval of the elements and by the continual dearth which beset them in their journeying. But, when they were 217 about to engage in the fight, his hands were affected in the most marvellous way. They became very light and very heavy in turns, and, whenever they were in the former condition and rose aloft, his side of the combatants was strong and distinguished itself the more by its valour, but whenever his hands were weighed down the enemy prevailed. Thus, by symbols, God shewed that earth and the lowest regions of the universe were the portion assigned as their own to the one party, and the ethereal, the holiest region, to the other ; and that, just as heaven holds kingship in the universe and is superior to earth, so this nation should be victorious over its opponents in war. While, then, his hands became 218

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "to gain the mightier alliance," *i.e.* of God.

## PHILO

- [116] πλάστιγγες ἐν μέρει μὲν | ἐπεκουφίζοντο, ἐν μέρει δ' ἐπέρρεπον, τηνικαῦτα καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἀμφήριστος ἦν· ἐξαπιναίως δ' ἀβαρεῖς γενόμενοι, δακτύλοις ἀντὶ ταρσῶν χρώμενοι, μετέωροι πρὸς ὕψος ἤρθησαν, καθάπερ αἱ πτηναὶ φύσεις ἀεροποροῦσαι, καὶ διέμενον ἀνώφοιτοι μέχρι τοῦ τὴν νίκην Ἑβραίους ἀνανταγώνιστον ἄρασθαι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἠβηδὸν ἀναιρεθέντων ἄπερ τε διαθεῖναι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον
- 219 ἐσπούδαζον παθόντων μετὰ δίκης. τότε καὶ Μωυσῆς ἰδρύεται βωμόν, ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμασε “θεοῦ καταφυγὴν,” ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔθνε χαριστηρίου εὐχὰς ἀποδιδούς.
- 220 XL. Μετὰ τὴν μάχην ταύτην ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν ἀπωκίζετο τὸ ἔθνος, κατασκέψασθαι—δεύτερον δ' ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἔτος ἐνειστήκει—βουλόμενος μή, οἷα φιλεῖ, γνωσιμαχεῖν οὐκ εἰδότας, ἀλλ' ἀκοῇ προμαθόντας αὐτήν, ἐπιστήμη τῶν ἐκεῖ βεβαία χρωμένους, τὸ πρακτέον ἐκλογίζεσθαι.
- 221 δώδεκα δ' ἰσαρίθμους ταῖς φυλαῖς ἄνδρας, ἐξ ἐκάστης ἓνα φύλαρχον, αἰρεῖται τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀριστίνδην προκρίνας, ἵνα μηδεμία μοῖρα πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἐνεγκαμένη διαφέρηται, πᾶσαι δ' ἐξ ἴσου διὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει τὰ παρὰ τοῖς κατοίκοις, εἰ βουλη-
- 222 θεῖεν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀψευδεῖν, ἐπιγνώσιν. ἐλόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς φησι τάδε· “τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων, οὓς ὑπέστημεν καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπομένομεν, ἀθλὸν εἰσω αἱ κληρουχίαι, ὧν τῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ διαμάρτοι-

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<sup>a</sup> Or “taking refuge in God.” LXX. “the Lord is my refuge.” E.V. Jehovah-Nissi, “the Lord is my banner.”

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 220-236 see Num. xiii., xiv.

successively lighter and weightier, like scales in the balance, the fight, too, continued to be doubtful; but, when they suddenly lost all weight, the fingers serving them as pinions, they were lifted on high like the tribe that wings its way through the air, and remained thus soaring until the Hebrews won an undisputed victory and their enemies were slaughtered wholesale, thus justly suffering the punishment which they wrongly strove to deal to others. Then, 219 too, Moses set up an altar, and called it from the event "Refuge of God,"<sup>a</sup> and on this, with prayers of thanksgiving, he offered sacrifices in celebration of the victory.

XL. <sup>b</sup>After this battle he came to the conclusion 220 that, since it was now the second year of their travels, he ought to inspect the land in which the nation proposed to settle. He wished them, instead of arguing ignorantly in the usual way, to obtain a good idea of the country by first-hand report, and with this solid knowledge of the conditions to calculate the proper course of action. He chose twelve 221 men corresponding to the number of the tribes, one headman from each, selecting the most approved for their high merit, in order that no part of the nation might be set at variance with the others through receiving either more or less than they, but all might get to know through their chieftains the conditions in which the inhabitants lived, as they would do if the emissaries were willing to report the full truth. When he had chosen them, he spoke as 222 follows: "The conflicts and dangers which we have undergone and still endure, have for their prize the lands which we hope to apportion, a hope which we trust may not be disappointed, since the nation

## PHILO

- μεν ἔθνος πολυανθρωπότατον εἰς ἀποικίαν παρα-  
 πέμποντες. ἔστι δ' ὠφελιμώτατον ἢ τόπων καὶ  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιστήμη, ὥσπερ ἡ  
 223 ἄγνοια βλαβερόν. ὑμᾶς οὖν ἐχειροτονήσαμεν, ἵνα  
 ταῖς ὑμετέραις ὄψεσί τε καὶ διανοίαις τάκεῖ θεασώ-  
 μεθα· γίνεσθε δὴ τῶν τοσοῦτων μυριάδων ὦτα καὶ  
 ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς τὴν ὦν ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναί σαφῆ κατά-  
 224 ληψιν. ἃ δὲ γινῶναι ποθοῦμεν, τρία ταῦτ' ἐστίν·  
 οἰκητόρων πλήθος τε καὶ δύναμις, πόλεων τὴν ἐν  
 εὐκαιρίᾳ θέσιν καὶ ἐν οἰκοδομίαις ἐχυρότητα ἢ  
 τοῦναντίον, χώραν εἰ βαθύγειός ἐστι καὶ πίων,  
 ἀγαθὴ παντοίους καρποὺς ἐνεγκεῖν σπαρτῶν τε καὶ  
 δένδρων, ἢ λεπτόγεως ἔμπαλιν, ἵνα πρὸς μὲν ἰσχὺν  
 καὶ πλήθος οἰκητόρων ἰσορρόποις δυνάμεσι φραξώ-  
 μεθα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐρυμνότητα μη-  
 χανήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐλεπόλεσιν· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 χώραν εἰδέναί, εἰ ἀρετῶσα ἢ μή· περὶ γὰρ λυπρᾶς  
 225 ἔκουσίους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν ἡλιθιότητος. τὰ δ'  
 ὄπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ἡμῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις ἐν  
 μόνῳ τῷ πιστεύειν θεῷ κείται· ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν  
 παρασκευὴν οὐδενὶ τῶν φοβερῶν εἴξομεν· ἱκανὴ  
 γὰρ ἀμάχους ῥώμας εὐεξίας, τόλμαις, ἐμπειρίαις,  
 [117] πλήθεσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ | περιόντος κατακρατεῖν,  
 δι' ἣν καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῃ βαθεῖα χορηγία πάντων εἰσὶν  
 226 ὅσα ἐν εὐετηρίᾳ πόλεων. ὁ δὲ καιρὸς, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα  
 χώρας ἀρετὴν δοκιμάζεσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἔαρ ἐστίν,  
 ὃ νῦν ἐφέστηκεν· ὥρα γὰρ ἔαρος τὰ μὲν σπαρέντα  
 τελεσφορεῖται γέννη, αἱ δὲ τῶν δένδρων φύσεις ἀρ-  
 χὴν λαμβάνουσιν. ἄμεινον δ' ἂν εἶη καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι  
 μέχρι θέρους ἀκμάζοντος καὶ διακομίσαι καρποὺς  
 οἰονεὶ δείγματα χώρας εὐδαίμονος."

## MOSES I. 222-226

which we are bringing to settle there is so populous. To know the places, the men and their circumstances, is as useful as the ignorance of them is mischievous. So we have appointed you that with 223 the aid of your sight and intelligence we may be able to survey the state of the country. Become, then, the ears and eyes of all this great multitude, to give them a clear apprehension of what they require to know. There are three things which we 224 desire to learn : the size and strength of the population, whether the cities are favourably situated and strongly built, or the contrary, and whether the land has a deep, rich soil, well-adapted to produce every kind of fruits from cornfields and orchards, or on the other hand is thin and poor. Thus shall we counter the number and power of the inhabitants with equal forces, and the strength of their position with machines and siege engines. Knowledge of the fertility or unfertility of the land is also indispensable, for if it is poor it would be folly to court danger to win it. Our arms and engines and all our power 225 consist solely in faith in God. Equipped with this, we shall defy every terror. Faith is able to overpower, and more than overpower, forces the most invincible, in physique, courage, experience and number, and by it we are supplied in the depths of the desert with all that the rich resources of cities can give. Now the season which has been found to be 226 best for testing the goodness of a land is spring, which is now present ; for in springtime the different crops come to their fullness and the fruit-trees begin to shew their natural growth. Yet it might be better to wait till summer is at its height, and bring back fruits as samples of the wealth of the land."

## PHILO

- 227 XLI. Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἐξήεσαν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους προπεμπόμενοι δεδιότος, μὴ συλληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται καὶ συμβῆῖ δύο τὰ χαλεπώτατα, ἀνδρῶν τε, οἱ φυλῆς ἐκάστης ὄψις ἦσαν, σφαγαὶ καὶ ἄγνοια τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἐχθροῖς ὧν ὠφέλιμος ἢ ἐπιστήμη.
- 228 παραλαβόντες δ' ὀπτῆρας καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ προερχομένοις ἐφείποντο· καὶ γενόμενοι πλησίον, ἐφ' ὑψηλότατον ὄρος τῶν περι τὸν τόπον ἀναδραμόντες, κατεθεῶντο τὴν χώραν, ἧς πεδιάς μὲν ἦν πολλὴ κριθοφόρος, πυροφόρος, εὐχορτος, ὄρεινὴ δ' οὐκ ἔλαττον ἀμπέλων καὶ στελεχῶν ἄλλων κατάπλεως, εὐδενδρος ἅπασα, λάσιος, ποταμοῖς καὶ πηγαῖς διεζωσμένη πρὸς ἄφθονον ὑδρείαν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν προπόδων ἄχρι τῶν κορυφῶν ὅλα τῶν ὄρων τὰ κλίματα δένδρεσι κατασκίοις συνυφάνθαι, διαφερόντως δὲ τοὺς αὐχένας καὶ ὄσαι βαθεῖαι διαφύσεις.
- 229 κατεθεῶντο δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐρυμνοτάτας διχόθεν, ἔκ τε τοπικῆς περι τὴν θέσιν εὐκαιρίας καὶ περιβόλων ἐχυρότητος. ἐξετάζοντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐώρων ἀπείρους τὸ πλήθος, περιμηκεστάτους γίγαντας ἢ γιγαντώδεις τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ὑπερ-
- 230 βολὰς ἔν τε μεγέθεσι καὶ ῥώμαις. ταῦτα κατιδόντες εἰς ἀκριβεστέραν κατάληψιν ἐπέμενον—ὀλισθηρὸν γὰρ αἰ πρῶται φαντασίαι χρόνῳ μόλις ἐνσφραγιζόμεναι—καὶ ἅμα σπουδῆν ἐποιοῦντο δρεψάμενοι τῶν ἀκροδρύων, μὴ ἄρτι πρῶτον στεριφουμένων ἀλλ' ἤδη ὑποπερκαζόντων, ἐπιδείξασθαι



XLI. When the spies heard this, they set out on 227  
 their errand, escorted by the whole multitude, who  
 feared that they might be taken and slain, thus  
 entailing two heavy misfortunes, the death of the  
 men who were as eyesight to their particular tribe,  
 and concerning the foe that lay ready to attack them  
 ignorance of the facts which it would be useful to  
 know. The men took with them scouts and guides 228  
 to the road, and followed behind them. And, when  
 they came near to their destination, they quickly  
 ascended the highest of the mountains in the neigh-  
 bourhood and surveyed the country. Much of it  
 was plainland bearing barley, wheat and grass,  
 while the uplands were equally full of vines and  
 other trees, all of it well timbered and thickly over-  
 grown and intersected with springs and rivers which  
 gave it abundance of water, so that from the lowest  
 part to the summits the whole of the hill country,  
 particularly the ridges and the deep clefts, formed a  
 close texture of umbrageous trees. They observed 229  
 also that the cities were strongly fortified, in two  
 ways, through the favourable nature of their situa-  
 tion and the solidity of their walls. And, on scrutin-  
 izing the inhabitants, they saw that they were count-  
 less in number and giants of huge stature, or at  
 least giant-like in their physical superiority both  
 in size and strength. Having marked these things, 230  
 they stayed on to get a more accurate apprehension,  
 for first impressions are treacherous and only slowly  
 in time get the seal of reality. And, at the same  
 time, they were at pains to pluck some of the fruits  
 of the trees, not those in the first stage of hardening,  
 but fruits darkening to ripeness, and thus have

## PHILO

παντὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ μὴ ῥαδίως φθαρησόμενα.  
 231 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς κατέπληττεν ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου  
 καρπός· οἱ γὰρ βότρυες ὑπερμεγέθεις ἦσαν, ἀντι-  
 παρεκτεινόμενοι ταῖς κληματίσι καὶ μοσχεύμασιν,  
 ἄπιστος θεά· ἓνα γοῦν ἐκτεμόντες καὶ δοκίδος ἐκ  
 κέσων ἀπαιωρήσαντες, ἧς τὰς ἀρχὰς δυσὶ νέοις, τῷ  
 μὲν ἔνθεν τῷ δ' ἔνθεν, ἐπετίθεσαν,<sup>1</sup> ἐκ διαδοχῆς,  
 πιεζομένων αἰεὶ τῶν προτέρων—βαρύτατον γὰρ ἦν  
 232 φρονούντες. XLII. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν αὐ-

τοῖς ἄμιλλαι μυρίαὶ καὶ πρὶν ἐπανήκειν κατὰ τὴν  
 ὁδόν, ἀλλὰ κουφότεροι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γνωσιμα-  
 [118] χούτων μηδ' | ἄλλα ἄλλων ἀπαγγελόντων στά-  
 σιν ἐν τῷ πλήθει γενέσθαι, χαλεπώτεροι δὲ μετὰ  
 233 τὴν ἐπάνοδον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πόλεων  
 ἐχυρότητος καὶ ὡς ἐκάστη πολυάνθρωπός ἐστι  
 διεξιόντες καὶ πάντα αἴροντες τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ  
 μεγαλεῖον φόβον ἐνειργάζοντο τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, οἱ  
 δὲ τὸν ἀπάντων ὦν εἶδον ὑφαιροῦντες ὄγκον παρ-  
 εκάλουν μὴ ἀναπίπτειν, ἀλλ' ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἀποικίας  
 ὡς αὐτοβοεὶ περιεσομένους· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἀνθέξειν  
 πόλιν πρὸς τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἔφοδον ἀθρόως ἐπι-  
 στάσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ βάρει πιεσθεῖσαν πίπτειν· προσ-  
 ετίθεσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν ἐκά-  
 τεροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκουόντων, οἱ μὲν ἄνανδροι  
 δειλίαν, οἱ δ' ἀκατάπληκτοι θάρσος μετ' εὐελ-  
 234 πιστίας. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν πέμπτη μοῖρα τῶν ἀπο-  
 δεδειλιακότων ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν τῶν γενναίων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιθέντες. The anacoluthon might perhaps be cured more simply by the omission of ἧς.

## MOSES I. 230-234

something which would naturally keep in good condition to exhibit to the whole multitude. They 231 were especially amazed by the fruit of the vine, for the bunches were of huge size, stretching right along the branches and shoots and presenting an incredible spectacle. One, indeed, they cut off, and carried it suspended from the middle part of a beam, the ends of which were laid on two youths, one in front and another behind, a fresh pair at intervals relieving its predecessors, as they continually were wearied by the great weight of the burden.

On vital matters, the envoys were not of one mind. XLII. Indeed, there were numberless 232 contentions among them, even during the journey before they arrived back, though of a lighter kind, as they did not wish that their disputes or conflicting reports should produce faction in the mass of the people. But, when they had returned, these contentions became more severe. For, while one party, 233 by dilating upon the fortifications of the cities and the great population of each and by magnifying everything in their description, created fear in their hearers, the others belittled the gravity of all that they had seen, and bade them not be faint-hearted but persist in founding their settlement in the certainty that they would succeed without striking a blow. No city, they said, could resist the combined onset of so great a power, but would fall overwhelmed by its weight. Both parties transmitted the results of their own feelings to the souls of their hearers, the unmanly their cowardice, the undismayed their courage and hopefulness. But these 234 last numbered but a fifth part of the craven-hearted, who were five times as many as the better spirited.

## PHILO

πενταπλάσιοι· τὸ δ' ὀλίγον θάρσος ἀτολμίας ἐν-  
αφανίζεται περιουσία, ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε φασὶ συμ-  
βῆναι· τῶν γὰρ τὰ βέλτιστα διεξιόντων δυοῖν οἱ  
τάναντία φάσκοντες δέκα περιῆσαν οὕτως, ὥστε  
καὶ σύμπασαν ὑπηγάγοντο τὴν πληθὺν ἐκείνων μὲν  
ἀλλοτριώσαντες, ἑαυτοῖς δ' οἰκειωσάμενοι.

235 περὶ δὲ τῆς χώρας ταῦτά πάντες ἀπεφαίνοντο  
γνώμη μιᾷ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῆς πεδιάδος καὶ τῆς  
ὄρεινῆς ἐκδιηγούμενοι· “ τί δ' ὄφελος ” εὐθύς  
ἀνεβόησαν “ ἡμῖν ἀλλοτριῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῦτα  
πεφρουρημένων κραταιᾷ χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀναφ-  
αίρετον; ” καὶ τοῖς δυσὶν ἐπιδραμόντες μικροῦ  
καταλεύουσιν αὐτοὺς ἡδονὴν ἀκοῆς τοῦ συμφέρον-  
236 τος καὶ ἀπάτην ἀληθείας προκρίναντες. ἐφ' οἷς  
ὃ ἡγεμὼν ἠγανάκτει καὶ ἅμα ἠύλαβεῖτο, μὴ τι  
θεήλατον κατασκήψῃ κακὸν οὕτως ἐκθύμωσ ἀ-  
πιστοῦσι τοῖς χρησμοῖς· ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο· τῶν γὰρ  
κατασκόπων οἱ μὲν δειλοὶ δέκα λοιμῶδει νόσῳ  
διαφθείρονται μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους συναπο-  
νοηθέντων, μόνοι δ' οἱ συμβουλευσάντες δύο μὴ  
ὄρρωδεῖν ἀλλ' ἐφίεσθαι τῆς ἀποικίας ἐσώθησαν, ὅτι  
καταπειθεῖς ἐγένοντο τοῖς λογίοις, γέρας ἐξαίρετον  
λαβόντες τὸ μὴ παραπολέσθαι.

237 XLIII. Τοῦτ' αἴτιον ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ θᾶπτον  
ἦκειν εἰς ἣν ἀπωκίζοντο γῆν. δυνάμενοι γὰρ ἔτει  
δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μετανάστασιν τὰς  
ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις καὶ τὰς κληρουχίας ἐννέμεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> τὴν  
ἄγουσαν καὶ ἐπίτομον ἐκτραπόμενοι ὁδὸν ἐπλά-  
ζοντο, δυσαναπορεύτους καὶ μακρὰς ἀνοδίας ἄλλας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκνέμεσθαι.

Courage confined to few is lost to sight, when timidity has the superiority of numbers : and that, we are told, happened on this occasion ; for the two who gave a highly favourable account were so outweighed by the ten who said the opposite that the latter brought over the whole multitude into dissent from the others and agreement with themselves.

With regard to the country, they all <sup>235</sup> stated the same, unanimously extolling the beauty of both the plain and hill country. "But of what use to us," at once cried out the people, "are good things which belong to others, and moreover are strongly guarded so that none can take them away ?" And they set upon the two, and nearly stoned them in their preference of the pleasant-sounding to the profitable, and of deceit to truth. This roused their <sup>236</sup> ruler's indignation, who, at the same time, feared lest some scourge should descend upon them from God for their senseless disbelief in His utterances. This actually happened. For the ten cowardly spies perished in a pestilence with those of the people who had shared their foolish despondency, while the two who alone had advised them not to be terrified, but hold to their plan of settlement, were saved, because they had been obedient to the oracles, and received the special privilege that they did not perish with the others.

XLIII. This event was the reason why they did <sup>237</sup> not come sooner to the land where they proposed to settle. For, though they could have occupied the cities of Syria and their portions of land in the second year after leaving Egypt, they turned away from the road which led directly thither and wandered about, travelling with difficulty, through long, pathless

## PHILO

- ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἀνευρίσκοντες εἰς ἀνήνυτον ψυχῆς τε  
καὶ σώματος κάματον, δίκας ἀναγκαίας τῆς ἄγαν  
238 ἀσεβείας ὑπομένοντες. ὀκτῶ γοῦν ἐνιαυτοὺς πρὸς  
[119] τοῖς τριάκοντα δίχα τοῦ | παρεληλυθότος χρόνου,  
γενεᾶς βίον ἀνθρωπίνης, ἄνω κάτω τριβόμενοι καὶ  
τὰς ἀβάτους ἐρημίας ἀναμετροῦντες ἔτει τεσσαρα-  
κοστῶ μόλις ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς χώρας ὄρους παρ-  
εγένοντο, ἐφ' οὓς καὶ πρότερον ἦλθον.
- 239 πρὸς δὲ ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς ὥκουν ἕτεροί τε καὶ δὴ  
καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν, οὓς ὥοντο μάλιστα μὲν συν-  
εκπολεμήσειν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πόλε-  
μον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἅπαντα συμπράξειν,  
εἰ δ' ἀποκνοίεν, μετὰ μηδετέρων γοῦν τετάξεσθαι
- 240 χεῖρας ἀνέχοντας. οἱ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔθνῶν  
πρόγονοι, τοῦ τε Ἑβραϊκοῦ καὶ τοῦ τὰ προάστεια  
κατοικοῦντος, ἀδελφοὶ δύο ἦσαν ὁμοπάτριοι καὶ  
ὁμομήτριοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίδυμοι, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς πολυ-  
παιδίαν ἐπιδιδόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων εὐφορία τινὶ  
χρωμένων εἰς μέγα καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος ἑκα-  
τέρα τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεχύθη· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐφιλοχώρησεν,  
ἡ δ', ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετανα-
- 241 σταῖσα διὰ λιμὸν χρόνοις ὕστερον ἐπανήει. τὴν δ'  
οικειότητα ἡ μὲν διεφύλαττε, καίτοι πολὺν χρόνον  
διαζευχθεῖσα, πρὸς τοὺς μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν πατρίων  
φυλάττοντας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας πολιτείας  
ἐκδεδιητημένους, ὑπολαβοῦσα τοῖς ἡμέροις τὰς  
φύσεις ἀρμόττον εἶναι δίδοναι τι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
- 242 συγγενείας ὀνόματι· ἡ δ' ἔμπαλιν τὰ φιλικὰ πάντα  
ἔτρεψεν ἥθεσι καὶ λόγοις βουλαῖς τε καὶ πράξεσιν  
ἀσπόνδοις καὶ ἀσυμβάτοις χρωμένη, πατρικὴν  
ἔχθραν ζωπυροῦσα—ὁ γὰρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχηγέτης

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 239-249 see Num. xx. 14-21.

## MOSES I. 237-242

tracts, which appeared one after the other, bringing endless weariness of soul and body, the punishment they needs must endure for their great impiety. For thirty-eight years in addition to the time already 238 spent, the span of a generation of human life, they went wayworn up and down, tracing and retracing the trackless wilds till at last in the fortieth year they succeeded in reaching those boundaries of the country to which they had come before. <sup>a</sup> Near the 239 entrances there dwelt, among others, some kinsfolk of their own, who, they quite thought, would join in the war against their neighbours and assist the new settlement in every way, or, if they shrank from this, would at the worst abstain from force and remain neutral. For the ancestors of both nations, the Hebrews and 240 the inhabitants of the outlying districts, were two brothers with the same father and mother, and twins to boot. Both had become the parents of an increasing family, and, as their descendants were by no means unfruitful, both households had spread into great and populous nations. One of these had clung to the homeland, the other, as has been said, migrated to Egypt on account of the famine, and was returning 241 after many years. The latter in spite of its long separation maintained the tie of relationship, and though it had to deal with men who retained none of their ancestral customs, but had abandoned all the old ways of communal life, considered that it was proper for humane natures to pay some tribute of goodwill to the name of kinship. The other, on the contrary, 242 had upset all that made for friendship. In its customs and language, its policy and actions, it shewed implacable enmity and kept alive the fire of an ancestral feud. For the founder of the nation,

## PHILO

αὐτὸς ἀποδόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὰ πρεσβεῖα μικρὸν ὕστερον ὧν ἐξέστη μετεποιεῖτο παραβαίνων τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐφόνα θάνατον ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ ἀποδοίη— ταύτην τὴν παλαιὰν ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς πρὸς ἓνα ἔχθραν ἔθνος τοσαύταις ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἐκαί-

243 νωσεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων Μωυσῆς, καίτοι γ' αὐτοβοεὶ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην συγγένειαν, ἀλλ' ὁδῶ χρήσασθαι μόνον ἡξίου τῇ διὰ τῆς χώρας πάνθ' ὑπισχνούμενος πράξειν τὰ ἔνσπονδα, μὴ τεμείν<sup>1</sup> χωρίον, μὴ θρέμματα, μὴ λείαν ἀπάξειν, ὕδατος, εἰ ποτοῦ γένοιτο σπάνις, τιμὴν παρέξειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἀχορηγῆτοις ὠνίων· οἱ δ' εἰρηρικαῖς οὕτω προκλήσεσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ἡγναντιοῦντο πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ τῶν ὄρων ἐπιβάντας ἢ ψαύσαντας αὐτὸ μόνον αἰσθιοῦτο.

244 XLIV. χαλεπῶς δὲ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐνηνοχότων καὶ ἡδὴ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὀρμώντων, ἐν ἐπηκόῳ στὰς “ἄνδρες” εἶπεν, “ἡ μὲν ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν εὐλογος καὶ δικαία· χρηστὰ γὰρ ἀφ' ἡμέρου γνώμης προτειναμένων, πονηρὰ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀπεκρίναντο

245 [120] κακοήθους. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτι | τῆς ὠμότητος ἐκεῖνοι δίκας ἐπάξιοι τίνειν εἰσὶ, διὰ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν τιμωρίας ἀρμόττον ἴεσθαι, ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τιμῆς, ἵνα καὶ ταύτῃ μοχθηρῶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφέρωμεν, ἐξετάζοντες οὐ μόνον, εἰ κολαστέοι τινές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μήτε μὴν.



## MOSES I. 242-245

after having of his own accord sold his birthright as the elder to his brother, had later reclaimed what he had surrendered, in violation of their agreement, and had sought his blood, threatening him with death if he did not make restitution ; and this old feud between two individual men was renewed by the nation so many generations after.

Now the 243  
leader of the Hebrews, Moses, though an attack might have won him an uncontested victory, did not feel justified in taking this course because of the above-mentioned kinship. Instead, he merely asked for the right of passage through the country, and promised to carry out all that he agreed to do, not to ravage any estate, not to carry off cattle or spoil of any kind, to pay a price for water if drink were scarce and for anything else which their wants caused them to purchase. But they refused these very peaceful overtures with all their might, and threatened war if they found them overstepping their frontiers, or even merely on the threshold. XLIV. The 244  
Hebrews were incensed at the answer, and were now starting to take up arms when Moses, standing where he could be heard, said : “ My men, your indignation is just and reasonable. We made friendly proposals in the kindest spirit. In the malice of their hearts, they have answered us with evil. But the 245  
fact that they deserve to be punished for their brutality does not make it right for us to proceed to take vengeance on them. The honour of our nation forbids it, and demands that here too we should mark the contrast between our goodness and their unworthiness by inquiring not only whether some particular persons deserve to be punished, but

## PHILO

- 246 ἐπιτήδειοι τοῦτο πάσχειν." εἶτ' ἐκτραπόμενος ἦγε δι' ἑτέρας τὴν πληθύν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὁδοὺς ἀπάσας φρουραῖς διεζωσμένας εἶδεν ὑπὸ τῶν βλάβην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεξομένων, φθόνῳ δὲ καὶ βασκανίᾳ τὴν ἐπίτομον οὐκ ἐόντων προέρχεσθαι.
- 247 ταῦτα δὲ σαφειστάτῃ πίστις ἦν ἀνίας, ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν ἠνιῶντο, δηλονότι χαίροντες, ἠνίκα τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πικρὰν δουλείαν ὑπέμενον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ οἷς φέρει λύπην τὰ γαθὰ τῶν πλησίον ἐπὶ τοῖς τούτων εὐφραίνεισθαι κακοῖς, κὰν
- 248 μὴ ὁμολογῶσιν. ἔτυχον γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ὁμογνώμονας καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βουλομένους ἀνενεγκόντες τὰ συμβάντα λυπηρά τε αὐ καὶ ὅσα καθ' ἡδονήν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πόρρω προεληλύθασιν μοχθηρίας καὶ ἐβελέχθρως καὶ φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντες στένειν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἠδεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔμελλον.
- 249 τῆς δὲ κακονοίας ἀνακαλυφθείσης ἐκείνων, ἐκωλύθησαν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἐπιδειξαμένου δύο τὰ κάλλιστα, φρόνησιν ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ χρηστότητα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι συνέσεως, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἀμύνασθαι συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἐβελῆσαι φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον.
- 250 XLV. Τὰς μὲν οὖν τούτων πόλεις παρημεΐψατο. βασιλεὺς δέ τις τῆς ὁμόρου Χανάνης ὄνομα, τῶν σκοπῶν ἀπαγγελιάντων τὸν ὁδοιποροῦντα στρατὸν οὐ πάνυ μακρὰν ἀφεστηκότα, νομίσας ἀσύντακτόν τε εἶναι καὶ ῥαδίως εἰ προεπίθοιτο νικῆσειν, ἄρας

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<sup>a</sup> For §§ 250-254 see Num. xxi. 1-3.

## MOSES I. 245-250

also whether the punishment can properly be carried out by us." He then turned aside and led the 246 multitude by another way, since he saw that all the roads of that country were barricaded by watches set by those who had no cause to expect injury but through envy and malice refused to grant a passage along the direct road. This was the clearest proof 247 of the vexation which these persons felt at the nation's liberation, just as doubtless they rejoiced at the bitter slavery which it endured in Egypt. For those who are grieved at the welfare of their neighbours are sure to enjoy their misfortunes, though they may not confess it. As it happened, the Hebrews, believing 248 that their feelings and wishes were the same as their own, had communicated to them all their experiences, painful and pleasant, and did not know that they were far advanced in depravity and with their spiteful and quarrelsome disposition were sure to mourn their good fortune and take pleasure in the opposite. But, when their malevolence was exposed, the 249 Hebrews were prevented from using force against them by their commander, who displayed two of the finest qualities—good sense, and at the same time good feeling. His sense was shown in guarding against the possibility of disaster, his humanity in that on kinsmen he had not even the will to take his revenge.

XLV. <sup>a</sup>So, then, he passed by the cities of this 250 nation; but the king of the adjoining country Chananes <sup>b</sup> by name, having received a report from his scouts that the host of wayfarers was at no great distance, supposed that they were disorganized and would be an easy conquest if he attacked them first.

<sup>b</sup> LXX The Canaanite king Arad (or of Arad), E.V. the Canaanite, the king of Arad.

## PHILO

μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας νεότητος εὐοπλοῦσης ἐπεξέθει καὶ  
 τοὺς πρώτους ὑπαντιάσαντας ἄτε μὴ παρεσκευα-  
 σμένους εἰς μάχην τρέπεται· καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους  
 ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα εὐημερήματι φυσηθεὶς προήει,  
 251 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας χειρώσεσθαι νομίζων. οἱ  
 δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐγνάμφθησαν ἡττη τῆς προερχομένης  
 τάξεως—ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον σπάσαντες  
 εὐτολμίας καὶ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐάλωκότων ἐκπλήσαι  
 ταῖς προθυμίαις ἐπειγόμενοι συνεκρότουν ἄλλος  
 ἄλλον μὴ ἀποκάμνειν “ ἀνεγειρώμεθα ” λέγοντες,  
 “ ἄρτι τῆς χώρας ἐπιβαίνομεν· ἀκατάπληκτοι μετὰ  
 τῆς ἐν τῷ θαρρεῖν ἐχυρότητος γινώμεθα· τὰ τέλη  
 ταῖς ἀρχαῖς πολλάκις κρίνεται· ἐπὶ τῶν εἰσβολῶν  
 ὄντες καταπληξώμεθα τοὺς οἰκήτορας, ὡς ἔχοντες  
 [121] μὲν τὴν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων εὐετηρίαν, | ἀντιδεδωκότες  
 δ' ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπαγόμεθα σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγ-  
 252 καίων.” καὶ ἅμα διὰ τούτων προτρέποντες αὐτοὺς  
 ἠϋξάντο τῆς χώρας ἀπαρχὰς ἀναθήσειν τῷ θεῷ τὰς  
 πόλεις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη πολίτας·  
 ὁ δ' ἐπινεύει ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ θάρσος ἐμπνεύσας  
 τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τὴν ἀντίπαλον στρατιὰν ἀλῶναι παρ-  
 253 εσκεύασεν. οἱ δ' ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλόντες τὰς χαρι-  
 στηρίους ὁμολογίας ἐπετέλουν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς λείας  
 νοσφισάμενοι, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ  
 κειμηλίοις ἀνιερῶσαντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος  
 254 ὄλην τὴν βασιλείαν ὠνόμασαν “ ἀνάθημα.” καθ-  
 ἄπερ γὰρ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἐτησίων ἀπάρχεται καρπῶν, οὓς ἂν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
 συγκομίξῃ κτημάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὄλον  
 406

## MOSES I. 250-254

He, therefore, started with a strongly armed force of such younger men as he had around him, and by a rapid attack routed those who first met him, unprepared as they were for battle; and, having taken them captive, elated at the unexpected success he advanced further, expecting to overpower all the rest. But they, not 251 a whit daunted by the defeat of the vanguard, but infused with courage greater even than before, and eager to supply by their zealousness the deficiency caused by the capture of their comrades, worked upon each other not to be faint-hearted. "Let us be up and doing," they cried. "We are now setting foot in the country. Let us shew ourselves undismayed and possessed of the security which courage gives. The end is often determined by the beginning. Here, at the entrance of the land, let us strike terror into the inhabitants, and feel that ours is the wealth of their cities, theirs the lack of necessities which we bring with us from the desert and have given them in exchange." While 252 they thus exhorted each other, they vowed to devote to God the cities of the king and the citizens in each as firstfruits of the land, and God, assenting to their prayers, and inspiring courage into the Hebrews, caused the army of the enemy to fall into their hands. Having thus captured them by the might of 253 their assault, in fulfilment of their vows of thank-offering, they took none of the spoil for themselves, but dedicated the cities, men and treasures alike, and marked the fact by naming the whole kingdom "Devoted." For, just as every pious person gives 254 firstfruits of the year's produce, whatever he reaps from his own possessions, so too the whole nation set

## PHILO

τὸ ἔθνος μεγάλης χώρας, εἰς ἣν μετανίστατο, μέγα τμήμα, τὴν εὐθὺς αἰρεθείσαν βασιλείαν, ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῆς ἀποικίας· οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν ὅσιον εἶναι διανείμασθαι γῆν ἢ πόλεις κατοικῆσαι, πρὶν καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάρξασθαι.

255 XLVI. Μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ πηγὴν εὐνδρον ἀνευρόντες, ἢ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει ποτὸν ἐχορήγησεν— ἐν φρέατι δ' ἦν ἡ πηγὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς χώρας ὄρων—, ὥσπερ οὐχ ὕδατος ἀλλ' ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεχύθησαν· ὑπὸ τε εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς ἄσμα καινὸν οἱ θεοφιλεῖς χοροὺς περὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐν κύκλῳ στήσαντες ἦδον εἰς τὸν κληρουῆχον θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἀληθῶς ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας, ὅτι πρῶτον ἐπιβάντες ἐξ ἔρημίας μακρᾶς τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἦν ἔμελλον καθέξειν ποτὸν ἄφθονον ἀνεύρον, ἀρμόττον ἡγησάμενοι μὴ ἀσημεῖωτον τὴν

256 πηγὴν παρελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχεν οὐ χερσὶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ βασιλέων ἀνατετμηθῆσαι φιλοτιμηθέντων, ὡς λόγος, οὐ μόνον περὶ τὴν εὔρεσιν τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ φρέατος κατασκευὴν, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς πολυτελείας βασιλικὸν φαίνεται τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἡ τῶν κατασκευασάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ μεγαλόνοια.

257 γεγηθῶς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ συμβαίνουσιν ἀπροσδοκῆτοις ἀγαθοῖς ὁ Μωσῆς ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, τὴν μὲν νεότητά διανείμας εἰς τε πρωτοστάτας καὶ ὀπισθοφύλακας, γηραιούς δὲ καὶ γύναια καὶ παῖδας ἐν μέσοις τάξας, ἵνα διὰ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα φρουρὰν

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 255-256 see Num. xxi. 16-18.

<sup>b</sup> Or "as we are told" (in the song).

<sup>c</sup> Philo interprets the words "the rulers dug it" of the

## MOSES I. 254-257

apart the kingdom which they took at the outset, and thus gave a great slice of the great country into which they were migrating as the firstfruits of their settlement. For they judged it irreligious to distribute the land until they had made a firstfruit offering of the land and the cities.

XLVI. <sup>a</sup>Shortly afterwards they also found a <sup>255</sup> spring of good water in a well situated on the borders of the land. This supplied the whole multitude with drink, and their spirits were enlivened thereby, as though the draught were strong wine rather than water. In their joy and gladness, the people of God's choice set up choirs around the well, and sang a new song to the Deity, Who gave them the land as their portion and had, in truth, led them in their migration. They did so at this point because here, for the first time, when they passed from the long expanse of desert to set foot in a habitable land, and one which they were to possess, they had found water in abundance, and therefore they judged it fitting not to leave the well uncelebrated. For, as they were told, <sup>b</sup> it had <sup>256</sup> been dug by the hands of no common men, but of kings, whose ambition was not only to find the water but so to build the well that the wealth lavished upon it should shew the royal character of the work and the sovereignty and lofty spirit of the builders. <sup>c</sup> Moses, rejoicing at the succession of unexpected <sup>257</sup> happinesses, proceeded further, after distributing his younger men into vanguard and rearguard and placing the old men, womenfolk and children in the centre, so as to be protected by those on either side

act of finding the water, and "kings hewed it" (*ελατόμησαν*) of building up the sides of the well. Cf. *De Ebr.* 113, where the spiritual meaning of the song is given.

PHILO

- ἔχωσιν, ἕάν τε ἀντικρὺ ἕάν τε κατόπιν ἐχθρὸς ὄμιλος ἐπίη.
- 258 XLVII. Ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμορραίων χώραν ἐμβαλὼν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα—Σηῶν δ' ὠνομάζετο—προτρέπων ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ πρότερον· ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ἤκουσι μικροῦ καὶ ἀνελῶν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ νόμος ὁ πρεσβευτικὸς ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν [122] ἐφώρμα | νομίζων αὐτίκα τῷ πολέμῳ περιέσεσθαι.
- 259 συμπλακείς δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἀμελετήτους καὶ ἀνασκήτους ἔγνω τὴν μάχην οὖσαν ἀλλ' ἀθλητὰς τῷ ὄντι πολέμων ἀηττήτους, οἳ πρὸ μικροῦ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἠδραγαθίσαντο σωμάτων ἀλκὴν καὶ φρόνημα διανοίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ὕψος ἐπιδειξάμενοι, δι' ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐναντιωθέντας ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος εἶλον, ἔψαυσαν δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς λείας οὐδενὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ σπουδάσαντες·
- 260 οἳ καὶ τότε φραξάμενοι καρτερῶς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ παρασκευῶν ἀντεφώρμησαν ἅμα καὶ τῇ ἀκαθαιρέτῳ τοῦ δικαίου χρώμενοι συμμαχία, δι' ἣν εὐτολμότεροί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀγωνισταὶ πρόθυ-
- 261 μοι. σαφῆς δὲ πίστις· δευτέρας οὐκ ἐδέησε μάχης, ἀλλ' ἡ πρώτη καὶ μόνη ἐγένετο, καθ' ἣν πᾶσα ἡ ἀντίπαλος ἐκλήθη δύναμις καὶ ἀνατραπέισα ἠβηδὸν
- 262 αὐτίκα ἠφανίσθη. αἱ δὲ πόλεις ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον κεναὶ τε καὶ πλήρεις ἐγεγένητο, κεναὶ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων, πλήρεις δὲ τῶν κεκρατηκότων· τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐπαύλεις ἐρημωθεῖσαι τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀντέλαβον ἄνδρας βελτίους τὰ πάντα.

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 258-262 see Num. xxi. 20-25.



if any enemy host should attack either in front or behind.

XI.VII. <sup>a</sup>A few days after, he entered the land of 258 the Amorites, and sent ambassadors to the king, Sihon by name, with the same demands as he had made to his kinsman before. But Sihon not merely answered the envoys insolently, and came nigh to putting them to death, had he not been prevented by the law of embassies, but also mustered his whole army, and went to the attack thinking to win an immediate victory. But, when he engaged, he perceived that he had no untrained or unpractised fighters 259 to deal with, but men who were truly masters in warfare and invincible, men who had shortly before performed many great feats of bravery and shown themselves strong in body, mettlesome in spirit, and lofty in virtue, and through these qualities had captured their enemies with abundant ease, while they left the spoil untouched in their eagerness to dedicate the first prizes to God. So, too, on this 260 occasion, mightily fortified by the same resolutions and armoury, they went out to meet the foe, taking with them that irresistible ally, justice, whereby also they became bolder in courage and champions full of zeal. The proof of this was clearly shewn. No 261 second battle was needed, but this first fight was the only one, and in it the whole opposing force was turned to flight, then overthrown and straightway annihilated in wholesale slaughter. Their cities 262 were at once both emptied and filled—emptied of their old inhabitants, filled with the victors. And, in the same way, the farm-houses in the country were deserted by the occupants, but received others superior in every way.

## PHILO

- 263 XLVIII. Οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος ἅπασι μὲν τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς ἔθνεσι φοβερὸν δέος ἐνεργάσατο, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις, ὅσω καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἐγγυτέρω προσεδοκᾶτο. εἰς δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων βασιλέων ὄνομα Βαλάκης, μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τῆς ἐώας μοῖραν ὑπηγμένους, πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἀπειπῶν, ἀντικρυσ μὲν ὑπαντᾶν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε τὸν ἐκπορθήσεως δι' ὄπλων ἐλεύθερον πόλεμον διαδιδράσκων, ἐπ' οἰωνοὺς δὲ καὶ μαντείας ἐτράπετο νομίζων ἀραῖς τισι δυνήσεσθαι τὴν ἄμαχον
- 264 ῥώμην τῶν Ἑβραίων καθελεῖν. ἀνὴρ δ' ἦν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ μαντεία περιβόητος Μεσοποταμίαν οἰκῶν, ὃς ἅπαντα μὲν ἐμεμύητο τὰ μαντικῆς εἶδη, οἰωνοσκοπίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα συγκεκροτηκῶς ἐθαυμάζετο, πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις
- 265 ἐπιδειξάμενος ἄπιστα καὶ μεγάλα. προεῖπε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἐπομβρίας θέρους ἀκμάζοντος, τοῖς δ' αὐχμὸν τε καὶ φλογμὸν ἐν μέσῳ χειμῶνι, τοῖς δ' ἐξ εὐετηρίας ἀφορίαν καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἐκ λιμοῦ φορὰν, ἐνίοις δὲ πλημμύρας ποταμῶν καὶ κενώσεις καὶ θεραπείας λοιμικῶν νοσημάτων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων, ὧν ἕκαστον ὁ προθεσπίζειν δοκῶν ὀνομαστότατος ἦν ἐπὶ μέγα εὐκλείας προερχόμενος διὰ τὴν ἐπιβαίνουσαν αἰὲ καὶ φθάνουσαν πανταχόσε φήμην.
- 266 ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐξέπεμπε τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰς παρακαλῶν ἦκειν καὶ δωρεὰς τὰς μὲν ἤδη παρέιχε, τὰς δὲ δώσειν ὠμολόγει τὴν χρεῖαν ἧς ἕνεκα μεταπέμποιτο

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<sup>a</sup> For §§ 263-293, the story of Balaam, see Num. xxii.-xxiv. Philo treats it in a curiously rationalistic way. The divinely sent dreams of Balaam in ch. xxii. are said to be fictions of

XLVIII. "This war caused terrible alarm among all 263 the nations of Asia, particularly among those of the adjoining territories, since the expectation of danger was nearer. But one of the neighbouring kings, named Balak, who had brought under his sway a great and populous portion of the East, lost heart before the contest began. As he had no mind to meet the enemy face to face, and shrank from a war of destruction waged freely and openly with arms, he had recourse to augury and soothsaying, and thought that, if the power of the Hebrews was invincible in battle, he might be able to overthrow it by imprecations of some kind. Now, there was 264 at that time a man living in Mesopotamia far-famed as a soothsayer, who had learned the secrets of that art in its every form, but was particularly admired for his high proficiency in augury, so great and incredible were the things which he had revealed to many persons and on many occasions. To some he had foretold rainstorms in summer, 265 to others drought and great heat in mid-winter, to some barrenness to follow fertility, or again plenty to follow dearth, to some rivers full or empty, ways of dealing with pestilences, and other things without number. In every one of these his reputation for prediction made his name well known and was advancing him to great fame, since the report of him was continually spreading and reaching to every part. To him Balak sent some of his courtiers, and 266 invited him to come, offering him gifts at once and promising others to follow, at the same time explaining the purpose for which his presence was

his, and, though the appearance of the Angel to the ass is admitted, nothing is said of the animal speaking. See App. p. 603.

PHILO

δηλῶν· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς καὶ  
 [123] βεβαίου, | ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεον ἄστειζόμενος<sup>1</sup> ὡς δὴ τῶν  
 ἔλλογίμων προφητῶν γεγυῶς καὶ μηδὲν ἄνευ  
 χρησμῶν εἰωθῶς πράττειν τὸ παράπαν, ὑπανεδύετο  
 267 λέγων οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν τὸ θεῖον. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν ἤκοντες ἐπανήεσαν ἄπρακτοι πρὸς τὸν  
 βασιλέα, ἕτεροι δ' εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χρεῖαν  
 ἐχειροτονοῦντο τῶν δοκιμωτέρων, πλείω μὲν ἐπι-  
 φερόμενοι χρήματα, περιττοτέρας δὲ δωρεᾶς ὑπ-  
 268 ισχνούμενοι. δελεασθεῖς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἤδη προτει-  
 νομένοις καὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα  
 τῶν παρακαλούντων καταιδεσθεῖς ἐνεδίδου, πάλιν  
 προφασιζόμενος τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐφ' ὑγιεῖ· τῇ γοῦν  
 ὑστεραία παρεσκευάζετο τὴν ἔξοδον ὀνειράτα  
 διηγούμενος, ὑφ' ὧν ἔλεγε πληχθεῖς ἐναργέσι  
 φαντασίαις ἀναγκάζεσθαι μηκέτι μένειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
 269 πρέσβεσιν ἀκολουθεῖν.

XLIX. ἤδη δὲ  
 αὐτῷ προερχομένῳ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σημεῖον  
 ἀρίδιον περὶ τοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐφ' ἣν συνέτεινεν  
 εἶναι παλίμφημον· τὸ γὰρ ὑποζύγιον, ᾧ συνέβαινεν  
 αὐτὸν ἐποχεῖσθαι, προερχόμενον ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐξ-  
 270 απιναιῶς ἴσταται τὸ πρῶτον· εἶθ', ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐναντίας  
 βία τινὸς ἀνωθοῦντος ἢ ἀναχαιτίζοντος, ὑπὸ πόδας  
 ἐχῶρει καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα ἐπιφερό-  
 μενον καὶ ᾧδε κάκεισε πλαζόμενον οὐκ ἠρέμει,  
 καθάπερ ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ καρηβαροῦν, καὶ πολ-  
 λάκις τυπτόμενον ἠλόγει τῶν πληγῶν, ὥστε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Cohnsuggests ἀκκιζόμενος and points out that in §297, where ἀκκισμός is clearly right, the majority of mss. have ἀστειζόμενος.

\* Or "cleverly posing." If ἀστειζόμενος is kept we must suppose that the word, which regularly applies to witty or ironical talk, is extended to any kind of dissimulation. But ἀκκιζόμενος, "feigning reluctance," is easier.

MOSES I. 266-270

required. But the seer, actuated not by any honourable or sincere feelings, but rather by a wish to pose<sup>a</sup> as a distinguished prophet whose custom was to do nothing without the sanction of an oracle, declined, saying that the Deity did not permit him to go. The envoys then returned to the king without success, but others, selected from the more highly reputed courtiers, were at once appointed for the same purpose who brought more money and promised more abundant gifts. Enticed by those offers present and prospective, and in deference to the dignity of the ambassadors, he gave way, again dishonestly alleging a divine command. And so on the morrow he made his preparations for the journey, and talked of dreams in which he said he had been beset by visions so clear that they compelled him to stay no longer but follow the envoys.

XLIX. But, as he proceeded there was given to him on the road an unmistakable sign that the purpose which he was so eager to serve was one of evil omen. For the beast on which he happened to be riding, while proceeding along the straight road, first came to a sudden stop, then, as though someone opposite was thrusting it by force or causing it to rear, it fell back<sup>b</sup> and then again swerved to right and left and floundered hither and thither unable to keep still, as though heady with wine or drink; and, while repeatedly beaten, it paid no regard to the blows, so that it almost

<sup>b</sup> The Greek is odd. L. & S. give *οἱ ὑπὸ πόδα* as "those in the rear" and *ὑπὸ πόδα χωρεῖν* = "recede," "decline" (of strength), but these are hardly parallels. On the other hand *ἐπὶ πόδα* (or *πόδας*) *χωρεῖν* is a recognized phrase for "retreat" and should perhaps be read here.

## PHILO

- τὸν ἐποχούμενον μικροῦ καταβαλεῖν καὶ καθεζό-  
 271 μενον ὁμως ἀντιλυπήσαι. τῶν <γὰρ> παρ' ἐκά-  
 τερα χωρίων ἦσαν αἵμασιαι καὶ φραγμοὶ πλησίον·  
 ὁπότ' οὖν τούτοις προσηράχθη φερόμενον, γόνυ καὶ  
 272 κνήμας καὶ πόδας ὁ δεσπότης θλιβόμενος καὶ  
 πιεζόμενος ἀπεδρύνετο. ἦν δ', ὡς ἔοικε, θεία τις  
 ὄψις, ἣν τὸ μὲν ζῶον ἐπιφοιτῶσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 θεασάμενον ὑπέπτηξεν, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἶδεν,  
 εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀναισθησίας· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλόγου ζώου  
 273 παρενημερεῖτο τὰς ὄψεις ὁ μὴ μόνον τὸν κόσμον  
 τὸν ἀνθεστηκότα ἰδὼν ἄγγελον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τοιαύτης  
 θεάς ἦν ἄξιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ οὐδένειαν  
 ἑαυτοῦ καταλάβῃ, πρὸς ἰκεσίας καὶ λιτὰς ἐτράπετο  
 συγγνώμην δεόμενος ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἀλλ' οὐ καθ'  
 274 ἐκούσιον γνώμην ἀμαρτόντι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπο-  
 στρέφειν δέον, ἐπυθάνετο τῆς φανείσης ὄψεως, εἰ  
 ἀνακάμπτει πάλιν τὴν ἐπ' οἴκου· ἡ δὲ συνιδούσα  
 τὴν εἰρωνείαν καὶ σχετλιάσασα—τί γὰρ ἔδει πυν-  
 θάνεσθαι περὶ πράγματος οὕτως ἐμφανοῦς, ὃ τὰς  
 ἀποδείξεις εἶχεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ δεόμενον τῆς ἐκ  
 [124] λόγων πίστεως, εἰ μὴ | ἄρα ὀφθαλμῶν ὦτα ἀλη-  
 θέστερα καὶ πραγμάτων ῥήματα;—“ βάδιζε ” εἶπεν  
 “ ἐφ' ἣν σπεύδεις ὁδόν· ὀνήσεις γὰρ οὐδέν, ἐμοῦ τὰ  
 λεκτέα ὑπηχοῦντος ἄνευ τῆς σῆς διανοίας καὶ τὰ  
 φωνῆς ὄργανα τρέποντος, ἧ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον·  
 ἠνιοχῆσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον θεσπίζων ἕκαστα διὰ  
 τῆς σῆς γλώττης οὐ συνιέντος.”  
 275 L. Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγγὺς ἦδη γεγονότα  
 μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων ὑπαντησόμενος ἐξήει, καὶ

## MOSES I. 270-275

threw its rider, and, even though he kept his seat, caused him as much pain as he gave. For the 271 estates on either side had walls and hedges close by, so that when the beast in its movements dashed against these, the feet, knees and shins of its master were crushed and lacerated by the pressure. It was 272 evidently a divine vision, whose haunting presence had for a considerable time been seen by the terrified animal, though invisible to the man, thus proving his insensibility. For the unreasoning animal showed a superior power of sight to him who claimed to see not only the world but the world's Maker. When, 273 at last, he did discern the angel standing in his way, not because he was worthy of such a sight, but that he might perceive his own baseness and nothingness, he betook himself to prayers and supplications, begging pardon for an error committed in ignorance and not through voluntary intention. Yet even 274 then, when he should have returned, he asked of the apparition whether he should retrace his steps homewards. But the angel perceived his dissimulation, for why should he ask about a matter so evident, which in itself provided its own demonstration and needed no confirmation by word, as though ears could be more truthful than eyes or speech than facts? And so in displeasure he answered: "Pursue your journey. Your hurrying will avail you nought. I shall prompt the needful words without your mind's consent, and direct your organs of speech as justice and convenience require. I shall guide the reins of speech, and, though you understand it not, employ your tongue for each prophetic utterance."

L. When the king heard that he was now near 275 at hand, he came forth with his guards to meet him.

## PHILO

- ἐντυχόντων, οἷα εἰκός, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦσαν φιλοφροσύναι καὶ δεξιώσεις, εἶτα βραχεῖα κατάμεμψις περὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔτοιμότερον ἦκειν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' εὐωχίαι ἦσαν καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐστιάσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ξένων ἔθος εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, φιλοτιμίαις βασιλικαῖς πάντα πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐπιδιδόντα καὶ σεμνότερον ὄγκον.
- 276 τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἔω τὸν μάντιν ὁ Βαλάκης παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ γέωλοφον ἀνήγαγεν, ἔνθα καὶ στήλην συνέβαινεν ἰδρῦσθαι δαιμονίου τινός, ἦν οἱ ἐγχώριοι προσεκύνουν· μέρος δ' ἐνθένδε καθεωρᾶτο τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατοπεδείας, ὃ καθάπερ ἀπὸ
- 277 σκοπιᾶς ἐπεδείκνυτο τῷ μάγῳ. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενός φησι· “ σὺ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, βωμοὺς ἑπτὰ δειμάμενος μόσχον ἐφ' ἑκάστου καὶ κριὸν ἰέρευσον· ἐγὼ δ' ἐκτραπόμενος πεύσομαι τοῦ θεοῦ, τί λεκτέον.” ἔξω δὲ προελθὼν ἔνθους αὐτίκα γίνεται, προφητικοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος, ὃ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔντεχνον μαντικὴν ὑπερόριον τῆς ψυχῆς ἤλασε· θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἱερωτάτῃ κατοκωχῇ συνδιαιτᾶσθαι μαγικὴν σοφιστείαν. εἶθ' ὑποστρέψας καὶ τὰς τε θυσίας ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς φλέγοντας ὥσπερ
- 278 ἔρμηνεὺς ὑποβάλλοντας ἐτέρου θεσπίζει τάδε· “ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας μετεπέμψατό με Βαλάκης μακρὰν τὴν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν στειλάμενον ἀποδημίαν, ἵνα τίσηται τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀραῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ τίνα τρόπον ἀράσομαι τοῖς μὴ καταράτοις ὑπὸ θεοῦ; θεάσομαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀφ' ὑψηλοτάτων ὄρων καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καταλήψομαι, βλάψαι δ' οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην λαόν, ὃς μόνος κατοικήσει, μὴ συναριθμούμενος



MOSES I. 275-278

The interview naturally began with friendly greetings, which were followed by a few words of censure for his slowness and failing to come more readily. Then came high feasting and sumptuous banquets, and the other usual forms of provision for the reception of guests, each through the king's ambition of more magnificence and more imposing pomp than the last. The next day at dawn Balak took the 276 prophet to a hill, where it chanced that in honour of some deity a pillar<sup>a</sup> had been set up which the natives worshipped. From thence a part of the Hebrew encampment was visible, which he shewed as a watchman from his tower to the wizard. He 277 looked and said: "King, do you build seven altars, and sacrifice a calf and a ram on each, and I will go aside and inquire of God what I should say." He advanced outside, and straightway became possessed, and there fell upon him the truly prophetic spirit which banished utterly from his soul his art of wizardry. For the craft of the sorcerer and the inspiration of the Holiest might not live together. Then he returned, and, seeing the sacrifices and the altars flaming, he spake these oracles as one repeating the words which another had put into his mouth. "From Mesopotamia hath Balak called me, 278 a far journey from the East, that he may avenge him on the Hebrews through my cursing. But I, how shall I curse them whom God hath not cursed? I shall behold them with my eyes from the highest mountains, and perceive them with my mind. But I shall not be able to harm the people, which shall dwell alone, not reckoned among other nations; and

<sup>a</sup> So LXX "Pillar of Baal." E.V. "high places of Baal," xxii. 41.

## PHILO

- ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν, οὐ κατὰ τόπων ἀποκλήρωσιν καὶ  
 χώρας ἀποτομῆν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξαιρέτων  
 ἐθῶν ιδιότητα, μὴ συναναμιγνύμενος<sup>1</sup> ἄλλοις εἰς  
 279 τὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν. τίς ἐπ' ἀκριβείας  
 εὔρε τὴν πρώτην καταβολὴν τῆς τούτων γενέσεως;  
 τὰ μὲν σώματ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων διεπλάσθη  
 σπερμάτων, ἐκ δὲ θεῶν ἔφυσαν αἱ ψυχαί· διὸ καὶ  
 γεγόνασιν ἀγχίσποροι θεοῦ. ἀποθάνοι μου ἢ ψυχῇ  
 [125] τὸν | σωματικὸν βίον, ἢ ἐν ψυχαῖς δικαίων κατ-  
 αριθμηθῆ, οἷας εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς τούτων."  
 280 LI. Ταῦτ' ἀκούων ὁ Βαλάκης ὤδινεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ.  
 παυσαμένου δέ, τὸ πάθος οὐ χωρήσας "ἐπὶ κατά-  
 ραις" εἶπεν "ἐχθρῶν μετακληθεὶς εὐχὰς τιθέμενος  
 ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐρυθρίας; ἐλελήθειν ἄρ' ἐμαυτὸν  
 ἀπατῶν ὡς ἐπὶ φίλω σοι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἀφανῶς τεταγμένῳ τάξιν, ἢ νῦν γέγονε δῆλη.  
 μήποτε καὶ τὰς ὑπερθέσεις τῆς ἐνθάθε ἀφίξεως  
 ἐποιοῦ διὰ τὴν ὑποικουροῦσαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μὲν  
 ἐκείνους οἰκειότητα πρὸς δ' ἐμέ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς  
 281 ἀλλοτρίωσιν· πίστις γάρ, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, τῶν  
 ἀδήλων τὰ ἐμφανῆ." ὁ δὲ τῆς κατοκωχῆς ἀνεθείς  
 "ἀδικωτάτην" εἶπεν "αἰτίαν ὑπομένω συκοφαν-  
 τούμενος· λέγω γὰρ ἴδιον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄττ' ἂν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συναναμιγνυμένων.

<sup>a</sup> Or "foundation" (?). But both καταβάλλω and καταβολή are frequently used of sowing and this meaning fits better the corresponding verse of LXX (xxiii. 10) τίς ἐξηκριβάσατο τὸ σπέρμα Ἰακώβ;

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the fragment of Aeschylus's *Niobe* quoted by Plato, *Rep.* iii. 391E:

οἱ θεῶν ἀγχίσποροι  
οἱ Ζητὸς ἐγγύς,  
καὶ οὐ πῶ σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἷμα δαιμῶνων.

that, not because their dwelling-place is set apart and their land severed from others, but because in virtue of the distinction of their peculiar customs they do not mix with others to depart from the ways of their fathers. Who has made accurate discovery of how the sowing<sup>a</sup> of their generation was first made? Their bodies have been moulded from human seeds, but their souls are sprung from divine seeds, and therefore their stock is akin to God.<sup>b</sup> May my soul die to the life of the body<sup>c</sup> that it may be reckoned among the souls of the just, even such as are the souls of these men.” 279

LI. Balak suffered tortures inwardly as he listened 280 to these words, and, when the speaker ceased, he could not contain his passion. “Are you not ashamed,” he cried, “that, summoned to curse the enemy, you have prayed for them? It seems that all unconsciously I was deceiving myself in treating you as a friend, who were secretly ranged on the side of the enemy, as has now become plain. Doubtless also your delay in coming here was due to your secretly harbouring a feeling of attachment to them and aversion for me and mine. For, as the old saying goes, the certain proves the uncertain.” The other, now liberated 281 from the possession, replied: “I suffer under a most unjust charge and calumny, for I say nothing that is

As there is nothing corresponding to this sentence in the LXX, it may be assumed that this is a conscious quotation.

<sup>c</sup> The LXX (v. 10) is ἀποθάνοι ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν ψυχαῖς δικαίων καὶ γένοιτο τὸ σπέρμα μου ὡς τὸ σπέρμα τούτων. E.V. “Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.” Philo’s idea presumably is that the souls of the righteous cannot die in the ordinary sense. For the construction cf. *De Gig.* 14 ψυχαι . . . μελετώσαι τὸν μετὰ σωμάτων ἀποθνήσκων βίον.

## PHILO

ὑπηχῆση τὸ θεῖον, ὅπερ οὐχὶ νῦν πρῶτον ἐγὼ μὲν  
 εἶπον, σὺ δ' ἤκουσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἡνίκα τοὺς  
 282 πρέσβεις ἔπεμψας, οἷς ἀπεκρινάμην ταῦτά." νομί-  
 σασ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἢ τὸν μάντιν ἀπατᾶν ἢ τὸ θεῖον  
 τρέπεσθαι καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων μεταβολαῖς τὸ τῆς  
 γνώμης ἐχυρὸν ἀλλάττειν, εἰς ἕτερον ἀπαγαγὼν  
 χωρίον ἐκ λόφου πάνυ περιμήκους ἐπεδείκνυτο  
 μέρος τι τῆς ἀντιπάλου στρατιᾶς· εἶτα πάλιν ἐπτὰ  
 βωμοὺς ἰδρυσάμενος καὶ τὰ ἴσα τοῖς πρόσθεν ἱερεῖα  
 καταθύσας ἐξέπεμπε τὸν μάντιν ἐπ' οἰωνοὺς καὶ  
 283 φήμας αἰσίους. ὁ δὲ μονωθεὶς ἐξαίφνης θεοφο-  
 ρεῖται καὶ μηδὲν συνιείς, ὥσπερ μετανισταμένου  
 τοῦ λογισμοῦ, τὰ ὑποβαλλόμενα ἐξελάλει προφη-  
 τεύων τάδε· "ἀναστὰς ἄκουε, βασιλεῦ, τὰ ὦτα  
 ἐπουρίσας.<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς διαψευσθῆναι  
 δύναται οὐδ' ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου μετανοεῖ καὶ ἅπαξ  
 εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμμένει. φθέγγεται τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν,  
 ὃ μὴ τελειωθήσεται βεβαίως, ἐπεὶ ὁ λόγος ἔργον  
 ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. παρελήφθην δ' ἐπ' εὐλογίαις, οὐ  
 284 κατάραις, ἐγώ. οὐκ ἔσται πόνος ἢ μόχθος ἐν  
 Ἑβραίοις. ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν προασπίζει περιφανῶς,  
 ὃς καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ρύμην κακῶν ἀπεσκέ-  
 δασεν ὡς ἓνα ἄνδρα τὰς τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀν-  
 αγαγῶν. τοιγαροῦν οἰωνῶν ἀλογοῦσι καὶ πάντων  
 τῶν κατὰ μαντικὴν ἐνὶ τῷ τοῦ κόσμου ἡγεμόνι

<sup>1</sup> See on *De Abr.* 20. Here as in *De Decal.* 148, the word  
 is fairly well suited to the context. The best mss. have  
 ἐπαιωρήσας, which does not seem altogether impossible, for  
 though no similar use of the compound verb is quoted, the  
 simple verb is found in this sense, e.g. αἰωρεῖν τὰς ὄφρῦς.

\* Or "sounds and voices" = κληδόνας § 287. In Numbers  
 Balaam goes to "meet the Lord," but the account of his  
 422

## MOSES I. 281-284

my own, but only what is prompted by God, and this I do not say or you hear now for the first time, but I said it before when you sent the ambassadors to whom I gave the same answer." But the king, 282 thinking either to deceive the seer or to move the Deity and draw Him from His firm purpose by a change of place, led the way to another spot, and from an exceedingly high hill shewed the seer a part of the enemy's host. Then again he set up seven altars, and, after sacrificing the same number of victims as before, sent him away to seek good omens through birds or voices.<sup>a</sup> In this solitude, he was suddenly possessed, 283 and, understanding nothing, his reason as it were roaming, uttered these prophetic words which were put into his mouth.<sup>b</sup> "Arise, O King, and listen. Lend me a ready ear. God cannot be deceived <sup>c</sup> as a man, nor as the son of man does He repent <sup>d</sup> or fail to abide by what He has once said. He will utter nothing at all which shall not certainly be performed, for His word is His deed. As for me, I was summoned to bless, not to curse. There shall be no 284 trouble or labour among the Hebrews. Their God is their shield for all to see, He Who also scattered the fierce onset of the ills of Egypt, and brought up all these myriads as a single man. Therefore, they care nothing for omens and all the lore of the soothsayer, because they trust in One Who is the ruler of

purpose given here might be justified from xxiv. 1 "he went not, as at the other times, to meet with enchantments."

<sup>b</sup> This is curiously expressed. We expect "returned and uttered" as in Num. xxiii. 17.

<sup>c</sup> So LXX (*διαρτηθῆναι*). E.V. "lie" (xxiii. 19).

<sup>d</sup> Here Philo whether accidentally or not agrees with the Hebrew against the LXX, which has *ἀπειληθῆναι* ("be threatened").

## PHILO

πιστεύοντες. ὁρῶ λαὸν ὡς σκύμνον ἀνιστάμενον καὶ ὡς λέοντα γαυρούμενον. εὐωχηθήσεται θήρας καὶ ποτῶ χρήσεται τραυματιῶν αἵματι καὶ κορεσθεῖς [126] οὐ τρέφεται πρὸς ὕπνον, ἀλλ' | ἐργηγορῶς τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἄσεται ὕμνον."

285 LII. Χαλεπῶς δ' ἐνεγκὼν ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς μαντικῆς ἀπαντᾶσθαι "ἄνθρωπε" εἶπε, "μήτε ἀρὰς τίθεσο μήτ' εὐχὰς ποιοῦ· βελτίων γὰρ τῶν μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν λόγων ἢ ἀκίνδυνος ἡσυχία." καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὥσπερ ἐκλαθόμενος ὦν εἶπε διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀβέβαιον εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ἀπήγε τὸν μάντιν, ἀφ' οὗ δείξας μέρος τι τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς

286 στρατιᾶς καταρᾶσθαι παρεκάλει. ὁ δ' ἄτε χείρων ἐκείνου, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κατηγορίας ἀπολογία μὴ χρώμενος ἀληθεί, ὡς οὐδὲν ἴδιον λέγοι, κατεχόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐνθουσιῶν διερμηνεύοι τὰ ἑτέρου, δέον μηκέτ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ἀλλ' οἴκαδε ἀπαίρειν, ἐτοιμότερον τοῦ παραπέμποντος προεξέτρεχεν, ἅμα μὲν οἰήσει, κακῶ μεγάλῳ, πεπιεσμένος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καταρᾶσθαι γλιχό-

287 μενος, εἰ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ διεκωλύετο. παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς ὄρος μείζον τῶν προτέρων ἄχρι πολλοῦ κατατεῖνον κελεύει μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίαν βωμοὺς πάλιν ἑπτὰ κατασκευάσαντας καὶ ἱερεῖα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα προσαγαγόντας ἐκάστῳ βωμῷ δύο, μόσχον τε καὶ κριόν. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκέτι κατὰ τὸ εἶκός ἐπὶ κληδόνας καὶ οἰωνοὺς ἴετο πολλὰ τὴν

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<sup>a</sup> ἀπαντᾶσθαι is apparently used in the middle here. The usage is found occasionally, but censured by Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 25 as non-Attic.

the world. I see the people rising up as a lion's cub, and exulting as a lion. He shall feast upon the prey, and take for his drink the blood of the wounded, and, when he has had his fill, he shall not betake himself to slumber, but unsleeping sing the song of the victorious."

LII. Highly indignant at finding the soothsayer's 285 powers thus unexpectedly hostile,<sup>a</sup> Balak said: "Sirrah, do not either curse or bless, for the silence which avoids danger is better than words which displease." And, having said this, as though in the inconstancy of his judgement he had forgotten what he said, he led the seer away to another place from which he shewed him a part of the Hebrew host and begged him to curse them. Here the seer proved 286 himself to be even worse than the king; for, though he had met the charges brought against him solely by the true plea that nothing which he said was his own but the divinely inspired version of the promptings of another, and therefore ought to have ceased to follow, and departed home, instead, he pressed forward even more readily than his conductor, partly because he was dominated by the worst of vices, conceit, partly because in his heart he longed to curse, even if he were prevented from doing so with his voice. And, having arrived at a mountain higher 287 than those where he had stood before, and of great extent, he bade them perform the same sacrifice after again erecting seven altars, and bringing fourteen victims, two for each altar, a ram and a calf. But he himself did not go again, as was to be expected, to seek for omens from birds or voices, for he had conceived a great contempt for his

## PHILO

- αὐτοῦ τέχνην κακίστας ὡς χρόνῳ καθάπερ γραφήν  
 ἐξίτηλον γενομένην καὶ τοὺς εὐθυβόλους στο-  
 χασμοὺς ἐξαμαυρωθεῖσαν· ἄλλως δὲ καὶ μόλις  
 ἐνενόησεν, ὅτι οὐ συνάδει τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήματι  
 ἢ τοῦ μισθωσαμένου προαίρεσις αὐτὸν βασιλέως.  
 288 τραπόμενος οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην ὄρᾳ κατὰ φυλάς  
 ἔστρατοπεδευκότας Ἑβραίους καὶ τό τε πλῆθος καὶ  
 τὴν τάξιν ὡς πόλεως ἄλλ' οὐ στρατοπέδου κατα-  
 πλαγεῖς ἔνθους γενόμενος ἀναφθέγγεται τάδε·  
 289 “ φησὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὄρων, ὅστις καθ’  
 ὕπνον ἐναργῆ φαντασίαν εἶδε θεοῦ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἀκοιμήτοις ὄμμασιν. ὡς καλοὶ σου οἱ οἴκοι,  
 στρατιὰ Ἑβραίων, αἱ σκηναὶ σου ὡς νάπαι σκιά-  
 ζουσαι, ὡς παράδεισος ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ, ὡς κέδρος  
 290 παρ’ ὕδατα. ἐξελεύσεται ποτε ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν  
 καὶ ἐπικρατήσῃ πολλῶν ἔθνῶν καὶ ἐπιβαίνουσα  
 ἢ τοῦδε βασιλεία καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ὕψος  
 ἀρθήσεται. ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου  
 πάσης ὁδοῦ κέχρηται θεῷ καθ’ ἐν κέρας ἄγοντι τὴν  
 291 πληθύν. τοιγαροῦν ἔδεται | ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐχθρῶν  
 [127] καὶ ὅσον ἐν αὐτοῖς πῖον ἄχρι μυελοῦ λήψεται καὶ  
 ταῖς ἐκηβολίαις ἀπολεῖ τοὺς δυσμενεῖς. ἀνα-  
 παύσεται κατακλινεῖς ὡς λέων ἢ σκύμνος λέοντος,  
 μάλα καταφρονητικῶς δεδιὼς οὐδένα, φόβον τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ἐνεργασμένος· ἄθλιος ὃς ἂν αὐτὸν παρα-  
 κινήσας ἐγείρῃ. οἱ μὲν εὐλογοῦντές σε εὐφημίας  
 ἄξιοι, κατάρως δ’ οἱ καταρώμενοι.”  
 292 LIII. Σφόδρα δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτήσας ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς “ ἐπ’ ἀραῖς ” εἶπεν “ ἐχθρῶν μετακληθεῖς

<sup>a</sup> LXX “The kingdom of Gog shall be exalted (E.V. his king shall be higher than Agag) and his kingdom shall be increased.”



own art, feeling that, as a picture fades in the course of years, its gift of happy conjecture had lost all its brilliance. Besides, he at last realized that the purpose of the king who had hired him was not in harmony with the will of God. So, setting his face 288 to the wilderness, he looked upon the Hebrews encamped in their tribes, and, astounded at their number and order, which resembled a city rather than a camp, he was filled with the spirit, and spoke as follows : " Thus saith the man who truly sees, who 289 in slumber saw the clear vision of God with the un-sleeping eyes of the soul. How goodly are thy dwellings, thou host of the Hebrews ! Thy tents are as shady dells, as a garden by the riverside, as a cedar beside the waters. There shall come forth from you 290 one day a man and he shall rule over many nations, and his kingdom spreading every day shall be exalted on high.<sup>a</sup> This people, throughout its journey from Egypt, has had God as its guide, Who leads the multitude in a single column.<sup>b</sup> Therefore, it shall eat up 291 many nations of its enemies, and take all the fatness of them right up to the marrow, and destroy its foes with its far-reaching bolts. It shall lie down and rest as a lion, or a lion's cub, full of scorn, fearing none but putting fear in all others. Woe to him who stirs up and rouses it. Worthy of benediction are those who bless thee, worthy of cursing those who curse thee."

LIII. Greatly incensed by this, the king said : 292 " Thou wast summoned to curse the enemy, and hast

<sup>a</sup> Philo is evidently interpreting Num. xxiv. 8 *ὡς δόξα μονοκέρωτος αὐτῷ*, " he has as it were the glory of the unicorn " (R.V. " wild ox "). The mistake is strange, since the word occurs frequently in the LXX, and even in the Pentateuch (Deut. xxxiii. 17).

## PHILO

εὐχὰς ἤδη τρεῖς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων πεποίησαι· φεῦγε  
 δὴ θάπτον—ὄξυ πάθος ἐστὶ θυμός—, μὴ τι καὶ  
 293 νεώτερον ἐργάσασθαι βιασθῶ. πόσον πλήθος χρη-  
 μάτων, ἀνοητότατε, καὶ δωρεῶν, πόσῃν δ' εὐφημίαν  
 καὶ δόξαν ἀφήρησαι σεαυτὸν φρενοβλαβῆς ὦν·  
 ἐπανελεύσῃ φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν  
 ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδέν, ὀνειδίῃ δὲ καὶ πολλὴν ὡς ἔοικεν  
 αἰσχύνῃν, οὕτως σοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἐφ'  
 294 οἷς πρότερον ἐσεμνύου, γελασθέντων." ὁ δὲ " τὰ  
 μὲν πρότερα " εἶπε " πάντ' ἐστὶ λόγια καὶ χρησμοί,  
 τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς  
 εἰκασίαι." καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος μόνος μόνῳ  
 συνεβούλευε, δι' ὧν, ὡς ἂν οἰὸν τε ἦ, φυλάσσεται  
 τὸν ἀντίπαλον στρατόν, ἀσέβημα κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ  
 μέγιστον· τί γάρ, εἴποι τις ἂν, ἰδιάξεις καὶ συμ-  
 βουλευεῖς τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὑποτιθέμενος, εἰ  
 μὴ ἄρα τῶν λογίων αἰ σαὶ βουλαὶ δυνατώτεραι;  
 295 LIV. φέρε δ' οὖν καὶ τὰς καλὰς αὐτοῦ παραινέσεις  
 ἐξετάσωμεν, ὡς τετεχνιτευμένοι πρὸς ὁμολογου-  
 μένην ἤτταν τῶν ἀεὶ νικᾶν δυναμένων. εἰδὼς γὰρ  
 Ἑβραίοις μίαν ὁδὸν ἀλώσεως παρανομίαν, διὰ  
 λαγνείας καὶ ἀκολασίας, μεγάλου κακοῦ, πρὸς  
 μείζον κακόν, ἀσέβειαν, ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐσπούδασεν  
 296 ἠδονὴν δέλεαρ προθεῖς. " εἰσὶ " γὰρ εἶπεν " αἱ  
 ἐγχώριοι γυναῖκες, ὧ βασιλεῦ, διαφέρουσαι τὴν  
 ὄψιν ἐτέρων· ἀνὴρ δ' οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον εὐάλωτος ἢ  
 γυναικὸς εὐμορφία. ταῖς οὖν περικαλλεστάταις ἐὰν

<sup>a</sup> §§ 294-299 are based on Num. xxxi. 16, where the sin of Israel is ascribed to the counsels of Balaam.

now thrice invoked blessings on them. Flee quickly, for fierce is the passion of wrath, lest I be forced to do thee some mischief. Most foolish of men, of what 293 a store of wealth and presents, of what fame and glory, hast thou robbed thyself by thy madness. Thou wilt return from the stranger's land to thy own with nothing good in thy hand, but with reproaches and deep disgrace, as all may see, having merely brought such ridicule on the lore of the knowledge on which thou didst pride thyself before." "The other 294 replied : " All that has been said hitherto was oracles from above. What I have now to say is suggestions of my own designing." And, taking him by the right hand, he counselled him in strict privacy as to the means by which, as far as might be, he should defend himself against the army of the enemy. Hereby he convicted himself of the utmost impiety ; for, " Why," we might ask him, " do you put forth your own personal counsels in opposition to the oracles of God ? That were to hold that your projects are more powerful than the divine utterances." LIV. Well, then, let us examine these fine injunctions of 295 his, and see how they were contrived to gain an unquestioned victory over the truths which have ever the power to prevail. His advice was this. Knowing that the one way by which the Hebrews could be overthrown was disobedience, he set himself to lead them, through wantonness and licentiousness, to impiety, through a great sin to a still greater, and put before them the bait of pleasure. " You 296 have in your countrywomen, king," he said, " persons of pre-eminent beauty. And there is nothing to which a man more easily falls a captive than women's comeliness. If, then, you permit the fairest among

## PHILO

- ἐπιτρέψῃς μισθαρνεῖν καὶ δημοσιεύειν, ἀγκιστρέ-  
 297 σονται τὴν νεότητα τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὑψηγητέον δὲ  
 αὐταῖς, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐμπαρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἐθέλουσι τὴν  
 ὤραν· ὁ γὰρ ἀκκισμὸς ὑποκνίζων τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐπ-  
 εγείρει μᾶλλον καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας ἀναφλέγει· τραχηλι-  
 ζόμενοι δὲ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις πάνθ' ὑπομενοῦσι δρᾶν  
 298 τε καὶ πάσχειν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν οὕτω διακείμενον  
 [128] ἔραστὴν λεγέτω | φρυαττομένη τις τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 θήραν ἀλειφομένων· 'οὐ θέμις ὀμιλίας σοι τῆς  
 ἐμῆς ἀπολαῦσαι, πρὶν ἂν ἐκδαιτηθῆς μὲν τὰ πάτρια,  
 μεταβαλὼν δὲ τιμῆς ἄπερ ἐγώ. πίστις δέ μοι  
 τῆς βεβαίου μεταβολῆς γένοιτ' ἂν ἀρίδῃλος, ἣν  
 ἐθελήσῃς μετασχεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν σπονδῶν τε καὶ  
 θυσῶν, ἃς ἀγάμμασι καὶ ξοάνοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς  
 299 ἀφιδρύμασιν ἐπιτελοῦμεν.' ὁ δ' ἄτε σαγηνευθεὶς  
 πάγαις πολυειδέσι, κάλλει καὶ στωμυλίας χειρ-  
 αγωγίαις, οὐδὲν ἀντειπὼν, ἐξηγκωνισμένος τὸν  
 λογισμὸν, ἄθλιος ὑπηρετήσῃ τοῖς προσταττομένοις,  
 ἀναγραφεὶς τοῦ πάθους δούλος."  
 300 LV. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα συνεβούλευεν. ὁ δ' οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ σκοποῦ νομίσας εἶναι τὰ λεχθέντα, τὸν κατὰ  
 μοιχῶν νόμον παρακαλυψάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ φθορᾷ  
 καὶ πορνείᾳ κειμένους ἀνελὼν, ὡς εἰ μηδὲ τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ἐγράφησαν, ἀνέδην ἐπιτρέπει ταῖς γυναιξὶ  
 301 τὰς ὀμιλίας πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι ποιεῖσθαι. δο-  
 θείσης δὲ ἀδείας, τὴν πληθὺν τῶν μεираκίων  
 ἐπήγοντο πολὺ πρότερον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν  
 ἀπατῶσαι καὶ τρέπουσαι ταῖς γοητείαις πρὸς  
 ἀσέβειαν, ἕως υἱὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Φινεὲς ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 γινομένοις σφόδρα χαλεπήνας—δεινότατον γὰρ αὐτῷ

\* For §§ 300-304 see Num. xxv.

them to prostitute themselves for hire, they will en-  
 snare the younger of their enemies. But you must 297  
 instruct them not to allow their wooers to enjoy  
 their charms at once. For coyness titillates, and  
 thereby makes the appetites more active, and in-  
 flames the passions. And, when their lust has them  
 in its grip, there is nothing which they will shrink  
 from doing or suffering. Then, when the lover is in 298  
 this condition, one of those who are arming to take  
 their prey should say, with a saucy air: ' You must  
 not be permitted to enjoy my favours until you have  
 left the ways of your fathers and become a convert  
 to honouring what I honour. That your conversion  
 is sincere will be clearly proved to me if you are  
 willing to take part in the libations and sacrifices  
 which we offer to idols of stone and wood and  
 the other images.' Then the lover, caught in the 299  
 meshes of her multiform lures, her beauty and the  
 enticements of her wheedling talk, will not gainsay  
 her, but, with his reason trussed and pinioned, will  
 subserve her orders to his sorrow, and be enrolled  
 as a slave of passion."

LV. <sup>a</sup> Such was his advice. And the king, thinking 300  
 that the proposal was good, ignoring the law against  
 adultery, and annulling those which prohibited seduc-  
 tion and fornication as though they had never been  
 enacted at all, permitted the women, without re-  
 striction, to have intercourse with whom they would.  
 Having thus received immunity, so greatly did they 301  
 mislead the minds of most of the young men, and  
 pervert them by their arts to impiety, that they soon <sup>b</sup>  
 made a conquest of them. And this continued until  
 Phinehas, the son of the high priest, greatly angered

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "First greatly deceiving . . . they made a conquest."

## PHILO

κατεφαίνετο, εἰ ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἄμφω τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιδεδώκασι, τὰ μὲν ἡδοναῖς, τὰς δὲ τῷ παρανομεῖν καὶ ἀνοσιουργεῖν—ἐνεανιεύσατο νεανείαν ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ προσήκουσαν.

302 ἰδὼν γάρ τινα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους θύοντα καὶ εἰσιόντα πρὸς πόρνην, μήτε κεκυφότα εἰς τοῦδαφος μήτε λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς πειρῶμενον μήθ' οἷα φιλεῖ κλέπτοντα τὴν εἴσοδον, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀναισχύντου θράσους τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ φρυαττόμενον ὡς ἐπὶ σεμνῷ πράγματι τῷ καταγελάστω, πάνυ πικρανθεὶς καὶ πληρωθεὶς ὀργῆς δικαίας ἐπεισδραμῶν ἔτι κατ' εὐνήν κειμένους ἀμφοτέρους τὸν τ' ἐραστὴν καὶ τὴν ἑταίραν ἀναιρεῖ προσανα-

303 ἐκθέσμοις. τοῦτο θεασάμενοί τινες τὸ παράδειγμα τῶν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ θεοσέβειαν ἐξηλωκότων προστάξαντος Μωυσέως ἐμιμήσαντο καὶ πάντας τοὺς τελεσθέντας τοῖς χειροποιήτοις συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἡβηδὸν ἀνελόντες τὸ μὲν μίασμα τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκκαθαίρουσι διὰ τῆς τῶν προηδικηκότων ἀπαραιτήτου τιμωρίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους παρασχόντας ἀπολογίαν ἐναργεστάτην ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας περιποιήσαντο, μηδένα τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος κατακρίτων οἰκτισάμενοι μηδ' ἐλέω τὰδικήματα αὐτῶν παρελθόντες, ἀλλὰ καθαρὸς νομίσαντες τοὺς αὐτόχειρας· ὅθεν οὐδενὶ παρεχώρησαν τὴν ἐπέξοδον φέρουσαν τοῖς δρώσιω ἀψευδέστατον ἔπαινον.

304 τετρακισχιλίους δέ φασι πρὸς τοῖς δισμυρίοις |  
[129] ἀναιρεθῆναι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, συναναιρεθέντος εὐθὺς τοῦ κοινῷ μιάσματος, ὃ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκῆλίδου.

## MOSES I. 301-304

at what he saw, and horrified at the thought that his people had at the same moment surrendered their bodies to pleasure and their souls to lawlessness and unholiness, shewed the young, gallant spirit which befitted a man of true excellence. For, seeing one 302 of his race offering sacrifice and visiting a harlot, not with his head bowed down towards the ground, nor trying in the usual way to make a stealthy entrance unobserved by the public, but flaunting his licentiousness boldly and shamelessly, and pluming himself as though his conduct called for honour instead of scorn,<sup>a</sup> he was filled with bitterness and righteous anger, and attacking the pair whilst they still lay together he slew both the lover and his concubine, ripping up also her parts of generation because they had served to receive the illicit seed. This example 303 being observed by some of those who were zealous for continence and godliness they copied it at the command of Moses, and massacred all their friends and kinsfolk who had taken part in the rites of these idols made by men's hands. And thus they purged the defilement of the nation, by relentlessly punishing the actual sinners, while they spared the rest who gave clear proof of their piety. To none of their convicted blood-relations did they shew pity, or mercifully condone their crimes, but held that their slayers were free from guilt. And, therefore, they kept in their own hand the act of vengeance, which in the truest sense was laudable to its executors. Twenty-four thousand, we are told, perished in one 304 day. And with them perished, at the same moment, the common pollution which was defiling the whole

<sup>a</sup> Cf. xxv. 6, "in the sight of Moses, and all the congregation."

## PHILO

τῶν δὲ καθαρσίων ἐπιτελεσθέντων, ὡς ἀριστεί γέρας ἐπάξιον τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὃς πρῶτος ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν ὤρμησεν, ἐζήτει παρασχεῖν Μωυσῆς. φθάνει δὲ χρησμοῖς δωρησάμενος ὁ θεὸς Φινεεὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, εἰρήνην, ὃ μηδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἀνθρώπων παρασχεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ παγκρατησίαν ἱερωσύνης, αὐτῷ καὶ γένει κληρὸν ἀναφαίρετον.

- 305 LVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἦν ὑπόλοιπον κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτομολίαν ἢ προδοσίαν ὑπωπτεύοντο πάντες ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἔδοξεν εἶναι καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότατος τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Βαλάκην στρατείας, ἀνδρα μυρία καὶ βεβουλευμένον ἐργάσασθαι κακὰ καὶ δεδρακότα, βεβουλευμένον μὲν διὰ τοῦ μάντεως, ὃν ἤλπισεν ἀραῖς τισι δυνήσεσθαι καθελεῖν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἑβραίων, δεδρακότα δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας καὶ ἀκολασίας, αἱ τὰ μὲν σώματα λαγνείαις τὰς δὲ
- 306 ψυχὰς ἀσεβείᾳ τῶν χρωμένων διέφθειραν. παντὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ στρατῷ πολεμεῖν οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζεν, εἰδὼς τὰ ὑπέρογκα<sup>1</sup> πλήθη πταίοντα περὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἅμα λυσιτελὲς ἠγούμενος ἐφεδρείας εἶναι συμμάχων τοῖς προκαμοῦσι βοηθούς, ἀριστίνδην δὲ τοὺς ἡβῶντας ἐπιλέξας, χιλίους ἐκ φυλῆς ἐκάστης, δώδεκα χιλιάδας—τοσαῦται γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ φυλαί—καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενος τοῦ πολέμου Φινεὲς πείραν ἤδη δεδω-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπερόρια.

<sup>a</sup> Philo understands the "plague" of xxv. 8, 9, LXX *πληγή*, to refer not to a pestilence sent by God, but to the slaughter of the guilty. The mistake, if it is a mistake, is not unnatural. Not only has the mention of the "plague" been introduced so abruptly that probably something has been lost, but the coupling of *πεπληγυία*, referring to the slain woman,



## MOSES I. 304-306

host.<sup>a</sup> When the purging was completed, Moses sought how to give to the high priest's son, who had been the first to rush to the defence, such reward as he deserved for his heroism. But he was forestalled by God, Whose voice granted to Phinehas the highest of blessings, peace—a gift which no human being can bestow—and, besides peace, full possession of the priesthood, a heritage to himself and his family which none should take from them.<sup>b</sup>

LVI. <sup>c</sup> Since, now, their internal troubles were entirely at an end, and, further, all those who were suspected of desertion or treachery had perished, it seemed to be a very suitable opportunity for waging war against Balak who had both plotted and executed mischief on so vast a scale. In the plotting he had been served by the soothsayer, who, he hoped, would be able by his curses to destroy the power of the Hebrews; in the execution by the licentiousness and wantonness of the women, who had caused the ruin of their paramours, of their bodies through lust, of their souls through impiety. However, Moses did not think well to employ his whole army, knowing that over-large multitudes fall through their own unwieldiness, and, at the same time, he thought it was an advantage to have reserves to reinforce those who bore the first brunt. He accordingly selected the flower of his men of military age, one thousand from each tribe, twelve thousand, that is, corresponding to the number of the tribes, and chose as commander-in-chief Phinehas, who had already given with *πληγή* in verse 18 (*cf.* also vv. 14, 15), would lend itself to his interpretation. See further App. pp. 603-604.

<sup>b</sup> The rewards of Phinehas have been treated in their allegorical sense, *De Ebr.* 75 f., *De Post.* 183 f., *De Conf.* 57.

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 305-318 see Num. xxxi.

## PHILO

κότα στρατηγικῆς εὐτολμίας ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἱερείοις  
 ἐξέπεμπε τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ θαρσύνων τοιαύδε διεξ-  
 307 ἦει· “ οὐχ ὑπὲρ κράτους ἀρχῆς ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν  
 ἔστιν οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὰ ἐτέρων, περὶ ὧν  
 ἢ μόνων ἢ μάλιστα οἱ πόλεμοι, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας  
 καὶ ὁσιότητος, ὧν τοὺς ἡμετέρους συγγενεῖς καὶ  
 φίλους ἠλλοτριώσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ παραίτιοι γενόμενοι  
 308 τοῖς ὑπαχθεῖσι χαλεπῆς ἀπωλείας. ἔστιν οὖν  
 ἄτοπον οἰκείων μὲν αὐτόχειρας γεγενῆσθαι παρα-  
 νομησάντων, ἐχθρῶν δὲ χαλεπώτερα ἡδίκηκόντων  
 ἀποσχέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μαθόντας ἀδικεῖν ἀν-  
 ηρηκέναι, τοὺς δὲ βιασαμένους καὶ διδάξαντας ἀ-  
 τιμωρήτους καταλιπεῖν, οὓς ἀπάντων αἰτίους εἶναι  
 συμβέβηκεν, ὧν ἢ δεδράκασιν ἢ πεπόνθασιν ἐκεῖ-  
 309 νοι.” LVII. νευρωθέντες οὖν ταῖς παραινέσεσιν  
 ἐκείνοι καὶ ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς προϋπήρχε γεν-  
 ναιότητος ζωπυρήσαντες ὡς ἐφ’ ὁμολογουμένη νίκη  
 πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἱέντο φρονήμασιν ἀηττήτοις· καὶ  
 συμπλακέντες τοσαύτη περιουσίᾳ ῥώμης καὶ τόλμης  
 ἐχρήσαντο, ὡς ἱερεῦσαι μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, αὐτοὶ  
 310 δὲ πάντες σῶοι ἐπανελθεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἀποθανόντος  
 [130] ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τρωθέντος. | ὑπέλαβεν ἂν τις τῶν  
 ἀγνοούντων τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπανιόντας  
 οὐκ ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ παρατάξεως ἀφικνεῖσθαι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὀπλοσκοπίαις ἐπιδείξεων, ἃς  
 ἔθος ἐν εἰρήνῃ ποιεῖσθαι, γυμνάσματα δ’ εἰσὶ καὶ  
 μελέται συγκροτουμένων<sup>1</sup> τὰ κατ’ ἐχθρῶν ἐν φίλοις.  
 311 τὰς μὲν οὖν πόλεις ἢ κατασκάπτοντες ἢ ἐμπιπράν-  
 τες, ἠφάνισαν, ὡς μηδ’ εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑκίσθησαν

<sup>1</sup> Mangey wished to read *συγκροτούντων*, a very common usage no doubt with *πόλεμον* and the like, cf. e.g. *De Abr.* 29, but in a somewhat different sense. Here the passive =

## MOSES I. 306-311

proof of his courage in that capacity ; and after favourable sacrifices he dispatched his armed men, with words of encouragement to the following effect : “ The contest before you is not to win dominion, nor 307 to appropriate the possessions of others, which is the sole or principal object of other wars, but to defend piety and holiness, from which our kinsfolk and friends have been perverted by the enemies who have indirectly caused their victims to perish miserably. It would be absurd, then, if, after having 308 slain with our own hands those who transgressed the law, we should spare the enemies who committed the graver wrong ; if, after putting to death those who learned the lesson of wrongdoing, we should leave unpunished the teachers who forced them to it, and are responsible for all they did or suffered.” LVII. So, braced by these exhortations, with the 309 native gallantry of their souls kindled to a flame, they went forth to the contest as to certain victory with indomitable resolution, and in the engagement shewed such a wealth of strength and boldness, that they made a slaughter of their opponents, and returned themselves all safe and sound without a single one killed or even wounded. Indeed, any spectator 310 who did not know the facts would have supposed that they were returning not from a war or pitched battle but from those military reviews and displays of arms so frequently made in peace-time, which serve as drilling and practising grounds, where training for hostilities is carried on among friends. They 311 proceeded to destroy the cities utterly by demolition or fire, so that no one could have told that

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“trained in” followed by the acc. of respect is more appropriate.

## PHILO

εἰπεῖν ἔχειν· αἰχμαλώτων δὲ σωμάτων ἀπερίληπτον ἀριθμὸν ἀπαγαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἔδικαίωσαν, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι βουλευμάτων καὶ χειρῶν ἤρξαν ἀδίκων, τὰς δ' ἐπεὶ κατεγοήτευσαν τὴν Ἑβραίων νεότητα, παραιτίας γενομένας αὐτοῖς ἀκολασίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα θανάτου· νεοῖς δὲ κομιδῇ παισὶ καὶ παρθένοις συνέγνωσαν, ἀμνηστίαν τῆς ἡλικίας ἐφελκομένης.

- 312 Λείας δὲ πολλῆς ἄγαν εὐπορήσαντες ἔκ τε τῶν βασιλείων καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκιῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐπαύλεων—ἦν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσιν—, ἦγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπηχθισμένοι τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντα
- 313 πλοῦτον. ἐπαιέσας δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸν τε στρατηγὸν Φινεὲς καὶ τοὺς παραταξαμένους ἐπὶ τε τοῖς κατορθώμασι καὶ ὅτι ταῖς ὠφελείαις οὐκ ἐπέδραμον τὴν λείαν μόνοι σφετερίσασθαι διανοηθέντες, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προὔθεσαν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ καταμείναντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς μετάσχωσι, προστάττει τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμέρας, τῷ δὲ μεγάλῳ ἱερεῖ καθᾶραι τοῦ φόνου τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
- 314 παρατάξεως ἦκοντας τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ νόμιμοι αἱ κατ' ἐχθρῶν σφαγαί, ἀλλ' ὃ γε κτείνων ἄνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμυνόμενος καὶ βιασθεὶς, ὑπαίτιος εἶναι δοκεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ κοινὴν συγγένειαν· οὗ χάριν καθαρσίῳν ἐδέησε τοῖς κτείνασι πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ νομισθέντος ἄγους
- 315 γεγενῆσθαι. LVIII. μετ' οὐ πολὺν μὲν-  
τοι χρόνον καὶ τὴν λείαν διένειμε, τοῖς μὲν στρατευ-

## MOSES I. 311-315

they had ever been inhabited. And, having carried off prisoners more than they could count, they felt justified in putting the men and women to death, the former because these iniquitous designs and actions had been begun by them, the women because they had bewitched the younger Hebrews and thus led them into licentiousness and impiety and finally to death ; but to the boys who were quite young and the maidens they shewed the mercy which their tender age secured for them.

Having greatly enriched themselves with much 312  
booty from the palaces and private houses, and also from the country homesteads, since there was as much to be got from the estates as from the cities, they returned to the camp laden with all the wealth obtained from their enemies. Moses praised the 313  
general, Phinehas, and the combatants for their exploits, and also because they had not rushed to gain the prizes, nor thought of taking the spoil for themselves alone, but put it into a common stock, that those who had stayed behind in the tents might have their share. But he gave orders that they should stay outside the camp for some days, and that the high priest should purge from bloodshed those members of the united army who returned after being actually engaged. For, though the 314  
slaughter of enemies is lawful, yet one who kills a man, even if he does so justly and in self-defence and under compulsion, has something to answer for, in view of the primal common kinship of mankind. And therefore purification was needed for the slayers, to absolve them from what was held to have been a pollution.

LVIII. However, after 315  
a short time, he went on to distribute the spoil,

## PHILO

- σαμένοις—ὀλίγος δ' ἀριθμὸς ἦσαν παρὰ τοὺς ἡσυχάσαντας—διδούς ἡμισυ μέρος, θάτερον δὲ τοῖς καταμείνασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· δίκαιον γὰρ ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καὶ τούτοις μεταδοῦναι τῆς ὠφελείας, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς σώμασι, ταῖς γοῦν ψυχαῖς διαγωνισαμένοις· οἱ γὰρ ἔφεδροι τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν οὐκ ἐλαττούμενοι ταῖς προθυμίαις χρόνῳ καὶ τῷ φθα-
- 316 σθῆναι μόνον ὑστερίζουσι. λαβόντων δὲ τῶν μὲν ὀλίγων πλείω διὰ τὸ προκινδυνεύσαι, τῶν δὲ
- [131] πλειόνων ἐλάττω διὰ | τὴν ἔνδον μονήν, ἔδοξεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάσης τῆς λείας τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καθιερώσαι· τὸ μὲν οὖν πεντηκοστὸν οἱ ἐφεδρεύσαντες, πεντακοσιοστὴν δὲ μοῖραν οἱ προπολεμήσαντες εἰσήνεγκαν· τῶν δ' ἀπαρχῶν τὰς μὲν παρὰ τῶν στρατευσαμένων τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱερεῖ προστάττει δοθῆναι, τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν καταμεινάντων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῖς νεωκόροις, οἷς ὄνομα Λευῖται.
- 317 χιλίαρχοι δὲ καὶ ἑκατόνταρχοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῆς παντὸς λόγου κρείττονος νίκης ἐθελονταὶ κομίζουσιν ἐξαιρέτους ἀπαρχὰς, κόσμον τε χρυσοῦν ὅσον ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς λείας ἀνεῦρε καὶ σκευὴ πολυτελέστατα, ὧν πάλιν ὕλη χρυσοῦς ἦν· ἃ Μωυσῆς λαβὼν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν φερόντων ἀγάμενος ἀνατίθησιν ἐν τῇ καθιερωμένῃ σκηνῇ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν
- 318 ὑπόμνημα. παγκάλῃ δὲ ἡ διανομὴ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν· τὰς μὲν τῶν μὴ πεπολεμηκότων, ἡμίσειαν ἀρετῆς

## MOSES I. 315-318

giving half to the campaigners, who were a small number compared with those who had remained inactive, while the other half he gave to those who had stayed in the camp. For he considered that it was just to give them a part of the prizes, seeing that their souls at least, if not their bodies, had taken part in the conflict. For reserve troops are not inferior in spirit to the actual fighters, but take a second place only in time and because the first place is preoccupied by others. And, now that the few had taken more, because they were in the fore-  
front of danger, and the many less, because they had remained in the camp, he thought it necessary to dedicate the firstfruits of all the spoil. So the reserves contributed a fiftieth, and those who had led the advance a five-hundredth. The offerings of the latter class he ordered to be given to the high priest, and those of the former class to the temple servants, who were called Levites. But the commanders of hundreds and thousands, and the rest of the company of officers who led the various divisions,<sup>a</sup> voluntarily made a special offering of firstfruits in acknowledgement of the preservation of themselves and their fellow-combatants, and of the victory whose glory no words could describe. These offerings were all the golden ornaments which each of them obtained from the spoil, and very costly vessels also made of gold; all of which Moses took, and, honouring the piety of the donors, laid them up in the consecrated tabernacle as a memorial of their thankfulness. Admirable indeed was the system of distributing the firstfruits. The tribute of the non-combatants, who

<sup>a</sup> More literally "captain of regiments and brigades." The "taxiarch" is the higher of the two.

## PHILO

τὴν χωρὶς ἔργου προθυμίαν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιδειξα-  
 μένων, τοῖς νεωκόροις ἀπένειμε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀγωνι-  
 σαμένων, οἱ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἐκινδύνευσαν ὀλό-  
 κληρον ἀνδραγαθίαν παρασχόμενοι, τῷ προεστηκότῳ  
 τῶν νεωκόρων ἱερεὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ, τὰς δὲ τῶν ταξι-  
 αρχῶν ἅτε ἡγεμονικὰς τῷ συμπάντων ἡγεμόνι θεῷ.

- 319 LIX. Πάντες οὗτοι διεπολεμήθησαν οἱ πόλεμοι,  
 μήπω διαβεβηκότων Ἰορδάνην τὸν ἐγχώριον ποτα-  
 μόν, πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἀντιπέρας γῆς οἰκήτορας εὐ-  
 δαίμονος καὶ βαθείας, ἐν ἧ πολλῇ πεδιάδι σιτο-  
 320 φόρος καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσιν ἐνεγκεῖν ἀγαθῆ. ταύτην  
 ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὴν χώραν αἱ κτηνοτρόφοι δύο φυλαί,  
 μοῖρα τοῦ σύμπαντος ἕκτη στρατοῦ, Μωυσῆν ἰκέ-  
 τευον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς κληρουχίας ἐνταυθοῖ λαβεῖν  
 αὐτὰς ἤδη ποτὲ ἰδρυθείσας.<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτηδειότατον γὰρ  
 ἔφασκον εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐννέμεσθαί τε καὶ ἐμ-  
 βόσκεσθαι θρέμμασιν εὐδρον ὄντα καὶ εὐχορτον καὶ  
 321 προβατευσίμην ἄφθονον πόαν ἀπαυτοματίζοντα. ὁ  
 δὲ νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἢ προεδρία τὴν διανομὴν τὰ τε  
 γέρα πρὸ καιροῦ λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς  
 μέλλοντας πολέμους ἀποκνεῖν, ἐφεδρευόντων ἔτι  
 πλειόνων βασιλέων, οἱ τὴν εἴσω τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν  
 διεκεκλήρωντο, πάνυ δυσχεράνας πρὸς ὄργην  
 322 ἀποκρίνεται καὶ φησιν· “ ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταυθοῖ  
 καθεδεῖσθε σχολὴν ἐν οὐ δέοντι καὶ ἀργίαν ἕξοντες,  
 τοὺς δ’ ὑμετέρους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους οἱ λειπό-  
 μενοι τραχηλιοῦσι πόλεμοι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄθλα μόνοις  
 ὑμῖν ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένοις πᾶσι δοθήσεται, μάχαι  
 [132] δὲ καὶ πόνοι καὶ | ταλαιπωρίαὶ καὶ οἱ ἀνωτάτω

<sup>1</sup> The text has not been questioned, but seems to me difficult. Presumably αὐτὰς . . . ἰδρυθείσας refers to φυλαί, not to κληρουχίας, but no example is given of this construction with ἐπιτρέπω. I should like to read αὐταῖς . . . ἰδρυθείσας.



## MOSES I. 318-322

had shewn a half-excellence by a zeal unaccompanied by action, he assigned to the temple servants; that of the fighters, who had hazarded bodies and souls, and thus displayed a complete measure of manly worth, he gave to the high priest, the president of the temple servants, that of the commanders of divisions, being the gift of captains, to the captain all, even God.

LIX. <sup>a</sup> All these wars were fought and won without crossing the river of the land, the Jordan, against the inhabitants of the rich and deep-soiled country on the outer side, where there was much expanse of plain fit for growing corn and providing excellent fodder for cattle. When the two cattle-breeding tribes, who were a sixth part of the whole host, surveyed this country, they besought Moses to let them take their allotments there and settle down at once; for the region, they said, was very well suited to give pasturage and grazing to cattle, being well supplied with water and grassland and producing of itself abundance of herbage for maintaining sheep. Moses, however, considered that they were either claiming to have precedence in the distribution and to take their prizes before they were due, or else were shirking the wars which awaited them, where more kings, whose possessions were situated on the inner side of the river, were still lying ready to resist them. Consequently, he was greatly incensed, and answered them angrily in these words: "Are you, then, to settle down here to enjoy an undeserved leisure and idleness, leaving your kinsfolk and friends to the agony of the wars which still remain? And are the prizes to be given to you alone, as though success was complete, while battles and labours and tribula-

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 319-333 see Num. xxxii.

## PHILO

- 323 κίνδυνοι ἑτέρους ἀναμενοῦσιν; ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον ὑμᾶς μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ καρποῦσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς ἀμυθήτοις ἐναθλεῖν, οὐδὲ προσθήκην τὸ ὅλον μέρους εἶναι· τούναντίον γὰρ ἔνεκα τῶν ὅλων τὰ μέρη
- 324 κληρονομίας ἀξιοῦται. πάντες ἐστὲ ἰσότιμοι, γένος ἓν, οἱ αὐτοὶ πατέρες, οἰκία μία, ἔθνη τὰ αὐτά, κοινωνία νόμων, ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν ἕκαστον τὴν οἰκειότητα συνδεῖ καὶ πρὸς εὖνοιαν ἀρμόζεται. διὰ τί δὴ τῶν ἴσων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀξιοθέντες ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς πλεονεκτήσετε, ὡς ἢ ἄρχοντες ὑπηκόων ἢ δεσπότης δούλων κατα-
- 325 φρονήσαντες; ἔδει μὲν ὑμᾶς ταῖς ἑτέρων πληγαῖς πεπαιδευθῆναι· φρονίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μὴ ἀναμένειν, ἄχρῖς ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθῃ τὰ δεινά· νυνὶ δὲ παραδείγματ' ἔχοντες οἰκεῖα τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ κατ-εσκεψάντο τήνδε τὴν χώραν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς καὶ τῶν συναπονηθέντων—ἅπαντες γὰρ ἔξω δυοῖν ἀπώλοντο—, δέον μηδενὶ τῶν ὁμοίων συνεπιγράφεσθαι, δειλίαν, ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν, ζηλοῦτε ὡς οὐκ εὐαλωτότεροι γενησόμενοι καὶ τὰς προθυμίας ὑποσκελίζετε τῶν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι προαιρουμένων ἐκλύοντες καὶ παριέντες αὐτῶν τὰ
- 326 φρονήματα. τοιγάρτοι σπεύδοντες ἀμαρτάνειν σπεύσετε καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίας· ἢ γὰρ δίκη μόλις μὲν εἴωθε κινεῖσθαι, κινηθεῖσα δ' ἅπαξ φθάνει προ-
- 327 καταλαμβάνουσα τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας. ὅταν οὖν

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. "and is fitted to goodwill," *i.e.* fitted to take part in producing goodwill.

<sup>b</sup> The thought is taken from v. 23 (in Moses' second

## MOSES I. 323-327

tion and supreme dangers await the others? Nay, 323  
it is not just that you should reap peace and its blessings, while the others are struggling with wars and countless ills, or that the whole should be a mere appendage to the parts, whereas, on the contrary, it is only on the merits of the whole that the parts are held deserving of their portion. You have all equal 324  
rights with us ; one race, the same fathers, one house, the same customs, community of laws, and other things innumerable, each of which strengthens the tie of kinship and the harmony of goodwill.<sup>a</sup> Why, then, when you have been adjudged an equal share in the greatest and most vital matters, should you seek an unfair preference in the distribution, with the arrogance which a ruler might shew to his subjects or a master to his slaves? You ought, indeed, 325  
to have learnt a lesson from the blows which others have suffered ; for wise men do not wait till the calamity is upon them. As it is, though your own kin supplies you with examples of warning in your fathers who inspected this land, and in the misfortune of them and those who shared their craven-heartedness, all of whom perished save two, though you should not let your name be associated with any such as these, so senseless are you that you follow after cowardice and forget that it will make you an easier prey. And you upset the ardent resolution of those who are fully disposed to manliness, whose spirits you paralyse and unnerve. Therefore, in hastening to sin, you will be 326  
hastening to punishment also ;<sup>b</sup> for it is the way of justice to be slow to move, but, when it is once moved, it overtakes and seizes the fugitives. When all the 327  
speech). LXX “ you shall know your sin, when evils overtake you.” E.V. “ and be sure your sin will find you out.”

## PHILO

ἅπαντες μὲν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καθαιρεθῶσιν, ἔφεδρος δὲ μηδεὶς ἔτι προσδοκᾶται πόλεμος, ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐθύταις ἀνεπίληπτοι δοκιμασθῶσιν οἱ σύμμαχοι, μὴ λιποτάξιον, μὴ λιποστράτιον, μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ἐφ' ἣττη διαπεπραγμένοι, παραμεμενηκότες δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους φαίνονται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις, ἐρημωθῆ δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν προενωκηκότων, τηρικαῦτα δοθήσεται τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰ ἀριστεία ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐξ ἴσου."

- 328 LX. Τὴν δὲ νοθεσίαν πράως ἐνεγκόντες ὡς υἱοὶ γνήσιοι σφόδρα εὖνου πατρὸς—ἤδεσαν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαξονεούμενον ἀρχῆς ἐξουσία, προκηδόμενον δὲ πάντων καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἰσότητα τιμῶντα καὶ τὸ μισοπόνηρον οὐκ ἐπ' ὀνειδίζει σωφρονισμῷ δὲ τῶν βελτιοῦσθαι δυναμένων αἰεὶ ποιούμενον<sup>1</sup>—"εἰκότως μὲν" ἔφασαν "ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τοῦθ' ὑπέληφας, ὅτι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολιπόντες
- 329 πρὸ καιροῦ τὰς λήξεις λαβεῖν ἐπειγόμεθα. χρὴ δὲ σαφῶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς φοβεῖ τῶν σὺν ἀρετῇ, κἂν ἐπιπονώτατον τυγχάνῃ. κρίνομεν δ'
- [133] ἀρετῆς ἔργα, πειθαρχεῖν τέ | σοι τοιῶδε ἡγεμόνι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν μὴ ὑστερίζειν καὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐξετάζεσθαι ταῖς μελλούσαις στρατείαις, ἄχρισ ἂν
- 330 τὰ πράγματα λάβῃ τέλος αἴσιον. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καθὰ καὶ πρότερον συνταξάμενοι διαβησόμεθα τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐν ταῖς παντευχίαις, οὐδεὶν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν πρόφασιν παρασχόντες μονῆς· υἱοὶ δὲ κομιδῆ νήπιοι καὶ θυγατέρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn and Mangey both question this use of ποιούμενον, but do not propose any satisfactory emendation. Perhaps

## MOSES I. 327-330

enemies are destroyed, and there is no prospect of war still awaiting us ; when all the confederates have on scrutiny been found guiltless of desertion from the ranks or from the army, or of any other action which is the sequel of defeat, but have proved their constancy both of body and spirit from first to last ; when finally the whole country has been cleared of its former inhabitants, then will the prizes and rewards for valour be given to the tribes on equal terms."

LX. The two tribes listened to this admonition 328  
meekly, as true-born sons to a very kindly father. For they knew that he did not speak with an arrogance founded on official authority, but out of solicitude for them all and respect for justice and equality, and that his detestation of evil was never meant to cast reproach but always to bring those capable of improvement to a better mind. "You are naturally indignant," they replied, "if you have got the idea that we are eager to leave the confederacy and take our portions before they are due. But you must 329  
clearly understand that no form of virtuous conduct, however toilsome it may be, alarms us. And by virtuous conduct we understand that we should obey you, great leader as you are, and be backward in no danger, and take our place in all the coming campaigns until the happy consummation is reached. We will, therefore, as before, take our place in the 330  
ranks, and cross Jordan with our full equipment, and give none of our armed men any excuse to stay behind ; but our sons who are mere children and our daughters and our wives and our great stock of cattle

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*τὸ μισοπόνηρον <ὡς ἄν> . . . ποιούμενον* ("deeming to be")  
would accord with the ordinary usage of the middle.

## PHILO

βοσκημάτων, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψῃς, ὑπολελείφονται, παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναιξὶν οἰκίας ἐπαύλεις δὲ θρέμμασι κατασκευασάντων ἡμῶν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δεινὸν πάθωσιν ἐν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ ἀφρουρήτοις προ-  
καταληφθέντες.”

- 331 Ὁ δ' ἴλεω τῷ βλέμματι καὶ πραοτέρᾳ τῇ φωνῇ  
“ ἄψευδοῦσιν ὑμῖν ” ἔφη “ βέβαιοι μενοῦσιν ὡς  
ἠτήσασθε λήξεις. ὑπολείπεσθε μὲν ὡς ἀξιούτε  
γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ βοσκήματα, κατὰ λόχους  
δ' αὐτοὶ διαβαίνετε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὠπλισμένοι  
καὶ ἐκτεταγμένοι πρὸς μάχην ὡς αὐτίκα, ἣν δέη,  
332 πολεμήσοντες. αὐθις δ' ὅταν ἅπαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ  
καθαιρεθῶσι καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης τὴν χώραν οἱ  
κεκρατηκότες διανείμονται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπανελεύ-  
σεσθε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἀπο-  
λαύσοντες ἀγαθῶν καὶ καρπωσόμενοι ἣν εἴλεσθε  
333 μοῖραν.” ταῦτ' εἰπόντος καὶ ὑποσχομένου, πληρω-  
θέντες εὐθυμίας καὶ χαρᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους μετὰ  
τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀσφαλῶς ἐν ἐρύμασι δυσαλώτοις,  
ᾧν τὰ πλείστα χειροποίητα ἦν, ἰδρύνονται, τὰ δ'  
ὄπλα ἀναλαβόντες ἐξέθεον τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων  
προθυμότερον ὡς ἢ μόνοι πολεμήσοντες ἢ προαγω-  
νιούμενοι πάντων<sup>1</sup>. ὁ γὰρ προλαβὼν τινα δωρεὰν  
προθυμότερος εἰς συμμαχίαν, ἀποτίνειν ἀναγκαῖον  
ὄφλημα νομίζων, οὐ χαρίζεσθαι.
- 334 Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ  
μεμήνυται· λεκτέον δ' ἐξῆς καὶ ὅσα διὰ τῆς ἀρχ-  
ιερωσύνης καὶ νομοθετικῆς κατώρθωσε· καὶ γὰρ  
ταύτας περιεποίησατο τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς ἀρμοττού-  
σας μάλιστα βασιλείᾳ.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πάντως.

## MOSES I. 330-334

will be left behind, if you permit, after we have built houses for the women and children and sheds for the animals, since otherwise, caught before we return, in a position unfortified and unprotected, they might meet with disaster at the hands of raiders."

Moses' face was kindly and his tones milder, as he 331 replied as follows : " If you are true to your words, the apportionments which you have asked shall remain secure to you. Leave your women and children and cattle, as you demand, and cross the river yourselves in your battalions with the rest, fully armed and arrayed for the fight, ready to engage at once if necessary. Later, when all the enemy are destroyed, 332 and, peace having been made, the victors divide the land, you too will return to your people to enjoy the good things that fall to your share and reap the fruits of the lot that you have chosen." When they heard 333 these promises from his lips, filled with joy and courage, they settled their people and cattle safely in positions strongly protected against assault, in most cases by artificial fortifications. Then, taking up their arms, they rushed to the field more eagerly than the other confederates, as though they would wage the war alone or at any rate be the first of all to enter the conflict. For the acceptance of a gift beforehand increases a man's readiness to support his comrades. He feels that he is not a free giver, but is repaying a debt which he cannot escape.

We have now told the story of Moses' actions in his 334 capacity of king. We must next deal with all that he achieved by his powers as high priest and legislator, powers which he possessed as the most fitting accompaniments of kingship.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ  
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

[134]

- 1 Ἡ μὲν προτέρα σύνταξις ἐστὶ περὶ γενέσεως τῆς Μωυσέως καὶ τροφῆς, ἔτι δὲ παιδείας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἣν οὐ μόνον ἀνεπιλήπτως ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινετῶς ἤρξε, καὶ τῶν ἐν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην πεπραγμένων, ἃ δύνανται πᾶσαν λόγων ὑπερβάλλει, καὶ προσέτι πόνων οὓς κατώρθωσε καὶ κληρουχιῶν ἃς ἐκ μέρους ἀπένειμε τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις· ἣν δὲ νυνὶ συντάττομεν, περὶ τῶν ἐπομένων
- 2 καὶ ἀκολουθῶν. φασὶ γάρ τινες οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, μόνως ἂν οὕτω τὰς πόλεις ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν <ἦ> οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσιν ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν. ὁ δ' ἐκ περιττοῦ φανεῖται μὴ μόνον ταύτας ἐπιδεδειγμένους τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν ταυτῷ, τὴν τε βασιλικὴν καὶ φιλόσοφον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 3 τρεῖς ἑτέρας, ὧν ἡ μὲν πραγματεύεται περὶ νομοθεσιαν, ἡ δὲ περὶ ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἡ δὲ τελευταία περὶ προφητείαν. περὶ ὧν νυνὶ λέγειν εἰλόμην ἀναγκαίως ὑπολαβὼν τῷ αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐφαρμόττειν· ἐγένετο γὰρ προνοία θεοῦ βασιλεύς τε καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προφήτης καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ

<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Rep.* v. 473 D.



## ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK II

I. The former treatise dealt with the birth and 1  
nurture of Moses ; also with his education and career  
as a ruler, in which capacity his conduct was not  
merely blameless but highly praiseworthy ; also  
with the works which he performed in Egypt and  
during the journeys both at the Red Sea and in the  
wilderness—works which no words can adequately  
describe ; further, with the troubles which he suc-  
cessfully surmounted, and with his partial distribu-  
tion of territories to the combatants. The present  
treatise is concerned with matters allied and conse-  
quent to these. For it has been said, not without 2  
good reason, that states can only make progress in  
well-being if either kings are philosophers or philo-  
sophers are kings.<sup>a</sup> But Moses will be found to  
have displayed, and more than displayed, combin-  
ed in his single person, not only these two faculties  
—the kingly and the philosophical—but also three  
others, one of which is concerned with law-giving,  
the second with the high priest's office, and the last  
with prophecy. On these three I have now elected 3  
to write, being forced to the conviction that it is  
fitting that they should be combined in the same  
person. For Moses, through God's providence,  
became king and lawgiver and high priest and  
prophet ; and in each function he won the highest

## PHILO

τὰ πρωτεῖα ἠνέγκατο· διὰ τί δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐφ-  
 4 αρμόττει, δηλωτέον. βασιλεῖ προσήκει προστάττειν  
 ἃ χρῆ καὶ ἀπαγορεύειν ἃ μὴ χρῆ· πρόσταξις δὲ  
 τῶν πρακτέων καὶ ἀπαγόρευσις τῶν οὐ πρακτέων  
 ἴδιον νόμον, ὡς εὐθὺς εἶναι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα νόμον  
 5 ἔμψυχον, τὸν δὲ νόμον βασιλέα δίκαιον. βασιλεὺς  
 δὲ καὶ νομοθέτης ὀφείλει μὴ τάνθρωπεια μόνον  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα συνεπισκοπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ θείας  
 ἐπιφροσύνης κατορθοῦνται τὰ βασιλέων καὶ ὑπηκόων  
 πράγματα· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐδέησε τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τῆς  
 πρώτης ἱερωσύνης, ἵν' ἐπὶ τελείοις ἱεροῖς καὶ  
 ἐπιστήμῃ τελείᾳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείας ἀποτροπήν  
 μὲν κακῶν μετουσίαν δ' ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀρχομένοις αἰτῆται παρὰ τοῦ ἔλεω καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς  
 συνεπινεύοντος· πῶς γὰρ οὐ τελεσφορήσει τὰς εὐ-  
 χὰς ὁ καὶ ἐκ φύσεως εὐμενῆς καὶ τοὺς γνησίως  
 θεραπεύοντας αὐτὸν προνομίας ἀξιῶν;  
 6 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μυρία καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ νομοθέτῃ καὶ  
 ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων καὶ θεῶν ἄδηλα—γε-  
 νητὸς γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ θνητὸς ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ  
 τοσοῦτον καὶ οὕτως ἄφθονον περιβέβληται κληρὸν  
 εὐπραγιῶν—, ἀναγκαίως καὶ προφητείας ἔτυχεν, ἵν'  
 ὅσα μὴ λογισμῷ δύναται καταλαμβάνειν, ταῦτα  
 προνοία θεοῦ εὔροι· ὧν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται,  
 7 πρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. καλή γε ἡ συζυγία  
 καὶ παναρμόνιος τῶν τεττάρων δυνάμεων· ἐμ-  
 πλεκόμεναι γὰρ καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεναι συγχορεύουσι  
 τὰς ὠφελείας ἀντιλαμβάνουσαι τε καὶ ἀντεκ-  
 τίνουσαι, μιμούμεναι τὰς παρθένους Χάριτας, αἷς  
 μὴ διαζεύγνυσθαι νόμος φύσεως ἀκίνητος· ἐφ' ὧν

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Abr.* 5 and note, and see App. p. 605.

## MOSES II. 3-7

place. But why it is fitting that they should all be combined in the same person needs explanation. It is a king's duty to command what is right 4 and forbid what is wrong. But to command what should be done and to forbid what should not be done is the peculiar function of law; so that it follows at once that the king is a living law, and the law a just king.<sup>a</sup> But a king and lawgiver ought to 5 have under his purview not only human but divine things; for, without God's directing care, the affairs of kings and subjects cannot go aright. And therefore such as he needs the chief priest-hood, so that, fortified with perfect rites and the perfect knowledge of the service of God, he may ask that he and those whom he rules may receive prevention of evil and participation in good from the gracious Being Who assents to prayers. For surely that Being will grant fulfilment to prayers, seeing that He is kindly by nature and deems worthy of His special favour those who give Him genuine service. But, since 6 to this king, lawgiver and high priest who, though possessed of so generous a heritage of fortune's gifts, is after all but a mortal creature, countless things both human and divine are wrapped in obscurity, Moses necessarily obtained prophecy also, in order that through the providence of God he might discover what by reasoning he could not grasp. For prophecy finds its way to what the mind fails to reach. Beauti- 7 ful and all-harmonious is the union of these four faculties; for, intertwined and clinging to each other, they move in rhythmic concord, mutually receiving and repaying benefits, and thus imitate the virgin Graces whom an immutable law of nature forbids to be separated. And of them it may be justly

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δεόντως εἶποι τις ἄν, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἴωθε λέγεσθαι, ὅτι ὁ μίαν ἔχων καὶ πάσας ἔχει.

- 8 II. Ῥητέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νομοθετικὴν ἔξιν. οὐκ ἄγνωῶ μὲν οὖν, ὅτι τῷ μέλλοντι ἀρίστῳ γενήσεσθαι νομοθέτη προσήκει παντελεσί καὶ ὀλοκλήροις κεχρησθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς πάσαις· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις οἱ μὲν ἐγγυτάτῳ γένους εἰσὶν, οἱ δὲ πόρρω, συγγενεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀλλήλων, καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὰς μὲν προσπεφυκέναι νομιστέον
- 9 μᾶλλον ἐνίοις πράγμασι, τὰς δ' ἥττον ὤκειῶσθαι.
- [136] | νομοθετικῇ δ' ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῇ τέτταρα ταυτὶ διαφερόντως ἐστί· τὸ φιλόανθρωπον, τὸ φιλοδίκαιον, τὸ φιλάγαθον, τὸ μισοπόνηρον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐκάστου παρακαλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτῳ ζῆλος εἰσέρχεται τοῦ νομοθετεῖν, φιλανθρωπίας μὲν εἰς μέσον προτιθέναι τὰς κοινωφελεῖς γνώμας ἀναδιδασκούσης, δικαιοσύνης δὲ ὡς ἰσότητα τιμητέον καὶ ὡς τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητέον ἐκάστοις, φιλαγαθίας δ' ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ φύσει καλὰ καὶ παρέχειν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀταμίευτα πρὸς ἀφθονωτάτην χρῆσιν, μισοπονηρίας δὲ προβεβλήσθαι τοὺς ἀτιμάζοντας ἀρετὴν καὶ ὡς κοινούς δυσμενεῖς τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
- 10 γένους ὑποβλέπεσθαι. μέγα μὲν οὖν, εἴ τῳ καὶ ἔν τι τῶν λεχθέντων λαβεῖν ἐγένετο, θαυμαστὸν δ' ὡς ἔοικε τούτων ἀθρόων περιδράξασθαι δυναθῆναι, οὐ μόνος Μωυσῆς ἐφικέσθαι δοκεῖ τρανώσας εὖ μάλα
- 11 τὰς εἰρημένας ἀρετὰς ἐν οἷς διετάξατο. συνίσασιν δ' οἱ ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐντυγχάνοντες, ἃς οὐκ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἐπεφύκει, συνέγραψεν ὑψηγῆσαμένου θεοῦ καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἀξίοις χρῆσθαι, κτημάτων

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 125.

## MOSES II. 7-11

said, what is often said of the virtues, that to have one is to have all.<sup>a</sup>

II. First, we must speak of the legislative condition of mind. I know, indeed, that he who is to obtain excellence as a legislator should possess all the virtues fully and completely. But, since also in households there are some very nearly and others only distantly connected with the family, though all are akin to each other, so too we must suppose that some virtues are more closely associated with some situations, while others have less affinity. The legislative faculty has for its brothers and close kinsfolk these four in particular : love of humanity, of justice, of goodness, and hatred of evil. Each of these has its message of encouragement for everyone who is inspired with a zeal for law-making. By love of humanity he is bidden to produce for public use his thoughts for the common weal ; by justice to honour equality and to render to every man his due ; by love of goodness to approve of things naturally excellent, and to supply them without reserve to all who are worthy of them for their unstinted use ; by hatred of evil to spurn the dishonourers of virtue, and frown upon them as the common enemies of the human race. It is no small thing if it is given to any one to acquire even one of these—a marvel surely that he should be able to grasp them all together. And to this Moses alone appears to have attained, who shews distinctly these aforesaid virtues in his ordinances. They know this well who read the sacred books, which, unless he was such as we have said, he would never have composed under God's guidance and handed on for the use of those who are worthy to use them, to be their fairest pos-

## PHILO

τὸ κάλλιστον, τῶν ἀγαματοφορουμένων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παραδειγμάτων ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ μιμήματα, ἃ καὶ οἱ δηλωθέντες νόμοι γεγόνασι σαφέστατα τὰς λεχθείσας ἐμφαίνοντες ἀρετάς.

- 12 III. "Ὅτι δ' αὐτός τε νομοθετῶν ἄριστος τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων, ὅσοι παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ νόμοι κάλλιστοι καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῖοι μηδὲν ὦν χρή παραλιπόντες, ἐναργεστάτη
- 13 πίστις ἦδε· τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων νόμιμα εἴ τις ἐπίοι τῷ λογισμῷ, διὰ μυρίας προφάσεις εὐρήσει κεκινημένα, πολέμοις ἢ τυραννίσιν ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀβουλήτοις, ἃ νεωτερισμῷ τύχης κατασκήπτει· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τρυφή πλεονάσασα χορηγίαις καὶ περιουσίαις ἀφθόνοις καθεῖλε νόμους, "τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ" τῶν πολλῶν φέρειν οὐ δυναμένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ κόρον
- 14 ἐξυβριζόντων· ὕβρις δ' ἀντίπαλον νόμῳ. τὰ δὲ τούτου μόνου βέβαια, ἀσάλευτα, ἀκράδαντα, καθάπερ σφραγίσιν φύσεως αὐτῆς σεσημασμένα, μένει παγίως ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐγράφη μέχρι νῦν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπειτα πάντα διαμενεῖν ἐλπίς αὐτὰ αἰῶνα ὡσπερ ἀθάνατα, ἕως ἂν ἡλῖος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας
- 15 οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος ἦ. τοσαύταις γοῦν χρησμένου τοῦ ἔθνους μεταβολαῖς κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας καὶ τούναντίον, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ μικρότατον
- [137] τῶν | διατεταγμένων ἐκινήθη, πάντων ὡς εἶκε τὸ
- 16 σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς αὐτῶν ἐκτετιμηκότων. ἃ δὲ μὴ λιμός ἢ λοιμός ἢ πόλεμος ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἢ ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος ἢ παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν ἐπανάστασις ἢ τι ἄλλο θεήλατον ἢ ἀνθρώπειον κακὸν ἔλυσε, πῶς οὐ περιμάχητα καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα καθ-

<sup>a</sup> See *De Abr.* 134 and note.

## MOSES II. 11-16

session, likenesses and copies of the patterns enshrined in the soul, as also are the laws set before us in these books, which shew so clearly the said virtues.

III. That Moses himself was the best of all law-givers in all countries, better in fact than any that have ever arisen among either the Greeks or the barbarians, and that his laws are most excellent and truly come from God, since they omit nothing that is needful, is shewn most clearly by the following proof. Anyone who takes a considered view of the institutions of other peoples will find that they have been unsettled by numberless causes—wars, tyrannies or other mishaps—which the revolutions of fortune have launched upon them. Often, too, luxury, growing to excess by lavish supplies of superfluities, has upset the laws; because the mass of people, being unable to bear “good things in excess,”<sup>a</sup> becomes surfeited and consequently violent: and violence is the enemy of law. But Moses is alone in this, that his laws, firm, unshaken, immovable, stamped, as it were, with the seals of nature herself, remain secure from the day when they were first enacted to now, and we may hope that they will remain for all future ages as though immortal, so long as the sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe exist. Thus, though the nation has undergone so many changes, both to increased prosperity and the reverse, nothing—not even the smallest part of the ordinances—has been disturbed; because all have clearly paid high honour to their venerable and godlike character. But that which no famine nor pestilence nor war nor king nor tyrant, no rebel assault of soul or body or passion or vice, nor any other evil whether of God’s sending or man’s making, could undo, must surely be precious

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- 17 ἔστηκεν; IV. ἀλλ' οὐπω τοῦτο θαυμα-  
 στόν, καίτοι μέγα καθ' αὐτὸ δεόντως ἂν νομισθέν,  
 τὸ ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ χρόνου πεφυλάχθαι τοὺς νόμους  
 ἐν βεβαίῳ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνο θαυμασιώτερον, ὡς ἔοικε,  
 τὸ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 σχεδὸν ἅπαντας καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἀρετῆς πλείων  
 λόγος πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὴν ὠσιῶ-  
 σθαι· γέρας γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔλαχον ἐξαιρέτον, ὃ μηδενὶ  
 18 πρόσσεστιν ἑτέρῳ. σημεῖον δέ· τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδεμία  
 πόλις ἐστίν, ἣ τὰ ἑτέρας νόμιμα τιμᾶ, μόλις δὲ καὶ  
 τῶν αὐτῆς εἰς αἰὲ περιέχεται, πρὸς τὰς τῶν καιρῶν  
 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μεθαρμοζομένη τροπᾶς.  
 19 Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα  
 προβέβληνται καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Ἀθηναίων·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς  
 Σκυθῶν νόμους φυλάττουσιν ἢ Σκύθαι τοὺς Αἰγυ-  
 πτίων ἢ συνελόντι φράσαι τοὺς τῶν κατ' Εὐρώπην  
 οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες ἢ τοὺς τῶν Ἀσιανῶν  
 ἔθνῶν οἱ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ· ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν οἱ ἀφ' ἡλίου  
 ἀνιόντος ἄχρι δυομένου, πᾶσα χώρα καὶ ἔθνος καὶ  
 πόλις, τῶν ξενικῶν νομίμων ἀλλοτριοῦνται καὶ  
 οἴονται τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδοχὴν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς  
 20 ἄλλοις ἀτιμάζουσιν, συναυξήσειν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὧδ'  
 ἔχει τὰ ἡμέτερα· πάντας γὰρ ἐπάγεται καὶ συν-  
 επιστρέφει, βαρβάρους, Ἑλληνας, ἠπειρώτας, νησιώ-  
 τας, ἔθνη τὰ ἐῶα, τὰ ἐσπέρια, Εὐρώπην, Ἀσίαν,  
 ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα.  
 21 τίς γὰρ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην ἐβδόμην οὐκ  
 ἐκτετίμηκεν, ἄνεσιν πόνων καὶ ραστώνῃ αὐτῷ τε



## MOSES II. 17-21

beyond what words can describe. IV.  
 Yet, though it may be rightly thought a great 17  
 matter in itself that the laws should have been  
 guarded securely through all time, we have not  
 reached the true marvel. There is something surely  
 still more wonderful—even this : not only Jews but  
 almost every other people, particularly those which  
 take more account of virtue, have so far grown in  
 holiness as to value and honour our laws. In this  
 they have received a special distinction which belongs  
 to no other code. Here is the proof. Throughout 18  
 the world of Greeks and barbarians, there is practi-  
 cally no state which honours the institutions of any  
 other. Indeed, they can scarcely be said to retain  
 their own perpetually, as they adapt them to meet  
 the vicissitudes of times and circumstances. The 19  
 Athenians reject the customs and institutions of the  
 Lacedaemonians, and the Lacedaemonians those of  
 the Athenians ; nor, in the world of the barbarians,  
 do the Egyptians maintain the laws of the Scythians  
 nor the Scythians those of the Egyptians—nor, to put  
 it generally, Europeans those of Asiatics nor Asiatics  
 those of Europeans. We may fairly say that man-  
 kind from east to west, every country and nation and  
 state, shew aversion to foreign institutions, and think  
 that they will enhance the respect for their own by  
 shewing disrespect for those of other countries. It 20  
 is not so with ours. They attract and win the atten-  
 tion of all, of barbarians, of Greeks, of dwellers on the  
 mainland and islands, of nations of the east and the  
 west, of Europe and Asia, of the whole inhabited  
 world from end to end. For, who has not 21  
 shewn his high respect for that sacred seventh day,  
 by giving rest and relaxation from labour to himself

## PHILO

- καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑποζυγίοις διδούς;
- 22 φθάνει γὰρ ἢ ἐκεχειρία καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀγέλην καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν γέγονεν ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ δούλα θεραπεύοντα τὸν φύσει δεσπότην, φθάνει καὶ πρὸς δένδρων καὶ φυτῶν ἅπασαν ἰδέαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρνος, οὐ κλάδον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πέταλον ἐφέϊται τεμεῖν ἢ καρπὸν ὄντινοῦν δρέψασθαι, πάντων διαφειμένων
- [138] κατ' ἐκείνην | τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὡσπερ ἐλευθερίαν ἀγόντων, κοινῶ κηρύγματι μηδενὸς ἐπιψαύοντος.
- 23 τίς δὲ τὴν λεγομένην νηστείαν οὐ τέθηπε καὶ προσκυνεῖ δι' ἔτους ἀγομένην τῆς ἱερομηνίας αὐστηρότερον καὶ σεμνότερον τρόπον; ἐν ἣ μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ἄκρατος καὶ τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἐδωδῆν καὶ πόσιν ἄφθονα πάντα, δι' ὧν αἱ ἀκόρεστοι γαστροὶ ἡδοναὶ συναύξονται προσαναρρηγνῦσαι καὶ τὰς ὑπογαστρίους
- 24 ἐπιθυμίας· ἐν ἣ δ' οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτόν ἕξεισι προσενέγκασθαι, καθαραῖς ὅπως διανοίαις, μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδ' ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους, ὅποια φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς, ἐορτάζωσιν ἰλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς αἰσίοις εὐχαῖς, δι' ὧν ἀμνηστίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, κτήσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν εἰώθασιν αἰτεῖσθαι.
- 25 V. Τὸ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἱεροπρεπὲς ὡς οὐ παρ' Ἰουδαίοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις τεθαύμασται, δῆλον ἐκ τε τῶν εἰρημένων ἤδη καὶ
- 26 τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι. τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγράφησαν

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Day of Atonement. For the term "the fast" *cf.* Acts xxvii. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Or "holy season." A vague term (not indicating necessarily a whole month) for the periods varying with

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## MOSES II. 21-26

and his neighbours, freemen and slaves alike, and beyond these to his beasts? For the holiday extends also to every herd, and to all creatures made to minister to man, who serve like slaves their natural master. It extends also to every kind of trees and plants; for it is not permitted to cut any shoot or branch, or even a leaf, or to pluck any fruit whatsoever. All such are set at liberty on that day, and live as it were in freedom, under the general edict that proclaims that none should touch them.

Again, who does not every year shew awe and reverence for the fast, as it is called,<sup>a</sup> which is kept more strictly and solemnly than the "holy month"<sup>b</sup> of the Greeks? For in this last the untempered wine flows freely, and the board is spread sumptuously, and all manner of food and drink are lavishly provided, whereby the insatiable pleasures of the belly are enhanced, and further cause the outburst of the lusts that lie below it. But in our fast men may not put food and drink to their lips, in order that with pure hearts, untroubled and untrammelled by any bodily passion, such as is the common outcome of repletion, they may keep the holy-day, propitiating the Father of All with fitting prayers, in which they are wont to ask that their old sins may be forgiven and new blessings gained and enjoyed.

V. That the sanctity of our legislation has been a source of wonder not only to the Jews but also to all other nations, is clear both from the facts already mentioned and those which I proceed to state.<sup>c</sup> In different Greek states, in which hostilities or legal processes were forbidden.

<sup>c</sup> For the relation of this remarkable account (§§ 26-44) of the making of the Septuagint to other traditions see App. pp. 605-606.

## PHILO

- οἱ νόμοι γλώσση Χαλδαϊκῇ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἐν ὁμοίῳ τὴν διάλεκτον οὐ μεταβάλλοντες, ἕως μήπω τὸ κάλλος εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους 27 ἀνθρώπους ἀνέφηναν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συνεχοῦς μελέτης καὶ ἀσκήσεως τῶν χρωμένων αἴσθησις ἐγένετο καὶ ἑτέροις καὶ τὸ κλέος ἐφοίτα πανταχόσε—τὰ γὰρ καλὰ κἂν φθόνῳ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπισκιασθῆ χρόνον, ἐπὶ καιρῶν αὖθις ἀναλάμπει φύσεως εὐμενεία—, δεινὸν ἡγησάμενοί τινες, εἰ οἱ νόμοι παρὰ τῷ ἡμίσει τμήματι τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἐξετασθήσονται μόνῳ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ, τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς ἅπαν ἀμοιρή-
- 28 σει, πρὸς ἔρμηνειαν τὴν τούτων ἐτράποντο. τὸ δ' ἔργον ἐπεὶ καὶ μέγα ἦν καὶ κοινωφελές, οὐκ ἰδιώταις οὐδ' ἄρχουσιν, ὧν πολὺς ἀριθμὸς, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῦσι καὶ βασιλέων ἀνετέθη τῷ δοκιμωτάτῳ.
- 29 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς τρίτος μὲν ἦν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τὴν Αἴγυπτον παραλαβόντος, ἀρεταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πάντων, οὐχὶ [139] τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν μόνον, | ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάλαι πώποτε γεγενημένων ἀριστος, οὗ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοσαύταις ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἄδεται τὸ κλέος πολλὰ δείγματα καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς ἤδη καὶ ἐν παροιμίας εἶδει τὰς ὑπερόγκους φιλοτιμίας καὶ μεγάλας κατασκευὰς Φιλαδελφείους ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι.
- 30 συνόλως μὲν οὖν ἢ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἰκία διαφερόντως παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας βασιλείας ἤκμασεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πτολεμαίοις ὁ Φιλάδελφος—ὅσα γὰρ εἰς ἔδρασεν οὗτος ἐπαινετά, μόλις ἐκείνοι πάντες

## MOSES II. 26-30

ancient times the laws were written in the Chaldean tongue, and remained in that form for many years, without any change of language, so long as they had not yet revealed their beauty to the rest of mankind. But, in course of time, the daily, unbroken regularity 27 of practice exercised by those who observed them brought them to the knowledge of others, and their fame began to spread on every side. For things excellent, even if they are beclouded for a short time through envy, shine out again under the benign operation of nature when their time comes. Then it was that some people, thinking it a shame that the laws should be found in one half only of the human race, the barbarians, and denied altogether to the Greeks, took steps to have them translated. In 28 view of the importance and public utility of the task, it was referred not to private persons or magistrates, who were very numerous, but to kings, and amongst them to the king of highest repute. Ptolemy, sur- 29 named Philadelphus, was the third in succession to Alexander, the conqueror of Egypt. In all the qualities which make a good ruler, he excelled not only his contemporaries, but all who have arisen in the past; and even till to-day, after so many generations, his praises are sung for the many evidences and monuments of his greatness of mind which he left behind him in different cities and countries, so that, even now, acts of more than ordinary munificence or buildings on a specially great scale are proverbially called Philadelphian after him. To put it shortly, 30 as the house of the Ptolemies was highly distinguished, compared with other dynasties, so was Philadelphus among the Ptolemies. The creditable achievements of this one man almost outnumbered

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## PHILO

ἄθροοι διεπράξαντο<sup>1</sup>—γενόμενος καθάπερ ἐν ζῳῳ  
 τὸ ἡγεμονεῦον κεφαλὴν τρόπον τινα τῶν βασιλέων.

31 VI. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ζῆλον καὶ πόθον  
 λαβὼν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῶν εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν  
 τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν μεθαρμόζεσθαι διανοεῖτο καὶ πρέ-  
 σβεις εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχ-  
 ιερέα καὶ βασιλέα—ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν—τό τε βούλημα  
 δηλῶν καὶ προτρέπων ἀριστίνδην ἐλέσθαι τοὺς

32 τὸν νόμον διερμηνεύοντας. ὁ δ' οἶα εἰκὸς ἦσθεις  
 καὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης περὶ τὸ  
 τοιοῦτον ἔργον ἐσπουδακέναι τὸν βασιλέα, σκεψά-  
 μενος τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ δοκιμωτάτους Ἑβραίων, οἱ  
 πρὸς τῇ πατρίῳ καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐπεπαιδεύοντο

33 παιδεῖαν, ἄσμενος ἀποστέλλει. ὡς δ' ἦκον, ἐπὶ  
 ξενίαν κληθέντες λόγοις ἀστείοις καὶ σπουδαίοις  
 τὸν ἐστιάτορα εὐώχουν ἀντεφεστιῶντες· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀπεπειράτο τῆς ἐκάστου σοφίας καινὰς ἀλλ' οὐ  
 τὰς ἐν ἔθει ζητήσεις προτείνων, οἱ δ' εὐστόχως  
 καὶ εὐθυβόλως, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος μακρηγορεῖν τοῦ

34 ἐλυόντο. δοκιμασθέντες δ' εὐθὺς ἤρ-  
 ξαντο τὰ τῆς καλῆς πρεσβείας ἀποτελεῖν καὶ  
 λογισάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅσον εἴη τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 θεσπισθέντας νόμους χρησιμοῖς διερμηνεύειν, μήτ'  
 ἀφελεῖν τι μήτε προσθεῖναι ἢ μεταθεῖναι δυνα-  
 μένους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον  
 αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας, ἐσκόπουν τὸ καθαρώτατον  
 τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον χωρίων ἔξω πόλεως· τὰ γὰρ  
 ἐντὸς τείχους ἄτε παντοδαπῶν πεπληθότα ζῳῶν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn punctuates with a colon before ὅσα, and comma before γενόμενος.

## MOSES II. 30-34

those of all the others put together, and, as the head takes the highest place in the living body, so he may be said to head the kings. VI. This great 31 man, having conceived an ardent affection for our laws, determined to have the Chaldean translated into Greek, and at once dispatched envoys to the high priest and king of Judaea, both offices being held by the same person, explaining his wishes and urging him to choose by merit persons to make a full rendering of the Law into Greek. The high priest 32 was naturally pleased, and, thinking that God's guiding care must have led the king to busy himself in such an undertaking, sought out such Hebrews as he had of the highest reputation, who had received an education in Greek as well as in their native lore, and joyfully sent them to Ptolemy. When they 33 arrived, they were offered hospitality, and, having been sumptuously entertained, requited their entertainer with a feast of words full of wit and weight. For he tested the wisdom of each by propounding for discussion new instead of the ordinary questions, which problems they solved with happy and well-pointed answers in the form of apophthegms, as the occasion did not allow of lengthy speaking. After standing this test, they at once began to fulfil 34 the duties of their high errand. Reflecting how great an undertaking it was to make a full version of the laws given by the Voice of God, where they could not add or take away or transfer anything, but must keep the original form and shape, they proceeded to look for the most open and unoccupied <sup>a</sup> spot in the neighbourhood outside the city. For, within the walls, it was full of every kind of living creatures, and

<sup>a</sup> Or "the most cleanly," but see on § 72.

## PHILO

διὰ νόσους καὶ τελευτὰς καὶ τὰς ὑγιαίνοντων οὐκ  
 35 εὐαγεῖς πράξεις ἦν ὑποπτα. νῆσος ἡ Φάρος  
 πρόκειται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἧς αὐχὴν ὑποταίνιος  
 [140] τέταται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν περικλειόμενος | οὐκ ἀγχι-  
 βαθεῖ τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τεναγώδει θαλάττη, ὡς καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν κυμάτων φορᾶς τὸν πολὺν ἦχον καὶ πάταγον  
 36 ἐκ πάνυ μακροῦ διαστήματος προεκλύεσθαι. τοῦ-  
 τον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κρίναντες ἐπιτηδειό-  
 τατον εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐνησυχάσαι καὶ ἐνηρημῆσαι  
 καὶ μόνη τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μόνους ὀμιλῆσαι τοὺς νό-  
 μους, ἐνταυθοῖ κατέμειναν καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους  
 λαβόντες ἀνατείνουσιν ἅμ' αὐταῖς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας  
 εἰς οὐρανόν, αἰτούμενοι τὸν θεὸν μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς  
 προθέσεως· ὁ δ' ἐπινεύει ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἵνα τὸ πλεῖ-  
 στον ἢ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἀνθρώπων ὠφεληθῇ  
 χρησόμενον εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν βίου φιλοσόφοις καὶ  
 37 παγκάλοις διατάγμασι. VII. καθίσαντες  
 δ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καὶ μηδενὸς παρόντος ὅτι μὴ τῶν  
 τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, γῆς ὕδατος ἀέρος οὐρανοῦ, περὶ  
 ὧν πρῶτον τῆς γενέσεως ἔμελλον ἱεροφαντήσιν—  
 κοσμοποιία γὰρ ἢ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶν ἀρχή—, καθάπερ  
 ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευον οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ'  
 αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑπο-  
 38 βολέως ἐκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνηχοῦντος. καίτοι τίς  
 οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν διάλεκτος, ἡ δ' Ἑλληνικὴ  
 διαφερόντως, ὀνομάτων πλουτεῖ, καὶ ταῦτόν ἐν-  
 θύμημα οἶόν τε μεταφράζοντα καὶ παραφράζοντα  
 σχηματῖσαι πολλαχῶς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἐφαρμόζοντα

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's use of ἐνηχεῖν see note on *De Mut.* 57.

<sup>b</sup> Or "by paraphrasing more or less freely." The general distinction between *μετάφρασις* and *παράφρασις* is that the former sticks more closely than the latter to the material on which it is exercised. See Ernesti, *Lex. tech. s.v. μετάφρασις*. 466



## MOSES II. 34-38

consequently the prevalence of diseases and deaths, and the impure conduct of the healthy inhabitants, made them suspicious of it. In front of Alexandria 35 lies the island of Pharos, stretching with its narrow strip of land towards the city, and enclosed by a sea not deep but mostly consisting of shoals, so that the loud din and booming of the surging waves grows faint through the long distance before it reaches the land. Judging this to be the most suit- 36 able place in the district, where they might find peace and tranquillity and the soul could commune with the laws with none to disturb its privacy, they fixed their abode there; and, taking the sacred books, stretched them out towards heaven with the hands that held them, asking of God that they might not fail in their purpose. And He assented to their prayers, to the end that the greater part, or even the whole, of the human race might be profited and led to a better life by continuing to observe such wise and truly admirable ordinances.

VII. Sitting here in seclusion with none present save 37 the elements of nature, earth, water, air, heaven, the genesis of which was to be the first theme of their sacred revelation, for the laws begin with the story of the world's creation, they became as it were possessed, and, under inspiration, wrote, not each several scribe something different, but the same word for word, as though dictated<sup>a</sup> to each by an invisible prompter. Yet who does not know that 38 every language, and Greek especially, abounds in terms, and that the same thought can be put in many shapes by changing single words and whole phrases<sup>b</sup> and suiting the expression to the occasion?

## PHILO

λέξεις; ὅπερ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐ φασι  
 συμβῆναι, συνενεχθῆναι δ' εἰς ταῦτόν κύρια κυρίοις  
 ὀνόμασι, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς, ἐναρμο-  
 39 σθέντα εὖ μάλα τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασιν. ὃν  
 γὰρ τρόπον, οἶμαι, ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ καὶ διαλεκτικῇ  
 τὰ σημαινόμενα ποικιλίαν ἑρμηνείας οὐκ ἀνέχεται,  
 μένει δ' ἀμετάβλητος ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθεῖσα, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ὡς ἔοικε τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι συντρέχοντα τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασιν ὀνόματα ἐξεῦρον, ἅπερ δὴ μόνα ἢ μάλιστα  
 τρανώσειν ἔμελλεν ἐμφαντικῶς τὰ δηλούμενα.  
 40 σαφεστάτη δὲ τοῦδε πίστις· ἐάν τε Χαλδαῖοι τὴν  
 Ἑλληνικὴν γλώτταν ἐάν τε Ἕλληνες τὴν Χαλ-  
 δαίων ἀναδιδαχθῶσι καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς γραφαῖς  
 ἐντύχωσι, τῇ τε Χαλδαϊκῇ καὶ τῇ ἑρμηνευθείσῃ,  
 καθάπερ ἀδελφὰς μᾶλλον δ' ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν  
 ἐν τε τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τεθήπασι καὶ  
 προσκυνούσιν, οὐχ ἑρμηνείας ἐκείνους ἀλλ' ἱερο-  
 φάντας καὶ προφήτας προσαγορεύοντες, οἷς ἐξ-  
 εγένετο συνδραμεῖν λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσι τῷ Μωυ-  
 41 σέως καθαρωτάτῳ πνεύματι. διὸ καὶ μέχρι  
 νῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴ καὶ πανήγυρις ἄγεται κατὰ  
 τὴν Φάρον νῆσον, εἰς ἣν οὐκ Ἰουδαῖοι μόνον ἀλλὰ  
 [141] καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἕτεροι διαπλέουσι τό τε | χωρίον  
 σεμννοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐξ-  
 ἔλαμψε, καὶ παλαιᾶς ἕνεκεν εὐεργεσίας αἰεὶ νεαζού-  
 42 σης εὐχαριστήσοντες τῷ θεῷ. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς  
 καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας οἱ μὲν πηξάμενοι σκηναὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν αἰγιαλῶν οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αἰγιαλίτιδος ψάμμου  
 κατακλιθέντες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μετ' οἰκείων καὶ φίλων  
 ἐστιῶνται, πολυτελεστέραν τῆς ἐν βασιλείοις κατα-  
 43 σκευῆς τότε τὴν ἀκτὴν νομίζοντες. οὕτω μὲν οἱ  
 νόμοι ζηλωτοὶ καὶ περιμάχητοι πᾶσιν ἰδιώταις τε

## MOSES II. 38-43

This was not the case, we are told, with this law of ours, but the Greek words used corresponded literally<sup>a</sup> with the Chaldean, exactly suited to the things they indicated. For, just as in geometry and logic, 39 so it seems to me, the sense indicated does not admit of variety in the expression which remains unchanged in its original form, so these writers, as it clearly appears, arrived at a wording which corresponded with the matter, and alone, or better than any other, would bring out clearly what was meant. The clearest proof of this is that, if Chaldeans have 40 learned Greek, or Greeks Chaldean, and read both versions, the Chaldean and the translation, they regard them with awe and reverence as sisters, or rather one and the same, both in matter and words, and speak of the authors not as translators but as prophets and priests of the mysteries, whose sincerity and singleness of thought has enabled them to go hand in hand with the purest of spirits, the spirit of Moses. Therefore, even to the 41 present day, there is held every year a feast and general assembly in the island of Pharos, whither not only Jews but multitudes of others cross the water, both to do honour to the place in which the light of that version first shone out, and also to thank God for the good gift so old yet ever young. But, after the prayers and thanksgivings, some 42 fixing tents on the seaside and others reclining on the sandy beach in the open air feast with their relations and friends, counting that shore for the time a more magnificent lodging than the fine mansions in the royal precincts. Thus the laws are 43 shewn to be desirable and precious in the eyes of all,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 606.

- καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἐπιδείκνυνται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ πολλῶν  
 χρόνων τοῦ ἔθνους οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντος—τὰ δὲ τῶν  
 44 μὴ ἐν ἀκμαῖς πέφυκέ πως ἐπισκιάζεσθαι—· εἰ δὲ  
 γένοιτό τις ἀφορμὴ πρὸς τὸ λαμπρότερον, πόσῃ  
 εἰκὸς ἐπίδοσιν γενήσεσθαι; καταλιπόντας ἂν οἶμαι  
 τὰ ἴδια καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντας τοῖς πατρίοις  
 ἐκάστους μεταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων μόνων τιμὴν·  
 εὐτυχία γὰρ τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ νόμοι συναλαάμψαντες  
 ἀμαυρώσουσι τοὺς ἄλλους καθάπερ ἀνατείλας ἥλιος  
 τοὺς ἀστέρας.
- 45 VIII. Ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα πολὺς  
 ἔπαινος εἶναι τοῦ νομοθέτου. πλείων δ' ἐστὶν  
 ἕτερος, ὃν αὐταὶ περιέχουσιν αἱ ἱερώταται βίβλοι,  
 πρὸς ἃς ἤδη τρεπτέον, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ συγ-  
 46 γράψαντος ἀρετῆς. τούτων τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν  
 ἱστορικὸν μέρος, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς προστάξεις καὶ  
 ἀπαγορεύσεις, ὑπὲρ οὗ δεύτερον λέξομεν τὸ πρότερον  
 47 τῇ τάξει πρότερον ἀκριβώσαντες. ἐστὶν οὖν τοῦ  
 ἱστορικοῦ τὸ μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, τὸ  
 δὲ γενεαλογικόν, τοῦ δὲ γενεαλογικοῦ τὸ μὲν περὶ  
 κολάσεως ἀσεβῶν, τὸ δ' αὖ περὶ τιμῆς δικαίων.  
 οὗ δὲ χάριν ἐνθένδε τῆς νομοθεσίας ἤρξατο τὰ  
 περὶ τὰς προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐν δευτέρῳ  
 48 θείῳ, λεκτέον. οὐ γὰρ οἶά τις συγγραφεὺς ἐπετή-  
 δευσε παλαιῶν πράξεων καταλιπεῖν ὑπομνήματα  
 τοῖς ἔπειτα τοῦ ψυχαγωγῆσαι χάριν ἀνωφελῶς,  
 ἀλλ' ἤρχαιολόγησεν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ

<sup>a</sup> Though of course genealogies play a great part in the Pentateuch, *γενεαλογικός* if used in the strict sense is a very inadequate term to describe the historical part of the books, as distinct from the creation story. The wider sense, as given in the translation, appears to have been in use in the

ordinary citizens and rulers alike, and that too though our nation has not prospered for many a year. It is but natural that when people are not flourishing their belongings to some degree are under a cloud. But, if a fresh start should be made to brighter 44 prospects, how great a change for the better might we expect to see ! I believe that each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honouring our laws alone. For, when the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars.

VIII. The above is sufficient in itself as a high com- 45 mendation to the lawgiver ; but there is another still greater contained in the sacred books themselves, and to these we must now turn to shew the great qualities of the writer. They consist of two parts : 46 one the historical, the other concerned with commands and prohibitions, and of this we will speak later, after first treating fully what comes first in order. One division of the historical side deals with 47 the creation of the world, the other with particular persons,<sup>a</sup> and this last partly with the punishment of the impious, partly with the honouring of the just. We must now give the reason why he began his law-book with the history, and put the commands and prohibitions in the second place. He did not, like 48 any historian, make it his business to leave behind for posterity records of ancient deeds for the pleasant but unimproving entertainment which they give ; but, in relating the history of early times, and going for its beginning right to the creation of the universe,

grammatical schools, whose language Philo often adopts. For the evidence for this see App. p. 606.

## PHILO

παντὸς γενέσεως, ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ δύο τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα· ἐν μὲν τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἀληθείᾳ νομοθέτην, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν χρησόμενον τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολουθίαν φύσεως ἀσπασόμενον καὶ βιωσόμενον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄλου διάταξιν ἀρμονία καὶ συμφωνία πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ πρὸς λόγους 49 ἔργων. IX. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων νομοθετῶν οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ἃ τε χρῆ πράττειν καὶ ἃ μὴ διαταξάμενοι τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων ὤρισαν, οἱ δ' | [142] ἀμείνους δόξαντες εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐνθένδε ἐποίησαντο, πόλιν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ κτίσαντες καὶ ἰδρυσάμενοι πρότερον ἢ ἐνόμιζον οἰκειοτάτην καὶ πρεπωδεστάτην εἶναι τῇ κτισθείσῃ πολιτείᾳ διὰ 50 τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως ἐφήρμοζον. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ὑπολαβὼν (ὅπερ ἦν) τυραννικὸν τε καὶ δεσποτικόν, ἄνευ παραμυθίας προστάττει ὡς οὐκ ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ δούλους, τὸ δ' ὕστερον ἐμμελὲς μὲν, οὐ μὴν τελείως ἐπαινετὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς κριταῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν λεχθέντων διήνεγκεν. 51 ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς προστάξεσι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεσιν ὑποτίθεται καὶ παρηγορεῖ τὸ πλεόν ἢ κελεύει, μετὰ προοιμίῳν καὶ ἐπιλόγων τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα πειρώμενος ὑφηγεῖσθαι, τοῦ προτρέψασθαι χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ βιάσασθαι· πόλεώς τε χειροποιήτου κτίσιν ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς γραφῆς ταπεινότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν νόμων ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι, πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τῆς ὄλης νομο-

<sup>a</sup> Compare the beginning of *De Op.*, especially § 3.

<sup>b</sup> The allusion is, of course, primarily to Plato's *Laws* and *Republic*. Perhaps also to Zeno, whose *Πολιτεία* is said to have been written in opposition to Plato's (*S.V.F.* i. 260,

## MOSES II. 48-51

he wished to shew two most essential things : first that the Father and Maker of the world was in the truest sense also its Lawgiver, secondly that he who would observe the laws will accept gladly the duty of following nature and live in accordance with the ordering of the universe, so that his deeds are attuned to harmony with his words and his words with his deeds.<sup>a</sup> IX. Now, other legislators are divided into 49 those who set out by ordering what should or should not be done, and laying down penalties for disobedience, and those who, thinking themselves superior, did not begin with this, but first founded and established their state as they conceived it, and then, by framing laws, attached to it the constitution which they thought most agreeable and suitable to the form in which they had founded it.<sup>b</sup> But Moses, 50 thinking that the former course, namely issuing orders without words of exhortation, as though to slaves instead of free men, savoured of tyranny and despotism, as indeed it did, and that the second, though aptly conceived, was evidently not entirely satisfactory in the judgement of all, took a different line in both departments. In his commands and 51 prohibitions he suggests and admonishes rather than commands, and the very numerous and necessary instructions which he essays to give are accompanied by forewords and after-words, in order to exhort rather than to enforce. Again, he considered that to begin his writings with the foundation of a man-made city was below the dignity of the laws, and, surveying the greatness and beauty of the whole

*cf.* 262). Aristotle's *Politics* hardly fits the case. Josephus, *Apion* ii. 222, makes the same point, but adds that passing over the other philosophers he will only name Plato.

## PHILO

θεσίας ἀκριβεστάτη ὄψει τῇ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπιδῶν  
καὶ νομίσας αὐτὴν κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν ἢ ὥστε  
κύκλω τινὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀρισθῆναι, τῆς μεγαλο-  
πόλεως τὴν γένεσιν εἰσηγήσατο, τοὺς νόμους  
ἐμφερεστάτην εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πολιτείας

52 ἡγησάμενος εἶναι.

X. τῶν γοῦν ἐν

μέρει διατεταγμένων τὰς δυνάμεις εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς  
ἐξετάζειν ἐθελήσειεν, εὐρήσει τῆς τοῦ παντὸς  
ἁρμονίας ἐφιεμένας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς αἰδίου φύσεως

53 συναδούσας. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀφθόνων μὲν ἀγαθῶν  
ἀξιωθέντας ὅσα κατ' εὐεξίαν σωμαίων καὶ τὰς  
περὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκτὸς εὐτυχίας,  
ἀρετῆς δ' ἀφηνιάσαντας καὶ οὐκ ἀνάγκη γνώμη  
δ' ἐκουσίῳ πανουργίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
κακίας, ὡς μέγα ὄφελος τὴν μεγίστην ζημίαν, ἐπι-  
τηδεύσαντας καθάπερ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὺς ἀλλὰ  
τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου τὰς ἐν ἔθει  
τιμωρίας οὗ φησιν ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καινοτάτας καὶ  
παρηλλαγμένας, ἃς ἐμεγαλουργῆσεν ἡ πάρεδρος τῷ  
θεῷ μισοπόνηρος δίκη, τῶν τοῦ παντὸς δραστικω-  
τάτων στοιχείων ἐπιθεμένων ὕδατος καὶ πυρός,  
ὡς καιρῶν περιόδοις τοὺς μὲν κατακλυσμοῖς  
φθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καταφλεχθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.

54 πελάγη μὲν ἀρθέντα καὶ ποταμοὶ μετεωρισθέντες  
αὐθιγενεῖς τε καὶ χεῖμαρροι τὰς ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι  
πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐπέκλυσαν καὶ κατέσυραν, τὰς  
δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὄρεινὴν αἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ

55 συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀδιάστατοι ὄμβρων φοραί. χρόνῳ δ'  
ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων πάλιν τοῦ γένους  
συναυξηθέντος καὶ εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδόντος,

[143] ἐπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τοὺς προγόνους πάθος οἱ | ἀπόγονοι  
μάθημα σωφροσύνης οὐκ ἐποίησαντο, πρὸς δ'



## MOSES II. 51-55

code with the accurate discernment of his mind's eye, and thinking it too good and godlike to be confined within any earthly walls, he inserted the story of the genesis of the "Great City," holding that the laws were the most faithful picture of the world-polity.

X. Thus whoever will care- 52  
fully examine the nature of the particular enactments will find that they seek to attain to the harmony of the universe and are in agreement with the principles of eternal nature. Therefore all those to whom God 53  
thought fit to grant abundance of the good gifts of bodily well-being and of good fortune in the shape of wealth and other externals—who then rebelled against virtue, and, freely and intentionally under no compulsion, practised knavery, injustice and the other vices, thinking to gain much by losing all, were counted, Moses tells us, as enemies not of men but of the whole heaven and universe, and suffered not the ordinary, but strange and unexampled punishments wrought by the might of justice, the hater of evil and assessor of God. For the most forceful elements of the universe, fire and water, fell upon them, so that, as the times revolved, some perished by deluge, others were consumed by conflagration.<sup>a</sup>  
The seas lifted up their waters, and the rivers, spring- 54  
fed and winter torrents, rose on high and flooded and swept away all the cities of the plain, while the continuous and ceaseless streams of rain by night and day did the same for the cities of the uplands. At a 55  
later time, when the race sprung from the remnant had again increased and become very populous, since the descendants did not take the fate of their forefathers as a lesson in wisdom, but turned to deeds

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Abr.* 1.

## PHILO

ἀκολασίας ἐτράποντο ζηλωταὶ χαλεπωτέρων ἐπι-  
 τηδευμάτων γενόμενοι, πυρὶ τούτους ἀναλώσαι δι-  
 56 νοήθη. τότε οὖν, ὡς μηνύει τὰ λόγια, κεραυνοὶ  
 ῥυέντες ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοὺς τε ἀσεβεῖς κατέπρησαν  
 καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μνημεῖα  
 τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἀλέκτου πάθους δείκνυται κατὰ  
 Συρίαν, ἐρείπια καὶ τέφρα καὶ θεῖον καὶ καπνὸς καὶ  
 ἡ ἔτι ἀναδιδομένη φλόξ ἀμαυρὰ καθάπερ δια-  
 σμυχομένου πυρός.

57 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ συνέβαινε τοὺς τε ἀσεβεῖς ταῖς  
 εἰρημέναις τιμωρίαις κολάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς καλο-  
 κάγαθία διενηροχότας εὖ πάσχειν ἀρετῆς ἐπαξίων

58 ἄθλων τυγχάνοντας. ἐν μὲν γε τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ  
 κεραυνίου πυρὸς οἰκήτορσιν αὐτοῖς ὅλης χώρας  
 ἐμπιπραμένης, εἰς μόνος ἀνὴρ μέτοικος ἐπιφροσύνη  
 θεία σώζεται, διότι τῶν ἐγχωρίων παρανομημάτων  
 οὐδὲν ἠσπάσατο, τῶν μετοίκων εἰωθότων ἀσφαλείας  
 ἔνεκα τὰ ξενικὰ τιμᾶν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀτιμάζουσι κίν-  
 δυνος ἐκ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἔπεται· καίτοι γ' οὐκ ἐπ'  
 ἄκρον ἦλθε σοφίας, ὡς διὰ τελειότητα τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ  
 φύσεως τοσοῦτου γέρως ἀξιωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μόνος<sup>1</sup>  
 τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐ συνηρέθη πρὸς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον  
 ἀποκλίνασι καὶ πάσας μὲν ἡδονὰς πάσας δ' ἐπι-  
 θυμίας χορηγίαις ἀφθόνοις ἀνάψασιν ὥσπερ φλόγα  
 59 λασίῳ ὕλῃ κεχυμένη. XI. κατὰ δὲ τὸν

μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τοῦ σύμπαν-  
 τος ἀνθρώπων γένους φθειρομένου, ἓνα οἶκον ἀπαθῆ  
 γενέσθαι παντὸς κακοῦ λόγος ἔχει, τὸν πρεσβύτατον  
 καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπειδὴ συνέβαινε μηδεὶν  
 ἀδικήματος ἐκουσίου προσάψασθαι. τὸν δὲ τρόπον  
 τῆς σωτηρίας, ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι περιέχουσιν, ἀξίον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μόνον.

## MOSES II. 55-59

of licence and followed eagerly still more grievous practices, He determined to destroy them with fire. Then, as the oracles declare, the lightnings poured 56 from heaven and consumed the impious and their cities, and to the present day the memorials to the awful disaster are shewn in Syria, ruins and cinders and brimstone and smoke, and the dusky flame still arises as though fire were smouldering within.

But while in these disasters the impious were 57 chastised with the said punishments, it was also the case that those who stood out in excellence of conduct fared well and received the rewards which their virtue deserved. While the rush of the flaming 58 thunderbolts consumed the whole land, and the inhabitants to boot, one man alone, an immigrant, was saved by God's protecting care, because he had shewn no liking for any of the misdeeds of the country, though immigrants, to secure themselves, usually shew respect for the customs of their hosts, knowing that disrespect for these entails danger at the hands of the original inhabitants. Yet he did not reach the summit of wisdom, nor was it because of the perfection of his nature that he was deemed worthy of this great privilege, but because he alone did not fall in with the multitude, when they turned aside to licentious living and fed every pleasure and every lust with lavish supplies of fuel like a flame when the brushwood is piled upon it.

XI. So, too, in the great deluge when 59 all but the whole human race perished, one house, we are told, suffered no harm because the most venerable member and head of the household had committed no deliberate wrong. The manner of his preservation is a story worth recording, both as a

## PHILO

ἱστορηθῆναι διὰ τε μεγαλουργίαν καὶ ἅμα βελτίωσιν  
 60 ἠθῶν. νομισθεῖς γὰρ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μὴ μόνον  
 ἀμοιρῆσαι τῆς κοινῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρας  
 γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ γενέσθαι, θείαις  
 προστάξεσιν, ὡς ὑφηγοῦντο οἱ χρησμοί, ξύλινον  
 δημιουργήσας ἔργον μέγιστον εἰς πήχεις τριακο-  
 σίους μῆκος καὶ πεντήκοντα εὖρος καὶ τριάκοντα  
 ὕψος καὶ συνεχῆ κατασκευασάμενος ἔνδον οἰκήματα  
 ἐπίπεδα καὶ ὑπερῶα, τριώροφα καὶ τετρώροφα, καὶ  
 τροφὰς ἐτοιμασάμενος, ἀφ' ἐκάστου γένους ζώων  
 ὅσα χερσαῖα καὶ πτηνὰ εἰσήγαγεν ἄρρεν τε καὶ  
 θῆλυ σπέρματα ὑπολειπόμενος πρὸς καταλλαγὴν  
 61 καιρῶν<sup>1</sup> τῶν αὐθις ποτε γενησομένων· ἦδει γὰρ τὴν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἴλεω, κἂν εἰ τὰ εἶδη φθειροίτο, ἀλλὰ  
 τοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς γένεσιν ἀφθαρσίαν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς  
 [144] αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητος | καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν κατὰ πρό-  
 θεσιν φύντων ποτὲ λυθῆναι διαμένουσιν· XII. οὐ  
 χάριν πάντα ἐπειθάρχει καὶ τὰ τέως ἐξηγριωμένα  
 ἡμεροῦτο καὶ οἶα νομῆι καὶ ἀγελάρχη τιθασευθέντα  
 62 ἐπηκολούθει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀπάντων εἶ τις  
 ἐθεάσατο τὸ πλήρωμα, οὐκ ἂν διήμαρτεν εἰπών,  
 ἀντίμιμον εἶναι γῆς ἀπάσης ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρον τὰ  
 ζώων γένη, ὧν καὶ ἡ σύμπασα γῆ τὰ ἀμύθητα εἶδη  
 63 καὶ πρότερον ἠνεγκε καὶ ἴσως αὐθις οἴσει. τὰ δ'  
 εἰκασθέντα χρόνοις ὕστερον οὐ μακροῖς ἀπέβαινε·  
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάθος ἐλώφα καὶ ἡ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ  
 φορὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐμειοῦτο, τῶν τε ὄμβρων  
 ἐπισχεθέντων καὶ τοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν ἀναχυθέντος

<sup>1</sup> Cohn somewhat arbitrarily declares καταλλαγὴν καιρῶν corrupt and suggests καταγωγὴν γενῶν. The translation does perhaps require an unusual sense for καταλλαγῆ. If this is

## MOSES II. 60-63

marvel and as a means of edification. Being judged 60 a fit person not only to be exempted from the common fate, but also to be himself the beginner of a second generation of mankind, by God's commands enjoined by the oracular voice, he built a huge structure of wood, three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in height. Inside this, he framed a series of rooms, on the ground floor and second, third and fourth stories. Then, having laid up provisions, he introduced a male and female specimen of every kind of living creature both of the land and the air, thus reserving seeds in expectation of the better times <sup>a</sup> that were once more to come. For he knew that the nature of God was gracious, 61 and that, though the individuals perished, the race would be preserved indestructible because of its likeness to Himself, and that nothing whose being He had willed would ever be brought to nought. XII. In consequence, all the creatures obeyed him, and the erstwhile savage grew gentle, and in their new tameness followed him as a flock follows its leader. When they had all entered, anyone 62 who surveyed the crew might fairly have said that it was a miniature of earth in its entirety, comprising the races of living creatures, of which the world had carried before innumerable specimens, and perhaps would carry them again. What he had 63 surmised came to pass not long afterwards, for the trouble abated, and the force of the deluge diminished every day, as the rain ceased and the water that had

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "for change brought about by (or 'into') the seasons," etc. See note 1.

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fatal, I should suggest *πρὸς <καταβολήν> κατ' ἀλλαγήν καιρῶν*, i.e. "to be sown when the times change."

## PHILO

ὕδατος τῇ μὲν ἀναλισκομένου τῷ ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμῷ  
 τῇ δὲ ὑπονοστοῦντος εἰς χαράδρας καὶ φάραγγας  
 καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῆς γῆς κοιλότητας· ὥσπερ γὰρ  
 θεοῦ προστάξαντος, ἐκάστη φύσις ὅπερ ἔχρησεν οἶα  
 δάνειον ἀναγκαῖον ἀπελάμβανε, θάλαττα καὶ πηγαὶ  
 καὶ ποταμοί· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς οἰκίους τόπους ἔκα-  
 64 στον ρεῖθρον ὑπενόσσει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῶν  
 ὑπὸ σελήνην, ἀπολουσαμένης τῆς γῆς καὶ νέας ἀνα-  
 φανείσης καὶ τοιαύτης, οἶαν εἰκὸς εἶναι ὅτε τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐκτίζετο, πρόεισιν  
 ἐκ τοῦ ξυλίνου κατασκευάσματος αὐτὸς καὶ γυνή  
 καὶ υἱοὶ καὶ τούτων γυναῖκες καὶ μετὰ τῆς οἰκίας  
 ἀγγεληδὸν τὰ συνεληλυθότα τῶν ζώων γένη πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων σποράν τε καὶ γένεσιν.  
 65 ταῦτα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἀριστεία καὶ ἄθλα,  
 δι' ὧν οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ καὶ γένη σωτηρίας ἔτυχον  
 τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους ἐκφυγόντες, οἱ κατὰ τὸν  
 τῶν στοιχείων νεωτερισμὸν τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν  
 ἐπετειχίσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλιγγενεσίας ἐγένοντο  
 ἡγεμόνες καὶ δευτέρας ἀρχηγέται περιόδου, καθάπερ  
 ἐμπυρεύματα τοῦ ζώων ἀρίστου γένους ἀνθρώπων  
 ὑπολειφθέντες, ὃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν περιγείων ἅπαξ  
 ἀπάντων ἔλαχεν ἀντίμιμον γεγονὸς θεοῦ δυνάμεως,  
 εἰκὼν τῆς ἀοράτου φύσεως ἐμφανής, αἰδίου γενητή.

\* \* \* \* \*

66 XIII. | Δύο μὲν ἤδη μέρη τοῦ βίου Μωυσέως  
 [145] διεξεληλύθαμεν, τό τε περὶ βασιλείας καὶ νομο-  
 θετικῆς· τρίτον δὲ προσαποδοτέον τὸ περὶ ἱερω-  
 σύνης. ὃ τοίνυν μέγιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον  
 ἀρχιερεῖ προσεῖναι δεῖ, τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐν τοῖς

<sup>a</sup> On the question of a considerable lacuna at this point see App. pp. 606-607.

## MOSES II. 63-66

covered every land partly disappeared under the heat of the sun, partly subsided into the beds of water torrents and into chasms and the other hollows in the earth. For, as though by God's command, every form of nature, sea, springs and rivers, received back what it had lent as a debt which must be repaid; for each stream subsided into its proper place. But <sup>64</sup> when the sublunary world had been purged, when earth rising from its ablutions shewed itself renewed with the likeness which we may suppose it to have worn when originally it was created with the universe, there issued from the wooden structure himself and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives, and with the household, moving like a herd, the various animals which had been assembled there came forth to beget and reproduce their kind. <sup>65</sup> These are the

guerçons and the prizes of the good, by which not only they themselves and their families won safety and escaped the greatest dangers, which, with the wild uprising of the elements as their weapon, stood menacingly over all and everywhere, but also became leaders of the regeneration, inaugurators of a second cycle, spared as embers to rekindle mankind, that highest form of life, which has received dominion over everything whatsoever upon earth, born to be the likeness of God's power and image of His nature, the visible of the Invisible, the created of the Eternal.<sup>a</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

XIII. We have now fully treated of two sides of <sup>66</sup> the life of Moses, the royal and the legislative. We must proceed to give account of the third, which concerns his priesthood. The chief and most essential quality required by a priest is piety, and

## PHILO

- μάλιστα οὗτος ἤσκησεν ἅμα καὶ φύσεως εὐμοιρία  
 χρησάμενος, ἦν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὴν ἄρουραν φιλοσοφία  
 παραλαβοῦσα δογμάτων θεωρία παγκάλων ἐβελ-  
 τίωσε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν ἢ τελειοποιηθῆναι  
 τοὺς ἀρετῆς καρποὺς διὰ τε λόγων καὶ πράξεων.
- 67 τοιγαροῦν μετ' ὀλίγων ἄλλων φιλόθεός τε καὶ  
 θεοφιλῆς ἐγένετο, καταπνευσθεὶς ὑπ' ἔρωτος οὐ-  
 ρανίου καὶ διαφερόντως τιμήσας τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ  
 παντός καὶ ἀντιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τιμὴ δ' ἀρ-  
 μόττουσα σοφῶ θεραπεύειν τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν·  
 ἱερωσύνη δὲ θεραπείαν ἐπιτετήδευκε θεοῦ. τούτου  
 τοῦ γέρως, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ  
 ἔστιν, ἡξιούτο χρησιμοῖς ἕκαστα τῶν εἰς τὰς λει-  
 τουργίας καὶ ἱεράς ὑπηρεσίας ἀναδιδασκόμενος.
- 68 XIV. ἔδει δὲ πρότερον ὥσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα καθαρεῦσαι, μηδενὸς πάθους προσαιψάμενον,  
 ἀλλ' ἀγνεύσαντα ἀπὸ πάντων ὅσα τῆς θνητῆς ἐστι  
 φύσεως, σιτιῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας
- 69 ὀμιλίας. ἀλλὰ ταύτης μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων κατ-  
 εφρόνησε καὶ σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξατο
- [146] | προφητεύειν καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι, προσῆκον ἡγού-  
 μενος ἔτοιμον ἐμπαρέχειν αἰεὶ τοῖς χρησιμοῖς ἑαυτόν·  
 σιτιῶν δὲ καὶ ποτῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ἐξῆς  
 ἠλόγησε, δηλονότι τροφὰς ἔχων ἀμείνους τὰς διὰ  
 θεωρίας, αἷς ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταπνεόμενος  
 τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐβελτιούτο, καθ' ἑκάτερον πρὸς  
 τε ἰσχὴν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἐπιδιδούς, ὡς τοὺς ἰδόντας
- 70 ὕστερον ἀπιστεῖν. εἰς γὰρ ὄρος ὑψηλότατον καὶ  
 ἱερώτατον τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀνεληθὼν προστάξεισι



## MOSES II. 66-70

this he practised in a very high degree, and at the same time made use of his great natural gifts. In these, philosophy found a good soil, which she improved still further by the admirable truths which she brought before his eyes, nor did she cease until the fruits of virtue shewn in word and deed were brought to perfection. Thus he came to love God 67 and be loved by Him as have been few others. A heaven-sent rapture inspired him, so markedly did he honour the Ruler of the All and was honoured in return by Him. An honour well-becoming the wise is to serve the Being Who truly is, and the service of God is ever the business of the priesthood. This privilege, a blessing which nothing in the world can surpass, was given to him as his due, and oracles instructed him in all that pertains to rites of worship and the sacred tasks of his ministry. XIV. But first 68 he had to be clean, as in soul so also in body, to have no dealings with any passion, purifying himself from all the calls of mortal nature, food and drink and intercourse with women. This last he had disdained 69 for many a day, almost from the time when, possessed by the spirit, he entered on his work as prophet, since he held it fitting to hold himself always in readiness to receive the oracular messages. As for eating and drinking, he had no thought of them for forty successive days, doubtless because he had the better food of contemplation, through whose inspiration, sent from heaven above, he grew in grace, first of mind, then of body also through the soul, and in both so advanced in strength and well-being that those who saw him afterwards could not believe their eyes. For we read that by God's command 70 he ascended an inaccessible and pathless mountain,

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θείαις, ὅπερ ἀπρόσιτον καὶ ἄβατον ἦν, εἰς ἐκεῖνον λέγεται διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν ἐπιφερόμενος τῶν εἰς ἀναγκαίας ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς <καὶ><sup>1</sup> ἡμέραις ὕστερον, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τεσσαράκοντα κατέβαινε πολὺ καλλίων τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὅτε ἀνήει, ὡς τοὺς ὄρωντας τεθηπέναι καὶ καταπεπληχθαι καὶ μηδ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἀντέχειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς δύνασθαι κατὰ τὴν προσβολὴν ἡλιοειδοῦς φέγγους ἀπαστράπτουτος.

- 71 XV. Ἐτι δ' ἄνω διατρίβων ἐμυσταγωγεῖτο παι-  
 δευόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην πάντα καὶ  
 πρῶτα, ἃ δὴ καὶ πρῶτα τῇ τάξει, τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 72 ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατασκευὴν. εἰ μὲν οὖν  
 τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν μετανίσταντο, ἤδη παρειλήφεσαν,  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἰδρῦσασθαι περισημότατον νεῶν ἐν  
 τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ λίθων πολυτελῶν ὕλης καὶ περὶ  
 αὐτὸν τεῖχη μεγάλα δεῖμασθαι καὶ νεωκόροις  
 παμπληθεῖς οἰκίας, ὀνομάσαντας ἱερόπολιν τὸν  
 73 τόπον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην ἐπλάζοντο,  
 τοῖς μήπω παγίως ἰδρυθεῖσιν ἤρμοττε φορητὸν  
 ἔχειν ἱερόν, ἵν' ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ στρατοπε-  
 δεῖαις ἀνάγωσι θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα κατὰ τὰς  
 ἱερουργίας δρῶσι μηδενὸς ἀμοιροῦντες ὦν χρῆ τοὺς  
 74 ἐν πόλεσιν οἰκοῦντας. σκηνην οὖν, ἔργον ἱερώ-  
 τατον, δημιουργεῖν ἔδοξεν, ἧς τὴν κατασκευὴν  
 θεσφάτοις λογίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Μωυσῆς ἀν-  
 εδιδάσκετο, τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι σωμάτων  
 ἀσωμάτων ἰδέας τῇ ψυχῇ θεωρῶν, πρὸς ἃς ἔδει

<sup>1</sup> <καὶ>: so Cohn emends this defective sentence. I suggest as an alternative to insert ἧ (= "where") before εἰς ἐκεῖνον.

\* See Ex. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28 ff.

## MOSES II. 70-74

the highest and most sacred in the region, and remained for the period named, taking nothing that is needed to satisfy the requirements of bare sustenance. Then, after the said forty days had passed, he descended with a countenance far more beautiful than when he ascended, so that those who saw him were filled with awe and amazement; nor even could their eyes continue to stand the dazzling brightness that flashed from him like the rays of the sun.<sup>a</sup>

XV. While he was still staying on the mount, he was 71 being instructed in all the mysteries of his priestly duties: and first in those which stood first in order, namely the building and furnishing of the sanctuary. Now, if they had already occupied the land into which 72 they were removing, they would necessarily have had to erect a magnificent temple on the most open and conspicuous site,<sup>b</sup> with costly stones for its material, and build great walls around it, with plenty of houses for the attendants, and call the place the holy city. But, as they were still wandering in the desert and 73 had as yet no settled habitation, it suited them to have a portable sanctuary, so that during their journeys and encampment they might bring their sacrifices to it and perform all their other religious duties, not lacking anything which dwellers in cities should have. It was determined, therefore, to fashion a tabernacle, 74 a work of the highest sanctity, the construction of which was set forth to Moses on the mount by divine pronouncements. He saw with the soul's eye the immaterial forms of the material objects about to be

<sup>b</sup> Mangey "augustissima sede," the German translation "geweihter Stätte," but the sense given above seems more probable. Cf. §§ 34 and 214, also *In Flaccum* 122 ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς ἀφικνοῦνται κὰν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ σπάντες ἀνεβήσαν.

## PHILO

καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς καὶ νοητῶν παρα-  
 δειγμάτων αἰσθητὰ μιμήματα ἀπεικονισθῆναι.  
 75 προσῆκον γὰρ ἦν τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τὴν  
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατασκευὴν ἐπιτραπῆναι, ἵν' ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 τοῦ περιόντος ἡρμοσμένας καὶ συμφώνους τοῖς  
 δημιουργηθείσι ποιῆται τὰς ἐν τῷ ἱεράσθαι λει-  
 76 τουργίας. XVI. ὁ μὲν οὖν τύπος τοῦ παραδείγ-  
 ματος ἐνεσφραγίζετο τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ προφήτου  
 διαζωγραφοῦμενος καὶ προδιαπλαττόμενος ἀφανῶς  
 ἄνευ ὕλης ἀοράτοις εἶδεσι· τὸ δ' ἀποτέλεσμα πρὸς  
 τὸν τύπον ἐδημιουργεῖτο, ἐναποματτομένου τὰς  
 σφραγίδας τοῦ τεχνίτου ταῖς προσφόροις ἐκάστων  
 77 ὕλικαῖς οὐσίαις. ἦν δ' ἡ κατασκευὴ τοιαύδε· ὀκτώ  
 [147] καὶ τεσσαράκοντα κίονες κέδρου | τῆς ἀσηπτοτάτης  
 ἀπὸ στελεχῶν κοπέντες εὐερνεστάτων περιεβάλλον-  
 το χρυσῷ βαθεῖ· κᾶπειθ' ἐκάστῳ δύο ἀργυραῖ  
 βάσεις ὑπηρείδοντο καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀκροκίονιον ἐφ-  
 78 ἠρμόζετο χρυσῇ κεφαλῇ. εἰς μὲν οὖν τὸ μῆκος  
 τεσσαράκοντα κίονας διέταπτεν ὁ τεχνίτης, ἐκάτέρω-  
 θεν τοὺς ἡμίσεις εἴκοσι, μηδὲν ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα  
 ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐξῆς ἐφαρμόζων καὶ συνάπτων,  
 ἵν' οἷα τείχους ὄψις μία προφαίνεται· εἰς δὲ τὸ  
 πλάτος ἐσώτατον τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀκτώ, ἐξ μὲν κατὰ  
 τὴν μέσην χώραν, δύο δ' ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς  
 μέσης γωνίαις, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὸν δ' ἐπ' ἐν-  
 ὠνυμα· κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἄλλους τέσσαρας, τὰ  
 μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοίους, μίαν δ' ἀντὶ δυοῖν ἔχοντας βάσιν  
 τῶν ἐξ ἀντικρῦ, μεθ' οὓς ἐξωτάτω πέντε μόναίς  
 79 ταῖς βάσει διαφέροντας, χαλκαῖ γὰρ ἦσαν· ὥστε  
 τῆς σκηνῆς τοὺς σύμπαντας εἶναι, δίχα τῶν ἐν ταῖς

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 77-83 see Ex. xxvi. 18 ff.

<sup>b</sup> LXX στῦλοι ("posts"?). E.V. "boards."

## MOSES II. 74-79

made, and these forms had to be reproduced in copies perceived by the senses, taken from the original draught, so to speak, and from patterns conceived in the mind. For it was fitting that the construction 75 of the sanctuary should be committed to him who was truly high priest, in order that his performance of the rites belonging to his sacred office might be in more than full accordance and harmony with the fabric. XVI. So the shape of the model was stamped 76 upon the mind of the prophet, a secretly painted or moulded prototype, produced by immaterial and invisible forms ; and then the resulting work was built in accordance with that shape by the artist impressing the stampings upon the material substances required in each case. <sup>a</sup>The actual construction was as follows. 77 Forty-eight pillars <sup>b</sup> of the most durable cedar wood, hewn out of the finest trunks, were encased in a deep layer of gold, and each of these had two silver bases <sup>c</sup> set to support it and a golden capital fixed on the top. For the length of the building, the craftsman put 78 forty pillars, half of them—that is a row of twenty—on each side, with no interval left between them, but each joined and fitted on to the next, so as to present the appearance of a single wall. For the breadth he set right inside the remaining eight, six in the central space and two in the corners on either side of the centre, one on the right and one on the left ; also four others at the entrance, like the rest in everything else, except that they had one base instead of the two of the pillars opposite, and after these, at the very outside, five, differing only in their bases, which were of brass. Thus the whole number of pillars visible in 79 the tabernacle, leaving out the two in the corners,

<sup>c</sup> Or “sockets.”

## PHILO

γωνίαις δυοῖν ἀφανῶν, πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα  
 ἐμφανείς, τὸν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἄχρι δεκάδος τῆς  
 80 παντελείας συμπληρούμενον ἀριθμόν. εἰ δὲ βου-  
 ληθείη τις τοὺς ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ πέντε τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ  
 συνάπτοντας, ὃ κέκληκεν αὐλήν, τιθέναι χωρίς,  
 ἀπολειφθήσεται ὁ ἀγιώτατος πεντηκοντάδος ἀρι-  
 θμός, δύναμις ὧν τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου, ὅπερ  
 ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως ἀρχή, συμπληρωθεὶς  
 ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς κιόνων, τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν καθ'  
 ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν εἴκοσιν, ἕξ δὲ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ δίχα  
 τῶν παρὰ ταῖς γωνίαις ἀποκεκρυσμένων, τεσσάρων  
 81 δὲ τῶν ἀντικρῦ, ἐφ' ὧν τὸ καταπέτασμα. τὴν δ'  
 αἰτίαν, ἧς ἔνεκα<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πέντε τοῖς πεντήκοντα συγ-  
 κατατάπτω καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν τίθημι, δηλώσω. ἡ  
 πεντὰς αἰσθήσεων ἀριθμός ἐστίν, αἴσθησις δ' ἐν  
 ἀνθρώπῳ τῇ μὲν νεύει πρὸς τὰ ἐκτός, τῇ δὲ ἀνα-  
 κάμπτει πρὸς νοῦν ὑπηρέτις οὕσα φύσεως νόμοις  
 82 αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ τὴν μεθόριον χώραν ἀπένευμε τοῖς  
 πέντε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐκνέενυκε πρὸς τὰ  
 ἄδυστα τῆς σκηνῆς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ συμβολικῶς νοητά,  
 τὰ δ' ἐκτός πρὸς τὸ ὑπαιθρον καὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἅπερ  
 ἐστὶν αἰσθητά· παρὸ καὶ ταῖς βάσεις διήνεγκαν,  
 χαλκαῖ γὰρ εἰσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν αἰσθήσεως  
 κεφαλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν ὁ νοῦς, ἐσχατιὰ δὲ καὶ  
 ὡσανεὶ βᾶσις τὸ αἰσθητόν, εἴκασε δὴ τὸν μὲν νοῦν  
 83 χρυσοῦ, χαλκῷ δὲ τὸ αἰσθητόν. μέτρα δὲ τῶν  
 κιόνων ταῦτα· δέκα μὲν πῆχεις τὸ μῆκος, εἰς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps καὶ has fallen out after ἔνεκα.

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 607-608, and for παντελεία note on *De Abr.* 244.

<sup>b</sup> i.e.  $50 = 3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2$ , and 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primary form of the right-angled triangle, which in *De Op.* 97 488

## MOSES II. 79-83

hidden from view, amounted to fifty-five, that is to the sum of successive numbers from one to the supremely perfect ten.<sup>a</sup> But if you choose to exclude 80 the five in the propylaeum adjoining the open-air space which he has called the court, there will be left the most sacred number, fifty, the square of the sides of the right-angled triangle, the original source from which the universe springs.<sup>b</sup> This fifty is obtained by adding together the inside pillars, namely the forty made up by the twenties on each side, then the six in the middle, leaving out the two hidden away in the corners, and then the four opposite which support the veil. I will now give my reason for first 81 counting the five with the fifty and then separately. Five is the number of the senses, and sense in mankind inclines on one side to things external, while on the other its trend is towards mind, whose handmaiden it is by the laws of nature. And therefore he assigned the position on the border to the five pillars, for what lies inside them verges on the inmost sanctuary of the tabernacle, which symbolically represents the realm of mind, while what lies outside them verges on the open-air space and court which represent the realm of sense. And therefore the five differ from the rest 82 also in their bases which are of brass. Since the mind is head and ruler of the sense-faculty in us, and the world which sense apprehends is the extremity and, as it were, the base of mind, he symbolized the mind by the gold and the sense-objects by the brass. The 83 dimensions of the pillars were as follows : the height,

is said to be the *σχημάτων καὶ ποιότητων ἀρχή*. The virtues of fifty are described more fully in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 176, when it is said to be *στοιχειωδέστατον καὶ πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἐν οὐσίαις περιλαμβανομένων*.

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καὶ ἡμῖς τὸ εὖρος, ἢ ἡ σκηνὴ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἴση προφαίνηται.

- 84 [148] XVII. | Παγκάλους δὲ καὶ ποικίλους ὑφάσμασιν αὐτὴν περιέβαλεν, ὑακίνθῳ καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ κοκκίνῳ καὶ βύσσῳ καταχρώμενος εἰς τὴν ὑφήν. δέκα γὰρ ἄς διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς ὠνόμασεν αὐλαίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρτίως λεχθέντων γενῶν ἐδημιούργει, μήκει μὲν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι πηχῶν ἐκάστην, εἰς δὲ τέσσαρας πήχεις πρὸς εὖρος ἀποτείνων, ἵνα καὶ δεκάδα ἔχωσι τὴν παντέλειαν καὶ τετράδα τὴν δεκάδος οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμὸν τέλειον ἴσον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι καὶ τεσσαρακοντάδα τὴν ζωογονικωτάτην, ἐν ἣ διαπλάττεσθαι φασιν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις τῶν αὐλαιῶν τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν διανομήν· δέκα μὲν κατὰ τὸν ὄροφον—τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ εὖρος—, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰς πλευράς, ἑκατέρωθεν ἐννέα, πρὸς σκέπην ἀποτείνονται τῶν κιόνων, ὑπολειπομένου πήχεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους, ἵνα μὴ ἐπισύρηται <τὸ>
- 86 πάγκαλον καὶ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὑφασμα. τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα, οἱ συναριθμοῦνται ἐκ τοῦ τῶν δέκα αὐλαιῶν πλάτους, τριάκοντα μὲν ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ μῆκος—τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ <τὸ> τῆς σκηνῆς<sup>1</sup>—, ἐννέα δὲ ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν τὸ κατὰ τὸ προπύλαιον, ἵνα δεσμὸς ἦ τοῦ ὄλου περιβλήματος·
- 87 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ προπυλαίου τὸ καταπέτασμα. σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ αἱ αὐλαῖαι καταπετάσματ' εἰσὶν, οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸν ὄροφον καὶ τοὺς τοίχους καλύπτειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συνυφάνθαι γένεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὑακίνθῳ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps read τὸ μῆκος—τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶ—τῆς σκηνῆς, i.e. instead of adding τὸ as Cohn and Mangey, omit καὶ.



## MOSES II. 83-87

ten cubits, the breadth, one-and-a-half, so that the tabernacle might appear equal in all its parts.

XVII. <sup>a</sup> He also surrounded it with the most beautiful pieces of woven work of various colours, using without stint materials of dark red and purple and scarlet and bright white, for the weaving. For he made ten curtains, as he calls them in the sacred writings, of the four kinds of material just mentioned, twenty-eight cubits in length and extended to four cubits in breadth. Thus we find in them ten, the supremely perfect number, four which contains the essence of ten, twenty-eight, a perfect number, equal to the sum of its factors,<sup>b</sup> and forty, the most prolific of life, which gives the time in which, as we are told, the man is fully formed in the laboratory of nature.<sup>c</sup> The twenty-eight cubits of the curtains were distributed as follows: ten along the roof, that being the breadth of the tabernacle, the rest extended along the sides, nine on each to cover the pillars, but leaving one cubit free from the floor, that this work so magnificent and worthily held sacred should not trail in the dust. Of the forty cubits which sum up the breadth of the ten curtains, thirty are taken up by the length of the tabernacle itself, that being its extent, nine by the backyard, and the remaining one by the space at the propylaeum, thus forming a bond to make the enclosing complete.<sup>d</sup> On the propylaeum was set the veil. But in a sense the curtains also are veils, not only because they cover the roof and the walls, but also because they are woven with the same kinds of

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 84-88 see Ex. xxvi. 1-14.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*  $1+2+4+7+14=28$ . See note on *De Op.* 101.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* forty weeks, or about ten months is supposed to be the period of gestation. *Cf. e.g. Virg. Ecl.* 4. 61.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "to be a bond of all that was put round."

## PHILO

πορφύρα καὶ κοκκίνω καὶ βύσσω. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τό τε καταπέτασμα καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον κάλυμμα κατεσκευάζετο, τὸ μὲν εἴσω κατὰ τοὺς τέσσαρας κίονας, ἢ ἐπικρύπτηται τὸ ἄδυτον, τὸ δ' ἔξω κατὰ τοὺς πέντε, ὡς μηδεὶς ἐξ ἀπόπτου δύναιτο τῶν μὴ

88 ἱερωμένων καταθεάσασθαι τὰ ἅγια. XVIII. τὰς δὲ τῶν ὑφασμάτων ὕλας ἀριστίνδην ἐπέκρινεν ἐκ μυρίων ὄσων ἐλόμενος τοῖς στοχείοις ἰσαρίθμους, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ λόγον ἔχουσας, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ βύσσος ἐκ γῆς, ἐξ ὕδατος δ' ἡ πορφύρα, ἡ δ' ὑάκινθος ἀέρι ὁμοιοῦται—φύσει γὰρ μέλας οὗτος—, τὸ δὲ κόκκινον πυρί, διότι φοινικουῖν ἐκάτερον· ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἱερὸν χειροποίητον κατασκευάζοντας τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντὸς τὰς ὁμοίας |

[149] λαβεῖν οὐσίας, αἷς τὸ ὄλον ἐδημιούργει.

89 Ἡ μὲν οὖν σκηνή, καθάπερ νεὼς ἅγιος, τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον κατεσκευάσθη. τέμενος δ' αὐτῆς ἐν κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο πηχῶν μῆκος ἑκατὸν καὶ πλάτος πεντήκοντα, κίονας ἔχον ἀφεστῶτας ἴσον ἀλλήλων διάστημα πέντε πήχεις, ὡς τοὺς μὲν σύμπαντας ἐξήκοντα εἶναι, διανεμῆσθαι δ' εἰς μὲν τὸ μῆκος τεσσαράκοντα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὖρος εἴκοσι,

90 καθ' ἑκάτερα μέρη τοὺς ἡμίσει. ὕλη δὲ τῶν στύλων τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς κέδρος, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἄργυρος, ἀπάντων δ' αἱ βάσεις χαλκαῖ, καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον πέντε πηχῶν· ἔδοξε γὰρ ἀρμόττον εἶναι τῷ τεχνίτῃ συνελεῖν ὄλω ἡμίσει τὸ ὕψος τῆς

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<sup>a</sup> Philo seems to have made a slip here. The screen for the door of the tent (Ex. xxvi. 36) is in the *lxx* ἐπίσπαστρον, while κάλυμμα is the name given (Ex. xxvii. 16) to the

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## MOSES II. 87-90

material, dark red and purple and scarlet and bright white. And what he calls the "covering"<sup>a</sup> was also made with the same materials as the veil, that being placed inside along the four pillars to hide the inmost sanctuary, the "covering" outside along the five pillars, so that no unconsecrated person should get even a distant view of the holy precincts. XVIII. But, in choosing the materials for the woven work, 88 he selected as the best out of a vast number possible four, as equal in number to the elements—earth, water, air, fire—out of which the world was made, and with a definite relation to those elements; the byssus, or bright white, coming from the earth, purple from the water, while dark red is like the air, which is naturally black, and scarlet like fire, since both are bright red. For it was necessary that in framing a temple of man's making, dedicated to the Father and Ruler of All, he should take substances like those with which that Ruler made the All.

<sup>b</sup> The tabernacle, then, was constructed to resemble 89 a sacred temple in the way described. Its precincts contained an area of a hundred cubits long by fifty broad, with pillars at equal intervals of five cubits from each other, so that the total number was sixty, with forty arranged on the long sides and twenty on the broad sides, in both cases half to each side. The 90 material of the columns was of cedar wood overlaid by silver. The bases in all cases were of brass, and the height was five cubits. For the master craftsman thought it proper to cut down the height of what he calls the court by a complete half, in order that the

screen at the gate of the court represented in Philo by the *ὕφασμα* of § 93.

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 89-93 see Ex. xxvii. 9-18.

## PHILO

- λεγομένης αὐλῆς, ἢ ἡ σκηνὴ πρὸς τὸ διπλάσιον μετέωρος ἀρθεῖσα προφαίνεται. λεπταὶ δ' ὀθόνην κατὰ τοῦ μήκους καὶ πλάτους ἦσαν ἐφαρμοζόμεναι τοῖς κίοσιν ἰστίοις ἐμφερεῖς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν
- 91 μὴ καθαρῶν εἰσιέναι. XIX. ἡ δὲ θέσις τοιαύτη ἦν· μέση μὲν ἴδρυτο ἡ σκηνὴ μήκος ἔχουσα τριάκοντα πήχεις καὶ εὖρος δέκα σὺν τῷ βάθει τῶν κίωνων, ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐκ τριῶν μερῶν ἴσῳ διαστήματι, δυοῖν μὲν κατὰ τὰς πλευράς, ἐνὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, τὸ δὲ διάστημα ἐξ εἴκοσι πηχῶν ἀνεμετρέετο· κατὰ δὲ τὸ προπύλαιον, ὡς εἰκός, ἔνεκα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν εἰσιόντων μείζον ἐγένετο διάστημα πεντήκοντα πηχῶν· οὕτως γὰρ οἱ ἑκατὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἔμελλον ἐκπληροῦσθαι, τῶν κατὰ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον εἴκοσι καὶ οὐς ἀπελάμβανεν ἡ σκηνὴ τριάκοντα συντεθέντων τοῖς κατὰ τὰς
- 92 εἰσόδους πεντήκοντα. τὰ γὰρ προπύλαια τῆς σκηνῆς ὡσανεὶ μέσος ὄρος ἴδρυτο διττῆς πεντηκοντάδος, τῆς μὲν κατ' ἀνατολᾶς, ἔνθα αἱ εἰσοδοὶ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς δυσμᾶς, ἔνθα τό τε μήκος τῆς σκηνῆς
- 93 καὶ ὁ κατόπιν περίβολος. κάλλιστον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον ἄλλο προπύλαιον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν εἰσόδου κατεσκευάζετο διὰ τεττάρων κίωνων, καθ' ὧν ἐτείετο ποικίλον ὕφασμα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς εἴσω κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν κάκ τῆς ὁμοίας ὕλης ἀπειργασμένον.
- 94 Ἄμα δὲ τούτοις ἐδημιουργεῖτο καὶ σκεύη ἱερά, κιβωτός, λυχνία, τράπεζα, θυμιατήριον, βωμός. ὁ μὲν οὖν βωμός ἰδρύετο ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τῶν εἰσόδων τῆς σκηνῆς ἀντικρῦ, ἀφεστῶς τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἰκανὸν

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<sup>a</sup> Or "the frontage," the plural, which here as in § 136 is 494

## MOSES II. 90-94

tabernacle should be conspicuous by rising up to double the height. Five linen sheets like sails were attached to the pillars, both on the length and the breadth, so that no impure person could enter the place. XIX. The plan was as follows. The tab- 91  
ernacle itself was set in the midst, thirty cubits long and ten broad, including the thickness of the pillars. From three aspects, namely the two long sides and the space at the back, it was the same distance from the boundary of the court, reckoned at twenty cubits. But at the propylaeum there was naturally a greater interval of fifty cubits, on account of the number of people entering. This increase was required to make up the hundred cubits of the court ; the twenty of the back-space and the thirty taken up by the tab- 92  
ernacle being added to the fifty at the entrances. For the propylaeum<sup>a</sup> of the tabernacle was set as the border-line between the two fifties, namely the fifty on the eastern half, where the entrance is, and the fifty on the western half, consisting of the tabernacle and the area behind it. At the beginning of the 93  
entrance to the court was built another very fine and large propylaeum with four pillars, on which was stretched a piece of woven work of various colours, made in the same way as those within the tabernacle and of like materials.

With these were also made the sacred vessels and 94  
furniture, the ark, candlestick, table and altars for incense and burnt offerings. The altar for burnt offerings was placed in the open air, opposite the entrance of the tabernacle,<sup>b</sup> at a distance sufficient to

applied to what is clearly a single "propylaeum," indicating that the line in which the portico stands is included.

<sup>b</sup> See Ex. xl. 6, 29.

## PHILO

λειτουργοῖς εἶναι διάστημα πρὸς τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην  
 95 ἡμέραν ἐπιτελουμένας θυσίας. XX. ἡ δὲ κιβωτὸς  
 ἐν ἀδύτῳ καὶ ἀβάτῳ τῶν καταπετασμάτων εἶσω,  
 [150] κεχρυσωμένη πολυτελῶς ἔνδοθεν | τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,  
 ἧς ἐπίθεμα ὡσανεὶ πῶμα τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν ἱεραῖς  
 96 βίβλοις ἰλαστήριον. τούτου μῆκος μὲν καὶ πλάτος  
 μεμήνυται, βάθος δ' οὐδέν, ἐπιφανεία γεωμετρικῆ  
 μάλισθ' ὡμοιωμένον, ὅπερ ἔοικεν εἶναι σύμβολον  
 φυσικώτερον μὲν τῆς ἰλεω τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως,  
 ἠθικώτερον δὲ διανοίας πάλιν, ἰλεω δ' ἑαυτῆ, τὴν  
 πρὸς ὕψος ἄλογον αἴρουσαν καὶ φυσῶσαν οἴησιν  
 ἀτυφίας ἔρωτι σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ στέλλειν καὶ καθαιρεῖν  
 97 ἀξιούσης. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν κιβωτὸς ἀγγεῖον νόμων  
 ἐστίν· εἰς γὰρ ταύτην κατατίθεται τὰ χρησθέντα  
 λόγια· τὸ δ' ἐπίθεμα τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἰλαστή-  
 ριον βάσις ἐστὶ πτηνῶν δυοῖν, ἃ πατρίῳ μὲν γλώττῃ  
 προσαγορεύεται Χερουβίμ, ὡς δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες  
 98 εἶποιεν, ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή. ταῦτα δέ  
 τινες μὲν φασιν εἶναι σύμβολα τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων  
 ἀμφοῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον θέσιν, τοῦ τε ὑπὸ  
 γῆν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν· πτηνὸν γὰρ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός.  
 99 ἐγὼ δ' ἂν εἶποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δι' ὑπονοιῶν τὰς  
 πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνωτάτω δύο τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις,  
 τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν· ὀνομάζεται δ' ἡ  
 μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ θεός, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 95-97 see Ex. xxv. 10-22.

<sup>b</sup> Or place of grace.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Abr.* 99.

<sup>d</sup> Or "full knowledge and much science." These words are not interpretations of the symbolical meaning of the two cherubim, but the supposed meaning of the Hebrew word, of which Philo gives two almost synonymous (and presumably alternative) renderings. The statement is reproduced by

## MOSES II. 94-99

give the ministrants room for the daily performance of the sacrifices. XX. <sup>a</sup> The ark was placed on the 95 forbidden ground of the inner sanctuary, within the veils. It was coated with costly gilding within and without, and was covered by a sort of lid, which is called in the sacred books the mercy-seat.<sup>b</sup> The 96 length and breadth of this are stated, but no depth, and thus it closely resembles the plane surface of geometry. It appears to be a symbol in a theological sense <sup>c</sup> of the gracious power of God; in the human sense, of a mind which is gracious to itself and feels the duty of repressing and destroying with the aid of knowledge the conceit which in its love of vanity uplifts it in unreasoning exaltation and puffs it with pride. The ark itself is the coffer of the laws, for in 97 it are deposited the oracles which have been delivered. But the cover, which is called the mercy-seat, serves to support the two winged creatures which in the Hebrew are called cherubim, but, as we should term them, recognition and full knowledge.<sup>d</sup> Some hold 98 that, since they are set facing each other, they are symbols of the two hemispheres, one above the earth and one under it, for the whole heaven has wings. I 99 should myself say that they are allegorical representations of the two most august and highest potencies of Him that is, the creative and the kingly. His creative potency is called God, because through it He placed <sup>e</sup> Clem. as *ἐπίγνωσις πολλή*, by Jerome as "multitudo scientiae," to which add Augustine's "plenitudo scientiae." All these are presumably dependent on Philo and no explanation of how he got this belief seems to be forthcoming.

The symbolical interpretations mentioned below have been given in *De Cher.* 21 ff, together with a third, that they represent the spheres of the planets and fixed stars. See notes *ad loc.*

<sup>e</sup> *θεός* again associated with *τῆθημι*, cf. *De Abr.* 122.

## PHILO

- καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεκόσμησε τόδε τὸ πᾶν, ἥ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἥ τῶν γενομένων ἄρχει καὶ σὺν
- 100 δίκη βεβαίως ἐπικρατεῖ. μόνος γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὢν καὶ ποιητῆς ἐστὶν ἀψευδῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἤγαγεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, καὶ βασιλεὺς φύσει, διότι τῶν γεγονότων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄρχει δικαιότερον τοῦ πεποιηκότος.
- 101 XXI. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεθορίῳ τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ πέντε κιόνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν πρόναον εἰργόμενον δυσὶν ὑφάσμασι, τῷ μὲν ἔνδον ὃ καλεῖται καταπέτασμα, τῷ δ' ἐκτὸς ὃ προσαγορεύεται κάλυμμα, τὰ λοιπὰ τρία σκευὴ τῶν προειρημένων ἰδρύετο· μέσον μὲν τὸ θυμιατήριον, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος σύμβολον εὐχαριστίας, ἣν ἔνεκα τῶν γινομένων ἀφ' ἑκατέρου προσῆκε ποιεῖσθαι· τὸν γὰρ μέσον ταῦτα
- 102 τοῦ κόσμου τόπον κεκλήρωται· τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις, δι' ἧς αἰνίττεται τὰς τῶν φωσφόρων κινήσεις ἀστέρων· ἥλιος γὰρ καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολὺ τῶν βορείων ἀφροστώτες νοτίους ποιοῦνται τὰς περιπολήσεις· ὅθεν ἕξ μὲν κλάδοι, τρεῖς δ' ἑκατέρωθεν, τῆς μέσης λυχνίας ἐκπεφύκασι εἰς
- 103 ἀριθμὸν ἕβδομον· ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων λαμπάδιά τε καὶ λύχνοι ἑπτὰ, σύμβολα τῶν λεγομένων παρὰ τοῖς
- [151] φυσικοῖς ἀνδράσι πλανήτων· ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος, | ὡσπερ ἡ λυχνία, μέσος τῶν ἕξ τεταγμένος ἐν τετάρτῃ χώρᾳ φωσφορεῖ τοῖς ὑπεράνω τρισὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἴσοις, ἀρμοζόμενος τὸ μουσικὸν καὶ θεῖον
- 104 ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄργανον. XXII. ἥ δὲ τράπεζα τίθεται πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις, ἐφ' ἧς ἄρτοι καὶ ἄλες, ἐπειδὴ



## MOSES II. 99-104

and made and ordered this universe, and the kingly is called Lord, being that with which He governs what has come into being and rules it steadfastly with justice. For, as He alone really is, He is undoubtedly 100 also the Maker, since He brought into being what was not, and He is in the nature of things King, since none could more justly govern what has been made than the Maker.

XXI. In the space between the four and the five 101 pillars, which may properly be called the vestibule of the temple, and is shut off by two woven screens, the inner and the outer, called respectively the veil and the covering, he set the remaining three of the equipments mentioned above. <sup>a</sup>The altar of incense he placed in the middle, a symbol of the thankfulness for earth and water which should be rendered for the benefits derived from both these, since the mid-position in the universe has been assigned to them. <sup>b</sup>The candlestick he placed at the south, figuring 102 thereby the movements of the luminaries above; for the sun and the moon and the others run their courses in the south far away from the north. And therefore six branches, three on each side, issue from the central candlestick, bringing up the number to seven, and on all these are set seven lamps and candle- 103 bearers, symbols of what the men of science call planets. For the sun, like the candlestick, has the fourth place in the middle of the six and gives light to the three above and the three below it, so tuning to harmony an instrument of music truly divine. XXII. <sup>c</sup>The table is set at the north and has bread 104

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxx. 1 f.

<sup>b</sup> See Ex. xxv. 31 ff. Cf. *Quis Rerum*, 221-225.

<sup>c</sup> See Ex. xxv. 23 ff.

## PHILO

τῶν πνευμάτων τὰ βόρεια τροφιμώτατα καὶ διότι  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς αἱ τροφαί, τοῦ μὲν ὕοντος, τῆς  
 δὲ τὰ σπέρματα ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροίαις τελειο-  
 105 γονούσης. οὐρανοῦ δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ γῆς παρίδρυνται τὰ  
 σύμβολα, καθάπερ ἔδειξεν ὁ λόγος, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ  
 ἡ λυχνία, τῶν δὲ περιγείων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀναθυμιάσεις,  
 106 τὸ ἐτύμως προσαγορευόμενον θυμιατήριον. τὸν δ'  
 ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸν εἴωθε καλεῖν θυσιαστήριον,  
 ὡσανεὶ τηρητικὸν καὶ φυλακτικὸν ὄντα θυσιῶν τὸν  
 ἀναλωτικὸν τούτων, αἰνιττόμενος οὐ τὰ μέλη καὶ  
 τὰ μέρη τῶν ἱερουργουμένων, ἅπερ δαπανᾶσθαι  
 107 φέροντος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνώμων καὶ ἄδικος, ἄθνητοι  
 θυσίαι καὶ ἀνίεροι ἱερουργαί καὶ εὐχαὶ παλίμφημοι  
 παντελεῖ φθορὰν ἐνδεχόμεναι· καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε γίνε-  
 σθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὐ λύσιν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀλλ' ὑπό-  
 108 μνησιν ἐργάζονται· εἰ δ' ὁσῖος καὶ δίκαιος, μένει  
 βέβαιος ἡ θυσία, κἂν τὰ κρέα δαπανηθῇ, μᾶλλον  
 δὲ καὶ εἰ τὸ παράπαν μηδὲν προσάγοιτο ἱερεῖον·  
 ἡ γὰρ ἀληθῆς ἱερουργία τίς ἂν εἴη πλὴν ψυχῆς  
 θεοφιλοῦς εὐσέβεια; ἥς τὸ εὐχάριστον ἀθανατί-  
 ζεται καὶ ἀνάγραφτον στηλιτεύεται παρὰ θεῶ  
 συνδιαιωνίζον ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ παντὶ  
 κόσμῳ.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as the German translator, omit δὲ, put a full stop after τροφιμώτατα, and a comma after τελειογονούσης. See note b.

<sup>a</sup> So LXX Lev. xxiv. 7—not in Hebrew.

<sup>b</sup> The punctuation and reading suggested in note 1 certainly make the connexion of thought clearer. If the text is kept, I take the meaning to be that the table with the food upon it represents heaven and earth which send the food, and therefore it is fitting that the other two symbols of heaven and earth should be set beside it.

## MOSES II. 104-108

and salt <sup>a</sup> on it, as the north winds are those which most provide us with food, and food comes from heaven and earth, the one sending rain, the other bringing the seeds to their fullness when watered by the showers.<sup>b</sup> In a line with the table are set <sup>105</sup> the symbols of heaven and earth, as our account has shewn, heaven being signified by the candlestick, earth and its parts, from which rise the vapours, by what is appropriately called the vapour-keeper <sup>c</sup> or altar of incense. The great altar in the open court <sup>106</sup> he usually calls by a name which means sacrifice-keeper, and when he thus speaks of the altar which destroys sacrifices as their keeper and guardian he alludes not to the parts and limbs of the victims, whose nature is to be consumed by fire, but to the intention of the offerer. For, if the worshipper is <sup>107</sup> without kindly feeling or justice, the sacrifices are no sacrifices, the consecrated oblation is desecrated, the prayers are words of ill omen with utter destruction waiting upon them. For, when to outward appearance they are offered, it is not a remission but a reminder of past sins which they effect. But, if <sup>108</sup> he is pure of heart and just, the sacrifice stands firm, though the flesh is consumed, or rather, even if no victim at all is brought to the altar. For the true oblation, what else can it be but the devotion of a soul which is dear to God? The thank-offering of such a soul receives immortality, and is inscribed in the records of God, sharing the eternal life of the sun and moon and the whole universe.

<sup>a</sup> Philo does not expressly derive the *-τηριον* of *θυμιατήριον* from *τηρέιν*. But as *ἐτύμως* implies etymological derivation, and in the next words he gives this derivation for *θυσιαστήριον*, it seems probable that he means it to apply to both words.

## PHILO

- 109 XXIII. Τούτοις ἐξῆς ἱερὰν ἐσθήτα κατεσκευάζεν ὁ τεχνίτης τῷ μέλλοντι ἀρχιερεῖ καθίστασθαι παγκάλην καὶ θαυμασιωτάτην ἔχουσαν ἐν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι πλοκήν. τὰ δ' ὕψη διττὰ ἦν, τὸ μὲν
- 110 ὑποδύτης, τὸ δὲ προσαγορευόμενον ἐπωμῖς. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑποδύτης ἀμιγεστέρας ἰδέας· ὅλος γὰρ ὑακίνθινος, ἔξω τῶν κατωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἐσχατίας μερῶν, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐποικίλλετο χρυσοῖς ροῖσκόις καὶ
- 111 κώδωσι καὶ ἀνθίνοις πλέγμασιν. ἡ δ' ἐπωμῖς, ἐκπρεπέστατον ἔργον καὶ τεχνικώτατον, ἐπιστήμη τελειοτάτη κατεσκευάζετο τοῖς προειρημένοις γένεσιν, ὑακίνθω καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ βύσσῳ καὶ κοκκίνῳ, συγκαταπλεκομένου χρυσοῦ· πέταλα γὰρ εἰς λεπτὰς τρίχας κατατμηθέντα πᾶσι τοῖς νήμασι συν-
- 112 υφαίνετο. λίθοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίῳν ἐνηρμόζοντο [152] σμαράγδου πολυτελοῦς δύο τιμαλφέστατοι, | οἷς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν φυλάρχων ἐξ καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐνεχαράττετο, δώδεκα τὰ σύμπαντα· καὶ κατὰ τὸ στήθος ἄλλοι λίθοι πολυτελεῖς δώδεκα διαφέροντες ταῖς χροαῖς, σφραγῖσιν ἐοικότες, ἐκ τριῶν τετραστοιχεί· οὗτοι δ' ἐνηρμόζοντο τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ
- 113 λογεῖῳ. τὸ δὲ λογεῖον τετράγωνον διπλοῦν κατεσκευάζετο ὡσανεὶ βάσις, ἵνα δύο ἀρετὰς ἀγαματοφορῇ, δῆλωσίν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν· ὅλον δ' ἀλυσειδίῳ χρυσοῖς ἀνήρητο πρὸς τὴν ἐπωμίδα, σφιγγόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ χαλαῶσθαι.
- 114 χρυσοῦν δὲ πέταλον ὡσανεὶ στέφανος ἐδημιουργεῖτο

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 109-116 see Ex. xxviii.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "shoulder-covering." I have retained the familiar and neutral word "ephod," by some supposed to be a kind of waistcoat, by others an apron. See note in Driver's *Exodus*, p. 312, or article in *Biblical Encyclopaedia*.

## MOSES II. 109-114

XXIII. <sup>a</sup> Next after these, the master prepared for 109  
the future high priest a vesture, the fabric of which  
had a texture of great and marvellous beauty. It  
consisted of two garments, one of which he calls  
the robe and the other the ephod.<sup>b</sup> The robe was 110  
of a comparatively uniform make, for it was all of  
the dark red colour, except at the lowest extremities,  
where it was variegated with golden pomegranates  
and bells and intertwined flowers. The ephod, a 111  
work of special magnificence and artistry, was  
wrought with perfect knowledge in the kinds of  
materials mentioned above, namely dark red and  
purple and bright white and scarlet, with gold thread  
intertwined. For gold leaf cut into fine threads was  
woven with all the yarn. On the shoulder-tops 112  
were fitted two highly precious stones of the costly  
emerald kind, and on them were graven the names of  
the patriarchs, six for each shoulder, twelve in all.  
On the breast were twelve other costly stones of  
different colours, like seals, in four rows of three each.  
These were fitted into what he calls the "place of  
reason."<sup>c</sup> This was made four-square and doubled, 113  
forming a ground to enshrine the two virtues, clear  
showing and truth.<sup>d</sup> The whole was attached by  
golden chainlets to the ephod, fastened strongly to  
it so as not to come loose. A piece of gold plate, 114  
too, was wrought into the form of a crown with four

<sup>c</sup> Or "oracle" (LXX λογείον τῶν κρίσεων, Ex. xxviii. 15). But Philo clearly uses the word in the sense given in the translation (see §§ 125 and 128), and the same meaning is given to it *De Spec. Leg.* i. 87. The E.V. has "breastplate of judgement" though the word translated "breastplate" is said to be rather = "pouch."

<sup>d</sup> The LXX translation of the mysterious words rendered in E.V. as Urim and Thummim. *Cf. Leg. All.* iii. 142.

## PHILO

- τέτταρας ἔχον γλυφὰς ὀνόματος, ὃ μόνοις τοῖς ὄτα  
καὶ γλῶτταν σοφία κεκαθαρμένοις θέμις ἀκούειν  
καὶ λέγειν ἐν ἁγίοις, ἄλλω δ' οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν  
115 οὐδαμοῦ. τετραγράμματον δὲ τοῦνομά φησιν ὁ  
θεολόγος εἶναι, τάχα που σύμβολα τιθεὶς αὐτὰ τῶν  
πρώτων ἀριθμῶν, μονάδος καὶ δυάδος καὶ τριάδος  
καὶ τετράδος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐν τετράδι, σημεῖον καὶ  
γραμμὴ καὶ ἐπιφάνεια καὶ στερεόν, τὰ μέτρα τῶν  
συμπάντων, καὶ αἱ κατὰ μουσικὴν ἄρισται συμ-  
φωναίαι, ἧ τε διὰ τεσσάρων ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ λόγῳ καὶ ἧ  
διὰ πέντε ἐν ἡμιολίῳ καὶ ἧ διὰ πασῶν ἐν διπλασίῳ  
καὶ ἧ δις διὰ πασῶν ἐν τετραπλασίῳ· ἔχει δὲ καὶ  
τὰς ἄλλας ἀμυθήτους ἀρετὰς ἢ τετράς, ὧν τὰς  
πλείστας ἠκριβώσαμεν ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀριθμῶν πραγ-  
116 ματεία. μίτρα δ' ἦν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, τοῦ μὴ ψαύειν τῆς  
κεφαλῆς τὸ πέταλον. πρὸς δὲ καὶ κιδάρις κατ-  
εσκευάζετο· κιδάρει γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἐξῶν βασιλεῖς ἀντι-  
διαδήματος εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι.
- 117 XXIV. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦν ἐσθῆς.  
ὄν δ' ἔχει λόγον οὐ παρασιωπητέον αὐτῇ τε καὶ  
τὰ μέρη. ὅλη μὲν δὴ γέγονεν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ  
μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ δὲ μέρη τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον  
118 μερῶν. ἀρκτέον δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδήρου. οὗτος ὁ |  
[153] χιτῶν σύμπας ἐστὶν ὑακίνθινος, ἀέρος ἐκμαγεῖον·  
φύσει γὰρ ὁ ἄηρ μέλας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ποδήρης,  
ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ σελήνην ἄχρι τῶν γῆς ταθεὶς  
περάτων, πάντῃ κεχυμένος· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ χιτῶν ἀπὸ

<sup>a</sup> The apparently traditional idea, which appears again in § 132, that the inscription on the πέταλον was the "tetragrammaton" YHVH is not borne out by the LXX ἁγίασμα κυρίου, or the Hebrew and E.V. "Holy (holiness) to the Lord" (Ex. xxviii. 32 (E.V. 36)). Philo has quoted it correctly *De Mig.* 103.

## MOSES II. 114-118

incisions, showing a name which only those whose ears and tongues are purified may hear or speak in the holy place, and no other person, nor in any other place at all. That name has four letters,<sup>a</sup> so says 115 that master learned in divine verities, who, it may be, gives them as symbols of the first numbers, one, two, three and four; since the geometrical categories under which all things fall, point, line, superficies, solid, are all embraced in four. So, too, with the best harmonies in music, the fourth, fifth, octave and double octave intervals, where the ratios are respectively four to three, three to two, two to one and four to one. Four, too, has countless other virtues, most of which I have set forth in detail in my treatise on numbers.<sup>b</sup> Under the crown, to prevent 116 the plate touching the head, was a headband. A turban also was provided, for the turban is regularly worn by eastern monarchs instead of a diadem.

XXIV. <sup>c</sup> Such was the vesture of the high priest. 117 But I must not leave untold its meaning and that of its parts. We have in it as a whole and in its parts a typical representation of the world and its particular parts. Let us begin with the full-length robe. This 118 gown is all of violet, and is thus an image of the air; for the air is naturally black, and so to speak a robe reaching to the feet, since it stretches down from the region below the moon to the ends of the earth, and spreads out everywhere. And, therefore, the

The statement given here is also made by Josephus *Bell. Jud.* v. 235 (*cf. Ant.* iii. 178). See too App. pp. 608-609.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably the same as the "special treatise" mentioned in *De Op.* 52, after enumerating many of the properties of the number. He has also dealt with them in *De Plant.* 117 ff.

<sup>c</sup> For some notes on and illustration of the symbolism of §§ 117-135 see App. p. 609.

## PHILO

- στέρνων ἄχρι ποδῶν περὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα κέχυται.
- 119 ἔξ αὐτοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὰ σφυρὰ ροῖσκοι καὶ ἄνθινα καὶ κώδωνές εἰσι· τὰ μὲν ἄνθινα σύμβολον γῆς, ἀνθεὶ γὰρ καὶ βλαστάνει πάντα ἐκ ταύτης· οἱ δὲ ροῖσκοι ὕδατος, παρὰ τὴν ῥύσιν λεχθέντες εὐθυβόλως· οἱ δὲ κώδωνες τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ γῆ χωρὶς ὕδατος οὔθ' ὕδωρ ἄνευ τῆς γεώδους οὐσίας αὐταρκες εἰς γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ
- 120 σύνοδος καὶ κρᾶσις ἀμφοῖν. μάρτυς δὲ τοῦ δηλουμένου καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐναργέστατος· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἐσχάτοις τοῦ ποδήρους οἱ ροῖσκοι καὶ τὰ ἄνθινα καὶ οἱ κώδωνές εἰσιν, οὕτως καὶ τὰ ὦν ἐστὶ σύμβολα τὴν κατωτάτῳ χώρῳ ἔλαχεν ἐν κόσμῳ, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἁρμονίᾳ συνηχοῦντα τὰς οἰκείας ἐπιδείκνυται δυνάμεις ἐν ὠρισμέναις χρόνων περι-
- 121 ὁδοῖς καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι καιροῖς. τριῶν μὲν δὴ στοιχείων, ἔξ ὧν τε καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰ θνητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ γένη πάντα, ἀέρος, ὕδατος, γῆς, ὁ ποδήρης σὺν τοῖς ἀπηρωρημένοις κατὰ τὰ σφυρὰ σύμβολον ἐδείχθη προσηκόντως· ὡς γὰρ ὁ χιτῶν εἰς, καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα τρία στοιχεῖα μιᾶς ἰδέας ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατωτέρῳ σελήνης ἅπαντα τροπὰς ἔχει καὶ μεταβολάς· καὶ καθάπερ ἐκ τοῦ χιτῶνος ἤρτηνται οἱ τε ροῖσκοι καὶ τὰ ἄνθινα, καὶ ἀπ' ἀέρος τρόπον τινὰ γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκκρέμανται, τὸ γὰρ ὄχημα τούτων ἐστὶν ἀήρ.
- 122 Τὴν δ' ἐπωμίδα οὐρανοῦ σύμβολον ὁ λόγος εἰκόσι στοχασμοῖς χρώμενος παραστήσει· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων σμαράγδου δύο λίθοι περι-

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<sup>a</sup> The stress lies on *προσηκόντως*; we may see that the  
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## MOSES II. 118-122

gown, too, spreads out from the breast to the feet round the whole body. At the ankles there stand 119 out from it pomegranates and flower trimming and bells. The earth is represented by the flowers, for all that flowers and grows comes from the earth; the water by the pomegranates or flowing fruit, so aptly called from their flowing juice; while the bells represent the harmonious alliance of these two, since life cannot be produced by earth without water or by water without the substance of earth, but only by the union and combination of both. Their 120 position testifies most clearly to this explanation. For, just as the pomegranates, the flower trimming and the bells are at the extremities of the long robe, so too what these symbolize, namely earth and water, occupy the lowest place in the universe, and in unison with the harmony of the All display their several powers at fixed revolutions of time and at their proper seasons. This proof that the three 121 elements, earth, water and air, from which come and in which live all mortal and perishable forms of life, are symbolized by the long robe with the appendages at the ankles, is supported<sup>a</sup> by observing that as the gown is one, the three said elements are of a single kind, since all below the moon is alike in its liability to change and alteration, and that, as the pomegranates and flower patterns are fastened to the gown, so too in a sense earth and water are suspended on the air, which acts as their support.

As for the ephod, consideration following what 122 probability suggests will represent it as a symbol of heaven. For first the two circular emerald stones

symbolism described above is suitable by the other resemblances pointed out in the last part of the sentence.

## PHILO

- φερείς μηνύουσιν, ὡς μὲν οἴονταί τινες, ἀστέρων  
 τοὺς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἡγεμόνας, ἥλιον καὶ  
 σελήνην, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐγγυτέρω τις τῆς ἀληθείας  
 προσερχόμενος εἴποι, τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἐκάτερον·  
 ἴσα τε γὰρ ὡς οἱ λίθοι τό τε ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν  
 καὶ οὐδέτερον πέφυκε μειοῦσθαι καὶ συναυξέσθαι  
 123 καθάπερ σελήνη. συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ χροά·  
 σμαράγδω γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ φαν-  
 τασία κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὄψεως προσβολήν. ἀναγκαίως  
 δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκάτερον τῶν λίθων ἕξ ὀνόματα ἐγγλύ-  
 φεται, διότι καὶ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἐκάτερον δίχα  
 τέμνον τὸν ζωοφόρον ἕξ ἐναπολαμβάνει ζώδια.  
 124 ἔπειθ' οἱ κατὰ τὰ στέρνα δώδεκα λίθοι ταῖς χροαῖς  
 οὐχ ὅμοιοι διανεμηθέντες εἰς τέσσαρας στοίχους  
 ἐκ τριῶν τίνος ἐτέρου δείγματ' εἰσὶν ἢ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ  
 [154] κύκλου; καὶ γὰρ | οὗτος τετραχῆ διανεμηθεὶς ἐκ  
 τριῶν ζωδίων τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἀποτελεῖ, ἔαρ,  
 θέρος, μετόπωρον, χειμῶνα, τροπὰς τέσσαρας, ὧν  
 ἐκάστης ὄρος τρία ζώδια, γνωριζόμενος ταῖς τοῦ  
 ἡλίου περιφοραῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἀσάλευτον  
 125 καὶ βεβαιότατον καὶ θεῖον ὄντως λόγον. ὅθεν  
 ἐνηρμόζοντο καὶ τῷ προσαγορευθέντι δεόντως  
 λογεῖω· λόγῳ γὰρ αἱ τροπαὶ καὶ ἐτήσιοι ὥραι  
 τεταγμένῳ καὶ παγίῳ συνίστανται, τὸ παραδοξό-  
 τατον, διὰ τῆς καιρίου μεταβολῆς ἐπιδεικνύμεναι  
 126 τὴν διαιωνίζουσαν αὐτῶν μονήν. εὖ δ' ἔχει καὶ  
 πάνυ καλῶς τὸ τοῖς χρώμασι τοὺς δώδεκα λίθους  
 διαλλάττειν καὶ μηδένα ὅμοιον εἶναι μηδενί· καὶ  
 γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ ζωοφόρῳ ἕκαστον ἀποτελεῖ τι  
 χρῶμα οἰκείον κατὰ τε ἀέρα καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ

on the shoulder-pieces indicate, as some think, those heavenly bodies which rule the day and night, namely the sun and moon, or, as may be said with a nearer approach to truth, the two hemispheres of the sky. For, just as the stones are equal to each other, so is the hemisphere above to that below the earth, and neither is so constituted as to increase and diminish as does the moon. A similar testimony is given by 123 their colour, for the appearance of the whole heaven as presented to our sight is like the emerald. Six names, too, had to be engraved on each of the stones, since each of the hemispheres also divides the zodiac into two, and appropriates six of the signs. Secondly, the stones at the breast, which are dis- 124 similar in colour, and are distributed into four rows of threes, what else should they signify but the zodiac circle? For that circle, when divided into four parts, constitutes by three signs in each case the seasons of the year—spring, summer, autumn, winter—those four, the transition in each of which is determined by three signs and made known to us by the revolutions of the sun, according to a mathematical law, unshaken, immutable and truly divine. Therefore also they were fitted into what is rightly 125 called the place of reason, for a rational principle, ordered and firmly established, creates the transitions and seasons of the year. And the strangest thing is that it is this seasonal change which demonstrates their age-long permanence. It is an excellent 126 and indeed a splendid point that the twelve stones are of different colours and none of them like to any other. For each of the signs of the zodiac also produces its own particular colouring in the air and

## PHILO

- τὰ τούτων παθήματα καὶ ἔτι κατὰ τὰ τῶν ζώων  
 127 καὶ φυτῶν γένη πάντα. XXV. διπλοῦν  
 δὲ τὸ λογεῖον οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ· διττὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος  
 ἔν τε τῷ παντὶ καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει· κατὰ μὲν  
 τὸ πᾶν ὃ τε περὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ παραδειγ-  
 ματικῶν ἰδεῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος, καὶ  
 ὁ περὶ τῶν ὄρατῶν, ἃ δὴ μιμήματα καὶ ἀπεικονί-  
 σματα τῶν ἰδεῶν ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ αἰσθητὸς  
 οὗτος ἀπετελεῖτο· ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δ' ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν  
 ἐνδιάθετος, ὁ δὲ προφορικός, (καὶ ὁ μὲν) οἶά τις  
 πηγή, ὁ δὲ γεγωνὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου ῥέων· καὶ τοῦ μὲν  
 ἐστὶ χώρα τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ προφορὰν  
 γλῶττα καὶ στόμα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα φωνῆς ὀρ-  
 128 γανοποιία. σχῆμα δ' ἀπένειμεν ὁ τεχνίτης τετρά-  
 γωνον τῷ λογεῖῳ πάνυ καλῶς αἰνιττόμενος, ὡς  
 χρῆ καὶ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀν-  
 θρώπου βεβηκέναι πάντῃ καὶ κατὰ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν  
 κραδαίνεσθαι. παρὸ καὶ τὰς εἰρημένας δύο ἀρετὰς  
 προσεκλήρωσεν αὐτῷ, δήλωσιν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν·  
 ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως λόγος ἀληθῆς καὶ δηλωτικὸς  
 πάντων ὃ τε τοῦ σοφοῦ μιμούμενος ἐκείνον ὀφείλει  
 προσηκόντως ἀψευδέστατός τε εἶναι τιμῶν ἀλή-  
 θειαν καὶ μηδὲν φθόνῳ συσκιάζειν, ὧν ἡ μήνυσις  
 129 ὠφελήσει τοὺς ἀναδίδαχθέντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 δυσὶ λόγοις τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν, τῷ τε προφο-  
 ρικῷ καὶ ἐνδιαθέτῳ, δύο ἀρετὰς ἀπένειμεν οἰκείας,  
 τῷ μὲν προφορικῷ δήλωσιν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν  
 ἀλήθειαν· ἀρμόζει γὰρ διανοία μὲν μηδὲν παρα-  
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## MOSES II. 126-129

earth and water and their phases, and also in the different kinds of animals and plants. XXV.

There is a point, too, in the reason-seat being doubled, 127 for the rational principle is twofold as well in the universe as in human nature. In the universe we find it in one form dealing with the incorporeal and archetypal ideas from which the intelligible world was framed, and in another with the visible objects which are the copies and likenesses of those ideas and out of which this sensible world was produced. With man, in one form it resides within, in the other it passes out from him in utterance. The former is like a spring, and is the source from which the latter, the spoken, flows. The inward is located in the dominant mind, the outward in the tongue and mouth and the rest of the vocal organism. The 128 master did well also in assigning a four-square shape to the reason-seat, thereby shewing in a figure that the rational principle, both in nature and in man, must everywhere stand firm and never be shaken in any respect at all; and, therefore, he allotted to it the two above-named virtues, clear shewing and truth. For the rational principle in nature is true, and sets forth all things clearly, and, in the wise man, being a copy of the other, has as its bounden duty to honour truth with absolute freedom from falsehood, and not keep dark through jealousy anything the disclosure of which will benefit those who hear its lesson. At the same time, as in each of us, 129 reason has two forms, the outward of utterance and the inward of thought, he gave them each one of the two virtues as its special property; to utterance clear shewing, to the thinking mind truth. For it is the duty of the thinking faculty to admit no false-

## PHILO

- δέχεσθαι ψεῦδος, ἐρμηνεία δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδίζειν τῶν  
 130 εἰς τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην δῆλωσιν. λόγου δὲ οὐδὲν  
 ὄφελος τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα σεμνηγοροῦντος, ᾧ  
 μὴ πρόσεστιν οἰκείων ἀκολουθία πράξεων· ὅθεν τὸ  
 λογέιον ἤρτησεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπωμίδος, ἵνα μὴ χαλαῖται,  
 [155] τὸν λόγον οὐ δικαίωσας | ἔργων ἀπεξεῦχθαι· τὸν  
 γὰρ ὦμον ἐνεργείας καὶ πράξεως ποιεῖται σύμ-  
 βολον.
- 131 XXVI. Ἄ μὲν οὖν αἰνίττεται διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς  
 ἐσθῆτος, ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα. κίδαριν δὲ ἀντὶ διαδήματος  
 ἐπιτίθησι τῇ κεφαλῇ δικαίων τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ  
 θεῷ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἱεράται, προφέρειν ἀπάντων  
 132 καὶ μὴ μόνον ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέων. ὑπεράνω  
 δὲ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐστὶ πέταλον, ᾧ τῶν τεττάρων αἱ  
 γλυφαὶ γραμμάτων ἐνεσφραγίσθησαν, ἐξ ὧν ὄνομα  
 τοῦ ὄντος φασὶ μὴνύεσθαι, ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε ὃν ἄνευ  
 κατακλήσεως θεοῦ συστήναί τι τῶν ὄντων· ἀρμονία  
 γὰρ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγαθότης καὶ ἕλεως δύναμις  
 133 αὐτοῦ. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 διακοσμηθεὶς στέλλεται πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἵν',  
 ὅταν εἰσὶ τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς τε καὶ θυσίας ποιη-  
 σόμενος, συνεισέρχεται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ δι' ὧν  
 ἐπιφέρεται μιμημάτων<sup>1</sup> ἀέρος τὸν ποδήρη, ὕδατος  
 τὸν ροῖσκον, γῆς τὸ ἄνθινον, πυρὸς τὸ κόκκινον,  
 οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἐπωμίδα, καὶ κατ' εἶδος τοῖν δυοῖν  
 ἡμισφαιρίοις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων σμαράγδους  
 περιφερεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν καθ' ἑκάτερον γλυφαὶ ἕξ, τοῦ  
 ζωοφόρου τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων δώδεκα λίθους ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> So mss. or *μίμημα*. Cohn corrects to *μιμήματα*, wrongly, I think. The grammatical usage of relative attraction for *διὰ μιμημάτων* & *ἐπιφέρεται* justifies, if it does not require, the attraction of the noun to the case of the relative.

## MOSES II. 129-133

hood, and of the language faculty to give free play to all that helps to shew facts clearly with the utmost exactness. Yet reason, as seen in either of these 130 faculties, is of no value, however admirable and excellent are its lofty pronouncements, unless followed by deeds in accordance with it. And, therefore, since in his judgement speech and thought should never be separated from actions, he fastened the reason-seat to the ephod or shoulder-piece so that it should not come loose. For he regards the shoulder as the symbol of deeds and activity.

XXVI. Such are the ideas which he suggests under 131 the figure of the sacred vesture ; but, in setting a turban on the priest's head, instead of a diadem, he expresses his judgement that he who is consecrated to God is superior when he acts as a priest to all others, not only the ordinary laymen, but even kings. Above the turban is the golden plate on which the 132 graven shapes of four letters, indicating, as we are told, the name of the Self-Existent, are impressed, meaning that it is impossible for anything that is to subsist without invocation of Him ; for it is His goodness and gracious power which join and compact all things.

Thus is the high priest 133 arrayed when he sets forth to his holy duties, in order that when he enters to offer the ancestral prayers and sacrifices there may enter with him the whole universe, as signified in the types of it which he brings upon his person, the long robe a copy of the air, the pomegranate of water, the flower trimming of earth, the scarlet of fire, the ephod of heaven, the circular emeralds on the shoulder-tops with the six engravings in each of the two hemispheres which they resemble in form, the twelve stones on the

## PHILO

- τριῶν κατὰ τέτταρας στοίχους, τοῦ συνέχοντος καὶ  
 134 διοικούντος τὰ σύμπαντα τὸ λογεῖον. ἀναγκαῖον  
 γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρα-  
 κλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν υἱῷ πρὸς τε  
 ἀμνηστίαν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονω-  
 135 τάτων ἀγαθῶν. ἴσως μέντοι καὶ προδιδάσκει τὸν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπευτήν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῦ κοσμοποιῦ  
 δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε κόσμου διηνεκῶς ἄξιον εἶναι  
 πειρᾶσθαι, οὗ τὸ μίμημα ἐνδύομενος ὀφείλει τῇ  
 διανοίᾳ τὸ παράδειγμα εὐθὺς ἀγαλματοφορῶν αὐτὸς  
 τρόπον τινὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἐξ ἀν-  
 θρώπου μεθηρμόσθαι καί, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν—θέμις δὲ  
 ἀψευδεῖν περὶ ἀληθείας λέγοντα—, βραχὺς κόσμος  
 εἶναι.
- 136 XXVII. Τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἔξω παρὰ ταῖς  
 εἰσόδοις λουτήρ ἐστι χαλκοῦς, οὐκ ἄργον ὕλην  
 λαβόντος τοῦ τεχνίτου πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν, ὅπερ  
 φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, σκευὴ δ' ἐπιμελῶς δημιουργηθέντα  
 πρὸς ἑτέραν χρεῖαν, ἃ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας  
 πάσης αἱ γυναῖκες εἰσήνεγκαν ἀμιλλώμεναι τοῖς  
 ἀνδράσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀγώνισμα καλὸν ἄρασθαι  
 διανοηθεῖσαι καὶ καθ' ὅσον δυνάμειος εἶχον σπου-  
 137 κάσασαι μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ἐκείνων ὀσιότητος·  
 [156] κάτοπτρα γάρ, οἷς εὐμορφίαν | εἰώθασι δια-  
 κοσμεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς προστάξαντος, αὐτοκελεύστῳ  
 προθυμίᾳ, σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς περὶ γάμον ἀγνείας  
 καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ ψυχικοῦ κάλλους ἀπαρχὴν πρε-  
 138 πωδεστάτην ἀπήρξαντο. ταῦτ' ἔδοξε τῷ τεχνίτῃ

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<sup>a</sup> λόγου must be understood with τοῦ συνέχοντος, if indeed it has not fallen out of the text.



## MOSES II. 133-138

breast in four rows of threes of the zodiac, the reason-  
seat of that Reason<sup>a</sup> which holds together and ad-  
ministers all things. For he who has been con- 134  
secrated to the Father of the world must needs have  
that Father's Son<sup>b</sup> with all His fullness of excellence  
to plead his cause, that sins may be remembered no  
more and good gifts showered in rich abundance.  
Perhaps, too, he is preparing the servant of God to 135  
learn the lesson, that, if it be beyond him to be  
worthy of the world's Maker, he should try to be  
throughout worthy of the world. For, as he wears a  
vesture which represents the world, his first duty is  
to carry the pattern enshrined in his heart, and so  
be in a sense transformed from a man into the nature  
of the world; and, if one may dare to say so—and  
in speaking of truth one may well dare to state the  
truth—be himself a little world, a microcosm.

XXVII. <sup>c</sup> Outside the propylaeum, at the entrance, 136  
there was a brazen laver, for the making of which the  
master did not take unworked material, as is usually  
done, but chattels already elaborately wrought for  
another purpose. These the women brought, filled  
with fervent zeal, rivalling the men in piety, resolved  
to win the prize of high excellence, and eager to use  
every power that they had that they might not be  
outstripped by them in holiness. For, with spont- 137  
aneous ardour at no other bidding than their own,  
they gave the mirrors which they used in adorning  
their comely persons, a truly fitting firstfruit offering  
of their modesty and chastity in marriage, and in fact  
of their beauty of soul. These the master thought 138

<sup>b</sup> The Son here is of course the World.

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 136-140 see Ex. xxxviii. 26, 27 (E.V. 8). The incident has been treated briefly in the same way *De Mig.* 98.

## PHILO

- λαβόντι χωνεῦσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἢ τὸν λουτήρα κατασκευάσασθαι, περιρραντηρίοις ὅπως οἱ μέλλοντες εἰς τὸν νεῶν εἰσιεῖναι ἱερεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς διατεταγμένας ὑπουργεῖν λειτουργίας χρῶνται πόδας μάλιστα καὶ χεῖρας ἀπονιπτόμενοι—σύμβολον ἀνυπαιτίου ζωῆς καὶ βίου καθαρεύοντος ἐν πράξεσιν ἐπαινεταῖς, οὐ τὴν τραχείαν κακίας ὁδὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν ἀνοδίαν ἀλλὰ
- 139 τὴν δι' ἀρετῆς λεωφόρον ἀπευθύνοντος—. “ ὑπομιμνησκέσθω μέντοι ” φησί “ καὶ ὁ μέλλων περιρραίνεσθαι, ὅτι τοῦδε τοῦ σκεύους ἢ ὕλη κάτοπτρα ἦν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς οἶα πρὸς κάτοπτρον ἀνγάζη τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν καί, εἴ τι ὑποφαίνοιτο αἰσχος ἐξ ἀλόγου πάθους ἢ παρὰ φύσιν ἐπαιρούσης καὶ μετεωριζούσης ἡδονῆς ἢ στελλούσης ἔμπαλιν λύπης καὶ καθαιρούσης ἢ ἀποστρέφοντος καὶ ἀποκλίνοντος τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας ὁρμὴν φόβου ἢ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὰ μὴ παρόντα ἐλκούσης καὶ ἀποτεινούσης βία, τοῦτο θεραπεύη τε καὶ ἰᾶται τοῦ γνησίου καὶ ἀνόθου
- 140 μεταποιούμενος κάλλους· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μερῶν εὐχροία τε καὶ εὐσαρκία κείται, βραχὺν τῆς ἀκμῆς ἔχον καιρόν, τὸ δὲ τῆς διανοίας ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ δογμάτων καὶ ἀρετῶν συμφωνία, μὴ χρόνου μήκει μαραινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐγχρονίζει καινούμενον καὶ νεάζον, χρώματι διαπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένον ἀληθείας καὶ ὁμολογίας ἔργων πρὸς λόγους καὶ πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ ἔτι βουλευμάτων πρὸς ἑκάτερα.”
- 141 XXVIII. Διδαχθέντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ παραδείγματα τῆς ἱερᾶς σκηνῆς καὶ ἀναδιδάξαντι τοὺς διανοία ὀξεῖς καὶ εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνάληψιν καὶ

## MOSES II. 138-141

good to take, and, after melting them down, construct therewith the laver and nothing else, to serve for lustration to priests who should enter the temple to perform the appointed rites, particularly for washing the hands and feet ; a symbol, this, of a blameless life, of years of cleanliness employed in laudable actions, and in straight travelling, not on the rough road or more properly pathless waste of vice, but on the smooth high road through virtue's land. Let him, 139 he means, who shall be purified with water, bethink him that the mirrors were the material of this vessel, to the end that he himself may behold his own mind as in a mirror ; and, if some ugly spot appear of unreasoning passion, either of pleasure, uplifting and raising him to heights which nature forbids, or of its converse pain, making him shrink and pulling him down, or of fear, diverting and distorting the straight course to which his face was set, or of desire, pulling and dragging him perforce to what he has not got, then he may salve and heal the sore and hope to gain the beauty which is genuine and unalloyed. For beauty of body 140 lies in well-proportioned parts, in a fine complexion and good condition of flesh, and short is the season of its bloom. But beauty of mind lies in harmony of creed, in concert of virtues. The passing of time cannot wither it, and, as its years lengthen, it ever renews its youth, adorned with the lustrous hue of truth and of consistency of deeds with words and words with deeds, and further of thoughts and intentions with both.

XXVIII. When he had been taught the patterns 141 of the holy tabernacle, and had passed on the lesson to those who were of quick understanding and happily gifted to undertake and complete the works in which

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- τελείωσιν ἔργων, ἅπερ ἀναγκαίως εἶχε δημιουργηθῆναι, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἱεροῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἔδει καὶ ἱερεῖς τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους αἰρεθῆναι τε καὶ προμαθεῖν, ὃν τρόπον τὰς θυσίας ἀνάγειν τε
- 142 καὶ ἱερουργεῖν προσῆκε. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἀδελφὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπικρίνας ἀριστίνδην ἀρχιερέα, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου παῖδας ἱερεῖς ἐχειροτόνει, προνομίαν οὐ τῷ οἰκείῳ γένει διδούς, ἀλλ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὁσιότητι, ἃς ἐνεύρα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπούσας. σαφῆς δὲ πίστις· οὐδέτερον υἱὸν—δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ—τούτου τοῦ γέρως ἠξίωσεν, ἀναγκαίως ἂν ἀμφοτέρους ἐλό-
- 143 μενος, εἴ τινα τιμὴν ἔνεμε τῷ φιλοικείῳ. καθίστη δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους γνώμης, ὡς τὰ
- [157] λόγια ὑφηγεῖτο, καινότατον τρόπον καὶ | ἄξιον ἱστορηθῆναι· λούει τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὕδατι πηγῆς τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ζωτικωτάτῳ κᾶπειτα τὰς ἱεράς ἀναδίδωσιν ἐσθῆτας, τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ τὸν ποδήρη καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα οἰονεὶ θώρακα, τὸ παμποιίκλον ὕφασμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ παντός, τοῖς δ' ἀδελφιδοῖς χιτῶνας λινοῦς, ζῶνας τε καὶ περισκελῆ
- 144 πᾶσι· τὰς μὲν, ὅπως ἀνεμπόδιστοι καὶ ἐτοιμότεροι πρὸς τὰς ἱεράς ὑπουργίας ᾧσι, σφιγγομένων τοὺς ἀνειμένους κόλπους τῶν χιτῶνων, τὰ δ', ὅπως μηδὲν ὦν κρύπτεσθαι θέμις προφαίνεται, καὶ μάλιστ' ἀνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἢ κατιόντων ἄνωθεν καὶ πάντα δρώντων μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ
- 145 τάχους· εἰ γὰρ μὴ οὕτως ἀκριβῆς γεγένητο ἡ στόλισις διὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου προφυλακῆν,

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 143-152 see Ex. xxix., Lev. viii.

## MOSES II. 141-145

their handicraft was necessary, the construction of the sacred fabric followed in natural course. The next step needed was that the most suitable persons should be chosen as priests, and learn in good time how they should proceed to bring the offerings to the altar and perform the holy rites. Accordingly, he selected<sup>142</sup> out of the whole number his brother as high priest on his merits, and appointed that brother's sons as priests, and in this he was not giving precedence to his own family but to the piety and holiness which he observed in their characters. This is clearly shewn by the following fact. Neither of his sons, of whom he had two, did he judge worthy of this distinction, though he would surely have chosen both if he had attributed any value to family affection. <sup>a</sup>The installation was made with the consent of the<sup>143</sup> whole nation, and, followed the directions laid down by the oracles, in a wholly new manner which deserves to be recorded. First he washed them with the purest and freshest spring water, then he put on them the sacred garments; on his brother the vesture, woven with its manifold workmanship to represent the universe, that is the long robe and the ephod in the shape of a breastplate; on his nephews linen tunics, and on all three girdles and breeches. The object of the girdles was to keep them<sup>144</sup> unhampered and readier for the holy ministry, by tightening the loose folds of the tunics; of the breeches to prevent anything being visible which decency requires to be concealed, particularly when they were going up to the altar or coming down from above and moving quickly and rapidly in all their operations. For, if their dress had not been arranged so carefully,<sup>145</sup> as a precaution against unforeseen events, they would

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κἄν ἔνεκα τῆς συντόνου περὶ τὰς λειτουργίας  
ὀξύτητος ἀπεγυμνοῦτο τὸν προσήκοντα ἱεροῖς καὶ  
ἱερωμένοις κόσμον φυλάττειν ἀδυνατοῦντες.

- 146 XXIX. ὡς δὲ ταῖς ἐσθήσεσιν ἤσκησεν αὐτούς,  
χρίσματος εὐωδεστάτου λαβών, ὃ μυρρισηκῆ τέχνη  
κατειργάσθη, τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ πρῶτα, τὸν τε βωμὸν  
καὶ τὸν λουτήρα, κατέχριεν ἐπιρραίνων ἐπτάκις,  
ἔπειτα τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν ἕκαστον,  
τὴν κιβωτόν, τὴν λυχνίαν, τὸ θυμιατήριον, τὴν  
τράπεζαν, τὰ σπονδεῖα, τὰς φιάλας, τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα  
πρὸς θυσίας ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα, καὶ τελευταῖον  
προσαγαγὼν τὸν ἀρχιερέα πολλῶ λίπει τὴν κεφαλὴν  
147 ἀλείφει. ταῦτ' ἐπιτελέσας εὐαγῶς ἀχθῆναι κελεύει  
μόσχον καὶ κριοὺς δύο· τὸν μὲν, ἵνα θύσῃ περὶ  
ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι παντὶ  
γενητῶ, κἄν σπουδαῖον ἦ, παρόσον ἦλθεν εἰς  
γένεσιν, συμφυῆς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐστίν, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸ  
θεῖον εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἀναγκαῖον ἐξευμενίζεσθαι,  
148 μὴ διακινηθὲν ἐπιθείτο· τῶν δὲ κριῶν τὸν μὲν  
ἕτερον εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα εὐχαριστήριον τῆς τῶν  
ὄλων διοικήσεως, ἧς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἕκαστω  
μέρος μέτεστι καρπουμένῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων  
ὠφέλειαν, γῆς πρὸς οἴκησιν καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς  
τροφάς, ὕδατος πρὸς ποτὸν καὶ λουτρά καὶ πλουῖν,  
ἀέρος πρὸς ἀναπνοὴν καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων  
ἀντιλήψεις—ἐπειδὴ πασῶν ἀῆρ ὄργανον—καὶ ἔτι  
τὰς ἔτησίους ὥρας, πυρὸς τοῦ μὲν χρειώδους πρὸς  
τὰ ἐψόμενα καὶ θερμαινόμενα, τοῦ δὲ οὐρανίου πρὸς  
149 αὐγὴν καὶ τὰ ὄρατὰ πάντα· τὸν δ' ἕτερον εἰς τὴν  
520

## MOSES II. 145-149

in their eagerness to carry out their duties with expedition reveal their nakedness and be unable to preserve the decency befitting consecrated places and persons. XXIX. When he had attired them in these 146 vestments, he took some very fragrant ointment which was compounded by the perfumer's art, and applied it first to what stood in the open court, namely the great altar and the laver, sprinkling it on them seven times, then to the tabernacle and each of the sacred chattels, the ark, the candlestick, the altar of incense, the table, the libation cups or bowls, the vials, and everything else which was necessary or useful in sacrifices ; and finally, coming to the high priest, he anointed him on his head plentifully with the unguent. Having performed all this religiously, he ordered a 147 calf and two rams to be brought. The calf he purposed to offer to gain remission of sins, showing by this figure that sin is congenital to every created being, even the best, just because they are created, and this sin requires prayers and sacrifices to propitiate the Deity, lest His wrath be roused and visited upon them. Of the rams, one he offered as a whole 148 burnt offering in thanksgiving for His ordering of the whole, that gift which each of us shares according to the part allotted through the benefits which he receives from the elements : from earth, for habitation and the food which it affords ; from water, for drinking and cleansing and voyaging ; from air, for breathing and perception through the senses, all of which operate by means of air, which also gives us the seasons of the year ; from the fire of common use, for cooking and heating, and from the heavenly variety for light-giving and all visibility. The other ram he 149

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τῶν ιερωμένων διὰ καθάρσεως ἀγνευτικῆς παν-  
 τέλειαν, ὃν ἐτύμως “τελειώσεως” ἐκάλεσεν, ἐπειδὴ  
 τὰς ἀρμοττοῦσας θεραπευταῖς καὶ λειτουργοῖς θεοῦ  
 150 τελετὰς ἔμελλον ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι. τοῦ δ’ αἵματος  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ βωμοῦ σπένδει λαβών,  
 τὸ δὲ φιάλην ὑποσχῶν δέχεται καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τρία  
 μέρη τοῦ σώματος χρίει τῶν τελουμένων ἱερέων,  
 [158] οὓς ἄκρον, ἄκραν χεῖρα, ποδὸς ἄκρον, | δεξιὰ τὰ  
 σύμπαντα, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι δεῖ τὸν τέλειον καὶ  
 λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ βίῳ παντὶ καθαρεύειν· λόγον μὲν  
 γὰρ ἀκοῇ δικάζει, χεῖρ δ’ ἔργου σύμβολον, διεξόδου  
 151 δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον πούς. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν  
 ἄκρον τε καὶ δεξιόν, ὑπονοητέον δηλοῦσθαι τὴν ἐν  
 ἑκάστοις ἐπίδοσιν μετὰ δεξιότητος, ἐφιεμένην τῆς  
 ἄκρας εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῦ τέλους, ἐφ’ ὃ σπεύδειν  
 ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀναφέρειν  
 στοχαζομένους ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς τοξείαις σκοποῦ, τοῦ  
 152 περὶ τὸν βίον. XXX. πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἱερείου ἑνός,  
 ὃ προσηγορεύετο “τελειώσεως,” ἀκράτῳ αἵματι τὰ  
 λεχθέντα τρία μέρη κατέχριε τῶν ἱερέων. αὐθις  
 δ’ ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ βωμῷ λαβών, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀπάν-  
 των ἦν τῶν τεθυμένων, καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος χρίσματος,  
 ὃ μυρεψοὶ κατεσκεύασαν, ἀναμίξας τὸ ἔλαιον τῷ  
 αἵματι τοῦ κράματος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἐσθή-  
 σεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπέρραινε, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς μὴ  
 μόνον τῆς ἕξω καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μεταλαχεῖν ἀγνείας,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν ἀδύτοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔνδον  
 522



## MOSES II. 149-152

offered on behalf of those who were consecrated by the sanctifying purification for their full perfection, and accordingly called it the ram of "fulfilment," from the full rites befitting the servants and ministers of God into which they were to be initiated. He then 150 took its blood and poured part of it round the altar. The rest he received in a vial which he held underneath, and smeared it on three parts of the bodies of those who were being admitted to the priesthood, on the extremity of the ear, the extremity of the hand, the extremity of the foot, in all these on the right side. In this figure, he indicated that the fully-consecrated must be pure in words and actions and in his whole life ; for words are judged by the hearing, the hand is a symbol of action, and the foot of the pilgrimage of life. And, as in each case the part 151 smeared is the extreme end and on the right-hand side, we must suppose the truth indicated to be that improvement in all things needs a dexterous spirit, and seeks to reach the extreme of happiness, and the end to which we must press and refer all our actions, aiming our shafts, like archers, at the target of life. XXX. His first step, then, is to smear the unmixed 152 blood of the single victim called the ram of fulfilment on the three parts of the priests' bodies named above. After this, he took some of the blood at the altar, got from all the victims, and also some of the unguent already mentioned as compounded by the perfumers, and mixed the oil with the blood. He then used the mixture to sprinkle the priests and their garments, wishing to make them partakers not only of the sanctity of the outer and open court but that of the shrine within, since they were going to minister in the

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λειτουργεῖν ἔμελλον· τὰ δ' εἶσω πάντα ἐλαίω κατεκέχριστο.

- 153 Θυσίας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς προτέραις ἄλλας ἀναγαγόντων, τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ἱερέων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς γερουσίας ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους, Μωυσῆς μὲν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσέρχεται τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπαγόμενος — ὀγδόη δ' ἦν τῆς τελετῆς ἡμέρα καὶ τελευταία, ταῖς γὰρ πρότερον ἑπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφιδοὺς ὠργίαζεν—, εἰσελθὼν δ' ἀνεδίδασκεν οἷα ὑφηγητῆς ἀγαθὸς εὐμαθῆ γνώριμον, ὃν χρῆ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὰς εἶσω ποιεῖσθαι
- 154 λειτουργίας. εἴτ' ἐξελθόντες ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες πρὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς εὐχὰς τίθενται τῷ ἔθνει τὰς προσηκούσας ἀπὸ καθαρᾶς καὶ ὀσιωτάτης γνώμης. ἔτι δ' εὐχομένων, τερατωδέστατόν τι συμβαίνει· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἀδύτων, εἴτε αἰθέρος ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, εἴτε ἀέρος κατὰ τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσει μεταβολὴν ἀναλυθέντος εἰς πῦρ, αἰφνίδιον ἀθρόα φλόξ διεκπαίει καὶ συντόνω ρύμη φέρεται μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, τὰ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐξαναλίσκει, πρὸς οἶμαι σαφεστάτην δήλωσιν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἐπετελεῖτο.
- 155 δωρεὰν γὰρ ἐξαίρετον εἰκὸς ἦν τοῖς ἀγίοις προσνεμηθῆναι, μὴ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἀνθρωποὶ δημιουργοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς οὐσίας πυρί, τὸ χρειῶδες καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὅπως μὴ προσάψαιτο τοῦ βωμοῦ,
- 156 διὰ τὸ μυρίας ἴσως ἀναμεμίχθαι κῆρας· ἄπτεται γὰρ οὐ μόνον ζῶων ἀλόγων ὀπτωμένων ἢ ἐψομένων
- [159] εἰς πλησμονὴν | ἄδικον γαστροὺς τῆς ταλαίνης, ἀλλὰ

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 153-158 see Lev. ix. (particularly verse 24).

## MOSES II. 152-156

inner part also, all of which had been anointed with oil.

<sup>a</sup> After other additional sacrifices had been brought, 153 some by the priests on behalf of themselves, and others by the body of elders on behalf of the whole nation, Moses entered the tabernacle, taking his brother with him. This was on the eighth and last day of the celebration, the seven preceding days having been spent by him in initiating his nephews and their father and in acting as their guide to the sacred mysteries. After entering, he gave such instruction as the good teacher gives to an apt pupil on the way in which the high priest should perform the rites of the inner shrine. Then they both came 154 out, and, stretching forth their hands in front of their faces, offered prayers which befitted the needs of the nation in all sincerity and purity of heart. And, while they were still praying, a great marvel happened. There issued suddenly from the shrine a mass of flame. Whether it was a fragment of ether, the purest of substances, or of air resolved into fire by a natural conversion of the elements, it suddenly burst right through, and, with a mighty rush, fell upon the altar and consumed all that was on it, thus giving, I hold, the clearest proof that none of these rites was without divine care and supervision. For it was natural that 155 the holy place should have a special gift attached to it, over and above what human handiwork had given, through the purest of elements, fire, and thus the altar be saved from contact with the familiar fire of common use, perhaps because such a multitude of evils are associated with it. For its activity is applied 156 not only to the lower animals when they are roasted or boiled, to satisfy the cruel cravings of the miserable

## PHILO

- καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναιρουμένων, οὐ  
 τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυανθρώπων ὁμίλων·  
 157 ἤδη γοῦν καὶ στόλους μεγάλους ἐπιβατικοῦ πλή-  
 ρεις οἷστοι πυρφόροι κατέφλεξαν βληθέντες καὶ ὅλας  
 πόλεις ἐξανάλωσαν, αἱ σμυχόμεναι μέχρι θεμελίων  
 εἰς τέφραν ἔδαπανήθησαν, ὡς μηδ' ἔχνος ὑπολε-  
 158 λείφθαι τοῦ πάλαι συνοικισμοῦ. ταύτης ἕνεκά μοι  
 δοκῶ τῆς αἰτίας ὡς μεμιασμένοι ἤλασε τοῦ ἱερω-  
 τάτου καὶ καθαρωτάτου βωμοῦ πῦρ τὸ χρειώδες,  
 ἀνθ' οὗ φλόγα αἰθέριον ὤμβρησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 πρὸς διαστολὴν ἀγίων τε καὶ βεβήλων, ἀνθρωπέων  
 τε καὶ θείων· ἤρμωτε γὰρ ταῖς θυσίαις ἀφθαρτο-  
 τέραν οὐσίαν ἀπονεμεῖσθαι πρὸς τῆς πρὸς τὰς  
 βιωτικὰς χρείας ὑπηρετούσης.
- 159 XXXI. Πολλῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀν-  
 αγομένων θυσιῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ δια-  
 φερόντως ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ ἑορταῖς ὑπὲρ τε ἰδία  
 ἐκάστου καὶ κοινῇ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων, διὰ μυρίας καὶ  
 οὐχὶ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, ἅτε πολυανθρωποτάτου ἔθ-  
 νους εὐσεβοῦντος, ἐδέησε καὶ νεωκόρων πλήθους εἰς  
 160 τὰς ἱερὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἡ δ' αἴρεσις ἐγένετο πάλιν  
 καινότατον ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν εἰωθότα τρόπον· μίαν τῶν  
 δώδεκα φυλῶν ἐπικρίνας ἀριστίνδην ἐχειροτόνει  
 161 θεοφιλοῦς ἔργου προθεῖς ἄθλα καὶ ἀριστεία. τὸ  
 δ' ἔργον τοιόνδε ἦν· Μωυσέως ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸ  
 πλησίον ὄρος καὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἰδιάζοντος τῷ  
 θεῷ, τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι  
 νομίσαντες οἱ μὴ βέβαιοι τὰς φύσεις, ὡσπερ ἀναρ-  
 χίας γενομένης, ἀφეთοὶ πρὸς ἀσέβειαν ὤρμησαν καὶ  
 ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄν ὀσιότητος ζηλωταὶ τῶν

## MOSES II. 156-161

belly, but to the human beings slaughtered by the design of others, and that not in threes or fours but in assembled multitudes. Ere now we have known 157 the impact of fire-carrying arrows burn up great fully-manned fleets, and consume whole cities which have smouldered down to their very foundations and wasted away into ashes, leaving no trace to shew that they were populated in the past. This is the reason, 158 I imagine, why God expelled from His most pure and sacred altar the fire of common use and rained instead an ethereal flame from heaven, to distinguish between the holy and the profane, the human and the divine. For it was fitting that fire of a more incorruptible nature than that which subserves the needs of human life should be assigned to the sacrificial offerings.

XXXI. Many sacrifices were necessarily brought 159 every day, and particularly at general assemblies and feasts, on behalf both of individuals and all in common, and for a multitude of different reasons. This piety shewn by so populous a nation made it needful to have also a number of temple attendants to help in the sacred services. These, again, were 160 chosen in a very novel and unusual manner. He selected and appointed one of the twelve tribes as the most meritorious, giving them the office as the prize and reward of a deed well pleasing to God. <sup>a</sup>The story of that deed is as follows: When Moses 161 had gone up into the mountain, and was there several days communing privately with God, the men of unstable nature, thinking his absence a suitable opportunity, rushed into impious practices unrestrainedly, as though authority had ceased to be, and, forgetting the reverence they owed to the Self-Existent,

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 161-173 see Ex. xxxii.

## PHILO

- 162 Αἰγυπτιακῶν γίνονται πλασμάτων. εἶτα χρυσοῦν ταῦρον κατασκευασάμενοι, μίμημα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερωτάτου ζώου δοκοῦντος εἶναι, θυσίας ἀθύτους ἀνήγον καὶ χοροὺς ἀχορευτοὺς ἴστασαν ὕμνους τε ἤδον θρήνων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας καὶ ἐμφορηθέντες ἀκράτου διπλῆ μέθη κατίσχοντο, τῇ μὲν ἐξ οἴνου, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀφροσύνης, κωμάζοντές τε καὶ παννυχίζοντες ἀπροόρατοι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἠδέσι κακοῖς συνεβίουν, ἐφεδρευούσης δίκης, ἣ μὴ βλέ-  
 163 ποντας ἔβλεπε καὶ ὧν ἄξιοι τιμωριῶν εἰσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συνεχεῖς ἐκβοήσεις κατὰ πολυανθρώπους ὀμίλους ἀθροιζομένων ἄχρι πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐχώρουν, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀκρωρείας τὴν περιήχησιν ἐλθεῖν, πληχθεῖς τὰ ὦτα Μωυσῆς ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦν ἅτε θεοφιλῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, μήτ' ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπομένων τὰς πρὸς θεὸν ὀμιλίας, ἃς ἰδιάζων μόνος μόνῳ διελέγετο, μήθ' ὑπεριδεῖν τοῦ πλήθους ἐμπιπλαμένου τῶν ἐξ ἀν-  
 164 αρχίας κακοπραγιῶν· ἔγνω γὰρ τὸν θροῦν δεινὸς  
 [160] | ὧν ἐκ φωνῆς ἀνάρθρου καὶ ἀσήμου στοχάσασθαι ψυχῆς ἀδήλων καὶ ἀφανῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις παθῶν ιδιότη-  
 τητας, ὅτι παροιρίας ἐστὶν ἣ κατέχουσα ταραχῆ, γεννώσης ἀκρασίας μὲν κόρον, κόρου δὲ ὕβριν.  
 165 ἀνθελκόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀντισπώμενος πρὸς ἑκατέρου μέρους ᾧδε κάκεισε τί χρῆ δρᾶν ἠπόρει. σκοπου-  
 μένῳ δ' αὐτῷ θεσπίζεται τάδε· “ βάδιζε ταχέως ἐνθένδε, κατὰβηθι· πρὸς ἀνομίαν ἔσπευσεν ὁ λεῶς· χειροποίητον κατασκευάσαντες ταυρόμορφον θεὸν

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\* Here as elsewhere Philo assumes that the making of the golden calf was an imitation of the worship of Apis (though, as Driver points out, the Egyptian bull worship was given to a living animal). See note on *De Ebr.* 95

## MOSES II. 162-165

became zealous devotees of Egyptian fables. Then, 162 having fashioned a golden bull, in imitation of the animal held most sacred in that country,<sup>a</sup> they offered sacrifices which were no sacrifices, set up choirs which were no choirs, sang hymns which were very funeral chants, and, filled with strong drink, were overcome by the twofold intoxication of wine and folly. And so, revelling and carousing the livelong night, and unwary of the future, they lived wedded to their pleasant vices, while justice, the unseen watcher of them and the punishments they deserved, stood ready to strike. But, since 163

the continuous shouting in the camp which arose from the great masses of men gathered together carried for a long distance, so that the echoes reached even to the mountain-top, Moses, as they smote upon his ear, was in a dilemma between God's love for him and his love for man. He could not bear to leave his converse with God, in which he talked with Him as in private with none other present, nor yet to disregard the multitude, brimful of the miseries which anarchy creates. For, skilled as he was to 164 divine in an inarticulate and meaningless noise the distinguishing marks of inward passions which to others were obscure and invisible, he recognized the tumult for what it was, saw that drunkenness caused the prevailing confusion, since intemperance begets satiety, and satiety riot. So, drawn backwards and 165 forwards, hither and thither, by the two sides of his being, he was at a loss what he should do. And, as he considered, this divine message came. "Go quickly hence. Descend. The people have run after lawlessness. They have fashioned a god, the work of their hands, in the form of a bull, and to this

## PHILO

- οὐ θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι καὶ θύουσιν, ὧν εἶδον καὶ ὧν ἤκουσαν ἀπάντων ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς εὐσέβειαν
- 166 ἐκλαθόμενοι.” καταπλαγεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθεῖς πιστεύειν ἀπίστοις πράξειςιν οἶα μεσίτης καὶ δι-  
αλλακτῆς οὐκ εὐθύς ἀπεπήδησεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἰκεσίας καὶ λιτὰς ἐποιεῖτο συγγνώμην τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος· εἶπ’ ἐξ-  
ευμενισάμενος ὁ κηδεμὼν καὶ παραιτητῆς τὸν ἡγε-  
μόνα ἐπανήει χαίρων ἅμα καὶ κατηφῶν· ἐγεγῆθει μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἰκεσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσιεμένου, συννοίας δὲ καὶ κατηφείας μεστὸς ἦν οἰδῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
- 167 πλήθους παρανομίᾳ. XXXII. γενόμενος  
δ’ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν ἑξαπίναιον ἐκδιαίτησιν τοῦ πλήθους θαυμάσας καὶ ὅσον ψεῦδος ἀνθ’ ὅσης ἀληθείας ὑπηλλάξαντο, κατιδὼν οὐκ εἰς ἅπαντας τὴν νόσον ἀφιγμένην, ἀλλὰ τινὰς ὑγι-  
αίνοντας ἔτι καὶ μισοπονήρῳ πάθει χρωμένους, βουλόμενος διαγνώμην τοὺς τε ἀνιάτως ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες ἀμαρτόντες μετανοοῦσι, κήρυγμα κηρύττει—τὸ δ’ ἦν ἄρα βάσανος ἀκριβῆς τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας, ὡς ἔχοι πρὸς τε ὁσιότητα καὶ
- 168 τοῦναντίον—. “εἴ τις” γὰρ φησι “πρὸς κύριον, ἴτω πρὸς μέ.” βραχὺ μὲν τὸ λεχθέν, μεγάλη δ’ ἡ ἔμφασις, ἔστι γὰρ τοιόνδε τὸ δηλούμενον· εἴ τις μηδὲν τῶν χειροποιήτων μηδ’ ὅσα γενητὰ νομίζει θεοῦς, ἀλλ’ ἓνα τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὄλων, ἐμοὶ προσ-
- 169 ἴτω. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἔνεκα τοῦ τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἐζηλωκεῖναι τυφὸν ἀφηγιάζοντες οὐ προσεῖχον τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ φόβῳ κολάσεως



## MOSES II. 165-169

god, who is no god, they offer worship and sacrifice, and have forgotten all the influences to piety which they have seen and heard." Struck with dismay, 166 and compelled to believe the incredible tale, he yet took the part of mediator and reconciler and did not hurry away at once, but first made prayers and supplications, begging that their sins might be forgiven. Then, when this protector and intercessor had softened the wrath of the Ruler, he wended his way back in mingled joy and dejection. He rejoiced that God accepted his prayers, yet was ready to burst with the dejection and heaviness that filled him at the transgression of the multitude.

XXXII. When he arrived at the middle of the camp, 167 and marvelled at the sudden apostasy of the multitude and their delusion, so strongly contrasting with the truth which they had bartered for it, he observed that the contagion had not extended to all and that there were still some sound at heart and cherishing a feeling of hatred of evil. Wishing, therefore, to distinguish the incurable from those who were displeased to see such actions and from any who had sinned but repented, he made a proclamation, a touchstone calculated to test exactly the bias of each to godliness or its opposite. "If 168 any is on the Lord's side," he said, "let him come to me." Few words, indeed, but fraught with much meaning, for the purport was as follows: "Whoso holds that none of the works of men's hands, nor any created things, are gods, but that there is one God only, the Ruler of the universe, let him join me." Of the rest, some, whom devotion to the vanity of 169 Egypt had made rebellious, paid no heed to his words, while others, possibly in fear of chastisement,

## PHILO

- ἴσως ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρrouν ἢ τὴν ἐκ Μωυσέως τίσιν δεδιότες ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπανάστασιν· ἀεὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὴ συν-
- 170 απονοουμένοις ἐπιτίθενται. μία δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἡ λεγομένη Λευϊτικὴ φυλὴ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπακούσασα καθάπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος ἔθει μετὰ σπουδῆς, τῇ ποδωκείᾳ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιδεικνυμένη
- [161] καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς εἰς εὐσέβειαν ψυχικῆς | ὀρμῆς.
- 171 οὗς ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ βαλβίδος ἀμιλλωμένους “ εἰ μὴ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ” εἶπεν “ ἐπισπεύδετε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄφιξιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις, αὐτίκα μαρτυρηθήσεται· ξίφος ἀναλαβὼν ἕκαστος τοὺς μυρίων ἄξια θανάτων εἰργασμένους, οἱ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν καταλιπόντες τοὺς ψευδωνύμους ἐδημιούργησαν φθαρταῖς καὶ γενηταῖς οὐσίαις τὴν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀγενήτου πρόσρησιν ἐπιφημίσαντες, συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀποκτεινάτω φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι μόνην ἀνδρῶν
- 172 ἀγαθῶν ὀσιότητα.” οἱ δὲ τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐτοιμότητι φθάσαντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς γνώμας ἔτυχον ἡλλοτριωμένοι σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ παρανόμημα γενόμενον εἶδον, ἀναιροῦσιν ἠβηδὸν εἰς τρισχιλίους τῶν πρὸ μικροῦ φιλτάτων. κειμένων δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ τῶν σωμάτων, ἡ πληθὺς θεασαμένη τοὺς μὲν ὠκτίσατο, τὸ δὲ τῶν κτεινόντων ἔνθερμον ἔτι καὶ μεστὸν ὀργῆς παράστημα καταδείσασα φόβῳ
- 173 νουθετεῖται. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὴν ἀριστείαν ἀποδεξάμενος γέρας ἐπενόησε καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε τῇ πράξει

## MOSES II. 169-173

had not the courage to take their place beside him, either because they feared the vengeance they might suffer at the hand of Moses or the onslaught of an insurgent mob. For the multitude always set upon those who refuse to share their madness. Among 170 them all one tribe alone, known as Levites, when they heard the proclamation, came running with all speed, like troops for whom one signal is enough, shewing by their swiftness their zeal and the keenness of the inward feelings which urged them to piety. Moses saw them coming like racers from 171 the starting-point, and cried: "Whether the speed which has brought you here exists not only in your bodies but in your minds shall at once be put to the proof. Take each of you his sword, and slay those whose deeds deserve a thousand deaths, who have left the true God, and wrought gods, falsely so called, from corruptible and created matter, and given them a title which belongs to the Incorruptible and Uncreated. Yea, slay them, though they be kinsmen and friends, believing that between the good there is no kinship and friendship but godliness." Their readiness anticipated his exhorta- 172 tions, for their sentiments had been hostile to the offenders almost from the first moment that they saw their misconduct, and they made a wholesale slaughter to the number of three thousand of those who but now had been their dearest. As their corpses lay in the middle of the market-place, the multitude as they gazed felt pity for them, but, terror-struck at the still heated and wrathful resolution of the slayers, learned wisdom from fear. But 173 Moses, in approval of this heroism, devised and confirmed a reward for the victors well suited to the

## PHILO

τὸ οἰκεῖον· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὲρ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἐκούσιον πόλεμον ἀραμένους καὶ βραχεὶ καιρῷ κατωρθωκότας ἀξιοθῆναι τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ λαχόντας ἱερωσύνην.

- 174 XXXIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ μία τάξις τῶν ἱερωμένων, ἀλλ' οἷς μὲν ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱεουργίας ἄχρι τῶν ἀδύτων ἰοῦσιν, οἷς δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπιμέλειαί δὲ καὶ φυλακαὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὓς νεωκόρους ἔνιοι καλοῦσιν, ἢ πολλοῖς πολλαχοῦ μυρίων αἰτία κακῶν γενομένη περὶ πρωτείων στάσις ἐπεπόλασε κἀνταῦθα, τῶν νεωκόρων ἐπιθεμένων τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τιμὴν παρασπάσασθαι διανοηθέντων· καὶ τοῦτ' εὐμαρῶς ἤλπισαν ἔσσεσθαι πολλαπλασίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἰδία γνώμη νεωτερίζειν καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν συμφρονεῖν ἀναπειθουσιν, ἣ πολλοὶ τῶν εἰκαιωτέρων ἐπηκολούθησαν ὡς ἔχει δυναμένη 175 πρεσβεῖον ἡγεμονίας. μέγαν τοῦτον ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἔγνω Μωυσῆς φυόμενον καθ' αὐτοῦ· τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερέα κατὰ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια ἤρητο, διαβολαὶ δ' ἦσαν ὡς τοὺς μὲν χρησμοὺς ἐπιψευσαμένου, ποιησαμένου δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν διὰ τὴν 176 οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοίαν. ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἀνιαθεῖς, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἀπιστεῖται διὰ τοσοῦτων ἐλέγχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν ἐπιδειξάμε- [162] νος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἔργοις ἄπερ ἀναφέρεται πρὸς

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 174-179 see Num. xvi. 1-3 and xvii.

## MOSES II. 173-177

deed. For it was right that those who had voluntarily taken up arms for the honour of God, and so quickly achieved success, should receive the priesthood, and thus be worthily promoted to be His ministers.

XXXIII. <sup>a</sup> Now the consecrated persons consisted 174 of more than one order. They included both those who were commissioned to penetrate to the inner shrine and offer the prayers and sacrifices and the other holy rites, and those sometimes called temple attendants who had none of these duties but had the care and guarding of the sacred building and its contents by day and night. Consequently, the strife for precedence, the cause of innumerable troubles to many persons and in many places, gained ground here also. The temple attendants made headway against the priests, and purposed to wrest their privileges from them, and they hoped to accomplish this easily, since they were many times the number of the others. To pre- 175 vent this sedition appearing to be their own particular project, they persuaded the senior tribe of the twelve to make common cause with them, and this tribe had many adherents among the more thoughtless, who supposed it capable of taking the supremacy as its birthright. Moses recognized in this the rise of a 176 grave attack upon himself, for he had chosen his brother as high priest in accordance with the oracles vouchsafed to him. But there were spiteful rumours that he had falsely invented the oracles, and had made his choice through family feeling and affection for his brother. He was naturally pained at this, not 177 merely that he was distrusted when he had shewn his good faith by so many proofs, but that this distrust extended to actions which concerned the honouring

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- θεοῦ τιμὴν, δι' ἧ μόνα καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 τὸ ἦθος κατεψευσμένον ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἀληθεύειν—  
 ἀλήθεια γὰρ ὁπαδὸς θεοῦ—, λόγοις μὲν ἀναδιδά-  
 σκειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζε,  
 τὸ μεταπίθειν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοὺς προκαταληφθέντας  
 ἐναντίας δόξαις ἀργαλέον εἰδώς, ἰκετεύει δὲ τὸν  
 θεὸν ἐμφανεῖς ἀποδείξεις αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν περὶ  
 τοῦ μηδὲν ἐψεῦσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἱερωσύνης αἵρεσιν.
- 178 ὁ δὲ κελεύει δώδεκα ράβδους λαβεῖν ταῖς φυλαῖς  
 ἰσαριθμούς καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα φυ-  
 λάρχων ἐπιγράψαι ταῖς ἑνδεκα, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ τὸ τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως, εἰτ' εἰς τὸν νεῶν ἄχρι τῶν  
 ἀδύτων εἰσενεγκεῖν· ὁ δὲ τὰ προσταχθέντα ποιήσας
- 179 ἑκαραδόκει τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία  
 λογίῳ πληχθεῖς, ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους παρεστῶτος,  
 εἰσέρχεται καὶ τὰς ράβδους ἐκκομίζει, τὰς μὲν  
 ἄλλας οὐδὲν διάφορον ἐχούσας, μίαν δ' ἐφ' ἣ  
 τοῦνομα ἐπεγέγραπτο τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθαυματοουργη-  
 μένην· οἷα γὰρ φυτὸν εὐγενὲς ἅπασα νέους βλαστοὺς  
 ἐξέφυσε καὶ ὑπ' εὐφορίας καρπῶν ἔβριθεν.
- 180 XXXIV. οἱ δὲ καρποὶ κάρυα ἦσαν, ἧ φύσιν  
 ἐναντίαν ἔχει τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν πλείστων,  
 σταφυλῆς, ἐλαίας, μήλων, διαφέρει τὸ σπέρμα καὶ  
 τὸ ἐδώδιμον, ἧ διαφέροντα τόποις χωρίζεται· τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐδώδιμον ἔξω, τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἴσω κατα-  
 κέκλεισται· τοῦ δὲ καρύου ταῦτόν ἐστι τό τε σπέρμα  
 καὶ τὸ ἐδώδιμον, ἀμφοτέρων εἰς μίαν ἰδέαν ἀπο-  
 κριθέντων, καὶ τόπος εἰς ὃ ἐντὸς ὠχυρωμένος καὶ  
 περιπεφρουρημένος ἔρκει διπλῶ, τῷ μὲν ἐκ φλοιοῦ  
 πάνυ βαθέος, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντι ξυλίνου κατα-

## MOSES II. 177-180

of God, actions which by themselves would necessarily ensure truthfulness even in one whose character was false in everything else, for truth is God's attendant. But he did not think good to use words to explain to them his motives, knowing that it is vain labour to try to change the convictions of those of whom the opposite opinions have already taken hold, but besought God to shew them by clear demonstration that there had been no dishonesty in his choice of persons for the priesthood. God commanded him 178 to take twelve rods, corresponding to the number of the tribes, and on eleven of them to inscribe the names of the other patriarchs, but on the twelfth that of his brother who was also high priest, and then to take them into the temple, right into the inner sanctuary. Moses did as he was bidden, and eagerly awaited the result. On the next day, under the impulse of a 179 divine intimation, with all the people standing near, he went in and brought out the rods. The others shewed no difference, but the one on which was inscribed the name of his brother had undergone a wonderful change. Like a goodly plant, it had young sprouts growing all over it, and was laden with abundance of fruits. XXXIV. Now, the fruits were 180 nuts, which in nature are the opposite of other fruits, for in most cases, the grape, the olive, the apple, there is a difference between the seed and the eatable part, and this difference extends to their situation, which is separate, for the edible part is outside, and the seed enclosed within. But, in the nut, seed and edible part are identical, merged in a single form, and their situation is the same inside, shielded and guarded on all sides by a double fence, composed partly of very thick shell and partly of a substance equivalent to a

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- 181 σκευάσματος· ἀφ' οὗ τελείαν ἀρετὴν αἰνίττεται. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν καρύῳ ταυτόν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ἀρχὴ μὲν ἢ σπέρμα, τέλος δὲ ἢ καρπός, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν· ἐκάστη γὰρ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος, ἀρχὴν μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἑτέρας δυνάμεως ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑαυτῆς φύεται, τέλος δέ, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ κατὰ φύσιν βίος σπεύδει.
- 182 μία μὲν αἰτία ἦδε, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τῆς προτέρας ἐμφαντικωτέρα· καρύου τὸ μὲν φλοιῶδες ἐστὶ πικρὸν, τὸ δ' εἶσω περικείμενον ὡσανεὶ ξύλινον ἔρκος στιφρὸν εὖ μάλα καὶ κραταῖον, οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ὁ καρπὸς ἐγκατακεκλεισμένος οὐκ ἐστὶν εὐληπτος.
- 183 τοῦτο ποιεῖται σύμβολον ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἀφ' οὗ προτρέπει αὐτὴν οἶεται δεῖν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἀναδιδάσκων, ὅτι πόνῳ προεντυχεῖν ἀναγκαῖον· πικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἀντιτυπὲς καὶ σκληρὸν ὁ πόνος, ἐξ οὗ φύεται τὰγαθόν, οὗ χάριν οὐ μαλακιστέον. ὁ | μὲν γὰρ [163] τὸν πόνον φεύγων φεύγει καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ὁ δὲ τλητικῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ὑπομένων τὰ δυσκαρτέρητα σπεύδει πρὸς μακαριότητα· οὐ γὰρ ἀβροδιαίτοις καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκτεθηλυμμένοις καὶ τὸ σῶμα διαρρέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀδιαστάτου θρύψεως ἀρετὴ πέφυκεν ἐνδαιτιᾶσθαι, κακουμένη δὲ μετανίσταται πρότερον ἀπόλειψιν χρηματί-
- 185 σασα πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον. ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ὁ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀνδρείας τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἱερώτατος θίασος ἀσκητὰς μετατρέχει καὶ ὅσοι τὸν αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκληροδίατον βίον, ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν,

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<sup>a</sup> Or "before right reason as Archon." See note on *De Cher.* 115, where it is shewn that *χρηματίζειν ἀπόλειψιν* is a  
538



## MOSES II. 181-185

wooden framework. In this way, it signifies perfect 181  
virtue ; for, just as in a nut, beginning and end are  
identical, beginning represented by seed and end by  
fruit, so it is with the virtues. There, too, it is the  
case that each is both a beginning and an end ; a  
beginning in that it springs from no other power but  
itself, an end in that it is the aspiration of the life  
which follows nature.

This is one reason 182  
why the nut is a type of virtue, but there is another  
given which is even clearer than that. The shell-  
formed part of the nut is bitter, and the inner layer  
which surrounds the fruit like a wooden fence is ex-  
ceedingly solid and hard ; and, as the fruit is enclosed  
in both these, it is not easy to get at. In this Moses 183  
finds the parable of the practising soul, which he  
thinks he can rightly use to encourage that soul to  
virtue and teach it that it must first encounter toil.  
Toil is bitter and stiff and hard, yet from it springs  
goodness, and therefore there must be no softening.  
For he who flees from toil flees from the good also, 184  
but he who patiently and manfully endures what is  
hard to bear is pressing on to blessedness. For in  
the voluptuous livers, whose souls are emasculated  
and whose bodies run to waste with ceaseless luxury  
prolonged from day to day, virtue cannot make its  
lodging ; but it will first procure its divorce for mis-  
usage in the court of right reason,<sup>a</sup> and then seek  
another home. But in very truth that most holy 185  
company, justice, temperance, courage, wisdom,  
follow in the train of the practisers and all who devote  
themselves to a life of austerity and hardship, that  
is to continence and self-restraint, together with

regular phrase in Attic law, used of a wife who appeals to  
the Archon for divorce or separation from her husband.

- ζηλοῦσι σὺν εὐτελείᾳ καὶ ὀλιγοδείᾳ, δι' ὧν τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὁ λογισμὸς, εἰς ὑγίαν ἄνοσον καὶ εὐεξίαν ἐπιδίδωσι καθελὼν τὸν βαρὺν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτειχισμόν, ὃν οἰνοφλυγίαί καὶ ὀψοφαγίαί καὶ λαγνεῖαι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀπλήρωτοι ἐπιθυμῖαι συνεκρότησαν γεννήσασαι τὴν ἀντίπαλον
- 186 ἀγχινοίας πολυσαρκίαν. λέγεται μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἐν ἔαρι βλαστάνειν εἰωθότων δένδρων ἢ ἀμυγδαλῆ καὶ πρῶτον ἀνθεῖν εὐαγγελιζομένη φοράν ἀκροδρῦων καὶ ὕστατον φυλλορροεῖν τὴν ἐπέτειον πρὸς μήκιστον ἀποτείνουσα τῆς χλόης εὐγηρίαν· ὧν ἑκάτερον ποιεῖται σύμβολον τῆς ἱερατικῆς φυλῆς, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι καὶ πρώτη καὶ ὑστάτη τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀνθήσει, καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον δόξη τῷ θεῷ ταῖς ἔαριναῖς τροπαῖς ἐξομοιωῶσαι τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἀνελόντι τὴν ἐπίβουλον καὶ τοῦ κακοδαιμονεῖν πηγὴν πλεονεξίαν.
- 187 XXXV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τῷ τελειοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι τέτταρα δεῖν ἔφαμεν προσεῖναι, βασιλείαν καὶ νομοθετικὴν ἕξιν καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν, ἵνα διὰ μὲν τῆς νομοθετικῆς προστάτῃ ἃ δεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύῃ ἃ μὴ δεῖ πράττειν, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μὴ μόνον τὰνθρώπεια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα διέπη, διὰ δὲ τῆς προφητείας ὅσα μὴ λογισμῷ καταλαμβάνεται θεσπίξῃ, διειλεγμένος περὶ τῶν πρώτων τριῶν καὶ ἐπιδεδειχῶς Μωυσῆν ἄριστον βασιλέα

\* The thought of this sentence seems confused. The permanent triumph of Aaron's family over the lower Levites assisted by Reuben was symbolized by the blossoming of the most permanent of blossoms and so when the *πλεονεξία* ("self-assertion") of mankind as a whole is destroyed, there will be a permanent blossoming. But of whom? We expect of all mankind. Instead we have "the priestly

simplicity and frugal contentment. For by these the highest authority within us, reason, advances to sound health and well-being, and brings to nought the formidable menace to the body, engineered in many a scene of drunkenness and gluttony and lewdness and the other insatiable lusts, the parents of that grossness of flesh which is the enemy of quickness of mind. Further, they say, that of all the trees which regularly bud in the spring the almond-tree is the first to blossom with a welcome promise of a plentiful crop of fruit, and the last to shed its leaves, year by year protracting the hale old age of its verdure to the longest span. Each of these facts he takes as a parable of the priestly tribe, intimating that it will be the first and last of all the human race to blossom, in that day, whenever it shall be, when it shall please God to make our life as a springtime by ridding it of covetousness, that insidious foe which is the source of our misery.<sup>a</sup> 186

XXXV. We said above that there are four adjuncts to the truly perfect ruler. He must have kingship, the faculty of legislation, priesthood and prophecy, so that in his capacity of legislator he may command what should be done and forbid what should not be done, as priest dispose not only things human but things divine, as prophet declare by inspiration what cannot be apprehended by reason. I have discussed the first three, and shewn that Moses was the best of kings, of lawgivers and of

tribe." Is this to be taken literally, or does it stand for Israel, the nation of priests or even for the truly priestly soul? If we could insert *ἡ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ* after *ὑστάρτη* the thought would become clear. Philo often insists (*e.g. De Spec. Leg. i. 97*), that the prayers of the priests are for the whole human race.

## PHILO

- καὶ νομοθέτην καὶ ἀρχιερέα τὸ τελευταῖον ἔρχομαι δηλώσω, ὅτι καὶ προφήτης γέγονε δοκιμώτατος.
- 188 οὐκ ἄγνοῶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς πάντ' εἰσὶ χρησιμοί, ὅσα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγράφονται, χρησθέντες δι' αὐτοῦ· λέξω δὲ τὰ ἰδιαίτερα, πρότερον εἰπὼν ἐκείνων τῶν λογίων τὰ μὲν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται δι' ἑρμηνέως τοῦ θείου προφήτου, τὰ δ' ἐκ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐθεσπίσθη, τὰ δ' ἐκ προσώπου Μωυσέως ἐπιθειάσαντος καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατασχε-
- 189 θέντος. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὅλα δι' ὄλων ἀρετῶν
- [164] θείων δείγματα ἐστι, τῆς τε | ἴλεω καὶ εὐεργέτιδος, δι' ὧν ἅπαντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ἀλείφει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν αὐτοῦ γένος, ᾧ τὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄγουσαν ἀνατέμνει ὁδόν·
- 190 τὰ δὲ δευτέρα μῖξιν ἔχει καὶ κοινωνίαν, πυνθανομένου μὲν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ ὧν ἐπεζήτει, ἀποκρινομένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκοντος· τὰ δὲ τρίτα ἀνατίθεται τῷ νομοθέτῃ, μεταδόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προγνωστικῆς δυνάμεως, ἣ θεσπιεῖ
- 191 τὰ μέλλοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὑπερθετέον, μείζω γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐπαινεθῆναι, μόλις ἂν ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως ἀξίως ἐγκωμιασθέντα, καὶ ἄλλως λέγεται ὡσανεὶ δι' ἑρμηνέως· ἑρμηνεία δὲ καὶ προφητεία διαφέρουσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων αὐτίκα πειράσομαι δηλοῦν συνυφήνας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνθουσιῶδες ἐμφαίνεται, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα καὶ κυρίως νενομίσται προφήτης.

## MOSES II. 187-191

high priests, and will now go on to shew in conclusion that he was a prophet of the highest quality. Now I am fully aware that all things written in the 188 sacred books are oracles delivered through Moses ; but I will confine myself to those which are more especially his, with the following preliminary remarks. Of the divine utterances, some are spoken by God in His own Person with His prophet for interpreter, in some the revelation comes through question and answer, and others are spoken by Moses in his own person, when possessed by God and carried away out of himself. The first kind are 189 absolutely and entirely signs of the divine excellences, graciousness and beneficence, by which He incites all men to noble conduct, and particularly the nation of His worshippers, for whom He opens up the road which leads to happiness. In the second 190 kind we find combination and partnership : the prophet asks questions of God about matters on which he has been seeking knowledge, and God replies and instructs him. The third kind are assigned to the lawgiver himself : God has given to him of His own power of foreknowledge and by this he will reveal future events. Now, the first kind must be 191 left out of the discussion. They are too great to be lauded by human lips ; scarcely indeed could heaven and the world and the whole existing universe worthily sing their praises. Besides, they are delivered through an interpreter, and interpretation and prophecy are not the same thing. The second kind I will at once proceed to describe, interweaving with it the third kind, in which the speaker appears under that divine possession in virtue of which he is chiefly and in the strict sense considered a prophet.

PHILO

- 192 XXXVI. Τῆς δ' ὑποσχέσεως ἀρκτέον ὦδε.  
 τέτταρές εἰσι τόποι διὰ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως  
 χρησιμοῖς νομοθετηθέντες, μικτὴν ἔχοντες δύναμιν·  
 τῇ μὲν γὰρ ὁ προφήτης ἐνθουσιᾷ πυνθανόμενος,  
 τῇ δὲ ὁ πατήρ θεσπίζει λόγου καὶ ἀποκρίσεως  
 μεταδιδούς. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτος, ὃς οὐχ ὅτι Μωυ-  
 σῆν ὀσιώτατον τῶν πώποτε γενομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 193 τὸν ἐπὶ βραχὺ γευσάμενον εὐσεβείας ὤργισεν.<sup>1</sup> ἐξ  
 ἀνομοίων τις γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος νόθος, Αἰγυπτίου  
 μὲν πατρός, μητρὸς δὲ Ἰουδαίας, τῶν μὲν ταύτης  
 πατρίων ἐθνῶν ἠλόγησε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν,  
 ὡς λόγος, ἀπέκλινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
 194 ζηλώσας ἀθεότητα. μόνοι γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων  
 ἐθνῶν Αἰγύπτιοι γῆν ἐπετείχισαν οὐρανῶ, τὴν μὲν  
 ἰσοθέων τιμῶν ἀξιώσαντες, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν γέρας ἐξ-  
 αίρετον ἀπονείμαντες, ὡς δέον πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων  
 τὰς ἐσχατιὰς περιέπειν—ἐν γὰρ κόσμῳ βασιλείον  
 μὲν ἱερώτατον οὐρανός, ἐσχατιὰ δὲ γῆ, καθ' ἑαυτὴν  
 μὲν ἀξιοσπούδαστος, εἰς δὲ σύγκρισιν ἰοῦσα αἰθέρος  
 ἀπολειπομένη τοσοῦτον ὅσον σκότος μὲν φωτός,  
 νύξ δὲ ἡμέρας, φθορὰ δ' ἀφθαρσίας καὶ θνητὸς  
 195 θεοῦ—. τῆς γὰρ χώρας οὐχ ὑετῶ καθάπερ αἱ ἄλλαι  
 νιφομένης, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλημμύραις  
 εἰωθυίας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος λιμνάζεσθαι, θεοπλαστοῦσι  
 τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς ἀντίμιμον οὐ-

<sup>1</sup> ? ὤργισ' ἄν.

<sup>a</sup> Literally "giving him a share of speech and answer."

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 193-208 see Lev. xxiv. 10-16.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Fuga* 180.

## MOSES II. 192-195

XXXVI. In fulfilment of my promise, I must 192  
begin with the following examples. There are four  
cases upon which the divine voice laid down the  
law in the form of question and answer and which  
therefore have a mixed character ; for, on the one  
hand, the prophet asks a question under divine pos-  
session, and on the other hand the Father, in giving  
the word of revelation, answers him and talks with  
him as with a partner.<sup>a</sup> The first case is one which  
would have enraged not only Moses, the holiest of  
men ever yet born, but even one who knew but a little  
of the flavour of godliness. <sup>b</sup> A certain base-born 193  
man, the child of an unequal marriage, his father an  
Egyptian, his mother a Jewess, had set at naught  
the ancestral customs of his mother and turned aside,  
as we are told, to the impiety of Egypt and embraced  
the atheism of that people. For the Egyptians 194  
almost alone among the nations have set up earth  
as a power to challenge heaven.<sup>c</sup> Earth they held  
to be worthy of the honours due to a god, and re-  
fused to render to heaven any special tribute of  
reverence, acting as though it were right to shew  
respect to the outermost regions rather than to the  
royal palace. For in the universe heaven is a palace  
of the highest sanctity, and earth is the outer region,  
estimable indeed in itself, but when it comes into com-  
parison with ether, as far inferior to it as darkness is to  
light and night to day and corruption to incorruption  
and mortal man to God. The Egyptians thought 195  
otherwise ; for, since the land is not watered like other  
countries by the downpour of rain but regularly every  
year becomes a standing water through the flooding of  
the river, they speak of the Nile as though it were  
the counterpart of heaven and therefore to be deified,

PHILO

196 ρανοῦ γεγονότα καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας σεμνηγο-  
 ροῦσιν. XXXVII. ὁ δὴ μικτὸς οὗτος ἐκείνος  
 διενεχθείς τινι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρατικοῦ καὶ ἐπιστη-  
 μονικοῦ γένους, ἀκράτωρ ὑπ' ὀργῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ  
 γενόμενος καὶ ἅμα τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀθεότητος  
 ζηλωτῆς ὢν, ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔτεινε τὴν ἀ-  
 [165] σέβειαν | ἐπαράτῳ καὶ ἐναγεῖ καὶ μεμιασμένην ψυχῆ  
 τε καὶ γλώττῃ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ φωνῆς ὀργανοποιῶν  
 καταρασάμενος δι' ὑπερβολὴν κακιῶν<sup>1</sup> ὃν οὐδ' ὑπὸ  
 πάντων ἀλλὰ μόνων τῶν ἀρίστων εὐλογεῖσθαι  
 197 θέμις, ὅσοι τὰς τελείας καθάρσεις ἐδέξαντο. διὸ  
 καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν φρενοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 θράσους ὑπερβολὴν, καίτοι γ' ὑπόπλεως ὢν παρα-  
 στήματος εὐγενοῦς καὶ ἰέμενος αὐτοχειρία διαρτῆ-  
 σαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔδεισε μὴ κουφοτέραν ἀναπράξῃ  
 τιμωρίαν· ἰσόρροπον γὰρ ἐπινοῆσαι πρὸς τοσαύτην  
 198 ἀσέβειαν κόλασιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἂν ἴσχυσεν. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ σέβειν<sup>2</sup> θεὸν ἔπεται τὸ μήτε γονεῖς  
 μήτε πατρίδα μήτ' εὐεργέτας τιμᾶν, ὁ δὲ δὴ  
 πρὸς τῷ μὴ σέβειν καὶ κακηγορεῖν τολμῶν τίνα  
 μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολὴν ἀπολέλοιπε; καίτοι καὶ  
 τὸ κακηγορεῖν ἦττον ἐν συγκρίσει κατάρας· ἀλλὰ  
 γλωσσαλγία καὶ ἀχάλινον στόμα ὅταν ἐκνόμοις  
 ἀφροσύναις ὑπηρετῶσι, πάντως τι καινουργεῖται  
 199 τῶν ἀθέσμων. ὦ ἄνθρωπε, καταρᾶταί τις θεόν;  
 τίνα καλῶν ἕτερον θεὸν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀρᾶς βεβαίω-  
 σιν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ; ἄπαγε βε-  
 βήλων καὶ ἀνοσιῶν ἐνθυμημάτων. καλὸν ἐκνύσασθαι  
 τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν ἐπηρεασθεῖσαν μὲν ὑπὸ φωνῆς,  
διακόνοις δὲ τοῖς ὡσὶ χρησαμένην, αἰσθήσει τυφλῆ.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κακῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. σέβοντι.



## MOSES II. 195-199

and talk about the land in terms of high reverence. XXXVII. And, lo, this half-bred person, 196 having a quarrel with someone of the nation that has vision and knowledge, losing in his anger all control over himself, and also urged by fondness for Egyptian atheism, extended his impiety from earth to heaven, and with his soul and tongue and all the organism of speech alike accursed, foul, abominable, in the superabundance of his manifold wickedness cursed Him, Whom even to bless is a privilege not permitted to all but only to the best, even those who have received full and complete purification. Whereupon Moses, astonished at his madness and 197 the superabundance of his audacity, though the spirit of noble indignation was strong within him and he would fain have cut him off with his own hand, feared lest he might exact too light a penalty ; for to devise an adequate punishment for such impiety was beyond human powers. Refusal to reverence 198 God implies refusal to honour parents and country and benefactors. And, if so, what depths of depravity remain for him to reach who besides refusing reverence dares also to revile Him? And yet even reviling is a lesser sin compared with cursing. But, when an idle tongue and an unbridled mouth put themselves at the service of lawless follies, some monstrous violation of the moral law is sure to be committed. Answer me, thou man, Does anyone 199 curse God? Then what other god does he call on to make good the curse, or is it clear that he invokes the help of God against Himself? Avaunt such profane and unholy thoughts! Well may the unhappy soul purge itself, which through the ministry of that purblind sense, the ears, has been outraged

## PHILO

- 200 καὶ οὔτε ἡ γλῶττα τοῦ τοσοῦτον ἀσέβημα φθεγξα-  
 μένου παρείθη οὔτε τὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκούειν ὧτα  
 ἐπεφράχθη; εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τῆς δίκης,  
 ἥτις οὐτ' ἀγαθὸν ὑπερβάλλον οὔτε μέγιστον κακὸν  
 οἶεται δεῖν ἐπισκιάζεσθαι, πρὸς ἔλεγχον ἐναργέ-  
 στατον ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἵνα τὴν μὲν ἀποδοχῆς τὴν  
 201 δὲ τιμωρίας ἀξιώσῃ. διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν εἰς εἰρκτὴν  
 ἀπαχθέντα κελεύει δεθῆναι, ποτιῶνται δὲ τὸν θεὸν  
 ἰλασάμενος ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῶν αἰσθήσεων, δι' ὧν  
 καὶ βλέπομεν ἃ μὴ θέμις ὄραν καὶ ἀκούομεν ὧν  
 μὴ θέμις ἀκούειν, ὃ τι χρὴ παθεῖν τὸν εὐρετὴν  
 ἀσεβήματος καὶ ἀνοσιουργήματος ἐκτόπου καὶ  
 202 ξένου δηλῶσαι. ὁ δὲ προστάττει καταλευσθῆναι,  
 προσήκουσαν οἶμαι δίκην ὑπολαβὼν τὴν διὰ λίθων  
 κατ' ἀνδρὸς λιθίνην καὶ ἀπόκροτον ψυχὴν ἔχοντος  
 καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους  
 συνεφάσασθαι τῆς κολάσεως, οὓς ἦδει σφόδρα τρα-  
 χέως ἐνεγκόντας καὶ φονῶντας· μόνης δ' ὡς ἔοικε  
 τῆς διὰ βλημάτων ἔμελλον αἰ τοσαῦται μυριάδες  
 ἐφάπτεσθαι.
- 203 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνοσίου καὶ παλαμναίου τίσιν  
 ἐγράφη διάταγμα καινόν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε προ-  
 ηγουμένης ἀξιωθὲν γραφῆς, ἀλλ' αἱ ἀπροσδόκητοι  
 [166] νεωτεροποιῶνται καινοὺς νόμους εἰς ἀνακοπὴν | ἁμαρ-  
 τημάτων ἐπιζητοῦσιν. αὐτίκα γοῦν νομοθετεῖται  
 ταῖδε· ὃς ἂν καταράσῃται θεόν, ἁμαρτίας ἔνοχος

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<sup>a</sup> Or "immediately," as Mangey and others take it. But the use of *αὐτίκα*—"for example" is common enough and  
 548

## MOSES II. 200-203

by listening to such words. And was not the tongue 200  
of him who uttered such a blasphemy paralysed?  
and the ears of him who was to hear it blocked?  
Surely they would have been, were it not otherwise  
provided by justice, who holds that over nothing  
which is extremely good or exceedingly bad should  
a veil be thrown, but would have them submitted  
to the clearest test of their goodness or badness, that  
it may award approval to the one and punishment to  
the other. Moses, therefore, ordered the man to be 201  
haled to prison and put in chains, and implored God,  
to Whose mercy he appealed, pleading the enforce-  
ment of the senses by which we see what by rights  
we should not see and hear what we should not  
hear, to shew what should be done to the author of  
this impious and unholy crime, so monstrous and  
unheard-of. God commanded that he should be 202  
stoned, holding, I suppose, that stoning was the  
fitting punishment for a man of a hard and stony soul,  
and also desiring that the work of vengeance should  
be shared by all the people, who, as He knew, were  
deeply indignant and desired the death of the  
offender. And execution by missiles appeared to  
be the only mode in which so many thousands could  
take part.

When this impious malefactor had paid the penalty, 203  
a new ordinance was drawn up. Previous to this, no  
such enactment would have seemed to be required.  
But unexpected disorders demand new laws as a  
check to offences. And so on this occasion<sup>a</sup> the  
following law was promulgated: Whoever curses  
god, let him bear the guilt of his sin, but he that  
fits in well with the general statement in the preceding  
sentence.

## PHILO

ἔστω, ὃς δ' ἂν ὀνομάσῃ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, θνησκέτω.  
 204 εὖ γ', ὧ πάνσοφε, μόνος ἀμιγοῦς ἡκρατίσω σοφίας·  
 τοῦ καταρᾶσθαι χεῖρον τὸ ὀνομάζειν ὑπέιληφας<sup>1</sup>  
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸν μὲν βαρύτερον ἀσέβημα εἰργασμένον  
 ἐπεκούφιζες διημαρτηκόσιν ἐπιεικέστερον συν-  
 τάττων, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ βραχύτερον ἡδίκηκεναι  
 δόξαντος τὴν ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίαν, θάνατον, ὠρίζες.  
 205 XXXVIII. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικε "θεοῦ" τὰ νῦν οὐχὶ  
 τοῦ πρώτου καὶ γεννητοῦ τῶν ὄλων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν  
 ταῖς πόλεσι μέμνηται· ψευδώνυμοι δ' εἰσὶ γραφῶν  
 καὶ πλαστῶν τέχναις δημιουργούμενοι· ξοάνων γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τοιουτοτρόπων ἀφιδρυμάτων  
 ἢ οἰκουμένη μεστή γέγονεν, ὧν τῆς βλασφημίας  
 ἀνέχειν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐθίζηται τῶν Μωυ-  
 σέως γνωρίμων συνόλως θεοῦ προσρήσεως ἀλογεῖν·  
 206 ἀξιονικοτάτη γὰρ καὶ ἀξιέραστος ἡ κλήσις. εἰ δέ  
 τις οὐ λέγω βλασφημήσειεν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ  
 θεῶν κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τολμήσειεν ἀκαίρως αὐτοῦ  
 φθέγξασθαι τοῦνομα, θάνατον ὑπομεινάτω τὴν δί-  
 207 κην. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν φυτευσάντων καίτοι θνητῶν  
 ὑπαρχόντων οἷς μέλει γονέων τιμῆς τὰ ὀνόματα  
 προφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κύρια διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 σεβασμὸν ἡσυχάζοντες τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνακαλοῦσι  
 πατέρα καὶ μητέρα προσαγορεύοντες, δι' ὧν εὐθὺς  
 αἰνίττονται τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀνυπερβλήτους εὐερ-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn puts a note of interrogation here, which I do not understand. Better perhaps, as two mss., ὑπειληφώς.

<sup>a</sup> So LXX Lev. xxiv. 15, 16. E.V. "Whosoever curseth his  
 550

## MOSES II. 204-207

nameth the name of the Lord let him die.<sup>a</sup> Well 204  
 hast thou said, thou wisest of men, who alone hast  
 drunk deep of the untempered wine of wisdom.  
 Thou hast held the naming to be worse than the  
 cursing, for thou couldst not be treating lightly one  
 guilty of the gravest impiety and ranking him with  
 the milder offenders while thou didst decree the  
 extreme penalty of death to one who was judged to  
 have committed the lesser iniquity. XXXVIII. No, 205  
 clearly by "god," he is not here alluding to the  
 Primal God, the Begetter of the Universe, but to  
 the gods of the different cities who are falsely so  
 called, being fashioned by the skill of painters and  
 sculptors. For the world as we know it is full of  
 idols of wood and stone, and suchlike images. We  
 must refrain from speaking insultingly of these, lest  
 any of Moses' disciples get into the habit of treating  
 lightly the name "god" in general, for it is a title  
 worthy of the highest respect and love. But if any- 206  
 one, I will not say blasphemes the Lord of gods and  
 men, but even ventures to utter His Name un-  
 seasonably, let him suffer the penalty of death. For, 207  
 even in the case of our own parents, though they  
 are but mortals, all who have regard for the honour  
 due to parentage abstain from using their personal  
 names, and, leaving these unsaid, call them instead  
 by the terms of natural relationship—father and  
 mother—and their so addressing them is seen at once  
 to be an indirect acknowledgement of unsurpassed  
 benefits conferred by them and an expression of  
 God shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the name  
 of the Lord shall surely be put to death." Philo's explana-  
 tion is repeated by Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 207, *Ap.* ii. 237,  
 with reference to Ex. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile God,"  
 where the LXX has *θεούς*.

## PHILO

208 γεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν εὐχάριστον διάθεσιν. ἔτι νῦν<sup>1</sup>  
 συγγνώμης ἀξιούσθωσαν οἱ κατ' ἐπισυρμὸν γλώττης  
 ἀκαιρευόμενοι καὶ λόγων ἀναπλήρωμα ποιούμενοι  
 τὸ ἀγιώτατον καὶ θεῖον ὄνομα.

209 XXXIX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ γεννητοῦ τῶν ὄλων  
 τιμὴν τὴν ἱερὰν ἑβδόμην ἐσέμνυνεν ὁ προφήτης  
 ἰδὼν αὐτῆς ὀξυωπεστέροις ὄμμασι κάλλος ἐξαισίον  
 ἐνεσφραγισμένον οὐρανῷ τε καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι  
 κόσμῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἀγαλματοφορού-

210 μενον. εὗρισκε γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀμήτορα,  
 γενεᾶς τῆς θήλεος ἀμέτοχον, ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς  
 σπαρέϊσαν ἄνευ σπορᾶς καὶ γεννηθεῖσαν ἄνευ  
 κηρύσεως· ἔπειτα δ' οὐ ταῦτα μόνον κατείδεν, ὅτι  
 παγκάλῃ καὶ ἀμήτωρ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀειπάρθενος,

[167] οὔτ' ἐκ μητρὸς οὔτε μήτηρ οὔτ' ἐκ | φθορᾶς οὔτε  
 φθαρησομένη· εἴτ' ἐκ τρίτου κατενόησεν αὐτὴν ἐξ-  
 ετάζων καὶ κόσμου γενέθλιον, ἣν ἑορτάζει μὲν  
 οὐρανός, ἑορτάζει δὲ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν γῆ γανύμενα καὶ

211 ἐνευφραϊνόμενα τῇ παναρμονίῳ ἑβδομάδι. ταύτης  
 ἔνεκα τῆς αἰτίας ὁ πάντα μέγας Μωυσῆς ἐδικαίωσε  
 τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱερᾷ πολιτείᾳ θεσμοῖς  
 φύσεως ἐπομένους πανηγυρίζειν, ἐν ἰλαραῖς δι-  
 ἀγοντας εὐθυμίαις, ἀνέχοντας μὲν ἔργων καὶ τεχνῶν  
 τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν καὶ πραγματειῶν ὅσαι κατὰ βίου  
 ζήτησι, ἀγοντας δ' ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ διαφειμένους  
 πάσης ἐπιπόνου καὶ καματηρᾶς φροντίδος, σχολά-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn would read *ἔτι τοίνυν* comparing *De Abr.* 158. But *ἐπιχειρῶμεν* there is the interrogative subjunctive, *ἀξιούσθωσαν* here imperative, *i.e.* "let them still be thought worthy, if it is possible" (which of course it is not). In this case it seems to be better to retain *νῦν*, and to expunge the mark of interrogation which Cohn places after *ὄνομα*.

their own standing gratitude. After this, can we 208 still think worthy of pardon those, who, with a reckless tongue, make unseasonable use of the most holy name of the Deity and treat it as a mere expletive ?

XXXIX. After this honour paid to the Parent 209 of All, the prophet magnified the holy seventh day, seeing with his keener vision its marvellous beauty stamped upon heaven and the whole world and enshrined in nature itself. For he found that she 210 was in the first place motherless, exempt from female parentage, begotten by the Father alone, without begetting, brought to the birth, yet not carried in the womb. Secondly, he saw not only these, that she was all lovely and motherless, but that she was also ever virgin, neither born of a mother nor a mother herself, neither bred from corruption nor doomed to suffer corruption.<sup>a</sup> Thirdly, as he scanned her, he recognized in her the birthday of the world,<sup>b</sup> a feast celebrated by heaven, celebrated by earth and things on earth as they rejoice and exult in the full harmony of the sacred number. For this cause, Moses, great in everything, determined 211 that all whose names were written on his holy burgess-roll and who followed the laws of nature should hold high festival through hours of cheerful gaiety, abstaining from work and profit-making crafts and professions <sup>c</sup> and business pursued to get a livelihood, and enjoy a respite from labour released from weary and painful care. But this leisure should

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Op.* 100 and *Leg. All.* i. 15, and further App. p. 609.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Mos.* i. 207 and note.

<sup>c</sup> Both the mental and the manual arts are included under *τέχναι*, cf. § 219.

## PHILO

- ζοντας οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι γέλωσιν ἢ παιδιαῖς ἢ μίμων  
 ἢ ὄρχηστῶν ἐπιδείξεισι, περὶ ἃς κηραίνουσι καὶ  
 δυσθανατοῦσιν οἱ θεατρομανοῦντες καὶ διὰ τῶν  
 ἡγεμονικωτάτων αἰσθήσεων, ὀράσεως καὶ ἀκοῆς,  
 212 ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· οὐχ ὅπερ μεθοδεύουσιν  
 οἱ λογοθῆραι καὶ σοφισταὶ πιπράσκοντες ὡς ἄλλο  
 τι τῶν ὠνίων ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς δόγματα καὶ λόγους, οἱ  
 φιλοσοφία κατὰ φιλοσοφίας (ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε!) χρώ-  
 μενοι δι' αἰῶνος οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῷ ὄντι  
 φιλοσοφεῖν, ὅπερ ἐκ τριῶν συνύφανται, βουλευ-  
 μάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων, εἰς ἓν εἶδος ἡρμο-  
 σμένων πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὐδαιμονίας.
- 213 τούτου δὴ τις ἀλογήσας τοῦ διατάγ-  
 ματος, ἔτι τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἐναύλους ἔχων τοὺς περὶ  
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης, οὓς ἐθέσπισεν ἄνευ προφήτου  
 ὁ θεὸς διὰ φωνῆς—τὸ παραδοξότατον—ὄρατῆς, ἢ  
 τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ὀφθαλμοὺς ὤτων ἐπήγειρε  
 μᾶλλον, ἐπὶ φρυγανισμόν ἐξήει διὰ μέσου τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου πάντα εἰδὼς ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἡρε-  
 μοῦντας, καὶ δρῶν ἔτι τὰδίκημα καταφανῆς ὑπὲρ  
 214 τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν γίνεται. πυλῶν γὰρ ἔξω προελ-  
 θόντες τινὲς εἰς ἐρημίαν, ἢ ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ  
 ἡσυχάζοντι εὐξωνται, θεῶν ἔκνομον ἰδόντες, ξύλων  
 ὕλην συγκομίζοντα, καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐμέλ-  
 λησαν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, λογισμῷ δὲ τὸ παρα-  
 κекινημένον τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπισχόντες, ἵνα μήτε ἰδιῶται

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 213-220 see Num. xv. 32-36.

<sup>b</sup> Referring to LXX Ex. xx. 18 "all the people saw the voice," cf. *De Mig.* 47.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. providence to ensure his conviction caused this certain evidence to be forthcoming.



## MOSES II. 211-214

be occupied, not as by some in bursts of laughter or sports or shows of mimes and dancers on which stage-struck fools waste away their strength almost to the point of death, and through the dominant senses of sight and hearing reduce to slavery their natural queen, the soul, but by the pursuit of wisdom only. And the wisdom must not be that of 212 the systems hatched by the word-catchers and sophists who sell their tenets and arguments like any bit of merchandise in the market, men who for ever pit philosophy against philosophy without a blush, O earth and sun, but the true philosophy which is woven from three strands—thoughts, words and deeds—united into a single piece for the attainment and enjoyment of happiness. <sup>a</sup> Now, a certain 213 man, setting at nought this ordinance, though the echoes of the divine commands about the sacredness of the seventh day were ringing in his ears, commands promulgated by God not through His prophet but by a voice which, strange paradox, was visible <sup>b</sup> and aroused the eyes rather than the ears of the bystanders, went forth through the midst of the camp to gather firewood, knowing that all were resting in their tents. But that his crime might not remain hidden, <sup>c</sup> he was observed while still engaged in the wicked deed. For some persons who had gone out of the gates into 214 the wilderness to pray in the quiet open solitude <sup>d</sup> saw this lawless sight, a man gathering sticks for fuel, and, hardly able to control themselves, they were minded to slay him. Reflection, however, caused them to restrain the fierceness of their anger. They

<sup>d</sup> LXX (xv. 32). "And the children of Israel were in the wilderness and they found," etc., E.V. "while they were . . . they found."

## PHILO

- πρὸ ἀρχόντων κολάζειν τινὰ δοκῶσι καὶ ταυτ' ἀκριτον, κὰν ἄλλως τὸ παρανόμημα ἢ ἐμφανές, μήτε τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν εὐαγοῦς μίασμα φόνου, κὰν δικαιοτάτος ἢ, προσάψηται, συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, ᾧ συνήδρευον μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς, παρειστήκει δὲ σύμπασα ἢ πληθὺς πρὸς
- 215 ἀκρόασιν. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, αἰεὶ μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, προηγουμένως δὲ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, ὡς ἐδήλωσα καὶ πρόσθεν, φιλοσοφεῖν, τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος ὑφηγου-
- [168] μένου καὶ διδάσκοντος ἃ τε | χρῆ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, τῶν δ' εἰς καλοκάγαθίαν ἐπιδιδόντων καὶ
- 216 βελτιουμένων τά τε ἦθη καὶ τὸν βίον. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν φιλοσοφοῦσι ταῖς ἐβδόμαις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀναθέντες ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν περὶ φύσιν· τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὐσεβείας τε καὶ ὁσιότητος καὶ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς, ἣ κατανοεῖται καὶ κατορθοῦται τά τε ἀνθρώπεια καὶ θεῖα;
- 217 XL. Τότε μὲν οὖν εἰς εἰρκτὴν ὁ τηλικούτον ἀσέβημα δράσας ἀπάγεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ τι χρῆ παθεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον—ἦδει γὰρ ἄξια θανάτου διαπεπραγμένον, ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν γένοιτο τρόπος ἀρμόζων τῆς τιμωρίας;—ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἀόρατον ἀοράτῳ ψυχῇ δικαστήριον καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πάντ' ἐπισταμένου δικα-
- 218 στοῦ, τί κέκρικεν. ὁ δ' ἀποφαίνεται τὴν γνώσιν,

<sup>a</sup> Or "of theology." See on *De Abr.* 99.

<sup>b</sup> According to the narrative as it stands, sabbath-breaking had already been declared a capital crime, Ex. xxxi. 14, xxxv. 2.

## MOSES II. 214-218

did not wish to make it appear that they who were but private citizens took upon themselves the ruler's duty of punishment, and that too without a trial, however clear was the offence in other ways, or that the pollution of bloodshed, however justly deserved, should profane the sacredness of the day. Accordingly they arrested him, and took him before the ruler beside whom the priests were seated, while the whole multitude stood around to listen ; for it was 215 customary on every day when opportunity offered, and pre-eminently on the seventh day, as I have explained above, to pursue the study of wisdom with the ruler expounding and instructing the people what they should say and do, while they received edification and betterment in moral principles and conduct. Even now this practice is retained, and 216 the Jews every seventh day occupy themselves with the philosophy of their fathers, dedicating that time to the acquiring of knowledge and the study of the truths of nature.<sup>a</sup> For what are our places of prayer throughout the cities but schools of prudence and courage and temperance and justice and also of piety, holiness and every virtue by which duties to God and men are discerned and rightly performed?

XL. So, then, the perpetrator of this great sin 217 against God was for the time being taken into custody. But Moses was in doubt as to what should be done to him. He knew that the action deserved death,<sup>b</sup> but what would be the proper method of punishment? So, then, in spirit, he approached the judgement-seat, invisible even as the spirit which sought it, and asked of the Judge Who knows all before He hears it what His sentence was. That Judge declared His decision 218

## PHILO

- ὅτι καὶ θνήσκειν ὀφείλει καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρως ἢ καταλευσθεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτῳ καθάπερ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ μετέβαλεν ὁ νοῦς εἰς κωφὴν λίθον εἰργασμένῳ τελεώτατον παρανόμημα, ᾧ σχεδὸν πάντα τὰλλα ἐμφέρεται, ὅσα περὶ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ τῆς
- 219 ἐβδόμης νενομοθέτηται. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐχ αἱ βάνησσοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι καὶ πραγματεῖαι καὶ μάλιστα αἱ περὶ πορισμὸν καὶ βίου ζήτησιν ἢ διὰ πυρός εἰσιν ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ τῶν διὰ πυρός· ὅθεν ἀπαγορεύει πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις πῦρ ἐναύειν ὡς ἀρχηγικώτατον αἴτιον καὶ πρεσβύτατον ἔργον, οὗ ἡσυχάσαντος ἐνενοήθη καὶ τὰ κατὰ
- 220 μέρος ὡς εἰκὸς συνησυχάσειν. ὕλη δὲ ξύλα πυρός, ὡς τὸν ξυλιζόμενον ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενὲς ἀμάρτημα τῷ καίοντι δρᾶν, τὸ παρανόμημα διπλασιάζοντα, τῇ μὲν ὅτι προσταχθὲν ἡρεμεῖν συνεκόμιζε, τῇ δ' ὅτι καὶ τοιαῦτα συνεκόμιζεν, ἃ πυρός ἐστὶν ὕλη, τῆς τῶν τεχνῶν ἀρχῆς.
- 221 XLI. "Ἀμφῶ μὲν οὖν τὰ εἰρημένα τιμωρίας ἀσεβῶν περιέχει διὰ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως βεβαιουμένας. ἕτερα δὲ δύο ἐστὶν οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ διαφορούσης ἰδέας, ὧν τὸ μὲν περὶ κλήρου
- [169] διαδοχῆς, τὸ δ' ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν παρὰ καιρὸν | ἐπιτελουμένης ἱερουργίας, περὶ ἧς λεκτέον πρότερον.
- 222 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας πρῶτον ἀναγράφει μῆνα Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις ἀναθεῖς οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐνιοὶ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς τῆς φύσεως χάρισιν, ἃς ἀνέτειλεν ἀνθρώποις·

<sup>a</sup> Only found in Ex. xxxv. 3, though the command to bake or boil the manna before the Sabbath, Ex. xvi. 23, may be taken to imply it. (Driver.)

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 222-232 see Num. ix. 1-14.

## MOSES II. 218-222

that the man should die, and by no other death but stoning ; since in him, as in the earlier culprit, the mind had been changed into a senseless stone by a deed which was the perfection of wickedness, and covered practically all the prohibitions enacted for the honouring of the seventh day. How is this ? 219 Because not merely the mechanical but also the other arts and occupations, particularly those which are undertaken for profit and to get a livelihood, are carried on directly or indirectly by the instrumentality of fire. And, therefore, he often <sup>a</sup> forbids the lighting of a fire on the seventh day, regarding it as the cause which lay at the root of all and as the primary activity ; and, if this ceased, he considered that other particular activities would naturally cease also. But 220 sticks are the material for fire, so that by picking them up he committed a sin which was brother to and of the same family as the sin of burning them. And his was a double crime ; it lay first in the mere act of collecting, in defiance of the commandment to rest from work, secondly in the nature of what he collected, being materials for fire which is the basis of the arts.

XLI. Both the incidents mentioned above are con- 221 cerned with the punishment of impious persons, ratified by means of question and answer. There are two others of a different kind : one connected with the succession to an inheritance, the other with a rite performed at apparently a wrong season. It will be better to take the latter example before the other. <sup>b</sup> Moses dates the first month of the year's 222 revolution at the beginning of the spring equinox. And, in doing so, he is not like some giving the place of honour to the actual time but rather to the gifts of nature which she raises up for men. For at the equinox

## PHILO

κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὰ μὲν σπαρτά, ἡ ἀναγκαία τροφή, τελειογονεῖται, ὁ δὲ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸς ἡβώντων ἄρτι γεννᾶται δευτέραν ἔχων τάξιν, ὅθεν καὶ ὀψίγονός ἐστιν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰ μὴ λίαν

223 ἀναγκαῖα τῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαίων δεύτερα. σφόδρα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖα πυροὶ τε καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα εἶδη τροφῆς, ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ ἔστιν· ἔλαιον δὲ καὶ οἶνος καὶ ἀκρόδρυα οὐχὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ δίχα τούτων ἄχρι μακροτάτου γήρως παρα-

224 τείνοντες εἰς πολυετίαν βιοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι. τῷ δὴ μηνὶ τούτῳ περὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν, μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γίνεσθαι πλησι-  
 φαοῦς, ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια, δημοφανῆς ἑορτή, τὸ Χαλδαῖστί λεγόμενον Πάσχα, ἐν ἧ οὐχ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται προσάγουσι τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα, θύουσι δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ νόμου προστάξει σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος ἱεράται, τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

225 θυσίας ἀνάγοντός τε καὶ χειρουργούντος. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἅπας λεὼς ἐγεγήθει καὶ φαιδρὸς ἦν, ἐκάστου νομίζοντος ἱερωσύνην τετιμῆσθαι· δεδακρυ-  
 μένοι δ' ἕτεροι καὶ στένοντες διῆγον, οἰκείων αὐτοῖς ἔναγχος τετελευτηκότων, οὓς πενθοῦντες διπλῆ κατεῖχοντο λύπη, προσειληφότες τῇ διὰ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ στερηθῆναι τῆς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ τιμῆς, οἷς οὐδὲ καθάρασθαι καὶ περιρράνασθαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεγένετο, μήπω τοῦ πένθους ὑπερ-

226 ἡμέρου καὶ ἐκπροθέσμου γεγονότος. οὗτοι μετὰ τὴν πανήγυριν προσελθόντες τῷ ἄρχοντι συννοίας μεστοὶ καὶ κατηφείας τὰ συμβεβηκότα διηγήσαντο, τὴν ὑπόγυον τῶν συγγενῶν τελευτήν, τὸ πένθος ᾧ κατ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐχρήσαντο, τὸ μὴ δυνηθῆναι διὰ

## MOSES II. 222-226

the corn crops, our necessary food, become ripe, while on the trees, which are in full bloom, the fruit is just beginning to appear. This ranks second to the corn, and therefore is a later growth. For in nature what is a less pressing always comes after a really pressing necessity. Now, wheat and barley and the other 223 kinds of food without which life is impossible are pressing necessities, but wine and olive oil and tree fruits do not come under this head, as men continue their life for many years and reach extreme old age without them. In this month, about the fourteenth 224 day, when the disc of the moon is becoming full, is held the commemoration of the crossing, a public festival called in Hebrew Pasch, on which the victims are not brought to the altar by the laity and sacrificed by the priests, but, as commanded by the law, the whole nation acts as priest, each individual bringing what he offers on his own behalf and dealing with it with his own hands. Now, 225 while all the rest of the people were joyful and cheerful, each feeling that he had the honour of priesthood, there were others passing the time in tears and sorrow. They had lost relations lately by death, and in mourning them they suffered a double sorrow. Added to their grief for their dead kinsfolk was that which they felt at the loss of the pleasure and honour of the sacred rite. For they were not even allowed to purify or besprinkle themselves with holy water on that day, since their mourning had still some days to run and had not passed the appointed term. These 226 persons, after the festival, came to the ruler full of gloom and depression and put the case before him—the still recent death of their kinsfolk, the necessity of performing their duty as mourners and their con-

## PHILO

- 227 τούτο μετασχεῖν τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων θυσίας. εἴτ' ἐδέοντο μὴ ἔλαττον τῶν ἄλλων ἐνέγκασθαι μηδὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν οἰκείοις ἀτύχημα ἐν ἀδικήματος μέρει καταριθμηθῆναι τιμωρίαν ἐργασάμενον
- [170] πρὸ | ἐλέου· νομίσαι γὰρ ἂν χείρονα παθεῖν τῶν ἀποθανόντων, εἴ γε τοῖς μὲν οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀντίληψις ἔτι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες δόξουσι τεθνάναι
- 228 τὸν μετ' αἰσθήσεως θάνατον. XLII. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἑώρα μὲν καὶ τὴν δικαιολογίαν οὐκ ἀπωδὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μὴ ἱερουργῆσαι πάλιν πρόφασιν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς ἀνακεκραμένον τούτοις, ἐπαμφοτερίζων δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀντιρρέπων—τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἑταλάντευεν ὁ ἔλεος καὶ τὰ δίκαια, τῇ δ' ἀντέβριθεν ὁ νόμος τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων θυσίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πρῶτος μὴν καὶ ἡμέρα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ δεδήλωται τῆς ἱερουργίας—, ἀρνήσεως καὶ συγκαταθέσεως μεταξὺ φορούμενος ἰκετεύει τὸν θεὸν δικαστὴν γενέσθαι καὶ χρησμῶ
- 229 τὴν κρίσιν ἀναφῆναι. ὁ δ' ἐπακούσας θεσπίζει λόγιον οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐνετεύχθη μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθὺς ποτε γενησομένων, εἰ ταῖς αὐταῖς χρῆσαιτο συντυχίαις· ἐπιδαφιλευόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐ δυνηθέντων ἱερουργῆσαι
- 230 μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους προσεπιθεσπίζει. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων χρησθέντα λόγια, μηνυτέον. “ συγγενικὸν ” φησὶ “ πένθος ἀναγκαῖα μὲν τοῖς ἀφ' αἵματος ἀνία, γράφεται δ' οὐκ ἐν πλημμελείαις.
- 231 ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐμπρόθεσμόν ἐστιν, ἔξω περιβόλων



## MOSES II. 226-231

sequent inability to take part in the sacrifice of the crossing-feast. Then they prayed that they might 227 not fare worse than the others, and that the misfortune which they had sustained in the death of their relations might not be counted as misconduct entailing punishment rather than pity. In that case they considered that their fate would be worse than that of the dead, for they have no longer any perception of their troubles, while they themselves would be suffering a living death, in which they still retained consciousness. XLII. Moses, hearing this, 228 recognized the reasonableness of their claim, and also the cogency of their excuse for absenting themselves from the sacrifice ; and with these was mingled a feeling of sympathy. Yet he wavered in his judgment, and oscillated as on a balance : one scale was weighed down by pity and justice, while in the other lay as a counterpoise the law of the Paschal sacrifices in which both the first month and the fourteenth day were clearly appointed for the rite. So, vacillating between refusal and assent, he besought God to act as judge and to give an oracle declaring his decision. And God hearkened to him and vouchsafed an answer 229 revealing His will, touching not only those for whom the prophet interceded but those of future generations who might find themselves in the same case. And, His grace abounding further, He included in the divine edict those who for other reasons might be unable to join the whole nation in a sacred service. It is right to state what the pronouncements thus 230 given were. " Mourning for kinsfolk," He said, " is an affliction which the family cannot avoid, but it does not count as an offence. While it is still running 231 its appointed course, it should be banished from the

## PHILO

ἱερῶν ἐλαυνέσθω, οὓς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγνεύειν οὐχ  
 ἔκουσίου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην  
 μιάσματος δεῖ· γενομένου δ' ἐκπροθέσμου, μὴ  
 στερέσθωσαν ἰσομοιρίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις,  
 ἵνα μὴ προσθήκη τετελευτηκότων οἱ ζῶντες ὦσιν·  
 ἴτωσαν δὲ ἅτε δεῦτεροι δευτέρῳ μηνί, πάλιν τεσ-  
 σαρεσκαϊδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ θυέτωσαν κατὰ τὰ  
 αὐτὰ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τῷ θύματι χρήσθωσαν ὡς  
 232 ἐκεῖνοι νόμῳ καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ παραπλησίῳ. τὰ δ'  
 αὐτὰ ἐπιτετράφθω καὶ τοῖς μὴ διὰ πένθος ἀλλὰ  
 μακρᾶς χάριν ἀποδημίας κωλυμένοις ἅμα τῷ  
 παντὶ ἔθνει συνιερουργεῖν· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ξενιτεύοντες  
 ἢ ἐτέρωθι οἰκοῦντες ἀδικοῦσιν, ὡς στέρεσθαι τῆς  
 ἴσης τιμῆς, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ χωρούσης διὰ πολυ-  
 ανθρωπίαν τὸ ἔθνος μιᾶς χώρας, ἀλλ' ἀποικίας  
 πανταχόσε διαπεμφαμένης."

233 XLIII. Τοσαῦτα διειλεγμένους περὶ τῶν ὑστερη-  
 σάντων μὲν ἅμα τῷ πλήθει θῦσαι τὰ διαβατήρια  
 κατὰ συντυχίας ἀβουλήτους, ἐκπλήσαι δ' εἰ καὶ ὀψὲ  
 ἀλλ' οὖν ἀναγκαίως τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν σπουδασάντων,  
 ἐπὶ τελευταῖον μέτειμι διάταγμα τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν  
 κλήρων διαδοχῆς, ὅπερ ὁμοίως μικτὸν ἦν ἐκ πεύ-

234 σεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως λαβὼν τὴν σύστασιν. ἦν  
 τις ὄνομα Σαλπαάδ, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος καὶ φυλῆς οὐκ  
 ἀσήμου· τούτῳ πέντε μὲν γίνονται θυγατέρες, υἱὸς

[171] | δὲ οὐδεὶς· αἱ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ πατρὸς  
 στέρησιν τῆς πατρῴας λήξεως ὑποποτήσασαι διὰ  
 τὸ τὰς κληρουχίας ἄρρεσι δίδοσθαι προσίασιν τῷ  
 ἡγεμόνι μετὰ τῆς ἀρμοττούσης κόραις αἰδοῦς, οὐ  
 θηρώμεναι πλοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τοῦνομα καὶ ἀξίωμα

\* For this idiomatic use of ἀναγκαίως see note on *Quod Det.* 160.

## MOSES II. 231-234

sacred precincts which must be kept pure from all pollution, not only that which is voluntary but also that which is unintentionally incurred. But when its term is finished let not the mourners be denied an equal share in the sacred services, and thus the living be made an appendage to the dead. Let them form a second set to come on the second month and also on the fourteenth day, and sacrifice just as the first set, and observe a similar rule and method in dealing with the victims. The same permission also must be 232 given to those who are prevented from joining the whole nation in worship not by mourning but by absence in a distant country. For settlers abroad and inhabitants of other regions are not wrongdoers who deserve to be deprived of equal privileges, particularly if the nation has grown so populous that a single country cannot contain it and has sent out colonies in all directions."

XLIII. Having thus discussed the case of those 233 who, through adverse circumstances, failed to make the Paschal sacrifice with the mass of the nation, but were set upon repairing the omission if late yet as best they could,<sup>a</sup> I will pass on to the final ordinance, which concerns the succession to an inheritance. This, like the others, originated in a question and answer and was thus of a mixed character. <sup>b</sup> There 234 was a man called Zelophehad, highly reputed and of no mean tribe, who had five daughters and no son. After the death of their father, the daughters, suspecting that they would be deprived of the property he had left, since inheritances went in the male line, approached the ruler in all maidenly modesty, not in pursuit of wealth but from a desire to preserve the

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 234-245 see Num. xxvii. 1-11.

## PHILO

- 235 γλιχόμεναι διασῶσαι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ φασιν· “ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ στάσει γενόμενος, ἐφ’ ᾧ συνέβη διαφθαρῆναι μυρρίους, ἀλλ’ ἐξήλωσε βίον ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἰδιώτην, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐν ἁμαρτία θετέον τὸ γενεᾶς ἄρρενος ἀμοιρῆσαι. πάρεσμεν δ’ ἡμεῖς ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ὀρφαναί, τὸ δ’ ἀληθές σοι χρησόμεναι πατρί· τοῦ γὰρ γεννήσαντος ὁ νόμιμος ἄρχων οἰκειότερος
- 236 ὑπηκόοις.” ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν φρόνησιν τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεινάμενον εὐνοίαν ἐπέσχεν ὑφ’ ἐτέρας ἐλκόμενος φαντασίας, καθ’ ἣν τὰς κληρουχίας ἄνδρες ὄφειλον διανεμεσθαι γέρας ληψόμενοι στρατείας καὶ πολέμων οὓς διήθλησαν, γυναικὶ δ’ ἡ φύσις ἀσυλίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγωνισμάτων παρέχουσα δηλονότι καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς
- 237 τιθεμένων ἄθλων οὐ μεταδίδωσιν. ὅθεν εἰκότως τῆς διανοίας ἀμφικλινῶς ἐχούσης καὶ ἀντισπωμένης, ἀναφέρει τῷ θεῷ τὴν διαπόρησιν, ὃν ἦδει μόνον ἀψευδέσι καὶ ἀπλανεστάτοις κριτηρίοις τὰς κατὰ μικρὸν διαφορὰς διαστέλλοντα πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν
- 238 ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης. ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων, ὁ τοῦ κόσμου πατήρ, γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν ὕδωρ τε καὶ ἀέρα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τούτων ἐκάστου συνέχων καὶ διακρατῶν, ὁ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡγεμῶν, οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε χρηματίσαι κόραις ὀρφαναῖς· χρηματίσας δὲ καὶ πλέον τι παρέσχεν ἢ κατὰ δικαστὴν ὁ εὐμενῆς καὶ ἰλεως, ὁ πάντα διὰ πάντων πεπληρωκὴς τῆς εὐεργέτιδος ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως· ἔπαινον γὰρ δι-
- 239 ἐξῆλθε τῶν παρθένων. ὧ δέσποτα, πῶς ἂν σέ τις

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<sup>a</sup> Philo is trying to interpret verse 3, E.V. “ but he died in his own sin ” (*i.e.* in the ordinary sinfulness of a man). “ and

## MOSES II. 235-239

name and reputation of their father. "Our father 235 died," they said, "but not in any of the risings in which, as it fell out, multitudes perished, but followed contentedly the quiet life of an ordinary citizen, and surely it is not to be accounted as a sin that he had no male issue.<sup>a</sup> We are here outwardly as orphans, but in reality hoping to find a father in you ; for a lawful ruler is closer akin to his subjects than he who begat them." Moses admired the good sense 236 of the maidens and their loyalty to their parent, but suspended his judgement, being influenced by another view, which holds that men should divide inheritances among themselves, to be taken as the reward for military service and the wars of which they have borne the brunt ; while nature, who grants to women exemption from such conflicts, clearly also refuses them a share in the prizes assigned thereto. Natur- 237 ally, therefore, in this wavering and undecided state of mind, he referred the difficulty to God, Who alone, as he knew, can distinguish by infallible and absolutely unerring tests the finest differences and thereby shew His truth and justice. And He, the Maker of 238 All, the Father of the World, Who holds firmly knit together heaven and earth and water and air and all that each of them produces, the Ruler of men and gods, did not disdain to give response to the petition of some orphan girls. And, with that response, He gave something more than a judge would give, so kind and gracious was He, Who has filled the universe through and through with His beneficent power ; for He stated His full approval of the maidens. O 239 Lord and Master, how can one hymn Thee ? What

he had no sons." The LXX is hardly intelligible "because he died on account of his sin, and had no sons."

## PHILO

ὕμνήσειε, ποίῳ στόματι, τίνι γλώττη, ποία φωνῆς ὀργανοποιία, ποίῳ ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικῶ; οἱ γὰρ ἄστέρες εἰς γενόμενοι χορὸς ἄσσονται τι μέλος ἐπάξιον; ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς ὅλος εἰς φωνὴν ἀναλυθεὶς δυνήσεται τι τῶν σῶν ἀρετῶν διηγήσασθαι μέρος; “ ὀρθῶς ” φησὶν “ ἐλάλησαν αἱ θυγατέρες

240 Σαλπαάδ.” τοῦθ' ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον θεοῦ μαρτυροῦντος, τίς οὐκ οἶδε; πάριτε νῦν, οἱ ἀλαζόνες, οἱ μέγα πνέοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, οἱ τοὺς αὐχένας πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἐπαίροντες καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότες, παρ' οἷς χηρεῖα μὲν γυναικῶν γέλως, [καὶ] οἰκτρὸν κακόν, ἐρημία δὲ παίδων

[172] ὀρφανῶν, | οἰκτρότερον τοῦ προτέρου, χλευάζεται·

241 καὶ κατιδόντες ὅτι οὕτω ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀτυχεῖς εἶναι δοκοῦντες οὐκ ἐν ἐξουθενημένοις καὶ ἀφανέσι τάττονται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, οὗ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἀτιμότητον μέρος εἰσὶν αἱ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης βασιλεῖαι, διότι καὶ ὁ τῆς γῆς ἅπας ἐν κύκλῳ περίβολος ἐσχατιὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, δέξασθε

242 νουθεσίαν ἀναγκαίαν. ἐπαιέσας δ' ὅμως τὴν ἔντεξιν τῶν παρθένων οὔτε ταύτας ἀγεράστους κατέλιπεν οὐτ' εἰς τὴν ἴσην τιμὴν τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀνδράσι περιήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὡς ἄθλα οἰκεῖα ἀπένειμε τὰς κληρουχίας ἀνθ' ὧν ἠνδραγαθίσαντο, τὰς δὲ χάριτος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, οὐ γέρωσ, ἡξίωσεν· ὁ ἐναργέστατα παρίστησι διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων “ δόμα ” λέγων καὶ “ δώσεις,” ἀλλ' οὐκ “ ἀπόδομα ” οὐδ' “ ἀποδώσεις ”· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἴδια τῶν  
568

## MOSES II. 239-242

mouth, what tongue, what else of the instruments of speech, what mind, soul's dominant part, is equal to the task? If the stars become a single choir, will their song be worthy of Thee? If all heaven be resolved into sound, will it be able to recount any part of Thy excellences? "The daughters of Zelophehad have spoken rightly," He said. Who 240 can fail to know how great a commendation is this testimony from God? Come now, you boasters, with your windy pride in your prosperity, and your pose of perked up necks and lifted eyebrows, who treat widowhood, that piteous calamity, as a joke, and the still more piteous desolation of orphanhood as a matter for mockery. Mark how the persons 241 who seem thus lonely and unfortunate are not treated as nothing worth and negligible in the judgement of God, of Whose empire the least honoured parts are the kingdoms found everywhere in the civilized world; for even the whole compass of the round earth is but the outermost fringe of His works—mark this, I say, and learn its much-needed lesson. Still, 242

though he praised the petition of the maidens and refrained from leaving them empty-handed, he did not promote them to equal honour with the men who bore the brunt of conflict. To these he assigned the inheritances as prizes suitable to their feats of valour; the women he judged worthy of charity and kindness, not of reward for services. He shows this clearly by the words He uses. He says: "Gift" and "thou shall give,"<sup>a</sup> not "payment" and "thou shalt pay," for the latter pair are used when we receive what is

<sup>a</sup> Or "restore," "return." Cf. *De Som.* i. 100.

## PHILO

λαμβάνοντων,<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖνα δὲ τῶν χαριζομένων.

- 243 XLIV. θεσπίσας δὲ περὶ ὧν ἐνετύγχανον αἱ ὀρφαναὶ παρθένοι καὶ καθολικώτερον τίθησι νόμον περὶ κλήρων διαδοχῆς, πρώτους μὲν υἱοὺς ἐπὶ μετουσίαν καλῶν τῶν πατρῶων, εἰ δὲ μὴ εἶεν υἱοί, δευτέρας θυγατέρας, αἷς φησι δεῖν περιτιθέσθαι τὸν κλῆρον ὡσανεὶ κόσμον ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἴδιον καὶ συγγενὲς κτῆμα· τὸ γὰρ περιτιθέμενον οὐδεμίαν οἰκείωσιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ διακοσμούμενον, ἀρμονίας
- 244 καὶ ἐνώσεως ἀλλοτριούμενον. μετὰ δὲ θυγατέρας τρίτους ἀδελφοὺς καλεῖ, τετάρτην δὲ θείους πρὸς πατρός ἀπονέμει τάξιν, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι καὶ πατέρες γένοιντ' ἂν υἱῶν κληρονόμοι· πάνυ γὰρ εὐήθες ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅτι πατρός ἀδελφῶ νέμων κλῆρον ἀδελφίδου διὰ τὴν πρὸς πατέρα συγγένειαν αὐτὸν
- 245 ἀφείλετο τὸν πατέρα τῆς διαδοχῆς. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ νόμος φύσεώς ἐστι κληρονομεῖσθαι γονεῖς ὑπὸ παίδων ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτους κληρονομεῖν, τὸ μὲν ἀπευκτὸν καὶ παλίμφημον ἠσύχασεν, ἵνα μὴ πατήρ καὶ μήτηρ προσοδεύεσθαι δοκῶσι τὰ ἐπ' ὠκυμόροις τέκνοις ἀπαρηγόρητα πένθη, πλαγίως δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσε τοῖς θείους ἐφιεῖς, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρων στοχάσῃται καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὴν οὐσίαν

<sup>1</sup> Corrupt? Perhaps read ὀφλισκανόντων = "debtors" or ἀποτινόντων. See note a.

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<sup>a</sup> This seems the only way of taking the passage as it stands, but it is most unsatisfactory. For (1) we should expect τὰ ἴδια, and ἴδια in this position strongly suggests that it agrees with ταῦτα, and as often = "specially used of": (2) The substitution of the payee for the payer is extraordinarily awkward. The first difficulty might be surmounted



MOSES II. 242-245

our own,<sup>a</sup> the former when we make a free gift.

XLIV. After signifying His will as to 243  
the petition of the orphan maids, He lays down also  
a more general law about succession to inheritances.  
He names sons first for participation in their father's  
property, and daughters second, if there are no sons.  
In the case of the daughters His phrase is that  
the inheritance should be "put round"<sup>b</sup> them, as  
though it were an external ornament, not a possession  
by right of kinship inalienable. For what is put  
round does not have an intimate connexion with  
what it adorns, and the ideas of close fitting and  
union are quite foreign to it. After the daughters, 244  
He names the brothers as standing third, and the  
fourth place He assigns to uncles on the father's  
side, thereby indirectly suggesting that fathers may  
become the heirs of sons. For it would be foolish  
to suppose that, while He assigns the inheritance  
of a nephew to his paternal uncle, because of that  
uncle's relation to the father, He withdraws from  
the father himself the right of succession. But 245  
since, in the natural order of things, sons are the  
heirs of their fathers and not fathers of their  
sons, He left unmentioned this deplorable and  
sinister possibility, to avoid the idea of a father and  
mother making profit out of their inconsolable sorrow  
at the untimely death of their children. But He  
does indirectly mention this by admitting the right  
of the uncles; and thus He attains both ends,  
the preservation of decency and the rule that the  
by reading *ἴδια τῶν <τὰ ἴδια> λαμβανόντων* (W.H.D.R.), but  
the second would remain. I believe that *λαμβάνοντων* is  
corrupt, though neither Cohn nor Mangey, who translates  
"propria recuperantium," seem to have felt difficulty.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX; E.V. "cause to pass."

## PHILO

ἀλλοτριωθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ θείους πέμπτη τάξις ἐστὶν οἱ ἔγγιστα γένους, ὧν αἰεὶ τοῖς πρώτοις δίδωσι τοὺς κλήρους.

- 246 XLV. Ταῦτ' ἀναγκαίως διεξεληλυθὼς περὶ τῶν μικτὴν ἔχόντων κληρουχίαν<sup>1</sup> χρησμῶν, ἐξῆς δηλώσω  
 [173] | τὰ κατ' ἐνθουσιασμὸν τοῦ προφήτου θεσπισθέντα λόγια· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπεσχόμην δείξειν. ἀρχὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοφορήτου κατοκωχῆς, ἣτις καὶ τῷ ἔθνει γέγονεν εὐπραγίας ἀρχὴ στείλαμένῳ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τὰς κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις  
 247 ἀποικίαν μυριάσι πολλαῖς. ἄνδρες γὰρ ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀτριβῆ καὶ μακρὰν ἐρήμην ἄπασαν ἀνύσαντες ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀφικνοῦνται τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν προσαγορευομένην· εἶθ' ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦσαν οὔτε περαιοῦσθαι δυνάμενοι διὰ σκαφῶν ἀπορίαν οὔτ' ἐπιστρέφειν τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀσφαλῆς  
 248 ἡγούμενοι. διακειμένοις δ' οὕτως μείζον ἐπιρράττει κακόν· ὁ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς δύναμιν παραλαβὼν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἰππότην καὶ πεζὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξέθει διώκων καὶ σπεύδων καταλαβεῖν, ἵνα τίσηται τῆς ἐξόδου, ἣν θεσφάτοις ἀριδῆλοις ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἀβέβαιος ἢ μοχθηρῶν ἀνθρώπων διάθεσις ὡς ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος μικρᾶς ἔνεκα προφάσεως ῥέπουσα πρὸς  
 249 τὰναντία. μέσοι δὲ ληφθέντες ἐχθρῶν καὶ θαλάττης ἀπέγνωσαν τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν, οἱ μὲν εὐκτόν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸν οἰκτιστὸν ὄλεθρον, οἱ δ' ἄμεινον εἶναι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀπολέσθαι μερῶν ἢ γέλως ἐχθροῖς γενέσθαι ῥίπτειν

<sup>1</sup> Clearly a mistake, induced by the subject of the preceding sections. *δύναμιν* from § 192 is suggested. Perhaps *τὴν οὐσίαν*.

## MOSES II. 245-249

property should not go out of the family. After the uncles comes the fifth class, the nearest relations. And in all such cases it is the first in succession to whom He gives the inheritances.

XLV. Having completed this necessary account 246 of the oracles of mixed character, I will proceed next to describe those delivered by the prophet himself under divine inspiration, for this was included in my promise. The examples of his possession by God's spirit begin with one which was also the beginning of the prosperity of the nation, when its many myriads set out as colonists from Egypt to the cities of Syria. <sup>a</sup> Men and women alike, they had traversed 247 a long and pathless wilderness, and arrived at the Red Sea, as it is called. They were then naturally in great difficulties, as they could not cross the sea for want of boats, and did not think it safe to retrace their steps. When they were in this state of mind, 248 a greater misfortune burst upon them. The king of Egypt, accompanied by a very formidable body of infantry and cavalry, came in hot pursuit, eager to overtake them and so chastise them for leaving the country. He had, indeed, permitted them to do so, induced by unmistakable warnings from God. But the disposition of the wicked is, as may be well seen, unstable, suspended as it were on a balance and swayed up and down by the slightest cause in opposite directions. Thus, caught between the enemy and 249 the sea, they despaired each of his own safety. Some thought that the most miserable death would be a welcome blessing, while others, believing it to be better to perish by the elements of nature than to become a laughing-stock to their enemies, purposed

• For §§ 247-257 see Ex. xiv.

## PHILO

ἑαυτοὺς εἰς θάλασσαν διενουοῦντο καὶ τινα τῶν  
 βάρους ἐχόντων ἐπαχθισάμενοι παρὰ ταῖς ἡϊόσιν  
 ἐφήδρευον, ἕν', ὁπότεν θεάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἐγγὺς ὄντας, καθαλλόμενοι ῥᾶον εἰς βυθὸν ἐνε-  
 250 χθῶσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον τῆς  
 ἀνάγκης διεπτόηντο δυσθανατοῦντες· XLVI. ὁ δὲ  
 προφήτης, ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ὄρων σεσαγηνευμένον  
 ὡσπερ βόλον ἰχθύων τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, οὐκέτ' ὦν  
 251 ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεοφορεῖται καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε· " τὸ μὲν  
 δέος ἀναγκαῖον, φόβος ἐγγὺς καὶ μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος·  
 ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀχανές ἐστι πέλαγος, ὑπόδρομος εἰς  
 καταφυγὴν οὐδεῖς, ἀπορία πλοίων, κατόπιν ἔφεδροι  
 φάλαγγες ἐχθρῶν, αἱ στείχουσιν ἀπνευστὶ διώ-  
 κουσαι. ποῖ τις τράπηται, ποῖ τις ἐκνεύσει; πάντα  
 πανταχόθεν ἐξαπιναίως ἐπέθετο, γῆ, θάλαττα,  
 252 ἄνθρωποι, στοιχεῖα φύσεως. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖτε, μὴ  
 ἀποκάμητε, στήτε ταῖς διανοίαις μὴ κραδαινόμενοι,  
 προσδοκᾶτε τὴν ἀήττητον ἐκ θεοῦ βοήθειαν· αὐτ-  
 ἐπάγγελτος ἤδη παρέσται, μὴ ὄρωμένη προαγω-  
 νιεῖται· πεπειρασθε αὐτῆς ἤδη πολλάκις ἀμυνομένης  
 ἀφανῶς· βλέπω μέλλουσαν κονίεσθαι, βρόχους τοῖς  
 αὐχέσι περιβάλλουσαν τῶν ἀντιπάλων· ἔλκει κατὰ  
 τῆς θαλάττης· μολύβδου τρόπον εἰς βυθὸν χωροῦσιν.  
 ὑμεῖς μὲν ἔτι ζώντων αἰσθάνεσθε, τεθνεώτων δ'  
 ἐγὼ φαντασίαν λαμβάνω· τήμερον δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 νεκροὺς αὐτοὺς θεάσεσθε."

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| Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀπεφθέγγετο μείζονα ὄντα  
 πάσης ἐλπίδος, οἱ δ' ἐπειρῶντο ἔργοις τῆς περὶ  
 τὸ λόγιον ἀληθείας. ἀπέβαινε γὰρ τὰ χρησθέντα

## MOSES II. 249-253

to throw themselves into the sea, and, loaded with some heavy substances, sat waiting by the shore, so that when they saw the foe near at hand they might leap down and easily sink into the depths. But, 250 while in these helpless straits, they were at death's door with consternation (XLVI.) the prophet, seeing the whole nation entangled in the meshes of panic, like a draught of fishes, was taken out of himself by divine possession and uttered these inspired words : "Alarm you needs must feel. Terror is near at 251 hand : the danger is great. In front is a vast expanse of sea ; no haven for a refuge, no boats at hand : behind, the menace of the enemy's troops, which march along in unresting pursuit. Whither can one turn or swim for safety ? Everything has attacked us suddenly from every side—earth, sea, man, the elements of nature. Yet be of good 252 courage, faint not. Stand with unshaken minds, look for the invincible help which God will send. Self-sent it will be with you anon, invisible it will fight before you. Ere now you have often experienced its unseen defence. I see it preparing for the contest and casting a noose round the necks of the enemy. It drags them down through the sea. They sink like lead into the depths.<sup>a</sup> You see them still alive : I have a vision of them dead, and to-day you too shall see their corpses."

So he spake with words of promise exceeding any- 253 thing they could hope for. But they began to find by the experience of facts the truth of the heavenly message. For what he prophesied came to pass

<sup>a</sup> Taken from the song, Ex. xv. 10 "they sank like lead in the mighty water" and 5, "they sank in the depth like a stone.

## PHILO

θείαις δυνάμεσι μύθων ἀπιστότερα· ῥῆξις θαλάττης,  
 ἀναχώρησις ἑκατέρου τμήματος, πῆξις τῶν κατὰ  
 τὸ ῥαγὲν μέρος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βάθους κυμάων, ἢ  
 ἀντὶ τειχῶν ἢ κραταιοτάτων, εὐθυτενῆς ἀνατομῆ  
 τῆς μεγαλορρηθείσης ὁδοῦ, ἢ τῶν κρυσταλλω-  
 254 θέντων μεθόριος ἦν, ὁδοιπορία τοῦ ἔθνους ἀκινδύνως  
 πεζεύοντος διὰ θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ καὶ  
 λιθώδους ἐδάφους—ἐκραυρώθη γὰρ ἡ ψάμμος καὶ ἡ  
 σπορὰς αὐτῆς οὐσία συμφῦσα ἠνώθη—, ἐχθρῶν  
 ἀπνευστὶ διωκόντων ἐφόρμησις σπευδόντων ἐπ’  
 οἰκεῖον ὄλεθρον, νεφέλης ὀπισθοφυλακούμενης ἠνιό-  
 χησις, ἐν ἣ θεία τις ὄψις πυρὸς αὐγὴν ἀπαστράπ-  
 τουσα ἦν, πελαγῶν ἃ τέως ἀνακοπέντα διειστήκει  
 παλίρροια, τοῦ διακοπέντος καὶ ἀναξηρανθέντος  
 255 μέρους αἰφνίδιος θαλάττωσις, πολεμίων φθορά, οὗς  
 τὰ τε κρυσταλλωθέντα τείχη καὶ ἀνατραπέντα  
 κατεύνασε<sup>1</sup> καὶ αἱ πλήμμυραι τοῦ πελάγους ὥσπερ  
 εἰς φάραγγα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπενεχθεῖσαι κατέκλυσαν,  
 ἐπίδειξις τῆς φθορᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπαναπλευσάντων  
 σωμάτων, ἃ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ πελάγους κατε-  
 στόρεσε, καὶ σφοδρὰ κυμάτωνσις, ὑφ’ ἧς ἅπαντες οἱ  
 νεκροὶ σωρηδὸν ἀπεβράσθησαν εἰς τοὺς ἀντιπέραν  
 αἰγιαλοὺς, ἀναγκαῖα θέα γενησόμενοι τοῖς δια-  
 σωθεῖσιν, οἷς ἐξεγένετο μὴ μόνον τοὺς κινδύνους  
 διαφυγεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιδεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ  
 ἀνθρωπίναις ἀλλὰ θείαις δυνάμεσι παντὸς λόγου  
 256 μείζον κολασθέντας. διόπερ εἰκότως εὐχαρίστοις  
 ὕμνοις γεραίρει τὸν εὐεργέτην· εἰς γὰρ δύο χοροὺς  
 διανείμας τὸ ἔθνος, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ  
 γυναικῶν, ἐξάρχει μὲν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἕξαρχον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κατένευσε(αν) or κατέκλυσε. Κατευνάω is a poetical word used in this sense by Soph. *Ant.* 833.

## MOSES II. 253-256

through the might of God, though harder to credit than any fable. Let us picture the scene. The sea breaks in two, and each section retires. The parts around the break, through the whole depth of their waters, congeal to serve as walls of vast strength: a path is drawn straight, a road of miracle between the frozen walls on either side : the nation makes 254 its passage, marching safely through the sea, as on a dry path or a stone-paved causeway ; for the sand is crisped, and its scattered particles grow together into a unity : the enemy advance in unresting pursuit, hastening to their own destruction : the cloud goes behind the travellers' rear to guide them on their way, and within is the vision of the Godhead, flashing rays of fire. Then the waters which had been stayed from their course and parted for a while return to their place : the dried-up cleft between the walls suddenly becomes a sea again : the enemy 255 meet their doom, sent to their last sleep by the fall of the frozen walls, and overwhelmed by the tides, as they rush down upon their path as into a ravine ! that doom is evidenced by the corpses which are floated to the top and strew the surface of the sea : last comes a mighty rushing wave, which flings the corpses in heaps upon the opposite shore, a sight inevitably to be seen by the saved, thus permitted not only to escape their dangers, but also to behold their enemies fallen under a chastisement which no words can express, through the power of God and not of man. After this, what should Moses do but 256 honour the Benefactor with hymns of thanksgiving ? He divides the nation into two choirs, one of men, the other of women, and himself leads the men while

## PHILO

δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καθίστησι τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἵν' ἄδωσι ὕμνους εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ἀντιφθόγγοις ἁρμονίαις συνηχοῦντες, διὰ τε κράσεως ἡθῶν καὶ μέλους, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σπευδόντων ἀμοιβήν, τοῦ δὲ συνισταμένου κατὰ τὴν βαρύτητος πρὸς ὀξύτητα συμφωνίαν· φθόγγοι γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν βαρεῖς, ὀξεῖς δ' οἱ γυναικῶν, ἐξ ὧν, ὅταν ἡ κρᾶσις γένηται σύμμετρος, ἥδιστον καὶ παν-  
 257 αρμόνιον ἀποτελεῖται μέλος. τὰς δὲ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἔπεισεν ὁμογνωμονῆσαι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὕμνον ἐν ταυτῷ συνάδειν τὰ τεράστια ἐκείνα μεγα-  
 λουργήματα, περὶ ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διεξῆλθον· ἐφ' οἷς ὁ προφήτης γεγηθώς, ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους περιχάρειαν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι χωρῶν τὴν ἡδονήν, κατήρχε τῆς ὠδῆς· οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες εἰς  
 δύο χοροὺς ἀλισθέντες τὰ λεχθέντα συνῆδον.

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XLVII. | Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς κατ' ἐνθουσιασμὸν προφητείας Μωυσέως ἀρχὴ καὶ προοίμιον. ἐξῆς δὲ θεσπίζει περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου, τροφῆς, ἣν γῆ μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκε — καὶ γὰρ ἦν στείρα καὶ ἄγονος—, ὤμβρησε δ' οὐρανὸς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεσσαρακονταετίαν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς ἔω καρπὸν αἰθέριον ἐν δρόσῳ κέγχρῳ παραπλήσιον.  
 259 ὃν ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς συγκομίζειν κελεύει καὶ ἐπιθειάσας φησί· “πιστεύειν δεῖ τῷ θεῷ πεπειραμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἐν μείζοσιν ἐλπίδος πράγμασιν· ἀθησαύριστα, ἀταμίευτα τὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἔστω· μηδεὶς ἄχρι πρῶτας ὑπολείπέσθω μηδὲν

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° Or “feelings.” The thought is that while men and women have their different characteristics, here for the  
 578



## MOSES II. 256-259

he appoints his sister to lead the women, that the two in concert might sing hymns to the Father and Creator in tuneful response, with a blending both of temperaments <sup>a</sup> and melody—temperaments eager to render to each other like for like; melody produced by the concord of treble and bass; for the voices of men are bass and the women's treble, and when they are blended in due proportion the resulting melody is of the fullest and sweetest harmony. All these myriads were persuaded by Moses to sing <sup>257</sup> with hearts in accord the same song, telling of those mighty and marvellous works which I have recorded just above. And the prophet, rejoicing at this, seeing the people also overjoyed, and himself no longer able to contain his delight, led off the song, and his hearers massed in two choirs sang with him the story of these same deeds.<sup>b</sup>

XLVII. <sup>c</sup> It was thus that Moses began and opened <sup>258</sup> his work as a prophet possessed by God's spirit. His next utterance of this sort was concerned with that primary and most necessary matter, food; and this food was not produced by the earth, which was barren and unfruitful, but heaven rained down before day-break, not once only but every day for forty years, a celestial fruit in the form of dew, like millet grain. When Moses saw it, he bade them gather it, and <sup>259</sup> said under inspiration: "We must trust God as we have experienced His kindnesses in deeds greater than we could have hoped for. Do not treasure up or store the food He sends. Let none leave any moment they are entirely united. The phrase is often used by Philo as a synonym for *ὁμόνοια* and the like.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* "the above-mentioned." Others take it to mean the words which Moses said to them.

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 258-269 see Ex. xvi. 4-30.

- 260 αὐτῆς μέρος.” τοῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες ἔνιοι τῶν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀνερματίστων, ὑπολαβόντες ἴσως οὐ χρησμοὺς ἀλλὰ παραίνεσιν ἄρχοντος εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα, λείπουσιν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν· τὸ δὲ σηπόμενον τὸν κύκλον τοῦ στρατοπέδου δυσσοδμίας πληροῖ τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτ’ εἰς σκώληκας, ὧν ἡ γένεσις
- 261 ἐκ φθορᾶς ἐστὶ, μετέβαλεν. ἅπερ ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειθέσι πικραίνεται· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν, εἰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα θεασάμενοι, πρὸς μὲν τὰς πιθανὰς καὶ εὐλόγους φαντασίας ἀδύναταπραχθῆναι, τελειωθέντα δὲ εὐμαρῶς ἐπιφροσύναις θείαις, οὐκ ἐνδοιάζουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 262 ἀπιστοῦσιν οἱ δυσμαθέστατοι πάντων; ἀλλ’ ὁ γε πατὴρ δυσὶν ἐναργεστάταις ἀποδειξέσει τὸ λόγιον τοῦ προφήτου διασυνέστησεν, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν εὐθύς ἀπεδείξατο φθορᾶ τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος καὶ δυσωδία καὶ τῇ πρὸς σκώληκας, τὸ φαυλότατον ζῶον, μεταβολῇ, τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν ὑστερον· αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ πλεονάζον τοῦ συγκομισθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς πληθύος ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτίσι διελύετο καὶ τηκόμενον ἐξανηλοῦτο.
- 263 XLVIII. Δεύτερον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιθειάσας ἀποφθέγγεται λόγιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης. ἔχουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ φύσει προνομίαν, οὐκ ἀφ’ οὗ μόνον ἐδημιουργήθη ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς οὐρανοῦ καὶ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ γενέσεως, ἠγγόησαν ἄνθρωποι, τάχα που διὰ τὰς ἐν ὕδασι καὶ πυρὶ γενομένας συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φθορὰς οὐ δυνηθέντων παρὰ τῶν πρότερον διαδέξασθαι μνήμην τῶν ἔπειτα τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἐν χρόνοις εἰρμὸν ἀκολουθίας καὶ τάξεως· ὅπερ ἀδηλούμενον ἐπιθειάσας

<sup>a</sup> Cf. notes on *Mos.* i. 207, and *De Abr.* 1.

## MOSES II. 260-263

part of it over till the morrow." On hearing this, 260  
some whose piety had little ballast, thinking perhaps  
that the statement was no divine oracle but just the  
exhortation of the ruler, left it to the next day ; but  
it first rotted and filled the whole extent of the camp  
with its stench, and then turned into worms which  
are bred from corruption. Moses, seeing this, was 261  
naturally and indeed inevitably indignant at their  
disobedience—to think that after witnessing wonders  
so many and so great, impossibilities no doubt as  
judged by what to outward appearance is credible  
and reasonable but easily accomplished by the  
dispensations of God's providence, they not only  
doubted, but in their utter incapacity for learning  
actually disbelieved. But the Father confirmed the 262  
utterance of the prophet with two most convincing  
proofs. One proof He had given at the time, when  
what was left over corrupted and stank and then was  
changed into worms, the vilest of living creatures.  
The other He gave later, for the unneeded surplus  
over what was gathered by the multitude was  
dissolved by the sun's rays, melted away and  
disappeared.

XLVIII. Not long after, Moses delivered a second 263  
inspired pronouncement concerning the sacred  
seventh day. That day has held the place of honour  
in nature, not merely from the time when the world  
was framed, but even before the heaven and all that  
sense perceives came into being. Yet men knew it  
not, perhaps because by reason of the constant and  
repeated destructions by water and fire the later  
generations did not receive from the former the  
memory of the order and sequence of events in the  
series of years.<sup>a</sup> This hidden truth Moses, under

## PHILO

ἀνέφηγε λογίῳ μαρτυρηθέντι διὰ σημείου τινὸς  
 264 ἐναργοῦς. τὸ δὲ σημεῖον τοιοῦτον ἦν· ἐλάττων μὲν  
 ἀπ' ἀέρος ἐγένετο ἢ φορὰ ταῖς προτέραις ἡμέραις  
 τῆς τροφῆς, τότε δ' αὖ διπλασίων· καὶ ταῖς μὲν  
 προτέραις εἶ τι κατελείφθη, λειβόμενον ἐτήκετο  
 μέχρι τοῦ παντελῶς εἰς νοτίδα μεταβαλὸν ἀναλω-  
 θῆναι, τότε δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεχόμενον τροπὴν ἐν  
 ὁμοίῳ διέμενεν· ἐφ' οἷς ἀγγελλομένοις ἅμα καὶ  
 ὀρωμένοις καταπλαγεῖς Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἔστοχάσατο  
 [176] μᾶλλον ἢ θεοφορηθεὶς ἐθέσπισε τὴν ἐβδόμην. | ἐὼ  
 265 λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται εἰκασίαι συγγενεῖς  
 προφητείας εἰσὶν· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς οὐκ ἂν οὕτως εὐ-  
 σκόπως εὐθυβόλησεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θεῖον ἦν πνεῦμα τὸ  
 266 ποδηγετοῦν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. τὸ δὲ  
 τεράστιον οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ διπλασιασθῆναι τὴν  
 τροφήν ἐδηλοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ διαμεῖναι σῶον παρὰ  
 τὸ καθεστῶς ἔθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα  
 συμβῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἡμέραν, ἀφ' ἧς ἤρξατο  
 ἀπ' ἀέρος ἢ τροφῆς χορηγεῖσθαι, μεθ' ἧν ὁ ἱερώ-  
 τατος τῆς ἐβδόμης ἀριθμὸς ἔμελλεν ἀνατέλλειν,  
 ὥστε λογιζόμενος ἂν τις εὖροι κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν  
 τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως τὴν οὐράνιον δοθεῖσαν  
 τροφήν· ἤρξατο γὰρ καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξάδος τῇ  
 πρώτη δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ὕειν τροφήν.  
 267 ἢ δ' εἰκὼν ὁμοιοτάτη· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ  
 ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον, τὸν κόσμον,  
 ἀνέφηγε, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εὐθηνίαν ἐν ἐρήμῳ  
 μεταβαλὼν τὰ στοιχεῖα πρὸς τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῆς  
 χρείας, ἕν' ἀντὶ γῆς ὁ ἀῆρ σιτία τροφήν ἄπονον  
 582

## MOSES II. 263-267

inspiration, revealed in an announcement to which a manifest sign gave testimony. This sign was as follows : the shower of food from the air was less on the first days, but on a later day was doubled ; and on those first days anything left melted and was dissolved till, after turning completely into moisture, it disappeared ; but on that later day it admitted no change and remained just as it had been. Moses, when he heard of this and also actually saw it, was awestruck and, guided by what was not so much surmise as God-sent inspiration, made announcement of the sabbath. I need hardly say that conjectures of this kind are closely akin to prophecies. For the mind could not have made so straight an aim if there was not also the divine spirit guiding it to the truth itself. Now the greatness of the wonder was shown not only by the double supply of food and its remaining sound contrary to the usual happening, but by the combination of both these occurring on the sixth day, counting from the day on which the food began to be supplied from the air ; and that sixth day was to be followed by the dawning of the seventh which is the most sacred of numbers. And therefore consideration will show the inquirer that the food given from heaven followed the analogy of the birth of the world ; for both the creating of the world and also the raining of the said food were begun by God on the first day out of six. The copy reproduces the original very exactly : for, as God called up His most perfect work, the world, out of not being into being, so He called up plenty in the desert, changing round the elements to meet the pressing need of the occasion, so that instead of the earth the air bore food for their nourishment, and

## PHILO

- φέρη καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον οἷς ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἦν  
 εὐτρεπίζεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν τὰπιτήδεια.
- 268 μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτον ἀναφθέγγεται χρησμὸν τερα-  
 τωδέστατον, δηλῶν ὅτι τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν  
 ὁ ἀῆρ οὐ παρέξει τροφήν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ γῆν ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ὡς ἔθος ἐνεχθήσεται. τοῦτ'
- 269 ἀπέβαιναν ἔργοις· τῇ μὲν γὰρ προτεραίᾳ ταῦτα  
 θεσπίζει, τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἀβεβαίων τὸ ἦθος ὤρμησαν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν καὶ σφαλέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐπ-  
 ανήεσαν ἄπρακτοι, κακίζοντες μὲν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς  
 ἀπιστίας, ἀληθόμαντιν δὲ καὶ θεοφράδμονα καὶ  
 μόνον προορατικὸν τῶν ἀδήλων ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν  
 προφήτην.
- 270 XLIX. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐστίν, ἃ περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ  
 τροφῆς κατεχόμενος ἐθέσπισεν. ἕτερα δ' ἐξῆς  
 ἀναγκαῖα, καίτοι δόξαντα ἂν παραινέσεσιν εἰκέναι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ χρησμοῖς, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ χρησθὲν κατὰ  
 τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν, περὶ ἧς  
 καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον, ἡνίκα τεκτηνάμενοι ταῦρον  
 χρυσοῦν, Αἰγυπτιακοῦ μίμημα τύφου, χοροὺς  
 ἴστασαν καὶ βωμοὺς κατεσκευάζον καὶ θυσίας  
 ἀνήγον ἐκλαθόμενοι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεοῦ καὶ  
 τὴν προγονικὴν εὐγένειαν, ἣ δι' εὐσεβείας καὶ
- 271 ὁσιότητος ηὐξήθη, καθαιροῦντες. ἐφ' οἷς Μωυσῆς  
 περιπαθήσας, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ λαὸς πᾶς ἐξαίφνης  
 γεγένηται τυφλὸς ὁ ἄχρι πρὸ μικροῦ πάντων ἐθνῶν  
 [177] ὄξυωπέστατος, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰ πλάσμα | μύθου κατ-  
 εψευσμένον ἴσχυσε τοσαύτην αὐγὴν σβέσαι τῆς

• For §§ 270-274 see Ex. xxxii.

<sup>b</sup> See note on § 162 above.

## MOSES II. 267-271

that without labour or travail for those who had no chance of resorting to any deliberate process of providing sustenance. After this, he uttered 268 a third prophetic saying of truly marvellous import. He declared that on the sabbath the air would not yield the accustomed food, and that nothing would come down to earth as it had done before, not even the smallest morsel. And this proved true in the 269 result, for it was on the day before the sabbath that he prophesied this, but on the morrow some of the weaker-minded set out to gather the food but were disappointed and returned baffled, reproaching themselves for their disbelief and hailing the prophet as a true seer, an interpreter of God, and alone gifted with foreknowledge of the hidden future.

XLIX. <sup>a</sup> Such was his pronouncement under divine 270 inspiration on the matter of the food which came from heaven, but there are examples to follow which must be noted, though perhaps they may be thought to resemble exhortations rather than oracular sayings. Among these is the command given at their great backsliding from the ways of their fathers, about which I have spoken above. This was when, after fashioning a golden bull in imitation of the vanity of Egypt,<sup>b</sup> they set up choirs and built altars and brought victims for sacrifice in forgetfulness of the true God and to the ruin of the high-born qualities inherited from their forefathers and fostered by piety and holiness. At this, Moses was cut to the heart to 271 think that in the first place the whole people had suddenly been blinded who a few hours ago had excelled every nation in clearness of vision, and secondly, that a fable falsely invented could quench the bright radiance of truth—truth on which no

## PHILO

ἀληθείας, ἣν οὐθ' ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν οὐθ' ὁ σύμπας  
 χορὸς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπισκιάσει—περιλάμπεται γὰρ  
 ἰδίῳ φέγγει νοητῶ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ, πρὸς ὃ παρα-  
 βαλλόμενον τὸ αἰσθητὸν νύξ ἂν πρὸς ἡμέραν εἶναι  
 272 νομισθεῖη—, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκέτι μένων ὁ αὐτὸς  
 ἐξαλλάττεται τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ  
 ἐπιθειάσας φησί· “ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ τῷ πλάνῳ συν-  
 ενεχθεὶς μηδὲ τὸ κῦρος ἐπιφημίσας τοῖς ἀκύροις;  
 273 πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐμοὶ προσίτω.” μιᾶς δὲ φυλῆς  
 προσελθούσης οὐχ ἦττον ταῖς διανοίαις ἢ τοῖς  
 σώμασιν, οἳ πάλαι μὲν ἐφόνων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων καὶ  
 ἀνοσιουργῶν, ἡγεμόνα δ' ἐζήτουν καὶ στρατάρχην  
 ἀνευρεῖν, ὃς ἐνδίκως ὑψηγήσεται καιρὸν καὶ τρόπον  
 τῆς ἀμύνης,—οὓς ὀργῶντας εὐρῶν καὶ γέμοντας  
 εὐτολμίας καὶ παραστήματος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον  
 θεοφορηθεῖς, “ ξίφος ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἀναλαβὼν ”  
 φησὶν “ ἄττέτω διὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ  
 κτεινέτω μὴ μόνον ἀλλοτρίους ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλων καὶ  
 συγγενῶν τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιστροφάδην, εὐ-  
 αγέστατον κρίνων τὸ ἔργον ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας καὶ θεοῦ  
 τιμῆς, ὧν ὑπερμαχεῖν καὶ προαγωνίζεσθαι κουφό-  
 274 τατος πόνος.” οἳ δ' αὐτοβοεῖ τρισχιλίους κτεί-  
 ναντες τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας μάλιστα τῆς ἀσεβείας  
 γενομένους οὐκ ἀπελογήσαντο μόνον περὶ τοῦ μὴ  
 συνεφάσασθαι τοῦ τολμήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀρι-  
 στέων τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις ἐνεγράφησαν καὶ γέρως  
 ἠξιώθησαν οἰκειοτάτου ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἱερωσύνης·  
 ἔδει γὰρ θεραπευτὰς ὁσιότητος γενέσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῆς ἀνδραγαθισαμένους καὶ προπολεμήσαντας.



## MOSES II. 271-274

eclipse of the sun or of all the starry choir can cast a shadow, since it is illumined by its own light, the intelligible, the incorporeal, compared with which the light of the senses would seem to be as night compared with day. He therefore became another <sup>272</sup> man, changed both in outward appearance and mind ; and, filled with the spirit, he cried : “ Who is there who has no part with this delusion nor has given to no-lords the name of lordship ? Let all such come to me.” One tribe came at the call, bringing with <sup>273</sup> them their minds no less than their bodies, men who for some time had been breathing slaughter against the godless workers of unholiness, but sought to find a leader and captain who would have the right to tell them when and how to make this attack. When Moses found them hot with rage and brimful of courage and resolution, he was more than ever possessed by the spirit and said : “ Let each of you take his sword and rush through the whole camp, and slay not only those who are strangers to you but also the very nearest of your friends and kinsfolk. Mow them down, holding that to be a truly righteous deed which is done for truth and God’s honour, a cause which to champion and defend is the lightest of labours.” So they slaughtered three thousand of the <sup>274</sup> principal leaders in godlessness, without meeting any resistance, and thereby not only made good their defence against the charge of having been party to the shameless crime, but were accounted as the noblest of heroes and awarded the prize most suitable to their action, that is the priesthood. For it was meet that the duty of ministering to holiness should be given to those who had battled and acquitted themselves bravely in its defence.

## PHILO

- 275 L. Ἐχω δέ τι μνηῦσαι σημειωδέστερον λόγιον, περὶ οὗ καὶ πάλαι διεξήλθον, ὅτε τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐπήειν τοῦ προφήτου, ὅπερ αὐτὸς πάλιν κατασχεθεὶς ἀνεφθέγξατο, τελειωθὲν οὐ μακροῖς
- 276 χρόνοις ὕστερον, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ὅτ' ἐχρησιμωδεῖτο. τῶν περὶ τὸν νεῶν λειτουργῶν δύο τάξεις εἰσὶν, ἡ μὲν κρείσσων ἱερέων, ἡ δ' ἐλάττων νεωκόρων· ἦσαν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τρεῖς μὲν ἱερεῖς, νεωκόρων
- 277 δὲ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες. οὗτοι φυσηθέντες ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ οἰκείου πλήθους περιουσίᾳ τῆς τῶν ἱερέων κατεφρόνουσι ὀλιγότητος καὶ δύο ἐν ταυτῷ παρανομήματα συνύφαινον, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἦν καθαίρεσις τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, τὸ δ' αὖξησης τῶν ἐλαττόνων, οἷα ἡγεμόσιν ὑπηκόων ἐπιτιθεμένων ἐπὶ συγχύσει τοῦ
- 278 κρατίστου καὶ δημοφειλεστάτου, τῆς τάξεως. εἰτ' ἐπισυνιστάμενοι καὶ ἀθροιζόμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ προφήτου, ὡς δι' οἰκειότητα τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ καὶ
- [178] τοῖς | ἀδελφιδοῖς χαρισαμένου τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ ἐπιψευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐπιφροσύνη θείᾳ, καθάπερ διεξήειμεν, μὴ γενόμενα.
- 279 ἐφ' οἷς ἀνιαθεὶς καὶ περιαλήσας, καίτοι πραότατος ὧν καὶ ἡμερώτατος, οὕτως πρὸς δικαίαν ὀργὴν ὑπὸ μισοπονήρου πάθους ἠκονήθη, ὡς ἰκετεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν ἀποστραφῆναι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐπειδήπερ ἔμελλεν ὁ δικαιοτάτος κριτῆς ἱερουργίας ἀσεβῶν παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν μέρος οὐχ ὑποσιωπᾶ, σπεύδουσα μὴ εὐδοεῖν ἀνοσίους, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῆς

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 275-287 see Num. xvi.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar. The death, or according to Philo the translation, of Nadab and Abihu is dated before this.

## MOSES II. 275-279

L. <sup>a</sup> There is another still more remarkable utter- 275  
ance of this kind which I may mention. It is one  
which I described some way back when I was speak-  
ing of the prophet in his capacity of high priest. This  
again came from his own mouth when again under  
possession, and it was fulfilled not long afterwards  
but at the very time when the prediction was given.  
The ministers of the temple are of two ranks, the 276  
higher consisting of priests, the lower of temple  
attendants; and at that time there were three priests<sup>b</sup>  
but many thousand attendants. These last, puffed 277  
with pride at their own numerical superiority over  
the priests, despised their fewness, and combined in  
the same deed two trespasses, by attempting on the  
one hand to bring low the superior, on the other to  
exalt the inferior. This is what happens when sub-  
jects attack their rulers to confound that most ex-  
cellent promoter of the common weal, order. Then, 278  
conspiring with each other, and collecting in great  
numbers, they raised an outcry against the prophet,  
declaring that he had bestowed the priesthood on his  
brother and nephews because of their relation to him,  
and had given a false account of their election, which  
had not really been made under divine direction, as we  
stated it above to be. Moses, greatly hurt and grieved 279  
at this, though the mildest and meekest of men, was  
so spurred to righteous anger by his passionate hatred  
of evil that he besought God to turn His face from  
their sacrifice; not that the All-righteous Judge  
would ever accept the ministries of the impious, but  
because the soul of one whom God loves must also do  
its part and not keep silence, so eagerly does it desire  
that the unholy may not prosper but ever fail to

## PHILO

- 280 προθέσεως διαμαρτάνειν. ἔτι δὲ ζέων καὶ πεπυρω-  
 μένος ὑπὸ τῆς νομίμου διαγανακτήσεως ἐνθουσιᾷ  
 μεταβαλὼν εἰς προφήτην καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε· “ χαλε-  
 πὸν ἀπιστία πρᾶγμα τοῖς ἀπίστοις μόνοις· τούτους<sup>1</sup>  
 οὐ λόγος ἀλλ’ ἔργα παιδεύει· παθόντες εἴσονται τὸ  
 281 ἔμὸν ἀψευδές, ἐπεὶ μαθόντες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. ἐπι-  
 κριθήσεται δὲ τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ βίου τελευτῇ· εἰ μὲν  
 γὰρ θάνατον ἐνδέξονται τὸν κατὰ φύσιν, πέπλασμαι  
 τὰ λόγια, εἰ δὲ καινὸν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, τὸ  
 φιλάληθές μοι μαρτυρηθήσεται. χάσματα γῆς ὄρω  
 διηνοιγμένης ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὐρυνόμενα, πολυανθρώ-  
 πους ἀπολλυμένας συγγενείας, αὐτάνδρους ὑπο-  
 συρομένας καὶ καταπινομένας οἰκίας, ζῶντας ἀν-  
 282 θρώπους εἰς ἄδου κατερχομένους.” ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡσύ-  
 χασε, ῥήγνυται μὲν ἢ γῆ σεισμῶ τιναχθείσα,  
 ῥήγνυται δὲ καθ’ ὃ μάλιστα μέρος αἰ σκηναὶ τῶν  
 ἀσεβῶν ἦσαν, ὡς ὑπενεχθείσας ἀθρόας ἐπικρυ-  
 φθῆναι· τὰ γὰρ διαστάντα μέρη πάλιν συνῆλθε, τῆς  
 283 χρείας ἀποτελεσθείσης, ἧς ἔνεκα διεζεύχθη. μικρὸν  
 δ’ ὕστερον τοὺς τῆς στάσεως ἡγεμόνας πεντήκοντα  
 πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις ἄνδρας κεραυνοὶ κατασκή-  
 ψαντες αἰφνίδιον ἀθρόους ἐξανάλωσαν μηδὲν μέρος  
 ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων, ὃ ταφῆς ἐπιμοιρά-  
 284 σεται. τὸ δὲ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἐπάλληλον καὶ τὸ  
 ἑκατέρας μέγεθος διάσημον καὶ περιβόητον ἀπέφηνε  
 τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ προφήτου χρησαμένου θεῷ  
 285 μάρτυρι τῆς περὶ τοὺς χρησμούς ἀληθείας. ἄξιον  
 δὲ κάκεῖνο μὴ παριδεῖν, ὅτι τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν  
 κολάσεις διεκκληρώσαντο γῆ καὶ οὐρανός, αἰ τοῦ  
 παντὸς ἀρχαί· τὴν γὰρ μοχθηρίαν ἐρρίζωσαν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Mangey with some mss. reads χαλεπὸν ἀπιστία πρᾶγμα·  
 τοὺς ἀπίστους μόνοις τούτους κτλ.

## MOSES II. 280-285

attain their purpose. While his heart was still hot 280  
within him, burning with lawful indignation, inspira-  
tion came upon him, and, transformed into a prophet,  
he pronounced these words : “ Disbelief falls hardly  
on the disbelievers only. Such are schooled by facts  
alone, and not by words. Experience will show them  
what teaching has failed to show that I do not lie.  
This matter will be judged by the manner of their 281  
latter end. If the death they meet is in the ordinary  
course of nature, my oracles are a false invention ;  
but, if it be of a new and different kind, my truthful-  
ness will be attested. I see the earth opened and  
vast chasms yawning wide. I see great bands of  
kinsfolk perishing, houses dragged down and swal-  
lowed up with their inmates, and living men descend-  
ing into Hades.” As he ceased speaking, the earth 282  
burst open under the shock of a convulsion, and the  
bursting was just in that part where the tents of  
the impious stood, so that they were borne below in  
a mass and hidden from sight ; for the gaping sides  
closed again when the object was accomplished for  
which they had been split asunder. And, shortly 283  
after, thunderbolts fell suddenly on two hundred and  
fifty men who had led the sedition and destroyed  
them in a mass, leaving no part of their bodies to  
receive the tribute of burial. The quick succession 284  
of these punishments and their magnitude in both  
cases clearly and widely established the fame of the  
prophet’s godliness, to the truth of whose pronounc-  
ments God Himself had testified. This too we 285  
should not fail to note, that the work of chastising  
the impious was shared by earth and heaven, the  
fundamental parts of the universe. For they had  
set the roots of their wickedness on earth, but let it

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- ἐπὶ γῆς, ἐξέτειναν δ' εἰς αἰθέρα, τοσοῦτον ὕψος,  
 286 αὐτὴν διάραντες. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἑκάτερον  
 ἐχορήγησε τὰς τιμωρίας, ἡ μὲν ἔν' ὑποσύρῃ καὶ  
 καταπήγῃ τοὺς τότε βαρύνοντας αὐτὴν ῥαγεῖσα καὶ  
 διαστάσα, ὃ δ' ἵνα καταφλέξῃ καὶ διαφθείρῃ πυρὸς  
 287 πολλοῦ φορᾶν, καινότατον ὑετόν, ὀμβρήσας. τὸ  
 δὲ τέλος καὶ τοῖς καταποθεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ  
 [179] τῶν κεραυνῶν | διεφθαρμένοις ταῦτόν ἀπέβαινε·  
 οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἐφάνησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐπικρυφθέντες  
 γῆ τῇ τοῦ χάσματος συνόδῳ πρὸς τὸ ἰσόπεδον  
 ἐνωθείσῃ, οἱ δ' ὅλοι δι' ὄλων ἀναλωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 κεραυνίου πυρός.
- 288 LI. Χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀποι-  
 κίαν ἔμελλεν εἰς οὐρανὸν στέλλεσθαι καὶ τὸν θνητὸν  
 ἀπολιπὼν βίον ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι μετακληθεὶς ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ πατρός, ὃς αὐτὸν δυάδα ὄντα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν,  
 εἰς μονάδος ἀνεστοιχείου φύσιν ὄλον δι' ὄλων  
 μεθαρμοζόμενος εἰς νοῦν ἡλιοειδέστατον, τότε δὴ  
 κατασχεθεὶς οὐκέτι συλλήβδην ἀθρώω παντὶ τῷ  
 ἔθνει θεσπίζειν ἔοικεν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστη  
 φυλῇ τὰ μέλλοντα γενέσθαι καὶ αὖθις ἀποβησόμενα·  
 ὧν τὰ μὲν ἤδη συμβέβηκε, τὰ δὲ προσδοκᾶται,  
 διότι πίστις τῶν μελλόντων ἢ τῶν προγεγονότων  
 289 τελείωσις. ἤρμωτε γὰρ διαφέροντας καὶ ταῖς  
 σποραῖς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς μητρώοις γένεσι, καὶ  
 βουλευμάτων πολυτρόποις ἰδέαις καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν  
 βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀμυθήτοις διαφοραῖς ὥσπερ  
 τινὰ κλήρου διανομὴν λογίων καὶ χρησμῶν ἀρμό-  
 290 ζουσαν εὐρέσθαι. θαυμάσια μὲν οὖν ταῦτα· θαυ-  
 μασιώτατον δὲ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων,  
 ὃ καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ζώῳ κεφαλὴ τῆς ὄλης νομοθεσίας

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 288-291 see Deut. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

## MOSES II. 285-290

grow so high that it mounted right up to ether above. Therefore each of the two elements supplied its punishment: earth burst and parted asunder to drag down and swallow up those who had then become a burden to it; heaven poured down the strangest of rainstorms, a great stream of fire to blast them in its flames. Whether they were swallowed up or destroyed by the thunderbolts, the result was the same: neither party was ever seen again, the former hidden in the earth by the closing of the chasm which united to form level ground again, the latter consumed absolutely and entirely by the flame of the thunderbolt.

LI. <sup>a</sup> Afterwards the time came when he had to make his pilgrimage from earth to heaven, and leave this mortal life for immortality, summoned thither by the Father Who resolved his twofold nature of soul and body into a single unity, transforming his whole being into mind, pure as the sunlight. Then, indeed, we find him possessed by the spirit, no longer uttering general truths to the whole nation but prophesying to each tribe in particular the things which were to be and hereafter must come to pass. Some of these have already taken place, others are still looked for, since confidence in the future is assured by fulfilment in the past. It was very fitting that persons so different in the history of their birth, particularly in their descent on the mother's side and in the manifold varieties of their thoughts and aims and the endless diversities of their practices and habits of life, should receive as a sort of legacy a suitable apportionment of oracles and inspired sayings. This was indeed wonderful: but most wonderful of all is the conclusion of the Holy Scriptures, which stands to the whole law-book as the head to the living

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- 291 ἐστίν. ἤδη γὰρ ἀναλαμβάνομενος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς βαλβίδος ἐστῶς, ἵνα τὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν δρόμον διπτάμενος εὐθύνη, καταπνευσθεὶς καὶ ἐπιθειάσας ζῶν ἔτι τὰ ὡς ἐπὶ θανόντι ἑαυτῷ προφητεύει δεξιῶς,<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἐτελεύτησε μήπω τελευτήσας, ὡς ἐτάφη μηδενὸς παρόντος, δηλονότι χερσὶν οὐ θνηταῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις δυνάμεσιν, ὡς οὐδ' ἐν τάφῳ τῶν προπατόρων ἐκηδεύθη τυχῶν ἐξαιρέτου μνήματος, ὃ μηδεὶς εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος αὐτὸν ὅλον μῆνα δακρυρροοῦν ἐπένησεν ἴδιον καὶ κοινὸν πένθος ἐπιδειξάμενον ἕνεκα τῆς ἀλέκτου καὶ πρὸς ἕνα ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐνοίας καὶ κηδεμονίας.
- 292 Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος, τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τελευταία τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ νομοθέτου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μνημονεύεται.

<sup>1</sup> A rather strange use : Mangey διεξιῶν.



## MOSES II. 291-292

creature ; for when he was already being exalted and 291 stood at the very barrier, ready at the signal to direct his upward flight to heaven, the divine spirit fell upon him and he prophesied with discernment while still alive the story of his own death ; told ere the end how the end came ; told how he was buried with none present, surely by no mortal hands but by immortal powers ; how also he was not laid to rest in the tomb of his forefathers but was given a monument of special dignity which no man has ever seen ; how all the nation wept and mourned for him a whole month and made open display, private and public, of their sorrow, in memory of his vast benevolence and watchful care for each one of them and for all.

Such, as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, was the 292 life and such the end of Moses, king, lawgiver, high priest, prophet.



## APPENDIX TO DE ABRAHAMO

§ 5. *Laws endowed with life and reason.* Here we have the common idea that the *king* is a "living law" (given in that form in *Mos.* ii. 4, where see note) extended to the good and wise in general, *cf. De Virt.* 194 νόμοι δέ τινες ἀγραφοὶ καὶ οἱ βλοὶ τῶν ζηλωσάντων τὴν ἀρετὴν.

§ 12. *Enos . . . is fourth.* That the number is obtained by the omission of Cain rather than Abel is suggested by *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 81 "quare neque terrigena patris successorem eum (*i.e.* Cain) indicat neque caput posteriorum generationum."

§ 17. *Transferred him.* In this passage Philo, to support his idea of Enoch as signifying repentance, takes μετετέθη as referring to a moral change in this life. The common view (*cf. Hebrews xi.* 5 "translated that he should not see death") is adopted in *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 86, and perhaps also in *De Mut.* 38.

§ 51. *Relative instead of absolute.* Philo, as often, shews his familiarity with grammatical terms. The distinction between relative nouns (πρὸς τι, Lat. *ad aliquid*) and absolute (usually ἀπολελυμένα, whence Lat. *absoluta*) is regularly given by Greek and Latin grammarians. θεός is usually an "absolute," but the addition "of Abraham," etc., makes it a "relative," as "father" or "king" always is. *Cf. De Mut.* 27 and note.

§ 99. *Natural philosophers.* The Stoic view of the higher study of nature is well illustrated by *S.V.F.* ii. 42 (from Chrysippus) τῶν δὲ φυσικῶν ἔσχατος εἶναι ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγος, and *ibid.* 44 the study of φυσική comes later than λογική and ἠθική—θειοτέρα γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ βαθυτέρας δέχεται τῆς ἐπιστάσεως.

§§ 100-102. The thought of these sections is not quite clear and the translation might perhaps be improved. Philo seems to be criticizing an allegorization, which is not his own, on the ground that it reverses the spiritual connexion

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between the mind and virtue, though as a matter of fact he adopts the same interpretation of Abraham's relation to Sarah in *De Cher.* and elsewhere. The criticism begins with *ἐναντιώτατοι δέ* (§ 100), where *δέ* = "but" rather than "now," and ends with *σωτήριον* (§ 102), so that *ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν* might be translated "however that may be, all men . . ." In § 101 *ἢ μήποτε*, "or perhaps," is not very clear, nor is the "perhaps however" of the translation. One would like to read *καὶ μήποτε* or *μήποτε δέ*.

§ 118. *Gave the appearance of both eating and drinking.* So Josephus, *Ant.* i. 197 *οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ἐσθιόντων*, and so later Rabbinical writers (references in Cohn's translation of this book, p. 121). This is a point sometimes supposed to shew Josephus's dependence on Philo. But the doubt whether angels would really eat and drink would naturally be felt and noted in any discussion of the story. The same may be said of § 170, where the statement that Abraham told no one in his household of the divine command to sacrifice, is compared by commentators to a similar statement in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 225.

§ 182. The practice of "Suttee" seems to have been well-known from the time of Alexander. Strabo xv. 30 and 62 quotes Onesicritus and Aristobulus, both companions of Alexander, as having reported the existence of the custom in different tribes. Diodorus Siculus xix. 33 gives a long account of the competition between the two wives of the Indian prince Keteus, who was killed in the wars of Antigonus 316 B.C., for the honour of dying on their husband's pyre, and of the joy with which the one chosen went to her death.

§ 244. *The supremely perfect number.* The term *Panteleia* seems to have been rather a divine name for ten in Pythagorean use than a mere epithet. Stobaeus, *Ecl.* i. 1. 10 (p. 22 H.) says that Pythagoras gave the name of Apollo to one, Artemis to two, Aphrodite to six, Athena to seven, Poseidon to eight, and *Panteleia* to ten. The word is once applied by Philo to seven, but to ten in the other five cases, in which he uses it of a number.

§ 257. This passage is quoted by Wyttenbach in his note on Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 102 D. Plutarch there advocates *μετριοπάθεια* in bereavements in similar terms and proceeds to quote Crantor the Academician *Περὶ πένθους* to the same effect. The same passage from Crantor is quoted

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by Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 12, and his book may very possibly have been in Philo's mind.

§ 261. Here once more we have the Stoic paradox of the sage as king (see *S. V. F.* iii. 617). See note on *De Mut.* 152 (where the saying is founded on the same text as here) for other references in Philo.

## APPENDIX TO DE IOSEPHO

§ 3. *στρατηγίας*. It should perhaps be noted that the papyri (see L. & S. 1935) shew that *στρατηγός* was in common use as the title of a civil as well as military governor of a nome in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. But this hardly justifies its use as an antithesis to *στρατηγός* in the military sense.

§ 20. *Less grievous to suffer wrong than to do it*. This thought, which is, of course, one of the leading ideas of the *Republic*, is expressed in almost the same words as here *Gorgias* 469 c ἐλοιμην ἂν μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθαι ἢ ἀδικεῖν, *ibid.* 508 v ἀληθὴ ἄρα ἦν τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἀδικεῖν τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὅσπερ αἰσχίον, τοσοῦτω κάκιον, and so again 509 c.

§ 28. *Addition to nature*. This idea of the superfluosness of the laws of the different states, which follows naturally on the Stoic doctrine of the law of nature, is expressed in the view attributed to Zeno by Plutarch, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ πόλεις μηδὲ κατὰ δήμους οἰκῶμεν, ἰδίοις ἕκαστοι διωρισμένοι δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡγώμεθα δημότας καὶ πολίτας (*S. V. F.* i. 262). Compare also Chrysippus's exposure of the ridiculous varieties in laws and customs, *ibid.* iii. 322.

§ 38. *Statesmanship the household management of the general public*. Compare the opening of Plato's *Politicus*, particularly 259 c ἐπιστήμη μία περὶ πάντ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα· ταύτην δὲ εἴτε βασιλικὴν εἴτε πολιτικὴν εἴτε οἰκονομικὴν τις ὀνομάξοι μηδὲν αὐτῷ διαφερώμεθα. The idea is combated by Aristotle at the beginning of the *Politics*, but admitted by him of monarchy iii. 10.2 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως . . . οἰκονομία.

§ 48. Seneca in his *Phaedra* has some fairly close parallels to these sections, put into the mouth of Hippolytus. Thus

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in 145 ff., supposing the crime remains undetected, "Quid ille qui mundum gerit?" Then 159 ff.:

sed ut secundus numinum abscondat favor  
coitus nefandos utque contingat stupro  
negata magnis sceleribus semper fides,  
quid poena praesens, conscius mentis pavor  
animusque culpa plenus et semet timens?

Considering the likeness of the themes, Philo may very possibly have had in mind some similar passage in the earlier and lost *Hippolytus* of Euripides, or the lost play of Sophocles on the same subject, on which Seneca's play is based. It may be observed that the phrase ὀρθοῖς θυμῶσιν in 47 occurs in Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 1385 in the same sort of context:

τοιάνδ' ἐγὼ κηλῖδα μηνύσας ἐμὴν  
ὀρθοῖς ἐμελλον θυμῶσιν τούτους ὄρᾶν;

See on this subject Dr. Martin Braun, *Griechischer Roman und hellenische Geschichtsschreibung*.

§ 62. *Cooks and physicians*. Another reminiscence of the *Gorgias*, where medicine is shewn as standing in the same relation to cookery as justice and legislation bear to the "flattery" of rhetoric, 464 D ff., also 500 B and 501 A.

§§ 125-147. Arnim in his *Quellenstudien zu Philo von Alexandria* discusses these sections in a chapter headed "Philo und Aenesidem." In the first part of this chapter he deals with the reproduction of the "Tropes of Aenesidemus" in *De Ebr.* 171-205, and also with the close connexion of the philosophy of that sceptic with that of Heraclitus. His best, though not his only point, is the resemblance of the treatise of Plutarch *De Ἐ ἀπὸ Δελφῶν*, chap. xviii., a chapter in which Heraclitus is twice cited, and which is supposed to be Heraclitean throughout, to §§ 127-129 of *De Iosepho*. In both the same point is made that each successive stage of life from childhood to old age brings the death of the previous stage, and the same inference is drawn that we need not fear the final death.

However this may be, it should be noted that in the *De Iosepho* we do not find the same type of scepticism as in *De Ebr.*, if indeed it can be called scepticism at all. Human life is a "dream," it is "full of confusion, disorder, and uncertainty," and men, as a whole, are incapable of knowledge,

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but the dream is interpreted by the true statesman. The same interpreter can give adequate guidance on moral questions, and though this is not perhaps opposed to the principles of the sceptics, who admitted probability as supplying a rule of conduct, it is very different from the view expressed in *De Ebr.* 197, that only the foolish will assert positively that any particular thing is just or prudent or honourable.

§ 168. βαθεῖ ἤθει. The exact meaning of this phrase is obscure. Cohn translates in *tiefer Bewegung*, Mangey *profunda solertia*. But neither of these fits in well with any sense of ἤθος known to me. The combination occurs again in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 144, where to illustrate the advisability of answering threats mildly the story is told of the slave-musician Antigenidas that when one of his rivals in a rage threatened to buy him, he replied, βαθεῖ ἤθει, "then I shall be able to teach you to play the flute." There perhaps the phrase = "very wittily," a sense which ἤθει or ἐν ἤθει certainly sometimes bears; or it may mean "very mildly," cf. τοῖς ἐν ἤθει καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς λεγομένοις, Plutarch, *De Poet. Aud.* 20 E, and ἐν ἤθει καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι, *ibid.* *De Adul.* 73 E. But this last does not suit our passage, for though Joseph's words are milder than in his first speech, they are described as angry threats in § 170. For the rendering suggested in the footnote, it may be argued that ἤθος in dramatic criticism often denotes the mood or air which the speaker or writer assumes. The fullest treatment known to me of the numerous shades of meaning which the word has is to be found in Rutherford's *Chapter in the History of Annotation*, see index, s.v. ἤθος.

§ 219. προβλήτους. The absence of any legal reference is not fatal to the suggestion made in the footnote, as if the owner's title was not disputed, there would be no need in law for differentiation according to the method in which it had been acquired.

I would suggest also for consideration *προκλήτους*, i.e. "who had been offered for examination by torture." No example of the word is cited, but it would be naturally formed from *πρόκλησις*, the regular term for an offer or challenge of the kind. It would not, however, so well account for the variants *προσβλήτους* and *προσηλύτους*.



## APPENDIX TO DE VITA MOSIS I.

§ 11. *Conscious of the increased misery*, etc. This idea, which does not seem very applicable to a three-months-old infant, is mentioned as a common, though mistaken, feeling about the death of older children in *Tusc. Disp.* i. 93 "idem, si puer parvus occidit, aequo animo ferendum putant; si vero in cunis ne querendum quidem . . . 'Nondum gustaverat,' inquit, 'vitae suavitatem; hic autem iam sperabat magna, quibus frui coeperat.'"

§ 22. *Like the horse to the meadow*. The proverb appears with *ἵππεύς* instead of *ἵππος* in Plato, *Theaetetus* 183 D *ἵππέας εἰς πεδίον προκαλεῖ Σωκράτη εἰς λόγους προκαλούμενος*, and so in Lucian, *Pseudosophistes* 8. On the other hand *ἵππος* as here in Lucian, *Piscator* 9.

§ 23. *Assyrian letters*. Whatever Philo understood by this, he may have got the idea from Herodotus iv. 87, where Herodotus records the erection by Darius on the Bosphorus of two *stelae*, one inscribed with *Ἀσσύρια γράμματα*, the other with *Ἑλληνικά*.

§ 263. Balaam's ass (see footnote). Philo's omission of any mention of the ass speaking may no doubt be due to the feeling that the story might seem ridiculous to the Gentile readers, whom he certainly has in view. But he quite possibly may have felt that it was one of the many passages which could only be accepted in a spiritual sense, like the mythical (*μυθῶδες*) account of the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam. In the one place where he mentions this part of the story, *De Cher.* 32-35, he gives the interpretation that the ass stands for the "unreasoning rule of life," *i.e.* ordinary life pursuits, which the fool unjustly blames when things go wrong.

§ 304. *πληγή* (in Num. xxv. 8, 9). Not only is Philo's mistake in taking this as = "slaughter" very natural, but are we sure that the LXX did not intend it? The word does

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not seem to be used in the LXX, in the historical books at least, of a pestilence as excluding other forms of divine visitation, except perhaps in 1 Chron. xxi. 22, and on the other hand is constantly used of a slaughter, *e.g.* 1 Sam. iv. 10. Psalm cvi. (cv.) 30 speaking of the incident takes it as a plague, but uses the *θραύσις* of Num. xvi. 48, 49. Whether Paul understood it as a plague or a slaughter is not clear (1 Cor. x. 8).

## APPENDIX TO DE VITA MOSIS II.

§ 4. *The king is a living law.* This application of the term νόμος ἐμψυχος to the ruler (rather than as in *De Abr.* 4 to an exemplary person) is often met with. Cf. especially Musonius, δεῖ αὐτὸν ὡσπερ ἐδόκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς νόμον ἐμψυχον εἶναι (Stobaeus, *Flor.* xlvii. 67, Meineke's edition, vol. ii. p. 274). Other examples are Archytas, νόμων δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐμψυχος, βασιλεὺς, ὁ δὲ ἄψυχος, γράμμα (*ibid.* xliii. 132, Mein. *ibid.* p. 136), and Diotogenes, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἦτοι νόμος ἐμψυχος ἢ νόμιμος ἄρχων (*ibid.* xlvii. 61, Mein. *ibid.* p. 260). I owe these examples to an article by Professor Goodenough in *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. i. pp. 56-101, on "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship." For the other part of the dictum, that the law is a just king, cf. *Quod Det.* 141 and note, where Plato, *Symposium* 196 c οἱ πόλεως βασιλῆς νόμοι, is quoted.

§ 26-44. Philo's story of the origin of the Septuagint is probably founded on and in the main agrees with the long and elaborate account in the so-called letter of Aristeas. This document is admittedly pseudonymous and not written as it claims to be by a contemporary Greek at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Its probable date is a matter of dispute, opinions ranging from 200 to 80 B.C. The chief difference is that Aristeas represents the seventy-two translators as comparing their work as they write it and producing an agreed though not an inspired version. The feasting also is more elaborate than Philo suggests, and occupies seven days, during which some question bearing on morals, particularly on the duties of kingship, is propounded to each of the translators in turn, and each of the answers is recorded. The account of the annual festival at Pharos could not of course appear in Aristeas.

Aristeas like Philo, as also Josephus, who gives a free paraphrase of a large part of the letter (*Ant.* xii. 2. 1),

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confines the translation to the Pentateuch. Modern criticism tends to accept the view that the version was made in the time of Philadelphus and may well have had his approval, but doubts the official co-operation of the king with the high priest and the employment of Palestinian Jews.

(See Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, or Thackeray's translation of the letter with appendices.)

§ 38. *κύρια κυρίοις ὀνόμασι*. Thackeray in his version of these sections in an appendix to his translation of the letter of Aristeeas, p. 92, renders "the appropriate technical words in the translation corresponded with the technical words in the original." I do not think that *κύριον ὄνομα*, here at any rate, means a technical term. A *κύριον ὄνομα* is a word used in its literal and exact sense (without *μετάφρασις* or *παραφρασις*), and all that the phrase suggests is that each word is an exact rendering of the corresponding word in the original. The duplication serves to bring out more strongly the mutuality of the correspondence like *μόνη . . . μόνους* in § 36. See note on *De Mut.* 12.

§ 47. *τὸ γεναλογικόν*. In the grammatical schools the *ἐξηγήσις ἱστοριῶν*, i.e. the elucidation of allusions in literature, was classified according as they dealt with places (*τοπικαί*), dates (*χρονικαί*), events (*πραγματικαί*), and persons (*γεναλογικαί*); see Usener, *Kleine Schriften* ii. p. 286. So in Polybius ix. 1 the *γεναλογικὸς τρόπος* of historiography is opposed to *ὁ περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ κτίσεις καὶ συγγενείας*, i.e. the ethnological, and *ὁ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ δυναστῶν*, called afterwards *ὁ πραγματικὸς*, which Polybius himself adopts. No doubt the Pentateuch contains much of the "pragmatical," but Philo's preoccupation with character would lead him to regard it as "genealogical." (This use of the word is ignored in L. & S.)

§ 65. While I have followed Cohn's text in indicating a lacuna at this point, which is also the termination of the second book in those editions which divide the *De Vita Mosis* into three, the correctness of this should not, I think, be regarded as certain. The decision really depends on the interpretation put on § 46 *ὑπὲρ οὗ* (i.e. the legislative part of the Pentateuch) *δεύτερον λέξομεν τὸ πρότερον τῇ τάξει* (i.e. the historical part) *πρότερον ἀκριβώσαντες*. If these words, as has generally been thought and at first sight seems natural, refer to the plan of this treatise we should conclude that the following sections give the "full treatment" of the historical

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part and that some similar discussion on the legislative part has been lost. [It does not, however, seem to me that this need have been of any great length, or much more than a general praise of the laws to the same effect as what we find in § 52.] But I am inclined to agree with the suggestion of Professor Goodenough that the reference is to the scheme of the whole Exposition. On this view the full treatment of the historical part is being carried out in the four treatises, and the discussion of the legislation relegated to books *De Specialibus Legibus*, and the sections 47-65 are merely a justification of Moses' plan of setting the historical before the legislative.

This will not, of course, seem convincing to those who regard the *De Vita Mosi* as a separate work entirely independent of the scheme of the Exposition (see General Introduction pp. xv f.). Also it may be argued that if there is no lacuna, or only a very small one, the length of the treatment of Moses as lawgiver is disproportionately short compared with what is given to him as high priest and prophet. Also it must be remembered that in the copies made by the scribes whose mss. we possess, the book did end at § 65, and that a loss at the end of a book is more likely to occur than a lacuna in the middle.

§ 79. *The sum of successive numbers*, etc. Fifty-five is what in ancient arithmetic is called a "triangular" number being the sum of  $1+2+3 \dots 10$ , and therefore  $= \frac{10 \cdot 11}{2}$

$\left(1+2 \dots n = \frac{n \cdot \overline{n+1}}{2}\right)$ . This name is given to these numbers because the units can be arranged in the form of an equilateral triangle. Thus *e.g.* 10 units can be arranged

a  
a a  
a a a  
a a a a

so as to form an equilateral triangle with

each side consisting of 4 units. This side, sometimes called the gnomon, is regarded as the base of the whole triangle, and thought to possess any allegorical virtues which belong to it. Cf. § 84, where four is said to be the essence of ten. Twenty-eight is also a triangular number, being the sum of  $1+2 \dots 7$ , but any virtues which it possesses as such appear to be superseded by its being also the sum of its factors.

## PHILO

The number of the Beast ( $666 = 1 + 2 \dots 36$ ) and the Fishes in John xxi. ( $153 = 1 + 2 \dots 17$ ) are also triangular, and attempts have been made to interpret them from this point of view.

§ 114. (The inscription on the *πέταλον*.) The footnote requires supplementing and perhaps correcting. Thackeray in his note to Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* v. 235 states positively that the inscription has been shewn to be the "tetragrammaton" rather than "Holiness to the Lord." He refers to a note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxvi. p. 72 by Mr. J. E. Hogg. I do not think this note does more than argue (with what success I cannot tell) that the Hebrew in Ex. xxviii. 36 (LXX 32) and in Ex. xxxix. 30 (LXX, xxxvi. 38)—though the *prima facie* meaning is "Holy to Jahve"—*may* mean "the sacred name Jahve," and also that the LXX in Ex. xxviii. does not assert more than that the thing engraved was a "holy thing belonging to the Lord." This last is true, but in the other passage, Ex. xxxix. (LXX, xxxvi.), the translators make it perfectly clear that the inscription was *ἀγίασμα κυρίου*.

As for Philo, in *De Mig.* 103, where he quotes Ex. xxviii. in the form *πέταλον χρυσοῦν καθαρόν, ἔχον ἐκτύπωμα σφραγιῶδος, ἀγίασμα κυρίου*, it is quite possible that he takes *ἀγίασμα* in apposition to *πέταλον* or *ἐκτύπωμα*, and does not mention any inscription at all. The words then mean "a plate of pure gold, having the engraving (embossment?) of a signet, a sacred thing to the Lord"; not "as of a signet," for he goes on to explain that the signet represents the *ιδέα ιδεῶν*, a phrase which, I think, refers to the Logos rather than to the Self-existent. If so, in *Mos.* ii. 114 and 132 he is following quite another tradition. What authorities are there for this besides himself and Josephus? Prof. Burkitt in a supplementary note in *J.T.S.* xxvi. p. 180 remarks that the same is stated by Bar Hebraeus, "who must ultimately have derived it from Origen," and by Origen, who may "possibly" have derived it from Philo. Considering Origen's well-known acquaintance with Philo, "possibly" seems a weak word. Mangey also quotes Jerome to the same effect, but Jerome also makes frequent use of Philo. Is it a Rabbinic tradition? The German translators, generally well versed in such parallels, quote nothing from this source.

The question then suggests itself, "Did Josephus also merely follow Philo?" If so, though it is not given among

## APPENDICES

Cohn's examples of coincidence between the two, it is the strongest evidence I have yet seen of Josephus's use of his predecessor.

A further question, to which I can give no answer, is what does Philo mean by saying that the "theologian," presumably Moses, declares that the name of the Self-existent has four letters. I do not think he anywhere shews any knowledge of the YHVH, or that it is represented by κύριος in the LXX.

§ 117-135. (Symbolism of the High Priest's vesture.) A much shorter account in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 85-95 agrees very closely with this in substance. The chief differences are that the bells there signify the harmony, not between merely earth and water, but between all the parts of the universe, and that "Clear-shewing" and "Truth" are given a somewhat different interpretation. There "Clear-shewing" is entirely confined to the "natures in heaven" (corresponding more or less to the "rational principle in nature" of this treatise), and "Truth" only concerns men as a qualification for the "heaven" which the breastplate in both passages represents, while in this treatise both are common to both forms of λόγος. In *De Mig.* 102 f. the only parts noticed are the gold-plate on the head, and the flowers and the bells at the feet (the pomegranates being left unnoticed). The treatment of these two (the flowers and bells) is altogether different. The two together represent the *αἰσθητά*, as opposed to the *νοητά* (the head-gear), the flowers being the things seen, and the bells the things heard, and, while in *De Vita Mosis* the harmony produced by the latter is that between earth and water, in *De Mig.* we have the profounder idea that it is the essential harmony between the world of sense and the world of thought.

In Josephus's short notice (*Ant.* ii. 184), besides other differences, the pomegranates signify the lightning, and the bells the thunder.

§ 210. *Ever virgin*, etc. In *De Op.* 100 Philo has ascribed these epithets to philosophers other than Pythagorean; in *Leg. All.* i. 15 to the Pythagoreans themselves. The second view is supported by the statement of Stobaeus, *Ecl.* i. 1. 10, that Pythagoras, likening the numbers to the Gods, called Seven Athena.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF CASES WHERE THE  
TEXT PRINTED IS NOT VOUCHERED FOR BY  
ANY MANUSCRIPT

DE ABRAHAMO

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
111	οὐδ'	οὐχ	200	ἀποδόσεως	ὑποθέσεως <sup>1</sup>
185	ἐξευμαρίζον	ἐξευμαρίζον- των	235	ἐν τέλος	ἐντελές

DE JOSEPHO

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
132	τοσοῦτος	τοιούτος	156	ῶ	ὦν
137	ἀπεράτους	ἀπειράτους or ἀπίρους			

DE VITA MOSIS I

§	TEXT	MSS.
44	δικαίωσας	δικάσας

DE VITA MOSIS II

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
179	παρεστῶτος	προεστῶτος	268	δηλῶν	δηλοῦντα or δηλον
264	ἐνδεχόμενον	ἐκδεχόμενον or δεχόμενον			

<sup>1</sup> A doubtful correction. The senses in which ὑπόθεσις is used are very wide. Cf. *Mos.* i. 69.



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**VOLUME VII**

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY**  
**F. H. COLSON**

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## PREFACE TO VOLUME VII

THIS seventh volume is in a sense a continuation of the sixth, in that both belong to the second main division of Philo's work, the *Exposition of the Laws*. But the contents differ so essentially from the biographical treatises, contained in the last volume, that it seemed advisable to add a General Introduction, which will apply not only to the seventh, but also to a large part of the matter which has to be relegated to the eighth.

The only other thing I need say here is that I wish to acknowledge my debt to the German translators, particularly to the great Philonic scholar, I. Heinemann, whose version of three out of these four treatises and still more the notes appended to them have given me valuable help. I have not always felt able to accept his conclusions and differ from him occasionally as to the meaning of particular sentences and phrases. But I have generally, if not always, recorded these cases, so that scholars will be able to judge between us. His more recent work *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung*<sup>a</sup> has also

<sup>a</sup> Referred to in the notes as *Bildung*.

## PREFACE

proved very useful. I will also note Prof. E. R. Goodenough's *Jewish Jurisprudence in Egypt*, and if I seem to mention it to express disagreement more often than agreement, this does not detract from what I owe to his fresh and illuminating way of treating the many problems which these treatises suggest.

F. H. C.

CAMBRIDGE, *January* 1937.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE last volume carried us through the introductory part of the Exposition of the Laws, namely that in which Philo set before his readers the picture of Moses and his predecessors as living embodiments of the laws. In this volume we pass on to the laws themselves. Inevitably he begins with the Ten Commandments, which being given directly by God himself are to be regarded as the general heads under which the specific enactments given through Moses are to be grouped. While he practically accepts our division of the Ten into duty towards God and duty towards our neighbour, he does not divide them into four and six, but, led perhaps by his love of numerical symmetry, into two sets of five, the place of the Fifth in the first group being justified by the close analogy of parenthood to the creative work of God.

The first of the four treatises in this volume, the *De Decalogo*, apart from some preliminary considerations about the theophany on Sinai and a short sketch at the end of the system to be followed in the subsequent treatises, deals with the Ten in their literal meaning. He now passes on to the Special Laws. In all four books the treatment of each commandment begins with a dissertation on the commandment itself in its literal sense, similar to, though fuller than, that in the *De Decalogo*, and then proceeds to a discussion of the

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

particular enactments which he thinks may be set under it. Thus in Book I, which takes the First and Second Commandments, this preliminary dissertation is followed by an account of the regulations about the priests, the sacrifices of various kinds and as appointed for the various feasts and the moral condition required of the sacrificers. As all these are concerned with the right method of worshipping God he considers that they are bound up in the commandment "Thou shalt have none other God but me."

The second Book covers all laws which can be assigned to the next three Commandments. Under the Third come all regulations about oaths and vows ; under the Fourth a very wide assortment of subjects. Philo has to some extent already dealt with the other holydays besides the Sabbath, when he enumerated the sacrifices offered at each, but he now returns to them, not so much as we might expect because the Sabbath is only the chief holyday, but because seven is a sacred number and the feasts are either for seven days or for one which is mystically identified with seven. On the same principle the sabbatical year and the year of Jubile, though social rather than religious ordinances, are here included. Under the Fifth, which is briefly treated, we have apart from the duties of parents and children to each other little more than the duty of paying respect to age in general.

Book III carries on with the Sixth and Seventh Commandments. It discusses many enactments which deal with sexual irregularities and crimes of violence. In Book IV regulations dealing with various forms of dishonesty come under the Eighth Commandment, and minor regulations as to witnesses



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and just judgement under the Ninth. In dealing with the Tenth, Philo, taking οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις to apply to desire in general, reads into it the duty of controlling the appetites and thus finds an opportunity for discussing the Pentateuchal food laws. At this point (iv. 132)<sup>a</sup> he recognizes that there are various precepts and enactments which cannot properly be assigned to any of the Ten but are implied by them all, and in consequence we have here what seems practically a new scheme. The laws in the succeeding part of the Exposition are classified according to the virtues, justice, courage, humanity, etc., which they may severally be said to promote. The last part of Book IV discusses justice in this sense and is followed by a treatise or rather a set of minor treatises bearing the title *De Virtutibus* and this again is supplemented by another (*De Praemiis*), well described as an epilogue, on rewards and penalties there laid down, with another perhaps entirely separate on blessings and cursings. As all these belong to the next volume I need not say more about them here.

It seems to me that on the whole Philo reports with fairness and accuracy the laws which he discusses. They are only a selection and it is not, I think, possible to find any principle on which the selection is based. There is, of course, a great amount of interpretation and justification and in this it will be found that he is influenced by Greek and Roman Law in the same way that he is influenced by Greek Philosophy in the Commentary. In the same way but not to the same extent; for though he was well read in Demosthenes

<sup>a</sup> In fact if it were not for long established tradition the natural arrangement would be to end Book IV here and join the rest of the book with the *De Virtutibus*.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

and very probably had a fair knowledge of Attic Law in general, he was not a jurist in the same sense that he was a philosopher. In his statements of the laws themselves there are several cases where either the whole law or some detail in it has no direct scriptural warrant, but many, if not most, of these are reasonable deductions from what is to be found in Scripture <sup>a</sup> and indeed he says this himself of some of these deductions.<sup>b</sup> Sometimes a scriptural law is applied to contemporary circumstances,<sup>c</sup> sometimes a non-scriptural detail is derived from contemporary practice or his own observation,<sup>d</sup> sometimes perhaps he has misinterpreted his text,<sup>e</sup> and sometimes his memory has gone astray,<sup>f</sup> but these last are quite exceptional.<sup>g</sup>

In the first section of the *De Decalogo* Philo promises that if any allegorical meaning should

<sup>a</sup> e.g. i. 235, ii. 128, 252, iii. 64, 147 f.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. with the phrase "Moses forbade from afar" (νόρρωθεν). See note on iii. 63.

<sup>c</sup> ii. 82, iii. 72.

<sup>d</sup> e.g. much of what he says of the temple, i. 71 ff., 166, ii. 175.

<sup>e</sup> iii. 86, 140, 150.

<sup>f</sup> i. 72, iii. 82, 205.

<sup>g</sup> Here may be mentioned Prof. Goodenough's thesis elaborated in his *Jewish Jurisprudence in Egypt*. He believes that "the laws as expounded by Philo are the law of the Jewish courts in Alexandria" and "that what Philo is doing throughout is to rephrase the prescriptions of the Torah, reinterpret them, or even alter them or deny them in a literal sense altogether, so that in the end Jewish law resembles now a law of Rome, now one of Greece, or again one of the few laws we still have from Alexandria" (pp. 13, 14). He sustains this view with a wealth of references to, and citations from, a number of modern as well as ancient authorities, with which I am not really competent to cope. And, when I say that he does not seem to me to prove his point, I do not wish to speak dogmatically. My main criticisms may be put as follows: First, it does not seem to me that we know enough either of the limits of jurisdiction allowed to the Jews in Alexandria, or how they administered what they had, to determine

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

appear to underlie the laws he discusses he will not fail to state it. The promise is only partially fulfilled. As a matter of fact allegory is almost entirely absent from the *De Dec.*<sup>a</sup> itself and only appears occasionally in the civil or social laws of the *Spec. Leg.*<sup>b</sup> though many of these have been allegorized at length in the Commentary.<sup>c</sup> Here again I cannot see any clear principle on which some particular laws are chosen for such treatment. On the other hand, when he is dealing with the sacrifices in Book I and the feasts in Book II allegory or rather symbolism is almost universal. Naturally enough. For both sacrifices and feasts have little meaning for him except the spiritual.

whether, when Philo departs from the substance of the Torah, he is adjusting it to what was administered or to what he himself thought reasonable. Secondly, that Prof. Goodenough much exaggerates, if not the "rephrasing and re-interpretation," at any rate the "alterations and denials." So that after reading and re-reading the book and with full acknowledgement of the useful and illuminating remarks in which it abounds, I adhere to my view that, with the reservations mentioned above, Philo gives a fair and accurate account of the laws which he discusses. <sup>a</sup> See, however, § 49.

<sup>b</sup> *Sp. Leg.* i. 8 ff., 327 ff., ii. 29 ff., iii. 178 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Two notable examples are Deut. xxi. 18-21, the stoning of the disobedient son, the allegorical sermon on which occupies a large part of *De Ebr.*, and *ib.* 15-17, the right of the firstborn son of the discarded wife, which is the text for the long allegory in *De Sac.* 19 ff., and again in *De Sob.* 21. These two are treated literally without any hint of allegory in *Sp. Leg.* ii. 232 f. and 135 f. respectively. Still more remarkable is Philo's treatment of Deut. xx. 5-7 (exemption of the newly-married etc. from military service). In *De Agr.* 149 an allegory is suggested on the grounds that the sense of the exemption taken literally is at least doubtful (157). In *De Virt.* 27 ff. it is extolled as a wise measure. A similar inconsistency in dealing with "till the death of the high priest" (Num. xxxv. 28) is pointed out in the note to *Sp. Leg.* iii. 131 (App. p. 638).

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

What is the purpose of the Exposition? I think it is best expressed in the words of *De Vita Mosis* ii. 44, where he says that if the Jewish people prospered better each nation would abandon its ancestral customs and turn to honouring their laws alone and that these would darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars. That is to say, by this exposition he wishes to show the world at large how admirable is the Pentateuchal code, and if this is so, the natural answer to the question for whom was the Exposition written will be, primarily at any rate, for Gentiles. In the introduction to the preceding volume I noted characteristics in the treatises on Abraham and Joseph which pointed that way, and nothing in this volume seems to me to imply the contrary,<sup>a</sup> while in his insistence on the duty of honouring and welcoming proselytes and on the universal priesthood of the Jewish race we may see positive signs of a desire to interest and conciliate Gentile readers. It is true that the epilogue, the *De Praemiis*, seems to be addressed mainly to the Jews, but if we expand "primarily for Gentiles" by the addition "and also for Jews though not of the type which delighted in the tortuous meditations of the Commentary," it will probably satisfy the facts. It is quite in accordance with Philo's perpetually shifting mentality that he should have at one moment the first, at another the second class of readers in view.

The impression which the Exposition leaves is by no means uniform. We may naturally be revolted by the ferocity with which he supports the severer

<sup>a</sup> I agree with Goodenough (*Harvard Theological Review*, Apr. 1933, pp. 110 ff.) against Massebieau that such phrases as "Our Nation" (*De Dec.* 1) have no bearing on the question.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

sentences of the Pentateuch and sometimes goes beyond it. On the other hand we may well admire the fine liberal spirit shown in the emphasis which he lays on the humaner side of the code and in his constant plea for kindness to the poor, the helpless and the stranger. And the spirituality with which he interprets the baldness of the Levitical ritual, fanciful though it be, does something to illuminate what is the least readable and the least read part of the Old Testament.

### NOTE ON THE TEXT

While the ms. authority for *De Dec.* and *Sp. Leg.* iii. is fairly plentiful, something has to be said about the other two treatises in this volume. The somewhat meagre evidence for the text of *Sp. Leg.* i. has received in recent years an important addition by the discovery of a palimpsest which Cohn calls R.<sup>a</sup> The Philo text of this is said to date probably from the 9th century. At a later time there were written across it some commentaries on Aristotle, which sometimes make the original hand hard to read ; so

<sup>a</sup> R as we have it contains also *De Vita Mosis* ii. from § 71-end and the whole of *De Dec.* But as it only came to Cohn's knowledge between the publication in 1902 of his vol. iv (which includes these two treatises), and the publication of vol. v in 1906, while it is regularly cited in the App. Crit. to *Sp. Leg.* i. and ii., it is not so with the App. of the two earlier treatises. In his account of the manuscript in *Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften*, 1905, pp. 36 ff. he cites some of its readings in *De Dec.* with approval, most of which I have mentioned in my textual notes, but considers it to be of much less value in that treatise, and still more in *De Vit. Mos.*, than in *Sp. Leg.* Some words, however, suggest that he did not give it the same careful scrutiny in the books which he had already edited as in those which he had still to publish.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

that "R, ut videtur" occasionally appears in Cohn's App. Crit. He regards it as of special value, though unfortunately it comes to an end at ii. 95.<sup>a</sup>

The state of the text in Book II is a more complicated matter, and though some of the information here given will be found in the notes, it may be well to supply it more fully here.

The *Éditio Princeps* of Philo contained merely the part dealing with the Third Commandment (§§ 1-38). The Fourth Commandment down to § 214 was added by Hoeschel in 1614. But Hoeschel had mss. of Philo to hand only for the first part of this, namely down to the end of § 123. From this point he relied on mss. of Nicetas Serranus, Archbishop of Heraclea,<sup>b</sup> which in the absence of any codex of Philo himself he believed to be the genuine text. These, however, did not include the sections on the law of inheritance (§§ 124-139), nor the conclusion of the Fourth Commandment (the Basket Rite) (§§ 215-223), while the Fifth Commandment section and the concluding remarks were absent altogether.<sup>c</sup>

In the parts which they cover the excerpts supply a considerably abridged<sup>d</sup> version, with a certain

<sup>a</sup> It should also be noted that §§ 177-193 of *Sp. Leg.* i. were absent from the mss. to which Mangey had access. The result is that in the marginal references in this edition to Mangey's paging p. 240 is not followed by p. 241 till after nine pages of my text instead of after the normal two.

<sup>b</sup> I have no information as to his date. I must apologize for having called him Nicetes in Vol. iii. p. 511 and elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup> Nicetas's excerpts are part of a commentary on St. Luke, this particular set being quoted on ch. xxi. 1 "Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh which is called the Passover."

<sup>d</sup> The extent of the abridging may be easily seen from the marginal references to Mangey's pages. A rough calculation will shew that something like half the full text has been omitted in §§ 140-214.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

amount of variation. Hoeschel's text was adopted by Mangey and continued to be accepted till 1818, when another manuscript (called M) came to light, containing the full text of the whole book.<sup>a</sup> The total result is that for more than half of the book we have either M alone or at the best M with Nicetas's abridgement.<sup>b</sup>

A few words must be added on the tiresome subject of the traditional divisions, especially in Book I. Here the ms. Headings at different points translated as *De Circumcisione*, *De Monarchia*, etc., are sensible enough, if regarded as indicating the main divisions of the book. But if taken as introducing separate treatises, as they are in Mangey's edition and Yonge's translation, they are misleading in that they disguise the fact that the whole book<sup>c</sup> is a systematic dissertation on the laws which fall under the two first commandments. Unfortunately they are too often used for reference in fairly recent works to be completely ignored.

In Book II the separation of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Commandments is justifiable. But the divisions of the Fourth, as they appear in the mss., are quite unnecessary. They are disregarded in Cohn's head-

<sup>a</sup> According to Cohn a complete edition of the book from the mss. was first published by Tischendorf in 1868. Yonge, however, translated "the Basket" and "Honouring parents" in 1855 from what he calls "Schwichest's edition."

<sup>b</sup> M is called a corrupt manuscript by Cohn. But judging from the emendations recorded its text is far purer than that of *De Post.* and *De Som.* ii., where also we have to rely on a single codex.

<sup>c</sup> With the exception of the first 11 sections on circumcision which Philo does not claim to come under a particular commandment.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

ings of the pages and partially <sup>a</sup> in his numeration of chapters.

In Book III the headings and divisions need not trouble us, though I have indicated them in the textual notes. They are really quite useless, being introduced at haphazard and rarely applying to more than a few sections of the matter they might be expected to cover. Fortunately Mangey ignores them in the heading of his pages and Cohn also, as well as in his numeration of chapters, though both insert them in the body of the text. It surely cannot be supposed that they, or indeed any of these headings, are due to Philo himself.

<sup>a</sup> See below

### COHN'S NUMERATION OF CHAPTERS—The Special Laws I.

The point at which each fresh numeration begins is indicated in the notes, but to facilitate reference a summary is here appended.

COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
De Circumcisione . . . . . I.-II.	I.-II.
De Monarchia . . . . . I.-IX.	III.-XI.
De Templo and De Sacerdotibus . . . . . I.-XV. (In Mangey called De Monarchia II.)	XII.-XXVI.
De Sacerdotum honoribus . . . . . I.-VI.	XXVII.-XXXII.
De Victimis . . . . . I.-XV.	XXXIII.-XLVII.
De Sacrificantibus. . . . . I.-XVI.	XLVIII.-LXIII.

### NUMERATION OF CHAPTERS—The Special Laws II.

COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
The Third Commandment (No special heading) . . . . . I.-IX.	I.-IX.
De Septenario . . . . . I.-XXIV.	X.-XXXIII.
The Basket Rite . . . . . I.-IV. (No special heading)	XXXIV.-XXXVII.
De parentibus colendis . . . . . I.-XI	XXXVIII.-XLVIII.



# LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

## SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (*De Opificio Mundi*)  
Allegorical Interpretation (*Legum Allegoria*)
- II. On the Cherubim (*De Cherubim*)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (*De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini*)  
The Worse attacks the Better (*Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet*)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (*De Posteritate  
Caini*)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (*Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit*)  
On Husbandry (*De Agricultura*)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (*De Plantatione*)  
On Drunkenness (*De Ebrietate*)  
On Sobriety (*De Sobrietate*)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (*De Confusione Lin-  
guarum*)  
On the Migration of Abraham (*De Migratione  
Abrahami*)  
Who is the Heir (*Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres*)  
On the Preliminary Studies (*De Congressu quaerendae  
Eruditionis gratia*)
- V. On Flight and Finding (*De Fuga et Inventione*)  
On the Change of Names (*De Mutatione Nominum*)  
On Dreams (*De Somniis*)
- VI. On Abraham (*De Abrahamo*)  
On Joseph (*De Iosepho*)  
Moses (*De Vita Mosis*)

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)  
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
- VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)  
On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)  
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)  
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)  
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)  
Flaccus (In Flaccum)  
Hypothetica<sup>1</sup> (Apologia pro Iudaeis)  
On Providence<sup>1</sup> (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)  
GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

**THE DECALOGUE**  
**(DE DECALOGO)**



## INTRODUCTION TO *DE DECALOGO*

The first part of this treatise deals with some questions raised by the law-giving on Sinai. First, why was it given in the desert? Four reasons are suggested: (a) because of the vanity and idolatry rampant in cities (2-9), (b) because solitude promotes repentance (10-13), (c) because it was well that laws needed for civic life should begin before the era of that life began (14), (d) that the divine origin of the laws should be attested by the miraculous supply of food in the barren wilderness (15-17). Secondly, observing that the Commandments given by God Himself were ten, we ask why that number, and the answer is given by a disquisition on its perfection as a number (18-31). Thirdly, what was the nature of the voice which announced the commandments?—not God's, for He is not a man, but an invisible kind of speech created for the occasion (32-35). Fourthly, why was the singular number "thou" used? (a) Because it emphasizes the value of the individual soul (36-38), (b) the personal appeal better secures obedience (39), (c) it is a lesson to the great not to despise the humblest (40-44). This part concludes with some words on the grandeur of the scene, particularly the fire from which the voice issued (45-49).

Coming to the Commandments themselves, after noting that they divide into two sets of five (50-51),

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we pass to the First. Polytheism is denounced, particularly as taking the form of worship given to the elements or heavenly bodies (52-65). Worse than this is the worship of lifeless images forbidden by the Second Commandment. Its absurdity is exposed (66-76) and with it the worse absurdity of Egyptian animal-worship (77-81). The Third Commandment is taken as forbidding principally perjury (82-91), but also reckless swearing (92-95). The Fourth teaches us to set apart a time for philosophy as opposed to practical life (96-101), and reasons are given for the sanctity of seven and the seventh day in particular (102-105). The Fifth stands on the border-line, because parenthood assimilates man to God and to dishonour parents is to dishonour God (106-111). Children owe all to their parents, and in the duty of repaying kindness they may take a lesson from the lower animals (112-120).

The second set of five opens with the prohibition of Adultery (121). Adultery is denounced as (a) voluptuous (122), (b) involving the sin of another (123-124), (c) destructive of family ties (125-127), (d) cruel to the children (128-131). The second of the set forbids murder as both unnatural and sacrilegious, since man is the most sacred of God's possessions (132-134). Stealing is forbidden by the third, because theft on the smallest scale may develop into wholesale robbery and usurpation (135-137). The fourth forbids false witness, as opposed in itself to truth and justice, and also in law-courts causing judges to give wrong verdicts and thus break their own oaths (138-141). The last Commandment against "desire" gives Philo an opportunity of discoursing in Stoical terms on the

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four passions, pleasure, grief, fear, desire, of which the last is the deadliest (142-153).

Sections 154-175 are really a rough synopsis of Books II., III., and IV. 1-131, shewing the nature of the particular laws which will be placed under each commandment. And the concluding sections 176-178 justify the absence of any penalties attached to the commandments on the grounds that God who is the cause of good leaves the punishment for transgression to his subordinates.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΛΟΓΩΝ  
ΟΙ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ

- [180] I. Τοὺς βίους τῶν κατὰ Μωυσέα σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν,  
<sup>1</sup> οὓς ἀρχηγέτας τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους καὶ νόμους ἀγράφους αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι δηλοῦσιν, ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συντάξεσι μεμνηκῶς κατὰ τὰ ἀκόλουθα ἐξῆς τῶν ἀναγραφέντων νόμων τὰς ἰδέας ἀκριβῶσω μηδ', εἴ τις ὑποφαίνοιτο τρόπος ἀλληγορίας, τοῦτον παρὲς ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς διάνοιαν φιλομαθοῦς ἐπιστήμης, ἧ πρό τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἔθος τὰ ἀφανῆ ζητεῖν.  
2 Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀποροῦντας, τί δὴ ποτε οὐκ ἐν πόλεσιν ἀλλ' ἐν ἐρήμῳ βαθεῖα τοὺς νόμους ἐτίθει, λεκτέον πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων  
[181] ἀμυθῆτων κακῶν εἰσι | μεσταί, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνοσιουργημάτων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
3 ἀδικημάτων. οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὃ μὴ κεκιβδήλευται, τὰ γνήσια τῶν νόθων παρενημερούντων καὶ τάληθῆ τῶν εἰκότων, ἃ φύσει μὲν κατέψευσται, πιθανὰς  
4 δ' ὑποβάλλει φαντασίας πρὸς ἀπάτην. ἐν πόλεσιν οὖν καὶ ὁ πάντων ἐπιβουλότατος φύεται τῦφος, ὃν τινες τεθήπασι καὶ προσκυνοῦσι τὰς κενὰς δόξας σεμνοποιοῦντες διὰ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ ἀλουρ-

<sup>a</sup> See General Introduction to Vol. VI. pp. ix. f.

<sup>b</sup> See General Introduction to this volume, p. xiii.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "On account of studious knowledge tending to under-



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I. Having related in the preceding treatises the 1  
lives of those whom Moses judged to be men of  
wisdom, who are set before us in the Sacred Books  
as founders of our nation and in themselves unwritten  
laws,<sup>a</sup> I shall now proceed in due course to give full  
descriptions of the written laws. And if some alle-  
gorical interpretation should appear to underlie  
them, I shall not fail to state it.<sup>b</sup> For knowledge  
loves to learn and advance to full understanding <sup>c</sup> and  
its way is to seek the hidden meaning rather than  
the obvious.

To the question why he promulgated his laws in 2  
the depths of the desert instead of in cities we may  
answer in the first place that most cities are full of  
countless evils, both acts of impiety towards God  
and wrongdoing between man and man. For every- 3  
thing is debased, the genuine overpowered by the  
spurious, the true by the specious, which is intrinsi-  
cally false but creates impressions whose plausibility  
serves but to delude. So too in cities there arises 4  
that most insidious of foes, Pride,<sup>d</sup> admired and  
worshipped by some who add dignity to vain ideas <sup>e</sup>  
by means of gold crowns and purple robes and a  
standing." I cannot think that the text is right. For further  
discussion and attempts to emend it see App. p. 609.

<sup>a</sup> Or "vanity."

<sup>e</sup> Or "opinions."

## PHILO

γίδων καὶ πλήθους θεραπόντων καὶ ὄχημάτων,  
 ἐφ' ὧν οἱ λεγόμενοι μακάριοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες  
 μετέωροι φέρονται, τοτὲ μὲν ὄρεις ἢ ἵππους  
 καταξευγνύντες τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὰ  
 φορεῖα κατὰ τῶν αὐχένων ἀχθοφοροῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν  
 πρὸ τοῦ σώματος δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὑβρεως πιεζόμενοι.

5 Π. τῦφος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων κακῶν δημιουργός  
 ἐστίν, ἀλαζονείας, ὑπεροψίας, ἀνισότητος<sup>1</sup>. αἱ δ'  
 εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ ξενικῶν καὶ ἐμφυλίων πολέμων οὐδὲν  
 μέρος, οὐ κοινόν, οὐκ ἴδιον, οὐ κατὰ γῆν, οὐ κατὰ  
 6 θάλατταν, ἡσυχάζειν ἐῶσαι. τί δὲ δεῖ  
 τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμαρτημάτων μεμνησθαι;  
 τύφω γὰρ καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐξωλιγώρηται, καίτοι  
 νομιζόμενα τῆς ἀνωτάτω τυγχάνειν τιμῆς· τιμὴ  
 δὲ τίς ἂν γένοιτο, μὴ προσούσης ἀληθείας, ἢ καὶ  
 ὄνομα καὶ ἔργον ἔχει τίμιον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος  
 7 ἔμπαλιν ἄτιμον φύσει; ἢ δ' ὀλιγωρία τῶν θείων  
 ἐμφανῆς τοῖς ὀξυδερκέστερον ὀρώσι· μυρίας γὰρ  
 ὄσας διὰ γραφικῆς καὶ πλαστικῆς μορφώσαντες  
 ἰδέας ἱερὰ καὶ νεῶς αὐταῖς προσπεριεβάλλοντο καὶ  
 βωμοὺς κατασκευάσαντες ἀγάλμασι καὶ ξοάνοις  
 καὶ τοιουτοτρόποις ἀφιδρύμασι τιμὰς ἰσολυμπίους  
 8 καὶ ἰσοθέους ἀπένειμαν, ἅπασιν ἀψύχοις. οὕς  
 εὐθυβόλως αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαὶ τοῖς ἐκ πόρινης γεγο-  
 νόσιν ἀπεικάζουσιν· ὡς γὰρ οὗτοι πάντας, ὅσους  
 ἔραστὰς ἔσχεν ἢ μήτηρ, ἐπιγράφονται πατέρας  
 ἐνὸς ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ φύσει, οὕτω καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόλεις  
 οὐκ εἰδότες τὸν ὄντα ὄντως ἀληθῆ θεὸν μυρία  
 9 πλήθη ψευδωνύμων ἐκτεθειώκασιν. εἰτ' ἄλλων  
 παρ' ἄλλοις τιμωμένων, ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου κρα-

## THE DECALOGUE, 4-9

great establishment of servants and cars, on which these so-called blissful and happy people ride aloft, drawn sometimes by mules and horses, sometimes by men, who bear the heavy burden on their shoulders, yet suffer in soul rather than in body under the weight of extravagant arrogance. II. Pride is also the creator of many other evils, 5 boastfulness, haughtiness, inequality, and these are the sources of wars, both civil and foreign, suffering no place to remain in peace whether public or private, whether on sea or on land. Yet why 6 dwell on offences between man and man? Pride also brings divine things into utter contempt, even though they are supposed to receive the highest honours. But what honour can there be if truth be not there as well, truth honourable both in name and function, just as falsehood is naturally dishonourable? This 7 contempt for things divine is manifest to those of keener vision. For men have employed sculpture and painting to fashion innumerable forms which they have enclosed in shrines and temples and after building altars have assigned celestial and divine honours to idols of stone and wood and suchlike images, all of them lifeless things. Such persons are happily 8 compared in the sacred Scriptures to the children of a harlot <sup>a</sup>; for as they in their ignorance of their one natural father ascribe their paternity to all their mother's lovers, so too throughout the cities those who do not know the true, the really existent God have deified hosts of others who are falsely so called. Then as some honour one, some another god, diver- 9

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Spec. Leg.* i. 332.

<sup>1</sup> So R; other MSS. ἀνοσιότητος.

## PHILO

τήσασα διχόνοια καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διαφορὰς ἐγέννησεν. εἰς ἃ πρῶτον ἀπιδὼν ἕξω πόλεων<sup>1</sup> ἐβουλήθη νομοθετεῖν.

- 10 Ἐνενόει δὲ κάκεινο δεύτερον, ὅτι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἱεροῦς νόμους παραδέχεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἀπορρῦσθαι καὶ ἐκκαθήρασθαι τὰς | δυσ-
- [182] εκπλύτους κηλίδας, ἃς μιγᾶδων καὶ συγκλύδων ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων κατὰ πόλεις προσετρίψατο. τοῦτο
- 11 δὲ ἀμήχανον ἑτέρως ἢ διοικισθέντι συμβῆναι, καὶ οὐκ εὐθύς ἀλλὰ μακρῶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἕως ἂν οἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων παρανομημάτων ἐνσφραγισθέντες τύποι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀμαυρούμενοι καὶ ἀπορρέοντες
- 12 ἀφανισθῶσι. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἀγαθοὶ σώζουσι τοὺς κάμνοντας· οὐ γὰρ πρότερον σιτία καὶ ποτὰ παρέχειν ἀξιούσι, πρὶν ἢ τὰ τῶν νόσων αἷτια ὑπεξελέσθαι· μενόντων γὰρ ἀνωφελεῖς αἱ τροφαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζήμιοι, ὕλαι γινόμεναι τοῦ
- 13 πάθους. III. εἰκότως οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις βλαβερωτάτων συνηθειῶν εἰς ἐρήμην ἀπαγαγόν, ἵνα κενώσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀδικημάτων, ἤρξατο προσφέρειν ταῖς διανοίαις τροφάς· αὐταὶ δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ὅτι μὴ νόμοι καὶ λόγοι θεῖοι;
- 14 Τρίτη δὲ ἐστὶν αἰτία ἣδε· καθάπερ οἱ στελλόμενοι μακρὸν πλοῦν, οὐχ ὅταν ἐπιβάντες τῆς νεῶς ἀπὸ λιμένος ἐξαναχθῶσιν, ἄρχονται κατασκευάζειν ἰστία καὶ πηδάλια καὶ οἰάκας, ἀλλ' ἔτι μένοντες ἐπὶ γῆς ἕκαστα τῶν συντεινόντων πρὸς πλοῦν εὐτρεπίζονται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἠξίωσεν οὐ λαβόντας κληρουχίας καὶ τὰς πόλεις οἰκήσαντας τότε ζητεῖν νόμους, οἷς πολιτεύσονται, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμασαμένους τοὺς τῆς πολιτείας κανόνας καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πόλεως.

## THE DECALOGUE, 9-14

sity of opinion as to which was best waxed strong and engendered disputes in every other matter also. This was the primary consideration which made him prefer to legislate away from cities.

He had also a second object in mind. He who is about 10 to receive the holy laws must first cleanse his soul and purge away the deep-set stains which it has contracted through contact with the motley promiscuous horde of men in cities. And to this he cannot attain 11 except by dwelling apart, nor that at once, but only long afterwards, and not till the marks which his old transgressions have imprinted on him have gradually grown faint, melted away and disappeared. In this 12 way too good physicians preserve their sick folk : they think it unadvisable to give them food or drink until they have removed the causes of their maladies. While these still remain, nourishment is useless, indeed harmful, and acts as fuel to the distemper. III. Naturally therefore he first led them away from 13 the highly mischievous associations of cities into the desert, to clear the sins out of their souls, and then began to set the nourishment before their minds—and what should this nourishment be but laws and words of God ?

He had a third reason as follows : just as men 14 when setting out on a long voyage do not begin to provide sails and rudders and tillers when they have embarked and left the harbour, but equip themselves with enough of the gear needed for the voyage while they are still staying on shore, so Moses did not think it good that they should just take their portions and settle in cities and then go in quest of laws to regulate their civic life, but rather should first provide themselves with the rules for that life and gain practice

## PHILO

ἐνασκηθέντας οἷς ἔμελλον οἱ δῆμοι κυβερνασθαι σωτηρίως τηρικαῦτα εἰσοικίζεσθαι, χρησομένους εὐθύς ταῖς τῶν δικαίων παρασκευαῖς ἐν ὁμοιοῖα καὶ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ διανομῇ τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἐκάστοις.

- 15 IV. Φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ τετάρτην αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπωδὸν ἀλλ' ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδει πίστιν ἐγγενέσθαι ταῖς διανοαῖς περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐρήματα ἀνθρώπου τοὺς νόμους ἀλλὰ θεοῦ χρησμούς σαφεστάτους εἶναι, πορρωτάτω τῶν πόλεων ἀπήγαγε τὸ ἔθνος εἰς ἐρήμην βαθείαν καὶ ἄγονον οὐ μόνον ἡμέρων καρπῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτίμου
- 16 ὕδατος, ἢν', εἰ ἐν σπάνει γενόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ δίψει καὶ λιμῶ διαφθαρῆναι προσδοκήσαντες ἕξαπιναίως ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπαυτοματι-  
σθέντων ἀνευρίσκωσιν, οὐρανοῦ μὲν ὕοντος τροφὰς τὸ καλούμενον μάννα, προσόψημα δὲ τροφῶν ἀπ'<sup>1</sup> ἀέρος ὀρτυγομήτρας φοράν, ὕδατος δὲ πικροῦ γλυκαινομένου πρὸς τὸ πότιμον, πέτρας δὲ ἀκροτόμου πηγὰς ἀνομβρούσης, μηκέτι θαυμάζωσιν,
- [183] εἰ λόγια θεοῦ συμβέβηκεν | εἶναι τοὺς νόμους, ἐναργεστάτην βάσανον εἰληφότες ἐκ τῶν χορηγιῶν,
- 17 ἃς ἐξ ἀπόρων ἔσχον οὐκ ἐλπίσαντες. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀφθονίαν δούς καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἀφορμὰς ἐδωρεῖτο· πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ζῆν σιτίων ἔδει καὶ ποτῶν, ἅπερ ἀνεύρισκον οὐχ ἔτοιμασάμενοι,

<sup>1</sup> So mss. and Cohn. But I should prefer with Mangey to omit ἀπ'. I do not know of any case in which οὐρανός includes the lower air, as the text implies, while on the other hand the index gives thirteen examples where heaven, air, water, earth are named as the four parts of the universe. See *Spec. Leg.* iii. 111, and *cf. ibid.* 152. With ἀπ' omitted each of the four makes its contribution, earth being given by πέτρας.

## THE DECALOGUE, 14-17

in all that would surely enable the communities to steer their course in safety, and then settle down to follow from the first the principles of justice lying ready for their use, in harmony and fellowship of spirit and rendering to every man his due.

IV. Some too give a fourth reason which is not out of keeping with the truth but agrees very closely with it. As it was necessary to establish a belief in their minds that the laws were not the inventions of a man but quite clearly the oracles of God, he led the nation a great distance away from cities into the depths of a desert, barren not only of cultivated fruits but also of water fit for drinking, in order that, if after lacking the necessaries of life and expecting to perish from hunger and thirst they suddenly found abundance of sustenance self-produced—when heaven rained the food called manna and the shower of quails from the air to add relish to their food—when the bitter water grew sweet and fit for drinking and springs gushed out of the steep<sup>a</sup> rock—they should no longer wonder whether the laws were actually the pronouncements of God, since they had been given the clearest evidence of the truth in the supplies which they had so unexpectedly received in their destitution. For He who gave abundance of the means of life also bestowed the wherewithal of a good life ; for mere life they needed food and drink which they found without making provision ; for the good life

<sup>a</sup> Or "hard," "flinty." Here, as in *Mos.* i. 210-211, Philo does not stress the connexion of the word (taken from *Deut.* viii. 15), with ἀκρός as he does elsewhere. See note on *Mos.* i. 210. The events alluded to are found in *Ex.* xv. and xvi.

## PHILO

πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὖ ζῆν νόμων καὶ διαταγμάτων, οἷς βελτιοῦσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἔμελλον.

- 18 V. Αἰδ' εἰσὶν ἐν στοχασμοῖς εἰκόσιν αἰτίαι λεγόμεναι περὶ τοῦ διαπορηθέντος· τὰς γὰρ ἀληθεῖς οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς μόνος. εἰπὼν δ' ἄπερ ἤρμωτε περὶ τούτων ἐξῆς αὐτοὺς ἀκριβώσω τοὺς νόμους, ἐκεῖνο κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον προμηνύσας, ὅτι τῶν νόμων οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς οὐ προσχρησάμενος ἄλλῳ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου θεσπίζειν ἠξίωσεν, οὓς δὲ διὰ προφήτου Μωυσέως, ὃν ἀριστίνδην ἐκ πάντων ὡς ἐπι-
- 19 τηδειότατον ἱεροφάντην ἐπελέξατο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν αὐτοπροσώπως θεσπισθέντας δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου συμβέβηκε καὶ νόμους εἶναι καὶ νόμων τῶν ἐν μέρει κεφάλαια, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦ προ-
- 20 φήτου πάντας ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀναφέρεσθαι. VI. λέξω δ', ὡς ἂν οἶός τε ᾧ, περὶ ἐκατέρων καὶ πρότερόν γε τῶν κεφαλαιωδεστέρων· ᾧν εὐθέως ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν δεκάδι τῇ παντελείᾳ περατουμένων, ἣ πάσας μὲν ἀριθμῶν διαφορὰς ἀρτίων καὶ περιττῶν καὶ ἀρτιοπερίττων, ἀρτίων μὲν δυοῖν, περιττῶν δὲ τριῶν, ἀρτιοπερίττων δὲ ἕξ,<sup>1</sup> πάσας δὲ λόγων τῶν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς πολυπλασιῶν καὶ ἐπιμερῶν καὶ ὑποεπιμερῶν περιέχει,
- 21 πάσας δ' ἀναλογίας, τὴν τε ἀριθμητικὴν, ἣ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πέντε and so Cohn by an oversight afterwards corrected in a note to Treitel's translation. This must be a mistake of the scribe. Philo could not possibly have made it; cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 58, and the more elaborate explanation of the even-odds in *De Op.* 13.



## THE DECALOGUE, 17-21

they needed laws and ordinances which would bring improvement to their souls.

V. These are the reasons suggested to answer the 18 question under discussion: they are but probable surmises; the true reasons are known to God alone. Having said what was fitting on this subject, I will proceed to describe the laws themselves in order, with this necessary statement by way of introduction, that some of them God judged fit to deliver in His own person alone without employing any other, and some through His prophet Moses whom He chose as of all men the best suited to be the revealer of verities.

Now we find that those which 19 He gave in His own person and by His own mouth alone include both laws and heads summarizing the particular laws, but those in which He spoke through the prophet all belong to the former class. VI. I will 20 deal with both to the best of my ability, taking those which are rather of the nature of summaries first.

Here our admiration is at once aroused by their number, which is neither more nor less than is the supremely perfect,<sup>a</sup> Ten. Ten contains all different kinds of numbers,<sup>b</sup> even as 2, odd as 3, and even-odd as 6, and all ratios, whether of a number to its multiples or fractional, when a number is either increased or diminished by some part of itself.<sup>c</sup> So too it contains all the analogies or progressions, the 21 arithmetical where each term in the series is greater

<sup>a</sup> For the Pythagorean origin of the term *πεντέκων* as applied to ten see note on *De Abr.* 244.

<sup>b</sup> This does not seem to mean more than that all the properties and mysteries of numbers must necessarily fall within the decimal system, for "round ten as a turning-point the unlimited series of numbers wheel and retrace their steps," *De Op.* 47.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* improper or proper fractions.

## PHILO

ἰσαριθμῶ ὑπερέχει καὶ ὑπερέχεται, οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἕν  
 καὶ δύο καὶ τρία, καὶ τὴν γεωμετρικὴν, καθ' ἣν  
 οἶος ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ δευτέρου, τοιοῦ-  
 τος καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον τοῦ τρίτου, ὡς ἔχει  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἕν καὶ δύο καὶ τέσσαρα, ἕν τε διπλασίους  
 καὶ τριπλασίους καὶ συνόλως πολυπλασίους καὶ  
 πάλιν ἕν ἡμιολίους καὶ ἐπιτρίτους καὶ τοῖς παρα-  
 πλησίους, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἀρμονικὴν, καθ' ἣν  
 ὁ μέσος τῶν ἄκρων τῷ ἴσῳ μορίῳ ὑπερέχει τε καὶ  
 ὑπερέχεται, ὡς ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ τετάρτου  
 22 καὶ ἕκτου. περιέχει δὲ ἡ δεκάς καὶ τὰς  
 τῶν τριγώνων καὶ τετραγώνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 πολυγώνων ἐμφαινομένας ἰδιότητας καὶ τὰς τῶν  
 συμφωνιῶν, τὴν τε διὰ τεσσάρων ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ  
 [184] λόγῳ, τῷ τέσσαρα | πρὸς τρία, καὶ τὴν διὰ πέντε ἐν  
 ἡμιολίῳ, τῷ τρία πρὸς δύο, καὶ τὴν διὰ πασῶν ἐν  
 διπλασίῳ, τῷ δύο πρὸς ἕν, καὶ τὴν δις διὰ πασῶν  
 23 ἐν τετραπλασίῳ, τῷ ὀκτὼ πρὸς δύο. παρὸ μοι  
 δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασι  
 θέμενοι—σοφοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν—εἰκότως αὐτὴν προσ-  
 αγορεῦσαι δεκάδα, ὡσανεὶ δεκάδα οὔσαν, παρὰ τὸ  
 δέχεσθαι καὶ κεχωρηκέσαι τὰ γένη πάντα τῶν  
 ἀριθμῶν καὶ λόγων τῶν κατ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἀνα-  
 λογιῶν ἀρμονιῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ συμφωνιῶν.

24 VII. τὴν μέντοι δεκάδα πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ  
 διὰ ταῦτα εἰκότως ἂν τις θαυμάσειε περιέχουσιν  
 τὴν τε ἀδιάστατον φύσιν καὶ τὴν διαστηματικὴν·  
 ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀδιάστατος τάττεται κατὰ σημεῖον  
 μόνον, ἡ δὲ διαστηματικὴ κατὰ τρεῖς ἰδέας γραμμῆς  
 25 καὶ ἐπιφανείας καὶ στερεοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυσὶ  
 σημείοις περατούμενόν ἐστι γραμμῆ, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ  
 δύο διαστατὸν ἐπιφάνεια, ῥυείσης ἐπὶ πλάτος

## THE DECALOGUE, 21-25

than the one below and less than the one above by the same amount,<sup>a</sup> as for example 1 2 3; the geometrical where the ratio of the second to the first term is the same as that of the third to the second, as with 1 2 4, and this is seen whether the ratio is double or treble or any multiple, or again fractional as 3 to 2, 4 to 3, and the like; once more the harmonic in which the middle term exceeds and is exceeded by the extremes on either side by the same fraction, as is the case with 3, 4, 6.<sup>b</sup> Ten 22

also contains the properties observed in triangles, quadrilaterals and other polygons, and also those of the concords, the fourth, fifth, octave and double octave intervals, where the ratios are respectively  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , *i.e.* 4 : 3,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , *i.e.* 3 : 2, doubled, *i.e.* 2 : 1, fourfold, *i.e.* 8 : 2. Consequently it seems to me that those 23

who first gave names to things did reasonably, wise men that they were, in giving it the name of decad, as being the dechad, or receiver, because it receives and has made room for every kind of number and numerical ratio and progressions and also concords and harmonies. VII. But indeed apart 24

from what has been said, the decad may reasonably be admired because it embraces Nature as seen both with and without extension in space. Nature exists without extension nowhere except in the point; with extension in three forms, line, surface, solid. For space as limited by two points is a line, but, 25

where there are two dimensions, we have a surface,

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "which exceeds and is exceeded by the same number." See App. p. 609.

<sup>b</sup> See the more detailed explanation in *De Op.* 109, where the example given is that 6, 8, 12 are in harmonic progression because 8 exceeds 6 by  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 6, and is exceeded by 12 by  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 12. Here as often the ordinal is used for the cardinal.

## PHILO

γραμμῆς, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τρία στερεόν, μήκους καὶ  
 πλάτους βάθος προσλαβόντων, ἐφ' ὧν ἴσταται ἡ  
 φύσις· πλείους γὰρ τριῶν διαστάσεις οὐκ ἐγέννησεν.  
 26 ἀρχέτυποι δὲ τούτων ἀριθμοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀδιαστάτου  
 σημείου τὸ ἓν, τῆς δὲ γραμμῆς τὰ δύο, καὶ ἐπι-  
 φανείας μὲν τρία, στερεοῦ δὲ τέσσαρα, ὧν ἡ  
 σύνθεσις ἑνὸς καὶ δυοῖν καὶ τριῶν καὶ τεσσάρων  
 ἀποτελεῖ δεκάδα παραφαίνουσαν τοῖς ὄρατικοῖς  
 27 καὶ ἕτερα κάλλη· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἡ ἀπειρία τῶν  
 ἀριθμῶν ταύτῃ μετρεῖται, διότι οἱ συστήσαντες  
 αὐτὴν ὄροι τέσσαρές εἰσιν, ἓν καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ  
 τέτταρα, οἱ δ' ἴσοι ὄροι ἑκατοντάδα γεννώσιν ἐκ  
 δεκάδων—δέκα γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ  
 τεσσαράκοντα γίνονται ἑκατόν—, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
 χιλιάδα ἐξ ἑκατοντάδων καὶ μυριάδα ἐκ χιλιάδων,  
 μονὰς δὲ καὶ δεκάς καὶ ἑκατοντάς καὶ χιλιάς  
 28 τέσσαρες ὄροι οἱ δεκάδα γεννῶντες· ἦτις δίχα τῶν  
 πρόσθεν εἰρημένων καὶ ἐτέρας ἀριθμῶν ἐμφαίνει  
 διαφοράς, τὸν τε πρῶτον κόσμον, ὃς μονάδι μόνῃ  
 μετρεῖται, οὗ παράδειγμα ὁ τρεῖς, ὁ πέντε, ὁ ἑπτὰ,  
 καὶ τὸν τετράγωνον, τὸν τέσσαρα, τὸν ἰσάκις ἴσον,  
 καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸν κύβον, τὸν ὀκτώ, ὃς ἐστὶν ἰσάκις  
 ἴσος ἰσάκις, καὶ τὸν τέλειον, τὸν ἕξ, ἰσούμενον τοῖς  
 [185] 29 ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι, τρισὶ καὶ δυσὶ καὶ ἐνί. VIII. | τί  
 δὲ δεῖ καταλέγεσθαι τὰς δεκάδος ἀρετὰς ἀπίρους  
 τὸ πλῆθος, πάρεργον ποιουμένους ἔργον μέγιστον,  
 ὃ καθ' αὐτὸ συμβέβηκεν αὐταρκεστάτην εἶναι  
 ὑπόθεσιν τοῖς περὶ τὰ μαθήματα διατρίβουσι;

<sup>a</sup> This seems to be the meaning, though both ὄροι and γεννάω  
 are used in a different sense from what they have in the earlier  
 part of the sentence, where the ὄροι generate by addition to each

## THE DECALOGUE, 25-29

as the line has expanded into breadth ; where there are three, we have a solid, as length and breadth have acquired depth, and here Nature comes to a halt, for she has not produced more than three dimensions. All these have numbers for their archetypes, 26  
1 for the non-extended point, 2 for the line, 3 for the surface, 4 for the solid, and these one, two, three, four added together make the ten which gives a glimpse of other beauties also to those who have eyes to see. For we may say that the infinite series 27  
of numbers is measured by ten, because its constituent terms are the four, 1, 2, 3, 4, and the same terms produce the hundred out of the tens, since 10, 20, 30, 40 make a hundred, and similarly the thousand is produced out of the hundreds and the ten thousand or myriad out of the thousands, and these, the unit, the ten, the hundred and the thousand are the four starting-points from each of which springs a ten.<sup>a</sup> And again, this same ten, apart from what has already 28  
been said, reveals other differences in numbers ; the order of prime numbers divisible by the unit alone having for its pattern three, five, seven : the square, that is four, the cube, eight, the products respectively of two and three equal numbers, and the perfect number six equal to the sum <sup>b</sup> of its factors 3, 2 and 1. VIII. But why enumerate the 29  
virtues of Ten, which are infinite in number, and thus treat perfunctorily a task of supreme greatness which by itself is found to be an all-sufficing subject for other. Presumably the *μυριάς* is not named as a new starting-point, because Greek has no special term for ten myriads or beyond.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "both the product and sum," *cf. De Op.* 13. But the essence of "perfection" lies in the sum, as exemplified by 28, *cf. Mos.* ii. 84 and note.

## PHILO

- τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας ὑπερθετέον, μιᾶς  
 δ' οὐκ ἄτοπον ἴσως ἐπιμνησθῆναι δείγματος ἔνεκα.
- 30 τὰς γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει λεγομένας κατηγορίας δέκα  
 μόνας εἶναί φασιν οἱ ἐνδιατριβόντες τοῖς τῆς  
 φιλοσοφίας δόγμασιν· οὐσίαν, ποιόν, ποσόν, πρὸς  
 τι, ποιεῖν, πάσχειν, ἔχειν, κείσθαι, τὰ ὧν οὐκ
- 31 ἄνευ <πάντα>, χρόνον καὶ τόπον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ  
 τούτων ἀμέτοχον· οἷον ἐγὼ μετέχω μὲν οὐσίας  
 δανεισάμενος ἀφ' ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν  
 ἀπετελέσθη ὄδε ὁ κόσμος, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ  
 ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν σύστασιν αὐτ-  
 ἀρκέστατα· μετέχω δὲ καὶ ποιότητος, καθ' ἣν  
 ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, καὶ ποσότητος, ἣ πηλίκος· γίνομαι  
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς τι, ὅταν μου πρὸς δεξιοῖς τις ἢ πρὸς  
 εὐωνύμοις ἦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιῶ, τρίβων τι ἢ κείρων,<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ πάσχω, κειρόμενος ἢ τριβόμενος ὑφ' ἑτέρων·  
 κὰν τῷ ἔχειν ἐξετάζομαι, ἢ περιβεβλημένος ἢ  
 ὠπλισμένος, κὰν τῷ κείσθαι, σχέδην<sup>2</sup> τι καθεζό-  
 μενος ἢ κατακεκλιμένος· εἰμὶ δὲ πάντως κὰν τόπῳ  
 καὶ χρόνῳ, τῶν προειρημένων οὐδενὸς δυναμένου  
 χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ὑφίστασθαι.
- 32 IX. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἀποχρώντως λελέχθω, συν-  
 υφαίνειν δ' ἀναγκαῖον τὰ ἀκόλουθα. τοὺς δέκα  
 λόγους ἢ χρησμούς, νόμους ἢ θεσμούς πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν ὄντας, ἀθροισθέντος τοῦ ἔθνους ἀνδρῶν  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν  
 ὄλων ἐθέσπισεν. ἀρά γε φωνῆς τρόπον προέμενος

<sup>1</sup> mss. καίων. Clearly it must correspond with the passive following. But Aristotle in *Categ.* has καίω and καίομαι as his examples.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey with most mss.: Cohn σχεδόν with M. Though the addition of τι may perhaps rather point to σχεδόν I do not see what it can mean here. σχεδὴν regarded as the

## THE DECALOGUE, 29-32

students of mathematics? But while we must leave unnoticed the rest, there is one which may without impropriety be mentioned as a sample. Those who study the doctrines of philosophy say <sup>30</sup> that the categories <sup>a</sup> in nature, as they are called, are ten only, substance, quality, quantity, relation, activity, passivity, state, position and the indispensable for all existence, time and place. There <sup>31</sup> is nothing which does not participate in these categories. I have substance, for I have borrowed what is all-sufficient to make me what I am from each of the elements out of which this world was framed, earth, water, air and fire. I have quality in so far as I am a man, and quantity as being of a certain size. I become relative when anyone is on my right hand or my left, I am active when I rub or shave <sup>b</sup> anything, or passive when I am rubbed or shaved. I am in a particular state when I wear clothing or arms and in a particular position when I sit quietly or am lying down, and I am necessarily both in place and time since none of the above conditions can exist without these two.

IX. These points have been sufficiently discussed <sup>32</sup> and may now be left. We must proceed to carry on the discussion to embrace what follows next. The ten words or oracles, in reality laws or statutes, were delivered by the Father of All when the nation, men and women alike, were assembled together. Did He do so by His own utterance in the form of a

<sup>a</sup> On the categories see App. pp. 609-610.

<sup>b</sup> Or "shear." *κείρω* seems to have been a favourite word for exemplifying the force of the three voices. See note on *De Cher.* 79.

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adverb of *σχέσις*, often used by Philo in contrast with *κίνησις* (see particularly *De Sobr.* 34), seems quite appropriate here.

## PHILO

- αὐτός; ἄπαγε, μηδ' εἰς νοῦν ποτ' ἔλθοι τὸν  
 ἡμέτερον· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός, στόματος  
 33 καὶ γλώττης καὶ ἀρτηριῶν δεόμενος. ἀλλὰ γέ μοι  
 δοκεῖ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἱεροπρεπέστατόν τι  
 θαυματοργῆσαι κελεύσας ἦχον ἀόρατον ἐν ἀέρι  
 δημιουργηθῆναι, πάντων ὀργάνων θαυμασιώτερον,  
 ἀρμονίαις τελείαις ἡρμοσμένον, οὐκ ἄψυχον ἀλλ'  
 οὐδ' ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς τρόπον ζώου συνεστη-  
 κότα,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ ψυχὴν λογικὴν ἀνάπλεων<sup>2</sup> σαφηνείας  
 καὶ τρανότητος, ἣ τὸν ἀέρα σχηματίσασα καὶ  
 ἐπιτείναςα καὶ πρὸς πῦρ φλογοειδὲς μεταβαλοῦσα  
 καθάπερ πνεῦμα διὰ σάλπιγγος φωνὴν τοσαύτην  
 [186] ἐναρθρον ἐξήχησεν, ὡς τοῖς ἔγγιστα τοὺς πορρω-  
 34 τάτω κατ' ἴσον ἀκροᾶσθαι δοκεῖν. ἀνθρώπων  
 μὲν γὰρ αἱ φωναὶ πρὸς μήκιστον ἀποτεινόμεναι  
 πεφύκασιν ἐξασθενεῖν, ὡς ἀριδῆλους τοῖς μακρὰν  
 ἀφεστηκόσι μὴ γίνεσθαι τὰς ἀντιλήψεις ταῖς  
 ἐπεκτάσεσιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀμαυρουμένας,  
 35 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ὄργανα φθαρτά· τὴν δὲ κεκαιουρ-  
 γημένην φωνὴν ἐπιπνέουσα θεοῦ δύναμις ἤγειρε  
 καὶ ἐξωπύρει καὶ ἀναχέουσα πάντη τὸ τέλος τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς ἀπέφαινε τηλαυγέστερον, ἀκοὴν ἐτέραν πολὺ  
 βελτίω τῆς δι' ὧτων ταῖς ἐκάστων ψυχαῖς ἐντιθεῖσα·  
 ἣ μὲν γὰρ βραδυτέρα πως οὖσα αἰσθησις ἀτρεμίζει,  
 μέχρις ἂν ὑπ' ἀέρος πληχθεῖσα διακινηθῆ, φθάνει  
 δ' ἣ τῆς ἐνθέου διανοίας ὀξυτάτῳ τάχει προ-  
 ὑπαντῶσα τοῖς λεγομένοις.
- 36 X. Φωνῆς μὲν δὴ τῆς θείας περὶ τοσαῦτα.  
 δεόντως δ' ἂν τις ἀπορήσαι, τοῦ χάριν, πλείστων

<sup>1</sup> mss. συνεστηκῶς or -ὸς or -ότα.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn prints ἀνάπλεω, which appears in one ms., but I cannot discover any authority for this form of the acc.



## THE DECALOGUE, 32-36

voice ? Surely not : may no such thought ever enter our minds, for God is not as a man needing mouth and tongue and windpipe. I should suppose that 33 God wrought on this occasion a miracle of a truly holy kind by bidding an invisible sound to be created in the air more marvellous than all instruments and fitted with perfect harmonies, not soulless, nor yet composed of body and soul like a living creature, but a rational soul full of clearness and distinctness, which giving shape and tension to the air and changing it to flaming fire, sounded forth like the breath through a trumpet an articulate voice so loud that it appeared to be equally audible to the farthest as well as the 34 nearest. For it is the nature of men's voices if carried to a great distance to grow faint so that persons afar off have but an indistinct impression which gradually fades away with each lengthening of the extension, since the organism which produces them also is subject to decay.<sup>a</sup> But the new miraculous voice 35 was set in action and kept in flame by the power of God which breathed upon it and spread it abroad on every side and made it more illuminating in its ending than in its beginning by creating in the souls of each and all another kind of hearing far superior to the hearing of the ears. For that is but a sluggish sense, inactive until aroused by the impact of the air, but the hearing of the mind possessed by God makes the first advance and goes out to meet the spoken words with the keenest rapidity.

X. So much for the divine voice. But we may 36 properly ask why, when all these many thousands were

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "just as musical instruments (and therefore the sounds which they make) are subject to decay."

## PHILO

- ὅσων μυριάδων εἰς ἓν ἠθροισμένων χωρίον, ἕκαστον θεσπίζειν τῶν δέκα λογίων ἠξίωσεν ὡς οὐχὶ πρὸς πλείους ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς ἓνα, “ οὐ μοιχεύσεις ” λέγων, “ οὐ φονεύσεις, ” “ οὐ κλέψεις ” καὶ τὰ
- 37 ἄλλα ταύτη. λεκτέον οὖν ἐν μέν, ὅτι βούλεται κάλλιστον ἀναδιδάξαι μάθημα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς, ὡς ἄρα καθ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἕκαστος, ὅταν ἦ νόμιμος καὶ θεῶ καταπειθής, ἰσότημός ἐστιν ὅλω ἔθνει πολυανθρωποτάτῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν, εἰ δὲ δεῖ περαιτέρω προελθόντα εἰπεῖν,
- 38 καὶ παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ. διόπερ ἐν ἑτέροις ἐπαινῶν τινα δίκαιον ἄνδρα φησίν· “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς σός ”· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ κόσμου θεός, ὡς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τὴν αὐτὴν τεταγμένους τάξιν καὶ ὁμοίως εὐαρεστοῦντας τῷ ταξιάρχῳ τῆς ἴσης ἀποδοχῆς καὶ τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν.
- 39 Δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι κοινῇ μὲν ὡς πλήθει τις ἐκκλησιάζων οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαλέγεται ἐνί, ὅτε δὲ προστάτων ἢ ἀπαγορευῶν ἰδία ὡς ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ, τῶν ἐμφερομένων εὐθύς ἂν δόξαι τὰ πρακτέα καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀθροῖς ὑφηγεῖσθαι· εὐπειθέστερος δὲ ὁ τὰς παραινέσεις αὐτοπροσώπως δεχόμενος, ὁ δὲ συλλήβδην μεθ' ἑτέρων κεκώφεται τὸν ὄχλον ἀφηγιασμοῦ παρακάλυμμα ποιούμενος.
- 40 Τρίτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ποτε βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἀφανοῦς ἰδιώτου καταφρονήσῃ γεμισθεὶς ἀλαζονείας

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xvii. 1 LXX; E.V. “ I am God Almighty.”

<sup>b</sup> I have punctuated and translated this sentence in the only way which seems to me possible, if the text is to stand, i.e. I have placed a comma after ἐκάστῳ instead of (as Cohn) after ἀπαγορευῶν, and understand ἐκκλησιάζει or διαλέγεται after ὅτε δὲ and take τῶν ἐμφερομένων as partitive after

## THE DECALOGUE, 36-40

collected in one spot, He thought good in proclaiming His ten oracles to address each not as to several persons but as to one, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, and so too with the rest. One answer which must 37 be given is that He wishes to teach the readers of the sacred scriptures a most excellent lesson, namely that each single person, when he is law-abiding and obedient to God, is equal in worth to a whole nation, even the most populous, or rather to all nations, and if we may go still farther, even to the whole world. And therefore elsewhere, when He praises a certain 38 just man, He says, I am thy God,<sup>a</sup> though He was also the God of the world. And thus we see that all the rank and file who are posted in the same line and give a like satisfaction to their commander, have an equal share of approbation and honour.

A second reason is that a speaker who harangues 39 a multitude in general does not necessarily talk to any one person, whereas if he addresses his commands or prohibitions as though to each individual separately, the practical instructions given in the course of his speech are at once held to apply to the whole body in common also.<sup>b</sup> If the exhortations are received as a personal message, the hearer is more ready to obey, but if collectively with others, he is deaf to them, since he takes the multitude as a cover for disobedience.

A third reason is that He wills that no king or 40 despot swollen with arrogance and contempt should despise an insignificant private person but should study

*πρακτέα* = "among the contents of his speech." But it is exceedingly awkward and some corruption is probable. For further discussion see App. p. 610.

## PHILO

- καὶ ὑπεροψίας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων  
 [187] διδασκαλεῖα φοιτήσας | χαλάσῃ τὰς ὀφρῦς, ἀπο-  
 μαθῶν οἴησιν εἰκότι μᾶλλον δ' ἀληθεῖ λογισμῶ.  
 41 εἰ γὰρ ὁ ἀγένητος καὶ ἄφθαρτος καὶ αἰδῖος καὶ  
 οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεῆς καὶ ποιητῆς τῶν ὄλων καὶ εὐ-  
 εργέτης καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ θεὸς θεῶν οὐδὲ  
 τὸν ταπεινότατον ὑπεριδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τοῦτον εὐωχῆσαι λογίων καὶ θεσμῶν ἱερῶν ἠξίωσεν,  
 ὡς μόνον ἐστῖαν μέλλων καὶ μόνῳ τὸ συμπόσιον  
 εὐτρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς ψυχῆς ἀνάχυσιν ἱεροφαντου-  
 μένης, ἣ θέμις τὰς μεγάλας τελείσθαι τελετάς,  
 ἐμοὶ τῷ θνητῷ τί προσῆκον ὑψαυχενεῖν καὶ πεφυ-  
 σῆσθαι φρουαττομένῳ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους, οἳ τύχαις  
 μὲν ἀνίσοις ἴση δὲ καὶ ὁμοία συγγενεῖα κέχρηται  
 42 ἀνθρώπων φύσιν; εὐπρόσιτον οὖν καὶ εὐέντευκτον  
 ἔμαντὸν παρέξω, κἂν τὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάττης  
 κράτος ἀνάψωμαι, τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις καὶ ἀδοξο-  
 τάτοις καὶ οἰκειοτάτης συμμαχίας ἐρήμοις, ἑκα-  
 τέρου τῶν γονέων ὀφανοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶ χηρεῖαν  
 ὑπομενούσαις καὶ πρεσβύταις ἢ μὴ παιδοποιη-  
 σαμένοις τὸ παράπαν ἢ ἀποβαλοῦσιν ὠκυμόρους  
 43 οὓς ἐγέννησαν. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ὢν ὄγκον καὶ  
 σεμνότητα τετραγωδημένην οὐ δικαίῳσω προσ-  
 ἴεσθαι, μενῶ δ' ἐντὸς τῆς φύσεως τοὺς ὄρους  
 αὐτῆς μὴ ὑπερβαίνων, ἀλλ' ἐθίζων τὴν ἔμαντοῦ  
 διάνοιαν ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἀδήλους  
 πρὸς τὰναντία μεταβολὰς καὶ τῶν εὐπραττόντων  
 καὶ τῶν ἐν κακοπραγίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀρ-  
 μόττειν, κἂν ἀτρέπτως καὶ βεβαίως παραμένῃ  
 τὸ εὐτυχεῖν, μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τινα ἑαυτοῦ.

## THE DECALOGUE, 40-43

in the school of the divine laws and abate his supercilious airs, and through the reasonableness or rather the assured truth of their arguments unlearn his self-conceit. For if the Uncreated, the Incorruptible, the 41 Eternal, Who needs nothing and is the maker of all, the Benefactor and King of kings and God of gods could not brook to despise even the humblest, but deigned to banquet him on holy oracles and statutes, as though he should be the sole guest, as though for him alone the feast was prepared to give good cheer to a soul instructed in the holy secrets and accepted for admission to the greatest mysteries, what right have I, the mortal, to bear myself proud-necked, puffed-up and loud-voiced, towards my fellows, who, though their fortunes be unequal, have equal rights of kinship because they can claim to be children 42 of the one common mother of mankind, nature? So then, though I be invested with the sovereignty of earth and sea, I will make myself affable and easy of access to the poorest, to the meanest, to the lonely who have none close at hand to help them, to orphans who have lost both parents, to wives on whom widowhood has fallen, to old men either childless from the first or bereaved by the early death of those whom they begot. For as I am a man, I shall not deem it 43 right to adopt the lofty grandeur of the pompous stage, but make nature my home and not overstep her limits. I will inure my mind to have the feelings of a human being, not only because the lot both of the prosperous and the unfortunate may change to the reverse we know not when, but also because it is right that even if good fortune remains securely established, a man should not forget what he is.

## PHILO

διὰ ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἐνικῶς ἀποτεινάμενος ὡς πρὸς ἓνα θεσπίζειν ἐθελήσαι.

- 44 XI. Πάντα δ' ὡς εἰκὸς τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐθαυματοουργεῖτο, κτύποις βροντῶν μειζόνων ἢ ὥστε χωρεῖν ἀκοάς, ἀστραπῶν λάμψεσιν αὐγοειδεστάταις, ἀοράτου σάλπιγγος ἡχῆ πρὸς μήκιστον ἀποτεινούση, καθόδω νεφέλης, ἢ κίονος τρόπον τὴν μὲν βάσιν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡρήρειστο, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος ἀνέτεινε, πυρὸς οὐρανόφωρον καπνῶ βαθεῖ τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ συσκιάζοντος· ἔδει γὰρ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ἀφικνουμένης μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλὰ πάντα πρὸς [188] ὑπηρεσίαν | συγκεκινῆσθαι. παρειστῆκει δὲ ὁ
- 45 λεὼς ἀγνεύσας ὀμιλιῶν τῶν πρὸς γυναικας καὶ πασῶν ἡδονῶν ἔξω τῶν πρὸς τροφὰς ἀναγκαίων ἀποσχόμενος, λουτροῖς τε καὶ περιρραντηρίοις καθηράμενος ἐκ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἔτι καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας ἀποπλυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα λευχείμων, ἀκροβατῶν καὶ ἀνωρθιακῶς τὰ ὦτα, Μωυσέως προδηλώσαντος εὐτρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν· ἔγνω γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐσομένην, ἡνίκα μόνος ἀνακληθεὶς
- 46 ἐχρησμοδεῖτο. φωνὴ δ' ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ῥύεντος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πυρὸς ἐξήχει καταπληκτικωτάτη, τῆς φλογὸς εἰς διάλεκτον ἀρθρουμένης τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα οὕτως ἐναργῶς ἐτρανοῦτο, ὡς ὄραν αὐτὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκούειν δοκεῖν.
- 47 ἐγγυᾶται δέ μοι τὸν λόγον ὁ νόμος, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται· “ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἑώρα τὴν φωνήν ”· ἐμφαντικώτατα·

<sup>a</sup> For this and the next section see Ex. xx. 14-19.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX, Ex. xix. 18, cf. *De Mig.* 47, *Mos.* ii. 213.

## THE DECALOGUE, 43-47

Such was the reason, as it seems to me, why he willed to word the series of his oracles in the singular form, and delivers them as though to one alone.

XI.<sup>a</sup> It was natural that the place should be the 44 scene of all that was wonderful, claps of thunder louder than the ears could hold, flashes of lightning of surpassing brightness, the sound of an invisible trumpet reaching to the greatest distance, the descent of a cloud which like a pillar stood with its foot planted on the earth, while the rest of its body extended to the height of the upper air, the rush of heaven-sent fire which shrouded all around in dense smoke. For when the power of God arrives, needs must be that no part of the world should remain inactive, but all move together to do Him service. Near by stood the people. They had kept pure from 45 intercourse with women and abstained from all pleasures save those which are necessary for the sustenance of life. They had cleansed themselves with ablutions and lustrations for three days past, and moreover had washed their clothes. So in the whitest of raiment they stood on tiptoe with ears pricked up in obedience to the warning of Moses to prepare themselves for a congregation which he knew would be held from the oracular advice he received when he was summoned up by himself. Then from 46 the midst of the fire that streamed from heaven there sounded forth to their utter amazement a voice, for the flame became articulate speech in the language familiar to the audience, and so clearly and distinctly were the words formed by it that they seemed to see rather than hear them. What I say is vouched for 47 by the law in which it is written, "All the people saw the voice,"<sup>b</sup> a phrase fraught with much meaning,

## PHILO

τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἀκουστὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὁρατὴν δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν θεοῦ. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὅσα ἂν λέγῃ ὁ θεός, οὐ ῥήματά ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἔργα, ἅπερ  
 48 ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸ ὤτων δικάζουσι. παγκάλως μέντοι καὶ θεοπρεπῶς εἴρηται ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἢ φωνῆ προέρχεσθαι· ἠκρίβωται γὰρ καὶ βεβασάνισται τὰ  
 49 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγια καθάπερ χρυσὸς πυρί. μηνύει δὲ καὶ διὰ συμβόλου τι τοιοῦτον· ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν φωτίζειν τὸ δὲ καίειν πέφυκεν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς ἀξιούντες εἶναι καταπειθεῖς ὡς ἐν ἀσκήῳ φωτὶ τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον βιώσονται τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦς ἀστέρας ἔχοντες ἐν ψυχῇ φωσφοροῦντας, ὅσοι δ' ἀφηγιασταί, καιόμενοι καὶ κατακαιόμενοι διατελοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἱ φλογὸς τρόπον πορθήσουσι τὸν σύμπαντα τῶν ἐχόντων βίον.

50 XII. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προδηλῶσαι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐπ' αὐτὰ δὲ ἤδη τρεπτέον τὰ λόγια καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τούτοις ἐρευνητέον διάφορα. δέκα τοίνυν ὄντα διένειμεν εἰς δύο πεντάδας, ἃς δυσὶ στήλαις ἐνεχάραξε, καὶ ἡ μὲν προτέρα πεντὰς τὰ πρωτεῖα ἔλαχεν, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα δευτερείων ἠξιοῦτο· καλαὶ δ' ἀμφοτέραι καὶ βιωφελεῖς, εὐρείας ὁδοὺς καὶ λεωφόρους ἐνὶ τέλει περατουμένας ἀναστέλλουσαι πρὸς ἀπταιστον ψυχῆς ἐφιεμένης αἰὶ

51 τοῦ βελτίστου πορείαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀμείνων πεντὰς τοιαύδε ἦν· περὶ μοναρχίας, ἣ μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος· περὶ ξοάνων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρυμάτων χειροκμητῶν· περὶ τοῦ μὴ λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ θεοῦ πρόσρησιν· περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν |

[189] ἐβδόμην ἄγειν ἱεροπρεπῶς· περὶ γονέων τιμῆς καὶ ἰδία ἑκατέρου καὶ ἀμφοτέρων κοινῆ· ὡς εἶναι τῆς



## THE DECALOGUE, 47-51

for it is the case that the voice of men is audible, but the voice of God truly visible. Why so? Because whatever God says is not words but deeds, which are judged by the eyes rather than the ears. Admirable 48 too, and worthy of the Godhead, is the saying that the voice proceeded from the fire, for the oracles of God have been refined and assayed as gold is by fire. And it conveys too, symbolically, some such meaning 49 as this: since it is the nature of fire both to give light and to burn, those who resolve to be obedient to the divine utterances will live for ever as in unclouded light with the laws themselves as stars illuminating their souls, while all who are rebellious will continue to be burnt, aye and burnt to ashes, by their inward lusts, which like a flame will ravage the whole life of those in whom they dwell.

XII. Such are the points which required a preliminary treatment. We must now turn to the oracles themselves and examine all the different matters with which they deal. We find that He divided the ten into two sets of five which He engraved on two tables, and the first five obtained the first place, while the other was awarded the second. Both are excellent and profitable for life; both open out broad highroads leading at the end to a single goal, roads along which a soul which ever desires the best can travel without stumbling. The superior set of five 51 treats of the following matters: the monarchical principle by which the world is governed: idols of stone and wood and images in general made by human hands: the sin of taking the name of God in vain: the reverent observance of the sacred seventh day as befits its holiness: the duty of honouring parents, each separately and both in common.

## PHILO

μιᾶς γραφῆς τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ παντός, τὸ δὲ τέλος γονεῖς, οἱ μιμούμενοι τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν γεννῶσι τοὺς ἐπὶ μέρους. ἢ δ' ἑτέρα πεντὰς τὰς πάσας ἀπαγορεύσεις περιέχει· μοιχείας, φόνου, κλοπῆς, ψευδομαρτυριῶν, ἐπιθυμιῶν.

- 52 Ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τῶν λογίων ἕκαστον μηδὲν πάρεργον αὐτῶν ποιούμενους. ἀρχὴ δ' ἀρίστη πάντων μὲν τῶν ὄντων θεός, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια· περὶ ὧν ἀναγκαιότατον πρῶτον διεξελεῖν. πλάνος τις οὐ μικρὸς τὸ πλείστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος κατέσχηκε περὶ πράγματος, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα ἦν εἰκὸς ἀπλανέστατον ταῖς ἐκάστων διανοίαις ἐνιδρῦσθαι.
- 53 ἐκτεθειώκασι γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ, οἱ δ' ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πλανήτας καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας, οἱ δὲ μόνον τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ δὲ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον· τὸν δ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβύτατον, τὸν γεννητὴν, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως, τὸν στρατάρχην τῆς ἀηττήτου στρατιᾶς, τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὃς οἰκονομεῖ σωτηρίως αἰεὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, παρεκαλύψαντο ψευδωνύμους προσήσεις ἐκείνοις ἐπι-
- 54 φημίσαντες ἑτέρας ἕτεροι. καλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὴν γῆν Κόρην, Δήμητραν, Πλούτωνα, τὴν δὲ θάλατταν Ποσειδῶνα, δαίμονας ἐναλίους ὑπάρχους αὐτῷ προσαναπλάττοντες καὶ θεραπείας ὁμίλους μεγάλους ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν, Ἦραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸ πῦρ Ἐφαιστον καὶ ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ σελήνην Ἄρτεμιν καὶ ἑωσφόρον Ἀφροδίτην

## THE DECALOGUE, 51-54

Thus one set of enactments begins with God the Father and Maker of all, and ends with parents who copy His nature by begetting particular persons. The other set of five contains all the prohibitions, namely adultery, murder, theft, false witness, covetousness or lust.

We must examine with all care each of the pro- 52  
nouncements, giving perfunctory treatment to none. The transcendent source of all that exists is God, as piety is the source of the virtues, and it is very necessary that these two should be first discussed.

A great delusion has taken hold of the larger part of mankind in regard to a fact which properly should be established beyond all question in every mind to the exclusion of, or at least above, all others. For some have deified the four elements, 53  
earth, water, air and fire, others the sun, moon, planets <sup>a</sup> and fixed stars, others again the heaven by itself, others the whole world. But the highest and the most august, the Begetter, the Ruler of the great World-city, the Commander-in-Chief of the invincible host, the Pilot who ever steers all things in safety, Him they have hidden from sight by the misleading titles assigned to the objects of worship mentioned above. Different people give them different names : some 54  
call the earth Korē or Demeter or Pluto, and the sea Poseidon, and invent marine deities subordinate to him and great companies of attendants, male and female. They call air Hera <sup>b</sup> and fire Hephaestus, the sun Apollo, the moon Artemis, the morning-star

<sup>a</sup> Greek "the other planets," the sun and moon being regarded as planets.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 610.

## PHILO

- 55 καὶ στίλβοντα Ἑρμῆν· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων  
 ἐκάστου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μυθογράφοι<sup>1</sup> παρέδοσαν, οἱ  
 πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀκοῆς εὖ τετεχνασμένα πλάσματα  
 συνυφήναντες ἔδοξαν περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσιν
- 56 κεκομψεῦσθαι· τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίρια τῷ  
 λόγῳ διχῆ διανείμαντες, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς, τὸ δ'  
 ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκόρους ἐκάλεσαν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἕτερου-  
 μέρου ζωῆς αὐτῶν προστερατευσάμενοι διήγημα.
- 57 τοῦ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ συνεχῶς καὶ ἀπαύστως αἰεὶ κύκλῳ  
 περιπολοῦντος, ἀνάγκη τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἐκάτερον  
 ἀντιμεθίστασθαι παρ' ἡμέραν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω  
 γινόμενον ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν· ἄνω γὰρ καὶ κάτω πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν οὐδὲν ἐν σφαίρᾳ, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν |
- [190] σχέσιν αὐτὸ μόνον εἴωθε λέγεσθαι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 58 κεφαλῆς ἄνω, κάτω δὲ τοῦναντίον. τῷ  
 δὴ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀνόθως ἐγνωκότε καὶ ἀδόλου καὶ  
 καθαρᾶς εὐσεβείας μεταποιοιμένῳ κάλλιστον καὶ  
 ὀσιώτατον ὑφηγεῖται παράγγελμα, μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ  
 κόσμου μερῶν αὐτοκρατῆ θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι·  
 καὶ γὰρ γέγονε, γένεσις δὲ φθορᾶς ἀρχή, καὶ  
 προνοία τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἀθανατίζεται, καὶ ἦν  
 ποτε χρόνος, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν· θεὸν δὲ πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τινος χρόνου γενόμενον καὶ μὴ διαιωνίζοντα
- 59 λέγειν οὐ θεμιτόν. XIII. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔνιοι  
 περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἀπονοία τῶσαύτη κέχρηται, ὡς  
 οὐ μόνον τὰ εἰρημένα θεοὺς νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν μέγιστον καὶ πρῶτον θεόν, τὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μυθογράφοις or -οις.

<sup>a</sup> Or "sparkler," "twinkler." For these non-mythological names of the planets see *Quis Rerum* 224.

## THE DECALOGUE, 55-59

Aphrodite and the glitterer <sup>a</sup> Hermes, and each of the 55 other stars have names handed down by the myth-makers, who have put together fables skilfully contrived to deceive the hearers and thus won a reputation for accomplishment in name-giving. So too in 56 accordance with the theory by which they divided the heaven into two hemispheres, one above the earth and one below it, they called them the Dioscuri and invented a further miraculous story of their living on alternate days.<sup>b</sup> For indeed as heaven is 57 always revolving ceaselessly and continuously round and round, each hemisphere must necessarily alternately change its position day by day and become upper or lower as it appears, though in reality there is no upper or lower in a spherical figure, and it is merely in relation to our own position that we are accustomed to speak of what is above our heads as upper and the opposite to this as lower.

Now to one who is determined to follow a genuine 58 philosophy and make a pure and guileless piety his own, Moses gives this truly admirable and religious command that he should not suppose any of the parts of the universe to be the omnipotent God. For the world has become what it is, and its becoming is the beginning of its destruction, even though by the providence of God it be made immortal, and there was a time when it was not. But to speak of God as "not being" at some former time, or having "become" at some particular time and not existing for all eternity is profanity. XIII. But 59

there are some whose views are affected with such folly that they not only regard the said objects as gods but each of them severally as the greatest and

<sup>b</sup> *Od.* xi. 303. See App. p. 610.

## PHILO

- ὄντα ὄντως ἢ οὐκ εἰδότες ἀδιδάκτω τῇ φύσει ἢ οὐ σπουδάζοντες μαθεῖν, ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν αἴτιον ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, καίτοι σαφειστάτης ἐγγύς παρακειμένης
- 60 πίστεως. ψυχῇ γὰρ ζῶντες καὶ βουλευόμενοι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον δρῶντες οὐδέποτε ψυχὴν ὀφθαλμοῖς σώματος ἴσχυσαν θεάσασθαι, καίτοι φιλοτιμηθέντες ἂν πάσας φιλοτιμίας, εἴ πως ἰδεῖν οἶόν τε ἦν τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ πάντων ἱεροπρεπέστατον, ἀφ' οὗ κατὰ μετάβασιν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐννοίαν τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ αἰδίου λαβεῖν, ὃς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον ἠνιοχῶν σωτηρίως ἀόρατος
- 61 ὦν κατευθύνει. καθάπερ οὖν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τὰς τιμὰς εἴ τις τοῖς ὑπάρχοις σατράπαις ἀπένειμεν, ἔδοξεν ἂν οὐκ ἀγνωμονέστατος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥησοκινδυνότατος εἶναι χαριζόμενος τὰ δεσπότητος δούλοις, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον [ἂν] τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἴ τις γεραίρει τὸν πεποηκότα τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἴστω πάντων ἀβουλότατος ὦν καὶ ἀδικώτατος, ἴσα διδοὺς ἀνίσιοις οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν ταπεινότερων ἀλλ'
- 62 ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ κρείττονος. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ προσυπερβάλλουσιν ἀσεβεία μηδὲ τὸ ἴσον ἀποδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν τὰ πάντα τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ χαριζόμενοι, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν νέμοντες ἀλλ' οὐδέ μνήμην, τὸ κοινότατον· ἐπιλήθονται γὰρ οὐ μόνον
- [191] μεμνήσθαι προσῆκον ἦν, | ἐπιτηδεύοντες οἱ βαρυ-
- 63 δαίμονες ἐκούσιον λήθην. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στομάργω κατεχόμενοι λύττη τὰ δείγματα τῆς ἐνιδρυμένης ἀσεβείας εἰς μέσον προφέροντες βλασφημεῖν ἐπι-

<sup>a</sup> So, I think, rather than as Mangey "utique solius" or Treitel "ausschliesslich," which would rather be *μόνου*.

## THE DECALOGUE, 59-63

primal God. Incapacity for instruction or indifference to learning prevents them from knowing the truly Existent because they suppose that there is no invisible and conceptual cause outside what the senses perceive, though the clearest possible proof lies ready at their hand. For while it is with the soul that they live and plan and carry out all the affairs of human life, they can never see the soul with the eyes of the body, though every feeling of ambition might well have been aroused in the hope of seeing that most august of all sacred objects, the natural stepping-stone to the conception of the Uncreated and Eternal, the invisible Charioteer who guides in safety the whole universe. So just as anyone who rendered to the subordinate satraps the honours due to the Great King would have seemed to reach the height not only of unwisdom but of foolhardiness, by bestowing on servants what belonged to their master, in the same way anyone who pays the same tribute to the creatures as to their Maker may be assured that he is the most senseless and unjust of men in that he gives equal measure to those who are not equal, though he does not thereby honour the meaner many but deposes the one superior.

And there are some who in a further excess of impiety do not even give this equal payment, but bestow on those others all that can tend to honour, while to Him they refuse even the commonest of all tributes, that of remembering Him. Whom duty bids them remember, if nothing more, Him they forget, a forgetfulness deliberately practised to their lasting misery. Some again, seized with a loud-mouthed frenzy, publish abroad samples of their deep-seated impiety and attempt to blas-

## PHILO

- χειροῦσι τὸ θεῖον, ἀκονησάμενοι κακῆγορον γλώτταν, ἅμα καὶ λυπεῖν ἐθέλοντες τοὺς εὐσεβοῦντας, οἷς ἄλεκτον καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητον εὐθύς εἰσδύεται πένθος τὴν ὄλην πυρπολοῦν ψυχὴν δι' ὧτων· ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἀνοσίων ἐλέπολις τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ᾧ μόνῳ τοὺς φιλοθέους ἐπιστομίζουσι νομίζοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παροξύνειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κάλλιστον ἡσυχίαν.
- 64 XIV. πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην τερθρείαν ἀπωσάμενοι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φύσει μὴ προσκυνῶμεν, εἰ καὶ καθαρωτέρας καὶ ἀθανατωτέρας οὐσίας ἔλαχον—ἀδελφὰ δ' ἀλλήλων τὰ γενόμενα καθὸ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατήρ ἀπάντων εἰς ὁ ποιητῆς τῶν ὄλων ἐστίν,—ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοία καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει τῇ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ αἰδίου καὶ τῶν ὄλων αἰτίου θεραπείᾳ σφόδρα εὐτόνως καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἐπαποδυνώμεθα, μὴ ὑποκατακλινόμενοι μηδ' ὑπείκοτες ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἀρεσκειαῖς, ὑφ' ὧν
- 65 καὶ οἱ δυνάμενοι σῶζεσθαι διαφθείρονται. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν παράγγελμα καὶ παραγγελμάτων ἱερώτατον στηλιτεύσωμεν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἕνα τὸν ἀνωτάτω νομίζειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν θεόν· δόξα δ' ἡ πολύθεος μηδ' ὧτων ψαυέτω καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδόλως ἀνδρὸς εἰωθότος ζητεῖν ἀλήθειαν.
- 66 Ἄλλ' ὅσοι μὲν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀλοσχερεστάτων μερῶν ὡς θεῶν πρόπολοί τε καὶ θεραπευταί, διαμαρτάνουσι μὲν—πῶς γὰρ οὔ;—τοὺς ὑπηκόους πρὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀποσεμνύνοντες, ἦττον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικοῦσι τῶν ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἄργυρόν τε

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<sup>a</sup> Mangey strangely says that the brothers are the angels. But clearly they are the heavenly bodies, which are "souls divine and without blemish throughout" (*De Gig.* 8, where



## THE DECALOGUE, 63-66

pheme the Godhead, and when they whet the edge of their evil-speaking tongue they do so in the wish to grieve the pious who feel at once the inroad of a sorrow indescribable and inconsolable, which passing through the ears wastes as with fire the whole soul. For this is the battery of the unholy, and is in itself enough to curb the mouths of the devout who hold that silence is best for the time being to avoid giving provocation. XIV. Let us then reject all such im- 64 posture and refrain from worshipping those who by nature are our brothers,<sup>a</sup> even though they have been given a substance purer and more immortal than ours, for created things, in so far as they are created, are brothers, since they have all one Father, the Maker of the universe. Let us instead in mind and speech and every faculty gird ourselves up with vigour and activity to do the service of the Uncreated, the Eternal, the Cause of all, not submitting nor abasing ourselves to do the pleasure of the many who work the destruction even of those who might be saved. Let us, then, engrave deep in our hearts this as the 65 first and most sacred of commandments, to acknowledge and honour one God Who is above all, and let the idea that gods are many never even reach the ears of the man whose rule of life is to seek for truth in purity and guilelessness.

<sup>b</sup> But while all who give worship and service to sun 66 and moon and the whole heaven and universe or their chief parts as gods most undoubtedly err by magnifying the subjects above the ruler, their offence is less than that of the others who have given shape to stocks (see note), though elsewhere, as in *De Op.* 144, admitted to have bodies. Philo always, I think, distinguishes them from angels.

<sup>b</sup> Here begins the Second Commandment.

## PHILO

- καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ τὰς παραπλησίους ὕλας μορφω-  
 σάντων ὡς φίλον ἐκάστοις, εἴτ' ἀγαλμάτων καὶ  
 ξοάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χειροκμήτων, ὧν πλαστικῇ  
 καὶ ζωγραφία δημιουργοὶ μεγάλα ἔβλαψαν τὸν  
 67 βίον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον, καταπλησάντων τὴν οἰκου-  
 [192] μένην. τὸ γὰρ κάλλιστον ἔρεισμα τῆς | ψυχῆς  
 ἐξέκοψαν, τὴν περὶ τοῦ ζῶντος αἰὲ θεοῦ προσ-  
 ἤκουσαν ὑπόληψιν, ὥσπερ τε ἀνερμάτιστα σκάφη  
 σαλεύουσιν ὧδε κἀκέισε διαφερόμενοι τὸν αἰῶνα,  
 μηδέποτ' εἰς λιμένα καταῤραι μηδ' ἐνορμίσασθαι  
 βεβαίως ἀληθείᾳ δυνάμενοι, τυφλώττοντες περὶ τὸ  
 θέας ἄξιον, πρὸς ὃ μόνον ὀξυδορκεῖν ἀναγκαῖον  
 68 ἦν. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι τῶν τὰς τοῦ σώματος ὄψεις  
 πεπηρωμένων ἀθλιώτερον ζῆν· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀκουσίως ἐβλάβησαν ἢ νόσον ὀφθαλμῶν χαλεπὴν  
 ὑποστάντες ἢ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλευθέντες, οἱ δ'  
 ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα οὐκ ἠμαύρωσαν  
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀποβαλεῖν ἠξίωσαν.  
 69 ὅθεν τοῖς μὲν ἔλεος ὡς ἡτυχηκόσι, τοῖς δὲ κόλασις  
 ὡς μοχθηροῖς ἔπεται δικαίως, οἱ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 οὐδὲ τὸ προχειρότατον ἐνενόησαν, ὃ καὶ παῖς  
 “ ἔγνω νήπιος,” ὅτι τοῦ τεχνιτευθέντος ὁ τεχνίτης  
 ἀμείνων, καὶ χρόνῳ—πρεσβύτερος γὰρ καὶ τρόπον  
 τινὰ τοῦ δημιουργηθέντος πατήρ—καὶ δυνάμει· τὸ  
 γὰρ δρῶν τοῦ πάσχοντος ἐπικυδέστερον.  
 70 καὶ δέον, εἴπερ ἄρα ἐξημάρτανον, τοὺς ζωγράφους  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιοὺς ὑπερβολαῖς τιμῶν  
 ἐκτεθειωκέναι, τοὺς μὲν εἶασαν ἀφανεῖς οὐδὲν  
 πλέον παρασχόντες, τὰ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων δημιουρ-

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Iliad*, xvii. 32, and Hesiod, *Op.* 218 παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω, quoted as a proverb Plato, *Symp.* 222 b.

## THE DECALOGUE, 66-70

and stones and silver and gold and similar materials each according to their fancy and then filled the habitable world with images and wooden figures and the other works of human hands fashioned by the craftsmanship of painting and sculpture, arts which have wrought great mischief in the life of mankind. For these idolaters cut away the most excellent 67 support of the soul, the rightful conception of the Ever-living God. Like boats without ballast they are for ever tossed and carried about hither and thither, never able to come to harbour or to rest securely in the roadstead of truth, blind to the one thing worthy of contemplation, which alone demands keen-sighted vision. To my mind they live a more miserable life 68 than those who have lost the sight of the body, for those have been disabled through no wish of their own but either through suffering from some grievous disease of the eyes or through the malice of their enemies, but these others have of deliberate purpose not only dimmed but without scruple cast away entirely the eye of the soul. And therefore pity for 69 their misfortune waits upon the former, punishment for their depravity quite justly on the latter. In their general ignorance they have failed to perceive even that most obvious truth which even "a witless infant knows,"<sup>a</sup> that the craftsman is superior to the product of his craft both in time, since he is older than what he makes and in a sense its father, and in value, since the efficient element is held in higher esteem than the passive effect. And while if they 70 were consistent in their sin, they should have deified the sculptors and painters themselves and given them honours on a magnificent scale, they leave them in obscurity and bestow no favour on them, while they

## PHILO

- 71 γηθέντα πλάσματα καὶ ζωγραφήματα θεοὺς ἐνό-  
 μισαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τεχνῖται πολλάκις ἄποροι καὶ  
 ἄδοξοι κατεγήρασαν ἀτυχίαις ἐπαλλήλοις ἐναπο-  
 θανόντες, τὰ δὲ τεχνιτευθέντα πορφύρα καὶ  
 χρυσῶ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πολυτελείαις, ἃς πλοῦτος  
 χορηγεῖ, σεμνοποιεῖται καὶ θεραπεύεται, οὐ πρὸς  
 ἔλευθέρων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπατριδῶν καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 καλλίστων· ἱερέων γὰρ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐξετάζεται  
 μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας, εἰ ἀνεπίληπτον, καὶ ἡ  
 κοινωνία τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν, εἰ σύμπασα  
 72 ὀλόκληρος. καὶ οὕτω τοῦτο δεινόν,  
 καίτοι δεινὸν ὄν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο παγχάλεπον· ἤδη γάρ  
 τινες οἶδα τῶν πεποιηκῶτων τοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτῶν  
 γεγονόσιν εὐχομένους τε καὶ θύοντας, οἷς πολὺ  
 βέλτιον ἦν ἑκατέραν τῶν χειρῶν προσκυνεῖν, εἰ δὲ  
 μὴ βούλοιντο δόξαν φιλαυτίας ἐκτρεπόμενοι, σφύρας  
 γούν καὶ ἄκμονας καὶ γραφίδας καὶ καρκίνους καὶ  
 73 τὰ ἄλλα ἐργαλεῖα, δι' ὧν ἐμορφώθησαν αἱ ὕλαι.  
 [193] XV. | καίτοι πρὸς τοὺς οὕτως ἀπονοηθέντας ἄξιον  
 παρρησιασαμένους εἰπεῖν· εὐχῶν ἀρίστην εἶναι  
 συμβέβηκεν, ὧ γενναῖοι, καὶ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας τὴν  
 74 πρὸς θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν. εὐχεσθε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 ἐξομοιωθῆναι τοῖς ἀφιδρύμασιν, ἵνα τὴν ἀνωτάτω  
 καρπώσησθε εὐδαιμονίαν, ὀφθαλμοῖς μὴ βλέποντες,  
 ὡσὶ μὴ ἀκούοντες, μυκτῆρσι μῆτε ἀναπνέοντες  
 μῆτε ὀσφραϊνόμενοι, στόματι μὴ φωνοῦντες μηδὲ  
 γευόμενοι, χερσὶ μῆτε λαμβάνοντες μῆτε διδόντες  
 μῆτε δρῶντες, ποσὶ μὴ βαδίζοντες, μηδ' ἄλλω τινὶ  
 τῶν μερῶν ἐνεργοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ τῷ  
 ἱερῷ φρουρούμενοι καὶ φυλαττόμενοι, μεθ' ἡμέραν  
 τε καὶ νύκτωρ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων ἀεὶ καπνὸν

## THE DECALOGUE, 70-74

regard as gods the figures and pictures made by their workmanship. The artists have often grown 71 old in poverty and disesteem, and mishap after mishap has accompanied them to the grave, while the works of their art are glorified by the addition of purple and gold and silver and the other costly embellishments which wealth supplies, and are served not merely by ordinary freemen but by men of high birth and great bodily comeliness. For the birth of priests is made a matter for the most careful scrutiny to see whether it is unexceptionable, and the several parts which unite to form the body whether they make a perfect whole.

Horrible as all 72 this is, we have not reached the true horror. The worst is still to come. We have known some of the image-makers offer prayers and sacrifices to their own creations though they would have done much better to worship each of their two hands, or if they were disinclined for that because they shrank from appearing egotistical, to pay their homage to the hammers and anvils and pencils and pincers and the other tools by which their materials were shaped. XV. Surely to persons so demented we might well say 73 boldly, " Good sirs, the best of prayers and the goal of happiness is to become like God. Pray you there- 74 fore that you may be made like your images and thus enjoy supreme happiness with eyes that see not, ears that hear not, nostrils which neither breathe nor smell, mouths that never taste nor speak, hands that neither give nor take nor do anything at all, feet that walk not, with no activity in any parts of your bodies,<sup>a</sup> but kept under watch and ward in your temple-prison day and night, ever drinking in the smoke of the

<sup>a</sup> Philo clearly has in mind Ps. cxv. 5-8 ; *cf. Spec. Leg.* ii. 256.

## PHILO

σπῶντες· ἐν γὰρ μόνον τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν προσανα-  
 75 πλάττετε τοῖς ἀφιδρύμασιν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε νομίζω  
 ταῦτα ἀκούοντας οὐχ ὡς ἐπ' εὐχαῖς ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ  
 κατάραις ἀγανακτήσῃν καὶ τρέψεσθαι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς λοιδο-  
 ρίας ἄμυναν ἀντικατηγοροῦντας· ὁ μέγιστον ἂν  
 εἶη τεκμήριον τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης ἀσεβείας ἀνθρώ-  
 πων θεοὺς νομιζόντων, οἷς ὁμοιοὶ ποτε τὰς φύσεις  
 76 ἀπεύξαιντ' ἂν γενέσθαι. XVI. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν  
 ἔχόντων ψυχὴν ἀψύχῳ τινὶ προσκυνεῖτω· πάνυ  
 γὰρ τῶν ἀτόπων ἐστὶ τὰ φύσεως ἔργα πρὸς θερα-  
 πείαν τετράφθαι τῶν χειροκμητῶν.

Αἰγυπτίοις<sup>2</sup> δ' οὐ μόνον τὸ κοινὸν ἔγκλημα χώρας  
 ἀπάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον ἐξαιρέτον ἐπάγεται δεόν-  
 τως· πρὸς γὰρ ξοάνοις καὶ ἀγάλμασιν ἔτι καὶ ζῶα  
 ἄλογα παραηόχασιν εἰς θεῶν τιμάς, ταύρους καὶ  
 κριοὺς καὶ τράγους, ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ μυθικόν τι πλάσμα  
 77 τετρατευμένοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἔχει τινὰ  
 λόγον, ἡμερώτατα γὰρ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα τῷ βίῳ·  
 ἄροτῆρ ὁ βουὸς αὐλακας ἀνατέμνει καιρῷ σπορᾶς,  
 ἀλοῆσαι πάλιν, ὅταν δέῃ τὸν καρπὸν καθαίρεσθαι,  
 δυνατώτατος· ὁ κριὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν σκεπασμά-  
 των, ἐσθῆτα, παρέχει· γυμνὰ γὰρ ἂν τὰ σώματα  
 διεφθείρετο ῥαδίως, ἢ διὰ θάλπος ἢ διὰ κρύος  
 ἄμετρον, τοτὲ μὲν τῷ ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμῷ, τοτὲ  
 78 δὲ τῇ ἀπ' ἀέρος περιψύξει. νυνὶ δὲ προσυπερ-

<sup>1</sup> mss. τρέψασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn from the *αιγυπτίων* of some authorities. The *αιγύπτω* of the majority agrees well with *χώρας*, though not so well with the plurals which follow.

<sup>a</sup> Rather a strange phrase for mankind, but justified by

## THE DECALOGUE, 74-78

victims. For this is the one good which you imagine your idols to enjoy." As a matter of fact I expect 75 that such advice would be received with indignation as savouring of imprecations rather than of prayers and would call forth abusive repudiations and retorts, and this would be the strongest proof of the wide extent of impiety shown by men who acknowledge gods of such a nature that they would abominate the idea of resembling them. XVI. Let no one, then, who 76 has a soul worship a soulless thing, for it is utterly preposterous that the works of nature<sup>a</sup> should turn aside to do service to what human hands have wrought.

But the Egyptians are rightly charged not only on the count to which every country is liable, but also on another peculiar to themselves. For in addition to wooden and other images, they have advanced to divine honours irrational animals,<sup>b</sup> bulls and rams and goats, and invented for each some fabulous legend of wonder. And with these perhaps 77 there might be some reason, for they are thoroughly domesticated and useful for our livelihood. The ox is a plougher and opens up furrows at seed-time and again is a very capable thresher when the corn has to be purged; the ram provides the best possible shelter, namely, clothing, for if our bodies were naked they would easily perish, either through heat or through intense cold, in the first case under the scorching of the sun, in the latter through the refrigeration caused by the air. But actually the 78 Egyptians have gone to a further excess and chosen

the antithesis to *χειρόκμητα*. Possibly our "brethren," the stars, which would also have to worship the images, if they were worthy of worship, are included.

<sup>b</sup> For other references to Egyptian animal worship see App. pp. 610-611.

## PHILO

βάλλοντες καὶ τῶν ἀνημέρων τὰ ἀγριώτατα καὶ ἀπιθασώτατα, λέοντας καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ἐρπετῶν τὴν ἰοβόλον ἀσπίδα, γεραίρουσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσι θυσίαις τε καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις· ἀφ' ἑκατέρου γὰρ τῶν εἰς  
 [194] χρήσιν δοθέντων | ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, διερευνησάμενοι τὰ ἀγριώτατα οὔτε <τῶν> χερσαίων λέοντος θηριωδέστερον ἀνεῦρον οὔτε κροκοδείλου τῶν ἐνύδρων ἀγριώτερον, ἃ σέβουσι  
 79 καὶ τιμῶσι. πολλὰ μέντοι καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα, κύνας, αἰλούρους, λύκους, καὶ πτηνὰ ἰβιδας καὶ ἰέρακας, καὶ πάλιν ἰχθύων ἢ ὅλα τὰ σώματα ἢ μέρη τούτων ἐκτεθειώκασιν· ὧν τί ἂν γένοιτο καταγελαστότερον;  
 80 καὶ δὴ τῶν ξένων οἱ πρῶτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν ἐγχώριον τύφον εἰσοικίσασθαι ταῖς διανοαῖς, ἐκθηήσκουσι χλευάζοντες· ὅσοι δὲ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἐγεύσαντο, τὴν ἐπ' ἀσέμνοις πράγμασι σεμνοποιίαν καταπλαγέντες οἰκτιρίζονται τοὺς χρωμένους, ἀθλιωτέρους, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι τῶν τιμωμένων, μεταβεβληκότας εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰς ψυχάς, ὡς ἀνθρωποειδῆ θηρία περινοστεῖν  
 81 δοκεῖν. ἀνελὼν οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομοθεσίας πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκθέωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντος θεοῦ τιμὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆς οὐ προσδεόμενος—οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρου χρεῖος ἦν ὁ αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῶ—, βουλόμενος δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνοδίαις πλαζόμενον εἰς ἀπλανεστάτην ἄγειν ὁδόν, ἵν' ἐπόμενον τῇ φύσει τὸ ἄριστον εὔρηται τέλος, ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος, ὅς ἐστι τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τελεώτατον, ἀφ' οὗ τρόπον



## THE DECALOGUE, 78-81

the fiercest and most savage of wild animals, lions and crocodiles and among reptiles the venomous asp, all of which they dignify with temples, sacred precincts, sacrifices, assemblies, processions and the like. For after ransacking the two elements given by God to man for his use, earth and water, to find their fiercest occupants, they found on land no creature more savage than the lion nor in water than the crocodile and these they reverence and honour. Many other 79 animals too they have deified, dogs, cats, wolves and among the birds, ibises and hawks; fishes too, either their whole bodies or particular parts. What could be more ridiculous than all this? Indeed strangers on their first arrival in Egypt 80 before the vanity of the land has gained a lodgement in their minds are like to die with laughing at it, while anyone who knows the flavour of right instruction, horrified at this veneration of things so much the reverse of venerable, pities those who render it and regards them with good reason as more miserable than the creatures they honour, as men with souls transformed into the nature of those creatures, so that as they pass before him, they seem beasts in human shape. So 81

then He gave no place in His sacred code of laws to all such setting up of other gods, and called upon men to honour Him that truly is, not because He needed that honour should be paid to Him, for He that is all-sufficient to Himself needs nothing else, but because He wished to lead the human race, wandering in pathless wilds, to the road from which none can stray, so that following nature they might win the best of goals, knowledge of Him that truly is, Who is the primal and most perfect good, from

## PHILO

πηγῆς ἄρδεται τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπὶ  
μέρους ἀγαθὰ.

- 82 XVII. Διειλεγμένοι καὶ περὶ τῆς δευτέρας παρ-  
αινέσεως ὅσα οἶόν τε ἦν, τὴν ἐπομένην κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς  
ἀκριβώσωμεν· ἔστι δὲ μὴ λαμβάνειν ὄνομα θεοῦ  
ἐπὶ ματαίῳ. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς τάξεως γνώριμα τοῖς  
τὴν διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκοῦσιν· ὄνομα γὰρ αἰεὶ δεύτερον  
83 ὑποκειμένου πράγματος, σκιᾶ παραπλήσιον, ἢ παρ-  
ἔπεται σώματι. προειπὼν οὖν περὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως  
καὶ τιμῆς τοῦ αἰεὶ ὑπάρχοντος, ἐπομένως τῷ τῆς  
ἀκολουθίας εἰρμῷ τὰ πρέποντα καὶ περὶ τῆς  
κλήσεως εὐθὺς παρήγγειλε· πολύτροποι γὰρ καὶ  
84 ἁμαρτῖαι. κάλλιστον δὴ καὶ βιωφελέ-  
στατον καὶ ἀρμόττον λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἀνώμοτον,  
[195] οὕτως | ἀληθεύειν ἐφ' ἐκάστου δεδιδαγμένη, ὡς  
τοὺς λόγους ὄρκους εἶναι νομίζεσθαι. δεύτερος  
δέ, φασί, πλοῦς τὸ εὐορκεῖν· ἤδη γὰρ ὁ γε ὀμνὺς  
85 εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑπονοεῖται. μελλητῆς οὖν ἔστω καὶ  
βραδύς, εἴ πως ἐνδέχοιτο ταῖς ὑπερθέσεσιν ἀπ-  
ώσασθαι τὸν ὄρκον· εἰ δέ τις ἀνάγκη  
βιάζοιτο, περισκεπτέον οὐ παρέργως ἕκαστα τῶν  
ἐμφερομένων· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα οὐ μικρόν, εἰ καὶ τῷ  
86 ἔθει καταφρονεῖται. μαρτυρία γὰρ ἔστι θεοῦ περὶ  
πραγμάτων ἀμφισβητουμένων ὄρκος· μάρτυρα δὲ  
καλεῖν ἐπὶ ψεύδει θεὸν ἀνοσιώτατον. ἴθι γάρ, εἰ  
βούλει, τῷ λόγῳ διάκυψον εἰς τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος  
ὀμνύναι διάνοιαν ἐπὶ ψεύδει· θεάσῃ γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐκ

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<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Som.* i. 44.

## THE DECALOGUE, 81-86

Whom as from a fountain is showered the water of each particular good upon the world and them that dwell therein.

XVII. We have now discussed as fully as possible 82 the second commandment. Let us proceed to examine carefully the next in order, not to take God's name in vain. Now the reason for the position of this commandment in the list will be understood by those who have clear-sighted minds, for the name always stands second to the thing which it represents as the shadow which follows the body. So after speaking 83 first about the existence of the Ever-existent and the honour due to Him as such, He follows it at once in orderly sequence by giving a commandment on the proper use of His title, for the errors of men in this part of their duty are manifold and multiform.

To swear not at all is the best course 84 and most profitable to life, well suited to a rational nature which has been taught to speak the truth so well on each occasion that its words are regarded as oaths; to swear truly is only, as people say, a "second-best voyage,"<sup>a</sup> for the mere fact of his swearing casts suspicion on the trustworthiness of the man. Let him, then, lag and linger in the hope 85 that by repeated postponement he may avoid the oath altogether.

But, if necessity be too strong for him, he must consider in no careless fashion all that an oath involves, for that is no small thing, though custom makes light of it. For an oath is an 86 appeal to God as a witness on matters in dispute, and to call Him as witness to a lie is the height of profanity. Be pleased, I beg you, to take a look with the aid of your reason into the mind of the intending perjurer. You will see there a mind not at

## PHILO

ἡρεμοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς μεστήν, κατηγορουμένην καὶ πάσας ὕβρεις καὶ βλασφημίας  
 87 ὑπομένουσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἐκάστη ψυχῇ συμπεφυκῶς καὶ συνοικῶν ἔλεγχος, οὐδὲν εἰωθῶς παραδέχεσθαι τῶν ὑπαιτίων, μισοπονήρῳ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ χρώμενος ἀεὶ τῇ φύσει, κατήγορος ὁμοῦ καὶ δικαστῆς ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν, διακινηθεὶς ὡς μὲν κατήγορος αἰτιᾶται, κατηγορεῖ, δυσωπεῖ, πάλιν δ' ὡς δικαστῆς διδάσκει, νουθετεῖ, παραινεῖ μεταβάλλεσθαι· κἂν μὲν ἰσχύση πείσαι, γεγηθῶς καταλλάττεται, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἄσπονδεὶ πολεμεῖ μήτε μεθ' ἡμέραν μήτε νύκτωρ ἀφιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ κεντῶν καὶ τιτρώσκων ἀνιάτα, μέχρῃς ἂν τὴν ἀθλίαν καὶ ἐπάρατον ζῶν ἀπορρήξῃ.

88 XVIII. τί λέγεις, εἵπομι' ἂν πρὸς τὸν ἐπίορκον, τολμήσεις τινὶ τῶν σεαυτοῦ γνωρίμων φάναι προσελθῶν· ὦ οὗτος, ἃ μὴτ' εἶδες μὴτ' ἤκουσας, ὡς ἰδῶν, ὡς ἀκούσας, ὡς παρηκολουθηκῶς ἅπασιν, ἀφικόμενός μοι μαρτύρησον; ἐγὼ μὲν γε<sup>1</sup> οὐκ οἶμαι· μανίας γὰρ ἀθεραπέυτου τὸ ἔργον.  
 89 ἐπεὶ τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς νήφων καὶ ἐν σεαυτῷ δοκῶν εἶναι προσιδῶν τὸν φίλον ἐρεῖς· διὰ τὴν ἑταιρίαν ἀδικοπράγει, παρανόμει, συνασέβει μοι; δῆλον γὰρ ὡς, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαι, πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας ἑταιρίᾳ τῇ νομιζομένη καὶ κακίσας αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ φιλίας ἐκοινώνησεν, ἀποπηθήσεται καθάπερ ἀπὸ θηρὸς ἀγριαίνοντος καὶ  
 90 λελυττηκότος. εἶτα, πρὸς ἃ μὴδὲ φίλον ἄγειν τολμήσεις, ἐπὶ ταῦτα θεὸν μάρτυρα καλῶν οὐκ ἐρυθρίας, τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ κόσμου;

<sup>1</sup> See App. p. 611.

<sup>a</sup> For this double function of "Conviction" or the "Inward Monitor" cf. *Quod Deus* 135 ff.

## THE DECALOGUE, 86-90

peace but full of uproar and confusion, labouring under accusation, suffering all manner of insult and reviling. For every soul has for its birth-fellow 87 and house-mate a monitor<sup>a</sup> whose way is to admit nothing that calls for censure, whose nature is ever to hate evil and love virtue, who is its accuser and its judge in one. If he be once roused as accuser he censures, accuses and puts the soul to shame, and again as judge, he instructs, admonishes and exhorts it to change its ways. And if he has the strength to persuade it, he rejoices and makes peace. But if he cannot, he makes war to the bitter end, never leaving it alone by day or night, but plying it with stabs and deadly wounds until he breaks the thread of its miserable and ill-starred life.

XVIII. How 88  
now! I would say to the perjurer, will you dare to accost any of your acquaintance and say, "Come, sir, and testify for me that you have seen and heard and been in touch throughout with things which you did not see nor hear." My own belief is that you would not, for it would be the act of a hopeless lunatic. If you are sober and to all appearance in your right 89 mind, how could you have the face to say to your friend, "For the sake of our comradeship, work iniquity, transgress the law, join me in impiety"? Clearly if he hears such words, he will turn his back upon his supposed comradeship, and reproaching himself that there should ever have been the tie of friendship between him and such a person, rush away from him as from a savage and maddened beast. Can it be, then, that on a matter on which you would 90 not dare to cite even a friend you do not blush to call God to witness, God the Father and Ruler of the

## PHILO

[196] <sup>91</sup> πότερον ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι πάνθ' ὄρα καὶ πάντων ἀκούει, ἢ τοῦτ' ἀγνοῶν; | εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀγνοῶν, ἄθεός τις εἶ, πηγὴ δὲ πάντων ἀδικημάτων ἀθεότης· πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀθέῳ καὶ καταστρατηγεῖς τὸν ὄρκον, ὁμνῶν κατὰ τοῦ μὴ προσέχοντος ὡς ἐπιμελουμένου τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων· εἰ δ' ὅτι προνοεῖ σαφῶς οἶδας, ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπας λέγων, εἰ καὶ μὴ στόματι καὶ γλώττῃ, τῷ γοῦν συνειδότι πρὸς θεόν· τὰ ψευδῆ μοι μαρτύρει, συγκακούργει, συρραδιούργει· μία μοι τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐλπίς τὸ παρακαλύψασθαί σε τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ὑπὲρ ἑτέρου πονηρὸς γενοῦ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ χείρονος ὁ κρείττων, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ταῦτα μοχθηροῦ θεοῦ ὁ πάντων ἄριστος.

92 XIX. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μὴδὲ κερδαίνειν τι μέλλοντες ἕθει πονηρῷ κατακόρως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως ὁμνύουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, οὐδενὸς ἀμφισβητουμένου τὸ παράπαν, γὰ κενὰ τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ λόγῳ προσαναπληροῦντες ὄρκοις, ὡς οὐκ ἄμεινον ὄν ἀποκοπὴν ῥημάτων μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀφωνίαν ὑποστῆναι παντελεῖ· φύεται

93 γὰρ ἐκ πολυορκίας ψευδορκία καὶ ἀσέβεια. διὸ χρὴ τὸν μέλλοντα ὁμνῦναι πάντ' ἐπιμελῶς ἐξητακέναι καὶ σφόδρα περιττῶς, τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ εὐμέγεθες καὶ εἰ γέγονεν ὄντως καὶ εἰπραχθὲν κατείληφε παγίως, ἑαυτόν, εἰ καθαρεύει ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ γλώτταν, τὴν μὲν παρανομίας, τὸ δὲ μαισμάτων, τὴν δὲ βλασφημιῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον, δι'

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn by a later correction for ms. τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν. See App. p. 611.

## THE DECALOGUE, 90-93

world? Do you do so with the knowledge that He sees and hears all things or in ignorance of this? If in ignorance, you are an atheist, and atheism is 91 the source of all iniquities, and in addition to your atheism you cut the ground from under the oath, since in swearing by God you attribute a care for human affairs to one who in your view has no regard for them. But if you are convinced of His providence as a certainty, there is no further height of impiety which remains for you to reach when you say to God, if not with your mouth and tongue, at any rate with your conscience, "Witness to a falsehood for me, share my evil-doing and my knavery. The one hope I have of maintaining my good name with men is that Thou shouldest disguise the truth. Be wicked for the sake of another, the superior for the sake of the inferior, the Divine, the best of all, for a man, and a bad man to boot."

XIX. There are some who without even any gain in 92 prospect have an evil habit of swearing incessantly and thoughtlessly about ordinary matters where there is nothing at all in dispute, filling up the gaps in their talk with oaths, forgetting that it were better to submit to have their words cut short or rather to be silenced altogether, for from much swearing springs false swearing and impiety. Therefore one who is 93 about to take an oath should have made a careful and most punctilious examination, first of the matter in question, whether it is of sufficient importance, whether it has actually happened, and whether he has a sound apprehension of the facts; secondly, of himself, whether his soul is pure from lawlessness, his body from pollution, his tongue from evil-speaking, for it would be sacrilege to employ the mouth by

## PHILO

- οὐ στόματος τὸ ἱερώτατον ὄνομα προφέρεται τις,  
 94 διὰ τούτου φθέγγεσθαι τι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν. ἐρευνάτω  
 δὲ καὶ τόπον καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον· οἶδα γὰρ οἶδά  
 τινας ἐν βεβήλοις καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις χωρίοις, ἐν οἷς  
 οὔτε πατὸς οὔτε μητρὸς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ὀθνείων  
 πρεσβύτου τινὸς εὖ βεβιωκότος ἄξιον μεμνήσθαι,  
 διομνυμένους καὶ ὅλας ῥήσεις ὄρκων συνείροντας,  
 τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ πολυωνύμῳ καταχρησαμένους ὀνόματι  
 95 ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ πρὸς ἀσέβειαν. ὁ δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων  
 ὀλιγώρως ἔχων ἴστω τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μαρὸς καὶ  
 ἀκάθαρτος ὢν, εἶθ' ὡς αἰεὶ αἰὶ μέγιστα τῶν  
 τιμωριῶν ἐφεδρεύουσιν αὐτῷ, τῆς ἐφόρου τῶν  
 ἀνθρωπειῶν δίκης ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀπαρηγορήτως  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω μεγάλοις ἀδικήμασιν ἐχούσης, ἥτις,  
 ὅταν μὴ παραχρήμα κολάζειν ἄξιοι, ἐπὶ πολλῷ  
 [197] δανείζειν ἔοικε τὰς τιμωρίας, | ἄς, ὅταν ἦ καιρὸς,  
 ἀναπράττει μετὰ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος.
- 96 XX. Τέταρτόν ἐστι παράγγελμα τὸ περὶ τῆς  
 ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης, ἣν' εὐαγῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἀγῆται.  
 ταύτην ἔναι μὲν τῶν πόλεων ἐορτάζουσιν ἅπαξ τοῦ  
 μηνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σελήνην<sup>1</sup> νουμηνίας διαριθμού-  
 μεναι, τὸ δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος συνεχῶς <ἡμέρας> ἕξ  
 97 διαλείποντες αἰεὶ. λόγος δ' ἐστὶν ἀναγραφεῖς ἐν  
 τοῖς κατὰ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν, περιέχων αἰτίαν  
 ἀναγκαίαν· ἐν γὰρ ἕξ ἡμέραις φησὶ κτισθῆναι τὸν  
 κόσμον, τῇ δ' ἐβδόμῃ παυσάμενον τῶν ἔργων τὸν  
 98 θεὸν ἄρξασθαι τὰ γεγονότα καλῶς θεωρεῖν. ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν οὖν καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐν ταύτῃ ζῆν τῇ  
 πολιτεῖᾳ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κατὰ τοῦθ'

<sup>1</sup> Other mss. θεόν, which Cohn prints, though later he declared for σελήνην, which appears in R. See App. p. 611.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 611.



## THE DECALOGUE, 93-98

which one pronounces the holiest of all names, to utter any words of shame. And let him seek for a 94 suitable time and place. For I know full well that there are persons who, in profane and impure places where it would not be fitting to mention either a father or mother or even any good-living elder outside his family, swear at length and make whole speeches consisting of a string of oaths and thus, by their misuse of the many forms of the divine name in places where they ought not to do so, show their impiety. Anyone who treats what I have said with 95 contempt may rest assured, first, that he is polluted and unclean, secondly, that the heaviest punishments are waiting to fall upon him. For justice, who surveys human affairs, is inflexible and implacable towards such grave misdeeds, and when she thinks well to refrain from immediate chastisement, be sure that she does but put out her penalties to loan at high interest, only to exact them when the time comes to the common benefit of all.

XX. The fourth commandment deals with the 96 sacred seventh day, that it should be observed in a reverent and religious manner. While some states celebrate this day as a feast once a month,<sup>a</sup> reckoning it from the commencement as shown by the moon, the Jewish nation never ceases to do so at continuous intervals with six days between each. There is an 97 account recorded in the story of the Creation containing a cogent reason for this : we are told that the world was made in six days and that on the seventh God ceased from His works and began to contemplate what had been so well created, and therefore He bade those who should live as citizens under this 98 world-order follow God in this as in other matters.

## PHILO

ἔπεσθαι θεῶ, πρὸς μὲν ἔργα τρεπομένους ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἕξ, ἀνέχοντας δὲ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ φιλοσοφούντας καὶ θεωρίαις μὲν τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζοντας, ἐπισκοποῦντας δὲ καὶ εἴ τι μὴ καθαρῶς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις ἐπράχθη, λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ὧν εἶπον ἢ ἔδρασαν παρ' ἑαυτῶν λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλευτηρίῳ, συνεδρευόντων καὶ συνεξεταζόντων τῶν νόμων εἰς τε τὴν τῶν παροραθέντων κατόρθωσιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μηδὲν

99 αὔθις ἐξαμαρτάνειν προφυλακὴν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἅπαξ κατεχρήσατο ταῖς ἕξ ἡμέραις πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου τελειώσιν μήκους χρόνων οὐ προσδεόμενος· ἀνθρώπων δ' ἕκαστος ἄτε θνητῆς φύσεως μετέχων καὶ μυρίων ἐνδεῆς ὧν πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρείας ὀφείλει μὴ κατοκνεῖν ἐκπορίζειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μέχρι τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου διαναπαυόμενος

100 τὰς ἱεράς ἑβδομάδας. ἄρ' οὐ παγκάλῃ παραίνεσις καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἰκανωτάτῃ προτρέψασθαι καὶ διαφερόντως εἰς εὐσέβειαν; “ἔπου” φησὶν “αἰεὶ θεῶ· παράδειγμα προθεσμίας ἔστω σοι πράξεων ἐν ἑξαήμερον<sup>1</sup> αὐταρκέστατον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργει· παράδειγμα καὶ τοῦ δεῖν φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ ἐβδόμῃ, καθ' ἣν ἐπιδεῖν λέγεται ἃ εἰργάσατο, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιθεωρῆς τὰ φύσεως καὶ τὰ ἴδια ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν.”

101 τοιοῦτον οὖν ἀρχέτυπον τῶν ἀρίστων βίων, πρακτικῶ τε καὶ θεωρητικῶ, μὴ παρέλθωμεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ βλέποντες ἐναργεῖς εἰκόνας καὶ τόπους ταῖς ἑαυτῶν διανοίαις ἐγχαράττωμεν ἐξομοιοῦντες θνητὴν φύσιν ὡς ἔνεστιν ἀθανάτῳ κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐν ἑξάμετρον οἱ ἕξ ἄς μέτρον.

## THE DECALOGUE, 98-101

So He commanded that they should apply themselves to work for six days but rest on the seventh and turn to the study of wisdom, and that while they thus had leisure for the contemplation of the truths of nature they should also consider whether any offence against purity had been committed in the preceding days, and exact from themselves in the council-chamber of the soul, with the laws as their fellow-assessors and fellow-examiners, a strict account of what they had said or done in order to correct what had been neglected and to take precaution against repetition of any sin. But while God once for all made a final 99 use of six days for the completion of the world and had no further need of time-periods, every man being a partaker of mortal nature and needing a vast multitude of things to supply the necessaries of life ought never to the end of his life to slacken in providing what he requires, but should rest on the sacred seventh days. Have we not here a most admirable 100 injunction full of power to urge us to every virtue and piety most of all? "Always follow God," it says, "find in that single six-day period in which, all-sufficient for His purpose, He created the world, a pattern of the time set apart to thee for activity. Find, too, in the seventh day the pattern of thy duty to study wisdom, that day in which we are told that He surveyed what He had wrought, and so learn to meditate thyself on the lessons of nature and all that in thy own life makes for happiness." Let us not then 101 neglect this great archetype of the two best lives, the practical and the contemplative, but with that pattern ever before our eyes engrave in our hearts the clear image and stamp of them both, so making mortal nature, as far as may be, like the immortal by saying

## PHILO

[198] τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἅ χρή. πῶς δὲ | λέγεται ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις γεγενῆσθαι τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τοῦ μηδὲ χρόνων εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν δεομένου, μεμῆνυται διὰ τῶν ἀλληγορηθέντων ἐν ἑτέροις.

102 XXI. Τὴν μέντοι προνομίαν, ἧς ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἑβδομὰς ἡξίωται, δηλοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα διατρίψαντες, ἐπιμελῶς πάνυ καὶ πεφροντισμένως αὐτὴν ἐξιχνεύσαντες. ἥδε γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς παρθένος, ἡ ἀμήτωρ φύσις, ἡ μονάδος οικειοτάτη καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἡ ἰδέα τῶν πλανήτων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς σφαίρας μονάς· ἐκ γὰρ μονάδος καὶ ἑβδομάδος οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἀσώματος, τὸ παράδειγμα

103 τοῦ ὄρατοῦ. πέπηγε δ' ὁ οὐρανοῦ ἕκ τε τῆς ἀμερίστου φύσεως καὶ τῆς μεριστῆς· ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀμέριστος τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀπλανῆ περιφορὰν εἴληχεν, ἣν μονὰς ἐπισκοπεῖ, ἡ δὲ μεριστὴ τὴν καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τάξει δευτέραν, ἧς ἐπιτροπεύει ἑβδομάς, ἣτις ἐξαχῆ διανεμηθεῖσα τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους ἐπὶ τὰ πλάνητας εἰργάσατο·

104 οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πεπλάνηταί τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν θείας καὶ μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος φύσεως μετ-εσχηκότων, οἷς πᾶσι τὸ ἀπλανὲς οικειότατον—τὴν γοῦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ ταυτότητα σώζοντα δολιχεύει τὸν

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in *Leg. All.* i. 2-4: "Moses wished to exhibit things mortal and immortal as having been formed in a way corresponding to their proper numbers" (§ 4). The reason why six is the appropriate number for mortal things, as seven for immortal, is given just before.

<sup>b</sup> For the Pythagorean origin of these epithets see note on *Mos.* ii. 210.

<sup>c</sup> Or "archetype."

<sup>d</sup> For the mystical identity of One and Seven *cf.* *De Post.* 64, *Quod Deus* 11, and § 159 below.

<sup>e</sup> This whole section, like its parallel, *De Cher.* 22, is based

## THE DECALOGUE, 101-104

and doing what we ought. But in what sense the world is said to have been created by God in six days when no time-period of any kind was needed by Him for his work has been explained elsewhere in our allegorical expositions.<sup>a</sup>

XXI. As for the number seven, the precedence 102 awarded to it among all that exists is explained by the students of mathematics, who have investigated it with the utmost care and consideration. It is the virgin <sup>b</sup> among the numbers, the essentially motherless, the closest bound to the initial Unit, the "idea" <sup>c</sup> of the planets, just as the unit is of the sphere of the fixed stars, for from the Unit and Seven springs the incorporeal heaven which is the pattern of the visible.<sup>d</sup>

Now the substance from which the 103 heaven has been framed is partly undivided and partly divided. To the undivided belongs the primal, highest and undeviating revolution presided over by the unit; to the divided another revolution, secondary both in value and order, under the governance of Seven, and this by a sixfold partition has produced the seven so-called planets, or wanderers.<sup>e</sup> Not that 104 any of the occupants of heaven wander, for sharing as they do in a blessed and divine and happy nature, they are all intrinsically free from any such tendency. In fact they preserve their uniformity unbroken and

upon Plato, *Timaeus* 36 c-d, where the heaven is conceived of as consisting of two revolving circles, the exterior, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the interior subdivided into seven concentric circles, one for each planet. "The exterior motion he called the motion of the Same (*ταυτόν*, cf. Philo's *ταυτότης*), the interior the motion of the Other" (so in *De Cher.*). The terms for "undivided" and "he divided" are *ἄσχιστος* and *σχίσσας*, but Plato has *ἀμέριστος* and *μεριστή οὐσία* a little before (35 A).

## PHILO

αἰῶνα μηδεμίαν ἐνδεχόμενα τροπὴν καὶ μεταβολὴν  
 —, ἀλλ' ὅτι περιπολοῦνται ὑπεναντίως τῇ ἀμερίστῳ  
 καὶ ἐξωτάτῳ σφαίρα, πλάνητες ὠνομάσθησαν οὐ  
 κυρίως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων εἰκαιοτέρων, οἱ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 πλάνην τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἐπεφήμισαν, ἃ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 105 στρατοπέδου τάξιν οὐδέποτε λείπει. διὰ μὲν δὴ  
 ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω τετίμηται ἢ ἑβδομάς· ἐπ'  
 οὐδενὶ δ' οὕτω προνομίας ἔτυχεν ἢ τῷ μάλιστα τὸν  
 ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἐμφαίνεσθαι δι'  
 αὐτῆς· ὡς γὰρ διὰ κατόπτρου φαντασιοῦται ὁ νοῦς  
 θεὸν δρῶντα καὶ κοσμοποιοῦντα καὶ τῶν ὄλων  
 ἐπιτροπεύοντα.

106 XXII. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης παραγγέλ-  
 λει πέμπτον παράγγελμα τὸ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς  
 τάξιν αὐτῷ δούς τὴν μεθόριον τῶν δυοῖν πεντάδων·  
 τελευταῖον γὰρ ὃν τῆς προτέρας, ἐν ἣ τὰ ἱερώτατα  
 προστάττεται,<sup>1</sup> συνάπτει καὶ τῇ δευτέρῃ περιεχούσῃ  
 107 τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια. αἴτιον δ' ὡς οἶμαι  
 τόδε· τῶν γονέων ἢ φύσις ἀθανάτου καὶ θνητῆς  
 οὐσίας ἔοικεν εἶναι μεθόριος, θνητῆς μὲν διὰ τὴν  
 [199] πρὸς | ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα συγγένειαν  
 κατὰ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐπίκηρον, ἀθανάτου δὲ διὰ  
 τὴν τοῦ γεννᾶν πρὸς θεὸν τὸν γεννητὴν τῶν ὄλων  
 108 ἕξομοίωσιν. ἤδη μὲν οὖν τινες τῇ ἐτέρῃ

μερίδι προσκληρώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἔδοξαν τῆς ἐτέρας  
 ὀλιγωρεῖν· ἄκρατον γὰρ ἐμφορησάμενοι τὸν εὐ-  
 σεβείας πόθον, πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες ταῖς ἄλλαις

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for ms. πρὸς τὰ πέντε. See App. pp. 611-612.

## THE DECALOGUE, 104-108

run their round to and fro for all eternity admitting no swerving or alteration. It is because their course is contrary to that of the undivided and outermost sphere that the planets gained their name which was improperly applied to them by the more thoughtless people, who credited with their own wanderings the heavenly bodies which never leave their posts in the divine camp.<sup>a</sup> For these reasons and many 105 others beside Seven is held in honour. But nothing so much assures its predominance as that through it is best given the revelation of the Father and Maker of all, for in it, as in a mirror, the mind has a vision of God as acting and creating the world and controlling all that is.

XXII. After dealing with the seventh day, He 106 gives the fifth commandment on the honour due to parents. This commandment He placed on the border-line between the two sets of five; it is the last of the first set in which the most sacred injunctions are given and it adjoins the second set which contains the duties of man to man. The reason I consider is 107 this: we see that parents by their nature stand on the border-line between the mortal and the immortal side of existence, the mortal because of their kinship with men and other animals through the perishableness of the body; the immortal because the act of generation assimilates them to God, the generator of the All. Now we have known some 108

who associate themselves with one of the two sides and are seen to neglect the other. They have drunk of the unmixed wine of pious aspirations and turning their backs upon all other concerns devoted their

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Laws* 821 c-d, where the name of "wanderers" is said to be a blasphemy.

## PHILO

- πραγματείαις ὄλον ἀνέθεσαν τὸν οἰκέιον βίον θερα-  
 109 πεία θεοῦ. οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἕξω τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους  
 δικαιωμάτων ἀγαθὸν ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι μόνην  
 τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλίαν ἡσπάσαντο, τῶν τε  
 ἀγαθῶν τὴν χρῆσιν ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσι παρέχοντες διὰ  
 κοινωνίας ἴμερον καὶ τὰ δεινὰ κατὰ δύναμιν  
 110 ἐπικουφίζειν ἀξιοῦντες. τούτους μὲν οὖν φιλο-  
 ανθρώπους, τοὺς δὲ προτέρους φιλοθέους ἐνδίκως  
 ἂν εἴποι τις, ἡμιτελεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν· ὀλόκληροι γὰρ  
 οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις εὐδοκιμοῦντες. ὅσοι δὲ μήτ'  
 ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐξετάζονται, συνηδόμενοι  
 μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, συναλγοῦντες δ' ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μήτ' εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος περι-  
 ἔχονται, μεταβεβληκέναι δόξαιεν ἂν εἰς θηρίων  
 φύσιν· ὧν τῆς ἀγριότητος οἴσονται τὰ πρωτεῖα οἱ  
 γονέων ἀλογοῦντες, ἑκατέρας μερίδος ὄντες ἐχθροὶ  
 καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους.  
 111 XXIII. ἐν δυσὶν οὖν δικαστηρίοις, ἃ δὴ μόνα ἐστὶν  
 ἐν τῇ φύσει, μὴ ἀγνοεῖτωσαν ἐάλωκότες, ἀσεβείας  
 μὲν ἐν τῷ θείῳ, διότι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ  
 εἶναι παραγαγόντας καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μιμησαμένους  
 θεὸν οὐ περιέπουσι, μισανθρωπίας δ' ἐν τῷ κατ'  
 112 ἀνθρώπους. τίνα γὰρ ἕτερον εὖ ποιήσουσιν οἱ τῶν  
 συγγενεστάτων καὶ τὰς μεγίστας παρασχομένων  
 δωρεὰς ὀλιγωροῦντες, ὧν ἔνιαι δι' ὑπερβολὴν οὐδ'  
 ἀμοιβὰς ἐνδέχονται; πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ γεννηθεὶς  
 ἀντιγεννηῆσαι δύναίτο τοὺς σπείραντας, κλῆρον  
 ἐξαίρετον τῆς φύσεως χαρισαμένης πρὸς παῖδας  
 γονεῦσιν εἰς ἀντίδοσιν ἔλθειν οὐ δυνάμενον; ὅθεν



## THE DECALOGUE, 109-112

personal life wholly to the service of God. Others 109  
conceiving the idea that there is no good outside  
doing justice to men have no heart for anything but  
companionship with men. In their desire for fellow-  
ship they supply the good things of life in equal  
measure to all for their use, and deem it their duty to  
alleviate by anything in their power the dreaded  
hardships. These may be justly called lovers of 110  
men, the former sort lovers of God. Both come  
but halfway in virtue ; they only have it whole  
who win honour in both departments. But all  
who neither take their fit place in dealings with  
men by sharing the joy of others at the common  
good and their grief at the reverse, nor cling to  
piety and holiness, would seem to have been trans-  
formed into the nature of wild beasts. In such  
bestial savagery the first place will be taken by those  
who disregard parents and are therefore the foes of  
both sides of the law, the godward and the manward.  
XXIII. Let them not then fail to understand that 111  
in the two courts, the only courts which nature has,  
they stand convicted ; in the divine court, of impiety  
because they do not show due respect to those who  
brought them forth from non-existence to existence  
and in this were imitators of God ; in the human court,  
of inhumanity. For to whom else will they show 112  
kindness if they despise the closest of their kinsfolk  
who have bestowed upon them the greatest boons,  
some of them far exceeding any possibility of re-  
payment ? For how could the begotten beget in his  
turn those whose seed he is, since nature has bestowed  
on parents in relation to their children an estate of  
a special kind which cannot be subject to the law

## PHILO

- καὶ σφόδρα προσῆκεν ἀγανακτεῖν, εἰ μὴ πάντα  
 ἔχοντες ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι μηδὲ τὰ κουφότατα ἐθε-  
 113 λήσουσιν. οἷς δεόντως ἂν εἴποιμι· τὰ  
 θηρία πρὸς ἀνθρώπους<sup>1</sup> ἡμεροῦσθαι δεῖ· καὶ πολ-  
 λάκις ἔγνων ἡμερωθέντας λέοντας, ἄρκτους, |  
 [200] παρδάλεις, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς τρέφοντας διὰ  
 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἄλλους, ἕνεκά μοι δοκῶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους  
 ὁμοιότητος· καλὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ τῷ κρείττονι τὸ  
 114 χεῖρον ἀκολουθεῖν διὰ βελτιώσεως ἐλπίδα. νυνὶ δ'  
 ἀναγκασθήσομαι τάναντία λέγειν· μιμηταὶ θηρίων  
 ἐνίων, ἄνθρωποι, γίνεσθε. τοὺς ὠφεληκότας ἀντ-  
 ὠφελεῖν ἐκεῖνα οἶδε καὶ πεπαιδευταί· κύνες οἰκουροὶ  
 προασπίζουσι καὶ προαποθνήσκουσι τῶν δεσποτῶν,  
 ὅταν κίνδυνός τις ἐξαπιναίως καταλάβῃ· τοὺς δ'  
 ἐν ταῖς ποίμναις φασὶ προαγωνιζομένους τῶν  
 θρεμμάτων ἄχρι νίκης ἢ θανάτου παραμένειν ὑπὲρ  
 115 τοῦ διατηρῆσαι τοὺς ἀγελάρχας ἀζημίους. εἴτ'  
 οὐκ αἰσχυρῶν ἐστὶν αἰσχιστον, ἐν χαρίτων ἀμοιβαῖς  
 ἄνθρωπον ἡττηθῆναι κυνός, τοῦ θηρίων θραυστάτου  
 τὸ ἡμερώτατον ζῶον; ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τοῖς  
 χερσαίοις ἀναδιδασκόμεθα, πρὸς τὴν πτηνὴν καὶ  
 ἀεροπόρον μετίωμεν φύσιν ἢ χρὴ παρ' αὐτῆς  
 116 μαθησόμενοι. τῶν πελαργῶν οἱ μὲν γηραιοὶ κατα-  
 μένουσιν ἐν ταῖς νεοττιαῖς ἀδυνατοῦντες ἵπτασθαι,  
 οἱ δὲ τούτων παῖδες ὀλίγου δέω φάναι γῆν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνθρώπων.

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<sup>a</sup> Clearly an allusion to the Attic law by which a citizen nominated to perform a "leiturgia" might call upon a person not so nominated whom he considered to be wealthier than himself to exchange properties with him. Here, as often,

## THE DECALOGUE, 112-116

of "exchange" <sup>a</sup>? And therefore the greatest indignation is justified if children, because they are unable to make a complete return, refuse to make even the slightest. Properly, <sup>b</sup> I should say to them, 113

"beasts ought to become tame through association with men." Indeed I have often known lions and bears and panthers become tame, not only with those who feed them, in gratitude for receiving what they require, but also with everybody else, presumably because of the likeness to those who give them food. <sup>c</sup> That is what should happen, for it is always good for the inferior to follow the superior in hope of improvement. But as it is I shall be forced to say the opposite 114 of this, "You men will do well to take some beasts for your models." They have been trained to know how to return benefit for benefit. Watch-dogs guard and die for their masters when some danger suddenly overtakes them. Sheep-dogs, they say, fight for their charges and hold their ground till they conquer or die, in order to keep the herdsmen unscathed. Is it 115 not, then, a very scandal of scandals that in returning kindnesses a man should be worsted by a dog, the most civilized of living creatures by the most audacious of brutes?

But, if we cannot learn from the land animals, let us turn for a lesson in right conduct to the winged tribe that ranges the air. Among the storks <sup>d</sup> the old birds stay in the nests 116 when they are unable to fly, while their children fly, I might almost say, over sea and land, gathering

Philo shews his knowledge of Attic law, as he found it in Demosthenes.

<sup>b</sup> The sense is "the natural and proper thing is for beasts to learn from men; in this case men have to learn from beasts."

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* these animals come to associate the human form with kindness.

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 612.

## PHILO

- θάλατταν ἐπιποτώμενοι πανταχόθεν ἐκπορίζουσι  
 117 τοῖς γονεῦσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀξίως τῆς  
 ἡλικίας ἡρεμοῦντες ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ διατελοῦσι τῇ πάσῃ  
 τρυφῶντες, οἱ δὲ τὰς εἰς τὸν πορισμὸν κακοπαθείας  
 ἐπελαφριζόμενοι τῷ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ τῷ προσδοκᾶν  
 ἐν γῆρα τὰ αὐτὰ πείσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκγόνων  
 ἀναγκαῖον ὄφλημα ἀντεκτίνουσιν, ἐν καιρῷ καὶ  
 λαβόντες αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνταποδιδόντες, ὅτ' οὐδέτεροι  
 τρέφειν αὐτοὺς δύνανται, παῖδες μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς  
 γενέσεως, γονεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου· ὅθεν  
 αὐτοδιδάκτῳ τῇ φύσει νεοττοτροφηθέντες γηρο-  
 118 τροφοῦσι χαίροντες. ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις ἀνθρώπους, ὅσοι γονέων ἀμελοῦσιν, ἐγ-  
 καλύπτεσθαι καὶ κακίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, ὠλιγωρηκότας  
 ὧν ἢ μόνων ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναγκαῖον ἦν  
 πεφροντικέαι, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ διδόντας μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἀποδιδόντας; παίδων γὰρ ἴδιον οὐδέν, ὃ μὴ  
 γονέων ἐστίν, ἢ οἴκοθεν ἐπιδεδωκότων ἢ τὰς αἰτίας  
 119 τῆς κτήσεως παρασχομένων. εὐσέβειαν δὲ καὶ  
 ὀσιότητα, τὰς ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονίδας, ἄρα γ' ἐντὸς  
 ὄρων ἔχουσι τῶν ψυχῶν; ὑπερορίου μὲν οὖν ἀπ-  
 εληλάκασι καὶ πεφυγαδεύκασι· θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπηρέται  
 [201] πρὸς | τέκνων σπορὰν οἱ γονεῖς· ὃ δ' ὑπηρέτην  
 120 ἀτιμάζων συνατιμάζει καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα. τῶν δ'  
 εὐτολμοτέρων ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὸ γονέων ὄνομά  
 φασί τινες, ὡς ἄρα πατῆρ καὶ μήτηρ ἐμφανεῖς εἰσι  
 θεοί, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀγένητον ἐν τῷ ζωοπλαστεῖν·

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 612.

## THE DECALOGUE, 116-120

from every quarter provision for the needs of their parents; and so while they in the inactivity justified by their age continue to enjoy all abundance of luxury, the younger birds making light of the hardships sustained in their quest for food, moved by piety and the expectation that the same treatment will be meted to them by their offspring, repay the debt which they may not refuse—a debt both incurred and discharged at the proper time—namely that in which one or other of the parties is unable to maintain itself, the children in the first stage of their existence, the parents at the end of their lives. And thus without any teacher but their natural instinct they gladly give to age the nurture which fostered their youth.

With this example before them may not human beings, who take no thought for their parents, deservedly hide their faces for shame and revile themselves for their neglect of those whose welfare should necessarily have been their sole or their primary care, and that not so much as givers as repayers of a due? For children have nothing of their own which does not come from their parents, either bestowed from their own resources or acquired by means which originate from them. Piety and religion are the queens among the virtues. Do they dwell within the confines of such souls as these? No, they have driven them from the realm and sent them into banishment. For parents are the servants of God for the task of begetting children, and he who dishonours the servant dishonours also the Lord. Some bolder spirits,<sup>a</sup> glorifying the name of parenthood, say that a father and a mother are in fact gods revealed to sight who copy the Uncreated in His work as the Framers of life. He,

## PHILO

ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου θεόν, τοὺς δὲ μόνων ὦν ἐγέννησαν. ἀμήχανον δ' εὐσεβεῖσθαι τὸν ἀόρατον ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς καὶ ἐγγύς ὄντας ἀσεβούντων.

- 121 XXIV. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς φιλοσοφήσας τέλος ἐπιτίθησι τῇ ἑτέρα καὶ θειοτέρα πεντάδι. τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἀναγραφάμενος περιέχουσιν ἀπαγορεύσεις τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ μοιχείας ἄρχεται, μέγιστον ἀδικημάτων τοῦτ' εἶναι ὑπο-
- 122 λαβῶν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πηγὴν ἔχει φιληδονίαν, ἣ καὶ τὰ σώματα θρύπτει τῶν ἐχόντων καὶ τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλύει τόνους καὶ τὰς οὐσίας διαφθείρει πάντα δίκην ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ὧν ἂν προσάψῃται καταφλέγουσα καὶ μηδὲν σῶον ἀπολείπουσα τῶν
- 123 κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. ἔπειτ' ἀναπείθει τὸν μοιχὸν οὐκ ἀδικεῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκειν συναδικεῖν ἐν ἀκοινωνήτοις πράγμασι κοινωνίαν τιθέμενον· οἷστρου γὰρ [τοῦ]<sup>1</sup> κατασχόντος, ἀμήχανον λαβεῖν τέλος δι' ἑνὸς μόνου τὰς ὀρέξεις, ἀλλὰ δεῖ πάντως δύο κοινοπραγῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ὑψηλοῦ τὸν δὲ γνωρίμου τάξιν λαβόντα, πρὸς ἀκρασίας καὶ λαγνείας βεβαίωσιν, αἰσχίστων
- 124 κακῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν, ὡς τὸ σῶμα μόνον διαφθείρεται τῆς μοιχευομένης γυναικός, ἀλλ', εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἣ ψυχὴ πρὸ τοῦ σώματος εἰς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ἐθίζεται διδασκομένη πάντα τρόπον ἀποστρέφεισθαι καὶ μισεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα.
- 125 καὶ ἦττον ἂν ἦν δεινόν, εἰ τὸ μῖσος ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐμφανές—τὰ γὰρ ἐν περιόπτῳ ῥᾶον φυλάξασθαι—νυνὶ δὲ δυσυπονόητον καὶ δυσθῆρατόν

<sup>1</sup> Or, as Mangey, read τούτου.

## THE DECALOGUE, 120-125

they say, is the God or Maker of the world, they of those only whom they have begotten, and how can reverence be rendered to the invisible God by those who show irreverence to the gods who are near at hand and seen by the eye ?

XXIV. With these wise words on honouring 121  
parents He closes the one set of five which is more  
concerned with the divine. In committing to writing  
the second set which contains the actions prohibited  
by our duty to fellow-men, He begins with adultery,  
holding this to be the greatest of crimes. For in the 122  
first place it has its source in the love of pleasure  
which enervates the bodies of those who entertain it,  
relaxes the sinews of the soul and wastes away the  
means of subsistence, consuming like an unquench-  
able fire all that it touches and leaving nothing whole-  
some in human life. Secondly, it persuades the 123  
adulterer not merely to do the wrong but to teach  
another to share the wrong by setting up a partner-  
ship in a situation where no true partnership is pos-  
sible. For when the frenzy has got the mastery, the  
appetites cannot possibly gain their end through one  
agent only, but there must necessarily be two acting  
in common, one taking the position of the teacher,  
the other of the pupil, whose aim is to put on a firm  
footing the vilest of sins, licentiousness and lewdness.  
We cannot even say that it is only the body of the 124  
adulteress which is corrupted, but the real truth is  
that her soul rather than her body is habituated to  
estrangement from the husband, taught as it is to  
feel complete aversion and hatred for him.  
And the matter would be less terrible if the hatred 125  
were shown openly, since what is conspicuous is more  
easily guarded against, but in actual fact it easily

## PHILO

- ἔστι, πανούργοις τέχναις συσκιαζόμενον καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔστιν ὅτε τοῦ φιλεῖν δόξαν ἐμποιοῦν
- 126 γοητείας τισὶ καὶ ἀπάταις. ἀναστάτους γε μὴν τρεῖς ἀποδείκνυσιν<sup>1</sup> οἴκους, τόν τε τοῦ παρασπονδουμένου ἀνδρός, ὃς τὰς ἐπὶ γάμοις εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ γνησίοις παισὶν ἐλπίδας περικόπτεται, καὶ δύο δ' ἐτέρους τόν τε τοῦ μοιχοῦ καὶ τὸν τῆς γυναικός, καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἑκάτερος ὕβρεως καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὄνειδῶν ἀναπίμπλαται.
- 127 κὰν πολυάνθρωποι μὲν τύχῳσιν αἱ συγγένειαι διὰ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλων πρὸς ἄλλους ἐπιμιξίας, αἴψεται καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἐν κύκλῳ
- 128 βαδίζον τὰδίκημα. παγχάλεπόν γε μὴν
- [202] | καὶ ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἐπαμφοτερισμός· μὴ γὰρ ἀγνευούσης γυναικός, ἀμφίδοξον καὶ ἄδηλον, τὰ ἀποκυόμενα τίνος ἔστι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πατρός· εἶτα λαυθάνοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οἱ μοιχίδιοι τὴν τῶν γνησίων παρασπασάμενοι τάξιν ἄλλοτρίαν γενεὰν νοθεύουσι καὶ κλῆρον ὅσον τῷ δοκεῖν πατρῶον
- 129 οὐδὲν προσήκοντα διαδέξονται. καὶ ὁ μὲν μοιχὸς ἐφυβρίσας καὶ ἐναπερυγῶν τὸ πάθος, ἐπίληπτον σπορὰν σπείρας, ὅταν ἀποπλησθῇ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, οἰχῆσεται καταλιπῶν, γέλωτα θέμενος τὴν τοῦ παρανομηθέντος ἄγνοιαν· ὁ δ' οἷα τυφλὸς μηδὲν τῶν ὑποικουρημένων ἐπιστάμενος ὡς οἰκειότατα ἔκγονα τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων θεραπεύειν
- 130 ἀναγκασθῆσεται. φανερόν δ' εἰ γένοιτο τὰδίκημα, κακοδαιμονέστατοι γένοιντ' ἂν οἱ μηδὲν ἡδικηκότες

<sup>1</sup> Cohn with some mss. ἀποδεικνύουσιν, but the ms. authority is almost as good for the singular, which seems better suited



## THE DECALOGUE, 125-130

eludes suspicion and detection, shrouded by artful knavery and sometimes creating by deceptive wiles the opposite impression of affection. Indeed it makes 126 havoc of three families : of that of the husband who suffers from the breach of faith, stripped of the promise of his marriage-vows and his hopes of legitimate offspring, and of two others, those of the adulterer and the woman, for the infection of the outrage and dishonour and disgrace of the deepest kind extends to the family of both. And if their connexions include 127 a large number of persons through intermarriages and widespread associations, the wrong will travel all round and affect the whole State. Very 128 painful, too, is the uncertain status of the children, for if the wife is not chaste there will be doubt and dispute as to the real paternity of the offspring. Then if the fact is undetected, the fruit of the adultery usurp the position of the legitimate and form an alien and bastard brood and will ultimately succeed to the heritage of their putative father to which they have no right. And the adulterer having in 129 insolent triumph vented his passions and sown the seed of shame, his lust now sated, will leave the scene and go on his way mocking at the ignorance of the victim of his crime, who like a blind man knowing nothing of the covert intrigues of the past will be forced to cherish the children of his deadliest foe as his own flesh and blood. On the other hand, if 130 the wrong becomes known, the poor children who have done no wrong will be most unfortunate, unable

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to the context than the plural, which would presumably have *ἀπάραι* or *τέχναι* for its subject. The sequel refers to adultery in general rather than the deceptions which usually accompany it.

## PHILO

- ἄθλιοι παῖδες, μηδετέρῳ γένει προσνεμηθῆναι  
 δυνάμενοι, μήτε τῷ τοῦ γήμαντος μήτε τῷ τοῦ  
 131 μοιχοῦ. τοιαύτας συμφορὰς ἀπεργαζομένης τῆς  
 ἐκνόμου μίξεως, εἰκότως στυγητὸν καὶ θεομίσητον  
 πρᾶγμα, μοιχεία, πρῶτον ἀδικημάτων ἀνεγράφη.
- 132 XXV. Δεύτερον δὲ πρόσταγμα μὴ ἀνδροφονεῖν.  
 ἀγελαστικὸν γὰρ καὶ σύννομον ζῶον τὸ ἡμερώτατον  
 ἄνθρωπον ἢ φύσις γεννήσασα πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ  
 κοινωνίαν ἐκάλεσε, λόγον δοῦσα συναγωγὸν εἰς  
 ἁρμονίαν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἡθῶν. ὁ δὲ κτείνων τινὰ μὴ  
 ἀγνοεῖτω νόμους φύσεως καὶ θεσμοὺς ἀνατρέπων
- 133 καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως ἅπασι γραφέντας. ἴστω  
 μέντοι καὶ ἱεροσυλίας ἔνοχος ὢν τὸ ἱερώτατον τῶν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ κτημάτων σεσυληκῶς· τί γὰρ σεμνότερον  
 ἢ ἀγιώτερον ἀνάθημα ἀνθρώπου; χρυσὸς μὲν καὶ  
 ἄργυρος καὶ λίθοι πολυτελεῖς καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι  
 τιμαλφέσταται ὕλαι κόσμος οἰκοδομημάτων ἐστίν,
- 134 ἄψυχος ἀψύχων· ἄνθρωπος δὲ, ζῶον ἄριστον κατὰ  
 τὸ κρεῖττον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, τὴν ψυχὴν, συγγενέ-  
 στατος τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς οὐσίας οὐρανῷ, ὡς δ'  
 ὁ τῶν πλείστων λόγος, καὶ τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρί,  
 τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων οἰκειότατον ἀπεικόνισμα  
 καὶ μίμημα τῆς αἰδίου καὶ εὐδαίμονος ἰδέας τὸν  
 νοῦν λαβῶν.
- 135 XXVI. Τρίτον δ' ἐστὶ τῆς δευτέρας πεντάδος  
 παράγγελμα μὴ κλέπτειν. ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις  
 ἐπικεχηνῶς κοινὸς πόλεως ἐχθρὸς, βουλήσει μὲν  
 τὰ πάντων δυνάμει δὲ τὰ τινῶν ὑφαιρούμενος, τῷ  
 τὴν μὲν πλεονεξίαν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτείνεσθαι, τὸ

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<sup>a</sup> Literally "blending of temperaments or characteristics."  
 See note on *Mos.* ii. 256.

## THE DECALOGUE, 130-135

to be classed with either family, either the husband's or the adulterer's. Such being the disasters wrought 131 by illicit intercourse, naturally the abominable and God-detested sin of adultery was placed first in the list of wrongdoing.

XXV. The second commandment is to do no 132 murder. For nature, who created man the most civilized of animals to be gregarious and sociable, has called him to shew fellowship and a spirit of partnership by endowing him with reason, the bond which leads to harmony and reciprocity of feeling.<sup>a</sup> Let him, then, who slays another know full well that he is subverting the laws and statutes of nature so excellently enacted for the well-being of all. Further, 133 let him understand that he is guilty of sacrilege, the robbery from its sanctuary of the most sacred of God's possessions. For what votive offering is more hallowed or more worthy of reverence than a man? Gold and silver and costly stones and other substances of highest price serve as ornaments to buildings which are as lifeless as the ornaments themselves. But man, the best of living creatures, through that 134 higher part of his being, namely, the soul, is most nearly akin to heaven, the purest thing in all that exists, and, as most admit, also to the Father of the world, possessing in his mind a closer likeness and copy than anything else on earth of the eternal and blessed Archetype.

XXVI. The third commandment in the second 135 five forbids stealing, for he who gapes after what belongs to others is the common enemy of the State, willing to rob all, but able only to filch from some, because, while his covetousness extends in-

## PHILO

- δ' ἀσθενὲς ὑστερίζον εἰς βραχὺ στέλλεσθαι καὶ  
 [203] μόνον | φθάνειν ἐπ' ὀλίγους. ὅσοι τοίνυν τῶν  
 136 κλεπτῶν ἰσχὺν προσέλαβον ὅλας συλῶσι πόλεις  
 ἀλογοῦντες τιμωριῶν διὰ τὸ ἐπικυδέστεροι τῶν  
 νόμων εἶναι δοκεῖν· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ὀλιγαρχικοὶ  
 τὰς φύσεις, οἱ τυραννίδων καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐπι-  
 θυμοῦντες, οἱ τὰς μεγάλας ἐργαζόμενοι κλοπὰς,  
 σεμνοῖς ὀνόμασι τοῖς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐπι-  
 137 κρύπτοντες ληστείαν τάληθές ἔργον. ἐκ πρώτης  
 οὖν ἡλικίας ἀναδιδασκέσθω τις μηδὲν λάθρα τῶν  
 ἀλλοτρίων ὑφαιρῆσθαι, κἂν βραχύτατον ἦ, διότι  
 ἐγχρονίζον ἔθος φύσεως κραταιότερόν ἐστι καὶ τὰ  
 μικρὰ μὴ κωλυόμενα φύεται καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι πρὸς  
 μέγεθος συναυξανόμενα.
- 138 XXVII. Κλέπτειν δ' ἀπειπῶν ἐξῆς ψευδο-  
 μαρτυρεῖν ἀπαγορεύει, πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ  
 πᾶσι χαλεποῖς τοὺς ψευδομάρτυρας ἐνόχους εἰδώς.  
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον φθείρουσι τὴν σεμνὴν ἀλήθειαν,  
 ἥς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν βίῳ κτῆμα ἱερώτερον,<sup>1</sup> ἡλίου τρόπον  
 φῶς τοῖς πράγμασι περιτιθείσης, ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτῶν  
 139 ἐπισκιάζηται. δεύτερον δὲ πρὸς τῷ ψεύδεσθαι  
 καὶ τὰ πράγματα οἷα νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεῖ περι-  
 ἀμπίσχοι καὶ συμπράττουσι μὲν τοῖς ἀμαρτάνοις,  
 ἐπιτίθενται δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, ἃ μὴτ' εἶδον  
 μὴτ' ἤκουσαν μὴτ' ἴσασι παγίως εἰδέναι καὶ  
 σφόδρα κατειληφέναι διαβεβαιούμενοι.
- 140 προσεξεργάζονται δὲ καὶ τρίτον παρανόμημα τῶν  
 προτέρων ἀργαλέωτερον· ὅταν γὰρ σπάνις ἀπο-  
 δείξεων ἢ διὰ λόγων ἢ διὰ γραμμάτων, ἐπὶ μάρ-

## THE DECALOGUE, 135-140

definitely, his feebler capacity cannot keep pace with it but restricted to a small compass reaches only to a few. So all thieves who have acquired the strength 136 rob whole cities, careless of punishment because their high distinction seems to set them above the laws. These are oligarchically-minded persons, ambitious for despotism or domination, who perpetrate thefts on a great scale, disguising the real fact of robbery under the grand-sounding names of government and leadership. Let a man, then, learn from 137 his earliest years to filch nothing by stealth that belongs to another, however small it may be, because custom in the course of time is stronger than nature, and little things if not checked grow and thrive till they attain to great dimensions.

XXVII. Having denounced theft, he next pro- 138 ceeds to forbid false witness, knowing that false witnesses are guilty under many important heads, all of them of a grave kind. In the first place, they corrupt truth, the august, the treasure as sacred as anything that we possess in life, which like the sun pours light upon facts and events and allows none of them to be kept in the shade. Secondly, apart from 139 the falsehood, they veil the facts as it were in night and profound darkness, take part with the offenders and against those who are wronged, by affirming that they have sure knowledge and thorough apprehension of things which they have neither seen nor heard. And indeed they commit a 140 third transgression even more heinous than the first two. For when there is a lack of proofs, either verbal or written, disputants have resort to

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<sup>1</sup> So R, other MSS. *ιερώτατον*: Cohn proposes as an alternative <κάλλιον>, *ιερώτατον* agreeing with *φῶς*.

## PHILO

- τυρας καταφεύγουσιν οἱ τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντες, ὧν τὰ ρήματα κανόνες εἰσὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς περὶ ὧν μέλλουσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι· μόνοις γὰρ τούτοις ἐπανεχέειν ἀνάγκη, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐτέρου τῶν εἰς ἔλεγχον· ἐξ οὗ συμβαίνει, τοὺς μὲν καταμαρτυρομένους ἀδικεῖσθαι νικᾶν δυναμένους, τοὺς δὲ προσέχοντας δικαστὰς ἀδίκους καὶ παρανόμους
- 141 ψήφους ἀντὶ νομίμων καὶ δικαίων γράφειν. τὸ μέντοι πανούργημα φθάνει καὶ πρὸς ἀσέβειαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνωμότοις δικάζειν ἔθος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φρικωδεστάτων ὄρκων, οὓς παραβαίνουσι πρὸ τῶν ἀπατωμένων οἱ φενακίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τῶν μὲν τὸ σφάλμα οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, οἱ δ' ἐπιστήμη καταστρατηγοῦσι καὶ ἐκ προνοίας ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ τοὺς κυρίου τῆς ψήφου συνεξαμαρτάνειν ἀναπείθοντες οὐκ εἰδότας ὃ δρῶσιν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν
- [204] οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξίων κολάσεως. | διὰ μὲν δὴ ταυτὰ μοι δοκεῖ ψευδομαρτυρίαν ἀπειπεῖν.
- 142 XXVIII. Τελευταῖον δ' ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀπαγορεύει νεωτεροποιὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν εἰδώς. πάντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ψυχῆς πάθη χαλεπά, κινουῦντα καὶ σείοντα αὐτὴν παρὰ φύσιν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν οὐκ ἐῶντα, χαλεπώτατον δ' ἐπιθυμία· διὸ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἕκαστον θύραθεν ἐπεισιὸν καὶ προσπίπτον

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read, as Cohn later, *διότι*. See note *d*.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the jurymen.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps understand the jurymen, but the analogy of § 91 points rather to "oaths."

<sup>c</sup> It will be seen that Philo extends the meaning of the word from covetousness of what is another's to desire in general, and this enables him to enter on a disquisition on the four passions of the Stoics. Driver notes that the Hebrew

## THE DECALOGUE, 140-142

witnesses whose words are taken by the jurymen as standards in determining the verdicts they are about to give, since they are obliged to fall back on these alone if there is no other means of testing the truth. The result is that those against whom the testimony is given suffer injustice when they might have won their case, and the judges who listen to the testimony record unjust and lawless instead of just and lawful votes. In fact, the knavery of the action amounts to impiety, for it is the rule that jurymen must be put on their oaths and indeed oaths of the most terrific character which are broken not so much by the victims<sup>a</sup> as by the perpetrators of the deception, since the former do not err intentionally, while the latter with full knowledge set the oaths at nought.<sup>b</sup> They deliberately sin themselves and persuade those who have control of the voting to share their sin and, though they know not what they do, punish persons who deserve no chastisement. It was for these reasons, I believe, that He forbade false witness. 141

XXVIII. The last commandment is against covetousness or desire<sup>c</sup> which he knew to be a subversive and insidious enemy. For all the passions of the soul which stir and shake it out of its proper nature and do not let it continue in sound health are hard to deal with, but desire is hardest of all. And therefore<sup>d</sup> while each of the others seems to be involuntary, an 142

word also is general and only gets its bad sense from the context. For some analogies with Stoic phraseology see App. p. 612.

<sup>a</sup> The logic of "therefore" is not at all clear; neither, however, is Cohn's later substitute of "because." Perhaps however *χάλεπά* may be taken = "baneful" or "evil," and Philo is, as so often, insisting on the difference in guilt between voluntary and involuntary sins.

## PHILO

- ἔξωθεν ἀκούσιον εἶναι δοκεῖ, μόνη δ' ἐπιθυμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λαμβάνει καὶ ἔστιν ἐκούσιος.
- 143 τί δ' ἔστιν ὃ λέγω; τοῦ παρόντος καὶ νομισθέντος ἀγαθοῦ φαντασία διεγείρει καὶ διανίστησι τὴν ψυχὴν ἡρεμοῦσαν καὶ σφόδρα μετέωρον ἐξαίρει καθάπερ ὀφθαλμοὺς φῶς ἀναστράψαν· καλεῖται δὲ τουτὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς ἡδονή.
- 144 τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἀγαθῷ κακόν, ὅταν εἰσβιασάμενον<sup>1</sup> πληγὴν ἐπενέγκῃ καίριον, συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας εὐθύς αὐτὴν ἀναπίμπλησιν ἄκουσαν· ὄνομα δὲ
- 145 [καὶ] τούτῳ τῷ πάθει λύπη. ὅταν δὲ τὸ κακὸν μήπω μὲν εἰσωκισμένον θλίβῃ, μέλλῃ δ' ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ παρεντρεπίζηται, πτοίαν καὶ ἀγωνίαν, ἀποφράδας ἀγγέλους, προεκπέμπει δειματοῦντας· φόβος δὲ προσαγορεύεται τὸ πάθος.
- 146 ἐπειδὰν δὲ λαβῶν τις ἔννοιαν ἀγαθοῦ μὴ παρόντος ὀρέγεται τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς μήκιστον τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλαύνων<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκτείνων, ψαῦσαι τοῦ ποθομένου γλιχόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κατατείνεται, σπεύδων μὲν συλλαβεῖν, ἐφικνεῖσθαι δ' ἀδυνατῶν καὶ ταῦτὸν πεπονθῶς τοῖς τοὺς ἐξαναχωροῦντας διώκουσιν ἐλάττονι μὲν τάχει προθυμία δ' ἀνανταγωνίστῳ.
- 147 ὅμοιον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἔοικε συμβαίνειν· ὀφθαλμοί τε γὰρ πολλάκις ὄρατοῦ τινος πάνυ μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτος εἰς κατάληψιν ἔλθεῖν ἐπειγόμενοι, τείνοντες αὐτούς, εὖ μάλα καὶ πλέον τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνεχθέντες, ὠλισθον κατὰ κενοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου γινῶσιν σφαλέντες καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn by a later correction for ἐκβιασάμενον, in which the prefix seems very inappropriate. One ms. gives ἐμβ-. No



## THE DECALOGUE, 142-147

extraneous visitation, an assault from outside, desire alone originates with ourselves and is voluntary.

What is it that I mean? The presenta- 143  
tion to the mind of something which is actually with us and considered to be good, arouses and awakes the soul when at rest and like a light flashing upon the eyes raises it to a state of great elation. This sensation of the soul is called pleasure. And 144

when evil, the opposite of good, forces its way in and deals a home thrust to the soul, it at once fills it all against its will with depression and dejection. This sensation is called grief, or pain. When 145

the evil thing is not yet lodged inside nor pressing hard upon us but is on the point of arriving and is making its preparation, it sends in its van trepidation and distress, messengers of evil presage, to sound the alarm. This sensation is called fear. But 146

when a person conceives an idea of something good which is not present and is eager to get it, and propels his soul to the greatest distance and strains it to the greatest possible extent in his avidity to touch the desired object, he is, as it were, stretched upon a wheel, all anxiety to grasp the object but unable to reach so far and in the same plight as persons pursuing with invincible zeal, though with inferior speed, others who retreat before them. We 147

also find a similar phenomenon in the senses. The eyes are often eager to obtain apprehension of some very far off object. They strain themselves and carry on bravely and indeed beyond their strength, then hit upon a void and there slip, failing to get an accurate knowledge of the object in question,

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such verb is known to the dictionaries, but it has the analogy of *ἐμβάλλω*.<sup>2</sup> MSS. *ἐλαύνει*.

## PHILO

προσέτι τὴν ὄψιν τῷ βιαίῳ καὶ συντόνῳ τῆς  
ἀτενοῦς προσβολῆς ἀσθενήσαντες ἀμαυροῦνται.<sup>1</sup>  
148 καὶ θροῦ πάλιν ἀσαφοῦς ἐκ μακροῦ  
διαστήματος φερομένου, τὰ ὦτα ἀνεγερθέντα καὶ  
ἐπουρίσαντα ἴεται καὶ σπεύδει προσελθεῖν εἰ οἶόν  
τε ἐγγυτέρω, πόθῳ τοῦ τρανωθῆναι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς  
149 τὸν ἦχον· ὁ δ'—ἔτι γὰρ ἀμαυρὸς ὡς ἔοικε προσ-  
πίπτει—οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς γνώσιν τηλαυγέστερον  
ἐπιδίδωσιν, ὡς ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀ-  
διεξίτητον ἐπιτείνεσθαι τοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἡμερον,  
Ταντάλειον τιμωρίαν ἐπιφερούσης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας·  
ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ὦν ὀρεχθείη πάντων ὁπότε μέλλοι  
ψαύσειν, ἀπετύγχανεν, ὃ τε κρατηθεῖς ἐπιθυμία,  
[205] | διψῶν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, οὐδέποτε πληροῦται περὶ  
150 κενὴν ἰλυσπώμενος τὴν ὄρεξιν. ὥσπερ τε τὰ  
ἐρπηνώδη τῶν νοσημάτων, εἰ μὴ προανακρουσθεῖη  
τομαῖς ἢ καύσεσιν, ἐπιθέοντα σύμπασαν ἐν κύκλῳ  
καταλαμβάνει τὴν τοῦ σώματος κοινωνίαν οὐδὲν  
ἀπαθὲς μέρος ἐῶντα, οὕτως, εἰ μὴ λόγος ὁ κατὰ  
φιλοσοφίαν ἰατροῦ δίκην ἀγαθοῦ ρέουσας τὴν  
ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπίσχοι, πάντ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ τοῦ βίου  
πράγματα κινηθήσεται παρὰ φύσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ  
ἔστιν ὑπεξηρημένον ὃ διαφεύγει τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ'  
ὅταν ἄδειαν λάβῃ καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν, ἐπινέμεται καὶ  
151 σίνεται<sup>2</sup> πάντα διὰ πάντων. εὐήθες ἴσως  
μακρηγορεῖν ἔστι περὶ τῶν οὕτως ἐμφανῶν, ἃ τίς  
ἀνὴρ ἢ πόλις ἀγνοεῖ καθ' ἐκάστην οὐχ ἡμέραν  
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥραν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἔλεγχον  
ἐναργῆ παριστάντα; χρημάτων ἔρως ἢ γυναικὸς  
ἢ δόξης ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν ἡδονῆν ἀπεργαζομένων

<sup>1</sup> For text see App. p. 613.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. γίνεται.

## THE DECALOGUE, 147-151

and furthermore they lose strength and their power of sight is dimmed by the intensity and violence of their steady gazing. And again when an in- 148 distinct noise is carried from a long distance the ears are roused and pressed forward at high speed<sup>a</sup> and are eager to go nearer if they could, in their longing to have the sound made clear to the hearing. The 149 noise however, whose impact evidently continues to be dull, does not shew any increase of clearness which might make it knowable, and so a still greater intensity is given to the ceaseless and indescribable longing for apprehension. For desire entails the punishment of Tantalus ; as he missed everything that he wished for just when he was about to touch it, so the person who is mastered by desire, ever thirsting for what is absent remains unsatisfied, fumbling around his baffled appetite. And just as 150 diseases of the creeping type, if not arrested in time by the knife or cautery, course round all that unites to make the body and leave no part uninjured, so unless philosophical reasoning, like a good physician, checks the stream of desire, all life's affairs will be necessarily distorted from what nature prescribes. For there is nothing so secreted that it escapes from passion, which when once it finds itself in security and freedom spreads like a flame and works universal destruction.

It may perhaps be foolish 151 to dilate at this length on facts so obvious, for what man or city does not know that they provide clear proof of their truth, not only every day but almost every hour? Consider the passion whether for money or a woman or glory or anything else that produces

<sup>a</sup> For the use of ἐπrouπιζω (here intransitive) see note on *De Ab.* 20 and *Mos.* i. 283.

## PHILO

ἀρά γε μικρῶν καὶ τῶν τυχόντων αἴτιος γίνεται  
 152 κακῶν; οὐ διὰ τοῦτον<sup>1</sup> συγγένειαι μὲν ἀλλοτριοῦνται  
 τὴν φυσικὴν εὐνοίαν μεθαρμοζόμεναι πρὸς ἀνήκε-  
 στον ἔχθραν, χῶραι δὲ μεγάλαι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι  
 στάσεσιν ἐμφυλίοις ἐρημοῦνται, γῆ δὲ καὶ θάλαττα  
 πληροῦται τῶν καινουργομένων αἰεὶ συμφορῶν  
 153 ναυμαχίαις<sup>2</sup> καὶ πεζαῖς στρατιαῖς; οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων  
 καὶ βαρβάρων πρὸς τε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 τραγωδηθέντες πόλεμοι πάντες ἀπὸ μιᾶς πηγῆς  
 ἐρρήσαν, ἐπιθυμίας ἢ χρημάτων ἢ δόξης ἢ ἡδονῆς·  
 περὶ γὰρ ταῦτα κηραίνει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος.  
 154 XXIX. Ἄλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. χρῆ δὲ μηδ'  
 ἐκείνο ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι οἱ δέκα λόγοι κεφάλαια νόμων  
 εἰσὶ τῶν ἐν εἴδει παρ' ὄλην τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἐν ταῖς  
 155 ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγραφέντων. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τῶν  
 περὶ μοναρχίας· οὗτοι δὲ δηλοῦσιν, ὅτι ἐν αἴτιον  
 τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἡγεμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς εἷς ὁ ἡνιοχῶν  
 καὶ κυβερνῶν τὰ ὅλα σωτηρίως, ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ  
 ὀχλοκρατίαν, ἐπιβούλους πολιτείας φυομένας παρ'  
 ἀνθρώποις τοῖς κακίστοις ἐξ ἀταξίας καὶ πλεον-  
 εξίας, ἐξεληλακῶς ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς  
 156 οὐσίας, οὐρανοῦ. ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος κεφά-  
 λαιόν ἐστι πάντων, ὅσα περὶ χειροκμήτων ἐνομο-  
 θετεῖτο, ἀγάλματα καὶ ξόανα καὶ συνόλως ἀφ-  
 ιδρύματα, ὧν γραφικὴ καὶ πλαστικὴ βλαβεραὶ  
 δημιουργοί, κατασκευάζειν οὐκ ἐὼν οὐδ' ὅσα  
 μύθων πλάσματα προσίεσθαι, θεογαμίαν καὶ θεο-  
 [206] γονίαν καὶ τὰς ἀμφοτέραις ἐπομένας | ἀμυθήτους

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῦτο.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn (in note to Treitel's translation) ναυμαχικαῖς. But,

## THE DECALOGUE, 151-156

pleasure : are the evils which it causes small or casual? Is it not the cause why kinsmen become 152 estranged and change their natural goodwill to deadly hatred, why great and populous countries are desolated by internal factions, and land and sea are filled with ever-fresh calamities wrought by battles on sea and campaigns on land? For all the 153 wars of Greeks and barbarians between themselves or against each other, so familiar to the tragic stage, are sprung from one source, desire, the desire for money or glory or pleasure. These it is that bring disaster to the human race.

XXIX. Enough on this subject, but also we must 154 not forget that the Ten Covenants are summaries of the special laws which are recorded in the Sacred Books and run through the whole of the legislation. The first summarizes the laws on God's monarchical 155 rule. These laws declare that there is one First Cause of the World, one Ruler and King, Who guides the chariot and steers the bark of the universe in safety, and has expelled from the purest part of all that exists, namely heaven, those mischievous forms of government, oligarchy and mob-rule, which arise among the vilest of men, produced by disorder and covetousness.

The second sums 156 up all the enactments made concerning the works of men's hands. It forbids the making of images or wooden busts and idols in general produced by the baneful craftsmanship of painting and sculpture, and also the acceptance of fabulous legends about the marriages and pedigrees of deities and the numberless and very grave scandals associated with both

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even if the word exists, which seems doubtful, I see no reason for the change.

## PHILO

- 157 καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτας κήρας. τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ  
 ὑποστέλλει τά τε ἀνώμοτα πάντα καὶ ἐφ' οἷς  
 ὀμνύναι δεῖ καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὅπου χρή καὶ τίνα καὶ  
 πῶς ἔχοντα κατὰ τε ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ ὅσα ἐπ'  
 εὐόρκους καὶ τούναντίον ἐχρήσθη.
- 158 XXX. Τὸ δὲ τέταρτον, τὸ περὶ τῆς ἑβδομάδος,  
 οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ κεφάλαιον νομιστέον ἑορτῶν καὶ τῶν  
 διατεταγμένων εἰς ἐκάστην ἀγνευτικῶν, περιρραν-  
 τηρίων τε αἰσιῶν καὶ ἐπηκόων εὐχῶν καὶ θυσιῶν
- 159 τελείων, αἷς ἢ λατρεία ἐγένετο. ἑβδόμην δὲ λέγω  
 καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐξάδι τῇ γονιμωτάτῃ καὶ τὴν ἄνευ  
 ἐξάδος, ἐπιπροσθούσαν αὐτῇ, μονάδι ὁμοιουμένην,  
 ὧν ἑκατέρη τὰς ἑορτὰς παραριθμεῖ· μονάδι μὲν  
 τὴν τε ἱερομηνίαν, ἣν σάλπιγγιν ὑποσημαίνουσι,  
 καὶ νηστείαν, ἐν ἣ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν ἀποχὴ  
 διεύρηται, καὶ ἣν Ἑβραῖοι πατρίῳ γλώττῃ Πάσχα  
 προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐν ἣ θύουσι πανδημεῖ αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἕκαστος τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀναμένοντες,  
 ἱερωσύνην τοῦ νόμου χαρισαμένου τῷ ἔθνει παντὶ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suggests αὐτὸς on the ground that the stress lies on each man sacrificing himself.

<sup>a</sup> Or "the number seven." See App. p. 613.

<sup>b</sup> Six is the most creative of numbers, because its factors 2 and 3 represent the odd (or male) and the even (or female) principle. See *De Op.* 13.

<sup>c</sup> The seventh (or seven) which does not include six, seems to mean that in view of the mystical identity of seven and one (see on § 102) a feast which occupies one day only may be regarded as coming under the law of the seventh day.

<sup>d</sup> Or perhaps "supersedes it." The verb, derived from the adverb ἐπίπροσθεν, seems to be used of a thing which gets in front of something else and obscures it (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 52). So here the idea may be that the unit or monad does not need six to make it equivalent to seven.

## THE DECALOGUE, 157-159

of these. Under the third he includes 157  
directions as to all the cases where swearing is for-  
bidden and as to the time, place, matters, persons,  
state of soul and body which justify the taking of  
an oath, and all pronouncements concerning those  
who swear truthfully or the reverse.

XXX. The fourth, which treats of the seventh day,<sup>a</sup> 158  
must be regarded as nothing less than a gathering  
under one head of the feasts and the purifications  
ordained for each feast, the proper lustrations and the  
acceptable prayers and flawless sacrifices with which  
the ritual was carried out. By the seventh I mean 159  
both the seventh which includes the most creative of  
numbers, six,<sup>b</sup> and that which does not include it<sup>c</sup>  
but takes precedence of it<sup>d</sup> and resembles the unit.  
Both these are employed by him in reckoning the  
feast-times.<sup>e</sup> The unit is taken in the case of  
the holy-month-day<sup>f</sup> which they announce with  
trumpets, and the fast-day on which abstinence  
from food and drink is commanded, and the day  
called by the Hebrews in their own tongue the  
Pasch on which the whole people sacrifice, every  
member of them, without waiting for their priests,  
because the law has granted to the whole nation for

<sup>a</sup> The seven feasts which follow are enumerated again in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 41 and described at length in the following sections. They appear there, however, in the order in which they occur in the year and are not classified according to the number of days observed. Also there are three which do not appear in this list, the Sabbath itself, the feast of "Every Day" and the monthly New Moon. The first of these is of course implied here, and the omission of the second is not unnatural, but it is curious that the New Moon should be left out. Has τὴν νομηνίαν fallen out before τὴν τε ἱερομηνίαν?

<sup>f</sup> Or opening of the holy month, see App. pp. 613-614.

## PHILO

- κατὰ<sup>1</sup> μίαν ἡμέραν ἐξαίρετον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς  
 160 αὐτουργίαν θυσιῶν· καὶ ἔτι τὴν ἐν ἣ προσφέρεται  
 δράγμα χαριστήριον εὐγονίας καὶ φορᾶς τῆς πε-  
 διάδος δι' ἀσταχύων πληρώσεως· καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύ-  
 τῆς καταριθμουμένην ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάσι πεντηκοστὴν  
 ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ προσάγειν ἄρτους ἔθος, οἳ καλοῦνται  
 πρωτογεννημάτων ἐτύμως, ἐπειδὴ περ εἰσὶν ἀπαρχὴ  
 γεννημάτων καὶ καρπῶν ἡμέρου τροφῆς, ἣν  
 ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ ἡμερωτάτῳ ζῶων ἀπένειμεν ὁ θεός.  
 161 ἑβδομάδι δὲ τὰς μεγίστας καὶ πολυημέρους ἑορτὰς  
 προσέειμε κατὰ τὰς τοῦ ἔτους ἰσημερίας, ἑαρινὴν  
 καὶ μετοπωρινήν, δύο δυσὶν ἀναθείς, ἑκατέραν ἐφ'  
 ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἕαρ ἐπὶ τελειώσει  
 τῶν σπειρομένων, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινὴν ἐπὶ συγ-  
 κομιδῇ καρπῶν ἀπάντων, οὓς καὶ τὰ δένδρα  
 ἤνεγκεν· ἑπτὰ δ' ἡμέραι ἀπενεμήθησαν εἰκότως  
 ἑπτὰ μῆσι τῆς ἰσημερίας ἑκατέρας, ἵνα μὴν  
 ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ γέρας ἐξαίρετον μίαν ἱερὰν  
 ἡμέραν· ἑορτώδη πρὸς εὐθυμίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν  
 162 ἑκεχειρίας. ἐμφέρονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι νόμοι πάνυ  
 καλῶς τεθέντες, εἰς ἡμερότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν  
 ἀτυφίαν τε καὶ ἰσότητα προκαλούμενοι· τούτων  
 οἱ μὲν εἰσι περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἑβδοματικοῦ,<sup>2</sup> καθ'  
 [207] ὃ διείρηται πᾶσαν ἀργὴν | τὴν χώραν ἕαν μῆτε  
 σπεύροντας μῆτε ἀρουντας μῆτε δένδρα διακαθ-  
 αίροντας ἢ τέμνοντας ἢ ὅσ' ἄλλα τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν  
 163 ἐπιτελοῦντας· ἕξ γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῖς τὴν τε πεδιάδα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καί.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey suggests, ἔτους (or ἐνιαυτοῦ) has fallen out. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 8. 6 τὸ ἑβδοματικὸν ἔτος . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς σπεύρειν ἐν αὐτῷ. But why add λεγομένου? It sug-



## THE DECALOGUE, 159-163

one special day in every year the right of priesthood and of performing the sacrifices themselves. Also the day on which a sheaf is brought as a 160 thanksgiving for fertility and for the produce of the lowlands as shown in the full corn in the ear ; then by reckoning seven sevens after this the fiftieth day, when it is the custom to bring loaves the nature of which is properly described by their title of " loaves of the first-products," as they are the sample of the crops and fruits produced by civilized cultivation which God has assigned for his nourishment to man, the most civilized of living things. To seven he gives 161 the chief feasts prolonged for many days, two feasts,<sup>a</sup> that is, for the two equinoxes, each lasting for seven days, the first in the spring to celebrate the ripeness of the sown crops, the second in the autumn for the ingathering of all the tree-fruits ; also seven days were naturally assigned to the seven months of each equinox,<sup>b</sup> so that each month may have, as a special privilege, one festal day consecrated to cheerfulness and enjoyment of leisure. Other laws, too, come 162 under the same head, admirable enactments exhorting men to gentleness and fellowship and simplicity and equality. Some of them deal with the hebdomadal year, as it is called, in which the land is ordered to be left entirely idle without any sowing or ploughing or purging or pruning of trees or any other operation of husbandry. For when both the lowlands and 163

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles, but the latter had eight days. See *Spec. Leg.* ii. 211.

<sup>b</sup> According to the ordinary inclusive reckoning each equinox occurs in the 7th month after the preceding.

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gests rather that the simple τὸ ἐβδ. had become a recognized phrase for the sabbatical year.

## PHILO

- καὶ τὴν ὄρεινὴν εἰς καρπῶν γένεσιν καὶ δασμῶν ἐτήσιον φορὰν πονηθείσας ἀνέσεως ἠξίωσε τοῦ διαπνεῦσαι χάριν καὶ ἀπελευθεριάσαι χρησαμένας<sup>1</sup>
- 164 ἀνεπικελεύστω τῇ φύσει. ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶ περὶ τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ ἔτους, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε λεχθέντα ἀρτίως ἐπιτελεῖται καὶ—τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον—τῶν κληρουχῶν ἀποκατάστασις εἰς τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λαχόντας οἴκους, πρᾶγμα φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης μεστόν.
- 165 XXXI. Τὸ δὲ πέμπτον, τὸ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς, πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναγκαίους νόμους ὑπαινίττεται, τοὺς ἐπὶ πρεσβύταις καὶ νέοις ἀναγραφέντας, τοὺς ἐπ' ἄρχουσι καὶ ὑπηκόοις, τοὺς ἐπ' εὐεργέταις καὶ εὖ πεπονθόσι, τοὺς ἐπὶ δούλοις καὶ δεσπόταις.
- 166 γονεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ κρείττονι τῶν εἰρημένων εἰσὶ τάξει, ἐν ἣ ἡ πρεσβύτεροι, ἡγεμόνες, εὐεργέται, δεσπότες, παῖδες δὲ ἐν τῇ καταδεεστέρα, ἐν ἣ
- 167 νεώτεροι, ὑπήκοοι, εὖ πεπονθότες, δούλοι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προστέτακται, νέοις μὲν εἰς ἀποδοχὴν γήρωσ, πρεσβύταις δ' εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν νεότητος, καὶ ὑπηκόοις μὲν εἰς πειθαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων, ἡγεμόσι δ' εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀρχομένων, καὶ εὖ μὲν πεπονθόσιν εἰς χαρίτων ἀμοιβάς, ἄρξασιν δὲ δωρεῶν εἰς τὸ μὴ ζητεῖν καθάπερ ἐν δανείοις ἀπόδοσιν, καὶ θεράπουσι μὲν εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν φιλοδέσποτον, δεσπότες δ' εἰς ἡπιότητα καὶ πραότητα, δι' ὧν ἐξισοῦται τὸ ἄνισον.
- 168 XXXII. Καὶ ἡ μὲν προτέρα πεντὰς ἐν τούτοις περατοῦται<sup>2</sup> κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχουσα, τῶν δ' ἐν εἴδει νόμων οὐκ ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς. τῆς δ' ἑτέρας πρῶτόν ἐστι κεφάλαιον τὸ κατὰ μοιχῶν, ᾧ ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χρησάμενος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. περαιούται.

## THE DECALOGUE, 163-168

the uplands have been worked for six years to bring forth fruits and pay their annual tribute, he thought well to give them a rest to serve as a breathing-space in which they might enjoy the freedom of undirected nature. And there are other laws about the fiftieth 164 year which is marked not only by the course of action just related, but also by the restoration of inheritance to the families which originally possessed them, a very necessary procedure abounding in humanity and justice.

XXXI. In the fifth commandment on honouring 165 parents we have a suggestion of many necessary laws drawn up to deal with the relations of old to young, rulers to subjects, benefactors to benefited, slaves to masters. For parents belong to the superior class 166 of the above-mentioned pairs, that which comprises seniors, rulers, benefactors and masters, while children occupy the lower position with juniors, subjects, receivers of benefits and slaves. And there are many 167 other instructions given, to the young on courtesy to the old, to the old on taking care of the young, to subjects on obeying their rulers, to rulers on promoting the welfare of their subjects, to recipients of benefits on requiting them with gratitude, to those who have given of their own initiative on not seeking to get repayment as though it were a debt, to servants on rendering an affectionate loyalty to their masters, to masters on showing the gentleness and kindness by which inequality is equalized.

XXXII. The first set having each of them the form 168 of a summary contains these five and no more, while the number of the special laws is considerable. In the other set the first head is that against adultery,

## PHILO

- τέτακται πλείστα διατάγματα, τὸ κατὰ φθορέων, τὸ κατὰ παιδεραστῶν, τὸ κατὰ τῶν λαγνίστερον βιούντων ὀμλίαις τε καὶ μίξεσιν ἐκνόμοις καὶ  
 169 ἀκολάστοις χρωμένων. τὰς δὲ ἰδέας ἀναγέγραφεν  
 [208] οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνηῦσαι τὸ | πολύχουν καὶ πολύτροπον τῆς ἀκρασίας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ἀσχημόνως ζῶντας ἐμφανέστατα δυσωπεῖν ἐπαντλοῦντα<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ὡσὶν αὐτῶν ἀθρόα ὀνειδίη, δι' ὧν ἐρυθριάσουσι.
- 170 δεῦτερον δὲ κεφάλαιον ἢ τοῦ μὴ ἀνδροφονεῖν ἀπαγόρευσις, ὑφ' ἣν εἰσι πάντες οἱ περὶ βιαίων, ὕβρεως, αἰκίας, τραυμάτων, πηρώσεως ἀναγκαῖοι νόμοι καὶ σφόδρα κοινωφελεῖς.
- 171 τρίτον δὲ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κλέπτειν, ᾧ ὑποτέτακται τὰ ἐπὶ χρεωκοπίας ὀρισθέντα καὶ ἐξάρνοις παρακαταθηκῶν καὶ ἀκοινωνήτῳ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ἀναισχύντοις ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ συνόλως πλεονεξίαις, ὑφ' ὧν πείθονται τινες φανερώς ἢ λάθρα τὰλλότρια
- 172 νοσφίζεσθαι. τέταρτον δὲ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν, ᾧ πολλὰ ἐμφέρεται, τὸ μὴ ἀπατᾶν, τὸ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν, τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἐξαμαρτάνουσι συμπράττειν, τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι προκάλυμμα πίστιν ἀπιστίας, ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασιν νόμοι προσήκοντες
- 173 ἐτέθησαν. πέμπτον δὲ τὸ ἀνεῖργον τὴν τῶν ἀδικημάτων πηγὴν, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ρέουσιν αἱ παρανομώταται πράξεις, ἴδιαι καὶ κοιναί, μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι, ἱεραὶ<sup>2</sup> καὶ βέβηλοι, περὶ τε σώματα

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for ms. ἐπαντλοῦντας. But strict grammar requires ἐπαντλῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Mangey corrected to ἀνίερα (ἀνίεροι?), "neque sane actiones ἱεραὶ possunt ab impuro fonte cupiditatis profluere." But an antithesis is clearly required and the deed may remain "sacred" though done from an impure motive.

<sup>a</sup> I understand this to refer to cases where a man repays a

## THE DECALOGUE, 168-173

under which come many enactments against seducers and pederasty, against dissolute living and indulgence in lawless and licentious forms of intercourse. The 169 characteristics of these he has described, not to show the multiform varieties which incontinence assumes, but to bring to shame in the most open way those who live a disreputable life by pouring into their ears a flood of reproaches calculated to make them blush.

The second head forbids murder, and 170 under it come the laws, all of them indispensable and of great public utility, about violence, insult, outrage, wounding and mutilation.

The third is 171 that against stealing under which are included the decrees made against defaulting debtors, repudiations of deposits, partnerships which are not true to their name, shameless robberies and in general covetous feelings which urge men openly or secretly to appropriate the possessions of others.

The 172 fourth against bearing false witness embraces many prohibitions. It forbids deceit, false accusation, co-operation with evil-doers and using honesty as a screen for dishonesty,<sup>a</sup> all of which have been the subjects of appropriate laws.

The fifth blocks that fount of injustice, desire, from 173 which flow the most iniquitous actions, public and private, small and great, dealing with things sacred or things profane, affecting bodies and souls and what

small sum or returns a small deposit in order to induce the other party to entrust him with something greater which he can embezzle. Philo has referred to this form of dishonesty in *De Cher.* 14 and *De-Plant.* 101. One would expect it to come under the head of stealing, but Philo notes it in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 67 under the ninth commandment. Possibly, however, it may refer more generally to the false assumption of a truthful air.

## PHILO

- καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἔκτός· διαφεύγει γὰρ οὐδέν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐλέχθη, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀλλ' οἷα φλόξ ἐν ὕλῃ νέμεται δαπανῶσα πάντα
- 174 καὶ φθείρουσα. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων αὐτῇ διατέτακται πρὸς τε νουθεσίας ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ πρὸς κόλασιν ἀφηνιαστῶν ὅλον τὸν βίον ἐνδεδωκότων τῷ πάθει.
- 175 XXXIII. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς δευτέρας πεντάδος ἀποχρώντως λέλεκται πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν δέκα λογίων, ἅπερ ἱεροπρεπῶς ἔχρησεν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός. ἦν γὰρ ἀρμόττον αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει, κεφάλαια μὲν τῶν ἐν εἴδει νόμων αὐτοπροσώπως θεσπίσαι, νόμους δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μέρει διὰ τοῦ τελειοτάτου τῶν προφητῶν, ὃν ἐπικρίνας ἀριστίνδην καὶ ἀναπλήσας ἐνθέου πνεύματος ἐρμηνέα τῶν χρησιμωδουμένων εἴλετο.
- 176 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λέγωμεν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν τοὺς δέκα λόγους ἢ νόμους ἀπεφήνατο ψιλαῖς προστάξεσι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεσι κατὰ τῶν παραβησομένων, ὡς ἔθος νομοθέταις, μηδὲν ὀρίσας ἐπιτίμιον· θεὸς ἦν, εὐθύς δὲ κύριος ἀγαθός, μόνων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος,
- 177 κακοῦ δ' οὐδενός. οἰκειότατον οὖν ὑπολαβὼν αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει τὰ σωτήρια κελεύειν ἀμυγῇ καὶ ἀμέτοχα
- [209] τιμωρίας, ἵνα μὴ πως | φόβῳ τις ἄφρονι συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος ἄκων ἀλλ' ἔμφρονι λογισμῷ καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην αἰρήται τὰ βέλτιστα, μετὰ

<sup>a</sup> Or "fuel."

<sup>b</sup> I do not think that Treitel and Mangey bring out the full sense of this. The essential characteristic of God as θεός is goodness, cf. e.g. *Spec. Leg.* i. 307. It is in His other aspect of κύριος that He gives the commandments, and is indeed the κολαστικὴ δύναμις, but the goodness of θεός is so

## THE DECALOGUE, 173-177

are called external things. For nothing escapes desire, and as I have said before, like a flame in the forest,<sup>a</sup> it spreads abroad and consumes and destroys everything. And there are many ordinances which 174 come under this head intended for the admonition of those who are capable of reformation and the punishment of the rebellious who have made a life-long surrender to passion.

XXXIII. This is all that need be said regarding 175 the second five to complete our account of the ten oracles which God gave forth Himself as well befitted His holiness. For it was in accordance with His nature that the pronouncements in which the special laws were summed up should be given by Him in His own person, but the particular laws by the mouth of the most perfect of the prophets whom He selected for his merits and having filled him with the divine spirit, chose him to be the interpreter of His sacred utterances.

Next let us pass on to give the reason why He ex- 176 pressed the ten words or laws in the form of simple commands or prohibitions without laying down any penalty, as is the way of legislators, against future transgressors. He was God, and it follows at once that as Lord<sup>b</sup> He was good, the cause of good only and of nothing ill. So then He judged that it was 177 most in accordance with His being to issue His saving commandments free from any admixture of punishment, that men might choose the best, not involuntarily, but of deliberate purpose, not taking senseless fear but the good sense of reason for their counsellor.

far extended to *κύριος* that the execution of punishment, and indeed here the sentencing, is entrusted to subordinates. For a similar thought to this *cf. De Fuga* 66.

## PHILO

κολάσεως οὐκ ἠξίωσε θεσπίζειν, οὐκ ἀουλίαν τοῖς ἀδικοπραγοῦσι διδούς, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς τὴν παρέδρον αὐτῷ δίκην καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἔφορον πραγμάτων οὐκ ἠρεμήσουσιν ἄτε φύσει μισοπόνηρον καὶ ὥσπερ τι συγγενὲς ἔργον ἐκδεξομένην τὴν κατὰ  
178 τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ἄμυναν. ἐμπρεπὲς γὰρ ὑπερέταις μὲν καὶ ὑπάρχοις θεοῦ καθάπερ τοῖς πολέμου στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ λιποτάκταις οἱ λείπουσι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν ἀμυντηρίοις χρῆσθαι, τῷ δὲ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ τὴν κοινὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιγεγράφθαι τοῦ παντός, εἰρηνοφυλακοῦντι καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ πάντα τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν αἰεὶ πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως χορηγοῦντι· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ μὲν θεὸς πρῦτανις εἰρήνης, οἱ δ' ὑποδιάκονοι πολέμων ἡγεμόνες εἰσίν.



## THE DECALOGUE, 177-178

He therefore thought right not to couple punishment with His utterances, though He did not thereby grant immunity to evil-doers, but knew that justice His assessor, the surveyor of human affairs, in virtue of her inborn hatred of evil, will not rest, but take upon herself as her congenital task the punishment of sinners. For it befits the servants and lieutenants of 178 God, that like generals in war-time they should bring vengeance to bear upon deserters who leave the ranks of justice. But it befits the Great King that the general safety of the universe should be ascribed to Him, that He should be the guardian of peace and supply richly and abundantly the good things of peace, all of them to all persons in every place and at every time. For indeed God is the Prince of Peace while His subalterns are the leaders in war.



THE SPECIAL LAWS  
(DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS)

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, I

This treatise opens with a discussion of circumcision and its hygienic value (1-7), followed by its allegorical interpretation as signifying the excision of voluptuousness and conceit (8-11). The treatment of the First Commandment which follows (12-20) is much on the lines of that in *De Dec.*, as also is that of the Second (21-31) with the addition that it interprets "idols" symbolically also, as representing the vain things, such as wealth, which humanity worships.

In 32-35 the proof of God's existence, and in 36-50 the value of meditation on the Divine nature, inscrutable though it is, are set forth. While proselytes are to be welcomed, apostates must be put to death without mercy, as in the story of Phinehas (51-57). The prohibition of divination and like practices, for which the prophetic gift is the divinely-assigned substitute, concludes what he has to say about the laws which inculcate a proper conception of God (58-65). The rest of the treatise down to 298 is concerned with regulations of worship.

These begin with the Temple itself; the reasons that there is but one (66-70), a general description of it (71-75), its revenues (76-78); then the priests and Levites, the bodily qualifications required of them (79-81), their dress (82-83), and that of the high priest with the spiritual lessons symbolized by it (84-97), their abstinence from intoxicants while officiating (98-100), rules about their marriage, including some special rules applying only to the high priest (101-111), restrictions as to contact with dead bodies (112-116), and use of the sacrificial meats (117-130).

The revenues of the priests consist partly of tithes, including the ransom of the first-born (131-144), and the portions of the sacrifices allotted to them (145-155), similarly the revenues of the Levites or temple-attendants include the tithes as well as their forty-eight cities (156-161).

The animals allowed for sacrifices are doves, pigeons, sheep, goats, and oxen, all of which must be flawless (162-167). The various offerings follow as prescribed, daily or on the Sabbath (168-176), on the new moons (177-179), on the other feasts (180-189). There is also required on each occasion a he-goat as a sin-offering (190-193). These sacrifices may be classified as (a) whole-burnt-offerings, (b) 'preservation' (or "peace") offerings, (c) sin-offerings

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I

(194-197). The first class, whose motive is the honouring of God, is described in detail with full explanation of its symbolism (198-211). So, too, the second, which is a prayer for human betterment, with some reflections on the significance of the parts of the victim (212-223), and on a subdivision of them called "praise-offering" (224-225). The third, the sin-offering, which asks for pardon of the past, varies with the class of person offering it and whether the sin is voluntary or involuntary (226-246). Finally, we have an account of the special case of the Nazirite or "great" vow in which the offering of the Self partakes of the nature of all the three described above (247-254). In all these the offering has been given by laymen, but the priests also must make their oblation of fine flour (255-256).

What is required of the worshipper himself? Purity of soul (257-260), also of the body, but the method used of sprinkling with hyssop dipped in water poured on the ashes of a heifer is really a symbol of soul-purification (261-272). The same is shown by the superiority assigned to the altar of incense as against that on which animals are immolated (273-279), and by the prohibition of bringing the harlot's hire into the temple (280-284), and the high qualities required in the altar of the worshipper's soul are shown by the fire maintained on the altar (285-288), and the order that salt should always and honey and leaven never be used in the oblation (289-295). The next point, that the lamp on the sacred candlestick is to be kept alight all night as a thank-offering for the blessings of sleep seems somewhat irrelevant (296-298).

The spiritual lessons given above are all conveyed in the form of symbolical ritual. We pass on to the exhortations to virtue given in Deuteronomy (299-318). This leads him on to *ibid.* xxiii. 18, which he understands to be directed against "mysteries" as opposed to open preaching of righteousness (319-323), and then to *ibid.* 1-3, where various classes are excluded from the congregation (324-326).

A long allegory concludes the treatise. The five classes which he finds there symbolized are (a) the deniers of the Platonic Forms or Ideas (327-329), (b) atheists (330), (c) polytheists (331-332), (d) those who honour the human mind (333-336), or (e) human senses (337-343), rather than God, to whom the true disciple of Moses looks (344-345).

For Cohn's Numeration of Chapters see Gen. Int. p. xvii.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ

### ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΙΔΕΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΥΟ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΛΟΓΙΩΝ, ΤΟ ΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ ΕΞΩ ΤΟΥ ΕΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΧΕΙΡΟΚΜΗΤΑ ΘΕΟΠΛΑΣ- ΤΕΙΝ

[210]

<sup>1</sup> I. Τὰ μὲν γένη τῶν ἐν εἴδει νόμων, οἱ προσαγο-  
ρευόμενοι δέκα λόγοι, διὰ τῆς προτέρας ἠκρίβωνται  
συντάξεως, τὰ δ' ἐν μέρει διατάγματα κατὰ τὴν τῆς  
γραφῆς ἀκολουθίαν νῦν ἐπισκεπτέον. ἄρξομαι δ'  
<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ γελωμένου παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς. γελᾶται δέ  
ἡ τῶν γεννητικῶν περιτομή. πρᾶγμα σπουδαζό-  
μενον οὐ μετρίως καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις ἔθνεσι καὶ  
μάλιστα τῷ Αἰγυπτιακῷ, ὃ καὶ πολυανθρωπότατον  
καὶ ἀρχαιότατον καὶ φιλοσοφώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ.  
<sup>3</sup> παρὸ καὶ προσῆκον ἦν παιδικὴν χλεύην μεθεμένους  
φρονιμώτερον καὶ σεμνότερον ἀναζητῆσαι τὰς αἰ-

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<sup>a</sup> Or "gods with absolute powers," see § 13.

<sup>b</sup> In the mss. this chapter is headed Περὶ περιτομῆς.

<sup>c</sup> Or (as Mangey and Heinemann) "in the order indicated in the scriptures," *i.e.* though the laws are not actually grouped in the Pentateuch under the Ten Commandments, such an order is suggested by the Decalogue. *γραφῆ*, however, in this sense seems to be regularly coupled with *ἱερά*.

# THE SPECIAL LAWS

## BOOK I

ON THE SPECIAL LAWS WHICH FALL UNDER THE TWO HEADS OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, ONE OF WHICH IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF OTHER SOVEREIGN GODS <sup>a</sup> SAVE THE ONE, AND THE OTHER AGAINST GIVING HONOURS TO THE WORKS OF MEN'S HANDS

I. <sup>b</sup> The Ten Words, as they are called, the main 1 heads under which are summarized the Special Laws, have been explained in detail in the preceding treatise. We have now, as the sequence of our dissertation <sup>c</sup> requires, to examine the particular ordinances. I will begin with that which is an object of ridicule among many people. Now the practice 2 which is thus ridiculed, namely the circumcision of the genital organs, is very zealously observed by many other nations, particularly by the Egyptians, a race regarded as pre-eminent for its populousness, its antiquity and its attachment to philosophy.<sup>d</sup> And 3 therefore it would be well for the detractors to desist from childish mockery and to inquire in a wiser and more serious spirit into the causes to which the

For the meaning given in the translation *cf. De Ebr. 1, De Som. i. 1.*

<sup>a</sup> For circumcision in Egypt see App. p. 615.

## PHILO

τίας, ὧν χάριν ἐκράτησε τὸ ἔθος, καὶ μὴ προεξαναστάντας καταγινώσκειν μεγάλων ἔθνων εὐχέρειαν, [211] λογιζομένους, ὡς εἰκός,<sup>1</sup> τοσαύτας | μυριάδας καθ' ἐκάστην γενεὰν ἀποτέμεσθαι, μετὰ χαλεπῶν ἀλγυδόνων ἀκρωτηριαζούσας τὰ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σώματα, πολλὰ δ' εἶναι τὰ προτρέποντα τὴν εἰσῆγησιν τῶν παλαιῶν διατηρεῖν καὶ 4 ἐπιτελεῖν, τὰ δ' ἀνωτάτω τέτταρα· ἐν μὲν χαλεπῆς νόσου καὶ δυσιάτου, ποσθῆνης,<sup>2</sup> ἀπ-αλλαγῆν, ἣν ἄνθρακα καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ καίειν ἐν-τυφόμενον, ὡς οἶμαι, ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας τυ-χόντα, ὅπερ εὐκολώτερον τοῖς ἀκροποσθίας ἔχουσιν 5 ἐγγίνεται· δεύτερον δὲ τὴν δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος καθαριότητα πρὸς τὸ ἀρμόττον τάξει ἱερωμένη, παρὸ καὶ ξυρῶνται τὰ σώματα προσυπερβάλλοντες οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν ἱερέων· ὑποσυλλέγεται γὰρ καὶ ὑποστέλλει καὶ θριξὶ καὶ ποσθίαις ἔνια τῶν ὀφει- 6 λόντων καθαίρεσθαι· τρίτον δὲ τὴν πρὸς καρδίαν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ περιτμηθέντος μέρους· πρὸς γὰρ γένεσιν ἄμφω παρεσκευάσται, τὸ μὲν ἐγκάρδιον πνεῦμα νοημάτων, τὸ δὲ γόνιμον ὄργανον ζώων·

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn with some mss. in preference to the *ὡς οὐκ εἰκός* of the better mss. This would mean "reflecting that it is not likely that so many nations would," etc. (without some good reason). But this last can hardly be understood, and Mangey suggests the insertion of *μάτην*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, as Cohn suggests, read *πόσθης*. See *Hermes*, 1908, p. 185. The suggestion of *ποσθαίνης* (H. Grégoire, *Hermes*, 1909, p. 319) is open to the objection that the names



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 3-6

persistence of this custom is due, instead of dismissing the matter prematurely and impugning the good sense of great nations. Such persons might naturally reflect that all these thousands in every generation undergo the operation and suffer severe pains in mutilating the bodies of themselves and their nearest and dearest, and that there are many circumstances which urge the retention and performance of a custom introduced by the men of old. The principal reasons are four in number. One <sup>4</sup> is that it secures exemption from the severe and almost incurable malady of the prepuce called anthrax or carbuncle, so named, I believe, from the slow fire <sup>a</sup> which it sets up and to which those who retain the foreskin are more susceptible. Secondly, it pro- <sup>5</sup> motes the cleanliness of the whole body as befits the consecrated order, and therefore the Egyptians carry the practice to a further extreme and have the bodies of their priests shaved. For some substances which need to be cleared away collect and secrete themselves both in the hair and the foreskin. Thirdly, it assimilates <sup>b</sup> the circumcised member to the <sup>6</sup> heart. For as both are framed to serve for generation, thought being generated by the spirit force in the heart, <sup>c</sup> living creatures by the reproductive organ,

<sup>a</sup> Or "inward and secret fire." Lit. "burns smouldering." Heinemann less accurately, I think, "stark brennt." Mangey "urit cum inflammatione."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "the likeness," not meaning that they are naturally alike, but that they are made so by circumcision, for *ὁμοιότητα*, like *ἀπαλλαγὴν* and *καθαριότητα* above, must give the result of the process.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 615.

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of diseases in *-αινα*, like *φλύκταινα* and *γάγγραινα*, do not seem to be formed like the names in *-ιτις* from the part attacked. The text is very confused in the different mss.

## PHILO

- ἔδικαίωσαν γὰρ οἱ πρῶτοι τῷ ἀφανεῖ καὶ κρείττονι, δι' οὗ τὰ νοητὰ συνίσταται, τὸ ἐμφανὲς καὶ ὄρατόν, ᾧ τὰ αἰσθητὰ γεννᾶσθαι πέφυκεν, ἕξομοιωσαι·
- 7 τέταρτον δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον τὴν πρὸς πολυγονίαν παρασκευήν· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς εὐδοεῖ τὸ σπέρμα μήτε σκιδνάμενον μήτε περιρρέον εἰς τοὺς τῆς ποσθίας κόλπους· ὅθεν καὶ τὰ περιτεμνόμενα τῶν ἔθνῶν πολυγονώτατα καὶ πολυανθρωπότατα εἶναι δοκεῖ.
- 8 II. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀκοὰς ἤλθε τὰς ἡμετέρας, ἀρχαιολογούμενα παρὰ θεσπεσίοις ἀνδράσιν, οἱ τὰ Μωυσέως οὐ παρέργως διηρεύνησαν. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ σύμβολον ἡγοῦμαι τὴν περι-
- 9 τομὴν δυοῖν εἶναι τοῖν ἀναγκαιοτάτοι· ἐνὸς μὲν ἡδονῶν ἐκτομῆς, αἱ καταγοητεύουσι διάνοιαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ νικητήρια φέρεται τῶν ἐν ἡδοναῖς φίλτρων ἢ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς γυναῖκα συνουσία, τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὁμιλίαις ὄργανον ἀκρωτηριάζειν ἔδοξε τοῖς νομοθέταις, αἰνιτιτομένοις περιτομὴν περιττῆς ἐκτομὴν καὶ πλεοναζούσης ἡδονῆς, οὐ μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μιᾶς τῆς βιαστικωτάτης καὶ τῶν
- 10 ἄλλων ἀπασῶν· ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ γυνῶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν βαρεῖαν νόσον, οἴησιν, ψυχῆς ἀπώσασθαι· ἐνιοὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀγαθοὶ ζωοπλάσται ζώων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἄνθρωπον, ἠῦχθησαν δύνασθαι δημιουργεῖν καὶ φυσηθέντες ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας ἑαυτοὺς
- [212] ἕξεθειώσαν, | τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς αἴτιον γενέσεως ὄντα θεὸν παρακαλυψάμενοι, καίτοι γε ἐκ τῶν συνήθων

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "For the earliest men." Here as often in Philo γὰρ refers to the sentence before the last, and gives the reason why they adopted circumcision. For the attribution of wisdom to the πρῶτοι cf. *De Dec.* 23 σοφοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, though there, as in *De Op.* 133, it is concerned with the giving of names to things. In *De Plant.* 49 it is as here more general.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 6-10

the earliest men <sup>a</sup> held that the unseen and superior element to which the concepts of the mind owe their existence should have assimilated to it the visible and apparent, the natural parent of the things perceived by sense. The fourth and most vital reason is its <sup>7</sup> adaptation to give fertility of offspring, for we are told that it causes the semen to travel aright without being scattered or dropped into the folds of the fore-skin, and therefore the circumcised nations appear to be the most prolific and populous.

II. These are the explanations handed down to us <sup>8</sup> from the old-time studies of divinely gifted men who made deep research into the writings of Moses. To these I would add that I consider circumcision to be a symbol of two things most necessary to our well-being. One is the excision of pleasures which be- <sup>9</sup> witch the mind. For since among the love-lures of pleasure the palm is held by the mating of man and woman, the legislators thought good to dock the organ which ministers to such intercourse, thus making circumcision the figure of the excision of excessive <sup>b</sup> and superfluous pleasure, not only of one pleasure but of all the other pleasures signified by one, and that the most imperious. <sup>10</sup> The other reason is that a man should know himself and banish from the soul the grievous malady of conceit. For there are some who have prided themselves on their power of fashioning as with a sculptor's cunning the fairest of creatures, man, and in their braggart pride assumed godship, closing their eyes to the Cause of all that comes into being, though they might find

<sup>b</sup> The equation of *περιτομή* with *περιττῆς ἔκτομή* is of course an intentional play upon words; or even perhaps an etymology.

## PHILO

- 11 ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν ἀπάτην δυνάμενοι· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἄνδρες ἄγονοι, πολλαὶ δὲ στεῖραι γυναικες, ὧν ἀτελεῖς αἱ ὀμιλῖαι καταγγρασάντων ἐν ἀπαιδία. πονηρὰν οὖν δόξαν ἐκμητέον τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι μὴ φιλόθεοι.
- 12 Τούτων μὲν δὴ πέρι τοσαῦτα· τρεπτέον δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος ἤδη νόμους καὶ πρώτους, ἀφ' ὧν ἀρχεσθαι καλόν, τοὺς περὶ μοναρχίας ὀρισθέντας.
- [213] 13 III. Τινὲς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας ὑπέλαβον εἶναι θεοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἷς τὰς τῶν γινομένων ἀπάντων αἰτίας ἀνέθεσαν. Μωυσεῖ δ' ὁ κόσμος ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ γενητὸς καὶ καθάπερ πόλις ἢ μεγίστη, ἄρχοντας ἔχουσα καὶ ὑπηκόους, ἄρχοντας μὲν τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντας ὅσοι πλάνητες καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες, ὑπηκόους δὲ τὰς μετὰ σελήνην ἐν ἀέρι καὶ περιγεῖους φύσεις·
- 14 τοὺς δὲ λεχθέντας ἄρχοντας οὐκ αὐτεξουσίους, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς τοῦ πάντων πατρὸς ὑπάρχους, οὗ μιμουμένους τὴν ἐπιστασίαν κατορθοῦν πρυτανεύοντος<sup>1</sup> κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον ἕκαστον τῶν γεγονότων· τοὺς δὲ μὴ βλέποντας τὸν ἐπιβεβηκότα ἠνίοχον τοῖς ὑπεξευγμένοις ὡς αὐτουργοῖς τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων ἀνάψαι τὰς αἰτίας. ὧν τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὁ ἱερώτατος νομοθέτης εἰς ἐπιστήμην μεθαρμόζεται λέγων ὧδε· “ μὴ ἰδὼν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The variant πρυτανεύοντας is adopted by Heinemann, but see § 207.

<sup>a</sup> At this point the mss. insert the heading Οἱ περὶ μοναρχίας νόμοι, i.e., the laws about the sole sovereignty (of God), and the chapters which follow down to the end of § 65 are treated by

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 11-15

in their familiars a corrective for their delusion. For 11  
in their midst are many men incapable of begetting  
and many women barren, whose matings are in-  
effective and who grow old childless. The evil belief,  
therefore, needs to be excised from the mind with any  
others that are not loyal to God.

So much for these matters. We must now turn 12  
to the particular laws, taking those first with which  
it is well to begin, namely those the subject of which  
is the sole sovereignty of God.

III. <sup>a</sup> Some have supposed that the sun and moon 13  
and the other stars were gods with absolute powers  
and ascribed to them the causation of all events.  
But Moses held that the universe was created and  
is in a sense the greatest of commonwealths, having  
magistrates and subjects ; for magistrates, all the  
heavenly bodies, fixed or wandering ; for subjects,  
such beings as exist below the moon, in the air or on  
the earth. The said magistrates, however, in his view 14  
have not unconditional powers, but are lieutenants  
of the one Father of All, and it is by copying the  
example of His government exercised according to  
law and justice over all created beings that they  
acquit themselves aright ; but those who do not  
descry the Charioteer mounted above attribute the  
causation of all the events in the universe to the team  
that draw the chariot as though they were sole agents.  
From this ignorance our most holy lawgiver would 15  
convert them to knowledge with these words : “ Do  
not when thou seest the sun and the moon and the  
stars and all the ordered host of heaven go astray and

Mangey and others as a separate treatise. Cohn observes  
this in his numeration of the chapters but not of the sections ;  
see Gen. Introd. p. xviii.

## PHILO

πλανηθεῖς προσκυνήσης αὐτοῖς.” εὐθυβόλως πάνυ  
 καὶ καλῶς πλάνον εἶπε τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ὡς θεῶν  
 16 ἀποδοχὴν. οἱ γὰρ ἰδόντες ἡλίου μὲν προσόδοις καὶ  
 ἀναχωρήσεσι τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας συνισταμένας, ἐν  
 [214] αἷς αἰ | ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις  
 ὠρισμέναις χρόνων περιόδοις τελεσφοροῦνται, σε-  
 λήνην δ’ ὑπηρέτιν καὶ διάδοχον ἡλίου νύκτωρ τὴν  
 ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν ἀνειληφύϊαν ὦν μεθ’  
 ἡμέραν ἡλιος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας κατὰ τὴν  
 πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια συμπάθειαν μυρία τῶν ἐπὶ διαμονῇ  
 τοῦ παντὸς ἐνεργοῦντάς τε καὶ δρῶντας, πλάνον  
 ἐπλανήθησαν ἀνήνυτον μόνους εἶναι τούτους θεοὺς  
 17 ὑποτοπήσαντες. εἰ δ’ ἐσπούδασαν διὰ τῆς ἀ-  
 πλανοῦς βαδίζειν ὁδοῦ, κἂν εὐθύς ἔγνωσαν ὅτι,  
 καθάπερ αἴσθησις ὑποδιάκονος νοῦ γέγονε, τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ αἰσθητοὶ πάντες ὑπηρέται τοῦ  
 νοητοῦ κατέστησαν, ἀγαπήσαντες εἰ δευτερείων  
 18 ἐφίξονται. παγγέλοιον γὰρ οἶεσθαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νοῦς  
 ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν βραχύτατος ὦν καὶ ἀόρατος ἡγεμῶν τῶν  
 αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ὁ  
 μέγιστος καὶ τελειότατος οὐχὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων  
 19 εἶναι πέφυκε, βλεπομένων οὐ βλεπόμενος. πάντας  
 οὖν τοὺς κατ’ οὐρανὸν οὓς αἴσθησις ἐπισκοπεῖ θεοὺς  
 οὐκ αὐτοκρατεῖς νομιστέον, τὴν ὑπάρχων τάξιν  
 εἰληφότας, ὑπευθύνους μὲν φύσει γεγονότας, ἔνεκα  
 20 δ’ ἀρετῆς εὐθύνας οὐχ ὑφέζοντας. ὥσθ’ ὑπερβάντες  
 τῷ λογισμῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁρατὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 αἰδοῦς καὶ ἀοράτου καὶ μόνῃ διανοίᾳ καταληπτοῦ  
 τιμὴν ἴωμεν, ὃς οὐ μόνον θεὸς θεῶν ἐστὶ νοητῶν τε

<sup>a</sup> Deut. iv. 19.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 15-20

worship them.”<sup>a</sup> Well indeed and aptly does he call the acceptance of the heavenly bodies as gods a going astray or wandering. For those who see the sun 16 with its advances and retreats producing the yearly seasons in which the animals and plants and fruits are brought at fixed periods of time from their birth to maturity, and the moon as handmaid and successor to the sun taking over at night the care and supervision of all that he had charge of by day, and the other stars in accordance with their sympathetic affinity to things on earth acting and working in a thousand ways for the preservation of the All, have wandered infinitely far in supposing that they alone are gods. But if they had been at pains to walk in 17 that road where there is no straying, they would at once have perceived that just as sense is the servitor of mind, so too all the beings perceived by sense are the ministers of Him who is perceived by the mind. It is enough for them if they gain the second place. For it is quite ridiculous to deny that if the mind in 18 us, so exceedingly small and invisible, is yet the ruler of the organs of sense, the mind of the universe, so transcendently great and perfect, must be the King of kings who are seen by Him though He is not seen by them. So all the gods which sense describes in 19 Heaven must not be supposed to possess absolute power but to have received the rank of subordinate rulers, naturally liable to correction, though in virtue of their excellence never destined to undergo it. Therefore carrying our thoughts beyond all the realm 20 of visible existence let us proceed to give honour to the Immaterial, the Invisible, the Apprehended by the understanding alone, who is not only God of gods, whether perceived by sense or by mind, but

## PHILO

καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων δημιουργός. ἐὰν δέ τις τὴν τοῦ αἰδίου καὶ ποιητοῦ θεραπείαν ἄλλω προσνέμῃ νεωτέρῳ καὶ γενητῷ, φρενοβλαβῆς ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ἔνοχος ἀσεβείᾳ τῇ μεγίστῃ.

- 21 IV. Εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἀνδριαντοποιοῖς ὡς θεοπλαστῆν ἱκανοῖς παρέδωσαν· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἀργὴν ὕλην θνητῷ παραδείγματι προσχρησάμενοι, τὸ παραλογώτατον, θεοὺς ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐμόρφωσαν· καὶ νεῶς κατασκευάσαντες καὶ ἰδρυσάμενοι βωμοὺς ἐδείμαντο<sup>1</sup> θυσίαις τε καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἱεουργίαις τε καὶ ἀγιστεῖαις ἐπιμελῶς πάννυ καὶ πεφροντισμένως γεραίρουσιν, ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερείων τὸν περὶ ταῦτα τῦφον ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα
- 22 σεμνοποιούντων. οἷς ὁ τῶν ὄλων πατήρ προαγορεύει λέγων· “οὐ ποιήσετε μετ’ ἐμοῦ<sup>2</sup> θεοὺς ἄργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς,” μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς ἀναδιδάσκων, ὅτι οὐδ’ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὕλης χειρόκμητον οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν θεοπλαστήσετε διακωλυθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἄργυρος γὰρ καὶ χρυσὸς τὰ πρωτεῖα
- 23 τῶν ἐν ὕλαις φέρονται. δίχα δὲ τῆς ῥητῆς ἀπαγορεύσεως καὶ ἕτερον αἰνίττεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν πρὸς ἡθοποιῶν μάλιστα συντεινόντων, διελέγχων
- [215] οὐ μετρίως τοὺς φιλοχρημάτους, | οἱ πανταχόθεν μὲν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ἐκπορίζουσι, τὸ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps omit ἐδείμαντο; the sentence is clearer without it.

<sup>2</sup> mss. μετ’ ἐμέ or ἐμοί or ὑμῖν or omit. Cohn’s adoption of μετ’ ἐμοῦ is based on *Leg. All.* i. 51, where the verse is quoted in most mss. with μετ’ ἐμοῦ, but in one μετ’ ἐμέ. The LXX has ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. In this uncertainty I print Cohn’s text, but cannot follow his reasoning. Philo does not by any means always keep the same form in his quotations.

<sup>a</sup> Here Philo begins the consideration of the second commandment, though no special heading is given in the mss.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 20-23

also the Maker of all. And if anyone renders the worship due to the Eternal, the Creator, to a created being and one later in time, he must stand recorded as infatuated and guilty of impiety in the highest degree.

IV. <sup>a</sup> There are some who put gold and silver in the hands of sculptors as though they were competent to fashion gods; and the sculptors taking the crude material and furthermore using mortal form for their model, to crown the absurdity shape gods, as they are supposed to be. And after erecting and establishing temples they have built altars and in their honour hold sacrifices and processions with other religious rites and ceremonies conducted with the most elaborate care, and the vain shew is treated by priests and priestesses with the utmost possible solemnity. Such idolaters are warned by the Ruler of All in these words: "Ye shall not make with Me gods of silver and gold," and the lesson conveyed is little less than a direct command,<sup>b</sup> "Neither shall ye make gods the work of your hands from any other material if you are prevented from using the best," for silver and gold hold first place among the sculptor's materials.

But apart from the literal prohibition, He seems to me to suggest another thought of great value for the promotion of morality,<sup>c</sup> and to condemn strongly the money-lovers who procure gold and silver coins from every side and treasure their hoard like a

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xx. 23. The argument appears to be "if gold and silver idols are forbidden, still more are idols of inferior materials."

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* in the sphere of human conduct, as opposed to our relation to God, to which the commandment in the literal sense belongs. Cf. the antithesis of ἠθικὴ and φυσικὴ (in the sense of theological), *Mos.* ii. 96.

## PHILO

πορισθὲν ὡς ἄγαλμα θεῖον ἐν ἀδύτοις θησαυρο-  
 φυλακοῦσιν, ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον καὶ τῆς συμπάσης εὐ-  
 24 δαιμονίας τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζοντες. καὶ ὅσοι μέντοι  
 τῶν ἀπόρων κεκράτηνται χαλεπῇ νόσῳ, φιλαργυρία,  
 οὐκ ἔχοντες ἴδιον πλοῦτον, ὃν θεραπείας ἀξιώσουσι,  
 τὸν τῶν πλησίον τεθηπότες καὶ προσκυνοῦντες  
 ἔωθεν εἰς τὰς τῶν περιουσιαζόντων οἰκίας ἀφικνουῦν-  
 ται καθάπερ εἰς ἱερὰ μέγιστα, προσευξόμενοι καὶ  
 τὰγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὡς θεῶν αἰτησόμενοι.  
 25 πρὸς οὓς καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις φησὶν· “οὐκ ἐπακολου-  
 θήσετε εἰδώλοις καὶ θεοὺς χωνευτοὺς οὐ ποιήσετε,”  
 διὰ συμβόλων ἀναδιδάσκων, ὅτι πλοῦτῳ τιμὰς  
 ἰσοθέους ἀπονέμειν οὐ προσήκει· πλοῦτου γὰρ αἱ  
 περιβόητοι ὕλαι χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος χεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> πεφύ-  
 κασιν, αἷς ἀκολουθοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ τοῦ λεγομένου  
 τυφλοῦ πλοῦτου μόνα ἢ μάλιστα εὐδαιμονίας αἴτια  
 26 νομίζοντες. τὰδ' ἐστὶν ἃ φησὶν “εἶδωλα,” σκιαῖς  
 ἐοικότα καὶ φάσμασιν, οὐδενὸς ἡρτημένα ἰσχυροῦ  
 καὶ βεβαίου· φέρεται γὰρ πνεύματος τρόπον ἀ-  
 στάτου τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς παντοίας ἐνδεχόμενα.  
 σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τούτων ἐναργές· μὴ προλαβόντων  
 ἐξαπιναιῶς ἔστιν ὅτε προσέπτῃ, παγίως ἐνεληφθαι  
 νομιζόντων πάλιν ἀπεπήδησε, καὶ ὅτε μέντοι  
 πάρεστι, καθάπερ τὰ διὰ τῶν κατόπτρων εἶδωλα  
 φαντάζεται τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀπατῶντα καὶ καταγοη-

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of two out of four mss. supported by *κείσθαι* of the other two. Cohn, relying on the superior authority of R, on which see Gen. Introd. pp. xv f., prints *εἶναι*. I have retained *χεῖσθαι*, as it seems to me needed to bring out the full sense.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xix. 4.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 23-26

divine image in a sanctuary, believing it to be a source of blessing and happiness of every kind. And <sup>24</sup> further, all the needy who are possessed by that grievous malady, the desire for money, though they have no wealth of their own on which they may bestow worship as its due, pay awe-struck homage to that of their neighbours, and come at early dawn to the houses of those who have abundance of it as though they were the grandest temples, there to make their prayers and beg for blessing from the masters as though they were gods. To such he says <sup>25</sup> elsewhere "Ye shall not follow idols and ye shall not make molten gods,"<sup>a</sup> thus teaching them in a figure that it is not fitting to assign divine honours to wealth. For it is the nature of the far-famed materials of wealth, gold and silver, to melt,<sup>b</sup> and they are followed by the multitude who think that what "blind"<sup>c</sup> wealth has to give is the sole or the chief source of happiness. It is these that he calls "idols," like to <sup>26</sup> shadows and phantoms, with nothing firm or strong to which they can cling. They are borne along like a restless wind, subject to every kind of change and alteration. And of this we have a clear proof. Sometimes they suddenly light on one who has never owned them ere now: then again, when he thinks that they are firmly grasped, they spring away. And indeed when they are present, the apparition is like idols or images seen through mirrors, deceiving and

<sup>b</sup> The argument is "since gold and silver, substances which *melt*, are the chief materials of the *phantom* wealth, idols (*i.e.* phantoms) and *molten* gods may be understood to indicate riches." If *εἶναι* is read instead of *χεῖσθαι*, the point of *χωνευρούς* is lost.

<sup>c</sup> The addition of *λεγομένου* indicates that the phrase is proverbial or a quotation. See App. pp. 615-616.

## PHILO

- τεύοντα καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑφειστηκότα τὰ μὴ ὑπομένοντα.
- 27 καὶ τί δεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον πλοῦτον ἢ τύφον, ὃν ἀναζωγραφοῦσιν αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι, δηλοῦν ὡς ἔστιν ἀβέβαιος; ἤδη γάρ τινες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ζῶα καὶ φυτά, ὧν γένεσις ἔστι καὶ φθορά, συνεχῶς μὲν καὶ ἀπαύστως φασὶ ρεῖσθαι, τῆς δ' ἀπορροίας ἀδηλοτέραν αἴσθησιν εἶναι, αἰεὶ νικώσης τῆς περὶ τὴν ῥύσιν<sup>1</sup> ὀξύτητος τὴν δι' ὄψεως ἀκριβῆ προσβολήν.
- 28 V. Ἄλλ' οὐ μόνον πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα καὶ τὰ τοιοῦτα εἶδωλα καὶ ἀμενηναὶ σκιαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ<sup>2</sup> πάντες, οὓς οἱ μυθογράφοι διαπλάσαντες ἐξετύφωσαν ἐπιτειχίσαντες τὰς ψευδεῖς δόξας κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, θεοὺς καινοὺς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς εἰσαγαγόντες ἔνεκα τοῦ τὸν αἰδίων καὶ ὄντα ὄντως θεὸν λήθη παραδοθῆναι. πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὐπαράγωγον μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐνηρμόσαντο τὸ ψεῦδος, νομίζοντες ῥαδίως καταγοητεύσειν τοὺς
- 29 ἐντυγχάνοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλαστικὴν καὶ [216] ζωγραφίαν συνεργοὺς τῆς ἀπάτης | προσπαρέλαβον, ἵνα χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ ποιότητων εὐδεδημιουργημέναις ιδέαις ὑπαγάγωνται τοὺς ὄρωντας καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίδας αἰσθήσεις ὄψιν καὶ ἀκοὴν δελεάσαντες, τὴν μὲν ἀψύχοις εὐμορφίαις, τὴν δ' εὐφωνία ποιητικῇ, συναρπάσωσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀ-
- 30 βέβαιον καὶ ἀνίδρυτον αὐτὴν ἀπεργασάμενοι. διὰ

<sup>1</sup> mss. φύσιν or φορὰν.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn suggests (μῦθοι) πάντες, and so apparently Heinemann. It seems to me needless and less forcible. Cf. ii. 164 θεῶν . . . οὓς τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος ἐμύθευσε. Mangey reads with two mss. ἄλλαι ἀπάται ἀς.

<sup>a</sup> Particularly Heracleitus and his followers. See App. p. 616.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 26-29

bewitching the sense and seeming to subsist when they have no abiding substance. And why need we 27 prove that human riches or human vanity, which empty-headed thinking paints in such bright colours, are unstable? For we know that some<sup>a</sup> assert that all other living creatures and plants which are born and perish are in a constant and ceaseless state of flux, though our perception of the effluence is indistinct, because the swiftness of its course always defeats the efforts of the eyesight to observe it with exactness.

V. But not only wealth and glory and the like 28 are idols and unsubstantial shadows, but also all those personages, which the myth-makers have invented and spread delusion therewith, building up their false imaginations into a stronghold to menace the truth, and staging as by machinery<sup>b</sup> new gods, in order that the eternal and really existing God might be consigned to oblivion. And to promote the seductiveness they have fitted the falsehood into melody, metre and rhythm,<sup>c</sup> thinking to cajole their audience thereby. Further, too, they have brought 29 in sculpture and painting to co-operate in the deception, in order that with the colours and shapes and artistic qualities wrought by their fine workmanship they may enthrall the spectators and so beguile the two leading senses, sight and hearing—sight through lifeless shapes of beauty, hearing through the charm of poetry and music—and thus make the soul unsteady and unsettled and seize it for their prey.

<sup>b</sup> I do not know how to translate this phrase. It is said to denote "a sudden or unexpected event," but this seems to me inadequate. See App. p. 616.

<sup>c</sup> The regular triple division of music. See note on *De Som.* i. 205.

## PHILO

- τουτ' ἐπιστάμενος ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμει προεληλυθότα τὸν τύφον καὶ δορυφορούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλείστου γένους ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀλλ' ἐκουσίοις γνώμαις, εὐλαβηθεὶς μὴ ποτε καὶ οἱ ζηλωταὶ τῆς ἀδεκάστου καὶ ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας καθάπερ ὑπὸ χειμάρρου παρασυρῶσιν, ἐνσφραγίζεται βαθεῖς τύπους ταῖς διανοαῖς ἐγχαράττων ὀσιότητος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συγχυθέντας ἢ ἐπιλεανθέντας ἀμαυρωθῆναί ποτε χρόνῳ, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπάδει ποτὲ μὲν λέγων ὅτι θεὸς εἰς ἔστι καὶ κτίστης καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων, ποτὲ δὲ ὅτι κύριος τῶν γεγονότων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ πάγιον καὶ τὸ
- 31 κῦρος ὡς ἀληθῶς περὶ αὐτὸν μόνον πέφυκε. λέλεκται δ' ὅτι "οἱ προσκείμενοι τῷ ὄντι θεῷ ζῶσι πάντες." ἄρ' οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρισμακάριος καὶ τρισευδαίμων βίος, ἀγαπητικῶς ἔχεισθαι τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου πάντων αἰτίου καὶ μὴ τοὺς ὑποδιακόνοισι καὶ πυλωροῖσι πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως θεραπεύειν ἀξιῶν; ἀθάνατος ἦδε ἢ ζωὴ καὶ μακραίων ἐν ταῖς τῆς φύσεως στήλαις ἀναγράφεται· ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ γράμματα τῷ κόσμῳ συνδιαιωνίζει ἀναγκαῖον.
- 32 VI. Δυστόπαστος μὲν οὖν καὶ δυσκατάληπτος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν συμπάντων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀποκνητέον τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ. δύο δ' ἐν ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ ζητήσεσι τὰ ἀνωτάτω ταυτ' ἐπαπορεῖ ἢ διάνοια τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος ἀνόθως· ἐν μὲν εἰ ἔστι τὸ θεῖον, ἔνεκα τῶν ἐπιτηδευσάντων ἀθεότητα, κακιῶν τὴν μεγίστην· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τί ἐστι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον οὐ

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<sup>a</sup> Deut. iv. 4. The meaning of the original is that all those

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 30-32

Therefore knowing that vanity had attained high 30 power and was championed by the greater part of the human race, not under compulsion but of their own free will, and fearing lest the devotees of piety, true and incorruptible, might be swept away as by a torrent, he stamped upon their minds as with a seal deep imprints of holiness, so that no fusion or smoothing in the course of years should ever blur their distinctness. This lesson he continually repeats, sometimes saying that God is one and the Framer and Maker of all things, sometimes that He is Lord of created beings, because stability and fixity and lordship are by nature vested in Him alone. We are 31 told, too, that "those who cling to the God that is all live."<sup>a</sup> Is not this the thrice-happy and thrice-blessed life, to cling lovingly to the service of the most ancient Cause of all and to reject the thought of serving the menials and the door-keepers rather than the King? This true life stands inscribed on the tables of nature as deathless and agelong, and the writing that records it must endure with the universe to all eternity.

VI. Doubtless hard to unriddle and hard to ap- 32 prehend is the Father and Ruler of all, but that is no reason why we should shrink from searching for Him. But in such searching two principal questions arise which demand the consideration of the genuine philosopher. One is whether the Deity exists, a question necessitated by those who practise atheism, the worst form of wickedness, the other is what the Deity is in essence. Now to answer the first question

who took God's side when the others followed Baal Peor are still alive. Philo has given the same extension of the meaning in *De Fuga* 56, and again in § 345 below.

## PHILO

- πολὺς πόνος ἰδεῖν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον οὐ χαλεπὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴσως ἀδύνατον. ἐπισκεπτέον δ' ἑκάτερον.
- 33 αἰεὶ τοίνυν γνωρίσματα τῶν δημιουργῶν πέφυκέ πως εἶναι τὰ δημιουργηθέντα· τίς γὰρ ἀνδριάντας ἢ γραφὰς θεασάμενος οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐνενόησεν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν ἢ ζωγράφον; τίς δὲ ἐσθῆτας ἢ ναῦς ἢ οἰκίας ἰδὼν οὐκ ἔννοιαν ἔλαβεν ὑφάντου καὶ ναυπηγοῦ καὶ οἰκοδόμου; παρελθὼν δέ τις εἰς πόλιν εὐνομον, ἐν ἣ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας σφόδρα καλῶς διακεκόσμηται, τί ἕτερον ὑπολήφεται ἢ ὅτι ἐπ-  
 [217] ιστατεῖται ἤδε ἡ πόλις ὑπ' ἀρχόντων | ἀγαθῶν;
- 34 τὸν οὖν ἀφικόμενον εἰς τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς μεγαλόπολιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, καὶ θεασάμενον τὴν ὄρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα βρίθουσιν<sup>1</sup> ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ποταμῶν αὐθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων φορὰς καὶ πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις καὶ εὐκρασίας ἀέρος καὶ τῶν ἔτησίων ὠρῶν τροπάς, εἶτα ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, τοὺς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ περιπολήσεις καὶ χορείας, οὐκ εἰκότως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως, ἔννοιαν λήψεσθαι δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ  
 35 πατρὸς καὶ προσέτι ἡγεμόνος; οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν τεχνικῶν ἔργων ἀπαιτοματίζεται· τεχνικώτατον δὲ καὶ ἐπιστημονικώτατον ὄδε ὁ κόσμος, ὡς ὑπὸ τινος τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τελειοτάτου πάντως δεδημιουργῆσθαι. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔννοιαν ἐλάβομεν ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ.
- 36 VII. Τὴν δ' οὐσίαν, εἰ καὶ δυσθήρατον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn from R in preference to the *πλήθουσιν* or *πληθύνουσιν* of the other mss. It seems to me doubtful. *βρίθω* more especially = "laden with," and so Philo, *De Op.* 85 *κριοὶ βρίθοντες βαθέσι μαλλοῖς*.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 32-36

does not need much labour, but the second is not only difficult but perhaps impossible to solve. Still, both must be examined. <sup>a</sup> We see then that any 33 piece of work always involves the knowledge of a workman. Who can look upon statues or painting without thinking at once of a sculptor or painter? Who can see clothes or ships or houses without getting the idea of a weaver and a shipwright and a house-builder? And when one enters a well-ordered city in which the arrangements for civil life are very admirably managed, what else will he suppose but that this city is directed by good rulers? So then 34 he who comes to the truly Great City, this world, and beholds hills and plains teeming with animals and plants, the rivers, spring-fed or winter torrents, streaming along, the seas with their expanses, the air with its happily tempered phases, the yearly seasons passing into each other,<sup>b</sup> and then the sun and moon ruling the day and night, and the other heavenly bodies fixed or planetary and the whole firmament revolving in rhythmic order, must he not naturally or rather necessarily gain the conception of the Maker and Father and Ruler also? For none of the works 35 of human art is self-made, and the highest art and knowledge is shewn in this universe, so that surely it has been wrought by one of excellent knowledge and absolute perfection. In this way we have gained the conception of the existence of God.

VII. As for the divine essence, though in fact it is 36

<sup>a</sup> For illustration of the argument in this and the next section see App. p. 616.

<sup>b</sup> For this use of *τροπαί* for the transitions of the four seasons rather than for the two solstices cf. *τροπᾶς τέσσαρας Mos. ii. 124.*

## PHILO

δυσκατάληπτον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὅμως καθ' ὅσον  
 ἐνδέχεται διερευνητέον. ἄμεινον γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦ  
 ζητεῖν τὸν ἀληθῆ θεόν, κὰν ἡ εὕρεσις αὐτοῦ δια-  
 φεύγη δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ  
 βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν σπουδὴ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀλέκτους  
 37 ἡδονὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνας ἐργάζεται. μάρτυρες δὲ οἱ  
 μὴ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισ γευσάμενοι φιλοσοφίας, ἀλλὰ  
 τῶν λόγων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐστια-  
 θέντες· τούτων γὰρ ὁ λογισμὸς ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω  
 μετέωρος ἀρθεῖς αἰθεροβατεῖ καὶ συμπεριπολῶν  
 ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ, τὰκέῃ  
 πάντα γλιχόμενος ἰδεῖν, ἀμυδροτέραις χρῆται ταῖς  
 προσβολαῖς, ἀκράτου καὶ πολλοῦ φέγγους ἐκ-  
 χεομένου, ὡς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς  
 38 σκοτοδιναῖαν. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο προκαμῶν ἀπ-  
 αγορεύει, γνώμη δ' ἀηττήτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐνδεχομένην  
 θέαν ἴεται, καθάπερ ἐν ἄθλοις δευτερείων μετα-  
 ποιούμενος, ἐπειδὴ τῶν πρώτων ἐσφάλῃ. φαντασίας  
 δ' ἀληθοῦς δευτέρα ἐστὶν εἰκασία καὶ στοχασμὸς  
 καὶ ὅσα εἰς τὴν τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἰδέαν  
 39 ἀνάγεται. καθάπερ οὖν οἶός ἐστι τῶν ἀστέρων  
 ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν εἰλικρινῶς οὔτ' εἰδότες  
 οὔτε δυνάμενοι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι ζητεῖν ὅμως  
 προθυμούμεθα, τερπόμενοι τοῖς εἰκόσι λόγοις ἕνεκα  
 40 τοῦ φύσει φιλομαθοῦς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰ καὶ τῆς  
 κατὰ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἐναργοῦς φαντασίας  
 ἀμοιροῦμεν, ὀφείλομεν μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ζητή-  
 σεως αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὸ τὴν σκέψιν καὶ ἄνευ τῆς εὐρέ-  
 σεως καθ' αὐτὴν τριπόθητον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς  
 [218] τοῦ | σώματος ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐδεὶς αἰτιᾶται, παρόσον  
 ἡλίον αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες τὴν φερομένην  
 ἀπόρροιαν τῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπὶ γῆν ὀρώσω, ἡλιακῶν

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 36-40

hard to track and hard to apprehend, it still calls for all the inquiry possible. For nothing is better than to search for the true God, even if the discovery of Him eludes human capacity, since the very wish to learn, if earnestly entertained, produces untold joys and pleasures. We have the testimony of those who 37 have not taken a mere sip of philosophy but have feasted more abundantly on its reasonings and conclusions. For with them the reason soars away from earth into the heights, travels through the upper air and accompanies the revolutions of the sun and moon and the whole heaven and in its desire to see all that is there finds its powers of sight blurred, for so pure and vast is the radiance that pours therefrom that the soul's eye is dizzied by the flashing of the rays. Yet it does not therefore faintheartedly give up the 38 task, but with purpose unsubdued presses onwards to such contemplation as is possible, like the athlete who strives for the second prize since he has been disappointed of the first. Now second to the true vision stands conjecture and theorizing and all that can be brought into the category of reasonable probability. So then just as, though we do not know 39 and cannot with certainty determine what each of the stars is in the purity of its essence, we eagerly persist in the search because our natural love of learning makes us delight in what seems probable, so too, 40 though the clear vision of God as He really is is denied us, we ought not to relinquish the quest. For the very seeking, even without finding, is felicity in itself, just as no one blames the eyes of the body because when unable to see the sun itself they see the emanation of its rays as it reaches the earth, which is but the extremity of the brightness which the beams of

## PHILO

- 41 αὐγῶν ἔσχατον φέγγος. VIII. εἰς ἅπερ ἀπιδὼν ὁ ἱεροφάντης καὶ θεοφιλέστατος Μωυσῆς ἰκετεύει τὸν θεὸν λέγων· “ ἐμφάνισόν μοι σαυτόν,” μόνον οὐ κατασχεθεὶς καὶ ἐκβοῶν ἄντικρυς, ὅτι “ τοῦ μὲν εἶναί σε καὶ ὑπάρχειν διδάσκαλος καὶ ὑφηγητῆς μοι γέγονεν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ὡς υἱὸς ἀναδιδάξας με περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ὡς ἔργον περὶ τοῦ τεχνίτου· τίς δὲ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τυγχάνεις ὧν διαγνῶναι ποθῶν οὐδένα τούτου τοῦ μαθήματος ὑφηγητὴν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς μερῶν ἀν-
- 42 ευρίσκω. διὸ δὴ δέομαι καὶ ποτνιῶμαι προσέσθαι τὴν ἰκεσίαν ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου καὶ φιλοθέου καὶ μόνον σὲ θεραπεύειν ἀξιούντος· ὡς γὰρ τὸ φῶς ὑφ’ ἑτέρου μὴ γνωριζόμενον αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ γνώρισμά ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ σὺ σεαυτὸν μόνος ἂν φῆναι δύναιο. διὸ συγγνώμης ἀξιώ τυχεῖν, εἰ σπάνει τοῦ διδάξοντος ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυγεῖν ἐθάρρησα περὶ σοῦ σπεύδων
- 43 μαθεῖν.” ὁ δὲ “ τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ” φησὶν “ ἐπαινετὴν οὖσαν ἀποδέχομαι, τὸ δ’ αἴτημα οὐδενὶ τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἠκόντων ἐφαρμόζει. χαρίζομαι δ’ ἐγὼ τὰ οἰκεία τῷ ληψομένῳ· οὐ γὰρ ὅσα μοι δοῦναι ῥάδιον καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λαβεῖν δυνατόν· ὅθεν ὀρέγω τῷ χάριτος ἀξίῳ πάσας ὅσας ἂν οἶός τε ἦ δέξασθαι
- 44 δωρεάς. τὴν δ’ ἐμὴν κατάληψιν οὐχ οἶον ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος

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<sup>a</sup> §§ 41-50 are a meditation on Ex. xxxiii. 13-23. The divine answer to the first petition, “Reveal thyself to me” (v. 13), is not reproduced by Philo, but the words of § 43, “I freely bestow,” etc., are an interpretation of part of God’s answer to the second petition, “I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew

the sun give forth. VIII. It was this 41  
 which Moses the sacred guide, most dearly beloved  
 of God, had before his eyes when he besought God  
 with the words, "Reveal Thyself to me."<sup>a</sup> In these  
 words we may almost hear plainly the inspired cry  
 "This universe has been my teacher, to bring me to  
 the knowledge that Thou art and dost subsist. As  
 Thy son, it has told me of its Father, as Thy work of its  
 contriver. But what Thou art in Thy essence I desire  
 to understand, yet find in no part of the All any to  
 guide me to this knowledge. Therefore I pray and 42  
 beseech Thee to accept the supplication of a sup-  
 pliant, a lover of God, one whose mind is set to serve  
 Thee alone ; for as knowledge of the light does not  
 come by any other source but what itself supplies,  
 so too Thou alone canst tell me of Thyself. Where-  
 fore I crave pardon if, for lack of a teacher, I venture  
 to appeal to Thee in my desire to learn of Thee."  
 He replies, "Thy zeal I approve as praiseworthy, but 43  
 the request cannot fitly be granted to any that are  
 brought into being by creation. I freely bestow  
 what is in accordance with the recipient ; for not all  
 that I can give with ease is within man's power to  
 take, and therefore to him that is worthy of My grace  
 I extend all the boons which he is capable of receiving.  
 But the apprehension of Me is something more than 44  
 human nature, yea even the whole heaven and  
 mercy." In the second petition (v. 18), which Philo reads,  
 in accordance with some mss. of the LXX, as "Shew me thy  
 glory" (so also E.V.), glory is interpreted to mean the  
 Powers as distinguished from the Self-existent, and God's  
 answer, "Thou shalt see the things behind me," LXX τὰ ὀπίσω  
 μου (A.V. "my back parts," R.V. "my back"), is taken to  
 mean "Thou shalt see what lies behind the Powers, *i.e.* their  
 manifestation in the sensible world." The same interpretation  
 of the verse is given in *De Fuga* 165, *De Mut.* 9, *De Post.* 169.

## PHILO

δυνήσεται χωρήσαι. γνώθι δὴ σαυτὸν καὶ μὴ  
 συνεκφέρου ταῖς ὑπὲρ δύνάμιν ὄρμαῖς καὶ ἐπιθυ-  
 μίαις, μηδέ σε τῶν ἀνεφίκτων ἔρως αἰρέτω καὶ  
 μετεωρίζετω· τῶν γὰρ ἐφικτῶν οὐδενὸς ἀμοιρή-  
 45 σεις.” ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐπὶ δευτέραν  
 ἰκεσίαν ἦλθε καὶ φησι· “πέπεισμαι μὲν ταῖς σαῖς  
 ὑφηγήσειςιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἴσχυσα δέξασθαι τὸ τῆς σῆς  
 φαντασίας ἐναργὲς εἶδος. ἰκετεύω δὲ τὴν γοῦν περὶ  
 σέ δόξαν θεάσασθαι· δόξαν δὲ σὴν εἶναι νομίζω τὰς  
 περὶ σέ δορυφορούσας δυνάμεις, ὧν διαφεύγουσα ἢ  
 κατάληψις ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐ μικρὸν ἐνεργάζεται  
 46 μοι πόθον τῆς διαγνώσεως.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται καὶ  
 φησιν· “ὡς ἐπιζητεῖς δυνάμεις εἰσὶν ἀόρατοι καὶ  
 νοηταὶ πάντως ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ νοητοῦ· λέγω  
 δὲ νοητὰς οὐχὶ τὰς<sup>1</sup> ἤδη ὑπὸ νοῦ καταλαμβανόμενας,  
 ἀλλ’ ὅτι εἰ καταλαμβάνεσθαι οἰαί τε εἶεν, οὐκ ἂν  
 αἰσθησις αὐτὰς ἀλλ’ ἀκραιφνέστατος νοῦς κατα-  
 47 λαμβάνοι. πεφυκυῖαι δ’ ἀκατάληπτοι κατὰ τὴν  
 οὐσίαν ὅμως παραφαίνουσιν ἐκμαγεῖόν τι καὶ ἀπ-  
 εικόνημα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐνεργείας· οἷαι αἱ παρ’ ὑμῖν  
 σφραγίδες—ὅταν (γὰρ) προσενεχθῆ κηρὸς ἢ τις  
 ὁμοιότροπος ὕλη, μυρίους ὄσους τύπους ἐναπομάτ-  
 [219] τονται, μηδὲν ἀκρωτηριασθεῖσαι μέρος, | ἀλλ’ ἐν  
 ὁμοίῳ μένουσαι,—τοιαύτας ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὰς  
 περὶ ἐμέ δυνάμεις περιποιούσας ἀποίοις ποιότητας  
 καὶ μορφὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ μηδὲν τῆς αἰδίου φύσεως  
 48 μῆτ’ ἀλλαττομένας μῆτε μειουμένας. ὀνομάζουσι

<sup>1</sup> For οὐχὶ τὰς I suggest οὐχ ὡς. See note *a*.

<sup>a</sup> This must be the meaning if the text is to stand, but what are “the powers which are now discerned by mind”? The

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 44-47

universe will be able to contain. Know thyself, then, and do not be led away by impulses and desires beyond thy capacity, nor let yearning for the unattainable uplift and carry thee off thy feet, for of the obtainable nothing shall be denied thee." When 45

Moses heard this, he addressed to Him a second petition and said, "I bow before Thy admonitions, that I never could have received the vision of Thee clearly manifested, but I beseech Thee that I may at least see the glory that surrounds Thee, and by Thy glory I understand the powers that keep guard around Thee, of whom I would fain gain apprehension, for though hitherto that has escaped me, the thought of it creates in me a mighty longing to have knowledge of them." To this He answers, "The powers which 46 thou seekest to know are discerned not by sight but by mind even as I, Whose they are, am discerned by mind and not by sight, and when I say 'they are discerned by mind' I speak not of those<sup>a</sup> which are now actually apprehended by mind but mean that if these other powers could be apprehended it would not be by sense but by mind at its purest. But while in their 47 essence they are beyond your apprehension, they nevertheless present to your sight a sort of impress and copy of their active working. You men have for your use seals which when brought into contact with wax or similar material stamp on them any number of impressions while they themselves are not docked in any part thereby but remain as they were. Such you must conceive My powers to be, supplying quality and shape to things which lack either and yet changing or lessening nothing of their eternal nature.

sense to be expected is "I do not mean that they are now discerned," and so Heinemann and Mangey.

## PHILO

δ' αὐτὰς οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τινες τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἰδέας,  
 ἐπειδὴ ἕκαστα τῶν ὄντων εἰδοποιοῦσι<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἄτακτα  
 τάττουσαι καὶ τὰ ἄπειρα καὶ ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσχημά-  
 τιστα περατοῦσαι καὶ περιορίζουσαι καὶ σχηματί-  
 ζουσαι καὶ συνόλως τὸ χεῖρον εἰς τὸ ἄμεινον  
 49 μεθαρμοζόμεναι. μήτ' οὖν ἐμὲ μήτε τινὰ τῶν ἐμῶν  
 δυνάμεων κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλπίσης ποτέ δυνήσε-  
 σθαι καταλαβεῖν. τῶν δ' ἐφικτῶν, ὡς εἶπον,  
 ἐτοιμῶς καὶ προθύμῶς μεταδίδωμι· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καλέσαι θέαν,  
 ἣν οὐ σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῖς διανοίας  
 ἀκοιμήτοις ὄμμασι συμβαίνει καταλαμβάνεσθαι.  
 50 μόνον ὁ σοφίας ἕμερος συνεχῆς ἔστω καὶ πυκνός, ἣ  
 δογμάτων ἀοιδίμων καὶ περικαλλεστάτων ἀνα-  
 πίμπλησι τοὺς φοιτητὰς καὶ γνωρίμους αὐτῆς."·  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλ'  
 ἔτι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀοράτοις πόθον ἐζωπύρει.  
 51 IX. Καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὁμοιοτρόπους εἴτ' οὖν  
 φύντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μεταβάλλεσθαι  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω τάξιν κρείττους γεγονότας ἀπο-  
 δέχεται, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ κατέλυσαν,  
 τοὺς δ' ὅτι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἠξίωσαν μεθορμίσασθαι<sup>2</sup>  
 —τούτους δὲ καλεῖ προσηλύτους ἀπὸ τοῦ προσ-  
 εληλυθέναι καινῇ καὶ φιλοθέῳ πολιτείᾳ,—οἱ μυθικῶν  
 μὲν ἀλογοῦσι πλασμάτων, περιέχονται δὲ ἀκραιφ-

<sup>1</sup> Or, as some mss., *ἰδιοποιοῦσι*, "give individuality." It would be quite in Philo's way to associate *ἴδιος* with *ἰδέα*.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *μεθαρμόσασθαι*, a word less suitable here and often confused in mss. with *μεθορμίσω*. See Cohn, *Hermes*, 1908, p. 186.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 48-51

Some among you call them not inaptly 'forms' or 48  
'ideas,'<sup>a</sup> since they bring form into everything that is,  
giving order to the disordered, limit to the unlimited,  
bounds to the unbounded, shape to the shapeless, and  
in general changing the worse to something better.  
Do not, then, hope to be ever able to apprehend Me 49  
or any of My powers in Our essence. But I readily  
and with right goodwill will admit you to a share of  
what is attainable. That means that I bid you come  
and contemplate the universe and its contents, a  
spectacle apprehended not by the eye of the body but  
by the unsleeping eyes of the mind.<sup>b</sup> Only let there 50  
be the constant and profound longing for wisdom  
which fills its scholars and disciples with verities  
glorious in their exceeding loveliness." When Moses  
heard this, he did not cease from his desire but  
kept the yearning for the invisible aflame in his  
heart.

IX. All of like sort to him, all who spurn idle fables 51  
and embrace truth in its purity, whether they have  
been such from the first or through conversion to the  
better side have reached that higher state, obtain  
His<sup>c</sup> approval, the former because they were not false  
to the nobility of their birth, the latter because their  
judgement led them to make the passage to piety.  
These last he calls "proselytes," or newly-joined,  
because they have joined the new and godly common-

<sup>a</sup> This and § 323 below seem to be the only places where Philo definitely identifies the *δυνάμεις* with the Platonic *ιδέαι*, though perhaps *De Cher.* 51 *αἱ τυπούσαι δυνάμεις τὰ ἐν μέρει* may imply it.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the contemplation must be philosophical, "looking through nature to nature's God."

<sup>c</sup> The subject of *ἀποδέχεται* is certainly God, but that of *καλεῖ* and the verbs that follow is more likely Moses. Rapid changes of this kind are not, I think, unusual in Philo.

## PHILO

52 νοῦς ἀληθείας. ἰσοτιμίαν γοῦν ἅπασιν ἐπηλύταις διδοὺς καὶ χαρισάμενος ὅσα καὶ τοῖς αὐτόχθοσι παραινεῖ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις, μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς τιμαῖς γεραίρειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξαιρέτῳ φιλία καὶ εὐνοία περιττῇ. καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· “ἀπολελοιπότες” φησὶ “πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ ὁσιότητα μὴ ἀμοιρεῖτῶσαν ἑτέρων πόλεων καὶ οἰκείων<sup>1</sup> καὶ φίλων, ἀλλ' ἕστωσαν ἔφεδροι καταφυγαὶ τοῖς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν αὐτομολοῦσι· φίλτρον γὰρ ἀνυσιμώτατον καὶ δεσμὸς ἄλυτος εὐνοίας ἐνωτικῆς ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ τιμῆ.”

53 προστάττει δὲ μὴ, παρόσον αὐτοῖς ἰσονομίαν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν [ἐπηλύταις]<sup>2</sup> παρέχει κατ-εγνωκόσι τοῦ πατρώου καὶ προγονικοῦ τύφου, στομαργία χρῆσασθαι καὶ ἀχαλίνῳ γλώσση βλασφημοῦντας οὓς ἕτεροι νομίζουσι θεούς, ἵνα μὴ κάκεῖνοι διακινηθέντες ἂ μὴ θέμις φθέγγωνται κατὰ

[220] τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος· ἀγνοία γὰρ τῆς | διαφορᾶς, ἅτε τὸ ψεῦδος ὡς ἀληθές προμαθόντες ἐκ παίδων καὶ σύντροφον ἔχοντες, ἐξαμαρτήσονται.

54 Τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους εἰ τινες καθυφίενται τὴν

<sup>1</sup> mss. οἰκιῶν.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn: Mangey on the other hand expunges αὐτοῖς, which is absent in three mss., and retains ἐπηλύταις. Against Cohn it may be said that it is not clear why the order which follows should be addressed to the proselytes instead of to Israel (unless on the ground that converts or perverts are apt to be particularly severe to their former co-religionists). If ἐπηλύταις is retained a fair sense can be obtained. The honours awarded by God to converts from the outside religions might naturally be regarded as a signal evidence of the abhorrence which these religions deserve.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xix. 33, 34; Deut. x. 18, 19; E.V. “strangers.”

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 52-54

wealth.<sup>a</sup> Thus, while giving equal rank 52 to all in-comers with all the privileges which he gives to the native-born, he exhorts the old nobility to honour them not only with marks of respect but with special friendship and with more than ordinary goodwill.<sup>b</sup> And surely there is good reason for this ; they have left, he says, their country, their kinsfolk and their friends for the sake of virtue and religion. Let them not be denied another citizenship or other ties of family and friendship, and let them find places of shelter standing ready for refugees to the camp of piety. For the most effectual love-charm, the chain which binds indissolubly the goodwill which makes us one is to honour the one God.

Yet he 53 counsels them that they must not, presuming on the equal privilege and equal rank which He grants them because they have denounced the vain imaginings of their fathers and ancestors, deal in idle talk or revile with an unbridled tongue the gods whom others acknowledge,<sup>c</sup> lest they on their part be moved to utter profane words against Him Who truly is. For they know not the difference, and since the falsehood has been taught to them as truth from childhood and has grown up with them, they will go astray.

But if any members of the nation betray the honour 54

The word of course does not imply conversion to the religion of Israel, as Philo might have seen from "ye were proselytes in Egypt."

<sup>b</sup> "Thou shalt love him as thyself," Lev. xix. 34.

<sup>c</sup> This is no doubt mainly based on Ex. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile God," where the LXX has *θεός*. See *Mos.* ii. 203 and note, with references to Josephus. But that passage shews that he gave the same interpretation to Lev. xxiv. 15, "whosoever curseth God shall bear the guilt of his sin," on the grounds that as this is treated as a lesser sin than naming the name of the Lord, it could not refer to the true God.

## PHILO

τοῦ ἐνὸς τιμῆν, ὡς λιπόντες τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην  
 τάξιν εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος ταῖς ἀνωτάτω τι-  
 μωρίαις ὀφείλουσι κολάζεσθαι, σκότος αἰρούμενοι  
 πρὸ ἀγνοειδεστάτου φωτὸς καὶ τυφλὴν ἀπεργαζό-  
 55 μνοι διάνοιαν ὀξὺ καθορᾶν δυναμένην. καὶ ἐπι-  
 τετράφθαι δὲ καλὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς ζῆλον ἔχουσιν  
 ἀρετῆς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀναπράττειν ἀνυπερθέτως τὰς  
 τιμωρίας, μήτ' εἰς δικαστήριον μήτ' εἰς βουλευτή-  
 ριον μήτε συνόλως ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ  
 παραστάντι μισοπονήρῳ πάθει καὶ φιλοθέῳ κατα-  
 χρησθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀπαραιτήτους κολά-  
 σεις, νομίσαντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ πάντα  
 γεγενῆσθαι, βουλευτάς, δικαστάς, στρατηγούς, ἐκ-  
 κλησιαστάς, κατηγορούς, μάρτυρας, νόμους, δῆμον,  
 ἵνα μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμποδῶν ἄφοβοι σὺν ἀδείᾳ πολλῇ  
 56 προαγωνίζονται ὁσιότητος.

X. ἀνα-  
 γέγραπται τις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τὸ καλὸν τοῦτο τόλμημα  
 τολμήσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐθεάσατό τινας ἄλλοφύλοις  
 συνόντας γυναιξὶ καὶ ἔνεκα τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰς φίλτρων  
 ἀλογοῦντας μὲν τῶν πατριῶν, τελουμένους δὲ τὰς  
 μυθικὰς τελετάς, ἕνα τὸν ἕξαρχον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς  
 παρανομίας καταθαρροῦντα ἤδη παρεπιδείκνυσθαι  
 δημοσίᾳ τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα καὶ θυσίας ἀγάλμασι καὶ  
 ξοάνοις ἀθύτους<sup>1</sup> φανερώς ἐπιτελοῦντα παρόντος  
 ἅπαντος τοῦ πλήθους ἐνθουσιῶν, ἀνείρξας τοὺς παρ'

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀθύτοις.

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<sup>a</sup> For this section cf. Deut. xiii. 12 ff., and xvii. 6 ff., though there a stricter inquiry is enjoined than what is suggested here. On this and Jewish lynching in general see App. pp. 616-618.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 54-56

due to the One they should suffer the utmost penalties. They have abandoned their most vital duty, their service in the ranks of piety and religion, have chosen darkness in preference to the brightest light and blindfolded the mind which had the power of keen vision. <sup>a</sup>And it is well that all who have a zeal for <sup>55</sup> virtue should be permitted to exact the penalties offhand and with no delay, without bringing the offender before jury or council or any kind of magistrate at all, and give full scope to the feelings which possess them, that hatred of evil and love of God which urges them to inflict punishment without mercy on the impious. They should think that the occasion has made them councillors, jurymen, high sheriffs,<sup>b</sup> members of assembly, accusers, witnesses, laws, people, everything in fact, so that without fear or hindrance they may champion religion in full security.

X. There is recorded in the Laws <sup>56</sup> the example of one who acted with this admirable courage.<sup>c</sup> He had seen some persons consorting with foreign women and through the attraction of their love-charms spurning their ancestral customs and seeking admission to the rites of a fabulous religion. One in particular he saw, the chief ringleader of the backsliding, who had the audacity to exhibit his unholy conduct in public and was openly offering sacrifices, a travesty of the name, to images of wood and stone in the presence of the whole people. So, seized with inspired fury, keeping back the throng of spectators

<sup>b</sup> Or "governor (of a nome)." See note on *De Ios.* 3. Goodenough, "Roman magistrates."

<sup>c</sup> See Num. xxv. ff. The story of Phinehas, used for allegorical purposes in *De Post.* 182 ff., *De Ebr.* 73 ff., *De Conf.* 57, has been given in much the same terms as here, though more fully, in *Mos.* i. 301 ff.

## PHILO

- ἐκάτερα ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν ἠθροισμένους, οὐδὲν εὐλαβη-  
 θεῖς ἀναιρεῖ σὺν τῇ γυναικί, τὸν μὲν ἔνεκα τῆς  
 εὐμαθείας <τῶν> ἃ λυσιτελὲς ἀπομανθάνειν, τὴν δ'  
 57 ὅτι διδάσκαλος κακῶν ἐγένετο. τουτὶ τὸ ἔργον  
 ἐξαίφνης δρασθὲν ἐν θερμῷ παραστήματι μυρίους  
 ἐνουθέτησε τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα παρασκευαζομένων.  
 ἐπαινέσας οὖν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀριστείαν αὐτοκελεύστω  
 καὶ ἐθελουργῶ σπουδῇ γενομένην διτταῖς αὐτὸν  
 ἀναστέφει δωρεαῖς, εἰρήνη καὶ ἱερωσύνη, τῇ μὲν  
 κρίνας ἄξιον ἀπολέμου μεταποιεῖσθαι βίου τὸν  
 ἀράμενον τοὺς ὑπὲρ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἀγῶνας, τῇ δ' ὅτι  
 γέρας οἰκειότατον εὐσεβοῦς ἀνδρὸς ἱερωσύνη θερα-  
 πείαν ἐπαγγελλομένη τοῦ πατρός, ᾧ τὸ δουλεύειν  
 οὐκ ἐλευθερίας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείας ἄμεινον.
- 58 ἔνιοι δὲ τοσαύτῃ κέχρηται μανίας  
 ὑπερβολῇ, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῖς εἰς μετά-  
 [221] νοιαν | ἀπολείποντες ἵενται πρὸς δουλείαν τῶν  
 χειροκμήτων, γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ὁμολογοῦντες, οὐκ  
 ἐν χαρτιδίοις, <ἀλλ'>, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἔθος,  
 [ἀλλ'] ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καταστίζοντες αὐτὰ σιδήρῳ  
 πεπυρωμένῳ πρὸς ἀνεξάλειπτον μονήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 χρόνῳ ταῦτα ἀμαυροῦται.
- 59 XI. Τὴν δ' ὁμοίαν προαίρεσιν ὁ ἱερώτατος  
 Μωυσῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἅπαξ ἀπάντων σώζειν  
 ἔοικεν ἀληθείας ἐραστῆς ὧν καὶ διδάσκαλος, ἣν καὶ  
 πᾶσι τοῖς γνωρίμοις ἐγχαράττειν καὶ ἐνσφραγίζε-  
 σθαι ποθεῖ τὰς ψευδεῖς δόξας μακρὰν τῆς διανοίας

<sup>a</sup> The allusion is to Lev. xix. 28 (*cf. ib. xxi. 5, Deut. xiv. 1*), "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead (LXX ἐπὶ ψυχῇ), nor print any marks upon you," which Philo takes to refer to idolatrous practices. Such connexion as there is with the preceding section lies in the antithesis between bondage to God and bondage to idols. See App. p. 618.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 56-59

on either side, he slew without a qualm him and her, the man because he listened to lessons which it were a gain to unlearn, the woman because she had been the instructor in wickedness. This deed suddenly wrought in the heat of excitement acted as a warning to multitudes who were preparing to make the same apostasy. So then God, praising his high achievement, the result of zeal self-prompted and whole-hearted, crowned him with a twofold award, the gifts of peace and priesthood, the first because He judged the champion who had battled for the honour of God worthy to claim a life free from war, the second because the guerdon most suitable to a man of piety is the priestly office which professes the service of the Father, bondage to Whom is better not only than freedom but also than kingship. <sup>a</sup> But

some labour under a madness carried to such an extravagant extent that they do not leave themselves any means of escape to repentance, but press to enter into bondage to the works of men and acknowledge it by indentures not written on pieces of parchment, but, as is the custom of slaves, branded on their bodies with red-hot iron. And there they remain indelibly, for no lapse of time can make them fade.

XI. The like principle <sup>b</sup> is clearly maintained in the case of everything else by the most holy Moses, who loves and teaches the truth which he desires to engrave and stamp on all his disciples, dislodging and banishing false opinions to a distance from their

<sup>b</sup> Not very clear. It obviously cannot refer to the preceding section, nor very appropriately to §§ 56, 57. For Philo does not go on to suggest that the persons now described should be lynched or even judicially executed, but merely excluded, though Lev. xx. 6 and 27 sanction the penalty of death. See App. p. 618.

## PHILO

- 60 αὐτῶν ἀποικίζων. ἐπιστάμενος γοῦν τῷ πλάνῳ τῶν πολλῶν βίῳ συμπράττουσαν οὐ μετρίως εἰς ἀνοδίαν μαντικῆν, οὐδενὶ τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτῆς ἐᾶ χρησθαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς κολακεύοντας αὐτὴν ἐλαύνει τῆς ἰδίου<sup>1</sup> πολιτείας, θύτας, καθαρτάς, οἰωνοσκοπούς, τερατοσκοπούς, ἐπάδοντας, κλη-
- 61 δόσιν ἐπανέχοντας. στοχασταὶ γὰρ πάντες οὗτοι πιθανῶν καὶ εἰκότων, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν φαντασίας λαμβάνοντες, διὰ τὸ μήτε τὰ ὑποκείμενα φύσιν ἔχειν πάγιον μήτε τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκριβῆ βάσανον περιπεποιῆσθαι, ἢ βασανισθήσεται τὰ
- 62 δόκιμα. παρασκευαὶ δὲ πάντα ταῦτ' εἰσὶν ἀσεβείας· διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ προσέχων καὶ πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀλογεῖ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου μόνα ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι καὶ κακῶν αἴτια, καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τὰς τοῦ βίου φροντίδας ἐξάπτων ἀβεβαιοτάτων πεισμάτων, ὀρνίθων καὶ πτερῶν καὶ φορᾶς ἐν ἀέρι τῆς ὠδε κάκεισε καὶ χαμαιζήλων ἐρπετῶν, ἃ τῶν φωλεῶν ἀνέρπει πρὸς ζήτησιν τροφῆς, ἔτι δὲ σπλάγχνων καὶ αἵματος καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων, ἃ στερόμενα ψυχῆς εὐθύς ἐπισυμπίπτει καὶ συγχεῖται καὶ ἑτεροιούμενα τὰς οικείας φύσεις ἐξαλλάττει
- 63 πρὸς τὴν χεῖρω μεταβολήν. ἀξιοὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐγγραφόμενον τῇ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πολιτεία "τέλειον" εἶναι, μὴ ἐν οἷς οἱ πολλοὶ πεπαιδοτριβήνται, μαντείας καὶ κληδόσι καὶ πιθαναῖς εἰκασίαις, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> mss. *ιδίας* or mostly *αἰδίου*. The adjective has -os, -a, -on or -os, -on indifferently.

<sup>a</sup> These terms are largely drawn from Deut. xviii. 10 f. where we have *περικαθαίρων τὸν υἱὸν ἐν πυρὶ, κληδονίζόμενος, οἰωνιζόμενος, φαρμακὸς ἐπαιδῶν ἐπαιδῆν, τερατοσκοπός*. Philo's *καθαρητής*, which Heinemann translates by "Sühnepriester,"



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 60-63

understanding. Thus, knowing that the erring life 60  
of the multitude is greatly helped on its way into the  
wilds by the art of divination, he forbids them to use  
any of its forms and expels from his own common-  
wealth all its fawning followers, haruspices, purifi-  
cators, augurs, interpreters of prodigies, incantators,<sup>a</sup>  
and those who put their faith in sounds and voices.  
For all these are but guessing at what is plausible and 61  
probable, and the same phenomena present to them  
ideas which differ at different times because the  
things on which they are based have no natural  
stability nor has the understanding acquired any  
accurate touchstone by which the genuine can be  
tested and approved. All these pave the way for 62  
impiety. Why so? Because he who pays attention  
and puts confidence in them is spurning the Cause of  
all in his belief that they are the sole causes of good  
and evil and fails to perceive that the anchors on  
which he moors his life and its cares are utterly in-  
secure, such as birds and wings and their flight  
hither and thither through the air, and grovelling  
reptiles which crawl out of their holes to seek their  
food; and again entrails and blood and corpses  
which deprived of life at once collapse and decompose  
and in this process exchange their natural properties  
for others of worse condition. Moses demands that 63  
one who is registered in the commonwealth of the  
laws should be perfect not in the lore, in which the  
many are schooled, of divination and voices and

evidently corresponds to the *περικαθαίρων* of Deut. (E.V. "makes his son to pass through fire"). *κληδόσι*, cf. *Mos.* i. 287, may mean "omens" generally. The "haruspex" naturally has no place in Deut., as the O.T., I believe, shews no trace of divining by entrails of victims. *θύτης* is given in L. & S. revised as "diviner," but is clearly more specific.

## PHILO

- ἐν τοῖς πρὸς θεὸν οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἐπαμφοτερίζον ἢ  
 ἀμφίβαλον ἀλλ' ἀνευδοίαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἀλήθειαν.
- 64 ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔρως τῆς τῶν  
 μελλόντων ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυνται καὶ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα  
 τοῦτον ἐπὶ θυτικὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἶδη τρέπονται  
 μαντικῆς, ὡς δι' αὐτῶν τὸ σαφὲς ἀνευρήσοντες, τὰ  
 δ' ἀσαφείας γέμει πολλῆς καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αἰεὶ  
 διελέγχεται, τούτοις μὲν σφόδρα εὐτόνως ἐπ-  
 ακολουθεῖν ἀπαγορεύει, φησὶ δ' ὅτι, εἰ ἀκλινῶς  
 [222] εὐσεβῶσιν, οὐκ | ἀμοιρήσουσι τῆς τῶν μελλόντων  
 65 ἐπιγνώσεως, ἀλλὰ τις ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξαπιναιῶς προ-  
 φήτης θεοφόρητος θεσπιεῖ καὶ προφητεύσει, λέγων  
 μὲν οἰκείον οὐδέν—οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ λέγει, δύναται  
 καταλαβεῖν ὃ γε κατεχόμενος ὄντως καὶ ἐνθουσιῶν,  
 —ὅσα δ' ἐνηχεῖται, διελεύσεται καθάπερ ὑποβάλ-  
 λοντος ἐτέρου· ἐρμηνεῖς γάρ εἰσιν οἱ προφήται θεοῦ  
 καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐκείνων ὄργανοις πρὸς δῆλωσιν  
 ὧν ἂν ἐβελήσῃ. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια  
 περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ καὶ ὄντως ὄντος ἐννοίας  
 ὑπειπῶν, ὃν χρῆ τρόπον ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τὰς τιμὰς  
 ἐξῆς ὑπογράφει.
- 66 XII.<sup>1</sup> Τὸ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερὸν θεοῦ  
 νομίζειν τὸν σύμπαντα χρῆ κόσμον εἶναι, νεῶ μὲν  
 ἔχοντα τὸ ἀγιώτατον τῆς τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας μέρος,  
 οὐρανόν, ἀναθήματα δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἱερέας δὲ τοὺς  
 ὑποδιακόνους αὐτοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀγγέλους, ἀσω-  
 μάτους ψυχάς, οὐ κράματα ἐκ λογικῆς καὶ ἀλόγου

<sup>1</sup> Here the mss. insert the heading Περὶ ἱεροῦ.

<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xviii. 15-18.

<sup>b</sup> So (v. 18), "I will put my words in his mouth and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him."

<sup>c</sup> For the idea of insistence and reiteration in ἐνηχεῖν (in

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 63-66

plausible conjectures, but in his duties towards God in which there is nothing doubtful or ambiguous but undoubted, naked truth. <sup>a</sup> But since a 64  
longing to know the future is ingrained in all men, which longing makes them turn to haruspication and the other forms of divination in the prospect of finding certainty thereby, though actually they are brimful of uncertainty and constantly convict themselves of falsehood—while he very earnestly forbids them to follow such, yet he tells them that if they do not swerve from piety they will not be denied the full knowledge of the future. A prophet possessed 65  
by God will suddenly appear and give prophetic oracles.<sup>b</sup> Nothing of what he says will be his own, for he that is truly under the control of divine inspiration has no power of apprehension when he speaks but serves as the channel for the insistent<sup>c</sup> words of Another's prompting. For prophets are the interpreters of God, Who makes full use of their organs of speech to set forth what He wills. These and the like are his injunctions as to the conception of the one truly existing God. Having opened with them, he next proceeds to indicate how the honours due to Him should be paid.

XII.<sup>d</sup> The highest, and in the truest sense the holy, 66  
temple of God is, as we must believe, the whole universe, having for its sanctuary the most sacred part of all existence, even heaven, for its votive ornaments the stars, for its priests the angels who are servitors to His powers, unbodied souls, not compounds colloquial English "to drum or din into one") see note on *De Mut.* 57. For the general sense of the passage *cf. Quis Rerum* 265 f.

<sup>d</sup> The mss. insert the heading "Of the temple," and Cohn begins a fresh numeration of chapters.

## PHILO

φύσεως, οἷας τὰς ἡμετέρας εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκτετμημένας τὸ ἄλογον, ὅλας δι' ὄλων νοεράς,

67 λογισμοὺς ἀκραιφνεῖς, μονάδι ὁμοιουμένας. τὸ δὲ χειρόκμητον· ἔδει γὰρ ὁρμὰς ἀνθρώπων μὴ ἀνακόψαι φορὰς τὰς εἰς εὐσέβειαν συντελούντων καὶ θυσίαις βουλομένων ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἀγα-

[223] τοῖς εὐχαριστεῖν ἢ ἐφ' οἷς | ἂν ἀμαρτάνωσι συγγνώμην καὶ παραίτησιν αἰτεῖσθαι. προϋνόησε δ' ὡς οὔτε πολλαχόθι οὔτ' ἐν ταύτῳ πολλὰ κατασκευασθήσεται ἱερά, δικαιοῦσας, ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἔστιν ὁ

68 θεός, καὶ ἱερόν ἐν εἶναι μόνον. εἶτα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐτῶν ἱεουργεῖν οὐκ ἐφήσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνισταμένους ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφικνεῖσθαι κελεύει, ἅμα καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀναγκαιοτάτην λαμβάνων βάσανον· ὁ γὰρ μὴ μέλλων θύειν εὐαγῶς οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναι ποτέ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀπολιπὼν ξενιτεύειν, ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὑπὸ δυνατωτέρας ὀλκῆς ἀγόμενος τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ὑπομένειν τῶν συνηθεστάτων καὶ φιλιτάτων ὥσπερ τινῶν ἠνωμένων μερῶν ἀπαρτᾶσθαι.

69 καὶ τοῦδε σαφεστάτη πίστις τὰ γινόμενα· μυριοὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ μυρίων ὄσων πόλεων, οἱ μὲν διὰ γῆς, οἱ δὲ διὰ θαλάττης, ἐξ ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύσεως καὶ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας καθ' ἐκάστην ἑορτὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καταίρουσιν οἷά τινα κοινὸν ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταγωγὴν ἀσφαλῆ πολυπράγμονος καὶ ταραχωδεστάτου βίου, ζητοῦντες εὐδῖαν εὐρεῖν καὶ φροντίδων ἀνεθέντες, αἷς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας καταζεύγνυνται καὶ πιέζονται, βραχύν τινα διαπνεύ-

70 σαντες χρόνον ἐν ἰλαραῖς διάγειν εὐθυμίαις· ἐλπίδων

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Mos. ii. 288.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 66-70

of rational and irrational nature, as ours are, but with the irrational eliminated, all mind through and through, pure intelligences, in the likeness of the monad.<sup>a</sup> There is also the temple made by hands; for 67 it was right that no check should be given to the forwardness of those who pay their tribute to piety and desire by means of sacrifices either to give thanks for the blessings that befall them or to ask for pardon and forgiveness for their sins. But he provided that there should not be temples built either in many places or many in the same place, for he judged that since God is one, there should be also only one temple.<sup>b</sup> Further, he does not consent to those who wish to 68 perform the rites in their houses, but bids them rise up from the ends of the earth and come to this temple. In this way he also applies the severest test to their dispositions. For one who is not going to sacrifice in a religious spirit would never bring himself to leave his country and friends and kinsfolk and sojourn in a strange land, but clearly it must be the stronger attraction of piety which leads him to endure separation from his most familiar and dearest friends who form as it were a single whole with himself.

And we have the surest proof of this in what actually 69 happens. Countless multitudes from countless cities come, some over land, others over sea, from east and west and north and south at every feast. They take the temple for their port as a general haven and safe refuge from the bustle and great turmoil of life, and there they seek to find calm weather, and, released from the cares whose yoke has been heavy upon them from their earliest years, to enjoy a brief breathing-space in scenes of genial cheerfulness. Thus filled 70

<sup>b</sup> See Deut. xii. 5-7, 11-14, 17-18. See also App. p. 618.

## PHILO

τε χρηστῶν γεμισθέντες σχολάζουσι τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην σχολὴν ὁσιότητι καὶ τιμῇ θεοῦ, φιλίαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τέως ἀγνοουμένους συντιθέμενοι καὶ κρᾶσι ἡθῶν ἐπὶ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν εἰς βεβαιοτάτην πίστιν ὁμονοίας ποιούμενοι.

- 71 XIII. Τούτου τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὁ μὲν ἐξωτάτω περίβολος καὶ μήκει καὶ πλάτει μέγιστος ὢν τέσσαρσι στοαῖς εἰς πολυτέλειαν ἡσκημέναις ὠχύρωται· διπλῆ δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἐκάστη, ξύλων καὶ λίθων ὕλαις καὶ χορηγίαις ἀφθόνοις καὶ δημιουργῶν ἐμπειρίαις καὶ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἐπιμελείαις κατεσκευασμένη, τελειότατον ἔργον· οἱ δ' εἴσω βραχύτεροι μὲν,
- 72 αὐστηροτέραν δ' ἔχοντες τὴν κατασκευὴν. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσαίτατον αὐτὸς ὁ νεὸς παντὸς λόγου κρείττων, ὡς ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ἔστι τεκμήρασθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἔνδον ἀόρατα παντί τῳ πλὴν ἐνὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, δι' ἔτους ἐπιτετραμμένον ἅπαξ εἰσιέναι, πάντ' ἐστὶν ἀθέατα· πυρεῖον γὰρ ἀνθράκων πλήρες καὶ θυμιαμάτων εἰσκομίζει, πολλῆς δ' ἀναδιδομένης ὡς εἰκὸς ἀτμίδος κατέχεται τὰν κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ ἡ ὄψις ἐπισκιάζεται καὶ ἀνακοπὴν ἴσχει
- 73 πρόσω χωρεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσα. μέγιστος δὲ ὢν καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "they are at leisure with the most necessary leisure." For this use of *ἀναγκαῖος* cf. § 54 above. Possibly, however, "the leisure which they are compelled by the nature of the circumstances to have," and so perhaps Heinemann ("unentbehrlicher"). But the cognate accusative, as used by Philo, seems to me to point clearly to the rendering in the translation.

<sup>b</sup> Here the mss. insert a heading *Περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, and Cohn begins a fresh numeration of the chapters, as in § 12. For a note on the description which follows see App. pp. 618-619.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* with two rows of pillars (so Heinemann).

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 70-73

with comfortable hopes they devote the leisure, as is their bounden duty,<sup>a</sup> to holiness and the honouring of God. Friendships are formed between those who hitherto knew not each other, and the sacrifices and libations are the occasion of reciprocity of feeling and constitute the surest pledge that all are of one mind.

XIII. <sup>b</sup>This temple is enclosed by an outermost 71 wall of very great length and breadth, which gains additional solidity by four porticos so adorned as to present a very costly appearance. Each of them is twofold,<sup>c</sup> and the stone and timber used as its materials and supplied in abundance, combined with the skill of experienced craftsmen and the care bestowed on it by the master-builders, have produced a very perfect piece of work. The inner walls are smaller and in a severer style of architecture. Right in the very middle stands the sanctuary itself 72 with a beauty baffling description, to judge from what is exposed to view. For all inside is unseen except by the high priest alone, and indeed he, though charged with the duty of entering once a year, gets no view of anything.<sup>d</sup> For he takes with him a brazier full of lighted coals and incense,<sup>e</sup> and the great quantity of vapour which this naturally gives forth covers everything around it, beclouds the eyesight and prevents it from being able to penetrate to any distance. The huge size and height of the 73

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xvi. 34 and *cf.* Hebrews ix. 7, and in Philo, *De Ebr.* 136, *De Gig.* 52. Philo, however, seems to make a strange mistake, as it is only "the holy place within the veil" to which this applies. In § 274 and § 296 below he clearly states that the other priests had access to the rest of the sanctuary.

<sup>e</sup> See Lev. xvi. 12, 13.

## PHILO

ὑψηλότατος, καίτοι<sup>1</sup> ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ κείμενος, τῶν  
 [224] περιμηκεστάτων ὄρων οὐδενὸς | ἀποδεῖ. τὰ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐν οἰκοδομαῖσι ὑπερβολὰς ἔχοντα περίβλεπτά τ'  
 ἐστὶ καὶ θαυμάζεται πρὸς τῶν ὄρώντων καὶ μάλιστα  
 τῶν ἐπιφοιτῶντων ξένων, οἱ συγκρίνοντες ταῖς  
 οἰκῶν δημοσίων κατασκευαῖς ἐκπλήττονται τό τε  
 74 κάλλος ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν. ἄλλος  
 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ προστάξει νόμον, διὰ  
 πολλὰ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐχ ἡδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν  
 εὐδιάγωγον ἐπιζητεῖ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερὸν ἀλλ'  
 αὐστηρὰν ἀγιστείαν· δεύτερον δ' ὅτι τὰ συντείνοντα  
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν δένδρων χλόην οὐ θέμις εἰσκομί-  
 ζεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ζῶων ἀλόγων  
 περιπτώματα· τρίτον δ' ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης  
 πρὸς οὐδὲν ὄφελος, “ ἄχθος ” δ' ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ φασὶ  
 “ γῆς,” τὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρου, καρπῶν ἡμέρων οἰ-  
 στικά, μεθέλξει τοὺς ὀλιγόφρονας ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν  
 75 ἱερουργίαν σεμνότητος. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λάσια  
 χωρία καὶ δρυμοὶ βαθεῖς κακούργων εἰσὶν ἐνδαιτή-  
 ματα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ συσκιάζεσθαι ποριζομένων ἀσφά-  
 λειαν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἐνέδρας καθ' ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν  
 αἰφνιδίους ἐπιθέσεις. αἱ δ' εὐρυχωρίαὶ καὶ τὸ  
 ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον πάντῃ, μηδενὸς τὰς  
 ὄψεις ἐμποδίζοντος, πρὸς τὴν τῶν εἰσιόντων καὶ  
 ἐνδιατριβόντων ἀκριβῆ θεῶν ἱερῶ πρεπωδέστατον.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἱεροπρεπωδέστατον.

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<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xvi. 21. LXX ἄλλος, R.V. Asherah. Hecataeus in his description of the temple (see on § 274) notes the absence of anything like a grove.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 73-75

sanctuary make it in spite of its comparatively low situation as prominent an object as any of the highest mountains. In fact, so vast are the buildings that they are seen conspicuously and strike the eye with admiration, especially in the case of foreign visitors, who compare them with the architecture of their own public edifices and are amazed both at their beauty and magnificence.

But there is no grove within the walled area by 74 order of the law, for many reasons. <sup>a</sup> First, because the temple which is truly holy does not seek to provide pleasure and hours of easy enjoyment but the austerity of religion; secondly, because the means used to promote the verdure of trees, being the excrements of men and irrational animals, cannot be brought in there without profanity; thirdly, because the plants of the wild kind of vegetation are of no use, but only, as the poets say, "a burden to the soil,"<sup>b</sup> while those of the cultivated variety which produce fruits of the same quality will distract the weak-minded from the solemnity of the sacred rites. Furthermore, overgrown places and 75 dense thickets are the resort of malefactors, who use their obscurity for their own safety and as an ambush whence they can suddenly attack whomsoever they wish. Broad spaces and openness and absence of restriction on every side, where there is nothing to hinder the sight, are most suitable to a temple, to enable those who enter and spend their time there to have an accurate view.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* xviii. 104, *Od.* xx. 379; in both cases ἄχθος ἀρούρης. Plato, however, has the form γῆς ἄχθη, *Theaet.* i. 176 D. In all these cases it is applied to human beings, and so by Philo, *Mos.* i. 30, *De Cong.* 171; but see *Spec. Leg.* iii. 50.

## PHILO

- 76 XIV. Προσόδους δ' ἔχει τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ μόνον ἀποτομὰς γῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μείζους ἑτέρας, αἱ μὴδενὶ χρόνῳ φθαρῆσονται· ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος διαμενεῖ—διαμενεῖ δ' εἰς αἰεῖ,—καὶ αἱ πρόσοδοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ φυλαχθήσονται συνδιαγωνίζουσαι
- 77 παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ. προστέτακται γὰρ ἕκαστον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀπαρχὰς εἰσφέρειν ἀπὸ εἰκοσαετίας ἀρξάμενον. αἱ δ' εἰσφοραὶ “λύτρα” προσονομάζονται· διὸ καὶ προθυμώτατα ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀπαρχάς, φαιδροὶ καὶ γεγηθότες, ὡς ἅμα τῇ καταθέσει μέλλοντες ἢ δουλείας ἀπαλλαγὴν ἢ νόσων ἄκεσιν εὐρίσκεσθαι καὶ βεβαιοτάτην ἐλευθερίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ
- 78 σωτηρίαν εἰς ἅπαν καρποῦσθαι. πολυανθρωποτάτου δ' ἔθνους ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀφθονωτάτας εἶναι συμβέβηκε· σχεδὸν γοῦν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ταμεῖα τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐστίν, εἰς ἃ παραγινόμενοις ἔθος ἀπάρχεσθαι· καὶ χρόνοις ὠρισμένοις ἱεροπομποὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθέντες, ἐξ ἑκάστης οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, χειροτονοῦνται, σώους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐκάστων παραπέμφοντες· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς νομίμοις ἀπαρχαῖς αἱ τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἐλπίδες εἰσίν.
- [225] XV. |<sup>1</sup> Φυλαὶ μὲν εἰσι τοῦ ἔθνους δώδεκα, μία δ'  
79 ἐκ πασῶν ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα ἱεράται, γέρας ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ φιλοθέου σπουδῆς τουτὶ λαβοῦσα, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἔδοξεν ἢ πληθὺς ἀμαρτεῖν ἀπ-

<sup>1</sup> Here the mss. insert the heading *Περὶ ἱερέων*.

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxx. 12-16, where the “ransom” is to be paid at the census to avert the plague, which might be expected to follow such a proceeding (see Driver).

<sup>b</sup> Here the mss. give the heading “Of the priests,” but Cohn does not begin a new numeration of chapters.

<sup>c</sup> The allusion is of course to the slaughter of the Calf-

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 76-79

XIV. The revenues of the temple are derived not 76 only from landed estates but also from other and far greater sources which time will never destroy. For as long as the human race endures, and it will endure for ever, the revenues of the temple also will remain secure co-eternal with the whole universe. For it is 77 ordained that everyone, beginning at his twentieth year, should make an annual contribution of first-fruits.<sup>a</sup> These contributions are called "ransom money," and therefore the first-fruits are given with the utmost zeal. The donors bring them cheerfully and gladly, expecting that the payment will give them release from slavery or healing of diseases and the enjoyment of liberty fully secured and also complete preservation from danger. As the nation is 78 very populous, the offerings of first-fruits are naturally exceedingly abundant. In fact, practically in every city there are banking places for the holy money where people regularly come and give their offerings. And at stated times there are appointed to carry the sacred tribute envoys selected on their merits, from every city those of the highest repute, under whose conduct the hopes of each and all will travel safely. For it is on these first-fruits, as prescribed by the law, that the hopes of the pious rest.

XV.<sup>b</sup> The nation has twelve tribes, but one out 79 of these was selected on its special merits for the priestly office, a reward granted to them for their gallantry and godly zeal on an occasion<sup>c</sup> when the multitude was seen to have fallen into sin through worshippers by the Levites in Ex. xxxii. As to the statement that the Levites received their consecration as a reward for this, a statement made by Philo also in his longer account of the event in *Mos.* ii. 160 f. and repeated in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 125 f., see App. p. 619.

## PHILO

ακολουθήσασα γνώμαις ἐνίων ἀγνώμοσιν, οἱ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἔπεισαν ζηλοῦν ἡλιθιότητα καὶ τὸν ἐγχώριον τύφον, ὃν ἐπ' ἀλόγοις ζώοις καὶ μάλιστα ταύροις μυθοπλαστοῦσι· τοὺς γὰρ ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἀπονοίας ἅπαντας ἠβηδὸν αὐτοκέλευστοι κατακτείναντες εὐαγὲς ἔδοξαν ἔργον εἰργάσθαι, τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνας διαθλήσαντες.

- 80 XVI. Νόμοι δὲ ἱερέων εἰσὶν οἷδε. παντελῆ καὶ ὀλόκληρον εἶναι τὸν ἱερέα προστέτακται, μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ σώματι λώβην ἔχοντα, μήτε κατ' ἔνδειαν ἐπιλείποντος ἢ ἀκρωτηριασθέντος μέρους μήτε κατὰ πλεονασμὸν ἅμα τῇ γενέσει περιττεύσαντος ἢ ὕστερον ἐκ νόσου προσφύντος μήτε τῆς χροᾶς μεταβαλούσης εἰς λέπραν ἢ λειχήνας ἀγρίους ἢ μυρμηκίας ἢ τινὰς ἄλλας ἐξανθημάτων ἐκφύσεις· ἅ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα σύμβολα τῆς περὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι
- 81 τελειότητος. εἰ γὰρ τὸ φύσει θνητὸν σῶμα τοῦ ἱερέως ἐπισκεπτέον, ἵνα περὶ μηδὲν ἀτύχημα κηραίνῃ, πολὺ πλεον ψυχὴν τὴν ἀθάνατον, ἣν φασὶ τυπωθῆναι κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ὄντος· λόγος δ' ἐστὶν εἰκῶν θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο.
- 82 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν εὐγένειαν καὶ παντέλειαν τὴν ἐν τε σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς περὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἣν ἀναλαμβάνειν χρὴ τὸν ἱερέα μέλλοντα λειτουργεῖν τὰς ἱερὰς λειτουργίας, νενομοθέτηται. ἢ δ' ἐσθῆς ἐστὶ χιτῶν λινοῦς καὶ περιζῶμα, τὸ μὲν εἰς αἰδοίων σκέπην, ἃ μὴ πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ γυ-

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<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xxi. 17-21 and xxii. 4. On "redundant" see App. p. 619.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 79-83

following the ill-judged judgement of some who persuaded them to emulate the foolishness of Egypt and the vainly imagined fables current in that land, attached to irrational animals and especially to bulls. For the men of this tribe at no bidding but their own made a wholesale slaughter of all the leaders of the delusion and thus carrying to the end their championship of piety were held to have done a truly religious deed.

XVI. With regard to the priests there are the 80 following laws. It is ordained that the priest should be perfectly sound throughout, without any bodily deformity.<sup>a</sup> No part, that is, must be lacking or have been mutilated, nor on the other hand redundant, whether the excrescence be congenital or an after-growth due to disease. Nor must the skin have been changed into a leprous state or into malignant tetter or warts or any other eruptive growth. All these seem to me to symbolize perfection of soul. For if 81 the priest's body, which is mortal by nature, must be scrutinized to see that it is not afflicted by any serious misfortune, much more is that scrutiny needed for the immortal soul, which we are told was fashioned after the image of the Self-existent.<sup>b</sup> And the image of God is the Word through whom the whole universe was framed.

After providing for his pure descent from a noble 82 stock and his perfection both of body and soul, the legislation deals with the dress which the priest must assume when he is about to carry out the sacred rites. It consists of a linen tunic and short breeches, the 83 latter to cover the loins, which must not be exposed

<sup>b</sup> Gen. i. 27. See note on § 171.

## PHILO

μνουσθαι θέμις, ὁ δὲ χιτῶν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὴν  
 ὑπηρεσίαν ὀξύτητος· ἀνείμονες γὰρ ἐν μόνοις  
 χιτωνίσκοις τά τε ἱερέια καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς  
 σπονδὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα θυσίαις χρήσιμα προσ-  
 84 ἀγουσιν εἰς ἀνυπέρθετον τάχος ἡσκημένοι. τῷ δ'  
 ἀρχιερεὶ διείρηται μὲν τὴν παραπλησίαν ἐσθῆτα  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἡνίκα ἂν εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα ἐπιθυμιάσων  
 εἰσῆ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὀθόνην ἐκ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀποθη-  
 σκόντων ὥσπερ τὰ ἔρια γεννᾶσθαι, προστέτακται  
 δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα χρῆσθαι πάνυ ποικίλην ἐχούσῃ κατα-  
 σκευήν, ὡς ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου  
 85 δοκεῖν εἶναι. σαφῆς δὲ πίστις ἡ κατασκευῆ.  
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔνδυμα περιφερές ἐστιν, ὅλον δι'  
 ὄλων ὑακίνθινον, ποδήρης χιτῶν, ἀέρος σύμβολον,  
 ἐπειδήπερ ὁ ἀήρ καὶ φύσει μέλας ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον  
 τινὰ ποδήρης, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ σελήνην  
 [226] | τόπων ταθεῖς ἄχρι τῶν κατωτάτω γῆς μυχῶν.  
 86 εἶθ' ὕφασμα θωρακοειδὲς ἐπὶ τούτῳ, σύμβολον  
 οὐρανοῦ· δύο τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων λίθοι  
 σμαράγδου τῆς τιμαλφεστάτης ὕλης εἰσίν, ὁ μὲν  
 ἔνθεν, ὁ δ' ἔνθεν, εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν, περιφερεῖς, δειγ-  
 ματα τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων, ὧν τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆν τὸ δ'

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς is omitted in the other mss. and appears in R as καὶ τὰς followed by a word which Cohn prints as εὐχὰς?. He does not say anything about the Armenian. See App. p. 620.

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxviii. 40-43.

<sup>b</sup> For the word ἀνείμονες see note on *De Som.* i. 99.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 620.

<sup>d</sup> Lev. xvi. 4. The linen garment worn on this special occasion is not mentioned in the account of *Mos.* ii. 109 ff.,

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 83-86

at the altar, while the tunic is to make them nimble in their ministry.<sup>a</sup> For in this undress,<sup>b</sup> with nothing more than the short tunics, they are attired so as to move with unhampered rapidity when they bring the victims and the votive offerings<sup>c</sup> and the libations and all other things needed for the sacrifices. The high priest is bidden to put on a similar dress<sup>d</sup> when he enters the inner shrine to offer incense, because its fine linen is not, like wool, the product of creatures subject to death, and also to wear another, the formation of which is very complicated.<sup>e</sup> In this it would seem to be a likeness and copy of the universe. This is clearly shewn by the design. In the first place, it is a circular garment of a dark blue colour throughout, a tunic with a full-length skirt, thus symbolizing the air, because the air is both naturally black and in a sense a full-length robe stretching from the sublunar region above to the lowest recesses of the earth. Secondly, on this is set a piece of woven work in the shape of a breastplate, which symbolizes heaven. For on the shoulder-points there are two emerald stones, a kind of substance which is exceedingly valuable. There is one of these on each side and both are circular, representing the hemispheres, one of which is above and one under but its significance is pointed out at length in *De Ebr.* 86 ff. Cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 56.

<sup>e</sup> §§ 84-94. This account and interpretation of the long robe (see Ex. xxviii.) follow closely that of *Mos.* ii. 109-135, and the differences, mainly in the treatment of the two mysterious objects called in the LXX Clear shewing and Truth (E.V. Urim and Thummim), § 88, and of the Bells, § 93, were, together with a comparison of the interpretation of the Bells in *De Mig.* 102 f., discussed in the note in Vol. VI. p. 609, and the discussion need not be repeated here.

## PHILO

- 87 ὑπὸ γῆν ἔστιν. εἶτα πρὸς τοῖς στέρνοις δώδεκα λίθοι πολυτελεῖς τὰς χροὰς διαφέροντες, ἐκ τριῶν τεταγμένοι τετραστοιχεί, πρὸς παράδειγμα τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ τυπωθέντες· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ δώδεκα συνεστῶς ζωδίων τὰς ἐτησίους τέτταρας ὥρας ἀπο-
- 88 τελεῖ τρία νέϊμας εἰς ἐκάστην. σύμπας δ' ὁ τόπος καλεῖται λογεῖον ἐτύμως, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα λόγοις καὶ ἀναλογίαις δεδημιούργηται καὶ συντέτακται· τῶν γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ παράπαν ἄλογον οὐδέν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λογεῖου διττὰ ὑφάσματα καταποικίλλει προσαγορεύων τὸ μὲν δήλωσιν, τὸ δὲ
- 89 ἀλήθειαν. αἰνίττεται δὲ διὰ μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας, ὅτι οὐρανοῦ τὸ παράπαν ψεῦδος ἐπιβαίνειν οὐ θεμιτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦθ' ἅπαν εἰς τὸν περίγειον πεφυγάδευται χῶρον ψυχαῖς ἐναγῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσοικιζόμενον, διὰ δὲ τῆς δηλώσεως, ὅτι αἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν φύσεις ἕκαστα δηλοῦσι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἃ καθ' αὐτὰ πάντως
- 90 ἂν ἦν ἄγνωστα. σημεῖον δ' ἐναργέστατον· εἰ μὴ φῶς ἡλίου<sup>1</sup> ἀνέλαμψε, πῶς ἂν αἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἀμύθητοι ποιότητες διεφάνησαν, πῶς δ' ἂν αἱ πολύμορφοι τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἰδέαι; ἡμέρας δὲ καὶ νύκτας μῆνάς τε καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ συνόλως χρόνον τίς ἀνέδειξεν ὅτι μὴ σελήνης καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων αἱ ἐναρμόνιοι καὶ
- 91 παντὸς λόγου κρείττους περιφοραί; τίς δὲ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> So R and the Armenian. The other mss. have φῶς ἡλιος or φῶς ἡλιος δ'. Cohn prints φῶς, ἡλίου ἡλιος, appealing to § 279 below, but there the "sun's sun" is God. He also cites (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 187) *De Op.* 31 as representing light as the source of the sun, but that light is the φῶς νοητόν, an idea which is not, I think, suited to this passage. For further discussion see App. p. 620.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 87-91

the earth. Then on the breast there are twelve 87  
precious stones of different colours, arranged in four  
rows of three each, set in this form on the model of  
the zodiac, for the zodiac consisting of twelve signs  
makes the four seasons of the year by giving three  
signs to each.

<sup>a</sup>This part of the dress as 88  
a whole is significantly called the reason-seat, be-  
cause heaven and its contents are all framed and  
ordered on rational principles and proportions, for  
nothing there is irrational. On the reason-seat he  
embroidered two pieces of woven work, one of which  
he called Clear Shewing and the other Truth. By 89  
Truth he suggests the thought that no falsehood is  
allowed to set foot in heaven but has been banished  
entirely to the earthly regions and has its lodging in  
the souls of accursed men : by Clear Shewing that  
the heavenly beings make clear all things that we  
are or do, which in themselves would be altogether  
unknown. Here is a self-evident proof. If the light 90  
of the sun had never shone, how could the numberless  
qualities of bodily things have been perceived ? Or  
the multiform varieties of colours and shapes ? <sup>b</sup>Who  
else could have shewn us nights and days and months  
and years and time in general except the revolutions,  
harmonious and grand beyond all description, of the  
sun and the moon and the other stars ? How but 91

<sup>a</sup> If I understand Philo aright, this description of the dress identifies what in *Mos.* ii. 109 is called the *ἐπωμίς* (there translated "ephod") with the *λογεῖον* or "oracle of judgment" (for the translation "reason-seat" see note on *Mos.* ii. 112), while there the *λογεῖον* is attached by chains to the *ἐπωμίς*.

<sup>b</sup> For the general sense of what follows *cf. De Op.* 58-62 ; also the eulogy of sight, *De Abr.* 158, 159, all of them deriving originally from Plato, *Ti-maeus* 47.

## PHILO

ἀριθμοῦ φύσιν εἰ μὴ τὰ λεχθέντα κατὰ τὰς τῶν μερῶν τοῦ χρόνου συνθέσεις; τίς δὲ τὰς ἐν θαλάσση καὶ τοσοῦτοις πελάγεσιν ὁδοὺς ἀνέτεμε καὶ διέδειξε πλωτήρσιν εἰ μὴ αἱ τῶν ἀστέρων στροφαι  
 92 καὶ περίοδοι; σοφοὶ δ' ἄνδρες καὶ μυρία ἄλλα παρατηρήσαντες ἀνέγραψαν, ἐκ τῶν οὐρανίων σημειωσάμενοι νηνεμίας καὶ βίας πνευμάτων, φορὰς καὶ ἀφορίας καρπῶν, ἀνειμένα καὶ φλογωδέστατα θέρη, χειμῶνας ἐξαισίους καὶ ἐαρίζοντας, αὐχμοὺς καὶ ἐπομβρίας, εὐγονίας ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ τούναντίον ἐκατέρων ἀγονίας καὶ ὅσα τοιουτότροπα πάντων γὰρ ἐστηλίτευται τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐν οὐρανῶ τὰ σημεῖα.

93 XVII. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς κατωτάτω μέρεσι τοῦ ποδῆρους ἀπηύρηται χρυσοὶ ῥοῖσκοι κώδωνές τε καὶ ἄνθινα· τὰ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολα γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, γῆς μὲν τὰ ἄνθινα, παρόσον βλαστάνει καὶ ἀνθεῖ πάντα ἐκ ταύτης, ὕδατος δὲ οἱ ῥοῖσκοι λεχθέντες ἐτύμως παρὰ τὴν ῥύσιν, τὴν δ' ἁρμονίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν καὶ συνήχησιν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν οἱ κώδωνες  
 94 ἐμφαίνουσιν. εὐ δ' ἔχει καὶ ἡ θέσις· ἀνωτάτω μὲν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ λίθοι, τὸ καλούμενον περιστήθιον, οὐρανοῦ μίμημα, διότι καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀνωτάτω, ὁ δὲ ποδῆρης  
 [227] ὑπ' αὐτῶ, ὄλος δι' ὄλων ὑακίνθινος, ἐπειδὴ | καὶ ὁ ἀῆρ μέλας ὦν τὴν μετ' οὐρανὸν δευτέραν τάξιν κεκλήρωται, τὰ δ' ἄνθινα καὶ οἱ ῥοῖσκοι πρὸς τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, διότι γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν κατωτάτω τοῦ  
 95 παντός μοῖραν ἔλαχον. ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ἱεράς ἐσθῆτος κατασκευή, μίμημα τοῦ παντός, θαυμάσιον

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 91-95

through the same heavenly bodies teaching us to compute the divisions of time could we have learnt the nature of number? Who could have opened and shewn to the voyager his path through the seas and all the expanses of the deep had not the stars as they wheel and revolve in their courses done the work? Numberless other phenomena have been observed and 92 recorded by wise men who by study of the heavenly bodies have marked the signs of calm weather and stormy winds, of plentifulness and scarcity of crops, of mild and scorching summers, of sinister and spring-like winters, of droughts and rainy seasons, of fecundity in animals and plants and on the other hand of sterility in both and all other matters of the same kind. For of all the things that happen upon earth, the signs are graven in the face of heaven.

XVII. At the very lowest part of the skirt there 93 are appended golden pomegranates and bells and flower-work, symbols of earth and water: the flower patterns of earth because they grow and flower out of it, the pomegranate or flowing fruit, of water, the name preserving its derivation from "flowing," while the bells shew forth the harmony and concord and unison of the parts of the universe. The order in 94 which the parts are arranged is also admirable. At the very top is what he calls the breastpiece in which are placed the stones, a copy of heaven because heaven also is at the top. Then under it the full-length skirt, dark blue right through because the air also is black and occupies the second position below the heaven, and the flower-work and pomegranates at the extremities because to earth and water is allotted the lowest place in the universe. Such is 95 the form in which the sacred vesture was designed,

## PHILO

- ἔργον καὶ ὀφθῆναι καὶ νοηθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ἔχει καταπληκτικωτάτην οἷαν οὐδέν ὕφασμα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἔνεκα ποικιλίας ὁμοῦ καὶ πολυτελείας καὶ
- 96 νόησιν τὴν περὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν φιλόσοφον. βούλεται γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερέα πρῶτον μὲν εἰκόνα τοῦ παντὸς ἔχειν ἐμφανῆ περὶ ἑαυτόν, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς θεᾶς ἄξιον παρέχη τὸν ἴδιον βίον τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως, ἔπειθ' ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις συλλειτουργῇ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ· προπρωδέστατον δὲ τὸ τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ καὶ τὸν υἱόν, τὸ πᾶν,<sup>1</sup> ἐπάγεσθαι πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ δε-
- 97 δημιουργηκότος καὶ γεγεννηκότος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτον τι τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐσθῆτος σύμβολον ἀναγκαῖον μὴ ἡσυχασθῆναι· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπὲρ οἰκειῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ πολιτῶν αὐτὸ μόνον εἰώθασιν τὰς τε εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεὺς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, πυρός, τὰς τε εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας ποιεῖται, τὸν κόσμον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις, ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα εἶναι νομίζων, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἰκεσίαις καὶ λιταῖς εἴωθεν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ποτνιώμενος τῆς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ ἰλεω φύσεως αὐτοῦ μεταδιδόναι τῷ γενομένῳ.
- 98 XVIII. Ταῦθ' ὑπειπὼν προσνομοθετεῖ κελεύων τὸν προσιόντα τῷ βωμῷ καὶ ψαύοντα θυσιῶν, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ τέτακται τὰς ἱερὰς λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖν, μήτ' οἶνον μήτε τι ἄλλο μέθυσμα πίνειν, τεττάρων

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn combining the τὸν υἱὸν of some authorities with the τὸ πᾶν of others. On ἱερωμένον see App. p. 620.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. x. 8-11, and cf. *De Ebr.* 130 f.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 95-98

a copy of the universe, a piece of work of marvellous beauty to the eye and the mind. To the eye it presents a most amazing appearance transcending any woven work that we possess in variety and costliness, to the mind the philosophical conceptions which its parts suggest. For it expresses the wish first 96 that the high priest should have in evidence upon him an image of the All, that so by constantly contemplating it he should render his own life worthy of the sum of things, secondly that in performing his holy office he should have the whole universe as his fellow-ministrant. And very right and fit it is that he who is consecrated to the Father of the world should take with him also that Father's son, the universe, for the service of the Creator and Begetter.

There is also a third truth symbolized 97 by the holy vesture which must not be passed over in silence. Among the other nations the priests are accustomed to offer prayers and sacrifices for their kinsmen and friends and fellow-countrymen only, but the high priest of the Jews makes prayers and gives thanks not only on behalf of the whole human race but also for the parts of nature, earth, water, air, fire. For he holds the world to be, as in very truth it is, his country, and in its behalf he is wont to propitiate the Ruler with supplication and intercession, beseeching Him to make His creature a partaker of His own kindly and merciful nature.

XVIII.<sup>a</sup> After saying this by way of prelude, he 98 proceeds to lay down another statute commanding that he who approaches the altar and handles the sacrifices should not during the time in which it is his duty to perform the sacred rites drink wine or any other intoxicant, and this for four most cogent reasons :

## PHILO

- ἔνεκα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὅκνου καὶ λήθης καὶ  
 99 ὕπνου καὶ ἀφροσύνης. ἄκρατος γὰρ τὰς μὲν τοῦ  
 σώματος δυνάμεις ἀνιείς δυσκινητότερα τὰ μέλη  
 ποιεῖ καὶ ὀκνηροτέρους ἀπεργάζεται καὶ βία κατα-  
 δαρθάνειν ἀναγκάζει, τοὺς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τόνους  
 ἐπιχαλῶν λήθης ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀφροσύνης αἴτιος γίνεται·  
 νήφοντος δὲ τὰ τε μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἐπελαφρι-  
 ζόμενα εὐκίνητοτερα αἶ τε αἰσθήσεις καθαρώτεραι  
 καὶ εἰλικρινέστεραι ὅ τε νοῦς ἐξυωπέστερος, ὡς καὶ  
 προιδέσθαι πράγματα δύνασθαι καὶ ἂ πρότερον  
 100 εἶδεν ἀπομνημονεῦσαι. συνόλως μὲν οὖν τὴν οἴνου  
 χρῆσιν ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀλυσιτελεστάτην  
 ὑποληπτέον, ψυχῆς πιεζομένης, αἰσθήσεων ἀμαν-  
 ρουμένων, βαρυνομένου σώματος—ἐλεύθερον γὰρ  
 καὶ ἄφετον οὐδὲν ἐᾷ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκάστω  
 πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν ἐμπόδιός ἐστιν,—ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀγι-  
 [228] στείαις καὶ ἱερουργίαις τὸ βλάβος | ἀργαλεώτερον,  
 ὅσω καὶ τὸ περὶ θεὸν ἐξαμαρτεῖν τοῦ περὶ ἄνθρωπον  
 ἀφορητότερον. ὅθεν εἰκότως προστέτακται νηφα-  
 λίου<sup>1</sup> θύειν, “ εἰς διαστολὴν καὶ διάκρισιν ἀγίων καὶ  
 βεβήλων καὶ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων ” καὶ νομίμων  
 καὶ παρανόμων.
- 101 XIX. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ ἱερεὺς πολὺ πρότερον ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ  
 καὶ ταῖς πρὸς συνουσίαν ὁρμαῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλει  
 χρῆσθαι, γάμον αὐτῷ μνάται παρθένου καθαρᾶς καὶ  
 ἐκ καθαρῶν γονέων καὶ πάππων καὶ προγόνων εἰς  
 τε καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ εὐγένειαν ἀριστίνδην ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νηφάλια.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 98-101

the dangers of slackness, forgetfulness, sleep and foolish behaviour. For strong drink enervates the 99 bodily faculties, and makes the limbs more difficult to move, increases the tendency to sluggishness in a man, and irresistibly forces him to fall asleep, while by relaxing the sinews of the soul it produces both forgetfulness and foolish conduct. When he is sober, his bodily parts are buoyant and easier to move, the senses are clearer and brighter and the mind keener-sighted, so that it can foresee events and recount what it has seen in the past. In general, indeed, wine 100 must be regarded as very unprofitable for every side of life, since it presses hard upon the soul, dulls the senses and weighs down the body, leaving none of our faculties free and untrammelled but hampering the natural activity of each. But in religious rites and ceremonies the mischief is graver in the same degree as it is more intolerable to offend against our duty to God than our duty to man. Thus it is a very proper enactment that the officiants at the sacrifice should fast from wine, "to discern and distinguish between holy and profane, clean and unclean," lawful and unlawful.<sup>a</sup>

XIX. Since a priest is a man well before he<sup>b</sup> is 101 a priest and must and should feel the instinct for mating, Moses arranges for his marriage with a pure virgin whose parents and grandparents and ancestors are equally pure, highly distinguished for the excel-

quotation of Lev. x. 10, but the addition "lawful and unlawful," also represents *v.* 11 "to teach the sons of Israel all the statutes" (Lxx νόμιμα).

<sup>b</sup> Or "primarily a man, and only secondarily a priest," πολὺ πρότερον not indicating time or even importance, but that the genus comes before the species.

## PHILO

- 102 κριθέντων. πόρνη μὲν γὰρ καὶ βεβήλω σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν οὐδὲ προσελθεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἔα, κἂν τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀποθεμένη σχῆμα κόσμιον καὶ σῶφρον ὑποδύηται, διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχαίαν προαίρεσιν ἀνίερον αὐτῇ γενέσθαι. αὕτη δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτιμίαν ἔχέτω σπουδάσασα μiasμάτων καθαρεῦσαι· μετάνοια γὰρ ἀδικημάτων ἐπαινετόν· καὶ μηδεὶς ἕτερος αὐτὴν ἄγεσθαι κεκωλύσθω, ἱερεὶ δὲ μὴ προσίτω· τὰ γὰρ ἱερωσύνης ἐξαιρέτα δίκαια συμφωνίαν ἐπιζητούσης τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως [ἀρχῆς] ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἀνυπαίτιον.
- 103 εὐήθες γὰρ διὰ μὲν τὰς ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἐπιγενομένας οὐλὰς ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εἶργεσθαί τινας ἱερωσύνης, αἱ σύμβολον ἀτυχίας, οὐ μοχθηρίας, εἰσί, τὰς δὲ μὴ κατ' ἀνάγκην μόνον ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἔκουσίους γνώμας πεπρακυίας τὴν ἰδίαν ὄραν, ἐπειδήπερ ὀψέ καὶ μόλις μετέγνωσαν, εὐθύς ἀπὸ ἐραστῶν ἱερεῦσιν ἀρμόξεσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ χαμαιτυπείων εἰς ἱερὰ χωρία μετοικίξεσθαι· μένουσι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν μετανοούντων οὐλαί
- 104 καὶ τύποι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀδικημάτων. εὖ καὶ παγκάλως ἐν ἑτέροις διείρηται “μηδὲ μίσθωμα πόρνης εἰσκομίζειν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν”· καίτοι τό γε νόμισμα καθ' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔνοχον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν λαβοῦσαν καὶ τὴν πράξιν ἐφ' ἣ δέδοται. σχολῆ γ'

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προσιδεῖν.

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<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xxi. 7 (not as Cohn, 13, 14, which refer to the high priest), “They shall not take a woman that is a harlot or profane, or a woman put away from her husband.” By a “pure virgin” Philo, as appears from § 108, means that if she is unmarried she must be pure. The instruction to inquire into her lineage has no scriptural authority. But Josephus, *Contra Apion*. i. 31, entirely supports it as a



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 102-104

lence of their conduct and lineage.<sup>a</sup> For a harlot is 102  
profane in body and soul, even if she has discarded her  
trade and assumed a decent and chaste demeanour,  
and he is forbidden even to approach her, since her  
old way of living was unholy. Let such a one indeed  
retain in other respects her civic rights as she has  
been at pains to purge herself from her defilements,  
for repentance from wrongdoing is praiseworthy.  
Nor let anyone else be prevented from taking her  
in marriage, but let her not come near to the priest.  
For the rights and duties of the priesthood are of a  
special kind, and the office demands an even tenor  
of blamelessness from birth to death. It would be 103  
foolish if, while the bodily scars which wounds leave  
behind them, marks of misfortune and not of de-  
pravity, preclude one from the priesthood, the women  
who have sold their personal charms not only under  
compulsion but sometimes by free and deliberate  
choice, should just because of a belated and reluctant  
repentance pass straight from their lovers to wedlock  
with the priests and exchange the stews for a lodging  
in holy ground. For in the souls of the repentant  
there remain, in spite of all, the scars and prints of  
their old misdeeds.<sup>b</sup> It is well and admirably said in 104  
another place,<sup>c</sup> "Neither shall the hire of a harlot be  
brought into the Temple," though the coins are not  
guilty in themselves but only because of the recipient  
and the business for which it was given her. Surely

practice, "He must inquire into her pedigree, obtaining the  
genealogy from the archives and producing a number of  
witnesses." Josephus goes on to say that the practice is  
observed among the Jews of Egypt, Babylonia, and else-  
where, as much as in Palestine.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 620.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxiii. 18.

## PHILO

ἂν ἔτι προσοῖτό τις εἰς κοινωνίαν ἱερέων γυναῖκας, ὧν καὶ τὰ χρήματα βέβηλα καὶ παράσημα, εἰ καὶ ταῖς ὕλαις καὶ τοῖς χαρακτῆρσι δόκιμα.

- 105 XX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ γάμον οὕτως ἠκρίβωται τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χήραν ἐφέϊται γαμῆν αὐτῷ, οὔτε τετελευτηκότος ἀνδρὸς μονωθεῖσαν οὔτε ἀπ-ηλλαγμένην ἔτι ζῶντος, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἄβατον καὶ καθαρὰν ἄρουραν ὁ ἱερὸς σπόρος χωρῆ καὶ μηδεμίαν κρᾶσιν αἰ γοναὶ πρὸς ἑτέραν οἰκίαν λαμβάνωσιν, εἶτα δ' ὅπως ἀκακωτάταις καὶ ἀδιαστρόφοις ταῖς ψυχαῖς συνερχόμενοι ραδίως δια-  
 [229] πλάττωσι τὰ | ἦθη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτῶν· ὄλκοι γὰρ καὶ εὐάγωγοι διάνοιαι παρθένων πρὸς ἀρετήν,  
 106 εἰς διδασκαλίαν ἐτοιμότεται· ἢ δ' ἑτέρου πείραν ἀνδρὸς λαβοῦσα κατὰ τὸ εἶκὸς ἀπειθεστέρα πρὸς μάθησιν, ἅτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκραιφνεστάτην οὐκ ἔχουσα καθάπερ τινὰ λελειασμένον κηρὸν εἰς τρανότητα τῶν ἐγγραφησομένων δογμάτων, ἀλλὰ τραχεῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν προεγχαραχθέντων τύπων, οἱ δυσεξάλειπτοι παραμένοντες ἢ οὐ παραδέχονται σφραγίδας ἑτέρας ἢ παραδεξάμενοι συγχέουσι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀνωμα-  
 107 λίαις. παρθένον οὖν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀγέσθω γάμων ἀγνήν· λέγω δὲ παρθένον οὐ μόνον ἢ μὴ ἕτερος ὠμίλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' ἣ μὴδεις ἄλλος ἀνήρ ὠνομάσθη διὰ τινων ὁμολογιῶν, κἂν ἀγνεύῃ τὸ σῶμα.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxi. 13, 14.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. successive high priests. The use of the plural is odd and might suggest that it refers to the couple; and so

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 104-107

one would not care to admit to partnership with the priests the women whose very money is profane and regarded as base, even though the metal and the stamp is true.

XX. <sup>a</sup> So strict are the regulations laid down for the 105 marriage of the high priest that he is not even permitted to marry a widow, whether her isolation is due to the death of her husband or divorce from him while still alive. This is laid down first in order that the holy seed may pass into pure and untrodden soil and the issue receive no admixture with another family.

Secondly, that by mating with souls entirely innocent and unperverted they <sup>b</sup> may find it easy to mould the characters and dispositions of their wives, for the minds of virgins are easily influenced and attracted to virtue and very ready to be taught. But she who has had experience of another husband 106 is naturally less amenable to instruction. For her soul is not one of the completely simple kind like a sheet of wax levelled to show clearly the lessons to be inscribed upon it, but rather like one roughened by the imprints already scored upon it, which resist effacement and either do not yield to the dint of other seals or, if they do, confuse them with their own indentations. Let the high priest then take a virgin 107 who is innocent of marriage. And when I say "virgin" I exclude not only one with whom another man has had intercourse but also one with whom any other has been declared to have an agreement of betrothal, even though her body is that of a maid intact.<sup>c</sup>

apparently Heinemann takes it, but it seems to me impossible that Philo should be supposing that the high priest's character is moulded by his wife.

<sup>c</sup> See on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 72 (App.).

## PHILO

- 108 XXI. Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἱερεῦσι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα  
περὶ γάμων διατέτακται ταῦτ' ἂ καὶ τοῖς τὴν  
μεγίστην ἔχουσιν ἱερωσύνην, ἐφεῖται δ' οὐ μόνον  
παρθένους ἀλλὰ καὶ χήρας, οὐ πάσας ἀλλ' ὧν τε-  
τελευτήκασιν ἄνδρες, μετ' ἀδείας ἄγεσθαι. φιλο-  
νεικίας γὰρ καὶ στάσεις ἐκ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἱερέων  
οἶεται δεῖν ὁ νόμος ἀναιρεῖν· πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς  
ζῶντας γένοιτ' ἂν ἴσως ἔριδες ἐκ πάθους γυναι-  
κείου, ζηλοτυπίας, τοῖς δ' ἀποθανοῦσι συναποθνή-  
σκει καὶ τὰ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δευτέρους ἄνδρας ἔχθρας.
- 109 ἄλλως τε τὸν ἀρχιερέα πλείονος ἐδικαίωσεν ἀγι-  
στείας καὶ καθάρσεως ὥσπερ ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
καὶ ἐν γάμου κοινωνίᾳ μεταλαχεῖν, οὐκ ἔασας ὅτι  
μὴ κόρην ἄγεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως  
ὑπανῆκε τὰ περὶ συνόδους γυναικῶν, ἐφίεις καὶ  
πεπειραμένους ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι.
- 110 XXII. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ γένος ἠκρίβωσε τῶν  
μελλουσῶν γαμείσθαι, προστάξας τῷ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖ  
μῶσθαι μὴ παρθένον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱέρειαν ἐξ  
ἱερέων, ἢ ἐκ μιᾶς οἰκίας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ αἵματος ὧσι νυμφίος τε καὶ νύμφη πρὸς  
ἀρμονίαν ἐπιδειξάμενοι παρ' ὄλον τὸν βίον κρᾶσιν
- 111 ἡθῶν βεβαιοτάτην. ἐπετράπη δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ

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<sup>a</sup> Or "ordinary." So Heinemann; Mangey "privatis." But all these are strange uses for the phrase which should mean the several or particular priests, like οἱ κατὰ μέρος νόμοι. Possibly it means the priests who stood by themselves as a μέρος of the whole class, the other μέρος being the high priest, and so almost = "as a class." So perhaps ἀρχοντος ἐν μέρει, § 226.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxi. 7. The permission is reasonably deduced from the prohibition to marry the divorced.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 108-111

XXI. As for the subordinate<sup>a</sup> priests, while the 108  
other marriage regulations are the same for them as  
for those who hold the highest priesthood, they are  
permitted to wed with immunity not only virgins  
but widows,<sup>b</sup> though only such as have lost their  
husbands by death. This limitation is due to the  
desire of the law to remove animosities and feuds  
from the lives of the priests. While the first husband  
lives, quarrels might be engendered by the feminine  
proclivity to jealousy.<sup>c</sup> His death carries with it the  
death of any hostility to the second husband. As for 109  
the distinction between priests and high priests, the  
view of the law was that the greater sanctity and  
purity required of the latter in all other matters  
should be extended to his choice of a partner in  
marriage, and therefore it forbade him to take to  
wife any but a maiden. But to those of the second  
rank it made concessions as to their relations with  
women and permitted them to espouse such as had  
had experience of other husbands.

XXII. Further, it made clear distinctions as to the 110  
birth of the intended wives. The high priest must  
not propose marriage save to one who is not only a  
virgin but a priestess descended from priests,<sup>d</sup> so that  
bride and bridegroom may be of one house and in a  
sense of the same blood and so, harmoniously united,  
shew a lifelong blending of temperament firmly  
established. But the rest are permitted to marry 111

<sup>c</sup> As the jealousy is clearly that felt by one or both of the husbands, I do not see the point of "feminine" unless it means that such a feeling is natural in a woman, but disgraceful to a man. Some word expressing "excited by a passion for women," like *γυναικομανούς*, seems to be wanted.

<sup>d</sup> So Philo interprets Lev. xxi. 14 *ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ* and in the next verse, *ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ* (E.V. "of his own people").

## PHILO

μη ἱερέων γαμεῖν θυγατέρας, τῇ μὲν ὅτι μικρὰ τούτων καθάρσια, τῇ δ' ὅτι τὸ ἔθνος οὐκ ἐβουλήθη γενεᾶς εἰς ἅπαν ἱερατικῆς ἀμοιρῆσαι τε καὶ παντελῶς ἀπεξευχθαι.<sup>1</sup> δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερέας ἐπιγαμίας ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ [230] τοῦ ἔθνους, | αἴπερ εἰσὶ δεύτεραι συγγένειαι· γαμβροὶ γὰρ ἀνθ' υἱῶν πενθεροῖς καὶ ἀντὶ πατέρων γαμβροῖς πενθεροί.

112 XXIII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ γάμου ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια χάριν παίδων γενέσεως. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεται γενέσει φθορά, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τελευταῖς ἀνέγραψε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι νόμους, κελεύσας μὴ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοὺς μιαίνεσθαι τοῖς ὅπως οὖν ἢ κατὰ φιλίαν ἢ κατὰ συγγένειαν ὠκειωμέναις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μόνοις πατράσι καὶ μητράσιν, υἰοῖς καὶ θυγατράσιν,

113 ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀδελφαῖς παρθέναις. τὸν δ' ἀρχιερέα παντὸς πένθους ὑπεξείλετο· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· τὰς μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ὑπηρεσίας ἀνθ' ἑτέρων ἕτεροι λειτουργεῖν δύνανται, ὡς, κἂν πενθῶσί τινες, μηδὲν τῶν ἐξ ἔθνους ὑστερίζειν, τὰς δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως οὐδενὶ δρᾶν ἐφεῖται. παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀμίαντος αἰεὶ διατελείτω μὴ προσαπτόμενος νεκροῦ σώματος, ὅπως τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἕτοιμος ὢν ἐν καιροῖς τοῖς προσήκουσιν 114 ἀκωλύτως ἐπιτελῆ. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως προσκεκληρωμένος θεῷ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τάξεως γεγωνὸς ταξίαρχος ὀφείλει πάντων ἀλλοτριουῖσθαι τῶν ἐν γενέσει, μὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀποξευξαι.

<sup>a</sup> Deduced from the absence of the prohibition which Philo believes to be imposed on the high priest.

<sup>b</sup> καθάρσια usually means purificatory rites, but here, like

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 111-114

the daughters of others than priests <sup>a</sup> partly because the restrictions required to <sup>b</sup> maintain their purity are slight, partly because the law did not wish that the nation should be denied altogether a share in the priestly clanship or be entirely excluded from it. This was the reason why he did not forbid the other priests to intermarry with the laity of the nation, for intermarriage is kinship in the second degree. Sons-in-law are sons to their fathers-in-law, and the latter are fathers to the former.

XXIII. These and similar regulations as to marriage are intended to promote the generation of children, but since generation is followed by dissolution, he has laid down laws for the priests dealing with deaths. <sup>c</sup> In these he ordains that they should not incur defilement for all connected with them by friendship or kinship whatever the degree, but only for fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brothers and maiden sisters. But the high priest is precluded from all outward mourning and surely with good reason. <sup>d</sup> For the services of the other priests can be performed by deputy, so that if some are in mourning none of the customary rites need suffer. But no one else is allowed to perform the functions of a high priest and therefore he must always continue undefiled, never coming in contact with a corpse, so that he may be ready to offer his prayers and sacrifices at the proper time without hindrance on behalf of the nation. Further, since he is dedicated to God and has been made captain of the sacred regiment, he ought to be estranged from all the ties of birth and

*κάθαρσις* in § 109, seems to be used of what keeps a person pure.

<sup>c</sup> See Lev. xxi. 1-3.

<sup>d</sup> See Lev. xxi. 10-12.

## PHILO

- γονέων, μὴ τέκνων, μὴ ἀδελφῶν εὐνοίας οὕτως ἠττώμενος, ὡς ἢ παρελθεῖν ἢ ὑπερθέσθαι τι τῶν
- 115 ὁσίων, ὃ πραχθῆναι πάντως αὐτίκα ἄμεινον. κελεύει δὲ μήτε τὰ ἱμάτια περιρρήττειν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἀποθανοῦσι μήτε ἀφαιρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἱερωσύνης μήτε συνόλως ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων ἐξιέναι κατὰ πρόφασιν πένθους, ἵνα καὶ τὸν τόπον αἰδούμενος καὶ τὰ περὶ ἑαυτὸν προκοσμῆματα οἷς ἀνέστεπται, κρείττων οἴκτου γενόμενος, ἄλυπος εἰς αἰεὶ διατελῆ. βούλεται γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ νόμος μείζονος μεμοιρᾶσθαι φύσεως ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων, ἐγγυτέρω προσιόντα τῆς θείας, μεθόριον, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές λέγειν, ἀμφοῖν, ἵνα διὰ μέσου τινὸς ἀνθρώποι μὲν ἰλάσκωνται θεόν, θεὸς δὲ τὰς χάριτας ἀνθρώποις ὑποδιακόνῳ τινὶ χρώμενος ὀρέγῃ καὶ χορηγῆ.
- 117 XXIV. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξῆς εὐθύς<sup>1</sup> νομοθετεῖ περὶ τῶν χρησομένων ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς. εἰάν οὖν τις, φησί, τῶν ἱερέων ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ χεῖρας ἢ βάσεις ἢ τι μέρος ἄλλο πηρωθῆ τοῦ σώματος ἢ καὶ τινα μῶμον ἐνδέξεται, λειτουργιῶν μὲν ἀνεχέτω διὰ τὰς ἐγγενομένας κῆρας, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τῶν ἱερέων γέρα
- 118 καρπούσθω διὰ τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον εὐγένειαν. εἰάν μέντοι λέπραι τινὸς ἐξανθήσασαι κατάσχωσιν ἢ καὶ γονορρυῆς τις γένηται τῶν ἱερέων, μήτε τραπέζης ἱερᾶς ψαυέτω μήτε τῶν προκειμένων ἄθλων τῷ γένει, μέχρῃς ἂν ἢ τε ῥύσις ἐπίσχη καὶ ἢ λέπρα μεταβαλοῦσα τῷ τῆς ὑγιοῦς σαρκὸς ἐξομοιωθῆ

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. ἐξῆς, others εὐθύς.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Som.* ii. 188.

<sup>b</sup> See *Lev.* xxi. 17 f., already cited on § 80. Here the stress



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 114-118

not be so overcome by affection to parents or children or brothers as to neglect or postpone any one of the religious duties which it were well to perform without any delay. He forbids him also either to rend his garments for his dead, even the nearest and dearest, or to take from his head the insignia of the priesthood, or on any account to leave the sacred precincts under the pretext of mourning. Thus, showing reverence both to the place and to the personal ornaments with which he is decked, he will have his feeling of pity under control and continue throughout free from sorrow. For the law desires him to be endued with a nature higher than the merely human and to approximate to the Divine, on the border-line,<sup>a</sup> we may truly say, between the two, that men may have a mediator through whom they may propitiate God and God a servitor to employ in extending the abundance of His boons to men. 115 116

XXIV. These rules are followed directly by his legislation on those who are to share in the first-fruits. <sup>b</sup> If any of the priests, he tells us, has lost the use of his eyes or hands or feet or any part of his body, or suffers from any defect, he must refrain from officiating because of the afflictions which have befallen him, but he may enjoy the privileges common to the priests because his pure lineage still remains without reproach. <sup>c</sup> If, however, leprous eruptions appear upon him or he is suffering from seminal issue, the priest must not touch the holy table or any of the prizes to which his clan is entitled until in the one case the issue has ceased, in the other the leprosy is converted into a resemblance to the hue of healthy flesh. 117 118

is on v. 22 "the gifts of God are most holy and he shall eat of the holy" (LXX). <sup>c</sup> See Lev. xxii. 4-7.

## PHILO

- 119 χρώματι. κὰν προσάψῃται μέντοι τις ὅτου δήποτε  
 [231] τῶν | ἀκαθάρτων ἱερέως ἢ καὶ νύκτωρ, οἶα φιλεῖ  
 πολλάκις, ὄνειρώξῃ, τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μηδὲν  
 προσφερέσθω τῶν καθιερωθέντων, λουσάμενος δ'  
 ἐπιγενομένης ἑσπέρας χρῆσθαι μὴ κεκωλύσθω.  
 120 πάροικος δ' ἱερέως καὶ μισθωτὸς εἰργέσθω τῶν  
 ἀπαρχῶν, ὁ μὲν πάροικος, ἐπειδὴ γείτονες τὰ πολλὰ<sup>1</sup>  
 συνέστιοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι· δέος γάρ, μὴ προῆταιί  
 τις τὰ καθιερωθέντα προφάσει καταχρησάμενος εἰς  
 ἀσέβειαν ἀκαίρῳ φιλανθρωπία· μεταδοτέον γὰρ οὐ  
 πᾶσι πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐφαρμοζόντων τοῖς ληψο-  
 μένοις· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ λυσιτελέστατον  
 τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, τάξις, ἀναιρεθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 121 βλαβερωτάτου παρενημερηθεῖσα, συγχύσεως. εἰ  
 γὰρ ἴσον μὲν μέρος<sup>2</sup> ἐν ὀλκάσιν οἴσονται ναῦται  
 κυβερνήταις, ἴσον δὲ ἐν ταῖς μακραῖς τριήρεσι  
 τριηράρχοις<sup>3</sup> καὶ ναυάρχοις ἐρέται καὶ τὸ ἐπιβατικόν,  
 ἐν δὲ στρατοπέδοις ἴσον ἰππεῖς μὲν ἰππάρχοις,  
 ὀπλίται δὲ ταξιάρχοις, λοχαγοὶ δὲ στρατηγοῖς, ἐν  
 δὲ πόλεσι κρινόμενοι δικασταῖς καὶ βουλευταὶ προ-  
 βούλοις καὶ συνόλως ἄρχουσιν ἰδιῶται, ταραχαὶ καὶ  
 στάσεις γενήσονται καὶ ἡ <διὰ> λόγων ἰσότης τὴν  
 δι' ἔργων ἀνισότητα γεννήσει· τὸ γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀξίας  
 ἀνομοίοις ὅμοια ἀπονέμειν ἄνισον, τὸ δ' ἄνισον  
 122 πηγὴ κακῶν. οὗ χάριν καὶ τὰ γέρα τῶν ἱερέων οὐ  
 δοτέον ὥσπερ ἄλλοις οὐδὲ τοῖς παροίκοις ἔνεκα τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. μὴ πάντες γείτονες, and so Mangey, who perhaps understood it to mean that if the neighbour is one who habitually shared the table of the priest, the danger would be avoided.

<sup>2</sup> Some mss. omit μὲν, the others μέρος.

<sup>3</sup> Some mss. omit τριήρεσι, the others τριηράρχοις.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 119-122

Further, if a priest touches any impure object or, as 119 often happens, has an emission during the night, he must not during that day partake of consecrated food but bathe himself, and after sundown he should not be debarred from its use. But the first-fruits must 120 be kept out of the hands of a dweller near the priest<sup>a</sup> or his hired servant ; the first is mentioned because board and hospitality are usually given to neighbours, and there is a danger that the consecrated meats may be profaned<sup>b</sup> through an untimely generosity abused as a pretext for impiety. For we must not share everything with everyone, but restrict our gifts to what are suitable to the recipient. Otherwise the most excellent and valuable thing which life possesses, order, will be destroyed, vanquished by its most mischievous foe, confusion. For if sailors on merchant vessels 121 were remunerated equally with the pilots, or oarsmen and marines on men-of-war with captains and admirals, or cavalry soldiers in armies with their commanders, or rank and file with their officers, or regimental captains with generals, or in cities litigants with judges, councillors with their chairmen, or in general private individuals with rulers, disturbances and factions would arise and the nominal equality would engender an actual inequality. For like pay for unlike worth is inequality, and inequality is the fountain of evil. On the same principle the general 122 law against giving away the prerogatives of the priests should be extended to the neighbours also. Otherwise they will be handling the forbidden meats

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xxii. 10. Philo evidently takes *πάρουκος* = "neighbour" (a sense which the word no doubt can bear). E.V. "sojourner," presumably meaning a stranger residing temporarily (?) with the priest.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "lest one throw away."

PHILO

- γεινιᾶν ἐφαρμομένοις ὧν οὐ θέμις· οὐ γὰρ οἰκίας  
 123 ἀλλὰ γένους ἔστιν ἡ τιμή. XXV. ὁμοίως  
 μέντοι μηδὲ μισθωτῷ μηδεὶς παρεχέτω μήτε μισθὸν  
 μήθ' ὑπηρεσίας ἀμοιβὴν ἱερὸν γέρας· χρήσεται γὰρ  
 ὁ λαβὼν ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς ἅ μὴ δεῖ, βέβηλα τὰ τῆς  
 εὐγενείας ἄθλα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν νεῶν λειτουργίας  
 124 ἀπεργασάμενος. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδ' ἄλλογενεῖ  
 συνόλως ὁ νόμος ἐπιτρέπει μεταλαμβάνειν τῶν  
 ἀγίων, κἂν εὐπατρίδης ὧν τυγχάνη τῶν αὐτοχθόνων  
 καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἀνεπλήπτος  
 [ὧν], ἵνα αἱ τιμαὶ μὴ νοθεύωνται, μένωσι δ' ἐν τῇ  
 125 ἱερατικῇ τάξει βεβαίως φυλαττόμεναι. καὶ γὰρ  
 ἄτοπον τὰς μὲν θυσίας καὶ ἱεουργίας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
 περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀγιστεύεται μὴ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
 ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ἐπιτετράφθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων  
 ἄθλα κοινὰ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ὡς δέον  
 μὲν πόνοις πολλοῖς καὶ καμάτοις καὶ ταῖς μεθ'  
 ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ φροντίσιν ἀποτρύχειν τοὺς  
 ἱερέας, τὰ δ' ἄθλα κοινὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀργουσίσι ἀπο-  
 126 φαίνειν. οἰκογενεῖ δέ, φησίν, καὶ ἀργυ-  
 ρωνήτῳ μεταδιδότῳ δεσπότης ἱερεὺς σιτίων καὶ  
 ποτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι θεράποντι  
 πόρος εἰς ὃ δεσπότης, ὃ δὲ τοῦ δεσπότου κληῖρος αἱ  
 ἱεραὶ φιλανθρωπίαι, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη τὸν δούλον  
 127 τρέφεσθαι· δεύτερον δ' ὅτι τὰ γενησόμενα πάντως  
 ἀνάγκη δρᾶν ἐκόντας· οἱ δ' οἰκέται, κἂν μὴ θέ-  
 λωμεν, ἅτε αἰεὶ συνόντες καὶ συνδιαιτώμενοι, σιτία

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<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xxii. 10: LXX ἄλλογενής, E.V. "stranger," mean-  
 ing "one who is not a priest." The word might mean  
 "foreigner," but as the LXX uses the same word in v. 12,  
 where Philo interprets it as a non-priest (§ 129), he probably  
 means the same here.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 122-127

just because they live in the vicinity. For the privilege belongs not to a dwelling-house, but to a caste. XXV. In the same way no one 123 must bestow the sacred prerogative on a hired servant, either as his hire or in exchange for his service. For he will sometimes use the gift for improper purposes, thus profaning the rewards attached to pure lineage and the ministry of the sanctuary. This is the 124 reason why no one at all of alien race,<sup>a</sup> even though he be nobly born and of the original stock, without flaw either on the male or the female line, is permitted by the law to share in the sacred things, in order that the privileges may not be tainted with bastardy but remain the securely guarded possessions of the priestly order. For it would be preposterous 125 that while the sacrifices and sacred rites and all the ceremonies of the altar are committed not to all but to the priests alone, the rewards assigned to these offices should become common property and at the service of chance comers, as though it were right to wear out the priests with toil and labour and the cares that beset them night and day and at the same time to allow their rewards to be shared by idlers.

<sup>b</sup> But the home-bred or purchased slave, he proceeds, 126 should be given his share in food and drink from the first-fruits by the priest, his master. First, because the servant has no resources but his master, and that master's estate consists of the sacred gifts of charity by which the slave must necessarily be maintained. Secondly, what is sure to come to pass anyhow should 127 most certainly be done voluntarily. Our domestics are always with us and share our lives. They prepare

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. xxii. 11.

- [232] | τε καὶ ποτὰ καὶ ὄψα τοῖς δεσπόταις προευτρεπιζόμενοι καὶ τραπέζαις ἐφειστώτες καὶ τὰ λείψανα ἐκκομίζοντες, κἂν μὴ φανερώς λαμβάνωσι, λάθρα γοῦν ὑφαιρήσονται, κλέπτειν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης βιασθέντες, ὡς ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἐγκλήματος, εἶπερ ἐστὶν ἀδίκημα τὸ ἐκ τῶν δεσποτικῶν τρέφεσθαι, καὶ ἕτερον προσκατασκευάζεσθαι, κλοπῆν, ἵνα οἶα φῶρες πρὸ τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἀνυπαιτίως ζώντων ἀπολαύσωσι
- 128 τῶν καθιερωθέντων, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀτοπώτατον· τρίτον κἀκεῖνο χρῆ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι τὰ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν οὐ παρόσον ἐπινέμεται τοῖς οἰκέταις ὀλιγωρηθήσεται, διὰ τὸν δεσποτικὸν φόβον· ἰκανὸς γὰρ οὗτος ἐπιστομίζειν τὴν τιμῶν εὐχέρειαν ραθυμεῖν οὐκ ἐφίεις.
- 129 XXVI. Ταῦθ' ὑπειπὼν φιλανθρωπίας μεστὸν νόμον ἐξῆς ἀναγράφει. ἐὰν θυγάτηρ, φησὶν, ἱερέως γημαμένη μὴ ἱερεῖ χηρεύσῃ, τελευτήσαντος ἀνδρὸς ἢ καὶ ἔτι ζώντος, ἅπαις καταλειφθεῖσα, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον ἐπανερχέσθω μεταληψομένη τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, ὧν καὶ ἡνίκα παρθένος ἦν ἐκοινώνει· τρόπον γάρ τινα καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ δυνάμει παρθένος ἢ καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ παίδων ἔρημος, οὐδεμίαν ἑτέραν
- 130 ἔχουσα καταφυγὴν ὅτι μὴ τὸν πατέρα. υἱῶν δὲ ὄντων ἢ θυγατέρων, ἀνάγκη τὴν μητέρα τοῖς τέκνοις συντετάχθαι· υἱοὶ γὰρ<sup>2</sup> καὶ θυγατέρες τῆς τοῦ γεννήσαντος οἰκίας ὄντες εἰς ταύτην συνεφέλκονται καὶ τὴν μητέρα.<sup>3</sup>
- 131 XXVII. Τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οὐκ ἀπένειμε χώρας ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πρὸς τῶν οἰ τὸν τρόπον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δέ.

<sup>3</sup> Here the mss. insert the heading *Γέρα ἱερέων*.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* if the sacred meats are pilfered and eaten on the sly, they would be treated irreverently; but if they are eaten openly and under supervision, this danger is avoided.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 127-131

the ordinary food and drink and additional dishes for their masters, stand by the table and carry out the remains. Whether we wish it or not, they will even if they do not take them openly, pilfer them on the sly. Thus they are compelled perforce to steal and instead of a single indictment, if indeed it is an offence to feed off the master's viands, a second is provided, namely, stealing, with the result that the enjoyment of the consecrated meats appears to fall to thieves instead of to those who live a blameless life, which is the height of absurdity. There is a third point for consideration. The dignity of the first-fruits will not be brought into contempt because they are shared by the servants. The fear of the master will prevent this, for by keeping them from idle habits he is able to check any light conduct on their part.<sup>a</sup> 128

XXVI. As a sequel to this he proceeds to lay down a law full of humane feeling.<sup>b</sup> If the daughter of a priest, he says, is widowed after marrying one who is not a priest, either by his death or divorce during his lifetime, and left without children, she should return to her father to regain the share in the first-fruits which she enjoyed as a virgin. For she is still in a sense virtually a virgin, destitute as she is of both husband and children and with no refuge except her father. But if there are sons or daughters, the mother must take her place with her children.<sup>c</sup> For sons and daughters belong to the house of the male parent and carry with them into it the mother also.<sup>d</sup> 130

XXVII. The priests were not allotted a section of 131

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. xxii. 13.

<sup>c</sup> A reasonable deduction from the above.

<sup>d</sup> Here the mss. give the heading "Privileges of the Priests." In Cohn a fresh numeration of chapters.

## PHILO

τομὴν ὁ νόμος, ἵν' ὡς ἕτεροι τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καρπούμενοι προσόδους τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορώσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβολῇ χρησάμενος τιμῆς τὸν θεὸν ἔφη κλῆρον αὐτῶν εἶναι, κατ' ἀναφορὰν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ καθιερούμενα, δυεῖν ἔνεκα, τῆς τε ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ κοινωνοὶ τῶν κατ' εὐχαριστίαν ἀπονεμομένων γίνονται θεῷ, καὶ τοῦ περὶ μόνα πραγματεύεσθαι δεῖν τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀγιστείας ὡσπερ τινὰς κλήρων [233] ἐπιμελητάς. ἃ δὲ | προτίθησιν ἄθλα καὶ ἀριστεία 132 ταῦτ' ἐστί. πρῶτον μὲν ἄπονον καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον τροφήν ἐτοίμη· κελεύει γὰρ τοὺς σιτοπονοῦντας ἀπὸ παντὸς στέατός τε καὶ φυράματος ἄρτον ἀφαιρεῖν ἀπαρχὴν εἰς ἱερέων χρῆσιν, προνοούμενος ἅμα καὶ τῆς εἰς εὐσέβειαν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ νομίμω 133 διδασκαλία τῶν ἀφαιρούντων. ἐθιζόμενοι γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ἀπάρχεσθαι τὴν θεοῦ μνήμην ἄληστον ἔξουσιν, οὗ μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν. πολυανθρωποτάτου δ' ἔθνους ἀναγκαιὸν εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀφθόνους, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀπορώτατον τῶν ἱερέων ἔνεκα περιουσίας τροφῶν

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<sup>a</sup> The reference is to Deut. xviii. 1, 2, "The priests shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel. The offerings (καρπώματα) of the Lord shall be their inheritance, they shall eat them, and they shall have no inheritance among their brethren. The Lord Himself is their inheritance." Philo sees that in this text "the offerings of the Lord are their inheritance" is equivalent to "the Lord is their inheritance," and explains the latter phrase as meaning (1) they share the



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 131-133

territory by the law so that like the others they might reap the proceeds of the land and have abundance of their requisites therefrom. Instead, when referring to the consecrated offerings, it paid them the transcendent honour of saying that God was their inheritance.<sup>a</sup> He is their inheritance for two reasons. One is the supreme honour conferred by sharing with God in the thank-offering rendered to Him. The other is the obligation to concern themselves only with the sacred rites, thus becoming in a sense trustees of inheritances. The prizes and guerdons which the law offers are as follows. <sup>b</sup> First, a main- 132  
tenance ready to hand and entailing no labour or trouble. For he commands that from all dough of wheat or other grain,<sup>c</sup> the bakers should set apart a loaf as a first portion for the use of the priests. In this he is also thinking of the avenue to piety provided by the lesson which the law of setting apart gives to those who obey it. For through being accustomed to make this offering 133  
out of their necessary food, they will have God in indelible recollection and no greater blessing can be gained than this. As the nation is very populous, the first-fruits are necessarily also on a lavish scale, so that even the poorest of the priests has so superabundant a maintenance that he seems exceedingly offerings with the Lord; (2) as consecrating the offerings they are trustees and managers of the "inheritances." *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν κλ.* seems to be a technical term for the commoner *ἐπίτροποι* = "executors." Cf. Diog. Laert. v. 55, 56. In *De Plant.* 63 he explains the phrase "the Lord is their inheritance," which occurs also in Num. xviii. 20 and Deut. x. 9, as meaning simply the priesthood.  
<sup>b</sup> See Num. xv. 18-20.  
<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* *στέαρ* is wheaten flour made into dough, *φύραμα* dough in general.

## PHILO

- 134 εὐπορώτατον δοκεῖν εἶναι. δεύτερον δὲ προστάττει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης κτήσεως ἀπάρχεσθαι, καθ' ἑκάστην μὲν ληνὸν οἶνον, καθ' ἑκάστην δ' ἄλωνα σίτον τε καὶ κριθήν, ὁμοίως δ' ἐξ ἔλαιων ἔλαιον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων ἡμέρους καρπούς, ἵνα μὴ τὰναγκαῖα μόνον ἔχοντες αὐχμηρότερον ἀποζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀβροδίαιτον βίον εὐποροῦντες ἰλαρώτερον ἐξ ἀφθόνων τρυφῶσι μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος.
- 135 τρίτον ἐστὶ γέρας τὰ πρωτότοκα ἀρρενικὰ πάντα τῶν χερσαίων ὅσα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων· ταῦτα γὰρ κελεύει διαδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, βοῶν μὲν καὶ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν αὐτὰ τὰ ἔκγονα, μόσχους καὶ κριοὺς καὶ χιμάρους, ἐπειδὴ καθαρὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔδωδὴν καὶ πρὸς θυσίας ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενόμισται, λύτρα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων κατατιθέναι, ἵππων καὶ ὄνων καὶ καμήλων καὶ τῶν παρα-
- 136 πλησίων, μὴ μειοῦντας τὴν ἀξίαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παμπληθῆ· κτηνοτροφοῦσι γὰρ καὶ ζωοτροφοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους αἰπόλια καὶ βουκόλια καὶ ποιμένας καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἀγέλας
- 137 παντοδαπῶν ζώων ἐκνέμοντες. ἤδη μέντοι καὶ προσυπερβάλλων ὁ νόμος οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς κτήσεως καθ' ἑκάστην ἰδέαν ἀπάρχεσθαι προστάττει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων· μέρη γὰρ διαιρετὰ γονέων παῖδες εἰσιν, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀδιαίρετα, συγγενικῶ αἵματι καὶ λόγοις προγόνων, ἀοράτοις εἶδεσιν, εἰς

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<sup>a</sup> There is some dispute as to the texts to which Philo refers. See notes in Heinemann (Translation, pp. 49, 50); *Bildung*, pp. 35, 36. The references given in Cohn are Ex. xxii. 29, xxxiv. 26, Num. xviii. 13, Deut. xviii. 4, xxvi. 2 ff.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 134-137

well-to-do. <sup>a</sup> Secondly, he ordains that 134  
first-fruits should be paid of every other possession ;  
wine from every winepress, wheat and barley from  
every threshing-floor, similarly oil from olives, and  
fruits from the other orchard-trees, so that the  
priests may not have merely bare necessities, just  
keeping themselves alive in comparatively squalid  
conditions, but enjoy abundance of the luxuries  
of life and pass their days amid cheerful and  
unstinted comfort in the style which befits their  
position.

A third requisite is the first- 135  
born males of all land animals suitable for the use and  
service of men.<sup>b</sup> These he orders to be distributed  
to the priests : in the case of kine and sheep and  
goats the actual offspring, male calves and lambs and  
kids, since they are " clean " for the purposes both  
of eating and sacrificing, and are recognized as such.  
For the others, horses and asses and camels and the  
like, compensation is to be paid without chaffering  
about the value. All these are very numerous, for 136  
the men of the nation are noted particularly as  
graziers and stock-breeders, and keep flocks and herds  
of goats and oxen and sheep and of every kind of animal  
in vast numbers.

And this is not all. We 137  
find the laws carrying the principle to a further extent  
by commanding that first-fruits should be paid not  
only from possessions of every kind but also from  
their own souls and bodies. For children are separ-  
able parts of their parents, or rather to speak more  
truly, inseparable parts, joined to them by kinship  
of blood, by the thoughts and memories of ancestors,  
invisible presences still alive among their descendants,

<sup>b</sup> See Ex. xxii. 30, Num. xviii. 15-20.

## PHILO

ἐκγόνους διήκουσι φίλτροις τε ἐνωτικῆς εὐνοίας καὶ  
 138 φύσεως δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἡρμοσμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 καὶ τούτων τοὺς πρωτοτόκους ἄρρενας τρόπον  
 ἀπαρχῆς καθιεροῖ, χαριστήρια εὐτεκνίας καὶ εὐ-  
 γονίας οὔσης τε καὶ ἐλπιζομένης, καὶ ἅμα βουλό-  
 μενος οὐ μόνον ἀμέμπτους ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα  
 ἐπαινετοὺς εἶναι τοὺς γάμους. ἐξ ὧν ὁ πρῶτος  
 βλαστήσας καρπὸς καθιεροῦται· ὅπερ χρῆ λογιζο-  
 μένους καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας σωφροσύνης καὶ  
 οἰκουρίας καὶ ὁμονοίας περιέχεσθαι καὶ συμπνέοντας  
 ἀλλήλοις ἔν τε λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τὴν λεγομένην  
 139 κοινωνίαν ἀληθείᾳ παγίως<sup>1</sup> βεβαιοῦσθαι. τῆς δὲ  
 [234] τῶν πρωτοτόκων | υἱῶν καθιέρωσης,<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 μήτε γονεῖς τέκνων μήτε τέκνα γονέων διαζεύγνυ-  
 σθαι, τιμᾶται τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἀργυρίῳ ῥητῶ, προσ-  
 τάξας ἴσον εἰσφέρειν καὶ πένητα καὶ πλούσιον, οὐ  
 πρὸς ἀξίωμα τῶν εἰσφερόντων οὐδὲ πρὸς εὐεξίαν  
 καὶ κάλλος τῶν γεννηθέντων ἀπιδῶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον  
 δυνατὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν καὶ τῷ λίαν ἀπόρῳ σταθμησά-  
 140 μενος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ παίδων γένεσις ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ  
 τοῖς λαμπροτάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἀφανεστάτοις εἴωθε  
 συμβαίνειν, ἴσῃν ἐδικαίωσε καὶ τὴν εἰσφορὰν  
 νομοθετῆσαι στοχασάμενος, ὡς ἔφην, μάλιστα τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παγίῳ (= παγίῳ).

<sup>2</sup> Cohn considers this genitive as impossible, and following καθιέρωσιν in F and the apparent insertion of ἀλλά before τιμᾶται in the Armenian, suggests τὴν . . . καθιέρωσιν <οὐ δέχεται> . . . <ἀλλά> τιμᾶται. See *Hermes*, 1908, p. 189. I

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 137-140

by the love-ties of the affection which unites them, by the indissoluble bonds of nature.<sup>a</sup> Yet even 138 parents have their first-born male children consecrated as a first-fruit, a thank-offering for the blessings of parenthood realized in the present and the hopes of fruitful increase in the future. At the same time he shews his wish that the marriages, the first produce of which is a fruit sacred to His service, should be not only blameless but worthy of the highest praise. And reflection on this should lead both husbands and wives to cherish temperance and domesticity and unanimity, and by mutual sympathy shewn in word and deed to make the name of partnership a reality securely founded on truth. <sup>b</sup> But to 139 prevent the parents being separated from the children and the children from their parents, he assessed the first-fruit arising from the consecration of the first-born sons at a fixed sum of money, and ordered rich and poor to make the same contribution. He did not take into consideration either the dignity of the contributors or the good condition and beauty of the offspring, but fixed the payment at an amount which was within the power of even the very poor. For 140 since the birth of children is an event equally common with the grandest and the meanest, he considered it just to enact that the contribution should be equal also, aiming, as I have said, as nearly as possible at a

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xiii. 2, xxii. 29.

<sup>b</sup> See Num. xviii. 15, 16, where "the fixed sum of money" is given as five shekels.

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see no great difficulty in taking *καθιερώσεως* either as a genitive of respect or as depending on *ἀπαρχήν*.

- 141 *pāsi δυνατοῦ.* XXVIII. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
καὶ ἄλλον πόρον οὐ βραχὺν ἐπινέμει τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν,  
ἕκαστον τῶν προσόδων ἀπάρχεσθαι κελεύσας, ἀπό  
τε σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ ἔτι θρεμμάτων  
ἐπιγονῆς κατὰ τε ποιμένας καὶ βουκόλια καὶ αἰπόλια  
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγέλας. ὅση δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐστὶν  
ἀφθονία, τεκμήραιτ' ἂν τις ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔθνος  
142 πολυανθρωπίας. ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι  
βασιλέων σεμνότητα καὶ τιμὴν περιάπτει τοῖς  
ἱερεῦσιν ὁ νόμος· ὡς γοῦν ἡγεμόσι φόρους ἀπὸ  
παντὸς μέρους κτήσεως δίδοσθαι κελεύει, καὶ  
δίδονται τὸν ἐναντίον τρόπον ἢ ὃν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς  
143 δυνάσταις εἰσφέρουσιν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ  
μόλις, ἐπιστένουσαι, τοὺς ἐκλογεῖς τῶν χρημάτων  
ὡς κοινούς λυμεῶνας ὑποβλεπόμεναι καὶ προφάσεις  
ἄλλοτε ἄλλοίαις σκηπτόμεναι καὶ τῶν προθεσμιῶν  
ἀλογοῦσαι τὰ ὀρισθέντα τέλη καὶ δασμούς κατα-  
144 τιθέασιν· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους [τὰ ἱερατικά] γεγη-  
θότες, χαίροντες, τοὺς αἰτοῦντας φθάνοντες, τὰς  
προθεσμίας ἐπιτέμνοντες, λαμβάνειν ἄλλ' οὐ δι-  
δόναι νομίζοντες, μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ εὐχαριστίας  
καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων ποιοῦνται τὰς  
εἰσφοράς, ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες, αὐτοκελεύστω  
προθυμία καὶ ἐτοιμότητι καὶ σπουδῇ παντὸς λόγου  
κρίπτουσι.
- 145 XXIX. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκάστου κτήσεως  
ἐπινέμεται· ἄλλαι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐξαίρετοι πρόσοδοι

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<sup>a</sup> Cohn gives Num. xviii. 12 as the reference for this tax which appears to differ from those of §§ 134 and 135 in being paid not as a first-fruit on each form of produce in its first stage or on the first-born of the animals, but on the final

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 141-145

sum within the means of all. XXVIII. 141

<sup>a</sup> After that he assigns another considerable source of wealth to the priests when he commands everyone to give first-fruits of his revenues from corn and wine and oil, and again of the increase of their livestock levied on their flocks and herds, of sheep and oxen and goats and other animals, and how great an abundance the nation possesses of these may be judged from the magnitude of the population. From 142 all this it is clear that the law invests the priests with the dignity and honours of royalty. Thus he commands that tribute should be given from every part of a man's property as to a ruler, and the way in which the tribute is paid is a complete contrast to the spirit in which the cities make their payments to their potentates. The cities pay under compulsion and 143 reluctantly and groan under the burden. They look askance at the tax-collectors as general agents of destruction. They trump up different excuses to suit the occasion, and when they discharge the appointed dues and assessments they do so without regard to the time limits allowed. But our people 144 pay gladly and cheerfully. They anticipate the demand, abridge the time limits and think that they are not giving but receiving. And so at each of the yearly seasons they make their contributions with benediction and thankfulness, men and women alike, and with a zeal and readiness which needs no prompting and an ardour which no words can describe.

XXIX. These are the contributions levied on the 145 personal possessions of every individual, but the priests have also other special incomings drawn very harvest or property as a whole. For further discussion see Heinemann *ad loc.*

## PHILO

- πρεπωδέσταιται ἱερεῦσιν αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγομένων  
 θυσιῶν. παντὸς γὰρ ἱερείου προστέτακται δύο τοῖς  
 ἱερεῦσιν ἀπὸ θυεῖν δίδοσθαι μελῶν, βραχίονα μὲν  
 ἀπὸ χειρὸς δεξιᾶς, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στήθους ὅσον πῖον,  
 τὸ μὲν ἰσχύος καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ πάσης νομίμου  
 πράξεως ἐν τε τῷ δίδοναι καὶ λαμβάνειν καὶ ἐν-  
 εργεῖν σύμβολον, τὸ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἴλεω  
 146 πραότητος. ἐνοικεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγος ἔχει τοῖς  
 στήθεσιν, ἐπειδὴ χωρίον οἰκειότατον ἢ φύσις ἀπ-  
 ἐνειμε τὰ στέρνα θυμῷ πρὸς ἐνδιαίτησιν, ὧ καθάπερ  
 στρατιώτῃ περιέβαλεν εἰς τὸ δυσάλωτον ἔρκος  
 ὀχυρώτατον, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον θώρακα, ὃν ἐκ  
 πολλῶν καὶ συνεχῶν καὶ κραταιοτάτων ὀστέων  
 [235] ἀπειργάσατο | σφίγγας αὐτὸν εὖ μάλα νεύροις  
 147 ἀρραγέσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ βωμοῦ θυομένων  
 ἔνεκα κρεωφαγίας τρία προστέτακται τῷ ἱερεῖ  
 δίδοσθαι, βραχίονα καὶ σιαγόνας καὶ τὸ ἔνυστρον  
 καλούμενον, τὸν μὲν βραχίονα διὰ τὴν ὀλίγω πρό-  
 τερον εἰρημένην αἰτίαν, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας τοῦ τε  
 κυριωτάτου τῶν μελῶν, κεφαλῆς, καὶ λόγου τοῦ  
 κατὰ προφορὰν ἀπαρχήν, οὗ τὸ νᾶμα ρεῖν ἔξω δίχα  
 τῆς τούτων κινήσεως οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο· σειομένων γὰρ  
 —ἀφ' οὗ καὶ προσωνομάσθησαν ἐτύμως—ὅταν  
 πληχθῶσιν ὑπὸ γλώττης, ἅπασα ἢ τῆς φωνῆς  
 148 ὄργανοποιῖα συνηχεῖ. τὸ δὲ ἔνυστρον ἔκφυσις  
 κοιλίας ἐστί· κοιλίαν δὲ φάττην ἀλόγου θρέμματος,

<sup>a</sup> Lev. vii. 31-34 (LXX 21-24). There, however, the fat on the breast is to be burnt, and not, as here implied, taken as a perquisite by the priest. (This discrepancy is not noticed by Cohn or Heinemann, and there may perhaps be some explanation of it.)

<sup>b</sup> Or "needed to control" (the θυμός). For a similar thought as to the breast being the seat of θυμός cf. *Leg. All.*



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 145-148

appropriately from the sacrifices offered. <sup>a</sup> It is ordained that with every victim two gifts should be presented to the priest from two of its parts, the arm or shoulder from the right side and all the fat from the breast, the former as a symbol of strength and manliness and of all lawful operations in giving and receiving and general activity, the latter of gentle mildness applied to the spirited element.<sup>b</sup> For it is <sup>146</sup> held that this element resides in the breast, since nature has appointed the chest as the most suitable place for its mansion and girded it like a soldier armed against attack with the stoutest of fenceworks called the thorax, or breastplate, which she has formed of a number of bones one upon another, strong and hard, and bound them tight with unbreakable sinews. But <sup>147</sup> of animals sacrificed away from the altars as meat for private consumption, three portions are appointed to be given to the priests, the shoulder and the jaws and the maw, as it is called.<sup>c</sup> The shoulder for the reason mentioned a little above, the jaws both as belonging to that master-limb, the head, and as a first-fruit of the uttered word which needs their movement to make possible the outflow of its stream. The jaws are shaken—and thence the derivation of their name<sup>d</sup>—when the tongue strikes upon them and then the whole vocal mechanism joins with them in producing sound. The maw is an excrescence of the <sup>148</sup> belly, and it is the fate of the belly to be the manger

iii. 115. Since gentleness is brought into play by being needed to control *θυμός*, it also is placed in the breast. In much the same way, as reason is needed to curb high spirit, the *λογεῖον* or reason-seat is placed on Aaron's breast (*ibid.* 119). See further App. pp. 620-621.

<sup>c</sup> See Deut. xviii. 3.

<sup>d</sup> *i. e.* *σιαγώνης* derived from *σεῖω*.

## PHILO

- ἐπιθυμίας, εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἥτις ὑπ' οἰνοφλυγίας  
καὶ ὀψοφαγίας ἀρδομένη τροφαῖς ἐπαλλήλοις σιτίων  
ὁμοῦ καὶ ποτῶν αἰὲ κατακλύζεται καὶ σὺς τρόπον  
ἐν βορβόρῳ διαιτωμένη χαίρει· παρὸ καὶ τόπος  
ἀπενεμήθη σφόδρα οἰκειότατος ὁ τῶν περιττω-  
μάτων ἀκολάστῳ καὶ ἀπρεπεστάτῳ θρέμματι.
- 149 ἀντίπαλον δὲ ἐπιθυμίας ἐγκράτεια, ἣν ἀσκητέον καὶ  
διαπονητέον καὶ σπουδαστέον μηχανῇ πάσῃ περι-  
ποιεῖσθαι ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἴδια
- 150 τε καὶ κοινῇ συμφέρον. ἐπιθυμία μὲν οὖν βέβηλος  
καὶ ἀκάθαρτος καὶ ἀνίερος οὔσα πέρα τῶν ἀρετῆς  
ὄρων ἐλήλαται καὶ πεφυγάδευται δεόντως· ἐγ-  
κράτεια δέ, καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκηλίδωτος ἀρετῆ, πάντων  
ὅσα πρὸς βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν ἀλογοῦσα καὶ ἐπάνω  
τῶν γαστρὸς ἡδονῶν αὐχοῦσα ἴστασθαι, βωμῶν  
ἱερῶν ψαυέτω καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὴν πρόσφυσιν ἐπιφερομένη τῆς  
κοιλίας, ὑπόμνημα τοῦ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν  
ἀπληστίας καὶ λαιμαργίας καὶ πάντων ὅσα τὰ εἰς
- 151 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναφλέγει. XXX. ἐφ' ἅπασιν μέντοι  
καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων—ἀμύθητα δὲ ταῦτ'  
ἐστί—δορὰς προστάττει τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας ταῖς  
θυσίαις ἱερεῖς λαμβάνειν, οὐ βραχεῖαν ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς  
μάλιστα πολυχρήματον δωρεάν. ἐξ ὧν δῆλόν ἐστιν,  
ὅτι κληρὸν ἓνα μὴ παρασχὼν τῇ ἱερωμένῃ φυλῇ  
κατὰ ταῦτὰ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοῦ πασῶν ἔδωκε σεμνό-  
τερον πόρον<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀγιώτερον, κατὰ πρόφασιν ἀπ-  
αρχῶν τῶν ἐξ ἅπαντος θυσίας εἵδους.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps omit καί.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τρόπον (OR τόπον).

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<sup>a</sup> The phrase is taken from Plato, *Timaeus* 70 E "They (i.e. God's agents) constructed the part between the midriff and the navel as a manger (φάτνη), for the sustenance of the

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 148-152

of that irrational animal, desire,<sup>a</sup> which drenched by wine-bibbing and gluttony, is perpetually flooded with relays of food and drink administered to it, and like a sow rejoices to make its home in the mire. And therefore the place of dregs and leavings has been assigned as by far the fittest for a licentious and most unseemly animal. But the opposite of desire is continence, the acquisition of which is a task to be practised and pressed forward by every possible means as the greatest and most perfect of blessings promoting personal and public welfare alike. So then desire, profane, impure and unholy, has been expelled outside the confines of virtue and well deserved is its banishment. But let continence, that pure and stainless virtue which disregards all concerns of food and drink and claims to stand superior to the pleasures of the stomach, touch the holy altars and bring with it the appendage of the belly as a reminder that it holds in contempt gluttony and greediness and all that inflames the tendencies to lust. XXX. <sup>b</sup> In addition to all the rest it ordains that the priests who minister at the holy sacrifices should receive the hides of the whole-burnt-offerings, the number of which is incalculable, and this is no small gift, but represents a very large sum of money. From these things it is clear that the law did not provide the consecrated tribe with a single portion, like the others, but gave it, under the guise of first-fruits from every kind of sacrifice, a source of revenue of greater dignity and sanctity than that of them all put together. But that none of the

body, and then they chained it (*i.e.* the part of the soul which lusts after meat and drink) like a wild beast" (*κατέδησαν ὡς θρέμμα ἄγριον*).

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. vii. 8 (LXX vi. 38).

## PHILO

- 152 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν διδόντων ὄνειδίξειν τοῖς  
 λαμβάνουσι, κελεύει τὰς ἀπαρχὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν  
 [236] κομίζεσθαι πρότερον, εἴτ' | ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἱερεῖς  
 λαμβάνειν· ἤρμωτε γὰρ θεῷ μὲν τοὺς εὐεργετου-  
 μένους ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον χαριστηρίους  
 ἀνάγειν ἀπαρχὰς, τὸν δὲ ἅτε μηδενὸς ἐπίδεᾷ τοῖς  
 ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερόν ὑπηρέταις καὶ λειτουργοῖς χαρίζεσθαι  
 μετὰ σεμνότητος καὶ τιμῆς τῆς ἀπάσης· τὸ γὰρ μὴ  
 παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ πάντων εὐεργέτου  
 δοκεῖν λαμβάνειν ἀδυσώπητον ἔχει δωρεάν.
- 153 XXXI. Τοσοῦτων οὖν προκειμένων ἄθλων, ἐάν  
 τινες ἀπορῶσι τῶν ἱερέων κοσμίως καὶ ἀνυπαιτίως  
 ζῶντες, τῆς ἡμετέρας παρανομίας ἐφεστᾶσι κατ-  
 ἡγοροί, κἂν ἡσυχάζωσιν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιθηρχοῦμεν τοῖς  
 κελευσθεῖσι καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐποιούμεθα ἢ προσ-  
 τέτακται, οὐκ ἂν μόνον ἐκείνοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
 εὐπόρουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς ἀβροδιαί-  
 154 τους χορηγίας ἀνεπίμπλαντο. κἂν ἄρα ποτὲ αὐθις  
 ἢ φυλὴ τῶν ἱερέων ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον  
 ἀφθόνοις ἐξετάζηται, μέγα δεῖγμα γενήσεται τοῦτο  
 κοινῆς ὁσιότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν νομίμων ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς  
 εἰς ἅπαν φυλακῆς. ἀλλ' ἢ τινων ὀλιγωρία—ἅπαντας  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αἰτιᾶσθαι—γέγονεν αἰτία πενίας  
 τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθὲς εἰπεῖν, καὶ αὐτοῖς  
 155 ἐκείνοις. τὸ γὰρ παρανομεῖν ἐπιζήμιον τοῖς παρα-  
 νομοῦσι, κἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον δελεάζῃ χρόνον· τὸ δὲ  
 ἔπεσθαι τοῖς τῆς φύσεως νόμοις ὠφελιμώτατον,  
 κἂν παραντικά αὐστηρὸν ἢ καὶ μηδὲν προσηγνὲς ἐμ-  
 φαίνῃ.

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<sup>a</sup> Deduced from the language of Num. xviii. 8-19, particularly v. 19, where the offerings described in detail are said to be the gift of God to the priests.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 152-155

donors should taunt the recipients, it ordered the first-fruits to be first brought into the temple and then taken thence by the priests.<sup>a</sup> It was the proper course that the first-fruits should be brought as a thank-offering to God by those whose life in all its aspects is blessed by His beneficence, and then by Him, since He needs nothing at all, freely bestowed with all dignity and honour on those who serve and minister in the temple. For if the gift is felt to come not from men but from the Benefactor of all, its acceptance carries with it no sense of shame.

XXXI. Since, then, the prospective rewards are so 153  
great, if any of the priests who live a decent and blameless life are in need, they confront us as accusers of our disobedience to the law, even though they bring no charge. For if we obeyed the commandment and gave the first-fruits as it is ordained, they would have not only abundance of mere necessities but a full measure of all else that the luxurious can require. And on the other hand if the priestly tribe 154  
shall in the course of the future be found to possess all the means of life in abundance, it will be strong evidence that the practice of religion is general and the law carefully observed in all respects. But the neglectfulness of some<sup>b</sup>—for it would not be safe to accuse all—has brought about the impoverishment of the consecrated class and indeed, it is true to say, of the defaulters themselves. Disobedience to the 155  
law, for all its short-lived seductiveness, recoils upon the disobedient. But in compliance with the laws of nature, though for the moment it is stern and wears a grim aspect, there is the greatest of rewards.

<sup>b</sup> This rather modifies the glowing statement of § 144.

PHILO

- 156 XXXII. Τοσαύτας προσόδων ἀφορμὰς χαρισά-  
 μενος τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάξει  
 κατωλιγώρησεν· εἰσὶ δὲ νεωκόροι. τούτων οἱ μὲν  
 ἐπὶ θύραις ἴδρυνται παρ' αὐταῖς ταῖς εἰσόδοις  
 πυλωροί, οἱ δ' εἴσω κατὰ τὸ πρόναον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή-  
 τινα ὦν οὐ θέμις ἐκόντα ἢ καὶ ἄκοντα ἐπιβῆναι, οἱ  
 δ' ἐν κύκλῳ περινοστοῦσιν ἐν μέρει διακληρωσά-  
 μενοι νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, ἡμεροφύλακες καὶ νυκτο-  
 φύλακες, ἕτεροι δὲ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ  
 κοροῦντες τὸν φορυτὸν ἐκκομίζουσιν ἐπιμελούμενοι  
 καθαριότητος· οἷς ἅπασι μισθὸς ὠρίσθησαν αἱ  
 157 δεκάται, κλῆρος γὰρ νεωκόρων οὗτος. οὐ πρότερον  
 γοῦν εἴασεν ὁ νόμος αὐταῖς χρῆσθαι τοὺς λαβόντας  
 ἢ πάλιν ἄλλας δεκάτας ὡς ἀπὸ κτημάτων ἰδίων  
 ἀπάρξασθαι καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς τῆς ἀμείνονος τάξεως  
 ἱερεῦσι· τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἐφῆκεν ἀπολαύειν, πρότερον  
 158 δ' οὐκ ἔα. ἀπένειμε δὲ καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῖς  
 ὀκτώ πρὸς ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην  
 προάστεια εἰς δισχιλίους πήχεις ἐν κύκλῳ πρὸς  
 νομὰς θρεμμάτων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὦν δεῖ πόλεσιν  
 ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀπεκληρώ-  
 θησαν ἕξ, αἱ μὲν ἐκτὸς αἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Ἰορδάνου τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ, τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, εἰς καταφυγὴν τοῖς  
 159 ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσασιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ | τὸν ὄπω-  
 [237] σοῦν γενόμενον ἀνθρώπῳ τελευτῆς παραίτιον οὐκ  
 ἦν εὐαγὲς εἴσω περιρραντηρίων παρέρχεσθαι χρώ-  
 μενον πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καταφυγῇ τῷ ἱερῷ, τὰς  
 εἰρημένας ἀνῆκε πόλεις, ἱερὰ δεύτερα, πολλήν

<sup>a</sup> See Num. xviii. 21.

<sup>b</sup> See Num. xviii. 26-28.

<sup>c</sup> See Num. xviii. 32, "ye shall not bear sin by reason of it (*i.e.* eating the fruits), because ye shall have offered an offering of first-fruits from it." (LXX.)

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 156-159

XXXII. After bestowing these great sources of 156  
revenue on the priests, he did not ignore those of the  
second rank either, namely the temple attendants.  
Some of these are stationed at the doors as gate-  
keepers at the very entrances, some within in front  
of the sanctuary to prevent any unlawful person from  
setting foot thereon, either intentionally or unintentionally.  
Some patrol around it turn by turn in relays  
by appointment night and day, keeping watch and  
guard at both seasons. Others sweep the porticoes  
and the open court, convey away the refuse and  
ensure cleanliness. <sup>a</sup> All these have the tithes ap-  
pointed as their wages, this being the portion settled  
on them as temple attendants. <sup>b</sup> It should be noted 157  
that the law does not allow them to avail themselves  
of these tithes until they have rendered other tithes  
from them treated as their own property as first-  
fruits to the priests of the superior class. <sup>c</sup> Only when  
this condition has been fulfilled are they allowed to  
enjoy their income. <sup>d</sup> He also assigned 158  
them forty-eight cities with a frontage of land each  
to the depth of 2000 cubits to graze their cattle and  
carry on other kinds of business necessary for the  
service of the cities. <sup>e</sup> Of these there were six allotted,  
three on the near side and three on the far side of the  
river Jordan, as a refuge for the perpetrators of in-  
voluntary homicide. For since it would be sacrilege 159  
for a person responsible for the death of a man, how-  
ever it was caused, to come within the sacred pre-  
cincts, and use the temple as a refuge from danger, he  
made over to them the aforesaid cities as secondary

<sup>a</sup> See Num. xxxv. 2-8.

<sup>e</sup> For the sequel to the end of § 161 see Num. xxxv. 9-28.

## PHILO

ἀσυλίαν ἐχούσας ἔνεκα τῆς περὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας  
 προνομίας τε καὶ τιμῆς, οἱ τοὺς ἰκέτας διασώζουσιν  
 ἔμελλον, εἰ βιάζοιτό τις ἐχυρωτέρα δύναμις, οὐ  
 παρασκευαῖς ταῖς εἰς πόλεμον οὐσαις, ἀλλ' ἀξιώ-  
 160 μασι καὶ προνομίαις, ἅπερ ἐκ τῶν νόμων διὰ τὴν  
 σεμνότητα τῆς ἱερωσύνης εἶχον. ὁ δὲ φυγὰς ἐντὸς  
 ὄρων τῆς πόλεως, εἰς ἣν πεφυγάδευται, κατα-  
 κεκλείσθω διὰ τοὺς ἐφέδρους κολαστάς, οἱ γένει  
 προσήκοντες τῷ τεθνεῶτι πόθῳ τοῦ συγγενοῦς, κἄν  
 μὴ ὑφ' ἐκόντος ἀναιρεθῆ, κατὰ τοῦ κτείναντος  
 φονῶσι, νικῶντος τοῦ οἰκείου πάθους τὸν ἀκριβῆ  
 τῶν δικαίων λογισμόν. ἔξω δὲ προῖων ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ  
 ἀνευδοιάστῳ προελευσόμενος ἴστω· λήσεται γὰρ  
 οὐδένα τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος, ὑφ' ὧν αὐτίκα λίνους καὶ  
 161 πάγαις σαγηνευθεῖς οἰχῆσεται. προθεσμία δ' ἔστω  
 τῆς φυγῆς ὁ βίος τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερέως, οὗ τελευτή-  
 σαντος ἀμνηστίας ἀξιωθεῖς κατίτω.

Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια νομοθετήσας  
 περὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐξῆς ἀναδιδάσκει περὶ ζώων, ἃ  
 162 πρὸς θυσίας ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια. XXXIII. <sup>1</sup> τῶν εἰς  
 τὰς ἱερουργίας ζώων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ χερσαῖα, τὰ  
 δὲ ἀεροπόρα. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πτηνῶν ἔθνη  
 μυρία ὅσα παρελθὼν δύο μόνα ἐξ ἀπάντων εἴλετο,  
 περιστερὰν καὶ τρυγόνα, διότι περιστερὰ μὲν τῶν  
 [238] φύσει | τιθασῶν καὶ ἀγελαστικῶν ἡμερώτατον,

<sup>1</sup> Here the mss. insert a new heading *Περὶ ζώων τῶν εἰς ἱερουργίας καὶ τίνα τῶν θυσιῶν τὰ εἶδη.*

<sup>a</sup> A new heading in mss., "Of the sacrificial animals and  
 190



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 159-162

temples, well secured from violation through the privileged and honourable position of the inhabitants, who, if any stronger power should attempt to use force against the suppliants, would keep them safe, not with warlike preparations, but through the dignities and privileges conferred on them by the laws in virtue of the reverence attached to the priestly office. But the fugitive must remain shut up within the confines of the city to which he has come as a refuge because of the avengers waiting at the door, whose relationship to the dead makes them seek the blood of the slayer in their bitterness at the loss of their kinsman, even though the fatal act was involuntary. For strong family feeling overpowers the sense of justice which strict reason would give. But if he advances outside he must understand that his movements will entail certain destruction, for they will not be unobserved by any member of the family, and enmeshed in their nets and snares he will be a lost man. The time limit of his banishment is to coincide with the life of the high priest, at whose death he may return with immunity assured as his due. 160

After making these and other similar enactments he next proceeds to give instructions as to the animals suitable for sacrifice. XXXIII. <sup>a</sup> Of the animals used for this purpose some are confined to the dry land and others travel in the air. The winged creatures are divided into numberless tribes, all of which he ignored except two, the pigeon and the turtle-dove, <sup>b</sup> the pigeon because it is the gentlest of those whose nature is tame and gregarious, the dove 162

the different kinds of sacrifice." Cohn begins a fresh numeration of chapters.

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. i. 14.

## PHILO

- τρυγῶν δὲ τῶν φύσει μονωτικῶν τιθασώτατον.  
 163 τὰς δὲ τῶν χερσαίων ἀμυθήτους ἀγέλας, ὧν οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν εὐπορον, ὑπερβὰς τρεῖς ἀριστίνδην ἐπέκρινε, βοῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν· ἡμερώ-  
 τатаὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ καὶ χειροθηέσταται· βουκόλια γοῦν μεγάλα καὶ ποιμνία καὶ αἰπόλια πρὸς ἑνὸς ἄγεται τοῦ τυχόντος, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κομιδῇ νηπίου παιδός, εἷς τε νομῆν ἐξιόντα καὶ ὁπότε δέοι πάλιν εἰς σηκοὺς ὑποστρέφοντα ἐν  
 164 κόσμῳ. τῆς δ' ἡμερότητος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα, σαφέστατα δὲ ταυτί· τό τε πάντα εἶναι χλοηφάγα καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶν σαρκοβόρον καὶ τὸ μήτε γαμβροὺς ἔχειν ὄνυχας μήτε τὴν ἔκφυσιν τῶν ὀδόντων παντελεῖ· τὸ γὰρ ἀνωτέρω φάτιον οὐκ ὀδοντοφυεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τομῖαι τῶν ὀδόντων κατ'  
 165 αὐτὸ ἐπιλελοίπασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ βιωφελέστατα τῶν ζώων ἐστί· κριοὶ μὲν εἰς ἐσθήτας, τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην σκέπην σωμάτων, βόες δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀρόσαι γῆν καὶ προετοιμάσασθαι πρὸς σπόρον καὶ τὸν γενόμενον ἀλοῆσαι καρπὸν εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς, αἰγῶν δὲ αἱ τρίχες καὶ δοραὶ συνυφαινόμεναί τε καὶ συρραπτόμεναι φορηταὶ γεγόνασιν ὄδοιπόροις οἰκίαι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν στρατείαις, οὓς ἔξω πόλεως ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὰ πολλὰ  
 166 διατρίβειν ἀναγκάζουσιν αἱ χρεῖαι. XXXIV. πάντα δ' ὀλόκληρα, περὶ μηδὲν μέρος κηραίνοντα τοῦ σώματος, ὅλα δι' ὅλων ἀσινῆ, μώμων ἀμέτοχα· τοσαύτη γοῦν ἐστὶ πρόνοια, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνάγουσι

<sup>a</sup> Oxen, Lev. i. 3 f.; sheep and goats, i. 10 f.

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. xxii. 19-24.

<sup>c</sup> No scriptural authority is quoted for this. As Cohn

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 162-166

because it is the tamest of those which are naturally fond of solitude. The land animals collect in vast 163  
multitudes and the number of their varieties is almost  
incalculable. All these he passed over after select-  
ing three as of superior merit, namely, oxen, sheep  
and goats.<sup>a</sup> For these are the gentlest and the most  
docile. We see great herds and flocks of each kind  
led by a single person, it matters not who. He may  
even be not a grown man, but the merest child, and  
under his guidance they go out to the pasture and  
when required return back in order to their pens.  
This tameness is shewn by many other indications, 164  
but most clearly by the following facts. All of them  
are eaters of grass, none eat flesh ; none of them have  
crooked talons nor a full supplement of teeth, for  
the upper gum does not lend itself to the growth of  
teeth, but all the incisors are missing there. Further- 165  
more, in the whole animal kingdom they are the most  
serviceable for human life. The rams produce  
raiment, the indispensable shelter for the body, the  
ox ploughs the soil and prepares it for the seed, and  
when the crop is produced threshes it, thus making  
it into food which can be shared and enjoyed, while  
the skin and hair of the goat, when woven or sewn  
together, supply portable houses for travellers and  
particularly for campaigners who are compelled by  
the exigencies of their life to spend most of their  
time outside the city and in the open air. XXXIV. 166  
<sup>b</sup> All the animals selected must be perfect, with no  
affliction troubling any part of their body, scathless  
throughout and free from fault or flaw. <sup>c</sup> In fact, so  
great is the forethought exercised not only by those

suggests, Philo may be relying on personal observation (or hearsay?).

## PHILO

- τὰς θυσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, ὥστε οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἱερέων ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθέντες εἰς τὴν τῶν μύμων ἐπίσκεψιν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν ἄκρων ἐρευνῶσιν ὅσα τε ἐμφανῆ καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ γαστρὶ καὶ μηροῖς ἀποκέκρυπται, μὴ που τις βραχεῖα λώβη
- 167 διαλέληθε. τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς καὶ περιττὸν τῆς ἐξετάσεως οὐχ ἔνεκα τῶν καταθυομένων ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ τοὺς καταθύοντας ἀνυπαιτίου γίνεται· βούλεται γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀναδιδάξαι διὰ συμβόλων, ὅποτε προσέρχονται βωμοῖς ἢ εὐξόμενοι ἢ εὐχαριστήσοντες, μηδὲν ἀρρώστημα ἢ νόσημα ἢ πάθος ἐπιφέρεισθαι τῇ ψυχῇ, πειρᾶσθαι δ' ὄλην δι' ὄλων ἀκηλίδωτον ἀγιάζειν, ὡς ἰδόντα μὴ ἀποστραφῆναι θεόν.
- 168 XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσιν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ὑπὲρ [239] ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου | τῶν ἱερουργεῖν ἀξιούντων, λεκτέον πρότερον περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. θαυμαστὴ τούτων ἡ τάξις ἐστίν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγονται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, αἱ δὲ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, οἱ δὲ νομηνιαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνιαῖς, αἱ δὲ 169 νηστειαῖς, αἱ δὲ τρισὶ καιροῖς ἑορτῶν. καθ' ἐκάστην μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν δύο ἄμνους ἀνάγειν διείρηται, τὸν μὲν ἅμα τῇ ἔω, τὸν δὲ δείλης ἑσπέρας, ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας ἐκάτερον, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νύκτωρ εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς ἀπαύστως καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ὁ θεὸς τῷ γένει τῶν 170 ἀνθρώπων χορηγεῖ. ταῖς δ' ἐβδόμαις διπλασιάζει

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<sup>a</sup> See Num. xxviii. 3, 4. They are offered ἐνδελεχῶς, and in v. 6 are called a ὀλοκαύτωμα ἐνδελεχισμού, whence Philo's νδελεχεία in § 170.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 166-170

who bring the sacrifices but also by the officiants, that the most highly approved of the priests, selected as most suitable for such inspection, examine them from the head to the extremities of the feet, both the visible parts and those which are concealed under the belly and thighs, for fear that some small blemish has passed unobserved. The examination is carried 167 out with this excessive minuteness in consideration not of the victims offered but of the innocence of those who offer them. For the law would teach them under this symbol that when they approach the altar to offer either prayers or thanks they must come with no infirmity or ailment or evil affection in the soul, but must endeavour to have it sanctified and free throughout from defilement, that God when He beholds it may not turn away His face from the sight.

XXXV. But since the sacrifices are of two kinds, 168 some offered for the whole nation, or rather, it would be correct to say, for all mankind, others for each separate individual among those whose sense of duty makes them worshippers, we must first speak of those which are general. The system on which they are arranged is admirable. Some are offered 169 daily, others on the seventh days, others at the new moons or the beginnings of the sacred month, others at the fasts, others at the three festal seasons. <sup>a</sup> Every day two lambs are to be brought to the altar, one at dawn, the other towards dusk. Both these are thank-offerings, one for the benefactions of the day-time, the other for those of the night, given to the human race ceaselessly and constantly by the bounty of God. <sup>b</sup> On the seventh days he doubles the number 170

<sup>b</sup> See Num. xxviii. 9, 10.

- τὸν τῶν ἱερείων ἀριθμόν, ἴσα προστιθεὶς ἴσοις, ἰσότιμον ἡγούμενος αἰῶνι τὴν ἐβδόμην, ἣν καὶ γενέθλιον τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἀνέγραψεν· οὐδ' χάριν τὴν τῆς ἐβδόμης θυσίαν ἐξομοιωσαὶ τῇ “ ἐνδε-  
 171 λεχεία ” τῶν ἡμερησίων ἀμνῶν διενότηθη. δις δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιθυμιᾶται τὰ πάντων εὐ-  
 ωδέστατα θυμιαμάτων εἴσω τοῦ καταπετάσματος, ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου καὶ δυομένου, πρό τε τῆς ἑωθινῆς θυσίας καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑσπερινήν, ὡς εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἔναιμα εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐναίμων, τὰ δὲ θυμιάματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λογικοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ ἐμορφώθη πρὸς ἀρχέ-  
 172 τυπον ἰδέαν εἰκόνοσ θείας. ἄρτοι δὲ προ-  
 τίθενται ταῖς ἐβδόμαις ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶσ τραπέζης ἰσ-  
 αριθμοὶ τοῖς μηνσὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, δυσὶ θέμασιν ἀνὰ ἕξ, [δώδεκα,] κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῶν ἰσημεριῶν ἐκά-  
 τερα—δύο γάρ εἰσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἑαρινή τε καὶ μετοπωρινή, αἱ μηνσὶν ἕξ καταριθμοῦνται—δι' ἣν αἰτίαν \* \* \* <ἑαρινῇ μὲν><sup>1</sup> τὰ σπαρτὰ πάντα τελειο-  
 γονεῖται, καθ' ὃν χρόνον τὰ δένδρα γεννᾶν ἄρχεται, μετοπωρινῇ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸς τελεσ-  
 φορεῖται, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ πάλιν ἀρχὴ σποράσ. οὕτως δολιχεύουσα ἡ φύσις τὸν αἰῶνα ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαισ ἀμείβει δωρεὰσ ἀνθρώπων γένει, ὧν εἰσὶ σύμβολα  
 173 αἱ διτταὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἄρτων ἐξάδες. αἰνίτ-  
 τονται δὲ καὶ τὴν ὠφελιμωτάτην τῶν ἀρετῶν

<sup>1</sup> There is clearly a lacuna after δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, which must have ended with ἑαρινῇ μὲν or something like it. For Cohn's suggestion for filling it see App. p. 621.

<sup>a</sup> See on *Spec. Leg.* ii. 59.

<sup>b</sup> See Ex. xxx. 7, 8, and note on § 276 below.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the lower part of the ψυχή, cf. *Quis Rerum* 55 with its quotation of Lev. xvii. 11 ψυχή πάσης σαρκὸσ αἱμά ἐστιν,

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 170-173

of the victims. He makes this addition of a number equal to the original because he considers the seventh day, called also in his records the birthday of the whole world,<sup>a</sup> to be of equal value to eternity, and therefore he purposes to assimilate the sacrifice of the seventh day to the "perpetuity" of the daily offering of lambs.

<sup>b</sup>Twice too every day the perfume of the most fragrant 171  
kinds of incense is exhaled within the veil at sunrise and at sunset, both before the morning and after the evening sacrifice. Thus the blood offerings serve as thanksgivings for the blood elements in ourselves<sup>c</sup> and the incense offerings for our dominant part, the rational spirit-force within us which was shaped according to the archetypal form of the divine image.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup>But on each seventh day loaves are 172  
exposed on the holy table equal in number to the months of the year in two layers of six each, each layer corresponding to the equinoxes. For there are two equinoxes in each year, in spring and autumn, with intervals, the sum of which is six months. For this reason \* \* \* At the spring equinox all the seed crops come to their fulness just when the trees begin to produce their fruit, and at the autumn equinox that same fruit is brought to maturity and it is the season when the sowing begins again. Thus nature running its agelong round alternates its gifts to the human race, symbolized by the two sets of six loaves exposed upon the table. They are also emblematic 173  
of that most profitable of virtues, continence, which

rather than as Heinemann "our bodies." Possibly, however, τῶν ἐναίμων agrees with ἡμῶν, *i.e.* "the animals with blood are for us who share it with them."

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Logos, which, being the εἰκὼν of God, becomes the ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα of the human spirit. Cf. § 81 above and note on *De Som.* ii. 45.

<sup>e</sup> See Lev. xxiv. 5-8.

## PHILO

- ἐγκράτειαν, ἣ δορυφορεῖται πρὸς εὐτελείας καὶ εὐκολίας καὶ ὀλιγοδείας, διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀκολασίας καὶ πλεονεξίας βλαβερώτατον ἐπιτειχισμόν· ἄρτος γὰρ ἔραστῆ σοφίας διαρκῆς τροφή, παρέχουσα καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄνοσα καὶ τὸν λογισμόν ὑγιῆ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
- 174 μάλιστα νηφάλιον· ὄψα δὲ καὶ μελίπηκτα καὶ ἡδύσματα καὶ ὅσα σιτοπόνων καὶ ὄψαρτυτῶν περιεργίαι τεχνιτεύουσι καταγοητεύουσαι τὴν ἄμουσον καὶ ἀφιλόσοφον καὶ ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων γεύσιν, ὑπηρετοῦσαν καλῶ μὲν οὐδενὶ θεάματι ἢ ἀκούσματι, γαστρὸς δὲ τῆς ταλαίνης ἐπιθυμίαις, νόσους σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ κατασκευάζει
- 175 πολλάκις ἀνιάτους. συνεπιτίθεται δὲ τοῖς ἄρτοις [240] λιβανωτὸς καὶ | ἄλες, ὁ μὲν σύμβολον τοῦ μηδὲν ἡδυσμα εὐωδέστερον ὀλιγοδείας εἶναι καὶ ἐγκρατείας παρὰ σοφίᾳ δικαζούση, οἱ δ' ἄλες διαμονῆς τε τῶν συμπάντων—οἷς γὰρ ἂν παραπασθῶσι δια-
- 176 τηροῦσι—καὶ ἱκανοῦ προσοψήματος. οἶδ' ὅτι γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην ταῦτα θήσονται οἱ περὶ τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας πραγματευόμενοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας μεταδιώκοντες, οἱ ὀρνέων καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ κρεῶν καὶ τῆς ὁμοιοτρόπου φλυαρίας ἄθλιοι δοῦλοι, μηδ' ὄναρ ἀληθοῦς ἐλευθερίας γεύσασθαι δυνάμενοι. ὧν ὀλίγα φροντιστέον τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀρέσκειαν ζῆν ἐγνωκόσιν, οἱ τῶν σαρκὸς ἀλογεῖν ἡδονῶν πεπαιδευμένοι τὰς διανοίας χαρὰς καὶ εὐπαθείας θεωρία τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐνασκούμενοι μεταδιώκουσι.

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<sup>a</sup> For the general sense of the next sections cf. *De Som.* ii. 48-51.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 173-176

has simplicity and contentment and frugality for its bodyguard against the baleful assaults engineered by incontinence and covetousness. <sup>a</sup> For bread to a lover of wisdom is sufficient sustenance, making the body proof against disease and the reason sound and sober in the highest degree. But dainty dishes and honey-<sup>174</sup> cakes and relishes and all the elaborate preparations with which the skill of pastrycooks and other experts at the art bewitches the taste, that most slavish of all the senses, a stranger to culture and philosophy, a servant not to things beautiful to see or hear but to the lusts of the wretched belly, create distempers of soul and body which are often past all cure. On <sup>175</sup> the loaves there are placed also frankincense and salt,<sup>b</sup> the former as a symbol that in the court of wisdom no relish is judged to be more sweet-savoured than frugality and temperance, the salt to shew the permanence of all things, since it preserves whatever it is sprinkled on, and its sufficiency as a condiment. All this I know will excite the mockery and ridicule <sup>176</sup> of those to whom banquetings and high feasting are a matter of much concern, who run in search of richly laden tables, miserable slaves to birds and fishes and fleshpots and similar trash, unable even in their dreams to taste the flavour of true freedom. All these things should be held in little account by those who are minded to live with God for their standard and for the service of Him that truly is—men who, trained to disregard the pleasures of the flesh and practised in the study of nature's verities, pursue the joys and sweet comforts of the intellect.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX, Lev. xxiv. 7. Not in the Hebrew, *cf.* *Mos.* ii. 104.

## PHILO

- 177 Ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαταξάμενος ταῖς νομηνίαις φησὶ δεῖν θύειν ὀλόκαυτα δέκα τὰ σύμπαντα· μόσχους δύο, κριὸν ἓνα, ἀμνοὺς ἑπτὰ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ μὴν τέλειος, ἐν ᾧ σελήνη τὸν ἑαυτῆς κύκλον περατοῦται,<sup>1</sup> τέλειον ἀριθμὸν ζώων ἠξίωσεν
- 178 ἱερουργεῖσθαι. ἡ δεκάς δὲ παντελὴς ἀριθμὸς, ὃν εὖ μάλα διένειμεν εἰς τὰ λεχθέντα, τοὺς μὲν δύο μόσχους, ἐπειδὴ δύο κινήσεις εἰσὶ σελήνης αἰεὶ διαυλοδρομούσης, ἡ μὲν κατ' αὔξησιν ἄχρι πλησιφαοῦς, ἡ δὲ κατὰ μείωσιν ἄχρι συνόδου, τὸν δ' ἓνα κριόν, ἐπειδὴ λόγος εἰς ἔστι, καθ' ὃν αὔξεται τε καὶ μειοῦται τοῖς ἴσοις διαστήμασι καὶ φωτιζομένη καὶ ἐπιλείπουσα, τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ ἀμνοὺς, ὅτι καθ' ἐβδομάδας ἐπιδέχεται τοὺς τελείους σχηματισμούς, πρώτη μὲν ἐβδομάδι τῇ ἀπὸ συνόδου τὸν διχότομον, δευτέρα δὲ τὸν πλησιφαῆ, καὶ ὅταν ἀνακάμπτη πάλιν, εἰς διχότομον τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτ' εἰς σύνοδον
- 179 ἀπολήγει. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἱερείων σεμίδαλιν ἀναδεδευμένην ἐλαίῳ προσφέρειν καὶ οἶνον εἰς σπονδάς μέτροις (ῥιτισμέν)οις<sup>2</sup> διατάξατο, διότι καὶ ταῦτα σελήνης περιόδοις κατὰ τὰς ἑτησίους ὥρας τελεσφορεῖται διαφερόντως τοὺς καρποὺς πεπαινούσης, σίτος δὲ καὶ οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον, βιωφελέσταται οὐσίαι καὶ πρὸς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαιόταται, πάσαις εἰκότως θυσίαις συγκαθιεροῦνται.

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn: mss. *περαιοῦται*. I feel very doubtful about the correction. The use of *περαιοῦμαι* for "cross," "pass over" is common enough, and the association with a cycle, if rather strange, is not impossible. On the other hand, while *περατοῦσθαι* in a passive sense is common, I have not seen any example of its use as a transitive middle.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn. Perhaps μέτροις οἷς <εἶδει or δεῖ> διατάξατο.

<sup>a</sup> See Num. xxviii. 11-14.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 177-179

Having given these orders with regard to the 177 seventh days, he deals with the new moons. <sup>a</sup>At these times whole-burnt-offerings must be sacrificed, ten in all, two calves, one ram, and seven lambs. For since the month in which the moon fulfils its cycle is a complete or perfect whole,<sup>b</sup> he considered that the number of animals to be sacrificed should be perfect. Now ten is a perfect number, and he dis- 178 tributed it excellently among the above-mentioned items ; two calves because the moon as she runs for ever her race forwards and backwards has two motions, one as she waxes till she becomes full, one as she wanes to her conjunction with the sun ; one ram because there is one law or principle by which she waxes and wanes at equal intervals, both when her light grows and when it fails ; seven lambs because the complete changes of form to which she is subject are measured in sevens.<sup>c</sup> In the first seven from the conjunction we have the half moon, in the second the full moon, and when she is reversing her course she passes first into the half moon and then dies away into the conjunction. With the victims 179 he ordered that fine meal, soaked in oil, should be brought, and wine for libations in stated quantities, because these also are brought to their fullness by the revolutions of the moon at the various seasons of the year, and especially by its effect upon the ripening of the fruits, and corn, oil and wine are things possessing qualities most profitable to life and most necessary for human use and therefore are naturally consecrated with all the sacrifices.

<sup>b</sup> Or "since the month (*i.e.* the past month) is completed," and so Heinemann, but the context suggests that it is the month which is coming which is under consideration.

<sup>c</sup> *Cf. De Op.* 101.

- 180 Τῇ δ' ἱερομηνία διττὰ θύματα προσάγεται προσ-  
ηκόντως, ἐπεὶ καὶ διττὸς ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος, ὁ  
μὲν ὡς νομηνίας, ὁ δὲ ὡς ἱερομηνίας. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
νομηνία, τὰ ἴσα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἱεουργεῖσθαι δι-  
εῖρηται, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνία, διπλασιάζεται τὰ δῶρα,  
δίχα τῶν μόσχων· εἰς γὰρ ἀντὶ δυεῖν προσάγεται,  
τοῦ βραβευτοῦ δικαιώσαντος ἀδιαίρετῳ φύσει  
μονάδος πρὸ διαιρετῆς δυάδος χρήσασθαι ἐν ἀρχῇ  
τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.
- 181 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ καιρῷ—πρῶτον δὲ καιρὸν τὴν  
ἔαρινην ὥραν καὶ ἰσημερίαν καλεῖ—προστάξας ἑπτὰ  
ἡμέρας ἑορτὴν ἄγειν τὴν ἐπικαλουμένην τῶν ἀζύ-  
μων ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνε πάσας ἐν ταῖς ἱεουργίαις·  
δέκα γὰρ ὅσα καὶ ταῖς νομηνίαις θύειν καθ'  
ἐκάστην κελεύει, τὰ σύμπαντα ὀλόκαυτα, δίχα τῶν
- 182 περὶ πλημμελείας, ἀριθμὸν ἑβδομήκοντα. τὸν γὰρ  
αὐτὸν ἔχειν ᾤήθη λόγον πρὸς μῆνα νομηνίαν ὃν  
πρὸς ἰσημερίαν ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ γινομένην τὰς ἑπτὰ  
τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας, ἢ ἀποφήνη καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἱερὰν καὶ ἀθρόων τῶν ἑπτὰ τὰς  
ἰσαριθμους ταῖς νομηνίαις ἡμέρας.
- 183 Μεσοῦντος δὲ ἔαρος ἄμητος ἐνίσταται, καθ' ὃν  
καιρὸν χαριστήρια μὲν ἀνάγεται τῷ θεῷ τῆς πεδιά-

<sup>a</sup> See Num. xxix. 1-6. On the term ἱερομηνία see on *De Dec.* 159 (App.).

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 621.

<sup>c</sup> See Num. xxviii. 17-24.

<sup>d</sup> Implied though not actually stated in Ex. xxiii. 14, "Three times (καιρούς) in the year keep a feast for Me." Then after enumerating the three great feasts "three times (καιρούς) shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God."

<sup>e</sup> In § 172 Philo based the number of sacrifices on the six months between the equinoxes; here on the fact that each equinox occurs in the seventh month before the next.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 180-183

<sup>a</sup>At the beginning of the sacred month double 180 sacrifices are offered in accordance with its double aspect, first as new moon simply, secondly as the opening of the sacred month. Regarding it as new moon, the sacrifices ordered are the same as those of other new moons. Taking it as a sacred-month-day the oblations are doubled except in the case of the calves : only one of these is offered, the awarder having judged that at the beginning of the year<sup>b</sup> the monad whose nature is indivisible is preferable to the divisible dyad.

<sup>c</sup>At the first season, which name<sup>d</sup> he gives to the 181 springtime and its equinox, he ordained that what is called the feast of unleavened bread should be kept for seven days, all of which he declared should be honoured equally in the ritual assigned to them. For he ordered ten sacrifices to be offered each day as at the new moons, whole-burnt-offerings amounting to seventy in all apart from the sin-offerings. He 182 considered, that is, that the seven days of the feast bore the same relation to the equinox which falls in the seventh month<sup>e</sup> as the new moon does to the month. Thus he assigned the same sanctity both to the beginning of each month considered singly and to the seven days of the feast, which being of the same number as the new moons represented them collectively.

<sup>f</sup>In the middle of the spring comes the corn harvest. 183 At this season thank-offerings are brought for the

<sup>f</sup> See for the Feast of Weeks Lev. xxiii. 15 ff.-Num. xxviii. 26 ff. There is some discrepancy as to the details. The name *πρωτογεννημάτων* and the lambs for the "preservation-offering" (E.V. "peace-offering") come from the former. The name *πρωτ.* is also given to it in Ex. xxiii. 16.

## PHILO

- dos ἐπὶ τῷ πλήρῃ τὸν καρπὸν ἐννοχέται καὶ τὰ  
 θέρη συγκομίζεσθαι, δημοτελεστάτῃ δ' ἄγεται ἑορτὴ  
 προσαγορευομένη πρωτογεννημάτων ἐτύμως ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, ἐπειδὴ τῶν γεννημάτων τὰ  
 184 πρῶτα, αἱ ἀπαρχαί, τότε καθιεροῦνται. προστέτα-  
 κται δ' ἀνάγειν θυσίας μόσχους δύο, κριὸν ἓνα καὶ  
 ἑπτὰ ἄμνους, ταῦτα μὲν δέκα ἱερεῖα ὀλόκαντα, δύο  
 δ' ἄμνους εἰς βρώσιν ἱερέων, οὓς ἐπικαλεῖ σωτηρίου  
 διὰ τὸ τὰς τροφὰς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ παντο-  
 दाπῶν διασεσῶσθαι· φθοραὶ γὰρ εἰώθασιν κατα-  
 λαμβάνειν, αἱ μὲν ἐπομβρίαῖς, αἱ δ' αὐχμοῖς, αἱ δ'  
 ἄλλαις ἀμυθήτοις νεωτεροποιῖαις, αἱ δ' αὖ χειρο-  
 ποιήτοι κατ' ἐφόδους ἐχθρῶν τὴν τῶν πέλας γῆν  
 185 δροῦν ἐπιχειρούντων. εἰκότως οὖν τὰ σώστρα τῷ  
 πάσας ἀποσκεδάσαντι τὰς ἐπιβουλάς ἀνάγεται χαρι-  
 στήρια καὶ ἀνάγεται ἄρτοις, οὓς προσενεγκόντες τῷ  
 βωμῷ καὶ ἄνω πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες ἐπι-  
 διανέμουσι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μετὰ τῶν κρεῶν τῆς τοῦ  
 σωτηρίου θυσίας εἰς ἱεροπρεπεστάτην εὐωχίαν.  
 186 Ὅταν δ' ὁ τρίτος ἐνστή καιρὸς ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ  
 μηνὶ κατ' ἰσημερίαν μετοπωρινήν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν  
 ἱερομηνία ἄγεται προσαγορευομένη σαλπύγγων,  
 περὶ ἧς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, δεκάτῃ δ' ἡ νηστεία, περὶ  
 ἣν ἐσπουδάκασιν οὐ μόνον οἷς ζῆλος εὐσεβείας καὶ  
 ὀσιότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον εὐαγὲς  
 οὐδὲν δρᾶται· πάντες γὰρ ἡττώμενοι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in § 180. For the name "feast of trumpets" see Lev. xxiii. 24 E.V. "a memorial of blowing of trumpets" (LXX *μνημόσυνον σαλπύγγων*).

<sup>b</sup> For the "Fast" or "Day of Atonement" see Num. xxix. 7-11.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 183-186

lowlands because they have borne fruit in full and the summer crops are being gathered in. This feast, which is universally observed, is called the feast of first-products, a name which expresses the facts, because the first specimens of the produce, the sample oblations, are then consecrated. The sacrifices 184 ordered on this occasion are two calves, one ram and seven lambs, these ten as victims to be entirely consumed by fire, and also two lambs to be eaten by the priests. These last he calls preservation-offerings because mankind has had its food preserved from many vicissitudes of every kind. For that food is commonly subject to destructive forces, sometimes rain-storms, sometimes droughts, or numberless other violent changes in nature, sometimes again from human activities through the invasions of enemies who attempt to lay waste the land of their neighbours. Naturally, therefore, the thank-offerings for preserva- 185 tion are brought to Him Who has scattered all the forces which threatened mischief. They are also brought in the form of loaves which the worshippers carry to the altar and after holding them with outstretched arms up to heaven distribute to the priests together with the flesh of the preservation-offering to regale them in a way well worthy of their sacred office.

When the third special season has come in the 186 seventh month at the autumnal equinox there is held at its outset the sacred-month-day called trumpet day, of which I have spoken above.<sup>a</sup> On the tenth day is the fast,<sup>b</sup> which is carefully observed not only by the zealous for piety and holiness but also by those who never act religiously in the rest of their life. For all stand in awe, overcome by the sanctity of the

## PHILO

- ἱεροπρεποῦς τεθήπασι καὶ οἱ χεῖρους τοῖς βελτίοσι  
 τότε γοῦν εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀμιλλῶνται.
- 187 διττοὺς δ' ἔχει λόγους τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἡμέρας, τοὺς  
 μὲν ὡς ἑορτῆς, τοὺς δὲ ὡς καθάρσεως καὶ φυγῆς  
 ἀμαρτημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς ἀμνηστία δέδοται χάρισι τοῦ  
 ἴλεω θεοῦ μετάνοιαν ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ μηδὲ<sup>1</sup> ἀμαρτάνειν
- 188 τετιμηκότος. τὰς μὲν οὖν ὡς ἑορτῆς θυσίας ἰσ-  
 αρίθμους ἀπέφηνε ταῖς τῶν ἱερομηνιῶν, μόσχον καὶ  
 κριὸν καὶ ἑπτὰ ἄρνας, ἀνακερασάμενος μονάδα  
 ἑβδομάδι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχὴν τὸ τέλος ἀπευθύνας—  
 τέλος μὲν γὰρ ἔργων ἑβδομάς, ἀρχὴν δὲ μονὰς  
 κεκλήρωται,—τὰς δ' ὡς καθάρσεως (τρεις). προσ-  
 τάττει γὰρ δύο χιμάρους ἀνάγειν καὶ κριόν, εἰτά  
 φησι δεῖν τὸν μὲν ὀλοκαυτοῦν, διακληροῦν δὲ τοὺς  
 χιμάρους, καὶ τὸν μὲν λαχόντα τῷ θεῷ θύειν, τὸν  
 δ' ἕτερον εἰς ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἄβατον ἐρημίαν ἐκπέμπειν  
 ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ κομίζοντα τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν πλημμελη-  
 σάντων ἀράς, οἱ μεταβολαῖς ταῖς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον  
 ἐκαθάρθησαν, εὐνομία καινῇ παλαιὰν ἀνομίαν  
 ἐκνυψάμενοι.
- 189 Τῇ δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς πλησιφαοῦς σελήνης  
 ἄγεται ἢ ἐπικαλουμένη σκηνῶν ἑορτή, καθ' ἣν  
 πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ χορηγίαι τῶν θυσιῶν καταθύονται  
 γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ μόσχοι μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα,  
 κριοὶ δὲ τέσσαρες καὶ δέκα, ἄρνες δὲ δυοῖν δεόντων  
 ἑκατόν, ἅπαντα ζῶα ὀλόκαυτα. προστέτακται δὲ  
 καὶ τὴν ὀγδόην ἱερὰν νομίζειν, περὶ ἧς ἀκριβωτέον,

<sup>1</sup> mss μηδέν. Cohn's correction is perhaps due to a feeling  
 that τὸ μηδέν ἀμαρτεῖν would indicate complete sinlessness,  
 which is not possible for the ordinary man. Cf. *De Virt.*  
 177, *De Fuga* 157.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 186-189

day, and for the moment the worse vie with the better in self-denial and virtue. The high dignity of this 187 day has two aspects, one as a festival, the other as a time of purification and escape from sins, for which indemnity is granted by the bounties of the gracious God Who has given to repentance the same honour as to innocence from sin. Treating it as a festival day, he made the sacrifices of the same number as those of the sacred-month-days, namely a calf and a ram and seven lambs, thus blending the one with the seven and putting the completion in a line with the beginning. For to seven belongs the completion of actions, to one their beginning. Treating it as a 188 purification, he added three more and bade them bring two kids and a ram, ordering that the last-named should be consumed entirely by fire and that a lot should be cast for the kids. <sup>a</sup>The one on whom the lot fell was to be sacrificed to God, the other was to be sent out into a trackless and desolate wilderness bearing on its back the curses which had lain upon the transgressors who have now been purified by conversion to the better life and through their new obedience have washed away their old disobedience to the law.

<sup>b</sup>On the fifteenth day of this month at the full moon 189 is held the feast of tabernacles, as it is called, and on this the supply of sacrificial offerings is on a larger scale, for during seven days there are sacrificed seventy calves, fourteen rams and ninety-eight lambs. All these animals are consumed entirely by fire. <sup>c</sup>It is also commanded that the eighth day is to be observed as holy. This last must be treated in detail when

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xvi. 9, 10.

<sup>b</sup> See Num. xxix. 12-34.

<sup>c</sup> See Num. xxix. 36.

## PHILO

- ὅταν σύμπας ὁ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν ἐξετάζηται λόγος,  
 ἐν ἣ ἑορτάζεται ὅσα καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις.
- 190 Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους κοιναὶ καὶ ὀλόκαυτοι  
 θυσαίαι κατ' ἐμὴν δύναμιν εἴρηνται. ταῖς δ' ὀλο-  
 καύτοις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἑορτῆς παρέπεται  
 χίμαρος, ὃς καλεῖται μὲν περὶ ἁμαρτίας, καταθύεται  
 δὲ εἰς ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν, οὗ τὰ κρέα τοῖς
- 191 ἱερεῦσιν εἰς ἔδωδὴν ἀπονέμεται. τίς οὖν αἰτία;<sup>1</sup>  
 ἢ ὅτι ἑορτὴ καιρὸς ἐστὶν εὐφροσύνης, ἢ δ' ἀψευδῆς  
 καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐφροσύνη φρόνησις ἐστὶν ἐν-  
 ιδρυμένη ψυχῇ βεβαίως, φρόνησιν δ' ἀκλινῇ λαβεῖν  
 οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἄνευ θεραπείας ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ  
 παθῶν ἐκτομῆς; ἄτοπον γὰρ ἕκαστον μὲν τῶν  
 ὀλακαντουμένων ἀσινὲς καὶ ἀβλαβὲς ἀνευρισκό-  
 μενον καθιεροῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ θύοντος διάνοιαν  
 μὴ οὐ κεκαθάρθαι πάντα τρόπον καὶ πεφαιδρύνθαι  
 λουτροῖς καὶ περιρραντηρίοις χρησαμένην, ἅπερ ὁ  
 τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος δι' ὑγιαίνοντων καὶ ἀδια-
- 192 φθόρων ὤτων ψυχαῖς φιλοθέοις ἐπαντλεῖ. πρὸς δὲ  
 τούτῳ κἀκεῖνο δεόντως ἂν λέγοιτο· αἱ ἑορτώδεις  
 ἀνέσεις αὗται καὶ ἐκεχειρίαι μυρίας ἤδη πολλάκις  
 ἁμαρτημάτων ὁδοὺς ἀνέτεμον· ἄκρατος γὰρ καὶ αἱ  
 μετ' οἰνοφλυγίας ὀψοφαγίαι τὰς γαστροὺς ἀκορέ-  
 στοὺς ἐπιθυμίας ἐγείρουσαι προσαναφλέγουσι καὶ  
 τὰς ὑπὸ γαστέρα, καὶ ρέουσαι καὶ χεόμεναι πάντη  
 φορὰν ἀμυθήτων ἀπεργάζονται κακῶν τὸ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn punctuates. Better perhaps τίς οὖν αἰτία ἢ ὅτι, "What is the cause but that . . .?" Cf. iii. 34.

<sup>a</sup> See ii. 211.

<sup>b</sup> The mention of the sin-offering occurs regularly in Num.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 189-192

the subject of the feasts as a whole comes up for discussion.<sup>a</sup> The number of offerings brought are the same as on the sacred-month-days.

The general sacrifices in the form of burnt-offerings 190 performed on behalf of the nation or, to speak more correctly, on behalf of the human race, have now been described to the best of my ability. But these burnt-offerings are accompanied on each day of a feast by the sacrifice of a kid called the sin-offering offered for the remission of sins, its flesh being put aside to be eaten by the priests.<sup>b</sup> What is the reason for this 191 addition? Is it that a feast is a season of joy, and the true joy in which there is no illusion is wisdom firmly established in the soul, and the wisdom that is stable cannot be acquired without applying medicine to the sin and surgery to the passions? For it would be a strange inconsistency if, while each of the victims consumed in the burnt-offering is only dedicated when found to be free from mischief and blemish, the mind of the worshipper should not be purified in every way and washed clean and fair by the ablutions and lustrations, which the right reason of nature pours into the souls of those who love God through ears that are sound in health and free from corruption. But be- 192 sides this something else may be justly said. These festal occasions of relaxation and cessation from work have often ere now opened up countless avenues to transgressions. For strong drink and gross eating accompanied by wine-bibbing, while they awaken the insatiable lusts of the belly, inflame also the lusts seated below it, and as they stream along and overflow on every side they create a torrent of evils in-

xxviii. and xxix. for the separate occasions (xxviii. 15, 22, 30; xxix. 5, 11, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38).

## PHILO

193 *έορτής άδεές όρμητήριον έχουσαι και προς τό μηδέν παθείν καταφυγήν. άπερ συνιδών ούκ έφήκε κατά τά αυτά τοίς άλλοις έορτάζειν, άλλ' έν αυτώ τώ τής εύφροσύνης καιρώ πρώτον μέν έκέλευσεν άγνεύειν έπιστομιζοντας τās έφ' ήδονήν όρμάς, είτα είς τό ίερόν έπί μετουσίαν ύμνων και εύχών και θυσιών έκάλεσεν, ίνα κάκ τοϋ τόπου κάκ τών όρωμένων και λεγομένων δια τών κυριωτάτων αισθήσεων, όψεως και άκοής, έγκρατείας άμα και εύσεβείας έρασθωσιν, είτ' έπί πάσιν ύπέμνησε τοϋ μη άμαρτάνειν δια τής θυσίας τοϋ περι άμαρτίας· ό γάρ άμνησίαν έφ' οίς ήμαρτεν αίτούμενος ούχ οϋτως έστι κακοδαίμων ώστ' έν ώ χρόνω παλαιών άδικημάτων αίτεΐται λύσιν έτερα καινοτομείν.*

194 XXXVI. *Τοσαυτα περι τούτων διαλεχθείς άρχεται διαιρείν τά τών θυσιών γένη και τέμνων είς είδη τρία τά άνωτάτω τό μέν όλόκαντον καλεί, τό δέ σωτήριον, τό δέ περι άμαρτίας· είθ' έκαστον τοίς άρμόττουσιν έπικοσμεί τοϋ πρόποντος άμα και*

195 *εύαγοϋς οϋ μετρίως στοχασάμενος. παγκάλη δέ και προσφυστάτη τοίς πράγμασιν ή διαίρεισις ακολουθίαν έχουσα και είρμόν· εί γάρ βούλοϊτό τις έξετάζειν άκριβώς τās αίτίας, ών ένεκα τοίς πρώτοις έδοξεν ανθρώποις έπί τās δια θυσιών εύχαριστίας όμοϋ και λιτάς έλθειν, εύρήσει δύο τās άνωτάτω· μίαν μέν τήν προς θεόν τιμήν, τήν άνευ τινός έτέρου δι' αυτόν μόνον γινομένην ώς αναγκαϊον <και> καλόν, έτέραν δέ τήν τών θυόντων*

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 192-195

numerable, because they have the immunity of the feast for their headquarters and refuge from retribution. All this the lawgiver observed and therefore 193 did not permit his people to conduct their festivities like other nations, but first he bade them in the very hour of their joy make themselves pure by curbing the appetites for pleasure. Then he summoned them to the sanctuary to take their part in hymns and prayers and sacrifices, that the place and the spectacles there presented and the words there spoken, working through the lordliest of the senses, sight and hearing, may make them enamoured of continence and piety. Last of all by the sin-offering he warned them against continuing in sin, for he who asks for absolution of the sins he has committed is not so lost a wretch as to embark on other new offences at the very time when he asks for remission of the old.

XXXVI. After having discoursed to this extent 194 on these subjects he begins to classify the kinds of sacrifices. He divides them into three principal classes which he calls respectively the whole-burnt-offering, the preservation-offering and the sin-offering. To each of these he adds the adornment of suitable ritual, in which he succeeds admirably in combining decorum with reverence. His classification is quite 195 excellent and perfectly fits the facts to which it shews a logical sequence. For if anyone cares to examine closely the motives which led men of the earliest times to resort to sacrifices as a medium of prayer and thanksgiving, he will find that two hold the highest place. One is the rendering of honour to God for the sake of Him only and with no other motive, a thing both necessary and excellent. The other is the signal benefit which the worshipper

## PHILO

- προηγουμένην ὠφέλειαν· διττή δ' ἐστίν, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ  
 196 μετουσίᾳ ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῇ. τῇ  
 μὲν οὖν κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον γινομένη  
 προσήκουσαν ὁ νόμος ἀπένειμε θυσίαν τὴν ὀλό-  
 καυτον, ὀλοκλήρῳ καὶ παντελεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιφερομένη  
 τῆς θνητῆς φιλαυτίας ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελεῆ· τὴν  
 δὲ χάριν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὴ διαίρεσιν ἐπεδέχετο ἡ  
 δόξα, καὶ αὐτὸς διείλε, κατὰ μὲν τὴν μετουσίαν τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν ὀρίσας θυσίαν ἣν ὠνόμασε σωτήριον, τῇ δὲ  
 197 φυγῇ τῶν κακῶν ἀπονείμας τὴν περὶ ἁμαρτίας. ὡς  
 τρεῖς εἶναι δεόντως ἐπὶ τρισί, τὴν μὲν ὀλόκαυτον δι'  
 [241] αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν | θεόν, ὃν καλὸν τιμᾶσθαι, μὴ δι'  
 ἕτερον, τὰς δ' ἄλλας δι' ἡμᾶς, τὴν μὲν σωτήριον ἐπὶ  
 σωτηρίᾳ καὶ βελτιώσει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγ-  
 μάτων, τὴν δὲ περὶ ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ ὧν  
 ἐπλημμέλησεν ἡ ψυχή.
- 198 XXXVII. Λεκτέον δὲ περὶ ἐκάστης τὰ νομο-  
 θετηθέντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησαμένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρίστης·  
 ἀρίστη δ' ἐστίν ἡ ὀλόκαυτος. ἔστω δὴ, φησί,  
 πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἱερεῖον ἄρρεν, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὰς  
 θυσίας ἀριστίνδην ζώων ἐπικριθέντων, μόσχος ἢ  
 ἀμνὸς ἢ ἔριφος· ἔπειτα δ' ἀπονιψάμενος ὁ προσάγων  
 199 τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιφερέτω τῇ τοῦ ἱερείου κεφαλῇ· καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τις τῶν ἱερέων καταθνέτω καὶ  
 φιάλην ἕτερος ὑποσχὼν καὶ δεξάμενος τοῦ αἵματος  
 ἐν κύκλῳ περιῶν τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιρραινέτω, καὶ τὸ  
 ἱερεῖον ἀποδαρὲν εἰς ὀλόκληρα μέλη<sup>1</sup> διανεμέσθω,  
 κοιλίας ἀποπλυνομένης καὶ ποδῶν· εἶτα σύμπαν τῷ  
 ἱερῷ πυρὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ παραδιδόσθω, γεγονὸς καὶ ἐξ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μέρη.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. i. 3 ff.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 195-199

receives, and this is twofold, on one side directed to obtaining a share in blessings, on the other to release from evils. To the God-ward motive which has Him alone in view he assigned the whole-burnt-offering, for, whole and complete in itself as it is, it fits in well with the same qualities in the motive which carries with it no element of mortal self-interest ; but where human interests were concerned, since the idea admitted of division, the lawgiver also made a division, and appointed what he called a preservation-offering to correspond to the aspiration for participation in blessings, while he assigned the sin-offering for avoidance of evils. Thus very properly there are three offerings for three objects, the whole-burnt-offering having no other in view but God Himself alone Whom it is good to honour, the other two having ourselves in view, the preservation-offering for the safe preserving and bettering of human affairs, the sin-offering for the healing of the trespasses which the soul has committed.

XXXVII. We must now describe the ordinances dealing with each of these sacrifices, beginning with the best, which is the whole-burnt-offering. <sup>a</sup> First of all, he says the victim must be a male specimen of the animals selected as best for the purpose, namely, a calf or lamb or kid. Secondly, the giver must wash his hands and lay them on the head of the victim, and after this one priest must take and slay it while another priest holds a vial below and after catching some of the blood goes all round the altar and sprinkles it thereon. The victim after being flayed must be divided into parts complete in themselves, while the belly and feet are washed, and then the whole must be given over to the sacred fire of the altar. Thus

## PHILO

- 200 ἐνὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἔν. ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ῥητὴ πρόσταξις περιέχει. μνηύεται δὲ καὶ νοῦς ἕτερος αἰνιγματώδη λόγον ἔχων τὸν διὰ συμβόλων· σύμβολα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ λεχθέντα φανερὰ ἀδήλων καὶ ἀφανῶν. ἄρρεν εὐθέως τὸ ὀλόκαιτον ἱερεῖον, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ θήλεος καὶ τελειότερον καὶ ἡγεμονικώτερον καὶ συγγενέστερον αἰτίῳ δραστηκῶ· τὸ γὰρ θήλυ ἀτελές, ὑπήκοον, ἐν τῷ πάσχειν
- 201 μᾶλλον ἢ ποιεῖν ἐξεταζόμενον. δυοῖν δ' ὄντων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἡμετέρα ψυχὴ συνέστη, λογικοῦ τε καὶ ἀλόγου, τὸ μὲν λογικὸν τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἐστίν, ὅπερ νοῦς καὶ λογισμὸς κεκλήρωται, τὸ δ' ἄλογον τῆς πρὸς γυναικῶν, ὅπερ ἔλαχεν αἴσθησις. νοῦς δὲ αἰσθήσεως, ὡς ἀνὴρ γυναικός, καθ' ὅλον γένος ἀμείνων, ὃς ἄμωμος ὢν καὶ καθαρθεὶς καθάρσει ταῖς ἀρετῆς τελείας<sup>1</sup> αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ εὐαγεστάτη θυσία καὶ ὅλη
- 202 δι' ὅλων εὐάρεστος θεῷ. τὰς δὲ ἐπιτιθεμένας τῇ τοῦ ζώου κεφαλῇ χεῖρας δεῖγμα σαφέστατον εἶναι συμβέβηκε πράξεων ἀνυπαιτίων καὶ βίου μηδὲν ἐπιφερομένου τῶν εἰς κατηγορίαν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς συνάδοντος.
- 203 βούλεται γὰρ τοῦ θύοντος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν νοῦν ὠσιῶσθαι γνώμαις ἀγαθαῖς καὶ συμφερούσαις ἐνασκούμενον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν βίον ἐξ ἀρίστων συνεστάναι πράξεων, ὡς ἅμα τῇ τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσει δύνασθαί τινα παρρησιασάμενον ἐκ καθαροῦ τοῦ
- 204 συνειδότος τοιαῦτα εἰπεῖν· αἱ χεῖρες αὐται οὔτε δῶρον ἐπ' ἀδίκους ἔλαβον οὔτε τὰς ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ [242] πλεονεξίας διανομὰς οὔτε αἵματος | ἀθώου προσ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τελείαις.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 199-204

the one in it has become many and the many one.<sup>a</sup> These are the contents of the ordinance taken 200 literally. But another meaning also is indicated of the mystical character which symbols convey ; words in their plain sense are symbols of things latent and obscure.

In the first place the victim of the whole-burnt-offering is a male because the male is more complete, more dominant than the female, closer akin to causal activity, for the female is incomplete and in subjection and belongs to the category of the passive rather than the active. So 201 too with the two ingredients which constitute our life-principle, the rational and the irrational ; the rational which belongs to mind and reason is of the masculine gender, the irrational, the province of sense, is of the feminine. Mind belongs to a genus wholly superior to sense as man is to woman ; unblemished and purged, as perfect virtue purges, it is itself the most religious of sacrifices and its whole being is highly pleasing to God.

In the 202 laying of hands on the head of the animal we find the clearest possible type of blameless actions and of a life saddled with nothing that leads to censure but in harmony with the laws and statutes of nature. For 203 the law desires, first, that the mind of the worshipper should be sanctified by exercise in good and profitable thoughts and judgements ; secondly, that his life should be a consistent course of the best actions, so that as he lays his hands on the victim, he can boldly and with a pure conscience speak in this wise : " These hands have taken no gift to do injustice, nor 204 shared in the proceeds of plunder or overreaching, nor been soiled with innocent blood. None have

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 208.

## PHILO

ήσαντο, οὐ πήρωσιν, οὐχ ὕβριν, οὐ τραῦμα, οὐ βίαν ἐξεργάσαντο, οὐκ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν τῶν κατηγορίαν καὶ ψόγον ἐχόντων ὑπηρέτησαν, ἀλλ' ὑποδιάκονοι πάντων ἐγένοντο τῶν καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων, ἃ παρὰ σοφία καὶ νόμοις καὶ σοφοῖς καὶ νομίμοις ἀνδράσι τετίμηται. XXXVIII.

205 τὸ δ' αἷμα κύκλω προσχεῖται τῷ βωμῷ, διότι κύκλος σχημάτων (τὸ) τελειότατον καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρος μηδὲν ἔρημον καὶ κενὸν ἀπολειφθῆναι ψυχικῆς σπονδῆς· ψυχῆς γὰρ κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἐστὶ σπονδὴ τὸ αἷμα. συμβολικῶς οὖν ἀναδιδάσκει τὴν διάνοιαν ὅλην δι' ὅλων ἐν κύκλω χορεύουσιν ἐν πάσαις ἰδέαις λόγων καὶ βουλευμάτων καὶ ἔργων ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀρέσκειαν.

206 ἀποπλύνεσθαι δὲ κοιλίαν καὶ πόδας διείρηται, πάννυ συμβολικῶς· διὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κοιλίας αἰνίττεται τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἣν ἐκνίπτεσθαι συμφέρον κηλίδων καὶ μiasμάτων καὶ μέθης καὶ παροιτίας μεστήν, κακὸν βλαβερώτατον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων

207 συγκροτούμενόν τε καὶ συνασκούμενον· διὰ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς πόδας ἀπολούεσθαι τὸ μηκέτι βαίνειν ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀλλ' αἰθεροβατεῖν· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ φιλοθέου ψυχὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω πρὸς οὐρανὸν πηδᾶ καὶ πτερωθεῖσα μετεωροπολεῖ συντάττεσθαι γλιχομένη καὶ συγχορεύειν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἱερωτάτῃ καὶ παναρμονίῳ στρατιᾷ, ταξι-αρχοῦντος καὶ ἡγεμονεύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τὴν ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ ἀναφαίρετον βασιλείαν ἔχοντος,

208 δι' ἧς ἐνδίκως ἕκαστα πρυτανεύεται. ἡ δὲ εἰς μέλη τοῦ ζώου διανομὴ δηλοῖ, ἥτοι ὡς ἐν τᾷ

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the ψυχή in its lower sense (*cf.* § 177) is an apposite symbol of the higher ψυχή, "the mind."

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 204-208

they maimed or wounded, no deed of outrage or violence have they wrought. They have done no service of any other kind at all which might incur arraignment or censure, but have made themselves humble ministers of things excellent and profitable, such as are held in honour in the sight of wisdom and law and wise and law-abiding men."

XXXVIII. The blood is poured in a circle round the 205 altar because the circle is the most perfect of figures, and in order that no part should be left destitute of the vital oblation. For the blood may truly be called a libation of the life-principle. So, then, he teaches in this symbol that the mind, whole and complete, should, as it moves with measured tread passing circle-wise through every phase of word and intention and deed, shew its willingness to do God's service.<sup>a</sup>

The direction to wash the belly and the 206 feet is highly symbolical. Under the figure of the belly he signifies the lust which it is well to clean away, saturated as it is with stains and pollutions, with wine-bibbing and sottishness, a mighty force for ill, trained and drilled to work havoc in the life of men. By the washing of the feet is meant that his 207 steps should be no longer on earth but tread the upper air. For the soul of the lover of God does in truth leap from earth to heaven and wing its way on high, eager to take its place in the ranks and share the ordered march of sun and moon and the all-holy, all-harmonious host of the other stars, marshalled and led by the God Whose kingship none can dispute or usurp, the kingship by which everything is justly governed. The division of the animal 208 into its limbs indicates either that all things are one

## PHILO

πάντα ἢ ὅτι ἐξ ἑνός τε καὶ εἰς ἓν, ὅπερ οἱ μὲν κόρον  
καὶ χρημοσύνην ἐκάλεσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ  
διακόσμησιν, ἐκπύρωσιν μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ<sup>1</sup>  
δυναστείαν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπικρατήσαντος, δια-  
κόσμησιν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων  
209 ἰσονομίαν, ἣν ἀντιδιδόασιν ἀλλήλοις. ἐμοὶ δὲ  
εὐθυβολώτερον σκοπουμένῳ δοκεῖ τοῦτο δηλοῦσθαι·  
ἢ τιμῶσα ψυχὴ τὸ ὄν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν ὀφείλει μὴ  
ἀλόγως μὴδ' ἀνεπιστημόνως ἀλλὰ σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ  
καὶ λόγῳ τιμᾶν. ὁ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος τομὴν  
ἐπιδέχεται καὶ διαίρεσιν καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν θείων  
δυνάμεων καὶ ἀρετῶν· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἀγαθὸς τέ ἐστι  
καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ γεννητὴς τῶν ὄλων καὶ προνοη-  
τικὸς ὧν ἐγέννησε, σωτὴρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης, μακα-  
ριότητος καὶ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας ἀνάπλεως· ὧν  
ἕκαστον καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ ἰδίᾳ σεμνὸν καὶ ἐπαινετὸν  
καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἐξεταζόμενον.  
210 ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταύτη. ὅταν | βουλευθῆς, ὦ  
[243] διάνοια, εὐχαριστήσαι περὶ γενέσεως κόσμου θεῷ,  
καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅλου ποιοῦ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ περὶ  
τῶν ὀλοσχερεστάτων αὐτοῦ μερῶν ὡς ἂν ζῶου

<sup>1</sup> So R. The one other ms. which contained the sentence had θεοῦ, which was the accepted reading before the discovery of R, and it is so quoted by Arnim and others. Presumably they understood it as expressing the view of Heraclitus that the Deity was fire.

<sup>a</sup> The terms belong to the philosophy of Heraclitus, cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 7 and note. Whatever Heraclitus meant by them, Philo clearly here equates κόρος to ἐκπύρωσις and χρημοσύνη to διακόσμησις.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 208-210

or that they come from and return to one, an alternation which is called by some Fullness and Want,<sup>a</sup> by others a General Conflagration and Reconstruction,<sup>b</sup> the Conflagration being the state when the supremacy of heat has prevailed over the rest, the Reconstruction when the four elements, by concession to each other, obtain equilibrium. My own reflections 209 lead me to think the following a more correct explanation. The soul which honours the Existent having the Existent Himself only in view, ought to honour Him not irrationally nor ignorantly, but with knowledge and reason. And when we reason about Him we recognize in Him partition and division into each of the Divine powers and excellences. For God is good, He is the maker and begetter of the universe and His providence is over what He has begotten; He is a saviour and a benefactor, and has the plenitude of all blessedness and all happiness. Each of these attributes calls for veneration and praise, both separately in itself and when ranked with its congeners. So, too, it is with the rest.<sup>c</sup> 210

When, my mind, thou wishest to give thanks to God for the creation of the universe, give it both for the sum of things and for its principal parts, thinking of them as the limbs of a living creature of the utmost

<sup>b</sup> For *ἐκπύρωσις* see *Quis Rerum* 228 and note. *διακόσμησις* should perhaps rather be translated by "disposal" or "distribution," without the "re-". Since fire is the primary substance (*τὸ ἐν*), creation itself was a *διακόσμησις*. So too *ἐκπύρωσις* though regularly translated "general conflagration" is rather "resolution into fire." See further App. p. 621.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps *ταύτη* = "as follows," as not unfrequently; see note on *De Mut.* 129. By "the rest" he means that the universe and the man himself are to be "divided" in the same way as God's attributes have been in the previous section.

## PHILO

- τελειοτάτου μελῶν, οἶον οὐρανοῦ λέγω καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων, εἶτα γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, εἶτα πελαγῶν καὶ ποταμῶν αὐθιγενῶν τε καὶ χειμάρρων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα ἀέρος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μεταβολῶν· χειμῶν γὰρ καὶ θέρος, ἕαρ τε καὶ μετόπωρον, αἱ ἐτήσιοι καὶ βιωφελέσταται ὦραι, παθήματα ἀέρος γεγόνασιν ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν μετὰ σελήνην
- 211 *τρεπομένου. κἂν ἄρα ποτὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐχαριστῆς, μὴ μόνον περὶ τοῦ γένους ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων μερῶν εὐχαρίσται, ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν, Ἑλλήνων, βαρβάρων, τῶν ἐν ἡπείροις, τῶν τὰς νήσους εἰληχότων· κἂν περὶ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, τέμε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, μὴ εἰς τὰ λεπτότατα μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὰ συνεκτικώτατα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν τὸ πρῶτον, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν, εἶτα εἰς λόγον καὶ νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο ἀναξία θεοῦ ἀκοῆς καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τούτων εὐχαριστία καθ' αὐτήν.*
- 212 XXXIX. Ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα περὶ τῆς ὀλοκαύτου θυσίας λελέχθαι. τὴν δὲ τοῦ σωτηρίου λεγομένην ἐξῆς ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐπὶ ταύτης ἀδιαφορεῖ, ἐάν τε ἄρρεν ἢ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐάν τε καὶ θῆλυ. σφαγέντος δὲ τρία ταῦτα ὑπεξαιρεῖται τῷ βωμῷ, τὸ στέαρ καὶ λοβὸς ἥπατος καὶ νεφροὶ δύο· τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῷ κατα-
- 213 *θύσαντι εὐωχία. διὰ τί δὲ τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τῶν ἐντοσθιδίων καθιεροῦται, μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐπισκεπτέον ἐκεῖνο μὴ παρελθόντας· διαλογιζόμενος ἐν ἔμμαντῷ πολλάκις ταῦτα καὶ διερευνῶμενος ἐπηπό-*

<sup>a</sup> E.V. "peace-offering." See Lev. iii. 1 ff.

<sup>b</sup> E.V. "the caul upon the liver."

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 210-213

perfection. Such parts are heaven and sun and moon and the planets and fixed stars ; then again earth and the living creatures or plants thereon, then the sea and rivers, whether spring-fed or winter courses, and all they contain : then the air and its phases, for winter and summer, spring and autumn, those seasons which recur annually and are so highly beneficial to our life, are different conditions in the air which changes for the preservation of sublunar things. And if thou givest 211 thanks for man, do not do so only for the whole genus but for its species and most essential parts, for men and women, for Greeks and barbarians, for dwellers on the mainland and those whose lot is cast in the islands. And if it is for a single person, divide the thanksgiving as reason directs, not into every tiny part of him down to the very last, but into those of primary importance, first of all into body and soul of which he is composed, then into speech and mind and sense. For thanks for each of these will by itself be not unworthy to obtain audience with God.

XXXIX. Enough has now been said on the whole 212 burnt-offering. We must now consider in its turn the preservation-offering.<sup>a</sup> In this case it is a matter of indifference whether the victim is male or female. When it has been slain these three, the fat, the lobe<sup>b</sup> of the liver and the two kidneys, are set apart for the altar, while the rest serves as a feast to be enjoyed by the person who has offered the sacrifice. But why 213 these parts of the inwards are consecrated must be carefully considered, not neglecting the following point. In the course of my reflections I have often pondered deeply on this question also ; what could

## PHILO

- ρησα, τί δήποτε λοβὸν μὲν ἥπατος καὶ νεφροὺς καὶ  
 στέαρ ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καταθυομένων ζώων ὑπεξείλετο  
 ὁ νόμος, οὔτε δὲ καρδίαν οὔτε ἐγκέφαλον, τοῦ  
 214 ἡγεμονικοῦ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τούτων ἐνδιαιωμένου. τὸ δ'  
 αὐτὸ νομίζω καὶ ἄλλους οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν διανοία  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ἐντυγ-  
 χανόντων ἐπιζητήσῃ· ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἐπισκεψάμενοι  
 πιθανωτέραν αἰτίαν εὕρωσιν, ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 ὠφελήσουσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν ἐπινοηθείσαν ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
 ἐπικρινάτωσαν, εἰ δόκιμος. ἔστι δὲ ἦδε· τὸ ἡγε-  
 μονικὸν μόνον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀφροσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν  
 καὶ δειλίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κακίας δέχεται<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ  
 215 [244] χωρεῖ· τούτου δὲ οἶκος τὸ ἕτερον τῶν λεχθέντων  
 215 ἐστίν, | ἐγκέφαλος ἢ καρδία. ἐδικαίωσεν οὖν ὁ  
 ἱερός λόγος τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βωμῷ, δι' οὗ πάντων  
 ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ἀπολύσεις γί-  
 νονται καὶ παντελεῖς ἀφέσεις, μὴ προσφέρειν  
 ἀγγεῖον, ἐν ᾧ ποτε φωλεύσας ὁ νοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικίας  
 καὶ ἀσεβείας ἀνοδίαν ἐχώρησεν ἐκτραπόμενος τὴν  
 ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν ἄγουσαν ὁδόν· εὐηθες  
 γὰρ τὰς θυσίας ὑπόμνησιν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 λήθην αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν. τοῦτ' αἴτιον εἶναί μοι  
 δοκεῖ τοῦ μηδέτερον τῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων,  
 ἐγκέφαλον ἢ καρδίαν, προσφέρεσθαι.
- 216 "Α δὲ διείρηται, λόγον ἔχει προσήκοντα· τὸ μὲν  
 στέαρ, ὅτι καὶ πιότατον καὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων φυ-  
 λακτήριον—ἐπαμπίσχει γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ πιαίνει καὶ  
 τῇ μαλακότητι τῆς ἐπαφῆς ὠφελεῖ—, οἱ δὲ νεφροὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δύναται.

<sup>a</sup> See the very similar passage in *De Sac.* 136, and the note there on the question whether τὸ ἡγεμονικόν resided in the brain or in the heart.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 213-216

be the reason why the law, when setting apart the lobe of the liver and the kidneys and the fat as a tribute reserved from the animals sacrificed, did not include either the heart or the brains, since the dominant principle resides in one or other of them.<sup>a</sup> And I expect the same question will present itself to not a few of those who read the holy scriptures with their understanding rather than with their eyes. If such persons after examination find a more convincing reason, they will benefit both themselves and me ; if not I beg them to consider whether that which has commended itself to my mind will stand the test. It is as follows. The dominant principle is the only part of us which admits and retains folly and injustice and cowardice and the other vices, and the home of this principle is one or other of the two just mentioned, namely, the brain and the heart. The holy word, therefore, thought good that the altar of God, by which is given absolution and complete remission of all sins and transgressions, should not be approached by the container in which mind had its lair when it came forth to tread the pathless wilds of injustice and impiety, turning away from the road which leads to virtue and noble conduct. For it would be foolish to have the sacrifices working remembrance instead of oblivion of sin. This seems to me the reason why neither of the parts which hold the pre-eminence, the brain or the heart, is brought to the altar. 214

As for the parts which are actually prescribed, appropriate reasons can be given for the choice. The fat is the richest part and acts as a protection to the inwards, serving as a covering and a source of richness to them and benefiting them by the softness of its contact. The kidneys are chosen because of their 215

## PHILO

διὰ τοὺς παραστάτας καὶ τὰ γεννητικά, οἷς παρ-  
 οικουῦντες ἀγαθῶν τρόπον γειτόνων βοηθοῦσι καὶ  
 συμπράττουσιν, ὅπως ὁ τῆς φύσεως σπόρος εὐδοῖη,  
 μηδενὸς τῶν πλησίον ἐμποδίζοντος—αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ  
 αἰμοειδεῖς εἰσι δεξαμεναί, οἷς ἡ τῶν περιττωμάτων  
 ὑγρὰ κάθαρσις ἀποκρίνεται, οἱ δὲ παραστάται  
 πλησίον, δι' ὧν ἄρδεται ὁ σπόρος—, λοβὸς δ' ἥπατος  
 τοῦ κυριωτάτου τῶν σπλάγγων ἐστὶν ἀπαρχή, δι'  
 οὗ τὴν τροφήν ἐξαιματοῦσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ ἐπ-  
 οχετευομένην τῇ καρδίᾳ φέρεσθαι διὰ φλεβῶν εἰς τὴν  
 217 τοῦ ὅλου σώματος διαμονήν. στόμαχος μὲν γὰρ  
 παρακείμενος τῇ καταπόσει τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ὀδόντων  
 τμηθεῖσαν πρότερον καὶ λεανθεισαν αὐθις τροφήν  
 ὑποδέχεται καὶ προκατεργάζεται κοιλία· κοιλία δὲ  
 παρὰ στομάχου λαμβάνουσα τὴν δευτέραν ὑπηρε-  
 σίαν ἐπιτελεῖ, πρὸς ἣν ὑπὸ φύσεως ἐτάχθη, χύλωσιν  
 ἀπεργαζομένη τῆς τροφῆς· αὐλοὶ δὲ δύο τῆς κοιλίας  
 σωληνοειδεῖς ἐκπεφύκασιν εἰς ἥπαρ ἐπαντλοῦντες  
 218 ταῖς διαπεφυκυῖαις ἐν αὐτῷ δεξαμεναῖς. ἔχει δὲ  
 διττὴν δύναμιν ἥπαρ, διακριτικὴν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς  
 ἐξαιμάτωσιν· ἡ μὲν οὖν διακριτικὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἀ-  
 τέραμνον καὶ δυσκατέργαστον εἰς τὸ παρακείμενον  
 χολῆς ἀγγεῖον ἀποκρίνει, ἡ δ' ἕτερα τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ  
 διηθημένον τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν φλογμῷ τρέπει μὲν εἰς  
 αἷμα ζωτικώτατον, ἀναθλίβει δ' εἰς καρδίαν, ἀφ' ἧς  
 ὡς ἐλέχθη ταῖς φλεψὶν ἐποχετευόμενον διὰ παντὸς  
 εἰλείται τοῦ σώματος γινόμενον αὐτῷ τροφή.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 216-218

relation to the testicles and generative organs ; situated beside them they give them neighbourly assistance, and co-operate in promoting the easy passage of nature's seed unimpeded by any of the adjacent parts. For the kidneys themselves are blood-coloured receptacles in which the moist off-scouring of the excrement is secreted, and contiguous to them are the testicles which create the stream of the semen. The lobe is a sample tribute from the most important of the inwards, the liver, by which the food is converted into blood and then being sluiced into the heart, is conveyed through the veins for the conservation of the whole body. For the 217 orifice of the stomach being adjacent to the gullet receives the food which has been first bitten off by the teeth and afterwards masticated, and by its action prepares it for the stomach itself. This receives it from the orifice and performs the second office to which it has been appointed by nature, by turning it into juice. And from the stomach there are two pipe-shaped channels extending to the liver and draining the food into the receptacles which lie at intervals therein. Now the liver has two properties : 218 it acts both as a sifter and a creator of blood. As a sifter it secretes all the hard and callous stuff into the adjacent bile-vessel, while in its other capacity by means of the heat which it contains it turns the pure liquid which has been strained off into blood full of life-giving powers, then presses this blood into the heart, whence, as we have said, it is sluiced into the veins, and coursing through the whole body becomes

- 219                    πρόσεστι δὲ κακείνο τοῖς εἰρημένοις·  
 τὴν τοῦ ἥπατος φύσιν μετέωρον καὶ λειοτάτην  
 οὖσαν [καὶ] διὰ λειότητα φανοτάτου κατόπτρου  
 λόγον ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν, ἵν' ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἡμερινῶν  
 φροντίδων ἀναχωρήσας ὁ νοῦς, ὕπνω μὲν παρ-  
 [245] | ἴσταμένης ἐμποδῶν, ἀνακυκλεῖν αὐτὸν ἄρξῃται καὶ  
 τὰ νοήματα καθαρῶς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, οἷα εἰς  
 κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέπων τὸ ἥπαρ ἕκαστα εἰλικρινῶς  
 καταθεᾶται τῶν νοητῶν καὶ περιβλεπόμενος ἐν  
 κύκλῳ τὰ εἶδωλα, μὴ τι πρόσεστιν αἰσχος, [ἵνα] τὸ  
 μὲν φύγη, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔλθῃται, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς  
 φαντασίαις εὐαρεστήσας προφητεύῃ διὰ τῶν ὀνει-  
 ρων τὰ μέλλοντα.
- 220 XL. Δυσὶ δὲ νόμοις ἡμέραις ἐπιτρέπει τὴν χρῆσιν  
 τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲν εἰς τὴν  
 τρίτην ἀπολείποντας, πολλῶν χάριν· ἐνὸς μὲν ὅτι τὰ  
 τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης πάντα καιρίως δεῖ προσφέρε-  
 σθαι σπουδῆν ποιουμένους, ὡς μὴ μεταβάλλῃ μήκει  
 χρόνου· κρεῶν δὲ ἐώλων εὐσηπτὸς ἢ φύσις, κἄν  
 221 ἡδύσμασι παραρτυθῇ. ἑτέρου δ' ὅτι τὰς θυσίας

<sup>a</sup> This section is based on Plato, *Timaeus* 71 (see Archer-Hind's translation), and certainly reproduces the main idea of that curious passage, that the liver acts as a mirror "which receives outlines of the thoughts from the brain and exhibits reflections from them," sometimes of a bitter nature, while sometimes "the part of the soul settled about the liver is enabled to secure a sober amusement at night, enjoying divination during sleep in recompense for its deprivation of intelligence and wisdom." Whether Philo has otherwise understood Plato correctly I do not presume to say.

<sup>b</sup> I do not understand what Philo means by μετέωρος ("high up"). Plato's description of the liver is that God set it in the dwelling-place of the lusting (ἐπιθυμητικόν) part of the soul and made it "dense and smooth and bright, with a share of

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 219-221

its sustenance. <sup>a</sup>There is another point to 219  
 be added to these statements. The liver has been  
 made so as to lie high <sup>b</sup> and be exceedingly smooth,  
 and in virtue of its smoothness it plays the part of a  
 mirror of the utmost brightness. In consequence  
 when the mind withdrawing from its daytime cares,  
 with the body paralyzed in sleep and the obstruction  
 of every sense removed, begins to turn itself about and  
 concentrate upon the pure observation of its concepts,  
 it looks into the liver as into a mirror where it gains  
 a lucid view of all that mind can perceive and, while  
 its gaze travels round the images to see whether they  
 contain any ugly defect, it eschews all such and selects  
 their opposites, and so, well satisfied <sup>c</sup> with all the  
 visions presented to it, prophesies future events  
 through the medium of dreams.

XL. <sup>d</sup>Two days only are allowed for the use of the 220  
 preservation-offering as food, and nothing is to be left  
 over till the third day. This for several reasons.  
 One is, that all the meats of the sacred table must be  
 eaten without undue delay, care being taken that  
 they should not deteriorate through lapse of time.  
 It is the nature of stale flesh to decay rapidly, even  
 though seasoned with spices as preservatives. Another 221

bitterness." Some stress is laid on its position, but there is  
 nothing corresponding to *μετέωρος*. Can the word mean  
 here "with changing moods," "temperamental," and refer  
 to the mixture of sweetness and bitterness ascribed to it by  
 Plato?

<sup>e</sup> So Mangey and Heinemann for *εὐαρεστήσας*. This use  
 of the verb, however, seems later. Its common meaning is  
 "well-pleasing to," and so apparently always elsewhere in  
 Philo (*εὐαρεστητέον* in *De Praem.* 34 may be the verbal of  
*εὐαρεστοῦμαι*). This regular meaning is perhaps not altogether  
 impossible here, "it has become a satisfactory medium for all  
 the (good) visions."

<sup>d</sup> See Lev. xix. 5, 6.

## PHILO

ἀταμιεύτους εἶναι προσήκει καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς μέσον προκείσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις· εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ τεθυκότος, ἀλλ' ᾧ τέθυται τὸ ἱερεῖον, ὃς εὐεργέτης καὶ φιλόδωρος ὢν κοινωνὸν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελούντων, οἷς παραγγέλλει μὴ νομίζειν ἐστιᾶν· ἐπίτροποι γὰρ εὐωχίας εἰσὶν, οὐχ ἐστιάτορες, ὁ δ' ἐστιάτωρ ἐστὶν οὗ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν, ἣν οὐ θέμις ἀποκρύπτειν φειδωλίαν, ἀνελεύθερον κακίαν, φιλανθρωπίας, ἀρετῆς εὐγενοῦς, 222 προκρίνοντας. τελευταίου δ' ὅτι τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου θυσίαν ὑπὲρ δυεῖν προσάγεσθαι συμβέβηκε, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, ὧν ἑκατέρῳ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀπένειμεν εἰς εὐωχίαν τῶν κρεῶν· ἤρμοττε γὰρ ἰσάριθμον χρόνον ὀρισθῆναι τοῖς πεφυκόσι σῶζεσθαι τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὡς τῇ μὲν προτεραίᾳ λαμβάνειν ἅμα τῇ βρώσει τῆς ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας ὑπόμνησιν, τῇ δ' 223 ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὑγείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ κυρίως πέφυκε σωτηριᾶν ἐνδέχεσθαι, τὴν εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν χρῆσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπηγόρευσε προστάξας, εἰ καὶ τύχοι τι κατ' ἄγνοιαν ἢ λήθην ἀπολειφθέν, εὐθύς ἀναλίσκεσθαι πυρί. τὸν δὲ γευσάμενον αὐτὸ μόνον ἔνοχον ἀποφαίνει καὶ φησιν αὐτῷ· τεθυκέναι νομίζων, ᾧ καταγέλαστε, οὐ τέθυκας· οὐ προσηκάμην<sup>1</sup> ἀθύτων, ἀνιέρων, βε-

<sup>1</sup> προσηκάμην followed by a genitive is irregular, and Cohn proposes some insertion, e.g. θοίνην.

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<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xix. 7, 8. Philo's close following of the text should be noticed, LXX εἰς δὲ βρώσει βρωθῆ . . . ἄθυτόν (E.V. "abomination") ἐστίν, οὐ δεχθήσεται. His γευσάμενον αὐτὸ μόνον interprets βρώσει βρωθῆ ("be eaten at all"), though else- 228

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 221-223

reason is, that the sacrificial meals should not be hoarded, but be free and open to all who have need, for they are now the property not of him by whom but of Him to Whom the victim has been sacrificed, He the benefactor, the bountiful, Who has made the convivial company of those who carry out the sacrifices partners of the altar whose board they share. And He bids them not think of themselves as the entertainers, for they are the stewards of the good cheer, not the hosts. The Host is He to Whom the material provided for the feast has come to belong, and this must not be stowed away out of sight, and niggardliness, the vice of the slave, preferred to kindness, the virtue of gentle birth. The final reason is, that the preservation-offering is in fact made in behalf of two, 222 namely soul and body, to each of which he assigned one day for feasting on the flesh. For it was meet that an equal space of time should be appointed for those elements of our nature which are capable of being preserved, so that on the first day as we eat we obtain a reminder of the soul's preservation, on the morrow of the body's good health. And since there 223 is no third thing which, properly speaking, could be the subject of preservation, he strictly forbade the use of the oblation as food on the third day, and commanded that if anything was left over through ignorance or inadvertence, it should immediately be consumed by fire. "Even him who had tasted it and nothing more he declares to be guilty. "Poor fool," he says to him, "thou thinkest to have sacrificed, though thou hast not done so. Sacrilegious, unholy, profane, impure, is the meat which thou hast dressed.

where he does not seem to understand the Hebrew idiom thus rendered in Greek.

## PHILO

βήλων, ἀκαθάρτων, ὧν ἤψηκας κρεῶν, ὧ γαστρί-  
μαργε, θυσιῶν οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐψηθημένος.

- 224 XLI. Τῆς δὲ τοῦ σωτηρίου θυσίας ἐν εἶδει περι-  
λαμβάνεται ἡ λεγομένη τῆς αἰνέσεως, ἣτις λόγον  
ἔχει τοιόνδε· ὁ μηδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀβουλῆτῳ  
περιπεσῶν, μήτε κατὰ σῶμα μήτε κατὰ τὰ ἐκτός,  
ἀλλ' ἀπολέμῳ καὶ εἰρηρικῶ βίῳ χρώμενος ἐν  
εὐπαθείαις τε καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἐξεταζόμενος, ἀπήμων  
καὶ ἄπταιστος ὧν καὶ τὸ μακρὸν τοῦ βίου πέλαγος  
εὐθύνων ἐν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνῃ πραγμάτων, ἐπι-  
[246] πνεούσης αἰὲ κατ' οἰάκων εὐπραγίας, | ἀναγκαίως  
ὀφείλει τὸν κυβερνήτην θεὸν καὶ ἄνοσον μὲν σωτη-  
ριαν ἀζημίους δ' ὠφελείας καὶ συνόλως ἀμιγῆ  
κακῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ δωρούμενον ὕμνοις τε καὶ εὐδαι-  
μονισμοῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς θυσίαις τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις  
εὐχαριστίαις εὐαγῶς ἀμείβεσθαι· ἃ δὴ πάντα ἀθρόα  
225 συλλήβδην ἐν ὄνομα τὸ αἰνέσεως ἔλαχε. ταύτην  
τὴν θυσίαν οὐχ ὥσπερ τὴν προτέραν τοῦ σωτηρίου  
δυσὶν ἡμέρας ἀναλίσκεσθαι προστάττει, μιᾷ δ' αὐτῷ  
μόνον, ἵν' οἱ ἐπιτυχόντες ἐτοιμῶν καὶ προχείρων  
εὐεργεσιῶν ἐτοιμῆν καὶ ἀνυπέρθετον ποιῶνται τὴν  
μετάδοσιν.

- 226 XLII. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. τὴν δὲ τρίτην  
ἐξῆς ἐπισκεπτέον, ἣ καλεῖται περὶ ἁμαρτίας. αὕτη  
τέτμηται πολλαχῆ, κὰν τοῖς προσώποις κὰν τοῖς  
τῶν ἱερείων εἶδεσι, προσώποις μὲν ἀρχιερέως καὶ

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<sup>a</sup> See Lev. vii. 2 f. (E.V. 12 f.). It is embraced in the preservation-offering because it is called *θυσία αἰνέσεως σωτηρίου* (E.V. "the sacrifice of his peace-offerings for thanksgiving").



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 223-226

I accept it not, base glutton, who even in thy dreams hast caught no glimpse of what sacrifice means.”

XLI. Under the head of the preservation-offering <sup>224</sup> is embraced what is called the praise-offering.<sup>a</sup> The principle of this is as follows. He who has never at all met with any untoward happening, either of soul or body or things external, who lives a life of peace undisturbed by war, placed in an environment of every comfort and good fortune, free from disaster and cause of stumbling, sailing in straight course over the long sea of life amid the sunshine and calm of happy circumstances, with the breeze of prosperity ever behind the helm, has as his bounden duty to requite God his pilot, Who gives him safety untouched by disease, benefits carrying no penalty and in general good unmixed with evil—requite Him, I say, with hymns and benedictions and prayers and sacrifices and the other expressions of gratitude as religion demands. All these collected and summed up have obtained the single name of praise. <sup>b</sup> For the con- <sup>225</sup>sumption of this sacrifice one day only is allowed, not two as in the former case of the preservation-offering, that those into whose hands benefits have fallen so readily should make repayment with readiness and without delay.

XLII. So much for these. We must next examine <sup>226</sup> the third kind of sacrifice which bears the name of sin-offering. <sup>c</sup> Here we have several divisions, both according to the persons concerned and the kinds of victims. As to persons, the high priest is distin-

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. vii. 5 (E.V. 15).

<sup>c</sup> See Lev. iv. for the high priest (E.V. “anointed priest”), v. 3; for the nation, v. 13; for the ruler, v. 22; for the commoner, v. 27.

## PHILO

τοῦ σύμπαντος ἔθνους καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐν μέρει καὶ  
 ἰδιώτου, ἱερείοις δὲ μόσχου καὶ χιμάρου καὶ χι-  
 227 μαίρας ἢ ἀμνάδος. διακέκριται δὲ καὶ μάλιστ' ἦν  
 ἀναγκαῖον διακεκρίσθαι τὰ θ' ἐκούσια καὶ ἀκούσια,  
 τροπὰς λαμβανόντων τὰς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον τῶν  
 δοξάντων ἀμαρτεῖν καὶ κακιζόντων μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ'  
 οἷς ἐπλημμέλησαν, μεθορμιζομένων δὲ πρὸς ζωὴν  
 228 ἀνυπαίτιον. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀμαρτήματα  
 καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἰσοτίμῳ καθαίρεται ζῶψ—μόσχον  
 γὰρ ἀνάγεσθαι περὶ ἐκατέρου προστέτακται—, τὰ δὲ  
 τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐλάττονι μὲν, ἄρρени δὲ καὶ τούτῳ—  
 χίμαρος γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον—, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδιώτου  
 καταδεεστέρῳ τὸ εἶδος—θῆλυ γὰρ ἄλλ' οὐκ ἄρρени  
 229 θῦμα, χίμαιρα,<sup>1</sup> καταθύεται—. ἔδει γὰρ ἰδιώτου μὲν  
 πλεον ἄρχοντα φέρεσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἱεουργίαις, ἄρ-  
 χοντος δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπεὶ τὸ ὅλον τοῦ μέρους αἰεὶ  
 κρεῖττον εἶναι δεῖ, τὸν δ' ἀρχιερέα τῷ ἔθνει τῆς  
 αὐτῆς ἡξιώσθαι προνομίας ἐν τῷ καθαίρεσθαι καὶ  
 παρὰ τῆς ἰλεω τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ἀμνηστίαν  
 ἀδικημάτων αἰτεῖσθαι· τὸ δ' ἰσότιμον οὐ δι' αὐτόν,  
 ὡς εἴοικε, καρποῦται μᾶλλον ἢ διότι τοῦ ἔθνους  
 ὑπηρέτης ἐστὶ τὰς κοινὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ποιούμενος  
 εὐχαριστίας ἐν ταῖς ἱερωτάταις εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς  
 230 εὐαγεστάταις θυσίαις. σεμνὴ δὲ καὶ θαυμάσιος καὶ  
 ἡ περὶ ταῦτα διάταξις· “ἐὰν” φησὶν “ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 ἄκων ἀμάρτη,” καὶ προστίθῃσιν “ὥστε τὸν λαὸν

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. θῦμα only, the others χίμαιρα only.

<sup>a</sup> Philo finds the term ἄρχων in the LXX, and does not attempt to explain it. For ἐν μέρει see on κατὰ μέρος, § 208. Possibly it may mean here, “ruler over some particular part,” i.e. of the whole nation.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 226-230

guished from the whole nation and the rulers<sup>a</sup> as a class from the men of the common people. As to victims, they may be a male calf, a he-goat, a she-goat or ewe-lamb. Another distinction made is one 227 which is most essential between voluntary and involuntary sins. For those who have acknowledged their sin are changing their way for the better, and while they reproach themselves for their errors are seeking a blameless life as their new goal. The sins, 228 then, of the high priest and those of the whole nation are purged with an animal of the same value ; in both cases it is directed that a male calf should be brought. For the sins of the ruler one of less value is ordered, though this too is a male, namely a he-goat ; for the sins of the commoner, one still more inferior in kind, a female offering instead of a male, that is, a she-goat. For it was proper that in matters of sacrifice the ruler 229 should fare better than the commoner and the nation than the ruler, since the whole should always be superior to the part ; also that the high priest should be adjudged the same precedence as the nation in their purification and supplication for forgiveness of wrongdoings from the merciful power of God. But the equality of honour which the high priest enjoys is evidently not so much on his own account as because he is the servant of the nation also, giving thanks in common for all through the holiest of prayers and the purest of sacrifices. Deeply and wonderfully 230 impressive is the form of command in this matter. <sup>b</sup> "If the high priest," it says, "sins involuntarily," and then adds, "so that the people sin," words which

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. iv. 3. A.V. "according to the sin of the people." R.V. "so as to bring guilt on the people." The LXX has not got ἀκων in this verse, but Philo infers it from ἀκουσίως (R.V. "unwittingly") in v. 2.

PHILO

ἀμαρτεῖν," μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς ἀναδιδάσκων, ὅτι ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ μὴ ψευδώνυμος ἀμέτοχος ἀμαρτημάτων ἐστίν, εἰ δ' ὀλισθήσοι ποτέ, πείσεται τοῦτο οὐ δι' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ κοινὸν τοῦ ἔθνους σφάλμα· τὸ δὲ σφάλμα οὐκ ἀνίατον, ἀλλὰ

231 ῥαδίως τὴν θεραπείαν ἐνδεχόμενον. ὅταν οὖν σφαγιασθῇ ὁ μόσχος, κελεύει τοῦ αἵματος ἐπιρραίνειν ἐπτάκις τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ἀδύτοις καταπετάσματος, ἐσωτέρῳ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν τόπον ἴδρυται τὰ ἱερώτατα σκευή, κἄπειτα

[247] <τὰ> τοῦ | θυμιατηρίου τέτταρα κέρατα—τετράγωνον γάρ ἐστι—χρίειν καὶ ἐπαλείφειν, τὸ δ' ἄλλο αἶμα προσχεῖν παρὰ τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ

232 βωμοῦ· ἐφ' ὃν ἀναφέρειν τρία διείρηται, στέαρ καὶ λοβὸν ἥπατος καὶ διττοὺς νεφρούς, κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου διάταξιν, δορὰν δὲ καὶ κρέα καὶ σύμπαν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ μόσχου μετὰ τῶν ἐντοσθιδίων προφέρειν<sup>1</sup> ἔξω καὶ κατακαίειν ἐν χωρίῳ καθαρῷ, ἔνθα τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τέφραν ἐκκομίζεσθαι συμβέβηκε. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ νομοθετεῖ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀμαρ-

233 τόντος. εἰ δέ τις ἄρχων πλημμελήσειε, χιμάρῳ ποιεῖται τὴν κάθαρσιν, ὡς εἶπον, ἔαν δὲ ἰδιώτης, χιμαῖρα ἢ ἀμνάδι· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἄρρεν, τῷ δ' ἰδιώτη θῆλυ ζῶον ἀπένειμε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διαταξάμενος ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ὅμοια, χρίσαι τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμοῦ τῷ αἵματι, στέαρ καὶ λοβὸν ἥπατος καὶ διττοὺς νεφρούς ἀνενεγκεῖν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προσφέρειν.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. iv. 6-12.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 230-233

almost amount to a plain statement from which we may learn that the true high priest who is not falsely so-called is immune from sin, and if ever he slips, it will be something imposed on him not because of what he does himself, but because of some lapse common to the nation. And that lapse is not incurable but admits easily of healing treatment. "So 231 when the calf has been slaughtered he bids the priest to sprinkle some of the blood with his finger seven times over against the veil at the inner shrine, beyond the first veil, at the place where the most sacred chattels have been set, and then anoint and smear the four horns of the altar of incense, corresponding to its four sides, and pour the rest of the blood at the foot of the altar in the open air. To this altar he 232 is commanded to bring three things, the fat and the lobe of the liver and the two kidneys, as in the ordinance of the preservation-offering. But the skin and the flesh and all the rest of the body of the calf from head to foot, with the inwards, are to be carried outside and burnt in a clear and open space<sup>b</sup> whither the holy ashes from the altar also are conveyed. The same rules are laid down by law in the case where the sin lies with the whole nation. But if a trespass is 233 committed by a ruler, he purges himself with a he-goat, as I have said; if by one of the common people, with a she-goat or a ewe-lamb. For he assigned the male animal to the ruler, the female to the commoner, while the other regulations which he made are similar for both persons, namely, that the horns of the open-air altar should be anointed with the blood, the fat and the lobe of the liver and the two kidneys offered at the altar and the rest given to the priests to eat.

<sup>b</sup> Or as E.V. "a clean place." See on § 268.

## PHILO

- 234 παρασχέιν ἐδωδήν. XLIII. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὰ μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, τὰ δ' εἰς ἱερά καὶ ἅγια δρᾶται, περὶ μὲν τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους γινομένων ἀκουσίως διείλεκται, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς κάθαρσιν<sup>1</sup> ἰλάσκεσθαι κριῶ νομοθετεῖ, πρότερον ἀποτίσαντας ἐκείνο περὶ ὃ γέγονεν ἡ πλημμέλεια, τὸ πέμπτον προσεπιτιθέντας τῆς ἀξίας τιμῆς.
- 235 Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια νομοθετήσας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκουσίων ἐξῆς διατάττεται. εἴαν τις, φησί, ψεύσῃται περὶ κοινωνίας ἢ περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἢ ἀρπαγῆς ἢ εὐρέσεως ὧν ἀπώλεσεν ἕτερος καὶ ὑπονοηθεῖς, ὄρκου προταθέντος, ὁμόση καὶ δόξας ἐκπεφευγέναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἔλεγχον αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γένηται κατήγορος, ἔνδον ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχθεῖς, καὶ κακίση μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὧν ἠρνήσατο καὶ ἐπιώρκησεν, ὁμολογῶν δ' ἀντικρυς τὸπραχθὲν ἀδίκημα συγγνώμην αἰτῆται,
- 236 κελεύει τῷ τοιούτῳ παρέχειν ἀμνηστίαν, ἐπαληθεύσαντι τὴν μετάνοιαν οὐχ ὑποσχέσει ἀλλ' ἔργοις, ἀποδόσει τῆς παρακαταθήκης καὶ ὧν ἤρπασεν ἢ εὖρεν ἢ συνόλως ἐσφετερίσατο τοῦ πλησίον, προσ-  
 237 αποτίσας<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὸ ἐπίπεμπτον εἰς παρηγορίαν τοῦ πλημμεληθέντος. ὅταν δὲ ἰλάσῃται τὸν ἠδικημένον πρότερον, ἴτω, φησί, μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν αἰτησόμενος ὧν ἐξήμαρτεν ἄφεσιν, ἐπαγόμενος

<sup>1</sup> A very strange expression, unless *κάθαρσιν* can be regarded as a sort of cognate accusative. Cohn suggests *ἀμαρτίαν*. Possibly *ἀκαθαρσίαν*.

<sup>2</sup> This ungrammatical nominative is either a slip or should be corrected to *-σαντι*.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. v. 15, 16.

XLIII. <sup>a</sup>But since sins are sometimes committed 234  
 against men, sometimes against things sacred and  
 holy, besides the regulations already stated for dealing  
 with involuntary offences against men, he lays down  
 that in the case of the holy things the purificatory pro-  
 pitiation should be made with a ram, the offenders  
 having first made full compensation for the subject  
 of the trespass with the addition of a fifth part of its  
 proper value.

These and similar regulations for involuntary 235  
 offences are followed by his ordinances for such as  
 are voluntary.<sup>b</sup> “If,” he says, “a man lies about a  
 partnership or a deposit or a robbery or as to finding  
 the lost property of someone else, and, being sus-  
 pected and put upon his oath, swears to the falsehood  
 —if then after having apparently escaped conviction  
 by his accusers he becomes, convicted inwardly by  
 his conscience, his own accuser, reproaches himself  
 for his disavowals and perjuries, makes a plain con-  
 fession of the wrong he has committed and asks for  
 pardon—then the lawgiver orders that forgiveness be 236  
 extended to such a person on condition that he verifies  
 his repentance not by a mere promise but by his  
 actions, by restoring the deposit or the property which  
 he has seized or found or in any way usurped from his  
 neighbour, and further has paid an additional fifth  
 as a solatium for the offence. And when he has thus 237  
 propitiated the injured person he must follow it up,  
 says the lawgiver, by proceeding to the temple to  
 ask for remission of his sins, taking with him as his

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. vi. 2-7. Where, however, it is not suggested  
 that the offender has made a voluntary confession, Philo as  
 also Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 232, and indeed modern com-  
 mentators, infers it from the probability that the convicted  
 criminal would not get off so lightly.

## PHILO

- παράκλητον οὐ μεμπτόν τὸν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔλεγχον,  
 ὃς ἀνιάτου συμφορᾶς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο τὴν θανα-  
 τοῦσαν<sup>1</sup> νόσον ἀνεῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑγίαν παντελῆ μετα-  
 238 βαλών. κριὸν δ' εἶναι<sup>2</sup> καὶ τούτῳ διείρηται σφάγιον,  
 [248] καθὰ | καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὰ ἅγια πλημμελήσαντι· τὸ γὰρ  
 ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀκούσιον ἀμάρτημα ἰσότημον ἀπέφηνε  
 τῷ περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἔκουσίῳ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτ'  
 ἐστὶ τι ἅγιον, ἐπειδὴ προσγένονεν ὄρκος, ὃν οὐκ ἐφ'  
 ὑγιεῖ γενόμενον ἐπηνωρθώσατο τροπῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸ  
 βέλτιον.
- 239 Παρατηρητέον δ' ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐπιφερόμενα τῷ  
 βωμῷ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἀμαρτίας ἱερείου ταῦτά ἐστιν ἅ  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου θυσίας, λοβὸς ἥπατος καὶ  
 στέαρ καὶ νεφροί· τρόπον γάρ τινα καὶ ὁ μετανοῶν  
 σῶζεται, τὴν χαλεπωτέραν τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι  
 240 παθῶν νόσον ψυχῆς ἐκτρεπόμενος. τὰ δ' ἄλλα  
 μέρη τοῦ ζώου πρὸς ἔδωδὴν ἀπονέμεται δια-  
 φερόντως. ἐν τρισὶ δ' ἡ διαφορὰ· τόπῳ, χρόνῳ, τοῖς  
 λαμβάνουσι· τόπος μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱερόν, χρόνος δὲ ἀντὶ  
 δυεῖν ἡμερῶν μία, οἱ δὲ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἱερεῖς,  
 241 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ θυσία, καὶ ἱερέων ἄρσενες. ἕξω  
 μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προφέρειν βουλόμενος, εἴ  
 τι τῷ μετανοοῦντι πρότερον ἡμάρτηται, μὴ περί-  
 φημον εἶναι βασκάνων καὶ φιλαπεχθημόνων γνώμαις  
 ἀγνώμοσι καὶ στόμασιν ἀχαλίνοις, ἐπ' ὄνειδει καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for ms. θανατῶσαν or θανατώσασαν. See note on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 102 (App.).

<sup>2</sup> mss.: so Cohn: κριὸν δεῖν R ("ut videtur" adds Cohn), κριὸν ἀναγαγεῖν F: κριὸν δ' ἄγειν κελεύει, καὶ τοῦτο A.H.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. vi. 25, 26, 29. But there is no order there that it should be eaten in one day. (So also Jos. *Ant.* iii. 232 αὐθημερόν.)



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 237-241

irreproachable advocate the soul-felt conviction which has saved him from a fatal disaster, allayed a deadly disease, and brought him round to complete health. For him, too, the sacrifice prescribed is a ram, as also 238 for the offender in sacred matters. For the lawgiver rated the involuntary sin in the sacred sphere as equal to voluntary sin in the human, though indeed this last also is perhaps a desecration, since it is supplemented by an oath sworn under dishonest conditions, though rectified by the man's conversion to the better course.

It must be noticed, however, that while the parts of the sin-offering laid upon the altar are the same 239 as in the case of the preservation-offering, namely the lobe of the liver, the fat and the kidneys—a natural arrangement because the penitent also is preserved or saved by escape from the soul-sickness which is more grievous than any which affects the body—the 240 conditions under which the other parts of the animal are appointed to serve for food are different. The difference is threefold, in the place, in the time and in the recipients.<sup>a</sup> The place is the temple, the time one day instead of two, and the participants are priests, not those who offer the sacrifices : also they are male priests.<sup>b</sup> The prohibition against carrying the flesh 241 outside the temple is due to his wish that any sin which the penitent has previously committed should not be made notorious through the ill-judged judgments and unbridled tongues of malicious and acrimonious persons, and blazed abroad as a subject for

<sup>b</sup> This seems to me to indicate that Philo rightly or wrongly takes "every male among the priests," to mean that apart from this prohibition the women of the priestly clan would be entitled to eat it. In § 110 he has called them "priestesses."

## PHILO

διαβολαῖς ἐκδεδομένον, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ὄρων ἱερῶν, ἐν  
 242 οἷς καὶ ἡ κάθαρσις γέγονεν, εἶναι. XLIV. τοῖς δ'  
 ἱερεῦσιν εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν θυσίαν κελεύει διὰ πολλά·  
 πρῶτον<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἵνα τιμήσῃ τοὺς τεθυκότας, ἡ γὰρ τῶν  
 ἐστιωμένων ἀξίωσις ἐπικοσμεῖ τοὺς ἐστιάτορας·  
 δεύτερον δὲ ἵνα βεβαιοτάτα πιστεύσωσιν, ὅτι οἷς  
 ἀμαρτημάτων εἰσέρχεται μεταμέλεια ἴλω τὸν θεὸν  
 ἔχουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοὺς προσπόλους αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 θεράποντας ἐπὶ μετουσίαν τῆς τοιαύτης τραπέζης  
 ἐκάλεσεν, εἰ μὴ παντελῆς ἐγεγένητο ἀμνηστία·  
 τρίτον δ' ὅτι λειτουργεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἕξεστιν,  
 ὃς ἂν μὴ ὀλόκληρος ᾖ· καὶ γὰρ τῷ βραχυτάτῳ  
 243 μῶμῳ σκορακίζεται. παρηγορεῖ δὴ τοὺς μηκέτι  
 τὴν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὁδὸν ἰόντας ὡς ἱερατικοῦ  
 γένους ἔνεκα προαιρέσεως καθαρᾶς μεταλαχόντας  
 καὶ πρὸς ἱερέων ἰσοτιμίαν ἐπαχθέντας. ὅθεν καὶ  
 μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ περὶ ἀμαρτίας ἱερεῖον ἀναλίσκεται, ὡς  
 δέον ὑπερτίθεσθαι μὲν τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν μέλλοντας ἀεὶ  
 πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύνοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατορθοῦν  
 244 ἐπεσπευσμένῳ τάχει χρῆσθαι. τὰ δ'  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἢ τοῦ ἔθνους ἔνεκα πλημ-  
 μελείας σφαγιαζόμενα πρὸς μὲν ἔδωδὴν οὐ σκευά-  
 ζεται, κατακαίεται δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τέφρας, ὡς  
 ἐλέχθη· κρείττων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀρχιερέως ἢ τοῦ  
 ἔθνους ἐστίν, ὃς ἀμαρτησάντων γενήσεται παρ-  
 245 αιτητῆς. εἰκότως οὖν ἀναλίσκεται τὰ κρέα πυρί,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πρότερον.

<sup>a</sup> The point presumably is that the exclusion of the priests who suffer from defects and therefore cannot have taken part

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 241-245

contumelious and censorious talk, but be confined within the sacred precincts which have also been the scene of the purification. XLIV. The command that 242 the sacrifice should serve as a feast for the priests is due to several reasons. First, to do honour to the givers of the sacrifice, for the dignity of the guests reflects glory on their entertainers ; secondly, to secure them firmly in the belief that the graciousness of God extends to those who feel remorse for their sin. For He would never have called His servitors and ministers to share the hospitality of such a table if full pardon had not been given. Thirdly, because none of the priests is permitted to perform the rites if he is not wholly sound, for the slightest blemish causes him to be thrust from office.<sup>a</sup> In fact he encourages those 243 who no longer tread the path of wrongdoing with the thought that their resolution to purify themselves has given them a place in the sacerdotal caste and advanced them to equal honour with the priest. For a similar reason the flesh of the sin-offering is consumed in a single day, showing that in sin we should procrastinate and be slow and dilatory in approaching it, but when the achievement of righteousness is our goal, act with speed and promptitude.

The victims immolated in behalf of the high priest 244 or the nation as atonement for trespassing are not dressed to serve as food but are consumed by fire on the sacred ashes, as I have said. <sup>b</sup>For there is no one superior to the high priest or the nation to act as intercessor for the sinners. It is natural therefore 245 that the flesh should be consumed by fire in imitation

in the sacrifice enhances the honour of the providers of the feast. But see App. p. 621.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* in § 232.

## PHILO

- κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ὀλοκαυτουμένων, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν προσώπων, οὐχ ὅτι πρὸς ἀξίωσιν αἱ ἱεραὶ γίνονται κρίσεις, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν τὰς ἀρετὰς μεγάλων καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγίων ἀμαρτήματα τοιαυτὰ ἔστιν, ὡς
- 246 ἑτέρων κατορθώματα νομίζεσθαι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ  
 [249] βαθεῖα καὶ | ἀρετῶσα πεδιάς, κὰν ἀφορήσῃ ποτέ, τῆς λυπρόγεω φύσει καρπὸν φέρει πλείονα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων καὶ φιλοθέων συμβαίνει τὰς πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ἀφορίας ἀμείνους εἶναι ὧν ἐκ τύχης οἱ φαῦλοι κατορθοῦσι· γνώμη γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς δρᾶν ὑπομένουσι.
- 247 XLV. Ταῦτα διαταξάμενος περὶ ἐκάστης ἰδέας τῶν θυσιῶν ἐν μέρει, τῆς τε ὀλοκαύτου καὶ σωτηρίου καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας, ἄλλην προσνομοθετεῖ κοινὴν τῶν τριῶν, ἵνα ταύτας ἐπιδείξῃ φίλας καὶ συγγενεῖς οὔσας· ἡ δὲ συναγωγὸς αὐτῶν εὐχὴ μεγάλη κα-
- 248 λεῖται. διὰ τί δὲ ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς προσρήσεως, λεκτέον· ὅταν ἀπάρξωνταί τινες ἀπὸ παντὸς μέρους κτήσεως, πυρούς, κριθάς, ἔλαιον, οἶνον, τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀκροδρύων, ἔπειτα τῶν ζώων τὰ πρωτότοκα ἀρρενικά, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν καθαρῶν καθιερώσαντες, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν μὴ καθαρῶν κατ' ἀξίαν τιμησάμενοι, μηκέτ' ἔχοντες ὕλας, ἐν αἷς διαθήσονται τὴν εὐσέβειαν, αὐτοὺς ἀνατιθέασιν καὶ καθιεροῦσιν, ἄλεκτον ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὁσιότητα καὶ ὑπερβολὴν τινα γνώμης φιλοθέου. διὸ καὶ μεγάλη

<sup>a</sup> Such actions would hardly be κατορθώματα in the strict Stoic sense. See note on *Quod Deus* 100.

<sup>b</sup> See Num. vi. 1-12. The "Great Vow" is the name regularly applied to the vow of the Nazirite from v. 2, *ὅς ἄν* 242

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 245-248

of the whole-burnt-offerings to do honour to the persons concerned, not because God's holy judgments are given by considerations of position but because the sins of the greatly virtuous and the truly sacred are such as to be regarded as acts of righteousness if done by others. For as the fields where the soil is deep and rich, even if they are sometimes unproductive, bear more fruit than those where it is naturally thin and poor, so too we find in virtuous and God-loving persons that their unproductiveness of positive goodness is better than the fortuitous righteous actions<sup>a</sup> of the bad whose nature does not allow them ever to act intentionally in an honest way. 246

XLV. After laying down these ordinances about each particular kind of sacrifice, whole-burnt-offering, preservation-offering and sin-offering, he institutes rules for another which partakes of the three, to shew the friendship and kinship which exists between them. This connecting link between them is called the Great Vow.<sup>b</sup> I must explain why it has acquired this name. 247  
When people have paid first-fruits of every part of their property, in wheat, barley, oil, wine and their finest orchard-fruits and also in the first-born males of their livestock, consecrated in the case of the clean species and valued at an adequate compensation in the case of the unclean, as they have no more material resources with which to give a pledge of their piety, they dedicate and consecrate themselves, thus shewing an amazing sanctification and a surpassing devotion to God. And therefore it is fitly called the Great Vow,

*μεγάλως εὔξεται εὐχὴν ἀφαγνίσασθαι ἀγνεῖαν* (E.V. "made a special vow, the vow of a Nazirite, to separate himself"). The allegorical meaning, as Philo understood it, has been given on special details in several places, and more fully in *Quod Deus* 87 ff.

## PHILO

- προσηκόντως εὐχή καλεῖται· κτημάτων γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτός τις ἐστὶν αὐτῶ· οὐδ' παραχωρεῖ καὶ
- 249 ἐξίσταται. ποιησαμένῳ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν τάδε διαγορεύει· πρῶτον μὲν ἄκρατον μὴ προσφέρεσθαι μηδ' " ὅσα ἐκ σταφυλῆς κατεργάζεται " μηδ' ἄλλο τι μέθυσμα πίνειν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει λογισμοῦ, νομίζοντα τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἱεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς λειτουργοῖς τῶν ἱερέων δύσαν ἀκουμένοις ὕδατι τὰ
- 250 περὶ μέθην ἀπειρήται· δεύτερον δὲ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς μὴ ἀποκείρεσθαι, σύμβολον ἐναργές τοῖς ὀρώσι παρέχοντα<sup>1</sup> τοῦ μὴ παρακόπτειν τὸ νόμισμα τῆς εὐχῆς· τρίτον δὲ τὸ σῶμα φυλάττειν καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον, ὡς μὴ γονεύσιν ἐπεισιέναι τετελευτηκόσι μηδ' ἀδελφοῖς, τὴν φυσικὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ συμπάθειαν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία καὶ φίλτατα νικώσης εὐσεβείας, ἣν αἰεὶ νικᾶν καλὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ συμφέρον.
- 251 XLVI. ἡκούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας, τρία ζῶα κελεύει προσάγειν ἐπὶ λύσει τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρνα καὶ ἀμνάδα καὶ κριόν, τὸν μὲν εἰς ὀλοκαύτωςιν, τὴν δὲ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, τὸν δὲ κριὸν εἰς θυσίαν
- 252 τοῦ σωτηρίου. πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ἐμφέρεται<sup>2</sup> πως ὁ εὐξάμενος, τῇ μὲν ὀλοκαύτῳ θυσία διὰ τὸ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον ἀπαρχῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ παραχωρεῖν, τῇ δὲ περὶ ἁμαρτίας διὰ τὸ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι—καὶ γὰρ ὁ τέλειος ἢ γενητὸς οὐκ ἐκφεύγει τὸ διαμαρτάνειν—, τῇ δὲ τοῦ σωτηρίου, διότι τὸν σωτῆρα ὄντως θεὸν ἐπιγέγραπται τῆς σωτηρίας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παρέχοντας.

<sup>2</sup> If this reading is right, we may suppose that the verb takes the meaning of the common adjective *ἐμφερής* = "like," but I do not know of any parallel. The other reading *συμφέρεται*, *i.e.* "corresponds with," has less ms. authority, but seems otherwise more suitable.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 248-252

for his own self is the greatest possession which anyone has, and this self he forgoes and puts himself outside it. When he has made the vow, the lawgiver 249 gives him the following instructions. First, he must not take any strong drink nor anything " which he makes from the grape " nor drink any other intoxicant to the overthrow of his reason, but hold himself to be serving as priest during that time. For indeed such priests as are performing the rites have to quench their thirst with water and are forbidden intoxicants. Secondly, he must not shave the hairs of his head, thus 250 giving a clear symbol to the eye that he does not debase the sterling coinage of his vow. Thirdly, he must keep his body pure and undefiled to the extent of abstaining from contact with parents or brothers after death, thus letting his kindly affection and fellow-feeling with the closest and dearest yield to piety that victory which it is both honourable and profitable that it should always win.

<sup>a</sup> XLVI. When the final day as appointed has come, 251 the law bids him bring, to release him from his vow, three animals, a he-lamb, a ewe-lamb and a ram, the first for a whole-burnt-offering, the ewe-lamb as a sin-offering, and the ram as a preservation-offering. For all these find their likeness in the maker of the vow: 252 the whole-burnt-offering, because he surrenders not only the other first-fruits and gifts but also his own self; the sin-offering, because he is a man, since even the perfect man, in so far as he is a created being, never escapes from sinning; the preservation-offering, because he has acknowledged and adopted the real preserver, God, as the author of his preservation

<sup>a</sup> See Num. vi. 13 f.

## PHILO

αἴτιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰατροὺς καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 [250] δυνάμεις· οἱ | μὲν γὰρ ἐπίκηροι καὶ θνητοὶ μηδ'  
 αὐτοῖς ὑγείαν ἱκανοὶ παρασχεῖν, αἱ δ' οὔτε πάντα  
 οὐτ' αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὠφελούσιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ  
 μέγα βλάπτουσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κῦρος ἕτερος ἀνήπται  
 καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν χρωμένων αὐταῖς.

253 ἐκπλήττει δέ με τὸ τῶν τριῶν ζώων  
 προσαγομένων εἰς διαφερούσας θυσίας μηδὲν εἶναι  
 ἕτερογενές, ἀλλὰ ταύτου γένους τὰ πάντα, κριὸν καὶ  
 ἄρνα καὶ ἀμνάδα· βούλεται γάρ, ὅπερ ἔφην μικρῶ  
 πρότερον, διὰ τούτου παραστήσαι, ὅτι ἀδελφαὶ καὶ  
 συγγενεῖς εἰσιν αἱ τρεῖς ἰδέαι τῶν θυσιῶν, τῷ καὶ  
 τὸν μετανοοῦντα σώζεσθαι καὶ τὸν σωζόμενον ἐκ  
 τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀρρωστημάτων μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐκά-  
 τερον σπεύδειν πρὸς ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελεῆ διά-  
 θεσιν, ἧς ἡ ὀλόκαυτος θυσία σύμβολον.

254 ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸν ηὔξατο προσαγαγεῖν, τὸν δ' ἱερὸν  
 βωμὸν οὐ θέμις αἵματι ἀνθρωπίνῳ μιαίνεισθαι, ἔδει  
 δέ τι πάντως μέρος ἱεουργηθῆναι, μέρος ἐσπούδασε  
 λαβεῖν, ὅπερ ἀφαιρεθὲν οὐτ' ἀλγηδόνας οὔτε λῶβην  
 ἀπεργάζεται· τοῦ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα φυτικού  
 καθάπερ δένδρου περιττοὺς κλάδους τὰς τῆς  
 κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀπέκειρε καὶ παρέδωκε πυρί, ᾧ  
 τὰ κρέα τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου θυσίας ἔψεται· προσ-  
 ηκόντως, ἵνα τι τῶν τοῦ εὐξαμένου μέρος, ὃ μὴ

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the part of the body which has 'growth' like a tree,"  
 φύσις in this special sense being opposed on the one hand to *ἔξις*  
 ("cohesion") as in stones, and on the other to *ψυχή* ("life").



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 252-254

instead of the physicians and their faculties of healing. For the physicians are mortals ready to perish, unable to secure health even for themselves, and their faculties are not beneficial to all persons nor always to the same persons, but sometimes do great harm : there is Another who is invested with lordship over such faculties and those who exercise them.

I note, and it is a very striking point, that in the three 253 animals brought for the different sacrifices there is no difference of species. They are all of the same species, a ram, a he-lamb and a ewe-lamb. For the law wishes to show in this way what I mentioned a little before, that the three kinds of sacrifice are sisters of one family, because the penitent is preserved and the person preserved from the maladies of his soul repents, and both of them are pressing forward to that perfect and wholly sound frame of mind of which the whole-burnt-offering is a symbol.

Another point—the votary has vowed to bring him- 254 self, and while it would be sacrilege that the altar should be defiled by human blood, it was quite necessary that some part of him should be sacrificially offered. The part, therefore, which his zeal prompted him to take was one which can be removed without causing either pain or mutilation. He cut off the hairs of his head, which are to the body like the superfluous branches in the vegetation of a tree,<sup>a</sup> and gave them to the fire in which the flesh of the preservation-offering is cooked, a fitting proceeding to secure that at least some part of the votary's self which cannot be

*Cf. Leg. All. ii. 22*, with note giving references to *S.V.F. ii. 457-460*. There we had *δύναμις ἐκτικῆ, φυτικῆ, ψυχικῆ*, and Philo goes on to say that our bones have *ἕξις*, and our nails and hair *φύσις*. *Cf.* also the fuller explanation of the terms in *Quod Deus* 35 ff.

## PHILO

ἐπιφέρειν ἕξεισι τῷ βωμῷ, θυσίας γοῦν εἶδει  
 συνανακραθῆ, γενόμενον ὕλη φλογὸς ἱεράς.

- 255 XLVII. Ταῦτα μὲν κοινὰ τῶν ἄλλων. ἔδει δὲ  
 καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀπάρξασθαι τι τῷ βωμῷ, μὴ  
 νομίσαντας ἀσυλίαν εὐρῆσθαι τὰς ὑπηρεσίας καὶ  
 λειτουργίας ἐφ' ὧν ἐτάχθησαν. ἢ δ' ἀπαρχὴν πρέ-  
 πουσα ἱερεῦσιν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐναίμων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ  
 256 τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τροφῆς· σεμί-  
 δαλις γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ἐνδελεχῆς αὐτῶν θυσία, μέτρου  
 ἱεροῦ τὸ δέκατον καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, οὗ τὸ μὲν  
 ἡμισυ πρωΐας, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ δείλης προσάγεται,  
 ταγηνισθὲν ἐν ἐλαίῳ, μηδενὸς εἰς βρώσιν ὑπο-  
 λειφθέντος· χρησμὸς γάρ ἐστι, πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἱερέως  
 ὀλόκαυτον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς εἰς ἔδωδὴν ἀπο-  
 νέμεσθαι.

Εἰρηκότες οὖν, ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν, τὰ περὶ θυσιῶν  
 ἐξῆς καὶ περὶ τῶν θυόντων λέξομεν.

- [251] XLVIII. | <sup>1</sup> Βούλεται τὸν ἀνάγοντα θυσίας ὁ  
 257 νόμος καθαρὸν εἶναι σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ψυχὴν μὲν  
 ἀπὸ τε τῶν παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστη-  
 μάτων καὶ κακιῶν τῶν ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ πράξεσι,  
 258 τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀφ' ὧν ἔθος αὐτῷ μαινεσθαι. κάθαρσιν  
 δ' ἐπενόησεν ἐκατέρῳ τὴν προσήκουσαν, ψυχῇ μὲν  
 διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας εὐτρεπιζομένων ζώων, σώ-  
 ματι δὲ διὰ λουτρῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων, περὶ ὧν  
 μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν· ἄξιον γὰρ τῷ κρείττονι καὶ  
 ἡγεμονικωτέρῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ψυχῇ, καὶ τὰ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Here the mss. insert the heading *Περὶ τῶν θυόντων*.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek phrase is vague. Heinemann "mit einem Stück des Opfers sich vermischte"; Mangey only "sacrificia admiscetur." I understand it to mean that it comes to belong to the same *eidos* or species as an ordinary sacrifice.

lawfully brought to the altar should be merged in and share the nature of sacrifice <sup>a</sup> by serving as fuel to a holy flame.

XLVII. These rules apply to the laity in common, <sup>255</sup> but the priests also had to make offerings of first-fruits to the altar, and not suppose that the services and ministrations to which they were appointed entitled them to immunity. <sup>b</sup> The first-fruits suitable for the priest are not taken from any animal with blood in its veins, but from the purest form of human food. Fine flour constitutes their perpetual <sup>256</sup> sacrifice, a tenth part of the sacred measure for every day, half offered in the morning and half in the evening. It is fried in oil and none of it is left over to be eaten. For it is a divine command that every sacrifice offered by a priest should be wholly consumed by fire and none of it set apart for food.

We have described to the best of our ability the regulations for sacrifices and will next proceed to speak of those who offer them.

XLVIII. <sup>c</sup> The law would have such a person pure <sup>257</sup> in body and soul, the soul purged of its passions and distempers and infirmities and every viciousness of word and deed, the body of the defilements which commonly beset it. For each it devised the purification which befitted it. For the soul it used the animals which the worshipper is providing <sup>d</sup> for sacrifice, for the body sprinklings and ablutions of which we will speak a little later. For precedence in speech as well as elsewhere must be given to the higher and

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. vi. 20-22. For "perpetual" see on § 170.

<sup>c</sup> Heading in mss. "Of those who sacrifice," and fresh numeration of chapters in Cohn.

<sup>d</sup> The stress is on *ἐντρεπιζομένων*. The fact of his providing the victims shews the purity of his motives.

## PHILO

- 259 λόγων ἀπονεῖμαι πρεσβεῖα. τίς οὖν ἡ ταύτης κάθαρσις; ἴδε, φησίν, ὦ οὗτος, ὁ προσάγεις ἱερεῖον, ὡς ἔστιν ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελῶς μύμων ἀμέτοχον, ἐπικριθὲν ἐκ πολλῶν ἀριστίνδην διανοίαις μὲν ἀδεκάστοις ἱερέων ὀξυωπεστάταις δ' αὐτῶν ὄψεσι καὶ τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς ἀσκήσεως συγκεκροτημένας εἰς ἀνυπαίτιον ἐπίσκεψιν· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ λογισμῷ τοῦτο κατίδης, ἐκνήψῃ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ ὅσας ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ κηλίδας ἀπεμάξω,<sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν ἀβουλήτοις συντυχίαις,
- 260 τὰ δὲ καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην. εὐρήσεις γὰρ τὴν τοσαύτην περὶ τὸ ζῶον ἀκριβολογίαν αἰνιττομένην διὰ συμβόλου τὴν τῶν σῶν βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀλόγων ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἐχόντων, ὥστε οὐ τῶν θυομένων φροντίς ἔστιν, ἵνα μηδεμίαν ἔχη λώβην, ἀλλὰ τῶν θυόντων, ἵνα περὶ
- 261 μηδὲν πάθος κηραίνωσι. τό γε μὴν σῶμα, ὡς εἶπον, λουτροῖς καὶ περιρραντηρίοις καθαίρει καὶ οὐκ ἔῃ περιρρανάμενον εἰς ἅπαξ ἢ ἀπολουσάμενον εὐθύς εἴσω περιβόλων ἱερῶν παρέρχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐπτά ἡμέρας ἔξω διατρίβειν κελεύει καὶ δις περιρραίνεσθαι τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λουσαμένῳ παρέχει τὰς τε εἰσόδους καὶ τὰς
- 262 [252] ἱερουργίας ἀδεεῖς. XLIX. | ὅσον δὲ κὰν τούτῳ τὸ προμηθὲς καὶ φιλόσοφον, ἐπισκεπτέον. οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ἀμιγεῖ ὕδατι περιρραίνονται, θαλάττῃ μὲν οἱ πολλοί, τινὲς δὲ ποταμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ κάλπεσιν ἐκ πηγῶν ἀρυόμενοι· Μωυσῆς δὲ τέφραν προετοιμασάμενος ὑπολειφθεῖσαν ἐξ ἱεροῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνεμάξω.

<sup>a</sup> See Num. xix. 11 f.

<sup>b</sup> See Num. xix. 17, 18.

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more dominant element in ourselves, the soul. How 259  
then is the soul purified? "Note, friend," says the  
lawgiver, "how perfect and utterly free from blemish  
is the victim which you bring selected as the best of  
many by the priests with all impartiality of mind  
and clearness of vision, the result of the continued  
practice which has trained them to faultless dis-  
crimination. For if you observe this with your  
reason rather than with your eyes you will proceed  
to wash away the sins and defilements with which  
you have besmeared your whole life, some involuntary  
and accidental, some due to your own free will. For 260  
you will find that all this careful scrutiny of the  
animal is a symbol representing in a figure the re-  
formation of your own conduct, for the law does not  
prescribe for unreasoning creatures, but for those  
who have mind and reason. It is anxious not that  
the victims should be without flaw but that those  
who offer them should not suffer from any corroding  
passion.

<sup>a</sup> As for the body, it purifies it 261  
with ablutions and sprinklings and does not allow the  
person to be sprinkled and washed once for all and  
then pass straightway within the sacred precincts,  
but bids him stay outside for seven days and be  
twice sprinkled on the third and seventh day, and  
after that, when he has bathed himself, it gives him  
full security to come within and offer his sacrifice.  
XLIX. The following regulation also shews a far- 262  
sighted wisdom which should be noted. In almost  
all other cases men used unmixed water for the  
sprinkling. By most people it is taken from the sea,  
by others from the rivers, and by others it is drawn  
in ewers from the wells.<sup>b</sup> But Moses first provided  
ashes, the remnants of the sacred fire, obtained in a

## PHILO

- πυρὸς—ὄν δὲ τρόπον, αὐτίκα δηλωθήσεται—ἀπὸ ταύτης φησὶ δεῖν ἀναιρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐμβάλλοντας εἰς ἀγγεῖον αὐθις ὕδωρ ἐπιφέρειν, εἶτα ἐκ τοῦ κράματος βάπτοντας ὑσώπου κλάδους τοῖς καθαιρομένοις
- 263 ἐπιρραίνειν. αἰτία δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ λέγοιτ' ἂν ἤδε· βούλεται τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θεραπείαν ἰόντας γνῶναι πρότερον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν· ὁ γὰρ ἀνεπιστήμων ἑαυτοῦ πῶς ἂν δυνηθεῖη καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν
- 264 θεοῦ δύναμιν; ἔστιν οὖν ἡμῶν ἢ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα οὐσία, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ, ἧς ὑπομιμνήσκει διὰ τῆς καθάρσεως, αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τὴν ὠφελιμωτάτην κάθαρσιν, τὸ γνῶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐξ οἷων ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς σπουδῆς ἀξίων, τέφρας καὶ
- 265 ὕδατος, συνεκράθη. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἐπίβουλον οἴησιν εὐθύς ἀποστραφήσεται καὶ καθελὼν τὸ ὑπέραυχον εὐαρεστήσει θεῷ καὶ μεταποιήσεται τῆς ἰλεω δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ (τοῦ) μισοῦντος ἀλαζονείαν. εἴρηται γάρ που καλῶς, ὅτι ὁ ἐγχειρῶν ὑπεραύχοις ἢ λόγοις ἢ ἔργοις οὐκ ἀνθρώπους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ “θεὸν παροξύνει” τὸν ἰσότητος καὶ
- 266 παντὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου δημιουργόν. ἐν οὖν τῷ περιρραίνεσθαι πληττομένοις καὶ διεγειρομένοις μόνον οὐκ ἀντικρυς αὐτὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ, φωνὴν ἀφιέντα φησίν· ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν ἢ τοῦ σώματος ὑμῶν οὐσία, ἡμᾶς ἢ φύσις κερασαμένη θεία τέχνη διέπλασεν εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδέαν, ἐξ ἡμῶν παγέντες, ὅτε ἐγένεσθε, πάλιν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναλυθήσεσθε, ὅταν δέη θηήσκειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ

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<sup>a</sup> See Num. xv. 30 καὶ ψυχὴ ἧτις ποιήση ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας . . . τὸν θεὸν οὗτος παροξύνει (LXX).

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 262-266

manner which will be explained shortly. Some of these, he says, are to be taken and thrown into a vessel and afterwards have water poured upon them. Then the priests are to dip branches of hyssop in the mixture and sprinkle with it those who are being purged. The reason for this may be aptly stated as follows. Moses would have those who come to serve Him that is first know themselves and of what substance these selves are made. For how should he who has no knowledge of himself be able to apprehend the power of God which is above all and transcends all? Now the substance of which our body consists is earth and water, and of this he reminds us in the rite of purging. For he holds that the most profitable form of purification is just this, that a man should know himself and the nature of the elements of which he is composed, ashes and water, so little worthy of esteem. For if he recognizes this, he will straightway turn away from the insidious enemy, self-conceit, and abasing his pride become well-pleasing to God and claim the aid of His gracious power Who hates arrogance. For that is a good text<sup>a</sup> which tells us that he who sets his hand to words and deeds of pride "provokes" not only men, but also "God," the author of equality and all that is most excellent. So then, whilst they are being thus sprinkled, deeply moved and roused as they are, they can almost hear the voice of the elements themselves, earth and water, say plainly to them, "We are the substance of which your body consists: we it is whom nature blended and with divine craftsmanship made into the shape of human form. Out of us you were framed when you came into being and into us you will be resolved again when you have to die. For nothing is so made

## PHILO

μη ὄν φθειρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀρχή, πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τέλος.

- 267 L. "Ἦδη δ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τῆς περὶ τὴν τέφραν ταύτην ιδιότητος· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ ξύλων αὐτὸ μόνον δαπανηθέντων ὑπὸ πυρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώου πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην κάθαρσιν ἐπι-  
268 τηδείου. κελεύει γὰρ δάμαλιν πυρρὰν ἄζυγον ἄμωμον ἀχθεῖσαν σφαγιασθῆναι μὲν ἔξω πόλεως, τὸν δ' ἀρχιερέα λαμβάνοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπτάκις ἐπιρραίνειν ἀντικρὺ τοῦ νεῶ πάντα, εἶθ' ὄλην κατακαίειν σὺν δορᾷ καὶ κρέασι καὶ αἵματι καὶ πλήρει τῇ κοιλίᾳ περιπτωμάτων· ἦδη δ' ὑπο-  
[253] μαραινομένης τῆς φλογὸς εἰς τὸ μεσαίτατον | τρία ταῦτα ἐμβάλλειν, ξύλον κέδρινον καὶ ὕσσωπον καὶ κόκκινον, κελεύει, εἶτ' ἐὰν ἀποσβεσθῆ, τὴν τέφραν συλλέγειν καθαρὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀποτιθέναι πάλιν  
269 ἔξω πόλεως ἐν χωρίῳ καθαρῷ. τίνα δὲ διὰ τούτων ὡς διὰ συμβόλων αἰνίττεται, δι' ἐτέρων ἠκριβώσαμεν ἀλληγοροῦντες. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν τοὺς μέλλοντας φοιτᾶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ μετουσίᾳ θυσίας τό τε σῶμα φαιδρύνεσθαι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸ τοῦ σώματος· δεσπότις γὰρ καὶ βασιλὶς καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν κρείττων ἅτε θειοτέρας φύσεως μεταλαχοῦσα. τὰ δὲ φαιδρύνοντα διάνοιάν ἐστι σοφία καὶ τὰ σοφίας δόγματα πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ποδηγετοῦντα καὶ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἱερός χορὸς καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς καλαὶ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινε-

<sup>a</sup> See Num. xix. 2-9.

<sup>b</sup> Here the juxtaposition of the clean man shews that Philo must have taken καθαρῷ χωρίῳ as "clean," and not as "open," though it does not follow that he did so in the passages cited in the note on *Mos.* ii. 72, or even in § 232 above.

<sup>c</sup> No such account survives. Heinemann suggests that it



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 266-269

as to disappear into non-existence. Whence it came in the beginning, thither will it return in the end.”

L. I must now also fulfil my promise to describe 267  
the special qualities of these ashes. They are not  
merely the ashes of wood consumed by fire but also  
of a living creature well-suited to a rite of purification  
such as this. <sup>a</sup> He orders a red heifer which has never 268  
been yoked and without blemish to be taken outside  
the city and there slaughtered. Then the high  
priest is to take of the blood and sprinkle it seven  
times over everything in front of the sanctuary, then  
burn it wholly to ashes with the skin and flesh and  
blood and the belly filled with its ordure. When  
the flame is dying down, he is to cast right into the  
middle these three things, cedar wood and hyssop and  
scarlet wool. Then if it is quite extinguished, a clean  
man is to collect the ashes and deposit them outside  
the city in a clean place.<sup>b</sup> What these things sym- 269  
bolically indicate has been described in full elsewhere  
where we have expounded the allegory.<sup>c</sup> So we see  
that they who mean to resort to the temple to take  
part in sacrifice must needs have their bodies made  
clean and bright,<sup>d</sup> and before their bodies their souls.  
For the soul is queen and mistress, superior to the  
body in every way because a diviner nature has been  
allotted to it. The mind is cleansed by wisdom and  
the truths of wisdom's teaching which guide its steps  
to the contemplation of the universe and all that  
is therein, and by the sacred company of the other  
virtues and by the practice of them shewn in noble  
belongs to the *Quaestiones* of which we have nothing beyond  
Exodus.

<sup>a</sup> *φαιδρύνω* is more than simply “clean,” in colloquial English to make “smart” or “spick and span,” = *διακεκοσμημένος* in § 270.

## PHILO

- 270 ταὶ πράξεις. ὁ μὲν οὖν τούτοις διακεκοσμημένος ἴτω  
 θαρρῶν εἰς οἰκειότατον αὐτῷ τὸν νεῶν, ἐνδιαίτημα  
 πάντων ἄριστον, ἱερεῖον ἐπιδειξόμενος αὐτόν· ὅτω  
 δ' ἐγκάθηνται καὶ ἔλλοχῶσιν αἱ πλεονεξίαὶ καὶ  
 ἐπιθυμῖαι τῶν ἀδικιῶν, ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἡρεμείτω  
 τὴν ἀναίσχυντον ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ λίαν θράσος ἐν οἷς  
 εὐλάβεια λυσιτελὲς ἐπισχών· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄντως  
 271 ὄντος ἱερὸν ἀνιέροις ἄβατον.<sup>1</sup> θυσίαις, εἶπομ' ἄν,  
 ὦ γενναῖε, ὁ θεὸς οὐ χαίρει, κἂν ἑκατόμβας ἀνάγη  
 τις· κτήματα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα, κεκτημένος  
 ὁμῶς<sup>2</sup> οὐδενὸς δεῖται· χαίρει δὲ φιλοθέοις γνώμαις  
 καὶ ἀνδράσιμ ἀσκηταῖς ὁσιότητος, παρ' ὧν ψαιστὰ  
 καὶ κριθὰς καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα ὡς τιμιώτατα πρὸ  
 272 τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ἄσμενος δέχεται· κἂν μέντοι  
 μηδὲν ἕτερον κομίζωσιν, αὐτοὺς φέροντες πλήρωμα  
 καλοκαγαθίας τελειότατον τὴν ἀρίστην ἀνάγουσι  
 θυσίαν, ὕμνοις καὶ εὐχαριστίαις τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ  
 σωτῆρα θεὸν γεραίροντες, τῇ μὲν διὰ τῶν φωνητη-  
 ρίων ὀργάνων, τῇ δὲ ἄνευ γλώττης καὶ στόματος,  
 μόνη ψυχῇ τὰς νοητὰς ποιούμενοι διεξόδους καὶ  
 ἐκβοήσεις, ὧν ἐν μόνον οὐδ' ἀντιλαμβάνεται τὸ  
 θεῖον· αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ φθάνουσιν ἀκοαὶ  
 συναισθῆσθαι.
- 273 LI. Ὡς δ' ἀψευδῆς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐμὸς ἀλλὰ τῆς φύσεως, μαρτυρεῖ μὲν πως καὶ ἡ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn punctuates with full stop after *θυσίαις*. I follow Heinemann's punctuation. *εἶπομ' ἄν* in cases like this generally, if not always, is inserted parenthetically, *e.g.* ii. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 190) thinks that *ὁμῶς* makes no sense and suggests *κεκτημένος δ' οὐδ' ὄλως*; but see note a.

<sup>a</sup> I understand the connexion of thought to be "though He possesses all, He needs it not, and therefore how much more are the gifts of men unneeded."

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and highly praiseworthy actions. He, then, who is adorned with these may come with boldness to the sanctuary as his true home, the best of all mansions, there to present himself as victim. But anyone whose heart is the seat of lurking covetousness and wrongful cravings should remain still and hide his face in confusion and curb the shameless madness which would rashly venture where caution is profitable. For the holy place of the truly Existent is closed ground to the unholy. To such a one I would say, "Good sir, God does not rejoice in sacrifices even if one offer hecatombs, for all things are His possessions, yet though He possesses <sup>a</sup> He needs none of them, but He rejoices in the will to love Him and in men that practise holiness, and from these He accepts plain meal or barley,<sup>b</sup> and things of least price, holding them most precious rather than those of highest cost." And indeed though the worshippers bring nothing else, in bringing themselves they offer the best of sacrifices, the full and truly perfect oblation of noble living,<sup>c</sup> as they honour with hymns and thanksgivings their Benefactor and Saviour, God, sometimes with the organs of speech, sometimes without tongue or lips, when within the soul alone their minds recite the tale or utter the cry of praise. These one ear only can apprehend, the ear of God, for human hearing cannot reach to the perception of such.

LI. That what I have said above is true and is the word not of myself but of nature is attested not only

<sup>b</sup> Or "barley ground or unground."

<sup>c</sup> Or, taking *πλήρωμα* in apposition with *αυτούς*, "when bringing themselves, that is, the full oblation," etc. In either case "bringing themselves" is explained in the next few words as the heartfelt thanksgiving of the lips and soul.

## PHILO

ἐνάργεια τρανήν παρέχουσα πίστιν τοῖς μὴ διὰ τὸ  
 φιλόνεικον ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀπιστίαν, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ  
 ὁ νόμος προστάξας δύο κατασκευασθῆναι βωμοὺς  
 καὶ ταῖς ὕλαις καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ ταῖς χρεῖαις  
 274 διαφέροντας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ λίθων λογάδων ἀτμήτων  
 συνωκοδόμηται καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ παρὰ ταῖς τοῦ νεῶ  
 προσβάσεσιν ἰδρυται καὶ γέγονε πρὸς χρεῖαν τὴν  
 τῶν ἐναίμων· ὁ δὲ χρυσοῦ μὲν τοῦ καθαρωτάτου  
 κατεσκευάσται, ἰδρυται δ' ἐν ἀδύτοις εἴσω τοῦ  
 προτέρου καταπετάσματος, ὃς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 [245] ἐστὶν | ὁρατὸς ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ἀγνεύουσι τῶν ἱερέων καὶ  
 275 γέγονε πρὸς χρεῖαν τὴν τῶν θυμιαμάτων. ἐξ οὗ  
 δηλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι καὶ βραχύτατον λιβανωτὸν παρ'  
 ἀνδρὸς ὀσίου τιμώτερον ὁ θεὸς νομίζει μυρίων  
 θρεμμάτων, ὅσα ἂν τις ἱερουργῇ μὴ σφόδρα ἀστείως  
 ὦν· ὅσω γάρ, οἶμαι, λίθων μὲν εἰκαίων ἀμείνων  
 χρυσός, τὰ δ' ἐν ἀδύτοις τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγιώτερα,  
 τοσοῦτῳ κρείττων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐπιθυμιωμένων εὐ-  
 276 χαριστία τῆς διὰ τῶν ἐναίμων. ὅθεν οὐ μόνον ὕλης  
 πολυτελεία καὶ κατασκευῇ καὶ τόπῳ τετίμηται ὁ  
 τῶν θυμιαμάτων βωμός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πρότερον καθ'  
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπηρετεῖν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων εὐχαριστίας· οὐ γὰρ ἐφέϊται τὴν ὀλόκαυτον  
 θυσίαν ἔξω προσαγαγεῖν, πρὶν ἔνδον περὶ βαθῶν

<sup>a</sup> The two altars are described respectively in Ex. xxvii. and xxx. There, however, they are both made of acacia wood, LXX ἄσηπτον, "incorruptible," though the second is overlaid with gold. The "unhewn stones" seems to be

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 273-276

by its self-evident certitude which provides clear grounds of belief to those who do not out of contentiousness cultivate disbelief, but also by the law which commanded two altars to be constructed differing in materials and situations and in the use to which they were applied.<sup>a</sup> For one of these was 274 built of stones picked up and left unhewn, and it was set in the open air beside the avenues to the sanctuary and was to be used for blood-offerings. The other was formed of the purest gold ; it was set in the inner shrine within the first veil, not to be seen by any except such priests as were in a state of purity,<sup>b</sup> and it was to be used for frankincense-offerings. This 275 clearly shews that even the least morsel of incense offered by a man of religion is more precious in the sight of God than thousands of cattle sacrificed by men of little worth. For as gold is better than casual stones and all in the inner shrine more sacred than what stands outside, so and in the same measure is the thank-offering of incense superior to that of the blood of beasts. And therefore the altar of incense 276 receives special honour, not only in the costliness of its material, its construction and its situation, but by taking every day the earlier place in subserving the thanksgiving which men render to God. For it is not permitted to bring the victim of the whole-burnt-offering outside until the incense has been offered

drawn from Ex. xx. 25, " And if thou make me an altar of stone thou shalt not build it of hewn stones." Philo's description may be derived from personal observation, for Josephus, *Contra Apion*. i. 198 quotes a passage ascribed to Hecataeus (4th-3rd century B.C.), in which he states, when speaking of the temple at Jerusalem, that the altar is built of heaped up stones unhewn and unwrought. But see App. pp. 621-622.

<sup>b</sup> And therefore permitted to officiate.

## PHILO

- 277 ὄρθρον ἐπιθυμᾶσαι. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον οὐχ ἑτέρου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ παρὰ θεῷ μὴ τὸ πλήθος τῶν καταθυομένων εἶναι τίμιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ θύοντος πνεῦμα λογικόν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα δικαστῆς μὲν, ᾧ μέλει τῆς ὀσίας κρίσεως, παρά τινος τῶν κρινομένων οὐκ ἂν λάβοι δῶρα ἢ λαβῶν ἔνοχος ἔσται δωροδοκία, οὐδ' ἀνὴρ ἀστείος παρὰ μοχθηροῦ τινος, ἄνθρωπος παρ' ἀνθρώπου πλουτοῦντος αὐτὸς ἴσως δεόμενος, σὺ δ' ὠήθης τὸν θεὸν δεκάξεσθαι, τὸν αὐταρκέστατον ἑαυτῷ καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν γενέσει χρεῖον, ὅστις ὦν τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθόν, τὸ τελειότατον, ἢ ἀένας πηγὴ φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς, ἀποστρέφεται τὰς
- 278 παρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων δωρεάς. ὁ δὲ κομίζων οὐ πάντων ἀναισχυντότατος ἐξ ὧν ἔκλεψεν ἢ ἤρπασεν ἢ ἠρνήσατο ἢ ἀπεστέρησε μέρος ὡς κοινωνῶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας καὶ πλεονεξίας διδούς; πάντων κακοδαιμονέστατε, εἴποισ' ἂν τῷ τοιούτῳ, δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ λήσεσθαι προσδοκᾶς ἢ καταφανήσεσθαι·
- 279 λήσεσθαι μὲν οὖν ὑπολαμβάνων ἀνεπιστήμων εἰ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, καθ' ἣν ἅμα πάντα ὄρα καὶ πάντων ἀκούει· νομίζων δ' ἐμφανήσεσθαι θρασύτατος εἰδέον ἐφ' οἷς ἡμαρτες ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, προφέρεις εἰς μέσον τὰ δείγματα ὧν ἠδίκησας καὶ ἐπισεμννόμενος διανέμη πρὸς θεόν, ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῷ κομίζων

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<sup>a</sup> The same statement has been made in § 171. See Ex. xxx. 7, where the LXX says that the incense-offering is to be made *πρωτὶ πρωτῷ*, which Philo presumably takes as = *βαθὺς ὄρθρος*, and earlier than the *πρωτῷ* of Ex. xxix. 39 and Num. xxviii. 4 (which he renders here and in § 169 by *ἅμα τῇ ἔω*). The statement in § 171 that the evening incense-offering was

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 277-279

inside at the first glimpse of day.<sup>a</sup> The 277  
symbolical meaning is just this and nothing else :  
that what is precious in the sight of God is not the  
number of victims immolated but the true purity of  
a rational spirit in him who makes the sacrifice. Can  
you think that if the judge whose heart is set on giving  
righteous judgement will not take gifts from any of  
the litigants, or if he does take them will be open to  
the charge of bribery ; if again the good man will  
not receive them from the bad, though both are men,  
and the one perhaps in need and the other rich—can  
you think, I say, that God can be corrupted, God  
Who is absolutely sufficient to Himself and needs  
nothing of anything created, and being as He is the  
primal good, the consummation of perfection, the  
perennial fountain of wisdom and justice and every  
virtue, turns His face from the gifts of the unjust ?  
And is not he who proffers them the most shameless 278  
of men when he gives to God a share of the profits  
of his thefts or robbery or denial of a just debt or  
refusal to pay it, and treats Him as a partner in his  
wickedness and greed ? To such a one I would say  
“ Most miserable of wretches, there are only two  
alternatives : You expect that your conduct will  
either be unobserved by God or patent to Him. If 279  
the former, you little know the power by which He  
sees all and hears all : if the latter, your audacity is  
beyond measure. When you should hide your face  
in shame for the sins you have committed, you make  
an open show of the outward signs of your iniquity  
and, priding yourself on them, assign a share to God.  
You bring Him the first-fruits of unholiness and have

*after* the evening sacrifice would seem to be opposed to the  
argument in this passage.

## PHILO

ἀνοσίους, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσω τοῦθ' ὅτι οὔτε νόμος ἀνομίαν παραδέχεται οὔτε φῶς ἡλιακὸν σκότος. ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ νόμων ἐστὶ παράδειγμα ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἡλίου ἥλιος, νοητὸς αἰσθητοῦ, παρέχων ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων πηγῶν ὄρατὰ φέγγη τῷ βλεπομένῳ.

- [264] 1 Πάνυ καλῶς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τοῦ νόμου στήλαις  
280 κακὲῖνο ἀναγράφεται, μίσθωμα πόρνης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μὴ κομίζειν πεπρακυίας τὴν ἰδίαν ὥραν, ἐλομένης  
281 ἔνεκα λημμάτων αἰσχροῦν ἐπονείδιστον βίον. εἰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ γυναικὸς ἡταιρηκυίας δῶρα ἀνίερα, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τὰ παρὰ ψυχῆς πεπορνευμένης, ἣτις  
[265] παρέρριψεν | ἑαυτὴν ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ὕβρεσι ταῖς ἐσχάταις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, ὀψοφαγίαις, φιλαργυρίαις, φιλοδοξίαις, φιληδονίαις, ἄλλαις μυρίαις παθῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ κακιῶν ιδέαις; ὧν τὰ μιάσματα ἐκεῖνα τίς ἂν ἐκνίψαι χρόνος; ἔγωγε οὐκ  
282 οἶδα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἑταιρῶν τὴν ἐργασίαν κατέλυσε πολλάκις γῆρας, ἐπειδὴπερ ἐξώροις γενομέναις οὐδεὶς ἔτι πρόσεισιν, ἀπομαρανθείσης ὥσπερ τινῶν ἀνθῶν τῆς ἀκμῆς· ψυχῆς δὲ πορνείαν ἀκολασία συντρόφῳ καὶ συνήθει πεπαιδοτριβημένης τίς ἂν αἰὼν μεταβάλῃ πρὸς εὐκοσμίαν; αἰὼν μὲν οὐ, θεὸς δὲ μόνος, ᾧ δυνατὰ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀδύνατα.  
283 δεῖ δὴ τὸν μέλλοντα θύειν σκέπτεσθαι, μὴ εἰ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> At this R has the heading *Περὶ τοῦ μίσθωμα πόρνης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μὴ κομίζειν*, though A and H transfer it with the five sections that follow to the end of this treatise, and make them the introduction to a separate treatise, composed of the material already printed in Vol. II. pp. 106-119, *De Sac.* 20-33. See Introduction to that treatise, p. 93.

<sup>a</sup> The heading here introduced in mss., "Of bringing the hire of a harlot into the temple," is of course in copies which do not transfer these sections as described in note 1; quite



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 279-283

not reflected that the law does not admit of lawlessness nor sunlight of darkness. But God is the archetype on which laws are modelled : He is the sun of the sun, in the realm of mind what that is in the realm of sense, and from invisible fountains He supplies the visible beams to the sun which our eyes behold."

<sup>a</sup> There is a very excellent ordinance inscribed in 280 the sacred tables of the law, that the hire of a harlot should not be brought into the temple ; <sup>b</sup> the hire, that is, of one who has sold her personal charms and chosen a scandalous life for the sake of the wages of shame. But if the gifts of one who has played the 281 harlot are unholy, surely more unholy still are the gifts of the soul which has committed whoredom, which has thrown itself away into ignominy and the lowest depths of outrageous conduct, into wine-bibbing and gluttony, into the love of money, of reputation, of pleasure, and numberless other forms of passion and soul-sickness and vice. What length of time can purge away the stains of these ? None, to my knowledge. The harlots' traffic indeed is 282 often brought to a close by old age, since when the freshness of their charm is passed, all cease to seek them now that their bloom is faded like the bloom of flowers. But as for the soul, when by constant familiarity with incontinence it has been schooled into harlotry, what age-long stretch of years can convert it to decent living ? Not even the longest, but only God, with Whom that is possible which is impossible with us. So he who intends to sacrifice 283 must consider not whether the victim is unblemished

absurd. The point of the harlot's hire is merely introduced as an illustration of the moral enforced.

<sup>b</sup> See Deut. xxiii. 18.

## PHILO

ιερείον ἄμμων, ἀλλ' εἰ ἡ διάνοια ὀλόκληρος αὐτῶ  
καὶ παντελῆς καθέστηκε. διερευνάτω μέντοι καὶ  
τὰς αἰτίας, ὧν ἔνεκα ἀνάγειν ἀξιοῖ θυσίας· ἦτοι γὰρ  
εὐχαριστῶν ἐπὶ προϋπηργμέναις εὐεργεσίαις ἢ βε-  
βαιότητα παρόντων ἢ μελλόντων κτήσιν ἀγαθῶν  
αἰτούμενος ἢ κακῶν παρόντων ἢ προσδοκωμένων  
ἀποτροπήν, ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασιν ὑγείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν  
284 ἐκπορίζειν ὀφείλει τῷ λογισμῷ. εἴτε γὰρ ἐπὶ  
προϋπηργμένοις εὐχαριστεῖ, μὴ ἀχαριστησάτω  
φαῦλος γενόμενος—σπουδαίω γὰρ ἐδόθησαν αἱ  
χάριτες—, εἴτε βεβαιούμενος τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ καὶ  
χρηστὰ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προσδοκῶν, ἄξιον  
αὐτὸν παρεχέτω τῶν εὐπραγιῶν ἀστείως ὧν, εἴτε  
κακῶν τινων φυγὴν αἰτούμενος, μὴ δράτω κολά-  
σεων ἐπάξια καὶ τιμωριῶν.

[254] LII. <sup>1</sup> Πῦρ, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καυθή-  
285 σεται διὰ παντὸς ἄσβεστον· εἰκότως, οἶμαι, καὶ  
προσηκόντως· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες  
ἀέναοι καὶ ἀνελλιπεῖς καὶ ἀδιάστατοι, ὧν μεθ'  
ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τυγχάνουσιν, καὶ τὸ  
σύμβολον τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ἡ ἱερὰ φλόξ, ζωπυρεί-  
[255] σθω καὶ αἰεὶ ἄσβεστος | ἔστω. τάχα μέντοι καὶ διὰ  
286 τοῦδε<sup>2</sup> βούλεται τὰς παλαιὰς ταῖς νέαις θυσίαις  
ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ ἐνώσαι τῇ μονῇ καὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ πυρός, ᾧ πᾶσαι καθιεροῦνται, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν

<sup>1</sup> Here the mss. interpolate the heading *Τὰ ἄλλα περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον* (or *τὸν βωμόν*).

<sup>2</sup> mss. *τόδε*. Perhaps *καὶ διὰ τόδε* βούλεται, as Heinemann suggests, citing § 309.

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<sup>a</sup> The heading here introduced, "Of the other matters concerning the altar," which, as no later heading is given, presumably extends to the rest of the treatise, is almost as  
264

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 283-286

but whether his own mind stands free from defect and imperfection. Further, let him examine the motives which determine him to make the offering. For either he is giving thanks for benefits already received or is asking for security in his tenure of present blessings or for acquisition of others to come, or for deliverance from evils, either present or expected, and all these demand that he should put himself into a condition of mental health and safety. For if he is offering thanks for what has already been granted, let him not shew ingratitude by falling from the state of virtue in which he received these boons. Or if he is securing present blessings or has bright expectations for the future, let him shew himself by good conduct worthy of such happy events. Or if he is seeking to escape from some ills, let none of his actions be deserving of chastisement and punishment.

LII. <sup>a</sup>The fire on the altar, he tells us, will burn continuously and not be extinguished.<sup>b</sup> That, I think, is natural and fitting, for since the gracious gifts of God granted daily and nightly to men are perennial, unailing and unceasing, the symbol of thankfulness also, the sacred flame, should be kept alight and remain unextinguished for ever. Perhaps also he wishes in this way to employ the abiding presence of the same fire by which all the sacrifices are consecrated to unite them, old and new alike,<sup>c</sup> and thus shew that they carry out perfectly the duty

absurd as the last. At the best it only serves for a description of §§ 285-295. In §§ 296-298 we pass on to the lamps, and after that to general reflections on the morality enjoined in the cult. Cohn ignores both this and the preceding heading in his numeration of chapters.

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. vi. 9, 12, 13.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* those of the past, and those of the present and future.

## PHILO

- τοῦ τελείας ἐν εὐχαριστίαις εἶναι, κἂν ἀπὸ μυρίων ὄσων ἀφορμῶν γίνωνται κατὰ περιουσίας ἀφθόνοους ἢ τοῦναντίον ἐνδείας τῶν προσαγομένων.<sup>1</sup>
- 287 τὰ μὲν ῥητὰ ταῦτα [σύμβολα νοητῶν], τὰ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν τοῖς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόσιν ἐπισκεπτέον· πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστήριόν ἐστιν ἢ εὐχάριστος τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχὴ παγεῖσα ἐκ τελείων ἀρετῶν ἀτμήτων καὶ ἀδιαιρέτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἀχρεῖον. ἐπὶ ταύτης αἰὲ τὸ ἱερόν φῶς ἀνακαίεται φυλαττόμενον ἄσβεστον· διανοίας δὲ φῶς ἐστὶ σοφία, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦναντίον σκότος ψυχῆς ἀφροσύνη· ὅπερ γὰρ αἰσθητὸν φῶς ὀφθαλμοῖς<sup>2</sup> πρὸς κατάληψιν σωμάτων, τοῦτ' ἐπιστήμη λογισμῶ πρὸς θεωρίαν τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν, ἧς αἰὲ τὸ φέγγος ἐπιλάμπει μηδέποτε ἀμαυρούμενον <ἢ> σβεννύμενον.<sup>3</sup>
- 289 LIII. Μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν· “ ἐπὶ παντὸς δώρου προσοίσετε ἅλα,” δι' οὗ, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, τὴν εἰς ἅπαν διαμονὴν αἰνίττεται· φυλακτήριον γὰρ οἱ ἅλες σωμάτων, τετιμημένοι ψυχῆς δευτερείοις· ὡς γὰρ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ διαφθειρεσθαι τὰ σώματα ψυχῆ, καὶ οἱ ἅλες ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτὰ
- 290 συνέχοντες καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀθανατίζοντες. διὸ καὶ κέκληκε θυσιαστήριον, ἴδιον καὶ ἐξαιρετικὸν ὄνομα θέμενος αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ διατηρεῖν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰς θυσίας, καίτοι τῶν κρεῶν ἀναλισκομένων ὑπὸ πυρός. ὡς εἶναι σαφεστάτην πίστιν, ὅτι οὐ τὰ ἱερεῖα θυσίαν ἀλλὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn (*Hermes*, 1908, pp. 190, 191) corrects to *προσαγόντων*. It is certainly more natural, but does not seem to me necessary.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς*.

<sup>3</sup> R *ἀμαυρούμενον* only. The others *σβεννύμενον* only.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 286-290

of giving thanks, however numberless are the differences in the resources on which they are based, according as the oblations are lavishly abundant or on the other hand scanty. This is the 287 literal account : the inner meaning must be observed by the laws of allegory. The true altar of God is the thankful soul of the Sage, compacted of perfect virtues unsevered<sup>a</sup> and undivided, for no part of virtue is useless. On this soul-altar the sacred light is ever 288 burning and carefully kept unextinguished, and the light of the mind is wisdom, just as the darkness of the soul is folly. For knowledge is to the reason what the light of our senses is to the eye : as that gives the apprehension of material things, so does knowledge lead to the contemplation of things immaterial and conceptual, and its beam shines for ever, never dimmed nor quenched.

LIII. After this he says, " On every gift ye shall offer salt,"<sup>b</sup> by which he signifies, as I have said before, complete permanence. Salt acts as a preservative to bodies, ranking in this as second in honour to the life-principle. For just as the life-principle causes bodies to escape corruption, so does salt, which more than anything else keeps them together and makes them in a sense immortal. From the same point of 290 view he called the altar a sacrifice-keeper,<sup>c</sup> evidently giving it that special and distinctive name from its preserving the sacrifices, though the flesh is consumed by fire. And thus we have the clearest proof that he holds the sacrifice to consist not in the victims but in the offerer's intention and his zeal which derives

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to the unhewn stones of which the altar was built; see § 274.

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. ii. 13.

<sup>c</sup> *τηρεῖν* = "keep," *θυσίας* = "sacrifices." Cf. *Mos.* ii. 106.

## PHILO

λαμβάνει τοῦ καταθύοντος εἶναι, ἐν ἧ τὸ μόνιμον  
 291 καὶ βέβαιον ἐξ ἀρετῆς. προσέτι κάκεινο προσνομο-  
 θετεῖ, κελεύων πᾶσαν θυσίαν δίχα ζύμης καὶ  
 μέλιτος προσάγεσθαι, μηδέτερον ἀξιῶν ἀναφέρειν  
 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον· μέλι μὲν ἴσως, ἐπειδήπερ ἡ  
 συναγωγὸς αὐτοῦ μέλιττα ζῶόν ἐστιν οὐ καθαρὸν,  
 ἐκ σήψεως καὶ φθορᾶς νεκρῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος, βοῶν  
 γεννώμενον, καθὰ καὶ οἱ σφήκες ἐξ ἱππέων σω-  
 292 μάτων· ἢ κατὰ σύμβολον τοῦ πᾶσαν ἀνίερρον εἶναι  
 τὴν περιττὴν ἡδονήν, τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν κατάποσιν  
 γλυκαίνουσαν, πικρὰς δὲ καὶ δυσιάτους αὔθις ἐπι-  
 φέρουσαν ἀλγηδόνας, ὑφ' ὧν ἀνάγκη τὴν ψυχὴν  
 σείεσθαι καὶ κλονεῖσθαι παγίως ἰδρυθῆναι μὴ  
 293 δυναμένην· ζύμην δὲ διὰ τὴν γινομένην ἔπαρσιν ἐξ  
 [256] αὐτῆς, πάλιν συμβολικῶς, | ἵνα μηδεὶς προσιῶν τῷ  
 θυσιαστηρίῳ τὸ παράπαν ἐπαίρηται φυσηθεὶς ὑπ'  
 ἀλαζονείας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέγεθος ἀποβλέπων  
 αἰσθησιν λαμβάνη τῆς περὶ τὸ γενητὸν ἀσθενείας,  
 καὶν εὐτυχίαις ἐτέρων διαφέρη, καὶ τὸν εἰκότα  
 ποιησάμενος λογισμὸν στέλλη τὸ τοῦ φρονήματος  
 294 ὑπέραυχον ὕψος, τὴν ἐπίβουλον οἴησιν καθαιρῶν. εἰ  
 γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὄλων κτίστης καὶ ποιητῆς καὶ πάντων  
 ἀνεπιδεῆς ὧν ἐγέννησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ  
 κράτους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπιδῶν ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
 τὴν σὴν ἀσθένειαν, μεταδίδωσί σοι τῆς ἴλεω δυνά-  
 μεως αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναπληρῶν αἰς κέχρησαι,  
 σὲ τί ποιεῖν ἀρμόττει πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς φύσει  
 συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων σπαρέντας,  
 τὸν μηδὲν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀλλὰ μηδὲ σαυτὸν εἰς-  
 295 ἐνηνοχότα; γυμνὸς μὲν γάρ, θαυμάσιε, ἦλθες,

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 290-295

its constancy and permanence from virtue. He adds, too, a further enactment by which he orders every sacrifice to be offered without honey or leaven.<sup>a</sup> Both these substances he considers unfit to be brought to the altar : honey perhaps because the bee which collects it is an unclean animal, bred from the putrescence and corruption of dead oxen, we are told, just as wasps are from the carcasses of horses<sup>b</sup> ; or else he forbids it as a symbol of the utter unholiness of excessive pleasure which tastes sweet as it passes through the throat but afterwards produces bitter and persistent pains which of necessity shake and agitate the soul and make it unable to stand firmly in its place. Leaven is forbidden because of the rising which it produces. Here again we have a symbol of the truth, that none as he approaches the altar should be uplifted or puffed up by arrogance ; Rather gazing on the greatness of God, let him gain a perception of the weakness which belongs to the creature, even though he may be superior to others in prosperity ; and having been thus led to the reasonable conclusion, let him reduce the overweening exaltation of his pride by laying low that pestilent enemy, conceit. For if the Creator and Maker of the universe, though needing nothing of all that He has begotten, has regard to your weakness and not to the vastness of His might and sovereignty, makes you a partaker in His gracious power and fills up the deficiencies that belong to your life, how ought you to treat other men, your natural kinsfolk, seedlings from the same elements as yourself, you who brought nothing into the world, not even yourself? For naked you came into the world, worthy sir, and naked will

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. ii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 622.

## PHILO

γυμνὸς δὲ πάλιν ἄπεις, τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσεως καὶ θανάτου παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσιν λαβῶν, ἐν ᾧ τί ποιεῖν προσῆκον ἦν ἢ κοινωνίας καὶ ὁμοιοῦς ἰσότητός τε καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς <ἄλλης> ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀποβαλλόμενον τὴν ἄνισον καὶ ἀδικον καὶ ἀσύμβατον κακίαν, ἢ τὸ ἡμερώτατον φύσει ζῶον, ἄνθρωπον, ὠμὸν καὶ ἀτίθασον ἐργάζεται;

- 296 LIV. Πάλιν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἕως πρωίας προστάττει καίεσθαι λύχνους ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λυχνίας εἴσω τοῦ καταπετάσματος, πολλῶν χάριν· ἑνὸς μὲν ἵνα ἐκ διαδοχῆς τοῦ μεθημερινοῦ φωτὸς καταλάμπηται τὰ ἅγια γινόμενα ἀεὶ σκότους ἀμέτοχα καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἀστέρων· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι δύντος ἡλίου τὸ ἴδιον ἀναφαίνουσι φέγγος ἢ ἐτάχθησαν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
- 297 τάξιν οὐ λείποντες· ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ καὶ νύκτωρ ἀδελφόν τι καὶ συγγενὲς ταῖς μεθημεριναῖς θυσίαις ἐπιτελεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν θεοῦ καὶ μηδένα χρόνον ἢ καιρὸν εὐχαριστίας παραλείπειν· ἐπιτηδειοτάτη δὲ καὶ προσφυσστάτη νυκτὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας θυσία—θυσίαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄξιον καλεῖν—ἢ τοῦ
- 298 ἱερωτάτου φέγγους ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις αὐγῇ· τρίτου δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ἀναγκαίου· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐργηγορότερες εὖ πάσχομεν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθευδόντες, τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ μεγάλην ἐπικουρίαν, ὕπνον, τῷ θνητῷ γένει παρασχόντος ἐπ' ὠφελεία σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς, τοῦ μὲν σώματος τῶν μεθημερινῶν πόνων ἀφιεμένου, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐπικουφιζομένης τὰς φροντίδας καὶ ἀναχωρούσης εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλου καὶ θορύβου καὶ δυναμένης τότε γοῦν ἰδιάξειν καὶ ἐνομιλεῖν ἑαυτῇ, προσ-

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxvii. 21, Lev. xxiv. 3, 4.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 295-298

you again depart, and the span of time between your birth and death is a loan to you from God. During this span what can be meet for you to do but to study fellow-feeling and goodwill and equity and humanity and what else belongs to virtue, and to cast away the inequitable, unrighteous and unforgiving viciousness which turns man, naturally the most civilized of creatures, into a wild and ferocious animal !

LIV. Again he commands that the lamps on the sacred candlestick within the veil should be kept burning from evening till early morning.<sup>a</sup> He has several objects in this. One is, that the holy places should be illuminated when the daylight leaves them and thus remain ever exempt from darkness, in this resembling the stars. For they when the sun has set display their own light instead and do not forsake their place in the cosmic order. A second object was, that at night-time also some rites of the same kith and kin as those of the day-time should be performed for the service of God, and that no time or season should omit its thanksgiving. And to shew our thankfulness the sacrificial offering, for sacrificial it may quite properly be called, most suitable and appropriate to the night is the radiance of that most sacred light in the inner shrine. There is a third reason, a very cogent one : Not only in our waking hours do we experience blessings, but also in our slumbers. For God the bountiful has provided our mortal race with a great support in the form of sleep, whereby both body and soul are benefited. The body is released from the labours of the day, the soul relaxes its anxious cares and retreats into itself, away from the press and clamour of the senses, and can then, if at no other time, enjoy privacy and commune

## PHILO

ηκόντως ἐδικαίωσεν ὁ νόμος τὰς εὐχαριστίας διακληρώσαι, ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐγγρηγόρσεως διὰ τῶν προσαγομένων ἱερείων, ὑπὲρ δὲ ὕπνου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠφελειῶν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λύχνων ἐξάψεως.

299 LV. | “Α μὲν οὖν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν νομοθετεῖται  
[257] κατὰ προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ  
τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστιν· ἃ δὲ κατὰ τὰς φιλο-  
σόφους ὑποθήκας καὶ παραινέσεις, ὧδε λεκτέον.  
αἰτεῖται γάρ, φησίν, ὧ διάνοια, παρὰ σοῦ ὁ θεὸς  
οὐδὲν βαρὺ καὶ ποικίλον ἢ δύσεργον ἀλλὰ ἀπλοῦν  
300 πάνυ καὶ ῥάδιον. ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶν ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς  
εὐεργέτην, εἰ δὲ μή, φοβεῖσθαι γοῦν ὡς ἄρχοντα καὶ  
κύριον, καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἰέναι τῶν εἰς ἀρέσκειαν ὁδῶν  
καὶ λατρεῦειν αὐτῷ μὴ παρέργως ἀλλὰ ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ  
πεπληρωμένη γνώμης φιλοθέου καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν  
αὐτοῦ περιέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ δίκαια τιμᾶν.

[ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ὁμοίᾳ μένει φύσει μὴ τρεπόμενος. τί δὲ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἐστί βελτίωσιν ἰσχει, ἥλιος ἢ σελήνη ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἢ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός ;

<sup>1</sup> Cohn ἔτι δὲ with R (ut videtur), AH εἶ τι δὲ. The Armenian is not stated.

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<sup>a</sup> Here Philo begins his homily on the moral and religious lessons in Deuteronomy. See Deut. x. 12 f.

<sup>b</sup> That the rest of this section from “Among all these” cannot possibly be in its right place, as it is quite irrelevant to the context, is, as Cohn and Heinemann agree, quite indisputable. But it seems to me that it does not make sense in itself, and that Heinemann’s admission that it is not “ganz klar” understates the facts. As Cohn prints it, as indicated in the textual notes, it appears to state that all the other parts of the universe (except God?) “have betterment,” and to illustrate this we are told that the mountains rise to a very great height, the plains get wider, etc. (In this part it is hard to see why ἢ is used instead of καί.) At the end it appears that

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 298-300

with itself. Rightly therefore did the law determine so to apportion the thank-offerings that thankfulness is expressed for our waking time by the victims brought to the altar, for sleep and the benefits which it gives by the lighting of the sacred lamps.

LV. These and similar injunctions to piety are 299 given in the law in the form of direct commands and prohibitions. Others which have now to be described are of the nature of homilies giving admonitions and exhortations. Addressing himself to the mind of man he says,<sup>a</sup> "God asks nothing from thee that is heavy or complicated or difficult, but only something quite simple and easy. And this is just to love Him 300 as a benefactor, or failing this to fear Him at least as a ruler and lord, and to tread in every way that will lead thee to please Him, to serve Him not half-heartedly but with thy whole soul filled with the determination to love Him and to cling to His commandments and to honour justice."

<sup>b</sup>[Among all these things God Himself remains with a nature which changes not. But of all else that is in the universe, what is there that changes for the better? Sun or moon or the multitude of the other stars or the whole heaven?

contrary to what has been said (*μὲν οὖν*) they remain exactly as they were from the first.

The corrections I have made are, apart from the punctuation, very slight, *τί δὲ* for *ἔτι δὲ* and *πλείον* for *πλείστον*. For R's *περιμηκέστερον* is, in Cohn's view, as well as, if not better supported, than *-τατον*. But they seem to me to convey a thought which, however irrelevant to the context, is well worthy of Philo. The preceding words have probably spoken of the perpetual movement and change in the universe, from which God alone is exempt, But does this flux imply *βελτίωσις*? The *ἀρετή* of mountains is their height, of the plains their width. Do they grow higher or wider? And so with everything else. The one thing in the universe which is capable of betterment is the soul of man.

## PHILO

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ μὲν ὄρη πρὸς ὕψος αἵρεται περιμηκέστερον,<sup>1</sup> ἢ δὲ πεδιάς ὡσπερ αἱ χυταὶ οὐσίαι ἐπὶ πλείον<sup>2</sup> εὐρύνεται, καὶ ἡ θάλαττα μεταβάλλει πρὸς πότιμον ἢ οἱ ποταμοὶ πελαγῶν ἐξισοῦνται μεγέθεσιν; ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν αὐτῶν ὄρων ἕκαστον ἰδρυται ἐφ' οἷς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅτε ἐποίησεν ἐτάχθη· σὺ δὲ βελτίων ἔση ζῶν ἀνυπαίτιως.]

- 301 τί δὴ τούτων ἀργαλέον ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπίπονον; οὐκ ἄπλωτα πελάγη δεῖ περαιοῦσθαι καὶ μέσου χειμῶνος κλύδωνι καὶ βίαις ἐναντίων πνευμάτων κλονουμένους<sup>3</sup> ἄνω καὶ κάτω θαλαττεύειν ἢ τραχείας καὶ ἀτριβεῖς πεζεύειν ἀνοδίας, οὐχ ὁδοῦς, ληστῶν ἢ θηρίων ἐφόδους ἀεὶ κατεπτηχότας ἢ τειχοφυλακεῖν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ νυκτερεύοντας, ἐφεδρευόντων πολεμίων καὶ τοὺς ἀνωτάτω κινδύνους ἀπειλούντων—ἄπαγε, μηδὲν ἐπὶ καλοῖς λεγέσθω τῶν ἀηδῶν· εὐφημητέον
- 302 ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω συμφέρουσιν. ἐπινεύσαι μόνον δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ πάρεστιν ἐν ἐτοιμῳ τὰ πάντα. ἢ τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ αἰσθητός ἐστιν οὐρανός καὶ ὁ νοητός, ὁ κυρίως, εἶποι τις ἄν, “οὐρανὸς οὐρανοῦ,” καὶ πάλιν ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος, ὃ τε ὄρατός καὶ ὁ ἀόρατος καὶ ἀσώματος, τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ ὄρατοῦ οὐρανοῦ;
- 303 LVI. ἀλλ' ὁμῶς καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους τοὺς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπους ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλέξας εἴλετο καὶ προνομίας<sup>4</sup> ἠξίωσε τῆς πάσης, ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν καλέσας ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν ἀέναον τῶν καλῶν

<sup>1</sup> So R: Cohn περιμηκέστατον with AH.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πλείστον. (Cohn places full stops after οὐρανός and μεγέθεσιν instead of the marks of interrogation printed above.)

<sup>3</sup> MSS. κυκλουμένους.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. προνοίας.

<sup>a</sup> Here the homily brings in Deut. xxx. 11-14, but returns in § 302 to Deut. x. 14 f.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 300-303

And on earth do the mountains grow to a loftier height or the lowlands widen forth as liquids spread when poured out? Is the sea converted into fresh water or do the rivers become equal in magnitude to the seas? No, each remains firmly stayed in the same limits in which they were set at the very first when He made them. But thou, by living a blameless life, wilt change for the better.]

<sup>a</sup> Which of these is painful or laborious? You have 301  
not to cross great waters where no ship has sailed and in the heart of winter to brave the deep, tossed up and down by the surging of the waves and the violence of opposing winds, or to foot it over rough and untrodden wilds where no road is, in perpetual dread of assault from robbers or wild beasts, or to pass the night unsheltered as a sentry on the walls, threatened with the gravest perils from the enemy ever watchful for their chance. No, away with such thoughts. In good matters let there be no talk of discomfort, nothing but happy words to describe things so profitable. Only must the soul give its assent and every- 302  
thing is there ready to your hand. Do you not know that to God belongs both the heaven perceived by sense and that known to thought alone, which may quite properly be called the "heaven of heaven,"<sup>b</sup> again the earth and its contents and all the universe, both the visible and the invisible and immaterial, the pattern of the visible? LVI. Yet out of the whole 303  
human race He chose as of special merit and judged worthy of pre-eminence over all, those who are in a true sense men,<sup>c</sup> and called them to the service of Himself, the perennial fountain of things excellent,

<sup>b</sup> So Deut. x. 14, "the heaven and the heaven of heavens."

<sup>c</sup> The selection of Israel in *v.* 15 is here interpreted as the selection of the worthiest. The meaning thus given to *οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωποι* is unusual. Generally "the true man" is the reasonable mind or conscience in the individual man.

## PHILO

πηγήν, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὤμβρησεν ἀρετὰς καὶ ἀνέχεεν<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ὠφελιμωτάτην, νέκταρος  
 304 μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον ἀθανατίζον ποτόν. οἰκτροὶ δὲ  
 καὶ κακοδαίμονες ὅσοι μὴ τὸν ἀρετῆς πότον εὐ-  
 ωχήθησαν καὶ κακοδαιμονέστατοι διετέλεσαν οἱ  
 εἰς ἅπαν ἄγευστοι καλοκάγαθίας, παρὸν καὶ ἐν-  
 [258] ευφρανθῆναι καὶ | ἐντρυφήσαι δικαιοσύνη καὶ ὁσιό-  
 τητι· ἄλλ' εἰσὶν ἀπερίτμητοι τὴν καρδίαν,  
 ἣ φησιν ὁ νόμος, καὶ διὰ σκληρότητα τρόπων ἀφ-  
 ηνιασταί, σκιρτῶντες αὐθαδῶς καὶ ἀπαυχενίζοντες·  
 305 οὐς νουθετεῖ φάσκων· “περιτέμνεσθε τὴν σκληρο-  
 καρδίαν,” τὸ δέ ἐστι, τὰς περιττεουσάσας φύσεις τοῦ  
 ἡγεμονικοῦ, ἃς αἱ ἄμετροι τῶν παθῶν ἔσπειράν τε  
 καὶ συνηύξησαν ὄρμαὶ καὶ ὁ κακὸς ψυχῆς γεωργὸς  
 ἐφύτευσεν, ἀφροσύνη, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀποκείρασθε.  
 306 καὶ ὁ τράχηλος, φησὶν, ὑμῶν μὴ σκληρὸς ἔστω,  
 τουτέστι, μὴ ἀκαμπῆς ὁ νοῦς καὶ αὐθαδέστατος,  
 μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν σκαιότητος ἐπιτηδευέτω τὴν  
 βλαβερωτάτην ἀμαθίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φύσει δύσκολον  
 καὶ δύστροπον ἀποθέμενος ὡς ἐχθρὸν μεταβαλλέτω  
 307 πρὸς τὸ εὐκόλον,<sup>2</sup> πειθαρχήσων νόμοις φύσεως. ἢ  
 οὐχ ὀρᾶς, ὅτι περὶ τὸ ὄν αἱ πρῶται καὶ μέγισται  
 τῶν δυνάμεων εἰσιν, ἣ τε εὐεργέτις καὶ κολαστή-  
 ριος; καὶ προσηγόρευται ἢ μὲν εὐεργέτις θεός,  
 ἐπειδὴ κατὰ ταύτην ἔθηκε καὶ διεκόσμησε τὸ πᾶν,  
 ἣ δὲ ἑτέρα κύριος, καθ' ἣν ἀνήπται τῶν ὄλων τὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνενεχθεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. εἰκός.

<sup>a</sup> The figure of the divine watering of the soul is perhaps suggested by the promise of the water from heaven to irrigate the land in Deut. viii. 7 and xi. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Or “they,” *i.e.* those just mentioned.

<sup>c</sup> The phrase comes from Lev. xxvi. 41, though of course

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 303-307

from which He sends the shower of the other virtues gushing forth to give drink, delicious and most beneficial, and conferring immortality as much as or more than nectar.<sup>a</sup> Pitiable and miserable are all those 304 who have not feasted to the full on virtue's draught, and greatest is the lasting misery of those who have never tasted the cup of noble living when they might revel in the delights of righteousness and holiness.

But some <sup>b</sup> are uncircumcised in heart, says the law,<sup>c</sup> and through their hardness of temper disobedient to the rein, plunging in unruly fashion and fighting against the yoke. These he admonishes 305 with the words, "Circumcise the hardness of your hearts!" make speed, that is, to prune away from the ruling mind the superfluous overgrowths <sup>d</sup> sown and raised by the immoderate appetites of the passions and planted by folly, the evil husbandman of the soul. And let not your neck be hard, he continues : that is, 306 let not your mind be unbending and exceedingly unruly, nor in its much frowardness pursue that wilful ignorance which is so fraught with mischief, but casting aside as an enemy all that is naturally indocile and intractable, change over to docility, ready to obey the laws of nature. <sup>e</sup> Cannot you see that the primal 307 and chief powers belonging to the Existent are the beneficent and the punitive? And the beneficent is called God because by this He set out <sup>f</sup> and ordered the world ; the other is called Lord, being that by which He is invested with the sovereignty of all that

implied in Deut. x. 16, which is the text for the next two sections.

<sup>a</sup> περιτέμνεσθε . . . περιττεουσας. The same play as in § 9.

<sup>e</sup> See Deut. x. 17.

<sup>f</sup> Another allusion to the accepted derivation of θεός from τίθημι. See notes on *De Abr.* 121 and *De Conf.* 137 (App.).

PHILO

κράτος. θεὸς δὲ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 θεῶν ἔστι θεός, καὶ ἄρχων οὐκ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων, μέγας τέ ἐστιν ὢν ὄντως καὶ  
 308 ἰσχυρὸς καὶ κραταῖός. LVII. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ τοσοῦ-  
 τος ἐν ἀρεταῖς καὶ δυνάμεσιν ἔλεον καὶ οἰκτον  
 λαμβάνει τῶν ἐν ἐνδείαις ἀπορωτάτων, οὐκ ἀπ-  
 αξιῶν γενέσθαι κριτῆς προσηλύτοις ἢ ὄρφανοῖς ἢ  
 χήραις, ἀλλὰ βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων καὶ τῶν ἐν  
 μεγάλας δυναστείαις ὑπεριδῶν τὸ ταπεινὸν τῶν  
 309 λεχθέντων ἀξιοὶ προνοίας.<sup>1</sup> τῶν μὲν ἐπ-  
 ηλύτων διὰ τόδε· καταλιπόντες οὗτοι τὰ πάτρια οἷς  
 ἐνετράφησαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων γέμοντα καὶ  
 τύφου, γενόμενοι ἀτυφίας καὶ ἀληθείας ἔρασταὶ  
 γνήσιοι, μετεχώρησαν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἰκέται τε καὶ  
 θεραπευταὶ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀξίως ὄντες τῆς  
 προνοίας τῆς ἀρμοττοῦσης εἰκότως μεταλαγχά-  
 νουσι, καρπὸν εὐράμενοι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καταφυγῆς  
 310 τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν. ὄρφανῶν δὲ καὶ  
 χηρῶν, ἐπειδὴ κηδεμόνας ἀφήρηνται, οἱ μὲν γονεῖς,  
 αἱ δὲ ἄνδρας, καταφυγὴ δ' οὐδεμία τοῖς οὕτως  
 ἐρήμοις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολείπεται· διὸ τῆς μεγίστης  
 ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσι, τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἴλεω  
 φύσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν μὴ ἀπο-  
 311 στραφέντος τῶν οὕτως ἐρήμων. ἔστω δὴ, φησί,  
 μόνος θεὸς αὐχημά σου καὶ μέγιστον κλέος, καὶ  
 μήτ' ἐπὶ πλοῦτῳ μήτε δόξῃ μήτε ἡγεμονίᾳ μήτε  
 σώματος εὐμορφίᾳ μήτε ῥώμῃ μήτε τοῖς παραπλη-  
 σίοις, ἐφ' οἷς εἰώθασιν οἱ κενοὶ φρενῶν ἐπαίρεσθαι,  
 σεμνυθῆης, λογισάμενος ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἀμέτοχα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προνομίας.

<sup>a</sup> See Deut. x. 18 f.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 307-311

is. But He is the God not only of men but also of gods, and the ruler not only of commoners but of rulers, and being truly existent, He is great and strong and mighty. LVII. <sup>a</sup> Yet vast as are his excel- 308  
lences and powers, he takes pity and compassion on those most helplessly in need, and does not disdain to give judgement to strangers or orphans or widows. He holds their low estate worthy of His providential care, while of kings and despots and great potentates He takes no account.

He provides for 309  
the incomers because forsaking the ancestral customs in which they were bred, customs packed with false inventions and vanity, they have crossed over to piety in whole-hearted love of simplicity and truth, and rendering to Him that truly exists the supplication and service which are His right, partake in due course of His protecting care in the measure that fits their case, and gain in the help that He gives the fruit of making God their refuge.

He provides 310  
for the orphans and widows because they have lost their protectors, in the first case parents, in the second husbands, and in this desolation no refuge remains that men can give ; and therefore they are not denied the hope that is greatest of all, the hope in God, Who in the graciousness of His nature does not refuse the task of caring for and watching over them in this desolate condition. <sup>b</sup> Let God alone be thy boast 311  
and thy chief glory, he continues, and pride thyself neither on riches nor on reputation nor dominion nor comeliness nor strength of body, nor any such thing, whereby the hearts of the empty-minded are wont to be lifted up. Consider in the first place that these things have nothing in them of the nature of the true

<sup>b</sup> See Deut. x. 21.

## PHILO

ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς <τοῦ> ἀγαθοῦ φύσεως, ἔπειτα δ' ὅτι  
 καιρὸν ὀξύν ἔχει τῆς μεταβολῆς, μαραινόμενα  
 312 τρόπον τινά, πρὶν ἀνθῆσαι βεβαίως. ὁ δὲ πάγιον  
 καὶ ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἀγαθὸν μετα-  
 [259] διώκωμεν καὶ τῆς | ἰκεσίας καὶ θεραπείας αὐτοῦ  
 περιεχόμεθα. καὶ μήτε κρατήσαντες  
 ἐχθρῶν ζηλώσωμεν τὰς ἐκείνων ἐν αἷς εὐσεβεῖν  
 δοκοῦσιν ἀσεβείας υἱοῦς καὶ θυγατέρας τοῖς αὐτῶν  
 313 κατακαίοντες θεοῖς—οὐχ ὅτι τὰ τέκνα πᾶσι τοῖς  
 βαρβάροις ἐμπιμπράναι δι' ἔθους ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ  
 οὕτως ἐξηγρίωνται τὰς φύσεις, ὡς, ἂ μὴδὲ πο-  
 λεμίους καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἀσυμβάτους ἐν πολέμῳ, ταῦτα  
 τοὺς φιλότατους καὶ οἰκειοτάτους ἐν εἰρήνῃ δρᾶν  
 ὑπομένειν· ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῷ ὄντι καταφλέ-  
 γουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν ὧν ἐγέννησαν ἕξ ἔτι σπαρ-  
 γάνων ἀπαλαῖς ἔτι μὴ ἐγχαράττοντες τὰς<sup>1</sup> ἀληθείας  
 δόξας περὶ τοῦ ἐνός καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντος θεοῦ—  
 μήτ' οὖν ἠττηθέντες ἀναπέσωμεν καὶ  
 ὑπαχθῶμεν ταῖς ἐκείνων εὐτυχίαις ὡς δι' εὐσέβειαν  
 314 νενικηκότων· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐνέδρα συμβαίνουσιν  
 αἱ παραυτίκα εὐπραγίαι δέλεαρ σφοδρῶν καὶ  
 ἀνιάτων οὔσαι κακῶν· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἀναξίους ὄντας  
 κατορθοῦν, μὴ δι' ἑαυτοῦς, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι  
 καὶ ἀνιάσθαι σφοδρότερον ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὅσια δρῶντας,  
 οἱ γεννηθέντες ἐν πολιτείᾳ φιλοθέω καὶ ἐντραφέντες  
 νόμοις ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἀλείφουσι καὶ ἐκ πρώτης  
 ἡλικίας παιδευόμενοι τὰ κάλλιστα παρὰ θεοσπεσίους  
 ἀνδράσι τῶν μὲν ὀλιγωροῦμεν, τῶν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῆς.

<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xii. 29-31.

<sup>b</sup> The warning against misunderstanding the lesson of defeat does not appear to have any clear parallel in Deutero-280

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 311-314

good ; secondly, how quickly comes the hour of their passing, how they wither away, as it were, before their flower has come to its strength. Let us follow 312 after the good that is stable, unswerving, unchangeable, and hold fast to our service as His suppliants and worshippers.<sup>a</sup>

So if we are victorious over our enemies, let us not affect their impious ways in which they think to show their piety by burning their sons and daughters to their gods. This does 313 not mean that all the outside nations have a custom of giving their children to the fire. They have not become so savage in nature as to bring themselves to do in peace to their nearest and dearest what they would not do in wartime to their enemies in the field or to the objects of their implacable hatred. Rather the words refer to that consuming fire in which they veritably destroy the souls of their offspring right from the cradle by failing to imprint on their still tender souls truth-giving conceptions of the one, the truly existent God.

<sup>b</sup> Nor yet if defeated let us lose heart or be overcome by their successes as though the victory were due to their piety. To 314 many their temporary pieces of good fortune have proved to be a pitfall, a trap baited with evils vast and fatal. And it may well be that the triumph of the unworthy comes to pass not for their own sake but that we should be more abundantly distressed and afflicted for our unholy deeds ; we who, born as citizens of a godly community, reared under laws which incite to every virtue, trained from our earliest years under divinely gifted men, show contempt for their teaching and cling to what truly deserves our nomy, though there are various passages which threaten foreign conquest or enslavement as the punishment for forsaking God, *e.g.* xxviii. 49-57.

## PHILO

- ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίων περιεχόμεθα, παιδιὰν μὲν τὰ σπουδαῖα, σπουδὴν δὲ τὰ παιδιᾶς ἄξια ἡγούμενοι.
- 315 LVIII. Κἂν μέντοι τις ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα προφητείας ὑποδύς, ἐνθουσιᾶν καὶ κατέχεσθαι δοκῶν, ἄγῃ πρὸς τὴν τῶν νενομισμένων κατὰ πόλεις θρησκείαν θεῶν, οὐκ ἄξιον προσέχειν ἀπατωμένους ὀνόματι προφήτου· γόης γὰρ ἄλλ' οὐ προφήτης ἐστὶν ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐπειδὴ ψευδόμενος λόγια καὶ
- 316 χρησμοὺς ἐπλάσατο. κἂν ἀδελφὸς ἢ υἱὸς ἢ θυγάτηρ ἢ γυνὴ ἢ οἰκουρὸς ἢ γνήσιος φίλος ἢ τις ἕτερος εὖνους εἶναι δοκῶν εἰς τὰ ὅμοια ἐνάγῃ προτρέπων συνασμενίζειν<sup>1</sup> τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς σπονδάς τε καὶ θυσίας ἀφικνεῖσθαι, κολαστέον ὡς δῆμιον καὶ κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ὄντα ὀλίγα φροντίσαντας οἰκειότητος καὶ τὰς παραινέσεις αὐτοῦ διαγγελτέον πᾶσι τοῖς εὐσεβείας ἐρασταῖς, οἱ ἀνυπερθέτω τάχει ταῖς κατ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσίου τιμωρίαις ἐπίδραμοῦνται κρίνοντες εὐαγὲς τὸ κατ' αὐτοῦ
- 317 φονᾶν. ἔστω γὰρ ἡμῖν μία οἰκειότης καὶ φιλίας ἐν σύμβολον ἢ πρὸς θεὸν ἀρέσκεια καὶ τὸ πάντα λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας· αἱ δ' ἐκ προγόνων ἀφ' αἵματος αὐταὶ λεγόμεναι συγγένειαι καὶ αἱ κατ' ἐπιγαμίας ἢ τινὰς ἄλλας ὁμοιοτρόπους αἰτίας οἰκειότητες ἀπορριπτέσθωσαν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπέιγονται, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν, ἢ πάσης ἐνωτικῆς εὐνοίας ἄλυτος δεσμὸς ἐστίν· ἀντιλήφονται
- [260] γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι σεμνοτέρας καὶ | ἱεροπρεπεστέρας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐνασμενίζειν.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 314-318

contempt, count the serious side of life as child's-play and what befits the playground as matters of serious import.

LVIII. <sup>a</sup> Further if anyone cloaking himself under 315  
the name and guise of a prophet and claiming to be  
possessed by inspiration lead us on to the worship  
of the gods recognized in the different cities, we  
ought not to listen to him and be deceived by the  
name of prophet. For such a one is no prophet, but  
an impostor, since his oracles and pronouncements are  
falsehoods invented by himself. And if a brother or 316  
son or daughter or wife or a housemate or a friend  
however true, or anyone else who seems to be kindly  
disposed, urge us to a like course, bidding us fraternize  
with the multitude, resort to their temples, and  
join in their libations and sacrifices, we must punish  
him as a public and general enemy, taking little  
thought for the ties which bind us to him ; and we  
must send round a report of his proposals to all the  
lovers of piety, who will rush with a speed which  
brooks no delay to take vengeance on the unholy  
man, and deem it a religious duty to seek his death.  
For we should have one tie of affinity, one accepted 317  
sign of goodwill, namely the willingness to serve God  
and that our every word and deed promotes the cause  
of piety. But as for these kinships, as we call them,  
which have come down from our ancestors and are  
based on blood-relationship, or those derived from  
intermarriage or other similar causes, let them all be  
cast aside if they do not seek earnestly the same goal,  
namely, the honour of God, which is the indissoluble  
bond of all the affection which makes us one. For  
those who are so minded will receive in exchange  
kinships of greater dignity and sanctity. This 318

## PHILO

318 συγγενείας. βεβαιούται δέ μου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ὁ νόμος λέγων, ὅτι οἱ “ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ” τῇ φύσει δρῶντες καὶ “ τὸ καλὸν ” υἱοὶ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ, φησὶ γάρ· “ υἱοὶ ἔστε κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν,” δηλονότι προνοίας καὶ κηδεμονίας ἀξιωθησόμενοι τῆς ὡς ἐκ πατρός· ἡ δὲ ἐπιμέλεια τοσοῦτον διοίσει τῆς<sup>1</sup> ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον περ, οἶμαι, καὶ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος διαφέροι.

319 LIX. Πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τὰ περὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην τερθρείαν καὶ βωμολοχίαν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀναιρεῖ νομοθεσίας, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τοὺς ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ τραφέντας ὀργιάζεσθαι καὶ μυστικῶν πλασμάτων ἐκκρεμαμένους ὀλιγωρεῖν ἀληθείας καὶ τὰ νύκτα καὶ σκότος προσκεκληρωμένα μεταδιώκειν παρέντας τὰ ἡμέρας καὶ φωτὸς ἄξια. μηδεὶς οὖν μήτε τελείτω μήτε τελείσθω τῶν Μωυσέως φοιτητῶν καὶ γνωρίμων· ἐκἄτερον γὰρ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν καὶ τὸ μαθάνειν  
320 τελετὰς οὐ μικρὸν ἀνοσιούργημα. τί γάρ, εἰ καλὰ ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, ὧ μύσται, καὶ συμφέροντα, συγκλεισάμενοι ἑαυτοὺς ἐν σκότῳ βαθεῖ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας μόνους ὠφελεῖτε, παρὸν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐν

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἰδίῳι τοῖς. The correction is stated to be probably supported by the Armenian.

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<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xiii. 18 and xiv. 1 ἐὰν ἀκούσης τῆς φωνῆς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου . . . ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐναντίον Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου. υἱοὶ ἔστε Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν. Philo treats

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 318-320

promise of mine is confirmed by the law, where it says that they who do "what is pleasing" to nature and what is "good" are sons of God.<sup>a</sup> For it says, "Ye are sons to your Lord God," clearly meaning that He will think fit to protect and provide for you as would a father. And how much this watchful care will exceed that of men is measured, believe me, by the surpassing excellence of Him who bestows it.

LIX. Furthermore, he banishes from the sacred 319 legislation<sup>b</sup> the lore of occult rites and mysteries and all such imposture and buffoonery. He would not have those who were bred in such a commonwealth as ours take part in mummeries and clinging on to mystic fables despise the truth and pursue things which have taken night and darkness for their province, discarding what is fit to bear the light of day. Let none, therefore, of the followers and disciples of Moses either confer or receive initiation to such rites. For both in teacher and taught such action is gross sacrilege. For tell me, ye mystics, if these things 320 are good and profitable, why do you shut yourselves up in profound darkness and reserve their benefits for three or four alone, when by producing them in the midst of the market-place you might extend

the last six words, which are really the beginning of the new paragraph, as part of the previous sentence. See also App. p. 622.

<sup>c</sup> Philo's authority in Deuteronomy for this section is xxiii. 17, 18, where, after the words "there shall be no harlot of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a sodomite (LXX fornicator) of the sons of Israel," the LXX adds, "there shall be no *τελεσφόρος* among the daughters, nor *τελισκόμενος* among the sons." L. & S. (1936) give for *τελεσφόρος* "sorceress," and for *τελισκόμενος* "initiate" or *ιερόδουλος*. Whatever the LXX means, Philo clearly understood both words as referring to initiation into the mysteries.

## PHILO

ἀγορᾶ μέση τὰ τῆς ὠφελείας προθέντας, ἵνα πᾶσιν  
 ἀδεῶς ἐξῆ βελτίονος καὶ εὐτυχεστέρου κοινωνῆσαι  
 321 βίου; φθόνος γὰρ ἀρετῆς διώκισται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 τὰ βλαβερὰ πράττοντες αἰσχυνέσθωσαν καὶ κατα-  
 δύσεις ἐπιζητοῦντες καὶ γῆς μυχοὺς καὶ βαθὺ  
 σκότος ἐπικρυπτέσθωσαν τὴν πολλὴν ἀνομίαν  
 αὐτῶν ἐπισκιάζοντες, ὡς μηδεὶς ἴδοι· τοῖς δὲ τὰ  
 κοινωφελῆ δρῶσιν ἔστω παρρησία καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν  
 διὰ μέσης ἴτωσαν ἀγορᾶς ἐντευξόμενοι πολυ-  
 ανθρώποις ὁμίλοις, ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ τὸν ἴδιον βίον  
 ἀνταυγάσοντες καὶ διὰ τῶν κυριωτάτων αἰσθήσεων  
 τοὺς συλλόγους ὀνήσοντες, ὀρῶντας μὲν ἡδίστας  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ καταπληκτικωτάτας ὄψεις, ἀκούοντας δὲ  
 καὶ ἔστιωμένους λόγων ποτίμων, οἱ τὰς διανοίας  
 322 τῶν μὴ σφόδρα ἀμούσων εἰώθασιν εὐφραίνειν. ἢ  
 οὐχ ὄρας, ὅτι καὶ ἡ φύσις τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀοιδίμων καὶ  
 παγκάλων ἔργων οὐδὲν ἀπέκρυψεν, ἀλλὰ ἀστέρας  
 μὲν καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν εἰς τε τὴν δι' ὄψεως  
 τέρψιν καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίας ἡμερον ἀπέφηνεν,  
 πελάγη δὲ καὶ πηγὰς καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀέρος  
 εὐκρασίας δι' ἀνέμων τε καὶ αὐρῶν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὰς  
 ἐτησίους ὥρας, φυτῶν τε καὶ ζώων ἔτι δὲ καρπῶν  
 ἀμυθητοὺς ἰδέας εἰς χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀνθρώ-  
 323 πων; εἴτ' οὐκ ἐχρήην καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπομένους τοῖς  
 ἐκείνης βουλήμασι πάνθ' ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα  
 [261] | προτιθέναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπ' ὠφελεία; νῦν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn δι' ἀνέμων τε καὶ πνευμάτων: Mangey with A and H ἀνέμων τε. R has διανεμόντες αὐτῶν and, as s' in R is a common symbol for καί, the first word clearly stands for δι' ἀνέμων τε καί. Why, however, Cohn adopted πνευμάτων (for which I have substituted the obvious αὐρῶν to represent R's αὐτῶν), I do not understand. Cf. ii. 172 ἀέρος εὐκρασίαι ζωτικωτάταις αὔραις ἐπιπνέοντος, and much the same in *De Virt.* 93. See also App. p. 622.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 320-323

them to every man and thus enable all to share in security a better and happier life? For virtue has 321 no room in her home for a grudging spirit.<sup>a</sup> Let those who work mischief feel shame and seek holes and corners of the earth and profound darkness, there lie hid and keep the multitude of their iniquities veiled out of the sight of all. But let those whose actions serve the common weal use freedom of speech and walk in daylight through the midst of the market-place, ready to converse with crowded gatherings, to let the clear sunlight shine upon their own life and through the two most royal senses, sight and hearing, to render good service to the assembled groups, who through the one behold spectacles as marvellous as they are delightful,<sup>b</sup> and through the other feast on the fresh sweet draught of words<sup>c</sup> which are wont to gladden the minds of such as are not wholly averse to learning. Cannot you see that nature also does 322 not conceal any of her glorious and admirable works, but displays the stars and the whole heaven to delight us by the sight and to foster the love of philosophy; so too the seas and fountains and rivers and the air so happily tempered by winds and breezes to make the yearly seasons, and the countless varieties of plants and animals and again of fruits—all for the use and enjoyment of men? Were it not well, then, that we 323 should follow her intentions and display in public all that is profitable and necessary for the benefit of those who are worthy to use it? As it is, we often

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Phaedrus* 247 A and ii. 249 below.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning presumably is that a good man's life is a finer spectacle than those which united with the mystic liturgy to charm, and at the same time awe, the initiated.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Phaedrus* 243 A and see App. p. 622.

## PHILO

συμβαίνει πολλάκις τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μηδένα μνεῖσθαι, ληστὰς δ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ καταποντιστὰς καὶ γυναικῶν θιάσους βδελυκτῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων, ἐπειδὰν ἀργύριον παράσχωσι τοῖς τελούσι καὶ ἱεροφαντοῦσιν. ὑπερόριοι δὴ πάντες οὗτοι φυγαδεύεσθωσαν πόλεως καὶ καταστάσεως, ἐν ἧ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια δι' αὐτὰ τιμᾶται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

- 324 LX. Κοινωνίας δὲ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας εἰσηγητῆς ὧν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὁ νόμος ἑκατέρας ἀρετῆς τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα διετήρησεν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνιάτως ἐχόντων ἐπιτρέψας καταφυγεῖν ἐπ' αὐτάς,
- 325 ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω σκορακίσας. ἐπιστάμενος γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν μοχθηρῶν παρεισρέοντας καὶ διὰ τὸ συνειλεγμένον πλῆθος λανθάνοντας, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, προανείργει πάντας τοὺς ἀναξίους ἱεροῦ συλλόγου τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν νοσοῦντων τὴν θήλειαν νόσον ἀνδρογύνων, οἱ τὸ φύσεως νόμισμα παρακόπτοντες εἰς ἀκολάστων γυναικῶν πάθη καὶ μορφὰς εἰσβιάζονται· θλαδίας γὰρ καὶ ἀποκεκομμένους τὰ γεννητὰ ἐλαύνει τό τε τῆς ὥρας ταμιεύοντας ἄνθος, ἵνα μὴ ῥαδίως μαραίνοιτο, καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα τύπον μεταχαράττοντας εἰς θηλύμορφον ἰδέαν.
- 326 ἐλαύνει δὲ οὐ μόνον πόρνas ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ πόρνης, ἐπιφερομένους μητρῶν αἰσχος, [καὶ] διότι ἡ πρώτη σπορὰ καὶ γενεαὶς αὐτοῖς κεκιβδήλευται καὶ συγκέχυται διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὠμιληκῶτων

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 323-326

find that no person of good character is admitted to the mysteries, while robbers and pirates and associations of abominable and licentious women, when they offer money to those who conduct the initiatory rites, are sometimes accepted. Let all such persons, then, be banished from the confines of any State or constitution in which morality and truth are honoured for their own sakes. So much for this subject.

LX. But while the law stands pre-eminent in en- 324  
joining fellowship and humanity, it preserves the  
high position and dignity of both virtues by not  
allowing anyone whose state is incurable to take  
refuge with them, but bidding him avaunt and keep  
his distance. Thus, knowing that in assemblies there 325  
are not a few worthless persons who steal their way  
in and remain unobserved in the large numbers which  
surround them, it guards against this danger by  
precluding all the unworthy from entering the holy  
congregation. It begins with the men who belie  
their sex and are affected with effemination, who  
debase the currency of nature and violate it by assum-  
ing the passions and the outward form of licentious  
women. For it expels those whose generative organs  
are fractured or mutilated,<sup>a</sup> who husband the flower  
of their youthful bloom, lest it should quickly wither,  
and restamp the masculine cast into a feminine form.

And it banishes not only harlots, but 326  
also the children of harlots<sup>b</sup> who carry with them their  
mother's shame, because their begetting and their  
birth has been adulterated at the fountain-head and  
reduced to confusion through the number of their

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<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xxiii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> See Deut. xxiii. 2 (E.V. "bastard").

## PHILO

- ταῖς μητράσιν, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν ἀληθῆ πατέρα διαγνῶναι καὶ διακρίναι.
- 327 Ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ἀλληγορίαν ἐπιδέχεται φιλοσόφου θεωρίας ὧν ἀνάπλεως τῶν γὰρ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀνοσιῶν οὐχ εἰς τρόπον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ διαφέροντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀσωμάτων ιδέας ὄνομα κενὸν ἀμέτοχον ἀληθοῦς πράγματος εἶναι φασί, τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην οὐσίαν ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ἀναιροῦντες, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα πάντων ὅσα ποιότητες οὐσίας, καθ' ἣν
- 328 ἕκαστον εἰδοποιεῖτο καὶ διεμετρεῖτο. τούτους αἱ ἱεραὶ τοῦ νόμου στήλαι μνηύουσι “θλαδίας”. ὡς γὰρ τὸ τεθλασμένον ἀφήρηται τὴν ποιότητα καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἄμορφος ὕλη, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀναιροῦσα δόξα ιδέας πάντα συγχεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτέρω τῶν στοιχείων
- 329 οὐσίαν τὴν ἄμορφον καὶ ἄποιον ἐκείνην ἄγει. οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτοπώτερον; ἐξ ἐκείνης γὰρ πάντ' ἐγέννησεν ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτός—οὐ γὰρ ἦν θέμις ἀπείρου καὶ πεφυρμένης ὕλης ψαύειν τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον—, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν, ὧν ἔτυμον ὄνομα αἱ ιδέαι, κατεχρήσατο πρὸς τὸ γένος ἕκαστον τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν λαβεῖν
- [262] μορφήν. ἡ δὲ πολλὴν ἀταξίαν | εἰσηγεῖται καὶ σύγχυσιν· ἀναιροῦσα γὰρ ταῦτα, δι' ὧν αἱ ποιότητες, συναναιρεῖ ποιότητας.
- 330 Ἔτεροι δ' ὡς ἐν ἄθλοις κακίας τὰ ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ νικητήρια σπεύδοντες αἵρεσθαι προσυπερβάλλουσιν ἅμα ταῖς ιδέαις καὶ ὑπαρξιν θεοῦ παρακαλυπτό-

<sup>a</sup> For some remarks on the relation of the following sections to the philosophers' schools see App. pp. 622-623.

<sup>b</sup> See note on § 48.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 326-330

mother's lovers, so that they cannot recognize or distinguish their real father.

<sup>a</sup> This is a topic peculiarly susceptible of allegorical 327 interpretation and full of matter for philosophical study. For the heads under which the impious and unholy can be characterized are not one, but many and different. Some aver that the Incorporeal Ideas or Forms are an empty name devoid of any real substance of fact, and thus they abolish in things the most essential element of their being, namely the archetypal patterns of all qualities in what exists, and on which the form and dimensions of each 328 separate thing was modelled. These the holy tables of the law speak of as "crushed," for just as anything crushed has lost its quality and form and may be literally said to be nothing more than shapeless matter, so the creed which abolishes the Forms confuses everything and reduces it to the pre-elemental state of existence, that state devoid of shape and quality. Could anything be more preposterous than 329 this? For when out of that confused matter God produced all things, He did not do so with His own handiwork, since His nature, happy and blessed as it was, forbade that He should touch the limitless chaotic matter. Instead He made full use of the incorporeal potencies <sup>b</sup> well denoted by their name of Forms to enable each kind to take its appropriate shape. But this other creed brings in its train no little disorder and confusion. For by abolishing the agencies which created the qualities, it abolishes the qualities also.

There are others who in the arena of wickedness 330 eagerly compete for the first prize in impiety and go to the further extreme of drawing a curtain over the

## PHILO

- μενοι ὡς οὐκ ὄντος λεγομένου δ' εἶναι χάριν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀνθρώποις, οἳ δὴ δι' εὐλάβειαν τοῦ δοκοῦντος πάντῃ παρῆναι καὶ πάντα καθορᾶν ὄμμασιν ἀκοιμήτοις [οἷς] ἔμελλον ἀνέξειν ἀδικημάτων. τούτους ὁ νόμος εὐθυβόλως “ἀποκόπους” προσαγορεύει τὴν περὶ τοῦ πάντα γεννῶντος ἐκτετμημένους ὑπόληψιν, ἀγόνους μὲν σοφίας, ἐπιτηδεύοντας δὲ τὴν μεγίστην κακιῶν, ἀθεότητα.
- 331 Τρίτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἳ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔτεμον εἰσηγησάμενοι πλῆθος (θεῶν) ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν, πρεσβυτέρων τε αὖ καὶ νεωτέρων, πολυαρχίας λόγῳ τὸν κόσμον ἀναπλήσαντες, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος ὑπόληψιν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπων δια-
- 332 νοίας ἐκτέμωσιν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἳ συμβολικῶς “ἐκ πόρνης” ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου προσαγορευόμενοι· καθάπερ γὰρ ὦν μητέρες πόρναι τὸν μὲν ἀληθῆ πατέρα οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτ' ἐπιγράψασθαι δύνανται, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἔραστὰς καὶ ὠμιληκότας, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἳ ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀληθινὸν θεὸν πολλοὺς καὶ ψευδωνύμους ἀναπλάττοντες περὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν ὄντων τυφλώττουσιν, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ πρώτιστον ἐξ αὐτῶν σπαργάνων εἰκὸς ἦν ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι· τί γὰρ μάθημα κάλλιον ἢ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος θεοῦ;
- 333 LXI. Τετάρτους δὲ καὶ πέμπτους ἐλαύνει πρὸς

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<sup>a</sup> For the application of ἀποκεκομμένος (there including 292

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 330-333

existence of God as well as of the Forms. They assert that God does not exist, but is alleged to exist for the benefit of men who, it was supposed, would abstain from wrongdoing in their fear of Him Whom they believed to be present everywhere and to survey all things with ever-watchful eyes. These are happily called by the law "mutilated,"<sup>a</sup> for they have lost by castration the conception of the Generator of all things. They are impotent to beget wisdom and practise the worst of wickednesses, atheism.

A third class are those who have shaped their 331 course in the opposite direction, and introduced a numerous company of deities male and female, elder and younger. Thus they have infected the world with the idea of a multiplicity of sovereigns in order to geld from the mind of men the conception of the one and truly existent Being. It is these who are 332 figuratively called by the law "the children of a harlot."<sup>b</sup> For as anyone who has a harlot for his mother has no knowledge of, and can claim no affiliation to, his real father, but must accept the paternity of most or practically all her lovers and patrons, so too those who know not the one true God but invent a number of deities, false so-called, are blind to the most essential reality with which they should have been indoctrinated from the cradle to the exclusion of or before anything else. For what better theme for the learner can there be than the Being who truly exists, even God?

LXI. The banishment is extended to a fourth and 333

*θλαδίαις*) to atheism *cf. De Mig.* 69. The text is usually applied to unwisdom in general.

<sup>b</sup> For the application of the words to polytheism *cf. De Mig.* 69, *De Dec.* 8, *De Conf.* 144.

## PHILO

μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειγομένους, οὐ μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ζηλωταὶ  
 μεγάλου κακοῦ, φιλαυτίας, ὄντες ὡσπερ τινὰ κοινήν  
 οὐσίαν διενείμαντο τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν ἐκ λογικοῦ καὶ  
 ἀλόγου μέρους συνεστῶσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ λογικόν,  
 ὃ δὴ νοῦς ἐστι, διεκκληρώσαντο, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἄλογον,  
 334 ὅπερ εἰς τὰς αἰσθήσεις τέμνεται. οἱ μὲν  
 οὖν τοῦ νοῦ προστάται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ βασιλείαν  
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ἀνάπτουσι<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ καὶ  
 φασιν ἰκανὸν εἶναι καὶ τὰ παρεληλυθότα μνήμη  
 διασώζειν καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐρρωμένως ἀντι-  
 λαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα εἰκότι στοχασμῷ  
 335 φαντασιοῦσθαί τε καὶ λογίζεσθαι. οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν  
 ὁ γῆν τὴν βαθύγειον καὶ ἀρετῶσαν τῆς ὀρεινῆς καὶ  
 πεδιάδος κατασπείρας καὶ καταφυτεύσας καὶ τὴν  
 βιωφελεστάτην γεωργίαν εὐρών· οὗτος ὁ ναῦν  
 κατασκευάσας καὶ τὴν χέρσου<sup>2</sup> φύσιν ἐπινοίαις  
 παντὸς λόγου κρείττοσι πλωτὴν ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνάγουσιν.

<sup>2</sup> Heinemann χερσαῖον. See note *a* below.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Ammonites (5th) and the Moabites (4th); see the continuation of the passage quoted from Deut. xxiii. "an Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord." Philo does not actually quote the verse, possibly feeling that the arguments which lead him to the identification are too involved for this treatise. But that this is his meaning clearly appears from *Leg. All.* iii. 81, when,



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 333-335

a fifth class also.<sup>a</sup> Both these seek the same goal but have different plans for attaining it. Both classes are votaries of the pestilent vice of self-assertion,<sup>b</sup> but have treated the soul, which is a whole consisting of two parts, the rational and irrational, as if it were a property shared by two persons, and have partitioned it out between them. One class has taken as its portion the rational part, that is the mind, the other has taken the irrational, which is subdivided into the senses.

The champions of mind ascribe 334  
to it the leadership and sovereignty of human affairs, and aver that it is competent to preserve the past by means of memory, to gain a firm apprehension of the present, and to envisage and calculate the future by prognostication of what may be expected. It is 335  
mind, they say, which sowed and planted the deep and fertile soil in the uplands and lowlands and so greatly enriched human life by the invention of agriculture. It is mind which constructed a ship, and by devices admirable beyond description turned what was

after noting that Ammon and Moab refused to give food to Israel, he described the Ammonites as deriving their nature from "sense" (*αἴσθησις*) their mother, and the Moabites from "mind" their father, the latter name being interpreted as *ἐκ πατρός* (cf. *De Som.* i. 89 and LXX, Gen. xix. 37, "she called his name Moab, saying *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μου*"). Philo does not, I think, give any corresponding derivation for Ammon, but Heinemann suggests that he derived it from the Hebrew *אִמּוֹן* = "mother," see Gen. xix. 38 E.V. "and she called his name Ben-ammi" (LXX *ἐκ τοῦ γένους μου*). Cf. also *De Post.* 177. See also App. p. 623 on § 327.

<sup>b</sup> I do not feel that this word (or "self-exaltation") is an adequate word for *φιλαυτία* in this context, but it seems to me better than "self-love" or "selfishness," both of which are restricted to the love of oneself as an individual, and not as a member of the race.

ὁδοὺς ἐν θαλάττῃ πολυσχιδεῖς ἄχρι λιμένων τῶν  
 κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ὑποδρόμων λεωφόρους ἀνατεμῶν  
 καὶ γνωρίσας ἡπειρώτας νησιώτας οὐκ ἄν ποτ' εἰς  
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντας, εἰ μὴ σκάφος ἐναυπηγήθη· οὗτος  
 ὁ καὶ τῶν βαναύσων καὶ τῶν γλαφυρωτέρων τεχ-  
 336 νῶν λεγομένων εὐρετής· οὗτος γράμματα καὶ ἀριθ-  
 μούς καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἅπασαν  
 παιδείαν ἐπενόησε καὶ συνηύξησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλος  
 ἤγαγεν· οὗτος καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, φιλοσοφίαν,  
 ἐγέννησε καὶ δι' ἐκάστου τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς ὠφέλησε  
 τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, διὰ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ πρὸς  
 [263] ἀνεξαπάτητον ἐρμηνείαν, διὰ | δὲ τοῦ ἡθικοῦ πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν τρόπων ἐπανόρθωσιν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ  
 πρὸς ἐπιστήμην οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου. καὶ ἄλλα  
 μέντοι παμπληθῆ λέγουσιν ἐγκώμια νοῦ συμφορή-  
 σαντές τε καὶ ἀγείραντες ἔχοντα<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ  
 τὰ λεχθέντα ἤδη, περὶ ὧν οὐ καιρὸς ἐνοχλεῖν.  
 337 LXII. οἱ δὲ τῶν αἰσθήσεων προστάται τὸν  
 ἔπαινον αὐτῶν εὖ μάλα σεμνοποιοῦσι διανέμοντες  
 τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγγινομένας χρείας καὶ  
 φασιν, ὅτι δύο μὲν αἴτια τοῦ ζῆν ἐστίν, ὄσφρησις καὶ  
 γεῦσις, δύο δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν, ὄρασις καὶ ἀκοή.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔχοντες.

<sup>a</sup> Or (reading *χερσαῖον* as Heinemann, or perhaps *χέρσου ἴδιον* as suggested by R's *χερ . . . διον*) "turns the land-creature man into one that floats or swims." Heinemann quotes very appositely *Spec. Leg.* iv. 155, where, in a passage very similar to this, "the most incredible thing is that ἡ χερσαία φύσις διὰ πλωτῆς οἷα τε ἢ περαιούσθαι," also *De Op.* 147, where man is said to be *χερσαῖον ζῶον* on land, and *ἐνδρον* when he sails in ships. The analogy with *Spec. Leg.*

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 335-337

naturally dry land into a waterway,<sup>a</sup> opened up in the sea routes whose many branches serve as highways to the havens and roadsteads of the different states, and made the inhabitants of the mainland and those of the islands known to each other, who would never have met if a vessel had not been built. It is mind which discovered the mechanical<sup>b</sup> and the finer arts, as they are called, which devised, fostered and brought 336 to their consummation letters and numbers and music and the whole range of school studies. Mind too was the parent of philosophy, the greatest of blessings, and employed each part of it to benefit human life, the logical to produce absolute exactitude of language, the ethical for the amelioration of character, the physical to give knowledge of heaven and the universe.<sup>c</sup> And besides these they collect and accumulate in honour of mind a vast number of 336 tributes to the same effect as those already mentioned, with which we have no occasion to trouble ourselves now.

LXII. The champions of the senses 337 sound their praises in lofty terms. They discuss and classify them according to the purposes which they serve and tell us that two, smell and taste, are the basis of life, and two, sight and hearing, of good life.

is not quite exact as there *πλωτῆς* is passive, while here it would be on Heinemann's rendering active. His other argument that dry land does not become a waterway might be met by supposing that Philo is thinking of Xerxes' canal through Mount Athos, on which he enlarges in *De Som.* ii. 118. He may not have known of any similar undertaking, but it is quite in his manner to treat a single historical example as a common occurrence.

<sup>b</sup> Or "vulgar."

<sup>c</sup> For the familiar triple division of philosophy see particularly Diog. Laert. vii. 39, and notes on *Leg. All.* 157 and *De Agr.* 14.

## PHILO

- 338 διὰ μὲν οὖν γεύσεως αἱ τῶν σιτίων τροφαὶ παραπέμπονται, διὰ δὲ μυκτήρων ὁ ἀήρ, οὐδὲ πᾶν ζῶον ἐξήρηται· τροφή δ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος ἢ συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιάστατος, ὃς οὐκ ἐρηγορότας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κοιμωμένους διατρέφει τε καὶ διασώζει· σαφῆς δὲ πίστις· εἰ γὰρ κἂν βραχύτατον ὁ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς διάυλος ἐπισχεθεῖη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πεφυκότος ἕξωθεν ἐποχετεύεσθαι πνεύματος ἀποκοπήν, θάνατος ἀπαρ-
- 339 αἰτήτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπακολουθήσει. τῶν γε μὴν φιλοσόφων αἰσθήσεων, δι' ὧν περιγίνεται τὸ εὖ ζῆν, ὄρασις μὲν φῶς τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν ὄρᾳ, ὄρᾳ δὲ διὰ φωτὸς τᾶλλα πάντα, ἥλιον, σελήνην, ἀστέρας, οὐρανόν, γῆν, θάλατταν, φυτῶν καὶ ζώων ἀμυθήτους διαφοράς, καὶ συνόλως πάντα σώματα καὶ σχήματα καὶ χρώματα καὶ μεγέθη, ὧν ἡ θεὰ περιττὴν φρόνησιν ἐξεργάσατο καὶ πολὺν ἡμερον
- 340 ἐπιστήμης ἐγέννησε. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ὠφελείας ὄρασις ἡμῖν τὰς μεγίστας, εἰς τε τὴν οἰκείων καὶ ἄλλοτριῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ ἐχθρῶν διάκρισιν καὶ βλαβερῶν μὲν φυγὴν, αἴρεσιν δὲ τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ. γέγονε μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον τοῦ σώματος μερῶν πρὸς ἀρμοττούσας χρείας καὶ σφόδρα ἀναγκαίας, ὡς βάσεις μὲν πρὸς περίπατον καὶ δρόμον καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα διὰ σκελῶν ἐνεργεῖται, χεῖρες δὲ πρὸς τὸ πράξαι τι καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν· ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ ὡσπερὶ τι κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν τὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι κατορθοῦν αἰτίαν καὶ τούτοις καὶ
- 341 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν παρέχουσιν. ἀψευδέστατοι δ' οἱ πεπηρωμένοι μάρτυρες, οἳ μήτε χερσὶ μήτε ποσὶ δύνανται χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὸ βέλτιον τὴν πρόσρησιν

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "use them in the better way," i.e. that in which they could be used if supported by sight.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 338-341

Taste acts as a conductor of the sustenance which 338 food gives, and the nostrils do the same for the air on which every created being depends. Air too is a means of sustenance, constant and unceasing, and nourishes and preserves us not only when awake but also while we sleep. We have a clear proof of this ; for if the course of respiration backwards and forwards is stopped ever so little by the interception of the natural influx of breath from outside, death will inexorably and inevitably follow. To 339

turn to the senses which minister to philosophy and secure for us the good life, sight sees the light which is the most beautiful of all that is and by means of the light sees everything else, sun, moon, stars, heaven, earth, sea, the countless varieties of plants and animals, in general, all kinds of bodies, shapes, colours and magnitudes, the contemplation of which creates a subtle intelligence and generates a great thirst for knowledge. But 340 apart from these benefits sight gives us others of the highest value, by enabling us to distinguish between kinsfolk and strangers, friends and enemies, and to shun the harmful and choose the beneficent. And while it is true that each of the other members of the body has its appropriate and very indispensable use, as the feet for walking and running and the other activities to which the legs are instrumental, and the hands for doing and giving and receiving things, the eyes may be said to have a common value and to create the conditions under which these members and all the others can operate successfully. The strongest testimony to this truth 341 is afforded by the blind, who cannot make the proper use <sup>a</sup> of their hands or feet and thus verify the name

## PHILO

ἐπαληθεύοντες, ἦν οὐκ ἐπ' ὀνειδίει μᾶλλον ἢ οἴκτω  
 θέσθαι φασὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἀδυνάτους ὀνομάσαντας·  
 ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὀμμάτων φθορᾷ καὶ αἱ τοῦ σώ-  
 ματος δυνάμεις οὐχ ὑποσκελίζονται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 342 φθείρονται. θαυμασιώτατον δὲ καὶ ἀκοή χρῆμα,  
 δι' ἧς μέλη καὶ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοί, ἔτι δὲ ἁρμονίαι  
 καὶ συμφωνίαι καὶ τῶν γενῶν καὶ συστημάτων αἱ  
 μεταβολαὶ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ μουσικὴν ἐπι-  
 κρίνεται, καὶ λόγων [τε] τῶν κατὰ διεξόδους [καὶ]  
 παμπληθεῖς ἰδέαι δικανικῶν συμβουλευτικῶν ἐγκω-  
 μαστικῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐν ἱστορίαις καὶ διαλόγοις  
 καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀμιλίαις ἀναγκαίαις περὶ τῶν ἐν βίῳ  
 πραγμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἀεὶ πλησιάζοντας· συνόλως  
 γὰρ διὰ φωνῆς διττὴν ἐχούσης δύναμιν, εἰς τε τὸ  
 λέγειν καὶ τὸ ᾄδειν, ἐκάτερα τὰ ὦτα<sup>1</sup> διακρίνει πρὸς  
 343 ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς· ὠδὴ γὰρ καὶ λόγος ὑγιεινὰ καὶ  
 σωτήρια φάρμακα, ἡ μὲν τὰ πάθη κατεπάδουσα καὶ  
 τὸ ἄρρυθμον ἐν ἡμῖν ῥυθμοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐκμελὲς μέλεσι,  
 τὸ δ' ἄμετρον μέτροις ἐπιστομίζουσα—ποικίλον δ'  
 ἐστὶ καὶ παντοδαπὸν ἕκαστον, ὡς μουσικοὶ καὶ  
 [264] ποιηταὶ μαρτυροῦσιν, οἷς | πιστεύειν ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἐπιτήδευμα τοῖς εὖ πεπαιδευμένοις—, ὁ δὲ λόγος  
 ἐπέχων καὶ ἀνακόπτων τὰς ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμὰς καὶ  
 τοὺς κεκρατημένους ἀφροσύναις καὶ ἀηδίαῖς ἐκ-  
 νοσηλεύων, μαλακώτερον μὲν τοὺς ὑπέικοντας,

<sup>1</sup> mss. ταῦτα, which Cohn printed but corrected in his Addenda (from the Armenian) to τὰ ὦτα.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in Attic law. See L. & S. (revised), which gives the reference to Aristotle, 'Ath. Pol. 49. 4, where we have *δοκιμάζει*  
 300

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 341-343

of incapable<sup>a</sup> given to them in the past, more, we are told, in pity than as a reproach. For when the eyes are destroyed, the capacities of the body are not merely overthrown, but actually perish. In 342 hearing too we have something very marvellous. By means of it we distinguish melodies and metres and rhythm, and with them the harmonies and consonances, and the varieties of genera and systems<sup>b</sup> and all the elements of music ; and again, the multitudinous kinds of set speeches delivered in the law-courts, in the senate, in laudations, as well as the language used in historical narrative and dialogues and discussions of matters of business which we are bound to have with those with whom we come in contact from time to time. For we may say in sum that the voice has a twofold capacity for speech and song. Both these are assessed by the ears to the benefit of the soul. For both are medicaments, health-giving and life- 343 preserving. Song charms away the passions and controls the irregular element in us with its rhythm, the discordant with its melodies, the immoderate with its measures. And each of these three assumes every variety of form, as the musicians and poets testify, belief in whom necessarily becomes habitual in those who have received a good education. Speech checks and hampers impulses to vice and effects the cure of those in whom foolish and distressful thoughts have gained the mastery. It deals more gently with

δὲ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ἢ βουλή. It then appears that the term includes paupers and τοὺς τὸ σῶμα πεπηρωμένους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μηδὲν ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι. See also the oration of Lysias 24, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, where the defendant argues his right to the privileges.

<sup>b</sup> For the use of these words to translate γένη καὶ συστήματα see note on *De Som.* i. 28.

## PHILO

σφοδρότερον δὲ τοὺς ἀφηνιάζοντας, αἴτιος γίνεται τῶν μεγίστων ὠφελειῶν.

- 344 LXIII. Τοιαῦτα συνέιροντες οἷ τε τοῦ νοῦ θιασῶται καὶ οἱ τῶν αἰσθήσεων οἱ μὲν ἐκείνον οἱ δὲ ταύτας θεοπλαστοῦσιν ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἐκλαθόμενοι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντος θεοῦ. διὸ πάντας εἰκότως ἀπήλασεν ἱεροῦ συλλόγου, τοὺς τε τὰς ἰδέας ἀναιρουῦντας, “θλαδίας” ὑπειπῶν, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀθέους, οἷς ὄνομα οἰκείον τὸ “ἀποκόπων” ἔθετο, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας εἰσηγητὰς θεογονίας, οὓς ἐκάλεσεν “ἐκ πόρνης,” καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοὺς φιλαύτους, ὧν οἱ μὲν τὸν λογισμὸν, οἱ δ’ ἐκάστην τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐξεθείωσαν· ἐπιέγονται γὰρ πάντες οὗτοι πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος, εἰ καὶ ἀπὸ διαφερόντων ἄγονται βουλευμάτων, τὸν ἕνα καὶ ὄντως
- 345 ὄντα θεὸν παρησυχάζοντες. ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς γε οἱ φοιτηταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ζήτησιν οὐ μεθυσόμεθα, τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτοῦ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας εἶναι νομίζοντες καὶ ζωὴν μακραίωνα, καθὰ καὶ ὁ νόμος φησὶ τοὺς προσκειμένους τῷ θεῷ ζῆν ἅπαντας, δόγμα τιθεὶς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ φιλόσοφον· ὄντως γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄθεοι τὰς ψυχὰς τεθνάσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῷ ὄντι θεῷ τεταγμένοι τάξιν ἀθάνατον βίον ζῶσιν.

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<sup>a</sup> As their particular name (to distinguish them from the θλάδιαι).

<sup>b</sup> See Deut. iv. 4. The meaning of the original is that



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 343-345

the docile, more drastically with the rebellious, and thus becomes the source of the greatest possible benefits.

LXIII. Such is the chain of argument which leads 344 the votaries of mind and the votaries of the senses to ascribe divinity to their respective idols, forgetting in their self-assertion the God Who truly exists. And therefore Moses naturally banished them all from the holy congregation, both those who abolish the Forms, who appear under the name of "the crushed," and those who absolutely deny God, to whom he assigned the suitable<sup>a</sup> title of "the mutilated" and those who preach the opposite doctrine of a family of gods, called by him "the children of the harlot," and finally the self-assertive, one party of whom deify the reason, the other each several sense. For these last all press to the same goal, though influenced by different plans for attaining it, and ignore the one and really existing God. But we, the scholars and disciples of Moses, 345 will not forgo our quest of the Existent, holding that the knowledge of Him is the consummation of happiness. It is also agelong life. The law tells us that all who "cleave to God live,"<sup>b</sup> and herein it lays down a vital doctrine fraught with much wisdom. For in very truth the godless are dead in soul, but those who have taken service in the ranks of the God Who only is are alive, and that life can never die.

those who cleave to God when the others followed Baal-Peor are alive to-day. Philo gives this general meaning to the text in *De Fug.* 56 also.

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, II

The Third Commandment (1-38).

While swearing at all is to be deprecated, since the simple word should be enough, to swear by parents or heaven and the like is better than using God's name (1-5), which many do recklessly (6-8). When swearing is necessary the oath must be performed, if it can be lawfully (9). To call God to witness a falsehood is impious (10-11). Criminal or vindictive oaths, however, should not be performed (12-17). Philo then condemns the arrogant swearing of the extravagant rich and contrasts them with others who though rich live simply (18-23). He discusses vows and particularly the rule by which widows, unlike virgins and wives, cannot cancel a vow (24-25). This is susceptible of an allegorical interpretation (28-31). This is interrupted by 26-27, which returns to the subject of perjury and the penalties for the perjurer and his accomplices. The Pentateuchal regulations for assessing votive offerings are then discussed, when the votary offers (a) himself (32-34), (b) an animal (35-36), (c) a house (37-38).

The Fourth Commandment (39-222).

Philo begins with a sketch of the way in which he proposes to treat the subject (39), followed by some remarks on the sacred number Seven (41), and a list of the ten feasts (41).

The first feast is the feast of every day. This conception, that the ideal life of the true philosopher is one continuous feast, is worked out with much eloquence (42-49). For its scriptural foundation see note on § 45.

The second feast, the Sabbath itself, after some further remarks on the mystical properties of Seven (56-59), is set forth partly as a necessary respite from toil (60), but still more as a time for exercising the soul in contrast to the body (61-64). The prohibition of fire (65), and the extension of the rest to servants (65-68), and to cattle (69-70) are noted. With the Sabbath we may associate other institutions which bear witness to the sanctity of Seven: (a) the cancellation of debts in the seventh year (71-73), and this leads to a denunciation of lending money on interest in general (74-78); (b) liberation of slaves in the same year, which provides an occasion for the lesson of treating slaves humanely (79-85); (c) the same lesson that consideration should be shewn not only by masters to servants, but by rulers to subjects is taught by the "sabbatical year," which leaves the land fallow

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II

in the seventh year (86-103), and also by throwing the fields open encourages generosity to the poor (104-109); (*d*) the same applies to the fiftieth year, in which estates return to the original owners (110-115), with special regulations about houses (116-121) and debtors and purchased slaves (122-123). This is followed by some general remarks (for the connexion see note on § 124) about the laws of inheritance (124-132), and the right of primogeniture (133-139).

The third feast is the New Moon, and some observations on the place of the moon in the system of things is subjoined (140-144). Fourth is the Passover, a feast in which each layman acts as priest, interpreted by Philo as the "Crossing" from the passions to wisdom (145-149). Fifth is "Unleavened Bread," and reasons are given for the time at which it occurs and the nature of the food enjoined (150-161). Sixth, the offering of the "Sheaf," is combined with the two just mentioned. Philo takes this first offering of the harvest in the double aspect of a thank-offering, (*a*) for the whole world (162-167), and (*b*) for Israel, acknowledging how much the harvest owes to nature rather than man (168-175).

Seventh is the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost (179-187). Eighth is the opening of the sacred month, or Feast of Trumpets (188-192). Ninth the Fast or Day of Atonement (193-203). Tenth the Feast of Tabernacles (204-214). All these are accompanied by a number of reflections on their origin and significance. Besides these there is the rite of offering the "Basket," for which no date can be fixed (215-222).

The Fifth Commandment (223-241).

The claims of parents are justified on the grounds that their position as Creators is analogous to that of God, and that they are the seniors, the benefactors, the rulers and the absolute masters or owners of their children (223-236). But the commandment also enjoins respect to age in general (237-238), and also the duty of parents to avoid undue indulgence (239-241).

The treatise concludes with declaring death to be the appropriate punishment for disobedience, to the Fifth (242-248), the Fourth (249-251), the Third (252-254), the Second and First (255-256). The rewards for obedience, except the Fifth, for which a definite reward is mentioned, are to be found in the thought that virtue is its own reward (257-262).

For Cohn's Numeration of Chapters see Gen. Int. p. xviii.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΙΔΕΙ  
 ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΡΙΑ ΓΕΝΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ  
 ΛΟΓΙΩΝ, ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ, ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ, ΤΟ  
 ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ· ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΘΡΚΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΕΒΑΣΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ  
 ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΤΙΜΗΣ

[270]

1 I. Ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης συντάξει δύο κεφάλαια ἠκρίβωται τῶν δέκα, τό τε περὶ τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς αὐτοκρατεῖς ἑτέρους καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν θεοπλαστεῖν χειρόκμητον· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν κατὰ μέρος διατεταγμένων ἀρμόττοντα νόμιμα. νυνὶ δὲ περὶ τριῶν τῶν κατὰ στοιχον ἑξῆς διαλεξώμεθα πάλιν ἐφαρμόττοντες τὰ προσήκοντα

2 τῶν ἐν εἴδει. πρῶτον δ' ἐστὶ τῶν τριῶν τὸ μὴ θεοῦ ὄνομα λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου, φησί, λόγος ὄρκος ἔστω, βέβαιος, ἀκλινής, ἀψευδέστατος, ἐρηρειασμένος ἀληθείᾳ. κἂν εἰ ὀμνῦναι μέντοι βιάζοντο αἱ χρεῖαι, πατρὸς ἢ

[271] μητρὸς ζώντων μὲν ὑγείαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν, | τετελευτηκότων δὲ τὴν μνήμην ὄρκον ποιητέον· ἀπεικονίσματα γὰρ οὗτοί γε καὶ μιμήματα θείας δυνάμεως εἰσι, τοὺς μὴ ὄντας εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγόντες.

## BOOK II

ON THE SPECIAL LAWS WHICH FALL UNDER THREE OF THE TEN GENERAL COMMANDMENTS, NAMELY THE THIRD ON THE DUTY OF KEEPING OATHS,<sup>a</sup> THE FOURTH ON REVERENCING THE SEVENTH DAY, AND THE FIFTH ON HONOURING PARENTS

I. In the preceding treatise we have dealt fully 1 with two of the ten heads, one directed against the acknowledgement of other sovereign gods, the other against giving divine honours to any work of men's hands. And we have described such among the particular enactments of the law as may be properly classed under either head. Let us now discuss the three next in the list, again subjoining those of the special ordinances which belong to them.

The first of the three forbids us to take God's name 2 in vain : the good man's word, it means, should be an oath, firm, unswerving, utterly free from falsehood, securely planted on truth. And if indeed occasion should force us to swear, the oath should be by a father and mother, their good health and welfare if they are alive, their memory if they are dead. For parents are copies and likenesses of the divine power, since they have brought the non-existent into exist-

<sup>a</sup> As the sequel shews, a very inadequate term to describe §§ 1-38.

## PHILO

3 ἀναγέγραπταί τις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ σοφία μάλιστα θαυμασθέντων ὀμνύς “κατὰ  
 τοῦ φόβου τοῦ πατρός,” ὑπὲρ ὠφελείας, οἶμαι, τῶν  
 ἔπειτα καὶ διδαχῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἵνα τοὺς γονεῖς ὄν  
 χρῆ τὸν τρόπον τιμῶσι στέργοντες ὡς εὐεργέτας καὶ  
 εὐλαβούμενοι ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως κατασταθέντας ἄρ-  
 χοντας καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπιχειρῶσιν ὀνομάζειν θεόν.  
 4 ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τοὺς, εἴ ποτε βιασθεῖεν ὀμνύναι,  
 τῷ μέλλειν καὶ βραδύνειν καὶ ἀποκνεῖν ἐμποιοῦντας  
 δέος οὐ μόνον τοῖς ὄρωσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς προκαλου-  
 μένοις εἰς τὸν ὄρκον· εἰώθασι γὰρ ἀναφθεγξάμενοι  
 τοσοῦτον μόνον “νῆ τόν” ἢ “μὰ τόν,” μηδὲν  
 προσπααραλαβόντες, ἐμφάσει τῆς ἀποκοπῆς τρανοῦν  
 5 ὄρκον οὐ γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ προσπααραλαβέτω  
 τις, εἰ βούλεται, μὴ μέντοι τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσ-  
 βύτατον εὐθύς αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ γῆν, ἥλιον, ἀστέρας,  
 οὐρανόν, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον· ἀξιολογώτατα γὰρ  
 ταῦτα ἄτε καὶ πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡμετέρας γενέσεως  
 καὶ προσέτι ἀγήρω διαιωιοῦντα τῇ τοῦ πεποιη-  
 6 κότος γνώμη. II. τοσαύτη δέ τινες  
 εὐχερεία καὶ ῥαθυμία χρῶνται, ὥστε τὰ ἐν γενέσει  
 πάντα ταῦθ’ ὑπερβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα  
 τῶν ὄλων ἀνατρέχειν τῷ λόγῳ τολμῶσι, μὴ τόπους  
 εἰ βέβηλοι ἢ ἱεροί, μὴ καιροὺς εἰ ἐπιτήδειοι, μὴ  
 αὐτοὺς εἰ καθαροὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, μὴ τὰ πράγ-  
 ματα εἰ μεγάλα, μὴ τὰς χρείας εἰ ἀναγκαῖαι  
 προξετάσαντες, ἀλλά, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο,

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Jacob, see Gen. xxxi. 53. “The fear” really means  
 (see *v.* 42) the God whom Isaac feared; so in R.V. it is  
 printed “Fear.” Philo evidently takes it to mean Jacob’s  
 own fear of Isaac.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 624.

<sup>c</sup> ἐμφάσει is used in the rhetorical sense of the significance

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 3-6

ence. In the laws we read of one of our first founders,<sup>a</sup> 3 who are particularly admired for their wisdom, that he swore by the fear of his father, a fact recorded, I believe, for the benefit of posterity and to teach them the necessary lesson that they should honour their parents in the proper way by showing affection to them as benefactors and awe of them as rulers appointed by nature, and should not lightly essay to use the name of God. Those persons too deserve 4 praise whose unwillingness, tardiness and shrinking, if they are ever forced to swear, raise qualms not only in the spectators but even in those who are administering the oath: such people are in the habit of saying "Yes, by —" or "No, by—"<sup>b</sup> and add nothing more, and by thus breaking off suggest<sup>c</sup> the clear sense of an oath without actually making it. But 5 also a person may add to his "Yes" or "No" if he wish, not indeed the highest and most venerable and primal cause, but earth, sun, stars, heaven, the whole universe.<sup>d</sup> For these are worthy of highest respect, since they have precedence in time over our place in creation, and also will remain for ever untouched by age according to the purpose of Him Who made them.

II. But so great is the lightness 6 and heedlessness shown by some that they pass by all these works of creation and allow their words to dash on to the Maker and Father of all, never staying to examine whether the place is profane or holy, whether the occasion is suitable, whether they themselves are pure in body and soul, whether the business is important or the object necessary. Instead, conveyed by the ἀποκοπή. Heinemann's translation "and so suddenly break off their affirmation so that the oath is not actually effected" misses the full meaning.

<sup>a</sup> Contrast Matthew v. 34 f.

## PHILO

- “ ἀνίπτοις χερσὶ ” πάντα φύροντες, ὡς δέον, ἐπει-  
 δὴ γλῶτταν ἢ φύσις αὐτοῖς ἔδωρήσατο, λελυμένη  
 7 χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀχαλινώτῳ πρὸς ἃ μὴ θέμις· οὓς ἐχρῆν  
 ὀργάνων τῷ καλλίστῳ, ᾧ φωνὴ καὶ λόγος τὰ  
 βιωφελέστατα καὶ κοινωνίας αἴτια τετράνωται,  
 πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ σεμνότητα καὶ εὐδαιμονισμόν κατα-  
 8 χρῆσθαι τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου. νυνὶ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν  
 ἀσεβείας περὶ ὧν ἂν τύχῃ τὰς φρικωδεστάτας  
 ὀνομάζουσι κλήσεις καὶ ἄλλα ἐπ’ ἄλλοις ἐπιφέροντες  
 ὀνόματα σωρηδὸν οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι, νομίζοντες τῇ  
 πυκνότητι καὶ τῷ συνεχεῖ τῶν ἐπαλλήλων ὄρκων  
 οὐ διανοοῦνται περιέσεσθαι, λίαν ὄντες εὐήθεις· οὐ  
 γὰρ πίστεως ἢ πολυορκία τεκμήριον ἀλλ’ ἀπιστίας  
 ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν.
- 9 III. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἐκβιασθεὶς ὁμόση περὶ παντὸς  
 [272] οὐτινοσοῦν, ὃ μὴ νόμος | ἀπειρήκε, παντὶ σθένει καὶ  
 μηχανῇ πάσῃ τὸν ὄρκον βεβαιούτῳ μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν  
 τιθέμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ γνωσθέντος τελείωσιν, καὶ  
 μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν μὴ ὄργαι ἀτίθασοι ἢ λελυττηκότες  
 ἔρωτες ἢ ἐπιθυμίαι ἀκάθεκτοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκμήνω-  
 σιν, ὡς ἀγνοῆσαι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα,  
 λογισμῷ δὲ καὶ διανοίᾳ νηφούση ποιῆται τὸν ὄρκον.  
 10 τί γὰρ ἄμεινον ἢ ἀψευδεῖν παρ’ ὄλον τὸν βίον καὶ  
 ταῦτα μάρτυρι θεῷ χρώμενον; ὄρκος γὰρ οὐδὲν

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* vi. 266 “I fear to pour a libation to Zeus with unwashed hands.”

<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* “causes” in antithesis to the “cause” below. But in English we can hardly call “words” the “cause of fellowship.” I have introduced “creators” and “created” to preserve something of the antithesis.

<sup>c</sup> καὶ ταῦτα, “and that too,” is difficult. The natural mean-



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 6-10

with unwashed hands,<sup>a</sup> as the phrase goes, they make a foul brew of everything, as though Nature's gift of a tongue justified them in using it without restraint or bridle for unlawful purposes, whereas 7 that most excellent of instruments which gives clear expression to voice and words, those great benefactors of human life and creators<sup>b</sup> of a sense of fellowship, should have been employed to the full by them to ascribe honour and majesty and blessedness to the Cause Which has created all things. As it is, so 8 highly impious are they that on any chance matter the most tremendous titles are on their lips and they do not blush to use name after name, one piled upon another, thinking that the continual repetition of a string of oaths will secure them their object. A very foolish delusion. For in the eyes of sensible people much swearing is a proof, not of good faith, but of faithlessness.

III. But if anyone has been absolutely compelled 9 to swear on any matter whatever, so long as it is not forbidden by the law, he should use all his strength and every means in his power to make good his oath, and allow nothing to hinder him from carrying out his decision, particularly when he has taken the oath in a reasonable and sober frame of mind, not distraught by savage tempers or frenzied yearnings or uncontrollable desires, so that he does not know what he says or does. For what is better than to practise 10 a lifelong veracity, and to have God as our witness thereto?<sup>c</sup> For an oath is nothing else than to calling is that having taken God as our witness enhances the excellence of keeping to the truth. But this contradicts what he has said against swearing at all. Perhaps in this sentence he passes for a moment from oaths to vows, *i.e.* from swearing *by* God to swearing *to* God.

## PHILO

- ἄλλο ἢ μαρτυρία θεοῦ περὶ πράγματος ἀμφισβητου-  
 μένου· θεὸν δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθεῖ<sup>1</sup> καλεῖν πάντων ἀν-  
 11 οσιώτατον. ὁ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιῶν μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς  
 βοᾷ, κἂν ἡσυχάζειν δοκῇ· “ σοὶ χρῶμαι τοῦ ἀδικεῖν  
 προκαλύμματι· αἰδουμένῳ μοι τὸ δοκεῖν ἀμαρτάνειν  
 συνέργησον, ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πονηρευομένου τὴν αἰτίαν  
 ὑπόστηθι· μέλει γάρ μοι πλημμελοῦντι μὴ φαύλῳ  
 νομίζεσθαι· σὺ δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης  
 ἀλογεῖς οὐδὲν εὐφημίας ἐπιστρεφόμενος.” ἄπερ  
 καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἐννοεῖσθαι ἀσεβέστατον· ἀγανα-  
 κτήσαι γὰρ ἂν οὐχ ὅτι θεὸς ὁ πάσης κακίας ἀ-  
 μέτοχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατήρ καὶ ὀθνεῖος ἄνθρωπος  
 μὴ τελείως ἀρετῆς ἄγευστος, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούει.
- 12 Πάντας μὲν οὖν ὄρκους, ὡς ἔφην, βεβαιωτέον,  
 ὅσοι περὶ καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων γίνονται πρὸς  
 ἐπανόρθωσιν ἰδίων ἢ κοινῶν πραγμάτων, φρονή-  
 σεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὀσιότητος ἡγουμένων.—  
 IV. τούτοις ἐμφέρονται καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν αἱ νομι-  
 μώταται διὰ περιουσίαν ἀγαθῶν ἢ παρόντων ἢ  
 προσδοκωμένων γινόμεναι—, τοὺς δ' ἔνεκα τῶν  
 13 ἐναντίων ἐπικυροῦν οὐκ εὐαγές. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ ὁμ-  
 νύουσιν, ἐὰν τύχη, κλοπὰς καὶ ἱεροσυλίας ἢ φθορὰς  
 καὶ μοιχείας ἢ τραύματα καὶ σφαγὰς ἢ τι τῶν  
 ὁμοιοτρόπων κακῶν ἐργάσεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀνυπερθέτως  
 αὐτὰ δρῶσι ποιούμενοι πρόφασιν τὸ εὐορκεῖν, ὡς  
 οὐκ ἄμεινον<sup>3</sup> καὶ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον μᾶλλον τῆς (οὐ)

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀληθεία (= ἀληθεία).

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἐργάσασθαι.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς οὐκ ἄμεινον <ὄν> would, I think, be more usual Greek.  
 Cf. *De Dec.* 92.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 10-13

God to bear witness in a disputed matter, but to call God to witness to a falsehood is the very height of profanity. To do so is practically to say outright, 11 even though one appear not to utter a word, "I take Thee as a cloak for my wrongdoing. I am ashamed to appear a sinner, be Thou my accomplice; take the charge of my villainy upon Thyself instead of me. For it is a matter of weight to me in my wickedness not to be thought a rogue, but Thou carest not for the opinion of the multitude and troublest not that men should speak well of Thee." Such words or thoughts are impious in the extreme. To hear them would rouse the indignation, not only of God, Who is exempt from all wickedness, but also of a father or even a stranger who knew anything at all of the flavour of virtue.

So then, as I have said, all oaths must be made good 12 so long as they are concerned with matters honourable and profitable for the better conduct of public or private affairs and are subject to the guidance of wisdom and justice and righteousness, IV. under which head come also the perfectly lawful vows made in acknowledgement of an abundant measure of blessings either present or expected. But when the oaths have objects of the opposite kind in view, religion forbids us to put them into execution. For 13 there are some who swear at random<sup>a</sup> to commit acts of theft and sacrilege or rape and adultery or assaults and murders or other similar crimes and carry them out without hesitation on the pretext that they must be faithful to their oaths, as though it were not better and more pleasing to God to abstain from wrong-

<sup>a</sup> Or "as opportunity offers."

## PHILO

- παραβάσεως<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὄρκων τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἐπεὶ  
 δικαιοσύνη καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ νόμος ἐστὶ πάτριος καὶ  
 θεσμὸς ἀρχαῖος· νόμοι δὲ καὶ θεσμοὶ τί ἕτερον ἢ  
 φύσεως ἱεροὶ λόγοι τὸ βέβαιον καὶ τὸ πάγιον ἐξ  
 14 αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, ὡς ὄρκων ἀδιαφορεῖν; ἴστω δὴ πᾶς  
 ἐνωμότως ἀδिका δρῶν, ὅτι εὐορκεῖ μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ  
 πολλῆς φυλακῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἄξιον ὄρκον ἀνα-  
 τρέπει, ὧ τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἐπισφραγίζεται·  
 προστίθησι γὰρ ὑπαίτια ὑπαίτιοις, ἐν οὐ δέοντι  
 [273] γινόμενοις ὄρκοις, οὓς πολὺ | βέλτιον ἦν ἡσυχάζε-  
 15 σθαι, πράξεις παρανόμους. ἀπεχόμενος οὖν τοῦ  
 ἀδικοπραγεῖν ποτνιασθῶ τὸν θεόν, ἵνα μεταδῶ τῆς  
 ἴλεω δυνάμεως αὐτῷ συγγνοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἀβουλία  
 χρυσάμενος ὤμοσε· διπλάσια γὰρ αἰρεῖσθαι κακά,  
 δυνάμενον τὴν ἡμίσειαν αὐτῶν ἀποφορτίσασθαι,  
 16 μανία καὶ φρενοβλάβεια δυσίατος. εἰσὶ δ'  
 οἱ τὴν φύσιν ἄμικτοι καὶ ἀκοινωνήτοι δι' ὑπερ-  
 βολὴν μισανθρωπίας γεγονότες ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ὄργῆς οἷα  
 χαλεπῆς δεσποίνης ἐκβιασθέντες ὄρκῳ τὴν ἀγριό-  
 τητα πιστοῦνται τῶν ἡθῶν, οἵτινες οὐ φασι  
 ὁμοτράπεζον ἢ ὁμωρόφιον ἐξεῖν τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν  
 δεῖνα ἢ πάλιν τῷ δεῖνι μὴ παρέξειν ὠφέλειάν τινα ἢ  
 παρ' ἐκείνου τι λήψεσθαι μέχρι τελευτῆς· ἔστι δ'  
 ὅτε καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ ἀσύμβατον διαφυλάτ-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn following Mangey prints for the τῆς παραβάσεως of the mss. βεβαιώσεως. I have hesitated in making the correction printed above, because it seems strange that anything so obvious should have escaped Mangey, Cohn, Heinemann and others. But I can see nothing against it. The double negative is rather effective than otherwise. The omission of the negative in the mss. of Philo is common (see in this treatise §§ 129, 132), and Philo was no doubt familiar with the use of οὐ with a substantive, as τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν . . . οὐ διάλυσιν in Thuc. i. 137 and elsewhere.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 13-16

doing than to abstain from breaking their oaths. Justice and every virtue are commanded by the law of our ancestors and by a statute established of old, and what else are laws and statutes but the sacred words of Nature, possessing intrinsically a fixity and stability which makes them equivalent to oaths? And everyone who commits a wrong because he has 14 sworn to do so may be assured that the act is not one of faithfulness to a pledge but breaks the oath so worthy of all careful observance with which she sets her seal<sup>a</sup> on what is just and excellent. For he adds guilt to guilt when oaths taken for improper purposes which had better have been left unspoken are followed by actions which violate the law. Let him 15 abstain, then, from wrongful conduct and supplicate God, that He may grant him a share of what His gracious power can give and pardon him for what he has sworn so unadvisedly. For to choose a double measure of ill when he could disburden himself of the half of it is the act of one almost hopelessly imbecile and insane.

But there are some who, either 16 because through excessive moroseness their nature has lost the sense of companionship and fellow-feeling or because they are constrained by anger which rules them like a stern mistress, confirm the savagery of their temper with an oath. They declare that they will not admit such and such a person to their board or under their roof, or again, that they will not render assistance to so and so or accept anything from him till his life's-end. Sometimes they carry on their vindictiveness after that end has come and leave

<sup>a</sup> I take *φύσις* to be the subject of *ἐπισφραγίζεται*. Heine-mann takes the verb as passive, but I can find no example of this.

## PHILO

- τουςιν οὐδὲ νεκροῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιτρέποντες ἐν  
 17 διαθήκαις<sup>1</sup> τὰ νομιζόμενα παρασχέιν. οἷς παρ-  
 αινεσαίμι ἂν καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς προτέροις, εὐχαῖς  
 καὶ θυσίαις ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἵνα εὖρωνται  
 τινὰ ψυχικῶν ἀρρωστημάτων θεραπείαν ἀναγκαίαν,  
 ἃ μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἰκανὸς ἰάσασθαι.
- 18 V. "Ἐτεροι δ' εἰσὶ κομπασταὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας  
 φυσωμένων,<sup>2</sup> οἱ λιμοδοξοῦντες οὐδενὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν  
 ὠφελιμωτάτην ὀλιγοδείαν χρῆσθαι δικαιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ προτρέπη τις ἔνεκα τοῦ τὸν ἀφηγιασμὸν τῶν  
 ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀναχαιτίσαι, τὴν νουθεσίαν ὕβριν εἶναι  
 νομίζουσι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον ὠθούμενοι βίον  
 ἀλογοῦσι τῶν σωφρονιστῶν, γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην  
 τιθέμενοι τὰς φρονήσεως καλὰς ὁμοῦ καὶ λυσιτελε-  
 19 στάτας ὑφηγήσεις. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τύχοι τις εἶναι  
 περιουσία καὶ ἀφθονία τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, ὄρκοις  
 ἐπισφραγίζονται τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν εἰς  
 πολυτέλειαν· οἷον δὴ τι λέγω· πρῶτην τις τῶν οὐκ  
 ὀλίγα κεκτημένων ὑγρὸν καὶ διαρρέοντα βίον ἀспа-  
 σάμενος, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβύτης παρὼν συγγενῆς ἢ  
 πατρικὸς ὡς γ' οἶμαι φίλος ἐνουθέτει πρὸς τὸ  
 σεμνότερον καὶ αὐστηρότερον τὴν δίαιταν παρα-  
 καλῶν μεταβαλεῖν, τὴν παραίνεσιν οὐ μετρίως  
 δυσχεράνας ὤμοσεν ἀντιφιλονεικῶν, ἕως ἂν τὰς

<sup>1</sup> Mangey preferred *θήκαις*. See note a.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn regards τῶν . . . *φυσωμένων* as corrupt, and Heinemann would expunge *κομπασταὶ* as a gloss, but see note b.

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<sup>a</sup> Mangey's suggestion of *θήκαις* (or *ταῖς θήκαις*?) for *διαθήκαις*, i.e. "in the tomb" is tempting. That the implacable man should take steps to insure that when he himself is dead his enemy should suffer after *his* death, seems rather absurd.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 16-19

directions in their wills<sup>a</sup> against even granting the customary rites to his corpse. To such persons I 17 would give the advice which I gave to the former class, that they should propitiate God with prayers and sacrifices to win from Him what their needs demand, namely, the healing treatment of their spiritual distempers which no human power is competent to cure.

V. But there are others, boastful persons,<sup>b</sup> of the 18 sort that is puffed up by arrogance, who in their craving for high position determine to have nothing to do in any way with the frugal, the truly profitable mode of living. Indeed, if any rebuke them in order to rein in the unruliness of their desires, they regard the admonition as an insult, and as they press forward to a career of luxury disregard their correctors and hold the admirable and also highly valuable instructions of wisdom a matter for laughter and mockery. And if they happen to have some abundance 19 of resources and means of living on a lavish scale, they employ oaths to set the seal on their use and enjoyment of the wealth which enables them to spend so freely. Here is an instance of what I mean. A short time ago a man of considerable property who had found a loose and dissipated style of living to his taste, was in the presence of an elderly person, a relation or old family friend, I believe, who was reproving him and advising him to make a change and conduct himself with more strictness and seriousness. The other strongly resented this reproof and countered the challenge by swearing that so long as

<sup>b</sup> Cohn's difficulty seems to me imaginary. I understand the *κομπασται* to be persons who *talk* in the truculent manner described below. But this is not necessarily true of all who are "puffed up by arrogance."

## PHILO

- χορηγίας ἔχη καὶ παρασκευάς, μηδενὶ χρήσεσθαι τῶν εἰς εὐτέλειαν, μὴ κατὰ πόλιν, μὴ κατ' ἀγρούς, μὴ πλέων, μὴ πεζεύων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐπιδείξεσθαι. πλούτου δὲ ταυθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπίδειξις οὐκ ἔστι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλαζονείας καὶ
- 20 ἀκρασίας. καίτοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς μεγάλας ἡγεμονίαις οὐκ ὀλίγοι μέχρι νῦν εἰσιν οἱ παμπληθεῖς ἔχοντες παρασκευὰς καὶ χορηγίας ἀφθόνους, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνάου τινὸς πηγῆς πλούτου ρέοντος αὐτοῖς ἀδιαστάτως, ὅμως ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ οἱ πένητες ἡμεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε τρέπονται, κεραμεῶς κύλικας καὶ
- [274] ὀβελίας ἄρτους καὶ ἐλαίας ἢ τυρόν ἢ λάχανα | προσόψημα, καὶ θέρους μὲν περιζῶμα καὶ λεπτήν ὀθόνην, χειμῶνος δὲ χλαῖναν ἄρραγῆ καὶ στιφρὰν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν κοίτην ἔστιν ὅτε χαμαίστρωτα, πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες κλίνας ἐλεφαντίναις ἢ χελώνης ἢ χρυσοῦ πεποιημέναις καὶ στρωμαῖς ἀνθοβαφέσι καὶ ἐσθήσιν ἀλουργίσι καὶ πεμμάτων μελιπήκτων περιεργίαις καὶ τραπεζῶν πολυτελείαις.
- 21 αἴτιον δ' οὐ μόνον, οἶμαι, τὸ φύσεως αὐτοὺς εὐμοίρου λαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐφάψασθαι, ἥτις ἀνεδίδαξε πρὸ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τιμᾶν, ἥτις καὶ ἐνδαιτυμένη τῇ ψυχῇ μόνον οὐ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπομνήσκει τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ ὑπερόγκων ἀντισπῶσα καὶ στέλλουσα καὶ τὸ
- 22 ἄνισον ἰσότητι θεραπεύουσα. τοιγαροῦν τὰς πόλεις εὐθηνίας, εὐπορίας, εὐνομίας, εἰρήνης ἀναπεπλή-

<sup>a</sup> For a similar, though much longer, diatribe against luxurious living see *De Som.* ii. 18 ff.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 19-22

he possessed his incomings and goods in stock he would take no step in the direction of economy, either in town or country, either on shipboard or on the road, but would make display of his wealth always and everywhere. But this is evidently not so much an exhibition of wealth as of arrogance and intemperance.

And yet to this day<sup>20</sup> among those who hold high offices of authority there are not a few who possessing accumulated goods in vast numbers and abundant resources, to whom wealth is ceaselessly flowing in as from a perennial fountain, still sometimes betake themselves to the use of such things as we poor people use.<sup>a</sup> Their cups are earthen, their loaves spit-baked, their extra dishes olives or cheese or greens : in the summer they wear a girdle and a thin shirt and in the winter a stout rent-proof mantle. The floor will sometimes serve for their bedstead : they have nothing to say to beds of ivory-work or made of tortoiseshell and gold, or bedding brocaded with flowers and purple-dyed garments and elaborate honey-cakes and tables spread with costly luxuries. The reason, I take it, is not only that they are blessed<sup>21</sup> with a fine nature, but also that they have been brought under the influence of a right training from their earliest years. That training has taught them to value the interests of the man before those of the ruler. It makes its abode in their souls, and hardly a day passes but it reminds it of their common humanity and draws them away from lofty and overweening thought, reduces their swollen dimensions, and medicines their inequality with equality. And<sup>22</sup> therefore they have filled their cities with plenty and abundance, with order and peace ; of no good thing

## PHILO

- κασιν, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπεξελόμενοι, πάντα δ' ἀφειδῶς καὶ ἀταμιεύτως χαριζόμενοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡγεμόνων ἔργα ταῦτα  
 23 καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια. τὰ δὲ τῶν νεοπλούτων ἐκεῖνα πλάνω τινὶ τύχης εἰς πολυχρηματίαν περιηκόντων, οἱ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ βλέποντα πλοῦτον ἐξ ἀρετῶν τελείων συνεστῶτα καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὰς πράξεων οὐδ' ὄναρ ἴσασι, τῷ δὲ τυφλῷ προσέπταισαν, ἐφ' οὗ σκηριπτόμενοι κατ' ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν οὐχ ὀρῶντες εἰς ἀνοδίας ἐκτρέπονται, θαυμάζοντες τὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἄξια σπουδῆς καὶ τὰ φύσει τίμια γελῶντες· οἷς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ὄρκον ἐν οὐ δέοντι καιρῷ ποιούμενοις οὐ μετρίως ἐπιτιμᾶ καὶ ὄνειδίζει· δυσκάθαρτοι γὰρ καὶ δυσίατοι, ὡς μηδὲ παρὰ θεῷ τῷ τὴν φύσιν ἴλεω συγγνώμης ἀξιοῦσθαι.
- 24 VI. Παρθένων δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν τὸ περὶ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοκρατές ἀφείλετο, τῶν μὲν παρθένων τοὺς πατέρας κυρίους, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιγνώμονας ἀποφήνας εἰς τε βεβαίωσιν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ λύσιν· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· αἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ νεότητα δύναμιν ὄρκων οὐκ ἴσασι, ὡς χρῆζειν τῶν ἐπικρινούντων, αἱ δὲ πολλάκις ὑπ' εὐχερείας ὁμνύουσιν, ἃ μὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσι συνοίσει· διόπερ αὐτοῖς ἀνέθηκε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τὰ ὁμοσθέντα<sup>1</sup> φυλάττειν  
 25 ἢ τούναντίον. χῆραι δὲ μὴ ῥαδίως ὁμνύτωςαν—οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὺς παραιτητάς, οὔτε ἄνδρας ὧν δι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νομισθέντα οἱ ὀνομασθέντα.

<sup>a</sup> See on i. § 25.

<sup>b</sup> Or "stumbled over," but σκηριπτόμενοι seems to suggest

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 22-25

have they mulcted them, all good things have they bestowed freely, unsparingly and unstintedly. These and the like are the actions of noble men, rulers in the true sense. Far different are the 23 actions of the newly rich who have been wafted into opulence by a freak of fortune. They know nothing, have never even dreamt, of the true wealth which has eyes to see,<sup>a</sup> whose substance is the perfect virtues and the actions which conform with them; it is a blind wealth against which they have struck<sup>b</sup> and taking it for their support they fail of necessity to see the road before them and wander away into pathless wilds, admiring what deserves no serious respect and mocking at what nature would bid them honour. Such persons, when they take a mistimed oath, are rebuked and reproached in no gentle terms by the holy word. Hardly can they be purged and healed, so that even the gracious nature of God deems them unworthy of His pardon.

VI. <sup>c</sup> Virgins and wives are not allowed full control 24 of their vows by the law. It puts the virgins in subjection to their fathers and sets the husbands to judge for their wives whether the oaths are to hold good or to be cancelled. That is surely reasonable, for the former, owing to their youth, do not know the value of oaths, so that they need others to judge for them, and the latter often, through want of sense, swear what would not be to their husbands' advantage; and therefore it gave the husbands power to maintain the promise, or the reverse. <sup>d</sup> Widows who have none 25 to intervene on their behalf, neither husbands from

a blind person (*οὐχ ὁρῶντες*) coming into collision with another blind person. Cf. "shall the blind lead the blind?"

<sup>c</sup> Num. xxx. 4 ff.

<sup>d</sup> Num. xxx. 9 ff.

εξεύχθησαν οὔτε πατέρας ἀφ' ὧν μετανέστησαν, ὅτε τὴν πρὸς γάμον ἀποικίαν ἐστέλλοντο—, ἐπειδὴ μένειν τοὺς τούτων ὄρκους ἀναγκαῖον ἐρημίᾳ τῶν

26 κηδομένων βεβαιουμένους.

[275] Ἐὰν δέ τις | ἐπιορκούντ' αἱ τινα εἰδὼς μὴ καταμνήσῃ ἢ ἀπελέγξῃ φιλίᾳ ἢ αἰδοῖ ἢ φόβῳ διδούς πλέον ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίῳις ἔνοχος ἔστω· διαφέρει γὰρ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲν τὸ συν-

27 ἐπιγράφεσθαι ἀδικοῦντι. δίκαι δὲ κατ' ἐπιόρκων αἱ μὲν ἀνάκεινται τῷ θεῷ, αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποις, θεῷ μὲν αἱ ἀνωτάτω καὶ μέγισται—ἴλεως γὰρ οὐ γίνεται τοῖς οὕτως ἀσεβοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μένειν εἰς αἰεὶ δυσκαθάρτους ἔῃ, δικαίως, οἶμαι, καὶ προσηκόντως· ὁ γὰρ ἀμελήσας τί δεινὸν εἰ ἀν-

28 ἀμεληθήσεται, οἷς δίδωσι τὰ ἴσα καρπούμενος;—αἱ δ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων διάφοροι, θάνατος ἢ πληγαί, τῶν μὲν ἀμεινόνων καὶ περιπτῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν θανάτου δίκας βεβαιούντων, τῶν δὲ μαλακώτερον χρωμένων ὀργαῖς δημοσίᾳ μάστιγι τυπτόντων ἀναφανδὸν ἐν κοινῷ· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πληγαὶ τοῖς μὴ δουλοπρεπέσιν οὐκ ἔλαττον δίκης θανάτου.

29 VII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αἱ ῥηταὶ προστάξεις περιέχουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀλληγορηῆσαι τὰ περὶ τὸν

<sup>a</sup> Lev. v. 1. R.V. "If anyone sin in that he heareth the voice of adjuration" (A.V. "swearing") "he being a witness, whether he hath seen or known, if he do not utter it then he shall bear his iniquity." The meaning of "adjuration" apparently is a solemn appeal in the name of God to give witness (as in the bans of marriage). Philo takes the Greek word for adjuration ὄρκισμός as = "(false) swearing."

<sup>b</sup> Probably (as Heinemann), an allusion to the LXX form of the third commandment, "shall not purify," οὐ μὴ καθάρῃσι, for "shall not hold guiltless."

<sup>c</sup> No definite punishments for perjury, as distinguished

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 25-29

whom they have been parted, nor fathers whom they left behind them when they set out to find a new home in marriage, should be slow to swear, for their oaths stand beyond repeal, the inevitable result of their lack of protectors.

<sup>a</sup> If anyone knows that another has perjured himself, and influenced by friendship or shame or fear rather than piety, fails to inform against him or bring him to justice, he must be liable to the same penalties as the perjurer. For to range oneself on the side of the wrongdoer is just the same as committing the wrong. As to the penalties of perjury, some proceed from God, others from man. The highest and greatest are from God, Who is not gentle to such impiety, but suffers the guilty to remain for ever in their well-nigh hopeless uncleanness, a just and fitting penalty, I hold.<sup>b</sup> For he who has ignored God, how can he wonder if he is ignored in his turn and is repaid in his own coin? The penalties given by men are different, death or the lash.<sup>c</sup> The better kind whose piety is extra-fervent maintain the penalty of death, while those whose feelings of indignation are not so stern have the offenders scourged by order of the State in a public place and in the sight of all. Indeed except to persons of a servile nature, a flogging is as severe a penalty as death.

VII. Such is the sum and substance of these ordinances<sup>d</sup> taken literally. But we may also allegorize

from false witness in general, appear in the Pentateuch. See on § 252.

<sup>d</sup> The allegory which follows only applies to §§ 24 and 25, and not to §§ 26-28. Have these sections been misplaced? The subject of vows which occupies the rest of the treatment of the third commandment differs radically from oaths, and the sudden return to the question of perjury is very awkward.

## PHILO

- τόπον ἔχοντα θεωρίαν τὴν διὰ συμβόλων. εἰδέναι τοίνυν προσήκει ὅτι ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος πατρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει δύναμιν, ἐπινοίας διαφόροις· ἀνδρὸς μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀρετῶν σπόρον ὡσπερ εἰς ἀγαθὴν ἄρουραν τὴν ψυχὴν καταβάλλεται, πατρὸς δ' ὅτι βουλὰς ἀγαθὰς καὶ πράξεις καλὰς καὶ σπουδαίας γεννᾶν ἐπέφυκε καὶ γεννήσας ἐκτρέφει ποτίμοις δόγμασιν, ἃ παιδεία καὶ σοφία
- 30 χορηγοῦσι. διάνοια δ' ἀπεικάζεται τοτὲ μὲν παρθένῳ, τοτὲ δὲ γυναικὶ ἢ χηρευούσῃ ἢ ἀνδρὶ ἔτι ἡρμοσμένη· παρθένος μὲν διάνοια ἀγνήν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον διαφυλάττουσα ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τε ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λυπῶν καὶ φόβων, ἐπιβούλων παθῶν, ἧς τὴν προστασίαν ὁ γεννητῆς ἀνήπτει πατήρ· τῆς δ' ὡς γυναικὸς ἀστείῳ λόγῳ τῷ κατ' ἀρετὴν συμβιούσης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος οὗτος ἐπαγγέλλεται σπείρων ἀνδρὸς τρόπον ἐννοίας
- 31 ἀρίστας. ἢ δ' ἂν ἀπορφανισθῇ ψυχὴ καὶ γενεᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ ἐπιγαμίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, χηρεύουσα τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ἔρημος οὐσα σοφίας, ὑπαίτιον ἐλομένη ζωὴν, ἔνοχος ἔστω οἷς ἔγνω καθ' ἑαυτῆς, ἰατρὸν ἀμαρτημάτων οὐκ ἔχουσα οὐθ' ὡς ἀνδρα συμβιωτὴν οὐθ' ὡς πατέρα γεννητὴν τὸν κατὰ σοφίαν λόγον.
- 32 VIII. Τῶν δὲ μὴ μόνον τὰς οὐσίας ἢ μέρη τούτων ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνάθημα ποιησαμένων ἐν εὐχαίς ὤρισε τιμάς, οὐ πρὸς κάλλος ἢ μέγεθος ἢ τι [276] τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων ἀπιδῶν, | ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀριθμὸν

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 32-34 see Lev. xxvii. 2-8.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 29-32

such parts of the subject as admit of being studied in a figurative sense. We should know, then, that nature's right reasoning has the functions both of a father and a husband, though the conceptions attached to each are different. It acts as a husband because it deposits the seed of virtue in the soul as in a fertile field. It acts as a father because its nature is to beget good intentions and noble and worthy actions, and then to foster its offspring with the water of the truths which education and wisdom abundantly supply. The mind is likened on the one hand to a virgin, on the other to a woman either in widowhood, or still united to a husband. As a virgin it keeps itself pure and uncorrupted from the malignant passions, pleasures and desires and griefs and fears. Over this virgin mind the father who begat it has assumed authority. But when, like a wife, it dwells with virtuous reasoning as its worthy mate, that same reasoning promises to take charge of it and impregnates it husband-like with thoughts of highest excellence. But the soul, which is bereaved of its birth-tie with sound sense or its marriage-tie with right reasoning, is widowed of all that is most excellent and, deserted by wisdom because it has chosen a life of guilt, must stand bound by the decision which it has made to its own undoing. It has none to heal its errors, no reasoning of wisdom, either to live with it as its husband or to act as its father and begetter.

VIII. <sup>a</sup> In dealing with those who have dedicated votive offerings, not only of their property or parts of it, but of themselves, the law laid down a scale of valuation in which no regard is paid to beauty or stature or anything of the kind, but all are assessed

## PHILO

- ἴσον, διακρίνας ἄνδρας αὐτὸ μόνον γυναικῶν καὶ  
 33 νηπίους τελειῶν. κελεύει γὰρ ἀπὸ μὲν εἰκοσαετίας  
 ἄχρις ἑξήκονταετίας ἄνδρὸς εἶναι τιμὴν δραχμὰς  
 διακοσίας νομίσματος ὀλαργύρου, γυναικὸς δὲ  
 εἴκοσι πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ δὲ πενταετίας ἄχρις  
 εἰκοσαετίας τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος δραχμὰς ὀγδοήκοντα,  
 τῆς δὲ θηλείας τεσσαράκοντα, ἀπὸ δὲ βρέφους εἰς  
 πενταετίαν τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, τοῦ δὲ  
 θήλεος δώδεκα, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη βεβιω-  
 κόντων πρεσβυτῶν μὲν δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα, πρεσβυ-  
 34 τίδων δὲ τεσσαράκοντα. τὰ δ' ἴσα καὶ ἐπ' ἄρρένων  
 καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην καὶ ἐπὶ θηλειῶν ὁμοίως  
 διατάξατο, τριῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων· ἐνὸς  
 μὲν ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ καὶ ὅμοιον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς εὐχῆς,  
 εἴαν τε ὑπὸ μεγάλου τινὸς εἴαν τε καὶ ὑπ' εὐτελοῦς  
 γίνηται· δευτέρου δ' ὅτι τοὺς εὐξαμένους ἀρμόττον  
 οὐκ ἦν ταῖς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ὑποβάλλεσθαι τύχαις  
 —ἐκεῖνα γὰρ πρὸς τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εὐεξίας καὶ  
 εὐμορφίας τιμᾶται ἢ τούναντίον ἐπευωνίζεται—.  
 τρίτου δ' ὃ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτον, ὅτι παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν  
 ἀνισότης, ἰσότης δὲ παρὰ θεῷ τίμιον.
- 35 IX. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ κτηνῶν  
 τάδε νομοθετεῖται· εἴαν τις ἀφορίσῃ κτήνος, εἰ μὲν  
 εἷη καθαρὸν ἔκ τινος γένους τῶν τριῶν, ἅπερ εἰς  
 θυσίαν ἀπενεμήθη, βοῦς ἢ πρόβατον ἢ αἶξ, ἐκεῖνο  
 καταθυέτω μὴ ὑπαλλαττόμενος μήτε χεῖρον κρείτ-  
 τονος μῆτ' ἄμεινον χείρονος· οὐ γὰρ πολυσαρκία καὶ

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<sup>a</sup> E.V. "50 shekels," LXX "50 didrachma," that is, properly speaking, 100 drachmas, but Philo follows the common valuation by which the didrachmon was held to be worth half a shekel. Cf. Matt. xvii. 24 (where the R.V. translates διδραχμον by "half-shekel"), of the temple-tax based on Ex.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 32-35

equally, the sole distinctions made being between men and women and between children and adults. It ordained that from 20 years to 60 a man should be 33 valued at 200<sup>a</sup> drachmas of pure silver coinage and a woman at 120 ; from 5 to 20 years, a male at 80 and a woman at 40 drachmas ; from infancy to 5 years, a male at 20 and a female at 12 drachmas, while in the case of old persons who have lived beyond 60, the men are valued at 60 drachmas and the women at 40. The order that all males and all females should be 34 assessed equally<sup>b</sup> at every age was made for three most cogent reasons. First, because the worth of one person's vow is equal and similar to that of another, whether it is made by a person of great importance or one of mean estate ; secondly, because it was not seemly that the votaries should be subject to the vicissitudes of slaves who are valued at a high price or on the other hand are rated low accordingly as they have or have not a fine condition of body and comeliness ; thirdly, and this is the most convincing of all, that in the sight of men inequality, in the sight of God equality, is held in honour.

IX. These are the regulations laid down by the law 35 in the case of human beings.<sup>c</sup> For livestock we have the following. If a man sets apart a beast from his stock, if it is a clean specimen of one of the three kinds which are allowed for sacrifice, an ox or sheep or goat, he must sacrifice that particular animal without substituting either a better for a worse or a worse for a better. For God does not delight in the xxx. 13. So too Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 195, says that the shekel is worth 4 Attic drachmas. The same transvaluation is followed throughout this section.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* irrespective of the other considerations, beauty and stature, mentioned above.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxvii. 9-13.

## PHILO

- πίοτητι ζῶων χαίρει ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἀνυπαιτίῳ τοῦ  
 εὐξάμενου διαθέσει· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπαλλάττηται, δύο ἀνθ'  
 ἐνὸς καθιερούτω, τό τε ἀρχαῖον καὶ τὸ ἀντ' ἐκείνου.
- 36 ἐὰν δέ τις εὐξῆται τι τῶν μὴ καθαρῶν κτηνῶν,  
 ἀγέτω πρὸς τὸν δοκιμώτατον τῶν ἱερέων· ὁ δὲ  
 τιμάσθω μὴ ὑπερβάλλων τὴν ἀξίαν, προσεπιτιθείς  
 τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὸ πέμπτον, ἴν', εἰ δέοι καθαρὸν ἀντι  
 τούτου ζῶον ἱεουργεῖν, μηδὲν ὑστερίζοι τῆς ἀξίας  
 τιμῆς, καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὲρ τοῦ δυσωπῆσαι τὸν εὐξά-  
 μενον, ὅτι τὴν εὐχὴν ἐποίησατο οὐ συλλογισμῶ, τὸ  
 μὴ καθαρὸν ζῶον ὡς γ' οἶμαι τότε νομίσας εἶναι  
 καθαρὸν πλάνῳ διανοίας, κεκρατημένος ὑπὸ πάθους.
- 37 οἰκία δ' εἰ γένοιτο ἀνάθημα, πάλιν ἐχέτω τιμητὴν  
 ἱερέα· οἱ δ' ὠνούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἴσα κατατιθέτωσαν,  
 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὁ εὐξάμενος ἀνακομίζεσθαι προέλοιτο,  
 ἐπιδαιφιλευέσθω τὸ πέμπτον, κολάζων τὴν εὐ-  
 χέρειαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν, διττὸν κακόν, ἐν οἷς μὲν
- [277] ἠὔχετο τὴν εὐχέρειαν, | ἐν οἷς δ' ἐφίεται ὦν πρό-  
 τερον ἐξέστη τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, εἰ δ' ἕτερος, μηδὲν
- 38 πλέον τῆς ἀξίας κατατιθέτω. ὁ δ' εὐξάμενος μὴ  
 μακροὺς ἐμποιεῖτω χρόνους πρὸς τὴν ὦν ἠὔξατο  
 τελείωσιν· ἄτοπον γὰρ τὰς μὲν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους

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<sup>a</sup> In Leviticus simply "the priest."

<sup>b</sup> The meaning of the rule seems to be that if the animal cannot be lawfully dedicated, its owner may sell it for the price fixed by the priest, and give the money, but if he redeems it he must pay the extra fifth. The question of providing a clean animal in its stead does not appear to be considered.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "mastered by passion." But it is strange to find a mistake or delusion of this kind called a *πάθος*, though perhaps it falls in with the Stoic theory that the passions are *κρίσεις*. Cf. index in *S. V. F.* to *κρίσις*, and note on *Leg. All.* ii. 6.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 35-38

fleshiness or fatness of animals, but in the blameless intention of the votary. But if he does make any exchange, he must consecrate two instead of one, both the original and its substitute. If he has vowed any <sup>36</sup> of his unclean cattle, he must bring it to the most highly esteemed of the priests,<sup>a</sup> who must assess it not exceeding its proper value and then add a fifth part of that value, so that if a clean animal has to be provided for the sacrifice instead of this one, what is provided may not fall short of the proper value.<sup>b</sup> Further, the intention is to discomfit the votary for having made a vow without reflection under the impression that the impure animal was on this occasion pure, a mistake presumably due to some mental aberration which powerfully affected him.<sup>c</sup> If he <sup>37</sup> dedicates his house, again he should take a priest as assessor, but the sums to be disbursed by the purchasers vary. <sup>d</sup> If the votary determines to redeem the house, he must spend more freely and add a fifth as a punishment for two bad things, thoughtlessness and lust of possession, the former shown in the matter of his vow, the latter in his desire to regain what he had surrendered. If the purchaser is other than the original owner, he should not pay more than the proper value. The votary must not interpose long <sup>38</sup> delay in accomplishing his vow.<sup>e</sup> It would be a strange inconsistency if while in our dealings with

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxvii. 14, 15. Philo omits the regulations about land which follow in *vv.* 16-25.

<sup>e</sup> Deut. xxiii. 21, "If thou shalt vow a vow to the Lord thy God thou shalt not delay (*χρονιείς*) to pay it." The meaning of what follows seems to be that we often anticipate our payments to men, because we know they need it. The fact that God does not need them should not make us treat God with less respect than we shew to men.

## PHILO

ὁμολογίας ἐπιτέμνειν πειρᾶσθαι, τὰς δὲ πρὸς θεὸν τὸν ἀνεπιδεᾶ καὶ οὐδενὸς χρεῖον ἐκπροθέσμους ἀποφαίνειν, μελλήσει καὶ βραδυτῆτι διελέγχοντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ὀλιγωρία τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, οὗ τὴν θεραπείαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας εἶναι νομιστέον. ὄρκων μὲν δὴ πέρι καὶ εὐχῶν ἄλις.

- 39 X. <sup>1</sup>Ἐξῆς ἐστὶ κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης, ᾧ μυρία καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐμφέρεται, τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἑορτῶν, αἱ τῶν φύσει μὲν ἐλευθέρων διὰ δὲ καιροῦς ἀβουλήτους θητευόντων καθ' ἑβδομον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφέσεις, αἱ πρὸς χρεώστας τῶν συμβαλλόντων φιλοφροσύνη τὰ δάνεια ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις χαριζομένων, αἱ ἀνάπαυλαι τῆς βαθυγείου πεδιάδος τε καὶ ὄρεινῆς, αἱ γίνονται παρ' ἐξαετίαν, τὰ περὶ τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ ἔτους νομοθετηθέντα· ὧν καὶ ἡ ἄνευ κόπου ψιλῆ διήγησις ἱκανή τοὺς μὲν εὐφυεῖς τελειῶσαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν, τοὺς δ' ἀφηνιαστὰς καὶ σκληροὺς τὸ ἦθος εὐπειθεστέροους
- 40 ἀπεργάσασθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἐβδόμης<sup>2</sup> εἴρηται διὰ μακροτέρων πρότερον, ἣν τε ἔχει φύσιν ἐν δεκάδι καὶ ἣν συγγένειαν
- [278] πρὸς τε αὐτὴν δεκάδα καὶ πρὸς τετράδα, | τὴν

<sup>1</sup> At this point the mss. insert the title *Περὶ ἐβδόμης*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mangey ἐβδομαδός*.

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<sup>a</sup> Here begins the fourth commandment. A fresh numeration of the chapters in Cohn. <sup>b</sup> *De Op.* 90-127.

<sup>c</sup> Or "within the series of the first ten numbers." For this see *De Op.* 95-100. The properties "outside the decad"

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 38-40

men we try to antedate fulfilment of our promises, in dealing with God, Who lacks and needs nothing, we should extend it beyond the appointed time. By such slowness and procrastination we convict ourselves of the greatest of iniquities, contempt of Him whose service we must hold to be the beginning and consummation of happiness. This is enough on this subject of oaths and vows.

X. <sup>a</sup>The next head is concerned with the sacred 39 seventh day. Under this head are included a great number of matters of vital importance, the different kinds of feasts; the release in the seventh year of persons who were naturally free but through times of adversity are in servitude; the charity shown by creditors to debtors in cancelling loans to their fellow-nationals, this also in the seventh year; the rest allowed both in the lowlands and the uplands to the fertile soil at intervals of six years; and the laws laid down with respect to the fiftieth year. The mere recital of all these is enough to make the naturally gifted perfect in virtue without any effort on their part and to produce some degree of obedience in the rebellious and hard-natured. Now the 40

part played by seven among the numbers has been described at length in an earlier place,<sup>b</sup> where we have discussed the properties which it possesses within the decad,<sup>c</sup> and its close connexion with ten itself<sup>d</sup> and with four, which is the origin and source of

(*ibid.* 91) are explained as those of the seventh term in a series, as in the geometrical progression mentioned here just below.

<sup>a</sup> I do not see anything in *De Op.* which corresponds to this. The "kinship" of 7 to 4 is that  $4+3=7$  (*ibid.* 96), and that 4 is the source of 10, because  $1+2+3+4=10$ , is often brought out, *e.g.* *ibid.* 47:

## PHILO

δεκάδος ἀρχήν τε καὶ πηγῆν, καὶ ὡς συντεθεῖσα μὲν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐξῆς γεννᾷ τὸν ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλειον ἀριθμὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν ἰσούμενον εἰς δ' ἀναλογίαν ἀχθεῖσα κύβον ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράγωνον ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ ὡς μυρία ἄλλα κάλλη θεωρημάτων ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυται, περὶ ὧν οὐ καιρὸς μακρηγορεῖν. ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν προκειμένων καὶ ἐμφερομένων εἰδῶν ἐπισκεπτέον, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησαμένου. ἦν δὲ πρῶτον τὸ περὶ ἑορτῶν.

- 41 XI. <sup>1</sup>Εἰσὶ τοίνυν ἀριθμῶ δέκα ἑορταί, ἃς ἀναγράφει ὁ νόμος· πρώτη μὲν, ἦν ἀκούσας θαυμάσαι τις ἂν ἴσως, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡμέρα πᾶσα· δευτέρα δὲ ἡ δι' ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἐβδόμη, σάββατον αὐτὴν Ἑβραῖοι πατρίῳ γλώττῃ καλοῦσι· τρίτη δ' ἡ μετὰ σύνοδον τὴν κατὰ σελήνην νέαν νομηνία· τετάρτη δ' ἡ τῶν διαβατηρίων, ἣ καλεῖται Πάσχα· πέμπτη δ' ἡ τῶν ἀσταχύων ἀπαρχή, τὸ ἱερὸν δράγμα· ἕκτη δ' ἄζυμα· μεθ' ἣν ἡ τῶν ἐβδομάδων ὄντως ἐβδόμη· ὀγδόη δὲ ἱερομηνία· ἐνάτη δὲ νηστεία· δεκάτη δὲ ἡ τῶν σκηνῶν, ἣτις ἐστὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ἑορτῶν συμπέρασμα, εἰς τέλειον ἀριθμὸν δεκάδα τελευτῶσα. ἀρκτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης.
- 42 XII. Ἐπασαν ἡμέραν ἑορτὴν ἀναγράφει ὁ νόμος

<sup>1</sup> Here a title varying in the mss. is inserted, printed by Cohn as *Περὶ τῶν δέκα ἑορτῶν*.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 40-42

ten. Also we have shewn how a sevenfold addition of successive numbers beginning with unity produces twenty-eight,<sup>a</sup> a perfect number, equal to the sum of its factors; again, how when brought into a geometrical progression, it produces simultaneously a square and a cube,<sup>b</sup> besides the numberless other beautiful results which the study of it reveals. On these numerical points we must not linger at the present juncture, but we must examine each specific subject which lies before us included under the general head, beginning with the first; and the first subject, as we saw, is the feasts.

XI. There are in all ten feasts which are recorded <sup>41</sup> in the law. The first, the mention of which may perhaps cause some surprise, is the feast of every day. The second is that held on the seventh day with six days between, called by the Hebrews in their native tongue Sabbath. The third is the new moon which follows the conjunction of the moon with the sun. The fourth is the "Crossing" festival called Pascha. The fifth is the offering of the first ears, the sacred Sheaf. The sixth is the Unleavened Bread. Then comes what is emphatically <sup>c</sup> a seventh, being the feast of Sevens or Weeks. Eighth is the Sacred-month-day, ninth is the Fast, tenth the feast of Tabernacles which concludes the yearly festivals and thus ends up with a perfect number ten. We must begin with the first of these.

XII. When the law records that every day is a <sup>42</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*  $1+2 \dots +7=28$ , the factors of which 1, 2, 4, 7, 14 also=28. *Cf. De Op.* 101.

<sup>b</sup> *Cf. ibid.* 92, 93, where  $64=4^3$  and  $8^2$ , and  $729=27^2$  and  $9^3$  are given as examples.

<sup>c</sup> Or "truly," *i.e.* it not only comes seventh in the list, but takes its name from the same number.

## PHILO

πρὸς τὸν ἀνεπίληπτον βίον ἀρμοζόμενος ὁσίων<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐπομένων τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς ταύτης  
 διατάγμασι. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ παρενημέρησαν αἱ κακίαι  
 καταδυναστεύσασαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων  
 λογισμοὺς οὓς τῆς ἐκάστων ψυχῆς ἐξώκισαν, ἀλλ'  
 ἔμειναν αἱ τῶν ἀρετῶν δυνάμεις εἰς ἅπαν ἀήττητοι,  
 μία ἂν ἦν ὁ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς χρόνος  
 ἀδιάστατος ἑορτῇ καὶ αἱ τε οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἐν  
 43 εὐδίᾳ ἀγούσαι πραγμάτων. νυνὶ δ' αἱ πλεονεξίαι  
 καὶ ἀντεπιθέσεις, ὡς ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες μη-  
 χανῶνται κατὰ τε αὐτῶν καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ  
 συνεχὲς τῆς ἰλαρᾶς διέκοψαν εὐθυμίας. ἐμφανῆς  
 44 δὲ τοῦ λεγομένου πίστις. ὅσοι γὰρ ἢ παρ' Ἑλ-  
 [279] λησιν | ἢ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἀσκηταὶ σοφίας εἰσὶν  
 ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ ἀνυπαιτίως ζῶντες, μήτε ἀδικεῖ-  
 σθαι μήτε ἀνταδικεῖν αἰρούμενοι, τὰς τῶν φιλο-  
 πραγμόνων ὁμιλίας ἐκτρέπονται<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ χωρία, ἐν  
 οἷς ποιοῦνται τὰς διατριβάς, προβέβληνται, δικα-  
 στήρια καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ ἐκκλησίας  
 καὶ συνόλως ὅπου τις τῶν εἰκαιοτέρων ἀνθρώπων  
 45 θίασος ἢ σύλλογος, οἷα βίον ἀπόλεμον καὶ εἰρηναῖον  
 ἐξηλωκότες, θεωροὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ  
 πάντων ἄριστοι, γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀέρα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡς τῶν, which does not seem to me as impossible as it does to Cohn. See note b.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐκτρέπομενοι.

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<sup>a</sup> The idea of the feast of every day comes from Num. xxviii, xxix. In xxviii. 2 we have (LXX) "observe to offer me in my feasts, my gifts" etc. followed by the list of the various offerings. This list begins with the daily sacrifices and continues in the same order as in this book, with the sole exception that the Sheaf is not mentioned. Philo utilizes



festival,<sup>a</sup> it accommodates itself to the blameless life of righteous men <sup>b</sup> who follow nature and her ordinances. And if only the vices had not conquered and dominated the thoughts in us which seek the truly profitable and dislodged them from each soul—if instead the forces of the virtues had remained unvanquished throughout, the time from birth to death would be one continuous feast, and houses and cities dwelling in security and leisure <sup>c</sup> would have been full of all good things with everything tranquil around them. As it is, the overreaching and the assaults <sup>43</sup> which men and women alike contrive against themselves and each other have cleft a breach in the continuous line of this cheerful gaiety. Here is a clear proof of what I am saying. All who practise wisdom, <sup>44</sup> either in Grecian or barbarian lands, and live a blameless and irreproachable life, choosing neither to inflict nor retaliate injustice, avoid the gathering of busybodies and abjure the scenes which they haunt, such as law-courts, council-chambers, markets, congregations and in general any gathering or assemblage of careless men. Their own aspirations are for a life <sup>45</sup> of peace, free from warring. They are the closest observers of nature and all that it contains; earth, sea, air and heaven and the various forms of being

the hint suggested by Numbers to enforce the doctrine, which he bases elsewhere (*De Sac.* 111) on the same text that only the wise man can keep a feast. It is no doubt a consideration with him that the inclusion serves to make the perfect number ten, but he could have obtained this otherwise by including the "Basket," see §§ 215 f.

<sup>b</sup> If the mss. *ὡς τῶν* is retained, the meaning will be "the law *assumes* that men follow nature" etc. (which they seldom do). Cf. §§ 51, 52.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps "peace" (cessation of hostilities), *ἐκεχειρία* being used in its more technical sense.

## PHILO

οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς φύσεις διερευνώμενοι, σελήνη καὶ ἡλίω καὶ τῇ χορείᾳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν ταῖς διανοαῖς συμπεριπολοῦντες, τὰ μὲν σώματα κάτω πρὸς χέρσον ἰδρυμένοι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ὑποπτέρους κατασκευάζοντες, ὅπως αἰθεροβατοῦντες τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις περιαθρῶσιν, οἷα χρή τοὺς<sup>1</sup> τῷ ὄντι κοσμοπολίτας γενομένους, οἳ τὸν μὲν κόσμον ἐνόμισαν εἶναι πόλιν, πολίτας δὲ τοὺς σοφίας ὁμιλητάς, ἀρετῆς ἐγγραφούσης, ἣ πεπίστευσαι τὸ κοινὸν πολίτευμα πρυτανεύειν. XIII. γέμοντες οὖν καλοκάγαθίας καὶ τῶν περὶ σῶμα κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀλογεῖν ἐθιζόμενοι καὶ ἐξαδιαφορεῖν τὰ ἀδιάφορα μελετῶντες καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀλειφόμενοι καὶ συνόλως ἐπάνω τῶν παθῶν ἴστασθαι σπουδάζοντες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν αὐτῶν πάσῃ δυνάμει καθαιρεῖν παιδευόμενοι καὶ ταῖς τῆς τύχης μὴ καμπτόμενοι προσβολαῖς διὰ τὸ προεκκλελογίσθαι τὰς ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῆς—ἐπικουφίζει γὰρ καὶ τὰ βαρυτάτα τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἢ πρόληψις, καινὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς διανοίας τῶν συμβαινόντων ὑπολαμβάνουσης, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ παλαιοῖς καὶ ἐώλοις ἀμαυρὰν τὴν ἀντίληψιν ποιουμένης—, εἰκότως ἐνευφραϊνόμενοι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἅπαντά γε τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν.

47 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὀλίγος εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸς, ἐμπύρευμα κατὰ πόλεις ὑποτυφόμενον<sup>2</sup> σοφίας, ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς σβεσθεῖσαν ἀρετὴν ἐκ τοῦ γένους

48 ἡμῶν ἀφανισθῆναι. εἰ δὲ τοῖς ὀλίγοις συνεφρόνησαν οἱ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐγένοντο, οἷους βούλεται εἶναι ἣ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χρηστοὺς

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὑποτυφόμενοι.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 45-48

which inhabit them are food for their research, as in mind and thought they share the ranging of the moon and sun and the ordered march of the other stars fixed and planetary. While their bodies are firmly planted on the land they provide their souls with wings, so that they may traverse the upper air and gain full contemplation of the powers which dwell there, as behoves true "cosmopolitans" who have recognized the world to be a city having for its citizens the associates of wisdom, registered as such by virtue to whom is entrusted the headship of the universal commonwealth. XIII. Such men filled with high 46 worthiness, inured to disregard ills of the body or of external things, schooled to hold things indifferent as indeed indifferent,<sup>a</sup> armed against the pleasures and lusts, ever eager to take their stand superior to the passions in general, trained to use every effort to overthrow the formidable menace which those passions have built up against them, never swerving under the blows of fortune because they have calculated beforehand the force of its assaults, since the heaviest adversities are lightened by anticipation,<sup>b</sup> when the mind ceases to find anything strange in the event and apprehends it but dully as it might some stale and familiar story—such men, we say, in the delight of their virtues, naturally make their whole life a feast. These are indeed but a small number 47 left in their cities like an ember of wisdom to smoulder, that virtue may not be altogether extinguished and lost to our race. But if only everywhere men had 48 thought and felt as these few, and become what

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quis Rerum* 253, where ἐξαδιαφόρησις τῶν ἀδιαφόρων is coupled with other forms of mental and spiritual exercise, and see note.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 624.

## PHILO

φύσις, ἀνεπίληπτοι καὶ ἀνυπαίτιοι πάντες, ἐρασταὶ  
 φρονήσεως, χαίροντες τῷ καλῷ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν  
 καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα  
 πάντα ὑπήκοα καὶ δοῦλα ὡς ἂν ἄρχοντες, εὐδαι-  
 μονίας ἂν αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο μεσταί, τῶν μὲν ὅσα  
 λύπης αἷτια καὶ φόβων ἀμέτοχοι, πλήρεις δὲ τῶν  
 ἀπεργαζομένων χαρὰς καὶ εὐπαθείας, ὡς μηδένα  
 [280] καιρὸν ἐλλείπειν ἰλαροῦ | βίου, πάντα δὲ τὸν τοῦ  
 49 ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλον εἶναι ἑορτῆν. XIV. διὸ  
 παρ' ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ τῶν φαύλων οὐδεὶς ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ τὸν βραχύτατον χρόνον ἑορτάζει, συνειδήσει  
 τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀγχόμενος καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ κατηφῶν,  
 εἰ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ μειδιᾷν καθυποκρίνεται. ποῦ  
 γὰρ ἔχει καιρὸν ἀψευδοῦς εὐφροσύνης κακοβουλό-  
 τατος ὢν καὶ συζῶν ἀφροσύνη καὶ περὶ πάντα  
 ἀκαιρευόμενος, γλῶτταν, γαστέρα, τὰ γεννητικά;  
 50 δι' ἧς μὲν γὰρ ἐκλαλεῖ τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἡσυ-  
 χαστέα, τὴν δὲ ἀκράτου πολλοῦ καὶ ἐδεσμάτων  
 ἀμέτρων ἀναπίμπλησιν ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας, τοῖς δὲ  
 καταχρήται πρὸς ἐκνομωτάτους οἴστρους καὶ μίξεις  
 ἀθέσμους, οὐ μόνον ἀλλοτρίοις γάμοις ἐπιμεμηνῶς,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδεραστῶν καὶ βιαζόμενος τὸν ἄρρενα  
 τῆς φύσεως χαρακτῆρα παρακόπτειν καὶ μεταβάλ-  
 λειν εἰς γυναικόμορφον ἰδέαν ἔνεκα τοῦ μεμιασμένῳ  
 51 καὶ ἐπαράτῳ πάθει χαρίσασθαι. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ  
 πάντα μέγας Μωυσῆς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ περὶ τὴν  
 ὄντως ἑορτῆν κάλλους ἰδὼν τελειοτέραν ἢ κατ'  
 ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καὶ ἀνέθηκεν  
 αὐτὴν θεῷ φήσας κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· “ ἑορταὶ κυ-  
 338

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 48-52

nature intended them to be, all of them blameless and guiltless and lovers of sound sense, rejoicing in moral excellence just because it is what it is and counting it the only true good and all the other goods but slaves and vassals, subject to their authority, the cities would have been brimful of happiness, utterly free from all that causes grief and fears, and packed with what produces joys and states of well-being, so that each season as it comes would give full opportunity for cheerful living and the whole cycle of the year would be a feast.

XIV. And there-<sup>49</sup> fore in the judgement of truth none of the wicked keeps a feast, even for the shortest time, tormented as he is by consciousness of wrongdoing and depressed in soul, even though he simulates a smile with his face. For where does the wicked man find a season for true rejoicing? He whose every plan is for evil, whose life-mate is folly, with whom everything, tongue, belly and organs of generation, is against what is seasonable. For with the first he blurts out<sup>50</sup> matters of secrecy which call for silence, while in his greed he fills the second with viands unlimited and strong drink in great quantities, and as for the third, he misuses them for abominable lusts and forms of intercourse forbidden by all laws. He not only attacks in his fury the marriage-beds of others, but even plays the pederast and forces the male type of nature to debase and convert itself into the feminine form, just to indulge a polluted and accursed passion. For this reason Moses, great here as ever, seeing how<sup>51</sup> vast was the beauty which belonged to the true feast, held that its perfection was beyond the capacity of human nature to realize, and consecrated it to God with these very words, "The Lord's feasts." For<sup>52</sup>

- 52 ρίου." τὸ γὰρ ἐπίλυπον καὶ περιδεῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου  
γένους λογιζόμενος καὶ ὡς ἔστι μυρίων κακῶν  
μεστόν, ἃ γεννῶσι μὲν αἱ ψυχῆς πλεονεξίαι, γεν-  
νῶσι δὲ καὶ αἱ σώματος κῆρες, προσβάλλουσι δὲ αἱ  
τῆς τύχης<sup>1</sup> ἀνωμαλῖαι καὶ τῶν συνόντων αἱ ἀντεπι-  
θέσεις μυρία κακὰ δρώντων τε καὶ πασχόντων,  
εἰκότως ἐθαύμαζεν, εἰ δύναται τις ἐν τοσοῦτῳ  
πελάγει πραγμάτων ἔκουσίων τε καὶ ἀκουσίων  
φερόμενος καὶ μηδέποτ' ἠρεμῆσαι οἶός τε ὢν μηδ'  
ἀκινδύνῳ βίῳ μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐνορμίσασθαι τὴν μὴ  
λεγομένην ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὔσαν ὄντως ἄγειν  
ἐορτήν, ἐνευφραϊνόμενος καὶ ἐντρυφῶν θεωρία τε  
τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκολουθία φύσεως  
καὶ ἀρμονία πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ πρὸς λόγους  
53 ἔργων. ὅθεν ἀναγκαίως εἶπε τὰς ἐορτὰς εἶναι  
μόνου θεοῦ· μόνος γὰρ εὐδαίμων καὶ μακάριος,  
παντὸς μὲν ἀμέτοχος κακοῦ, πλήρης δ' ἀγαθῶν  
τελείων, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ χρή τάληθές εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς  
ὢν τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὃς οὐρανῷ καὶ γῆ τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
54 ὤμβρησεν ἀγαθά. παρὸ καὶ τῶν πάλαι  
τις ἀρετῶσα διάνοια, γαληνιασάντων αὐτῇ τῶν  
παθῶν, ἐνεμειδίασε χαρᾶς ἐγκύμων καὶ ὑπόπλεως  
γενομένη· καὶ λογισαμένη παρ' αὐτῇ, μὴ ποτ' ἄρα  
τὸ μὲν χαίρειν ἰδίον ἔστι μόνου θεοῦ, αὐτὴ δὲ  
διαμαρτάνει σφετεριζομένη τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον εὐ-  
[281] παθείας, εὐλαβεῖται τε καὶ τὸν ψυχικὸν | γέλωτα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ψυχῆς.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "those who are together"; rather than as Heine-  
mann "our fellowmen."

<sup>b</sup> See Gen. xviii. 11-15. This interpretation of Sarah's  
laughter and her denial of it, and the answer to that denial  
"but thou didst laugh," has already been given in *De Abr.*  
206, where see note. "Her passions now calmed within her"

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 52-54

when he considered the sorrowful and terror-stricken condition of our race, how charged it is with numberless evils generated by the greedy desires of the soul and also by the infirmities of the body, increased by the vicissitudes of fortune and the mutual onslaughts of neighbours against neighbours<sup>a</sup> who inflict and suffer countless wrongs, he could not but wonder that anyone, tossed about on so vast a sea of events, whether of his own intending or not, and unable to find tranquility or the secure anchorage of a life kept safe from danger, could really hold a feast, not in the sense in which the word is commonly used, but in the true sense ; and the true sense is, to find delight and festivity in the contemplation of the world and its contents and in following nature and in bringing words into harmony with deeds and deeds with words. And therefore it was 53 a necessary pronouncement that the feasts belonged to God alone, for God alone is happy and blessed, exempt from all evil, filled with perfect forms of good, or rather, if the real truth be told, Himself *the good*, Who showers the particular goods on heaven and earth.

And so it was that in the days of old 54 a certain mind of rich intelligence, her passions now calmed within her, smiled because joy lay within her and filled her womb.<sup>b</sup> And when, as she considered the matter, it seemed to her that joy might well be the peculiar property of God alone, and that she herself was sinning in taking for her own conditions of well-being above human capacity, she was afraid, and denied the laughter of her soul

is the interpretation often (*e.g. De Fuga* 128) given by Philo of *v. 11*, "it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women."

## PHILO

- 55 ἀρνείται μέχρι τοῦ παρηγορηθῆναι· τὸ γὰρ δέος αὐτῆς ἐπικουφίζει ὁ ἴλεως θεὸς χρησμῶ κελεύσας ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι ἐγέλασεν, ἢν' ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάξῃ, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐστέρηται τὸ γενητὸν χαρᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἢ μὲν ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἀκραιφνεστάτη, μηδὲν τῶν τῆς ἐναντίας ἐπίδεχομένη φύσεως, ἐξαιρέτος θεοῦ, ἢ δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης ρυεῖσα μικτή, βραχέσιν ἀνακεκραμένη λυπηροῖς, ἀνδρὸς ἤδη σοφοῦ δωρεὰν μεγίστην λαβόντος τὴν τοιαύτην μίξιν, ἐν ἣ πλειῶν τὰ ἡδέα τῶν ἀηδῶν ἀνακέκρται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.
- 56 XV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνεχῆ καὶ ἀδιάστατον καὶ διαιωνίζουσαν ἑορτὴν ἄγεται δευτέρα ἢ δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν ἱερὰ ἐβδόμη· ἦν οἱ μὲν ὠνόμασαν παρθένον εἰς τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀγνείαν ἀπιδόντες αὐτῆς, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀμήτορα, σπαρεῖσαν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων, ιδέα τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς, ἀμέτοχον τῆς πρὸς γυναικῶν· ἀνδριότατος γὰρ καὶ ἀλκιμώτατος ὁ ἀριθμὸς, πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν εὖ πεφυκῶς· ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτὴν καιρὸν προσηγόρευσαν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τεκμηράμενοι τὴν νοητὴν αὐτῆς
- 57 οὐσίαν. ὅσα γὰρ τῶν ἐν αἰσθητοῖς ἄριστα, δι' ὧν αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὥραι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν αἱ περίοδοι τεταγμένως ἀποτελοῦνται, μετέσχηκεν ἐβδομάδος, λέγω δὲ πλάνητας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἄρκτον καὶ πλειάδα καὶ σελήνης αὐξομένης τε καὶ μειουμένης ἀνακυκλήσεις

<sup>a</sup> See on *De Dec.* 102.

<sup>b</sup> Alternatives for translating the untranslatable *καιρός* might be “the right season,” “the happy hour or moment,” or the abstract “timeliness.” Heinemann gives “die entscheidende Zeit.” In *De Op.* 59 *καιρός* is defined as *χρόνοι κατορθώσεως*. The application of it to the number seven is, like the other names, Pythagorean. As Philo understands it



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 55-57

until her doubts were set at rest. For the gracious 55  
God allayed her fears by an oracle in which He  
bade her acknowledge that she laughed, meaning  
thus to teach us the lesson that joy is not altogether  
denied to the creature. Joy is of two kinds. One  
is unmixed and of the utmost purity, admitting  
nothing whatever of the nature opposite to its own.  
This joy belongs to God and to no other. The other  
which flows from it is a mixed stream blended with  
lesser tributaries of sorrow, and if the blend is such  
that the pleasant ingredients outnumber the un-  
pleasant, the wise man receives it as the greatest of  
gifts. So much for this matter.

XV. After this continuous unbroken feast which 56  
has neither beginning nor end, the second to be  
observed is the sacred seventh day, recurring with  
six days between. Some have given to it the name  
of virgin,<sup>a</sup> having before their eyes its surpassing  
chastity. They also call her the motherless,<sup>a</sup> be-  
gotten by the father of the universe alone, the ideal  
form of the male sex with nothing of the female.  
It is the manliest and doughtiest of numbers, well  
gifted by nature for sovereignty and leadership.  
Some give it the name of the "season,"<sup>b</sup> judging its  
conceptual nature from its manifestation in the realm  
of sense. For seven is a factor common to all the 57  
phenomena which stand highest in the world of  
sensible things and serve to consummate in due order  
transitions of the year and recurring seasons. Such  
are the seven planets, the Great Bear, the Pleiades  
and the cycles of the moon, as it waxes and wanes,

here, we may perhaps say that it is personified like  $\tauύχη$ , of  
which it is the converse, and represents the due order in which  
events happen. See further App. p. 624.

## PHILO

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς ἐναρμονίους καὶ παντὸς λόγου  
 58 κρείττους περιφοράς. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἀπὸ σεμνοτέρου  
 πράγματος ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν συντέλειαν καὶ παντέ-  
 λειαν, ἐξάδι μὲν τὴν γένεσιν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν  
 ἀναθείς, ἐβδομάδι δὲ τὴν τελείωσιν. ἐξὰς μὲν γὰρ  
 ἄρτιοπέριττος ἀριθμός, ἐκ τοῦ δις τρία παγείς,  
 ἔχων ἄρρενα μὲν τὸν περιττόν, θῆλυν δὲ τὸν ἄρτιον,  
 ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν αἱ γενέσεις κατὰ φύσεως θεσμούς ἀ-  
 59 κινήτους. ἐβδομὰς δὲ ἀμιγέστατος καὶ φῶς, εἰ χρῆ  
 τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἐξάδος· ἃ γὰρ ἐγέννησεν ἐξὰς, ταῦθ'  
 ἐβδομὰς τελεσφορηθέντα ἐπεδείξατο. παρὸ καὶ  
 γενέθλιος τοῦ κόσμου δεόντως ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο,  
 καθ' ἣν τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργον τέλειον ἐκ τελείων  
 60 μερῶν ἀνεφάνη. ἐν ἣ προστέτακται  
 πάντων ἀνέχειν ἔργων, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ῥαθυμίας ὁ  
 νόμος εἰσηγητῆς—ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐθίζει κακοπαθεῖν καὶ  
 πρὸς πόνον ἀλείφει καὶ τοὺς ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν  
 [282] ἐθέλοντας προβέβληται, διείρηται γοῦν | ἐξ ἡμέρας  
 ἐνεργεῖν—, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀτρύτους  
 πόνους χαλάσῃ καὶ τὰ σώματα μεμετρημέναις  
 ἀνέσεσιν ἀνακτησάμενος καινώσῃ πάλιν πρὸς τὰς  
 αὐτὰς ἐνεργείας· οἱ γὰρ διαπνεύσαντες, οὐκ ἰδιῶται  
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταί, ῥώμην συλλέγονται καὶ  
 ἀπὸ κραταιότερας δυνάμεως ἀνυπερθέτως ἕκαστα  
 61 τῶν πρακτέων τλητικῶς ὑπομένουσι. προστάξας  
 μέντοι μὴ διαπονεῖν τοῖς σώμασι κατὰ τὰς ἐβδόμας

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Μοσ.* i. 207 (and note), and ii. 210.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 57-61

and the movements, harmonious and grand beyond description, of the other heavenly bodies. But 58 Moses from a higher point of view gave it the name of completion and full perfection when he laid down six as the number under which the parts of the universe were brought into being, seven as that under which they were perfected. For six is even-odd, formed out of twice three with the odd part as its male element and the even as its feminine, and these two, by the immutable laws of nature, are the sources of generation. But seven is a number en- 59 tirely uncompounded, and may be quite properly described as the light of six. For seven reveals as completed what six has produced, and therefore it may be quite rightly entitled the birthday of the world,<sup>a</sup> whereon the Father's perfect work, compounded of perfect parts, was revealed as what it was. On this day we are commanded 60 to abstain from all work, not because the law inculcates slackness; on the contrary it always inures men to endure hardship and incites them to labour, and spurns those who would idle their time away, and accordingly is plain in its directions to work the full six days. Its object is rather to give men relaxation from continuous and unending toil and by refreshing their bodies with a regularly calculated system of remissions, to send them out renewed to their old activities. For a breathing-space enables not merely ordinary people but athletes also to collect their strength and with a stronger force behind them to undertake promptly and patiently each of the tasks set before them. Further, when He forbids bodily labour 61 on the seventh day, He permits the exercise of

## PHILO

ἐφῆκε τὰς ἀμείνους πράξεις ἐπιτελεῖν· αὐται δ' εἰσὶν αἱ διὰ λόγων καὶ δογμάτων τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν· προτρέπει γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν τότε βελτιοῦντας τὴν
 62 ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν. ἀναπέπταται γοῦν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις μυρία κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἐν οἷς οἱ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ καθέζονται σὺν ἡσυχίᾳ τὰ ὦτα ἀνωρθιακότες μετὰ προσοχῆς πάσης ἕνεκα τοῦ διψῆν λόγων ποτίμων, ἀναστὰς δέ τις τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων ὑφηγεῖται τὰ ἄριστα καὶ συνοίσοντα, οἷς ἅπας ὁ βίος
 63 ἐπιδώσει πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. ἔστι δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀμυθῆτων λόγων καὶ δογμάτων δύο τὰ ἀνωτάτω κεφάλαια, τό τε πρὸς θεὸν δι' εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ὧν ἑκάτερον εἰς πολυσχιδεῖς ἰδέας καὶ πάσας ἐπαινετὰς τέμνεται.
 64 ἔξ ὧν δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι Μωυσῆς οὐδένα καιρὸν ἀπράκτους ἐᾷ τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ὑφηγήσεσιν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ συνέστημεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἀπένειμε καὶ τῷ σώματι τὰ οἰκεία ἔργα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν τὰ ἕτερα τοῖς ἐτέροις ἐσπούδασεν, ἵνα πονοῦντος μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ διαναπαύηται, ἀναπαύλη δὲ χρωμένου διαπονή, καὶ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν βίων, ὃ τε θεωρητικὸς καὶ ὁ πρακτικὸς, ἀμείβωσιν ἀντιπαραχωροῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν πρακτικὸς λαχὼν

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<sup>a</sup> The meaning of ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν is not quite clear. Generally, if not always, it is applied to a general statement, mostly numerical, to indicate that it is not exact. Perhaps it may

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 61-64

the higher activities, namely, those employed in the study of the principles of virtue's lore. For the law bids us take the time for studying philosophy and thereby improve the soul and the dominant mind. So each seventh day there stand wide open 62 in every city thousands of schools of good sense, temperance, courage, justice and the other virtues in which the scholars sit in order quietly with ears alert and with full attention, so much do they thirst for the draught which the teacher's words supply, while one of special experience rises and sets forth what is the best and sure to be profitable and will make the whole of life grow to something better. But among the vast number of particular truths and 63 principles there studied, there stand out practically<sup>a</sup> high above the others two main heads : one of duty to God as shewn by piety and holiness, one of duty to men as shewn by humanity and justice, each of them splitting up into multiform branches, all highly laudable. These things shew clearly that Moses 64 does not allow any of those who use his sacred instruction to remain inactive at any season. But since we consist of body and soul, he assigned to the body its proper tasks and similarly to the soul what falls to its share, and his earnest desire was, that the two should be waiting to relieve each other. Thus while the body is working, the soul enjoys a respite, but when the body takes its rest, the soul resumes its work, and thus the best forms of life, the theoretical and the practical, take their turn in replacing each other. The practical life has six as mean here that it would be possible to find more than two main heads, or other than these two. Heinemann translates "so zu sagen," but I do not see what this means here, even if the Greek can be so translated.

ἐξάδα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑπηρεσίαν, ὁ δὲ θεωρητικὸς ἑβδομάδα πρὸς ἐπιστήμην καὶ τελειότητα διανοίας.

- 65 XVI. Ἀπειρήται δὲ κατ' αὐτὴν πῦρ ἐναύειν ὡς |  
 [283] ἀρχὴν καὶ σπέρμα τῶν περὶ βίον πραγματειῶν,  
 ἐπειδήπερ ἄνευ πυρὸς οὐδὲν ἔστι τῶν εἰς τὰς πρὸς  
 τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίαις χρείας ἐργάσασθαι· ὡς δι' ἑνὸς  
 τοῦ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν εἰς τὰς τέχνας  
 66 καὶ μάλιστα τὰς βαναύσους αἰτίου κεκωλύσθαι καὶ  
 <τὰ><sup>1</sup> τῶν κατὰ μέρος ὑπηρεσιῶν. ἀλλ' ἔοικε διὰ  
 τοὺς ἀπειθεστέρους καὶ ἥκιστα προσέχοντας τὸν  
 νοῦν τοῖς προσταττομένοις<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προσνομο-  
 θετεῖν, οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀνέχειν ἔργων ἀξιῶν  
 ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίνοις  
 ἐφιεῖς, ἄδειαν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν δι' ἕξ  
 67 ἡμερῶν προκηρύττων τούτοις, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρους ἀνα-  
 διδάξῃ μάθημα κάλλιστον· τοὺς μὲν δεσπότης  
 αὐτουργεῖν ἐθίζεσθαι, μὴ ἀναμένοντας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 οἰκετῶν λατρείας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας, ἵν', εἴ τινας  
 ἀβούλητοι καιροὶ κατάσχοιεν κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀν-  
 θρωπείων πραγμάτων μεταβολάς, μὴ τῷ ἀήθει τῆς  
 αὐτουργίας προκάμνοντες τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν ἀπ-  
 αγορεύωσιν, ἀλλ' εὐκίνητοτέροις χρώμενοι τοῖς τοῦ  
 σώματος μέρεσιν εὐφόρως καὶ μετὰ ῥαστώνης

<sup>1</sup> The insertion was made by Tischendorf, though not accepted by Cohn. *Sc. αἴτια*. It seems to me necessary for the construction.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *πραττομένοις*.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxxv. 3, *cf. Mos.* ii. 219 and note.

<sup>b</sup> Or "primary," see on § 82.

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 66-69 see Ex. xx. 10.

<sup>d</sup> This seems to contradict both the foregoing and the

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 64-67

its number allotted for ministering to the body. The theoretical has seven for knowledge and perfection of the mind.

XVI. It is forbidden to light any fire on this day,<sup>a</sup> 65  
fire being regarded as the source and origin of life, since without it nothing can be executed which serves the requirements necessary for existence. And thus the prohibition of the highest<sup>b</sup> and earliest instrument needed in the arts, and especially those of the mechanical kind, acts as a barrier to those required for the particular forms of service. <sup>c</sup>But it would 66  
seem that his further enactments were given for the sake of the more disobedient who refused to pay attention to his commandments, when he not only requires the free men to abstain from work on the Sabbath, but gives the same permission to men-servants and handmaids, and sends them a message of security and almost of freedom after every six days, to teach both masters and men an admirable lesson. The masters must be accustomed to work 67  
themselves without waiting for the offices and attentions of their menials,<sup>d</sup> and so in the event of times of difficulty such as occur through the vicissitudes of human affairs, they may not through unfamiliarity with personal service lose heart at the outset and despair of accomplishing the tasks set before them, but use the different parts of their body with more nimbleness and shew a robust and

commandment itself "neither thou . . . nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant." Philo perhaps means that there are wants which must necessarily receive attention, and that if this attention is rendered by oneself, it is not work in the sense of the commandment, but is work if rendered by another. Strict modern Sabbatarians would probably feel the same.

## PHILO

- ἐνεργῶσι, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν τὰς ἀμείνους ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἔχοντας τὴν δι' ἕξ ἡμερῶν ἄνεσιν ἐμπύρευμά τι καὶ ζώπυρον ἐλευθερίας τὴν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἄφεςιν, εἰ διαμένοιεν χρηστοὶ καὶ
- 68 φιλοδέσποτοι, προσδοκᾶν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ὑπομείναι ποτε τὰς δούλων ὑπηρεσίας, τοῖς δ' οἰκέταις ἐγγενέσθαι μετασχεῖν ἀδείας, συμβήσεται τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τελειοτάτην, ὑπομιμησκομένων ἰσότητος καὶ ἀντεκτινόντων ἀλλήλοις χρέος ἀναγκαῖον τῶν τε λαμπρῶν εἶναι δοκούντων καὶ τῶν ἀφανестέρων.
- 69 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ θεράπουσι μόνον ἐκεχειρίαν ἔδωκεν ὁ νόμος ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτήνεσι· καίτοι φύσει θεράποντες μὲν ἐλεύθεροι γεγόνασιν—ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως δούλος οὐδεὶς—, τὰ δ' ἄλογα ζῶα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρείαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν εὐτρεπισθέντα δούλων ἔχει τάξιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀχθοφορεῖν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκτημένων ὑπομένειν πόνους τε καὶ καμάτους
- 70 ἀναπαύλας εὐρίσκει ταῖς ἐβδόμαις. καὶ τί δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων μεμνήσθαι; οὐδὲ γὰρ βοῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ χρησιμώτατα τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γεγωνῶς, ἄροτον<sup>1</sup> γῆς προετοιμαζομένης εἰς σπορὰν
- [284] καὶ πάλιν δραγμάτων συγκομισθέντων | ἀλοητὸν εἰς καρποῦ κάθαρσιν, τότε καταξεύγνυται, τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γενέθλιον ἑορτάζων. οὕτως ἄρα διὰ πάντων τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς αὐτῆς πεφοίτηκε.
- 71 XVII. Τοσοῦτου δ' ἀξιοῖ σεβασμοῦ τὴν ἐβδόμην,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄροτρον.

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 624-625.

<sup>b</sup> The Deuteronomic version of the fourth commandment



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 67-71

easy activity ; while on the other hand the servants are not to refuse to entertain still higher hopes, but should find in the relaxation allowed after six days an ember or spark of freedom, and look forward to their complete liberation if they continue to serve well and loyally. But the result of this occasional submission of the free to do the menial offices of the slave, together with the immunity allowed to the slave, will be a step forward in human conduct towards the perfection of virtue, when both the seemingly distinguished and the meaner sort remember equality and repay to each other the debt incumbent on them. 68

But the holiday of 69 the Sabbath is given by the law not only to servants but also to the cattle, though there might well be a distinction. For servants are free by nature, no man being naturally a slave,<sup>a</sup> but the unreasoning animals are intended to be ready for the use and service of men and therefore rank as slaves. Yet all the same, though it is their proper business to carry burdens and undergo toils and labour for their owners, they obtain their respite on the seventh days. There is 70 no need to go through the rest of the list, when even the ox <sup>b</sup> who serves the most useful and indispensable purposes in human life, namely ploughing when the soil is prepared for the sowing, and again thrashing when the sheaves are brought in for the purging of the fruit, is then kept free from the yoke and enjoys the birthday festival of the world. So universally has the sanctity of the day extended its influence.

XVII. So high is the reverence which he assigns 71

(v. 14) has "nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle." So also LXX in Ex. xx. 10, though the Hebrew and E.V. have only "nor thy cattle."

## PHILO

ὥστε καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ταύτης μετέχει τετίμηται παρ' αὐτῷ. κατὰ γοῦν ἕβδομον ἐνιαυτὸν αἰεὶ χρεωκοπίαν εἰσηγείται πένησιν ἐπικουρῶν καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίαν προκαλούμενος, ἵνα τῶν ἰδίων μεταδιδόντες ἀπόροις χρηστὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶσιν, εἰ γένοιτό τι πταῖσμα· πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁ βίος ὀρμεῖ πνεύματος ἀστάτου τρόπον μεταβάλλων πρὸς  
 72 τὰ ἐναντία. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπὸ δανειστῶν χάριν ἐπὶ πάντας φθάνειν χρεώστας· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ πάντες πρὸς μεγαλοφροσύνην πεφύκασιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἥττους ἔνιοι χρημάτων ἢ οὐ σφόδρα εὐποροί, καὶ τούτους ἐδικαίωσεν εἰσφέρειν ἅ μὴ λυπήσει  
 73 διδόμενα. παρὰ γὰρ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν εἰσπράττειν οὐκ ἔασας ἐφῆκε παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων κομίζεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν καλέσας εὐθυβόλως “ἀδελφούς,” ἵνα μηδεὶς φθονῇ τῶν ἰδίων ὡς ἂν ἐκ φύσεως συγκληρονόμοις ἀδελφοῖς, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ὁμοεθνεῖς, ὅπερ εἰκός, “ἀλλοτρίους” ὠνόμασεν. ἢ δ' ἀλλοτριότης ἀκοινωνήτων, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτην τις ὑπερβολαῖς ἀρετῶν μεθαρμόσαιτο πρὸς συγγενικὴν οἰκειότητα· συνόλως γὰρ ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἢ πολιτεία καὶ νόμοις, οἳ μόνον τὸ  
 74 καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰσηγοῦνται. ὑπαίτιον δὲ τὸ

<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xv. 1-3.

<sup>b</sup> Heinemann translates “weniger wohlhabend,” apparently taking *χρημάτων* as a genitive of respect. I think this is impossible.

<sup>c</sup> Meaning perhaps “which must not be allowed to grieve them.” Cf. Deut. xv. 10, “Thine heart shalt not be grieved (LXX οὐ λυπηθήσῃ) because the Lord will bless thee.”

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 71-74

to the seventh day that other things which share in the qualities of the number are honoured in his estimation. Thus he lays down a rule for cancellation of debts in every seventh year,<sup>a</sup> both as a succour to the poor and as a challenge to the rich to shew humanity, in order that by giving some share of their own to the needy they may expect to receive the same kindness themselves, if any disaster befall them. Human vicissitudes are manifold, and life is not always on the same anchorage, but is like an unsteady wind, ever veering round to the opposite quarter. Now the best course would be that the creditors' 72 liberality should be extended to all debtors. But since they are not all capable of showing magnanimity, some being under the dominion of their money<sup>b</sup> or not very well off, he laid down that they too should make a contribution, the sacrifice of which would not give them pain.<sup>c</sup> He does not allow them to 73 exact money from their fellow-nationals, but does permit the recovery of dues from the others.<sup>d</sup> He distinguishes the two by calling the first by the appropriate name of brethren, suggesting that none should grudge to give of his own to those whom nature has made his brothers and fellow-heirs. Those who are not of the same nation he describes as aliens,<sup>e</sup> reasonably enough, and the condition of the alien excludes any idea of partnership, unless indeed by a transcendancy of virtues he converts even it into a tie of kinship, since it is a general truth that common citizenship rests on virtues and laws which propound the morally beautiful as the sole good.<sup>f</sup> Now lending 74

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xv. 3.

<sup>e</sup> E.V. "foreigner."

<sup>f</sup> See App. p. 625.

## PHILO

δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκῳ· δανείζεται γάρ τις οὐ περιουσία  
ζῶν, ἀλλὰ δηλονότι χρεῖος ὢν, ὃς<sup>1</sup> ἐπαναγκαζόμενος  
τόκους τοῖς ἀρχαίοις προσαποτίνειν ἀπορώτατος ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης ἂν γένοιτο καὶ νομίσας ὠφελεῖσθαι ἔτι  
βλάπτεται καθάπερ τὰ ὀλιγόφρονα τῶν ζῶων τῷ  
75 παρόντι δελέατι. σοὶ δ' εἶποιμ' ἄν, ὦ δανειστά·  
τί κοινωνία τρόπον ἀκοινωνήτον συσκιάζεις; τί δὲ  
τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν εἶναι χρηστὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος προσ-  
ποιῆ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀπανθρωπίαν ἐπιδείκνυσαι  
καὶ δεινὴν σκαιότητα, πλείω ὢν ἔδωκας ἀναπράτ-  
των καὶ ἔστιν ὅπου διπλάσιον, πενιχρότερον ἀ-  
76 εργαζόμενος τὸν πένητα; τοιγάρτοι συναλαγῆ μὲν  
οὐδεῖς, ὅταν ὀρεχθεῖς πλειόνων προσσυναποβάλης  
[285] καὶ τὰ ὄντα, πάντες | δ' ἐφήδονται τοκογλύφον καὶ  
ὀβολοστάτην καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνομάζοντες, ὡς  
ἔφεδρον ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν καὶ τὴν ἐτέρων ἀτυχίαν  
77 ἰδίαν κρίνοντα εὐτυχίαν. ἀλλὰ πηρόν,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἔφη τις,  
ἢ κακία, καὶ ὁ δανείζων τυφλός, τὸν χρόνον τῆς  
ἀποδόσεως οὐ βλέπων, ἐν ᾧ μόλις ἢ οὐδ' ὅλως ὢν  
ἐκ πλεονεξίας τεύξεσθαι προσεδόκησεν ἐφίξεται.  
78 οὗτος μὲν οὖν διδότης δίκας τῆς φιλαργυρίας, ἃ  
προήκατο μόνον κομιζόμενος,<sup>3</sup> ἵνα μὴ ἀτυχίας ἀν-  
θρώπων ἐργάζεταιται προσοδεύόμενος ἐξ ὧν οὐ  
προσῆκεν· οἱ δὲ χρεῶσται τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πονηρόν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. μὴ κομιζόμενος.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxii. 25, Lev. xxv. 35-37, Deut. xxiii. 19; in the last passage lending money on interest to a foreigner is sanctioned.

<sup>b</sup> The source of the quotation is not known.

<sup>c</sup> ἐργάζεταιται ἀτυχίας could in itself mean "create or produce misfortunes," as Heinemann seems to take it, though we should expect ἀνθρώποις, but the point is rather that he *uses* people's misfortunes. ἐργάζεσθαι, to "trade" or "make

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 74-78

money on interest is a blameworthy action,<sup>a</sup> for a person who borrows is not living on a superabundance of means, but is obviously in need, and since he is compelled to pay the interest as well as the capital, he must necessarily be in the utmost straits. And while he thinks he is being benefited by the loan, he is actually like senseless animals suffering further damage from the bait which is set before him. I ask you, Sir Moneylender, why do you 75 disguise your want of a partner's feeling by pretending to act as a partner? Why do you assume outwardly a kindly and charitable appearance but display in your actions inhumanity and a savage brutality, exacting more than you lend, sometimes double, reducing the pauper to further depths of poverty? And therefore no one sympathizes when 76 in your eagerness for larger gains you lose your capital as well. In their glee all call you extortioner and money-grubber and other similar terms, you who have lain in wait for the misfortunes of others, and regarded their ill-luck as your own good luck. It has 77 been said<sup>b</sup> that vice has no sense of sight; so too the moneylender is blind, and has no vision of the time of repayment, when it will hardly be possible, if at all, to obtain what he has expected to gain by his greed. Such a person may well pay the penalty 78 of his avarice by receiving back merely what he provided, and learn not to make a trade of other people's misfortunes<sup>c</sup> and enrich himself in improper ways. And the borrowers should be granted the privilege

money," is common enough, and there is a good parallel of this use with the accusative in Demosthenes, p. 794 τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κακὰ τοῦτον τρέφει . . . ταῦτα γεωργεῖ, ταῦτα ἐργάζεται. (The genitive with ἀπό, or the dative, seems to be commoner, and perhaps we might read ἀπ' ἀρυχίας or ἀρυχίαις.)

## PHILO

φιλανθρωπίας ἀξιούσθωσαν, τόκους καὶ ἐπιτοκίας μὴ τελούντες, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποτινύντες· πάλιν γὰρ ἐν καιροῖς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρανον ἀνταποτίσουςι τοῖς συμβάλλουσιν ἀμειβόμενοι ταῖς ἴσαις ὠφελείαις τοὺς χάριτος ἄρξαντας.

- 79 XVIII. Τοιαῦτα διαταξάμενος ἐξῆς ἀναγράφει νόμον ἡμερότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μεστόν. ἔάν, φησί, πραθῆ σοί τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐξ ἔτη δουλευέτω, τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ προῖκα ἐλεύθερος ἀφίεσθω.
- 80 πάλιν “ἀδελφὸν” τὸν ὁμόφυλον εἶπεν ὑποσπείρων τῇ τοῦ κεκτημένου ψυχῇ διὰ τῆς προσρήσεως τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὑπήκοον συγγένειαν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ξένου, πρὸς ὃν οὐδὲν φίλτρον ἐστὶν εὐνοίας, κατολιγωρῇ, φιλοΐκειον δέ τι προπεπονητῶς πάθος ἐκ διδασκαλίας, ἣν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ὑπηχεῖ, μὴ ἀγανακτῆ μέλλοντος ἐλευθεροῦσθαι. τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους δούλους μὲν ὀνομάζεσθαι συμβέβηκε, θῆτας δὲ τῷ ὄντι εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων χάριν ὑπηρετοῦντας, καὶ μυριάκις αὐτεξούσιον δυναστείαν καὶ δεσποτείαν
- 82 ἀπειλώσιν τινες κατ’ αὐτῶν· οὗς τιθασευτέον, ἐπιλέγοντας τὰ χρηστὰ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ νόμου παραγγέλματα· μισθωτός ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ὁ λεγόμενος δούλος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἔχων πρὸς σὲ τὴν ἀνωτάτω συγγένειαν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xv. 12, which follows the passage discussed in §§ 71-73, from which the prohibition of usury was a digression. The limitation of slavery is also enforced in Ex. xxi. 2. But the use of the word “brother” shews that it is Deuteronomy which he has in mind.

<sup>b</sup> For ὑπηχεῖν see note on *De Som.* i. 164.

<sup>c</sup> Or “hired labourers,” “wage-earners.” The word implies not merely occupation but a definite status, above the δούλος, but lower than the other citizens. In § 39 *θητεύοντες* are opposed to ἐλεύθεροι.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 78-82

of the law's charity, and pay neither simple nor compound interest, but just the principal. For later, as the proper occasion arise, they will make the same sacrifice to their present creditors and requite with equal assistance those who were the first to bestow the benefit.

XVIII. After ordinances of this sort he follows 79 them by laying down a law which breathes kindness and humanity throughout.<sup>a</sup> "If," he says, "one of your brethren is sold to you, let him continue in slavery for six years but in the seventh be set free without payment." Here again he uses the term 80 brother of a fellow-national, and by this name indirectly sows in the soul of the owner the thoughts of his close relationship to the person in his power. It bids him not despise him as a stranger who has no charm to win his affection, but allow the lesson which the holy word suggests<sup>b</sup> to create a preliminary sense of kinship, and thus feel no resentment at his approaching liberation. For people in this position, 81 though we find them called slaves, are in reality labourers<sup>c</sup> who undertake the service just to procure themselves the necessaries of life, however much some may bluster about the rights of absolute power which they exercise over them. <sup>d</sup>We must abate 82 their truculence by repeating these excellent injunctions of the law. The man whom you call a slave, my friend, is a hired person, himself too a man, ultimately<sup>e</sup> your kinsman, further of the same

<sup>a</sup> §§ 82-85 are a homily on Deut. xv. 12-18.

<sup>e</sup> ἀνωτάτω = "if you go right up to the beginning," "ultimately" or "primarily," as suits the context. So in § 233 and very probably in § 65. Cf. Mos. i. 314, he who kills a man is guilty διὰ τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ κωτὴν συγγένειαν. Heinemann in "höchsten Sinne" seems to me to miss the sense.

## PHILO

- ἔθνους, τάχα δὲ καὶ φυλέτης καὶ δημότης, ἐνδείας  
 83 χάριν εἰς τουτὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπηγμένους. ἀνελὼν οὖν  
 ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπίβουλον κακόν, ἀλαζονείαν, ὡς  
 μισθωτῶ προσφέρου, τὰ μὲν διδούς, τὰ δὲ καὶ  
 λαμβάνων· παρέξει μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἀοκνότατα τὰς  
 ὑπηρεσίας αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ, μηδὲν ὑπερτιθέμενος,  
 ἀλλὰ φθάνων τὰς σὰς ἐπικελεύσεις τάχει καὶ  
 προθυμία· σὺ δ' ἀντιδίδου τὰς τροφὰς καὶ ἐσθῆτα  
 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν, μὴ καταζεύξας ὡς ζῶον  
 ἄλογον μηδὲ πλείοσι καὶ βαρυτέροις τῆς δυνάμεως  
 ἄχθεσι πιέζων μηδ' ὑβρίζων μηδὲ ἀπειλαῖς καὶ  
 [286] ἐπανατάσσειν εἰς | χαλεπὰς δυσθυμίας ἐφελκό-  
 μενος, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσεις διδούς καὶ ἀνέσεις με-  
 μετρημένας· τὸ γὰρ “μηδὲν ἄγαν” ἐπὶ πάντων  
 ἄριστον καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς οἰκέτας δεσποτῶν.  
 84 ὑπηρετηθεῖς μέντοι χρόνον ἀνταρκέστατον, ἕξα-  
 ετίαν, ὅταν ὁ ἱερώτατος ἀριθμὸς ἐνίστασθαι μέλλῃ,  
 τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος, ἐλεύθερον μεθίεσο τὸν ἐλεύθερον  
 φύσει μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας, ἀλλ', ὡ γενναῖε, καὶ γε-  
 γηθῶς δίδου τὴν χάριν, ὅτι καιρὸν ἔλαβες τὸ ζῶον  
 ἄριστον, ἄνθρωπον, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις εὐεργετηῆσαι·  
 δούλω γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι μείζον ἐλευθερίας ἀγαθόν.  
 85 χαίρων οὖν καὶ προσεπιδαιψίλευσαί τι τῶν ἰδίων  
 ἀφ' ἐκάστου μέρους τῆς κτήσεως ἐφοδιάσας τὸν  
 εὐεργετηθέντα· σὸν γὰρ ἐγκώμιον, εἰ μὴ πένης ὢν  
 ἀπαλλάττοιο τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τὰναγκαῖα

<sup>a</sup> This is a case in which Philo seems to adapt the law to contemporary conditions. We do not hear of *δῆμοι* in old Israel, but apparently a classification into *φυλαί* and *δῆμοι* was in force in Alexandria. See App. p. 625.

<sup>b</sup> See Deut. xv. 18, “It shall not seem hard to thee when thou lettest him go free from thee.”



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 82-85

nation, perhaps also of the same tribe and ward,<sup>a</sup> reduced to the guise which he now adopts by actual need. Expel, then, from your soul that evil and 83 malignant thing, arrogance. Deal with him as your hired servant, both in what you give and what you take. As for the latter, he will render you his services without the slightest backwardness always and everywhere without procrastination, and anticipate your orders with zeal and rapidity. And you must give him in return food and raiment and take care for his other needs. Do not harness him like an unreasoning animal nor oppress him with weights too heavy and too numerous for his capacity, nor heap insults upon him, nor drag him down by threats and menaces into cruel despondency. Rather grant him time and places for respite according to some regular rule. For while "not too much of anything" is an excellent maxim in every case, it is particularly so as between masters and servants. <sup>b</sup> When however 84 you have received his services for the fullest term required, namely, six years, and when the truly sacred number of the seventh year is about to begin, grant his freedom to him who is naturally free and grant it without hesitation, my friend, and rejoice that you have found an opportunity of benefiting the highest of living creatures, man, in his chief interest. For a slave can have no greater boon than freedom. <sup>c</sup> Be 85 glad, too, to crown your benefaction by bestowing something of each of your various kinds of property to start him on his way. For it is a praise to you that he should not leave your home penniless but well stocked in resources to procure what is necessary.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* v. 13, "when thou lettest him go free from thee thou shalt not let him go empty."

## PHILO

ἀφορμῶν εὐπορηκῶς, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν ὑπ' ἐνδείας εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀτυχίαν ὑπαχθῆ δουλεύειν ἀναγκασθεῖς διὰ σπάνιν τῶν περὶ δίαιταν καὶ ἡ σὴ χάρις ἀναιρεθῆ. πενήτων μὲν δὴ πέρι τοσαῦτα.

- 86 XIX. Κελεύει δ' ἐξῆς ἀργὴν τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἔτει ἐβδόμῳ, διὰ πολλά· πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα τὴν ἐβδομάδα τιμῆση κατὰ πάντας χρόνους ἡμερῶν καὶ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν· ἐβδόμη τε γὰρ πᾶσα ἡμέρα ἱερά, τὸ καλούμενον παρ' Ἑβραίοις σάββατον, μηνῶν τε ὁ ἔβδομος κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτῶν ἔλαχε τὴν μεγίστην, ὥστ' εἰκότως καὶ ὁ ἔβδομος ἐνιαυτὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν σεβασμοῦ τυχῶν ἐκτετίμηται.
- 87 δεύτερον δ' ἐκεῖνο· μὴ πάντα,<sup>1</sup> φησίν, ἴσθι τοῦ κέρδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκῶν ζημίαν ὑπόμεινον, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἀκούσιον βλάβην, εἴ ποτε γένοιτο, ῥαδίως ἐνέγκῃς, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἐπὶ καινῷ καὶ ξένῳ δυσχεραίνων ἀθυμῆσῃς. εἰσὶ γὰρ τῶν πλουσίων οὕτως ἀτυχεῖς τὰς γνώμας τινές, ὥστε ἀπορίας ἐπισχούσης στένουσι καὶ κατηφοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ εἰ
- 88 πᾶσαν ἀφηρέθησαν τὴν οὐσίαν. ἀλλὰ τῶν Μωυσέως ὁμιλητῶν ὅσοι φοιτηταὶ γνήσιοι καλοῖς ἐνασκούμενοι νομίμοις ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐθίζονται τὰς ἐνδείας εὐμαρῶς ὑπομένειν διὰ τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρετῶσαν χώραν εἶναι ἀργὴν, ἅμα καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀναδιδασκόμενοι καὶ<sup>2</sup> τὰς ὁμολογουμένας

<sup>1</sup> The phrase "do not belong in all things to lucre," seems to me strange, and as the mss. vary between πάντα, φησίν, ἴσθι and παντάπασιν ἴσθι, one might be inclined to read, as Cohn thinks possible, παντάπασιν, φησί. Nicetas's paraphrase, however, ἵνα διδάξῃ μὴ πάντα εἶναι τοῦ κέρδους is an argument for the form here printed.

<sup>2</sup> Mangey proposed to correct καὶ to διὰ τοῦ. Heinemann suggests <διὰ τοῦ> καὶ. See note a, p. 362.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 85-88

Otherwise the same thing may happen again. He may be reduced by need to his old unhappy plight and compelled to undertake slavery again through lack of the means of life, and the boon you bestowed upon him may be cancelled. So much for the poor.

XIX. Then follows a commandment to let the 86  
land lie fallow during the seventh year.<sup>a</sup> There are  
several reasons for this. In the first place he wished  
to give seven its honourable position in all the series  
in which time is measured, namely, days, months and  
years. For every seventh day is holy, a Sabbath as  
the Hebrews call it, and it is in the seventh month  
in every year that the chief of all the feasts falls, and  
therefore naturally the seventh year also has been  
marked out for a share in the dignity which belongs  
to the number. And there is this second reason. 87  
Do not, he says, be entirely under the power of  
lucre, but submit voluntarily to some loss, so that  
you may find it easy to bear some involuntary  
injury, if ever it should occur, instead of resenting  
it as some strange and alien misfortune and falling  
into despair. For some of the rich are so poor-  
spirited that when adversity overtakes them, they  
are as mournful and depressed as if they had  
been robbed of their whole substance. But among 88  
the followers of Moses all who have been his true  
disciples, trained in his excellent institutions from  
their earliest years, by allowing even rich territory  
to lie idle inure themselves to bear privations calmly  
and by the lesson of magnanimity thus learned  
voluntarily and deliberately to let even undoubted

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxiii. 11, Lev. xxv. 2 ff.

## PHILO

προσόδους μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ  
 89 μεθιέναι. τρίτον κακεῖνο αἰνίττεσθαι μοι  
 [287] δοκεῖ, τὸ μηδενὶ προσήκειν τὸ | παράπαν ἀνθρώ-  
 πους ἄχθει βαρύνειν καὶ πιέζειν· εἰ γὰρ τοῖς μέρεσι  
 τῆς γῆς, ἃ μῆτε ἡδονῆς μῆτε ἀλγηδόνας πέφυκε  
 κοινωνεῖν, μεταδοτέον ἀναπαύλης, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον  
 ἀνθρώποις, οἷς οὐ μόνον αἴσθησις πρόσσεστιν ἢ  
 κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμὸς  
 ἐξαίρετος, ᾧ τὰ ἐκ πόνων καὶ καμάτων ὀδυνηρὰ  
 90 τρανοτέραις φαντασίαις ἐντυποῦται; παυσάσθωσαν  
 οὖν οἱ λεγόμενοι δεσπότες τῶν ἐπὶ δούλοις σφοδρῶν  
 καὶ δυστυχομονητῶν ἐπιταγμάτων, ἃ καὶ τὰ σώματα  
 κατακλᾶ βιαζόμενα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸ τῶν σω-  
 91 μάτων ἀπαγορεύειν ἀναγκάζει. φθόνος γὰρ οὐδεὶς  
 προστάττειν τὰ μέτρια, δι' ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς τῆς προσ-  
 ηκούσης ὑπηρεσίας ἀπολαύσετε καὶ οἱ θεράποντες  
 εὐφόρως τὰ κελευσθέντα δράσουσι καὶ τὰς δια-  
 κονίας οὐ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἄτε προκαμόντες καὶ (εἰ δέ  
 τάλθηθές εἰπεῖν) ἐν τοῖς πόνοις προγηράσαντες  
 ὑπομενοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μήκιστον ἀθλητῶν τρόπον  
 ἀνηβῶντες, οὐ τῶν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν παινομένων,  
 ἀλλ' οἷς ἔθος ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι διὰ ξηρῶν ἰδρώτων  
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησί-  
 92 μων κτῆσιν. παυσάσθωσαν καὶ οἱ τῶν

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<sup>a</sup> The correction suggested by Mangey and Heinemann (see note 2, p. 360) would make sacrificing revenues parallel to letting the land lie idle. I think the text is better as it stands. Leaving the land idle teaches the poorer to stand the privation, and the richer to sacrifice wealth voluntarily.

<sup>b</sup> The allusion, which neither Cohn nor Heinemann notices, is to Plato, *Phaedrus* 239 c, where ξηροὶ ἰδρώτες are coupled with πόνοι ἀνδρείοι, and contrasted with ἀπαλή καὶ ἀνανδρος 362

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 88-92

sources of wealth fall almost from their very hands.<sup>a</sup>

There is also, I think, this third suggestion, that men should absolutely abstain from putting any oppressive burden upon anyone else. For if the different parts of the earth which cannot share in any sensations of pain or pleasure yet have to be given respite, how much more must this be the case with men who not only possess the sense which is common also to the irrational animals but even the special gift of reason through which the painful feelings caused by toil and labour stamp and record themselves in mental pictures, more vivid than mere sensation! Let so-called masters therefore cease from imposing upon their slaves severe and scarcely endurable orders, which break down their bodies by violent usage and force the soul to collapse before the body. You need not grudge to moderate your orders. The result will be that you yourselves will enjoy proper attention and that your servants will carry out their orders readily and accept their duties not just for a short time to be abandoned through wearying too quickly, and, indeed, we may say, as if old age had prematurely overtaken them in their labours. On the contrary, they will prolong their youth to the utmost, like athletes, not those who fatten themselves up into full fleshiness, but those who regularly train themselves by "dry sweatings"<sup>b</sup> to acquire what is necessary and useful for life. So too let rulers of cities cease from

*δίατρα*. The commentators take the phrase as meaning sweats in the gymnasium as opposed to sweating in the baths, and so with the verb *ξηραλοιφεῖν*. Philo, however, does not use it in this sense, but for toil-enduring people in general who are in his eyes the true athletes. On the depreciation of athletes see App. pp. 625-626.

## PHILO

- πόλεων ἡγεμόνες φόροις καὶ δασμοῖς συνεχέσι καὶ  
 μεγάλοις αὐτὰς ἐκτραχηλίζοντες, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἴδια  
 ταμεῖα πληροῦσιν, ἅμα τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τὰς  
 ἀνελευθέρους κακίας καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα βίον αὐτῶν
- 93 ῥυπαινούσας θησαυροφυλακοῦντες. ἀηλεεστάτους  
 γὰρ καὶ γέμοντας ἀπανθρωπίας τοὺς τῶν φόρων  
 ἐκλογεῖς ἐπίτηδες αἰροῦνται τὰς πρὸς πλεονεξίαν  
 ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνδιδόντες· οἱ δὲ τῇ φυσικῇ σκαιό-  
 τητι προσειληφότες καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐπιταγμάτων δε-  
 σποτικῶν ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ πάντα ὑπὲρ ἀρεσκείας τῆς  
 ἐκείνων ἐγνωκότες πράττειν οὐδὲν παραλείπουσι  
 τῶν χαλεπωτάτων, ἐπιείκειαν καὶ ἡμερότητα μηδ'
- 94 ὄναρ εἰδότες· τοιγάρτοι πάντα φύρουσι καὶ συγ-  
 χέουσι ἀργυρολογοῦντες, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν  
 οὐσιῶν ἀναπράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σωμαίων,  
 ὕβρεσι, αἰκίαις, πρὸς ἀποτομίαν κεκαιουρρη-  
 μέναις βασάνοις· ἦδη δὲ τινὰς ἀκούω  
 μηδὲ νεκρῶν ἀποσχέσθαι δι' ἀγριότητα καὶ παρ-  
 ηλλαγμένην λύτταν, οἱ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐθηνιώθησαν,  
 ὡς καὶ τύπτειν ὑστρίχισι τολμῶν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας·
- 95 καὶ ἐπειδὴ τις τῆς ἄγαν ὠμότητος κατεμέμφετο,<sup>1</sup> εἰ  
 μηδ' ὁ θάνατος, ἢ κακῶν ἀπάντων ἀπαλλαγὴ καὶ  
 ὡς ἀληθῶς τελευτῇ, περιποιήσει τοῖς ἐκποδῶν τὸ  
 ἀνύβριστον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ ταφῆς καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων  
 αἰκίας ὑπομενοῦσιν, ἀπολογία χείροني κατηγορίας  
 ἐχρῶντο φάσκοντες προπηλακίζειν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας,  
 οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κωφῆν καὶ ἀναίσθητον κόνιν ὑβρίζειν
- [288] —ἀνωφελές γάρ—, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ | τοὺς ἢ κατὰ  
 γένος ἢ καθ' ἑταιρίαν προσήκοντας εἰς οἶκτον

<sup>1</sup> At this point R, as we have it, breaks off.

<sup>a</sup> I take αὐτῶν to refer to πόλεις, Heinemann apparently to the ἡγεμόνες.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 92-95

racking them with taxes and tolls as heavy as they are constant. Such rulers both fill their own coffers and while hoarding money hoard also illiberal vices which defile the whole of civic life.<sup>a</sup> For they purposely choose as tax-gatherers the most ruthless of men, brimful of inhumanity, and put into their hands resources for overreaching. These persons add to their natural brutality the immunity they gain from their masters' instructions, and in their determination to accommodate every action to those masters' pleasure they leave no severity untried, however barbarous, and banish mercy and gentleness even from their dreams. And therefore in carrying out their collecting they create universal chaos and confusion and apply their exactions not merely to the property of their victims but also to their bodies, on which they inflict insults and outrages and forms of torture quite original in their savagery.

Indeed, I have heard of persons who, actuated by abnormal frenzy and cruelty, have not even spared the dead, persons who become so utterly brutalized that they venture even to flog corpses with whips. And when anyone censured the extraordinary cruelty shewn in refusing to allow even death, the release and in very truth the "end" of all ills, to procure freedom from insult for those who are now beyond its reach, and in causing them to undergo outrage instead of the normal rites of burial, the line of defence adopted was worse than the accusation. They treated the dead, they said, with such contempt not for the useless purpose of insulting the deaf and senseless dust but in order to excite the pity of those who were related to them by birth or some other tie of fellowship, and thus

## PHILO

ἀγαγεῖν καὶ προκαλέσασθαι λύτρα καταθέσθαι τῶν  
 96 σωμάτων ὑστάτην ἀπονείμαντας χάριν. XX. εἶτα,  
 ὦ φαυλότατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἶπομι' ἂν ἀν-  
 τοῖς, ἃ διδάσκετε, οὐ προεμάθετε; ἢ προκαλείσθαι  
 μὲν εἰς ἔλεον ἐτέρους, εἰ καὶ δι' ὠμοτάτων ἔργων,  
 οἴδατε, τὰ δὲ χρηστὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα πάντα τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἐκτέμησθε; καὶ ταῦτα μὴ ἀ-  
 ποροῦντες ἀγαθῶν ὑφηγητῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμε-  
 τέρων νόμων, οἳ καὶ τὴν γῆν μεθείσαν φόρων τῶν  
 ἐτησίων ἀνεσι καὶ ἀνάπαυλαν αὐτῇ παρασχόντες;  
 97 αὕτη δέ, καίτοι δοκοῦσα ἄψυχος εἶναι,  
 πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν εὐτρέπισται καὶ χάριτος ἀντίδοσιν,  
 ἣν ἔλαβε δωρεὰν ἀντεκτίνειν ἐπειγομένη· τυχοῦσα  
 γὰρ ἀδείας ἔτει ἐβδόμῳ καὶ μὴ πονηθείσα, σύμ-  
 παντα δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλον ἀπελευθεριά-  
 σασα, τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα διπλασίους, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ  
 98 πολυπλασίους, ὑπ' εὐφορίας<sup>1</sup> ἦνεγκε καρπούς. τὸ  
 παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ τοὺς ἀλείπτας ἔστιν ἰδεῖν  
 δρῶντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτοὺς συγ-  
 κροτήσωσιν ἐπαλλήλοις καὶ συνεχέσι γυμνασίαις,  
 πρὶν εἰς ἄκρον καμεῖν, ἀνακτῶνται παρέχοντες  
 ἀνέσεις οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν ἀθλήσει πόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τῶν πρὸς ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν, τὸ σκληροδίατον  
 χαλῶντες εἰς τε ψυχῆς εὐθυμίαν καὶ εὐπάθειαν  
 99 σώματος. καὶ οὐ δήπου διδάσκαλοι ῥαθυμίας καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπὲρ εὐφορίας ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo thinks of the collectors as instructing the relatives on the duty of shewing pity, which they are incompetent to do, as they have no conception of pity themselves. A simpler sense might be obtained, particularly if the question marks are dropped and οἳ read for ἦ—"Vilest of men, 366



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 95-99

urge them to ransom the bodies of their friends by making a final gift in payment for them. XX. Foolish, foolish people, I would say to them, have you 96 not first learnt the lesson which you teach, or are you competent to induce others to shew pity, even with the cruellest actions before them,<sup>a</sup> when you have excinded all kindly and humane feelings from your own souls? And this you have done, though you had no lack of good advisers, particularly in our laws, which have relieved even the land from its yearly tolls and provided it with a rest and respite. This 97

land, though to all appearance a lifeless thing, is put into a condition to make its requital and to repay a boon which it received as a free gift but is now eager to return. For the immunity which it has during the seventh year and its rest from labour and complete freedom during the whole annual cycle give it a fertility in the next year which causes it to bear twice as much or even many times as much as in the previous years. We may also note that the trainers 98 of athletes take much the same line in dealing with their pupils. When they have thoroughly drilled them by an unbroken course of exercises, before they reach the point of exhaustion, they give them a fresh lease of life by providing relaxations, not only from the labour of the training itself but from the dietary regulations as to food and drink, the hardships of which they abate in order to make the soul cheerful and the body comfortable. And we 99 must not suppose that here we have the professional trainers to hard work appearing as instructors in

you have not first learnt the lesson which you teach; you know how to evoke pity, though with deeds of great cruelty, yet you have excinded . . .”

## PHILO

- τρυφῆς εἰσιν οἷς ἐπάγγελμα τὸ πρὸς πόνους ἀλεί-  
 φειν, ἀλλὰ μεθόδῳ καὶ τέχνῃ προσποιούσιν ἰσχύν  
 κραταιοτέραν ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμεις σθεναρωτέρας  
 δυνάμεισι, τὴν ῥώμην ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει καθάπερ  
 100 ἁρμονίαν συναυξήσασθαι. ἔμαθον δὲ παρὰ τῆς παν-  
 σόφου ταῦτα φύσεως, ἥτις τὸ ἐπίπονον καὶ καμα-  
 τηρὸν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐπισταμένη διένειμε τὸν  
 χρόνον εἰς ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα, τῇ μὲν ἐγγήγορσιν,  
 101 νυκτὶ δ' ὕπνον παρασχοῦσα. φροντὶς γὰρ αὐτὴν  
 οἶα μητέρα κηδεμονικωτάτην εἰσήλθε τοῦ μὴ τὰ  
 ἔγγονα ἀποτρύχεσθαι· μεθ' ἡμέραν γὰρ τὰ σώματα  
 διανίστησι καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βίου χρείας καὶ ὑπ-  
 ηρεσίας ἀπάσας ἐγείρει κακίζουσα τοὺς ἀργῶ καὶ  
 ἀβροδιαίτῳ βίῳ σχολάζειν ἐθιζομένους, νύκτωρ δὲ  
 καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ὑποσημήνασα  
 πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν καλεῖ καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων  
 102 ἐπιμέλειαν. οἱ δ' ἀποθέμενοι πολὺ βᾶρος πραγ-  
 ματειῶν, ὅσον ἔωθεν εἰς ἑσπέραν ἦσαν ἐπηχθι-  
 σμένοι, καὶ ἐπανελθόντες οἴκαδε πρὸς ἡσυχίαν  
 τρέπονται καὶ καταδαρθόντες ὕπνω βαθεῖ τὸν  
 μεθημερινὸν πόνον ἐκνοσηλεύονται, καὶ πάλιν νεα-  
 λεῖς καὶ ἀκμῆτες γενόμενοι σπεύδουσιν ἕκαστοι  
 103 πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ συνήθη. τὸν δόλιχον τοῦτον ἢ  
 φύσις διὰ τε ὕπνου καὶ ἐγγρηγόρσεως ἀπένειμεν |  
 [289] ἀνθρώποις, ἢ ἐν μέρει μὲν ἐνεργῶσιν, ἐν μέρει δ'  
 ἀτρεμίζοντες ἐτοιμότερα καὶ εὐκινητότερα τὰ τοῦ  
 σώματος ἰσχωσι μέρη.
- 104 XXI. Πρὸς ἅπερ ἀπιδὼν ὁ τοὺς νόμους ἡμῖν  
 προφητεύσας ἄνεσιν ἐκήρυξε τῇ χώρᾳ δι' ἕξαιτίας  
 γεωπόνους ἐπισχῶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ἕνεκα ὧν εἶπον  
 αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦτ' εἰσηγήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 99-104

slackness and luxury ; they are following a scientific method by which further strength and power is given to what is already strong and powerful, and vigour enhanced as though it were a harmony by alternating relaxation with tension. This truth I have learnt 100 from the never-failing wisdom of nature who, knowing how toil-worn and weary our race becomes, divided our time into day and night, giving the hours of wakefulness to one and of sleep to the other. For, 101 most careful of mothers, her anxious thought was that her children should not be exhausted. In the daylight she wakens our bodies and stimulates them to carry out all the offices and demands of life, and reproaches those who are making it their practice to loiter through life in an idle and voluptuous way. But at night she sounds the recall as in war and summons them to repose and take care of their bodies. And 102 men casting off all the sore burden of affairs which has lain heavy upon them from morn till eve, turn homewards and betake themselves to rest, and in the deep sleep which falls upon them cast off the distempers of their daylight troubles, and then again unwearied and full of fresh vigour hasten eagerly each to his own familiar occupation. This double 103 course nature has assigned to men by means of sleeping and waking with the result that by alternating activity with inaction they have increased readiness and nimbleness in the various parts of their bodies.

XXI. These considerations the prophetic author 104 of our laws had before his eyes when he proclaimed a rest for the land and made the husbandman stay his work after six years. But he gave this enactment not only on the grounds which I have mentioned but also moved by that habitual kindness which he aims

## PHILO

- συνήθους φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν ἅπαντι μέρει τῆς νομοθεσίας συνυφαίνειν ἀξιοῖ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς κοινωνικὰ καὶ χρηστὰ ἐνσφραγιζόμενος ἦθη.
- 105 κελύει γὰρ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει μηδὲν συγκλείειν χωρίον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀμπελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας ἀναπεπταμένους ἔαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κτήσεις ὅσαι σπαρτῶν εἰσιν ἢ δένδρων, ἵνα τοῖς ἀπαιτοματισθεῖσι καρποῖς οἱ πένητες ἀδεῶς χρῆσθαι δύνωνται μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν κεκτημένων.
- 106 ὅθεν τοῖς μὲν δεσπόταις οὐκ ἐφῆκεν ἐργάζεσθαι στοχασάμενος τοῦ μηδεμιᾶς λύπης αἴτιος αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ὡς τὰ μὲν ἀναλώματα παρασχούσι, τὰς δ' ἀντὶ τούτων προσόδους μὴ λαμβάνουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους ὡς ἰδίων ἀπολαύειν τότε γοῦν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων εἶναι δοκούντων ἠξίωσε ταπεινοῦ σχήματος αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μεταίταις ὄνειδῶν.
- 107 ἄρ' οὐκ ἀξίον ἐρασθῆναι τῶν νόμων, οἱ τοσαύτης γέμουσιν ἡμερότητας; δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι διδάσκονται μεταδιδόναι καὶ κοινωνεῖν ὧν ἔχουσι, παρηγοροῦνται δ' οἱ πένητες, μὴ πάντοτε ταῖς τῶν εὐπόρων οἰκίαις ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ὧν ἐνδεεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ προσοδεύομενοι καθάπερ ἐξ ἰδίων κτημάτων τοὺς ἀπαιτοματίζοντας, ὡς ἔφην, καρπούς.
- 108 χῆραι καὶ ὄρφανοὶ παῖδες καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἡμελημένων καὶ ἀφανῶν ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ περιουσιάζειν τότε περιουσιάζουσι ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεαῖς ἐξαπιναίως πεπλουτηκότες, ὃς αὐτοὺς πρὸς κοινωνίαν ἐκάλεσε τῶν κτητόρων ἐν τῷ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης ἀριθμῷ.

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<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxiii. 11. In Lev. xxv. 6, 7 the produce of the seventh year is given as food for the household.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 104-109

at infusing into every part of his legislation, thereby impressing on the readers of the sacred scriptures the stamp of good and neighbourly customs. For he 105 forbids them to close up any field during the seventh year.<sup>a</sup> All olive-yards and vineyards are to be left wide open and so with the other kinds of property, whether of sown crops or orchard-trees, thus giving an unrestricted use of such fruits as are of natural growth to the poor quite as much, if not more so, than to the owners. Thus on the one hand he did 106 not allow the masters to do any work of tillage because he wished to avoid giving them the painful feeling that they had incurred the expenditure but did not receive the income in return, and on the other hand he thought fit that the poor should for this year at any rate enjoy as their own what appeared to belong to others, and in this way took from them any appearance of humiliation or possibility of being reproached as beggars. May not our passionate affec- 107 tion well go out to laws charged with such kindly feeling, which teaches the rich to give liberally and share what they have with others and encourages the poor not to be always dancing attendance on the houses of the wealthy, as though compelled to resort thither to make up their own deficiency, but sometimes also to come claiming a source of wealth in the fruits which, as I have said, develop untilled and which they can treat as their own ?

Widows and orphans and all others who are 108 neglected and ignored because they have no surplus of income have at this time such a surplus and find themselves suddenly affluent through the gifts of God, Who invites them to share with the owners under the sanction of the holy number seven. And 109

## PHILO

- 109 καὶ ὅσοι μέντοι κτηνοτροφοῦσι, μετ' ἀδείας ἐπὶ χλοηφαγίας τὰ οἰκεῖα θρέμματα ἄγουσιν ἐκλεγόμενοι πεδία εὐχορτα καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατα ἐμβόσκεισθαι, καταχρώμενοι τῇ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἀδείᾳ· καὶ φθόνος οὐδεὶς ἀπαντάται<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἅτε παλαιοτάτῳ ἔθει κεκρατημένων, ὃ σύντροφον ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων γενόμενον εἰς φύσιν ἐκνενίκηκεν.
- 110 XXII. Ἀρχὴν ταύτην βαλλόμενος ὥσπερ θεμέλιόν τινα ἐπιεικείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπτὰ ἑβδομάδας ἐτῶν συνθεῖς τὸ πεντηκοστὸν ὄλον ἀπέφηνεν ἱερόν, ἐξαίρετα καὶ πάντα διαφερόντως καλὰ νομοθετήσας ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τὰ κοινωνίαν
- 111 ἔχοντα.<sup>2</sup> πρῶτον μὲν τόδε· τὰς ἀλλοτριωθείσας κτήσεις οἶεται δεῖν ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κυρίοις, ἢν' αἱ κληρουχίαι τοῖς γένεσι διαφυλάτ-
- [290] τωνται | καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν λῆξιν εἰληχότων εἰς ἅπαν
- 112 στέρηται τῆς δώρεās. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καιροὶ πολλάκις προσπίπτουσιν ἀβούλητοι, δι' οὓς ἀναγκάζονται τινες πιπράσκειν τὰ ἴδια, καὶ τῆς ἐν δέοντι χρείας τούτων προϋνόησε καὶ τοὺς ὠνουμένους ἐκώλυσε ἀπατᾶσθαι, τοῖς μὲν πιπράσκειν ἐφέεις, τοὺς δ' ἐφ'

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for ἀπαντᾶ ταῖς of M and ἐκ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπαντᾶ of F. (The latter he rejects on account of the harsh hiatus before ἅτε, but see on i. 90 (App.).)

<sup>2</sup> According to Cohn and Heinemann corrupt; see note b.

<sup>a</sup> For the year of Jubile (§§ 110-123) see Lev. xxv. 8-end.

<sup>b</sup> Cohn pronounces these words to be incurably corrupt and supposes them to express something like "confirming the sense of fellow-feeling." I do not think the meaning I have given to them, "those which have a nature common to the others" (and are not ἐξαίρετα), is impossible, though the nearest example I can find, iii. 182 *μηδεμίαν ἔχοντα κοινωνίαν*, is not quite analogous. For *παρὰ cf. παρὰ ταύτας* § 216, and for the antithesis *ἐξαίρετον—κοινός* § 190. Mangey's trans-

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 109-112

indeed all stock-breeders feel at liberty to take out their own cattle in search of pasturage and to select meadow-land of good herbage and particularly suitable for grazing their beasts. Thus they take full advantage of the immunity secured by the time of freedom. And this is not opposed by any grudging on the master's side. They are under the sway of a very ancient custom, which through long familiarity has won its way to the standing of nature.

XXII. While laying down this first foundation of 110 moderation and humanity, he built on it by adding years to the number of seven times seven and consecrated the whole of the fiftieth year.<sup>a</sup> This he made the subject of many special enactments, all of remarkable excellence, apart from those which are common to other seventh years.<sup>b</sup> The first of these 111 enactments is as follows. He considers that alienated estates ought to be restored to their original possessors in order that the apportionments should be secured to the families and that no one to whom they had been allotted should be altogether deprived of the grant.<sup>c</sup> For since times of adversity often arise 112 which make it necessary for some persons to sell their property, he made provision for the just needs of such persons and at the same time took steps to prevent the purchasers being deceived, by accompanying the permission to the vendors to sell with very clear instructions to the purchasers as to the

lation, "supra ea quae ad vulgares annos pertinent," is not unlike mine except that he takes *παρά* = "beyond," and seems to see in *κοινωνίαν* the idea of ordinariness. If my view is right, the reference may be to Lev. xxv. 11, where the rules for the Sabbatical year are repeated, also to the liberation of slaves and remission of debts (*cf.* § 122).

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxv. 14-16.

- 113 οἷς ὠνήσονται μάλα σαφῶς ἀναδιδάξας. μὴ γὰρ δίδοτε, φησί, τὰς ἐπὶ παγκτησίᾳ τιμάς, ἀλλὰ τὰς πρὸς ἐνιαυτῶν ὠρισμένον ἀριθμόν, οἱ ἐντὸς εἰσι πεντηκονταετίας. οὐ γὰρ κτημάτων αἱ πράξεις ἀλλὰ καρπῶν ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι, διὰ δύο τἀναγκαιότατα· ἐν μὲν ὅτι σύμπασα ἡ χώρα κτῆμα κέκληται θεοῦ, τῶν δὲ θεοῦ κτημάτων οὐχ ὅσιον ἄλλους ἐπιγράφεσθαι δεσπότας· ἕτερον δὲ <ὅτι> λήξις ἀπονεύμηται ἐκάστῳ τῶν κληρούχων, ἧς στέρει-
- 114 σθαι τὸν λαχόντα οὐκ ἐδικαίωσεν ὁ νόμος. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐντὸς τῆς πεντηκονταετίας δυνάμενον ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ οἰκεία ἢ τινα τῶν ἐγγυτάτῳ γένους ἀγγιστέων προκαλεῖται πάσῃ μηχανῇ κατατιθέναι ἢν ἔλαβε τιμὴν καὶ μὴ τῷ πριαμένῳ καθ' ὃν ἔδει
- 115 καιρὸν ὠφελήσαντι ζημίας αἴτιον γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ ἀπόρως ἔχοντι συνεπάθησε καὶ μετέδωκεν ἐλέου τὴν ἀρχαίαν δωρησάμενος αὐθις περιουσίαν, δίχα τῶν κατ' εὐχὴν ἀφιερωθέντων ἀγρῶν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἀναθημάτων· ἀνάθημα δ' οὐχ ὅσιον ἀκυροῦσθαι χρόνῳ· διὸ προστέτακται τὴν ἀξίαν τιμὴν τούτων ἐκλέγειν μηδὲν καταχαρισσαμένους τῷ ποιησαμένῳ τὸ ἀνάθημα.
- 116 XXIII. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς χώρας διανομαῖς καὶ κληρουχίαις διατέτακται· ἕτερα δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ [καὶ] τούτων αἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεις ἐντὸς τειχῶν εἰσιν, αἱ δ' ἐν ἀγροῖς<sup>1</sup> ἔξω τείχους ἐπαύλεις, τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ νόμος αἰεὶ λυτροῦσθαι, τὰς δὲ μὴ λυτρωθείσας ἄχρι τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγρῶ.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxv. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxvii. 16-21.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxv. 29-31.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 113-116

terms of the transaction. "Do not pay the price," 113  
he says, "of complete ownership, but only for a fixed  
number of years and a lower limit than fifty." For  
the sale should represent not real property but  
fruits, and this for two most convincing reasons. One  
is that the whole country is called God's property,<sup>a</sup>  
and it is against religion to have anything that is God's  
property registered under other masters. Another  
reason is that each of the holders has a portion  
assigned to him by lot, and that this should be taken  
from him is contrary to the law's conception of justice.  
Anyone, therefore, who before the fifty years are 114  
completed has the means to recover his own property,  
or anyone else very closely related to him, is urged by  
the lawgiver to take every step to recover the land at  
the price which he got for it, and not to occasion loss  
to the purchaser who helped him at the time when he  
needed it. On the other hand he sympathized with 115  
the poor man and shewed him pity by restoring to  
him the additional wealth which he originally pos-  
sessed, excepting fields which had been dedicated  
by a vow, and therefore rank with votive offerings.<sup>b</sup>  
Religion forbids that time should affect the validity  
of a votive offering, and therefore it is ordained that  
the proper price for such estates should be demanded  
and that no concessions should be made to the votary.

XXIII. These are the rules for cases where the 116  
apportionments and holdings consist of land. There  
are different regulations as to houses.<sup>c</sup> Houses in  
some cases belong to cities and are inside the walls,  
and others are farm-buildings in the country outside  
the walls. Consequently the law allows the latter to  
be redeemable at any time, and prescribes that any  
that have not been ransomed by the fiftieth year

## PHILO

- πεντηκοστοῦ ἔτους ἀποδίδοσθαι προίκα τοῖς πάλαι  
 κυρίοις, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ κτήματα· μοῖρα γὰρ αἱ  
 117 ἐπαύλεις κτημάτων. ὅσαι δὲ τειχῶν ἐντός εἰσι,  
 μέχρι μὲν ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν ἀναπομπὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πεπρα-  
 κότας ἔχουσι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς ἅπαν τοῖς  
 ὠνησαμένοις βεβαιοῦνται, μηδὲν τῆς τοῦ πεντη-  
 κοστοῦ ἔτους ἐκεχειρίας βλαπτούσης τοὺς πρια-  
 118 μένους. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ βούλεσθαι καὶ ἐπηλύταις  
 ἰδρύσεως τῆς ἐνταῦθα βεβαίου παρασχεῖν ἀφορμὴν·  
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μετουσίαν γῆς οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἅτε μὴ  
 καταριθμηθέντες ἐν ταῖς κληρουχίαις, οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς  
 [291] κτήσιν ὁ νόμος ἀπένειμε, φροντίσας τοῦ μὴ | μετ-  
 ανάστας γενέσθαι τοὺς τῶν νόμων ἰκέτας καὶ πρόσ-  
 119 φυγας. αἱ γὰρ πόλεις, ὅτε ἐκκληροδοτεῖτο ἡ χώρα  
 κατὰ φυλάς, οὐ διενεμήθησαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἦσαν συνωκοδομημέναι, κατὰ τὰς ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐπ-  
 αύλεις τῶν οἰκητόρων ποιουμένων τὰς διατριβάς·  
 ἐξ ὧν ὕστερον ἀναστάντες καὶ συνελθόντες, ἐπίδοσιν  
 κοινωνίας καὶ φιλίας, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ  
 λαμβανούσης, οἰκίας ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ πόλεις ἔδει-  
 μαντο, ὧν καὶ ἐπηλύταις, καθάπερ εἶπον, μετ-  
 ἔδοσαν, ἵνα μὴ πάντων ἀποροῖεν καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀγροῖς  
 καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις.
- 120 XXIV. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἱερωμένης φυλῆς τάδε νομο-  
 θετεῖται· γῆς ἀποτομὴν οὐκ ἀπένειμε τοῖς νεω-  
 κόροις ὁ νόμος, ὑπολαβῶν ἀντάρκη πρόσοδον εἶναι  
 τούτοις τὰς ἀπαρχάς, ὅκτῳ δὲ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα  
 πόλεις ἀπεκλήρωσεν εἰς οἴκησιν καὶ δισχιλίους  
 121 ἐκάστη πῆχεις προάστειον ἐν κύκλῳ. τὰς οὖν ἐν  
 ταύταις οἰκίας οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἄλλαις,

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxv. 32-34.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 116-121

should be restored without compensation to the former owner as in the case of real property, for farm-buildings are a part of real property. But houses within 117 the walls may be recoverable by the vendors for the space of a year, but after the year are absolutely secured to the purchasers who are not liable to suffer any injury from the general remission in the fiftieth year. His reason is that he wishes to give the 118 newcomers also a basis on which they may feel themselves firmly established in the country. For since they have no apportionment of land as they were not counted when the holdings were distributed, the law assigned to them their houses in fee simple in its anxiety that those who had come as suppliants and refugees to the laws should not be cast adrift. For when the land was apportioned according to the tribes 119 the cities were not distributed, nor indeed built in city form at all, and the inhabitants took for their dwellings the outbuildings in the country. Subsequently when they left these and became concentrated as the feeling of unity and friendship naturally grew stronger in the course of many years, they built houses adjacent to each other, thus forming cities. And of these, as I have said, they assigned a share to the newcomers, to prevent them finding themselves cut off from holding property both in the country and in the cities.

XXIV. The legislation with regard to the conse- 120 crated tribe is as follows.<sup>a</sup> The temple-keepers were not allotted a section of land by the law, which considered that they were sufficiently provided for by the first-fruits, but assigned them instead forty-eight cities to dwell in, with a surrounding frontage in each case of two thousand cubits. Houses within 121 these were not, like the others within the walls,

## PHILO

ὅσαι τειχῶν εἴσω τυγχάνουσιν, ἐβεβαίωσε τοῖς πριαμένοις, ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ τῶν ἀποδιδομένων κομίσασθαι μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν ἐφῆκεν αὐτὰς λυτροῦσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους τὰς ἐπαύλεις αἰς ἰσοδυναμοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ μόνας ἐκ τοσαύτης χώρας διεκληρώσαντο τὰς οἰκίας, ὧν οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν στέρεσθαι τοὺς λαβόντας, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τοὺς κληρούχους τῶν ἐπαύλεων. οἰκιῶν μὲν δὴ περί τοσαῦτα.

- 122 XXV. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς χρεώστας δανειστῶν καὶ πρὸς θεράποντας δεσποτῶν ὅμοια τοῖς πρόσθεν νομοθετεῖται, ὅπως οἱ μὲν δανεισταὶ μὴ ἐκλέγωσι τόκους παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἀλλ' ὅσον προήκαντο μόνον ἄσμενοι κομίζονται, οἱ δὲ δεσπότες τοῖς ἀργυρωνήτοις μὴ ὡς φύσει δούλοις ἀλλ' ὡς μισθωτοῖς προσφέρωνται, παρέχοντες ἄδειαν ἐλευθερίας, εὐθὺς μὲν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λύτρα κατατιθέναί δυναμένοις, αὐθις δὲ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἢ ὅταν ἐπιγένηται ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δουλείας ἑβδομος ἐνιαυτὸς ἢ ὅταν ὁ πενηتكόστος, κἂν πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τύχη τις εἰς δουλείαν ὑπαχθεῖς· ἄφεςις γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖνός ἐστι καὶ νενόμισται, πάντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχαίας διαυλοδρομούντων καὶ ἀνακαμπτόντων εὐπραγίας. ἐπιτρέπει δ' ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὁμοφύλων [οἷτινες ἐξ ἑτέρων ἔθνων εἰσιν] οἰκέτας κτᾶσθαι, βουλόμενος πρῶτον μὲν διαφορὰν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτριῶν εἶναι, ἔπειτα δὲ μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀναγκαιότατον κτῆμα,

<sup>a</sup> "Lay population" seems to be the meaning required for τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, but I do not know of any similar use of ἔθνος. The phrase is used of the nation in general in i. 54. Possibly ἄλλου has fallen out. (Heinemann strangely translates it by "members of the other tribes," with no hint as to how it is to be obtained from the Greek.)

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 121-123

secured to the purchasers, if the vendors could not find the means to redeem them within the year, but were liable to be redeemed for an unlimited period just as the lay population<sup>a</sup> could redeem the farm buildings, to which the dwelling-houses of the Levites correspond. For these were all that fell to their share in that great territory, and thus he considered that being once received they ought not to be taken back, any more than the farm-buildings in the case of those to whom the holdings were apportioned. So much for the subject of houses.

XXV. Similar rules to those already stated are 122 laid down as to the relations between creditors and debtors and between servants and masters.<sup>b</sup> Creditors are not to exact interest from their fellow-nationals but to be content with recovering what they provided. Masters are to treat their purchased slaves as their hired servants, not as their slaves by nature, and give them secure access to liberty on the spot if they can provide their ransom, or in the case of the needy at a later time, when either the seventh year from the beginning of their slavery or the fiftieth arrives, in the latter case even though only a single day has elapsed since the man was reduced to that condition. For that time is accepted as the remission and actually is such, when all reverse their course and turn back to the prosperity of the past. But the law does permit the acquisition of slaves 123 from other nations<sup>c</sup> for two reasons ; first, that a distinction should be made between fellow-countrymen and aliens ; secondly, that that most indispensable possession, domestic service, should not be absolutely

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxv. 35-41. As Philo observes, the two sections really repeat the substance of §§ 71-85.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxv. 44.

θεράποντας, ἀνείρξαι τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας· μυρία γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων ποθεῖ τὰς ἐκ δούλων ὑπηρεσίας.<sup>1</sup>

- 124 Υἱοὶ κληρονόμοι γονέων ἔστωσαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ εἶεν, θυγατέρες. ὡς γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει γυναικῶν ἄνδρες πρωτοστατοῦσι, κὰν ταῖς συγγενείαις ἐχέτωσαν προνομίαν διαδεχόμενοι τὰς οὐσίας καὶ τὴν τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάξιν ἐκπληροῦντες ἀνάγκης νόμῳ κατασχεθέντων<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν θνητὸν <καὶ> γηγενὲς ἀθανά-  
 125 τίζοντι. παρθένοι δὲ ἐὰν ἀπολειφθῶσιν ἀνέκδοτοι, προικὸς ὑπὸ ζώντων ἔτι τῶν γονέων μὴ διωρισμένης, ἰσομοιρεῖτωσαν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν. ἐπιμελείσθω δ' ἢ προεστῶσα ἀρχὴ φυλακῆς τε τῶν ἀπολειφθεισῶν<sup>3</sup> καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ τῶν εἰς δίαιταν καὶ παιδείαν τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν κόραις ἀναλωμάτων καί, ὅποτε γένοιτο ὥρα, [καὶ] γάμου τοῦ πρέποντος, ἀνδρῶν ἐν<sup>4</sup> ἅπασι δοκίμων ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθέντων.  
 126 ἔστωσαν δ' οὗτοι μάλιστα μὲν συγγενεῖς, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντως γοῦν δημόται καὶ φυλέται, χάριν τοῦ μὴ τοὺς κλήρους τοὺς προικιδίους<sup>5</sup> ἐπιγαμίαις ἄλλο-

<sup>1</sup> Here F comes to an end as far as this treatise is concerned, and we are left dependent upon M and the occasional excerpts of Nicetas. As there are no such excerpts from the sections on the law of inheritance which follow down to § 139, they did not appear in Hoeschel's edition, and consequently are also absent in Mangey's, whose p. 291 ends with ὑπηρεσίας and p. 292 begins with ἐπόμενοι καὶ τῇ τάξει, § 140. On a probable lacuna in M at this point see note a.

<sup>2</sup> MS. κατασχεθέντες.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ἀπολειφθέντων.

<sup>4</sup> MS. μὲν.

<sup>5</sup> MS. πρὸς ἰδίους.

<sup>a</sup> The sections which follow down to § 139 seem entirely out of place here and have nothing to do with the sequence of thought, which has hitherto carried him on from the

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 123-126

excluded from his commonwealth. For the course of life contains a vast number of circumstances which demand the ministrations of slaves.

<sup>a</sup> The heirs of parents are to be sons,<sup>b</sup> or failing sons 124 daughters. For just as in nature men take precedence of women, so too in the scale of relationships they should take the first place in succeeding to the property and filling the position of the departed which they have ceased to hold, debarred by an inevitable law which admits to immortality nothing that is mortal or earth-born. But if virgins are left 125 without a dower, nothing of the kind having been settled on them by the parents while still alive, they should share equally with the males. The charge of protecting the girls left thus desolate and superintending their development, and the expenses of providing anything required for their maintenance and education as befits maidens should fall upon the head magistrate<sup>c</sup>; also when the time comes, the duty of arranging a suitable marriage and choosing husbands who are selected on their merits and approved in all respects. And these should be, if 126 possible, of the same family as the girls, or if that cannot be, at any rate of the same ward and tribe, in order that the portions assigned as dowry should not

Sabbath day to the Sabbatical year, and thence to the fiftieth year and the regulations connected with the last two. Cohn thinks that a connexion is to be found in Lev. xxv. 46, where after permitting the purchase of foreign slaves it continues "ye shall make them an inheritance" (ΛXX καταμεριεῖτε, "ye shall distribute") "to your children." If this is right, it can hardly be doubted, as Cohn says, that some words have fallen out which would shew the connexion.

<sup>b</sup> See Num. xxvii. 8-11, *cf.* Mos. ii. 243 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Or "the chief civil authority." See App. p. 626.

## PHILO

- τριούσθαι, μένειν δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεταγμέναις  
 127 κατὰ φυλὰς λήξουσιν. εἴαν δὲ γενεᾶς ἔρημος ὦν  
 τυγχάνη, παρίτωσαν ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ  
 τετελευτηκότος<sup>1</sup>. ἢ γὰρ μεθ' υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας ἐν  
 συγγενείαις τάξις ἀδελφῶν ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ ἀνάδελφός  
 τις εἶη τελευτῶν, θεῖοι πρὸς πατρὸς διαδεχέσθωσαν  
 τὴν οὐσίαν, θείων δὲ μὴ ὄντων, θεῖαι,<sup>2</sup> <εἶτα> τῶν  
 ἄλλων οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν <οἱ> ἐγγυτάτω.<sup>3</sup>  
 128 σπάνις δ' εἰ καταλάβοι τῆς συγγενείας, ὡς μηδένα  
 τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος ἀπολειφθῆναι, ἢ φυλὴ κληρονόμος  
 ἔστω· συγγένεια γὰρ τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ φυλὴ κατὰ  
 περιγραφὴν μείζονα καὶ τελειοτέραν.  
 129 ἄξιον μέντοι τὸ διαπορηθὲν ὑπ' ἐνίων <μη> ἡσυχασ-  
 θῆναι· διὰ τί, γὰρ φασί, πάντων συγγενῶν καὶ  
 δημοτῶν καὶ φυλετῶν ἐπιμνησθεῖς ὁ νόμος ἐν ταῖς  
 τῶν κλήρων διαδοχαῖς γονεῖς μόνους παρεσιώπησεν,  
 οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν, ὥσπερ κληρονομοῦνται, κληρονομεῖν  
 τὰ παίδων; ὅτι, ὧ γενναῖε, θεῖος ὦν καὶ τὴν τῆς  
 φύσεως ἀκολουθίαν αἰεὶ σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ὠήθη  
 χρῆναι παλίμφημον εἰσηγεῖσθαι· γονέων μὲν γὰρ  
 εὐχαί, ζῶντας ἀπολιπεῖν οὓς ἐγέννησαν, διαδεξο-  
 μένους<sup>4</sup> ὄνομά τε αὐτῶν καὶ γένος καὶ οὐσίαν,  
 ἐχθρῶν δὲ ἀμειλικτῶν ἀραὶ τάναντία, προαποθνή-  
 130 σκειν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας τῶν φυσάντων. ὅπως

<sup>1</sup> MS. τῶν τετελευτηκότων.

<sup>2</sup> As aunts are not mentioned in Num. xxvii. nor in the parallel passage in Philo (*Mos.* ii. 245), θεῖαι might perhaps be expunged. In that case there would be no need for Cohn's insertion of εἶτα.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ἐγγυτέρω.

<sup>4</sup> MS. διαδεξαμένους.

<sup>a</sup> See Num. xxxvi. 6 ff. The point that they should, if possible, marry into the same family is not there expressly stated, but might be fairly inferred from v. 11, where it is



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 126-130

be alienated by inter-marriage with other tribes, but should retain the place given to them in the allotments originally made on the basis of tribes.<sup>a</sup> But if 127 the deceased has no descendants, the brothers must proceed to the succession, for brothers rank next in tables of relationship with sons and daughters. If the dead man has no brother, the succession must pass to the uncles on the father's side, and if there are no uncles, to the aunts, and then to the next nearest among their other connexions or kinsfolk. But if 128 kinsfolk are so scarce that no blood-relation remains, then the tribe shall be the heir.<sup>b</sup> For the tribe is in a sense a kinship with a wider and more all-embracing compass.

<sup>c</sup>One question, however, which 129 is raised by some inquirers should not be passed over in silence. Why, they ask, does the Law when dealing with the regulations of inheritance mention kinsmen of every degree and fellow-wardsmen and fellow-tribesmen, but leaves parents alone unmentioned who would naturally inherit from the children as the children do from them? The answer, good sir, is that the law, God-given as it is, and ever desirous to follow the course of nature, held that no sinister thought should be introduced. Parents pray that they may leave behind them alive the children they have begotten to succeed to their name, race and property, and the imprecations of their implacable enemies are just the opposite, that the sons and daughters may die before their parents. Now he did not 130

said that the daughters of Zelophehad married their first cousins. For "ward and tribe" see on § 82.

<sup>b</sup> Not stated in Num. xxvii. Probably (as Cohn and Heinemann) deduced from the intention of the law to prevent the inheritance passing from one tribe to another (xxxvi. 9).

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 129-132 cf. *Mos.* ii. 244, 245.

## PHILO

οὐν μηδὲν ἀνάρμοστον καὶ ἀσύμφωνον ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ συμφωνίᾳ, καθ' ἣν διοικεῖται σύμπας ὁ κόσμος, διαγορευῆ, παίδων μὲν ἀποθνησκόντων, γονέων δ' ἐπιβιούντων, ἀναγκαίως ἅμα καὶ πρεπόντως οὐ προσέταξε μητέρας [ἅμα] καὶ πατέρας τὰ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων κληρονομεῖν, εἰδὼς μὴ συνᾶδον τὸ

131 πρᾶγμα βίω τε καὶ φύσει. φυλαξάμενος οὐν γυμνοῖς ὀνόμασι καλέσαι γονεῖς ἐπὶ παίδων τετελευτηκότων κληρονομίαν,<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπευκτὴν ὠφέλειαν προσνέμων ὀνειδίζειν πενθοῦσιν ἢ ὑπομιμνήσκειν κακοπραγιῶν, ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τὰς οὐσίας ἀπένειμεν αὐτοῖς, βραχὺ παρηγόρημα με-

132 γάλου κακοῦ. τίς οὐν ὁ τρόπος; ἀδελφὸν πατρὸς γράφει κληρονόμον ἀδελφιδῶν, ἢ που διὰ τὸν πατέρα τὸν θεῖον γεραίρων· εἰ μὴ τις οὕτως ἡλίθιός ἐστιν, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν ὅτι ἕτερον τιμῶν ἑτέρου χάριν ἀτιμοῦν ἐκείνον προαιρεῖται· μὴ καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων γνωρίμους οἱ περιέποντες ἀμελεῖς τῶν ἐταίρων<sup>2</sup> εἰσίν; ἢ <οὐ> πάντων εὐνοϊκώτατοι κηδεμόνες τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ ἐταίρους<sup>2</sup> ἀποδέχονται; τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ὁ νόμος διὰ πατέρα καλέσας ἀδελφὸν πατρὸς ἐπὶ μετουσίαν κλήρου πολὺ πρότερον πατέρα καλεῖ, φωνῇ μὲν οὐ, διὰ τὰ λεχθέντα, γνωριμωτέρα

<sup>1</sup> MS. κληρον.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ἐτέρων . . . ἐτέρους.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Mos.* ii. 245 καὶ τοῦ πρόποντος καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, which suggests that the "necessity" here is to keep the property in the family.

<sup>b</sup> After *τιμῇ* sc. *τῶν γνωρίμων*. But the whole sentence is very awkward and may contain some corruption besides the omission of οὐ. Heinemann's translation, "lassen sie nicht

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 130-132

wish to speak plainly of anything so out of tune with and discordant to the harmony and concord which prevails throughout the cosmic order as the death of children while the parents survive, and therefore he complied both with necessity and decency<sup>a</sup> in not ordaining that mothers and fathers should inherit from their sons and daughters. He knew that such an event was not in accordance with the ordinary course of life or with nature. So while he avoided 131 appointing the parents in undisguised terms as heirs to the property of their dead children, lest by assigning to them an acquisition of so undesirable a kind he should seem to be casting a slur upon their mourning or reminding them of their misfortunes, he adopted another way of conveying the ownership to them, a simple specific for a great mischief. What 132 was this way? He declares the father's brothers to be the heirs of their nephews, a privilege doubtless given to the uncle for the sake of the father, unless anyone is foolish enough to suppose that a person who honours A for the sake of B is deliberately dishonouring B. Is it the case that those who pay court to the acquaintances of their friends are neglecting those friends? Is it not rather the truth that their affectionate care for all that might honour these acquaintances<sup>b</sup> shews regard for the friends also? On the same principle the law, when it nominates the father's brother to share in the inheritance because of his relationship to the father, much more nominates the father, not in actual words it is true for reasons already stated, but with a force more

die Ehrung ihrer Freunde in jeder Weise mit grösster Aufmerksamkeit angelegen sein," does not seem to represent the Greek as it stands.

## PHILO

δὲ φωνῆς δυνάμει τρανούση τὸ βούλημα τοῦ νομοθέτου.

- 133 Παιδῶν ὁ πρεσβύτατος οὐκ ἰσομοιρεῖ τοῖς μετ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ διπλασίων ἀξιοῦται, διότι τε ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ πρότερον ὑπάρχοντες αὐθις ἐγένοντο πατὴρ καὶ μήτηρ διὰ τὸν φύντα πρῶτον καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ <πρῶτος> γενόμενος τούτοις ἀνακαλεῖν ἤρξατο τοῖς ὀνόμασι τοὺς σπείραντας καὶ—τὸ ἀναγκαιοτάτον—ὅτι ὁ πρὸ τοῦ γενεᾶς ἔρημος οἶκος εὐπαις ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμονήν, ἥσ<sup>1</sup> σπορὰ μὲν γάμος, καρποὶ δὲ τέκνων γενέσεις, ὧν ὁ
- 134 πρεσβύτατος ἀρχή. διὰ ταύτην γ' οἶμαι τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ πρωτότοκοι τῶν μὲν ἄσπονδα εἰργασμένων ἐχθρῶν, ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαὶ δηλοῦσι, μιᾷ νυκτὶ πάντες ἠβηδὸν ἀνηρέθησαν, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους χαριστήριον ἀνετέθησαν θεῷ καθιερωθέντες· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς μὲν βαρυντάτῳ καὶ ἀπαρηγορήτῳ πένθει βαρῦναι, φθορᾷ τῶν πρωτοστατούντων, γεραίρειν δὲ τὸν σωτήρα θεὸν ἀπαρχαῖς, αἱ τὴν ἐν τέκνοις
- 135 ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαχον. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσὶ τινες οἱ μετὰ γάμον καὶ παιδοποιίαν ὀψὲ σωφροσύνην ἀπομαθόντες ἐξώκειλαν εἰς ἀκρασίαν καὶ ἐπιμανέντες γυναιξὶν ἐτέραις τὰς προτέρας ἐκάκωσαν καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων οὐκέθ' ὡς πατέρες ἀλλ' ὡς πατρωοὶ προσηνέχθησαν ἀπομιμησάμενοι τὸ μητρειῶν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Cohn in a note to Heinemann's translation would correct to εἰ σπορὰ, but with no improvement of the sense that I can see.

<sup>a</sup> This statement is founded on Deut. xxi. 15-17. See App. pp. 626-627.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Mos. i. 135.

<sup>c</sup> ἐπεὶ, which has no logical apodosis, is omitted in the translation.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 132-135

recognizable than words, leaving no doubt of the intention of the lawgiver.

The eldest son does not share equally with his 133 juniors, but is adjudged a double portion,<sup>a</sup> one reason being that his parents who before were but man and wife, owe to the first-born the fact that they have later become father and mother. Another is that it is their first-born who began to use these names in addressing his parents.<sup>b</sup> The third reason is the most important, that what was before their birth a house of barren stock has become fruitful for the preservation of the human race, a preservation which is sown in marriage and fructified in the birth of children, starting with the eldest. This was the 134 reason, I suppose, that the first-born sons of the enemies who had shewn themselves so merciless in action, were cut off in wholesale massacre in a single night, as the Holy Scriptures tell us, while the first-born of our nation were dedicated by consecration as a thank-offering to God. For it was just that on the enemy should fall the weight of a blow for which no consolation was possible, namely, the destruction of their foremost rank, while God Who wrought the salvation was honoured by the dedication as first-fruits of those who headed the line of children. <sup>c</sup>But there 135 are some who after marrying and begetting children unlearn in their later days what they knew of self-restraint and are wrecked on the reef of incontinence. Seized with a mad passion for other women, they maltreat those who hitherto belonged to them and behave to the children they have begotten by them as though they were uncles rather than fathers, copy the unrighteousness shewn

## PHILO

- προγονοὺς δυσσεβῆς καὶ ὅλως ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἑαυ-  
 τῶν ἐξέδωκαν ταῖς δευτέραις καὶ παισὶ τοῖς τούτων  
 ἡδονῆς, αἰσχίστου πάθους, ἥττους γενόμενοι,  
 χαλινὸν μὲν εἶ πως οἶόν τε ἦν ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ἐπι-  
 θυμίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀνασκιρτᾶν ἐπὶ πλεόν οὐκ ἂν  
 136 ἐμέλλησεν ὁ νόμος. ἐπεὶ δὲ μανίαν ἐξηγγριωμένην  
 οἴστρω χαλεπὸν μᾶλλον δ' ἀδύνατον ἰάσασθαι, τὸν  
 μὲν ὡς ἀθεραπεύτῳ νόσῳ κατεσχημένον ἀπέλιπε,  
 τὸν δ' ἐκ τῆς διὰ τοὺς νέους ἔρωτας κακωθείσης  
 υἱὸν οὐχ ὑπερεΐδε κελεύσας αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν δι-  
 πλάσια τὰ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διανομῆς.  
 137 αἷτια δὲ τούτου πολλά· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κολάζει  
 τὸν ὑπαίτιον ἀνάγκην ἐπιθεῖς αὐτῷ ποιεῖν εὖ ὄν  
 κακῶς διατιθέναι προαιρεῖται, καὶ τῆς ἀγνώμονος  
 γνώμης ἄκυρον ἀποφαίνει δι' ὧν ὠφελεῖ τὸν κινδυν-  
 νεύσαντα πρὸς ἐκείνου<sup>1</sup> ζημιωθῆναι τάττων αὐτὸν  
 ἐν τῇ τάξει τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, ἣν ὁ φύσει πατὴρ ἐπὶ  
 138 πρεσβυτάτου παιδὸς ἔλιπε. δεύτερον δὲ  
 ἔλεον καὶ οἶκτον λαμβάνει τῶν ἡδικημένων, οὓς  
 βαρυτάτης ἀνίας ἐπελαφρίζει μετουσίᾳ χάριτος καὶ  
 δωρεᾶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥττον τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος υἱοῦ  
 τὴν διπλασίαν μοῖραν εἰκὸς ἦν ἡδεσθαι τὴν μητέρα,  
 φιλανθρωπία νόμου παρηγορηθεῖσαν, ὃς οὐκ εἴασεν  
 αὐτὴν τε καὶ γενεὰν εἰς ἅπαν ἐχθρῶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι.  
 139 τρίτον δέ· βραβευτῆς ὧν τῶν δικαίων  
 ἀγαθὸς ἐλογίσαστο παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς  
 στεργομένης ἐπεδαφιλεύσατο τὰς χορηγίας ὁ πατὴρ

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἐκεῖνο.

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<sup>a</sup> For the allegorizing of this law (Deut. xxi. 15-17) cf. *De Sac.* 20, *De Sob.* 21 ff.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 135-139

by stepmothers to the first family and altogether devote themselves and all they have to the second wives and their children, overcome by the vilest of passions, voluptuousness. Such lusts the law would not have hesitated to bridle if it were possible, and prevent them from frisking and plunging still more. But since it is difficult, or rather impossible, to heal 136 the frenzy goaded into savagery, it left the father to his fate as one in the grip of an incurable disease but did not disregard the son of the wife who was wronged through his passion for another, but bade him take the double portion in the distribution between the brothers.<sup>a</sup> There are several reasons for this. In 137 the first place, it punishes the culprit by forcing him to give good treatment to the person to whom he intended to give the reverse and renders him incapable of carrying out his ill-judged judgement. This it effects by conferring benefits on the person who was likely to suffer loss at his hands, and by taking upon itself the parental position which had been abandoned by the natural father in so far as the eldest child was concerned. Secondly, 138 it shews mercy and pity for the victims of injustice whom it relieves of a very grievous trouble by enabling them to share in the boon thus bestowed. For naturally we may suppose that the gratification felt by the son at obtaining the double portion is shared by the mother, encouraged as she is by the humanity of the law which refuses to allow her and her family to lie entirely at the mercy of her enemies. And there was a third reason. 139 Being gifted with a power to judge justly, it reflected that the father had bestowed his bounties generously on the children of the beloved wife

## PHILO

διὰ τὸν πόθον τῆς γυναικός, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς συ-  
γθεΐσης οὐδενὸς [ἢ] παντάπασιν ἠξίωσε διὰ τὸ  
τῆς μητρὸς ἔχθος, ὡς ἐκείνους μὲν ἔτι ζῶντος<sup>1</sup> προ-  
κεκληρονομηκέναι πλείω τῆς ἰσομοιρίας, τούτους  
δὲ κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἀπάντων ἀφ-  
αιρεθῆναι τῶν πατρῶων. ἴν' οὖν ἐπανισώσῃ τὴν  
διανομὴν τοῖς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν γυναικῶν, ὥρισε  
διμοιρίαν τὰ πρεσβεία τῷ τῆς ἀπηλλαγμένης παιδί.

[292] τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄλις.

140 XXVI. | Ἐπόμενοι δὲ τῇ τάξει τρίτον εἶδος  
ἀναγράφομεν ἑορτῆς, ὃ σημανοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ  
νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην, χρόνος<sup>2</sup> ὁ ἀπὸ συνόδου ἐπὶ  
σύνοδον, ὃν μαθηματικῶν παῖδες εὖ μάλα διηριθμή-  
σαντο. τὴν δ' ἐν ἑορταῖς ἔλαχε τάξιν νουμηνία  
διὰ πολλά· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀρχὴ μηνός, ἀρχὴ δὲ  
καὶ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ χρόνου τίμιον· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι κατ'  
αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ἀφώτιστον ἐν οὐρανῷ· συνόδῳ μὲν  
γὰρ ὑποδραμούσης ἥλιον σελήνης τὸ πρὸς γῆν  
μέρος ἐξόφωται, νουμηνία δὲ πέφυκεν ἀναλάμπειν.

141 τρίτον δὲ ὅτι τῷ ἐλάττονι καὶ ἀσθενεστέρῳ κατ'  
ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ δυνατώτερον  
ὠφελείας ἀναγκαίας μεταδίδωσι· νουμηνία γὰρ  
ἄρχεται φωτίζειν αἰσθητῷ φέγγει σελήνην ὁ ἥλιος,

<sup>1</sup> MS. ζῶντας.

<sup>2</sup> On the text here see note b.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in asserting the rights of the eldest son it asserts those of the first family as a whole.

<sup>b</sup> For the New Moon see i. 177. Lit. "it, the new-month-day, according to the moon, the time" etc. *i.e.* the new moon is the time between the conjunctions. This, though unnoticed by Cohn and Heinemann, cannot, as it seems to me, have been stated by Philo. I suggest some such insertion as ἔστι γὰρ ὁ μὴν κατὰ σελήνην, which might



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 139-141

because of his affection for her, but left the children of the hated wife entirely out of consideration owing to his hostility to their mother, so that the former even in his lifetime inherited more than their equal share, and the latter might expect at his death to find themselves robbed of the whole patrimony. And therefore it decreed that the son of the discarded wife should have the eldest son's privilege of the double share, in order to equalize the partition between both families.<sup>a</sup> Enough on these matters.

XXVI. Following the order stated above, we record 140  
the third type of feast which we will proceed to explain. This is the New Moon, or beginning of the lunar month,<sup>b</sup> namely the period between one conjunction and the next, the length of which has been accurately calculated in the astronomical schools. The new moon holds its place among the feasts for many reasons. First, because it is the beginning of the month, and the beginning, both in number and in time, deserves honour. Secondly, because when it arrives, nothing in heaven is left without light, for while at the conjunction, when the moon is lost to sight under the sun, the side which faces earth is darkened, when the new month begins it resumes its natural brightness. The third reason is, that the 141  
stronger or more powerful element at that time supplies the help which is needed to the smaller and weaker. For it is just then that the sun begins to illumine the moon with the light which we perceive

easily have fallen out after the preceding *κατὰ σελήνην*. Nicetas, who resumes his excerpts here, has *τρίτην ἑορτὴν ἀναγράφομεν τὴν κατὰ σελήνην νομηνίαν. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κτλ.* Of course in a country where non-lunar months are observed such an explanation is perfectly natural.

## PHILO

ἡ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀναφαίνει τοῖς ὄρωσι. τοῦτο δ' ἐναργῆς ἐστίν, ὡς ἔοικε, διδασκαλία χρηστότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ἵνα μηδέποτε τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν ἄνθρωποι φθονῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μιμούμενοι τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις ὑπερόριον τῆς ψυχῆς βασκανίαν ἐλαύνωσι καὶ προφέροντες εἰς μέσον τὰ οἰκεία κοινοπραγῶσι καὶ χαρίζονται

142 τοῖς ἀξίοις. τέταρτον δὲ ὅτι τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάντων ἐν ἐλάττονι προθεσμία σελήνη τὸν ζωφόρον περιπολεῖ· μηνιαίῳ γὰρ διαστήματι τὸν κύκλον ἀνύτει. διὸ καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τῆς περιόδου, τελευτώσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφ' ἧς ἤρξατο φέρεσθαι σελήνης,<sup>1</sup> τετίμηκεν ὁ νόμος προσειπὼν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτήν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάξαι μάθημα κάλλιστον, ἵν' ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βίου πράξεις τὰ τέλη συνωδὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀποφαίνωμεν· γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτ', εἰάν λογισμῷ τὰς πρώτας ἡμιοχῶμεν ὁρμὰς μὴ ἐπιτρέποντες αὐταῖς ἀφηνιάζειν καὶ ἀνασκιρτᾶν τρόπον θρεμμάτων ἀγελάρχην

143 οὐκ ἐχόντων. ἃς δὲ παρέχεται τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς<sup>2</sup> ἅπασιν ὠφελείας σελήνη, τί χρῆ διεξιόντα μηκύνειν; ἐμφανεῖς γὰρ αἱ πίστεις. ἢ οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐξήσεσιν αὐτῆς ἀναχέονται ποταμοὶ καὶ πηγαὶ καὶ μειοῦνται πάλιν μειώσεσι, καὶ πελάγη τοτὲ μὲν ἐξαναχωρεῖ καὶ ἀμπωτίζοντα ὑποσύρεται τοτὲ δ' ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιτρέχει κατὰ παλίρροϊαν, ὃ τε ἀῆρ αἰθρίαις καὶ νεφώσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις μεταβολαῖς παντοίας ἐνδέχεται τροπὰς, καρποὶ τε οἱ σπαρτῶν<sup>3</sup> καὶ δένδρων αὖξονται καὶ τελεσφοροῦνται σελήνης περιόδους τιθηνουμένης ἕκαστα τῶν φυομένων καὶ πεπαινούσης ἐνδρόσοις καὶ μαλακω-

<sup>1</sup> MS. τελευτῶντος . . . σελήνη (ἀφ' οὐ for ἀφ' ἧς).

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 141-143

and the moon reveals its own beauty to the eye. And this is surely an obvious lesson inculcating kindness and humanity and bidding men never grudge their own good things, but imitating the blessed and happy beings in heaven banish jealousy from the confines of the soul, producing what they have for all to see, treat it as common property, and give freely to the deserving. The fourth reason <sup>142</sup> is, that the moon traverses the zodiac in a shorter fixed period than any other heavenly body. For it accomplishes that revolution in the span of a single month, and therefore the conclusion of its circuit, when the moon ends its course at the starting-point at which it began, is honoured by the law, which declares that day a feast, again to teach us an admirable lesson, that in the conduct of life we should make the ends correspond with the beginnings. And this will be effected if we keep our primitive appetites under the control of reason and do not permit them to rebel and riot like cattle that have no herdsman.

As for the services that the moon <sup>143</sup> renders to everything on earth, there is no need to dilate upon them. The proofs are perfectly clear. As the moon increases, the rivers and fountains rise, and again diminish as it diminishes. Its phases cause the seas to withdraw and dwindle at the ebb-tide, then suddenly rush back with the returning flood, and the air to undergo all manner of changes as the sky becomes clear or cloudy and alters in other ways. The fruits, both of the sown crops and orchard-trees, grow to their maturity according to the revolutions of the moon, which fosters and ripens everything that grows with the dew and very gentle breezes

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<sup>2</sup> MS. ἐπὶ γῆν.

<sup>3</sup> MS. σπαρτοί.

## PHILO

- 144 τάταις αὔραις; ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καιρός, ὅπερ ἔφην, μακρηγορεῖν ἔπαινον σελήνης διεξιόντα καὶ καταριθμούμενον ἄς παρέχεται ζώοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἅπασιν ὠφελείας. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια νομηγία τετίμηται καὶ τάξιν ἔλαχε τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς.
- 145 XXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν νομηγίαν ἐστὶν ἑορτὴ τετάρτη, τὰ διαβατήρια, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι Πάσχα πατρίῳ γλώττῃ καλοῦσιν, ἐν ἣ θύουσι πανδημεὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας ἱερείων ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἄχρι ἑσπέρας, ὁ λεὼς ἅπας, πρεσβῦται καὶ νέοι, κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἱερωσύνης ἀξιώματι τετιμημένοι· τὸν γὰρ ἄλλον χρόνον οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰς τε κοινὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐκάστου προστάξει νόμων ἐπιτελοῦσι, τότε δὲ σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἀγναῖς χερσὶν ἱεουργεῖ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἱεράται.
- 146 αἴτιον δὲ τόδε· τῆς μεγίστης ἀποικίας ὑπόμνημά ἐστιν ἡ ἑορτὴ καὶ χαριστήριον, ἣν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μυριάσιν ὑπὲρ διακοσίας ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστεύλαντο κατὰ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια. τότε οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπολελοιπότες χώραν γέμουσαν ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ ξενηλασίας ἐπιτηδεύουσαν καὶ—τὸ χαλεπώτατον—τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὰς ἀλόγοις ζώοις οὐχ ἡμέροις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγρίοις προσνέμουσαν

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἱεουργεῖται.

<sup>a</sup> Philo consistently uses *διαβατήρια* or *διάβασις* = *πάσχα*, and several times, e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 94, allegorizes it as in § 147, shewing that he traces the name not to the passing over of the Israelites by the destroying angel (*Ex.* xii. 23 and 27), but to the crossing of Israel itself from Egypt, the type of the body, and no doubt also the crossing of the Red Sea. In classical Greek *διαβατήρια* are offerings made before crossing a boundary, and also (*Plut. Lucullus*, 24) before

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 144-146

which it brings. But, as I have said, this is not the 144  
time to dwell at length on the praises of the moon  
and record and catalogue the services which it renders  
to living creatures and everything on earth. It is  
for these or similar reasons that the New Moon is  
honoured and obtains its place among the feasts.

XXVII. After the New Moon comes the fourth 145  
feast, called the Crossing-feast,<sup>a</sup> which the Hebrews in  
their native tongue call Pascha. In this festival many  
myriads of victims from noon till eventide<sup>b</sup> are offered  
by the whole people, old and young alike, raised for  
that particular day to the dignity of the priesthood.<sup>c</sup>  
For at other times the priests according to the ordin-  
ance of the law carry out both the public sacrifices  
and those offered by private individuals. But on this  
occasion the whole nation performs the sacred rites  
and acts as priest with pure hands and complete  
immunity. The reason for this is as follows: the 146  
festival is a reminder and thank-offering for that great  
migration from Egypt which was made by more than  
two millions<sup>d</sup> of men and women in obedience to the  
oracles vouchsafed to them. Now at that time they  
had left a land brimful of inhumanity which made a  
practice of expelling strangers, and what was worst  
of all, assigned divine honours to irrational creatures,  
not merely domesticated animals, but even wild

crossing a swollen river; *cf.* § 147 ἐπικλύζει χειμάρρου ποταμοῦ  
τρόπον. See also App. p. 627.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 627.

<sup>c</sup> *Cf.* *Mos.* ii. 224.

<sup>d</sup> See Ex. xii. 37, "about six hundred thousand on foot that  
were men besides children" (i.e. "besides the baggage").  
So too, Num. xi. 21. "600,000 men implies a total including  
women and children of at least 2,000,000 souls" (Driver,  
*ad loc.*).

## PHILO

- ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν περιχαρείας ἔθνον αὐτοὶ διὰ προ-  
 θυμίαν ἄλεκτον καὶ τάχος ἐσπευσμένον τοὺς ἱερεῖς  
 οὐκ ἀναμένοντες. τοῦτο δὴ τότεπραχθὲν αὐτο-  
 κελεύστῳ καὶ ἐθελουργῶ πάθει δρᾶν ἐφῆκεν ὁ  
 νόμος ἅπαξ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον εἰς εὐχαριστίας  
 ὑπόμνησιν. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ παλαιὰν ἀρχαιολογίαν  
 147 ἱστορεῖται. οἷς δὲ τὰ ῥητὰ τρέπειν  
 πρὸς ἀλληγορίαν ἔθος ψυχῆς κάθαρσιν αἰνίττεται  
 τὰ διαβατήρια· φασὶ γὰρ τὸν σοφίας ἐραστὴν  
 οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος  
 καὶ τῶν παθῶν διάβασιν, ὧν ἕκαστον ἐπικλύζει  
 χειμάρρου ποταμοῦ τρόπον, εἰ μὴ τις τοῖς ἀρετῆς  
 δόγμασιν ἀνακόπτοι καὶ ἀναχαιτίζοι τὴν φορᾶν.  
 148 ἐκάστη δὲ οἰκία κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν  
 χρόνον σχῆμα ἱεροῦ καὶ σεμνότητα περιβέβληται,  
 τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος ἱερέου πρὸς τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν  
 εὐωχίαν εὐτρεπιζομένου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια  
 συνειλεγμένων ἀγνευτικοῖς περιρραντηρίοις κεκα-  
 θαρμένων, οἱ παραγεγόνασιν οὐχ ὡς εἰς τὰ ἄλλα  
 συμπόσια χαριούμενοι γαστρὶ δι' οἴνου καὶ ἐδε-  
 σμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάτριον ἔθος ἐκπληρώσοντες μετ'  
 149 εὐχῶν τε καὶ ὕμνων. ἄξιον μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν  
 παρασημῆνασθαι τῆς πανδήμου εὐωχίας· ἄγεται  
 γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός, ἥτις ἐκ δυεῖν  
 ἑβδομάδων συνέστηκεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀμοιρῆ τῶν  
 ἀξίων τιμῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἀλλ' αὕτη κατάρχη πᾶσιν  
 ἐπιφανείας καὶ σεμνότητος.  
 [293] XXVIII. | Συνάπτει δὲ τοῖς διαβατηρίοις ἑορτὴν  
 150 διάφορον ἔχουσαν καὶ οὐ συνήθη τροφῆς χρῆσιν,

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<sup>a</sup> The suggestion that the feast was instituted after the  
 departure is, of course, quite opposed to Ex. xii., where the  
 396

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 146-150

beasts. So exceedingly joyful were they that in their vast enthusiasm and impatient eagerness, they naturally enough sacrificed without waiting for their priest.<sup>a</sup> This practice which on that occasion was the result of a spontaneous and instinctive emotion, was sanctioned by the law once in every year to remind them of their duty of thanksgiving. These are the facts as discovered by the study of ancient history.

But to those who are accustomed to turn literal facts 147 into allegory, the Crossing-festival suggests the purification of the soul. They say that the lover of wisdom is occupied solely in crossing from the body and the passions, each of which overwhelms him like a torrent, unless the rushing current be dammed and held back by the principles of virtue. On 148

this day every dwelling-house is invested with the outward semblance and dignity of a temple. The victim is then slaughtered and dressed for the festal meal which befits the occasion. The guests assembled for the banquet have been cleansed by purificatory lustrations, and are there not as in other festive gatherings, to indulge the belly with wine and viands, but to fulfil with prayers and hymns the custom handed down by their fathers. The day on which 149 this national festivity occurs may very properly be noted. It is the 14th of the month, a number formed of the sum of two sevens, thus bringing out the fact that seven never fails to appear in anything worthy of honour but everywhere takes the lead in conferring prestige and dignity.

XXVIII. With the Crossing-feast he combines one 150 in which the food consumed is of a different and un-

blood of the victim is to be smeared on the doorposts to avert the destroying angel.

## PHILO

ἄζυμα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὠνόμασαι. διττὸς δὲ ὁ περὶ  
 αὐτῆς λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἴδιος τοῦ ἔθνους ἕνεκα τῆς  
 λεχθείσης ἀποικίας, ὁ δὲ κοινὸς κατὰ φύσεως  
 ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἁρμονίαν.  
 ὡς δ' ἀψευδῆς ἢ ὑπόσχεσις, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἕβδομος  
 ὢν ὁ μὴν οὗτος ἀριθμῶ τε καὶ τάξει κατὰ τὸν  
 ἡλιακὸν κύκλον δυνάμει πρῶτός ἐστι, διὸ<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγράφεται.  
 151 αἴτιον δὲ ὡς γε οἶμαι τόδε· τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν  
 ἀπεικόνισμά τι καὶ μίμημα συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης, καθ' ἣν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο·  
 τότε γὰρ διακρινομένων τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τὴν  
 ἐναρμόνιον τάξιν λαμβανόντων πρὸς τε αὐτὰ καὶ  
 πρὸς ἄλληλα, διεκοσμεῖτο μὲν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἡλίῳ καὶ  
 σελήνῃ καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν  
 ἀστέρων χορείαις καὶ περιόδοις, διεκοσμεῖτο δὲ  
 καὶ ἡ γῆ παντοίαις φυτῶν ἰδέαις καὶ ὄση τῆς  
 ὄρεινῆς καὶ πεδιάδος ἀγαθῆ καὶ βαθεῖα πᾶσα  
 152 ἐτεθῆλει καὶ ἐχλοσφόρει. καθ' ἕκαστον οὖν ἐνι-  
 αυτὸν ὑπομμνήσκων ὁ θεὸς τῆς τοῦ κόσμου  
 γενέσεως ἀνέφηγε τὸ ἔαρ, ἐν ᾧ πάντα ἀνθεῖ καὶ  
 βλαστάνει. διόπερ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ πρῶτος ἀνα-  
 γέγραπται μὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ τρόπον τινὰ  
 τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἐκμαγεῖόν ἐστιν, ἀπ' ἐκείνης  
 153 ὡσπερ ἀρχετύπου σφραγίδος τυπωθεῖς. ὁ δὲ κατὰ<sup>2</sup>  
 τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν τῇ τάξει [πρώτῃ]  
 πρῶτος ὢν ἐν ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς περιόδοις οὐ λέγεται

<sup>1</sup> MS. and Nicetas διότι.

<sup>2</sup> MS. and Nicetas μετὰ.

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<sup>a</sup> The feast of Unleavened Bread is regularly distinguished from the Passover, though following immediately after it.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 150-153

familiar kind, namely, unleavened bread, which also gives its name to the feast.<sup>a</sup> This may be regarded from two points of view, one peculiar to the nation, referring to the migration just mentioned, the other universal, following the lead of nature, and in agreement with the general cosmic order. To show that this affirmation is absolutely true, will require some examination. This month comes seventh in order and number as judged by the cycle of the sun, but in importance it is first, and therefore is described as first in the sacred books.<sup>b</sup> The reason for this I 151 believe to be as follows. In the spring equinox we have a kind of likeness and portraiture of that first epoch in which this world was created. The elements were then separated and placed in harmonious order with reference to themselves and each other. The heaven was adorned with sun and moon and the rhythmic movements and circlings of the other stars, both fixed and planetary. So too the earth was adorned with every manner of plants, and the uplands and lowlands, wherever the soil had depth and goodness, became luxuriant and verdant. So every year God reminds us of the creation of the 152 world by setting before our eyes the spring when everything blooms and flowers. And therefore there is good reason for describing it in the laws as the first month because in a sense it is an image of the primal origin reproduced from it like the imprint from an archetypal seal. But the month of the 153 autumnal equinox, though first in order as measured by the course of the sun, is not called first in the law,

See Lev. xxiii. 5 ff., and also for the details mentioned below *cf.* i. 181 f.

<sup>b</sup> See Ex. xii. 2, and note (App.) on i. 180.

## PHILO

παρὰ τῷ νόμῳ πρῶτος, ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον  
 συγκεκομισμένων τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων τὰ δένδρα  
 φυλλορροεῖ καὶ ὅσα ἀκμάζον τὸ ἔαρ ἤνεγκε πάντα  
 [ξηραίνεται] ἀφαναίνεται ξηροῖς πνεύμασι τοῦ  
 αἰέρος ἀυχμῶδη καταστάντα τοῖς ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογ-  
 154 μοῖς. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιφημίσαι μῆνα, καθ' ὃν  
 ἐστείρωται καὶ ἀγονεῖ ἢ τε ὄρεινῇ καὶ ἢ πεδιάς,  
 παντάπασιν ὑπέλαβεν<sup>1</sup> ἀνάρμοστον καὶ ἀνοίκειον  
 εἶναι· δεῖ γὰρ τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ ἡγεμονίδα τάξιν  
 εἰληχόσι προσεῖναι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ εὐκταιότατα,  
 δι' ὧν αἱ ζώων καὶ καρπῶν καὶ φυτῶν γενέσεις  
 καὶ αὐξήσεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' οὐχ αἱ παλίμφημοι  
 155 φθοραί. τῆς δὲ ἑορτῆς ἀρχὴ διχόμηνος, ἢ πεντε-  
 καιδεκάτη, καθ' ἣν σελήνη πλησιφαῆς γίνεται,  
 προνοία τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι σκότος κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν  
 ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ φωτὸς ἀνάπλεα πάντα διὰ πάντων,  
 ἡλίου μὲν ἔωθεν εἰς ἑσπέραν ἐπιλάμποντος, σελήνης  
 δὲ ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἄχρι τῆς ἔω τὰς αὐτὰς<sup>2</sup> . . . ,  
 τῶν <δ'> ἀστέρων ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπαραχωρούντων  
 156 ἀσκίοις φέγγεσιν. ἢ δὲ ἑορτὴ πάλιν ἐφ'  
 ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ἄγεται δι' ἣν ἔλαχεν ἐν κόσμῳ ὁ  
 ἀριθμὸς προνομίαν τε καὶ τιμὴν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν  
 εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ πάνδημον εὐφροσύνην καὶ εὐ-  
 χαριστίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπολείπηται τῆς  
 ἱερᾶς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀρχὴν καὶ πηγὴν ἀνθρώποις

<sup>1</sup> MS. παντάπασι κατέλαβε.

<sup>2</sup> I have reproduced Cohn's text, though it might be as well to omit the signs of a lacuna, as it is quite possible that the corruption may lie in τὰς αὐτὰς itself. Cohn suggests τὰς αὐγὰς <πεμπούσης>, Wendland τὰς αὐτὰς <ἐπιτελούσης χρείας>. I think the simple correction to ὡσαύτως might be worth considering.

<sup>a</sup> Apart from the obvious faultiness of the text, the sentence

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 153-156

because at that time all the fruits have been gathered in and the trees are shedding their leaves and all the bloom which the spring brought in its prime already scorched by the heat of the summer sun is wilting under the dry currents of air. And so to give the name of "first" to a month in which both uplands and lowlands are sterilized and unfruitful seemed to him altogether unsuitable and incongruous. For things which come first and head the list should be associated with all the fairest and most desirable things which are the sources of birth and increase to animals and fruits and plants, not with the processes of destruction and the dark thoughts which it suggests. The feast begins at the middle of the month, on the fifteenth day, when the moon is full, a day purposely chosen because then there is no darkness, but everything is continuously lighted up as the sun shines from morning to evening and the moon from evening to morning and while the stars give place to each other no shadow is cast upon their brightness.<sup>a</sup>

Again, the feast is held for seven days to mark the precedence and honour which the number holds in the universe, indicating that nothing which tends to cheerfulness and public mirth and thankfulness to God should fail to be accompanied with memories of the sacred seven which He intended to be the source and fountain to is difficult. The stars, as Heinemann says, do not give place to each other on a night of full moon. He thinks that τῶν ἀστέρων refers to the sun and moon. I hardly think this is possible. Though we find the sun and moon coupled with the "other stars," and included in the "seven stars," there would be no point here in speaking of them as "the stars." Presumably ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπαραχωρούντων is loosely used for "as one gives way to another," and they are mentioned as reinforcing the light of the moon.

157 ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων εἶναι διανοήθη. τῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ  
 ἡμερῶν δύο, τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ὑστάτην, “ἀγίας”  
 προσεῖπεν, ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλει προνομίαν, ὡς εἰκός,  
 διδούς καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος καθάπερ ἐν ὄργανῳ  
 μουσικῶ συμφωνία<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἄκρων τὰς μεθορίους  
 συναρμόσασθαι, τάχα μέντοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόν τε  
 παρελθόντα καὶ μέλλοντα χρόνον συνωδὸν ἀποφῆναι  
 τῇ ἑορτῇ, τὸν μὲν παρεληλυθότα συνάπτοντα <τῇ  
 πρώτῃ, τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα> τῇ τελευταίᾳ, ὧν ἑκατέρα  
 τὴν ἑαυτῆς καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας δύναμιν εἴληχεν· ἢ τε  
 γὰρ πρώτη τῆς μὲν ἑορτῆς ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τέλος δὲ  
 τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, ἢ τε ἐβδόμη τέλος μὲν  
 τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἀρχή δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἴν’, ὃ καὶ  
 πρόσθεν εἶπον, ἅπας ὁ τοῦ σπουδαίου βίος ἰσότημος  
 ἑορτῇ νομίζεται λύπην καὶ φόβον καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν  
 καὶ τᾶλλα πάθη καὶ νοσήματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐληλα-  
 158 κότος. ὁ δ’ ἄρτος ἄζυμος, ἦτοι διὰ τὸ  
 τοὺς προγόνους, ἠνίκα θεία πομπῇ τὴν ἀποικίαν  
 ἐστέλλοντο, χρωμένους ἀνυπερβλήτῳ τάχει τὰ  
 φυράματα τοῦ σταιτὸς ἄζυμα ἐπενέγκασθαι ἢ  
 ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον (λέγω δὲ τὴν  
 ἑαρινὴν ὥραν, ἐν ἣ συμβαίνει τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγεσθαι)  
 ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς ἀτελής ἐστι, τῶν πεδίων  
 σταχυηφορούντων καὶ μῆπω καιρὸν ἐχόντων εἰς  
 ἄμητον. ἀτελεῖ δὴ τῷ μέλλοντι καρπῷ τελειω-  
 θησομένῳ δὲ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔδικαίωσεν ἐξομοιωσαι  
 τὴν ἄζυμον τροφήν—ἀτελής γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὕτη—  
 πρὸς ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς ὑπόμνησιν, ὡς ἤδη τῆς  
 φύσεως τὰς ἐτησίους εὐτρεπιζομένης ἀνθρώπων  
 γένει δωρεὰς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ms. and Nicetas συμφωνίαν.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 157-158

men of all good things. Two days out of the seven, 157  
the first and the last, are declared holy. In this way  
he gave a natural precedence to the beginning and  
the end; but he also wished to create a harmony  
as on a musical instrument between the intermediates  
and the extremes. Perhaps too he wished to  
harmonize the feast with a past which adjoins the  
first day and a future which adjoins the last. These  
two, the first and the last, have each the other's  
properties in addition to their own. The first is the  
beginning of the feast and the end of the preceding  
past, the seventh is the end of the feast and the be-  
ginning of the coming future. Thus, as I have said  
before,<sup>a</sup> the whole life of the man of worth may be  
regarded as equivalent to a feast held by one who  
has expelled grief and fear and desire and the other  
passions and distempers of the soul. The 158

bread is unleavened either because our forefathers,  
when under divine guidance they were starting on  
their migration, were so intensely hurried that they  
brought the lumps of dough unleavened,<sup>b</sup> or else  
because at that season, namely, the springtime, when  
the feast is held, the fruit of the corn has not reached  
its perfection, for the fields are in the ear stage and  
not yet mature for harvest. It was the imperfection  
of this fruit which belonged to the future, though it  
was to reach its perfection very shortly, that he con-  
sidered might be paralleled by the unleavened food,  
which is also imperfect, and serves to remind us of  
the comforting hope that nature, possessing as she  
does a superabundant wealth of things needful, is  
already preparing her yearly gifts to the human

<sup>a</sup> In § 48.

<sup>b</sup> So Ex. xii. 34, 39, and Deut. xvi. 3.

PHILO

- 159 περιουσία. λέγεται δὲ κακείνο τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς τῶν  
 ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἄζυμος τροφή δώρημα  
 φύσεώς ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ἐζυμωμένη τέχνης ἔργον·  
 ἐπιτηδεύσει γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἡδέα τοῖς ἀναγ-  
 καίοις<sup>1</sup> ἀναμιγνύναι σπεύδοντες τὸ αὐστηρὸν τῇ  
 160 φύσει προσηνὲς τέχνη κατεσκεύασαν. ἐπεὶ οὖν  
 ἐστίν ἡ ἑαρινὴ ἑορτῆ, καθάπερ ἐδίδαξα, τῆς τοῦ  
 κόσμου γενέσεως ὑπόμνημα, τοὺς δὲ παλαιάτους  
 γηγενεῖς τε καὶ ἐκ γηγενῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν χρῆσασθαι  
 [294] ταῖς | τοῦ κόσμου δωρεαῖς ἀδιαστρόφοις, μήπω  
 τῆς ἡδονῆς παρευημερούσης, οἰκειοτάτην τροφήν  
 ἐνομοθέτησε τῷ καιρῷ, βουλόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος  
 τὰ τῆς σεμνῆς καὶ αὐστηρᾶς διαίτης ἐμπυρεύματα  
 ζωπυρεῖν καὶ ἅμα τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον τῆς ὀλιγοδείας  
 καὶ εὐτελείας θαυμάσαι τε καὶ τιμῆσαι πανηγύρεως  
 ἐκεχειρία καὶ τὸν ἡμῶν καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν  
 161 ἐξομοιωῶσαι τῷ παλαιῷ. τὰ λεχθέντα πιστοῦται  
 μάλιστα ἡ τῶν ἰσαρίθμων ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ἱερᾶς τραπέζης ἄρτων δώδεκα πρόθεσις· εἰσὶ γὰρ  
 πάντες ἄζυμοι, δεῖγμα σαφέστατον ἀμιγοῦς τροφῆς  
 οὐ τέχνη πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ φύσει πρὸς τὸ τῆς  
 χρήσεως ἀναγκαῖον εὐτρεπισθείσης. ταῦτα μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.
- 162 XXIX. Ἐορτῆ δέ ἐστίν ἐν ἑορτῇ ἡ μετὰ τὴν  
 πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέραν, ἣτις ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος  
 ὀνομάζεται δράγμα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπαρχὴ προσάγεται  
 τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τῆς χώρας, ἣν ἔλαχε τὸ ἔθνος οἰκεῖν,

<sup>1</sup> MS. δικαίοις.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xxiv. 5 ff.

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. xxiii. 10 ff.; for “directly after the first day”

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 159-162

race. Another suggestion made by the interpreters 159 of the holy scriptures is that food, when unleavened, is a gift of nature, when leavened is a work of art. For men in their eagerness to temper the barely necessary with the pleasant, have learned through practice to soften by art what nature has made hard. Since, then, the spring-time feast, as I have laid down, 160 is a reminder of the creation of the world, and its earliest inhabitants, children of earth in the first or second generation, must have used the gifts of the universe in their unperverted state before pleasure had got the mastery, he ordained for use on this occasion the food most fully in accordance with the season. He wished every year to rekindle the embers of the serious and ascetic mode of faring, and to employ the leisure of a festal assembly to confer admiration and honour on the old-time life of frugality and economy, and as far as possible to assimilate our present-day life to that of the distant past. These 161 statements are especially guaranteed by the exposure of the twelve loaves corresponding in number to the tribes, on the holy table.<sup>a</sup> They are all unleavened, the clearest possible example of a food free from admixture, in the preparation of which art for the sake of pleasure has no place, but only nature, providing nothing save what is indispensable for its use. So much for this.

XXIX. But within the feast there is another feast 162 following directly after the first day. This is called the "Sheaf,"<sup>b</sup> a name given to it from the ceremony which consists in bringing to the altar a sheaf as a first-fruit, both of the land which has been given to

*ibid.* 11; LXX "on the morrow of the first day"; Hebrew "on the morrow after the sabbath." See App. p. 627.

## PHILO

καὶ τῆς συμπάσης γῆς, ὡς εἶναι τὴν ἀπαρχὴν καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἰδίαν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων  
 163 γένους κοινήν. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὅτι ὄν λόγον ἔχει πρὸς πόλιν ἱερεὺς, τοῦτον πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος. ἱεράται γάρ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἅπασι τοῖς ἀγνευτικοῖς καθαρσίοις χρώμενον καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ὑφηγήσεσι νόμων θείων, οἱ τὰς τε γαστρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ ὑπογαστρίου ἐστειλαν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἠνίοχον ἀλόγοις λόγον ἐπιστήσαντες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκρίτους καὶ πλεοναζούσας ὀρμὰς ἀνέκοψαν καὶ ἀνεχαίτισαν, τὰ μὲν μαλακωτέραις ὑφηγήσεσι καὶ φιλοσόφοις προτροπαῖς, τὰ δ' ἐμβριθεστέροις καὶ εὐτονωτέροις ἐλέγχοις καὶ φόβῳ κολάσεως, ὄν ἐπανατείνονται.

164 χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ τὴν νομοθεσίαν τρόπον τινὰ διδασκαλίαν ἱερωσύνης εἶναι καὶ τὸν βιοῦντα κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εὐθὺς ἱερέα, μᾶλλον δ' ἀρχιερέα, παρ' ἀληθεία δικαζούση νομίζεσθαι κακέينو πρόσ-εστιν ἐξαίρετον· ἀπερίγραφον καὶ ἀπερίληπτον συμβέβηκεν εἶναι θεῶν πλῆθος τῶν κατὰ πόλεις<sup>2</sup> τιμωμένων ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν, οὓς τό τε

<sup>1</sup> Cohn prints here καὶ τὸν ὄχλον <τῆς ψυχῆς ἐχαλίνωσαν, νοῦν> ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι κτλ. I have not followed him, since the insertion is, as he says, only "exempli gratia," and does not seem particularly happy. Philo is amplifying κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν, and as we take up ψυχὴ in ἔτι δὲ καὶ κτλ. it seems out of place here. Something is certainly needed after ὄχλον, but αὐτῶν would be in itself enough, or αὐτῶν ἐχαλίνωσαν since ὄχλον contains the notion of turbulence as well as crowd.

<sup>2</sup> MS. πόλιν.

<sup>a</sup> Or "This follows from the fact that," etc. For the following sections cf. i. 97, though there it is the high priest, and not the Jewish nation, who prays for the world. Heine-



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 162-164

the nation to dwell in and of the whole earth, so that it serves that purpose both to the nation in particular and for the whole human race in general. The 163 reason of this is<sup>a</sup> that the Jewish nation is to the whole inhabited world what the priest is to the State. For the holy office in very truth belongs to the nation because it carries out all the rites of purification and both in body and soul obeys the injunctions of the divine laws, which restrict the pleasures of the belly and the parts below it and the horde . . . setting reason to guide the irrational senses, and also check and rein in the wild and extravagant impulses of the soul, sometimes through gentler remonstrances and philosophical admonitions, sometimes through severer and more forcible condemnations and the fear of punishment which they hold over it as a deterrent.

But not only is the legislation in a sense 164 a lesson on the sacred office, not only does a life led in conformity with the laws necessarily confer priesthood or rather high priesthood in the judgement of truth, but there is another point of special importance. There is no bound or limit to the number of deities, male and female, honoured in different cities, the vain inven-

mann notes that it is curious that the sections which follow emphasizing the world-priesthood of the Jewish race should be connected with the comparatively insignificant rite of the Sheaf, particularly as Philo in *De Som.* ii. 75 has laid down that the sheaf must be taken from the holy land. But the sheaf is actually the first-fruit of the whole harvest, the accomplishment of which is celebrated in the feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles. Philo does not argue the world-priesthood from the rite, but asserts it as a fact shewn by (1) the obedience of Israel to the divine law; (2) its unique monotheism, and argues from it that the Sheaf, and by implication the other thank-offerings, are world-extensive. That he should attach this argument to the first example is not unnatural.

## PHILO

ποιητικὸν γένος ἐμύθευσε καὶ <ὁ> πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων, οἷς ἄπορος<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀδιερεύνητος ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστίν· οὐ μὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ἀλλὰ ἑτέρους ἕτεροι σεμνοποιοῦσι καὶ γεραίρουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην θέσθαι<sup>2</sup> τὰς ἐκείνων ἀποδοχὰς<sup>3</sup> καὶ καταγινώσκειν τῶν τιμώντων πολλὴν ἠλιθιότητα ὡς ὑγιοῦς διαμαρτανόντων δόξης.

165 εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ὃν μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν Ἕλληνας ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι, ὁ ἀνωτάτω πατῆρ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου δημιουργός, οὗ τὴν φύσιν ἀόρατον καὶ δυστόπαστον οὐσαν οὐ μόνον ὄραθῆναι ἀλλὰ καὶ νοηθῆναι πάντες οἱ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβοντες ἀναζητεῖν γλίχονται μηδὲν παρέντες τῶν εἰς εὔρεσιν καὶ [τούτου] θεραπείαν, ἔδει μὲν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνῆφθαι <τούτου> καὶ μὴ καθάπερ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς εἰσποιεῖν ἑτέρους ἐπὶ

166 μετουσίᾳ τῶν ἴσων τιμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ὠλισθον μέρος, τὸ σφάλμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπηνωρθώσατο, κυριώτατα φάναι, τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, ὅσα μὲν εἰς γένεσιν ἦλθε πάνθ' ὑπερκύψαν ὡς γενητὰ καὶ τῇ φύσει φθαρτά, τοῦ δ' ἀγενήτου

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἄπνοσ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ὑποθέσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ὑποδοχὰς.

<sup>a</sup> This is a remarkable statement, and can hardly mean more than that all acknowledge a creator of some sort. In such a general statement he may perhaps ignore atheists, but the words are not easy to reconcile with what he says elsewhere of polytheists. Or does he think that all the theologies like the Greek and Roman acknowledged one God as above the rest?

<sup>b</sup> Heinemann translates by "Naturforschung." But

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 164–166

tions of the tribe of poets and of the great multitude of men to whom the quest for truth is a task of difficulty and beyond their powers of research. Yet instead of all peoples having the same gods, we find different nations venerating and honouring different gods. The gods of the foreigner they do not regard as gods at all. They treat their acceptance by the others as a jest and a laughing-stock and denounce the extreme folly of those who honour them and the failure to think soundly shewn thereby. But if He 165 exists Whom all Greeks and barbarians unanimously acknowledge,<sup>a</sup> the supreme Father of gods and men and the Maker of the whole universe, whose nature is invisible and inscrutable not only by the eye, but by the mind, yet is a matter into which every student of astronomical science <sup>b</sup> and other philosophy desires to make research and leaves nothing untried which would help him to discern it and do it service—then it was the duty of all men to cleave to Him and not introduce new gods staged as by machinery<sup>c</sup> to receive the same honours. When they went 166 wrong in what was the most vital matter of all, it is the literal truth that the error which the rest committed was corrected by the Jewish nation which passed over all created objects because they were created and naturally liable to destruction and chose

*μαθήματα*, where it is not used quite generally, seems regularly to indicate either mathematics as in § 177 below, or what was regarded as a branch of mathematics, astronomy or astrology. For the latter *cf. De Praem.* 58 τῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι Χαλδαικῆς τερθρείας and *De Virt.* 212 ἀστρονομικοῦ τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα διατριβόντων. So too μαθηματικός (-ή), § 140 above and *De Mut.* 71 πραγματευόμενον τὰ περὶ φύσεως οὐρανοῦ ὄν μαθηματικὸν ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσι.

<sup>c</sup> See on i. 28.

## PHILO

- καὶ αἰδίου μόνον τὴν θεραπείαν ἐλόμενον· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καλόν, ἔπειτα δ' ὅτι καὶ ὠφέλιμον πρεσβυτέρῳ πρὸ νεωτέρων καὶ ἄρχοντι πρὸ ἀρχομένων καὶ ποιητῇ πρὸ γεγονότων ἀνακεῖσθαι τε καὶ προσ-
- 167 τίθεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> διὸ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπέρχεται μοι, πῶς τολμῶσί τινες ἀπανθρωπίαν τοῦ ἔθνους κατηγορεῖν, ὃ τοσαύτῃ κέχρηται κοινωνίας καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς<sup>2</sup> πρὸς <τοὺς> πανταχοῦ πάντας ὑπερβολῇ, ὡς τὰς τε εὐχὰς καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν θεραπεύειν ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ τὰς ὀφειλομένας λατρείας ἀποδεδράκασι.
- 168 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους. ἰδίᾳ δὲ πάλιν εὐχαριστοῦσι <διὰ> πολλά· πρῶτον μὲν <ὅτι> οὐκ αἰεὶ σποράδην ἀλώμενοι κατὰ τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους διατελοῦσι καὶ ὡς ὀθνεῖοι καὶ ἀνὶδρυτοὶ τὰς ἐτέρων ἐπωκηκότες καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις ἐφεδρεύοντες ἀγαθοῖς ὀνειδίζονται μηδεμίαν γῆς<sup>3</sup> τοσαύτης ἀποτομῆν τῷ μειονεκτεῖσθαι<sup>4</sup> δανεισάμενοι, χώραν δὲ καὶ πόλεις κτησάμενοι κλῆρον ἴδιον ἐκ πολλοῦ νέμονται, ἀφ' οὗ<sup>5</sup> τὰς
- 169 ἀπαρχὰς ὁσιόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι. δευτέρον δ' ὅτι οὔτε ἀπόβλητον καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυχοῦσαν<sup>6</sup> ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμφορον γῆν ἔλαχον πρὸς τε ζῶων ἡμέρων

<sup>1</sup> MS. προτίθεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> MS. τῆ = τῇ.

<sup>3</sup> MS. τῆς.

<sup>4</sup> Cohn prints <ἐπι> τῷ μετοικίεσθαι; see note a.

<sup>5</sup> MS. ἀφ' ὧν.

<sup>6</sup> MS. ἀποτυχοῦσαν.

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<sup>a</sup> Cohn in *Hermes*, 1908, p. 200, argues in justification of his correction (see note 4), that it fits in very well with the last words of § 170. This is true, but I cannot follow his

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 166-169

the service only of the Uncreated and Eternal, first because of its excellence, secondly because it is profitable to dedicate and attach ourselves to the elder rather than to the younger, to the ruler rather than to the subject, to the maker rather than to the thing created. And therefore it astonishes me to 167 see that some people venture to accuse of inhumanity the nation which has shewn so profound a sense of fellowship and goodwill to all men everywhere, by using its prayers and festivals and first-fruit offerings as a means of supplication for the human race in general and of making its homage to the truly existent God in the name of those who have evaded the service which it was their duty to give, as well as of itself.

So much for this feast as a thanksgiving for the 168 whole human race. But the nation in particular also gives thanks for many reasons. First, because they do not continue for ever wandering broadcast over islands and continents and occupying the homelands of others as strangers and vagrants, open to the reproach of waiting to seize the goods of others. Nor have they just borrowed a section of this great country for lack of means to purchase,<sup>a</sup> but have acquired the land and cities for their own property, a heritage in which they live as long established citizens and therefore offer first-fruits from it as a sacred duty. Secondly, the land which has fallen 169 to their lot is not derelict nor indifferent soil, but good land, well fitted for breeding domestic animals

dictum that *μειονεκτεῖσθαι* makes no sense. The nation was not like people who borrow or hire a piece of ground because they have not enough to buy it. *μειονεκτεῖν* is common enough, though I have not found an example of the middle. Heinemann translates *μειονεκτεῖσθαι*, though he calls the word corrupt.

## PHILO

- εὐγονίας καὶ καρπῶν ἀμυθήτων ἀφθονίαν· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι λυπρόγεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα λιθώδη καὶ ἀπόκροτα εἶναι δοκεῖ φλεψὶ μαλακαῖς διέζωσται καὶ σφόδρα βαθείαις, αἱ διὰ πύοτητα ζωοφυτεῖν
- 170 εἰσιν ἀγαθαί. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἔρημον χώραν ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἣ πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος ἦν καὶ εὐανδροῦσαι μεγάλαι πόλεις· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἐκενώθησαν οἰκητόρων, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἔθνος ἔξω μέρους βραχέος ἠφανίσθη, τὰ μὲν πολέμοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ θεηλάτοις προσβολαῖς, διὰ καινὰς<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐκτόπους ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἀδικημάτων καὶ ὅσα μεγαλουργοῦντες ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν τῆς φύσεως θεσμῶν ἠσέβουν, ἵνα οἱ ἀντὶ τούτων εἰσοικιζόμενοι τοῖς ἐτέρων σωφρονισθῶσι κακοῖς, ἀναδιδαχθέντες ἔργοις ὅτι ζηλωταὶ μὲν τῶν <κακίας><sup>2</sup> ἔργων γενόμενοι ταυτὰ πείσονται, τιμήσαντες δ' ἀρετῆς βίον ἔξουσι τὸν ἀπονεμηθέντα κλῆρον, οὐκ ἐν μετοίκοις ἀλλ' ἐν
- 171 αὐτόχθοσιν ἐξετασθέντες. ὧς μὲν τοίνυν ἀπαρχὴ τὸ δράγμα τῆς τε οἰκείας καὶ τῆς συμπάσης γῆς ἐστὶν ἐπ' εὐχαριστία γινόμενον εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας, ἣ τὸ τε<sup>3</sup> ἔθνος καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπόθει χρῆσθαι, δεδήλωται. προσήκει δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι πολλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα παρίσταται· πρῶτον μὲν θεοῦ μνήμη, ἣς οὐκ ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἀγαθὸν<sup>4</sup> τελειότερον, ἔπειτα δὲ τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν αἰτίῳ τῆς εὐκαρπίας ἀμοιβῆς
- 172 δικαιοσύνη. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τέχνης γεωργικῆς
- <sup>1</sup> MS. κενὰς.      <sup>2</sup> On Cohn's insertion of <κακίας> see note a.  
<sup>3</sup> MS. περί τε.      <sup>4</sup> MS. ἀγαθῶν.

<sup>a</sup> The insertion of *κακίας* is very doubtful, and perhaps weakens the sense. I suspect that there is a play, not reproducible in English, on two different meanings of *ἔργα*: (a)

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 169-172

and bearing fruits in vast abundance. For in it there is no poverty of soil and even such parts as seem to be stony or stubborn are intersected by soft veins of very great depth, the richness of which adapts them for producing life. But besides this it 170 was no uninhabited land which they received, but one which contained a populous nation and great cities filled with stalwart citizens. Yet these cities have been stripped of their inhabitants and the whole nation, except for a small fraction, has disappeared, partly through wars, partly through heaven-sent visitations, a consequence of their strange and monstrous practices of iniquity and all their heinous acts of impiety aimed at the subversion of the statutes of nature. Thus should those who took their place as inhabitants gain instruction from the evil fate of others and learn from their history the lesson that if they emulate deeds of vice<sup>a</sup> they will suffer the same doom, but if they pay honour to a life of virtue they will possess the heritage appointed to them and be ranked not as settlers but as native-born.

We have shewn, then, that the Sheaf was an offering 171 both of the nation's own land and of the whole earth, given in thanks for the fertility and abundance which the nation and the whole human race desired to enjoy. But we must not fail to note that there are many things of great advantage represented by the offering. First, that we remember God, and what thing more perfectly good can we find than this? Secondly, that we make a requital, as is most fully due, to Him Who is the true cause of the good harvest. For the 172 results due to the husbandman's art are few or as good

taught by actual facts, *cf. Mos. ii. 268 τοῦτ' ἀπέβαινεν ἔργοις*,  
(b) emulate their actions.

## PHILO

ὀλίγα καὶ τὸ μηδέν, αὐλακας ἀναστεῖλαι ἢ περι-  
 σκάψαι καὶ γυρῶσαι φυτὸν ἢ βαθῦναι τάφρον ἢ τὰς  
 περιττὰς ἐπιφύσεις ἀποτεμεῖν ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων  
 ἐργάσασθαι, τὰ δ' ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα πάντα καὶ  
 χρήσιμα, γοιμώτατον ἔδαφος, εὐῦδρα χωρία  
 πηγαῖς καὶ ποταμοῖς αὐθιγενέσι καὶ χειμάρροις  
 καὶ ἐτησίοις ὄμβροις καταρδόμενα, ἀέρος εὐκрасίαι  
 ζωτικωτάταις αὔραις ἐπιπνέοντος, αἱ σπαρτῶν καὶ  
 φυτῶν ἰδέαι μυρία· τί γὰρ τούτων ἄνθρωπος ἢ  
 173 εὔρεν ἢ ἐγέννησεν; ἢ μὲν οὖν γεννήσασα φύσις  
 τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ἀνθρώπῳ, ζώων  
 δὲ τῶν θνητῶν ἡγεμονικώτατον αὐτὸν εἶναι  
 ὑπολαβοῦσα, διότι λόγου καὶ φρονήσεως κεκοινώ-  
 νηκεν, ἀριστίνδην εἴλετο καὶ πρὸς μετουσίαν τῶν  
 ἰδίων ἐκάλεσεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄξιον ἐπαινέσθαι τε καὶ  
 θαυμάζεσθαι τὸν ἐστιάτορα θεὸν τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς  
 ἐστίαν γῆν ἅπασαν αἰεὶ πλήρη παρέχοντα τῶν οὐκ  
 ἀναγκαίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ <τῶν πρὸς> τὸν ἀβρο-  
 174 δίαιτον βίον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μὴ δεῖν εὐ-  
 εργατῶν ἀλογεῖν· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἀνεπιδεᾶ καὶ  
 ἑαυτοῦ <πλήρη><sup>1</sup> θεὸν εὐχάριστος γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ  
 πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐξεθισθεῖς, οἱ μυρίων ὄσων ἐνδεεῖς  
 175 εἰσιν. κρίθινον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς  
 δράγμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων ἀνυπαίτιον  
 χρῆσιν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐτ' εὐαγὲς ἦν ἐκ πάντων  
 ἀπάρχεσθαι, τῶν πλείστων πρὸς ἡδονὴν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν γεγονότων, οὐθ' ὅσιον  
 ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν τινος τῶν πρὸς ἔδωδῆν

<sup>1</sup> On Cohn's insertion of *πλήρη* see note a.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 172-175

as nothing, furrows drawn, a plant dug or ringed around, a trench deepened, excessive overgrowth lopped, or other similar operations. But what we owe to nature is all indispensable and useful, a soil of great fruitfulness, fields irrigated by fountains or rivers, spring-fed or winter torrents, and watered by seasonable rains, happily tempered states of the air which sends us the breath of its truly life-giving breezes, numberless varieties of crops and plants. For which of these has man for its inventor or parent? No, it is nature, their parent, who has not grudged to man a share in the goods which are her very own, but judging him to be the chiefest of mortal animals because he has obtained a portion of reason and good sense, chose him as the worthiest and invited him to share what was hers to give. For all this it is meet and right that the hospitality of God should be praised and revered, God Who provides for His guests the whole earth as a truly hospitable home ever filled not merely with necessaries, but with the means of luxurious living. Further, we learn not to neglect benefactors, for he who is grateful to God, Who needs nothing and is His own fullness,<sup>a</sup> will thus become accustomed to be grateful to men whose needs are numberless. The sheaf thus offered is

of barley, shewing that the use of the inferior grains is not open to censure. It would be irreverent to give first-fruits of them all, as most of them are made to give pleasure rather than to be used as necessaries, and equally unlawful to enjoy and partake of any

<sup>a</sup> Cohn supports his insertion of *πλήρη* from *Leg. All.* i. 44 *αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πλήρης ὁ θεός*, cf. *De Mut.* 27. Without it the text "having no need of Himself" might not be impossible, but would give a conception for which I know no parallel in Philo.

## PHILO

μη ἐν οἷς εὐπρεπὲς καὶ θέμις εὐχαριστήσαντας, τὸ δευτερείοις τροφῆς τετιμημένον εἶδος, κριθήν, ἀπάρχεσθαι προσέταξεν ὁ νόμος· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ σίτου <καρπὸς> τὰ πρεσβεῖα ἔλαχεν, οὐδὲ πάλιν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐπιφανεστέραν οὖσαν εἰς ἐπιτηδειότερον ἀνατίθεται καιρὸν, οὐ προεκφοιτῶν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι ταμιευόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας ἡρμόσθαι χρόνων τεταγμέναις περιόδοις.

176 XXX. Τοσαύτας ἔχουσα προνομίας, ὅποσας ἔδειξεν ὁ νόμος, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ δράγματι πανήγυρις προέορτός ἐστιν, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς μείζονος· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἡμέρα πεντηκοστή καταριθμεῖται ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάσιν, [ἐφ' αἷς]<sup>1</sup> ἱερὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισφραγιζομένης μονάδος, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀσώματος θεοῦ εἰκῶν, ᾧ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν ἕξομοιοῦται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον κάλλος ἐπι-

177 δείκνυται πεντηκοντάς. ἕτερον δὲ μηνυτέον· θαυμαστὴ καὶ περιμάχητός ἐστιν ἡ φύσις <αὐτῆς> διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ἐπειδὴ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τοῦ στοιχειωδεστάτου καὶ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἐν οὐσίαις περιλαμβανομένων,<sup>2</sup> ὡς φασιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου· μήκει μὲν γὰρ αἰ

<sup>1</sup> ms. ἑβδόμη ἑβδομάς: Nicetas ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδες. ἐφ' αἷς is omitted in Nicetas, Cohn substitutes for it ἀφέσεως. For a discussion of the text as a whole see App. pp. 627-628.

<sup>2</sup> ms. παραλαμβανομένων.

<sup>a</sup> There is no mention of barley in Lev. xxiii. As Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 250, says the same, the use of barley had probably become a general practice, which Philo by a slip of memory ascribes to the law.

<sup>b</sup> Or "privileges." If note *b* on § 162 is right, the προνομία consist in this, that the Sheaf is the first to exhibit all the virtues which accompany thanksgiving and have been enumerated in the preceding sections. Certainly in no other

form of food for which thanks had not been offered in the proper and rightful manner. And therefore the law ordained<sup>a</sup> that the first-fruit offerings should be made of barley, a species of grain regarded as holding the second place in value as food. For wheat holds the first place and as the first-fruit of this has greater distinction, the law postponed it to a more suitable season in the future. It does not anticipate matters, but puts it in storage for the time being, so that the various thank-offerings may be adjusted to their appointed dates as they recur.

XXX. The festival of the Sheaf, which has all 176 these grounds of precedence,<sup>b</sup> indicated in the law, is also in fact anticipatory of another greater feast. For it is from it that the fiftieth day is reckoned, by counting seven sevens, which are then crowned with the sacred number by the monad,<sup>c</sup> which is an incorporeal image of God, Whom it resembles because it also stands alone. This is the primary excellence exhibited by fifty, but there is another which should be mentioned. One reason among others which 177 makes its nature so marvellous and admirable is that it is formed by what the mathematicians tell us is the most elemental and venerable of existing things,<sup>d</sup> namely, the right-angled triangle. In length its sense does the law give *προνομία* to a rite which is disposed of in a few verses in Leviticus and not mentioned elsewhere in the Pentateuch.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* the addition of 1 turns 49 into the sacred number 50. The use of *ἐπισφραγίζεται* in § 211 is exactly similar.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "of what is included in existences." The same view of 50 as the sum of the squares of the sides of the primary right-angled triangle appears in *De Vit. Cont.* 65, where it is called the *ἀγώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος* of numbers. See also *Mos.* ii. 80 and note. For other references see Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy* (Eng. Trans.), i. 429 f.

## PHILO

τοῦδε πλευραὶ τριῶν οὔσαι καὶ τεσσάρων καὶ  
 πέντε συμπληροῦσιν ἀριθμὸν τὸν δώδεκα, τοῦ  
 ζωοφόρου κύκλου παράδειγμα, διπλασιασθείσης  
 ἑξάδος τῆς γονιμωτάτης, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τελειό-  
 τητος, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων συμπληρουμένη μερῶν, οἷς<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐξισοῦται· δυνάμει δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπογεννώσι τὸν  
 πεντηκοστὸν διὰ τοῦ τρὶς τρία καὶ τετράκις τέσσαρα  
 καὶ πεντάκις πέντε, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι λέγειν  
 τοσοῦτῳ <κρείττω> δωδεκάδος<sup>2</sup> εἶναι πεντηκοντάδα  
 178 ὅσῳ καὶ τὸ δυνάμει τοῦ μήκει.<sup>3</sup> εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἐλάττονος  
 εἰκῶν ἐστὶν ἡ καλλιστεύουσα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ  
 σφαῖρα ἢ ζωοφόρος, τίνος ἂν εἴη παράδειγμα τὸ  
 κρείττον, ἢ πεντηκοντάς, ἢ πάντως ἀμείνονος  
 φύσεως; περὶ ἧς οὐ καιρὸς λέγειν· αὐτάρκες<sup>4</sup> γὰρ  
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι σεσημειώσθαι τὴν διαφορὰν ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ μὴ ἐν παρέργῳ προηγούμενον ἔργον τίθεσθαι.  
 179 Πρόσρησιν δ' ἔλαχεν ἡ κατὰ τὸν πεντηκοστὸν  
 ἀριθμὸν ἐνισταμένη ἑορτὴ πρωτογεννημάτων, ἐν  
 ἣ ἑξυμωμένους ἄρτους ἐκ πυροῦ γεγονότας  
 ἔθος προσφέρειν ἀπαρχὴν σίτου, τῆς ἀρίστης  
 τροφῆς. ὠνομάσθη δὲ πρωτογεννημάτων ἡ διότι,  
 πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀνθρώπων χρῆσιν ἔλθειν τὸν ἐπέτειον  
 καρπὸν, τοῦ νέου σίτου τὸ πρῶτον γέννημα καὶ ὁ  
 πρῶτος παραφανεὶς καρπὸς ἀπαρχὴ προσάγεται—  
 180 δίκαιον γὰρ καὶ ὅσιον τὴν μεγίστην λαβόντας παρὰ  
 θεοῦ δωρεὰν ἀφθονίαν ἀναγκαιοτάτης ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 ὠφελιμωτάτης ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡδίστης τροφῆς μήτε  
 ἀπολαῦσαι μήτε συνόλως σπάσαι, πρὶν ἀπάρξασθαι  
 τῷ χορηγῷ, διδόντας μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτοῦ γὰρ τὰ  
 πάντα καὶ κτήματα καὶ δωρεαί, διὰ <δὲ> βραχείος

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἡμερῶν αἰς.

<sup>3</sup> MS. τοῦ δυνάμει τὸ μήκος.

<sup>2</sup> MS. δεκάδος.

<sup>4</sup> MS. αὐτάρκως.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 177-180

sides are 5, 3, 4, of which the sum is twelve, the pattern of the zodiac cycle, the duplication of the highly prolific six, which is the starting-point of perfection since it is the sum of the factors which produce it through multiplication. But we find that the sides when raised to the second power, *i.e.*  $3 \times 3 + 4 \times 4 + 5 \times 5$ , make 50, so that we must say that 50 is superior to 12 in the same degree as the second power is superior to the first. And if the 178 lesser of these is represented by the most excellent of the heavenly spheres, the zodiac, the greater, namely 50, must be the pattern of some quite superior form of existence. But a discussion of this would be out of place at this point. It is quite enough for the present to call attention to the difference, so as to avoid treating a prominent fact as of secondary importance.

The feast which is held when the number 50 is 179 reached has acquired the title of "first-products."<sup>a</sup> On it it is the custom to bring two leavened loaves of wheaten bread for a sample offering of that kind of grain as the best form of food. One explanation of the name, "Feast of First-products," is that the first produce of the young wheat and the earliest fruit to appear is brought as a sample offering before the year's harvest comes to be used by men. It is 180 no doubt just and a religious duty that those who have received freely a generous supply of sustenance so necessary and wholesome and also palatable in the highest degree should not enjoy or taste it at all until they have brought a sample offering to the Donor, not indeed as a gift, for all things and possessions and gifts are His, but as a token, however small,

<sup>a</sup> See on i. 183.

συμβόλου παραφαίνοντας εὐχάριστον καὶ θεοφιλῆς  
 ἦθος πρὸς τὸν χαρίτων μὲν ἀνεπιδεᾶ συνεχεῖς δὲ  
 181 καὶ ἀενάους χάριτας ἄρδοντα—ἢ διότι κατ' ἐξοχὴν  
 πρῶτον καὶ ἄριστον γέννημα ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς  
 ἐστίν, ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τῶν ἄλλων καταριθμου-  
 μένων ὅσα σπαρτά· καθάπερ γὰρ ἄρχων <μὲν> ἐν  
 πόλει, κυβερνήτης δ' ἐν νηὶ πρῶτος εἶναι λέγεται,  
 τῷ τὸν μὲν κατὰ πόλιν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ ναῦν ἀφ-  
 ηγεῖσθαι τε καὶ προφέρειν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ  
 τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς ὀνόματι συνθέτω πρωτογέννημα  
 ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸ πάντων ἄριστος εἶναι τῶν  
 σπειρομένων· ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ζῶων ἀρίστου  
 182 τροφὴν εἶναι. ἐζυμωμένοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἄρτοι, τοῦ  
 [295] νόμου ζύμην ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναφέρειν ἀπειπόντος,  
 οὐχ ἵνα διαμάχη τις ἦ ἐν τοῖς προσταττομένοις,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρόπου τινὰ δι' ἐνὸς εἶδους λαβεῖν  
 τε καὶ δοῦναι, λαβεῖν μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν προσ-  
 φερόντων εὐχαριστίαν, δοῦναι δὲ εὐθὺς ἀνυπερθέτως  
 τὰ κομιζόμενα τοῖς προσφέρουσιν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε  
 183 χρῆσθαι· χρήσονται γὰρ τοῖς ἅπαξ καθιερωθεῖσιν  
 οἷς ἕξεστί τε καὶ ἐφίεται, ἕξεσσι δὲ τοῖς ἱερωμένοις,  
 οἱ τῶν προσαγομένων τῷ βωμῷ ὅσα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ἀναλίσκεται τὴν μετουσίαν ἔλαβον  
 φιλανθρωπία νόμου δοθεῖσαν ἢ μισθὸν ὑπηρεσιῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἢ γέρας ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλοῦσιν, ἢ  
 κλήρον ἱερόν, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> MS. μισθῶν ἢ ὑπηρεσιῶν.

<sup>a</sup> This is the only sense I can give to ἔδει γάρ ("it had to be"). Heinemann "bestimmt," but would not this be ἐμελλε?

<sup>b</sup> Lev. ii. 11, cf. above i. 291. The meaning of what follows seems to be that the prohibition is waived in this case, because the loaves, though given to the Lord (Lev. xxiii. 20),

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 180-183

by which they show a disposition of thankfulness and loyalty to Him Who, while He needs no favours, sends the showers of His favours in never-failing constancy. Another reason for the name may be that wheaten grain is pre-eminent as the first and best product, all the other sown crops ranking in the second class in comparison ; for as an archon in a city or a pilot in a ship are said to be the first because they regulate the course of the city or the ship, as the case may be, so wheaten grain has received the compound name of " first-product " because it is the best of all the cereals, which it would not be,<sup>a</sup> unless it were also the food used by the best of living creatures. The loaves are leavened in spite of the prohibition<sup>b</sup> against bringing leaven to the altar, not to produce any contradiction in the ordinances, but to ensure that so to speak there shall be a single kind, both for receiving and giving. By receiving I mean the thanksgiving of the offerers, by giving the immediate return without any delay to the offerers of what they bring, though not for their own use. For food that has once been consecrated will be used by those who have the right and authority, and that right belongs to those who act as priests who through the beneficence of the law have the right to partake of any thing brought to the altar which is not consumed by the undying fire—a privilege granted either as a payment for officiating or as a prize for the contests which they endure in the cause of piety, or a sacred allotment in lieu of land, in the apportionment of are also received back from Him (" they shall be holy to the Lord for the priest that offers them "). It seems to be assumed that therefore they must be brought in the most palatable form, *cf.* § 184, presumably because it is a festal occasion, as the unleavened shew-bread was also eaten by the priests.

## PHILO

- τρόπον ταῖς ἄλλαις φυλαῖς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος  
 184 *διανειμάμενοι*.<sup>1</sup> σύμβολον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ  
 ἄλλων ἢ ζύμη *δυεῖν*. ἐνὸς μὲν ἐντελεστάτης καὶ  
 ὀλοκλήρου τροφῆς, ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν τῇ καθ'  
 ἡμέραν χρήσει κρείττονα καὶ λυσιτελεστέραν.  
 κράτιστος δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς ἐν σπαρτοῖς,  
 ὡς ἀρμόττειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν  
 185 ἀρίστην ἀπαρχήν. ἕτερον δὲ συμβολικώτερον· πᾶν  
 τὸ ἐζυμωμένον ἐπαίρεται· χαρὰ δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν  
 εὐλογος ἔπαρσις· ἐπ' οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν ὄντων μᾶλλον  
 χαίρειν πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος ἢ εὐπορία καὶ ἀφθονία  
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων· ἐφ' οἷς ἄξιον γεγηθότας εὐ-  
 χαριστεῖν, ποιουμένους ἀοράτου τῆς περὶ τὴν  
 διάνοιαν εὐπαθείας αἰσθητῆν διὰ τῶν ἐζυμωμένων  
 186 ἄρτων εὐχαριστίαν. ἄρτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἄλλ'  
 οὐ σίτος<sup>2</sup> ἢ ἀπαρχή, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ἐνδεῖν τῶν εἰς  
 ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς, σίτου γεγονότος· λέγεται γὰρ  
 ὅτι τῶν σπαρτῶν ἀπάντων τελευταῖος ὁ πυρὸς  
 γεννᾶσθαι πέφυκε καὶ πρὸς ἄμητον παρίστασθαι.  
 187 δύο δ' εἰσὶν ἄριστα δυοῖν χρόνων χαριστήρια, τοῦ  
 τε παρεληλυθότος, ἐν ᾧ τῶν ἐξ ἐνδείας καὶ λιμοῦ  
 κακῶν οὐκ ἐπειράθημεν ἐν εὐετηρία διάγοντες,  
 καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, διότι τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγίας  
 καὶ παρασκευὰς εὐτρεπισάμεθα καὶ γέμοντες χρη-

<sup>1</sup> ms. *δανεισάμενοι*, which Cohn retains, holding that it can bear the sense of acquiring (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 200). It may be objected to the correction (Tischendorf's) that no example is given of the middle in this sense, but it is a natural extension.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn brackets ἄλλ' οὐ σίτος. See note *b*.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 628.

<sup>b</sup> Cohn's rejection of ἄλλ' οὐ σίτος as "a foolish insertion"



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 183-187

which they had not received their proper share like the other tribes. But leaven is also a 184 symbol for two other things : in one way it stands for food in its most complete and perfect form, such that in our daily usage none is found to be superior or more nourishing, and as wheat-meal is superior to that of the other seed crops, its excellence demands that the offering made in recognition of it should be of the same high quality. The other point 185 is more symbolical. Everything that is leavened rises, and joy is the rational elevation or rising of the soul.<sup>a</sup> And there is nothing that exists which more naturally gives a man joy than the possession in generous abundance of necessaries. Such rightly call forth gladness and thanksgiving in those who by the leavened loaves give outward expression to the invisible sense of well-being in their hearts.

The offering takes the form of loaves 186 instead of wheaten meal,<sup>b</sup> because when the wheat has come there is nothing still missing in the way of appetizing food. For we are told that of all the seed crops, wheat is the last to spring up and be ready for harvesting. And these thank-offerings of 187 the best kind are two in number for the two kinds of time, the past and the future ; for the past, because our days have been spent in abundance, free from the experience of the evils of want and famine ; for the future, because we have laid by and prepared resources to meet it, and are full of bright

rests on the ground that the antithesis is between the wheaten loaves and other kinds of grain. I think he misapprehends the point, which is that when the harvest is completed by the reaping of the wheat, the offering naturally takes the form in which it is actually consumed. I suspect that Philo connects *ἀpros* and *ἀπριος*.

PHILO

στῶν ἐλπίδων ταμιευόμεθα τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεὰς εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν προσφέροντες<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ δίαιταν, ὅσων ἂν <ἦ> χρεία κατὰ νόμους τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἀρετῆς.

- 188 XXXI. Ἐξῆς ἐστὶν ἱερομηνία, καθ' ἣν ἅμα ταῖς ἀναγομέναις θυσίαις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ σαλπίζειν ἔθος· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ “σαλπίγγων” ἐτύμως ἑορτὴ προσ-  
αγορεύεται, διττὸν λόγον ἔχουσα, τὸν μὲν ἴδιον τοῦ ἔθνους, τὸν δὲ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων· ἴδιον μὲν ὑπόμνησιν τεραστίου καὶ μεγαλουργηθέντος ἔργου, καθ' ὃν χρόνον τὰ λόγια τῶν νόμων ἔθεσπί-  
189 ζετο· τότε γὰρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ἐξήχησεν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἄχρι τῶν τοῦ παντὸς φθάσαι περάτων, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς μὴ παρόντας καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς κατοικοῦντας διὰ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἢ πτοῖα ἐπιστρέψῃ λογισαμένους, ὅπερ εἰκὸς, ὅτι τὰ οὕτως μεγάλα μεγάλων ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐστὶ σημεῖα· τί δὲ μείζον ἢ ὠφελιμώτερον εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐλθεῖν ἐδύνατο τῶν γενικῶν νόμων, οὓς προ-  
εφήτευσεν ὁ θεός, οὐ δι' ἐρμηνέως καθάπερ τὰ ἐν  
190 εἶδει νόμιμα ; τούτο μὲν ἐξαίρετον τοῦ ἔθνους· κοινὸν δὲ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους· ἐκείνο· ἡ σάλπιγξ ὄργανόν ἐστι πολέμου καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατ'  
[296] ἐχθρῶν | ἐφόρμησιν, ὁπότε καιρὸς εἶη συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν, ὁπότε διακρίνεσθαι δέοι πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία ἐπανελευσομένους στρατόπεδα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος θεήλατος πόλεμος, ὅταν ἡ φύσις ἐν ἑαυτῇ στασιάσῃ, τῶν μερῶν ἀντεπιτιθεμένων ἀλλήλοις, ἰσότητος εὐνομωτάτης πλεονεξία τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MS. προσφέροντες.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 187-190

hopes while we dispense and bring out for daily use the gifts of God as they are needed by the rules of good economy.<sup>a</sup>

XXXI. Next comes the opening of the sacred month,<sup>b</sup> when it is customary to sound the trumpet in the temple at the same time that the sacrifices are brought there, and its name of "trumpet feast" is derived from this. It has a twofold significance, partly to the nation in particular, partly to all mankind in general. In the former sense it is a reminder of a mighty and marvellous event which came to pass when the oracles of the law were given from above. <sup>c</sup> For then the sound of the trumpet pealed from heaven and reached, we may suppose, the ends of the universe, so that the event might strike terror even into those who were far from the spot and dwelling well nigh at the extremities of the earth, who would come to the natural conclusion that such mighty signs portended mighty consequences. And indeed what could men receive mightier or more profitable than the general laws which came from the mouth of God, not like the particular laws, through an interpreter? This is a significance peculiar to the nation. What follows is common to all mankind. The trumpet is the instrument used in war, both to sound the advance against the enemy when the moment comes for engaging battle and also for recalling the troops when they have to separate and return to their respective camps. And there is another war not of human agency when nature is at strife in herself, when her parts make onslaught one on another and her law-abiding sense of equality

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 628.

<sup>b</sup> See on *De Dec.* 159, and *cf.* i. 186.

<sup>c</sup> See Ex. xix. 16.

## PHILO

- 191 ἀνίσου κρατηθείσης. ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν πολέμων φθείρεται τὰ ἐπίγεια, πρὸς μὲν ἐχθρῶν δενδροτομίαις, δηώσεσιν, ἐμπρήσεσι τροφῶν καὶ πεδίων σταχυηφορούντων, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν αὐχμοῖς, ἐπομβρίαις, νοτίων βίαις πνευμάτων, φλογώσεσι ταῖς ἀφ' ἡλίου, χιονώδει περιψύξει, τῆς ἀρμονίας τῶν ἐτησίων ὠρῶν περιηκούσης εἰς ἀναρμοστίαν, ἔνεκά μοι δοκῶ τῆς οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπιπολαζούσης ἀλλ' ἀθρώω φορᾶ κεχυμένης ἀ-
- 192 σεβείας, παρ' οἷς ἂν ταῦτα γίνηται. διὰ τοῦτο καθάπερ<sup>1</sup> ἐπώνυμον ἑορτὴν ὄργάνου πολεμικοῦ σάλπιγγος ἀπέφηεν ὁ νόμος, ἐπ' εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ εἰρηνοποιῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακος, ὃς καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ παντὸς στάσεις ἀνελὼν εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν ἀπειργάσατο, μηδὲν ἐμπύρευμα καρπῶν φθορᾶς ἐάσας ζωπυρηθῆναι.
- 193 XXXII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν σαλπίγγων ἄγεται νηστεία ἑορτῆ. τάχα ἂν τις εἴποι τῶν ἑτεροδόξων καὶ ψέγειν τὰ καλὰ μὴ αἰδουμένων· ἑορτῆ δ' ἐστὶ τίς, ἐν ἣ μὴ συμπόσια καὶ συσσίτια καὶ ἐστιατόρων καὶ ἐστιωμένων θίασος καὶ πολὺς ἄκρατος καὶ τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς καὶ χορηγίαι καὶ παρασκευαὶ τῶν ἐν δημοθoinία πάντων εὐφροσύναι τε καὶ κῶμοι σὺν ἀθύρμασι καὶ τωθασμοῖς καὶ παιδιὰ μετ' αὐλοῦ καὶ κιθάρας καὶ τυμπάνων τε καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα <κατὰ> τὸ παραλελυμένον καὶ ἐκτεθλυμμένον εἶδος μουσικῆς δι'
- 194 ὧτων ἐγείρει τὰς ἀκαθέκτους ἐπιθυμίας; ἐν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Tischendorf, καθάπερ <εἶπον>.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. i. 186.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 191-194

is vanquished by the greed for inequality. Both 191  
these wars work destruction on the face of the earth.  
The enemy cut down the fruit-trees, ravage the  
country, set fire to the foodstuffs and the ripening ears  
of corn in the open fields, while the forces of nature  
use drought, rainstorms, violent moisture-laden winds,  
scorching sun-rays, intense cold accompanied by  
snow, with the regular harmonious alternations of  
the yearly seasons turned into disharmony, a state  
of things in my opinion due to the impiety which does  
not gain a gradual hold but comes rushing with the  
force of a torrent among those whom these things 192  
befall. And therefore the law instituted this feast  
figured by that instrument of war the trumpet, which  
gives it its name, to be as a thank-offering to God the  
peace-maker and peace-keeper, Who destroys faction  
both in cities and in the various parts of the universe  
and creates plenty and fertility and abundance of  
other good things and leaves the havoc of fruits with-  
out a single spark to be rekindled.

XXXII. The next feast held after the "Trumpets" 193  
is the Fast.<sup>a</sup> Perhaps some of the perversely minded  
who are not ashamed to censure things excellent will  
say, What sort of a feast is this in which there are no  
gatherings to eat and drink, no company of enter-  
tainers or entertained, no copious supply of strong  
drink nor tables sumptuously furnished, nor a gener-  
ous display of all the accompaniments of a public  
banquet, nor again the merriment and revelry with  
frolic and drollery, nor dancing to the sound of flute  
and harp and timbrels and cymbals, and the other  
instruments of the debilitated and invertebrate kind  
of music which through the channel of the ears  
awaken the unruly lusts? For it is in these and 194

## PHILO

τούτοις καὶ διὰ τούτων, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ εὐφραίνεισθαι τίθενται ἀγνοία τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐφροσύνης· ἦν ὀξύτερκεστάτοις ὄμμασιν ἰδὼν ὁ πάνσοφος Μωυσῆς τὴν νηστείαν ἑορτὴν ἀνείπε καὶ ἑορτῶν τὴν μεγίστην πατρίῳ γλώττῃ “ σάββατα σαββάτων ” αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας, ὡς δ’ ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν, ἑβδομάδα ἑβδομάδων καὶ ἀγίων ἀγιωτέραν, διὰ πολλά·

195 πρῶτον μὲν <δι’> ἐγκράτειαν, ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ παραγγέλλων ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ βίον ἐπιδεικνυσθαι πράγμασι διὰ τε γλώττης καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα νυνὶ δὲ διαφερόντως κελεύει περιέπειν, ἐξαίρετον ἡμέραν ἀναθεὶς αὐτῇ· σιτιῶν γάρ τις καὶ ποτῶν μαθὼν ἀλογοῖν τῶν οὕτως ἀναγκαίων τίνος οὐκ ἂν ὑπερίδοι τῶν περιττῶν, ἃ γέγονεν οὐ διαμονῆς καὶ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα

196 μᾶλλον ἢ βλαβερωτάτης ἡδονῆς; δεύτερον δὲ ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα ἀνάκειται λιταῖς καὶ ἱκεσίαις, περὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἄχρις ἑσπέρας ἐξ ἑωθिनῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σχολὴν ἀγόντων ἢ δεητικωτάτας εὐχάς, αἷς σπουδάζουσι τὸν θεὸν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι παραίτησιν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκουσίων τε καὶ ἀκουσίων αἰτούμενοι καὶ χρηστὰ ἐλπίζοντες, οὐ δι’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἰλεω φύσιν τοῦ συγγνώμην πρὸ κολάσεως

197 ὀρίζοντος. τρίτον δὲ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ συμβέβηκε τὴν νηστείαν ἄγεσθαι· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον ἤδη συγκεκόμισται πάντα ὅσα δι’ ἔτους ἠνεγκεν ἡ γῆ. τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν γεγονότων ἀπληστίας ὑπέλαβεν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ νηστεῦσαι καὶ τροφῆς μὴ προσάψασθαι παντελοῦς

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<sup>a</sup> So LXX, in Lev. xvi. 31 and xxiii. 32. In E.V. “ a sabbath of solemn rest.”

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 194-197

through these that men, in their ignorance of what true merriment is, consider that the merriment of a feast is to be found. This the clear-seeing eyes of Moses the ever wise discerned and therefore he called the fast a feast, the greatest of the feasts, in his native tongue a Sabbath of Sabbaths,<sup>a</sup> or as the Greeks would say, a seven of sevens, a holier than the holy. He gave it this name for many reasons.

First, because of the self-restraint which it entails ; 195  
always and everywhere indeed he exhorted them to shew this in all the affairs of life, in controlling the tongue and the belly and the organs below the belly, but on this occasion especially he bids them do honour to it by dedicating thereto a particular day. To one who has learnt to disregard food and drink which are absolutely necessary, are there any among the superfluities of life which he can fail to despise, things which exist to promote not so much preservation and permanence of life as pleasure with all its powers of mischief ?

Secondly, because 196  
the holy-day is entirely devoted to prayers and supplications, and men from morn to eve employ their leisure in nothing else but offering petitions of humble entreaty in which they seek earnestly to propitiate God and ask for remission of their sins, voluntary and involuntary, and entertain bright hopes looking not to their own merits but to the gracious nature of Him Who sets pardon before chastisement.

Thirdly, because of the time at which the celebration 197  
of the fast occurs, namely, that when all the annual fruits of the earth have been gathered in. To eat and drink of these without delay would, he held, shew gluttony, but to fast and refrain from taking them as food shews the perfect piety which teaches

## PHILO

εὐσεβείας, ἥτις ἀναδιδάσκει τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ πε-  
 ποιθέναι τοῖς εὐτρεπισθεῖσι καὶ παρεσκευασμένοις  
 ὡς ὑγείας ἢ ζωῆς αἰτίοις· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ παρόντα  
 198 πολλάκις ἔβλαψε καὶ μὴ παρόντα ὤνησε. μόνον  
 οὐκ ἄντικρυς, κὰν μηδὲν τῇ φωνῇ φθέγγωνται τὸ  
 παράπαν, οἱ μετὰ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν  
 ἀπεχόμενοι σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν ἐκβοῶσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
 καὶ φασι ταῦτα· τὰς μὲν τῆς φύσεως χάριτας  
 εἰλήφαμεν ἄσμενοι καὶ ταμιευόμεθα, φθαρτὸν δὲ  
 οὐδὲν ἐπιγραφόμεθά ποτε τῆς ἡμετέρας διαμονῆς  
 αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ τὸν γεννητὴν καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα  
 τοῦ τε κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ θεόν, ᾧ καὶ διὰ  
 τούτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων τρέφειν θέμις καὶ δια-  
 199 φυλάττειν. ἰδοὺ γοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προ-  
 γόνους μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐρήμην ἀτριβῆ καὶ πᾶσαν  
 ἄγονον διεξιόντας γενεᾶς βίον ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα  
 [297] | διέθρεψε ὡς ἐν βαθυγειοτάτῃ καὶ εὐφορωτάτῃ  
 χώρα, πηγὰς μὲν τότε πρῶτον ἀνατεμῶν εἰς  
 ἄφθονον ποτοῦ χρήσιν, ὕων δὲ τροφὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ  
 μήτε πλείονα μήτ' ἐλάττονα τῆς διεξαρκούσης εἰς  
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἵνα ἀταμιεύτοις χρώμενοι τοῖς  
 ἀναγκαίοις μὴ πωλῶσιν ἀψύχων, ὧν ἂν ἐθησαυρί-  
 σαντο, τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ φροντί-  
 ζοντες τῶν χορηγουμένων τὸν χορηγὸν θαυμάζωσι  
 καὶ προσκυνῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρμόττουσιν ὕμνοις καὶ  
 200 εὐδαιμονισμοῖς γεραίρωσιν. ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα  
 τῆς νηστείας ἄγεται νόμου προστάξει δεκάτῃ  
 μηνὸς αἰεί. διὰ τί δὲ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ; ὡς ἐν τοῖς  
 περὶ αὐτῆς λόγοις ἠκριβώσαμεν, ὀνομάζεται μὲν

<sup>a</sup> By θέμις is meant, perhaps, that it is in accordance with  
 the law of His being. But the application of the word to



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 197-200

the mind not to put trust in what stands ready prepared before us as though it were the source of health and life. For often its presence proves injurious and its absence beneficial. Those who abstain from food and drink after the ingathering of the fruits cry aloud to us with their souls, and though their voices utter no sound, their language could hardly be plainer. They say, "We have gladly received and are storing the boons of nature, yet we do not ascribe our preservation to any corruptible thing, but to God the Parent and Father and Saviour of the world and all that is therein, Who has the power and the right <sup>a</sup> to nourish and sustain us by means of these or without these. See, for example, how the many thousands of our forefathers as they traversed the trackless and all-barren desert, were for forty years, the life of a generation, nourished by Him as in a land of richest and most fertile soil; how He opened fountains unknown before to give them abundance of drink for their use; how He rained food from heaven, neither more nor less than what sufficed for each day, that they might consume what they needed without hoarding, nor barter for the prospect of soulless stores <sup>b</sup> their hopes of His goodness, but taking little thought of the bounties received rather reverence and worship the bountiful Giver and honour Him with the hymns and benedictions that are His due." By order of the law the fast is held on the tenth day. Why on the tenth? As has been shewn in our detailed discussion of that

God is strange, and I do not know of any exact parallel. οὐ θέμις, as in Plato, *Ap.* 21 B οὐ γὰρ δήπου ψεύδεταί γε· οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτῶ, is not quite the same.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "the lifeless things which they would have stored."

## PHILO

- ὑπὸ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν παντέλεια, περιέχει δ' ἐν αὐτῇ  
 τὰς ἀναλογίας πάσας, τὴν τε ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρμονικὴν καὶ τὴν γεωμετρικὴν, καὶ προσέτι τὰς  
 ἀρμονίας, ἐπίτριτον τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ ἡμιόλιον  
 τὴν διὰ πέντε καὶ διπλασίαν τὴν διὰ πασῶν καὶ  
 τετραπλασίαν τὴν δις διὰ πασῶν, ἔχει δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν ἐπόγδοον λόγον, ὡς εἶναι πλήρωμα τῶν κατὰ  
 μουσικὴν θεωρημάτων τελειότατον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ  
 201 ὠνόμασται παντέλεια. τὴν οὖν σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν  
 ἔνδειαν προστέταχε κατ' ἀριθμὸν τέλειον καὶ πλήρη  
 γίνεσθαι τῆς δεκάδος διὰ τὰς τοῦ ἀρίστου τῶν ἐν  
 ἡμῖν ἀρίστας τροφάς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ λιμὸν  
 τὸ πάντων ἀφορητότατον κακῶν εἰσηγεῖσθαι τὸν  
 ἱεροφάντην, ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰς τὰς τοῦ σώματος δεξα-  
 μενὰς φερομένης ἐπιρροῆς ἀνακοπὴν βραχεῖαν.  
 202 οὕτως γὰρ ἔμελλε διαυγῆς καὶ καθαρὸν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λογικῆς πηγῆς [εἰς καθαρὸν] ἐπὶ ψυχὴν φέρεσθαι  
 νᾶμα λείως, ἐπειδὴ περ αἱ συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπάλληλοι  
 τροφαὶ κατακλύζουσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν  
 προσεπισύρουσιν, εἰ δ' ἐπισχεθεῖεν, εὖ μάλα  
 στηριχθεὶς ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ καὶ λεωφόρου  
 τὴν πορείαν ἄπταιστον δυνήσεται ποιεῖσθαι τῶν  
 203 θείας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀξίων ἐφιέμενος. ἄλλως τε ἀρ-  
 μόττον ἦν, τῶν εἰς εὐθηνίαν ἀπάντων κατὰ νοῦν  
 κεχωρηκότων ἐπὶ τελείοις καὶ πλήρεσιν ἀγαθοῖς,  
 ἐν εὐετηρία καὶ χορηγιῶν ἀφθονία λαβεῖν ἔνδειας  
 ὑπόμνησιν ἀποχῆ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ λιτὰς καὶ  
 ἱκεσίας ποιεῖσθαι, ἅμα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἰς ἀληθῆ  
 πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Dec.* 20, 21. But the "detailed discussion" probably refers to a lost treatise on numbers. Cf. *Mos.* ii. 115 τῇ περὶ ἀριθμῶν πραγματείᾳ, and *De Op.* 52.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 200-203

number,<sup>a</sup> it is called by the learned the all-perfect, and embraces all the progressions, arithmetical, harmonic and geometrical, and further the harmonies, the fourth, the fifth, the octave and the double octave, representing respectively the ratios 4 : 3, 3 : 2, 2 : 1 and 4 : 1, and it also contains the ratio of 9 : 8, so that it sums up fully and perfectly the leading truths of musical science, and for this reason it has received its name of the all-perfect. In ordaining 201 that this privation of food and drink should be based on the full and perfect number 10, he intended to prescribe the best possible form of nourishment for the best part of us. He did not wish anyone to suppose that as their instructor in the mysteries he was advocating starvation, the most intolerable of sufferings, but only a brief stoppage in the influx which passes into the receptacles of the body. For this 202 would ensure that the stream from the fountain of reason should flow pure and crystal-clear with smooth course into the soul, because the constantly repeated administrations of food which submerge the body sweep the reason away as well, whereas if they are checked, that same reason stoutly fortified can in pursuit of all that is worth seeing and hearing make its way without stumbling as upon a dry firm causeway. Besides, it was meet and right when every- 203 thing has shewn abundance as they would have it, and they enjoy a full and perfect measure of goodness, that amid this prosperity and lavish supply of boons, they should by abstaining from food and drink remind themselves of what it is to want, and offer prayers and supplications, on the one hand to ask that they may never really experience the lack of necessities, on the other to express their thankfulness

## PHILO

εὐχαριστοῦντας, ὅτι ἐν ἀγαθῶν περιουσίᾳ μέμνηται κακῶν οὐ γενομένων. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄλις.

- 204 XXXIII. Τελευταία δ' ἐστὶν ἑορτὴ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων προσαγορευομένη σκηναί, καιρὸν ἔχουσα τὸν μετ-  
 οπωρινῆς ἰσημερίας· ἐξ οὗ δύο παρίσταται, τό τε  
 δεῖν ἰσότητα τιμᾶν ἀνισότητα ἐχθραίνοντας—ἡ μὲν  
 γὰρ δικαιοσύνης ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ ἀδικίας ἀρχή τε καὶ  
 πηγὴ, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀσκίου φῶτος, ἡ δὲ σκότους  
 συγγενής—καὶ τὸ προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν ἀπάντων  
 καρπῶν τελείωσιν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ τελεσφόρῳ θεῷ
- 205 καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίῳ. τὸ γὰρ μετ-  
 ὀπωρον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δήπου δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, καιρὸς  
 ὁ μετὰ τὴν ὀπώραν ἐστὶν ἤδη συγκεκομισμένην,  
 καὶ φόρους τοὺς ἐτησίους καὶ δασμοὺς τοὺς ἀναγ-  
 καίους εἰσενηνοχότων <τῶν> σπαρτῶν τε καὶ  
 τῶν δένδρων καὶ τῆς γῆς ὅσας<sup>1</sup> τροφὰς ἐγέννησε  
 ταῖς τῶν ἀμυθῆτων ζώων ἰδέαις ἡμέρων τε καὶ  
 ἀγρίων ἀφθόνως παρεσχημένης, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν  
 ἐν χερσὶ καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἀπόλαυσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν  
 ὕστερον διὰ τὸ προμηθὲς τῆς φιλοζώου φύσεως.
- 206 καὶ μὴν ἐν σκηναῖς προστέτακται διαιτᾶσθαι τὸν  
 χρόνον τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἥτοι διὰ τὸ μηκέτι εἶναι χρεῖαν  
 ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγειν τὰ περὶ γεωργίαν ἐκπονοῦντας,  
 οὐδενὸς μὲν ὑπολειφθέντος ἕξω, πάντων δὲ καρπῶν  
 ἐναποκειμένων σιροῖς καὶ τοιουτοτρόποις χωρίοις  
 διὰ τὰς εἰθυίας βλάβας παρακολουθεῖν ἕκ τε
- 207 φλογώσεως ἡλιακῆς καὶ φορᾶς ὑετῶν—ὅτε μὲν  
 γὰρ ἐν πεδίοις ἐστὶ τὰ τρέφοντα, μὴ συγκλεισά-

<sup>1</sup> MS. ὅσα.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 203-207

because in such wealth of blessings they remember the ills they have been spared. Enough on this matter.

XXXIII. The last of the annual feasts, called 204  
Tabernacles, recurs at the autumn equinox.<sup>a</sup> From  
this we may draw two morals. The first is, that we  
should honour equality and hate inequality, for the  
former is the source and fountain of justice, the latter  
of injustice. The former is akin to open sunlight,  
the latter to darkness. The second moral is, that  
after all the fruits are made perfect, it is our duty to  
thank God Who brought them to perfection and is  
the source of all good things. For autumn, or after- 205  
fruitage, is, as also the name clearly implies, the  
season after the ripe fruit has been gathered in, when  
the sown crops and the fruit-trees have paid their  
annual toll and bounden tribute, and the land has  
richly provided all that it yields for the sustenance of  
the various kinds of animals without number, both  
tame and wild, sustenance not only to be enjoyed on  
the spot and for the moment, but also in the future,  
through the foresight of nature, the friend of all that  
lives. Further, the people are commanded, during 206  
the time of the feast, to dwell in tents.<sup>b</sup> The reason  
of this may be that the labour of the husbandmen no  
longer requires that they should live in the open air,  
as nothing is now left unprotected but all the fruits  
are stored in silos or similar places to escape the  
damage which often ensues through the blazing sun-  
shine or storms of rain. For when the crops which 207  
feed us are standing in the open field, you can only  
watch and guard the food so necessary to you, by

<sup>a</sup> Cf. i. 189.

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. xxiii. 40-43.

## PHILO

μενος θαλαμαίου γυναικὸς τρόπον ἀλλὰ προελθὼν ἐπιμελητῆς καὶ φύλαξ εἰ σὺ τῶν ἀναγκαίων· κἂν ὑπαιθρίῳ διατελοῦντί σοι προσπίπτῃ κρυμὸς καὶ θάλπος, εἰσὶν ἔφεδροι <καὶ> σκιαὶ τὰ λάσια τῶν δένδρων, οἷς ὑποστείλας τὴν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου δυνήσῃ βλάβην εὐμαρῶς ἐκφυγεῖν· ὅταν δ' οἱ καρποὶ πάντες εἰσκομίζωνται, συνεισέρχου στεγανωτέρας διαίτης ἐφιξόμενος πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν ἀντὶ καμάτων οὓς γεωπονῶν ὑπέμεινας· ἢ δι' ὑπόμνησιν τῆς τῶν προγόνων μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας, ἣν δι' ἐρήμου ποιούμενοι βαθείας σκηναῖς πολυετῆ

208 χρόνον καθ' ἕκαστον σταθμὸν ἐνδιητῶντο. προσήκει δὲ καὶ ἐν πλούτῳ πενίας μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀδοξίας ἐν δόξῃ καὶ ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ἰδιωτικοῦ σχήματος καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ κινδύνων τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς χειμώνων τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν ἐρημίας· ἡδονὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι μείζων ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἄγαν εὐπραγίαις ἔννοϊαν ἔχειν παλαιῶν ἀτυχη-

209 μάτων. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἡδονῇ καὶ ὄφελος οὐ μικρὸν εἰς ἀρετῆς ἄσκησιν ἐγγίνεται· λαβόντες γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπεωσμένοι καρπούμενοι δὲ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐξ ἀνάγκης εὐχάριστοι γίνονται τὸ ἦθος καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν παρορμῶνται φόβῳ τῆς πρὸς τάναντία μεταβολῆς. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὤδαῖς καὶ λόγοις γεραίρουσι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι πειραθῆναι κακῶν λιπαροῦσι καὶ ἰκεσίαις ἐξευμενίζονται.

210 ζονται. πάλιν δὲ ἡ ταύτης τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀρχὴ πεντεκαδεκάτῃ μηνὸς ἐνίσταται, διὰ τὴν

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 207-210

coming out and not shutting yourself up like a woman who never stirs outside her quarters. And if while you remain in the open air you encounter extreme cold or heat, you have the thick growth of the trees waiting to shade you, and sheltered under them you can easily escape injury from either source. But when all the fruits are being gathered in, come in yourself also to seek a more weatherproof mode of life and hope for rest in place of the toils which you endured when labouring on the land.

<sup>a</sup> Another reason may be, that it should remind us of the long journeyings of our forefathers in the depths of the desert, when at every halting-place they spent many a year in tents. And indeed it is well in wealth 208 to remember your poverty, in distinction your insignificance, in high offices your position as a commoner, in peace your dangers in war, on land the storms on sea, in cities the life of loneliness. For there is no pleasure greater than in high prosperity to call to mind old misfortunes. But besides giving 209 pleasure, it is a considerable help in the practice of virtue. For people who having had both good and ill before their eyes have rejected the ill and are enjoying the good, necessarily fall into a grateful frame of mind and are urged to piety by the fear of a change to the reverse, and also therefore in thankfulness for their present blessings they honour God with songs and words of praise and beseech Him and propitiate Him with supplications that they may never repeat the experience of such evils. Again, the 210 beginning of this feast comes on the fifteenth day of the month for the same reason as was given when

<sup>a</sup> This is the reason assigned in Leviticus, *l.c.*

## PHILO

λεχθείσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαρινῆς ὥρας αἰτίαν, ἵνα μὴ μεθ' ἡμέραν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ πλήρης ὁ κόσμος ἦ τοῦ φύσει παγκάλου φωτός, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀλλήλοις ἐπ-  
 [298] ανατελλόντων ἀγαῖς ἀδιαστάτοις, ἀς<sup>1</sup> | μεθόριον οὐ  
 211 διακρίνει σκότος. ἐπτὰ δὲ ἡμέραις ὀγδόην ἐπι-  
 σφραγίζεται καλέσας "ἐξόδιον" αὐτήν, οὐκ ἐκείνης, ὡς ἔοικε, μόνον τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἔτησιων, ὅσας κατηριθμησάμην καὶ διεξήλθον· τελευταία γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ  
 212 συμπέρασμα. τάχα μέντοι καὶ πρῶτος κύβος, ὀγδοάς, ἐπενεμήθη <τῆ> ἑορτῇ διὰ τόδε· τῆς μὲν δυνάμει στερεᾶς οὐσίας ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσωμάτων μετάβασιν, τῆς δὲ νοητῆς συμπέρασμα· τὰ δὲ νοητὰ ταῖς παραυξήσεσι πρὸς  
 213 τὴν στερεὰν φύσιν \* \* \*.<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἡ μετοπωρινὴ μέντοι ἑορτῇ, καθάπερ εἶπον, πλήρωμά τι καὶ συμπέρασμα τῶν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ πασῶν ἔοικεν

<sup>1</sup> ms. and Nicetas *ais*.

<sup>2</sup> For the missing verb Cohn suggests *μεταβαίνει* or *πληροῦται*.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* § 155.

<sup>b</sup> One would expect *ισημερίας* or the omission of *ὥρας*, in which case *ἑορτῆς* would be understood. And so Heinemann, "Frühlingsfest." But *ὥρας* may be justified perhaps on the ground that §§ 151 f. dealt rather with the spring as a whole than with the equinox in particular.

<sup>c</sup> See Lev. xxiii. 36, Num. xxix. 35. This is "the last day, the great day of the feast" in John vii. 37. The word *ἐξόδιον* is used both in Leviticus and Numbers; E.V. "solemn assembly," but in R.V. marg. "closing festival."

<sup>d</sup> For the general idea *cf. De Op.* 98, where plane geometry (*γεωμετρία*) and solid geometry (*στερεομετρία*) are identified respectively with things incorporeal and corporeal, though the equation of *ἀσώματα* to *νοητά* is something of an extension.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 210-213

we were speaking <sup>a</sup> of the season of spring,<sup>b</sup> namely that the glorious light which nature gives should fill the universe not only by day but also by night, because on that day the sun and moon rise in succession to each other with no interval between their shining, which is not divided by any borderland of darkness. As a crown to the seven days he adds an eighth,<sup>c</sup> 211 which he calls the "closing," not meaning apparently that it is the closing of that feast only, but also of all the yearly feasts which I have enumerated and described. For it is the last in the year and forms its conclusion.

Perhaps also the number 212 eight, the first cubic number, was assigned to the feast for the following reason: it is the beginning of the higher category of solids, marking where we pass from the unsubstantial and bring to its conclusion the category of the conceptual which rises to the solid in the scale of ascending powers.<sup>d</sup> And indeed the 213 autumn festival, being as I have said a sort of complement <sup>e</sup> and conclusion of all the feasts in the year,

By *δυνάμει*, represented in the translation by "higher," he means, perhaps, that solidity is gained by raising to a higher power in the mathematical sense = *παραυξήσεσι* below. But this technical use is generally, if not always, confined to the second power or square (as in § 177) and the meaning may be less technical = "in nature" or "value." *παραυξήσεσι* is taken by Heinemann to mean the increase from 7 to 8. My preference for the rendering given above rests on the use of the plural (unless this may be accounted for by the plural *νοητά*). As I understand it, 1 = the point, 2 = the line, 4 = the superficies, and 8 = the solid. So in *De Op.* 91, 93 and 94 *παραυξηθείς* and *παραύξων* are used of the processes by which 1 is raised by multiples of 2 to 64, and 3 to 729. See further App. p. 628.

<sup>e</sup> Here the word *πλήρωμα*, used in § 200 in the sense of sum or fullness, = that which fills up. For examples of both these senses see L. & S. revised.

## PHILO

εἶναι σταθερώτερον καὶ παγιώτερον, τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας προσόδους εἰληφότων ἤδη καὶ μηκέτ' ἐνδοιασμοῖς τοῖς περὶ φορᾶς καὶ ἀφορίας πλαζομένων καὶ δεδιότων· ἀνίδρυτοι γὰρ αἱ γεωπόνων φροντίδες, ἄχρισ ἂν οἱ καρποὶ συγκομισθῶσι, διὰ τὰς ἐφέδρους ἀπὸ μυρίων ὄσων ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θρεμμάτων ζημίας.

214 Ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμήκυνα διὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐβδόμην ἐπιδειξασθαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι πάσας τὰς ἐτησίους ἑορτὰς συμβέβηκεν ὡς ἂν ἀπογόνους ἐβδομάδος εἶναι μητρὸς λόγον ἐχούσης<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* ἀφροσύνη καὶ εὐφροσύνη, καὶ διότι ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ ἰλαρῷ βίῳ τέρψεις ἀμέτοχοι συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας συνίστανται σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἀναχέουσαι, τὰ μὲν<sup>2</sup> τῷ ἀβροδιαίτῳ, τὰς δὲ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν.

215 XXXIV. "Ἔστι δέ τις παρὰ ταύτας ἑορτὴ μὲν οὐ, ἑορτώδης δὲ<sup>3</sup> πανήγυρις, ἣν καλοῦσι "κάρταλον" ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, ὡς μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀποδείξομεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἑορτῆς ἔχειν ἀξίωμα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> With λόγον ἐχούσης Nicetas's excerpts come to an end, and the rest of the treatise depends solely on M and does not appear in Mangey at all. For the lacuna Heinemann suggests something like the following: " <but it is prescribed that people should enjoy themselves at the feasts" (Lev. xxiii. 40 and elsewhere) "because > folly and joy <are irreconcilable opposites>." It is certainly quite possible that some lost clause or clauses ended up with <ἐναντία> ἀφροσύνη καὶ εὐφροσύνη (cf. the same antithesis in § 49), but the rest of Heinemann's suggestion does not seem to me suitable. Apart from these three words, which may have intruded through some now inexplicable accident, the whole section reads like a continuous apology for the length at which the fourth commandment is treated compared with the third and fifth, the defence being (1) the sanctity of seven (διὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐβδόμην); (2) the intrinsic value of the feasts (καὶ διότι ἐν . . . ).

If something has really been lost I should rather suppose

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 213-215

seems to have more stability and fixity, because the people have now received their returns from the land and are no longer perplexed and terrified by doubts as to its fertility or barrenness. For the anxious thoughts of the husbandman are never settled till the crops are gathered in, so numberless are the men and animals from whom they are liable to suffer harm.

All this long exposition is due to my regard for the 214 sacred seventh day, and my wish to shew that all the yearly feasts prove to be as it were the children of that number which stands as a mother . . . scenes of folly and joy . . . and because the festal assemblies and the cheerful life which they afford bring delights that are free from all anxiety and dejection, and spread exhilaration both in the body and in the soul, in the body by the comfortable way of living, in the soul by the study of philosophy.

XXXIV. <sup>a</sup> But besides these we have what is not a 215 feast, but is a general ceremony of a festal character called the Basket, a name which describes what takes place, as we shall shortly shew.<sup>b</sup> That it has not the prestige and standing of a feast is clear for many

<sup>a</sup> Here Cohn begins a fresh numeration of chapters. See Gen. Introd. p. xviii.

<sup>b</sup> See Deut. xxvi. 1-11. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 272.

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that it continued *μητρος λόγον έχούσης* with "to those who feast" (or "to feasts conducted") "religiously, and not with folly, for folly and joy are incompatible." This certainly presupposes that Nicetas had the same corruption before him as we have, but I know no reason to the contrary.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *τοῖς μὲν*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *έορτή μὲν θεοῦ έορτής*, which Cohn prints as <ούχ> *έορτή μὲν θεοῦ, έορτής δὲ ζουγγενής*>. The text adopted here is that suggested by Heinemann (partly from Holwerda). For *έορτώδης* cf. § 216.

## PHILO

- τάξιν δῆλον ἐκ πολλῶν· οὔτε γὰρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐστὶν ὡς πάνδημος, οἷα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστη, οὔτε τι τῶν προσαγομένων ἢ προσφερομένων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθαγιαζεται παραδιδόμενον τῷ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ καὶ ἱερῷ, οὔθ' ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς ὃν χρῆ (ταύτην)
- 216 ἑορτάζειν εἴρηται. XXXV. τὸ δ' ἑορτώδη τύπον ἔχειν καὶ ἐγγὺς ἴστασθαι<sup>1</sup> πανηγυρικῆς ἰδέας<sup>2</sup> εὐμαρῶς κατίδοι τις ἄν. ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν ἀγροῦς καὶ κτήσεις ἐχόντων ἀφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἀκροδρῦων εἶδους ἀγγεῖα πληρώσας, καθάπερ ἔφη, ἃ προσ-  
αγορεύουσι καρτάλους, ἀπαρχὴν τῆς εὐκαρπίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζει γεγηθῶς καὶ στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ βωμοῦ δίδωσι τῷ ἱερεῖ, τὸ πάγκαλον καὶ θαυμάσιον ἄσμα διεξιῶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ τύχοι μεμνη-  
μένος, ἀκούων παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως μετὰ προσοχῆς
- 217 πάσης. ἔστι δὲ τοιόνδε ἄσμα. " Συρίαν ἀπέβαλον<sup>3</sup> οἱ ἀρχηγέται τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ μετανέστησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ὀλίγος ὄντες ἀριθμὸς ηὔξήθησαν εἰς πλῆθος ἔθνους. οἱ ἀπόγονοι μυρία κακωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι φαινομένης ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικουρίας, ἐγένοντο θεοῦ ἰκέται κατα-  
218 φυγόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν. προδεξά-  
μενος τὴν ἰκεσίαν ὁ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις εὐμενῆς τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτιθεμένους κατέπληξε σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ φάσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐθαυματοουργεῖτο, τοὺς δ' ἐπηρεαζομένους καὶ πάσας ὑπομένοντας ἐπιβουλάς ἐρρύσατο, οὐ μόνον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελόμενος,

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἐστιᾶσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ἀδείας, which Cohn retains, though suggesting ἰδέας.

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reasons. For it does not affect the nation as a united whole like each of the others, nor do we find any victim being brought or led to the altar and then sacrificed and given over to be consumed by the sacred and unquenchable fire, nor is there any specified number of days during which the feast is to last. XXXV. But that it has a festal character and nearly 216 approaches the form of a general ceremony<sup>a</sup> can be easily seen. For every person who possesses farms or landed estates takes some of every kind of fruit and fills receptacles which, as I have said, are called baskets, and brings them with joy as a sample offering of his rich fruit-harvest, to the temple, and there standing opposite the altar, gives them to the priest. Meanwhile he recites this beautiful and admirable canticle, or if he does not remember it, he listens with all attention while the priest repeats it. The 217 sense of this canticle is as follows: "The founders of our race abandoned Syria and migrated to Egypt and, though few in number, increased to a populous nation. Their descendants suffered wrongs without number from the inhabitants, and when no further assistance from men appeared forthcoming, became suppliants of God and sought refuge in His help. He 218 Who is kindly to all the wronged accepted their supplication and confounded their assailants with signs and wonders and portents and all the other marvels that were wrought at that time, and saved the victims of outrage who were suffering all that malice could devise, and not only brought them forth

<sup>a</sup> Presumably because though there is no general assembly everybody has to do it at some time.

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It is difficult to see what *ἀδεία* can mean in connexion with the ceremony here described. <sup>3</sup> MS. *ἀπέβαλλον*.

## PHILO

- 219 ἀλλὰ καὶ χώραν πάμφορον δούς. ἀπὸ τῶν ταύτης καρπῶν, εὐεργέτα, σοὶ φέρομεν τὴν ἀπαρχήν, εἰ δὴ θέμις εἰπεῖν ἐστὶ κομίζειν τὸν λαμβάνοντα· σαι γάρ, ὦ δέσποτα, χάριτες καὶ δωρεαὶ τὰ πάντα, ὧν ἀξιωθέντες ἐναβρυνόμεθα καὶ ἐνευφραινόμεθα τοῖς ἀπροσδοκῆτοις ἀγαθοῖς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἐλπίσαμεν
- 220 ἡμῖν ἔδωκας.” XXXVI. τὸ ἄσμα τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἀπὸ θέρους ἐνισταμένου μέχρι μετοπώρου λήγοντος ἀδιαστάτως ὑφ’ ἐτέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ἄδεται δυσὶ καιροῖς, ὀλοκλήρῳ μέρει ἡμίσει τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, διὰ τὸ μὴ πάντα ἀθρόους κατὰ ῥητὴν προθεσμίαν τὰ ὠραῖα δύνασθαι κομίζειν, ἀλλ’ ἄλλοτε ἄλλους, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν χωρίων.<sup>1</sup>
- 221 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῶν καρπῶν οἱ μὲν θάττον οἱ δὲ βραδύτερον πεπαίνονται, καὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν τόπων διαφορὰς ἀλεινοτέρων ἢ κρυμωδεστέρων ὄντων καὶ διὰ μυρίας ἄλλας αἰτίας, εἰκότως ἀόριστός ἐστι καὶ ἀπερίγραφος ὁ χρόνος τῆς τῶν ἀκροδρῦων ἀπαρχῆς
- 222 ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτεινόμενος. ἡ δὲ τούτων χρῆσις ἐπιτέτραπται τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἐπεὶ γῆς μὲν ἀποτομῆν οὐκ ἔλαχον οὐδὲ προσοδομενάς κτήσεις, κλήροι δ’ εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς αἱ παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπαρχαὶ ἀντὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν, ἃς μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπομένουσι.
- 223 XXXVII. Τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ ἐβδομάδος καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφερομένων ἐν τε ἡμέραις καὶ μηνσὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτοῖς καὶ περὶ ἐορτῶν, αἱ συγγένειαν ἔχουσι

<sup>1</sup> Cohn, followed by Heinemann, proposes either to strike out αὐτοὺς, or read κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς <χρόνους τοὺς>. See note a.

<sup>a</sup> See note 1. The second of these suggestions, which is what Heinemann actually translates, seems to me quite

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into freedom, but gave them a land fertile in every way. Of the fruits of this land we present a sample 219 offering to Thee, our Benefactor, if indeed we may speak of presenting that which we receive. For all these things, good Master, are Thy boons and gifts, and as Thou hast judged us worthy of them, we take pride and delight in the unexpected blessings which Thou hast given us beyond all our hopes." 220 XXXVI. This canticle is used continually by a succession of worshippers from early summer to late autumn, through the two seasons which constitute a complete half of the year. For the whole population cannot in a body bring the fruits of the season at a fixed time, but must do so at different times, and this may even be the case with the same persons coming from the same places.<sup>a</sup> For since some of the fruits 221 ripen more quickly than others, both because of the difference of the situation which may be warmer or colder, and for a multitude of other reasons, naturally the time when this sample of the fruits is due cannot be exactly defined or limited, but extends over a very considerable period. These offerings 222 are assigned for the use of the priests, because they have no territory allotted to them, nor property which brings them income, and their heritage consists of the offerings of the nation in return for the religious duties imposed upon them by night and day.

XXXVII. I have now completed the discussion of 223 the number seven and of matters connected with days and months and years that have reference to that number, and also of the feasts which are associationless. I understand the text to mean that the same growers may find their fruits ripening at different times in different years. This of course in itself would prevent a fixed date for the ceremony.

## PHILO

πρὸς ἑβδομάδα, διεξήλθον ἐπόμενος εἰρμῶ τῶν προκειμένων κεφαλαίων κατὰ τὴν ἐν λόγοις ἀκολουθίαν. ἐπισκέψομαι δ' ἐξῆς τὸ ἐπόμενον, ὃ περὶ γονέων ἀναγέγραπται τιμῆς.

- 224 XXXVIII. Τέτταρα εἶδη πρότερον ὑπειπών, ἃ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρῶτα ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς, τό τε περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ μοναρχείται ὁ κόσμος, καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα δημιουργεῖν θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ψευδορκεῖν ἢ συνόλως μάτην ὀμνύναι, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης, ἅπερ σύμπαντα τείνει πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὀσιότητα, μέτειμι ἐπὶ τὸ πέμπτον τὸ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς, ὃ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἰδία περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγοις
- 225 ἔδειξα, μεθόριον ἀνθρωπέων τε καὶ θείων. οἱ γὰρ γονεῖς μεταξὺ θείας καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεώς εἰσι μετέχοντες ἀμφοῖν· ἀνθρωπίνης μὲν, ὡς ἔστι δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ γεγόνασι καὶ φθαρῆσονται, θείας δ' ὅτι γεγενήκασι καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρήγαγον· ὅπερ γάρ, οἶμαι, θεὸς πρὸς κόσμον, τοῦτο πρὸς τέκνα γονεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἐκείνος τῷ μὴ ὑπάρχοντι ὑπαρξιν κατειργάσατο, καὶ οὗτοι μιμούμενοι καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν τὸ γένος ἀθανά-
- 226 τίζουσιν. XXXIX. ἄξιοι δ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον τιμῆς πατῆρ τε καὶ μήτηρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἕτερα πλείω. παρ' οἷς γὰρ λόγος ἀρετῆς ἐστί, πρεσβύτεροι νεωτέρων προκρίνονται καὶ διδάσκαλοι γνωρίμων καὶ εὐεργέται τῶν εἰς πεπονθότων καὶ ἄρχοντες
- 227 ὑπηκόων καὶ δεσπότες δούλων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀμείνονι τάξει κρίνονται γονεῖς, πρεσβύτεροι γάρ

<sup>a</sup> Here begins the fifth commandment. Again a fresh numeration of chapters in Cohn.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* *De Dec.* 106-120.



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ated with it. In this I have followed the order of the principal heads set before us as the sequence of the subjects demanded. I now proceed to the next head, in which we find recorded a statement of the honour due to parents.

XXXVIII. <sup>a</sup>In my previous remarks I have sketched 224  
the four divisions which both in order and importance stand undoubtedly first. They comprise the assertion of the absolute sovereignty by which the universe is governed, the prohibition against making any image or likeness of God and against perjury or vain swearing in general and the doctrine of the sacred seventh day, all of them tending to promote piety and religion. I now proceed to the fifth, which states the duty of honouring parents, a matter which, as I have shewn in the discussion devoted to this in particular, <sup>b</sup> stands on the border-line between the human and the divine. For parents are midway between 225  
the natures of God and man, and partake of both ; the human obviously because they have been born and will perish, the divine because they have brought others to the birth and have raised not-being into being. Parents, in my opinion, are to their children what God is to the world, since just as He achieved existence for the non-existent, so they in imitation of His power, as far as they are capable, immortalize the race. XXXIX. And a father and mother de- 226  
serve honour, not only on this account, but for many other reasons. For in the judgement of those who take account of virtue, seniors are placed above juniors, teachers above pupils, benefactors above beneficiaries, rulers above subjects, and masters above servants. Now parents are assigned a place 227  
in the higher of these two orders, for they are seniors

## PHILO

εἰσι καὶ ὑφηγηταὶ καὶ εὐεργέται καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ  
 δεσπόται, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐλάττονι υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες,  
 νεώτεροι γὰρ καὶ μαθηταὶ καὶ εὖ πεπονηότες  
 ὑπήκοοί τε καὶ δούλοι. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν  
 τούτων κατέψευσται, δῆλον μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐναργείας<sup>1</sup>.  
 αἱ δ' ἐκ λόγου πίστεις ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπισφραγιούνται  
 228 τὴν ἀλήθειαν. XL. λέγω τοῖνυν, ὅτι τὸ ποιῶν  
 τοῦ γινομένου καὶ τὸ αἴτιον οὐπὲρ ἔστιν αἴτιον ἀεὶ  
 πρεσβύτερόν ἐστιν· οἱ δὲ γεννήσαντες αἴτιοι καὶ  
 δημιουργοὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῶν γεννηθέντων εἰσὶ·  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑφηγητῶν ἔχουσι τάξιν, ὅσαπερ ἂν  
 εἰδότες τυγχάνωσι τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ πρώτης ἀνα-  
 διδάξαντες ἡλικίας, καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ περὶ τὰς  
 ἐπιστήμας ἀσκοῦσι καὶ νεάζουσιν ἐναποματ-  
 τόμενοι λογισμοὺς ἀκμάζουσι παίδων,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα τῶν πρὸς αἰρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς,  
 αἰρέσεις μὲν ἀρετῶν, φυγὰς δὲ κακιῶν καὶ τῶν  
 229 κατ' αὐτὰς ἐνεργειῶν. εὐεργέται μέντοι  
 τίνες ἂν εἶεν μᾶλλον ἢ παίδων γονεῖς, οἳ καὶ μὴ  
 ὄντας εἰργάσαντο<sup>3</sup> καὶ αὐθις τροφῆς ἠξίωσαν καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα παιδείας τῆς κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν,  
 230 [καὶ] ἵνα μὴ μόνον ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὖ ζῶσι; τὸ

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἐνεργείας.

<sup>2</sup> The text here is well-nigh hopeless, and Cohn's treatment of it in *Hermes*, 1908, p. 202, is unsatisfactory. He places ἀσκοῦσι καὶ νεάζουσιν in brackets (which I have removed) as glosses (surely odd glosses) to ἀκμάζουσι, and apparently takes the next words as—"impressing thoughts on those of the children who are in their prime" (so also Heinemann). But this use of ἀκμάζουσι παίδων for τοῖς ἀκμάζουσι τῶν παίδων, which he himself says is "scarcely correct," seems to me impossible. For a tentative suggestion see App. pp. 628-629.

<sup>3</sup> I suggest μὴ ὄντας <ὄντας> εἰργάσαντο. See note b.

and instructors and benefactors and rulers and masters : sons and daughters are placed in the lower order, for they are juniors and learners and recipients of benefits and subjects and servants.

That none of these statements is false is self-evident, but logical proofs will ratify their truth still further.

XL. I say, then, that the maker is always senior to the thing made and the cause to its effect, and the begetters are in a sense the causes and the creators of what they beget. They are also in the position of instructors because they impart to their children from their earliest years everything that they themselves may happen to know, and give them instruction not only in the various branches of knowledge which they impress upon their young minds,<sup>a</sup> but also on the most essential questions of what to choose and avoid, namely, to choose virtues and avoid vices and the activities to which they lead.

Further, who could be more truly called benefactors than parents in relation to their children ? First, they have brought them out of non-existence;<sup>b</sup> then, again, they have held them entitled to nurture and later to education of body and soul, so that they may have not only life, but a good life. They have

<sup>a</sup> The translation does not do more than give the general sense. See note 2.

<sup>b</sup> Or "brought them out of non-existence into existence." See note 3. As the words stand in the text they should mean "made them to be non-existent," for *ἐργάζομαι* does not appear to be used absolutely = "create." On the other hand, *ἐργάζεσθαι τινά τι* = "to render a person something" (adjective) is a known construction used by Philo, e.g. *De Agr.* 58 τὸν λαὸν . . . φιλήδονον . . . ἐργάσεται, cf. *Quod Deus* 43, *De Sac.* 48. If corrected as suggested, the phrase "made non-existent persons existent" is quite parallel to τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρήγαγον in § 225 and elsewhere.

## PHILO

μὲν οὖν σῶμα διὰ τῆς γυμναστικῆς καὶ ἀλειπτικῆς  
 ὠφέλησαν εἰς εὐτονίαν τε καὶ εὐεξίαν σχέσεις τε  
 καὶ κινήσεις εὐμαρεῖς, οὐκ ἄνευ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
 πρέποντος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν διὰ τε γραμμάτων καὶ  
 ἀριθμῶν γεωμετρίας τε καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ τῆς  
 συμπάσης φιλοσοφίας, ἣ τὸν νοῦν εἰσῶκισμένον  
 θνητῷ σώματι μετέωρον αἴρουσα παραπέμπει  
 μέχρι οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ μακαρίας καὶ  
 εὐδαίμονας φύσεις ἐπιδείκνυται, ζῆλον ἅμα καὶ  
 πόθον ἐνεργαζομένη τῆς ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἑναρμονίου  
 τάξεως, ἣν οὐδέποτε λείπουσι πειθόμενοι τῷ  
 231 ταξίαρχῳ. πρὸς δὲ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις καὶ  
 τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἐγέννησαν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον, οὐχ ὥσπερ  
 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ κλήρον ἢ χειροτονίαν, ὡς  
 αἰτιᾶσθαι δύνασθαι τὸν μὲν ὀλίσθῳ τύχης γενό-  
 μενον, οὐ σὺν λογισμῷ, τὴν δὲ ὄχλου, πράγματος  
 ἀνεξετάστου καὶ ἀνεπισκέπτου, φορᾶ, γνώμη δὲ  
 ἀρίστη καὶ τελειοτάτη τῆς ἄνω φύσεως, ἣ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ  
 θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα σὺν δίκῃ πρυτανεύεται.  
 232 XLI. διὰ τοῦτ' ἔξεστι τοῖς πατράσι καὶ κακηγορεῖν<sup>2</sup>  
 [πρὸς] τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἐμβριθέστερον νουθετεῖν  
 καί, εἰ μὴ ταῖς δι' ἀκοῶν ἀπειλαῖς ὑπέικουσι,  
 τύπτειν καὶ προπηλακίζειν καὶ καταδεῖν. ἂν  
 μέντοι γε καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀφηνιάζωσι τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς  
 ἀνιάτου μοχθηρίας ἀπαυχενίζοντες, ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ  
 νόμος καὶ μέχρι θανάτου κολάζειν, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἣ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. κατηγορεῖν.

<sup>a</sup> Including the lower instruction in reading and writing and the higher in literature, called respectively *γραμματιστικὴ* and *γραμματικὴ*, *De Cong.* 148.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* perhaps by setting them to degrading tasks. Heine-  
450

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 230-232

benefited the body by means of the gymnasium and the training there given, through which it gains muscular vigour and good condition and the power to bear itself and move with an ease marked by gracefulness and elegance. They have done the same for the soul by means of letters<sup>a</sup> and arithmetic and geometry and music and philosophy as a whole which lifts on high the mind lodged within the mortal body and escorts it to the very heaven and shews it the blessed and happy beings that dwell therein, and creates in it an eager longing for the unswerving ever-harmonious order which they never forsake because they obey their captain and marshal.

But in addition to the benefits they 231 confer, parents have also received authority over their offspring. That authority is not obtained by lot nor voting as it is in the cities, where it may be alleged that the lot is due to a blunder of fortune in which reason has no place, and the voting to the impetuosity of the mob, always so reckless and devoid of circumspection, but is awarded by the most admirable and perfect judgement of nature above us which governs with justice things both human and divine. XLI. And therefore fathers have the 232 right to upbraid their children and admonish them severely and if they do not submit to threats conveyed in words to beat and degrade them<sup>b</sup> and put them in bonds. And further if in the face of this they continue to rebel, and carried away by their incorrigible depravity refuse the yoke, the law permits the parents to extend the punishment to death, though here it requires more than the father alone or

mann aptly quotes Plato, *Laws* 866 Ε προσηλακισθέντες λόγοις ἢ καὶ ἀτίμοις ἔργοις.

## PHILO

μόνῳ πατρὶ ἢ μόνῃ μητρὶ, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τιμωρίας, ἣν οὐκ ἄξιον ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν δικασθῆναι· συμφρονῆσαι γὰρ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκάτερον τῶν γονέων, μὴ βαρυνόντων καὶ καθελκόντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὀλκῇ τινι βεβαίῳ νικώσῃ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἐν-

233 ἰδρυμένην πάγιον εὐνοίαν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρχὴν μόνον καὶ ἡγεμονίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τέκνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσποτείαν γονεῖς ἔλαχον κατ' ἄμφω τὰς ἀνωτάτω θεραπόντων κτήσεως ιδέας, τὴν τε ἐπ' οἰκότρυφι καὶ ἀργυρωνήτοις· πολυπλασίους τε γὰρ τῆς ἀξίας τιμὰς<sup>1</sup> κατατιθέασιν εἰς τε παῖδας καὶ ὑπὲρ παίδων τιτθαῖς καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις, δίχα τῶν εἰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τροφὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν ὑγαιωνόντων τε καὶ καμνόντων ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας μέχρι τελείας· οἰκότριβές τε ἂν εἶεν οἱ μὴ μόνον οἴκοι γεννηθέντες ἀλλὰ καὶ [οἱ] ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς οἰκίας δεσποτῶν συνεισενεγκάντων τὰ πρὸς γένεσιν φύσεως θεσμοῖς εἰσφορὰν ἀναγκαίαν.

234 XLII. τοσοῦτων οὖν ὑπαρχόντων ἄξιον (ἐπαῖνον) μὲν οὐδὲν δρῶσιν οἱ τιμῶντες (τούς) γονεῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τι τῶν εἰρημένων αὐταρκέστατον εἰς σεβασμὸν αὐτοὺς προκαλέσασθαι, ψόγου δὲ καὶ κατηγορίας καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω δίκης οἱ μὴθ' ὡς πρεσβυτέρους αἰδούμενοι μὴθ' ὡς ὑψηγητὰς ἀποδεχόμενοι μὴθ' ὡς εὐεργέτας ἀμοιβῆς ἀξιοῦντες μὴθ' ὡς ἄρχουσι πειθαρχοῦντες μὴθ' ὡς δεσπότας

235 εὐλαβούμενοι. πατέρα, οὖν φησι, μετὰ θεὸν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MS. τιμῆς.

<sup>a</sup> See Deut. xxi. 18-21. Philo's language suggests a more independent action on the part of the parents than Deuteronomy. See App. p. 629.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 232-235

the mother alone.<sup>a</sup> So great a penalty should be the sentence, not only of one of them but of both. For it is not to be expected that both the parents would agree to the execution of their son unless the weight of his offences depressed the scale strongly enough to overcome the affection which nature has firmly established in them.

But parents have 233  
not only been given the right of exercising authority over their children, but the power of a master corresponding to the two primary<sup>b</sup> forms under which servants are owned, one when they are home-bred, the other when they are purchased. For parents pay out a sum many times the value of a slave on their children and for them to nurses, tutors and teachers, apart from the cost of their clothes, food and superintendence in sickness and health from their earliest years until they are full grown. "Home-bred" too must they be who are not only born in the house but through the masters of the house, who have made the contribution enforced by the statutes of nature in giving them birth.<sup>c</sup>

XLII. With 234  
all these facts before them, they do not do anything deserving of praise who honour their parents, since any one of the considerations mentioned is in itself quite a sufficient call to shew reverence. And on the contrary, they deserve blame and obloquy and extreme punishment who do not respect them as seniors nor listen to them as instructors nor feel the duty of requiting them as benefactors nor obey them as rulers nor fear them as masters. Honour there- 235  
fore, he says, next to God thy father and thy mother,

<sup>b</sup> See on § 82.

<sup>c</sup> Does this imply that the *οικότριβες* were assessed in determining the *εἰσφορά*, as *ἀργυρώνητοι* naturally would be?

## PHILO

- μητέρα τίμα δευτερείοις τοῖς γέρασιν ἀναδου-  
 μένους, ἅπερ ἡ φύσις ἀπένειμεν αὐτοῖς ἀθλο-  
 θετοῦσα. τιμήσεις δ' [ἐπ'] οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ  
 πειρώμενος ἀγαθός τε εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν εἶναι, ὧν  
 τὸ μὲν τὴν ἄτυφον καὶ ἄπλαστον ἀρετὴν ἐπιζητεῖ,  
 τὸ δὲ τὴν σὺν ὑπολήψει χρηστῇ καὶ τῷ παρὰ τῶν  
 236 συνόντων ἐπαίνῳ. μικρὰ γὰρ τῶν ἰδίων φρον-  
 τίζοντες ὠφελειῶν τέλος εὐδαιμονίας νομίζουσι  
 τὴν τῶν παίδων καλοκαγαθίαν, δι' ἣν καὶ τοῖς  
 προσταπτομένοις θελήσουσιν ὑπακούειν ἐκείνοι καὶ  
 ἐν ἅσασι καταπειθεῖς εἶναι τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ συμ-  
 φέρουσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλότριον ἀρετῆς ὁ ταῖς  
 ἀληθείαις<sup>1</sup> ὑφηγήσεται πατὴρ παιδί.
- 237 XLIII. Τεκμηριώσαιτο δ' ἂν τις τὴν πρὸς γονεῖς  
 εὐσέβειαν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἡλικας ἐκείνων ἀποδοχῆς.<sup>2</sup> ὁ γὰρ  
 πρεσβύτην καὶ πρεσβύτιδα οὐδὲν γένει προσήκοντας  
 αἰδούμενος ἔοικέ πως ὑπομιμνήσκεισθαι πατρός τε  
 καὶ μητρὸς καὶ ἀποβλέπων ὡσπερ εἰς ἀρχέτυπα  
 238 τεθηπέναι<sup>3</sup> τὰς εἰκόνας ἐκείνων. ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
 γράμμασιν οὐ μόνον προεδρίας ἐξίστασθαι διείρηται  
 νέους πρεσβύταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παριοῦσιν ὑπανίστα-  
 σθαι πολὴν γήρως αἰδουμένους, εἰς ὅπερ ἐλπὶς ἀφ-  
 239 ἰκέσθαι τοὺς προνομίας τοῦτ' ἀξιοῦντας. παγκάλως  
 δέ μοι κακείνο νενομοθετῆσθαι δοκεῖ· φησὶ γάρ·  
 “ ἕκαστος πατέρα τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μητέρα φοβείσθω,”

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suspects the wording and conjectures ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας  
 <έρων>, but the form has already occurred and been accepted  
 in i. 97 and *De Ios.* 38.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ἀποχῆς.

<sup>3</sup> MS. τεθεικέναι.

<sup>a</sup> See Lev. xix. 32, “Thou shalt rise up before the hoary  
 head, and honour the face of the old man.” The LXX has  
 454



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 235-239

who are crowned with a laurel of the second rank assigned to them by nature, the arbitress of the contest. And in no way wilt thou honour them as well as by trying both to be good and to seem good, to be good by seeking virtue simple and unfeigned, to seem good by seeking it accompanied by a reputation for worth and the praise of those around you. For 236 parents have little thought for their own personal interests and find the consummation of happiness in the high excellence of their children, and to gain this the children will be willing to hearken to their commands and to obey them in everything that is just and profitable ; for the true father will give no instruction to his son that is foreign to virtue.

XLIII. But the proof of filial piety may be given 237 not only in the ways above mentioned, but also by courtesy shewn to persons who share the seniority of the parents. One who pays respect to an aged man or woman who is not of his kin may be regarded as having remembrance of his father and mother. He looks to them as prototypes and stands in awe of those who bear their image. And therefore in the 238 Holy Scriptures the young are commanded not only to yield the chief seats to the aged but also to give place to them as they pass,<sup>a</sup> in reverence for the grey hairs that mark the age to which they may hope to attain who judge it worthy of precedence. Admirable 239 too, as it seems to me, is that other ordinance where he says, "Let each fear his father and mother." <sup>b</sup>

*ἀπὸ προσώπου πολιού ἐξαναστήση*, which Philo might easily take to mean "rise up away from," *i.e.* make room for him. He need not be supposed to be claiming scriptural authority for yielding the chief seats, but mentions it as the universally accepted mark of respect.

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. xix. 3.

## PHILO

φόβον πρὸ εὐνοίας τιθείς, οὐχ ὡς πρὸς ἅπαν  
 ἄμεινον, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν χρησι-  
 μώτερόν τε καὶ λυσιτελέστερον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ  
 τοῖς παιδευομένοις καὶ νουθετουμένοις ἄφροσιν  
 εἶναι συμβέβηκεν· ἀφροσύνη δ' οὐκ ἄλλω ἢ φόβῳ  
 θεραπεύεται· δεύτερον δ' ἀρμόττον οὐκ ἦν νομο-  
 θέτου παραγγέλμασι τοὺς παῖδας εὐνοίαν διδά-  
 σκεσθαι τὴν πρὸς γονεῖς, ἣν αὐτοκέλευστον ἡ  
 φύσις ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων [δέ]<sup>1</sup> ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν  
 240 οὕτως ἠνωμένων κατὰ γένος ἐνιδρύσατο. διὸ  
 φιλίαν μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας ὡς αὐτομαθῆ  
 καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον καὶ προστάξεως οὐ δεομένην  
 ἀπέλιπε, φόβον δὲ προστάττει διὰ τοὺς εἰωθότας  
 ῥαθυμεῖν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ γονεῖς παῖδας ὑπερβαλλούση  
 χρώμενοι φιλοστοργία περιέπουσι καὶ πάντοθεν  
 ἐκπορίζοντες αὐτοῖς τὰγαθὰ χαρίζονται μηδένα  
 πόνον ἢ κίνδυνον ὑπερτιθέμενοι, δυνάμεσιν ὀλοκοῖς  
 εὐνοίας<sup>2</sup> συνδεδεμένοι, τὸ λίαν φιλόστοργον αὐτῶν  
 οὐ δέχονται τινες ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ, τρυφὴν καὶ χλιδὴν  
 ἐζηλωκότες καὶ θαυμάζοντες μὲν τὸν ὑγρὸν βίον,  
 διαρρέοντες δὲ κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, καὶ  
 μηδὲν μέρος ἐὼντες ὀρθοῦσθαι ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνά-  
 μεσιν, ὡς ὑποσκελιζόντες καὶ ἐκνευρίζοντες οὐκ  
 ἐρυθριῶσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς σωφρο-  
 νιστὰς πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, ἐνδιδόντες καὶ  
 241 ἐπιχαλῶντες ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιθυμίαις. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τούτοις ἀναγκαῖον παραινεῖν, ὅπως εὐτονωτέραις  
 καὶ ἐμβριθεστέραις χρώμενοι νουθεσίαις θερα-  
 πεύσωσι τὸν τῶν παιδῶν ῥοῦν, καὶ τοῖς παισίν,

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἐξαιτεῖ σπαργάνων δέ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ὄρκοις εὐνοίαις.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 239-241

Here he sets fear before affection, not as better in every way, but as more serviceable and profitable for the occasion which he has before him. For in the first place, persons subject to instruction and admonition are in fact wanting in sense, and want of sense is only cured by fear. Secondly, it would not be suitable to include in the enactments of a lawgiver an instruction on the duty of filial affection, for nature has implanted this as an imperative instinct from the very cradle in the souls of those who are thus united by kinship.<sup>a</sup> And therefore he omitted any mention 240 of love for parents because it is learned and taught by instinct and requires no injunction, but did enjoin fear for the sake of those who are in the habit of neglecting their duty. For when parents cherish their children with extreme tenderness, providing them with good gifts from every quarter and shunning no toil or danger because they are fast bound to them by the magnetic forces of affection, there are some who do not receive this exceeding tenderheartedness in a way that profits them. They pursue eagerly luxury and voluptuousness, they applaud the dissolute life, they run to waste both in body and soul, and suffer no part of either to be kept erect by its proper faculties which they lay prostrate and paralyzed without a blush because they have never feared the censors they possess in their fathers and mothers but give in to and indulge their own lusts. But these 241 parents also must be exhorted to employ more active and severe admonitions to cure the wastage of their children, and the children also that they may stand

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 629.

## PHILO

ὅπως εὐλαβῶνται τοὺς γειναμένους<sup>1</sup> δεδιότες καὶ ὡς ἄρχοντας καὶ ὡς φύσει δεσπότας· μόλις γὰρ οὕτως ἀδικεῖν ὀκνήσουσι.

- 242 XLIV. Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν δέλτον πέντε κεφάλαια νόμων καὶ ὅσα τῶν κατὰ μέρος εἰς ἕκαστον ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἀναφορὰν διεξῆλθον. χρῆ δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀρισθείσας ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων παρα-  
 243 βάσει τιμωρίας δηλῶσαι. κοινὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ κατὰ πάντων θάνατος, δι' ἧν<sup>2</sup> ἔχει τὰ δικάσματα πρὸς ἀλληλα συγγένειαν. αἰτίαι δὲ τῆς δίκης διάφοροι. ἀρκτέον δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου τοῦ πρὸς γονεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἔναυλος. ἐάν, φησί, τις τυπτήσῃ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, καταλευέσθω· πάνυ δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ θέμις ζῆν τῷ προπηλακίζοντι  
 244 τοὺς τοῦ ζῆν αἰτίους. ἀλλ' ἔνιοι τῶν εὐπαρῦφων καὶ νομοθετῶν πρὸς δόξας ἀπιδόντες μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκομψεύσαντο κατὰ πατροτυπτῶν ὀρίσαντες χειρῶν ἀποκοπὴν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς εἰκαιτέροις καὶ ἀνεξετάστοις εὐδοκιμῆσαι νομίζουσιν ἀρμόττον εἶναι τὰ μέρη οἷς ἐτύπησαν τοὺς  
 245 γονεῖς ἀκρωτηριάξασθαι. ἔστι δ' εὐήθες τοῖς ὑπρηρετηκόσι πρὸ τῶν αἰτίων δυσχεραίνειν, τὴν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> So Holwerda for ms. τοὺς γινομένους, for which Cohn conjectured τοὺς <τοῦ ζῆν αἰτίους> γενομένους.

<sup>2</sup> ms. δι' ὄν.

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxi. 15, "Let him be surely put to death" (ΙΧΧ θανάτῳ θανατούσθω). Philo quotes it in *De Fuga* 83 with τελευτάτῳ. As stoning is the common form of execution in the Pentateuch and is definitely mentioned as the method to be used in the case of the disobedient son, the discrepancy is not remarkable.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 241-245

in awe of those who begot them, fearing them both as rulers and masters. For only so, and that hardly, will they shrink from wrongdoing.

XLIV. I have now discussed the five heads of the 242 laws belonging to the first table, and all the particular enactments which may be classed under each of the five. But I must also state the penalties decreed for transgression of them. The result of 243 the close affinity which the offences have to each other is that they all have a common punishment, namely, death, but there are different reasons for this punishment. We should begin with the last commandment, on the behaviour due to parents, since our discussion of it is fresh in our minds. He says "if anyone strikes his father or mother, let him be stoned."<sup>a</sup> This is quite just, for justice forbids that he should live who maltreats the authors of his life. But some dignitaries and legislators who had 244 an eye to men's opinions rather than to truth, have decreed that striking a father should be punished by cutting off the hands, a specious refinement<sup>b</sup> due to their wish to win the approval of the more careless or thoughtless, who think that the parts with which the offenders have struck their parents should be amputated.<sup>c</sup> But it is silly to visit displeasure on the 245 servants rather than on the actual authors, for the

<sup>b</sup> The common meaning of *κομψένω* as applied to clever or subtle words and actions (Heinemann, "in spitzfindiger Weise"), *cf. De Mig. 75*, does not fit in well with the next words, which represent the practice as a concession to the thoughtless. The feeling expressed in it may be either that the officials disguise their real feelings or that the course adopted is less coarse and drastic than capital punishment, or perhaps a combination of both these.

<sup>c</sup> On the evidence for the existence of this law see App. pp. 629-630.

PHILO

- ὑβριν οὐ χεῖρες ἀλλὰ διὰ χειρῶν ὑβρισταὶ δρώσιν, οὓς ἀναγκαῖον κολάζειν· εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφονήσαντας ξίφει μεθετέον ὑπερόριον τὸ ξίφος ῥύψαντας, καὶ τοῦναντίον τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐν πολέμῳ τιμὰς οὐ δοτέον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀψύχοις παν-  
 246 τευχίαις, δι' ὧν ἠνδραγαθίσαντο· μὴ καὶ τῶν ἐν γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι στάδιον ἢ δίαυλον ἢ δόλιχον νενικηκότων ἢ πυγμῆν ἢ παγκράτιον σκέλη καὶ χεῖρας αὐτὸ μόνον<sup>1</sup> ταινιοῦν ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ὅλα τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλητῶν παρέντες; γέλως μέντ' ἂν εἴη τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἰσηγεῖσθαι, <τὰ> ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ κολάζοντας ἢ τιμῶντας, δέον τοὺς αἰτίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ μουσικὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενόν τινα δι' αὐλῶν ἢ λύρας καὶ σφόδρα κατορθοῦντα παραμειψάμενοι τὰ  
 247 ὄργανα κηρυγμάτων καὶ τιμῶν ἀξιοῦμεν. τί οὖν ἔδει πατροτύπτας, ὧ γενναῖοι νομοθέται, χειροκοπεῖν; ἢ ἵνα πρὸς τῷ εἶναι μηδὲν χρήσιμοι τὸ παράπαν καὶ δασμὸν οὐκ ἐτήσιον ἀλλ' ἐφήμερον ἀναπράττωσι παρὰ τῶν ἠδίκημένων τροφὰς ἀναγκαίας ἅτε πορίζειν ἀδυνατοῦντες; οὐ γὰρ σιδήρειος πατήρ ἐστὶ τις οὕτως, ὡς λιμῷ περιϋδεῖν θνήσκοντα υἱόν, καὶ ταῦτα χρόνῳ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀμαυρουμένης.  
 248 κἂν μὴ ἐπενέγκῃ μέντοι χεῖρας, κακηγορηῆ δ' οὓς χρέος ἀναγκαῖον εὐφημεῖν ἢ καὶ τρόπῳ ἑτέρῳ δρᾶτι τῶν ἐπ' ἀτιμία γονέων, θνησκέτω· κοινὸς γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> MS. αὐτῶν μόνον.

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxi. 16 (17), Lev. xx. 9, E.V. "curseth," but R.V. margin "or revileth." In the latter half of the sentence he perhaps alludes to Deut. xxvii. 16, "Cursed be he that setteth light by (ΙΧΧ ἀτιμάζων) his father or his mother."

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 245-248

outrage is not committed by the hands but by the persons who used their hands to commit it, and it is these persons who must be punished. Otherwise, when one man has killed another with a sword, we should cast the sword out of the land and let the murderer go free, and conversely, honour should be given, not to those who have distinguished themselves in war, but to the lifeless equipments and weapons which were the instruments of their exploits. In the case of the victors in the athletic contests, 246 whether at the single or the double course or the long race or the boxing or the general contest, will they try to garland the legs and hands only and disregard the bodies of the athletes as a whole? It would surely be ridiculous to introduce such practices and give to the indispensable accompaniments the punishments or honours which should be given to the responsible persons. For similarly, in musical exhibitions, when anyone makes a highly successful performance on the flute or lyre, we do not pass him by and adjudge the laudatory announcements and honours to the instruments. Why then, you 247 grand legislators, should we cut off the hands of those who strike a father? Or is your object that the offenders, besides being quite useless, may levy a tribute not annually, but daily, on those whom they have wronged, because they are unable to provide the sustenance they need. For no father is so iron-hearted as to allow his son to starve to death, particularly as his anger grows faint as time goes on. And even if while making no assault with his hands 248 he uses abusive language to those to whom good words are owed as a bounden duty, or in any other way does anything to dishonour his parents, let him die.<sup>a</sup> He

## PHILO

ἐχθρὸς καί, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, δῆμιος ἀπάντων· ἐπεὶ<sup>1</sup> τίνι γένοιτ' ἂν εὐμενῆς ἄλλω ὁ μηδὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις τοῦ ζῆν, δι' οὓς εἰς γένεσιν ἦλθεν, ὧν ἔστι προσθήκη;

- 249 XLV. Πάλιν δ' ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐβδόμην βέβηλον ἀποφήνας τὸ γ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ὑπόδικος ἔστω θανάτου. τούναντίον γὰρ τοῖς βεβήλοις καὶ πράγμασι καὶ σώμασι καθαρσίων εὐπορητέον εἰς τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν, ἐπειδὴ “ φθόνος,” ὡς ἔφη τις, “ ἔξω θείου χοροῦ βαίνει.” τὸ δὲ τολμᾶν τὰ καθωσιωμένα παρακόπτειν καὶ παραχαράττειν ὑπερ-  
250 βάλλουσαν ἀσέβειαν ἐμφαίνει. κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετανάστασιν ἠνίκα δι' ἐρήμης ἀτριβοῦς ἅπασα ἢ πληθὺς ὠδοιπόρει, γενομένης ἐβδόμης<sup>2</sup> αἱ μὲν τοσαῦται μυριάδες, ὅσας ἐδήλωσα πρότερον, ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν διέτριβον, εἰς δ' οὐχὶ τῶν ἡμελημένων καὶ ἀφανῶν ὀλίγα φροντίσας τῶν διατεταγμένων καὶ χλευάσας τοὺς φυλάττοντας ἐξήει μὲν ἐπὶ φρυ-  
251 γανισμόν, ἔργω δ' εἰς παρανομίας ἐπίδειξιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπέστρεφεν ἀγκαλίδα ἀγαγών, οἱ δὲ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἐπὶ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ἐβδομάδος.

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxxi. 14, 15.

<sup>b</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

<sup>c</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 A, a quotation again made in *Quod Omnis Probus* 13, and with many echoes elsewhere, e.g. i. 320. See note on *De Fuga* 62.

<sup>d</sup> See Num. xv. 32-36. Cf. *Mos.* ii. 213 ff. <sup>e</sup> § 146.

<sup>f</sup> Heinemann, ignoring οὐχί, translates “one of the obscure and little esteemed,” and adds in a note that Philo has inferred his insignificance either from his collecting firewood, or from the absence of any mention of his name. If this is not mere inadvertence, he must have considered that οὐχί should be expunged. But his explanations of the man's



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 248-251

is the common and indeed the national enemy of all. For who could find kindness from him who is not kind even to the authors of his life, through whom he has come into existence and to whom he is but a supplement ?

XLV. Again, let him who has turned the sacred 249 seventh day into a profane thing, as far as lies in his power, be sentenced to death.<sup>a</sup> For on the contrary we ought to be rich in ways of purifying things profane, both material and immaterial,<sup>b</sup> to change them for the better, since, as it has been said, "envy has no place in the divine choir."<sup>c</sup> But to dare to debase and deface the stamp of things consecrated shews the utmost height of impiety. There is an incident 250 which occurred during the great migration from Egypt in ancient days while the whole multitude was journeying through the pathless wilderness.<sup>d</sup> The seventh day had come, and all those myriads, how numerous I have stated in an earlier place,<sup>e</sup> were staying very quietly in their tents, when a single person of a rank by no means mean or insignificant,<sup>f</sup> regardless of the orders given and mocking at those who maintained them, went out to gather firewood, but actually succeeded<sup>g</sup> in displaying his disobedience to the law: He returned bringing an armful, 251

insignificance are very unconvincing, and, as the mss. of Philo do not shew as much tendency to insert negatives as they do to omit them, the text may stand, though I know of no explanation of Philo's statement that the offender was of high rank.

<sup>g</sup> Or "with the result that he displayed." This is perhaps an unusual meaning for εἰς. Heinemann gives "with the intention of shewing," but this would need ἐξήκει λόγῳ μὲν rather than ἐξήκει μὲν. He says that the same motive is suggested in § 213 of the parallel account, but misinterprets, I think, the sense of the phrase used there. See my note.

## PHILO

σκηνῶν ἐκχυθέντες,<sup>1</sup> καίτοι παρατεθηγμένοι, νεώτερον οὐδὲν ἔνεκα τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἱεροπρεποῦς εἰργάσαντο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀγαγόντες τὸ ἀσέβημα μηνύουσιν· ὁ δ' εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἀποθέμενος, ἐκπεσόντος λογίου καταλεύειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐκδίδωσι τοῖς πρῶτον θεασαμένοις εἰς ἀπώλειαν. ὡς γάρ, οἶμαι, πῦρ ἐναύειν<sup>2</sup> ἐβδόμαις οὐκ ἐπιτέτραπται—δι' ἣν πρόσθεν αἰτίαν εἶπον—, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ πυρὸς ἐκκαύματα συλλέγειν.

- 252 XLVI. Τοῖς μάρτυρα καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ μὴ ἀληθεῖ θεὸν ὄρισται δίκη θανάτου· προσηκόντως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τῶν μετρίων ἀνέξεταιί ποτε παρακληθεὶς συνεπιγράψασθαι ψεύδεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸν ἄπιστον ὑπολαβεῖν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τὸν εἰς ταῦτα  
253 προτρέποντα. ὅθεν ῥητέον· τὸν ὀμνύντα μάτην ἐπ' ἀδίκῳ θεὸς ὁ τὴν φύσιν ἰλεως οὔποτε τῆς αἰτίας ἀπαλλάξει δυσκάθαρτον καὶ μαρὸν ὄντα, καὶ διαφύγη τὰς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων τιμωρίας. διαδράσεται δ' οὐδέποτε· μυρίοι γὰρ ἔφοροι, ζηλωταὶ νόμων, φύλακες τῶν πατριῶν ἀκριβέστατοι, <τοῖς>

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἐκκαυθέντες.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ἐν δυοῖν.

<sup>a</sup> In the parallel account persons who have gone out to pray in the wilderness catch the Sabbath-breaker in the act. As Heinemann points out, we have in the two accounts two different answers to the question how they discovered the crime when they should have been staying in the tents.

<sup>b</sup> In Numbers "all the congregation."

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* in § 65.

but the others, pouring out from the tents,<sup>a</sup> though greatly enraged if repelled from violence on account of the sanctity of the day, took him to the ruler and reported the impious deed. The ruler put him in custody, but when the divine pronouncement had been given out that he should be stoned, he surrendered him to those who had first seen him<sup>b</sup> to be done to death. For the prohibition against lighting a fire on the seventh day, the reason for which I have stated earlier,<sup>c</sup> applies equally, I presume, to collecting the means for kindling fire.

XLVI. For persons who call God to witness to an 252 untruth, death is the appointed punishment,<sup>d</sup> quite rightly. For not even a man, if he is of a decent sort, will tolerate an invitation to join in subscribing to an untruth, but would in my opinion regard anyone who urged him to this course as an enemy unfit to be trusted. And therefore we must declare that God, 253 though His nature is to be merciful, will never free from guilt him who swears falsely<sup>e</sup> to an injustice, a miscreant almost beyond possibility of purification, even if he evades the chastisements of men. And these he will never escape; for there are thousands who have their eyes upon him full of zeal for the laws, strictest guardians of the ancestral institutions,

<sup>a</sup> Philo has no scriptural authority for death as a punishment for breaking the third commandment, which he here confines to perjury, and indeed this was recognized in § 27. His argument, as appears in. § 254, is that the sentence of death for the lighter shews that it must have been intended for the heavier offence.

<sup>e</sup> Not, I think, "lightly," "thoughtlessly," as Heinemann ("leichtfertig"). The sense of "falsely" is not uncommon in classical Greek. Philo uses *μάτην* to bring it into connexion with the *ἐπι ματαίῳ* of the commandment, and to suggest that perjury is included in "taking in vain."

## PHILO

ἐπὶ καταλύσει<sup>1</sup> τι δρῶσιν ἀμειλίκτως ἔχοντες· εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐπὶ μὲν ἀτιμία πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς φονᾶν<sup>2</sup> ἄξιον, ἐπὶ δ' ὀνόματι τῷ καὶ αὐτῆς εὐκλεεστέρῳ σεμνότητος ὑπ' ἀσεβῶν ἀτιμουμένῳ μετριώτερον  
 254 οἰστέον. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶ τις ἀνόητος, ὡς ἔνεκα τῶν ἐλαττόνων κτείνων τοὺς αἰτίους ἐπὶ τοῖς μείζουσιν ἔαν· μείζον δ' ἀσέβημα τοῦ πρὸς γονεῖς κακηγορουμένους<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὑβριζομένους τὸ περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν πρόσρησιν θεοῦ γενόμενον ἐκ ψευδορκίας.

255 Εἰ δὲ ὁ μὴ προσηκόντως ὀμνὺς ὑπαίτιος, πόσης ἄξιος τιμωρίας ὁ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἀρνούμενος καὶ τοὺς γεγονότας πρὸ τοῦ πεποιηκότος τιμῶν καὶ μὴ μόνον γῆν ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἀέρα ἢ πῦρ, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντός, ἢ πάλιν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ πλάνητας καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν τε καὶ κόσμον σέβειν ἀξιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα θνητοὶ δημιουργοὶ κατεσκεύασαν ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ἅπερ  
 256 εἰς ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τύπους ἐμορφώθη; τοιγάρτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξομοιούσθω τοῖς χειροκμήτοις· θέμις γὰρ μὴ μετέχειν ψυχῆς τὸν τὰ ἄψυχα τιμήσαντα, καὶ μάλιστα φοιτητὴν γενόμενον Μωυσέως, οὗ πολλάκις ἤκουσε λέγοντός τε καὶ προφητεύοντος τὰς ἱερωτάτας καὶ καταθέους ἐκείνας ὑφηγήσεις·

<sup>1</sup> MS. ἀκριβέστεροι ἐπὶ καταλεύσει. Cohn's emendation of καταλεύσει to καταλύσει, sc. τῶν πατρίων, is certain. For the rest he suggested ἀκριβέστατοι <ἐπὶ τοῖς> ἐπὶ καταλύσει. The form here adopted (see Grégoire, *Hermes*, 1909, p. 313), or possibly <τοῖς τῶν>, seems preferable.

<sup>2</sup> MS. φόνον.

<sup>3</sup> MS. κατηγορουμένους.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 253-256

merciless to those who do anything to subvert them. Otherwise we must suppose that while it is right to seek the death of one who dishonours a father or a mother, more moderation should be shewn when impious men dishonour the name which is more glorious than majesty itself. Yet none is so foolish 254 as to visit the lesser offences with death and spare those who are guilty of the greater ; and the sacrilege involved in reviling or outraging parents is not so great as that committed by perjury against the sacred title of God.

But if he who swears a wrongful oath is guilty, how 255 great a punishment<sup>a</sup> does he deserve who denies the truly existing God and honours created beings before their Maker, and thinks fit to revere, not only earth or water or air or fire, the elements of the All, or again the sun and moon and planets and fixed stars, or the whole heaven and universe, but also the works of mortal craftsmen, stocks and stones, which they have fashioned into human shape? And there- 256 fore let him too himself be made like unto these works of men's hands. For it is right that he who honours lifeless things should have no part in life, especially if he has become a disciple of Moses and has often heard from his prophetic<sup>b</sup> lips those most holy and godly instruc-

on the breach of the first commandment Deut. xvii. 2-5, where the false gods are described in much the same way as here, and on breaches of the second Ps. cxv. 8, where instead of the A.V. "they that make them are like unto them" the LXX has ὁμοιοὶ γέγονντο, "may they become like."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "both speaking and prophesying," meaning perhaps that though it is Moses speaking he is also God's spokesman, or that sometimes he speaks in his own person and sometimes as the spokesman. The words that follow, though primarily reproducing Ex. xxiii. 13, are, as "often" shews, intended to represent Moses' teaching elsewhere.

## PHILO

ὄνομα θεῶν ἑτέρων μήτε τῇ ψυχῇ παραδέξῃ εἰς ὑπόμνησιν μήτε φωνῇ διερμηνεύσης, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερον, νοῦν καὶ λόγον, μακρὰν τῶν ἄλλων διαζεύξας ἐπίστρεψον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων, ἵνα καὶ φρονῆς περὶ μοναρχίας τὰ ἄριστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ λέγῃς τὰ πρέποντα καὶ λυσιτελέστατα σαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀκουσομένοις.

- 257 XLVII. Αἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῶν παραβαιόντων τοὺς πέντε χρησμούς τιμωρίαὶ δεδήλωνται. τὰ δὲ προκείμενα τοῖς φυλάττουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄθλα, καὶ εἰ μὴ ῥηταῖς προστάξεισι μεμήνυκεν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλὰ  
 258 τοι δι' ὑπονοίας ἐμφαίνεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς ἑτέρους μηδὲ χειρόκμητα θεοπλαστεῖν μηδὲ ψευδορκεῖν ἑτέρου γέρωσ χρεῖον οὐκ ἔστιν· αὐτὸ γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύειν ἄριστον καὶ τελεωτάτον ἔστι γέρας· ἐπὶ τίνι γὰρ δύναιτ' ἄν τις ἡσθῆναι μᾶλλον ἀληθείας ἐρῶν ἢ τῷ ἐνὶ προσκεισθαι θεῷ καὶ τῆς τούτου θεραπείας ἀδόλως  
 259 καὶ καθαρῶς περιέχεσθαι; καλῶ δὲ μάρτυρας, οὐχ οἵτινες θεραπεύουσι τῷφον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπλανῆ ζῆλον ἐζηλωκότας, παρ' οἷς ἀλήθεια τιμᾶται· φρονήσεώς τε γὰρ ἄθλον αὐτῇ ἢ φρόνησις καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἑαυτῆς ἔστι γέρας. ἢ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ καλλιστεύουσα καὶ κατάρχουσα πασῶν ὀσιότης<sup>1</sup> πολὺ πλεον ἔστιν ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἀγώνισμα καὶ ἄθλον, παρέχουσα καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τοῖς τούτων παισὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις εὐπραγίας ἀναφαιρέτους.

- 260 XLVIII. πάλιν γε μὴν τοῖς τὴν ἱερὰν ἐβδόμην

<sup>1</sup> MS. ὀσιότητων.

<sup>a</sup> LXX, Ex. xxiii. 13, ἀναμνήσεσθε, E.V. "make no mention," which may have been intended by the Greek translator.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 256-260

tions, "Do not admit the name of other gods into thy soul to remember it," nor give expression to it with thy voice. Keep both thy mind and thy speech far apart from these others, and turn to the Father and Maker of all, that thy conceptions of His sole sovereignty may be the best and the noblest, and thy words such as are suitable and most profitable to thyself and to them that shall hear thee." 257

XLVII. We have now explained the punishments inflicted on those who transgress the five oracles. But the guerdons awaiting those who keep them, even if not stated by the law in actual words of the 258 injunctions, yet may be seen to underlie them. The refusal to acknowledge other gods, or to deify the works of men's hands, or to commit perjury, needs no other reward. For surely the practice of such abstinence is in itself the best and most perfect reward. For where can any lover of truth find greater pleasure than by devoting himself to the one God and embracing his service in guilelessness and 259 purity? I call to witness not such as serve vanity but those who are inspired with a zeal which never goes astray, those among whom truth is honoured. For wisdom is itself the guerdon of wisdom, and justice and each of the other virtues is its own reward.<sup>b</sup> And much more is she, who as in a choir is the fairest and the queen of the dance—religion<sup>c</sup>—her own prize and guerdon, providing happiness to those who cherish her and to their children and children's children blessings of welfare which can never be 260 taken from them.

XLVIII. Again, the experience of those who keep the seventh day is that

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 630.

<sup>c</sup> Or "holiness."

## PHILO

φυλάττουσι συμβαίνει περὶ δύο τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα ὠφελείσθαι, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀναπαύλαις ἐκ τῶν συνεχῶν καὶ ἀτρύτων πόνων, τὴν δ' ὑπολήψεσιν ἀρίσταις περὶ θεοῦ ὡς κοσμοποιουῦ καὶ ἐπιμελουμένου ὧν ἐγέννησε· καὶ (γὰρ) τὰ σύμπαντα ἐτελεσφόρησεν ἑβδομάδι. δῆλον οὖν ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι τὴν ἑβδόμην τιμῶν αὐτὸς εὐρίσκεται

- 261 τιμὴν. ὁμοίως μέντοι καὶ ὁ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀποδεχόμενος μὴ θηράσθω τι πλέον· εὐρήσει γὰρ σκοπῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ἄθλον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν προτέρων τεσσάρων κεφαλαίων, ἃ θειοτέρας ἔλαχε μοίρας, ἔλαττον τοῦτ' ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ θνητῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι, παρηγόρησεν εἰπών· “ τίμα πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται καὶ ἵνα  
262 μακροχρόνιος γένη,” δύο γέρα τιθεῖς· ἐν μὲν μετουσίαν ἀρετῆς, τὸ γὰρ εὖ ἢ ἀρετὴ ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ ἀρετῆς, ἕτερον δέ, εἰ δεῖ τὰληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀθανασίαν διὰ πολυχρονίου ζωῆς καὶ βίου μακραίωνος, ὃν καὶ μετὰ σώματος θρέψεις ψυχῇ κεκαθαρμένη τελεία καθάρσει βιῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀποχρώντως λέλεκται, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δέλτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καιροῦ διδόντος ἐπισκεψόμεθα.

<sup>a</sup> For the same play on τιμή, “honour,” and τιμή, “value,” cf. *Quod Deus* 169 f.

<sup>b</sup> Or “when opportunity offers.” See on iii. 6 (App.).



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, II. 260-262

both body and soul are benefited in two most essential ways. The body is benefited by the recurrence of respite from continuous and wearisome toil, the soul by the excellent conceptions which it receives of God as the world-maker and guardian of what He has begotten. For He brought all things to their completion on the seventh day. These things shew clearly that he who gives due value <sup>a</sup> to the seventh day gains value <sup>a</sup> for himself.

So too indeed he who <sup>261</sup> shews respect to his parents should not seek anything further, for if he look he will find his guerdon in the action itself. However, since this commandment, inasmuch as it is concerned with mortal things, is inferior to the first four heads whose province is nearer the divine, He gave encouragement with the words, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee and that thy time may be long." Here He names two rewards: one is the pos- <sup>262</sup> session of virtue, for "well" is virtue or cannot exist without virtue, the other in very truth is salvation from death given by prolonged vitality and a long life which thou wilt keep thriving even while in the body, if thou live with a soul purged clean of all impurity.

This part of the subject has now been sufficiently discussed. We will proceed in due season <sup>b</sup> to examine the contents of the second table.

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, III

This treatise opens with an impassioned lamentation over the public business and troubles, which have debarred Philo in the past from his beloved studies, and an expression of his thankfulness that he now has some respite (1-5).

The Sixth (LXX) Commandment. We begin with some general thoughts on the need of continence even in marriage, and the gravity of the crime of adultery (7-11). Intercourse with a mother is mentioned with horror, and Philo traces to this practice the troubles rife among the Persians (12-19). But the law condemns no less marriage with a step-mother (20-21), with a sister (22-25), and forbids it with others less closely related, such as a wife's sister (26-28), and with an alien (29). It also strictly refuses to allow a woman who has been divorced and then married another to return to her first husband (31-31). There must be no intercourse during menstruation (32-33), and Philo himself disapproves of marriage with a woman known to be barren (34-36).

Graver matters are pederasty, popularly treated with a favour which Philo deplors (37-42), and bestiality which he illustrates with the story of Pasiphaë (48-50). A harlot, too, is worthy of death (51).

Speaking of adultery itself, he gives a full account of the test laid down in Numbers for the suspected wife (52-63). The penalties for rape or seduction of a widow or maiden are stated (64-71), and also for intercourse with a maiden betrothed to another (72-78), and for slander by a husband impugning the virginity of his bride (79-82).

The Seventh (LXX) Commandment. Murder is sacrilege and deserves the utmost penalty (83-85), and attempted murder is as bad (86-87). Murderers must not be allowed sanctuary in the temple (88-91). While unpremeditated homicide may be less heinous (92), no mercy must be shewn to poisoners (93-99), and with them may be classed magicians, though there is a higher magic (100-103). Returning to the subject of unpremeditated homicide, as in a sudden quarrel, he notes the law which enacted that if the sufferer did not

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III

die at once, his opponent would not suffer the extreme penalty (104-107). From the law as stated in the LXX, that a miscarriage caused by a blow was a capital crime if the child was fully formed (108-109), he draws the inference that the exposure of infants is murder, and inveighs very feelingly against the cruelty of the practice (110-119).

He then turns to the law which enables the involuntary homicide to fly to the "Cities of Refuge." He dwells on the hint given in Exodus, that the death of the man thus killed was divinely ordained, and suggests that these Levitical Cities were privileged because of the conduct of the Levites in slaughtering the calf-worshippers, which story he repeats at length (120-129). In connexion with this he discusses the meaning of the provision that the homicide must remain there till the death of the high priest (130-136).

Next we have laws dealing with cases where death is caused by a master beating a slave (137-143), or by a vicious bull left unguarded (144-146), or a pit left uncovered (147-148), or a roof left without a parapet (149).

The insistence of the law that murder must be punished with death is emphasized by the order that the body is to be prominently exhibited for a time (150-152).

No one is to suffer death as a substitute for the criminal, and here he enlarges on the cruelty shewn in attempts to extort taxes from the relatives of the debtors, and in laws which inflict death on the families of political offenders (153-168).

We now come to assaults not actually causing death. The decree in Deuteronomy that the woman who makes an indecent assault is to lose her hand gives rise to reflections on the modesty demanded of women (169-177), followed by an allegorical interpretation of the law (178-180). Punishment for violence must correspond with the crime (181-183). The law of "an eye for an eye" leads to a disquisition on sight as the channel of wisdom (184-191), and the eye as expressing the phases of the mind (192-194), though the law is modified in the case of a slave. Similarly "a tooth for a tooth" is justified by the indispensability of the teeth for maintaining life (195-204).

In conclusion he recurs to murder itself and argues that by holding contact with a corpse to cause uncleanness, the law shews its horror of the crime of taking life.

## Γ'

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΙΔΕΙ  
ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΥΟ ΓΕΝΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ  
ΛΟΓΙΩΝ, ΤΟ ΕΚΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΝ,  
ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΟΙΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΚΟ-  
ΛΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΝΔΡΟΦΟΝΩΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΒΙΑΣ

<sup>1</sup>  
[299] I. Ἦν ποτε χρόνος, ὅτε φιλοσοφία σχολάζων καὶ  
θεωρία τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν καλὸν καὶ  
περιπόθητον καὶ μακάριον ὄντως νοῦν<sup>1</sup> ἐκαρπούμην,  
θείοις αἰεὶ λόγοις συγγινόμενος καὶ δόγμασιν, ὧν  
ἀπλήστως καὶ ἀκορέστως ἔχων ἐνευφραϊνόμεν,  
οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν φρονῶν ἢ χαμαίζηλον οὐδὲ περὶ  
δόξαν ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ τὰς σώματος εὐπαθείας ἰλυσπώ-  
μενος, ἀλλ' ἄνω μετάρσιος ἐδόκουν αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι  
κατὰ τινα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθειαςμὸν καὶ συμπερι-  
πολεῖν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ τε  
<sup>2</sup> καὶ κόσμῳ. τότε δὴ τότε διακύπτων ἄνωθεν ἀπ'  
αἰθέρος καὶ τείνων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς τὸ τῆς  
διανοίας ὄμμα κατεθεώμην τὰς ἀμυθήτους θεωρίας  
τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων καὶ εὐδαιμόνιζον ἐμαντὸν  
ὡς ἀνὰ κράτος ἐκπεφευγότα τὰς ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ

<sup>1</sup> Mangey βίον. See note a.

<sup>a</sup> I hardly think that νοῦν can be right. It is true that Philo often uses νοῦς τῶν ὄλων or νοῦς τοῦ παντός as an  
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## BOOK III

ON THE PARTICULAR LAWS WHICH COME UNDER TWO OF  
THE TEN GENERAL COMMANDMENTS, NAMELY THE  
SIXTH AGAINST ADULTERERS AND ALL LICENTIOUS-  
NESS AND THE SEVENTH AGAINST MURDERERS AND  
ALL VIOLENCE

I. There was a time when I had leisure for philo-<sup>1</sup>  
sophy and for the contemplation of the universe and  
its contents, when I made its spirit <sup>a</sup> my own in all its  
beauty and loveliness and true blessedness, when my  
constant companions were divine themes and verities,  
wherein I rejoiced with a joy that never cloyed or  
sated. I had no base or abject thoughts nor grovelled<sup>b</sup>  
in search of reputation or of wealth or bodily comforts,  
but seemed always to be borne aloft into the heights  
with a soul possessed by some God-sent inspiration,  
a fellow-traveller with the sun and moon and the  
whole heaven and universe. Ah then I gazed down<sup>2</sup>  
from the upper air, and straining the mind's eye  
beheld, as from some commanding peak, the multi-  
tudinous world-wide spectacles of earthly things, and  
blessed my lot in that I had escaped by main force  
equivalent for God, *e.g.* i. 18 above. But could he say  
*ἐκαρπούμην θεόν?* For Mangey's suggestion of *βίον cf.*  
*εὐδαίμονα βίον ἐδύναντο καρποῦσθαι, De Op.* 156 and *De*  
*Som.* ii. 74.

<sup>b</sup> Or "wallowed." More exactly "wriggled"; *cf. De Dec.*  
149.

[300] <sup>3</sup> κήρας. | ἐφήδρευε δ' ἄρα μοι τὸ κακῶν ἀργαλεώ-  
 τaton, ὁ μισόκαλος φθόνος, ὃς ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιπεσὼν  
 οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο καθέλκων πρὸς βίαν ἢ με  
 καταβαλεῖν εἰς μέγα πέλαγος τῶν ἐν πολιτεία  
 φροντίδων, ἐν ᾧ φορούμενος οὐδ' ὅσον ἀνανήξασθαι  
<sup>4</sup> δύναμαι. στένων δ' ὅμως ἀντέχω τὸν ἐκ πρώτης  
 ἡλικίας ἐνιδρυμένον τῇ ψυχῇ παιδείας ἡμερον ἔχων,  
 ὃς ἔλεόν μου καὶ οἶκτον αἰεὶ λαμβάνων ἀνεγείρει  
 καὶ ἀνακουφίζει. διὰ τοῦτον ἔστιν ὅτε τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 ἐπαίρω καὶ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν ἀμυδρῶς μὲν  
 —τὸ γὰρ ὀξυδερκές αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἀλλοκότων  
 πραγμάτων ἀχλὺς ἐπεσκίασεν— ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως  
 γοῦν περιβλέπομαι τὰν κύκλῳ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀμιγυῶς  
<sup>5</sup> κακῶν ζωῆς σπάσαι γλιχόμενος. εἰ δέ μοι καὶ  
 ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου βραχεῖα γένοιτο εὐδία καὶ γαλήνη  
 θορύβων τῶν ἐν πολιτεία, ὑπόπτερος ἐπικυματίζω  
 μόνον οὐκ ἀεροπορῶν, αὔραις τῆς ἐπιστήμης  
 καταπνεόμενος, ἢ με πολλάκις ἀναπείθει δραπε-  
 τεύειν συνημερεύσοντα αὐτῇ καθάπερ ἀπὸ δεσποτῶν  
 ἀμειλίκτων, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πραγ-  
 μάτων ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων χεიმάρρου τρόπον ἐπ-  
<sup>6</sup> εἰσχεομένων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις θεῶ  
 προσῆκον εὐχαριστεῖν, ὅτι καίτοι κατακλυζόμενος  
 οὐκ ἐγκαταπίνομαι βύθιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμούς, οὓς ἀπογνώσει τινὸς χρηστῆς  
 ἐλπίδος ᾧήθην<sup>1</sup> ἤδη πεπηρῶσθαι, διοίγω καὶ φωτὶ  
 τῷ σοφίας ἐναυγάζομαι μὴ πάντα τὸν βίον τῷ  
 σκότῳ παραδοθεῖς. ἰδοὺ γέ τοι τολμῶ μὴ μόνον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τινὲς . . . ᾧήθησαν (Mangey ᾧήθην ἄν).

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 631.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 3-6

from the plagues of mortal life. But, as it proved, my 3  
 steps were dogged by the deadliest of mischiefs, the  
 hater of the good, envy, which suddenly set upon me  
 and ceased not to pull me down with violence till it  
 had plunged me in the ocean of civil cares,<sup>a</sup> in which  
 I am swept away, unable even to raise my head above  
 the water. Yet amid my groans I hold my own, for, 4  
 planted in my soul from my earliest days I keep the  
 yearning for culture which ever has pity and compas-  
 sion for me, lifts me up and relieves my pain. To  
 this I owe it that sometimes I raise my head and with  
 the soul's eyes—dimly indeed because the mist of  
 extraneous affairs has clouded their clear vision—I  
 yet make shift<sup>b</sup> to look around me in my desire to  
 inhale a breath of life pure and unmixed with evil.  
 And if unexpectedly I obtain a spell of fine weather 5  
 and a calm from civil turmoils, I get me wings and ride  
 the waves and almost tread the lower air, wafted by  
 the breezes of knowledge which often urges me to  
 come to spend my days with her, a truant as it were  
 from merciless masters in the shape not only of men  
 but of affairs, which pour in upon me like a torrent  
 from different sides. Yet it is well for me to give 6  
 thanks to God even for this,<sup>c</sup> that though submerged  
 I am not sucked down into the depths, but can also  
 open the soul's eyes, which in my despair of com-  
 forting hope I thought had now lost their sight, and  
 am irradiated by the light of wisdom, and am not  
 given over to lifelong darkness. So behold me

<sup>b</sup> For this idiomatic use of *ἀναγκάως* = "as best I can" see note on *Quod Det.* 160.

<sup>c</sup> *καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις* is better taken as explained by *ὅτι κτλ.* than as referring to the last sentence. The metaphor of the open eye goes back to § 4. For this and for the general sense of these sections see App. pp. 631-632.

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τοῖς ἱεροῖς Μωυσέως ἐρμηνεύμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλεπιστημόνως διακύπτειν εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα τοῖς πολλοῖς διαπτύττειν καὶ ἀναφαίνειν.

- 7 Π. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν δέκα λογίων, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνευ προφήτου καὶ ἐρμηνέως, πέντε μὲν εἴρηται τὰ χαραχθέντα ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ δέλτῳ καὶ ὅσα τῶν κατὰ μέρος συνέτεινεν εἰς ταῦτα, δεῖ δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν δέλτον ὡς οἶόν τε ἄριστα συνυφῆναι, πειράσομαι πάλιν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν γενῶν ἐφ-
- 8 αρμόζειν τοὺς ἐν εἴδει νόμους. ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ δέλτῳ πρῶτον γράμμα τοῦτ' ἐστίν· “οὐ μοιχεύσεις,” ὅτι, οἶμαι, πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης μέγα πνεῖ ἡ ἡδονὴ καὶ οὐδὲν μέρος τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῆς ἐκπέφευγεν, οὐ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν, οὐ τῶν ἐν ἀέρι· χερσαῖά τε γὰρ καὶ
- [301] πτηνὰ καὶ ἔνυδρα πάντα διὰ πάντων τέθηπε | καὶ περιέπει καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν αὐτῆς ὑπέικει πρὸς τι βλέμμα καὶ νεῦμα ἀφορῶντα κἂν εἰ φρυάττοιο ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας ἀσμενίζοντα καὶ μόνον οὐ φθάνοντα τὰς προστάξεις ὀξύτητι καὶ ἀνυπερθέτῳ τάχει τῶν
- 9 ὑπηρεσιῶν. ἔχει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἡδονὴ πολλὴν καὶ πολλάκις μέμψιν, ὅταν ἀμέτρως καὶ ἀκορέστως χρήται τις αὐτῇ, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ ἐδωδὴν ἄπληστοι, κἂν εἰ μηδὲν τῶν ἀπαγορευομένων προσφέροντο, καὶ οἱ φιλογύναιοι συνουσίαις ἐπιμεμηνότες καὶ λαγνίστερον ὀμιλοῦντες γυναιξίν
- 10 οὐκ ἄλλοτρίαις ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν. ἡ δὲ μέμψις σώματός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς κατὰ τοὺς πολλούς,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς is omitted by several mss.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 6-10

daring, not only to read the sacred messages of Moses, but also in my love of knowledge to peer into each of them and unfold and reveal what is not known to the multitude.

II. Since out of the ten oracles which God gave 7 forth Himself without a spokesman or interpreter, we have spoken of five, namely those graven on the first table, and also of all the particular laws which had reference to these, and our present duty is to couple with them those of the second table as well as we can, I will again endeavour to fit the special laws into each of the heads. The first<sup>a</sup> commandment in 8 the second table is "Thou shalt not commit adultery." It comes first, I think, because pleasure is a mighty force felt throughout the whole inhabited world, no part of which has escaped its domination, neither the denizens of land nor of sea nor of the air, for in all three elements beasts, fowls and fishes all alike treat her with profound respect and deference and submit to her orders, look to her every glance or nod, accept contentedly even the caprices of her arrogance and almost anticipate her commands, so promptly and instantaneously do they hasten to render their services. Now even natural pleasure is often greatly 9 to blame when the craving for it is immoderate and insatiable, as for instance when it takes the form of voracious gluttony, even though none of the food taken is of the forbidden kind, or again the passionate desire for women shewn by those who in their craze for sexual intercourse behave unchastely, not with the wives of others, but with their own. But the 10 blame in most of these cases rests less with the soul

<sup>a</sup> So LXX in Ex. xx., though not in Deut. v. Cf. *De Dec.* 121.

## PHILO

πολλήν μὲν ἔχοντας εἴσω φλόγα, ἢ τὴν παραβληθεῖσαν τροφήν ἐξαναλίσκουσα ἑτέραν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιζητεῖ, πολλήν δὲ ἰκμάδα, ἧς τὸ ῥοῶδες διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν ἀποχετεύεται κνησμοὺς καὶ ὀδαξησμοὺς ἐμποιοῦν καὶ γαργαλισμοὺς ἀπαύστους.

11 τοὺς δὲ [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> γυναιξὶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε οἰκείων καὶ φίλων ἐπιμεμηνότας καὶ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν πλησίον ζῶντας, ὅλα γένη πολυάνθρωπα κιβδηλεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ γάμοις εὐχὰς παλιμφήμους τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τέκνοις ἐλπίδας ἀτελεῖς ἀπεργαζομένους, ἀνιάτον νόσον ψυχῆς νοσοῦντας, ὡς κοινούς ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους κολαστέον θανάτῳ, ὡς μήτε ζῶντες ἐν ἀδείᾳ πλείους διαφθείροιεν οἴκους μήτε διδάσκαλοι γένοιτο ἑτέρων, οἷς τὰ πονηρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζηλοῦν ἐπιμελές.

12 III. Εὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ τὰς ὀμιλίας ὁ νόμος διατάξατο. κελεύει γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχσθαι γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χηρευσῶν<sup>2</sup> αἷς οὐ

13 θέμις συνέρχεσθαι. τὸ Περσικὸν ἔθος εὐθὺς ἀποστραφεῖς καὶ μυσαξάμενος ἀπεῖπεν ὡς μέγιστον ἀνοσιούργημα· μητέρας γὰρ οἱ ἐν τέλει Περσῶν

<sup>1</sup> I have followed Heinemann against Cohn in expunging καὶ. It is inserted by only one ms.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn χηρευσῶν <μητριῶν>, after which he places a comma which is here expunged. See note c.

<sup>a</sup> For the death penalty for adultery see Lev. xx. 10, Deut. xxii. 22.

<sup>b</sup> This list of prohibited unions follows, as Heinemann notes, the order of Lev. xviii. Some of them appear also in Lev. xx. and Deut. xxii.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps "women who have not a husband," *femmes seules*, thus including not merely mothers and stepmothers,

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 10-13

than with the body, which contains a great amount both of fire and of moisture ; the fire as it consumes the material set before it quickly demands a second supply ; the moisture is sluiced in a stream through the genital organs, and creates in them irritations, itchings and titillations without ceasing.

It is not s~~b~~ with men who are mad to possess the 11 wives of others, sometimes those of their relations and friends, who live to work havoc among their neighbours, who go about to bastardize wholesale widespread family connexions, to turn their prayers for married happiness into a curse and render their hopes of offspring fruitless. Here it is the soul which is incurably diseased. Such persons must be punished with death<sup>a</sup> as the common enemies of the whole human race, that they may not live to ruin more houses with immunity and be the tutors of others who make it their business to emulate the wickedness of their ways.

III. Excellent also are the other injunctions laid 12 down by the law on the relation of the sexes.<sup>b</sup> It commands abstinence not only from the wives of others but also from widows<sup>c</sup> in cases where the union is forbidden by the moral law. To the Persian 13 custom it at once shows its aversion and abhorrence and forbids it as a very grave offence against holy living.<sup>d</sup> For the Persian magnates marry their

but all the prohibited relations which follow. Cohn's insertion of *μητρικῶν* is indefensible, as clearly it is mothers rather than stepmothers who are primarily under consideration. But no insertion is required. *αἷς . . . συνέρχεσθαι* is a natural way of describing unions which, though not adulterous, are incestuous.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xviii. 7 ff. For the Persians' practice see App. p. 632.

## PHILO

- τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἄγονται καὶ τοὺς φύντας ἐκ τούτων εὐγενεστάτους νομίζουσι καὶ βασιλείας, ὡς λόγος,
- 14 τῆς μεγίστης ἀξιοῦσιν· οὐ τί ἂν γένοιτο δυσσεβέστερον ἀνοσιούργημα; πατὴρ εὐνήν τετελευτηκότος, ἦν ἄψαυστον ὡς ἱερὰν ἐχρῆν φυλάττεσθαι, καταισχύνειν, γήρως δὲ καὶ μητρός· αἰδῶ μὴ λαμβάνειν, τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς αὐτῆς υἱὸν καὶ ἄνδρα γίνεσθαι καὶ πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μητέρα, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφοῖν παῖδας τοῦ μὲν πατὴρ ἀδελφούς, υἰώνους δὲ τῆς μητρός, καὶ τὴν μὲν ὧν ἔτεκε μητέρα τε καὶ μᾶμμην, τὸν δὲ ὧν ἐγέννησεν ἐν ταύτῳ πατέρα τε καὶ ὁμομήτριον
- 15 ἀδελφόν. ταῦτ<sup>1</sup> ἐπράχθη τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐν Θήβαις ἐπὶ τοῦ Λαῖου παιδὸς
- [302] Οἰδίποδος καὶ ἐπράχθη κατ' ἄγνοιαν, | οὐχ ἔκουσῖω γνώμῃ, καὶ ὅμως τοσαύτην κακῶν φορὰν ἤνεγκεν ὁ γάμος, ὡς μηδὲν ἐλλειφθῆναι τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀνω-
- 16 τάτῳ βαρυδαιμονίαν. πολέμων τε γὰρ ἐμφυλίων καὶ ξενικῶν διαδοχαὶ καθάπερ κλήρος παισὶ καὶ ἐκγόνοις παρὰ πατέρων καὶ προγόνων ἀπελείπετο καὶ πορθήσεις πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μεγίστων ἐγίνοντο καὶ φθοραὶ<sup>2</sup> στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων ἐγχωρίων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἀφικνουμένων καὶ ἡγεμόνων τῶν παρ' ἑκατέροις ἀρίστων ἐπάλληλοι φθοραὶ<sup>2</sup> καὶ διὰ τὰς περὶ κράτους [καί]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cohn prints ἀδελφόν—ταῦτ<sup>1</sup>, regarding what follows as a continuance of the sentence which begins with πατὴρ εὐνήν.

<sup>2</sup> The duplication of φθοραὶ has been justly suspected. Mangey proposed to substitute φόνοι for the first φθοραὶ, Heinemann thought it better to omit it.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ should be omitted. κράτος ἀρχῆς is a common expression in Philo, e.g. *Mos.* i. 96, 307.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 13-16

mothers and regard the children of the marriage as nobles of the highest birth, worthy, so it is said, to hold the supreme sovereignty. What form of un-<sup>14</sup>holiness could be more impious than this: that a father's bed, which should be kept untouched as something sacred, should be brought to shame: that no respect should be shown for a mother's ageing years: that the same man should be son and husband to the same woman, and again the same woman wife and mother to the same man: that the children of both should be brothers to their father and grandsons to their mother: that she should be both mother and grandmother of those whom she bore and he both father and half-brother of those whom he begot?

Even, among the Greeks these things <sup>15</sup>were done in old days in Thebes in the case of Oedipus the son of Laïus. They were done in ignorance, not by deliberate intention, and yet the marriage produced such a harvest of ills that nothing was wanting that could lead to the utmost misery. For a succes-<sup>16</sup>sion of wars civil and foreign was left to be passed on as a heritage to children and descendants from their fathers and ancestors.<sup>a</sup> The greatest cities in Greece were sacked, and armed forces both of natives and allied contingents were destroyed: the bravest leaders on both sides fell one after the other; brothers slew brothers in the deadly feud engendered by

<sup>a</sup> The reference is not only to the war of the *Seven against Thebes*, caused by the rivalry of the two sons of Oedipus, but also to the later war of the Epigoni (the sons of the first set of chieftains), which might be regarded as indirectly caused by the curse of Oedipus, and in which Thebes according to the legend was sacked. Cf. Diodorus, iv. 66. The whole section, however, is a great exaggeration of the ordinary tradition.

## PHILO

- ἀρχῆς ἀσυμβάτους ἔχθρας ἀδελφοκτονίαι, δι' ἧς οὐ μόνον αἱ συγγένειαι καὶ πατρίδες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πλείστη μοῖρα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ παντὸς ἐξεφθάρη πανωλεθρία· κεναὶ γὰρ αἱ πρότερον εὐανδροῦσαι πόλεις οἰκητόρων μνημεῖα τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος συμφορῶν ὑπελείφθησαν, ἀτυχῆς θέα τοῖς ὀρώσιν.
- 17 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Πέρσαι, παρ' οἷς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύεται, τῶν παραπλησίων κακῶν ἀμοιροῦσιν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐν στρατείαις καὶ μάχαις εἰσὶ κτείνοντες καὶ κτεινόμενοι καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τοὺς πλησιοχώρους κατατρέχοντες τοτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους ἀμυνόμενοι· πολλοὶ δὲ πολλαχόθεν ἐπανίστανται, τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ μὴ πεφυκότος ἡρεμεῖν· πρὶν γοῦν καταλυθῆναι τὴν ἐν χερσὶ στάσιν, ἑτέρα φύεται, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ ἔτους ὑπεξῆρησθαι καιρὸν εἰς ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὀπλοφορεῖν, πλείω χρόνον ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ταλαιπωροῦντας ἢ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκοῦντας διὰ πολλὴν ἔνδειαν εἰρήνης.
- 18 ἔω λέγειν τὰς τῶν βασιλέων μεγάλας καὶ ὑπερόγκους εὐπραγίας, οἷς ἀγώνισμα πρῶτον εὐθὺς ἄμα τῇ παραλήψει τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸ μέγιστον ἄγος, ἀδελφοκτονία, μαντευομένων τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν γενησομένην ἴσως ἐπίθεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν
- 19 εὐλόγως κτείνειν. ἅπερ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα συμβαίνειν διὰ τὰς ἀναρμόστους νιῶν πρὸς μητέρας ὀμιλίας, τῆς ἐφόρου τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν δίκης ἀμυνομένης τῶν ἀνοσιουργημάτων τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας· ἀσεβοῦσι δ' οὐχ οἱ δρῶντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τοῖς δρῶσιν ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ συνεπιγράφονται.
- 20 τοσαύτην δὲ ὁ ἡμέτερος νόμος φυλακὴν

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 16-20

ambition for sovereign power. In consequence not only families and independent territories, but also the largest part of the Greek world perished involved in the general destruction. For cities formerly well populated were left stripped of their inhabitants as monuments of the disasters of Greece, a sinister sight to contemplate.

Nor are the Persians 17 either who follow these practices exempt from similar troubles, for they are always engaging in campaigns and battles, slaying and being slain.<sup>a</sup> Sometimes they are attacking the neighbouring populations, sometimes defending themselves against insurrection. For of insurgents many appear from many quarters, as the barbarian nature can never remain in quietude. Thus before the sedition of the hour is put down another springs up, so that no season of the year is reserved for a tranquil life, but summer and winter, day and night they are bearing arms, and so rarely does peace reign that they spend more time enduring the hardships of encampment in the open air than dwelling in their cities. I put on one side the great 18 and magnificent triumphs of kings whose first exploit when they succeed to the throne is that worst of sacrileges fratricide—murders which they try to vindicate as reasonable by predicting that their brothers will probably attack them. All these things 19 appear to me to be the result of the ill-matched matings of sons with mothers. For justice who watches over human affairs avenges the unholy deeds on the impious, and the impiety extends beyond the perpetrators of the deed to those who voluntarily range themselves with the perpetrators.

But such careful precautions has our law taken in 20

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 632-633.

- πεποίηται τοῦ πράγματος, ὥστε οὐδὲ προγονῶ  
 τελευτήσαντος πατρὸς ἄγεσθαι μητριὰν ἐφήκε,  
 διὰ τε τὴν εἰς τὸν πατέρα τιμὴν καὶ διότι μητριᾶς  
 καὶ μητρὸς ὄνομα συγγενές, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ τῆς  
 21 ψυχῆς συνωδὸν πάθος· ὁ γὰρ ἄλλοτρίας ἀπέχεσθαι  
 διδαχθεῖς, ὅτι μητριὰ προσερρήθη, πολὺ μᾶλλον  
 ἀφέξεται τῆς φύσει μητρός· καὶ εἴ τις διὰ τὴν  
 [303] ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ μνήμην αἰδεῖται τὴν ἐκείνου | ποτὲ  
 γενομένην γυναῖκα, δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς  
 ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς τιμῆς οὐδὲν βουλευσόμενος  
 ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ νεώτερον, ἐπεὶ καὶ σφόδρα ἐστὶν  
 εὖηθες ἡμίσει μέρει τοῦ γένους χαριζόμενον  
 ὀλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς ὀλιγωρεῖν δοκεῖν.
- 22 IV. Ἐξῆς ἐστὶ παράγγελμα μηδ' ἀδελφὴν ἐγ-  
 γυᾶσθαι, πάνυ σπουδαῖον καὶ συντεῖνον εἰς ἐγκρά-  
 τειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖος  
 Σόλων ὁμοπατρίους ἐφείς ἄγεσθαι τὰς ὁμομητρίους  
 ἐκώλυσεν, ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων νομοθέτης ἔμπαλιν  
 τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμογαστρίοις γάμον ἐπιτρέψας τὸν  
 23 πρὸς τὰς ὁμοπατρίους ἀπέειπεν· ὁ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
 χλεῦν (θέμενος)<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐκατέρων εὐλάβειαν ὡς  
 ἡμίεργα διαταττομένων εὐφόρησεν<sup>2</sup> εἰς ἀσέλγειαν,  
 ἐπιδαψιλευόμενος δυσθεράπευτον κακὸν σώμασι  
 καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀκρασίαν καὶ παρασχὼν ἄδειαν ἀπάσας  
 ἀδελφὰς ἄγεσθαι, τὰς τε ἰδίας τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν

<sup>1</sup> A verb has evidently been lost. Cohn's insertion of *θέμενος* is justified by *χλεῦν τίθεσθαι* in several places, e.g. *Mos.* i. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn suspects this word, for which impossible variants are given in some mss., and suggests *ἐφόρμησεν*. I think the word as given in the translation (or possibly "blossomed into") is natural and appropriate.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xviii. 8.



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 20-23

these matters that it has not even permitted the son of a first marriage to marry his stepmother after the death of his father,<sup>a</sup> both on account of the honour due to his father and because the names of mother and stepmother are closely akin, however different are the feelings called up by the two words.<sup>b</sup> For he 21 who has been taught to abstain from another's wife because she is called his stepmother, will *a fortiori* abstain from taking his natural mother; and if the memory of his father makes him respect her who was once his father's wife, the honour which he pays to both his parents will certainly keep him from entertaining the idea of violating his mother in any way. For it would be the height of folly while acknowledging the claims of a half parentage to appear to treat with contempt the full and complete whole.

IV. Next comes a prohibition against espousing 22 a sister, a very excellent rule tending to promote both continence and outward decency.<sup>c</sup> Now Solon the lawgiver of the Athenians permitted marriage with half-sisters on the father's side but prohibited it when the mother was the same.<sup>d</sup> The lawgiver of the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, allowed the second but forbade the first. But the lawgiver 23 of the Egyptians poured scorn upon the cautiousness of both, and, holding that the course which they enjoined stopped half-way, produced a fine crop of lewdness. With a lavish hand he bestowed on bodies and souls the poisonous bane of incontinence and gave full liberty to marry sisters of every degree whether they belonged to one of their brother's parents or

<sup>b</sup> The allusion is to the hostility constantly connected with the name *μητρύια*. See examples in L. & S.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xviii. 9, xx. 17.

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 633.

## PHILO

γονέων, τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδε, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν καὶ τὰς οὐ νεωτέρας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἰσηλικας· καὶ δίδυμοι γὰρ πολλακίς ἐγεννήθησαν, οὓς ἢ μὲν φύσις ἅμα τῇ γενέσει διήρτησε καὶ διέζευξεν, ἢ δ' ἀκολασία καὶ φιληδονία εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐκάλεσεν ἀκοινώνητον καὶ ἄρμονίαν ἀνάρμοστον.

24 ἄπερ ἐκμυσαζάμενος ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς ὡς ἀλλότρια καὶ ἐχθρὰ πολιτείας ἀνεπιλήπτου καὶ προτρέποντα καὶ ἀλείφοντα πρὸς τὰ αἰσχιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπέειπεν ἀδελφῇ συνέρχεσθαι, εἴτε ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἴτε καὶ μόνου γένοιτο τοῦ

25 ἐτέρου. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς κάλλος αἰσχύνειν; τί δ' ἀχρωμάτους κατασκευάζειν παρθένους, ἃς ἐρυθρίαν ἀναγκαῖον; τί δὲ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κοινωνίας καὶ ἐπιμιξίας ἐπέχειν εἰς βραχὺ χωρίον τὸ ἐκάστης οἰκίας συνωθούντας μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔρνος<sup>1</sup> ἐκτείνεσθαι καὶ χεῖσθαι δυνάμενον εἰς ἡπείρους καὶ νήσους καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν; αἱ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὀθνεῖους ἐπιγαμίαι καινὰς ἀπεργάζονται συγγενείας τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος

26 οὐκ ἀποδεούσας. V. ὦν χάριν πολλὰς καὶ ἄλλας ὀμιλίας ἐκώλυσε προστάξας μὴ θυγατριδῆν, μὴ υἰιδῆν, μὴ τηθίδα πρὸς πατρός ἢ μητρός, μὴ θείου ἢ υἱοῦ ἢ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα γενομένην ἐγγυᾶσθαι, μηδ' αὖ προγονὴν ἢ χήραν ἢ παρθένον

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἔργον, for which Mangey and Cohn substitute γένος. I have adopted ἔρνος (my own correction), as favoured both by the sense and the *ductus literarum*.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 633.

<sup>b</sup> Philo prohibits the marriage of brother and sister (a practice which, it must be remembered, was adopted by the dynasty of the Ptolemies, which he did not regard with disfavour, cf. *Mos.* ii. 30) on the grounds (1) that it outrages

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 23-26

to both, and not only if they were younger than their brothers but also if they were older or of the same age.<sup>a</sup> For twins are often born who, although separated and disunited by nature at birth, enter at the call of concupiscence and voluptuousness into a partnership and wedlock which are neither in the true sense of the words. These practices our most 24  
holy Moses rejected with abhorrence as alien and hostile to a commonwealth free from reproach and as encouragements and incitements to the vilest of customs. He stoutly forbade the union of a brother with a sister whether both her parents were the same as his or only one.<sup>b</sup> For modesty is lovely, why put it 25  
to shame? Maidens must blush, why drive the hue from their cheeks? Why hamper the fellow-feeling and inter-communion of men with men by compressing within the narrow space of each separate house the great and goodly plant which might extend and spread itself over continents and islands and the whole inhabited world? For intermarriages with outsiders create new kinships not a wit inferior to blood-relationships. V. On this principle 26

he prohibits many other unions,<sup>c</sup> not allowing marriage with a son's daughter or a daughter's daughter, nor with an aunt whether paternal or maternal, nor with one who has been wife to an uncle or son or brother, nor again with a stepdaughter whether

family decency; (2) tends to prevent intermarriage with less closely related families.

<sup>c</sup> All these degrees of relationship are mentioned in Lev. xviii 10-16, except that there the prohibition against marriage with the paternal uncle's wife does not seem to be extended, as here implied, to the maternal uncle's wife. In the parallel passage, xx. 20, the R.V. has "uncle's wife" simply, but Philo would read in the LXX τῆς συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ.

## PHILO

ζώσης μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς—ἄπαγε—ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ἀπο-  
 θανούσης· δυνάμει γὰρ ὁ γε πατρῶος πατὴρ  
 ὀφείλων τὴν ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τάξει θυγατρὸς  
 27 τίθεσθαι. πάλιν δύο ἀδελφὰς ἄγεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν  
 [304] οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει, οὐτ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ | οὐτ' ἐν δια-  
 φέρουσι χρόνοις, κἂν τύχη τις ἦν προέγημεν  
 ἀπεωσμένος· ζώσης γὰρ ἔτι τῆς συνοικουσίας, εἴτε<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης, εἴαν τε χηρεύῃ εἴαν τε καὶ  
 ἐτέρῳ γαμηθῇ, τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὐχ ὅσιον ὑπέλαβεν  
 ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἡτυχηκυίας παρέρχεσθαι, προδιδάσκων  
 τὰ συγγενικὰ δίκαια μὴ λύειν μὴδ' ἐπιβαίνειν  
 πταιίσμασι τῆς οὕτως ἡνωμένης κατὰ γένος μὴδ'  
 ἐναβρύνεσθαι καὶ ἐντρυφᾶν θεραπευομένην ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν ἐκείνης καὶ ἀντιθεραπεύουσαν αὐτούς.  
 28 ἐγείρονται γὰρ ἐκ τούτων χαλεπαὶ ζηλοτυπίαὶ καὶ  
 δυσπαρηγόρητοι φιλονεικίαι φορὰς ἀμυθήτους ἐπ-  
 ἀγουσαι κακῶν· ὁμοιον γὰρ ὡς εἰ καὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ  
 σώματος τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἁρμονίας ἐκστάντα καὶ  
 κοινωνίας στασιάζουσι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ὁ νόσους  
 ἀνιάτους ἀπεργάζεται καὶ φθοράς· ἀδελφαὶ δέ,  
 εἰ καὶ διαιρετὰ μέρη γεγόνασιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἁρμόζονται  
 καὶ ἐνοῦνται φύσει καὶ συγγενείᾳ μιᾷ· ἡ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read *εἰ*. See note *b*.

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<sup>a</sup> In these two sections Philo follows closely Lev. xviii. 18, "thou shalt not take a woman to her sister to be a rival to her, to uncover her nakedness beside the other in her lifetime." The LXX for "rival," *ἀντίζηλος*, suggests even better than the R.V. the idea of jealousy which Philo stresses. Nothing is said in Leviticus of the deceased wife's sister, nor by Philo, though his argument suggests that he would not object to it. He also says nothing about marriage with a brother's wife, though that is forbidden in v. 16. Possibly he did not see how to reconcile it with the express injunction

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 26-28

widow or unmarried, I need not say while the wife is alive, heaven forbid, but even after her death. For the stepfather is virtually a father whose duty is to set his wife's daughter in the same position as his own. Again, he does not allow the same man to 27 marry two sisters either at the same or at different times, even if the person in question has repudiated the one he married first.<sup>a</sup> For while she is still alive either as his consort or divorced,<sup>b</sup> whether she is remaining in widowhood or has married another, he considered that the law of holiness required that the sister should not take the position which the wife has lost by her misfortune, but should learn not to set at nought the rights of kinship, nor use as a stepping-stone the fallen state of one so closely united to her by birth, nor bask at ease while enjoying and returning the caresses of her sister's enemies. For from this source grow grave jealousies and bitter 28 feuds bringing with them train upon train of evils without number. For it is just as if the parts of the body were to renounce their natural partnership and place in the system and engage in strife with each other, thus producing incurable diseases and fatalities. Sisters though made as separate parts of the system are fitted into it and formed into a single whole by nature and identity of parentage.

of such a marriage, "to raise up seed to the brother," in Deut. xxv. 5 ff.

<sup>b</sup> If *εἰ* is read for *εἴτε* (see note 1), the meaning will be "while his (former) partner is alive, even though she has been divorced." This certainly best suits the rest of the sentence, which is confined to the case of the divorced wife. On the other hand it strains the meaning of the present participle *τῆς συννοικουσίας* and leaves out of consideration *τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ* above, which clearly contemplates the possibility of bigamy.

## PHILO

- ζηλοτυπία, πάθος ἀργαλεύτατον, ἀπορρήττουσα χαλεπὰ καινουργεῖ κακὰ καὶ δυσίατα.
- 29 ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἄλλοεθνεῖ, φησί, κοινωνίαν γάμου συντίθεσο, μὴ ποτε μαχομένοις ἔθεσιν ὑπαχθεῖς ἐνδῶς καὶ τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ὁδοῦ λάθης διαμαρτῶν πρὸς ἀνοδίαν ἐκτραπείς· καὶ τάχα μὲν αὐτὸς ἀνθέξεις ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἡρματισμένος ὑποθήκαις ἀρίσταις, ἃς οἱ γονεῖς κατεπάδοντες αἰετοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους ὑψηγοῦντο· δέος δὲ οὐ μικρὸν ἐστὶ περὶ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων, ἴσως γὰρ δελεασθέντες νόθοις πρὸ γνησίων ἔθεσι κινδυνεύουσι τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀπομαθεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἀνωτάτω βαρυδαιμονίας.
- 30 Ἐὰν δέ, φησὶν, ἀνδρὸς ἀπαλλαγείσα γυνὴ καθ' ἣν ἂν τύχῃ πρόφασιν ἐτέρῳ γημαμένη πάλιν χηρεύσῃ, ζῶντος ἢ καὶ τετελευτηκότος τοῦ δευτέρου, μὴ ἐπανίτω πρὸς ἄνδρα τὸν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔνσπονδος μᾶλλον ἢ τῷδε γενέσθω, θεσμοὺς παραβᾶσα τοὺς ἀρχαίους, ὧν ἐξέλαθετο
- 31 φίλτρα καινὰ πρὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐλομένη. πρὸς δὲ συμβάσεις εἴ τις ἐθέλει χωρεῖν ἀνὴρ τῇ τοιαύτῃ

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 16, Deut. vii. 3 (here, as also in §§ 30, 31, Philo digresses from his interpretation of the prohibitions in Lev. xviii.). Though the prohibition in both Exodus and Deuteronomy is against intermarriage with the conquered Canaanites, the motive assigned, viz. fear of contamination with heathenism, is naturally regarded as making it a general ordinance. Josephus also appeals to it in condemnation of Solomon, *Ant.* viii. 191.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxiv. 4, where such an act is described as an abomination before the Lord, and defiling (λεῖψαι) the land. Though no penalty is mentioned, Philo, perhaps not un-

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 28-31

And jealousy is a most troublesome passion, creating if it breaks out grave evils unknown before and hardly to be cured. <sup>a</sup> But also, he says, 29 do not enter into the partnership of marriage with a member of a foreign nation, lest some day conquered by the forces of opposing customs you surrender and stray unawares from the path that leads to piety and turn aside into a pathless wild. And though perhaps you yourself will hold your ground steadied from your earliest years by the admirable instructions instilled into you by your parents, with the holy laws always as their key-note, there is much to be feared for your sons and daughters. It may well be that they, enticed by spurious customs which they prefer to the genuine, are likely to unlearn the honour due to the one God, and that is the first and the last stage of supreme misery.

Another commandment is that if a woman after 30 parting from her husband for any cause whatever marries another and then again becomes a widow, whether this second husband is alive or dead, she must not return to her first husband but ally herself with any other rather than him, because she has broken with the rules that bound her in the past and cast them into oblivion when she chose new love-ties in preference to the old.<sup>b</sup> And if a man is willing to 31 contract himself with such a woman, he must be

reasonably, interprets these strong phrases as describing an act deserving the death penalty, but is hard put to justify it. Apparently he understands the text as meaning that the remarriage shews that there was no real reason for the divorce. The woman is therefore "defiled" and an adulteress, and he not only a "pander," but an adulterer, either because he has connived at her adultery or perhaps because to marry an adulteress is in itself adultery. See further, App. p. 633.

γυναικί, μαλακίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας ἐκφερέσθω δόξαν, ἐκτετμημένος τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ βιωφελέστατον, μισοπόνηρον πάθος, ὅφ' οὐ καὶ τὰ οἴκων καὶ τὰ πόλεων πράγματα κατορθοῦται, καὶ δύο τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀδικημάτων εὐφόρως<sup>1</sup> ἀπομαζάμενος, μοιχείαν τε καὶ προαγωγειαν· αἱ γὰρ ἀθθις καταλλαγαὶ μνηύματ' εἰσὶ τοῦ ἐκατέρου· θανάτου δίκην τινέτω σὺν τῇ γυναικί.

<sup>32</sup> VI. | Φορὰ τῶν μηνιαίων ὁπότε γένοιτο, μὴ  
[305] φανέτω γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ὁμιλίας ἀνεχέτω νόμον φύσεως αἰδούμενος καὶ ἅμα προδιδασκόμενος μὴ ἀτελεῖς γονὰς ἀκαίρου καὶ ἀμούσου χάριν ἡδονῆς προΐεσθαι· ὅμοιον γὰρ ὡς εἶ τις γεωπόνος ὑπὸ μέθης ἢ φρενοβλαβείας πυροῦς καὶ κριθὰς εἰς λίμνας καὶ χειμάρρους ἀντὶ πεδίων σπείροι, ξηραῖς γὰρ γενομέναις ταῖς ἀρούραις καταβάλλεσθαι χρὴ τὸν σπόρον εἰς  
<sup>33</sup> εὐκαρπίαν. καθαίρει δὲ καὶ ἡ φύσις ἐκάστω μηνὶ τὴν μήτραν οἷά τινα θαυμαστὴν ἄρουραν, ἧς τὸν καιρὸν ἀγαθοῦ γεωργοῦ τρόπον ἐπιτηρητέον, ἵν' ἔτι μὲν ἐπικλυζομένης ἐπέχει τὸν σπόρον—λήσεται γὰρ τῇ φορᾷ κατασυρεῖς<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς ὑγρότητος τοὺς σπερματικούς τόνους οὐ χαλασθεῖς<sup>2</sup> μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἐκλυθεῖς<sup>2</sup>. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ ζωοπλαστοῦντες καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. εὐφυῶς.

<sup>2</sup> mss. mostly λήσεται γὰρ ἡ σπορὰ κατασυρεῖσα . . . χαλασθεῖσα . . . ἐκλυθεῖσα. Cohn follows F (supported by the Armenian), which has τῇ φορᾷ, though combined with the impossible feminine participles.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xviii. 19 (cf. Ezekiel, xviii. 6). Here Philo resumes his interpretation of Lev. xviii. and, except for §§ 34-36, concludes  
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### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 31-33

saddled with a character for degeneracy and loss of manhood. He has eliminated from his soul the hatred of evil, that emotion by which our life is so well served and the affairs of houses and cities are conducted as they should be, and has lightly taken upon him the stamp of two heinous crimes, adultery and pandering. For such subsequent reconciliations are proofs of both. The proper punishment for him is death and for the woman also.

VI. Whenever the menstrual issue occurs, a man <sup>32</sup> must not touch a woman, but must during that period refrain from intercourse and respect the law of nature.<sup>a</sup> He must also remember the lesson that the generative seeds should not be wasted fruitlessly for the sake of a gross and untimely pleasure. For it is just as if a husbandman should in intoxication or lunacy sow wheat and barley in ponds or mountain-streams instead of in the plains, since the fields should become dry before the seed is laid in them. Now nature also each month purges the womb as if <sup>33</sup> it were a cornfield—a field with mysterious properties, over which, like a good husbandman, he must watch for the right time to arrive. So while the field is still inundated he will keep back the seed, which otherwise will be silently swept away by the stream, as the humidity not only relaxes, but utterly paralyses the seminal nerve-forces, which in nature's laboratory, the womb, mould the living creature and with consummate craftsmanship perfect  
tinues it in the same order to the end of § 53. He omits *vv.* 20, 21, the first denouncing simple adultery, already dealt with, the second against offering children to Moloch, which has no connexion with his present subject, even if he understood it, which is hardly possible, as the *LXX* has "give thy seed to serve the ruler."

## PHILO

τῶν μερῶν ἕκαστον σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς ἀκρότητι τέχνης τελεσιουργοῦντες—, εἰ δ' ἐπίσχοι τὰ μηνιαῖα, θαρρῶν ἤδη γόνιμα κατασπεῖροι μηκέτι φθορὰς τῶν καταβληθησομένων δεδιώς.

- 34 Ὀνειδιστέον καὶ τοῖς σκληρὰν καὶ λιθώδη γῆν ἀροῦσιν· οὗτοι δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ἢ οἱ στείραις συν-ερχόμενοι γυναιξί; θήρα γὰρ αὐτὸ μόνον ἡδονῆς ἀκράτορος ὡς οἱ<sup>1</sup> λαγνίστατοι τὰς γονὰς ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ διαφθείρουσιν· ἐπεὶ τίνος ἄλλου χάριν ἐγγυῶνται τὰς τοιαύτας; οὐ μὴν δι' ἐλπίδα τέκνων ἦν ἴσασιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀτελῆ γενησομένην, ἀλλὰ δι'
- 35 ὑπερβάλλοντα οἴστρον καὶ ἀκρασίαν ἀνίατον. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἄγονται κόρας ἀγνοία τοῦ πῶς ἔχουσιν εὐθὺς εὐτοκίας ἢ τούναντίον, ὁπόταν χρόνῳ μακρῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς ἀγονίας αισθανόμενοι στείρας αὐτὰς μὴ ἀποπέμπωνται, συγγνώμης εἰσὶν ἐπάξιοι συν-ηθείας, βιαστικωτάτου πράγματος, ἠττώμενοι καὶ φίλτρα ἀρχαῖα συμβιώσει μακρᾷ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
- 36 ἐνεσφραγισμένα λύειν ἀδυνατοῦντες. ὅσοι δὲ προ-δεδοκιμασμένας ἑτέροις ἀνδράσιν ὡς εἰσὶν ἄγονοι μνῶνται συῶν τρόπον ἢ τράγων ὀχεύοντες αὐτὸ μόνον, ἐν ἀσεβῶν στήλαις ἐγγραφέσθωσαν ὡς ἀντίπαλοι θεοῦ· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἄτε φιλοζῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ δι' ἐπιμελείας τῆς πάσης ἐστὶ σω-τηρίαν καὶ μονὴν τοῖς γένεσιν ἅπασιν ἐργάζεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἅμα τῇ καταβολῇ σβέσειν τοῖς σπέρμασι τεχνάζοντες ἐχθροὶ τῆς φύσεως ὁμολογουμένως εἰσὶν.

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for the ὅσοι of most mss. F, however, has οἱ (=οἱ), which may be right, οἱ λαγνίστατοι being the common belated epithet, "lecherous people that they are."

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 33-36

each part both of body and soul. But if the menstruation ceases, he may boldly sow the generative seeds, no longer fearing that what he lays will perish.

<sup>a</sup> They too must be branded with reproach, who <sup>34</sup> plough the hard and stony land. And who should they be but those who mate with barren women? For in the quest of mere licentious pleasure like the most lecherous of men they destroy <sup>b</sup> the procreative germs with deliberate purpose. For what other motive can they have in plighting themselves to such women? It cannot be the hope of offspring, a hope which they know must necessarily fail to be realized; it can only be an inordinate frenzy, and incontinence past all <sup>35</sup> cure. Those who marry maidens in ignorance at the time of their capacity or incapacity for successful motherhood, and later refuse to dismiss them, when prolonged childlessness shews them to be barren, deserve our pardon. Familiarity, that most constraining influence, is too strong for them, and they are unable to rid themselves of the charm of old affection imprinted on their souls by long companionship. But those who sue for marriage with women <sup>36</sup> whose sterility has already been proved with other husbands, do but copulate like pigs or goats, and their names should be inscribed in the lists of the impious as adversaries of God. For while God in His love both for mankind and all that lives spares no care to effect the preservation and permanence of every race, those persons who make an art of quenching the life of the seed as it drops, stand confessed as the enemies of nature.

<sup>a</sup> Philo has not, nor does he claim to have, any biblical authority for these three sections. See App. pp. 633-634.

<sup>b</sup> Or "waste."

PHILO

- 37 VII. Ἐπεισκεκώμακε δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἕτερον πολὺ τοῦ λεχθέντος μείζον κακόν, τὸ παιδεραστεῖν, ὃ πρότερον μὲν καὶ λεχθῆναι μέγα ὄνειδος ἦν, νυνὶ δ' ἔστιν αὐχχημα οὐ τοῖς δρῶσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ |  
 [306] τοῖς πάσχουσιν, οἳ νόσον θήλειαν νοσεῖν ἐθιζόμενοι τὰς τε ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα διαρρέουσι μηδὲν ἐμπύρευμα τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἔωντες ὑποτύφεσθαι, περιφανῶς οὕτως τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπλεκόμενοι καὶ διακοσμούμενοι καὶ ψιμμυθῖω καὶ φύκεσι καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις τὰς ὄψεις τριβόμενοι καὶ ὑπογραφόμενοι καὶ εὐώδεσι μύροις λίπα χριόμενοι—προσαγωγὸν γὰρ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τὸ εὐώδες ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς εἰς εὐκοσμίαν ἡσκημένοις—, καὶ τὴν ἄρρενα φύσιν ἐπιτηδεύσει τεχνάζοντες εἰς θήλειαν μεταβάλλειν οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι.
- 38 καθ' ὧν φονᾶν ἄξιον νόμῳ πειθαρχοῦντας, ὃς κελεύει τὸν ἀνδρόγυνον τὸ φύσεως νόμισμα<sup>1</sup> παρακόπτοντα νηποινεῖ τεθνάναι, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ὥραν ἐώμενον ζῆν, ὄνειδος αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πατρίδος ὄντα καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος
- 39 ἀνθρώπων γένους. ὃ δὲ παιδεραστῆς ἴστω<sup>2</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην ὑπομένων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονὴν διώκει καὶ τὰς πόλεις τό γε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἐρήμους καὶ κενὰς ἀποδεικνυσιν οἰκητόρων διαφθειρών τὰς γονὰς καὶ προσέτι τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν, ἀνανδρίας καὶ μαλακίας, ὑψηγητῆς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὰ φύσει (φύσεως) νόμιμα (ὄργανα).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔστω.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xviii. 22, xx. 13. Cf. the similar treatment of the vice, *De Abr.* 135, 136, and also *De Vit. Cont.* 59-62, following on an adverse criticism of Plato's *Symposium*. The wording here is also very similar to i. 325 above, though there it is

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 37-39

VII. Much graver than the above is another evil, 37  
which has ramped its way into the cities, namely  
pederasty.<sup>a</sup> In former days the very mention of it was  
a great disgrace, but now it is a matter of boasting  
not only to the active but to the passive partners,  
who habituate themselves to endure the disease of  
effemination, let both body and soul run to waste, and  
leave no ember of their male sex-nature to smoulder.  
Mark how conspicuously they braid and adorn the hair  
of their heads, and how they scrub and paint their  
faces with cosmetics and pigments and the like, and  
smother themselves with fragrant unguents. For of  
all such embellishments, used by all who deck them-  
selves out to wear a comely appearance, fragrance is  
the most seductive. In fact the transformation of  
the male nature to the female is practised by them  
as an art and does not raise a blush. These persons 38  
are rightly judged worthy of death by those who obey  
the law, which ordains that the man-woman who  
debases the sterling coin of nature should perish un-  
avenged, suffered not to live for a day or even an hour,  
as a disgrace to himself, his house, his native land and  
the whole human race. And the lover of such may 39  
be assured that he is subject to the same penalty.  
He pursues an unnatural pleasure and does his best  
to render cities desolate and uninhabited by destroy-  
ing<sup>b</sup> the means of procreation. Furthermore he sees  
no harm in becoming a tutor and instructor in the

based on Deut. xxiii. 1, and the expulsion of such persons from  
the congregation, here on Lev. xx. 13, where the death penalty  
is prescribed for *both* offenders (see §§ 38, 39 below). See  
also App. p. 634.

<sup>b</sup> Or again "wasting," as in § 34. But here at least the  
thought may be the same as in *De Abr.* 135, where the  
pederast is supposed to become impotent.

## PHILO

διδάσκαλος ἀξιοῖ γενέσθαι τοὺς νέους ὠραΐζων  
 καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἄνθος ἐκθηλύνων, ὃ πρὸς ἀλκὴν  
 καὶ ῥώμην ἀλείφειν ἀρμόττον ἦν, καὶ τελευταῖον  
 ὅτι κακοῦ τρόπον γεωργοῦ τὰς μὲν βαθυγείους  
 καὶ εὐκάρπους ἀρούρας χερσεύειν ἐᾷ μηχανώμενος  
 ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἀγωνίαν, ἐξ ὧν δ' οὐδέν βλάστημα  
 προσδοκᾶται τὸ παράπαν, εἰς ταῦτα πονεῖται μεθ'  
 40 ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ. αἴτιον δ' οἶμαι τὸ παρὰ  
 πολλοῖς τῶν δήμων ἀκρασίας καὶ μαλακίας ἄθλα  
 κεῖσθαι· τοὺς γοῦν ἀνδρογύνους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν διὰ  
 πληθυσίας ἀγορᾶς αἰεὶ σοβοῦντας κὰν ταῖς ἑορταῖς  
 προπομπεύοντας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοὺς ἀνιέρους διειλη-  
 χότας καὶ μυστηρίων καὶ τελετῶν κατάρχοντας  
 41 καὶ <τὰ> Δήμητρος ὀργιάζοντας. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν  
 τὴν καλὴν νεανειάν προσεπιτείνοντες εἰς ἅπαν  
 ὠρέχθησαν μεταβολῆς τῆς εἰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ  
 γεννητικὰ προσapéκοψαν, ἀλουργίδας ἀμπεχόμενοι  
 καθάπερ οἱ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι ταῖς πατρίσι  
 προέρχονται δορυφορούμενοι, τοὺς ὑπαντῶντας  
 42 ἐπιστρέφοντες. εἰ δ' ἦν ἀγανάκτησις οἷα παρὰ  
 τῷ ἡμετέρῳ νομοθέτῃ κατὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 τολμώντων καὶ ὡς κοινὰ τῶν πατρίδων ἄγη καὶ  
 μιάσματα δίχα συγγνώμης ἀνηροῦντο, πολλοὺς ἂν  
 ἑτέρους συνέβαινε νουθετεῖσθαι· αἱ γὰρ τῶν προ-  
 καταγνωσθέντων ἀπαραίτητοι τιμωρίαι ἀνακοπήν  
 οὐ βραχεῖαν ἐργάζονται τοῖς ζηλωταῖς τῶν ὁμοίων  
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

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<sup>a</sup> The translation supposes that the idea is the same as in  
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### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 39-42

grievous vices of unmanliness and effeminacy by prolonging the bloom<sup>a</sup> of the young and emasculating the flower of their prime, which should rightly be trained to strength and robustness. Finally, like a bad husbandman he lets the deep-soiled and fruitful fields lie sterile, by taking steps to keep them from bearing, while he spends his labour night and day on soil from which no growth at all can be expected. The reason 40 is, I think, to be found in the prizes awarded in many nations to licentiousness and effeminacy. Certainly you may see these hybrids of man and woman continually strutting about through the thick of the market, heading the processions at the feasts, appointed to serve as unholy ministers of holy things, leading the mysteries and initiations and celebrating the rites of Demeter.<sup>b</sup> Those of them who by way of 41 heightening still further their youthful beauty have desired to be completely changed into women and gone on to mutilate their genital organs, are clad in purple like signal benefactors of their native lands, and march in front escorted by a bodyguard, attracting the attention of those who meet them. But if 42 such indignation as our lawgiver felt was directed against those who do not shrink from such conduct, if they were cut off without condonation as public enemies, each of them a curse and a pollution of his country, many others would be found to take the warning. For relentless punishment of criminals already condemned acts as a considerable check on those who are eager to practise the like.

i. 325 τὸ τῆς ὥρας ταμείοντος ἄνθος ἵνα μὴ ῥαδίως παραίνοιτο. But the phrase is strange; Heinemann gives "die jungen Leute sich herausputzen lässt." Two MSS. have τοῦ γένους, which Mangey would correct to τοὺς γένους (*genas venustans*).

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 634.

- 43  
[307] VIII. | Ἄλλα γὰρ ἔνιοι τὰς Συβαριτῶν καὶ τὰς  
ἔτι λαγνιστέρων ἐπιθυμίας ζηλώσαντες τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον ὀψοφαγίαις καὶ οἰνοφλυγίαις καὶ ταῖς  
ἄλλαις ταῖς γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα  
ἡδοναῖς ἐνησκήθησαν, εἶτα δὲ κορεσθέντες ἐξ-  
ῦβρισαν—ῦβριν γὰρ κόρος γεννᾶν πέφυκεν—, ὡς  
ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας λυττᾶν καὶ ἐπιμεμηνῆναι μηκέτ'  
ἀνθρώποις εἴτ' ἄρρεσιν εἶτε θηλείαις ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἀλόγοις ζώοις, ὡσπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν  
τὴν γυναῖκα Μίνω τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα Πασιφάην·  
44 ταύρου γὰρ ἐρασθεῖσαν καὶ τῷ πάθει σφαδάζουσαν  
ἔνεκα τῆς περὶ τὴν ὀμιλίαν ἀπογνωσεως—ἀπο-  
τυγχανόμενος γὰρ ἔρως οὐ μετρίως ἐπιτείνεται—  
Δαιδάλω τὴν κατέχουσαν συμφορὰν ἀνευγεκῆν,  
ὃς ἦν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος δημιουργός· τὸν δὲ  
πάνυ δεινὸν ὄντα ταῖς ἐπινοίαις τὰ ἀθήρατα θηρᾶν  
δούρειον κατασκευάσαι βούν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρας  
πλευρᾶς ἐνθεῖναι τὴν Πασιφάην, τὸν δὲ ταῦρον  
ὀρμήσαντα ὡς ἐπὶ ζῶον συγγενὲς ἐπιβαίνειν·  
ἐγκύμονα δὲ γενομένην χρόνοις ὕστερον ἀποτεκεῖν  
45 μιξόθηρα τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Μινώταυρον. εἰκὸς  
δὲ καὶ ἄλλας ἔσεσθαι Πασιφάας, ἀχαλινώτων  
ἑωμένων τῶν παθῶν, καὶ οὐ γυναῖκας μόνον ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ἄνδρας ἐπιμανήσεσθαι θηρίοις, ἐξ ὧν γενήσεσθαι  
τέρατα παλίμφημα, μηνύματα τῆς ἀνθρώπων  
ὑπερβαλλούσης βδελυρίας· δι' ἣν ἴσως καὶ αἱ τῶν  
ἀνυπάρκτων καὶ μεμυθευμένων ἀγέννητοι φύσεις  
Ἴπποκενταύρων καὶ Χιμαιρῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοιο-  
46 τρόπων ἔσονται. τοσοῦτον δ' ἄρα τὸ  
προμηθὲς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις ἐστίν, ὡσθ' ὑπὲρ

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xviii. 23; xx. 15-16; Ex. xxii. 19.



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 43-46

VIII. Even worse than this is the conduct of some 43  
who have emulated the lusts of the Sybarites and  
those of others even more lascivious than they. These  
persons begin with making themselves experts in  
dainty feeding, wine-bibbing and the other pleasures  
of the belly and the parts below it. Then sated with  
these they reach such a pitch of wantonness, the  
natural offspring of satiety, that losing their senses  
they conceive a frantic passion, no longer for human  
beings male or female, but even for brute beasts.<sup>a</sup> So  
according to the story did Pasiphaë the wife of King  
Minos long ago in Crete.<sup>b</sup> She was enamoured of a 44  
bull, but had no hope of obtaining its company.  
Consequently wild with passion, for amorousness is  
vastly intensified by unsuccess, she reported the  
trouble under which she was labouring to Daedalus,  
who was the best craftsman of his time. His masterly  
skill in devising plans for capturing the uncaptured  
enabled him to construct a wooden cow, into which  
he introduced Pasiphaë through one of its sides, and  
the bull supposing it to be a living animal of its own  
kind, charged and mounted it. She became pregnant,  
and in the course of time bore a half-beast called the  
Minotaur. Probably, if passions are suffered to go 45  
unbridled, there will be other Pasiphaës, and not only  
women but also men will be frantically in love with  
wild beasts, which will produce unnatural monsters  
to serve as monuments of the disgusting excesses of  
mankind; whence possibly the Hippocentaurs and  
Chimeras and the like, forms of life hitherto unknown  
and with no existence outside mythology, will come  
into being. Actually so great is the pro- 46  
visions made in the law to ensure that men should

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Diodorus, iv. 77.

## PHILO

τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἔκθεσμον ὁμιλίαν ἀνθρώπους προσ-  
 ἴεσθαι διείρηται μηδὲ κτήνος ἕαν ὑπὸ τινος  
 ἕτερογενοῦς ὀχεύεσθαι· τράγον οὐδεὶς ἑάσει ποιμὴν  
 Ἰουδαῖος ἐπιβαίνειν ἀμνάδι οὐδὲ κριὸν χιμαῖρα  
 οὐδὲ βοῦν ἵππῳ, εἰ δὲ μή, δώσει δίκας ὡς φύσεως  
 δόγμα λύων, ἧ τὰ ἀνωτάτω γένη διατηρεῖν ἐπιμελὲς  
 47 οὐ νοθεύόμενα. τοὺς ὀρεῖς ἔνιοι μὲν ἀπάντων  
 ὑποζυγίων προτιμῶσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς  
 πέπηγε καὶ σφόδρα νενεύρωται, κὰν τοῖς ἵπο-  
 φορβίοις καὶ ταῖς ἵπποστάσεσιν ὄνους ὑπερμεγέθει,  
 οὓς προσαγορεύουσι κήλωνας, ἀνατρέφουσιν, ἵνα  
 ταῖς θηλείαις ἐπιβαίνωσι πώλοισι, αἱ δὲ μικτὸν  
 ζῶον ἀποτίκτουσιν ἡμίονον, ἧς παρὰ φύσιν τὴν  
 γένεσιν εἰδὼς ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπέιπε Μωυσῆς καθ-  
 ολικωτέρα προστάξει, τοῖς ἀνομοιογενέσι μὴ ἐφείς  
 48 ὀχεύειν ἢ ὀχεύεσθαι. προῦνόησε μὲν οὖν ἀναλόγως  
 τοῦ πρέποντος καὶ ἀκολουθούτου τῇ φύσει, μακρόθεν  
 δ' ὡς ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ἐσωφρόνισεν ἀνθρώπους, ἵν' ἐκ  
 τῶνδε προμαθόντες ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες  
 49 ἀνέχωσιν ὁμιλιῶν ἐκνόμων. ἕαν τε οὖν ἀνὴρ  
 ὀχεύῃ τετράπουν ἕαν τε γυνὴ ὑπὸ τετράποδος  
 ὀχεύηται, θησκέτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ  
 [308] τετράποδα, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους ἀκρασίας  
 αὐτῆς ἤλασαν εὐρεταὶ γενόμενοι παρηλλαγμένων  
 ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ὅτι ἡδονὰς ἀηδεστάτας ἐκαινούργη-  
 σαν, ὧν καὶ ἡ διήγησις αἰσχίστη, τὰ δὲ ὅτι τοιού-  
 τοις ὀνειδέσιν ὑπῆρέτησε καὶ ἵνα μηδὲν ἢ τέκη

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xix. 19, where the prohibition is joined with others  
 against sowing different seeds in a field and combining two  
 stuffs in a garment. Cf. Deut. xxii. 9-11.

<sup>b</sup> Mules, however, are several times mentioned, evidently  
 without reproach, in the O.T., e.g. Is. lxvi. 20, 1 Kings i. 33.

<sup>c</sup> See note *b* on § 63 below.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 46-49

admit no unlawful matings, that it ordains that even cattle are not to be crossed with others of a different species.<sup>a</sup> No Jewish shepherd will allow a he-goat to mount a ewe or a ram a she-goat, or a bull a mare, or if he does he will be punished as an offender against the decree of nature, who is careful to preserve the primary species without adulteration. It is true that 47 some people value mules above all other beasts of burden, because their bodies are compact and exceedingly muscular, and accordingly in horse-stables or other places where horses are kept they rear donkeys of huge size to which they give the name of "Celons" to copulate with the female colts, who then give birth to a hybrid animal, the mule or half-ass. But Moses, recognizing that the way in which this animal is produced contravenes nature, stringently forbade it under the wider order by which he refused permission for animals of either sex to breed with those of an unlike species.<sup>b</sup> In making this 48 provision he considered what was in accord with decency and conformity to nature, but beyond this he gave us as from some far-off commanding height<sup>c</sup> a warning to men and women alike that they should learn from these examples to abstain from unlawful forms of intercourse. Whether, then, it is the man 49 who uses a quadruped for this purpose, or the woman who allows herself to be used, the human offenders must die and the beasts also; the first because they have passed beyond the limits of licentiousness itself by evolving abnormal lusts, and because they have invented strange pleasures than which nothing could be more unpleasing, shameful even to describe; the beasts because they have ministered to such infamies, and to ensure that they do not bear or beget any

## PHILO

ἡ γεννήσῃ παλίμφημον, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐκ τοιούτων  
 50 μiasμάτων· ἄλλως τε οἷς καὶ βραχὺ μέλει τοῦ  
 πρέποντος οὐκέτ' ἂν χρήσαιτο τοῖς θρέμμασιν  
 εἰς οὐδεμίαν τῶν περὶ βίον ὑπηρεσίαν, μυσσαττό-  
 μενοι καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενοι καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν  
 δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ νομίζοντες ὧν ἂν προσάψαιτο  
 κάκεῖνα εὐθὺς ἀκάθαρτα εἶναι· τὰ δὲ μηδαμῇ  
 χρήσιμα τῷ βίῳ ζῆν εἰ καὶ λυσιτελεῖς<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' οὖν  
 περιττὸν “ ἄχθος γῆς,” ὡς εἶπέ τις.

51 IX. Πάλιν πόρνην ἢ κατὰ Μωυσῆν οὐ παρα-  
 δέχεται πολιτεία κοσμιότητος καὶ αἰδοῦς καὶ  
 σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀλλοτρίαν, ἡ  
 ἀναπιμπλάσα τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν  
 ἀκολασίας τὸ μὲν τῆς διανοίας ἀθάνατον κάλλος  
 αἰσχύνει, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὀλιγοχρόνιον εὐ-  
 μορφίαν προτιμᾷ, παραρριπτοῦσα μὲν αὐτὴν τοῖς  
 ἐπιτυχοῦσι, τὴν δ' ὥραν ὥσπερ τι τῶν ὠνίων ἐπ'  
 ἀγορᾶς πιπράσκουσα, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν θήρα τῶν νέων  
 ἕκαστα λέγει τε καὶ πράττει, τοὺς δὲ ἐραστὰς  
 ἀλείφει κατὰ ἀλλήλων αἴσχιστον ἄθλον αὐτὴν  
 προτιθεῖσα τοῖς τὸ πλεον εἰσενεγκοῦσιν. ὡς λύμη  
 καὶ ζημία καὶ κοινὸν μίασμα καταλευέσθω, τὰς  
 τῆς φύσεως διαφθείρασα χάριτας, ἃς ἤρμωτε  
 καλοκάγαθία προσεπικοσμῆσαι.

<sup>1</sup> Mangey reads (with A) οὐ ζῆν εἶναι λυσιτελεῖς, περιττὸν ὄντα γῆς ἄχθος (most mss. insert ὄντα). See note a.

<sup>a</sup> The text as here translated makes some sort of sense, if we take λυσιτελεῖς = something that has a monetary value. The text adopted by Mangey from A (see note 1), is much

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 49-51

monstrosity of the kind that may be expected to spring from such abominations. Besides, even people 50 who care little for seemliness would not continue to use their cattle for any purpose serviceable to their life, but would regard them with abhorrence and aversion, disliking the very sight of them and thinking that even what they touch, that too must become unclean. And, when things serve no purpose in life, their survival, even if it can be turned to some account,<sup>a</sup> is just a superfluity, "cumbering the earth," as the poet puts it.<sup>b</sup>

IX. Again, the commonwealth of Moses' institution 51 does not admit a harlot,<sup>c</sup> that stranger to decency and modesty and temperance and the other virtues. She infects the souls both of men and women with licentiousness. She casts shame upon the undying beauty of the mind and prefers in honour the short-lived comeliness of the body. She flings herself at the disposal of chance comers, and sells her bloom like some ware to be purchased in the market. In her every word and deed she aims at capturing the young, while she incites her lovers each against the other by offering the vile prize of herself to the highest bidder. A pest, a scourge, a plague-spot to the public, let her be stoned to death—she who has corrupted the graces bestowed by nature, instead of making them, as she should, the ornament of noble conduct.

clearer (the infinitive *είναι* may be defended as continuing the construction after *νομιζόντες*). As Mangey and A have it, it omits *ἀλλ' ὄν*, but this might be retained in the sense of "nay indeed," *i.e.* the survival is not merely unprofitable, but actually burdensome.

<sup>b</sup> See on i. 74.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxiii. 17, which, however, does not suggest death as the penalty. See App. p. 634.

52 X. <sup>1</sup>Μοιχείας δὲ τὰς μὲν ἢ αὐτοφώρους ἢ ἐν-  
 αργέσις ἐλέγχοις πιστουμένας ὑπαιτίους ἀπέφηνεν  
 ὁ νόμος, τὰς δὲ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν οὐκ ἔδικαίωσεν  
 ἐξετάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ τῆς  
 φύσεως ἤγαγε δικαστήριον, ἐπειδήπερ ἄνθρωποι  
 μὲν τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἐπιγνώμονες, θεὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ἀδήλων, ὧ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ψυχὴν ἐναργῶς θεά-  
 53 σασθαι. φησὶν οὖν τῷ ὑπονοήσαντι ἀνδρὶ· γρα-  
 ψάμενος πρόκλησιν εἰς τὴν ἱερόπολιν ἴθι σὺν τῇ  
 γυναικὶ καὶ καταστάς ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπο-  
 γύμνωσον τὸ παραστάν σοι τῆς ὑπονοίας πάθος,  
 μὴ ὡς ἂν τις συκοφάντης ἢ κακοτεχνῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 πάντως περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τις τῆς ἀληθείας  
 54 ἀκριβῆς ἐξεταστὴς ἄνευ σοφιστείας. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ  
 δύο κινδύνους ὑπομένουσα, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς,  
 [309] τὸν δὲ | αἰσχύνῃς βίου, παντὸς ἀργαλεώτερον  
 θανάτου, κρινάτω παρ' αὐτῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα, κἄν μὲν  
 καθαρεύῃ, θαρροῦσα ἀπολογείσθω, εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 συνειδότης ἐλέγχοιτο, καταδύεσθω, προκαλύμμα  
 τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αἰδῶ ποιησαμένη· τὸ γὰρ μέχρι  
 55 τέλους ἀναισχυντεῖν ὑπερβολὴ κακίας. ἐὰν δὲ  
 ἀμφήριστα ἢ τὰ λεχθέντα καὶ μηδέτερον καθέλκη  
 μέρος, ἴτωσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ στὰς  
 ἀντικρὺ τοῦ βωμοῦ, παρόντος τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνην  
 τὴν ἡμέραν ἱερωμένου, δηλούτω τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, ἅμα  
 καὶ κομίζων ἄλευρον κρίθινον, εἰδός τι θυσίας  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικός, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ μὴ κατ' ἐπ-  
 ἡρειαν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γνώμης ὑγιούς κατ' ἐνδοιασμόν

<sup>1</sup> mss. heading Περὶ μοιχαλίδος.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 52-55

X. Adulteries detected on the spot or established by <sup>52</sup> clear evidence are condemned by the law. But when they are a matter of suspicion, the law did not think good to have them tried by men, but brought them before the tribunal of nature. For men can arbitrate on open matters, but God on the hidden also, since He alone can see clearly into the soul. <sup>a</sup> So the <sup>53</sup> law says to the husband who suspects his wife, "Draw up a formal challenge and come to the holy city with your wife and standing before the judges lay bare the suspicion which troubles you, not in the spirit of a false accuser or malicious schemer, set on winning at any cost, but of one who would strictly test the truth without sophistry. The woman who is threatened with two dangers, <sup>54</sup> one of losing her life, the other of bringing shame on her past (and this is a thing far more grievous than death), must judge the matter in her heart, and if she is pure, plead her cause with good courage, but if her conscience convicts her, make her submission and use her ashamedness to palliate her sins. For shamelessness carried to the end is the culmination of wickedness. But if the statements <sup>55</sup> of the two are inconclusive, and do not turn the scale to either side, let them go to the temple and let the man standing opposite the altar, in the presence of the priest officiating on that day, explain his suspicion. At the same time he should bring barley-meal, as a kind of sacrifice on behalf of the woman, to shew that the accusation is not made in wanton spite, but with honest intentions

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 53-62 see Num. v. 12-31, which Philo follows fairly closely, except that the law does not provide for a previous hearing before judges as in §§ 53, 54.

## PHILO

56 εὐλογον αἰτιᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς λαβὼν προτεινέτω τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῦτίκρανον ἀφελὼν, ἢν' ἐπικρίνηται γεγυμνωμένη τῇ κεφαλῇ, τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς περιηρημένη σύμβολον, ᾧ ταῖς εἰς ἅπαν ἀναιτίοις ἔθος χρῆσθαι. μήτε δὲ ἔλαιον μήτε λιβανωτὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυσιῶν παρέστω, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ χαρτοῖς ἀλλ' ἄγαν ὀδυνηροῖς τὴν θυσίαν μέλλειν ἐπι-  
 57 τελείσθαι. κρίθινον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἄλευρον, ἴσως ἐπειδὴ ὑπαμφίβολός ἐστιν ἢ ἀπὸ κριθῆς τροφή καὶ ἀλόγοις ζώοις καὶ ἀτυχέσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐφαρμόζεται,<sup>1</sup> σύμβολον τοῦ τὴν μεμοιχευμένην οὐδὲν θηρίων διαφέρειν, ὧν ἀδιακρίτους εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιστάτους τὰς ὀχείας συμβέβηκε, τὴν δὲ καθ-  
 58 αρεύουσαν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐζήλωκέναι. λαβὼν δέ, φησὶν, ὁ ἱερεὺς κεραμεοῦν ἀγγεῖον ἐγχείτω καθαρὸν ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἀρυσάμενος καὶ ἐπιφερέτω βῶλον γῆς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν ἐδάφους· ἅπερ οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὰ συντείνειν πρὸς τὴν ἔρευναν τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ συμβόλων, τὸ μὲν κεραμεοῦν ἀγγεῖον πρὸς τὸ μεμοιχεῦσθαι, διὰ τὸ εὐκάτακτον, θάνατος γὰρ ἢ κατὰ μοιχῶν δίκη, ἢ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὸ καθ-  
 59 ἰερεῦν τῆς αἰτίας, ἐπειδὴ δι' ἀμφοτέρων αἰ γενέσεις καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ τελειώσεις ἀπάντων. ὅθεν ἐκάτερον οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐφαρμόζεσθαι.

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<sup>a</sup> By εἶδος he may mean that this oblation, though called *θύσια* in the text, is not of the ordinary kind. In the E.V. the words are "he shall bring her offering for her"; in LXX "he shall bring the (or "his") gift about her." As he regards the oblation as made by the man and not by the woman, he appends this explanation of his motives.



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 56-59

and is founded on reasonable doubt.<sup>a</sup> The priest 56 taking the offering hands it to the woman and removes her kerchief, in order that she may be judged with her head bared and stripped of the symbol of modesty, regularly worn by women who are wholly innocent. But there must be no oil nor frankincense, as in the other sacrifices, because the intention of the sacrifice to be performed on this occasion is not joyful but exceedingly painful.<sup>b</sup> The meal used 57 is of barley, perhaps because as a foodstuff it is of somewhat doubtful merit, suited for irrational animals and men in unhappy circumstances, and thus is a symbol that the adulteress is quite on a par with wild beasts, which copulate without discrimination or due consideration, while the wife who is innocent of the charges brought against her has emulated the life which is fitted to human beings. The priest, it 58 continues, will take an earthen vessel, pour into it pure water which he has drawn from a spring, and put in a clod of earth got from the ground on which the temple stands.<sup>c</sup> These likewise, I consider, refer symbolically to the quest for the truth. The act of adultery is signified by the earthen vessel because of its fragility, since death is the punishment decreed for adulterers ; innocence of the charge by the earth and water, since both these are factors in the birth and growth and consummation of all things. And 59 therefore the terms used in both cases make an

<sup>b</sup> In Numbers the reason of the absence of oil and frankincense is that "it is a sacrifice of jealousy, a sacrifice of memorial calling sin to remembrance," which assumes the guilt of the accused more than Philo is willing to do.

<sup>c</sup> Or "on the floor of the temple." LXX, "the earth," E.V. "the dust."

## PHILO

ἐπεκόσμησε, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ εἰπὼν δεῖν “καθαρὸν”  
λαμβάνειν καὶ “ζῶν,” ἐπεὶ ἀνυπαίτιος ἢ γυνὴ  
καθαρεύει τὸν βίον καὶ ζῆν ὀφείλει, τὴν δὲ γῆν  
οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐδάφους,  
ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἀρετῶν, ὡς καὶ γυναῖκα τὴν  
60 σῶφρονα. τούτων δὲ προευντροπισθέντων, ἢ μὲν  
ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ κρίθινον ἄλευρον  
κομίζουσα, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, παρίτω, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς  
[ἀντικρῦ] τὸ κεραμεοῦν ἀγγεῖον, ἐν ᾧ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ  
61 καὶ γῆ, (ἀντικρῦ) στὰς ἐπιλεγέτω τάδε· “εἰ μὲν  
τοὺς ἐπὶ γάμοις θεσμοὺς οὐ παραβέβηκας οὐδ’  
ἀνὴρ ἕτερος ὠμίλησέ σοι καθυφεμένη τὰ πρὸς τὸν  
[310] | νόμῳ<sup>1</sup> συνοικισθέντα δίκαια, ἀνυπαίτιος καὶ ἀθῶος  
ἴσθι· εἰ δ’ ὠλιγόρησας μὲν ἀνδρὸς καινὰς δὲ  
ἐζήλωσας<sup>2</sup> ἐπιθυμίας ἢ ἐρασθεῖσα ἢ ἐρασθέντι  
ἐνδοῦσα, τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ φίλτατα προδοῦσα  
καὶ νοθεύσασα, μὴ ἀγνόει πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος  
γεγεννημένη, ὧν τὰ δείγματα ἀναφανείς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
σώματος. ἴθι δὴ ἔκπινε ποτὸν ἐλέγχου, ὃ τὰ  
κεκρυμμένα νῦν καὶ ἀδηλούμενα ἀπαμφιάσει καὶ  
62 ἀπογυμνώσει.” ταῦτα γράψας ἐν χαρτιδίῳ καὶ  
ἀπαλείψας τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἀγγεῖον ὕδατι προτεινέτω  
τῇ γυναικί· ἢ δὲ πιούσα ἀπαλλαττέσθω προσ-  
δοκῶσα ἢ σωφροσύνης ἄθλον ἢ ἀκολασίας τὴν  
ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίαν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ σεσυκοφάντηται,  
σπορὰν καὶ γένεσιν τέκνων ἐλπιζέτω τῶν ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νόμον.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ζηλώσασα.

<sup>a</sup> So LXX. E.V. and Hebrew merely “holy.” In Num. xix. 17, where the E.V. has “running water,” the LXX has ζῶν.

<sup>b</sup> So, as the sequel shews, rather than “conviction,” though

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 59-62

appropriate addition to the picture. The water, it says, must be taken "pure" and "living,"<sup>a</sup> since if the woman is guiltless her conduct is "pure" and she deserves to "live"; the earth is taken not from any chance place but from the "holy" ground, which must needs be capable of fertility, as also must the chaste wife. When these preliminaries are completed, 60 the woman is to come forward with her head uncovered, bringing the barley-meal, as has been said, and the priest holding the earthen vessel with the earth and water in it stands fronting her and pronounces as follows: "If thou hast not transgressed 61 the lawful usages of marriage, if no other man has had intercourse with thee, suffered by thee in abandonment of thy duties to the legitimate partner of thy home, be clear of guilt and its consequences. But if thou hast set at naught thy husband and eagerly gratified thy new desires, seized with love for another or surrendering to his love, betraying and debasing the closest and fondest ties, be well assured that thou hast laid thyself open to every curse, and the signs of their fulfilment thou wilt exhibit in thy body. Come then, drink the draught of testing<sup>b</sup> which will uncover and lay bare what is now hidden in secrecy." He will 62 then write these words on a piece of paper and after blotting them out in the water in the vessel, proffer it to the woman, and when she has drunk she will depart expecting either reward for her chastity or extreme punishment for her incontinence. For if she has been falsely accused she may hope to conceive and bear children and pay no heed to her fears and

that is the meaning of the LXX *ἐλεγμαὸν* followed by "that brings the curse." E.V. "the water of bitterness that causeth the curse."

## PHILO

στειρώσει καὶ ἀγονία φόβων καὶ φροντίδων ἀ-  
 λογοῦσα· εἰ δ' ἐστὶν ἔνοχος, ἐφεδρεύοντα ἴστω  
 γαστρὸς ὄγκον οἰδούσης καὶ πιμπραμένης καὶ τῶν  
 περὶ μήτραν δεινὴν κάκωσιν, ἣν καθαρὰν οὐκ  
 ἠξίωσε διατηρεῖν ἀνδρὶ τῷ κατὰ πάτρια γήμαντι.  
 63 τοσαύτην δ' ἔχει πρόνοιαν ὁ νόμος τοῦ μηδὲν ἐπὶ  
 γάμοις νεωτερίζεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς συνιόντας  
 εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἀνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας κατὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ  
 γάμοις θεσμούς, ὅταν εὐνῆς ἀπαλλάττωνται, οὐ  
 πρότερον ἐὰν τινος ψαύειν ἢ λουτροῖς καὶ περιρραν-  
 τηρίοις χρῆσθαι, πόρρωθεν μοιχείας ἀνείργων καὶ  
 τῶν ἐπὶ μοιχείαις ἐγκλημάτων.

64 XI. Ἐὰν δέ τις χήραν ἀποθανόντος ἀνδρὸς ἢ καὶ  
 διαζευχθεῖσαν ἄλλως βιασάμενος αἰσχύνῃ, κουφό-  
 τερον ἢ κατὰ μοιχείαν ἀμάρτημα δρῶν, ἥμισυ  
 σχεδὸν ἐκείνου, τῆς μὲν θανάτου τιμωρίας ἀφείσθω,  
 βίαν δὲ καὶ ὕβριν καὶ ἀκολασίαν καὶ θράσος τὰ  
 αἰσχιστα ὡς κάλλιστα ἀποδεξάμενος κατηγορεῖσθω  
 καὶ ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι τιμάτων<sup>1</sup> τὸ δικα-  
 στήριον ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

65 <sup>2</sup> Ἀδελφὸν μὲν καὶ συγγενὲς ἀδίκημα μοιχείας  
 φθορά, καθάπερ ἐκ μητρὸς μιᾶς, ἀκολασίας, φύντα<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> mss. τιμάσθω.

<sup>2</sup> ms. heading Περὶ φθορᾶς.

<sup>3</sup> For the solecism φύντα Mangey suggests φύσα, but this does not suit μιᾶς.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xv. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "forbidding from afar." The same word (or μακρόθεν) is used in the same way § 47 above, and again §§ 48, 117. Cf. also iv. 104, *De Virt.* 137.

<sup>c</sup> Philo neither has nor claims any biblical authority for this section. He is about to describe the pentateuchal law about the rape or seduction of a virgin, and feels that the similar offence in the case of a married woman who is now without a husband must call for punishment or redress. Whether what he says reflects the practice of his time (see

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 62-65

apprehensions of sterility or childlessness. But if she is guilty she may be sure that the fate awaiting her is an unwieldy belly, swollen and inflamed, and terrible suffering all round the womb, which she has not cared to keep pure for the husband who married her according to ancestral custom. So careful is the law to provide against the introduction of violent changes in the institution of marriage that a husband and wife, who have intercourse in accordance with the legitimate usages of married life, are not allowed, when they leave their bed, to touch anything until they have made their ablutions and purged themselves with water.<sup>a</sup> This ordinance extends by implication to a prohibition<sup>b</sup> of adultery, or anything which entails an accusation of adultery. 63

XI. If anyone dishonours by violence a woman widowed by the death of her husband or through any other form of separation, the crime he commits is less serious than in adultery, of which it may be said to be the half.<sup>c</sup> The penalty of death should not be enforced in his case: but since he has accepted as highly honourable such vile things as violence, outrage, incontinence and effrontery, he must be indicted and the court must determine for him the penalty he should suffer or the compensation he should pay. 64

The corruption<sup>d</sup> of a maiden is a criminal offence closely akin to adultery, its brother in fact, for both spring as it were from one mother, licentiousness, to 65

Goodenough, p. 90), or merely what he feels would be right, seems to me quite uncertain.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxii. 16, 17; Deut. xxii. 28, 29. The first passage deals rather with seduction ("entice," ἀπατήσας); the second with rape ("lay hold on her," βιασάμενος). The right of the father to refuse his consent to the marriage does not appear in the second passage.

ἦν ἔνιοι τῶν εἰωθότων εὐπρεπέσιν ὀνόμασι τὰ  
 αἰσχροῦ ἐπικοσμεῖν ἔρωτα ὀνομάζουσι τάληθές  
 ὁμολογεῖν ἐρυθριῶντες. ἀλλ' ὅμως, εἰ καὶ συγ-  
 γενές, οὐ παντάπασιν ὅμοιον, τῷ τὸ ἀδίκημα μὴ  
 εἰς πλείους χωρεῖν οἰκίας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς μοιχείας  
 συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν συνῆχθαι τὴν τῆς  
 66 παρθένου. λεκτέον οὖν τῷ κόρης ἀστῆς ἐπι-  
 θυμοῦντι. “ προπέτειαν καὶ θράσος ἀναίσχυντον  
 ἢ τὰς ἐπ' ἐνέδρα πάγας ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, ὧ  
 [311] | οὗτος, ἀποστραφεὶς μήτε ἀναφανδὸν μήτε λάθρα  
 67 πονηρὸς ἐξετασθῆς. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρα τι τῇ ψυχῇ  
 πέποιθας πρὸς τὴν παῖδα οἰκείον, ἴθι πρὸς τοὺς  
 γονεῖς αὐτῆς, ἐὰν ζῶντες τυγχάνωσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἢ ἐπιτρόπους ἢ ἄλλους κυρίους,  
 καὶ ἀπογυμνώσας τὸ σεαυτοῦ πάθος, ὡς χρή τὸν  
 ἐλεύθερον, αἴτει πρὸς γάμον καὶ παρακάλει μὴ  
 68 ἀνάξιος νομισθῆναι. σκαιὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτως  
 γένοιτο τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων τῆς παιδός, ὡς ἐν-  
 αντιωθῆναι πρὸς λιπαρεστέρας δεήσεις, καὶ μάλιστα  
 γε ἐπειδὴν ἐξετάσας ἀνευρίσκη μὴ κατεψευσμένον  
 ἢ ἐπιπόλαιον ἄλλως τὸ πάθος ἀλλ' ἐπαληθεῦον καὶ  
 69 παγίως ἐνιδρυμένον.” ἐὰν δέ τις λυττῶν καὶ  
 μεμηνῶς, ἅπασι τοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ πολλὰ χαίρειν  
 φράσας, δυναστείαν τὸν οἶστρον καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν  
 ὑπολαβὼν, νόμου βίαν, ὡς φασί τινες, προτιμοτέραν  
 θέμενος, ἀρπάξῃ καὶ φθειρή ταῖς ἐλευθέραις ὡς  
 θεραπαίνας χρώμενος, τὰ πολέμου δρῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ,  
 70 πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀγέσθω. κἂν μὲν ἢ πατὴρ  
 τῇ βιασθείσῃ, βουλευέσθω περὶ ἐγγύης τῆς πρὸς<sup>1</sup>  
 τὸν ἐφθαρκότα· εἶτα ἐὰν μὲν ἀνανεύῃ, προικιζέτω

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περὶ.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 65-70

which some whose way it is to bedizen ugly things with specious terms, ashamed to admit its true nature, give the name of love. Still the kinship does not amount to complete similarity, because the wrong caused by the corruption is not passed on to several families as it is with adultery, but is concentrated in one, that of the maiden herself. Our advice then to one who desires a damsel of gentle birth should be this : “ My good sir, have nothing to do with reckless and shameless effrontery or treacherous snares, or anything of the kind, and do not either openly or secretly prove yourself a rascal. But if you have, heart and soul, centred your affections on the girl, go to her parents, if they are alive, or, if not, to her brothers or guardians or others who have charge of her, lay bare before them the state of your affections, as a free man should, ask her hand in marriage and plead that you may not be thought unworthy of her. For none of those who have had the care of the girl would behave so stupidly as to set himself in opposition to the increasing earnestness of your entreaties, particularly if, on examination, he finds that your affections are not counterfeited nor superficial, but are genuine and firmly established.” But if anyone in furious frenzy will have nothing to say to the suggestions of reason, but regarding wild passion and lust as sovereign powers and giving the place of honour to violence above law, as the saying goes, turns to rapine and ravishment and treats free women as though they were servant-maids, acting in peace as he might in war-time, he must be brought before the judges. And if the victim of the violation has a father he must consider the question of espousing her to the author of her ruin. If he refuses, the

## PHILO

- τὴν παῖδα ὁ φθορεὺς ἄλλως ζημιούμενος χρήμασιν, ἔαν δὲ συναινῇ καὶ συνεπιγράφηται, μηδὲν ὑπερτιθέμενος ἀγέσθω προῖκα πάλιν τὴν ἴσιν ὁμολογῶν καὶ μήτε ἀναδύεσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω μήτε παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ δι' αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ λαγνείας ἕνεκα δοκῇ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἔρωτα νόμιμον ἐφθαρκεῖναι, καὶ διὰ τὴν κόρην, ἵν' αὐτῆς τὸ περὶ τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον ἀτύχημα παρηγορηθῇ βεβαιοτάτῳ γάμῳ,
- 71 ὃν οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι ἢ θάνατος διαζεύξει. ἔαν δὲ πατρὸς ὀρφανῇ τυγχάνῃ, πρὸς τῶν δικαστῶν ἐρωτάσθω, εἴτε βούλεται συνοικεῖν εἴτε μή· ἔαν τε δὲ συναινῇ ἔαν τε ἀρνήται, τὰ αὐτὰ γινέσθω ἅ ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ ζῶντι διωμολογήθη τῷ πατρί.
- 72 XII. <sup>1</sup>Μεθόριόν τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀδίκημα εἶναι φθορᾶς καὶ μοιχείας ὑπογάμιον, ὅταν ὁμολογίαι μὲν ὑπερεγγυήσωσι, μήπω δὲ τῶν γάμων ἐπιτελεσθέντων ἕτερος ἀπατήσας τις ἢ καὶ βιασάμενος εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἔλθῃ. παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ κριτῇ μοιχείας καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν εἶδος· αἱ γὰρ ὁμολογίαι γάμοις ἰσοδυναμοῦσιν, αἷς ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ms. heading Περὶ ὑπογαμίου.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "to dismiss her" (at a later time). Cf. the examples of *παρατεῖσθαι* in the sense of "divorce" in L. & S. This will correspond with Deuteronomy, "he may not put her away all his days," as well as with Philo's words at the end of the section.

<sup>b</sup> Philo has no biblical authority for this section. It is curious that the guardians whose consent has to be obtained for the ordinary marriage of an orphan do not appear here.

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 72-78 see Deut. xxii. 23-27.

<sup>d</sup> The curious word *ὑπογάμιον* occurs only here. The suggestion in the translation is that it is formed on the analogy of the not uncommon use of *ὑπό* = "just before." But except



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 70-72

seducer must give a dowry to the girl, his punishment being thus limited to a monetary fine, but if the father consents to the union, he must marry her without any delay and agree to give the same dowry as in the former case, and he must not be at liberty to draw back, or to make difficulties.<sup>a</sup> This is in the interest both of himself, to make the rape appear due to legitimate love rather than to lasciviousness, and of the girl, to give her for the misfortune, which she has suffered at their first association, the consolation of a wedlock so firmly established that nothing but death will undo it. <sup>b</sup> If 71 she has lost her father, she must be asked by the judges whether she wishes to consort with the man or not. And whether she agrees or refuses, the terms agreed upon must be the same as they would have been if her father were alive.

XII. <sup>c</sup>Some consider that midway between the cor- 72 ruption of a maiden and adultery stands the crime committed on the eve of marriage,<sup>d</sup> when mutual agreements have affianced the parties beyond all doubt, but before the marriage was celebrated, another man, either by seduction or violence, has intercourse with the bride. But this too, to my thinking, is a form of adultery. For the agreements, being documents containing the names of the man and woman, and the other particulars

for the epic adjectives *ὑπηόιος* and *ὑποδείελος*, I cannot find any analogous compounds. However, *ὑπό γάμον* would be an easy correction. The general opinion seems to be that the *ὑπό* suggests "secret" or "illicit," and presumably this is the idea in Mangey's "interceptus concubitus," and L. & S.'s "illicit intercourse with a betrothed person." Also the word seems to be regularly regarded as a substantive. It seems to me more likely that it is an adjective agreeing with *ἀδίκημα*.

## PHILO

73 τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπὶ συνόδοις ἐγγράφεται. ὦν χάριν καταλείπει ὁ νόμος ἀμφοτέροισι προσέταξεν, εἴαν γε ἀπὸ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐπιθῶνται τοῖς ἀδικήμασι συμφρονήσαντες· οὐχ οἶόν τε γὰρ μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀρμηθέντας βουλευμάτων νομίζεσθαι

74 συναδικεῖν, οὐ συναδικούοντας. παρὰ γοῦν τὰς [312] τῶν τόπων διαφορᾶς | αὔξεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ μειοῦσθαι τὰ δίκημα· μείζον μὲν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐστίν, εἰ πραχθεῖη κατὰ πόλιν, ἔλαττον δέ, εἰ τειχῶν ἔξω κατ' ἐρημίαν· ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ βοηθὸς οὐδὲ εἰς ἐστὶ τῇ παιδί πάνθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ διατηρῆσαι τὴν παρθενίαν ἄψαυστον καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον λεγούσῃ τε καὶ δρώσῃ, ἐν ἄστει δὲ βουλευτήρια, δικαστήρια, στρατηγῶν, ἀγορανόμων, ἀστυνόμων, ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ὄμιλοι μεγάλοι καὶ 75 σὺν τούτοις ὁ δῆμος. ἔστι γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν ἐκάστου τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ἰδιώτης τυγχάνη, μισοπόνηρον πάθος, ὃ διακινηθὲν ἀποδείκνυσι τὸν ἔχοντα κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὑπέρμαχον καὶ προαγωνιστὴν αὐτο- 76 κέλευστον τοῦ δόξαντος ἠδικῆσθαι. XIII. τῷ μὲν οὖν διαπραξαμένῳ τὴν βίαν ἔπεται δίκη πανταχοῦ, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χωρίων διαφορᾶς εὐρισκομένῳ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ὦν ὑβρισε καὶ παρηνόμησε· τῇ δὲ παιδί, καθάπερ ἔφην, τοτὲ μὲν ἔλεος καὶ συγγνώμη τοτὲ δὲ ἀπαραίτητος τιμωρία παρ- 77 ακολουθήσει. καὶ περὶ ταύτης μέντοι πολυπραγμονητέον τῷ δικαστῇ μὴ πάντ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἀναφέροντι· δύναται γὰρ καὶ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πόλιν

<sup>a</sup> Deuteronomy makes no suggestion of a documentary form of betrothal, though it speaks of a "bill of divorcement" (xxiv. 3). But Philo naturally reads into it the practice of his own time. See App. pp. 634-635.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 72-77

needed for wedlock, are equivalent to marriage.<sup>a</sup> And therefore the law ordains that both should 73 be stoned to death, if, that is, they set about their misdeeds by mutual agreement with one and the same purpose. For if they were not actuated by the same purpose, they cannot be regarded as fellow-criminals, where there was no such fellowship. Thus we find that difference of situation makes the 74 criminality greater or less. Naturally it is greater if the act is committed in the city and less if it is committed outside the walls and in a solitude. For here there is no one to help the girl, though she says and does everything possible to keep her virginity intact and invulnerable, while in the town there are council-chambers and law-courts, crowds of controllers of districts,<sup>b</sup> markets and wards, and other persons in authority and with them the common people. For 75 assuredly there is in the soul of every man, however undistinguished he may be, a detestation of evil, and if this emotion is roused, no outside influence is then needed to turn its possessor into a champion ready to do battle for anyone who to all appearance has been wronged. XIII. As for the man who perpetrated the 76 violation, justice pursues him everywhere, and difference of situation lends him no help to make good his outrageous and lawless conduct. It is not so with the girl. In the one case pity and forgiveness attend her, as I have said, in the other inexorable punishment. And indeed her position demands care- 77 ful inquiry from the judge who must not make everything turn upon the scene of the act. For she may have been forced against her will in the heart of the

<sup>b</sup> Or "nomes." See on i. 55.

## PHILO

ἄκουσα βεβιάσθαι καὶ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκούσα πρὸς ἔκθεσμον ὀμιλίαν ἐνδοῦναι. διὸ παρατετηρημένως καὶ σφόδρα καλῶς ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν ἔρημιά φθειρομένης φησὶν ὁ νόμος· “ἐβόησεν ἡ νεᾶνις, καὶ ὁ βοηθήσων οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ,” ὥστε, εἰ μήτε ἐβόησε μήτε ἠναντιώθη, βουλομένη δὲ συναπῆρε, γένοιτ’ ἂν ἔνοχος, σόφισμα τοῦ βεβιάσθαι  
 78 δοκεῖν προστησαμένη τὸν τόπον. καὶ μὴν ἐν πόλει τί γένοιτ’ ἂν ὄφελος τῇ πάντα μὲν ἐθελούσῃ ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιτιμίας, ἀδυνατούσῃ δὲ ἔνεκα τῆς περὶ τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἰσχύος; τί γάρ, εἰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων<sup>1</sup> καταδήσειεν ἢ τὸ στόμα ἀποφράξειεν, ὡς μηδὲ φωνὴν ῥῆξαι δύνασθαι, γένοιτ’ ἂν ὄφελος ἐκ τῶν συνοικούντων; τρόπον γάρ τινα ἦδε μὲν ἐν πόλει διατρίβουσα κατ’ ἔρημίαν ἐστὶν ἅτε βοηθῶν ἔρημος, ἡ δέ, κἂν μηδεὶς παρατυγχάνῃ, τῷ ἐκούσῃ συναπαῖραι λέγοιτ’ ἂν οὐδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς ἐν ἄστει.

79 XIV. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες περὶ τὰς ὀμιλίας ἀψίκοροι, γυναικομανεῖς ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ μισογύναιοι, συγ-

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. μετὰ τῶν κάλων, which Mangey adopted, translating “cum funibus.” But such a use of μετὰ seems hardly possible. Cohn at first suggested μετὰ<γων ἀποθεν> τῶν. But see note a.

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. “the others,” *i.e.* those others whose help would be required to bind and gag her before she could cry out. Perhaps, however, τῶν ἄλλων is neuter, *i.e.* “besides the rest of his violence”; translate, “if he further proceeds to bind her.” Cohn, who originally suggested the correction mentioned in note 1, came to the conclusion (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 205) that this solution was satisfactory. He compares *De Dec.* 69.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 77-79

city, and she may have surrendered voluntarily to unlawful embraces outside the city. And therefore the law in defending the case of a woman deflowered in a solitude is careful to add the very excellent proviso: "The damsel cried out and there was none to help her;" so that if she neither cried out nor resisted but co-operated willingly, she will be found guilty, and her use of the place as an excuse is merely a device to make it seem that she was forced. Again what help would be available in the city to one 78 who was willing to use all possible means to protect her personal honour, but was unable to do so because of the strength which the ravisher could bring to bear? If he should bind her with the help of others<sup>a</sup> and gag her mouth so that she could not utter a sound, what help could she get from the neighbours? In a sense such a one, though living in a city, is in a solitude, being solitary so far as helpers are concerned. The other, even if no one was present to help, may be said, in view of her willing cooperation, to be in exactly the same position as the offender in the town.

XIV. <sup>b</sup> There are some persons who show fickleness 79 in their relations to women, mad for them and loath-

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 79-83 see Deut. xxii. 13-21. Philo's account makes no mention of the "tokens of virginity." Also there is no allusion to the order that if the case is given against the wife she is to be stoned. This is perhaps because the real subject of these sections is the misconduct of husbands who make treacherous attempts to get rid of unwanted wives. Still, the omission is curious. Apart from the concealment, the misconduct of the woman is not, or need not be, *υπογάμιον*, and falls under the head of *φθορά*, which Philo has treated as an *ἀτύχημα* to the maiden rather than a crime (§ 70). One would expect an explanation of why the extreme penalty was required.

## PHILO

κλύδων καὶ μιγάδων ἡθῶν ἀνάπλεω, οἱ ταῖς πρώταις  
 εὐθύς ὀρμαῖς ἐνδιδόντες, ὅποιαί περ ἂν οὔσαι  
 τυγχάνωσιν, ἄς ἡνιοχεῖν δέον ἀχαλινώτους ἐῶσιν,  
 ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπροοράτως σώμασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 πράγμασιν ἐπεμπίπτοντες τυφλῶν τρόπον, ἅτε ῥύμη  
 καὶ φορᾶ βιαίῳ συνωθοῦντες καὶ ἀνατρέποντες, οὐκ  
 80 ἐλάττω ὧν διατιθέασι πάσχουσι. περὶ ὧν τάδε  
 νομοθετεῖται· κόρας οἱ ἀγόμενοι νόμῳ καὶ γάμους  
 θύσαντές τε καὶ ἐστιαθέντες, μηδὲν οἰκείον ἐπὶ  
 ταῖς γαμεταῖς πάθος σῶζοντες, ἀλλ' ὑβρίσαντες |  
 [313] καὶ ὡς ἐταίραις ταῖς ἀσταῖς προσενεχθέντες, ἐὰν  
 διάζευξιν τεχνάζωσι μηδεμίαν ἀπαλλαγῆς πρόφασιν  
 ἀνευρίσκοντες, εἶπ' ἐπὶ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν τραπόμενοι  
 σπᾶνει φανερῶν ἐγκλημάτων πρὸς τὰ ἀφανῆ  
 τρέπωσι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ παρελθόντες κατηγορῶσιν,  
 ὅτι παρθένους δόξαντες συνεληλυθέναι γυναῖκας ἐν  
 ταῖς πρώταις ὁμιλίαις ἐφώρασαν, ἀθροίζέσθω μὲν ἢ  
 γερουσία πᾶσα πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν, παρίτωσαν δὲ οἱ  
 τῶν κατηγορουμένων γονεῖς ἀπολογησόμενοι περὶ  
 81 κοινοῦ κινδύνου. κίνδυνος γὰρ οὐ ταῖς θυγατράσι  
 μόνον περὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀγνείας ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς, οὐ μόνον ὅτι εἰς τὸν ἀναγ-  
 καιότατον τῆς ἀκμῆς καιρὸν οὐ παρετήρησαν, ἀλλ'  
 ὅτι καὶ ὡς παρθένους τὰς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐφθαρμένας

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<sup>a</sup> The causal clause introduced by ἅτε may look forward and give the reason why they suffer as they have done to others. It seems to me better to take it as looking backwards and giving the reason why they stumble over everything. For *σώματα καὶ πράγματα* see note on *Quis Rerum* 242 (vol. iv. p. 573).

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 79-81

ing them at the same time, each of them a mass of chaotic and promiscuous characteristics. They give way in a moment to their first impulses of any and every kind and let them go unbridled instead of reining them in as they should. They run about wildly and violently, pushing about and upsetting everything material or immaterial, with the result that like blind men without eyes to see before or around they tumble over them and suffer in the same measure as they have meted.<sup>a</sup> For these 80 people the law lays down as follows: In the case of persons who take maidens in lawful matrimony and have celebrated the bridal sacrifices and feasts, but retain no conjugal<sup>b</sup> affection for their wives, and insult and treat these gentlewomen as if they were harlots—if such persons scheme to effect a separation, but finding no pretext for divorce resort to false accusation and through lack of matters of open daylight shift the charges to secret intimacies and bring forward an incriminating statement that the virgins whom they supposed they had married were discovered by them, when they first came together, to have lost their virginity already—then the whole body of elders will assemble to try the matter and the parents will appear to plead the cause in which all are endangered. For the danger affects 81 not only the daughters whose bodily chastity is impugned, but also their guardians, against whom the charge is brought not only that they failed to watch over them at the most critical period of adolescence, but that the brides they had given as virgins had been dishonoured by other men, and thereby the bride-

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* suitable to the intimate relation. Cf. the use of *οικείον πρόσχειν*, § 67.

## PHILO

- ἐνεγύησαν ἀπατῶντες καὶ φενακίζοντες τοὺς λαμ-  
 82 βάνοντας. εἶτα ἐὰν περιγέωνται τοῖς δικαίοις,  
 τιμάτωσαν οἱ δικασταὶ κατὰ τῶν ψευδεῖς αἰτίας  
 πλαττομένων χρημάτων ζημίας καὶ τὰς διὰ πληγῶν  
 εἰς τὰ σώματα ὕβρεις καὶ—τὸ πάντων ἐκείνοις  
 ἀηδέστατον—τὴν τῶν γάμων βεβαίωσιν, ἐὰν ὑπο-  
 μένωσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι τοῖς τοιούτοις συνοικεῖν·  
 ταῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐφίησιν ὁ νόμος θελούσαις καὶ μένειν  
 καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ οὐδετέρου κυρίου  
 ἀπέφηνεν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐσυκοφάντησαν.
- 83 XV. <sup>1</sup>Ὄνομα μὲν ἀνδροφονία κατὰ τοῦ κτείναντος  
 ἄνθρωπον ἐπιφημίζεται, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἔργον ἐστὶν  
 ἱεροσυλία καὶ ἱεροσυλιῶν ἢ μεγίστη, διότι τῶν ἐν  
 κόσμῳ κτημάτων καὶ κειμηλίων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἱερο-  
 πρεπέστερον οὔτε θεοειδέστερόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου·  
 \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> παγκάλῃς εἰκόνας πάγκαλον ἐκμαγεῖον  
 ἀρχετύπου λογικῆς ιδέας παραδείγματι τυπωθέν.  
 84 τὸν οὖν ἀνδροφόνον εὐθὺς ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀνοσιουργὸν  
 ὑποληπτέον, ἀνοσιουργημάτων καὶ ἀσεβημάτων  
 δρῶντα τὸ μέγιστον, ὃν ἀμείλικτα ἐργασάμενον

<sup>1</sup> ms. heading Κατὰ ἀνδροφόνων.

<sup>2</sup> The insertion of ὅς ἐστι (Mangey), or ἔστι γὰρ (Cohn), will make the sentence grammatical. But quite possibly the text as it stands may be due to a slip of Philo, the eye being caught by the nominatives οὐδὲν, etc. Cf. φύντα, § 65.

<sup>a</sup> There is no biblical authority for this right of the slandered women, nor according to Heinemann any rabbinical tradition. It may be regarded as a slip of memory, perhaps induced by the similar liberty allowed to the seduced maidens in § 71.

<sup>b</sup> At this point Philo turns to the sixth (his seventh) commandment, and this takes up the rest of the treatise. The transition is abrupt (though not more so than that from the first to the second commandment in i. 21) and suggests that



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 82-84

grooms were cheated and deceived. Then, if the <sup>82</sup> justice of their cause prevails, the judges must assess the punishments due to these concoctors of false charges. This will consist of monetary fines, bodily degradation in the form of stripes, and what is most distasteful of all to the culprits, confirmation of the marriage, if, that is, the women can bring themselves to consort with such persons.<sup>a</sup> For the law permits the wives to stay or separate as they wish, but deprives the husbands of any choice either way, as a punishment for their slanderous accusations.

XV. <sup>b</sup>The term murder or manslaughter is used to <sup>83</sup> signify the act of one who has killed a human being, but in real truth that act is a sacrilege,<sup>c</sup> and the worst of sacrileges; seeing that of all the treasures which the universe has in its store there is none more sacred and godlike than man, the glorious cast of a glorious image, shaped according to the pattern of the archetypal form of the Word.<sup>d</sup> It follows necessarily that <sup>84</sup> the murderer must be regarded as an offender against piety and holiness, both of which are violated in the highest degree by his action. For his merciless con-

he may himself have headed these chapters with the words of the commandment, as he must have done with the ninth in iv. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Dec.* 132, 133. The other argument against murder used there, viz. that it is against the law of nature which has made man a social creature, is not repeated here.

<sup>d</sup> Philo is following his regular interpretation of *κατ' εικόνα θεού*, i.e. that man was made in the likeness of God's image, i.e. the Logos, which is *εἰκόν* to God, but *παρδείγμα* to man. Cf. particularly *De Som.* i. 76, and examples given in note there. *λογικῆς* here = of the Logos; cf. § 207 below. Philo also has in mind Gen. ix. 6, "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man."

## PHILO

ἀναιρετέον, ἐπειδὴ<sup>1</sup> μυρίων θανάτων ἐπάξιος ὢν ἕνα  
 ὑπομένει διὰ τὸ τῆς τιμωρίας ἀθάνατον<sup>2</sup> εἰς πλῆθος  
 μὴ πεφυκίας συναύξεσθαι· χαλεπὸν δὲ οὐδέν, εἰ  
 85 ταυτόν οἷς διέθηκέ τις πείσεται. καίτοι πῶς ἐστι  
 ταυτόν, εἰ καὶ χρόνοις καὶ πράξεσι καὶ βουλήμασι  
 καὶ προσώποις διαλλάττει; ἢ οὐχὶ τὸ μὲν χειρῶν  
 ἄρχειν ἀδίκων ἐστὶ πρότερον, τὸ δ' ἀμύνεσθαι  
 ὕστερον; καὶ ἀνδροφονία μὲν παρανομώτατον, ἢ δὲ  
 κατὰ ἀνδροφόνων κόλασις νομιμώτατον; καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 κτείνας ἐκπεπλήρωκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὃν προήρητο  
 ἀνελῶν, ὁ δὲ πεπονθὼς ἄτε γεγονὼς ἐκποδῶν οὐτ'  
 ἀντιδιαθεῖναι οὐτ' ἀντεφησθῆναι δυνατός ἐστι; καὶ  
 [314] ὁ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοχειρία | πέφυκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ,  
 τῷ δ' ἀτελῆς ἢ ἐπέξοδος, εἰ μὴ συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι  
 προαγωνίσαιντο λαβόντες τοῦ πάθους οἶκτον;  
 86 Ἐάν τις ἐπανατείνηται ξίφος, ὥστε ἀποκτείνειν,  
 κἂν μὴ ἀνέλη, ἔνοχος ἔστω προαιρέσει γεγονὼς  
 ἀνδροφόνος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ τέλος τῇ γνώμῃ συν-  
 ἔδραμε. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πασχέτω, κἂν σὺν τέχνῃ τις  
 ἐξ ἐνέδρας, οὐ θαρρῶν ἀντικρυς ἐπιχειρεῖν, βουλεύῃ

<sup>1</sup> I suggest εἰ καὶ δὴ: Cohn καίτοι. The difficulty of logic in "because" would be eased if ἀμειλίκτως is inserted before ἀμειλίκτη, the thought being that since he can have only one death, that must be inflicted without mercy. Even so, however, "although" is to be expected. For εἰ καὶ δὴ cf. εἰ καί, § 86, and εἰ δὴ, § 132.

<sup>2</sup> This is certainly corrupt. The simplest emendation, as it seems to me, will be to suppose some word lost before ἀθάνατον, which will then be taken with πλῆθος. The word which I should suggest is ἐνικόν, the regular term in grammar for the "singular" opposed to "πληθυντικόν" plural; cf. ἐνικῶς, *De Dec.* 43. See further App. p. 635.

\* For death as a penalty for killing a man see Ex. xxi. 12; Lev. xxiv. 17, 21; Num. xxxv. 16-21, 30-31; besides Gen. lx. 6.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 84-86

duct he must be put to death,<sup>a</sup> though indeed it is a thousand deaths that he deserves instead of the one which he suffers, because his punishment being necessarily single cannot grow into a plurality in which death has no place.<sup>b</sup> And there is no hardship if he suffers the same as he has done ; and yet how can it 85 be called the same when the times, the actions, the motives and the persons are different ? Is it not the fact that the unprovoked wrong comes earlier and the punishment for it later ; that murder is entirely lawless and the punishment for murder entirely lawful ; that the slayer has satisfied his desire with the blood which he purposed to shed while his victim, being removed from the scene, can neither retaliate nor feel the pleasure which retaliation gives ; that the former can work his will single-handed and as sole agent, while to the latter any counter-stroke is only possible if his friends and kinsmen in pity for his misfortune make his cause their own ?

If anyone threatens the life of another with a 86 sword, even though he does not actually kill him, he must be held guilty of murder in intention, although the fulfilment has not kept pace with the purpose.<sup>c</sup> The same should be the lot of anyone who craftily lies in wait, and, though not daring to attack outright,

<sup>b</sup> The translation follows the suggestion in note 2. The *πλήθος* is *ἀθάνατον* because if a punishment can be repeated it is "deathless" in the sense that it does not involve death.

<sup>c</sup> Philo is here giving his interpretation of Ex. xxi. 14, as it is in the LXX. Where the E.V. has "if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile," the LXX has *ἐπιθῆναι*, which Philo understands to mean "if he attack him, even if he does not succeed." This appears from *De Conf.* 160, where he takes the same text as shewing that the intention to kill is the same as actually killing, because the word used is *ἐπιθῆσθαι*, not *ἀναιρεῖν*. See App. p. 635.

## PHILO

καὶ μηχανᾶται δολερῶς τὸν φόνον· ἐναγῆς γὰρ καὶ οὗτος εἰ καὶ μήπω ταῖς χερσὶν ἀλλὰ τοι τῇ ψυχῇ  
 87 καθέστηκεν. ὡσπερ γάρ, οἶμαι, πολεμίους οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἤδη ναυμαχοῦντας ἢ πεζομαχοῦντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἑκάτερον παρεσκευασαμένους καὶ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις ἐφιστάντας τοῖς λιμέσι καὶ τείχεσι, κἂν μήπω συμπλέκωνται, κρίνομεν, οὕτως καὶ ἀνδροφόρους χρῆ νομίζειν οὐ τοὺς κτείναντας αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάντα δρῶντας εἰς τὸ ἀνελεῖν ἢ φανερῶς ἢ λάθρα, κἂν μὴ τὸ ἀδίκημα ὦσιν  
 88 εἰργασμένοι. ἔαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας ἢ θράσους, μαχομένων καὶ ἐπιλήπτων παθῶν, καταφυγεῖν τολμῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὡς ἀσυλίαν εὐρησόμενοι, κωλυτέον· κἂν φθῶσι<sup>1</sup> παρεισδύντες, ἐκδοτέον ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντας, ἀσυλίαν ἀνιέροις τὸ ἱερὸν μὴ παρέχεσθαι. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἀνίατα δρῶν ἐχθρὸς θεῷ· ἀνδροφόνοι δὲ ἀνίατα δρῶσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ ἀνδροφονηθέντες ἀνίατα πε-  
 89 πόνθησιν. ἢ τοῖς μὲν μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκόσιν, ἕως ἂν ἀπολούσωνται καὶ περιρρανάμενοι καθαρθῶσι τοῖς εἰωθόσι καθαρσίοις, ἄβατος ὁ νεῶς ἐστι, τοὺς δὲ ἐνόχους ἀνεκπλύτοις ἄγεσιν, ὧν τὰ μιάσματα οὐδεὶς ἀπονίβει χρόνος, ἄξιον ἐπιφοιτᾶν καὶ ἐνδιατρίβειν τοῖς ἔδεσιν, οὓς οὐδ' ἂν οἰκία δέξαιτο  
 90 κοσμίων ἀνδρῶν οἷς μέλει τῶν ὀσίων; XVI. προσ-

<sup>1</sup> So Heinemann. Cohn ὀφθῶσι with two mss. The rest have φθάνωσι, which (or φθῶσι) gives the better sense.

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 88-91 see Ex. xxi. 14, "thou shalt take him from mine altar that he may die."

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 86-90

plots and schemes to shed blood treacherously, for he too is under the curse in his soul at least even though his hands are innocent as yet. For just as not only 87 those who fight battles by sea or land, but also those who have made preparations for either and planted their engines to command our harbours and walls are judged by us to be our enemies, even though there is no engagement as yet, so too in my opinion should we regard as murderers, not merely those who have slain but also those whose every action aims at destroying life either openly or secretly, even though they have not carried out the crime.

And if through cowardice or effrontery, two antagonistic but equally culpable emotions, they venture to 88 take refuge in the temple, hoping to obtain an asylum there, they must be prevented from entering; and if they manage to slink in, they must be handed over for execution with a declaration to the effect that the holy place does not provide asylum for the unholy.<sup>a</sup> Everyone whose actions are irremediable is an enemy of God, and the actions of murderers are irremediable, as are also the calamities which the murdered have sustained. If those who have committed no sin are 89 forbidden access to the sanctuary, until they have bathed and purged themselves with purifying water according to the customary rites, is it fitting that the sacred building should be the resort and abode of men labouring under the curse of ineffaceable crimes, the pollution of which no length of time will wash away—men who would not be admitted into the dwelling-houses of decent people who take any thought for what the law of holiness<sup>b</sup> permits or forbids? XVI. So 90

<sup>b</sup> *ῥοιός* is perhaps used here in the common Attic sense of what is allowable and therefore almost = *βέβηλος*.

## PHILO

τιθέντας οὖν ἀδικήματα ἀδικήμασιν, ἀνδροφονία  
 παρανομίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ἀναγκαῖον ἀπάγειν δώ-  
 στοντας δίκην, τοὺς ὡς ἔφην ἄξια μυρίων θανάτων,  
 οὐχ ἑνός, εἰργασμένους. ἄλλως τε τοῖς

συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος ἀπο-  
 κεκλείσεται τὸ ἱερόν, εἰ ὁ ἀνδροφόνος ἐνδιατρίβοι,  
 μὴ ἂν ὑπομείνασιν εἰς ταυτόν ποτε ἔλθειν· ἄτοπον  
 δὲ ἑνός ἕνεκα πολλοὺς καὶ τοῦ παρανομηθέντος  
 τοὺς παρανομηθέντας ἐξελαύνεσθαι, οἱ πρὸς τῷ  
 μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἔτι καὶ πένθος πρόωρον ἀνεδέξαντο.

91 τάχα μέντοι καὶ τὰ μακρὰν ὀξύωπία λογισμοῦ  
 [315] πεφυκῶς ἐμβλέπειν | προὔνησε μὴ φόνον ἐν τῷ  
 ἱερῷ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφοιτήσεις τῶν τοῦ  
 σφαγέντος ἐπιτηδείων, οὓς στοργή, πάθος ἀδού-  
 λωτον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐνθουσιῶντας καὶ κατεχομένους  
 προκαλέσεται μόνον οὐκ αὐτοχειρία κτεῖναι τὸν  
 ἀνδροφόνον· οὗ γενομένου συμβήσεται τι τῶν ἀνο-  
 σιωτάτων, αἵματι γὰρ ἀνδροφόνων αἷμα θυσιῶν  
 ἀνακραθήσεται, τὸ καθοσιωμένον<sup>1</sup> τῷ μὴ καθαρῷ.  
 διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα κελεύει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν  
 βωμῶν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον.

92 XVII. Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν ξίφεσιν ἢ δορατίοις ἢ βέλεσιν  
 ἢ ξύλοις ἢ λίθοις ἢ τισιν ὁμοιοτρόποις ἀναιροῦντες

<sup>1</sup> So or καθοσιωμένον most mss. S has τῶν καθοσιωμένων,  
 which Cohn adopts (correcting the o to ω).

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 90-92

as they have added crimes to crimes and capped murder with defiance of the law and impiety, these malefactors whose deeds, as I have said, deserve not one but a thousand deaths must be carried off to pay the penalty.

Another consideration is that the temple will remain closed ground to the friends and kinsmen of the victim of treachery, if the murderer makes it his abode, since they would never bring themselves to come under the same roof as he. And it would be preposterous that a single person, a transgressor of the worst kind, should cause the banishment of the many sufferers from his transgression, who not only have committed no sin but have sustained a sad and untimely bereavement. It may 91 well be also that Moses, who in the keenness of his mental vision could look into the distant future, took steps to provide that the visits of the slain man's relatives should not lead to bloodshed in the temple. For family affection is an emotion which cannot be kept in bondage, and as with persons possessed by fanaticism it will incite them to slay him almost on the spur of the moment,<sup>a</sup> and the result of this will be a profanation of the gravest sort. For the blood of the murderer will mix with the blood of the sacrifices, the impure with the consecrated. These are the reasons why he ordered the murderer to be handed over from the altar itself.

XVII. But those who take another's life with swords 92 or spears or javelins or staves or stones or anything else

<sup>a</sup> The dictionaries do not suggest this meaning for *αυτοχειρία* and *αυτόχειρ* as a variant to the ordinary meaning of "with one's own hand"; but the sense here seems to require such a modification. To suggest that the injured persons would like to do the act almost with their own hands seems feeble. Still more is this the case in § 96.

## PHILO

δύνανται μὴ προβεβουλευμένοι μηδ' ἐκ πολλοῦ παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς λελογισμένοι τὸ ἄγος, ἐκ ταῦτομάτου δια-  
 κινήθεις καὶ θυμῷ δυνατωτέρῳ χρησάμενοι λο-  
 γισμοῦ, δρᾶσαι τὸν φόνον, ὡς ἡμίεργον τὴν πράξιν  
 εἶναι, τῆς διανοίας μὴ προκατεσχημένης ἐκ μακροῦ  
 93 τοῖς μιάσμασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ ἕτεροι πονη-  
 ρότατοι, χερσὶ καὶ γνώμαϊς ἑναγείς, οἱ μάγοι καὶ  
 φαρμακευταί, σχολῆν καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἐνδιδόντες  
 αὐτοῖς πρὸς καιρίου ἐπιθέσεις καὶ τέχνας καὶ  
 μηχανὰς πολυτρόπους ἀνευρίσκοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν  
 94 πλησίον συμφοραῖς. ὅθεν κελεύει φαρμακευτὰς καὶ  
 φαρμακίδας μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ὥραν  
 ἐπιβιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ ἀλῶναι τεθνάναι, μηδεμιᾶς  
 ἐγγινομένης προφάσεως εἰς ἀναβολὴν καὶ ὑπέρ-  
 θεσιν τῆς τιμωρίας· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀντικρὺς ἐπι-  
 βουλεύοντας δύναϊτ' ἂν τις φυλάξασθαι, τῶν δὲ  
 κρύφα συντιθέντων καὶ σκευωρούντων τὰς ἐπιθέσεις  
 95 φαρμακείαις οὐ ράδιον τὰς τέχνας συνιδεῖν. ἀναγ-  
 καῖον οὖν, ἃ μελλήσουσι δι' αὐτοὺς ἕτεροι ποθεῖν,  
 τοὺς δρῶντας προδιαθεῖναι. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως ὁ μὲν  
 ἐμφανῶς ξίφει κτείνων ἢ τινὶ ὄπλῳ τῶν ὁμοιο-  
 τρόπων καθ' ἓνα καιρὸν ὀλίγους ἀνελεῖ, φαρμά-  
 κοὶς δὲ θανασίμοις μυρίους ὄσους τὴν ἐπιβουλήν

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<sup>a</sup> See Num. xxxv. 16-18, where we have the same enumeration of weapons (iron, stone, wood), the use of which constitutes murder, followed later (*vv.* 22, 23) by the proviso that if the death was not caused through enmity, it is not murder, though this refers rather to accidental than, as Philo seems to construe it, to unpremeditated slaying. He resumes the subject in § 104. At present his point is that poisoning cannot possibly have such an excuse.

<sup>b</sup> Philo's main authority for these two sections is Ex. xxii. 18, where, while the A.V. has "thou shalt not suffer a witch



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 92-95

of the kind may not act on premeditation<sup>a</sup>; they may not have long pondered the abomination in their hearts; they may have been moved by a momentary instinct and allowed their anger to overpower their reason when they did the fatal deed. If so, theirs is but a half action, since the mind has not been under the control of the polluting influences from some far earlier time. <sup>b</sup> But there are others, the 93  
 worst of villains, accursed both in hand and will, the sorcerers and poisoners, who provide themselves with leisure and retirement to prepare the onslaughts they will make when the right time comes,<sup>c</sup> and think out multiform schemes and devices to harm their neighbours. And therefore he orders that poisoners, male 94  
 or female,<sup>d</sup> should not survive for a day or even an hour, but perish as soon as they are detected, since no reason can be given for delay or for postponing their punishment. Hostile intentions if undisguised can be guarded against, but those who secretly frame and concoct their plans of attack with the aid of poisons employ artifices which cannot easily be observed. The only course, then, is to anticipate the 95  
 by meting to the actors the treatment which others may expect to suffer through their acts. For apart from other considerations the slayer who openly uses a sword or any similar weapon will make away with a few on one particular occasion, but if he mixes an injection of deadly poison with some articles of food

(R.V. "sorceress") to live," the LXX has *φαρμακούς οὐ περιποιήσεις*. The word *φαρμακός* is applied to sorcerers as well as poisoners, as Philo himself implies in § 102, where see note.

<sup>c</sup> Or possibly "deadly," as in § 106.

<sup>d</sup> Does this suggest that Philo had an inkling or had been informed that the Hebrew word which the LXX translated by *φαρμακούς* was actually feminine?

## PHILO

οὐ προαισθανομένους ἔδωδίμοις τισὶν ἀναμίξας καὶ  
 96 συνανακερασάμενος. ἤδη γοῦν πολυάνθρωπα συσ-  
 σίτια καθ' ἑταιρείαν συνεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς  
 ἄλας καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἄσπονδα  
 ἔπαθεν ἐξαίφνης διαφθαρέντα καὶ θάνατον ἀντ'  
 εὐωχίας ἀντηλλάξατο. διὸ προσήκει κατὰ τῶν  
 τοιούτων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους καὶ τοὺς  
 μετριοπαθεστάτους φονᾶν, μόνον οὐκ αὐτόχειρας  
 γινομένους καὶ νομίζοντας εὐαγές εἶναι τὸ μὴ  
 97 ἑτέροις τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιτρέπειν ἄλλ' ἑαυτοῖς. πῶς  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πάνδεινον, διὰ τροφῆς ἢ τοῦ ζῆν  
 αἰτία καθέστηκε θάνατον τεχνάζειν καὶ τοῖς φύσει  
 τροφίμοις φθοροποιὸν ἐνεργάζεσθαι μεταβολήν, ἵνα  
 τινὲς διὰ φυσικὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπ' ἔδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν  
 ἰόντες, οὐ προιδόντες τὴν ἐνέδραν, ὡς σωτήρια  
 98 προσῶνται τὰ πανωλεθρίας αἰτία; τὴν δ' αὐτὴν  
 ὑπομενέτωσαν τιμωρίαν, κἄν [εἴ] τινες θανάσιμα  
 μὴ συντιθέντες τὰ δι' ὧν μακρὰ κατασκευάζονται  
 [316] | νόσοι προσφέρωσι· θάνατοι γὰρ πολλάκις αἰρε-  
 τώτεροι νόσων εἰσὶ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων,  
 αἱ μῆκεσι χρόνων ἀποτείνονται καὶ τέλος ἔχουσιν  
 οὐκ αἴσιον· δυσίατα γὰρ ἤδη καὶ παντελῶς  
 ἀθεράπευτα τὰ ἐκ φαρμακειῶν ἀρρωστήματα.  
 99 χαλεπώτερα μέντοι συμβαίνει φιλεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 σώμασι καὶ <τὰ> περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πάθη τῶν ἐπι-  
 βουλευομένων· ἐκστάσεις γὰρ καὶ παραφροσύναι

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\* Goodenough, who translates this passage, p. 105, gives the meaning more literally, "suffer in the libation something which should have no connexion with it." But the idea of "truce," is inextricably bound up with "libation" in *σπονδή* and still more in *ἄσπονδος*.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 95-99

his victims who have no foreknowledge of the plot will be counted by thousands. We have certainly 96 heard of banquets where sudden destruction has fallen upon a great assemblage of guests drawn by comradeship to eat of the same salt and sit at the same board, to whom the cup of peace has brought the bitterness of war<sup>a</sup> and festivity has been changed into death. And therefore it is right that even the most reasonable and mild-tempered should seek the blood of such as these, that they should lose hardly a moment in becoming their executioners,<sup>b</sup> and should hold it a religious duty to keep their punishment in their own hands and not commit it to others. For 97 surely it is a horror of horrors to manufacture out of the food which is the source of life an instrument of death, and to work a destructive change in the natural means of sustenance, so that when the compulsion of nature sends them to take food and drink they do not see the pitfall that lies before them and put to their lips what will annihilate the existence which they think it will preserve. The same punishment must 98 be suffered by any who, although the compounds which they make are not deadly, purvey what will set up chronic diseases.<sup>c</sup> For death in many cases is preferable to diseases, particularly such as drag on through long periods of time without any favourable termination. For maladies caused by poisoning have been found difficult to cure and sometimes entirely unamenable to treatment. However, the bodily 99 troubles of the sufferers from these machinations are often less grievous than those which affect their souls. Fits of delirium and insanity and intolerable frenzy

<sup>b</sup> See note on ἀτροχειρία, § 91.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 635.

## PHILO

καὶ ἀφόρητοι μανίαι κατασκήπτουσι, δι' ὧν ὁ νοῦς, ἦν μεγίστην ἀπένειμεν ἀνθρώπων γένει δωρεὰν ὁ θεός, κακούμενος πάσας κακώσεις, ὅταν ἀπογνῶ τὰ σωτήρια, μετανίσταται καὶ μετοικίζεται τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς φαυλότερον εἶδος ὑπολειπόμενος ἐν τῷ σώματι, τὸ ἄλογον, οὗ καὶ τὰ θηρία μετέσχηκεν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ὁ ἐρημωθείς λογισμοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος μέρους ψυχῆς μεταβέβληκεν εἰς θήρειον φύσιν, κἂν ἔτι μένωσιν οἱ τοῦ σώματος χαρακτῆρες ἀνθρωπόμορφοι.

- 100 XVIII. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθῆ μαγικὴν, ὀπτικὴν ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν, ἣ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα τρανοτέραις φαντασίαις ἀυγάζεται, σεμνὴν καὶ περιμάχητον δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, οὐκ ἰδιῶται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ βασιλέων οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Περσῶν διαπονοῦσιν οὕτως, ὥστ' οὐδένα φασὶν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν δύνασθαι παραπεμφθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ πρότερον τοῦ μάγων γένους κεκοινωνηκῶς τυγχάνοι. ἔστι δέ τι παράκομμα ταύτης, 101 κυριώτατα φάναι κακοτεχνία, ἣν μηναγύρται καὶ βωμολόχοι μετίασι καὶ γυναίων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ φαυλότατα, περιμάττειν καὶ καθαίρειν κατεπαγγελλόμενα καὶ στέργοντας μὲν εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἔχθραν μισοῦντας δὲ εἰς ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὐνοίαν ἄξιον ὑπισχνούμενα φίλτροις καὶ ἐπωδαῖς τισιν, εἶτα τοὺς ἀπλάστοις καὶ ἀκακωτάτοις ἦθεσι κεχημένους ἀπατᾶ τε καὶ ἀγκιστρεύεται, μέχρις ἂν τὰς μεγίστας προσλάβωσι συμφοράς, δι' ἃς οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν ὄμιλοι μεγάλοι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 74, where the magic of the Persians

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 99-101

swoop down upon them, and thereby the mind, the greatest gift which God has assigned to human kind, is subject to every sort of affliction, and when it despairs of salvation it takes its departure and makes its home elsewhere, leaving in the body the baser kind of soul, the irrational, which the beasts also share. For everyone who is left forsaken by reason, the better part of the soul, has been transformed into the nature of a beast, even though the outward characteristics of his body still retain their human form.

XVIII. Now the true magic,<sup>a</sup> the scientific vision by 100 which the facts of nature are presented in a clearer light, is felt to be a fit object for reverence and ambition and is carefully studied not only by ordinary persons but by kings and the greatest kings, and particularly those of the Persians, so much so that it is said that no one in that country is promoted to the throne unless he has first been admitted<sup>b</sup> into the caste of the Magi. But there is a counterfeit of this, 101 most properly called a perversion of art,<sup>c</sup> pursued by charlatan mendicants and parasites and the basest of the women and slave population, who make it their profession to deal in purifications and disenchantments and promise with some sort of charms and incantations to turn men's love into deadly enmity and their hatred into profound affection. The simplest and most innocent natures are deceived by the bait till at last the worst misfortunes come upon them and thereby the wide membership which unites great companies

is described in almost the same words as here. See App. pp. 635-636.

<sup>b</sup> Or "made a partner with," *i.e.* "has learnt their lore." But this would seem to need the dative. The genitive, at any rate in Philo, is regularly applied to the thing shared.

<sup>c</sup> For the use of *κακοτεχνία* see note on *De Mut.* 151.

κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέοντες ἀφοφητὶ ταχέως ἐξ-  
 102 εφθάρησαν. εἰς ἅπερ, οἶμαι, πάντα ἀπιδὼν ὁ ἡμέ-  
 τερος νομοθέτης οὐκ ἐᾷ τὰς κατὰ φαρμακευτῶν εἰς  
 ὕστερον ἀναβάλλεσθαι δίκας, παραχρῆμα τὰς  
 τιμωρίας ἀναπράττειν κελεύσας· αἱ γὰρ ὑπερθέσεις  
 τοὺς μὲν ὑπαιτίους ἐνευκαιρεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀδι-  
 κήμασι παρορμῶσιν ἄτε θανατῶντας,<sup>1</sup> τοὺς δὲ εἰς  
 τὸ παθεῖν ὑπόπτους φοβερωτέρου δέους ἀνα-  
 πιμπλᾶσι, τὴν ἐκείνων ζωὴν θάνατον αὐτῶν εἶναι  
 103 νομίζοντας. καθάπερ οὖν ἔχεις καὶ σκορπίους | καὶ  
 [317] ὅσα ἰοβόλα, πρὶν δακεῖν ἢ τρῶσαι ἢ συνόλως  
 ἐφορμῆσαι, θεασάμενοι μόνον χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως  
 κτείνομεν, προφυλαττόμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν  
 αὐτοῖς κακίαν τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
 καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἄξιον τιμωρεῖσθαι, οἱ φύσεως ἐπι-  
 λαχόντες ἡμέρου διὰ τὴν κοινωνίας αἰτίαν, λογικὴν  
 ψυχὴν,<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτηδεύσει πρὸς θηρίων ἀτιθάσων ἀγριό-  
 τητας μετέβαλον ἐν ἡδονῇ καὶ ὠφελείᾳ τῇ πάσῃ  
 τιθέμενοι τὸ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὅσους ἂν δύνωνται.

104 XIX. Τοσαῦτ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι περὶ φαρμακευτῶν  
 ἀποχρώντως λελέχθω. προσήκει μέντοι μηδὲ τοῦτ'  
 ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι καιροὶ συμπίπτουσιν ἀβουλήτοι πολ-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn, who originally suggested ἄτε θανατοῦντας, later in a note to Heinemann's translation declared the words to be an interpolation. See note *c* and App. pp. 636-637.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn following Mangey for mss. πηγῆν. I follow them without doubt. Is λογικὴ πηγὴ in the sense of the "fountain of reason," *i.e.* containing reason, as a periphrasis for the mind or soul, impossible?

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 101-104

of friends and kinsmen falls gradually into decay and is rapidly and silently destroyed. All these things our lawgiver had in view,<sup>a</sup> I believe, when he prohibited any postponement in bringing poisoners to justice and ordained that the punishment should be exacted at once.<sup>b</sup> For postponement encourages the culprits to use the little time they have to live<sup>c</sup> as an opportunity for repeating their crimes, while it fills those who already have misgivings as to their safety with a still more horrifying fear, as they think that the survival of the poisoners means death to themselves. So just as the mere sight of vipers and scorpions and all venomous creatures even before they sting or wound or attack us at all leads us to kill them without delay as a precaution against injury necessitated by their inherited viciousness, in the same way it is right to punish human beings who though they have received a nature mellowed through the possession of a rational soul, whence springs the sense of fellowship, have been so changed by their habits of life that they shew the savageness of ferocious wild beasts and find their only source of pleasure and profit in injuring all whom they can. 103

XIX. Enough has been said for the present on the subject of poisoners, but we must not fail to observe that occasions often arise unsought in which a man 104

<sup>a</sup> Philo here clearly implies that he sees that the magical arts described in the previous section fall under the head of the crime denounced in Ex. xxii. 18 *φαρμακοῦς οὐ περιποιήσεις*.

<sup>b</sup> Philo finds this meaning in *οὐ περιποιήσεις*. The verb might properly be used of a person temporarily reprieved.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "to make the best of their opportunities since they are about to die," if the text is to stand, on which see App. pp. 636-637. Cohn's first suggestion of *ἄτε θανατοῦντας*, meaning, I suppose, "since they are murderous people," seems to me impossibly weak.

## PHILO

λάκεις, ἐν οἷς ἀνδροφονεῖ τις οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλθὼν  
 ἢ παρεσκευασμένος, ἀλλ' ἐξαπιναίως ἀρπασθεὶς  
 ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἀνηκέστου καὶ ἐπιβούλου πάθους, ὃ καὶ  
 τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ <τὸν> καθ' οὗ γίνεται τὰ μέγιστα  
 105 βλάπτει. προελθὼν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε εἰς ἀγορὰν  
 ἕνεκα πραγματείας ἐπειγούσης, ἐντυχὼν τινι προ-  
 πετεστέρῳ κακηγορεῖν ἢ τύπτειν ἐπιχειροῦντι ἢ καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἀρξάς τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαφορᾶς, συμπλοκῆς  
 γενομένης, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαζευχθῆναι καὶ θάπτον  
 ἐκφυγεῖν ἢ πύξ ἔπαισε τῇ χειρὶ ἢ λίθον ἀράμενος  
 106 ἔρριψε· καιρίως δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἐνεχθείσης, εἰ μὲν  
 εὐθὺς θνήσκοι, καὶ ὁ παῖσας θνησκέτω τὰ ἴσα οἷς  
 διέθηκε παθῶν· εἰ δὲ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐκ τῆς  
 πληγῆς μὴ τελευτήσῃ, νόσω δὲ χρήσεται καὶ  
 κληήρης γενόμενος ἐπιμελείας τυχὼν τῆς προσ-  
 ηκούσης αὐθις ἐξαναστῆ καὶ προέλθῃ, κἂν μὴ  
 ποσὶν ἀρτίοις πως δύνηται βαδίξειν ἀλλ' ὑπερ-  
 ειδόντων τινῶν ἢ καὶ βακτηρία σκηριπτόμενος,  
 διττὰς ὁ παῖσας ἐκτινέτω ζημίας, τὴν μὲν εἰς  
 ἀργίας ἐπανόρθωσιν, τὴν δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ἰατρείων.  
 107 καταθεὶς δ' ἀπηλλάχθω τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τι-  
 μωρίας, κἂν ὕστερον ὁ τὴν πληγὴν λαβὼν τε-  
 λευτήσῃ· τάχα γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς πληγῆς, ἐπειδὴ  
 ῥάων γενόμενος εἰς περίπατον προήλθεν, ἀλλὰ καθ'  
 ἑτέρας αἰτίας, αἱ καὶ τοὺς ὑγιεινοτάτους τὰ σώματα  
 πολλάκις ἐξαίφνης ἐπιθέμεναι διέφθειραν.

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<sup>a</sup> For §§ 105-107 see Ex. xxi. 18, 19. Observe that Philo does not really follow up the idea suggested in the preceding section and still more clearly in § 92, viz. that manslaughter committed in sudden anger is only a "half action," and presumably, therefore, to be punished less severely. For if the other dies on the spot the penalty is still death, and if he dies later, the remission of the penalty is only justified by the



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 104-107

commits murder without having come with this purpose in his mind or with any preparations, but has been carried away by anger, that intractable and malignant passion so highly injurious both to him who entertains it and to him against whom it is directed. <sup>a</sup> Sometimes a man goes to the market-place 105 through stress of business ; he meets another of the more headstrong kind who sets about abusing or striking him, or it may be that he himself begins the quarrel ; then when they have set to, he wishes to break off and escape quickly ; he smites the other with his clenched fist or takes up a stone and throws it. Suppose that the blow strikes home, then if his 106 opponent dies at once, the striker too must die and be treated as he has treated the other, but if that other is not killed on the spot by the blow, but is laid up with sickness and after keeping his bed and receiving the proper care gets up again and goes abroad, even though he is not sound on his feet and can only walk with the support of others or leaning on a staff, the striker must be fined twice over, first to make good the other's enforced idleness and secondly to compensate for the cost of his cure.<sup>b</sup> This 107 payment will release him from the death-penalty, even if the sufferer from the blow subsequently dies. For as he got better and walked abroad, his death may be due not to the blow but to other causes which often suddenly attack and put an end to persons whose bodily health is as sound as possible.

uncertainty that the death was due to the blow. See on § 120 (App. pp. 637-638).

<sup>b</sup> E.V. "only he shall pay for the loss of his time and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed." Philo follows closely the wording of the LXX, *πλὴν τῆς ἀργίας αὐτοῦ ἀποτίσει καὶ τὰ ἰατρεία.*

## PHILO

- 108 Ἐὰν δὲ συμπλακείς γυναικί τις ἐγκύω πληγὴν ἐμφορήσῃ κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα, ἢ δὲ ἀμβλώσῃ, εἰ μὲν ἀπλαστον καὶ ἀδιατύπτωτον τὸ ἀμβλωθὲν τύχῃ, ζημιούσθω, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν καὶ ὅτι ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο τῇ φύσει ζωογονῆσαι τὸ κάλλιστον τεχνιτεύουσα καὶ δημιουργούσα ζῶον, ἄνθρωπον· εἰ δὲ ἤδη μεμορφωμένον, ἀπάντων μελῶν τὰς οἰκείους
- 109 τάξεις καὶ ποιότητας ἀπειληφότων, θηησκέτω. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὃν ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ διεχρήσατο μήπω καιρὸν εἶναι νομι-
- [318] ζούσης εἰς φῶς προαγαγεῖν, ἔοικὸς ἀνδριάντι | ἐν πλαστικῇ κατακειμένῳ, πλέον οὐδὲν ἢ τὴν ἕξω παραπομπὴν καὶ ἄνεσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐπιζητοῦντι.
- 110 XX. Διὰ ταύτης τῆς προστάξεως καὶ ἕτερόν τι μείζον ἀπηγόρευται, βρεφῶν ἔκθεσις, ὃ παρά πολλοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἔνεκα τῆς φυσικῆς ἀπ-
- 111 ἀνθρωπίας χειρόθες ἀσέβημα γέγονεν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ μηδέπω ταῖς ὠρισμέναις τῶν καιρῶν περιόδοις ἀποκνηθέντος προνοητέον, ὡς μὴ ἕξ ἐπιβουλῆς τι δεινὸν πάθοι, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ τελειογονηθέντος καὶ ὡσπερ εἰς ἀποικίαν ἦν ἔλαχον ἄνθρωποι προπεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τῷ μεταλαχεῖν τῶν τῆς φύσεως δωρεῶν, ἃς ἀνίσχιν ἐκ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ οὐρανοῦ, παρέχουσα τῶν μὲν οὐρανίων τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suggests ἀφεσιν.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxi. 22. Here Philo follows the LXX, which differs seriously from the Hebrew. There the words "so that her fruit depart, and yet no mischief follow," appear to mean (see Driver) that the woman does not die or suffer permanent injury from the miscarriage, and the question of the complete formation or not of the child does not appear at all. LXX εἰ μὲν . . . ἐξέλθῃ τὸ παιδίον μὴ ἐξείκονισμένον.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 637.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 108-111

<sup>a</sup> If a man comes to blows with a pregnant woman 108 and strikes her on the belly and she miscarries, then, if the result of the miscarriage is unshaped and undeveloped, he must be fined both for the outrage and for obstructing the artist Nature in her creative work of bringing into life the fairest of living creatures, man.<sup>b</sup> But, if the offspring is already shaped and all the limbs have their proper qualities and places in the system, he must die, for that which answers to 109 this description is a human being, which he has destroyed in the laboratory of Nature who judges that the hour has not yet come for bringing it out into the light, like a statue lying in a studio requiring nothing more than to be conveyed outside and released from confinement.<sup>c</sup>

XX. This ordinance carries with it the prohibition 110 of something else more important, the exposure of infants,<sup>d</sup> a sacrilegious practice which among many other nations, through their ingrained inhumanity, has come to be regarded with complacency. For if 111 on behalf of the child not yet brought to the birth by the appointed conclusion of the regular period thought has to be taken to save it from disaster at the hands of the evil-minded, surely still more true is this of the full-born babe sent out as it were to settle in the new homeland assigned to mankind, there to partake of the gifts of Nature. These gifts she draws from earth and water and air and heaven.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 637.

<sup>d</sup> The exposure of children is nowhere expressly forbidden in the law, though doubtless it would fall under the general head of murder as Philo himself suggests in § 118, and Josephus presumably held when he says, *Contra Ap.* ii. 202, that it was forbidden by the law. The LXX mistranslation of Ex. xxi. 22 comes in happily to help Philo to clinch the point.

## PHILO

- θέαν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγείων τὸ κράτος καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ πάσαις μὲν χορηγοῦσα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἄφθονα τὰ πάντων, τῷ δὲ νῶ καθάπερ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ τὰ μὲν διὰ τούτων ὡς ἂν δορυφόρων ὅσα αἰσθητά, τὰ
- 112 δ' ἄνευ τούτων ὅσα λόγῳ καταληπτά; τοσοῦτων οὖν ἀποστεροῦντες ἀγαθῶν τοὺς παῖδας οἱ τροφεῖς, ἅμα τῇ γενέσει τούτων μηδενὸς μεταδιδόντες, ἴστωσαν νόμους φύσεως καταλύοντες καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κατηγοροῦντες αὐτῶν, φιληδονίαν, μισανθρωπίαν, ἀνδροφονίαν καὶ—τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἄγος—
- 113 τεκνοκτονίαν. φιλήδονοι μὲν γάρ, εἰ μὴ σπορᾶς ἔνεκα τέκνων καὶ τοῦ διαιωνίσει τὸ γένος συνέρχονται γυναιξίν ἀλλὰ θηρώμενοι συῶν ἢ τράγων τρόπον τὴν ἐξ ὀμίλιας ἀπόλαυσιν· μισάνθρωποι δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τῶν γεννηθέντων ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἀμείλικτοι δυσμενεῖς; εἰ μὴ τις οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡλίθιος, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοτρίους ἔνσπονδοὶ γένοιτ' ἂν οἱ τοὺς ἠνωμένους κατὰ γένος
- 114 ἔκσπονδα εἰργασμένοι. τὰς γε μὴν ἀνδροφονίας καὶ τεκνοκτονίας ἐναργεστάταις βεβαιοῦνται πίστεσιν οἱ μὲν αὐτόχειρες γινόμενοι καὶ τὴν πρώτην εἰσπνοὴν τῶν βρεφῶν πιέζοντες καὶ ἀναθλίβοντες ὑπὸ ὠμότητος καὶ δεινῆς ἀναλγησίας, οἱ δὲ εἰς ποταμὸν ἢ θαλάττης βυθὸν ἀφιέντες, ὅταν ἀπαιωρήσωσιν
- 115 ἄχθος, ἵνα θάπτον τῷ βάρει καταφέρηται· οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐρημίαν κομίζουσιν ἐκθήσοντες, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ φασιν, ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας, ὡς δὲ τάληθὲς ἔχει, πρὸς ἀνιαιοτάτας συμφοράς· ὅσα γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρ-

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<sup>a</sup> πάντων apparently refers to earth, air, and water summed up in τὰ ἐπίγεια. The οὐράνια are not given to all the senses.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 111-115

Of heavenly things she grants the contemplation, of earthly things the sovereignty and dominion. She bestows in abundance on all the senses what every element contains,<sup>a</sup> on the mind, as on a mighty king, through the senses as its squires, all that they perceive, without them all that reason apprehends. If 112 the guardians of the children cut them off from these blessings, if at their very birth they deny them all share in them, they must rest assured that they are breaking the laws of Nature and stand self-condemned on the gravest charges, love of pleasure, hatred of men, murder and, the worst abomination of all, murder of their own children. For they are pleasure-lovers 113 when they mate with their wives, not to procreate children and perpetuate the race, but like pigs and goats in quest of the enjoyment which such intercourse gives. Men-haters too, for who could more deserve the name than these enemies, these merciless foes of their offspring? For no one is so foolish as to suppose that those who have treated dishonourably their own flesh and blood will deal honourably with strangers. As to the charges of murder in general 114 and murder of their own children in particular the clearest proofs of their truth is supplied by the parents. Some of them do the deed with their own hands; with monstrous cruelty and barbarity they stifle and throttle the first breath which the infants draw or throw them into a river or into the depths of the sea, after attaching some heavy substance to make them sink more quickly under its weight. Others 115 take them to be exposed in some desert place, hoping, they themselves say, that they may be saved, but leaving them in actual truth to suffer the most distressing fate. For all the beasts that feed on human

## PHILO

- κῶν ἄπτεται θηρία, μηδενὸς ἀνείργοντος, ἐπιφοιτᾶ καὶ εὐωχεῖται τῶν βρεφῶν, καλῆς θοίνης, ἣν οἱ μόνου κηδεμόνες καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων σώζειν ὀφείλοντες, πατὴρ καὶ μήτηρ, προὔθεσαν· καὶ τὰ λείψανα μέντοι προσεπιλιχμῶνται τῶν οἰωνῶν οἱ σαρκοβόροι καταπτάντες, ὅταν μὴ προαίσθωνται·
- 116  
[319] αἰσθόμενοι γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄλων<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοὺς χειρ-  
σαίους θήρας κονίονται. φέρε δ' οὖν | τῶν ὀδῶ  
παριόντων τινὰς ἡμέρῳ κινήθοντας πάθει λαβεῖν  
οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον τῶν ἐκτεθέντων, ὡς ἀνελέσθαι τε  
καὶ τροφῆς μεταδοῦναι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας  
ἀξιῶσαι· ταυτὶ τὰ οὕτως χρηστὰ ἔργα τί νομίζομεν;  
ἄρ' οὐ τῶν γεννησάντων εἶναι καταδίκην,<sup>2</sup> εἴ γ' οἱ  
μὲν ἀλλότριου τὰ γονέων, οἱ δὲ γονεῖς οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν  
ἀλλοτρίων εἰς εὐνοίαν ἐπετήδευσαν;
- 117 Πόρρωθεν οὖν τὴν βρεφῶν ἔκθεσιν ἀπέειπε δι'  
ὑπονοιῶν θάνατον, ὡς ἔφην, ὀρίσας κατὰ τῶν  
αἰτίων ἀμβλώσεως τὰ μεμορφωμένα ἤδη κυῖσκού-  
σαις· καίτοι τὰ μὲν ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς προσεχόμενα  
τῇ μήτρᾳ τῶν κνουσῶν εἶναι μέρη λέγεται παρά  
τε φυσικοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ὁ θεωρητικὸς διαπονεῖ-  
ται βίος, καὶ παρὰ ἰατρῶν τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις, οἱ  
τὴν ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν διηρεύνησαν τὰ τ' ἐν  
ὄψει καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ μετ' ἐπιμελείας ἐξ ἀνατομῆς  
ἀκριβώσαντες, ἢν', εἰ χρεῖα τις γένοιτο θεραπείας,  
μηδὲν ἀγνοία παρολιγωρηθὲν αἴτιον μεγάλου

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀδῶν οἱ καὶ τῶν ὄλων.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καταδίκη οἱ καταδίκας.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 115-117

flesh visit the spot and feast unhindered on the infants, a fine banquet provided by their sole guardians, those who above all others should keep them safe, their fathers and mothers. Carnivorous birds, too, come flying down and gobble up the fragments, that is, if they have not discovered them earlier, for, if they have, they get ready to fight the beasts of the field for the whole carcase. But suppose some passing 116  
travellers, stirred by humane feeling, take pity and compassion on the castaways and in consequence raise them up,<sup>a</sup> give them food and drink, and do not shrink from paying all the other attentions which they need, what do we think of such highly charitable actions? Do we not consider that those who brought them into the world stand condemned when strangers play the part of parents, and parents do not behave with even the kindness of strangers?

So Moses then, as I have said, implicitly and in- 117  
directly forbade the exposure of children, when he pronounced the sentence of death against those who cause the miscarriage of mothers in cases where the foetus is fully formed. No doubt the view that the child while still adhering to the womb below the belly is part of its future mother is current both among natural philosophers whose life study is concerned with the theoretical side of knowledge and also among physicians of the highest repute, who have made researches into the construction of man and examined in detail what is visible and also by the careful use of anatomy what is hidden from sight, in order that if medical treatment is required nothing which could cause serious danger  
sense of "taking up" or acknowledgment by the father.  
Lat. *tollere*. See L. & S.

## PHILO

- 118 κινδύνου γένηται. τὰ δ' ἀποκηθέντα τῆς τε συμφυίας ἀπέζευκται καὶ διωφειμένα καθ' αὐτὰ ζῶα γέγονεν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεᾶ τῶν ὅσα συμπληρωτικὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεώς ἐστιν, ὥστε ἀνευδοιάστως ἀνδροφόνον εἶναι τὸν βρέφος ἀναιροῦντα, τοῦ νόμου μὴ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ γένει παρα-
- 119 σπονδουμένῳ δυσχεραίνοντος. εἰ μέντοι καὶ ἡλικιῶν ἔδει προμηθεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοί τις ἂν δεόντως ἀγανακτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναιροῦσι βρέφη· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τελείους μυρίαὶ προφάσεις εὐλογοὶ προσκρουσμάτων τε καὶ διαφορῶν, τοῖς δὲ κομιδῇ νηπίοις ἄρτι παρεληλυθόσιν εἰς φῶς καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον οὐδ' ἐπιψεύσασθαι κατηγορίαν ἀκακωτάτοις οὖσιν ἐνδέχεται. διὸ πάντων ὠμότητοι καὶ ἀνηλεέστατοι κριθεῖεν ἂν οἱ ἐπαποδύμενοι ταῖς τούτων ἐπιβουλαῖς, οὓς ἐχθαίρων ὁ ἱερός νόμος ἐνόχους ἀπεφίηνατο.
- 120 XXI. <sup>1</sup>Τὸν μὴ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ τοῦ κτείναντος ἀναιρεθέντα φησὶν ὁ ἱερός νόμος παραδεδόσθαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ χερσὶν ἀνδροφόνοις, τῇ μὲν ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόξαντος ἀνελεῖν ὡς ἐνοχον ἀνελόντος—
- 121 μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε τὸν ἴλεω καὶ συγγνώμονα θεὸν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τὸν γε ἀναίτιον ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλ' ὅστις τὰς μὲν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις κρίσεις εὐμηχάνως ἔνεκα τοῦ πολυτρόπου διαδιδράσκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀχθεῖς ἀφανὲς δικαστήριον ἐάλω, ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ

<sup>1</sup> mss. heading Περὶ ἀκουσίου φόνου.

<sup>a</sup> See note (App.) on § 109.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxi. 13. E.V. "If a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand," *i.e.* if he is killed by accident (Driver), "then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee." For the first words the LXX has "he that did not



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 118-121

should be neglected through ignorance. But when 118  
the child has been brought to the birth it is separated from the organism with which it was identified and being isolated and self-contained becomes a living animal, lacking none of the complements needed to make a human being.<sup>a</sup> And therefore infanticide undoubtedly is murder, since the displeasure of the law is not concerned with ages but with a breach of faith to the race. Though indeed, if 119  
age had to be taken into consideration, infanticide to my mind gives a greater cause for indignation, for in the case of adults quarrels and differences supply any number of reasonable pretexts, but with mere babes, who have just passed into the light and the life of human kind, not even a false charge can be brought against such absolute innocence. Therefore those who gird themselves up to conspire against such as these must be judged to be the cruellest and most ruthless of men. The holy law detests them and has pronounced them worthy of punishment.

XXI. The holy law describes the man who has been 120  
slain without the deliberate intention of him who did the deed as having been delivered by God into the manslayer's hands.<sup>b</sup> In this phrase it is partly defending one who has admittedly taken the life of another on the ground that it was the life of a guilty person. For it assumes that a merciful and forgiving 121  
God would never surrender an innocent man to be done to death but only one who having been enabled by his resourcefulness to make a skilful escape from the justice of men has been arraigned and condemned in the invisible court of Nature, that court in which  
intend it" (ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἔκων). For Philo's conception of ἀκούσιος φόνος see App. pp. 637-638.

## PHILO

τάληθές ἀκραιφνέστατον ὀράται, λόγων τέχναις οὐκ ἐπισκιαζόμενον, οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγους τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδέχεται βουλήματα ἀπαμπίσχον καὶ διανοίας ἀφανείς εἰς τοῦμφανές ἄγον—, τῇ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀνελόντα φόνῳ μὲν οὐ ποιῶν ὑπόδικον ἅτε θεία κρίσει δόξαντα ὑπηρετῆσαι, μιάσματι δὲ ἀδηλουμένῳ καὶ [320] βραχεὶ πάντως, ὃ παραιτητὸν καὶ | συγγνωστόν 122 ἔστι. χρῆται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ὀλίγα καὶ ἰάσιμα διαμαρτάνουσι κατὰ τῶν μέγιστα καὶ ἀνιάτα ἡδικηκότων ὑπηρεταῖς κολάσεως, οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀποδεχόμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ὄργανα παραλαμβάνων ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὄλω βίῳ καθαρὸς ὦν καὶ ἐκ καθαρῶν φόνου, κἂν δικαιοτάτος 123 ᾗ, προσάμψηται. φυγὴν οὖν κατὰ τοῦ κτείναντος ἀκουσίως ὤρισεν, οὐχ ὅπη τύχοι οὐδ' εἰς αἰεὶ πόλεις μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπένειμεν, ὀγδόῃν μοῖραν ὦν ἔλαχεν ἡ ἱερωμένη φυλὴ, τοῖς ἀλουῦσιν, ἃς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμασε “φυγαδευτηρίων”<sup>1</sup>. χρόνον δὲ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως προσενομοθέτησε κάθοδον μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἐπιτρέπων.

124 XXII. αἰτία δὲ τούτου μὲν<sup>2</sup> προτέρα ἦδε· ἡ λεχθεῖσα φυλὴ τὰς πόλεις εἴληφεν ἄθλον ἀνδροφονίας εὐαγούς, ἣν ἀριστεῶν ὅσαι πώποτε γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην ὑποληπτέον.

<sup>1</sup> mss. φυγαδευτήριον (-ου) (-α).

<sup>2</sup> The μὲν seems out of place. I suggest τούτου <ἢ> μὲν.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. setting the slayer to be His executioner, God marks him as one of a less worthy type. Philo is assigning a reason for the φυγή, which he regards rather as a sentence of banishment than as an escape from vengeance.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 121-124

truth is seen in perfect purity, which is not beclouded by verbal artifices, since it never accepts words at all but unveils motives and brings hidden intentions into open daylight. Partly, too, it lays the manslayer under the imputation, not indeed of murder, since he is held to have been the minister of divine judgment, but of a defilement of little note and quite insignificant, for which pardon may well be asked and granted.<sup>a</sup> For in inflicting chastisement on 122 offenders whose deeds have been evil beyond all remedy God uses as His ministers those whose sins are few and easily remedied, though He does not show approval of them but merely takes them as suitable instruments of vengeance. For He would not wish that anyone whose whole life is stainless and his lineage also should set his hand to homicide however justly deserved. He therefore sentenced the 123 involuntary manslayer to go into exile, but not just anywhere nor yet for all time. For He assigned to persons convicted under this head six cities, an eighth part of those allotted to the consecrated tribe,<sup>b</sup> a fact recorded in the name of "cities of refuge" which He gave to them, and by a further edict He limited the time of banishment to the life of the high priest, after whose death the exile should be permitted to return.<sup>c</sup>

XXII. <sup>d</sup> The first reason for this is as 124 follows : the aforesaid tribe received the cities as a reward for a righteous slaughter which we must regard as the most illustrious act of heroism that has

<sup>b</sup> Num. xxxv. 6, 11-15.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* 28.

<sup>d</sup> For §§ 124-127 see Ex. xxxii. Philo here recurs to the story which he has already told at length in *Mos.* ii. 159 ff. and 270 ff., to say nothing of shorter accounts in *De Ebr.* 67, and above, i. 79.

## PHILO

125 ἡνίκα γὰρ ὁ προφήτης εἰς τὸ περιμηκέστατον καὶ  
 ἱερώτατον τῶν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον ὄρων ἀνα-  
 κληθεὶς ἐθεσπίζετο τὰ γένη τῶν ἐν εἴδει νόμων  
 καὶ πλείους ἦν ἀφανὴς ἡμέρας, οἱ μὴ τὰς φύσεις  
 εἰρηνικοὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀναρχίας κακιῶν<sup>1</sup> πάντα κατ-  
 ἐπλησαν καὶ τέλος προσέθηκαν ἀσεβειαν· τὰς μὲν  
 ἀρίστας καὶ καλὰς ὑφηγήσεις περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντως  
 ὄντος θεοῦ τιμῆς χλευάσαντες, ταῦρον δὲ κατα-  
 σκευασάμενοι χρυσοῦν, Αἴγυπτιακοῦ μίμημα τύφου,  
 θυσίας ἀνήγον ἀθύτους καὶ ἐορτὰς ἀνεόρτους καὶ  
 χοροὺς ἀχορεύτους ἐπετέλουν σὺν ὠδαῖς καὶ ὕμνοις  
 126 ἀντὶ θρήνων. ἡ δὲ λεχθεῖσα φυλὴ πάνυ χαλεπῶς  
 ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν αἰφνίδιον ἐκδιαίτησιν καὶ ζήλω  
 πυρωθεῖσα διὰ μισοπόνηρον πάθος, ὑπόπλεω πάντες  
 ὀργῆς, μεμνηότες, ἐνθουσιῶντες, ὡς ἀφ' ἐνὸς  
 συνθήματος ὀπλισάμενοι, διττὴν μεθύοντας μέθην,  
 τὴν μὲν ἀσεβεία, τὴν δὲ οἴνω, μάλα καταφρονη-  
 τικῶς ἐπιστροφάδην ἀνήρουν, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων  
 καὶ φιλτάτων ἀρξάμενοι, φίλον καὶ συγγένειαν ἐν  
 τὸ θεοφιλὲς εἶναι νομίζοντες· καὶ βραχεὶ μέρει  
 ἡμέρας τέσσαρες πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι χιλιάδες ἀνηρέ-  
 θησαν, ὧν αἱ συμφοραὶ τοὺς συναπονοεῖσθαι μέλ-  
 λοντας ἐνουθέτησαν, δέει τοῦ μὴ τὰ παραπλήσια  
 127 παθεῖν. ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐβελουργὸν καὶ  
 αὐτοκέλευστον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος τῆς<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κακῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὴν.

<sup>a</sup> This certainly is the sense required for this passive (or middle?) of *θεσπίζω*, but no other examples seem forthcoming, unless *De Abr.* 262 οὗς Μωυσῆς ἐθεσπίσθη, is to be taken in the sense of "was inspired to give" instead of "prophesied." See note there.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 125-127

ever been achieved. When the prophet, summoned 125  
up to the highest and most sacred mountain in that  
region, was receiving<sup>a</sup> from God the heads which sum  
up the particular laws, and had disappeared for several  
days, the born enemies of peace had diffused through  
every part of the camp the vices that spring up in  
the ruler's absence and had crowned them with  
impiety. They mocked at the most excellent and  
admirable injunctions which bade them honour the  
truly existing God, constructed a golden bull in  
imitation of the vanity of Egypt, offered sacrifices  
which were no sacrifices, held feasts which were no  
feasts and danced dances of death with songs and  
hymns which should have been dirges.<sup>b</sup> Then this 126  
same tribe, sorely distressed at the sudden backsliding  
and fired with zeal by their heart-felt hatred of evil,  
every man of them filled with rage, frenzied, pos-  
sessed, took arms as if at one signal,<sup>c</sup> and despising  
all thoughts of danger mowed down their foes drunk  
with the twofold intoxication of impiety and wine.  
They began with their nearest and dearest, for they  
acknowledged no love nor kinship but God's love, and  
in the space of a few hours 24,000<sup>d</sup> had fallen whose  
fate served as a warning through fear that they might  
suffer the like to those who were on the brink of  
sharing their delusion. This campaign, waged spon- 127  
taneously and instinctively on behalf of piety and

<sup>b</sup> Much the same phraseology as in *Mos.* ii. 162, except that there the *χοροὺς* coupled with *ἰσραῆλ* signifies the dancers rather than, as here, the dances.

<sup>c</sup> The same phrase as in *Mos.* ii. 170.

<sup>d</sup> A slip for 3000 (given correctly *De Ebr.* 67 and *Mos.* ii. 274), induced by confusion with *Num.* xxv. 9, where Philo saw a similar slaughter rather than a plague. See *Mos.* i. 304 and note.

## PHILO

εἰς τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν γενομένην οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων τοῖς ἀραμένοις τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων ἀπεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας δικάσας παρ' αὐτῷ καθαρούς εἶναι παντὸς ἄγους |  
 [321] καὶ μιάσματος ἱερωσύνην τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας τούτοις  
 128 ἀντιδωρεῖται. XXIII. τὸν οὖν ἀκούσιον

δράσαντα φόνον κελεύει φυγεῖν εἰς ἐνίας ὧν ἔλαχον οὗτοι πόλεις ἕνεκα παρηγορίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἀσφάλειαν, ὑπομιμνησκόμενον ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τὸ ἄφοβον καὶ λογιζόμενον, ὅτι τοῖς ἐκουσίως ἀπεκτονόσιν οὐ μόνον ἀμνηστία δέδοται ἀλλὰ καὶ γέρα μεγάλα καὶ περιμάχητα καὶ πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας, εἰ δὲ τούτοις, πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίας ἀνελοῦσιν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ γοῦν τὸ πανύστατον, μὴ ἀνταναιρεθῆναι· δι' οὗ παρίσταται τὸ μὴ πᾶσαν ἀνδροφονίαν ἐπίληπτον ἀλλὰ τὴν σὺν ἀδικίᾳ μόνην εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαινετὴν μὲν τὴν κατὰ πόθον καὶ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς, οὐ ψεκτὴν δὲ τὴν ἀκούσιον.

129 ἦδε μὲν αἰτία προτέρα λελέχθω, δευτέραν δ' αὐτίκα μνηστέον· βούλεται ὁ νόμος τὸν ἀκουσίως ἀποκτείναντα διασώζειν, εἰδὼς γνώμη μὲν οὐκ ἔνοχον χερσὶ δὲ ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐφόρῳ δίκῃ πραγμάτων· ἐφεδρεύουσι γὰρ ἐχθροὶ φονῶντες οἱ τοῦ τεθνεώτος ἀγχιστεῖς, οἱ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντα οἶκτον καὶ πένθος ἀπαρηγόρη-

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<sup>a</sup> The first reason for the choice of the Levitical cities was that their history shewed that homicide was not necessarily a crime. The second was that their superior sanctity made them a more secure refuge.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 127-129

holiness towards the truly existing God and fraught with much danger to those who undertook it, was approved by none other than the Father of all Who took it upon Himself to judge the cause of those who wrought the slaughter, declared them pure from any curse of bloodguiltiness and gave them the priesthood as a reward for their gallantry.

XXIII. So then he bids the unintentional homicide 128  
flee to some of the cities allotted to this tribe, there to gain consolation and be saved from despairing of salvation altogether. There the place will remind him of the fearless courage once shewn in the past ; there he may reflect that those who shed blood intentionally received not only full pardon but also rewards great and much to be desired and fraught with abundant happiness ; and that, if they fared thus, much more will those whose act was not premeditated receive, not indeed such privileges as confer honour, but at least the lowest and last that they do not pay for the blood they have shed with their own. This shews that not every kind of homicide is culpable but only that which entails injustice, and that as for the other kinds if it is caused by an ardent yearning for virtue it is laudable and if unintentional it is free from blame. No 129

more need be said about the first reason ; we must proceed at once to explain the second.<sup>a</sup> The law wishes to preserve the unintentional homicide, as it recognizes that in intention he was free from guilt, and that with his hands he had been the servant of justice, the overseer of human affairs. It knows that watching and waiting for him are blood-thirsty enemies, the kinsmen of the dead man, urged on to vengeance by overwhelming pity and inconsolable

## PHILO

- τον ἵενται πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ τάληθές και  
 130 τὸ φύσει δίκαιον οὐκ ἐξετάζοντες. ἐπέτρεψεν οὖν  
 τῷ τοιούτῳ καταφεύγειν οὔτε εἰς ἱερὸν ἄτε μήπω  
 κεκαθαρμένῳ οὔτε εἰς ἡμελημένον και ἀφανές  
 χωρίον, ἵνα μὴ ῥαδίως ἐκδοθῆ καταφρονηθεῖς, ἀλλ'  
 εἰς ἱερόπολιν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ και βεβήλου τόπου  
 μεθόριος, τρόπον τινὰ δεύτερον ἱερὸν· αἱ γὰρ τῶν  
 ἱερωμένων πόλεις σεμνότεραι τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν, ἐφ'  
 ὅσον, οἶμαι, και οἰκήτορες οἰκητόρων ἐντιμότεροι·  
 βούλεται γὰρ τῇ τῆς ὑποδεξαμένης προνομία βε-  
 βαιοτάτην ἀσφάλειαν περιποιῆσαι τῷ καταφυγόντι.  
 131 χρόνον δ', ὡς ἔφην, ὥρισε τῆς καθόδου  
 τῆν τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερέως τελευτὴν αἰτίας ἔνεκα  
 τοιαύδε· ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν δολοφονηθέντων  
 οἱ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν ἔφεδροι τῆς κατὰ τῶν δολο-  
 φονησάντων δίκης και τιμωρίας, οὕτως και τοῦ  
 σύμπαντος ἔθνους συγγενῆς και ἀγχιστεὺς κοινὸς  
 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐστι, πρυτανεύων μὲν τὰ δίκαια τοῖς  
 ἀμφισβητοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, εὐχὰς δὲ και  
 θυσίας τελῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν και τὰ ἀγαθὰ  
 αἰτούμενος ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν και γονέων και  
 τέκνων, ἵνα πᾶσα ἡλικία και πάντα μέρη<sup>1</sup> τοῦ  
 ἔθνους ὡς ἐνὸς σώματος εἰς μίαν και τῆν αὐτὴν  
 ἀρμόζηται κοινωνίαν εἰρήνης και εὐνομίας ἐφιέμενα.  
 132 τοῦτον οὖν εὐλαβεῖσθω πᾶς ὁ ἀκουσίως ἀνελὼν ὡς  
 ὑπέρμαχον και προαγωνιστὴν τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων και

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὰ μέρη.

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<sup>a</sup> Philo's explanations in §§ 131-136 of "till the death of the high priest" are (1) that the high priest, as representing the nation, is bound to inflict the punishment which the



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 129-132

grief, and so carried away by unreasoning passion that they do not inquire what is true or essentially just. It therefore permitted such a one to fly for refuge, 130 not to the holy temple, since he had not yet been purged, nor yet to some obscure and insignificant place where he might easily be surrendered as one of little account, but to a holy city which comes midway between holy and profane ground and is in a sense a secondary temple. For the cities of the consecrated order compared with the others receive a higher reverence, corresponding, I consider, to the honour paid to their respective occupants. The law wished in fact to use the superior rank of the city which gave them shelter to put the safety of the fugitive on the firmest possible footing.

<sup>a</sup> When, as 131 I said, it appointed the death of the high priest as the date for the exile's return, it did so for some such reason as this. Just as each single individual who is wilfully murdered has kinsmen to inflict vengeance on the murderer, so too the whole nation has a kinsman and close relative common to all in the high priest, who as ruler dispenses justice to litigants according to the law, who day by day offers prayers and sacrifices and asks for blessings, as for his brothers and parents and children, that every age and every part of the nation regarded as a single body may be united in one and the same fellowship, making peace and good order their aim. Everyone, then, who has slain another 132 unintentionally must fear the high priest as a champion and defender of the slain and keep himself fugitive incurs by leaving his refuge; (2) that he is a theoretically perfect character and will therefore refuse to tolerate the presence of even the involuntary offender. In the first case the *φυγή* is regarded as a refuge, in the second as exile (as in § 123). See further App. p. 638.

## PHILO

- εἶσω τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἣν κατέφυγε κατακεκλείσθω, |  
 [322] μὴ ἐπιθαρρῶν ἕξω προέρχεσθαι τειχῶν, εἰ δὴ τινα  
 ποιεῖται λόγον ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀκινδύνως.  
 133 ὅταν οὖν λέγη “ μὴ ἐπανίτω ὁ φυγάς, ἕως ἂν  
 ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας,” ἴσον τι τούτῳ φησίν·  
 ἕως ἂν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πάντων κοινὸς ἀγχιστεὺς, ᾧ  
 μόνῳ καὶ τὰ τῶν ζώντων καὶ τὰ τῶν τετελευτη-  
 134 κόντων ἐφείται βραβεύειν. XXIV. τὴν  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ νεωτέρων ἀκοαῖς ἐφαρμόζουσαν αἰτίαν  
 τοιαύτην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ἦν δὲ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ  
 τελείοις τὸ ἦθος θέμις ἀναφέρειν, ἥδ' ἐστί· τῶν μὲν  
 ἔκουσίων ἀδικημάτων αὐτὸ μόνον ἰδιώτας καθ-  
 αρεύειν ἐφείσθω, λεγέτω δ' εἰ βούλεται τις καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς, ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἔκουσίων τε καὶ  
 ἀκουσίων κατὰ τὸν ἐξαιρετὸν λόγον τὸν ἀρχιερέα.  
 135 προσάπτεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ μιάσματος τὸ σύνολον οὐ  
 θεμιτόν, οὔτ' ἐκ προνοίας οὔτε κατὰ τροπὴν τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἀβούλητον, ἵνα ἱεροφάντης ὢν κοσμηῆται καθ'  
 ἑκάτερον, διανοία τε χρώμενος ἀνεπιλήπτῳ καὶ  
 136 εὐπραγίᾳ βίου, ᾧ μηδὲν ὄνειδος πρόσεστι. τῷ δὴ  
 τοιούτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀκόλουθον ὑποβλέπεσθαι καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀκουσίως ἀπεκτονότας οὐχ<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἐναγεῖς,  
 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς καθαρὸς καὶ παντὸς ἀμετόχους  
 ἀμαρτήματος, καὶ εἰ τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τῆς φύσεως

<sup>1</sup> Cohn expunged the οὐχ, quite wrongly, I think; see note b.

<sup>a</sup> While the second explanation has something in common with the allegorical interpretation in *De Fuga* 108 f., it is difficult to see why as it stands it is more suitable for older ears than the other. Perhaps the idea is that it involves the theological and somewhat mystical distinction between voluntary and involuntary sins on which Philo often dwells in his allegorical disquisitions, cf. e.g. *De Ebr.* 125.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 132-136

shut up within the city in which he has taken refuge, never venturing to shew himself outside the walls, that is, if he sets any value on his safety, or on a life secure from danger. When, then, he says that the 133 exile must not return till the death of the high priest, it is as much as to say till the death of the common kinsman of all, who alone has authority to arbitrate on the rights both of the living and the dead.

XXIV. Such is the reason which we find suitable to 134 younger ears, but for elders and those whose character is fully developed there is another which may properly be given.<sup>a</sup> For laymen it may be allowed that it is enough to keep undefiled from voluntary misdeeds only, and anyone who likes may say the same of the other priests, but he must make an exception of the high priest and agree that he needs to be innocent of the involuntary as well as the voluntary. The contact with pollution of any kind is forbidden 135 to him, whether it is the result of definite purpose or of some movement of the soul which he has not willed, for only so can he take his place as revealer in both aspects, his motives blameless and his life so fortunate that no stigma attaches to it. It is a 136 necessary consequence that such a one should include in the objects of his displeasure the unintentional homicides, regarding them not indeed as accursed,<sup>b</sup> but yet not pure or free from sin of every kind, however much they are admitted to have ministered to

<sup>b</sup> Cohn's rejection of *οὐχ*, though accepted by Heinemann, seems to me unreasonable. *ἐναγείς* is a strong word, and to negative it perfectly agrees with the description of unintentional homicide as a pollution of little note (§ 121). Apart from this, *ἀλλά* does not suit the parallelism, which Cohn's text demands, between *ἐναγείς* and *οὐ καθαρούς*.

## PHILO

ὑπηρετήσαι βουλήμασιν ἔδοξαν τισαμένης διὰ τούτων τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας, ὧν ἀφανῶς αὐτῇ<sup>1</sup> δικάσασα παρ' ἑαυτῇ θάνατον κατέγνω.

XXV. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἑλευθέροις καὶ ἀστοῖς· ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ περὶ οἰκετῶν νομοθετεῖται βιαίως ἀναιρεθέντων.

- 137 <sup>2</sup>Θεράποντες τύχη μὲν ἐλάττονι κέχρηται, φύσεως δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μεταποιοῦνται τοῖς δεσπόταις. τῷ δὲ θείῳ νόμῳ κανὼν τῶν δικαίων ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἑναρμόνιον. διὸ προσήκει τοὺς κυρίους μὴ κατακόρως χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐξουσίαις κατὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλαζονείαν καὶ ὑπεροφίαν καὶ δεινὴν ὠμότητα ἐπιδεικνυμένους· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δείγματα ψυχῆς εἰρηνικῆς ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον ζηλούσης κατὰ
- 138 τυραννικὴν δυναστείαν. ὁ γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἄκραν ἐπιτειχίσας, παρρησίας δὲ τῶν ἔνδον μηδενὶ μεταδιδούς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡγριωμένος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπιτετηδευμένης μισανθρωπίας, τύραννός ἐστιν ἐλάττοσι παρα-
- 139 σκευαῖς χρώμενος. ἐξ ὧν διελέγχεται μὴ στησόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, εἰ μειζόνων λάβοιτο χρημάτων· διαβήσεται γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας καὶ ἔθνη τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα προδουλώσάμενος εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ μηδενὶ μέλλειν τῶν ἄλλων
- 140 ὑπηκόων ἡμέρως προσφέρεσθαι. σαφῶς οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἴστω μὴ τὴν τοῦ συνεχῶς καὶ εἰς πολλοὺς [323] ἀμαρτάνειν | ἄδειαν ἔξω· ἐναντιώσεται γὰρ ἡ

<sup>1</sup> So mss. : Cohn corrects to αὐτῇ. In view of the common conjunction between αὐτός and the reflexive, I think the ms. reading is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> MS. heading Κατὰ τῶν οἰκέτας κτεινόντων.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 136-140

Nature's will, who has used them as instruments of vengeance against those who have fallen by their hands, condemned to death in the secret tribunal where she sits as sole judge.

XXV. What has been said applies to free-born persons of citizen rank; the enactments which follow deal with slaves whose death is caused by violence.

<sup>a</sup> Servants rank lower in fortune but in nature can <sup>137</sup> claim equality with their masters, and in the law of God the standard of justice is adjusted to nature and not to fortune. And therefore the masters should not make excessive use of their authority over slaves by showing arrogance and contempt and savage cruelty. For these are signs of no peaceful spirit, but of one so intemperate as to seek to throw off all responsibility and take the tyrant's despotism for its model. He who has used his private house as a <sup>138</sup> sort of stronghold of defiance and allows no freedom of speech to any of the inmates, but treats all with the brutality created by his native or perhaps acquired hatred for his fellow-men, is a tyrant with smaller resources. By his use of them he gives proof that he <sup>139</sup> will not stay where he is, if he gets more wealth into his hands, for he will pass on at once to attack cities and countries and nations, after first reducing his own fatherland to slavery, a sign that he will not deal gently with any of his other subjects. Such a one <sup>140</sup> must clearly understand that his misconduct cannot be prolonged or widely extended with immunity, for he will have for his adversary justice, the hater

<sup>a</sup> Presumably these are non-Israelites, *cf.* ii. 123. For the sentiments expressed *cf.* ii. 69. For the following sections see Ex. xxi. 20, 21.

## PHILO

- μισοπόνηρος αὐτῷ δίκη, ἢ βοηθὸς καὶ ὑπέρμαχος τῶν ἀδικηθέντων, ἢ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας αὐτὸν τῆς
- 141 περὶ τοὺς πεπονθότας συμφορᾶς ἀπαιτήσῃ· κἂν ἄρα φάσκη πληγὰς ἔνεκα νουθεσίας ἐντείνει μὴ διανοηθεὶς ἀνελεῖν, οὐκ εὐθύς βαδιεῖται γεγηθῶς, ἀλλ' εἰς δικαστήριον ἀπαχθεὶς παρ' ἀκριβέσι λογισταῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξετασθήσεται, πότερον ἐκὼν ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ ἄκων· κἂν ἐπιβεβουλευκῶς ἀνευρίσκηται γνώμη ἀνοσίῳ, θνησκέτω, μηδὲν παρόσον δεσπότης ἐστὶ κερδαίνων εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι.
- 142 εἰ δὲ μὴ εὐθύς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν οἱ τυπτηθέντες ἀναιρεθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ βιώσωσιν ἡμέραν μίαν ἢ καὶ δύο, μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ὁ δεσπότης ὑπόδικος ἔστω φόνου, πλεονέκτημα εἰς ἀπολογίαν πεπορισμένος τὸ μῆτε παραχρῆμα τύπτων ἀνελεῖν μῆθ' ὕστερον, ἔχων κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἑάσας ὅσον βιοῦν οἰοῖτε ἦσαν χρόνον, εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ὀλίγον· χωρὶς τοῦ μηδένα οὕτως ἡλίθιον εἶναι, ὡς λυπεῖν ἕτερον
- 143 ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς ἀδικηθήσεται. κτείνων δέ τις οἰκέτην πολὺ πρότερον ἑαυτὸν βλάπτει, ὑπ-

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<sup>a</sup> The thought of justice as the adversary and the legal process described in the next section probably spring from a misunderstanding of Ex. xxi. 20. There, where the E. V. has "he shall surely be punished," the LXX has δίκη ἐκδικηθήσεται. Philo, misunderstanding, as often, the Hebrew idiomatic way of strengthening the verb, takes this to mean "he shall be condemned by justice." He also interprets this to imply the death-penalty, though the text points rather to a fine (see Driver, *ad loc.*).

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 140-143

of evil, the defender and champion of the ill-used, who will call upon him to give an account for the unhappy condition of the sufferers.<sup>a</sup> And if he 141 alleges that the stripes he inflicted were meant as a deterrent and not with the intention of causing death, he shall not at once depart with a cheerful heart, but will be brought before the court, there to be examined under strict investigators of the truth as to whether he meant to commit homicide or not ; and if he is found to have acted with intentional wickedness and with malice aforethought he must die, and his position as master will avail him nothing to escape the sentence.

<sup>b</sup> But if the 142 sufferers do not die on the spot under the lash but survive for one or perhaps two days, the situation is different and the master is not to be held guilty of murder. In this case he is provided with a valuable plea, namely that he did not beat them to death at the time nor yet later when he had them in his house, but suffered them to live as long as they could, even though that was quite a short time. Furthermore he may argue that no one is so foolish as to try to harm another when he himself will be wronged thereby. And it is true that anyone who kills a slave 143 injures himself far more, as he deprives himself of

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxi. 21, "Notwithstanding if he continue (ΛXX διαβιώση, "survive") a day or two, he shall not be punished ; for he is his money." Philo understands the first part of this to mean that the master will be acquitted on the grounds that if he had intended to kill the slave he would have done so at once. The last words, "for he is his money," which probably mean that the master will not be fined, as he anyhow loses his property, are construed as a plea that he cannot have intended to destroy a valuable possession. Philo fails to observe that the plea would have been equally applicable if the slave had died on the spot.

## PHILO

ηρεσιῶν τε ἄς παρὰ ζῶντος εἶχε στερόμενος καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ζημιούμενος καὶ πλείστην ἴσως. ἐὰν μέντοι θανάτου πεπραχῶς ἄξια τυγχάνῃ, πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀγέτω καὶ δηλούτω τὸ ἀδίκημα, τοὺς νόμους κυρίους ποιῶν τῆς τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ μὴ ἑαυτόν.

- 144 XXVI. <sup>1</sup>Ἐάν τινα ταῦρος ἀναπείρας ἀποκτείνῃ, καταλευέσθω—ἀσφαγῆς γὰρ ἱερείοις—καὶ ἄβρωτα ἔστω τὰ τούτου κρέα. διὰ τί; ὅτι τροφήν ἢ προσόψημα τροφῆς ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι τὰ τοῦ
- 145 κτείναντος ἀνθρωπον οὐχ ὄσιον. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ τοῦ κτήνους κύριος ἄγριον εἰδῶς καὶ ἀτίθασον μῆτε καταδήσῃ μῆτε κατακλείσας φυλάττῃ, τύχη δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων πεπυσμένος ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι χειρόηθες, ἄφετον ἐάσας ἐκνέμεσθαι ὡσπερ αἷτιος ὑπόδικος ἔστω· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀναπείραν αὐτίκα θνησκέτω, ὁ δὲ κύριος προσαναιρείσθω ἢ λύτρα καὶ σῶστρα κατατιθέσθω, τὸ δὲ δικαστήριον ὃ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι διαγνώσεται. εἰ μέντοι δούλος ὁ ἀναιρεθεὶς εἶη, τὴν τιμὴν ἐπανορθούσθω τῷ δεσπότῃ.
- 146 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀνθρωπον ἀλλὰ | κτήνος ἀναπείρῃ, τὸ  
[324] τεθνηκὸς ὁ τοῦ κτείναντος λαβὼν δεσπότης τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποτισάτω, [διότι τὸ ἀνήμερον τοῦ ἰδίου

<sup>1</sup> ms. heading Κατὰ ζῶων ἀλόγων ἃ παραίτια γίνεταί θανάτου.

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 144-146 see Ex. xxi. 28-32 and 35, 36.

<sup>b</sup> The stoning is probably to avoid contact, cf. Ex. xix. 13, "no hand shall touch him but he shall surely be stoned or 566



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 143-146

the service which he receives from him when alive and loses his value as a piece of property, which may be possibly very considerable. When the slave has committed some act worthy of death his master should bring him before the judges and state the offence, thus leaving the decision of the penalty with the laws instead of keeping it in his own hands.

XXVI. <sup>a</sup>If a bull gores a man and kills him, it must 144  
be stoned,<sup>b</sup> since it is not fit to be slaughtered as a  
sacrifice, and its flesh must not be eaten. Why is  
this? It is required by the law of holiness that the  
flesh of an animal that has killed a man should not  
be used as a foodstuff for men or to make their food  
more palatable. If the owner of the animal knowing 145  
that it is savage and wild has not tied it up nor kept it  
shut up under guard,<sup>c</sup> or if he has had information  
from others that it is unmanageable, he must be  
held guilty as responsible for the death by allowing  
it to range at large. And while the aggressive animal  
is to be put to death at once, the owner must also  
forfeit his life or else redeem it by a ransom, what  
punishment he must suffer or what compensation he  
must pay being left to the decision of the court. If,  
however, it is a slave who is killed, he must make good  
his value to the owner and if it has gored not a man 146  
but one of the live-stock, here too the owner of the  
beast which has caused its death must pay like for

shot through" (with a dart). Philo seems to understand it that any animal killed in the ordinary way is suitable for sacrifice.

<sup>c</sup> So E.V. "hath not kept him in." The LXX has ἀφανίσθη αὐτόν = "removed" or "kept him out of the way." Heine-  
mann notes that here Philo is nearer to the Hebrew than to the LXX. But this may be merely accidental. His interpretation of ἀφανίσθη is a very natural one.

## PHILO

προαισθανόμενος οὐκ ἐφυλάξατο· κὰν αὐτὸ μέντοι τὸ θρέμμα ἀλλότριον ἀνέλη, πάλιν ὁμοιον ἀποτινέτω,]<sup>1</sup> χάριν εἰδὼς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πλείονα ζημίαν ὑπομένειν ἀρξας ἐπηρείας.

- 147 XXVII. <sup>2</sup> Ὅρυγματα γῆς εἰώθασι τινες εὖ μάλα βαθύνειν ἢ φλέβας πηγαζούσας ἀναστέλλοντες ἢ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος, εἶθ' ὑπονόμους εὐρύναντες ἀφανεῖς, δέον τὰ στόμια ἢ περιοικοδομῆσαι ἢ περιπωμάσαι, κατὰ τινα δεινὴν ῥαθυμίαν ἢ φρενοβλάβειαν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τινῶν εἴασαν ἀγανῆ.
- 148 εἰάν οὖν τις τῶν ὁδῶ παριόντων μὴ προαισθόμενος κατὰ κενοῦ ἐπιβὰς ἐνεχθῆ καὶ τελευτήσῃ, ἐπιγραφέσθωσαν οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος πρὸς τοὺς τὸ ὄρυγμα ποιησαμένους καὶ τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι. εἰάν δὲ θρέμμα κατενεχθὲν ἀποθάνῃ, τὴν ἀξίαν τιμὴν ὡς ζῶντος ἐπανορθούσθωσαν τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸ νεκρὸν
- 149 αὐτοὶ λαβόντες. ἀδελφὸν δὲ καὶ συγγενὲς ἀδίκημα δρῶσι τῷ λεχθέντι καὶ ὅσοι κατασκευάζοντες οἰκίας ἰσόπεδα καταλείπουσι τὰ τέγη, περιστεφανοῦν θωρακίοις δέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τινα κατακρημνισθῆναι λαθόντα· φόνον γάρ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, δρῶσι,

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets only appear in two mss. See note a.

<sup>2</sup> ms. heading Περὶ ὄρυγματων.

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<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxi. 36, "pay bull for bull." Philo, I think, rightly interprets this to pay compensation enough to buy another bull (or whatever the animal killed is), not as Goodenough, to hand over his own (and vicious) bull to the other. The words expunged by Cohn (see note 1), "because having foreknowledge of the savageness of his own animal he has not taken precautions; and if it kills the beast of another, he must pay the like as compensation," are absurdly super-

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 146-149

like,<sup>a</sup> taking the dead animal for his own, and be thankful that as the original cause of the wanton mischief he does not suffer a greater loss.<sup>b</sup>

XXVII. <sup>c</sup> It is a common practice with some people 147 to dig deep holes in the ground either when they are opening veins of spring water or making receptacles for the rain water. Then after widening the tunnels out of sight, instead of walling the mouths in or covering them up with a lid as they should, through some fatal carelessness or mental aberration they leave them gaping as a death-trap. If, then, some person walking 148 along does not notice them in time but steps on a void and falls down and is killed, anyone who wishes may bring an indictment on behalf of the dead man against the makers of the pit, and the court must assess what punishment they must suffer or what compensation they must pay. But if anyone of the cattle falls down and is killed, they must make good to the owners the value of the animal as if it were alive and keep the dead body for themselves.<sup>d</sup> Of the 149 same family as the above is the offence committed by those who in building their houses leave their roofs flat instead of ringing them in with parapets to prevent anyone being precipitated unawares over the edge. Indeed they are to the best of their ability

fluous. Cohn (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 206) also considers that the Greek has faults of which Philo would not have been guilty.

<sup>b</sup> Philo passes over the case (*v.* 36) where the bull has not been known to be vicious, when the two owners divide the loss between them.

<sup>c</sup> For §§ 147-148 see Ex. xxi. 33, 34, which, however, legislates for cases where death is thus caused to an animal, not to a man. See App. p. 638.

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xxii. 8, where, though no penalty is prescribed, it is implied that the omission will constitute bloodguiltiness (*לxxx ποιήσεις φόνον*). See App. pp. 638-639.

## PHILO

κἂν μηδεὶς ὑποσυρεῖς ἀποθάνῃ, τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦκον μέρος. κολαζέσθωσαν οὖν ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς ἀχανῆ τὰ στόμια τῶν ὀρυγμάτων καταλείπουσι.

- 150 XXVIII. Λύτρα παρὰ ἀνδροφόνου, ὃν δέον τεθνᾶναι, διαγορευεῖ ὁ νόμος μὴ ἐξεῖναι λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ μειώσει τῆς τιμωρίας ἢ ὑπαλλαγῆ φυγῆς ἀντὶ θανάτου· αἷματι γὰρ αἷμα καθαίρεται, τῷ τοῦ
- 151 κτείναντος τὸ τοῦ ἐπιβουλευθέντος. ἐπεὶ δ' ὄρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν οἱ πονηροὶ τὰς φύσεις τοῦ πλημμελεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μεγαλοουργοῦσι προσυπερβάλλοντες καὶ τὰς κακίας ἐπιτείνουσι καὶ διαίρουσι πρὸς τὸ ἄμετρον καὶ ἀπερίγραφον, μυρίους μὲν θανάτους, εἴπερ οἶόν τε ἦν, ὥρυσεν ἂν κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ νομοθέτης· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐνεδέχετο, τιμωρίαν ἄλλην προσδιατάττεται κελεύων τοὺς ἀνελόντας ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι.
- 152 καὶ τοῦτο προστάξας ἀνατρέχει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἡμερούμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀνήμερα εἰργασμένους, καὶ φησι· μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ὁ ἥλιος ἀνεσκολοπισμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπικρυπτέσθωσαν γῆ πρὸ δύσεως καθαιρεθέντες. ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς ἅπασιν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου πολεμίους μετρωρίσαντας εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἐπιδείξασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς

<sup>a</sup> Num. xxxv. 31, 32. In the second of these verses, where the E.V. has "ye shall take no ransom for him that is fled to his city of refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land until the death of the priest," the LXX has οὐ λήψεσθε λύτρα τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς πόλιν κτλ., which might easily be wrongly taken to mean "ye shall not accept a ransom so that he shall fly." Philo's phrase in "substitute banishment for death" suggests that he did take it so, meaning presumably that the voluntary homicide might purchase a leave to use the city of refuge.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 149-152

murderers, even if no one is killed by the force of the fall. They must receive the same penalty as those who leave the mouths of their pits wide open.

XXVIII. <sup>a</sup>The law forbids the acceptance of 150 ransom-money from a murderer deserving of death, in order to mitigate his punishment or substitute banishment for death, for blood is purged with blood,<sup>b</sup> the blood of the wilfully murdered with the blood of the slayer. Since there are no bounds to the in- 151 iquities of evil natures, and they are ever committing a superabundance of enormities and extending and exalting their vices beyond all measure and all limit, the lawgiver would, if he could, have sentenced them to die times beyond number. But since this was impossible he ordained another penalty as an addition, and ordered the manslayers to be crucified.<sup>c</sup> Yet 152 after giving this injunction he hastened to revert to his natural humanity and shews mercy to those whose deeds were merciless when he says "Let not the sun go down upon the crucified but let them be buried in the earth before sundown."<sup>d</sup> For while it was necessary that the enemies of every part of the universe should after punishment be set on high and

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* v. 33 "the land shall not be purged from the blood shed upon it but by the blood of him that shed it."

<sup>c</sup> Or simply "hanged up." But in the other two places where Philo uses the word, *De Post.* 61 and *De Som.* ii. 213, it is definitely coupled with nailing, and he probably understood the *κρεμάσθητε ἐπὶ ξύλου* of the LXX to mean "affix to something wooden," as also did Paul in *Gal.* iii. 13. Probably he understood that it is only the corpse of the malefactor which is so affixed, though he does not make it absolutely clear.

<sup>d</sup> *Deut.* xxi. 22, 23. Philo treats the text very freely. It does not enjoin the "hanging," but merely that if it is done, the body shall be buried the same day. Nor is it specified that it is a punishment for murderers in particular.

PHILO

[325] ἡλίῳ καὶ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἀέρι καὶ ὕδατι καὶ γῆ |  
 κολασθέντας, πάλιν δὲ εἰς τὸν νεκρῶν χώρον  
 ὑποσῦραί τε καὶ καταχῶσαι, ὅπως μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ γῆν  
 μαιίνωσι.

- 153 XXIX. Παγκάλως μέντοι κἀκέينو διατέτακται,  
 πατέρας ὑπὲρ υἱῶν μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν μηδ' υἱοὺς  
 ὑπὲρ γονέων, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἄξια θανάτου  
 δεδρακότων αὐτὸν ἰδία μόνον ἀναιρεῖσθαι, διὰ τοὺς  
 ἢ βίαν τοῦ δικαίου προτιμῶντας ἢ πάνυ φιλο-  
 154 στόργους. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ διὰ περιττὴν καὶ ὑπερ-  
 βάλλουσαν εὐνοίαν ἐθελήσουσι πολλάκις ἄσμενοι  
 προαποθνήσκειν, αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ἐνόχων οἱ ἀνυπαίτιοι, μέγα κέρδος νομίζοντες τὸ  
 μὴ ἐπιδεῖν κολαζομένους ἢ τοὺς γεννήσαντας υἱοὶ  
 ἢ τοὺς παῖδας γονεῖς, ὡς ἀβίωτον καὶ παντὸς  
 ἀργαλεώτερον θανάτου τὸν αὖθις χρόνον βιωσό-  
 155 μενοι. πρὸς οὓς λεκτέον· “ ἡ εὐνοία ὑμῶν οὐκ  
 ἔχει καιρὸν, τὰ δ' ὅσα μὴ ἐν καιρῷ ψέγεται  
 δεόντως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ καίρια ἐπαινεῖται. χρὴ  
 μέντοι φιλεῖν τοὺς ἄξια φιλίας δρῶντας, πονηρὸς  
 δ' οὐδεὶς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν φίλος. συγγενεῖς δὲ καὶ  
 ἐν συγγενεσί φίλους καλουμένους ἠλλοτριώσαν αἱ  
 μοχθηρίαι πλημμελούντας· συγγένεια γὰρ οἰκειοτέρα  
 τῆς πρὸς αἵματος ἢ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ πᾶσαν  
 ἀρετὴν ὁμολογία, ἣν ἐκλιπών τις οὐκ ἐν ὀθνείοις  
 καὶ ξένοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀσπόνδοις ἐχθροῖς  
 156 ἀναγράφεται. τί οὖν κατεψευσμένον ὄνομα εὐνοίας  
 ὃ τι χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόανθρωπὸν ἐστὶν ὑποδύεσθε,  
 τ'ἀληθῆ μαλακίαν καὶ ἀνανδρίαν παρακαλυπτόμενοι;  
 ἢ οὐκ ἀνανδροὶ τὰς φύσεις, παρ' οἷς οἴκτου λο-

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxiv. 16.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 152-156

exhibited to the sun and heaven and air and water and earth, it was equally necessary that they should be thrust down into the place of the dead and there entombed, that nothing above the earth might be polluted by them.

XXIX. Another excellent ordinance is that fathers 153 should not die for their sons nor sons for their parents, but each person who has committed deeds worthy of death should suffer it alone and in his own person.<sup>a</sup> This order has in view those who either set violence before justice or are strongly influenced by family affection. These last in their excessive and over- 154 whelming devotion will often be willing and glad to sacrifice their guiltless selves for the guilty and die in their stead. They count it a great gain to be spared from seeing, parents their children and sons their parents, undergoing a punishment which they feel will make their after-life intolerable and more painful than any death. To these we should answer 155 "your devotion is mistimed and the mistimed deserves censure just as the rightly timed deserves praise. It is right indeed to shew friendship to those whose actions are worthy of friendship, but no evil-doer is a true friend. Those whom we call our kinsfolk or within the circle of kinsmen our friends are turned into aliens by their misconduct when they go astray ; for agreement to practise justice and every virtue makes a closer kinship than that of blood, and he who abandons this enters his name in the list not only of strangers and foreigners but of mortal enemies. Why, 156 then, under the false name of devotion do you assume to be all that is kind and humane and cloak the realities, your weakness and unmanliness? For unmanly is the nature you shew in letting compassion

## PHILO

γισμὸς ἡττᾶται; καὶ ταῦθ' ἵνα διπλοῦν ἀδίκημα δράσητε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπαιτίους ῥυόμενοι τῆς τιμωρίας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐπὶ μηδενὶ μεμφθέντας τὸ παράπαν οἴομενοι δεῖν ἀντ' ἐκείνων κολάζειν;''

- 157 XXX. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ὑποτίμησιν ἔχουσι τὸ μηδὲν<sup>1</sup> θηρᾶσθαι ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ καὶ τὸ λίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω γένους φιλόστοργον, ὑπὲρ ὧν τῆς  
 158 σωτηρίας ἀποθνήσκειν ἄσμενοι διανοοῦνται. τοὺς δὲ ὠμοθύμους καὶ τὴν φύσιν θηριώδεις τίς οὐκ ἂν προβάλοιτο τῶν οὐ λέγω μετρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μὴ σφόδρα ἀτιθάσων τὴν ψυχὴν, οἱ ἢ λάθρα τεχνάζουσι ἢ ἐπιθαρροῦσι φανερώς ἑτέροις ἀνθ' ἑτέρων τὰς μεγίστας ἐπανατείνεσθαι συμφοράς, φιλίαν ἢ συγγένειαν ἢ κοινωνίαν ἢ τι ὁμοιότροπον ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότων προφασιζόμενοι; καὶ ταῦτα δρῶσιν ἔστιν ὅτε μηδὲν πεπονθότες δεινόν, ἔνεκα δὲ πλεονεξίας ἢ ἀρπαγῆς.  
 159 πρῶην τις ἐκλογεὺς φόρων ταχθεὶς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν δοξάντων ὀφείλουν διὰ πενίαν ἔφυγον δέει τιμωριῶν ἀνηκέστων, γύναια τούτων  
 [326] | καὶ τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην γενεὰν ἀπαγαγὼν πρὸς βίαν, τύπτων καὶ προπηλακίζων καὶ πάσας αἰκίας αἰκιζόμενος, ἔν' ἢ τὸν φυγόντα μὴνύσωσιν ἢ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου καταθῶσιν οὐδέτερον δυνάμενοι, τὸ μὲν ὅτι ἡγνόουν, τὸ δ' ὅτι οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ φυγόντος ἀπόρως εἶχον, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μηδενός.



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 156-159

overcome your reason, only to commit a double wrong in trying to deliver the guilty from chastisement and in thinking it right that you should be punished in their stead when no blame at all has been cast upon you.” XXX. Still these 157

can plead in their defence that they seek no profit and are moved by exceeding affection for their nearest of kin, to save whom they propose cheerfully to lay down their lives. But the other 158 kind, the cruel of heart and bestial of nature, would be spurned, I need not say by all respectable people, but by any who are not thoroughly uncivilized in soul. I mean those who either secretly and craftily or boldly and openly threaten to inflict the most grievous sufferings on one set of persons in substitution for another and seek the destruction of those who have done no wrong on the pretext of their friendship or kinship, or partnership, or some similar connexion, with the culprits. And they sometimes do this without having suffered any grievous harm but merely through covetousness and rapine. An 159

example of this was given a little time ago in our own district by a person who was appointed to serve as a collector of taxes. When some of his debtors whose default was clearly due to poverty took flight in fear of the fatal consequences of his vengeance, he carried off by force their womenfolk and children and parents and their other relatives and beat and subjected them to every kind of outrage and contumely in order to make them either tell him the whereabouts of the fugitive or discharge his debt themselves. As they could do neither the first for want of knowledge, nor the second because they were as penniless as the fugitive, he continued this treatment until while

## PHILO

- ἢ βασάνοις καὶ στρέβλαις τὰ σώματα κατατείνων ἀποκτεῖναι κεκαινουργημέναις ἰδέαις θανάτου·
- 160 ἄμμου σπυρίδα πλήρη βρόχοις ἐκδησάμενος ἀνήρτα κατὰ τῶν αὐχένων, βαρύτατον ἄχθος, ἰστάς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ κατὰ μέσσην ἀγοράν, ἕν' οἱ μὲν ἀθροαῖς τιμωρίαῖς, ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν παριόντων αἰσχύνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένοις ἄχθεσι, βιαζόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀπαγορεύωσιν, οἱ δὲ θεώμενοι
- 161 τὰς τούτων τιμωρίας προαλγῶσιν· ὧν ἔνιοι τρανότερον τῆς διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς λαβόντες αἰσθησιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐτέρων σώμασιν αὐτοὶ κακούμενοι, τῷ βίῳ προαπετάξαντο ξίφεσιν ἢ φαρμάκοις ἢ ἀγχόναῖς, μεγάλην ὡς ἐν κακοπραγίαις νομίζοντες ἐπιτυχίαν τὴν ἄνευ βασάνων
- 162 τελευτήν· οἱ δὲ μὴ φθάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διαχρήσασθαι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τῶν κλήρων ἐπιδικασίαις, κατὰ στοιχὸν ἤγοντο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους πρῶτοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς δεύτεροι καὶ τρίτοι μέχρι τῶν ὑστάτων· καὶ ὅποτε μηδεὶς λοιπὸς εἶη τῶν συγγενῶν, διέβαινε τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς γειτνιῶντας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ κώμας καὶ πόλεις, αἱ ταχέως ἔρημοι καὶ κεναὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐγένοντο μετανισταμένων καὶ σκεδαννυμένων ἔνθα λήσεσθαι προσεδόκων.
- 163 ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἴσως θαυμαστόν, εἰ φορολογίας ἔνεκα βάρβαροι τὰς φύσεις, ἡμέρου παιδείας ἄγευστοι, δεσποτικοῖς πειθαρχοῦντες ἐπιτάγμασι τοὺς ἐτησίους ἀναπράττουσι δασμούς, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σωμαίων, ἄχρι καὶ ψυχῆς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐπιφέροντες ὑπὲρ ἐτέρων

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 159-164

wringing their bodies with racks and instruments of torture he finally dispatched them by newly-invented methods of execution. He filled a large 160 basket with sand and having hung this enormous weight by ropes round their necks set them in the middle of the market-place in the open air, in order that while they themselves sank under the cruel stress of the accumulated punishments, the wind, the sun, the shame of being seen by the passers-by and the weights suspended on them, the spectators of their punishments might suffer by anticipation. Some of 161 these, whose souls saw facts more vividly than did their eyes, feeling themselves maltreated in the bodies of others, hastened to take leave of their lives with the aid of sword or poison or halter, thinking that in their evil plight it was a great piece of luck to die without suffering torture. The others 162 who had not seized the opportunity to dispatch themselves were brought out in a row, as is done in the awarding of inheritances, first those who stood in the first degrees of kinship, after them the second, then the third and so on till the last. And when there were no kinsmen left, the maltreatment was passed on to their neighbours and sometimes even to villages and cities which quickly became desolate and stripped of their inhabitants who left their homes and dispersed to places where they expected to remain unobserved.

Yet perhaps it is not to be wondered at 163 if uncivilized persons who have never had a taste of humane culture, when they have to collect the revenue in obedience to imperious orders levy the annual tributes not only on property but on bodies, and even on the life when they bring their terrors to bear upon these substitutes for the proper debtors. Indeed in 164

## PHILO

164 *ἑτέροις. ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν δικαίων ὄροι καὶ κανόνες, αὐτοὶ οἱ νομοθέται, πρὸς δόξαν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀπιδόντες, τῶν ἀδικωτάτων ὑπέμειναν γενέσθαι, κελεύσαντες τοῖς μὲν προδότηις τοὺς παῖδας συναναιρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ τυράν-*  
 165 *νοις τὰς ἐγγυτάτω πέντε οἰκίας. διὰ τί; φαίην ἂν εἰ μὲν γὰρ συνεξήμαρτον, καὶ συγκολαζέσθωσαν, εἰ δὲ μήτε κατεκοινωνήσαν μήτε ζηλωταὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐγένοντο μήτε ταῖς τῶν οἰκείων εὐτυχίαις ἐπαρθέντες ἐνθουσιάσθησαν, τίνος χάριν ἀναιρεθή-  
 [327] *σονται; ἢ δι' ἐν τούτῳ μόνον, ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἰσι; γένους γὰρ ἢ | παρανομημάτων αἱ τιμωρίαι;*  
 166 *χρηστῶν ἴσως ὑμεῖς, ὧ σεμνοὶ νομοθέται, τῶν οἰκείων ἐλάχετε. μοχθηροὶ δ' εἶπερ ἐγένοντο, δοκεῖτέ μοι μηδ' ἂν εἰς νοῦν ποτε βαλέσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας προστάξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράφοντας ἑτέρους δυσχερᾶναι, διὰ τὴν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν προφυλακὴν \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βίῳ διάγοντα μετὰ τῶν κινδυνευόντων σκοπεῖν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἴσαις κακοπραγίαις ἐξετάζεσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει δέος, ὃ φυλαττόμενός τις οὐδ' ἂν ἕτερον περιῖδοι, τὸ δ'**

<sup>1</sup> The text here is very difficult. I have not altered the form printed by Cohn, who, as also Mangey, supposed a lacuna after *προφυλακὴν*, but I doubt whether the error lies here. Something like *τὸν διάγοντα ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βίῳ* is required as subject to *παθεῖν*, for the legislator is not supposed to be guarding against his own ruin, but that of his relations. If *σκοπεῖν* is omitted, or some other infinitive = *ἀλῶναι* dependent on *κινδυνευόντων* substituted, and *μη* inserted before *ἐξετάζεσθαι*, the sentence, though very awkward, will be translatable. In that case *ἐξετάζεσθαι* is co-ordinate with *παθεῖν* and the sense as given in the translation. Heinemann, accepting the lacuna, suggested filling it by *δεινὸν γὰρ, i.e.* "it would be terrible to see the safe man in such a plight," but this, I think, would require *ἐξεταζόμενον*.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 164-166

the past the legislators themselves, who are the landmarks and standards of justice, have not shrunk from acting as such<sup>a</sup> to the greatest injustice. With an eye to men's opinions rather than to truth they have ordained that the fate of traitors and tyrants should be shared by the children in the first case and by the next five families in the second.<sup>b</sup> Why, one might ask? If they were companions in 165 error let them also be companions in punishment, but if they had no association with the others, never followed the same objects, never let elation at the success of their kinsmen tempt them to a life of ease and pleasure, why should they be put to death? Is their relationship the one sole reason? Then is it birth or lawless actions which deserve punishment? Probably you, most reverend 166 lawgivers, had worthy people for relations. If they had been bad, I do not think the idea of such enactments would have entered your minds. Indeed you would have been indignant if others had proposed them, for you would have taken precautions that the man who lives in safety should not suffer ruin with those who run into danger, nor be set on a level with them in misfortune.<sup>c</sup> Of the two situations<sup>d</sup> one involves a danger which you would guard against and not allow another to incur: the other has nothing to

<sup>a</sup> τῶν ἀδικωτάτων depends on ὄροι καὶ κανόνες understood.

<sup>b</sup> Heinemann impossibly translates "die fünf nächsten Verwandten ihres Hauses." For the law see App. pp. 639-640.

<sup>c</sup> The translation is based, as stated in note 1, on the conjecture that σκοπεῖν is to be omitted. Though the idea of the passage is fantastic, the general meaning seems clear, however uncertain the details of the text.

<sup>d</sup> I understand τὸ μὲν "as having bad," τὸ δέ "as having good" relations.

## PHILO

- ἔστιν ἄφοβον, ὑφ' οὗ πολλάκις ἀνεπίσθησάν τινες ἀλογοῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀνυπαιτίων ἀσφαλείας.
- 167 Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐκλογισάμενος ὁ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁμαρτήματα συνιδῶν ὡς φθοροποιὰ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας ἀπεστράφη καὶ διεμίσησε [καὶ] τοὺς χρωμένους εἴτε ῥαθυμίαις εἴτε ἀπανθρωπίαις καὶ κακίαις καὶ οὐδέποτε τινα τῶν συμβεβιωκότων ἐξέδωκεν ἐπὶ τιμωρία προσθήκην ποιησάμενος αὐτὸν ἀδικημάτων ἐτέρων.
- 168 διόπερ ἄντικρυς ἀπέειπεν υἱοὺς ἀντὶ γονέων ἢ γονεῖς ἀντὶ υἱῶν ἀναιρεῖσθαι, δικαιοῦσας ὧν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τούτων εἶναι καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας, εἴτε ζημίας χρημάτων εἴτε καὶ πληγὰς καὶ βιαιοτέρας ὕβρεις εἴτε τραύματα καὶ πηρώσεις καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῶν ἐπὶ δίκαις· ἐνὸς γὰρ τοῦ μὴ ἕτερον ἀνθ' ἐτέρου κτείνειν μνησθεῖς καὶ τὰ ἡσυχασθέντα προσπεριέλαβεν.
- 169 XXXI. <sup>1</sup> Ἀγοραὶ καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ θίασοι καὶ σύλλογοι πολυανθρώπων ὁμίλων καὶ ὁ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βίος διὰ λόγων καὶ πράξεων κατὰ πολέμους καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην ἀνδράσιν ἐφαρμόζουσι, θηλείαις δὲ οἰκουρία καὶ ἡ ἔνδον μονή, παρθένοις μὲν εἴσω κλισιάδων τὴν μέσαυλον ὄρον πεποιημέναις, τελείαις δὲ ἤδη γυναιξὶ τὴν αὐλειον.

<sup>1</sup> ms. heading Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀναισχυνητεῖν γυναῖκας.

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<sup>a</sup> At this point Philo, having hitherto discussed actions which lead, or are intended to lead, to the loss of human life, turns to the question of assaults which do not necessarily have, nor are intended to have, that result. That these should be included under his seventh commandment is perfectly rational, and indeed he has stated this in *De Dec.* 170. They may

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 166-170

fear and a sense of security often persuades people to neglect insuring the safety of the innocent.

So then our legislator took these things into con- 167  
sideration and observing the errors current among  
other nations regarded them with aversion as ruinous  
to the ideal commonwealth; persons whose conduct  
shewed any kind of sloth or inhumanity or vice he  
detested and would not ever surrender anyone whose  
life had been passed in their company to be punished  
with them and thus made an appendix to the crimes  
of others. He therefore expressly forbade that sons 168  
should be slain instead of fathers or fathers instead of  
sons. Thereby also he gave it as his judgement that  
persons who had sinned should be the persons who  
were punished, whether the punishment consisted of  
monetary fines or stripes and injurious treatment of a  
still more violent kind, or wounds and maiming and  
disfranchisement and exile or any other kind of  
sentence. For in the single statement that one man  
should not be killed instead of another he included  
also the cases which he left unmentioned.

XXXI. <sup>a</sup> Market-places and council-halls and law- 169  
courts and gatherings and meetings where a large  
number of people are assembled, and open-air life  
with full scope for discussion and action—all these are  
suitable to men both in war and peace. The women  
are best suited to the indoor life which never strays  
from the house, within which the middle door is taken  
by the maidens as their boundary, and the outer door  
by those who have reached full womanhood. Organ- 170  
involve other matters. Thus the law discussed in the next  
twelve sections, though it gives rise to a disquisition on female  
modesty, is primarily directed against an assault, just as the  
“eye for eye” of § 184 is preceded by the discussion of equal  
punishment in §§ 181 f.

## PHILO

- 170 διττὸν γὰρ πόλεων εἶδος, μειζόνων καὶ βραχυτέρων· αἱ μὲν οὖν μείζους ἄστη καλοῦνται, οἰκίαι δ' αἱ βραχύτεραι. τὴν δ' ἑκατέρων προστασίαν διειλήχασιν ἄνδρες μὲν τῶν μειζόνων, ἧς ὄνομα πολιτεία, γυναῖκες δὲ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἧς ὄνομα οἰκονομία.
- 171 μηδὲν οὖν ἔξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν πολυπραγμονεῖτω γυνὴ ζητοῦσα μοναυλίαν μηδ' οἰανομὰς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐν ὄψεσιν ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρων ἐξεταζέσθω, πλὴν εἰς ἱερὸν ὅποτε δέοι βαδίζειν, φροντίδα ποιουμένη καὶ τότε μὴ πληθυσσοῦσης ἀγορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπανεληλυθότων οἴκαδε τῶν πλείστων, ἐλευθέρας τρόπον καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀστῆς ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ
- [328] θυσίας | ἐπιτελοῦσα καὶ εὐχὰς εἰς ἀποτροπὴν
- 172 κακῶν καὶ μετουσίαν ἀγαθῶν. τὸ δὲ λοιδορομένων ἢ συμπλεκομένων ἀνδρῶν ἐπεκθεῖν τολμᾶν κατὰ πρόφασιν συμμαχίας ἢ βοηθείας γυναῖκας ἐπίληπτον καὶ οὐ μετρίως ἀναίσχυντον, ἃς οὐδ' ἐν πολέμοις καὶ στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνοις ἐδικαίωσεν ὁ νόμος ἐξετάζεσθαι, τὸ πρέπον ἰδῶν, ὅπερ ἀκίνητον αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ φυλάττειν διενεόθη, νομίσας αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι καθ' αὐτὸ νίκης καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πάσης
- 173 ἄμεινον εὐτυχίας. εἰ μὲντοι καὶ πυθομένη τις ὑβρίζεισθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, πόθω τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἠττηθεῖσα φιλανδρίας, ὑπὸ τοῦ παραστάντος πάθους ἐξορμησαί βιασθῆ, μὴ πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἀρρε-

<sup>a</sup> There was of course no Jewish temple in Alexandria. Philo may mean the synagogue, but surely no sacrifice could be offered there. It seems to me more probable that he is giving advice to the female population in general and does not feel any necessity to speak disrespectfully of their religious observances. But see App. p. 640.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "a citizeness," carrying with it something of the idea



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 170-173

ized communities are of two sorts, the greater which we call cities and the smaller which we call households. Both of these have their governors; the government of the greater is assigned to men under the name of statesmanship, that of the lesser, known as household management, to women. A woman, 171 then, should not be a busybody, meddling with matters outside her household concerns, but should seek a life of seclusion. She should not shew herself off like a vagrant in the streets before the eyes of other men, except when she has to go to the temple,<sup>a</sup> and even then she should take pains to go, not when the market is full, but when most people have gone home, and so like a free-born lady<sup>b</sup> worthy of the name, with everything quiet around her, make her oblations and offer her prayers to avert the evil and gain the good. The audacity of women who when men are exchanging angry words or blows hasten to join in, under the pretext of assisting their husbands in the fray, is reprehensible and shameless in a high degree. 172 And so in wars and campaigns and emergencies which threaten the whole country they are not allowed to take their place according to the judgement of the law, having in view the fitness of things, which it was resolved to keep unshaken always and everywhere and considered to be in itself more valuable than victory or liberty or success of any kind. If indeed 173 a woman learning that her husband is being outraged is overcome by the wifely feeling inspired by her love for him and forced by the stress of the emotion to hasten to his assistance, she must not unsex herself by a boldness beyond what nature

of ἀσρέϊος. Cf. ἀσραί τε καὶ ἀσρέϊαι, *De Mig.* 99, also *De Cong.* 63.

## PHILO

νούσθω θρασυνομένη, μενέτω δὲ καὶ ἐν οἷς βοηθεῖ  
 γυνή· πάνδεινον γάρ, εἰ βουλομένη τις ὑπεξελεῖσθαι  
 τὸν ἄνδρα ὕβρεως ὑβρισθήσεται πρὸς ἑαυτῆς  
 κατάπλεων ἀποφαινούσης τὸν ἴδιον βίον αἰσχύνης  
 καὶ μεγάλων ὀνειδῶν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνιάτῳ θρασύτητι.  
 174 λουδορήσεται γάρ γυνή κατ' ἀγορὰν ῥῆμά τέ τι  
 τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων φθέγγεται, ἐτέρου δὲ κακ-  
 ηγοροῦντος οὐκ ἀποδραμεῖται τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράξασα;  
 νυνὶ δὲ προβαίνουσί τινες, ὡς μὴ μόνον ὑπὸ  
 γλωσσαλγίας ἐν ἀνδρῶν ὄχλῳ γυναῖκες<sup>1</sup> κακηγορεῖν  
 καὶ προπηλακίζειν,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιφέρειν  
 τὰς ὑφάσμασι καὶ ταλασίαις ἀλλ' οὐ πληγαῖς καὶ  
 ὕβρεσι καθάπερ παγκρατιαστῶν καὶ πυκτῶν ἐν-  
 175 ασκουμένας. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [οἰστά  
 καὶ] φέρειν ἂν τις δύναιτο· χαλεπὸν δ' ἐκεῖνο,  
 εἴ τις γυνή τοσοῦτον καταθρασύνοιτο, ὡς δια-  
 δράξασθαι τῶν τοῦ διαφερομένου γεννητικῶν· μὴ  
 γάρ, παρόσον ἀνδρὶ βοηθοῦσα δοκεῖ τοῦτο πράττειν,  
 ἀφείσθω, τῆς δ' ἄγαν θρασύτητος ἐπεχέσθω  
 τίνουσα δίκην, ὑφ' ἧς αὐτὴ μὲν τὰ ὅμοια ἐξαμαρ-  
 τάνειν ἐθέλουσα αὐθις οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων  
 ὄσαι προπετέστεραι φόβῳ μετριάσουσιν· ἔστω δ'  
 ἡ δίκη χειρὸς ἀποκοπὴ τῆς ἀψαμένης ὧν οὐ θέμις.

<sup>1</sup> Cohn brackets *γυναῖκες*, or would transfer it to after *προβαίνουσι*. It seems to me in its antithetical position very idiomatic. Mangey's correction to *γυναῖκας* is, I think, inferior Greek.

<sup>2</sup> In the mss. *καὶ προπηλακίζειν* is placed after *ἐπιφέρειν*.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 173-176

permits but limit herself to the ways in which a woman can help. For it would be an awful catastrophe if any woman in her wish to rescue her husband from outrage should outrage herself by befouling her own life with the disgrace and heavy reproaches which boldness carried to an extreme entails. What, is a 174 woman to wrangle in the market-place and utter some or other of the words which decency forbids? Should she not when she hears bad language stop her ears and run away? As it is, some of them go to such a length that, not only do we hear amid a crowd of men a woman's bitter tongue venting abuse and contumelious words, but see her hands also used to assault—hands which were trained to weave and spin and not to inflict blows and injuries like pancratiasts and boxers.

And while all else might be 175 tolerable, it is a shocking thing, if a woman is so lost to a sense of modesty, as to catch hold of the genital parts of her opponent.<sup>a</sup> The fact that she does so with the evident intention of helping her husband must not absolve her.<sup>b</sup> To restrain her over-boldness she must pay a penalty which will incapacitate herself, if she wishes to repeat the offence, and frighten the more reckless members of her sex into proper behaviour. And the penalty shall be this—that the hand shall be cut off which has touched what decency forbids it to touch. The managers of gymnastic 176

approval to this law, and if he realizes that it is open to the same objections as he made to a similar enactment in ii. 244, he does not say so. Still one may perhaps see some hesitation. The phrase *ἔστω δ' ἡ δίκη* may not mean more than that the law says so. In § 178 of the literal explanation he merely says that is what is commonly given, not that it is true, and his preference for the allegorical is not disguised.

<sup>b</sup> So Deuteronomy, "Thine eye shall have no pity."

PHILO

- 176 ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τοὺς τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγῶνων ἀθλοθέτας, οἱ τῆς θεᾶς ἀνεῖρξαν γυναικας, ἵνα μὴ γυμνουμένοις ἀνδράσι παρατυγχάνουσαι τὸ δόκιμον αἰδοῦς νόμισμα παρακόπτωσιν ἀλογοῦσαι φύσεως θεσμῶν, οὓς ὤρισεν ἑκατέρω τμήματι τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνδρας, ἀποτιθεμένων ἐσθῆτας γυναικῶν, ἐμπρεπὲς παρατυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρους τὰς τῶν ἐτέρων ὄψεις ἐκτρέπεσθαι γυμνουμένων
- 177 τοῖς τῆς φύσεως βουλήμασιν ἐπομένους. εἶθ' ὧν ἢ ὄψις ἐπίληπτος, οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αἱ χεῖρες ὑπαίτιοι; ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἃ μὴ βουλόμεθα πολλάκις ὄραν ἀπελευθεριάζοντες ἀποβιάζονται, χεῖρες δ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων τάξει τεταγμένοι |
- [329] μερῶν πειθαρχοῦσαι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐπιτάγμασιν ὑπηρετοῦσιν.
- 178 XXXII. Ἦδε μὲν αἰτία ἧ<sup>1</sup> παρὰ πολλοῖς εἶωθε λέγεσθαι· ἐτέραν δὲ ἤκουσα θεσπεσίων ἀνδρῶν τὰ πλείεστα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὑπολαμβανόντων εἶναι σύμβολα φανερὰ ἀφανῶν καὶ ῥητὰ ἀρρήτων. ἦν δὲ τοιάδε· ψυχῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς συγγενείαις, ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν ἄρρην καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν, ἡ δὲ θήλεια καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν· ἄρρην μὲν ἡ μόνῳ θεῷ προσκληροῦσα ἑαυτὴν ὡς πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων καὶ πάντων αἰτίῳ, θήλεια δὲ ἡ ἐκκρεμαμένη τῶν ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ καὶ ἀποτείνουσα καθάπερ χεῖρα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, ἵνα τυφλῶς τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἐφάπτηται, γένεσιν δεξιουμένη τὴν τροπαῖς ἀμυθῆτοις χρωμένην καὶ μεταβολαῖς, δέον τὴν ἀμετάβλητον καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ τρισευδαίμονα θείαν

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps omit ἡ with one ms.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 640.

<sup>b</sup> The text is allegorized in substantially the same way in

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 176-178

competitions also deserve praise for debarring women from the spectacle,<sup>a</sup> in order that they may not be present, when men are stripping themselves naked, nor debase the sterling coin of modesty, by disregarding the statutes of nature which she has laid down for each section of our race. For men too cannot with propriety be present when women are taking off their clothes. Each sex should turn away from seeing the nakedness of the other and so comply with what nature has willed. Surely, then, if it is 177 reprehensible for them to use their sight, their hands are far more guilty. For the eyes often take liberties and compel us to see what we do not wish to see, but the hands are ranked among the parts which we keep in subjection, and render obedient service to our orders.

XXXII. This is the explanation commonly and 178 widely stated, but I have heard another from highly gifted men who think that most of the contents of the law-book are outward symbols of hidden truths, expressing in words what has been left unsaid. This explanation was as follows.<sup>b</sup> There is in the soul a male and female element just as there is in families, the male corresponding to the men, the female to the women. The male soul assigns itself to God alone as the Father and Maker of the Universe and the Cause of all things. The female clings to all that is born and perishes ; it stretches out its faculties like a hand to catch blindly at what comes in its way, and gives the clasp of friendship to the world of created things with all its numberless changes and transmutations, instead of to the divine order, the immutable, the

*De Som.* ii. 68, 69, though the point of the "female soul" is not there brought out.

- 179 φύσιν. εικότως οὖν τὴν ἐφαψαμένην χεῖρα τῶν διδύμων ἀποκόπτειν διείρηται συμβολικῶς, οὐχ ὅπως ἀκρωτηριάζεται τὸ σῶμα στερόμενον ἀναγκαιοτάτου μέρους, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς πάντας τοὺς ἀθέους ἐκτέμνειν λογισμοὺς ἐπιβάθρα χρωμένους ἅπασιν ὧν γένεσις ἐστὶ· διδυμοὶ γὰρ σύμβολον σπορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως. ἐπόμενος δ' ἀκολουθία φύσεως κἀκείνο λέξω, ὅτι μονὰς μὲν ἐστὶν εἰκῶν αἰτίου πρώτου, δυὰς δὲ παθητῆς καὶ διαιρετῆς ὕλης· ὅς ἂν οὖν δυάδα πρὸ μονάδος τιμήσῃ καὶ δεξιῶσθαι, μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω <τὴν> ὕλην ἀποδεχόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ θεόν. ἥς χάριν αἰτίας ἐδικαίωσεν ὁ νόμος ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποκόπτειν οἷα χεῖρα· μείζον γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀσέβημα ἢ τῷ παθητῷ τὴν τοῦ δρώντος ἀνατιθέναι δύναμιν.
- 181 XXXIII. Μέμφαιτ' ἂν τις δεόντως τοὺς ἀνόμοια τοῖς ἀδικήμασι τάττοντας ἐπιτίμια κατὰ τῶν εἰργασμένων, ζημίας χρημάτων ἐπ' αἰκίαις ἢ ἐπὶ τραύμασι καὶ πηρώσεσιν ἀτιμίας ἢ ἐπ' ἀνδροφονίαις ἐκουσίους ἐλάσεις ὑπερορίους καὶ τὰς εἰς αἰεὶ φυγὰς ἢ δεσμοὺς ἐπὶ κλοπαῖς· τὸ γὰρ ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἄνισον ἐχθρὸν πολιτείας ζηλούσης τὴν ἀλήθειαν
- 182 ἰσότητος δὲ ὑψηγητῆς ὁ ἡμέτερος νόμος τὰ ὅμοια κελεύων τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ὑπομένειν οἷς ἔδρασαν, ἐκ τῶν οὐσιῶν, ἐὰν περὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀδικοπραγῶσι τῶν πλησίον, ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων, ἐὰν εἰς τὰ σώματα

<sup>a</sup> As noted on *De Som.* ii. διδυμοὶ is the LXX translation of the word translated "secrets" in E.V.

<sup>b</sup> Heinemann "in natürlichem Zusammenhang." I hardly think φύσεως can bear this meaning. I understand it of the higher truths of nature, which the allegorist (ὁ φυσικός) contemplates. See note on *De Abr.* 99, and the references there given.

blessed, the thrice happy. Naturally therefore we 179  
 are commanded in a symbol to cut off the hand which  
 has taken hold of the "pair,"<sup>a</sup> not meaning that the  
 body should be mutilated by the loss of a most  
 essential member, but to bid us excise from the soul  
 the godless thoughts which take for their basis all  
 that comes into being through birth ; for the "pair"  
 are a symbol of seed-sowing and birth. I will add 180  
 another thought, following where the study of nature  
 leads me.<sup>b</sup> The monad is the image of the first cause,  
 the dyad of matter passive and divisible. Therefore  
 one who honours the dyad before the monad should  
 not fail to know that he holds matter in higher esteem  
 than God. It is for this reason that the law judged  
 it right to cut off this tendency of the soul as if it  
 were a hand, for there is no greater impiety than to  
 ascribe to the passive element the power of the active  
 principle.

XXXIII. The legislators deserve censure who 181  
 prescribe for malefactors punishments which do  
 not resemble the crime, such as monetary fines for  
 assaults, disfranchisement for wounding or maiming  
 another, expulsion from the country and perpetual  
 banishment for wilful murder or imprisonment for  
 theft.<sup>c</sup> For inequality and unevenness is repugnant  
 to the commonwealth which pursues truth. Our 182  
 law exhorts us to equality<sup>d</sup> when it ordains that the  
 penalties inflicted on offenders should correspond  
 to their actions, that their property should suffer  
 if the wrongdoing affected their neighbour's property,  
 and their bodies if the offence was a bodily injury,

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 640.

<sup>d</sup> For the *ius talionis* see Ex. xxi. 24, Lev. xxiv. 19-21,  
 Deut. xix. 21, and cf. Matthew v. 38.

## PHILO

- ἐξαμαρτάνωσι κατὰ μέρη καὶ μέλη καὶ τὰς  
 [330] αἰσθήσεις· κὰν ἄχρι | μέντοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβου-  
 λεύσωσιν, εἰς ψυχὴν τιμωρεῖσθαι κελεύει· ὑπο-  
 μένειν γὰρ ἀνθ' ἑτέρων ἕτερα μηδεμίαν ἔχοντα  
 κοινωνίαν ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἀπηρητημένα κατα-  
 183 λυόντων νόμους ἐστίν, οὐ βεβαιούντων. ταυτὶ  
 δέ φαμεν τῶν ἄλλων [οὐχ] ὁμοίως ἐχόντων· οὐ  
 γὰρ ταυτὸν ἀλλοτρίῳ καὶ πατρὶ πληγὰς ἐμφορῆσαι  
 οὐδὲ ἄρχοντα ἢ ἰδιώτην κακῶς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ἐργά-  
 σασθαί τι τῶν μὴ ἐφειμένων ἐν βεβήλοις ἢ ἱεροῖς  
 χωρίοις οὐδ' ἐν ἐορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ δημο-  
 τελέσι θυσίαις καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς μηδὲν  
 πρόσεστι τῶν εἰς ἐκεχειρίαν ἢ καὶ συνόλως ἀπο-  
 φράσι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιοῦτότροπα διερευνητέον  
 εἰς συναύξησιν ἢ μείωσιν κολάσεως.
- 184 Πάλιν ἕάν τις, φησίν, ὀφθαλμὸν οἰκέτου ἢ  
 θεραπαίνης ἐκκόψη, ἐλευθέρους ἀφιέτω. διὰ τί;  
 ὥσπερ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἡγεμονίαν ἢ φύσιν ἀνῆψε  
 κεφαλῇ χαρισαμένη καὶ τόπον οἰκειότατον ὡς  
 βασιλεῖ τὴν ἄκραν—ἄνω γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἀρχὴν  
 παραπέμψασα ἰδρύσατο καθάπερ ἀνδριάντι βάσιν  
 ὑποθεῖσα τὴν ἀπ' αὐχένος ἄχρι ποδῶν ἅπασαν  
 ἀρμονίαν—, οὕτως καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὸ κράτος  
 ἀνέδωκεν ὀφθαλμοῖς· ὑπεράνω γοῦν καὶ τούτοις  
 ὡς ἄρχουσιν ἀπένειμεν οἴκησιν, βουλευθεῖσα μὴ

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<sup>a</sup> The translation assumes that the subject of ὑπομένειν is to be understood out of καταλυόντων κτλ. But perhaps in view of the ὑπομένειν above it may be better, though looser, to take it "that a man should suffer."



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 182-184

the penalty being determined according to the limb, part or sense affected, while if his malice extended to taking another's life his own life should be the forfeit. For to tolerate a system <sup>a</sup> in which the crime and the punishment do not correspond, have no common ground and belong to different categories, is to subvert rather than uphold legality. In saying this I 183 assume that the other conditions are the same, for to strike a stranger is not the same as to strike a father nor the abuse of a ruler the same as abuse of an ordinary citizen. Unlawful actions differ according as they are committed in a profane or sacred place, or at festivals and solemn assemblies and public sacrifices as contrasted with days which have no holiday associations or are even quite inauspicious.<sup>b</sup> And all other similar facts must be carefully considered with a view to making the punishment greater or less.

Again he says that if anyone knocks out the eye of 184 a manservant or maidservant he must set him or her at liberty.<sup>c</sup> Why is this? Just as nature conferred the sovereignty of the body on the head when she granted it also possession of the citadel as the most suitable position for its kingly rank, conducted it thither to take command and established it on high with the whole framework from neck to foot set below it, like the pedestal under the statue, so too she has given the lordship of the senses to the eyes. Thus to them too as rulers she has assigned a dwelling right above the others in her wish to give them

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* (apparently) for religious observances. This seems somewhat different from the usual meaning of the phrase which signifies days on which secular business was forbidden — “*dies nefasti*.” See App. p. 641.

<sup>c</sup> Ex. xxi. 26.

PHILO

- μόνον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρίῳ περισημοτάτῳ  
καὶ περιφανεστάτῳ τούτους γεῤῥαι.
- 185 XXXIV. τὰς μὲν οὖν χρείας καὶ ὠφελείας, ἃς  
παρέχουσι τῷ γένει ἡμῶν ὀφθαλμοί, μακρὸν ἂν  
εἶη καταριθμείσθαι· μίαν δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην λεκτέον.  
φιλοσοφίαν ὤμβρησε μὲν ὁ οὐρανός, ἐχώρησε δὲ ὁ  
ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ἐξενάγησε δὲ ὄψις· πρώτη γὰρ  
αὕτη κατείδε τὰς λεωφόρους ἐπ' αἰθέρος<sup>1</sup> ὁδοὺς.
- 186 ἀγαθῶν δέ, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὰ, πηγὴ  
φιλοσοφία· ἧς ὁ μὲν ἀρυτόμενος εἰς κτῆσιν καὶ  
χρήσιν ἀρετῆς ἐπαινετός, ὁ δ' ἔνεκα πανουργίας  
καὶ τοῦ κατασοφίσασθαι<sup>2</sup> τινα ψεκτός· ἔοικε γὰρ  
ὁ μὲν ἀνδρὶ συμποτικῶ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς  
συνεστιωμένους πάντας εὐφραίνοντι, ὁ δὲ τῷ τὸν  
ἄκρατον εἰς παροιμίαν καὶ ὕβριν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν
- 187 πλησίον ἐμφορουμένων. ὅτῳ δ' οὖν<sup>3</sup> τρόπῳ φιλο-  
σοφίαν ἐξενάγησεν ὄψις, ἤδη λεκτέον. ἀναβλέψασα  
εἰς αἰθέρα κατεῖδεν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ πλάνητας  
καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας, τὴν ἱεροπρεπεστάτην οὐρανοῦ  
στρατιάν, κόσμον ἐν κόσμῳ, εἰτ' ἀνατολὰς καὶ  
δύσεις καὶ χορείας ἐμμελεῖς καὶ τεταγμέναις
- 188 χρόνων περιόδοις συνόδους, ἐκλείψεις, ἐπιλάμψεις,  
εἰτ' αὐξήσεις καὶ μειώσεις σελήνης, ἡλίου κινήσεις  
τὰς κατὰ πλάτος, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν νοτίων ἐπὶ τὰ  
βόρεια προσιόντος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν βορείων ἐξανα-  
[331] χωροῦντος | πρὸς τὰ νότια, εἰς καιρῶν τῶν ἐτησίων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπ' αἰθέρος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καταψηφίσασθαι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. γοῦν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 641.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 184-188

amongst other privileges the most conspicuous and distinguished situation.<sup>a</sup> XXXIV. Now as 185  
for the services and benefits which the eyes render to the human race, it would take a long time to enumerate them, but one, the best, must be mentioned. Philosophy was showered down by heaven and received by the human mind, but the guide which brought the two together was sight, for sight was the first to discern the high roads which lead to the upper air.<sup>b</sup> Now philosophy is the fountain 186  
of good things, all that are truly good, and he who draws from that spring deserves praise, if he does so for the acquisition and practice of virtue, but blame, if it is for knavish ends and to outwit another with sophistry. For in the first case he resembles the convivial man who makes himself and all his fellow-guests merry, in the second the drinker who swills himself with strong wine, only to play the sot and insult himself and his neighbours. Now let us 187  
describe the way in which sight acted as guide to philosophy; sight looked up to the ethereal region and beheld the sun and moon and the fixed and wandering stars, the host of heaven in all its sacred majesty, a world within a world; then their risings and settings, their ordered rhythmic marchings, their conjunctions as the appointed times recur, their eclipses, their reappearances; then the waxing and 188  
waning of the moon, the courses of the sun from side to side<sup>c</sup> as it passes from the south to the north and returns from the north to the south, thus producing

<sup>b</sup> For this often repeated thought, originally, as has been noted before, derived from *Timaëus* 47 A, cf. i. 339 above, *De Abr.* 164 and *De Op.* 54 f. and notes.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "along a broad space" (?), Heinemann "ausgedehnten," Mangey "transversos (motus)."

## PHILO

γένεσιν, οἷς<sup>1</sup> τὰ πάντα τελεσφορεῖται, καὶ πρὸς  
 τούτοις μυρία ἄλλα θαυμάσια· καὶ περιαθρήσασα  
 κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ἀέρα τάδε  
 189 πάντα τῷ νῶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπεδείξατο. ὁ δ'  
 ἄπερ οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν δι' αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν διὰ τῆς  
 ὀράσεως ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀραθέντων αὐτὸ μόνον  
 ἔστη, ἀλλ' ἄτε φιλομαθῆς καὶ φιλόκαλος, ἀγάμενος  
 τὴν θέαν, λογισμὸν εἰκότα ἐλάμβανεν, ὅτι ταῦτα  
 οὐκ ἀπαυτοματισθέντα συνέστη φοραῖς ἀλόγοις,  
 ἀλλὰ διανοία θεοῦ, ὃν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ὀνομάζειν  
 θέμις, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄπειρα, πεπέρασται δὲ  
 ἐνὸς κόσμου περιγραφῇ, πόλεως τρόπον τῇ τῶν  
 ἀπλανῶν ἐξωτάτῳ σφαίρᾳ περιλαμβανόμενα, καὶ  
 ὡς ὁ γεννήσας πατὴρ νόμῳ φύσεως ἐπιμελεῖται  
 τοῦ γενομένου, προνοούμενος καὶ τοῦ ὄλου καὶ  
 190 τῶν μερῶν. εἶτα προσεπεσκέψατο, τίς οὐσία τοῦ  
 ὄρατοῦ καὶ εἰ πάντων ἢ αὐτῆ τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον  
 ἢ ἐτέρων ἐτέρα καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἕκαστα ἐτελέσθη, καὶ  
 τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἐγένετο καὶ δυνάμεις αἷς συν-  
 191 ἔχεται καὶ πότερον αὐταὶ σώματα ἢ ἀσώματοι. ἢ  
 γὰρ περὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ἔρευνα  
 τί ἂν ἄλλο ἢ φιλοσοφία προσαγορευόιτο; τί δὲ  
 τῷ σκοπούμενῳ ταῦτα θεῖτο ἂν τις οἰκειότερον  
 ὄνομα ἢ φιλόσοφον; τὸ γὰρ περὶ θεοῦ σκοπεῖν  
 καὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κοινῶς ζῶων τε καὶ  
 φυτῶν καὶ περὶ νοητῶν παραδειγμάτων καὶ πάλιν  
 αἰσθητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων καὶ τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον  
 τῶν γεγονότων ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας φιλομαθῆ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡς.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 188-191

the yearly seasons by which all things are brought to their consummation. Numberless other marvels did it behold, and after it had gazed around over earth and sea and the lower air, it made speed to shew all these things to the mind. The mind, having 189 discerned through the faculty of sight what of itself it was not able to apprehend, did not simply stop short at what it saw, but, drawn by its love of knowledge and beauty and charmed by the marvellous spectacle, came to the reasonable conclusion that all these were not brought together automatically by unreasoning forces, but by the mind of God Who is rightly called their Father and Maker ; also that they are not unlimited but are bounded by the ambit of a single universe, walled in like a city by the outermost sphere of the fixed stars ; also that the Father Who begat them according to the law of nature takes thought for His offspring, His providence watching over both the whole and the parts. Then it went on to inquire 190 what is the substance of the world which we see and whether its constituents are all the same in substance or do some differ from others ; what are the elements of which each particular part is composed, what are the causes which brought them into being, and what are the forces or properties which hold them together and are these forces corporeal or incorporeal. We 191 may well ask what title we can give to research into these matters but philosophy and what more fitting name than philosopher to their investigator. For to make a study of God and the Universe embracing all that is therein, both animals and plants, and of the conceptual archetypes and also the works which they produce for sense to perceive, and of the good and evil qualities in every created thing—shews a dis-

## PHILO

- καὶ φιλοθεάμονα καὶ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφον διάθεσιν  
 192 ἐμφαίνει. μέγιστον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τῷ  
 βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸν ὄψις παρέχεται· δοκεῖ  
 δέ μοι ταύτης ἡξιῶσθαι τῆς προνομίας, ἐπειδὴ  
 τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων συγγενεστέρα ψυχῇ καθ-  
 ἔστηκεν· ἅπασαι μὲν γὰρ τὴν πρὸς διάνοιαν  
 ἔχουσιν οἰκειότητα, αὕτη δὲ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς  
 οἰκίαις τὴν ἐγγυτάτω γένους πρώτην καὶ ἀνωτάτω  
 193 τάξιν εἶληχε. τεκμηριώσαίτο δ' ἂν τις ἐκ πολλῶν·  
 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι χαιρόντων μὲν ὀφθαλμοὶ  
 γανοῦνται καὶ μειδιῶσι, λυπουμένων δὲ συννοίας  
 γέμουσι καὶ κατηφείας; εἰ δὲ πλεονάζοι καὶ πιέζοι  
 καὶ ἀναθλίβοι τὸ ἄχθος, ἐκδακρύνουσι καὶ κρα-  
 τούσης μὲν ὀργῆς οἰδοῦσι καὶ ὕφαιμον καὶ  
 πυρωπὸν ἐμβλέπουσιν, ἴλεων δὲ καὶ εὐμένες, εἰ  
 194 χαλάσαι ὁ θυμὸς. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ λογιζέσθαι  
 καὶ σκοπεῖν αἱ κόραι πεπήγασι τρόπον τινὰ συν-  
 εννοοῦσαι, τῶν δὲ εὐηθεστέρων ὑπ' ἡλιθιότητος  
 [332] πλάζεται καὶ ἡ ὄρασις οὐκ ἡρεμοῦσα· | καὶ συνόλως  
 τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς πάθει συμπάσχουσιν ὀφθαλμοὶ  
 καὶ ταῖς ἀμυθήτοις τροπαῖς συμμεταβάλλειν πε-  
 φύκασιν διὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα· δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι μηδὲν  
 οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανὲς ἀφανοῦς ἀπεργάσασθαι  
 μίμημα ὡς ὄψιν λογισμοῦ.
- 195 XXXV. Ἐάν τις οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ ἡγε-  
 μονικωτάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄρασιν ἢ ἐπιβεβου-  
 λευκῶς τῷ καὶ καταφανῇ μὲν ἐλευθέρου ὀφθαλμὸν  
 ἐκκόψας, τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιπασχέτω, δούλου δὲ μὴ·  
 οὐχ ὅτι συγγνώμης ἐστὶν ἄξιος ἢ ἔλαττον ἀδικεῖ,

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* "to the mind," regarded as the head of the family.

<sup>b</sup> *Cf. De Abr.* 151 f.

<sup>c</sup> Philo reads Ex. xxi. 26 as limiting the previous verse,

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 191-195

position which loves to learn, loves to contemplate and is truly wisdom-loving or philosophical.

This is the greatest boon which sight bestowed on 192 human life, and I think that this pre-eminence has been awarded to it because it is more closely akin to the soul than the other senses. They are all of the same family as the mind, but, just as it is with families, the place which is closest in birth <sup>a</sup> and first and highest, is held by sight. We may find many 193 proofs of this, for who does not know that when we rejoice the eyes are bright and smiling, when we are sad they are full of anxiety and dejection, and, if the burden is magnified and presses and crushes, they break out into tears ; when anger prevails they swell and their look is bloodshot and fiery ; when the temper dies down it is gentle and kindly ; when we 194 are reflecting or inquiring the pupils are set and seem to share our thoughts, while in persons of little sense their silliness makes their vision roaming and restless. In general the emotions of the soul are shared by the eyes, and as it passes through its numberless phases they change with it, a natural consequence of their affinity.<sup>b</sup> Indeed it seems to me that nowhere else in God's creations is the inward and invisible so well represented by the outward and visible as reason is by sight.

XXXV. If, then, anyone has maliciously injured 195 another in the best and lordliest of his senses, sight, and is proved to have struck out his eye, he must in his turn suffer the same, if the other is a free man,<sup>c</sup> but not if he is a slave. Not that the offender deserves pardon or is less in the wrong, but because

“eye for eye, tooth for tooth . . . but (δέ) if he strikes out the eye of a slave,” etc.

- ἀλλ' ὅτι πονηροτέρω χρήσαιτ' ἂν ὁ πεπονθὼς ἀντιπηρωθέντι τῷ δεσπότη, μνησικακήσουσι<sup>1</sup> τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον καὶ ἀμυννομένῳ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἄσπονον ἀφορήτοις καὶ βαρυτέροις τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτάγμασιν, οἷς  
 196 πιεζόμενος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήξει. προϋνόησεν οὖν ὁ νόμος τοῦ μήτε τὸν ἐπιβεβουλευκότα ἀθῶον ἀφεθῆναι μήτε τὸν πεπηρωμένον προσαδικηθῆναι κελύσας, εἴ τις ἐκκόψειε θεράποντος ὀφθαλμόν,  
 197 ἀνενδοιάστως ἐλευθερίας μεταδιδόναι.<sup>2</sup> οὕτως γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔδρασε διττὴν ἐνδέχεται<sup>3</sup> ζημίαν, ἅμα τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἀφαιρεθεῖς, καὶ τρίτον ἐκατέρου τῶν λεχθέντων χαλεπώτερον, ἀναγκαζόμενος ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις εὐεργετεῖν ἐχθρόν, ὃν ἴσως ἠὔχετο κακοῦν αἰεὶ δύνασθαι, ὁ δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπέμεινε παρηγορίαν ἕξει διπλῆν, οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερωθεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀργαλέον καὶ ὠμόν δεσπότην ἐκφυγών.
- 198 XXXVI. Προστάττει δὲ κἂν εἴ τις ὀδόντα θεράποντος ἐκκόψειεν, ἐλευθερίαν χαρίζεσθαι τῷ θεράποντι. διὰ τί; ὅτι ζωὴ μὲν τίμιον, ὄργανα δὲ ζωῆς ἐτεκτήνατο ἢ φύσις ὀδόντας, οἷς τὴν τροφήν οἰκονομεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. ὀδόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσι τομίαι τῷ τέμνειν σιτία καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐδώδιμα,<sup>4</sup> διὰ τοῦτο ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μνησικακήσαντι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. μεταδιδότω or μεταδιδῶ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐνδείχεται or ἐνδέχεται et alia.

<sup>4</sup> The construction is somewhat difficult, as εἰσι τῷ τέμνειν = "are for the purpose of cutting" is hardly Greek. Heine-  
mann and Cohn (doubtfully) suggest omitting διὰ τοῦτο with F. In this case it would be almost necessary to omit ταύτης also. If the text is kept, perhaps understand τροφήν οἰκο-  
νομοῦντες from the sentence before.



if the master is mutilated as a punishment the injured slave will find him worse than before. He will harbour a perpetual grudge for his misfortune and avenge himself on one whom he regards as a mortal enemy by setting him every day to tasks of an intolerable kind and beyond his powers to cope with, the oppressive weight of which will break his spirit also. The law, therefore, provided 196 on the one hand that a master should not go unpunished for his malicious assault and on the other that the servant should not suffer further wrong in addition to the loss of his eye. It effected this by enacting that if anyone struck out his servant's eye he should without hesitation grant him his liberty, for 197 in this way the master will incur a double penalty ; he will lose the value of the slave as well as his services, and a third affliction more severe than either of these two is that he will be forced to confer a benefit that touches his highest interest on an enemy whom he probably hoped to be able to maltreat indefinitely. The servant will receive a double solatium for his suffering ; he is not only set at liberty but has escaped from a harsh and cruel master.

XXXVI. A further command is that if anyone 198 strikes out a servant's tooth he must grant him his liberty.<sup>a</sup> Why is this ? Because life is precious and the means contrived by nature for the preservation of life are teeth by which the food is subjected to the processes necessary for dealing with it. Now the teeth are divided into the cutters and the grinders ; the former do their part by cutting or biting the bread-stuffs and all other comestibles, whence their appropriate name of cutters, the latter by their

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxi. 27.

## PHILO

ἀξιωθέντες, οἱ δὲ μύλαι τῷ τὰ διατμηθέντα εἰς  
 199 μείονα λαιΐνιν δύνασθαι. παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν  
 ὁ ποιητῆς καὶ πατήρ οὐδὲν εἰωθῶς δημιουργεῖν,  
 ὁ μὴ πρὸς τινι τέτακται χρεία, τοὺς ὀδόντας οὐχ  
 ὡσπερ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην  
 γένεσιν εὐθύς εἰργάζετο, διανοηθεὶς ὅτι βρέφει μὲν  
 γαλακτοτροφεῖσθαι μέλλοντι περιττὸν ἄχθος γενή-  
 σονται, μαστοῖς δὲ πηγάζουσιν, οἷς ἄρδεται ἡ  
 τροφή, χαλεπὴ ζημία κατὰ τὴν ὄλκην τοῦ γάλακτος  
 200 ὀδαξωμένοις. τὸν ἐπιτήδειον οὖν καιρὸν προ-  
 ἰδόμενος—ἔστι δ' οὗτος, ἡνίκα τὸ βρέφος ἀπότιθον  
 γίνεται—τὴν ἔκφυσιν τῶν ὀδόντων, ἣν ἔταμιεύ-  
 σατο πρότερον, ἀπέφηεν \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> ἤδη τῆς τε-  
 λειοτέρας ἀνέχεσθαι τροφῆς ὀργάνων ὧν εἶπον  
 δεομένης τὴν διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος ἀποστρεφόμενον.  
 201 Ἐὰν οὖν τις εἴξας ἀλαζονείᾳ | θεράποντος ὀδόντα  
 [333] ἐκκόψη τὸν ὑπηρέτην καὶ ὑποδιάκονον τῶν ἀναγ-  
 καιοτάτων, τροφῆς τε καὶ ζωῆς, ἐλευθερούτω τὸν  
 ἀδικηθέντα, στερόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἐκ τοῦ  
 πεπονθότος λατρείας τε καὶ ὑπηρεσίας. ἰσότιμον  
 202 οὖν, φήσει<sup>2</sup> τις, ὀδοὺς ὀφθαλμῶ; πρὸς ἃ γέγονεν  
 ἑκάτερον, εἴπομι' ἄν, ἰσότιμον, πρὸς μὲν τὰ ὄρατὰ  
 ὀφθαλμός, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ὀδοὺς. εἰ δὲ καὶ  
 συγκρίναί τις ἐθελήσει, σεμνότατον μὲν εὐρήσει  
 τῶν ἐν σώματι μερῶν ὀφθαλμὸν ἅτε θεωρὸν ὄντα  
 τοῦ σεμνοτάτου τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον, οὐρανοῦ,  
 χρήσιμον δὲ ὀδόντα ὡς ἂν τροφῆς, τοῦ χρησιμω-

<sup>1</sup> Something is wanted to complete the construction. Cohn inserts ὅτε δύνασθαι. I suggest ἐνόν (impersonal participle) as more easily lost after ἀπέφηεν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. φησί.

### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 198-202

capacity for reducing the bitten pieces into smaller particles. This is the reason why the 199  
Maker and Father, Whose way is to frame nothing that does not serve some purpose, did not make the teeth straight away at birth like each of the other parts. He bore in mind that they would be a superfluous burden to the infant who would be fed on milk, and would also bring serious trouble to the breasts, the fountain through which the liquid sustenance flows, as they would be galled during the suction of the milk. He 200  
looked forward, therefore, to the proper time, that is, to when the infant is weaned from the breast, and brought out that supplementary growth of teeth, which He hitherto kept in storage, only when the infant would refuse to take food in the form of milk and could bear the more mature kind which requires the instruments which I have mentioned.

If, then, anyone gives way to insolent presumption 201  
and strikes out his servant's tooth which ministers obediently to his most essential needs, sustenance and survival, he must set at liberty the victim of his injustice and suffer himself the loss of the services and ministries of the injured party.<sup>a</sup> Is a tooth then, I shall be asked, of the same value as an eye? They 202  
are both, I should reply, of the same value for the purposes for which they were made, the eye being made for what is visible, the tooth for what is edible. And if anyone cares to compare these, he will find that the eye is the noblest of the body's members because it contemplates the heaven which is the noblest part of the universe, while the tooth is useful as the operator

<sup>a</sup> Thus the *ius talionis* is preserved, as both lose a servant.

## PHILO

- τάτου πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, ἐργάτην· καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰς ὄψεις ἀποβαλὼν οὐ κεκώλυται βιοῦν, τῷ δὲ ἐκκοπέντι  
 203 τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐφεδρεύει θάνατος οἰκτιστος. εἰ δὴ τις ἐπιβουλεύει περὶ τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκέταις, μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω λιμὸν ἐν εὐθηνία καὶ εὐετηρία κατασκευάζων τούτοις χειροποίητον· τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἀφθονίαν μὲν εἶναι τροφῶν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν ὄργανα σεσυλησθαι καὶ ἀποβεβληκῆναι χαλεπῶν ἔνεκα καὶ ἀμειλίκτων καὶ ὠμοθύμων  
 204 δεσποτῶν; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐτέρωθι παρὰ χρεωστῶν ἀπαγορεύει δανεισταῖς μύλον ἢ ἐπιμύλιον ῥύσιον αἰτεῖν, ἐπειπὼν ὅτι ὁ τοῦτο δρῶν ψυχὴν ἐνεχυριάζει· ὁ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ ζῆν ὄργανα ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπ' ἀνδροφονίαν ἵεται, μέχρι καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιβουλεύειν διανοηθεῖς.
- 205 Τοσαύτην δὲ πρόνοιαν ἐποίησατο τοῦ μηδένα παραίτιόν τινα γενέσθαι θανάτου, ὡς καὶ τοὺς προσαιψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος, ὃ τελευταίην ἐνδέδεκται τὴν κατὰ φύσιν, οἷεται δεῖν μὴ εὐθύς<sup>1</sup> εἶναι καθαρούς, μέχρις ἂν περιρρανάμενοι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι καθαρθῶσιν. εἰς μέντοι τὸ ἱερόν οὐδὲ τοῖς σφόδρα καθαροῖς ἐφήκεν εἰσιέναι ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn, while retaining εὐθύς, adds *excludendum videtur*. See note c.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxiv. 6. See App. p. 641.

<sup>b</sup> Numbers xix. 11 ff. Philo here, in concluding the treatise, leaves the discussion of acts of violence and recurs to murder in the proper sense. The argument in the next three sections is exactly similar to that of § 63, viz. that if a thing when

of what is most useful for maintaining life, namely food. Also anyone who has lost his sight is not thereby prevented from living, but one who has had his teeth struck out has only a most miserable death awaiting him. So if anyone takes steps to injure his servants in this part of their bodies he must recognize that the effect of his act upon them is a famine artificially created in the midst of abundance and plenty. For what use have they for a generous supply of food if they have been robbed of the instruments needed for dealing effectively with it, lost to them through the actions of hard, cruel and merciless masters? And therefore elsewhere the lawgiver forbids creditors to demand that their debtors should give their mill or upper millstone as a surety, and he adds that anyone who does so takes the life to pledge.<sup>a</sup> For one who deprives another of the instruments needed to preserve existence is well on the way to murder, since his hostile intentions extend to attacking life itself.

<sup>b</sup> So careful was the lawgiver to guard against anyone helping to bring about the death of another that he considers that even those who have touched the corpse of one who has met a natural death must remain unclean<sup>c</sup> until they have been purified by aspersions and ablutions. Indeed he did not permit even the fully cleansed to enter the temple within

caused naturally and innocently produces defilement, how much more defiling must it be if caused in a sinful way!

<sup>c</sup> If *εὐθὺς* is retained in its present position, it should mean they are not straight away (*i.e.* necessarily) clean, as might be expected since what they have done is natural and innocent. This is very strained. The sense to be expected is that they are *ipso facto* unclean, but this would be rather *εὐθὺς μὴ*. To omit the word would certainly simplify the sense.

## PHILO

ἐπτά, τρίτη καὶ ἑβδόμη κελεύσας ἀφαγνίζεσθαι.  
 206 ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς εἰσιούσιν εἰς οἰκίαν, ἐν ἣ  
 τετελεύτηκέ τις, προστάττει μηδενὸς ἄπτεσθαι,  
 μέχρις ἂν ἀπολούσωνται καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας αἷς  
 ἀμπίσχοντο προσαποπλύναντες· σκευή δὲ καὶ  
 ἔπιπλα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔνδον εἶναι συμβέβηκε πάνθ'  
 207 ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀκάθαρτα ἡγείται. ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀν-  
 θρώπου τίμιον, ἥς μετανισταμένης καὶ μετοικι-  
 ζομένης τὰ ἀπολειφθησόμενα πάντα μαιίνεται  
 στερόμενα θείας εἰκόνος, ἐπειδὴ θεοειδῆς ὁ  
 ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον ἰδέαν, τὸν ἀνω-  
 208 τάτω λόγον, τυπωθεῖς. ἔστω δέ, φησίν,  
 ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἂν ὁ ἀκάθαρτος  
 προσάψῃται, μετουσία τοῦ μὴ καθαροῦ μαινώμενα.  
 καθολικωτέραν δ' ἀπόφασιν ὁ χρησμὸς οὗτος ἔοικέ  
 πως δηλοῦν, οὐκ ἐπὶ σώματος αὐτὸ μόνον ἰστά-  
 μενος, ἀλλὰ ἦθη καὶ τρόπους προσδιερευνώμενος  
 209 ψυχῆς. ἀκάθαρτος γὰρ κυρίως ὁ ἄδικος καὶ  
 [334] ἀσεβής, ὅτω μήτε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μήτε | τῶν  
 θείων αἰδώς τις εἰσέρχεται, πάντα φύρων καὶ  
 συγχεῶν διὰ τε τὰς ἀμετρίας τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὰς  
 τῶν κακιῶν ὑπερβολάς, ὥστε ὧν ἂν ἐφάψῃται  
 πραγμάτων πάντ' ἐστὶν ἐπίληπτα τῇ τοῦ δρῶντος

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<sup>a</sup> Philo's account differs from Numbers in that he implies that, except to get admission to the temple, a purification at 604

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seven days and ordered them to purge themselves on the third and seventh.<sup>a</sup> Further too, those who 206 enter a house in which anyone has died are ordered not to touch anything until they have bathed themselves and also washed the clothes which they were wearing.<sup>b</sup> And all the vessels and articles of furniture, and anything else that happens to be inside, practically everything is held by him to be unclean.<sup>c</sup> For a man's soul is a precious thing, and when it 207 departs to seek another home, all that will be left behind is defiled, deprived as it is of the divine image. For it is the mind of man which has the form of God, being shaped in conformity with the ideal archetype, the Word that is above all.

Everything else too, he says, that the unclean person 208 touches must be unclean, being defiled by its participation in the uncleanness.<sup>d</sup> This pronouncement may be thought to include a more far-reaching veto, not merely stopping short with the body but extending its inquiry to matters of temperament and characteristics of soul. For the unjust and impious 209 man is in the truest sense unclean. No thought of respect for things human or divine ever enters his mind. He puts everything into chaos and confusion, so inordinate are his passions and so prodigious his vices, and thus every deed to which he sets his hand is reprehensible, changing in conformity with

the time is enough, and the man is then "fully cleansed." In Numbers everyone who touches the corpse is impure for seven days and requires the purging on the third and seventh. The exclusion from the temple only appears (*vv.* 13 and 20), in the words "whosoever . . . purifieth not himself defileth the tabernacle of the Lord."

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* v. 14: "washing the clothes," v. 19.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* v. 15.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* v. 22.

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συμμεταβάλλοντα μοχθηρία· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ-  
ναντίον αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπαινεταί, βελ-  
τιούμεναι ταῖς τῶν ἐνεργούντων ἀρεταῖς, ἐπειδὴ  
πέφυκέ πως τὰ γινόμενα τοῖς δρῶσιν ἕξομοιοῦσθαι.

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<sup>a</sup> These last two sections are not really germane to the sub-



### THE SPECIAL LAWS, III. 209

the worthlessness of the doer. For conversely all the doings of the good are laudable, gaining merit through the virtues of the agents in accordance with the general law that the results of actions assimilate themselves to the actors.<sup>a</sup>

ject. The point is introduced because of the spiritual lesson which can be drawn from it.



## APPENDIX TO DE DECALOGO

§ 1. *For knowledge loves to learn*, etc. As stated in the footnote, the phrasing seems almost impossible. I can find no case where *ἐπιστήμη* bears a sense which could be coupled with *φιλομαθής*, or where *διάνοια* means an understanding which is above knowledge. The translators appear to be at a loss. Treitel has "wegen der auf den tieferen Sinn gerichteten Schriftforschung." But how can *ἐπιστήμη* = "Schriftforschung"? Mangey (perhaps translating the conjecture mentioned below) has "reconditae scientiae studio et curiosae." Yonge (probably translating Mangey) "natural love of more recondite and laborious study." The emendations mentioned are Mangey's δι' ὑπονοιῶν for πρὸς διάνοιαν, and Wendland's ἐπιστάσεως for ἐπιστήμης. If ἐπίστασις can = "intentio," this will give some sense, though it would be better if ὑπόνοιαν is accepted for διάνοιαν (ὑπόνοια sing. is used for "allegorizing" in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 257).

§ 21. *The arithmetical*, etc. This seems to be very loosely expressed. ἀναλογία does not carry with it the idea of a series like our "progression," but of an equality of ratio, and indeed it can only be properly (κυρίως) applied, as Nicomachus says, to the geometrical. It certainly cannot itself be said to exceed or be exceeded. Philo has stated it quite clearly in *De Op.* 108, in much the same words as are used in the translation. Possibly here also we should read ἢ ὁ μέσος ὄρος) ὑπερέχει, κτλ.

§ 30. *The categories*. Philo follows with little variation the two lists given by Aristotle in *Topica*, i. 9 and *Categoriae* 4 of the 10 categories. But he carries them away into a very different region from Aristotle's logical meaning of predicates or "classification of the manners in which assertions may be made of the subject." His reason for asserting that he has οὐσία, and his view of time and place (in Aristotle πότε and ποῦ) as the indispensables for all

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existence are quite foreign to Aristotle's thought, at any rate in drawing up this list.

§ 39. (Text of *ὅτε δὲ προσάπτων*, etc.) Cohn deals with this passage in *Hermes*, 1903, pp. 502 f., but not very conclusively. The solution he would prefer is to omit *ὅτε δὲ* and to correct (with one ms.) *ἰδίᾳ* to *ἰδίᾳ δ'*, a change which he bases largely on the improbability of such an hiatus as *ἰδίᾳ ὡς*. I do not feel competent to estimate the value of this last argument (see remarks on *Spec. Leg.* i. 90, App. p. 620). The omission of *ὅτε δὲ* has some support from one ms. (G), which has *διαλέγεται ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ προσάπτων, κτλ.* Of the rest, one has *ἐνὶ, ὅτε δὲ*, the others an obvious corruption of this, *ἐνίστε δὲ*. No doubt with Cohn's changes the sentence is translatable. He, however, says that he cannot see the sense of *τῶν ἐμπερομένων*, which he justly remarks cannot mean, as Mangey takes it, "eorum qui adsunt." I think the sense given in the translation, which will also fit in with the form suggested by Cohn, does not present much difficulty. In the kind of oration which Philo has in mind definite instruction as to the steps to be taken (*τὰ πρακτέα*) would be only part of the contents.

§ 54. *They call air Hera*. This is first suggested by Plato, *Cratylus* 404 c (*ἄηρ* being an anagram of *Ἥρα*) and was adopted by the Stoics. See particularly Diog. Laert. vii. 147, where Hera is the name given to the divine power in virtue of its extension (*διάτασις*) to the air, as Athena, Poseidon, Hephaestus and Demeter represent its extension to aether, sea, fire and earth. For other references see Index to *S. V. F.* So also Philo, *De Vit. Cont.* 3, where the name is supposed to be derived *παρὰ τὸ αἰρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ὕψος*.

§ 56. *Living on alternate days*. Or perhaps as Philo understands it "living (and dying) alternately every day," which is what the interpretation of the story by the hemispheres requires. So, too, in the other place where he alludes to the story, *De Som.* i. 150, since the antithesis there is between sleeping and waking. The only other passage where I have found this interpretation is in Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* ix. 37 *τὰ γὰρ δύο ἡμισφαίρια τό τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν Διοσκούρου οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον*.

§ 77. (Egyptian animal worship.) See Herodotus ii. 65-74. These chapters lay stress chiefly on cats (*αἰλουροὶ*) and crocodiles, but ibises and snakes are mentioned also. Juv. xv. 1-7 mentions crocodiles, ibises, apes, dogs and fishes.

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On these lines Mayor has collected a number of illustrations, among them Philo, *Legatio* 139, where he speaks very briefly in the same sense as here. Neither Herodotus nor Juvenal mentions wolves and lions, and I see no other allusion to them in Mayor's quotations.

§ 88. ἐγὼ μὲν γε. This is one of the small matters in which an earlier knowledge of the Palimpsest would apparently have led Cohn to alter his reading. His mss. have μὲν, except M which has μὲν γὰρ, on the strength of which he printed μὲν γε. The Palimpsest has μὲν οὖν, which he considers preferable. Unwilling or unable to judge, I have retained μὲν γε with this warning.

§ 92. τὰ κενὰ τῶν. This emendation of μὲν αὐτῶν to κενὰ τῶν seems certain and will perhaps support my emendation of the same two words in *De Mig.* 164, where I have altered them to μελιττῶν.

§ 96. *Once a month.* The principal passages quoted in support of this are Herod. vi. 57, where he says that the Spartans made offerings to Apollo at every new moon and seventh day of the month, and Hes. *Op.* 770, where the seventh day is said to be sacred as Apollo's birthday. Also there are inscriptions in various places where ἑβδομαῖος and ἑβδομαῖον appear as epithets of Apollo or indicating feasts held in his honour. See references in L. & S. (revised).

*Ibid.* (σελήνην or θεόν.) Cohn writing in *Hermes*, 1903, p. 548, before the discovery of the Palimpsest, had declared for σελήνην. His explanation of the corruption to θεόν is that it arises from the scribes mistaking the astronomical symbol of the moon for Θ̄N̄ = θεόν. (This would be convincing if this symbol were as he describes it. On my present information it is rather C, while Θ = the sun.) *Prima facie* it does not seem impossible that in a country where the opening of the sacred and lunar month has to be distinguished from the civil the phrase "according to the goddess" might have been in such common use that Philo might employ it without much thought or scruple. See note on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 171. But the discovery that the Palimpsest actually has σελήνην certainly weights the evidence strongly in favour of it.

§ 106. προσάττεται for πρὸς τὰ πέντε, which may be presumed from Cohn's silence to be the reading of the Palimpsest as well as of the other mss, is adopted by him on the grounds that TTETAI might easily be corrupted to ΠENTE, and that the Armenian version gives a similar sense

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“ut videtur.” If this last is clearly established, the emendation may be accepted. Otherwise it is difficult to see why a word like *προσάπτειν*, which perpetually recurs in these treatises, should be corrupted. The reading of G, *ἐνοῖ* (“unites”) *πρὸς τὰ ἕτερα πέντε καὶ συνάπτει τῇ δευτέρᾳ*, looks, as he says, like an unsuccessful attempt to emend the passage. Perhaps we might consider as an alternative *προσπεθέν τε*, “last of the first pentad in which are the most sacred things and added to it,” *i.e.* “an appendage.” Philo often uses *προσθήκη* with a sense of inferiority, *e.g.* *Spec. Leg.* ii. 248, and it would fitly describe the relation of the fifth to the first four commandments.

§ 116. (Filial affection of storks.) The currency of this idea is best shewn by the existence of the verb *ἀντιπελαργεῖν* = “to return kindness.” Other mentions of it will be found in Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix. 18, Aristophanes, *Av.* 1353 ff.; and the *φρονιμώτατοι οἰωνοί* of Sophocles, *El.* 1058, “who are careful to nourish those who gave them nurture,” are no doubt the same.

§ 120. *Some bolder spirits.* One such is Hierocles the Stoic quoted by Stobaeus (Meineke, iii. p. 96), *οὗς (sc. γονεῖς) δευτέρους καὶ ἐπιγείους τινὰς θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν ἀμάροισι, ἐνεκά γε τῆς ἐγγύτητος, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, καὶ θεῶν ἡμῖν τιμωτέρους.* Heinemann quotes Dikaiogenes (Fr. 5 Nauck), *θεὸς μέγιστος τοῖς φρονοῦσιν οἱ γονεῖς.* The ordinary Stoic view is given by Diog. Laert. vii. 120, that parents, brothers and sisters are to be revered next to the gods.

§§ 142-146. This disquisition on the four passions is thoroughly Stoic in substance and much of its phraseology is found elsewhere. Thus any passion is a *κίνησις ψυχῆς παρὰ φύσιν* (*S. V. F.* iii. 389, and elsewhere). So, too, pleasure is *ἐπαρσις ἄλογος* (*ibid.* 391). A passage which closely resembles this is Cic. *De Fin.* ii. 13 (*S. V. F.* iii. 404) “(Voluptatem) Stoici . . . sic definiunt: sublacionem animi sine ratione, opinantis se magno bono frui.” *πτοία*, which Philo associates with fear, is a characteristic of all four; (*λέγονσι*) *πᾶσαν πτοίαν πάθος εἶναι καὶ πᾶν πάθος πτοίαν* (*ibid.* 378), while *ἀγωνία* is a subdivision of *φόβος*, defined by Diog. Laert. vii. 112 as *φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος* (*ibid.* 407). Also *ἐπιθυμία* is often an *ὄρεξις*, though none of the definitions quoted otherwise agree closely with Philo’s. I have not found any parallels to his idea that desire differs from the others in being more voluntary.

For a shorter definition of the four see *Mos.* ii. 139.

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§ 147. (Text at end of section.) Cohn in his description of the Palimpsest has an interesting if not quite convincing theory about this. In place of ἀμαυροῦνται καὶ θροῦ the Palimpsest has in the main body of the text ὀμάδου τε καὶ θροῦ beginning the next sentence, while ἀμαυροῦνται is set in smaller writing on the margin. Cohn's view is that ὀμάδου τε is the original text, and was corrupted in one or more mss. to ἀμαυροῦνται, which was then set in others such as the Palimpsest as a marginal variant and finally ousted the real words. One may perhaps accept his theory about the corruption of ὀμάδου τε to ἀμαυροῦνται, which as he says is not indispensable to the construction, but his other argument that ὀμάδου τε is wanted to correspond to ὀφθαλμοί τε in the previous sentence seems questionable. "Both . . . and" are expressed by τε . . . καί, as well as by τε . . . τε.

§ 158. τὸ περὶ τῆς ἑβδομάδος. While there would be no great difficulty in this passage, where the virtues of the number are so prominent, in taking ἑβδομάς as = "the number seven," there can be no doubt that Philo does sometimes use it for the seventh day. See notes on *Quis Rerum* 170, where we have ἀπραξία ascribed to it, and *Mos.* i. 205, where οὐδὲν ἐφέεται δρᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ, i. e. on ἱερὰ ἑβδομάς. So, too, *Jos. Contra Apion.* ii. 282 τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς. This use is ignored in L. & S. (revised), which indeed has expunged the entry of older editions, "The seventh day, *Eccl.*"

On the other hand, ἑβδόμη below appears to be used for ἑβδομάς, as also in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 40 τῆς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἑβδόμης, and there are other instances in earlier treatises, where clearly the number and not the seventh day is under consideration, e. g. *De Op.* 116, *De Post.* 64. I leave to experts to consider whether a confusion of the two words may have been produced by varying interpretations of ζ'.

§ 159. ἱερομηνία. Except in *Mos.* ii. 23, where he is apparently referring to pagan use, Philo consistently uses this word to denote the first of Tishri or Feast of Trumpets (New Year's day in the civil year). Whether this usage is in accordance with its regular meaning in classical Greek is not clear to me. The general opinion seems to be that there it indicates a *period* during which, as stated in the note on *Mos. loc. cit.*, hostilities or legal proceedings are forbidden, not a particular day. See *Dict. of Ant.* and L. & S. (revised), where it is only given two meanings, "sacred month during which the great festivals were held and hostilities suspended,"

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and (in the plural) "sacrifices offered during the sacred month." On the other hand Stephanus gives examples from Harpocration, Scholiasts, etc., which assert that it means a festal day, and that is what is suggested in *Mos. loc. cit.*, where it is contrasted with the single day fast of the Jews.

A scholiast on Pind. *Nem.* iii. 2, who says that *ιερομηνία* is an abbreviation *κατὰ σύντημσιν* of *ιερονουμηνία* "because the beginnings of months are sacred to Apollo," expresses, whatever his authority may be worth, the idea which had occurred to me in connexion with *Spec. Leg.* i. 180. I refer these points to the lexicographer. The entry in L. & S. is clearly inadequate.



## APPENDIX TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, I

§ 2. (Circumcision in Egypt.) The original authority for this is Herodotus ii. 36. In itself it is not impossible that Philo, knowing little of the intimate practices of the Egyptians outside the Jewish and Hellenistic world, should take Herodotus for his authority. But in *Quaest. in Gen. iii. 47, 48*, where he gives the arguments for circumcision in much the same way as here, he adds that the Egyptians circumcised females as well as males and at the age of puberty, and neither of these did he find in Herodotus. The statement made here is supported by Diodorus i. 28, iii. 32. Josephus, *Contra Apion. ii. 140 ff.* says positively that the Egyptian priests were circumcised, but the fact that Apion, himself an Egyptian, appears to have ridiculed the Jews on this ground tells rather against it for the nation at large. See on the whole question Wendland in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* ii. (1903) (referred to by Goodenough, p. 30).

§ 6. *The spirit force in the heart.* The doctrine and phraseology is Stoic. So "All the Stoics say that τὸ ἡγεμονικόν resides ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν πνεύματι," *S. V. F.* ii. 838. The ἡγεμονικόν itself is a πνεῦμα according to them, *ibid.* 96. For the question between the brain and the heart as the seat of the mind see §§ 213 f. below.

§ 25. "*Blind*" wealth. Philo in several places, *e.g.* ii. 23 below, *De Abr.* 25, contrasts the "seeing" with the "blind" riches, and in these passages he borrows the phrase from Plato, *Laws* 631 c πλοῦτος οὐ τυφλὸς ἀλλ' ὁξὺ βλέπων, though the thought is not quite the same, since with Plato the "seeing wealth" is wealth in the literal sense used wisely, with Philo wisdom or virtue itself. But here, where there is no such contrast and the stress is rather on the uncertainty of riches, τοῦ λεγομένου may refer rather to the fable, earlier than Plato, that Zeus made Plutus blind, so that he should

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distribute his gifts without regard to merit (see Aristophanes, *Plutus*).

§ 27. *Some assert . . . state of flux.* Cf. e.g. Plato, *Theaetetus* 160 D κατὰ μὲν Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡράκλειτον καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον φῶλον οἶον ρεύματα κινεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα, *Cratylus* 402 A λέγει πού Ἡράκλειτος ὅτι πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει, καὶ ποτάμου ῥῶῃ ἀπεικάζων τὰ πάντα λέγει ὡς δις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης. Rather nearer to our passage is Aristot. *Physica* viii. 3, 253 b 9, φασὶ τινες (apparently the Heracleiteans) κινεῖσθαι τῶν ὄντων οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα καὶ αἰεὶ, ἀλλὰ λανθάνει τὴν ἡμετέραν αἴσθησιν.

§ 28. θεοὺς . . ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. The phrase seems to me to suggest primarily the use of the supernatural as a facile way of getting out of a difficulty and to carry with it the idea of artificiality rather than suddenness and unexpectedness. The fact that the "machine" was employed to bring the god hovering over the stage is incidental, though it served to enhance the impression of something artificial and slightly ludicrous. To take the examples given in Stephanus, this is the sense in Plato, *Cratylus* 425 D ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοποιοί, ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορώσω, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἶροντες ("like the tragic poets who in any perplexity have their gods waiting in the air," Jowett), and in Aristotle, *Poetics* xv. 7. So in Plutarch, *Them.* 10 Themistocles employs oracles and divine signs ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ μηχανὴν ἄρας. In Demosthenes, p. 1026. I Τιμοκράτης μόνος ἀπὸ τοσοῦτων, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, μαρτυρεῖ, the thought seems to be that he assumes the rôle of a superior being. In Plato (?), *Cleitophon* 407 A the point is different, viz. that the gods in these appearances are apt to rebuke the follies of humanity. In our passage and in ii. 165 the main idea seems to be artificiality.

§§ 33 f. The argument from design has been given in much the same form in *Leg. All.* iii. 97-99. For other statements of it see *S.V.F.* ii. 1009-1020, particularly Cic. *De Nat. Deorum*, ii. 16-17, iii. 26. Cf. also Cic. *Tusc.* i. 68 (referred to by Heinemann), *Pro Milone* 83, 84 and Xen. *Mem.* i. 4.

§ 55. (Lynching of apostates.) Two questions arise here, (1) whether the lynching so strongly recommended here and almost as explicitly in § 316 is in accordance with Deut., (2) whether it was customary or practicable in Philo's time. As to (1), in Deut. xiii. 6-11, which I take to be more to the point than *ibid.* 12-17 (enjoining the destruction of an

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apostate city), which Heinemann cites, the E.V. merely says, "thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people." Philo would indeed find in the LXX, instead of "thou shalt surely kill him," "thou shalt surely report it" (*ἀναγγέλλων ἀναγγελεῖς*), which sounds more judicial. But in § 316 this is interpreted to mean that the report is to be sent round to summon the lovers of piety to assist in the execution. In Deut. xvii. 4-7 a careful inquiry is to be made when such a call is reported, and two or three witnesses are required. Heinemann thinks that Philo is not referring to these passages at all, but is merely extracting a general law from the case of Phinehas. I do not think this can be right, so far as Deut. xiii. is concerned, as in § 316 he formally expounds that passage. As for Deut. xvii., Philo if faced with it might reply that it does not suggest a formal trial, but that the self-constituted executioners before taking action must assure themselves that the charge is true, and that what he says here does not deny that.

As to (2), Goodenough (pp. 36 ff.) argues that the Acts (*e.g.* Stephen's execution and the attempts to stone Paul) shews that the Jews did sometimes inflict capital punishment without direct permission from the Roman government. He also cites 3 Maccabees vii. 10-15, which gives an account of a decree of Ptolemy Philopator empowering the Jews in Alexandria to put transgressors against the law to death (E.V. somewhat inaccurately "without warrant or special commission") (Greek *ἄνευ πάσης βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἢ ἐπισκέψεως*). All this may be true, but hardly meets the case. Stephen was tried by the Sanhedrin; and the persons for whose execution Paul voted, Acts xxvi. 10, were presumably legally tried. And the Decree, even if historical, need not mean more than that Jewish constituted authorities might condemn independently of the king. But Philo's words, "Jury, council or any kind of magistrate at all," must surely include Jewish as well as Roman courts. That he should be seriously encouraging his fellow-Jews in Alexandria, where we know that the Jews had independent jurisdiction, to put apostates to death without any legal trial, seems to me almost impossible. But was it perhaps otherwise in other cities of the Dispersion, where the Jews had no such privileges and knew that the ordinary courts would not take cognizance of apostasy or heresy? Paul's experiences at Iconium and

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Lystra possibly lend themselves to such a view. It is to Jews so circumstanced that this section is addressed if it has any practical bearing. Otherwise it must be regarded as a rhetorical way of saying that apostasy is so hateful a crime that to avenge it on the spot is not only pardonable but a duty.

§ 58. The connexion of this section, which comes in so oddly as it stands, would become much clearer, if we might suppose that some words had been lost at the end, as "such practices Moses absolutely forbids." In this case a new paragraph would begin with *ἐννοι* δέ, linked with the preceding by the antithesis of the two bondages, but introducing the new subject of indirectly idolatrous practices. What he means by the "like principle" would then become quite clear. It may be noted that in Lev. xix. the prohibition of printing marks comes in directly after and is followed shortly by denunciation of divination and the like.

§§ 59 ff. Goodenough, pp. 37 f., observes that Philo ignores the passages in Leviticus which prescribe the death-penalty for some kinds of divination and only alludes to Deut. xvii. where we have no punishment prescribed but expulsion from the commonwealth and that only indirectly. In this he sees a reflection of the fact that public opinion would not have tolerated stoning such persons, while the Roman government always discouraged and in A.D. 16 expelled them from Italy. But he fails to note that Deut. provided Philo with a far more specific list of the forms of *μαντική*, on which he enlarges in the following section, and also that it leads on to the promise of the true divination, which is described in § 65.

§ 67. *Only one temple.* Cohn and Heinemann note that Josephus also gives the same reason for the one temple (*Contra Apion.* ii. 193, *Ant.* iv. 200). It does not follow that Josephus is dependent on Philo. The argument of the oneness of God, which Josephus supplements with the oneness of the Hebrew race, was an obvious argument against the attempts to build other temples like that of Leontopolis in the Dispersion.

§§ 71 f. The temple here described is of course Herod's temple (18 or 19 B.C.), elaborately described by Josephus, *Wars* v. and *Ant.* xv. Philo (*Mangey* ii. 646, an extract from *De Providentia*) speaks of something which he saw at Ascalon, when he visited that city in the course of a journey to "the temple of his fathers to pray and sacrifice." The passage does not in the least suggest that this was his

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only visit to Jerusalem, and he may have gone there often, though I cannot find authority for Edersheim's statement that he acted as envoy to carry the tributes (see § 78). But whether he went there once or oftener, there is not much sign of personal observation in his description of the building itself, which is very slight compared with Josephus's. Heine-mann (*Bildung*, p. 16) notes an inaccuracy, viz. that the sanctuary stood in the "very middle," whereas the part in front was much larger than the part behind. However, that the description should be slight is natural enough. He is expounding the laws of the Pentateuch and these did not provide for the building which would be needed when the nation was settled in Palestine, as he himself observes in *Mos.* ii. 72, 73, but only for a portable sanctuary. This last with its furniture was fully described in *Mos.* ii. 74-108, and the omission of any such description here may be due to a feeling that this one part of the law had been definitely suspended.

§ 79. (The consecration of the Levites.) The idea that the Levites received consecration as a reward for slaughtering the idolaters is supposed to have been obtained by Philo from Ex. xxxii. 29, "consecrate yourselves to the Lord," where the Hebrew phrase is literally "fill your hands," which the LXX translates literally, but in the indicative, "ye have filled your hands." In Ex. xxviii. 41 (37) the same Hebrew phrase evidently meaning "consecrate" or "install" is translated in LXX by "thou shalt fill their hands." See Driver on both passages. In the other eight passages, however, cited by Driver from the Pentateuch, where the same phrase is used in the Hebrew, the LXX has a different verb, *τελειόω* with or without *χείρας*. It seems to me rather doubtful whether Philo would have seen consecration in the words "ye have filled your hands every man against his son," etc., and more likely that he found it rather in the words that follow, "that a blessing should be given you."

§ 80. *Redundant . . . excrescence.* The E.V. in Lev. xxi. 18 has "anything superfluous," which *prima facie* would seem to be represented here by *κατὰ πλεονασμὸν περιτεύσαντος*. But in the LXX the word in the list of defects corresponding to the Hebrew translated as "superfluous" is *ωτόμητος*, "with a split ear." Is this one of the few cases where Philo seems somehow to have known the Hebrew? Heinemann does not notice the point.

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§ 83. *εὐχάς* = *votive offerings*. If the word is genuine here, this must surely be the sense, as what requires an unhampered rapidity must be a concrete object. The word seems to be used in the LXX in this sense, Deut. xii. 6, 17, 26, but I cannot find that it is so used elsewhere by Philo or other authors. Stephanus only quotes it from inscriptions and L. & S. (revised) do not mention it at all. I have left the text as Cohn prints it, pending further knowledge as to what is exactly meant by the ? appended to R's *εὐχάς*, or what the Armenian, which is extant for this part, has to say.

§ 90. (*φῶς ἡλίου* as R, or as Cohn *φῶς, ἡλίου ἥλιος*?) Cohn's principal objection to the reading of what he considers the best authority, R, is that *ἡλίου ἀνέλαμψεν* is an inadmissible hiatus. I do not know how far this argument is valid. Cohn nowhere, so far as I know, formulates his doctrine of hiatus. On p. 197 of the article in *Hermes*, 1908, he gives examples of corrigenda, and amongst them is *γάμον οὕτως* for *γάμου οὕτως*, and *γάμων ἀγνήν* for *γάμου ἀγνης*. I do not understand how on these principles his own *ἡλίου ἥλιος* is to stand. It is no doubt an objection to R's reading that it does not account for the *φῶς ἥλιος* or *φῶς ἥλιος δ'* of the other mss. Could not this be met by *φῶς ἡλιός τ'*? Mangey has *ἥλιος διανέλαμψε*, to which Cohn objects that there is no such word, *i.e.* it is not found in the dictionaries. This is no argument at all, see on *Mos.* i. 172. Words compounded with *διά* and *ἀνά* are fairly common, and the *διά* would have some point here.

§ 96. *ιερωμένον*. Cohn, who printed *ιερώμενον* (present of *ιεράομαι*), later declared for the mss. *ιερωμένον* (perfect participle of *ιερόω*), and this is followed in the translation. But except for the mss., *ιερώμενον* = "acting as priest," makes equally good sense.

§ 103. *Scars and prints*. Cohn quotes Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 16. 7, *S.V.F.* i. 215 "Nam ut dicit Zenon, in sapientis quoque animo, etiam cum vulnus sanatum est, cicatrix manet. Sentiet itaque suspiciones quasdam et umbras affectuum, ipsis quidem carebit." This is not quite the same. The figure of the scarred soul was familiar to Philo from *Gorgias* 524 ε.

§ 146. The thought here, though differing in detail, bears in mind *Timaeus* 69 ε, where the mortal soul is placed in the thorax, with its nobler part = *θυμός* divided by the midriff from the baser = *ἐπιθυμία*. The *θυμός* is settled nearer the head, in order that it may be under the control of the reason

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and join with it in restraining the lusts. The sequel in Plato is definitely quoted in § 149, where see footnote.

§ 172. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν . . . Cohn suggests completing this passage thus: δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τοῦτο προστέτακται αὐτίκα λεκτέον ἐαρινῇ μὲν κτλ. That is, ἣν stands for τίνα or ἣντινα and introduces an indirect question. This is no doubt common in Greek and may be in Philo, though I have not noticed an example: ii. 251 is not as it stands parallel. On the other hand, it may be pure relative, and introduce something of which the preceding statement is the cause. So above, § 124, and ii. 51.

§ 180. *At the beginning of the year.* Though the Jewish sacred year began with Nisan in the spring, the civil year continued to begin with Tishri in the autumn. See article "Time" in Hastings' Biblical Dictionary, and cf. Jos. Ant. i. 81. Heinemann, however, says that Philo knows nothing of this, and is merely following the Macedonian calendar introduced into Egypt. He certainly seems to take it for granted, ii. 153, that the month of the autumnal equinox is the "first in the sun's revolution." He must, however, have known that in Ex. xxiii. 16 and elsewhere in the Law, the Feast of Tabernacles is said to occur at the "going out (ἐξόδος) of the year."

§ 208. *Fullness and Want,* etc. That with Heraclitus κόρος = ἐκπύρωσις and χρησιμοσύνη = διακόσμησις is also stated by Hippolytus (quoted in Zeller, *Pres. Phil.* ii. p. 46, note 1), καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ πῦρ) χρησιμοσύνην καὶ κόρον. χρησιμοσύνη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ διακόσμησις κατ' αὐτόν, ἡ δὲ ἐκπύρωσις κόρος. The thought is perhaps the same in Diog. Laert. ix. 8 (of Heraclitus), "that what tends to γένεσις is called war and strife, what tends to ἐκπύρωσις is agreement and peace."

§ 242. *Thirdly because . . . thrust from office.* The thought lying behind this somewhat illogical sentence may be this. In § 117 he has said that all priests, whether suffering from defects or not, were entitled to eat the sacred meats, and therefore it might be thought that the defective are included in "every male priest"; cf. Lev. vi. 29. But in v. 26 we have "the priest that offers it shall eat of it," and as the defective cannot offer the sacrifice "every male priest" must be taken to mean "such as are qualified by freedom of defect."

§ 273. (Footnote a.) It must be remembered of course that the temple which Hecataeus mentioned is Zerubbabel's

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temple, not Herod's, which Philo saw. But it may be presumed that in a matter like this the third temple would reproduce the second, about the details of which I understand that little is known.

§ 291. (Wasps bred from horses.) So Plutarch (*Cleomenes, ad fin.*) mentions the idea that bees are bred from the carcasses of oxen, wasps from horses, beetles from donkeys, and serpents from men.

§ 318. *What is pleasing to nature*, etc. Philo, I suspect, substituted the Stoic "nature" for "before the Lord thy God," because he sees in *καλόν* and *ἀρεστόν* Stoic phraseology. The Stoic identification of *τὸ καλόν* with the Good is of course one of their leading doctrines, but *ἀρεστόν* was also a term applied to *τὸ ἀγαθόν* and *ἀρετή*, cf. *S.V.F.* iii. 208 *τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι προσαγορεύουσι. ἀγαθόν τε γὰρ λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ὅτι ἄγει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν βίον· καὶ ἀρεστόν ὅτι δοκιμαστόν ἐστὶν ἀνυπόπτως.* So also *ibid.* 88.

§ 321. *λόγων ποτίμων*. This phrase, which occurs again in ii. 62 and several times in other treatises, is no doubt a reminiscence of *Phaedrus* (243 D), which has also been clearly, though rather loosely, quoted in the preceding section. In *Quod Omn. Prob.* 13 the same two passages from the *Phaedrus* are brought together in the same sentence. The connexion of *πότιμοι λόγοι* with Plato is brought out most clearly in *Leg. All.* ii. 32, where, as in Plato, they serve to wash away the briny taste (*τὸ ἀλμυρόν*).

§ 322. (Footnote 1.) I have adopted Cohn's reading from R with the alteration of *πνευμάτων* into *αὐρῶν*. But the fact that the sense which lies behind R's nonsensical *διανέμοντες αὐτῶν* is easily recovered does not, I think, make the reading of A and H unworthy of consideration. Their wording *τὰς . . . ἀέρος εὐκρασίας ἀνέμων τε* corresponds with the parallel in *De Praem.* 41 *ἀέρος καὶ πνευμάτων εὐκρασίας*, while none of the other parallels corresponds with the form postulated by R.

§§ 327–end. (Errors attacked in these sections.) It seems to me, subject to correction by others more expert in such matters, that Philo in these allegorical interpretations is not alluding to particular schools, but to ways of thinking in general. The theory of Ideas, which he here rather unexpectedly adopts as an essential part of the true creed, was, I think, denied by the Stoics (*S.V.F.* i. 65), and in the full Platonic sense by Aristotle, but did any school of Philo's



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time hold it? The atheistical argument in § 330 that God has been invented to deter men more effectually from evil-doing is developed at length in an iambic poem (to which Mr. Angus has called my attention), attributed to the tyrant Critias, and quoted by Sext. Emp. ix. 54. But this again does not belong to a particular school. The Stoics sometimes identified *νοῦς* and *θεός* (see on iii. 1), and Heinemann, (*Bildung*, p. 176) quotes Sen. *Ep.* xxxi. 11, where the "animus rectus bonus" is said to be "deus in humano corpore hospitans." But this surely belongs to a region of thought different from Philo's description of the practical achievements of mind. The votaries of sense may at first sight suggest the Epicureans, who held that sensations are always true, though our judgements about them are fallible (Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*, Eng. trans. p. 402), but that again is different from Philo's disquisition on the practical value of the senses. (Heinemann, *loc. cit.* says that the doctrine of the divinity of *αἴσθησις* was ascribed to Diogenes, but I have been unable to trace the reference.)

My feeling is that by his fourth and fifth class Philo is simply speaking of the *οἴησις* which, as he constantly says, leads men to ascribe to themselves what belongs to God, and the division into mind and sense, a very reasonable division since human self-confidence divides itself between the two, is merely made to fit in with Ammon and Moab, which, on philological grounds, he identifies with the two.

§ 333. *Fourth and fifth class also.* Heinemann suggests with considerable probability that in *De Mut.* 205 *τεθλασμένοι γὰρ τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς διανοίας ἢ καὶ τελείως ἀποκοπέντες οἱ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποσεμνύνοντες ὡς μόνα τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους αἴτια πραγμάτων*, we should read *ἀποκοπέντες <ἦ> οἱ*, thus bringing into the allegory as here Deut. xxiii. 3, as well as the two preceding verses. The only objection to this is that it leaves the *τεθλασμένοι* and *ἀποκοπέντες* without any theological interpretation corresponding to the other classes. Possibly this might be met by inserting *κοί ἄθεοι ἦ* instead of merely *<ἦ>*.

## APPENDIX TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, II

§ 4. For the elliptical oath *cf.* Plato, *Gorgias* 466 ε, Aristoph. *Frogs* 1374. Commentators have ascribed the first example to piety, but this is incompatible with Plato's use of the names of deities elsewhere and even in the same dialogue, and no such motive can be ascribed to Aristophanes. See Thompson's note on *Gorgias*, *loc. cit.*

§ 46. *Lightened by anticipation.* On the value of πρόληψις (*praemeditatio*) as alleviating λύπη (*aegritudo*) see the discussion in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 24-34 and 52 f., where the opinion is represented as Cyrenaic in opposition to the Epicurean that it was futile to dwell on evils beforehand. But it was also to some extent a Stoic view, see *ibid.* and *S. V. F.* iii. 482, where Poseidonius (or Chrysippus?) is quoted as saying προενδημιεῖν δεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι μήπω τε παροῦσαι οἶον παροῦσαι χρήσθαι.

§ 56. *Some give it the name of the "season."* For the Pythagorean application of καιρός to Seven see Aristotle, *Met.* i. 5, 985 b. They say ὅτι τὸ μὲν τοιονδὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν πάθος, τὸ δὲ τοιονδὶ ψυχὴ καὶ νοῦς, ἕτερον δὲ καιρός (quoted in Ritter and Preller, 65 d), and more explicitly Alexander Aphr. in *Met.* pp. 28, 29 καιρὸν δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγον τὸν ἑπτά. δοκεῖ γὰρ τὰ φυσικὰ τοὺς τελείους καιροὺς ἴσχειν καὶ γενέσεως καὶ τελειώσεως κατὰ ἑβδομάδας (quoted *ibid.* 78 c).

For Philo's more or less mystical use of the word, apart from the number seven, see his comments on Num. xiv. 9 ἀφέστηκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν in *De Post.* 121 f., and *De Mut.* 265. In the first of these καιρός is the passing moment or opportunity which men impiously take for their God, in the second it is the God-sent opportunity which they fail to take.

§ 69. *No man being naturally a slave.* This is said to be a Stoic doctrine. But among the passages collected by Arnim, *S. V. F.* iii. 349-366, there is no other which lays down the

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principle so explicitly as this. The Stoic mind concentrates itself on the thought that only the wise are truly free and only the foolish or wicked truly slaves, and does not concern itself with the actual institution of slavery. That the rights of humanity do not extend to the unreasoning animals appears in Cic. *De Fin.* iii. 67 (quoting Chrysippus) "cetera nata esse hominum causa et deorum . . . ut bestiis homines uti ad utilitatem suam possint sine iniuria."

§ 73. *Since it is a general truth . . . sole good.* I do not see any exact parallels in *S.V.F.* 327-332 (which Heinemann cites) to the doctrine implied here that ideally there is no such thing as a foreigner (ἀλλότριος), but it accords with *De Ios.* 29 that the Megalopolis, the world, has a single πολιτεία and a single law in the λόγος φύσεως.

For the Stoic canon (Στωικὸν δόγμα *De Post.* 133) that μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν see note on *Quod Det.* 9 (App.) where, however, the statement that "no Greek passage seems to reproduce the dogma exactly in this form" must have been written under a misapprehension. There are several passages in *S.V.F.* (see Index) which exhibit it or its Latin equivalent "solum bonum esse quod honestum sit." Note particularly Diog. Laert. vii. 101 λέγουσι δὲ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἐκάτων καὶ Χρυσίππος.

§ 82. *Tribe (or deme?) and ward.* "The full citizens in Alexandria were those enrolled in tribes and demes. The important and constant element was the deme rather than the tribe and during the Ptolemaic and earlier Roman period it was customary, since the deme-names of Alexandria and Ptolemais differed, to describe a citizen of either city by his deme only. The tribe-names were more fluid, thus we know that Claudius sanctioned a proposal to name a tribe in his honour," Bell, *Camb. Mod. Hist.* x. p. 295. The evidence for this statement (from Papyri?) is not given, nor is it stated whether it applies equally to the πολιτευμα of the Jews. If nothing is known to the contrary, Philo's words suggest that it does.

It should be noted, however, that Philo found δῆμος as well as φυλή in Num. xxxvi. (see *v.* 6). Apparently, however, they are there convertible terms. E.V. has "the family of the tribe."

§ 91. (Depreciation of athletes and athletic training.) This is not uncommon, especially in contrast with military training. Cf. Quintilian, x. 1. 33, where the athlete's "tori"

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or fleshy protuberances are contrasted with the military "lacerti." Several parallels are quoted by Peterson in his note on that passage, bringing out the idea that the athlete's training did not fit him to endure the various hardships of the soldier's life. Philo may have the same idea here, though he does not bring in the contrast with the soldier.

For *παινομένων* cf. *Leg. All.* i. 98, where the athlete's diet is *ἐνεκα τοῦ παινεσθαι καὶ βῶνυσθαι*, and for *πολυσαρκία* see Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* x. 5 (quoted by Peterson), where an athlete *πολύσαρκός τις ὢν* nearly makes Charon's boat sink.

§ 125. *ἡ προστώσα ἀρχὴ κτλ.* In making this statement, and indeed in the whole section, Philo has no biblical authority and is simply giving what he considers to be just, based apparently on Attic (or Alexandrian ?) law. In Attic law the archon (who seems to be alluded to in *ἡ προστώσα ἀρχή*) had the general duty of caring for orphans and heiresses. See Lipsius, *Att. Recht.* p. 58, though this seems to mean only the obligation to see that the legitimate *ἐπίτροποι* performed their duty (*ibid.* p. 525). Philo's words here would naturally imply something more definite than this and are not easy to reconcile with iii. 67, where proposals of marriage to orphan maidens are to be addressed "to the brothers or guardians or others who have charge of her."

§ 133 and sequel to § 139. (The double portion of the first-born.) Goodenough, pp. 56 f., after giving evidence of the right of the eldest son to a double portion in Ptolemaic Egypt as well as in Greece, holds that Philo has no scriptural warrant for attesting this as a general Mosaic law, but quotes Deut. xxi. as the nearest thing he can find in scripture to a law which had forced itself on Jewish practice. It seems to me that Philo could reasonably find an acknowledgement of the claims of primogeniture in v. 17, "for he is the beginning of his children (LXX) and to him belong the rights of the first-born (*πρωτοτοκεία*)." That is to say, what the law forbids in this passage is that the repudiation of the mother, who in Philo's view is not only hated but discarded (*ἀπηλλαγμένη* § 139), should be allowed to cancel the acknowledged rights of her son.

There is more to be said for Heinemann's contention that the arguments in §§ 132-139 imply that what was stated as a general law in § 133 only obtained in the particular case here discussed. The third reason in particular (§ 139) might be taken to mean that the duplication of the portion of

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the first-born was a compensation for the wrongs he had already suffered. But this is not necessarily so. Philo may mean, as indeed he implies in the last sentence, that the law wishes to protect the just rights of both families and shews its intention by asserting the special right of the first-born.

§ 145. *The Crossing-feast.* I have not found in any authority which I have seen any light thrown on Philo's departure from the ordinary explanation of Passover. Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 313 explains *πάσχα* as meaning *ὑπερβασία* (so also later Aquila; see Driver on Ex. xii. 13). It must be remembered that the point is disguised in the LXX, which translates the noun *pēsah* in xii. 21 and 27 by *πάσχα*, but the verb *pāsah* in v. 13 and 27 by *σκεπάω* and *ἐσκέπασε*, in v. 23 by *παρελύσεται*. That Philo was not alone in his opinion is shewn by his statement that others allegorized in the same way, for such an allegory could only be founded on the "crossing" interpretation. That he believed *διάβασις* to be the correct translation appears in *De Mig.* 25 *τὸ πάσχα, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐρμηνευθὲν διάβασις.*

*Ibid.* *From noon till eventide.* See Ex. xii. 6, Lev. xxiii. 5, Num. ix. 3, where the R.V. has "at even," (margin) Hebrew "between the two evenings." The LXX translates this in Ex. and Num. by *πρὸς ἑσπέραν*, but in Leviticus by *ἀνάμεσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν*. "For this the traditional interpretation adopted by the Pharisees and Talmudists was that the 'first' evening was when the heat of the sun begins to decrease, about 3 P.M., and that the second evening began with sunset" (Driver on Ex. xii. 6). Philo's interpretation is in accordance with another opinion quoted by Driver, "that the sacrifice if offered before noon was not valid."

§ 162. *Directly after the first day.* The Hebrew "on the morrow after the Sabbath," translated by the LXX in Lev. xxiii. 11 by *ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης* though in v. 15 by *ἐπαύριον τῶν σαββάτων*, is said to have been diversely interpreted by the Pharisees and Sadducees (see Thackeray on Jos. *Ant.* iii. 250). The Pharisees, with whom Josephus as well as Philo agrees, understood it to mean the second day of Unleavened Bread. The Sadducees held it to be on the day after the Sabbath, which necessarily occurred at some time in the festal week.

§ 176. (Text of ἀπὸ . . . μονάδος.) M has *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἡμέρα πεντηκοστή καταριθμῆται ἐβδόμη ἐβδομάς, ἐφ' αἷς ἱερὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισφραγιζομένης μονάδος.* Nicetas ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνης

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τῆς ἡμέρας πεντηκοστῆ ἀριθμεῖται ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδες ἱερὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισφραγιζομένης μονάδος. Nicetas's text is followed by Mangey with the correction of ἑβδομάδες to -δων. Nicetas's ἀπό is clearly right (see Lev. xxiii. 15, for reckoning Pentecost from the Sheaf) and the question between his τῆς ἡμέρας . . . ἀριθμεῖται . . . and M's ἡμέρα . . . καταριθμεῖται is unimportant, but his ἑβδομάδες is impossible; Cohn's correction to ἑβδομάσι agrees, as he says, with the parallel in *De Dec.* 160, whereas Mangey's ἑβδομάδων will make the sacred number 49 instead of 50. Cohn's correction of ἐφ' αἷς to ἀφέσεως seems to me much more doubtful. In *De Cong.* 109 which he cites, and a similar passage in *De Mut.* 228, an allegory is founded on the connexion of "release" with the Jubile of the fiftieth year. Here we are talking of a different feast which, except for the number 50, has no connexion with the Jubile, and there is no further allusion to the idea of release. The corruption of ἑβδόμη ἑβδομάς ἐφ' αἷς in M may have arisen (1) by an assimilation of ἑβδομάδες to the singular verb καταριθμεῖται, (2) by a variation of construction between a relative clause and a genitive absolute.

§ 185. *Joy is the rational elevation or rising of the soul.* This is the regular Stoic definition of χαρά, in contrast with ἡδονή. See *S. V. F.* iii. 431, 432. Each of the "good emotional states" (εὐπάθειαι) is distinguished from the corresponding πάθος by being εὐλογος. Thus εὐλάβεια ("cautiousness") is opposed to φόβος as being εὐλογος ἑκκλισις, Diog. Laert. vii. 116.

§ 188. *Rules of good economy.* Lit. "laws of economic virtue." According to the Stoics οἰκονομική or the knowledge of what is profitable to the household is an ἀρετή (*S. V. F.* iii. 267) and only the wise man is οἰκονομικός (*ib.* 567). So Philo, *Quaestio in Gen. iv.* 165 "urbanitas (i.e. πολιτική) et oeconomia cognatae sunt virtutes." Cf. *De Ebr.* 91.

§ 212. *In the scale of ascending powers.* I have not found the compound παραύξησης (-άνω) in Plato or Nicomachus meaning "to raise to a higher power." But the uncompounded verb or noun is common in this sense. So in *Rep.* 528 ν the square is the δευτέρα αὐξη and the cube the τρίτη αὐξησις. In 587 δ κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ τρίτην αὐξήν seems to mean "by squaring and cubing." In Nicomachus xi. 15, 9 being thrice 3 by another 3 αὐξεται ἐπ' ἄλλο διάστημα and becomes 27.

§ 228. (Text of καὶ οὐ μόνον . . . παιδων.) The simplest suggestion I can make for this is to correct λογισμοὺς to λογισμοῖς

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καί. Translate "impressing them on the minds of the children both in the earlier and in the riper stage of youth." This will make good sense, giving *three* stages of parental instruction—early childhood, boyhood, and later adolescence. But I lack authority for the antithesis implied between *νεάζειν* and *ἀκμάζειν*, and also while *λογισμός* = "reasoning faculty" or "mind" is quite common in Philo, I have not found it in the plural.

Another difficulty felt by Cohn, that *οἱ μὲν* just above has no following *δὲ*, which leads him to suggest that the end of the sentence has been lost, does not seem to be weighty. Philo begins no doubt with thinking of the parents as *μὲν* and the children as *δέ*, but that he should forget to express the latter formally does not seem unlike him.

§ 232. (The disobedient son.) In Deut. xxi. the incorrigible son is brought before the "elders," after which (LXX) he is denounced to the "men of the city," who thereupon stone him. Nothing is said of any right of either the "elders" or the "men of the city" to examine the accusation, but the account savours more of a judicial proceeding than Philo's words suggest. And Heinemann (*ad loc.* and *Bildung*, pp. 251) and Goodenough, p. 69 ff., may be right in tracing here the influence of the Roman *patria potestas*, as also in the doctrine of parental *δεσποτεία* in the next sentence.

§ 239. *Secondly, it would not be suitable . . . by kinship.* Heinemann aptly quotes Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, iv. 17 "quomodo nulla lex amare parentes . . . iubet (super vacuum est enim, in quod imus, impelli)."

§ 244. (Penalty for striking a parent.) Heinemann quotes Seneca, *Controv.* ix. 4 "qui patrem pulsaverit manus ei praeacidantur," which he calls a Roman law and also declares it to come from the Twelve Tables. Goodenough, accepting the first part of this, bases on it an argument that the *ἐπάρυφοι* of § 244 are definitely Roman officials. Such a law is certainly not found among any of the fragments of the Twelve Tables known to us, but there is no reason to think that it is a Roman law at all. Seneca's words are no evidence. The laws which form the basis of the several *controversiae* need not have and do not claim to have any foundation in fact. In this particular case the theme is as follows: The law is supposed to be as stated above. A "tyrant" has commanded two sons to strike their

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father. One commits suicide rather than do so; the other obeys the command. When the tyrant has fallen or in one version has been killed by the same son, the son is charged under this law and arguments are adduced by the debaters for and against exacting the penalty. The same law with practically the same theme is noted by a scholiast as used by the Greek rhetor Syrianus (Walz, *Rhet. Graeci*, iv. 467), and, with different themes attached, in the Declamations ascribed to Quintilian 358, 362, 372. Another of Seneca's *Controv.* (viii. 2) starts with a law that amputation of the hands is the penalty for sacrilege. Whether these imaginary laws prescribing the mutilation of the offending member (*cf.* Deut. xxv. 11, 12, and iii. 175, below) are based on some old tradition, or are the product of the inventiveness of the rhetoricians, it is impossible to say. The only code known to us which assigns this punishment for striking a father is the Babylonian code of Hammurabi (about 2000 B.C.), and this is hardly likely to have influenced either the rhetor or Philo. The common assumption in the schools that such legislation existed or had existed somewhere would be enough to make him embark without further inquiry on a demonstration of its injustice.

§ 259. *Each of the other virtues is its own reward.* The sentiment is of course implicit in the common Stoic aphorism that virtue is *αὐτῇ δι' αὐτὴν αἰρετός* and *αὐταρκής πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν*. The most exact parallel quoted is *S. V. F.* iii. 45, from Servius, "Stoici dicunt virtutem esse pro praemio si nulla sint praemia."



## APPENDIX TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, III

§ 3. *The ocean of civil cares.* I do not know that we know enough about the dates of Philo's writings to say that Heinemann's positive statement that this refers to the serious troubles of A.D. 38-41 described in the *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium* is impossible. But it is at any rate uncertain. Apart from such matters as the apparently unsuccessful attempt to interfere with Jewish religion mentioned in *De Som.* ii. 123 (where see note in App.), and the oppression of the tax-collectors noted below (§§ 159 ff.), there must have been considerable friction in Alexandria caused by the special position of the Jewish πολιτεία long before the outbreak. It is this to which I understand the φθόνος to refer, rather than, as Goodenough, to the conventional idea of the jealousy of fate shewn to prosperity, an idea which does not seem to fit in well with the epithets μισόκαλος and κακῶν ἀργαλεώτατον.

§ 6. *Yet . . . even for this.* The meaning of §§ 1-6, when reduced to plain prose, is that the days when Philo could devote his whole powers to philosophy are far back in the past. He is now permanently engaged and sometimes absorbed in political business of a troublesome nature, but there are times when he can get some leisure for his favourite studies and use his philosophical insight (§ 4). There are indeed other times (§ 5) when he can shake off the shackles altogether and perhaps feel the inspiration which he described in *De Mig.* § 35. But this is not one of these times. His condition is that he can open his eyes as in § 4, though he cannot triumphantly ride the waves as in § 5; yet even for this he is thankful.

If it is asked why this eloquent outcry is introduced at this point, I think it is enough to say that it is a natural literary device marking that he is just halfway through his

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great subject. Such prologues at pauses in a long disquisition are not, I think, uncommon. They appear, for instance, in Quintilian. It is possible, though I think less probable, that it means to indicate that the work has actually been interrupted by civic troubles and that *καιροῦ διδόντος* at the end of the preceding treatise should be translated "when opportunity offers," with the suggestion that the opportunity will have to be waited for.

Goodenough's idea (p. 9), that the outcry is elicited by a feeling that the criminal and civil laws now to be treated forcibly remind him of his civic distractions, seems to me fanciful.

§ 13. (Persian incest.) See Clement Alex. *Strom.* iii. 2. 11, who cites the early historian Xanthus as saying *μίγνυνται οἱ Μάγοι μητράσι καὶ θυγατράσι*, and couples them with sisters. In *Paedagogus*, i. 7 he says the same of the Persians in general. Tertullian also in *Ad Nationes*, i. 15 and *Apol.* 9 repeats the statement on the authority of Ctesias, another early historian. Philo evidently assumes that these early authorities hold good for his own time, though he says nothing of the Magi, for whom elsewhere he expresses admiration (see on § 100 below). Compare on the other hand Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* iii. 305 Πέρσαι δὲ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ σοφίαν ἀσκέειν δοκοῦντες, οἱ Μάγοι, γαμοῦσι τὰς μητέρας καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἄγονται πρὸς γάμον. The charge against the Persians is often repeated in later writers (references in Mangey *ad loc.* and Commentator on Clement (Migne)).

§§ 17-18. (Persian civil troubles.) No suggestions are given by Heinemann as to what events, if any, Philo has in mind. Possibly he may have known of the troubles both before and after the succession of Darius Hystaspes and after the death of Xerxes, and a number of fratricides are recorded, beginning with the murder of Smerdis by Cambyzes, and before or after the accessions of Darius Nothus and Ochus and Codomannus. See Rawlinson, *Fifth Great Monarchy*. But his words fit better into more contemporary matters and he is more likely to be thinking of the later Parthian empire which absorbed the Persian. He was quite aware that the Parthians had conquered the Persians (*De Ios.* 136, *Quod Deus* 174), but he might, like Horace, identify the two in a vague statement of this kind. Plutarch, *Lucullus* 36 speaks of the Parthian power as weakened *ὑπ' ἐμφυλίων καὶ προσοίκων πολέμων* at the time of Lucullus's

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campaign (about 78 B.C.), and the civil war between Mithradates III and Orodes after their murder of their father Phraates, a war which ended with the victory of Orodes and the execution of his brother, would be well known to Philo.

§ 22. *Marriage with half-sisters on the father's side.* So Cimon married his *germana* (here = ὁμοπάτριος) *soror*, "nam Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere," Corn. Nep. *Cim.* i. 2. Themistocles' daughter married her brother οὐκ ὄντα ὁμομήτριον, Plut. *Them.* 32. The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Nubes* 1372, where the poet denounces marriage with an ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφή, says that since marriage between ὁμοπάτριοι was lawful at Athens, the word is added εἰς αὐξήσῃ τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Philo is right in saying that there was such a law at Athens, whether dating from Solon or not. He does not say that it was a common practice, and when Plato, *Laws* 838 A, B puts brother and sister without adding ὁμομήτριος among the relations between which intercourse was not only unlawful but felt so strongly to be unlawful that most people had no desire for it, it is difficult to suppose that it was common.

No evidence appears to be forthcoming for Philo's statement about the Spartan law.

§ 23. (Egyptian marriage with sisters on both sides.) See Diod. Sic. i. 27, where the practice is said to be modelled on the marriage of Isis and Osiris, also the words of Sext. Emp. quoted in note on § 13. Goodenough cites for a later age from the Papyri a card of invitation issued by a mother for the marriage of one of her sons to a daughter.

§ 30. (Remarriage with a divorced wife). On this point Goodenough, pp. 85, 86 calls attention to the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*, 18 B.C., which provides that among the things which that law punishes as adultery is "si adulterii damnatam sciens uxorem duxerit," *Dig.* iv. 37. 1. Assuming, then, that the remarriage shewed that the intermediate union was adultery, the offender would be liable under Roman law in Philo's time. Elsewhere (see references in *Dict. of Ant.*) condonation of adultery is treated under the same law as *lenocinium*. Is this the Latin equivalent for what Philo calls προαγωγεία? In Greek law this last was a capital crime, as Goodenough notes (though only perhaps if proved to be ἐπι μισθῶ. See Lipsius, *A.R.* p. 435).

§§ 34-36. Heinemann, *Bildung*, pp. 262-267, has a long

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and careful discussion of the views expressed here by Philo, and less specifically in other places (*Quod Det.* 102, *De Ios.* 43, *Mos.* i. 28), as compared with Rabbinical and Greek opinion. The upshot of it is that Philo goes far beyond the latter at any rate. The only passage cited which at all approaches this is from Charondas (Stobaeus, *Flor.* ii. p. 184 Meineke). According to Zeller (*Stoics and Epicureans*, Eng. Trans. p. 303), the Stoics merely required chastity and moderation in marriage (including total abstinence from pregnant women).

§§ 37-38. Philo may also be bearing in mind Deut. xxiii. 17, where  $\delta$  πορνείων (E.V. "sodomite") is coupled with πόρνη as forbidden in Israel. πορνείων and πόρνος seem regularly to mean a male prostitute rather than as in Heb. xii. 16 simply a fornicator. Though no punishment is prescribed in Deut., the fact that Philo seems to base the stoning of the πόρνη on this verse (see on § 81) shews that he would feel the same about the πόρνος.

§ 40. *Celebrating the rites of Demeter*, etc. I have not been able to find any evidence in support of this account of the prominence of male prostitutes in the mysteries of Demeter or similar rites; nor yet of the next sections describing the honours paid to the castrated. No doubt the Galli, the priests of Attis, were well known and also the votaries who castrated themselves in honour of Attis. See Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, pp. 22 ff.), who also mentions the eunuch priests of Artemis of Ephesus, and the Syrian Astartē. But Philo can hardly be referring to these.

§ 51. (Death penalty for harlots.) This severity is in accordance with *De Ios.* 43, where Joseph is represented as saying "with us death is the penalty for harlots," but inconsistent with i. 81, where the repentant harlot may retain her civic rights and marry anyone except a priest, and presumably not merely escape death, but remain unpunished.

§ 72. *Documents containing the names, etc.* Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 289, gives an excellent parallel from the Papyri. "The announcement of marriage" contains the names of the parties and of the parents of the wife, the amount of her dowry, the guarantee of the husband to make fitting provision, the promise of fidelity on both sides, and the penalties in the event of infringement.

Goodenough's theory (p. 92) that this *ὁμολογία* is regarded by Philo as justifying marital relations before the completed

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marriage, and that therefore *ὑπογάμιον* (or *ὑπογάμιον ἀδίκημα*) was *de facto* adultery seems to me to be negated by the phrase in § 74 (which Goodenough passes over very lightly), that the girl has her virginity to defend. Clearly some people did not regard it as adultery, and, when Philo maintains the contrary, he seems to me to be upholding what he takes to be the view of Deuteronomy, which assigns the same punishment as for adultery, and speaks of the violator as having dishonoured (*ἐταπείνωσε*) his neighbour's wife. For the equivalence of betrothal to marriage see also i. 107, where it is implied that the betrothed is no longer a *παρθένος*, "even though her body is pure."

§ 84. *τὸ τῆς τιμωρίας ἀθάνατον*. Cohn (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 206) offers a solution of this corruption which perhaps is preferable to that suggested in the translation. He suggests that *εἶδος* or an equivalent word has fallen out, and that *ἀθάνατον* is the result of a gloss explanatory of *εἶδος*. The glossator wrote *α'* (= *ένα*) *θάνατον*, and this having been re-embodied in the text in the form of *ἀθάνατον* ultimately ousted *εἶδος*.

In the first part of the sentence the suggestion of inserting *ἀμειλίκτως* is due to H. Grégoire in *Hermes*, 1909, p. 320, though he would place it between *ἐργασάμενον* and *ἀναιρετέον*.

§ 86. (Intention to kill.) Heinemann points out that in giving this interpretation to Ex. xxi. 14 *ἐπιθῆται . . . δόλω*, and extending it to cover *βούλευσις* in general, Philo is following Greek law, *τὸν βουλευσάντα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν χειρὶ ἐργασάμενον*, Andocides i. 94.

§ 89. (Punishment of poisoners.) Heinemann and Goodenough point out that Philo's views on this subject are in accordance with the spirit of the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis* (about 81 B.C.) which decreed punishment for preparing, having or selling poisons for the destruction of human life, as well as for actually using them. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 279 is closer to the Roman law, as he expressly includes the possession of such poisons as criminal. Both authors apparently go beyond the *Lex Cornelia* in saying that poison intended to cause other injuries than death. (Jos. *εἰς ἄλλας βλάβας πεποιημένον* is on the same footing.)

§ 100. (The Magi and the true magic.) Mangey and others quote for the last part of the sentence Cic. *De Div.* i. 91 "Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse qui non ante Magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit."

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As to what Philo understands by "true magic" I hazard the conjecture that he has in mind the distinction between "artificiosa divinatio" and "naturalis," a distinction which is made by the Stoic in the *De Div.*, and accepted by his opponent. The coincidence quoted above inclines one to think that both this passage and the substance of *De Div.* i. are based on some Stoic treatise (? Poseidonius). In the *De Div.* the "artificiosa" comprises haruspicy, augury, and the like, while the "naturalis" is limited to inspiration, such as oracles, and dreams. It seems to be equated in i. 90 with "ratio naturae quam φυσιολογίαν Graeci appellant." This agrees with our passage and with *Quod Omn. Prob.* 74, where the Magi are extolled as "researching in tranquillity into the works (or facts) of nature and by clearer visions receiving and giving revelations (ιεροφαντοῦνται τε καὶ ιεροφαντοῦσι) of divine excellences." Further at the end of *De Div.* i. the Stoic, though he has defended the "artificiosa" in general, rejects the charlatan impostors in much the same tone as Philo takes in § 101. Compare also *Mos.* i. 277 where ἔντεχνος μαντική was inadequately translated by "his art of wizardry." Rather it means the "artificiosa" discarded for the "naturalis" of the prophetic spirit. It is an objection to this, but not I think a fatal objection, that either Philo or Cicero must have misunderstood the reference to the Magi. For in Cicero the Magi "augurantur et divinant," i.e. practise the "artificiosa."

Heinemann thinks that Philo is just adopting the accepted Stoic definition of μαντική as ἐπιστήμη οὐσα θεωρητικὴ καὶ ἐξηγητικὴ τῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις διδομένων σημείων (*S. V. F.* ii. 1018, iii. 654), while giving the last words a "monotheistic" twist. He means, I suppose, that φύσις=(as often) θεός is substituted for θεῶν. In view of Philo's wholesale denunciation of μαντική in i. 59 ff. it seems to me improbable that he would accept this definition without more explanation than this.

It is possible, no doubt, that he is simply echoing the vague popular idea that there is a respectable as well as a disreputable magic, which we find also in the N.T. with the "wise men" from the east on the one hand and Simon and Elymas on the other, all described as μάγοι.

§ 102. θανατῶντας. The same sense for θανατᾶν, i.e. "to be about to die," is demanded certainly or preferably in *De Virt.* 34, *De Ex.* 159, and *De Aet.* 89. The word cannot be an

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interpolation in all these places; nor does Cohn raise any objection there. It is true that the accepted meaning of *θανατᾶν* is "to desire death," as in *Phaedo* 64 b. If here and elsewhere it carries the sense of imminence rather than desire, it is presumably on the analogy of verbs of sickness such as *ὕδεριάω* = "be dropsical" or *ὀφθαλμιάω* = "have sore eyes." In this way it may easily = "sick unto death," and thence pass on to being doomed to death from other causes than sickness. It is a pertinent objection that these verbs are in *-ιάω* rather than *-άω*, though indeed to add the vowel in each case in Philo would be less drastic than expunging the word. At any rate the positive fact for the lexicographer is that in these four places the mss. of Philo exhibit *θανατᾶν* as = "being near to death." Possibly to these should be added i. 237, where *θανατῶσαν νόσον* is corrected by Cohn to *θανατοῦσαν νόσον*. That the disease itself is near to death (cf. "this sickness is not unto death") would be a fairly natural extension.

§ 108. *Both for the outrage, and for obstructing nature*, etc. Goodenough, pp. 113 f. points out that Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 278 mentions a double fine, (1) for diminishing the population; (2) compensation to the husband, and that Philo's two reasons, "nature" and *ὑβρις*, roughly correspond to these. He infers that Philo also contemplates a double fine. He may very likely have found the LXX *ἐπιζήμιον ζημιωθήσεται καθότι ἂν ἐπιβάλῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς γυναικὸς δώσει μετὰ ἀξιώματος* obscure.

§ 109. *A human being . . . from confinement*. Heinemann and Goodenough note a discrepancy between this and § 117, where Philo accepts the Stoic theory (*S. V. F.* ii. 806) that the child is not a separate living creature till it has left its mother's womb. I do not think there is any real discrepancy. Here he is stating what he considers to be implied by the LXX, i.e. that the child at this stage is (potentially) a human being. There he argues that while the Stoic theory may be true and is supported by high authorities, the stricter law of the LXX seems to emphasize the sacredness of the infant and shews *a fortiori* how heinous is the destruction of the fully born. Cf. for a very similar argument *De Virt.* 137, 138.

§ 120. (Involuntary homicide.) What does Philo understand by this? In the Pentateuch it seems to mean accidental homicide, see particularly the example given in Deut. xix. 5 of the man killed by the slip of the head from his neighbour's axe. Nothing is said in these sections exactly in contradic-

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tion of this, though the *μη ἐκ προνοίας* in § 128 may point to a wider interpretation. But in §§ 92 and 104 we have had suggestions that he regards homicide, if committed in sudden anger or in an unpremeditated quarrel, as different from ordinary murder, though he does not follow this up (see notes on §§ 92 and 104). His view in fact seems much the same as that of Plato, who (*Laws* 866 D ff.) discusses the point and says that one who kills another in hot blood or unpremeditatedly is *οὐ παντάπασι ἀκούσιος ἀλλ' εἰκῶν ἀκουσίου*. Philo's *ἡμίεργον* in § 92 is a rough equivalent of Plato's *εἰκῶν* ("likeness or shadow," Jowett) and indeed may be a reminiscence of it. That is to say, it is something between *ἀκούσιος* and *ἐκούσιος*. One may conjecture that he does not consider it worthy of death, but in face of the law of Ex. xxi. 18, 19, described in § 100, refrains from saying so.

§§ 131-136. *The death of the high priest.* Why the death of one high priest should abrogate the reasons assigned for the limit of the exile, when he is immediately succeeded by another, is not here discussed. The real explanation, as I understand from the commentators, is that the rights of the avenger of blood had to be limited, and that the succession of a new high priest, like the accession of a new sovereign, made a convenient limit. Philo himself in *De Fuga* 106 f. has pronounced the enactment, if literally taken, to be absurd, and therefore explains the death of the high priest as the death of the Logos in the soul.

§ 148. (Punishment in the case where a man is killed by falling into an unguarded pit.) Philo's statement in the face of the absence of any specific provision in the Law is regarded by Goodenough, p. 129 as clear evidence that he is here giving us the practice of the Jewish courts in Egypt. I think it is merely one of his reasonable inferences from analogous cases. By making the negligence punishable when an animal is killed, the law suggests that it is still more punishable in the case of a human being. What he says really amounts to saying that no one need think himself debarred from making a complaint to the court, which will then have to follow the principle laid down in the matter of the unguarded well, *i.e.* either death or a fine. He naturally hesitates to prescribe death in so many words, but evidently thinks it would be justified, as also in the case of the *φόνος* of the unguarded roof mentioned in § 149.

§ 149. (The unguarded roof.) It is noteworthy that Josephus,



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*Ant.* iv. 284 also couples this with the unguarded pit, though they came from quite different parts of the Pentateuch, and this has sometimes (see Thackeray *ad loc.*) been regarded as one of the points which shew Josephus's dependence upon Philo. See vol. vi., Introd. p. xxii, note *e.* I think the analogy of the two is obvious enough to have struck both writers independently.

§ 164. (Traitors and tyrants, etc.) Heinemann in his note says positively that the latter law, *i.e.* against tyrants (in *Bildung*, p. 212, both laws, regarded as a single law), is an old Macedonian law. Goodenough accepts this and infers that it was probably continued in Ptolemaic Egypt and therefore known to Philo. All this has very slender foundation. Heinemann's authority is two passages (cited quite reasonably by Cohn as illustrations), one from Curtius Rufus vi. 42. 20, the other from Cicero, *De Inventione*, ii. 144. The first of these mentions in connexion with a plot against Alexander a "law of the Macedonians providing that the relations of a conspirator against the king should be put to death." Here it is relations (*propinqui*), not children, and an "insidiator" is not the same as a *προδοτής*. Still there may be some connexion.

The second passage deals with a problem in the rhetorical schools. There are supposed to be two laws: one that the tyrannicide may claim *any* reward; another that the "five nearest relations of the tyrant shall be put to death." The example given is that of Alexander, tyrant of Phærae, who was murdered in 367 B.C., by his wife. By the first law she can claim the life of her son by him as the reward; by the second he must be put to death, and the arguments for either course are elaborately discussed by Cicero. As apparently Alexander's wife was acting in concert with her brother, who afterwards assumed the tyranny (Diod. xvi. 14), the question can hardly have arisen, and if it did, Phærae was presumably not under Macedonian jurisdiction. But it is quite unsafe to assume that such a law was in existence. The death of Alexander was a famous case of tyrannicide and a useful peg on which to hang one of the controversies, in which tyrannicide was a favourite subject, and to which historicity was a matter of complete indifference. Heinemann and Goodenough have fallen into the same error as on ii. 244, in mistaking these fictions of the schools for sober history; though it must not be assumed that because they are worth-

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less as evidence, Philo had not some other ground, historical or traditional, for his statements.

§ 171. *The temple.* Possibly τὸ ἱερόν may have become in the διασπορά a conventional name for the synagogue as the best possible substitute for the temple, particularly in Alexandria where the synagogue is said to have been especially magnificent and famous (*Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. synagogue*); and so too with the common collocation εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας for the due performance of all religious rites possible.

On the strict seclusion of women indicated in this section Heinemann (*Bildung, p. 234*) quotes *In Flaccum* 89 (of the Jewish women in Alexandria) γυναῖκα κατάκλειστα μηδὲ τὴν αὔλειον προερχόμενα καὶ θαλαμεύμεναι παρθένοι, though he points out that it reflects Greek rather than Jewish ideas.

Goodenough cites a passage from the female Pythagorean Phintys, quoted in Stobaeus (Meineke, iii. 64), which in some ways curiously resembles this, but shews less strictness. Phintys's lady may go out duly attended not only to public worship but to see spectacles (θεωρίαι) and to shop.

§ 176. (Exclusion of women from gymnastic competitions.) The only evidence for this known to me is their exclusion from the Olympic games mentioned in Aelian, *V.H.* x. 1, and Pausanias, v. 6. 7. Elsewhere Pausanias, vi. 20. 9 (if the text is right) states that virgins were not excluded.

§ 181. (Penalties not corresponding to the crimes.) Goodenough, p. 137 says that the list of punishments here given follows those provided in Greek law for the several crimes. This seems to be only partially correct. The punishment for αἰκία was a monetary fine, and murderers were apparently allowed to evade the death-penalty by flying the country. But the punishment for τραύματα ἐκ προνοίας, i.e. wounding intended to kill, which perhaps may be equated with Philo's τραύματα καὶ πηρώσεις, was banishment, not ἀτιμία, which is a loss of civil rights not entailing banishment. It seems to be true that theft might sometimes be punished by a few days' imprisonment as a supplement to a manifold restitution of the things stolen, but what Philo here means is imprisonment instead of such restitution. I do not see any reason to think that he refers to any particular body of legislation.

The references given by Goodenough to Lipsius are to pp. 646, 605-607, 440, to which add for wilful murder, 603-604.

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§ 183. ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι. The idea suggested in the translation is that, as all religious rites are forbidden on these days, the action cannot desecrate them. Compare Lucian, *Pseudologistae* 12, where the performance of sacred rites is included among the things prohibited on the Apophrades. Something of the same sort appears in *Laws* 800 D, where Plato forbids the melancholy strains used at sacrifices as blasphemy and relegates them to the Apophrades.

It seems possible, however, that the contrast intended may be the opposite of this, namely that things which are lawful on the feast-days are intolerable at other times. Philo may be thinking of pagan usage around him and allude to the license allowed on public feast-days (*cf. De Cher.* 91 ff.). This will give ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι something more like its ordinary meaning. Days which are inauspicious for ordinary business will be still more inauspicious for unlawful actions.

§ 184. *The most conspicuous and distinguished situation.* Heinemann quotes Cic. *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 140 "oculi tanquam speculatores altissimum locum obtinent," but the thought there is somewhat different, rather of convenience than dignity, as it continues "ex quo plurima conspicientes fungantur suo munere."

§ 204. (The law of the millstone). Heinemann, who (*Bildung*, p. 430) gives ἱεταί ἐπ' ἀνδροφονίαν the somewhat stronger sense of "aims at murder," considers Philo's comments to be a rhetorical exaggeration, and that no such murderous intention on the part of the creditors is suggested by a law which merely prohibits the attachment for debt of an indispensable article. (Such laws are paralleled in other legislations, indeed in the Common Law of England, see Adam Smith *ad loc.* Goodenough (p. 142) aptly cites out of the Papyri an example from the Ptolemaic law of Egypt, where a farmer's cattle and tools and a weaver's loom are mentioned.) But Philo gives a natural interpretation of the strong phrase ψυχὴν ἐνεχυράζει. It must be remembered that he only notes this law incidentally to strengthen his point of the criminality of destroying a man's teeth.

**PHILO**  
**VOLUME VIII**

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY**  
**F. H. COLSON**



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## PREFACE TO VOLUME VIII

THIS volume concludes the exposition of the Law which began in vol. vi., and also vol. v. of Cohn and Wendland's edition. There is only one other point which need be mentioned here.

As in vols. vi. and vii., I have made full use of the German translation published in 1906. The first of the three treatises here translated, *Spec. Leg.* iv., was the work of Heinemann, who also translated the three first books of the Special Laws, which formed the main part of my vol. vii. In the preface to that volume I said that I occasionally found myself differing from Heinemann as to the meaning of particular sentences and phrases. I say very much the same of his translation of this fourth book. But the translation of the other two treatises, the *De Virtutibus* and *De Praemiis*, comes from Dr. Cohn himself, whose labours on the text embodied in his great edition have earned the unbounded gratitude of every student of Philo. I have been startled by the number of times in which I find myself in disagreement with him, a disagreement extending beyond the translation to the text particularly in the cases where he

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seems to me to have printed unjustified emendations. Though it may sometimes seem disputatious, I have felt bound to record in the footnotes or appendix my reasons for differing from him, as what is only due to so high an authority.

As in the last volume, I am also indebted to Goodenough's *Jewish Jurisprudence in Egypt* and Heinemann's *Philon's Bildung*, but not to the same extent. Goodenough's discussion only extended to the first part of *Spec. Leg.* iv., and Heinemann's references are also less copious.

F. H. C.

CAMBRIDGE, *December* 1938.



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE first ninety pages of this volume complete the survey of the laws referable to the Ten Commandments, and cover the eighth, ninth and tenth, though on a scale by no means commensurate with the 130 pages in which he treated the sixth and seventh in the preceding volume. Here the eighth is well exemplified from the particular laws. For the ninth Philo has said (*De Decalogo* 172) "that it forbids not only false witness but deceit, false accusation, co-operation with evildoers and using honesty for a screen for dishonesty, all of which have been the subjects of appropriate laws." Here he can hardly be said to make good the statement in the last clause. The third of these four points is dealt with fully, and perhaps the fourth, though incidentally. But after the discussion of witness in general this part of the treatise is mainly occupied with the qualities required of a judge, a matter which belongs rather, as he himself recognizes later, to the second half of the treatise on justice.

Though Philo has said (*De Decalogo* 174) that many ordinances fall under the tenth commandment he does not produce any except the dietary laws, and these are not really germane. Even if we admit his assumption that the flesh of swine and that of other animals are forbidden because they are the most

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appetizing, Moses is not forbidding the appetite but only the indulgence of it. The fact is that there are no specific laws to quote. For though the Pentateuch does enjoin or prohibit feelings as well as actions such as "thou shalt love thy neighbour" and the like, I do not think there are any except the tenth commandment itself which develops the thought "thou shalt not desire."

The words "thy neighbour's," which are repeated so emphatically in the tenth commandment, as we have it and Philo also had it in the LXX, receive little attention from him. In this he follows the Stoic idea which conceives of the desire of what we have not got as a spiritual disease quite independent of whether it affects other people or not. Many forms of it of course lead to wrongdoing to others, as Philo points out in the disquisition on desire in general (§§ 79-94), but this is really incidental and is quite absent from the particular example given, namely gluttony, which occupies the rest of his treatment of this commandment.<sup>a</sup>

At this point comes the great break. The subject may be treated in another aspect. The commandments as a whole, and indeed each separately, inculcate all the virtues, and therefore if we classify the laws according to the virtues which they enjoin we shall still be referring them to the great Ten. The accepted list of the chief virtues both according to Plato and the Stoics is justice, wisdom or prudence, courage and temperance. To these Philo adds piety

<sup>a</sup> The allegorical interpretation of the dietary laws is of course a digression, though a very natural one. The story of the quails which concludes this part is a law in the sense that it records the punishment which gluttony incurred.

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(εὐσέβεια), which with the Stoics at any rate is a subordinate virtue,<sup>a</sup> and humanity (φιλανθρωπία),<sup>b</sup> a term which, so far as I can judge, was not current in the schools. Of these, piety, wisdom and temperance have been treated earlier,<sup>c</sup> and there remain

<sup>a</sup> Defined as ἐπιστήμη θεῶν θεραπείας (see index *S. V. F.*). Cf. *Quod Det.* 55, where perhaps read *θεραπείας* (sc. ἐπιστήμην) for *θεραπείαν*.

<sup>b</sup> The curious description given of *φιλανθρωπία* in *Diog. Laert.* iii. 98 as from Plato does not suggest that it ranks among the virtues; there it is said to have three forms, (a) cordial hand-shaking and greeting, (b) helping anyone in misfortune, (c) liking to give good dinners (*φιλοδειπνιστής*). This is, I suppose, just a lexicographical account of the uses of the word which with its cognates is common enough; it does not appear at all in *S. V. F.* except in a quotation from Clement, who probably depends upon Philo. The later Stoics such as Seneca no doubt prized many of the qualities which it involves, but I am not clear whether even Roman Stoicism had any real equivalent. "Humanitas" seems to have a somewhat different connotation and to include good manners and culture. Possibly "caritas"—and *De Car.* as sometimes used as a title for this treatise—is the nearest. Compare *Cic. Acad.* ii. 140 "ruunt communitas cum humano genere, caritas, amicitia, iustitia aliaque virtutes," and the following from *De Fin.* v. 65 gives Philo's conception, though not in a single word: "Caritas humani generis quae . . . serpit sensim foras, cognationibus primum . . . deinde totius complexu gentis humanae."

<sup>c</sup> What does this mean? As stated on p. xiv, a treatise on *εὐσέβεια* actually existed, but if Cohn and Wendland are right in thinking that this once stood between the *De Fort.* and *De Hum.* it cannot be referred to here. Of special treatises on *σωφροσύνη* and *φρόνησις* there are no traces. And to satisfy the scheme these treatises should not be so much disquisitions on the virtues as on the special laws which illustrate them. Presumably therefore he means that the three virtues have been sufficiently exemplified in the laws discussed up to now. All of the laws grouped in the first two books on the first four commandments might fairly be said

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justice, courage and humanity. We proceed to justice, which in defiance of natural arrangement is included in this fourth book instead of in the *De Virtutibus*. The treatment of the subject keeps well to the point throughout, as may be seen from the analysis of the contents on page 5, and is copiously illustrated from the law book.

The treatise here printed under the title *De Virtutibus*, commonly regarded as consisting of four parts, on courage, on humanity, on repentance and on nobility of birth, raises several questions. One thing is certain, that the fourfold form presented here is the same as that in which it was read by Clement of Alexandria at the end of the second century A.D. Clement in book ii. 18 of his *Miscellanies* (*Στροματείς*) sets himself to show that the Old Testament scriptures enjoin all the virtues in the philosophical list, and to do so he makes copious use of the *De Virtutibus* as we have it. That is to say, nothing is taken from the *De Iustitia* in the fourth book. The borrowings, mainly of substance, but with an obvious colouring from Philo's wording, begin with the *De Fortitudine*, pass on to the *De Humanitate*, then to the *De Poenitentia*, and finally to the *De Nobilitate*.<sup>a</sup>

to refer to *εὐσέβεια*, and those on sexual matters in Book III and the dietary laws in this book would fall under *σωφροσύνη*, but I do not see where any referable to *φρόνησις* are to be found.

<sup>a</sup> The source of these semi-extracts is unacknowledged perhaps because Clement regarded them as merely references to scripture to which his attention has been called by Philo. A little later, where he quotes a non-scriptural saying from the *Vita Mosis*, he names "Philo the Pythagorean" as his authority.

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The first of these four components seems to me a poor piece of work, at any rate as far as the Exposition of the Particular Laws is concerned. The first seventeen sections, which praise fortitude in meeting misfortunes and difficulties, are not illustrated from the laws at all. He then notes the law which forbids a man to assume a woman's dress, which, as the converse that a woman must not dress as a man is coupled with it, is hardly a law promoting ἀνδρεία in the sense of courage. Passing on to courage in war, the only laws quoted are two which allow exemption from the duty of showing courage,<sup>a</sup> and the final account of the origin and conduct of the Midianite War is told to illustrate the promise that obedience will ensure either peace or victory and enjoins εὐσέβεια as much as or more than ἀνδρεία.

The next component in our list is the *De Humanitate*, but at this point Cohn and Wendland believe that a *De Pietate* originally stood. While I will not presume to contradict them I cannot accept this unhesitatingly.<sup>b</sup> Anyhow, as we know nothing about

<sup>a</sup> Unless indeed this may be regarded as exemplifying the curious second part of the Stoic definition of ἀνδρεία, as knowledge of not only τὰ ὑπομενετέα but also τὰ οὐχ ὑπομενετέα.

<sup>b</sup> (1) Cohn and Wendland primarily rely on the opening words "the virtue closest to piety its sister and its twin, humanity is next to be examined." I do not think that these words necessarily or even strongly suggest that piety has just been examined. Piety (see iv. 147) is the queen of the virtues, while in § 95 below piety and humanity share the queenship. It is not remarkable that here when he passes on from the less royal "courage" to the more royal "humanity" he should note its kinship to the undoubted queen. On the other hand, by any ordinary interpretation the phrase "Of

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it, we may pass on to what we have. The *De Humanitate* opens with some sections describing the last actions of Moses which are supposed to exemplify his *φιλανθρωπία*. In a sense they do this, but evidently their main purpose is to give a supplement to the

piety we have spoken earlier" indicates that it is not to be treated in what follows.

(2) The traditional titles in the mss., see note (App. p. 440): apparently nearly all the mss, though not the oldest, S, include *εὐσεβείας* as Cohn does in the title which he prints and I have reproduced. One of these indeed gives the sub-title *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* to the *De Hum.* and omits *φιλανθρωπίας* altogether. Observation of this leads me to wonder whether the introduction of *εὐσεβείας* into the general title may be due to the fact that as noted above the *De Hum.* opens with the words *τὴν δ' εὐσεβείας κτλ.*, from which the scribe or scribes drew the same inference as Cohn and Wendland have done. I put this forward more boldly since I have found that Schürer, *Jewish People*, ii. 3 (Eng. trans.), p. 346, takes this view. Again one ms. puts the sub-title *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* at the beginning of the story of the Midianite War and this suggests to me that the insertion of the word was supported by the belief that that story is concerned with piety even more than with courage. Still my knowledge of the general value of titles in mss. as evidence is not enough to allow me to do more than put forward these points for consideration.

(3) Harris's collection of fragments drawn from mss. of collections of parallels from the Fathers and others contains three items which purport to come from a treatise *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*. I suppose this is sufficient to show that a treatise existed under that name, and perhaps in combination with the mss. titles noted above there may be a presumption that it formed part of the *De Virt.* But this presumption has to meet the undoubted fact that Clement did not find it in his copy. Cohn indeed goes so far as to say that this shows that "iam antiquis temporibus videtur periisse." "Periisse" is a strong word, and I think Cohn should at least have noted that if it had perished in the second century, its reappearance in the next century only to perish again after some hundred years requires some explanation.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

*Vita Mosis.* Philo has there given a few sections to the last stage of Moses' life, but it is easy to understand that he was glad to take an opportunity of enlarging his account. After this the treatise proceeds in an orderly way through the main classes of human society, then to animals and finally to plants. It shows Philo at his best and includes some of his finest thoughts, and though many of us are not Wordsworthian enough to share his sympathy for plants, and the rhetoric of his denunciation of slaughtering the mother and offspring on the same day and seething the lamb in its mother's milk is extravagant, his thoughts about kindness to animals and particularly his words about the order not to muzzle the ox while treading out the corn show a spirit more to our mind than Paul's comment on that text "Does God take care for oxen?"

What of the two components which complete the book, the *De Poenitentia* and *De Nobilitate*? What is their connexion with the *De Humanitate* and with each other? Cohn, who says of the first "artissime cohaerere cum capite *Περὶ φιλανθρωπίου* nemo non videt," explains this very close connexion thus. When Philo has explained the humane precepts of the Mosaic law he turns to those who are still held captive in error and lead a vicious life and calls upon them to embrace the true faith and lead a virtuous life. I should accept this more readily if "or" were substituted for "and" in the phrase "and lead a vicious life." I do not think that the proselytes here occupy such an absorbing place in Philo's mind as Cohn seems to hold. No doubt they take the first place. Conversion to the faith is the first necessity for those outside the faith, but the second half of

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this short sermon is, I believe, addressed to those within the fold. He speaks to the people at large, neither to the proselytes nor to those who have definitely apostatized. He calls on all members of the Jewish Church to note how the former testify in their lives to the sincerity of their conversion and the latter lose all sense of morality (§ 182), and to deepen and strengthen the honour they give to God, "choose Him" in fact, and this will inevitably mean a better life. With this emendation and perhaps another to the effect that the call is based not merely on the *De Humanitate* but on the whole of the Exposition, I should accept Cohn's view as nearer to the truth than that implied in the title given in the various mss. which treat *μετάνοια* as one of the virtues. Repentance is not a virtue but a necessary stepping-stone to the virtues.<sup>a</sup>

According to Cohn the connexion of the *De Nobilitate* with the treatise which precedes it is that, as there the outsiders are urged to become proselytes, so here the Jews are urged to treat them with

<sup>a</sup> According to the title in S it is one of the *three* virtues which Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18, in his catalogue of Philo's works, declared to be the subject of the *De Virt.* Cohn, convinced that the *De Piet.* originally stood between *De Fort.* and *De Hum.*, naturally concluded that the three are courage, piety and humanity.

May it be that while the incorporation of the *De Iust.* with the fourth book of the *Spec. Leg.*, an arrangement presumably dictated by convenience of size, did, as we know from Clement, exist from early times, there were also libraries in which the arrangement dictated by sense prevailed? There is not a word in the text to suggest anything to the contrary. To Eusebius in this case the *De Virt.* began at *Spec. Leg.* iv. 132, and his three virtues are justice, courage and humanity. Whether this conjecture is plausible I leave for bibliographers to consider.



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affection and not with contempt. If this is the intention it is expressed with remarkable indirectness. Abraham and Tamar indeed are treated as converts from heathenism and the former is held out as the standard for proselytes, but nothing whatever is said of what is so often stated elsewhere that it is the duty of the Jews to cherish and esteem them. The treatise is in fact an essay on the Stoic paradox "the virtuous man alone is high born," similar to the *Quod Omnis Probus* on "the virtuous man alone is free," but with a far more religious and scriptural colouring. The moral to the Jews is primarily that their lineage will not in itself give them acceptability with God. No doubt this indirectly involves a warning against showing arrogance to outsiders in general and proselytes in particular, and if we must assume a connexion with the *De Poenitentia*,<sup>a</sup> and if Cohn is right in thinking that that sermon is entirely concerned with the proselytes, the point of the *De Nobilitate* will, however dubiously expressed, be what he says. But if the second half of the sermon is, as I think, a call to penitence in general, the moral of the *De Nobilitate* is rather the same as that of the Baptist "Bring forth fruit therefore worthy of repentance and think not to say within yourselves 'we have Abraham to our father.'"

A possible alternative, I think, is that although Clement found the *De Nobilitate* as part of the *De Virtutibus*, it ought not to be there. The mss. tradition

<sup>a</sup> Such a close connexion is implied by the *διὸ καὶ* of F, adopted by Cohn (§ 187). The reading of the majority of mss. *τοῖς δὲ* is somewhat looser, and might conceivably be a harking back after the discussion on *μετάνοια* to the denunciation of arrogance which closes *De Hum.* (169 ff.).

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is not against this, for the majority either omit it or put it in a different place, either after the *Vita Mosis* or after the *De Confusione*. Mangey placed it after the "curses" at the end of the *De Praemiis*, but a more unsuitable place can hardly be imagined than this, where the indestructible εὐγένεια of the nation has just been asserted. Equally futile seems the suggestion of Schürer that it is part of the *Apology* or *Hypothetica*. Indeed apart from the connecting conjunctions διὸ καί, καί or δέ, which may easily have been appended, the treatise will stand perfectly well by itself, and I should be glad to think it was so. For while the high level of the *De Humanitate* is adequately maintained in the short *De Poenitentia*, this final component shows a sad falling-off. Its thought rarely rises above the commonplace: the rhetoric of the speech of the personified εὐγένεια (§§ 195 ff.) is exceedingly stilted, and the last examples, not only Tamar but the harmony and virtues of the patriarchal family, border on absurdity.<sup>a</sup> While it suits him, as in the *De Somniis*, to idealize the Jewish Patriarchs for allegorical purpose, here allegory is not required and the perversion of history, quite unlike the sober story of the *De Iosepho*, is distressing. The *De Virtutibus* would gain much if we might suppose that the treatise was incorporated with it under the idea that εὐγένεια, as indeed in one sense it might, should rank among the virtues.

The *De Praemiis* has been described as an epilogue

<sup>a</sup> Something of the same sort appears in *De Praem.* 65, but by no means so emphatically. Philo of course was familiar not only with the crime of the brothers against Joseph, but with the outrage of Reuben on Bilhah (Gen. xxxvi. 22 ; xlix. 4). See also note on Tamar, App. p. 450.

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to the whole Exposition. I am not sure that the description is very suitable, for sanctions after all are a necessary part of any law : at the end of *Spec. Leg.* ii. he has described the penalties attaching to breaches of the first five commandments and those incurred under the second five are frequently mentioned. But in this treatise both rewards and punishments attach to loyalty or disloyalty to the law as a whole and the Exposition would not be complete without them.

The difficulties which I felt about the components of the *De Virtutibus* do not arise in this treatise. Its scheme is perfectly consistent from first to last. Strangely enough, three of the four mss. which contain the work appear to treat the last part, the *De Exsecrationibus*, as a separate work, but its affinity to the part called by Cohn *De Benedictionibus* speaks for itself, while the unity of both parts with the first 78 sections, though broken by a lacuna at that point, is perfectly clear. I was in error when in the Introduction to vol. vii. p. xi I described *De Praemiis* as a treatise on rewards and punishments followed by another *perhaps entirely separate* on blessings and cursings.<sup>a</sup> The blessings and cursings are not

<sup>a</sup> I wrote this under the influence of Prof. Goodenough's article in *Harvard Theological Review*, April 1933. At the end of this article, with much of which I agree, he pronounces that the blessings and cursings show a totally different spirit to the first part of *De Praem.* So strongly does he feel this that he suspects that they have been substituted for some different conclusion. To me it seems that what difference here is corresponds to the necessary difference between the indefiniteness of the unwritten laws which Philo finds in the patriarchal story and the definiteness of the written law expressed generally in the decalogue and specifically in the other laws. Goodenough rehearses the blessings without

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another, but the indispensable second half of *De Praemiis*. Indeed the words blessings and curses are misleading. They are the rewards promised and the punishments decreed for the future, as what precede them are those given in the past. We remember that Philo's conception of the Pentateuch, stated in *De Abrahamo* 6 ff. and *Mos.* ii. 47 and briefly in *De Praemiis* 2, is that the historical part containing the lives of saints and sinners constitutes a series of unwritten laws, while the actual law book legislates for the future. The scheme of the *De Praemiis* is in exact accordance with this.

The first part of the treatise follows in the main the scheme of *De Abrahamo* 1-59 with its two

observing or at least without noting, that they are expansions verse by verse of what Philo finds mainly in Leviticus xxvi. and Deuteronomy xxviii. He declares that they lay upon the importance of the specific and literal laws an emphasis unique in Philo's works. They do lay an emphasis on obedience to the written law but so do the originals which he is expounding. But I see no grounds for saying that emphasis is laid on specific laws; both in the Pentateuch and in Philo the blessings and curses are appointed for loyalty and disloyalty to the law as a whole. The one example of reference to a specific law which Goodenough quotes does not belong to the main thread of the curses but to a transitional meditation in which an explanation is given of the phrase that in the desolation the land will enjoy its Sabbaths.

As Goodenough holds that the Exposition is intended for Gentile readers, he thinks that it is impossible that it should have ended in anything so Judaistic. I see no reason to change my view as given in the Introduction to vol. vii. that Philo writes primarily for Gentiles but also for Jews, and has at one moment the first, at another the second class of readers in view, but even if he was writing for Gentiles, why should they be offended by learning that the law promised high rewards for obedience and terrible punishments for disobedience and apostasy?

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triads of Enos, Enoch, Noah representing hope, repentance and justice, and Abraham, Isaac, Jacob representing instruction, nature and practice. And as all these are thought of as values or qualities rather than actual men, the rewards are spiritual rather than material. So too with the family of the second triad, the founders of the twelve tribes who expand not merely into flourishing cities but into schools of *wisdom* and *justice*. So too with the one name which does not appear in the scheme of *De Abrahamo*, Moses. His rewards are the fourfold gifts of kingship, lawgiving, prophecy and priesthood, all conceived of as not mere offices but powers for doing good. The punishment of Cain is treated in something of the same mystical way, and how he would have dealt with Korah and with the two events<sup>a</sup> which I surmise to have been contained in the portion lost after § 78, the flood and the destruction of the cities of the plain, we have no certain means of knowing. But I should expect that they were treated literally. The true rewards are to Philo spiritual; punishments are punishments, though not merely vindictive but a means of reformation where possible and of admonition to others.

When we come to the blessings promised in the law for the future Philo has not the same opportunity of letting his mystical fancy range freely as it did in the historical past. These blessings are set down in black and white, chiefly collected in two particular chapters in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and Philo reports them faithfully. Yet it is noteworthy how he takes the opportunity of giving them a spiritual touch where possible. The promise that the evil beasts

<sup>a</sup> See note on the lacuna, App. p. 455.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

will be destroyed is not merely read in the light of Isaiah xi. and other passages, but coupled with the necessity of first destroying the evil beasts within the soul (§§ 85 ff.). The promised victories are an opportunity for establishing good government among the conquered (§ 97), and the freedom from bodily disease is justified on the ground that a healthy body is the necessary condition for the proper working of the good mind in which God walks as in a temple and which is itself the crowning blessing (§§ 119 ff.).

The terrific curses are described with a vigour, perhaps unequalled, certainly unsurpassed in Philo's writings. They close in § 152 with the affirmation that the proselyte will be exalted to teach the world the lesson that the only true εὐγένεια is virtuous living. There follows a transitional meditation on the saying that in the desolation the land will enjoy its Sabbaths, ending with a suggestion of the hope of better things, and then his heart goes out in a burst of triumphant patriotism as he predicts the return of the converted remnant, led by the Divine Vision to the land of their fathers, who have all this time been watching over their children and interceding for them.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I think, however, that we may regret that the last two sections where he develops the text "that the Lord will turn these curses upon thy enemies" show something of the vindictiveness which we find in some of the psalms, and also a conception of εὐγένεια as still latent in the apostate Israel, which is not quite the same as that of the *De Nob.* or § 152 above.

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### NOTE ON THE SUB-TITLES AND NUMERATION OF CHAPTERS IN COHN'S EDITION

This is indicated throughout in the footnotes, but collected here for convenience.

#### *Spec. Leg. iv.*

The natural division of this gives four parts :

The eighth commandment . . . . .	§§ 1-40
The ninth commandment . . . . .	§§ 41-72
The tenth commandment . . . . .	§§ 79-135
<i>On Justice</i> . . . . .	§§ 136-end

Cohn, however, while marking the beginning of the ninth commandment by the heading *Ὁὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις* (*De Falso Testimonio*), continues the same numeration of chapters till § 55, when he gives the heading *Τὰ πρὸς δικαστήν* (*De Iudice*) and begins a fresh numeration. At § 79 with the tenth commandment we have the sub-title *Ὁὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις* (*De Concupiscentia*), and a third numeration which takes us on to § 135. Then a fourth numeration with the sub-title *Περὶ δικαιοσύνης* (*De Iustitia*), which continues only to § 151, when comes a fifth numeration, under the head of *Κατάστασις ἀρχόντων* (*De Constitutione Principum*), and this regardless of the contents goes on to the end. Cohn marks his sense of the unreasonableness of this last division in the heading of his pages—where the sub-title *De Iustitia* (following in brackets *De Spec. Leg. iv.*) is continued from § 136 to the end.

The arrangement in *De Virtutibus* is far less complicated. The four obvious divisions of *De Fortitudine*, *De Humanitate*, *De Poenitentia* and *De Nobilitate*, have all in Cohn's edition as in mine their proper sub-titles, and in his a fresh numeration for each.

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In *De Praemiis* Cohn, both in the headings and the numeration, ignores the point that at § 78 a new subdivision which he rightly calls *De Benedictionibus* begins, and his one new numeration comes at § 127 with the *De Exsecrationibus*. This he gives in the heading of the pages as the sole title, not as subtitle following *De Praemiis* in brackets. This is entirely contrary to his practice in the rest of the volume and is, I suppose, a concession to the fact that the mss., evidently wrongly, class it as a separate treatise.

The numerations then run as follows :

### SPEC. LEG. IV.

	COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
<i>De Furto et Falso Testi-</i> <i>monio</i> . . . . .	i.-viii.	i.-viii.
<i>De Iudice</i> . . . . .	i.-v.	ix.-xiii.
<i>De Concupiscentia</i> . . . . .	i.-xii.	xiv.-xxv.
<i>De Iustitia</i> . . . . .	i.-iii.	xxvi.-xxviii.
<i>De Constitutione Principum</i>	i.-xiv.	xxix.-xlii.

### DE VIRTUTIBUS

	COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
<i>De Fortitudine</i> . . . . .	i.-viii.	i.-viii.
<i>De Humanitate</i> . . . . .	i.-xxiv.	ix.-xxxii.
<i>De Poenitentia</i> . . . . .	i.-ii.	xxxiii.-xxxiv.
<i>De Nobilitate</i> . . . . .	i.-vii.	xxxv.-xli.

### DE PRAEMIIS

	COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
<i>De Praemiis et Poenis</i>	i.-xx.	i.-xx.
<i>De Exsecrationibus</i> . . . . .	i.-ix.	xxi.-xxix.



## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES  
IN THIS EDITION

### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)  
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini)  
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate  
Caini)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit)  
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)  
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)  
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-  
guarum)  
On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione  
Abrahami)  
Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)  
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae  
Eruditionis gratia)
- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)  
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)  
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## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

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<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

THE SPECIAL LAWS  
(DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS)



## INTRODUCTION TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, IV

The first part of this treatise (1-135) deals with particular laws falling under the eighth, ninth and tenth commandments. We begin with the eighth. Note that robbery with violence is a worse crime than mere stealing, which is punished by a two-fold restitution, so if the thief cannot pay he may be sold into temporary slavery (2-4). Some considerations follow showing that this is not too severe (5-6). A housebreaker caught in the act may be killed in the nighttime, but in daylight the ordinary legal process must be observed (7-10). Also the law provides a higher rate of compensation, if sheep and, still more, if oxen are stolen, reckoned, Philo thinks, according to the services they render to mankind (11-12). Kidnapping is another worse form of stealing, especially if the sufferer is an Israelite (13-19). Damage done by the trespassing of other people's cattle, or by fire started carelessly, also calls for compensation (20-29). Then follows an account of the complicated procedure laid down by the law when anything deposited or lent is stolen from the depositary or borrower (30-38). And this part concludes with shewing how stealing leads up to other crimes culminating in perjury (39-40).

The ninth commandment. We begin with false witness in the literal sense, but pass almost at once to the thought that assent to evil, especially when it arises from subservience to the multitude, comes under the same head (41-47). And so do the deceits of the practisers of divination, which is really false witness against God (48-54). So, too, does any dereliction on the part of judges, who must remember the sacredness of their office (55-58). Three of their special duties are emphasized by the law. First, not to listen to idle reports (59-61). Secondly, to receive no gifts, even if no injustice results. To do this is to forget that just and honest actions may be vitiated by being done with dishonest motives (62-66).

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This leads to a digression on the supreme importance of truthfulness and how it is often lost by bad associations in childhood and how it is symbolized in the place given to it on the breastplate of the high priest (67-69). Thirdly, the judge must not respect persons but must consider only the facts (70-71). And the particular injunction not in giving judgement to show mercy to the poor causes him to point out that the law calls also on the possessor of any authority to remember his weaker brethren and only means that the guilty cannot plead poverty to escape from punishment (72-77). We now pass on to the tenth commandment (78).

The commandment "Thou shalt not desire" leads to a long disquisition, much of it repeating what was said of it in *De Decalogo* on the evils which spring from the desire of what one has not got (79-94). The lawgiver realizing this showed the necessity of restraining concupiscence by regulating, as an example, one particular form, the appetite for food and drink (95-97). He did this, first, by demanding the first fruits (98-99). Secondly, by the dietary laws on the use of the flesh of beasts, fishes and fowls (100-101). All carnivorous beasts are on the prohibited list, and only ten species, which divide the hoof and chew the cud, are allowed (102-104). An allegorical explanation of these two qualifications follows (105-109). Of fishes only such that have scales and fins are permitted, and again an allegorical explanation is given (110-112). So also creeping things with few exceptions (113-115), predatory birds (116-118), flesh of animals that have died a natural death or been torn by wild beasts (119-121) are forbidden. Eating strangled animals and taking blood and fat are also forbidden (122-125). The need of restraint is illustrated from the story of the quails and the visitation that followed that craving for flesh (126-131).

So much for the particular laws falling under one or other of the Ten Commandments, but the cardinal virtues belong to all the ten, and we must note how these virtues are exemplified in various laws. For piety, wisdom or prudence and temperance, this has been done sufficiently. There remain three others, justice, courage or fortitude and humanity or kindness. The rest of this treatise is concerned with the exemplification of justice (132-135). We need not here repeat what was said about judges and law-courts when treating the ninth commandment, but before going on to

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV

our subject, we give some general thoughts on justice (136). First, there is the injunction to record the laws in the heart, on the hand and before the eyes and on the doors and on the gates (137-142). Secondly, that nothing is to be added or taken away, which may be taken to suggest that each virtue is a mean, which must not be allowed to degenerate into the extremes on the other side (143-148). Thirdly, that in the law, "not to remove the landmarks which thy forefathers set up," we may see a command to observe the unwritten law of custom (149-150).

Now for the exemplification of justice. First, as seen in the ruler or king. He must not be chosen by lot, a system which we see in ordinary matters to be absurd (151-156), but by election by the people, confirmed by God, and this ruler is not to be a foreigner (157-159). The ruler must copy out and study the law and its principles (160-169). Thirdly, he must follow the example of Moses in appointing subordinates to decide minor cases, but reserve the greater for himself (170-175). And the greater are those which concern not great people but the weak and helpless, the stranger, the widow and the orphan (176-178). And as orphanhood is the condition of the Jews as a nation (179-182), the ruler must use no guile but hold himself to be the father of his people (183-187). But the ruler or judge may sometimes find cases too difficult for him, in which case they are to be referred to the priests (188-192). Leaving the duties of the ruler, we have the following general rules of justice. There must be complete honesty in commerce (193-194). Wages must be paid on the same day (195-196). The deaf and the blind are not to be ill-treated (197-202). The ordinances about mating different species, ploughing with ox and ass together, and wearing garments of mixed material and sowing the vineyard to bear two kinds of fruit, are treated as rules of justice (203-207). This last is discussed at greater length as injustice to the land like the violation of the sabbatical year (208-218). Next we have the laws of warfare, willingness to make terms, severity if they are not accepted, but mercy to the women (219-225), and joined with this is the prohibition of destroying the fruit-trees (226-229). The treatise concludes with the praises of justice, the daughter of that equality which is the general principle of all life as well as of the cosmic system (230-238).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΙΔΕΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΡΙΑ ΓΕΝΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΛΟΓΙΩΝ, ΤΟ ΟΓΔΟΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΝΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ, ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΚΛΕΠΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ <ΜΗ> ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ, Η ΠΑΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΚΑ ΛΟΓΙΟΙΣ ΕΦΑΡΜΟΖΕΙ, Ο ΕΣΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΛΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ <ΤΕΛΟΣ>

- 1 I. Τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ καὶ ἀνδροφονίᾳ καὶ ὅσα  
[335] | ἑκατέρᾳ τούτων ὑποστέλλει νόμιμα μετὰ πάσης  
ἀκριβείας, ὡς γε ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, λέλεκται πρό-  
τερον. τὸ δ' ἐπόμενον τῇ τάξει συνεπισκεπτέον, ὅ  
τι τρίτον μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ στήλῃ, τῶν  
δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ὄγδοον, περὶ τοῦ μὴ κλέπτειν.  
2 ὃς ἂν ἄγῃ ἢ φέρῃ τὰ ἑτέρου, μὴ δέον, εἰ μὲν βία  
καὶ φανερώς τοῦτο ποιῇ, κοινὸς ἀναγραφέσθω  
[336] πολέμιος, | [γεγραφέθω] παρανομία συνυφαίνων

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 425.

<sup>b</sup> In the phrase ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, ἄγειν, according to the



# THE SPECIAL LAWS

## BOOK IV

ON THE SPECIAL LAWS WHICH FALL UNDER THREE OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, THE EIGHTH AGAINST STEALING, THE NINTH AGAINST BEARING FALSE WITNESS, THE TENTH AGAINST COVETOUSNESS, AND ON LAWS WHICH FALL UNDER EACH, AND ON JUSTICE WHICH IS PROPER TO ALL TEN, WHICH CONCLUDES THE WHOLE TREATISE.<sup>a</sup>

I. The laws directed against adultery and murder 1 and the offences which fall under either head have been already discussed with all possible fullness as I venture to think. But we must also examine the one which follows next in order, the third in the second table or eighth in the two taken together, which forbids stealing. Anyone who carries off 2 any kind of property <sup>b</sup> belonging to another and to which he has no right must be written down as a public enemy,<sup>c</sup> if he does so openly and with violence, because he combines shameless effrontery with

lexicon, applies properly to animals, *φέρειν* to other property. But the phrase seems to have become almost proverbial to cover any kind of misappropriation.

<sup>c</sup> For the kind of punishment which this term implies see § 23.

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ἀναίσχυντον θράσος, ἐὰν δὲ κρύφα, λανθάνειν ἐπιχειρῶν φωρὸς τρόπον, αἰδῶ προκάλυμμα ποιούμενος τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων [τὸ σκότος],<sup>1</sup> ἰδίᾳ κολαζέσθω μόνον ὡν ὑπόδικος ὡν ἐπεχείρησε βλάπτειν καὶ κατατιθέτω διπλοῦν τὸ φώριον, ἄδικον ὠφέλειαν  
 3 ἐξιώμενος βλάβῃ δικαιοσύνη. ἐὰν δὲ ἄπορος ὡν ἐκτίνειν ἀδυνατῇ τό γε ἐπιτίμιον, πιπρασκέσθω—θέμις γὰρ ἐλευθερίας στέρεσθαι τὸν ὑπομείναντα κέρδους παρανομωτάτου δούλον εἶναι—, ἵνα μηδ' ὁ πεπονθὼς κακῶς ἀπαρηγόρητος ἀφελθεῖς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κεκλοφότος ἀχρηματίαν ὀλιγωρεῖ-  
 4 σθαι δοκῇ. ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς ἀπανθρωπίαν καταγνώτω τοῦ διατάγματος· ὁ γὰρπραθεὶς οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν εἶται δούλος, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ἑπταετίας ἀπαλλάττεται κοινῶ

<sup>1</sup> So Heinemann. Mangey <καὶ> τὸ σκότος. Cohn <δι'> αἰδῶ. As the thief does not necessarily steal in the dark, τὸ σκότος is absurd, and the insertion may be easily accounted for from § 7. As it is here printed, the phrase, as Heinemann points out, is exactly the same as *Spec. Leg.* iii. 54, of the guilty wife who confesses her sin and thus avoids the culminating guilt of ἀναίσχυντία.

<sup>a</sup> Philo could hardly have justified this from Ex. xxii., unless perhaps he argues that the permission to kill the housebreaker shows that the law took a severer view of violence. For analogies in Roman and other law see App. p. 425.

<sup>b</sup> This I think must be the meaning, though it gives the phrase a somewhat different sense from what it bears in § 7. Heinemann has merely “veils his crime in shame”; Goodenough “making a veil of shame for his sin.”

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 2-4

defiance of the law.<sup>a</sup> But if he does it secretly and tries to avoid observation like a thief, since his ashamedness serves to palliate his misdeeds,<sup>b</sup> he must be punished in his private capacity, and, as he is liable only for the damage which he has attempted to work, he must repay the stolen goods twofold<sup>c</sup> and thus by the damage which he most justly suffers make full amends for the injustice of his gains. If his lack of means makes<sup>3</sup> the payment of this penalty impossible he must be sold,<sup>d</sup> since it is only right that one who has allowed himself to become a slave to profit-making of an utterly lawless kind should be deprived of his liberty. And in this way the injured party also will not be turned away without a solatium or seem to have his interest neglected through the impecuniosity of the thief. No one should denounce this sentence as<sup>4</sup> inhuman, for the person sold is not left a slave for all time but he is released at or before the seventh year<sup>e</sup> under the general proclamation as I have shown

<sup>c</sup> Ex. xxii. 4. LXX "if the thing stolen be left and found in his hand, from an ass to a sheep alive, he shall repay them double." Philo's generalization is supported by *v.* 7, where it says of goods stolen from a neighbour to whom they have been given to keep "if the thief is found, he shall repay double." So also *v.* 9. See also App. p. 425.

<sup>d</sup> Ex. xxii. 3, though this properly applies to the house-breaker.

<sup>e</sup> Heinemann translates "at the beginning of the seventh year," which will make better sense if *ἐντός* can mean this. I have understood it to mean that he is to be released at the sabbatical year, whether he has served a full six or not. But this involves a contradiction of Ex. xxi. 2, and of Philo's own statement in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 122, where liberation independent of the time served only applies to the Jubile, not to the sabbatical year.

## PHILO

- κηρύγματι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἑβδομῆς<sup>1</sup> ἐδήλωσα.
- 5 καὶ ἀγαπάτω διπλοῦν ἐκτίνων τὸ φῶριον ἢ καὶ πιπρασκόμενος, ἀδικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ ἀρκούμενος περιττοτέρων ὀρέγεται, πλεονεξίαν, ἐπίβουλον καὶ δυσίατον πάθος, ἐπιτε-  
 χίζων· δεύτερον δ' ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις προσοφθαλ-  
 μιῶν καὶ ἐπικεχηνῶς τὰς ἐπὶ νοσφισμῶ πάγας  
 τίθεται, τοὺς κυρίους ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀφαιρούμενος·  
 τρίτον δ' ὅτι καὶ λανθάνειν ἐπιτηδεύων τὰς<sup>2</sup> μὲν ἐκ  
 τοῦ πράγματος ὠφελείας μόνος ἔστιν ὅτε καρποῦ-  
 ται, τὰ δ' ἐγκλήματα τρέπει πρὸς τοὺς ἀναιτίους,  
 τυφλὴν ἀπεργαζόμενος τὴν ἔρευναν τῆς ἀληθείας.
- 6 ἔοικε δέ πως καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν, ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχόμενος ἐν οἷς ὑφαιρεῖται λάθρα,  
 πάντως αἰσχυρόμενος ἢ εὐλαβούμενος, ὧν τὸ μὲν  
 ἔστι σημεῖον τοῦ τὴν πράξιν αἰσχυρὰν ὑπειληφέναι  
 —τὰ γὰρ αἰσχυρὰ αἰσχύνην ἐπιφέρει—τὸ δὲ τοῦ  
 κολάσεως ἄξιον νομίζεσθαι, δέος γὰρ ἐμποιοῦσιν  
 αἱ κολάσεις.
- 7 II. Ἐάν τις ἔρωτι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιμανεῖς  
 κλέπτειν ἐπιχειρῇ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος εὐπετῶς ὑφαι-  
 ρεῖσθαι τοιχωρυχῇ νύκτωρ, προκάλυμμα ποιού-  
 μενος ὧν ἀδικεῖ τὸ σκότος, ἀλοῦς μὲν ἐπ'  
 αὐτοφῶρῳ, πρὶν ἤλιον ἀνίσχειν, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δι-  
 ορύγματι πρὸς τοῦ δεσπότης τῆς οἰκίας ἀναιρείσθω,

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey and Cohn for mss. ἑβδομάδος. But see note on *De Dec.* 158 (vol. vii. p. 613) on the interchange of the two words.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπιτηδεύοντας.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 5-7

in the treatise on the seventh day.<sup>a</sup> Nor 5  
need he complain because he has to repay twice  
the value of the stolen goods, or even if he  
is sold. For he is guilty in several ways. First  
because dissatisfied with what he has he desires a  
greater abundance and thus fortifies the malignant  
and well-nigh deadly passion of coveteousness.  
Secondly because it is the property of others which  
he eyes so avidly and sets his snares to secure for  
himself and deprive the owners of their possession.  
Thirdly because the concealment which he also  
practises, while it secures him the profits of the  
business often for his sole enjoyment, leads him  
to divert the charge in each case to innocent persons  
and so blindfold the quest for the truth. It would 6  
seem too that he is his own accuser, since his con-  
science convicts him when he filches in this stealthy  
way, for he must be actuated by shame or fear.  
Shame is a sign that he feels his conduct to be dis-  
graceful, for only disgraceful actions are followed  
by shame. Fear would show that he considers  
himself to deserve punishment, for it is the thought  
of punishment which produces terror.

II. If anyone crazed with a passion for other 7  
people's property sets himself to take it by theft  
and, because he cannot easily manage it by stealth,  
breaks into a house during the night, using the  
darkness to cloak his criminal doings, he may, if  
caught in the act before sunrise, be slain by the  
householder in the very place where he has broken

<sup>a</sup> See *Spec. Leg.* ii. 122. The general proclamation appar-  
ently refers to that mentioned in *Lev.* xxv. 10, though that  
also applies only to the year of Jubile, and not to the ordinary  
sabbatical year. But see *App.* p. 426.

## PHILO

[337] τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον | ἔργον ἔλαττον ἐξεργαζόμενος, κλοπὴν, τὸ δ' ἐπόμενον μείζον, ἀνδροφονίαν, <διανοούμενος, εἰ> διακωλύοι τις, ὀρυκτῆρσιν οἷς ἐπιφέρεται σιδηροῖς καὶ ἐτέροις ὄπλοις ἀμύνεσθαι παρεσκευασμένος· εἰ δ' ἥλιος ἀνάσχοι, μηκέθ' ὁμοίως αὐτοχειρία κτεινέσθω, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ δικαστὰς ἀγέσθω δώσων δίκας, ἃς ἂν  
 8 ἐπικελεύωσιν οὗτοι. νύκτωρ μὲν <γὰρ> οἴκοι διατριβόντων καὶ τετραμμένων πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν ἀρχόντων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμία τῷ πλημμελουμένῳ καταφυγὴ πρὸς βοήθειαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἔστω κύριος τῆς τιμωρίας, ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ κατα-  
 9 σταθεῖς ἄρχων καὶ δικαστής. μεθ' ἡμέραν μέντοι ἀναπέπταται δικαστήρια καὶ βουλευτήρια, ἐπλήθυνε δὲ τῶν συλληψομένων ἢ πόλις, ὧν οἱ μὲν φύλακες τῶν νόμων κεχειροτόνηνται, οἱ δ' ἄνευ χειροτονίας μισοπονήρῳ πάθει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡδικημένων αὐτοκέλευστοι τάξιν αἰροῦνται· πρὸς οὓς τὸν κλέπτην ἀκτέον· οὕτως γὰρ τὰς ἐπ' αὐθαδείᾳ καὶ προπετεῖᾳ φεύγων αἰτίας δημοκρατικώτερον αὐτῷ  
 10 δόξει βοηθεῖν. ἐὰν ὑπὲρ γῆν ὄντος ἡλίου τὸν φῶρὰ τις αὐτοχειρία κτείνῃ πρὸ δίκης, ἔνοχος ἔστω, θυμὸν λογισμοῦ προτιμήσας καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας ἐν ὑστέρω θεί. μὴ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ νύκτωρ ἡδίκησαι, φαίην ἂν, ὦ οὗτος, ὑπὸ κλέπτου,

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<sup>a</sup> Or "in the very act of breaking in." See Ex. xxii. 2, where the LXX has, as here, ἐὰν ἐν τῷ διορύγματι εὑρεθῆ (E.V. "found breaking in"). Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 271, has κἂν ἢ πρὸς διορύγματι τειχίου and understands it to mean "even though he has got no farther than the breach." So possibly also Philo by his αὐτῷ. On the exact meaning of διορύγμα and illustrations of the law on this point see App. p. 426.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 7-10

in.<sup>a</sup> Though actually engaged on the primary but minor crime of theft he is intending the major though secondary crime of murder, since he is prepared if prevented by anyone to defend himself with the iron burglar's tools which he carries and other weapons. But if the sun has risen the case is different; he must not be killed off hand<sup>b</sup> but taken before magistrates and judges to pay such penalties as they prescribe. For in the night time when 8 rulers and ordinary citizens alike are settled down at home and retiring to rest, the aggrieved person cannot seek out any one to succour him, and therefore he must take the punishment into his own hands, as the occasion appoints him to be magistrate and judge. In the day time however law courts 9 and council chambers stand wide open and there are plenty of people to help him in the city, some of them elected to maintain the laws, others who without such election are so moved by their hatred of evil that they need none to bid them to take the rôle of championing the injured. Before these must the thief be brought, for in this way the owner will escape the charges of wilfulness and recklessness and show that he protects himself in the spirit of true democracy. And if the sun is above the 10 horizon he must be held guilty if he anticipates justice by killing him off hand. He has preferred angry passion to reason and subordinated the law to his personal desire for vengeance. "My friend," I would say to him, "do not because you have been

<sup>b</sup> Or "with his own hand," which is the only meaning admitted by the lexicon, but see note on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 91, where the meaning of "offhand" or "on the spot" seems required by the sense.

## PHILO

διὰ τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν κλοπὴν αὐτὸς ἀπεργάζου χαλεπωτέραν, οὐ τὴν ἐν χρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δικαίοις, καθ' ἃ συμβαίνει τὴν πολιτείαν διατετάχθαι.

- 11 III. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα φώρια τετίμηται διπλῆ καταθέσει. βουὴν δὲ ἢ πρόβατον εἴ τις ὑφέλοιτο, μείζονος ἡξίωσε δίκης προνομίαν διδοὺς ζώοις, ἃ καλλιστεύει τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέροις ἀγέλαις οὐ μόνον εὐμορφία σώματος ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὠφελείαις. ἥς χάριν αἰτίας οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν ἴσην ὤρισεν, ἀλλὰ τὰς χρείας διαριθμησάμενος, ἃς ἐκάτερον παρέχεται τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀνάλογον καὶ τὴν ἔκτισιν
- 12 ἐνομοθέτησε. κελεύει γὰρ τέτταρα μὲν πρόβατα ἀποτίνειν βουῆς δὲ πέντε τὸν κλέπτην ἀνθ' ἐνὸς τοῦ ὑφαιρεθέντος, ἐπειδὴ πρόβατον μὲν φέρει δασμοὺς τέτταρας, γάλα καὶ τυρὸν καὶ ἔρια καὶ ἐτησίους ἄρνας, ὁ δὲ βουῆς πέντε, τρεῖς μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν γάλακτι καὶ τυρῷ καὶ γεννήμασι, δύο δ' ἐξαιρέτους, ἄροτον γῆς καὶ ἀλοητόν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ
- [338] σπορᾶς καρπῶν, | ὁ δὲ τέλος εἰς κάθαρσιν τῶν συγκομισθέντων πρὸς ἐτοιμοτέραν τροφῆς χρήσιν.
- 13 IV. Κλέπτῃς δὲ τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνδραποδιστῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου, ὅσα ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀψυχα καὶ τῶν ζώων ἃ μὴ μεγάλας ὠφελείας παρέχεται τῷ βίῳ διπλᾶ προσ-

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxii. 1. Philo, as also Jos. *Ant.* iv. 272, ignores the fact that the additional payment only applies if the animal has been killed or sold.

<sup>b</sup> For the supposed connexion of this explanation with Stoic doctrine see App. p. 426.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 10-13

wronged by a thief in the night time commit in daylight a more grievous theft, in which the spoil is not money but the principles of justice, on which the ordering of the commonwealth is based."

III. Other stolen goods then are to be paid for <sup>11</sup> at twice their value, but if the thief has taken a sheep or an ox the law estimates them worthy of a larger penalty, thus giving precedence to the animals which excel all the other domesticated kinds not only in comeliness of body but in the benefits they bring to human life.<sup>a</sup> This was the reason why he made a difference even between the two just named in the amount of the penalty to be paid. He reckoned up the services which each of them renders and ordained that the compensation should correspond thereto. The thief has <sup>12</sup> to pay four sheep but five oxen for the one that he has stolen because the sheep renders four contributions, milk, cheese, wool and the lambs which are born every year, while the ox makes five, three the same as the sheep, of milk, cheese and offspring, and two peculiar to itself, ploughing and threshing, the first of them being the beginning of the sowing of the crops, the second their end, serving to purge them when harvested and make them more ready to be used as food.<sup>b</sup>

IV. The kidnapper <sup>c</sup> too is a kind of thief who <sup>13</sup> steals the best of all the things that exist on the earth. In the case of lifeless articles and such animals as do not render high benefits to life, the

<sup>c</sup> See Ex. xxi. 16, Deut. xxiv. 7. In Exodus the death penalty is decreed for manstealing in general according to the Hebrew, but in the LXX only if the person stolen is an Israelite. In Deuteronomy both versions limit it to Israelites. See App. p. 427 on this and § 19.

## PHILO

τέταχεν ἀποδίδοσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑφελομένων τοῖς  
 κυρίοις, ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, καὶ πάλιν τετραπλά-  
 σια καὶ πενταπλάσια ἐν ταῖς ἡμερωτάταις ἀγέλαις  
 14 βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων. ἄνθρωπος δέ, ὡς ἔοικε,  
 τὸν καλλιστεύοντα κλῆρον ἔλαχεν ἐν ζώοις, ἀγχι-  
 σπορος ὢν θεοῦ καὶ συγγενῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς λόγον  
 κοινωνίαν, ὃς αὐτὸν καίτοι θνητὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα  
 ἀπαθανατίζει. διὸ καὶ πᾶς, ὅτῳ ζῆλος ἀρετῆς  
 εἰσέρχεται, τραχὺς ἐστὶ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ παντελῶς  
 ἀμείλικτος κατὰ ἀνδραποδιστῶν, οἳ δουλείαν ἔνεκα  
 κέρδους ἀδικωτάτου τοῖς γένει μὲν ἐλευθέροις  
 φύσεως δὲ μετέχουσι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπάγειν τολμῶ-  
 15 σιν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπαινετὸν πρᾶγμα δεσπότηι ποιοῦσιν  
 οἰκότριβας καὶ ἀργυρωνήτους, πολλάκις οὐκ ἐν  
 μεγάλοις ὀνήσαντας, τῆς κατεχούσης δουλείας  
 ἀπαλλάττοντες ἔνεκα φιλανθρωπίας ἢ κέχρηται,  
 πόσης ἄξιοι κατηγορίας τυγχάνειν εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ  
 πάντων ἄριστον κτῆμα, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀφαιρού-  
 μενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἀποθνήσκειν καλὸν  
 16 τοῖς γεννηθεῖσιν εὖ καὶ τραφεῖσιν; ἤδη  
 τινὲς τὴν σύμφυτον μοχθηρίαν προσαύξοντες καὶ  
 τὸ ἐπίβουλον ἦθος αὐτῶν τρέποντες εἰς τὸ ἄσπονδον  
 οὐκ [ἐπ'] ἀλλοδαποῖς μόνον καὶ ἀλλογενέσιν ἀν-  
 δραποδισμὸν κατεσκεύασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ ἔθνους, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ δημόταις καὶ φυλέ-  
 ταις, ἀλογήσαντες κοινωνίας νόμων τε καὶ ἐθῶν,  
 οἷς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐνετράφησαν, ἅπερ βεβαιο-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Rep.* iii. 391 E, and note to *Mos.* i. 279.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 13-16

value by order of the law has to be repaid twofold to the owner by the purloiners, as I have said above, and again fourfold and fivefold in the case of the most domesticated kinds of livestock, sheep and oxen. But it is the lot of man, as we see, to occupy 14 the place of highest excellence among living creatures because his stock is near akin to God,<sup>a</sup> sprung from the same source in virtue of his participation in reason which gives him immortality, mortal though he seems to be. And therefore everyone who is inspired with a zeal for virtue is severe of temper and absolutely implacable against men-stealers, who for the sake of a most unrighteous profit do not shrink from reducing to slavery those who not only are freemen by birth but are of the same nature as themselves. If it is a praiseworthy 15 action when masters in the humaneness of their hearts release from the yoke of servitude their home-bred or purchased slaves, though often they have brought them no great profit, how great a condemnation do they deserve who rob those who enjoy liberty of that most precious of all possessions for which men of noble birth and breeding feel that it is an honour to die.

Indeed we 16 have known of some who improve on their inborn depravity and developing the malice of their disposition to complete heartlessness have directed their man-stealing operations, not only against men of other countries and other races but also against those of their own nation, sometimes their fellow wardsmen or tribesmen. They disregard their partnership in the laws and customs in which they have been bred from their earliest years, customs which stamp the sense of benevolence so firmly on

## PHILO

- 17 *τάτην ταῖς ψυχαῖς εὖνοιαν ἐνσφραγίζεται τῶν μὴ  
 λίαν ἀτιθάσων καὶ μὴ ἐπιτηδευόντων ὠμότητα· οἱ  
 χάριν κέρδους ἐκνομωτάτου πιπράσκουσιν ἀνδρα-  
 ποδοκαπήλοις καὶ οἷς ἂν τύχη δουλεύσοντας ἐπὶ  
 ξένης ἀνεπανάκτους, μηδ' ὄναρ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος  
 ἔδαφος ἔτι προσκυνήσοντας ἢ χρηστῆς ἀπογευσο-  
 μένους ἐλπίδος. ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἠδίκουν ὑπηρετού-  
 μενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀνδραποδισθέντων· νυνὶ δὲ  
 διπλάσιον ἀδίκημα δρῶσιν ἀπεμπολοῦντες, ἀνθ'  
 ἐνὸς δύο δεσπότης καὶ διττὰς δουλείας ἐπιτειχί-  
 18 ζοντες ἐφέδρους. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν  
 παλαιὰν εὐτυχίαν τῶν ὑπηγμένων ἴσως ἂν μετα-  
 [339] νοήσαιεν ὀψὲ λαβόντες οἶκτον τῶν ἐπταικότων, |  
 τὸ τῆς τύχης<sup>1</sup> ἄδηλον καὶ ἀτέκμαρτον καταιδεσθέν-  
 τες· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι δι' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ γένους ὡς ἐκ  
 πατέρων καὶ προπάππων οἰκετῶν ὀλιγωρήσουσιν,  
 οὐδὲν ἀγωγὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔχοντες εἰς ἡμερότητα  
 καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις  
 19 σῶζεσθαι φύσει. δίκη δ' ἔστω κατὰ μὲν  
 τῶν ἑτεροεθνεῖς ἀνδραποδισαμένων, ἣν ἂν τιμήση-  
 ται τὸ δικαστήριον, κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοὺς ὁμοφύλους  
 πρὸς τῷ ἀνδραποδίσασθαι καὶ πεπρακότων θάνατος  
 ἀπαραίτητος· ἤδη γὰρ οὗτοί γε συγγενεῖς εἰσιν οὐ  
 πόρρω τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος κατὰ<sup>2</sup> μείζονα περιγραφὴν  
 γειννῶντες.*
- 20 V. “Καὶ ἐν ἀγρῶ” καθάπερ εἶπέ τις τῶν πάλαι  
 “φύονται δίκαι,” ἐπειδὴ πλεονεξίαι καὶ ὁ τῶν  
 ἀλλοτρίων ἡμερος οὐκ ἐν ἄστει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξω  
 πόλεως ἐστίν, ἄτε μὴ τόπων διαφοραῖς ἀλλὰ δια-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ψυχῆς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καὶ τὰ.

<sup>a</sup> Source unknown.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 16-20

the souls of all who are not exceedingly barbarous nor make a practice of cruelty. For the sake of an 17 utterly unlawful profit they sell their captives to slave dealers or any chance comers to live in slavery in a foreign land never to return, never even to dream of again saluting the soil of their native country or to know the taste of comforting hope. Their iniquity would be less if they themselves retained the services of their captives. As it is, their guilt is doubled when they barter them away and raise up to menace them two masters instead of one and two successive servitudes. For they 18 themselves, as they know the former prosperity of those who are now in their power, might perhaps come to a better mind and feel a belated pity for their fallen state, remembering with awe how uncertain and incalculable fortune is, while the purchasers knowing nothing of their origin and supposing them to have generations of servitude behind them will despise them, and have nothing in their souls to incline them to that natural gentleness and humanity which they may be expected to maintain in dealing with the free born. The 19 punishment for kidnapping, if the captives belong to foreign nations, should be such as is adjudged by the court ; if they are fellow nationals whom they have not only kidnapped but sold, it is death without hope of reprieve. Yes indeed, for such persons are kinsfolk, bound by a tie closely bordering on blood relationship though with a wider compass.

V. "In the country also lawsuits spring up," says 20 one of the ancients.<sup>a</sup> Examples of greed and the desire for other people's property are found not only in the town but also outside its walls, since

## PHILO

νοίαις ἀκορέστων <καὶ> φιλαπεχθημόνων ἀνδρῶν  
 21 ἐνιδρυμένους. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ εὐνομώτα-  
 ται διττοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας αἰροῦνται τῆς  
 κοινῆς εὐκοσμίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας, τοὺς μὲν ἐντὸς  
 τοῦ τείχους, οὓς ἀστυνόμους προσαγορεύουσι, τοὺς  
 δ' ἐκτὸς, οἷς ὄνομα οἰκείον τίθενται, καλοῦσι γὰρ  
 αὐτοὺς ἀγρονόμους· ἀγρονόμων δὲ τίς ἂν ἦν χρεῖα  
 τὸ πᾶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις ἦσάν τινες ἐπὶ λύμη  
 22 τῶν πλησίον ζῶντες; εἰάν οὖν τις ποιμῆν ἢ αἰπόλος  
 ἢ βουκόλος ἢ συνόλως ἀγελάρχης ἀγρὸν ἐτέρου  
 βόσκη καὶ κατανέμη φειδῶ μηδεμίαν ποιούμενος  
 μήτε καρπῶν μήτε δένδρων, ὅμοιον ἀποτινέτω  
 23 κτῆμα<sup>1</sup> προσόδου τῆς ἴσης. καὶ ἀγαπάτω τοῦθ'  
 ὑπομένων, ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ σφόδρα συγγνώμονος τυ-  
 χῶν τοῦ νόμου, ὃς αὐτὸν τὰ πολεμίων ἀσπόνδων  
 ἐργασάμενον, οἷς τὰς ἀρούρας δηοῦν ἔθος καὶ φυτὰ  
 ἡμερα διαφθείρειν, οὐχ ὡς κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐτιμωρή-  
 σατο θάνατον ἢ φυγῆν ἢ τὸ γοῦν τελευταῖον,  
 ἀπάσης στέρησιν τῆς οὐσίας, ὀρίσας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ  
 μόνον δικαίως ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸ βλάβος τῷ  
 24 κυρίῳ. προφάσεις γὰρ αἰεὶ ζητῶν, αἷς ἐπελαφριεῖ  
 τὰ ἀτυχήματα, δι' ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἡμερότητα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So mss. Possibly *τμήμα* or *τίμημα*.

<sup>a</sup> For what is known about this official title see App. p. 427.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxii. 5. E.V. "of the best of his own field and of the best of his own vineyards shall he make restitution." The LXX has "he shall repay from his field according to its produce," a vague expression which might mean (or Philo might take it to mean) either that he made compensation with a piece of land or with the fruits. Heinemann, supposing that Philo meant the former, adopted Cohn's suggestion of *τμήμα*

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 20-24

that desire is based not on differences of situation but on the thoughts of insatiable and quarrelsome men. And therefore the most law-abiding states 21 elect two kinds of superintendents and magistrates to maintain the general safety and good order, one kind to act within the walls called "town warden," the other outside them bearing the appropriate name of "country warden,"<sup>a</sup> and what need could there be of the last if there were not people in the landed estates also who lived to do harm to their neighbours? So if anyone in charge of sheep or goats or a herd 22 of any kind feeds and pastures his beasts in the fields of another and does nothing to spare the fruits or the trees, he must recoup the owner in kind by property of equal value.<sup>b</sup> And he must suffer this without 23 complaining. The law has shown itself reasonable and exceedingly forgiving in its treatment of him. Though his actions are such as are committed in internecine war, where it is customary to lay waste arable fields and destroy the cultivated plants, it has not punished him as a public enemy by sentencing him to death or banishment, or at the very least <sup>c</sup> to forfeiture of his whole property, but merely called upon him to make good the damage to the owner. For since it always seeks pretexts for 24 alleviating the state of the unfortunate, so vast is

"a slice" for κτήμα. κτήματα (plural)=landed possessions, *De Virt.* 90, 100, and elsewhere, but κτήμα (singular) is a strange word for a piece of land. Philo possibly uses it because he feels uncertain between the two alternatives. If emendation is needed τίμημα might be worth considering. I take ὁμοιον to mean that the compensation is not paid in money.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ τελευταῖον, "the extreme of clemency," *cf. De Ios.* 249 and my note.

## PHILO

τὴν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης φιλανθρωπίαν, εὖρεν ἀπολογίαὺν οὐκ ἀπωδὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νομέως, τὴν φύσιν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἄλογον οὖσαν καὶ ἀπειθῆ, καὶ  
 25 μάλισθ' ὅταν ὀρέγηται τροφῆς. ἔστω μὲν οὖν ὑπόδικος, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤλασε τὴν ἀγέλην εἰς ἀνεπιτήδειον χωρίον· μὴ πάντων δὲ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἐχέτω τὰς αἰτίας, εἰκὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ κακοῦ  
 [340] | λαβόντα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐξελαύνειν ἐπιχειρεῖν τάχιστα, τὴν δ' ἅτε χλοηφαγοῦσαν, ἀπαλῶν τε<sup>1</sup> καρπῶν καὶ βλαστῶν ἐμφορουμένην, ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν.

26 VI. Βλάπτουσι δ' οὐ μόνον κατανέμοντες βοσκήμασιν ἀλλοτρίας κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῦρ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπροοράτως ἀναφλέγοντες. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις ὕλης λαβομένη πανταχόσε ἄπτουσα νέμεται τε καὶ χεῖται, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ κρατήσῃ, σβεστηρίων ὅσα ἂν ἐπιφέρῃ τις ἀλογεῖ καταχρωμένη καὶ τούτοις ἀντὶ τροφῆς εἰς συναύξησιν, ἕως ἂν πάντα ἐξαναλώσασα αὐτὴ δαπανηθῇ πρὸς αὐτῆς.  
 27 προσήκει δὲ μήτ' ἐν οἰκίαις μήτ' ἐπαύλεσιν ἀφύλακτον πῦρ εἶναι, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι σπινθηρ ἐντυφόμενος εἰς πολλάκις ἀνερριπίσθη καὶ μεγάλας ἐνέπηρσε πόλεις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιφόρῳ πνεύματι  
 28 ρυείσῃς τῆς φλογός. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς ἀσυμβάτοις πολέμοις ἡ πρώτη καὶ μέση καὶ τελευταία δύναμις ἐστὶ διὰ πυρός, ἢ πιστεύουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς πεζῶν καὶ ἰππέων καὶ ναυμάχων τάξεσι καὶ ταῖς ὀπλῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων<sup>2</sup> ἀφθόνοις παρασκευαῖς· πυρφόρον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἅτε.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ναυμαχητῶν.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 24-28

the gentleness and humanity which it owes to nature and practice, it discovered a well-sounding plea to defend the grazier in the irrational and refractory nature of cattle, particularly when they hanker for food. The trespasser must therefore be held re- 25 sponsible to justice for originally driving the herd into a field where they ought not to be, but should not bear the guilt of all its results, for it may well be that when he perceived the harm they were doing he tried to drive them out as fast as he could, but they as they were browsing on the herbage and taking their fill of tender fruits and plants resisted his efforts.

VI. But people do damage not merely by grazing 26 their cattle on the property of others but also by starting a fire without circumspection or foresight.<sup>a</sup> For the force of fire when it has caught hold of the inflammable stuff shoots out in every direction and spreads itself abroad, and when it has once got the mastery it takes no account of any extinguishers applied to it and indeed makes full use of them as fuel to foster its growth until it has consumed them all and dies out from self-exhaustion. Now no one 27 should ever leave a fire unguarded either in house or outbuilding as he knows that a single smouldering spark is often fanned into a blaze and sets fire to great cities, particularly when the flame streams along under a carrying wind. Thus in bitterly con- 28 tested wars the chief instrument of efficiency first intermediate and final is fire, and on this combatants rely more than on their squadrons of infantry and cavalry and marines and their lavishly provided equipments of arms and engines. For a conflagra-

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxii. 6.

## PHILO

- γάρ τις οἰστὸν βαλὼν καιρίως εἰς πολὺν νηῶν  
 στόλον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάταις κατέφλεξεν ἢ στρατόπεδα  
 πολυάνθρωπα μετὰ τῶν παρασκευῶν, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπ-  
 29 ἐποίητο τὰς τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίδας, ἐξανάλωσεν. εἰάν  
 οὖν εἰς ἀκανθώδη φορυτὸν πῦρ ἐμβάλῃ τις, ὁ δ'  
 ἀναφλεχθεὶς προσεμπρήσῃ ἄλλω πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν ἢ  
 ὀρόβων ἢ δράγματα ἀσταχύων συγκεκομισμένα ἢ  
 βαθύγειον πεδιάδα χλοηφοροῦσαν, ἀποτινύτω τὸ  
 βλάβος ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐμβαλὼν, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν μάθῃ  
 τὰς πρώτας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνστάσεις εὖ μάλα  
 φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ δύναμιν ἀήττητον καὶ φύσει  
 φθοροποιὸν ἀνακινῆ καὶ ἀνεγείρῃ δυναμένην  
 ἡρεμεῖν.
- 30 VII. Ἰερώτατον παρακαταθήκη τῶν ἐν κοινωσίᾳ  
 πραγμάτων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λαβόντος κειμένη  
 πίστει. δάνεια μὲν γὰρ ἐλέγχεται διὰ συμβολαίων  
 καὶ γραμμάτων, τὰ δ' ἄνευ δανείων ἐν χρήσει  
 φανερώς διδόμενα τοὺς θεασαμένους ἔχει μάρτυρας.  
 31 παρακαταθηκῶν δ' οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος, ἀλλὰ μόνος  
 τις αὐτὸς δίδωσι μόνῳ κρύφα, περιβλεπόμενος τὸν  
 τόπον, μηδ' ἀνδράποδον ἕνεκα τοῦ διακομίσει προσ-  
 παραλαβῶν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι φιλοδέσποτον· εἰς γὰρ  
 τὸ ἀναπόδεικτον ἐκάτερος σπεύδειν ἔοικεν, ὁ μὲν  
 ἵνα λάθῃ δούς, ὁ δὲ ἵνα ἀγνοῆται λαβῶν. ἀόρατῶ  
 [341] δὲ πράγματι | πάντως ἀόρατος μεσιτεύει θεός, ὃν

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxii. 6, "If fire having gone forth finds thorns." The thorns were set as a hedge round the field (Driver).

<sup>b</sup> Editors quote Jos. Ant. iv. 285 παρακαταθήκην ὡς περ ἱερόν τι καὶ θεῖον χρῆμα (cf. § 33 below) ὁ παραλαβῶν φυλακῆς ἀξιούτω. Josephus goes on to emphasize the testimony of God.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 28-31

tion caused by a man shooting a fire-bearing arrow at the right place into a great fleet of ships has been known to consume it with the troops on board or to annihilate armies of considerable strength with the equipments on which they had rested their hopes of victory. Accordingly if a single 29 person sets a heap of thorns <sup>a</sup> alight and they burst into a flame which goes on to ignite a threshing floor full of wheat or barley or vetch or stacked sheaves of corn in the ear or rich soiled meadow land where herbage is growing, the person who lighted the fire must pay for the damage and thus learn by experience to guard carefully against the first beginnings of things and to refrain from stirring up and setting in action an invincible and naturally destructive force which might otherwise remain in quiescence.

VII. The most sacred of all the dealings between 30 man and man is the deposit on trust,<sup>b</sup> as it is founded on the good faith of the person who accepts it. Formal loans are guaranteed by contracts and written documents, and articles lent openly without such formality have the testimony of the eye-witnesses. But that is not the method of deposits. 31 There a man gives something with his own hands secretly to another when both are alone. He looks carefully all round him and does not even bring a slave, however loyal, with him to act as carrier, for the object which both of them evidently pursue is that it should be impossible to show what has happened. The one wishes that nobody should observe his gift, the other that no one should know of his acceptance. And this unseen transaction has assuredly the unseen God as its intermediary,

## PHILO

εἰκὸς ὑπ<sup>1</sup> ἀμφοῖν μάρτυρα καλεῖσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ὡς ἀποδώσοντος ὅταν ἀπαιτῆται, τοῦ δ' ἐν καιρῷ  
 32 κομιουμένου. μέγιστον οὖν ἀδίκημα δρῶν ὁ παρακαταθήκην ἀρνούμενος μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω, ψεύσας μὲν ἐλπίδος τὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα, μοχθηρὰ δ' ἦθη κατασκεπάσας<sup>2</sup> λόγοις ἐπεικέσιν, ἀπιστίαν δὲ καθυποκρινάμενος νόθην πίστιν, ἀσυμβάτους ἀποφήνας δεξιὰς καὶ ἀτελεῖς ὄρκους· ὡς ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων ὀλιγωρηκένας καὶ διττὰς ἀρνεῖσθαι παρακαταθήκας, τὴν μὲν τοῦ τὰ οἰκεία ἐπιτρέψαντος, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀψευδεστάτου μάρτυρος, ὃς τὰ πάντων ἐφορᾷ καὶ τὰ πάντων ἐπακούει καὶ προαιρουμένων  
 33 καὶ μὴ θελόντων. ἐὰν δ' ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ὡς ἱερὸν χρῆμα παρακαταθήκην ἄψαυστον οἴηται δεῖν φυλάττειν, σέβων ἀλήθειάν τε καὶ πίστιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἔφεδροι βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ τοιχωρύχοι παρεισφθαρέντες ὑφέλωνται, συλληφθέντες ἐκτινέτωσαν ἐπιτίμια διπλᾶ [τὰ κλεπτῶν εὐρεθέντα].<sup>3</sup>  
 34 εἰ δὲ μὴ συλληφθεῖεν οὗτοι, προσίτω<sup>4</sup> γνώμη ἐκουσίῳ ὁ λαβὼν εἰς τὸ θεῖον δικαστήριον καὶ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ὀμνύτω κατ'

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπ'.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κατασκευάσας.

<sup>3</sup> These words are expelled as a gloss by Cohn following Mangey. But what did the supposed gloss mean? Mangey himself suggested as an alternative τὰ κατὰ κλεπτῶν ὀρισθέντα (cf. §§ 2 and 11 above), which I should be inclined to adopt.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. προεῖτω or προίτω.

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. whether their actions and words are genuine or not. This no doubt gives a rather strained meaning to τῶν μὴ θελόντων. Perhaps as Mangey "cum voluntarie tum involuntarie agentium." But this, though an antithesis constantly recurring in Philo, seems irrelevant here. Heinemann, "whether they wish (to be seen and heard) or not," "mag es

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 31-34

to whom both naturally appeal as their witness, one that he will restore the property when demanded, the other that he will recover it at the proper time. So then he who repudiates a deposit 32 must be assured that he acts most wrongfully. He deceives the hopes of the friend who confided his goods to him. He has disguised under fair words the vileness of his character. In the faithlessness of his heart he has assumed the mask of a bastard faithfulness. The assurance of the hands given and taken is rendered null and void, the oaths are unfulfilled. Thus he has set at nought both the human and the divine and repudiated two trusts, one that of him who consigned his property, the other that of the most veracious of witnesses who sees and hears all whether they intend or do not wish to do what they say.<sup>a</sup> But if the deposit, which 33 the receiver accepts as something sacred and feels bound to keep unharmed because of his reverence for truth and good faith, is purloined by stealthy mischievous intruders, cutpurses and burglars on the watch to take what does not belong to them, the offenders if caught must pay a fine of double the value.<sup>b</sup> If they are not caught the receiver of 34 the trust must go of his own freewill to the court of God<sup>c</sup> and with hands stretched out to heaven

ihnen lieb oder unlieb sein," also seems pointless and besides misses the sense of intention in *προαιρουμένων*.

<sup>b</sup> See Ex. xxii. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Ex. xxii. 8 "come near unto God," v. 9 "before God." LXX in both places *ἐνώπιον θεοῦ*, a phrase which, whatever it may have meant in the original, is interpreted by Philo as appealing to the judgement of God. The phrase *δικαστήριον θεῶν* frequently appears in Philo; see in this volume *De Virt.* 171, *De Praem.* 69.

## PHILO

ἐξωλείας ἑαυτοῦ, μήτε τι μέρος τῆς παρακαταθήκης νοσφίσασθαι μήτε ἑτέρω κοινοπραγήσαι μήτε ὅλως συνεπιψεύσασθαι κλοπῆν οὐ γενομένην· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἢ τὸν μηδὲν ἡδικηκότα ζημιοῦν ἢ τὸν συνδραμόντα εἰς φίλου πίστιν ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀδικηθέντα βλάβης αἴτιον ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι.

- 35 Παρακαταθήκαι δ' οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀψύχοις εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώοις, ὧν διττὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἄψυχα κοινὸς διὰ κλοπῆς, ὁ δὲ ἴδιος καὶ ἐξαίρετος διὰ θανάτου. λέλεκται μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ προτέρου, χρῆ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου προσνομο-  
36 θετεῖν. εἰάν οὖν (ἐν) παρακαταθήκῃ θρέμματα τελευτήσῃ, μεταπεμφάσθω τὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα ὁ λαβῶν καὶ ἐπιδεικνύτω, φαύλης ὑπονοίας ῥυόμενος ἑαυτόν· εἰ δὲ ἔκδημος ὧν τυγχάνοι, καλεῖν μὲν

<sup>a</sup> A phrase borrowed from Demosthenes. See examples in lexicon.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxii. 8. E.V. "to see whether he have not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods." LXX "that he has not acted wickedly about the whole (*i.e.* any part, Philo *τι μέρος*) of the deposit." Philo gives a very reasonable expansion of the oath.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* if he is not allowed to exculpate himself by an oath.

<sup>d</sup> The translation is an attempt to retain something of the curious double ἢ. The two things mentioned are not alternatives, but would both result if the depositor had to make good the theft.

<sup>e</sup> For this section see Ex. xxii. 9-13. Philo's explanation is a simplification of what, particularly in the LXX, is a confusing passage. In v. 9 it is stated that in the case of any loss, animals included, the disputants will appear "before God" and the person convicted will pay compensation. The verse, which may be out of place, does not seem to refer particularly to deposits, but coming where it does, Philo would naturally conclude that it did so refer, and sup-

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 34-36

swear under pain of his own perdition<sup>a</sup> that he has not embezzled any part of the deposit nor abetted another in so doing nor joined at all in inventing a theft which never took place.<sup>b</sup> Otherwise<sup>c</sup> an innocent party would be mulcted and the person who ran to avail himself of the good faith of a friend would on account of the wrong he has suffered from others cause injury to that friend, and either of these is preposterous.<sup>d</sup>

But deposits include not only inanimate things<sup>35</sup> but living animals who are liable to be endangered in two ways: one by theft which they share with the inanimate, the other by death which is peculiar to themselves. The first of these has been dealt with above and we must proceed to lay down laws for the second. <sup>e</sup>So if any animal left in trust dies<sup>36</sup> the person who has accepted the trust must send for the consigner and show him the dead body, thus shielding himself against any suspicion of dishonesty. If the consigner is absent from home, it would not be right for the caretaker to summon

pose that it means that the oath, unless shown to be false, would clear the depositary. Verses 10-12 state that if an animal deposited in trust has been wounded or dies or has been carried away captive, "and no one knows it," the oath will clear him, but adds that if it is stolen, the depositary must make it good. Verse 13 says that if it has been torn by wild beasts, he must take the owner to the fragments of the corpse (*ἀξει ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν*) and so clear himself. Philo ignores the difficulty in *v.* 12, "if it has been stolen he shall pay compensation," and falls back upon the general principle that the oath is to be trusted. Also from the statement that the fragments of the torn animal are sufficient evidence, he seems to argue that the same must hold good of any dead animal if the owner is accessible, and that therefore the oath in this case is not needed.

## PHILO

- έτέρους οὐχ ἀρμόττον, οὓς λανθάνειν ἐσπούδασεν ἴσως ὁ πιστεύσας, ὀμνύναι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐπανήκοντι περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπισκιάζειν ἐψευσμένῳ θανάτῳ νο-*  
 37 *σφισμὸν ἄδικον. ἔαν δὲ λάβῃ τις μὴ ὡς παρα-*  
*καταθήκην ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ χρήσασθαι δεόμενος*  
*σκεῦος ἢ ζῶον, ἔπειτα [εἰ τὰ]<sup>1</sup> ἀμφότερα κλαπῆ ἢ*  
*τὸ ζῶον ἀποθάνῃ, συνδιατρίβοντος μὲν τοῦ χρή-*  
*σαντος ὁ λαβὼν ὑπόδικος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, τοῦ μὴ*  
*σκήπτεσθαι μάρτυρι χρώμενος ἐκείνῳ, μὴ συν-*  
 38 *διατρίβοντος δὲ ἀποτινύτω. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐνδέχεται*  
*μὴ παρόντος τοῦ κυρίου τὸν χρώμενον ἢ πόνους*  
*ἀποτρῦσαι συνεχέσι τὸ ζῶον, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι, ἢ*  
 [342] *παρarrῦψαι | τὸ σκεῦος ὀλιγωρήσαντα τοῦ ἄλλο-*  
*τρίου, ταμιεύειν δέον καὶ μὴ παρέχειν εὐμάρειαν*  
*εἰς ὑφαίρεσιν κλέπταις.*  
 39 *Ἄκολουθίαν δ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος δεινὸς ὢν θεάσα-*  
*σθαι πραγμάτων ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐπαλλήλους ἐξῆς*  
*νομοθετεῖ, στοχαζόμενος εἰρμοῦ καὶ συνωδὰ τοῖς*  
*προτέροις τὰ ἐπόμενα συνυφαίνων. τὴν δὲ τῶν*  
*λέγεσθαι μελλόντων ἀρμονίαν χρησμῶ θεσπισθῆναί*

<sup>1</sup> The ungrammatical *εἰ τὰ* with the subjunctive, which Cohn brackets, would easily slip in after *ἔπειτα*. Mangey retaining it has *κλαπεῖη* and *ἀποθάνοι* without ms. authority. Wendland suggested *ἢ τὰ* with fair probability. Stephanus states that *ἀμφότερα* preceded by the article is only found in N.T. and later writers. But see *ταῖς ἀμφοτέραις*, § 129.

<sup>a</sup> For this section see Ex. xxii. 14, 15. lxx "If anyone ask from his neighbour and it is wounded (or broken) or die or is carried away captive, and the owner is not with it, he shall make compensation. But if the owner is with it, he shall not make compensation." Philo interprets the request (or borrowing) to apply to other things besides animals, and



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 36-39

other people from whom the depositor may have wished to keep the matter secret, but when he has come home he must swear to him to show that he is not using a fictitious death to cloak an embezzlement. <sup>a</sup> But if any utensil or any animal has <sup>37</sup> been received not as a trust but for his use in response to a request and then either <sup>b</sup> of these is stolen, or the animal dies, the borrower will not be responsible if the lender is living on the spot, since he can call him to witness that there is no pretence. If he is not living on the spot the borrower must make good the loss. Why is this? <sup>38</sup> Because in the absence of the owner the borrower may either have worn out the animal by constantly overworking it and so have caused its death, or may have risked <sup>c</sup> the loss of the utensil out of carelessness for what is another man's property, whereas he is bound to keep it carefully and not provide thieves with facilities for carrying it off.

The lawgiver with his unsurpassed power of discerning how things follow each other gives a series of successive prohibitions in which he aims at logical connexion, and makes a harmonious combination of the subsequent with the preceding. He tells us that this accordance between each thing said and

“carried away captive” (*αἰχμάλωτον γένηται*) to include stealing, and “be with it,” which presumably means that he is present when the mishap occurs, to mean as above, “be accessible.” The last half of the verse, which is very obscure, he leaves alone.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “both,” meaning that both are liable to be stolen, but not to die.

<sup>c</sup> Heinemann “thrown aside.” Mangey “temere projecisse.” The meaning given above, which is a quite common use of *παρρηπίπτω*, seems to me more suitable to the context.

## PHILO

φησιν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·  
 “οὐ κλέψετε καὶ οὐ ψεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ συκοφαντή-  
 σετε τοὺς πλησίον ὑμῶν· καὶ οὐκ ὀμείσθε τῷ  
 ὀνόματί μου ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα οὐ  
 βεβηλώσετε”· παγκάλως καὶ σφόδρα παιδευτικῶς·  
 40 ὃ τε γὰρ κλέπτῃς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχόμενος  
 ἀρνεῖται καὶ ψεύδεται, δεδιὼς τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμολογή-  
 σαι τιμωρίας, ὃ τε ἀρνούμενος ἐτέρῳ σπουδάζων  
 προσβάλλειν τὸ ἔγκλημα συκοφαντεῖ καὶ τέχνας  
 ἐπινοεῖ, δι’ ὧν εὐλογον εἶναι δόξει τὸ συκοφάντημα,  
 πᾶς τε συκοφάντης εὐθύς ἐστιν ἐπίορκος, ὀλίγα  
 φροντίζων εὐσεβείας· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἐλέγχων ἀπορεῖ  
 δικαίων, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄτεχνον λεγομένην πίστιν κατα-  
 φεύγει, τὴν δι’ ὄρκων, οἰόμενος κατακλήσει θεοῦ  
 πίστιν ἐργάζεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. ἀνίερος δ’ ὁ τοι-  
 οὔτος ὧν καὶ βέβηλος ἴστω, μιαίνων τὸ ἀμίαντον  
 φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ<sup>2</sup> θεῖον ὄνομα.

Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις<sup>3</sup>

41 VIII. Ἐνατον μὲν ἐστὶ τουτὶ τῶν δέκα κεφα-  
 λαίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ στήλῃ τὸ τέταρτον  
 ἀριθμῶ, μυρία δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὀνήσαι δυνά-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπειδήπερ.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn rejects ἀγαθὸν καὶ, on the grounds that ἀγαθὸν is an unsuitable epithet, and Mangey’s proposal of ἅγιον or ἀγαστὸν because of the hiatus after φύσει. See App. p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> This heading stands on quite a different footing from the rest, as the allusion to it in τουτὶ below shows it to be indispensable. Possibly it should be printed in line with ἔνατον rather than as a heading.

<sup>a</sup> Or simply as Heinemann and Mangey, “what is about to be said,” or “has to be said.” The translation given above is based on a feeling that as τῶν μελλόντων so taken

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 39-41

each thing still to be said <sup>a</sup> is proclaimed in an oracle spoken by God in his own person in the following terms "Ye shall not steal and ye shall not lie and ye shall not bring false accusations against your neighbours and ye shall not swear in my name to an injustice and ye shall not profane my name."<sup>b</sup> Excellent indeed and full of instructions, for the 40 thief convicted by his conscience disowns the deed and lies through fear of the punishment which confession entails. Then he who disowns his deed in his eagerness to fasten the charge on someone else brings a false accusation and devises schemes to make the accusation seem probable. And every such accuser is necessarily a perjurer with little regard for piety, for since he lacks just arguments he takes refuge in the unscientific <sup>c</sup> method of proof, as it is called, namely that of oaths, because he thinks that by appeal to God he makes his hearers believe him. Such a one may be assured that he is unholy and profane, since he pollutes the good name which is by nature unpolluted, the name of God.

VIII. "Thou shalt not bear false witness." This 41 is the ninth of the ten heads but the fourth in number of those on the second table. Numberless are the blessings which it can bring to human life if kept,

is somewhat pointless, Philo may be carrying on the thought of the previous sentence that each clause is the precursor of the next and leads up to it as its natural consequence. See App. p. 427.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xix. 11, 12.

<sup>c</sup> Or inartistic, inartificial. See note on *De Plant.* 173, and reference to Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 15. 2. The five inartistic proofs are laws, witnesses, contracts and documents, torture, oaths. See further App. p. 428.

## PHILO

μενον, εἰ φυλάττοιτο, ὡς καὶ τούναντίον ἀμελού-  
 42 μενον βλάψαι. ψεκτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ δὲ  
 τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρῶν μᾶλλον ὑπαίτιος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 αὐτῷ βοηθῶν, ὁ δ' ἄλλω συμπράττων πονηρός  
 43 ἄμαρτάνων τοῦ δι' ἕτερον ἦττον ἄδικος. καὶ τὸν  
 μὲν κατήγορον ὑποβλέπεται πᾶς δικαστῆς ὡς ὀλίγα  
 φροντίζοντα τῆς ἀληθείας ἔνεκα τοῦ περιγενέσθαι,  
 διὸ καὶ προοιμίῳν ἐδέησεν εἰς προσοχὴν ἀκροατοῦ  
 τῷ λέγοντι· τοῦ δὲ μαρτυροῦντος μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 προπεπονθῶς ὑπουλον ἐλευθέρα γνώμη καὶ ἀνα-  
 πεπταμένοις ὡσὶν ἀνέχεται, πίστιν καὶ ἀλήθειαν  
 ὑποδουομένου, [τὸ] πραγμάτων μὲν ὠφελιμωτάτων τὰ  
 ὀνόματα, ὀνομάτων δὲ προσαγωγότατα,<sup>1</sup> <οἷς> καθ-  
 ἀπερ δελείασιν ἐπὶ θήρα χρῆται ὧν ὀρέγεται καὶ  
 44 ποθεῖ. διὸ πολλαχοῦ παραινεί τῆς νο-  
 μοθεσίας ἀδίκῳ μηδενὶ συναινεῖν, μήτε ἀνθρώπῳ  
 μήτε πράγματι· προκαλεῖται γὰρ ἢ συναίνεσις ἐφ'  
 ὑγιεῖ μὴ γενομένη τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 [343] πᾶς, | ὅτῳ πρόσαντες καὶ ἐχθρὸν τὸ ἄδικον, ἀλη-  
 45 θεία φίλος. ἐνὶ μὲν οὖν μοχθηρῷ μὴ συναπονη-  
 θῆναι θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν εἰς τὰ ὅμοια προκαλουμένῳ,  
 πλήθει δὲ ἐπὶ παρανομίαν<sup>2</sup> οἷα κατὰ πρανοῦς ἀθρόα  
 ῥύμη φερομένῳ μὴ συνενεχθῆναι γενναίας ψυχῆς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προσαγωγότατος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. παρανομία (= -α).

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<sup>a</sup> As this only applies to consenting to injustice many examples no doubt could be found, e.g. Ex. xxiii. 7 "thou shalt keep away from every unjust word," Lev. xix. 15, Deut. xvi. 19, 20. The further thought that consenting to an injustice involves supporting what we know to be false and therefore is a breach of the ninth commandment has its source in Ex. xxiii. 1, 2, where "thou shalt not join with the

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 41-45

numberless on the other hand the injuries which it causes if disregarded ; for reprehensible as is the 42 false accuser his guilt is less than that of the bearer of false witness. The former acts as his own champion, the latter as the accomplice of another, and if we compare one bad man with another the iniquity of one who sins for his own sake is less than his who sins for the sake of another. The 43 judge looks with disfavour on the accuser as a person who cares little for truth in his eagerness to win his case, and this is the reason why introductory addresses are required to secure the attention of the hearer to the speaker. But the judge starts with no lurking feelings of hostility to the witness and therefore he listens with a free judgement and open ears, while the other assumes the mask of good faith and truth, names indeed of the most valuable realities, but the most seductive of names when used as baits to capture something which is earnestly desired.

And therefore in 44 many places <sup>a</sup> of the Law Book he exhorts us not to consent to an unjust man or unjust action, for consent, if not rendered on honest grounds, is an inducement to testify to falsehoods, just as everyone to whom injustice gives a feeling of pain and hostility is a friend of truth. Now when a single 45 man of bad character invites us to do as he does there is nothing remarkable in a refusal to share his wicked folly, but when a multitude is carried away in a rushing mass as down a steep slope to lawlessness, it needs a noble soul and a spirit trained

unjust to be an unjust witness," is followed at once by "thou shalt not be with a multitude for evil." This last is evidently the text expounded in the next sentence.

## PHILO

ἔστι καὶ φρονήματος ἀνδρεία συγκεκροτημένου.  
46 ἔνιοι γὰρ τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα, κἄν παρα-  
νομώτατα ἦ, νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια εἶναι νομίζουσι,  
κρίναντες οὐκ εὖ· φύσει γὰρ ἔπessθαι καλόν, ἀκο-  
47 λουθία φύσεως δ' ἀντίπαλον ὄχλου φορά. ἔαν οὖν  
κατὰ θιάσους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὀμίλους ἀγειρό-  
μενοί τινες νεωτερίζωσι, τούτοις οὐ συναινετέον ὡς  
τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ δόκιμον τῆς πολιτείας νόμισμα  
παρακόπτουσι·

σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας  
νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία μείζον κακόν.

48 Ἄλλὰ τοσαύτη τινὲς ὑπερβολῇ χρῶνται μοχθηρίας,  
ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀγένητα κατηγοροῦσιν,  
ἀλλ' ἐπιμένοντες τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ διαίρουσι καὶ τεί-  
νουσι τὸ ψεῦδος ἄχρι οὐρανοῦ, τῆς μακαρίας καὶ  
εὐδαίμονος θεοῦ φύσεως καταμαρτυροῦντες· εἰσὶ δ'  
οὗτοι τερατοσκόποι καὶ οἰωνοσκόποι καὶ θύται καὶ  
ὄσοι ἄλλοι μαντικὴν ἐκπονοῦσι τὴν σὺν τέχνη  
κακοτεχνίαν, εἰ δεῖ τάληθῆς εἰπεῖν, ἐπιτηδεύοντες,  
παρακόμματα τῆς ἐνθέου κατοκωχῆς καὶ προφητείας.  
49 προφήτης μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀποφαίνεται τὸ  
παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἑρμηνεὺς ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου  
πάνθ' ὅσα προφέρεται, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐνθουσιᾷ  
γεγονῶς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, μετανισταμένου μὲν τοῦ λο-  
γισμοῦ καὶ παρακεχωρηκότος τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς  
ἀκρόπολιν, ἐπιπεφοιτηκότος δὲ καὶ ἐνωκκηκότος  
τοῦ θείου πνεύματος καὶ πᾶσαν τῆς φωνῆς ὄργανο-

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<sup>a</sup> Lines from a fragment of Euripides quoted by many

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 45-49

to manliness to keep from being carried with them. Some people suppose that what the many think 46 right is lawful and just, though it be the height of lawlessness. But they do not judge well, for it is good to follow nature, and the headlong course of the multitude runs counter to what nature's leading would have us do. So if some people collect in 47 groups or crowded assemblages to give trouble, we must not consent to their debasing of the long established and sterling coinage of civic life.

Better than many hands is one wise thought,  
A multitude of fools makes folly worse.<sup>a</sup>

But some show such an excess of wickedness that 48 they not only lay to the charge of men things which have never occurred but persisting in their wickedness exalt and extend the falsehood to heaven and bear testimony against the blessed and ever happy nature of God.<sup>b</sup> These are the interpreters of portents and auguries and of sacrificial entrails, and all the other proficients in divination who practise an art which is in reality a corruption of art, a counterfeit of the divine and prophetic possession. For no pronouncement of a prophet is ever his 49 own; he is an interpreter prompted by Another in all his utterances, when knowing not what he does he is filled with inspiration, as the reason withdraws and surrenders the citadel of the soul to a new visitor and tenant, the Divine Spirit which

writers and stated to come from the tragedy *Antiope*. See Nauck, *Fr. of Eur.* 220.

<sup>b</sup> This condemnation of divination as a breach of the ninth commandment because it constitutes false witness against God is very strained. In the parallel passage, i. 59-63, it has been connected with the first.

PHILO

ποιίαν κρούοντός τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐνηχοῦντος εἰς ἐναργῆ  
 50 δῆλωσιν ὧν προθεσπίζει. τῶν δὲ τὴν παράσημον  
 καὶ βωμολόχον μαντικὴν ζηλούντων ἕκαστος ταῖς  
 εἰκασίαις καὶ στοχασμοῖς ἀνοίκειον τάξιν παρα-  
 τίθησι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοὺς ἀβεβαίους τὸ  
 ἦθος ὑπαγόμενος ῥαδίως καθάπερ ἀνερμάτιστα  
 σκάφη πολὺς ἀντιπνεύσας<sup>2</sup> ἀνωθεὶ καὶ ἀνατρέπει,  
 διακωλύων ὑποδρόμοις ἀσφαλῆσι προσσχεῖν εὐσε-  
 βείας· τὰ γὰρ τοπασθέντα προλέγειν οἴεται δεῖν ὡς  
 οὐκ αὐτὸς εὐρών, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀφανῶς αὐτῷ μόνῳ  
 χρησθέντα θεία λόγια, πρὸς βεβαιοτέραν πίστιν  
 51 ἀπάτης μεγάλων καὶ πολυανθρώπων ὁμίλων. τὸν  
 τοιοῦτον εὐθυβόλῳ ὀνόματι ψευδοπροφήτην προσ-  
 [344] αγορεύει, κιβδηλεύοντα τὴν | ἀληθῆ προφητείαν  
 καὶ τὰ γνήσια νόθοις εὐρήμασιν ἐπισκιάζοντα.  
 χρόνῳ δὲ παντάπασιν ὀλίγῳ διακαλύπτεται τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα στρατηγήματα, τῆς φύσεως οὐκ αἰεὶ κρύ-  
 πτεσθαι φιλοῦσης, ἀλλ' ὁπότεν καιρὸς ἢ τὸ ἴδιον  
 52 κάλλος ἀναφαινούσης ἀηττήτοις δυνάμεσιν. ὡς  
 γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἐκλείψειςιν αἱ ἀκτῖνες πρὸς  
 βραχύτατον ἀμαυρωθεῖσαι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναλάμ-  
 πουσιν ἄσκιον καὶ τηλαυγῆς ἐπιδεικνύμεναι φέγ-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps omit τε, and so Mangey, but without ms. author-  
 ity. See note a.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn following Mangey inserts ἀνεμος after ἀντιπνεύσας.  
 It seems to me unnecessary. The metaphorical application  
 of wind-terms by the simple verb is common in Philo. See  
 Index s.v. πνέω, e.g. λαμπρὸν πνέουσι De Cong. 159.

<sup>a</sup> Or "makes sounds on," "raises sounds from" it, i.e. the  
 vocal organism. This must be the sense if τε is retained,  
 though to understand the dative from the preceding accusa-  
 tive seems awkward. Mangey translates "formante," and  
 I presume Heinemann means much the same by "bringt



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 49-52

plays upon the vocal organism and dictates words <sup>a</sup> which clearly express its prophetic message. Now 50 everyone who pursues the spurious scurvy trade of divination ranks his surmises and conjectures with truth, a position ill-suited to them, and easily gets the unstable of character into his power; then with a mighty counterblast as it were he pushes about and upsets their unballasted barks and prevents them from coming to port in the sure roadsteads of piety. For he thinks he must proclaim the results of his guessing to be not his own discovery but divine oracles, secretly vouchsafed to him alone, and thus confirm the great multitudes which gather around him in their acceptance of the fraud. Such 51 a person receives from the lawgiver the appropriate name of false prophet,<sup>b</sup> for he adulterates the true prophecy and with his spurious inventions throws the genuine into the shade. But in quite a short time such manoeuvres are exposed, for it is not nature's way to be concealed for ever but when the right time comes she uses her invincible powers to unveil the beauty which is hers alone. For as 52 in eclipses of the sun the rays are dimmed for a very short time but soon shine again spreading a light unshadowed and far-reaching, when the sun is

den ganzen Stimmapparat zum Schallen und Tönen," but I do not see how the word can mean this. For Philo's regular use of *ἐνηχείν* to express reiteration and insistence in speech see note on *De Mut.* 57 (vol. v. p. 588). For the sense of this sentence cf. i. 65, *Quis Rerum* 266. Heinemann compares Plato, *Ion* 534. See App. p. 429.

<sup>b</sup> The word *ψευδοπροφήτης* is not used of diviners in the Pentateuch nor indeed used at all. It is however found elsewhere in the LXX, and is associated with divination, Jer. xxxiv. (E.V. xxvii.) 9, xxxvi. (E.V. xxix.) 8.

## PHILO

γος, μηδενὸς ἐπιπροσθοῦντος ἡλίω τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν αἰθρία καθαρᾷ ὀλοστόν ἀναφαίνοντι,<sup>1</sup> οὕτως κἂν χρησμολογῶσί τινες μαντικὴν μὲν ἐπειψευσμένην τεχνάζοντες, ὑποδύομενοι δ' εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα τὸ προφητείας, ἐνθουσιάζεις καταψευδόμενοι θεοῦ, διελεγχθήσονται ραδίως· ἤξει γὰρ πάλιν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀναλάμψει φῶς ἀστράπτουσα τηλαυγέστατον, ὡς τό γε ἐπισκιάσαν ψεῦδος ἀφανισθῆναι.

- 53 Πάγκαλον μέντοι κάκεινο προσδιετάξατο κελεύσας ἐνὸς μαρτυρίαν μὴ προσίεσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐνδέχεται ἓνα καὶ παριδεῖν τι καὶ παρακοῦσαι καὶ παρενθυμηθῆναι καὶ ἀπατηθῆναι, δόξαι γὰρ αἱ ψευδεῖς μυρίαὶ καὶ ἀπὸ μυρίων εἰώθασι προσπίπτειν· δευτέρον δὲ ὅτι κατὰ πλείονων ἢ καὶ καθ' ἐνὸς ἀδικιώτατον (ἐνὶ) χρῆσθαι μάρτυρι, τῶν<sup>2</sup> μὲν ὅτι δὴ πρὸς πίστιν ἀξιονικότεροι ἐνός, τοῦ δ' ἐπειδὴ κατ' ἀριθμὸν οὐ προφέρει, τὸ δ' ἴσον πλεονεξίας ἀλλότριον· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον τῷ μάρτυρι καθ' ἑτέρου διεξιόντι ἢ τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντι συναινετέον; ἄριστον δ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἐπέχειν, ἔνθα μηδὲν ἐνδεί μὴδὲ ὑπερβάλλει.

<sup>1</sup> Cohn brackets the words ἀλλ' ὡς . . . ἀναφαίνοντι, but his arguments (see *Hermes*, 1908, p. 208) do not seem to me very conclusive. They are (1) the words cannot be explained grammatically, for it is not clear to what ἀναφαίνοντι refers. (It surely agrees with ἡλίω, and the construction, though very awkward, is not ungrammatical.) (2) ὀλοστός is only known from a gloss of Hesychius. (Mangey's proposal of ὄλωσ αὐτόν or αὐτόν (?) might overcome this.) (3) The hiatus καθαρᾷ ὀλοστόν is intolerable. (On this see note in App. to § 40.) My own further difficulty is that I do not see the meaning of ὡς. But altogether the clause, though certainly

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 52-54

not obscured at all by any intervening object but displays its whole surface in clear open sky, just so though some oracle-mongers may ply their false art of divination, masked under the specious name of prophecy, and palm off their ecstatic utterances upon the Godhead, they will easily be detected. Truth will come back and shine again, illuminating the far distance with its radiance, and the lie which overshadowed it will vanish away.

He added another excellent injunction when he 53 forbade them to accept the evidence of a single person,<sup>a</sup> first because the single person may see or hear imperfectly or misunderstand and be deceived, since false opinions are numberless and numberless too the sources from which they spring to attack us. Secondly because it is most unjust to accept a single 54 witness against more than one or even against one : against more than one, because their number makes them more worthy of credence than the one : against one, because the witness has not got preponderance of number, and equality is incompatible with predominance. For why should the statement of a witness made in accusation of another be accepted in preference to the words of the accused spoken in his own defence? Where there is neither deficiency nor excess it is clearly best to suspend judgement.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Num. xxxv. 30, Deut. xvii. 6 (of death sentences), Deut. xix. 15 (of all offences).

<sup>b</sup> Heinemann "where no one is behind or has an advantage," but the neuter *μηδέν* points rather to a general maxim. See App. p. 430.

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open to suspicion, does not seem to me impossible. On *δλοστός* see further App. p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὸν ἢ τὸ.

## PHILO

55 IX. <sup>1</sup>Οἴεται δεῖν ὁ νόμος ἅπαντας μὲν τοὺς συμ-  
 φερομένους τῇ κατὰ Μωυσέα ἱερᾷ πολιτεία παντὸς  
 ἀλόγου πάθους καὶ πάσης κακίας ἀμετόχους εἶναι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τοῖς ἄλλοις νόμοις χρωμένους, δια-  
 φερόντως δὲ τοὺς λαχόντας ἢ χειροτονηθέντας  
 δικάζειν. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐνόχους εἶναι  
 [345] | τοὺς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν ἀξιούντας,  
 οἷς ἀναγκαῖον καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς ἀπο-  
 56 μάττεσθαι τὰ φύσεως ἔργα πρὸς μίμησιν. ὡς  
 γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις ἀλεαίνουσα ὧν ἂν προσ-  
 ἄψηται θερμὴ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτῇ καθέστηκεν ἐξ  
 αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦναντίον ἢ τῆς χιόνος τῷ κατ-  
 εψύχθαι καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιψύχει, οὕτως ὀφείλει καὶ  
 δικαστῆς ἀνάπλεως εἶναι δικαιοσύνης ἀκραιφνοῦς,  
 εἴ γε μέλλει τὰ δίκαια τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ἐπάρδειν,  
 ἕν' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς γλυκείας φέρεται νᾶμα πό-  
 57 τιμον τοῖς διψῶσιν εὐνομίαις. τουτὶ δὲ συμβήσεται,  
 εἴαν τις δικάζειν εἰσιῶν ἐν ταυτῷ νομίση κρίνειν  
 τε καὶ κρίνεσθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνη ἅμα τῇ ψήφῳ  
 σύνεσιν μὲν εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀπατᾶσθαι, δικαιοσύνην δὲ  
 εἰς τὴν τῶν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἐκάστοις  
 ἀπονομήν, ἀνδρείαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀνένδοτον πρὸς ἰκε-  
 58 ρίας. ὁ τούτων ἐπιμελούμενος τῶν ἀρετῶν κοινὸς  
 εὐεργέτης εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο, κυβερνήτου τρόπον

<sup>1</sup> Here the mss. have a heading *Τὰ πρὸς δικαστὴν*, and Cohn begins a new numeration of chapters. But though these sections, 41-78, might perhaps have come more appropriately in the latter half of the book on *δικαιοσύνη*, Philo clearly regards them as belonging to the ninth commandment (§ 78).

<sup>a</sup> Heinemann objects that no judges were chosen by lot in Israel, cf. § 157, but Philo of course means that however they

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 54-58

IX. The law holds that all who conform to the 55 sacred constitution laid down by Moses must be exempt from every unreasoning passion and every vice in a higher degree than those who are governed by other laws, and that this particularly applies to those who are appointed to act as judges by lot <sup>a</sup> or election. For it is against all reason that those who claim to dispense justice to others should themselves have offences to answer for. On the contrary it is necessary that they should bear the impress of the operations of nature, as from an original design, and thus imitate them.<sup>b</sup> Consider 56 the power exerted by fire and snow. Fire warms all it touches but its heat primarily resides in itself, snow its opposite through its own coldness chills other things. So too the judge must be permeated by pure justice if he is to foster with the water of justice those who will come before him, and thus as from a sweet fountain there may issue a stream fit to refresh the lips of those who thirst for true and lawful dealings. And this will come to pass if 57 a man when he enters upon his duties as judge considers that when he tries a case he is himself on his trial, and with his voting tablet <sup>c</sup> takes also good sense to make him proof against deceit, justice to assign to each according to his deserts, courage to remain unmoved by supplication and lamentation over the punishments of the convicted. He who 58 studies to possess these virtues will properly be considered a public benefactor. Like a good pilot were elected the law would demand a higher standard from them than from the Gentile.

<sup>b</sup> So rather than as Goodenough, "to be imitated by others."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "pebble."

## PHILO

ἀγαθοῦ τοὺς χειμῶνας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξευδιάζων ἕνεκα σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας τῶν τὰ οἰκεία ἐπι-  
 τετροφότων αὐτῶ.

- 59 X. Κελεύει δὴ πρῶτον ὁ νόμος τῷ δικαστῇ μὴ  
 παραδέχασθαι ἀκοὴν ματαίαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν;  
 ἔστω, φησίν, ὦ οὔτος, τὰ ὠτά σου κεκαθαρμένα·  
 καθαρθήσεται δέ, ἐὰν νάμασι σπουδαίων λόγων  
 συνεχῶς ἐπαντλήται, τὰς ματαίους καὶ πεπατη-  
 μένας καὶ χλεύης ἀξίας μυθογράφων ἢ μιμολόγων  
 ἢ τυφοπλαστών τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια σεμνοποιούντων  
 60 μακρὰς ῥήσεις μὴ προσιέμενα. δηλοῦται δ' ἐκ τοῦ  
 μὴ παραδέχασθαι ματαίαν ἀκοὴν καὶ ἕτερόν τι τῷ  
 προτέρῳ συνᾶδον· τοῖς ἀκοὴν μαρτυροῦσι, φησίν, ὁ  
 προσέχων ματαίως καὶ οὐχ ὑγιῶς προσέξει· διὰ τί;  
 ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῖς γινο-  
 μένοις, ἐφαπτόμενοι τρόπον τινὰ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 καὶ ὅλα δι' ὅλων καταλαμβάνοντες, φωτὸς συν-  
 εργοῦντος, ὧ πάντα αὐγάζεται τε καὶ διελέγχεται,  
 ὠτα δ', ὡς ἔφη τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῶν προτέρων,  
 ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπιστότερα, πράγμασι μὲν οὐκ ἐντυγ-  
 χάνοντα, ἐρμηνεύσι δὲ πραγμάτων λόγοις οὐκ αἰεὶ  
 61 πεφυκόσιν ἀληθεύειν περιελκόμενα. διὸ καὶ τῶν  
 παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἔνιοι νομοθετῶν μεταγράψαντες ἐκ  
 τῶν ἱερωτάτων Μωυσέως στηλῶν εὖ διατάξασθαι

<sup>a</sup> Or "tranquillizing," which is the natural meaning of the word, but a pilot does not do this.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxiii. 1. E.V. "Thou shalt not take up a false report." LXX as quoted here.

<sup>c</sup> Goodenough supposes that these expositions or harangues refer to the sophistry of advocates, cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 121, but this is not borne out by the sequel, mythmakers, etc. Philo seems to have slipped into a general denunciation of "idle hearings," and particularly of the *μυθικὰ πλάσματα* against

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 58-61

he steers a prosperous voyage<sup>a</sup> through the storms of business to secure the preservation and security of those who have entrusted their interests to him.

X. The first instruction that the law gives to the 59 judge is that he should not accept idle hearing.<sup>b</sup> What is this? "Let your ears, my friend," he says, "be purged" and purged they will be if streams of worthy thoughts and words are constantly poured into them and if they refuse to admit the long-winded expositions,<sup>c</sup> the idle hackneyed<sup>d</sup> absurdities of the makers of myths and farces and of vain inventions with their glorification of the worthless. And the phrase "not accept idle hear- 60 ing" has another signification consistent with that just mentioned. If men listen to hearsay given as evidence their listening will be idle and unsound. Why so? Because the eyes are conversant with the actual events; they are in a sense in contact with the facts and grasp them in their completeness through the co-operation of the light which reveals and tests everything. But ears, as one of the ancients has aptly said, are less trustworthy than eyes<sup>e</sup>; they are not conversant with facts, but are distracted by words which interpret the facts but are not necessarily always veracious. And therefore it 61 seems that some Grecian legislators did well when they copied from the most sacred tables of Moses

which he so often inveighs, *e.g. De Virt.* 102. Cf. the longer digression in §§ 68, 69.

<sup>d</sup> Goodenough "worthy of rejection," and so Mangey "proculcatas," but the usage for "much trodden," "trite," is well established.

<sup>e</sup> Quoted almost verbatim from Herodotus i. 8. Polybius xii. 27. 1 ascribes it in a slightly different form (ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὄτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες) to Heracleitus.

δοκοῦσι, μὴ μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοήν,<sup>1</sup> ὡς δέον, ἃ μὲν εἰδέ  
 62 τις, πιστὰ κρίνειν, ἃ δὲ ἤκουσε, μὴ πάντως βέβαια.

[346] XI. | Δεύτερον παράγγελμα κριτῆ δῶρα μὴ  
 λαμβάνειν· τὰ γὰρ δῶρα, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, πηροὶ μὲν  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέποντας, τὰ δὲ δίκαια λυμαίνεται, τὴν  
 63 δὲ διάνοιαν οὐκ ἔᾶ διὰ λεωφόρου βαίνειν ἐπ' εὐ-  
 θείας. καὶ τὸ μὲν δωροδοκεῖν ἐπ' ἀδίκους παμπονή-  
 ρων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ δικαίοις ἐφ'  
 ἡμισεία πονηρευομένων· εἰσὶ γὰρ εὐπάρυφοί τινες  
 ἡμιμόχθηροι, δικαιάδικοι, τὴν ὑπὲρ<sup>2</sup> τῶν πεπλημ-  
 μελημένων τεταγμένοι τάξιν κατὰ τῶν πλημμελη-  
 σάντων, προῖκα δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες νικῶντας γράφειν  
 64 ἔμμισθον ἀποφαίνοντες. εἶτα ἐπειδὴν τις αἰτιᾶται,  
 φασὶ μὴ παρατρέψαι τὸ δίκαιον—ἡττηθῆναι μὲν  
 γὰρ οὐς ἀρμόττον ἦν ἡττᾶσθαι, νενικηκέναι δ' οὐς  
 ἐχρῆν περιγίνεσθαι—, κακῶς ἀπολογούμενοι· δύο γὰρ  
 δεῖ προσφέρεσθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δικαστήν, νομικω-  
 τάτην γνῶσιν καὶ τὸ ἀδέκαστον· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ δῶροις  
 βραβεύτης τοῦ δικαίου καλὸν φύσει πρᾶγμα λέ-  
 65 ληθεν αἰσχύνων. ἐπεξαμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ δύο ἕτερα,  
 τὸ μὲν ἐθίζων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι φιλοχρήματον, ὅπερ  
 ὀρμητήριον τῶν μεγίστων παρανομημάτων ἐστί, τὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀκοη (= ἀκοῆ). See note a.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. περὶ (or παρά).

<sup>a</sup> A clear reference to Attic law. See note on *De Conf.* 141 (vol. iv. pp. 556, 557), where reference is given to the *Dict. of Ant.* article "Akoēn Marturein," and passages in the orators.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxiii. 8. The end "perverteth the words of the righteous" (LXX "just words") suggests that ῥήματα may have fallen out.

<sup>c</sup> From Plato, *Rep.* 352 c.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 61-65

the enactment that hearing is not accepted as evidence,<sup>a</sup> meaning that what a man has seen is to be judged trustworthy, but what he has heard is not entirely reliable.

XI. The second instruction to the judge is not to <sup>62</sup> take gifts, for gifts, says the law, blind the eyes <sup>b</sup> which see and corrupt the things that are just, while they prevent the mind from pursuing its course straight along the high road. And while receiving <sup>63</sup> bribes to do injustice is the act of the utterly depraved, to receive them to do justice shows a half depravity. For there are some magistrates half way in wickedness,<sup>c</sup> mixtures of justice and injustice, who having been appointed to the duty of supporting the wronged against the wrongdoers think themselves justified in refusing without a consideration to record a victory to the necessarily victorious party and so make their verdict a thing purchased and paid for.<sup>d</sup> Then when they are attacked they <sup>64</sup> plead that they did not pervert justice, since those who ought to lose did lose and those who deserved to win were successful. This is a bad defence, for two things are demanded from the good judge, a verdict absolutely according to law and a refusal to be bribed. But the awarder<sup>e</sup> of justice who has taken gifts for it has unconsciously disfigured what nature has made beautiful. Apart from this <sup>65</sup> he offends in two other ways; he is habituating himself to be covetous of money, and that vice is the source from which the greatest iniquities spring,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 430.

<sup>e</sup> Or "umpire." For the phrase *βραβευτής τοῦ δικαίου* Heinemann quotes Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 15. 24 *τοῦ δικαίου βραβευ- τῆς ὁ δικαστής*. See App. p. 431.

## PHILO

δὲ βλάπτων ὃν ἄξιον ἦν ὠφελεῖν τιμὴν τοῦ δικαίου  
 66 κατατιθέντα. διὸ σφόδρα παιδευτικῶς Μωυσῆς  
 δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον προστάττει μεταδιώκειν, αἰ-  
 νιττόμενος ὅτι καὶ ἀδίκως ἔνεστι, διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ  
 δώροις τοῦ δικαίου βραβευτάς, οὐ μόνον ἐν δικα-  
 στηρίοις, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλατταν  
 καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τοῖς τοῦ βίου  
 67 πράγμασιν. ἤδη γοῦν ὀλιγοχρημάτων τις παρα-  
 καταθήκην λαβὼν ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπ' ἐνέδρα μᾶλλον  
 τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ἢ ὠφελεία, ἵνα τὴν ἐν ὀλίγοις  
 πίστιν δέλεαρ καθεῖς ἀγκιστρεύσῃται τὴν ἐν μεί-  
 ζοσιν πίστιν,<sup>1</sup> ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ δίκαιον μὴ  
 δικαίως ἐπιτελεῖν· δίκαιον μὲν γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἄλλο-  
 τρίων ἀπόδοσις, οὐ δικαίως δ' ἐγένετο, παρόσον ἐπὶ  
 68 θήρα πλειόνων. αἴτιον δὲ τῶν τοιούτων  
 ἀμαρτημάτων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἢ πρὸς τὸ  
 ψεῦδος οἰκείωσις, ὅπερ ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως καὶ  
 σπαργάνων αὐτῶν τίθεται καὶ μητέρες καὶ ὁ ἄλλος  
 τῶν κατ' οἰκίαν ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ἐλευθέρων ὄμιλος  
 ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις ἀεὶ σύντροφον κατασκευάζουσιν,  
 ἀρμοζόμενοι καὶ ἐνοῦντες αὐτὸ τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς μέρος  
 ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον, ὅπερ, εἰ καὶ τῷ ὄντι φύσει  
 συνεγεγέννητο, ὧφειλεν ἐπιτηδεύσει τῶν καλῶν ἐκ-  
 69 τετμηθῆσαι. τί δ' οὕτως ἐν βίῳ καλὸν ὡς ἀλήθεια;  
 ἦν ὁ πάνσοφος ἐστηλίτευσεν ἐν ἱερωτάτῳ χωρίῳ,

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey, quoting *De Plant.* 101 μηδὲ τὴν ἐν ὀλίγοις  
 πίστιν φύλασσε ἐπὶ θήρα τῆς ἐν πλείοσι πίστewς. MSS. ἀπιστίαν  
 (or ἀδικίαν).

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xvi. 20. E.V. "that which is altogether just shalt  
 thou follow." Cf. *De Cher.* 15, where it is quoted with the

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 65-69

and he is injuring one who deserves to be benefited when that person has to pay a price for justice. And therefore Moses gives us a very instructive 66 command, when he bids us pursue justice justly,<sup>a</sup> implying that it is possible to do so unjustly. He refers to those who give a just award for lucre, not only in law courts but everywhere on land and sea and one may almost say in all the affairs of life. Thus we have heard of a person 67 accepting a deposit of little value and repaying it with a view to ensnare rather than to benefit the person to whom he gives it.<sup>b</sup> His object was by baiting his hook with trustworthiness in small matters to secure trustfulness in greater things, and this is nothing else than executing justice unjustly, for while repayment of what is due to others is a just deed, it was not done justly being done in pursuit of further gains.

Now the principal cause 68 of such misdeeds is familiarity with falsehood which grows up with the children right from their birth and from the cradle, the work of nurses and mothers and the rest of the company, slaves and free, who belong to the household. By word and deed they are perpetually welding and uniting falsehood to the soul as though it were a necessary part inherent in its nature, though if nature had really made it congenital it ought to have been eradicated by habituation to things excellent. And what has life 69 to show so excellent as truth, which the man of perfect wisdom set as a monument on the robe of

same application as here, and *Quod. Det.* 18, where it is cited as forbidding mistaken asceticism and ritual.

<sup>b</sup> For this confidence trick see *De Plant.* 103, *De Cher.* 14 also in connexion with *Deut. l.c.*, and perhaps *De Dec.* 172.

## PHILO

[347] κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολήν, | ἔνθα τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν, ἀναθημάτων τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ διαπρεπεστάτῳ βουλευθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐπικοσμήσαι, συγγενῇ δὲ δύνάμιν ἀληθείᾳ παριδρύσατο, ἣν ἐκάλεσε δῆλωσιν, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγων εἰκόνας, ἐνδιαθέτου τε καὶ προφορικοῦ· δεῖται γὰρ ὁ μὲν προφορικὸς δηλώσεως, ἢ τὰ ἀφανῆ τῶν<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνθύμια γνωρίζεται τῷ πέλας, ὁ δ' ἐνδιάθετος ἀληθείας, εἰς τελειότητα βίου καὶ πράξεων δι' ὧν<sup>2</sup> ἢ ἐπ' εὐδαιμονίαν ὁδὸς ἀνευρίσκεται.

- 70 XII. Τρίτον παράγγελμα τῷ δικαστῇ τὰ πράγματα πρὸ τῶν κρινομένων ἐξετάζειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι πάντα τρόπον ἀφέλκειν αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν δικαζομένων φαντασίας, εἰς ἄγνοιαν καὶ λήθην βιαζόμενον ὧν ἐπιστήμην εἶχε καὶ μνήμην, οἰκείων, φίλων, πολιτῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἀλλοτρίων, ἐχθρῶν, ξένων, ἵνα μήτε εὖνοια μήτε μῖσος ἐπισκιάσῃ τῶν δικαίων τὴν γνῶσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ οἶα τυφλὸν δίχα βάκτρον προερχόμενον καὶ τοὺς ποδηγετήσοντας οὐκ ἔχοντα οἷς  
71 βεβαίως ἐπερείσεται πταίειν. ὅθεν προσήκει τὸν ἀγαθὸν δικαστὴν τοὺς μὲν κρινομένους, οἷτινες ἂν ὦσι, παρακαλύπτεισθαι, τὴν δὲ φύσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ὄραν, μὴ πρὸς δόξας ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μέλλοντα κρίνειν καὶ τοιαύτην

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps omit τῶν. See note a.

<sup>2</sup> Heinemann wishes to read δι' ἧς on the ground that τελειότης not πράξεις leads to happiness. But as translated the text seems to present no difficulty.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 69-71

the high priest in the most sacred place where the dominant part of the soul resides, when he wished to deck him with a sacred ornament of special beauty and magnificence? And beside truth he set a kindred quality which he called "clear showing," the two representing both aspects of the reason we possess, the inward and the outward. For the outward requires clear showing by which the invisible thoughts in each of us<sup>a</sup> are made known to our neighbours. The inward requires truth to bring to perfection the conduct of life and the actions by which the way to happiness is discovered.

XII. A third instruction to the judge is that he<sup>70</sup> should scrutinize the facts rather than the litigants and should try in every way to withdraw himself from the contemplation of those whom he is trying.<sup>b</sup> He must force himself to ignore and forget those whom he has known and remembered, relations, friends and fellow citizens and on the other hand strangers, enemies, foreigners so that neither kind feeling nor hatred may becloud his decision of what is just. Otherwise he must stumble like a blind man proceeding without a staff or others to guide his feet on whom he can lean with security; and<sup>71</sup> therefore the good judge must draw a veil over the disputants, whoever they are, and keep in view the nature of the facts in their naked simplicity. He must come with the intention of judging according to truth and not according to the opinions of well as above, is retained, the meaning will be "such of our thoughts as are invisible." But surely all thoughts are invisible till expressed.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. i. 17 (xvi. 19) "Thou shalt not respect persons in judgement." LXX οὐκ ἐπιγνώσῃ πρόσωπον ("recognize a face"), a form which Philo is clearly expounding in the sequel.

## PHILO

ἔννοιαν λαβόντα, ὅτι “ ἡ μὲν κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ  
 ἐστίν,” ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς ἐπίτροπος τῆς κρίσεως·  
 ἐπιτρόπῳ δ’ οὐκ ἐφέϊται τὰ τοῦ κυρίου χαρίζεσθαι,  
 παρακαταθήκην εἰληφότι τὴν πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν  
 ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀρίστην παρὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου.  
 72 XIII. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἤδη καὶ ἄλλο  
 σοφὸν εἰσηγεῖται· κελεύει (γὰρ) πένητα ἐν κρίσει  
 μὴ ἐλεεῖν ὁ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τι τὴν νομοθεσίαν πε-  
 πληρωκῶς τῶν εἰς ἔλεον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν διαταγ-  
 μάτων καὶ μεγάλας μὲν ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατεινόμενος  
 ὑπερόπταις καὶ ἀλαζόσι, μεγάλα δὲ προθεῖς ἄθλα  
 τοῖς τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν πέλας εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν  
 ἄγειν ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τὰς περιουσίας οὐκ ἴδια κτήματα  
 73 νομίζουσιν ἀλλὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐνδείαις. ὁ γὰρ ἔφη  
 τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῶν πρότερον, ἀληθὲς ἐστίν,  
 ὅτι παραπλήσιον οὐδὲν ἄνθρωποι θεῷ δρῶσιν ἢ  
 χαριζόμενοι. τί δ’ ἂν εἶη κρεῖττον ἀγαθὸν ἢ μι-  
 74 μείσθαι θεὸν γενητοῖς τὸν αἰδίων; μῆτ’ οὖν ὁ  
 πλούσιος ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν οἴκοι συναγαγὼν ἄ-  
 φθονον θησαυροφυλακείτω, προφερέτω δ’ εἰς μέσον,  
 ἵνα τὸ σκληροδίατον τῶν ἀπόρων ἰλαραῖς μετα-  
 δόσεισι λιπαίνῃ, μῆτ’ εἴ τις ἐνδοξος, ὑψηλὸν αἴρων  
 αὐτὸν αὐχέϊτῳ φρυαπτόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἰσότητα τιμήσας  
 [348] μεταδιδότω παρρησίας τοῖς ἀδόξοις· | ὁ τε ῥώμη  
 κεκρημένος σώματος ἔρεισμα τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων  
 ἔστω καὶ μὴ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι  
 καταπαγκρατιαζέτω τοὺς ἐλάττους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν,

<sup>a</sup> Deut. i. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxiii. 3. E.V. “Neither shalt thou favour a poor man in his cause.” LXX as quoted here. Philo is evidently struck by the absence of the corresponding injunction not to favour the rich either, which is given in Lev. xix. 15.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 71-74

men, and with the thought before him that "judgement is God's"<sup>a</sup> and the judge is the steward of judgement. As a steward he is not permitted to give away his master's goods, for the best of all things in human life is the trust he has received from the hands of One who is Himself the best of all.

XIII. He adds to those already mentioned another <sup>72</sup> wise precept, not to show pity to the poor man in giving judgement.<sup>b</sup> And this comes from one who has filled practically his whole legislation with injunctions to show pity and kindness, who issues severe threats against the haughty and arrogant and offers great rewards to those who feel it a duty to redress the misfortunes of their neighbours and to look upon abundant wealth not as their personal possession but as something to be shared by those who are in need. For what one of the men of old <sup>c</sup> <sup>73</sup> aptly said is true, that in no other action does man so much resemble God as in showing kindness, and what greater good can there be than that they should imitate God, they the created Him the eternal? So then let not the rich man collect great <sup>74</sup> store of gold and silver and hoard it at his house, but bring it out for general use that he may soften the hard lot of the needy with the unction of his cheerfully given liberality. If he has high position, let him not show himself uplifted with boastful and insolent airs, but honour equality and allow a frank exchange of speech to those of low estate. If he possesses bodily vigour, let him be the support of the weaker and not as men do in athletic contest take every means of battering down the less powerful,

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 431.

## PHILO

ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμείσθω τῆς ἰδίας ἰσχύος μεταδιδόναι  
 75 τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἀπειρηκόσιν. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ  
 πηγῶν ἠρύσαντο τῶν σοφίας, φθόνον ὑπερόριον τῆς  
 διανοίας ἐληλακότες ἄνευ προτροπῆς αὐτοκέλευστοι  
 ταῖς τῶν πλησίον ὠφελείαις ἐπαποδύονται, τὰ λό-  
 γων νάματα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκείνων δι' ὧτων ἐπ-  
 αντλοῦντες εἰς μετουσίαν τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπιστήμης· καὶ  
 ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ὥσπερ εὐβλαστα καὶ εὐγενῆ μοσχεύ-  
 ματα νέους εὐφνεῖς, γεγήθασιν οἰόμενοι κληρονό-  
 μους ἀνευρηκέναι τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πλούτου, ὃς μόνος  
 ἀληθεία πλοῦτός ἐστι, καὶ παραλαβόντες γεωργοῦσι  
 τὰς ψυχὰς δόγμασι καὶ θεωρήμασι, μέχρις ἂν  
 στελεχωθεῖσαι καρπὸν τὸν καλοκάγαθίας ἐνέγκωσι.

76 τοιαῦτα τοῖς νόμοις ἀγάλματα συνύφαν-  
 ται καὶ πεποίκιλται πρὸς εὐπορίαν ἀπόρων, οὓς  
 ἐπὶ μόνῃς κρίσεως ἐλεεῖν οὐ θεμιτόν· ἔλεος γὰρ ἐπ'  
 ἀτυχήμασιν, ὃ δ' ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ πονηρευόμενος  
 77 οὐκ ἀτυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἄδικος. τιμωρία δ' ἐπ' ἀδίκους  
 ὡς ἐπὶ δικαίοις τιμαὶ βεβαιούσθωσαν· ὥστε μηδεὶς  
 μοχθηρὸς ἄπορος ὑπείλλων καὶ ὑποστέλλων ἀχρη-  
 ματίας οἴκτω τὸ δίκην δοῦναι παρακρονέσθω,  
 δεδρακῶς οὐκ ἐλέου—πόθεν;—ἀλλ' ὀργῆς ἄξια. καὶ  
 ὃ δικάζειν εἰσιὼν καθάπερ ἀργυραμοιβὸς ἀγαθὸς  
 διαιρεῖτω καὶ διακρινέτω τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων, ἵνα μὴ φύρηται συγχεόμενα τοῖς παρασῆ-  
 78 μοις τὰ δόκιμα. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα πρὸς τε  
 ψευδομάρτυρας καὶ δικαστὰς ἔνεστι λέγειν· ὑπὲρ δὲ  
 τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν ἰτέον ἐπὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν

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<sup>a</sup> For the application of ἀγάλματα to beautiful thoughts and qualities cf. *De Sob.* 38 (and possibly 3) and § 238 of this treatise, also θεοῦ μνημῆν ἀγαλματοφορεῖν *De Virt.* 165.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 74-78

but make it his ambition to share the advantage of his strength with those who have none of their own left to brace them. All who have drawn water <sup>75</sup> from wisdom's wells banish a grudging spirit from the confines of the mind and needing no bidding save their own spontaneous instinct gird themselves up to benefit their neighbours and pour into their souls through the channel of their ears the word-stream which may make them partakers of their own knowledge. And when they see young people gifted by nature like fine thriving plants, they rejoice to think that they have found some to inherit the spiritual wealth which is the only true wealth. They take them in hand and till their souls with the husbandry of principles and doctrines until on their full grown stems they bear the fruit of noble living.

Such gems <sup>a</sup> of varied beauty are inter- <sup>76</sup> woven in the laws, bidding us give wealth to the poor, and it is only on the judgement seat that we are forbidden to show them compassion. Compassion is for misfortunes, and he who acts wickedly of his own free will is not unfortunate but unjust. Let punishment be meted to the unjust as surely as <sup>77</sup> honours to the just. And therefore let no cowering, cringing rogue of a poor man evade his punishment by exciting pity for his penniless condition. His actions do not deserve compassion, far from it, but anger. And therefore one who undertakes to act as judge must be a good money changer, sifting with discrimination the nature of each of the facts before him, so that genuine and spurious may not be jumbled together in confusion. There is much <sup>78</sup> else which might be said about false witnesses and judges, but to avoid prolixity we must proceed to

## PHILO

δέκα λογίων, ὃ κεφαλαιώδει τύπῳ καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον κεχρησμώδηται, τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν·  
 “ οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.”

- 79 XIV. <sup>1</sup> Πᾶν μὲν πάθος ἐπίληπτον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἄμετρος καὶ πλεονάζουσα ὀρμὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν κίνησις ὑπαίτιος· ἐκότερον γὰρ τούτων <τί> ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἢ παλαιὸν πάθος ἐξηπλωμένον; εἴ τις οὖν μὴ μέτρα ταῖς ὀρμαῖς ὀρίζει μηδὲ χαλινὸν ὡσπερ τοῖς ἀφηνιασταῖς ἵπποις ἐντίθησι, πάθει χρῆται δυσιάτῳ, κᾶπειτα λήσεται διὰ τὸν ἀφηνιασμόν ἐξενεχθεὶς οἷα ὑπὸ ἀρμάτων ἠνίοχος εἰς φάραγγας ἢ βάραθρα δυσαναπόρευτα,
- 80 ἐξ ὧν μόλις ἔστι σώζεσθαι. τῶν δὲ παθῶν οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀργαλέον ὡς ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἀπόντων ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἀγαθῶν, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὄντων, χαλεποὺς
- [349] καὶ ἀνηνύτους | ἔρωτας ἐντίκτουσα· ἐπιτείνει γὰρ καὶ ἐπελαύνει μέχρι πορρωτάτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον,<sup>2</sup> φεύγοντος ἔστιν ὅτε τοῦ διωκομένου κατα-
- 81 φρονητικῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ νῶτα ἀλλ' ἀντικρῦ. ὅταν γὰρ ἐπιτρέχουσαν αἰσθηται μετὰ σπουδῆς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἠρεμήσαν ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δελεάσαι καὶ ἐλπίδα συλλήψεως τῆς [καθ<sup>2</sup>] αὐτοῦ παρασχεῖν, ἐξαναχωρεῖ μακροτέροις διαστήμασι κατακερτομοῦν· ἢ δὲ ἀπολειπομένη καὶ ὑστερίζουσα σφαδάζει Ταντάλειον τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρονσα κακοδαίμονι ψυχῇ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον λόγος ἔχει ποτὸν μὲν ἀρύσασθαι βουλόμενον ἀδυνατεῖν, ὑποφεύγοντος ὕδατος, εἰ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The title Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις is not required, having been expressed above. Cohn here begins a fresh numeration of chapters. <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀπορον.

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's conception of ἐπιθυμία see note to *De Dec.* 142, and General Introduction to this Volume, p. x.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 78-81

the last of the ten Great Words. This, which like each of the rest was delivered in the form of a summary, is "Thou shalt not covet."<sup>a</sup>

XIV. Every passion is blameworthy. This follows 79 from the censure due to every "inordinate and excessive impulse" and to "irrational and unnatural movements" of the soul,<sup>b</sup> for both these are nothing else than the opening out of a long-standing passion. So if a man does not set bounds to his impulses and bridle them like horses which defy the reins he is the victim of a wellnigh fatal passion, and that defiance will cause him to be carried away before he knows it like a driver borne by his team into ravines or impassable abysses whence it is hardly possible to escape. But none of the passions is so 80 troublesome as covetousness or desire of what we have not, things which seem good, though they are not truly good. Such desire breeds fierce and endless yearnings; it urges and drives the soul ever so far into the boundless distance while the object of the chase often flies insolently before it, with its face not its back turned to the pursuer.<sup>c</sup> For when it 81 perceives the desire eagerly racing after it it stands still for a while to entice it and provide a hope of its capture, then it is off and away, mocking and railing as the interval between them grows longer and longer. Meanwhile the desire outdistanced and losing ground is in sore distress and inflicts on the wretched soul the punishment of Tantalus,<sup>d</sup> who, as the story goes, when he would get him something to drink could not because the water slipt away,

<sup>b</sup> Both these phrases are Stoic definitions of *πάθος*. See *S. V. F.* index *s. v.* *πάθος*.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Dec.* 146.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *De Dec.* 149.

## PHILO

καρπὸν ἐθελήσειε δρέψασθαι, πάντας ἀφανίζεσθαι,  
 82 στερουμένης τῆς περὶ τὰ δένδρα εὐφορίας. ὡς γὰρ  
 αἱ ἀμείλικτοι καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητοι δέσπουναι τοῦ σώ-  
 ματος, δίψα <καὶ> πείνα, κατατείνουσιν αὐτὸ μᾶλ-  
 λον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἐκ βασανιστοῦ τροχιζομένων  
 ἄχρι θανάτου πολλάκις, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐξηγριω-  
 μένας τιθασεύσει ποτοῖς καὶ σιτίοις, οὕτως ἡ ἐπι-  
 θυμία κενὴν ἀποδείξασα τὴν ψυχὴν λήθη μὲν τῶν  
 παρόντων, μνήμη δὲ τῶν μακρὰν ἀφεστηκότων  
 οἴστρον καὶ μανίαν ἀκάθεκτον ἐγκατασκευάσασα,  
 βαρυτέρας μὲν τῶν πρότερον δεσποινῶν ὁμωνύμους  
 δ' ἐκείναις ἀπειργάσατο, δίψαν τε καὶ πείναν, οὐ  
 τῶν περὶ γαστρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων,  
 δόξης, ἡγεμονιῶν, εὐμορφίας, ἄλλων ἀμυθῆτων ὅσα  
 κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ζηλωτὰ καὶ περιμάχητα  
 83 εἶναι δοκεῖ. καὶ καθάπερ ἡ λεγομένη παρὰ τοῖς  
 ἰατροῖς ἐρπηνώδης νόσος οὐκ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἴσταται  
 χωρίου, κινεῖται δὲ καὶ περιθεῖ καί, ὡς αὐτὸ που  
 δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, διέρπει πάντῃ σκιδναμένη καὶ χρο-  
 μένη, πᾶσαν τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν τοῦ σώματος  
 μερῶν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄκρας ἄχρι ποδῶν συλλαμβά-  
 νουσα καὶ συναίρουσα,<sup>1</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ  
 ἐπιθυμία δι' ὅλης ἄπτουσα τῆς ψυχῆς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ  
 τὸ βραχύτατον ἀπαθὲς αὐτῆς ἐᾷ, μιμουμένη τὴν ἐν  
 ἀφθόνῳ ὕλη πυρὸς δύναμιν· ἐξάπτει γὰρ καὶ ἀνα-  
 φλέγει, μέχρις ἂν διαφαγοῦσα πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐξ-  
 84 αναλώσῃ. XV. τοσοῦτον ἄρα καὶ οὕτως κακὸν  
 ὑπερβάλλον ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ δεῖ

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey for mss. *συνείρουσα*, which would mean

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 81-84

and when he wished to pluck fruit it all vanished and the rich produce of the trees was turned into barrenness. For just as those unmerciful and 82 relentless mistresses of the body, hunger and thirst, rack it with pains as great as, or greater than, those of the sufferers on the tormentor's wheel, and often bring it to the point of death unless their savagery is assuaged by food and drink, so it is with the soul. Desire makes it empty through oblivion of what is present, and then through memory of what is far away it produces fierce and uncontrollable madness, and thus creates mistresses harsher than those just mentioned though bearing the same name, hunger and thirst, in this case, not for what gives gratification to the belly, but for money, reputation, government, beautiful women<sup>a</sup> and all the innumerable objects which are held in human life to be enviable and worthy of a struggle. And 83 just as the creeping sickness, as physicians call it, does not stand still in one place but moves about and courses round and round and justifies its name by creeping about, spreading in all directions, and gripping and seizing all parts of the body's system from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet, so does desire dart through the whole soul and leave not the smallest bit of it uninjured.<sup>b</sup> In this it imitates the force of fire working on an abundance of fuel which it kindles into a blaze and devours until it has utterly consumed it. XV. So great then 84 and transcendent an evil is desire, or rather it may be

<sup>a</sup> εὐμορφία, beauty in others, not in oneself, as § 89 shows.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Dec.* 150.

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“stringing together”—a sense which does not suit this description of the “creeping sickness.”

## PHILO

τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀπάντων πηγῇ τῶν κακῶν· σῦλα  
 γὰρ καὶ ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ χρεωκοπίαὶ συκοφανταί τε  
 καὶ αἰκίαὶ καὶ προσέτι φθοραὶ καὶ μοιχεῖαι καὶ  
 ἀνδροφονίαι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἰδιωτικὰ ἢ δημόσια ἢ  
 85 ἱερά ἢ βέβηλα ἀδικήματα πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐρρῦν; τὸ  
 γὰρ ἀψευδῶς ἂν λεχθὲν ἀρχέκακον πάθος ἐστὶν  
 ἐπιθυμία, ἧς ἐν τῷ βραχύτατον ἔγγονον, ἔρως, οὐχ  
 ἅπαξ ἀλλ' ἤδη πολλάκις ἀμυθῆτων κατέπλησε τὴν  
 οἰκουμένην συμφορῶν, ἃς οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας τῆς γῆς  
 [350] κύκλος ἐχώρησεν, | ἀλλὰ διὰ πλῆθος ὥσπερ ὑπὸ  
 χειμάρρου φορᾶς εἰς θάλατταν εἰσέπεσον, καὶ παν-  
 ταχοῦ πάντα πελάγη πολεμίων κατεπλήσθη νηῶν  
 καὶ ὅσα καινουργοῦσιν οἱ ναυτικοὶ πόλεμοι συνη-  
 νέχθη καὶ ἐπιπεσόντα ἀθρόα πάλιν εἰς νήσους καὶ  
 ἠπείρους ὑπεσύρη, διαυλοδρομήσαντα καθάπερ ἐν  
 86 ταῖς παλιρροίαις ἀφ' ὧν ἤρξατο φέρεσθαι. τρα-  
 νοτέραν δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἐνάργειαν<sup>1</sup> ληψόμεθα τὸν  
 τρόπον τοῦτον· ὅσων ἂν ἐπιθυμία προσάφηται,  
 μεταβολὴν ἀπεργάζεται τὴν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, οἶα  
 τὰ ἰοβόλα ζῶα καὶ τὰ θανάσιμα τῶν φαρμάκων.  
 87 τί δ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω; εἰ πρὸς χρήματα γένοιτο,  
 κλέπτας ἀποτελεῖ καὶ βαλαντιοτόμους καὶ λωπο-  
 δύτας καὶ τοιχωρύχους χρεωκοπίασι τε καὶ  
 παρακαταθηκῶν ἀρνήσεσι καὶ δωροδοκίαισι καὶ  
 ἱεροσυλίας καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις ἅπασιν ἐνόχους.  
 88 εἰ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλαζόνας, ὑπερόπτας,  
 ἀβεβαίους καὶ ἀνιδρύτους τὸ ἦθος, φωναῖς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐνέργειαν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 431.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 84-88

truly said, the fountain of all evils. For plunderings and robberies and repudiations of debts and false accusations and outrages, also seductions, adulteries, murders and all wrongful actions, whether private or public, whether in things sacred or things profane, from what other source do they flow? For the 85 passion to which the name of originator of evil can truly be given is desire, of which one and that the smallest fruit the passion of love <sup>a</sup> has not only once but often in the past filled the whole world with countless calamities, which, too numerous to be contained by the whole compass of the land, have consequently poured into the sea as though driven by a torrent, and everywhere the wide waters have been filled with hostile ships and all the fresh terrors created by maritime war have come into being, then fallen with all their mass on islands and continents, swept along backwards and forwards from their original home as in the ebb and flow of the tides.<sup>b</sup> But we shall gain a clearer insight into the 86 passion in the following way. Desire, like venomous animals or deadly poisons, produces a change for the worse in all which it attacks. What do I mean by this? If the desire is directed to money it 87 makes men thieves and cut-purses, footpads, burglars, guilty of defaulting to their creditors, repudiating deposits, receiving bribes, robbing temples and of all similar actions. If its aim is reputa- 88 tion they become arrogant, haughty, inconstant and unstable in temperament, their ears blockaded

<sup>b</sup> Philo is no doubt thinking primarily of Helen and the Trojan war, and also, one may well believe, of the wars caused by Antony's passion for Cleopatra. But he writes with much the same exaggeration as in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 16.

## PHILO

ὧτα πεφρακότας, ταπεινουμένους ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἐπαιρομένους διὰ τὰς τῶν πληθῶν ἀνωμαλίας ἐπαιούντων καὶ ψεγόντων ἀκρίτῳ φορᾶ, πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ φιλίαν ἀνεξετάστους, ὡς ῥαδίως ἐκάτερον ἀνθυπαλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα τούτοις ἀδελφὰ καὶ 89 συγγενῇ. πρὸς δὲ ἀρχὴν εἰ γένοιτο ἐπιθυμία, στασιώδεις, ἀνίσους, τυραννικούς τὰς φύσεις, ὠμοθύμους, ἐχθροὺς τῶν πατρίδων, ἀσθενεστέροις<sup>1</sup> δεσπότας ἀμειλίκτους, τὴν ἰσχὺν ἴσοις ἀσυμβάτους πολεμίους, δυνατωτέρων κόλακας εἰς τὴν δι' ἀπάτης ἐπίθεσιν. εἰ δὲ πρὸς σώματος κάλλος, φθορεῖς, μοιχοὺς, παιδεραστάς, ἀκολασίας καὶ λαγνείας ζηλωτάς, μεγίστων κακῶν ὡς εὐδαι- 90 μονικωτάτων ἀγαθῶν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ γλῶτταν φθάσασα μυρία ἐνεωτέρισεν· ἔνιοι γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἢ τὰ λεκτέα σιωπᾶν ἢ τὰ ἡσυχαστέα λέγειν, καὶ ἀναφθεγγομένοις<sup>2</sup> ἔπεται τιμωρὸς δίκη 91 καὶ ἔχεμυθοῦσι [καὶ] τοῦναντίον. ἀψαμένη δὲ τῶν περὶ γαστέρα παρέχεται γαστριμάργους, ἀκορέστους, ἀσώτους, ὑγροῦ καὶ διαρρέοντος<sup>3</sup> ζηλωτάς βίου, χαίροντας οἰνοφλυγίαις, ὀψοφαγίαις, ἀκράτου καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ἐδεσμάτων [καὶ] κακοὺς δούλους, περὶ συμπόσια καὶ τραπέζας ἰλυσπωμένους λίχνων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀσθενεστέρους.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀναφαινομένοις.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὑγροὺς διαρρέοντας.

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<sup>a</sup> Heinemann translates "die ihr Ohr (leerem) Gerede leihen." πεφρακότες can come either from φράσσω or φράζω, but neither verb, so far as I know, can bear any sense which combined with οὖς would mean "to lend an ear." The same 62



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 88-91

by the voices they hear,<sup>a</sup> deaf to all else, at once humbled to the ground and uplifted on high by the inconsistencies of the multitude who deal out praise and blame in an indiscriminate stream. They form friendships and enmities recklessly so that they easily change each for the other, and show every other quality of the same family and kinship as these.

If the desire is directed 89  
to office, they are factious, inequitable, tyrannical in nature, cruel-hearted, foes of their country, merciless masters to those who are weaker, irreconcilable enemies of their equals in strength and flatterers of their superiors in power as a preparation for their treacherous attack.

If the object is bodily beauty they are seducers, adulterers, pederasts, cultivators of incontinence and lewdness, as though these worst of evils were the best of blessings.

We have known desire to 90  
make its way to the tongue and cause an infinity of troubles, for some desire to keep unspoken what should be told or to tell what should be left unsaid, and avenging justice attends on utterance in the one case and silence in the opposite.

And when it takes hold of the region of the belly, it 91  
produces gourmands, insatiable, debauched, eagerly pursuing a loose and dissolute life, delighting in wine bibbing and gluttonous feeding, base slaves to strong drink and fish and dainty cates, sneaking

may be said of Mangey's "ex aurium iudicio pendent." I understand it to mean that the idle talk they listen to serves as a fence to exclude other advice. Philo has several times used *ἐπιφάρρειν ὄτα* for blocking or closing the ears from hearing something, e.g. *De Mig.* 191. An easier sense would perhaps be given by "close their ears to voices," but the dative can hardly mean this.

## PHILO

- τρόπον κυνιδίων, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἀθλίαν καὶ ἐπάρατον  
 συμβαίνει ζωὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι, παντὸς ἀργαλεω-  
 92 τέραν θανάτου. ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας  
 οἱ μὴ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισ γευσάμενοι φιλοσοφίας, ἀλλὰ  
 τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐστιαθέντες,  
 διερευνησάμενοι φύσιν ψυχῆς καὶ τριττὸν<sup>1</sup> εἶδος  
 ἐνιδόντες αὐτῇ,<sup>2</sup> τὸ μὲν λόγου, τὸ δὲ θυμοῦ, τὸ δ'  
 ἐπιθυμίας, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἡγεμόνι τὴν ἄκραν ἀπ-  
 [351] ἐνειμαν οἰκειότατον ἐνδιαίτημα κεφαλῆν, ἔνθα καὶ |  
 τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἰ τοῦ νοῦ<sup>3</sup> καθάπερ βασιλέως  
 93 δορυφόροι τάξεις παρίδρυνται, θυμῷ δὲ τὰ στέρνα,  
 τῇ μὲν ἵνα στρατιώτου τρόπον θώρακα ἀμπεχό-  
 μενος, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπαθῆς ἐν πάσιν, ἀλλὰ τοι  
 δυσάλωτος ἦ, τῇ δ' ἵνα καὶ πλησίον τοῦ νοῦ<sup>4</sup>  
 παρωκισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ γείτονος ὠφελῆται, κατ-  
 ἐπάδοντος αὐτὸν φρονήσει καὶ πραῦπαθῆ κατα-  
 σκευάζοντος, ἐπιθυμία δὲ τὸν περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν καὶ  
 94 τὸ καλούμενον διάφραγμα χῶρον· ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν  
 ἦκιστα μετέχουσιν λογισμοῦ πορρωτάτω τῶν βα-  
 σιλείων αὐτοῦ διωκίσθαι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπ' ἐσχατιαῖς,  
 καὶ πάντων ἀπληστότατον καὶ ἀκολαστότατον  
 οὖσαν θρεμμάτων ἐμβόσκεισθαι τόποις,<sup>5</sup> ἐν οἷς  
 τροφαί τε καὶ ὀχεῖται.
- 95 XVI. Πρὸς ἃ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα ἀπιδὼν ὁ ἱερώ-  
 τατος Μωυσῆς ἐκδύσασθαι τὸ πάθος καὶ μυσά-  
 ξάμενος ὡς αἰσχιστον καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων αἴτιον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τρίτον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. αὐτῆς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. αἰ τοῦ νόμου.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. νόμου.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. τροποῖς (sic).

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<sup>a</sup> The Platonic division of the soul into λόγος, θυμός and ἐπιθυμία and their location respectively in the head, chest,

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 91-95

like greedy little dogs round banqueting halls and tables, all this finally resulting in an unhappy and accursed life which is more painful than any death.

It was this which led those who had 92 taken no mere sip of philosophy but had feasted abundantly on its sound doctrines to the theory which they laid down. They had made researches into the nature of the soul and observed that its components were threefold, reason, high spirit and desire.<sup>a</sup> To reason as sovereign they assigned for its citadel the head as its most suitable residence, where also are set the stations of the senses like bodyguards to their king, the mind. To the spirited 93 part they gave the chest, partly that soldier-like clad with a breast-plate it would if not altogether scatheless be scarcely vanquished finally; partly that lying close to the mind it should be helped by its neighbour who would use good sense to charm it into gentleness. But to desire they gave the space round the navel and what is called the diaphragm. For it was right that desire so lacking 94 in reasoning power should be lodged as far as might be from reason's royal seat, almost at the outermost boundary, and that being above all others an animal<sup>b</sup> insatiable and incontinent it should be pastured in the region where food-taking and copulation dwell.

XVI. All these it seems the most holy Moses 95 observed and therefore discarded passion in general and detesting it, as most vile in itself and in its

and round the navel or diaphragm (*Timaeus* 69 E f., and elsewhere) has been frequently mentioned by Philo, e.g. *Leg. All.* i. 70-73, iii. 115.

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to Plato, *Timaeus* 70 E, where desire is called "a wild beast" (θρέμμα ἄγριον), whose manger (φάρτη) is the belly. See *Spec. Leg.* i. 148 and note.

## PHILO

ἀπέειπεν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὡς τινα τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἐλέποιν, ἧς ἀναιρεθείσης ἢ πειθαρχούσης  
 κυβερνήτῃ λογισμῶ πάντα διὰ πάντων εἰρήνης,  
 εὐνομίας, ἀγαθῶν τελείων, ἀναπεπλήσεται πρὸς  
 96 εὐδαίμονος βίου παντέλειαν. φιλοσύντομος δ' ὢν  
 καὶ εἰωθὼς ἐπιτέμνειν τὰ ἀπερίγραφα τῷ πλήθει  
 παραδειγματικῇ διδασκαλίᾳ μίαν τὴν περὶ γαστέρα  
 πραγματευομένην ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρχεται νουθετεῖν τε  
 καὶ παιδεύειν, ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οὐκέθ'  
 ὁμοίως ἀφηγιάσειν, ἀλλὰ σταλήσεσθαι τῷ τὴν  
 πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὡς ἡγεμονίδα μεμαθηκέναι τοῖς  
 97 σωφροσύνης νόμοις πειθαρχεῖν. τίς οὖν ἡ  
 διδασκαλία τῆς ἀρχῆς; συνεκτικώτατα δύο ἐστίν,  
 ἔδωδῆ καὶ πόσις. ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεστόμισε διατάγμασι καὶ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν  
 καὶ πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ—τὸ μέγιστον—πρὸς  
 98 εὐσέβειαν ἀγωγοτάτοις. ἀπάρχεσθαι γὰρ ἀπό τε  
 σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ θρεμμάτων καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων κελεύει καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς διανέμειν εἰς τε  
 θυσίας καὶ τοὺς ἱερωμένους, τὰς μὲν ἔνεκα εὐ-  
 χαριστίας τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ὑπὲρ εὐγονίας καὶ εὐφορίας  
 ἀπάντων, τοὺς δ' ἔνεκα τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἀγιοστείας,  
 μισθὸν ληψομένους τῶν περὶ τὰς ἱεουργίας  
 99 ὑπηρεσιῶν. ἐφίεται δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὶ γεύ-  
 σασθαί τινος ἢ μεταλαβεῖν, πρὶν διακρῖναι τὰς

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<sup>a</sup> Heinemann takes ἀρχή to mean the first of the desires. I understand it as carrying on ἀρχεται of the section before. Moses wishes to restrain ἐπιθυμία as a whole, but begins with “the appetite of the belly.” He now proceeds to describe the teaching given in this beginning (ἀρχεται however may simply = “proceed”).

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 95-99

effects, denounced especially desire as a battery of destruction to the soul, which must be done away with or brought into obedience to the governance of reason, and then all things will be permeated through and through with peace and good order, those perfect forms of the good which bring the full perfection of happy living. And being a lover 96 of conciseness and wont to abridge subjects of unlimited number by using an example as a lesson he takes one form of desire, that one whose field of activity is the belly, and admonishes and disciplines it as the first step, holding that the other forms will cease to run riot as before and will be restrained by having learnt that their senior and as it were the leader of their company is obedient to the laws of temperance.

What then 97 is the lesson which he takes as his first step? <sup>a</sup> Two things stand out in importance, food and drink; to neither of these did he give full liberty but bridled them with ordinances most conducive to self-restraint and humanity and what is chief of all, piety. For he bids them to take samples of their 98 corn, wine,<sup>b</sup> oil and live-stock and the rest as first fruits, and apportion them for sacrifices and for gifts to the officiating priests: for sacrifices, to give thanks for the fertility of their flocks and fields; to the priests, in recognition of the ministry of the temple that they may receive a reward for their services in the holy rites.<sup>c</sup> No one is per- 99 mitted in any way to taste or take any part of his fruits until he has set apart the first fruits, a rule

<sup>b</sup> This is the only way in which restraint in drinking is enjoined throughout these sections.

<sup>c</sup> See Deut. xviii. 4 and elsewhere. Cf. i. 132 ff.

## PHILO

ἀπαρχάς, ἅμα καὶ πρὸς ἄσκησιν τῆς βιωφελεστάτης ἐγκρατείας· ὁ γὰρ ταῖς περιουσίαις, αἷς ἤνεγκαν αἱ τοῦ ἔτους ὥραι, μαθὼν μὴ ἐντρέχειν,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ἀναμένων, ἄχρισ ἂν αἱ ἀπαρχαὶ καθοσιωθῶσι, τὸν ἀφηνιασμὸν τῶν ὀρμῶν ἔοικεν ἀναχαιτίζειν ἐξευμαρίζων τὸ πάθος.

- 100 XVII. | Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων μετουσίαν  
 [352] ἐφῆκε καὶ χρῆσιν ἀδεᾶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσι τῆς ἱερᾶς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῶν χερσαίων ἢ ἐνύδρων ἢ πτηνῶν ἐστὶν εὐσαρκότατα καὶ πιότατα, γαργαλίζοντα καὶ ἐρεθίζοντα τὴν ἐπίβουλον ἡδονήν, πάντα ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπέειπεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὴν ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων δελεάσαντα γεῦσιν ἀπληστίαν ἐργάσεται, δυσίατον κακὸν ψυχαῖς τε καὶ σώμασιν· ἀπληστία γὰρ τικτεῖ δυσπεψίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων ἀρχή τε καὶ  
 101 πηγὴ. χερσαίων μὲν οὖν τὸ συνῶν γένος ἡδιστον ἀνωμολόγηται παρὰ τοῖς χρωμένοις, ἐνύδρων δὲ τὰ γένη τῶν ἀλεπίδων. . . .<sup>2</sup> πρὸς γὰρ ἐγκράτειαν, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ἱκανὸς ὢν ἀλείψαι τοὺς εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς δι' ὀλιγοδείας καὶ εὐκολίας γυμνάζει καὶ συγκροτεῖ, πειρώμενος  
 102 ἀφελεῖν πολυτέλειαν· οὔτε σκληραγωγίαν, ὡς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος νομοθέτης, ἀποδεξάμενος οὔτε τὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συντρέχειν.

<sup>2</sup> For the supposed lacuna see note b.

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<sup>a</sup> In this and the following sections the prohibition of certain kinds of beasts, fishes, and birds is based on the supposition that they are the most appetizing and to abstain from them encourages self-control. It will be seen that from § 106 onwards a totally different line of argument is adopted, viz. that philosophical and moral lessons are intended by the distinctions.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 99-102

which also serves to give practice in the self-restraint which is most profitable to life. For he who has learnt not to rush to seize the abundant gifts which the seasons of the year have brought, but waits till the first fruits have been consecrated, clearly allays passion and thus curbs the restiveness of the appetites.

XVII. At the same time he also denied to the 100 members of the sacred Commonwealth unrestricted liberty to use and partake of the other kinds of food. All the animals of land, sea or air whose flesh is the finest and fattest, thus titillating and exciting the malignant foe pleasure, he sternly forbade them to eat, knowing that they set a trap for the most slavish of the senses, the taste, and produce gluttony, an evil very dangerous both to soul and body. For gluttony begets indigestion which is the source and origin of all distempers and infirmities.<sup>a</sup> Now among the different kinds 101 of land animals there is none whose flesh is so delicious as the pig's, as all who eat it agree, and among the aquatic animals the same may be said of such species as are scaleless.<sup>b</sup> . . . Having special gifts for inciting to self-control those who have a natural tendency to virtue, he trains and drills them by frugality and simple contentedness and endeavours to get rid of extravagance. He approved neither of rigorous austerity like 102 the Spartan legislator, nor of dainty living, like

<sup>b</sup> Cohn supposes that some words have fallen out as "these therefore Moses forbade to be eaten." It would certainly explain the γάρ that follows, which otherwise must refer back to § 100. Otherwise it does not seem very conclusive. If there is a lacuna, it may perhaps have begun with καὶ ἀπτερύγων ("and finless").

## PHILO

- ἀβροδίαιτον, ὡς ὁ τοῖς Ἰωσι καὶ Συβαρίταις τὰ  
 περὶ θρύψιν καὶ χλιδὴν εἰσηγησάμενος, ἀλλὰ μέσσην  
 ἀτραπὸν ἀμφὸν ἀνατεμὼν τὸ μὲν σφοδρὸν ἐχάλασε,  
 τὸ δ' ἀνειμένον ἐπέτεινε, τὰς ἐφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν  
 ἄκρων ὑπερβολὰς ὡς ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῶ κερασά-  
 μενος τῇ μέσῃ, πρὸς ἁρμονίαν βίου καὶ συμφωνίαν  
 ἀνεπίληπτον· ὅθεν οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ  
 πεφροντισμένως οἷς χρηστέον ἢ τούναντίον διετά-  
 103 ξατο. θηρία ὅσα σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 ἄπτεται τάχα μὲν ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὰ  
 αὐτὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων πάσχειν οἷς διατίθησι·  
 Μωυσῆ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀπολαύσεως ἀνέχειν δοκεῖ,  
 <εἰ> καὶ προσηνεστάτην καὶ ἡδίστην εὐωχίαν  
 παρασκευάζει, λογιζόμενος τὸ πρέπον ἡμέρῳ ψυχῇ·  
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς διατιθεῖσιν ἁρμόττει τὰ παραπλήσια  
 παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἀντιδιατιθέσθαι, μὴ  
 λάθωσιν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἀγρίου πάθους, θηριωθέντες.
- 104 καὶ τοσαύτη χρῆται προφυλακῇ τοῦ πράγματος,  
 ὥστε μακρόθεν ἀνεῖρξαι βουλόμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 λεχθέντα ὄρμην ἀπαγορεῦσαι καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων  
 σαρκοβόρων ἀνὰ κράτος χρήσεως, τὰ ποηφάγα  
 διακρίνας εἰς ἡμέρους ἀγέλας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν φύσιν  
 ἐστὶ τιθασά, τροφαῖς ἡμέροις αἷς ἀναδίδωσι γῆ  
 105 χρώμενα καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἐπιβουλήν πραγματευόμενα.
- [353] XVIII. | δέκα δ' ἐστὶν ἀριθμῶ· μόσχος, ἀμνός,  
 χίμαρος, ἔλαφος, δορκάς, βούβαλος, τραγέλαφος,  
 πύγαργος, ὄρυξ, καμηλοπάρδαλις. αἰεὶ γὰρ τῆς  
 ἀριθμητικῆς θεωρίας περιεχόμενος, ἦν ἀκριβῶς

<sup>a</sup> Or "tendency to such vindictiveness." For μακρόθεν see App. p. 432.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xiv. 4 f. The correctness of the English equivalents must be regarded as uncertain.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 102-105

him who introduced the Ionians and Sybarites to luxurious and voluptuous practices. Instead he opened up a path midway between the two. He relaxed the overstrained and tightened the lax, and as on an instrument of music blended the very high and the very low at each end of the scale with the middle chord, thus producing a life of harmony and concord which none can blame. Consequently he neglected nothing, but drew up very careful rules as to what they should or should not take as food.

Possibly it might be thought just <sup>103</sup> that all wild beasts that feed on human flesh should suffer from men what men have suffered from them. But Moses would have us abstain from the enjoyment of such, even though they provide a very appetizing and delectable repast. He was considering what is suitable to a gentle-mannered soul, for though it is fitting enough that one should suffer for what one has done, it is not fitting conduct for the sufferers to retaliate it on the wrongdoers, lest the savage passion of anger should turn them unawares into beasts. So careful is he against this <sup>104</sup> danger that wishing to restrain by implication the appetite for the food just mentioned,<sup>a</sup> he also strictly forbade them to eat the other carnivorous animals. He distinguished between them and the graminivorous which he grouped with the gentle kind since indeed they are naturally tame and live on the gentle fruits which the earth produces and do nothing by way of attempting the life of others. XVIII. They are the calf, the lamb, the kid, the <sup>105</sup> hart, the gazelle, the buffalo, the wild goat, the pygarg, the antelope, and the giraffe, ten in all.<sup>b</sup> For as he always adhered to the principles of

## PHILO

κατανενόηκεν ὅτι πλείστον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι δύναται, οὐδὲν οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα νομοθετεῖ μὴ προσπαραλαβὼν καὶ ὡσπερ ἐφαρμόσας τὸν οἰκείον τοῖς νομοθετουμένοις (ἀριθμόν). ἀριθμῶν δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος τελειότατος ἢ δεκάς καί, ὡς φησι Μωυσῆς, ἱερώτατός τε καὶ ἅγιος, ᾧ τὰ γένη τῶν καθαρῶν ζώων ἐπισφραγίζεται, βουλευθεὶς τὴν τούτων χρῆσιν ἀπονεῖμαι τοῖς μετέχουσι τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείας.

- 106 βάσανον δὲ καὶ δοκιμασίαν τῶν δέκα ζώων ὑπογράφεται κοινῇ κατὰ διττὰ σημεῖα, τό τε διχηλεῖν καὶ τὸ μηρυκᾶσθαι· οἷς γὰρ ἢ μηδέτερον ἢ θάτερον αὐτὸ μόνον πρόσσεστιν, ἀκάθαρτα. ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ σημεῖα ἀμφότερα σύμβολα διδασκαλίας καὶ μαθήσεως ἐπιστημονικωτάτης ἐστίν, ἧ πρὸς τὸ ἀσύγχυτον τὰ βελτίω τῶν ἐναντίων διακρίνεται.
- 107 καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ μηρυκώμενον ζῶον, ὅταν διατεμὸν τὴν τροφήν ἐναπερείσῃται τῇ φάρυγγι, πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνιμᾶται καὶ ἐπιλαίνει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰς κοιλίαν διαπέμπεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ παιδευόμενος, δεξάμενος δι' ὥτων τὰ σοφίας δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα παρὰ τοῦ διδάσκοντος, ἐπὶ πλεόν ἔχει τὴν μάθησιν οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν εὐθύς συλλαβέσθαι καὶ περιδράξασθαι κραταιότερον, ἄχρις ἂν ἕκαστον ὢν ἤκουσεν ἀναπολῶν μνήμη συνεχέσι μελέταις—αἱ δ' εἰσὶ κόλλα νοημάτων—ἐνσφραγίσῃται τῇ ψυχῇ βεβαίως τὸν τύπον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔοικεν ὄφελος ἢ τῶν νοημάτων βεβαία κατάληψις, εἰ μὴ προσγένοιτο διαστολή τούτων καὶ διαίρεσις εἰς τε αἴρεσιν ὢν χρῆ καὶ φυγὴν τῶν

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xi. 3 f., Deut. xiv. 6 f. For the allegorical inter-

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 105-108

numerical science, which he knew by close observance to be a paramount factor in all that exists, he never enacted any law great or small without calling to his aid and as it were accommodating to his enactment its appropriate number. But of all the numbers from the unit upwards ten is the most perfect, and, as Moses says, most holy and sacred, and with this he seals his list of the clean kinds of animals when he wishes to appoint them for the use of the members of his commonwealth.

He adds a general method for proving 106 and testing the ten kinds, based on two signs, the parted hoof and the chewing of the cud.<sup>a</sup> Any kind which lacks both or one of these is unclean. Now both these two are symbols to teacher and learner of the method best suited for acquiring knowledge, the method by which the better is distinguished from the worse, and thus confusion is avoided. For just as a cud-chewing animal after 107 biting through the food keeps it at rest in the gullet, again after a bit draws it up and masticates it and then passes it on to the belly, so the pupil after receiving from the teacher through his ears the principles and lore of wisdom prolongs the process of learning, as he cannot at once apprehend and grasp them securely, till by using memory to call up each thing that he has heard by constant exercises which act as the cement of conceptions, he stamps a firm impression of them on his soul. But the firm 108 apprehension of conceptions is clearly useless unless we discriminate and distinguish them so that we can choose what we should choose and avoid the

pretation of "dividing the hoof" and "chewing the cud" *cf. De Agr.* 131-145, and see App. p. 434.

## PHILO

- ἐναντίων, ἧς τὸ διχηλοῦν σύμβολον· ἐπεὶ τοῦ βίου διττὴ ὁδός, ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ κακίαν, ἢ δ' ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσα, καὶ δεῖ τὴν μὲν ἀποστρέφεισθαι, τῆς δὲ
- 109 μὴδέποτε ἀπολείπεισθαι. XIX. διὰ τοῦθ' ὅσα ἢ μονώνυχχα ἢ πολύχηλα τὰ μὲν ἀκάθαρτα, ὅτι αἰνίττεται μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, καθάπερ κοίλου καὶ περιφεροῦς καὶ ἀνάντους ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάντους, τὰ δ' ὅτι πολλὰς
- [354] ὁδοὺς μᾶλλον δ' ἀνοδίας ἐμφαίνει τῷ | βίῳ πρὸς ἀπάτην· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον ἐν πλήθει τὴν ἀνυσιμωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην ἀτραπὸν καταλαβεῖν.
- 110 XX. Τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν χερσαίων τοὺς ὄρους θεὸς ἄρχεται καὶ τῶν ἐνύδρων τὰ πρὸς ἐδωδὴν καθαρὰ διαγράφειν, σημειωσάμενος καὶ ταῦτα διττοῖς χαρακτῆρσι, πτέρυξι καὶ λεπίσι· τὰ γὰρ ἢ μὴδέτερον ἢ θάτερον ἔχοντα παραπέμπει καὶ παραιτεῖται. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ λεκτέον.
- 111 ὅσα μὲν ἢ ἀμφοῖν ἀμέτοχα ἢ τοῦ ἑτέρου, κατασύρεται πρὸς τοῦ ῥοώδους ἀντέχειν ἀδυνατοῦντα τῇ βίᾳ τῆς φορᾶς· οἷς δ' ἑκάτερον πρόσσεστιν, ἀποστρέφει (καὶ) μετωπηδὸν ἀνθίσταται καὶ φιλονεικοῦντα πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον προθυμίαις καὶ τόλμαις ἀηττήτοις γυμνάζεται, ὡς ὠθούμενά τε ἀντωθεῖν καὶ διωκόμενα ἀντεπιτρέχειν, ὁδοὺς ἐν δυσοδοίαις ἀναστέλλοντα εὐρείας πρὸς διεξόδους
- 112 εὐμαρεῖς. σύμβολα δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστί, τὰ μὲν

<sup>a</sup> That πολύχηλα is not a mere casual addition is shown by the interpretation given of it in the next words. But there is no foundation for it in Leviticus or Deuteronomy, nor in Philo's discussion of διχηλεῖν in *De Agr.* Nor am I clear what zoologically it means ("many-toed"?). Heinemann translates "Vielhufer"; Mangey "quae plures ungulas habent." All I can suggest is that Philo supposes that, as the stress is

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 108-112

contrary, and this distinguishing is symbolized by the parted hoof. For the way of life is twofold, one branch leading to vice, the other to virtue and we must turn away from the one and never forsake the other. XIX. Therefore all creatures whose hooves are uniform or multiform<sup>a</sup> are unclean, the one because they signify the idea that good and bad have one and the same nature, which is like confusing concave and convex or uphill and downhill in a road; the multiform because they set before our life many roads, which are rather no roads, to cheat us, for where there is a multitude to choose from it is not easy to find the best and most serviceable path.

XX. After laying down these limitations for the land animals he proceeds to describe such creatures of the water as are clean for eating. These too he indicates by two distinguishing marks, fins and scales; all that lack either or both he dismisses and repudiates.<sup>b</sup> I must state the reason for this which is appropriate enough. Any that fail to possess both or one of these marks are swept away by the current unable to resist the force of the stream; those who possess both throw it aside, front and stem it and pertinaciously exercise themselves against the antagonist with an invincible ardour and audacity. When they are pushed they push back, when pursued they hasten to assail, where their passage is hampered they open up broad roads and obtain easy thoroughfares. These two kinds of fish are symbolical, the first of a pleasure-

laid upon the "two" in διχηλεῖν, if there are animals πολύχηλα they will be unclean also. See also App. p. 434.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xi. 9 ff., Deut. xiv. 9 f.

## PHILO

πρότερα φιληδόνου ψυχῆς, τὰ δ' ὕστερα καρτερίαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν ποθούσης· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἄγουσα κατάντης ἐστὶ καὶ ῥάστη, συρμὸν ἀπεργαζομένη μᾶλλον ἢ περίπατον, ἀνάντης δὲ ἡ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐπίπονός μὲν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ὠφέλιμος· καὶ ἡ μὲν ὑποφέρει καὶ ὑπονοστεῖν ἀναγκάζει τῷ πρανεῖ κατάγουσα, μέχρις ἂν εἰς τὰ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς ἀποβράσῃ, ἡ δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄγει τοὺς μὴ προκαμόντας ἀθανατίζουσα, τὸ τραχὺ καὶ δυσαναπόρευτον αὐτῆς ἰσχύσαντας ὑπομεῖναι.

- 113 XXI. Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἰδέας ἐχόμενος τῶν ἐρπετῶν ὅσα ἢ ἄποδα ἢ<sup>1</sup> συρμῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἰλυσπώμενα ἢ τετρασκελῆ καὶ πολὺποδα φησὶν εἶναι πρὸς ἐδωδὴν οὐ καθαρὰ, πάλιν αἰνιττόμενος διὰ μὲν ἐρπετῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ κοιλίαις<sup>2</sup> τὸν αἰθυίης τρόπον ἐμφορουμένους καὶ γαστρὶ τῇ ταλαίνῃ δασμοὺς ἀπαύστως εἰσφέροντας ἀκράτου, πεμμάτων, ἰχθύων, συνόλως ὅσα σιτοπόνων καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν τετεχνιτευμένα περιεργαίαι μετὰ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων δημιουργοῦσιν ἀναρριπίζουσαι καὶ προσαναφλέγουσαι τὰς ἀπλήστους καὶ ἀκορέστους ἐπιθυμίας, διὰ δὲ τῶν τετρασκελῶν καὶ πολυπόδων τοὺς μὴ ἐνὸς πάθους, ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ συμπάντων κακοῦς δού-

<sup>1</sup> As the *ἄποδα* are presumably the same as the *συρμῷ* κτλ. Heinemann would substitute *καὶ*. Perhaps omit *ἢ*.

<sup>2</sup> See note *b*.

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<sup>a</sup> Lev. xi. 42. E.V. "Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four or whatsoever hath many feet." LXX *πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τέσσαρα διὰ παντός, ὁ πολυπληθεὶ ποσίν*, which would naturally mean that the four-

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 112-113

loving soul, the latter of one to which endurance and self-control are dear. For the road that leads to pleasure is downhill and very easy, with the result that one does not walk but is dragged along; the other which leads to self-control is uphill, toilsome no doubt but profitable exceedingly. The one carries us away, forced lower and lower as it drives us down its steep incline, till it flings us off on to the level ground at its foot; the other leads heavenwards the immortal who have not fainted on the way and have had the strength to endure the roughness of the hard ascent.

XXI. Holding to the same method he declares 113 that all reptiles which have not feet but wriggle along by trailing their belly, or are four-legged and many footed are unclean for eating.<sup>a</sup> Here again he has a further meaning: by the reptiles he signifies persons who devote themselves to their bellies<sup>b</sup> and fill themselves like a cormorant,<sup>c</sup> paying to the miserable stomach constant tributes of strong drink, bake-meats, fishes and in general all the delicacies produced with every kind of viand by the elaborate skill of cooks and confectioners, thereby fanning and fostering the flame of the insatiable ever-greedy desires. By the four-legged and many footed he means the base slaves not of one passion only, desire,

legged and the many footed form a single class, and so Philo treats them in the interpretation that follows. The slaves of the four main passions are also slaves to the many specific passions into which these four are subdivided. For the same interpretation of the "four-legged" cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 139.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "those upon bellies," certainly a strange phrase. Cohn would correct to τῶν ἐπὶ κοιλίαις <πορευόμενων, τοὺς>. See *Hermes*, 1908, p. 209.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 434.

## PHILO

- λους, ἃ γένοι μὲν ἔστιν ἀριθμῶ τέτταρα, μυρία δὲ τοῖς εἶδεσιν. χαλεπή μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ἐνὸς δεσποτεία, βαρυτάτη δὲ καὶ ἀφόρητος, ὡς εἰκός, ἢ πλειόνων.
- 114 οἷς δὲ τῶν ἐρπετῶν ὑπεράνω σκέλη τῶν ποδῶν ἔστιν, ὥστε πηδᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς δύνασθαι, ταυτ' [355] ἐν | καθαροῖς ἀναγράφει, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν ἀκρίδων γένη καὶ τὸν ὄφιομάχην καλούμενον, πάλιν διὰ συμβόλων ἦθη καὶ τρόπους λογικῆς ψυχῆς διερευνώμενος· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ὀλκὴ φύσει βρίθουσα τοὺς ὀλιγόφρονας συνεφέλκεται τῷ πλήθει
- 115 τῶν σαρκῶν ἀυχενίζουσα καὶ πιέζουσα· μακάριοι δ' οἷς ἐξεγένετο κραταιότερα δυνάμει πρὸς τὴν ῥοπήν τῆς ὀλκῆς ἀντιβιάσασθαι,<sup>1</sup> παιδείας κανόσιν ὀρθῆς ἄνω πηδᾶν δεδιδαγμένοις ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τῶν χαμαιζήλων εἰς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους, ὧν ἡ θεὰ ζηλωτὴ καὶ περιμάχητος τοῖς ἐκουσίως ἀλλὰ μὴ παρέργως ἤκουσιν.
- 116 XXII. Ἐπεληλυθῶς οὖν τῷ λόγῳ τὰς τε τῶν χερσαίων καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐνύδρων ζώων ιδέας καὶ νόμοις αὐτὰς ὡς ἐνήν ἄριστα διακρίνας ἄρχεται καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν φύσιν τῶν ἐν ἀέρι προσεξετάζειν, μυρία γένη τῶν πτηνῶν ἀποδοκιμάσας ὅσα ἢ κατ' ἄλλων<sup>2</sup> ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φονᾶ, σαρκοβόρα καὶ ἰοβόλα καὶ συνόλως ἐπιβούλοις κεχρημένα ταῖς
- 117 δυνάμεσι. φάττας δὲ καὶ περιστερὰς καὶ τρυγόνας

<sup>1</sup> Cohn places the comma after ὀρθῆς.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn suggests ἀλόγων, and so probably Heinemann who translates "Tieren."

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xi. 21. The "snake-fighter" is the LXX translation of the Hebrew word given in R.V. as "cricket."

<sup>b</sup> Or "straight"; the creatures have to straighten their legs to leap. κανών is perhaps used in its original sense of a ruler to keep lines straight, in which sense it is often associated



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 113-117

but of all. For the passions fall under four main heads but have a multitude of species, and while the tyranny of one is cruel the tyranny of many cannot but be most harsh and intolerable. Creeping 114 things which have legs above their feet, so that they can leap from the ground, he classes among the clean<sup>a</sup> as for instance the different kinds of grasshoppers and the snake-fighter as it is called ; and here again by symbols he searches into the temperaments and ways of a reasonable soul. For the natural gravitation of the body pulls down with it those of little mind, strangling and overwhelming them with the multitude of the fleshly elements. Blessed are they 115 to whom it is given to resist with superior strength the weight that would pull them down, taught by the guiding lines of right<sup>b</sup> instruction to leap upward from earth and earth-bound things into the ether and the revolving heavens, that sight so much desired, so worthy a prize in the eyes of those who come to it with a will and not half-heartedly.

XXII. Having discoursed on the subject of the 116 different kinds of animals on land and in the water and laid down the best possible laws for distinguishing between them, he proceeds to examine also the remaining parts of the animal creation, the inhabitants of the air. Of these he disqualified a vast number of kinds, in fact all that prey on other fowls or on men, creatures which are carnivorous and venomous and in general use their strength to attack others.<sup>c</sup> But doves, pigeons, turtledoves, and 117

with ὀρθός. Cf. *De Fug.* 152 παιδείας κανὼν ὀρθῆς, preceded (§ 150) by ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκλινῆ παιδείαν.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xi. 13 ff., Deut. xiv. 12 ff. The "clean" species are not mentioned. See App. p. 434.

## PHILO

- καὶ τὰς γεράνων καὶ χηνῶν καὶ ὁμοιοτρόπων ἀγέλας ἐν τῇ τιθασῶ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τάξει καταριθμεῖ παρέχων τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν τούτων χρήσιν
- 118 ἀδεᾶ. οὕτως ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, γῆς ὕδατος ἀέρος, γένη παντοίων ζώων, χερσαῖα καὶ ἔνυδρα καὶ πτηνά, τῆς ἡμετέρας χρήσεως ὑφαιρῶν, καθάπερ ὕλην πυρός, σβέσιν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπεργάζεται.
- 119 XXIII. Κελεύει μέντοι μήτε θνησιμαίων μήτε θηριάλων προσίεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐ δέον κοινωνεῖν τραπέζης ἀνθρωπῶν<sup>1</sup> ἀτιθάσις θηρίοις, μόνον οὐ συνευωχούμενον ταῖς σαρκοφαγίαις, τὸ δ' ὡς τάχα μὲν βλαβερὸν καὶ νοσῶδες, ἐναποτεθηκότος τοῦ ἰχώρος μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τελευτῇ προκατεσχημένον ἀρμόττον ἦν ἄψαυστον διαφυλάττειν, αἰδουμένους τὰς φύσεως ἀνάγκας αἷς
- 120 προκατελήφθη. τοὺς περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια δεινούς καὶ βάλλειν θήρας εὐσκόπως ἐπισταμένους, ἥκιστα διαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ ἐπ' εὐθήροις ἄγραις ὑψαυχενούοντας καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν σὺν τοῖς κυνηγοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ σκύλαξι διανέμωσι τὰ μέρη τῶν ἐαλωκότων, ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν παρ'

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνθρώπων.

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<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "take for food," and so Heinemann "geniessen," Mangey "edere." But the word does not itself carry this sense, though Philo assumes in the sequel that such bodies would only be touched in order to use them as food. He uses the vaguer word, I think, because the LXX in Lev. v. 2, differing from the Hebrew, forbids or might be understood to forbid touching such bodies, ἐὰν ἀψηται παντὸς πράγματος ἀκαθάρτου, ἢ θνησιμαίου ἢ θηριαλώτου ἀκαθάρτου. Eating θνησιμαῖα is forbidden in Deut. xiv. 21, θηριάλωτα in Ex. xxii. 31, and both in Lev. xxii. 8 (not mentioned by Cohn or Heinemann).

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 117-120

the tribes of cranes, geese and the like he reckons as belonging to the tame and gentle class and gives to any who wish full liberty to make use of them as food. Thus in each element of the universe, 118 earth, water, air he withdrew from our use various kinds of each sort, land creatures, water creatures, flying fowls, and by this as by the withdrawal of fuel from a fire he creates an extinguisher to desire.

XXIII. Further he forbade them to have any- 119 thing to do with<sup>a</sup> bodies of animals that have died of themselves or have been torn by wild beasts, the latter because a man ought not to be table mate with savage brutes and one might almost say share with them the enjoyment of their feasts of flesh ; the former perhaps because it is a noxious and insanitary practice since the body contains dead serum as well as blood ; also it may be because the fitness of things bids us keep untouched what we find deceased, and respect the fate which the compulsion of nature has already imposed. Skilful 120 hunters who know how to hit their quarry with an aim that rarely misses the mark and preen themselves on their success in this sport, particularly when they share<sup>b</sup> the pieces of their prey with the other huntsmen as well as with the hounds, are extolled by most legislators among Greeks and

<sup>b</sup> If this is right (and *κοινωνικούς* below suggests that they keep some for themselves), it is a use of *διανέμειν* for which I can find no authority. The wording would be more natural if *τά* was omitted, but even then *σύν* is strange. The *κοινωνικόν* so praised lies in giving them to the huntsmen, and it is this which Philo thinks undesirable. "They distribute pieces to the huntsmen as well as to the dogs" is the sense required.

## PHILO

Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις νομοθετῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀνδρείους  
 [356] μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνικοὺς τὸ ἦθος, | μέμψαιτο  
 δ' ἄν [τις] εἰκότως ὁ τῆς ἱερᾶς εἰσηγητῆς πολιτείας,  
 ἄντικρυς ἀπειρηκῶς θησιμαίων καὶ θηριαλώτων  
 121 ἀπόλαυσιν διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας. εἰ δέ τις  
 τῶν ἀσκητῶν φιλογυμναστῆς γένοιτο καὶ φιλό-  
 θηρος, μελέτας καὶ προάγωνας ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι  
 πολέμων καὶ κινδύνων τῶν πρὸς ἐχθρούς, ὅποτε  
 χρήσαιτο εὐτυχία τῇ περὶ ἄγραν, [καὶ] τοὺς ἐαλω-  
 κότητας θῆρας προτιθέτω κυσὶν εὐωχίαν, μισθὸν ἢ  
 γέρας εὐτολμίας καὶ ἀνυπαιτίου συμμαχίας, αὐτὸς  
 δὲ μὴ ψανέτω προδιδασκόμενος ἐν ἀλόγοις ζώοις,  
 ἃ χρὴ καὶ περὶ ἐχθρῶν φρονεῖν, οἷς πολεμητέον οὐ  
 διὰ κέρδος ἄδικον λωποδυτούντων πράξεις <μιμου-  
 μένοις>,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ἦτοι διὰ πείραν<sup>2</sup> κακῶν ὧν προ-  
 πεπόνθασιν ἀμυνομένοις<sup>3</sup> ἢ δι' ἃ προσδοκῶσι  
 πείσεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Some insertion is required, but *κατὰ* after *ἄδικον* would serve equally well and be perhaps easier. See also note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Of the two mss. available here one omits *πείραν*, possibly rightly. *πέιρα* does not seem to be used like the English "experience" for something suffered, though it may be used in such phrases as *πέιραν λαμβάνειν* = "to gain experience in." To omit it involves taking *δι' ὧν* of causes in the past, and *δι' ἃ* of prospects in the future, but this, I think, could be paralleled from Philo.

<sup>3</sup> So mss. Cohn corrects to *ἀμυνομένους*. But the accusative and dative are both used to express the agent of the verbal in *-τέον*. See Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 369, where the dative is said to be the commoner of the two. The same rule will apply to the insertion of *μιμουμένοις* above, where Cohn prints *-ους*.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "would probably blame them." Heinemann

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 120-121

Barbarians, not only for their courage, but also for their liberality. But the author of the holy commonwealth might rightly blame them<sup>a</sup> since for the reasons stated he definitely forbade the enjoyment of bodies which died a natural death or were torn by wild beasts. If anyone of the devotees<sup>121</sup> of hard training who is a lover of gymnastic exercises becomes a lover of the chase also,<sup>b</sup> because he considers that it gives a preliminary practice for war and for the dangers incurred in facing the enemy, he should when he meets with success in the chase throw the fallen beasts to feast the hounds as a wage or prize for their courage and faithful assistance. He himself should not touch these carcasses, thus learning from his dealing with irrational animals what he should feel with regard to human enemies, who should be combated not for wrongful gain as foot-pads do, but in self-defence, either to avenge the injuries which he has suffered already or to guard against those which he expects to suffer in the future.

“has rightly blamed them,” which apart from the inaccuracy gives, I believe, a wrong sense. Philo does not speak dogmatically, but thinks that what he urges here may be fairly inferred from the prohibitions mentioned above. Indeed how could the seven species of “clean” game (§ 105) be obtained except by hunting?

<sup>b</sup> Or, as Heinemann and Mangey, “if a practiser (of virtue) should become a lover of gymnastics and hunting.” The version given above (taking *καί* = “also”) is based on the belief that *ἀσκητής* is not used absolutely in this way. It means “a practiser” and a practiser of what is indicated by the context, and that the body rather than virtue is being practised is indicated by *φιλογυμναστής*. Hunting is a special form of bodily exercise and while the *φιλόθηρος* must be a *φιλογυμναστής* the converse is not necessarily the case. For the motive here ascribed cf. *De Ios.* 3 and *Mos.* i. 60.

## PHILO

- 122 Ἐνιοι δὲ Σαρδανάπαλλοι τὴν ἀκρασίαν τὴν ἄγαν<sup>1</sup> ἀβροδίαιτον αὐτῶν χανδὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ ἀτελεΰτητον ἀποτείνοντες, καινὰς<sup>2</sup> ἐπινοοῦντες ἡδονάς, ἄθυτα παρασκευάζουσιν, ἄγχοντες καὶ ἀποπνίγοντες, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἄφeton ἐχρῆν ἔαν, τυμβεύοντες τῷ σώματι τὸ αἷμα· σαρκῶν γὰρ αὐτὸ μόνον ἀπολαύειν αὐταρκες ἦν, μηδενὸς ἐφαπτομένους τῶν συγγένειαν
- 123 πρὸς ψυχὴν ἐχόντων. ὅθεν ἐν ἐτέροις τίθησι νόμον περὶ αἵματος, μήθ' αἷμα μήτε στέαρ προσφέρεσθαι· τὸ μὲν αἷμα δι' ἣν εἶπον αἰτίαν ὅτι οὐσία ψυχῆς ἐστίν—οὐχὶ τῆς νοερᾶς καὶ λογικῆς ἀλλὰ τῆς αἰσθητικῆς, καθ' ἣν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις κοινὸν τὸ ζῆν συμβέβηκεν. XXIV. ἐκείνης γὰρ οὐσία πνεῦμα θεῖον καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ Μωυσῆν, ὃς ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ φησὶν ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ ἀρχηγέτῃ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐμφυσησάμενος πνοὴν ζωῆς τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἡγεμονικώτατον, τὸ πρόσωπον, ἔνθα αἱ δορυφόροι τοῦ νοῦ καθάπερ μεγάλου βασιλέως αἰσθήσεις παρίδρυνται· τὸ δ' ἐμφυσώμενον δῆλον ὡς αἰθέριον ἦν πνεῦμα καὶ εἰ δὴ τι αἰθερίου πνεύματος κρεῖσσον, ἅτε τῆς μακαρίας καὶ τρισμακαρίας φύσεως ἀπαύγασμα—
- 124 τὸ δὲ στέαρ, διότι πιότατον, πάλιν εἰς διδασκαλίαν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀρὰν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κενὰς.

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<sup>a</sup> Heinemann apparently takes ἄγχοντες καὶ ἀποπνίγοντες as governing τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς. (καί="even.") But the essence of the soul is clearly the blood and this is not strangled. I understand the participles to govern ζῶα, understood out of ἄθυτα. Strangling is not forbidden in so many words, but cf. Acts xv. 29 ἀπέχεσθαι . . . αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 122-124

But some of the type of Sardanapalus greedily extend their unrestrained and excessive luxury beyond all bounds and limits. They devise novel kinds of pleasure and prepare meat unfit for the altar by strangling and throttling the animals,<sup>a</sup> and entomb in the carcase the blood which is the essence of the soul<sup>b</sup> and should be allowed to run freely away. For they should be fully contented with enjoying the flesh only and not lay hold on what is akin to the soul; and therefore elsewhere<sup>c</sup> he legislates on the subject of blood that no one should put either it or the fat to his mouth. Blood is prohibited for the reason which I have mentioned that it is the essence of the soul, not of the intelligent and reasonable soul, but of that which operates through the senses, the soul that gives the life which we and the irrational animals possess in common. XXIV. For the essence or substance of that other soul is divine spirit, a truth vouched for by Moses especially, who in his story of the creation says that God breathed a breath of life upon the first man, the founder of our race, into the lordliest part of his body, the face,<sup>d</sup> where the senses are stationed like bodyguards to the great king, the mind. And clearly what was then thus breathed was ethereal spirit, or something if such there be better than ethereal spirit, even an effulgence of the blessed, thrice blessed nature of the Godhead. The fat is prohibited because it is the richest part

<sup>b</sup> See Lev. xvii. 11 and 14. LXX ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ. Cf. Deut. xii. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. iii. 17. As the law deals with fat and blood Heine-  
mann suspects *περὶ αἵματος* as a gloss, but the law is quoted  
for blood and not for fat.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. ii. 7. E.V. "into his nostrils." LXX "face."

## PHILO

- ἐγκρατείας καὶ ζῆλον αὐστηροῦ βίου, τὰ μὲν  
 ῥᾶστα καὶ κατὰ χειρὸς μεθιεμένου, φροντίδας δὲ  
 καὶ πόνους ἐθέλοντι ἔνεκα κτήσεως ἀρετῆς ὑπο-  
 125 μένοντος. ἧς χάριν αἰτίας ἀπὸ παντὸς ἱερείου δύο  
 ταῦτα ἐξαίρετα ὀλοκαυτοῦται, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἀπαρ-  
 [357] χαί, στέαρ τε καὶ αἷμα, τὸ | μὲν ὡς σπονδὴ τῷ  
 βωμῷ προσχεόμενον, τὸ δ' ὡς ὕλη φλογὸς ἐπι-  
 φερόμενον ἀντ' ἐλαίου διὰ τὴν πιότητα τῷ καθ-  
 ωσιωμένῳ καὶ ἱερῷ πυρί.
- 126 Μέμφεταιί τινες τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν γεγονότων ὡς  
 γαστριμάργους καὶ τὸ καθηδυπαθεῖν ὡς εὐδαιμο-  
 νικὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνοντας, οἷς  
 οὐκ ἀπέχρη κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸ μόνον τρυφᾶν, ἐν αἷς  
 αἰ χορηγίαι καὶ παρασκευαὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἄ-  
 φθονοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ <ἐν> ἐρημίαις ἀβάτοις καὶ ἀτρι-  
 βέσιν, ἀξιούντες ἐν ταύταις ἀγορὰς ἔχειν ἰχθύων  
 127 καὶ κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν εὐετηρία πάντων. εἶτ'  
 ἐπειδὴ σπάνις ἦν, συνιστάμενοι κατεβύων καὶ  
 κατηγοροῦν καὶ ἐδυσώπουν ἀναισχύντῳ θράσει τὸν  
 ἄρχοντα καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο νεωτερίζοντες  
 ἢ τυχεῖν μὲν ὦν ὠρέγοντο, τυχεῖν δὲ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ,  
 δυοῖν ἔνεκα· τοῦ τ' ἐπιδείξασθαι, ὅτι πάντα θεῷ  
 δυνατὰ πόρον ἐξ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἀνευρί-  
 σκοντι, καὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσασθαι τοὺς γαστρὸς ἀκρά-  
 128 τος καὶ ἀφηνιαστὰς ὀσιότητος. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς  
 θαλάττης ἀρθὲν ὀρτυγομήτρας νέφος ἐκχεῖται περὶ  
 τὴν ἕω καὶ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐφ'  
 ἡμερήσιον ἀνδρὸς εὐζώνου πανταχόθεν ἐν κύκλῳ

<sup>a</sup> Lev. iv. 7-10, and elsewhere.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 124-128

and here again he teaches us to practise self-restraint and foster the aspiration for the life of austerity which relinquishes what is easiest and lies ready to hand, but willingly endures anxiety and toils in order to acquire virtue. It is for this reason 125 that with every victim these two, the blood and the fat, are set apart as a sort of first fruits and consumed in their entirety. The blood is poured upon the altar as a libation, the fat because of its richness serves as fuel in place of oil and is carried to the holy and consecrated fire.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Moses censures some of his own day as gluttons 126 who suppose that wanton self-indulgence is the height of happiness, who not contented to confine luxurious living to cities where their requirements would be unstintedly supplied and catered for, demanded the same in wild and trackless deserts and expected to have fish, flesh and all the accompaniments of plenty exposed there for sale. Then, 127 when there was a scarcity, they joined together to accuse and reproach and brow-beat their ruler with shameless effrontery and did not cease from giving trouble until their desire was granted though it was to their undoing. It was granted for two reasons, first to show that all things are possible to God who finds a way out of impassable difficulties, secondly to punish those who let their belly go uncontrolled and rebelled against holiness. Rising 128 up from the sea in the early dawn there poured forth a cloud of quails whereby the camp and its environs were all round on every side darkened for a distance which an active <sup>c</sup> man might cover in a

<sup>b</sup> For §§ 126-131 see Num. xi., especially *vv.* 31-34.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 435.

## PHILO

συνεσκίαστο, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῆς τῶν ζώων πτήσεως  
 ὡσεὶ διπήχει<sup>1</sup> συναριθμουμένῳ διαστήματι τῆς γῆς  
 129 ἀφειστήκει πρὸς εὐμαρῆ σύλληψιν. εἰκὸς μὲν οὖν  
 τὸ τεράστιον τοῦ μεγαλουργηθέντος καταπλαγέντας  
 ἀρκεσθῆναι τῇ θείᾳ καὶ γεμισθέντας εὐσεβείας καὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 ταύτῃ τραφέντας ἀποσχέσθαι κρεωφαγίας· οἱ δὲ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπιθυμίαν ἐγείραντες ὡς ἐπὶ  
 μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἴεντο καὶ τὰ ζῶα ταῖς ἀμφοτέραις  
 χερσὶν ἐφελκόμενοι τοὺς κόλπους ἐπλήρουν, εἰτ'  
 ἐναποτιθέμενοι ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐφ' ἑτέρων σύλληψιν  
 ἐξήεσαν<sup>3</sup>—αἱ γὰρ ἄγαν πλεονεξίαι μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσι  
 —καὶ σκευάζοντες πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀπλήστως ἐνεφο-  
 ροῦντο, μέλλοντες οἱ κενοὶ φρενῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πλη-  
 130 σμονῆς ἀπόλλυσθαι. καὶ δῆτα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καθ-  
 ἄρσειι χολῆς ἐφθάρησαν, ὡς καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 περὶ αὐτοὺς πάθους τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβεῖν· ἐκλήθη  
 γὰρ “Μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας,” ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν  
 ἐν ψυχῇ, καθάπερ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ λόγος, μεῖζον κακόν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἶδει πῆχεως or εἰ δίπηχυ.

<sup>2</sup> So MSS. Cohn κᾶν. Mangey καὶ ταύτῃ <ἐν>τραφέντας.  
See note b.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐξίεσαν.

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<sup>a</sup> In E.V. (v. 31) “the wind let them fall about two cubits.”  
The LXX ἐπέβαλεν does not bring this out so clearly and Philo  
seems to suppose that the whole of their flight was at this  
height.

<sup>b</sup> Cohn and Mangey’s readings (see note 2) evidently  
mean that having been bred in piety they would have  
abstained. I greatly prefer the more forcible reading of the  
mss., which is by no means an absurd exaggeration. A  
state of great religious excitement does produce an independ-  
ence of food. Compare the description in *De Vit. Cont.* 35  
of the Therapeutae who “feasting on the rich banquet of  
doctrines” abstained from food for three or even six days.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 128-130

day, while the height of their flight<sup>a</sup> might be reckoned at about two cubits above the ground so as to make them easy to capture. It might have 129 been expected that awestruck by the marvel of this mighty work they would have been satisfied with this spectacle, and filled with piety and having it for their sustenance,<sup>b</sup> would have abstained from fleshly food. Instead they spurred on their lusts more than before and hastened to grasp what seemed so great a boon. With both hands they pulled in the creatures and filled their laps with them, then put them away in their tents, and, since excessive avidity knows no bounds, went out to catch others, and after dressing them in any way<sup>c</sup> they could devoured them greedily, doomed in their senselessness to be destroyed by the surfeit. Indeed they shortly perished through discharges 130 of bile,<sup>d</sup> so that the place also received its name from the disaster which befell them, for it was called "Monuments of Lust"<sup>e</sup>—lust than which no greater evil can exist in the soul as the story shows.

<sup>c</sup> If this is right, it is an odd extension of the cognate accusative; otherwise "dressing every kind (of quail)." But there is no reason to suppose that there were different kinds of quails. In the E.V. the quails are "spread abroad," *i.e.* cured by drying in the sun, which is rendered in the LXX by ἔψυξαν ἑαυτοῖς ψυγμούς "they dried for themselves dryings," a phrase which may have puzzled Philo. Heinemann and Mangey ignore ἰδέαν.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. v. 20. E.V. "until it come out at your nostrils, and it be loathsome unto you." Here the LXX for "loathsome" has εἰς χολέραν="nausea." But "discharges of bile" would be a possible equivalent, and probably the idea was assisted by "come out at your nostrils."

<sup>e</sup> E.V. Kibroth-hattaavah. Marg. that is "The graves of lust."

- 131 διὸ παγκάλως ἐν ταῖς παραινέσεσι Μωυσῆς φησιν· “ οὐ ποιήσει ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ” τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ἴσον τῷ “ μηδεὶς τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ χαριζέσθω ”· εὐαρεστείτω γάρ τις θεῷ, κόσμῳ, φύσει, νόμοις, σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι, φιλαυτίαν παραιτούμενος, εἰ μέλλει καλὸς καγαθὸς γενήσεσθαι.
- 132 XXV. Τοσαῦτα καὶ <περὶ> τῶν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναφερομένων ἀποχρώντως κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν εἴρηται πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν δέκα λογίων καὶ τῶν [358] τούτοις ὑποστελλόντων· | εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ μὲν φωνῇ θείᾳ χρησμοδηθέντα κεφάλαια γένη νόμων ἀποδείξαι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέρος πάντας οὓς διηρμήνευσε Μωυσῆς ὑποστέλλοντα<sup>1</sup> εἶδη, πρὸς τὸ ἀσύγχυτον τῆς ἀκριβοῦς καταλήψεως φιλοτεχνίας ἐδέησεν, ἥ χρησάμενος ἑκάστῳ τῶν γενῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς νομοθεσίας τὰ οἰκεῖα προσένειμα καὶ προσέφυσα.
- 133 Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄλλῃς. οὐ δεῖ δ’ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ὡσπερ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ τῶν δέκα συγγενῇ τινα τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐστίν, ἃ πρὸς ἕτερον γένος οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κοινωσίαν, οὕτως ἕνια κοινὰ πάντων συμβέβηκεν, οὐχ ἐνὶ ἡ δυσί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοῖς <δὲ> δέκα λογίοις
- 134 ἐφαρμόττοντα. ταῦτα δ’ εἰσὶν αἱ κοινωφελεῖς ἀρεταί· καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ τῶν δέκα χρησμῶν

<sup>1</sup> My correction for ὑποστέλλων τὰ (which Cohn retains). The change from ὑποστέλλοντα intransitive verb to transitive verb seems unnatural and awkward.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xii. 8. For παραινέσεις as a name for Deuteronomy = the more usual προτρεπτικοί (sc. λόγοι), cf. *De Agr.* 84.

<sup>b</sup> Not (as Heinemann) some laws, but the virtues, as ταῦτα below shows.

<sup>c</sup> Here as in ii. 63, where see note, I see no reason to depart from the established rule that ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν does not

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 131-134

And therefore most excellent are these words of 131  
Moses in his Exhortations, "Each man shall not do  
what is pleasing in his own sight,"<sup>a</sup> which is as much  
as to say "let no one indulge his own lust. Let a  
man be well pleasing to God, to the universe, to  
nature, to laws, to wise men and discard self love.  
So only will he attain true excellence."

XXV. In these remarks we have discussed the 132  
matters relating to desire or lust as adequately  
as our abilities allow, and thus completed our  
survey of the ten oracles, and the laws which are  
dependent on them. For if we are right in describ-  
ing the main heads delivered by the voice of God  
as generic laws, and all particular laws of which  
Moses was the spokesman as dependent species, for  
accurate apprehension free from confusion scientific  
study was needed, with the aid of which I have  
assigned and attached to each of the heads what  
was appropriate to them throughout the whole  
legislation.

Enough then of this. But we must not fail to 133  
know that, just as each of the ten separately has  
some particular laws akin to it having nothing in  
common with any other, there are some things<sup>b</sup>  
common to all which fit in not with some particular  
number<sup>c</sup> such as one or two but with all the ten  
Great Words. These are the virtues of universal 134  
value. For each of the ten pronouncements separ  
introduce a metaphor but a general or rough statement,  
particularly of numbers. "One or two" are examples; any  
law might conceivably fit in to three or four or any other  
number short of ten. Heinemann here as there translates  
"so zu sagen," but unless the phrase connotes something  
different from the English "so to speak," I can see no  
point in it.

## PHILO

- καὶ κοινῇ πάντες ἐπὶ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ θεοσέβειαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χορὸν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀλείφουσι καὶ προτρέπουσι, βουλαῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς ὑγιαίνοντας λόγους, λόγοις δὲ σπουδαίας πράξεις συνείροντες, ἵνα τὸ ψυχῆς ὄργανον εὐαρμόστως ὅλον δι' ὅλων συνηχῆ πρὸς ἐμμέλειαν βίου καὶ
- 135 συμφωνίαν ἀνεπίληπτον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡγεμονίδος τῶν ἀρετῶν, εὐσεβείας καὶ οἰσιότητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης εἴρηται πρότερον, νυνὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐπιτηδεύουσης ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῆ ταύταις δικαιοσύνης λεκτέον.
- 136 XXVI. <sup>1</sup>Ἐν τὸ δικαιοσύνης οὐ βραχὺ μέρος ἦν τὸ πρὸς δικαστήρια καὶ δικαστάς, οὐ πρότερον ἐποισάμην ὑπόμνησιν, ἥνικα τὰ τῶν μαρτυρίων ἐπὶ πλεον ἀπομηκύνων διεξῆειν ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν παραλειθῆναι τῶν ἐμφερομένων. οὐκ εἰωθὼς δὲ παλιλλογεῖν, εἰ μὴ πού τις ἀνάγκη γένοιτο βιαζομένων τῶν καιρῶν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἔασω, πρὸς δὲ τὰ
- 137 ἄλλα μέρη τρέψομαι τοσοῦτον προειπῶν. τὰ δίκαια, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, ἐντιθέναί δεῖ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐξάπτειν εἰς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ εἶναι σειόμενα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, αἰνιττόμενος διὰ τοῦ προτέρου, ὅτι χρὴ μὴ ὡσὶν ἀπίστοις παρακατατίθε-

<sup>1</sup> The mss. here have the heading *Περὶ δικαιοσύνης*, and Cohn begins a fresh numeration of chapters. Though the insertion of a heading would otherwise be justified by the important break at this point, it is unnecessary in view of the concluding words of the last section.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* §§ 55-78.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. vi. 6, 8 (also xi. 18). E.V. "These words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart . . . and thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes." In both places the word translated "frontlets" (whence the (head) phylacteries of

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 134-137

ately and all in common incite and exhort us to wisdom and justice and godliness and the rest of the company of virtues, with good thoughts and intentions combining wholesome words, and with words actions of true worth, that so the soul with every part of its being attuned may be an instrument making harmonious music so that life becomes a melody and a concert in which there is no faulty note. Of the queen of the virtues, piety or holiness, we have spoken earlier and also of wisdom and temperance. Our theme must now be she whose ways are close akin to them, that is justice. 135

XXVI. One and by no means an inconsiderable part of justice is that which is concerned with law courts and judges. This I have already<sup>a</sup> mentioned, when I dealt at length with the question of testimony in order to omit nothing of the points involved. As it is not my custom to repeat myself unless forced to do so by the pressure of the particular occasion I will say no more about it and with only so much preface address myself to the other parts of the subject. The law tells us that we must set the rules of justice in the heart and fasten them for a sign upon the hand and have them shaking before the eyes.<sup>b</sup> The first of these is a parable indicating that the rules of justice must not be committed to 137

Matt. xxiii. 5) is given in the LXX by ἀσάλευτον "unshaken." The sequel shows that Philo read σαλευτόν. See App. p. 435.

Actually these words prescribe obedience to God's law, and so belong rather to εὐσέβεια. Heinemann suggests that the description of them as δικαιώματα in v. 3 may have led him to dwell upon them here. Perhaps it is enough to say that as the Deuteronomic code, which he mostly quotes in the sequel, is largely concerned with δικαιοσύνη, they may be fairly quoted here, though they have other applications also.

## PHILO

σθαι τὰ δίκαια—πίστις γὰρ ἀκοαῖς οὐκ ἔνεστιν—,  
 [359] ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ <τὰ> πάντων ἄριστα | μα-  
 θημάτων<sup>1</sup> <ἐν>τυποῦν καὶ ταῦτα χαράττοντα σφρα-  
 138 γίσι δοκίμοις· διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ μὴ μόνον  
 ἐννοίας λαμβάνειν τῶν καλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα  
 πράττειν ἀνυπερθέτως—ἢ γὰρ χεὶρ πράξεως σύμ-  
 βολον, ἧς ἐξάπτειν καὶ ἐξαρτᾶν τὰ δίκαια προσ-  
 τάττει, σημεῖον ἔσσεσθαι τοῦτο φάσκων, καὶ τίνος  
 ἀντικρυς οὐ διείρηκε, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἑνός,<sup>2</sup> ὡς γέ μοι  
 δοκεῖ, πολλῶν δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἐν  
 139 οἷς ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος—· διὰ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου τὸ αἰεὶ  
 καὶ πανταχοῦ φαντασιοῦσθαι τὰ δίκαια καθάπερ  
 ἐγγυὺς ὄντα ὀφθαλμῶν· σάλον δ' ἐχέτω ταῦτα  
 κινούμενα, φησὶν, οὐχ ἴν' ἀβέβαια καὶ ἀνίδρυτα<sup>3</sup>  
 <ἦ>, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῇ κινήσει τὴν ὄψιν ἐκκαλῆ πρὸς  
 ἀρίδηλον θέαν· ὁράσεως γὰρ ἐπαγωγὸν κίνησις  
 ἐξερεθίζουσα καὶ ἀνεγείρουσα μᾶλλον δ' ἀκοιμή-  
 140 τούς καὶ ἐργηγορότας κατασκευάζουσα ὀφθαλμούς.  
 ὅτῳ δ' ἐξεγένετο τυπώσασθαι ἐν<sup>4</sup> τῷ  
 τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμματι μὴ ἡσυχάζοντα ἀλλὰ κινούμενα  
 καὶ ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείαις χρώμενα, τέλειος  
 ἀνὴρ ἀναγεγράφθω, μηκέτι ἐν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ  
 μαθηταῖς ἐξεταζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν διδασκάλοις καὶ  
 ὑφηγηταῖς, καὶ παρεχέτω τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀρύεσθαι  
 τῶν νέων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῶν λόγων καὶ δογ-  
 μάτων ἄφθονον νᾶμα· κἂν τῶν ἀτολμοτέρων τις

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀναθημάτων. In the words that follow καὶ ταῦτα is Cohn's correction for ταῦτα καὶ of S (καὶ omitted in M). I think of the four corrections made by Cohn in this sentence μαθημάτων and ἐντυποῦν should stand, but thus corrected the text of M is satisfactory, i.e. ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ πάντων ἄριστα μαθημάτων ἐντυποῦν ταῦτα, χαράττοντα κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> mss. μηδέος.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 137-140

untrustworthy ears since no trust can be placed in the sense of hearing but that these best of all lessons must be impressed upon our lordliest part, stamped too with genuine seals. The second <sup>138</sup> shows that we must not only receive conceptions of the good but express our approval of them in unhesitating action, for the hand is the symbol of action, and on this the law bids us fasten and hang the rules of justice for a sign. Of what it is a sign he has not definitely stated because, I believe, they are a sign not of one thing but of many, practically of all the factors in human life. The third means that <sup>139</sup> always and everywhere we must have the vision of them as it were close to our eyes. And they must have vibration and movement, it continues, not to make them unstable and unsettled, but that by their motion they may provoke the sight to gain a clear discernment of them. For motion induces the use of the faculty of sight by stimulating and arousing the eyes, or rather by making them un-sleepful and wakeful.

He to whom it is <sup>140</sup> given to set their image in the eye of the soul, not at rest but in motion and engaged in their natural activities, must be placed on record as a perfect man. No longer must he be ranked among the disciples and pupils but among the teachers and instructors, and he should provide as from a fountain to the young who are willing to draw therefrom a plenteous stream of discourses and doctrines. And

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<sup>3</sup> Mangey's text here, *σάλον δ' ἐχέτω ταῦτα κινούμενον, φησίν, οὐχ ἵν' ἀβέβαιον καὶ ἀνίδρυτον, ἀλλ' ἵνα κτλ.*, is with a few slight variations the text of the mss., but the neuter singulars are ungrammatical.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. *μὲν*.

## PHILO

- ὑπ' αἰδοῦς μέλλη καὶ βραδύνη προσέρχεσθαι μαθη-  
 σόμενος, αὐτὸς ἰὼν ἐπαντλείτω καὶ ἐποχετευέτω  
 ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἀθρόας ὑφηγήσεις, ἄχρις ἂν αἱ δεξα-  
 141 μεναὶ τῆς ψυχῆς γεμισθῶσι. προδιδασκέτω δὴ  
 τὰ δίκαια συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πάντας νέους  
 οἴκοι καὶ ἐν ὁδῶ καὶ πρὸς κοίτην ἰόντας καὶ  
 ἀνισταμένους, ἵν' ἐν πάσαις μὲν σχέσεσι καὶ  
 κινήσειν, ἐν πᾶσι δὲ χωρίοις ἰδίοις τε καὶ δημο-  
 σίοις, μὴ μόνον ἐγγηγορότες ἀλλὰ καὶ κοιμώνενοι,  
 φαντασίαις τῶν δικαίων ἐνευφραίνωνται· τέρψις  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδίων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ὅλην δι' ὅλων  
 πεπληρῶσθαι δικαιοσύνης, ἐμμελετώσαν αὐτῆς τοῖς  
 αἰδίοις δόγμασι καὶ θεωρήμασιν, οὐκ ἔχουσαν  
 142 ἔρημον τόπον, εἰς ὃν ἀδικία παρελεύσεται. κελεύει  
 δὲ καὶ γράψαντας αὐτὰ πρόσθεν τῶν φλιῶν<sup>1</sup> οἰκίας  
 ἐκάστης προτιθέναι καὶ πυλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν,  
 ἵν' οἱ μὲν ἐκδημοῦντες καὶ ἐνδημοῦντες,<sup>2</sup> ἄστοι καὶ  
 ξένοι, τοῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν γράμμασιν ἐστηλιτευ-  
 μένοις ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄληκτον ἔχωσι τὴν τῶν  
 λεκτέων καὶ πρακτέων μνήμην, ἐκατέρου φροντί-  
 ζοντες τοῦ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι, εἰς δὲ  
 τὰς οἰκίας εἰσιόντες καὶ πάλιν ἐξιόντες, ἄνδρες  
 [360] ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα καὶ θεραπεία, | τὰ  
 ἀρμόττοντα καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντα δρῶσιν<sup>3</sup> ὑπὲρ τε  
 ἄλλων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν.
- 143 XXVII. Θαυμασιώτατον δὲ κάκεινο διαγορεύει

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φίλων.

<sup>2</sup> Or should we read ἐπιδημοῦντες "returning home" corresponding to εἰσιόντες and ἐξιόντες below? It is when they pass in and out that they would see the inscriptions on the gate.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey suggests, ὁρῶσιν.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 140-143

if some less courageous spirit hesitates through modesty and is slow to come near to learn, that teacher should go himself and pour into his ears as into a conduit a continuous flood of instruction until the cisterns of the soul are filled. Indeed he 141 must be forward to teach the principles of justice to kinsfolk and friends and all the young people at home and in the street, both when they go to their beds and when they arise, so that in every posture and every motion, in every place both private and public, not only when they are awake but when they are asleep, they may be gladdened by visions of the just.<sup>a</sup> For there is no sweeter delight than that the soul should be charged through and through with justice, exercising itself in her eternal principles and doctrines and leaving no vacant place into which injustice can make its way. He bids 142 them also write and set them forth in front of the door posts of each house and the gates in their walls,<sup>b</sup> so that those who leave or remain at home, citizens and strangers alike, may read the inscriptions engraved on the face of the gates and keep in perpetual memory what they should say and do, careful alike to do and to allow no injustice, and when they enter their houses and again when they go forth men and women and children and servants alike may act as is due and fitting both for others and for themselves.

XXVII. Another most admirable injunction is 143

<sup>a</sup> Deut. vi. 7 (xi. 19) "thou shalt teach them to thy sons, and shalt talk of them, sitting in the house, and walking in the way and lying down and rising up."

<sup>b</sup> Deut. vi. 9 "And ye shall write them on the doorposts of your houses and your gates."

## PHILO

- τὸ μηδὲν προστιθέναι καὶ ἀφαιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ διαφυλάττειν ἀκίνητα τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀρισθέντα νόμιμα· συμβαίνει γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν μὲν πρόσθεσιν τῶν ἀδίκων, (τὴν δ' ἀφαίρεσιν γίνεσθαι τῶν δικαίων)· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστὶν ὁ παρα-  
 144 λείπεται τῷ σοφῷ νομοθέτῃ πρὸς ὀλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς μετουσίαν δικαιοσύνης. αἰνίττεται μέν-  
 τοι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ἀκρότητας· ἐκάστη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνελλιπῆς ἐστὶ καὶ πλήρης, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἔχουσα ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο προσθήκη τις καὶ ἀφαίρεσις, ὅλην δι' ὅλων<sup>2</sup> τρέπεσθαι καὶ μετα-  
 145 βάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἕξιν. ὁ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ἀρετὴν περὶ τὰ δεινὰ πραγματευομένην, ἴσασιν οἱ μὴ παντελῶς ἄμουσοι καὶ ἀχόρευτοι, κἂν ἐπὶ βραχὺ παιδείας προσάψωνται, τῶν ὑπομενετέων οὔσαν ἐπιστήμην.  
 146 ἀλλ' ἐάν τις εἶξας ἀμαθία τῇ δι' ἀλαζονείαν, ὡς δὴ περιττὸς καὶ ἰκανὸς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἀνεπι-  
 δεᾶ, προστιθέναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν τι τολμᾶ, σύμπασαν ἀλλάσσει τὴν εἰκόνα μετατυπώσας αἰσχρὸν ἀντι-  
 καλοῦ χαρακτήρος· ἀπεργάσεται γὰρ τῇ μὲν προσ-  
 θέσει θρασύτητα, τῇ δ' ἀφαιρέσει<sup>3</sup> δειλίαν, μηδ' ὄνομα τῆς βιωφελεστάτης ἀνδρείας καταλιπών.  
 147 τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν τρόπον κἂν τῇ βασιλίδι

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Cohn suggests, κἂν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὅλου.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀφαιρήσει.

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<sup>a</sup> Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32 "ye shall not add to the word which I command you, and ye shall not take from it" (E.V. "diminish").

<sup>b</sup> Or "finality."

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 143-147

that nothing should be added or taken away,<sup>a</sup> but all the laws originally ordained should be kept unaltered just as they were. For what actually happens, as we clearly see, is that it is the unjust which is added and the just which is taken away, for the wise legislator has omitted nothing which can give possession of justice whole and complete. Further he suggests also that the summit of perfec- 144  
tion<sup>b</sup> has been reached in each of the other virtues. For each of them is defective in nothing, complete in its self-wrought consummateness, so that if there be any adding or taking away, its whole being is changed and transformed into the opposite condition.

<sup>c</sup> Here is an example of what I 145  
mean. That courage, the virtue whose field of action is what causes terror, is the knowledge of what ought to be endured,<sup>d</sup> is known to all who are not completely devoid of learning and culture, even if their contact with education has been but small. But if anyone, indulging the ignorance 146  
which comes from arrogance and believing himself to be a superior person capable of correcting what stands in no such need, ventures to add to or take from courage, he changes its likeness altogether and stamps upon it a form in which ugliness replaces beauty, for by adding he will make rashness and by taking away he will make cowardice, not leaving even the name of the courage so highly profitable to life.

In the same way too if one 147

<sup>c</sup> The same point is made and illustrated by the same two virtues in *Quod Deus* 163.

<sup>d</sup> The Stoic definition quoted more completely in *Leg. All.* i. 68 ἐπιστήμη ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐδετέρων; see *S.V.F.* i. 262 ff.

## PHILO

τῶν ἀρετῶν, εὐσεβεία, προσθῆ τις ὁτιοῦν μικρὸν  
 ἢ μέγα ἢ τοῦναντίον ἀφέλη, καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐπαλ-  
 λάξει καὶ μεταμορφώσει τὸ εἶδος· γεννήσει γὰρ ἡ  
 μὲν πρόσθεσις δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἡ δ' ἀφαίρεσις  
 ἀσεβείαν, ἀφανισθείσης αὖ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἣν  
 ἀνίσχεν καὶ ἐπιλάμπειν εὐκταῖον ἀγαθόν, ἐπειδὴ  
 τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία καθέστηκεν, ἐπι-  
 στήμην ἐμποιοῦσα θεραπείας θεοῦ, ἣν πάσης  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἀρχικωτέραν καὶ βασιλικω-  
 148 τέραν εἶναι νομιστέον. παραπλήσια δὲ τοῖς εἰρη-  
 μένοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἐκάστης ἔστι  
 λέγειν· ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνειν εἰωθῶς τὰ μήκη τῶν  
 λόγων ἀρκεσθήσομαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἃ καὶ τῶν  
 ἡσυχάζομένων ἱκανὰ μηνύματα γένοιτ' ἂν.

149 XXVIII. Ἐτι καὶ τοῦτο προσδιατέτακται κοινω-  
 φελὲς παράγγελμα, “ μὴ μετακινεῖν ὄρια τοῦ  
 πλησίον, ἃ ἔστησαν οἱ πρότεροί σου.” τοῦτο δ',  
 ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ περὶ κλήρων αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ γῆς  
 ὄρων νομοθετεῖται πρὸς πλεονεξίας ἀποκοπήν,  
 [361] ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς | φυλακὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθνῶν· ἔθνη  
 γὰρ ἄγραφοι νόμοι, δόγματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ  
 στήλαις ἐγκεχαραγμένα καὶ χαρτιδίοις ὑπὸ σπητῶν  
 ἀναλισκομένοις, ἀλλὰ ψυχαῖς τῶν μετειληφότων  
 150 τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας. ὀφείλουσι γὰρ παῖδες παρὰ  
 γονέων <δίχα> τῶν οὐσιῶν κληρονομεῖν ἔθνη πάτρια,  
 οἷς ἐνεγράφησαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σπαργάνων συν-  
 εβίωσαν, καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, παρόσον ἄγραφος  
 αὐτῶν ἡ παράδοσις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀναγραφείσει  
 νόμοις πειθαρχῶν οὐκ ἂν δεόντως ἐπαινοῖτο,

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xix. 14. It is difficult to see why this passage is introduced here. The text is clearly quoted not for its literal meaning, but for its application to the customs which are

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 147-150

adds anything small or great to the queen of virtues piety or on the other hand takes something from it, in either case he will change and transform its nature. Addition will beget superstition and subtraction will beget impiety, and so piety too is lost to sight, that sun whose rising and shining is a blessing we may well pray for, because it is the source of the greatest of blessings, since it gives the knowledge of the service of God, which we must hold as lordlier than any lordship, more royal than any sovereignty. Much the same may be said 148 of the other virtues, but as it is my habit to avoid lengthy discussions by abridgement I will content myself with the aforesaid examples which will sufficiently indicate what is left unsaid.

XXVIII. Another commandment of general value 149 is "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmarks which thy forerunners have set up."<sup>a</sup> Now this law, we may consider, applies not merely to allotments and boundaries of land in order to eliminate covetousness but also to the safeguarding of ancient customs. For customs are unwritten laws, the decisions approved by men of old, not inscribed on monuments nor on leaves of paper which the moth destroys, but on the souls of those who are partners in the same citizenship. For 150 children ought to inherit from their parents, besides their property, ancestral customs which they were reared in and have lived with even from the cradle, and not despise them because they have been handed down without written record. Praise cannot be duly given to one who obeys the written unwritten laws. But the laws which have been and are still to be discussed are not unwritten.

## PHILO

- νουθετούμενος ἀνάγκη καὶ φόβῳ κολάσεως, ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἀγράφοις ἐμμένων, ἐκούσιον ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐγκωμίων ἄξιος.
- 151 XXIX. <sup>1</sup> Ἐνιοὶ τὰς κληρωτὰς εἰσηγήσαντο ἀρχάς, ἀλυσιτελῶς τοῖς πλήθεσιν· εὐτυχίαν γὰρ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρετὴν ὁ κλῆρος ἐμφαίνει. πολλοὶ γοῦν πολλάκις τῶν ἀναξίων ἔλαχον, οὓς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς λαβόμενος ἡγεμονίας ἀποδοκιμάσαι ἂν καὶ ἐν ὑπηκόοις ἐξετά-
- 152 ζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μικροὶ λεγόμενοι παρά τισιν ἀρχοντες, οὓς δεσπότης ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐ πάντας ὅσους ἂν οἰοί τε ὦσιν οἰκότριβας ἢ ἀργυρωνήτους ὑπάγονται, μόνους δὲ τοὺς καταπειθεῖς γινομένους, ἀγγεληδὸν ἔστιν ὅτε πιπράσκοντες τοὺς ἀνιάτως ἔχοντας τὸ ἦθος ὡς καὶ δουλεύειν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν
- 153 ἀναξίους ὄντας. ἔτι τοίνυν<sup>2</sup> προσήκει δεσπότης καὶ ἡγεμόνας ὄλων πόλεων καὶ ἔθνῶν ἀποφαίνει τοὺς κλῆρῳ λαχόντας, ὀλίσθῳ τινὶ τύχης, ἀβεβαίου καὶ ἀνιδρύτου πράγματος; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν καμνόντων ἐπιμέλειαν κλῆρος τὸ μηδέν· ἰατροὶ γὰρ οὐ κλῆρῳ λαγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν πείρᾳ δοκιμάζονται.
- 154 καὶ πρὸς εὐπλοίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν θαλαττευόντων οὐχ ὁ λαχὼν κυβερνᾶν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πρύμναν παραπέμπεται, δι' ἀνεπιστημοσύνης ἐργασόμενος ἐν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνῃ χειροποίητα ναύαγια, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὴν κυβερνητικὴν τέχνην ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> Here the mss. have the heading *Κατάστασις ἀρχόντων* ("De constitutione principum"). The title is not only unnecessary but misleading. As no further heading is given it may be supposed to cover the rest of the treatise, but the appointment of the ruler only occupies the sections down to § 159, and his character and duties only to § 192. Cohn however begins here a fresh numeration of chapters.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἔτι νῦν οἱ οὐ τοίνυν.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 150-154

laws, since he acts under the admonition of restraint and the fear of punishment. But he who faithfully observes the unwritten deserves commendation, since the virtue which he displays is freely willed.<sup>a</sup>

XXIX. Some legislators have introduced the 151 system of filling magistracies by lot, to the detriment of their peoples, for the lot shows good luck, not merit. In fact the lot often falls to many of the unworthy whom a good man, if he obtained command, would reject as unfit to be classed even among his subjects. For those "minor rulers," as 152 some phrase it, whom we call "masters" do not retain in their service all they might whether home-bred or purchased, but only those who prove amenable: the incorrigible they sometimes sell in a mass as unworthy to be slaves of men of merit. And can 153 it then be right to make masters and rulers of whole cities and nations out of persons chosen by lot, by what we may call a blunder of fortune,<sup>b</sup> the uncertain and unstable? In the matter of tending the sick lot has no place, for physicians do not gain their posts by lot, but are approved by the test of experience. And to secure a successful voyage and the safety of 154 travellers on the sea we do not choose by lot and send straight away to the helm a steersman who through his ignorance will produce in fine weather and calm water shipwrecks in which Nature has no part.<sup>c</sup> Instead we send one whom we know to have

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 435.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps better "a random act of fortune." Fortune's steps are uncertain, but not always blunders. "Freak" might perhaps cover the meaning. Cf. ii. 231 (of the same subject).

<sup>c</sup> Or "home-made," "man-made."

## PHILO

μελῶς φαίνεται δεδιδασκόμενος· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ  
 πολλάκις μὲν πεπλευκῶς, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα ἢ  
 πλείστα πελάγη περαιωσάμενος, ἐμπόρια δὲ καὶ  
 λιμένας καὶ ὑφόρμους καὶ ὑποδρόμους τοὺς ἔν τε  
 [362] νήσοις καὶ ἡπείροις | ἐπιμελῶς ἐξήτακῶς καὶ μᾶλ-  
 λον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν κατὰ γῆν ὁδῶν τὰς κατὰ  
 θάλατταν ἀτραποὺς ἐπιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς  
 155 θέας τῶν οὐρανίων· παρατηρήσας γὰρ τὰς χορείας  
 τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἐπακολουθήσας αὐτῶν ταῖς τε-  
 ταγμέναις κινήσεσιν ἐν ἀνοδίαις ἴσχυσεν ἀπλανεῖς  
 καὶ λεωφόρους ὁδοὺς ἀνατεμεῖν, ἵνα—τὸ πάντων  
 ἀπιστότατον πραγμάτων—ἡ χερσαία φύσις διὰ  
 156 πλωτῆς οἶα τε ἦ περαιουῖσθαι. πόλεις δέ τις με-  
 γάλας καὶ πολυανθρώπους, μεστὰς οἰκητόρων, καὶ  
 πολιτείας ἐγχειρίζεσθαι μέλλων καὶ πραγμάτων  
 ἰδιωτικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν,  
 ἣν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τέχνην τεχνῶν εἶναι  
 καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, πρὸς ἄστατον κλήρου  
 φορὰν ταλαντεύσει τὴν ἀκριβῆ βάσανον τῆς ἀλη-  
 θείας φυγῶν; ἀληθείας δὲ βάσανος αἰ σὺν λόγῳ  
 157 πίστεις. XXX. ταῦτ' οὖν τῇ ψυχῇ θεασάμενος ὁ  
 πάνσοφος Μωυσῆς κληρωτῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ μέ-  
 μνηται, τὰς δὲ χειροτονητὰς εἰσηγείσθαι διανοήθη.  
 φησὶ γοῦν· καταστήσεις ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν ἄρχοντα οὐκ  
 ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἀδελφῶν, δηλῶν  
 ἐθελούσιον αἵρεσιν καὶ δοκιμασίαν ἀνεπίληπτον  
 ἄρχοντος, ἣν σύμπασα ἢ πληθὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦσα  
 ποιήσει. προσεπιψηφιεῖται δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπι-

<sup>a</sup> ἵνα, as often in Philo, is consecutive.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "the land-nature is able to pass through navigable nature." See *Spec. Leg.* i. 335 and note.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xvii. 15 "thou shalt surely set over thyself a ruler,

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 154-157

been carefully trained from his earliest years in the art of steersmanship. Such a one will have made many a voyage, crossed all or most seas, carefully studied the trading ports, harbours and anchorages and roadsteads, both in the islands and the mainland, and know the sea routes as well as, if not better than, the roads on land, through accurately watching the heavenly bodies. For by observing the courses of 155 the stars and following their ordered movements he has been able to open up in the pathless waste high-roads where none can err, with this incredible result,<sup>a</sup> that the creature whose element is land can float his way through the element of water.<sup>b</sup> And shall one 156 who is to have in his hands great and populous cities with all their inhabitants, and the constitutions of the cities and the management of matters private, public and sacred, a task which we might well call an art of arts and a science of sciences, be the sport of the unstable oscillation of the lot and escape the strict test of truth, which can only be tested by proofs founded on reason? XXX. These things Moses, 157 wise here as ever, considered in his soul and does not even mention appointment of rulers by lot, but determines to institute appointment by election. Thus he says "thou shalt establish a ruler over thyself, not a foreigner but from thy brethren," hereby indicating that there should be a free choice and an unimpeachable scrutiny of the ruler made by the whole people with the same mind.<sup>c</sup> And the choice will receive the further vote and seal of ratification

whomsoever the Lord thy God shall choose. From thy brethren thou shalt set a ruler over thyself. Thou shalt not be able to set over thyself a man that is a stranger, because he is not thy brother."

## PHILO

σφραγιζόμενος καὶ ὁ τῶν κοινωφελῶν ἀπάντων  
βεβαιωτῆς θεός, ἐκλογὴν τινα τοῦ γένους ὑπολαβῶν  
εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον<sup>1</sup> ὡς ὄψιν ἐν σώματι.

158 XXXI. τὰς δ' αἰτίας τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀλλότριον αἰρεῖ-  
σθαι πρὸς ἀρχὴν διττὰς ὑπογράφει, τὴν μὲν ἵνα μὴ  
πλήθος ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου καὶ θρεμμάτων συν-  
αγάγῃ πολὺν πλοῦτον καὶ πάντα ἄδικον ἐκ τῆς  
πενίας τῶν ὑπηκόων θησαυρισάμενος, τὴν δ' ἵνα μὴ  
τὸ ἔθνος ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας ἀναστήσας ἕνεκα  
τῶν ἰδίων πλεονεξιῶν ἀναγκάζῃ μετανίστασθαι  
(κατὰ)<sup>2</sup> πλάνον ἀνήνυτον ὧδε κἀκέισε φορούμενον,  
ὑποβαλὼν ἀτελεῖς ἐλπίδας μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν κτή-  
σεως, εἰς ἀφαίρεσιν ὧν ἤδη βεβαίως ἐκαρπούτο.

159 προὔπελαβε γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, τὸν ὁμόφυλον καὶ συγ-  
γενῆ μετέχοντα τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ συγγένειαν  
οἰκειότητος—ἡ δ' ἀνωτάτῳ συγγένειά ἐστι πολιτεία  
μία καὶ νόμος ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς θεός, ᾧ πάντες οἱ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους προσκεκλήρωνται,—μηδέποτε τὰ  
παραπλήσια τοῖς προλεχθείσι διαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔμ-  
παλιν ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ μεθορμίζειν τοὺς οἰκήτορας καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suggested *αἰρεθέντα*, which Heinemann translates. See note *a*.

<sup>2</sup> A doubtful insertion. *πλάνον* may be cogn. acc.

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<sup>a</sup> The words are obscure. If the text is right, the meaning may be that the choice of one particular man shows him to be the “eye of the body,” and that God accepts this and confirms it. Philo is clearly trying to reconcile the free choice which he thinks is implied in the words “thou shalt set” with the limitation “whomsoever the Lord thy God shall choose.” But no authority is quoted for the use of *ἐκλογή* = “the chosen,” nor yet for “the choicest” or the “pick,” which Cohn’s correction of *ἄνθρωπον* to *αἰρεθέντα* demands.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xvii. 16, 17. E.V. “only he shall not multiply

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 157-159

from Him who confirms all things that promote the common weal, even God who holds that the man may be called the chosen from the race, in which he is what the eye is in the body.<sup>a</sup> XXXI. The 158 reasons subjoined to show why a foreigner should not be selected are two. First to prevent him from amassing a great quantity of gold and silver and cattle and storing up great wealth all unjustly wrung from the poverty of his subjects.<sup>b</sup> Secondly that he should not to gratify his own greedy desires evict the natives from the land and compel them to emigrate borne hither and thither in endless wandering, or by inspiring in them futile hopes of increased prosperity succeed in taking from them what ere now they enjoyed in security.<sup>c</sup> For he assumed with good 159 reason that one who was their fellow-tribesman and fellow-kinsman related to them by the tie which brings the highest kinship, the kinship of having one citizenship and the same law and one God who has taken all members of the nation for His portion, would never sin in the way just mentioned. He knew that such a one on the contrary, instead of

horses to himself . . . neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold." This is not a reason for not choosing a foreigner, but conditions to be observed by the native king. The LXX however has "because he shall not multiply," etc., and this Philo follows.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xvii. 17 (2nd half) "he shall not turn away (E.V. cause to return) the people to Egypt, that he may not multiply horses to himself." According to the commentators the meaning is that he should not seek alliance with Egypt and so procure a strong force of horses. Philo, perhaps thinking of Egypt as the natural refuge of the exiles from Palestine, takes it to mean expatriation in general, which the foreign king would practise in order to confiscate the people's wealth. The passage is allegorized in *De Agr.* 84 ff. See App. p. 435.

PHILO

τοῖς ἐν τῇ ξένη σποράσιν ἀσφαλῆ κάθοδον παρέξειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι χρήματα προσεπιδώσειν τοῖς δεομένοις τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν ἀποφύγαντα κοινήν.

- 160 [363] XXXII. | Ἄφ' ἧς δ' ἂν ἡμέρας παρέλθῃ τις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, κελεύει τὴν Ἐπινομίδα αὐτοχειρία γράψαι κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχουσαν ἀπάντων τῶν νόμων, βουλόμενος ἔγκολλα τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ διαταγαγμένα γενέσθαι· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὑπορρεῖ τὰ νοήματα τῇ φορᾷ παρασυρόμενα, τῷ δὲ γράφοντι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐνσφραγίζεται καὶ ἐνιδρύνεται, τῆς διανοίας ἐνευκαιρούσης ἐκάστω καὶ ἐπερειδούσης ἑαυτὴν καὶ μὴ μετιούσης ἐφ' ἕτερον, πρὶν  
161 ἢ περιδράξασθαι τοῦ προτέρου βεβαίως. ὅταν μέντοι γράψῃ, πειράσθω καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, ὑπὲρ τε συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδιαστάτου μνήμης καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων ἅπασι διαταγμάτων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βέβαιον ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον αὐτῶν ἐγγενέσθαι, τῆς ψυχῆς αἰὲν διδασκομένης καὶ ἐξεθιζομένης ἐνομιλεῖν νόμοις ἱεροῖς· αἱ γὰρ μακροχρόνιοι συνήθειαι φιλίαν ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὰν οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἰδέας ἀξιεράστους γραμμάτων ἀποτελοῦσι.  
162 τουτὶ δὲ συμβήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἑτέρου γράμμασι καὶ ὑπομνήμασιν ὁ ἀρχῶν ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ἐντυγχάνῃ· τὰ γὰρ ἰδιά πῶς ἐκάστοις γνωριμώτερα  
163 καὶ πρὸς ἀναλήψεις ἑτοιμώτερα. καὶ ἄλλως ἀνα-

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xvii. 18-20. For "sequel" perhaps "appendix." E.V. "he shall write him a copy of this book" (more liter-  
108

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 159-162

sending the inhabitants adrift, would provide a safe return for those who are scattered on foreign soil, and instead of taking the wealth of others would give liberally to the needy by making his private substance common to all.

XXXII. From the day that he enters upon his office the lawgiver bids him write out with his own hand this sequel to the laws which embraces them all in the form of a summary.<sup>a</sup> He wishes hereby to have the ordinance cemented to the soul. For the thoughts swept away by the current ebb away from the mere reader, but are implanted and set fast in one who writes them out at leisure. For the mind can dwell at its ease on each point and fix itself upon it, and does not pass on to something else until it has securely grasped what goes before. Still after writing he must endeavour every day to read and familiarize himself with what he has written,<sup>b</sup> so that he may have a constant and unbroken memory of ordinances so good and profitable to all, and thus conceive an unswerving love and yearning for them by perpetually training and habituating his soul to companionship with holy laws. For prolonged associations produce a pure and sincere affection not only for men but for <sup>c</sup> writings of such kinds as are worthy of our love. And this will be the case if the ruler studies not the writings and notes of another but the work of his own pen, for everyone is more familiar with his own writing and takes in its meaning more readily. ally "duplicate," Adam Smith). The LXX has *δευτερονόμιον* ("repetition of the law"), whence the accepted name. On *Ἐπινομίδα* see also App. p. 436.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* "he shall read in it all the days of his life."

<sup>c</sup> Heinemann translates "thoughts worthy of affection transmitted in writing"; but *ιδέας* cannot mean "thoughts."

## PHILO

γινώσκων ἅμα λογισμὸν ἕξει τοιοῦτον· “ ἐγὼ ταυτ’  
 ἔγραψα ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄρχων, μὴ ἐτέρῳ προσχρησά-  
 μενος ὑπηρετῶν<sup>1</sup> μυρίων ὄντων· ἄρ’ ὅπως βιβλίον  
 ἀποπληρώσω, καθάπερ οἱ μισθοῦ γράφοντες ἢ οἱ  
 γυμνάζοντες ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ χεῖρας, τοὺς μὲν εἰς  
 ὀξύωπιαν, τὰς δ’ ἵνα ὦσιν ὀξυγράφοι;—πόθεν; οὐκ  
 ἔστιν—ἀλλ’ ὅπως αὐτὰ ἐν βιβλίῳ γράφων εὐθύς εἰς  
 τὴν ψυχὴν μεταγράφω καὶ ἐναπομάττωμαι τῇ δια-  
 164 νοίᾳ θειοτέρους καὶ ἀνεκπλύτους χαρακτηῆρας. οἱ  
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς βακτηρίας ἔχοντες σκηπ-  
 τροφοροῦσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σκῆπτρόν ἐστιν ἡ βίβλος  
 τῆς Ἐπινομίδος, καύχημα καὶ κλέος ἀνανταγώ-  
 νιστον, παράσημον ἡγεμονίας ἀνεπιλήπτου πρὸς  
 ἀρχέτυπον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείαν ἀπεικονισθείσης.  
 165 αἰεὶ δ’ ἐπερειδόμενος καὶ σκηριπτό-  
 μενος τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις κτήσομαι δύο τὰ πάντων  
 ἄριστα· ἐν μὲν ἰσότητι, ἧς μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἔστιν  
 εὔρεῖν· ἀλαζονεία γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὑπέραυχον ὀλιγό-  
 166 φρονος ψυχῆς τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένης. ἰσότης  
 μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν  
 ἀμοιβὰς δικαίας ἀντεκτινόντων ἀπεργάσεται, τὸ δ’  
 ἄνισον κινδύνους σφαλερωτάτους. τούτους μὲν  
 ἀποδράσομαι μισήσας τὴν χορηγὸν σκότους καὶ  
 πολέμων ἀνισότητα, βίον δ’ ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἕξω  
 τὴν ἀστασίαστον ἰσότητα τιμήσας, ἣ γεννᾶ φῶς καὶ  
 167 εὐστάθειαν. ἕτερον δὲ περιποιήσομαι τὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπηρέτη *et al.*

<sup>a</sup> The seven sections which follow are a meditation on Deut. xvii. 19, 20, the first part of which is put into the king or ruler’s mouth.



THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 163-167

Further when he reads he will reason thus with him- 163  
self. <sup>a</sup> "I have written these words, I, a ruler of such  
eminence, without employing another though I have  
a host of servants. Have I done it to fill the pages  
of a book like those who write for hire or to train  
their eyes and hands, the first to sharpen the sight,  
the second to make themselves swift writers? No,  
surely not. I write them in a book in order to re-  
write them straightway in my soul, and receive in  
my mind the imprints of a script more divine and  
ineffaceable. Now other kings carry rods in their 164  
hands as sceptres but my sceptre is the book of the  
Sequel to the law, my pride and my glory, which  
nothing can rival, an ensign of sovereignty which  
none can impeach, formed in the image of its arche-  
type the kingship of God.

<sup>b</sup> And if I ever 165  
keep the holy laws for my staff and support I shall  
win two things better than all else. <sup>c</sup> One is the spirit  
of equality, and no greater good can be found than  
this, for arrogance and insolence belong to a soul of  
mean capacity which does not foresee the future.  
Equality will earn its just reward, repaid in the good- 166  
will and safety of my subjects, while inequality will  
create the gravest perils and pitfalls. These I shall  
escape if I hate inequality, the bestower of darkness  
and wars, while I shall have a life proof against the  
malice of enemies if I honour equality who eschews  
sedition and is the mother of light and settled order.

<sup>d</sup> The other thing that I shall win is that 167

<sup>b</sup> Verse 19 "to keep all the words of this law and the  
statutes."

<sup>c</sup> Verse 20 "that his heart be not lifted up above his  
brethren."

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* "that he turn not aside from the commandment, to  
the right hand or to the left."

PHILO

- [364] | μὴ ἐπὶ θάτερα καθάπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἀντιρρέπειν ἐκτρέπων καὶ πλαγιάζων τὰ διατεταγμένα· πειράσομαι δ' ἄγειν αὐτὰ διὰ λεωφόρου τῆς μέσης ὀρθαῖς καὶ ἀρτίαις βάσεισι χρησάμενος πρὸς μετουσίαν  
 168 ἀπταιστοῦ βίου." βασιλικὴν δ' εἴωθε Μωυσῆς ὀνομάζειν ὁδὸν τὴν μέσην, ὑπερβολῆς καὶ ἐλλείψεως οὖσαν μεθόριον, καὶ ἄλλως ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέσον ἐν τριάδι τὴν ἡγεμονίδα τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἀρμοζόμενον τὰ παρ' ἑκάτερα εἰς ἔνωσιν ἀδιαλύτῳ δεσμῷ, ὑφ'  
 169 ὧν καὶ δορυφορεῖται τρόπον βασιλέως. νομίμου δ' ἄρχοντος ἰσότητα τιμῶντος, ἀδεκάστου, τὰ δίκαια κρίνοντος δικαίως, ἐμμελετῶντος αἰεὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἄθλον εἶναί φησι τὴν μακροχρόνιον ἡγεμονίαν, οὐχ ἵνα πολυετῇ ζωῇ αὐτῷ χαρίσῃται μετὰ τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πρυτανεύειν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀναδιδάξῃ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι ὁ νόμιμος ἄρχων, κἄν τελευτήσῃ, βίον ζῆ μακραίωνα διὰ τῶν πράξεων, ἃς ἀθανάτους ἀπολέλοιπε μνημεῖα καλοκάγαθίας ἀκαθαίρετα.
- 170 XXXIII. Προσῆκει δὲ τῷ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἀξιοθέντι αἰρεῖσθαι διαδόχους, οἱ συνάροξοσι καὶ συνδικάσουσι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα κοινω-

<sup>a</sup> In this section Philo digresses to bring his text into connexion with Num. xx. 17 (*cf.* xxi. 22) "We will go along the king's high way (LXX ὁδὸς βασιλική), we will not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left," on which he has commented elsewhere, particularly in *Quod Deus* 162 ff. Here the stress is laid on the phrase "royal road," and the inference drawn, as I understand it, is that Moses in giving this name to the central road between (as he says in *Quod Deus*) deficiency and excess suggests that it is the fitting road for a king. While hitherto he has chiefly followed the LXX in using ἄρχων, not βασιλεύς, he here shows his perception that a king is intended (*cf.* § 164).

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* "that he may prolong his days in his rule." For

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 167-170

I shall not sway to either side as on a balance, deflecting the ordinances and turning them awry, but I shall try to take them along the central highway marching with firm straightforward steps to ensure a life that never stumbles.” <sup>a</sup> Now the name of “royal” 168 which Moses is wont to give to the central road which lies midway between excess and deficiency, is also given because in a set of three the midmost holds the leading place, joining in union with itself by an indissoluble bond those on either side of it, which also serve as bodyguards to it as to a king. <sup>b</sup> A law- 169 abiding ruler who honours equality, who is impervious <sup>c</sup> to bribes and gives just judgements justly and ever exercises himself in the laws has, he tells us, for his reward that the days of his government shall be long, not meaning that he grants him long years of life spent in presiding over the State, but to teach the ignorant that the law-abiding ruler, even when deceased, lives an age-long life through the actions which he leaves behind him never to die, monuments of high excellence which can never be destroyed.

XXXIII. <sup>d</sup> The person who has been judged worthy 170 to fill the highest and most important office should choose lieutenants to share with him the duties of governing, giving judgement, and managing all the

the spiritual interpretation of the boon of long life promised in the scriptures compare the treatment of the fifth commandment in ii. 262, and *Quis Rerum* 290, that the goodly old age promised to Abraham is not the life of long duration, but the life of wisdom.

<sup>c</sup> For “impervious to bribes” *cf.* the qualities of the judge, §§ 62 f., and for “gives just judgements justly” §§ 66 f.

<sup>d</sup> For what follows Philo has no direct pronouncements in the law, but takes the story of Jethro’s advice to Moses in Ex. xviii. described below.

## PHILO

- φελῆ συνδιοικήσουσιν. εἰς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐξαρκέσαι, κὰν προθυμότητος ἢ καὶ πάντων ἔρρωμενέστατος ἐκάτερον, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη καὶ πλήθη τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπειρηκῶς τῇ φορᾷ τῶν ἐπιχειομένων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς συλληψομένους ἔχοι, πάντας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους φρονήσει, δυνάμει, δικαιοσύνῃ, θεοσεβείᾳ, τῷ μὴ ἐκτρέπεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖν ὡς ἐχθρὸν καὶ μέγιστον κακὸν
- 171 ἀλαζονεῖαν. βοηθοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ παραστάται γένοιντ' ἂν ἀνδρὶ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπηχθισμένῳ συνεπικουφίζειν καὶ ἐπελαφρίζειν ἐπιτηδειότατοι. καὶ ἄλλως, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑποθέσεων αἱ μὲν εἰσι μείζους, αἱ δὲ βραχύτεραι, τὰς μὲν ἐλάττους, ἵνα μὴ περὶ μικρὰ τρίβηται, τοῖς ὑπάρχοις ἐνδίκως ἂν ἐπιτρέψαι, τῶν δὲ μειζόνων ἀναγκαίως αὐτὸς
- 172 ἂν γένοιτο ἐξεταστής ἀκριβέστατος. μεγάλας δ' ὑποληπτέον ὑποθέσεις οὐχ ἅς οἴονταί τινες, ὅταν ἔνδοξοι πρὸς ἐνδόξους διαφέρωνται καὶ πλούσιοι πρὸς πλουσίους καὶ ἡγεμόνες πρὸς ἡγεμόνας, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ὅταν ἰδιῶται καὶ ἄποροι καὶ ἄδοξοι πρὸς δυνατωτέρους, οἷς πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν μία ἐλπίς ὁ δικαστής.
- 173 Ἐκατέρου δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων σαφῆ παραδείγματα εὐρεῖν ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις, ἃ μιμῆσθαι καλόν. ἦν γὰρ ποτε χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ μόνος αὐτὸς ἐβράβευε τὰ περὶ δίκας Μωυσῆς ἔωθεν εἰς νύκτα
- [365] πονούμενος· ἀλλ' | αὐθις ἀφικόμενος ὁ πενθερὸς καὶ

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xviii. 21. E.V. "Able men (LXX δυνατοῦς), such

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 170-173

other matters which concern the public welfare. For a single person even though possessed of unique strength both in body and soul would not be capable of coping with the magnitude and multitude of affairs, be he ever so zealous, but would collapse under their force as they pour in upon him daily from different sides, unless he had helpers all of the best chosen for their good sense, ability, justice and godliness, and because they not only keep clear of arrogance but hate it as a thing pernicious and utterly evil. <sup>a</sup> In such persons the man of high excellence 171 burdened with state affairs will find assistants and supporters well fitted to join in relieving him and to lighten his task. Further, since the questions which arise are sometimes greater and sometimes less, to prevent his wearing himself out in petty matters he will do rightly in entrusting the smaller to his subordinates, while the greater he will be bound to scrutinize himself with the utmost care. And great 172 questions must not be understood, as some think, to mean cases where both the disputants are distinguished or rich or men in high office but rather where the commoner or the poor or the obscure are disputing with others more powerful, and where their one hope of escaping a fatal disaster lies in the judge.

Both these statements may be justified by clear 173 examples to be found in the sacred laws, examples which we do well to copy. For there was a time when Moses himself arbitrated questions of justice, labouring from morning till night, but afterwards when his father-in-law arrived and observed the vast

as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain" (LXX *ὑπερηφάνῳ* = "arrogance").

PHILO

- συνιδὼν ὅσω βάρει πιέζεται πραγμάτων, ἐπισυρ-  
 ρεόντων αἰεὶ τῶν τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἐχόντων,  
 ἄριστα συνεβούλευσεν ἐλέσθαι διαδόχους, ἵν' οἱ μὲν  
 τὰ βραχύτερα κρίνωσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐφεδρεύῃ τοῖς  
 174 μείζοσι καιροῦς εἰς ἀνάπαυλαν αὐτῷ διδοῦς. πει-  
 σθεῖς δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις—καὶ γὰρ ἦν συμφέροντα—  
 τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ πλήθους ἐλό-  
 μενος ὑπάρχους ἅμα καὶ δικαστὰς καθίστησι,  
 κελεύσας τὰς μείζους κρίσεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνάγειν.  
 175 ταύτην τὴν πράξιν<sup>1</sup> ἀνάγραφτον αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι  
 περιέχουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην γενεὰν  
 ἀρχόντων διδασκαλίαν, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν μὴ  
 ἀποδοκιμάζωσι συμβούλους ὡς ἱκανοὶ πάντα περι-  
 αθρεῖν, Μωυσέως οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάσαντος τοῦ παν-  
 σόφου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς, ἔπειτα δὲ ἵνα δευτέρους καὶ  
 τρίτους ἡγεμόνας αἰρῶνται, φροντίζοντες τοῦ μὴ  
 περὶ μικρὰ τριβόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων ἀμελεῖν·  
 ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἐφ' ἅπαντα φθάνειν φύσιν ἀνθρω-  
 176 πίνην. XXXIV. Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῶν παρα-  
 δειγμάτων μεμῆνυται· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου τὴν πίστιν  
 ἐφαρμοστέον. μεγάλας ἔφην εἶναι δίκας τὰς τῶν  
 ταπεινοτέρων· ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ ταπεινὸν χήρα καὶ  
 ὄρφανὸς καὶ ἐπῆλυτος· τούτοις χρῆ δικάζειν τὸν  
 ἀνωτάτω βασιλέα καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἀναψάμενον<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀρχήν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ Μωυσέα καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμὼν  
 θεὸς οὐκ ἐσκοράκισεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ δι-  
 177 καινονομίας. ὑμνήσας γὰρ τὰς τοῦ ὄντος ἀρετὰς ὁ  
 ἱεροφάντης τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας

<sup>1</sup> So M. Other mss. κρίσιν or τάξιν. Cohn prints πρόσταξιν, but Jethro's advice could hardly be called this, and the point is not what he advised, but what Moses did.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἐφαιψάμενον or ἐναψάμενον (-ην).

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 173-177

burden of affairs which oppressed him through the perpetual flood of persons who had questions to settle, he gave the excellent advice that Moses should choose delegates to judge the smaller matters and keep himself in reserve for the greater and thus allow himself time to rest. Moses listened to 174 this truly valuable advice and chose out of the multitude the men of highest repute whom he appointed as subordinate governors and also as judges, bidding them refer the more important suits to himself. A record of the course thus 175 taken is included in the sacred books as a lesson to each generation of rulers, first that they should not, under the impression that they are capable of surveying everything, reject the help of councillors which Moses the supremely wise and beloved of God did not reject; next that they should choose officers to act as second and third to themselves and so take care that they did not by wearing themselves out over petty matters neglect the more vital. For human nature cannot possibly reach everything.

XXXIV. I have 176 stated one of the two examples and must add the evidence for the second. I said that the great cases were those of the lowlier. Lowliness and weakness are attributes of the widow, the orphan and the incomer. It is to these that the supreme king who is invested with the government of all should administer justice, because according to Moses God also the ruler of the Universe has not spurned them from His jurisdiction. For when 177 the Revealer has hymned the excellences of the Self-existent in this manner<sup>a</sup> "God the great and

<sup>a</sup> Deut. x. 17, 18.

καὶ κραταίος, ὅστις οὐ θαυμάζει πρόσωπον οὐδὲ μὴ  
 λάβη δῶρον ποιῶν κρίσιν," ἐπιλέγει τίσιν ἢ κρί-  
 σις.<sup>1</sup> οὐ σατράπαις καὶ τυράννοις καὶ γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάττης ἀναψαμένοις τὸ κράτος, ἀλλ' " ἐπηλύτω  
 178 καὶ ὀρφανῶ καὶ χήρα "· τῷ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς  
 συγγενεῖς, οὓς μόνους εἰκὸς ἔχειν συναγωνιστάς,  
 ἐχθροὺς ἀσυμβάτους εἰργάσατο ἑαυτῷ μεταναστὰς  
 εἰς ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς τιμίου τιμὴν ἀπὸ  
 μυθικῶν πλασμάτων καὶ πολυαρχίας, ἃ γονεῖς καὶ  
 πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀφ' αἵματος  
 τοῦ στειλαμένου τὴν καλὴν ἀποικίαν ταύτην ἐξετί-  
 μησαν· τῷ δ' ἐπειδὴ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς  
 τῶν ἐκ φύσεως βοηθῶν καὶ ὑπερμάχων ἐστέρηται  
 δυνάμειος τῆς μόνης εἰς συμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίας  
 ἐρημωθεῖς· τῇ δ' ὅτι τὸν διαδεξάμενον ἄνδρα τὴν  
 τῶν γονέων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν ἀφήρηται·  
 γυναικὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς κηδεμονίαν ὅπερ<sup>2</sup> γονεῖς  
 179 παρθένῳ· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν  
 Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὀρφανοῦ λόγον ἔχει συγκρινόμενον  
 τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ πᾶσι· τὰ μὲν γάρ, ὅποτε μὴ θεή-  
 [366] λατοὶ κατασκήπτοιεν συμφοραί, διὰ | τὰς ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔθνεσιν ἐπιμξίας οὐκ ἀπορεῖ βοηθῶν κοινοπρα-  
 γούντων,<sup>3</sup> τῷ δ' ἠκιστὰ τις συναγωνίζεται νόμοις  
 ἐξαιρέτοις χρωμένῳ· σεμνοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Cohn ἐπιλέγει—τίσιν ἢ κρίσις ;

<sup>2</sup> Cohn corrects to ὥσπερ. This seems to me not only unnecessary but to involve a difficult construction, viz. that εἰς κηδεμονίαν is used like the Latin predicative dative "vir custodiae est mulieri" = "custos mulieris." Cohn may perhaps have thought that τοῦτο would be supplied before ὅπερ as in § 186.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. κοινοπραγούντα.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 177-179

powerful, who has no respect to persons, will receive no gifts and executes judgement," he proceeds to say for whom the judgement is executed—not for satraps and despots and men invested with power by land and sea, but for the "incomer,<sup>a</sup> for orphan and widow."

For the incomer, 178 because he has turned his kinsfolk, who in the ordinary course of things would be his sole confederates, into mortal enemies, by coming as a pilgrim to truth and the honouring of One who alone is worthy of honour, and by leaving the mythical fables and multiplicity of sovereigns, so highly honoured by the parents and grand-parents and ancestors and blood relations of this immigrant to a better home.

For the orphan, because he has been bereft of his father and mother his natural helpers and champions, deserted by the sole force which was bound to take up his cause. For the widow because she has been deprived of her husband who took over from the parents the charge of guarding and watching over her, since for the purpose of giving protection the husband is to the wife what the parents are to the maiden.

One may say that the whole Jewish race is in the 179 position of an orphan compared with all the nations on every side. They when misfortunes fall upon them which are not by the direct intervention of heaven are never, owing to international intercourse, unprovided with helpers who join sides with them. But the Jewish nation has none to take its part, as it lives under exceptional laws which are necessarily grave and severe, because they inculcate the highest

<sup>a</sup> E.V. "stranger." LXX προσηλύτω. Philo, as regularly elsewhere, assumes that he is a proselyte to Judaism.

## PHILO

- ἄτε πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀρετὴν ἀλείφοντες· τὸ δὲ  
 σεμνὸν αὐστηρόν, τοῦτο δ' ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώ-  
 180 πων ἀποστρέφεται διὰ τὴν ἡδονῆς ἀποδοχὴν. ἀλλ'  
 ὅμως τῆς ὀρφανίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρημίας ἔλεον καὶ  
 οἰκτόν φησι Μωυσῆς αἰεὶ λαμβάνειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα  
 τῶν ὄλων ᾧ προσκεκλήρωται, διότι τοῦ σύμπαντος  
 ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀπενεμήθη οἶά τις ἀπαρχὴ τῷ  
 181 ποιητῇ καὶ πατρί. τὸ δ' αἴτιον αἱ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν  
 τοῦ ἔθνους περιμάχητοι δικαιοσύναι καὶ ἀρεταί, αἱ  
 καθάπερ φυτὰ ἀθάνατα διαμένουσιν ἀειθαλέα καρ-  
 πὸν φέρουσαι τοῖς ἀπογόνους σωτήριον καὶ πρὸς  
 πάντα ὠφέλιμον, κἂν αὐτοὶ τύχῃσι διαμαρτάνοντες  
 182 ἰάσιμα ἀλλὰ μὴ παντελῶς ἀνίατα. μὴ  
 μέντοι νομίσας τις ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τέλειον τὴν εὐ-  
 γένειαν ὀλιγωρεῖτω καλῶν πράξεων, λογιζόμενος  
 ὅτι μείζονος ὀργῆς ἄξιος τυγχάνειν ἐστὶν ὁ γεννη-  
 θεὶς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, αἰσχύνην δ' ἐπιφέρων τοῖς  
 γεννήσασιν διὰ τὴν τῶν τρόπων κακίαν· ἔχων γὰρ  
 οἰκεία παραδείγματα καλοκαγαθίας ἃ μιμήσεται  
 καὶ μηδὲν ἀποματτόμενος εἰς ὑγιαίνοντος βίου  
 κατόρθωσιν ἐπίληπτος.
- 183 XXXV. Ἀπαγορεύει δ' ὁ νόμος τῷ τὴν προ-  
 στασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀνειληφότεν  
 δικαιοτάτην ἀπαγόρευσιν, μὴ πορευέσθαι δόλῳ ἐν  
 τῷ ἔθνει· ψυχῆς γὰρ ἀνελευθέρου καὶ σφόδρα δου-  
 λοπρεποῦς ἐπίβουλα ἦθη συσκιαζούσης ὑποκρίσει  
 184 τὸ ἔργον. τὸν γὰρ ἄρχοντα οὕτως χρῆ προεστάναι

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Praem.* 166 and note.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX, Lev. xix. 16. E.V. "Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people." Both in the

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 179-184

standard of virtue. But gravity is austere, and austerity is held in aversion by the great mass of men because they favour pleasure. Nevertheless as 180 Moses tells us the orphan-like desolate state of his people is always an object of pity and compassion to the Ruler of the Universe whose portion it is, because it has been set apart out of the whole human race as a kind of first fruits to the Maker and Father. And 181 the cause of this was the precious signs of righteousness and virtue shown by the founders of the race, signs which survive like imperishable plants, bearing fruit that never decays for their descendants, fruit salutary and profitable in every way, even though these descendants themselves be sinners, so long as the sins be curable and not altogether unto death.<sup>a</sup>

Yet let no one think that good lineage 182 is a perfect blessing and then neglect noble actions, but reflect that greater anger is due to one who while his parentage is of the best brings shame upon his parents by the wickedness of his ways. Guilty is he who, having for his own models of true excellence to copy, reproduces nothing that serves to direct his life aright and keep it sound and healthy.

XXXV. The law lays upon anyone who has under- 183 taken to superintend and preside over public affairs a very just prohibition when it forbids him "to walk with fraud among the people,"<sup>b</sup> for such conduct shows an illiberal and thoroughly slavish soul which disguises its malignant ways with hypocrisy. The 184 ruler should preside over his subjects as a father over

Hebrew and in the LXX it is no doubt a general precept, but as it is preceded by "in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour," Philo might allege some reason for applying it to a person in authority.

## PHILO

τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς πατέρα παίδων, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς  
 ὑπὸ γνησίων υἱῶν ἀντιτιμᾶται· διὸ κοινοὶ πόλεων  
 καὶ ἔθνων γονεῖς, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἄρχοντές  
 εἰσιν οἱ ἀγαθοί, τὴν ἴσην, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περιττο-  
 τέραν εὐνοίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι· τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ  
 ζημίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων μεγάλας περιβαλλομένους  
 185 δυναστείας οὐκ ἄρχοντας ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς προσαγο-  
 ρευτέον, τὰ πολεμίων ἀσυμβάτων δρῶντας. οὐ  
 μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δολερῶς ἀδικοῦντες πονηρότεροι  
 τῶν φανερώς ἐναντιουμένων εἰσίν, εἴ γε τοὺς μὲν  
 ἔνεστι ραδίως ἀμύνασθαι γυμνὴν ἀπαμπίσχοντας  
 τὴν δυσμένειαν, τῶν δ' ἐστὶ δύσληπτος καὶ δυσ-  
 θήρατος ἢ μοχθηρία καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ σκευὴν  
 ἀλλοτρίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντων εἰς ἀπόκριψιν ἀληθοῦς  
 186 ὄψεως. φθάνει δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶδος καὶ δια-  
 δέδυκεν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ  
 βίου μέρη, διαφέρον αὐτὸ μόνον μεγέθει καὶ τῷ  
 ποσῷ. ὅπερ γὰρ πόλεως βασιλεύς, τοῦτο καὶ  
 κώμης ὁ πρῶτος καὶ οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ νοσοῦν-  
 [367] των ἰατρός, καὶ | στρατοπέδου μὲν στρατηγός,  
 ναύαρχος δ' ἐπιβατικοῦ καὶ πληρωμάτων, καὶ  
 πάλιν φορτίδων μὲν καὶ ὀλκάδων ναύκληρος,  
 κυβερνήτης δὲ πλωτήρων· οἱ πάντες δύνανται μὲν  
 ἄμφω τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον, βούλεσθαι δ' ὀφεί-  
 λουσι τὸ ἄμεινον· τὸ ἄμεινον δ' ἐστὶν ὠφελεῖν  
 187 ἀλλὰ μὴ βλάπτειν ὅσους ἂν οἶόν τε ᾗ. τὸ γὰρ  
 ἔπεσθαι θεῷ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ κακείνῳ δύναμις μὲν  
 ἐστὶ δρᾶν ἐκάτερα, βούλεται δὲ μόνον τὰγαθά.  
 μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις τε καὶ διοικήσεις·  
 τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι τάξιν ἐξ

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for MSS. διότι. The correction seems to me uncertain. See note a.

his children so that he himself may be honoured in return as by true-born sons, and therefore <sup>a</sup> good rulers may be truly called the parents of states and nations in common, since they show a fatherly and sometimes more than fatherly affection. But those who assume 185 great power to destroy and injure their subjects should be called not rulers but enemies acting like foemen in bitter war, though indeed those who do wrong craftily are more wicked than open adversaries. These last show their hostility stripped naked and it is easy to make defence against them; the villainy of the others is hard to catch or trace since they assume a strange garb as in a theatre to hide their true appearance. Now "rule" or "com- 186 mand" is a category which extends and intrudes itself, I might almost say, into every branch of life, differing only in magnitude and amount. For the relation of a king to a state is the same as that of a headman to a village, of a householder to a house, of a physician to his patients, of a general to an army, of an admiral to the marines and crews, or again of a skipper to merchant and cargo vessels or of a pilot to the seamen. All these have power both for good and for worse, but they ought to will the better, and the better is to benefit instead of injuring as many as they possibly can. For this is to follow 187 God since He too can do both but wills the good only. This was shown both in the creation and in the ordering of the world. He called the non-existent into existence and produced order from disorder,

<sup>a</sup> "Therefore" is perhaps more logical than the "because" of the mss. (see note 1). But Philo is not incapable of saying "good rulers are the parents of their subjects and *therefore* a ruler must behave as such."

## PHILO

ἀταξίας καὶ ἐξ ἀποίων ποιότητος καὶ ἐξ ἀνομοίων  
 ὁμοιότητος καὶ ἐξ ἑτεροιοτήτων ταυτότητας καὶ  
 ἐξ ἀκοινωνήτων καὶ ἀναρμόστων κοινωνίας καὶ  
 ἁρμονίας καὶ ἐκ μὲν ἀνισότητος ἰσότητα ἐκ δὲ  
 σκότους φῶς ἐργασάμενος· αἰὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπιμελὲς  
 αὐτῷ καὶ ταῖς εὐεργέτισιν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεσι τὸ  
 πλημμελὲς τῆς χείρονος οὐσίας μεταποιεῖν καὶ  
 188 μεθαρμόζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω. XXXVI. ταῦτα  
 μιμῆσθαι προσήκει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄρχοντας, εἴ γέ  
 τις αὐτοῖς φροντίς ἐστιν ἐξομοιώσεως τῆς πρὸς  
 θεόν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπορρεῖ μυρία καὶ λανθάνει τὸν ἀνθρώ-  
 πινον νοῦν, ἅτ' ἐνδεδεμένον αἰσθήσεων ὄχλω  
 τοσοῦτῳ παραγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπατήσαι ψευδέσι δόξαις  
 ἱκανωτάτῳ, μᾶλλον δ' ἐντετυμβευμένον θνητῷ  
 σώματι, ὃ κυρίως ἂν τις σῆμα καλέσειε, μηδεὶς  
 αἰδεῖσθω δικαστῆς ὁμολογῶν ἀγνοεῖν ὅπερ ἀγνοεῖ.  
 189 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ ψευδόμενος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενή-  
 σεται χείρων, ἀλήθειαν ὑπερόριον τῆς ψυχῆς  
 πεφυγαδευκώς· ἔπειτα δὲ μυρία βλάψει τοὺς  
 κρινομένους, τυφλὴν γνῶσιν ἀποφαινόμενος τῷ μὴ  
 190 βλέπειν τὰ δίκαια. ὅταν οὖν ἀμαυρὰν ποιῆται<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν ἀντίληψιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀσάφειαν καὶ πολὺ  
 σκότος ἀπεργαζομένων, παραιτείσθω τὰς κρίσεις

<sup>1</sup> Cohn in his footnote and still more strongly in a note to Heinemann's translation condemns ποιῆται and suggests οἶηται or ἡγήται. But examples of ποιείσθαι τι coupled with

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qualities from things devoid of quality, similarities from dissimilars, identities from the totally different, fellowship and harmony from the dissociated and discordant, equality from inequality and light from darkness. For He and His beneficent powers ever make it their business to transmute the faultiness of the worse wherever it exists and convert it to the better. XXXVI. These things good rulers must imitate if they have any aspiration to be assimilated to God.<sup>a</sup> 188

But since a vast number of circumstances slip away from or are unnoticed by the human mind, imprisoned as it is amid all the thronging press of the senses, so competent to seduce and deceive it with false opinions, or rather entombed in a mortal body which may be quite properly called a sepulchre,<sup>b</sup> let no judge be ashamed, when he is ignorant of anything, to confess his ignorance. Otherwise in the first place the false pretender will himself deteriorate as he has banished truth from the confines of the soul, and secondly he will do immense harm to the suitors if through failing to see what is just he pronounces a blind decision. So then if the facts create a sense of uncertainty and great obscurity, and he feels that his apprehension of them is but dim, he should 189 190

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 436.

<sup>b</sup> Σῆμα σώμα—a well-known play of words, Plato, *Cratylus* 400 B, *Gorgias* 493 A. See App. p. 436.

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an adjective or adjectival phrase in the sense of "consider" are fairly common, and though perhaps none quoted are quite analogous to this "considers his apprehension to be dim," they come near enough to it to forbid dogmatism. On the other hand is *οἶεσθαι* followed by the adjective, without an expressed infinitive, in ordinary Greek?

## PHILO

- καὶ ἀναπεμπέτω πρὸς ἀκριβεστέρους δικαστάς· οὗτοι δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ἢ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ τῶν ἱερέων
- 191 ἕξαρχος καὶ ἡγεμών; οἱ γὰρ λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ γνήσιοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπιμελῶς ἠκόνηται, τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν οὐ μικρὸν σφάλμα ἠγούμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἐν ἅπασιν ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ θεραπευομένου βασιλέως —διὸ καὶ προστέτακται πᾶσι τοῖς ἱερωμένοις νηφάλια<sup>1</sup> θύειν, ἵνα μηδὲν τοῦ παραπαίειν καὶ παραληρεῖν φάρμακον ὑπείσθλων τοὺς τῆς διανοίας
- 192 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀμαυρώσῃ—, τάχα δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερεὺς εὐθύς ἐστὶ προφήτης, οὐ γένοι
- [368] μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρετῇ παρεληλυθὼς ἐπὶ | τὴν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείαν, προφήτῃ δ' οὐδὲν ἄγνωστον, ἔχοντι νοητὸν ἥλιον ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσκίους αὐγὰς, εἰς ἐναργεστάτην κατάληψιν τῶν αἰσθήσει μὲν ἀοράτων διανοία δὲ καταληπτῶν.
- 193 XXXVII. Πάλιν οἱ σταθμῖα καὶ ζυγὰ καὶ μέτρα διαχειρίζοντες ἔμποροι καὶ κάπηλοι καὶ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ὄνια πιπράσκουσι ξηρά τε καὶ ὑγρά τάττονται μὲν ὑπ' ἀγορανόμοις, ὀφείλουσι δ' αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν, ἐὰν σωφρονῶσιν,

<sup>1</sup> So mss. except one νηφαλίον. Cohn, who corrects to νηφαλίους here and in i. 100, must have failed to observe, as I did also there, that νηφάλια θύειν is found in exactly the same connexion in *De Ebr.* 126 and probably *ibid.* 140. So also in *De Vit. Cont.* 74 νηφάλια γὰρ ὡς τοῖς ἱερέεσσι θύειν καὶ τούτοις (*i.e.* the Therapeutae) βιοῦν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ὑφηγεῖται. See App. p. 436.



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 190-193

decline to judge the cases and send them up to more discerning judges.<sup>a</sup> And who should these be but the priests, and the head and leader of the priests? For 191 the genuine ministers of God have taken all care to sharpen their understanding and count the slightest error to be no slight error, because the surpassing greatness of the King whom they serve is seen in every matter; and therefore all officiating priests are commanded to abstain from strong drink when they sacrifice, that no poison to derange<sup>b</sup> the mind and the tongue should steal in and dim the eyes of the understanding. Another possible reason for sending such 192 cases to the priests is that the true priest is necessarily a prophet, advanced to the service of the truly Existent by virtue rather than by birth, and to a prophet nothing is unknown since he has within him a spiritual sun and unclouded rays to give him a full and clear apprehension of things unseen by sense but apprehended by the understanding.<sup>c</sup>

XXXVII. Again those who handle weights and 193 scales and measures, merchants, pedlars and retailers and all others who sell goods to sustain life, solid or liquid, are no doubt subject to market-controllers,<sup>d</sup> but ought, if they have sound sense, to be their own

thee in judgement . . . thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days." Philo understands "the judge" to be the high priest. See App. p. 436.

<sup>b</sup> I understand *παρπαλεῖν* to indicate insanity in general, and *παρληρεῖν* as shown in speech. They may, however, be mere synonyms.

<sup>c</sup> Here or perhaps at § 188, since the next sections apply to the judge rather than to the ruler, ends all that can fall under the head of "appointment of a ruler," and the rest of the treatise is taken up with miscellaneous matters of justice.

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 437.

## PHILO

- ἄρχοντες εἶναι, μὴ φόβῳ τὰ δίκαια δρῶντες ἀλλ' ἔκουσῶ γνώμῃ· τοῦ γὰρ μετ' ἀνάγκης τὸ αὐτο-  
194 κέλευστον κατόρθωμα τιμιώτερον πανταχοῦ. διὸ προστάττει τοῖς καπήλοις καὶ ἐμπόροις καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τὴν τοιαύτην προαίρεσιν ἐπανήρηνται τοῦ βίου ζυγὰ δίκαια καὶ σταθμῖα καὶ μέτρα παρασκευάζεσθαι, μηδὲν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ὠνουμένων κακοτεχνουήσας, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐλευθέρως καὶ ἀδόλου ψυχῆς ἕκαστα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐκείνο λογιζομένους, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄδικα κέρδη βλαβερώτατα, ὁ δὲ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πλοῦτος ἀναφαίρετος.
- 195 Ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλεργίας ἄθλα μισθοὶ πρόκεινται τοῖς δημιουργοῖς, δημιουργοῦσι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἐνδείαις, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷς ἀφθονοὶ περιουσίαι, κελεύει μὴ ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὰς δόσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ παρέχειν ἡμέρα τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν. ἄτοπον γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πενήτων ὑπηρεσίας ἀπειληφέναι τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὰς δ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἀμοιβὰς μὴ ἀντι-  
196 παρασχεῖν ἀπόροις εὐθὺς περιουσίᾳ ζῶντας. ἄρ' οὐκ ἐναργῆ δείγματα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ προφυλακῆς μειζόνων ἀδικημάτων; ὁ γὰρ μηδὲ μισθὸν τὸν πάντως ἀποδοθησόμενον ἐὼν ἐκπρόθεσμον γενέσθαι, προθεσμίαν ὀρίσας ἐσπέραν, ἐν ἣ δεήσει τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀπαλλαττόμενον οἴκαδε κομίσασθαι τὴν ἀμοιβήν, οὗτος οὐ πολὺ πρότερον ἀρπαγῆν  
128

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 193-196

rulers and do what is just not through fear but of their own free will, for a right action if self-prompted is everywhere held in higher honour than if done under compulsion.<sup>a</sup> And therefore he commands 194 tradesmen, merchants and all who have taken up such a line of life to provide themselves with just scales and weights and measures, and eschew dishonest plots to injure their customers, and rather let every word and deed spring from a liberal and guileless spirit, considering that unjust gains are utterly pernicious but wealth which comes of justice can never be taken away.<sup>b</sup>

Since workmen or labourers are offered wages as a 195 reward for their industry and the persons so employed are the needy and not those who have abundance of resources to spare, he orders the employer not to postpone his payment but to render the stipulated wages on that very day.<sup>c</sup> For it is against all reason that the well-to-do, with their ample means of livelihood should after receiving the services of the poor fail to render at once to the needy the recompense for their services. Have we not here clearly indicated a 196 warning against worse iniquities? He who having appointed the evening<sup>d</sup> as the time in which a labourer should receive his recompense when he leaves for home, and does not even permit the wage though its final payment is assured to be delayed beyond the agreed hour—how much more does he forbid robbery

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xix. 35, 36, Deut. xxv. 13-15.

<sup>b</sup> I understand this to mean not, as Heinemann, justly earned wealth, which Philo could hardly suppose to be absolutely secure, but the spiritual wealth which the possession of justice entails, *cf. e.g. De Virt.* 8.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xix. 13, Deut. xxiv. 15.

<sup>d</sup> "The sun shall not go down upon it," Deut. *l.c.*

## PHILO

ἀπαγορεύει καὶ κλοπὴν καὶ χρεωκοπίαν καὶ ὅσα  
τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα, διαπλάττων καὶ διαμορφῶν  
τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς δόκιμον εἶδος τὸ καλοκάγαθίας  
αὐτῆς;

- 197 XXXVIII. Εὖ μέντοι κάκεινο διείρηται, ὅπως  
μηδεὶς μηδένα βλασφημῆ καὶ κακηγορῆ, καὶ  
μάλιστα κωφὸν οὔτε αἴσθησιν ὧν ἀδικεῖται δυνά-  
μενον λαβεῖν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις αὐτὸ τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> ἀμύ-  
νασθαι. μάχη γὰρ πασῶν ἐκνομωτάτη, καθ' ἣν  
τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος ἐν τῷ δρᾶν ἐξετάζεται, τὸ δ'  
198 ἕτερον ἐν τῷ μόνον πάσχειν. τοῖς δὲ κακηγοροῦσι  
τοὺς ἀναύδους καὶ τὰ ὦτα βεβλαμμένους ὅμοιον  
ἀδίκημα δρῶσιν οἱ τυφλοῖς ὀλίσθους ἐμποιοῦντες  
καὶ ἕτερ' ἅττα<sup>2</sup> ἐν ποσὶ τιθέντες· ἀνάγκη γάρ,  
οὐχ οἴους τε ὄντας ὑπερβαίνειν δι' ἄγνοιαν, περι-  
πταίοντας ἀμφότερα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαμαρτάνειν  
199 καὶ τὰς βάσεις βλάπτεισθαι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν τοιούτων  
ἐργάταις τε καὶ ζηλωταῖς ἐπανατείνεται θεοῦ  
[369] φόβον ὁ νόμος, εἰκότως καὶ | προσηκόντως, ἐπειδὴ  
μόνος οὗτος τὴν χεῖρα ὑπερέχει καὶ προασπίζει  
τῶν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἀδυνατούντων· καὶ μόνον οὐκ  
200 ἀντικρὺς φησι τοῖς ἀδικοπραγοῦσι· “ τοὺς μὲν

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 196-200

and theft and repudiation of debts and other things of the same kind, and thus mould and shape the soul into the approved standard, into the form of true goodness itself.

XXXVIII. Another excellent injunction is that no 197 one is to revile or abuse any other, particularly a deaf-mute<sup>a</sup> who can neither perceive the wrong he suffers nor retaliate in the same way, nor on an equal footing. For no kind of fighting is so utterly unfair as that where activity is the part assigned to one side and only passivity to the other. This offence of reviling 198 those who have lost the power of speech and the use of their ears is paralleled by those who cause the blind to slip or put some other obstacles in their way.<sup>b</sup> For since in their ignorance they cannot surmount them, they needs must stumble about so that they both miss the right path and damage their feet.<sup>c</sup> Those who carry out or have a zest for such tricks 199 are menaced by the law with the terrors of God's wrath; this is right and reasonable, since it is God alone whose arm is extended to shield those who are unable to help themselves. And his words are little less than a plain declaration to the workers of iniquity "Ye senseless fools, you expect to go un- 200

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xix. 14. E.V. "thou shalt not curse the deaf." LXX "thou shalt not speak ill of the deaf." The sequel shows that Philo understands *κωφόν* to include dumbness.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* "nor put a stumbling-block before the blind."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Deut. xxvii. 18 "cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way."

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<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. *παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο* = "for this very reason," *i.e.* that they are *κωφοί*. The *αὐτὸ τοῦτο* alone somewhat strains the use of the cognate accusative.

<sup>2</sup> Mangey with some MSS. *ἐνεδρα* = "traps."

## PHILO

πλημμελουμένους, ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν,<sup>1</sup> λήσεσθαι νομίζετε γέλωτα ἡγούμενοι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς καὶ εἰς ταῦτα ἔξαμαρτάνοντες, περὶ ἃ συμβέβηκεν ἀτυχεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὧτα μὲν διὰ κακηγοριῶν, ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ὀλίσθων· τὸν δὲ πάντων ἔφορον καὶ δίοπον θεὸν οὐδέποτε λήσεσθε κακοπραγίαις ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων ἐπεμβαίνοντες, ὡς τὰς ὁμοίας κήρας οὐκ ἐνδεξόμενοι, σῶμα μὲν πάσαις ἀλωτὸν νόσοις περιφέροντες, αἰσθήσεις δ' ἐπικήρως ἐχούσας, αἱ μικρὰς ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως οὐκ ἀμαυροῦνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 201 ἀνιάτους ὑπομένουσι πηρώσεις." τοὺς οὖν ἐπιληλησμένους μὲν ἑαυτῶν, ἐπικυδεστέροισι δ' οἰομένους εἶναι τῆς φυσικῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενείας, ἐκπεφευγέναι δὲ τὰς ἀδήλους καὶ ἀτεκμάρτους τῆς τύχης ἐπιβουλὰς, ἣ πολλάκις αἰφνιδίους σκηπτοὺς ἐπέρριψε καὶ εὐπλοία βίου χρωμένους μόνον οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς λιμέσιν εὐδαιμονίας κατέκλυσε, τί δεῖ μεγαλαυχεῖν καὶ ἐπεμβαίνειν συμφοραῖς ἐτέρων, μηδὲ τὴν πάρεδρον δίκην τοῦ πάντων ἡγεμόνος

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation here should be specially noted. All other editions have φησι τοῖς ἀδικοπραγοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πεπλημμελημένους· "ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν," κτλ. Mangey, Cohn, and Heinemann all take this punctuation for granted. Mangey strangely translates "videtur affari insontes laedentibus." Cohn pronounced τοὺς μὲν πεπλημμελημένους to be corrupt (see his discussion in *Hermes*, 1908, p. 210). The μὲν, as he says, has no δὲ or other antithesis, and πεπλημμελημένους, which he unnecessarily thinks intended to = "the disabled," cannot have that meaning. (If however it is taken in the ordinary sense of "the wronged," it is merely otiose after ἀδικοπραγοῦσι.) Accordingly he proposed τοὺς μέρος τι πεπηρωμένους and Heinemann follows him.

With the changed punctuation all difficulty, I believe, is removed. τοὺς μὲν πλημμελουμένους is in its right place as an

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 200-201

detected by those whom you wrong when you count their calamities a laughing matter and work your wickedness against those parts in which misfortune has befallen them, against their ears by your reviling, against their eyes by the pitfalls which you set in their way. But you will never go undetected by God who surveys and controls all things, when you trample on the misfortunes of stricken men, as if you could never fall into like disasters, though the body which you have always with you can become the prey of every disease and your senses are perishable, liable through some trifling and quite ordinary occasion, not merely to be dulled and darkened but also to suffer incurable disablement." These persons have 201 lost the knowledge of their real selves; they think that distinction raises them above the natural weakness of mankind and that they have escaped the uncertainties and caprices of fortune's hostility, fortune who often launches her sudden blasts on those who are sailing prosperously through life and sends them foundering when almost in the very harbour of felicity. What right have they to vaunt themselves and trample on the misfortunes of others without respect for the assessor of the ruler of all, justice,

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antithesis to τὸν δὲ . . . θεὸν, and the sense is improved, as the tricksters of course are right in thinking that they will go undetected by their victims. I do not think any objection can be raised by the transference of the vocative from the beginning of the clause to a later place. Such a position, if not general, is certainly found, *e.g.* in i. 320, iii. 66. The general use of ἀδικοπραγεῖν intransitively also supports my view. See App. p. 437.

Between πλημμελουμένων and πεπλημμελημένων the MSS. are divided. I have a very slight preference for the present, as the authors of the outrage are undetected at the time.

## PHILO

αἰδουμένους, ἢ θέμις ἀκοιμήτοις καὶ ὄξυωπεστάτοις ὄμμασι καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ  
 202 περιαθρεῖν; οὗτοί μοι δοκοῦσι μηδ' ἂν τετελευ-  
 τηκότων ἀποσχέσθαι δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὠμότητος, ἀλλὰ (τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς) μὴ ἂν ὀκνήσαι νεκροὺς ἐπισφάττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μέρεσι τοῖς τρόπον τινὰ προτεθνηκόσιν ἐναλύειν καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν ἀξιοῦσιν—ὄφθαλμοὶ τε γὰρ μὴ βλέποντες νεκροὶ καὶ ὦτα μὴ ἀκούοντα—, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ οὐ μέρη ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθείη, τὸ ἀνηλεές καὶ ἀσύμβατον ἐπιδείξονται, μηδὲν ἀνθρώπινον καὶ συμπαθὲς δράσαντες, ἃ τετελευτηκόσι καὶ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐν ἀκηρύκτοις πολέμοις σῶζεται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

203 XXXIX. Ἀρμονίαν δέ τινα στοιχηδὸν ἐξῆς τίθησιν ὁμοιοτρόπων παραγγελμάτων, φάσκων τὰ κτήνη μὴ ὀχεύειν ἑτεροζύγοις, τὸν ἀμπελῶνα μὴ κατασπείρειν δίφορον,<sup>1</sup> ἱμάτιον ἐκ δυοῖν ὑφασμένον, κίβδηλον ἔργον, μὴ ἀμπέχεσθαι. λέλεκται δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μοιχῶν, πρὸς ἔμφασιν  
 [370] τρανοτέραν τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀλλοτρίοις γάμοις | ἐφ-  
 εδρεύειν, φθείροντας μὲν ἦθη γυναικῶν, φθείροντας δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τέκνων σπορᾷ γνησίων χρηστὰς ἐλπίδας· ὁ γὰρ τὰς ἐν ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἑτερογενῶν

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. *διάφορον* and in § 208. The same variation is found in the corresponding passages of the mss. of the LXX.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. ii. 94 f.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xix. 19, Deut. xxii. 9-11. Both passages include the rule of the vineyard and the mixed garment. But in Leviticus the different species are not to mate, in Deuteronomy not to plough together. Philo in the main follows Leviticus,



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 201-203

whose right and duty it is with the surpassing keenness of her never-sleeping eyes to survey the secrets of the corner as though they were in bright sunlight. These men, it seems to me, would in their exceeding 202 cruelty not spare the dead<sup>a</sup> but would without a qualm reslay the slain, to use the popular phrase, since they shrink not to vent their outrageous fury on parts in a sense already dead, eyes which seeing not and ears which hearing not are just corpses. And therefore if he to whom these parts belong should be removed from amongst men, they will show their implacable ruthlessness and grant him none of that human and sympathetic treatment which is maintained towards the fallen even by enemies in the bitterest warfare. So much for this part of the subject.

XXXIX. <sup>b</sup> He also lays down an ordered series of 203 injunctions all on the same lines by forbidding them to mate their cattle with those of a different species, or to sow the vineyards for two kinds of fruit, or to wear a garment adulterated<sup>c</sup> by weaving it from two materials. The first of these prohibitions has been mentioned in our denunciation of adulterers<sup>d</sup> to suggest still more clearly the wickedness of conspiring against the wedlock of other people, thereby ruining the morals of the wives as well as any honest hopes of begetting a legitimate family. For by prohibiting the crossing of irrational animals with different species

but takes account in §§ 205 f. of Deuteronomy, treating it as an illustration. In E.V. Leviticus has "field" of the second injunction, Deuteronomy "vineyard." But the LXX has "vineyard" in both.

<sup>c</sup> E.V. "mingled together." The LXX *κίβδηλον*, which Philo quotes, probably meant the same, but he could easily read into it the sense of adulterated.

<sup>d</sup> See iii. 46 ff.

## PHILO

- 204 ὀχείας ἀπηγορευκῶς ἔοικε πόρρωθεν ἀνακοπήν  
 μοιχῶν ἐργάζεσθαι. λεκτέον δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς  
 περὶ δικαιοσύνης· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πλείοσιν ἐφαρμότ-  
 τειν, εἰ δύναιτό πως, οὐ παρετόν. ἔστιν οὖν  
 δίκαιον εἰς ταυτὸν ἄγειν τὰ δυνάμενα κοινωνεῖν·  
 τὰ δ' ὁμογενῆ πέφυκεν εἰς κοινωνίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅσα  
 ἕτερογενῆ κατὰ τὸναντίον ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινωνήτα,  
 οἷς ὁ μηχανώμενος ἐκθέστους ὁμιλίας ἄδικος,  
 205 νόμον φύσεως ἀναιρῶν. ὁ δ' ὄντως ἱερός νόμος  
 τοσαύτῃ προμηθείᾳ κέχρηται τοῦ δικαίου, ὥστ'  
 οὐδ' ἄροτον γῆς ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν τὴν  
 ἰσχὺν ἀνίσων, ἀλλ' ἐν ταυτῷ καταζεύξαντας ὄνον  
 τε καὶ μόσχον ἀροτριᾶν ἐκώλυσεν, ἵνα μὴ περιττῇ  
 δυνάμει τοῦ μᾶλλον ἐρρωμένου τὸ ἀσθενέστερον  
 206 ἀμιλλᾶσθαι βιασθὲν ἀπείπη καὶ προκάμη. καίτοι  
 τὸ μὲν ἐρρωμενέστερον, ὁ ταῦρος, ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν  
 καθαρῶν ζώων ἀναγράφεται, τὸ δ' ἀσθενέστερον,  
 ὁ ὄνος, ἐν τῇ τῶν μὴ καθαρῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ  
 τοῖς χείροσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ὠφε-  
 λείας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου, πρὸς ἀναγκαιοτάτην  
 μάθησιν, ὡς γ' οἶμαι, δικαστῶν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐν ταῖς  
 κρίσεσιν ἐλαττώσι τοὺς δυσγενεῖς ἐν οἷς οὐ γένους  
 ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐστὶν ἐξέτασις.  
 207 ἐμπερές ἐστὶ τούτοις διάταγμα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ, τὸ μὴ συνυφαίνειν τὰς ἕτεροι-  
 δεῖς οὐσίας, ἔρια καὶ λῖνα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων οὐ  
 μόνον ἡ διαφορότης ἀκοινωνήτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ  
 ἐπικράτεια θατέρου ῥῆξιν ἀπεργαζομένη<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἔνωσιν, ὅταν δέη χρῆσθαι.
- 208 XL. Μέσον ἦν τῆς ἐν συζυγίᾳ τριάδος τὸ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπεργαζόμενον -σόμενον -σάμενον.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 203-208

he appears to be indirectly working towards the prevention of adultery. But the law should be mentioned 204 also here, where the theme is justice, for we must not neglect the opportunity where possible of using the same point to bring out more than one moral. Now it is just to join together things which can associate, and the homogeneous are made for association just as the heterogeneous on the other hand cannot be blended or associated, and one who plans to bring them into abnormal companionship is unjust because he upsets a law of nature. But the law in its essential 205 holiness shows such thoughtfulness for what is just that it does not even allow the land to be ploughed by animals of unequal strength and forbids the ass and the young bull to be yoked together for this purpose, lest the weaker partner, forced to compete with the extra power of the stronger, should break down and faint on the way. It is true indeed that 206 the stronger, the bull, is named in the list of clean animals while the weaker, the ass, belongs to the unclean. Nevertheless the law did not grudge the help of justice to the seemingly inferior, in order, I believe, to teach judges a most indispensable lesson that they should not in their judgements set the meanly born at a disadvantage, when the point under examination is not concerned with birth but with good and bad conduct.

Also similar to these two 207 is the last enactment in the group, which forbids wool and linen, substances differing in kind, to be woven together, for in this case not only does the difference forbid association, but also the superior strength of the one will produce a rupture rather than unification when they have to be worn.

XL. Midway in the group of the three comes the 208

## PHILO

- κατασπείρειν ἀμπελῶνα δίφορον. πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα μὴ φύρηται συγχεόμενα τὰ γένους ὄντα ἑτέρου· σπαρτὰ γὰρ δένδροις καὶ δένδρα σπαρτοῖς ἀνοί- κεια. παρὸ καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν προθεσμίαν ἀμφοτέροις ὤρισεν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑτησίων καρπῶν γένεσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν εἰς ἄμητον ὥραν ἀπένειμε τὸ ἔαρ, τοῖς δ' εἰς συγκομιδὴν ἀκροδρύων λῆγον
- 209 θέρους. συμβαίνει γοῦν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὰ μὲν ἀφαναίνεσθαι προανθήσαντα, τὰ δὲ βλαστά- νειν προαφαναυθέντα· χειμῶνι μὲν γὰρ φυλλορρο- ούντων δένδρων τὰ σπαρτὰ ἀνθεῖ, ἔαρι δὲ κατὰ τοῦναντίον αὐαινομένων ὅσα σπαρτὰ βλαστάνουσι αἱ δένδρων ἡμέρων τε καὶ ἀγρίων ὕλαι· καὶ σχεδὸν ὁ αὐτὸς ὄρος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ μὲν τῶν σπαρτῶν καρποὶ τελειοῦνται, οἱ δὲ τῶν δένδρων ἀρχὴν
- 210 γενέσεως λαμβάνουσι. εἰκότως οὖν τὰ τοσοῦτον [371] ἀλλήλων | διηρημένα καὶ ταῖς φύσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀνθήσεσι καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν τὰ οἰκεία καιροῖς δι- ἔξυξε καὶ διώκισε τάξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας εἰσηγούμενος· τάξει μὲν γὰρ συγγενὲς κόσμος, ἀταξία δὲ τὸ
- 211 ἄκοσμον. δεύτερον δέ, ἵνα μὴ ἑκάτερα τὰ εἶδη βλάβηται τε καὶ ἀντιβλάβηται, τὴν τρο- φὴν τὰ ἕτερα τῶν ἑτέρων παρασπώμενα, ἧς κατα- κερματιζομένης, οἷα ἐν λιμῶ καὶ σπάνει, ἀναγκαίως τὰ φυτὰ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἐξασθενήσῃ καὶ ἡ στεί- ρωσιν ἐνδέξεται πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς ἀφορήσαντα ἢ

<sup>a</sup> ὕλη is here a collective noun embracing a genus or variety of trees or vegetation. So below § 229 and i. 74 τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης. This sense is not given in L. & S.

<sup>b</sup> This word is very inadequate as a translation for κόσμος here, but I doubt whether any equivalent to it exists in English. It is something higher than mere τάξις, and thus

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 208-211

order not to sow the vineyard for bearing two kinds of fruit. The first reason for this is to keep things of a different kind from being mixed and confused. For sown crops have no relation to trees nor trees to sown crops and therefore nature has not appointed the same date to both for producing their annual fruits, but has assigned spring to the one for reaping the corn harvest and the end of summer to the other for gathering the fruits. Thus we find that the sown 209 plants after their flowering wither at the same time as the trees sprout after withering. For the sown plants flower in the winter when the trees shed their leaves while on the contrary in the spring when all the sown plants are withering the trees of both types<sup>a</sup> the cultivated and the wild are sprouting, and practically it is at the same time that the crops reach their fullness and the fruits begin to grow. These two so greatly differing in their natures, their 210 flowerings and their seasons for gendering their own particular products he rightly put asunder and set at a distance from each other, thus reducing disorder to order. For order is akin to seemliness<sup>b</sup> and disorder to unseemliness.

The second reason 211 was to prevent each of the two species from hurting and being hurt in return by abstracting the nourishment from each other. For if this nourishment is divided up, as it is in times of famine and dearth, all the plants will necessarily lose all their strength and either become sterilized and completely unproductive or else bear nothing but poor fruit as a consequence can be used to signify good behaviour and adornment and the perfection of the cosmic system (*cf.* § 237). Perhaps "harmony" might come nearest to it. Heinemann gives "regularity" and "order" ("Regelmässigkeit" and "Ordnung").

## PHILO

- εὐγενεῖς καρποὺς οὐδέποτε οἶσει προεξασθενήσαντα  
 212 ταῖς ἐνδείαις. τρίτον δέ, ὅπως ἀρετῶσα  
 γῆ μὴ πιέζηται βαρυτάτοις ἄχθεσι, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ  
 τῆς τῶν σπειρομένων ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ φυομένων  
 συνεχοῦς καὶ ἐπαλλήλου πυκνότητος, τοῦτο δ' ὑπὸ  
 τῆς τῶν καρπῶν διπλασιαζομένης φορᾶς. ἀπόχρη  
 γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς χωρίου λαμβάνειν ἓνα δασμὸν ἐτήσιον  
 τῷ κεκτημένῳ, καθάπερ ἐκ πόλεως βασιλεῖ· τὸ δὲ  
 φόρους ἐπιχειρεῖν πλείους ἐκλέγειν φιλοχρηματίας  
 ὑπερβαλλούσης ἔργον ἐστίν, ἧ καὶ τὰ φύσεως  
 213 ἀνατρέπεται νόμιμα. διὸ φαίη ἂν ὁ νόμος τοῖς  
 ἐγνωκόσι τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας ἕνεκα πλεονεξίας κατα-  
 σπείρειν· “ μὴ χείρους γίνεσθε τῶν ὄπλοις καὶ  
 στρατείαις πόλεις καὶ χώρας ὑπηγμένων βασιλέων,  
 οἱ προνοία τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ ἅμα φειδοῖ τῶν  
 ὑπηκόων ἓνα δασμὸν ἐτήσιον ἐκλέγειν ἀξιούσι,  
 στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ μὴ βραχεῖ καιρῷ κατὰ τὸ  
 παντελὲς εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν αὐτοὺς ἀγαγεῖν.  
 214 ἡμεῖς δ' εἰάν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐδάφους ἕαρι μὲν τοὺς  
 κριθῶν καὶ πυρῶν φόρους ἀναπράττητε, θέρει δὲ  
 τοὺς τῶν ἀκροδρύων, διπλασίους αὐτὸ δασμοῖς  
 ἐκτραχηλιεῖτε· ἀπαγορεύσει γὰρ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς  
 ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον οὐκ ἐωμένον διαπνεῖν καὶ συλ-  
 215 λέγεσθαι δύναμιν εἰς ἑτέρας ἀγωνίας ἀρχήν. ἀλλ'  
 εἰκόκατε ῥαδίως ὦν διαταξάμην κοινωφελῶν ἐκ-  
 λανθάνεσθαι· εἰ γοῦν ἐμέμνησθε τῆς περὶ τοῦ  
 ἐβδόμου ἔτους εἰσηγήσεως, καθ' ἣν ἐδικαίωσα  
 τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐξανίσθαι μηδενὶ τῶν κατὰ  
 γεωργίαν ἔργων ἀποτρυχομένην ἕνεκα τῶν ἐν  
 ἐξαετία πόνων, οὓς ὑπέστη καρποφοροῦσα ταῖς

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<sup>a</sup> This use of *καιρός* for a space of time is strange. Pos-  
 140

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 211-215

of the debility caused by their lack of nourishment.

The third reason was that good soil 212 should not suffer from the pressure of two very heavy burdens, one the close unbroken density of the plants which are sown and grow on the same spot, the other the task of bearing a double crop of fruit. A single yearly tribute from a single piece of ground is enough for the owner to receive, as the same from a city is enough for a king. To attempt to levy more than one toll shows excessive avarice, and that is a vice which upsets the laws of nature. And therefore the 213 law would say to those who are minded to gratify their covetousness by laying down seed in their vineyard "do not show yourselves inferior to kings who have subdued cities and countries by arms and military expeditions. They with an eye to the future and at the same time wishing to spare their subjects deem it best to levy one yearly tribute in order to avoid reducing them in a short space of time<sup>a</sup> to the utmost depths of poverty. But you if you 214 exact from the same plot in the spring its contributions of wheat and barley and in the summer the same from the fruit trees will wring the life out of it by the double taxation. For it will naturally become exhausted like an athlete who is not allowed a breathing space and a chance of rallying his forces to begin another contest. But you appear to forget 215 too easily the injunctions which I gave for the common weal.<sup>b</sup> If only you had remembered my instruction as to the seventh year, in which I laid it down that the holy land should be left at liberty in consideration of its six-years labours, which it under-  
sensibly he means "with (*i.e.* for) a small advantage." See Dictionary.

<sup>b</sup> See ii. 87-93.

## PHILO

ἐτησίους ὥραις κατὰ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως θεσμούς,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπινεανιευόμενοι καὶ ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες ταῖς  
 πλεονεξίαις καινοὺς σπόρους ἐπενοεῖτε τὴν δενδρί-  
 τιδα γῆν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀμπελόφυτον κατα-  
 σπείροντες, ἵνα διτταῖς προσόδοις καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἀμφοτέραις ἀδίκοις αὐξήτε τὰς οὐσίας  
 ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας, ἐκνόμου ἐπιθυμίας,<sup>1</sup> ἀργυρο-  
 216 λογοῦντες. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείναι ὁ αὐτὸς ἔτει τε  
 ἐβδόμῳ τὰ οἰκεία χωρία ἀνιέναι μὴ προσοδεύο-  
 μενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἀνακτήσασθαι πονηθεῖσαν,  
 καὶ βαρύνειν αὐτὴν καὶ πιέζειν διττοῖς ἄχθεσιν.  
 217 ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἀπεφηνάμην τῶν τοιούτων κτημά-  
 [372] των ἀνίερων εἶναι καὶ ἀναγνον | τό τε τῆς ὀπώρας  
 γέννημα καὶ τὸν τοῦ σπόρου καρπὸν, διότι ἀυχενί-  
 ζεται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἄγχεται πνεῦμα ζωοφυτοῦν  
 ἐν ἀρετώσῃ γῇ καὶ ὅτι ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεαῖς ὁ  
 κεκτημένος ἐναλύει καὶ ἐνσπαθᾷ προσαναρρηγνὺς  
 τὰς ἀδίκους ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ, μέτροις αὐτὰς μὴ  
 218 περιορίζων." ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον ἐρασθῆναι τῶν τοιού-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκνόμοις ἐπιθυμίας.

<sup>a</sup> This double phrase ἐπινεανιευόμενοι καὶ ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες  
 has been used in *Quod Deus* 170, where the translation "with  
 swaggering air and gestures of pride" suits the contents.  
 Here any reading that retains the literal sense of "gesticulating"  
 seems out of place, and the phrase may be regarded as  
 a familiar expression for "taking pride in." L. & S. (re-  
 vised) refer to this passage and suppose that ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες  
 means "grasping at." But this does not fit ταῖς πλεονεξίαις.  
 ἐπιχειρονομοῦν is not quoted from any other writer.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxii. 9. R.V. "lest the whole fruit be forfeited,  
 the seed which thou hast sown, and the increase of the vine-  
 yard." In margin for "forfeited," Heb. "consecrated."



## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 215-218

went in bearing fruit at the annual season prescribed by the laws of nature, and not be worn out by any of the husbandman's operations, you would not, recklessly and triumphantly giving full play<sup>a</sup> to your covetous feelings, have planned strange forms of tillage by laying down seed in land fitted for the culture of trees and particularly the vine, just to gain every year two separate revenues both unjustly earned and thus increase your property with the levy which the lawless passion of avarice has led you to exact. For he who can bring himself to let his 216 own farms go free in the seventh year and draw no income from them in order to give the land fresh life after its labours is not the man to overload and oppress them with a double burden. And therefore 217 of necessity I pronounced on such acquisitions that both the autumn harvest and the fruit of the sown crops were unholy and impure,<sup>b</sup> because the life-creating spirit-force in the rich soil is so to speak throttled and strangled, and because the owner vents his wild wastefulness<sup>c</sup> on the gifts of God in an outburst of unjust desires which he does not confine within moderate bounds." Should not our passionate 218 affection go out to such enactments as these which

The A.V. has "defiled." The explanation of this word seems to be that "it is separated to Jehovah and his sanctuary like things under the ban" (Adam Smith) and so shown to be a religious offence. The LXX has *ἵνα μὴ ἀγιασθῆ* which Philo, taking *ἵνα* as often to be consecutive, makes = "so that it is not sanctified."

<sup>c</sup> Heinemann's translation of these words "mishandles and mutilates" (or "mangles"), seems to me to miss their force. Mangey's "insultat et illudit" is better. The general meaning of *σπαθᾶω* is "to spend wastefully," though since wastefulness is not a very obvious characteristic of the action here, "wantonness" might be better.

## PHILO

των ὑψηγήσεων, αἱ μακρόθεν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις πλεονεξιῶν τὴν λύσσαν ἀνείργουσι καὶ ἀνακόπτουσι; ὁ γὰρ ἀπομαθῶν ἐν φυτοῖς ἰδιώτης κέρδος ἄδικον, εἰ λαβόμενος μειζόνων πραγμάτων γένοιτο βασιλεύς, χρήσεται τῷ ἔθει πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκας οὐ διττοὺς φόρους ἀναπράττων οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> δασμοῖς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐκτραχηλίζων· ἱκανὸν γὰρ τὸ σύντροφον ἔθος μαλάξαι σκληρὰ ἦθη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ παιδαγωγῆσαι καὶ διαπλάσαι πρὸς βελτίονας τύπους· τύποι δ' ἀμείνους εἰσίν, οὓς ἐνσφραγίζεται ψυχῇ δικαιοσύνη.

- 219 XLI. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ νομοθετεῖ. καθολικώτεροι δὲ προστάξεις εἰσὶν ἕτεραι, ἃς ἅπαντι τῷ ἔθνει κοινῇ διαγορεύει, παραινῶν ὡς προσενεκτέον οὐ φίλοις καὶ συμμαχοῖς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ  
 220 καὶ τοῖς τῆς συμμαχίας ἀφισταμένοις. ἔαν γάρ, φησὶν, εἴσω τειχῶν κατακλείσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπαυχενίζωσιν, ἢ ὑμετέρα νεότης εὐοπλοῦσα μετὰ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἐπίτω καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ βαλλομένη παραδοκείτω μηδὲν ὄργῃ πρὸ λογισμοῦ χαριζομένη, βεβαιότερον ὅπως καὶ στα-  
 221 θερώτερον ἐγχειρῇ τοῖς πρακτέοις. εὐθύς οὖν πεμπέτω κήρυκας τοὺς προκαλεσομένους εἰς συμβάσεις καὶ ἅμα τὸ ἀξιόμαχον τῆς παριδρυμένης δυνάμεως δηλώσοντας· καὶ ἔαν μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἐνεω-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn inserts διττοῖς before δασμοῖς. It does not seem to me necessary.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "covetous actions directed against men" (as opposed to those directed against plants).

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xx. 10 ff., which describe the proper conduct of

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 218-221

by implication restrain and shackle the mad covetous desires which beset mankind?<sup>a</sup> For he who as a commoner has learned to shun unjust gains in the treatment of his plants will, if he becomes a king with greater matters in his charge, follow his acquired habit when he comes to deal with men and also women. He will not exact a double tribute nor wring the life out of his subjects with his imposts. For long familiar habit has the power to soften harsh temperaments and in a sense to tutor and mould them to better forms, and the better forms are those which justice imprints on the soul.

XLI. These laws he gives to each single person 219 but there are other more general commands which he addresses to the whole nation in common, advising them how to behave not only to friends and allies but also to those who renounce their alliance.<sup>b</sup> For 220 if these revolt, he tells us, and shut themselves up within their walls your well-armed fighting force should advance with its armaments and encamp around them, then wait for a time, not letting anger have free play at the expense of reason, in order that they may take in hand what they have to do in a firmer and steadier spirit. They must therefore 221 at once send heralds to propose terms of agreement and at the same time point out the military efficiency of the besieging power. And if their opponents repent of their rebellious conduct and give way and

war against distant nations, as opposed to the heathen Canaanites, who are to be exterminated. The curious way in which Philo here limits this to war against those who revolt from an alliance, which might perhaps be taken to include breaking treaties in general, can only be explained, I think, as expressing a conviction that the Law could never have intended to sanction wars of conquest or aggression.

## PHILO

τέρισαν μετανοήσαντες ὑπέικωσι πρὸς τὸ εἰρηναῖον  
 τραπόμενοι, δεχέσθωσαν ἄσμενοι τὰς σπονδάς·  
 εἰρήνη γάρ, κὰν ἦ σφόδρα ἐπιζήμιος, λυσιτε-  
 222 λεστέρα πολέμου. εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ἀποτεί-  
 νωνται θρασυόμενοι, ῥωσθέντες ταῖς προθυμίαις,  
 ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου συμμαχίαν ἀήττητον,  
 ἐφορμάτωσαν τὰς ἐλεπόλεις τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφιστάν-  
 τες, εἶτα μέρη τούτων παραρρήξαντες ἐπεισχέ-  
 σθωσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ βάλλοντες μὲν τοῖς δορατίοις  
 εὐστόχως ἐπιστροφάδην δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀναιροῦντες  
 ἀφειδῶς ἀμυνέσθωσαν, ἃ παθεῖν ἐμέλλησαν δια-  
 τιθέντες, ἄχρις ἂν τὸν ἀντιτεταγμένον ἅπαντα  
 223 στρατὸν ἠβηδὸν καταστορέσωσιν. ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ  
 χρυσὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν λαβόντες [καὶ] τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐμπρησάτωσαν πῦρ προσαγαγόντες, ἔνεκα  
 τοῦ μηδ' αὐθίς ποτε δυνηθῆναι τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν  
 διαπνεύσασαν ἐγερθῆναι καὶ στασιάσαι καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 [373] τοῦ νουθετῆσαι φόβῳ τοὺς ὁμόρους, | ἐπειδὴ τοῖς  
 ἐτέρων πάθεσιν ἄνθρωποι διδάσκονται σωφρονεῖν·  
 παρθένους δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας μεθέσθω-  
 σαν, μηδὲν τῶν ὅσα νεωτερίζει πόλεμος ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἔνεκα φυσικῆς ἀσθενείας  
 224 τετιμημένων ἀστρατεία. ἐξ οὗ δῆλον ὅτι τὸ Ἰου-  
 daίων ἔθνος ἔνσπονδον μὲν καὶ φίλον πᾶσι τοῖς

<sup>a</sup> Verse 11 "they shall become tributary and serve thee," which Philo much softens down.

<sup>b</sup> Verse 13. Again much softened down from "thou shalt smite every male thereof," *i.e.* in the city, not merely the opposing force. On the other hand, burning the city is not

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 221-224

show an inclination to peace, the others must accept and welcome the treaty,<sup>a</sup> for peace, even if it involves great sacrifices, is more advantageous than war. But if the adversaries persist in their rashness to the point of madness, they must proceed to the attack invigorated by enthusiasm and having in the justice of their cause an invincible ally. They will plant their engines to command the walls and when they have made breaches in some parts of them pour in altogether and with well-aimed volleys of javelins and with swords which deal death all around them wreak their vengeance without stint, doing to their enemies as the enemies would have done to them, until they have laid the whole opposing army low in a general slaughter.<sup>b</sup> Then after taking the silver and gold and the rest of the spoil they must set fire to the city and burn it up, in order that the same city may not after a breathing space rise up and renew its sedition, and also to intimidate and so admonish the neighbouring peoples, for men learn to behave wisely from the sufferings of others. But they must spare the women,<sup>c</sup> married and unmarried, since these do not expect to experience at their hands any of the shocks of war as in virtue of their natural weakness they have the privilege of exemption from war service. All this shows clearly that the Jewish nation is ready for agreement and

suggested, except in the case of those who have apostatized from the religion of Jehovah, and then the spoil also is accursed and burnt (Deut. xiii. 16).

<sup>c</sup> Here though the Hebrew (*v.* 14) includes the women in the booty, Philo has some authority for his more merciful interpretation in the LXX, which has "thou shalt smite every male, except the women and the stuff (*ἀποσκεύη*)," and then goes on to describe the booty.

## PHILO

ὁμογνώμοσι καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰρηνικοῖς ἔστιν,  
 οὐ μὴν εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὡς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χειρῶν  
 ἀδίκων ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας ἐνδιδόναι, διακρίνει δ', ὅποτε  
 πρὸς ἄμυναν ἴοι, τοὺς ἐπιβούλως ζῶντας καὶ τοῦ-  
 225 ναντίον· τὸ γὰρ κατὰ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐλάχιστα ἢ  
 μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότων φονᾶν εἶποιμ' ἂν ἀνημέρου καὶ  
 ἀτιθάσου ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ προσθήκην ἀνδρῶν πόλεμον  
 κατασκευασάντων ποιείσθαι γυναῖκας, ὧν ὁ βίος  
 226 εἰρηνικὸς φύσει καὶ κατοικίδιος. τοσοῦ-  
 τον δ' ἔρωτα δικαιοσύνης ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς κατ'  
 αὐτὸν πολιτευομένοις, ὥστ' οὐδὲ πόλεως ἐχθρᾶς  
 τὴν ἀρετῶσαν γῆν ἐφήησι λυμαίνεσθαι δηοῦντας ἢ  
 227 δενδροτομοῦντας ἐπὶ φθορᾷ καρπῶν. "τί" γάρ  
 φησι "τοῖς ἀψύχοις μὲν τὴν δὲ φύσιν ἡμέροις καὶ  
 ἡμέρους καρποὺς ἀπογεννῶσι μνησικακεῖς; μὴ  
 γάρ, ὦ οὗτος, ἀνθρώπου πολεμίου δυσμένειαν  
 ἐπιδεικνυται δένδρον, ὡς ἀνθ' ὧν διατίθησιν ἢ  
 διατιθέναι παρεσκευάσται ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνα-  
 228 σπᾶσθαι; τοῦναντίον δὲ ὠφελεῖ παρέχον τοῖς  
 νενικηκόσιν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς  
 ἀβροδίατον βίον· οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι μόνον δασμοὺς  
 φέρουσι τοῖς κυρίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυτὰ τοὺς ὠφελιμω-  
 τέρους κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας, ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ  
 229 ἔστιν." ἀγόνων δὲ καὶ ἔστερωμένων καὶ τῶν ὄσα<sup>1</sup>  
 τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης ἔστω μηδεμία φειδῶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὄσα τῶν et alia.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xx. 19 f.

<sup>b</sup> Verse 20 "Is the tree of the field man, that it should be besieged of thee?" The LXX in the last part has εἰσελθεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου σου εἰς τὸν χάρακα ("enter before thee into siege-work"), which may mean like the Hebrew "to be besieged," but might easily be taken to mean "besiege," whence Philo's "show ill will."

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 224-229

friendship with all like-minded nations whose intentions are peaceful, yet is not of the contemptible kind which surrenders through cowardice to wrongful aggression. When it takes up arms it distinguishes between those whose life is one of hostility and the reverse. For to breathe slaughter against all, even those who have done very little or nothing amiss, shows what I should call a savage and brutal soul, and the same may be said of counting women, whose life is naturally peaceful and domestic, to be accessories to men who have brought about the war.

Indeed so great a love for justice does the law instil into those who live under its constitution that it does not even permit the fertile soil of a hostile city to be outraged by devastation or by cutting down trees to destroy the fruits.<sup>a</sup> "For why," it says, "do you bear a grudge against things which though lifeless are kindly in nature and produce kindly fruits? Does a tree, I ask you, show ill will to the human enemy that it should be pulled up roots and all, to punish it for ill which it has done or is ready to do to you?"<sup>b</sup> On the contrary it benefits you by providing the victors with abundance both of necessities<sup>c</sup> and of the comforts which ensure a life of luxury. For not only men but plants also pay tributes to their lords as the seasons come round, and theirs are the more profitable since without them life is impossible. But as to the trees which had or have lost the power to bear fruit and all the wild type there should be no stinting in cutting them

<sup>a</sup> As the trees include vines and olives, they provide necessities. The other fruits give the comfortable life (*cf. De Praem.* 107).

## PHILO

τέμνειν εἰς χαρακώματα καὶ σταυροὺς καὶ σκόλοπας τάφροις<sup>1</sup> καί, ὅποτε δέοι, κλιμάκων καὶ πύργων ξυλίνων κατασκευάς· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια γένοιτ' ἂν αὐτῶν χρεία προσήκουσα.

- 230 XLII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἀναφερόμενα εἴρηται. δικαιοσύνην δ' αὐτὴν τίς ἂν ἀξίως ποιητῆς ἢ λογογράφος ὑμνήσαι δύναίτο παντὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ παντὸς ἐγκωμίου κρείττονα καθεστῶσαν; ἔν γοῦν τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἀγαθὸν αὐτῆς, ἡ εὐγένεια, κἂν τᾶλλα τις παραλιπὼν ἡσυχάζῃ,
- 231 γένοιτ' ἂν αὐταρκέστατος ἔπαινος. ἔστι γὰρ ἰσότης, ὡς οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἀκριβοῦντες ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν, μήτηρ δικαιοσύνης. ἰσότης δὲ φῶς ἄσκιον, ἡλιος, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, νοητός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀνισότης, ἐν ἧ<sup>2</sup> τό τε ὑπερέχον καὶ τὸ
- 232 ὑπερεχόμενον, σκότους ἀρχή τε καὶ πηγῆ. πάντα ἰσότης τὰ τε κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς εὖ διατάξατο νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἀκινήτοις. τίς γὰρ
- [374] ἀγνοεῖ τοῦθ', ὅτι | ἡλίῳ μεμέτρηται πρὸς νύκτας ἡμέραι καὶ πρὸς ἡμέρας νύκτες ἰσότητι διαστημάτων ἀναλογούντων; τὰς μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος προσαγορευομένας ἰσημερίας, ἔαρινήν τε καὶ μετοπωρινήν, οὕτως ἡ φύσις ἐτράνωσεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀμουσοτάτους αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἡμερῶν πρὸς
- 234 νύκτας ἰσότητος. τί δέ, σελήνης περίοδοι διαυλοδρομούσης ἀπὸ συνόδου μέχρι πλησιφαοῦς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. καὶ τάφρους. See note a.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἐν ᾧ (= φ).



down at will for siege works and stakes and pales for entrenchment<sup>a</sup> and when necessary for constructing ladders and wooden towers. For these and similar purposes will be a fitting use to which to put them.

XLII. So much then for the rules which come 230 under the head of justice. But as for justice itself what writer in verse or prose could worthily sing its praise, standing as it does superior to all that eulogy or panegyric can say? Indeed one, and that the most august, of its glories, its high lineage, would be a self-sufficient matter for praise if all the rest were left untold. For the mother of justice is equality,<sup>b</sup> as 231 the masters of natural philosophy<sup>c</sup> have handed down to us, and equality is light unclouded, a spiritual sun we may truly call it, just as its opposite, inequality, in which one thing exceeds or is exceeded by another is the source and fountain of darkness. All things in heaven and earth have been ordered 232 aright by equality under immovable laws and statutes, for who does not know that the relation of days to nights and nights to days is regulated by the sun according to intervals of proportional equality? The 233 dates in spring and autumn every year, whose name of equinoxes is derived from the facts observed, are so clearly marked out by nature that even the least learned perceive the equality of length in the days and nights. Again are not the cycles of the moon, 234 as she runs her course backwards and forwards from

<sup>a</sup> I can hardly think that Philo would use the dative in this way. But the other reading *καὶ τάφρους* is not very suitable. Perhaps *ἐπὶ τάφρους*.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Plant.* 122 *δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἰσότης ἔτεκε*; *Quis Rerum* 163 *ἰσότητα τὴν δικαιοσύνης τροφόν*.

<sup>c</sup> Presumably the Pythagoreans. See App. p. 437.

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ἀπὸ τελείας ἐπὶ σύνοδον ἄρ' οὐ διαστημάτων  
 ἰσότητι μεμέτρηνται; καθ' ὅσα γὰρ καὶ ἡλίκα αἱ  
 συναυξήσεις, κατὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα αἱ  
 μειώσεις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ἰδέαις τοῦ ποσοῦ, τῇ τε  
 235 κατὰ πλήθος καὶ τῇ κατὰ μέγεθος. ὥς γε μὴν ἐν  
 τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς οὐσίας, οὐρανῷ, διαφερόντως  
 ἰσότης τετίμηται, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ γείτονι ἀέρι·  
 τετραχῆ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ διαιρεθέντος εἰς τὰς  
 καλουμένας ἐτησίους ὥρας, τρέπεσθαι καὶ μετα-  
 βάλλειν ὁ ἀήρ πέφυκεν ἐν ταῖς τροπαῖς καὶ μετα-  
 βολαῖς ἄλεκτον ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐν ἀταξία τάξιν·  
 ἰσαριθμοῖς γὰρ μηνσὶ διακρινόμενος εἰς τε χειμῶνα  
 καὶ ἔαρ θέρος τε καὶ μετόπωρον, τρισὶν εἰς ἐκάστην  
 ὥραν, ἐκπληροῖ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅς, καθάπερ<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸ  
 μὲνύει τοῦνομα, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα περιέχει  
 συμπεραιούμενος, ἐτέρως οὐκ ἂν τοῦτ' ἐργάσασθαι  
 δυνηθείς, εἰ μὴ ταῖς ἐτησίαις ὥραις αὐτὸν ἐπ-  
 236 ἔχρησεν. ἰσότης <δ> ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ  
 μεταρσίων καὶ πρὸς τὰπίγεια τέταται,<sup>2</sup> τὴν μὲν  
 ἀκραιφνή φύσιν ἑαυτῆς αἰθέρος οὐσαν ἀγχίσπορον  
 ἄνω μετέωρον διαίρουσα, τὴν δ' ὥσπερ αὐγὴν  
 ἡλίου τρόπον <ἐπὶ γῆν><sup>3</sup> ἀποστέλλουσα, δεύτερον  
 237 φέγγος. ὅσα γὰρ πλημμυλεῖ μὲν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν,  
 ἀνισότης, ὅσα δὲ τάξιν ἔχει τὴν προσήκουσαν,  
 ἰσότης ἀπειργάσατο, ἥτις ἐν μὲν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς  
 οὐσίᾳ, κυριώτατα φάναι, κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡς καθάπερ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τέτακται.

<sup>3</sup> This insertion of Cohn's is perhaps hardly necessary, if ποστέλλουσα = "sending away."

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 234-237

the conjunction to the full orb and from her consummation to the conjunction, regulated on the principle of equal intervals? The sum total of her phases and their sizes are exactly the same in her waxing and waning, and so correspond in both forms of quantity, namely number and magnitude. And as equality has 235 received special honour in heaven, the purest part of all that exists, so has it also in heaven's neighbour, the air. The fourfold partition of the year into what we call the annual seasons involves changes and alternations in the air and in these changes and alternations it shows a marvellous order in disorder. For as it is divided by an equal number of months into winter, spring, summer and autumn, three for each season, it carries the year to its fulfilment and the year, as the name *ἐνιαυτός*<sup>a</sup> indicates, contains as it runs to its completion everything in itself, which it would not have been able to do if it had not accepted the law<sup>b</sup> of the annual seasons. But equality stretches 236 down from the celestial and aerial regions to the terrestrial too. The pure part of its being which is akin to ether it raises into the heights, but another part sun-like it sends earth-wards as a ray, a secondary brightness. For all that goes amiss in our life is the 237 work of inequality, and all that keeps its due order is of equality, which in the universe as a whole is most properly called the cosmos,<sup>c</sup> in cities and states is

<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Cratylus* 410 D.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "lent it itself," "put itself at the service of." Both Mangey and Heinemann seem to suppose that it means "helped itself with" or "made use of." But no such usage is recorded of the active verb, either in this compound or the uncompounded *χράω*.

<sup>c</sup> Or "cosmic system." See on § 210.

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ἄστεσιν ἢ εὐνομωτάτη καὶ πολιτειῶν ἀρίστη  
δημοκρατία, ἔν τε αὖ σώμασιν ὑγεία καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς  
καλοκάγαθία· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄνισον ἔμπαλιν νόσων  
238 καὶ κακιῶν αἴτιον. ἐπιλείψει καὶ τὸν μακροβιώ-  
τατον ὁ χρόνος, εἰ πάντας ἐθελήσειε τοὺς ἐπαίνους  
ἰσότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἣν ἐγέννησε διεξιέναι·  
παρό μοι δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν  
ἀρκεσθέντα, τοῦ διακινήσαι χάριν τὴν τῶν φιλεπι-  
στημόνων μνήμην, τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων  
ἀνάγραπτα ψυχαῖς καταλιπεῖν, ἱερωτάτῳ χωρίῳ  
θεῖα ἀγάλματα.

## THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 237-238

democracy,<sup>a</sup> the most law-abiding and best of constitutions, in bodies is health and in souls virtuous conduct. For inequality on the other hand is the cause of sicknesses and vices. But since if one should wish to tell in full all the praises of equality and her offspring justice the time will fail him, be his life of the longest, it seems better to me to content myself with what has been said to awake the memory in the lovers of knowledge, and to leave the rest to be recorded in their souls, the holiest dwelling place for the jewels<sup>b</sup> of God.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quod Deus* 176 (vol. iii. p. 489) and further App. p. 437.

<sup>b</sup> See on § 76.



ON THE VIRTUES  
(DE VIRTUTIBUS)

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE VIRTUTIBUS*

### *Courage or Manliness*

True courage is knowledge, not the savage passions so often exhibited in war but the courage shown by persons who in spite of bodily infirmities exercise their minds for the benefit of others (1-4). There are many circumstances which call out this courage: poverty is combated by contentment with the simple wealth which nature supplies (5-7), though there is also the higher wealth of wisdom (8-9); obscurity or insignificance is not of any importance if we have the esteem of the wise (10-11), nor disability of the senses if we have the sight of the mind (12), nor disease if the soul is healthy (13-14). Courage is the quality which enables us to despise all these (15-17). How essential this virtue of courage or manliness is is suggested by the law when it even forbids a man to assume a woman's dress (18-21).

Courage in peace time is inculcated everywhere in the law, but we must see what it says about courage in war (22). Observe that the cowardly are not to be enrolled in the army (23-26), nor yet those who would naturally be just entering on some new undertaking which would distract their interest (27-31). The warriors that Moses looks for are men of sound and active body and having the gallantry which prefers a glorious death to a life of dishonour (32-33). Such must have been the twelve thousand selected for the war with Midian, and Philo now tells the story of that war from its beginning: the seduction of many Israelites by means of the Midianite women (34-40) and the punishment which deterred the rest from following their example (41), and how the small army enlisted by Moses to avenge the sin of the seducers won a complete victory over vastly greater numbers without losing a man (42-44). This victory due to the support



## ON THE VIRTUES

of God agrees with the promise given in Deuteronomy that obedience to the law will secure success in war (45-50).

### *Humanity*

Humanity or kindness is the twin of piety, and the life and legislation of Moses is the best illustration it can have, but before going on to the latter we may mention incidents at the close of his career which were not noted in the two books which told the story of his life (51-52). Philo now proceeds to show how Moses knowing his end was near would not bequeath the succession to his family or even to his friend and lieutenant Joshua without consulting God (53-65), and how when the choice of Joshua had been divinely approved he charged him before the congregation (66-69), thereby showing how every ruler should train and encourage his successor (70-71), and then broke into the Great Song (72-75) followed by the Blessing of the Tribes (76-79). He now passes on to give some examples of the humanity of the Mosaic law (80-81). Loans are to be made to Israelites without exacting interest (82-87), wages are to be paid on the same day (88), the creditor is not to enter the debtor's house to seize a pledge (89), the gleaning of the harvest of corn, grapes and olives is to be left to the poor (90-94), the first fruits of the crops and herds are to be set aside (95), a straying animal is to be kept and restored to its owner (96), the produce in the sabbatical year is to be free to the poor (97-98) and landed possessions are to be restored to the original owner in the year of Jubile (99-100). These are only specimens of the kindness to be shown to brother Israelites (101). Next we have the humanity to be shown, as inculcated throughout the law, to strangers who are assumed to be proselytes to the faith (102-104) and to the settlers who enter without this recommendation (105-108). Also to enemies there is the injunction not to make war without attempting reconciliation (109), and to treat women captives with respect (110-115) and in private life to extend the duty of protecting or restoring animals to enemies and thereby possibly ending a feud (116-118); all these show how the great purpose of the Mosaic Law is to increase peace and brotherhood (119-120).

So far the persons to whom this kindness is to be rendered

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are free men, but slaves also should have the same. A person reduced to that condition by poverty is to be liberated in the seventh year (121-123) and even those born in slavery are not to be rejected if they come as suppliants to another (124).

Kindness to animals is enjoined by the ordinance that the offspring is to be left with its mother for seven days, which coupled with Nature's provision of milk for the new born creature should make the infanticides reflect on the wickedness of their conduct (125-133). The same lesson is given by the law that mother and offspring are not to be killed on the same day, an action against which all decent feeling revolts (134-136), and it is a corollary of this law that no animal should be killed while pregnant (137-138). On the same principle some legislators have forbidden pregnant women condemned to death to be executed till the child is born, and Moses by extending this mercifulness to animals implies that *a fortiori* consideration in every way is due to our fellow men. He thus convicts the libellers who accuse the Jews of misanthropy (139-141). A still more striking example of this mercifulness is the prohibition against seething the lamb in its mother's milk (142-144), also the laws against muzzling the ox while treading out the corn (145) and against yoking animals of unequal strength together (146-147).

Finally there is kindness to plants, shown by prohibiting devastation of crops in general and even those of enemies in war (148-154), and careful nursing of the young plants till the fourth year, before which the fruit may not be picked (155-159). Plants, animals, men—from consideration of the lowest we rise to consideration for the highest (160).

All these injunctions are levelled against the vice of pride or arrogance (161-164) which Moses denounces when he bids us use all gifts "to make power," that is to promote the same powers in others (165-170), and also tells us that God is "provoked by the presumptuousness" which thinks itself divine, ascribes to itself all virtues and gifts and denies them to all others (171-174).

### *Repentance*

In this short sermon the value of repentance as the "second best" is insisted on, as shown primarily in those who are converted from idolatry and must be treated with all friendli-

## ON THE VIRTUES

ness (175-179) and in general by passing from disobedience to obedience to the law which is not far off but in our "mouth, hand and heart" (180-184), and by "choosing" God, a choice which makes each single man his people (185-186).

### *Nobility*

The first part of this treatise is a discussion of the theme that the truly well-born or noble is the wise man, and the truly ignoble or ill-born the fool, as shown by the fact that the possession of gifted and virtuous ancestors does not benefit us if we do not inherit those gifts or follow those virtues (187-197). This is illustrated from Genesis, first, by degenerate sons of good parents. Adam was nobly born yet begat Cain (198-200); Noah begat Ham (201-202), indeed Adam himself was the son of God but fell (203-205). These belong to mankind in general. In Jewish history we find that Abraham's sons except Isaac were of little worth (206-207), and Esau was the son of Isaac (208-210). Secondly, by good children of bad or inferior parentage. Abraham's parents were astrologers and idolaters; yet how wonderful was his life and personality (211-219); and so with women also. Tamar who came from a heathen family lived an honourable life (220-222), and the concubines of Jacob, though originally slave girls, were promoted to honour and their children ranked with those of lawful wives (223-225). In fact the only sound doctrine is that everyone is to be judged by his conduct and not by his descent (226-227).

## ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ

### ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΑΣ ΣΥΝ ΑΛΛΑΙΣ ΑΝΕ- ΓΡΑΨΕ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝ- ΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝ- ΘΡΩΠΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑΣ

#### Περὶ ἀνδρείας

- <sup>1</sup>  
[375] I. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ὅσα  
καίρια πρότερον εἰπὼν μέτειμι τῶν ἐξῆς ἐπ' ἀν-  
δρείαν, οὐχ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι τὴν ἀρειμάνιον  
λύτταν ὀργῇ συμβούλῳ χρωμένῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπι-  
<sup>2</sup>στήμην. θράσει μὲν γὰρ ἐπαιρόμενοί τινες, συμ-  
πρατούσης σωματικῆς ἰσχύος, ταχθέντες κατὰ  
πόλεμον ἐν ταῖς παντευχίαις ἠβηδὸν μυρίους ὅσους  
τῶν ἀντιπάλων κατέβαλον, ἀνοίκειον μὲν εὐφημον  
δ' ἀριστείας ὄνομα καρπωσάμενοι, διαφερόντως ὑπὸ  
[376] τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα | κρινόντων εὐκλεεῖς νίκη νομι-  
σθέντες, ἄγριοι καὶ θηριώδεις ἐκ φύσεως καὶ  
μελέτης γεγονότες, αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου δεδιμη-  
<sup>3</sup>κότες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ διατρί-  
βοντες, τῶν σωμάτων αὐτοῖς ἢ μακραῖς νόσοις ἢ  
ἐπιπόνῳ γήρᾳ κατεσκελετευμένων, ὑγιαίνοντες καὶ  
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## ON THE VIRTUES

ON VIRTUES WHICH TOGETHER WITH OTHERS WERE  
DESCRIBED BY MOSES OR ON COURAGE AND PIETY  
AND HUMANITY AND REPENTANCE<sup>a</sup>

### On Courage

I. The subject of justice and all the relevant points 1  
which the occasion requires have already been dis-  
cussed, and I will take courage next in the sequence.  
By courage I mean, not what most people under-  
stand, namely the rabid war fever which takes anger  
for its counsellor, but the courage which is knowledge.<sup>b</sup>  
For some under the stimulus of reckless daring, sup- 2  
ported by bodily strength and marshalled in full  
armour for war, lay low multitudes of antagonists in  
a general slaughter and win the well-sounding but  
little deserved name of noble achievement, yet though  
their victory makes them exceedingly glorious in the  
eyes of those who pass judgement on such matters,  
nature and practice have combined to make them  
savage and bestial in their thirst for human blood.

But there are others who live on in 3  
their homes with their bodies worn to a thread by  
long sickness or the burden of old age, yet healthy

<sup>a</sup> On this title see App. p. 440.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 145.

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- νεάζοντες τῷ κρείττονι μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς<sup>1</sup> μεστοί τε φρονήματος καὶ θαρραλεωτάτης γέμοντες εὐτολμίας, ἀμυντηρίων ὀπλων μηδ' ὄναρ ψαύοντες, βουλευμάτων ἀγαθῶν κοινωφελεστάταις εἰσηγήσεσι τὰ τε ἴδια ἐκάστων καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πατρίδων πεσόντα πολλάκις ἀνώρθωσαν, ἀνενδότοις καὶ ἀκαμπέσι χρησάμενοι τοῖς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος  
 4 λογισμοῖς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀληθῆ διαπονοῦσιν ἀνδρείαν ἀσκηταὶ σοφίας ὄντες, ἐκείνοι δὲ τὴν ψευδώνυμον ἀμαθία,<sup>2</sup> νόσω δυσθεραπεύτῳ, βιοῦντες, ἦν θρασύτητα κυρίως ἂν τις προσαγορεύσειεν, ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι τὸ παράσημον ἐμφέρειαν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εἰκόνας.<sup>3</sup>
- 5 II. Οὐκ ὀλίγα μέντοι καὶ ἄλλα δυσυπομόνητα τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὠμολόγηται, πενία καὶ ἀδοξία καὶ πῆρωσις καὶ νόσων ἰδέαι πολύτροποι, πρὸς αἷς οἱ μὲν ὀλιγόφρονες μαλακίζονται, μηδ' ὅσον ὑπ' ἀτολμίας ἐγερθῆναι δυνάμενοι, ὅσοι δὲ φρονήσεως ὑπόπλεω καὶ γενναιότητος ἐπαποδύονται καρτερῶς καὶ σφόδρα ἐρρωμένως ἀντιφιλονεικοῦντες, τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἐπανατάσεις αὐτῶν πολὺν

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps τῇ ψυχῇ, see note a.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀμαθίαν.

<sup>3</sup> I can hardly think that the text of these two lines is right. φασὶν cannot = καλοῦσι, and εἶναι is required. This, which could easily fall out after ἐμφέρειαν, might be supplied, but the question would still remain whether the abstract noun ἐμφέρεια can be used for the corresponding concrete as the English "likeness" is. I should like to read and punctuate ἦν θρασύτητα κυρίως ἂν προσαγορεύσειεν, ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι, τὸ παράσημον <ἔχον> ἐμφέρειαν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εἰκόνας. See note b.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 3-5

and youthful in the better part of the soul,<sup>a</sup> brimful of highmindedness and staunchest valour. They never even dream of touching weapons of defence, but render the highest service to the commonwealth by the excellent advice which they put forward, and guided by unflinching and unswerving consideration of what is profitable, restore what had broken down in the personal life of each individual and in the public life of their country. These then <sup>4</sup> who train themselves in wisdom cultivate the true courage. The courage of those others, whose life is distempered by an ignorance that resists all treatment, is falsely so named and should properly be called reckless daring, as in the case of coins where we say that the counterfeit is a likeness of the true type.<sup>b</sup>

II. Further there are many other conditions in <sup>5</sup> human life admittedly hard to bear, poverty and disrepute and disablement and sickness in its manifold forms, in the face of which those of little wit all grow craven-hearted, lacking the valour even to raise themselves. But those who are full of wisdom and highmindedness gallantly gird themselves for the struggle and resist the foe with all their strength, counting his

<sup>a</sup> Or if  $\tau\eta\ \psiυ\chi\eta$  is read, "the better part, the soul." Cohn in his translation definitely adopts this, *cf.* § 30. The antithesis to  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$  no doubt points to this, but it must be remembered that the idea that the mind or understanding is the better part of the  $\psiυ\chi\eta$  constantly recurs in Philo, and is emphasized below in § 187, *cf.* also § 85. Here it is particularly appropriate because the courage we are discussing belongs to  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$ . I am inclined to retain the genitive.

<sup>b</sup> Or if the reading and punctuation in note 3 is adopted, "reckless daring," the counterfeit (to use the term which we apply to coins) of the true type whose semblance it bears.

## PHILO

γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην τιθέμενοι, πενία μὲν πλοῦτον ἀντιτάττοντες, οὐ τὸν τυφλὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ὀξὺ καθ-  
 ορώωντα, οὐ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ κειμήλια ψυχὴ πέφυκε  
 6 ταμιεύειν. μυρίους γὰρ πενία κατεπάλαισεν, οἱ  
 τρόπον ἀθλητῶν ἀπειρηκότων ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας κατ-  
 έπεσον μαλακισθέντες· ἐνδεῆς δὲ παρ' ἀληθεία  
 δικαζούση τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ εἰς ἔστι χορηγὸν ἔχων  
 τὸν τῆς φύσεως ἀκαθαίρετον πλοῦτον· ἀέρα μὲν,  
 τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ συνεχῆ τροφήν,  
 ἀδιαστάτως μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ ἀναπνεό-  
 μενον, ἔπειτα δὲ πηγὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ ποταμῶν οὐ  
 χειμάρρων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθιγενῶν ρεῖθρα ἀέναα  
 πρὸς ποτοῦ χρήσιν, ἔπειτα εἰς ἔδωδὴν φορὰς  
 παντοίων καρπῶν καὶ δένδρων ἰδέας, αἱ τὰς ἐτη-  
 σίους ὀπώρας αἰεὶ φέρουσι· τούτων γὰρ ἄπορος  
 οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ πανταχοῦ πολλὴν ἄγουσι  
 7 περιουσίαν. εἰ δέ τινες τὸν τῆς φύσεως  
 πλοῦτον παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενοι τὸν τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν  
 διώκουσι, τυφλῶ πρὸ βλέποντος σκηριπτόμενοι καὶ  
 ἡγεμόνι τῆς ὁδοῦ χρώμενοι πεπηρωμένῳ, πίπτειν  
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλουσιν.

8 III. Ὁ μὲν δὴ σώματος δορυφόρος πλοῦτος  
 φύσεως εὖρημα καὶ δῶρον ὧν ἤδη λέλεκται. τὸν  
 δὲ σεμνότερον, ὃς οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀληθῶς  
 σεμνοῖς καὶ θεσπεσίοις ἀνδράσι πρόσεστι, μηνυτέον.

<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Laws* 631 c. See note on *Spec. Leg.* i. 25, vol. vii. p. 615.

<sup>b</sup> The "wealth of nature," which is to be distinguished from the spiritual wealth of wisdom (see § 8), is described again in *De Praem.* 99, cf. *De Som.* i. 124 ff., where it is identified with the "bread and raiment" for which Jacob prayed.



## ON THE VIRTUES, 5-8

threats and menaces a matter for much scorn and derision. Against poverty they pit riches, not the blind but the keen-sighted riches,<sup>a</sup> whose jewels and treasures have their natural store-house in the soul. For under the grip of poverty multitudes have been 6 laid low, and like exhausted athletes have fallen to the ground enfeebled by lack of manliness. Yet in the judgement of truth not a single one is in want, for his needs are supplied by the wealth of nature,<sup>b</sup> which cannot be taken from him ; the air, the first, the most vital, the perpetual source of sustenance, which we inhale continually night and day ; then the fountains in their profusion and the rivers spring-fed as well as winter brooks ever flowing to provide us with drink ; then again for our meat, the harvest of crops of every sort, and the different kinds of trees, which never fail to bear their annual autumn fruitage. These no one lacks, but everybody everywhere has an ample and more than ample sufficiency.

But some making no account of the 7 wealth of nature pursue the wealth of vain opinions. They choose to lean on one who lacks rather than one who has the gift of sight, and with this defective guidance to their steps must of necessity fall.

III. So much for the wealth that is the guardsman 8 of the body, the happy gift of nature,<sup>c</sup> but we must mention also the higher, nobler wealth, which does not belong to all, but to truly noble and divinely

Here Philo seems to allow it a place in the "seeing wealth" (see § 7), though elsewhere that is an epithet reserved for spiritual wealth. It guards the body against poverty, but not against the other bodily ills enumerated in §§ 10-15.

<sup>c</sup> The translation takes *εὐρημα* in the common sense of "godsend" or "prize." Otherwise "the thing which nature discovers and gives."

[377] τοῦτον τὸν πλοῦτον | σοφία χορηγεῖ διὰ λογικῶν  
καὶ ἠθικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν δογμάτων καὶ θεωρη-  
μάτων, ἐξ ὧν φύεσθαι τὰς ἀρετὰς συμβέβηκεν, αἱ  
τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποτέμνονται τὴν πολυτέλειαν εὐκολίας  
καὶ ὀλιγοδείας ἔρωτας ἐντίκτουσαι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς  
9 θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἀνεπίδεής,  
οὐδενὸς χρεῖος ὧν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀνταρκέστατος  
ἑαυτῷ· ὁ δὲ φαῦλος πολυδεής, αἰεὶ διψῶν τῶν  
ἀπόντων ἀπλήστου καὶ ἀκορέστου χάριν ἐπιθυμίας,  
ἣν πυρὸς τρόπον ἀναρριπίζων καὶ ἀναφλέγων ἐπὶ  
πάντα μικρά τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλα τείνει· ὁ δὲ σπου-  
δαῖος ὀλιγοδεής, ἀθανάτου καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως  
μεθόριος, τὸ μὲν ἐπιδεὲς ἔχων διὰ σῶμα θνητόν, τὸ  
δὲ μὴ πολυδεὲς διὰ ψυχὴν ἐφιεμένην ἀθανασίας.

10 οὕτως μὲν πενία πλοῦτον ἀντιτάτ-  
τουσιν· ἀδοξία δὲ εὐκλειαν· ὁ γὰρ ἔπαινος ὀρμητή-  
ριον ἔχων καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ ὡσπερ ἀπὸ ἀεναίου  
πηγῆς ἐκείθεν ῥέων ἀνεξετάστων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ  
ἐνομιλεῖ πλήθει τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνωμαλίας ἀβε-  
βαίους φωναῖς ἀπογυμνοῦν εἰωθότων, ἃς ἔστιν ὅτε  
λημμάτων αἰσχυρῶν ἐπευνίζοντες οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν  
κατὰ τῶν ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλεγομένων. ὀλίγος δὲ  
τούτων ἀριθμὸς ἐστίν· ἀρετὴ γὰρ οὐ πολύχουν ἐν  
11 θνητῷ γένοι. πηρώσει γε μὴν αἰσθή-  
σεων, ἧ συζῶντες ἔτι μυριοὶ προαπέθανον τῷ μηδέν

<sup>a</sup> For the triple division of philosophy see note on *Spec. Leg.* i. 336 and the references there given.

<sup>b</sup> Or "as befits its assimilation," *i.e.* it is part of the process which the sage goes through in his endeavour to resemble God. *Cf. Spec. Leg.* iv. 188 and § 168 below.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps a stronger word as "glory," *i.e.* in the eyes of the wise, not a glory which implies celebrity. On the contrary, the multitude are more likely to abuse such people.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 8-11

gifted men. This wealth is bestowed by wisdom through the doctrines and principles of ethic, logic and physic,<sup>a</sup> and from these spring the virtues, which rid the soul of its proneness to extravagance, and engender the love of contentment and frugality, which will assimilate it to God.<sup>b</sup> For God has no 9 wants, He needs nothing, being in Himself all-sufficient to Himself, while the fool has many wants, ever thirsting for what is not there, longing to gratify his greedy and insatiable desire, which he fans into a blaze like a fire and brings both great and small within its reach. But the man of worth has few wants, standing midway between mortality and immortality. Some wants he has because his body is mortal, many he has not in virtue of his soul, which desires immortality. This is the way in which the wise 10 pit riches against poverty. Against disrepute they pit good fame,<sup>c</sup> for the praise which has its fountain head in noble conduct, flowing thence as from a perennial spring, has no currency among the unthinking masses, whose habit is to expose the inconsistencies of their souls by random talk, often in order to purchase some shameful reward unblushingly directed against these men of choicest merit.<sup>d</sup> But the number of these is small, for virtue is not widespread among mortal kind. Again there 11 is disablement of the senses. To live with this has

So in *De Sob.* 57 the sage is not *ἔνδοξος* but *εὐκλεής*, where perhaps the translation "not merely of high report" may have missed the sense.

<sup>a</sup> More literally "picked out as the best," an odd phrase here, since usually it refers to actual selection, *cf. e.g.* § 42. That it does not mean this here nor imply that the multitude are apt to speak evil of dignities, but refers to the wise *εὐκλεεῖς*, is shown by *τούτων κτλ.* in the next sentence.

ἀλεξίκακον εὐρεῖν δύνασθαι φάρμακον, ἀντικάθηται φρόνησις, τὸ κρατιστεῦον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐνομματοῦσα διάνοιαν, ἢ πρὸς ὄξυωπίαν τῶν σώματος ὀφθαλμῶν

12 ὅλω, φασί, καὶ τῷ παντὶ διενήνοχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν ὀρατῶν καταθεῶνται, ἅμα δεόμενοι φωτὸς ἔξωθεν, ἢ δὲ καὶ διὰ βάθους χωρεῖ τῶν σωμαίων, ὅλα δι' ὅλων καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν ἀκριβοῦσα καὶ περιαθροῦσα καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀσωμάτων φύσεις, ἃς ἐπισκοπεῖν αἴσθησις ἀδυνατεῖ· σχεδὸν γὰρ πᾶσαν ὄξυωπίαν ὀφθαλμοῦ καταλαμβάνει, μὴ προσδεομένη νόθου φωτός, ἀστῆρ οὔσα αὐτῇ καὶ σχεδόν τι τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἀπεικό-  
 13 νισμα καὶ μίμημα. νόσοι γε μὴν σωμαίων ὑγιαινούσης ψυχῆς ἤκιστα βλάπτουσι· ὑγεία δὲ ψυχῆς εὐκρασία δυνάμεών ἐστι τῆς τε κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἐπικρατούσης τῆς λογικῆς καὶ ὡσπερ ἀφηνιαστὰς ἵππους  
 14 ἡνιοχούσης ἑκατέρας. ὄνομα ταύτης ἴδιον τῆς [378] ὑγείας ἐστὶ σωφροσύνη, σωτηρίαν τῷ | φρονοῦντι τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπεργαζομένη· κινδυνεῦον γὰρ αὐτὸ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν παθῶν φορᾶς κατακλύζεσθαι ὑποβρύχιον οὐκ ἐᾷ χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνέλκει καὶ μετέωρον ἐξαίρει ψυχοῦσα καὶ ζωογονοῦσα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀπαθανατίζουσα.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "excels by the whole and all." The addition of φασί suggests that the phrase is colloquial.

<sup>b</sup> For the triple division of the soul cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 92 and note. In the "restive horses" there is an allusion to the parable in Plato, *Phaedrus* 253 D, where the charioteer is to be

## ON THE VIRTUES, 11-14

been premature death to thousands, because they can find no medicine to protect them against its ills. Its opponent is wisdom, the best quality we have, which plants eyes in the mind, and the mind in keenness of vision excels the eyes of the body so that they, as people say, are a "mere nothing"<sup>a</sup> in comparison. The body's eyes observe the surfaces of things visible 12 and need the external help of light, but the mind penetrates through the depth of material things, accurately observing their whole contents and their several parts, surveying also the nature of things immaterial, which sense is unable to descry. For we may say that it achieves all the keenness of vision, which an eye can have, without needing any adventitious light, itself a star and, we may say, a copy and likeness of the heavenly company. Again 13 diseases of the body, if the soul is healthy, do very little harm. And the health of the soul is to have its faculties, reason, high spirit and desire happily tempered, with the reason in command and reining in both the other two, like restive horses.<sup>b</sup> The 14 special name of this health is temperance, that is σωφροσύνη or "thought-preserving,"<sup>c</sup> for it creates a preservation of one of our powers, namely, that of wise-thinking. For often when that power is in danger of being submerged by the tide of the passions, this spiritual health prevents it from being lost in the depths and pulls it up and lifts it on high, vitalizing and quickening it, and giving it a kind of immortality.

interpreted as reason, and the two horses as high spirit and desire, a parable interpreted in the same sense also by Philo, *Leg. All.* i. 72 f.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 411 ε σωφροσύνη δὲ σωτηρία . . . φρονήσεως.

## PHILO

- 15 Πάντα δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑφηγήσεις εἰσὶ καὶ διδασκαλῖαι πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐστηλιτευμένοι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπειθεῖς μαλακώτερον ἀναπειθουσαι τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθεστέρους ἐμβριθέστερον καταφρονεῖν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἔκτος, ἔν μὲν τέλος ἡγουμένους τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν βιοῦν, ζηλοῦντας δὲ καὶ
- 16 τᾶλλα ὅσα ἀγωγὰ πρὸς τοῦτο. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ διὰ τῶν προτέρων ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστα διεξεληλυθῶς τῶν εἰς ἀτυφίαν, ἐπειρώμην ἂν ἀπομηκύνειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι συνυφαίνων καὶ συνείρων τὰ δοκοῦντα σποράδην κείσθαι ἐν τόποις διαφέρουσιν· εἰρηκῶς
- 17 δ' ὅσα καιρὸς παλιλλογεῖν οὐ δικαίῳ.<sup>1</sup> τοὺς μέντοι μὴ ἀποκοῦντας ἀλλὰ διὰ σπουδῆς τιθεμένους ἐντυγχάνειν ταῖς πρὸ τούτων βίβλοις δεῖ νοῆσαι, ὅτι πάντα τὰ περὶ ἀτυφίας λεχθέντα σχεδόν ἐστι περὶ ἀνδρείας, ἐπειδὴ περ εὐτόνου καὶ γενναίας καὶ σφόδρα νενευρωμένης ψυχῆς ἐστι καταφρονῆσαι πάντων ὅσα τύφος εἴωθε σεμνοποιεῖν ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βίου.
- 18 IV. Τοσαύτη δὲ τίς ἐστι τῷ νόμῳ σπουδὴ καὶ φιλοτιμία περὶ τοῦ γυμνάσαι καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ψυχὴν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ἐσθημάτων ὅποια ἐχρῆν ἀμπέχεσθαι διετάξατο ἀπειπῶν ἀνὰ κράτος ἀνδρὶ γυναικὸς ἀμπεχόνην ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἴχνος ἢ σκιὰν αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦ θήλεος ἐπὶ λύμη τῆς ἄρσενος γενεᾶς προσάφασθαι· βούλεται γὰρ ἐπόμενος ἀεὶ τῇ φύσει τὰ οἰκεία καὶ συνωδὰ ἀλλήλοις ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ δι' εὐτέλειαν
- 19 ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι δοκοῦντων νομοθετεῖν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τύπους σωματίων ἑώρα καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάτους

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δικαίων οἱ δίκαιον.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 15-19

All the above are lessons and instructions, which stand recorded in many places of the law, urging the tractable in gentle, the intractable in sterner terms to despise the bodily and external goods, holding the life of virtue to be the one sole end and pursuing after everything else that is conducive to it. And if I had not in my earlier writings dealt fully with each of the rules which promote simplicity, I would attempt to dilate on them at this point, and embrace in a collected list the scattered precepts which appear in different places. But as I have said all that occasion required, I think it better not to repeat myself. Still those who do not shrink from the task but are at pains to study the books which precede these, ought to perceive that practically everything there said about simplicity<sup>a</sup> includes the thought of courage, since it is the mark of a soul, vigorous, gallant and full of mettle, that it despises everything which vanity is wont to glorify to the destruction of life in any true sense.

IV. So earnestly and carefully does the law desire to train and exercise the soul to manly courage that it lays down rules even about the kind of garment which should be worn. It strictly forbids a man to assume a woman's garb, in order that no trace, no merest shadow of the female, should attach to him to spoil his masculinity.<sup>b</sup> For as it always follows nature, its will is to lay down rules suitable and consistent with each other, even down to the very smallest matters, whose commonplace nature seems to set them in the background. For since it saw as clearly, as if they were outlines on a flat surface,

<sup>a</sup> On *ἀνυφία* and *τῦφος* see App. p. 440.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxii. 5.

## PHILO

χαραχθέντας ἀνομοίους ἀνδρός τε αὐ καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ βίον ἑκατέρω τῶν εἰδῶν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπονεμηθέντα—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ὁ κατοικίδιος, τῷ δ' ὁ πολιτικὸς προσκεκλήρωται—, κἀν<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα μὴ φύσεως μὲν ἔργα ἦν, φύσει δὲ ἀκόλουθα γνώμης ἀγαθῆς εὐρήματα, συμφέρον ἔκρινε διατάξασθαι· ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὰ περὶ δίαιταν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην καὶ εἴ τι ὁμοιό-

20 τροπον. ἡρρενώσθαι γὰρ τόν γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρα κἀν τούτοις ἠξίωσε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐσθήμασιν, ἃ ἐπιφερόμενος αἰεὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ ὀφείλει μηδὲν ἔχειν ἀνανδρίας ὑπόμνημα.

21 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέντοι καὶ τὴν γυναικὰ ἀσκήσας τοῖς  
379] ἀρμόττουσι κόσμοις | ἐκώλυσεν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἀνδρὸς ἐσθήτα, πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀνδρογύνους οὕτως καὶ γυνάνδρους φυλαξάμενος· ἐνὸς γάρ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις, ὑφαιρεθέντος ἤδει καὶ τᾶλλα μενούντα οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ.

22 V. "Ἐτι τοίνυν τῶν ἀνθρωπέων πραγμάτων δυσὶ καιροῖς ἐμφερομένων, εἰρήνην τε καὶ πολέμῳ, τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἐξεταζομένας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων λέλεκται πρότερον καὶ αὐθις, εἰ γένοιτό τις χρεία, λεχθήσεται· τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνδρείαν οὐ παρέργως ἐξεταστέον, ἧς τὰ μὲν κατ' εἰρήνην ἔργα πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ὑμνησεν αἰεὶ τῶν καιρῶν στοχαζόμενος, περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καί.

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<sup>a</sup> It is difficult to see to what Philo refers (*cf. De Praem.* 3). Peace is of course the ordinary sphere of all the virtues except ἀνδρεία, and nearly every event or law would come



## ON THE VIRTUES, 19-22

how unlike the bodily shapes of man and woman are, and that each of the two has a different life assigned to it, to the one a domestic, to the other a civic life, it judged it well in other matters too to prescribe rules all of which though not directly made by nature were the outcome of wise reflection and in accordance with nature. These were such as dealt with habits of life and dress and any similar matters. It considered that in such matters the true 20 man should maintain his masculinity, particularly in his clothes, which as he always wears them by day and night ought to have nothing to suggest unmanliness. In the same way he trained the woman to 21 decency of adornment and forbade her to assume the dress of a man, with the further object of guarding against the mannish-woman as much as the womanish-man. He knew that as in buildings, if one of the foundation stones is removed, the rest will not remain as they were.

V. To proceed, since the time in which human 22 events occur may be divided into war-time and peacetime, we may observe the place taken by the virtues in both. In regard to the others this has been discussed already<sup>a</sup> and will be again if need arise, but courage at this point calls for a close examination. The effects it produces in peace are extolled by him in many places of the law book, and he is always ready to seize opportunity for so doing. These have been

under this head. He has dealt with *δικαιοσύνη* in war in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219-222, and *εὐσέβεια*, which is quite as prominent as *ἀνδρεία* in the coming story of the Midianite war, might be found in the earlier account of that war in *Mos.* i. 305 ff., or that against Amalek, *ibid.* 215 ff. So too Abraham's conduct of the war against the four kings is ascribed to *φιλανθρωπία*, *De Abr.* 232.

## PHILO

τόποις ὑπεμνήσαμεν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐνθένδε  
 23 ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐκείνο προειπόντες. ὅταν  
 ποιῆται τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, οὐχ ἅπασαν  
 τὴν νεότητα καλεῖν οἴεται δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὖς  
 παραιτεῖται προστιθεῖς αἰτίας εὐλόγους τῆς ἀστρα-  
 τείας· αὐτίκα τοὺς κατεπτηχότας καὶ δειλοὺς, μελ-  
 λήσοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου μαλακίας ἀλίσκεσθαι  
 24 καὶ δέος τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐμποιεῖν. τὸ γὰρ  
 ἑτέρου κακὸν εὖ πως ὁ πλησίον ἀναμάττεσθαι  
 φιλεῖ, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν πολέμῳ, τοῦ λογισμοῦ διὰ  
 τὴν ἀγωνίαν συγκεχυμένου καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων  
 ἀντιλήψεις ἀκριβοῦν ἀδυνατοῦντος· τότε γὰρ εὐλά-  
 βειαν μὲν τὴν δειλίαν, τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι προμηθές,  
 ἀσφάλειαν δὲ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν εἰώθασι καλεῖν,  
 αἰσχιστα ἔργα εὐπρεπέσι καὶ σεμναῖς κλήσεσιν  
 25 ἐπαμπύσχοντες. ὅπως οὖν μὴ τὰ μὲν οἰκεία  
 βλάβηται διὰ τῆς τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἰόντων  
 ἀνανδρίας, ἐπικυδέστερα δὲ γίνηται τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 αἰρούντων καταφρονητικῶς τοὺς ἀγεννεῖς, ὅχλον  
 ἀργὸν εἰδὼς οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀλλ' ἐμπόδιον εἰς κατ-  
 ὄρθωμα, ἀνεῖρξε τοὺς ἀτόλμους καὶ ἀναπίπτοντας  
 δειλία, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σώματα νοσοῦσι

<sup>a</sup> Here again the reference is vague. As ἀνδρεία in peace has just been equated to ἀτυφία, we should expect Philo to say that he has just discussed it, but the reference to Moses' frequent insistence on it suggests something different.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xx. 8 "What man is there who fears and is cowardly in his heart? let him go and return to his house, lest he make the heart of his brother cowardly as is his own." Actually this is spoken on the battlefield by the "officers" (E.V.), for which the LXX has γραμματεῖς ("scribes"), a word which may have influenced Philo in connecting the exemption with drawing up the roll.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 22-25

noted in their proper places<sup>a</sup> and we will now begin to describe its feats in war. One prefatory remark, however, must be made. He considers that in drawing up the roll of soldiers, the summons should not include all those of military age, but he would have some excluded, reasonable excuses being added for their exemption from service. These are in the first instance the cravens and cowards who are sure to be the victims of their ingrained feebleness and create fear in the other combatants.<sup>b</sup> For the evil in one man is often well reproduced<sup>c</sup> in his neighbour, particularly in war, where trepidation<sup>d</sup> has confused the reasoning faculty and rendered it incapable of nicely estimating facts. People are then accustomed to call cowardice caution and timidity foresight and unmanliness safety-seeking, and so invest the basest actions with grand and fair-sounding titles. And, therefore, unwilling that his own cause should be injured by the cowardice of those who are to take the field and that of the enemy glorified by an easy victory over a contemptible<sup>e</sup> body of degenerates and knowing that a crowd of idlers is no help but an impediment to success, he excludes the timid and faint-hearted cowards on the same principle, I think, that a general does not enforce war-service on persons

<sup>a</sup> Or "makes a powerful impression on." The metaphor, as in other compounds of *μάττομαι*, is taken from the copy produced by stamping wax. Perhaps "infect," though a different metaphor, will give the sense more vividly in English.

<sup>b</sup> A somewhat inadequate translation for *ἀγωνία*, which is defined by Diogenes Laertius as *φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος*. See note on *De Dec.* 145 (vol. vii. p. 612).

<sup>c</sup> *καταφρονητικῶς* here denotes scorn for the feebleness of the enemy. Elsewhere, as in § 43 below, scorn of danger, *cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 126.

## PHILO

- στρατηγός<sup>1</sup> οὐδείς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτίθησι πολεμῆν, ὑπο-  
 26 παραιτουμένης ἀσθενείας. νόσος δέ τις καὶ ἡ  
 δειλία, βαρυτέρα τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, τὰς ψυχῆς  
 δυνάμεις καθαιροῦσα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ βραχὺν εἶναι  
 συμβαίνει τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἢ δ' ἐστὶ κακὸν  
 σύντροφον, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἡνωμένων  
 μερῶν προσπεφυκὸς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἄχρι πανυ-  
 στατοῦ γήρωσ, εἰ μὴ τύχοι θεὸς ἰώμενος· πάντα γὰρ  
 θεῶ δυνατά.
- 27 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους καλεῖ,  
 καὶ σφόδρα ἐρρωμένοι καθ' ἑκάτερον σῶμα καὶ  
 ψυχὴν προαγωνίζεσθαι καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλωσιν.  
 ἀλλὰ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοὺς ἐπαιέσας, ὅτι κοινωνικὸν  
 καὶ πρόθυμον καὶ ἀκατάπληκτον ἦθος ἐπιδείκ-  
 νυνται, διερευνᾷ μὴ τισιν ἀναγκαίαις αἰτίαις ἐνδέ-  
 28 δονται, ὧν ὄλκός ἢ δύναμις. εἰ γὰρ τις, φησί,  
 [380] νεωστὶ δειμάμενος | οἰκίαν οὐκ ἔφθη εἰσοικίσασθαι  
 ἢ ἀμπελῶνα φυτεύσας νεόφυτον, αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν τὰ  
 κλήματα καθείς, μήπω τῆς ἐπικαρπίας καιρὸν  
 ἔσχεν ἢ παρθένον ἐγγνησάμενος οὐκ ἔγημεν, ἀφεί-  
 σθω πάσης στρατείας, φιλανθρωπία νόμου<sup>2</sup> τὴν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. στρατηγοῖς (-οῦς).

<sup>2</sup> All MSS. φιλανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ except A which has φιλανθρώ-  
 πως ὁμοῦ. Cohn, adopting a suggestion of Wendland's, prints  
 φιλανθρώπως ὁμοῦ <καὶ στρατηγικῶς>. This is based on the  
 paraphrase in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18, who after mentioning  
 the circumstances which entitle to exemption goes on τούτους  
 ἀφείσθαι τῆς στρατείας ὁ φιλόφρωνος κελεύει νόμος στρατηγικῶς  
 μὲν (then follows a précis of the reasons mentioned in § 31),  
 φιλανθρώπως δὲ (then the reasons mentioned in § 29). The  
 text thus emended seems to me in itself unsatisfactory. If  
 εὐρισκόμενος agrees with the subject of ἀφείσθω, the adverbs  
 are unnatural. It is the law, not the man, who acts φιλαν-  
 θρώπως καὶ στρατηγικῶς. If with the subject of φησί, the  
 participle has an unnatural sense. The law does not "win"

## ON THE VIRTUES, 25-28

who are diseased in body and are, therefore, excused by their infirmity. But cowardice, too, is a disease, 26 graver than any that affects the body since it destroys the faculties of the soul. Diseases of the body flourish but for a short time, but cowardice is an inbred evil, as closely inherent or more so than any part of the bodily system from the earliest years to extreme old age, unless it is healed by God. For all things are possible to Him.

Furthermore, he does not even enlist all the most 27 courageous, be they ever so robust both in body and soul, and willing to fight and face danger in the forefront. While He praises them for their resolution and for the public-spirited, zealous and undaunted temper which they show, he carefully inquires whether they are in bondage to any cogent considerations, whose force leads them where it will. If, he says, a man has 28 lately built a house, but has not yet had time to occupy it, or just planted a vineyard, setting the shoots in the ground with his own hand, and yet has had no opportunity to enjoy the fruits, or has betrothed himself to a maiden, but has not married her, he is to be exempted from all war service, and so gain security through the humaneness of the law.<sup>a</sup> And this for

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xx. 5-7. For a comparison of the treatment of these verses here given with that of *De Agr.* 148 ff. see App. p. 441.

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or "discover" ἀδεια. I think that Cohn and Wendland must have failed to observe that *φιλανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ* may be a misdivision of *φιλανθρωπία* (= -α) νόμου, and that it actually is so is strongly supported by *Spec. Leg.* ii. 183, where M, the one existing ms., has *τὴν μετουσίαν ἔλαβον φιλανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ δοθεῖσαν*, which editors have corrected as an obvious error to *φιλανθρωπία νόμου*. I do not think Clement's phrase can outweigh this. See App. p. 442.

- 29 ἄδειαν εὐρισκόμενος,<sup>1</sup> ἔνεκα δυοῖν· ἐνὸς μὲν ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ πολέμους ἄδηλα, μὴ τὰ τῶν πονησάντων ἀταλαιπώρως ἄλλοι λαμβάνωσι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ μὴ ἀπόνασθαι δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' οἰκοδομεῖν μὲν ἕτερον, ἐνοικεῖν δὲ ἄλλον, καὶ φυτεύειν μὲν τινα, τὸν δὲ μὴ φυτεύσαντα καρποῦσθαι, καὶ μνάσθαι μὲν ἄλλον, γαμῆν δὲ τὸν μὴ μνώμενον, ὡς οὐ δεῖν<sup>2</sup> ἀτελεῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας κατασκευάζειν τοῖς χρηστὰ τὰ<sup>3</sup> κατὰ τὸν βίον προσ-
- 30 δοκήσασιν· ἐτέρου δὲ ἵνα μὴ σώματι στρατευόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑστερίζωσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκεῖ τετάσθαι πόθῳ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ὧν ἀφειλκύνθησαν· ὡς γὰρ οἱ πεινῶντες ἢ διψῶντες, ὅταν σιτίον ἢ ποτόν ποῦ παραφανῆ, διώκουσι καὶ ἐπιτρέχουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ γλιχόμενοι μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτως οἱ περὶ νομίμου γυναικὸς ἢ οἰκίας ἢ χωρίου κτήσεως πονηθέντες καὶ ὅσον οὕτω τῇ ἐλπίδι νομίζοντες εἰς τὸν ἐκάστου τῆς χρήσεως ἀφίχθαι καιρὸν, ὅταν ἀφαιρεθῶσι τὴν ἀπολαυσιν, σφαδάζουσιν, ὡς παρόντας μὴ παρεῖναι τῷ κρείττονι μέρει, ψυχῇ,<sup>4</sup> δι' οὗ συμβαίνει κατορθοῦν
- 31 ἢ τούναντίον. VI. τούτους οὖν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους οὐκ οἶεται δεῖν εἰς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἄγειν κατάλογον, ἀλλ' οἷς οὐδὲν προενεληλυθὸς ὑποικουρεῖ<sup>5</sup> πάθος, ὅπως ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἀφέτοις ὀρμαῖς ἀπρο-

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀνευρισκόμενος.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey, οὐ δέον. See App. p. 442.

<sup>3</sup> All mss. except A have τῶν κατὰ. Perhaps, since ἔσεσθαι is to be expected with χρηστὰ as predicate, read χρῆσιν τῶν.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 3. Whereas there the mss. have τῆς ψυχῆς, here they vary between ψυχῆς and ψυχῇ (= -ῆ). See note a.

<sup>5</sup> mss. οἰκουρεῖ.

<sup>a</sup> Or if ψυχῆς is read (see note 4), "the better part of the

## ON THE VIRTUES, 29-31

two reasons. One is that, since the issues of war 29 are uncertain, others should not take without toil or trouble the property of those who have laboured to get it. For it seems cruel that a man should not be able to enjoy his own, and that one should build a house and another live in it, or should plant a vineyard and another who did not plant it should reap the fruit, or should pledge himself to a maiden and another not so pledged should marry her, and, therefore, it was not right to render futile the hopes of those who expected to find themselves living under happy 30 conditions.

Another object was that when 30 their bodies were fighting their souls should not play the laggard. In such circumstances, their minds must needs be feeling the strain of yearning for the joys from which they have been torn. Just as hungry or thirsty people, when some food or drink presents itself, race in pursuit of it without a backward glance in their eagerness to partake of it, so those who have laboured to gain a lawful wife or a house or a farm, and hopefully think that a time for using it is on the point of arriving, are distressed when they are robbed of its enjoyment, and thus though present in the body, are absent in the better part, the soul,<sup>a</sup> which is the determining factor of success or failure. VI. So 31 then he did not think that the military enlistment should include these or others like them, but rather persons into whom no passion has found an entry and there made its home, in order that with free and unfettered alacrity they might gird themselves to

soul." There is certainly a presumption in favour of consistency between § 3 and here, but perhaps it is of some weight that there the quality indicated is *λογισμός*; here it is rather *θυμός*, which is or may be part of the lower soul.

φασίστως τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπαποδύονται. καθάπερ  
 γὰρ παντευχίας οὐδέν ὄφελος ἀσθενεῖ σώματι ἢ  
 λελωβημένῳ, ἣν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον ἐρρωμένον σῶμα φθереῖ τι κηρανούσης  
 32 πάθος ψυχῆς<sup>1</sup> μὴ συνᾶδον τοῖς παροῦσιν. εἰς ἅπερ  
 ἀπιδῶν οὐ μόνον λοχαγούς καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ἐπικρίνει, δοκιμάζων πῶς  
 ἔχει πρὸς τε σώματος εὐεξίαν καὶ πρὸς εὐστάθειαν  
 λογισμοῦ, σῶμα μὲν ἐξετάζων, εἰ ὀλόκληρον, εἰ  
 ὑγιαῖνον ὅλον δι' ὅλων, εἰ τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ μέλεσι  
 πᾶσιν εὖ ἡρμοσμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβαλλούσας  
 ἐκάστῳ σχέσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις, ψυχὴν δέ, εἰ  
 θαρραλεότητος καὶ εὐτολμίας ἀνάπλεως, εἰ ἀκατά-  
 [381] πληκτος καὶ μεστή φρονήσεως | εὐγενοῦς, εἰ φιλό-  
 τιμος καὶ ζωῆς ἀδόξου τὸν σὺν εὐκλείᾳ θάνατον  
 33 προκρίνουσα. τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτό,  
 εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, δύναμις ἐστίν· ἀθρόα δ' εἰ  
 συνέλθοιεν, ῥώμην ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ ἀνανταγώνι-  
 στον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐπιδείξονται, κρα-  
 τοῦντες ἀναιμωτὶ τῶν πολεμίων.

<sup>1</sup> The text here is very uncertain. The majority of mss. have φέρει τι κηρανούση πάθος ψυχῆ (= -ῆ). Some however have εἰ φέρει, or εἰ φέροι, or φέρειν. While I have printed and translated Cohn's correction of φθереῖ for φέρει, and κηρανούσης ψυχῆς for the dative of the mss., I do not think it satisfactory. φθереῖ is not an appropriate word for the effect of the diseased soul upon the body, nor a proper analogy to the preceding clause. I think the key to the sentence may be found in understanding οὐκ ὄφελος from the preceding clause. οὐκ ὄφελος can be used indifferently with the nominative and genitive, and if the change of cases from παντευχίας to σῶμα is an objection, παντευχία might be read for παντευχίας. As-



## ON THE VIRTUES, 31-33

face danger without evasion. For just as a body which suffers from sickness or injuries has no use for a full suit of armour and will discard it as beyond its feeble strength, so a robust body will be ruined if the soul is afflicted with a passion which does not accord with the task before it. With these 32 considerations before him he selects not only his captains and generals, and other officers, but also each soldier, by testing him to see how far his body is in good condition, and his thinking sound. Of the body he inquires if it is without defect, healthy through and through, with all its parts and limbs well adjusted for the postures and movements required of each : of the soul, whether it is charged with valour and enterprise, whether it is proof against panic and full of generous sagacity, whether it cherishes honour and prefers death with renown to inglorious life ? Each of these qualities separately in itself is in very 33 truth a power ; if they all meet and combine, those who possess them will display a strength sufficient and more than sufficient to defy all combatants and opponents, and will win a bloodless victory over their enemies.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> These two sections have no reference to the text of Deuteronomy, which does not suggest any such selection, but are based on the selection mentioned below in § 42. For the principles of that selection Philo draws on his imagination.

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suming this, I suggest *εἰ φέρει τι κηραίνουσα πάθος ψυχῇ* or *περὶ τι κηραινοῦση πάθος ψυχῆς*. This last does not so well account for the persistence of *φέρει* in the mss., but otherwise fits in admirably with Philo's use of *κηραίνω*. Cf. *De Praem.* 121 *κηραίνοντα περὶ μηδὲν πάθος*; *Spec. Leg.* i. 260 *ἵνα περὶ μηδὲν πάθος κηραίνωσι*, and other examples of *κηραίνειν περὶ*. In fact with the exception of changing *φέρει* to *περὶ* it follows the mss. exactly. *Ὁν ἦν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει* see App. p. 443.

- 34 VII. Τῶν δὲ λεχθέντων σαφειστάτην πίστιν αἰ  
 ἱεραὶ βίβλοι περιέχουσιν. ἔθνος πολυανθρωπότατόν  
 ἐστὶν Ἄραβες, οἷς ὄνομα παλαιὸν ἦν Μαδιθηναῖοι.  
 οὗτοι πρὸς Ἑβραίους φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντες,  
 οὐδενὸς ἕνεκα ἑτέρου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ  
 πρεσβύτατον αἴτιον σέβουσι καὶ τιμῶσι τῷ ποιητῇ  
 καὶ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων προσκεκληρωμένοι, καὶ πάσας  
 μὲν μηχανὰς τεχνάζοντες, πάσας δὲ πείρας καθ-  
 ιέντες, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος τιμῆς  
 αὐτοὺς ἀποστήσωσι καὶ μεθαρμόσωνται πρὸς ἀσέ-  
 βειαν ἐξ ὀσιότητος—οὕτως γὰρ περιέσεσθαι ῥαδίως  
 ὑπελάμβανον—, ἐπειδὴ μυρία καὶ λέγοντες καὶ  
 δρῶντες ἀπειρήκεσαν, ὥσπερ οἱ θανατῶντες ἐφ' ὧν  
 ἀπόγνωσι(ς)<sup>1</sup> σωτηρίας, καὶ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπινο-  
 35 οῦσι στρατήγημα. γυναικῶν τὰς περικαλλεστάτας  
 μεταπεμψάμενοί φασιν αὐταῖς· “ ὁράτε, ὡς ἀπερί-  
 ληπτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων πληθὺς. τῆς δὲ  
 πληθύος ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτερον ἐπιτείχισμα ἢ ὁμόνοια  
 καὶ συμφωνία τούτων· αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ὁμονοίας τὸ  
 ἀνωτάτω καὶ μέγιστον ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ δόξα,  
 ἀφ' ἧς οἷα πηγῆς ἐνωτικῆ καὶ ἀδιαλύτῃ φιλία  
 36 κέχρηται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἡδονῇ δ' ἀλωτὸν ἀν-  
 θρωπος, καὶ μάλιστα συνουσία τῇ πρὸς γυναῖκα.

<sup>1</sup> My correction. Cohn prints ἐφ' ὧν ἀπογνώσι, which is quite impossible. Some mss. have ἐπειδὴν for ἐφ' ὧν, which will give a grammatical construction. But Philo does not seem to use ἀπογινώσκω with the genitive. I see no difficulty in the text as printed above: ἐφ' ὧν = ἐπὶ τούτων ἐφ' ὧν, i.e. in circumstances in which there is no hope of salvation.

<sup>a</sup> For the narrative which follows see Num. xxv. 1-18 and xxxi. 1-18 and compare the parallel account in Mos. i. 295-311. There the seduction by the women is equally prominent, but the details are given in the form of advice tendered

## ON THE VIRTUES, 34-36

VII. A very clear proof of these statements is 34 included in the sacred books.<sup>a</sup> The Arabians, whose name in old times was Midianites, are a very populous nation. They were disposed to be hostile to the Hebrews, the main reason being the reverence and honour which that people, dedicated to the Maker and Father of all, pays to the supreme and primal Cause. Accordingly they contrived all possible devices and made all possible attempts<sup>b</sup> to turn them away from honouring the One, the truly Existent, and to change their religion to impiety. For if they succeeded in this, they thought they would make an easy conquest. But when after countless efforts of word and deed they were utterly exhausted, like men in peril of death,<sup>c</sup> where there is no hope of salvation, they as a last resource devised a scheme of the following kind. They sent for the most 35 exquisitely beautiful among their women and said to them, "You see how unlimited is the number of the Hebrews, but their number is not so dangerous and menacing a weapon as their unanimity and mutual attachment. And the highest and greatest source of this unanimity is their creed of a single God, through which, as from a fountain, they feel a love for each other, uniting them in an indissoluble bond. Now man is easily led captive by pleasure, and par- 36 ticularly by the pleasure of intercourse with women.

by Balaam to Balak, against whom the war is waged, the Midianites not being mentioned. Here Balaam is not mentioned, nor is Phinehas. For the relation of Philo's account to the biblical see App. p. 443.

<sup>b</sup> Or "laid down snares." See App. p. 444.

<sup>c</sup> For this use of *θανατάω*, as against the accepted meaning of "desire to die," see note on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 102 (vol. vii. p. 636).

## PHILO

- διαπρεπέσταται δ' ἐστέ· καὶ φύσει μὲν ἀγωγὸν τὸ  
 37 κάλλος, ἢ δὲ νεότης εἰς ἀκρασίαν εὐόλισθον. ἑται-  
 ρήσεως ἢ μοιχείας ὀνόματα μὴ δείσητε ὡς αἰσχύνην  
 ἐποίσοντα, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ὠφελείας ἀντι-  
 τιθεῖσαι, δι' ἃς τὰς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἀδοξίας μεθαρμό-  
 σεσθε εἰς ἀγήρω καὶ ἀτελεύτητον εὐκλειαν, τὰ μὲν  
 σώματα ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν προέμεναι, σόφισμα κατ'  
 ἐχθρῶν καὶ στρατήγημα, παρθένους δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς  
 διαφυλάττουσαι, αἷς καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀγνεῖαν  
 38 ἐπισφραγιεῖσθε. καὶ καινότατον ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος  
 ἕξει κλέος διὰ γυναικῶν ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀνδρῶν κατορ-  
 θωθείς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερον, ὁμολογοῦμεν, γένος  
 οὐ γενήσεται ἦττα, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μάχην τοὺς  
 ἀντιπάλους ἐπικυδεστέρους εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον  
 παντελῶς τὴν νίκην πέρα δ' οἴσει<sup>1</sup> καί, τὸ μέγιστον  
 ἀγαθόν, τὰς δίχα κινδύνων ἀριστείας· ἀναιμωτὶ γάρ,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκονιτί, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην φαντασίαν  
 αὐτὸ μόνον ὀφθεῖσαι περιέσεσθε."  
 39 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσασαι, καθαροῦ βίου μηδ' ὄναρ ἡσθη-  
 μέναι, παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἄγευστοι, συναινοῦσιν, ἅτε  
 [382] πεπλασμένον ἦθος σωφροσύνης | τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον  
 καθυποκρινάμεναι, καὶ πολυτελέσιν ἐσθῆσι καὶ  
 ὄρμοις καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις εἴωθε διακοσμεῖσθαι γυνή  
 πᾶσιν ἀσκηθεῖσαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ φύσεως κάλλος εὐ-  
 μορφότερον ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἀπεργασάμεναι—τὸ

<sup>1</sup> My correction for mss. *περιοῦσαι* or *περαιώσει*. Cohn, who prints *τὴν νίκην οἴσει*, admits (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 212) that he prints it merely to have an intelligible text, and that neither it nor the suggestions of *περιποιήσει* or *περιοίσει* are satisfactory. I think that, as the point indicated is something over and

## ON THE VIRTUES, 36-39

You are exceedingly comely ; beauty is naturally seductive, and youth easily lapses into incontinence. Do not fear the names of harlotry or adultery as 37 likely to bring disgrace, but set against them the benefits arising from your action—benefits which will enable you to convert the transient disrepute into a renown which knows no old age or death. For though in outward appearance you prostitute your bodies, to outwit and out-general our enemies, you will keep your souls virgin, and crown them with a chastity which will last into the future. And this 38 war will have a glory without precedent in that it was brought to a successful conclusion by women and not by men, for it is our sex, we confess, which will suffer defeat, because our opponents are more distinguished in all warlike qualities, while yours will be completely victorious, and in addition to victory will have also the high excellence that your exploits have entailed no dangers. For you have merely to be seen, and at that first appearance, without bloodshed or rather without an effort, the day will be yours."

When they heard these words, the women, who had 39 never dreamt of such a thing as purity of life, nor had a taste of sound education, gave their consent. For their hitherto assumed modesty of character was mere hypocrisy. They decked themselves with costly garments and necklaces, and with everything else with which women are accustomed to bedizen themselves and took great pains to make their natural beauty still more comely. For the prize they aimed

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above victory, *πέρα* is very probable, but other arrangements are possible, as *τὴν νίκην <νίκης δὲ> πέρα οἶσαι*. *πέρα* (preposition) often follows its case.

## PHILO

γὰρ ἀγώνισμα οὐ μικρὸν ἦν, θήρα νέων ἀθηρά-  
 40 των—εἰς τοῦμφανές προέρχονται. καὶ πλησίον  
 γενόμεναι βλέμμασιν ἑταιρικοῖς καὶ στωμυλία  
 λόγων καὶ σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσεσιν ἀκολάστοις δε-  
 λεάζουσι τῆς νεότητος τὴν ὀλιγόφρονα μοῖραν,  
 ἀνερμάτιστα καὶ ἀνίδρυτα ἦθη· καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν  
 σωμάτων αἰσχύνης ἀγκιστρευσάμεναι τὰς ψυχὰς  
 τῶν συνελθόντων, ἐπὶ θυσίας ἀθύτους καὶ σπονδὰς  
 ἀσυμβάτους καλέσασαι τῶν χειροκμήτων, ἀλλο-  
 τριοῦσι τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείας  
 41 θεοῦ. τοῦτο διαπραξάμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὐαγ-  
 γελίζονται· καὶ ἔμελλον ἂν καὶ ἄλλους ἐπισπᾶ-  
 σθαι τῶν μὴ σφόδρα βεβαίων, εἰ μὴ τοῦ πάθους  
 λαβῶν οἰκτονὸν ὁ εὐεργέτης καὶ ἰλεως θεὸς ἀνπερ-  
 θέτῳ κολάσει τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων—ἦσαν δὲ τέσ-  
 σαρρες πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι χιλιάδες—ὥσπερ ὑπὸ χει-  
 μάρρου κατακλυσθῆναι κινδυνεύσαντας ἀνεχαίτισε  
 42 φόβῳ νοουητήσας. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμῶν ἐπ-  
 αντλῶν τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας δόγματα καὶ  
 τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων τούτοις ἐπάγων<sup>1</sup> ἐκ φυλῆς  
 ἐκάστης χιλίους ἀνδρας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλέξας κατα-  
 λέγει, δίκας ἀναπράξων τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἦν ἐμηχανή-

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for mss. ἐπάδων = ἐπάδων. Wendland ἐπαίρων.  
 As all mss. except S omit ἐπαντλῶν, several have ταῖς ψυχαῖς,  
 and some of these omit τούτοις, the simple form of text τοῖς  
 ὡσὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας δόγματα καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων  
 ἐπάδων may be worth considering. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 114 D  
 χρῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπάδειν ἑαυτῷ.

<sup>a</sup> Though here the libations are of a ritual kind, the word  
 is so bound up with the idea of a truce that the antithesis is

at was of no small magnitude, the capture of the youths who had hitherto been uncaptured. They 40 then openly presented themselves, and when they were near at hand, with meretricious glances and wheedling talk and lewd attitudes and movements, they set their bait before the weaker-minded part of the younger men, whose character had no ballast or stability. And when by the shameful use of their bodies they had got the souls of their lovers on their hook, they summoned them to join in offering to the works of men's hands, sacrifices which were no sacrifices, and libations which brought no peace.<sup>a</sup> Thus they estranged them from the service of the One, the truly existing God, and having effected this, reported the good news to the men. And they would have 41 enticed others also of the less stable kind had not God the beneficent and merciful, taking pity for their sad condition, lost no time in punishing the mad folly of the offenders, 24,000<sup>b</sup> in number, and restrained those who were like to be overwhelmed as by a torrent, but were brought by Him to their senses through fear. The leader of the nation pouring into the ears 42 of his subjects the truths that uphold piety, and with them persuading their souls,<sup>c</sup> selected and enlisted a thousand of the best from each tribe, in order to exact retribution for the snare which the enemy had contrived with the women for their instru-

a natural one. Cf. *ἐν σπονδαῖς ἄσπονδα ἔπαθον*, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 96 and note.

<sup>b</sup> Num. xxv. 9. Philo, who in *Mos.* i. 303 f. took the "plague" of the Hebrew (LXX πλῆγη) to be a slaughter, does not commit himself here to either view. See note on *Mos.* i. 304, and in App. (vol. vi. pp. 603 f.).

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps "persuading them to follow these" (if *ἐπάγων* is read).

## PHILO

σαντο διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐλπίσαντες μὲν ἅπασαν τὴν πληθὺν ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἄκρας ὀσιότητος καταβαλόντες διαφθεῖραι, μόνους δὲ τοὺς λεχθέντας  
 43 δυνηθέντες. VIII. οἱ δὲ πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς ἀντιταχθέντες, ἐμπειρίαις ἅμα καὶ εὐτολμίαις χρώμενοι, καθάπερ αὐτὸς τις ἕκαστος ὄμιλος ὢν, καταφρονητικῶς πυκναῖς ἐπιτρέχοντες ταῖς φάλαγγι καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀναιροῦντες ἡρήμονι τὰ βύζην συνεστηκότα στίφη καὶ ὅσα ἐφ-  
 ἤδρευε πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν κενουμένων τάξεων, ὡς αὐτοβοεῖ πολλὰς μυριάδας καταστορέσαι καὶ μηδένα τῆς ἀντιταχθείσης νεότητος ἀπολιπέσθαι· κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας τὰς συνεπιγραψαμένας ἀνδρῶν γνώμαις ἀνοσίοις, ζωγρήσαντες παρθένους,  
 44 ἄκακον ἡλικίαν οἰκτισάμενοι. καὶ τοσοῦτον πόλεμον κατορθώσαντες οὐδένα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλον, ἀλλ' ὅποσοι καὶ ὅποιοι προῆλθον εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐπανήεσαν ἄτρωτοι καὶ ὀλόκληροι, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ χρὴ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, μετὰ διπλασίου ῥώμης· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ νικῆσαι χαρὰ τῆς προτέρας οὐκ ἐλάττονα τὴν  
 45 ἰσχὺν ἀπειργάσατο. αἴτιον δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν τούτων  
 [383] ἕτερον ἢ | τὸ σπουδάσαι φιλοκινδύνως τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι, ἐν ᾧ<sup>1</sup> καὶ προαγωνίζεται θεός, ἀήττητος ἐπικουρία, βουλὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ταῖς διανοαῖς ὑφηγούμενος, ἀλκὴν δὲ τοῖς σώμασι κρα-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐν ἧ.

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<sup>a</sup> In *Mos.* i. 311 the boys also are spared, contrary to Num. xxxi. 17, "slay every male" (though the LXX does not add as the Hebrew "among the little ones"). Philo does not here contradict his statement in the earlier book, nor

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## ON THE VIRTUES, 42-45

ment, and by which they hoped to dash the whole multitude down to destruction from the high pinnacle of holiness, though they were only able to succeed with those mentioned above. VIII. The small army 43 arrayed against many myriads, with skill and daring combined, each man as it were a company in himself, scorning all thoughts of danger, flew at their close-packed ranks, slaughtered all those who stood in their way and made a clean sweep of the solid masses of troops and of all the reserves who came to fill the gaps in the lines, so that by the mere onset they laid low many myriads and left none of the enemy's fighting force alive. They slew also the women, who had been confederates in the unholy designs of the men, but gave quarter to the maidens in pity for their innocent youthfulness.<sup>a</sup> And great as was the war 44 thus successfully conducted, they lost none of their own people, but returned in the same numbers and condition as they had gone forth to fight, unwounded and unscathed,<sup>b</sup> or rather it may truly be said with redoubled vigour. For the strength produced by the joy of victory was no less than what they had had at the first. And the sole source of all this 45

was the zeal which met danger bravely and led them to champion the cause of piety in a fight where God was the foremost combatant, an invincible auxiliary, inspiring their minds with wise counsels and enduing indeed even suggest that the men outside the fighting force were put to death.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Mos.* i. 309. The statement is based on Num. xxxi. 49 "and there lacketh not one of us," which does not imply that none of them were wounded. He says the same in *De Mut.* 109, where he quotes the LXX οὐ διαπεφώνηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς, and he may be right in giving this meaning to διαφωνεῖν. See App. p. 444.

## PHILO

46 ταιοτάτην ἐντιθείς. πίστις δὲ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συμμαχίας τό τε ὑπ' ὀλίγων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἀλῶναι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαφυγεῖν, μηδένα δὲ τῶν φίλων ἀναιρεθῆναι μήτε ἀριθμὸν μήτε  
 47 σώματος δύναμιν ἐλαττωθέντων.<sup>1</sup> ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς φησιν· ἐὰν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιτηδεύης, βίον ἀπόλεμον βιώσῃ καὶ εἰς ἅπαν εἰρηνικόν, ἢ ἐνστάτος πολέμου ῥαδίως τῶν ἐχθρῶν περικρατήσεις, θεοῦ στραταρχοῦντος ἀοράτως, ᾧ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀγα-  
 48 θοὺς σώζειν ἀνὰ κράτος. μήτ' οὖν ἐὰν πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπιτρέχωσιν ὁ πεζὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰππότης στρατὸς εὐοπλοῦντες μήτε ἐὰν ἐρυμνὰ καὶ ἐπίμαχα προκαταλαβόμενοι χωρία τοποκρατῶσι μήτε ἐὰν ἀφθόνοις παρασκευαῖς χορηγῶνται, καταπλαγεῖς δείσης, κἂν ἀπάντων ἀπορῆς ὧν ἄγουσι περιουσίαν ἐκείνοι, συμμάχων, ὄπλων, τόπων εὐκαιρίας, παρα-  
 49 σκευῶν· ἐκείνα γὰρ ὥσπερ ὀλκάδα πεπληρωμένην παντοίων ἀγαθῶν πολλακίς ἐπιπεσῶν ἄνεμος ἐξ-αίφνης ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέλυσε, τοῖς δ' εὐτελέσι καὶ λυπροῖς ὥσπερ ἀστάχυσιν ἤδη μεμυκόσιν ἐξ αὐχμοῦ καὶ ἀνομβρίας ἐπιψεκάζων καὶ ἐπινίφων ὁ θεὸς τὰς σωτηρίους δυνάμεις ἐμπαρέσχεν ἀνεγερθῆναί τε καὶ  
 50 τελειογονῆσαι. ἐξ οὗ δῆλον, ὅτι δεῖ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ὀσίου περιέχεσθαι<sup>2</sup>. οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἔνσπονδον,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐλαττωθέντες, -θέντος, -θείσαν, -θῆναι. The last is the form accepted by Mangey, but this would perhaps require μηδὲ for μήτε, and Cohn's correction best satisfies grammar.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. αἰί . . . περιέχεται.

<sup>a</sup> Presumably intended as a definite name for Deuteronomy, though see *De Fug.* 170. For the variant παραυέσεις see

## ON THE VIRTUES, 46-50

their bodies with irresistible doughtiness. The proof 46  
that God was their ally is that so many myriads were  
routed at the hands of a few and that none of the  
enemy escaped, while none of their friends were slain  
and neither their number nor their bodily force was  
diminished. Therefore, he says in his Exhortations <sup>a</sup> 47  
“ If thou pursuest justice and holiness and the other  
virtues, thou shalt live a life free from war and in  
unbroken peace, or if war arises, thou shalt easily  
overcome the foe under the invisible generalship of  
God, who makes it His care mightily to save the  
good. So then if a well-armed host of foot and horse 48  
of many myriads pour in upon thee, or if they seize in  
advance the strong positions and such as are liable to  
be attacked,<sup>b</sup> and so become masters of the situation  
or are amply supplied with abundance of equipments,  
be not panic-stricken and fearful, though thou lackest  
all of which they have abundance, allies, arms, suit-  
able positions, equipments.” All those, like a mer- 49  
chantman laden with all manner of valuables, are  
often suddenly upset and wrecked by a squall of  
wind ; but where they are mean and poor, God sends  
His saving powers like rain or snow showers on ears  
of corn shrivelled through drought and want of mois-  
ture, and gives them power to awake to fresh life and  
bring their fruit to its fullness. Thence it is clear that 50  
we must cling to what is just and holy. For we are

*Spec. Leg.* iv. 131. The next two sections are a loose para-  
phrase of Deut. xxviii. 1, 2, and 7, though the promise of  
peace belongs rather to Lev. xxvi. 5. Cf. *De Praem.* 93.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* and therefore naturally seized by the invader where  
possible—so, I think, rather than the ordinary meaning of  
the word “easily assailed,” which Cohn gives. Mangey’s  
translation “*nec facile oppugnanda*” cannot of course be got  
out of the word.

## PHILO

ἄκρως εὐδαίμονες, οἷς δὲ ἐχθρόν, ἐσχάτως κακο-  
δαίμονες. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας εἰς τὸ παρὸν  
ἀποχρώντως λελέχθω.<sup>1</sup>

### Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας

- 51 IX. Τὴν δ' εὐσεβείας συγγενεστάτην καὶ ἀδελ-  
φὴν καὶ δίδυμον ὄντως ἐξῆς ἐπισκεπτέον φιλανθρω-  
πίαν, ἧς ἐρασθεὶς ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἕτερος ὁ προφήτης  
τῶν νόμων—ὁδὸν γὰρ οἶα λεωφόρον ἄγουσαν  
ἐφ' ὁσιότητα ταύτην ἠπίστατο—τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν  
ἅπαντας ἤλειφε καὶ συνεκρότει πρὸς κοινωμίαν,  
παράδειγμα καλὸν ὥσπερ γραφὴν ἀρχέτυπον στη-  
52 λιτεύσας τὸν ἴδιον βίον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ πρώτης  
ἡλικίας ἄχρι γήρως εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν  
ἐνὸς ἐκάστου καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πεπραγμένα  
[384] αὐτῷ δεδήλωται πρότερον ἐν δυσι | συντάξεσιν, ἃς  
ἀνέγραψα περὶ τοῦ βίου Μωυσέως. ἐνὸς δὲ ἢ δυοῖν  
ἄν ἐπὶ τελευτῇ κατώρθωσεν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνη-  
σθῆναι· δείγματα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδια-  
στάτου καλοκαγαθίας, ἣν ἀσύγχυτον ἐνεσφραγίσατο  
53 τῇ ψυχῇ χαρακτῆρι θείῳ τυπωθείσῃ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ  
προθεσμία τῆς θνητῆς ζωῆς ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ περα-  
τοῦσθαι<sup>2</sup> καὶ λογίοις ἀριδῆλοις ἔγνω τὴν ἐνθένδε  
μετανάστασιν, οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βασιλέων ἢ  
ἰδιωτῶν ἐμμύησατο, οἷς μία σπουδὴ τε καὶ εὐχὴ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn at this point prints asterisks to indicate that the treatise *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* originally stood here. See General Introduction p. x.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *περαιούσθαι*.

<sup>a</sup> This seems to be the best word to describe the virtue in general, though there is of course a multitude of cases where

## ON THE VIRTUES, 50-53

supremely happy if the Godhead is our friend, utterly miserable if He is our enemy.

We have now said enough on the subject of courage and that too must be left for the present.

### On Humanity <sup>a</sup>

IX. The next subject to be examined is humanity, <sup>51</sup> the virtue closest akin to piety, its sister and its twin.<sup>b</sup> The prophetic legislator who perhaps loved her more than anyone else has done, since he knew that she was a high road leading to holiness, used to incite and train all his subjects to fellowship, setting before them the monument of his own life like an original design to be their beautiful model. Now the actions which <sup>52</sup> he performed from his earliest years to old age for the care and protection of each single man and of them all have been set forth already in two treatises in which I wrote about the life of Moses.<sup>c</sup> But there are one or two achievements at the end of his life, which deserve to be mentioned as proofs of the constant and unbroken nobleness of life which he impressed as a final sealing, clear and distinct, on a soul which had taken shape under the graving of God. When the appointed limit of his mortal life was about <sup>53</sup> to be reached and he knew by unmistakable warnings that he must depart hence, he did not imitate any of the other kings and commoners, whose one eager

the action described would be said to show benevolence or kindness or charity rather than what we should call humanity.

<sup>b</sup> For the kinship of *εὐσέβεια* and *φιλανθρωπία* cf. *De Abr.* 208 and § 95 below.

<sup>c</sup> On Philo's reason for inserting these sections here see General Introduction p. xiv.

## PHILO

κληρονόμους παῖδας καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πατήρ  
γεγονῶς δυοῖν υἱοῖν οὐδετέρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπεν  
ἡττηθεὶς εὐνοίας συγγενικῆς<sup>1</sup> καὶ πάθους φιλοικείου·  
καίτοι, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῶν τέκνων δι' ὑποψιῶν ἦν, ἀλλ'  
ἀδελφιδῶν γοῦν οὐκ ἠπόρει καλῶν κάγαθῶν, οἱ  
54 γέρας ἀρετῆς ἔσχον τὴν ἀνωτάτω ἱερωσύνην. ἀλλ'  
ἴσως ἢ μετέλκειν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας  
οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν ἢ καὶ ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἐνενόησεν, ὅτι  
ἀμήχανον τοὺς αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι καλῶς ἀμφοῖν ἐπι-  
τροπεύειν, ἱερωσύνης τε καὶ βασιλείας, ὧν ἡ μὲν  
ἐπαγγέλλεται θεοῦ θεραπείαν, ἡ δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-  
μέλειαν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ κριτὴν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠξίωσε  
γενέσθαι πράγματος μεγάλου· μέγιστον δ' ἐστὶ τὸν  
εὖ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀρχὴν δοκιμάσαι καὶ σχεδὸν  
θείας δυνάμεως, ἣ μόνη καθορᾶν ἡθὸς ἀνθρώπου  
55 ῥάδιον. X. πίστις δὲ σαφεστάτη τοῦ δη-  
λουμένου γένοιτ' ἂν ἦδε. φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ  
γνώριμος σχεδὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας γενόμενος,  
Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα, οὗ τὴν φιλίαν προὔξενησεν οὐδὲν  
τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰωθότων, ἀλλ' ἔρως ὁ  
οὐράνιος καὶ ἀκήρατος καὶ θεῖος ὄντως, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσαν  
ἀρετὴν φύεσθαι συμβέβηκεν· οὗτος ὁμωρόφιος καὶ  
ὁμοδίαιτος ἦν αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὅποτε ἐπιθειάσαντι καὶ  
χρησμοδουμένῳ προσταχθεῖν μόνωσις· ὑπηρέτει  
μέντοι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας αἰεὶ διαφερόντως  
τῷ πλήθει, μόνον οὐχ ὑπαρχος ὧν καὶ τὰ τῆς  
56 ἡγεμονίας συνδιοικῶν. ἀλλὰ καίτοι βάσανον ἀκ-  
ριβῆ λαβῶν ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων τῆς ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐνοίας συγγενείας OR εὐνοία (= -α) συγγενικῆ (= -ῆ).

desire and prayer is to leave behind them sons as heirs ; but although he was the father of two, he did not bequeath the leadership to either. Nor did he let himself be governed by family affection and favouritism to his own connexions, though even if the claims of his sons were under suspicion he had nephews at any rate of great excellence who held the highest priesthood as a reward for their virtue. But perhaps he did not think fit to withdraw them from the service of God, or reasonably enough considered that it was impossible for the same persons to do justice to both offices, the priesthood and sovereignty, one of which professes the service of God, the other the guardianship of men. Perhaps, too, he did not think it well to constitute himself the judge of a great matter, and no matter is so great as the task of testing and selecting the person best fitted by nature for command, a task which almost demands the divine power that alone can see with ease into the character of a man.

X. The clearest proof I can give of this statement is as follows. He had a friend whom he had known well almost from his earliest years, Joshua by name. This friendship had not been effected in any of the ways that other friends are usually made, but by the rapturous love, which is of heaven, all pure, and truly from God, from which in fact all virtue springs. This Joshua had shared his home and board, except when solitude was prescribed to him, that is when he was under inspiration and receiving the oracles. All other services he rendered him on a different footing from the multitude and was almost his lieutenant, associated with him in the duties of government. Yet although Moses had so long carefully tested his excellence in word and deed, and,

## PHILO

ἔργοις καλοκάγαθίας αὐτοῦ καὶ—τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον  
 —εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον ᾤηθη  
 χρῆναι καταλιπεῖν διάδοχον, δεδιὼς μὴ ποτε ψευ-  
 δοδοξῆ νομίζων ἀγαθὸν τὸν οὐκ ὄντα πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειαν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κριτήρια τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης  
 57 ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀβέβαιά πως εἶναι πέφυκεν. ὅθεν οὐ  
 προπιστεύων ἑαυτῷ ποτνιαῖται καὶ καθικετεύει τὸν  
 ἀοράτου ψυχῆς ἔφορον θεόν, ᾧ μόνῳ διάνοιαν  
 [385] ἔξεστιν ἀκριβῶς θεωρεῖν, | ἀριστίνδην ἐλέσθαι τὸν  
 ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς ἡγεμονίαν, ὃς οἶα πατὴρ ἐπι-  
 μελήσεται τῶν ὑπηκόων· καὶ τὰς καθαρὰς καὶ ὡς  
 ἂν εἴποι τις τροπικώτερον παρθένους χεῖρας ἀνα-  
 58 τείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν φησιν· “ἐπισκεψάσθω κύριος ὁ  
 θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπων  
 ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύος, εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν  
 ποιμένα ὃς<sup>1</sup> ἀνυπαίτως ἀφηγήσεται, ἵνα μὴ γένηται  
 σαθρὸν τὸ ἔθνος οἶα ποίμνη σποράδην<sup>2</sup> ἀγελάρχην  
 59 οὐκ ἔχουσα.” καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν κατεπλάγη τῶν  
 τότε τῆς εὐχῆς ἀκούσας, “τί φῆς” εἰπὼν “ὦ δέ-  
 σποτα; οὐκ εἰσὶ μὲν σοι γνήσιοι παῖδες, οὐκ εἰσὶ δ’  
 ἀδελφίδοι; μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς υἱοῖς—κληρονόμοι  
 γὰρ οὗτοι φύσει πρῶτοι—κατάλιπε τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἰ  
 60 δ’ ἀποδοκιμάζεις, τοῖς γοῦν ἀδελφίδοις. εἰ δὲ καὶ  
 τούτους ἀνεπιτηδείους ὑπέιληφας τὸ ἔθνος προ-  
 κρίνων τῶν συγγενεστάτων καὶ οἰκειοτάτων, ἀλλ’

<sup>1</sup> mss. ποιμένος or ποιούμενος.

<sup>2</sup> So all mss. except S, which has ἐπ’ ὄρους. Cohn in his edition corrected to σποράς, considering that ποίμνη σποράδην was an impossible combination and that ἐπ’ ὄρους was a corruption of σποράς. In his translation he declares for σποράς ἐπ’ ὄρους. He observes that “on a mountain” is a reminiscence of 1 Kings xxii. 17 “I saw all Israel scattered



## ON THE VIRTUES, 56-60

what was most vital of all, his loyal affection for the nation, he did not think he should leave the succession even to him. He feared that he might be deceived in thinking him a good man when he was not really so, since the standards of human judgement are such as to be vague and uncertain. And therefore, slow 57 to trust in himself, he besought and entreated God, who surveys the invisible soul and to whom alone it is given to discern the secrets of the mind, to choose on his merits the man most fitted to command, who would care for his subjects as a father. And stretching up to heaven his pure, and, as it might be put figuratively, his virgin hands he said, <sup>a</sup> "Let the God 58 of spirits and all flesh <sup>b</sup> look to find a man to set over the multitude to guard and protect it, a shepherd who shall lead it blamelessly that the nation may not decay <sup>c</sup> like a flock scattered about without one to guide it." Yet who of those who heard this prayer 59 would not have been astounded? "Master," he would say, "what do you mean, have you not lawful sons, have you not nephews? Bequeath the sovereignty to your sons as the first choice, for they naturally take precedence as heirs, or if you reject them, at least to your nephews, or if you count them also unsuitable 60 and prefer the people at large to your nearest and

<sup>a</sup> Num. xxvii. 16, 17.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX. E.V. "spirits of all flesh."

<sup>c</sup> Or "waste away."

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on the mountains, as a flock which has no shepherd." No doubt this is so, but whether the reminiscence is more likely to be Philo's or of the scribe of S, I do not feel capable of deciding. In any case I see no reason for substituting *σποράς* for *σποράδην*, which as an adverb qualifying *ἀγελάρχη* *οὐκ ἔχουσα* seems to me quite unobjectionable.

## PHILO

ἔστι γέ σοι φίλος ἄμεμπτος βάσανον ἀρετῆς  
 τελείας δεδωκώς σοι τῷ πανσόφῳ· τί δὴ τοῦτον, εἰ  
 μὴ γένους ἀλλὰ καλοκαγαθίας ἢ αἴρεσίς ἐστιν, οὐκ  
 61 ἀξιούς δοκιμάζειν;” ἀλλ’ ἀποφανεῖται ὅτι “ πάν-  
 των μὲν κριτὴν ποιεῖσθαι θέμις θεόν, διαφερόντως  
 δὲ τῶν μεγάλων, ἐν οἷς τὸ εἶ γε ἢ χεῖρον μυρίους  
 ὄσους εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἤγαγεν ἢ τούναντίον εἰς  
 κακοδαιμονίαν. μείζον δ’ οὐδὲν ἀρχῆς, ἢ τὰ  
 πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν ὅσα κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατ’  
 εἰρήνην ἐπιτέτραπται· ὡς γὰρ πρὸς εὐπλοίαν ἀγα-  
 θοῦ καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην δεῖ κυβερ-  
 νήτου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ πρὸς εὐνομίαν  
 ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ χρεῖα πανσόφου τινὸς  
 62 ἡγεμόνος. σοφίαν δὲ πρεσβυτέραν οὐ μόνον τῆς  
 ἐμῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντός  
 οὔσαν οὔτε θέμις οὔτε δυνατὸν ἄλλῳ τῷ κρίνειν  
 ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς καὶ  
 63 γνησίως αὐτῆς ἐρώσιν. ἐδιδάχθη δ’ ἀπ’ ἑμαυτοῦ  
 μηδ’ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι δοκούντων εἰς  
 ἀρχὴν δοκιμάσαι. τὴν γοῦν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προ-  
 στασίαν τῶν κοινῶν οὔτ’ αὐτὸς ἐθελοντῆς εἰλόμην  
 οὔθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνθρώπων χειροτονηθεὶς ἔλα-  
 βον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμοῖς ἐναργέσι καὶ  
 λογίοις ἀριδύλοις ἐμφανῶς θεσπίζοντας καὶ προσ-  
 τάπτοντος ἄρχειν ἀνεδύομην ἱκετεῦων καὶ πο-  
 τινώμενος, εἰς τὸ μέγεθος ἀφορῶν τοῦ πράγματος,  
 ἕως, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἐκέλευε, δείσας ἐπειθάρχησα.  
 64 πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσιν

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Wisdom’s speech in Prov. viii. 22-30  
 “The Lord . . . established me from eternity (πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος),  
 in the beginning before He made the earth,” etc., part of  
 which Philo has quoted in *De Ebr.* 31.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 60-64

closest, you have a blameless friend who has given proof of perfect virtue to your unerring wisdom. Why do you not think fit to approve of him, if the choice is not to rest on birth but on high excellence of life." He will say in reply, " It is very right that we should 61 take God for our Judge in all things and particularly in great matters, where a decision for good or ill brings happiness, or, contrariwise, misery to countless multitudes. No matter is greater than sovereignty, to which is committed the charge of all the affairs of cities and countries in war and peace. For just as successful navigation demands a pilot of good judgement and knowledge, so, too, a governor of all-round wisdom is needed to secure for his subjects in every place a happy and orderly life. Now wisdom's years 62 are from of old, ere not only I, but the whole universe was born,<sup>a</sup> and it is not lawful or possible that any other should judge her save God, and those who love her with a love that is guileless and pure and genuine. I have learnt from my own history not to choose any- 63 one else from among those who seem to be suitable and approve him for government. I did not of my own free-will choose to superintend and preside over public affairs, nor did I receive the office through appointment by some other of mankind, but when God by plain oracles and manifest declarations made clear to me His will and bade me take command, considering the greatness of the task I held back with prayers and supplications, until, when He many times repeated the command, I trembled but obeyed. With this example before me,<sup>b</sup> surely 64 reason requires that I should follow in the same

<sup>b</sup> See γούν in previous section, suggesting that the following words illustrate the general sense of the paragraph.

## PHILO

ἐπακολουθηῆσαι καὶ χρησάμενον ὅτ' ἔμελλον ἄρχειν  
δοκιμασθῆ θεῷ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ θέσθαι τὴν  
[386] χειροτονίαν τοῦ διαδόχου, μὴ | συνεφασπαμένης  
ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, ἥ τὸ εἰκὸς συγγενέστερόν ἐστι  
τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς προστασίας οὐκ ἐπὶ  
τῷ τυχόντι ἔθνει γενησομένης, ἀλλὰ πολυανθρωπο-  
τάτῳ μὲν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ πάντων, ἐπάγγελμα δὲ  
ἐπαγγελλομένῳ μέγιστον, ἰκεσίαν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος,  
65 ὅς ἐστι ποιητῆς τῶν ὄλων καὶ πατήρ; ὅπερ γὰρ  
ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῆς δοκιμωτάτης περιγίνεται τοῖς  
ὁμιληταῖς αὐτῆς, τοῦτο διὰ νόμων καὶ ἔθων Ἰου-  
δαίοις, ἐπιστήμη τοῦ ἀνωτάτου καὶ πρεσβυτάτου  
πάντων αἰτίου, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γενητοῖς θεοῖς πλάνον  
ἀπωσαμένους· γενητὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀληθεία θεός,  
ἀλλὰ δόξῃ μόνον, τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀφηρημένος,  
αἰδιότητα.”

66 XI. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐναργέστατον δεῖγμα  
τῆς πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ ὁμόφυλον αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας  
καὶ πίστεως· ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος οὐκ ἀποδέον.  
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀριστίδην ὁ φοιτητῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μι-  
μητῆς τῶν ἀξιεράστων ἡθῶν Ἰησοῦς ἄρχων ἐδοκι-  
μάσθη κριτηρίοις θείοις, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἂν ἕτερος ἐπὶ  
τῷ μὴ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφιδοῦς αἰρεθῆναι  
67 κατήφησεν, ἀλλὰ ὑποπλησθεὶς ἀλέκτου χαρᾶς, ὅτι  
μελλήσοι τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιτρόπῳ χρῆσθαι τὰ πάντα  
ἀρίστῳ—καλὸν γὰρ κἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦδει τὸν  
εὐάρεστον θεῷ—λαβόμενος τῆς τούτου δεξιᾶς καὶ  
παραγαῶν αὐτὸν εἰς ἡθροισμένον τὸ πλῆθος, μηδὲν  
περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς εὐλαβηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς  
ἀρχαίαις εὐφροσύναις νέας ἐτέρας προσειληφῶς οὐ

<sup>a</sup> Num. xxvii. 22, 23.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 64-67

steps, and, after having had God for my approver when I was about to take command, should give the election of my successor to Him alone without the participation of human judgement, which is nearer akin to the seeming than to the true. It is a special reason for so doing that the person appointed will preside not over some ordinary nation, but over the most populous of all the nations upon earth, one which makes the greatest of all professions that it is a suppliant of Him who truly exists and is the Maker and Father of all. For what the disciples of the most excellent philosophy gain from its teaching, the Jews gain from their customs and laws, that is to know the highest, the most ancient Cause of all things and reject the delusion of created gods. For no created being is God in reality, but only in men's fancies, bereft as it is of the essential attribute of eternity."

XI. Here we have the first proof of the kindness and faithfulness, which he showed to all his compatriots, but there is another not inferior to it. When his disciple, Joshua, who modelled himself on his master's characteristics with the love which they deserved, had been approved by divine judgement as best fitted to command, Moses was not depressed as another might have been because the choice had not fallen on his sons or nephews, but was filled with intense joy, to think that the nation would be in the charge of one excelling in every way, since he knew that one in whom God is well pleased must needs be of a noble character. So taking Joshua by the right hand he brought him forward to where the multitude was congregated.<sup>a</sup> He had no tremors at the thought of his own end, but had added other new joys to

## PHILO

μόνον διὰ μνήμην τῶν πρότερον εὐπαθειῶν, αἷς κατακόρως διὰ παντὸς εἴδους ἀρετῆς ἐνετρήφησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλειν ἀθανατίζεσθαι μεταβαλὼν ἐκ φθαρτοῦ βίου εἰς ἄφθαρτον, ἰλαραῖς ὄψεσιν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εὐθυμίας φαιδρὸς καὶ  
 68 γεγηθῶς φησιν· “ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καιρὸς ἤδη τῆς ἐν σώματι ζωῆς· ὁ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐπιτροπῆς διάδοχος οὗτός ἐστιν αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ”· καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια τῆς δοκιμασίας εὐθύς  
 69 ἐπέειπεν, οἷς ἐπίστευσαν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποβλέψας ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι παραινεῖ καὶ σφόδρα ἰσχύειν ἐν ταῖς εὐβουλίαις, ἀγαθὰς μὲν γνώμας εἰσηγούμενον, ἀνευδότοις δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοις λογισμοῖς τὰ γνωσθέντα καλῶς τελειοῦντα. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν ἴσως οὐ δεομένῳ παραινέσεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ φιλάλληλον καὶ φιλοεθνὲς πάθος οὐ στέγων, ὑφ’ οὗ τρόπον τινὰ κεντριζόμενος ἃ συνοίσειν ἐνόμιζεν  
 70 ἀπεγύμνου. ἦν δὲ καὶ χρησμός αὐτῷ παρακαλέσαι τὸν διάδοχον καὶ εὐθαρσέστατον ἀπεργάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιμέλειαν, τὸ βᾶρος μὴ καταδείσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵνα τοῖς ἔπειτα γένηται κανὼν  
 [387] καὶ νόμος | ἅπασιν ἡγεμόσι πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα Μωυσῆν ἀποβλέπουσι καὶ μηδεὶς φθονῆ βουλευμάτων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς διαδόχοις, ἀλλ’ ὑποθήκαις καὶ παραινέσεσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀλείφωσι

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxxi. 7 and 23.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ φιλάλληλον = “mutual affection,” when applied to one person signifies an affection which is strengthened by the knowledge that it is returned.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 67-70

the old, for he had not only the memory of earlier felicities, which every kind of virtue had given him, filling him to overflowing with delight, but also the hope of coming immortality as he passed from the corruptible life to the incorruptible. Thus with a face beaming with the gladness of his soul, he said brightly and cheerfully, "The time has come for me to depart 68 from the life of the body, but here is a successor to take charge of you, chosen by God," and he at once proceeded to recite the messages declaring God's approval, to which they gave credence; then turning 69 his eyes on Joshua he bade him<sup>a</sup> be of good courage and mighty in wise policy, initiate good plans of action and carry out his decisions with strong and resolute thinking to a happy conclusion. For though he to whom he addressed these words did not perhaps need the exhortation, Moses would not keep hidden the personal friendship<sup>b</sup> and patriotism which urged him like a spur to lay bare what he thought would be profitable. Also he had received the divine com- 70 mand<sup>c</sup> that he should exhort his successor and create in him the spirit to undertake the charge of the nation with a high courage, and not to fear the burden of sovereignty. Thus all future rulers would find a law to guide them right<sup>d</sup> by looking to Moses as their archetype and model, and none would grudge to give good advice to their successors, but all would train and school their souls with admonitions and

<sup>c</sup> Num. xxvii. 19 "Thou shalt give him a charge before all the congregation."

<sup>d</sup> Cohn takes *κανὼν καὶ νόμος* as predicate, "he should become a law." Who then is "he"? Not Joshua, for Moses, who advises his successor, is the model. Not Moses, for Philo would have said *αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσι*. I take the words as subject to *γένηται*.

## PHILO

- 71 καὶ συγκροτῶσι. δύναται γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ παραίνεσις ἀναπεπτωκότας ταῖς γνώμαις ἐγείραι καὶ διάρασα εἰς ὕψος ἐπάνω τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ιδρύσασθαι φρόνημα γενναῖον καὶ ἀκατάπληκτον ἐνθεῖσα.
- 72 Τὰ δὲ ἀρμόττοντα τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις καὶ τῷ κληρονόμῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαλεχθεὶς ἀρχεται τὸν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν μετ' ὠδῆς, τελευταίαν αὐτῷ βίου τοῦ μετὰ σώματος εὐχαριστίαν ἀποδιδούς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι γήρωσ καιναῖς καὶ οὐ ταῖς ἐν ἔθει
- 73 χάρισιν εὐηργετέιτο· καὶ συναγαγὼν ἄθροισμα θεῖον, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τὰ συνεκτικώτατα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου, γῆν τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὴν μὲν θνητῶν ἐστίαν, τὸν δὲ ἀθανάτων οἶκον, ἐν μέσοις τὰς ὑμνωδίας ἐποιεῖτο διὰ παντὸς ἀρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας εἶδους, ἵνα κατακούσωσιν ἀνθρωποὶ τε καὶ
- 74 ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί, οἱ μὲν ὡς γνώριμοι, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας εὐχαρίστου διαθέσεως διδασκαλίαν, οἱ δ' ὡς ἔφοροι θεασάμενοι κατὰ τὴν σφῶν ἐμπειρίαν, μὴ τι τῆς ὠδῆς ἐκμελές, καὶ ἅμα διαπιστοῦντες, εἴ τις ἀνθρωπος ὢν ἐνδεδεμένος σώματι φθαρτῷ δύναται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων πανιέρῳ χορῷ μεμουςῶσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὄργανον, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν
- 75 σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἀρμοσάμενος. ταχθεὶς δ' ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα χορευταῖς ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἀνεκεράσατο ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαρίστοις ὑμνωδίαις τὰ γνήσια πάθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος εὐνοίας, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἔλεγχοι<sup>1</sup> παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, αἱ πρὸς τὸν παρ-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἔλεγχοι <οἱ> to balance the articles with the corresponding nouns that follow.



## ON THE VIRTUES, 71-75

exhortations. For a good man's exhortation can 71  
raise the disheartened, lift them on high and estab-  
lish them superior to occasions and circumstances,  
and inspire them with a gallant and dauntless  
spirit.

Having discoursed thus suitably to his subjects and 72  
the heir of his headship, he proceeded to hymn God  
in a song<sup>a</sup> in which he rendered the final thanksgiving  
of his bodily life for the rare and extraordinary gifts  
with which he had been blest from his birth to his old  
age. He convoked a divine assemblage of the 73  
elements of all existence and the chiefest parts of the  
universe, earth and heaven, one the home of mortals,  
the other the house of immortals. With these around  
him he sang his canticles with every kind of har-  
mony and sweet music in the ears of both mankind  
and ministering angels<sup>b</sup>: of men that as disciples they 74  
should learn from him the lesson of like thankfulness  
of heart: of angels as watchers, observing, as them-  
selves masters of melody,<sup>c</sup> whether the song had any  
discordant note, and scarce able to credit that any  
man imprisoned in a corruptible body could like the  
sun and moon and the most sacred choir of the other  
stars attune his soul to harmony with God's instru-  
ment, the heaven and the whole universe. Thus in 75  
his post amid the ethereal choristers the great Re-  
vealer blended with the strains of thankfulness to  
God his own true feelings of affection to the nation,  
therein joining with his arraignment of them for  
past sins his admonitions for the present occasion

<sup>a</sup> For the song of Moses see Deut. xxxii. 1-43.

<sup>b</sup> Verse 43 (in LXX only) "Rejoice ye heavens with Him, and let all the angels of God worship Him."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "in accordance with their own skill (in music)."

## PHILO

όντα καιρὸν νουθεσίαι καὶ σωφρονισμοί, παραινέσεις αἱ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα διὰ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων, αἷς ἐπακολουθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον αἷσια τέλη.

- 76 XII. Ὡς δ' ἐτέλεσε τὰς χορείας ὀσιότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τρόπον τινὰ συνυφασμένας, ἤρξατο μεταβάλλειν ἐκ θνητῆς ζωῆς εἰς ἀθάνατον βίον κακ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον συνησθάνετο τῆς τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ὧν συνεκέκρατο διαζεύξεως, τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὀστρέου [388] | δίκην <περιπεφυκότος><sup>2</sup> περιαιρουμένου, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀπογυμνουμένης καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐν-  
77 θένδε ποθούσης μετανάστασιν. εἰθ' ἔτοιμασάμενος τὰ πρὸς ἕξοδον οὐ πρότερον ἐστείλατο τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους φυλὰς ἀπάσας εὐχαῖς ἐναρμονίοις [ἀριθμῶ δώδεκα] γεῤῥαι διὰ τῆς τῶν φυλαρχῶν κατακλήσεως· ἃς ὅτι τελεσφορηθήσονται πιστευτέον· ὃ τε γὰρ εὐξάμενος θεοφιλῆς ὃ τε θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ὧν τε αἱ αἰτήσεις εὐπατρίδαι καὶ εὐγενεῖς τὴν ἀνωτάτω τεταγμένοι τάξιν, ὑπὸ  
78 στρατάρχη τῷ ποιητῇ πάντων καὶ πατρί. [αἰτήσεις δ' ἦσαν αἱ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγαθῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αὐτοῖς βίῳ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἀνετος τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς δεσμοῦ  
79 γένηται ἢ ψυχῆ.]<sup>3</sup> μόνος γὰρ Μωυσῆς τὴν πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος

<sup>1</sup> mss. τῆς ἐξ or τῶν ἐξ.

<sup>2</sup> Added by Cohn on the analogy of *De Ios.* 71. A likely but not certain emendation.

<sup>3</sup> Cohn considers this section spurious, probably rightly. See App. p. 445.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 75-79

and calls to a sounder mind, and his exhortations for the future expressed in hopeful words of comfort which needs must be followed by their happy fulfilment.<sup>a</sup>

XII. When he had ended his anthems, a blend we 76  
may call them of religion and humanity, he began to  
pass over from mortal existence to life immortal and  
gradually became conscious of the disuniting of the  
elements of which he was composed. The body, the  
shell-like growth which encased him, was being  
stripped away and the soul laid bare and yearning for  
its natural removal hence. Then after accomplishing 77  
the preparations for his departure he did not set out  
for his new home until he had honoured all the tribes  
of his nation with the concert of his benedictions,  
mentioning the founders of the tribes by name.<sup>b</sup> That  
these benedictions will be fulfilled we must believe,  
for he who gave them was beloved of God the lover  
of men and they for whom he asked were of noble  
lineage and held the highest rank in the army led by  
the Maker and Father of all. [The prayers were re- 78  
quests for true goods, not only that they should have  
them in this mortal life but much more when the soul  
is set free from the bonds of the flesh.] For Moses 79  
alone, it is plain, had grasped the thought that the

<sup>a</sup> The song, according to Deut. xxxi. 28, was intended to be a witness against Israel, and certainly the "arraignments" are the most prominent feature. On the other hand "the poem strikes its keynote (xxxii. 21) of mercy and hope, and emphatically concludes on this keynote" (34-43)—Adam Smith.

<sup>b</sup> For the blessing of Moses see Deut. xxxiii. Philo has before, in *Mos.* ii. 288, expressed his conviction that these blessings, though partially fulfilled already, would be finally completely fulfilled.

## PHILO

ὑπολαβὼν ἔχει ἀναγκαιοτάτην συγγένειαν, πολὺ γνησιωτέραν τῆς ἀφ' αἵματος, πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὧν δὴ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις χωρεῖ κληρονόμον ἀπέφηνεν, ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου διδούς, ἃ δὲ μὴ κέκτητο, τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύων παρασχεῖν, εἰδὼς τὰς τῶν χαρίτων αὐτοῦ πηγὰς ἀενάους μὲν οὔσας, οὐ πᾶσι δ' ἀνειμένας, ἀλλὰ μόνοις ἱκέταις· ἱκέται δ' εἰσὶν οἱ καλοκάγαθίας ἐρῶντες, οἷς ἀρύτεσθαι θέμις ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερωτάτων πηγῶν διψῶσι σοφίας.

80 XIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δείγματα τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου φιλανθρωπίας καὶ κοινωνίας, ἧ ἔχρησато καὶ δι' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως ἀγαθῆς κακ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ὑφήγησεως, μεμήνυται. λεκτέον δὲ ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα διετάξατο, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα—οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον—, τὰ γοῦν ἀγχίσπορα καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τῶν  
81 ἐκείνου βουλευμάτων. τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἡμερον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ μόνον ἰδρύεται κοινωνίαις, ἀλλ' ἐπιδαψιλευόμενος ἀναχεῖ πλουσίως αὐτὸ καὶ τείνει πρὸς τε τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων φύσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων ιδέας. ἃ δὲ περὶ ἐκάστων ἐνομοθέτησε, λεκτέον ἐν μέρει τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων.

82 XIV. Ἀπαγορεύει τοίνυν ἀδελφῷ δανεῖζειν, ἀδελφὸν ὀνομάζων οὐ μόνον τὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν φύντα γονέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀστὸς καὶ ὁμόφυλος ᾗ, τόκους ἐπὶ χρήμασι οὐ δικαίων ἐκλέγειν ὡς

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxii. 25, Lev. xxv. 36, 37, Deut. xxiii. 19. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 74 ff.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 79-82

whole nation from the very first was akin to things divine, a kinship most vital and a far more genuine tie than that of blood, and, therefore, he declared it the heir of all good things that human nature can contain. What he had himself he gave them ready for their use, what he did not possess he supplicated God to grant them, knowing that though the fountains of His grace are perennial they are not free for all, but only to suppliants. And suppliants are all those who love a virtuous life, to whom it is permitted to quench their thirst for wisdom with water drawn from the fountains of true holiness.

XIII. We have stated the proofs of the legislator's 80 humanity and fellow feeling, a quality which he possessed through a happy gift of natural goodness, and also as the outcome of the lessons which he learnt from the holy oracles. But we must also speak of the ordinances which he gave to posterity, if not all of them, which would be difficult, at least those which are closest akin to his way of thinking. He did not 81 set up consideration and gentleness as fundamental to the relations of men to their fellows only, but poured it out richly with a lavish hand on animals of irrational nature and the various kinds of cultivated trees. We must mention the laws which he gave on each of these, taking them in turn and beginning with mankind.

XIV. He forbids anyone to lend money on interest 82 to a brother, meaning by this name not merely a child of the same parents, but anyone of the same citizenship or nation.<sup>a</sup> For he does not think it just to amass money bred from money<sup>b</sup> as their yeanlings

<sup>b</sup> Or simply "interest on money"; but there is obviously an allusion to the original meaning of *τόκος*.

## PHILO

- 83 ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων ἔγγονα. καὶ προτρέπει μὴ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀναδύεσθαι καὶ συμβάλλειν ὀκηρότερον, ἀλλ' ἀνειμένας χερσὶ καὶ γνώμαις μάλιστα μὲν χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις, λογιζομένους ὅτι καὶ ἡ χάρις τρόπον τινὰ δάνειόν ἐστιν, ἀποδοθησόμενον [389] ἐν καιρῷ βελτίονι (ἄνευ) ἀνάγκης | ἐκουσίῳ διαθέσει τοῦ λαβόντος, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται δωρεῖσθαι, κυχράναι γοῦν ἐτοιμότατα καὶ προθυμότατα, μηδὲν
- 84 ἔξω τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποληψομένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐθ' οἱ πένητες ἔμελλον ἀπορώτεροι γίνεσθαι, πλείονα ὦν ἔλαβον εἰσφέρειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, οὐθ' οἱ συμβάλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἃ προήκαντο μόνον κομιζόμενοι· καίτοι γε οὐ μόνον· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντὶ τόκων οὐς λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠξίωσαν ἐπεισφέρονται τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἡμερότητα, κοινωνίαν, χρηστότητα, μεγαλόνοιαν, εὐφημίαν, εὐκλειαν· οἷς τίς κτήσις ἐφάμιλλος;
- 85 ἀπορώτατος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἀναφανεῖται κατὰ σύγκρισιν μιᾶς ἀρετῆς· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος ἄψυχος ἐν ταμείοις καὶ μυχοῖς γῆς κατορωρυγμένος, ἀρετῆς δ' ἐν ψυχῆς τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ μεταποιεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ καθαρώτατον τῆς οὐσίας, οὐρανός, καὶ ὁ γεννητὴς τῶν συμπάντων θεός. ἔτι τοίνυν τὴν ὀβολοστατῶν καὶ τοκογλύφων εὐπορον ἀπορίαν ἐν λόγῳ θετέον τῶν πολυχρύσων δοκούντων εἶναι βασιλέων οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐωρακῶτων

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<sup>a</sup> Philo may have extracted an injunction to give in preference to lending even without interest from Lev. xxv. 35, 212

## ON THE VIRTUES, 83-85

are from cattle. And he bids them not take this as 83  
a ground for holding back or showing unwillingness  
to contribute, but without restriction of hand and  
heart to give free gifts to those who need, reflecting  
that a free gift is in a sense a loan that will be repaid  
by the recipient, when times are better, without  
compulsion and with a willing heart.<sup>a</sup> This is the  
best course, but, if they are unwilling to give, they  
should at least lend with all readiness and alacrity,  
not with the prospect of receiving back anything  
except the principal. For in this way the poor would 84  
not become more helpless, by being forced to pay  
more than they received, and the contributors would  
not be wronged though they recovered only what  
they spent. Yet not "only." For with the capital  
in place of the interest which they determine not to  
accept they receive a further bonus of the fairest and  
most precious things that human life has to give,  
mercy, neighbourliness, charity, magnanimity, a good  
report and good fame. And what acquisition can rival  
these? Nay, even the Great King will appear as the 85  
poorest of men if compared with a single virtue. For  
his wealth is soulless, buried deep in store-houses and  
recesses of the earth, but the wealth of virtue lies  
in the sovereign part of the soul, and the purest part  
of existence, that is heaven, and God the parent of  
all claim it as their own. And can we then hold the  
poverty-in-wealth of the money-grubbing usurers to  
be of any account? They may seem to be kings  
with purses full of gold, but they never even in their  
dreams have had a glimpse of the wealth that has

where "thou shalt help" thy poor brother precedes the  
prohibition of interest, or Deut. xv. 10 "thou shalt surely  
give to him and thou shalt lend."

## PHILO

- 86 τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον; εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τοσ-  
 αύτη κέχρηται μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολῇ, ὥστε οὐκ  
 ἔχοντες ἀργύριον τροφὰς δανείζουσιν ὡς πλείους  
 ἂν ἔδοσαν αὐθις κομιζόμενοι. ταχύ γ' ἂν οὗτοι  
 μεταιτοῦσιν ἔρανον παράσχοιεν λιμὸν ἐν εὐθηνία  
 καὶ εὐετηρία κατασκευάζοντες καὶ τὴν ἀθλίων  
 ἀνθρώπων γαστρὸς ἔνδειαν προσοδευόμενοι καὶ  
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἰστάντες σιτία καὶ ποτά,  
 87 μὴ καθέλκη ῥοπή. τοῖς οὖν μεθέξουσι τῆς καθ'  
 αὐτὸν ἱεράς πολιτείας ἀναγκαίως παραγγέλλει τὰς  
 ἰδέας τῶν τοιούτων πόρων ἐκτρέπεσθαι· δουλο-  
 πρεποῦς γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἀνελευθέρου ψυχῆς τὰ  
 ἐπιτηδεύματα μεταβεβληκυίας εἰς ἀγριότητα καὶ  
 θηρίων φύσιν.
- 88 XV. Ἐν τι τῶν εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν τεινόντων  
 παράγγελμα κάκεῖνο διατάττεται, μισθὸν πένητος  
 αὐθημερὸν ἀποδιδόναι, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τὴν χρεῖαν ἐφ'  
 ἦν παρελήφθη παρασχόντα δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ὑπηρεσίᾳ μισθὸν ἀνυπερθέτως ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι

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<sup>a</sup> The translation takes τῶν πολυχρύσων . . . βασιλέων in apposition with ὀβολοστατῶν καὶ τοκογλύφων. So also Mangey. Cohn, on the other hand, takes them as dependent on ἐν λόγῳ, and understands the passage "we must regard the usurers as on a par with the kings (such as the Great King), who are no real kings." But this ignores the ironical use of the interrogation ἐτι τοίνυν as a triumphant way of stating that something can no longer be held, e.g. § 141, and which Cohn himself seems to have recognized by printing the sentence as a question. For the absolute use of ἐν λόγῳ cf. οὗτ' ἐν λόγῳ, *De Praem.* 111. A slightly different way of taking the passage would be to treat τῶν . . . βασιλέων as genitive absolute, "can the usurers be of any account, when the richest kings are shown to have no true wealth?"

<sup>b</sup> This censure is based on Lev. xxv. 37 "nor give (A.V. lend) him thy victuals for increase." LXX ἐπὶ πλεονασμῶ.



## ON THE VIRTUES, 86-88

eyes to see.<sup>a</sup> But there are some who 86  
 have reached such a pitch of depravity that, when  
 they have no money, they supply food on loan on  
 condition that they receive in return a greater  
 quantity than they gave.<sup>b</sup> It would be long before <sup>c</sup>  
 these people would give a free meal to beggars if they  
 create famine when they have plenty and abundance  
 and draw a revenue out of the wretches' empty  
 stomachs and as good as measure out food and drink  
 on a balance to make sure that they do not overweight  
 the scale. So then he absolutely commands those 87  
 who shall be members of his holy commonwealth to  
 discard such methods of profit-making, for these  
 practices show the marks of a slavish and utterly  
 illiberal soul transformed into savagery and the  
 nature of wild beasts.

XV. The following also is one of the command- 88  
 ments promoting humanity.<sup>d</sup> The wages of the poor  
 man are to be paid on the same day, not only because  
 it was felt to be just that one who has rendered the  
 service for which he was engaged should receive in  
 full and without delay the reward for his employment,

<sup>c</sup> Or as we might say colloquially "you won't catch these  
 people giving away to beggars." Cohn, who translates *ταχύ γ'*  
 by "vielleicht," and supposes the words to mean "perhaps  
 they would give to beggars so as to get profit from them,"  
 misses the meaning of *ταχύ γ'*. It is here used like *σπουδῆ γε*  
 in an ironical way, which, though ignored by L. & S., is  
 well illustrated in Stephanus, who gives several references to  
 the orators, *e.g.* *Dem.* 798. 20 *ὅς γὰρ οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἅπας . . .*  
*νουθετεῖ μηδεπώποθ' ὑπέϊξε . . . ταχύ γ' ἂν φροντίσειε τοῦ παρ'*  
*ἐνὸς λόγου.*

<sup>d</sup> *Lev.* xix. 13, *Deut.* xxiv. 14, 15, *cf. Spec. Leg.* iv. 195.  
 Philo considers that this and other repetitions are covered by  
 the defence given in *ibid.* 204, and it is true that in his earlier  
 notice of the law he did not dwell on the effect on the worker.

## PHILO

καί, ὡς εἶπόν τινες, ἐφημερόβιος<sup>1</sup> ὢν ὁ χειροτέχνης ἢ ἀχθοφόρος, ὄλω τῷ σώματι κακοπαθῶν ὑποζυγίου τρόπον, ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τέθειται τὴν ἐλπίδα· ὃν εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς κομίσαιτο, γήθει καὶ ῥώννυται πρὸς τὴν ἐπιούσαν προθυμία διπλασίονι ἐργασόμενος, εἰ δὲ μὴ κομίσαιτο, πρὸς τῷ σφόδρα ἀχθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τόνους ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκλυθεὶς ἀναπέπτωκεν, ὡς ἀδυνατεῖν πρὸς τὰ ἐν ἔθει τῶν ἔργων ἀπαντᾶν.

[390] 89 XVI. | Ἔτι φησί· δανειστῆς μὴ ἐπεισίτω χρεωστῶν οἰκίαις ἐνέχυρόν τι καὶ ῥύσιον ἐπὶ τῷ δανείῳ μετὰ βίας ληψόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν προθύροις ἕξω παρεστῶς ἀναμενέτω κελεύων ἡσυχῇ προφέρειν. οἱ δέ, ἂν ἔχωσι, μὴ ἀναδνέσθωσαν, εἰ γε ἀρμόττει τὸν μὲν μὴ τῷ δύνασθαι καταχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ αὐθαδέστερον ἐφ' ὕβρει τῶν δανεισαμένων, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀποδόσεως ἄξια παρέχειν ἐνέχυρα.

90 XVII. Τίς γε μὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τοῦ περὶ τοὺς θερισταῖς ἢ τρυγηταῖς διατάγματος; κελεύει γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀμῆτῳ μῆτε τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα τῶν δραγμάτων ἀναιρεῖσθαι μῆτε πάντα τὸν σπόρον κείρειν, ἀλλ' ὑπολείπεσθαι τι τοῦ κλήρου μέρος ἄτμητον, ἅμα μὲν τοὺς εὐπόρους μεγαλόφρονας καὶ κοινωνικούς κατασκευάζων ἐκ τοῦ τι προϊέναι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μὴ πᾶσι προσκέχνηναι καὶ πάντα συμφορεῖν καὶ συγκομίζειν οἴκαδε θησαυροφυλακήσοντας, ἅμα

<sup>1</sup> So S. Other mss. ἐφήμερος. See note a.

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<sup>a</sup> Or "as some persons (*i.e.* writers) have said." The singular ὡς εἶπέ τις generally, if not always, in Philo indicates a quotation. Mangey "ut quidem docent," referring it apparently to the view that a manual worker is like a beast of burden. If ἐφήμερος is read instead of the otherwise un-

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## ON THE VIRTUES, 88-90

but also because the manual worker or load carrier, who toils painfully with his whole body like a beast of burden, "lives from day to day," as the phrase goes,<sup>a</sup> and his hopes rest upon his payment. If he gets it at once, he is glad and is braced up for the morrow to work with redoubled willingness. If he does not get it, besides the great trouble that this gives him, his nervous system is unstrung by his sorrow and renders him incapable to meet the routine of his task.

XVI. Again, he says, a creditor must not enter the 89  
houses of his debtors, to take with violence a pledge or surety for the loan, but must stand outside in the porch and quietly bid them bring it out.<sup>b</sup> They, if they have it, must not hold it back, since the right course is that, while the creditor must not abuse his power to deal inconsiderately and insolently with the borrowers, the latter must render the proper surety as a reminder to repay what belongs to another.

XVII. Again who could fail to admire the ordin- 90  
ance about reapers or grape-pickers? <sup>c</sup> He bids them at harvest time not take up what drops from the sheaves, nor put in the sickle to the whole crop, but leave part of the field uncut. In this way he makes the well-to-do high-minded and liberal by sacrificing something of their own property instead of casting greedy eyes on the whole crop, and stacking and carting it all home to be kept like a treasure. At

known *ἐφημερόβιος*, I should suspect a play on the poetic use of the word (*e.g.* Aesch. *Prom.* 83) for mankind in general as "creatures of a day." The manual worker is "for a day" in the literal sense.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxiv. 10, 11.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22. E.V. "Thou shalt not reap the corners of the field." LXX "Ye shall not complete the reaping."

## PHILO

δὲ τοὺς πένητας εὐθυμοτέρους ἀπεργαζόμενος·  
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κτημάτων ἰδίων ἀποροῦσιν, ἐφίησιν  
 αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων εἰσιέναι καὶ τῶν  
 91 ὑπολειφθέντων ὡς οἰκείων ἀμᾶν. ἐν δὲ καιρῷ τῆς  
 ὀπώρας πάλιν δρεπομένοις κληρούχοις προστάττει  
 μήτε ῥώγας ἀποπιπτούσας συλλέγειν μήτε ἐπ-  
 ανατρυγᾶν ἀμπελώνας. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαιο-  
 λογοῦσι διατάττεται, καθάπερ φιλοστοργότατος καὶ  
 δικαιοτάτος πατήρ οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς εὐπραγίαις  
 κεκρημένων παιδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐν περιουσίᾳ  
 ζώντων, τῶν δ' εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐσχάτην περιηκόντων,  
 οὓς ἐλεῶν καὶ οἰκτεῖρων ἐπὶ τὰ κτήματα τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν καλεῖ μεθέξοντας ὡς ἰδίων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων,  
 οὐκ ἀναισχύντως ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας,  
 καὶ οὐ μόνον καρποῦ μετουσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ κτημάτων  
 92 ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ οὕτως ῥυπῶσι τὰς  
 διανοίας προστετηκότες ἀργυρισμῷ καὶ δυσθανα-  
 τῶντες περὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν κέρδους, τὸ πόθεν ἂν  
 γένοιτο μὴ σκεπτόμενοι, ὥστε ἐπανατρυγῶσι μὲν  
 τοὺς ἀμπελώνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, τὴν δὲ κριθοφόρον  
 καὶ σιτοφόρον γῆν ἀναθερίζουσι, τὴν δουλοπρεπῆ  
 καὶ ἀνελεύθερον μικροψυχίαν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχοντες καὶ  
 93 ἅμα ἀσεβοῦντες. ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖ τῶν εἰς  
 γεωργίαν παρέσχον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαιό-  
 τατα τῶν εἰς καρποφορίαν καὶ εὐγονίαν ἢ φύσις,  
 καιρίους ὑετούς, ἀέρος εὐκρασίας, τὰς τιθηνοὺς

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\* Lev. xix. 10 (cf. Deut. xxiv. 21) "Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather the fallen fruit of thy vineyard." The LXX for "fallen fruit" has ῥώγας, which in itself only means "grapes" or "berries." Philo explains it by adding ἀποπιπτούσας. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 231 gives for it τὰς ἐπιφυλλίδας (small grapes?).

## ON THE VIRTUES, 90-93

the same time he gives fresh courage to the poor, for since they themselves own no landed property he permits them to enter the estates of their fellow-countrymen and reap a harvest from what is still left as if it were their own. Again in the autumn when the 91 owners have the fruit picked he forbids them to collect the grapes that fall or to glean the vineyards.<sup>a</sup> He gives the same order to the olive pickers,<sup>b</sup> acting like a very loving and very just father of children who have not prospered alike, some of them living in abundance, others sunk into the deepest poverty. These last in his pity and compassion he invites into the possession of their brethren to partake of what belongs to others as though it were their own, not in any shameless fashion, but to redress their privations and to make them partners, not only in the fruits but to all appearance in the estates also. But there are 92 some so corrupted in mind, so engrossed in money-getting and every kind of profiteering as though it were a matter of life and death,<sup>c</sup> never considering what its source can be, that they glean the olive-yards and vineyards and give a second reaping to the barley fields and wheat fields, thus convicting themselves of a slavish and illiberal meanness and of impiety to boot. For they themselves have contributed but 93 little to the husbandry. The most numerous and most indispensable parts of all that goes to produce fruit-bearing and fertility are due to nature—the seasonable rains, the happily tempered states of

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxiv. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps "wearing themselves out to death." Philo has used this word which in other writers seems to mean "struggle against death" of the craze for the theatre, *Mos.* ii. 211, and the despair of the Israelites pursued by Pharaoh, *ibid.* 250.

## PHILO

- τῶν φυομένων συνεχεῖς καὶ μαλακὰς δρόσους, ζωτικωτάτας αὔρας, ὥρων τῶν ἐτησίων ἀζημίους  
 [391] γενέσεις, ὡς | μήτε θέρος περιφλέγοι μήτε κρυμὸς περιψύχοι μήτ' ἔαρος καὶ μετοπώρου τροπαὶ  
 94 βλάπτοιεν τὰ γεννώμενα. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες καὶ ὀρῶντες ἀεὶ τὴν φύσιν τελεσιουργοῦσαν καὶ πλουσῖαις χάρισι δωρουμένην ὅμως τὰς ἐκείνης εὐεργεσίας σφετερίζεσθαι τολμῶσι καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ πάντων αἴτιοι μεταδιδόασιν οὐδενὸς οὐδενί, μισανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἀσκούντες. οὗς, ἐπειδὴ γνώμαις ἐκουσίους ἀρετὴν οὐ διεπόνησαν, ἄκοντας νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει νόμοις ἱεροῖς, οἷς ὁ μὲν σπουδαῖος ἐθελοντῆς, ὁ δὲ μοχθηρὸς ἄκων πειθαρχεῖ.
- 95 XVIII. Κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι δεκάτας μὲν ἀπὸ τε σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ θρεμμάτων ἡμέρων καὶ ἐρίων ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κατ' ἀγροὺς ὀπώρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον τῆς κτήσεως ἐν ταλάροις πλήρεσι κομίζειν σὺν ὕδαϊς εἰς τὸν θεὸν πεποιημέναις, ἃς ἀναγράφτους στηλιτεύουσιν αἱ ἱερώταται βίβλοι, καὶ προσέτι βοῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν τὰ πρωτότοκα μὴ ὥσπερ ἴδια κατατάττειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγέλαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν ἀπαρχάς, ὅπως ἐξεθιζόμενοι τῇ μὲν τιμᾷ τὸ θεῖον τῇ δὲ μὴ πάντα κερδαίνειν εὐσεβεία καὶ φιλανθρωπία ταῖς ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονίῃσιν ἐπικοσμώνται.

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<sup>a</sup> The law of first fruits has been given in full in *Spec. Leg.* i. 132 ff. Philo's motive in bringing it in here is that it  
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## ON THE VIRTUES, 93-95

the air, the gentle dews, those constant nurses of the growing plants, the truly life-giving breezes, the seasons benignly brought about so that neither the summer should over-scorch, nor frost over-chill, nor the transitions of spring and autumn injure the produce. And though they know these things and see 94 that it is nature who ever brings the accomplishment and bestows these rich boons upon them, they nevertheless dare to appropriate her benefactions, and, as though they themselves caused everything, refuse to share anything with anybody. Their practice shows inhumanity and impiety as well, and, since they have not of their own free will laboured to get virtue, he deals with them against their will admonishing and calling them to wisdom with holy laws which the good obey voluntarily and the bad unwillingly.

XVIII. The laws bid us give as first fruits to the 95 officiating priests tithes of corn <sup>a</sup> and wine and oil and domestic animals and wool and bring from the autumn produce of the fields and the other tree fruits offerings proportional to their gains in full baskets with hymns composed in honour of God. These hymns are preserved in written records in the sacred books.<sup>b</sup> Further the first-born of oxen and sheep and goats are not to be ranked among the herds as personal property, but they are to be regarded as first fruits, that thus accustomed on the one hand to honour the Godhead, and on the other to refrain from taking all things as gain, they may have the ornament of those queens of the virtues, piety and humanity.

inculcates *φιλανθρωπία*, whereas there he was enumerating the privileges of the priests. See also *Spec. Leg.* iv. 99, where it is treated as a lesson in self-denial.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxvi. 1-11. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 215-220.

## PHILO

- 96 Πάλιν ἐὰν ἴδῃς, φησί, τινὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἢ συνόλως ὧν οἶδας ἀνθρώπων ὑποζύγιον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πλανώμενον, ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπόδος· καὶ ἄρα τύχη μακρὰν ἀφεστὼς ὁ δεσπότης, μετὰ τῶν σαυτοῦ διαφύλαξον, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπανελθὼν κομίσηται παρακαταθήκην ἣν οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτὸς ἐξευρῶν ἔνεκα φυσικῆς κοινωνίας ἀποδίδως.
- 97 XIX. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους νομοθετηθέντα, καθ' ὃ δεῖ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀνίσθαι πᾶσαν ἀργὴν ἀφιεμένην, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἀδεῶς τοῖς τῶν πλουσίων χωρίοις ἐπιβατεύειν δρεψομένους τὸν ἀπαυτοματισθέντα καρπὸν, δώρημα φύσεως, ἀρ' 98 οὐ χρηστὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα; ἔξαετίαν, φησίν, ἀπολαύετῶσαν οἱ κτήτορες ἀνθ' ὧν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐγεωπόνησαν, ἕνα δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔβδομον οἱ ἀκτήμονες καὶ ἀχρήματοι, μηδενὸς τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν ἐπιτελεσθέντος· ἄδικον γὰρ ἦν, ἑτέρους μὲν πονεῖν, ἑτέρους δὲ καρποῦσθαι· ἀλλ' ἵνα τρόπον τινὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀδεσπότην ἐαθέντων, μὴ συνεφαψαμένης γεωργίας, ἄρτιαι καὶ πλήρεις αἱ χάριτες ἐκ θεοῦ 99 μόνου γίνωνται προαπαντῶσαι<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δεομένοις.
- [392] τί δ' ὅσα | περὶ τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ διατέτακται, οὐχὶ πᾶσαν ὑπερβάλλει φιλανθρωπίαν; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τῶν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προσαπαντῶσαι.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxii. 1. LXX "When thou seest the calf of thy brother or his sheep wandering in the way, do not overlook them; thou shalt surely turn them back to thy brother and restore them."

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 2 "And if thy brother do not come nigh to thee and thou dost not know him, thou shalt bring it to thy

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## ON THE VIRTUES, 96-99

Again he says, if you see a beast belonging to one 96  
of your relations or friends, or in general to a person  
you know, straying in the wilderness, take it away  
and restore it<sup>a</sup>; and if the owner is away at a distance,  
keep it carefully with your own, until on his return  
he can receive it as a deposit which he did not give,  
but which you, the finder, yourself restore through  
natural neighbourly feeling.<sup>b</sup>

XIX. Then there is the legislation on the seventh 97  
year, which enacts that all the land should be left  
during that year to stand idle, and that the poor may  
resort securely to the estates of the rich to gather the  
gift of nature, the fruit which springs without cultiva-  
tion.<sup>c</sup> Does not this show charity and humanity?  
For six years, says the law, the owners should have 98  
the enjoyment in virtue of their ownership and labour  
on the land. But during one year, the seventh, when  
nothing in the way of cultivation has been performed,  
that enjoyment goes to those who have no landed  
possessions nor money. For it was felt to be unjust  
that some persons should labour and others have the  
produce. What is intended is that since the estates  
have been left, in a sense, without masters, and hus-  
bandry has had no hand in the work, the free gifts  
which come from God alone should come full and com-  
plete anticipating the wants of the needy.  
Again, in all the rules prescribed for the fiftieth year, 99  
do we not find the utmost height of humanity? Who

house, and they shall be with thee until thy brother seek for  
them and thou shalt restore them to him."

<sup>c</sup> Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, Lev. xxv. 3 ff. The subject has been  
treated very fully in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 86-109, and the last six of  
these sections dwell on the same aspect of the law, on which  
he insists here. We can here find less excuse than usual for  
the repetition.

## PHILO

- χείλεσιν ἄκροισ ἀπογευσαμένων τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἐστιαθέντων καὶ ἐντρυφησάντων
- 100 ἡδίστοις ἅμα καὶ καλλίστοις δόγμασιν; ἐπιτελείται μὲν γὰρ ἅ καὶ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ, προσείληφε δὲ ἔτι μείζονα, ἀνάληψιν τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων, ἃ διὰ καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους παρεχώρησαν ἑτέροις· οὔτε γὰρ παγκτησίαν ἔχειν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφήησι, τὰς εἰς πλεονεξίαν ἐπιφράττων ὁδοὺς ἕνεκα τοῦ στείλαι τὴν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πάντων κακῶν αἰτίαν ἐπιθυμίαν, οὔτε τοὺς κληρούχους εἰς ἅπαν ῥήθη χρῆναι τῶν οἰκείων ἀποστερεῖσθαι, πενίας<sup>1</sup> διδόντας δίκας, ἣν κολάζεσθαι μὲν οὐ θέμις, ἐλεεῖσθαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον.
- 101 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῶν ἐν μέρει διατεταγμένων πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς χρηστὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα, ὧν ἀποχρώντως ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συντάξεσιν ἐπιμνησθεῖς ἀρκεσθήσομαι τοῖς ἀρτίως εἰρημένοις, ἃ δείγματος ἕνεκα καιρίως προσπαρέλαβον.
- 102 XX. Νομοθετήσας δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπηλύτας οἶεται δεῖν προνομίας τῆς πάσης ἀξιούσθαι, γενεὰν μὲν τὴν ἀφ' αἵματος καὶ πατρίδα καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀφιδρύματα θεῶν γέρα τε καὶ τιμὰς ἀπολελοιπότας, καλὴν δ' ἀποικίαν στείλαμένους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν μυθικῶν πλασμάτων πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείας ἐνάργειαν καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ ἑνὸς
- 103 καὶ ὄντως ὄντος θεοῦ. κελεύει δὴ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἐπηλύτας, μὴ μόνον ὡς φίλους

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey for mss. πενία. This, though retained by Cohn, is hardly compatible with οὐ θέμις κολάζεσθαι. The punishment cannot be punished. The poverty here spoken of is not that to come if their property is not restored, but that which they have undergone. Cohn while printing πενία would like to add μακρᾶ from the paraphrase of Clement, which I think he misunderstands. See App. p. 445.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 99-103

would not agree to this, if he belongs to the company which has not just tasted and sipped the contents of the law, but has feasted abundantly and revelled in its most sweet and lovely principles? The measures 100 taken in the seventh year are repeated, but he adds others even greater, by which possessions ceded to others through untoward circumstances are returned to the original owners.<sup>a</sup> He does not allow the purchasers to have absolute possession of what belongs to others, thus barring the roads to covetousness, in order to curb that insidious foe and source of all evils, desire. And also he did not think it right that the original holders should be deprived of their own for ever, and so pay a penalty for their poverty, which cannot justly be visited with punishment, but must on every ground receive compassion. The particular 101 enactments include a host of others bearing on conduct to fellow-countrymen, but as I have sufficiently noted them in my former treatises, I will content myself with those just mentioned, which I have added as examples suitable to prove my point.

XX. Having laid down laws for members of the 102 same nation, he holds that the incomers too should be accorded every favour and consideration as their due, because abandoning their kinsfolk by blood, their country, their customs and the temples and images of their gods, and the tributes and honours paid to them, they have taken the journey to a better home, from idle fables to the clear vision of truth and the worship of the one and truly existing God. <sup>b</sup> He 103 commands all members of the nation to love the incomers, not only as friends and kinsfolk but as them-

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxv. 8 ff. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 111 ff.

<sup>b</sup> See *Spec. Leg.* iv. 178.

## PHILO

- καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἑαυτούς, κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, <κατὰ μὲν σῶμα> ὡς οἶόν τε κοινοπραγοῦντας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ αὐτὰ λυπομένους τε καὶ χαίροντας, ὡς ἐν διαιρετοῖς μέρεσιν ἐν εἶναι ζῶον δοκεῖν, ἀρμοζομένης καὶ συμφυεῖς<sup>1</sup>
- 104 ἀπεργαζομένης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ κοινωνίας. οὐκ ἐστ' ἂν εἴποιμι περὶ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα περὶ δίαιταν καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας, ἃ τοῖς ἐπηλύτοις δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος παρὰ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων· ἔπεται γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα θεσμοῖς τοῖς τῆς εὐνοίας τοῦ στέργοντος ὁμοίως [ἀγαπῶντος] τὸν ἐπήλυτον ὡς ἑαυτόν.
- 105 XXI. Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐπιτείνων καὶ ἐπελαύνων ὀλκὸν φύσει πρᾶγμα, φιλανθρωπίαν, διατάττεται καὶ περὶ μετοίκων, ἀξίων τοὺς μετανάστας ἐν καιροῖς γενομένους ἀπονέμειν τινὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις τιμὴν, εὖ μὲν πεποικηκόσι καὶ φιλοξένως προσενεχθεῖσι [393] πᾶσαν, | εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς ὑποδοχῆς παράσχοιεν, μετριωτέραν· τὸ γὰρ ἐνορμίσασθαι πόλει μηδὲν προσηκούση, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπιβῆναι ἐδάφους αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλοτρίου καθ' αὐτὸ δωρεὰ τίς ἐστιν

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read *συμφυεῖς*. See note b.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xix. 33, 34. LXX "The stranger (*προσῆλυτος*) that comes to you shall be as the native (*αὐτόχθων*) among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, because you were strangers (*προσῆλυτοι*) in the land of Egypt." Philo ignores the obvious fact that the last clause shows that proselytes in his sense are not intended. Cf. Deut. x. 19.

<sup>b</sup> The translation accepts the mss. *συμφυεῖς*, but I should prefer to read *συμφυεῖς*, "united in a common nature." It is they, not the *ζῶον*, which are rendered *συμφυεῖς* by the fellowship.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 103-105

selves both in body and soul<sup>a</sup> : in bodily matters, by acting as far as may be for their common interest ; in mental by having the same griefs and joys, so that they may seem to be the separate parts of a single living being which is compacted and unified by their fellowship in it.<sup>b</sup> I will not go on to speak of the food 104 and drink and raiment and all the rights concerning daily life and necessary needs, which the law assigns to incomers as due from the native born, for all these follow the statutes, which speak of the friendliness shown by him who loves the incomer even as himself.<sup>c</sup>

XXI. Again he extends the influence which 105 humanity naturally exerts and carries it farther afield in his instructions about settlers.<sup>d</sup> He would have those who have immigrated under stress of circumstances, pay some honour to the people which has accepted them, in every possible way if the admission is accompanied by kind and hospitable treatment, in a more moderate degree if it is confined to mere acceptance. For the grant of a harbour in an alien state, or rather the mere permission to set foot on foreign soil is in itself a sufficient boon for

<sup>c</sup> Philo may be alluding to the laws which give the stranger (1) enjoyment of the sabbath (fourth commandment), (2) right to eat the passover if circumcised (Ex. xii. 48), (3) share in the cities of refuge (Num. xxxv. 15), (4) in offering sacrifices (Num. xv. 14-16). They are included in the covenant (Deut. xxix. 11), in reading the law (Deut. xxxi. 12), in the gleaning left to the poor (Lev. xix. 10), and the "meat" provided by the sabbatical year (Lev. xxv. 6).

<sup>d</sup> Philo here distinguishes between the "incomers" or "proselytes," and the *μέτοικοι*, who are not at any rate in the first instance co-religionists. Apparently this is based on the different tone in Deut. xxiii., from which he quotes lower down, excluding some races from the congregation altogether and admitting others only in a later generation.

## PHILO

- 106 ἀποχρῶσα τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκεῖν. ὁ δέ γε προσυπερβάλλων τοὺς ἐπιεικειάς ὄρους αὐτῆς οἶται δεῖν καὶ τοῖς κακῶς πεποιηκόσι τῶν ξενοδόχων μὴ μνησικακεῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς πράξεις, ὄνομα γοῦν ἔχουσι φιλάνθρωπον. ἄντικρυς γοῦν φησιν· “οὐ βδελύξῃ Αἰγύπτιον, ὅτι πάροικος
- 107 ἐγένου κατ’ Αἴγυπτον.” καίτοι τί κακὸν παρέλιπον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὃ μὴ τῷ ἔθνει προσετρίψαντο, νέα παλαιοῖς συνυφαίνοντες αἰεὶ κεκαινουργημέναις ἐπινοίαις εἰς ὠμότητα; ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξαντο τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἀποκλείσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν ἄβατον τοῖς ἤκουσι παρασκευάσαντες, ἐχέτωσαν προνομίαν, φησί, τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τὸ ἔνσπονδον·
- 108 κἂν εἴ τις ἐθελήσειαν αὐτῶν μεταλλάξασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίων πολιτείαν, οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρῶν παῖδας ἀσυμβάτως σκορακιστέον, ἀλλ’ οὕτως προσεκτέον, ὡς τρίτην γενεὰν καλεῖν τε εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μεταδιδόναι λόγων θείων, οἷς θέμις καὶ τοὺς αὐτόχθονας καὶ εὐπατρίδας ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι.
- 109 XXII. Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων [πρὸς] τοὺς μετοίκους νομοθετεῖ· χρηστὰ δ’ ἕτερα καὶ μεστὰ ἡμερότητος ὑπὲρ πολεμίων. ἀξιοὶ γὰρ αὐτούς, κἂν ἐπὶ θύραις ὦσιν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτες ἐν ταῖς πανοπλίαις καὶ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις ἐφιστάντες, μήπω νομίζεσθαι πολεμίους, ἄχρῃς ἂν αὐτούς ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι προκαλέσωνται πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἢν εἰ μὲν ἐνδοίεν, τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εὐροίεν, φιλίαν, εἰ δὲ ἀπειθέστερον ἐναντιοῖντο, συμμαχίαν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου προσειληφότες ἐλπίδι

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxiii. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xx. 10 ff. This section merely repeats what has been said in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219-222.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 106-109

those who are unable to dwell in their own. Mere 106  
fairness itself demands thus much, but he goes beyond  
its limits, when he considers that no malice should  
be borne to those whose hospitality to strangers is  
followed by maltreatment, for nominally they are  
humane though their actions are not. Thus he says  
without reservation, "Thou shalt not abhor an  
Egyptian because thou wast a sojourner in Egypt" <sup>a</sup> ;  
and yet what maltreatment did the Egyptians spare 107  
to inflict on the nation, ever combining old and new  
outrages in their ingenious devices for wreaking their  
cruelty? Still since originally they received the  
nation and did not close their cities against them, nor  
make their country inaccessible to the newcomers,  
they should, he says, in recognition of this acceptance  
be admitted as a privilege to terms of amity. And 108  
if any of them should wish to pass over into the Jewish  
community, they must not be spurned with an un-  
conditional refusal as children of enemies, but be so  
far favoured that the third generation is invited to  
the congregation and made partakers in the divine  
revelations, to which also the native born, whose  
lineage is beyond reproach, are rightfully admitted.

XXII. These are the laws which he lays down on 109  
the conduct to be observed in accepting settlers, but  
there are other charitable and very merciful regula-  
tions as to the treatment of enemies in wartime.<sup>b</sup>  
They must not he declares be yet regarded as enemies,  
even if they are at the gates or stationed beside the  
walls in full array and planting their engines, until  
envoys have been sent with invitations to peace, so  
that if they yield they may obtain the supreme boon  
of friendship, but if they refuse to listen and continue  
their opposition, you may with justice to reinforce

## PHILO

- 110 νίκης ἐπίωσι πρὸς ἄμυναν. ἦν μέντοι καὶ ἐκ προνομῆς εὐμόρφου γυναικὸς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλθης, μὴ ὡς αἰχμαλώτῳ, φησὶν, ἐναπερύγῃς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ἡμερώτερον οἰκτισάμενος τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπικούφισον τὴν συμφορὰν, μεθαρμοσάμενος πάντα πρὸς
- 111 τὸ βέλτιον. ἐπικουφιεῖς δὲ τὰς μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀποκείρας, περιελὼν δὲ ὄνυχας, ἀπαμφιάσας δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἦν ἔχουσα ἐζωγρήθη, τριάκοντα δὲ ἡμέρας ἀνεῖς καὶ ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῇ πενθήσαι καὶ ἀποδακρῦσαι μετὰ ἀδείας πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους, ὧν ἀπεξεύχθη τεθνεώτων ἢ θανάτου χείρους ὑπομενόντων τὰς ἐν δουλείᾳ συμφορὰς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς γαμετῇ νόμῳ συνέρχου.
- [394] 112 τὴν γὰρ μέλλουσαν εὐνῆς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιβήσεσθαι, μὴ κατὰ μισθαρνίαν ὡς ἑταίραν τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος καπηλεύουσαν ἀλλ' ἢ δι' ἔρωτα τοῦ συνιόντος ἢ διὰ τέκνων γένεσιν, ὅσιον θεσμῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τελείους
- 113 γάμοις ἀξιουῖσθαι. πάννυ καλῶς διαταξάμενος ἕκαστα· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶασεν ἀχάλινον φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπαυχενίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἐστείλατο τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τριάκοντα χαλάσας. δεῦτερον δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα βασανίζει, πότερον ἐπιμανῆς καὶ ἀψίκορος καὶ ὄλος τοῦ πάθους ἐστὶν ἢ μετέχει τῆς καθαρωτέρας ἰδέας, ἀνακεκραμένου λογισμοῦ· λογισμὸς γὰρ πεδήσει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν εἶσας αὐτὴν ἐξεργάσασθαι,
- 114 ἀλλὰ τὴν μηνιαίαν προθεσμίαν ἐπισχεῖν. τρίτον δὲ ἐλεεῖ τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, εἰ μὲν παρθένος ἐστίν, ὅτι γονεῖς οὐκ ἐγγυῶσι τὴν εὐκταιοτάτην ἀρμοζόμενοι σύνοδον, εἰ δὲ χήρα, διότι τοῦ κουριδίου

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxi. 10-13.



## ON THE VIRTUES, 109-114

you advance to defend yourselves in the hope of victory. Further,<sup>a</sup> he says, if you find among the 110 booty a comely woman for whom you feel a desire, do not treat her as a captive, and vent your passion on her, but in a gentler spirit pity her for her change of lot and alleviate her misfortunes by changing her condition for the better in every way. And you will 111 give this alleviation if you shave the hair of her head and pare her nails<sup>b</sup> and take off the garment which she wore when captured, leave her alone for thirty days, and allow her without fear of disturbance to mourn and weep for her father and mother and the rest of her family, from whom she had been parted either through their death or because they are suffering the pains of slavery, which are worse than death. After this, live with her as your lawful wife, 112 because holiness requires that she who is to enter a husband's bed, not as a hired harlot, trafficking her youthful bloom, but either for love of her mate or for the birth of children, should be admitted to the rights of full wedlock as her due. Each of these regulations 113 is quite admirable. First he did not allow rebellious desire to go unbridled, but curbed its violence by the thirty days grant of liberty. Secondly, he tests whether the man's love is wild and giddy and wholly inspired by passion, or contains an element of reason and so has something of the purer kind. For reason will fetter desire and, instead of allowing it to commit an outrage, compel it to wait for the appointed period of a month. Thirdly, he shows pity for the captive, 114 if she is a maiden, because there are no parents to plight her and make fast the union which they have so longed to see, if she is a widow, because bereft of

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 446.

## PHILO

- στερομένη πείραν ἑτέρου μελλήσει λαβεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπανατειναμένου τὸν δεσποτικὸν φόβον, κἄν ἰσότητα ἐπιτηδεύῃ· τὸ γὰρ ὑπακοῦον αἰεὶ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος, κἄν ἡμερώτερον ἦ, δέδιεν ἰσχύν.
- 115 ἔαν δέ τις τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποπληρωθεὶς καὶ διακορῆς γενόμενος μηκέτι κοινωεῖν ὀμίλιας ἀξιοὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, οὐ ζημιοῖ μάλλον αὐτὸν ἢ νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν· κελεύει γὰρ μήτε πιπράσκειν μήτ' ἔτι δούλην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῇ, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀδεᾶ, ὡς μὴ γυναικὸς ἑτέρας ἐπεισελθούσης ἐξ ἔριδος, οἷα φιλεῖ, κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν πάθη τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου καινοτέροις φίλτροις ὑπηγμένου καὶ τῶν παλαιότερων ἀλογοῦντος.
- 116 XXIII. Ἔτερα δ' ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἐπαντλῶν ὡσὶ φιληκόοις εἰς ἡμερότητα προστάττει, κἄν ἐχθρῶν ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφοροῦντα τῷ βάρει πιεσθέντα προπέση, μὴ παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεπικουφίσαι καὶ συνεγείραι, πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις τῶν ἐχθρανάντων ἐφήδεσθαι, βαρῦμνη πάθος ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν εἰδώς, ἀδελφὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀντίπαλον φθόνου, συγγενὲς μὲν ὅτι ἐκ πάθους ἐκάτερον καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἄμφω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προσερχόμενα καὶ μόνον οὐ κατακολουθοῦντα ἀλλήλοις, ἀντίπαλον δὲ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πέλας

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxi. 14. F.V. "Thou shalt not deal with her as a slave." LXX οὐκ ἀθετήσεις αὐτήν. See App. p. 446.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxiii. 5. Cf. Deut. xxii. 4.

<sup>c</sup> It is to be regretted that English has not a single word for this like the German "Schadenfreude."

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "coming upon us about the same things," *i.e.* the

## ON THE VIRTUES, 114-116

her wedded mate, she is about to make trial of another, menaced too by the dread of a master, even if he deals with her as an equal; for the subject condition always fears the might of the superior even though it be tempered with gentleness.

And if anyone, having satisfied his desire to the full<sup>115</sup> and surfeited therewith, is no longer minded to continue his association with the captive, the law imposes what is not so much a loss of property as an admonition and correction leading him to improve his ways.<sup>a</sup> For it bids him not sell her, nor yet keep her as a slave, but grant her freedom, and grant her, too, the right to depart in security from the house, lest if another wife comes in to supersede her, and quarrels ensue as they often do, this jealousy, with the master too under the sway of the charms of a new love and neglectful of the old, may bring her some fatal disaster.

XXIII. In another fresh list of injunctions to kindness, which he pours into docile ears, he commands that if beasts of burden fall under the oppression of the weight they bear, we should not pass them by, even if they belong to our enemies, but help to relieve and raise them.<sup>b</sup> By this he implies a further lesson, that one should not take pleasure in the adversities of those who have shown him hatred. He knew that this malignant joy<sup>c</sup> was a savagely rancorous passion, closely akin, and at the same time, opposite to envy; akin, because each of them comes under the head of passion, and in their action upon us cover the same field,<sup>d</sup> and are almost sure to follow each other; opposites, because grief at our neighbours' fortunes of our neighbours. Cohn takes τῶν αὐτῶν as masculine.

## PHILO

- ἀγαθοῖς λύπην, ἣ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πλησίον κακοῖς  
 117 ἡδονὴν ἀπεργάζεται. κὰν πλανώμενον μέντοι,  
 [395] φησίν, ἐχθροῦ τινος | ἴδης ὑποζύγιον, τὰ τῆς δια-  
 φορᾶς παραλιπὼν ὑπεκκαύματα βαρυτέροις ἤθεσιν  
 ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπόδος. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνον μᾶλλον ὄνησεις  
 ἢ σεαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν ἄλογον ζῶον καὶ οὐδενὸς  
 ἴσως ἄξιον περιγίνεται, σοὶ δὲ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ  
 118 τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει, καλοκάγαθία. ἔπεται  
 δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὡσπερ σκιά σώματι καὶ  
 <ταύτη> τῆς ἐχθρας διάλυσις· ὁ τε γὰρ εὖ πεπονθὼς  
 ἄκων ἄγεται πρὸς τὸ ἔνσπονδον χάριτι δουλωθεὶς,  
 ὁ τε ὠφελικῶς συμβούλῳ χρώμενος καλῇ πράξει  
 σχεδὸν ἤδη πρὸς καταλλαγὰς τὴν διάνοιαν τέτραπ-  
 119 ται. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα βούλεται διὰ πάσης τῆς  
 νομοθεσίας ὁ ἱερώτατος προφήτης κατασκευάζειν,  
 ὁμόνοιαν, κοινωνίαν, ὁμοφροσύνην, κρᾶσιν ἡθῶν,  
 ἐξ ὧν οἰκίαι καὶ πόλεις ἔθνη τε καὶ χῶραι καὶ τὸ  
 σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος εἰς τὴν ἀνωτάτω προέλθοιεν  
 120 εὐδαιμονίαν. ἀλλ' ἄχρι μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ταῦτ'  
 εἰσὶν εὐχαί· γενήσεται δέ, ὡς γε ἑμαυτὸν πείθω,  
 καὶ ἔργα ἀψευδέστατα, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος  
 ὡσπερ ἔτησίους καρποὺς εὐφορίαν ἀρεταῖς, ὧν  
 μὴ ἀμοιρήσασιν οἱ τὸν πόθον αὐτῶν σχεδὸν ἀπὸ  
 πρώτης ἡλικίας περιφέροντες.
- 121 XXIV. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἐλευθέρους ἔγνω, ταῦτα  
 καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐστὶ παραπλήσια. συνῶδὰ δ' ὡς  
 ἔοικε καὶ περὶ δούλων νομοθετεῖ, πάλιν τῶν συντει-  
 νόντων εἰς ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τούτοις

## ON THE VIRTUES, 116-121

bour's good things is the effect of the one, pleasure at his evil things of the other. Again, if you see an enemy's beast straying, leave the points on which you quarrel to serve as incentives for other more vindictive dispositions, and lead the animal away and restore it.<sup>a</sup> You will benefit yourself more than him: he gains an irrational and possibly worthless animal, you the greatest and most precious treasure in the whole world, true goodness. And this, as surely as the shadow follows the body, will be followed by a termination of the feud. He, the receiver of a benefit which he has not willed, is drawn towards amity by the kindness which holds him in bondage. You, his helper, with a good action to assist your counsels, are predisposed to thoughts of reconciliation. This is what our most holy prophet through all his regulations especially desires to create, unanimity, neighbourliness, fellowship, reciprocity of feeling, whereby houses and cities and nations and countries and the whole human race may advance to supreme happiness. Hitherto, indeed, these things live only in our prayers, but they will, I am convinced, become facts beyond all dispute, if God, even as He gives us the yearly fruits, grants that the virtues should bear abundantly. And may some share in them be given to us, who from well-nigh our earliest days have carried with us the yearning to possess them.

XXIV. These and others similar to these are his judgements as applied to the free. In the same strain, as is evident, he legislates for slaves as well, and allows them also to benefit by measures conceived in a spirit

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxiii. 4. Philo rightly distinguishes this law from that of Deut. xxii. 1, which is concerned with a "brother's" animal, and has been treated in § 96.

## PHILO

- 122 μεταδιδούς. θήτας μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα χρείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποβεβληκότας ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλων ὑπηρεσίαις οἶεται δεῖν ἀνάξιον μηδὲν ὑπομένειν τῆς ἐκ γένους ἐλευθερίας, παραινῶν τοῖς τυγχάνουσι τῆς διακονίας εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀτέκμαρτον ἀφορᾶν καὶ λαμβάνειν αἰδῶ τῆς μεταβολῆς· τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἑφημερινῶν δανείων χρεώστας τὸ τῆς προσβολῆς<sup>1</sup> ὄνομα καὶ πάθος ὑποδύντας ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀνάγκη βιαστικωτέρᾳ γενομένους ἐξ ἐλευθέρων δούλους οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν κακοπραγεῖν ἐᾶ διδοὺς ἐκεχειρίαν τούτοις
- 123 τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἐνιαυτῷ ἐβδόμῳ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δανεισταῖς οὐ κομισαμένοις τὸ χρέος ἢ τρόπον<sup>2</sup> ἕτερον κτησαμένοις τοὺς πρότερον ἐλευθέρους ἐξαρκεῖ, φησί, χρόνος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐξαετία· οἱ δὲ μὴ γένει δούλοι χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἀμοιρείωσαν, ἀλλ' ἴτωσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν ἄδειαν, ἧς
- 124 διὰ καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους ἐστέρηντο. κἂν ἐκ τρι-  
[396] γονίας μὲν, | φησί, δούλος ἐτέρου φόβῳ δεσποτικῶν

<sup>1</sup> The mss. vary between this and *προβολῆς*, *περιβολῆς*, *παραβολῆς*, and one has *δουλείας*. See note *c*.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn after S. Other mss. *πρὸ τῶν*, *πρὸς τὸν* (in both cases omitting *ἢ*), and *ἢ τοῖς τρόπον*. This last seems to me to be preferable to that of S. The persons who acquired slaves in some other way than as payment of a debt are not creditors.

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<sup>a</sup> These no doubt are the same as those mentioned in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 79, who according to the command in Lev. xxv. 39, 40 (which Philo there has in mind, rather than as stated in the footnote Deut. xv. 12) are to be regarded as *μισθωτοί*. But the relations of these to the debtors next mentioned are

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## ON THE VIRTUES, 122-124

of kindness and humanity. The serfs <sup>a</sup> who through 122  
the lack of the necessaries of life have subjected  
themselves to servitude to others ought not he holds  
to suffer anything unworthy of the freedom to which  
they were born, and he exhorts those who obtain  
their services to consider how incalculable is fortune  
and to respect their changed condition. As for the  
debtors, who through temporary loans <sup>b</sup> have sunk into  
bearing both the name and the painfulness which  
their cruel situation <sup>c</sup> entails, and those whom a more  
imperious compulsion has brought from freedom into  
slavery, he would not allow them to remain for ever  
in their evil plight, but gave them total remission in  
the seventh year. For creditors who have not re- 123  
covered the debt, or have gained possession in some  
other way of those who were formerly free should be  
content, he says, with six years as a time for their  
service, and those who were not born to slavery  
should not be altogether deprived of comforting hope,  
but should pass back to the old independence of  
which they were deprived through adverse circum-  
stances. And if another man's slave, it may be 124  
with two generations of slavery behind him, takes

puzzling. For a discussion of this and some other points,  
or perhaps rather a statement of the questions that arise,  
see App. p. 446.

<sup>b</sup> If this is right, and the reference is to loans which the  
borrower expects and promises to pay shortly, it is an un-  
usual sense for the word, though it is applied to brief and  
shortlived men and things.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "the attack" or "visitation," again a strange use.  
All that can be said is that it is even less possible to give a  
satisfactory meaning to the variants mentioned in note 1.  
What the "name" and "painfulness" are that are entailed  
by it is also obscure. Possibly *δοῦλος* and *δουλεία*. See also  
App. p. 446.

## PHILO

ἀπειλῶν ἢ συνειδήσει τινῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἢ μηδὲν ἡδικηκῶς, ἀμειλίκτω καὶ ὠμοθύμῳ χρώμενος ἄλλως δεσπότη, πρὸς <σέ> καταφύγη τευξόμενος ἐπικουρίας, μὴ περιιῆης· ἐκδιδόναι γὰρ ἰκέτας οὐχ ὄσιον, ἰκέτης δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὥσπερ εἰς ἱερὸν τὴν σὴν ἐστίαν καταπεφευγῶς, ἐν ἧ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀσυλίας τυγχάνειν, μάλιστα μὲν εἰς ἀδόλους ἐλθὼν καταλλαγὰς τὰς χωρὶς ἐνέδρας, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ γοῦν πανύστατον πραθεῖς· ἀλλαγαὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἄδηλον ὅπου τὴν ῥοπήν ἔξουσι, τοῦ δ' ὁμολογουμένου κουφότερον τὸ ἄδηλον κακόν.

- 125 XXV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἐχθρῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ συνόλως ἀνθρώπων νομοθετεῖ. τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἡμερον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων φύσιν ἄγει μεταδιδούς καὶ τούτοις, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ  
 126 πηγῆς εὐμενοῦς<sup>1</sup> ἀρύσασθαί τι χρηστόν.<sup>2</sup> κελεύει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέροις ἀγέλαις, κατὰ τε ποιίμνας καὶ αἰπόλια καὶ βουκόλια, τῆς παραχρῆμα τῶν γεννωμένων ἀπολαύσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, μήτε πρὸς ἐδωδὴν

<sup>1</sup> Mangey wished to read *ἀενάου*, and Cohn in his translation approved. But *εὐμενής* applied to things is common enough, e.g. to air, plants, and even to the water of a river (Aeschylus). See examples in Stephanus.

<sup>2</sup> So one ms. The others *τινος χρηστοῦ*, which Cohn retained, but in his translation accepted *τι χρηστόν*. The genitive of the thing drawn as opposed to the source from which it is drawn seems hardly possible.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxiii. 15, 16 "Thou shalt not deliver to his master a servant who coming (E.V. which is escaped) from his



## ON THE VIRTUES, 124-126

refuge with you to obtain protection in fear of his master's threats or through consciousness of some misdeed, or because without having committed any offence, he has found his master generally cruel and merciless, do not disregard his plea.<sup>a</sup> For it is a sacrilegious act to surrender a suppliant and the slave is a suppliant who has fled to your hearth as to a temple, where he has a right to obtain sanctuary, and protected from treachery may preferably come to an honest and open agreement, or if that is not possible, be sold as a last resort. For though in changing masters there is no certainty which way the scale will turn, the uncertain evil is not so grave as the acknowledged.

XXV. This is his legislation about compatriots and 125  
 foreigners, about friends and enemies, about slaves  
 and free and mankind in general. But he carries on  
 the idea of moderation and gentleness to the sphere  
 of irrational animals, and grants them, too, a draught  
 of goodness, as from a sweet and grateful spring. He 126  
 bids them in dealing with the domestic kinds, sheep,  
 goats and oxen, to abstain from availing themselves  
 of their young, by taking them at once either for food

master has joined himself to thee. He shall dwell with thee, he shall dwell among you, wherever it pleaseth him. Thou shalt not afflict him." Philo interprets this ordinance, which is supposed to apply to a slave escaping from a foreign master, in accordance with Attic law. See App. p. 447.

By *ἐκ τριγωνίας* he does not mean, as Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 344, seems to suppose, to limit this privilege to slaves of the third generation. Hitherto the ordinances he mentions have applied to others who are born free (*οἱ μὴ γένει δοῦλοι*, § 123). This privilege extends to those who have no such claim. The *μέν* is in antithesis to a suppressed statement that *a fortiori* those who are not born in slavery would be entitled to the same.

## PHILO

μήτε ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν λαμβάνοντας. ὡμῆς γὰρ ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι ψυχῆς, ἐφεδρεύειν ἀποκνύσκο-  
 μένοις εἰς ἀνυπέρθετον διάζευξιν ἐγγόνων τε αὐ  
 καὶ μητέρων ἔνεκα γαστρὸς ἡδονῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 ἀηδίας ἐκτόπου τινὸς ψυχῆς<sup>1</sup> καὶ παρηλλαγμένης.

127 φησὶν οὖν τῷ βιωσομένῳ κατὰ τὴν ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ  
 πολιτείαν· “ὦ γενναῖε, πολλή τίς ἐστὶν ἀφθονία σοι  
 τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, οἷς μέμψις οὐ παρέπεται·  
 συγγνωστὸν γὰρ ἂν ἦν ἴσως, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ τῶν  
 ἀβουλήτων ἢ ἀπορία καὶ σπάνις δρᾶν ἀναγκάζει.  
 σὺ δὲ καὶ διαφέρεις εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
 ἀρετὰς ὀφείλεις τὴν καλλίστην τεταγμένος τάξιν,  
 ὑπὸ ταξιάρχῃ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, δι’ ὃν  
 ἡμερώσθαι σε δεῖ μηδὲν σκαιὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ παρα-

128 δεχόμενον.” τί δ’ ἂν εἴη σκαιότερον ἢ ταῖς περὶ  
 τὴν ἀποκύησιν ὠδίσις ἐπιφέρειν ἕξωθεν ἐτέρας ἐκ  
 τῆς παραχρήμα τῶν γεννωμένων διαζεύξεως;  
 ἀνάγκη γὰρ σφαδάζειν ἀποσπωμένων, διὰ τινα  
 φυσικὴν μητέρων πρὸς ἕγγονα φιλοστοργίαν, καὶ  
 μάλιστα ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς κνήσεως καιρὸν, ἐπειδὴ πη-  
 γάζοντες οἱ μαστοὶ σπάνει τοῦ θηλάζοντος, ἀνα-  
 κοπὴν τῆς ἐπιρροίας λαμβανούσης, σκιρροῦνται τε  
 καὶ κατατεινόμενοι τῷ βάρει παγέντος εἴσω τοῦ γά-

129 λακτος ἀλγηδόσι πιέζονται. “χάρισαι δὴ,” φησί,  
 “τῇ μητρὶ τὸ ἕγγονον, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸν σύμπαντα  
 [397] χρόνον, | ἑπτὰ γοῦν τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας γαλακτο-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn following Mangey brackets *ψυχῆς*, but though the double genitives are awkward, it seems wanted as an antithesis to *γαστρὸς*. The expression anyhow is confused, as it is not the *ἀηδία* but the meal which causes it which is *ἐκτοπος* and *παρηλλαγμένη*.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxii. 27 “A calf or sheep or goat, whenever it is

## ON THE VIRTUES, 126-129

or on the grounds of offering them for sacrifice.<sup>a</sup> For he considered that it showed a cruel soul to be lying in wait for the newly born in order to separate instantly mothers and offspring, just to please the belly but still more displease and horrify the soul by so unnatural a meal. He says then to him, whose 127 life would conform to his most holy commonwealth, "Good Sir, food for your enjoyment to which no blame can attach you have in abundance. Otherwise such an action might perhaps be pardonable, since poverty and dearth compel us to do many things which we would not. But your duty is to excel in self-restraint and the other virtues, stationed as you are in the most honourable of posts, captained by nature's right reason, for whose sake you must learn gentleness and admit no brutality into your mind." And what could be more brutal than to bring in from 128 outside other pangs to add to the pangs of travail by separating the mothers straightway from their offspring. For if they are snatched away, the mothers are bound to be in great distress, because of the maternal affection natural to them, particularly at the time of motherhood, when the breasts, whose flowing fountain is obstructed through lack of its suckling, grow indurated and strained by the weight of the milk coagulated within them and suffer a painful oppression. "Make a present," he continues, "of 129 the child to its mother, if not for all time, to be suckled, at least, for the seven first days and do not born, it shall be seven days under its dam, and on the eighth day and beyond it shall be accepted for gifts, for a burnt offering unto the Lord." Ex. xxii. 30 is to the same effect, though only of the firstborn. Assuming that it is humanity which excludes from the altar, Philo might fairly argue that still more would it prohibit them for ordinary eating.

## PHILO

- τροφήσαι, καὶ μὴ ἀνωφελεῖς ἄς ἡ φύσις ὤμβρησε πηγὰς ἐν μαστοῖς ἐργάση, τὰς δευτέρας αὐτῆς χάριτας ἀνελών, ἄς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ προμηθοῦς ἡτοιμάσατο τὰκόλουθον μακρόθεν αἰωνίῳ καὶ τε-
- 130 λεία φρονήσει κατιδοῦσα.<sup>1</sup> προτέρα μὲν γὰρ δωρεὰ γένεσις, δι' ἧς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἄγεται πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, δευτέρα δὲ γάλακτος ἐπίρροια, τροφή καιρίως μαλακωτάτη, πᾶν ἀπαλόνηχον ἄρδουσα, ὃ ποτόν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ καὶ σιτίον.—ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ὑδατῶδες τοῦ γάλακτος, ποτόν, ὅσον δ' ὑποπαχύνεται, σιτίον—προνοία τοῦ μὴ κακοπαθεῖν τὸ ἀρτίγονον, ἐφεδρευούσης αἰεὶ χρόνοις διαφέρουσιν ἐνδείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προσφορὰν ἐκατέρας τροφῆς ἤδη τὰς πικρὰς δεσποίνας, δίψαν τε καὶ πείναν,
- 131 ἐκφεύγειν.” τοῦτον ἀναγνόντες τὸν νόμον, οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ περιμάχητοι γονεῖς, ἐγκαλύψασθε, οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς βρέφεσιν αἰεὶ φονῶντες, οἱ κακὴν ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐφεδρείαν τοῖς ἀποκυομένοις εἰς ἔκθεσιν, οἱ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἄσπονδοι
- 132 πολέμιοι. τίνι γὰρ δι' εὐνοίας ἀφίξεσθε, γενόμενοι τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων αὐτόχειρες; οἱ τὰς πόλεις τό γ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἦκον μέρος ἐρημοῦντες, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγυτάτω γένους ἀρξάμενοι τῆς ἀπωλείας, οἱ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως θεσμοὺς ἀνατρέποντες καὶ ὅσα ἂν οἰκοδομῇ καθαιροῦντες, δι' ἀνημέρου καὶ ἀτιθάσου ψυχῆς ὠμό-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn punctuates with *προτέρα* to the second *σιτίον* as a parenthesis, thus making *προνοία* follow on *ἡτοιμάσατο*, an unnecessarily unwieldy parenthesis. *προνοία* easily follows on *ἄρδουσα* with equally good sense.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “is always lying in wait at different times,” a confused expression which may mean as translated above, or 242

## ON THE VIRTUES, 129-132

render useless the fountain which nature has rained into the breasts by destroying the second of the boons which her grace distributes, boons prepared by the profound forethought in which with everlasting and consummate wisdom she looks into the distant sequence of events. Her first gift was birth, through 130 which the non-existent is brought into existence, and the second is the efflux of milk, the happily timed aliment which flows so gently fostering the tender growth of every creature. It is at once food and drink, for the watery part of milk is drink, and its denser part food, both provided that the newly born should not suffer from the need, which, never far off, seizes it at different times,<sup>a</sup> but with both kinds of nourishment applied in the same single form should at once escape those bitter mistresses, hunger and thirst.” <sup>b</sup> Read this law, you good and 131

highly prized parents, and hide your faces for shame, you who ever breathe slaughter against your infants, who mount your wicked watch over them as they leave the womb, waiting to cast them away, you deadly enemies of the whole human race. For to 132 whom will you have any feeling of kindness, you the murderers of your own children, who do what you can to make a desolation of cities and begin the destruction with your own flesh and blood, who overturn the statutes of nature and demolish all that she builds, who in the cruelty of your savage and ferocious that it sometimes takes the form of hunger and sometimes of thirst.

<sup>b</sup> For these three sections *cf. Spec. Leg. iii. 108 ff.* As there, in the absence of any direct prohibition of infanticide, Philo argues its wickedness from the criminality ascribed to causing a miscarriage, so here from the mercy shown by the law to new-born animals.

## PHILO

- τητα γενέσει φθορὰν καὶ ζωῆ θάνατον ἐπιτειχίζοντες.
- 133 ἢ οὐχ ὄρατε, ὅτι τῷ πάντα ἀρίστῳ νομοθέτῃ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐγένετο μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰ ἔγγονα διαζευχθῆναι τῆς τεκούσης, ἄχρις ἂν γαλακτοτροφηθῆ; τὸ πλεον, ὦ γενναῖοι, δι' ὑμᾶς, ἴν', εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ φύσει, μαθήσει γοῦν ἀναδιδάσκησθε τὸ φιλοοῖκειον, εἰς ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους ἀποβλέποντες, οἳ ἐν ἀφθόνοις χορηγίαις τῶν ἀναγκαίων τρυφᾶν οὐ κεκῶλυνται, τῆς φύσεως μὲν τοιαῦτα παρασκευασαμένης ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις χωρίοις, ἐξ ὧν εὐμαρεῖς τοῖς δεησομένοις αἱ ἀπολαύσεις γενήσονται, νομοθέτου δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς προμηθείας ἐφορῶντος, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐμποδίξῃ τὰς εὐεργέτιδας καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεάς.
- 134 XXVI. Βουλόμενος δὲ πολυτρόποις ἰδέαις τὰ ἡμερότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας σπέρματα ταῖς διανοίαις ἐγκατασπείρειν ἄλλο τίθησι διάταγμα συγγενὲς τοῖς [398] προτέροις, ἀπαγορεύων ἡμέρα τῇ αὐτῇ | συγκαταθύειν μητέρα καὶ ἔγγονον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ θυτέον, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν χρόνοις γε διαφέρουσιν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀγριότητος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς γενέσεως μετὰ τοῦ ζωογονηθέντος ἡμέρα μιᾷ κτείνειν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ χάριν; ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν ἢ διὰ γαστροδὸς ἀπολαυσιν· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα θυσιῶν, ἐπέψυσται καὶ τοῦνομα· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σφάγια, οὐ θυσία. τίς δὲ δὴ καὶ θεοῦ βωμὸς οὕτως ἀνίερα ἱερεῖα προσδέξεται; ποῖον δὲ πῦρ οὐκ ἂν δίχα τμηθὲν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διασταίῃ φεῦγον τὴν ἐξ ἀμίκτου πράγματος ἔνωσιν; οἶμαι ἂν αὐτὸ μηδὲ πρὸς βραχύτατον ὑπομῆναι

## ON THE VIRTUES, 132-135

souls arm dissolution to fight against generation and death against life? Can you not see that our all-<sup>133</sup> excellent lawgiver was at pains to insure that even in the case of irrational animals, the offspring should not be separated from their mother so long as it is being suckled? Still more for your sake, good sirs, was that order given, that if nature does not, instruction may teach you the duty of family love. Learn it from the sight of lambs and kids, who are not hindered from feasting on abundant supplies of what they need. Nature has provided this abundance in places best suited for the purpose, where those who require it will easily find means of enjoyment, while the lawgiver greatly careful for the future looks to see that none interferes with the gifts of God, which bring welfare and safety.

XXVI. So desirous is he to sow in divers forms the<sup>134</sup> seeds of gentleness and moderation in their minds, that he lays down another enactment of the same nature as the preceding. He forbids them to sacrifice the mother and its offspring on the same day,<sup>a</sup> for if they must be sacrificed, at any rate let it be at different times. It is the height of savagery to slay on the same day the generating cause and the living creature generated. And why does anyone do so? It must<sup>135</sup> either be on the ground of sacrificing or to gratify the belly. If sacrifice is the reason, it gives the lie to the name, for such actions are slaughters, not sacrifices. Which of God's altars will accept oblations so unhallowed; what fire would not fly asunder divided into two, shrinking from union with a thing so ill to blend with? Indeed, I think, it could not last for any time, however short, but would straight-

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxii. 28.

## PHILO

χρόνον, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα σβεσθῆναι προνοία τινὶ τοῦ μὴ  
 τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἱερωτάτην πνεύματος φύσιν ὑπὸ  
 136 τῆς αἰρομένης φλογὸς μαινεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ θυσιῶν  
 χάριν ἀλλὰ θοίνης, τίς οὐκ ἂν τῆς ὑπερφουοῦς γασ-  
 τριμαργίας ὀρέξεις προβάλλοιτο καινὰς καὶ παρ-  
 ηλλαγμένας; ἐκτόπους μὲν γὰρ ἡδονὰς οἱ τοιοῦτοι  
 μεταδιώκουσι. τίς δὲ ἡδονὴ κρεωφαγοῦσι, γεύσα-  
 σθαι σαρκῶν ἐν ταυτῷ μητέρων καὶ ἐγγόνων; ὧν  
 εἰ τὰ μέλη τις ἀναμίξει θελήσειεν ἀναπείρων  
 ὀβελοῖς, ἢ ὀπτῶν ἐμφορήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ  
 διατελεῖν ἡσυχᾶ, ῥήξειεν δὲ φωνὴν σχετλιάσαντα δι'  
 ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινουργηθέντος πάθους καὶ μυρία  
 λοιδορήσεσθαι τῆς λαίμαργίας τοῖς εὐτρεπίζουσιν  
 137 ἄσιτον εὐωχίαν. ἀλλ' ὃ γε νόμος ἔξω τῶν περιρ-  
 ραντηρίων ἐλαύνει καὶ ὅσα τῶν ζώων κυοφορεῖ, μὴ  
 ἐπιτρέπων ἄχρις ἂν ἀποτέκη σφαγιάζεσθαι, τὰ  
 κατὰ γαστρὸς ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς ἀποκυηθείσιν ἤδη λογι-  
 σάμενος, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἴσην ἔλαχε τάξιν ἢ μηδ'  
 εἰς φῶς πω προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακρόθεν  
 ἐπισχεῖν τὴν εὐχέρειαν τῶν εἰωθότων πάντα φύρειν.  
 138 εἰ γὰρ τὰ φυτῶν τρόπον ἔτι παραυξανόμενα καὶ  
 μέρη νομιζόμενα τῶν κύνων, νυνὶ μὲν ἠνωμένα,  
 μηνῶν δὲ περιόδοις αὖθις ἀποσπασθησόμενα τῆς

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<sup>a</sup> As there is no such prohibition in the law, Philo must mean that it follows logically from the law against killing mother and offspring at the same time. According to Heine-  
 mann, *Bildung*, p. 37, the Rabbis had no such rule, but may it not have been an accepted or at least a widely acknow-  
 ledged principle in Philo's time?

<sup>b</sup> The argument in this and the next sections seem to be—  
 the unborn child is only potentially a separate creature. This  
 is a scientific principle (*cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 117 f. and note,  
 vol. vii. p. 637), but Moses by forbidding it to be killed, as  
 246



## ON THE VIRTUES, 135-138

way die out, providing as it were that the air and sacred element of breath should not be defiled by the rising flame. If the object is not to sacrifice but to feast thereon, who would not spurn the strange and unnatural craving of this monstrous gluttony? For pleasure in abnormal forms is what such persons pursue, but though they have flesh to eat, what pleasure can they have, when the flesh which they taste is that of mother and offspring together? Indeed, if one should mix the limbs of the two and fix them on the spits to eat of the roast, these limbs, I think, would not remain mute, but break out into speech, indignant at the enormity of the unexampled treatment which they suffer, and hurl a host of invectives against the greediness of those who prepare these meats, fitter for a fast than for a feast. But observe that the law also banishes from the sacred precincts all pregnant animals and does not permit them to be sacrificed until they have been delivered,<sup>a</sup> thus counting what is still in the depths of the womb as on the same footing as what has already been brought to the birth, not because creatures not yet advanced into the light rank equally with the others, but by implication to restrain the licence of those whose way is to bring everything to disorder.<sup>b</sup> For if the life which is still growing like a plant and reckoned as part of the parent which carries it and now is at one with it, but in the course of months

it would be if animals were killed when pregnant, teaches us that it is still more sacred when born. In this way he is restraining the licence, primarily of those who practise infanticide, but also (§ 140) of all who disregard the rights and interests of others. It is difficult, however, to see the point of the sentence πάντων γὰρ . . . κτείνεω. I should like to think that it is the interpolation of a glossator.

## PHILO

συμφυίας, διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ γενήσεσθαι ζῶα  
 φυλάττεται τῷ περὶ τὰς μητέρας ἀνεπιβουλεύτῳ,  
 χάριν τοῦ μὴ τὸ λεχθὲν μίασμα συμβῆναι, πῶς οὐχὶ  
 μᾶλλον τὰ ἀποτεχθέντα καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ ψυχῆς καὶ  
 σώματος μεμοιραμένα; πάντων γὰρ ἀνοσιώτατον  
 ἐνὶ καιρῷ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἔγγονον ὁμοῦ καὶ μητέρα  
 139 κτείνειν. ἐνθένδε μοι δοκοῦσιν ὀρμηθέντες ἔνιοι  
 τῶν νομοθετῶν τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς κατακρίτοις γυναιξίν  
 εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τὰς ἐγκύους, εἰάν  
 ἄξια θανάτου δράσωσιν, φυλάττεσθαι μέχρις ἂν ἀπο-  
 140 τέκωσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναιρουμένων συναπόληται τὰ  
 [399] κατὰ γαστρός. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων |  
 ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν· ὁ δὲ καὶ προσυπερβάλλων ἔτι ἄχρι  
 καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἀπέτεινεν, ἵν' ἐν  
 τοῖς ἀνομοιογενέσιν ἀσκήσαντες πολλῇ τιμῇ περιου-  
 σία χρώμεθα φιλανθρωπίας (ἐν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι),<sup>1</sup>  
 τοῦ μὲν λυπεῖν καὶ ἀντιλυπεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀπεχόμενοι,  
 τὰ δ' οἰκεία ἀγαθὰ μὴ θησαυροφυλακοῦντες, ἀλλ'  
 εἰς μέσον προφέροντες καθάπερ συγγενέσι καὶ ἐκ  
 141 φύσεως ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν. ἔτι τοίνυν  
 τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐπὶ μισανθρωπία διαβαλλέτωσαν, τοὺς  
 δὲ νόμους ὡς ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα παραγέλ-  
 λοντας αἰτιάσθωσαν οἱ δεινοὶ συκοφάνται, φανερώς  
 οὕτως τῶν μὲν νόμων ἐλέου μεταδιδόντων καὶ ταῖς  
 τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀγέλαις, τοῦ δὲ ἔθνους ταῖς ἐκ  
 πρώτης ἡλικίας νομίμοις ὑφηγήσεσιν ὅσον ἐν ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς ἀπειθὲς μεθαρμοζομένου πρὸς τὸ τιθασόν.  
 142 ἐπαποδύεται δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> Inserted by Cohn from Clement, who repeats this clause almost verbatim. (Possibly, however, an addition by Clement; Philo may have thought that *φιλανθρωπία* in itself expressed the antithesis.)

## ON THE VIRTUES, 138-142

will be severed from the common organism, is, in the hope that it will become a living animal, safeguarded by the invulnerability of the mother, to prevent the occurrence of the above said defilement, how much more is this the case with the creatures already brought to the birth and endued with a body and soul of their own? For it is the very height of unholiness to kill mother and offspring on the same occasion and on the same day. It was on this principle, I think, that some 139 legislators introduced the law that condemned women who commit deeds worthy of death should, if pregnant, be kept in custody until the child is born, lest their execution should carry with it the destruction of the life within the womb.<sup>a</sup> These 140 decrees of theirs apply to human beings, but Moses rising to a further height extended the duty of fair treatment even to irrational animals, so that by practising on creatures of dissimilar kind we may show humanity in a far fuller measure to beings of like kind to ourselves, abstaining from strokes and counter-strokes to vex each other, and not hoarding our personal good things as treasures, but throwing them into the common stock for all in every place, as for kinsmen and brothers by nature. After 141 this let those clever libellers continue, if they can, to accuse the nation of misanthropy and charge the laws with enjoining unsociable and unfriendly practices, when these laws so clearly extend their compassion to flocks and herds, and our people through the instructions of the law learn from their earliest years to correct any wilfulness of souls to gentle behaviour.

But so prolific is he in virtue and 142

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 447.

## PHILO

αγωνίζεται πολύγονος ὢν ἀρετῆς καί τινι εὐτροπία  
 χρώμενος πρὸς τὰς καλὰς ὑφηγήσεις· κελεύσας γάρ,  
 πρὶν ἀποτίθων γενέσθαι, μὴ ἀποσπᾶν τῆς τεκούσης  
 μήτε ἄρνα μήτε ἔριφον μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς  
 ἀγέλαις, καὶ προσδιαταξάμενος μηδὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 κτείνειν μητέρα καὶ ἔγγονον, ἐπιδαψιλεύεται φά-  
 σκων· “οὐχ ἐψήσεις ἄρνα ἐν γάλακτι μητρός.”

- 143 πάνυ γὰρ ἄτοπον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τὴν τροφήν ζῶντος  
 ἡδυσμα γενέσθαι καὶ παράρτυσιν ἀναιρεθέντος καὶ  
 τὴν μὲν φύσιν ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς διαμονῆς  
 ὀμβρῆσαι γάλα, ὃ διὰ μαστῶν τῆς τεκούσης οἶα  
 δεξαμενῶν φέρεσθαι διετάξατο, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων ἀκρασίαν τοσοῦτον ἐπιβῆναι, ὡς τῷ τῆς ζωῆς  
 αἰτίῳ καταχρήσασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑπολοίπου
- 144 σώματος ἀνάλωσιν. εἰ δὴ τις<sup>1</sup> ἐν γάλακτι κρέα  
 συνέψειν ἀξιοῖ, μὴ σὺν ὠμότητι, χωρὶς δὲ ἀσεβείας  
 ἐψέτω· μυρίαί θρεμμάτων εἰσὶν ἀγέλαι πανταχοῦ  
 καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀμελγόμεναι διὰ βου-  
 κόλων αἰπόλων ποιμένων, οἷς κτηνοτροφοῦσιν ἡ  
 μεγίστη πρόσοδός ἐστι γάλα, τῇ μὲν κεχυμένον, τῇ  
 δὲ συνεσταλμένον τε καὶ πηγνύμενον εἰς τυρόν·  
 ὥστε ἀφθονίας ὑπαρχούσης τὸν<sup>2</sup> ἄρνων ἢ ἐρίφων ἢ  
 τινος ἑτέρου γάλακτι μητρώῳ κρέα συνέψοντα  
 χαλεπὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τρόπων σκαιότητα, τὸ ἀναγ-  
 καιότατον καὶ συγγενέστατον λογικῇ ψυχῇ πάθος  
 ἐκτετμημένον, τὸν ἔλεον.

- 145 XXVII. Ἄγαμαι δὲ κάκεῖνον τὸν νόμον, ὃς  
 καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ παναρμονίῳ συνάδων τοῖς προ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἰ δὴ τὰ οἱ ἐπειδὴ τὰ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τῶν.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 142-145

versatile in giving admirable lessons, that not content with his own prowess, he challenges it to a further contest. He has forbidden any lamb or kid or other like kind of livestock to be snatched away from its mother before it is weaned. He has also forbidden the killing of the mother and offspring on the same day. He now crowns his bounty with the words "Thou shalt not seethe a lamb in his mother's milk."<sup>a</sup> For he held that it was grossly improper that the 143 substance which fed the living animal should be used to season and flavour the same after its death, and that while nature provided for its conservation by creating the stream of milk and ordaining that it should pass through the mother's breasts as through conduits, the licence of man should rise to such a height as to misuse what had sustained its life to destroy also the body which remains in existence. If indeed anyone thinks good to boil flesh in milk, 144 let him do so without cruelty and keeping clear of impiety. Everywhere there are herds of cattle innumerable, which are milked every day by cowherds, goat-herds and shepherds, whose chief source of income as cattle rearers is milk, sometimes liquid and sometimes condensed and coagulated into cheese; and since milk is so abundant, the person who boils the flesh of lambs or kids or any other young animal in their mother's milk, shows himself cruelly brutal in character and gelded of compassion, that most vital of emotions and most nearly akin to the rational soul.

XXVII. I also admire another law attuned to the 145 harmonious choir of those above mentioned. This

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, Deut. xiv. 21; in LXX "lamb" in every case.

## PHILO

- τέροις διαγορεύει, βούν ἀλοῶντα μὴ φιμοῦν. οὗτος  
 [400] γάρ | ἔστιν ὁ πρὸ μὲν τῆς σπορᾶς [οὔσης] τῆς  
 βαθυγείου πεδιάδος ἀνατέμνων τὰς αὐλακας καὶ  
 προετοιμασάμενος οὐρανῶ καὶ γεωπόνῳ τὰς ἀρού-  
 ρας, τῷ μὲν ἵνα καιρίως κατασπείρη, τῷ δ' ἵνα  
 κόλποι βαθεῖς ὑποδεξάμενοι τὰς διὰ τῶν ὑετῶν  
 χάριτας ταμιεύσιν καὶ χορηγῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ'  
 ὀλίγον τῷ σπόρῳ τροφὰς πίονας, ἄχρισ ἂν σταχυη-  
 φορήσας τελειογονήσῃ τὸν ἐτήσιον καρπὸν· μετὰ  
 δὲ τὴν τελείωσιν πάλιν βούς ἐστι πρὸς ἑτέραν  
 ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναγκαῖος, κάθαρσιν δραγμάτων καὶ  
 διάκρισιν σκυβάλων ἀπὸ τοῦ γνησίου καὶ χρησίμου.
- 146 Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν <ἐπὶ> τοῖς [γῆν] ἀλοῶσιν βουσίην  
 ἡμερον καὶ χρηστὴν πρόσταξιν εἶπον, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς <γῆν> ἀροῦσι θρέμμασι τεθέντα νόμον ἐξῆς  
 δίδεμι τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντα συγγενείας. ἀπαγορεύει γάρ  
 ἐν ταύτῳ καταξενγνύει πρὸς ἄροτον γῆς βούν καὶ  
 ὄνον, οὐ μόνον τοῦ περὶ τὰ ζῶα ἀνοικείου στοχασά-  
 μενος, διότι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ καθαρὸν, ὄνος δὲ τῶν οὐ  
 καθαρῶν, τὰ δὲ οὕτως ἡλλοτριωμένα συνάγειν οὐ  
 πρέπει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν ἐστὶν ἄνισα,  
 προμηθεῖται δὲ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ὡς μὴ πρὸς  
 δυνατωτέρας βίας θλίβηται καὶ προσπιέζεται· καί-  
 τοι τὸ μὲν ἀσθενέστερον, ὄνος, ἔξω περιρραντηρίων  
 ἐλαύνεται, τὸ δὲ ἔρρωμενέστερον, βούν, ἐν ταῖς
- 147 τελειοτάταις θυσίαις νόμος ἱερουργεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἀκαθάρτων ἀσθενείας ὠλιγώρησεν  
 οὔτε τοῖς καθαροῖς ἐφήκεν ἰσχύϊ πρὸ δίκης χρῆσθαι,

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxv. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxii. 10, cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 205, 206. The treatment here is the same and the moral also, with the difference that

## ON THE VIRTUES, 145-147

law forbids muzzling the ox when it treads out the corn.<sup>a</sup> It is the ox who, before the deep soiled lowlands receive the seed, cleaves the furrows and sets the fields ready for heaven and the husbandman ; for the husbandman that he may sow the seed in due season, for heaven that its kindly gifts of rain may be received in the deep hollows which store them up and deal them out part by part as rich nourishment to the crop, until it brings forth first the ear and then the consummation of the yearly fruit. And after that consummation the ox is again necessary for another service, to purge the sheaves and sift the refuse from the genuine and useful material.

But since I have mentioned the kindly and bene- 146  
volent injunction on behalf of the oxen when treading the corn, I will cite next the law enacted in behalf of cattle which plough the land.<sup>b</sup> This is a law of the same family. It forbids the yoking together of an ox and an ass for ploughing the land, and has in view not merely the incongruity of the animals, since the ox is clean and the ass belongs to the unclean, and it is not fitting to put together creatures so alien in status, but also their disparity of strength. It takes thought for the weaker, and would not have them suffer discomfort or oppression from superior force, and although the weaker, the ass, is banished from the sacred precincts and the stronger, the ox, is accepted by the law as a victim in sacrifices where perfection is most required, it did not despise the 147  
weakness of the unclean, nor permit the clean to

there the judge is admonished to do justice to the low-born, here all are encouraged to show kindness to men of other nations, meaning mainly no doubt the proselytes, consideration for whom figures so much throughout this treatise.

## PHILO

μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς τοῖς ὦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, μηδένα τῶν ἑτεροεθνῶν ἀδικεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔχοντας αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι μὴ τὸ ἄλλογενές. ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναίτιον· ὅσα γὰρ μῆτε κακία μῆτε ἀπὸ κακιῶν ἔξω παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἴσταται.

- 148 XXVIII. Ἐπιδαφιλευόμενος δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς πάλιν πλουσίως αὐτῷ καὶ κατακόρως χρῆται, μετιῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν λογικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλογα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά, περὶ ὧν αὐτίκα λεκτέον, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν προτέρων, ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ τῶν  
 149 ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται, λέλεκται. διείρηκε τοίνυν ἄντικρυς μῆτε δενδροτομεῖν ὅσα τῆς ἡμέρου ὕλης μῆτε κείρειν ἐπὶ λύμῃ πρὸ καιροῦ σταχυηφοροῦσαν πεδιάδα μῆτε συνόλως καρπὸν διαφθείρειν, ἵνα περιουσία μὲν τροφῶν ἀφθόνων χορηγῆται τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος, περιουσιάζῃ δὲ<sup>1</sup> μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀβροδίατον βίον. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς εἰς τροφήν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκριθεῖς, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀβροδίατον βίον αἱ τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἀμύθητοι ποικιλίαι γίνονται δὲ ἐν ἐνδείαις αὐταὶ πολλάκις καὶ τροφαὶ  
 150 δεύτεραι. XXIX. | καὶ προσυπερβάλλων οὐδὲ τὴν  
 [401]

<sup>1</sup> Cohn writes περιουσία ζῆ δὲ—a strange position for δὲ. On the other hand περιουσιάζω seems to be constructed with the dative. Most mss. have simply ζῆ. Perhaps read ζῆ δὲ μὴ μόνον <ἀπὸ> τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

<sup>a</sup> The argument in these sections, 149-154, is very involved. They are all based on Deut. xx. 19, which forbids cutting down the fruit trees in an enemy's country (*cf. Spec. Leg.* iv. 226 f.). The verse "Is the tree a man that it should be besieged by thee?" (*i.e.* trees are innocent things) applies to fruit trees under all circumstances and therefore forbids



## ON THE VIRTUES, 147-150

employ strength rather than justice. Those whose souls have ears can almost hear it speaking plainly in a voice loud and insistent that we should do no wrongs to men of other nations, if we can accuse them of nothing save difference of race, which is no matter for accusation, since nothing which is neither vice nor springs from vice is liable to any impeachment.

XXVIII. So generously does he bestow his mercy 148 that he shows it further in all its richness and profusion by passing, first from rational beings to the irrational, and from the irrational to plants and vegetation. I must proceed at once to these last, as we have treated the first two classes, mankind and those who are endued with animal life. <sup>a</sup> On this 149 third subject he gives the plain direction that no trees of the cultivated type are to be cut down, nor the lowland fields mischievously mown in the ear-bearing stage before the proper time, and in general no fruit is to be destroyed, in order that the human race may be well supplied with a rich stock of abundant kinds of food, and that this rich stock may consist, not only of necessaries, but also of things which make life comfortable. For the fruit of the corn-field is set apart as a necessary for the sustenance of men, but the numberless varieties of tree-fruits provide the comfortable life, and often in times of dearth a second line of sustenance. XXIX. Rising to a still higher pitch he for- 150

mischievous maltreatment of them (§ 149). This applies *even* to trees in an enemy's country, where if anywhere it might be thought justifiable (§ 150), and here besides the general argument of the innocence of plants (§ 150 and again § 154) there is a further reason, which has nothing to do with the main point, viz. that when peace is restored we shall regret that such a devastation leaves a feeling of resentment (§§ 151-153).

## PHILO

τῶν πολεμίων χώραν τέμνειν ἔᾱ, παραγγέλλει δ' ἀνέχειν δεινδροτομιῶν καὶ δηώσεων, ἄτοπον ὑπολαβῶν εἶναι τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀργὴν ἀποσκή-  
 151 πτειν εἰς τὰ μηδενὸς αἴτια κακοῦ. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀξιοῖ μὴ μόνον τὸ παρὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς μακρόθεν ὄξυωπία λογισμοῦ καθορᾶσθαι, μηδενὸς ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένοντος ἀλλὰ πάντων τροπαῖς καὶ μεταβολαῖς χρωμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς τέως δυσμενεῖς ἐπικηρυκευσαμένους καὶ συμβατηρίων ἄρξαντας ἐνσπόνδους αὐτίκα γενέ-  
 152 σθαι. φίλους δὲ τροφῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποστρεῖν χαλεπόν, μηδὲν ταμειυσαμένους τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδηλόγητα. πάνυ γὰρ ἐκείνο καλῶς εἴρηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὅτι καὶ φιλίας κοινωγητέον μὴ ἀπογινώσκοντας ἔχθραν καὶ προσκρουστέον ὡς φιλίας ἐσομένης, ἵνα ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει ταμιεύηται τι τῶν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ μὴ ἀπογυμνωθεῖς ἐν ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις μετανοῇ, τῆς ἄγαν εὐχερείας, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελος, αἰτιώμενος ἑαυ-  
 153 τόν. τὸ λόγιον τοῦτο χρή φυλάττειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ προνοουμένας τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην, καὶ μήτε τοῖς συμ-

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<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "a sad pity," "a painful thing," *i.e.* to ourselves, which will agree better with the interpretation of ταμειυσαμένους given in the next note.

<sup>b</sup> *Prima facie* the natural way of taking ταμειυσαμένους is in agreement with φίλους, "to deprive our (potential) friends of necessaries, who thereby lay nothing by," etc. So Cohn and Mangey, and no doubt this makes good sense in itself. But it has no bearing on the sequel, which repeating the verb ταμιεύομαι dwells on the need of providing for the time when we should be on friendly terms and regret if we have done anything which could prevent this. Grammatically ταμειυ-

## ON THE VIRTUES, 150-153

bids them to devastate the land even of their enemies and enjoins them to abstain from cutting down trees and other forms of ravaging, holding it to be against all reason that indignation against men should be visited on things which are not guilty of any misdeed. But further, he calls upon them to look not only to the present, but, as though from some far-off height, with the keen-sighted vision of reason to consider the future also. For no one continues in the same stay, but all things are subject to vicissitudes and mutations, so that it may be expected that our enemies for the time may send ambassadors to initiate negotiations and straightway come to amicable terms. Now as friends it would be a great hardship <sup>a</sup> to deprive them of the necessities of life and by so doing lay nothing by <sup>b</sup> which may be of service to meet the uncertainty of the future. It is a very admirable saying of the ancients <sup>c</sup> that in joining friendship we should not ignore the possibility of enmity, and conduct our quarrels with future friendship in view, so that every one in his own nature <sup>d</sup> lays by something to ensure his safety, and does not, through having neither deeds nor words to clothe his nakedness, repent the past and blame himself when it is no use, for his overcarelessness. This maxim should also be observed by states, who in peace should provide for the needs of war and in war for the needs of peace and be slow to trust

*σαμένους* can agree just as well with the subject of *ἀποστερεῖν* as with *φίλους*. By conducting war humanely we lay up something to serve us in time of peace—a fine and sagacious thought.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 448.

<sup>d</sup> Or “which becomes part of himself.” The meaning as I understand it is that actions of kindness affect a man’s nature and give him something to fall back upon.

## PHILO

μάχοις ἀνέδην προπιστεύειν ὡς οὐ χρησομένοις μεταβολῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς ἅπαν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐ δυνησομένοις ποτέ μεθορ-  
 154 μίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔνσπονδον. εἰ μέντοι καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐχθροῦ πρακτέον δι' ἐλπίδα καταλλαγῶν, οὐδὲν ἐχθρὸν φυτόν, ἀλλ' ἔνσπονδα πάντα καὶ ὠφέλιμα, τὰ δ' ἡμερα καὶ διαφερόντως ἀναγκαῖα, ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἢ τροφή ἐστὶν ἢ ἰσότημον τροφῆ κτῆμα. τί δὴ δεῖ πεπολεμῶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μὴ πολέμια τέμνοντας ἢ καίοντας ἢ ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνασπῶντας, ἅπερ αὐτῇ ἢ φύσιν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροαῖς καὶ εὐκρασίαις ἀέρων ἐτελειογόνησε, δασμοὺς ἐτησίους οἷσοντα ἀνθρώποις οἷα βασιλεῦσιν;

155 Ἐμέλησε δ' αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἀγαθῷ προστάτῃ τὴν ἀλειπτικὴν<sup>1</sup> μὴ μόνον ζώοις ἀλλὰ καὶ φυτοῖς ἰσχύν τε καὶ ῥώμην ἀπεργάσασθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἡμέροις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πλείονος ἄξια φροντίδος ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀγρίοις εὐτονα, γεωργικῆς ἐπιστήμης δεόμενα πρὸς κραταιότεραν δύναμιν.  
 156 [402] κελεύει γὰρ τὰ νεόφυτα τῶν δένδρων ἐπὶ | τριετίαν ἐξῆς τιθηνεῖσθαι τὰς τε περιττὰς ἐπιφύσεις ἀποτέμνοντας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βαρυνόμενα πιέζεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατακερματιζομένης τῆς τροφῆς δι' ἔνδειαν ἐξασθενεῖν, γυροῦν τε καὶ περισκάπτειν, ἵνα

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn from S ἀληπτικὴν. The other mss. ἀληπτον γῆν. Mangey proposed ἀθητικὴν.

<sup>a</sup> Or "as means of sustenance," meaning presumably as in § 149 that the fruits become necessities in times of dearth, but are delicacies at other times.

<sup>b</sup> If the text is right the meaning may be as translated, or perhaps as Cohn "the strength which trains or equips." But it is also possible to take τὴν ἀλειπτικὴν (sc. τέχνην) as accusative of respect after ἀγαθῷ = "good at training."

## ON THE VIRTUES, 153-156

their allies too freely, assuming that they will never change and become opponents, nor yet absolutely distrust their enemies as though they could never pass over into amity. But even if we need not do 154 anything to help an enemy in hope of reconciliation, no plant is our enemy, but they are all pacific and serviceable, while the cultivated kind are particularly necessary, as their fruit is either food in the full sense<sup>a</sup> or a possession as valuable as food. Why then should we carry on hostilities against trees which are not hostile, by cutting them down or burning them or pulling them up by the roots—these trees, which nature itself has brought to their fullness with the waters which it showers and the breezes which it tempers so happily, that they may pay their yearly tributes to mankind as subjects to a king?

Like a good guardian he was also concerned to 155 produce the strength and robustness which training gives,<sup>b</sup> not only in animals but in plants, particularly in the cultivated kind, since they deserve more care and have not the same vigour as the wild species, but need the husbandman's science to give them greater force and power. He bids them nurse the newly 156 planted trees for three successive years,<sup>c</sup> both by cutting off their superfluous overgrowths, to save them from being oppressed by the weight and starved into exhaustion through the subdivision of the nutriment, and also by digging rings and trenches around

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xix. 23 (for the allegorical treatment *cf. De Plant.* 95). E.V. "Ye shall count the fruit thereof as their uncircumcision." But LXX "Ye shall purge away its uncleanness," which vague hint Philo develops into the horticultural operations which follow. His main point, however, that the fruit is not to be plucked till the fourth year, is scriptural.

## PHILO

μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ζημία παραναβλαστάνη τὴν αὔξησιν κωλύον· τὸν τε καρπὸν οὐκ ἔα δρέπεσθαι κατὰ μετουσίαν ἀπολαύσεως, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ ἀτελῆς ἐξ ἀτελῶν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι—καὶ γὰρ τῶν ζώων ὅσα μὴ τέλεια οὐ τελειογονεῖ—, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι βλάπτεσθαι τὰ νεόφυτα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ χαμαίζηλα<sup>1</sup> ἔμελλε  
 157 κωλυόμενα ἐρνοῦσθαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν γεωπόνων ἕαρος ὥρας ἐπιτηροῦσι τὰ νέα τῶν δένδρων, ἵνα ὄν ἂν τέκη καρπὸν εὐθύς ἀποθλίβωσι, πρὶν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ συναύξησιν λαβεῖν, φόβῳ τῆς τῶν τεκόντων ἀσθενείας. συμβαίνει γάρ, εἰ μὴ προφυλάξαιτό τις, ὅτε χρὴ τελειωθέντα καρπὸν φέρειν, ἀγονεῖν ἢ ἀμβλίσκειν ἐξασθενήσαντα τῷ πρὸ καιροῦ πονηθῆναι φοραῖς, ἃς αἱ πάλαι κληματίδες ἐπηχθισμέναι  
 158 ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἐκτρύχουσι τὰ στελέχη. μετὰ δὲ τριετίαν, ὅταν αἱ μὲν ρίζαι βαθύνωσι προσεχόμεναι τῷ ἐδάφει κραταιότερον, τὸ δὲ στέλεχος ὡσπερ ἀκλινέσι θεμελίους ἐπερηρισμένον αὐξήσῃ σὺν εὐτονία, δυνήσεται τελειογονεῖν ἔτει τετάρτῳ κατὰ  
 159 τέλειον ἀριθμὸν τετράδα. τετράδι δὲ κελεύει μὴ δρέπεσθαι τὸν καρπὸν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅλον

<sup>1</sup> Cohn (in translation) wished to insert ἔσεσθαι. Mangey proposed χθαμαλοῦσθαι for χαμαίζηλα. See note a.

<sup>a</sup> Cohn translates “because the young plants injured thereby and prevented from growing up would rise too little above the ground,” thus taking βλάπτεσθαι as a participle, and χαμαίζηλα = χαμαίζηλα ἔσεσθαι. Mangey seems also to connect χαμαίζηλα with ἔμελλεν by his χθαμαλοῦσθαι. But the version given above, which takes βλάπτεσθαι with ἔμελλε, seems to present no difficulty. Why picking the fruit should have this result remains unexplained in either version. The next section suggests that he means that the fruit should not be

them, so that nothing mischievous may spring up at their side and hinder their growth. Also he does not permit them to pick the fruit to get enjoyment, not only because from the incomplete plant only incomplete fruit could come, just as animals not fully grown are not fully ripe for breeding, but also because of the damage it would do to the young plants, which are still, so to speak, lying low just above the ground, by preventing them from shooting.<sup>a</sup> Thus many 157 farmers during the spring season watch the young trees to squeeze off at once any fruit they bear before they advance in quality and size, for fear of weakening the parent plants. For, if these precautions are not taken, the result is that when they should bear fully ripened fruit they bring forth either nothing at all or abortions nipped in the bud, exhausted as they are by the labour of prematurely bearing the crops which lay such a weight upon the branches that at last they wear out the trunk and roots as well. But 158 after three years when the roots have sunk deep<sup>b</sup> in and are more firmly attached to the soil, and the trunk supported as it were on immovable foundations has grown and acquired vigour, it will be able to bear fully in the fourth year in harmony with the perfect number four.<sup>c</sup> But in this fourth year he commands 159 them not to pluck the fruit for their own enjoyment

allowed to grow to a stage in which it could be picked for enjoyment.

<sup>b</sup> *βαθύω* here intransitive as in *De Post.* 118. This use is not noted in Stephanus, and in L. & S. revised quoted only from Philo.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xix. 24 "In the fourth year all this fruit shall be holy for praise (*αἰνετός*) to the Lord." For the perfections of four cf. *De Op.* 47-54. They are connected with this particular text in *De Abr.* 13, *De Plant.* 117.

## PHILO

- αὐτὸν καθιεροῦν ἀπαρχὴν τῷ θεῷ, τῇ μὲν τῶν προγεγονότων χαριστήριον, τῇ δὲ ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον εὐκαρπίας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο προσοδοῦ-
- 160 εσθαι. ὄρας ὅσον τὸ ἴλεων καὶ χρηστὸν ἐπιδείκνυται καὶ ὡς ἀνακέχυκεν αὐτὸ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀνθρώπων τὸ πρῶτον, κἂν ἀλλόφυλός τις ἢ ἐχθρὸς ᾗ, εἶτα ζώων ἀλόγων, κἂν μὴ τυγχάνη καθαρὰ, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι σπαρτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ δένδρων. ὃ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀφαντάστοις φύσεσι προμαθῶν ἐπιείκειαν εἰς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν ψυχῆς μεμοιραμένων ἐξαμάρτοι, ὃ τε μὴ ἐπιχειρῶν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκεται τῶν λογικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.
- 161 XXX. Τοιαύταις ὑφήγησεν τὰς διανοίας τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτευομένων ἐξημερώσας ὑπεροψίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας, ἀργαλεωτάτων καὶ ἐπαχθεστάτων κακῶν, διέξευξεν, ὧν ὡς μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν οἱ πολλοὶ περιέχονται, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν πλοῦτοι καὶ δόξαι καὶ ἡγεμονίαι περιουσίας ἀφθόνοους χορη-
- 162 γῶσιν. ἀλαζονεῖα γὰρ φύεται καὶ ἐν ἡμελημένοις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ψυχῆς παθῶν τε καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων,
- [403] τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πλέον παραύξησιν οὐ | λαμβάνει, ἀλλ' οἷα πυρὸς οὐσία διὰ σπᾶνιν ὕλης ἀμαυροῦται· περιφαίνεται δ' ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις χορηγοῦς ὡς ἔφην ἔχουσι τούτου τοῦ κακοῦ πλούτους καὶ δόξας καὶ ἡγεμονίας, ὧν ὑποπλησθέντες καθάπερ οἱ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐμφορησάμενοι μεθύουσι καὶ ἐμ-

<sup>a</sup> Or as Cohn "in after years."

<sup>b</sup> Incapable of receiving impressions (φαντασίαι). For the conception see particularly *Quod Deus* 43 f.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "the essence of fire." Cohn translates οὐσία by



## ON THE VIRTUES, 159-162

but to dedicate the whole of it as a first fruit to God, partly as a thank-offering for the past, partly in hope of fertility to come and the acquisition of wealth to which this will lead.<sup>a</sup> You see how great is the kindness and graciousness which he shows, and how liberally he has spread it on every kind, first of men, even though it be an alien or an enemy, then of irrational animals, even though they be unclean, and last of all of sown crops and also trees. For he who has first learnt the lesson of fairness in dealing with the unconscious<sup>b</sup> forms of existence will not offend against any that are endued with animal life, and he who does not set himself to molest the animal creation is trained by implication to extend his care to reasonable beings.

XXX. With such instructions he tamed and softened the minds of the citizens of his commonwealth and set them out of the reach of pride and arrogance, evil qualities, grievous and noxious in the highest degree, though embraced as most excellent by the majority of men, particularly when riches and distinctions and high offices bestow their gifts in unstinted superabundance. For arrogance springs up in the insignificant and obscure, as does each of the other passions and diseases and distempers of the soul, though it does not increase to any extent and grows dull as fire<sup>c</sup> does for want of its essential fuel. But it is conspicuous in the great, who as I have said are amply provided with the evil thing by riches and distinctions and high offices and so charged with these, like men who have drunk deep of strong wine, become intoxicated and vent their sottish rage on "element," but the idea is rather that it is the essence of fire to require fuel.

## PHILO

- παροινούσι δούλοις ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλευθέροις, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὄλαις πόλεσι· “τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν,”  
 163 ὡς ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν λόγος. διὸ παγκάλως Μωυσεῖς ἱεροφαντῶν παραινεῖ πάντων μὲν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπέχεσθαι, διαφερόντως δὲ ὑπεροψίας. εἴθ' ὑπόμνησιν ποιεῖται τῶν μὲν ἀναφλέγειν τὸ πάθος εἰωθότων, πλησμονῆς γαστρὸς ἀμέτρου καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀφθόνου περιουσίας· γίνονται γὰρ εὐθύς αὐτῶν ἀκράτορες, διαιρόμενοι καὶ φυσώμενοι, οἷς μία θεραπείας ἐλπίς τὸ μη-  
 164 δέποτε ἐκλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνατειλαντος ἡλίου τὸ μὲν σκότος ἀφανίζεται, φῶτος δὲ πληροῦται τὰ πάντα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅταν θεός, ὁ νοητὸς ἡλῖος, ἀνάσχη καὶ ἐπιλάμψη ψυχῇ, ὁ μὲν τῶν παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ζόφος ἀνασκιδναται, τῆς δ' αὐγοειδεστάτης ἀρετῆς τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ ἀξιέραστον εἶδος ἐπιφαίνεται.  
 165 XXXI. στέλλειν δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ καθαιρεῖν ὑπεροψίαν ἀξιῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιλέγει, δι' ἧς ἄληστον ἐχρῆν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμην ἀγαλματοφορεῖν. “οὗτος γὰρ σοι” φησὶ “δίδωσιν ἰσχὺν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν”· ἄγαν παιδευτικῶς· ὁ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδαχθεὶς, ὅτι δῶρον εἴληφε παρὰ θεοῦ τὸ εὐτονον καὶ ῥωμαλέον, τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσθένειαν ἐκλογιζόμενος, ἣν πρὶν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς δωρεᾶς εἶχε, τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑπέραυχον φρόνημα διώσεται καὶ εὐχαριστήσῃ τῷ τῆς κρείττονος αἰτίῳ μεταβολῆς.

<sup>a</sup> A proverbial phrase often used in slightly different forms by Philo, but here only noted as a quotation. The earliest writers in whom it is found are Solon and Theognis.

<sup>b</sup> From this section to the end we have a homily on Deut. viii. 11 ff.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 162-165

slave and free alike and sometimes on whole cities. For "satiety begets insolence,"<sup>a</sup> as the ancients have said. <sup>b</sup> And therefore Moses in his work as Revealer <sup>163</sup> admirably exhorts them to abstain from all sins, but especially from pride. Then he reminds them of the causes which are wont to inflame this passion, unlimited means of satisfying the belly and unstinted superabundance of houses and land and cattle. For men at once lose their self-mastery, and are elated and puffed up, and the one hope of their cure is that they should never lose the remembrance of God.<sup>c</sup> For as when the sun has risen the darkness disappears, <sup>164</sup> and all things are filled with light, so when God, the spiritual sun, rises and shines upon the soul, the gloomy night of passions and vices is scattered, and virtue reveals the peerless brightness of her form in all its purity and loveliness. XXXI. And <sup>165</sup>

judging it well still further to repress and destroy pride, he recites the reasons why they should keep the memory of God, as an image enshrined, never to be forgotten. "For He," he says, "gives thee strength to make power"<sup>d</sup>—words full of instruction, for he who has been carefully taught that his vigour and robustness is a gift received from God will take account of his own natural weakness, the weakness which was his before he enjoyed the gift of God, and will thrust aside the spirit of lofty arrogance and give thanks to Him who brought about the happy change. And

<sup>c</sup> Verses 12-14 "Lest when thou hast eaten . . . thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God."

<sup>d</sup> Verse 18. E.V. "He giveth thee power to make wealth." Philo has elsewhere (*De Sac.* 56, *De Agr.* 172) quoted the LXX form "strength to make power," as meaning the same as E.V. The fine turn he gives to it here is an example of his utilizing any valuable sense of which the words are capable.

## PHILO

- ψυχὴ δὲ εὐχάριστος ἀλαζονεία πολέμιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 166 τοῦναντίον ἀχαριστία συγγενὲς ὑπεροψία. εἰάν  
 δέ, φησὶν, εὐρωσθῆ σοι τὰ πράγματα, λαβὼν καὶ  
 κτησάμενος ἰσχύν, ἣν ἴσως οὐ προσεδόκησας, ποιεῖ  
 δύναμιν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀκριβωτέον τοῖς μὴ  
 πάνυ συνορῶσι τὸ δηλούμενον. πολλοὶ τὰ ἐναντία  
 ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασι δρᾶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν· ἢ γὰρ πλουτή-  
 σαντες πενίαν ἄλλοις κατασκευάζουσιν ἢ δόξης  
 καὶ τιμῆς ἐπὶ μέγα μετασχόντες ἀδοξίας καὶ  
 167 ἀτιμίας ἐτέροις αἴτιοι γίνονται. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν  
 φρόνιμον ἀγχινοῦς, ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα, τοὺς πλησιάζ-  
 οντας κατασκευάζειν καὶ τὸν σώφρονα ἐγκρατεῖς  
 καὶ γενναίους τὸν ἀνδρείον καὶ τὸν δίκαιον δικαίους  
 καὶ συνόλως ἀγαθοὺς τὸν ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς  
 ἔοικε δυνάμεις, ὧν ὁ γε ἀστείος ὡς οἰκειοτάτων  
 [404] περιέξεται· ἀδυναμία δὲ καὶ ἀσθένεια, τὰ ἐναντία,  
 168 σπουδαίων ἀλλότρια ἡθῶν. ἄλλως τε καὶ μάθημα  
 ἀναδιδάσκει τῇ λογικῇ φύσει προπεωδέστατον,  
 μιμῆσθαι θεὸν καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε, μηδὲν παρα-  
 λιπόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐξομοίωσιν.  
 XXXII. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, φησὶν, ἔλαβες ἰσχύν παρὰ  
 τοῦ δυνατωτάτου, μετάδος ἄλλοις ἰσχύος διαθεῖς ὁ  
 ἔπαθες, ἵνα μιμήσῃ θεὸν τῷ παραπλήσια χαρί-  
 169 ζεσθαι. κοινωφελεῖς γὰρ αἱ τοῦ πρώτου ἡγεμόνος  
 δωρεαί, ἃς δίδωσιν ἐνίοις, οὐχ ἵν' ἐκείνοι λαβόντες  
 ἀποκρύψωσιν ἢ καταχρήσωνται πρὸς ζημίαν ἐτέ-  
 ρων, ἀλλ' ἵν' εἰς μέσον προενεγκόντες ὥσπερ ἐν

<sup>a</sup> i.e. "at producing them in others." περιέχομαι in the sense of "aim at" is found, though not very commonly, and

## ON THE VIRTUES, 165-169

the thankful soul is the enemy of arrogance, just as conversely unthankfulness is akin to pride. What 166 he means to say is "if thy fortunes are thriving and lusty, if thou hast received and gained possession of strength, which perhaps thou didst not expect, make power." What this signifies must be clearly explained to those who fail to discern the full meaning. Many persons try to do to others the opposite of the good which they have experienced. They become rich and make others poor, or having received a great measure of glory and honour they bring about ingloriousness and dishonour to others. Rather 167 should the wise man, as far as possible, impart to his neighbours his sagacity, the continent his temperance, the valiant his gallantry, the just his justice, and in general the good his goodness. For these are evidently powers, and the man of worth will aim at<sup>a</sup> these as most akin to himself, while impotence and weakness, their opposites, are alien to upright character. Especially does he give this lesson as most 168 suitable to the rational nature that a man should imitate God as much as may be and leave nothing undone that may promote such assimilation as is possible.<sup>b</sup> XXXII. "When then," he says, "you have received strength from the most powerful, give of your strength to others and do to them as has been done to you, that you may imitate God by bestowing freely boons of the same kind. For the gifts of the 169 Chief Ruler are of universal benefit, given to some, not to be hidden by them when received, nor misused to harm others, but thrown into the common stock

this best suits the general sense. Otherwise "will cling to them as his most cherished possessions."

<sup>b</sup> See note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 188 (App. p. 436).

## PHILO

- δημοθουσία πάντας ὅσους οἶόν τε καλέσωσιν ἐπὶ  
 170 τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν αὐτῶν. λέγομεν οὖν  
 καὶ τῷ πολυχρημάτῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ εὐέκτη καὶ  
 ἐπιστήμονι, πλουσίους καὶ ἐνδόξους εὐέκτας τε  
 καὶ ἐπιστήμονας καὶ συνόλως ἀγαθοὺς ἀπεργά-  
 ζεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ φθόνον καὶ  
 βασκανίαν ἀρετῆς προτιμήσαντα τοῖς εὖ πράττειν  
 171 δυναμένοις ἀντιβαίνειν. τοὺς δὲ μέγα πνέοντας  
 ἐπιτάσει<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἀλαζονείας ἀθεραπεύτως εἰς ἅπαν  
 ἔχοντας ὁ νόμος παγκάλως οὐκ ἤγαγεν εἰς κρίσιν  
 ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ παρέδωκε δικασ-  
 τηρίῳ. φησὶ γάρ· ὃς ἂν ἐγχειρῇ τι πράττειν μεθ’  
 172 ὑπερηφανίας, “ τὸν θεὸν παροξύνει.” διὰ τί; ὅτι  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀλαζονεία ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κακία, ψυχὴ δὲ  
 ἀόρατος ὅτι μὴ θεῷ, κολαστῆς δὲ ὁ μὲν τυφλὸς  
 ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀγνοίαν κατήγορον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ  
 βλέπων ἐπαινετός, ἐπιστήμη πάντα δρῶν· ἔπειτα  
 δὲ ὅτι φρονήματος ὑπόπλεως ἀλόγου γενόμενος  
 πᾶς ἀλαζῶν “ οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε ἡμίθεον ἀλλ’ ὄλον  
 δαίμονα ” κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον ὑπολαμβάνει ἑαυτόν,  
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως βαίνειν  
 173 ἀξιῶν. ἔστι δ’ αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 ἐπίληπτον κατὰ τε τὰς σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις  
 ἀπάσας· ἀκροβατεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα μετέωρον

<sup>1</sup> The mss. here are exceedingly confused, and Cohn's reconstruction here given is doubtful. He also inserts *ὡς* before *ἀθεραπεύτως*, necessarily perhaps if *ἐπιτάσει* is to be taken with *πνέοντας*. The translation takes it as causal with *ἀθεραπεύτως ἔχοντας*. *μέγα* or *μέγала πνεῖν* is often used absolutely, sometimes to express influence, sometimes pride. Cf. *Mos.* i. 30, *Flacc.* 124, 152.

<sup>a</sup> Num. xv. 30. E.V “ But the soul that doeth aught with

## ON THE VIRTUES, 169-173

so that as in a public banquet they may invite as many as they possibly can to use and enjoy them. We say then to him who has much wealth or reputation or soundness of body or knowledge, that he should make those whom he meets rich, highly reputed, well-conditioned in body, and full of knowledge, and in general good, instead of preferring jealousy and envy to virtue and setting himself in opposition to those who might thrive in these ways. But with the men of windy pride, whose intensified arrogance sets them quite beyond cure, the law deals admirably in not bringing them to be judged by men but handing them over to the divine tribunal only, for it says, "Whosoever sets his hand to do anything with presumptuousness provokes God."<sup>a</sup> Why is this? First, because arrogance is a vice of the soul and the soul is invisible save only to God. Chastisement is not for the blind to give but for him who can see; in the one it deserves censure, because his ignorance bears witness against him, in the other it is laudable, because he acts throughout with knowledge.<sup>b</sup> Secondly, the arrogant man is always filled with the spirit of unreason, holding himself, as Pindar says, to be neither man nor demigod, but wholly divine, and claiming to overstep the limits of human nature. His body like his soul is at fault in every posture and movement. With haughty airs and perked up neck

a high hand (LXX ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας), the same blasphemeth (LXX παροξύνει) the Lord."

<sup>b</sup> Cohn considers the whole description of the arrogant man to be an obvious allusion to the emperor Gaius. Cf. *Leg. ad Gaium* 75 "he claimed to remain no more within the limits of human nature, but soared above them desiring to be thought a god." It seems to me rather unnecessary even if it can be verified chronologically.

## PHILO

ἐξαίρει φρουαττόμενος καὶ πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἐπῆρται καὶ πεφύσηται καὶ ὄρων παραβλέπει πλαγίαις ὄψεσι καὶ ἀκούων παρακούει, κέχρηται δὲ τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις ὡς θρέμμασι, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθέροις ὡς οἰκέταις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν συγγενέσιν ὡς ἄλλοτρίοις, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς κόλαξι, τοῖς δ' ἄστοις ὡς ξένοις·

174 πάντων τε οἶεται εἶναι πλουσιώτατος, ἐντιμώτατος, κάλλιστος, ἰσχυρότατος, φρονιμώτατος, σωφρονέστατος, δικαιοτάτος, λογιώτατος, ἐπιστημονικώτατος· εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπολαμβάνει πένητας,  
[405] | ἀδόξους, ἀτίμους, ἄφρονας, ἀδίκους, ἀνεπιστήμονας, καθάρματα, τὸ μηδέν. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀντιδίκῳ καὶ κολαστῇ χρήσαιτ' ἂν, ὡς φησιν ὁ ἱεροφάντης, θεῶ.

### Περὶ μετανοίας

175 XXXIII. Φιλάρετος καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ διαφερόντως φιλάνθρωπος ὢν ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς προτρέπει τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εἶναι ζηλωτάς, ἄθλα προτιθεὶς ὡς νικηφόροις μεγάλα τοῖς μετανοοῦσι πολιτείας κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπόλαυσιν μικρῶν  
176 τε καὶ μεγάλων. ἀγαθὰ γὰρ προηγούμενα ἐν μὲν σώμασιν ἢ ἄνοσος ὑγεία, ἐν δὲ ναυσὶν ἢ ἀκίνδυνος εὐπλοια, ἐν δὲ ψυχαῖς ἢ ἄληστος μνήμη τῶν ἀξίων μνημονεύεσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ τὰ κατ' ἐπανάρθωσιν συνιστάμενα, ἧ τε ἐκ νόσων ἀνάληψις καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πλοῦν κινδύνων εὐκταιοτάτη σωτηρία καὶ ἡ λήθης ἐκγυνομένη<sup>1</sup> ἀνάμνησις, ἧς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενέστατον τὸ μετανοεῖν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ τεταγμένον τάξει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ



## ON THE VIRTUES, 173-176

he struts about rising above his natural stature, puffs himself out, sees only by looking out of the side of his eyes, and hears only to misunderstand. Slaves he treats as cattle, the free as slaves, kinsfolk as strangers, friends as parasites, fellow-citizens as foreigners. He considers himself superior to all in riches, 174 estimation, beauty, strength, wisdom, temperance, justice, eloquence, knowledge; while everyone else he regards as poor, disesteemed, unhonoured, foolish, unjust, ignorant, outcast, in fact good-for-nothing. Naturally such a person will, as the Revealer tells us, have God for his accuser and avenger.

### On Repentance

XXXIII. Our most holy Moses, who so dearly 175 loved virtue and goodness and especially his fellow-men, exhorts everyone everywhere to pursue piety and justice, and offers to the repentant in honour of their victory the high rewards of membership in the best of commonwealths and of the felicities both great and small which that membership confers. For in 176 the scale of values the primary place is taken in bodies by health free from disease, in ships by travelling happily free from danger and in souls by memory of things worth remembering without lapse into forgetfulness. But second to these stands rectification in its various forms, recovery from disease, deliverance so earnestly desired from the dangers of the voyage, and recollection supervening on forgetfulness. This last has for its brother and close kinsman repentance, which though it does not stand in the first and highest rank of values has its

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<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐγγενομένη οἱ ἐγγυνομένη.

## PHILO

- 177 μετὰ ταύτην φερόμενον δευτερεία. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν συνόλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ τάχα δὲ καὶ θείου ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτόντα μεταβαλεῖν πρὸς ἀνυπαίτιον ζῶν φρονίμου καὶ τὸ συμφέρον εἰς ἅπαν
- 178 οὐκ ἀγνοήσαντος. ὅθεν τοὺς τοιούτους συνάγων καὶ μυσταγωγῶν προσκαλεῖται τὰς συμβατηρίους καὶ φιλικὰς προτείνων ὑψηγήσεις, αἱ παραινοῦσιν ἀψεύδειαν ἀσκεῖν καὶ τύφον προβεβλήσθαι καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ ἀτυφίας ὡς ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ εὐδαιμονίας αἰτίων περιέχεσθαι μυθικῶν πλασμάτων κατεξαναστάντας, ἅπερ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἀπαλαῖς ἔτι ψυχαῖς γονεῖς καὶ τίτθαι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ μυριοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συνήθων ἐνεχάραξαν πλάνον ἀνήνυτον περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου γνώσεως ἀπεργασά-
- 179 μενοι. τί δ' ἂν εἴη τῶν ὄντων ἄριστον ἢ θεός; οὐ τὰς τιμὰς προσένειμαν τοῖς οὐ θεοῖς ἐκείνους μὲν ἀποσεμνύνοντες πλέον τοῦ μετρίου, τοῦ δὲ εἰς ἅπαν οἱ κενοὶ φρενῶν ἐκλαθόμενοι. πάντας οὖν, ὅσοι τὸν κτίστην καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντός εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς σέβειν ἠξίωσαν ἀλλ' ὕστερον μοναρχίαν ἀντὶ πολυαρχίας ἀσπασάμενοι, φιλτάτους καὶ συγγενεστάτους ὑποληπτέον, τὸ μέγιστον εἰς φιλίαν καὶ
- [406] οἰκειότητα | παρασχομένους θεοφιλὲς ἦθος, οἷς χρῆ καὶ συνήδουσαι, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τυφλοὶ πρότερον ὄντες ἀνέβλεψαν ἐκ βαθυτάτου σκότους αὐγοειδέστατον φῶς ἰδόντες.
- 180 XXXIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτον τῶν εἰς μετάνοιαν εἴρηται. μετανοεῖτω δέ τις μὴ

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<sup>a</sup> Or "the character which God loves." But here perhaps, as elsewhere, θεοφιλής, though primarily distinguished as in 272

## ON THE VIRTUES, 176-180

place in the class next to this and takes the second prize. For absolute sinlessness belongs to God alone, 177 or possibly to a divine man ; conversion from sin to a blameless life shows a man of wisdom who has not been utterly ignorant of what is for his good. And, 178 therefore, when Moses convokes such people and would initiate them into his mysteries, he invites them with conciliatory and amicable offers of instruction, exhorting them to practise sincerity and reject vanity, to embrace truth and simplicity as vital necessities and the sources of happiness, and to rise in rebellion against the mythical fables impressed on their yet tender souls from their earliest years by parents and nurses and tutors and the multitude of other familiars, who have caused them to go endlessly astray in their search for the knowledge of the best. And what is the best of all that is but God, whose 179 honours they have assigned to those who were no gods and glorified them beyond measure, while Him in their senseless folly they forgot ? So therefore all these who did not at the first acknowledge their duty to reverence the Founder and Father of all, yet afterwards embraced the creed of one instead of a multiplicity of sovereigns, must be held to be our dearest friends and closest kinsmen. They have shown the godliness of heart <sup>a</sup> which above all leads up to friendship and affinity, and we must rejoice with them, as if, though blind at the first they had recovered their sight and had come from the deepest darkness to behold the most radiant light.

XXXIV. We have described the first and most 180 essential form of repentance, but a man should show

§ 184 from *φιλόθεος*, carries with it some idea of reciprocation, "friendship with God."

## PHILO

- μόνον ἐφ' οἷς ἠπατήθη πολὺν χρόνον τὰ γενητὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ ποιητοῦ θαυμάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα περὶ βίον ἀναγκαῖα, μετιὼν ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς φαυλοτάτης τῶν κακοπολιτειῶν, ὀχλοκρατίας, εἰς τὴν εὐνομωτάτην πολιτείαν, δημοκρατίαν, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς ἐπιστήμην ὧν ἡ ἄγνοια αἰσχρὸν, ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν, ἐξ ἀκρατείας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐξ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ἐξ ἀτολμίας εἰς θαρραλεότητα. πάγκαλον γὰρ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτομολεῖν ἀμεταστρεπτί πρὸς ἀρετὴν κακίαν, ἐπίβουλον δέσποιναν, ἀπολιπόντας· ἅμα δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἔπεσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ σκιὰν σώματι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ ὄντος θεοῦ τιμῇ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν κοινωνίαν. γίνονται γὰρ, εὐθύς οἱ ἐπηλύται σώφρονες, ἐγκρατεῖς, αἰδήμονες, ἡμεροί, χρηστοί, φιλάνθρωποι, σεμνοί, δίκαιοι, μεγαλόφρονες, ἀληθείας ἐρασταί, κρείττους χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸναντίον τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀποστάντας ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀκολάστους, ἀναισχύντους, ἀδίκους, ἀσέμνους, ὀλιγόφρονας, φιλαπεχθήμονας, ψευδολογίας ἐταίρους καὶ ψευδορκίας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πεπρακότας ὄψου καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πεμμάτων καὶ εὐμορφίας εἰς τε τὰς γαστροὺς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα, ὧν τὰ τέλη βαρύταται ζημίαι σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς εἰσι. παγκάλους μέντοι καὶ τὰς εἰς μετάνοιαν ὑψηγήσεις ποιεῖται, αἷς διδασκόμεθα μεθαρμόζεσθαι τὸν βίον ἐξ ἀναρμοστίας εἰς τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν· φησὶ γάρ, ὅτι τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὑπέρογκόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ μα-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 437 (i.e. note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 237).

<sup>b</sup> *χρηστός* coming here might bear this sense, which it sometimes certainly has. Cohn gives "brav" = "honest" (?).

## ON THE VIRTUES, 180-183

repentance not only for the delusions under which he long laboured in revering things created before the Creator and Maker, but also in the other fundamental concerns of life, by passing, as it were, from mob-rule, which is the vilest of misgovernments, into democracy,<sup>a</sup> the government in which good order is best observed. This means passing from ignorance to knowledge of things which it is disgraceful not to know, from senselessness to good sense, from incontinence to continence, from injustice to justice, from timidity to boldness. For it is excellent and profitable to desert 181 without a backward glance to the ranks of virtue and abandon vice that malignant mistress; and where honour is rendered to the God who is, the whole company of the other virtues must follow in its train as surely as in the sunshine the shadow follows the body. The proselytes become at once temperate, 182 continent, modest, gentle, kind,<sup>b</sup> humane, serious,<sup>c</sup> just, high-minded, truth-lovers, superior to the desire for money and pleasure, just as conversely the rebels from the holy laws are seen to be incontinent, shameless, unjust, frivolous, petty-minded, quarrelsome, friends of falsehood and perjury, who have sold their freedom for dainties and strong liquor and cates and the enjoyment of another's beauty,<sup>d</sup> thus ministering to the delights of the belly and the organs below it—delights which end in the gravest injuries both to body and soul. Admirable indeed 183 too are the admonitions to repentance, in which we are taught to refit our life from its present misfit into a better and changed condition. He tells us<sup>e</sup> that the thing is not overgreat nor very distant, neither in the

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps "reverent," in which case ἀσεμνος = "irreverent."

<sup>d</sup> See on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 82.

<sup>e</sup> Deut. xxx. 11-14.

## PHILO

κρὰν ἀφεστός, οὔτε κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα ἀνωτάτω κὰν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔσχατιαῖς (γῆς οὔτε πέραν)<sup>2</sup> τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης,  
 ὡς ἀδυνατῆσαι λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐγγυτάτω,  
 τρισὶ μέρεσι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνδιαιτώμενον, στό-  
 ματι καὶ καρδία καὶ χερσί, διὰ συμβόλων λόγοις  
 καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ πράξεσι· λόγου μὲν (γὰρ) στόμα  
 σύμβολον, καρδία δὲ βουλευμάτων, πράξεων δὲ  
 184 χεῖρες, ἐν οἷς τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἔστιν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ  
 οἶος ὁ λόγος τοιάδε ἢ γνώμη καὶ οἶον τὸ βούλευμα  
 τοιάδε ἢ πρᾶξις, ἐπαινετὸς καὶ τέλειος ὁ βίος, ὅταν  
 δὲ στασιάξῃ ταῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ἀτελής τε καὶ  
 ψεκτός. εἰ μὴ τις τῆς ἀρμονίας ταύτης ἐπιλάθοιτο,  
 εὐαρεστήσει θεῷ γενόμενος ὁμοῦ θεοφιλῆς καὶ  
 [407] φιλόθεος. ὅθεν εἶ και | συμφώνως τοῖς εἰρημένους  
 ἐχρήσθη τὸ λόγιον ἐκείνο· “ τὸν θεὸν εἴλου σήμερον  
 εἶναί σοι θεόν, καὶ κύριος εἶλατό σε σήμερον γενέ-  
 185 σθαι λαὸν αὐτῷ.” παγκάλῃ γε τῆς αἰρέσεως ἢ  
 ἀντίδοσις, σπεύδοντος ἀνθρώπου μὲν θεραπεύειν τὸ  
 ὄν, θεοῦ δὲ ἀνυπερθέτως ἐξοικειοῦσθαι τὸν ἰκέτην  
 καὶ προαπαντᾶν τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ γνησίως καὶ  
 ἀνόθως ἰόντος ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ'  
 ἀληθῆς θεραπευτῆς τε καὶ ἰκέτης, κὰν εἰς ὧν ἀνὴρ  
 ἀριθμῷ τυγχάνῃ, δυνάμει, καθάπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ.

<sup>2</sup> This insertion is borne out by the form in which the same text is quoted in *De Mut.* 237 and *De Praem.* 80. Deuteronomy itself has only “heaven and beyond the sea.”

<sup>3</sup> Cohn declares αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται to be corrupt and in his translation follows the correction ἄλλοθι εἴρηται “as has been said elsewhere,” *i.e.* in *De Dec.* 37, where Philo explains the use of the second person singular in the commandment as intended to show that one good person is equal in worth to a

## ON THE VIRTUES, 183-185

ether far above nor at the ends of the earth, nor beyond the great sea, that we should be unable to receive it, but very near, residing in three parts of our being, mouth, heart and hands, thus symbolizing words and thoughts and actions, for the mouth is a symbol of speech, the heart of thoughts and intentions, the hand of action, and in these three lies happiness. For when thoughts correspond to words 184 and actions correspond to intentions, life is praiseworthy and perfect,<sup>a</sup> but when they are at strife with each other, it is imperfect and a matter for reproach. If a man does not forget to keep this harmony, he will be well-pleasing to God, thus becoming at once God-loving and God-beloved. And so in full accordance with these words there was given from above the good saying, "Thou hast chosen to-day God to be God to thee, and the Lord has chosen thee to-day to be a people to Him."<sup>b</sup> Glorious is this reciprocation of 185 choice, when man hastens to serve the Existent, and God delays not to take the suppliant to Himself and anticipates the will of him who honestly and sincerely comes to do Him service. And that true servant and suppliant, even though in actual number he be but one, is in real value, what God's own choice makes him,<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Philo forgets to say that the correspondence must be one for good. In *De Mut.* 237 f., where he gives the same exposition of the text, he brings this out clearly.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxvi. 17, 18. E.V. for "chosen" has "avouched."

<sup>c</sup> See note 3.

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whole nation. But this lesson can equally be drawn from the text he is quoting here "He hath chosen thee to be a people," and I believe that *αἰρεῖται* at any rate is right. The phrase as it stands is an obscure, though perhaps not impossible, way of expressing what I have translated it by, but the change of *καθάπερ* into *καθ' ὅπερ* would make it feasible. For other possible emendations see App. p. 448.

## PHILO

σύμπας ἐστὶν ὁ λεώς, ἰσότημος ὅλων ἔθνει γεγονώς.  
 186 καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ὡς γὰρ ἐν νηὶ μὲν κυ-  
 βερνήτης πᾶσι τοῖς ναύταις ἀντίρροπος, ἐν δὲ  
 στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς στρατιώταις—  
 διαφθαρέντος γοῦν ἠττάσθαι συμβαίνει, καθάπερ ἂν  
 εἰ καὶ πᾶσα δύναμις ἠβηδὸν ἐάλω—, τὸν αὐτὸν τρό-  
 πον καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ὅλου ἔθνους ἀξιώματι ἀμιλλᾶται  
 τείχει πεφραγμένους ἀκαθαιρέτω, θεοσεβείᾳ.

### Περὶ εὐγενείας

187 | XXXV. Διὸ καὶ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ὑμνοῦσι τὴν εὐγένειαν ὡς  
 [437] μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον οὐ  
 μετρίως ἐπιτιμητέον, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν οἴονται τοὺς  
 ἐκ παλαιοπλοῦτων καὶ παλαιενδόξων εὐγενεῖς, μηδὲ  
 τῶν προγόνων, ἀφ' ὧν αὐχοῦσι γενέσθαι, διὰ τὰς  
 ἀφθότους περιουσίας εὐδαιμονησάντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
 τῶν περὶ σῶμα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ παντὶ μέρει ψυχῆς,  
 ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ πέφυκεν ἐνδαιτιᾶσθαι.  
 188 βουλευθεῖς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δι' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλ-  
 ἀνθρωπίαν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦθ' ἰδρύσασθαι, νεῶν  
 ἀξιοπρεπέστερον οὐχ εὔρεν ἐπὶ γῆς λογισμοῦ·  
 κρείττων γὰρ <ὧν> μόνος ἀγαλματοφορεῖ τὰγαθόν,  
 καὶ ἀπιστῶσί τινες τῶν ἢ μὴ γευσασμένων σοφίας  
 ἢ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισι. ἄργυρος γὰρ καὶ χρυσοὶ τιμαὶ  
 [438] τε καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ σώματος | εὐεξία μετ' εὐμορφίας

<sup>1</sup> So one ms. S has καὶ τοῖς, the others τοῖς δὲ. The point has some bearing on the connexion of these two treatises. See Gen. Introd. p. xvii.

<sup>a</sup> εἰ is here used causally, as often with words expressing indignation, etc. Philo does not state what is to come in the  
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## ON THE VIRTUES, 185-188

the whole people, in worth equal to a complete nation. And, indeed, this is true to nature. In a ship the 186 pilot is worth as much as all the crew, and in an army the general as much as all the soldiers, since if he fall, defeat results as certainly as it would if the whole force were annihilated. So, too, against the worth of a whole nation the wise man can hold his own, protected by the impregnable wall of godliness.

### On Nobleness of Birth

XXXV. This shows also that those who hymn 187 nobility of birth as the greatest of good gifts and the source too of other great gifts deserve no moderate censure, because in the first place<sup>a</sup> they think that those who have many generations of wealth and distinction behind them are noble, though neither did the ancestors from whom they boast descent find happiness in the superabundance of their possessions. For the true good cannot find its home in anything external, nor yet in things of the body, and further not even in every part of the soul, but only in its sovereign part. When in His mercy and loving 188 kindness God willed to establish the good among us also, He found no worthier temple on earth than the reasoning faculty, for in this alone as the more excellent part the good is enshrined, even though some may disbelieve, who have never tasted or only just sipped wisdom. For silver and gold and honour and offices and good condition and beauty of body are like men set in com-

second place. The thought is perhaps that this in itself is sufficient, in which case translate "if only because."

## PHILO

εοίκασι τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις ἐπὶ χρεῶν τεταγ-  
 μένοις πρὸς τὴν οἶα βασιλίδος ἀρετῆς ὑπηρεσίαν  
 189 αὐγοειδέστατον φῶς μὴ ἰδόντες.<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ  
 εὐγένεια κεκαθαρμένης διανοίας καθαρσίοις τελείοις  
 κλῆρος οἰκείος, χρῆ μόνους λέγειν εὐγενεῖς τοὺς  
 σῶφρονας καὶ δικαίους, κἂν τύχωσιν ἐξ οἰκοτρίβων  
 ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων γεγονότες· τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν  
 190 πονηροῖς γεγονόσιν ἄβατον ἔστω τὸ εὐγενείας  
 χωρίον. ἄοικος γὰρ καὶ ἄπολις ὁ φαῦλος, ἐκ  
 πατρίδος ἀρετῆς ἐληλαμένος, ἢ καὶ τῷ ὄντι σοφῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν ἔστι πατρίς· τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἔπεται δυσγένεια, κἂν εἰ πάππων ἢ προγόνων  
 γένοιτο τοὺς βίους ἀνεπιλήπτων, ἀλλοτριώσιν ἐπι-  
 τηδεύοντι καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς εὐγενείας δια-  
 191 ζευγνύντι ἑαυτὸν ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. ἀλλὰ  
 γὰρ πρὸς τῷ μὴ πεφυκέναι τοὺς πονηροὺς εὐγενεῖς  
 ἔτι καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὀρώ πολεμίους ἀσυμβάτους  
 εὐγενεῖα καθαιροῦντας τὸ προγονικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn regards this sentence as corrupt and inserts *ἐξαρκεῖν* after *εὐμορφίας*. He treats *ἀργυρος . . . ὑπηρεσίαν* as a parenthesis, and marks a lacuna before *αὐγοειδέστατον . . . ἰδόντες*. He translates "Silver and gold, etc. seem to rulers appointed to the service of queenly virtue to be sufficient . . . they do not see the radiant light." In the text the parenthetical arrangement suggests that he takes *ἰδόντες* as agreeing with *τινες*, but there is no sign of this in the translation. In a note to his version he justly remarks that it makes no sense, and the interpolation of *ἐξαρκεῖν*, or, as suggested in the translation, *ζηλωτῶ* (? *ζηλωτὰ εἶναι*), seems pointless. See note *a*.

<sup>a</sup> The first part of this sentence down to "virtue" as here translated seems grammatically unimpeachable, and, I believe, gives a perfectly Philonic thought. Though the actual figure by which bodily and external goods are compared to officers

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## ON THE VIRTUES, 188-191

mand for ordinary purposes compared with service to queenly virtue<sup>a</sup> and have never seen the light in its full radiance. Since then nobility is the peculiar 189 portion of a mind purged clean of every spot, we must give the name of noble only to the temperate and just,<sup>b</sup> even though their parents were slaves, home-bred or purchased; but to the evil children of good parents that portion<sup>c</sup> must be closed ground. For 190 the fool has no home and no city; he is expatriated from virtue, and virtue is in very truth the native land of the wise. With the fool inevitably comes ignobleness, even though his grandfather or ancestors be men of blameless life, for he habitually treats nobility as a stranger and sets a wide gulf between himself and her both in words and deeds. But not 191 only do the wicked fail to be noble, but they are actually, I see well, all mortal enemies of nobility, since they destroy ancestral prestige and dim and

servicing practical needs as opposed to service in the court of virtue herself does not occur elsewhere, similar ideas are often to be found in Philo. Compare particularly the disquisition in *De Fuga* 25-37, where the proper use of these things as a preliminary to the higher life of contemplation is enjoined. Remarks to the same effect appear in *De Sob.* 61, *De Conf.* 18, *Quis Rerum* 285. There is more to be said for supposing a lacuna before ἀγνοειδέστατον. The four words may be spurious, as they are omitted in S. Assuming that they are genuine, the abrupt change of metaphor and perhaps their application to the "goods" themselves, instead of their possessors, is strange. It would not be surprising if some words had fallen out explaining that while these were not "blind wealth," they were not "seeing wealth" in the fullest sense. See further for Mangey's version App. p. 449.

<sup>b</sup> For Stoic and other illustrations of this thought see App. p. 449.

<sup>c</sup> Or simply "place." But the common sense of "estate" corresponds well to κλήρος.

## PHILO

- ὅσον ἐν τῷ γένει λαμπρὸν ἕξαμαυροῦντάς τε καὶ  
 192 σβεννύντας. XXXVI. διό μοι δοκοῦσι φιλο-  
 στοργότατοι πατέρες ἀπορρήσεις χρηματίζειν καθ'  
 υἱῶν ἀποσχοινίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ συγ-  
 γενείας, ὅταν τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἐν τοῖς γεννήσασι  
 περιττὴν καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὐνοίαν ἢ ἐν ἐκείνοις  
 193 μοχθηρία κατακρατήσῃ. τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῦ λόγου  
 ῥάδιον καὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρων διαγνῶναι. τί τῷ τὰς ὄψεις  
 πεπηρωμένῳ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰς τὸ βλέπειν ὄφελος  
 ὀξυωπία προγονική; ἢ πρὸς ἑρμηνείαν τῷ παρ-  
 ειμένῳ γλῶτταν τὸ γονεῖς ἢ πάππους γενέσθαι  
 μεγαλοφώνους; τί δ' ὀνίνησι πρὸς εὐτονίαν τὸν ἐκ  
 μακρᾶς καὶ φθινάδος νόσου κατεσκελετευμένον,  
 εἰάν οἱ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέται δι' ἀθλητικὴν ῥώμην  
 ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ἢ περιοδονίκαις γράφωνται;  
 μένουσι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡττόν αἱ τοῦ σώματος κῆρες ἐν  
 ὁμοίῳ βελτίωσιν οὐκ ἐνδεχόμεναι διὰ τὰς τῶν  
 194 οἰκείων εὐπραγίας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον οὔτε  
 τοῖς ἀδίκους δίκαιοι γονεῖς οὔτε ἀκολάστοις σώ-  
 φρονες οὔτε συνόλως ἀγαθοὶ πονηροῖς ὄφελος· οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν, ὧν εἰσιν αὐτοὶ  
 κολασταί· νόμοι δέ τινες ἄγραφοι καὶ οἱ βίοι τῶν  
 195 ζηλωσάντων τὴν ἀρετὴν. ὅθεν οἶμαι τὴν  
 εὐγένειαν, εἰ θεὸς αὐτὴν εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδέαν  
 ἐτύπωσε, σταῶσαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφηνιαστὰς ἀπογόνους  
 ταῦτα ἂν εἰπεῖν· “ τὸ συγγενὲς οὐχ αἵματι μετρεῖται  
 μόνον, πρυτανευούσης ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πράξεων

<sup>a</sup> For χρηματίζειν cf. *De Cher.* 115 χρηματίζειν ἀπόλειψιν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα, and note, vol. ii. p. 486. This use is noted in L. & S. revised, referring to this passage under the head

## ON THE VIRTUES, 191-195

finally quench all the glory which illumines the family. XXXVI. That is the reason, I think, why 192 fathers of the most affectionate kind formally disinherit<sup>a</sup> their sons and debar them from their home and kinship, when the depravity which they show overcomes the peculiar and intense affection implanted in parents by nature. The truth of what I 193 say can easily be recognized from other examples. If a man has lost the use of his eyes, will the keen-sightedness of his ancestors help him to see? If his tongue is paralysed, will he express himself better because his parents or grandparents possessed strong voices? If he is worn to a thread by a long and wasting sickness, will it profit for restoring him to vigour that the athletic prowess of the founders of the family has placed them in the list of victors at the Olympic or all the other great games? Their bodily debilities remain just as they were and cannot be improved by the better luck of their relations. In the same way, 194 just parents are no help to the unjust, nor temperate parents to the intemperate, nor, in general, good parents to the wicked, any more than the laws to law-breakers, whom they exist to punish, and the lives of those who have earnestly followed virtue may be called unwritten laws.<sup>b</sup> And, there- 195 fore, I think, that if God had so formed nobility as to take a human shape, she would stand to face the rebellious descendants and address them thus. "In the court where truth presides, kinship is not measured only by blood, but by similarity of conduct and pur-

of "issuing ordinances, etc." But the use in Philo points rather to taking proceedings.

<sup>b</sup> For this idea, which inspires all the biographies translated in vol. vi., see particularly *De Abr.* 4 ff. and 276.

## PHILO

- ὁμοιότητι καὶ θήρα τῶν αὐτῶν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τάναντία  
 ἐπετηδεύσατε, τὰ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλα νομίσαντες ἐχθρά,  
 [439] τὰ δὲ | δυσμενῆ φίλα· παρ' ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ αἰδῶς καὶ  
 ἀλήθεια μετριοπάθειά τε καὶ ἀτυφία καὶ ἀκακία  
 τίμα, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ ἄτιμα· κάμοι μὲν ἐχθρὰ τὸ  
 ἀναίσχυντον, τὸ ψεῦδος, ἢ ἀμετρία τῶν παθῶν,  
 196 ὁ τῦφος, αἱ κακίαι, ὑμῖν δὲ οἰκειότατα. τί δὴ  
 μελετήσαντες ἀλλοτρίωσιν τὴν δι' ἔργων τὴν ἐν  
 λόγῳ συγγένειαν εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα ὑποδύομενοι  
 καθυποκρίνεσθε; παραγωγὰς γὰρ καὶ κεκομφευ-  
 μένας ἀπάτας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι, διότι ῥάδιον μὲν καὶ  
 τῷ τυχόντι εὐπροσώπους λόγους εὔρειν, ἦθη δ'  
 197 ὑπαλλάξασθαι πονηρὰ χρηστοῖς οὐ ῥάδιον. εἰς  
 ἄπερ ἀφορῶσα καὶ νῦν ἐχθροὺς νομίζω καὶ αὐθις  
 ἠγγήσομαι τοὺς τὰ τῆς ἐχθρας ὑπεκκαύματα ζω-  
 πυρήσαντας καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εἰς δυσγένειαν ὄνειδι-  
 ζομένων ὑποβλέψομαι· τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογία  
 τὸ μηδὲν οἰκεῖον ἔχειν (παράδειγμα)<sup>1</sup> καλοκαγαθίας,  
 ὑπόδικοι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἐκ μεγάλων φύντες οἴκων, οἷς  
 αὔχημα καὶ κλέος τὰ λαμπρὰ γένη· παριδρυμένων  
 γὰρ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ συμπεφυκότων ἀρχετύπων  
 ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἀπομάξασθαι καλὸν διανοήθητε."  
 198 "Ὅτι δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς κτήσει τίθεται τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ  
 τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην εὐγενῆ μόνον ὑπείληφεν, ἀλλ'  
 οὐχ ὅστις ἂν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γένηται γονέων,  
 199 δῆλον ἐκ πολλῶν. XXXVII. αὐτίκα τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ  
 γηγενοῦς φύντας τίς οὐκ ἂν εὐπατρίδας εἴποι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Added by Cohn on the analogy of *Spec. Leg.* iv. 182. A partitive genitive after *μηδὲν* is doubtful Greek.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "Having practised the estrangement that comes by actions, why by assuming a specious name do you counterfeit the kinship of words?"

## ON THE VIRTUES, 195-199

suit of the same objects. But your practice has been the opposite. What I hold dear you regard as hostile and my enemies you love. In my sight, modesty and truth and control of the passions and simplicity and innocence are honourable, in your eyes dishonourable. Shamelessness, falsehood, passion uncontrolled, vanity, vices are my enemies, but to you they are the closest of friends. You have done your best 196 by your actions to make yourselves strangers, why do you hypocritically assume a specious name and call yourselves kinsmen?<sup>a</sup> Seductive arts and clever wiles I cannot away with. It is easy for anybody to devise prettily-sounding words, but it is not easy to change bad morals to good. With these things before my 197 eyes, I count now as enemies and hereafter shall hold as such, those who have kindled the fuel of enmity into a flame,<sup>b</sup> and I shall frown on them, more than on those whose reproach is their ignoble birth. They may plead in defence that they have no pattern of high excellence for their own, but you stand accused, you who spring from great houses, which boast and glory in the splendour of their race. For though you have good models at your side, almost, indeed, your birth fellows, you have never been minded to reproduce any of their excellence."

That he held nobility to depend on the acquisition 198 of virtue and considered that the possessor of virtue and not anyone born of highly excellent parents is noble can be shown from many examples. XXXVII. 199 For instance, who would deny that the sons of the Earth-born were of high birth and progenitors of

<sup>b</sup> These stilted phrases, in keeping with the rest of the speech, apparently mean nothing more than "I shall never forgive you."

## PHILO

- εὐπατριδῶν ἀρχηγέτας; οἱ γένος ἐξαίρετον ἔλαχον  
 παρὰ τοὺς ἔπειτα, βλαστήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πρώτων  
 νυμφίων ἀνδρός τε καὶ γυναικὸς τότε πρῶτον εἰς  
 ὁμίλιαν κοινήν ἐπὶ σπορᾷ τοῦ ὁμοίου συνελθόντων.  
 ἀλλ' ὅμως δυοῖν γενομένων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὑπέμεινε  
 τὸν νεώτερον δολοφονῆσαι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἄγος,  
 ἀδελφοκτονίαν, ἐργασάμενος πρῶτος αἵματι ἀνθρω-  
 200 πίνῳ τὴν γῆν ἐμίανε. τί δὴ τοῦτον ὤνησεν ἢ  
 εὐγένεια τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δυσγένειαν ἐπιδειξάμενον;  
 ἦν καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἔφορος θεὸς  
 ἰδὼν. ἐστύγησε καὶ προβαλλόμενος ὤρισε τιμωρίας,  
 οὐκ εὐθύς ἀνελὼν, ὅπως ἀναισθήτως ἔχη συμφορῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ μυρίου ἐπικρεμάσας τοὺς ἐν αἰσθήσει θανά-  
 τους λύπαις καὶ φόβοις ἐπαλλήλοις εἰς κακῶν  
 ὀδυνηροτάτων ἀντίληψιν.
- 201 Ἐγένετο δέ τις τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα σφόδρα δοκίμων  
 ἀνὴρ ὀσιώτατος, οὗ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀνάγραφτον  
 ἠξίωσεν (εἶναι) ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ὁ τοὺς νόμους  
 διαταξάμενος· ὃς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ κατακλυσμῷ, τῶν  
 πόλεων ἀφανιζομένων πανωλεθρία—καὶ γὰρ τῶν  
 [440] ὄρων τὰ ὑψηλότατα | τῇ συναυξήσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει  
 τῆς περὶ τὴν φορὰν πλημμύρας κατεπίνετο—,  
 μόνος μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται τῆς καλο-  
 κάγαθίας ἄθλον ἀράμενος, οὗ μείζον οὐκ ἔστιν  
 202 εὐρεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ τριῶν γενομένων παίδων  
 καὶ συναπολελευκότων τῆς πατρῴας δωρεᾶς εἰς  
 ἐτόλμησε τὸν αἴτιον τῆς σωτηρίας πατέρα κατα-  
 κερτομεῖν γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην, εἴ τι παρεσφάλῃ μὴ  
 καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, τιθέμενος καὶ τοῖς μὴ  
 εἰδόσι ἀπογυμνῶν ἃ κρύπτειν θέμις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Praem.* 72 f. and note.



## ON THE VIRTUES, 199-202

high-born children? Their lot was to be born under circumstances which distinguished them above their posterity, sprung as they were from the first bridal pair, the man and woman who then first came together in mutual intercourse to procreate their like. Nevertheless, of the sons thus born the elder did not shrink from treacherously murdering the younger, and by committing the most accursed of crimes, fratricide, was the first to pollute the earth with human blood. What profit was noble birth to him, 200 who displayed in his soul an ignobleness, which God, the Overseer of human affairs, saw and abhorred and cast him forth to pay the penalty. And that penalty was this. He did not slay him at once and so make him insensible to his sufferings, but held suspended over him a multitude of deaths—deaths which made themselves felt in a constant succession of griefs and fears, carrying with them full apprehension of the miseries of his most evil plight.<sup>a</sup>

Among the worthiest men of later time was one of 201 special holiness, whose piety the framer of the code held worthy to be recorded in the sacred books. In the great deluge when cities were submerged and annihilated, since even the highest mountains were swallowed up by the increasing magnitude and force of the mass of water which the flood produced, he alone was saved with his family, so receiving for his high excellence a reward of unsurpassed value. Yet 202 of the three sons born to him, who shared in the boon bestowed on their father, one ventured to pour reproach upon the author of his preservation. He held up to scorn and laughter some lapse into which his father had fallen involuntarily, and laid bare what should have been hidden to those who knew it

PHILO

γεννήσαντος αἰσχύνῃ. τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ὤνατο τῆς λαμπρᾶς εὐγενείας ἐπάρατος γενόμενος καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀρχὴ κακοδαιμονίας· ὦν ἄξιον ἦν τυγχάνειν τὸν ἡμεληκότα γονέων τιμῆς.

- 203 Ἄλλὰ τί τούτων μεμνήσθαι προσήκεν ἀφέμενον τοῦ πρώτου καὶ γηγενοῦς; ὃς ἔνεκα εὐγενείας οὐδενὶ θνητῷ σύγκριτος, χερσὶ μὲν θείαις (εἰς) ἀνδριάντα τὸν σωματοειδῆ τυπωθεὶς ἀκρότητι τεχνῆς πλαστικῆς, ψυχῆς δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἠκόντων, ἐμπνεύσαντος θεοῦ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ὅσον ἐδύνατο δέξασθαι θνητῆ φύσιν, ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπερβολὴ τις εὐγενείας μηδεμιᾶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι διωνομάσθησαν<sup>1</sup> εἰς σύγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν δυναμένη;
- 204 τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ κλέος ἐκ προγόνων εὐτυχίας— ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ πρόγονοι, ζῶα ἐπικήρα καὶ φθαρτά, καὶ αἱ τούτων ἀβέβαιοι καὶ ἐφήμεροι τὰ πολλὰ εὐπραγίαι—, τοῦ δὲ πατῆρ [μὲν] θνητὸς οὐδεὶς, ὁ δὲ
- 205 αἰδίδιος θεός· οὗ τρόπον τινὰ γενόμενος εἰκῶν κατὰ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν ἐν ψυχῇ, δέον ἀκηλίδωτον τὴν εἰκόνα φυλάξει καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπακολουθήσαντα ταῖς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀρεταῖς, προτεθέντων εἰς αἰρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ καλοῦ καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ ψευδοῦς, τὰ μὲν ψευδῆ καὶ αἰσχροὰ καὶ κακὰ προθύμως εἴλετο, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀληθῶν ἠλόγησεν· ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως θνητὸν ἀθανάτου βίον ἀνθυπηλλάξατο μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας σφαλεῖς καὶ ῥᾶστα μετέβαλεν εἰς ἐπίπονον καὶ κακοδαίμονα ζωὴν.

206 XXXVIII. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἔστωσαν κοινοὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὅσα διωνομάσθη (S) or αἰδίδιων ὀνομασθεῖσαν.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 202-206

not, casting shame on him who begat him. He then had no profit from the glories of his birth, laid under a curse and a source of misery to his successors, a worthy fate for one who had no thought for the honour due to parents.<sup>a</sup>

Yet why should we mention these and leave out of 203 sight the first and earth-born man, who for nobility of birth stands beyond comparison with all other mortals, moulded with consummate skill into the figure of the human body by the hand of God, the Master Sculptor, and judged worthy to receive his soul not from any other thing already created, but through the breath of God imparting of His own power such measure as mortal nature could receive? Have we not here a transcendence of noble birth, which cannot be brought into comparison with any of the other examples known to fame? For their renown rests on the good 204 fortune of their ancestors, who were men, creatures which lived only to decay and perish, and their happier experiences are mostly uncertain and short-lived. But his father was no mortal but the eternal God, whose image he was in a sense in virtue of the ruling mind within the soul. Yet though he should have 205 kept that image undefiled and followed as far as he could in the steps of his Parent's virtues, when the opposites were set before him to choose or avoid, good and evil, honourable and base, true and false, he was quick to choose the false, the base and the evil and spurn the good and honourable and true, with the natural consequence that he exchanged mortality for immortality, forfeited his blessedness and happiness and found an easy passage to a life of toil and misery.

XXXVIII. These examples may serve as land- 206

<sup>a</sup> Gen. ix. 20-25.

## PHILO

- πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὄροι τοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις γένεσι  
 σεμνύεσθαι τοὺς καλοκάγαθίας ἀμοιροῦντας· Ἰου-  
 δαίοις δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι δίχα τῶν κοινῶν ἐξαίρετοι.  
 τῶν γὰρ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγετῶν<sup>1</sup> εἰσιν οὓς αἱ τῶν  
 προγόνων ἀρεταὶ συνόλως οὐδὲν ὤνησαν <ἐπ’> ἐπι-  
 [441] λήπτοις καὶ | ὑπαιτίοις πράξεσιν ἀλόντας, εἰ καὶ  
 πρὸς ἑτέρου μηδενὸς ἐλεγχθέντας, ἀλλ’ οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 συνειδότος, ὃ μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων δικαστήριον τέχ-  
 207 ναις λόγων οὐ παράγεται. πολῦπαις ἦν ὁ πρῶτος  
 ἐκ τριῶν παιδοποιησάμενος γυναικῶν, οὐ δι’ ἡδονῆς  
 ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐλπίδα τοῦ πληθύναι τὸ γένος·  
 ἀλλ’ ἐκ πολλῶν εἰς μόνος ἀπεδείχθη κληρονόμος  
 τῶν πατρῶων ἀγαθῶν, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμης  
 ὑγιοῦς σφαλέντες καὶ μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ γεννήσαντος  
 ἀπομαζάμενοι διωκίσθησαν ἀλλοτριωθέντες τῆς  
 αἰοιδίμου εὐγενείας.  
 208 Πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ δοκιμασθέντος κληρονόμου δύο δί-  
 δυμοὶ γεννῶνται μηδὲν [ὅτι μὴ χεῖρας καὶ ταύτας  
 ἔνεκά τινος οἰκονομίας] ὅμοιον ἐπιφερόμενοι, μήτε  
 τοῖς σώμασι μήτε ταῖς γνώμαις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεώ-  
 τερος καταπειθῆς ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἦν καὶ  
 οὕτως εὐάρεστος, ὡς καὶ θεοῦ τυχεῖν ἐπαιέτου, ὁ  
 δὲ μείζων ἀπειθῆς, [ἐκ] τῶν γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ*

<sup>1</sup> Cohn in translation suggests that *παίδων* or *ἀπογόνων* has fallen out after *ἀρχηγετῶν*, since Ishmael, Esau, etc. could not be called the founders of the race. Loosely, I think, he might call them this, as belonging to the family. If not, perhaps *τῶν τοῦ γένους <τῶν> ἀρχηγετῶν* (*γένος* as often = “family”). For *ἀρχηγέτης* used absolutely cf. *De Praem.* 60.

<sup>a</sup> Founded on Gen. xxv. 5, 6 “Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac. But to the sons of his concubines Abraham

## ON THE VIRTUES, 206-208

marks common to all mankind to remind them that those who have no true excellence of character should not pride themselves on the greatness of their race. But besides these common examples, the Jews have others peculiar to themselves. For among the founders of the race, there are some who profited nothing by the virtues of their ancestors, proved to be guilty of highly reprehensible conduct, convicted, if not by any other judge, at any rate by their conscience, the one and only court which is never misled by oratorical artifices. The first was the father of 207 many children, begotten on three wives, not for indulgence in pleasure but in the hope of multiplying the race. But of his many sons, only one was appointed to inherit the patrimony. All the rest failed to show sound judgement and as they reproduced nothing of their father's qualities, were excluded from the home and denied any part in the grandeur of their noble birth.<sup>a</sup>

Again, the one who was approved as heir begat 208 two twins, who had no resemblance to each other, either in body or disposition [except in the hands, and in these only for a particular act of policy].<sup>b</sup> For the younger was obedient to both his parents and won such favour that God, too, joined in praising him, but the elder was disobedient, indulging without restraint in the pleasures of the belly and the lower

gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son." Cf. *De Mig.* 94 and note, vol. iv. p. 563.

<sup>b</sup> I agree with Cohn that this addition is incredibly silly, and probably an interpolation, though it is true that Philo is not at his best throughout this treatise. (The words refer of course to Jacob's disguising his hands with goat-skins, Gen. xxvii. 16 and 23.) But on this and on the meaning of *οἰκονομία* see App. p. 449.

## PHILO

- γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἀκρατῶς ἔχων, ὕφ' ὧν ἀνεπίεσθη  
 καὶ πρεσβείων ἐξίστασθαι τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ μετα-  
 νοεῖν εὐθὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἐξέστη καὶ φονᾶν κατὰ τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ δι' ὧν λυπήσει τοὺς  
 209 γονεῖς πραγματεῦσθαι. τοιγαροῦν τῷ μὲν εὐχὰς  
 τίθενται τὰς ἀνωτάτω, βεβαιούντος ἀπάσας θεοῦ  
 καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀξιώσαντος ἀτελῆ καταλιπεῖν, τῷ δὲ  
 κατ' ἔλεον χαρίζονται τὴν ὑπήκοον τάξιν, ἵνα δου-  
 λεύῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, νομίζοντες, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἀγαθὸν  
 210 εἶναι τῷ φαύλῳ τὸ μὴ αὐτεξούσιον. καὶ εἴ γε  
 ὑπέμεινε τὴν δουλείαν ἄσμενος, δευτερείων ἂν  
 ἠξιοῦτο ὡς ἐν ἄθλοις ἀρετῆς· νυνὶ δὲ ἀπαυθαδιό-  
 μενος<sup>1</sup> καὶ δραπετεύσας τῆς καλῆς ἐπιστασίας αὐτῷ  
 τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις μεγάλων αἴτιος ὄνειδῶν  
 ἐγένετο, ὡς τὸν ἀβίωτον αὐτοῦ βίον ἐστηλιτεῦσθαι  
 πρὸς σαφέστατον ἔλεγχον τοῦ μηδὲν τὴν εὐγένειαν  
 ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀναξίους εὐγενείας.  
 211 XXXIX. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν εἰσι τῆς ἐπιλήπτου  
 τάξεως, οὓς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν πονηροὺς γενομένους ὤνη-  
 σαν μὲν οὐδὲν αἱ πατέρων ἀρεταί, αἱ δ' ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ  
 κακίαι μυρία ἔβλαψαν. ἔχω δ' εἰπεῖν ἑτέρους τὴν  
 ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀμείνω τεταγμένους τάξιν, οἷς πρόγονοι  
 μὲν ὑπαίτιοι, ζηλωτὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνάπλεως εὐφημίας  
 212 ὁ βίος. τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ὁ πρεσβύτατος  
 γένος<sup>2</sup> μὲν ἦν Χαλδαῖος, πατὴρ δὲ ἀστρονομικοῦ  
 τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα διατριβόντων, οἱ τοὺς ἀστέ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀυθαδησάμενος (S) or ἀπαυθαδίσας.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. γένει or γένους.

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<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxvii. 27-29 and 39, 40. Of course to ascribe these prayers to Rebecca as well as Isaac is a complete perversion of the story.

lying parts. Influenced by these he surrendered his birth-right to his junior, then, at once, repenting of the surrender, sought his brother's life, and all his concern was to act in such a way as would cause grief to his parents. Therefore, for the younger they 209 prayed that he should be blessed above all others, all which prayers God confirmed and would not that any of them should be left unfulfilled. But to the elder in compassion they granted an inferior station to serve his brother, rightly thinking that it is not good for the fool to be his own master.<sup>a</sup> And if, indeed, he had 210 endured his servitude contentedly, he would have been awarded the second prize for prowess in the arena of virtue. As it was, by his wilfulness, a runagate from the excellent rule set over him, he brought heavy reproaches upon himself and his descendants, so that his life so little worth living stands recorded as the clearest proof that to those who are unworthy of nobility, nobility is of no value.

XXXIX. Now these belong to the erring class, evil 211 children of good parents, who gained no profit from the virtues of their fathers, but suffered countless injuries from the vices of their minds. But I can cite others of the opposite and better class, whose ancestors were men of guilt, but their own lives were worthy of emulation and full of good report. The most 212 ancient member of the Jewish nation was a Chaldaean by birth, the son of an astrologer, one of those who study the lore of that science,<sup>b</sup> and think that the

<sup>b</sup> μαθήματα, though often "mathematics" in Philo, is here definitely restricted to astrology; cf. *De Mut.* 71 "The student of the nature of heaven, whom some call the μαθηματικός," a passage which also illustrates Philo's regular assumption that Abraham before his call believed in Chaldaean astrology; cf. *De Abr.* 69 ff.

## PHILO

- [442] *ras* θεοὺς νομίζουσι καὶ τὸν | σύμπαντα οὐρανόν  
 τε καὶ κόσμον, παρ' οὓς τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον  
 ἐκάστοις φασὶν ἀποβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἕξω τῶν αἰσθη-  
 213 τῶν αἴτιον ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι. τούτου δὲ τί ἂν  
 εἴη χαλεπώτερον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπελέγξαι τὴν ἐν τῇ  
 ψυχῇ δυσγένειαν δυνάμενον δι' ἐπιστήμης τῶν  
 πολλῶν καὶ δευτέρων καὶ γενητῶν εἰς ἀνεπιστη-  
 μοσύνην ἰούση τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ  
 ἀγενήτου καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων καὶ διὰ τε ταῦτα  
 ἀρίστου καὶ διὰ μυρία ἄλλα, ἃ διὰ μέγεθος ἀνθρώ-  
 214 πινος λογισμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ; ὧν ἔννοιαν λαβὼν καὶ  
 ἐπιθειάσας καταλείπει μὲν πατρίδα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ  
 πατρῶον οἶκον, εἰδὼς ὅτι μένοντος μὲν αἰ τῆς  
 πολυθέου δόξης ἐγκαταμενοῦσιν ἀπάται ἀνήνυτον  
 κατασκευάζουσαι τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς εὕρεσιν, ὅς ἐστιν  
 αἰδιος μόνος καὶ ὄλων πατὴρ νοητῶν τε αὖ καὶ  
 αἰσθητῶν, εἰ δὲ μετανασταίη, μεταναστήσεται καὶ  
 τῆς διανοίας ἢ ἀπάτη μεθαρμοσαμένης τὴν ψευδῆ  
 215 δόξαν εἰς ἀλήθειαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν πόθον ὃν  
 ἐπόθει γινῶναι τὸ ὃν προσανερρίπισε λόγια χρη-  
 σθέντα, οἷς ποδηγετούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς  
 ἀοκνοτάτη σπουδῇ ζήτησιν ἦει· καὶ οὐ πρότερον  
 ἀνήκεν ἢ τρανοτέρας λαβεῖν φαντασίας, οὐχὶ τῆς  
 οὐσίας—τούτο γὰρ ἀμήχανον—, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπάρξεως  
 216 αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας. διὸ καὶ πιστεῦσαι λέγεται τῷ  
 θεῷ πρῶτος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρῶτος ἀκλινῆ καὶ βεβαίαν  
 ἔσχεν ὑπόληψιν, ὡς ἔστιν ἐν αἴτιον τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ  
 προνοεῖ τοῦ τε κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. κτησά-  
 μενος δὲ πίστιν,<sup>1</sup> τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν βεβαιοτάτην,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιστήμην.



## ON THE VIRTUES, 212-216

stars and the whole heaven and universe are gods, the authors, they say, of the events which befall each man for good or for ill, and hold that there is no originating cause outside the things we perceive by our senses. What could be more grievous or more 213 capable of proving the total absence of nobility in the soul than this, that its knowledge of the many, the secondary, the created, only leads it to ignore the One, the Primal, the Uncreated and Maker of all, whose supreme excellence is established by these and countless other attributes of such magnitude that no human reason can contain them? Percep- 214 tion of these truths and divine inspiration induced him to leave his native country, his race and paternal home, knowing that if he stayed the delusions of the polytheistic creed would stay within him and render it impossible for him to discover the One, who alone is eternal and the Father of all things, conceptual and sensible, whereas if he removed, the delusion would also remove from his mind and its false creed be replaced by the truth. At the same time, also, 215 the fire of yearning, which possessed him to know the Existent, was fanned by the divine warnings vouchsafed to him. With these to guide his steps, he went forth never faltering in his ardour to seek for the One, nor did he pause until he received clearer visions, not of His essence, for that is impossible, but of His existence and providence. And, therefore, he is the first 216 person spoken of as believing in God,<sup>a</sup> since he first grasped a firm and unswerving conception of the truth that there is one Cause above all, and that it provides for the world and all that there is therein. And having gained faith, the most sure and certain

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xv. 6.

## PHILO

συνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας, ὡς παρὰ τοῖς  
 ὑποδεξαμένοις νομίζεσθαι βασιλεύς, οὐχὶ ταῖς παρα-  
 σκευαῖς—ιδιώτης γὰρ ἦν—, ἀλλὰ τῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 217 μεγέθει, φρονήματος ὧν βασιλικοῦ.<sup>1</sup> καὶ δῆτα  
 θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν διετέλουν ὡς ἄρχοντα ὑπήκοοι  
 τὸ περὶ πάντα μεγαλείον τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ κατα-  
 πληττόμενοι τελειότερας οὔσης ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμιλίαις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπι-  
 θειάζων τὰ πολλὰ σεμνοτέραις· ὅποτε γοῦν κατα-  
 σχεθείη, μετέβαλλε πάντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, τὰς  
 ὄψεις, τὴν χροάν, τὸ μέγεθος, τὰς σχέσεις, τὰς  
 κινήσεις, τὴν φωνήν, τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, ὅπερ  
 ἄνωθεν καταπνευσθὲν εἰσωκίσαστο τῇ ψυχῇ, περι-  
 [443] τιθέντος τῷ μὲν | σώματι κάλλος ἐξαιρετον, τοῖς  
 218 δὲ λόγοις πειθῶ, τοῖς δ' ἀκούουσι σύνεσιν. ἄρ'  
 οὐκ ἂν εἴποις τὸν μετανάστην τουτονί, τὸν πάντων  
 ἔρημον οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, εὐγενέστατον εἶναι, τῆς  
 πρὸς θεὸν συγγενείας ὄρεχθέντα καὶ σπουδάσαντα  
 μηχανῇ πάσῃ γνώριμον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ ταχ-  
 θέντα μὲν τάξιν ἀρίστην τὴν ἐν προφήταις, πιστεύ-  
 σαντα δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου  
 καὶ πάντων πατρός, καὶ βασιλέα δέ, ὡς ἔφην, παρὰ  
 τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις νομισθέντα, μήθ' ὄπλοις μήτε  
 στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὡς ἐνίοις ἔθος, λαβόντα  
 τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ χειροτονία θεοῦ τοῦ φιλαρέτου  
 τοὺς εὐσεβείας ἐραστὰς αὐτοκρατέσιν ἐξουσίαις  
 γεραίροντος ἐπ' ὠφελεία τῶν συντυγχανόντων;  
 219 οὗτος ἅπασιν ἐπηλύταις εὐγενείας ἐστὶ κανὼν, δυσ-

<sup>1</sup> The genitive of quality is unusual, if not impossible, in Greek. Mangey suggested *μεσὸς* or *ὑπόπλεως ὧν*. Perhaps *λαχῶν*.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 216-219

of the virtues, he gained with it all the other virtues, so that by those among whom he settled he was regarded as a king,<sup>a</sup> not because of the outward state which surrounded him, mere commoner that he was, but because of his greatness of soul, for his spirit was the spirit of a king. Indeed, they continued to 217  
treat him with a respect which subjects pay to a ruler, being awe-struck at the all-embracing greatness of his nature and its more than human perfection. For the society also which he sought was not the same as they sought, but oftener under inspiration another more august. Thus whenever he was possessed, everything in him changed to something better, eyes, complexion, stature, carriage, movements, voice. For the divine spirit which was breathed upon him from on high made its lodging in his soul, and invested his body with singular beauty, his voice with persuasiveness, and his hearers with understanding. Would you not say that this lone wan- 218  
derer without relatives or friends was of the highest nobility, he who craved for kinship with God and strove by every means to live in familiarity with Him, he who while ranked among the prophets, a post of such high excellence, put his trust in nothing created rather than in the Uncreated and Father of all, he who as I have said was regarded as a king by those in whose midst he settled, a sovereignty gained not with weapons, nor with mighty armies, as is the way of some, but by the election of God, the friend of virtue, who rewards the lovers of piety with imperial powers to benefit those around them? He is the stan- 219  
dard of nobility for all proselytes, who, abandoning

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxiii. 6. E.V. "Thou art a mighty prince among us." LXX βασιλεύς.

## PHILO

- γένειαν μὲν τὴν ἐξ ἀλλοκότων νόμων καὶ ἐκθέσμων ἐθῶν, ἃ λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις καὶ συνόλως ἀψύχοις ἰσοθέοις ἀπένειμε τιμὰς, καταλιποῦσι, καλὴν δ' ἀποικίαν στείλαμένοις πρὸς ἔμφυχον τῷ ὄντι καὶ ζῶσαν πολιτείαν, ἧς ἔφορος καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἀλήθεια.
- 220 XL. Ταύτην τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλεῖς ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐζήλωσαν, ἀπομαθοῦσαι μὲν ἀμαθίαν τὴν σύντροφον περὶ τιμῆς τῶν χειροκμητῶν, παιδευθεῖσαι δὲ τὴν περὶ μοναρχίας ἐπι
- 221 στήμην, ἣ μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος. Θάμαρ ἦν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας γύναιον, ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ πόλει τραφὲν πολυθέῳ γεμουσῆι ξοάνων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρυμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἐκ σκότους βαθέος ἐδυνήθη βραχεῖαν αὐγὴν ἀληθείας ἰδεῖν, θανάτου κινδύνῳ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἠτόμολησεν ὀλίγα φροντίσασα τοῦ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι καλῶς ζῆν· τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀνέφερεν ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ ἱκεσίαν τοῦ ἐνὸς
- 222 αἰτίου. καίτοι δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς ἀμφοτέροις πονηροῖς ἐν μέρει γημαμένη, κουριδίῳ μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ, τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ κατ' ἐπιδικασίας νόμον,<sup>1</sup> γενεὰν τοῦ προτέρου μὴ καταλιπόντος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκηλίδωτον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κατ' ἐπιδικασίαν νόμου (S) *et al.*

<sup>a</sup> Unless there is some independent tradition of Tamar's lineage, about which nothing is said in Gen. xxxviii. 6 ff., we must suppose that Philo assumes that, since she is not said like Rebekah and Rachel and Leah to come of the line of the patriarchs, she belonged to the idolatrous people around. On Tamar see App. p. 450.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the husband of her youth, him to whom her virginity was given. *κουριδίος*, which in § 114 was used in the ordinary sense of a wedded or lawful mate, cannot mean this here, as

the ignobility of strange laws and monstrous customs which assigned divine honours to stocks and stones and soulless things in general, have come to settle in a better land, in a commonwealth full of true life and vitality, with truth as its director and president.

XL. To this nobility not only did men beloved of 220 God aspire, but women also, who unlearnt the errors of their breeding, the ignorance which led them to honour the works of men's hands, and became schooled in the knowledge of the monarchical principle by which the world is governed. Tamar was 221 a woman from Palestinian Syria, bred in a house and city which acknowledged a multitude of gods and was full of images and wooden busts and idols in general.<sup>a</sup> But when passing, as it were, from profound darkness she was able to glimpse a little ray of truth, she deserted to the camp of piety at the risk of her life, caring little for its preservation, if it were not to be a good life. This good life she held to mean nothing else than to be the servant and suppliant of the one great Cause. Although she was married 222 to two brothers in turn, both of them wicked, to the elder as her husband in the usual way,<sup>b</sup> to the younger under the law of the duties of the next of kin,<sup>c</sup> as the elder had left no issue, she nevertheless kept her own

the second marriage was as lawful as the first. The meaning which it appears to have here is also found in *Odyssey* xv. 22, and is noted in Stephanus, though not in L. & S.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxviii. 7 f. "At Athens when a woman was left an heiress (*ἐπίκληρος*), without having a male *κύριος*, or guardian, the next of kin might claim her in marriage. This claim was called *ἐπίδικασία*" (*Dict. of Ant.*). Though this law is very different from the Hebrew law that the deceased husband's brother should marry the childless widow, they have this in common, that they deal with the right possessed by the next of kin to the woman's hand.

## PHILO

διαφυλάξασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς βίον ἴσχυσε καὶ τῆς προσ-  
ηκούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐφημίας ἐπιλαχεῖν καὶ τοῖς  
μετ' αὐτὴν ἅπασιν εὐγενείας ἀφορμὴ γενέσθαι.

ἄλλ' αὕτη μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἀλλόφυλος, ἀλλ'  
οὖν γε ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμενων  
223 ἴσως. θεράπαινοι δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐν ἐσχα-  
τιαῖς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος γεννηθεῖσαι προικίδιαι μὲν  
ἐδόθησαν γαμουμέναις ταῖς τροφίμαις, ἄξια δὲ  
[444] κριθεῖσαι | παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐνήν ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον ἐκ παλλακίδων εἰς γαμετῶν ὄνομα καὶ  
σχῆμα παρήλθον καὶ ἀντὶ θεραπαινίδων ἰσότημοι  
ταῖς δεσποίαις ὀλίγου δέω φάναι κατέστησαν  
ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀπιστότατον, πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ  
ἀξίωμα παραπεμφθεῖσαι· φθόνος γὰρ οὐκ εἰσοικί-  
ζεται σοφῶν ψυχαῖς, οὐ μὴ παρόντος κοινοπραγοῦσι  
224 τῶν ἀγαθῶν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τούτων νόθοι παῖδες γνησίων  
οὐδὲν διήνεγκαν, οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῷ γεννήσαντι—  
θαυμαστὸν γὰρ οὐδέν, εἰ τοῖς μὴ ὁμογαστρίοις ὁ  
πάντων κοινὸς πατήρ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐνοίαν παρεῖχεν—,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς μητρυαῖς· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ  
<πρὸς> προγονοὺς μῖσος ἀναιρούμεναι εἰς ἄλεκτον  
225 μεθηρμόσαντο κηδεμονίαν· οἱ δὲ προγονοὶ τῇ κατ'  
ἀντίδοσιν εὐνοίᾳ τὰς μητρυαῖς ὡς φύσει μητέρας  
ἐξετίμησαν· ἀδελφοὶ τε μέρει ἡμίσει<sup>1</sup> τοῦ γένους

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μέρει ἡμισυ (S) or μέρει τῇ μίξει *et al.*

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in the house of Laban, Mesopotamia (Gen. xxiv. 10).

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxix. 24 "Laban gave Zilpah his handmaiden unto

## ON THE VIRTUES, 222-225

life stainless and was able to win the good report which belongs to the good and to become the original source to which the nobility of all who followed her can be traced. But she, though a foreigner, was, at any rate, a free woman, of free lineage, and that perhaps of no little note. There 223 were women born beyond the Euphrates,<sup>a</sup> in the extreme parts of Babylonia, who were handmaids and were given as dowry <sup>b</sup> to the ladies of the house at their marriage. But when they had been judged worthy to pass on to the wise man's bed, the first consequence was that they passed on from mere concubinage to the name and position of wedded wives, and were treated no longer as handmaids, but as almost equal in rank to their mistresses, who, indeed, incredible as it seems, promoted them to the same dignity as themselves.<sup>c</sup> For jealousy finds no home in the souls of the wise and free from its presence they share their good things with others. Secondly, the base-born sons of the handmaids re- 224 ceived the same treatment as the legitimate, not only from the father, who might fairly be expected to show the same kindness to the children of different mothers, since his paternity extends to all alike, but also from the stepmothers. They rid themselves of hatred for the step-children and replaced it by an extraordinary regard for their interests, while the 225 step-children returned their goodwill and honoured their stepmothers as fully as if they were their natural mothers. The brothers, though reckoned as half-Leah his daughter for a hand maid to her," and so Bilhah to Rachel, v. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps "recommended them for promotion," which the ordinary sense of *παραπέμπω* = "escort" rather suggests. See Gen. xxx. 3 and 9.

## PHILO

νομισθέντες οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ στέργειν<sup>1</sup> ἀλλήλους ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον τὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν καὶ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι πάθος συναυξήσαντες καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ὑστερίζειν προσανεπλήρωσαν τοῖς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γεγονόσιν εἰς ἀρμονίαν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἡθῶν συνδραμεῖν σπουδάσαντες.

226 XLI. "Ἐτι τοίνυν μεταδοτέον αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ὡς ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀλλότριον, εὐγένειαν, ὑποδουμένοις; οἱ δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων ἐχθροὶ δικαίως <ἂν> νομισθεῖεν καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθλους καὶ τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι διδόασι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐκχειρίαν ὀλιγωρεῖν ὑγιαίνοντος <βίου καὶ> βεβαίου πεποιθήσει προγονικῆς ἀρετῆς, τῶν δ' ὅτι, κἂν ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσωσιν ἀκρότητα καλοκαγαθίας, οὐδὲν ὠφελήθησονται διὰ τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν γονέων καὶ πάπ-  
227 πων ἀνεπιλήπτων. ἦς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις βλαβερωτέρα γένοιτ' ἂν εἰσήγησις, εἰ μήτε τοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν

<sup>1</sup> At this point the important ms. F is mutilated; its reading for the remaining sections are supplied by Cohn from the ms. which he believes to be a copy of it, and indeed its twin (*gemellus*), known as Vaticanus 379.

<sup>2</sup> So or *μεταδοτέον αὐτοῖς τοῖς* in all mss. except the twin of F just mentioned, which has *τί τοίνυν μεταδοτέον τοῖς*, and this Cohn adopts and translates "what have we to do (or share "teilen") with those who," etc. But apart from the question whether the ms. evidence is weighty, this implies a use of *μεταδίδωμι* which I have never noted in Philo, who regularly follows it with the genitive. Cohn and others seem to have found a difficulty in *αὐτοῦ*, for which *λόγου* has been proposed.



## ON THE VIRTUES, 225-227

brothers by blood, did not think it enough to give a half affection to each other, but showed a twofold increase of tenderness in the love which they gave and received in return ; and the seeming defectiveness in their relationship they made good by the eagerness with which they hastened to unite both families in harmony and reciprocity of feeling.

XLI. Must we not then absolutely reject the 226  
 claims of those who assume as their own precious possession the nobility which belongs to others, who, different <sup>a</sup> from those just mentioned, might well be considered enemies of the Jewish nation and of every person in every place? Enemies of our nation, because they give their compatriots licence to put their trust in the virtue of their ancestors and despise the thought of living a sound and stedfast life. Enemies of people in general, who even if they reach the very summit of moral excellence, will not benefit thereby, if their parents and grandparents were not beyond reproach. I doubt indeed if any more mischievous 227  
 doctrine could be propounded than this, that avenging justice will not follow the children of good parents

<sup>a</sup> Mangey gives for *δίχα* "his exceptis," and so Cohn. But "Those who claim to be *εὐγενεῖς* because of their descent, when their conduct was not *εὐγενής* except those whose conduct was *εὐγενής*, though their descent was not, are enemies," etc., is not sense. I have not found examples in prose for the sense required here, but Aesch. *Prom.* 927 ὅσον τό τ' ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν *δίχα* is much the same.

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If the sentence had been written as a statement in the reverse form *τοῖς . . . τὸ ἀλλότριον, εὐγένειαν, ὑποδνομένοις οὐ μεταδοτέον αὐτοῦ*, it would be perfectly natural, and the form here by which *αὐτοῦ* anticipates instead of follows the noun to which it refers does not create a serious difficulty. *ἔτι τοῖνυν* as in § 85 and § 141 = "can we after this?"

## PHILO

πονηρευομένοις ἐπακολουθήσει τιμωρὸς δίκη μήτε τοῖς ἐκ πονηρῶν ἀγαθοῖς ἔψεται τιμή, τοῦ νόμου δοκιμάζοντος ἕκαστον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ συγγενῶν ἀρεταῖς ἢ κακίαις ἐπαινοῦντος ἢ κολάζοντος.

## ON THE VIRTUES, 227

if they turn to wickedness, and that honour will not be the reward of the good children of the wicked, thus contradicting the law, which assesses each person on his own merits and does not take into account the virtues or vices of his kinsmen in awarding praise or punishment.



ON REWARDS AND  
PUNISHMENTS  
(DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS)



## INTRODUCTION TO *DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS*

The treatise begins with some remarks on the scheme on which Moses constructed his law book (1-3) and how it was observed by some and disregarded by others (4-6). Coming to the main subject of the rewards for obedience and punishments for disobedience he notes that those described in the history may be classified under individuals, houses or groups, cities, countries and nations, and larger regions (7). We take the rewards to individuals and start with the less perfect Trinity, Enos, Enoch and Noah, who exemplify respectively hopefulness, repentance and justice. Hope is the motive of all human effort and hope in God is its only true form (8-13). Enos the hoper was rewarded with a name which means that he is a true man (14). Enoch's repentance is rewarded by his "transference" away from the common herd to the isolation which the converted need (15-21). Noah the just was saved from the flood and made the founder of renewed mankind (22-23). The second Trinity, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, represent the true religion which despises vanity (24-27). Abraham the *Taught* learnt to believe in God and his reward was faith (28-30). Isaac the *Self-taught* instinctively rejoiced in all God's dispensations and his reward was joy (31-35). Jacob the *Practiser* sought to see God, not merely to infer him from his works, and his reward was the vision indicated by his name of Israel (36-46) and also the spiritual qualities signified in the "numbing of the broad part" (47-48). These lessons are recapitulated (49-51). But we must not forget Moses and his fourfold reward of kingship, lawgiving, prophecy and priesthood (52-56).

We pass on to rewards to "houses." Abraham and Isaac had families which contained some unworthy members: Jacob's children alone as a body were qualified for the reward, namely the privilege of founding the twelve tribes which

## PHILO

expanded into a great nation (57-62 and 66); incidentally we may draw a philosophical lesson from the three families as types of the children or qualities shown by the three types of soul (61-65).

We then turn to the punishments of which only two examples are given in what has come down to us. First, for individuals we have Cain, whose punishment was to be ever dying, never dead, carrying on an existence from which joy and pleasure have been eliminated and in which not only permanent grief but fear of what is coming are perpetually present (67-73). For houses we have the revolt of the Levites under Korah. Their offence is described, but the story of their punishment is lost by a break in the manuscripts (74-78); for the possibilities at this point see App. p. 455.

When the discourse, as we have it, is resumed we have come to the blessings promised in the law to the righteous. The first is victory over enemies, but before discussing who these enemies are he urges the necessity of not merely hearing but carrying out the law (79-84). The enemies are of two kinds, wild beasts and men; when men become what they should be, the beasts will also be tamed and men will eschew war with each other (85-92). War will either never come or if some still are mad enough to attack, they will be routed at once, and good government will be established (93-97). The second blessing is wealth, and many passages are cited which describe the abundance that is to be (98-107). The third is long life, and to this is appended the thought that the true long life is the good life, to which God may recall the human soul even as he promises to recall the repentant exiles (108-117). These four are external blessings; for the body there is promised the exemption from disease in which the good mind can rest and think (118-126).

He then turns to punishment or curses, all of which closely follow Leviticus and Deuteronomy. The first is famine, drought and destruction of every kind of crop by nature if not by enemy (127-133), followed by all the horrors of cannibalism (134), miseries which they will be unable to escape by suicide (135-136); enslavement with all its miseries (137-140); a curse resting not only on the land and fruits but on all undertakings (141-142); bodily diseases of every kind (143-146); the terrors of war, panic, wild beasts, destruction of cities and finally utter despair (147-151). Mean-



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

while the proselytes will prosper, thus teaching the lesson that it is not race but obedience which brings salvation (152). He then descants on the sabbaths which according to Leviticus the desolate land will enjoy. It had been wronged by the neglect of the sabbatical years, and will now take its rest and then after a while may produce a better race (153-158). This reminds him of the text "She that is desolate hath many children," a saying which can be applied allegorically to the converted soul which has been deserted by its vices and brings forth virtues (159-161).

So much for the punishments, but there is also the promise of restoration to the penitent and a renewal of the national life in greater prosperity than ever (162-168); the curses will be turned upon the persecutors, who will find that their victory was transient and that the race which they despised had still a seed from which new life would spring (169-172).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΑΘΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΩΝ<sup>1</sup>

(ΚΑΙ ΑΡΩΝ)

[408]  
<sup>1</sup> I. Τῶν μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως  
λογίων τρεῖς ἰδέας εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὴν μὲν περὶ  
κοσμοποιίας, τὴν δὲ ἱστορικὴν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην νομο-  
θετικὴν. ἡ μὲν οὖν κοσμοποιία παγκάλως πᾶσα  
καὶ θεοπρεπῶς μεμήνυται, λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ  
γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ λήξασα εἰς ἀνθρώπου κατα-  
σκευῆν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀφθάρτων τελειότατος, ὁ δὲ  
θνητῶν. ἀθάνατα δὲ καὶ θνητὰ ἐν γενέσει συν-  
υφαίνων ὁ ποιητὴς εἰργάσατο τὸν κόσμον, τὰ μὲν  
γενόμενα ἡγεμονικά, τὰ δ' ὡς ὑπήκοα καὶ γενησό-  
<sup>2</sup> μενα.<sup>2</sup> τὸ δὲ ἱστορικὸν μέρος ἀναγραφὴ

<sup>1</sup> On the title see App. p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> So mss. Cohn prints τὰ μὲν [γενόμενα] <ὡς> ἡγεμονικά, τὰ  
δ' ὡς ὑπήκοα [καὶ] γενησόμενα and translates "destined the  
former to be subjects, the latter to be rulers." I can see no  
difficulty in the mss. text if translated as above. It is an  
indisputable truth that, while the heavenly bodies (in Philo's  
view) were created once for all, mortals are perpetually being  
brought into being, and indeed Philo himself often insists  
upon it in connexion with parenthood. If any correction is  
required, I should omit the somewhat pointless ὡς and pos-  
sibly change καὶ to ἀεὶ = "from time to time." But this is  
hardly necessary, for though mortals will be perpetually  
created, they were also created at the beginning. It is of

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

(AND CURSES)

I. The oracles delivered through the prophet Moses 1  
are of three kinds.<sup>a</sup> The first deals with the creation  
of the world, the second with history and the third  
with legislation. The story of the creation is told  
throughout with an excellence worthy of the divine  
subject, beginning with the genesis of Heaven and  
ending with the framing of man. For Heaven is the  
most perfect of things indestructible as man of things  
mortal, immortal and mortal being the original com-  
ponents out of which the Creator wrought the world,  
the one created then and there to take command, the  
other subject, as it were, to be also created in the  
future. The historical part is a record of 2

<sup>a</sup> The scheme here laid down is, with a slight difference of terms, identical with that given in *Mos.* ii. 46 ff. There the Pentateuch is analysed into two parts, the historical and the legislative, but the historical is divided into the creation story and the "genealogical," a term which was applied in the grammatical schools to that part of history which is concerned with particular persons, rather than with places, dates or events. See note to that passage (vol. vi. p. 606).

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course no objection to this that in § 9 he says that the necessaries for mortal subsistence were prepared from the beginning.

## PHILO

βίων ἐστὶ σπουδαίων καὶ πονηρῶν καὶ τὰ ὀρι-  
 σθέντα ἐκατέροις ἐπιτίμια καὶ γέρα ἐν ἐκάσταις  
 γενεαῖς. τοῦ δὲ νομοθετικοῦ τὸ μὲν  
 καθολικωτέραν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχει, τὸ δ' ἕτερον (τῶν  
 κατὰ) μέρος νομίμων εἰσὶν ἐντολαί· κεφάλαια μὲν<sup>1</sup>  
 δέκα, ἅπερ λέγεται κεχρησμοῦσθαι οὐ δι' ἔρμη-  
 νέως ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὑψώματι τοῦ ἀέρος σχηματιζόμενα  
 καὶ ἄρθρωσιν ἔχοντα λογικὴν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ κατ'  
 [409] <sup>3</sup> εἶδος [μέρη] διὰ τοῦ | προφήτου θεοπισθέντα. περὶ  
 ὧν ἀπάντων ὅσα καιρὸς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συν-  
 τάξεσι διεξελθὼν καὶ προσέτι τῶν ἀρετῶν ἃς  
 ἀπένειμεν εἰρήνην τε καὶ πολέμῳ μέτειμι κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀκόλουθον ἐπὶ τὰ προτεθέντα καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς  
 ἀθλα καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπιτίμια.

<sup>4</sup> Συνασκήσας γὰρ ὑψηγήσει καὶ προτροπαῖς  
 μαλακωτέραις καὶ πάλιν ἐπανατάσει καὶ νου-  
 θεσίαις ἐμβριθεστέραις τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτευο-  
 μένους ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν ὧν ἐπαιδεύθησαν ἐπίδειξιν·  
 οἱ δὲ παρελθόντες ὥσπερ εἰς ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα γυμνῆν  
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀνέφηναν εἰς ἐναργέστατον  
<sup>5</sup> ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας. εἶτα οἱ μὲν ἀθληταὶ τῷ  
 ὄντι ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκοντο μὴ ψεύσαντες τῆς ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῖς χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος τοὺς ἀλείπτας νόμους, οἱ  
 δὲ ἄνανδροι καὶ ἀγεννεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου μαλακίας  
 τὰς ψυχάς, πρὶν ἢ δυνατώτερόν τι ἀντιβιάσασθαι,  
 προκαταπίπτοντες αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλῳ θεατῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δὲ or omit.

<sup>a</sup> See on *De Virt.* 22.

<sup>b</sup> I understand this and the next section to refer to the subsequent history of the Jewish Church and nation. The

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 2-5

good and bad lives and of the sentences passed in each generation on both, rewards in one case, punishments in the other. The legislative part has two divisions, one in which the subject matter is more general, the other consisting of the ordinances of specific laws. On the one hand there are the ten heads or summaries which we are told were not delivered through a spokesman but were shaped high above in the air into the form of articulate speech : on the other the specific ordinances of the oracles given through the lips of a prophet. All these and 3 further the virtues which he assigned to peace and war<sup>a</sup> have been discussed as fully as was needful in the preceding treatises, and I now proceed in due course to the rewards and punishments which the good and the bad have respectively to expect.

After having schooled the citizens of his polity with 4 gentle instructions and exhortations and more sternly with threats and warnings he called on them to make a practical exhibition of what they had learned. They advanced as it were into the sacred arena and showed the spirit in which they would act bared ready for the contest, to the end that its sincerity might be tested beyond doubt.<sup>b</sup> Then it was found 5 that the true athletes of virtue did not disappoint the high hopes of the laws which had trained them, but the unmanly whose souls were degenerate through inbred weakness, without waiting for any stronger counter-force to overpower them, dropped down, a source of shame to themselves and derision to the Pentateuch records the laws which Moses bequeathed, the later history examples of failure or success in carrying them out. Philo, however, never works out this part, and indeed hardly ever makes any allusion to the later history. See App. p. 451.

## PHILO

6 ἐγίνοντο. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν βραβείων καὶ κηρυγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα νικῶσι δίδονται μετελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀστεφάνωτοι μόνον ἀπήεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦτταν ἐπονείδιστον ἐνδεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀργαλεωτέραν· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀθλητῶν σώματα κλίνεται ραδίως ὀρθοῦσθαι δυνάμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὅλοι βίοι πίπτουσιν, οὓς ἅπαξ ἀνατραπέντας μόλις ἔστιν ἀνεγεῖραι.

7 Τῆς δὲ προνομίας καὶ τιμῆς καὶ τούναντιον κολάσεως τάξεις ἐναρμονίους ὑφηγεῖται, κατ' ἄνδρας, κατ' οἴκους, κατὰ πόλεις, κατὰ χώρας καὶ ἔθνη, κατὰ κλίματα γῆς μεγάλα. II. πρότερον δ' ἐρευνητέον τὰ ἐπὶ τιμαῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ λυσιτελέστερα καὶ ἡδῖω πρὸς ἀκρόασιν, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντας τὴν  
8 ἔφ' ἐνὸς<sup>1</sup> ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν μέρει. φασὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον Τριπτόλεμον Ἑλληνας ἀρθέντα μετέωρον ἐπὶ πτηνῶν δρακόντων τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατασπείρειν, ἀντὶ βαλανηφαγίας ἢ ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἡμερον καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἡδίστην τροφήν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὡσπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς εἰωθόσι τερατεύεσθαι μύθου πλάσμα ὃν ἀπολελείφθω σοφιστείαν πρὸ σοφίας καὶ γοη-  
9 τείαν πρὸ ἀληθείας ἐπιτετηδευκόσιν. ἐξ ἀρχῆς

<sup>1</sup> One mss. ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου, which Cohn adopts. Some others either ἀφ' or ἐφ' ἐκάστου, omitting ἐνὸς. See note b.

<sup>a</sup> See note on the lacuna, § 78, App. p. 455.

<sup>b</sup> The translation takes τὴν as agreeing with τιμὴν understood out of τιμαῖς. Cohn's ἀφ' for ἐφ' would presumably make it agree with ἀρχήν, though his translation "we will make a beginning with the honours for single persons" points rather to the other. The translation also takes τῶν ἐν μέρει as partitive genitive after ἐκάστου, but it might pos-

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 6-9

spectators. And therefore, while the former enjoyed 6  
the prizes and laudatory announcements and all the  
other tributes which are paid to the victors, the latter  
departed not only without a crown but with the  
stigma of a defeat more grievous than those sustained  
in the gymnastic contests. For there the athletes'  
bodies are brought low but can easily stand once  
more erect. Here it is whole lives that fall, which  
once overthrown can hardly be raised up again.

The lessons which he gives on privilege, and 7  
honour, and on the other hand on punishments  
fall under heads arranged in an orderly series, in-  
dividual men, families, cities, countries and nations,  
vast regions of the earth.<sup>a</sup> II. We must first ex-  
amine what is said of honours, as both more profitable  
and more pleasant to listen to, and we will begin  
with the honour paid to each single and particular  
individual.<sup>b</sup> The Greeks say that the primeval hero 8  
Triptolemus <sup>c</sup> borne aloft on winged dragons sowed  
the corn-seed over the whole earth, in order that in  
place of the acorns which had been their food the  
human race might have a kindly,<sup>d</sup> wholesome and  
exceedingly palatable means of nourishment. Now  
this story like many others is a mythical fable and  
may be left to those whose way is to deal in mar-  
vels and cultivate sophistry rather than wisdom,  
and imposture rather than truth. For from the 9

sibly refer to the "heads," individuals, families, etc., *i.e.* begin  
among the particular heads with the honours to individuals.

<sup>c</sup> For Triptolemus see App. p. 451. The sequence of  
thought in these two sections is "just as God" (not a man  
as the pagan myth says) "provided the corn-seed for the  
body at the beginning, so he provided the seed of hope for  
the soul."

<sup>d</sup> See note on the use of ἡμερος, § 60 App. p. 454.

## PHILO

- γὰρ ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν ὄλων ὁ θεὸς προεντρεπίσατο τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις ἐκ γῆς ἀνεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ᾧ τὴν ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς γηγενέσιν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχαρίζετο. τῶν γὰρ θείων ἔργων οὐδὲν ὀψίγονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα τέχναις καὶ ἐπιμελείαις ὕστερον τελειοῦσθαι δοκεῖ, πάντως ἡμίεργα προϋπόκειται προμηθεῖα
- [410] φύσεως, ὡς μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὰς | μαθήσεις ἀνα-  
 10 μνήσεις εἶναι λέγεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπερκείσθω· τὴν δ' ἀναγκαιοτάτην σπορὰν ἐπισκεπτέον, ἣν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν ἀρετώσῃ χώρα κατ-  
 11 ἔσπειρε, λογικῇ ψυχῇ. ταύτης δ' ὁ πρῶτος σπόρος ἐστὶν ἐλπίς, ἡ πηγὴ τῶν βίων. ἐλπίδι μὲν γὰρ κέρδους ὁ χρηματιστὴς ἐπαποδύεται πολυτρόποις ἰδέαις πορισμῶν, ἐλπίδι δ' ὁ ναύκληρος εὐπλοίας περαιούται τὰ μακρὰ πελάγη· ἐλπίδι δόξης καὶ ὁ φιλότιμος αἰρεῖται πολιτείαν καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν· δι' ἐλπίδα βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων καὶ οἱ τῶν σωματῶν ἀσκηταὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας διαθλοῦσιν· ἐλπίς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοὺς ἀρετῆς ζηλωτὰς ἐπαίρει φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς ταύτῃ δυνησομένους καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἰδεῖν καὶ δρᾶσαι τὰ ἀκόλουθα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρίστων βίων θεωρητικοῦ τε καὶ πρακτικοῦ τελείωσιν, ὧν  
 12 ὁ τυχῶν εὐθύς ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐλπίδος σπέρματα ἢ ὡς πολέμοιοι τὰς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κακίας ζωπυρήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ ὡς ἀμελεῖς τέχνης τῆς γεωργικῆς ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας διέφθειραν.

<sup>a</sup> With ἀκόλουθα *sc.* φύσει from above—a regular Stoic expression in Philo. This is better, I think, than to take it with πρὸς = “agreeing with” or “tending to.” So Mangey



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 9-12

beginning at the first creation of all things God provided beforehand, raised from the earth, what was necessary for all living animals and particularly for the human race to which he granted sovereignty over all earthborn creatures. For none of the works of God is of later birth, but all that seems to be accomplished by human skill and industry in later time was there by the foresight of nature lying ready half made, thus justifying the saying that learning is recollection. But this is not 10 a point for our present discussion. What we have to consider is that most vital form of seed which the Creator sowed in the rich soil of the rational soul. And the first thing thus sown is hope, the fountain 11 head of the lives which we lead. In hope of gain the tradesman arms himself for the manifold forms of money getting. In hope of a successful voyage the skipper crosses the wide open seas. In hope of glory the ambitious man chooses political life and the charge of public affairs. The hope of prizes and crowns moves the training athlete to endure the contests of the arena. The hope of happiness incites also the devotees of virtue to study wisdom, believing that thus they will be able to discern the nature of all that exists and to act in accordance with nature <sup>a</sup> and so bring to their fullness the best types of life, the contemplative and the practical, which necessarily make their possessor a happy man. Now some have acted 12 like enemies in war to the germs of hope, and consumed them in the fire of the vices which they have kindled in the soul or like careless husbandmen have through their laziness allowed them to perish. There

“consentanea perfectioni,” and so apparently Cohn. With this one would expect the dative rather than *πρός*.

## PHILO

- εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ δόξαντες ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, φιλαυτίαν πρὸ  
 εὐσεβείας ἀσπασάμενοι, τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κατορθω-  
 13 μάτων ἀνέθηκαν ἑαυτοῖς. ὑπαίτιοι δὲ πάντες  
 οὗτοι· μόνος δ' ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος ὁ ἀναθεὶς τὴν  
 ἐλπίδα θεῷ καὶ ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῆς καὶ  
 ὡς ἀσινῆ καὶ ἀδιάφθορον ἱκανῶ μόνῳ διαφυλάξαι.  
 τί οὖν ἄθλον πρόκειται τῷ στεφανωθέντι τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα τοῦτον; τὸ μικτὸν ἐκ θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου  
 φύσεως ζῶον, ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐθ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὐθ'  
 14 ἕτερος ὢν τοῦ λαβόντος. τοῦτον Χαλδαῖοι μὲν  
 προσονομάζουσιν Ἐνώς, εἰς δ' Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν  
 μεταληφθεὶς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα τοῦ  
 γένους ἴδιον λαβών, ἄθλον ἐξαίρετον, ὡς δέον  
 μηδένα νομίζεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἂν  
 μὴ ἐπὶ θεὸν ἐλπίζῃ.
- 15 III. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδος νίκην ἀγῶν δευτέρως  
 ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾧ μετάνοια ἀγωνίζεται τῆς μὲν ἀτρέπτου  
 καὶ ἀμεταβλήτου καὶ αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ ὡσαύτως  
 ἐχούσης φύσεως ἀμοιρήσασα, ζήλῳ δὲ καὶ ἔρωτι  
 τοῦ βελτίονος ἐξαίφνης κατασχεθεῖσα καὶ σπεύ-  
 δουσα καταλιπεῖν μὲν τὴν σύντροφον πλεονεξίαν  
 καὶ ἀδικίαν, μεθορμίσασθαι δὲ πρὸς σωφροσύνην

<sup>a</sup> The next sections, largely repeating *De Abr.* 7 ff., are based on Gen. iv. 26, where the E.V. "He called his name Enosh (A.V. Enos), then began men to call on the name of the Lord God," appears in the LXX "He called his name Enos, he hoped to call on the name of the Lord God." Enos being a Hebrew word for man, Philo argues that his reward for his hopefulness was that he received the name of man, i.e. the true man. See note on *De Abr.* 8.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. not a man, and therefore not either himself or any other, but "man," all that true manhood includes.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 12-15

are others who seem to have guarded them well but have clung to self-assertion rather than piety and regarded themselves as the source of their achievements. All these are to be condemned. <sup>a</sup>He alone **13** is worthy of approval who sets his hope on God both as the source to which his coming into existence itself is due and as the sole power which can keep him free from harm and destruction. What reward then is offered to the winner of the Crown in this contest? It is that living being whose nature is a mixture of the mortal and immortal, even man, not the same man nor yet another than the winner.<sup>b</sup> The Hebrew **14** name for him is Enos, and Enos translated into Greek is *ἄνθρωπος* or man. He takes the name which is common to the whole race as his personal name, a reward of special distinction implying that no one should be thought a man at all who does not set his hope on God.

III. After the victory of hope comes the second **15** contest, in which repentance is the champion.<sup>c</sup> Repentance has nothing of that nature which remains ever in the same stay without movement or change. It has been suddenly possessed with an ardent yearning for betterment, eager to leave its inbred covetousness and injustice and come over to sober-

<sup>c</sup> Philo's treatment of the story of Enoch is much the same as in the parallel passage *De Abr.* 17 ff. It is based on Gen. v. 24 LXX as quoted in § 16 "he was not found because God transferred him." E.V. "He was not, for God took him." The chief differences are that the first part of the verse "Enoch was well pleasing to God," is not noted here, and that "transferred," which in *De Abr.* is interpreted as a change from vice to virtue, is here taken more as "removed from familiar surroundings." As to the interpretation given in Heb. xi. 5 "he was translated that he should not see death," see note in vol. vi. p. 597.

## PHILO

- 16 καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς. ἄθλα καὶ ταύτη προτίθεται διττὰ ἐπὶ διττοῖς κατορθώμασιν, ἀπολείπει μὲν αἰσchrῶν, αἰρέσει δὲ τῶν καλλίστων.
- [411] τὰ δ' ἄθλα ἀποικία καὶ μόνωσις· φησὶ | γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰς μὲν σώματος νεωτεροποιίας ἀποδράντος, αὐτομολήσαντος δὲ πρὸς ψυχὴν· “οὐχ εὐρίσκετο,
- 17 διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.” αἰνίττεται δὲ ἐναργῶς διὰ μὲν τῆς μεταθέσεως τὴν ἀποικίαν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ μὴ εὐρίσκεσθαι τὴν μόνωσιν· καὶ σφόδρα οἰκείως· εἰ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἄνθρωπος καταπεφρόνηκεν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἐπάνω τῶν παθῶν ἀψευδῶς ἔγνωκεν ἴστασθαι, [πρὸς] μετανάστασιν εὐτρεπιζέσθω φεύγων ἀμεταστρεπτι καὶ
- 18 οἶκον καὶ πατρίδα καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους. ὄλκον γὰρ ἢ συνήθεια, ὡς δέος εἶναι, μὴ καταμείνας ἀλῶ τοσοῦτοις ἐν κύκλῳ φίλτροις ἀποληφθεῖς, ὧν αἱ φαντασίαι τὴν ἐγγενομένην ἡσυχίαν τῶν αἰσchrῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων πάλιν ἀνακινήσουσι καὶ μνήμας ἐναύλους, ὧν ἐπιλελήσθαι καλὸν ἦν, ἐνεργάσσονται.
- 19 πολλοὶ γοῦν ἀποδημίαις ἐσωφρονίσθησαν, ἔρωτας ἐκμανεῖς καὶ λελυττηκότας θεραπευθέντες, οὐκέτι τῆς ὄψεως χορηγεῖν δυναμένης τῷ πάθει τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰ εἶδωλα· τῇ γὰρ διαζεύξει κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνειν ἀνάγκη, μηκέτι παρόντος ὑφ' οὗ διερεθισθή-
- 20 σεται. κἂν μεταναστῆ μέντοι, τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θιάσους ἐκτρεπέσθω μόνωσιν ἀσπαζόμενος· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ὅμοια τοῖς οἴκοι δίκτυα, οἷς ἀνάγκη περιπεῖρεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἀπροοράτως ἔχοντας καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν χαίροντας ὁμιλίαις· ὅ τι γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> An odd word to connect with δίκτυα, which seems to be used exclusively of nets, and though stakes might be set round the nets, the reference must be to the way in which

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 16-20

ness and justice and the other virtues. Repentance 16 also has two rewards assigned to its double achievement in abandoning the base and choosing the excellent. These rewards are a new home and a life of solitude ; for he says of him who fled from the insurgency of the body to join the forces of the soul " he was not found because God transferred him." By " transference " he clearly signifies the new home 17 and by " not found " the life of solitude. Very pertinently too. For if a man has really come to despise pleasures and desires and resolved in all sincerity to take his stand above the passions, he must prepare for a change of abode and flee from home and country and kinsfolk and friends without a backward glance. For great is the attraction of familiarity. 18 We may fear that if he stays he may be cut off and captured by all the love charms which surround him and will call up visions to stir again the base practices which had lain dormant and create vivid memories of what it were well to have forgotten. Many persons 19 in fact have come to a wiser mind by leaving their country and have been cured of their wild and frenzied cravings when sight can no longer minister to passion the images of pleasure. For when thus dissociated it must needs be treading on empty space since the stimulus of pleasure is no longer present. And further if he changes his abode he 20 must shun great gatherings and welcome solitude. It cannot but be that even in the foreign soil there are many snares like those at home on which the shortsighted who delight in large assemblies are sure to be pinned. For a crowd is another name for every-

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the prey would naturally be caught. Perhaps read *περιπλέκεσθαι*.

## PHILO

ἄτακτον, ἄκοσμον, πλημμυλές, ὑπαίτιον, τοῦτο ὄχλος ἐστί, μεθ' οὗ φέρεσθαι τῷ νῦν πρῶτον μετ-  
 21 οικισαμένῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλυσιτελέστατον. ὡς γὰρ τοῖς ἐκ νόσου μακρᾶς ἀρχομένοις ἀναλαμβάνειν εὐάλωτά πῶς ἐστί τὰ σώματα μήπω πρὸς ἰσχὺν παγέντα κραταιοτέραν, οὕτως καὶ οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ νῦν πρῶτον ὑγιαίνεται πλαδῶσιν οἱ νοεροὶ τόνοι καὶ κραδαίνονται, ὡς δέος εἶναι, μὴ πάλιν ἐξορμήσῃ τὸ πάθος, ὃ πέφυκεν ἐκ τῆς τῶν εἰκαιότερων συνδιαιτήσεως ἀνερεθίζεσθαι.

22 IV. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς μετανοίας ἀγῶνας τρίτα ἄθλα τίθεται δικαιοσύνης, ἧς ὁ μεταποιησάμενος λαμβάνει γέρα διττά, τὸ μὲν σωτήριον ἐν κοινῇ φθορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ταμίαν καὶ φύλακα γενέσθαι ἐξ ἐκάστης ζώων ἰδέας ἡρμοσμένων ζυγάδην εἰς  
 23 δευτέραν γένεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπολλυμένης. ἠξίωσε γὰρ ὁ ποιητῆς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τέλος γενέσθαι τῆς κατακρίτου γενεᾶς καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀνυπαιτίου, διδάσκων τοὺς ἀπρονόητον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον λέγοντας ἔργοις, οὐ ῥήμασιν, ὅτι καθ' ὃν εἰσηγήσατο νόμον ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν ὄλων αἱ σύμπασαι μυριάδες  
 [412] τῶν ἀνθρώπων | μετὰ ἀδικίας ζήσασαι ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄξιοι δικαιοσύνη συμβιοῦντος. τοῦτον Ἐλλήγες μὲν Δευκαλίωνα, Χαλδαῖοι δὲ Νῶε ἐπονομάζουσι, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν συνέβη γενέσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> Or taking τρεῖς with μετοικισαμένῳ “now for the first time come to settle in the land of virtue.”

<sup>b</sup> The treatment of Noah here is very brief compared with *De Abr.* 27-46. In particular nothing is said of the point insisted on there as ranking him with the inferior Trinity,

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 20-23

thing that is disorderly, indecorous, discordant, culpable, and to be carried along with the crowd is very detrimental to the virtue<sup>a</sup> of the settler on his first arrival. For just as when men are beginning to 21 recover from a long illness their bodies easily give way because their increase of strength is not yet firmly established, so in those whose soul is now for the first time becoming healthy the sinews of the mind are flabby and rickety, so that there is a danger that passion, which is naturally stimulated by association with the thoughtless, may break out afresh.

IV. After the contest won by repentance come a 22 third set of rewards offered for justice.<sup>b</sup> He who attains to justice receives two prizes, one his salvation amid the general destruction, the other his appointment to take into his charge and protection the specimens of each kind of living creatures, mated in couples to produce a second creation to make good the annihilation of the first. For the 23 Creator judged it right that the same man should end the condemned and begin the innocent generation, thereby teaching by deeds and not by words those who deny that the world is governed by providence, that, under the law which He established in universal nature, all the myriads of the human race, if they have lived a life of injustice, are not worth a single man who has not departed from justice. This person, in whose day the great deluge took place, is called by the Greeks Deucalion and by the Hebrews Noah.<sup>c</sup>

namely, that though just and perfect, he was perfect only "in his generation," *i.e.* as compared with his contemporaries. But the two "rewards" here mentioned are noted there as his rewards (*ibid.* 46).

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 451.

## PHILO

- 24 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τριάδα ταύτην ἑτέρα τριάς ὀσιωτέρα καὶ θεοφιλεστέρα γίνεται μιᾶς συγγενείας· πατὴρ γὰρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ υἰωνὸς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἔσπευσαν τοῦ βίου <τὸ> τῷ ποιητῇ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων εὐαρεστηῆσαι, καταφρονήσαντες μὲν ὧν θαυμάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί, δόξης καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῆς, γελάσαντες δὲ καὶ τῦφον, ὃς ἐκ ψευσμάτων αἰεὶ συνυφαίνεται καὶ καταποικίλλεται πρὸς ἀπάτην
- 25 τῶν ὀρώντων. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γόης, ὁ τὰ ἄψυχα θεοπλαστῶν, ὁ μέγας καὶ δυσάλωτος ἐπιτειχισμὸς, οὗ τοῖς σοφίσμασι καὶ στρατηγήμασι πᾶσα πόλις δελεάζεται προκαταλαμβάνοντος τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχάς· εἰσοικισάμενος γὰρ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἄχρι γήρως ἐνίδρυται, πλὴν οἷς ἂν ὁ θεὸς αὐγὴν ἐπιλάμπῃ<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀληθεία δὲ τῦφος ἀντίπαλον, ὃς μόλις μὲν ἀλλ' οὖν κραταιοτέρα δυνάμει νικηθεὶς
- 26 ὑπεξίσταται. τουτὶ δὲ τὸ γένος ἀριθμῶ μὲν ἐστὶν ὀλίγον, δυνάμει δὲ πολὺ καὶ μέγιστον, ὡς μηδ' ἅπαντα τὸν τῆς γῆς κύκλον αὐτὸ χωρεῖν δύνασθαι, φθάνειν δ' εἰς οὐρανόν· ἡμέρω γὰρ τοῦ θεωρεῖν καὶ τοῖς θείοις αἰεὶ συνεῖναι κατεσχημένον ἀλέκτω, τὴν ὀρατὴν ὅταν ἅπασαν φύσιν διερευνήσῃ καὶ διεξέλθῃ, πρὸς τὴν ἀσώματον καὶ νοητὴν εὐθύς μέτεισιν, οὐδεμίαν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπαγόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον μεθιέμενον, τῷ δ' ὁ κέκληται νοῦς καὶ λογισμὸς μόνω προσχρῶμενον.
- 27 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμὼν τῆς θεοφιλοῦς δόξης, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῦφου μεθορμισάμενος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, διδακτικῇ χρῆσάμενος ἀρετῇ πρὸς τελείωσιν, ἄθλον αἴρεται

<sup>1</sup> The transitive use of ἐπιλάμπω is quoted elsewhere only as either later or poetical, and the fact that the eighteen examples from Philo noted in the index, including § 37 326



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 24-27

After this Trinity comes another Trinity holier and 24  
dearer to God, all belonging to one family. For it  
was a Father, a Son, a Grandson who pressed forward  
to the same goal of life, namely to be well pleasing to  
the Maker and Father of all. All that the multitudes  
admire, glory, wealth and pleasure, they despised,  
and laughed at vanity, that web woven of lies and  
cunningly devised to deceive the beholders. Vanity 25  
is the impostor who deifies lifeless objects, the great  
and formidable engine of aggression who with its  
scheming and trickery beguiles every city and loses  
no time in capturing the souls of the young. For it  
sets up its abode in them and remains there from  
earliest infancy to old age, save in the cases where  
God illumines them with a ray of truth—truth the  
antagonist of vanity who retreats before it though  
slowly and reluctantly vanquished by its superior  
power. This <sup>a</sup> kind is few in number but in power so 26  
manifold and mighty that it cannot be contained  
by the whole compass of the earth but reaches to  
Heaven, possessed with an intense longing to contem-  
plate and for ever be in the company of things  
divine. After investigating the whole realm of the  
visible to its very end, it straightway proceeds to the  
immaterial and conceptual, not availing itself of any  
of the senses but casting aside all the irrational part  
of the soul and employing only the part which is  
called mind and reasoning. The leader in adopting 27  
the godly creed, who first passed over from vanity to  
truth, came to his consummation by virtue gained  
through instruction, and he received for his reward

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* those who despise vanity.

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below, are all intransitive rouses suspicion. Cohn proposes  
*ἐπιπέμψη*.

## PHILO

τὴν πρὸς θεὸν πίστιν· τῷ δὲ κατ' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως αὐτήκοον καὶ αὐτομαθῆ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον κτησαμένῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν βραβεῖον ἀναδίδοται χαρὰ· τοῦ δ' ἀσκητοῦ καὶ πόνοις ἀτρύτοις καὶ ἀκαμπέσι<sup>1</sup> περιποιησαμένου τὸ καλὸν ὁ στέφανός ἐστιν ὄρασις θεοῦ. τοῦ δὲ πιστεύειν θεῷ καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου χαίρειν καὶ ὄραν αἰεὶ τὸ ὄν τί ἂν ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ σεμνότερον ἐπινοήσεί τις;

- 28 V. Ἐπαυγασώμεθα δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀκριβέστερον, μὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι παραχθέντες, ἀλλὰ διακύψαντες εἴσω καὶ ταῖς διανοαῖς ἐμβαθύναντες. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν ἀψευδῶς πιστεύσας θεῷ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα γενητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ κατείληφεν ἀπιστίαν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μέγα πνεόντων,
- [413] λογισμοῦ τε καὶ αἰσθήσεως· ἐκατέρῳ γὰρ ἴδιον | συνέδριον καὶ δικαστήριον προσκεκλήρωται, τῷ μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν νοητῶν ἐπίσκεψιν, οὐ τέλος ἀλήθεια, τῇ δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀρατῶν, οὐ τέλος δόξα.
- 29 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνίδρυτον καὶ πεπλανημένον τῆς δόξης ἐνθένδε δῆλον· εἰκόσι γὰρ καὶ πιθανοῖς ἐφορμεί· πᾶσα δὲ εἰκῶν ὁμοιότητι εὐπαραγῶγῳ ψεύδεται τὸ ἀρχέτυπον. ὃ τε ἡγεμῶν αἰσθήσεως λογισμὸς τὰς κρίσεις οἰόμενος ἀνήφθαι τῶν νοητῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχόντων ἀλίσκεται περὶ πολλὰ κηραίνων· ὅταν γὰρ μυρίοις οὔσι τοῖς κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> Cohn holding that ἀκαμπής is an unsuitable epithet to πόνος would insert a noun such as ἤθεισι. It is not unsuitable, I think, if πόνος is thought of as "toiling" rather than toil. In *De Mig.* 223 it is applied to πόνος παιδείας.

<sup>a</sup> For Abraham's faith cf. *De Abr.* 262 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Both in form and accent εἰκόσι may be dative of εἰκῶν or

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 27-29

belief in God.<sup>a</sup> To him who happily gifted by nature has acquired the virtue which listens to no other than itself, learns from no other, is taught by no other, the prize awarded is joy. The man of practice who by unwearied and unswerving labour has made the excellent his own has for his crown the vision of God. Belief in God, life-long joy, the perpetual vision of the Existent—what can anyone conceive more profitable or more august than these?

V. But let us look into each of them more carefully 28 and not be led away by mere names but with a peering eye explore the inwardness of their full meaning. Now he who has sincerely believed in God has learned to disbelieve in all else, all that is created only to perish, beginning with the forces which so loudly assert themselves in him, reasoning and sense-perception. Each of these has assigned to it a council chamber and tribunal, where they conduct their inspections, one into the conceptual, the other into the visible, one with truth, the other with opinion for its goal. The instability and waywardness of opinion 29 is obvious in that it is based on likelihoods<sup>b</sup> and plausibilities, and every likeness by its deceptive resemblance falsifies the original. Reason, sense-perception's master, who thinks itself appointed to judge things conceptual, which ever continue in the same stay, is found to be in sore trouble on many points. For when it comes to grapple with the vast

*εἰκός*. The evidently intentional connexion with *εἰκῶν* points to the former, but on the other hand *εἰκότα καὶ πιθανά* is a frequent collocation with Philo, e.g. *στοχασταὶ . . . πιθανῶν καὶ εἰκότων*, *Spec. Leg.* i. 61. I imagine that Philo did not consciously parse it here, but thought of it as coming from both or either. Cohn translating *εἰκόσι* by "Vermutungen" and *εἰκῶν* by "Bild" entirely obscures the point.

## PHILO

- μέρος ποιῆται τὰς προσβολάς, ἀδυνατεῖ καὶ ἐξασθενεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύει καθάπερ ἀθλητῆς ὑπὸ
- 30 ῥώμης δυνατωτέρας ἐκτραχηλιζόμενος. ὅτῳ δ' ἐξεγένετο πάντα μὲν σώματα πάντα δ' ἀσώματα ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερκύψαι, μόνῳ δ' ἐπερείσασθαι καὶ στηρίσασθαι θεῷ μετ' ἰσχυρογνώμονος λογισμοῦ καὶ ἀκλινοῦς καὶ βεβαιοτάτης πίστεως, εὐδαίμων καὶ τρισμακάριος οὗτος ὡς ἀληθῶς.
- 31 Μετὰ πίστιν προῦκειτο τῷ περιπεποιημένῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἀκονιτὶ καὶ νικηφορήσαντι χαρὰ τὸ ἀθλον· ὠνομάσθη γάρ, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἶποιεν Ἕλληνες, γέλως, ὡς δὲ Χαλδαῖοι προσονομάζουσιν, Ἰσαάκ· γέλως δὲ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος φανερόν
- 32 ἀφανοῦς τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν χαρᾶς ἐστι. χαρὰν δὲ τῶν εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστην καὶ καλλίστην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὑφ' ἧς ὅλη δι' ὅλων εὐθυμίας ἢ ψυχῆ καταπίμπλαται, γεγηθυῖα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν συμπάντων θεῷ, γεγηθυῖα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄνευ κακίας δρωμένοις, κὰν μὴ τυγχάνῃ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὄντα, ὡς καλῶς γινομένοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ
- 33 τῶν ὅλων διαμονῇ. καθάπερ γὰρ ἰατρὸς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις καὶ ἐπισφαλέσι νόσοις ἔστιν ὅτε μέρη σωμάτων ἀφαιρεῖ στοχαζόμενος τῆς τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ὑγείας, κυβερνήτης δὲ χειμῶνων ἐπιγινόμενων ἀποφορτίζεται προνοία τῆς τῶν ἐμπλεόντων σωτηρίας, καὶ μέμψις οὔτε τῷ ἰατρῷ τῆς πηρώσεως οὔτε τῷ κυβερνήτῃ τῆς ἀποβολῆς ἔπεται, τοῦναντίον δὲ ἔπαινος ἑκατέρῳ τὸ συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ
- 34 ἡδέος ἰδόντι καὶ κατορθώσαντι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν αἰεὶ θαυμαστόν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πραττομένοις ἅπασιν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκουσίου κακίας εὐαρεστητέον ἐξετάζοντας, οὐκ εἰ

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 29-34

number of particular subjects it becomes incapable, grows exhausted and collapses like an athlete flung prostrate by superior power. But he to whom it is given to gaze and soar beyond not only material but all immaterial things, and to take God for his sole stay and support with a reasonableness whose resolution falters not, and a faith unswerving and securely founded, will be a truly happy and thrice blessed man.

After faith comes the reward set aside for the victorious champion who gained his virtue through nature and without a struggle. That reward is joy. For his name was in our speech "laughter" but as the Hebrews call it Isaac. Laughter is the outward and bodily sign of the unseen joy in the mind, and joy is in fact the best and noblest of the higher emotions. By it the soul is filled through and through with cheerfulness, rejoicing in the Father and Maker of all, rejoicing too in all His doings in which evil has no place, even though they do not conduce to its own pleasure, rejoicing because they are done for good and serve to preserve all that exists. A physician treating serious and dangerous diseases sometimes amputates parts of the body, hoping to secure the health of the rest, and the pilot in stormy weather casts cargo overboard to provide for the safety of the passengers. No blame attaches either to the physician for the mutilation or to the pilot for sacrifice of property, but on the contrary both are praised for looking to what is profitable rather than what is pleasant, and for having done the right thing. In the same way we must always reverence all-embracing nature and acquiesce cheerfully in its actions in the universe, free as they are from all intention of evil.

## PHILO

- τι μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἰδίαν συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ τρόπον  
 εὐνόμου πόλεως ὁ κόσμος ἡνιοχεῖται τε καὶ κυ-  
 35 βερνάται σωτηρίως. μακάριος οὖν καὶ οὗτος οὐχ  
 ἦττον τοῦ προτέρου, συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας  
 ἀμέτοχος ὢν, ἄλυπόν τε καὶ ἄφοβον ζῶν καρπού-  
 μενος, αὐστηροῦ καὶ αὐχμηροῦ βίου μηδ' ὄναρ  
 [414] προσαιψάμενος διὰ τὸ | πάντα τόπον τῆς ψυχῆς  
 αὐτοῦ χαρᾶ προκατέχεσθαι.
- 36 VI. Μετὰ τὸν αὐτομαθῆ δὲ καὶ πλουσία χρησά-  
 μενον τῇ φύσει τρίτος ὁ ἀσκητῆς τελειοῦται λαμ-  
 βάνων γέρας ἐξαιρέτον ὄρασιν θεοῦ. πάντων γὰρ  
 τῶν παρὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐφαιψάμενος καὶ  
 πᾶσιν ἐνομιλήσας οὐ παρέργως καὶ μηδένα πόνον  
 ἢ κίνδυνον παρελθών, εἴ πως δυνηθείη τὴν ἀξι-  
 έραστον ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατῆσαι, παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ  
 γένει πολὺν ζόφον ἀνεύρισκε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ  
 καὶ ἀέρα καὶ αἰθέρα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ αἰθῆρ καὶ ὁ σύμπας  
 οὐρανὸς νυκτὸς αὐτῷ παρέιχε φαντασίαν, ἐπειδὴ  
 πᾶσα ἡ αἰσθητὴ φύσις ἀόριστος· τὸ δ' ἀόριστον  
 37 ἀδελφὸν σκότους καὶ συγγενές. καταμύσας οὖν  
 τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν αἰῶνα τοῖς  
 συνεχέσιν ἄθλοις μόγις<sup>1</sup> ἤρξατο διοίγνυσθαι καὶ τὴν  
 ἐπισκιάσασαν διακρίνειν καὶ ἀποβάλλειν ἀχλύν·  
 καθαρωτέρα γὰρ αἰθέρος ἀσώματος ἐξαίφνης  
 ἐπιλάμψασα αὐγὴ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἀνέφηνεν

<sup>1</sup> So mss. Cohn corrects to μόλις. I do not know why, unless through observation of Philo's usage. μόγις="with difficulty," often associated with βραδέως, etc., is a very suitable word here. See Lexicon.

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<sup>a</sup> I understand this sentence to mean that *prima facie* ether and heaven are of a higher nature than earth, air, and water. Still, since they also belong to αἰσθητὴ φύσις, they

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## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 34-37

For the question before us is not whether the events are pleasant to us personally but whether the chariot and ship of the universe is guided in safety like a well-ordered state. So he too is blessed no less than 35 the first named. He never knows gloom and depression ; his days are passed in happy freedom from fears and grief ; the hardships and squalor of life never touch him even in his dreams, because every spot in his soul is already tenanted by joy.

VI. After the self-taught, the man enriched by his 36 natural gifts, the third to reach perfection is the Man of Practice who receives for his special reward the vision of God. For having been in touch with every side of human life and in no half-hearted familiarity with them all, and having shirked no toil or danger if thereby he might descry the truth, a quest well worthy of such love, he found mortal kind set in deep darkness spread over earth and water and the lower air and ether too. For ether and the whole Heaven wore to his eyes the semblance of night, since the whole realm of sense is without defining bounds, and the indefinite is close akin, even brother, to darkness.<sup>a</sup> In his former years the eyes of his soul had been 37 closed, but by means of continuous striving he began though slowly to open them and to break up and throw off the mist which overshadowed him. For a beam purer than ether<sup>b</sup> and incorporeal suddenly shone upon him and revealed the conceptual world

share the indefiniteness and darkness which is only removed by νοητά, which as he says of the "ideas," *Spec. Leg.* i. 48, "give order to the disordered, definiteness to the indefinite, bounds to the boundless, shape to the shapeless." See on § 46 (App. p. 452).

<sup>b</sup> In face of what has just been said of ether, Cohn must surely be wrong in translating "a purer beam of ether."

## PHILO

- 38 ἡνιοχούμενον. ὁ δ' ἡνίοχος ἀκράτῳ φέγγει περι-  
λαμπόμενος ἐν κύκλῳ δυσόρατος καὶ δυστόπαστος  
ἦν, ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ὄψεως ἀμυδρουμένης· ἡ  
δέ, καίτοι πολλοῦ ῥέοντος εἰς αὐτὴν πυρός, ἀντεῖχεν  
39 ἔρωτι ἐκτόπῳ τοῦ θεάσασθαι. γνήσιον δὲ ἕμερον  
καὶ πόθον ἰδὼν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ σωτὴρ ἠλέησε καὶ  
κράτος δούς τῇ τῆς ὄψεως προσβολῇ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
θέας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε, καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν χωρῆσαι  
γενητὴν καὶ θνητὴν φύσιν, οὐχὶ τῆς ὅ ἐστιν ἐμ-  
40 φαινούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὅτι ἔστιν. ἐκείνο μὲν γάρ,  
ὁ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κρεῖττον καὶ μονάδος πρεσβύτερον  
καὶ ἐνὸς εἰλικρινέστερον, ἀμήχανον ὑφ' ἑτέρου  
θεωρεῖσθαι τινος, διότι μόνῳ θέμις αὐτῷ ὑφ'  
ἑαυτοῦ καταλαμβάνεσθαι.

- VII. Τὸ δ' ὅτι ἔστιν, ὑπάρξεως ὀνόματι<sup>1</sup> κατα-  
ληπτὸν ὄν, ἢ οὐ πάντες ἢ οὐχ ὁδῶ τῇ βελτίονι  
καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀντικρυς ἀπεφάναντο  
μηδ' ὄλως εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, οἱ δὲ ἐνεδόιασαν ἐπαμφο-  
τερίσαντες ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἔστιν εἴτε  
μή, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔθει μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῶ τὰς περὶ  
ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ κομίσαντες ἐννοίας παρὰ τῶν  
τρεφόντων ἔδοξαν εὐστόχως εὐσεβεῖν δεισιδαιμονία  
41 τὴν εὐσέβειαν χαράζαντες. εἰ δὲ τινες καὶ δι'  
ἐπιστήμης ἴσχυσαν φαντασιωθῆναι τὸν ποιητὴν

<sup>1</sup> So all mss. except A, which has *ὄνομα*, which is accepted by Cohn. His translation "the only comprehensible idea (or conception, Begriff) of His subsistence" I cannot fit into the Greek, or indeed give any meaning to *ὄνομα*.

<sup>a</sup> Cohn translates "resisted the longing," but is this sense? Cf. *Spec. Leg.* i. 37, 38, of the same subject, "the soul's eye is dazzled by the flashing of the rays. Yet it does not therefore faintheartedly give up the task."



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 38-41

ruled by its charioteer. That charioteer, ringed as he 38  
was with beams of undiluted light, was beyond his  
sight or conjecture, for the eye was darkened by the  
dazzling beams. Yet in spite of the fiery stream  
which flooded it, his sight held its own in its unutter-  
able longing to behold the vision.<sup>a</sup> The Father and 39  
Saviour perceiving the sincerity of his yearning in pity  
gave power to the penetration of his eyesight and  
did not grudge to grant him the vision of Himself  
in so far as it was possible for mortal and created  
nature to contain it. Yet the vision only showed  
that He is, not what He is. For this which is better 40  
than the good, more venerable than the monad,  
purer than the unit, cannot be discerned by anyone  
else; to God alone is it permitted to apprehend  
God.

VII. Now the fact that He is, which can be appre-  
hended under the name of His subsistence, is not  
apprehended by all or at any rate not in the best  
way. Some distinctly deny that there is such a thing  
as the Godhead. Others hesitate and fluctuate as  
though unable to state whether there is or not.  
Others whose notions about the subsistence of God  
are derived through habit rather than thinking from  
those who brought them up, believe themselves to  
have successfully attained to religion yet have left  
on it the imprint of superstition.<sup>b</sup> Others again who 41  
have had the strength through knowledge to envisage

<sup>b</sup> For the argument in these two sections *cf. Spec. Leg.* i. 33 ff., and note giving reference to other authors, vol. vii. p. 616. The statement of it given in *Leg. All.* iii. 97-99 resembles this still more closely, as those who gain the knowledge of God from creation are compared as here with those who have a higher inspiration, though the example there is Moses, not Jacob.

## PHILO

καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντός, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο  
κάτωθεν ἄνω προῆλθον. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς εὖνομον  
πόλιν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον παρελθόντες καὶ θεασάμενοι  
γῆν μὲν ἐστῶσαν<sup>1</sup> ὄρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, σπαρτῶν  
καὶ δένδρων καὶ καρπῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ παντοίων ζώων  
[415] | ἀνάπλεων, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἀνακεχυμένα πελάγη καὶ  
λίμνας καὶ ποταμοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς τε καὶ χειμάρρους,  
καὶ αἴερος καὶ πνευμάτων εὐκρασίας, καὶ τῶν  
ἐτησίων ὥρων τὰς ἐναρμονίους μεταβολάς, καὶ  
ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην πλάνητάς τε καὶ  
ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν ἐν  
τάξεσι μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας στρατιᾶς ἡρμουςμένον,  
42 κόσμον ἀληθινὸν ἐν κόσμῳ περιπολοῦντα, θαυ-  
μάσαντες καὶ καταπλαγέντες εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθον  
ἀκόλουθοι τοῖς φανείσιν, ὅτι ἄρα τοσαῦτα κάλλη  
καὶ οὕτως ὑπερβάλλουσα τάξις οὐκ ἀπαυτομα-  
τισθέντα γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινος δημιουργοῦ  
κοσμοποιοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πρόνοιαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι  
νόμος γὰρ φύσεως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸ πεποιηκὸς τοῦ  
43 γεγονότος. ἀλλ' οὗτοί γε οἱ θεσπέσιοι  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διενηνοχότες, ὅπερ ἔφην, κάτωθεν  
ἄνω προῆλθον οἷα διὰ τινος οὐρανοῦ κλίμακος,  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰκότι λογισμῶ στοχασάμενοι τὸν  
δημιουργόν. εἰ δέ τινες ἐδυνήθησαν αὐτὸν ἐξ  
ἑαυτοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἑτέρῳ μηδενὶ χρησάμενοι λο-  
γισμῶ συνεργῶ πρὸς τὴν θέαν, ἐν ὁσίοις καὶ  
γνησίοις θεραπευταῖς καὶ θεοφιλέσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς  
44 ἀναγραφέσθωσαν. τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ Χαλδαῖστί μὲν

<sup>1</sup> So mss. Cohn following Mangey ἀρετώσαν. But cf. *De Cher.* 26 (of earth) ἡ δὲ μόνη τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἐστῶσα  
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## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 41-44

the Maker and Ruler of all have in the common phrase advanced from down to up. Entering the world as into a well-ordered city they have beheld the earth standing fast, highland and lowland full of sown crops and trees and fruits and all kinds of living creatures to boot; also spread over its surface, seas and lakes and rivers both spring fed and winter torrents. They have seen too the air and breezes so happily tempered, the yearly seasons changing in harmonious order, and over all the sun and moon, planets and fixed stars, the whole heaven and heaven's host, line upon line, a true universe in itself revolving within the universe. Struck with admiration and 42 astonishment they arrived at a conception according with what they beheld, that surely all these beauties and this transcendent order has not come into being automatically but by the handiwork of an architect and world maker; also that there must be a providence, for it is a law of nature that a maker should take care of what has been made. These 43

no doubt are truly admirable persons and superior to the other classes. They have as I said advanced from down to up by a sort of heavenly ladder and by reason and reflection<sup>a</sup> happily inferred the Creator from His works. But those, if such there be, who have had the power to apprehend Him through Himself without the co-operation of any reasoning process to lead them to the sight, must be recorded as holy and genuine worshippers and friends of God in very truth. In their company is he who in the Hebrew is 44

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "by a probable (or reasonable) calculation," *cf. De Dec. 40 εἰκότι μᾶλλον δ' ἀληθεῖ λογισμῶ.*

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*παγίως ἐστία πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόμασται.* Here it is quite to the point as an antithesis to *περιπολοῦντα οὐρανόν.*

## PHILO

προσαγορευόμενος Ἰσραήλ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ὄρων  
 θεόν, οὐχ οἴός ἐστιν ὁ θεός—τοῦτο γὰρ ἀμήχανον,  
 ὡς ἔφη—, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔστιν, οὐ παρ' ἑτέρου τινός  
 μαθῶν, οὐχὶ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐχὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν,  
 οὐχὶ τῶν ὅσα στοιχεῖα ἢ συγκρίματα θνητά τε  
 αὐτὸ καὶ ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνου μετα-  
 κληθεὶς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπαρξίν ἀναφῆναι θελήσαντος  
 45 ἰκέτη. πῶς δ' ἢ προσβολὴ γέγονεν, ἄξιον διὰ  
 τινος εἰκόνοσ ἰδεῖν. τὸν αἰσθητὸν τοῦτον ἥλιον μὴ  
 ἑτέρῳ τινὶ θεωροῦμεν ἢ ἡλίῳ; τὰ δὲ ἄστρα μὴ  
 τισιν ἄλλοις ἢ ἀστροῖς θεωροῦμεν; καὶ συνόλως  
 τὸ φῶς ἂρ' οὐ φωτὶ βλέπεται; τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ  
 τρόπον καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ φέγγος ὦν δι' αὐτοῦ  
 μόνου θεωρεῖται, μηδενὸς ἄλλου συνεργούντος ἢ  
 δυναμένου συνεργῆσαι πρὸς τὴν εἰλικρινῆ κατάληψιν  
 46 τῆς ὑπαρξεως αὐτοῦ. στοχασταὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν γεγονότων τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ γεννητὴν τῶν ὄλων  
 σπεύδοντες θεωρεῖν, ὁμοίον τι δρῶντες τοῖς ἀπὸ  
 δυάδος μονάδος φύσιν ἐρευνῶσι, δέον ἔμπαλιν ἀπὸ  
 μονάδος—ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὕτη—δυσάδα σκοπεῖν· ἀλήθειαν  
 δὲ μετῴσιν οἱ τὸν θεὸν θεῶ φαντασιωθέντες,  
 47 φωτὶ φῶς. VIII. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον  
 ἄθλον εἶρηται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λαμβάνει βραβεῖον  
 ὁ ἀσκητῆς λεχθῆναι μὲν οὐκ εὐφημον, νοηθῆναι δὲ  
 ἄριστον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ τὸ βραβεῖον πλάτους νάρκη

<sup>a</sup> Or very possibly (as Cohn) "having had his name changed" (from Jacob to Israel), referring of course to Gen. xxxii. 28 "thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel," cf. *De Mut.* 81. But see App. p. 452.

<sup>b</sup> I understand *ιδίαν*, which Cohn ignores, to mean that His existence is to be distinguished from all other existences, and to give something of the sense in which we speak of a personal God.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 44-47

called Israel but in our tongue the God-seer who sees not His real nature, for that, as I said, is impossible—but that He is. And this knowledge he has gained not from any other source, not from things on earth or things in Heaven, not from the elements or combinations of elements mortal or immortal, but at the summons<sup>a</sup> of Him alone who has willed to reveal His existence as a person<sup>b</sup> to the suppliant. How this access has been obtained may be well seen through an illustration. Do we behold the sun which sense perceives by any other thing than the sun, or the stars by any others than the stars, and in general is not light seen by light? In the same way God too is His own brightness and is discerned through Himself alone, without anything co-operating or being able to co-operate in giving a perfect apprehension of His existence. They then do but make a happy guess, who are at pains to discern the Uncreated, and Creator of all from His creation, and are on the same footing as those who try to trace the nature of the monad from the dyad, whereas observation of the dyad should begin with the monad which is the starting-point.<sup>c</sup> The seekers for truth are those who envisage God through God, light through light.

VIII. So much for his chief reward. But besides all this the Practiser receives a prize with an ill-sounding name but excellent when we consider its meaning.<sup>d</sup> This prize is symbolically

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Som.* ii. 70, where the monad is equated to the maker and the dyad to the thing made. See App. p. 452.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxxii. 25. Cf. *De Som.* i. 130, where the same phrase "ill-sounding name" is used and the same interpretation given. For the LXX "the broad part of the thigh was numbed" the R.V. has "the hollow of his thigh was strained" (A.V. "out of joint").

## PHILO

- [416] συμβολικῶς· ἀλαζονεία μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπεροψία | διὰ  
 τοῦ πλάτους ἐμφαίνεται, χεομένης τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἄμετρον ἐφ' ἃ μὴ δεῖ χύσιν, διὰ δὲ τῆς νάρκης  
 μετεώρου καὶ πεφυσημένου πράγματος, οἴσεως,  
 48 συστολή. σύμφορον δὲ οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς τὸ κεχα-  
 λασμένον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῶν ὀρμῶν ἀνακοπήναί τε  
 καὶ ναρκῆσαι παρεθὲν τοὺς πνευματικούς τόνους,  
 ἢ ἡ τῶν παθῶν ἄμετρος ἰσχὺς ἐξασθενήσασα  
 πλάτος ἐμπαράσχη ψυχῆς τῷ βελτίονι μέρει.
- 49 Προσεξεταστέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἰκειότατον ἐκάστω  
 τῶν τριῶν ἀπενεμήθη τὸ ἄθλον. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ  
 διδασκαλίας τελειωθέντι πίστις, ἐπειδὴ τὸν μαν-  
 θάνοντα πιστεῦσαι δεῖ τῷ διδάσκοντι περὶ ὧν  
 ὑφηγεῖται· δύσκολον γάρ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδύνατον  
 50 ἀπιστοῦντα παιδεύεσθαι. τῷ δὲ κατ' εὐμοιρίαν  
 φύσεως ἐπ' ἀρετὴν φθάσαντι χαρὰ· χαρτὸν γὰρ ἡ  
 εὐφυῖα καὶ τὰ φύσεως δῶρα, τῆς διανοίας εὐθιξίαις  
 καὶ εὐσκόποις ἐπιβολαῖς προσγανουμένης, ἐν αἷς  
 ἀπόνως εὐρίσκει τὰ ζητούμενα, καθάπερ ὑποβολέως  
 ἔνδοθεν ὑπηχούντος· ἡ γὰρ σύντομος τῶν ἀπορου-  
 51 μένων εὐρεσις χαρτὸν. τῷ δὲ δι' ἀσκήσεως περι-  
 ποιησαμένῳ φρόνησιν ὄρασις· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν  
 νεότητι πρακτικὸν βίον ὁ ἐν γήρα θεωρητικὸς βίος  
 ἄριστος καὶ ἱερώτατος, ὃν οἶα κυβερνήτην παρα-  
 πέμψας ἐπὶ πρύμναν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισε τοὺς οἴακας  
 ὡς ἱκανῶ πηδαλιουχεῖν τὰ ἐπίγεια· χωρὶς γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> Or more accurately "currents of spirit force." Cf. *Quis Rerum* 242, where the πνευματικοὶ τόνοι are the ligaments which keep bodies in cohesion. See note there for some references, to which add *De Aet.* 125, where hard stones are said to decompose when their ἕξις or cohesion weakens, "ἕξις being a πνευματικὸς τόνος which though hard to loosen is not unbreakable." Cohn gives for it here "geistige Spann-

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 47-51

called the "numbing of the broad part." By the "broad part" arrogance and pride are suggested, since the soul spreads itself inordinately in the wrong direction; by "numbing," the contraction of the conceit which lifts itself on high and puffs itself out. And nothing is so profitable as that the laxity and free play of the appetites should be hampered and numbed with their vitalizing forces <sup>a</sup> paralysed so that the inordinate strength of the passions may be exhausted and thus provide a breadth in which the better part of the soul may expand. 48

A further question for consideration is the special suitability of the reward assigned to each of the three. Faith for him who was perfected through teaching, since the learner must believe the instructions of his teacher: to educate a disbeliever is difficult or rather impossible. Joy for him who through the happiness of his natural endowments arrives at virtue. For good abilities and natural gifts are a matter for rejoicing. The mind exults in the facility of its apprehension and the felicity of the processes <sup>b</sup> by which it discovers what it seeks without labour, as though dictated by an inward prompter. For to find the solution of difficulties quickly must bring joy. Vision for him who attains wisdom through practice. For after the active life of youth the contemplative life of old age is the best and most sacred—, that life which God sends to the stern like a helmsman and entrusts the rudder into its hands as well fitted to steer the course of earthly things. For without con-

kraft," Mangey "animi spiritus." As stated in the note to *Quis Rerum* 242, πνεῦμα, τόπος and ἕξις are almost convertible terms. But the application of them here to moral or spiritual life is unusual.

<sup>b</sup> Or "applications."

## PHILO

θεωρίας ἐπιστημονικῆς οὐδὲν τῶν πραττομένων καλόν.

- 52 IX. Ἐνὸς ἔτι μνησθεῖς ἀνδρός, στοχαζόμενος τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῶν λόγων τρέψομαι. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξῆς στεφανωθείς ἐκηρύχθη· λέγω δὲ ἱεροὺς οὐ τοὺς παρὰ πολλοῖς νομιζομένους—ἀνίεροι γὰρ οὗτοί γε βίαις καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ ἀδικίαις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω τιμωριῶν γέρα καὶ τιμὰς προτείνοντες—, ἀλλ' οὓς ἡ ψυχὴ πέφυκε διαθλεῖν, φρονήσει μὲν ἡλιθιότητα καὶ πανουργίαν ἐλαύνουσα, σωφροσύνη δὲ ἀσωτίαν καὶ φειδωλίαν, ἀνδρεία δὲ θρασύτητα καὶ δειλίαν, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς τὰς ἀντιθέτους κακίας, αἱ μὴθ' ἑαυταῖς μῆτε ἄλλαις συμφέρονται.<sup>1</sup>
- 53 πᾶσαι μὲν οὖν αἱ ἀρεταὶ παρθένοι, καλλιστεύει δὲ ὡς ἐν χορῶ παραλαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ εὐσέβεια, ἣν ἐκληρώσατο διαφερόντως ὁ θεολόγος Μωυσῆς, δι' ἣν μετὰ μυρίων ἄλλων, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς γραφεῖσι περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου μεμῆνυται, τεττάρων ἄθλων ἐξαιρέτων τυγχάνει, [τυχῶν] βασιλείας, νομοθεσίας, προφητείας, ἀρχιερωσύνης.
- 54 βασιλεύς τε γὰρ γέγονεν, οὐκ ἔθει τῷ καθεστῶτι  
[417] μετὰ | στρατιᾶς τε καὶ ὄπλων ναυτικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς καὶ ἰππικῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> So mss. Cohn reads *συμφέρονσι* and translates (ignoring the feminine of *ἄλλαις*) "are of no use either to themselves or to others." So too Mangey "neque sibi ipsis neque aliis prosunt." I see little or no point in the remark. On the other hand οὐ συμφέρονται = "do not agree with" gives an excellent sense. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 88, where *δειλία* and *θράσος* are called antagonistic (*μαχόμενα*) passions. The battle of the virtues against the vices is assisted by the disunion of the latter.



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 51-54

temptation and the knowledge which it gives no activity attains excellence.<sup>a</sup>

IX. One other man I will mention and then, as I 52 wish to avoid prolixity, proceed to the next part of the subject. This man is he who in the sacred contests one after the other was proclaimed the winner of the crown. By sacred contests I do not mean those which men regard as such<sup>b</sup>; they are unholy since they offer instead of the utmost penalties honours and crowns to violence, outrage and injustice. I mean those which the soul has to fight out, wielding successfully wisdom against folly and knavery, moderation against profligacy and miserliness, courage against rashness and cowardice, and the other virtues against the opposite<sup>c</sup> vices which are at variance with one another<sup>d</sup> and with other vices too. Now all 53 the virtues are virgins, but the fairest among them all, the acknowledged queen of the dance, is piety, which Moses, the teacher of divine lore, in a special degree had for his own, and through it gained among a multitude of other gifts, which have been described in the treatises dealing with his life, four special rewards, the offices of king, legislator, prophet and high priest.<sup>e</sup> For he did not become king in the ordinary 54 way by the aid of troops and weapons or of the might of ships and infantry and cavalry. It was God who

<sup>a</sup> On §§ 49-51 see App. p. 453.

<sup>b</sup> For this often repeated remark about the "sacred" games cf. *e.g.* *De Agr.* 113.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* opposite to the virtues, but perhaps better "antithetical" "opposed to each other," as the three pairs of vices all fall under this head.

<sup>d</sup> Or "to themselves," but *ἐαυτ-* is often used reciprocally, and this best suits the sense, as I understand it. See note 1.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *Mos.* ii. 3, where the scheme here summarized, on which the whole book is based, is laid down.

## PHILO

χειροτονηθεὶς ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ὃς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνειργάσατο τὴν ἐκουσίον αἴρεσιν. ἄναυδος γὰρ καὶ ἀκτῆμων καὶ ἀχρήματος μόνος οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν ἀνεγράφη, πρὸ τοῦ τυφλοῦ τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον ἀσπασάμενος καί, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, τὸν θεοῦ κλῆρον ἰδίαν  
 55 οὐσίαν ὑπολαμβάνων. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς γίνεται καὶ νομοθέτης· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα προστάττειν καὶ ἀπαγορεύειν· νόμος δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἕτερον ἢ λόγος προστάττων ἃ χρῆ καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ἃ μὴ χρῆ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἄδηλον τὸ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ συμφέρον—ἀγνοία γὰρ πολλάκις κελεύομεν ἃ μὴ δεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύομεν ἃ δεῖ πράττειν—, οἰκείον ἦν τρίτον λαβεῖν, προφητείαν, εἰς τὸ ἄπταιστον,—ἐρμηνεὺς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης ἔνδοθεν ὑπηχοῦντος τὰ λεκτέα τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 56 παρὰ θεῷ δ' οὐδὲν ὑπαίτιον,<sup>1</sup>—τέταρτον δ' ἀρχιερωσύνην, δι' ἧς προφητεύων ἐπιστημονικῶς θεραπεύσει τὸ ὄν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων κατορθούντων μὲν εὐχαριστίας, εἰ δὲ διαμαρτάνοιεν, εὐχὰς καὶ ἰκεσίας ἰλασκόμενος ποιήσεται. ταῦτα μᾶς ὄντα ἰδέας ἀλληλουχεῖν ὀφείλει τοῖς ἀρμονίας δεσμοῖς ἐνωθέντα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn puts a full stop after ὑπαίτιον. But the accusative ἀρχιερωσύνην shows that the construction after οἰκείον ἦν λαβεῖν is continued and ἐρμηνεὺς . . . ὑπαίτιον is parenthetical.

<sup>a</sup> The thought seems to be as in *Spec. Ileg.* iv. 157, that the divine election is somehow compatible with free choice by the people.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Ex. iv. 10. Moses says "I am a stammerer (?) (*ισχνόφωνος*) and slow of tongue."

<sup>c</sup> The translation assumes that κλῆρον θεοῦ alludes to "the

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 54-56

appointed him by the free judgement of his subjects, God who created in them the willingness to choose him as their sovereign.<sup>a</sup> Of him alone we read that without the gifts of speech<sup>b</sup> or possessions or money he was made a king, he who eschewed the blind wealth and embraced that which has eyes to see, and, as we may say without reserve, held that all he owned was to have God for his heritage.<sup>c</sup> This same person was 55 also a lawgiver. For a king must enjoin and forbid and a law is nothing else but a pronouncement enjoining what ought to be done and forbidding what ought not.<sup>d</sup> But in both cases there is uncertainty as to what is profitable, since through ignorance we often enjoin what should not be done and forbid what should be done, and therefore it was meet that he should receive a third gift of prophecy to keep his feet from stumbling. For the prophet is the interpreter of God who prompts from within what he should say, and with God nothing is in fault. Meet 56 also<sup>e</sup> that he should have the fourth office of chief priesthood to enable him armed with prophetic knowledge to worship the Self-existent, and offer up thanksgivings for his subjects when they do well and prayers and supplications for propitiation when they do amiss. All these are one in kind; they should co-exist united with bonds of harmony and be found

Lord is thy portion," addressed to Levi. But the phrase is very strange. Possibly "the portion which God gave him," but this again is strange as well as feeble. Mangey's "quidquid deus possidet" seems to me even less satisfactory, while Cohn's "das Erbe Gottes" tells us nothing. I understand τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν to mean "his personal possessions."

<sup>a</sup> On the definition of νόμος see App. p. 454.

<sup>e</sup> The construction with οἰκεῖον ἦν λαβεῖν continues, see note 1.

## PHILO

ἐξετάζεσθαι, ὡς ὁ γέ τινος τῶν τεττάρων ὑπερίζων ἀτελής εἰς ἡγεμονίαν, χωλὴν ἀνημμένος κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν.

- 57 X. "Ἄλις μὲν δὴ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα τιθεμένων ἄθλων· τίθεται δὲ καὶ ὅλοις οἴκοις καὶ πολυανθρώποις συγγενείαις. αὐτίκα τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς διανεμηθέντος ἰσάριθμοι ταῖς φυλαῖς εἰσιν ἡγεμόνες, οὐ μόνον μιᾶς οἰκίας ἢ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνησιωτέρας οἰκειότητος· ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ ὁμοπάτριοι πάντες· ὁ δὲ τούτων πάππος καὶ πρόπαππος σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γεγονάσιν ἀρχηγέται τοῦ
- 58 ἔθνους. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐκ τύφου μεταθέμενος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι Χαλδαϊκῆς τερθρείας ὑπεριδὼν ἔνεκα τελειότερας ὄψεως, ἦν θεασάμενος ἐλχθεῖς<sup>1</sup> ἠκολούθησε τῇ φαντασίᾳ, καθάπερ τὸν σίδηρόν φασι ὑπὸ λίθου τῆς μαγνητιδος ἔλκεσθαι, ἀντὶ σοφιστοῦ γενόμενος ἐκ διδασκαλίας σοφός, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔσχε παῖδας, ἅπαντας δὲ πλὴν ἐνὸς ὑπαιτίους, ᾧ<sup>2</sup> τὰ πείσματα τοῦ γένους
- 59 ἐκδησάμενος ἀσφαλῶς ἐνωρμίσατο. τῷ δ' υἱῷ πάλιν αὐτομαθῆ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον κτησαμένῳ φύσιν δύο συνέβη παῖδας γενέσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἄγριον καὶ ἀτίθασον, θυμοῦ γέμοντα καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ συνόλως τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον μέρος ἐπιτετειχικότα

<sup>1</sup> mss. θελχθεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> So A. The other mss. have *δς*, which Cohn follows. The dative seems to me better sense. We do not come to Isaac's history till the next sentence. The point is that Abraham's family would have failed but for this one son. We might perhaps have expected *οὐ* after *ἐκδησάμενος*, but the dative can depend on *ἐνωρμίσατο*.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 56-59

embodied in the same person, since he who falls short in any of the four is imperfectly equipped for government and the administration of public affairs which he has undertaken will limp and halt.

X. <sup>a</sup> This may suffice for the rewards set before <sup>57</sup> individual men, but houses and families of many members have theirs also. For instance the twelve tribes into which the nation was divided had the same number of chieftains connected not only by membership of the same house and family but by a still more real affinity, for they were brothers with the same father, and their grandfather and great-grandfather as well as their father were the founders of the nation. The first of these who passed from vanity to truth, <sup>58</sup> who spurned the impostures of Chaldean astrology <sup>b</sup> for the sake of the fuller spectacle which he beheld and followed the vision, drawn to it as iron is said to be drawn by the magnet, thus changed by instruction from sophist to sage, had many children, but all faulty <sup>c</sup> save one to whom he bound fast the cables of the race and there found a safe haven. That son <sup>59</sup> again endued with a nature which learned from no other teacher than itself had two sons. One was wild and indocile, brimful of fierce temper and lust, who to sum him up armed the unreasoning part of the soul

<sup>a</sup> The gist of the next four sections is that the reward to families as families only applies to Jacob's children. Neither Abraham's nor Isaac's, both of which contained degenerate members, qualified for it.

<sup>b</sup> This perhaps rather than, as Cohn, "science," as in *De Virt.* 212, where see note. Compare also the Latin use of "mathematicus" = astrologer, *Juv.* xiv. 248, and elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup> See *Gen.* xxv. 6 "Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac his son, but to the sons of his concubines he gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son." *Cf. De Mig.* 94.

## PHILO

τῷ λογικῷ, τὸν δ' ἡμερον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, καλο-  
 [418] κἀγαθίας | ἔραστην<sup>1</sup> ἰσότητός τε καὶ ἀτυφίας, ἐν  
 βελτίονι τεταγμένον τάξει, λογισμοῦ προαγωνιστήν,  
 60 ἀφροσύνης ἀντίπαλον· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρίτος τῶν  
 ἀρχηγῶν, ὁ πολύπαις τε καὶ μόνος εὐτεκνος,  
 ἀσυνῆς ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς μέρεσιν τῆς οἰκίας, οἷά τις  
 γεωργὸς εὐδαίμων ἅπασαν τὴν σπορὰν ἐπιδὼν  
 σῶον ἡμερόν τε καὶ καρποφόρον.

61 XI. Ἐχει δ' ἕκαστος τῶν τριῶν τὴν ῥητὴν διή-  
 γησιν<sup>2</sup> σύμβολον διανοίας ἀφανοῦς, ἣν ἐπισκεπτέον.  
 αὐτίκα παντὶ τῷ διδασκομένῳ συμβαίνει μετιόντι  
 πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ἀπολιπεῖν ἀμαθίαν· ἀμαθία δὲ πολύ-  
 χου· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πρῶτος λέγεται πολύπαις μὲν,  
 οὐδένα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιώσας υἷὸν αὐτοῦ χρημα-  
 τίζειν πλὴν ἑνός· τρόπον γάρ τινα καὶ ὁ μανθάνων  
 ἀποκηρύττει τὰ τῆς ἀμαθίας ἕκγονα καὶ ὡς ἐχθρὰ  
 62 καὶ δυσμενῆ παραιτεῖται. φύσει γε μὴν πάντες οἱ  
 ἄνθρωποι, πρὶν τελειωθῆναι τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγον,  
 κείμεθα ἐν μεθορίῳ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς πρὸς μη-  
 δέτερα πῶ ταλαντεύοντες· ἐπειδὴν δὲ πτερυξάμενος

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἐργάτην.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn supposes that some words have fallen out between διήγησιν and σύμβολον such as ταύτην ἔστι δὲ καὶ. But "each has the literal history as a symbol" for "has in its literal history a symbol" is perhaps not impossible Greek.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps simply "belonging to the better class." But προαγωνιστήν suggests a military metaphor. Cf. *De Virt.* 127.

<sup>b</sup> For the use of ἡμερος see App. p. 454.

<sup>c</sup> The allegory of §§ 61-65, which is only concerned with the

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 59-62

to war against the rational. The other was gentle and kindly, a lover of noble conduct, of equality and simplicity, a soldier of the better cause,<sup>a</sup> the champion of reason and antagonist of folly. This is the third <sup>60</sup> of the founders, father of many children and alone among the three blessed in them all, who met with no mishap in any part of his household, like a happy husbandman who sees his whole crop safe and sound, thriving under his hand <sup>b</sup> and bearing fruit.

XI. In each of the three the literal story is sym- <sup>61</sup> bolical of a hidden meaning which demands examination.<sup>c</sup> Thus everyone who is taught, when he passes over to knowledge, must abandon ignorance. Ignorance is multiform and therefore it is said of the first of the three that he was the father of many children but did not deem any of them worthy to be called his sons save one. For the learner may also be said to disown the offspring of ignorance and discard them, seeing their hostility and ill will. Again naturally all <sup>62</sup> we men, before the reason in us is fully grown, lie in the borderline between vice and virtue with no bias to either side. But when the mind is fully fledged

“children,” that is with the different lines of conduct shown by the three types of souls, is difficult in parts, but the general gist is as follows:

(a) The soul susceptible to teaching is under many ignorant illusions, but ultimately discards them for knowledge.

(β) The naturally-gifted soul does not at once develop its instinctive love of good, but only when it reaches maturity. But there comes a stage when its instinctive love of happiness asserts itself. Till then its “Esau” and “Jacob” are treated with impartiality. There is a certain likeness to *De Sac.* 15-16 and *Quis Rerum* 294-299. Philo did not expect much positive virtue in early life.

(γ) The soul which consolidates its natural gifts and instruction by exercise produces all the virtues.

## PHILO

ὁ νοῦς ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ πάντων αὐτῆς τῶν μερῶν  
 φαντασιωθῆ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἄφετος πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ  
 πτηνὸς ὄρμῃ τὸ συγγεγεννημένον ἀδελφὸν κακὸν  
 ὀπίσω καταλιπών, ὃ καὶ ἀποφεύγει τὴν ἐναντίαν  
 63 ὁδὸν ἀμεταστρεπτί. τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ αἰνίττεται  
 φάσκων υἱοὺς δύο γεγενῆσθαι διδύμους τῷ φύσεως  
 εὐμοίρου λαχόντι· παντὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου κατ'  
 ἀρχὰς ἅμα τῇ γενέσει κυοφορεῖ δίδυμα ἢ ψυχῇ,  
 κακόν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἐκάτερον φαντασιου-  
 μένη· μακαρίας δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονος ὅταν τύχη  
 μερίδος, ὀλκῇ μιᾷ ῥέπει πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, μήτ' ἐπὶ  
 θάτερά ποτε ταλαντεύσασα μήτ' ἐπαμφοτερίσασα  
 64 πρὸς τὸ ἰσόρροπον. ἢ δ' ἀγαθῆς μὲν φύσεως  
 ἀγαθῆς δὲ καὶ παιδεύσεως ἐπιλαχοῦσα κακ τρίτου  
 συνασκηθεῖσα τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς θεωρήμασιν, ὡς  
 μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς πλαδᾶν,<sup>1</sup> ἔγκολλα δ' εἶναι  
 καὶ ἐντετυπωμένα τὰ πάντα καθάπερ νεύροις τισὶν  
 ἐνωθέντα, κτᾶται μὲν ὑγείαν, κτᾶται δὲ δύναμιν,  
 οἷς εὐχροια μὲν ἐξ αἰδοῦς, εὐεξία δὲ καὶ κάλλος  
 65 ἐπιγίνεται. γενομένη δὲ πλήρωμα ἀρετῶν ἤδε ἢ  
 ψυχῇ διὰ τριῶν τῶν ἀρίστων, φύσεως καὶ μαθήσεως  
 καὶ ἀσκήσεως, οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καταλιποῦσα κενὸν  
 εἰς πάροδον ἄλλων, γεννᾷ τέλειον ἀριθμόν, διττὰς  
 υἱῶν ἐξάδας, ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιπλαδᾶν.



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 62-65

when it has seen and absorbed into every part of its vitality the vision of the good, it ranges freely and wings its way to reach that vision and leaves behind good's brother and birth-fellow evil, which also flies away straight on in the opposite direction.<sup>a</sup> This is 63 what underlies his saying that the possessor of a highly gifted nature was the father of twins. For the soul of every man from the first as soon as he is born bears in its womb the twins good and evil as I have said and has the vision of both before him, but, when it comes to have happiness and bliss for its lot, it inclines uniformly to the good, never swaying in the other direction nor oscillating into equilibrium between the two. Once more if the soul has received a 64 good nature, good instruction and thirdly therewith exercise in the principles of virtue, none of them fluid and superficial, but all cemented within it, firmly impressed and strung as it were into a unity, it wins health, wins power, and to these are added the fine hue of modesty and a robust and comely form.<sup>b</sup> This soul through the triple excellence of 65 nature, learning and practice becomes the plenitude of virtues, leaving no empty room within itself where other things can enter, and it engenders sons twice six in number, the perfect number, the copy and likeness of the zodiac cycle, a source of increased

<sup>a</sup> The last words are obscure. As the good is stationary, why should the evil fly away? It would be possible to take ὁ as accusative after ἀποφεύγει, i.e. the mind in flying to the good is necessarily flying from evil, but no intelligible sense can be given to τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδόν.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly he means that such health of soul leads to bodily health, or that its spiritual qualities are analogous to such bodily gifts. I do not understand the point of the "fine complexion from modesty."

## PHILO

κύκλου, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐνταῦθα βελτίωσιν. <sup>1</sup> οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀσινῆς οἶκος, ὁ τέλειος καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν ταῖς ῥηταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ἀλληγορίαις, ὃς ἔλαβεν ἄθλον, καθάπερ εἶπον, ἡγεμονίαν  
 [419] 66 τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους | φυλῶν. ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου χρόνοις εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδόντος εὐνομοὶ πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν, διδασκαλεία<sup>2</sup> φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὁσιότητος, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μεταποιήσις μεγαλοπρεπῶς διερευνᾶται.  
 67 XII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπονεμηθέντα πάλαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἄθλα κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ λέλεκται τυπωδέσπερον, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα δύναιτ' ἂν τις εὐμαρέστατα<sup>3</sup> συννοῶν. ἐξῆς δὲ τὰς προτεθείσας τοῖς πονηροῖς κολάσεις [ἐν μέρει] πάλιν ἐπισκεπτέον γενικώτερον, ἐπεὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφειν οὐ  
 68 καιρός. ἐγένετό τις κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθύς, ὅτ' οὐπω τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπλήθυνεν, ἀδελφοκτόνος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἐναγῆς, ὁ πρῶτος καθαρευ-

<sup>1</sup> Here I think the section, which Cohn places at ἐκ τοῦδε, should begin. See note *a*.

<sup>2</sup> mss. διδασκαλία (-αι or -as).

<sup>3</sup> mss. εὐμαρέστερον.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the soul here described brings blessings or has influence for good on the world around it, as the Zodiac, the greatest of the heavenly bodies (*Spec. Leg.* ii. 178, *De Som.* ii. 112), has above. What these blessings are is not stated. (They may be perhaps identical with the specific qualities assigned to the twelve tribes in *De Som.* ii. 31-36.) But it is enough that they have the perfection of twelve, which is perfect as the duplication of the first perfect number six, see *Spec. Leg.* ii. 177. On the Zodiac see App. p. 454.

At this point the allegory of the three types of soul, though alluded to incidentally in the next sentence, really ends, and  
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## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 65-68

welfare to things here below.<sup>a</sup> This is the household, which kept safe from harm, perfect and united both in the literal history and in the allegorical interpretation, received for its reward, as I have said, the chieftaincy of the tribes of the nation. From 66 this household, increased in the course of time to a great multitude, were founded flourishing and orderly cities, schools of wisdom, justice and religion, where also the rest of virtue and how to acquire it is the sublime subject of their research.

XII. We have discussed typical <sup>b</sup> examples of the 67 rewards assigned in the past to the good both individually and in common with others, from which anyone can easily discern those which have been left unnoticed. We have next to consider in their turn the punishments appointed for the wicked, but in a general way since this is not the time to describe particular cases. At the very beginning when the 68 human race had not yet multiplied arose a fratricide.<sup>c</sup> He it was who first fell under a curse, who first brought

we return to the main point, the "reward" to Jacob's family, namely the headship of the tribes which expanded into the wisest of nations.

<sup>b</sup> For *τυπωδέστερον* L. & S. (revised) gives "summarily," quoting this passage. But the examples can hardly be called a summary. The treatment, however, is the same as that which is called *γενικώτερον* below, and both words may be used loosely to express incompleteness.

<sup>c</sup> Philo's view of the Cain story, viz. that his punishment was to be always suffering the pains of dying yet never dead (*cf. De Virt.* 200), has been stated earlier in *De Fug.* 60, *De Conf.* 122, and particularly *Quod Det.* 177 f. As appears there, his scriptural basis is that Cain's death is never recorded, and that the sign which God set upon him that no one should kill him really means that the mark which distinguished him was that he never was killed. Fantastic as the explanation is, it enables Philo to bring out a fine thought.

## PHILO

ούση τῇ γῇ μίασμα προσβαλὼν ἄηθες ἀνθρωπείου  
 αἵματος, ὁ πρῶτος ἀνιείσασκε καὶ βλαστάνουσας  
 γένη ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ οἷς εὐτοκεῖ πᾶσι τεθη-  
 λυῖαν τῆς εὐτοκίας ἐπισχών, ὁ πρῶτος φθορὰν  
 γενέσει καὶ θάνατον ζωῆ καὶ πένθος χαρᾶ καὶ κακὰ  
 69 ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτειχίσας. τί ἂν οὖν παθὼν ἀξίαν  
 ἐδεδώκει δίκην, ὅς διὰ μιᾶς πράξεως οὐδὲν τῶν  
 βιαίων καὶ ἀσεβῶν παρέλιπε; ἴσως ἂν εἴποι τις·  
 ἀναιρεθεῖς. ὁ λογισμὸς οὗτος ἀνθρώπου τὸ μέγα  
 δικαστήριον οὐ βλέποντος· ἀνθρώποι μὲν γὰρ πέρασ  
 τιμωριῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὸν θάνατον, ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 70 θεῷ δικαστηρίῳ μόλις οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχή. ἐπεὶ  
 τοίνυν καινὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἔδει καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 τιμωρίαν καινὴν εὐρεθῆναι. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν αὕτη;  
 ζῆν ἀποθνήσκοντα αἰεὶ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ θάνατον  
 ἀθάνατον ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀτελεύτητον. θανάτου  
 γὰρ διττὸν εἶδος· τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸ τεθνᾶναι, ὅπερ  
 ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν <ἢ> ἀδιάφορον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀπο-  
 θνήσκειν, ὃ δὴ κακὸν πάντως καὶ ὅσῳ χρονωτέρου  
 71 βαρύτερον. πῶς οὖν ὁ θάνατος αὐτῷ συνδιακωιδιζοι,  
 σκόπει. τεττάρων ὄντων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθῶν, δυοῖν  
 μὲν περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνεστὸς ἢ μέλλον, ἡδονῆς καὶ  
 ἐπιθυμίας, δυοῖν δὲ περὶ τὸ κακὸν παρὸν ἢ προσδο-  
 κώμενον, λύπης καὶ φόβου, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ  
 ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἐξέτεμε συζυγίαν, ἵνα μηδ' ἐκ τύχης  
 ἡσθῆ ποτε ἢ ἐπιθυμῆση τινὸς ἡδέος, τὴν δὲ τοῦ  
 κακοῦ μόνην ἐνεφύτευσε εἰς λύπην εὐθυμίας ἀμιγῆ  
 72 καὶ φόβον ἄκρατον. φησὶ γάρ, ὅτι ἀρὰν ἐπηράσατο

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 68-72

the monstrous pollution of human blood upon the still pure earth, who first, when it was giving birth and growth to every kind of animals and plants and was bright with all the products of its fruitfulness, set a bar to that fruitfulness, who first armed dissolution against generation, death against life, sorrow against joy and evil against good. What then could 69 be done to him by which he would pay the penalty he deserved, he who in a single action included everything that is violent and impious? Slay him, perhaps you will say. That is a man's idea—man who has no eyes for the great court of justice,—for men think that death is the termination of punishment but in the divine court it is hardly the beginning. Since 70 then the deed was without precedent, the punishment devised had to be also without precedent. What is this punishment? That he should live for ever in a state of dying and so to speak suffer a death which is deathless and unending. For there are two kinds of death, one consists in being dead, which is something either good or indifferent, the other consists in dying and that is entirely bad, more painful because more durable. Death thus remains with him 71 perpetually; observe how that is effected. There are four passions in the soul, two concerned with the good, either at the time or in the future, that is pleasure and desire, and two concerned with evil present or expected, that is grief and fear. The pair on the good side God tore out of him by the roots so that never by any chance he should have any pleasant sensations or desire anything pleasant, and engrafted in him only the pair on the bad side, producing grief unmixed with cheerfulness and fear unrelieved. For he says that he laid a curse upon the 72

## PHILO

- [420] τῷ ἀδελφοκτόνῳ, ὡς | “ στένειν καὶ τρέμειν ” αἰεί, καὶ σημεῖον ἔθετο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸς τινος, ἵνα μὴ ἅπαξ ἀποθάνῃ, διαιωνίζῃ δέ, ὡς εἶπον, ἀποθνήσκων ἐν ἀλγηδόσι καὶ ἀνίαις καὶ συμφοραῖς ἀδιαστάτοις καί, ὃ δὴ πάντων ἀργαλεώτατον, αἰσθάνηται τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν χερσὶν ἄχθηται καὶ τὴν φορὰν τῶν μελλόντων προορώμενος μὴ δύνηται φυλάξασθαι, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκτετμημένης αὐτῷ, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων γένει κατέσπειρεν, ἵν’ ἔχοντες συμφύες παραμύθιον ἐπελαφρίζωνται τὰς
- 73 ἀνίας οἱ μὴ ἀνίατα δράσαντες. ὥσπερ οὖν τῷ συναρπασθέντι ὑπὸ χειμάρρου φοβερὸν μὲν τὸ πλησίον ῥεῦμα ᾧ κατασύρεται, φοβερώτερον δὲ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἐπιφερόμενον, ὃ τῇ μὲν βία συντόνως ἐπωθεῖ καὶ ἀλήκτως, τῇ δ’ ἐπαναστάσει μετεωριζόμενον ἐπικλύζει,<sup>1</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀνιαρὰ μὲν τὰ ἐν χερσὶν, ἀργαλεώτερα δὲ τὰ ἐκ φόβου ῥέοντα· χορηγεῖ γὰρ ὁ φόβος καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τὰ ὀδυνηρά.
- 74 XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀρισθέντα κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου γεγονότος ἀδελφοκτόνου· ὠρίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ οἰκίαις ἕτερα συνθεμέναις κοινοπραγίαν ἀμαρτημάτων. ἦσαν τινες νεωκόροι καὶ ἱερόδουλοι τὴν πυλωρῶν τεταγμένοι τάξιν· οὗτοι φρονήματος ὑποπλησθέντες ἀλόγου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπανέστησαν,
- 75 ἀξιοῦντες τὰ ἐκείνων γέρα σφετερίζεσθαι. προ-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read ἐπικλύσει.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 72-75

fratricide that he should ever "groan and tremble."<sup>a</sup> And he set a sign upon him that no man should slay him so that he should not die once but continue perpetually dying, as I have said, dying with anguish and distress and sufferings unceasing, and most grievous of all should be sensible of his own evil plight, feeling the weight of the present ills and foreseeing the onrush of those yet to come against which he could not guard. For hope had been torn from him, hope which God has sown in mankind that they should have a comforter to be part of their nature and give relief to the distress of all whose deeds are not beyond atonement. So as a man 73 carried away by a torrent dreads the stream around him in which he is swept along but dreads still more the onrush of the flood from above propelling him violently and ceaselessly, but also towering high over him and threatening to engulf him, so too the ills close at hand are painful but more grievous are those which flow from fear, fear which supplies abundance of sorrows as from a fountain.

XIII. Such are the penalties decreed against the 74 man who first committed fratricide, but there are others decreed against groups<sup>b</sup> who conspire to sin in common.<sup>c</sup> There were certain temple attendants, servitors of the sanctuary, appointed to the office of gate-keepers. These persons filled with insensate ambition rose against the priests whose privileges they claimed should belong to themselves. They 75

<sup>a</sup> So LXX Gen. iv. 12. The E.V. has "a fugitive and wanderer" (A.V. "vagabond").

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "houses" or "families." The term is extended to the Levites here, perhaps as members of a hereditary caste.

<sup>c</sup> For the story see Num. xvi. 1-35, and *cf.* Mos. ii. 174 f. and 275-282.

## PHILO

στησάμενοι δὲ τῆς συστάσεως ἡγεμόνα τὸν πρεσβύ-  
 τατον, ὃς καὶ τοῦ τολμήματος μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν  
 συναπονοηθέντων εἰσηγητῆς ἐγένετο, καταλιπόντες  
 τὰ προπύλαια καὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδύτων  
 ἐχώρουν τοὺς χρησιμοῖς ἀξιοθέντας τῆς ἱερωσύνης  
 76 μεθιστάντες. ταραχὴ μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπέιχε  
 τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν, ἅτε κινουμένων τῶν ἀκινήτων  
 καὶ παρασπονδουμένων τῶν νόμων καὶ τοῦ περὶ  
 τὸ ἱερὸν κόσμου σύγχυσιν λαμβάνοντος ὑπ' ἀταξίας  
 77 δεινῆς. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιμελητῆς καὶ προ-  
 στάτης ἠγανάκτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦθει  
 βαρυτέρῳ χρώμενος χωρὶς ὀργῆς—ἦν γὰρ καὶ τὴν  
 φύσιν ἀόργητος—λόγοις ἀναδιδάσκειν ἐπειράτο  
 μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ταχθέντας ὄρους μὴ  
 ὑπερβαίνειν μηδὲ νεωτερίζειν εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ  
 καθωσιωμένα, ὧν αἱ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐλπίδες ἐκκρέ-  
 78 μανται. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἦνυεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεκώφηντο  
 πρὸς ἅπαντα νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἠττηθέντα φιλο-  
 οικείου πάθους ἀρχιερέα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν κατα-  
 στῆσαι, τοῖς δ' ἀδελφιδοῖς ἐγχειρίσαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην,  
 δεινὸν οὐχὶ τοῦθ' ὑπελάμβανε καίπερ ὄν δεινόν,  
 [421] ἀλλ' ἐκείνο | παγχάλεπον, εἰ δόξει τῶν λογίων,  
 καθ' ἃ γέγονεν ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλογεῖν. . . .

<sup>a</sup> Presumably Korah, though there is no authority for calling him the senior. Possibly this is induced by the confederacy with the tribe of Reuben, which Philo mentions in *Mos.* ii. 175 as the *πρεσβυτάτη φυλή*, whose leader might easily be called *πρεσβύτατος*. If so, it is a slip of memory, as Korah was a Levite, not a Reubenite.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* 250, Num. xvi. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Verse 19 "Korah raised up against them all his company (E.V. all the congregation) by the door of the tabernacle of witness."



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 75-78

adopted as leader of the sedition the senior <sup>a</sup> from among them, who also with a few <sup>b</sup> fellow madmen had been the instigator of the presumptuous enterprise, and leaving the frontage and the outermost parts of the building proceeded towards the inmost sanctuary <sup>c</sup> intending to displace those to whom divine utterances had adjudged the priesthood. Naturally enough the whole multitude was greatly <sup>76</sup> disturbed. They felt that their fundamental institutions were being shaken, their laws violated, and the decent order of the holy place reduced to chaos by such alarming anarchy. All this roused the indigna- <sup>77</sup> tion of the guardian and ruler of the nation. At first very seriously, but without loss of temper, which indeed was alien to his nature, he endeavoured with words of admonition to bring them to a better mind and to refrain from transgressing the appointed limits or revolting against the sacred and hallowed institutions on which the hopes of the nation depended. But this he found was of no avail. They <sup>78</sup> were deaf to all his words, believing that in appointing his brother high priest and committing the priesthood to his nephews he had given way to family affection. He was not however greatly aggrieved at this, great grievance though it was. What he felt to be intolerable was that they should purpose <sup>d</sup> to set at nought the divine instructions under which the choice of the priests had been made. . . .<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Or "that he should be thought," which is perhaps the most natural way of taking the words, but does not agree with Philo's other version of the story. Moses was accused of having invented the divine instructions, *cf. Mos. ii. 176 and 278.*

<sup>e</sup> For the lacuna see App. p. 455.

## PHILO

- 79 <sup>1</sup>XIV. . . . μαρτυρία δὲ σαφῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνάκειται γράμμασι. λέγε<sup>2</sup> τὰς εὐχὰς πρότερον, ὡς “ εὐλογίας ” εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν. εἴαν, φησί, τὰς θείας ἐντολὰς φυλάττητε καταπειθεῖς γινόμενοι τοῖς προστάγμασι καὶ τὰ διαγορευόμενα μὴ μέχρις ἀκοῆς καταδέχησθε, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν τοῦ βίου πράξεων ἐπιτελήτε, πρῶτην δωρεὰν ἔξετε νίκην κατ’ ἐχθρῶν.
- 80 οὐ γὰρ ὑπέρογκοι καὶ βαρύτεραι τῆς τῶν χρησομένων δυνάμεως αἱ προστάξεις εἰσὶν οὐδὲ μακρὰν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀφέστηκεν, ἢ πέραν θαλάττης ἢ ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς γῆς, ὡς δεῖσθαι πολυχρονίου καὶ καματηρᾶς ἀποδημίας, οὐδ’ ἐξαίφνης ἐστείλατο τὴν ἐνθένδε εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀποικίαν, ἵνα τις μετέωρος καὶ πτηνὸς ἀρθεῖς μόλις ἐφικέσθαι τούτων δυνηθῆ· πλησίον δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐγγυτάτω, τρισὶ μέρεσι τῶν<sup>3</sup> καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνιδρυμένον, “ στόματι καὶ καρδίᾳ καὶ χερσὶ,” τροπικώτερον λόγῳ καὶ διανοίᾳ
- 81 καὶ πράξεσιν. εἴαν γὰρ οἶα τὰ βουλευόμενα τοιοῦτοι οἱ λόγοι καὶ οἶα τὰ λεγόμενα τοιαῖδε αἱ πράξεις ὦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀντακολουθῆ δεθέντα ἀρμονίας ἀλύτοις δεσμοῖς, εὐδαιμονία κρατεῖ, τουτέστιν ἡ ἀψευδестаτή σοφία καὶ φρόνησις, σοφία

<sup>1</sup> Cohn here inserts a title *Περὶ εὐχῶν καὶ εὐλογιῶν*. The mss. have no title, quite possibly, as he says, because the beginning of this part of the treatise is lost. In my view (see General Introduction, pp. xix. f.) there is really no need for a title at all. But even if there is, the only authority for the form which he adopts is that a quotation in St. John Damascene’s parallels is cited as coming from “*Philo, Περὶ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐλογιῶν*.” The words *εὐχὰς ὡς “εὐλογίας” εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν* in § 79 would point rather to *Περὶ εὐχῶν ἢτοι εὐλογιῶν*.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 79-81

XIV. . . . A clear testimony is recorded in the 79 Holy Scriptures. We will cite first <sup>a</sup> the invocations <sup>b</sup> which he is accustomed to call benedictions.<sup>c</sup> If, he says, you keep the divine commandment in obedience to his ordinances and accept his precepts, not merely to hear them but to carry them out by your life and conduct, the first boon <sup>d</sup> you will have is victory over your enemies. <sup>e</sup> For the commandments are not too 80 huge and heavy for the strength of those to whom they will apply, nor is the good far away either beyond the sea or at the end of the earth, so that it requires of you a lingering and wearisome exile, nor has it suddenly left this earth to settle in Heaven, so that one can scarce reach them though he soar on high and wing his way thither. No, it is close by, very near, firmly set in three of the parts of which each of us is constituted, mouth and heart and hand, representing in a figure respectively speech and thought and action. For if our words correspond 81 with our thoughts and intentions and our actions with our words and the three mutually follow each other, bound together with indissoluble bonds of harmony, happiness prevails and happiness is wisdom pure of all falsehood, the higher and the lower

<sup>a</sup> Or "take and read" (imperative). The form follows the usual way of citing a document in Demosthenes.

<sup>b</sup> The blessings of Deut. xxviii. are given in the LXX in the optative form "may the Lord," etc., where the E.V. has the future indicative "the Lord shall."

<sup>c</sup> *e.g.* Deut. xi. 26, xxviii. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Lev. xxvi. 7, Deut. xxviii. 1, 7.

<sup>e</sup> For the next section see Deut. xxx. 11-14; *cf. De Virt.* 183.

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<sup>2</sup> Some mss. λέγειν. Mangey λέγει, but see note *a*.

<sup>3</sup> mss. τοῖς.

## PHILO

- μὲν [γὰρ] πρὸς θεραπείαν θεοῦ, φρόνησις δὲ πρὸς  
 82 ἀνθρωπίνου βίου διοίκησιν. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν λέγεται  
 μόνον τὰ τῶν νόμων παραγγέλματα, βραχείας ἢ  
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνει· προσγενομένων δ'  
 ἀκολουθῶν καὶ ἐπομένων ἔργων ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου  
 πᾶσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ ζόφου βαθέος εἰς  
 φῶς ἀναχθέντα περιλαμφθήσεται δι' εὐκλείας καὶ  
 83 εὐφημίας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶποι καὶ τῶν φύσει  
 βασκάνων, ὅτι σοφὸν ἄρα γένος καὶ ἐπιστημονι-  
 κώτατον μόνον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ᾧ τὰς θείας παραι-  
 νέσεις ἐξεγένετο μὴ κενὰς καὶ ἐρήμους ἀπολιπεῖν  
 τῶν οἰκείων πράξεων, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι τοὺς λόγους  
 84 ἔργοις ἐπαινετοῖς; τοῦτο τὸ γένος οὐ μακρὰν  
 ἀπώκισται θεοῦ, φαντασιούμενον ἀεὶ τὰ αἰθήρια  
 κάλλη καὶ ποδηγετούμενον ὑπ' ἔρωτος οὐρανοῦ,  
 ὡς, κἂν εἰ πύθοιτό τις, ποῖον ἔθνος μέγα, προσ-  
 φυῶς ἂν τινὰς ἀποκρίνασθαι· ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν  
 ἐπήκοος<sup>1</sup> ἱεροπρεπεστάτων εὐχῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ  
 καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος κατακλήσει συνεγγίζων.  
 85 XV. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχθρῶν διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἀν-  
 θρώπων ἐκ πλεονεξίας ἐπιτηδεύσει γεγονός, τὸ δὲ  
 θηρίων ἀνευ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀλλοτριότητι χρώμενον  
 φυσικῇ, περὶ ἑκατέρου λεκτέον ἐν μέρει, καὶ πρό-  
 τερόν γε τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς φύσει πολεμίουσ θήρας·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπήκοος.

<sup>a</sup> Or if it is preferred, "wisdom and prudence." Philo has, no doubt, in mind Deut. iv. 6 "ye shall keep them and do them. For this is your wisdom and understanding" (σύνεσις).

<sup>b</sup> Deut. iv. 6 again. "They shall say 'behold this great nation is a wise and understanding (ἐπιστήμων) people.'"

<sup>c</sup> Deut. iv. 7. E.V. "What great nation is there that hath

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 81-85

wisdom,<sup>a</sup> the higher for the worship of God, the lower for the regulation of human life. Now while 82 the commandments of the laws are only on our lips our acceptance of them is little or none, but when we add thereto deeds which follow in their company, deeds shown in the whole conduct of our lives, the commandments will be as it were brought up out of the deep darkness into the light and surrounded with the brightness of good fame and good report. For 83 who, however spiteful his nature, would not admit that surely that nation alone is wise and full of knowledge<sup>b</sup> whose history has been such that it has not left the divine exhortations voided and forsaken by the actions which are akin to them, but has fulfilled the words with laudable deeds? Such a race 84 has its dwelling not far from God; it has the vision of ethereal loveliness always before its eyes, and its steps are guided by a heavenward yearning. So that if one should ask "what manner of nation is great?", others might aptly answer "a nation which has God to listen to its prayers inspired by true religion and to draw nigh when they call upon him with a clean conscience."<sup>c</sup>

XV. Enmity is of two kinds. There is the enmity 85 of men which has selfishness for its motive and is deliberately practised, and there is the enmity of wild beasts which is actuated by natural antipathy without such deliberation. Consequently each must be treated separately, taking first that of our natural a god (or God) so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is whensoever we call upon him?" Here the LXX has *ποῖον ἔθνος μέγα ᾧ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ θεὸς ἐγγίζων αὐτοῖς*, which no doubt means the same thing. But Philo takes it as a question, "What nation is great?" answered by "One which has," etc.

## PHILO

οὔτοι γὰρ οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους ἑνός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ  
 σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους δυσμενεῖς εἰσιν, οὐ  
 [422] πρὸς | ὠρισμένου χρόνου μῆκος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόριστον  
 86 καὶ ἀπερίγραφον αἰῶνα. τούτων οἱ μὲν ὡς  
 δεσπότην ἄνθρωπον δεδιότες ὑποπτήσουσιν ἐγ-  
 κότη μίσει, οἱ δὲ τολμηταὶ καὶ θρασύτεροι προ-  
 επιχειροῦσι καιροφυλακοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ἀσθενέστεροι  
 τυγχάνουσιν, ἐξ ἐνέδρας, εἰ δὲ δυνατώτεροι,  
 87 φανερώς. ἀσπονδος γὰρ καὶ ἀκήρυκτος εἰς  
 πόλεμος οὗτος, ὡς λύκοις πρὸς ἄρνας, καὶ πᾶσι  
 θηρίοις πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἐνύδροις τε καὶ  
 χερσαίοις· ὃν θνητὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς δυνατὸς καθαιρεῖν,  
 ὁ δ' ἀγένητος μόνος καθαιρεῖ, ὅταν κρίνη τινὰς  
 σωτηρίας ἀξίους, εἰρηνικοὺς μὲν τὸ ἦθος, ὁμο-  
 φροσύνην δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀσπαζομένους, οἷς  
 φθόνος ἢ συνόλως οὐκ ἐνώκησεν ἢ τάχιστα μεταν-  
 ἔστη τὰ ἴδια προφέρειν εἰς μέσον ἀγαθὰ διεγνω-  
 88 κόσιν εἰς κοινὴν μετουσίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν. εἰ γὰρ  
 ἐπιλάμψειέ ποτε τῷ βίῳ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο καὶ  
 δυνηθείημεν τὸν καιρὸν ἰδεῖν ἐκείνον, ἐν ᾧ χειροήθη  
 ποτὲ γενήσεται τὰ ἀτίθασα. πολὺ δὲ<sup>1</sup> πρότερον τὰ  
 ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ θηρία τιθασευθήσεται, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν  
 οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν· ἢ οὐχὶ εὐήθες ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅτι  
 τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς θηρίων βλάβας ἐκφευξόμεθα  
 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς δεινὴν ἀγριότητα ἀεὶ συγκρο-  
 τοῦντες; ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπελπιστέον, ὅτι ἐξημερωθέν-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πολὺ γε οἱ πολὺ γὰρ.

<sup>a</sup> Philo apparently does not contemplate a universal or complete reformation of mankind before this change in the animal world. A change of heart in some there must be

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 85-88

foes, the beasts, whose hatred is directed not towards a single city or nation but to mankind as a whole and endures not for a limited period but is age-long, without bound or limit of time. Some of these fear 86 man as their master and cringe before him yet retain a rancorous hatred, others are audacious and more venturesome and are the first to attack, lying in wait to seize their opportunity if they are weaker, openly if they are stronger. For this is the one 87 war where no quarter or truce is possible ; as wolves with lambs, so all wild beasts both on land and water are at war with all men. This war no mortal can quell ; that is done only by the Uncreated, when He judges that there are some<sup>a</sup> worthy of salvation, men of peaceful disposition who cherish brotherly affection and good fellowship, in whom envy has either found no room at all or has entered only to take its departure with all speed, because their will is to bring their private blessings into the common stock to be shared and enjoyed by all alike. Would that this good gift might shine upon 88 our life and that we might be able to see that day when savage creatures become tame and gentle. But a very necessary preliminary to this is that the wild beasts within the soul shall be tamed, and no greater boon than this can be found. For is it not foolish to suppose that we shall escape the mischief which the brutes outside us can do if we are always working up those within us to dire savagery ? Therefore we need not give up hope that when the wild before the pacification, but even then it will only mean peace between the beasts and good men. But it will be sufficiently general to shame men into a horror of war (§§ 91 f.). For the foundations of his belief in the pacification apart from the obvious Isaiah xi. 6-9 see App. p. 455.

## PHILO

- των τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἡμερωθήσεται.
- 89 τότε μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τὰ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς, ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ τίγρεις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τὰς ἀλκὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀήττητα μεταβαλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μονωτικοῦ τε καὶ μονοτρόπου πρὸς τὸ σύννομον· κακ τοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον μιμήσει τῶν ἀγελαίων ἡμερωθήσεται πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπου φαντασίαν, μηκέτι ὡς πρότερον ἀνερεθισθέντα, καταπλαγέντα δ' ὡς ἄρχοντα καὶ φύσει δεσπότην εὐλαβῶς ἔξει, ἔνια δὲ καὶ τοῦ χειροήθους ἅμα καὶ φιλοδεσπότου τῇ παραζηλώσει, καθάπερ τὰ Μελιταῖα τῶν κυνιδίων ταῖς κέρκοις μεθ' ἰλαρωτέρας
- 90 κινήσεως προσσαίνοντα.<sup>1</sup> τότε καὶ τὰ σκορπίων γένη καὶ ὄφειων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρπετῶν ἄπρακτον ἔξει τὸν ἰόν· φέρει καὶ ποταμὸς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὄμορα<sup>2</sup> τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τῆς χώρας ἀνθρωποβόρα ζῶα, τοὺς κροκοδείλους λεγομένους καὶ ποταμίους ἵππους, φέρει καὶ τὰ πελάγη μυρίας ἰδέας ἀργαλεωτάτων ζώων· παρ' οἷς ἅπασιν ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ σπουδαῖος, ἀρετὴν τιμήσαντος θεοῦ καὶ γέρας αὐτῇ παρασχόντος τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον.
- 91 XVI. Οὕτως μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ χρόνω καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. προσαίνοντα.

<sup>2</sup> So some mss. Others ὁμοῖα, which Cohn prints, but supposes that καὶ βλαβερά has fallen out, or ὁμοίως βλαβερά should be substituted. This seems quite unnecessary. I see no objection to ὄμορα to mark the proximity and therefore greater dangerousness of the river animals as compared with the marine.

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<sup>a</sup> Cohn, if I do not misjudge him, would omit τῇ and take



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 88-91

beasts within us are fully tamed the animals too will become tame and gentle. When that time comes I 89 believe that bears and lions and panthers and the Indian animals, elephants and tigers, and all others whose vigour and power are invincible, will change their life of solitariness and isolation for one of companionship, and gradually in imitation of the gregarious creatures show themselves tame when brought face to face with mankind. They will no longer as heretofore be roused to ferocity by the sight, but will be awe-struck into respectful fear of him as their natural lord and master, while others will grow gentle in emulation of the docility and affection for the master <sup>a</sup> shown for instance by the little Maltese dogs, <sup>b</sup> who express their fondness with the tails which they so cheerily wag. Then too the 90 tribes of scorpions and serpents and the other reptiles will have no use for their venom. The Egyptian river too carries man-eating creatures called crocodiles and hippopotamuses in close proximity to the inhabitants of the country, so too the seas have their multitudinous species of very formidable animals. Among all these the man of worth will move sacrosanct and inviolate because God has respected virtue and given it the privilege that none should imagine mischief against it.

XVI. Thus the age-long and natural and therefore 91

*παραζηλώσει* as a verb followed by the genitive *τοῦ χειροθήτους καὶ φιλοδεσπότου* with which he understands *ζῶον*. But there is no reason to think that *παραζηλοῦν* can govern a genitive, and *τοῦ χειροθήτους καὶ φιλοδεσπότου* is surely the neuter adjective used as an abstract noun. The verb understood is *ἡμερωθήσεται* from above and the noun *παραζηλώσει* is parallel to *μιμήσει*.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 456.

## PHILO

- φύσει καταλυθήσεται πόλεμος, ἡμερωθέντων καὶ  
 [423] μεταβαλόντων τῶν θηρίων πρὸς τὸ τιθασόν. ὁ δὲ |  
 νεώτερος καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει γενόμενος ἐκ πλεονεξίας  
 ῥαδίως διαλυθήσεται, τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς γέ μοι  
 δοκεῖ, δυσωπηθέντων, εἰ μελλήσουσιν ἀγριώτεροι  
 ζώων ἀλόγων ἐξετάζεσθαι, ὅτε τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων<sup>1</sup>  
 92 ζῆμίας καὶ βλάβας ἐκπεφύγασιν. αἴσχιστον γάρ,  
 ὡς εἰκός, φανέεται, τὰ μὲν ἰοβόλα καὶ ἀνθρωποβόρα  
 καὶ ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα ἔνσπονδα γεγενῆσθαι  
 μεταβαλόντα πρὸς εἰρήνην, τὸ δὲ ἡμερον φύσει  
 ζῶον, ἀνθρωπον, κοινωνίας καὶ ὁμοιοῦς συγγενές,  
 93 ἀσπονδεῖ φονᾶν κατὰ τῶν ὁμοίων. ἢ τὸ παράπαν  
 οὖν, φησὶν, οὐ διελεύσεται πόλεμος διὰ χώρας  
 εὐσεβῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καταρρηθήσεται καὶ συντριβή-  
 σεται πρὸς ἑαυτόν, πρὸς οἷους ἔσοιτο ὁ ἀγὼν  
 αἰσθανομένων τῶν ἀντιπάλων, ἅτε χρωμένους ἀν-  
 ανταγωνίστῳ συμμαχία τοῦ δικαίου· μεγαλοπρεπές  
 γὰρ καὶ περίσεμνον ἀρετῇ καὶ μόνη καθ' ἡσυχίαν  
 ἱκανὴ φορὰς μεγάλων ἐξευμαρίζειν κακῶν.  
 94 ἢ καὶ μεμνηότες τινὲς ἄπτωσιν ἀκαθέκτῳ καὶ  
 ἀπαρηγορήτῳ χρώμενοι τῇ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ,  
 μέχρι μὲν συνίστανται,<sup>2</sup> καταλαζονεύσονται θρασυνό-  
 μενοι, πρὸς δὲ χειρῶν ἄμιλλαν ἤκοντες αἰσθή-  
 σονται κενὸν αὐχῆμα αὐχῆσαντες, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενοι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄλλων.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps συνιστῶνται. See note c.

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. "older both in time and by (not, I think, "in") nature," cf. § 85. The fact that it is created by nature in itself makes it, as compared with the non-natural war of men against men, *πρεσβύτερος*, though it is also so as judged by time.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 91-94

primary war<sup>a</sup> will be brought to an end through the change which makes the wild beasts tame and amenable. And then its later successor whose source is selfishness and its method deliberate will be easily settled, because men, I believe, will take shame to think that they should prove to be more savage than the irrational animals, when they have escaped all danger of injury or mischief from them. For surely it will seem a deep disgrace that while 92 venomous and man-eating brutes and creatures without a sense of fellowship or companionship have become placable and have been won over to a peaceful disposition, man, a creature naturally gentle and kindly, in whom the sense of fellowship and amity is ingrained, should implacably seek the life of his own kind. Either, then, as he says, the war 93 will not pass through the land of the godly at all,<sup>b</sup> but will dissolve and fall to pieces of itself when the enemy perceives the nature of their opponents, that they have in justice an irresistible ally. For virtue is majestic and august and can unaided and silently allay the onsets of evils however great. Or 94 if some fanatics whose lust for war defies restraint or remonstrance come careering to attack, till they are actually engaged,<sup>c</sup> they will be full of arrogance and bluster, but when they have come to a trial of blows they will find that their talk has been an idle boast. Win they cannot. Forced back by your

<sup>b</sup> Quoted almost verbatim from Lev. xxvi. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Or "while they are coming to close quarters," which should be the meaning if the indicative is kept (see note 2). *μέχρι* = "until," referring to the future, is followed by the subjunctive, generally with, but sometimes without, *ἄν*.

## PHILO

νικᾶν· ῥώμη γὰρ ἀντιβιασθέντες κραταιοτέρα φεύ-  
 ζονται προτροπάδην πρὸς πεντάδων ἑκατοντάδες  
 καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδων μυριάδες, πολλαῖς ὁδοῖς οἱ  
 95 κατὰ μίαν ἐπελθόντες. ἔνιοι δέ, μηδὲ διώκοντος  
 μηδενὸς ὅτι μὴ φόβου, τὰ νῶτα τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις εἰς  
 βολὰς εὐσκόπους ἐπιστρέψουσιν, ὡς εὐμάρειαν<sup>1</sup>  
 εἶναι πάντας ἠβηδὸν ἀναιρεθέντας πεσεῖν. “ἐξ-  
 ελεύσεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπος,” φησὶν ὁ χρησμός, καὶ  
 στραταρχῶν καὶ πολεμῶν ἔθνη μεγάλα καὶ πολυάν-  
 θρωπα χειρώσεται, τὸ ἀρμόττον ὁσίοις ἐπικουρικὸν  
 ἐπιπέμφαντος τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ θάρσος ψυχῶν  
 ἀκατάπληκτον καὶ σωμάτων ἰσχύς κραταιοτάτη,  
 ὧν καὶ θάτερον φοβερόν ἐχθροῖς, ἄμφω δὲ εἰ  
 96 συνέλθοι, καὶ παντελῶς ἀνυπόστατα.<sup>2</sup> ἐνίους δὲ  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναξίους ἔσεσθαι φησὶν ἤττης τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων, οἷς σμήνη σφηκῶν ἀντιτάξειν ἐπ’  
 97 ὀλέθρῳ αἰσχίστῳ προπολεμοῦντα τῶν ὁσίων. τού-  
 τους<sup>3</sup> δ’ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ νίκην ἀναιμωτῶ  
 βεβαίως ἔξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κράτος ἀρχῆς ἀνανταγώ-  
 [424] νιστον ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν | ὑπηκόων, ἣ γένοιτ’ ἂν δι’  
 εὐνοίαν ἢ φόβον ἢ αἰδῶ. τρία γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύουσι τὰ  
 μέγιστα καὶ συντείνοντα πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἀκαθαί-  
 ρητον, σεμνότητα καὶ δεινότητα καὶ εὐεργεσίαν, ἐξ  
 ὧν ἀποτελεῖται τὰ λεχθέντα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σεμνὸν  
 αἰδῶ κατασκευάζει, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν φόβον, τὸ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read εὐμάρειαν <ἂν>. See note a.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνυπόστατον.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. τοῦτο.

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<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxvi. 7 “they shall fall before you by the sword.” Philo perhaps wishes to avoid the suggestion of actual bloodshed. So too in the next sentence, if εὐμάρειαν ἂν is read, see note 1.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 94-97

superior strength, they will fly headlong,<sup>a</sup> companies of hundreds before handfuls of five, ten thousands before hundreds by many ways for the one by which they came.<sup>b</sup> Some, without even any 95 pursuer save fear, will turn their backs and present admirable targets to their enemies so that it would be an easy matter for all to fall slaughtered to a man.<sup>c</sup> For "there shall come forth a man,"<sup>d</sup> says the oracle, and leading his host to war he will subdue great and populous nations, because God has sent to his aid the reinforcement which befits the godly, and that is dauntless courage of soul and all-powerful strength of body, either of which strikes fear into the enemy and the two if united are quite irresistible. Some of the enemy, he says, will be unworthy 96 to be defeated by men. He promises to marshal against them to their shame and perdition, swarms of wasps<sup>e</sup> to fight in the van of the godly, who will 97 win not only a permanent and bloodless victory in the war but also a sovereignty which none can contest, bringing to its subjects the benefit which will accrue from the affection or fear or respect which they feel. For the conduct of their rulers shows three high qualities which contribute to make a government secure from subversion, namely dignity, strictness, benevolence, which produce the feelings mentioned above. For respect is created by dignity,

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxvi. 8, Deut. xxviii. 7.

<sup>c</sup> No particular text for this in the blessings. It is perhaps suggested by the parallel curse, Lev. xxvi. 37; *cf.* § 148.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX in Num. xxiv. 7 "There shall come forth a man from his seed and shall rule over many nations." The Hebrew appears to be totally different. E.V. "Water shall flow from his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters."

<sup>e</sup> E.V. "hornets." Ex. xxiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20.

## PHILO

εὐεργετικὸν εὖνοιαν, ἅπερ ἀνακραθέντα καὶ ἀρμοσθέντα ἐν ψυχῇ καταπειθεῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑπηκόους ἀπεργάζεται.

- 98 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρῶτά φησι συμβῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπομένοις θεῷ καὶ περιεχομένοις αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν τοῦ βίου μερῶν ταῦτα ἐφαρμόττουσιν, ὡς μηδὲν<sup>1</sup> νόσω πλαζόμενον ἐκδαιτᾶσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ πλοῦτον, ὃς κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον εἰρήνη καὶ ἀρχῇ ἔπεται.
- 99 πλοῦτος δὲ ὁ μὲν τῆς φύσεως εὐτελής ἐστι τροφή καὶ σκέπη· τροφή μὲν οὖν ἄρτος καὶ ναματιαῖον ὕδωρ, ὃ πανταχοῦ<sup>2</sup> τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνακέχυται· σκέπης δὲ διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἀμπεχόνη, τὸ δὲ οἰκία, διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους παρακολουθούσας ζημίας· ὧν ἐκάτερον, εἴ τις ἐθελήσει τὴν περιέργον καὶ περιττὴν ἀφελεῖν πολυτέλειαν,
- 100 εὐποριστότατον. οἱ δ' ἂν ζηλώσωσι τὸν λεχθέντα πλοῦτον ἀσπασάμενοι τὰ φύσεως δῶρα, μὴ τὰ τῆς κενῆς δόξης, ὀλιγοδείαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν ἀσκήσαντες, ἕξουσι κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀβροδιαίτου τροφῆς πλοῦτον οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσαντας· ἐπιτηδήσει γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους καὶ σεμνοὺς τῆς ἀρμοττούσης χρήσεως ἐπιστήμονας, ἀποδράς ἄσμενος τὰς τῶν ἀκολάστων καὶ ὕβριστῶν συνδαιτήσεις, ἵνα μὴ χορηγῇ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν
- 101 πλησίον ζῶσι παρελθὼν τοὺς κοινωφελεῖς. λόγιον γάρ ἐστιν ὅτι τοῖς τὰς ἱεροπρεπεῖς ἐντολὰς φυλάττουσιν ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸς ὀμβρήσει καιρίους ὑετούς, ἡ δὲ γῆ καρπῶν παντοδαπῶν οἴσει φοράν, ἡ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μηδένα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἃ πανταχοῦ ἢ ἀπανταχοῦ.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 97-101

fear by strictness, affection by benevolence, and these when blended harmoniously in the soul render subjects obedient to their rulers.

XVII. These are the first blessings which he tells 98 us will fall to the lot of those who follow God and always and everywhere cleave to His commandments and so fasten them to every part of life that no part can go astray into new and unwholesome ways. The second blessing is wealth which necessarily follows peace and settled authority. Now the simple wealth 99 of nature is food and shelter.<sup>a</sup> Its food is bread and the spring water which gushes up in every part of the inhabited world. Shelter is of two kinds, raiment and housing, to save us from the injuries which cold and heat bring in their train, and both of these, if anyone is willing to eliminate costly and superfluous extravagance, are very easily obtainable. Yet those 100 who pursue the above-named wealth, who welcome the gifts of nature and not those of empty seeming, who practise frugality and self-restraint, will possess also abundance and more than abundance of another wealth in the shape of delectable food, and that without effort on their part. For it will spring to meet them as best fitted to receive it and as men of serious purpose who will know how to use it aright, and it will gladly flee from association with men of profligacy and violence, lest it should minister its boons to those who live to harm their neighbours and pass by those who serve the common weal. For there is a 101 divine promise<sup>b</sup> that on those who keep the sacred ordinances Heaven will shower timely rains, and the earth will bear abundance of every kind of food, the

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Virt.* 6.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxvi. 3, 4, Deut. xi. 13, 14.

## PHILO

πεδιάς σπαρτῶν, ἢ δ' ὀρεινῇ τῶν ἀκροδρύων, καὶ  
 ὅτι χρόνος οὐδεὶς ἀπολειφθήσεται κενὸς εὐεργεσίας,  
 ἀλλὰ τῷ συνεχεῖ καὶ ἐπαλλήλῳ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρί-  
 των “ καταλήψεται ὁ μὲν ἄμητος τρύγητον, κατα-  
 102 λήψεται δὲ ὁ τρύγητος σπόρον,” ὡς ἀνελλιπῶς καὶ  
 ἀδιαστάτως αἰεὶ τὰ μὲν συγκομίζειν, τὰ δὲ ἐλπίζειν,  
 ἐφεδρευόντων ἑτέροις ἑτέρων, ἵνα τοῖς πέρασι τῶν  
 προτέρων αἰ τῶν ὑστέρων ἀρχαὶ συνάπτουσαι κύκ-  
 λον τινὰ καὶ χορείαν ἀποτελώσιν ἀνεπιδεᾶ παντὸς  
 103 ἀγαθοῦ. τὸ γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν γινομένων ἐξαρκέσει  
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραντίκα χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀφθονον περιουσίαν, νέων  
 ἐπακμαζόντων παλαιοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔνδειαν  
 προσαναπληρούντων· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ὑπ' εὐφορίας  
 [425] ἀλέκτου τῶν | πάλαι συγκομισθέντων φροντίσει τὸ  
 παράπαν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀταμίευτα καὶ ἀθησαύριστα  
 καταλείψουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφέντες τὴν χρήσιν  
 104 ἀδεᾶ. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος ἐν οὐρανῷ  
 κατάκειται διὰ σοφίας καὶ ὀσιότητος ἀσκηθεῖς,<sup>1</sup> τού-  
 τοις καὶ ὁ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπὶ γῆς περιουσιάζει,  
 προνοία καὶ ἐπιμελεία θεοῦ τῶν ταμείων αἰεὶ πλη-  
 ρομένων, ἐκ τοῦ<sup>2</sup> τὰς ὁρμὰς τῆς διανοίας καὶ τῶν  
 χειρῶν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> This though perhaps translatable is strange. Cohn suggests ἀσκησιν presumably = “by the practice of,” but for this we should expect ἀσκήσεως. The same sense can be got more easily by ἀσκηθεῖσι agreeing with οἷς, and this I think may be the true reading. ἀσκεῖν in the sense of “train” is not uncommon, though “practise” is more common at any rate in Philo.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn wished to read ἐνεκα τοῦ = “in order that.” But see note c.



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 101-104

lowlands of sown grain, the highlands of tree fruits, and no season will be left without some measure of beneficence, but so continuous will be the succession of the gifts of God "that the reaping will overtake the vintage and the vintage the seed time."<sup>a</sup> Thus in 102 ceaseless and unbroken order they will gather in the former harvest and hope for the latter, one set waiting to follow another, so that the beginnings of the later may join on to the ends of the earlier and move round and round in a procession from which no good thing is withheld. For the multitude of things 103 produced will suffice both for immediate use and enjoyment and to provide a generous surplus for the future, as the new crops ripen over the old and fill up what is lacking in them. Sometimes so vast will be the fertility that no one will take any thought for the harvest that is past but will leave it unhusbanded and unhoarded for all who wish to use it without fear or scruple. For those who possess stored up in Heaven 104 the true wealth whose adornment is<sup>b</sup> wisdom and godliness have also wealth of earthly riches in abundance. For under the providence and good care of God their store-houses are ever filled, because<sup>c</sup> the impulses of their minds and the undertakings of their hands are never hindered in carrying out successfully

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxvi. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Or "decked out in." This is the only way of taking the word if it is to stand. I do not think that Cohn's "acquired" or "earned" ("erworben") is possible. See note 1.

<sup>c</sup> Cohn "in order that," see note 2. But Philo is working on Deut. xxviii. 8 "The Lord send upon thee blessing on thy barns (ταμείους), and upon all to which thou shalt lay thy hand (ἐπιβάλης τὴν χεῖρά σου)." The fullness of the barns is the natural consequence of the industry expressed in the second clause.

## PHILO

- 105 τῶν αἰὶ σπουδαζομένων<sup>1</sup> κατόρθωσιν. οἷς δὲ ὁ κληῖρος οὐκ ἔστιν οὐράνιος δι' ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθῶν εὐδοεῖν πέφυκεν ἢ κτήσις· ἀλλὰ καὶ προσγένηται, τάχιστα ἀπεπήδησεν, ὡς παραγενομένη τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν λαβόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βαρῦναι τὴν ἀνίαν σφοδρότερον, ἥτις ἐκ τοῦ στέρεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἀναγ-
- 106 καῖον ἔπεται. XVIII. τότε δῆ, φησὶν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν εὐφορίας καὶ ἀφθονίας ὁ νῦν ὑπομένεις ἐργάση· νῦν μὲν γὰρ μήτε τῶν νόμων μήτε τῶν πατρίων ἔθων αἰδῶ ποιούμενος ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀθρώως ἀλογῶν ὑστερίζεις μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, θεραπεύεις δὲ τὰς τῶν δανειστῶν καὶ ὀβολοστατῶν οἰκίας ἐπὶ πολλῶ δανειζόμενος· τότε δ', ὥσπερ ἔφην, δράσεις τοῦναν-
- 107 τίον. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀφθόνου περιουσίας αὐτὸς ἄλλοις δανειεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα οὐδ' ὀλίγοις, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς, ὅλοις μὲν οὖν ἔθνεσι, πάντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν εὐτυχῶς ἀπαντῶντων, τῶν μὲν κατὰ πόλιν ἀρχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ εὐδοξίαις διὰ τε εὐδικίας καὶ εὐβουλίας καὶ τοῦ διὰ λόγων καὶ πράξεων κοινωφελοῦς, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἀγρὸν εὐφορίαις καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, σίτου, οἴνου, ἐλαίου, καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀβροδίαιτον βίον, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμύθητα γένη τῶν ἀκροδρῦων, καὶ ἔτι βουκολίων αἰπολίων τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων εὐτοκία.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After *σπουδαζομένων* Cohn inserts *καλῶν* from the quotation of the passage by St. John Damascene, against the mss. It does not fit in well with my interpretation of the passage. See note c on p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *εὐτοκία*, which, as they omit iotas subscript, may be either nominative or dative. Cohn (like Mangey) printed the nominative, but afterwards in his translation saw that the dative was needed.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 105-107

the purposes which they ever<sup>a</sup> zealously pursue. But 105 those who through injustice and impiety have no heavenly portion cannot prosper in acquiring earthly goods either, and if any such acquisition comes their way it speedily springs away as if its coming at all were not to benefit its possessor but to make the distress which necessarily follows on lack of means<sup>b</sup> weigh more heavily upon him. XVIII. In those 106 days he says your vast prosperity and opulence will cause you to do to others what you now suffer from them. Now because you pay no respect to the laws or ancestral customs, but despise the whole body of them, you lack bare necessities and wait upon the houses of money lenders and usurers and borrow at high interest. But then, as I said, you will do the 107 opposite, for in the abundance of your opulence you will yourself lend to others, not few loans nor to few, but many and to many, nay rather to whole nations.<sup>c</sup> For prosperity will attend you in everything both in the city and in the country<sup>d</sup>; in the city by offices, honours and reputations through justice well administered, through policy well considered, through words and deeds directed to serve the common weal: in the land by the fertility both of the necessaries, corn, wine and oil, and the means of enjoyable life, that is the numberless kinds of tree fruits, and also by the fruitful multiplying of oxen and goats and other cattle.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "from time to time" = whatever at any time they pursue.

<sup>b</sup> So, rather than "loss" (Cohn), if the comparative has any sense. Poverty is painful anyway but more painful if it follows abundance.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xv. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xxviii. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Deut. vii. 13, xxviii. 4.

- 108 Ἄλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος, εἴποι τις ἄν, τῷ μὴ μέλλοντι κληρονόμους καὶ διαδόχους ἀπολιπεῖν; διὰ τοῦτο ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὰς εὐεργεσίας φησὶν· οὐδεὶς ἄγονος οὐδὲ στείρα γενήσεται, πάντες δὲ οἱ θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γνήσιοι νόμον ἐκπληρώσουσι φύ-
- 109 σεως τὸν ἐπὶ παιδοποιῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἔσονται πατέρες καὶ πατέρες εὐπαιδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἔσονται μητέρες καὶ μητέρες εὐτεκνοὶ, ὡς ἕκαστον οἶκον πλήρωμα εἶναι πολυανθρώπου συγγενείας, μηδενὸς ἔλλειφθέντος ἢ μέρους ἢ ὀνόματος τῶν ὅσα ἐπιφημίζεται τοῖς προσήκουσι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω, γονεῖς, θεῖους, πάππους, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κάτω πάλιν ὁμοίως, (υἱούς), ἀδελφούς, ἀδελφιδούς, υἰωνούς,
- [426] θυγατριδούς, ἀνεψιούς, | ἀνεψιαδούς, τοὺς ἐξ αἵ-
- 110 ματος πάντας. ὠκύμορος δ' ἢ ἀτελής οὐδεὶς ἄν γένοιτο τῶν κοσμουμένων τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέ τις ἡλικίας ἄμοιρος ὣν ὁ θεὸς ἔνειμεν ἀνθρώπων γένει· ἀλλ' ἐκ βρέφους ἐπανιών ἐξῆς ὥσπερ δι' ἀναβαθμῶν, τεταγμέναις χρόνων περιόδοις ἐκάστης ἡλικίας τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ἀριθμοὺς συνεκπληρώσας, ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀφίξεται τὴν θανάτῳ μᾶλλον δ' ἀθανασίᾳ γειτνιώσαν, ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐγερως, εὐπαιδα καὶ πολύπαιδα οἶκον ἂν' αὐτοῦ κατα-
- 111 λιπών. XIX. τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὅπερ εἶπέ που προθεσπίζων, ὅτι "τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν σου ἀναπληρώσεις," παγκάλως χρησάμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασι κυρίοις ἅμα καὶ προσφύεσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθῆς

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxiii. 26 "There shall be no man childless nor woman barren on thy land. The number of thy days I will surely fulfil." Philo quotes the first part of this verse, as it stands in the LXX (E.V. "none shall cast her young nor be barren

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 108-111

But someone may say, what profit is there in all 108  
this to one who is not going to leave behind him  
heirs and successors? And therefore he crowns his  
boons by saying that no man shall be childless and  
no woman barren, but all the true servants of God  
will fulfil the law of nature for the procreation of  
children.<sup>a</sup> For men will be fathers and women 109  
mothers both happy in those they beget or bear, so  
that each family will be a plenitude with a long  
list of kinsfolk, with no part nor any of the names  
which signify relationship missing. In the upper line  
will be parents, uncles, grandparents, likewise in  
the lower line sons, brothers, brothers' sons, grand-  
sons, daughters' sons, cousins, cousins' sons, in fact all  
that are allied by blood. And none of those who 110  
conform to the laws will die an early death or be  
cut short, or denied any stage of life that God has  
assigned to the human race, but each will rise as by  
stepping-stones from infancy through the successive  
terms appointed to every age, fulfilling its allotted  
tale until he reaches the last, the neighbour of death  
or rather immortality, and passes from that truly  
goodly old age to leave a great house of goodly  
children to fill his place. XIX. This is what he 111  
means when he gives the prediction "thou shalt  
fulfil the number of thy days" and the exactness  
and aptness of the words which he uses is truly  
admirable.<sup>b</sup> For the ignorant and lawless is of no

in thy land"), and the second part in § 111, where, however,  
he alters "I will fulfil" to "thou shalt fulfil."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the text does mean that long life in the literal sense  
is one of the promised blessings, but it also gives through  
the κύρια ὀνόματα (ἀριθμὸς and ἡμέρα) the spiritual lesson that  
the higher meaning of long life is good life. For this *cf.*  
*Quis Rerum* 290-292. On *κυπλοῖς* see App. p. 456.

## PHILO

- καὶ ἔκνομος “ οὐτ’ ἐν λόγῳ,” φασίν,<sup>1</sup> “ οὐτ’ ἐν ἀριθμῷ,” τῷ δὲ παιδείας καὶ νόμων ἱερῶν μεταποιουμένῳ πρώτη χάρις ἐστὶν ἐλλογίμῳ καὶ δοκίμῳ
- 112 φανέντι μεταλαχεῖν ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τάξεως. ὑπερφυῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ ἡ πλήρωσις οὐ μηνῶν ἢ ἐνιαυτῶν ἀλλ’ ἡμερῶν, ὡς δέον ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τοῦ σπουδαίου μηδὲν ἔρημον καὶ κενὸν εἶναι εἰς πάροδον ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ διαστήμασιν ἑαυτῆς καλοκάγαθίας πεπληρῶσθαι· κρίνεται γὰρ οὐ ποσότητι ἀλλὰ ποιότητι ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸ καλόν. ὅθεν ἰσότημον καλῶ<sup>2</sup> βίῳ σοφοῦ καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι κατορθουμένην.
- 113 τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὃ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αἰνίττεται φάσκων εὐλογίας ἄξιον ἔσεσθαι καὶ εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα, διότι πάσαις μὲν ταῖς κινήσεσι πάσαις δὲ ταῖς σχέσεσιν ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐπαινετός, ἔνδον τε καὶ ἔξω, πολιτικὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμος, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἔνδον ἐξορθοῦν οἰκονομικῶς, τὰ δ’ ἔξω
- 114 πολιτικῶς, ἢ συμφέρον ἐπανορθοῦσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ τυγχάνη τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐν πόλει, τῆς πόλεως ὑπεράνω φανεῖται, εἰ δὲ πόλις, τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ χώρας, εἰ δὲ ἔθνος, ἐπιβήσεται πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν ὥσπερ κεφαλὴ σώματι τοῦ περιφαίνεσθαι χάριν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ὁρώντων ὠφελείας· αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς τῶν καλῶν παραδειγμάτων φαντασίαι παραπλησίας εἰκόνας ἐγχαράττουσι ταῖς μὴ πάνυ σκληραῖς καὶ ἀποκρό-
- 115 τοῖς ψυχαῖς. ὅθεν εἴρηται πρὸς τοὺς ἐθέ-

<sup>1</sup> mss. φησίν.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly a mistake of the scribe, presumably for ὄλω, or possibly for καὶ (κ’) ὄλω, though the double καὶ = “also” would be rather heavy.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 111-115

account, as they say, and has no number,<sup>a</sup> but he who can lay claim to instruction and holy laws has for his first boon that he is seen to be of high account and well approved and therefore gains a number and a place in an ordered line. Marvellously apt too is the phrase that the fulfilment is not of months or years but of days, signifying that every day of the man of worth must leave nothing void or empty where sin can come in, but have every part and space in it filled up with virtuous and excellent living,<sup>b</sup> for virtue and excellence are judged not by quantity but by quality. Therefore he held that the wise man's single day rightly spent is worth a whole life-time.

This is what he suggests in another place where he says that such a man will be worthy of blessing both in his goings out and in his comings in,<sup>c</sup> because in all his ways, moving or standing, the good man shows his merit both inside and outside, both as householder and as statesman, his household skill shown in right management within, his statesmanship in outside reforms as the welfare of the state requires. So then one such man in a city, if such be found, will be superior to the city, one such city to the country around, one such nation will stand above other nations, as the head above the body, to be conspicuous on every side, not for its own glory but rather for the benefit of the beholders. For to gaze continuously upon noble models imprints their likeness in souls which are not entirely hardened and stony.

And therefore those who would imitate these

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 457.

<sup>b</sup> The next words show that Philo wishes to emphasize both parts of *καλοκάγαθία*.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxviii. 6.

## PHILO

- λοντας μιμείσθαι τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ θαυμαστὰ κάλλη  
 μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβολὴν μηδὲ τὴν  
 ὡσπερ ἐκ διασπορᾶς ψυχικῆς ἦν εἰργάσατο κακία  
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν ἐπάνοδον· ἵλεως γὰρ ὅταν  
 116 ἦ ὁ θεός, ἐξευμαρίζεται πάντα. | γίνεται δὲ ἵλεως  
 [427] τοῖς αἰδουμένοις καὶ μεθορμιζομένοις ἐξ ἀκρασίας  
 εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ὑπαιτίου ζωῆς κακί-  
 ζουσι καὶ ὅσα ἐναπεμάξαντο ταῖς ψυχαῖς αἰσυχρὰ  
 εἶδωλα μυσатτομένοις, εὐδῖαν δὲ παθῶν ἐζηλωκόσι  
 117 καὶ γαλήνην καὶ εἰρήνην βίου μετατρέχουσι. καθ-  
 ἀπερ οὖν ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἀπωκισμένους  
 ῥαδίως <ἂν> ἐνὶ κελεύσματι συναγάγοι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ  
 περάτων εἰς ὃ τι ἂν θελήσῃ χωρίον, οὕτω καὶ τὸν  
 νοῦν ἐξ ἄλλης πολυχρονίου πάντῃ πλανηθέντα καὶ  
 κακωθέντα πρὸς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, δεσποινῶν  
 ἐκτετιμημένων,<sup>2</sup> ἐλεῶν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐξ ἀνοδίας εἰς ὄδον  
 εὐπετώως ἂν ἀγάγοι, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν διεγνω-  
 κότα φυγῆν, οὐ τὴν ἐπονείδιστον λεγομένην, ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν σωτήριον, ἣν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμάρτοι λέγων καθόδου  
 κρείττονα.
- 118 XX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ εἴρηται, νῖκαι κατ'  
 ἐχθρῶν, κράτη πολέμων, εἰρήνης βεβαιώσεις<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην ἀγαθῶν περιουσίαι, πλοῦτοι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀπογινώσκεισθαι.

<sup>2</sup> So one ms. The others ἐκτετιμημένων or ἐκτεταμένων. Mangey adopted the last and translated "infensus," but ἐκτείνω cannot have this meaning. But neither does ἐκτετιμημένων give a meaning which is very appropriate here. Possibly <καὶ> ἐκτεταμένον = "tortured," a meaning more commonly given to ἐπιτείνω, but also to ἐκτείνω. Cf. δέσποιναί . . . κατατείνουσι, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 82.

<sup>3</sup> mss. βεβαίωσις.



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 115-118

examples of good living so marvellous in their loveliness, are bidden not to despair of changing for the better or of a restoration to the land of wisdom and virtue from the spiritual dispersion<sup>a</sup> which vice has wrought. For when God is gracious He makes all 116 things light and easy, and He does become gracious to those who depart with shame from incontinence to self-restraint and deplore the deeds of their guilty past, abhor the base illusive images which they imprinted on their souls and first<sup>b</sup> earnestly strive to still the storm of the passions, then seek to lead a life of serenity and peace. So then just as 117 God with a single call may easily gather together from the ends of the earth to any place that He wills the exiles dwelling in the utmost parts of the earth, so too the mind which has strayed everywhere in prolonged vagrancy, maltreated by pleasure and lust, the mistresses it honoured so unduly, may well be brought back by the mercy of its Saviour from the pathless wild into a road wherein it is resolved to flee straight on, a flight not the discredited flight of the outcast, but a flight of one banished from evil to salvation, a banishment which may be truly held to be better than a recall.<sup>c</sup>

XX. So much for the external blessings promised, 118 victories over enemies, successes in wars, establishments of peace and abundant supplies of the good

<sup>a</sup> Evidently an allegorization of Deut. xxx. 4 "if thy dispersion (*διασπορά*, E.V. thy outcasts) be from one end of heaven to the other, the Lord will gather thee thence."

<sup>b</sup> This is perhaps implied by the change from the perfect *ἐξηλωκόσι* to the present *μετατρέχουσι*.

<sup>c</sup> Philo combines the two senses of *φυγή*, "escape" and "banishment"; cf. note to *De Fuga* 118. The translation is somewhat expanded to bring this out.

## PHILO

- τιμαὶ καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὰ παρεπόμενα τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν ἐγκώμια, διὰ παντὸς στόματος καὶ φίλων καὶ δυσμενῶν ἐπαινουμένοις, τῶν μὲν διὰ φόβον, τῶν δὲ δι' εὐνοίαν· λεκτέον δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων
- 119 οἰκειότερα, τὰ περὶ σῶμα. φησὶν οὖν, ὅτι τοῖς ἀρετὴν διαπονοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους ἡγεμόνας τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον λόγων καὶ ἔργων προστησάμενοις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ περιέσται τὸ εἰς ἅπαν ἄνοσον· εἰ δὲ καὶ γένοιτό τις ἀσθένεια, τοῦ μὲν κακῶσαι χάριν οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, τοῦ δ' ὑπομῆσαι τὸν θνητὸν ὅτι θνητὸς ἐστίν, εἰς ὑπεραύχου φρονήματος κατάλυσιν καὶ βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν· ὑγεία δ' ἔψεται καὶ εὐαισθησία καὶ τὸ ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελές, εἰς τὰς πρὸς ὃ γέγονεν
- 120 ἕκαστον ἀκωλύτους ὑπηρεσίας. ἐδικαίωσε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς γέρας τῷ σπουδαίῳ παρασχεῖν εὖ συνωκοδομημένην καὶ σνηρημοσμένην ἐκ θεμελίων ἄχρι στέγους οἰκίαν—οἰκία δὲ ψυχῆς συμφυεστάτη σῶμα—διὰ τε πολλὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ βίον ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τόνδε τὸν καθάρσει
- 121 τελείαις νοῦν καθαρθέντα· <ὄν> καὶ μύστην γεγνότα τῶν θείων τελετῶν καὶ συμπεριπολοῦντα ταῖς τῶν οὐρανίων χορείαις καὶ περιόδοις ἐγέραρεν ὁ

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the bodily is more akin to the man than the external. But very possibly "more akin to these." If so, the comparative means "more akin than those of the soul." The three forms of the good are such a familiar idea, that this might be understood.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. vii. 15, there promised absolutely. Philo feels the necessity to qualify it by the possibility of sickness sent as a trial or warning, and to justify it by the need of bodily tranquillity for the working of the good mind. See General Introduction, p. xxi.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 118-121

things of peace, honours and offices and the eulogies accompanying the successful, who receive praise from the lips of all, friends and enemies, praises prompted by goodwill in the one case and by fear in the other. But we must also speak of a more personal<sup>a</sup> matter, the blessings bestowed on the body. He promises that those who take pains to cultivate 119 virtue and set the holy laws before them to guide them in all they do or say in their private or in their public capacity will receive as well the gift of complete freedom from disease,<sup>b</sup> and if some infirmity should befall them it will come not to do them injury but to remind the mortal that he is mortal, to humble his over-weening spirit and to improve his moral condition. Health will be followed by efficiency of the senses and the perfection and completeness of every part, so that without impediment they may render each the services for which it was made. For God thought it meet to 120 grant as a privilege to the man of worth that his body, the congenital<sup>c</sup> house of the soul, should be a house well built and well compacted from foundation to roof, to provide the many things which are necessary or useful for life and particularly for the sake of the mind of which we are speaking, a<sup>d</sup> mind purged clean of every spot. This mind, the initiate of the holy mysteries, the 121 fellow traveller of the heavenly bodies as they revolve in ordered march, has been honoured with the gift of

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps "congenital and lifelong" may better express the superlative.

<sup>d</sup> Not, I think, as Cohn "*our* mind," *i.e.* the human mind generally, but the mind of the *σπουδαῖος*, which for the rest of the Blessings becomes the true Israel to which the Blessings are addressed.

## PHILO

- θεὸς ἡρεμία, βουληθεὶς ἀμέθελκτον<sup>1</sup> εἶναι, κηραίνοντα περι μῆδὲν πάθος ὧν αἱ τοῦ σώματος γεννώσιν ἀνάγκαι<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτιθέμεναι κατὰ πλεονεξίαν παθῶν
- [428] δυναστείας· | εἰ γὰρ περιέψυξέ τι ἢ περιέφλεξεν, αἶον καὶ αὐχμηρὸν ἢ τοῦναντίον ροῶδες ἀπειργάσατο<sup>3</sup>. δι' ὧν ἀπάντων ὁ νοῦς εὐθύνην ἀδυνατεῖ
- 122 τὴν τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν βίου παρείαν. ἐνδιαιτώμενος δὲ ὑγιεινῶ σώματι κατὰ πολλὴν εὐμάρειαν ἐνδιατρίψει καὶ ἐνσχολάσει τοῖς σοφίας θεωρήμασι, μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ζωῆς ἐπιλαχῶν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολὺν ἄκρατον σπάσας τῆς εὐεργέτιδος τοῦ θεοῦ
- 123 θείας· οὗτος ᾧ φησιν ὁ προφήτης τὸν θεὸν “ἐμπεριπατεῖν” οἷα βασιλείῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι βασιλείον καὶ οἶκος θεοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια· τούτου καλεῖται θεὸς ἰδίως ὁ τῶν συμπάντων θεός, καὶ λαὸς ἐξαιρέτος πάλιν οὗτος, οὐ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀρχόντων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνός καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄρ-
- 124 χοντος, ἁγίου ἁγίος· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ πολλαῖς μὲν ἡδοναῖς, πολλαῖς δ' ἐπιθυμίαις, μυρίαῖς δ' ἀνάγκαις κακιῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ὑπεζευγμένος·

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey for mss. ἀμέθεκτον, which Cohn retains, supposing some such word as νόσων to have fallen out. ἀμέθελκτον has been used in the adverbial form in *De Fuga* 92, and here makes excellent sense.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀ ἀνάγκαι (omitting γεννώσιν). The others γεννώσι δυνάμεις.

<sup>3</sup> The text is uncertain and that adopted here may not meet with general acceptance. The majority of mss. have ἢ γὰρ περιέψυξέ τις ἢ περιέφλεξεν αἶον καὶ αὐχμηρὸν ἢ τοῦναντίον ροῶδες ἀπειργάσατο. A has τι for τις and οὐρανός for αἶον. The first is not intelligible as it stands, and I have corrected ἢ to εἰ and τις to τι. The second is adopted by Mangey. Cohn expunges both αἶον and οὐρανός, holding that αἶον was a gloss on αὐχμηρὸν and was subsequently corrupted to οὐνος

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 121-124

quietude by God, who willed that it should be undistracted, never affected by any of the troublesome sensations which the distresses<sup>a</sup> of the body engender, subjecting it to a domination unduly usurped by such sensations.<sup>b</sup> For if anything over-chills or over-heats it, the house becomes warped and dried up or contrariwise wet and damp, and all these make the mind incapable of guiding the course of its own life aright. But if it resides in a healthy body it will have full 122 ease to live there devoting its leisure to the lore of wisdom, thus gaining a blessed and happy life. This mind it is that drinks deep of the strong wine of God's beneficent power and feasts on holy thoughts and doctrines. This it is in which God, so says the 123 prophet, "walks"<sup>c</sup> as in a palace, for in truth the wise man's mind is a palace and house of God. This it is which is declared to possess personally the God who is the God of all, this again is the chosen people, the people not of particular rulers, but of the one and only true ruler, a people holy even as He is holy. This it is which but now lay under the yoke of many 124 pleasures and many lusts and the innumerable distresses which its vices and lusts entail, but has been

<sup>a</sup> Or "necessities."

<sup>b</sup> More literally "laying upon it through greed the domination of the πάθη" (here of course not used in the ordinary sense in Philo of the "passions"). But the middle ἐπιθέμεναι and the repetition of πάθη seem to me strange.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxvi. 12. E.V. "walk among you." See App. p. 457.

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= οὐρανός. He rather strangely says that οὐρανός makes no sense. Assuming that Philo is continuing the figure of the house, to which the terms are surely more applicable than to the body, οὐρανός="weather" makes good sense and I should be willing to accept it *in addition to αἶον*.

## PHILO

- τούτου τὰ κακὰ τῆς δουλείας συνέτριψεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξαιρούμενος· οὗτος ὁ μὴ ἀπαρρησιάστου τυχὼν εὐεργεσίας ἀλλὰ διαβεβοημένης καὶ περιηγγελμένης πάντη διὰ τὴν τοῦ προασπίζοντος ἐξουσίαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐχ ὑπεσύρη πρὸς τὰ οὐραῖα, ἀλλ' 125 ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἄνω παρεπέμφθη. ταῦτα δ' ἀλληγορεῖται τροπικῶς ἐξενεχθέντα· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ζῳῷ κεφαλὴ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἄριστον, οὐρὰ δ' ὑστατον καὶ φαυλότατον, οὐ μέρος συνεκπληροῦν τὸν τῶν μελῶν ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ σόβησις τῶν ἐπιποτωμένων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κεφαλὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίου γένους ἔσσεσθαι φησι τὸν σπουδαῖον εἴτε ἄνδρα εἴτε λαόν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἷον μέρη σώματος ψυχούμενα ταῖς ἐν κεφαλῇ καὶ ὑπεράνω δυνάμεσιν.
- 126 Αὗται μὲν αἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰσιν εὐχαὶ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔργοις ἐπιτελούντων, ἃς φησι τελεσφορηθήσεσθαι χάριτι τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ τὰ καλὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητα σεμνοποιοῦντος καὶ γεραίροντος· τὰς δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐκνόμων καὶ ἀθέσμων ὀρισθείσας ἀρὰς ἐπισκεπτέον.

### Περὶ ἀρῶν

- [429] XXI. | Πρώτην ἀρὰν ὡς κουφότατον κακὸν ἀνα-  
127 γράφει πενίαν καὶ ἔνδειαν καὶ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μετουσίαν παντελοῦς ἀπορίας· τὸν

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxvi. 13 "who brought you out of the land of Egypt when you were slaves, and I broke the bond of your yoke."

<sup>b</sup> So the LXX continuing the verse "and I brought you with open speech," μετὰ παρρησίας (E.V. "and made you go upright").

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxviii. 13, cf. v. 44.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 124-127

redeemed into freedom by God, who broke asunder the miseries of its slavery.<sup>a</sup> This it is which received a benefaction not named with bated breath<sup>b</sup> but noised abroad and proclaimed on every side because of the mightiness of its champion, whereby it was not dragged down tailwards but lifted up to the head.<sup>c</sup> These last words contain an allegory and are figuratively expressed. For as in an animal the head is the first and best part and the tail the last and meanest, and in fact not a part which helps to complete the list of members, but a means of swishing off the winged creatures which settle on it, so too he means that the virtuous one, whether single man or people, will be the head of the human race and all the others like the limbs of a body which draw their life from the forces in the head and at the top.<sup>d</sup> 125

These are the blessings invoked upon good men, 126 men who fulfil the laws by their deeds, which blessings will be accomplished by the gift of the bounteous God, who glorifies and rewards moral excellence because of its likeness to Himself. We must now investigate the curses delivered against the law-breakers and transgressors.

### On Curses

XXI. The first curse which he describes as the lightest of their evils is poverty and dearth and lack of necessaries and conditions of absolute destitution. 127

<sup>d</sup> The allegorical meaning seems to be that while the *σπουδαίος* is the source of spiritual life to all who, though not of his excellence, are true members of the body, the transgressors have no part in this life, but are only a slavish instrument, for what purpose is not stated.

## PHILO

γὰρ σπόρον, φησίν, ἀτελῆ μὲν ὄντα δηώσουσι, τελειωθέντα δ' ἀμήσουσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντες πολέμιοι, διττὴν ἐργασάμενον<sup>1</sup> συμφοράν, λιμὸν μὲν φίλοις, ἐχθροῖς δὲ περιουσίαν· λυπεῖ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦπτον τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν τῶν δυσμενῶν τὰ  
 128 ἀγαθὰ. καὶ ἡσυχάζοντων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐχ ἡσυχάσουσιν αἱ ἐκ φύσεως ἀργαλεώτεραι ζημίαι· σὺ μὲν γὰρ κατασπείρεις τὴν βαθύγειον τῆς πεδιάδος, ἀκρίδων δὲ νέφος ἐξαίφνης καταπτάμενον ἐκθερίσει καὶ τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα πολλοστὸν εἰς συγκομιδὴν ἔσται μέρος τῶν σπαρέντων· καὶ σὺ μὲν ἀμπελῶνα φυτεύεις δαπάναις ἀφειδέσει <καὶ> κακοπαθείαις ἀτρύτοις, ἄς εἰκὸς γεωπόνους ἀναδέχασθαι, τελειωθέντα δὲ ἤδη καὶ βλαστάνοντα καὶ βρίθοντα ὑπ' εὐφορίας σκώληκες ἐπιγενόμενοι  
 129 τρυγήσουσι. τοὺς ἔλαιώνας ὅταν ἴδης εὐθηνούντας καὶ καρπῶν ἄφθονον πλῆθος, ἡσθήσῃ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, δι' ἐλπίδα συγκομιδῆς εὐτυχούς, ὅταν δὲ ἄρξῃ συγκομίζειν, αἰσθήσῃ τῆς ἀτυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀσεβείας<sup>2</sup>. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔλαιον καὶ ὅσον πῖον ἐκρυσσεται σύμπαν ἀφανῶς, ὁ δ' ἐκτὸς ὄγκος αὐτὸς εἰς ἀπάτην ψυχῆς κενὸς κενῆς ὑπολειφθήσεται. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn for mss. ἐργασάμενοι as more logical. I follow him with some doubt.

<sup>2</sup> For this obvious corruption Cohn suggests ἀφθονίας or εὐθηνίας, but "you expect good fortune, but you will have bad fortune rather than good fortune" is somewhat feeble. I have ventured to translate a conjecture of my own which seems textually no more difficult and gives a better point τῆς <οὐκ> ἀτυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀσεβείας <τιμωρίας>, "you expect good fortune: you will get—not bad fortune, that is not the right word, but," etc. οὐ or μή is so frequently lost in the mss. of Philo that it hardly counts, and the falling out of another word ending in -ias is at least as easy a mistake



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 127-129

The crops, he says, will be ravaged while unripe, or reaped when ripe by the sudden attacks of the hostile army, and thus will bring about a double misfortune, starvation for friends and abundance for enemies.<sup>a</sup> For the good fortune of the foe is more or at any rate no less painful than our own suffering. And even if the enemy take no action the more grievous injuries which nature inflicts will not be inactive. You put seed in the deep soil of the lowlands, and a cloud of locusts will suddenly fly down and reap the harvest, leaving only an insignificant fraction of what you sowed for you to gather.<sup>b</sup> You plant a vineyard, spare no expense and endure the endless hardships which the husbandman has to expect, and, when it is come to its fullness and is flourishing, laden with a plentiful crop, worms will come and strip the grapes.<sup>c</sup> When you see your olive yards thriving with an abundant wealth of fruit you will naturally be pleased at the prospect of a fortunate ingathering, but when you come to pick them you will be faced with misfortune, better called the punishment of impiety.<sup>d</sup> For the oil and all the fatness will run out unnoticed,<sup>e</sup> and the outer lump will be left by itself as empty of all goodness as the soul which it remains to disappoint. In fact all

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxvi. 16 "ye shall sow your seeds in vain, and your enemy shall eat them.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxviii. 38.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxviii. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xxviii. 40.

<sup>e</sup> The LXX has *ἐλαία* (olive tree) *ἐκρῆσεται*, probably meaning the same as the E.V. "cast its fruit." Philo may have read *ἐλαιον*, or perhaps made a slip.

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as the substitution of an alien and nonsensical word. *οὐ . . . μᾶλλον ἢ* for *μᾶλλον δέ* constantly recurs in Philo, e.g. § 163.

## PHILO

- συνόλως ὅσα σπαρτὰ ἢ δένδρα καρποῖς αὐτοῖς  
 130 ἔξαναλωθήσεται πρὸς ἐρυσίβης. XXII. ἐφεδρεύ-  
 ουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι συμφοραὶ δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων,  
 ἐνδείας καὶ ἀπορίας δημιουργοί. δι' ὧν γὰρ ἀν-  
 θρώποις ἢ φύσιν ἐχορήγει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, στερηθή-  
 σεται, γῆ καὶ οὐρανός, ἢ μὲν ἀμβλίσκουσα καὶ  
 τελειογονεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσα τοὺς καρπούς, ὁ δὲ μετα-  
 βεβηκῶς εἰς ἀγονίαν, τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων μὴ  
 χειμῶνος, μὴ θέρους, μὴ ἔαρος, μὴ μετοπώρου  
 πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας τάξεις ἀνιόντων, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄποιον  
 καὶ πεφορημένην σύγκρισιν βιασθέντων ἀποκριθῆναι  
 131 δεσποτικοῦ κράτους ἀρχῆ. οὐ γὰρ ὄμβρος, οὐχ  
 ὑέτός, οὐ λεπτή ψεκάς, οὐ βραχεῖα λιβάς, οὐ δρό-  
 σος, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν αὖξιν δυναμένων ἐπιγενή-  
 σεται, τοῦναντίον δὲ ὅσα λυμαντικὰ μὲν φυομένων,  
 φθοροποιὰ δὲ καρπῶν καταπεπανθέντων καὶ ἵνα μὴ  
 τελειωθῇ παρεσκευασμένα. “θῆσω” γὰρ φησι  
 “τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑμῖν χαλκοῦν καὶ τὴν γῆν σιδηρᾶν,”  
 [430] αἰνιττόμενος τὸ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν | τὰ οἰκεία καὶ  
 132 πρὸς ἃ γέγονεν ἐπιτελέσειν ἔργα. ποῦ γὰρ ἢ σίδηρος  
 ἔσταχυηφόρησεν ἢ ὑέτὸν ἤνεγκε χαλκός, ὧν χρεῖα  
 τὰ ζῶα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐπίκηρον καὶ πολλῶν  
 ἐπιδεές, ἄνθρωπος; μηνύει δ' οὐ μόνον ἀφορίαν  
 καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων φθοράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέμων  
 γενέσεις καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀφορήτων καὶ ἀμυθή-  
 των κακῶν· χαλκός γὰρ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμιστηρίων

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxviii. 42. For the LXX ἐρυσίβη, “mildew” the E.V. has “locusts.”

<sup>b</sup> ἀποκρίνειν, “to sift off,” seems to be used in the same way as in *Mos.* ii. 180 ἀμφοτέρων εἰς μίαν ἰδέαν ἀποκριθέντων,

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 129-132

the crops which you sow or the trees which you plant will be mildewed and perish with their fruits.<sup>a</sup> XXII. But besides these there are other sufferings 130 waiting their turn to create want and destitution. The sources which nature uses to bestow her boons on mankind, earth and heaven, will become barren. Earth will destroy her fruit in the germ and prove unable to bring them to their fullness. Heaven will be transformed into sterility, as none of the yearly seasons, neither winter nor summer, nor spring nor autumn arise to take their proper places but all are forcibly merged<sup>b</sup> in formless turbid<sup>c</sup> congeries by the dictation of an imperious power. For no down- 131 pour, no shower, no slight drizzle nor tiny dropping, no dew nor anything else that can promote growth will come. But on the contrary all that makes havoc of growing plants or destroys the ripened fruit will be provided to hinder them from coming to their perfection. For He says "I will make the heaven brazen to you and the earth iron,"<sup>d</sup> indicating that both of them will fail to perform their proper functions for which they were made. For when did 132 ever iron bear corn in the ear or brass bring rain, things necessary to all living creatures and particularly to men, whose life is precarious and full of needs? And the phrase suggests not only unfruitfulness and the ruin of the yearly seasons but also the sources of war and the intolerable and innumerable evils which war creates, for brass and iron are the materials from which the weapons of war are

*cf.* also *Spec. Leg.* i. 218, *De Som.* i. 210. Cohn strangely translates "will pass into each other or separate."

<sup>c</sup> Or "unstable," *cf.* its application to the profligate, *De Fug.* 28, and the multitude, *De Ebr.* 198.

<sup>d</sup> Lev. xxvi. 19, Deut. xxviii. 23.

## PHILO

133 ὄπλων ὕλαι. καὶ γῆ μέντοι κονιορτὸν οἴσει καὶ  
 χουῖς ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταχθήσεται βαρύτατον  
 ἐπιφέρων καρπὸν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν διὰ πνίγους ἀπώλειαν, ἵνα  
 μηδὲν παραλειφθῆ τῶν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ. πολυάνθρωποι  
 μὲν ἐρημωθήσονται συγγένειαι, κεναὶ δὲ αἱ πόλεις  
 ἕξαπιναίως οἰκητόρων ἔσονται, μνημεῖα παλαιᾶς  
 μὲν εὐτυχίας προσκαιροῦ δὲ βαρυδαιμονίας ὑπο-  
 λειφθεῖσαι πρὸς νουθεσίαν τῶν δυναμένων σω-  
 φρονίζεσθαι.

134 XXIII. Τοσαύτη δὲ ἐφέξει σπάνις τῶν ἀναγ-  
 καίων, ὥστε ἀλλοτριωθέντες τούτων τρέφονται ἐπ'  
 ἀλληλοφαγίας, οὐ μόνον ὀθνείων καὶ μηδὲν προσ-  
 ηκόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλάτων·  
 ἄψεται γὰρ καὶ πατὴρ υἱοῦ σαρκῶν καὶ μήτηρ  
 σπλάγχχνων θυγατρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ  
 γονέων παῖδες· αἰεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν δυνατω-  
 τέρων κακαὶ καὶ ἐπάρατοι τροφαί· τὰ Θυέστεια  
 παιδιὰ [καὶ] συγκρινόμενα ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν  
 135 συμφορῶν, ἃς μεγαλουργήσουσιν οἱ καιροί. μετὰ  
 γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐν εὐτυχίαις ποθεινὸς ὁ  
 βίος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν, οὕτως καὶ τοῖς βαρυ-

<sup>1</sup> For the corrupt *καρπὸν* Cohn suggests *κακὸν*. The translation again takes a very tentative guess of my own, *καπνὸν*, which in form suits well, and smoke does choke. But I do not know of any example of *καπνός* apart from fire. Philo, however, is transcribing the LXX, and we do not know what conception he formed of the *χοῦς* coming down from heaven. He may have connected it with the fiery rain of Gen. xix.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxviii. 24 "The Lord make the rain of thy land dust (*κονίωρος*), and dust (*χοῦς*) shall come down from heaven." In E.V. "powder and dust; from heaven shall it (apparently both) come down upon thee."

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 133-135

made. Earth too will bear dust, and powder will 133  
descend from Heaven<sup>a</sup> above, bringing a very grie-  
vous cloud of smoke to choke<sup>b</sup> and destroy life, and  
so no instrument of extinction will be left unused.  
Whole families will waste away from many into  
nothingness, cities will be suddenly left stripped of  
inhabitants,<sup>c</sup> monuments of their past prosperity and  
the misery that swiftly followed,<sup>d</sup> left to admonish  
those who can learn their lesson of wisdom.

XXIII. So greatly will the lack of necessities pre- 134  
vail that dismissing all thought of them they will  
betake themselves to feeding on their own kind,  
not only on strangers outside their family but on  
their nearest and dearest.<sup>e</sup> The father will lay his  
hands on the flesh of his son, the mother on the en-  
trails of her daughter, brothers on brothers, children  
on parents, and always the weaker will supply an  
evil and accursed meal to the stronger. The story  
of Thyestes<sup>f</sup> will be child's play compared with the  
monstrous calamities which those times of terror will  
bring about. For apart from all else, just as the 135  
prosperous desire life to enjoy their blessings, so

<sup>b</sup> Or "to destroy by stifling heat (*πνίγος*)."<sup>g</sup> So Cohn  
("Glut"). It is true that in all the examples of *πνίγος* quoted  
in the Lexicon, it is applied to the effects of heat, but this  
does not prove that it may not sometimes have retained its  
original general meaning.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxvi. 31.

<sup>d</sup> So Mangey "mox secutae," *cf.* *ἐξαιναίους*, § 150. But I  
cannot find any authority for this use of *πρόκαιρος*, which  
regularly means "for the occasion" or "transient." This is  
impossible here, for Philo cannot be referring here to the  
restoration of the penitent. Mangey proposed omitting  
*βαρυσταμονίας*, but surely Philo would have written the words  
in a different order.

<sup>e</sup> For this section see Lev. xxvi. 29, Deut. xxviii. 53-57.

<sup>f</sup> Atreus murdered the two sons of his brother Thyestes,  
and dressed and served up their flesh to their father.

- δαίμοσιν ἐκείνοις ἔρως πολὺς ἐνιδρυθήσεται τοῦ ζῆν πρὸς ἀμέτρων καὶ ἀπαύστων κακῶν μετουσίαν, ἀπάντων ἀνιάτων. ἦττον γὰρ <χαλεπὸν><sup>1</sup> ἀπαλλαγ-  
σαντας ἐπιτεμεῖν θανάτῳ τὰς ἀνίας, ὃ τοῖς μὴ λίαν φρενοβλαβέσιν ἔθος δρᾶν· οἱ δ' ἐκ παραπληξίας ἐθέλοιεν ἂν καὶ μακροβιώτατοι γενέσθαι, τῆς ἀνω-  
τάτῳ βαρυδαιμονίας ἀπλήστως καὶ ἀκορέστως  
136 ἔχοντες. τοιαῦτα τὸ κουφότατον εἶναι δοκοῦν τῶν κακῶν, ἀπορία, προσεργάζεσθαι πέφυκεν, ὅταν θεήλατος ἐπάγηται δίκη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ χαλεπὰ ῥίγος, δίψος, ἔνδεια τροφῆς, ἀλλ' εὐκταϊότατα γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπὶ καιρῶν, εἰ μόνον ἀνυπέρθετον φθορὰν ἐργά-  
σοιτο<sup>2</sup>. χρονίζοντα δὲ καὶ τήκοντα ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα τῶν τετραγωδημένων, ἃ δι' ὑπερβολὰς με-  
μυθεῦσθαι δοκεῖ, βαρύτερα πέφυκε καινουργεῖν.
- 137 XXIV. Δουλεία τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀφορητότατόν ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς σπουδάξουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν οἱ σώ-  
[431] φρονες | ἀγωνιζόμενοι φιλοκινδύνως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους δεσποτεῖαν· ἀφόρητον δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸς ἄμαχος· εἰ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφότερα γένοιτο, δεσπότης ὁμοῦ καὶ πολέμοις, τίς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ <τὸν> τὸ μὲν δύνασθαι ἀδικεῖν ἐκ δεσποτικῆς ἐξουσίας, τὸ δὲ μηδὲν συγγινώσκειν ἐξ ἀσυμβάτου δυσμενείας  
138 περιπεποιημένον; ἐχθροῖς οὖν φησι δεσπότης εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Cohn's insertion. I doubt its necessity: ἦττον, in itself "a smaller thing," can = "easier."

<sup>2</sup> Cohn, though printing ἐργάσοιτο, suggested ἐργάσαιτο. But the future optative representing Oratio Obliqua seems more effective.

<sup>a</sup> There is no authority in Leviticus or Deuteronomy for these two sections. Philo is perhaps so familiar with suicide as a way of escaping misery that he feels that the curse to be complete must include inability to make use of it.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 135-138

too these wretches will have firmly implanted in them a great longing for survival to experience miseries measureless and ceaseless all beyond hope of cure.<sup>a</sup> For it would be a comparatively small matter in their desperation to cut short their afflictions by death, a course often taken by those who have a little sanity left. But these sufferers in their infatuation will wish to prolong their life to the utmost, and their appetite for supreme misery is never satisfied. Such are the natural consequences 136 of what appears to be the lightest of the calamities promised, destitution, when it comes as a visitation of divine justice. For cold and thirst and want of food are hard to bear but may on occasions be most earnestly desired, if we feel that they will only entail undelayed annihilation, but when they linger and waste both soul and body they are bound to produce marvels of suffering worse even than those which, doubtless because they are so intensely painful,<sup>b</sup> are represented on the tragic stage.

XXIV. Slavery to the free is a thing most intoler- 137 able. To avoid it sensible people are eager and ready to die and gladly run any risk in contending with those who menace them with enslavement. But an irresistible enemy is also something intolerable, and when both despotic power and hostility are combined in the same person, who can resist one to whom his authority has given the power to act unjustly and his implacable enmity the disposition to show no consideration? So he declares that those who set at 138

<sup>b</sup> The translation takes *μυθεύω* in the sense of "to tell" (a myth), Cohn as "invent," and *δι' ὑπερβολάς* as desire for the hyperbolic. This does not seem to me to suit the plural.

## PHILO

τὸ ἀνηλεὲς χρῆσεσθαι τοὺς ἀλογοῦντας νόμων  
 ἱερῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως τῆς ἐκείνων ὑπ-  
 αχθέντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμαις<sup>1</sup> ἔκουσίοις ἐκδόντας  
 αὐτοὺς ἔνεκα τῶν ἀβουλήτων, ἃ λιμὸς καὶ σπάνις  
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπεργάζεται· τὰ γὰρ ἐλάττω κακὰ  
 φυγῇ μειζόνων αἰρετὰ νομίζουσί τινες, εἰ δὴ τι  
 139 βραχὺ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐστί. δουλεύοντες <γὰρ>  
 πικρῶν μὲν ἐπιταγμάτων ὑπηρεσίας ἀναδέξονται  
 τοῖς σώμασι, πικροτέρων δὲ θεαμάτων ἀνίαις κατα-  
 τεινόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπαγορεύουσιν· ὄψονται γὰρ  
 ὧν συνωκοδόμησαν ἢ κατεφύτευσαν ἢ περιποιή-  
 σαντο κληρονόμους γεγονότας ἐχθρούς, ἀλλοτρίων  
 ἀπολαύοντας ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐτοίμων· ὄψονται καὶ τὰ  
 πίονα τῶν ἰδίων θρεμμάτων εὐωχουμένους, ἱερεύ-  
 οντας<sup>2</sup> καὶ παραρτύοντας εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην, οἱ  
 στερόμενοι τοὺς ἀφελομένους<sup>3</sup>. ὄψονται καὶ γυναι-  
 κας, ἃς ἠγάγοντο κουριδίας ἐπὶ γνησίων παίδων  
 σπορά, σώφρονας <καὶ> οἰκουροὺς καὶ φιλάνδρους  
 140 ἑταιρῶν τρόπον ὑβριζομένας. καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἄμυναν  
 ὀρμήσουσιν, ἔξω δὲ τοῦ σφαδάζειν οὐδὲν ἐργάσα-  
 σθαι δυνήσονται πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν ἐκτετμημένοι καὶ  
 ἐκνεενυρισμένοι· προκείσονται γὰρ σκοποὶ τοῖς ἐθέ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. νόμοις.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἱεροῦντας.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. τοῖς ἀφελομένοις.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxviii. 48 "Thou shalt serve thy enemies . . . in hunger and thirst, and in nakedness, and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck."

<sup>b</sup> Philo may perhaps obtain this by taking v. 48 to mean "in your hunger, etc., you will become servants to your



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 138-140

nought the holy laws will have for their masters enemies who do not shrink from ruthlessness.<sup>a</sup> And not only will they be brought into subjection by the aggressiveness of the enemy but will voluntarily and deliberately surrender themselves because of the distresses which hunger and lack of necessaries produce.<sup>b</sup> For, in the opinion of some, lesser evils may be accepted to escape from the greater, though indeed is any of those here mentioned small? For 139 in slavery their bodies will be exercised in doing service to cruel orders and still more cruel will be the distressing sights which will torture their souls and drive them to despair.<sup>c</sup> They will see what they have built or planted or acquired become the heritage of enemies who enjoy the good things which others have owned and made ready. They will see them feasting on the fattest of their own cattle, slaughtered and dressed to give high delight and enjoyment to the robbers before the eyes of the robbed. They will see too the women whom they took in lawful wedlock for the procreation of true-born children, chaste domestic loving wives, outraged as though they were harlots. They will set about to defend them but 140 apart from some struggling will be able to accomplish nothing, with their strength all gelded and their nerves unstrung.<sup>d</sup> For they will present targets to

enemies." In *v.* 68 the E.V. has "you will sell yourselves," but the LXX is passive "you will be sold." Some texts have "thou shalt put a yoke." If Philo read this, it would assist the idea.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxviii. 34 "Thou shalt be distraught (*παράπληκτος*) because of the sights of thine eyes which thou shalt see." The next two sentences reproduce *vv.* 30-31.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps based on *v.* 32 "thy hand shall not be strong." E.V. "there shall be nought in the power of thy hand."

## PHILO

λουσιν ἄγειν, φέρειν, ἀρπάζειν, ὑβρίζειν, τιτρώσκειν, εἰς βλάβας, εἰς αἰκίας, εἰς πανωλεθρίαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἀφεθῆναι τῶν βλημάτων κωφόν, ἀλλ' εὐσκοπα καὶ εὐστοχα πάντα.

- 141 Ἐπάρατοι μὲν ἐν πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις, ἐπάρατοι δ' ἐν οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπαύλεσιν ἔσονται· ἐπάρατος μὲν ἡ πεδιάς καὶ ὅσα κατεβλήθη σπέρματα, ἐπάρατος δὲ ἡ βαθύγειος τῆς ὀρεινῆς καὶ ὅσα γένη δένδρων ἡμέρων· ἐπάρατοι τῶν θρεμμάτων αἱ ἀγέλαι, στερωθήσονται γὰρ πρὸς ἀγονίαν· ἐπάρατοι πάντες οἱ καρποί, τῷ γὰρ καιριωτάτῳ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀνεμό-  
142 φθοροὶ γενήσονται. τὰ πλήρη ταμεία τροφῶν καὶ χρημάτων κενωθήσεται<sup>1</sup>. πόρος οὐδεὶς εὐδοήσει,<sup>2</sup> τέχνηαι πᾶσαι, πραγματεῖαι πολύτροποι, βίων ἰδέαι μυρίων τοῖς χρωμένοις οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἀτελεῖς γὰρ  
[432] αἱ τῶν σπουδαζομένων | ἐλπίδες ἔσονται καὶ συνόλως ὅτου ἐφάβονται διὰ πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἢ ἔργων, ὧν κεφαλὴ καὶ τέλος ἀπόλειψις θεραπείας θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας ἐπίχειρα ταῦτα.

- 143 XXV. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ σωματικαὶ νόσοι μέλος ἕκαστον καὶ μέρος ἰδίᾳ κατεργαζόμεναι καὶ διεσθίουσαι καὶ πάλιν ὅλα δι' ὅλων καταξαίνουσαι, πυρετοῖς, ρίγεσι, φθινάσι τηκεδόσι, ψώραῖς ἀγρίαις,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κενωθήσονται.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. εὐοδώσει.

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<sup>a</sup> The next two sections are a development of Deut. xxviii.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 140-143

all who wish to ravish, harry, rob, assault, wound and deal out injuries, outrage and destruction. No shaft will fall lame or impotent ; a true eye and hand will carry them all to their mark.

<sup>a</sup> Cursed will they be in their cities and villages, <sup>141</sup> cursed in their houses and farm buildings. Cursed will be the field and all the seed dropped therein, cursed the fertile parts of the uplands and every kind of cultivated tree. Cursed their herds of cattle, barren without hope of increase, cursed all their fruits, blasted at the very height of their ripening. Their store-houses full of provisions and money will <sup>142</sup> become empty ; no profit-seeking trade will flourish ; all the crafts, the many-sided industries, the million ways of earning a livelihood, will prove useless to those who pursue them. Their hopes of attaining their ambition and in general everything which they take in hand will be frustrated by the evil practices or actions which their abandonment of God's service heads and consummates. For these are the wages of impiety and disobedience.

XXV. <sup>b</sup> Besides all this diseases of the body will <sup>143</sup> overpower and devour each separate limb and part, as well as tearing the whole frame right through with hot fits, cold fits, wasting consumption, malignant

16-19, the last part of § 142 interpreting "cursed shalt thou be in thy coming in and going out." Cf. his interpretation of that phrase in the Blessings 113. The last words are a close reminiscence of *v.* 20 "because of thy evil practices (*πονηρὰ ἐπιτηδέυματα*) and because thou hast forsaken (*ἐγκατέλιπες*) me."

<sup>b</sup> The bodily curses are mainly based with much expansion on Deut. xxviii. 22, 27, 35, and Lev. xxvi. 16. The terms *ἰκτερος*, *σφακελίζω*, *τηκεδών* come from Leviticus, and *πυρετός*, *ῥίγος*, *ψώρα ἀγρία*, *ἔλκος* from Deuteronomy.

## PHILO

ἰκτέροις, σφακελίζουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς,<sup>1</sup> ἔλκεσιν ὑπο-  
 πύοις <καὶ> ἐρπηνώδεσι κατὰ πάσης χεομένοις τῆς  
 δορᾶς, κακώσεσι τῶν ἐντοσθίων, ἀνατροπαῖς στο-  
 μάχου, τῶν ἐν πνεύμονι πόρων ἀποφράξεις ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ μὴ εὐδοεῖν τὴν ἀναπνοήν. πάρεσις γλώσσης,  
 κώφωσις ὤτων, πῆρωσις ὀφθαλμῶν, τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἀμυδρότης αἰσθήσεων καὶ σύγχυσις, καίτοι δεινὰ  
 144 ὄντα, συγκρινόμενα βαρυτέροις οὐ φαίνεται δεινὰ,<sup>2</sup>  
 τοῦ μὲν ἐν φλεψὶν αἵματος ἀποβαλόντος ὅσον ἦν  
 ἐν αὐτῷ ζωτικόν, τοῦ δ' ἐν ἀρτηρίαις πνεύματος  
 τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμφυοῦς ἀέρος μηκέθ' ὁμοίως  
 ἐπιδεχομένου σωτήριον κρᾶσιν, τῶν δὲ νεύρων  
 145 ἀνεθέντων καὶ χαλασθέντων· οἷς ἐπακολουθεῖ τῆς  
 ἀρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας τῶν μελῶν πάρεσις πρό-  
 τερον πονηθέντων ἀλμυροῦ καὶ πάνυ πικροῦ φορᾶ  
 ρεύματος εἴσω παραδυομένου καί, ὅποτε στενοῖς  
 ἐγκατακλεισθείη πόροις εὐμαρεῖς διεξόδους οὐκ  
 ἔχουσι, θλιβομένου τε καὶ θλίβοντος εἰς πικρῶν καὶ  
 δυσυπομονήτων γένεσιν ἀλγηδόνων, ἐξ ὧν φύεται  
 τὰ ποδαγρικὰ καὶ ἀρθριτικὰ πάθη καὶ νοσήματα,  
 πρὸς ἃ σωτήριον οὐδὲν ἐπενοήθη φάρμακον, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> So mss. and so apparently the best text of the LXX. Many authorities, however, have in Lev. xxvi. 16 τὸν ἰκτερα σφακελίζοντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, in accordance with which Mangey corrected ὀφθαλμοῖς to -οῦς. Presumably this is more in accordance with the Hebrew, as the E.V. has "fever, that shall consume the eyes." But no instance is quoted of σφακελίζω as transitive.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn prints πάρεσις . . . δεινὰ as a parenthesis, holding that τοῦ μὲν ἐν φλεψὶν κτλ. continues the construction of the previous sentence. It seems to me quite unnecessary. The genitives absolute follow naturally on βαρυτέροις.

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 143-145

scabs, jaundice, mortification <sup>a</sup> of the eyes, ulcers suppurating and creeping till they spread over the whole skin, dysentery, disorders of the intestine, obstruction of the passages in the lungs so that the respiration cannot travel properly.<sup>b</sup> If the tongue is crippled or the ears lose their hearing, or the eyes their sight, or the other senses are dulled or disorganized, we have conditions which though terrible in themselves lose their terrors if compared with 144 these graver symptoms, when the blood in the veins has lost its life-giving power and the breath in the bronchia can no longer receive a salutary fusion from its natural partner the air outside, and the nerves are relaxed and unstrung. These are followed by a 145 breaking up of the harmony and concord which unites the members. They have already laboured under the stream of the bitter briny rheumatic humour which steals within them, and when it is enclosed in narrow passages through which it has no easy outlet, undergoes and in its turn exerts a heavy pressure, producing bitter and almost intolerable pains. This again engenders affections of the feet and joints <sup>c</sup> and distempers for which no curative remedy is known,

<sup>a</sup> This seems the ordinary meaning of the word, though perhaps not very suitable here. Cohn "inflammation." Perhaps simply "wasting away," which seems to be the meaning of the word in Deut. xxviii. 32 *οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ σου βλέπονται σφακελίζοντες* (E.V. "look, and fail with longing"). But Philo is quoting from the LXX, and it is perhaps useless to inquire what meaning he put upon it.

<sup>b</sup> Or "that the tongue is crippled . . . are conditions," *i.e.* disability of the senses is a necessary but minor accompaniment (the only one actually mentioned is blindness (*ἀορασία*), *v.* 32).

<sup>c</sup> Based on *v.* 35 "The Lord smite thee on the legs and on the knees."

## PHILO

- 146 ἔστιν ἀνθρωπίαις ἐπινοίαις ἀνίατα. ταῦτα ὄρων-  
 τες ἔνιοι καταπλαγήσονται, πῶς οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ  
 πίονες εὖσαρκοί τε καὶ εὐεξία μάλιστα θάλλοντες  
 οὕτως αἰφνίδιον ἐκτακέντες ῥικνοὶ γεγόνασιν ἴνες  
 αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ λεπτὴ δορά, καὶ πῶς γυναῖκες  
 ἀβροδίατοι καὶ πανάπαλοι διὰ τὴν ἐκ πρώτης  
 ἡλικίας συναυξηθεῖσαν τρυφὴν ὑπὸ κακώσεως δεινῆς  
 ἅμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐξηγγρίωνται.<sup>1</sup>
- 147 Τότε δὴ τότε διώξονται μὲν ἐχθροὶ καὶ μάχαιρα  
 ἐκδικήσει δίκη, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰς πόλεις καταφεύ-  
 γοντες, ὅταν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενῆσθαι νομίσωσιν,  
 ἐλπίδος ἀπάτη φενακισθέντες ἡβηδὸν ἀπολοῦνται,
- 148 προκαταδύντων<sup>2</sup> ἐνέδραις ἐχθρῶν. XXVI. κἂν  
 <εἰ> ἐπὶ τούτοις μὴ σωφρονίζονται πλαγιάζοντες  
 καὶ τὰς ἐπ' ἀλήθειαν ἀγούσας εὐθυτενεῖς ὁδοὺς  
 ἐκτρεπόμενοι, δειλία καὶ φόβος ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν  
 ἐνιδρυθήσεται, καὶ φεύξονται μὲν οὐδενὸς διώ-  
 κοντος, φήμαις δὲ οἶα φιλεῖ ψευδέσι πεσοῦνται  
 [433] προτροπάδην, φύλλου τε κτύπος | κουφότατος δι'

<sup>1</sup> Cohn places the paragraph after the next sentence. But the break is surely here, where we pass from the bodily afflictions to those of war.

<sup>2</sup> So mss. Cohn προκαταδύντες = "because they have fallen into the snares before they get there"? The mss. reading seems to me to give a more natural interpretation of the LXX in Lev. xxvi. 25 "ye shall flee to your cities and I will send out death to you and ye shall be delivered (or betrayed, παραδώσεσθε) into the hands of your enemies." The enemy have access to the cities through accomplices, as the Thebans

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 145-148

nor can human ingenuity find any way of healing them. Such sights will make people ask in amazement how it is that persons who but now were plump and well clothed with flesh in the full bloom of robust health have so suddenly wasted away and shrunk into nothing but a set of sinews with a thin coating of skin ; and how women who have lived in ease and comfort, the dainty product of the luxury that has grown up with them from their earliest years,<sup>a</sup> have become wizened<sup>b</sup> in body as well as in soul through the cruel ravages of disease.<sup>c</sup> 146

Then too the enemy will pursue and the sword will exact justice. They will fly to their cities and think that they have found safety, but a false hope has deceived them ; the enemy will be there already lying in wait, and they will perish wholesale.<sup>d</sup> XXVI. 148  
And if with all this they fail to learn wisdom and still go crookedly<sup>e</sup> away from the straight paths which lead to truth, cowardice and fear will be established in their souls. They will fly when no man pursues ; rumours false as they so often are will send them falling headlong, and the lightest sound of a leaf borne through

<sup>a</sup> This looks like a reminiscence of *v.* 56 "She that is tender (*ἀπαλή*) and delicate (*τρυφερά*) among you whose foot has not attempted to go upon the ground because of her tenderness and delicacy," though the context is totally different. *πανάπαλοι* is Homeric, *cf. Odyssey* xiii. 223.

<sup>b</sup> More literally "have grown wild," which in English hardly answers to the description.

<sup>c</sup> For the medical use of *κάκωσις* for the consequences of disease see *L. & S.*

<sup>d</sup> *Lev.* xxvi. 25.

<sup>e</sup> So in *Lev.* xxvi. 21, 23, 27 *ἐὰν πορεύησθε πλαγιάζοντες.* *E.V.* "walk contrary to me."

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had in Plataea (*Thuc.* ii. 22). The *E.V.*, which has "pestilence" instead of "death," gives a different picture.

## PHILO

ἀέρος φερομένου<sup>1</sup> τοσαύτην ἀγωνίαν καὶ πτοίαν  
 ἐργάσεται, ὅσῃν ὁ τραχύτατος πόλεμος ἐκ δυνα-  
 τωτέρων ἐχθρῶν, ὡς καὶ τέκνα γονέων καὶ γονεῖς  
 τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφούς ἀδελφῶν ὑπεριδεῖν, ἐκ μὲν  
 τῆς ἀλλήλων ἐπιβοηθείας ἄλωσιν προσδοκήσαν-  
 τας, σωτηρίαν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδιδράσκειν  
 149 ἕκαστον. πονηρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀτελεῖς ἐλπίδες·  
 μᾶλλον γὰρ ἢ οὐχ ἦττον οἱ διαπεφευγέναι δόξαντες  
 τῶν προκαταληφθέντων ἀλώσονται. κἂν διαλά-  
 θωσι μέντοι τινές, ἐφεδρείαν δ' ἔξουσι τῶν φύσει  
 πολεμίων· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν ἀγριώτεροι<sup>2</sup> θῆρες ἐξ ἑαυ-  
 τῶν εὐοπλοῦντες, οὓς ὁ θεὸς ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει  
 τοῦ παντὸς ἐδημιούργει πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν  
 δυναμένων νοθετεῖσθαι φόβον τῶν δὲ ἀνιάτως  
 150 ἐχόντων ἀπαραίτητον δίκην. ἀπιστήσουσι μὲν οἱ  
 θεασάμενοι τὰς αὐτοῖς θεμελίους ἀναιρεθείσας πό-  
 λεις, εἰ πώποτε ὠκίσθησαν· ἐν εἶδει δὲ παροιμίας  
 θήσονται τὰς ἐκ λαμπρῶν εὐτυχημάτων ἐξαπιναίους  
 κακοπραγίας, ὅσαι καὶ ἀνεγράφησαν καὶ εἰσιν  
 151 ἄγραφοι. παρελεύσονται καὶ μέχρι σπλάγχχνων αἰ-  
 τηκεδόνες ἀθυμίας τε καὶ ἀδημονίας ἐμποιοῦσαι σὺν  
 ἐκθλίψει. ζωῆν ἀνίδρυτον καὶ κρεμαμένην ὥσπερ

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn (in translation) for mss. φερόμενος, cf. LXX φωνῆ φύλλου φερομένου.

<sup>2</sup> So mss. Cohn ἀγριώτατοι.

<sup>a</sup> Or "agitation." πτοία, though connected by Philo with fear, is applicable to other kinds of excitement. See note, vol. vii. p. 612.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxvi. 36, where Philo perhaps read with some mss. δειλίαν for δουλείαν (E.V. "faintness"). The rumours seem to be his interpretation of the "driven leaf."

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxvi. 37. LXX καὶ ὑπερόψεται ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὡσεὶ ἐν πολέμῳ. E.V. "And they shall stumble one upon another, as it were before the sword."



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 148-151

the air will cause as much trepidation and quaking<sup>a</sup> as the most savage war waged by mightier enemies.<sup>b</sup> So children will take no thought for parents nor parents for children, nor brother for brother, expecting that mutual help will lead to destruction, and flight, each man for himself, to salvation.<sup>c</sup> But the hopes of the 149 wicked are not fulfilled; those who imagine they have escaped will suffer worse or at any rate no better fate than those who were captured earlier.<sup>d</sup> Further if some elude their captors they will have to meet a reserve force of their natural enemies. These are wild beasts more ferocious than men, formidably equipped with their native weapons, whom God when He first made the universe created to put fear into those who could take the warning and to punish inexorably the incorrigible.<sup>e</sup> Those 150 who behold the cities with their very foundations demolished will disbelieve that they were ever before inhabited,<sup>f</sup> and all the calamities, whether described in the law or not,<sup>g</sup> which suddenly succeeded the bright days of prosperity, will become to them like a proverb.<sup>h</sup> The wasting will pass into their very bowels 151 and wring them with despair and sore distress; life will be made unstable and suspended as it were to

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxvi. 39 "Those who are left of you shall be destroyed" (E.V. "pine away").

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxvi. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxvi. 31, 32 "I will lay your cities waste . . . and your enemies who dwell in it shall wonder at it."

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xxviii. 61. E.V. "Every plague, which is not written in the book of the law," to which the LXX adds "and every one that is written."

<sup>e</sup> Deut. xxviii. 37. E.V. "Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword." LXX ἔσει ἐν αἰνίγματι ("riddle") καὶ παραβολῇ καὶ διηγήματι. Philo sums up the three in *παροιμία*.

ἐξ ἀγχόνης ἐργάσονται φόβου διαδοχαὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω καὶ κάτω κλονοῦσαι,<sup>1</sup> ὡς πρωίας μὲν ἐσπέραν ἐσπέρας δὲ ὄρθρον εὔχου-σθαι διὰ τὰς καὶ ἐγρηγορότων κακώσεις ἐμφανείς καὶ κοιμωμένων ἐξ ὄνειράτων ἀποτροπαίους φαν-τασίας.

152 Ὁ μὲν ἔπηλυς ἄνω ταῖς εὐτυχίαις μετέωρος ἀρ-θρῆς περίβλεπτος ἔσται, θαυμαζόμενος καὶ μακα-ριζόμενος ἐπὶ δυσὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις, τῷ τε αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς θεὸν καὶ τῷ γέρας λαβεῖν οἰκειότατον τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ τάξιν βεβαίαν, ἣν οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὃ δ' εὐπατρίδης παρακόψιας τὸ νόμισμα τῆς εὐγενείας ὑποσυρήσεται κατωτάτω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάρταρον καὶ βαθὺ σκότος ἐνεχθεῖς, ἵνα ταῦτα ὄρωντες τὰ παραδείγματα πάντες ἄνθρωποι σω-φρονίζωνται, μανθάνοντες ὅτι τὴν ἐκ δυσγενείας<sup>2</sup> ἀρετὴν φυομένην<sup>3</sup> θεὸς ἀσπάζεται, τὰς μὲν ρίζας ἐὼν χαίρειν, τὸ δὲ στελεχωθὲν ἔρνος, ὅτι μετέβαλεν ἡμερωθὲν πρὸς εὐκαρπίαν, ἀποδεχόμενος.

153 XXVII. Οὕτως καθάπερ ὑπὸ πυρὸς δαπανη-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κλίνουσι or κατακλινούσιν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δυσμενείας.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. φθιομένην, φθιομένην and A οὐ φθειρομένην (so Mangey).

<sup>a</sup> For this section see Deut. xxviii. 65-67. In the last words "for the fear of thy heart which thou shalt fear, and the sights of thy eyes which thou shalt see," Philo takes the "fears" to apply to the morning and the "sights" (*i.e.* dreams) to the evening or night.

<sup>b</sup> For this section see Deut. xxviii. 43 "The stranger (*προσ-ῆλυτος*) within thee shall mount higher and higher (*ἄνω ἄνω*) and thou shalt descend lower and lower (*κάτω κάτω*)." Philo's persistent determination to make *προσῆλυτος* = "prose-lyte" leads him here as elsewhere to ignore the context, which

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 151-153

a halter by one terror succeeding another, day and night, hustling the soul up and down, so that in the morning they will pray for evening and in the evening for morning through the palpable miseries of their waking hours and the horrible dreams which appear to them in sleep.<sup>a</sup>

The proselyte exalted aloft by his happy lot will be 152  
gazed at from all sides, marvelled at and held blessed by all for two things of highest excellence, that he came over to the camp of God and that he has won a prize best suited to his merits, a place in heaven firmly fixed, greater than words dare describe, while the nobly born who has falsified the sterling of his high lineage will be dragged right down and carried into Tartarus itself and profound darkness. Thus may all men seeing these examples be brought to a wiser mind and learn that God welcomes the virtue which springs from ignoble birth, that He takes no account of the roots but accepts the full-grown stem, because it has been changed from a weed into fruitfulness.<sup>b</sup>

XXVII. <sup>c</sup>When the cities have been thus con- 153

continues "he shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him." The "place in heaven" (perhaps better "high as heaven") does not of course refer to an after life but merely represents the emphatic *ἄνω ἄνω*, as "Tartarus" the *κάτω κάτω*.

<sup>c</sup> The sections that follow are mainly based on Lev. xxvi. 33-35 (*cf. v. 43*) "your land shall be desolate and your cities shall be desolate. Then the land shall enjoy (*εὐδοκήσει*) its sabbaths in the days of its desolation . . . it shall keep sabbaths, which it kept not among your sabbaths, when ye dwelt in it." On the word "enjoy" or "be well pleased" Philo builds a denunciation of the neglect of the sabbatical year as a wrong to the land, somewhat in the same spirit as his discourse on kindness to plants, *De Virt.* 155-160, and to the land, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 215 ff.

## PHILO

θειῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐρημωθείσης,  
 ἄρξεται ποτε διαπνεῖν καὶ ἀνακύπτειν ἢ πολλὰ  
 γυμνασθεῖσα καὶ τραχηλισθεῖσα γῆ πρὸς οἰκητόρων  
 [434] ἀφορήτου βίας, οἱ τὰς παρθένους | ἑβδομάδας  
 ὑπερορίους καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν διανοίας  
 ἀπήλασαν. μόνας γὰρ ἢ τό γε ἀσφαλέστερον εἰπεῖν  
 πρώτας ἀνέδειξεν ἑορτὰς ἢ φύσις τὰς ἑβδομάδας  
 ἡμερῶν τε καὶ ἑνιαυτῶν, πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις μὲν τὰς ἡμερῶν, τῇ δὲ χώρα τὰς ἑνιαυτῶν.  
 154 οἱ δ' ὅλον τοῦτον παρακαλυψάμενοι τὸν νόμον, τοὺς  
 ἄλας, τὰς σπονδάς, τὸν ἐλέου βωμόν, τὴν κοινήν  
 ἐστίαν, ἐξ ὧν φιλία καὶ ὁμόνοια ἡρμόζετο—πάντα  
 γὰρ δι' ἑβδομάδος καὶ ἑβδομάς—, ἐβάρυναν μὲν  
 ἀνθρώπους ἀσθενεστέρους οἱ δυνατώτεροι συνεχέσι  
 καὶ ἀδιαστάτοις ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἐβάρυναν δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 ἀρούρας αἰεὶ κέρδη μεταδιώκοντες ἐκ πλεονεξιῶν  
 ἄδικα, ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐφιστάντες<sup>1</sup> ἀχαλίνους καὶ  
 155 ἀδίκους ὄρμας εἰς τὸ ἀκόρεστον. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ  
 παρασχεῖν μὲν ἀνθρώποις, κατὰ τὸν ἀψευδέστατον  
 λόγον ἀδελφοῖς, ὧν μία μήτηρ ἢ κοινὴ φύσις, τὰς  
 προστεταγμένας δι' ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἐκεχειρίας, παρέχειν  
 δὲ καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ τὰς δι' ἐξ ἑνιαυτῶν ἀνέσεις μήτε  
 156 σποραῖς μήτε φυτεῖαις βαρύνοντας, ἵνα μὴ καμάτοις  
 ἐπαλλήλοις ἀπαγορεύσῃ, ἀμελήσαντες τουτωνὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιστάντες.

<sup>a</sup> On these symbols of peace see App. p. 457. The general meaning is that anyone capable of violating the Sabbath and sabbatical year is capable of any inhumanity.

<sup>b</sup> Or "all things," but see App. p. 458.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "are Seven." On this, which seems to me to go

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 153-156

sumed by fire and the country made desolate, the land will begin to take breath and raise its head—that land so long roughly handled in the grip of the intolerable violence shown by the inhabitants, who chased the virgin Sevens into banishment both from the country and from their thoughts. For the sole, or to speak more cautiously, the chief feasts appointed by nature are the recurrence of the sevenths in days and years, days to give rest to men, years to the country. But they have closed their eyes to the 154 whole of this law, to the salt, to the libations, to the altar of mercy, to the common hearth,<sup>a</sup> all which have served as bonds of friendship and goodwill, all of them <sup>b</sup> produced by Seven and embraced in Seven.<sup>c</sup> On men they have laid a heavy burden, the stronger oppressing the weaker, by making the tasks which they impose continuous and unbroken: on the fields, by ever pursuing unjust gains in the coveteousness of their hearts, lust at the base and on it impulses to action unjust and unrestrained, which never can be satisfied.<sup>d</sup> Instead of granting to men who in 155 absolute truth were their brethren, children of one mother their common nature, the appointed holiday after every six days, and to the land after every six years its time of release from the burden of sowing and planting lest it become exhausted by repeated 156 beyond the other phrases in which Philo extols the mystical virtues of Seven, see App. p. 458.

<sup>a</sup> The translation suggests a distinction between *ἐπιθυμία*, a desire not yet translated into an active impulse, and *ὄρμη*. But I have not seen anything either in Philo or *S.V.F.* to support it. Cohn translates "letting their desires have free course in an unbridled and wicked way," but I do not understand what he makes of *ἐφιστάντες*. Perhaps some other correction should be made for the mss. *ἐπιστάντες*, such as *ἐπιχάλασαντες*.

## PHILO

χρηστῶν παραινήσεων εἰς ἡμερότητα προκαλου-  
 μένων τὰ μὲν σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὧν ἐδύναντο  
 πάντων ἀνάγκαις ἀτρύτοις ἐπίεσαν, τῆς βαθυγείου  
 δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑπετέμοντο φοραῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν  
 ἀπλήστως προσοδομένοι καὶ δασμοῖς οὐκ ἐτησίοις  
 157 μόνου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφημέροις ὄλην δι' ὄλων ἐκτραχηλί-  
 ζοντες. ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰς λεχθείσας ἀρὰς καὶ  
 δίκας ἀναπλήσουσιν, ἢ δ' ἐκνευρισθεῖσα χώρα καὶ  
 μυρίας ὑπομείνασα κακώσεις, ἀποφορτισαμένη τὸ  
 τῶν ἀσεβῶν οἰκητόρων ἄχθος, ἐπελαφρισθήσεται·  
 καὶ ὅταν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβλεψαμένη μηδένα θεάσῃται  
 τῶν καθελόντων αὐτῆς τὸ μεγαλαύχημα καὶ  
 ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ κενὰς μὲν αὐτῆς τὰς ἀγορὰς θορύβων  
 καὶ πολέμων καὶ ἀδικημάτων, πλήρεις δὲ ἡσυχίας  
 καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀνηβήσει καὶ ἐπ-  
 ακμάσει καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐβδομάδων καιροὺς  
 158 ἐορτώδεις ἡρεμήσει καὶ ἀναπαύσεται συλλεγομένη  
 καθάπερ ἀθλητῆς προηγωνισμένος δύναμιν. εἶθ'  
 οἷα μήτηρ φιλόστοργος οἰκτιεῖται μὲν υἱοὺς καὶ  
 θυγατέρας οὓς ἀπέβαλεν, οἷ καὶ ἀποθανόντες καὶ  
 ζῶντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδύναι τοῖς τοκεῦσιν ἐγένοντο·  
 πάλιν δὲ νεάσασα εὐφορήσει καὶ τέξεται γενεὰν  
 ἀνεπίληπτον, ἐπανόρθωμα τῆς προτέρας· ἢ γὰρ  
 [435] ἔρημος, ἣ φησιν ὁ προφήτης, εὐτεκνός | τε καὶ  
 πολύπαις, ὅπερ λόγιον καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἀλληγορεῖται.  
 159 πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἦ, παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ἀνά-  
 πλεως, οἷα περικεχυμένων αὐτῇ τέκνων, ἡδονῶν,  
 ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀφροσύνης, ἀκολασίας, ἀδικίας, ἀσθενεί  
 καὶ νοσεῖ καὶ ἐπικῆρως ἔχουσα θανατᾶ, στερω-  
 412

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 156-159

labours, they set at nought their kindly admonitions which call to gentleness. They oppressed the souls and bodies of all whom they could with perpetual hardships and undermined the strength of the deep soiled field while they accumulated wealth insatiably by levying tributes greater than it could bear and broke it down utterly through its whole extent by tolls exacted not only annually but daily. For this they 157 themselves will receive the full measure of curses and penalties named above, but the land unstrung by the numberless mishandlings which it has undergone will now be relieved, disburdened of the heavy weight of its impious inhabitants. And when she looks around and sees none of the destroyers of her former pride and high name, sees her market places void of turmoil and war and wrongdoing, but full of tranquillity and peace and justice, she will renew her youth and bloom and take her rest calm and serene during the festal seasons of the sacred Seven, rallying her strength like a wrestler after his first bout. Then like 158 a fond mother she will pity the sons and daughters whom she has lost, who in death and still more when in life were a grief to their parents. Young once more she will be fruitful and bear a blameless generation to redress the one that went before. For she that is desolate, says the prophet,<sup>a</sup> will have children many and fine, a saying which also is an allegory of the history of the soul. For when the soul is "many," 159 full that is of passions and vices with her children, pleasures, desires, folly, incontinence, injustice, gathered around her, she is feeble and sick and

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah liv. 1 "for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife." LXX τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

## PHILO

- θεῖσα δὲ καὶ ἀγονήσασα τούτων ἢ καὶ ἀποβαλοῦσα  
 ἀθρόα γίνεται μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀγνή παρθένος,  
 160 παραδεξαμένη δὲ τὸν θεῖον σπόρον διαπλάττει καὶ  
 ζωογονεῖ περιμαχῆτους φύσεις, θαυμαστὰ κάλλη,  
 φρόνησιν, ἀνδρείαν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ὁσιό-  
 τητα, εὐσέβειαν, τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τε καὶ εὐπα-  
 θείας, ὧν οὐ μόνον ἡ γένεσις εὐτεκνος<sup>1</sup> ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἡ προσδοκία τῆς γενέσεως ἐλπίδι προγανοῦσα  
 161 τὴν ἀσθένειαν.<sup>2</sup> ἐλπίς δὲ χαρὰ πρὸ χαρᾶς ἐστίν, εἰ  
 καὶ ἐνδεῆς παρὰ τελείαν, ἀλλά τοι τῆς ἐπιγυνομένης  
 καθ' ἐκάτερα βελτίων, ὅτι τε τὸ αὐχμηρὸν ἀναχαλᾶ  
 καὶ λιπαίνει τῶν φροντίδων καὶ ὅτι φθάνουσα τὸ  
 μέλλον καὶ πλήρες ἀγαθὸν εὐαγγελίζεται.
- 162 XXVIII. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρὰς καὶ τιμωρίας, ἃς  
 ὑπομένειν ἄξιον τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων δικαιοσύνης  
 καὶ εὐσεβείας ὑπερορῶντας καὶ ταῖς πολυθέοις δό-  
 ξαις ὑπαχθέντας, ὧν ἀθεότης τὸ τέλος, λήθη τῆς  
 συγγενοῦς καὶ πατρίου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἐκ πρώτης  
 ἡλικίας ἐπαιδεύθησαν τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς φύσιν τὸν ἀνω-  
 τάτω νομίζειν θεόν, ᾧ δεῖ μόνῳ προσκεκληρῶσθαι

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey and Cohn for MSS. εὐτεκνον. I do not feel sure about this correction. For though εὐτεκνον ἀγαθόν would be a strange expression, the position of εὐτεκνος is also strange.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn finally accepted Mangey's correction to διάνοιαν, but see note c.

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<sup>a</sup> Though starting from the verse in Isaiah, the allegory of the soul is more concerned with 1 Sam. ii. 5 (Hannah's song) "yea, the barren hath borne seven; and she that hath many children languisheth. The Lord killeth, and maketh alive," a passage quoted to the same effect *Quod Deus* 10,  
 414



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 159-162

dangerously near to death.<sup>a</sup> But when she has become barren and ceases to produce these children or indeed has cast them out bodily she is transformed into a pure virgin.<sup>b</sup> Then receiving the divine seed 160 she moulds it into shape and brings forth new life in forms of precious quality and marvellous loveliness, wisdom, courage, temperance, justice, holiness, piety and the other virtues and good emotions. Not only is it well that these goodly children should be brought to the birth, but good also is the expectation of this birth, the forecast cheering the soul's weakness<sup>c</sup> with hope. Hope is joy before joy, falling short of the 161 perfection of the other yet superior to its successor in two ways, one that it relaxes with its unction the aridity of our cares, the other that it goes before as a harbinger of the plenitude of good which is to be.<sup>d</sup>

XXVIII. I have now described without any 162 reservation the curses and penalties which they will deservedly suffer who disregard the holy laws of justice and piety, who have been seduced by the polytheistic creeds which finally lead to atheism and have forgotten the teaching of their race and of their fathers, in which they were trained from their earliest years to acknowledge the One in substance,<sup>e</sup> the supreme God, to whom alone all

*De Mut.* 143. Here the LXX has ἡ πολλή ἐν τέκνοις ἡσθένησε. ὁ κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, in which the phrases ἡ πολλή for πολλὰ ἔχουσα τέκνα, ἡσθένησε, ζωογονεῖ, and perhaps θανατοῖ in θανατᾶ are echoed by Philo.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Cher.* 50.

<sup>c</sup> Another echo of ἡσθένησε. The substitution of διάνοιαν would miss this point.

<sup>d</sup> Compare the glorification of hope, §§ 7-14 above and *De Mut.* 157 ff., where also the phrase χαίρειν πρὸ χαρᾶς occurs.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. the "nature of the One." The theological use of "substance" is, I think, much the same.

## PHILO

τοὺς ἄπλαστον ἀλήθειαν ἀντὶ πεπλασμένων μύθων  
 μεταδιώκοντας, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλόμενος δεδήλωκα.  
 163 ἂν μέντοι μὴ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ δέξωνται τὰς δυνάμεις<sup>1</sup>  
 μᾶλλον ἢ νοθεσία καὶ καταιδεσθέντες ὅλη ψυχῇ  
 μεταβάλωσι, κακίσαντες μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς πλάνης,  
 ἐξαγορεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες ὅσα ἡμαρτον  
 καθ' αὐτοὺς διανοίᾳ κεκαθαρμένη τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὸ  
 τοῦ συνειδότος ἀψευδὲς καὶ ἀνύπουλον, ἔπειτα καὶ  
 γλώττη πρὸς βελτίωσιν τῶν ἀκούοντων, εὐμενείας  
 τεύξονται τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ ἰλεω θεοῦ τῷ γένει  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαίρετον παρασχομένου καὶ μεγί-  
 στην δωρεάν, τὴν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγου συγγένειαν,  
 ἀφ' οὗ καθάπερ ἀρχετύπου γέγονεν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος  
 164 νοῦς· κἂν γὰρ ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ὧσι γῆς δουλεύοντες  
 παρὰ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπάγουσιν ἐχθροῖς,  
 ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντες  
 ἐλευθερωθήσονται, τῆς ἀθρόας πρὸς ἀρετὴν μετα-  
 βολῆς κατάπληξιν ἐργασαμένης τοῖς δεσπόταις·  
 μεθήσονται γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἰδεσθέντες κρειττόνων  
 165 ἄρχειν. XXIX. ὅταν δὲ τύχωσι τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου  
 ταύτης ἐλευθερίας, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ σποράδες ἐν Ἑλ-  
 λάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ νήσους καὶ κατὰ ἠπείρους  
 [436] ἀναστάντες | ὁρμῇ μιᾷ πρὸς ἓνα συντενοῦσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀλλα-  
 χόθεν ἄλλοι τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα χῶρον, ξεναγούμενοι

<sup>1</sup> The word seems impossible as it stands. Cohn suggested *δυσμενείας*, but later rejected it and inclined to Mangey's *ἐπανατάσεις*. But the curses at this point are not threats, but actual punishments. If anything of this kind, *κολάσεις*. But τὰς <κολαστηρίους> δυνάμεις would not be out of place, cf. *De Fibr.* 32 τὰς κολαστηρίους δυνάμεις πῶς ἐπιφερομένας

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 162-165

must belong who follow truth unfeigned instead of mythical figments. <sup>a</sup> If however they accept these 163 chastisements as a warning rather than as intending their perdition, if shamed into a whole-hearted conversion, they reproach themselves for going thus astray, and make a full confession and acknowledgement of all their sin,<sup>b</sup> first within themselves with a mind so purged that their conscience is sincere and free from lurking taint, secondly with their tongues to bring their hearers to a better way, then they will find favour with God the Saviour, the Merciful, who has bestowed on mankind that peculiar and chiefest gift of kinship with His own Word, from whom as its archetype the human mind was created. <sup>c</sup> For even though they dwell in the uttermost parts 164 of the earth, in slavery to those who led them away captive, one signal, as it were, one day will bring liberty to all. This conversion in a body to virtue will strike awe into their masters, who will set them free, ashamed to rule over men better than themselves. XXIX. When they have gained this unexpected 165 liberty, those who but now were scattered in Greece and the outside world over islands and continents will arise and post from every side with one impulse to the one appointed place, guided in their pilgrimage

<sup>a</sup> For the restoration see Lev. xxvi. 40 ff. and Deut. xxx. 1 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxvi. 40 "they shall confess (ἐξαγορεύσουσι) their sins."

<sup>c</sup> For this and the next section see Deut. xxx. 3-5.

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οἴσομεν ; *De Conf.* 171 αἱ κολαστήριοι (sc. δυνάμεις)· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ κόλασις οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀμαρτημάτων οὐσα κώλυσις καὶ ἐπανόρθωσις. Though κολαστηρίους can hardly be understood here, it may have fallen out.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. συντείνουσι.

## PHILO

πρὸς τινος θειοτέρας ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην  
 ὄψεως, ἀδήλου μὲν ἑτέροις, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἀνασω-  
 166 ζομένοις ἐμφανούς, τρισὶ χρησάμενοι παρακλήτοις  
 τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν, ἐνὶ μὲν ἐπι-  
 εικείᾳ καὶ χρηστότητι τοῦ παρακαλουμένου συγ-  
 γνώμην πρὸ τιμωρίας ἀεὶ τιθέντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ  
 τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφ-  
 ειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἄπλαστον καὶ γυμνήν  
 ἐνδεικνύμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ  
 υἰῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἰκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασι  
 ποιῆσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ  
 167 ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς, τρίτῳ δὲ δι' ὃ μάλιστα καὶ ἡ  
 τῶν λεχθέντων εὐμένεια φθάνει προαπαντῶσα,  
 τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ βελτίωσις τῶν ἀγομένων εἰς σπονδὰς  
 καὶ συμβάσεις, οἳ μόλις ἐξ ἀνοδίας εἰς ὁδὸν ἐδυνή-  
 θησαν ἔλθειν, ἧς τὸ πέρας οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ εὐαρεστεῖν  
 168 τῷ θεῷ καθάπερ υἱὸς πατρί. παραγενομένων δὲ  
 πολιστήσονται πάλιν αἱ ἐρείπιοι γενόμεναι πρὸ  
 μικροῦ καὶ ἡ ἔρημος οἰκισθήσεται καὶ ἡ στείρω-  
 θείσα γῆ μεταβαλεῖ πρὸς εὐγονίαν· αἱ τε πατέρων  
 καὶ προγόνων εὐτυχίαι βραχὺ μέρος εἶναι νομι-  
 σθήσονται διὰ τὰς ἀφθόνοους τῶν ἐν χερσὶ περιου-

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<sup>a</sup> These remarkable words are regarded by Cohn (Introduction to translation, p. 382) as a somewhat obscure allusion to the Jewish expectation of a personal Messiah. But need they indicate more than a belief that in the second deliverance the nation would be guided as they were in the first by the Cloud in which was a *θεία ὄψις* flashing rays of fire, *Mos.* ii. 254? Cf. also the description of the Burning Bush, *Mos.* i. 66.

<sup>b</sup> A special sense of *ἀνασώζομαι*, see L. & S.

<sup>c</sup> Or "free from the complications (*ἄπλαστον*) and wrappings (*γυμνή*) of the body."

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 165-168

by a vision divine and superhuman<sup>a</sup> unseen by others but manifest to them as they pass from exile to their home.<sup>b</sup> Three intercessors they have to 166 plead for their reconciliation with the Father. One is the clemency and kindness of Him to whom they appeal, who ever prefers forgiveness to punishment. The second is the holiness of the founders of the race because with souls released from their bodies they show forth in that naked simplicity<sup>c</sup> their devotion to their Ruler and cease not to make supplications for their sons and daughters, supplications not made in vain, because the Father grants to them the privilege that their prayers should be heard.<sup>d</sup> The third is one which more than 167 anything else moves the loving kindness of the other two to come forward so readily, and that is the reformation working in those who are being brought to make a covenant of peace, those who after much toil have been able to pass from the pathless wild to the road which has no other goal but to find favour with God, as sons may with their father. When they have arrived, the cities which 168 but now lay in ruins will be cities once more; the desolate land will be inhabited; the barren will change into fruitfulness; all the prosperity of their fathers and ancestors will seem a tiny fragment, so lavish will be the abundant riches in their posses-

<sup>a</sup> This is presumably founded on Lev. xxvi. 42 "I will remember my covenant with Abraham . . . and with Isaac . . . and with Jacob." But the idea of the departed saints acting as intercessors, which Cohn *l.c.* notes as a genuinely Jewish idea, is, I think, unique in Philo. Indeed he rarely if ever suggests any conscious activity on their part. The nearest approaches to it which I have noted are in *De Sac.* 5, *Quis Rerum* 276 and *Mos.* ii. 288.

## PHILO

σίας, αἱ καθάπερ <ἀπ'> ἀενάων πηγῶν τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων ῥέουσai βαθὺν πλοῦτον ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ περιποιήσουσι φθόνου κρείττονα.

169 μεταβολὴ δὲ πάντων ἐξαπιναίως ἔσται. τρέψει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀρὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς <τῶν> μετανενοηκότων ἐχθρούς, οἷτινες κακοπραγίαις τοῦ ἔθνους ἐφήδοντο κατακερτομοῦντες καὶ ἐπιχλευάζοντες, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀκαθαίρετον ἔξοντες κλήρον<sup>1</sup> εὐτυχίας, ὃν παισὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀπολείψειν ἤλπισαν, αἰεὶ δὲ ἐποψόμενοι τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐν βεβαίῳ καὶ ἀκλινεῖ δυστυχίᾳ ταμειυθη-

170 σομένη καὶ ταῖς ἔπειτα γενεαῖς, ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας οὐ συνιέντες ὅτι καὶ τῆς πρὸ μικροῦ λαμπρότητος ἀπέλαυσαν οὐ δι' αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ διὰ νουθεσίαν ἐτέρων, οἷς τὰ πάτρια καταλύσασι φάρμακον ἀνευρέθη σωτήριον, λύπη, τὰ τῶν δυσμενῶν ἀγαθὰ περι-αλγήσασι. κλαύσαντες οὖν καὶ στενά-

ξαντες τὴν ἰδίαν τροπὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ προγονικὴν ἀνακάμψουσιν εὐτυχίαν διαυλοδρομή-

171 σαντες, οἷς μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἐξοκεῖλαι συνέβη. οἱ δὲ γελάσαντες τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐκείνων καὶ δημοτελεῖς ἑορτὰς ἄγειν ψηφισάμενοι τὰς ἀποφράδας αὐτῶν καὶ [437] τὰ πένθη κατευωχηθέντες καὶ συνόλως | τὴν ἐτέ-ρων κακοδαιμονίαν εὐδαιμονήσαντες, ὅταν ἄρξων-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καιρὸν.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxx. 5 "He will make thee abundant (πλεοναστὸν) beyond thy fathers."

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxx. 7.

<sup>c</sup> This must be the meaning of πρὸ μικροῦ here, and prob-

## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 168-171

sion, which flowing from the gracious bounties of God as from a perennial fountain will bring to each individually and to all in common a deep stream of wealth leaving no room for envy.<sup>a</sup>

Everything will suddenly be reversed, God will 169  
turn the curses against the enemies of these penitents,<sup>b</sup> the enemies who rejoiced in the misfortunes of the nation and mocked and railed at them, thinking that they themselves would have a heritage which nothing could destroy and which they hoped to leave to their children and descendants in due succession; thinking too that they would always see their opponents in a firmly established and unchanging adversity which would be reserved for the generations that followed them. In their in- 170  
fatuation they did not understand that the short-lived<sup>c</sup> brilliance which they had enjoyed had been given them not for their own sakes but as a lesson to others, who had subverted the institutions of their fathers, and therefore grief—the very painful feeling aroused by the sight of their enemy's good fortune—was devised as a medicine to save them from perdition.

So then those of them who have not come to utter destruction, in tears and groans lamenting their own lapse, will make their way back with course reversed to the prosperity of the ancestral past. But these enemies who have 171  
mocked at their lamentations, proclaimed public holidays on the days of their misfortunes,<sup>d</sup> feasted on their mourning, in general made the unhappiness of others their own happiness, will, when they begin to

ably in § 171, rather than the ordinary sense of “a little while ago,” though such a use is not noted in the Lexicon.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 458.

## PHILO

ται κομίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ὠμότητος, αἰσθή-  
 σονται διότι οὐκ εἰς ἀφανεῖς καὶ ἡμελημένους  
 ἐξημάρτανον, ἀλλ' εἰς εὐπατρίδας ἔχοντας ἐναύ-  
 σματα τῆς εὐγενείας, ἀφ' ὧν ἀναρριπισθέντων  
 ἐξέλαμψεν ἡ πρὸ μικροῦ σβεσθεῖσα εὐκλεία.

172 καθάπερ γὰρ ὑποτμηθέντων τῶν στελεχῶν, ὅταν  
 μὴ ἀφαιρεθῶσιν αἱ ρίζαι, νέα ἔρνη βλαστάνει,<sup>1</sup> ὑφ'  
 ὧν τὰ γεράνδρα παρευημερεῖται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
 καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς βραχυτάτου σπέρματος τῶν εἰς  
 ἀρετὴν ὑπολειφθέντος, ἄλλων περιαιρεθέντων, οὐδὲν  
 ἦττον ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχέος φύεται τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ  
 κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, δι' ἃ πάλιν εὐαν-  
 δροῦσαι [αἱ] πόλεις συνοικίζονται καὶ ἔθνη πρὸς  
 πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδίδωσιν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βλαστάνουσι.



## ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 171-172

reap the rewards of their cruelty, find that their misconduct was directed not against the obscure and unmeritable but against men of high lineage retaining sparks of their noble birth, which have to be but fanned into a flame, and from them shines out the glory which for a little while was quenched. For 172 just as when the stalks of plants are cut away, if the roots are left undestroyed, new growths shoot up which supersede the old, so too if in the soul a tiny seed be left of the qualities which promote virtue, though other things have been stripped away, still from that little seed spring forth the fairest and most precious things in human life, by which states are constituted manned with good citizens, and nations grow into a great population.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On this conclusion to the treatise see General Introduction, p. xxii.



## APPENDIX TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, IV

(The title.) This, as it is given here, is taken from a list of some of the works of Philo, found in an eleventh-century ms., which itself contains only half of the *De Opificio*, but the list no doubt is the table of contents in the exemplar from which that ms. was taken. It agrees with that in the two mss. (S and M) of this treatise, except that they omit *δλης*. All these omit the last word or words, which Cohn supplied by *τέλος*. The last six words so amended are translated in Goodhart and Goodenough's *Bibliography*, p. 135, "and which (*i.e.* justice) is the objective of the whole code." I understand *δ* to have the phrase *περι δικαιοσύνης* for its antecedent, and *συντάξεως*, which could hardly mean "code," as referring to the whole of the four books.

The addition of *τῶν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀναφερομένων* seems quite needless. Compare the titles of the other three books.

§ 2. (Stealing open and secret.) As the distinction made by Philo, though natural enough, is not drawn at any rate directly from the Law it is a case where perhaps he may have been influenced by other legislation. Goodenough, *Jewish Jurisprudence in Egypt*, pp. 145 ff., and Heinemann, *Bildung*, pp. 421 ff., have some discussion on this. Goodenough notes that the Ptolemaic law in Egypt distinguished between open robbery (*λεία*) and ordinary stealing. He gives a reference to Taubenschlag, *Strafrecht*, pp. 26 ff., which I have not been able to see. In Roman law the person who committed a "furtum manifestum" was held to be a "fur inprobior" (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 601). In Attic law the distinction does not seem to be so clear. In Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 62, which Goodenough cites, *κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἰάν τις φανερός γένηται κλέπτων . . . θάνατός ἐστιν ἢ ζημία, φανερός* may mean "detected," "clearly proved" rather than, as Goodenough, "openly."

§ 2. *Repay the stolen goods twofold.* Mangey on these

## PHILO

words and Driver on Ex. xxii. 4 give several examples of a similar rule. Among them are Solon's laws as stated by Gellius xi. 18 and Dem. *Adv. Timocrat.*, p. 467 (of conviction for theft in a private action) and Plato, *Laws* 857 A. Philo may have known these, but his generalization is not so inexact that we need suppose him to have been influenced by other legislations.

§ 4. *General proclamation.* Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 421, dissents from the view that there is an allusion to Lev. xxv. 10, and regards the phrase as meaning merely a public announcement. The absence of the article may favour this, but he does not give any evidence of such a regulation from Philo or elsewhere. The Athenian ἀποκήρυξις which he quotes as an analogy, a term applied to a formal notice of disinheriting, does not help much.

§ 7. *In the very place where he has broken in.* L. and S. revised give “(the act of) breaking in” for διόρυγμα as a LXX usage, citing this passage, viz. Ex. xxii. 2 and Jeremiah ii. 34. I do not think this is right. In neither passage, the second of which appears to be an allusion to the first, is there any necessity to understand the act rather than the place. Anyway, Philo is more likely to have understood the word, which he quotes from the LXX, in its usual sense.

For the law that a thief might be legally killed at night *cf.* the Attic law as stated by Demosthenes, *Adv. Timocrat.*, p. 463, also Plato, *Laws* ix. 874 β νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσιόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων, εἰάν ἐλὼν κτείνῃ τις, καθαρὸς ἔστω. In Roman law, the XII Tables have “si nox furtum factum sit, si eum occisit, iure caesus esto.” As Philo is reproducing Exodus, these are illustrations of that rather than of this. However, one point noted by Goodenough, p. 154, may be worth mentioning. The Roman law, as stated in the Digest, directed that the killing must be preceded by a call for help (“cum clamore”). If Philo knew this, it would agree with his insistence that the right to kill is founded on the inability to get help. Much the same point is made in another connexion in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 74-78.

§§ 11, 12. (Value of Sheep and Ox.) Heinemann's suggestion (approved by Goodenough), that the thought in these sections was developed from the Stoic doctrine that animals were created for the service of man, seems to me fanciful. Philo has to give a reason why the law requires a higher

## APPENDICES

rate of compensation for a sheep and still more for an ox than for other goods, and this necessarily depends on their value to the owner. The passage he quotes from Cic. *De Nat.* ii. 158 ff. certainly says that the sheep was intended to supply man with wool and the ox to supply him with means for ploughing, but does not note the other abilities noted here. The two passages are also alike in not mentioning that either animal is good for food, but elsewhere the Stoics seem to have held that they were also created to be eaten ("ad vescendum"), Cic. *De Leg.* i. 8. 25 (*S.V.F.* ii. 1162).

§ 13. (Kidnapping.) As the LXX (see footnote) does not deal with the crime of kidnapping a non-Israelite, Philo leaves the punishment to be determined by the "court," cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 148, where the same is laid down in the case of death caused to a man by falling into an unguarded pit, whereas the law only prescribed compensation for the death of an animal. By the Court I do not understand him, as Goodenough does, to be thinking of the Jewish Court in Alexandria. What he says in these sections is that (1) the act is obviously a crime against humanity, and (2) would therefore have to be punished by a court, (3) should be, or at least might be, punished by something less than death.

In Roman law kidnapping ("plagium") was a serious crime, sometimes punishable by death (see Dict. of Ant.).

§ 21. (ἀγρονόμοι.) Nothing really is known of this office, except from two passages in Aristotle, *Politics* vi. 5, 1321 b and vii. 11, 1331 b, where he says that the ὕλωροί or forest-wardens are also called ἀγρονόμοι, but he does not specify the states where these are to be found. It is conjectured (see Pauly-Wissowa) that the πεδιανόμοι at Sparta, whose title is found in an inscription, are the same. But Plato in several passages of the *Laws* recommends the appointment of such officials to do for the country what the ἀστυνόμοι do for the towns. See particularly 760 ff. and 844 b, where they are empowered to redress civil injuries. Very little importance, I think, can be attached to Philo's statement that the best governed cities have these officials. It is an inference which he would easily draw from Plato's way of speaking of them. And indeed some modern scholars seem to have made the same assumption (see Dict. of Ant.).

§ 39. τῶν . . . μελλόντων. In support of the translation somewhat doubtfully given in the text it may be pointed out that

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Philo evidently sees in Lev. xix. 11, 12 something like the rhetorical figure, technically called "the ladder" (κλίμαξ), in which at each stage the crucial word of the preceding stage is repeated. (See Ernesti, *Lex. Rhet.*) A similar example in Demosthenes (speaking of the process by which a quarrel rises to bloodshed) runs μηδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγεσθαι, ἐκ μὲν λαιδορίας εἰς πληγὰς, ἐκ δὲ πληγῶν εἰς τραύματα, ἐκ δὲ τραυμάτων εἰς θάνατον. Of course in Lev. itself it is not a proper "climax," as the πρότερον is not repeated before the ἐπόμενον, but Philo's exposition takes that form.

§ 40. *Unscientific method of proof.* The depreciatory note which Philo here puts into the word ἀτεχνος is very unfair. The ἀτεχνοὶ πίστευσι are, as quoted from Cope in the note to *De Plant.* 173 (vol. iii. p. 499), "proofs not due to the artist's invented skill, but supplied to him from the outside as it were of his art." They are not opposed to ἐλεγχοὶ δίκαιοι but are indeed really more "just," in so far as they cannot be perverted by the orator's skill. In *De Plant.* the word was translated "inartistic" (perhaps better "unartistic"), and that or "unartificial" is the equivalent usually given. But "unscientific" seems to me in the usual English usage to come nearer to the meaning (or perhaps "non-scientific," though I have kept the "un-" as giving something of Philo's depreciatory note).

§ 40. (Text of φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ θεῖον ὄνομα, etc.) As stated in the footnote Cohn expelled ἀγαθὸν καὶ on the grounds (1) that ἀγαθόν is an unsuitable adjective in this context, (2) that the fairly obvious corrections ἄγιον or ἀγαστὸν suggested by Mangey are ruled out by the hiatus after φύσει. This objection applies of course to ἀγαθόν also.

In a note in vol. vii. p. 620 I said that I did not know how far Cohn's argument that a certain reading was unacceptable on account of the hiatus was valid and that Cohn did not anywhere formulate his doctrine. Since then I have got more information originally through Cumont's edition of the *De Aeternitate*, Prol., p. xx. Cumont refers to a publication by J. Jessen in a *Festschrift* to Hermann Sauppe entitled *De elocutione Philonis Alexandrini* (1889). Jessen's article is largely occupied in showing that Philo uses μέχρι or ἄχρι according as a vowel or consonant precedes. But towards the end he discusses hiatus in general from a study of the *De Opificio* and concludes that it is only admitted when

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(a) Philo is quoting scripture or another writer such as Plato, (b) when any stop, even a comma, intervenes, (c) in familiar conjunctions of words forming a single phrase such as ἐρήσιοι ὄραι, (d) after the article, or the relative pronoun or prepositions or καί, μή, τι, ὅτι, etc. This last class means, I suppose, the little common words which recur so frequently that the writer would be hampered if he always had to follow with a consonantal word. Cumont finds that this rule also applies to the *De Aet.*, the genuineness of which he is supporting.

Jessen however admitted that in the *De Op.* there was a certain residuum of cases, where the hiatus had no such excuse, and Cumont said the same of the *De Aet.*, and probably an examination of the other treatises would give the same result. Most of those quoted by Jessen and Cumont are capable of emendation, sometimes easily, sometimes only with some straining. As a matter of fact I observe that Cohn, who had Jessen's work before him, left all but one of these cases of hiatus as they stand in the mss. in his own edition.

The real question is whether Philo put the hiatus on the same footing as a grammatical error, or whether he thought it a thing to be avoided generally, but not if the avoidance hampered his expression in any way. I should be inclined to take the second view and hold that while a hiatus may justly increase suspicion of a reading to which there are other objections, it does not in itself create a fatal or even a very serious objection. In the case under discussion I do not think that the expulsion of ἀγαθὸν καὶ is justified, particularly as the same hiatus after φύσει occurs elsewhere (ἑβδομάδος φύσει οἰκέα, *Leg. All.* i. 16), where neither is any easy emendation possible nor has Cohn or any other editor raised any objection.

As for the first objection, it may be granted that as ἀγαθὸς when applied to God regularly connotes His beneficence, ἅγιον would be more appropriate here. But it is going too far to call it unsuitable. It is applied to the Divine Name in Ps. liii. (liv.) 6.

§ 49. Heinemann refers on this passage to Plato, *Ion* 534. Here and in the parallels, *Spec. Leg.* i. 65 and *Quis Rerum* 265 f., Philo may have had in mind this passage, particularly διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐξαιρούμενος τούτων (i.e. "poets") τὸν νοῦν τούτοις χρήται ὑπηρεταῖς καὶ τοῖς μάντεσι τοῖς θεοῖς . . . ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων, διὰ τούτων δὲ φθέγγεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς. But

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Heinemann goes much too far, I think, in saying that this conception is derived ("entlehnten") from Plato. The idea of the prophet as God's mouthpiece is self-evident throughout the prophetic books, and the most striking point in Philo's imagery here and in *Quis Rerum*, that the prophet is the musical instrument on which God plays, does not come so far as I know from Plato, at any rate not from this passage in the *Ion*.

§ 52. *όλοστόν*. Stephanus gives for this word "integer totus," Hesychius *όλως ός έστιν* (what does that mean exactly?) and L. and S. old and revised merely repeat this statement or part of it. It is a mis-statement to say that it is only known from Hesychius. It is found here in the mss. of Philo in a passage the genuineness of which was not questioned till lately, but was overlooked by the lexicographers, who conceivably may have overlooked the word elsewhere. In fact it has the advantage over several other words only quoted from Philo that it has the support of Hesychius. But the formation is odd. If formed like other words in *-στός*, the ordinals and *όλιγοστός*, *πολλοστός*, it should be "one out of a whole": a further difficulty here is that it seems to be used as a substantive, which is not the case, so far as I know, with the other words in *-στός*. I am inclined to think that the writer of the clause, whether Philo or another, actually wrote as Mangey suggests *όλως αύτόν*, which, as he says, would easily pass by abbreviation into *όλοστόν*.

§ 54. (Last sentence.) Heinemann remarks on these words that both the expression and the thought are derived from the Stoics, who, while combatting the sceptical doctrine that certain knowledge was unattainable and *έποχή* was universally necessary (*cf.* the sceptical sections in *De Ebr.* 171-205), allowed that there were cases where for want of evidence *έποχή* was necessary. *Cf.* *S.V.F.* ii. 121 *πάς δογματικός έν τισιν έπέχειν είωθεν, ήτοι παρά γνώμης άσθένειαν ή παρά πραγμάτων άσάφειαν, ή παρά τήν τών λόγων ίσοσθένειαν.* *έπέχειν* and *έποχή* are the accepted technical terms in this sense, but need such a commonsense observation as that, when two things are equal, you cannot decide in favour of either, be necessarily traced to Stoic sources?

§§ 63 ff. These sections have a close parallel in Plato, *Laws* 955 c-d "those who serve their country ought to serve without receiving gifts, and there ought to be no excusing



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or approving the saying 'Men should receive gifts as the reward of good but not of evil deeds'—for to know what is good and to persevere in what we know is no easy matter. The safest course is to obey the law, which says 'Do no service for a bribe'" (Jowett). That Philo had Plato in mind is made more probable by his introduction of another Platonic word ἡμιμόχθηροι, *Rep.* 352, used to describe the half-way house in injustice.

§ 64. *Awarder* (or *umpire*) of justice. Heinemann may be right in regarding this as a direct quotation from Aristotle. Philo however also knew the expression βραβεύειν τὰ δίκαια from Demosthenes, *Ol.* iii. 96. βραβεύς, βραβεύειν and βραβευτής, originally applied to the games, easily lend themselves to metaphor and Philo has used the last several times in other connexions. But see on § 149.

§ 73. *One of the men of old.* Mangey supposed that this refers to the passage in the *Theaetetus* of Plato quoted below on § 188. But imitation is not quite the same as assimilation, nor is showing kindness there specifically marked. Heinemann's note is "this frequently quoted saying was ascribed to Pythagoras and Demosthenes," and refers for the evidence of this to Vahlen's edition of Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, p. 216; Cohn gives the same reference. I am sorry that I have been unable to see this edition, but presumably the evidence is the same as or includes that quoted by Roberts in his edition of the *De Sub.*, p. 244. (a) Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, xii. 59 "Pythagoras said that the two best gifts of the gods to men were speaking the truth and showing kindness (τό τε ἀληθεύειν καὶ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν), and he added that both resembled the works of the gods." (b) Arsen, *Viol.* 189 "Demosthenes, being asked what man has like God, said 'showing kindness and speaking the truth.'"

§ 85. ἔρως. This is a word for which there is no real equivalent in English when the context does not allow it, as no doubt it often does, to be rendered by the single word "love." The phrase "sexual love" is not attractive, and does not cover the whole of the Greek conception. The Stoic definition of ἔρως as one of the seven different forms of ἐπιθυμία, Diog. Laert. vii. 113, is ἐπιθυμία τις οὐχὶ περὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους· ἔστι γὰρ ἐπιβολὴ φιλοποιίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον, which Hicks translates "a craving from which good men are free, for it is an effort to win affection due to the visible presence of

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beauty." An interesting study of the four words *στοργή*, *ἔρωσ*, *φιλεῖν*, *ἀγαπᾶν*, particularly as used by Plato and Aristotle, is given in an Appendix to Sandys's edition of *Aristot. Rhet.*, vol. i.

§ 104. *μακρόθεν*. As Heinemann, Mangey and Cohn generally give quite a different sense here and elsewhere from myself to this adverb and *πόρρωθεν*, I take the opportunity of collecting the passages I have noted in this book and the preceding and the *De Virtutibus*. In nearly all the clear intention is to show that the injunction actually given leads on to another principle of a higher kind, which I have generally translated by the adverb "indirectly" or "by implication," on which see below.

(1) *Spec. Leg.* iii. 48 *μακρόθεν δ' ὡς ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ἐσωφρόνισεν ἀνθρώπους.*

Here, where *ἀπὸ σκοπῆς* fixes the meaning beyond question, the guilt of unlawful unions among men is deduced from the prohibition of mixed matings of animals. Heinemann "wie von einer Warte"; Mangey "longe quasi e speculo."

(2) *Ib.* 63 *πόρρωθεν μοιχείας ἀνείργων.* (Guilt of adultery from the injunction of ablutions even after lawful intercourse.)

Here Heinemann translates *πόρρωθεν ἀνείργων* by "fern zu halten"; Mangey "longe submovens."

(3) *Ib.* 117 *πόρρωθεν τὴν βρεφῶν ἔκθεσιν ἀπέιπε δι' ὑπονοιῶν.* (Guilt of infanticide from the punishment decreed against causing a miscarriage.)

Here the addition of *δι' ὑπονοιῶν* gives the same thought in a different form. The one prohibition is an allegory of the other. Heinemann "in versteckter Andeutung," apparently translating *δι' ὑπονοιῶν* and ignoring *πόρρωθεν*; Mangey "procul vetuit."

(4) *Spec. Leg.* iv. 104 (this passage) *μακρόθεν ἀνείρξαι βουλόμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ λεχθέντα ὀρμήν.* (The evil of cruel vindictiveness from the prohibition of carnivorous animals for food.)

Heinemann "recht fern zu halten"; Mangey "procul remoturus."

(5) *Ib.* 203 *πόρρωθεν ἀνακοπήν μοιχῶν ἐργάζεσθαι.* (Guilt of adultery from the mixed mating of animals, *cf.* iii. 48.)

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Heinemann "offenbar" ("openly" or "plainly"?); Mangey "quanto magis."

(6) *Ib.* 218 αἱ μακρόθεν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις πλεονεξιῶν τὴν λύσσαν ἀνείργουσι. (Duty of restraining covetousness from the prohibition of sowing the vineyard.)

Heinemann "nachdrücklich"; Mangey "procul arcet."

(7) *De Virt.* 21 πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀνδρογύνους οὕτως καὶ γυνάνδρους φυλαξάμενος. (Womanliness in general from the single item of womanly dress (see the next sentence ἐνὸς γὰρ κτλ.).)

Cohn "fernhalten"; Mangey "longe submovens."

(8) *Ib.* 116 πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ μὴ ἐφήδεται. (Avoidance of ἐπιχαιρεκακία, from the injunction to help an enemy's beast.)

Ignored by Cohn; Mangey "in minimis quoque docet."

(9) *Ib.* 137 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακρόθεν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν εὐχέρειαν. (Guilt of infanticide from the prohibition of killing a pregnant animal.)

Cohn "schon von vornherein"; Mangey "ad longe com-pescendum."

(10) *Ib.* 160 πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκεται τῶν λογικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. (Consideration for men from kindness to animals.)

Cohn gives this well, "zieht durchaus die weitere Lehre"; Mangey "inde dixit rationalibus potio-rem curam inpendere." To these may be added *De Virt.* 151 τὸ μέλλον ὡς περ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς μακρόθεν . . . καθορᾶσθαι, where the same phrase is used as in iii. 48, but has no reference to Moses' teaching. Cf. also *De Virt.* 129.

While taking the adverbs in an intensive sense "to keep far away" will suit (7) and perhaps (2, 4, 6), if the adverbs in -θεν can bear this sense, which seems to me doubtful, it is hardly compatible with ἀπειπεῖν (3), or ἀνακοπήν ἐργάζεσθαι (5), or ἐπισχεῖν (9), and quite impossible with σωφρονίζειν (1), and ἀναδιδάσκειν (8, 10). It is clear to me that throughout, as indicated by (1), both adverbs express Philo's conception of the Law as a code in which those who have eyes to see may discern other lessons *far away* from the primary and literal. I do not feel that the translation "indirectly" or "implicitly" is at all adequate. "A lesson reaching far

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beyond the actual words " would express the meaning better, but be too heavy a rendering for this single word.

§ 106. (Dividing the hoof.) In this treatise the phrase is used of ethical questions only and signifies the distinguishing of the desirable from the undesirable. In *De Agr.* 131-145 the treatment is somewhat different. In § 133 as here it is taken to mean distinguishing the beneficial from the injurious, but as the discussion proceeds it is applied to analysis and distinction in the arts and sciences—grammar, music and logic. The sophists in fact are represented by the pig, because although they divide the hoof they do not chew the cud.

As Philo's interpretation of *διχληεῖν* or something like it appears in the letter of Aristeeas 150, which though of uncertain date is by general agreement considered to be earlier than Philo, it is not altogether original with him. As to whether it was accepted later, I have no information as far as Rabbinism is concerned. Heinemann's silence in *Bildung* would suggest that it was not. But there is an interesting passage in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, where Faithful discoursing about Talkative says that he reminds him of Moses' saying that the clean beast must both chew the cud and part the hoof. "The hare cheweth the cud, but yet is unclean because he parteth not the hoof. And this truly resembles Talkative. He cheweth the cud, he seeketh knowledge; he cheweth upon the word; but he divideth not the hoof; he parteth not with the way of sinners; but as the hare, retaineth the foot of a dog or bear, and therefore he is unclean." This is not very different from Philo's interpretation. Is Bunyan here following a tradition of the Christian pulpit? Christian's reply is "You have spoken, for aught I know, the gospel-sense of these things."

§ 109. *πολύχλα*. This word is not recorded by Stephanus or the earlier L. & S. The revised L. & S., citing this passage, erroneously gives it as "dividing the hoof, opposed to *μονώνυχα*."

§ 113. *Cormorant*. *αἴθυια* ("sea-gull"?) is taken as a type of voracity with the same verb *ἐμφορεῖσθαι* in *Leg. All.* iii. 155 and *Quod Det.* 101. Philo is the only author quoted for this usage, as the other passage cited by Stephanus, Athenaeus vii. 283 c, is not to the point. L. & S. do not notice it at all.

§ 116. (Clean and unclean birds.) Aristeeas 145-147 gives

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the same definition of the unclean birds and mentions doves, pigeons, geese and partridges as specimens of the clean. He also adds the moral that the prohibition is intended as a warning against injustice and tyranny among men.

§ 128. *ἀνδρὸς εὐζώνου*. While *εὐζωνος* in a general sense is common enough, the phrase as a standard of measurement is not quoted in the Lexicon from any writers later than Herodotus (i. 72, 104) and Thucydides (ii. 97). If the absence of quotation reflects the facts, we may fairly set its presence here as a conscious literary reminiscence or imitation of the historians.

§ 137. *Shaking before the eyes*. Though Philo does not actually use *σαλευτά* nor get nearer to it than *σάλον δ' ἐγέτω* below, there can be no doubt that this is what he read. It is equally clear that it is a misreading, and his explanation is fantastical. But the mistake is not confined to him. The Apparatus Criticus in Brook and Maclean's edition of the LXX shows that one ms. has *σαλευτόν* in Deut. xi. 18, though not apparently in vi. 8, and that the Old Latin version had "mobilia." This is also supported by a treatise of Origen, which only survives in the Latin. The reference to this is not given. Otherwise it would be interesting to see whether Origen owed the idea to Philo and gave it further currency.

§§ 149, 150. *Unwritten Laws*. Heinemann rightly notes the resemblance to Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 14. 7, where Aristotle says that on the one hand it may be argued that "the better man is he who is just without compulsion; now the written laws of right are compulsory, the unwritten are not." This is the view taken here. From another point of view it is worse to offend against the written, "for he who commits offences which are dangerous and liable to penalty will still more do so when there is no penalty." Our passage looks like a definite reminiscence and strengthens the probability that the phrase in § 64 is a direct quotation (the same can hardly be said of the allusion to *ἄτεχνοι πίστεις* in § 40). The distinction between *ἄτεχνοι* and *ἐντεχνοι πίστεις*, though originating with Aristotle, runs through the whole of later rhetoric and must have been "known to every schoolboy."

It is to be observed that the sense of *ἄγραφοι νόμοι* here is totally different from that of *De Virt.* 194, where see note *b*.

§ 158. (Footnotes *b* and *c*.) In *De Agr.* 84 ff. Philo takes

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ἵππων, which he here paraphrases by θρέμματα, in its regular sense of cavalry and introduces his allegory by declaring that the literal interpretation is untenable because Moses would not recommend that a ruler should forgo such an indispensable part of his armament. Cf. note on *De Virt.* 28 ff.

§ 160. Ἐπινομιδα. Philo has used this name for Deuteronomy in *Quis Rerum* 162, 250. As so applied it is not quoted from any other writer, and if the application is due to him it is a reasonable supposition that it is modelled on the pseudo-Platonic treatise of that name.

§ 188. *Assimilated to God.* Philo no doubt here and elsewhere where he uses this expression is thinking of Plato, *Theaetetus* 176 A-B, which he quotes, naming the treatise, in *De Fug.* 63, "to fly away (from earth to heaven) is to become like God (ὁμοίωσις θεῶ) as far as this is possible, and to become like him is to become just, holy and wise."

§ 188. Σῶμα σῆμα. This play of words appears also in *Leg. All.* i. 108 in connexion with a saying of Heraclitus, from which "the editors of Heraclitus infer that σῶμα σῆμα was originally said by him" (Thompson on *Gorg.* 493 A). Plato himself in the *Cratylus* ascribes it to the Orphics. Heinemann refers to Philolaus fr. 14 Diels, which I have had no opportunity of verifying. Possibly it is the same as the saying attributed to Philolaus by Clement Al. *Strom.* iii. 17 α ἡ ψυχὰ τῷ σώματι συνέζευκται καὶ καθάπερ ἐν σώματι τούτῳ τέθαιπται.

§ 190. (Footnote a.) According to Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 218, this court of appeal consists of the high priest, the Prophet and the council of elders. Is there some connexion between this inclusion of the Prophet and Philo's insistence in § 192 on the prophetic character of the true priest?

§ 191. νηφάλια θύειν. This use of the neuter accusative plural is too well attested in Philo (see footnote) to be disposed of by correction to -ους. But the usage is strange and calls for more explanation than I can give with any confidence. May we suppose that in the wineless offerings to various deities the abstention of the offerer was felt to be an essential element (cf. νήφων δόινοις, Soph. *O.C.* 100), and so the phrase acquired this personal meaning? Two passages quoted by Stephanus from Plutarch suggest something of the kind, *Mor.* 464 c ἀμεθύστους καὶ δόινοις διαγα-

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γείν, ὥσπερ νηφάλια καὶ μελίσπονδα θύοντα, and 132 Ε αὐτῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ πολλάκις νηφάλια θύομεν ἐπιζόμενοι μὴ ζητεῖν αἰεὶ τὸν ἄκρατον.

§ 193. *Market-controllers.* "Agoranomi existed both at Athens and Sparta, and, as inscriptions prove in almost every Greek state, . . . they regulated the price and quantity of all things which were brought into the market and punished all persons convicted of cheating, especially by false weights and measures." (Dict. of Ant.)

§ 199. (ἀδικοπραγεῖν.) Stephanus quotes five examples of this word, one from Plutarch, the other four all from Philo. Of these one as Stephanus has it, and as it stands in Mangey's text, is transitive, viz. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 182 εἰὰν περὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀδικοπραγῶσι τὸν πλησίον, and so the majority of mss. F however has τῶν πλησίον and S apparently τῶν πλησίων. I feel no doubt that Cohn is right in following F. The corruption of τῶν to τὸν to bring it into supposed agreement with πλησίον is very natural.

The converse δικαιοπραγεῖν is commoner or at least is cited from a much greater range of authors and seems to be always intransitive.

§ 231. (Footnote c.) For this Pythagorean thought see Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy* (Eng. trans.), vol. i. pp. 420 f. τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἴδιον . . . τοῖς ἴσον, and the statement "that the first square number (ισάκις ἴσον), i.e. four or nine, is justice." So in *De Plant.* 122 the saying "that equality is the mother of justice" is connected with the equality of the sides of a square.

§ 237. *Democracy . . . the best of constitutions.* Democracy is equated here to ἰσότης, cf. *De Conf.* 108, "which honours equality and has law and justice for its rulers." There it is opposed to mob rule, ὀχλοκρατία, and so also *De Agr.* 45 and *De Virt.* 180, but in *De Abr.* 242 to tyranny, while in *Quod Deus* 176 we have the curious idea that the world is a democracy because each nation in its turn gets supremacy. From all this one can gather little more than a vague idea of order, justice and a government under which every one receives the rights and duties for which he is best fitted.

On the puzzling question how Philo comes to apply to this ideal constitution the name of democracy repeated so emphatically six times (see note on *Quod Deus* 176) a good deal has been written lately. Dr. Eric Langstadt in his

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essay *Zu Philos Begriff der Demokratie*, Dr. Martin Braun in an essay called *Social and Political Aspects of Philo's Philosophy*, Professor Goodenough in his *Philo's Politics, Practice and Theory*, have all dealt with the subject. Langstadt in the body of his essay gives a careful and interesting analysis of Philo's conceptions of good government, conceptions which he may be supposed to have summed up under the name of democracy, but which only serve to make the name more surprising. For an attempt to explain the name we must turn to his *Nachwort*. In this he suggests that the name is taken from the Platonic or pseudo-Platonic *Menexenus* 238 c, where Socrates is represented as saying of the Athenian constitution as it was and is "one man calls it a democracy, another by any name which pleases him. In reality it is an aristocracy carried on with the approval of the multitude." There are some good points in favour of this theory. Philo quotes another part of this description as from Plato in the *De Op.* 133, and there are features in this idealized picture of the Athenian constitution which remind us of Philo. A notable example is the insistence on equality of birth as the source of its excellence, and some more recondite resemblances are pointed out by Langstadt. But on the whole it is difficult to suppose that this casual mention of the name democracy can so have impressed Philo as the theory supposes.

Braun finds the solution of the puzzle in the use of *δημοκρατία* as the Greek equivalent for the Latin "Res publica," particularly in the sense of the republican constitution which was superseded by Caesarism. He gives many examples of this from Dion Cassius, and what is more important as nearer to Philo, from Josephus. His main point is that *δημοκρατία* had become the battle-cry of the senatorial opposition, though to say this does not do justice to his full analysis of the political situation both at Rome and Alexandria.

Goodenough also takes this use of *δημοκρατία* as his starting-point. But he lays more stress on the acceptance of the term by the upholders of the principate. He points out that in the chapters in Dion Cassius 52, where Augustus is advised by Agrippa to refuse and by Maecenas to assume supreme power, while Agrippa extols democracy, Maecenas declares that a monarchy will insure the true democracy, and that Dion also remarks that the emperors were careful to



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build up their power by assuming democratic titles. So he finally comes to the conclusion that to Philo the ideal government is monarchy in its Roman form of democracy, kingship in its best sense.

If one may take as a working hypothesis that Philo's use of the term springs from this special sense, while I think Braun is nearer the truth, I should suggest a middle course between the two views. Perhaps we may say that reverence for the great Roman Republic, S.P.Q.R., had by Philo's time raised the name from the disparagement cast on it by Plato and Aristotle to a position of high respect. On the lips of the opposition its meaning was unmistakable, and I think Braun might strengthen his argument by the fact that this opposition was largely Stoical, though not perhaps so markedly so as some decades later (see Arnold's *Roman Stoicism*, pp. 392 ff.). But the imperialist would not allow his opponent to monopolize the term. He claimed, as Maecenas says, that the Principate gave a freedom which, unlike the freedom of the mob, awarded equally to all according to their deserts, and was, in fact, government of the people for the people though not by the people. Philo thus adopts this slogan or catch-word as Braun calls it and, as he well says, surrounds it with a religious and metaphysical halo, not caring very much how far it fitted in with his Platonic conception of the philosopher king.

## APPENDIX TO *DE VIRTUTIBUS*

(The title.) This as given by Cohn is based mainly on Eusebius's description of the treatise (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18) *Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρετῶν ἄς σὺν ἄλλαις ἀνέγραψε Μωσῆς* (see Gen. Introd., p. xvi), and on the title in S, the oldest ms., *Περὶ γ' ἀρετῶν ἄς σὺν ἄλλαις ἀνέγραψε Μωσῆς περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μετανοίας*. Cohn seems to me to have dealt somewhat arbitrarily with these. Since the other mss., which do not have either *τριῶν* or *ἄς . . . Μωσῆς*, persist in including the non-extant *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* (see Gen. Introd., p. xiii. note *b*), he has added it against the authority of S and consequently has to exclude *τριῶν*.

Mangey gives *περὶ τριῶν ἀρετῶν ἧτοι περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μετανοίας*. I presume that he thought, as I should be inclined to think, that Eusebius did not intend the words *ἄς . . . Μωσῆς* to be part of the title, but a note added to avoid any misconception to the effect that Moses only recognized three virtues. Incidentally, I am not clear about the correct meaning of *ἀνέγραψε*. I have followed Cohn's "geschildert" in translating it by "described." But Moses can hardly be said to have "described" the virtues. Goodhart and Goodenough give "discussed." Perhaps rather "set forth" (as laws), *i.e.* "enjoined."

§ 17. *ἀτυφίας . . . τυφός*. These two words are of course opposites and are definitely named together below, §§ 178 and 195, as well as here. In *De Cong.* 138 and *Mos.* ii. 96 *ἀτυφία* is contrasted with *οἷησις* ("conceit") and may be given by "humility" or "modesty," but this is exceptional. *τυφός* itself constantly recurs in Philo, but in rather different senses. Goodenough on pp. 34 f. of his *Philo's Politics* has a description of it with useful references, but the word which he adopts, "arrogance," seems to me to be rarely if ever applicable. Nearer to it is "vanity," meaning either the disposition which follows vain things or the vain things themselves.

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Very frequently it is applied to the vain imagination of idolaters, as for example in § 178, and sometimes, particularly when coupled with "Egyptian," to the object of the false worship, *e.g.* *Spec. Leg.* iii. 125. Elsewhere as here it is the love of the vanities of life in general and particularly its pomps, and in *In Flacc.* 4 he gives it this meaning in a not unfavourable sense, for in describing Flaccus's earlier good government he says that "he upheld the dignity of his position (σεμνότερον ἤγεν αὐτόν), for τῦφος is very useful to a ruler." In a more general sense ἀτυφία is coupled with ἀχρηματία (*De Fug.* 25), and opposed to φιλοδοξία (*De Abr.* 24, 104), while in *De Vit. Cont.* 39 it is applied to the more extreme asceticism of the Therapeutae. In such cases it is fairly well given by "simplicity," but when it is contrasted with τῦφος in the sense of false beliefs or worship, I do not know of any suitable word. When Philo says that everything he has said about ἀτυφία connotes the idea of courage he means no doubt all that he has said against τῦφος in the sense of the pomps and vanities of life.

I may take this opportunity of correcting a very careless slip in the version of *Mos.* ii. 96, where ἀτυφίας was translated as if it was τύφου.

§ 28. (Comparison of these sections with *De Agr.* 148-156.) This is the most striking example of the way in which Philo alternates between a penetrating criticism of the Pentateuch and literal orthodoxy. In the *De Agr.* the law on this point is discussed in a dialogue between a hostile critic (A.) and a defender (B.). A. remarks first, that those who hope to enjoy their possessions will make better soldiers than those who have no possessions to fight for, secondly, that if their country is conquered they will not enjoy them. To this last B. replies that they will not be captured. A. "On the contrary they will fare the worst, since being non-combatants they will not be able to protect themselves." B. "But they will be protected by the strength of their fellow-countrymen." A. "How shameful then that they should be living at ease, when their fellow-countrymen are suffering the hardships of war." B. "But it is hard that they should lose their lives before they have enjoyed what they have worked for." A. "Far less hard to die in battle and leave their property to their kinsfolk, than to live to see it fall into the hands of enemies."

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Philo does not actually say that he agrees with A., but he feels his arguments so forcible that he prefers to meet them by interpreting the passage with one of his most fantastic allegories. The war is the war of the wise against the clever sophist, which only those who are specially trained can undertake with success. He who is betrothed to a maiden represents the beginner in wisdom, the planter of the vineyard is anyone who is "progressing," and the builder of the house is he who has reached perfection. Yet all three without special training are unfit to undertake such a contest and had better hold their tongues.

§ 28. (See end of footnote 2.) I think Clement's introduction of *στρατηγικῶς* can be satisfactorily explained without supposing that he found anything corresponding to it in his text of Philo. In the chapter of the *Stromateis* in which this comes (ii. 18) he is showing that all the virtues, including *φρόνησις* and *σωφροσύνη* as well as *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἀνδρεία*, are enjoined in the Scriptures, and to prove this he makes a number of unacknowledged borrowings, almost extracts, from the *De Virtutibus* (see Gen. Introd., p. xii.). But while constantly reproducing Philo's phraseology he often adds explanations of his own, as for instance that noted on § 111 (p. 446). So too in quoting "thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian" (*cf.* § 106) he adds that by "Egyptian" a gentile may be meant, or indeed any *κοσμικός* ("worldly person"?). In dealing with § 28 he follows Philo very closely, even quoting Deut. xx. 5-7 from Philo's paraphrase instead of from the LXX, but he seems rather at a loss as to what moral is to be drawn. He reproduces Philo's *φιλανθρωπία νόμου* by *ὁ φιλόανθρωπος νόμος κελεύει*, but rightly observes that the second reason is not "philanthropic" but "strategic." He then passes on to the "philanthropic" side and, finally catching at Philo's words in § 29 about not rendering hopes futile, declares that the law is encouraging *ἀνδρεία* by pointing out that those who have built or planted may hope to enjoy the fruits of their labour. By *στρατηγικῶς* he may mean, I think, that the law is enjoining *φρόνησις* also. That the wise man is *στρατηγικός*, as well as having other qualities, is a Stoic maxim (*S. V. F.* iii. 567, i. 216).

§ 29. *ὡς οὐ δέειν*. Both Cohn and Mangey think that a causal clause giving the reason for *χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν* is required rather than a consecutive. I do not feel this. "It is not

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right, because it is cruel" is as logical as "it is cruel, because it is not right." Cohn, *Hermes*, 1908, p. 211 gives as an additional reason that *οὐ* with a consecutive infinitive is bad grammar. This, I think, is quite wrong. In *Oratio Obliqua*, as this is, *οὐ* in such cases is a recognized, perhaps indeed the regular, usage (see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 227). But while Mangey would correct *δεῖν* to *δέον*, Cohn retains it as an example of the Attic use of *δεῖν* for the participle. He refers to an article by Usener, *Jahrb. class. Philol.* cv. 743 ff.), where examples of this usage, which is mentioned by the Greek grammarians, are quoted from Lysias, Xenophon and Plutarch. They seem to be authentic and suggest that the form is better established than the notice of it in L. & S. revised would lead one to think. Still, there seems no need to invoke it here.

§ 31. *ἣν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει*. Lit. "which being without strength it will cast off." This is a strange expression, both in assigning the action to the body instead of the man and in the use of *ἀδυνατέω* without the infinitive expressed, as it is in *e.g.* § 12 above and § 88 below. Stephanus notes this as a rare usage but quotes no examples. It may perhaps be worth considering a correction to *ἣν ἀδύνατον ἀπορρίψαι* or *ἣν ἀδύνατον ἦ ἀπορρίψαι*. I think this has more point. The encumbrance could not be got rid of on the battlefield and so is analogous to the body from which the diseased soul cannot rid itself.

§ 34. (The Midianites.) Cohn notes here that Philo ascribes to the Midianites what the Bible (and also Philo in *Mos.* i. 300 ff.) relates of Balaam and the Moabites, because he is here concerned with the war of revenge which was waged against the Midianites for this act (*Num.* xxxi. 2 ff.). The note seems to me misleading. Philo steers his way rather well through the hopeless confusion, caused perhaps by the mixture of two different narratives. *Num.* xxv. begins with stating that the daughters of Moab led Israel into fornication and idolatry. But after this the Moabites disappear. It is a Midianitish woman who is killed by Phinehas (*v.* 7), Midianites who are to be smitten for "beguiling you in the matter of Peor" (*v.* 18), and Midianitish women who are all put to death because "they caused the children of Israel through the counsels of Balaam to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor" (xxx. 16). In *Mos.* i. 300 ff.

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Philo does not mention the Moabites or the Midianites at all. The war was waged against Balak (*ibid.* 305), but Balak has been described as one of the neighbouring kings who had brought under his sway a great and populous part of the East. That phrase looks as if he was trying to harmonize the narrative by supposing that Balak was king of Midian and Moab.

Josephus in *Ant.* iv. 102 ff. represents Balak as king of Moab, but having an ancestral alliance with the Midianites. He sends an embassy to them to enlist their help against Israel, and it is they who invite and press Balaam to come to their aid.

§ 34. *πέρας καθιέντες*. L. & S. (old and revised) *s.v.* *καθήμι* give for this phrase "make attempts," and cite Aelian, *V.H.* ii. 13 and *N.A.* i. 57. In the first of these the phrase is used of the intrigues of the accusers of Socrates to create a prejudice against him, in the second of a curious scheme devised by a parent to test the paternity of his presumed child. Taken together with our passage, the examples suggest that the phrase means more than the colourless "make attempts" and something like the "laid down snares" suggested in the footnote. The special sense belongs perhaps more to *καθήμι* than to *πέρα*. So L. & S. cite Aristoph. *Vesp.* 174 *οἶαν πρόσφασιν καθῆκε*, and *Dion. Cass.* i. 47 *λόγους συμβατηρίου καθίει*, where the context suggests insincerity.

§ 44. (*Cf.* footnote *b*, *διαφωνεῖν*.) This word occurs twice in the Pentateuch, Ex. xxiv. 11, and Num. xxxi. 49, as well as a few times elsewhere in the LXX. Both examples in the Pentateuch are quoted by Philo more than once, and of the former he says (fr. 59 Harris) that while the literal meaning of the text *τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς* is that they were all kept safe, the inner meaning is that they were not out of harmony with the good. So too in *De Conf.* 56, and also on Num. xxxi. 49, there and elsewhere.

In a note on *De Conf.* 56 I was misled by the old L. & S., which following Stephanus's "extremam vocem edidit" disposed of this special use of *διαφωνεῖν* with "to breathe one's last," "die," "perish," "be lost." But the word does not in its literal sense mean to "cease speaking," and it is more likely that the special use is derived from the regular use for "speak differently," "be at discord." Though in later use it seems to have been strengthened to "die" or "perish,"

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it need not mean in either place in the Pentateuch more than "suffer some harm," and Philo may be right in supposing that in Num. xxxi. *διαπεφώνηκεν οὐδὲ εἰς* means "all have come out unscathed."

L. & S. revised deals with this usage more fully, but not very accurately. In Ex. xxiv. 11 it cannot mean "fail to answer roll-calls," "desert," and in the fragment, where it is opposed to *συμφώνους*, "fail" is misleading.

§ 78. Cohn is, I think, probably right in regarding this section as an interpolation, though his reasons are not all of equal strength. (1) The section is omitted in S, which he considers, I daresay rightly, the best authority. (2) *αἰτήσεις ἀγαθῶν* is an awkward expression for *αἰτήσεις περὶ ἀγαθῶν*. (3) *θνητῶ ὅπως* is a difficult hiatus. (4) *ὑπάρχωσιν* with a neuter plural is contrary to Philo's usage. (5) *ἐπάν* for *ἐπειδάν* is un-Philonic. (6) *τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς δεσμοῦ* "belongs to a Christian interpolator." Philo would have said *τοῦ σώματος*. (7) The whole sentence is frigid ("frostig") and disturbs the connexion between §§ 77 and 79.

I think that (2) cannot have much weight when we compare *εὐχή ἐστὶν αἰτήσις ἀγαθῶν*, *Quod Deus* 87 and *De Agr.* 99. On (3) see note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 40, App. p. 428. (4) may be true of Philo, but not always so of his scribes. See *De Praem.* 142 and 172, where the mss. have *κενωθήσονται* and *βλαστώνουσι* with neuter plural subjects, though Cohn has corrected them. (5) *ἐπάν* is found in the mss. of *De Agr.* 158 and retained in the text of Cohn, but the sentence is quite ungrammatical. There is not much in (6): *σάρξ* or *σάρκες* is often used as an alternative for *σῶμα* in opposition to *ψυχή* or *νοῦς*, and such a phrase as *(ψυχαὶ) τὸν σαρκὸς φόρτον ἀχθοφοροῦσι* is a fair parallel. But I quite agree with the last part of (7), and also have great doubt whether the thought is really Philonic. Philo's conception of immortality, when he uses the word in any literal sense, seems (as Kennedy says) "surrounded by a rarefied philosophical atmosphere," and altogether different from the ordinary Christian conception. And such passages as *Quis Rerum* 276 (of Abraham) and this and *De Sac.* 8 and *Mos.* ii. 288 (of Moses) do not lead me to expect that he would represent Moses as praying for "true goods" beyond the grave for his people.

§ 100. *πενία* or *πενίας*? (See footnote 1.) Clement's paraphrase is *τούς τε πενία μακρῆ ὑποσχόντας δίκην μὴ διὰ βίου*

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κολαζομένους ἐλεῶν. Here Cohn wished to correct *μὴ* to *καὶ*. But the text should stand, "pitying those who have undergone punishment through their long poverty, but (through his pity) do not suffer a lifelong punishment." The long poverty is clearly that of their years of dispossession.

Perhaps *πενία* <*πενίας*> might be worth consideration, as an effective and very easy correction.

§ 111. *Shave the hair of her head and pare her nails.* Philo does not give, nor perhaps know any reason for this. Modern commentators apparently explain it taken in connexion with her change of dress as "elements in her purification from heathenism." See Adam Smith. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 257 says nothing about the nails, but evidently takes the shaving of the head as a sign of mourning. Clement, *Strom.* ii. 18, while also ignoring the nails, supposed that the cutting off the hair is to test the self-control of her lover. "For if reason urges him to marry her, he will hold to her, even when she has become ugly."

§ 115. *Nor yet keep her as a slave.* So too Jos. *Ant.* iv. 259. Is this one of the cases where Philo shews some knowledge of or information about the Hebrew and corrects the LXX? But apart from the fact that the Hebrew verb (see Driver) is said to mean rather "play the master over her," the phrase "thou shalt not set her at naught (or treat her contemptuously), because thou hast humiliated her" naturally suggests that her status would be that of a slave, and the possibility of selling her suggests the same.

§ 122. Philo's interpretation of the law of slavery is difficult, and Heinemann in *Bildung*, pp. 329 ff., while discussing at length Philo's attitude to slavery, throws no light on the details. In what follows I must be understood as asking for enlightenment quite as much as giving it.

(1) The *θῆτες* (see footnote *a*) are persons who from sheer penury have sold themselves. So E.V. in Lev. xxv. 39, and so indeed Philo (*ὑποβεβληκότας ἑαυτούς*), though the LXX *ἐὰν πρᾶθῃ τις* would suggest that he had been sold by others. (2) From these are distinguished the debtors of "temporary loans," if that is the meaning of the word. They have not been sold, for the creditor retains the use of their services (§ 173). And indeed I do not think the Pentateuch recognizes the sale of a person for ordinary debt, though there are glimpses of the practice in the O.T. (2 Kings iv. 1 and



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elsewhere). Does the creditor simply make him work out his debt? (3) What are the other ways in which the free man is reduced to slavery? The thief unable to make restitution (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 3) would be a case in point, but what else?

It should be noted that Philo in prescribing the seventh year for the release is following Exodus and Deuteronomy rather than Leviticus, which limits the release to the year of Jubile (xxv. 40). But he would hardly know this, for the LXX has there the "year of release" (ἀφέσεως), and in Deut. xv. 1 and 9 he would find the seventh year called by the same name.

§ 122. (Footnote c.) Out of respect for Mangey I give his ingenious, but I fear impossible, emendation and explanation of this which he calls "mendosus et mutilus locus." Reading παραβολῆς with F and apparently transposing ἐφημερινῶν, he suggests χρεώστας, τὸ τῆς παραβολῆς ἐφημέρων ὄνομα, κτλ., i.e. debtors, who, to use a figurative phrase, get the name and condition of one-day-creatures. He gives examples from Aristotle and Athenaeus to show that ἐφήμερα ζῶα is a name applied to animals who live only for a day, and the παραβολή consists in transferring the name to people who subsist on what they can borrow day by day. For this last he might have quoted ἐφημερόβιος in § 88.

§ 124. (Footnote a. *In accordance with Attic law.*) See Lipsius, *Attisches Recht*, p. 643 to the effect that a slave taking refuge in a sanctuary from the cruelty of his master had a right to demand to be sold to another. He quotes a fragment of Aristophanes,

ἔμοι  
κράτιστόν ἐστιν εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον δραμεῖν,  
ἐκεῖ δ' ἔως ἂν πράσῃ εὐρωμεν μένειν.

The idea of the hearth as a sanctuary is, as both Goodenough and Heinemann point out, entirely Greek, not Jewish. The most familiar example is that of Themistocles at the hearth of Admetus (Thuc. i. 136). Cf. also on κωή ἐστία in *De Praem.* 154.

§ 139. For the practice here noted Cohn gives the following references. (a) Diodorus i. 77. Diodorus mentions it as an Egyptian law and adds that the same rule was observed by many Greeks, also as demanded by justice to the unborn child. (b) Aelian, *V.H.* v. 18, who ascribes it to the

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Areopagus at Athens. (c) Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.* 7 as an Egyptian law which has been copied (*ἀπογράφασθαι*) by some of the Greeks. (d) Roman law, as stated by Ulpian, *Dig.* xlviii. 19. 3. Clement in his paraphrase of this passage substitutes the Romans for Philo's "some legislators."

§ 152. (The maxim of Bias.) This in its original form as given by Diog. Laert. i. 5. 87 was *φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους εἶναι κακοὺς*, and says nothing of "hating as about to love." And it is the first half which has attracted most attention, being regarded sometimes as merely enjoining caution in forming intimacies, sometimes as purely cynical. Thus Cic. *De Am.* xvi. 59 makes Scipio describe it as abominable and unworthy of a sage. It is quoted with the other half added, and attributed to Bias by Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 13. 4, and later (*ib.* 21. 13), when, talking about the rhetorical value of maxims, he says that it would create an impression of amiability, if you say *οὐ δεῖ, ὥσπερ φασί, φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντας*, showing that the kernel of the maxim is in general opinion the first part. Sophocles puts both parts into the mouth of Ajax (*Aj.* 679 ff.), but the stress is laid on the unreliability of friends, and Dem. *Contra. Arist.* 122, though he deals fairly with both sides, and concludes *ἄχρι τούτου καὶ φιλεῖν, οἶμαι, χρή καὶ μισεῖν, μηδετέρου τὸν καιρὸν ὑπερβάλλοντας*, is really concerned with warning against ill-considered acts of friendship.

Sandys on Aristot. *Rhet. l.c.* and Jebb on Soph. *Aj. l.c.* have collected other comments from later writers, such as Bacon, Montaigne and La Bruyère. I think it is worth while noting (1) that Philo, while quoting and commenting on both sides of the saying, is really concerned, unlike the others, with the lesson of forbearance in enmity, (2) that he applies the maxim in a way that no other does to international relations, (3) that the fact that neither of the two great scholars mentioned cites this passage reflects the neglect generally shown in England by classicists to Philo during the last hundred years.

§ 185. *καθάπερ* (or *καθ' ὅπερ*) *αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται*. A possible emendation might be *καθ' ὅπερ <αὐτὸν> αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται <εἶναι>*. This would obviously be easily corrupted into what we have. Or again there may be an allusion to the double choice mentioned in the text, *καθὰ ὅνπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται αὐτὸν αἰρεῖται*, with or without *εἶναι* added = "as He whom he himself chooses,

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chooses him (to be).” In this case *αὐτός* = the man, in the former it = God.

§ 188. (Last part.) Mangey, like Cohn, takes *ἀργυρος* . . . *ὑπηρεσίαν* as a parenthesis, so making *αὐγοειδέστατον* . . . *ιδόντες* an attribute of men who have only sipped wisdom. He translates *εὐόκασι, κτλ.* by “assimilantur his qui in principatu ad negotia administranda constituti sunt virtutis tanquam reginae ministerio servientes.” This, apart from other difficulties, gives an impossibly high character to the inferior goods. Mangey, as perhaps also Cohn, failed to see that *πρός*, instead of expressing a connexion, might bear the quite common sense of “in comparison with”!

I may not have done justice to their view that *ιδόντες* goes back to *τινες*. But the form of the sentence postulated seems to me almost impossibly awkward, and the change of metaphor is as abrupt as on my hypothesis.

§ 189. *Give the name of noble only to the . . . just.* This sentiment is no doubt a definite Stoic doctrine on a line with the other paradoxes about the sage being rich, king, etc. Chrysippus asserted the worthlessness of *εὐγένεια* in the literal sense, declaring it to be “mere scrapings and offscourings” (*περίττημα καὶ διάξυσμα*), and supported his argument by quotations from Homer (Plut. *De Nobilitate* 17 and 12). Cohn quotes Sen. *De Benef.* iii. 28. 1 “*nemo altero nobilior, nisi cui rectius ingenium et artibus bonis aptius.*” Cf. *Ep.* 44 *passim*, e.g. “*Quis est generosus? Ad virtutem bene a natura compositus.*” But outside Stoicism it is a common piece of moralizing, from Eur. fr.

*ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸς εὐγενὴς ἔμοι γ' ἀνὴρ,  
ὁ δ' οὐ δίκαιος, κἂν ἀμείνονος πατρὸς  
Ζητὸς πεφύκη, δυσγενὴς εἶναι δοκεῖ,*

down to Tennyson's “'tis only noble to be good.” See the collection of quotations in Stobaeus, *Fl.* lxxxvi. The best known statement of it in ancient literature is Juv. viii. 20 “*nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.*”

§ 208. *Except . . . policy.* Before definitely accepting Cohn's condemnation of this clause, one would like to know what he thought of Clement's evidence. Clement, after giving a short summary of Philo's remarks about Jacob and Esau with a very similar wording, adds *ἡ δὲ οἰκονομία αὕτη καὶ προφητικὴ καὶ τυπικὴ.* Cohn quotes the summary but not

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the addition. The use of the word *οἰκονομία* looks like a reminiscence of the clause, but nothing is said about the hands.

Also in *Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 206, Jacob's answers to his father are described as a "virtutis dispensatio," where we may reasonably assume that the Greek word translated by "dispensatio" is *οἰκονομία*. The context shews that the *οἰκονομία* is a euphemistic word for a stratagem or, as I have translated it, "an act of policy." If the clause is genuine that will be the meaning here.

On the other hand *οἰκονομία* in the Fathers often means a divine dispensation, an over-ruling of evil by good (*cf.* the Jewish view of Tamar's sin in the next note). Stephanus among his examples of this use quotes Chrysostom on this particular case. "Jacob has deceived his father, but it was not an *ἀπατή* but an *οἰκονομία*." This is the sense in which, as the adjectives show, Clement uses the word, and presumably also the interpolator, if the clause is an interpolation. So too Mangey, who translates "quadam certa providentia."

On the whole I incline to the view that the clause, so peculiarly inept where the point is the permanent difference of the two, is spurious, and that Clement's phrase is independent of Philo, an early expression of the Christian feeling that Jacob's mendacity needs justification.

§ 221. *Tamar*. "The story of Tamar," says Cohn, "is greatly idealized." In the allegorizing of her story in *De Fug.* 149 ff., *De Mut.* 134 ff. and elsewhere, we do not expect any censure. But this beatification of the actress in what to our minds is a peculiarly shocking story outdoes the other extravagances of the *De Nobilitate*. A number of Rabbinical comments are collected in Strack and Billerbeck's Talmudic commentary on Matthew i. 3. I do not think they show much signs of admiration for Tamar, though the sin of her and Judah is regarded as overruled by Providence. One reason for this seems to be as follows: Tamar was believed to be of pure blood descended from Shem (quite in opposition to Philo). Judah had married a Canaanite (*Gen.* xxxviii. 2) and her sons were tainted. The union between him and Tamar produced the offspring which was fit to be the progenitor of David and the Messiah.

## APPENDIX TO *DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS*

(The title.) This, which is given by Cohn as printed here, except that I have ventured to mark a doubt as to the fitness of the addition *περὶ ἀρῶν*, is founded on Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18. 5, who in enumerating the works of Philo known to him speaks of this as τὸ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἄθλων τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἀρῶν. But if Eusebius is to be understood as giving a formal title traceable to Philo himself, is there any reason why it should not be given in full? In itself the title does not seem very appropriate. If the "curses" are to be distinguished from the "punishments," the "blessings" must also be distinguished from the "rewards."

§§ 4-6. The allusion may perhaps be to the conduct, good or bad, of the people in the wilderness after the Sinaitic giving of the Law, but as the warnings are so largely drawn from Deuteronomy, which Philo accepts as Moses' final message, it seems more likely that he is thinking of the subsequent history. If so, and indeed in any case, the absence of any definite notice of persons or events, and of any attempt to draw the moral which the books themselves draw of the punishment of the people for apostasy and their restoration on repentance, is remarkable. The only person of whom anything substantial is said is Samuel, and what is said of him has no historical bearing. And this is still more true of Gideon, who is mentioned in *De Conf.* 130.

§ 8. *Triptolemus*. The story told here is given by Ovid, *Met.* v. 642 ff. Ceres harnessed two winged dragons or snakes to her car and sent it to Athens to Triptolemus, who rode in it through the air over Europe and Asia and scattered the corn seeds. In Verg. *Georg.* i. 19 he is also the inventor of the plough.

§ 23. (Noah and Deucalion.) This identification is, I think, unique in Philo. Though he often mentions Greek

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mythical personages, and not always with signs of disbelief (e.g. Pasiphaë in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 44 f.), he nowhere equates them with Old Testament characters. (The identification of the Aloeidae with the Babel-builders which Mangey suggested at *De Som.* ii. 283 is quite impossible, see my note there.) As for this particular identification, which of course is especially easy, neither Mangey nor Cohn quote any real parallel. Cohn indeed notes that Theophilus, a Christian writer of the late second century A.D., thought that the Greeks had given the name of Deucalion to Noah because he said *δεῦτε καλέϊ ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς μετάνοιαν*, but I have seen no evidence that it was made by Jews of Philo's time. The nearest parallel I have found is in Malchus, otherwise called Cleodemus, on whom see Schürer, *Jewish People* (Eng. trans.) ii. 3, pp. 209 f. Malchus stated that Abraham's three sons by Keturah accompanied Heracles to Libya, and that Heracles married the daughter of one of them. Schürer calls Malchus "a classic example of that intermixture of Oriental and Greek tradition which was popular throughout the region of Hellenism." But none of the Graeco-Jewish writers whom he mentions show anything really similar.

§ 44. *μετακληθείς*. To understand this of the change of name from Jacob to Israel is certainly tempting, though we might have expected Philo to enlarge a little more on the point, if he mentions it at all. Also there is no particular point in speaking of Jacob here as summoned or invited by God. And it would be natural enough for *μετα-* in this compound as in so many others to express change. On the other hand there is no authority for the usage; Tzetzes (twelfth century A.D.), cited by Stephanus, can hardly count. Philo uses the word elsewhere in the sense of "summoned" or perhaps "summoned away" (*De Som.* i. 188 cannot be quoted as an exception; see note on vol. v. pp. 601 ff.), and what is perhaps more important, throughout *De Mut.* 57-129, where he treats at length of the changes of name, including that of Jacob, he uses *μετονομάζω*. The other reading *καταβληθείς* has, on Cohn's principles, inferior authority and would of course require correction. Mangey suggested *κατηχηθείς* = "instructed," and translated "informatus." Perhaps *κατ-ελεηθείς*, cf. *ἠλέησε* in § 39.

§ 46. (Monad and dyad.) The doctrine is the same as that ascribed to the Pythagoreans by Diogenes Laertius

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viii. 25 ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αὐτῷ αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποστηῆναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀόριστου δυάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς, “the principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from the monad the undefined dyad or two serves as material substratum to the monad which is cause; from the monad and undefined dyad spring numbers” (Hicks). The passage continues that “from numbers come points, from points lines, from lines plane figures, from plane figures solid figures, from solid figures sensible bodies,” whence ultimately the universe. With the epithet “undefined” (ἀόριστος) here applied to the dyad, that is, passive matter, compare its application to αἰσθητῆ φύσις in § 36. A fuller discussion of these ideas is given by Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy* (Eng. trans.), vol. i. pp. 387 ff.

§§ 49-51. As suggested in Gen. Introd. to vol. vi. p. xi, this passage gives the best clue to Philo's meaning in adapting to spiritual experience and applying to the three Patriarchs the formula “Nature, Instruction, Practice” which runs through ancient educational literature from Plato and Aristotle to Cicero and Quintilian. Except possibly in the case of Jacob this application does not rest on the history of the three. The starting-point is that Isaac's name means “joy,” and Philo would argue that in education joy is the characteristic of the student who learns naturally and instinctively. Carried over to the spiritual sphere, joy is the characteristic of the soul which instinctively knows God's will, has not any temptation to disobey it and finds a ground for rejoicing even in what would naturally be displeasing (*cf.* § 30). So with Abraham. In education readiness to believe belongs to the mind which is most susceptible to teaching; and though Abraham's name does not, like Isaac's, supply a suitable clue, the emphasis laid on his faith in Genesis fits him to represent Instruction. The argument needed to fit Jacob into the formula is more strained. But his second name of Israel = “Seeing God,” does express the attainment which is the result of practice, and his history, which, though Philo does not suggest it, was subjected to more vicissitudes than the other two, would assist the idea.

In education it was recognized that all three were indispensable, though in different degrees, to every mind for successful study, and Quintilian stresses this in *Inst.*

## PHILO

*Pr.* 27. Philo makes the same point for the spiritual life in *De Abr.* 53.

§ 55. (Definition of νόμος.) Cohn rightly calls attention to this, as the accepted definition of νόμος by the Stoics (see Index to *S. V. F. s. v.*). The more exact form seems to be λόγος ὀρθὸς προστάτων (προστακτικός), κτλ. or sometimes λόγος φύσεως, κτλ. So Cic. *De Leg.* i. 6. 18 "lex est ratio summa insita in natura, quae iubet ea quae facienda sunt, prohibetque contraria." Philo quotes it in this form in *De Ios.* 29. Cf. also *Mos.* ii. 4, where, as here, he connects it with kingship.

§ 60. σπορὰν . . . ἡμερον. ἡμερος when applied to vegetation of any kind often means simply "cultivated," as opposed to "wild." So e.g. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 209, but at other times it takes on something of what it connotes when applied to animals or men, i.e. the qualities of a domesticated animal or a civilized man. So in § 8, where it is applied to bread-food as opposed to acorns, the translation "kindly," though not quite satisfactory, gives the meaning better than "cultivated" would. Here too the meaning is, I think, more than "thriving" alone would give (Cohn, "gut gedeihen"). The crop is "responsive" to the trouble taken on it.

§ 65. (The twelve sons of Jacob and the Zodiac.) For this connexion of the twelve tribes and their founders with the Twelve Signs cf. *De Som.* ii. 111 ff., where Philo is discussing Gen. xxxvii. 9-11, where Joseph says "the sun and moon and eleven stars did obeisance to me," thus "classing himself as the twelfth to complete the Zodiac."

It seems to be agreed that the Signs are mentioned in Job xxxviii. 32 under the name of the Mazzaroth (a word copied without translation by the LXX), and many modern scholars have thought that Gen. xxxvii. 9 actually refers to them, some indeed finding traces of them in the blessing of Jacob in ch. xlix. Whether this is so or not, Philo naturally took the words so, but the tone of that passage, where Joseph's presumption is condemned, is very different from this, where the twelve tribes are the earthly counterpart of the twelve great heavenly bodies. It would be interesting to know how far the idea was current in Philo's time. An article by Feuchtwanger, in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1915, pp. 241-267, gives an account of the place held by the Zodiac in Rabbinical tradition, but mostly in later



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times, and does not dwell much upon its relation to the tribes and their founders. One point mentioned (also by the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v. Zodiac) is the tradition that each of the tribes had one of the Signs on its banner.

§ 78. (The lacuna.) This evidently contained the end of the story of Korah and something at the beginning of the Blessings. But was there anything else? I think that there is good reason to think that there was something, and perhaps a good deal. Eight examples have been given of rewards against two of punishments. Also in § 7 he has classified both under five heads, individuals, families, cities, nations and countries, great regions of the earth. In *Mos.* ii. 53-56 he has signalized the Flood and the destruction of the cities of the plain as the two great judgements of God upon the unrighteous. These fit the fifth and third of the heads, and it is unlikely that he would fail to mention them here whether briefly or at length. Possibly he may have cited also the disasters which befell the Egyptians through the plagues and at the Red Sea to cover "nations and countries."

If it is objected that, while he has stated that the rewards also fall under the five heads, he is content to stop at the second, one answer might be that the expansion of Jacob's family into a great nation, with its "orderly cities, schools of wisdom, justice and religion" (§ 66), though mentioned as the reward of Jacob's family, is also a reward to the nation and its cities. But a better answer is that, apart from this, there were no good examples of the other heads to give. The preservation of Zoar might have been quoted as an example of a city rewarded, though this is not in Genesis ascribed to its merits, but otherwise what record is there in the Pentateuch of any larger nation or city being so rewarded? I think we must conclude that § 7 is loosely worded, and that the full classification applies only to the punishments.

The part lost at the beginning of the Blessings need not have been more than a single sentence stating that Moses promised that in the future also prosperity would be the reward of obedience and misfortune of disobedience.

§ 87. (Pacification of wild beasts.) Philo has no authority for this in the Pentateuch beyond Lev. xxvi. 6 "I will destroy evil (or wicked) beasts out of your land." It seems to me impossible to doubt that he is thinking of Isaiah xi. 6-9 or perhaps rather that he reads the text in Leviticus

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in the light of Isaiah ; that is a straining of which he is not incapable. I do not understand Heinemann's remark (*Bildung*, p. 419), that "it is noteworthy that he does not appeal to Isaiah xi." Apparently he thinks that Philo has no direct knowledge of that passage ("schwerlich hat er von dieser Stelle unmittelbare Kenntniss"). If this means that the absence of any direct statement that the thought comes from Isaiah shows ignorance of the passage, I entirely disagree. Philo never mentions Isaiah by name, but quotes from him four times as one of the prophets and once (*Quis Rerum* 25, Isaiah l. 4) without any indication that it is a quotation. Here he gives the substance of Isaiah's description spiritualized by the thought that this can never come about till the "wild beasts within ourselves" are tamed, a thought which to his mind, in which the allegorical is always seen behind the literal, would be assisted by the epithet *πονηρά* = "wicked," applied to the beasts in Leviticus.

Besides Isaiah, Philo may have had in mind Job v. 23 (of the righteous) "the savage beasts shall be at peace with them," and still more, Hosea ii. 18 "I will make for them in that day a covenant with the wild beasts of the field, and the birds of heaven, and the reptiles of the earth." Both these books were known to him and are quoted (Job being mentioned by name).

Heinemann goes on to say that Philo must certainly have drawn from the "Wise Sayings" (*Weissagungen*), for which he gives a reference to the *Sibylline Oracles* iii. 788, since the Greek pictures of the "Beast-peace" are by no means so authoritative as to have given him the conception. This may be true, but it seems to me that he could find enough authority in Scripture itself.

§ 89. *Maltese dogs*. This breed is mentioned by Strabo vi. p. 277, by Athenaeus xii. p. 518 (of the Sybarites *ἔχαιρον τοῖς Μελιταίοις κυνιδίοις*), and by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 26, where they are called "catulos."

§ 111. *τοῖς ὀνόμασι κυρίοις*. *κύρια ὀνόματα*, said in L. & S. to signify "authorized, proper or literal words," are, according to Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 2. 2, ordinary words as opposed to those which are figurative, foreign, archaic or in any way uncommon (Cope). Philo often uses the phrase for a proper or personal name (*e.g.* *Mos.* ii. 207: people do not as a rule address a parent by his *κύριον ὄνομα*), but more often for a

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word which exactly expresses its meaning, *e.g.* *De Conf.* 192, Moses when he spoke of God "confounding" the languages at Babel did not mean that He divided them, for then he would have used a *κυριώτερον* such as *τομή* or *διάκρισις*. Sometimes it means a word which brings out some true or striking aspect, *e.g.* *Quod Deus* 139, "seers" (*δρώντες*) was a *κύριον ὄνομα* for prophets. Here the use is extended further. "Day" is *κύριον*, because it expresses the lesson which Philo draws more exactly than "years" for instance would, and "number" is *κύριον*, because it brings out a similar lesson more exactly than "all thy days" would. Thus the phrase has been made to mean something almost the opposite of what we should call literal, and so also does the phrase "literally true" as often used in English. (See also note to *Mos.* ii. 38 (vol. vi. p. 606).)

§ 111. οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ . . . οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῶ. Mangey quotes Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorae* 208, where it is said that his disciples who remembered him told how

τοὺς μὲν ἐταίρους ἦγεν ἴσον μακαρέσσι θεοῖσι,  
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἠγείτ' οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῶ.

*Cf.* also Callimachus, *Ep.* 25, and Theocritus xiv. 48, where it is in the form

οὔτε λόγῳ τινὸς ἄξιοι οὐτ' ἀριθματοί.

§ 123. *In which God . . . walks as in a palace.* St. Paul, quoting freely Lev. xxvi. 12, also gives ἐν the sense of "in" rather than "among" in 2 Cor. vi. 16 "We are the temple of the living God; as God said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them" (so E.V. rightly).

§ 154. (The symbols of peace.) Salt has been used in this sense, *De Ios.* 210, and joined with libations in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 96. On the altar of mercy Mangey says that there was an altar of that name at Athens founded by the descendants of Heracles and used as an asylum for suppliants. I do not know what evidence he has for his statement about the founders. He refers to the scholiast on Soph. *O.C.* 260 ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἐλέου βωμὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἴδρυνται, and Pausanias (presumably of Athens) τοὺς εἰς ἐλέου βωμὸν καταφυγόντας ἀσυλίαν ἔχειν. He does not give the reference for this, but see Paus. i. 17 Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέου βωμὸς, φ' μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὅτι ὠφέλιμος, μόνου τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων

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νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. If, judging from this, we may take the Altar of Mercy as an allusion to the Athenian institution, it might give some ground for giving *κοινὴ ἐστία*, which otherwise might be taken in a general way, as in *De Virt.* 124, the special sense of the altar placed in the Prytaneium of a city for state sacrifices, or the further hospitality given to ambassadors and others. See references in L. & S. and more fully in Stephanus.

§ 154. *All are through Seven and are Seven.* Cohn translates "denn alles geschieht mit Hilfe des Sabbats und ist Sabbatfeier." Here, by giving Sabbath for *ἑβδομάς*, as he generally does, he fails to express the potency and sanctity of the number itself. Mangey has "omnia vel sunt hebdomas vel pertinent ad hebdomadem." Both these seem to take *πάντα* as "all things in general" rather than "they all," i.e. the symbols just mentioned. I have not noticed any real parallel to this. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 156, speaking of the feast of unleavened bread which is held for seven days "to mark the precedence and honour which the number holds in the universe," he adds, "the sacred seven which He intended to be the source and fountain to men of all good things." For "all are seven" cf. *De Fug.* 173 "Peace and Seven are identical." Both these point to limiting the scope of *πάντα*.

§ 171. *The days of their misfortunes (or inauspicious days.)* See on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 183. Is there any specific allusion?

Massebieau's translation "decreed that they (the Jews) should observe their ill-omened (or abominable) public festivals" can hardly be got out of the Greek. Possibly "their fast-days." The Law knows of only one regular fast-day, the Day of Atonement. But after the Captivity four such were appointed (*Jewish Encyclopaedia* on Fasting and Fast-days). Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 97, says that Philo betrays no knowledge of them, but on the other hand, in describing the Law he has no occasion to do so. But, on the whole, it seems better to take the words generally of what naturally happens to a conquered nation. The celebration of the conqueror's victories is a celebration of their defeat.

# PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES  
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

IX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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## PREFACE TO VOLUME IX

THE six treatises or parts of treatises comprised in this volume are of a very different nature from the eight preceding volumes. In those the all-engrossing subject has been the interpretation of the Pentateuch, illustrated to a small extent from the rest of the Old Testament and largely, throughout the first five which we have called the Commentary, from Greek philosophy. In this volume only one part, the fragment of the *Hypothetica* preserved by Eusebius, takes any serious account of the Pentateuch, and it treats it with a method and in a spirit which has nothing in common with the philosophical allegorizing of the Commentary and bears only a superficial resemblance to the full and orderly classification and the abundance of striking thoughts which distinguish the Exposition. Of the other five treatises three are purely philosophical and differ entirely from the other two. One of these is to some extent autobiographical and deals with contemporary history. It is closely related to the longer *Legatio* which is reserved for the final volume, but stands quite apart from the remaining one, the *De Vit. Cont.*, which describes the life of a particular community, whether we take this, as is generally assumed, to be a typical example of a widespread movement, or, as I should prefer, an isolated and perhaps ephemeral institution



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which happened to be well known to Philo and secured his friendship and admiration. Even the three philosophical treatises are very heterogeneous. The first deals with that kernel of Stoic ethics, the self-sufficiency of the virtuous man, the second with the mystery of the universe, the third with its divine government. The volume as a whole is an ample proof of the versatility of Philo's mind, but yet to me at least it is far less interesting than the other eight. I expect that this is true also of the great majority of those who throughout the centuries have made a careful study of Philo, and that what I have suggested with regard to the *Quod Omn. Prob.*, that it owes its preservation not so much to its intrinsic merits as to the interest and respect created by Philo's main work, is true more or less of the other five treatises.

In view of this it is odd to find that there has been more translation into English of the contents of this volume than of all the rest of Philo. In the first five volumes of Cohn-Wendland the German translation by different hands has appeared at intervals, but there has been no rendering into English except of isolated passages between Yonge and this translation. For this volume the German version is no doubt either in preparation or has been completed and possibly published, but I have heard nothing of it.<sup>a</sup> In English on the other hand we have Conybeare's version of the *De Vit. Cont.*, which supplements his great and important commentary, Gifford's versions of the *Hypothetica*, and of the *De Prov.* as well as of 16 sections of the *Quod Omn. Prob.* contained in the transla-

<sup>a</sup> We have, however, Bernays' earlier version of the *De Aeternitate*.

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tion which forms part of his monumental edition of the *Praeparatio*, and Box's translation of the *Flaccus* in his recent edition of that treatise. While I have been careful not to look at any of the translations before making my own I have found comparison with them very useful, leading sometimes to correction or at least reconsideration, though I have abstained from borrowing their phraseology even when I prefer it to my own. But I must say something more about Mr. Box's work. I cannot of course judge the comparative merits of the two translations, but his historical introduction and commentary on historical points is on a scale which I could not attempt to rival, and my much shorter notes even when they embody different conclusions from his are largely founded on them. What a pity that the same pains and research have never been used to produce so complete a commentary on the real, the theological and philosophical side of Philo's work!

It was clearly right to include either in this or the next volume the extracts made by Eusebius from the otherwise unknown *Hypothetica*. The extracts are so substantial that it is much to be regretted that they were omitted in the Editio Maior of Cohn-Wendland, and their inclusion in the Editio Minor makes only partial amends, as that has no Apparatus Criticus. The other great set of extracts from the *De Prov.* are in a different position, as the whole treatise survives in the Armenian, and it was a doubtful question whether it should not be relegated to a separate volume containing that and also the other treatise only known in the Armenian, the *De Animalibus*. But at any rate by the course which we have adopted the reader will have ultimately in

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his hands all that substantially survives of Philo in the original Greek.

The text of the first three treatises was edited by Cohn himself. Here his work both in the text itself and in the subsequent discussion of points in *Hermes*, 1916, ended, and the rest of his volume six, *i.e.* the *Flaccus* and *Legatio*, was edited by Reiter. I have as in previous volumes taken their text for my base, but, largely because I felt that I was moving in a less familiar region, I have adhered to it more closely and confined my suggested corrections almost entirely to the footnotes instead of substituting them in the text, even in cases such as that of p. 52 where I feel fairly confident of the correction proposed. In the two Eusebian items I have taken for my base what seemed to be the most authoritative, *i.e.* the text of the Editio Minor for the *Hypothetica* and the latest edition (Gifford's) for the *De Prov.*, but compared them with other editions and noted the alternatives. These alternatives I have occasionally adopted, and as the notes both at the foot and in the Appendix will show, there are other cases where further reflection makes me think that the alternatives are superior. But at any rate so long as the alternatives are clearly indicated it matters little whether they appear in the notes or in the body of the text.

F. H. C.

CAMBRIDGE  
March 1941

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

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## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

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- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

## INTRODUCTION TO *QUOD OMNIS PROBUS LIBER SIT*

This treatise is usually believed to be a youthful essay of Philo's and we may well suppose that it belongs to a period of his life when he still had the dialectic of the philosophical schools fresh in mind and before he had settled down to his life's work of interpreting the Pentateuch. Its genuineness has been impugned but on no good grounds. It has the testimony of Eusebius, who names it in his list of Philo's works,<sup>a</sup> and also makes a long extract from it, and it is also used on a considerable scale by St. Ambrose though he does not name the author. But apart from these the close resemblance in style and language, remarkably close, considering the difference of subject to the main body of treatises, leaves little doubt as to the authorship.

The tract is an argument to show the truth of the Stoic "paradox" that the wise man alone is free. The paradoxes are one of the best known features of the Stoic system. The doctrine that all the gifts and qualities generally held desirable belong in the true sense to the virtuous or wise man is a natural deduction from the primary maxim that the morally excellent, τὸ καλόν, is the only good. Though they sometimes assume a fantastic form, as when the Stoics claimed, or were supposed to claim, that only the wise

<sup>a</sup> *Eecl. Hist.* ii. 18.

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man could be a general or a pilot or a poet or a cobbler,<sup>a</sup> the more obvious ones that he alone is free or rich or noble or beautiful,<sup>b</sup> are really almost truisms which have been echoed by preachers and moralists in every age. But they put the doctrine in arresting forms which impressed the serious and also gave occasion for banter to those who observed that the life of the philosophers was not always consistent with their principles. Allusions to them and short explanations of their meaning abound in Stoic writings. The list compiled by Arnim (*S.V.F.*) contains some 120 items. But the peculiarity of this treatise is that it argues out the matter with a fullness and lengthiness unparalleled elsewhere,<sup>c</sup> though since the writings of the founders of Stoicism have not survived we cannot say how they may have treated it. At any rate the treatise, whatever its intrinsic merits, has this interest that we have in it a specimen of Stoic dialectic preserved to us almost by accident because it was part of the works of an author whose treatment of the Pentateuch appealed so strongly to the Christian mind.

The length and fullness become still more remark-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 128.

<sup>b</sup> "The wise man only is free, because he alone uses his own will and controls himself; alone beautiful, because only virtue is beautiful and attractive; alone rich and happy, because goods of the soul are the most valuable, and true riches consist in being independent of wants." Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 253.

<sup>c</sup> The most substantial discussions of this particular paradox known to me are Cicero's *Paradoxa*, ch. v., and Epictetus's *Diss.* iv. 1. Epictetus's meditation is much the longer of the two, but is too discursive to summarize. It lays more stress than Philo does on obedience to the will of God as the true freedom.

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able when we find that we have here only the second part of a disquisition, for Philo tells us in his opening sentence that it was preceded by "that every fool or bad man is a slave," which is also mentioned by Eusebius in the catalogue named above. Since mankind are divided into free and slaves and also, according to orthodox Stoicism, into wise and fools, then if the wise alone is free it must follow that a fool is a slave, and one cannot but think that the two should be taken together as they are by Cicero. However, it is a fact that the slavery of the bad though frequently just mentioned is never discussed at length in our treatise except in §§ 51 ff., where the argument that the wise enjoy the right of free discussion (*ἰσηγορία*), which is the mark of the free, is followed by the converse so completely worked out that it can hardly have been given in the earlier half. The slavery of lovesickness is also described at some length in § 38, but it is introduced there so incidentally that one would not be surprised to find it earlier. The main topic presumably was the slavery to the passions which is noted in § 45 and more fully in §§ 156 and 158 f. and is a subject capable of development to any extent. Slightly different to this is the slavery of the multitude to opinion, *cf.* § 21, and he may well have noticed also what Cicero gives as an example, the devotion to artistic objects. The description of a statesman who never cringes to the mob in *De Ios.* 67 suggests that something about the statesman who is in servitude to the people would be appropriate, and this again appears in Cicero. The thought that slavery in the sense of subjection to the wise is the best hope for the wicked, a moral which he draws from the story of Esau (§ 57) and from Noah's curse of Canaan in *De*



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*Sob.* 69,<sup>a</sup> may well have played a part. One thing we may be sure of is that examples were drawn from secular history such as the slavish fear of Dionysius or the impious infatuation of Xerxes<sup>b</sup> to correspond to the examples of philosophical heroism in which this tract abounds.

The great preponderance of secular illustration may be fairly regarded as another sign that this and the twin treatise belong to the youth of Philo. There are altogether only five allusions to or quotations from the Pentateuch. In this the treatise stands in marked contrast to the *De Nob*, which as I have pointed out elsewhere is really a dissertation on the twin paradox that the wise man is noble but is illustrated entirely from the Pentateuch.

It is a consequence of this predominantly secular character that to judge from Cohn's footnotes little use of the treatise was made by Christian writers with two marked exceptions. The first is the account of the Essenes in §§ 75-91, which is quoted in full by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* viii. 12. Eusebius has special reasons for making this extract. The other is the 37th letter of Ambrose, a large part of which is a kind of paraphrase of the *Quod Omnis Probus*. I have mentioned in my notes three passages from this which have some bearing on the text or its interpretation, but there are many others cited by Cohn.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Both these examples from Genesis are quoted by Ambrose xxxvii. 67, with the same moral.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Som.* ii. 117 ff.

<sup>c</sup> One that is not noticed by Cohn is to be found in xxxvii. 33, where the "heavy hands" of Moses in Ex. xvii. 12 are cited as showing that the heart and deeds of the wise man should be steadfast and immovable. Cf. § 29.

In general it is interesting to observe how Ambrose

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The following is an analysis of the treatise.

After stating the subject of this and the preceding treatise Philo points out that such high doctrines are beyond the comprehension of the uneducated multitude (1-3) to whom they seem wild illusion (4-5). He gives a highly coloured picture of the way in which the ignorant react to the paradoxes that the wise and the foolish are respectively (*a*) citizens and exiles (6-7), (*b*) rich and poor (8-9) and says that they raise the same objection to the paradox of freedom and slavery which is here discussed (10). Such persons should like sick people put themselves under the guidance of the physician, that is the philosopher, and if they do so they will feel that they have wasted their past, whence we see the need of philosophical education for the young (11-15).

Coming to the main question, after pointing out that he is not dealing with freedom or slavery of the body (16-18) and declaring that the true freedom, like true sovereignty (though this does not concern us at present), lies in following God (19-20), he passes at once to the main point that the wise man is free from the domination of the passions (21-22). What the poet rightly says of the contempt of death is true of the contempt of other ills, and the wise man will assert

manages to give a Christian and Biblical touch to the secular matter which he draws from Philo. Thus while noting the quotation from Sophocles, in § 19, he adds that David and Job said the same thing before Sophocles. The thought in §§ 38 ff. that masters, like the purchasers of lions, become slaves of their slaves is supported by Ambrose from Prov. xvii. 2 (Lxx) : " a wise servant rules a foolish master," and after giving the story of Calanus and his letter (§§ 93 ff.) almost verbatim, he points out that Calanus's heroism is surpassed by Laurence and the Three Children and the Maccabean martyrs.

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his freedom by facing these bravely (22-25). This is supported by citing the resolution shown by pancratiasts (26-27); also the wise man is unmoved and thus has the leadership of the common herd (28-31). At this point he seems to digress <sup>a</sup> in order to show that some common conceptions of slavery are inconsistent. Such are (a) the fact of service, but soldiers serve without being slaves and the same is true of the impoverished free man, whilst slaves often have control of others (32-35), (b) the fact of having to obey, but children obey their parents yet are reckoned free (36), (c) of being purchased, but free men are ransomed and purchased slaves often rule their masters just as purchased lions intimidate their owners (37-40). The argument is resumed by showing that the wise man is (a) happy (41), (b) like Moses a friend of God and therefore free (42-44), also as law-abiding cities are considered free, so he also obeys the law of reason (45-47). Next comes an intricate argument on the *ἰσχυροπία* or right of discussion on an equal footing enjoyed by the wise (48-50) and not enjoyed by the fool (51-52), and this is supported by a saying of Zeno (53-56) which Philo supposes him to have derived from Moses's account of Isaac condemning Esau to be the slave of Jacob (57). A final argument is: "the wise man is free because he does right voluntarily, cannot be compelled to do wrong and treats things indifferent with indifference" (58-61).

Here till towards the end of the treatise the argument proper is dropped and we have several stories of persons who exemplify the picture of the wise man given above. These are introduced by a discussion whether such persons are to be found. Some doubt

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 32.

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it (62), yet they do exist and have existed though they are scarce and also hard to find because they seek retirement from the wickedness of the world (62-63). We ought to seek them out instead of ransacking land and sea for jewels and the like (64-66) and we should remember the text, "the word is very near thee in thy mouth and thy heart and thy hand." The thoughts, words and deeds here symbolized will if properly cultivated produce good fruit (67-70), but we neglect this and consequently the rarity of the virtuous (71-72). Still they exist both in Greece itself and outside Greece, among the Persians and Indians (73-74), while in Palestine we have the Essenes (75). The long account of the Essenes which follows describes the innocence of their occupations (76-78), rejection of slave labour (79), devout study of the law, particularly on the Sabbath (80-82), threefold devotion to God, virtue and man (83-84), the last particularly shown by sharing house and property and providing for the sick and aged (84-87). Their excellence is attested by the respect shown them even by tyrants and oppressors (88-91). Passing on to individuals, we have the story of the Indian Calanus and his firm resistance to Alexander (92-97), and returning to the Greeks some examples from poetry and history, the picture of Heracles in Euripides (98-104) and, leaving demigods out as not fair specimens, Zeno the Eleate and Anaxarchus (105-109). Further, the dauntlessness shown by those who are not philosophers assures us that the true philosopher is still more dauntless. Among these are the athletes (110-113) and even boys and women (114-117), and whole people like the Xanthians (118-120). In these we see a fortitude which ends in their death, but there is

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also a fortitude in continuing to live, and so we here have a number of anecdotes of Diogenes, somewhat irrelevantly, since Diogenes was a philosopher (120-124). This leads to other stories of bold answering by Chaereas and Theodorus (125-130); after this digression we return to the fortitude which defies death, the example being fighting cocks who fight on till they are killed (131-135). Then there is another digression. That freedom in the ordinary sense is noble and slavery disgraceful is universally recognized (136-137) and examples of this feeling are given—the desire for political freedom shown by senates and generals (138-139), the abhorrence of slavery shown by exclusions of slaves from festivals and from the Argo (140-143). The remainder of the treatise is connected though loosely with the main theme. The wise man will scorn and have a ready answer for all attempts which threaten his independence (144-146) for, since actual slaves when in asylum often exhibit great boldness, the wise man will find a stronger asylum in his virtue (148-153) and will discard all crooked and crafty ways (154-155). It is absurd to suppose that manumission gives true liberty (156-157). The concluding sections (158-161) repeat the main doctrine that freedom lies in eliminating the passions and emphasize the need of education of the young to attain this end.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΟΝ ΕΛΕΥ-  
ΘΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ

[445]  
1 I. Ὁ μὲν πρότερος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὧ Θεόδοτε, περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, ὡς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ εἰκότων καὶ ἀληθῶν ἐπιστωσάμεθα· οὗτοσί δ' ἐκείνου συγγενῆς, ὁμοπάτριος καὶ ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφὸς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δίδυμος, καθ' ὃν  
2 ἐπιδείξομεν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀστεῖος ἐλεύθερος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἱερώτατον θίασον λόγος ἔχει μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναδιδάσκειν, “ταῖς λεωφόροις μὴ βαδίζειν ὁδοῖς,” οὐχ ἵνα κρημνοβατῶμεν—οὐ γὰρ ποσὶ κάματον παρήγγελεν—, ἀλλ' αἰνιττόμενος διὰ συμβόλου τὸ μήτε λόγους μήτ' ἔργοις δημῶδεσι καὶ πεπατημένοις  
3 χρῆσθαι. ὅσοι δὲ φιλοσοφίαν γνησίως ἠσπᾶσαντο, καταπειθεῖς γενόμενοι τῷ προστάγματι νόμον αὐτὸ μᾶλλον δὲ θεσμόν ἰσοῦμενον χρησμῶ ὑπετόπησαν, δόξας δ' ἀγελαιίους ὑπερκύψαντες ἀτραπὸν ἄλλην ἐκαινοτόμησαν ἄβατον<sup>1</sup> ἰδιώταις λόγων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄλλην.

<sup>a</sup> See Introd. p. 4.

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I. Our former treatise, Theodotus, had for its theme 1  
“ every bad man is a slave ” and established it by  
many reasonable and indisputable arguments.<sup>a</sup> The  
present treatise is closely akin to that, its full brother,  
indeed, we may say its twin, and in it we shall show  
that every man of worth is free.<sup>b</sup> Now we are told 2  
that the saintly company of the Pythagoreans teaches  
among other excellent doctrines this also, “ walk not  
on the highways.”<sup>c</sup> This does not mean that we  
should climb steep hills—the school was not prescrib-  
ing foot-weariness—but it indicates by this figure  
that in our words and deeds we should not follow  
popular and beaten tracks. All genuine votaries of 3  
philosophy have obeyed the injunction, divining in it  
a law, or rather super-law,<sup>d</sup> equivalent to an oracle.  
Rising above the opinions of the common herd they  
have opened up a new pathway, in which the outside  
world can never tread, for studying and discerning

<sup>b</sup> On this and the Stoic “ paradoxes ” in general see  
Intro. pp. 2 ff.

<sup>c</sup> See Diog. Laert. viii. 17, where this occurs in a list of  
allegorical watchwords or precepts (σύμβολα) put forth by  
Pythagoras, others being “ Don’t stir a fire with a knife,”  
“ Don’t eat your heart,” and “ Don’t keep birds with crooked  
claws.” Diogenes Laertius explains a few of them. On the  
exact form of the one quoted here see App. p. 509.

<sup>d</sup> See App. p. 509.

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καὶ δογμάτων, ἰδέας ἀνατείλαντες ὧν οὐδενὶ μὴ  
 4 καθαρῷ θέμις ψαύειν. λέγω δὲ μὴ  
 [446] καθαρούς, ὅσοι ἢ παιδείας εἰς ἅπαν ἄγευστοι | δι-  
 ετέλεσαν ἢ πλαγίως ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπ' εὐθείας αὐτὴν  
 ἐδέξαντο κάλλος τὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸ σοφιστείας  
 5 αἰσχος μεταχαράξαντες. οὗτοι τὸ νοητὸν φῶς  
 ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν  
 ὄμματος, ὃ ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς πέφυκεν ἐπισκιάζε-  
 σθαι, καθάπερ ἐν νυκτὶ διάγοντες ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς  
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ζῶσι καὶ ὅσ' ἂν αὐγαῖς ἀκράτοις τῶν  
 ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων<sup>1</sup> εἰλικρινέστατα περιαιθήσαντες  
 διηγῶνται τεράστια νομίζουσι φάσμασιν εἰκότα,  
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν οὐ διαφέροντα.  
 6 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτόπια καὶ θαύματ' ὄντως, φυγάδας  
 μὲν καλεῖν τοὺς μὴ μόνον ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει διατρί-  
 βοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευοντας καὶ δικάζοντας καὶ  
 ἐκκλησιαζοντας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἀγορανομίας καὶ  
 γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας λειτουργίας ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> The text here is uncertain. All mss. except M have *κρατούντων* or *ἐπικρατούντων* after *ἀκτίνων*. But *ἀκτίς* is always feminine. Cohn follows M in the main, but does not give any satisfactory account of the presence of *κρατούντων* in the others.

<sup>a</sup> ἰδέα here in the Platonic sense equivalent to *νοητὸν φῶς* below.

<sup>b</sup> This section is clearly a reminiscence of the opening of Plato, *Rep.* vii. 514 ff. where mankind are compared to prisoners chained in a cave with their backs to a fire and unable to see more than the shadows cast by the passers-by, who even if released will be so dazzled by the daylight that they will still believe that the shadows are the reality.

<sup>c</sup> So Plato 515 c *διὰ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς ἀδυνατοὶ καθορᾶν ἐκεῖνα ὧν τότε τὰς σκιὰς εἴωρα.*

<sup>d</sup> Philo is perhaps thinking of *ibid.* 514 B *ὥσπερ τοῖς*



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truths, and have brought to light the ideal forms<sup>a</sup> which none of the unclean may touch.

By unclean I mean all those who without ever tasting<sup>4</sup> education at all, or else having received it in a crooked and distorted form, have changed the stamp of wisdom's beauty into the ugliness of sophistry. These,<sup>b</sup> unable to discern the conceptual light through<sup>5</sup> the weakness of the soul's eye, which cannot but be beclouded by the flashing rays,<sup>c</sup> as dwellers in perpetual night disbelieve those who live in the daylight, and think that all their tales of what they have seen around them, shown clearly by the unalloyed radiance of the sunbeams, are wild phantom-like inventions no better than the illusions of the puppet show.<sup>d</sup>

"Surely it is an absurdity," they think,<sup>e</sup> 6  
"a mere showman's trick, to apply names in this way, to give the name of exile to men who not only spend their days in the heart of the city, but also sit as councillors, jurymen, and members of assembly, and sometimes undertake the burden of administering the market, or managing the gymnasium and the

*θauματοποιοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόκειται τὰ παραφράγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ θαύματα δεικνύσασιν.* But see App. p. 509.

<sup>e</sup> While the sense requires beyond all question that the next four sections represent the views of the unphilosophical common man and in particular explain the word *θαύματα* ("puppet show" or "conjurer's trick") as applied just above to the paradoxes of the philosophers, it seems strange to find no word to indicate this. And anyone who reads the translations of Yonge or Mangey, where no such word is inserted, naturally starts off by taking these sections to be Philo's opinion, until he realizes that they will make hopeless nonsense. It is possible that *φασί* or some such word has fallen out, but not necessary. A somewhat similar air of approbation in stating opinions which are finally condemned may be found in *Spec. Leg.* i. 335-338.

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- 7 μένοντας, πολίτας δὲ τοὺς ἢ μὴ ἐγγραφέντας τὸ παράπαν ἢ ὧν ἀτιμία καὶ φυγὴ κατέγνωσται, πέραν ὄρων ἀνθρώπους ἐληλαμένους, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι δυναμένους, εἰ μὴ τισι Ποιναῖς ἐλαύνοντο θανατῶντες; ἔφεδροι γὰρ καταστειχόντων κολασταὶ μυρίοι, καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἠκονημένοι καὶ νόμων προστάξεσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες.
- 8 Π. πῶς δὲ οὐ παράλογα καὶ γέμοντα πολλῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἢ μανίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω—διὰ γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν οὐδ' οἰκείων ὀνομάτων εὐπορηῆσαι ῥάδιον—πλουσίους μὲν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς, λυπρῶς καὶ ἀθλίως ἀποζῶντας, μόλις τὸ ἐφήμερον ἐκπορίζοντας, ἐν εὐθηνία κοινῇ λιμὸν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας, ἀρετῆς αὔρα, καθάπερ ἀέρι φασὶ τοὺς τέττιγας, τρεφομένους,
- 9 πένητας δὲ τοὺς ἀργύρω καὶ χρυσῶ καὶ πλήθει κτημάτων καὶ προσόδων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθῆτων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονία περιρρομένους, ὧν ὁ πλοῦτος οὐ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους αὐτὸ μόνον ὤνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔξω προελθὼν μεγάλους ὀμίλους δημοτῶν καὶ φυλετῶν, διαβὰς δ' ἔτι μείζον καὶ πόλει χορηγεῖ τὰ πάντα, ὧν εἰρήνη χρεῖος ἢ πόλεμος;

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<sup>a</sup> The paradox of good man citizen *v.* bad man exile does not seem to be quoted so often as some of the others, and the only examples cited by Arnim are from Philo himself, *e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 1. But *cf.* Cicero, *Acad. Pri.* ii. 136 *Sapientem . . . solum civem . . . insipientes omnes peregrinos, exsules.*

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "I know not." This use of the 1st person sing. in a statement of other people's opinions seems strange, but is paralleled in *De Aet.* 119, and *Flacc.* 50.

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other public services : to call those citizens<sup>a</sup> who have 7  
either never been placed on the burgess rolls or have  
been condemned to disfranchisement or banishment,  
men chased beyond the frontiers, unable not only to  
set foot in the country but even to get a distant view  
of their ancestral soil, unless hounded thither by some  
kind of avenging furies they come courting death.  
For when they return there are numberless ministers  
of punishment waiting for them, spurred to vengeance  
by their personal feelings and also ready to do service  
to the commands of the law.” II. “Surely 8  
your other statements too,” they continue, “are con-  
trary to reason, brimful of shameless effrontery and  
madness or one knows not<sup>b</sup> what to call them, for even  
names are difficult to find appropriate to such extra-  
vagance. You call those rich<sup>c</sup> who are utterly desti-  
tute, lacking the very necessaries, who drag on their  
sorry, miserable life, scarcely providing their daily  
subsistence, starving exceptions to the general pros-  
perity, feeding on the empty breath of virtue as  
grasshoppers are said to feed on air.<sup>d</sup> You call those 9  
poor who are lapped round by silver and gold and a  
multitude of landed possessions and revenues and  
numberless other good things in unstinted abundance,  
whose wealth not only benefits their kinsfolk and  
friends but steps outside the household to do the same  
to multitudes of fellow tribesmen and wardsmen, and  
taking a still wider sweep endows the state with all  
that either peace or war demands. It is part of the 10

<sup>c</sup> The paradox good man rich *v.* bad man poor is very common, see examples in *S.V.F.* iii. 589-603. Philo's constant insistence on the contrast between blind wealth and seeing wealth is substantially the same.

<sup>d</sup> See on *De Vit. Cont.* 35.

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10 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄνειρώξεως τοῖς μὲν ἀμφιθαλέσι καὶ τῷ ὄντι εὐπατρίδαις, ὧν οὐ γονεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι μέχρι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἐπιφανέστατοι γεγόνασι, δουλείαν ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιφημίσαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τριγωνίας στιγματίαις, πεδότρυμι καὶ παλαιο-δούλοις, ἐλευθερίαν.

11 [447] "Ἔστι δὲ | τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἔφην, πρόφασις ἀνθρώ-  
πων, οἱ διάνοιαν μὲν ἡμαύρωνται, δούλοι δ' εἰσὶ  
δόξης ἐπανέχοντες αἰσθήσεσιν, ὧν τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὸ

12 τῶν κρινομένων αἰεὶ δεκαζόμενον<sup>1</sup> ἀβέβαιον. χρῆν δὲ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ὄλως ἐζήλουν ἀλήθειαν, μὴ τῶν τὰ σώματα καμνόντων ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἰατροῖς ὑγείας ὀρεγόμενοι, κατοκνοῦσι δ' οὗτοι νόσον ψυχῆς, ἀπαι-  
δευσίαν, ἀπώσασθαι, γενόμενοι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμι-  
ληταί, παρ' ὧν οὐ μόνον ἔστιν ἀπομαθεῖν ἀμαθίαν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα προσλαβεῖν, ἐπι-

13 στήμην. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον<sup>2</sup> Πλάτωνα  
" φθόνος ἕξω θείου χοροῦ ἴσταται," θειότατον δὲ  
καὶ κοινωνικώτατον σοφία, συγκλείει μὲν οὐδέποτε  
τὸ ἑαυτῆς φροντιστήριον, ἀναπεπταμένη δὲ αἰεὶ  
δέχεται τοὺς ποτίμων διψῶντας λόγων, οἷς ἀκράτου  
διδασκαλίας ἄφθονον ἐπαντλοῦσα νᾶμα μεθύειν τῆν

<sup>1</sup> mss. δικαζόμενον.

<sup>2</sup> So M. The others λιγυρώτατον ("most musical" or "clear-voiced"). I feel considerable doubt as to whether M is right. The quotation which follows as well as the phrase ποτίμων λόγων comes from the myth in the *Phaedrus* which Socrates introduces with an appeal to the Muses as *λίγυραι* (237 A), and *λιγυρός* has been used earlier, 230 c, in describing the scene of the dialogue.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 10-13

same fantastic dream when you dare to ascribe slavery to the highly connected,<sup>a</sup> the indisputably nobly born, who have not only parents but grandparents and ancestors right down to the founders of the family greatly distinguished both in the male and the female line : freedom to those who are heirs in the third generation to the branding iron, the fetter, and immemorial thralldom.”

So they think, but all this is as I have said, the 11 shallow talk of men with minds bedimmed, slaves to opinion, basing themselves on the senses, whose unstable council is always open to bribes from its suitors. If they whole-heartedly sought for truth, they ought 12 not to let themselves be outdone in prudence by the sick in body. They in their desire for health commit themselves to physicians, but these people show no willingness to cast off the soul-sickness of their untrained grossness by resorting to wise men from whom they can not only unlearn their ignorance but gain that knowledge which is mankind's peculiar property. But since we have it on the sacred author- 13 ity of Plato that envy has no place in the divine choir,<sup>b</sup> and wisdom is most divine and most free-handed, she never closes her school of thought but always opens her doors to those who thirst for the sweet water of discourse,<sup>c</sup> and pouring on them an unstinted stream of undiluted doctrine, persuades them to be drunken with the drunkenness which is

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 510.

<sup>b</sup> *Phaedrus* 247 A. Quoted also with *βαίνει* for *ἵσταται* *Spec. Leg.* ii. 249, and with many echoes elsewhere. See note on *De Fuga* 62 (vol. v. pp. 583 f.).

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Phaedrus* 243 D *ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἶον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοήν ἀποκλύσασθαι*. The phrase has been used several times by Philo.

## PHILO

14 νηφάλιον ἀναπαίθει μέθην. οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς  
 τελεταῖς ἱεροφαντηθέντες, ὅταν ὀργίων γεμισθῶσι,  
 πολλὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ὀλιγωρίας ἑαυτοὺς κακίζουσιν,  
 ὡς οὐ φεισάμενοι χρόνου, βίον δὲ τρίψαντες ἀβίω-  
 15 τον, ἐν ᾧ φρονήσεως ἐχήρευσαν. ἄξιον οὖν νεό-  
 τητα τὴν πανταχοῦ πᾶσαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς πρώτης  
 ἀκμῆς μηδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ παιδείᾳ ἀναθεῖναι,<sup>1</sup> ἢ καὶ  
 ἐνηβῆσαι καὶ ἐγγηράσαι καλόν· ὥσπερ γάρ, φασί,  
 τὰ καινὰ τῶν ἀγγείων ἀναφέρει τὰς τῶν πρώτων  
 εἰς αὐτὰ ἐγχυθέντων ὀσμᾶς, οὕτως καὶ αἱ τῶν νέων  
 ψυχαὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν φαντασιῶν τύπους ἀν-  
 εξαιέπτους ἐναποματτόμεναι, τῇ φορᾷ τῶν αὐθις  
 ἐπεισερόντων ἤκιστα κατακλυζόμεναι, τὸ ἀρχαῖον  
 διαφαίνουσιν εἶδος.

16 III. Ἄλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἀκριβωτέον δὲ τὸ  
 ζητούμενον, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀσαφείᾳ  
 παραγόμενοι πλαζώμεθα, καταλαβόντες δὲ περὶ οὗ  
 ὁ λόγος τὰς ἀποδείξεις εὐσκόπως ἐφαρμόττωμεν.

17 δουλεία τοίνυν ἢ μὲν ψυχῶν, ἢ δὲ σωμάτων λέγεται.  
 δεσπόται δὲ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἄνθρωποι, ψυχῶν  
 δὲ κακίαι καὶ πάθη. κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερία·  
 ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἄδειαν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων δυνατω-  
 τέρων, ἢ δὲ διανοίας ἐκεχειρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν παθῶν  
 [448] 18 δυναστείας | ἐργάζεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον οὐδὲ  
 εἰς ζητεῖ· μυρίαὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀνθρώπων τύχαι, καὶ  
 πολλοὶ πολλάκις καιροῖς ἀβουλήτοις τῶν σφόδρα

<sup>1</sup> On the hiatus παιδεία ἀναθεῖναι see App. p. 510.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 511.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning presumably is that ἐλευθερία in the literal sense cannot be the subject of a philosophical ζήτημα because

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 14-18

soberness itself. Then when like initiates in the 14  
mysteries they have taken their fill of the revelations,  
they reproach themselves greatly for their former  
neglect and feel that they have wasted their time  
and that their life while they lacked wisdom was not  
worth the living. It is well then that the young, all 15  
of them and everywhere, should dedicate the first  
fruits of the flower of their prime above all else to  
culture, wherein it is good for both youth and old age  
to dwell. For just as new vessels are said to retain  
the scents of the substances first poured into them,<sup>a</sup>  
so, too, the souls of the young take indelible impres-  
sions of the ideas first presented to them and do not  
have them washed away by the stream of the later  
influx, and so they preserve the original form for all  
to see.

III. So much for these matters. Let us proceed 16  
to the subject of our discourse and give it careful  
consideration, that we may not go astray, misled by  
the vagueness in the terms employed, but apprehend  
what we are talking about, adjust our arguments to  
it, and so prove our point. Slavery then is applied 17  
in one sense to bodies, in another to souls ; bodies  
have men for their masters, souls their vices and  
passions. The same is true of freedom ; one freedom  
produces security of the body from men of superior  
strength, the other sets the mind at liberty from the  
domination of the passions. No one makes the first 18  
kind the subject of investigation.<sup>b</sup> For the vicissi-  
tudes of men are numberless and in many instances  
and at many times persons of the highest virtue  
have through adverse blows of fortune lost the  
no moral issues are involved. It is an accident which does  
not tell us anything about character or conduct.

## PHILO

ἀστείων τὴν ἐκ γένους ἀπέβαλον ἐλευθερίαν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἢ σκέψις περὶ τρόπων, οὓς οὐτ' ἐπιθυμῖαι οὔτε φόβοι οὐθ' ἡδοναὶ οὔτε λῦπαι κατέζευξαν, ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς προεληλυθότων καὶ δεσμῶν οἷς  
 19 ἐπεσφίγγοντο διαφειμένων. ἀνελόντες οὖν ἐκποδῶν τὰς προφασιστικὰς εὐρεσιλογίας καὶ τὰ φύσεως μὲν ἀλλότρια δόξης δ' ἡρτημένα ὀνόματα οἰκοτρίβων ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων ἢ αἰχμαλώτων τὸν ἀψευδῶς ἐλεύθερον ἀναζητῶμεν, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸ αὐτοκρατὲς πρόσεστι, κἂν μυριοὶ γράφωσι δεσπότης ἑαυτοῦς. ἀναφθέγγεται γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ Σοφόκλειον οὐδὲν τῶν πυθοχρήστων διαφέρον·

“θεὸς<sup>1</sup> ἐμὸς ἄρχων, θνητὸς δ' οὐδεὶς.”

20 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μόνος ἐλεύθερος ὁ μόνῳ θεῷ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι, κατ' ἐμὴν δὲ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμῶν, ἐπιτετραμμένος τὰ περίγεια, οἷα μεγάλου βασιλέως, θνητὸς ἀθανάτου, διάδοχος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγος εἰς καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον ὑπερκείσθω, τὸν δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας τὰ νῦν  
 21 ἀκριβωτέον. εἰ δὴ τις εἴσω προελθὼν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐθελήσειε διακύψαι, γνώσεται σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῃ συγγενὲς οὕτως, ὡς αὐτοπραγία ἐλευθερία, διότι πολλὰ μὲν τῷ φαύλῳ τὰ ἐμποδῶν, φιλαργυρία, φιλοδοξία, φιληδονία, τῷ δ' ἀστείῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν, ἐπανισταμένῳ καὶ ἐπιβεβηκότι

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read Ζεὺς, see note a.

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<sup>a</sup> This line is quoted in Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1242 a 37 with Ζεὺς for θεός, as the anapaestic metre requires, and is paraphrased by Ambrose “Jupiter mihi praeest, nullus autem hominum.” As Ambrose is not likely to have known the



## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 18-21

freedom to which they were born. Our inquiry is concerned with characters which have never fallen under the yoke of desire, or fear, or pleasure, or grief; characters which have as it were escaped from prison and thrown off the chains which bound them so tightly. Casting aside, therefore, specious 19 quibblings and the terms which have no basis in nature but depend upon convention, such as "home-bred," "purchased" or "captured in war," let us examine the veritable free man, who alone possesses independence, even though a host of people claim to be his masters. Let us hear the voice of Sophocles in words which are as true as any Delphic oracle

God and no mortal is my Sovereign.<sup>a</sup>

For in very truth he who has God alone for his leader, 20 he alone is free, though to my thinking he is also the leader of all others, having received the charge of earthly things from the great, the immortal King, whom he, the mortal, serves as viceroy. But the subject of the wise man's sovereignty<sup>b</sup> must be postponed to a more suitable occasion and we have now to examine his freedom carefully. If one looks with 21 a penetrating eye into the facts, he will clearly perceive that no two [things are so closely akin as independence of action and freedom, because the bad man has a multitude of incumbrances, such as love of money or reputation and pleasure, while the good man has none at all. He stands defiant and trium-

line from any other source, there is certainly some reason to suppose that he found *Zeus* in his text of Philo.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 122 οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας. This is probably the most common of the paradoxes, and is given by Philo several times, e.g. *De Mut.* 152 (vol. v. p. 591), where see note.

## PHILO

καθάπερ ἐν ἄθλων ἀγῶνι τοῖς καταπαλαισθεῖσιν, ἔρωτι, φόβῳ, δειλίᾳ, λύπῃ, τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις.  
 22 ἔμαθε γὰρ ἀλογεῖν ἐπιταγμάτων, ὅσα οἱ ψυχῆς παρανομώτατοι ἄρχοντες ἐπιτάττουσι, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον ἐλευθερίας, ἧς τὸ αὐτοκέλευστον καὶ ἐθελουργὸν κλῆρος ἴδιος. ἐπαινεῖται παρά τισιν ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκείνο ποιήσας

“ τίς δ’ ἐστὶ δούλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὦν;”

ὡς μάλα συνιδῶν τὸ ἀκόλουθον· ὑπέλαβε γάρ, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε διάνοιαν, ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δέος, ἔνεκα τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἡμέρου.

23 IV. χρῆν δὲ λογίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ τοῦ θανεῖν μόνον ἄφροντις ὦν ἀδούλωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πένεσθαι καὶ ἀδοξεῖν καὶ ἀλγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 [449] ὅσα οἱ πολλοὶ κακὰ νομίζουσι, κακοὶ τῶν | πραγμάτων ὄντες αὐτοὶ κριταί, οἷτινες ἐκ τῶν χρειῶν δοκιμάζουσι τὸν δούλον εἰς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφ-  
 24 ὠρῶντες, δέον εἰς τὸ ἀδούλωτον ἦθος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ταπεινοῦ καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς φρονήματος ταπεινοῖς καὶ δουλοπρεπέσι παρὰ γνώμην ἐγχειρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δούλος ὄντως· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἀρμοζόμενος τὰ οἰκεία καὶ ἐκουσίως ἅμα καὶ τλητικῶς ἐγκαρτερῶν τοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ μηδὲν καιρὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων εἶναι νομίζων, ἀλλ’ ἐξήτακῶς ἐπιμελῶς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν θεῖα αἰωνίῳ τάξει καὶ εὐδαιμονία τετίμηται, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ πάντα σάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι πραγμάτων διαφερόμενα πρὸς ἀνίσους ροπὰς ταλαντεύει, καὶ γενναίως ὑπομένων τὰ συμ-

<sup>a</sup> Quoted also by Plut. *De Poet. Aud.* 13 as from Euripides. Plutarch makes the same point as Philo, that it applies to other seeming evils besides death.

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 21-24

phant over love, fear, cowardice, grief and all that sort, as the victor over the fallen in the wrestling bout. For he has learnt to set at nought the injunctions laid upon him by those most lawless rulers of the soul, inspired as he is by his ardent yearning for the freedom whose peculiar heritage it is that it obeys no orders and works no will but its own. Some people praise the author of the line

What slave is there who takes no thought of death? <sup>a</sup>

and think that he well understood the thought that it involves. For he meant that nothing is so calculated to enslave the mind as fearing death through desire to live. IV. But we must reflect that <sup>23</sup> exemption from slavery belongs to him who takes no thought not only of death but also of poverty, disrepute and pain and all the other things which the mass of men count as evil, though the evil lies in themselves and in their judgement, which makes them test the slave by the tasks he performs and fix their eyes on the services he renders instead of on his unenslaved character. For he who with a <sup>24</sup> mean and slavish spirit puts his hand to mean and slavish actions contrary to his own proper judgement is a slave indeed. But he who adjusts himself and his to fit the present occasion and willingly and also patiently endures the blows of fortune, who holds that there is nothing new in human circumstances, who has by diligent thought convinced himself that, while what is God's has the honour of possessing eternal order and happiness, all mortal things are carried about in the tossing surge of circumstance and sway unevenly on the balance, who nobly endures whatever befalls him—he indeed needs no more to

## PHILO

25 πίπτοντα φιλόσοφος εὐθύς ἐστι καὶ ἐλεύθερος. ὅθεν οὐδὲ παντὶ τῷ<sup>1</sup> προστάττοντι ὑπακούσεται, κἂν αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους καὶ τινας φοβερωτάτας ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατείνηται, νεανιευσάμενος δὲ ἀντικηρύξει·

“ ὅπτα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα, γῆ δ’ ἄνεισ’ ἐς οὐρανόν, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ’ ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.”

26 V. ἤδη ποτ’ εἶδον ἐν ἀγῶνι παγκρατιαστῶν τὸν μὲν ἐπιφέροντα τὰς πληγὰς καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ καὶ πάσας εὐσκόπως καὶ μηδὲν παραλελοιπότα τῶν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἀπειρηκότα καὶ παρεμῆνον καὶ πέρας ἀστεφάνωτον ἐξελθόντα τοῦ σταδίου, τὸν δὲ τυπτόμενον, ὑπὸ πυκνότητος σαρκῶν πεπιλημένον, στρυφνόν, ναστόν, ὄντως γέμοντα πνεύματος ἀθλητικοῦ, δι’ ὅλων νευρωμένον, οἷα πέτραν ἢ σίδηρον, οὐδὲν μὲν πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς ἐνδόντα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου δύναμιν τῷ καρτερικῷ καὶ παγίῳ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καθηρηκότα

27 μέχρι παντελοῦς νίκης. ὁμοιον δὴ τι τούτῳ πεπονθέναι μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἀστεῖος· τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν εὖ μάλα κραταιωθείς ἰσχυρογνώμωνι λογισμῷ θᾶπτον ἀναγκάζει τὸν βιαζόμενον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ὑπομένει τι

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read παντὶ τῷ, a common phrase in Philo, or παντὰ τῷ. The stress seems to be on resistance to improper orders, rather than to the person who makes them.

<sup>a</sup> See on § 99.

<sup>b</sup> Or “elasticity”—or perhaps “with the well-knit frame of the true athlete.” That is to say I conceive the word to be used in the semi-physical Stoic sense of the force or current

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 25-27

make him a philosopher and a free man. And, there- 25  
fore, he will not obey just anyone who gives him  
orders, even though he menaces him with outrage  
and tortures and threats however dreadful, but will  
openly and boldly defy him thus :

Roast and consume my flesh, and drink thy fill  
Of my dark blood ; for sooner shall the stars  
Go 'neath the earth and earth go up to heaven  
Than thou shalt from my lips meet fawning word.<sup>a</sup>

V. I have observed in a contest of pancratiasts how 26  
one of the combatants will strike blow after blow both  
with hands and feet, every one of them well aimed,  
and leave nothing undone that might secure his  
victory, and yet he will finally quit the arena without  
a crown in a state of exhaustion and collapse, while  
the object of his attack, a mass of closely packed  
flesh, rigid and solid, full of the wiriness<sup>b</sup> of the true  
athlete, his sinews taut from end to end, firm as a  
piece of rock or iron, will yield not a whit to the  
blows, but by his stark and stubborn endurance will  
break down utterly the strength of his adversary and  
end by winning a complete victory. Much the same 27  
as it seems to me is the case of the virtuous man ;  
his soul strongly fortified with a resolution firmly  
founded on reason, he compels the employer of  
violence to give up in exhaustion, sooner than himself

which holds bodies together and is otherwise known as *ξίς*.  
Thus "walking" is said by Seneca to be a "*spiritus a princi-  
cipali usque ad pedes permissus*" (Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*,  
pp. 89, 250). See on *ἔξεως πνευματικῆς* (*De Aet.* 86). It  
can hardly here mean "athletic spirit" in the sense that we  
use the phrase, nor yet the "good wind" of the athlete,  
though Leisegang perhaps took it so, when he couples this  
passage with *Leg. All.* iii. 14 ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον διαπνέοντος καὶ  
συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα.

## PHILO

- δράσαι τῶν παρὰ γνώμην. ἀλλ' ἄπιστον ἴσως τοῖς  
 μὴ πεπονηθόσιν ἀρετῆν<sup>1</sup> τὸ λεγόμενον<sup>2</sup>—καὶ γὰρ  
 ἐκείνο τοῖς τοὺς παγκρατιαστὰς οὐκ εἰδόσι—, γέγονε  
 28 δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπ' ἀληθείας. εἰς ταῦτα δ' ἀπιδὼν  
 Ἀντισθένης δυσβάστακτον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν ἀστεῖον·  
 ὡς γὰρ ἡ ἀφροσύνη κοῦφον καὶ φερόμενον, (οὕτως)<sup>3</sup>  
 ἡ φρόνησις ἐπηρεισμένον καὶ ἀκλινὲς καὶ βάρως  
 29 ἔχον ἀσάλευτον. ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης  
 [450] τὰς τοῦ σοφοῦ χεῖρας | βαρείας εἰσάγει, διὰ συμ-  
 βόλων τὰς πράξεις αἰνιττόμενος οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως  
 ἀλλὰ παγίως ἐρηρεισμένας ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀρρεπουῖς.  
 30 πρὸς οὐδενὸς οὖν ἀναγκάζεται, ἅτε καταπεφρονη-  
 κῶς μὲν ἀλγηδόνων, καταπεφρονηκῶς δὲ θανάτου,  
 νόμῳ δὲ φύσεως ὑπηκόους ἔχων ἅπαντας ἄφρονας·  
 ὄνπερ γὰρ τρόπον αἰγῶν μὲν καὶ βοῶν καὶ προ-  
 βάτων αἰπόλοι καὶ βουκόλοι καὶ νομεῖς ἀφηγοῦνται,  
 τὰς δ' ἀγέλας ἀμήχανον ἐπιτάξαι ποιμέσι, τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ θρέμμασιν εὐοκότες  
 ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἄρχοντος δέονται, ἡγεμόνες δ' εἰσὶν  
 οἱ ἀστεῖοι τὴν τῶν ἀγελαρχῶν τεταγμένοι τάξιν.  
 31 Ὁμηρος μὲν οὖν “ ποιμένας λαῶν ” εἴωθε καλεῖν  
 τοὺς βασιλέας, ἡ δὲ φύσις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς κυριώτερον

<sup>1</sup> See note *a*. The correction *προσπεπονηθόσιν ἀρετῆ* is possible, particularly as M has *ἀρετῆ* (= -ῆ) = “devoted to virtue.” I suggest for consideration *πεποιθόσιν ἀρετῆ* or *πεποθηκόσιν ἀρετῆν*.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn punctuates with a colon after *λεγόμενον*, and comma after *εἰδόσι*, thus making the case of the pancratiast to be the subject of *γέγονε* instead of the moral victory of the *ἀστεῖος*.

<sup>3</sup> On the insertion of *οὕτως* see App. p. 511.

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 27-31

submit to do anything contrary to his judgement. This statement may perhaps seem incredible to those who have had no experience of virtue<sup>a</sup> (so would the other just mentioned to those who do not know the pancratiast), but none the less it is an actual fact. It 28 is this which Antisthenes had in view when he said that a virtuous man is heavy to carry,<sup>b</sup> for as want of sense is a light thing, never stationary, so good sense is firmly based, never swerves and has a weight that cannot be shaken. The law-giver of the Jews de- 29 scribes the wise man's hands as heavy,<sup>c</sup> indicating by this figure that his actions are not superficial but firmly based, the outcome of a mind that never wavers. No one then can compel him, since he has 30 come to despise both pain and death, and by the law of nature has all fools in subjection. For just as goats and oxen and sheep are led by goatherds and oxherds and shepherds, and flocks and herds cannot possibly give orders to herdsmen, so too the multitude, who are like cattle, require a master and a ruler and have for their leaders men of virtue, appointed to the office of governing the herd. Homer 31 often calls kings "shepherds of the people,"<sup>d</sup> but nature more accurately applies the title to the good,

even in the sense of having experience of virtue in others is more than doubtful Greek. No satisfactory emendation however has been proposed. See note 1.

<sup>b</sup> Zeller, *Socrates* (Eng. trans.), p. 334 takes the saying to mean that the virtuous man is hard to bear or makes himself a nuisance by telling unpleasant truths and quotes in support other similar sayings of the Cynics. Philo takes it in a quite different sense, though the last words of § 31 suggest something of the thought which Zeller assigns to it.

<sup>c</sup> Ex. xvii. 12. The same interpretation is given with some additions in *Leg. All.* iii. 45.

<sup>d</sup> e.g. *Il.* ii. 243.

## PHILO

τουτὶ τοῦνομα ἐπεφήμισεν, εἴ γε ἐκείνοι ποιμαίνονται τὸ πλεόν ἢ ποιμαίνουσιν—ἄκρατος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἄγει καὶ εὐμορφία πέμματά τε καὶ ὄψα καὶ τὰ μαγείρων καὶ σιτοποιῶν ἡδύσματα, ἵνα τὰς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἐπιθυμίας παραλείπω—, τοῖς δ' ὑπ' οὐδενὸς συμβέβηκε δελεάζεσθαι, νουθετεῖν δὲ καὶ ὄσους ἂν αἰσθωνται πάγαις ἡδονῆς ἀλισκομένους.

- 32 VI. "Οτι δ' οὐχ αἱ ὑπηρεσίαι μηνύματ' εἰσὶ δουλείας, ἐναργεστάτη πίστις οἱ πόλεμοι· τοὺς γὰρ στρατευομένους ἰδεῖν ἔστιν αὐτουργοὺς ἅπαντας, οὐ μόνον τὰς πανοπλίας κομίζοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν ὑποζυγίων τρόπον ἐπηχθισμένους, εἴτ' ἐφ' ὑδρείαν ἐξιόντας καὶ φρυ-  
33 γανισμὸν καὶ χιλὸν κτήγεσι. τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, τάφρους ἀνατεμνόντων ἢ τεῖχη κατασκευαζόντων ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγουμένων ἢ ὅσα ὑπουργίας ἢ τέχνης πάντα χερσὶ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι ὑπηρε-  
34 τούντων. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην πόλεμος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις οὐκ ἀποδέων, ὃν ἀδοξία καὶ πενία καὶ δεινὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων συγκροτοῦσιν, ὑφ' οὗ βιασθέντες ἐγχειρεῖν καὶ τοῖς δουλοπρεπεστάτοις ἀναγκάζονται, σκάπτοντες, γέωπονοῦντες, βαναύσους ἐπιτηδεύοντες τέχνας,

<sup>a</sup> §§ 32-40. These sections, except in § 40, where the casual illustration from the lions leads Philo to revert to his main theme, do not seem to bear upon the argument that the good man alone is free. They may perhaps be regarded as arguing that, independently of the main philosophical contention, the common tests of slavery and freedom are not consistently held. So with *ὑπηρεσίαι*, which as Cohn points out has been stated in § 23 to be the ordinary test, no one



## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 31-34

since kings are more often in the position of the sheep than of the shepherd. They are led by strong drink and good looks and by baked meats and savoury dishes and the dainties produced by cooks and confectioners, to say nothing of their craving for silver and gold and grander ambitions. But the good nothing can ensnare, and it is theirs also to admonish those whom they see caught in the toils of pleasure.

VI. <sup>a</sup>That services rendered are no proof of enslave- 32  
ment is very clearly shown in war-time. We see soldiers in the field all working on their own account, not only carrying all their weapons, but also laden like beasts with every necessary requirement, and then making expeditions to get water or firewood or fodder for the animals. As for labours required in 33  
defence against the enemy, such as cutting trenches or building walls or constructing triremes, and all other skilled or subsidiary operations in which the hands and the rest of the body are employed, there is no need to recount them at length. On the other hand, 34  
there is a peace-time war, no less grave than those fought with arms, a war set on foot by disrepute and poverty and dire lack of the necessaries of life, a war by which men are forced under duress to undertake the most servile tasks, digging and toiling on the land and practising menial crafts, labouring un-

calls the soldier a slave, nor yet that other soldier, the freeman driven by poverty to do menial tasks. On the other hand (§ 34) persons who are admittedly slaves in the ordinary sense have functions which are not *ὑπηρεσίαι*. A second test (obedience) begins in § 36. This breaks down because children and pupils obey but are not slaves; a third test, purchase (§ 37), because ransomed captives are not slaves, and purchase also does not prevent the complete subjection of the purchaser to the purchased (§§ 38-39).

## PHILO

ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀόκνως ἔνεκα τοῦ παρατρέφεσθαι,  
 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέσσην ἀγορὰν ἀχθοφοροῦντες  
 ἐν ἡλικιωτῶν καὶ συμφοιτητῶν καὶ συνεφήβων  
 35 ὄψεσιν. ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ γένους δούλοι  
 τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων εὐμοιρία τύχης μετιόντες· ἐπί-  
 τροποι γὰρ οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων καὶ μεγάλων  
 οὐσιῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ὁμοδούλων ἄρχοντες  
 καθίστανται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας  
 ὀρφανοὺς δεσποτῶν ἐπετράπησαν, φίλων καὶ συγ-  
 γενῶν προκριθέντες εἰς πίστιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰσὶ  
 δούλοι, δανειζόντες, ἠνούμενοι, προσόδους ἐκλεγό-  
 μενοι, θεραπευόμενοι. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ  
 [451] κατὰ τούναντίον ὀλίσθω τις εὐτυχίας | δουλικὰς  
 36 χρείας ἐπιτελεῖ; τὸ δ' ὑπακούειν ἑτέρῳ τὴν ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ πῶς πατὴρ μὲν ἢ μητὴρ  
 ἐπιταγμάτων παῖδες ἀνέχονται, γνώριμοι δὲ ὧν  
 ὑφήγηται<sup>1</sup> διακελεύονται; δούλος γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς.  
 οἷ γε μὴν τοκέες οὐ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιδεί-  
 ξονται ποτε μισοτεκνίας, ὥσθ' ἂ μόνον σύμβολα  
 δουλείας ἐστί, τὰς ὑπηρεσίας, ἀναγκάσαι ἂν παῖδας  
 37 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ὑπομένειν. εἰ δέ τις ὑπ' ἀνδραπο-  
 δοκαπήλων ἐπευωνιζομένους ἰδὼν τις οἶεται δού-  
 λους εὐθὺς εἶναι, πολὺ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἀληθείας·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἢ πρᾶσις ἢ κύριον ἀποφαίνει τὸν πριάμενον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑφήγωνται or ἀφηγούνται.

<sup>a</sup> Stephanus says of παρατρέφεσθαι "Plutarchus dicitur usurpasse de pauperibus qui misere aluntur," but no examples are quoted, and the words may simply mean "get their rations," the point of the prefix being that like slaves they are dependent on others.

<sup>b</sup> This may be taken in two ways, (1) as in the translation with what follows: the parents' interests are identical with those of the children, and they cannot wish them to be slaves;

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 34-37

ceasingly to earn a meagre<sup>a</sup> subsistence ; often too carrying burdens in the midst of the market place before the eyes of their fellows in age who were their associates in boyhood and in youth.

There are others born in slavery, who by a happy dispensation of fortune pursue the occupations of the free. 35 They receive the stewardship of houses and landed estates and great properties ; sometimes too they become the rulers of their fellow slaves. Many too have the wives and orphan children of their masters committed to their charge, being preferred for trustworthiness to friends and members of the family. Still all the same they are slaves though they lend, purchase, collect revenues and are much courted. Why then should we wonder when the opposite occurs and a man whose good luck has taken a bad turn performs the offices of a slave ? But you say, " by 36 obedience to another he loses his liberty." How then is it that children suffer the orders of their father or mother, and pupils the injunctions of their instructors ? For no one is willing to be a slave<sup>b</sup> ; and surely parents will not show such an extreme hatred of their offspring as to compel their own children to submit to render services which according to you are the sole distinctive marks of slavery. Again, anyone who 37 thinks that people put up for sale<sup>c</sup> by kidnappers thereby become slaves goes utterly astray from the truth. Selling does not make the purchaser a master,

(2) taking it with the previous sentence, no one who acts voluntarily is a slave, and the children do act voluntarily.

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps " sold cheap " as apparently in § 121. On the other hand neither here nor in *Flaccus* 132 is there much point in cheapness. See my note on *De Cher.* 123, vol. ii. p. 486, where it is suggested that the word merely conveys some measure of contempt like our " peddling."

## PHILO

ἢ τὸν πραθέντα δοῦλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατέρες υἰῶν τιμὰς κατέθεσαν καὶ υἱοὶ πολλάκις πατέρων ἢ κατὰ ληστείας ἀπαχθέντων ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον αἰχμαλώτων γενομένων, οὓς οἱ τῆς φύσεως νόμοι τῶν κάτωθεν ὄντες βεβαιότεροι γράφουσιν ἐλευθέρους.

- 38 ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντες εἰς τοῦναντίον περιήγαγον τὸ πρᾶγμα, δεσπότην γενόμενοι τῶν πριαμένων ἀντὶ δούλων· ἔγωγ' οὖν ἔθεασάμην πολλάκις εὐμορφα παιδισκάρια καὶ φύσει στωμύλα δυσὶν ὄρμητηρίοις, ὄψεως κάλλει καὶ τῇ περὶ λόγους χάριτι, πορθοῦντα τοὺς κεκτημένους· ἐλεπόλεις γὰρ ταῦτα ψυχῶν ἀνδρῦτων καὶ ἀνερματίστων, μηχανημάτων ἀπάντων ὅσα ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τειχῶν κατασκευάζεται σθεναρώτερα.
- 39 σημεῖον δέ· θεραπεύουσιν, ἱκετεύουσιν, εὐμένειαν ὡς παρὰ τύχης καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αἰτεῖσθαι γλίσχονται, καὶ παρορώμενοι μὲν σφαδάζουσιν, εἰ δ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ βλέμμα ἴλεων θεάσαιντο, γε-
- 40 γηθότες ἀνορχοῦνται. εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν λέοντας ὠνησάμενον δεσπότην φατέον εἶναι λεόντων, ὅς, εἰ μόνον ἐπανατείναντο τὰς ὄψεις, οἴους ἐπρίατο κυρίου ὁ δύστηνος, ὡς χαλεποὺς καὶ ὠμοθύμους, αὐτίκα παθῶν εἴσεται. τί οὖν; οὐκ οἴομεθα τὸν σοφὸν ἀδουλωτότερον εἶναι λεόντων, ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ ἀτρώτῳ ψυχῇ τὴν ἀλκὴν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ

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<sup>a</sup> εἰ μὴ refers back to § 37. Philo is no doubt thinking

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 37-40

nor the purchased a slave. Fathers pay a price for their sons and sons often for their fathers if they have been carried off in raids or taken prisoners in war, and that such persons are free men is asserted by the laws of nature which have a more solid foundation than those of our lower world.

Indeed, some of those thus bought and sold reverse 38 the situation to such an extreme extent that they become the masters of their purchasers instead of their slaves. I have often myself seen pretty little slave girls with a natural gift for wheedling words, who with these two sources of strength, beauty of face and charm of speech, stormed the hearts of their owners. For these two are engines of attack against souls with no ballast or stability, engines mightier than all the machines constructed to demolish walls. This is shown by the way in which their owners court 39 them, supplicate them, eagerly beg their favours, as though they were praying to fortune or some good genius. If they are scouted they go into fits of despair and if they just see a kindly glance they dance for joy. If selling constitutes slavery we 40 should have to assert that a person who had bought some lions is master of the lions,<sup>a</sup> whereas if the beasts do but turn menacing eyes upon him, the poor man will learn at once by experience the cruel and ferocious lordship of those whom he has purchased. Well then must we not suppose that if lions cannot, still less can the wise man be enslaved, who has in his free and unscathed soul a greater power of resistance of the story told of Diogenes (Diog. Laert. vi. 75): when his friends offered to ransom him from the pirates, he refused, "for lions are not slaves of those who keep them, but they are the slaves of the lions. For fear is the mark of the slave, but wild beasts make men fear them."

## PHILO

σώματι φύσει δούλω καὶ εὐτονία κραταιοτάτη<sup>1</sup>  
 ἰσχύος ἀφηνιάζοι;

- 41 VII. Μάθοι δ' ἂν τις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,<sup>2</sup> ἢ περὶ τὸν  
 σπουδαῖόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων· δούλος εὐδαίμων  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδεὶς· τί γὰρ ἀθλιώτερον ἢ πάντων  
 ἄκυρον εἶναί τινα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ; ὁ δέ γε σοφὸς  
 εὐδαίμων, ἔρμα καὶ πλήρωμα καλοκαγαθίας ἐπι-  
 φερόμενος, ἐν ἧ τὸ κῦρὸς ἐστὶν ἀπάντων· (ὥστ')  
 ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐλεύ-  
 42 θερός ἐστι. πρὸς τούτοις τίς οὐκ ἂν εἶποι τοὺς  
 φίλους τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>3</sup> ἐλευθέρους εἶναι; εἰ μὴ τοῖς μὲν  
 [452] τῶν βασιλέων ἐταίροις | ἄξιον οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ὁμολογεῖν<sup>4</sup> συνεπιτροπεύουσι καὶ  
 συνδιέπουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῖς δὲ θεῶν τῶν  
 ὀλυμπίων δουλείαν ἐπιφημιστέον, οἱ διὰ τὸ φιλό-  
 θεον εὐθὺς γενόμενοι θεοφιλεῖς, ἴση ἀντιτιμηθέντες  
 εὐνοία παρ' ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ, καθάπερ οἱ ποιηταί  
 φασι, πανάρχοντές τε καὶ βασιλέες βασιλέων εἰσί.  
 43 νεανικώτερον δ' ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης προσ-  
 υπερβάλλων, ἄτε γυμνῆς ὡς λόγος ἀσκητῆς  
 φιλοσοφίας, τὸν ἔρωτι θείῳ κατεσχημένον καὶ τὸ  
 ὄν μόνον θεραπεύοντα οὐκέτ' ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ θεὸν

<sup>1</sup> "Suspectum propter hiatus," says Cohn. See App. p. 510 on § 15.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀλήθειαν.

<sup>3</sup> So mss. Cohn τῶν θεῶν calling attention to the plural just below. But easy alternation between God and Gods is, I think, a common phenomenon in Stoicism. There is also the hiatus; see again App. p. 510.

<sup>4</sup> mss. συνομολογεῖν.

<sup>a</sup> See on § 128.

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 40-43

to the yoke than any he could make with the naturally slavish body and all the vigour of its physical strength?

VII. The freedom of the good man may be learnt 41 in other ways. No slave is really happy. For what greater misery is there than to live with no power over anything, including oneself? But the wise man is happy, ballasted and freighted <sup>a</sup> by his high morality, which confers power over everything, and so beyond all doubt and of sheer necessity, the good man is free. Furthermore no one would deny that the friends 42 of God are free. Surely when we agree that the familiars of kings enjoy not only freedom but authority, because they take part in their management and administration as leaders, we must not give the name of slaves to those who stand in the same relation to the celestial gods, who are god-lovers and thereby necessarily god-beloved, rewarded with the same affection as they have shown, and in the judgement of truth are as the poets say, <sup>b</sup> rulers of all and kings of kings. The legislator of the Jews in a bolder spirit 43 went to a further extreme and in the practice of his "naked" philosophy, <sup>c</sup> as they call it, ventured to speak of him who was possessed by love of the divine and worshipped the Self-existent only, as having

<sup>b</sup> No poetical reference is quoted either for the thought or the language, and I understand the reference to be to the word *πανάρχων*, which is not cited from elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup> By "naked philosophy" he perhaps means "frank" or "outsoken." Cf. *γυμνοῖς ἤθεσι προσαγορεύοντες* "their manner of address was unreserved" *De Abr.* 117, and *γυμνοῖς ὀνόμασι Spec. Leg.* ii. 131. But this does not quite account for *ὡς λόγος*, and still less does the *γνησίας* which Mangey proposed. Possibly there may be some allusion to the gymnosophists (see § 93), but more probably to something which we cannot now recover.

## PHILO

ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν· ἀνθρώπων μέντοι θεόν, οὐ τῶν  
 τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, ἵνα τῷ πάντων καταλίπη πατρί  
 44 τὸ θεῶν εἶναι βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ. ἄρ' ἄξιον τὸν  
 προνομίας τοσαύτης τετυχηκότα δούλον ἢ μόνον  
 ἐλεύθερον εἶναι νομίζεις; ὃς εἰ καὶ θείας οὐκ  
 ἠξιώται μοίρας καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλά τοι διὰ τὸ φίλῳ  
 θεῷ χρῆσθαι πάντως ὤφειλεν εὐδαιμονεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ  
 ἀσθενῆς ὁ ὑπέρμαχος οὔτε φιλικῶν ἀμελῆς δικαίων  
 θεὸς ἑταιρείος ὢν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἑταίρους  
 45 ἐφορῶν. ἔτι τοίνυν, ὥσπερ τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν  
 ὀλιγαρχούμεναι καὶ τυραννούμεναι δουλείαν ὑπο-  
 μένουσι χαλεποὺς καὶ βαρεῖς ἔχουσαι δεσπότης  
 τοὺς ὑπαγομένους καὶ κρατοῦντας, αἱ δὲ νόμοις  
 ἐπιμεληταῖς χρώμεναι καὶ προστάταις εἰσὶν ἐλεύ-  
 θεραι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρ' οἷς μὲν ὀργῇ  
 ἢ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἢ τι ἄλλο πάθος ἢ καὶ ἐπίβουλος κακία  
 δυναστεύει, πάντως εἰσὶ δούλοι, ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ νόμου  
 46 ζῶσιν, ἐλεύθεροι. νόμος δὲ ἀψευδῆς ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος,  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέινος ἢ τοῦ δέινος, θνητοῦ φθαρτός,  
 ἐν χαρτιδίῳ ἢ στήλαις, ἄψυχος ἀψύχους, ἀλλ' ὑπ'  
 ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἄφθαρτος ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διανοία  
 47 τυπωθεῖς. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσαι ἂν τις τῆς ἀμβλυ-  
 ωπίας τοὺς τρανὰς οὕτω πραγμάτων ἰδιότητος μὴ  
 συνωρῶντας, οἱ μεγίστοις μὲν δήμοις Ἀθήναις καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμόνι πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἀνταρκεστάτους εἶναι  
 φασὶ τοὺς Σόλωνος καὶ Λυκούργου νόμους κρα-  
 τοῦντάς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας πειθαρχούντων αὐτοῖς  
 τῶν πολιτευομένων, σοφοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσι τὸν ὀρθὸν  
 λόγον, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστὶ πηγὴ νόμοις, οὐχ

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<sup>a</sup> See Ex. vii. 1 "Behold I give thee as a god to Pharaoh";



## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 43-47

passed from a man into a god, though, indeed, a god to men, not to the different parts of nature, thus leaving to the Father of all the place of King and God of gods.<sup>a</sup> Does one who has obtained so great a 44 preferment deserve to be considered a slave and not rather the solely free? Though he was not deemed worthy of divine rank in his own right, yet because he had God for a friend, he was bound to have absolute felicity, for he had no feeble champion, nor one neglectful of the rights of friendship in Him who is the comrade's god and keeps watch over the claims of comradeship. Further again, just as with cities, 45 those which lie under an oligarchy or tyranny suffer enslavement, because they have cruel and severe masters, who keep them in subjection under their sway, while those which have laws to care for and protect them are free, so, too, with men. Those in whom anger or desire or any other passion, or again any insidious vice holds sway, are entirely enslaved, while all whose life is regulated by law are free. And right reason is an infallible law engraved not by 46 this mortal or that and, therefore, perishable as he, nor on parchment or slabs, and, therefore, soulless as they, but by immortal nature on the immortal mind, never to perish. So, one may well wonder at the 47 short-sightedness of those who ignore the characteristics which so clearly distinguish different things and declare that the laws of Solon and Lycurgus are all-sufficient to secure the freedom of the greatest of republics, Athens and Sparta, because their sovereign authority is loyally accepted by those who enjoy that citizenship, yet deny that right reason, which is the

a text cited elsewhere several times. Cf. in particular *Quod Det.* 161 ff.

## PHILO

ικανὸν εἶναι πρὸς μετουσίαν ἐλευθερίας ὑπακούουσι πάντων, ἅττ' ἂν ἢ προστάτῃ ἢ ἀπαγορεύῃ.

- 48 πρὸς τοίνυν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐναργεστάτῃ πίστις ἐλευθερίας ἰσηγορία, ἣν οἱ σπουδαῖοι πάντες ἄγουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ τρίμετρα φιλοσόφως ἐκεῖνά φασιν εἰρῆσθαι.

[453] | “οὐ γὰρ μετεῖναι τῶν νόμων δούλοις ἔφν.”

καὶ πάλιν·

“δούλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγος.”

- 49 καθάπερ οὖν ὁ μουσικὸς νόμος ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπιτετηδευκόσι μουσικὴν ἰσηγορίας τῆς ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ μεταδίδωσι καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἢ ὁ γεωμετρικὸς γραμματικοῖς ἢ γεωμέτραις, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ
- 50 βίῳ νόμος τοῖς ἐμπείροις τῶν βιωτικῶν. οἱ δὲ σπουδαῖοι πάντες ἔμπειροι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων εἰσίν, ὅποτε καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ φύσει· καὶ εἰσὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἐλεύθεροι, ὥστε καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις ἰσηγορίας μετέχουσιν. οὐδεὶς ἄρα τῶν σπουδαίων δούλος, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι πάντες.
- 51 VIII. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφορμῆς καὶ ὅτι δούλος ὁ ἄφρων ἐστίν, ἐπιδειχθήσεται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ κατὰ μουσικὴν νόμος οὐ δίδωσιν ἰσηγορίαν ἀμουσοῖς

<sup>a</sup> The source of these two quotations is unknown. The second is quoted by Marcus Aurelius xi. 80.

<sup>b</sup> The point of the words “some . . . free” is obscure both here and below and their expunction has been suggested. I think they are defensible here, but not below, where I suggest that they may have been inserted in mistaken analogy. The argument, as I understand it, is, *ισηγορία* between persons implies that they are of the same status, both free

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 47-51

fountain head of all other law, can impart freedom to the wise, who obey all that it prescribes or forbids.

Further, besides these just mentioned, 48 we have a very clear evidence of freedom in the equality recognized by all the good in addressing each other. Thus it is argued that the following iambic verses contain sound philosophy :

No part or lot in law has any slave  
and again

A slave thou art, no right of speech hast thou.<sup>a</sup>

Just as the laws of music put all adepts in music on 49 an equal footing in discussing that art and the laws of grammar and geometry do the same for their respective professionals, so, too, the laws of human life and conduct create a similar equality between those who are proficient in life-matters. But the 50 good are all proficient in such matters, because their proficiency embraces the whole of nature. Some of the good are admittedly free,<sup>b</sup> and, therefore, all who enjoy the right to address them on an equal footing are free also. Consequently none of the good is a slave but all are free. VIII. By the same line of 51 argument it will appear that the fool is a slave. The laws of music, of grammar, of art in general, do not put the unmusical, the illiterate, the inartistic in or both slaves. All good men, being proficient in the laws or art of conduct, have *ισηγ.* with each other, therefore they are all either free or slaves. And as no one denies that some good men are free, they must all be free.

The negative argument is, the bad man, being unproficient in the said laws or art, has no *ισηγ.* with the proficient, and as all free men have *ισηγ.* with each other the bad cannot be free. I do not see how one can fit "some of the good are free" into this.

## PHILO

πρὸς μεμουσωμένους οὐδ' ὁ κατὰ γραμματικὴν  
 ἀγραμμάτοις πρὸς γραμματικούς οὐδὲ συνόλως  
 ὁ τεχνικός πρὸς τεχνίτας ἀτέχνους, οὕτως οὐδ' ὁ  
 βιωτικός νόμος ἰσηγορίας μεταδίδωσι τοῖς κατὰ  
 52 τὸν βίον ἀπείροις πρὸς ἐμπείρους. τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέ-  
 ροις ἢ ἐκ νόμου πᾶσιν ἰσηγορία δίδεται· [καὶ εἰσὶ  
 τινες τῶν σπουδαίων ἐλεύθεροι·] καὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν  
 ἄπειροι μὲν οἱ φαῦλοι, ἐμπειρότατοι δ' οἱ σοφοί·  
 οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ τινες τῶν φαύλων ἐλεύθεροι, δοῦλοι  
 53 δὲ πάντες. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ὑπ'  
 ἀρετῆς ἀχθείς, νεανικώτερον ἀποδείκνυσι περὶ τοῦ  
 μὴ εἶναι τοῖς φαύλοις ἰσηγορίαν πρὸς ἀστείουσ-  
 φησὶ γάρ· “ οὐκ οἰμώξεται μὲν ὁ φαῦλος, ἐὰν  
 ἀντιλέγῃ τῷ σπουδαίῳ;” οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἰσηγορία  
 54 τῷ φαύλῳ πρὸς σπουδαῖον. οἶδ' ὅτι πολλοὶ τοῦ  
 λόγου κατακερτομήσουσιν ὡς αὐθαδεῖα τὸ πλεόν  
 ἐρωτηθέντος ἢ συνέσει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν χλευήν παυ-  
 σάμενοι τοῦ γέλωτος ἦν ἐθελήσωσι διακύψαι καὶ  
 τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς ἐρευνῆσαι, καταπλαγέντες  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀψευδὲς εἴσονται, ὅτι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον  
 55 οἰμώξεται τις ἢ τῷ μὴ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ σοφῷ. ζημία  
 γὰρ χρημάτων ἢ ἀτιμία ἢ φυγαὶ ἢ αἰ διὰ πληγῶν  
 ὕβρεις ἢ ὅσα ὁμοίотροπα βραχέα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν  
 ἀντιτιθέμενα κακίαις καὶ ὧν αἰ κακίαι δημιουργοί.  
 τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, οὐ συνορῶντας τὰς ψυχῆς βλάβας

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<sup>a</sup> Cohn and Arnim in *S.V.F.* i. 228 take this sentence as part of the quotation from Zeno. It seems to me better to take it as Philo's inference from Zeno's dictum. To include it in Zeno's words would imply that he made a point of

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 51-55

general on an equal footing in discussion with the musical, the literary and the artistic. In the same way the laws of life and conduct do not put the unproficient in life matters on an equal footing in discussion with the proficient. But this right of equal 52 discussion, which these laws give, is given to all the free [and some of the good are free]. And in life-matters the bad are unproficient, while the wise are most proficient and consequently none of the bad is free but all are slaves. Zeno, who lived under the 53 direction of virtue to an unsurpassed degree, proves still more forcibly that the bad are not on equal terms in addressing the virtuous. "Shall not the bad rue it if he gainsay the good?" he says. The bad man, therefore, has no right to speak to a good man as his equal.<sup>a</sup> I am aware that many people 54 will pour abuse on such words and hold that Zeno's question <sup>b</sup> shows presumption rather than good sense. But when they have had their jeering and stopped laughing, if they are willing to look closely and seek for a clear understanding of the saying, they will to their utter confusion recognize its absolute truth and that nothing will a man rue more than refusal to 55 listen to the wise. For confiscation of money or disfranchisement or banishment or the cruel disgrace of the lash, or anything else of the same kind, are small things and of no account when set against vices and the results which vices produce. But the majority, who through the blindness of their reason do not discern the damages which the soul has sustained, *ισηγορία*, and one might expect to hear more of it, but the term does not appear elsewhere in *S.V.F.* Also § 54 deals entirely with Zeno's question and not with the inference drawn from it.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "the argument," see note on *De Act.* 143.

## PHILO

διὰ λογισμοῦ πῆρωσιν, ἐπὶ μόναίς ταῖς ἐκτὸς συμβέβηκεν ἄχθεσθαι, τὸ κριτήριον ἀφηρημένους, ὧ  
 56 μόνῳ καταλαβεῖν ἔστι διανοίας ζημίαν. εἰ δὲ  
 δυνηθεῖεν ἀναβλέψαι, θεασάμενοι τὰς δι' ἀφροσύνης  
 [454] ἀπάτας καὶ τὰς ἐκ | δειλίας ἐπηρείας καὶ ὅσα  
 ἀκολασία παρώνησεν ἢ ἀδικία παρηνόμησεν, ἐπὶ  
 ταῖς τοῦ ἀρίστου συμφοραῖς λύπης ἀπαύστου γε-  
 μισθέντες οὐδὲ παρηγορίας δι' ὑπερβολὰς κακῶν  
 57 ἀνέξονται. εἶοικε δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ἀρύσασθαι

τὸν λόγον ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομο-  
 θεσίας, ἐν ᾗ δυοῖν ὄντων ἀδελφοῖν, τοῦ μὲν σώ-  
 φρονος, τοῦ δ' ἀκολάστου, λαβὼν οἶκτον ὁ κοινὸς  
 ἀμφοῖν πατὴρ τοῦ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἤκοντος εὐχεται,  
 ἵνα δουλεύσῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὸ δοκοῦν μέγιστον  
 εἶναι κακόν, δουλείαν, ἀγαθὸν τελεώτατον ὑπο-  
 λαμβάνων ἀφρονι, τὸ μὲν αὐτεξούσιον ἀφηρη-  
 μένῳ πρὸς τὸ μὴ σὺν ἀδείᾳ πλημμελεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
 τοῦ προεστῶτος προστασίας βελτιωθησομένῳ τὸ  
 ἦθος.

58 IX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν λεχθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζητου-  
 μένου διασύστασιν ἔμοιγε ἀποχρῶντα ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 τὰ ποικίλα τῶν νοσημάτων ἰατροῖς ἔθος ποικιλω-  
 τέραις ἰᾶσθαι θεραπείαις, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς παρα-  
 δόξοις νομιζομένοις τῶν προβλημάτων διὰ τὸ ἄηθες  
 ἐπάγειν πίστεις ἐπαλλήλους προσεγχνρίοντας· μόλις  
 γὰρ ἔνιοι συνεχεῖα πληττόμενοι τῶν ἀποδείξεων  
 59 αἰσθάνονται. λέγεται τοίνυν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, ὅτι

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<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxvii. 40 "Thou shalt serve (δουλεύσεις) thy brother." Cf. *De Cong.* 176. For the idea that Zeno drew from Moses cf. the ascription of Heracleitus's doctrine of the opposites to him, *Quis Rerum* 214.

<sup>b</sup> The word perhaps carries on the idea of medical treat-

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 55-59

only feel the pain of external injuries, because the faculty of judgement, which alone can enable them to apprehend the damage to the mind, is taken from them. But if they could recover their sight, observing the delusions which folly brings and the outrages wrought by cowardice and all that the sottishness of incontinence and the lawlessness of injustice has done, they will be filled with ceaseless sorrow at the calamitous plight of the best thing they possess, and even refuse to listen to consolation, so vast are the evils which have befallen them. We may

well suppose that the fountain from which Zeno drew this thought was the law-book of the Jews, which tells of two brothers, one wise and temperate, the other incontinent, how the father of them both prayed in pity for him who had not attained to virtue that he should be his brother's slave.<sup>a</sup> He held that slavery, which men think the worst of evils, was the best possible boon to the fool, because the loss of independence would prevent him from transgressing without fear of punishment, and his character would be improved under the control of the authority set above him.

IX. I have now said all that appeared to me necessary to prove the proposition, but just as physicians regularly use a greater multiformity of treatment to cure multiform diseases, so when statements regarded as paradoxical are put forward, their unfamiliarity renders it necessary to apply <sup>b</sup> a succession of proofs to bear upon the subject. For some can only be brought to understand under the impact of a continued series of demonstrations. Thus the following

ment, *i.e.* ointment or liniment, but more probably, as suggested by *πληττόμενοι*, friction, "rubbing it in."

## PHILO

ὁ φρονίμως πάντα ποιῶν εὖ ποιεῖ πάντα, ὁ δ' εὖ ποιῶν πάντα ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ πάντα, ὁ δ' ὀρθῶς πάντα ποιῶν καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως καὶ ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ ἀνυπευθύνως καὶ ἀζημίως, ὥστ' ἐξουσίαν σχήσει πάντα δρᾶν καὶ ζῆν ὡς βούλεται· ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐξεστίν, ἐλεύθερος ἂν εἴη. ἀλλὰ μὴν πάντα φρονίμως ποιεῖ ὁ ἀστείος· μόνος ἄρα ἐστὶν ἐλεύθερος. καὶ μὴν ὃν μὴ ἐνδέχεται μήτ' ἀναγκάσαι μήτε κωλύσαι, ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἂν εἴη δοῦλος· τὸν δὲ σπουδαῖον οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτ' ἀναγκάσαι οὔτε κωλύσαι· οὐκ ἄρα δοῦλος ὁ σπουδαῖος. ὅτι δ' οὔτ' ἀναγκάζεται οὔτε κωλύεται, δῆλον· κωλύεται μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὴ τυγχάνων ὧν ὀρέγεται, ὀρέγεται δ' ὁ σοφὸς τῶν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς, ὧν ἀποτυγχάνειν οὐ πέφυκε. καὶ μὴν εἰ ἀναγκάζεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἄκων τι ποιεῖ· ἐν οἷς<sup>1</sup> δὲ αἱ πράξεις, ἧ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς εἰσι κατορθώματα ἢ ἀπὸ κακίας ἀμαρτήματα ἢ μέσα καὶ ἀδιάφορα.

61 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς οὐ βιασθεῖς ἀλλ' ἐκῶν—αἰρετὰ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ πάνθ' ἃ δρᾶ—, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ κακίας ἅτε φευκτὰ οὐδ' ὄναρ πράττει· οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ ἀδιάφορα εἰκός, πρὸς ἃ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἢ διάνοια ἰσορροπεῖ, δεδιδαγμένη μήτε ὡς ὄλκον ἔχουσι δύναμιν ἐνιδιδόναι μήθ' ὡς ἀποστροφῆς ἀξίους δυσχεραίνειν. ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδέν

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἀνθρώποις (written ἀνοῖς) δέ, see note *a*.

<sup>a</sup> Literally “ things in which there are actions are righteous actions,” etc., which is hardly sense. Arnim’s correction to ἀνθρώποις δέ (see note 1) is very probable.



## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 59-61

argument is well to the point. He who always acts sensibly, always acts well : he who always acts well, always acts rightly : he who always acts rightly, also acts impeccably, blamelessly, faultlessly, irreproachably, harmlessly, and, therefore, will have the power to do anything, and to live as he wishes, and he who has this power must be free. But the good man always acts sensibly, and, therefore, he alone is free. Again, one who cannot be compelled to do anything 60 or prevented from doing anything, cannot be a slave. But the good man cannot be compelled or prevented : the good man, therefore, cannot be a slave. That he is not compelled nor prevented is evident. One is prevented when he does not get what he desires, but the wise man desires things which have their origin in virtue, and these, being what he is, he cannot fail to obtain. Further, if one is compelled he clearly acts against his will. But where there are actions,<sup>a</sup> they are either righteous actions born of virtue or wrong actions born of vice or neutral and indifferent. The virtuous actions he performs not under constraint 61 but willingly, since all that he does are what he holds to be desirable. The vicious are to be eschewed and therefore he never dreams of doing them. Naturally too in matters indifferent he does not act under compulsion.<sup>b</sup> To these, as on a balance his mind preserves its equipoise, trained neither to surrender to them in acknowledgement of their superior weight, nor yet to regard them with hostility, as deserving aversion. Whence it is clear that he does nothing

<sup>b</sup> Philo cannot of course mean "that he does not do indifferent actions," and we must understand *βιασθέντα πράττειν*. Ambrose's paraphrase "indifferentibus ita non movetur ut nullis momentis . . . inclinetur" looks as if he read something else (? *εἰκῆ*).

## PHILO

ἄκων ποιεῖ οὐδ' ἀναγκάζεται· δούλος δ' εἶπερ ἦν,  
ἠναγκάζεται ἄν' ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἂν εἴη ὁ ἀστείος.

62 X. Ἐπεὶ δέ τινες τῶν | ἠκιστα κεχορευκόντων  
|455] Μούσαις λόγων ἀποδεικτικῶν οὐ συνιέντες, οἱ τὰς  
καθόλου τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμφάσεις παριστᾶσιν,  
εἰώθασιν ἐρωτᾶν· τίνες οὖν ἢ πρότερον γεγόνασιν  
ἄνδρες ἢ νῦν εἰσιν, ὁποίους ἀναπλάττετε; καλόν  
γε ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τῶν  
καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀρετῇ διέφερον, ἠγεμόνι μόνῳ θεῷ  
χρῶμενοι καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν ὀρθὸν φύσεως λόγον,  
ζῶντες, οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζον-  
τας ἐλευθέρου φρονήματος ἀναπιμπλάντες, καὶ  
ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτ' εἰσὶν ὥσπερ εἰκόνες ἀπὸ  
ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν καλοκαγαθίας,  
63 τυπωθέντες. οὐ γάρ, εἰ αἱ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων  
ψυχαὶ κεχηρεύκασιν ἐλευθερίας, ὑπ' ἀφροσύνης καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν δουλαγωγηθεῖσαι, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ στίφη  
μεγάλα προΐασιν ἀγεληδόν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· πρῶ-  
τον μὲν, ὅτι τὰ λίαν καλὰ σπάνια, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν  
τῶν εἰκαιωτέρων ἐκτρεπόμενοι πολὺν ὄμιλον θεωρία  
τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζουσιν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν, εἴ  
πως ἐνήν, ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸν βίον—κοινωφελὲς  
γὰρ ἡ ἀρετή,—τὸ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλημμυρούντων  
κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλοκότων πραγμάτων, ἃ ψυχῆς πάθη  
(καὶ) κακίαι συνηύξησαν, ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, ὡς μὴ

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "set forth the general appearances of things," meaning I suppose the impressions they produce as a whole when we do not examine them in detail.

<sup>b</sup> ἀναπιμπλάντες perhaps has the common meaning of "infect," though here used in a good sense. Cf. *De Prov.* 71.

<sup>c</sup> For this thought of the rarity and retiring nature of the

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 61-63

unwillingly and is never compelled, whereas if he were a slave he would be compelled, and therefore the good man will be a free man.

X. But among those who have kept little company <sup>62</sup> with the Muses, there are some who have no understanding of the methods of logical deduction, but make general statements based on appearances.<sup>a</sup> These people often ask "who have there been in the past, and who are there living now of the kind that you imagine?" An excellent answer is that in the past there have been those who surpassed their contemporaries in virtue, who took God for their sole guide and lived according to a law of nature's right reason, not only free themselves, but communicating <sup>b</sup> to their neighbours the spirit of freedom: also in our own time there are still men formed as it were in the likeness of the original picture supplied by the high excellence of sages. For it does not <sup>63</sup> follow that if the souls of the gainsayers have been bereft of freedom, held in bondage to folly and the other vices, the same is true of the human race. Nor is it a matter for wonder that the good do not appear herded in great throngs. First because specimens of great goodness are rare, secondly, because they avoid the great crowd of the more thoughtless and keep themselves at leisure for the contemplation of what nature has to show.<sup>c</sup> Their prayer is that if possible they may work a reformation in the lives of the others, for virtue serves the common weal. But as this is made impossible through the atrocious doings which flood the cities, gathering strength from the passions and vices of the soul, they flee right away good *cf. De Mut.* 34-38, where it is associated with the text "Enoch was not found."

## PHILO

τῆ ρύμη τῆς φορᾶς καθάπερ ἀπὸ χειμάρρου βίας  
 64 κατασυρεῖεν. ἡμᾶς δέ, εἰ βελτιώσεως ζῆλός τις ἦν,  
 ἰχνηλατεῖν ἔδει τὰς τούτων καταδύσεις καὶ ἰκέ-  
 τας καθεζομένους παρακαλεῖν, ἵνα τεθηρωμένον τὸν  
 βίον προσελθόντες ἐξημερώσωσιν, ἀντὶ πολέμου καὶ  
 δουλείας καὶ κακῶν ἀμυθήτων εἰρήνην καὶ ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν περιρ-  
 65 ρομένην<sup>1</sup> καταγγείλαντες. νυνὶ δὲ χρημάτων μὲν  
 ἔνεκα πάντας μυχοὺς ἐρευνῶμεν καὶ γῆς στρυφ-  
 νὰς καὶ ἀποκρότους φλέβας ἀναστέλλομεν, καὶ  
 μεταλλεύεται μὲν πολλὴ τῆς πεδιάδος, μεταλλεύεται  
 δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγη τῆς ὄρεινῆς, χρυσοῦν καὶ ἄργυρον,  
 χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὕλας ἀναζη-  
 66 τούντων. θεοπλαστοῦσα δὲ ἡ κενὴ δόξα τὸν τύφον  
 ἄχρι καὶ βυθοῦ κατέβη θαλάττης διερευνημένη, μὴ  
 τι τῶν πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἀφανὲς ἐναπόκειται πού  
 καλόν· καὶ λίθων ποικίλων καὶ πολυτελῶν ἀνευ-  
 ροῦσα ἰδέας, τὰς μὲν πέτραις προσπεφυκυίας, τὰς  
 δ' ὀστρέοις, αἷ καὶ τιμαλφέστεραι γεγόνασιν, ὄψεως  
 67 ἀπάτην ἐξετίμησε. φρονήσεως δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνης  
 ἢ ἀνδρείας ἢ δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκα γῆ μὲν ἀπόρευτός  
 ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ βίασιμος, πελάγη δὲ ἅπλωτα τὰ καθ'  
 ἐκάστην ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους ναυκλήροις ἐμπλεόμενα.  
 68 καίτοι τίς ἢ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας ἢ τοῦ θαλαττεύειν  
 456] ἐστὶ | χρεῖα πρὸς ἔρευναν καὶ ζήτησιν ἀρετῆς, ἥς  
 τὰς ρίζας ὁ ποιῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀλλ' οὕτωςι πλησίον  
 ἐβάλετο; καθάπερ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
 νομοθέτης φησὶν· “ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου,” αἰνιττόμενος

<sup>1</sup> So one ms. (S). The others either omit or have περιρ-

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 63-68

lest they should be swept down by the force of their onrush, as by the violence of a torrent. But we, if 64 we had any zeal for betterment should track them to their hiding places, and sitting as suppliants before them, exhort them to join us and humanize our bestial life, in place of war and slavery and a host of ills proclaiming peace, liberty and the overflowing abundance of all other blessings. As it is, for the sake of 65 money we ransack every corner and open up rough and rocky veins of earth, and much of the low land and no small part of the high land is mined in the quest of gold and silver, copper and iron, and the other like substances. The empty-headed way of 66 thinking, deifying vanity, dives to the depths of the sea, searching whether some fair treasure to delight the senses lies hidden there.<sup>a</sup> And when it has found different kinds of many-coloured precious stones, some adhering to rocks, others, the more highly prized, to shells, it gives every honour to the beguiling spectacle. But for wisdom or temperance or courage or justice, 67 no journey is taken by land, even though it gives easy travelling, no seas are navigated, though the skippers sail them every summer season. Yet what need is 68 there of long journeying on the land or voyaging on the seas to seek and search for virtue, whose roots have been set by their Maker ever so near us, as the wise legislator of the Jews also says, "in thy mouth, in thy heart and in thy hand," thereby indicating in

<sup>a</sup> Mangey translates " numquid pretiosum adhuc fugiens sensum ibi reponatur." But this, which is certainly simpler, would require the omission of τῶν.

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ροομένων which seems quite impossible, but the middle in the sense of " overflow " has no examples quoted.

## PHILO

- διὰ συμβόλων λόγους, βουλὰς, πράξεις, ἃ δὴ πάντα  
 69 γεωργικῆς τέχνης δεῖται. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀργίαν πόνου  
 προτιμήσαντες οὐ μόνον τὰς βλάστας ἐκώλυσαν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ρίζας ἀφανάσαντες ἔφθειραν· οἱ δὲ  
 σχολὴν μὲν βλαβερὸν ἠγοούμενοι, πονεῖν δὲ ἐθέ-  
 λοντες, ὥσπερ εὐγενῆ μοσχεύματα γεωργοῦντες,  
 τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς ἐπιμελείας οὐρανομήκεις ἐστελέχω-  
 σαν ἀρετάς, ἀειθαλῆ καὶ ἀθάνατα ἔρνη καρπὸν  
 φέροντα εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδέποτε λήγοντα ἢ, ὡς τινες,  
 οὐ φέροντα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὄντα εὐδαιμονίαν, ἃ Μωυσῆς  
 ὀνόματι συνθέτω καλεῖν εἴωθεν ὀλοκαρπώματα.
- 70 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ γῆς βλαστανόντων οὐθ' ὁ  
 καρπὸς ἐστὶ δένδρα οὔτε τὰ δένδρα καρπὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ φυομένων ὅλα δι' ὅλων εἰς καρποῦ  
 φύσιν μεταβέβληκε τὰ ἔρνη, τὸ φρονήσεως, τὸ  
 71 δικαιοσύνης, τὸ ἀνδρείας, τὸ σωφροσύνης. XI.  
 ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτας παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀφορμὰς οὐκ  
 ἐρυθριῶμεν ἔνδειαν σοφίας ἀνθρώπων γένει καταγ-  
 γέλλοντες, ἣν δυνατὸν ἦν ἐκφυσῆσαντας καθάπερ  
 ἐν ὕλη σπινθῆρα τυφόμενον ζωπυρῆσαι; ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 πρὸς ἃ μὲν σπεύδειν ἐχρῆν ὡς συγγενέστατα καὶ  
 οἰκειότατα, πολὺς ὄκνος καὶ ῥαθυμία συνεχῆς, ὑφ'  
 ὧν τὰ καλοκαγαθίας σπέρματα διαφθείρεται, ὧν  
 δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑστερίζειν, ἡμερος καὶ πόθος ἄπληστος.
- 72 διὰ τοῦτο πλουσίων μὲν καὶ ἐνδόξων καὶ ταῖς ἡδο-  
 ναῖς χρωμένων μεστὴ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, φρονίμων  
 δὲ καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀστέων ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς· τὸ δὲ

<sup>a</sup> The whole section is founded on Deut. xxx. 11-14, part

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 68-72

a figure, words, thoughts and actions? <sup>a</sup> All these, indeed, need the cultivator's skill. Those who prefer 69 idleness to labour, not only prevent the growths but also wither and destroy the roots. But those who consider inaction mischievous and are willing to labour, do as the husbandman does with fine young shoots. By constant care they rear the virtues into stems rising up to heaven, saplings everblooming and immortal, bearing and never ceasing to bear the fruits of happiness, or as some hold, not so much bearing as being in themselves that happiness. These Moses often calls by the compound name of wholefruits. <sup>b</sup> In the case of growths which 70 spring from the earth, neither are the trees the fruit nor the fruit the trees, but in the soul's plantation the saplings of wisdom, of justice, of temperance, have their whole being transformed completely into fruits. XI. Having then in us such 71 potentialities, should we not blush to denounce the human race as lacking in wisdom, wisdom which the bellows could kindle into a blaze like the spark which smoulders in the firewood? And yet these things for which we should strive eagerly, things so closely akin to ourselves, so truly our own, we treat with great slackness and constant indifference and thus destroy the germs of excellence, while those things in which deficiency were a merit we desire with an insatiable yearning. Consequently land and 72 sea are full of the rich, the distinguished and the men of pleasure, but of the wise and just and virtuous, the number is small. But this small body though scanty

of which is actually quoted, a passage often used by Philo, *e.g. De Virt.* 183, and with the same interpretation of *v.* 14.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 511.

## PHILO

- 73 ὀλίγον, εἰ καὶ σπάνιον, οὐκ ἀνύπαρκτον. μάρτυς δὲ ἡ Ἑλλάς καὶ ἡ βάρβαρος· ἐν τῇ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐτύμως ἐπὶ σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες ἦνθησαν, καὶ ἄλλων πρότερον καὶ αὖθις ὡς εἰκὸς ἀκμασάντων, ὧν ἡ μνήμη παλαιότερων μὲν ὄντων μήκει χρόνων ἠφανίσθη, νεαζόντων δὲ ἔτι διὰ τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν τῶν συνόντων ὀλιγωρίαν ἐξαμαυροῦται.
- 74 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βάρβαρον, ἐν ἣ ἡ πρεσβευταὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων,<sup>1</sup> πολυανθρωπότατα στίφη καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν· ἐν Πέρσαις μὲν τὸ μάγων, οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἔργα διερευνώμενοι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰς θείας ἀρετὰς τρανοτέραις ἐμφάσεσιν ἱεροφαντοῦνται τε καὶ ἱεροφαντοῦσιν· ἐν Ἰνδοῖς δὲ τὸ γυμνοσοφιστῶν, οἱ πρὸς τῇ [457] φυσικῇ καὶ τῇ ἠθικῇ φιλοσοφίαν | διαπονοῦντες ὄλον ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς πεποιήνται τὸν βίον.
- 75 XII. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη Συρία καλοκἀ-

<sup>1</sup> So one ms. (F). Of the others three have πρεσβευταὶ λόγων ἔργων, three πρεσβευταὶ λόγων ἔργω, and one (M) προσέταξε λόγων ἔργα. The characteristic common to these seven is the omission of καὶ after λόγων. I suggest with considerable confidence ἐν ἣ πρεσβεύεται λόγων ἔργα "in which deeds are held in higher esteem than words." The use of πρεσβεύομαι with the genitive is quoted from Plato, *Legg.* 879 B and need cause no difficulty, though πρεσβεύω is perhaps more common. I submit that it is quite supported by what Philo goes on to say of the "barbarians." The Magi search into the words of nature καθ' ἡσυχίαν. The Essenes (*cf. De Vit. Cont.* 1) representing the practical life, avoid the περιεργία Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων, § 88, and the gymnosophists, as exemplified by Calanus, do not practise λόγους εἰς πανήγυριν, § 96. See also App. p. 513.



is not absolutely non-existent.<sup>a</sup> For this we have 73 the testimony, both of Greece and the world outside Greece. In Greece there flourished the sages known also by the appropriate <sup>b</sup> name of the Seven, and we might expect that both before them and after them, others had their day, though the memory of the more ancient has vanished in the lapse of many years, and is dimmed in the case of those whose lives are still recent through the widespread neglect of their contemporaries.

In the outside world where are those who spread 74 the message by words and deeds,<sup>c</sup> we find large associations of men of the highest excellence. Among the Persians there is the order of the Magi, who silently make research into the facts of nature to gain knowledge of the truth and through visions clearer than speech, give and receive the revelations of divine excellency.<sup>d</sup> In India, too, there is the order of the Gymnosophists, who study ethical as well as physical philosophy and make the whole of their lives an exhibition of virtue.<sup>e</sup>

XII. Palestinian Syria, too, has not 75

<sup>a</sup> So too in *De Mut.* 35-37, though some say that σοφία and ὁ σοφός are ἀνύπαρκτος, the conclusion is that each of them is ὑπαρκτὸν πράγμα.

<sup>b</sup> "Appropriate," because ἐπτά is supposed to be derived from σεμνός and σεβασμός, cf. *De Op.* 127. But see App. p. 512.

<sup>c</sup> This translation of the only translatable reading found in any one ms. is given in despair, for I do not believe that "ambassadors of words and deeds" is a possible expression. Cohn, *Hermes*, 1916, p. 174, thinks that πρεσβευταί here = "cultores." But no example for such a sense of the noun is cited. For what I believe to be the true reading see note 1.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the very similar remarks in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 100 and note vol. vii. pp. 635 f.

<sup>e</sup> On the Gymnosophists see App. p. 513.

## PHILO

γαθίας οὐκ ἄγονος, ἦν πολυανθρωποτάτου ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα νέμεται. λέγονται τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Ἑσσαῖοι, πλήθος ὑπερ-τετρακισχίλιοι, κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν—οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύ-πω διαλέκτου Ἑλληνικῆς—παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος, ἐπειδὴ κὰν τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γεγό-νοσιν, οὐ ζῶα καταθύοντες, ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς 76 ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιούντες. οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ-τρεπόμενοι διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων χειροθήεις ἀνομίας, εἰδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων ὡς ἀπ' ἀέρος φθοροποιοῦ νόσον ἐγγινομένην προσβολὴν ψυχαῖς ἀνιάτον· ὧν οἱ μὲν γεωπονοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τέχνας μετιόντες ὅσαι συνεργάτιδες εἰρήνης, ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὠφελούσιν, οὐκ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν θησαυροφυλακοῦντες οὐδ' ἀποτομὰς γῆς μεγάλας κτώμενοι δι' ἐπιθυμίαν προσόδων, ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρείας ἐκπορί- 77 ζοντες. μόνοι γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἀκτήμονες γεγονότες ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ πλεον ἢ ἐνδεία εὐτυχίας πλουσιώτατοι νομί-ζονται, τὴν ὀλιγοδείαν καὶ εὐκολίαν, ὅπερ ἐστί, 78 κρίνοντες περιουσίαν. βελῶν ἢ ἀκόντων ἢ ξιφι-δίων ἢ κράνους ἢ θώρακος ἢ ἀσπίδος οὐδένα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἂν εὔροις δημιουργὸν οὐδὲ συνόλως ὄπλο-ποιὸν ἢ μηχανοποιὸν ἢ τι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεύοντα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅσα τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην εὐόλισθα εἰς κακίαν· ἐμπορίας γὰρ ἢ καπηλείας ἢ

<sup>a</sup> For observations on the relation of this description of the Essenes (§§ 75-91) to those in the *Hypothetica* (pp. 437 ff. of this volume) and in Josephus see App. p. 514.

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 75-78

failed to produce high moral excellence. In this country live a considerable part of the very populous nation of the Jews, including as it is said, certain persons, more than four thousand in number, called Essenes.<sup>a</sup> Their name which is, I think, a variation, though the form of the Greek is inexact, of *ἁγιότης* (holiness), is given them, because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds. The first thing about these 76 people is that they live in villages and avoid the cities because of the iniquities which have become inveterate among city dwellers, for they know that their company would have a deadly effect upon their own souls, like a disease brought by a pestilential atmosphere. Some of them labour on the land and others pursue such crafts as co-operate with peace and so benefit themselves and their neighbours. They do not hoard gold and silver or acquire great slices of land because they desire the revenues therefrom, but provide what is needed for the necessary requirements of life. For while they stand almost alone in 77 the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action rather than by lack of good fortune, they are esteemed exceedingly rich, because they judge frugality with contentment to be, as indeed it is, an abundance of wealth. As for darts, javelins, daggers, or the helmet, 78 breastplate or shield, you could not find a single manufacturer of them, nor, in general, any person making weapons or engines or plying any industry concerned with war, nor, indeed, any of the peaceful kind, which easily lapse into vice, for they have not the vaguest idea of commerce either wholesale or

## PHILO

ναυκληρίας οὐδ' ὄναρ ἴσασι, τὰς εἰς πλεονεξίαν  
 79 ἀφορμὰς ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι. δούλος τε παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἰς ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ἀνθ-  
 υπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις· καταγινώσκουσί τε τῶν  
 δεσποτῶν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀδίκων, ἰσότητα λυμαιο-  
 μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως  
 ἀναιρούντων, ἣ πάντας ὁμοίως γεννήσασα καὶ  
 θρειαμένη μητρὸς δίκην ἀδελφούς γνησίους, οὐ  
 [158] λεγομένους ἀλλ' ὄντας ὄντως, | ἀπειργάσατο· ὦν  
 τὴν συγγένειαν ἢ ἐπίβουλος πλεονεξία παρενη-  
 μερήσασα διέσεισεν, ἀντ' οἰκειότητος ἀλλοτριότητα  
 80 καὶ ἀντὶ φιλίας ἔχθραν ἐργασαμένη. φιλοσοφίας  
 τε τὸ μὲν λογικὸν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἰς κτῆσιν  
 ἀρετῆς λογοθήραιοι, τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν ὡς μείζον ἢ  
 κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μετεωρολέσχαιοι ἀπολιπόν-  
 τες, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως φιλοσοφεῖται, τὸ ἠθικὸν εὖ  
 μάλα διαπонуσιν ἀλείπταιοι χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις  
 νόμοις, οὓς ἀμήχανον ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπινοῆσαι ψυχὴν  
 81 ἄνευ κατοκωχῆς ἐνθέου. τούτους ἀνα-  
 διδάσκονται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ  
 ταῖς ἐβδόμοις διαφερόντως. ἱερὰ γὰρ ἢ ἐβδόμη  
 νενομίσται, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντες ἔργων,  
 εἰς ἱεροῦς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἱ καλοῦνται συν-  
 αγωγαί, καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις  
 νέοι καθέζονται, μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος  
 82 ἔχοντες ἀκροατικῶς. εἶθ' εἰς μὲν τις τὰς βίβλους  
 ἀναγινώσκει λαβῶν, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων

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<sup>a</sup> The triple division of philosophy has been frequently mentioned by Philo. For the fullest account of it see *De* 56

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 78-82

retail or marine, but pack the inducements to covetousness off in disgrace. Not a single slave is to be found among them, but all are free, exchanging services with each other, and they denounce the owners of slaves, not merely for their injustice in outraging the law of equality, but also for their impiety in annulling the statute of Nature, who mother-like has born and reared all men alike, and created them genuine brothers, not in mere name, but in very reality, though this kinship has been put to confusion by the triumph of malignant covetousness, which has wrought estrangement instead of affinity and enmity instead of friendship. As for philosophy they abandon the logical part to quibbling verbalists as unnecessary for the acquisition of virtue, and the physical to visionary praters as beyond the grasp of human nature, only retaining that part which treats philosophically of the existence of God and the creation of the universe.<sup>a</sup> But the ethical part they study very industriously, taking for their trainers the laws of their fathers, which could not possibly have been conceived by the human soul without divine inspiration.

In these they are instructed at all other times, but particularly on the seventh days. For that day has been set apart to be kept holy and on it they abstain from all other work and proceed to sacred spots which they call synagogues. There, arranged in rows according to their ages, the younger below the elder, they sit decorously as befits the occasion with attentive ears. Then one takes the books and reads aloud and another of especial pro-

*Ag.* 14 ff. For the Stoic view by which natural theology is included in physic see notes on *De Abr.* 99 (vol. vi. pp. 52 and 597).

## PHILO

ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθὼν ἀναδιδάσκει· τὰ γὰρ  
 πλείστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ'  
 83 αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται. παιδεύονται δὲ εὐσέβειαν,  
 ὁσιότητα, δικαιοσύνην, οἰκονομίαν, πολιτείαν, ἐπι-  
 στήμην τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ  
 ἀδιαφόρων, αἰρέσεις ὧν χρῆ καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐναν-  
 τίων, ὅροις καὶ κανόσι τριπτοῖς χρώμενοι, τῷ τε  
 84 φιλοθέῳ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ. τοῦ μὲν  
 οὖν φιλοθέου δείγματα παρέχονται μυρία· τὴν παρ'  
 ὄλον τὸν βίον συνεχῆ καὶ ἐπάλληλον ἀγνείαν, τὸ  
 ἀνώμοτον, τὸ ἀψευδές, τὸ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν  
 αἴτιον, κακοῦ δὲ μηδενὸς νομίζειν εἶναι τὸ θεῖον·  
 τοῦ δὲ φιλαρέτου τὸ ἀφιλοχρήματον, τὸ ἀφιλόδοξον,  
 τὸ ἀφιλήδονον, τὸ ἐγκρατές, τὸ καρτερικόν, ἔτι δὲ  
 ὀλιγοδεῖαν, ἀφέλειαν, εὐκολίαν, τὸ ἄτυφον, τὸ νό-  
 μιμον, τὸ εὐσταθές, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοίωτροπα·  
 τοῦ δὲ φιλανθρώπου εὐνοίαν, ἰσότητα, τὴν παντὸς  
 λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄκαιρον  
 85 βραχέα εἰπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οὐδενὸς οἰκία  
 τίς ἐστὶν ἰδία, ἣν οὐχὶ πάντων εἶναι κοινὴν συμ-  
 βέβηκε· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατὰ θιάσους συνοικεῖν  
 ἀναπέπταται καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἀφικνουμένοις τῶν  
 86 ὁμοζήλων. εἰτ' ἐστὶ ταμέιον ἐν πάντων  
 καὶ δαπάναι (κοιναί), καὶ κοιναὶ μὲν ἐσθῆτες,  
 κοιναὶ δὲ τροφαὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένων· τὸ γὰρ  
 ὁμωρόφιον ἢ ὁμοδίαιτον ἢ ὁμοτράπεζον οὐκ ἂν τις

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<sup>a</sup> Or "with ardour worthy of the men of old." The same phrase occurs in *De Plant.* 158 and *De Mig.* 201, where also the exact meaning is somewhat uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* ceremonial purity and avoidance of defilement. So rather than general purity of life, which would come under τὸ φιλάρετον. For this use of ἀγνεία cf. Plato, *Legg.*

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 82-86

iciency comes forward and expounds what is not understood. For most of their philosophical study takes the form of allegory, and in this they emulate the tradition of the past.<sup>a</sup> They are trained in 83 piety, holiness, justice, domestic and civic conduct, knowledge of what is truly good, or evil, or indifferent, and how to choose what they should and avoid the opposite, taking for their defining standards these three, love of God, love of virtue, love of men. Their love of God they show by 84 a multitude of proofs, by religious purity<sup>b</sup> constant and unbroken throughout their lives, by abstinence from oaths, by veracity, by their belief that the Godhead is the cause of all good things and nothing bad; their love of virtue, by their freedom from the love of either money or reputation or pleasure, by self-mastery and endurance, again by frugality, simple living, contentment, humility, respect for law, steadiness and all similar qualities; their love of men by benevolence and sense of equality, and their spirit of fellowship, which defies description, though a few words on it will not be out of place. First of all then no one's house is his own 85 in the sense that it is not shared by all, for besides the fact that they dwell together in communities, the door is open to visitors from elsewhere who share their convictions. Again they all have 86 a single treasury and common disbursements; their clothes are held in common and also their food through their institution of public meals. In no other community can we find the custom of sharing

917 Β καθαρότητος τε καὶ ἀγνείας τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοῦς. Though this kind of purity is not mentioned elsewhere in this narrative, it is in other accounts, see App. p. 514.

PHILO

[459] εὔροι παρ' ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἔργω βεβαιούμενον· | καὶ  
 μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὅσα γὰρ ἂν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐργασά-  
 μενοι λάβωσιν ἐπὶ μισθῷ, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἴδια φυλάτ-  
 τουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προτιθέντες κοινὴν τοῖς  
 87 ἐθέλουσι χρῆσθαι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παρασκευάζουσιν  
 ὠφέλειαν. οἷ τε νοσοῦντες οὐχ ὅτι πορίζειν ἀδυ-  
 νατοῦσιν ἀμελοῦνται, τὰ πρὸς τὰς νοσηλείας ἐκ τῶν  
 κοινῶν ἔχοντες ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, ὡς μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας  
 ἐξ ἀφθονωτέρων ἀναλίσκειν. αἰδῶς δ' ἐστὶ πρε-  
 σβυτέρων καὶ φροντίς, οἷα γονέων ὑπὸ γνησίων  
 παίδων χερσὶ καὶ διανοίαις μυρίαῖς ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῇ  
 88 πάσῃ γηροτροφουμένων. XIII. τοιού-  
 τους ἢ δίχα περιεργίας Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων ἀθ-  
 λητὰς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάζεται φιλοσοφία, γυμνάσματα  
 προτιθεῖσα τὰς ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀδούλω-  
 89 τος ἐλευθερία βεβαιοῦται. σημεῖον δέ· πολλῶν  
 κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπαναστάντων τῇ χώρᾳ δυναστῶν καὶ  
 φύσει καὶ προαιρέσει χρησαμένων διαφερούσαις  
 —οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀτίθασον ἀγριότητα θηρίων  
 ἐκνικῆσαι σπουδάσαντες, οὐδὲν παραλιπόντες τῶν  
 εἰς ὠμότητα, τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀγεληδὸν ἱερεύοντες  
 ἢ καὶ ζῶντας ἔτι μαγείρων τρόπον κατὰ μέρη καὶ  
 μέλη κρεουργοῦντες ἄχρι τοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπομείναι  
 συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τῆς τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐφορώσης δίκης  
 90 οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο· οἱ δὲ τὸ παρακεκινημένον καὶ  
 λελυττηκὸς εἰς ἑτέρας εἶδος κακίας μεθαρμοσά-

<sup>a</sup> γνήσιος is here used of children, not as usual in antithesis to νόθος, but in the literal as opposed to the figurative sense. So too in *Legatio* 62, 71, the behaviour of a father-in-law to his son-in-law is as good as if he were the γνήσιος πατήρ. So



## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 86-90

roof, life and board more firmly established in actual practice. And that is no more than one would expect. For all the wages which they earn in the day's work they do not keep as their private property, but throw them into the common stock and allow the benefit thus accruing to be shared by those who wish to use it. The sick are not neglected because 87 they cannot provide anything, but have the cost of their treatment lying ready in the common stock, so that they can meet expenses out of the greater wealth in full security. To the elder men too is given the respect and care which real<sup>a</sup> children give to their parents, and they receive from countless hands and minds a full and generous maintenance for their latter years.

XIII. Such are the athletes 88 of virtue produced by a philosophy free from the pedantry of Greek wordiness, a philosophy which sets its pupils to practise themselves in laudable actions, by which the liberty which can never be enslaved is firmly established. Here we have a proof. 89 Many are the potentates who at various occasions have raised themselves to power over the country. They differed both in nature and the line of conduct which they followed. Some of them carried their zest for outdoing wild beasts in ferocity to the point of savagery. They left no form of cruelty untried. They slaughtered their subjects wholesale, or like cooks carved them piecemeal and limb by limb whilst still alive, and did not stay their hands till justice who surveys human affairs visited them with the same calamities. Others transformed this wild frenzy into 90 another kind of viciousness. Their conduct showed

too in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 184 of the behaviour of a ruler to his subjects.

## PHILO

- μενοι, πικρίαν ἄλεκτον ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἡσυχῇ δια-  
 λαλοῦντες, ἡρεμαιοτέρας φωνῆς ὑποκρίσει βαρύμηνι  
 ἦθος ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, κυνῶν ἰοβόλων τρόπον προσ-  
 σαίνοντες, ἀνιάτων γενόμενοι κακῶν αἴτιοι, κατὰ  
 πόλεις μνημεία τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσεβείας καὶ μισαν-  
 θρωπίας ἀπέλιπον τὰς τῶν πεπονηθῶτων ἀλήστους  
 91 συμφοράς—, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν σφόδρα  
 ὠμοθύμων οὔτε τῶν πάνυ δολερῶν καὶ ὑπούλων  
 ἴσχυσε τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν Ἑσσαίων ἢ ὀσίων ὄμιλον  
 αἰτιάσασθαι, πάντες δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῆς τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν καλοκάγαθίας γενόμενοι καθάπερ αὐτονό-  
 μοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν ἐκ φύσεως προσηρέχθη-  
 σαν, ἄδοντες αὐτῶν τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὴν παντὸς  
 λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, ἣ βίου τελείου καὶ  
 σφόδρα εὐδαίμονός ἐστι σαφέστατον δεῖγμα.
- 92 XIV. Χρῆ δ', ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀρετὰς  
 οὐκ οἴονται τινες εἶναι τελείας, ἀλλ' ἄχρι συναυξή-  
 σεως καὶ ἐπιδόσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ἴστασθαι, μάρτυρας  
 βίους τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν παραγαγεῖν,  
 93 οἱ σαφέσταται πίστεις ἐλευθερίας εἰσὶ. Κάλανος  
 ἦν Ἰνδὸς γένος τῶν γυμνοσοφιστῶν· οὗτος καρτε-  
 [460] ρικώτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων | νομισθεὶς οὐ  
 μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλοφύλων,  
 ὃ δὴ σπανιώτατόν ἐστιν, ἐχθρῶν βασιλέων ἐθαυ-  
 μάσθη, λόγοις ἐπαινετοῖς σπουδαῖα ἔργα συνυφήνας.
- 94 Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν ὁ Μακεδῶν βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξα-  
 σθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ σοφίαν,  
 καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς ἀπικόνισμα καὶ  
 μίμημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρεκάλει Κάλανον συν-  
 αποδημηῆσαι, μέγιστον περιποιήσοντα κλέος (ἐν)  
 95 ὅλῃ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ὅλῃ Εὐρώπῃ. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν,

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intense bitterness, but they talked with calmness, though the mask of their milder language failed to conceal their rancorous disposition. They fawned like venomous hounds yet wrought evils irremediable and left behind them throughout the cities the unforgettable sufferings of their victims as monuments of their impiety and inhumanity. Yet none of these, 91 neither the extremely ferocious nor the deep-dyed treacherous dissemblers, were able to lay a charge against this congregation of Essenes or holy ones here described. Unable to resist the high excellence of these people, they all treated them as self-governing and freemen by nature and extolled their communal meals and that ineffable sense of fellowship, which is the clearest evidence of a perfect and supremely happy life.<sup>a</sup> ✓

XIV. But since some consider that the virtues of 92 large bodies are never perfect, but merely grow and improve and then come to a halt, we must cite as evidence the lives of good individual men, which are the clearest proof of the existence of liberty. Calanus 93 was an Indian by birth of the school of the gymnosophists. Regarded as possessed of endurance more than any of his contemporaries, by combining virtuous actions with laudable words he gained the admiration, not only of his fellow countrymen, but of men of other races, and, what is most singular of all, of enemy sovereigns. Thus Alexander of Macedon, wishing to 94 exhibit to the Grecian world a specimen of the barbarians' wisdom, like a copy reproducing the original picture, began by urging Calanus to travel with him from India with the prospect of winning high fame in the whole of Asia and the whole of Europe ; and 95 ✓

<sup>a</sup> On §§ 89-91 see App. p. 515.

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ἀναγκάσειν ἔφη συνακολουθεῖν· ὁ δὲ εὐθυβόλως πάνυ καὶ εὐγενῶς “ τίνος οὖν ” εἶπεν “ ἄξιόν με τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιδείξεις, Ἀλέξανδρε, εἴ γε ἀναγκασθήσομαι ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ βούλομαι; ” ἄρ’ οὐ γέμων μὲν παρρησίας ὁ λόγος, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας<sup>1</sup> ὁ νοῦς; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βεβαιότεροις φωνῶν γράμμασιν ἦθους ἀδουλώτου τύπους 96 ἔστηλίτευσεν ἀριδῆλους. μηνύει δὲ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ἐπιστολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ·

“ Κάλανος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

Φίλοι πείθουσί σε χεῖρας καὶ ἀνάγκην προσφέρειν Ἰνδῶν φιλοσόφοις οὐδ’ ἐν ὕπνοις ἑωρακότες ἡμέτερα ἔργα. σώματα μὲν γὰρ μετοίσεις ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ψυχὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ πλίνθους καὶ ξύλα φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι. πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζῶσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθορὰν ἐργάζεται· τούτου ὑπεράνω ἡμεῖς γινόμεθα, ζῶντες καιόμεθα. οὐκ ἔστι βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ὃς ἀναγκάσει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ προαιρούμεθα. Ἑλλήνων δὲ φιλοσόφοις οὐκ ἐξομοιούμεθα, ὅσοι αὐτῶν εἰς πανήγυριν λόγους ἐμελέτησαν, ἀλλὰ λόγοις ἔργα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἔργοις λόγοι βραχεῖαν<sup>2</sup> ἔχουσι δύναμιν καὶ μακαριότητα

<sup>1</sup> mss. παρρησίας.

<sup>2</sup> M has βραχεῖς ἄλλην. The evidently defective text of this sentence must be judged in the light of Ambrose’s paraphrase. Ambrose, whose version of the letter in *Ep.* 37 is very close till the end, closes with “ nobis res sociae verbis et verba rebus: res celeres et sermones breves: in virtute nobis libertas beata est.” From this Cohn suggests after ἔργοις λόγοι, (ἔργα μὲν ταχέα καὶ λόγοι) βραχεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἔχουσι δύναμιν, κτλ. The difficulty I find in this is that it ignores

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 95-96

when he failed to persuade him declared that he would compel him to follow him. Calanus's reply was as noble as it was apposite. "What shall I be worth to you, Alexander, for exhibiting to the Greeks if I am compelled to do what I do not wish to do?" What a wealth of frankness there is in the words and far more of freedom in the thought. But more durable than his spoken are his written words and in these he set on record clear signs of a spirit which could not be enslaved. The letter he sent to Alexander runs thus:—

### *“ Calanus to Alexander*

Your friends urge you to apply violence and compulsion to the philosophers of India. These friends, however, have never even in their dreams seen what we do. Bodies you will transport from place to place, but souls you will not compel to do what they will not do, any more than force bricks or sticks to talk. Fire causes the greatest trouble and ruin to living bodies: we are superior to this: we burn ourselves alive.<sup>a</sup> There is no king, no ruler, who will compel us to do what we do not freely wish to do. We are not like those philosophers of the Greeks, who practise words for a festal assembly. With us deeds accord with words and words with deeds. Deeds pass swiftly and words have short-lived power:

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Abr.* 182, where it is stated that the gymnosophists burn themselves at the outset of old age. Calanus is said to have ended his life in this way. See App. p. 516.

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Ambrose's "in virtute." I tentatively suggest and have translated (ἔργα μὲν ταχέα καὶ λόγοι) βραχείαν ἔχουσι δύναμιν (ἀρεταὶ ἡμῶν) καὶ μακαριότητα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν περιποιῶνται (this

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97 καὶ ἐλευθερίαν περιποιούντες.” ἐπὶ δὴ  
 τοιαύταις ἀποφάσεσι καὶ γνώμαις ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄξιον  
 τὸ Ζηνώνειον ἐπιφωνῆσαι, ὅτι “ θάττον ἂν ἀσκὸν  
 βαπτίσει τις πλήρη πνεύματος ἢ βιάσαιτο τῶν  
 σπουδαίων ὄντιν οὖν ἄκοντα δρᾶσαι τι τῶν ἀβουλή-  
 των”; ἀνένδοτος γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀήττητος, ἣν ὁ  
 ὀρθὸς λόγος δόγμασι παγίοις ἐνεύρωσε.

98 XV. Τῆς δὲ σπουδαίων ἐλευθερίας μάρτυρές  
 εἰσι ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς, ὧν ταῖς γνώμαις  
 “Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι σχεδὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 σπαργάνων ἐντρέφόμενοι βελτιοῦνται τὰ ἦθη, πᾶν  
 ὅσον ἐξ ὑπαιτίου τροφῆς καὶ διαίτης ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
 κεκιβδήλευτα μεταχαραττόμενοι πρὸς τὸ δόκιμον.

99 ἴδε γοῦν οἶα παρ’ Εὐριπίδῃ φησὶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς·

[461] | “ πῖμπρα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου  
 πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω  
 γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα γῆ τ’ ἄνεισ’ εἰς αἰθέρα,  
 πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ’ ἀπαντήσαι λόγον.”

τῶ γὰρ ὄντι θωπεία μὲν καὶ κολακεία καὶ ὑπό-  
 κρισις, ἐν οἷς λόγοι γνώμαις διαμάχονται, δουλο-  
 πρεπέστατα, τὸ δὲ ἀνόθως καὶ γνησίως ἐκ καθαροῦ  
 τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλευθεροστομεῖν εὐγενέσιν ἀρμόττον.

100 πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν σπουδαῖον οὐχ ὀρᾶς,  
 ὅτι οὐδὲ πωλούμενος θεράπων εἶναι δοκεῖ, κατα-  
 πλήττων τοὺς ὀρῶντας, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐλεύθερος ὢν

last is read by two mss. for περιποιούντες). The similar ending of δύναμιν and ἡμῖν would facilitate the loss of ἀρεταὶ ἡμῖν. At the same time it is true that the βραχεῖς of M fits better with Ambrose’s “breves.” See also App. p. 516.

<sup>a</sup> Or if Cohn’s reconstruction (see note 2, pp. 64-66) is pre-66

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 96-100

virtues secure to us blessedness and freedom.”<sup>a</sup>

Protestations and judgements like these 97 may well bring to our lips the saying of Zeno : “ Sooner will you sink an inflated bladder than compel any virtuous man to do against his will anything that he does not wish.” For never will that soul surrender or suffer defeat which right reason has braced with principles firmly held.

XV. The freedom of the virtuous is also vouched 98 for by the poets and prose writers, in whose thoughts Greeks and barbarians alike are reared almost from the cradle, and so gain improvement of character and restamp into sterling coin every bit of metal in their souls which has been debased by a faulty upbringing and mode of life. See, for instance, what Heracles 99 says in Euripides :

Burn me, consume my flesh, and drink thy fill  
Of my dark blood ; for sooner shall the stars  
Go 'neath the earth and earth go up to sky  
Ere thou shalt from my lips meet fawning word.<sup>b</sup>

For in very truth, fawning and flattery and dissembling, in which the words are at war with the thought, are utterly slavish. But freedom of speech, genuine without taint of bastardy, and proceeding from a pure conscience, befits the nobly born.

Again, observe how this same man of 100 worth, even when put up for sale, seems to be no menial, but strikes awe into the beholders, who feel

ferred, “ Our deeds are swift and our words short ; but they have power, securing for us blessedness and freedom.” For the suggested reconstruction translated above see same note.

<sup>b</sup> This is the fourth time that this passage is quoted by Philo, the other three being *Leg. All.* iii. 202, *De Ios.* 78, and § 25 above. On the source of the quotation see App. p. 516.

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101 ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότης ἐσόμενος τοῦ πριαμένου; ὁ  
 γοῦν Ἑρμῆς πυνθανομένω μὲν, εἰ φαῦλός ἐστιν,  
 ἀποκρίνεται·

“ ἦκιστα φαῦλος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τούναντίον  
 πρὸς σχῆμα σεμνὸς κοῦ ταπεινὸς οὐδ’ ἄγαν  
 εὖογκος ὡς ἂν δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ στολήν  
 ἰδόντι λαμπρὸς καὶ ξύλω δραστήριος.

οὐδεὶς δ’ ἐς οἶκους δεσπότης ἀμείνονας  
 αὐτοῦ πρίασθαι βούλεται· σέ δ’ εἰσορῶν  
 πᾶς τις δέδοικεν. ὄμμα γὰρ πυρὸς γέμεις,  
 ταῦρος λέοντος ὡς βλέπων πρὸς ἐμβολήν.”

εἶτ’ ἐπιλέγει·

“ τό γ’ εἶδος αὐτό σου<sup>1</sup> κατηγορεῖ  
 σιγῶντος, ὡς εἴης ἂν οὐχ ὑπήκοος,  
 τάσσειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰπιτάσσεσθαι θέλοις.”

102 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πριαμένου Συλέως εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπέμφθη,  
 διέδειξεν ἔργοις τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδούλωτον· τὸν μὲν  
 γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἐκεῖ ταύρων καταθύσας Διὶ  
 πρόφασιν εὐωχεῖτο, πολὺν δ’ οἶνον ἐκφορήσας  
 103 ἀθρόον εὔ μάλα κατακλιθεὶς ἠκρατίζετο. Συλεῖ  
 δὲ ἀφικομένω καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντι ἐπὶ τε τῇ  
 βλάβῃ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεράποντος ῥαθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ οὐ (or οὐδ). Cohn prints the last two words as above, but leaves the equally unmetrical τὸ εἶδος though he expresses high approval of the correction (Elmsley's) to τό γ’.



## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 100-103

that he is not only free, but will become the master of his purchaser. <sup>a</sup> Hermes, for example, in answer 101 to the question whether Heracles is worthless says :

Worthless ? far from it, quite the contrary :  
His bearing's dignified, no meanness here,  
Not slave-like overstocked with fat, and look  
How smart his dress—and he can wield a club.

To which the other replies :

Who wants to buy a stronger than himself,  
And bring him home as master of the house ?  
It fairly frightens one to look at you,  
Eyes full of fire—you look just like a bull  
Watching a lion's onset.

Then he continues :

Your looks alone are evidence enough,  
Though you say nothing, that you won't obey—  
Giving, not taking, orders is your line.

And when Syleus after buying him, sent him into his 102 estate, he showed by his actions that there was nothing of the slave in his nature. For he killed the finest bull in the stud, nominally as a sacrifice to Zeus, and feasted on it, and then brought out a great quantity of wine and lying there very comfortably drank it in huge draughts. When Syleus arrived, 103 very indignant both at the loss of his property, and at his servant's easy-going and excessively disdainful

<sup>a</sup> This passage from a Satyric drama of Euripides evidently gives a different version from that in Apollodorus ii. 6. 2, in which Heracles having murdered Iphitus has to expiate his crime by three years servitude and accordingly is sold by Hermes to Omphale. During this servitude he kills Syleus, who used to compel strangers to dig in his vineyard. See further App. p. 516.

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περιττῇ καταφρονήσει μηδὲν μήτε τῆς χροᾶς μήτε ὧν ἔπραττε μεταβαλὼν εὐτολμώτατά φησι·

“ κλίθητι καὶ πύωμεν, ἐν τούτῳ δέ μου τὴν πείραν εὐθὺς λάμβαν’, εἰ κρείσσων ἔσῃ.”

104 τοῦτον οὖν πότερον δοῦλον ἢ κύριον ἀποφαντέον τοῦ δεσπότου, μὴ μόνον ἀπελευθεριάζειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττειν τῷ κτησαμένῳ καὶ εἰ ἀφηνιάζοι τύπτειν καὶ προπηλακίζειν, εἰ δὲ καὶ βοηθοὺς ἐπάγοιτο, πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολλύναι τολμῶντα; γέλωσ οὖν ἂν εἶη καὶ φλυαρία πολλή τὰ κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας ὠνάς γράμματα, ἐπειδὴν τῇ καθ’ ὧν γράφεται παρενημερηθῆ σθεναρωτέρα δυνάμει, χαρτιδίων ἀγράφων ἀκρότερα, ὑπὸ σέων ἢ χρόνου ἢ εὐρώτος εἰς ἅπαν διαφθαρησόμενα.

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105 XVI. | Ἄλλ’ οὐ χρή, φήσει τις, τὰς τῶν ἡρώων παράγειν εἰς πίστιν ἀρετάς· μείζους γὰρ ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν γενομένους Ὀλυμπίοις ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, μικτῆς γενέσεως, ἀθανάτων καὶ θνητῶν ἀνακραθέντων σπερμάτων, ἐπιλαχόντας, ἡμιθέους εἰκότως προσαγορευθέντας, τοῦ θνητοῦ μίγματος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφθάρτου μερίδος κατακρατηθέντος, ὡς μηδὲν εἶναι παράδοξον, εἰ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δουλείαν

106 τεχναζόντων ὠλιγώρουν. ἔστω ταῦτα. μὴ καὶ Ἀνάξαρχος ἢ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης ἤρωες ἢ ἐκ θεῶν; ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὑπὸ τυράννων ὠμοθύμων καὶ τὴν φύσιν πικρῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκθηριωθέντων στρεβλούμενοι κεκαινουργημέναις αἰκίαις, ὥσπερ ἀλλότρια ἢ ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφερόμενοι σώματα, μάλα  
107 καταφρονητικῶς ἠλόγουν τῶν φοβερῶν. τὴν γὰρ

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 103-106

behaviour, Heracles did not change colour a whit, nor make any difference in what he was doing, but said with the utmost boldness :

Lie down and let us drink and have a try  
At once, who'll do it better, you or I.

How then must we describe his standing with his 104 master ? Is he slave or lord, he who dares not only to take these liberties, but even to issue orders to his owner, ready to beat him and knock him about if he shows resistance, or if he calls others to his aid to annihilate them altogether ! Surely then these title-deeds, which record the so-called purchases, are just a laughing-stock and a mass of nonsense, when they are put out of court by the superior force of those against whom they are drawn up, less valid even than blank sheets of paper and destined to perish utterly, through moths, or time, or mildew.

XVI. But it is not fair, an objector will say, to cite 105 the achievements of the heroes as evidence. They have a greatness above human nature ; they vie with the Olympians and as inheritors of a mixed parentage, a blend of mortal and immortal seed, are rightly called demigods, because the mortal ingredient is overpowered by the immortal part, so that there is nothing extraordinary in their contempt for those who plan to enslave them. Be it so ! But what of 106 Anaxarchus or Zeno the Eleatic ? Are they heroes or the offspring of gods ? Nevertheless in the hands of cruel-hearted tyrants, naturally bitter and stirred to still greater ferocity by anger with them, though racked with strange and ingeniously invented tortures, they behaved as though the bodies in which they lay belonged to strangers or enemies, and with high disdain set the terrors of the tormentors at

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- ψυχὴν ἐθίσαντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἔρωτα τῆς  
 μὲν πρὸς τὰ πάθη κοινωνίας ἀφίστασθαι, παιδείας  
 δὲ καὶ σοφίας περιέχεσθαι, μετανάστιν μὲν σώματος  
 εἰργάσαντο, φρονήσει δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ ταῖς ἄλ-  
 108 λαις ἄρεταῖς σύνοικον ἀπέφηναν. τοιγαροῦν ὁ μὲν  
 κρεμᾶμενος<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατατεινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι τῶν  
 ἀρρήτων ἐκλαλήσαι, πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου, τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 φύσει κραταιοτάτων, φανεῖς δυνατώτερος, ἀποτρα-  
 γῶν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὴν γλῶτταν εἰς τὸν βασανιστὴν  
 ἠκόντισεν, ἵνα μηδ' ἄκων ἂ καλὸν ἠσυχάζειν  
 109 φθέγγηται βιασθεῖς. ὁ δὲ τλητικώτατα εἶπε·  
 “ πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου ἀσκόν· Ἀνάξαρχον γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιο.” αὐταὶ γέμουσαι θράσους αἱ  
 εὐτολμῖαι τὴν ἠρωϊκὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μετρίως  
 ὑπερβάλλουσι,<sup>2</sup> διότι τοῖς μὲν τὸ κλέος ἐν τοῖς  
 φυτεύσασιν ἀκούσιον, τῶν δ' ἐν ἐκουσίοις ἀρεταῖς,  
 αἱ τοὺς ἀδόλως χρωμένους ἀθανατίζειν πεφύκασι.  
 110 XVII. Παλαιστὰς οἶδα καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς πολ-  
 λάκις ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν σπουδῆς,  
 ἀπαγορευόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν σωματίων, μόνῃ ψυχῇ  
 διαπνέοντας ἔτι καὶ διαθλοῦντας, ἣν ἐθίσαντες  
 καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν τῶν φοβερῶν ἐγκαρτεροῦσιν  
 111 ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς. εἴτ' οἰόμεθα τοὺς μὲν  
 ἀσκητὰς τῆς ἐν σώμασιν εὐτονίας ἐπιβεβηκέναι  
 φόβῳ θανάτου ἢ δι' ἐλπίδα νίκης ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> So mss. except M which has κρινόμενος (so Cohn).

<sup>2</sup> mss. ὑπερβάλλουσαι.

<sup>a</sup> The same story is told of Zeno in Diogenes Laertius ix. 27, and also of Anaxarchus, *ibid.* 59.

<sup>b</sup> For this story see Diogenes Laertius ix. 59, where the word for the thing pounded is θύλακος (“bag” or “pouch”). By this is meant the body as being the bag containing the

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 107-111

nought. For having inured the soul from the first to 107  
hold aloof through love of knowledge from association  
with the passions, and to cleave to culture and  
wisdom, they set it wandering away from the body  
and brought it to make its home with wisdom and  
courage and the other virtues. So it was that Zeno 108  
when suspended and stretched on the wheel, to make  
him tell something which should not be disclosed,  
showed himself mightier than the strongest things in  
nature, fire and iron. He gnawed off his tongue and  
shot it at the torturer, lest under violence he should  
involuntarily utter what honour would leave un-  
spoken.<sup>a</sup> Anaxarchus's speech showed the staunchest 109  
endurance. "Pound Anaxarchus's skin," he said,  
"Anaxarchus you cannot pound."<sup>b</sup> These examples  
of true courage, full of the spirit of defiance, have a  
value far exceeding the inherited nobleness of the  
heroes. Their glory belongs to their parentage and  
is not of their own volition. The glory of the philo-  
sophers rests upon achievements of virtue, freely  
willed by themselves, and these being what they are,  
immortalize those who practise them in sincerity.

XVII. I know many cases of wrestlers and pan- 110  
cratiasts so full of ambition and eagerness for victory  
that though their bodies have lost their strength, they  
renew their vigour and continue their athletic efforts  
with nothing to help them but the soul, which they  
have inured to despise terrors, and in this they per-  
severe to their last gasp. Then, if those who exercise 111  
their bodily vigour have surmounted the fear of death  
whether in the hope of victory or to avoid seeing  
themselves defeated, can we suppose that those

soul and *ἀσκός* here may mean the same rather than the skin  
in the literal sense.

## PHILO

τὴν ἰδίαν ἦτταν ἐπιδεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὸν ἀόρατον νοῦν  
 γυμνάζοντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ὃς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπὸς  
 ἐστὶν οἶκον ἐπιφερόμενος τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἶδος, καὶ |  
 [463] λόγοις μὲν τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔργοις δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 ἀλείφοντας οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐθελήσειν ἀπο-  
 θνήσκειν, ἢ ἐν ἀδουλώτῳ φρονήματι τὴν εἰμαρ-  
 112 μένην ἀνύσωσι πορείαν; ἐν ἀγῶνί φασιν ἱερῶ δύο  
 ἀθλητὰς ἰσορρόπῳ κεκρημένους ἀλκῇ, τὰ αὐτὰ  
 ἀντιδρῶντάς τε καὶ ἀντιπάσχοντας, μὴ πρότερον  
 ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ἐκότερον τελευτῆσαι.

“ δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος,”

113 εἴποι τις ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖν  
 κοτίνων μὲν χάριν καὶ σελίνων εὐκλεῆς ἀγωνισταῖς  
 ἢ τελευτῇ, σοφοῖς δὲ οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας,  
 ἥς ὁ πόθος ταῖς ψυχαῖς μόνον, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν,  
 ἐνίδρυται καθάπερ τι μέρος ἠνωμένον οὐ τῶν ἐπι-  
 τυχόντων, οὗ διακοπέντος ἅπασαν τὴν κοινωνίαν  
 114 φθειρεσθαι συμβέβηκε; Λακωνικοῦ παιδὸς ἄδεται  
 παρ’ οἷς ἔθος ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀρετὰς τὸ ἐκ γένους ἢ  
 φύσεως ἀδουλώτων· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἰχμάλωτος ἀπαχ-  
 θεῖς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Ἀντιγόνου τὰς μὲν ἐλευθέρας  
 χρείας ὑπέμενε, ταῖς δὲ δουλικαῖς ἠναντιοῦτο φά-  
 σκων οὐχὶ δουλεύσειν, καίτοι μήπω τοῖς Λυκούργου  
 νόμοις παγίως ἐντραφῆναι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν δυνη-  
 θεῖς, ὅτι μόνον αὐτῶν ἐγεύσατο, τοῦ παρόντος  
 ἀβιώτου βίου θάνατον εὐτυχέστερον κρίνας, ἀπο-  
 γνοὺς ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἄσμενος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* vi. 407.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Antigonus Doson, who conquered Sparta 221 B.C.

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 111-115

who drill the invisible mind within them, the veritable man, housed within the form which the senses perceive,—those who train it with words of philosophy and deeds of virtue will not be willing to die for their freedom and so complete their appointed pilgrimage with a spirit that defies enslavement! It is told of 112 two athletes in a sacred contest how possessed of equal strength, each offensive taken by the one returned in equal measure by the other, they never flagged until both fell dead. “ Ah! then thy own prowess will destroy thee,”<sup>a</sup> are words which will apply to such as these. Surely then if to die for a 113 garland of wild olive or parsley is a glory to the rivals in the arena, a far greater glory is it to the wise to die for freedom, the love of which stands in very truth implanted in the soul like nothing else, not as a casual adjunct but an essential part of its unity, and cannot be amputated without the whole system being destroyed as the result. Students who investigate 114 examples of high excellence sing the praises of the Laconian boy, to whom race or his own nature gave a spirit which would not brook enslavement. Carried into captivity by one of Antigonus’s<sup>b</sup> people, he submitted to such tasks as became a freeman, but stood out against those of a slavish kind, declaring that he would not be a slave. And although by reason of his tender years he had not received the solid nutrition of the laws of Lyncurgus, yet from his mere taste of them, he judged that death was a happier lot than his present valueless life, and despairing of ransom gladly put an end to himself.<sup>c</sup> There is also the story 115

<sup>c</sup> The same story is told by Sen. *Ep.* 77 with the same moral. According to Seneca he killed himself by knocking his head against the wall.

## PHILO

- 115 λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀλούσας Δαρ-  
 δανίδας γυναικας αἰσχιστον κακὸν δουλείαν  
 ὑπολαβούσας οὓς ἐκουροτρόφουν παῖδας εἰς τὸ  
 βαθύτατον τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρίπτειν ἐπιφωνούσας·  
 “ ἄλλ’ ὑμεῖς γε οὐ δουλεύετε, πρὶν δ’ ἄρξασθαι  
 βίου βαρυδαίμονος, τὸ χρεῶν ἐπιτεμόντες ἐλεύ-  
 θεροι τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πανυστάτην ὁδὸν περαιώ-  
 116 σεσθε.” Πολυξένην δὲ ὁ τραγικὸς Εὐριπίδης  
 ἀλογοῦσαν μὲν θανάτου φροντίζουσαν δὲ ἐλευθερίας  
 εἰσάγει δι’ ὧν φησιν·

“ ἐκοῦσα θήσκω, μὴ τις ἄψηται χρὸς  
 τοῦμοῦ· παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως,  
 ἐλευθέραν δέ μ’, ὡς ἐλευθέρα θάνω,  
 πρὸς θεῶν μεθέντες κτείνατε.”

- 117 XVIII. εἶτ’ οἰόμεθα γυναίκοις μὲν καὶ  
 μειρακίοις, ὧν τὰ μὲν φύσει ὀλιγόφρονα τὰ δὲ  
 ἡλικία εὐολίσθω χρώμενα, τοσοῦτον ἐλευθερίας  
 ἔρωτα ἐντήκεσθαι, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἀφαιρε-  
 θῆναι πρὸς θάνατον ὡς ἐπ’ ἀθανασίαν ὀρμᾶν, τοὺς  
 δὲ σοφίας ἀκράτου σπάσαντας οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐλευθέρους  
 [464] εἶναι, | πηγὴν τινα εὐδαιμονίας τὴν ἀρετὴν (ἐν)  
 ἑαυτοῖς περιφέροντας, ἣν ἐπίβουλος οὐδεμία πώ-  
 ποτε δύναμις κατέξευξε τὸν ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας  
 118 ἔχουσαν αἰώνιον κλῆρον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ  
 δήμους ὅλους ἀκούομεν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἅμα καὶ  
 πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀποθανόντας εὐεργέτας αὐθαί-  
 ρητον πανωλεθρίαν ὑποστάντας, ὥσπερ φασὶν οὐ  
 πρὸ πολλοῦ Ξανθίου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἐπι-  
 θεμένων Ἰουλίῳ Καίσαρι, Βροῦτος, ἐπιὼν ἐπ’

<sup>a</sup> No reference is given for this story. Dardania is



EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 115-118

of the Dardanian women taken prisoners by the Macedonians, how holding slavery to be the worst disgrace they threw the children which they were nurturing into the deepest part of the river, exclaiming, "You at least shall not be slaves but ere you have begun your life of misery shall cut short your destined span and pass still free along the final road which all must tread."<sup>a</sup> Polyxena, too, is described 116 by the tragedian Euripides as thinking little of death but much of her freedom when she says :

Willing I die, that none may touch my flesh—  
For I will give my throat with all my heart.  
In heaven's name let me go free, then slay me  
That I may die still free.<sup>b</sup>

XVIII. Then can we suppose that while 117 women and lads, the former endowed by nature with little sense, the latter at so insecure an age, are imbued with so profound a love of liberty, that to save themselves from losing it they seek death as eagerly as if it were immortality—can we suppose, I say, that those who have drunk deep of wisdom undiluted can be anything but free—those who bear within them a well-spring of happiness in the high courage which no malignant force has ever yet subdued because sovereignty and kingship is its everlasting heritage?

Indeed we hear of whole populations 118 voluntarily suffering annihilation to safeguard their liberty and at the same time their good faith to dead benefactors. Such is the story told of the Xanthians in recent years. When one of the assassins of Julius Caesar, namely Brutus, marched with an army

apparently a vague term for part of Mysia (*Dictionary of Geography*).

<sup>b</sup> *Hecuba* 548 ff.

PHILO

- αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, δεδιότες οὐ πόρθησιν ἀλλὰ  
 <δουλείαν> τὴν ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνου κτείναντος ἡγεμόνα  
 καὶ εὐεργέτην—ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ Καῖσαρ—  
 ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον οἰοί τε ἦσαν δυνατῶς τὸ  
 πρῶτον, ὑπαναλούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἔτ'  
 119 ἀντείχον. ὡς δὲ ἅπασαν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔδαπάνησαν,  
 γύναια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα συνελάσαντες εἰς τὰς  
 σφῶν οἰκίας ἕκαστοι καθιέρευον· καὶ σωρηδὸν τὰ  
 σφάγια νήσαντες, πῦρ ἐνέντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπι-  
 κατασφάξαντες, ἐλεύθεροι τὸ πεπρωμένον ἀπ' ἐλευ-  
 120 θέρου καὶ εὐγενοῦς φρονήματος ἐξέπλησαν. ἀλλ'  
 οὔτοι μὲν πικρίαν ἀμείλικτον τυραννικῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 ἀποδιδράσκοντες πρὸ ἀδόξου βίου τὸν μετ' εὐκλείας  
 θάνατον ἠροῦντο. οἷς δὲ ἐπέτρεπε ζῆν τὰ πράγ-  
 ματα τὰ τυχηρά, τλητικῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν Ἡρά-  
 κλειον εὐτολμίαν ἀπομιμούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος  
 τῶν Εὐρυσθέως ἐπιταγμάτων διεφάνη κρείττων.  
 121 ὁ γοῦν κυνικὸς φιλόσοφος Διογένης  
 ὕψει καὶ μεγέθει τοσοῦτῳ φρονήματος ἐχρήσατο,  
 ὥσθ' ἄλους ὑπὸ ληστῶν, ἐπεὶ γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις  
 τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῷ παρείχον τροφάς, οὔθ' ὑπὸ  
 τῆς παρούσης τύχης γναμφθεῖς οὔτε τὴν ὠμότητα  
 τῶν ὑπηγμένων δείσας “ἀτοπώτατον οὖν” ἔφη  
 “γίνεται, δελφάκια μὲν ἢ προβάτια, ὅποτε μέλλοι  
 πιπράσκεισθαι, τροφαῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις πιαίνειν εἰς  
 εὐσαρκίαν, ζώων δὲ τὸ ἄριστον, ἄνθρωπον, ἀσιτίαις

<sup>a</sup> The story is told at length by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 76-80.

<sup>b</sup> The first of these stories about Diogenes, §§ 121 and 122, does not appear to be referred to elsewhere. Of the re-

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 118-121

against them, what they feared was not the sack of their city, but enslavement to a murderer, who had killed his own leader and benefactor, for Caesar had been both to him. As long as they could they fought 119 on and at first made a powerful defence, and while their numbers were gradually wasting away they still held out. But when their whole strength was spent, they drove their women and parents and children each to their several homes and there slaughtered them, and after piling the bodies in a heap fired it and slew themselves upon it, thus completing their allotted term as free men inspired by a free and noble resolution.<sup>a</sup> Now these to escape the merciless cruelty of 120 tyrannical enemies chose death with honour in preference to an inglorious life, but others whom the circumstances of their lot permitted to live, endured in patience, imitating the courage of Heracles, who proved himself superior to the tasks imposed by Eurystheus.

<sup>b</sup> Thus it was with the cynic 121 philosopher Diogenes. So great and lofty was his spirit, that when captured by robbers, who grudgingly provided him with the barest minimum of food, still remained unmoved by his present position and had no fear of the cruelty of those who held him in their power. "It is surely very preposterous," he said, "that while sucking pigs and sheep when they are going to be sold are fed up with greater care to make them fat and well favoured, man the best of animals should be reduced to a skeleton by want of food and

partees in § 123 the first is given in Diogenes Laertius vi. 29 and in another setting *ibid.* 74. The second repartee seems to be another form of that recorded in Diogenes Laertius vi. 74, where speaking of a certain Xenias (elsewhere described as a profligate), he said to the auctioneer "sell me to him, for he needs a master."

## PHILO

κατασκελετευθέντα καὶ συνεχέσιν ἐνδείαις ἐπευωνί-  
 122 ζεσθαι.” λαβὼν δὲ τροφὰς διαρκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ μεθ’  
 ἑτέρων αἰχμαλώτων ἔμελλεν ἀπεμπολεῖσθαι, καθ-  
 ἴσας πρότερον ἡρίστα μαλ’ εὐθαρσῶς, ἐπιδιδούς  
 καὶ τοῖς πλησίον. ἐνὸς δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένοντος,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ σφόδρα κατηφοῦντος, “ οὐ παύση τῆς συννοίας;  
 χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ” ἔφη.

“ καὶ γάρ τ’ ἠύκομος Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου,  
 τῇ περ δώδεκα παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ὄλοντο,  
 ἕξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἕξ δ’ υἱέες ἡβῶντες.”

123 | εἴτ’ ἐπινεανιεύομενος πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τῶν  
 [465] ὀνητικῶς ἐχόντων “ τί οἶδας; ” “ ἄρχειν ” εἶπεν  
 “ ἀνθρώπων,” ἔνδοθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ  
 ἐλεύθερον καὶ εὐγενὲς καὶ φύσει βασιλικὸν ὑπη-  
 χούσης. ἤδη δὲ καὶ πρὸς χαριεντισμὸν ὑπὸ τῆς  
 συνήθους ἐκεχειρίας,<sup>2</sup> ἐφ’ οἷς οἱ ἄλλοι συννοίας γέ-  
 124 μοντες κατήφουν, ἐτράπετο. λέγεται γοῦν, ὅτι  
 θεασάμενός τινα τῶν ὠνουμένων, ὃν θήλεια νόσος  
 εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως οὐκ ἄρρενα προσελθὼν ἔφη.

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn with M. The other mss. vary between οὐ λυπου-  
 μένου ὄντος, οὐ μόνον λυπουμένου ὄντος and οὐ μόνον λυπουμένου.  
 Cohn’s theory that the first form of these arose by mistaking  
 the χ of οὐχ for λ, and that the others were later developed  
 out of it, is probably right.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn, who prints ἐφ’ ἧ for ἐφ’ οἷς, regards the passage or  
 at least ἐκεχειρίας to be corrupt. I do not feel sure of this.  
 The word is used coupled with ἀδεια and ἀνεσις in *De Cher.*  
 92 and *De Sac.* 23 and below, § 148. In *De Conf.* 165,  
 where see note, we have ἡ τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρία. The  
 extension of the word from a situation where restraint is  
 removed to unrestrainedness as a quality in a man is not  
 great. It would be difficult however to fit it in with ἐφ’ ἧ,  
 unless it meant that the others were frightened at his cheeki-

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 122-124

constant privations and so fetch a lower price.”<sup>a</sup> He 122 then received adequate allowances of food and when he was about to be brought to market with the other captives, he first sat down and took his dinner in the highest spirits, and gave some of it to those near him. To one of them who could not resign himself,<sup>b</sup> and, indeed, was exceedingly dejected, he said, “ Stop this repining and make the best of things, for

E'en fair-haired Niobe took thought for food  
Though she had lost twelve children in the halls—  
Six daughters and six sons in prime of youth.”<sup>c</sup>

Then when one of the prospective purchasers asked 123 him what he was skilled at, he said with all boldness “ at ruling men,” a reply which, showing freedom, nobility, and natural kingliness, was clearly dictated by the soul within him. Again we find him with his wonted licence making witticisms out of a situation which filled the others with melancholy and dejection. It is said, for instance, that looking at one of 124 the purchasers, an addict to effeminacy, whose face showed that he had nothing of the male about him, he went up to him and said, “ You should buy me, for

<sup>a</sup> See on § 37.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps “ could not bring himself to accept the food,” which fits in better with the Homeric quotation. Cf. οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὰς δωρέας “ they scorned to accept the gifts” (quoted by L. & S. rev. from Isoc. iv. 94).

<sup>c</sup> *Il.* xxiv. 602 ff.

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ness, and I have adopted ἐφ' οἷς (M) which has at least as good authority. We might expect τὰ ἐφ' οἷς, but compare τῇ καθ' ὧν γράφεται δυνάμει, § 104. The most questionable thing about the interpretation which I have given is that it assumes that the middle ἐτρέπετο can be used transitively, and though τρέπειν and τρέπεσθαι are in some ways interchangeable, I have not found any exact parallel.

## PHILO

“ σύ με πρίω· σὺ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς χρεῖαν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖς,” ὡς τὸν μὲν δυσωπηθέντα ἐφ’ οἷς ἑαυτῷ συνήδει καταδύναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὸ σὺν εὐτολμῖα εὐθυβόλον ἐκπλήττεσθαι. ἄρα γε τῷ τοιούτῳ δουλείαν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν δίχα ἀνυπευ-  
 125 θύνου ἡγεμονίας ἐπιφημιστέον; ζηλω-  
 τῆς δὲ τῆς τούτου παρρησίας ἐγένετό τις Χαιρέας τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν γὰρ οἰκῶν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, δυσχεράναντός ποτε Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος οὐ μετρίως, τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας οὐδὲν ἐλάττονα τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει νομίσας ἐλευθερίαν, ἀντέλεξεν·

“ Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἄνασσε, σέθεν δ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω οὐδ’ ὄθομαι κοτέοντος.”

126 ἔχουσι γάρ τι βασιλικὸν αἰ εὐγενεῖς ψυχαί, τὸ λαμπρὸν πλεονεξία τύχης οὐκ ἀμαυρούμεναι, ὃ προτρέπει καὶ τοῖς τὰξίωμα ὑπερόγκοις ἐξ ἴσου διαφέρεσθαι, ἀλαζονεῖα παρρησίαν ἀντιτάττον.

127 Θεόδωρον λόγος ἔχει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα ἄθεον ἐκπεσόντα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον ἐλθόντα, ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν ἐν τέλει τὸν δρασμὸν ὠνείδισεν, ἅμα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιλέγων, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἀθεότητι καὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶν νέων καταγνωσθεῖς

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<sup>a</sup> This phrase is difficult. The sense given to δίχα in the translation, by which “without” is extended to mean “not

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 124–127

you seem to me to need a husband," whereat the person concerned conscience-stricken into shame subsided, and the others were amazed at the courage and the aptness of the sally. Must we apply the term slavery to such as him, or any other word but liberty, over which irresponsible domination has no power? <sup>a</sup>

His freedom of speech was emulated by 125  
Chaereas, a man of culture. When he was living in Alexandria by Egypt, he once incurred the anger of Ptolemy, who threatened him in no mild terms. Chaereas considering that his own natural freedom was not a whit inferior to the other's kingship replied:

Be King of Egypt; I care not for you—  
A fig for all your anger. <sup>b</sup>

For noble souls, whose brightness the greed of fortune 126  
cannot dim, have a kingly something, which urges them to contend on an equal footing with persons of the most massive dignity and pits freedom of speech against arrogance.

A story is told of 127  
Theodorus <sup>c</sup> surnamed the atheist, that when he had been banished from Athens and had joined Lysimachus, his flight was brought up against him by a person of authority, who recited the circumstances which caused it and declared that he had been ejected after being condemned as an atheist and corrupter of

subject to," is not natural. *δίχα* is often used by Philo to introduce some additional statement and possibly that may be the meaning here, *i.e.* "not to say absolute sovereignty," referring of course to the sovereignty of the sage described by Diogenes Laertius vii. 122 as *ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος*. The natural translation "freedom but not irresponsible sovereignty" (so Mangey "nudam libertatem imperio pleno destitutam") seems impossibly pointless.

<sup>b</sup> *Il. i.* 180 f. (*Μυρμιδόνεσσιν* for *Αἰγυπτιόισιν* in the original).

<sup>c</sup> For Theodorus see App. p. 517.

- ἐξέπεσεν, “ [οὐκ] ἐξέπεσον ”<sup>1</sup> φάναι, “ τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ  
 128 ἔπαθον τῷ Διὸς Ἡρακλεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐξ-  
 ετέθη πρὸς τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, οὐκ ἀδικῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι  
 μόνος πλήρωμα καὶ ἔρμα καθ’ αὐτὸν ὢν ἐναυβάρει,  
 δέος παρασχὼν τοῖς συμπλέουσι, μὴ τὸ σκάφος  
 ὑπέραντλον γένηται. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο μετανέστην,  
 ὕψι καὶ μεγέθει τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας τῶν πολιτενο-  
 μένων Ἀθηνησιν οὐ δυνηθέντων συνδραμεῖν, ἅμα  
 129 καὶ φθονηθεῖς.” προσανερομένου δὲ Λυσιμάχου·  
 “ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέπεσες φθόνῳ; ” πάλιν  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι· “ φθόνῳ μὲν οὐ, φύσεως δὲ ὑπερ-  
 130 βολαῖς, ἃς ἡ πατὴρ οὐκ ἐχώρει. καθάπερ γὰρ  
 Σεμέλης, ἠνίκα Διόνυσον ἐκύει, τὸν ὠρισμένον ἄχρι  
 [466] τῆς | ἀποτέξεως χρόνον ἐνεγκεῖν οὐ δυνηθείσης,  
 καταπλαγείς Ζεὺς τὴν τοῦ κατὰ γαστρὸς φύσιν  
 ἡλιτόμηνον ἐξελκύσας ἰσότιμον τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἀπ-  
 ἔφηγε θεοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐμὲ, τῆς πατρίδος βραχυτέρας  
 οὔσης ἢ ὥστε δέξασθαι φιλοσόφου φρονήματος  
 ὄγκον τοσοῦτον, δαίμων τις ἢ θεὸς ἀναστήσας εἰς  
 εὐτυχέστερον τόπον Ἀθηνῶν<sup>2</sup> ἀποικίσαι διενόηθη.”  
 131 XIX. Τῆς δὲ ἐν σοφοῖς ἐλευθερίας, ὥσπερ καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις

<sup>1</sup> Cohn and Mangey are no doubt right in expunging the negative. For though it would make sense as “ I was not banished, but removed by divine agency ” (see end of § 130), the comparison with Heracles who was ejected and the versions of the story given by Diogenes Laertius ii. 102 and Plutarch (*De Exil.* 16), both of whom make him answer the question “ Were you banished? ” in the affirmative, show that οὐκ should be omitted.

<sup>2</sup> So three mss. The others Ἀθήνας, which Cohn prints. Whether he intended to insert ἦ and omitted it by inadvertence I do not know. As it stands, it seems to me quite impossible.



## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 127-131

youth. "I was ejected," he answered, "but I shared that fortune with the son of Zeus Heracles, for he was thrown overboard by the Argonauts, not 128 for any wrongdoing, but because he himself alone was freight<sup>a</sup> and ballast enough to overload the vessel, and made his fellow sailors afraid that it would be water-logged. And I, too, changed my residence<sup>b</sup> for this reason, because the politicians at Athens were unable to keep pace with the loftiness and magnitude of my intellect; also I was the object of envy." When 129 Lysimachus put the further question, "Was it then for envy that you were ejected?" he answered, "No, not through envy but because of the transcendence of my natural gifts which the country could not hold. For just as when Semele, while carrying Dionysus, 130 was unable to bear the weight till the time appointed for her delivery, and Zeus in consternation pulled out the fruit of her womb in a premature stage of being and made it rank equal to the celestial gods, so it was with me: my country was too small to hold such a mass of philosophical thinking, and some lower or higher deity dislodged me and resolved to transplant me to a place more favoured by fortune than Athens."

XIX. The freedom of the wise like all other human 131 good gifts may be seen exemplified also in the irra-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 41. The general meaning of *πλήρωμα* as a nautical term is "the crew," *i.e.* not a dead-weight, but the human "complement" as in § 142, but this does not suit the context here, and not very well in § 41, and as the two passages cannot be dissociated, it seems better to assume that in both cases the meaning is "freight" or "cargo."

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "was made to leave my home," *μετανέστην* having the passive sense which the uncompounded verb often has.

## PHILO

- ζώοις παραδείγματα σκοπῶν ἂν τις εὔροι. οἱ γοῦν ἀλεκτρονέες οὕτως εἰώθασι φιλοκινδύνως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὥστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι καὶ παραχωρῆσαι, κἂν ἡττῶνται ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οὐχ ἡττώμενοι ταῖς
- 132 εὐτολμίαις ἄχρι θανάτου παραμένουσιν. ὁ συνιδὼν Μιλτιάδης ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ἠνίκα βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναστήσας μυριάσι πολλαῖς διέβαιεν ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὡς ἀναρπάσων αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, συναγαγὼν ἐν τῷ παναθηναϊκῷ τοὺς συμμάχους ὀρνίθων ἀγῶνας ἐπέδειξε, λόγου παντὸς δυνατωτέρα ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσσεσθαι τὴν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὄψεως παρακέλευσιν· καὶ γνώμης οὐχ ἤμαρτε.
- 133 θεασάμενοι γὰρ τὸ τλητικὸν καὶ φιλότιμον ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἐν ἀλόγοις ἀήττητον, ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὤρμησαν, ὡς ἐχθρῶν ἀγωνιούμενοι σώμασι, τραυμάτων καὶ σφαγῶν ἀλογοῦντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ ἀποθανόντες ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γοῦν τῷ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφει ταφῆναι. προτροπῆς γὰρ εἰς βελτίωσιν οὐδὲν οὕτως αἴτιον, ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀφανέ-
- 134 στέρων ἐλπίδος μείζων κατόρθωσις. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ὄρνιθας ἐναγωνίου μέμνηται καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς Ἴων διὰ τούτων·

“ οὐδ’ ὃ γε σῶμα τυπεῖς διφυεῖς τε κόρας ἐπιλάθεται ἀλκᾶς,  
ἀλλ’ ὀλιγοδρανέων φθογγάζεται·  
θάνατον δ’ ὃ γε δουλοσύνας προβέβουλε.”

- 135 τοὺς οὖν σοφοὺς τί οἰόμεθα οὐκ ἀσμενέστατα δουλείας ἀντικαταλλάξεσθαι τελευτήν; τὰς δὲ τῶν νέων καὶ εὐφύων ψυχὰς ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον λέγειν

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 131-135

tional animals. Thus cocks are wont to fight with such intrepidity that rather than yield and withdraw, though outdone in strength yet not outdone in courage they continue fighting until they die. This 132 Miltiades, the general of the Athenians, had observed, and when the Persian king having pressed into the ranks all the flower of Asia crossed into Europe with many myriads, thinking to seize Greece without a struggle, Miltiades collected his fellow soldiers at the Panathenaea and showed them some cocks fighting, holding that the spectacle would speak with a persuasion which no words could have. His judgement did not err, for when they saw this invincible 133 gallantry and endurance asserting itself even to death in irrational creatures, they seized their arms and rushed to war, where the rivals against whom they were matched would be the bodies of the foes, and recked not of the wounds nor of the slaughter in their hope to secure that if they fell at least their native soil in which they lay would still be free. For nothing so creates an impulse to do better, as that those of less repute than ourselves should rise to heights of achievement beyond our expectation. Cock-fighting is also mentioned by the Tragedian Ion<sup>a</sup> 134 in these words :

Battered his body and blind each eye  
He rallies his courage, and faint, still crows,  
For death he prefers to slavery.

Why then should we suppose that the wise would not 135 most gladly choose death rather than slavery? Is it not against all reason that the souls of the young and highly gifted should be worsted in the contests of

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 517.

## PHILO

ἐν ἄθλοις ἀρετῆς ὀρνίθων ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ μόλις φέρεσθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

- 136 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό τις τῶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ παιδείας ἀψαμένων ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι καλὸν μὲν πρᾶγμα ἐλευθερία, αἰσχρὸν δὲ δουλεία, καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν καλὰ πρόσεστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ τοῖς φαύλοις· ἐξ ὧν ἐναργέστατα παρίσταται τὸ μῆτε τινὰ τῶν σπουδαίων δοῦλον εἶναι, κἂν μυρίοι τὰ δεσποτῶν σύμβολα προφέροντες ἐπανατείνωνται, μῆτε τῶν
- 137 ἀφρόνων ἐλεύθερον, κἂν Κροῖσος ἢ Μίδας ἢ ὁ μέγας  
[467] βασιλεὺς ὧν τυγχάνη. XX. | τὸ δὲ ἐλευθερίας μὲν αἰοίδιμον κάλλος δουλείας δὲ ἐπάρατον αἰσχος ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων καὶ πολυχρονωτέρων καὶ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς ἀθανάτων, οἷς θέμις
- 138 ἀψευδεῖν, πόλεόν τε καὶ ἔθνῶν μαρτυρεῖται. βουλαί τε γὰρ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι καθ' ἐκάστην σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἀθροίζονται περὶ τίνος μᾶλλον ἢ ἐλευθερίας παρούσης μὲν βεβαιώσεως, εἰ δ' ἀπίη, κτήσεως; ἢ δ' Ἑλλὰς καὶ βάρβαρος κατὰ ἔθνη στασιάζουσι καὶ πολεμοῦσιν ἀεὶ τί βουλόμεναι ὅ τι μὴ δουλείαν μὲν
- 139 ἀποδιδράσκειν, ἐλευθερίαν δὲ περιποιεῖσθαι; διὸ κἂν ταῖς μάχαις ἢ λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν μεγίστη παρακέλευσις ἦδ' ἐστί· “κακῶν τὸ βαρύτερον, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, δουλείαν ἐπιφερομένην ἀπωσώμεθα· τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν

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<sup>a</sup> §§ 137-143. In these sections Philo seems to abandon his theory and to accept the common conception of freedom and slavery. The slavery which the generals declare to be the worst of evils, which incapacitated for admission to the religious functions at Athens, and for service on the *Argo*, is according to the doctrine which the treatise preaches not slavery to the wise. It may perhaps be said that if freedom is admitted to be excellent, freedom in the philosophical sense

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 135-139

virtue by birds and take only the second place and that barely ?

This too is a truth well known to everyone who 136 has taken even a slight hold of culture, that freedom is an honourable thing, and slavery a disgraceful thing, and that honourable things are associated with good men and disgraceful things with bad men. Hence, it clearly follows that no person of true worth is a slave, though threatened by a host of claimants who produce contracts to prove their ownership, nor is any fool a free man, even though he be a Croesus or a Midas or the Great King himself.

XX. <sup>a</sup> And this doctrine that freedom is glorious and 137 honourable, slavery execrable and disgraceful, is attested by cities and nations, which are more ancient, more permanent, and, as far as mortals may be, immortal, and for immortals it is a law of their being that their every word is true. The senates and 138 national assemblies meet almost every day to discuss more than anything else how to confirm their freedom if they have it, or to acquire it if they have it not. The Greek and the outside world are perpetually engaged in feuds and wars, nation against nation, and with what object save to escape from slavery and to win freedom? And so on the battle- 139 field, the commanders of armies and regiments and companies couch their exhortations to their men mainly in this form. "Fellow soldiers, slavery is the most grievous of evils. Let us repel its assault.

is still more excellent—that the exclusion of slaves in the ordinary sense from the Athenian celebrations and from the *Argo* did incidentally teach the lesson that the "free" might carry out menial duties without loss of true freedom. But those ideas are only just hinted at. The real argument is resumed in § 144.

## PHILO

- ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ἐλευθερίας, μὴ περιίδωμεν.  
 ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἀφ' ἧς  
 140 αἱ κατὰ μέρος ρέουσιν ὠφέλειαι.” διό  
 μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀξυδερκέστατοι διά-  
 νοιαν Ἀθηναῖοι—ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ κόρη ἢ ἐν  
 ψυχῇ λογισμός, τοῦτ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἀθηναί—τὴν ἐπὶ  
 ταῖς Σεμναῖς Θεαῖς πομπὴν ὅταν στέλλωσι, δοῦλον  
 μηδένα προσπαραλαμβάνειν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ δι'  
 ἐλευθέρων ἕκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ  
 γυναικῶν ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὐχ οἴων ἂν τύχη, ἀλλὰ  
 βίον ἐξηλωκότων ἀνεπίληπτον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 τὴν ἑορτὴν πέμματα τῶν ἐφήβων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι  
 σιτοπονοῦσι, πρὸς εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς, ὅπερ ἐστί,  
 141 τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τιθέμενοι. πρῶν ὑποκριτῶν τρα-  
 γωδῖαν ἐπιδεικνυμένων καὶ τὰ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ  
 τρίμετρα διεξιόντων ἐκεῖνα

“ τοῦλεύθερον γὰρ ὄνομα παντὸς ἄξιον,  
 καὶ σμίκρ' ἔχη τις, μεγάλ' ἔχειν νομιζέτω,”

- τοὺς θεατὰς ἅπαντας εἶδον ἐπ' ἄκρων ποδῶν ὑπ'  
 ἐκπλήξεως ἀναστάντας καὶ φωναῖς μείζουσι καὶ  
 ἐκβοήσεσιν ἐπαλλήλοις ἔπαινον μὲν τῆς γνώμης,  
 ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ συνείροντας, ὃς οὐ  
 μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔργοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα  
 142 αὐτῆς ἐσέμνυνεν. ἄγαμαι καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν,  
 οἱ σύμπαν ἀπέφηναν ἐλεύθερον τὸ πλήρωμα μηδένα  
 μηδὲ τῶν εἰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας προσέμενοι δοῦ-  
 λον, ἀδελφὴν ἐλευθερίας αὐτουργίαν ἐν τῷ τότε

<sup>a</sup> According to Cohn, Demeter and Persephone, but see App. p. 517.

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 139-142

Freedom is the noblest of human blessings ; let us not suffer it to be lost. Freedom is the source and fountain of happiness and from it flow all particular benefits.” This I think is the reason why <sup>140</sup> the Athenians, the keenest in intelligence among the Greeks—for Athens is in Greece what the pupil is in the eye and the reason in the soul—when they celebrate the procession in honour of the Venerable Goddesses,<sup>a</sup> admit no slave to the company, but employ free men and women to carry out all the solemnities, and these not chosen at haphazard, but such as have earnestly pursued a blameless life. On the same principle, the cakes for the feast are made by the youths who have best passed their test, and they consider this service to be an honour and glory as indeed it is. A short time ago, when some players <sup>141</sup> were acting a tragedy, and reciting those lines of Euripides,

The name of freedom is worth all the world ;  
If one has little, let him think that much,<sup>b</sup>

I saw the whole audience so carried away by enthusiasm that they stood upright to their full height, and raising their voices above the actors, burst into shout after shout of applause, combining praise of the maxim with praise of the poet, who glorified not only freedom for what it does, but even its name. I also admire the Argonauts, who <sup>142</sup> made their crew consist entirely of the free and admitted no slave, not even those who would do the necessary menial labours, welcoming personal service in these circumstances as the sister of

<sup>b</sup> Part of four lines quoted by Stobaeus from the *Auge* of Euripides.

## PHILO

143 ἀσπασαμένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς προσέχειν ἄξιον  
—διὰ τί δὲ οὐ μέλλομεν; παιδευταὶ γὰρ οὗτοί γε  
τοῦ σύμπαντος βίου, καθάπερ ἰδίᾳ γονεῖς παῖδας  
καὶ οὗτοι δημοσίᾳ τὰς πόλεις σωφρονίζοντες—, οὐδ'  
ἢ Ἄργῳ ναυαρχοῦντος Ἰάσονος ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπι-  
[468] βαίνειν οἰκέταις, μεμοιραμένη | ψυχῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ,  
φύσις οὔσα φιλελεύθερος. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος ἐπ'  
αὐτῆς εἶπε·

“ ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν Ἄργου<sup>ς</sup> ἱερόν, αὔδασον,<sup>1</sup> ξύλον; ”

144 Ἐπανατάσεων δὲ καὶ ἀπειλῶν, ἃς σοφοῖς ἀν-  
δράσιμ ἐπανατείνονται καὶ ἀπειλοῦσί τινες, ἥκιστα  
φροντιστέον καὶ τὰ ὅμοια λεκτέον Ἀντιγενίδα τῷ  
αὐλητῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν φασιν, ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν  
ἀντιτέχνων ὀργισθεὶς εἶπεν “ ὠνήσομαί σε, ” βαθεῖ  
ἦθει φάναι· “ κἀγὼ τοιγαροῦν διδάξω σε αὐλεῖν. ”  
145 ἄξιον οὖν καὶ τῷ σπουδαίῳ πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἔχοντα  
ὠνητικῶς λέγειν· “ σωφροσύνην ἄρα ἀναδιδαχ-  
θήση, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπειλοῦντα φυγῆν· “ πᾶσα γῆ  
146 μοι πατρίς, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν χρημάτων ζημίαν· “ ἀρκεῖ  
μετρία βιοτά μοι, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν πληγὰς ἢ θάνατον

<sup>1</sup> mss. αὔδασαι or αὔδασε or (M) δαπέν<sup>σ</sup> (sic). For the sug-  
gestion αὐδῆεν see note a.

<sup>a</sup> This refers to the legend that Athena fitted into the prow of the *Argo* a speaking (*φωνῆεν*) timber from the oak at Dodona. See Apollodorus i. 9. 19 who mentions two of its utterances, one being the complaint that Heracles overloaded it referred to in § 128. The quotation from Aeschylus, at any rate as punctuated by Cohn and translated above, does not seem very apposite. As αὔδασον has no ms. authority (see note 1), the correction αὐδῆεν or αὐδᾶεν seems probable



EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 143-146

freedom. And if we are justified in listening to 143  
the poets,—and why should we not, since they are  
our educators through all our days, and as parents in  
private life teach wisdom to their children, so do they  
in public life to their cities—if I say we believe them,  
even the *Argo*, which captained by Jason was endowed  
with soul and reason, a sentient being filled with love  
of freedom, would not let bond servants board her.  
So Aeschylus says of her :

Where is the sacred bark of *Argo*? Speak.<sup>a</sup>

The menacing gestures and speeches with which 144  
some people threaten the wise should be treated  
with little respect and meet with a reply like that  
of Antigenidas, the flute-player. When a rival pro-  
fessional said to him in anger, “ I’ll buy you,” he  
answered him with great irony,<sup>b</sup> “ Then I’ll teach you  
to play.” So then, too, the man of worth may say 145  
to his prospective purchaser, “ Then you will have  
lessons in self-control.” If one threatens him with  
banishment, he can say, “ Every land is my native  
country ”<sup>c</sup>; if with loss of money, “ A moderate 146  
livelihood suffices me ”<sup>d</sup>; if the threat takes the

unless Nauck’s objection that the word would not be used  
in iambics precludes it. If *αῖδασον* is retained I should  
prefer to translate “ Where is it (or he)? Speak, holy bark  
of *Argo*.”

<sup>b</sup> Or “ very wittily ” or “ very good-naturedly.” I have  
discussed the meaning of this phrase in a note on *De Ios*.  
168, vol. vi. p. 602. Antigenidas was a famous Theban  
musician, about the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps a reminiscence of the line by an unknown author

τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς,

though the meaning of this is not what is intended here.

<sup>d</sup> A fragment of Euripides (lyrical, whence the form *βιοτά*  
for -ή), and continuing *σώφρονος τραπέζης*.

## PHILO

ἐπανατεινόμενον· “ οὐ μορμολύττεται με ταῦτα, οὐδ’ εἰμι πυκτῶν ἢ παγκρατιαστῶν ἐλάττων, οἷτινες ἀμαυρὰ εἶδωλα ἀρετῆς ὀρῶντες, ἄτε σωμάτων αὐτὸ μόνον εὐεξίαν διαπονήσαντες, ἐκάτερα τλητικῶς ὑπομένουσιν· ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμῶν σώματος ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦς ἀνδρεία τονωθείς οὕτω σφόδρα νενεύρωται, ὡς ἐπάνω πάσης ἀλγηδόνης ἴστασθαι δύνασθαι.”

147 XXI. [Φυλακτέον οὖν τὸν τοιοῦτον θῆρα συλλαμβάνειν, ὃς οὐκ ἀλκῆν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄψιν φοβερός ὢν τὸ δυσάλωτον καὶ μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον δείκνυται.]

148 Ἀσυλία τόπων πολλάκις οἰκετῶν τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν ἄδειαν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν ὡς ἰσοτίμοις καὶ ἰσοτελέσι παρέσχετο· καὶ τοὺς ἐκ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἄνω προγόνων κατὰ τινα συγγενικὴν διαδοχὴν παλαιοδούλους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ὅταν ἐν ἱεροῖς ἰκέται καθέζωνται, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἐλευθεροστομοῦντας. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ τοῖς κτησαμένοις οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος εὐτόνως ἅμα καὶ καταφρονητικῶς διαφέρονται περὶ τῶν δικαίων· οὓς μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ συνειδότος ἔλεγχος, κἂν ὦσιν εὐπατρίδαι, πέφυκε δουλοῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἄδειαν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀσυλίας πεπορισμένοι ψυχῆς, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ πάντων ἀχείρωτον ἐδημιούργησεν, ἐλεύθερα καὶ εὐγενῆ σφόδρα

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<sup>a</sup> That this section makes impossible nonsense here is obvious. Massebieau propounded the theory that §§ 32-40 should be transferred to after § 146 and followed by § 147. While the relevance of §§ 32-40 as it stands is not very clear, it seems to me they would be still more intrusive here. And what connexion has § 147 with § 40? In § 40 lions are said to be really the masters of their owners and the moral deduced is that still more is the wise man master in the true

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 146-149

form of blows or death, he can say, "These bugbears do not scare me; I am not inferior to boxers or pancratiasts, who though they see but dim shadows of true excellence, since they only cultivate robustness of body, yet endure both bravely. For the mind within me which rules the body is by courage so well-braced and nerved, that it can stand superior to any kind of pain."

XXI. [We must be careful, therefore, not to take a wild 147  
beast of this kind, which displays not only strength, but by  
the terrors of its appearance, its invincible and formidable  
nature.]<sup>a</sup>

Places which serve as sanctuaries often provide the 148  
bond servants who take refuge in them with the same  
security and licence of speech as if they enjoyed  
equal rights and privileges with the rest. And one  
may see those whose servitude is immemorial handed  
down from their great-grandfathers and earlier  
ancestors by a kind of family succession, talking freely  
with complete fearlessness, when sitting in temples as  
suppliants. Some even show not mere equality but 149  
great superiority in the energy and disdain with which  
they dispute questions of justice with their owners.  
For while the owners however highly born may well  
become as slaves through the conscience which con-  
victs them, the suppliants, who are provided with  
bodily security by the inviolability of the place,  
exhibit in the soul, which God created proof against  
all that could subdue it, characteristics of freedom  
sense. To follow by a warning against buying lions would  
be utterly inept. By what accident it got inserted here, it  
is useless guessing. But probably it belongs to some dis-  
quisition in which harbouring passions is compared to  
keeping wild beasts (*cf. De Praem.* 88). Such a disquisition  
might well have found a place in the twin treatise "that every  
fool is a slave."

## PHILO

- 150 ἀναφαίνουσιν ἤθη· εἰ μὴ λίαν οὕτω τις ἐστὶν ἀλό-  
 γιστος, ὡς χωρία μὲν θάρσους αἴτια καὶ παρρησίας  
 ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὄντων θεοειδέστατον,  
 [469] ἀρετὴν, μηκέτι, δι' ἣν καὶ τοῖς | χωρίοις καὶ τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ὅσα φρονήσεως μετέχει τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ἐγ-  
 151 γίνεται. καὶ μὴν τοῖς μὲν εἰς ἀσύλους τόπους  
 καταφεύγουσιν, ἐκ μόνων τῶν τόπων περιπεποιη-  
 μένοις ἀσφάλειαν, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀγωγίμοις  
 συμβέβηκε γίνεσθαι, δῶρων γυναικός, ἀδοξίας τέκ-  
 νων, ἔρωτος ἀπάτης, τοῖς δὲ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ εἰς  
 ἀκαθαίρετον καὶ ἐρυμνότατον τεῖχος ἀλογεῖν βλη-  
 μάτων, ὧν αἱ ἐφεδρεῖαι τῶν παθῶν βάλλουσι καὶ  
 152 τοξεύουσι. ταύτῃ τις πεφραγμένος τῇ δυνάμει  
 μετὰ παρρησίας ἂν εἴποι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς  
 τῶν τυχόντων ἀλίσκονται,

“ ἐγὼ δ' ἔμαντοῦ ” κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν “ καὶ  
 κλύειν ἐπίσταμαι,  
 ἄρχειν θ' ὁμοίως, τὰρετῇ σταθμώμενος  
 τὰ πάντα.”

- 153 λέγεται γοῦν ὁ Πριηνεὺς Βίας ἀπειλοῦντι Κροίσῳ  
 μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἀνταπειλήσαι ἐπεσθίειν τῶν  
 κρομμύων, αἰνιττόμενος τὸ κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ δάκρυα  
 154 κινεῖ ἢ κρομμύων βρῶσις. οὕτως οἱ σοφοὶ βασι-  
 λικώτερον οὐδὲν ἀρετῆς νομίζοντες, ἢ τοῦ βίου

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<sup>a</sup> The argument seems to be “bodily immunity may put the philosophical slave on an equal footing, but only spiritual freedom would give the superiority in discussion.” It would be clearer if *πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐλευθεροστομήσει ὁ σοφός* (a suggestion mentioned by Cohn) was inserted before *εἰ μὴ*, but it is not necessary.

<sup>b</sup> *φρονήσεως* has not been questioned, but seems to me

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 150-154

and high nobility.<sup>a</sup> It must be so, for who could be 150  
 so exceedingly unreasonable as to think that while  
 places produce courage and free speaking, this does  
 not extend to the most God-like thing existing,  
 virtue, through which both places and everything  
 else which participates in wisdom <sup>b</sup> acquires sanctity?  
 And indeed those who take refuge in sacrosanct 151  
 localities and owe their security to the localities only,  
 turn out to be in bondage to numberless other con-  
 siderations, such as a wife seduced by gifts,<sup>c</sup> children  
 fallen into disgrace, betrayal in love matters. But  
 those who take refuge in virtue, as in an indestruct-  
 ible and impregnable fortress, disregard the darts  
 and arrows aimed at them by the passions which  
 stalk them. Fortified by this power, a man may say 152  
 freely and boldly, "While all others are the victims  
 of chance circumstances, I can say with the tragic  
 poet :

Myself I can obey and can command.  
 I measure all things by the rule of virtue."<sup>d</sup>

Thus Bias of Priene is said to have retorted very dis- 153  
 dainfully to the threats of Croesus,<sup>e</sup> by bidding him  
 eat onions, a phrase which means "go weep," because  
 eating onions sets the tears running. In this spirit 154  
 the wise who hold that nothing is more royal than  
 virtue, the captain whom they serve as soldiers

hardly possible, at any rate if *τοῖς ἄλλοις* is retained. What  
 is wanted is something to indicate the sacrosanctity which  
 altars, vessels and the like share with sanctuaries (? *ὄσ' ἀφ-  
 ερρώσεως*).

<sup>c</sup> If this is the meaning. So Mangey "uxore corrupta,"  
 but the phrase seems strange.

<sup>d</sup> Source unknown, thought by Nauck to be Euripides.

<sup>e</sup> According to Diog. Laert. i. 83 it was said to Halyattes  
 the father of Croesus.

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παντὸς αὐτοῖς ταξιαρχεῖ, τὰς ἄλλων ἡγεμονίας ὡς  
 ὑπηκόων οὐ δεδίασι. παρ' ὃ τοὺς διχόνους καὶ  
 δολεροὺς ἅπασιν ὀνομάζειν ἔθος ἀνελευθέρους τε  
 155 καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς. ὅθεν κακείνα εὖ πεφώνηται·

“ οὐποτε δουλείῃ κεφαλὴ εὐθεία πέφυκεν,  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σκολιή, καυχένα λοξὸν ἔχει.”

τὸ γὰρ πλάγιον καὶ ποικίλον καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἦθος  
 ἀγενέστατον, ὥσπερ (εὐγενές) τὸ εὐθὺ καὶ ἀπλα-  
 στον καὶ ἀνύπουλον, λόγων βουλευμάσι καὶ βουλευ-  
 156 μάτων λόγοις συναδόντων. ἄξιον δὲ  
 καταγελᾶν τῶν ἐπειδὰν ἀπαλλαγῶσι δεσποτικῆς  
 κτήσεως ἐλευθερωθῆναι νομιζόντων· οἰκέται μὲν  
 γὰρ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως (ἄν) εἶεν οἳ γε ἀφειμένοι,  
 δούλοι δὲ καὶ μαστιγῖαι πάντες, ὑπακούοντες οὐκ  
 ἀνθρώπων—ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἦν τὸ δεινόν—, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τῶν ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀτιμοτάτων, ἀκράτου, λαχάνων,<sup>1</sup>  
 πεμμάτων,<sup>2</sup> ὅσα ἄλλα σιτοπόνων τε καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν  
 157 γούσι. ὁ γοῦν Διογένης ἰδὼν τινα τῶν λεγομένων  
 ἀπελευθέρων ἀβρυνόμενον καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῷ συν-  
 ηδομένους, θαυμάσας τὸ ἄλογον καὶ ἄκριτον,  
 “ ὅμοιον ” εἶπεν “ ὡς εἴ τις ἀνακηρύξειέ τινα τῶν  
 οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας εἶναι γραμματικὸν  
 [470] ἢ γεωμέτρην ἢ μουσικόν, οὐδ' | ὄναρ τῶν τεχνῶν

<sup>1</sup> Though Cohn does not notice it, something may be said for Mangey's suggestion of λαγάνων. λάχανα elsewhere, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, *De Prov.* 70, are associated with the frugal life.

<sup>2</sup> mss. σπερμάτων. The manuscripts here appear to be confused. In the same line where σιτοπόνων is printed, M has πεμμάτων, the others πομάτων or σπερμάτων repeated.

## EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 154–157

throughout their lives, do not fear the orders of others whom they regard as subordinates.<sup>a</sup> And so double-faced and shifty people are universally called servile and slavish. This same thought is well 155 expressed in another couplet :

A slave's head ne'er sits straight upon his shoulder  
But always crooked on a twisted neck.<sup>b</sup>

For the crooked, artificial, deceitful character is utterly ignoble, while the straight, simple and ingenuous, in which thoughts agree with words and words with thoughts, is noble. We may 156 well deride the folly of those who think that when they are released from the ownership of their masters they become free. Servants, indeed, they are no longer now that they have been dismissed, but slaves they are and of the vilest kind, not to men, which would not be so grievous, but to the least reputable of inanimate things, to strong drink, to pot-herbs, to baked meats and all the other preparations made by the elaborate skill of cooks and confectioners, to afflict the miserable belly. Thus Diogenes the cynic, 157 seeing one of the so-called freedmen pluming himself, while many heartily congratulated him, marvelled at the absence of reason and discernment. "A man might as well," he said, "proclaim that one of his servants became from this day a grammarian, a geometrician, or musician, when he has no idea whatever of the art." For as the proclamation cannot

<sup>a</sup> The logical connexion demanded by *παρ' δ* is not clear and Mangey may be right in supposing that something has been lost before this sentence. <sup>b</sup> Theognis, *El.* v. 535 f.

The correction *σιτοπόνων* is based on its frequent conjunction with *ὄψαρτυρίς*, e.g. *De Vit. Cont.* 53.

ἐψησθημένον.” ὡς γὰρ ἐπιστήμονας οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ κήρυγμα, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους—ἐπεὶ μακάριον ἦν τι—, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ οἰκέτας.

- 158 XXII. Ἀνελόντες οὖν τὴν κενὴν δόξαν, ἧς ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων ἀπηώρηται, καὶ ἀληθείας ἱερωτάτου κτήματος ἐρασθέντες μήτε τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀστοῖς πολιτείαν ἢ ἐλευθερίαν μήτε τοῖς οἰκότριβιν ἢ ἀργυρωνήτοις δουλείαν ἐπιφημίσωμεν, ἀλλὰ γένη καὶ δεσποτικὰ γράμματα καὶ συνόλως
- 159 σώματα παρελθόντες ψυχῆς φύσιν ἐρευνῶμεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαύνεται ἢ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς δελεάζεται ἢ φόβῳ ἐκκλίνει ἢ λύπη στέλλεται<sup>1</sup> ἢ ὑπ' ὀργῆς τραχηλίζεται, δουλοῖ μὲν αὐτήν, δούλον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα μυρίων δεσποτῶν ἀπεργάζεται· εἰ δὲ φρονήσει μὲν ἀμαθίαν, σωφροσύνη δ' ἀκολασίαν, δειλίαν δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ πλεονεξίαν δικαιοσύνη κατηγωνίσαστο, τῷ ἀδουλώτῳ καὶ τὸ ἀρχικὸν προσείλη-
- 160 φεν. ὅσαι δὲ μηδετέρας ἰδέας πῶ μετεσχήκασι, μήτε τῆς καταδουλουμένης μήτε δι' ἧς ἐλευθερία βεβαιοῦται, γυμναὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἔτι, καθάπερ αἱ τῶν κομιδῆ νηπίων, ταύτας τιθηνοκομητέον, ἐνστάζοντας<sup>2</sup> τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντὶ γάλακτος ἀπαλὰς τροφάς, τὰς διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ὑψηγήσεις, εἴτ' αὖθις κραταιοτέρας ὧν φιλοσοφία δημιουργός, ἐξ ὧν ἀνδρωθεῖσαι καὶ εὐεκτήσασαι πρὸς τέλος αἴσιον, οὐ Ζηνώνειον μᾶλλον ἢ πυθόχρηστον, ἀφίξονται, τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps with some mss. *συστέλλεται*. For the regular Stoic definition of *λύπη* as *ἄλογος συστολή* see *S. V. F.* iii. 391, 394. The same applies to *Mos.* ii. 139, where again the mss. are divided between *στελλούσης* and *συστελλούσης*.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *ἐνάττοντας* (*Μ* *προτάτων τὰς*).



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make them men of knowledge, so neither can it make them free, for that is a state of blessedness. It can only make them no longer servants.

XXII. Let us then do away with the idle fancy, to 158  
which the great mass of men feebly cling, and fixing  
our affections on that holiest of possessions, truth,  
refuse to ascribe citizenship or freedom to possessors  
of so-called civic rights, or slavery to servants, whether  
homebred or purchased, but dismissing questions of  
race and certificates of ownership and bodily matters  
in general, study the nature of the soul. For if the 159  
soul is driven by desire, or enticed by pleasure, or  
diverted<sup>a</sup> from its course by fear, or shrunk by grief,  
or helpless in the grip of anger, it enslaves itself and  
makes him whose soul it is a slave to a host of masters.  
But if it vanquishes ignorance with good sense, incon-  
tinence with self-control, cowardice with courage and  
covetousness with justice, it gains not only freedom  
from slavery but the gift of ruling as well. But souls 160  
which have as yet got nothing of either kind, neither  
that which enslaves, nor that which establishes free-  
dom, souls still naked like those of mere infants, must  
be tended and nursed by instilling first, in place of  
milk, the soft food of instruction given in the school  
subjects, later, the harder, stronger meat, which  
philosophy produces.<sup>b</sup> Reared by these to manhood  
and robustness, they will reach the happy consumma-  
tion which Zeno, or rather an oracle higher than  
Zeno, bids us seek, a life led agreeably to nature.

<sup>a</sup> This again like *στέλλεται* (see note 1) is a Stoic definition, *φόβος ἄλογος ἐκκλισις S. V. F.* iii. 391, 393.

<sup>b</sup> For this view of the part played by the Encycelia and Philosophy in education see *De Congressu, passim* and Gen. *Intro.* to vol. i. pp. xvi f.



ON THE CONTEMPLATIVE  
LIFE OR SUPPLIANTS  
(DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA)

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA*

This treatise is except for a few digressions a highly eulogistic account of an ascetic community known to Philo and settled near Alexandria. It is introduced as a counterpart to his description of the Essenes, whether that in *Quod Omnis Probus* 75-91 or perhaps more probably that in the *Hypothetica*, 11. 1-18, or possibly some third which has not survived. The Therapeutae are differentiated from the others in that while the Essenes exemplify the practical they represent the contemplative life. They do not have any active occupation or any custom of sharing houses or garments, nor do they even mess together except on special occasions. Another difference is that while the Essenes are exclusively male the Therapeutae admit women freely to such communal life as they have. On the other hand while the Essenes of course observe frugality there is no suggestion that they practised abstinence like the Therapeutae, who carried it to an extreme.

The treatise does not seem to me to rank high among the works of Philo; the subject is slight and gives little scope to the richness of thought which marks so much of the commentary and in a less degree the exposition of the Law. Historically it is perhaps of some importance as giving an account of

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## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

an institution with some of the marks of later monasticism for which we have no parallel either without or within the Judaism of the times. And the importance would be much greater if we could suppose that this Alexandrian community was of a type widespread through the world outside. The opening words of section 21 may at first suggest that this was so and the argument of Lucius who maintained that the treatise was spurious was primarily based on this assumption. The Therapeutae, he argued, are said by the author to have been found in many places ; if it were so we must have heard of them from other sources, and as we do not hear of them the whole thing must be a fiction. But I do not think that section 21 bears this meaning. This kind he says is found in many parts of the world, particularly in Egypt, and the best of them find a home in a certain spot which he proceeds to describe. But when we look back to find who this kind are it appears that they are religious enthusiasts who give up their property and family ties and go and live in solitude. That this type of character existed in Philo's time we might take for granted even if we did not have, abundant evidence in his own writings,<sup>a</sup> and it would not be surprising to find them occasionally organizing themselves into communities which would not necessarily attract much attention. Philo however does not assert that they ever did so except in the body which he glorifies in this treatise. Nor

<sup>a</sup> The natural tendency of the religious philosopher to cultivate solitude and avoid cities is several times referred to. See above in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 63, also *De Abr.* 22 f., *Spec. Leg.* ii. 44. So too the translators of the LXX "avoided the city," *Mos.* ii. 34. For the renunciation of property cf. *De Mut.* 32.

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does he tell us how numerous they were or how long they maintained themselves. If any inference is to be drawn from the absence of mention elsewhere it would be that this settlement was small and ephemeral.<sup>a</sup>

In fact it is neither the literary nor the philosophical value nor its historical importance which has made this treatise better known and more discussed than any other work of Philo. It owes its fame to the controversies which have raged round it since the fourth century. The thing began when Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17 discovered in the Therapeutae a picture of the first Christian converts. After noting the traditional evangelization of Alexandria by St. Mark, he declares that no one could possibly doubt that Philo was referring to the first generation of his converts.

<sup>a</sup> I venture to put forth a conjectural picture of what the situation may have been. The point which the critics ignore is that this account unlike anything else in Philo's works outside the historical treatises is an account of people who were or may well have been known to him personally. I suggest that this is the second half of a tract on a favourite antithesis of the practical and the contemplative life. The first half is neither the account of the Essenes given in the *Quod Omn. Prob.* nor that in the *Hypothetica*, but a third account which insisted on the practical aspect of the Essene community more strongly than either of the extant narratives. He wanted a counterpart showing the contemplative life and he had one ready to hand in a little settlement near his own home. This community was well known to him and he had for it a sincere admiration which made him shut his eyes to the considerations in *De Fuga* 36, that the contemplative life should begin when the aspirant has been thoroughly schooled in the practical. It was a pleasure to him to glorify in this way the friends whom Alexandrian society ignored. Naturally he did not foresee the use to which his narrative would be put by a Eusebius and a Lucius.

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In the renunciation of their property, their severe fasting, in the virginity of the women members, in their study of the scriptures including the writings of men of old which are clearly the gospels and apostolic writings and commentaries on the Old Testament such as Paul used—in their festal meetings which are a description of Easter celebrations, and the officials who manage these meetings in whom we may see bishops, priests and deacons, no one can possibly fail to see the first Christians. Nowadays it seems needless to argue that the theory has no foundation whatever. But it is easy to understand that the idea of finding in this Jewish philosopher an account of the life and worship of the early church, particularly in the great city whose evangelization is unnoticed in the New Testament, was very fascinating, and it is not surprising that it was strongly maintained by orthodox churchmen down to the 18th century. Hardly had it died out in the form sketched by Eusebius when it was revived in another form by two German scholars, Grätz and (more elaborately) Lucius in 1880. Eusebius had believed that Philo himself was in good faith describing the actual Christians of his time. Lucius supposed that some unknown writer at the end of the third century A.D. drew up an imaginary account of the monasticism of his own time which he put forth in Philo's name in order to commend it to readers, who impressed by the authority thus given to it would believe that it was a genuine picture of the primitive church. Somehow Lucius secured the approval not only of such distinguished historians as Schürer and Zeller but a formidable number of other distinguished scholars. But I find it difficult to understand how anyone who reads

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Conybeare's and Wendland's refutations side by side with Lucius's dissertation can believe it. I will not attempt to give more than a few main points. Lucius's strongest argument was the absolute silence elsewhere about the Therapeutae, and this might have weight if we understood the author to assert that communities like that of the Mareotic Lake were to be found everywhere through the Roman world. But as I have said above I see no need to make such a deduction. Lucius also declared that various practices mentioned had Christian parallels, a claim in some cases obviously absurd, in others I daresay justified. But it was necessary to his argument to show that these customs or practices were not only Christian but also non-Jewish and this, if the two writers I have mentioned are to be believed, is rarely if ever the case. (But the one great source of evidence on which a student of Philo not expert in Christian antiquities is entitled to give his opinion is the style and language. Here the evidence as shown not merely in thought but in vocabulary and phrasing seems to me quite beyond dispute.) The Testimonia printed by Conybeare at the foot of each page are overwhelming and with the additions made by Wendland demand at any rate a forger of extraordinary skill. They prove also that Lucius's study of Philo, as shown in what he considers to be an approximately correct list of the parallels in the treatise with the rest of Philo, was exceedingly inadequate. Whatever was the case when Lucius's argument was put forward sixty years ago, the tide of opinion has turned against it and rightly so far as I can judge.

The following is an analysis of the treatise :

He opens with saying that as a counterpart to the



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practical type represented by the Essenes he will describe the contemplative type which he calls Therapeutic. The name may originally mean healing but also worshipping, and this is the sense in which he further develops it (1-2). He compares this worship to the honour paid to other objects; the elements, the heavenly bodies and images are each reviewed and their inadequacy exposed (3-7), and this discussion ends with a scathing denunciation of the worst of all these false religions the Egyptian animal worship (8-9).

We now return to the Therapeutic type; their most essential characteristic is their mystical aspiration to reach the vision of the one God and this leads them to renounce all thoughts of private property (10-13). Philo praises them because in contrast to Anaxagoras and Democritus they do not let their property run to waste but give it over to friends and kinsmen while at the same time they gain leisure to devote themselves to the higher life (14-17). Free from these cares they leave behind them all family ties and seek solitude away from the corrupting influence of cities (18-20).

While the Therapeutic type in this wider sense is to be found in many parts of the Greek and Barbarian world, and particularly in Egypt, Philo declares that the best of them (in Egypt?) resort from every quarter to a particular spot near the Mareotic Lake, the climate and position of which he describes (21-23). The simple houses of these settlers each of them contain a room set apart for their meditations in which they study the Scriptures and devotional works from sunrise to sunset (24-26). At both times they pray and also compose hymns (27-29). This solitary life is

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relaxed somewhat on the Sabbath, when they meet in the synagogue where men and women sit in separate partitions and listen to a sermon (30-33). As to their diet, during the six days they eat nothing till sunset and even in some cases fast for three whole days or more, but on the Sabbath it is more generous, though then the food and drink are little more than bread and water (34-37) and this asceticism extends to their dress (38-39).

The ordinary Sabbath meeting does not seem to include a Symposium, but they have such a thing on occasions. But before giving an account of it Philo makes a digression which takes up about a quarter of the whole treatise, describing the pagan feasts with which he will contrast it. First he notes the savage violence and drunkenness which disfigure such feasts (40-47), secondly the extravagant luxury shown in the appurtenances, couches and drinking vessels and still more in the number, finery and beauty of the attendants (48-52), and the number and variety of the dishes with which the guests gorge themselves (53-56). Greek literature does include two Symposia of a more refined kind, those described by Xenophon and Plato. Yet even these are full of folly, and Philo can see little more in Plato's than the exaltation of pederasty which he takes the occasion to denounce (57-63). The rest of the treatise (64-90) describes in contrast to the above the festal meeting of the Therapeutae. First the date and occasion <sup>a</sup> (65); then the preliminaries and prayers, the seating in order of seniority in the community, with the sexes separate (66-69); then the nature of the couches used and the qualifications of the attendants who are

<sup>a</sup> See notes on § 65, p. 152.

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not slaves but young freemen<sup>a</sup> (69-72); the simplicity of the meal provided (73-74). After they have taken their places on the couches there follows a discourse by the President on some scriptural point bringing out the spiritual lessons that the literal text provides, which is received with all attention followed by applause at the end (75-79). The discourse is followed by hymns, the first sung by the President, the others by the congregation each in turn, while all join in the refrain at the end (80-81). Then at last the meal itself is served (82). After this the vigil begins, the men and women each form a choir, the two choirs sing and dance in turn and then join together (83-85), thus resembling the songs of Moses and Miriam after the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, which is once more told in some detail (85-87). This is continued till dawn when they stand up and face the east and at sunrise after prayer return each to their own prayer room (88-89). The concluding section sums up the virtues and blessedness of the Therapeutae (90).

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps novices in the community.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΒΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ Ἡ ΙΚΕΤΩΝ

(ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ)

[471]  
1 I. | Ἐσσαίων περί διαλεχθείς, οἱ τὸν πρακτικὸν ἐζήλωσαν καὶ διεπόνησαν βίον ἐν ἅπασιν ἢ—τὸ γοῦν φορητότερον<sup>1</sup> εἰπεῖν—τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι διενεγκόντες, αὐτίκα καὶ περὶ τῶν θεωρίαν ἀσπασαμένων ἀκολουθία τῆς πραγματείας ἐπόμενος τὰ προσήκοντα λέξω, μηδὲν οἴκοθεν ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτιῶσαι προστιθείς, ὃ δρᾶν ἔθος ἐν σπάνει καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἅπασι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ λογογράφοις, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς αὐτῆς περιεχόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, πρὸς ἣν οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν ἀπαγορεύσει. διαθλητέον δὲ ὅμως καὶ διαγωνιστέον· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς αἴτιον ἀφωνίας γενέσθαι τοῖς μηδὲν καλὸν  
2 ἡσυχάζεσθαι δικαιούσιν. ἢ δὲ προαίρεσις τῶν φιλοσόφων εὐθύς ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῆς προσρή-

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn with some mss. Conybeare with others ἀφορητότερον, which he says is certainly the true reading. The weight of authority is perhaps in its favour, but the explanation which he gives, viz. that the Essenes were so highly esteemed that the suggestion that they were not necessarily superior in every way would be unpalatable, does not seem natural.

## ON THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE OR SUPPLIANTS

(THE FOURTH PART CONCERNING THE VIRTUES)<sup>a</sup>

I. I have discussed the Essenes, who persistently pursued the active life and excelled in all or, to put it more moderately, in most of its departments. I will now proceed at once in accordance with the sequence required by the subject to say what is needed about those who embraced the life of contemplation. In doing so I will not add anything of my own procuring to improve upon the facts as is constantly done by poets and historians through lack of excellence in the lives and practices which they record, but shall adhere absolutely to the actual truth. Though I know that in this case it is such as to unnerve the greatest master of oratory, still we must persevere and not decline the conflict, for the magnitude of virtue shown by these men must not be allowed to tie the tongues of those who hold that nothing excellent should be passed over in silence.

The vocation<sup>b</sup> of these philosophers is at once made clear from their title of

<sup>a</sup> On the title and subtitle see App. p. 518.

<sup>b</sup> On *προαίρεσις* see App. p. 518.

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σεως· θεραπευταὶ γὰρ καὶ θεραπευτρίδες ἐτύμως  
καλοῦνται, ἧτοι παρόσον ἰατρικὴν ἐπαγγέλλονται  
κρείσσονα τῆς κατὰ πόλεις—ἢ μὲν γὰρ σώματα  
θεραπεύει μόνον, ἐκείνη δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς νόσοις κε-  
κρατημένας χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ δυσιάτοις, ἃς ἐγκατ-  
έσκηψαν<sup>1</sup> ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ λῦπαι καὶ φόβοι  
πλεονεξίαι τε καὶ ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ τὸ τῶν  
ἄλλων παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ἀνήνυτον πλήθος—ἢ  
[472] παρόσον ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων | ἐπαι-  
δεύθησαν θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, ὃ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κρείττον  
ἐστὶ καὶ ἐνὸς εἰλικρινέστερον καὶ μονάδος ἀρχε-  
3 γονώτερον. οἷς τίνας συγκρίνειν ἄξιον τῶν ἐπαγ-  
γελλομένων εὐσέβειαν; ἀρά γε τοὺς τὰ  
στοιχεῖα τιμῶντας, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, πῦρ; οἷς  
καὶ ἐπωνυμίας ἔθεντο ἑτέρας ἕτεροι, τὸ μὲν πῦρ  
"Ἡφαιστον παρὰ τὴν ἕξασιν, οἶμαι, καλοῦντες,  
"Ἡραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα παρὰ τὸ αἶρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρί-  
ζεσθαι πρὸς ὕψος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα τάχα  
που διὰ τὸ ποτόν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Δήμητραν, παρόσον  
μήτηρ εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων φυτῶν τε καὶ ζώων.  
4 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα σοφιστῶν ἐστὶν εὐρήματα,  
τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα ἄψυχος ὕλη καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀκίνητος,  
ὑποβεβλημένα τῷ τεχνίτῃ πρὸς ἀπάσας σχημάτων  
5 καὶ ποιότητων ιδέας. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> mss. κατέσκηψαν, which Conybeare retains, and attempts to justify. But the other examples of the simple verb in the index and almost all cited in Stephanus are intransitive.

<sup>a</sup> ἐτύμως = "in accordance with the meaning of the word from which the name is derived," in this case *θεραπεύω*. See on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73 (App. p. 512).

<sup>b</sup> For the distinction between the Monad and the One in Pythagoreanism see Zeller, *Presocratics* (Eng. trans.), vol. i.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 2-5

Therapeutae and Therapeutrides, a name derived<sup>a</sup> from *θεραπεύω*, either in the sense of "cure" because they profess an art of healing better than that current in the cities which cures only the bodies, while theirs treats also souls oppressed with grievous and well-nigh incurable diseases, inflicted by pleasures and desires and griefs and fears, by acts of covetousness, folly and injustice and the countless host of the other passions and vices : or else in the sense of "worship," because nature and the sacred laws have schooled them to worship the Self-existent who is better than the good, purer than the One and more primordial than the Monad.<sup>b</sup> Who among those who<sup>3</sup> profess piety deserve to be compared with these ?

Can we compare those who revere the elements, earth, water, air, fire, which have received different names from different peoples who call fire Hephaestus because it is kindled (*ἐξέπτω*), air Hera because it is lifted up (*αἴρω*) and exalted on high, water Poseidon perhaps because it is drunk (*ποτός*), and earth Demeter because it appears to be the mother of all plants and animals ?<sup>c</sup> Sophists have invented<sup>4</sup> these names for the elements but the elements themselves are lifeless matter incapable of movement of itself and laid by the Artificer as a substratum for every kind of shape and quality.

What of the worshippers of the bodies<sup>5</sup>

pp. 309 f. The upshot seems to be that generally speaking, while the Monad is opposed to the Dyad, being the "father" of numbers as the Dyad is the "mother," the One stands above all as representing Deity. Others however rank the Monad above the One, as perhaps Philo does here and in *De Praem.* 40, where he uses identical language.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Dec.* 54, vol. vii. p. 610, and further App. p. 519.

## PHILO

ἀποτελέσματα, ἥλιον, σελήνην ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας πλάνητας ἢ ἀπλανεῖς ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν τε καὶ κόσμον; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινος δημιουργοῦ τελειο-  
 6 τάτου τὴν ἐπιστήμην. ἀλλὰ τοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἡμι-  
 θεούς; ἢ τοῦτό γε καὶ χλεύης ἄξιον· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀθάνατός τε καὶ θνητὸς εἴη; δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τούτων γενέσεως ἐπίληπτον εἶναι, μεираκιώδους ἀκρασίας ἀνάπλεων, ἣν πολ-  
 μῶσιν οὐκ εὐαγῶς προσάπτειν ταῖς μακαρίαις καὶ θείαις δυνάμεσιν, εἰ γυναιξὶ θνηταῖς ἐπιμανέντες ὠμίλησαν οἱ παντὸς πάθους ἀμέτοχοι καὶ τρισ-  
 7 ευδαίμονες. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἀγάλματα; ὧν αἱ οὐσίαι λίθοι καὶ ξύλα, τὰ μεχρι πρὸ μικροῦ τελείως ἄμορφα, λιθοτόμων καὶ δρυο-  
 τόμων τῆς συμφυΐας αὐτὰ διακοψάντων, ὧν τὰ ἀδελφὰ μέρη καὶ συγγενῆ λουτροφόροι γεγόνασι καὶ ποδόνηπτρα καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα τῶν ἀτιμοτέρων, ἃ πρὸς τὰς ἐν σκότῳ χρείας ὑπηρετεῖ μάλλον ἢ  
 8 τὰς ἐν φωτί. τῶν μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἴγυ-  
 πτίοις οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι καλόν, οἱ ζῶα ἄλογα καὶ οὐχ ἡμερα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων τὰ ἀγριώτατα παραγήοχασιν εἰς θεῶν τιμὰς ἐξ ἐκάστου τῶν κάτω σελήνης, χερσαίων μὲν λέοντα, ἐνύδρων δὲ τὸν ἐγχώριον κροκόδειλον, ἀεροπόρων δὲ ἴκτινον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> As the construction with *τιμώντας* understood is continued in the next sentence, and in all the other examples the object of worship has the article prefixed, I should be inclined to read τοὺς <τοὺς> ἡμιθέους, unless we are to suppose that Philo would refuse such a collocation.



## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 5-8

framed from the elements,<sup>a</sup> sun, moon or the other stars fixed or wandering, or the whole heaven and universe? But these too were not brought into being self-made, but through an architect of most perfect knowledge. What of the worship of the 6  
demi-gods? Surely this is quite ridiculous. How could one and the same person be both mortal and immortal, to say nothing of the reproach attaching to the original source of their birth, tainted as it is with the licentiousness of wanton youth which they impiously dare to ascribe to the blissful and divine powers by supposing that the thrice blessed and exempt from every passion in their infatuation had intercourse with mortal women. What 7

of the worshippers of the different kinds of images? Their substance is wood and stone, till a short time ago completely shapeless, hewn away from their congenital structure by quarrymen and woodcutters while their brethren, pieces from the same original source, have become urns and foot-basins or some others of the less honourable vessels which serve the purposes of darkness rather than of light.

For as for the gods of the Egyptians 8  
it is hardly decent even to mention them. The Egyptians have promoted to divine honours irrational animals, not only of the tame sort but also beasts of the utmost savagery, drawn from each of the kinds found below the moon, from the creatures of the land the lion, from those of the water their indigenous crocodile, from the rangers of the air

<sup>a</sup> For the antithesis between the *στοιχεία* and *ἀποτελέσματα* cf. *Quis Rerum* 209 (among a series of opposite pairs *στοιχεία ἀποτελέσματα*), so also *ibid.* 226 and *Mos.* i. 96 τὰ στοιχεῖα . . . οἷς ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος.

- 9 τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἴβιν. καὶ ταῦτα ὀρώντες γεννώ-  
 μενα καὶ τροφῆς χρεῖαν ἔχοντα καὶ περὶ ἔδωδὴν  
 ἄπληστα καὶ μεστὰ περιπτωμάτων ἰοβόλα τε καὶ  
 ἀνθρωποβόρα καὶ νόσοις ἀλωτὰ παντοίαις καὶ οὐ  
 μόνον θανάτῳ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ βιαίῳ  
 πολλάκις διαφθειρόμενα προσκυνοῦσιν, οἱ ἡμεροὶ  
 τὰ ἀνήμερα καὶ ἀτίθασα καὶ οἱ λογικοὶ τὰ ἄλογα  
 καὶ οἱ συγγένειαν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ θεῖον τὰ μηδ'  
 [473] ἂν Θερσίτησι<sup>1</sup> | συγκριθέντα, οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ  
 δεσπόται τὰ ὑπήκοα φύσει καὶ δοῦλα.
- 10 II. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους  
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀναπιμπλάσι  
 φλυαρίας, ἀθεράπευτοι διατελείτῳσαν ὄψιν, τὴν  
 ἀναγκαιοτάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων, πεπηρωμένοι· λέγω  
 δὲ οὐ τὴν σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχῆς, ἣ τὸ ἀληθές  
 11 καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος μόνῃ γνωρίζεται. τὸ δὲ θεραπευ-  
 τικὸν γένος βλέπειν αἰεὶ προδιδασκόμενον<sup>2</sup> τῆς τοῦ  
 ὄντος θεᾶς ἐφέισθω καὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἥλιον ὑπερ-  
 βαινέτω καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν τάξιν ταύτην λειπέτω  
 12 πρὸς τελείαν ἄγουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ  
 θεραπείαν ἰόντες οὔτε ἐξ ἔθους οὔτε ἐκ παραι-  
 νέσεως ἢ παρακλήσεώς τινων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος  
 ἀρπασθέντες οὐρανίου, καθάπερ οἱ βακχεύομενοι  
 καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες, ἐνθουσιάζουσι μέχρις ἂν τὸ  
 13 ποθούμενον ἴδωσιν. εἶτα διὰ τὸν τῆς  
 ἀθανάτου καὶ μακαρίας ζωῆς ἡμερον τετελευτηκέναι

<sup>1</sup> So one mss. and the Armenian. The others *θηροί τισι*.  
 The use of the Ionic form of the dat. plur. is strange.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *προσδιδασκόμενον*.

<sup>a</sup> See note on "Egyptian animal worship" to *De Dec.* 77  
 (vol. vii. p. 610).

<sup>b</sup> *Il.* ii. 216 ff. Other examples of Thersites as a type of

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 9-13

the hawk and the Egyptian ibis.<sup>a</sup> And though they 9  
see these creatures brought to their birth, requiring  
food, eating voraciously, full of ordure, venomous  
too and man-eating, the prey of every sort of disease,  
and perishing not only by a natural but often by a  
violent death, they render worship to them, they  
the civilized to the uncivilized and untamed, the  
reasonable to the irrational, the kinsfolk of the God-  
head to ugliness unmatched even by a Thersites,<sup>b</sup> the  
rulers and masters to the naturally subservient and  
slavish.

II. These indeed, since they infect not only their 10  
own compatriots but the peoples in their neighbour-  
hood with their folly, must remain incurable, for they  
have lost the use of the most vital of the senses,  
sight. And by this I do not mean the sight of the  
body but of the soul, the sight which alone gives a  
knowledge of truth and falsehood. But it is well 11  
that the Therapeutae, a people always taught from  
the first to use their sight, should desire the vision  
of the Existent and soar above the sun of our senses  
and never leave their place in this company which  
carries them on to perfect happiness.<sup>c</sup> And those 12  
who set themselves to this service, not just following  
custom nor on the advice and admonition of others  
but carried away by a heaven-sent passion of love,  
remain rapt and possessed like bacchanals or cory-  
bants until they see the object of their yearning.

Then such is their longing for the death- 13

ugliness are cited by Conybeare and Cohn from Plutarch,  
Clement and Hippocrates.

<sup>c</sup> *τάξις* here seems to combine the common meaning of the  
post which the soldier holds with the idea of the company  
which he makes. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 46 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμείνωνος  
ἀγόμενον τάξεως.

## PHILO

νομίζοντες ἤδη τὸν θνητὸν βίον ἀπολείπουσι τὰς οὐσίας υἱοῖς ἢ θυγατράσιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοις συγγενέσιν, ἔκουσίω γνώμη προκληρονομούμενοι,<sup>1</sup> οἷς δὲ μὴ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν, ἑταίροις καὶ φίλοις· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαβόντας τὸν τυφλὸν παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς ἔτι τὰς διανοίας

14 τυφλώττουσιν. Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον Ἕλληνας ἄδουσιν, ὅτι φιλοσοφίας ἡμέρῳ πληχθέντες μηλοβότους εἶασαν γενέσθαι τὰς οὐσίας· ἄγαμαι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτὸς γενομένους χρημάτων κρείττονας. ἀλλὰ πόσῳ βελτίονες οἱ μὴ θρέμμασιν ἐμβόσκεισθαι τὰς κτήσεις ἀνέντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνθρώπων ἐνδείας, συγγενῶν ἢ φίλων, ἐπανορθωσάμενοι καὶ ἐξ ἀπόρων εὐπόρους ἀποφῆναντες; ἐκείνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπερίσκεπτον—ἵνα μὴ μανιῶδες ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐθαύμασεν, εἶπω τὸ ἔργον—, τοῦτο δὲ νηφάλιον καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως ἡκρι-

15 βωμένον περιττῆς. οἱ πολέμοι τί πλέον δρῶσιν ἢ κείρουσι καὶ δενδροτομοῦσι τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν, ἵνα σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεσθέντες ἐνδῶσι; τοῦτο οἱ περὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς ἀφ' αἵματος εἰργάσαντο χειροποίητον ἐνδειαν καὶ πενίαν αὐτοῖς κατασκευάσαντες, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἴσως, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ προιδέσθαι καὶ περιαθρῆσαι τὸ τοῖς

16 ἄλλοις συμφέρον. πόσῳ δὴ κρείττους οὗτοι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προσκληρονομούμενοι.

<sup>a</sup> The same story is told of Anaxagoras by Philo, *De Prov.*, Aucher, p. 52, and so Plut. *Pericles* 16 (τὴν χώραν ἀφήκεν ἄργον καὶ μηλόβοτον). Plato more vaguely says (*Hipp. Mai.* 283 A) that he wasted all his property. Diogenes Laertius on the other hand (ii. 6) that he gave it all over to his relations. Democritus is coupled with Anaxagoras in Cic.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 13-16

less and blessed life that thinking their mortal life already ended they abandon their property to their sons or daughters or to other kinsfolk, thus voluntarily advancing the time of their inheritance, while those who have no kinsfolk give them to comrades and friends. For it was right that those who have received ready to their hand the wealth that has eyes to see should surrender the blind wealth to those who are still blind in mind. The Greeks extol 14 Anaxagoras and Democritus because smitten with the desire for philosophy they left their fields to be devoured by sheep.<sup>a</sup> I too myself admire them for showing themselves superior to wealth, but how much better are these who did not let their estates serve as feeding-ground for cattle but made good the needs of men, their kinsfolk and friends, and so turned their indigence into affluence. Of the two actions the first was thoughtless, I might say mad, but that the persons concerned have the admiration of Greece, the second showed soberness and careful consideration and remarkable good sense. What 15 more does a hostile army do than cut the crops and hew the trees of their opponents' country to force them to surrender through lack of necessaries? This is what a Democritus did to his own blood-relations, inflicting on them poverty and indigence artificially created, not perhaps with mischievous intent but through lack of foresight and consideration for the interest of the others. How much better and 16

*Tusc. Disp.* v. 114 as abandoning his lands and patrimony, and so *Hor. Ep.* i. 12. 12 (*pecus edit agellos*). *μηλόβοτος* does not mean that they turned their cornland into pasturage, but that they allowed it to be overrun. In fact *μηλ.* is almost a synonym for *ἀργός*, with which it is coupled in the passage of Plutarch quoted here.

## PHILO

θαυμασιώτεροι, χρησάμενοι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττωσι ταῖς πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁρμαῖς, μεγαλόνοιαν δὲ ὀλιγωρίας προτιμήσαντες καὶ χαρισάμενοι τὰς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφθείραντες, ἵνα καὶ ἑτέρους καὶ ἑαυτοὺς [474] ὠφελήσωσι, | τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις περιουσίαις, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν; αἱ γὰρ χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων ἐπιμέλειαι τοὺς χρόνους<sup>1</sup> ἀναλίσκουσι· χρόνου δὲ φείδεσθαι καλόν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἰατρὸν Ἴπποκράτην “ὁ μὲν βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη 17 μακρῆ.” τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ “Ὀμηρος αἰνίζασθαι ἐν Ἰλιάδι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ῥαψωδίας διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν·

“ Μυσῶν τ’ ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἰππημολγῶν, γλακτοφάγων ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων,”

ὡς τῆς μὲν περὶ βίον σπουδῆς καὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀδικίαν γεννώσης διὰ τὸ ἄνισον, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας προαιρέσεως ἔνεκα ἰσότητος, καθ’ ἣν ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ὄρισταὶ καὶ παρενημερεῖ 18 τὸν ἐν ταῖς κεναῖς δόξαις. ὅταν οὖν

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. *χρωμένους*, which Conybeare adopts.

<sup>a</sup> ἵνα here is perhaps as often in Philo consecutive rather than final.

<sup>b</sup> The well-known opening aphorism of Hippocrates, though there ἡ τέχνη is *the art*, *i.e.* of medicine.

<sup>c</sup> It is certainly strange to find this exact reference. In the great majority of his references to Homer (of which the index, probably not exhaustively, gives over fifty) he does not indicate the source at all. Sometimes the quotation is definitely ascribed to ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν, and thrice at least elsewhere (*De Conf.* 4, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 31, *Legatio* 80) he mentions him by name. Perhaps this departure from the usual course is due to the nature of the quotation. It is not like most of them a notable or familiar phrase, but comes

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 16-17

more admirable are these who with no less ardour for the study of wisdom preferred magnanimity to negligence and gave away their possessions instead of wasting them, in this way<sup>a</sup> benefiting both others and themselves, others through supplying them with abundant resources, themselves through furthering the study of philosophy? For taking care of wealth and possessions consumes time and to economize time is an excellent thing since according to the physician Hippocrates "life is short but art is long."<sup>b</sup> The 17 same idea is suggested I think by Homer in the *Iliad* at the beginning of the thirteenth book in the lines<sup>c</sup>

The Mysians fighting hand to hand, and noble Mare's-  
milk-drinkers—  
Nought else but milk sustains their life,<sup>d</sup> these men of  
perfect justice.

The idea conveyed is that injustice is bred by anxious thought for the means of life and for money-making, justice by holding and following the opposite creed. The first entails inequality, the second equality, the principle by which nature's wealth is regulated and so stands superior to the wealth of vain opinion.<sup>e</sup>

from a passage which would not in itself attract attention, and only serves to bring out a connexion (*ἀβίος* with *δίκαιος*) which would not occur to most people. On the use of *ῥαψωδία* see App. p. 519.

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* xiii. 5, 6. 'Αβίων is by some taken to be a proper name, by others as = "having no fixed means of subsistence," *i.e.* nomads. Philo evidently takes it as an adjective meaning without *βίος* in the sense of means of life.

<sup>e</sup> See note on *De Virt.* 6, where "the wealth of nature," *i.e.* the simple means of living, bread and water, which are equally available to all, is distinguished from the "seeing wealth," *i.e.* the spiritual wealth of virtue and wisdom, though it is superior to the "blind wealth," here called the "wealth of vain opinion."

## PHILO

- ἐκστῶσι τῶν οὐσιῶν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι δελεαζόμενοι  
 φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καταλιπόντες ἀδελφούς,  
 τέκνα, γυναῖκας, γονεῖς, πολυανθρώπους συγ-  
 γενείας, φιλικὰς ἑταιρείας, τὰς πατρίδας, ἐν αἷς  
 ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύνηθες  
 19 ὄλκον καὶ δελεάσαι δυνατώτατον. μετοικίζονται  
 δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οἱ πρᾶσιν αἰτού-  
 μενοι παρὰ τῶν κεκτημένων ἀτυχεῖς ἢ κακόδουλο  
 δεσποτῶν ὑπαλλαγὴν, οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτοῖς  
 ἐκπορίζοντες—πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις, καὶ ἡ εὐνομωτάτη,  
 γέμει θορύβων καὶ ταραχῶν ἀμυθῆτων, ἃς οὐκ  
 20 ἂν ὑπομείναι τις ἄπαξ ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀχθεῖς—, ἀλλὰ  
 τειχῶν ἔξω ποιοῦνται τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν κήποις ἢ  
 μοναγρίαις ἐρημίαν μεταδιώκοντες, οὐ διὰ τινα  
 ὤμην ἐπιτετηδευμένην μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰς  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων τὸ ἦθος ἐπιμιξίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς  
 καὶ βλαβερὰς εἰδότες.
- 21 III. Πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τὸ  
 γένος—ἔδει γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον—, πλεονάζει δὲ ἐν  
 Αἰγύπτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων νόμων  
 22 καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. οἱ δὲ παντα-  
 χόθεν ἄριστοι καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα [θεραπευτῶν]  
 ἀποικίαν στέλλονται πρὸς τι χωρίον ἐπιτηδειό-  
 τατον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μαρείας κείμενον  
 ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χθαμαλωτέρου, σφόδρα εὐκαίρως,  
 23 ἀσφαλείας τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἀέρος εὐκρασίας. τὴν μὲν

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<sup>a</sup> Or as Conybeare translates it “ the intercourse with and influence from persons,” etc., to express the curious preposition instead of the usual πρὸς with accusative as e.g. *De*



## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 18-23

So when they have divested themselves 18  
of their possessions and have no longer ought to  
ensnare them they flee without a backward glance  
and leave their brothers, their children, their wives,  
their parents, the wide circle of their kinsfolk, the  
groups of friends around them, the fatherlands in  
which they were born and reared, since strong is the  
attraction of familiarity and very great its power to  
ensnare. And they do not migrate into another 19  
city like the unfortunate or worthless slaves who  
demand to be sold by their owners and so procure a  
change of masters but not freedom. For every city,  
even the best governed, is full of turmoils and dis-  
turbances innumerable which no one could endure  
who has ever been even once under the guidance of  
wisdom. Instead of this they pass their days out- 20  
side the walls pursuing solitude in gardens or lonely  
bits of country, not from any acquired habit of mis-  
anthropical bitterness but because they know how  
unprofitable and mischievous are associations with  
persons of dissimilar character.<sup>a</sup>

III. This kind exists in many places in the inhabited 21  
world, for perfect goodness must needs be shared  
both by Greeks and the world outside Greece, but it  
abounds in Egypt in each of the nomes as they are  
called and especially round Alexandria. But the 22  
best of these votaries journey from every side to  
settle in a certain very suitable place which they  
regard as their fatherland. This place is situated  
above the Mareotic Lake on a somewhat low-lying  
hill very happily placed both because of its security  
and the pleasantly tempered air. The safety is 23

*Dec. 127.* He suggests that ἐπιμυξία may carry with it the  
idea of contagion.

## PHILO

οὖν ἀσφάλειαν αἱ ἐν κύκλῳ παρέχουσιν ἐπαύλεις  
 [475] τε καὶ κῶμαι, | τὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα εὐκρασίαν  
 αἱ ἔκ τε τῆς λίμνης ἀνεστομωμένης εἰς τὴν θάλατ-  
 ταν καὶ τοῦ πελάγους ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἀναδιδόμεναι  
 συνεχεῖς αὖραι, λεπταὶ μὲν αἱ ἔκ τοῦ πελάγους,  
 παχεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης, ὧν ἡ μίξις ὑγιεινο-  
 24 τάτην κατάστασιν ἀπεργάζεται. αἱ δὲ  
 οἰκίαι τῶν συνεληλυθότων σφόδρα μὲν εὐτελεῖς  
 εἰσι, πρὸς δύο τὰ ἀναγκαϊότατα σκέπην παρ-  
 ἔχουσαι, πρὸς τε τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμὸν καὶ τὸν  
 ἀπ' ἀέρος κρυμὸν· οὔτε δὲ ἐγγύς, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς  
 ἄστεσιν,—ὄχληρόν γὰρ καὶ δυσάρεστον τοῖς ἐρημίαν  
 ἐζηλωκόσι καὶ μεταδιώκουσιν αἱ γειτνιασεις—οὔτε  
 πόρρω, δι' ἣν ἀσπάζονται κοινωνίαν καὶ ἴνα, εἰ  
 ληστῶν γένοιτο ἔφοδος, ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθῶσιν.  
 25 ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ ἔστιν οἴκημα ἱερόν, ὃ καλεῖται  
 σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ  
 σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται, μηδὲν εἰσκομί-  
 ζοντες, μὴ ποτόν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἄλλων  
 ὅσα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ  
 νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ  
 ὕμνους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια  
 26 συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται. αἶψα μὲν οὖν ἄληστον  
 ἔχουσι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμην, ὡς καὶ δι' ὄνειράτων  
 μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὰ κάλλη τῶν θείων ἀρετῶν καὶ  
 δυνάμεων φαντασιοῦσθαι· πολλοὶ γοῦν καὶ ἐκ-  
 λαλοῦσιν ἐν ὕπνοις ὄνειροπολούμενοι τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς  
 27 φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμα δόγματα. δις δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην  
 ἡμέραν εἰώθασιν εὐχεσθαι, περὶ τὴν ἔω καὶ περὶ  
 τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἡλίου μὲν ἀνίσχοντος εὐημερίαν  
 αἰτούμενοι τὴν ὄντως εὐημερίαν, φωτὸς οὐρανοῦ

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 23-27

secured by the farm buildings and villages round about and the pleasantness of the air by the continuous breezes which arise both from the lake which debouches into the sea and from the open sea hard by. For the sea breezes are light, the lake breezes close and the two combining together produce a most healthy condition of climate. The 24  
houses of the society thus collected are exceedingly simple, providing protection against two of the most pressing dangers, the fiery heat of the sun and the icy cold of the air. They are neither near together as in towns, since living at close quarters is troublesome and displeasing to people who are seeking to satisfy their desire for solitude, nor yet at a great distance because of the sense of fellowship which they cherish, and to render help to each other if robbers attack 25  
them. In each house there is a consecrated room 25 which is called a sanctuary or closet <sup>a</sup> and closeted in this they are initiated into the mysteries of the sanctified life. They take nothing into it, either drink or food or any other of the things necessary for the needs of the body, but laws and oracles delivered through the mouth of prophets, and psalms and anything <sup>b</sup> else which fosters and perfects knowledge and piety. They keep the memory of God alive and 26  
never forget it, so that even in their dreams the picture is nothing else but the loveliness of divine excellences and powers. Indeed many when asleep and dreaming give utterance to the glorious verities of their holy philosophy. Twice every day they 27  
pray, at dawn and at eventide ; at sunrise they pray for a fine bright day, fine and bright in the true sense

<sup>a</sup> For the word *μοναστήριον* see App. p. 519.

<sup>b</sup> Or "the other books" (of the O.T.). See App. p. 520.

## PHILO

τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀναπλησθῆναι, δυομένου δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ αἰσθητῶν ὄχλου παντελῶς ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν, ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς συνεδρίῳ καὶ βουλευτηρίῳ γενομένην, 28 ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ μέχρι ἑσπέρας διάστημα σύμπαν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἄσκησις· ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι φιλοσοφοῦσι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν<sup>1</sup> ἀλληγοροῦντες, ἐπειδὴ σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥητῆς ἐρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλουμένης.

29 ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγέται γενόμενοι πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγοροῦμένοις ἰδέας ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ τισὶν ἀρχε- [476] τύποις | χρώμενοι μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον· ὥστε οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἄσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν διὰ

<sup>1</sup> Conybeare νομοθεσίαν mainly on the authority of the Armenian.

<sup>a</sup> The translation takes φιλοσοφίαν as cognate accusative after φιλοσοφοῦσι as in *Mos.* ii. 216. Cf. *De Som.* i. 55 φιλοσόφῃσιν ἀναγκαιοτάτην . . . φιλοσοφίαν. But it may be governed by ἀλληγοροῦντες, cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 29.

<sup>b</sup> I understand ἐρμηνεία to be here used as elsewhere, e.g. *Quis Rerum* 108, in the technical rhetorical sense of the language in which the thought is expressed as opposed to the thought itself, and so with the synonymous λέξις or φράσις

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 27-29

of the heavenly daylight which they pray may fill their minds. At sunset they ask that the soul may be wholly relieved from the press of the senses and the objects of sense and sitting where she is consistency and council chamber to herself pursue the quest of truth. The interval between early morning 28 and evening is spent entirely in spiritual exercise. They read the Holy Scriptures and seek wisdom from their ancestral philosophy by taking it as an allegory,<sup>a</sup> since they think that the words of the literal text are symbols of something whose hidden nature is revealed by studying the underlying meaning.<sup>b</sup>

They have also writings of men of 29 old, the founders of their way of thinking, who left many memorials of the form<sup>c</sup> used in allegorical interpretation and these they take as a kind of archetype and imitate the method in which this principle is carried out.<sup>d</sup> And so they do not confine themselves to contemplation but also compose hymns and psalms

corresponding to the Latin elocutio. Conybeare gives "literal meaning." Lake (translating Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* where this passage is quoted) "literal interpretation." ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως may perhaps mean "a hidden natural (i.e. theological) truth," cf. again *Mos.* ii. 216 and note there and *De Abr.* 99.

<sup>a</sup> Conybeare "of the idea involved in allegory." But I do not think that Philo except when he is speaking Platonically used *ἰδέα* thus. Lake's "of the meaning allegorically expressed" is still farther away. *ἰδέα* is, I think, simply the form or kind of treatment which we find in allegory.

<sup>d</sup> The phrase τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον is obscure. Lake has "treatment" for προαιρ. But the word must suggest a motive or purpose. Conybeare "emulating the ideal of character traced out in them." I understand προαιρ. to mean the belief which inspired the allegorists that the scriptures were to be interpreted allegorically. Their successors emulated the method in which this principle was carried out.

## PHILO

παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν, ἃ ῥυθμοῖς σεμνο-  
τέροις ἀναγκαίως χαράττουσι.

- 30 Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας χωρὶς ἕκαστοι μονούμενοι  
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσι μοναστηρίοις φιλο-  
σοφοῦσι, τὴν αὐλειον οὐχ ὑπερβαίνοντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῦντες· ταῖς δὲ ἐβδόμαις συν-  
έρχονται καθάπερ εἰς κοινὸν σύλλογον καὶ καθ'  
ἡλικίαν ἐξῆς καθέζονται μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος  
σχήματος, εἴσω τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντες, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν  
μεταξὺ στέρνου καὶ γενείου, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον  
31 ὑπεσταλμένην παρὰ τῇ λαγόνι. παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ  
πρεσβύτατος καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἐμπειρότατος  
διαλέγεται, καθεστῶτι μὲν τῷ βλέμματι, καθ-  
εστῶσι δὲ τῇ φωνῇ, μετὰ λογισμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως,  
οὐ δεινότητα λόγων ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες ἢ οἱ νῦν  
σοφισταὶ παρεπιδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
νοήμασι διηρευνηκῶς καὶ διερμηνεύων ἀκρίβειαν,  
ἣτις οὐκ ἄκροισ ὡσὶν ἐφιλιάει, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀκοῆς  
ἐπὶ ψυχὴν ἔρχεται καὶ βεβαίως ἐπιμένει. καθ'  
ἡσυχίαν δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκροῶνται, τὸν ἔπαινον  
νεύμασιν ὄψεως ἢ κεφαλῆς παραδηλοῦντες αὐτὸ  
32 μόνον. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τοῦτο σεμνεῖον,  
εἰς ὃ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις συνέρχονται, διπλοῦς ἐστὶ  
περίβολος, ὃ μὲν εἰς ἀνδρῶνα, ὃ δὲ εἰς γυναικωνίτιν  
ἀποκριθεῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιῖκες ἐξ ἔθους συν-  
ακροῶνται τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν

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<sup>a</sup> Here again we have a doubtful phrase. Conybeare translates "which they write down in solemn rhythms as best they can," a meaning which ἀναγκαίως certainly bears in Philo and elsewhere. His explanation is that they could not engrave them on stone (hymns for worship seem to have been thus cut in stone) and so were fain to use papyrus.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 29-32

to God in all sorts of metres and melodies which they write down with the rhythms necessarily made more solemn.<sup>a</sup>

For six days they seek wisdom by themselves in 30 solitude in the closets mentioned above, never passing the outside door of the house or even getting a distant view of it. But every seventh day they meet together as for a general assembly and sit in order according to their age in the proper attitude, with their hands inside the robe, the right hand between the breast and the chin and the left withdrawn along the flank. Then the senior among them who 31 also has the fullest knowledge of the doctrines which they profess comes forward and with visage and voice alike quiet and composed gives a well-reasoned and wise discourse. He does not make an exhibition of clever rhetoric like the orators or sophists of to-day but follows careful examination by careful expression of the exact meaning of the thoughts, and this does not lodge just outside the ears of the audience but passes through the hearing into the soul and there stays securely. All the others sit still and listen showing their approval merely by their looks or nods.

This common sanctuary in which 32 they meet every seventh day is a double enclosure, one portion set apart for the use of the men, the other for the women. For women too regularly make part of the audience with the same ardour and the

Lake quite impossibly gives "arrange" for *χαράττοις*. Philo is clearly referring to the accepted division of music into metre, melody and rhythm, see note on *De Som.* i. 205 (vol. v. pp. 603 f.), and the suggestion made very tentatively in the translation is that it is the rhythm which gives the solemnity necessary for sacred music and that this was indicated by some notation.

## PHILO

- 33 ἔχουσαι. ὁ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν οἰκῶν τοίχος τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἐδάφους ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας πήχεις εἰς τὸ ἄνω συνωκοδόμηται θωρακίου τρόπον, τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τέγους ἀνάγειον ἀχανὲς ἀνεῖται, δυοῖν ἕνεκα, τοῦ τε τὴν πρέπουσαν αἰδῶ τῇ γυναικείᾳ φύσει διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἔχειν εὐμαρῆ καθεζομένας ἐν ἐπηκόῳ, μηδενὸς τὴν τοῦ διαλεγομένου φωνὴν ἐμποδίζοντος.
- 34 IV. Ἐγκράτειαν δὲ ὡσπερ τιὰ θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλόμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετάς. σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἄξιον φωτὸς κρίνουσιν εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας, ὅθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν,
- 35 ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχὺ τι μέρος ἔνειμαν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομιμνήσκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλείων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυται· τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιώμενοι πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγούσης, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχειν καὶ μόλις δι' ἕξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἐθισθέντες ὡσπερ φασι τὸ τῶν τεττίγων
- [477] | γένος ἀέρι τρέφεσθαι, τῆς ὠδῆς, ὡς γε οἶμαι, τὴν
- 36 ἔνδειαν ἐξευμαριζούσης. τὴν δὲ ἐβδόμην πανιέρων τινα καὶ πανέορτον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἐξαιρέτου γέρως ἡξιώκασιν, ἐν ἣ μετὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπι-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 8. Here Philo follows Plato more definitely. See *Phaedrus* 259 c τὸ τεττίγων γένος . . . γέρας



## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 33-36

same sense of their calling. The wall between the 33  
two chambers rises up from the ground to three or  
four cubits built in the form of a breast work, while  
the space above up to the roof is left open. This  
arrangement serves two purposes; the modesty  
becoming to the female sex is preserved, while the  
women sitting within ear-shot can easily follow what  
is said since there is nothing to obstruct the voice  
of the speaker.

IV. They lay self-control to be as it were the foun- 34  
dation of their soul and on it build the other virtues.  
None of them would put food or drink to his lips  
before sunset since they hold that philosophy finds  
its right place in the light, the needs of the body in  
the darkness, and therefore they assign the day to  
the one and some small part of the night to the other.  
Some in whom the desire for studying wisdom is  
more deeply implanted even only after three days  
remember to take food. Others so luxuriate and 35  
delight in the banquet of truths which wisdom richly  
and lavishly supplies that they hold out for twice  
that time and only after six days do they bring them-  
selves to taste such sustenance as is absolutely neces-  
sary. They have become habituated to abstinence  
like the grasshoppers<sup>a</sup> who are said to live on air  
because, I suppose, their singing makes their lack  
of food a light matter. But to the seventh day as 36  
they consider it to be sacred and festal in the highest  
degree they have awarded special privileges as its  
due, and on it after providing for the soul refresh

*τοῦτο παρὰ Μουσῶν λαβόν, μηδὲν τροφῆς δεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰτόν τε  
καὶ ἄποτον εὐθὺς γινόμενον ἄδειν, ἕως ἂν τελευτήσῃ.* The idea  
that the grasshopper needs no food except air (or more  
frequently dew) goes back to Hesiod, *Shield* 395 ff. *τέττιξ*  
. . . *ῶτε πόσις καὶ βρώσις θηλὺς ἔέρση.*

## PHILO

μέλειαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα λιπαίνουσιν, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει  
καὶ τὰ θρέμματα τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων ἀνιέντες.  
37 σιτοῦνται δὲ πολυτελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ἄρτον εὐτελεῖ,  
καὶ ὄψον ἄλες, οὓς οἱ ἀβροδιαῖοι παραρτύουσιν  
ὑσσώπῳ, ποτὸν δὲ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν·  
ἄς γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐπέστησε τῷ θνητῷ γένει δεσποίνας,  
πεινάν τε καὶ δίψαν, ἀπομειλίσσονται, τῶν εἰς  
κολακείαν ἐπιφέροντες οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα,  
ᾧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ ἔστι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐσθίουσι μὲν,  
ὥστε μὴ πεινῆν, πίνουσι δέ, ὥστε μὴ διψῆν,  
πλησμονῆν ὡς ἐχθρόν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον ψυχῆς τε  
38 καὶ σώματος ἐκτρεπόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ  
σκέπης διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἐσθῆς, τὸ δὲ οἰκία,  
περὶ μὲν οἰκίας εἴρηται πρότερον, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀκαλ-  
λώπιστος καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος, πρὸς τὸ χρειώδες αὐτὸ  
μόνον εἰργασμένη· καὶ ἐσθῆς δὲ ὁμοίως εὐτελε-  
στάτη, πρὸς ἀλέξημα κρυμοῦ τε καὶ θάλπους,  
χλαῖνα μὲν ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup> λασίου δορᾶς παχεῖα χειμῶνος,  
39 ἐξωμῖς δὲ θέρους ἢ ὀθόνη.<sup>2</sup> συνόλως γὰρ ἀσκοῦσιν

<sup>1</sup> ἀντὶ Conybeare with the majority of mss. See note b.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ ὀθόνη Conybeare. See note c.

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<sup>a</sup> Conybeare translates "they anoint the body, releasing it just as you might the lower animals from the long spell of toil." But neither anointing in the literal sense nor rest from labour for the Therapeutae themselves suits the context, which is concerned with the general abstemiousness in food and mild relaxation on the sabbath. The sense I have given to *λιπαίνω* is much the same as in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 74, where it is applied to relieving the hard condition of the needy by charity. The point of *ἀμέλει*, as I have taken it, is that the release of the cattle from labour on the sabbath is a duty recognized by everybody. But see App. p. 520.

<sup>b</sup> Conybeare's reading, ἀντὶ for ἀπὸ which certainly seems

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 36-39

the body also, which they do as a matter of course with the cattle too by releasing them from their continuous labour.<sup>a</sup> Still they eat nothing costly, 37 only common bread with salt for a relish flavoured further by the daintier with hyssop, and their drink is spring water. For as nature has set hunger and thirst as mistresses over mortal kind they propitiate them without using anything to curry favour but only such things as are actually needed and without which life cannot be maintained. Therefore they eat enough to keep from hunger and drink enough to keep from thirst but abhor surfeiting as a malignant enemy both to soul and body. As for 38

the two forms of shelter, clothes and housing, we have already said that the house is unembellished and a makeshift constructed for utility only. Their clothing likewise is the most inexpensive, enough to protect them against extreme cold and heat, a thick coat of shaggy skin<sup>b</sup> in winter and in summer a vest or linen shirt.<sup>c</sup> For they practise an all-round 39

to have the better ms. authority, is based by him, as stated in a long and interesting note, on the general belief that linen was more sacred than any substance which was the produce of animals—an idea stated by Philo himself in several places, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* i. 84. The chief objection seems to be that *χλαῖνα* would have to be understood as = “linen garment,” whereas such evidence as I have seen goes to show that it was frequently, if not usually, made of wool, and wool was as unclean as skin.

<sup>c</sup> Conybeare, reading *ῆ* for *ῆ̄*, translates “a smock without sleeves, the linen coat namely.” He says that *ῆ̄* does not make sense, meaning apparently that as any garment made of linen would be an *ὀθόνη*, it could not be an alternative to the *ἕξωμῖς*. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, the *χλαῖνα* is coupled with the *ὀθόνη*, and in *Hyp.* 11. 12 with the *ἕξωμῖς* as simple garments for winter and summer respectively. This perhaps supports his view.

## PHILO

ἀτυφίαν, εἰδότες τύφον<sup>1</sup> μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους ἀρχήν, ἀτυφίαν δὲ ἀληθείας, ἐκάτερον δὲ πηγῆς λόγον ἔχον· ρέουσι γὰρ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους αἱ πολύτροποι τῶν κακῶν ἰδέαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ περιουσίαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων.

- 40 V. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἰλαρωτέρας ἐν συμποσίοις διαγωγὰς εἰπεῖν, ἀντιτάξας τὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμπόσια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἄκρατον ἐμφορήσωνται, καθάπερ οὐκ οἶνον πίνοντες ἀλλὰ παρακινηματικόν τι καὶ μανιώδες καὶ εἴ τι χαλεπώτερον ἐπ' ἐκστάσει λογισμοῦ φυσικόν,<sup>2</sup> κράζουσι<sup>3</sup> καὶ λυττώσι τρόπον κυνῶν ἀτιθάσων καὶ ἐπανιστάμενοι δάκνουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποτρῶγουσι ῥίνας, ὦτα, δακτύλους, ἕτερα ἅπτα μέρη τοῦ σώματος, ὡς τὸν ἐπὶ Κύκλωπος καὶ τῶν Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐταίρων μῦθον ἀποδεδειχέναι τούτους ἀληθῆ, “ψωμούς,” ἧ φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ἐπεσθίοντας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὠμότερον ἢ ἐκείνος.
- 41 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς ὑποτοπήσας ἠμύνετο, οἱ δὲ συνήθεις καὶ φίλους, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐφ' ἄλων καὶ τραπέζης, ἄσπονδα ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐργασά-

<sup>1</sup> The mss. reverse the case of the nouns *τύφου* . . . *ψεύδος* . . . *ἀτυφίας* . . . *ἀλήθειαν*. The correction, which is supported by the Latin version and is accepted by both Cohn and Conybeare, makes better sense. Both (*i.e.* *τύφος* and *ἀτυφία*) lead respectively to the falsehood and truth, from which flow evil and good, and may therefore be regarded (*λόγον ἔχει*) as a *πηγή*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read *φυσικὸν* (*φάρμακον*). See note *b*.

<sup>3</sup> So Conybeare with some authorities. Cohn with mss. *ἀράσσοισι*.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 39-41

simplicity knowing that its opposite, vanity,<sup>a</sup> is the source of falsehood as simplicity is of truth, and that both play the part of a fountain head of other things, since from falsehood flow the manifold forms of evil and from truth abundant streams of goodness both human and divine.

V. I wish also to speak of their common assemblages 40 and the cheerfulness of their convivial meals as contrasted with those of other people. Some people when they have filled themselves with strong drink behave as though they had drunk not wine but some witch's potion<sup>b</sup> charged with frenzy and madness and anything more fatal that can be imagined to overthrow their reason. They bellow and rave like wild dogs, attack and bite each other and gnaw off noses, ears, fingers and some other parts of the body,<sup>c</sup> so that they make good the story of the comrades of Odysseus and the Cyclops by eating "gobbets"<sup>d</sup> of men, as the poet says, and with greater cruelty than the Cyclops. For he avenged himself on men whom 41 he suspected to be enemies, they on their familiars and friends and sometimes even on their kin over the salt and across the board, and as they pour the

rather than as Conybeare (pride?). See note on *De Virt.* 17 (vol. viii. pp. 440 f.).

<sup>b</sup> This must be the meaning if the word is right. But there is no really parallel use of the word at any rate without some explanatory noun. τὰ φυσικά found in the *Geoponica* (? date) is stated by Stephanus not to bear this meaning. φυσικὸν φάρμακον, to which the Armenian is said to point, is quoted from Alexander Trallianus (? sixth century A.D.).

<sup>c</sup> For this and other points in this description cf. *De Plant.*

160.

<sup>d</sup> *Od.* ix. 373—

φάρυγος δ' ἐξέσσυτο οἶνος  
ψωμοί τ' ἀνδρόμοι.

## PHILO

μενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅμοια καὶ  
 παρακόπτοντες ὥσπερ νόμισμα δόκιμον ἄσκησιν,  
 οἱ ἀντὶ ἀθλητῶν ἄθλιοι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπι-  
 42 φημιστέον. ἂ γὰρ νήφοντες ἐν σταδίοις ἐκεῖνοι  
 θεαταῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς Πανέλλησι μεθ' ἡμέραν |  
 [478] ἔνεκα νίκης καὶ στεφάνων [Ὀλυμπιονίκαι]<sup>1</sup> σὺν  
 τέχνῃ δρῶσιν, οὗτοι κιβδηλεύοντες ἐπὶ συμποσίων  
 νύκτωρ ἐν σκότῳ (καὶ) μεθύοντες, ἐμπαροινούντες,  
 ἀνεπιστημόνως καὶ κακοτέχνως ἐπ' ἀτιμία καὶ  
 ὕβρει καὶ αἰκία χαλεπῇ τῶν ὑπομενόντων ἐνερ-  
 43 γούσιν. εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς οἷα βραβευτῆς παρελθὼν  
 μέσος διαλύσειε, μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας κατα-  
 παλαίουσι, φονῶντες ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ θανατῶντες·  
 πάσχουσι γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττονα ὧν διατιθέασιν, ὅπερ<sup>2</sup>  
 οὐκ ἴσασι, παραπαίοντες οἱ τὸν οἶνον οὐχ, ὡς ὁ  
 κωμικός φησιν, ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν πλησίον αὐτὸ μόνον  
 44 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ πίνειν ὑπομένοντες. τοι-  
 γαροῦν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ παρελθόντες εἰς τὰ συμπόσια  
 σῶοι καὶ φίλοι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξίασιν ἐχθροὶ καὶ  
 τὰ σώματα ἠκρωτηριασμένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν συνηγόρων  
 καὶ δικαστῶν, οἱ δὲ καταπλαστῶν καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ  
 45 τῆς ὑπὸ τούτων δέονται βοήθειας. ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν  
 μετρωτέρων δοκούντων εἶναι συμποτῶν ὥσπερ  
 μανδραγόραν τὸν ἄκρατον πίνοντες ὑπερβεβλύκασι<sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ τὸν εὐάνυμον ἀγκῶνα προβαλόντες καὶ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Bracketed by Cohn on the grounds that it is omitted by the Latin. The word is not very appropriate here as we are talking of competitors rather than victors, and it may well be a gloss, but these are doubtful reasons. If, as Cohn thinks, the Armenian points to Ὀλυμπίων or Ὀλυμπιακῶν, I should prefer to read one of them.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἄπερ. Here again Cohn's correction seems doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ὑποβεβλύκασι

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 41-45

libation of peace they commit deeds of war<sup>a</sup> like those of the gymnastic contests, counterfeiting the genuine coin of manly exercise, no wrestlers but wretches, for that is the right name to give them. For what 42 the athletes do in the arena while sober, in the daylight, with the eyes of all Greece upon them, in the hope of victory and the crown and in the exercise of their skill, are debased by the revellers who ply their activities in convivial gatherings by night and in darkness, drink-besotted, ignorant and skilful only for mischief to inflict dishonour, insult and grievous outrage on the objects of their assault. And if no 43 one plays the umpire and comes forward to intervene and separate them they carry on the bout with increased licence to the finish, ready both to kill and to be killed. For they suffer no less than what they mete to others though they know it not, so infatuated are these who shrink not from drinking wine, as the comic poet says, to mar not only their neighbours but themselves.<sup>b</sup> And so those who but 44 now came to the party sound in body and friendly at heart leave soon afterwards in enmity and with bodily mutilation,—enmity in some cases calling for advocates and judges, mutilation in others requiring the apothecary and physician and the help that they can bring. Others belonging to what we may 45 suppose is the more moderate part of the company are in a state of overflow. Draughts of strong wine act upon them like mandragora, they throw the left

<sup>a</sup> Or as Conybeare "whom in the midst of peace they treat implacably." But *σπονδαί* carries with it the sense of "libation" as well as "truce." Cf. the same phrase though in a different connexion in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 96, where see note.

<sup>b</sup> Source unknown.

## PHILO

- αὐχένα ἐγκάρσιον ἐπιστρέφαντες, ἐνερευγόμενοι  
 ταῖς κύλιξιν, ὕπνω βαθεῖ πιέζονται, μηδὲν μῆτε  
 ἰδόντες μῆτε ἀκούσαντες, ὡς μίαν μόνην ἔχοντες  
 46 αἰσθησιν, τὴν ἀνδραποδωδεσάτην γεῦσιν. οἶδα  
 δέ τινας, [οἱ] ἐπειδὴν ἀκροθώρακες γένωνται, πρὶν  
 τελέως βαπτισθῆναι, τὸν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν πότον  
 ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως καὶ συμβολῶν προευτρεπιζομένους,  
 μέρος ὑπολαμβάνοντας τῆς ἐν χερσὶν εὐφροσύνης  
 εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον μέθης ἐλπίδα.
- 47 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαζῶντες ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι  
 διατελοῦσιν, ἐχθροὶ μὲν γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ  
 τέκνων, ἐχθροὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, πολέμιοι δὲ  
 καὶ ἑαυτῶν· ὑγρὸς γὰρ καὶ ἄσωτος βίος ἅπασιν  
 ἐπίβουλος.
- 48 VI. Ἴσως δ' ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο τὴν ἐπιπολά-  
 ζουσαν νυνὶ τῶν συμποσιῶν πανταχοῦ διάθεσιν  
 κατὰ πόθον τῆς Ἰταλικῆς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφῆς,  
 ἣν ἐζήλωσαν Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι πρὸς  
 ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ποιούμενοι τὰς  
 49 παρασκευάς. τρίκλινα τε καὶ πολύκλινα<sup>1</sup> χελώνης  
 ἢ ἐλέφαντος κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τιμαλφεστέρας  
 ὕλης, ὧν τὰ πλείστα λιθοκόλλητα· στρωμναὶ  
 ἀλουργεῖς ἐνυφασμένου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀνθοβαφεῖς  
 ἕτεραι παντοίων χρωμάτων πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὄψεως  
 ἐπαγωγόν· ἐκπωμάτων πλήθος ἐκτεταγμένων καθ'  
 ἕκαστον εἶδος, ῥυτὰ γὰρ καὶ φιάλαι καὶ κύλικες  
 καὶ ἕτερα πολυειδῆ τεχνικώτατα θηρίκλεια καὶ  
 50 τορεῖαις ἐπιστημονικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἠκριβωμένα. δια-  
 [479] κονικὰ ἀνδράποδα εὐμορφότατα | καὶ περικαλ-  
 λέστατα, ὡς ἀφιγμένα οὐχ ὑπηρεσίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον  
 ἢ τοῦ φανέντα τὴν τῶν θεωμένων ὄψιν ἠδῦναι·



## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 45-50

elbow forward, turn the neck at a right angle, belch into the cups and sink into a profound sleep, seeing nothing and hearing nothing, having apparently only one sense and that the most slavish, taste. I know 46 of some who when they are half-seas-over and before they have completely gone under arrange donations and subscriptions in preparation for to-morrow's bout, considering that one factor in their present exhilaration is the hope of future intoxication. In this way 47 they spend their whole life ever heartless and homeless, enemies to their parents, their wives and their children, enemies too to their country and at war with themselves. For a loose and a dissolute life is a menace to all.

VI. Some perhaps may approve the method of 48 banqueting now prevalent everywhere through hankering for the Italian expensiveness and luxury emulated both by Greek and non-Greeks who make their arrangements for ostentation rather than festivity. Sets of three or many couches<sup>a</sup> made of 49 tortoise shell or ivory or even more valuable material, most of them inlaid with precious stones; coverlets purple-dyed with gold interwoven, others brocaded with flower patterns of all sorts of colours to allure the eye; a host of drinking cups set out in their several kinds, beakers, stoops, tankards, other goblets of many shapes, very artistically and elaborately chased by scientific craftsmen. For waiting there are slaves 50 of the utmost comeliness and beauty, giving the idea that they have come not so much to render service as to give pleasure to the eyes of the beholders by

<sup>a</sup> For *τρίκλινα* see App. p. 521. The mss. *περίκλινα* would mean "couches round the table."

<sup>1</sup> So the Armenian. mss. *περίκλινα*. See note *a*.

## PHILO

- τούτων οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἔτι ὄντες οἰνοχοοῦσιν, ὕδροφοροῦσι δὲ βούπαιδες λελουμένοι καὶ λελειασμένοι, <οἱ> τά τε πρόσωπα ἐντρίβονται καὶ ὑπογράφονται καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας εὖ πως διαπλέκονται
- 51 σφηκούμενοι· βαθυχαῖται γάρ εἰσιν ἢ μὴ κειρόμενοι τὸ παράπαν ἢ τὰς προμετωπιδίους αὐτὸ μόνον ἐξ ἄκρων εἰς ἐπανίσωσιν καὶ γραμμῆς κυκλοτεροῦς ἠκριβωμένον σχῆμα· χιτῶνάς τε ἀραχνοῦφείς καὶ ἐκλεύκους ἐπαναζωσάμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἐμπρόσθια κατωτέρω τῶν ὑπὸ γόνυ<sup>1</sup> τὰ δὲ κατόπιν μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς γονατίοις, ἐκάτερον δὲ μέρος οὐλοτέραις ταῖς σειραίαις ἐπιδιπλώσεισι κατὰ τὴν τῶν χιτωνίσκων συμβολὴν συστέλλοντες ἐκ πλαγίων κόλπους ἀπαιωροῦσιν, εὐρύνοντες τὰ κοῖλα τῶν πλευρῶν.
- 52 ἐφεδρεύουσι δ' ἄλλοι, μειράκια πρωτογένεια,<sup>2</sup> τοὺς ἰούλους ἄρτι ἀνθοῦντες, ἀθύρματα πρὸ μικροῦ παιδεραστῶν γεγονότες, ἠσκημένοι σφόδρα περιέργως πρὸς τὰς βαρυτέρας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπίδειξις ἐστιατόρων εὐπορίας, ὡς ἴσασιν<sup>3</sup> οἱ χρώμενοι, ὡς
- 53 δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, ἀπειροκαλίας.<sup>4</sup> πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> Cohn in both editions prints γόνου, which I think must be a mere misprint. Not only is such a form unknown, but Conybeare who prints γόνυ (as Mangey) gives no sign that there is any variation in the mss.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn inserts ἢ after μειράκια, citing *De Cher.* 114, and *Hypothetica* 11. 3, in both of which we have μειράκια distinguished from the πρωτογένειοι. He does not seem to observe that this would involve changing πρωτογένεια to πρωτογένειοι. At least I do not see how the neuter could be defended.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps correct to φασιν, but see note e.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἀπειροκαλία.

<sup>a</sup> Conybeare translates "trimmed off equally all round, in a neatly bevelled curved line."

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 50-53

appearing on the scene. Some of them who are still boys pour the wine, while the water is carried by full-grown lads fresh from the bath and smooth shaven, with their faces smeared with cosmetics and paint under the eyelids and the hair of the head prettily plaited and tightly bound. For they have 51 long thick hair which is not cut at all or else the forelocks only are cut at the tips to make them level and take exactly the figure of a circular line.<sup>a</sup> They wear tunics fine as cobwebs and of dazzling white girt high up ; the front part hangs below the under knee, the back part a little below the back of the knee and they draw together each part with curly bows of ribbon along the line of join of the tunics and then let the folds dangle down obliquely, broadening out the hollows along the sides.<sup>b</sup> In the 52 background<sup>c</sup> are others, grown lads newly bearded with the down just blooming on their cheeks, recently pets of the pederasts, elaborately<sup>d</sup> dressed up for the heavier services, a proof of the opulence of the hosts as those who employ them know, but in reality of their bad taste.<sup>e</sup> Besides there are the varieties 53

<sup>b</sup> This sentence has been transcribed bodily from Conybeare's "provisional rendering" in his commentary. I do not profess to understand clearly either the Greek or the English. The revision given in his translation somewhat later does not differ materially except that *οὐλοτέραις ταῖς σειραίαις ἐπιδιπλώσει* is rendered "with bows of twisted ribbons doubled over."

<sup>c</sup> Or "waiting in relays."

<sup>d</sup> Or perhaps "over elaborately" (considering the kind of work they have to do).

<sup>e</sup> *φασιν* or *νομίζουσιν* (as Mangey) would certainly be more natural, but perhaps no alteration is required, or if any, *ἀληθέστερον* for *ἀληθές*. It is not denied that opulence is displayed. What the guests do not know is that it is bad taste.

## PHILO

δὲ τούτοις αἱ περμμάτων καὶ ὄψων καὶ ἡδυσμάτων  
 ποικιλίαι, περὶ ἃ σιτοπόνοι καὶ ὄψαρτυταὶ πο-  
 νοῦνται, φροντίζοντες οὐ γεῦσιν, ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἦν, ἡδῦναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄψιν τῇ καθαριότητι.  
 \* \* \* τοὺς αὐχένας ἐν κύκλῳ περιάγοντες τοῖς  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μυκτῆρσι περιλιχνεύουσι, τοῖς  
 μὲν τὰς εὐσαρκίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τοῖς δὲ τὴν  
 ἀναδιδομένην κνίσαν. εἶτα ὅταν ἀμφοτέρων, ὄψεων  
 τε καὶ ὄσμων, γένωνται διακορεῖς, ἐσθίειν κε-  
 λεύουσιν, ἐπαινέσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγα τὴν παρασκευὴν  
 54 καὶ τὸν ἐστιάτορα τῆς πολυτελείας. ἐπτὰ γοῦν  
 καὶ πλείους εἰσκομίζονται τράπεζαι, πλήρεις ἀπάν-  
 των ὅσα γῆ τε καὶ θάλαττα καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἀῆρ  
 φέρουσιν ἔκλογα πάντα καὶ εὐσαρκα, χερσαίων,  
 ἐνύδρων, ἀεροπόρων, ὧν ἐκάστη διαλλάσσει καὶ  
 ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς παραρτύσεσιν. ὑπὲρ  
 δὲ τοῦ μηδὲν εἶδος ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει,  
 τελευταῖαι τῶν ἀκροδρύων εἰσκομίζονται γέμουσαι,  
 δίχα τῶν εἰς τοὺς κώμους καὶ τὰς λεγομένας  
 55 ἐπιδειπνίδας. εἶτα αἱ μὲν ἐκκομίζονται κεναὶ διὰ  
 τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπληστίαν, οἱ τρόπον αἰθιυῶν  
 ἐμφορούμενοι κατοψοφαγοῦσιν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ τῶν  
 ὀστέων ἐπεντραγεῖν, τὰς δὲ λωβήσαντες καὶ  
 σπαράξαντες ἡμιβρώτους ἐῶσιν. ὅταν δὲ τελέως  
 ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὰς μὲν γαστέρας ἄχρι φαρυγγῶν  
 πεπληρωμένοι, κενοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας,  
 56 ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὰς ἐδωδάς, \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ τι

<sup>1</sup> I have printed §§ 53-55 according to Cohn's text, though I do not feel certain that the transposition which he makes is correct. His theory is that originally after *καθαριότητι* in § 53 stood something like *οἱ γοῦν παρελθόντες ἐς τὰ συμπόσια* and that § 55 ended with something like *πρὸς τὸν πότον τρέπονται*. Somehow in the mss. § 53 f. got transferred to

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 53-56

of baked meats, savoury dishes and seasonings produced by the labour of cooks and confectioners who are careful to please not merely the taste as they are bound to do but also the sight by the elegance of the viands. (The assembled guests) turn their necks round and round, greedily eyeing the richness and abundance of the meat and nosing the steamy odour which arises from it. When they have had their fill of both seeing and smelling they give the word to fall to with many a compliment to the entertainment and the munificence of the entertainer. Seven tables at the least and even more are brought 54 in covered with the flesh of every creature that land, sea and rivers or air produce, beast, fish or bird, all choice and in fine condition, each table differing in the dishes served and the method of seasoning. And, that nothing to be found in nature should be unrepresented, the last tables brought in are loaded with fruits, not including those reserved for the drinking bouts and the after-dinners as they call them. Then while some tables are taken out 55 emptied by the gluttony of the company who gorge themselves like cormorants,<sup>a</sup> so voraciously that they nibble even at the bones, other tables have their dishes mangled and torn and left half eaten. And when they are quite exhausted, their bellies crammed up to the gullets, but their lust still ravenous, impotent for eating (they turn to the drink). But 56

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 113 (vol. viii. p. 434).

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after § 55, and then the words *πρὸς τὸν πότον τρέπονται. οἱ γούνη παρελθόντες ἐς τὰ συμπόσια* fell out. This is what we find in the mss. According to this the guests having gorged themselves with food turn their necks round, gaze and sniff at the food, and then urge others to eat. Who are these

## PHILO

ταῦτα προσήκε μηκύνειν, ἃ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἤδη τῶν μετριωτέρων καταγινώσκειται προσαναρρηγνύντα τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ὧν ἡ μείωσις ὠφέλιμον; εὐξαίτο [480] γὰρ ἂν τις τὰ ἀπευκταιότατα, | πεινᾶν τε καὶ δίψαν, <μᾶλλον> ἢ τὴν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις εὐωχίαις ἄφθονον σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν περιουσίαν.

- 57 VII. Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμποσίων τὰ περιβόητα καὶ σημειωδέστατα δύο ταῦτά ἐστιν, οἷς καὶ Σωκράτης παρετύγχανε· τὸ μὲν ἐν Καλλίου, ἡνίκα στεφανωθέντος Αὐτολύκου τὰ ἐπινίκια εἰστία,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἀγάθωνος, ἃ καὶ μνήμης ἠξίωσαν ἄνδρες τά τε ἦθθη καὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλόσοφοι, Ξενοφῶν τε καὶ Πλάτων· ἀνεγράψαντο γὰρ ὡς ἀξιομνημόνευτα, οἷς ὑπετόπασαν χρῆσεσθαι παραδείγμασι τοὺς ἔπειτα τῆς ἐν συμποσίοις ἐμμελοῦς διαγωγῆς.
- 58 ἄλλ' ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα συγκρινόμενα τοῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων, οἳ τὸν θεωρητικὸν ἠσπᾶσαντο βίον, γέλως ἀναφανεῖται. ἡδονὰς μὲν οὖν ἔχει ἐκάτερον, ἀνθρωπικώτερον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ Ξενοφῶντος· αὐλητρίδες τε καὶ ὄρχησται καὶ θαυματοποιοὶ καὶ ποιηταὶ γελοίων ἐπὶ τῷ σκῶψαι καὶ χαριεντίζασθαι μέγα φρονούντες εἰσὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλα<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἰλαρω-
- 59 τέραις ἀνέσειςι. τὸ δὲ Πλατωνικὸν ὄλον

others? The picture is barely intelligible, and undoubtedly Cohn's order gives a better sense. On the other hand to postulate first the transposition and then the omission of some ten words seems drastic, particularly as, so far as I can see, their retention would not have made worse nonsense. Conybeare translates the manuscript version without apparently finding anything very incongruous.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἰσιτῆα, which Conybeare retains and perhaps is

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 56-59

why dilate on these doings which are now condemned by many of the more sober minded as giving further vent to the lusts which might profitably be curtailed? For one may well pray for what men most pray to escape, hunger and thirst, rather than for the lavish profusion of food and drink found in festivities of this kind.

VII. Among the banquets held in Greece there are two celebrated and highly notable examples, namely those in which Socrates took part, one held in the house of Callias and given by him in honour of the victory in which Autolycus won the crown, the other in the house of Agathon. That these deserve to be remembered was the judgement of men whose character and discourses showed them to be philosophers, Xenophon and Plato, who described them as worthy to be recorded, surmising that they would serve to posterity as models of the happily conducted banquet. Yet even these if compared with those of our people who embrace the contemplative life will appear as matters for derision. Pleasure is an element in both, but Xenophon's banquet is more concerned with ordinary humanity. There are flute girls, dancers, jugglers, fun-makers, proud of their gift of jesting and facetiousness, and other accompaniments of more unrestrained merry-making.<sup>a</sup> In Plato's banquet the talk is

<sup>a</sup> See Xen. *Symp.* ii. 1 ff. See App. p. 521.

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not impossible, but the active with the host as subject and the occasion as a cognate accusative agrees with the ordinary usage.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. φρονούντες· εἰσὶ τινα καὶ ἄλλα. Cohn's objection to this is not stated, but presumably is to the plural verb with neuter plural noun; but see note on *De Virt.* 78 (vol. viii. p. 445).

## PHILO

- σχεδόν ἐστι περὶ ἔρωτος, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν γυναιξὶν ἐπιμανέντων ἢ γυναικῶν ἀνδράσιν αὐτὸ μόνον— ὑποτελοῦσι γὰρ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι αὐται νόμοις φύσεως—, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν ἄρρεσιν ἡλικία μόνον διαφέρουσι· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι περὶ ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης οὐρανίου κεκομφεῦσθαι δοκεῖ, χάριν ἀστεϊσμοῦ παρείληπται.
- 60 τὸ γὰρ πλείστον αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁ κοινὸς καὶ πάνδημος ἔρως διείληφεν, ἀνδρείαν μὲν, τὴν βιωφελεστάτην ἀρετὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην, ἀφαιρούμενος, θήλειαν δὲ νόσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐναπεργαζόμενος καὶ ἀνδρογύνους κατασκευάζων, οὓς ἐχρῆν πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιτηδεύμασι συγκροτεῖσθαι.
- 61 λυμηνάμενος δὲ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ εἰς ἔρως τῆς τάξιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀγαγὼν ἐξημίωσε καὶ τοὺς ἔραστὰς περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ οὐσίαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦ παιδεραστοῦ τὸν μὲν νοῦν τετάσθαι πρὸς τὰ παιδικά, πρὸς ταῦτα μόνον ὀξύδορκούντα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινὰ τυφλούμενον, (τὸ δὲ σῶμα) ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἀποτυγχάνοιτο, συντήκεσθαι, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν ἐλαττοῦσθαι διχόθεν, ἔκ τε ἀμελείας καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀναλωμάτων.
- 62 παραφύεται δὲ καὶ μείζον ἄλλο πάνδημον κακόν· ἔρημίαν γὰρ πόλεων καὶ σπάνιν τοῦ ἀρίστου γένους ἀνθρώπων καὶ στείρωσιν καὶ ἀγωνίαν τεχνάζονται, οἱ μιμοῦνται τοὺς ἀνεπιστήμονας τῆς γεωργίας,
- [481] σπείροντες ἀντὶ τῆς | βαθυγείου πεδιάδος ὑφάλμους ἀρούρας ἢ λιθώδη καὶ ἀπόκροτα χωρία, ἃ πρὸς τῷ

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "paying tribute to," and therefore under their protection.



## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 59-62

almost entirely concerned with love, not merely with the love-sickness of men for women, or women for men, passions recognized <sup>a</sup> by the laws of nature, but of men for other males differing from them only in age. For, if we find some clever subtlety dealing apparently with the heavenly Love and Aphrodite, it is brought in to give a touch of humour. The <sup>60</sup> chief part is taken up by the common vulgar love <sup>b</sup> which robs men of the courage which is the virtue most valuable for the life both of peace and war, sets up the disease of effeminacy in their souls and turns into a hybrid of man and woman those who should have been disciplined in all the practices which make for valour. And having wrought havoc <sup>61</sup> with the years of boyhood and reduced the boy to the grade and condition of a girl besieged by a lover it inflicts damage on the lovers also in three most essential respects, their bodies, their souls and their property. For the mind of the lover is necessarily set towards his darling and its sight is keen for him only, blind to all other interests, private and public; his body wastes away through desire, particularly if his suit is unsuccessful, while his property is diminished by two causes, neglect and expenditure on his beloved. As a side growth we have another greater <sup>62</sup> evil of national importance. Cities are desolated, the best kind of men become scarce, sterility and childlessness ensue through the devices of these who imitate men who have no knowledge of husbandry by sowing not in the deep soil of the lowland but in briny fields and stony and stubborn places, which

<sup>b</sup> Philo here identifies Plato's πάνδημος ἔρως with pederasty. On that and other points in his estimate of the *Symposium* see App. p. 521. For similar denunciations of the evil cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 37 ff. and *De Abr.* 135 ff.

## PHILO

μηδὲν πεφυκέναι βλαστάνειν καὶ τὰ καταβληθέντα  
63 φθείρει σπέρματα. σιωπῶ τὰ τῶν μύθων

πλάσματα καὶ τοὺς δισωμάτους, οἱ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
προσφύντες ἀλλήλοις ἐνωτικάις<sup>1</sup> δυνάμεσιν αὐθις  
οἶα μέρη συνεληλυθότα διεζεύχθησαν, τῆς ἀρμονίας  
ὑφ' ἧς συνείχοντο λυθείσης· εὐπαράγωγα γὰρ ταῦτα  
πάντα, δυνάμενα τῇ καινότητι τῆς ἐπινοίας τὰ  
ὄντα δελεάζειν· ὧν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος οἱ  
Μωυσέως γνώριμοι, μεμαθηκότες ἐκ πρώτης  
ἡλικίας ἐρᾶν ἀληθείας, καταφρονοῦσιν ἀνεξαπάτητοι  
διατελοῦντες.

64 VIII. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ διωνομασμένα συμπόσια  
τοιαύτης μεστὰ φλυαρίας ἐστίν, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντα  
τὸν ἔλεγχον, εἴ τις μὴ πρὸς δόξας καὶ τὴν δια-  
δοθεῖσαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς δὴ πάνυ κατωρθωμένων  
φήμην ἐθελήσειεν ἀφορᾶν, ἀντιτάξω <τὰ> τῶν  
ἀνατεθεικότων τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιστήμη  
καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων κατὰ τὰς  
τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως ἱερωτάτας ὑφηγήσεις.

<sup>1</sup> Most mss. ἐρωτικάις, which might at first sight be defended by the statement of the teller of the fable, that it is told to show the δύναμις ἔρωτος. But the words do not apply to this earlier but to the later part of the fable and the phrase δυνάμεις ἐνωτικάί occurs in *De Plant.* 89.

<sup>a</sup> Philo is perhaps thinking of Plato, *Laws* 838 e, where the same practice is described as sowing in rocks and stones.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 62-65

not only give no possibility for anything to grow but even destroy the seed deposited within them.<sup>a</sup>

I pass over the mythical stories of the 63 double-bodied men who were originally brought by unifying forces into cohesion with each other and afterwards came asunder, as an assemblage of separate parts might do when the bond of union which brought them together was loosened.<sup>b</sup> All these are seductive enough, calculated by the novelty of the notion to beguile the ear, but the disciples of Moses trained from their earliest years to love the truth regard them with supreme<sup>c</sup> contempt and continue undeceived.

VIII. But since the story of these well-known 64 banquets is full of such follies and they stand self-convicted in the eyes of any who do not regard conventional opinions and the widely circulated report which declares them to have been all that they should be, I will describe in contrast the festal meetings of those who have dedicated their own life<sup>d</sup> and themselves to knowledge and the contemplation of the verities of nature, following the truly sacred instructions of the prophet Moses. First of all these 65

He has used much the same language of mating with barren women in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 34.

<sup>b</sup> The allusion is to the combination of men and women, the original third sex, set forth by Aristophanes in *Symp.* 189 D-190.

<sup>c</sup> Conybeare "from a lofty vantage ground." The phrase is a favourite of Philo's for equalling "with plenty to spare." Sometimes it is contrasted with ἴσος as in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 149 and *Flacc.* 126, or is coupled with κρατεῖν or νικᾶν as in *De Agr.* 112 and *De Post.* 161 (so in *De Aet.* 80 πολλῆ τιμι περιουσίᾳ). In other cases it seems to intensify an action or create a superlative. So *Mos.* i. 93 and ii. 75 and so, I think, here.

<sup>d</sup> So, I think, rather than "means of livelihood" (Conybeare).

## PHILO

65 οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθροίζονται δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπλήν ἑβδομάδα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τεθηπότες· ἀγνήν γὰρ καὶ ἀειπάρθενον αὐτὴν ἴσασι. ἔστι δὲ προέορτος μεγίστης ἑορτῆς, ἣν πεντηκοντὰς ἔλαχεν, ἀγιώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος ἀριθμῶν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου δυνάμεως, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως,

66 συσταθεῖς. ἔπειδὰν οὖν συνέλθωσι λευχειμονοῦντες φαιδροὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω σεμνότητος, ὑποσημαίνοντός τινος τῶν ἐφημερευτῶν—οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζειν ἔθος τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑπηρεσίαις—, πρὸ τῆς κατακλίσεως στάντες ἐξῆς κατὰ στοίχον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰς τε ὄψεις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες, τὰς μὲν ἔπειδὴ τὰ θέας ἄξια καθορᾶν ἐπαιδευθήσαν, τὰς δὲ ὅτι καθαραὶ λημμάτων εἰσὶν ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν μαινόμεναι, προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμῆρη γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντῆσαι

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<sup>a</sup> I believe with Conybeare that this refers to the feast of Pentecost. But Philo writes carelessly when he omits to tell us from what time the seven weeks are calculated. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 176 he has stated that they are calculated from the "Sheaf," the festival on the second (?) day after the passover, and presumably he means the same here. But Conybeare is too severe when he scolds Lucius for supposing δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδ. to mean "every seven weeks." Since at present we have only heard of minor meetings every week, that would be the natural meaning. Wendland indeed takes it so. See App. p. 522 on this and the meaning of πρῶτον μὲν, which Conybeare translates "for the first time."

<sup>b</sup> We are naturally surprised to see Pentecost rather than the Passover called the chief feast, but see App. p. 523.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primal right-angled triangle and  $3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2 = 50$ . See the full explanation in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 176 and *Mos.* ii. 80, and the notes thereon.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 65-66

people assemble after seven sets of seven days<sup>a</sup> have passed, for they revere not only the simple seven but its square also, since they know its chastity and perpetual virginity. This is the eve of the chief<sup>b</sup> feast which Fifty takes for its own, Fifty the most sacred of numbers and the most deeply rooted in nature, being formed from the square of the right-angled triangle which is the source from which the universe springs.<sup>c</sup>

So then they assemble, white-<sup>66</sup>robed and with faces in which cheerfulness is combined with the utmost seriousness, but before they recline, at a signal from a member of the Rota,<sup>d</sup> which is the name commonly given to those who perform these services, they take their stand in a regular line in an orderly way, their eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, eyes because they have been trained to fix their gaze on things worthy of contemplation, hands in token that they are clean from gain-taking and not defiled through any cause<sup>e</sup> of the profit-making kind. So standing they pray to God that their feasting may be acceptable and pro-

<sup>a</sup> Conybeare considers that these *ἑφημερευταί* are the same as the *πρόεδροι* mentioned later and quotes an inscription of A. D. 174 *ἑφημερεύοντος Πανσανίου προέδρου* in minutes of a *βουλή* in Tyre. But the word in itself merely suggests duties performed in rotation, and *ὑπηρεσίαις* points to what we should describe as a sidesman rather than an officiating minister.

<sup>e</sup> Conybeare "pretence." But Philo often uses the word in a way hardly distinguishable from "cause." So *e.g.* the eyesight is damaged *μικρᾶς ἔνεκα προφάσεως* *Spec. Leg.* iv. 200 and the firstborn in Egypt suddenly perish *ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως* *Mos.* i. 135. If the word differs at all from *αἰτία*, it is that it indicates not the absolute cause, but what people may consider to be the cause. So perhaps here "anything that might be regarded as a money-making business."

## PHILO

- 67 τὴν εὐωχίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατακλίνονται ταῖς εἰσκρίσεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες· πρεσβυτέρους δὲ οὐ τοὺς πολυτεεῖς καὶ πολιοῦς<sup>1</sup> νομίζουσιν ἀλλ' ἔτι κομιδῇ νέους παῖδας,<sup>2</sup> ἂν ὀψὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐρασθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς [482] ἐκ πρώτης | ἡλικίας ἐνηβήσαντας καὶ ἐνακμάσαντας τῷ θεωρητικῷ μέρει φιλοσοφίας, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστον 68 καὶ θειότατόν ἐστι. συνεστιῶνται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες, ὧν πλείσται γηραιαὶ παρθένοι, τὴν ἀγνείαν οὐκ ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ ἔναι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἱερειῶν, διαφυλάξασαι μᾶλλον ἢ καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ἧ συμβιοῦν σπουδάσασαι τῶν περὶ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἡλόγησαν, οὐ θνητῶν ἐκγόνων ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθεῖσαι, ἃ μόνη τίκτειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οἷα τέ ἐστιν ἡ θεοφιλῆς ψυχὴ, σπείραντος εἰς αὐτὴν ἀκτῖνας νοητὰς τοῦ πατρός, αἷς δυνήσεται θεωρεῖν τὰ σοφίας δόγματα.
- 69 IX. διανενέμηται δὲ ἡ κατάκλισις χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ δεξιά, χωρὶς δὲ γυναῖξιν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα. μὴ πού τις<sup>3</sup> ὑπολαμβάνει στρωμνὰς, εἰ καὶ οὐ πολυτελεῖς, ἀλλ' οὖν μαλακωτέρας ἀνθρώποις εὐγενέσι καὶ ἀστείοις καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀσκηταῖς εὐτρεπίσθαι; στιβάδες γάρ εἰσιν εἰκαιότερας ὕλης, ἐφ' ὧν<sup>4</sup> εὐτελῆ πάνυ χαμαίστρωτα παπύρου τῆς ἐγχωρίου, μικρὸν ὑπερέχοντα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἵνα ἐπερείδωιντο· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Λακωνικὴν σκληραγωγίαν ὑπανιᾶσιν, αἰεὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐλευθέριον εὐκολίαν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> mss. παλαίους.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' . . . παῖδας are bracketed by Cohn. The only reason given in the footnote, that they are omitted in the Armenian, seems hardly sufficient. But see App. p. 523.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ἡ πού τις or εἰ πού τις.

<sup>4</sup> mss. ἀφ' ὧν.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 67-69

ceed as He would have it. After the 67  
prayers the seniors recline according to the order of  
their admission, since by senior they do not under-  
stand the aged and grey headed who are regarded  
as still mere children if they have only in late years  
come to love this rule of life, but those who from  
their earliest years have grown to manhood and spent  
their prime in pursuing the contemplative branch of  
philosophy, which indeed is the noblest and most  
god-like part. The feast is shared by women also, 68  
most of them aged virgins, who have kept their  
chastity not under compulsion, like some of the Greek  
priestesses, but of their own free will in their ardent  
yearning for wisdom. Eager to have her for their  
life mate they have spurned the pleasures of the body  
and desire no mortal offspring but those immortal  
children which only the soul that is dear to God can  
bring to the birth unaided<sup>a</sup> because the Father has  
sown in her spiritual rays enabling her to behold  
the verities of wisdom.

IX. The order of 69  
reclining is so apportioned that the men sit by them-  
selves on the right and the women by themselves  
on the left. Perhaps it may be thought that couches  
though not costly still of a softer kind would have  
been provided for people of good birth and high  
character and trained practice in philosophy.  
Actually they are plank beds of the common kinds  
of wood, covered with quite cheap strewings of native  
papyrus, raised slightly at the arms to give something  
to lean on. For while they mitigate somewhat the  
harsh austerity of Sparta, they always and every-

<sup>a</sup> The thought may be "without needing the midwife's skill" (τέχνη μαιευτική). So at least in a very similar passage, *De Mig.* 142.

## PHILO

τηδεύουσιν, ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς ἡδονῆς φίλτροις ἀπ-  
 70 εχθόμενοι. διακονοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνδραπόδων,  
 ἡγούμενοι συνόλως τὴν θεραπόντων κτήσιν εἶναι  
 παρὰ φύσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ἅπαντας γε-  
 γέννηκεν, αἱ δὲ τινων ἀδικίαι καὶ πλεονεξίαι ζηλω-  
 σάντων τὴν ἀρχέκακον ἀνισότητα καταζεύξασαι  
 τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις κράτος τοῖς δυνατωτέροις  
 71 ἀνῆψαν. ἐν δὴ τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ συμποσίῳ δοῦλος  
 μὲν ὡς ἔφην οὐδεὶς, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ ὑπηρετοῦσι, τὰς  
 διακονικὰς χρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες οὐ πρὸς βίαν οὐδὲ  
 προστάξεις ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλ' ἐθελουσίῳ γνώμη  
 φθάνοντες μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τὰς ἐπικε-  
 72 λεύσεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ἐλεύθεροι τάττονται  
 πρὸς ταῖς ὑπουργίαις ταύταις, ἀλλ' οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐν  
 τῷ συστήματι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀριστίνδην  
 ἐπικριθέντες, ὃν χρῆ τρόπον ἀστείου καὶ εὐγενεῖς  
 πρὸς ἄκραν ἀρετὴν ἐπειγομένους· οἱ καθάπερ υἱοὶ  
 γνήσιοι φιλοτίμως ἄσμενοι πατράσι καὶ μητράσιν  
 ὑπουργοῦσι, κοινούς αὐτῶν γονεῖς νομίζοντες οἰκειο-  
 τέρους τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος, εἴ γε καλοκαγαθίας οὐδὲν  
 οἰκειότερόν ἐστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν· ἄζωστοι δὲ  
 καὶ καθειμένοι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους εἰσίσαιν ὑπηρε-  
 [483] τήσοντες, | ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν εἰδῶλον ἐπιφέρεσθαι  
 73 δουλοπρεποῦς σχήματος. εἰς τοῦτο τὸ  
 συμπόσιον—οἶδ' ὅτι γελάσσονται τινες ἀκούσαντες,  
 γελάσσονται δὲ οἱ κλαυθμῶν καὶ θρήνων ἄξια  
 δρῶντες—οἶνος ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις οὐκ εἰσκο-  
 μίζεται, ἀλλὰ διαυγέστατον ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸν μὲν τοῖς

<sup>a</sup> On this use of γνήσιος see *Quod Omn. Prob.* 87.



## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 69-73

where practise a frugal contentment worthy of the free, and oppose with might and main the love-lures of pleasure. They do not have slaves to wait upon 70 them as they consider that the ownership of servants is entirely against nature. For nature has borne all men to be free, but the wrongful and covetous acts of some who pursued that source of evil, inequality, have imposed their yoke and invested the stronger with power over the weaker. In this sacred banquet 71 there is as I have said no slave, but the services are rendered by free men who perform their tasks as attendants not under compulsion nor yet waiting for orders, but with deliberate goodwill anticipating eagerly and zealously the demands that may be made. For it is not just any free men who are appointed 72 for these offices but young members of the association chosen with all care for their special merit who as becomes their good character and nobility are pressing on to reach the summit of virtue. They give their services gladly and proudly like sons to their real fathers and mothers,<sup>a</sup> judging them to be the parents of them all in common, in a closer affinity than that of blood, since to the right minded there is no closer tie than noble living. And they come in to do their office ungirt and with tunics hanging down, that in their appearance there may be no shadow of anything to suggest the slave. In this 73 banquet—I know that some will laugh at this, but only those whose actions call for tears and lamentation—no wine is brought during those days<sup>b</sup> but only water of the brightest and clearest, cold for most

<sup>b</sup> Not to be taken as implying that the wine would be used on other occasions, which is negatived by *νηφάλια βιοῦν*, but in contrast to the feasts of other people.

## PHILO

πολλοῖς, θερμὸν δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοῖς ἀβρο-  
 διαίτοις· καὶ τράπεζα καθαρὰ τῶν ἐναίμων, ἐφ'  
 ἧς ἄρτοι μὲν τροφή, προσόψημα δὲ ἄλες, οἷς ἔστιν  
 ὅτε καὶ ὕσσωπος ἡδυσμα παραρτύεται διὰ τοὺς  
 74 τρυφῶντας. νηφάλια γὰρ ὡς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θύειν  
 καὶ τούτοις βιοῦν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ὑφηγεῖται· οἶνος  
 μὲν γὰρ ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον, ὄψα δὲ πολυτελῆ  
 τὸ θρεμμάτων ἀπληστότατον διερεθίζει, τὴν ἐπιθυ-  
 75 μίαν. X. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοιαῦτα.  
 μετὰ δὲ τὸ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν τοὺς συμπότας ἐν  
 αἷς ἐδήλωσα τάξεσι, στήναι δὲ τοὺς διακόνους ἐν  
 κόσμῳ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτοιμούς, (ὁ πρόεδρος  
 αὐτῶν, πολλῆς ἀπάντων ἡσυχίας γενομένης)<sup>1</sup>—πότε  
 δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν; εἶποι τις ἂν· ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ  
 πρότερον, ὡς μηδὲ γρύξαι τινὰ τολμᾶν ἢ ἀνα-  
 πνεῦσαι βιαϊότερον—, ζητεῖ<sup>2</sup> τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
 γράμμασιν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου προταθὲν ἐπιλύεται,  
 φροντίζων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξεως—οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐπὶ  
 δεινότητι λόγων εὐκλείας ὀρέγεται—, θεάσασθαι  
 δέ τινα ποθῶν ἀκριβέστερον καὶ θεασάμενος μὴ  
 φθονῆσαι τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ὁμοίως ὀξυδορκοῦσι, τὸν  
 76 γοῦν τοῦ μαθεῖν ἡμερον παραπλήσιον ἔχουσι. καὶ  
 ὁ μὲν σχολαιοτέρα χρῆται τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, δια-  
 μέλλων καὶ βραδύνων ταῖς ἐπαναλήψεσιν, ἐγχαράτ-

<sup>1</sup> The sentence, which is evidently imperfect as it stands in the mss., is here filled up from the Armenian. Conybeare has for the last four words ὅτε κοινὴ ἡσυχία γέγονεν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ζητεῖται—which would leave ὁ πρόεδρος without a verb, unless the middle can be used in this sense.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 73-76

of the guests but warm for such of the older men as live delicately. The table too is kept pure from the flesh of animals ; the food laid on it is loaves of bread with salt as a seasoning, sometimes also flavoured with hyssop as a relish for the daintier appetites. Abstinence from wine is enjoined by right reason 74 as for the priest when sacrificing, so to these for their lifetime.<sup>a</sup> For wine acts like a drug producing folly, and costly dishes stir up that most insatiable of animals,<sup>b</sup> desire.

X. Such are the pre-75 liminaries. But when the guests have laid themselves down arranged in rows, as I have described, and the attendants have taken their stand with everything in order ready for their ministry, the President of the company, when a general silence is established—here it may be asked when is there no silence—well at this point there is silence even more than before so that no one ventures to make a sound or breathe with more force than usual—amid this silence, I say, he discusses some question arising in the Holy Scriptures or solves one that has been propounded by someone else. In doing this he has no thought of making a display, for he has no ambition to get a reputation for clever oratory but desires to gain a closer insight into some particular matters and having gained it not to withhold it selfishly from those who if not so clear-sighted as he have at least a similar desire to learn. His instruction proceeds in 76 a leisurely manner ; he lingers over it and spins it out with repetitions, thus permanently imprinting

<sup>a</sup> For the use of the neuter *νηφάλια* see note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 191 (vol. viii. p. 436).

<sup>b</sup> The phrase goes back to Plato, *Timaeus* 70 E. See *Spec. Leg.* i. 148, iv. 94 and notes.

## PHILO

των ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ νοήματα—τῇ γὰρ ἐρμηνεία τοῦ εὐτρόχως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ συνείροντος ὁ τῶν ἀκρωμένων νοῦς συνομαρτεῖν ἀδυνατῶν ὑστερίζει καὶ ἀπολείπεται τῆς καταλήψεως τῶν λεγομένων—

- 77 οἱ δὲ ἀνωρθιακότες <τὰ ὦτα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνατετακότες><sup>1</sup> εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σχέσεως ἐπιμένοντες ἀκροῶνται, τὸ μὲν συνιέναι καὶ κατειληφέναι νεύματι καὶ βλέμματι διασημαίνοντες, τὸν δὲ ἔπαινον τοῦ λέγοντος ἰλαρότητι καὶ τῇ σχέδην περιαγωγῇ τοῦ προσώπου, τὴν δὲ διαπόρησιν ἡρεμαιοτέρᾳ κινήσει τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρός· οὐχ ἦττον δὲ τῶν κατακεκλιμένων οἱ παρεστῶτες νέοι προσ-
- 78 ἔχουσιν. αἱ δὲ ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἢ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις εἰκέναι ζῶν καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥήτας διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν, ἐν ᾧ ἦρξαστο ἢ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκεῖα θεωρεῖν, ὥσπερ διὰ κατόπτρου τῶν ὀνομάτων
- [484] ἐξαισία κάλλη νοημάτων | ἐμφαινόμενα κατιδοῦσα καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμβολα διαπτύξασα καὶ διακαλύψασα, γυμνὰ δὲ εἰς φῶς προαγαγοῦσα τὰ ἐνθύμια τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐκ μικρᾶς ὑπομνήσεως τὰ ἀφανῆ
- 79 διὰ τῶν φανερῶν θεωρεῖν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἱκανῶς ὁ πρόεδρος διειλέχθαι δοκῆ καὶ κατὰ προ-

<sup>1</sup> The insertion is based on the Armenian. There is no authority for the absolute use of ἀνωρθιάζειν. On the other hand it is used with τὰ ὦτα several times in Philo, e.g. *De Dec.* 45.

<sup>a</sup> σχέδην = “gradually” or “quietly.” Conybeare trans-  
160

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 76-79

the thoughts in the souls of the hearers, since if the speaker goes on descanting with breathless rapidity the mind of the hearers is unable to follow his language, loses ground and fails to arrive at apprehension of what is said. His audience listen with ears pricked 77 up and eyes fixed on him always in exactly the same posture, signifying comprehension and understanding by nods and glances, praise of the speaker by the cheerful change of expression which steals over the face,<sup>a</sup> difficulty by a gentler movement of the head and by pointing with a finger-tip of the right hand. The young men standing by show no less attentive- 78 ness than the occupants of the couches. The ex- position of the sacred scriptures treats the inner meaning conveyed in allegory. For to these people the whole law book seems to resemble a living creature with the literal ordinances for its body and for its soul the invisible mind <sup>b</sup> laid up in its wording. It is in this mind especially that the rational soul begins to contemplate the things akin to itself and looking through the words as through a mirror beholds the marvellous beauties of the concepts, unfolds and removes the symbolic coverings and brings forth the thoughts and sets them bare to the light of day for those who need but a little reminding<sup>c</sup> to enable them to discern the inward and hidden through the outward and visible.

When then the Presi- 79 dent thinks he has discoursed enough and both sides

lates "by cheerfulness and by slightly turning their faces about."

<sup>b</sup> It is difficult to say whether νοῦς here = "mind" or (as often) "meaning." I suspect that Philo hardly distinguishes the two and that while "meaning" is predominant in νοῦς, "mind" is predominant in the relative ἐν ψ̄.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 523.

## PHILO

αίρεσιν ἀπηνητηκέναι τῷ μὲν ἢ διάλεξις εὐσκόπως  
 ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἢ ἀκρόασις, κρότος ἐξ  
 ἀπάντων ὡς ἂν συνηδομένων εἰς τὸ ἔτι ἐψόμενον<sup>1</sup>  
 80 γίνεται. καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς ὕμνον ᾄδει  
 πεποιημένον εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἢ καινὸν αὐτὸς πε-  
 ποιηκῶς ἢ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν—  
 μέτρα γὰρ καὶ μέλη καταλελοίπασι πολλὰ ἐπῶν,<sup>2</sup>  
 τριμέτρων, προσοδίων ὕμνων, παρασπονδείων,  
 παραβωμίων, στασίμων χορικῶν στροφαῖς πολυ-  
 στρόφοις εὖ διαμεμετρημένων—, μεθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐν κόσμῳ προσήκοντι, πάντων  
 κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀκρωμένων, πλὴν ὅποτε τὰ  
 ἀκροτελεύτια καὶ ἐφύμνια ᾄδειν δέοι· τότε γὰρ  
 81 ἐξηχοῦσι πάντες τε καὶ πᾶσαι. ὅταν δὲ ἕκαστος  
 διαπεράνηται τὸν ὕμνον, οἱ νέοι τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ  
 λεχθεῖσαν τράπεζαν εἰσκομίζουσιν, ἐφ' ἧς τὸ παν-  
 αγέστατον σιτίον, ἄρτος ἐξυμωμένος μετὰ προσ-

<sup>1</sup> mss. τὸ ἐποψόμενον (one ἐψόμενον). Conybeare from the Armenian εἰς τὸ τρίτον μόνον, i.e. the applause on such an occasion had to be limited. The Greek of the mss. certainly seems weak, and Mangey suggested εἰς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον "to give the keynote for the hymn which followed."

<sup>2</sup> For the comma which I have inserted after ἐπῶν see note b.

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<sup>a</sup> As I understand the sentence, it is more literally "when the discussion seems to him in accordance with his purpose to have met successfully the objects aimed at, and to them the listening seems to have turned out according to their purpose," etc. That is to say *δοκῆ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπηνητηκέναι* is understood with *τοῖς δὲ*, but while with *τῷ μὲν* it is further explained by *εὐσκόπως ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς*, with *τοῖς δὲ* this is not added, so that in the first case *ἀπηνητηκέναι* = "to have met," in the second = "to have turned out"; cf. *κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντηῆσαι* § 66.

Conybeare takes *ἐπιβολαῖς* = "the points raised." But the regular use of the word in Philo seems to be "aim" or mental

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 79-81

feel sure that they have attained their object, the speaker in the effectiveness with which his discourse has carried out his aims, the audience in the substance of what they have heard,<sup>a</sup> universal applause arises showing a general pleasure in the prospect of what is still to follow. Then the President rises and 80 sings a hymn composed as an address to God, either a new one of his own composition or an old one by poets of an earlier day who have left behind them hymns in many measures and melodies, hexameters<sup>b</sup> and iambs, lyrics suitable for processions or in libations and at the altars, or for the chorus whilst standing or dancing, with careful metrical arrangements to fit the various evolutions.<sup>c</sup> After him all the others take their turn as they are arranged and in the proper order while all the rest listen in complete silence except when they have to chant the closing lines or refrains, for then they all lift up their voices, men and women alike. When everyone 81 has finished his hymn the young men bring in the tables mentioned a little above on which is set the truly purified<sup>d</sup> meal of leavened bread seasoned with

effort of some kind. Cf. e.g. τὰς . . . τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολὰς τε καὶ ὀρμὰς *Mos.* i. 26, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολήν ("of his own motion") *De Som.* i. 1.

<sup>b</sup> For the use of ἔπη for hexameter verse in particular see examples in Stephanus, but it is no doubt permissible to take it = "verses," simply in agreement with *τριμέτρων*.

<sup>c</sup> Conybeare translates the last four words "deftly proportioned for turning and returning." On these hymns in general see App. p. 524.

<sup>d</sup> Conybeare "all-purest." The epithet seems strange, since it is followed at once by the statement that the shewbread in purity ranked above it. No one has suggested, and I only do it with hesitation, that the negative before *παναγέστατον*, as often, has fallen out.

## PHILO

- οψήματος ἀλῶν, οἷς ὕσσωπος ἀναμέμικται, δι' αἰδῶ τῆς ἀνακειμένης ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ προνάῳ ἱερᾶς τραπέζης· ἐπὶ γὰρ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἄρτοι καὶ ἄλλες ἄνευ ἡδυσμάτων, ἄζυμοι μὲν οἱ ἄρτοι, ἀμιγείς δὲ
- 82 οἱ ἄλλες. προσήκον γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἀπλούστατα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατα τῇ κρατίστη τῶν ἱερέων ἀπονεμηθῆναι μερίδι λειτουργίας ἀθλον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὰ μὲν ὅμοια ζηλοῦν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα ἔχῃσι προνομίαν οἱ κρείττονες.
- 83 XI. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ἱερὰν ἄγουσι παννυχίδα. ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχὶς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἀνίστανται πάντες ἀθροοί, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροί, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ ἕξαρχος
- [485] αἰρεῖται καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐντιμότητός τε καὶ ἐμ-
- 84 μελέστατος. εἶτα ᾄδουσι πεποιημένους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες καὶ ἐπορχούμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες τοτὲ μὲν τὰ προσόδια, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς ποιού-
- 85 μενοι. εἶτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν χορῶν<sup>3</sup> ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐστιαθῆ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχεῖαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἰς ἕξ ἀμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν
- 86 θάλασσαν ἕνεκα τῶν θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ. τὸ

<sup>1</sup> So the Armenian. mss. τῶν ἄρτων.

<sup>2</sup> So the Armenian. mss. χρεῖα.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ἀνδρῶν. One however has τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῶν



## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 81-85

salt mixed with hyssop, out of reverence for the holy table enshrined in the sacred vestibule of the temple on which lie loaves and salt without condiments, the loaves unleavened and the salt unmixed.<sup>a</sup> For it was 82 meet that the simplest and purest food should be assigned to the highest caste, namely the priests, as a reward for their ministry, and that the others while aspiring to similar privileges should abstain from seeking the same as they and allow their superiors to retain their precedence.

XI. After the supper they hold the sacred vigil 83 which is conducted in the following way. They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women, the leader and precentor chosen for each being the most honoured amongst them and also the most musical. Then they sing 84 hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies, sometimes chanting together, sometimes taking up the harmony antiphonally, hands and feet keeping time in accompaniment, and rapt with enthusiasm reproduce sometimes the lyrics of the procession, sometimes of the halt and of the wheeling and counter-wheeling of a choric dance.

Then when each choir has separ- 85 ately done its own part in the feast, having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God's love they mix and both together become a single choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the Red Sea in honour of the wonders there wrought.

<sup>a</sup> The LXX though not the Hebrew prescribes salt with the shewbread. See *Mos.* ii. 104.

*γυναικῶν ἰδίᾳ*, which Mangey has. *χορῶν* adopted by both Cohn and Conybeare is from the Armenian.

## PHILO

- γὰρ πέλαγος προστάξει θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αἴτιον τοῖς δὲ πανωλεθρίας γίνεται· ῥαγέντος μὲν γὰρ καὶ βιαίους ἀνακοπαῖς ὑποσυρέντος καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐξ ἐναντίας οἶα τειχῶν παγέντων, τὸ μεθόριον διάστημα εἰς λεωφόρον ὁδὸν καὶ ξηρὰν πᾶσαν ἀνατμηθὲν εὐρύνετο, δι' ἧς ὁ λεὼς ἐπέξενυσεν ἄχρι τῆς ἀντιπέραν ἡπείρου πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα παραπεμφθεῖς· ἐπιδραμόντος δὲ ταῖς παλιρροίαις καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἔνθεν τοῦ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς τὸ χερσωθὲν ἔδαφος ἀναχθέντος, οἱ ἐπακολουθήσαντες τῶν
- 87 πολεμίων κατακλυσθέντες διαφθείρονται. τοῦτο δὲ ἰδόντες καὶ παθόντες, ὁ λόγου καὶ ἐννοίας καὶ ἐλπίδος μείζον ἔργον ἦν, ἐνθουσιῶντές τε ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες, εἰς γενόμενοι χορός, τοὺς εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν σωτήρα θεὸν ἦδον, ἐξάρχοντος τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι Μωυσέως τοῦ προφήτου, ταῖς δὲ γυναίξι Μαριάμ τῆς προφήτιδος.
- 88 Τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπεικονισθεῖς ὁ τῶν θεραπευτῶν καὶ θεραπευτρίδων, μέλεσιν ἀντήχοις καὶ ἀντιφώνοις πρὸς βαρὺν ἦχον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ γυναικῶν ὀξύς ἀνακιρνάμενος, ἑναρμόνιον συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ μουσικὴν ὄντως· πάγκαλα μὲν τὰ νοήματα, πάγκαλοι δὲ αἱ λέξεις, σεμνοὶ δὲ οἱ χορευταί· τὸ δὲ τέλος καὶ τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τῶν λέξεων καὶ
- 89 τῶν χορευτῶν εὐσέβεια. μεθυσθέντες οὖν ἄχρι πρωΐας τὴν καλὴν ταύτην μέθην, οὐ καρηβαροῦντες ἢ καταμύοντες, ἀλλὰ διεγηγερμένοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε παρεγένοντο εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, τὰς τε ὄψεις καὶ ὄλον τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἕω στάντες,<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ θεάσωνται τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες εἰς

<sup>1</sup> The construction is very strange. Cohn suggests καθιστάντες. Perhaps σταθέντες.

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 86-89

For at the command of God the sea became a source 86  
of salvation to one party and of perdition to the other.  
As it broke in twain and withdrew under the violence  
of the forces which swept it back there rose on either  
side, opposite to each other, the semblance of solid <sup>a</sup>  
walls, while the space thus opened between them  
broadened into a highway smooth and dry throughout  
on which the people marched under guidance right  
on until they reached the higher ground on the  
opposite mainland. But when the sea came rushing  
in with the returning tide, and from either side passed  
over the ground where dry land had appeared the  
pursuing enemy were submerged and perished. This 87  
wonderful sight and experience, an act transcending  
word and thought and hope, so filled with ecstasy  
both men and women that forming a single choir they  
sang hymns of thanksgiving to God their Saviour,  
the men led by the prophet Moses and the women  
by the prophetess Miriam.

It is on this model above all that the choir of the 88  
Therapeutae of either sex, note in response to note  
and voice to voice, the treble of the women blending  
with the bass of the men, create an harmonious  
concert, music in the truest sense. Lovely are  
the thoughts, lovely the words and worthy of rever-  
ence the choristers, and the end and aim of thoughts,  
words and choristers alike is piety. Thus they con- 89  
tinue till dawn, drunk with this drunkenness in  
which there is no shame, then not with heavy heads  
or drowsy eyes but more alert and wakeful than  
when they came to the banquet, they stand with  
their faces and whole body turned to the east and  
when they see the sun rising they stretch their hands

<sup>a</sup> Or "congealed."

## PHILO

[486] οὐρανὸν εὐημερίαν καὶ | ἀλήθειαν ἐπέυχονται καὶ ὀξύωπιαν λογισμοῦ· καὶ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σεμνεία ἀναχωροῦσι, πάλιν τὴν συνήθη φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπορευσόμενοι καὶ γεωργήσοντες.

90 Θεραπευτῶν μὲν δὴ περί τοσαῦτα θεωρίαν ἀσπασαμένων φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ψυχῇ μόνη βιωσάντων, οὐρανοῦ μὲν καὶ κόσμου πολιτῶν, τῷ δὲ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων γνησίως συσταθέντων ὑπ' ἀρετῆς, ἣτις <θεοῦ><sup>1</sup> φιλίαν αὐτοῖς προξένησεν οἰκειότατον γέρας καλοκάγαθίας προσθεῖσα, πάσης ἄμεινον εὐτυχίας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀκρότητα φθάνον εὐδαιμονίας.

<sup>1</sup> An explanatory genitive is perhaps required. But I do not understand why Cohn (*Hermes*, 1916, p. 91) summarily rejects the more natural αὐτοῦ.

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<sup>a</sup> As the Therapeutae would naturally, like the Essenes (*cf. Quod Omn. Prob.* 80), deal only with the theological side of

## THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 89-90

up to heaven and pray for bright days and knowledge of the truth and the power of keen sighted thinking. And after the prayers they depart each to his private sanctuary once more to ply the trade and till the field of their wonted philosophy.

So much then for the Therapeutae, who have taken 90 to their hearts the contemplation of nature and what it has to teach,<sup>a</sup> and have lived in the soul alone, citizens of Heaven and the world, presented <sup>b</sup> to the Father and Maker of all by their faithful sponsor Virtue, who has procured for them God's friendship and added a gift going hand in hand with it, true excellence of life, a boon better than all good fortune and rising to the very summit of felicity.

physic, I think this must be what is referred to by τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. Elsewhere the phrase seems to mean the contents of the natural world. I should like to omit τῶν and translate "lived in it and the soul alone."

<sup>b</sup> The conjunction with προϋξένησεν shows clearly that συσταθέντες is here used in the quite common sense of "commended" rather than as Conybeare "established."



ON THE ETERNITY OF THE  
WORLD

(DE AETERNITATE MUNDI)

## INTRODUCTION TO *DE AETERNITATE MUNDI*

AMONG the works of Philo this is certainly the one whose genuineness can be most reasonably doubted. It is not mentioned in Eusebius's list, and the only external evidence for it so far as I know is that it has always been included in the Philonian corpus. The internal evidence, the resemblance to Philo's style and language, has been dealt with by Cumont, and though certainly strong, particularly when we remember how different the subject-matter is from that of the rest, it is not I think as overwhelming as in the case of the *De Vita Contemplativa*. In fact while if that work came before us as of unknown authorship I should without hesitation set it down as Philo's, I should not feel the same certainty about the *De Aeternitate*.

The belief that the work is non-Philonic rests chiefly I think on the authority of Bernays. My confidence in his judgement is not increased by observing that he says the same of the *Quod Omnis Probus* and the *De Providentia*. He does not anywhere formulate his reasons for rejection and one or two of those casually mentioned are trivial. But on p. 45 he notes the phrase ὁπαρὸς θεός as one which no orthodox Jew could have used of the Cosmos. Cumont perhaps makes somewhat too light of this objection. For Philo in the body of his work no-



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where, I think, speaks of the Cosmos as a God. It is true indeed that he twice at least calls the stars gods <sup>a</sup> and quite often divine beings. Also his chief care seems to be not so much that they should not be called gods as that they should not be recognized as primal or sovereign gods, and perhaps we cannot fairly reason from the numberless heavenly bodies to the Cosmos itself. If regarded as a god at all its godship would be unique and certainly tend to endanger monotheism. It must be admitted that taken by itself this is some argument against the genuineness.

But the most important objection at first sight to the Philonic authorship, though I am not sure that Bernays ever definitely mentions it, lies not in any particular phrase but in the views displayed *passim* on the question under discussion. Philo in his other works has denounced the doctrine that the world is uncreated and indestructible,<sup>b</sup> in this book he appears to maintain that theory.

My own view is that a distinction should be made between the earlier part up to the first sentence of § 20 and the rest. Up to § 20 the author is no doubt speaking himself. In § 20 he states that out of respect for the divine Cosmos the opinions which maintain that it is uncreated and eternal should take prece-

<sup>a</sup> *De Op.* 27, *Spec. Leg.* i. 19.

<sup>b</sup> *De Op.* 7, *De Som.* ii. 283, *cf. De Conf.* 114. But the form in which he understood its destructibility is given in *De Dec.* 58. "For the world has become what it is, and its becoming is the beginning of its destruction, even though by the providence of God it be made immortal," *i.e.* he held to the doctrine of the *Timaeus* 41 A with regard to the lesser gods, and belongs to those who in *Quis Rerum* 246 are spoken of as declaring "that though by nature destructible it will never be destroyed, being held together by a bond of superior strength, namely the will of its Maker."

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dence. And from that point we have an account of the various arguments used by the advocates of that opinion, ending with the statement that in the sequel he will give an account of the arguments on the other side. In describing the arguments for the eternity of the Cosmos he puts them forth with such gusto and denounces the opponents so vigorously that at first sight anyone would suppose that he is giving us his own conviction. But it is Philo's way to reproduce with all his vigour opinions and doctrines which he is really going to controvert later. Observe the misleading way in which the views of the unphilosophical are described in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 6-10 and the vigorous advocacy of the champions of the senses in *Spec. Leg.* i. 337-343. So when I read in *De Aet.* 35 and 49 that some argument must be "clear to everyone" or in § 69 "that the foolish imaginations of the opponents have been refuted" I do not feel sure that Philo might not talk very differently when he gives to each point the opposition which he promises in his final words.

When we turn to the first twenty sections we have the following expressions of the author's opinions. (1) Nothing is generated from the non-existent and nothing can be destroyed into non-existence. (2) Plato's statement that the world was created and indestructible is not to be explained away. (3) When Aristotle said that it was uncreated and indestructible he spoke "piously and religiously." (4) The Cosmos is a God.<sup>a</sup> With the fourth I have

<sup>a</sup> Though it should be noted that in the only place in §§ 1-20 where this is stated apart from the citation from Aristotle θεόν is an insertion. The MSS. have only τὸν or τὸ ὄπαρόν. Still I think the insertion is practically certain.

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dealt already. As to the third, the words that follow show that "piously and religiously" apply to indestructible rather than to uncreated. Philo in his later days would certainly denounce those who put the divine beings in heaven on a level with idols.<sup>a</sup> The second is quite in the spirit of the other writings in which the *Timaeus* is a sort of Gospel whose meaning is not to be tampered with, and it is quite opposed to the Peripatetic view put forward in § 27, which while citing the *Timaeus* to show the indestructibility declares that the uncreatedness must be postulated on the general grounds that *γένεσις* and *φθορά* are inseparable. As to the first, there are several places where Philo speaks of God and indeed parenthood as creating the existing from the non-existent, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 225,<sup>b</sup> but these are merely concessions to popular ideas and could not Philo have pleaded that the *αἰσθητὸς κόσμος* was created out of the eternal *νοητός*? In fact it seems to me that judging from the sections in which the author gives us hints of his own view the differences from the opinions expressed in the bulk of Philo's work are not on the whole vital, and even if this statement is an exaggeration, why should Philo be refused the right of developing his creed as Plato and Aristotle did? On the whole I feel that this objection to the genuineness breaks down and if it does the balance of argument as a whole seems to be in favour of the authenticity.

<sup>a</sup> So I have translated *χειροκμήτων*. It is the usual sense in Philo, and in *De Dec.* 66 he emphasizes the minor guilt of worshipping the heavenly bodies, compared with worshipping idols. But perhaps better "human works" as compared with those of God.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. also *Mos.* ii. 267, *De Som.* i. 76, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 187.

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As to the sections after 20 to the end, if I am right in thinking that the expressions of confidence in the arguments adduced and the denunciation of opponents are rather echoes of the opinions reproduced than the convinced opinions of the author, it might be thought that this shows that all this part is little more than a matter of scissors and paste as Bernay's commentary sometimes seems to hold. But I do not think this would be a just conclusion. Philo can throw himself with great gusto into retailing arguments with which he does not necessarily agree, but he can at the same time introduce phraseology and illustrations of his own. There is one treatise extant which he tells us he has read and which no doubt he used, that of Ocellus Lucanus.<sup>a</sup> There are passages in the *De Aeternitate* which can be paralleled with this in substance but with no very close resemblance in language. In the account of Critolaus's argument in §§ 55-69, while we may suppose that Critolaus spoke with scorn of the Stoic appeal to myths, the length at which this attack is developed and many of the expressions in it savour of Philo himself, and in particular the complaint in § 56 that the myth-makers have used the seduction of metre and rhythm has a close resemblance to a similar complaint in *Spec. Leg.* i. 28. Also the panegyric on the eternal youthfulness of the earth in §§ 63 f. is very much in the vein of the description of the world's wonders elsewhere,<sup>b</sup> if we make allowance for the fact that here it is the earth only and not the Cosmos which is extolled. In the concluding thirty-three sections in which he reproduces Theophrastus's

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 525.

<sup>b</sup> *Mos.* i. 212, *Spec. Leg.* i. 34, *De Praem.* 41.

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account of the four arguments adduced by the Stoics against the creation of the world and then Theophrastus's refutation of the same the substance no doubt is what it claims to be, but I cannot help suspecting that the irrelevant story of the elephants in §§ 128, 129, the quotation from Pindar in § 121, the account from the *Timaeus* of Atlantis in § 141, and perhaps the allusions to the same book at the end belong to Philo and not to Theophrastus.

As I have said in the Preface, the value of the *De Aeternitate* is to a Philonist very little. It contributes hardly anything to the body of thought which has kept his name famous, but its value for the history of Greek philosophy is surely very considerable. We know apart from him the opinions held by the long series of Greek philosophers on this primal question of how the universe came to be, but very little of the grounds on which their opinions were formed, and hardly anything outside this treatise<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I should not omit to mention the theory propounded by Cumont, pp. xi-xv. Cumont, who considers that the author throughout maintains that the Cosmos is ἀγένητος as well as ἀφθαρτος, understands him to mean that it is ἀγένητος κατὰ χρόνον, i.e. that it was created from everlasting. I do not feel competent to judge whether the evidence he cites is convincing, but anyhow I cannot see that anywhere in the first twenty sections does the author assert that it is ἀγένητος. Naturally we should conclude from these sections that his sympathies are with Plato, who, he says, meant what he says, viz. that it is γενητός and ἀφθαρτος, in the sense of φθαρτός, ἀλλ' οὐ φθαρησόμενος. Whether in the sequel promised in the last section he brought out either this solution or that which Cumont indicates seems to me doubtful. The word προτέρους instead of πρώτους in § 20 suggests that the only subject treated in either half of the essay was the controversy between the Stoics and Peripatetics, any third hypothesis being ignored for the occasion.

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of the detailed arguments used by disputants on either side. From this point of view it seems strange to me that the work had been so little noticed and that no really complete commentary exists to elucidate it.

The following is an analysis of the treatise.

After stating the duty of invoking God's blessing on so important a discussion and an acknowledgment that unpurified humanity cannot hope for certainty (1-2) we have to define the terms *κόσμος* and *φθορά*. The former is used in three different senses, but that accepted in this book is the Cosmos consisting of heaven and earth and living creatures in or on it; by *φθορά* we do not understand annihilation in the strict sense, which is impossible, but resolution into a single conformation or "confusion as when things are broken and shattered" (3-6). Three views are held, (a) that of Democritus, Epicurus and most Stoics, that it is created and destructible; (b) Aristotle's and perhaps before him the Pythagoreans', that it is uncreated and indestructible (7-12); and (c) Plato's, though the meaning of his words have been disputed, that it is created and indestructible (13-16), a view attributed by some to Hesiod and also to be found in Genesis (17-19).

Philo considers that the second hypothesis as worthier of the divine Cosmos should take precedence of the first, and the rest of the treatise is occupied in stating the case for this. The first argument is that as destruction is always due to some cause within or without the body destroyed neither of these is possible for the Cosmos (20-27). The second argument is that compound bodies are compounded in an unnatural order and their destruction

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means that their elements return to their natural order, but the Cosmos is in its natural order (28-34). The third is that everything seeks to preserve its own nature, but the parts of the universe such as vegetable or animal life have not the power to do so ; the Universe seeks the same and has the power, for each part when destroyed goes to feed some other part (35-38). The fourth introduces a theological thought ; assuming that the destruction of the Cosmos if it is destroyed must be the work of God, it is asked what motive God can have for doing so (39-44). The fifth begins a polemic against the Stoic theory of a periodical conflagration followed by a periodical reconstruction and argues that this involves destruction of the divine heavenly bodies and even of the world's soul, providence (45-51). The sixth is based on the assumption that time has no beginning or end, and since time is the measurement of the world's movement that also must have no beginning or end (52-54).

Up to this point the arguments have been ascribed to (presumably) the Peripatetic school in general. We now come to those attributed to particular persons, beginning with Critolaus. His first point is that if the world was created the human race was also, *i.e.* the original man must have been produced in some other way than by human parentage. This argument, at any rate as represented here, turns mainly into a denunciation of the story of the Spartoi who sprang from the soil fully armed (55-60). It is pointed out that if men were once produced from the earth they would be still, for earth is clearly as prolific as ever (61-64). Other absurdities in the story are noted, with the conclusion that the repro-

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duction of men has gone on from everlasting, that the human race is everlasting and therefore the world of which it is a part (65-69). The second argument attributed to him is put very shortly, namely that the existence of all that exists is caused by the Cosmos and therefore it must be the cause of its own existence (70); also that a created world, according to the analogy of other created things, would be originally imperfect, then grow to perfection and ultimately decline, a view which is denounced as a blasphemy against the perfection of the Cosmos (71-73). Again the three things which cause death to living creatures, disease, age and privation cannot affect the Cosmos (74). The Stoics themselves admit that fate or the chain of causation has neither beginning nor end and why should not the Cosmos considering its nature be put in the same category (75)?

We pass on to the opinions of Stoics, notably Boethus, who did not accept the common Stoic doctrine of conflagration and reconstruction. The argument of §§ 20-27 is restated with the addition that if there is nothing internal or external to destroy the Cosmos, the destruction must be caused by something non-existing and this is unthinkable (76-78). Three possible methods of destruction, dismemberment, destruction of the prevailing quality and amalgamation or "confusion" are declared to be inapplicable to the Cosmos (79-82). Further the doctrine of *ἐκπύρωσις* implies the inactivity during that period of God, whose perpetual activity as soul of the world is laid down by the Stoics themselves (83-84). This leads to a close examination of the conflagration theory. The elements of fire as we know it are live coal, the flame and the light, and the destruction of the sub-



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stance of the universe will be the destruction of the last two also, and nothing will remain to make the reconstruction possible (85-88). The Stoics meet this by supposing that some fire will remain at the end of the period, but that is inconsistent with what has just been shown (89-93). Chrysippus has said that the fire is the seed of the new world, but it is living things which produce seed, not those which are destroyed as the world on this theory is supposed to be (94-96). Also seed does not generate by itself, and the sustenance which seed receives from the earth will be absent when the world is resolved into fire (97-99). Things too generated by seed grow larger while the reconstructed Cosmos will occupy less space than the fire which will expand into the void (100-103). To return to more general arguments, everything has its opposite, but when everything is fire the qualities opposite to those of fire will be non-existent (104-105). As other causes of destruction are ruled out the destruction would be caused by God, and this is blasphemy (106). The selection of fire as the sole element into which the Cosmos is resolved contradicts the equality of reciprocation which exists between the elements as they pass from one into each other (107-112). Another conception is then given of the methods through which destruction takes place, namely addition, subtraction, transposition and transmutation, and each of these is declared to be impossible (113-116).

The rest of the treatise is taken up with matter drawn from Theophrastus. Theophrastus had stated at length four points which weighed especially with the Stoics and had also given at length his own answer to each (117). The first of these four points is that

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if the world had existed from everlasting it would by now have been reduced to a level surface through the action of rain (118-119). The second is that it will not exist for everlasting since the diminution of the sea as shown by the emergence of islands like Delos formerly submerged indicates that the other elements will be gradually destroyed (120-123). The third is directed to proving that it is destructible because all four elements can be shown to be destructible and if so the whole is destructible (124-126). Appended to this is a short disquisition on the "lame-ness" of fire, which cannot exist without the support of fuel, illustrated with a somewhat irrelevant anecdote about elephants crushing the snakes which suck their blood (127-129). The fourth like the first seeks to prove that the world has not been from everlasting, because if so mankind was from everlasting, whereas the arts which are necessary to human life are known to be comparatively recently invented (130-131). Theophrastus's answers to these are as follows. The first is met by suggesting that though the mountains suffer loss through the action of rain, this is replaced by new accretions, but still more by a theory that they are originally heaved up by the action of fire and that this same power keeps their main body permanent (132-137). The answer to the second is that the sea is not diminished because the emergence of some islands is compensated by the submersion of others, notably Atlantis (138-142). The third is disposed of as a fallacy since it is only if all the parts of a thing are destroyed at once that we can argue from the destructibility of the parts to that of the whole (143-144). As to the fourth, while it is admitted that the inventors of the arts as we have

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them are comparatively recent, there have been partial destructions by fire and flood in which the arts perished with the majority of mankind but were subsequently reinvented (145-149). The treatise ends with a promise to give the answers made by the opponents to the several arguments (150).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

[487]

<sup>1</sup> I. Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς ἀδήλου καὶ σπουδαίου πράγματος θεὸν καλεῖν ἄξιον, διότι ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ γεννητῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδηλον παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀκριβεστάτην ἐπιστήμην εἰληχότι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου λόγον ἀναγκαιότατον· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς παντελέστερόν τι τοῦ κόσμου οὔτε ἐν νοητοῖς θεοῦ τελεώτερον, αἰεὶ δ' αἰσθήσεως ἡγεμῶν νοῦς καὶ νοητὸν αἰσθητοῦ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπηκόων παρ' ἡγεμόνος τε καὶ ἐπιστάτου νόμος<sup>1</sup> φιλοπευστεῖν, οἷς ἐπέφυκε πόθος ἀληθείας πλείων.

<sup>2</sup> εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐνασκηθέντες τοῖς φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς δόγμασιν ἀπερρυψάμεθα τὰς ἐκ παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων κηλίδας, οὐκ ἂν ἴσως ἀπηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἄκρως κεκαθαρμέναις καὶ φαιδρυναμέναις αὐγοειδῶς<sup>2</sup> ψυχαῖς ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανίων ἢ δι' ὄνειράτων ἢ διὰ χρησμῶν<sup>3</sup> ἢ διὰ σημείων ἢ τεράτων ὑφηγεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πόνος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. αὐτοειδῶς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. χρήσεων.

<sup>a</sup> Bernays gives several references to the practice of invoking God at the beginning of a discussion, and clearly Philo has in mind *Timaeus* 27 c, where Socrates calls on Timaeus to speak after invoking the Gods, and Timaeus replies that

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I. In dealing with every obscure and weighty 1 question it is well to call upon God, because He is good, because He is the Creator, and possessed as He is of absolutely exact knowledge of all things nothing is obscure to Him. But it is particularly necessary when the subject in question is the indestructibility of the world.<sup>a</sup> For nothing in the realm of the sensible is more complete in every way than the world, nothing in the intelligible realm more perfect than God, and intelligence always takes command of sense and the intelligible of the sensible. And those in whom the love of truth is implanted in greater measure observe the law that knowledge about the subjects must be sought from the Commander and Ruler. Now, if schooled in the doctrines 2 of wisdom and temperance and every virtue we had scoured away the stains of the passions and soul-distempers, perhaps God would not have refused to impart the knowledge of things heavenly through dreams or oracles or signs or wonders to souls thoroughly purged and bright and radiant. But since we bear upon us deep ingrained the imprints

every sensible person does so when speaking on any matter great or small, and he will certainly do so when speaking about the universe, whether it is created or uncreated (*ἢ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστίν*).

ἀναμαζάμενοι [στοχασμούς<sup>1</sup>· καὶ] τύπους δυσεκ-  
 [488] πλύτους | ἔχομεν, ἀγαπᾶν χρή, κἂν εἰκόσι (στο-  
 χασμοῖς) δι' αὐτῶν μίμημά τι τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἀνευρίσκωμεν.

3 "Ἄξιον οὖν τοὺς ζητοῦντας εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος,  
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ "φθορὰ" καὶ "κόσμος" τῶν πολ-  
 λαχῶς λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἐκότερον, πρῶτον ἐρευνῆσαι  
 περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἵνα καθ' ὃ σημαίνόμενον<sup>2</sup> νυνὶ  
 [καὶ] τέτακται διαγνωθῆμεν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσα δηλοῦται<sup>3</sup>  
 (πάντα) καταριθμητέον, ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς τὴν παροῦ-  
 4 σαν διδασκαλίαν χρήσιμα.

II. λέγεται  
 τοίνυν ὁ κόσμος καθ' ἓν μὲν [πρῶτον] σύστημα ἐξ  
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρον κατὰ περιοχὴν (καὶ) γῆς καὶ  
 τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ  
 μόνος οὐρανός, εἰς ὃν ἀπιδὼν Ἄναξαγόρας πρὸς  
 τὸν πυθόμενον, ἧς ἔνεκα αἰτίας ταλαιπωρεῖται  
 διανυκτερεύων<sup>4</sup> ὑπαιθρος, ἀπεκρίνατο "τοῦ τὸν  
 κόσμον θεάσασθαι," τὰς χορείας καὶ περιφορὰς τῶν  
 ἀστέρων αἰνιπτόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τρίτον, ὡς δοκεῖ  
 τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς, διήκων<sup>5</sup> ἄχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, οὐσία

<sup>1</sup> Bernays μολυσμούς. Cumont retains στοχασμούς where it is in the mss., but does not attempt to make sense of it. I have followed Cohn's transference of the word, but would prefer to read εἰκόσι καὶ στοχασμοῖς. Cohn in *Hermes*, 1916, p. 181, says that εἰκότες στοχασμοί is an exceedingly common collocation in Philo, but he gives no examples, and up to the present I have not found any. On the other hand, εἰκότα coupled with πιθανά occurs several times, e.g. στοχασταὶ . . . πιθανῶν καὶ εἰκότων *Spec. Leg.* i. 61, and it is an established term in rhetoric; cf. also στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις *De Som.* i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. σημαίνεται.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. δηλοῦνται.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τὰ πολλὰ πειρᾶται διανυκτερεύειν. The correction made by Bernays and accepted by Cohn and Cumont is based on Thuc. i. 134. 1 ἵνα μὴ ὑπαιθριος ταλαιπωροῖη.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. διήκων. Bernays and others διήκουσα. The correc-

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of injustice and folly and the other vices we must be content if through a study of probabilities and by our own efforts we may discover some semblance of the truth.

Now the words "world" and "destruction" are 3 both such as are used in many senses and therefore it will be well to open the discussion whether the world is indestructible by examining these terms in order to distinguish under what signification they stand in this case. Still we need not make a complete list of all the meanings they bear but only such as are instructive for our present purpose.

II. In one sense, the world or Cosmos signifies the 4 whole system of heaven and the stars including the earth and the plants and animals thereon; in another sense the heaven only. It was on heaven that Anaxagoras had been gazing, when in answer to the person who asked why he suffered discomfort by spending the whole night under the open sky said he did it in order to contemplate the Cosmos, meaning by Cosmos the choric movements and revolutions of the stars. The third sense, which is approved by the Stoics, is something existing continuously to and through the general conflagration,<sup>a</sup> a substance either

<sup>a</sup> That ἄχρι is here used inclusively is, I think, shown by ἀδιακόσμητος, a condition which only exists during the ἐκπύρωσις (cf. Philo's disquisition on the inclusive use of ἀπό in *De Som.* ii. 257). I understand Bernays to say that the addition of ἡ ἀδιακ. is inaccurate ("ungenau") according to Stoic doctrine. But Philo implies the same in § 9.

tion to διήκων in preference to διήκουσα seems to have been originally made by Jessen (see note, vol. viii. p. 428) to accord with his canon, that an open vowel is followed by μέχρι instead of ἄχρι in Philo. I do not see why <ό> διήκων (*sc.* κόσμος) should not be possible.

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τις ἢ διακεκοσμημένη ἢ ἀδιακόσμητος, οὐ τῆς  
 κινήσεώς φασιν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον διάστημα.  
 νῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις περὶ κόσμον τοῦ  
 κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον, ὃς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ  
 5 γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζώων<sup>1</sup> συνέστηκε. λέγεται  
 μέντοι καὶ φθορὰ ἢ τε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολή  
 [λέγεται δὲ] καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἀναίρεσις παντελής,  
 ἣν καὶ ἀνύπαρκτον ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν· ὥσπερ γὰρ  
 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν γίνεται, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν  
 φθείρεται·

“ ἔκ τε γὰρ οὐδάμ' ἔοντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι  
 [τι]  
 καὶ τ' ἔον ἐξαπολέσθαι ἀνήγυστον καὶ ἄπυστον<sup>2</sup>.”

καὶ ὁ τραγικός·

“ θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,  
 διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο<sup>3</sup>  
 μορφήν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.”

6 οὐδέν<sup>4</sup> γε οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐήθες ὡς τὸ ἀπορεῖν, εἰ ὁ  
 κόσμος εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν φθείρεται, ἀλλ' εἰ δέχεται τὴν  
 ἐκ τῆς διακοσμήσεως μεταβολήν, τὰς ποικίλας  
 μορφὰς στοιχείων τε καὶ συγκριμάτων εἰς μίαν  
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ιδέα ἀναλυθεὶς ἢ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς  
 θλάσμασι καὶ τοῖς κατάγμασι δεξάμενος παντελεῖ  
 σύγχυσιν.

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἐξ ὧν.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἄπυστον.

<sup>3</sup> As a long syllable is required in the anapaestic, Cumont has ἄλλου, Bernays ἄλλω and so in the other places (§§ 30 and 144) where the lines are quoted.

<sup>4</sup> mss. οὐδέ: Bernays and Cumont οὐδεῖς . . . εὐήθης, followed by ὥστε with most mss., though one has τὸ but without ὡς.



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 4-6

reduced or not reduced to order, and time, they say, is what measures its movement.<sup>a</sup> Our present discussion is concerned with the world in the first sense, namely the world which consists of heaven and earth and the life on them.<sup>b</sup> The word destruction 5 in one sense means a change for the worse, in another complete removal from existence, and this we must pronounce to be a thing which cannot possibly be, for just as nothing comes into being out of the non-existent, so nothing is destroyed into non-existence.

Nothing from what is not can come to be,  
Nor was it ever heard or brought to pass,  
That what exists should perish utterly.<sup>c</sup>

So too the tragic poet

Naught that is born can die;  
Hither and thither its parts disperse  
And take another form.<sup>d</sup>

Nothing in fact is so foolish as to raise the question 6 whether the world is destroyed into non-existence. The point is whether it undergoes a transmutation from its ordered arrangement through the various forms of the elements and their combinations being either resolved into one and the self-same conformation or reduced into complete confusion as things are when broken or shattered.

<sup>a</sup> For this accepted Stoic definition of time *cf.* Diog. Laert. vii. 141. It is repeated in this treatise, §§ 52 ff., *cf.* *De Op.* 26, where it was translated "a measured space determined by the world's movement," which perhaps gives the idea of *διάστημα* (distance or interval) more exactly.

<sup>b</sup> The stars are regarded as ζῶα.

<sup>c</sup> Stated to be a fragment from Empedocles.

<sup>d</sup> See on § 30.

## PHILO

[489] III. | Τριτταὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου γεγόνασι  
 7 δόξαι, τῶν μὲν αἰδίων τὸν κόσμον φαμένων,  
 ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, τῶν δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας  
 γενητόν τε καὶ φθαρτόν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ παρ' ἑκατέρων  
 ἐκλαβόντες, τὸ μὲν γενητόν παρὰ τῶν ὑστέρων  
 παρὰ δὲ τῶν προτέρων τὸ ἄφθαρτον, μικτὴν δόξαν  
 ἀπέλιπον, γενητόν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰθηθέντες αὐτὸν  
 8 εἶναι. Δημόκριτος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἐπί-  
 κουρος καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς  
 φιλοσόφων γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἀπολείπουσι τοῦ  
 κόσμου, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς  
 κόσμους ὑπογράφουσιν, ὧν τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἀλλη-  
 λοτυπίαῖς καὶ ἐπιπλοκαῖς ἀτόμων ἀνατιθέασι, τὴν  
 δὲ φθορὰν ἀντικοπαῖς καὶ προσράξεσι τῶν γεγο-  
 νότων· οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ κόσμον μὲν ἓνα, γενέσεως δ'  
 αὐτοῦ θεὸν αἴτιον, φθορᾶς δὲ μηκέτι θεόν, ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς οὐσι πυρὸς ἀκαμάτου  
 δύναμιν χρόνων μακραῖς περιόδοις ἀναλύουσιν τὰ  
 πάντα εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἐξ ἧς πάλιν ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου  
 9 συνίστασθαι προμηθεΐα τοῦ τεχνίτου. δύναται δὲ  
 κατὰ τούτους ὁ μὲν τις κόσμος αἰδῖος, ὁ δὲ τις  
 φθαρτὸς λέγεσθαι, φθαρτὸς μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν διακό-  
 σμησιν, αἰδῖος δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν παλιγ-  
 γενεσίαις καὶ περιόδοις ἀθανατιζόμενος οὐδέποτε  
 10 ληγούσας. Ἄριστοτέλης δὲ μήποτ'  
 εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐνιστάμενος<sup>1</sup> ἀγένητον καὶ  
 ἄφθαρτον ἔφη τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, δεινὴν δὲ ἀθεότητα  
 κατεγίνωσκε τῶν τάναντία διεξιόντων, οἱ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιστάμενος.

<sup>a</sup> The meaning would be clearer if ἐκπύρ. and διακ. changed places. When we consider the former we see that a world

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 7-10

III. Three views have been put forward on the 7  
question before us. Some assert that the world is  
eternal, uncreated and imperishable. Some on the  
contrary say that it is created and destructible.  
Others draw from both these. From the latter they  
take the idea of the created, from the former that  
of the indestructible and so have laid down a com-  
posite doctrine to the effect that the world is created 8  
and indestructible.

Democritus with Epi- 8  
curus and the great mass of Stoic philosophers  
maintain the creation and destruction of the world  
but in different ways. The two first named postulate  
many worlds, the origin of which they ascribe to the  
mutual impacts and interlacings of atoms and its  
destruction to the counterblows and collisions sus-  
tained by the bodies so formed. The Stoics admit  
one world only ; God is the cause of its creation but  
not of its destruction. This is due to the force of  
the ever-active fire which exists in things and in the  
course of long cycles of time resolves everything into  
itself and out of it is constructed a reborn world  
according to the design of its architect. According 9  
to these the world may be called from one point of  
view an eternal, from another a perishable world ;  
thought of as a world reconstructed it is perishable,  
thought of as subject to the conflagration it is ever-  
lasting through the ceaseless rebirths and cycles  
which render it immortal.<sup>a</sup>

But Aristotle 10  
surely showed a pious and religious spirit when in  
opposition to this view he said that the world was  
uncreated and indestructible and denounced the  
shocking atheism of those who stated the contrary

has perished. When we see it followed by the latter we  
recognize that it did not really perish.

## PHILO

- χειροκμήτων οὐδὲν ᾠήθησαν διαφέρειν τοσοῦτον ὁρατὸν θεόν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς περιέχοντα
- 11 πάνθειον· ἔλεγέ τε, ὡς ἔστιν ἀκούειν, κατακερτομῶν, ὅτι πάλαι μὲν ἐδεδίδει περὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μὴ βιαίοις πνεύμασιν ἢ χειμῶσιν ἐξαισίοις ἢ χρόνῳ ἢ ῥαθυμία τῆς ἀρμοττοῦσης ἐπιμελείας ἀνατραπῆ, νυνὶ δὲ φόβον ἐπικρέμασθαι μείζονα πρὸς τῶν τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον τῷ λόγῳ καθαιρουμένων.
- 12 ἔνιοι δ' οὐκ Ἀριστοτέλην τῆς δόξης εὐρετὴν λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινάς. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ὀκέλλου συγγράμματι, Λευκανοῦ γένος, ἐπιγραφομένῳ “ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως ” ἐνέτυχον, ἐν ᾧ ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀφθαρτόν οὐκ [490] ἀπεφαίνετο μόνον<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἀποδείξεων | κατασκεύαζε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι.
- 13 IV. Γενητὸν δὲ καὶ ἀφθαρτόν φασιν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῆς θεοπρεποῦς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ἣ λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους θεοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος· “ θεοὶ θεῶν, (ῶν) ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἄλυστα ἐμοῦ γε μὴ θέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν δῆ<sup>2</sup> δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν, τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. δι’ ἃ καὶ ἐπίπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἔστε οὐδ’ ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὔτι γε μὴν λυθήσεσθέ γε, οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων, οἷς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μὲν οὖν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. μῆ.

<sup>a</sup> See Introd. p. 175 note a.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 10-13

and held that there was no difference between hand-made idols<sup>a</sup> and that great visible God who embraces the sun and moon and the pantheon as it may be truly called of the fixed and wandering stars. He 11 is reported to have said in bitter mockery that in the past he had feared for his house lest it should be overthrown by violent winds or terrific storms or lapse of time or neglect of proper care. But now he lived under the fear of a greater menace from the theorists who would destroy the whole world.

Some say that the author of this doctrine was not 12 Aristotle but certain Pythagoreans, and I have read a work of Ocellus a Lucanian<sup>b</sup> entitled *On the Nature of the Universe*, in which he not only stated but sought to establish by demonstrations that it was uncreated and indestructible.

IV. That it is created and indestructible is said to 13 be shown by Plato in the *Timaeus*<sup>c</sup> in his account of the great assembly of deities in which the younger gods are addressed thus by the eldest and chief. "Gods sprung from gods, the works of which I am the Maker and Father are indissoluble unless I will otherwise. Now all that is bound can be loosed but only the bad would will to loose what is well put together and in good condition. So since you are created beings you are not immortal nor altogether indissoluble, yet you will not be dissolved nor will death be your fate, for in my will you have a greater and mightier bond than those by which you were

<sup>b</sup> Ocellus was a Pythagorean of earlier times. The work attributed to him, which is still extant and which Philo alludes to here, belongs to the first or second century B.C. See further App. p. 525.

<sup>c</sup> *Tim.* 41 A. For other ways of taking the opening words see App. p. 525.

## PHILO

- 14 συνεδείσθε.” τινές δὲ οἴονται σοφιζόμενοι κατὰ Πλάτωνα γενητὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν κόσμον οὐ τῷ λαβεῖν γενέσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τῷ, εἴπερ ἐγίγνετο, μὴ ἂν ἐτέρως ἢ τὸν εἰρημένον συστήναι τρόπον, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ τὰ μέρη θεω-
- 15 ρεῖσθαι. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστερον ὑπονοεῖν τὸ πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγγράμματος πατέρα μὲν καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν θεοπλάστην ἐκείνον καλεῖ, ἔργον<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ ἔγγονον τουτουὶ<sup>2</sup> τὸν κόσμον, ἀπ’ ἀρχετύπου (καὶ) νοητοῦ παραδείγματος μίμημα αἰσθητὸν, πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητὰ περιέχοντα αἰσθητὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, τελειότατου πρὸς νοῦν<sup>3</sup> τελειότατον ἐκμα-
- 16 γεῖον πρὸς αἴσθησιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ Πλάτωνος, διὰ τὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας αἰδῶ μηδὲν ἂν ψευδάμενος, καὶ διότι πιστότερος οὐδεὶς ὑφηγητῆ<sup>4</sup> γνωρίμου μαρτυρεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τοιούτου, ὃς οὐ πάρεργον ἔθετο παιδείαν ἀψικόρῳ ῥαθυμῖα, προσυπερβαλεῖν δὲ σπουδάσας τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν εὐρέσεις ἔνια τῶν

<sup>1</sup> mss. καλλίεργον.

<sup>2</sup> Bernays τουτουὶ, *i.e.* τοῦ θεοπλάστου.

<sup>3</sup> Bernays νοῦ, see note c.

<sup>4</sup> mss. ὑφηγητῆς.

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<sup>a</sup> For the first of these explanations Bernays refers to Ar. *De Caelo* i. 10, 279 b 34: “They (*i.e.* those who hold that it is indestructible but generated) claim that what they say is analogous to the diagrams drawn by mathematicians; their exposition does not mean that the world ever was generated, but is used for instructional purposes, since it makes things easier to understand, just as the diagram does for those who see it in process of construction” (Guthrie’s translation, who adds that the defence according to Simplicius is “that of Xenocrates and other Platonists”).

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 14-16

bound when you were created." Some hold the 14 notion that when Plato speaks of the world as created he does not mean that it began by being created but that if it had been created it would not have been formed in any other way than that which he describes, or else that he uses the word because the parts of the world are observed to come into being and to be changed.<sup>a</sup>

But this subtlety of 15 theirs is not so good or true an idea as the view before mentioned, not merely because throughout the whole treatise <sup>b</sup> he speaks of the great Framers of deities as the Father and Maker and Artificer and this world as His work and offspring, a sensible copy of the archetypal and intelligible model, embracing in itself as objects of sense all which that model contains as objects of intelligence, an impress <sup>c</sup> for sense perception as absolutely perfect as that is for the mind. Another reason is that this view of Plato's meaning 16 has the testimony of Aristotle, who had too much respect for philosophy to falsify anything. A teacher can have no more trustworthy witness than a disciple and particularly one like Aristotle who did not treat culture as a by-work or with frivolous carelessness, but sought earnestly to transcend the truths discovered by the ancients and so struck out a new

<sup>b</sup> Though the reference is to the *Timaeus*, *passim*, Bernays notes ἔργον = κόσμος 30 B, περιέχον 31 A and ἔκγονα 50 D. We have also μίμημα παραδείγματος 49 A and ἐκμαγείον 50 C.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps rather "plastic substance" (for receiving imprints), which seems to be the meaning in 50 C, in which case τελειοτάτου will agree with ἐκμαγείον understood rather than as Leisegang (in index) with παραδείγματος. The other is the regular meaning in Philo, but does not suit πρὸς so well. Bernays indeed translates "Abdruck," but he reads νοῦ for νοῦν—i.e. "issuing from a most perfect mind."

## PHILO

ἀναγκαιοτάτων εἰς ἕκαστον φιλοσοφίας μέρος και-  
 17 νοτομήσας προσεξεύρετο. V. πατέρα δὲ

τοῦ Πλατωνείου δόγματος ἔνιοι νομίζουσι τὸν  
 ποιητὴν Ἡσίοδον, γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰόμενοι  
 τὸν κόσμον ὑπ' ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι, γενητὸν μὲν, ὅτι  
 φησὶν

“ ἦτοι μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένητ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί,”

ἄφθαρτον δέ, ὅτι διάλυσιν καὶ φθορὰν οὐ μεμή-  
 18 νυκεν αὐτοῦ. χάος δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης τόπον  
 οἶεται εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ δεξόμενον ἀνάγκη προῦπο-  
 κείσθαι σώματι, τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν ἔνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ  
 παρὰ τὴν χύσιν τοῦνομα πεποιῆσθαι νομίζοντες.

ὁποτέρως δ' ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ γενητὸν εἶναι  
 τὸν κόσμον ἐναργέστατα παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ μεμῆνυται.

19 μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
 [491] νομοθέτης Μωυσῆς γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἔφη  
 τὸν κόσμον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις· εἰσὶ δὲ πέντε, ὧν  
 τὴν πρώτην ἐπέγραψε Γένεσιν, ἐν ἣ ἄρχεται τὸν  
 τρόπον τοῦτον· “ Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν  
 οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ  
 ἀκατασκεύαστος,” εἶτα προελθὼν ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα  
 μηνύει πάλιν, ὅτι ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες καὶ ὧραι  
 καὶ ἐνιαυτοὶ σελήνη τε καὶ ἥλιος, οἱ χρόνου με-

<sup>a</sup> *Theogony* 116 f.

<sup>b</sup> *Ar. Phys.* iv. 1, 208 b 29. “Hesiod seems to have been



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 16-19

path by discovering some very vital additions to every part of philosophy. V. Some think 17 that the poet Hesiod is the father of this Platonic doctrine and suppose that he calls the world uncreated and indestructible, uncreated because he says

First Chaos was, and then broad-breasted earth  
Safe dwelling-place for all for evermore,<sup>a</sup>

indestructible because he never declared that it will be dissolved or destroyed. Chaos in Aristotle's 18 opinion is a space because a body must have something there already to hold it,<sup>b</sup> but some of the Stoics suppose that it is water and that the name is derived from its diffusion (*χύσις*).<sup>c</sup> But

whichever of these is right Hesiod very clearly states the view that the world is created and long before 19 Hesiod Moses the lawgiver of the Jews said in the Holy Books that it was created and imperishable. These books are five in number, to the first of which he gave the name of Genesis. In this he begins by saying "In the beginning God made the Heavens and the Earth and the Earth was invisible and without form."<sup>d</sup> Then again he goes on to say in the sequel that "days and nights and seasons and years and the sun and moon whose natural function is to

right in putting Chaos first, where he says Chaos was first, then earth *ὡς δέον πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι χώραν τοῖς οὐσι διὰ τὸ νομίζων, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πάντα εἶναι πον καὶ ἐν τόπῳ.*"

<sup>c</sup> This opinion is attributed to Zeno himself, *S. V. F.* i. 103, 104.

<sup>d</sup> This remarkable difference in the LXX of Gen. i. 2 from the Hebrew translated in the A.V. "without form and void" (R.V. "waste and void") is compared with *Timaeus* 51 *ἄνόρατον εἶδος τι καὶ ἄμορφον* by Bernays, who thinks that the translators had it in mind. He notes also Wisdom xi. 17 *κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης.*

## PHILO

τρήσεως φύσιν ἐδέξαντο,<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τοῦ παντός οὐρανοῦ  
μοίρας ἀθανάτου λαχόντες διατελοῦσιν ἄφθαρτοι.

- 20 Τοὺς δὲ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον κατασκευάζοντας λόγους ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὄρατὸν <θεὸν> αἰδοῦς προτέρους τακτέον οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας. ἅπασι τοῖς φθορὰν ἐνδεχομένοις αἰτίαι διτταὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἡ μὲν ἐντός, ἡ δὲ ἐκτός, προϋπόκεινται· σίδηρον γοῦν καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ τὰς τοιουτοτρόπους οὐσίας εὖροις ἂν ἀφανιζόμενας ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὲν, ὅταν ἐρπηνώδους νοσήματος τρόπον ἰὸς ἐπιδραμῶν διαφάγη, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκτός, ὅταν ἐμπιπραμένης οἰκίας ἢ πόλεως συναναφλεχθεῖσαι τῇ πυρὸς βιαίῳ ῥιπῇ διαλυθῶσιν· ὁμοιοτρόπως δὲ καὶ ζώοις ἐπιγίνεται τελευτὴ νοσήσασι μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκτός σφαπτομένοις ἢ καταλενομένοις ἢ ἐμπιπραμένοις ἢ θάνατον οὐ καθαρὸν τὸν δι’
- 21 ἀγχόνης ὑπομένουσιν. εἰ δὴ φθείρεται καὶ κόσμος, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἤτοι ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐκτός ἢ πρὸς τινος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διαφθαρήσεται δυνάμεων· ἀμήχανον δ’ ἐκάτερον· ἐκτός μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου, πάντων εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ συνεραμι-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn ἔδειξαν. He quotes § 52 below and also *De Op.* 60 and *Spec. Leg.* i. 90, and what is closer to this passage *Leg. All.* i. 2 ἡ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ κίνησις χρόνου φύσιν ἔδειξεν. Still “indicating the nature of the nature of time” is not quite the same as “indicating the nature of the measurement of time.” On the other hand ἐδέξαντο φύσιν, which Bernays translates “die Eigenschaft empfinden,” is a strange expression.

<sup>a</sup> The allusion is no doubt to Gen. viii. 22 E.V. “While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.”

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 19-21

measure time are together with the whole heaven destined to immortality and continue indestructible." <sup>a</sup>

Respect for that visible God requires that we <sup>20</sup> should begin the discussion in the proper way by setting forth first the arguments which contend that it is uncreated and indestructible. All things which are liable to perish are subject to two fundamental sources of destruction, the external and the internal. Thus iron, brass and similar substances will be found to vanish of themselves when devoured by the rust which courses over them like a creeping sickness <sup>b</sup> ; and also through external agencies, when a house or city is burnt and they too are caught in the flames and dissolved through the violence of the rushing fire. Similarly, too, living creatures die of themselves through disease or through external causes, being slain with the sword or stoned or burnt or suffering the unclean death of hanging. <sup>c</sup> Now if the world is <sup>21</sup> destroyed it will necessarily be through either some force from without or some of those which it contains within itself, and both of these are impossible. For there is nothing outside the world since all things have been brought into contribution to fill it up, and

The LXX text is confused and difficult to translate grammatically, but gives the same meaning that these will continue while the earth lasts, but not that the earth will last. In the words οἱ χρόνοι κτλ. there is also an allusion to Gen. i. 14 "Let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years," which again gives no proof of everlastingness.

<sup>b</sup> A familiar figure with Philo, applied to desire or vice, *Quod Det.* 110, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 83, *De Dec.* 150 and to the spread of famine *De Ios.* 160 (there called ἐρπήν). See also *De Prov.* 30.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Mut.* 62 ἐπ' ἀγρόνην ἦξεν, ἵνα . . . μηδὲ καθαρῶ θανάτῳ τελευτήσῃ.

## PHILO

σθέντων· οὕτως γὰρ εἰς τε ἔσται καὶ ὅλος καὶ ἀγήρως, εἰς μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀπολειφθέντων τινῶν ἕτερον ἂν τῷ νῦν ὄντι γενέσθαι ὅμοιον, ὅλος δὲ ἔνεκα τοῦ σύμπασαν τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαναλῶσθαι, ἀγήρως δὲ καὶ ἄνοσος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ νόσοις καὶ γήρα σώματα ἄλωτὰ θερμότησι καὶ ψύξεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐναντιότησι προσεπιπιπούσαις ἕξωθεν ἰσχυρῶς ἀνατρέπεται, ὧν οὐδεμία δύναμις ἀποδράσα κυκλοῦται καὶ ἐπιτίθεται, πασῶν,<sup>1</sup> μηδενὸς ἀποστατοῦντος μέρους, ὀλοκλήρων ἐγκατειλημμένων εἶσω. εἰ δ' ἄρα τί ἐστὶν ἐκτός, πάντως ἂν εἴη κενόν, ἢ ἀπαθὴς φύσις, ἣν ἀδύνατον  
 22 παθεῖν τι ἢ δρᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τινος αἰτίας διαλυθήσεται τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος καὶ μείζον ἔσται καὶ κραταιότερον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀτοπώτατον· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος  
 [492] ἀνυπερβλήτῳ κράτει | χρώμενος ἄγει τὰ πάντα μέρη, πρὸς μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἀγόμενος· ἔπειτα διότι<sup>2</sup> διττῶν οὐσῶν φθορᾶς αἰτιῶν, τῆς μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς δὲ ἐκτός, ἃ τὴν ἐτέραν οἶά τε<sup>3</sup> ὑπομένειν,  
 23 δεκτικὰ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐστὶ πάντως. σημεῖον δέ· βουῖς καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ζῶα, διότι πέφυκεν ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ σιδήρου, καὶ νόσῳ τελευτήσῃ· χαλεπὸν γὰρ μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον εὐρεῖν, ὃ τι τὴν ἕξωθεν αἰτίαν πεφυκὸς ὑπομένειν  
 [497] τῆς φθορᾶς ἄδεκτον ἔσται<sup>4</sup> | κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς τῆς  
 24 ἐνδοθεν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκτός

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παθῶν.

<sup>2</sup> So MSS. and the other editors. Cohn corrects it to ἔπειτα δέ, ὅτι, which is not needed. πρῶτον μὲν is, I believe, more often followed by ἔπειτα than by ἔπειτα δὲ or at least as often.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οἶεται.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 21-24

filled it must be if it is to be one and a total and unaging: one because if some things are left out another world would come into being like the one that now is; total because all that exists is used up to make it; proof against age and disease because the bodies which fall a prey to diseases and old age succumb to the powerful onsets from outside of heat and cold and all other opposite extremes,<sup>a</sup> and none of these forces can escape from the world to surround and attack it, for they are all in their entirety confined within it and no part of them stays away from it. And if there is anything outside it will necessarily be a void, 'the impassive form of existence which cannot be acted on or act. Neither again will any- 22  
thing internal cause its dissolution. First because if it did the part would be greater and stronger than the whole, which is against all reason. For the world while exerting a force which nothing can surpass propels all its parts and is propelled by none. Secondly because as the sources of destruction are twofold, one external and one internal, things which can be subject to one of these two must certainly be susceptible to the other. As a proof of this we see 23  
that an ox or a horse or a man or other similar creatures since they are liable to be killed by an iron weapon are also liable to die through disease. For it is difficult or rather impossible to find anything which if susceptible to destruction through an external cause is entirely proof against an internal. Since then it has been shown that the world will not 24

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 526.

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<sup>4</sup> On the displacement of the text in the mss. at this point see App. p. 527.

## PHILO

φθαρησόμενος ἐδείχθη ὁ κόσμος, τῷ μηδὲν ἕξω καταλελειφθαι πάντως, οὐδ' ὑπό τινος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὴν προεπιλογισθείσαν ἀπόδειξιν, καθ' ἣν τὸ ἀλωτὸν τῇ ἑτέρα τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν  
 25 ἐπεφύκει δέχεσθαι. VI. μαρτύρια δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τιμαίῳ περὶ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἄνοσον εἶναι καὶ μὴ φθαρησόμενον τάδε· “ τῶν δὲ δὴ τεττάρων ἐν ὅλον ἕκαστον εἴληφεν ἢ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις· ἐκ γὰρ πυρὸς παντὸς ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς συνέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ συνιστάς, μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ δύναμιν ἕξωθεν ὑπολιπών, τάδε διανοηθείς·  
 26 πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα ὅλον ὅτι μάλιστα ζῶον, τέλειον ἐκ τελειῶν μερῶν, εἴη· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐν, ἅτε οὐχ ὑπολελειμμένων ἐξ ὧν ἄλλο τοιοῦτον γένοιτ' ἂν· ἔτι δέ, ἵνα ἀγήρων καὶ ἄνοσον ᾗ, κατανοῶν ὡς συστάτῳ<sup>1</sup> σώματι θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δυνάμεις ἰσχυρὰς ἔχει περιστάμενα ἕξωθεν καὶ προσπίπτοντα ἀκαίρως λυπεῖ<sup>2</sup> καὶ νόσους καὶ γῆρας ἐπάγοντα φθίνειν ποιεῖ. διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τόνδε θεὸς<sup>3</sup> ὅλον ἐξ ὅλων ἀπάντων τέλειον  
 27 καὶ ἀγήρων καὶ ἄνοσον αὐτὸν ἐτεκτήνατο.” τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παρὰ Πλάτωνος πρὸς τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν τοῦ κόσμου μαρτύριον εἰλήφθω, τὸ δ' ἀγένητον παρὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας<sup>4</sup>. ἔπεται μὲν γὰρ τῷ γενομένῳ διάλυσις, ἀφθαρσία δὲ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκεῖνο ποιήσας

“ τό τοι γενόμενον κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται ”

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὡς τὰ τῷ.

<sup>2</sup> Plato λυεῖ. On this and other variations in the quotations from Plato's text see App. p. 527.

<sup>3</sup> Plato ἐν.

<sup>4</sup> mss. ἀληθείας.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 24-27

be destroyed by anything external because nothing at all has been left outside, neither will anything within it cause its destruction as demonstrated by the argument stated above, namely that that which is liable to be destroyed by one of the causes must be susceptible to the other.

VI. In the *Timaeus*, too, we have the following testimony to show that the world is proof against disease and destruction in the future.<sup>a</sup> “ Now the framing of the world took up the whole of each of these four elements, for out of all fire, of all water and air and earth did the framer fashion it, leaving no part nor power of any without. Therein he had this intent, first that it might be a creature, perfect to the utmost with all its parts perfect, next that it might be one, seeing that nothing was left over by which another of the kind should be formed: furthermore, that it might be free from age and sickness, for he reflected that when hot things and cold and all such as have strong powers gather round a composite body from without and fall unseasonably upon it they annoy it and bringing upon it sickness and age cause it to decay. With this motive and on such reasons God fashioned it as a whole, with each of its parts whole in itself so as to be perfect, and free from age and sickness.” We may take this as Plato’s testimony to the indestructibility of the world; that it is uncreated follows the natural law of consequences. Dissolution is consequential to the created, indestructibility to the uncreated. The author of the verse “ All that is born is due to death ”<sup>b</sup> seems to

<sup>a</sup> *Timaeus* 32 c. The translation here and in § 38 mostly follows that of Archer-Hind.

<sup>b</sup> The source is unknown.

δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, συνεῖς<sup>1</sup> ἀκολουθίαν τῶν αἰτιῶν τῆς (γενέσεως καὶ τῆς) φθορᾶς, \* \* \* ὡδ' ἔχει.<sup>2</sup>

- 28  
[498] Ἐτέρως δέ ἐστι τοιούδε· | πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν συν-  
θέτων φθείρεται, διάλυσιν εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη  
λαμβάνει· διάλυσιν δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα ἢ πρὸς τὸ  
κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστων ἐπάνοδος, ὥστε κατὰ τοῦ-  
ναντίον ἢ σύνθεσις εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν τὰ συν-  
ελθόντα βεβίασται. καὶ δὴ τὰδ'<sup>3</sup> οὕτως ἔοικεν  
29 ἀψευδέστατα ἔχειν. ἄνθρωποι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τετ-  
τάρων στοιχείων, ἃ δὴ ὅλα τοῦ παντός ἐστιν  
οὐρανοῦ,<sup>4</sup> γῆς, (ὑδατος), ἀέρος τε καὶ πυρός,  
βραχέα τὰ μέρη δανεισάμενοι συνεκράθημεν· τὰ  
δ' ἀνακραθέντα τῆς κατὰ φύσιν θέσεως ἐστέρηται,  
θερμότητος μὲν τῆς ἀνωφοίτου κατω(σθείσης),  
τῆς δὲ γεώδους καὶ βάρους ἐχούσης οὐσίας ἐπελα-  
φρισθείσης καὶ τὸν ἄνω τόπον ἀντιλαβούσης, ὃν<sup>5</sup>  
τὸ γεωδέστατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπέσχηκε κεφαλῆ.  
30 δεσμῶν δὲ φαυλότατος ὃν ἐσφυγξε βία, βαιὸς<sup>6</sup> καὶ  
ὀλιγοχρόνιος· ῥήγνυται γὰρ θᾶπτον ὑπὸ τῶν δε-  
θέντων, ἅτε ἀπαυχενιζόντων διὰ πόθον [ὑπὸ] τῆς  
κατὰ φύσιν κινήσεως, πρὸς ἣν σπεύδοντα μετ-

<sup>1</sup> mss. συνθεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Suggestions for completing or correcting this sentence are: (1) Cumont εἰπεῖν for ἔχει, (2) Bernays <ὡδε λέγειν καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἢ ἀπόδειξις> ὡδ' ἔχει, (3) Cohn and Bücheler <μαρτυρεῖν ὅρ ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι> ὡδ' ἔχει.

<sup>3</sup> mss. καὶ δῆτα.

<sup>4</sup> Cohn, presumably like Bernays, takes οὐρανοῦ as agreeing with παντός. But though οὐρανός can = κόσμος (see § 4), can it be said to have four elements? Cumont expunges οὐρανοῦ. He quotes *De Som.* i. 15, where the constituents, of which we as well as the Cosmos are composed, are said to be earth, water, air, heaven, and to the same effect *Mos.* i. 113,



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 27-30

have hit the truth and to have understood the causal connexion between birth and destruction.

The matter is put otherwise thus. All compound 28 things which are destroyed are dissolved into what they were compounded from. Dissolution then is found to be nothing else than a return to the natural condition of each, and therefore conversely composition has forced the ingredients thus collected into an unnatural condition. And indeed the absolute truth of this appears as follows. We men are 29 an amalgamation out of the four elements which in their totality are elements of the universe, namely earth, water, air and fire, out of which we have borrowed only small pieces. But the pieces thus amalgamated have lost their natural position. Heat the upward soaring is thrust down and the earthy and weighty substance is lightened and has taken instead the upper position which is occupied by the most earthy of our constituents, the head.<sup>a</sup> But the 30 bond which violence has clinched is the most worthless of all bonds and lasts for but a little time. Quickly it is broken by the rebellious prisoners in their yearning for their natural free movement towards which they eagerly take their departure.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the skull. Cumont's reading (see note 5) gives a more natural sense. It is strange to find the head called our most earthy part.

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ii. 37. These however rather point to the omission of *πυρός*. The addition of *ὑδατος* which all three editors make is evidently necessary.

<sup>5</sup> One MSS. *κεφαλῆ*. Cumont *ᾧστε . . . ἐν κεφαλῆ*. In this case *ἐπέσχηκε* = "has stopped"; or "takes up its place," see note *a*.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. *βίαιος*.

## PHILO

ανίσταται· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν τραγικὸν

“ χωρεῖ δ’ ὀπίσω  
τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ’ εἰς γαίαν,  
τὰ δ’ ἀπ’ αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς<sup>1</sup>  
εἰς οὐράνιον πόλον ἦλθε πάλιν·  
θνήσκει δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,  
διακρινόμενον δ’ ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο  
μορφὴν ἰδίαν<sup>2</sup> ἀπέδειξεν.”

31 τοῖς μὲν δὴ φθειρομένοις ἅπασι νόμος ἀναγέ-  
γραπται καὶ θεσμὸς οὗτος, ὁπότε μὲν ὑφέστηκε  
τὰ συνελθλυθότα ἐν τῇ κράσει, πρὸ τῆς κατὰ  
φύσιν τάξεως ἀταξίας ἀντιμετεκληφέναι καὶ πρὸς  
τοὺς ἐναντίους τόπους μετανίστασθαι, ὡς τρόπον  
τινὰ ξενιτεύειν δοκεῖν, ὁπότε δὲ διαλύοιτο, πρὸς  
τὴν οἰκείαν τῆς φύσεως λήξιν ἀνακάμπτειν.

32 VII. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἀμέτοχος τῆς ἐν  
τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀταξίας ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ, φέρε, θεα-  
σώμεθα· φθειρομένου τὰ μέρη νυνὶ μὲν ἀνάγκη  
τετάχθαι τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἕκαστα χώραν· τοῦτο  
δὲ ὑπονοεῖν οὐκ εὐαγές· ἀρίστην γὰρ θέσιν καὶ  
τάξιν ἐναρμόνιον τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη πάντα  
εἴληχεν, ὡς ἕκαστον καθάπερ πατρίδι φιλοχωροῦν  
33 μὴ ζητεῖν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν. διὰ τοῦτο γῆ μὲν  
ὁ μεσαίτατος ἀπενεμήθη τόπος, ἐφ’ ἣν πάντα τὰ  
γεώδη, κἂν ἀναρρίψης, καταφέρεται — τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. γῆς.

<sup>2</sup> So MSS. here, elsewhere ἐτέραν. See note a.

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<sup>a</sup> These seven lines, the last three of which are quoted also in §§ 5 and 144, are quoted in bits by several writers including Clement, who says that they come from the *Chrysisippus*  
206

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 30-33

As the tragic poet says

What springs from earth goes back to earth,  
The ether-born to heaven's vault returns ;  
Naught that is born can die ;  
Hither and thither its parts disperse  
And take their proper form.<sup>a</sup>

Now the law laid down to govern all things which 31  
are destroyed is this. When the assembled things  
are in the combined state of existence they have  
accepted conditions of disorder in exchange for their  
natural order and move away into positions opposite  
to the natural. So in a sense they seem to live like  
strangers in a foreign land. But when they are  
dissolved they return to the condition proper to  
their nature. VII. But the world has 32

nothing of the disorder which exists in the com-  
pounds of which we have been speaking. Observa-  
tion will show that if it undergoes destruction its  
several parts must at present have been arranged  
in an unnatural position and such a supposition is  
irreverent. For all the parts of the world have been  
given the best possible situation and harmony of  
order, so that each is as it were in its beloved father-  
land and does not seek any change for the better.  
And so the earth has been assigned the mid-most 33  
position to which all things of earth descend even if  
they are thrown up, a sign that this is their natural

of Euripides. Besides these seven there are seven others,  
given by Sextus Empiricus, which, we learn from the para-  
phrase given by Vitruvius of the whole fourteen, must have  
preceded our seven. In these Aether and Earth are addressed  
as the father and mother of all things living. Vitruvius's  
paraphrase ends with "in eandem recidere, in qua fuerant,  
propriatatem," which shows that he read *ιδίαν* and not *ἐτέραν*.  
See Nauck on Fr. 839 of Euripides.

- [499] | σημεῖον χώρας τῆς κατὰ φύσιν· ἔνθα γὰρ μὴ ὑπὸ βίας ὅτιοῦν ἐνεχθὲν ἴσονται καὶ ἡρεμεῖ, τὸν οἰκεῖον εἴληχε χῶρον — ὕδωρ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνακέχυται [δεύτερον], ἀήρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὸν ἄνω κεχώρηκεν, ἀήρ μὲν τὸν μεθόριον ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς κληρωσάμενος τόπον, πῦρ δὲ τὸν ἀνωτάτω· διὸ κἂν ἀναψάμενος δᾶδα πρὸς γῆν καταφέρῃς, ἢ φλόξ οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἀντιβιάσεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς κίνησιν ἐπικουφίσασα
- 34 αὐτὴν ἀναδραμεῖται. εἰ δὲ φθορᾶς μὲν αἴτιον ἢ παρὰ φύσιν τάξις τῶν ἄλλων [ἔχει] ζώων, ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ φύσιν ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν διατέτακται τὰς οἰκειᾶς διακληρωσάμενα χώρας, ἐνδίκως ἂν λέγοιτο ὁ κόσμος ἄφθαρτος.
- 35 Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐκεῖνο παντί τῳ δῆλον, ὅτι φύσις ἐκάστη διατηρεῖν καὶ διασώζειν, εἰ δ' οἷόν τε εἴη, καὶ ἀθανατίζειν ἕκαστα ὧν φύσις ἐστὶν ἐσπούδακεν, ἢ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δένδροισι τὰ δένδρα, ἢ δ' ἐν τοῖς
- 36 ζώοις τῶν ζώων ἕκαστον. ἐξασθενεῖ<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἢ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀναγκαίως ἄγειν πρὸς ἀιδιότητα· ἢ γὰρ ἔνδεια ἢ φλογμὸς ἢ κρυμὸς ἢ μυρία ἄλλα τῶν εἰωθότων ἐπισυνίστασθαι κατασκήψαντα διέσεισε καὶ διέλυσε τὸν συνέχοντα δεσμὸν καὶ τέλος κατέρρηξε· τοιοῦτον δ' εἰ μηδὲν ἐφήδρευεν ἕξω, κἂν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ πάντα μικρά τε αὐτὴ καὶ μεγάλα
- 37 ἀγήρω διεφύλαττεν.<sup>2</sup> ἀναγκαῖον οὖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν γλίχεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὄλου διαμονῆς· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐστὶ χείρων, ὡς ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn suspects ἐξασθενεῖ on account of the infinitive following it. It may perhaps be justified on the analogy of the construction not uncommon with adjectives, e.g., νῆες ὀλίγα ἀμύνειν, or ὡς may have fallen out after ἀναγκαίως on the

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 33-37

position, for if anything stands at rest anywhere without being forced thither it is there that it has found its proper place. Water is spread over the surface of earth, and air and fire have made their way from the middle to the upper position, air having allotted to it the space between water and fire and fire the uppermost. And so even if you light a torch and make it descend to earth the flame will all the same force its way against you and speed upwards lightening itself to gain the motion natural to fire. In fact if we grant that in other creatures destruction 34 is caused by their unnatural arrangement of their parts, while in the world each of the parts is arranged naturally and has its proper position apportioned to it, we are justified in saying that the world is indestructible.

Another point which must be clear to everyone is 35 this. Nature in each case strives to maintain and conserve the thing of which it is the nature and if it were possible to render it immortal. Tree nature acts so in trees, animal nature in each kind of animal, but the nature of any particular part is necessarily 36 too feeble to carry it into a perpetual existence. For privation or scorching or chilling or the vast multitude of other circumstances which ordinarily affect it descend to shake it violently and loosen and finally break the bond which holds it together, though if no such external force were lying ready to attack it, so far as itself was concerned, it would preserve all things small or great proof against age. The 37 nature of the world then must necessarily desire the conservation of the All. For it is not inferior to

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analogy of ψυχρόν ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὥστε λούσασθαι (Madvig 149, 150).  
2 MSS. διαφυλάττειν.

## PHILO

διδράσκουσα καὶ λιποτακτοῦσα νόσον ἀνθ' ὑγείας  
καὶ φθορὰν ἀντὶ σωτηρίας παντελοῦς ἐπιχειρεῖν  
τεχνάζειν, ἐπειδὴ

“ πασάων ὑπὲρ ἧ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,  
ρεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι.”

ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστι, φθορὰν ὁ κόσμος οὐ  
δέξεται. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἡ συνέχουσα φύσις αὐτὸν  
ἀήττητός ἐστι κατὰ πολλὴν ἰσχύος ῥώμην, τῶν  
ἄλλων ὅσα βλάπτειν ἔμελλεν ἀπαξαπάντων ἐπι-  
38 κρατοῦσα. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων εὖ “ ἀπήει τε γὰρ ”  
φησὶν “ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ προσήει αὐτῷ ποθεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ  
ἦν. αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἑαυτῷ τροφήν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φθίσιον  
παρέχον<sup>1</sup> καὶ πάντ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
πάσχον<sup>1</sup> καὶ δρῶν ἐκ τέχνης γέγονεν· ἠγήσατο γὰρ  
αὐτὸ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐταρκες ὃν ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι  
μᾶλλον ἢ προσδεῆς (ἄλλων).”

39 VIII. Ἀποδεικτικώτατός γε μὴν κακείνος ὁ  
λόγος ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ μυρίους οἶδα σεμννομένους  
ὡς ἠκριβωμένῳ καὶ πάννυ ἀνεξελέγκτῳ. πυνθά-  
νονται γάρ· τίνος ἔνεκα τὸν κόσμον φθереῖ ὁ θεός;  
[500] ἦτοι γὰρ | ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι κοσμοποιῆσαι ἢ ὑπὲρ  
40 τοῦ ἕτερον κατασκευάσαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ  
πρότερον ἀλλότριον θεοῦ· πρὸς τάξιν γὰρ ἀταξίαν  
μεταβάλλειν δέον, οὐ πρὸς ἀταξίαν τάξιν· εἶτα δ'  
ὅτι καὶ μετάνοιαν πάθος καὶ νόσημα δέξεται  
ψυχῆς· ἔδει γὰρ ἢ μὴ κοσμοποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν  
ἢ κρίνοντα πρέπον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον χαίρειν τῷ  
41 γενομένῳ. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἄξιον οὐ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτὸς . . . παρέχων . . . πάσχων.

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* vi. 107 f., said of Artemis and her nymphs.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 37-41

the nature of particular parts that it should take to its heels and leave its post and try to manufacture sickness rather than health, destruction rather than complete preservation, since

High o'er them all she rears her head and brows  
Easy to recognize though all are fair.<sup>a</sup>

But if this is true the world will not be susceptible to destruction. Why so? Because the nature which holds it together fortified by its great fund of strength is invincible and prevails over everything which could injure it. And so Plato says well <sup>b</sup>: "For nothing went out from it nor entered it from anywhere. For there was nothing. For by design it was created to supply its own sustenance by its own wasting <sup>c</sup> and have all its actions and passions in itself and by itself. For its framer deemed that were it self-sufficing it would be far better than if it required aught else."

VIII. There is another highly logical line of proof <sup>39</sup> which thousands, I know, hail with pride as very exact and absolutely irrefutable. They ask what motive will God have for destroying the world. It must be either to cease from world-making or to construct another.

Now the first of these is incon- <sup>40</sup>  
sistent with God's nature, which demands that He should change disorder to order, not order to disorder. Secondly He will be allowing Himself to change His mind, and such change is an affection and distemper of the soul. For rightly He should either have made no world at all or judge His work to be befitting to Himself and rejoice in what has been made.

The second motive suggested <sup>41</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Timaeus* 33 c.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* each part or element feeds upon another. Archer-Hind compares the saying of Heracleitus quoted in § 111.

## PHILO

βραχείας ἐρεύνης. εἰ γὰρ ἕτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦν ὄντος κατασκευάσει, πάντως ὁ γενόμενος ἢ χείρων ἢ ὅμοιος ἢ κρείττων ἀποτελεσθήσεται· ὦν ἕκαστον ἐπίληπτον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ χείρων ὁ κόσμος, χείρων καὶ ὁ δημιουργός. ἀμώμητα δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ ἀνεπανόρθωτα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τελειοτάτη τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη δημιουργηθέντα·

“ οὐδὲ ” γὰρ “ γυνή ” φασὶ “ τοσσόνδε νόου ἐπι-  
 δεύεται ἐσθλοῦ,  
 ὥστε χερείον’ ἐλέσθαι ἀμεινοτέρων (παρεόν-  
 των).”

ἐμπρεπὲς δὲ θεῶ τὰ ἄμορφα μορφοῦν καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις περιτιθέναι θαυμαστὰ κάλλη.

42 εἰ δ’ ὅμοιος, ματαιοπόνος ὁ τεχνίτης, οὐδὲν κομιδῆ  
 νηπίων παιδων διαφέρων, οἳ πολλάκις παρ’ αἰγια-  
 λοῖς ἀθύροντες ψάμμου γεωλόφους ἀνιστᾶσι κᾄπειθ’  
 ὑφαιροῦντες ταῖς χερσὶ πάλιν ἐρείπουσι· πολὺ γὰρ  
 ἄμεινον τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὅμοιον μηδὲν μῆτε  
 ἀφαιροῦντα μῆτε προστιθέντα μηδ’ αὖ πρὸς τὸ  
 ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον μεταβάλλοντα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπαξ  
 43 γενόμενον κατὰ χώραν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ κρείτ-

τονα δημιουργήσει, γενήσεται τότε κρείττων καὶ ὁ  
 δημιουργός, ὥσθ’ ἡνίκα τὸν πρότερον κατεσκεύαζε  
 καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν ἀτελέστερος,  
 ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν ἐστίν· ἴσος γὰρ αὐτὸς  
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὅμοιος ὁ θεός, μῆτε ἀνεσιν πρὸς τὸ  
 χεῖρον μῆτ’ ἐπίτασιν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον δεχόμενος.

<sup>a</sup> Source unknown.



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 41-43

demands no little examination. If he should construct another world to take the place of that which now exists, the work thus made must be either a worse, or a like or a superior construction and each of these suppositions is unsatisfactory. For if it is worse its framer also is worse, but the works of God framed with the most consummate skill and knowledge are not liable to censure or condemnation or correction. As they say,

Not even a woman so far lacks good sense  
As when the better's there to choose the worse.<sup>a</sup>

And it befits God to give form to the formless and invest the ugliest things with marvellous beauties.

If it is a similar world, the craftsman 42 has wasted his toil and differs not a whit from quite senseless children who often when playing on the beach erect great mounds of sand and then undermine them with their hands and send them tumbling back to the ground.<sup>b</sup> Far better than constructing a similar world would it be neither to take away nor to add, neither to change for the better or for the worse but to leave where it is what was once originally created.

If the work is to be better, the 43 workman also will then be better, consequently less perfect in skill and intelligence when he constructed the first world. And even to harbour such a thought is profane, for God is equal to Himself and like Himself; His power admits neither relaxation to make it worse, nor tension to make it better. Such

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Il.* xv. 362 ff. :

ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον παῖς ἄγχι θαλάσσης,  
ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ὄν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέησιν,  
αἷψ' αὐτίς συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων.

## PHILO

ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνωμαλίας ἄνθρωποι κεχωρήκασιν, πρὸς ἐκάτερον τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον πεφυκότες μεταβάλλειν, αὐξήσῃσι καὶ προκοπαῖς καὶ βελτιώσῃσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰωθότες

44 χρῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν τῶν θνητῶν ἔργα ἡμῶν φθαρτὰ δεόντως ἂν γένοιτο, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀθανάτου κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον ἀφθαρτα δῆπου· τῇ γὰρ φύσει τῶν τεχνιτῶν εὐλογον τὰ δημιουργηθέντα ἐξομοιοῦσθαι.

45 IX. Καὶ μὴν ἅπαντί που<sup>1</sup> κάκεῖνο δῆλον, ὅτι φθειρομένης μὲν τῆς γῆς ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ χερσαῖα τῶν ζώων καθ' ὅλον τὸ γένος ἀπόλλυσθαι, φθειρομένου δὲ ὕδατος τὰ ἔνυδρα, καὶ αἶρος μέντοι καὶ

46 πυρὸς τὰ ἀεροπόρα καὶ πυρίγονα. κατ' ἀνάλογον οὖν εἰ φθείρεται ὁ οὐρανός, φθαρῆσεται μὲν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη, φθαρῆσονται δ' οἱ λοιποὶ πλάνητες, φθαρῆσονται δ' οἱ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες, ὁ τοσοῦτος |

[501] αἰσθητῶν θεῶν εὐδαίμων τὸ πάλαι νομισθεὶς στρατός. ὁ δὲ [εἰ] γένοιτ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ θεοὺς φθειρομένους ὑπονοεῖν· ἴσον γὰρ ἔστι τῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀθανάτους ὑπονοεῖν. καίτοι τις<sup>2</sup> ἐν ἀτίμων συγκρίσει τοῦτ' ἂν εὖροι σκοπῶν εὐλογώτερον ἐκείνου· χάριτι μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ<sup>3</sup> θνητὸν ἀθανασίας μεταλαχεῖν εἰκὸς ἔστιν, ἀφθαρσίαν δὲ θεοὺς ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> Cohn corrects to τῷ, I think, unnecessarily. He says that παντί τῷ is very common in Philo, which is certainly true, and that που is unsuitable. Why? Having used παντί τῷ just above, § 35, he might naturally prefer to vary the form of introduction.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καὶ τοῖς οἱ καίτοι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐκείνου, χάριτι μὲν θεοῦ ὄν· θνητὸν μὲν γὰρ κτλ.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 43-46

irregularities occur in the lives of men. It is their nature to change in both directions for good and for worse. To grow, to advance, to improve and their opposites are to them common events. Add to this 44 that the works of us mortals will rightly be destructible, while those of Him the immortal may surely be expected to be indestructible. For it is reasonable to suppose that what the craftsmen have wrought should be assimilated to the nature of those who wrought them.

IX. Further, it is surely clear to everyone that if 45 the earth is destroyed land animals too as a race must all perish : so, too, if water is destroyed, the aquatic, if air and fire, the traversers of the air and the fire-born.<sup>a</sup> On the same analogy, if heaven is 46 destroyed, the sun and moon will be destroyed, so also the other planets, so also the fixed stars, that mighty host of visible gods whose blessedness from of old has been recognized. This would be the same as supposing that gods are destroyed, and that is on a par with supposing also that men are immortal.<sup>b</sup> Though if we compare one futility with another we shall find on examination that this is more reasonable than that. Through the grace of God a mortal may conceivably gain immortality, but that gods should

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Gig.* 7 and *De Plant.* 12, where they are said to be seen particularly in Macedonia.

<sup>b</sup> Bernays explains this as a Peripatetic hit at the Stoic readiness to believe that men become gods. He quotes among other references Cic. *De Nat. Deorum* i. 39, where Chrysippus is declared to have included among the many things which he held to be divine "homines eos qui immortalitatem essent consecuti." The Peripatetic then says here that a doctrine which involved the death of the heavenly beings is even worse than that which asserts the deification of men.

## PHILO

βαλεῖν ἀδύνατον, κὰν αἱ ἀνθρώπων σοφίαι κακο-  
 47 μανῶσι. καὶ μὴν οἷ γε τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ τὰς  
 παλιγγενεσίας εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου νομίζουσι  
 καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἀστέρας θεοὺς εἶναι, οὓς τῷ  
 λόγῳ διαφθείρειν οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν. ἔδει γὰρ ἢ  
 μύδρους διαπύρους ἀποφύνασθαι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι  
 τῶν οἶα περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλυαρούντων τοῦ σύμ-  
 παντος οὐρανοῦ, ἢ θείας ἢ δαιμονίας φύσεις νομί-  
 ζοντας τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν θεοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσ-  
 ομολογήσαι. νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον δόξης ἀληθοῦς  
 διήμαρτον, ὥστε λελήθασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ  
 — ψυχῇ δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου — φθορὰν ἐπιφέροντες  
 48 ἐξ ὧν ἀνακόλουθα φιλοσοφοῦσι. Χρῦσιππος γοῦν  
 ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ  
 ἀξαναομένου τερατεύεται τι τοιοῦτον· προκατα-  
 σκεύασας ὅτι “ δύο ἰδίως ποιᾶ<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 οὐσίας ἀμήχανον συστήναι,” φησὶν· “ ἔστω θεωρίας  
 ἔνεκα τὸν μὲν τινα ὀλόκληρον, τὸν δὲ χωρὶς ἐπι-  
 νοεῖσθαι τοῦ ἑτέρου ποδός, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν μὲν  
 ὀλόκληρον Δίωνα, τὸν δὲ ἀτελῆ Θέωνα, κᾶπειτα  
 ἀποτέμεσθαι Δίωνος τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν ποδοῖν.”  
 ζητουμένου δὴ, πότερος ἔφθαρται, τὸν Θέωνα  
 φάσκειν οἰκειότερον εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ παραδοξο-

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn and Cumont for mss. εἰδοποιούς. Arnim how-  
 ever in *S. V. F.* ii. 397 quoting this passage has ἰδίως ποιούς,  
 and as several other passages from Plutarch, etc., have the  
 masculine, it seems that this as nearer to the mss. is correct.

<sup>a</sup> The meaning is to be judged from *De Som.* i. 22 “ Some  
 people have declared them (the stars) to be . . . masses of fiery  
 metal, for which they themselves deserve a prison and mill-  
 house (*i.e.* a place for hard labour like Lat. “pistrinum”), in

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 46-48

lose their indestructibility is impossible whatever the mischievous ravings of men's philosophies may say. And indeed those who propound the doctrines of 47 conflagration and rebirth hold and openly declare the god-head of the stars which they destroy in their theorizing without a blush. For they must either declare them to be lumps of red hot metal as do some of those who nonsensically talk of the whole heaven as if it were a prison,<sup>a</sup> or regarding them as divine or superhuman beings also acknowledge that they have the indestructibility which befits gods. In fact they err so far from the true doctrine that they fail to observe that in their inconsistent philosophizing they are imposing destruction on providence also which is 48 the soul of the world. So at least says the most esteemed among them, Chrysippus, who in his treatise on "increase" makes the following marvellous statement.<sup>b</sup> Starting from the premise that there cannot be two individuals qualifying the same substance he continues "as an illustration, suppose that one person has all his members and that another has only one foot and let us call the first Dion and the defective one Theon and then suppose that Dion has one of his feet cut off." Now if we ask which of the two has suffered destruction, he thinks that Theon is the more correct answer. This savours

which such instruments are kept to punish impiety." And both passages seem to be connected with the story that Anaxagoras was prosecuted for impiety because he said that the sun was a *μύδρος διάπυρος*. They seem to be the only passages which suggest that such a form of punishment was used in prisons. Was there perhaps a story that Anaxagoras when imprisoned, as according to one version he was, was subjected to this as an appropriate punishment?

<sup>b</sup> On the meaning of the term *ιδίως ποιόν* or *ποιός* and the argument of §§ 48-51 see App. p. 528.

## PHILO

49 λογούντος μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἢ ἀληθεύοντος. πῶς γὰρ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς μέρος, ὁ Θέων, ἀνήρπασται, ὁ δ' ἀποκοπεὶς τὸν πόδα Δίων οὐχὶ διέφθαρται; “δεόντως” φησὶν· “ἀναδεδράμηκε γὰρ ὁ ἐκτμηθεὶς τὸν πόδα Δίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀτελῆ τοῦ Θέωνος οὐσίαν, καὶ δύο ἰδίως ποιᾷ<sup>1</sup> περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐ δύνατ' εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν τὸν μὲν Δίωνα μένειν ἀναγκαῖον, τὸν δὲ Θέωνα διεφθάρθαι.”

“τὰ δ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς ἀλίσκόμενα”

φησὶν ὁ τραγικός· ἀπομαζάμενος γὰρ τις τὸν |  
 [502] τύπον τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐφαρμόσας τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ  
 δείξει σαφέστατα καὶ αὐτὴν φθειρομένην τὴν πρό-  
 50 νοιαν. σκόπει δ' ὧδε· ὑποκείσθω τὸ μὲν<sup>2</sup> ὡσανεὶ  
 Δίων ὁ κόσμος — τέλειος γάρ —, τὸ δὲ<sup>2</sup> ὡσανεὶ  
 Θέων ἢ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ, διότι τοῦ ὅλου τὸ  
 μέρος ἔλαττον, καὶ ἀφαιρείσθω, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Δίωνος ὁ πούς, οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου ὅσον  
 51 αὐτοῦ σωματοειδές. οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη λέγειν ὅτι ὁ  
 μὲν κόσμος οὐκ ἔφθαρται ὁ τὸ σῶμα ἀφαιρεθείς,  
 ὡσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀποκοπεὶς τὸν πόδα Δίων, ἀλλ' ἢ  
 τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ, ὡσπερ Θέων ὁ μηδὲν παθών.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος ἐπ' ἐλάττονα οὐσίαν ἀνέδραμεν,  
 ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς, ἐφθάρη δ'  
 ἢ ψυχὴ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δύο ἰδίως ποιᾷ<sup>1</sup> εἶναι  
 περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἔκθεσμον δὲ τὸ λέγειν

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 49-51

more of paradox than of truth. For how can one 49 say that Theon the unmutilated has been made away with while Dion whose foot is amputated has suffered no destruction? "Quite rightly," he replies, "for Dion who has had his foot amputated has passed over to the defective substance of Theon. Two individuals cannot qualify the same substratum and so Dion must remain and Theon has been destroyed."

Themselves, no others, winged the shaft which slew them,<sup>a</sup>

as says the tragic poet. For by reproducing this form of argument and applying it to the whole world one can very clearly show that providence itself is also destroyed. Consider it as follows. Postulate 50 on the one hand the world which is complete like Dion and on the other the soul of the world as Theon, for the part is less than the whole. Then just as we take away Dion's foot, take away from the world all its bodily part. Then we must say 51 that the world which has lost its body has not been destroyed just as Dion whose foot was cut off was not destroyed. But the soul of the world has been destroyed just as Theon who suffered no injury was destroyed. The world has passed over into a lesser state of being since its bodily part has been taken from it and its soul has been destroyed because two individuals cannot qualify the same substratum.

<sup>a</sup> A fragment of the *Myrmidons* of Aeschylus. The passage is often quoted with or without the preceding lines

ὄδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος,  
πληγέντ' ἀτράκτω τοξικῶ τὸν αἰετὸν  
εἰπεῖν ἰδόντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος,  
τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς  
ἀλίσκόμεσθα.

φθείρεσθαι τὴν πρόνοιαν· ἀφθάρτου δὲ ὑπαρχούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀφθαρτον εἶναι.

- 52 X. Μεγίστην μέντοι παρέχεται πίστιν εἰς αἰδιό-  
τητα καὶ ὁ χρόνος. εἰ γὰρ ἀγένητος ὁ χρόνος, ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἀγένητος. διὰ τί; ὅτι, ἢ  
φησιν ὁ μέγας Πλάτων, ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες μῆνες  
τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδοι χρόνον ἔδειξαν. ἀμή-  
χανον δέ τι τούτων συστήναι δίχα ἡλίου κινήσεως  
καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ περιφορᾶς· ὥστ' εὐθυ-  
βόλως ἀποδεδόσθαι πρὸς τῶν εἰωθότων τὰ πράγ-  
ματα ὀρίζεσθαι χρόνον διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου  
κινήσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑγιές ἐστι, γίνεται ὁ  
53 κόσμος ἰσηλιξ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αἴτιος. πάντων δ'  
ἀτοπώτατον ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι ἦν ποτε κόσμος,<sup>1</sup> ἠνίκα  
οὐκ ἦν χρόνος<sup>1</sup>. ἀναρχος γὰρ καὶ ἀτελεύτητος ἡ  
τούτου φύσις, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἦν, τὸ ποτέ,  
τὸ ἠνίκα, χρόνον συνεμφαίνει. τούτῳ δ' ἀκό-  
[492] λουθον τὸ μηδὲ χρόνον<sup>2</sup> | ὑποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτόν,  
ἠνίκα κόσμος οὐκ ἦν· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑπάρχον οὐδὲ  
κινεῖται· διάστημα δὲ κοσμικῆς κινήσεως ἐδείχθη  
ὁ χρόνος ὢν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἐκάτερον ἐξ αἰδίου  
ὑφεστάναι γενέσεως ἀρχὴν μὴ λαβόντα· τὰ δ' αἰδία  
54 φθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτα. τάχα τις εὐρεσιλογῶν Στωι-  
κὸς ἐρεῖ, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδεδόσθαι διάστημα τῆς τοῦ  
κόσμου κινήσεως οὐχὶ τοῦ νυνὶ διακεκοσμημένου  
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὑπο-  
νοουμένου. πρὸς ὃν λεκτέον· τὴν ἀκοσμίαν, ᾧ  
γενναῖε, μετατιθεῖς τὰ ὀνόματα κόσμον καλεῖς· εἰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χρόνος . . . κόσμος.

<sup>2</sup> On the transposition of the text at this point see App. p. 527.

<sup>a</sup> *Timaeus* 37 E.



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 51-54

Now to say that providence is destroyed is an atrocity but if providence is indestructible the world also is indestructible.

X. Another very weighty proof to show its per- 52  
petuity is supplied by time. If time is uncreated, the world also necessarily must be uncreated. Why? Because as great Plato says time is indicated by days and nights and months and successions of years, and none of these can subsist without the movement of the sun and the revolution of the whole heaven.<sup>a</sup> Thus people who are accustomed to define things have correctly explained time as what measures the movement of the universe, and since this is sound, the world is coeval with time and its original source. But nothing can be so preposterous as to suppose that 53  
there was a time when the world was when time was not. Time by its nature has no beginning or end,<sup>a</sup> since these very terms "was, time when, when," involve the idea of time. From this it follows that time also did not exist of itself when the world was not, for what does not subsist does not move either and time has been shown to be what measures the cosmic movement. It is necessary therefore that both should have subsisted from everlasting without having any beginning in which they came into being and things which are from everlasting are not susceptible of destruction. Possibly some argumenta- 54  
tive Stoic quibbler will say that time is explained as the measurement of the movement not only of the world of the present cosmic order but of that postulated at the conflagration. The answer to this is, "My friend, you are transferring your terms and give the sense of Cosmos to the negation of Cosmos, for if this world which we see is very fitly called

## PHILO

γὰρ οὗτος ὃν ὀρώμεν ἐτύμως καὶ προσφύεστατα κόσμος κέκληται, διατεταγμένος καὶ διακεκοσμημένος ἀνεπανορθώτου<sup>1</sup> τέχνης ἀκρότητι, τὴν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δεόντως ἂν τις ἀκοσμίαν ὀνομάσαι.

- 55 XI. Κριτόλαος δέ (τις) τῶν κεχορευκότων Μούσαις, τῆς Περιπατητικῆς ἐραστῆς φιλοσοφίας, τῷ περὶ τῆς αἰδιότητος κόσμου δόγματι συνειπὼν ἐχρήσατο τοιαύταις πίστεσιν· εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν γῆν γεγονέναι· εἰ δὲ ἡ γῆ γενητή, πάντως καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἀγένητον, ἐξ αἰδίου τοῦ γένους ὑφεστῶτος, ὥσπερ
- 56 ἐπιδειχθήσεται· αἰδιος ἄρα καὶ ὁ κόσμος. τὸ δὲ ὑπερτεθὲν ἤδη κατασκευαστέον, εἰ δεῖ καὶ ἀποδείξωσ τοῖς οὕτως ἐμφανέσι· δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔνεκα τῶν μυθοπλαστῶν, οἱ ψευσμάτων ἀναπλήσαντες τὸν βίον ἀλήθειαν ὑπερόριον πεφυγαδεύκασιν, οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ οἴκους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον τοῦ (ἀρίστου) κτήματος χηρεύειν βιασάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς φράσεως<sup>2</sup> ὀλκὸν μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς δέλεαρ εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐπινοήσαντες, οἷς ἀφρόνων ὦτα καταγοητεύουσι, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμοὺς αἱ ἄμορφοι καὶ εἰδεχθεῖς ἑταῖραι περιάπτοις καὶ
- 57 νόθῳ κόσμῳ χηρεῖα γνησίῳ. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσις ἀνθρώπων νεώτερον φύσεως ἔργον,
- [493] ἀρχεγονώτερον δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτερον | ἡ ἐκ γῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντων μήτηρ ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενόμισται· τοὺς δὲ ἀδομένους παρ' Ἑλλησι Σπαρτοὺς ἐκφῦναι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄτ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὀράσεως.

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<sup>a</sup> Lived about the middle of the second century B.C. For  
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## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 54-57

Cosmos in the proper sense of the word being ordered and disposed with consummate craftsmanship, which admits of no improvement, one may rightly describe its change into fire as the negation of Cosmos."

XI. <sup>a</sup> Critolaus, one of the votaries of the Muses, <sup>55</sup> a lover of the Peripatetic philosophy, who assents to the doctrine of the perpetuity of the world, used the following arguments. If the world has been created, the earth must have been so too, and if the earth was created, so certainly must have been the human race, but man is uncreated and his race has existed from everlasting as will be shown, therefore the world also is everlasting. Now for the <sup>56</sup> establishment of the point just left for discussion <sup>b</sup> if, indeed, facts so obvious need proof. But they do need it, because of the myth-makers who have infected our life with their falsehoods and chased away truth from its borders. They have forced not only cities and houses but also every single individual to lack that best of possessions and devised as a bait to trap them metres and rhythms and so expressed their views in an attractive form. With these they bewitch the ears of the foolish as uncomely and repulsive courtesans bewitch their eyes with their trappings and spurious adornment for lack of the genuine. These people say that the birth of man- <sup>57</sup> kind from mankind is a later work of nature and that the earlier and more original form was a generation from the earth, since the earth both is and is held to be the mother of all things and that the Sown men celebrated in Grecian lore sprang from

some remarks on the part assigned to him in the argumentation which follows see Intr. p. 176.

<sup>b</sup> Or "assumed"; cf. § 125.

## PHILO

καθάπερ νῦν τὰ δένδρα, τελείους καὶ ἐνόπλους  
 58 γῆς παῖδας. ὅτι δὲ μύθου πλάσμα τοῦτ'  
 ἐστὶ, συνιδεῖν ἐκ πολλῶν ῥάδιον. αὐτίκα τῷ  
 πρώτῳ γενομένῳ ἔδει καθ' ὠρισμένα μέτρα καὶ  
 ἀριθμούς χρόνων αὐξήσεως· βαθμούς γάρ τινας ἢ  
 φύσις τὰς ἡλικίας ἐγέννησε, δι' ὧν τρόπον τινὰ  
 ἀναβαίνει καὶ κάτεισιν ἄνθρωπος, ἀναβαίνει μὲν  
 αὐξόμενος, κατέρχεται δ' ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσιν· ὅρος  
 δ' ὁ τῶν ἀνωτάτῳ<sup>1</sup> βαθμῶν ἀκμή, πρὸς ὃν φθάσας  
 τις οὐκέτι πρόεισιν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ οἱ διαυλοδρο-  
 μοῦντες ἀνακάμπτουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, ὅσα παρ'  
 ἰσχυούσης νεότητος ἔλαβεν, ἀποδίδωσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀσθενεῖ  
 59 γήρᾳ. τὸ δὲ γεννηθῆναί τινας οἰεσθαι τελείους ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς) ἡγνοηκότων ἐστὶ νόμους φύσεως, θεσμούς  
 ἀκινήτους. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτεραι γινώμαι προσανα-  
 ματτόμεναι τὸ πλημμελὲς ἐκ τοῦ συνεξευγμένου  
 θνητοῦ τροπᾶς καὶ μεταβολᾶς εἰκότως ἐνδέχονται,  
 ἄτρεπτα δὲ τὰ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἐστὶ φύσεως, ἅτε  
 πάντων ἐπικρατούσης καὶ διὰ βεβαιότητα τῶν  
 ἅπαξ γνωσθέντων τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς παγέοντας ὅρους  
 60 ἀκινήτους διαφυλαττούσης. εἶπερ οὖν ἀρμόττον  
 ὁ ἐνόμιζεν ἀποτίκτεσθαι τελείους, καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐτε-  
 λειογονεῖτο ἄνθρωπος, μὴ βρέφος, μὴ παῖς, μὴ  
 μειράκιον γινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ εὐθύς ὧν, ἴσως  
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν ἀγήρως καὶ ἀθάνατος· ᾧ γὰρ  
 μὴ αὐξήσις, μηδὲ μείωσις πρόσεστιν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἄχρι τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίας μεταβολαὶ κατ' αὐξήσιν,  
 αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄχρι γήρως καὶ τελευτῆς κατὰ  
 μείωσιν συνίστανται· τῷ δὲ μὴ κοινωνοῦντι τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Cohn thinks the superlative meaningless and suggests ἀνω, but "the uppermost steps are bounded by the ἀκμή" seems an intelligible phrase. <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀποδίδωσιν ἐν ἀσθενεῖ.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 57-60

the earth as trees do now, full-grown and in armour.

That this is a mythical fiction can be easily seen on many grounds ; one is that the growth of the man first born must have followed periods of time determined by fixed measurements and numerical rules. For nature has created the stages of age as a sort of steps by which man may be said to go up and down, up while he is growing, down in the times of his decreasing. The limit of the upward steps is the culmination of youth. When he has reached this he no longer advances but like the runners of the double course who return along the self-same track he repays to feeble old age all that he received from lusty youth. But to think that any were born full-grown from the first shows an ignorance of those immutable statutes, the laws of nature. Our decisions and judgements reflect the discord which belongs to the mortal element, our yoke-fellow, and may be expected to admit of change and instability. But there is no swerving in the nature of the universe, for that nature is supreme above all and so steadfast are its decisions once taken that it keeps immutable the limits fixed from the beginning. If then nature had thought it fitting that they should be produced full-grown, mankind would even now be created in that condition, not as infants, nor boys nor youths, but in manhood straight away, and perhaps altogether proof against old age and death. What is not subject to increase is not subject to decrease either, for the process of the changes up to manhood is one of increase but from manhood to old age and death one of decrease, and it is reasonable that one who is exempt from the first set of

## PHILO

προτέρων καὶ τὰς ἐπομένας εὐλογον μὴ ἐπιγί-  
 61 γνεσθαι. τί δ' ἐμποδῶν ἦν ἀνθρώπους καθάπερ  
 φασὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν βλαστάνειν; οὕτως καὶ ἡ  
 γῆ γεγήρακεν, ὡς διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἐστειρῶσθαι  
 δοκεῖν; ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένει νεάζουσα αἰεί, διότι  
 τετάρτη μοῖρα τοῦ παντός ἐστι καὶ ἔνεκα τῆς τοῦ  
 ὄλου διαμονῆς ὀφείλει μὴ φθίνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ  
 ἀδελφὰ στοιχεῖα αὐτῆς ὕδωρ ἀήρ τε καὶ πῦρ  
 62 ἀγήρω διατελεῖ. πίστις δὲ ἐναργῆς τῆς

ἀδιαστάτου καὶ αἰδίου περὶ γῆν ἀκμῆς τὰ φυό-  
 μενα· καθαρθεῖσα<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἡ ποταμῶν ἀναχύσεσιν,  
 ὡσπερ φασὶν Αἴγυπτον, ἡ τοῖς ἐτησίοις ὄμβροις  
 τὸν ἐκ τῆς φορᾶς<sup>2</sup> κάματον ὑπανίεται καὶ χαλᾶται,  
 κᾶπειτα διαναπαυσασμένη τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν  
 ἀνακτᾶται μέχρι παντελοῦς ῥώμης, εἰτ' ἄρχεται  
 πάλιν τῆς τῶν ὁμοίων γενέσεως τροφᾶς ἀφθόνους  
 63 ἀπάσαις ζώων ιδέαις ἀναδιδούσα. XII. παρ' ὃ  
 [494] μοι δοκοῦσιν | οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ποιηταὶ Πανδώραν  
 αὐτὴν ὀνομάσαι, πάντα δωρουμένην [καὶ] τὰ πρὸς  
 ὠφέλειαν καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀπόλαυσιν οὐ τισὶν ἀλλὰ  
 πᾶσιν ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται. εἰ γοῦν τις ἕαρος  
 ἀκμάσαντος περωθεὶς ἀρθείη μετάρσιος καὶ κατ-  
 ἰδοὶ τὴν τε ὄρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, τὴν μὲν εὐχορτον  
 καὶ χλοηφόρον πόας καὶ χιλὸν κριθάς τε καὶ  
 πυροὺς καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας σπαρτῶν φύσεις ἀνα-  
 διδούσαν, ἃς τε γεωργοὶ κατεβάλλοντο καὶ ἃς  
 ἀπαντοματίζουσα ἡ τοῦ ἔτους ὥρα παρέχεται, τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Mangey, Bernays and Cumont correct to *καταρθεῖσα* (from *κατάρδω* = "irrigate"), and Cohn's reference to *Timaeus* 22 D ("When the gods send a flood upon earth to purify her") is hardly to the point; but the example which he quotes (*Hermes*, 1916, p. 184) from *De Providentia* 43, where the purification is effected by the ordinary rains which

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 60-63

changes should not be subject to those which follow. And what is to prevent men from springing now as they are alleged to have sprung in former times? Has the earth too grown so old that it may be thought to have been sterilized by length of time? On the contrary it remains as it was ever young, because it is the fourth part of the All and is bound to remain undecayed in order to conserve the sum of things, just as also its sister elements, water, air and fire, continue to defy old age. 61

A clear proof 62 that the earth retains its vigour continually and perpetually at its height is its vegetation, for purified either by the overflow of rivers, as they say is the case in Egypt, or by the annual rains, it takes a respite and relaxation from the weary toil of bearing fruit, and then after this interval of rest recuperates its native force till it reaches its full strength and then begins again to bear fruits like the old and supplies in abundance to each kind of living creature such food as they need. XII. And therefore it seems 63 to me that the poets did not do amiss in giving her the name of Pandora, because she gives all things that bring benefit and pleasurable enjoyment not to some only but to all creatures endowed with conscious life. Suppose one soaring aloft on wings when spring has reached its height were to survey the uplands and the lowlands, he would see the lowlands verdant with herbage, producing pasturage and grass fodder and barley and wheat and numerous other forms of grain, some sown by the farmer, others provided self-grown by the season of the year. He would

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nourish animal and vegetable life, justifies the retention of *καθαρθείσα*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *φθορᾶς*.

## PHILO

δὲ κλάδοις καὶ φυλλάσι κατάσκιον, οἷς ἐπικο-  
 σμεῖται τὰ δένδρα, καὶ καρπῶν περιπληθεστάτην,  
 οὐχὶ τῶν πρὸς ἔδωδὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς πόνους  
 ἀκείσθαι συμβέβηκεν—ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸς  
 σώματος κάματον ἰᾶται, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου ποθεῖς  
 64 μετρίως ἐπιχαλᾷ τὰς σφοδρὰς ὀδύνας ψυχῆς—, ἔτι  
 δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀναφερομένας εὐωδιστάτας  
 αὔρας καὶ τὰς τῶν χρωμάτων ἀμυθήτους ἰδιότητας  
 τέχνη δαιμονίῳ πεποικιλμένας, τὴν δ' ὄψιν ἀπο-  
 κλίνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων ἐν μέρει πάλιν αἰγείρους,  
 κέδρους, πεύκας, ἐλάτας, δρυῶν ὕψη περιμηκέ-  
 στατα, τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀγρίων συνεχεῖς καὶ βαθείας  
 ὕλας περιαθρήσειεν, αἱ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα  
 τῶν ὄρων καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ὄση βαθύγειος τῆς  
 ὑπορείου συσκιάζουσι, γνῶσεται τὴν ἀνένδοτον καὶ  
 65 ἀκάματον τῆς γῆς αἰὲν νεαζούσης ἀκμὴν· ὥστ'  
 οὐδὲν ἐλαττωθεῖσα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἰσχύος καὶ νῦν ἄν,  
 εἴ γε τὸ πρότερον, ἔτικτεν ἀνθρώπους, ὑπὲρ δυοῖν  
 τοῖν ἀναγκαιοτάτοι, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μὴ λιποτακτεῖν  
 τάξιν οἰκείαν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν σπορᾷ καὶ γενέσει  
 τοῦ χερσαίων ἀπάντων ἀρίστου καὶ ἡγεμόνος  
 ἀνθρώπου δευτέρου δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπικουρίας, αἱ  
 κύουσαι μὲν βαρυτάτοις ἄχθεσι δέκα πού μῆνας  
 πιέζονται,<sup>1</sup> μέλλουσαι δ' ἀποτίκτειν πολλάκις ὠδίσιν  
 66 αὐταῖς ἐναποθνήσκουσιν. ὅλως τοῦτ' οὐκ εὐθήθεια  
 δεινὴ μήτραν ὑπολαμβάνειν γῆν ἐγκεκολπίσθαι  
 πρὸς ἀνθρώπων σποράν; τὸ γὰρ ζωογονοῦν  
 χωρίον ἐστὶ μήτρα, “ φύσεως,” ὡς εἰπέ τις,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βιάζονται.

<sup>a</sup> Literally “the most and greatest of the mountains,”  
 228



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 63-66

see the uplands overshadowed with the branches and foliage which deck the trees and filled with a vast quantity of fruits, not merely those which serve for food, but also those which prove to be a cure for troubles. For the fruit of the olive heals the weariness of the body and that of the vine if drunk in moderation relaxes the violence of sorrow in the soul. Further he would perceive the sweet fragrance of 64 the exhalations wafted from the flowers and the multitudinous varieties of their colours diversified by superhuman skill. Again looking away from the cultivated vegetation, he would survey poplars, cedars, pines, firs, tall towering oaks and the other deep, unbroken forests of wild trees which overshadow the vast expanse of the huge mountains <sup>a</sup> and the wide stretch of deep soil which lies at their feet. Seeing all this he will recognize that the ever-youthful earth still has the indomitable and unwearying 65 vigour of its prime. And therefore the earth, which has suffered no diminution of its ancient strength, would, if she brought forth men before, be doing so still, and this for two most cogent reasons, part to avoid desertion of her proper post, particularly her duty of sowing and generating man, the best and chief of all the creatures who walk the land, and secondly to aid women, who in pregnancy labour with very grievous burdens for some ten months and when they are on the point of child-birth often actually die in the pains of travail. Indeed is it not 66 terribly foolish to suppose that earth has in its bosom a womb for the sowing of men? For the place which generates life is the womb, the "workshop of meaning perhaps "nearly all and even the highest." In the next line *τὴν πολλήν* may = "the greater part."

## PHILO

“ἐργαστήριον,” ἐν ᾧ ζῶα μόνον διαπλάττεται·  
 τὸ δὲ οὐ γῆς μέρος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ζῶου θήλεος,  
 δημιουργηθὲν εἰς γένεσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ μαζοὺς καθάπερ  
 γυναικὶ γῆ φάτέον ἠνίκα ἠνθρωπογόνοι προσ-  
 γενέσθαι, τροφήν ἔχουσιν οἰκείαν οἱ πρῶτον  
 ἀποκυθηθέντες· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ποταμός, οὐ πηγὴ τις  
 οὐδαμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνθ’ ὕδατος μνημονεύεται  
 67 ποτε ὀμβρῆσαι γάλα. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις, ὥσπερ  
 γαλακτοτροφεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸ ἀρτίγονον, οὕτως καὶ  
 τῇ δι’ ἀμπεχόνης σκέπη χρῆσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ  
 [495] κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγινομένας τοῖς σώμασι  
 ζημίας, οὗ χάριν μαῖαι καὶ μητέρες, αἷς ἀναγκαῖα  
 φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται<sup>1</sup> τῶν γεννωμένων, κατασπαρ-  
 γανοῦσι τὰ βρέφη. τοὺς δὲ γηγενεῖς φύντας πῶς  
 οὐκ ἂν τις εὐθύς διέφθειρε γυμνοὺς ἐαθέντας ἢ  
 ἀέρος κατάψυξις ἢ ἀφ’ ἡλίου φλογμός; κρυμοὶ  
 γὰρ καὶ θάληη κρατήσαντα νόσους καὶ φθορὰς  
 68 ἀπεργάζονται. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἅπαξ ἤρξαντο  
 ἀλογεῖν ἀληθείας οἱ μυθοπλάσται, τοὺς Σπαρτοὺς  
 ἐκείνους καὶ ἐνόπλους ἑτερατεύσαντο ἐκφῦναι. τίς  
 γὰρ ἦν κατὰ γῆς χαλκουργὸς ἢ τοσοῦτος Ἡφαι-  
 στος, ὡς αὐτίκα παντευχίας εὐτρεπίζεσθαι; τίς δὲ  
 τοῖς πρῶτοις γενομένοις εἰς ὄπλισιν<sup>2</sup> οἰκειότης;  
 ἡμερώτατον γὰρ ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, λόγον δωρησα-  
 μένης φύσεως αὐτῷ γέρας, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἐξηγριωμένα  
 πάθη κατεπάδεται καὶ τιθασεύεται. πολὺ βέλτιον  
 ἦν ἀνθ’ ὄπλων κηρύκεια ἀναδύναι, συμβατηρίων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἰσέρχεται.

<sup>2</sup> So Cohn and Cumont from Diels for MSS. ἰσόπαις ἦν.  
Bernays ὀπλίσεως ἦν.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 66-68

nature,"<sup>a</sup> as someone calls it, where alone the living are moulded into shape, and this is not a part of the earth but of a female creature framed for generation of other creatures. Folly indeed, since we should also have to say that the earth like a woman has the addition of breasts when she bore men, that the offspring when first brought to birth might have their proper sustenance. But no river or spring anywhere in the habitable earth is recorded as having ever run milk instead of water. Besides just as the newly born needs to be fed with milk, so too he needs to be sheltered by clothing to meet the harms brought upon the body by cold and heat, and therefore midwives and mothers necessarily feeling anxious to protect the offspring wrap the infants in swaddling clothes. Must not then earth-born creatures if left naked have been at once destroyed either by some refrigeration of the air or scorching of the sun, for the powers of cold and heat produce diseases and fatalities? But the myth-makers having once begun to disregard truth also made out these Sown men to have been born armed, a marvel indeed, for what smith was there on earth or a Vulcan so powerful as to prepare full suits of armour straightaway? And what suitable connexion is there between the first generation of men and wearing arms? Man is the gentlest and kindest of animals, because nature has given him the prerogative of reason, with which the savage passions are charmed away and tamed. Far better would it be for a reasonable being if instead of arms, the herald

<sup>a</sup> This phrase is used several times by Philo, *Mos.* ii. 84, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 33, 109 and *Legatio* 56. This is the only place where he indicates that it is a definite quotation.

σπονδῶν σύμβολα, λογικῇ φύσει, ὅπως εἰρήνην  
πρὸ πολέμου πᾶσι τοῖς πανταχοῦ καταγγέλλῃ.

69 XIII. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπιτειχιζόντων  
ψευδολογίαν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας φλυαρήματα με-  
τρίως ἐξελέλεγκται. χρὴ δ' εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐξ  
αἰδίου κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βλαστάνουσιν  
ἄνθρωποι, σπείροντος μὲν εἰς μήτραν ἀνδρὸς ὡς  
εἰς ἄρουραν, γυναικὸς δ' ὑποδεχομένης τὰ σπέρ-  
ματα σωτηρίως, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἀοράτως ἕκαστα  
καὶ τῶν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δια-  
πλαττούσης μερῶν καὶ ὅπερ οὐκ ἴσχυσε λαβεῖν  
ἡμῶν ἕκαστος τοῦθ' ἅπαντι τῷ γένει δωρησαμένης,  
τὸ ἀθάνατον· μένει γὰρ εἰς αἰεὶ, φθειρομένων τῶν  
ἐν εἴδει, τεράστιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ θεῖον ἔργον.  
εἰ δ' αἰδίου ἄνθρωπος, βραχεῖα μοῖρα τοῦ παντός,  
ἀγένητος δῆπου καὶ ὁ κόσμος, ὥστε ἀφθαρτος.

70 XIV. Ἐπαγωνιζόμενος δ' ὁ Κριτόλαος ἐχρήτο  
καὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ· τὸ αἷτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν  
ἄνοσόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἷτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀγρυ-  
πνεῖν ἀγρυπνόν ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ αἷτιον  
αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν αἰδιόν ἐστιν· αἷτιος δ' ὁ κόσμος  
αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν, εἴ γε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν·  
αἰδῖος ἄρα ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν.

71 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνο σκοπεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ  
γενόμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν δεῖ πάντως ἀτελὲς εἶναι,  
χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος αὖξεσθαι μέχρι παντελοῦς  
τελειώσεως· ὥστε, εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἦν μὲν

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps a reminiscence of Plato, *Symp.* 206 c ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν θνητῷ ὄντι τῷ ζῳῷ ἀθάνατον ἔνεστιν, ἢ κύησις καὶ ἡ γέννησις. See App. p. 521 (on *De Vit. Cont.* 59).

<sup>b</sup> Alluding perhaps to the use of κομιδῇ νήπιος in § 42.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 68-71

staff, the symbol of treaties of agreement, should spring from the ground, so that it should proclaim peace instead of war to all men everywhere.

XIII. So then since the foolish imaginations of those 69 who fortify falsehood against truth have been satisfactorily refuted, we must be well assured that from everlasting men spring from men in successive generations. The man sows the seeds into a womb as into a field, the woman receives the seed for safe-keeping; nature invisibly moulds and shapes each part of the body and soul and bestows upon the race as a whole what individually we were not able to receive, namely immortality. For the race remains for ever, though particular specimens perish, a marvel in very truth and the work of God.<sup>a</sup> And if man, a small portion of the All, is everlasting, the world must surely be uncreated and therefore is indestructible.

XIV. Critolaus in his contention used also this 70 further kind of argument: That which causes itself to be healthy is free from disease, that which causes itself to be wakeful is wakeful, and if this is so, that which causes itself to exist is everlasting. But the world, since it causes all other things to exist, causes itself to exist, and therefore the world is everlasting.

This is not all. A further point worth considera- 71 tion is that every created thing must in its beginning be quite imperfect and only as time advances grow to its full perfection. Consequently if the world has been created it was once, if I too<sup>b</sup> may borrow a Philo here speaks in the person of Critolaus, forgetting that Critolaus would not know what arguments had been adduced in the earlier parts of the treatise. This goes to show that Critolaus is throughout these sections paraphrased rather than quoted.

## PHILO

- ποθ', ἵνα καὶ γὰρ χρήσωμαι τοῖς ἡλικιῶν ὀνόμασι, κομιδῇ νήπιος, ἐπιβαίνων δ' αἰθῆς ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ μήκεσι χρόνων ὅψε καὶ μόλις ἐτελειώθη·
- 72 τὸν γὰρ μακροβιωτάτου βραδεῖα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκμή.  
 [496] τὸν δὲ | κόσμον εἴ τις νομίζει χρήσασθαι ποτε ταῖς τοιαύταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀθεραπεύτω μανίᾳ κεκρατημένος μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω<sup>1</sup>. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ τὸ σωματοειδὲς αὐξηθήσεται, λήψεται δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐπίδοσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φθείροντες αὐτὸν λογικόν εἶναι ὑπονοοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπου τρόπον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως ἄλογος ἔσται, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀκμάζουσαν ἡλικίαν λογικός· ἅπερ οὐ μόνον λέγειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπονοεῖν ἀσεβές· τὸν γὰρ τελειότατον ὀρατῶν περίβολον καὶ (θεοὺς)<sup>2</sup> τοὺς ἐν μέρει περιέχοντα κληρούχους πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν αἰεὶ τέλειον κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ἀμέτοχον κηρῶν, αἷς τὸ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν πᾶν συνέζευκται;
- 74 XV. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φησὶ τριττὰς αἰτίας δίχα τῶν ἕξωθεν ὑποβεβλήσθαι ζώοις τελευτῆς, νόσον, γῆρας, ἔνδειαν, ὧν οὐδεμιᾶ τὸν κόσμον ἀλωτὸν εἶναι· πεπηγέναι τε γὰρ ἐξ ὅλων τῶν στοιχείων, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος καὶ ἀπελευθεριάζοντος μέρους βιασθῆναι, κατακρατεῖν τε τῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγνοεῖσθω.

<sup>2</sup> θεοὺς in this place is my insertion. Cumont and Cohn have τῶν ὀρατῶν (θεῶν). It seems to me necessary, for the sense, to state that the κληρούχοι of the περίβολος are gods, and with this insertion it is not necessary with Cumont to suppose that κληρούχους is corrupt. On the other hand ὀρατῶν can stand alone. Bernays also does not insert either θεῶν or θεοὺς, translates καὶ τοὺς . . . κληρούχους "welcher die einzelnen göttlichen Theilmächte umschliesst," and περίβολος by "Tempelbezirk." He says that περίβολος is speci-

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 71-74

term from those applied to the stages of human life, a mere infant, and afterwards progressing through the revolutions of years and long stretches of time, was at long last and with difficulty brought to perfection. For the very long-lived is necessarily slow to reach its culmination. Now if anyone thinks that the world has passed through such changes, he had better recognize that he is under the sway of a fatal delusion. For clearly not only will the world's bodily parts increase but its mind also will make advances, for those who preach its destruction also suppose that it is rational. So then like a man, when it originally comes into being it will be irrational, but at the age of culmination rational. Such things are impious not merely to speak but even to think. Surely this the all-perfect which embraces things visible wherein the several occupants included are gods, deserves to be held ever perfect both in body and soul, immune from the plagues inseparable from all that is created and destructible. 72 73

XV. In addition to all this Critolaus says<sup>a</sup> that 74 apart from external causes of death to living creatures, there are three to which they are subject, disease, old age and privation, to none of which the world can fall a prey. For it is compacted from the whole of the elements, so that it cannot suffer violence from any part that has been left out and defies control.

<sup>a</sup> The argument in this section is substantially the same as in §§ 20 ff., but it is expressed in a different way in many respects, particularly at the end.

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ally applied to temples. But I do not think the index bears this out for Philo. Though in several places it is used with reference to the temple, it does not seem in itself to mean more than "enclosure."

## PHILO

δυνάμεων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀσθένειαι, τὰς δ' ὑπεικούσας ἄνοσον καὶ ἀγήρων αὐτὸν διαφυλάττειν, αὐταρκέστατόν τε αὐτὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνεπιδεᾶ παντὸς γεγονέναι, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς διαμονὴν ὑστερίζοντα, τὰς κενώσεις καὶ πληρώσεως ἐν μέρει διαδοχὰς ἀπώσασθαι, αἷς διὰ τὴν ἄμουσον ἀπληστίαν τὰ ζῶα χρῆσθαι, θάνατον ἀντὶ ζωῆς μνώμενα ἢ, τό γε ἀσφαλέστερον εἰπεῖν, οἰκτρότερον βίον ἀπωλείας.

75 Ἔτι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν μηδεμίᾳ φύσιν αἰδίδιος ἐωρᾶτο, ἦττον ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα αἰδιότητος, [ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου ἂν] εὐπροφάσιστα ἀδικεῖν.<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη κατὰ τοὺς ἄριστα φυσιολογοῦντας ἄναρχος καὶ ἀτελεύτητός ἐστιν, εἴρουσα τὰς ἐκάστων ἀνελλιπῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως αἰτίας, τί δή ποτ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν λεκτέον εἶναι μακραιώνα, τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἀτάκτων, τὴν ἁρμονίαν τῶν ἀναρμόστων, τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν ἀσυμφώνων, τὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν διεστηκότων, τὴν ξύλων μὲν καὶ λίθων ἕξιν,

<sup>1</sup> Bernays has *ἀνευ προφάσεως* for the mss. *εὐπροφάσιστα*, Cumont *ἦττον ἂν ἠδίκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα αἰδιότητος ἐδόκουν ἂν εὐπροφάσιστα διδάσκειν*. I have simply printed Cohn's text rather than adopt that of Bernays or Cumont, neither of which I feel to be quite satisfactory. Cohn discusses his text in *Hermes* (1916) and professes himself quite satisfied with it (he defends the anacoluthic *γὰρ* by other examples). But I cannot translate it, and the translation I have given involves either the omission of *ἦττον* or the substitution of *ἀνευ προφάσεως* for *εὐπροφάσιστα*.

<sup>a</sup> This end of the section seems to be a not very happy adaptation of *Timaeus* 73 A, where the bowels are said to 236



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 74-75

It has dominion over the forces which produce infirmities, and the subservience of these forces keeps it from disease and decay of age. It is absolutely self-sufficient and independent of every need. It is lacking in nothing which can ensure permanence and has excluded the successive alternations between inanition and repletion, which living creatures experience through their gross avidity and thereby court not life but death, or to speak more cautiously, an existence more pitiful than extinction.<sup>a</sup>

Again if there was no everlasting form of nature <sup>75</sup> to be seen, those who propound the destruction of the world might seem to have a good excuse for their iniquity, since they had no example of perpetual existence before them. But since according to the best professors of natural philosophy, fate has no beginning or end, being a chain <sup>b</sup> connecting the causes of each event in un failing continuity without a gap or break, why should we not also declare that the nature of the world or cosmic system is age-long, since it is order of the disordered, adjustment of the unadjusted, concord of the discordant, unification of the discrepant, appearing as cohesion in wood and

have been formed so that the food should not pass too quickly, and so, producing ἀπληστία, make the whole race ἀφιδόσφον καὶ ἄμουσον through gluttony (γαστριμαργία). Grammatically ἄμουσον might agree with γαστριμαργίαν or even with ἀπληστίαν, and so perhaps Philo (or Critolaus ?) took it.

<sup>b</sup> This is an allusion to the supposed connexion between εἰμαρμένη and εἰρμός, which would involve connexion with εἶρω also, cf. *De Mut.* 135 ἡ εἰμαρμένη, ἀκολουθία καὶ ἀναλογία τῶν συμπάντων εἰρμὸν ἔχουσα ἀδιάλυτον. See note there (vol. v. p. 590), where reference is given to *S. V. F.* ii. 918 ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἰρμός τις οὐσα αἰτιῶν ἀπαράβατος· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ Στωικοὶ ὀρίζονται. It may be noted that here it appears in a non-Stoical argument.

## PHILO

σπαρτῶν δὲ καὶ δένδρων φύσιν, ψυχὴν δὲ ζώων ἀπάντων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ νοῦν καὶ λόγον, ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην; εἰ δ' ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις ἀγέννητός τε καὶ ἀφθαρτος, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος, αἰωνίῳ συνεχόμενος καὶ διακρατούμενος δεσμῷ.

- 76 Νικηθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῶν ἀντιδοξούντων ἔνιοι μετεβάλοντο· προσκλητικὴν γὰρ [497] ἔχει δύναμιν τὸ κάλλος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς | δαιμονίως ἐστὶ καλόν, ὡς τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκτόπως αἰσχροῦν. Βοηθὸς γοῦν ὁ Σιδώνιος<sup>1</sup> καὶ Παναίτιος,<sup>2</sup> ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς Στωικοῖς δόγμασιν ἰσχυρότες, ἅτε θεόληπτοι, τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας καταλιπόντες πρὸς ὀσιώτερον<sup>3</sup> δόγμα τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας 77 τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἠὺτομόλησαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ [502] Διογένης ἠνίκα νέος ἦν συνεπιγραφάμενος | τῷ δόγματι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως ὁπὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐνδοιάσας ἐπισχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ νεότητος ἀλλὰ γήρως τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ περιμάχητα διδεῖν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα μὴ δικάζει ἢ ἄλογος καὶ ἀπατηλὸς αἴσθησις ἀλλ' ὁ καθαρῶ- 78 τας καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος νοῦς. XVI. ἀποδείξει δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Βοηθὸν κέχρηται πιθανωτάταις, ἃς αὐτίκα λέξομεν· εἰ, φασί, γενητὸς καὶ φθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τι γενήσεται, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς Στωικοῖς ἀτοπώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ. διὰ τί;

<sup>1</sup> Mangey and earlier editors read καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, which is rejected by later editors on the grounds that Boethus is elsewhere called a Sidonian and that Posidonius upheld the doctrine of ἐκπύρωσις.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πάνεπος.

<sup>3</sup> So Cohn following Cumont for the mss. θειώτερον, which Bernays retains, translating "göttlicheren." I do not feel that it is impossible.

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<sup>a</sup> For the fourfold classification cf. particularly *Quod*  
238

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 75-78

stone, growth in crops and trees, conscious life in all animals, mind and reason in men and the perfection of virtue in the good?<sup>a</sup> And if the nature of the world is uncreated and indestructible, clearly the world also is the same, held together as it is by the might of an eternal bond.

Some conquered by truth and the arguments of 76 their opponents have changed their views. For beauty has power to call us to it and truth is marvellously beautiful as falsehood is monstrously ugly. Thus Boethus of Sidon and Panaetius,<sup>b</sup> powerful supporters of the Stoic doctrines, did under divine inspiration abandon the conflagrations and regenerations and deserted to the more religious doctrine that the whole world was indestructible. It is said 77 too that Diogenes<sup>c</sup> in his youth subscribed to the doctrine of the conflagration but in later years felt doubts and suspended judgement, for it is not given to youth but to old age to discern things precious and worthy of reverence, particularly those which are judged, not by unreasoning and deceitful sense, but by mind when absolutely pure and unalloyed. XVI. The demonstrations given by the school of 78 Boethus are very convincing and I will proceed to state them. If, they say, the world is created and destructible we shall have something created out of the non-existent and even the Stoics regard this as quite preposterous. Why so? Because it is im-

*Deus* 35 ff. This too appears to be an exclusively Stoic theory (see Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 196). The addition of the fifth quality "virtue in the good" I have not seen elsewhere.

<sup>b</sup> Boethus, middle of third century B.C. Panaetius, second century.

<sup>c</sup> Diogenes (the Babylonian), late third and early second century.

## PHILO

[503] ὅτι οὐδεμίαν φθοροποιὸν | αἰτίαν εὐρεῖν ἔστιν, οὐτ' ἐντὸς οὐτ' ἐκτὸς, ἢ τὸν κόσμον ἀνελεῖ· ἐκτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὅτι μὴ τάχα πού κενόν, τῶν στοιχείων ἀποκριθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὀλοκλήρων, εἴσω δ' οὐδὲν νόσημα τοιοῦτον, ὃ γένοιτ' ἂν αἴτιον θεῶ<sup>1</sup> τοσοῦτω διαλύσεως. εἰ δ' ἀναιτίως φθείρεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἔσται ἡ γένεσις τῆς φθορᾶς, ὅπερ οὐδ' ἡ διάνοια παραδέξεται.

79 Καὶ μὴν φασιν, ὅτι γενικοὶ τρόποι φθορᾶς εἰσι τρεῖς· ὃ τε κατὰ διαίρεσιν καὶ ὃ κατὰ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος καὶ ὃ κατὰ σύγχυσιν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ διεστηκόντων, αἰπόλια, βουκόλια, χοροί, στρατεύματα, ἢ πάλιν ἐκ συναπτομένων<sup>2</sup> σώματα παγέντα διαστάσει καὶ διαιρέσει λύεται· κατὰ δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος ὁ μετασχηματιζόμενος κηρὸς ἢ καταλεινόμενος,<sup>3</sup> ἵνα μῆδὲ ἑτεροειδῆ τινα παράσχη τύπον μορφῆς· κατὰ δὲ σύγχυσιν, ὡς ἡ παρὰ ἰατροῖς τετραφάρμακος· αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν συνενεχθέντων ἠφανίσθησαν

80 εἰς ἐξαιρέτου μιᾶς γένεσιν ἀποτελεσθείσης. ποίω δὴ τούτων ἄξιον τὸν κόσμον φθείρεσθαι φάναι; τῷ κατὰ διαίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκ διεστηκόντων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῷ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. συναπτόμενον.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. καὶ λεαινόμενος.

<sup>a</sup> This again is to some extent the same argument as that of §§ 20 and 74. But to these dissident Stoics the main point is that since there is nothing to cause destruction either within or without the world, the destruction, if it came, would come from the non-existent, which is unthinkable.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "inherent." I have not found any examples of such a meaning nor yet of "prevailing." Bernays "umhaftenden," Mangey "primariae." Later we have simply ποιότητος.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 78-80

possible to find any destructive cause either within or without to make away with the world. For there is nothing outside it except possibly a void, since the elements have been completely merged into it and within it there is no distemper such as to cause a dissolution of so great a deity. And if it is destroyed without a cause, clearly the origin of the destruction will arise from what does not exist and this the understanding will reject as not even thinkable.<sup>a</sup>

Further they say that the methods of destruction 79 are of three kinds, namely, dismemberment, annihilation of the prevailing<sup>b</sup> quality and amalgamation.<sup>c</sup> Combinations of detached units, such as herds of goats or oxen, choirs and armies, or again bodies compacted of conjoined parts are disjoined by detachment and dismemberment. We find annihilation of the prevailing quality in wax when moulded into a new form or when smoothed out without taking any other different shape. We have amalgamation in the quadruple drug<sup>d</sup> used by physicians, for the properties of the substances collected vanish and the effect thus produced is one single value of a special kind. Which of these can we say is adequate for the destruc- 80 tion of the world? Dismemberment? The world is neither composed of detached units, so that its parts

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 183-187, where the use of the word throughout the treatise makes it necessary to translate "confusion," but here it can be avoided. But I do not know of any word which suggests the *φθορά τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιητήτων*. Possibly "fusion" may be better than "amalgamation," cf. the quotation from Chrysippus in *S. V. F.* ii. 473, given in vol. iv. p. 558.

<sup>d</sup> The same illustration is given in *De Conf.* 187, where the drug is said to be a compound of wax, tallow, resin and pitch.

## PHILO

- ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ μέρη σκεδασθῆναι, οὔτε ἐκ συναπτο-  
 μένων, ὡς διαλυθῆναι, οὔτε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς  
 ἡμετέροις ἦνται σώμασι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικήρως  
 τε ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχει καὶ δυναστεύεται πρὸς μυρίων  
 ὑφ' ὧν βλάπτεται, τοῦ δ' ἀήττητος ἡ ῥώμη πολλῇ
- 81 τινι περιουσίᾳ πάντων κατακρατοῦσα. ἀλλ' ἀν-  
 αιρέσει παντελεῖ τῆς ποιότητος; ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον  
 τοῦτό γε· μένει γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς τάναντία αἵρου-  
 μένους ἡ τῆς διακοσμήσεως ποιότης ἐπ' ἐλάττονος  
 οὐσίας τῆς τοῦ Διὸς σταλεῖσα<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρω-
- 82 σιν. ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ σύγχυσιν; ἄπαγε, δεήσει γὰρ  
 πάλιν εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν γίνεσθαι τὴν φθορὰν παρα-  
 δέχεσθαι. τοῦ χάριν; ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἕκαστον ἐν μέ-  
 ρει τῶν στοιχείων ἐφθείρετο, μεταβολὴν ἐδύνατο  
 τὴν εἰς ἕτερον δέχεσθαι, πάντων δὲ συλλήβδην  
 ἀθρώων κατὰ σύγχυσιν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀναγκαῖον<sup>2</sup>  
 ὑπονοεῖν τὸ ἀδύνατον.
- 83 Ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις, ἐὰν ἐκπυρωθῇ, φασί, τὰ  
 πάντα, τί κατ' ἐκείνον ὁ θεὸς πράξει τὸν χρόνον;  
 ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν; καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· νυνὶ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστα ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντων οἶα γνήσιος  
 πατὴρ ἐπιτροπεύει καί, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν,  
 ἡνιόχου καὶ κυβερνήτου τρόπον ἡμιοχεῖ καὶ πηδα-  
 λιουχεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις πλάνησι καὶ ἀπλανέσιν ἔτι δ' ἀέρι καὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> So Bernays from τῇ τούτου ἰδιοσταλεῖσα found in the corresponding passage of the *De Mundo*, the spurious work made up of centos from Philo. The mss. themselves leave blanks of various length before σταλεῖσα. See note a.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀνάγκη.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 80-83

can be dispersed, nor of conjoint parts which can be disjoined, nor is it a unity of the same kind as that of our bodies, for they are in themselves perishable, and under the sway of innumerable instruments of mischief, while the world's strength is invincible and far more than sufficient to give it domination over all. What of a complete annihilation of its quality? 81 This is impossible, for according to those who hold the opposite view, the quality of its original construction remains at the conflagration, though contracted, in a diminished substance, namely, Zeus.<sup>a</sup> What of amalgamation? Nonsense. For again we 82 shall have to admit that destruction passes into non-existence. Why? Because if each of the elements were severally destroyed each might be capable of changing into something else, but if all are annihilated in a body together by amalgamation we should be obliged to suppose something which is impossible.

Moreover if all things are as they say consumed 83 in the conflagration, what will God be doing during that time? Will He do nothing at all? That surely is the natural inference. For at present He surveys each thing, guardian of all as though He were indeed their father, guiding in very truth the chariot and steering the bark of the universe, the defender of the sun and moon and stars whether fixed or wandering, and also the air and the other parts of the world, co-

sovereign of the world and subordinate gods; in other words, between the universal divine power as a Unity working in the world and its individual parts and manifestations. The former they denoted by the term Zeus; to the latter they applied the names of the subordinate gods" (Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 328). Thus at the *ἐκπύρωσις*, such Unity alone remained.

## PHILO

<ἄλλοις> μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου παριστάμενος καὶ  
 συνδρῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄλου διαμονὴν καὶ τὴν  
 84 κατ' ὀρθὸν λόγον ἀνυπαίτιον διοίκησιν. πάντων  
 [504] δ' ἀναιρεθέντων, ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ ἀπραξίας | δεινῆς  
 ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ χρήσεται· οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτοπώ-  
 τερον; ὀκνῶ λέγειν, ὃ μηδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι  
 ἀκολουθήσει θεῷ θάνατος, εἴ γε καὶ ἡρεμία· τὸ  
 γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἔαν ἀέλης ψυχῆς, καὶ αὐτὴν πάν-  
 τως συνανελεῖς· ψυχὴ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ τοὺς  
 ἀντιδοξοῦντας ὁ θεός.

85 XVII. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἀνάξιον<sup>1</sup> διαπορῆσαι, τίνα  
 τρόπον ἔσται παλιγγενεσία, πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυ-  
 θέντων· ἐξαναλωθείσης γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ὑπὸ πυρός,  
 ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐκέτ' ἔχον τροφήν ἀποσβε-  
 σθῆναι. μένοντος μὲν οὖν, ὃ σπερματικὸς τῆς  
 διακοσμῆσεως ἐσώζेत' <ἂν> λόγος, ἀναιρεθέντος  
 δὲ συνανήρηται. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἔκθεσμον καὶ ἀσέβημα  
 ἤδη διπλοῦν, μὴ μόνον φθορὰν τοῦ κόσμου κατη-  
 γορεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν ἀναιρεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν  
 ἀκοσμία καὶ ἀπραξία καὶ τοῖς πλημμελέσι πᾶσι  
 86 χαίροντος θεοῦ. τὸν δὲ λόγον ἀκρι-  
 βέστερον ὧδε διερευνητέον· πυρὸς τριπτὸν εἶδος·  
 τὸ μὲν ἄνθραξ, τὸ δὲ φλόξ, τὸ δὲ αὐγὴ. ἄνθραξ  
 μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πῦρ ἐν οὐσίᾳ γεώδει, ὃ τρόπον ἕξεως

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐκ ἄξιον.

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<sup>a</sup> The thought of God as "the soul of the world" is mentioned by Philo, *Leg. All.* i. 91, *De Mig.* 179 and 181, in each case with a certain amount of disapproval (see note on *Leg. All.* i. 91, vol. i. p. 478). The words κατὰ τοὺς ἀντι-  
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## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 83-86

operating in all that is needful for the preservation of the whole and the faultless management of it which right reason demands. But if all things are 84 annihilated inactivity and dire unemployment will render His life unworthy of the name and what could be more monstrous than this? I shrink from saying, for the very thought is a blasphemy, that quiescence will entail as a consequence the death of God, for if you annihilate the perpetual motion of the soul you will annihilate the soul itself also and, according to our opponents, God is the soul of the world.<sup>a</sup>

XVII. Another question worthy of examination is: 85 How will the rebirth come about if all things are resolved into fire? For if the substance is consumed by fire, the fire too must be extinguished having nothing any longer to feed it. Now if the fire remains the seminal principle<sup>b</sup> of the ordered construction would be preserved, but if the fire perishes that principle perishes with it, and it is an enormity, a twofold sacrilege, not only to predicate destruction of the world but to do away with the rebirth as though God rejoiced in disorder and inactivity and every kind of faultiness. But we must examine 86 it more carefully. Consider it from this point of view. Fire takes three forms: these are the live coal, the flame and the fire-light. Now live coal is fire embodied in an earthy substance, a sort of

*δοξοῦντας* quite suit Boethus, if we are still having his opinion. For he definitely rejected the common Stoic view that God was contained in the universe (Zeller, p. 152).

<sup>b</sup> Or "Generative Reason" or "Seed Power" (Arnold). By the term "Generative Reason" must be understood the creative and forming forces in nature, which have collectively produced the universe, and particular exercises of which (*σπερματικοὶ λόγοι*) produce individual things (Zeller).

## PHILO

πνευματικῆς πεφώλευκε καὶ ἔλλοχα δι' ὅλης ἄχρι  
περάτων τεταμένον· φλόξ δέ ἐστιν ὅπερ ἐκ τροφῆς  
αἴρεται μετεωριζόμενον· αὐγὴ δὲ τὸ ἀποστελλό-  
μενον ἐκ φλογός, συνεργὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν  
ὄρατῶν ἀντίληψιν. μέσην δὲ χώραν αὐγῆς τε καὶ  
ἄνθρακος εἴληχε φλόξ· σβεσθεῖσα μὲν γὰρ εἰς  
ἄνθρακα τελευτᾷ, ζωπυρουμένη δ' ἔχει φέγγος, ὃ  
87 τὴν καυστικὴν ἀφηρημένον δύναμιν ἀστράπτει. εἰ  
κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν οὖν τὸν κόσμον ἀναλύεσθαι  
φαίμεν, ἄνθραξ μὲν οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, διότι παμ-  
πληθὲς ὑπολείπεται τοῦ γεώδους, ᾧ τὸ πῦρ ἐγ-  
κατελήφθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀρέσκει δὲ μηδὲν τότε  
τῶν ἄλλων ὑφεστάναι σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ  
88 καὶ ἀέρα εἰς ἄκρατον πῦρ ἀναλελύσθαι. καὶ μὴν  
οὐδὲ φλόξ· ἄμμα<sup>1</sup> γὰρ τροφῆς ἐστι, μηδενὸς δὲ  
καταλειφθέντος, ἀτροφήσασα αὐτίκα ἀποσβεσθή-  
σεται. τούτοις ἔπεται τὸ μηδ' αὐγὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι·  
καθ' ἑαυτὴν γὰρ ὑπόστασιν οὐκ ἔχει, ρεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ  
τῶν προτέρων, ἄνθρακος καὶ φλογός, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν  
ἐλάττων, πολλὴ δ' ἀπὸ φλογός· χεῖται γὰρ ἐπὶ  
μήκιστον· ἐκείνων δ', ὡς ἐδείχθη, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύ-  
ρωσιν οὐκ ὄντων, οὐδ' ἂν αὐγὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ  
ἢ μεθημερινὴ πολλὴ καὶ βαθεῖα αὐγὴ, τὸν ὑπὸ  
γῆς ἡλίου δρόμον ἰόντος, εὐθύς ἀφανίζεται νυκτὶ

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. ἄμα.

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<sup>a</sup> Bernays "geistiger Zusammenhalt." But see the definition of *ἐξίς* in *Quod Deus* 35 as πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἑαυτό, and note on *Quis Rerum* 242 "the three terms πνεῦμα, ἐξίς, τόνος for a permeating and binding force seem more or less convertible." See *S. V. F.* ii. 439-462.

<sup>b</sup> Or "kindled by." The word ἄμμα is common enough

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 86-88

permeating current <sup>a</sup> which has taken the fuel for its lair and lurks there extending through it from end to end. Flame is what rises up into the air from that which feeds it. Fire-light is what is sent out from the flame and co-operates with the eyes to give apprehension of things visible. The middle place between the light and the coal is held by flame, for when it is extinguished it dies away into coal, but when kindled into a blaze it has a radiance which flashes from it, though destitute of combusive force. If we say that at the conflagration the world is dis- 87  
solved there would be no coal there, because if there were the great quantity of earthy matter which is the substance in which fire is contained will be still remaining and it is one of their tenets that nothing else of other bodies then subsists and that earth, water and air are resolved into fire pure and simple. Further there is no flame either, for flame is linked 88  
on to <sup>b</sup> the fuel and when nothing is left it will be extinguished for lack of sustenance. It follows also that the light is not produced. For it has no existence of itself but issues from the first two, the coal and the flame, in a smaller stream from the coal but a great outflow from the flame, for it is diffused to a very great distance. But since the other two, as has been shown, do not exist at the conflagration, there will be no light either. For when the sun takes its course under the earth, the daylight, great and far-reaching as it is, is immediately hidden from our sight by the night, especially if it is moonless.

for a knot or fastening, but there is no example = "the thing fastened," though such a meaning might easily have been developed. Nor is there any example = "the thing kindled," though there is *ἀναμμα* in this sense. Perhaps we should read *ἀναμμα*.

[505] καὶ μάλιστα ἀσελήνω. | οὐ τοίνυν ἐκπυροῦται ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀφθαρτος· εἰ δ' ἐκπυρωθήσεται, ἕτερος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο.

- 89 XVIII. Διὸ καὶ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ὀξύδερκέστερον ἐκ μακροῦ θεασάμενοι τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἔλεγχον ἠξίωσαν ὥσπερ θανατῶντι κεφαλαίῳ βοηθήματα προευτρεπίζεσθαι· τὰ δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἴτιον κινήσεως ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ, κινήσεις δὲ γενέσεως ἀρχή, γενέσθαι δ' ἄνευ κινήσεως ὀτιοῦν ἀδύνατον, ἔφασαν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, ἐπειδὴν ὁ νέος κόσμος μέλλῃ δημιουργεῖσθαι, σύμπαν μὲν τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται, ποσὴ δὲ τις αὐτοῦ μοῖρα ὑπολείπεται· πάνυ γὰρ ἠύλαβήθησαν, μὴ σβεσθέντος ἀθροῦς μείνη τὰ πάντα ἡσυχάσαντα ἀδιακόσμητα, τοῦ τῆς κινήσεως
- 90 αἰτίου μηκέτ' ὄντος. εὐρεσιλογούντων δὲ πλάσματα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τεχνάζοντων. τί δήποτε; ὅτι τὸν κόσμον ἐκπυρωθέντα γενέσθαι μὲν ἄνθρακι παραπλήσιον ἀμήχανον, ὡς δέδεικται, γεώδους πολλῆς ἂν ὑπολειφθείσης οὐσίας, ἣ δεήσει τὸ πῦρ ἔλλοχᾶν, ἴσως δ' οὐδ' ἐκπυρώσεως τότε κρατούσης, εἴ γε<sup>1</sup> μένει τὸ στοιχείων βαρύτατον καὶ δυσαναλωτότατον ἔτι, γῆ μὴ διαλυθεῖσα, μεταβάλλειν δὲ ἢ εἰς φλόγα ἢ εἰς αὐγὴν ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς μὲν φλόγα, ὡς ᾤετο Κλεάνθης, εἰς δ' αὐγὴν, ὡς
- 91 ὁ Χρύσιππος. ἀλλ' εἴ γε φλόξ γίνεται, τραπομένη πρὸς σβέσιν ἅπαξ οὐκ ἐκ μέρους ἀλλ' ἀθροῶ σβεσθήσεται· συνυπάρχει γὰρ τῇ τροφῇ<sup>2</sup>. διὸ πολλῆς μὲν οὐσῆς ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ χεῖται, στελλομένης δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἴτε.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἡ τροφή.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 88-91

Therefore the world is not consumed by conflagration but is indestructible, and if it should be so consumed another world could not come into existence.

XVIII. This has induced some of the Stoic school, 89 whose keener sight discerned from a distance the oncoming refutation, to assist their cardinal doctrine when lying as it were at the point of death, but without avail. They said that since fire is the cause of motion and motion the origin of generation, without which it is impossible that anything should be generated, after the conflagration when the new world has to be created all the fire in it is not extinguished but a part of it of some amount remains. For they were filled with great alarm lest, if the whole mass was extinguished, the universe would remain at a standstill and not be reconstructed, since there was no longer anything to cause motion. But 90 these are the fictions of ingenious quibblers who are scheming to overthrow truth. Why so? Because the world when consumed by fire cannot become like live coal, as has been shown, since a lot of earthy matter would be left in which the fire will be bound to lurk encamped, and in that case perhaps we may say that the conflagration has still to establish its power, since the heaviest and most resistant of the elements, namely, earth, remains undissolved. It must therefore either change into fire as Cleanthes or light as Chrysippus thought. But if it becomes 91 flame, once it starts being extinguished it will not be extinguished partially but altogether.<sup>a</sup> For its existence is bound up with its feeder and therefore if that feeder is plentiful it increases and diffuses

<sup>a</sup> Or "totally and simultaneously," and so below, § 92.

## PHILO

- μειοῦται. τεκμηριώσαιοιτο δ' ἄν τις ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ γινόμενον· ὁ λύχνος, ἕως μὲν τις ἔλαιον ἄρδει, περιφεγγεστάτην δίδωσι φλόγα, ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπίσχη, δαπανήσας ὅσον τῆς τροφῆς λείψανον αὐτίκα κατεσβέσθη, μηδὲν μέρος ταμειυσάμενος
- 92 τῆς φλογός. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ἄλλ' αὐγὴ γίνεται, πάλιν ἀθρόα μεταβάλλει. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑπόστασιν ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχει, γεννᾶται δ' ἐκ φλογός, ἧς ὅλης δι' ὄλων σβέσιν λαμβανούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἄλλ' ἀθρόαν ἀναιρεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τροφήν φλόξ, τοῦτο αὐγὴ πρὸς φλόγα· καθάπερ οὖν τροφῇ συναναιρεῖται φλόξ, καὶ αὐγὴ
- 93 φλογί. ὥστ' ἀμήχανον παλιγγενεσίαν τὸν κόσμον λαβεῖν, μηδενὸς ἐντυφομένου σπερματικοῦ λόγου, πάντων δὲ δαπανηθέντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑπὸ πυρός, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπ' ἐνδείας. ἐξ ὧν ἔστι δῆλον, ὅτι ἀγένητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος ὧν διατελεῖ.
- 94 XIX. Φέρε δ' οὖν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος, τὸ ἀναστοιχειῶσαν τὴν διακόσμησιν εἰς αὐτὸ πῦρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποτελεῖσθαι κόσμου σπέρμα εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεφιλοσόφηκε μηδὲν ἐψεῦσθαι, πρῶτον
- [506] μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐκ | σπέρματος ἢ γένεσις καὶ εἰς σπέρμα ἢ ἀνάλυσις, ἔπειτα δ' ὅτι φυσιολογεῖται ὁ κόσμος καὶ φύσις λογική, οὐ μόνον ἔμφυχος ὧν ἀλλὰ καὶ νοερός, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φρόνιμος, ἐκ τούτων τούναντίον οὐ βούλεται κατασκευάζεται, τὸ μηδέ-
- 95 ποτε φθαρῆσθαι. αἱ δὲ πίστεις προχειρόταται τοῖς συνεξετάζειν μὴ ἀποκνοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ὁ κόσμος

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 142 ζῶον ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἔμφυχον καὶ νοερόν. The argument that follows does not depend upon these higher qualities, but they make it still  
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## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 91-95

itself, but if that shrinks it diminishes. We can judge the result from our own experience. A lamp as long as we feed it with oil gives a very brilliant light, but if we cease to do so after using up what little of the feeder remains, it goes out at once as it has no reserve of flame to fall back upon. Alter- 92  
natively if it becomes light, again the change is total. Why? Because it has no definite existence of its own but is generated from flame, and if the flame is wholly and absolutely extinguished the light must also perish not partially but totally. For what the flame is to the feeder that the light is to the flame. Therefore, just as the flame perishes with its feeder, the light perishes with the flame. Therefore it is im- 93  
possible that the world should have a rebirth, as no embers of the seminal principle are alive within it, but all have been exhausted, the rest by the fire, the seminal principle by lack of sustenance. These facts show clearly that it continues uncreated and indestructible.

XIX. Now suppose that as Chrysippus says the 94  
fire which has resolved the world as constructed into itself is the seed of the world which will result and that there is no fallacy in his theories on the subject, primarily that its generation comes from seed and its resolution passes into seed; secondly that natural philosophy shows the world to be also a rational being, having not only life but mind, and further a wise mind,<sup>a</sup> still these establish nothing of what he wishes to prove but its opposite, namely that it will never be destroyed. The proofs of this lie ready 95  
at hand for those who do not shrink from examining more impossible that its qualities should be below even those of a plant.

## PHILO

ἢ φυτόν, (ὡς) ἕοικεν,<sup>1</sup> ἢ ζῶον· ἀλλ' εἴτε φυτόν  
 ἐστὶν εἴτε καὶ ζῶον, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φθαρεῖς  
 οὐδέποτε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενήσεται σπέρμα. μαρτυρεῖ  
 δὲ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὧν οὐδέν οὐκ ἔλαττον οὐ μείζον  
 96 ποτε φθαρὲν εἰς σπέρματος ἀπεκρίθη γένεσιν. οὐχ  
 ὄρας ὅσαι μὲν ἡμέρων φυτῶν ὕλαι, ὅσαι δὲ ἀγρίων  
 κατὰ πᾶν μέρος τῆς γῆς ἀνακέχυνται; τούτων  
 τῶν δένδρων ἕκαστον, ἄχρι μὲν ὑγιαίνει τὸ στέ-  
 λεχος, ἅμα τῷ καρπῷ καὶ τὸ ὄχυμα<sup>2</sup> τίκτει,  
 μήκει δὲ χρόνων ἀφαιανθὲν (ἢ) καὶ ἄλλως αὐταῖς  
 ρίζαις φθαρὲν οὐδέποτε τὴν ἀνάλυσιν εἰς σπέρμα  
 97 ἔλαβεν. τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ τὰ γένη  
 τῶν ζῶων, ἃ μὴδὲ εἰπεῖν διὰ πλήθος ῥάδιον, ἄχρι  
 μὲν περίεστι καὶ ἡβᾶ, σπέρμα προὔεται γόνιμον,  
 τελευτήσαντα δ' οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς γίνεται σπέρμα·  
 καὶ γὰρ εὐῆθες ἄνθρωπον ζῶντα μὲν ὀγδόω μέρει  
 ψυχῆς, ὃ καλεῖται γόνιμον, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου  
 σπορὰν χρῆσθαι, τελευτήσαντα δὲ ὄλω<sup>3</sup> ἑαυτῷ·  
 98 θάνατος γὰρ οὐτι ζωῆς ἀνυσιμώτερος. ἄλλως τε  
 τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἐκ μόνου σπέρματος δίχα τῆς  
 οἰκείας τροφῆς ἀποτελεῖται· σπέρμα γὰρ ἕοικεν  
 ἀρχῇ, ἀρχὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν οὐ τελειογονεῖ. μὴ γὰρ  
 αὐτονομίης τὸν στάχυν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ καταβληθέντος  
 ὑπὸ γεωργῶν εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας βλαστάνειν πυροῦ,  
 τὸ δὲ πλείστον εἰς αὐξήσιν αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup> συνεργεῖν ὑγρὰν  
 τε καὶ ξηρὰν διττὴν ἐκ γῆς τροφήν· καὶ τὰ ἐν  
 μήτραις μέντοι διαπλαττόμενα πέφυκεν οὐκ ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φυτῷ ἕοικεν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὄλον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὄχημα.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. αὐτῶν.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 110. The eight parts are the five senses, speech, the rational faculty and the generative.



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 95-98

them. The world has evidently either plant-life or animal-life, but whether it has one or the other, if it is destroyed at the conflagration it will never become seed to itself. Take the testimony of the plants and animals in our experience; none of them lesser or greater ever when destroyed pass into the condition of producing seed. We see how many types of 96 cultivated trees and of uncultivated also are spread over every part of the earth. Each of these trees so long as the stem is sound produces with its fruit the germ of impregnation also. But when it withers away by length of time, or is destroyed in some other way with its roots as well it is never anywhere capable of being resolved into seed. In the same 97 way also the different kinds of animals so numerous that it would be difficult even to give their names, while they survive and are vigorous, emit generating seed, but when they are dead they never anywhere become seed. For it is foolish to suppose that a man when alive uses the eighth part <sup>a</sup> of his life principle, called the generative, to produce his like, but when dead uses his whole self. For death is not more efficacious than life. Besides nothing that exists is made 98 completely out of seed alone without its proper sustenance. Seed is analogous to beginning and the beginning by itself does not generate fullness. For neither must you suppose that the ear of wheat grows only from the seed laid down in the field by the husbandmen. The double sustenance from the earth, moist and dry is a very great factor in its growth and the embryos moulded in the womb cannot

Philo has given the same classification in *De Op.* 117, though there the point is that the *irrational* soul has seven parts. So too *De Agr.* 30, *Quod Det.* 168, *Quis Rerum* 232.

## PHILO

μόνου ζωογονεῖσθαι σπέρματος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς  
 ἕξωθεν ἀρδομένης τροφῆς, ἣν ἡ κύουσα προσ-  
 99 φέρεται. πρὸς δὴ τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι κατὰ τὴν  
 ἐκπύρωσιν σπέρμα μόνον ὑπολειφθήσεται, τροφῆς  
 μὴ ὑπαρχούσης, ἀπάντων ὅσα τρέφειν ἔμελλεν εἰς  
 πῦρ ἀναλυθέντων, ὥσθ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν  
 ἀποτελούμενος κόσμος χωλὴν καὶ ἀτελεῖ γένεσιν  
 ἕξει, τοῦ μάλιστα πρὸς τελείωσιν συνεργούντος, ᾧ  
 καθάπερ βάκτρῳ τινὶ τὴν σπερματικὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἐφιδρῦεσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἐφθαρμένου. τοῦτο δ' ἦν  
 100 ἄτοπον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐλεγχόμενον τῆς ἐναργείας.<sup>1</sup> ἔτι  
 τοῖνυν ὅσα λαμβάνει τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ σπέρματος,  
 μείζονα τὸν ὄγκον ἐστὶ τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ ἐν  
 τόπῳ μείζονι θεωρεῖται· δένδρα γοῦν οὐρανομήκη  
 πολλάκις ἀναβλαστάνει ἐκ βραχυτάτης κέγχρου καὶ  
 ζῶα πιότατα καὶ περιμηκέστατα ἐξ ὀλίγου τοῦ  
 προεθέντος ὑγροῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μικρῶ πρότερον  
 [507] εἰρημένον | συμβαίνει, κατὰ μὲν τὸν γειννιῶντα  
 τῇ γενέσει χρόνον βραχύτερα τὰ γεννηθέντα εἶναι,  
 μεγεθύνεσθαι δ' αὖθις ἄχρι παντελοῦς τελειώσεως.  
 101 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παντός γενήσεται τούναντίον· τὸ μὲν  
 γὰρ σπέρμα καὶ μείζον ἔσται καὶ πλείονα τόπον  
 ἐφέξει, τὸ δ' ἀποτέλεσμα βραχύτερον καὶ ἐν  
 ἐλάττω φανεῖται τόπῳ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐκ σπέρ-  
 ματος συνιστάμενος οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπι-  
 δώσει πρὸς αὔξησιν, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἐξ ὄγκου  
 102 μείζονος εἰς ἐλάττωνα συναيرهθήσεται. τὸ δὲ λεγό-  
 μενον ῥάδιον συνιδεῖν· ἅπαν σῶμα ἀναλυόμενον

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 98-102

be brought to life merely from the seed, but need also the fostering sustenance from outside which the pregnant mother administers. What is the purpose <sup>99</sup> of these remarks? It is to show that at the conflagration seed alone will remain and nothing will exist to nourish it, as all things that would give nourishment are resolved into fire, and lame and imperfect therefore will be the genesis of the world brought about at the rebirth, since that which could best co-operate in its consummation, which the originating seed takes as a staff for its support, has been destroyed. The absurdity of this is self-evident and needs no further refutation. Again all things <sup>100</sup> which originate from seed are greater in bulk than that which made them and visibly occupy a greater space. Thus trees which soar to heaven often spring from a very small grain, and animals of great corpulence and stature come from the emission of a little moisture. Also there is the fact mentioned a little above<sup>a</sup> that during the time following closely on the birth the things generated are smaller but afterwards increase in size till they reach their full consummation. But in the universe the opposite <sup>101</sup> will take place. The seed will both be greater and will occupy more space, but the result produced will be smaller, and will be seen to take up less space, and the Cosmos which forms itself from the seed will not gradually advance in growth but on the contrary will be reduced from a greater bulk to a lesser. The truth of this statement can be easily seen. <sup>102</sup> Every body which is resolved into fire is diffused as

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in § 71.

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<sup>1</sup> MSS. *ἐνεργείας*.

## PHILO

εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεται<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ χεῖται, σβεννυμένης δὲ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φλογός, στέλλεται καὶ συνάγεται· πίστεων δὲ τοῖς οὕτως ἐμφανέσι πρὸς μαρτυρίαν ὡς ἀδηλουμένοις οὐδεμία χρεία. καὶ μὴν ὁ κόσμος ὁ πυρωθεὶς γενήσεται μείζων, ἅτε συμπάσης τῆς οὐσίας εἰς τὸν λεπτότατον ἀναλυθείσης αἰθέρα. ὁ μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ προϊδόμενοι κενὸν ἄπειρον ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου τῷ λόγῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἴν', ἐπειδὴ χύσιν ἀπέραντόν τινα ἔμελλε λήψεσθαι, μὴ ἀπορῆ τοῦ δεξομένου χωρίου τὴν ἀνάχυσιν.

103 ὅτε μὲν οὖν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ συνηύξεται, ὡς μονονουχὶ τῇ ἀορίστῳ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσει τῷ τῆς ἐλάσεως ἀπειρομεγέθει συνδραμεῖν, σπέρματος ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο λόγον, ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ἐκ τελείων τῶν μερῶν<sup>2</sup> τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας \* \* \*, στελλομένου μὲν κατὰ τὴν σβέσειν τοῦ πυρὸς εἰς παχὺν ἀέρα, στελλομένου δ' αἴρος εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ συνίζοντος, παχυνομένου δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὕδατος κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν, τὸ πυκνότατον τῶν στοιχείων, μεταβολήν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας τῶν δυναμένων ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Cohn pronounces ἀναλύεται to be corrupt. Alternatives suggested are ἐλαύνεται (based on ἐλάσεως in § 103), ἀναδίδοται and διαλύεται, which Bernays reads. I do not feel that ἀναλ. is quite impossible; see translation.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont ἐκτελειούται μείων, in which case there is no lacuna, ἔχει λόγον being understood before τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας. See note b.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 140 ἔξωθεν δ' αὐτοῦ περικεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κενὸν ἀπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι.

<sup>b</sup> The text as printed gives "when at the rebirth it . . .

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 102-103

well as resolved, but when the flame in it is being quenched, it is contracted and drawn in. Facts so clear as these need no proofs to testify to them as though they were matters of uncertainty. Assuredly the world when consumed by fire will become greater because its whole substance is resolved into very fine ether. This the Stoics seem to me to have foreseen and therefore left room in their theory for an infinite void outside the Cosmos,<sup>a</sup> so that when it had to accept a sort of infinite diffusion, it might not lack a place to receive the overflow. So then 103 when it has advanced and grown to such an extent that, under the infinite magnitude of the pressure forcing it, it extends its course almost to the illimitable existence of the void, even this ranks as seed, but when at the rebirth it is brought to its consummation in a diminished condition it ranks as a whole substance,<sup>b</sup> though the fire at its extinction is contracted into the thickness of air and the air is contracted and subsides into water and the water condenses still more as it changes into the most compressed of the elements, earth. These conclusions are contrary to the accepted principles<sup>c</sup> of those who are capable of judging the sequence of events aright.

of the whole substance . . .", *i.e.* we must supply some verb as *συνίσταται* = "consisting of" to complete the protasis, and then something more = "it will take up less room." This does not give any real antithesis to *σπέρματος*. Cumont's suggestion (see note 2) was not accepted by Cohn, but seems to me very probable, and as it avoids the lacuna I have translated it.

<sup>c</sup> "Common notions," otherwise translated as "primary conceptions." According to Zeller, *Stoics*, pp. 79 f., they are not innate ideas, but "those conceptions which from the nature of thought can be equally formed by all men out of experience."

## PHILO

- 104 XX. Δίχα τοίνυν τῶν εἰρημένων κάκεινῳ χρή-  
σαιτ' ἄν τις εἰς πίστιν, ὃ καὶ τοὺς μὴ πέρα τοῦ  
μετρίου φιλονεικεῖν αἰρουμένους ἐπισπάσεται. τῶν  
ἐν ταῖς συζυγίαις ἐναντίων ἀμήχανον τὸ μὲν εἶναι,  
τὸ δὲ μὴ· λευκοῦ γὰρ ὄντος ἀνάγκη καὶ μέλαν  
ὑπάρχειν καὶ μεγάλου βραχὺ καὶ περιττοῦ ἄρτιον  
καὶ γλυκέος πικρὸν καὶ ἡμέρας νύκτα καὶ ὅσα  
τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα. γενομένης δ' ἐκπυρώσεως,  
ἀδύνατόν τι συμβήσεται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ὑπάρξει  
τῶν ἐν ταῖς συζυγίαις, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οὐκ ἔσται.
- 105 φέρε δ' οὕτωςι θεασώμεθα· πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυ-  
θέντων, κοῦφον μὲν ἔσται τι καὶ μανὸν καὶ θερμόν  
—ἴδια γὰρ πυρὸς ταῦτα—, βαρὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἢ πυκνὸν  
ἢ ψυχρόν, τὰ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐναντία. πῶς οὖν ἄν  
τις ἐπιδείξαι<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον τὴν πεπλεγμένην ἐκ τῆς  
ἐκπυρώσεως ἀκοσμίαν ἢ τὰ φύσει συνυπάρχοντα  
δεικνὺς ἀπαρτώμενα τῆς συζυγίας; ἢ δ' ἄλλο-  
τρίωσις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κεχώρηκεν, ὡς τοῖς μὲν
- [508] αἰδιότητα | προσομολογεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἀνύπαρκτον.
- 106 "Ἐτι τοίνυν κάκεινό μοι δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ  
τοῖς ἰχνηλατοῦσι τάληθές εἰρῆσθαι· φθειρόμενος ὁ  
κόσμος ἦτοι ὑπὸ τινος ἐτέρας φθαρῆσεται αἰτίας  
ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ. ὑπ' ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν  
δέξεται διάλυσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὃ μὴ περιέχει·  
τὸ δὲ περιεχόμενον καὶ κατακρατούμενον<sup>2</sup> ἀσθενέ-  
στερον δήπου τοῦ περιέχοντος, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ κατα-  
κρατεῖται. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοῦ φθείρεσθαι λέγειν αὐτὸν  
πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον· ὃ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκ ἀταξίας καὶ  
ἀκοσμίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἀλλὰ τάξεως καὶ εὐκοσμίας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπιχῆται or ἐπισχῆται.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κρατούμενον.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 104-106

XX. Besides those already mentioned, there is 104 another argument which may be used to prove the point, and this, too, will win the assent of those who prefer not to carry their contentiousness to an immoderate extent. In couples of opposites, it is impossible that one member should exist and the other not. If there is white there must be black also, if there is great there must be small, and so with odd and even, bitter and sweet, night and day, and the like. But when the conflagration has taken place we shall have an impossibility. For one of the opposites in couples will exist and the other will not. Consider the following facts. When all things are 105 resolved into fire, there will be something light, rare and hot, since these qualities belong to fire, but nothing of their opposites, heavy, dense and cold. How could we better express the disorder woven by the conflagration theory than by showing that things naturally coexistent are disjoined from the coupling which holds them, and so far does this dissociation extend that we have to predicate perpetuity of the one set and non-existence of the other.

Still further, a good point I think is made by the 106 investigators of truth when they say that if the world is destroyed, it will be destroyed either by some other cause or by God. Nothing else at all will cause it to undergo dissolution. For there is nothing which it does not encompass and what is encompassed and dominated is surely weaker than what encompasses and therefore also dominates it. On the other hand, to say that it is destroyed by God is the worst of profanities. For those who hold the true creed acknowledge Him to be the cause,

PHILO

καὶ ζωῆς καὶ παντὸς αἴτιος ἀνωμολόγηται τοῦ ἀρίστου παρὰ τοῖς τάληθῆ δοξάζουσι.

107 XXI. Θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις τοὺς τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας θρυλοῦντας οὐ μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων, οἷς ἀπελέγχονται ψευδοδοξοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκείνο μάλιστα. τετάρων γὰρ ὄντων στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκε, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, πυρός, τίνος ἔνεκα πάντων ἀποκληρωσάμενοι τὸ πῦρ τὰ ἄλλα φασὶν εἰς τοῦτο μόνον ἀναλυθήσεσθαι; δέον γάρ, εἴποι τις ἂν,—πῶς οὐκ;—εἰς ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆν· ὑπερβάλλουσαι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις εἰσὶ δυνάμεις. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐξαερούσθαι ἢ ἐξυδατοῦσθαι ἢ ἀπογεοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον εἶπεν, ὥστ' εἰκὸς ἦν μηδὲ ἐκπυροῦσθαι φάναι.

108 Χρῆ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν ἰσονομίαν τῷ κόσμῳ κατανοήσαντας ἢ δεῖσαι ἢ αἰδεσθῆναι τοσούτου θεοῦ<sup>1</sup> κατηγορεῖν θάνατον· ὑπερβάλλουσα γάρ τις τῶν τετάρων ἀντέκτισις δυνάμεων ἰσότητος κανόσι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὄροις σταθμωμένων

109 τὰς ἀμοιβάς. καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὄραι κύκλον ἀμείβουσιν ἀλλήλας ἀντιπαραδεχόμεναι πρὸς τὰς ἐνιαυτῶν οὐδέποτε ληγόντων περιόδους, [εἰς] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον [τίθησι]<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ταῖς εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολαῖς, τὸ παραδοξότατον, θνήσκειν δοκοῦντα ἀθανατίζεται δολιχεύοντα αἰεὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω καὶ κάτω συνεχῶς ἀμεί-  
110 βοντα. ἢ μὲν οὖν προσάντης ὁδὸς ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρχεται·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θείου.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont reads αἰεὶ for εἰς, and περιθέει for τίθησι, but the latter has little resemblance to the word which it replaces. Bernays φησί, but the introduction of the disputant at this point seems unlikely. But the mere omission is equally unsatisfactory.



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 106-110

not of disorder, disharmony and destruction, but of order and harmony and life and all that is most excellent.

XXI. The people whose talk is for ever of con- 107  
flagration and rebirth may well excite our wonder, not only for the aforesaid reasons which prove the falsity of their creed, but particularly on the following grounds. As there are four elements, earth, water, air and fire, of which the world is composed, why out of all these do they pick out fire and assert that it will be resolved into that alone? Surely it may be said that it is just as right that it should be resolved into earth or water or air, for all these have transcendent powers, and yet no one has declared that the world is converted into any of the three, and therefore the natural conclusion is that it is not turned into fire either.

Indeed also observation of the equality inherent in 108  
the world should make them afraid or ashamed to affirm the death of so great a deity. For there is a vast reciprocation between the four powers and they regulate their interchanges according to the standards of equality and the bounds laid down by justice. For just as the annual seasons circle round and round, 109  
each making room for its successor as the years ceaselessly revolve, so, too, the elements of the world in their mutual interchanges seem to die, yet, strangest of contradictions, are made immortal as they ever run their race backwards and forwards and continually pass along the same road up and down. The 110  
uphill journey begins from earth.<sup>a</sup> Earth is trans-

<sup>a</sup> The idea of the "uphill" and "downhill" journey comes from Heracleitus, see Diog. Laert. ix. 9, where they are called *ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω* and *ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω ὁδός*.

## PHILO

- τηκομένη γὰρ εἰς ὕδωρ [μετα]λαμβάνει<sup>1</sup> τὴν μεταβολήν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἐξατμιζόμενον εἰς ἀέρα, ὁ δ' ἀὴρ λεπτυνόμενος εἰς πῦρ· ἡ δὲ κατάντης ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, συνίζοντος μὲν πυρὸς κατὰ τὴν σβέσιν εἰς ἀέρα, συνίζοντος δ' ὅποτε συνθλίβωτο εἰς ὕδωρ [509] ἀέρος, ὕδατος δὲ [τὴν πολλήν | ἀνάχυσιν]<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν πυκνουμένου μεταβολήν. εὖ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐν οἷς φησι· “ ψυχῆσι θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι.” ψυχὴν γὰρ οἴομενος εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν μὲν ἀέρος τελευτὴν γένεσιν ὕδατος, τὴν δὲ ὕδατος γῆς πάλιν γένεσιν αἰνίττεται, θάνατον οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἀναίρεσιν ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἕτερον στοιχείον 112 μεταβολήν. ἀπαραβάτου<sup>3</sup> δὴ καὶ συνεχοῦς τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἰσονομίας ταύτης αἰεὶ φυλαττομένης, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰκὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνισον ἄδικον, τὸ δ' ἄδικον κακίας ἔγγονον, κακία δ' ἐξ οἴκου τῆς ἀθανασίας πεφυγάδεται, θεῖον δὲ τι <διὰ τὸ> μέγεθος<sup>4</sup> ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἶκος θεῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδέδεικται, τὸ δὴ φάσκειν ὅτι φθείρεται μὴ συνωρώντων ἐστὶ φύσεως εἰρμὸν καὶ πραγμάτων συνηρημένην ἀκολουθίαν.
- 113 XXII. Προσφιλοτεχνούντες δέ τινες τῶν αἰδίων ὑπολαμβανόντων τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τοιούτῳ

<sup>1</sup> The other editors retain *μεταλαμβάνει*, which gives a fair sense, “has, like the other elements, its share of change.”

<sup>2</sup> Here again the omission is drastic. Cumont declares the text to be right, possibly regarding *τὴν πολλήν ἀνάχυσιν* as an accusative of respect. Bernays *τῇ πολλῇ ἀναχύσει*, corresponding to *μετὰ σβέσιν* and *ὅποτε θλίβωτο*. (If so why not <διὰ> *τὴν πολλήν ἀνάχυσιν*?) The mss. have *πυκνουμένην* (one *πηνουμένου*).

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 110-113

formed by melting into water, water by evaporation into air, air by rarefaction into fire. The downhill path leads from the top, the fire as it is extinguished subsides into air; air as it is compressed subsides into water, while water is condensed as it changes into earth. Well, too, spoke Heracleitus 111 when he says, "death for souls is to become water, death for water to become earth," for conceiving that soul<sup>a</sup> is breath he indicates that the final end of air is to become water and again of water to become earth, while by the term death he does not mean complete annihilation but transmutation into another element. That this self-determined equality should 112 be maintained for ever inviolate and constant is not only natural but necessary. And, therefore, since inequality is unjust and injustice is the child of wickedness, and wickedness is banished from the dwelling-place of immortality, while the world is divine in its vastness and has been shown to be the dwelling-place of visible deities, the assertion that it is destroyed shows inability to descry the chain of nature and the unbroken sequence of events.

XXII. Some of those who consider that the world 113 is everlasting carry their ingenuity still farther and

<sup>a</sup> Philo is apparently mistaken here, and Heracleitus by "soul" meant fire, not air, which he did not consider to be one of the fundamental elements. See Zeller, *Presocratics*, vol. ii. p. 50.

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<sup>3</sup> mss. ἀπαραβλήτου (-ους) or ἀπεριβλήτου.

<sup>4</sup> Bernays θεῖον δέ τι τέμενος, Cumont θεῖος δὲ τὸ μέγεθος. The objection to this and Cohn's is that size is a poor reason for the divinity of the Cosmos. Perhaps the most plausible suggestion is Wendland's θεῖον δέ τι (μᾶλλον δὲ) μέγας θεός, which might perhaps be simplified with ἦ instead of μᾶλλον δὲ.

## PHILO

πρὸς κατασκευὴν λόγῳ χρῶνται· φθορᾶς τέτταρας εἶναι τρόπους τοὺς ἀνωτάτω συμβέβηκε, πρόσθεσιν ἀφαιρέσιν μετάθεσιν ἀλλοίωσιν. δυὰς μὲν οὖν προσθέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα φθείρεται μηκέτι μένουσα δυὰς, τετράς δ' ἀφαιρέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα, μεταθέσει δὲ τὸ  $\Gamma^1$  στοιχείον εἰς Η, ὅταν αἱ μὲν ἐγκάρσιοι παράλληλοι πρὸς ὀρθὰς διαναστώσιν, ἢ δὲ πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἐπεζευγμένη πλαγιασθεῖσα συνάψῃ τὰς παρ' ἐκάτερα, κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν δὲ μετα-

- 114 βάλλων οἶνος εἰς ὄξος. τῶν δὲ κατειλεγμένων τρόπων οὐδεὶς ἐφάπτεται τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φῶμεν; προστίθεσθαί τι τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκτός, ὃ μὴ μέρος γέγονεν αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> ὅλου· περιέχεται γὰρ καὶ κατακρατεῖται. ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἀφαιρεθὲν πάλιν κόσμος ἔσται, τοῦ νῦν βραχύτερος· ἔπειτα <δ'> ἀμήχανον ἕξω τι σῶμα τοῦ ὅλου διαρτηθὲν τῆς συμφυΐας σκεδασθῆναι.
- 115 ἀλλὰ τὰ μέρη μετατίθεσθαι; μενεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμοίῳ τοὺς τόπους οὐκ ἐναλλάττοντα· οὐ γὰρ ἐποχήσεται ποτε οὔτε<sup>2</sup> ὕδατι πᾶσα γῆ οὔθ' ὕδωρ ἀέρι οὔτε ἀῆρ πυρί, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν φύσει βαρέα, γῆ<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὕδωρ, τὸν μέσον ἐφέξει τόπον, γῆς μὲν θεμελίου τρόπον ὑπερειδούσης, ὕδατος δ' ἐπιπολάζοντος,
- [510] ἀῆρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ, τὰ φύσει κοῦφα, | τὸν ἄνω, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως· ἀῆρ γὰρ πυρὸς ὄχημα γέγονε, τὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ζ or ζῆτα . . . ἦ or ἦτα (the letter printed here for zeta is an old form which accords with the argument).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔτι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐν γῆ.

<sup>a</sup> "The four ways of destruction are Peripatetic and

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 113-115

employ an argument of the following kind to establish their view. We find, they say, four principal ways in which destruction occurs, addition, subtraction, transposition, transmutation.<sup>a</sup> Thus two is destroyed and becomes three by the addition of one and similarly four by subtraction of one becomes three. The letter  $\Gamma$  becomes H by transposition when the horizontal parallels rise vertically and the line which joined them vertically has been turned sideways to connect the lines on either side of it. By transmutation wine perishes and becomes vinegar. But none of the ways enumerated affects 114 the world at all. For can we say that anything can be added to the world to destroy it? No, there is nothing outside it, nothing which is not a part of itself, that is of the whole, since each thing is encompassed and dominated by it. What of subtraction? In the first place anything subtracted will in its turn be a world only smaller than the present world. Secondly, it is impossible that any body should be detached from its fellow substance and dispersed outside the whole. Can its parts be 115 transposed? No, they will remain as they are and do not change their relative positions. For earth will never anywhere stand mounted on water, nor water on air, nor air on fire. But the naturally heavy elements, earth and water, will occupy the central position, with earth forming the support like a foundation and water floating on its surface, while the naturally light air and fire occupy the upper position though with a difference, for air is the vehicle on which fire rests and that which rests on a

Atomistic as contrasted with the three of the Stoics given in § 79" (Bernays).

## PHILO

- 116 δ' ἐποχοῦμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπερφέρεται. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν φθείρεσθαι νομιστέον· ἰσοκρατῆς γὰρ ἢ τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολή, τὸ δ' ἰσοκρατῆς ἀκλινοῦς βεβαιότητος καὶ ἀσαλεύτου μονῆς αἴτιον, ἅτε μήτε πλεονεκτοῦν μήτε πλεονεκτούμενον· ὥσθ' ἢ ἀντίδοσις καὶ ἢ ἀντέκτισις τῶν δυνάμεων ἀναλογίας<sup>1</sup> ἐξισουμένη κανόσιν ὑγιείας καὶ ἀτελευτήτου σωτηρίας δημιουργός. ἐξ ὧν αἰδῖος ὁ κόσμος ἀποδείκνυται.
- 117 XXIII. Θεόφραστος μέντοι φησὶ τοὺς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν τοῦ κόσμου κατηγοροῦντας ὑπὸ τεττάρων ἀπατηθῆναι τῶν μεγίστων, γῆς ἀνωμαλίας, θαλάττης ἀναχωρήσεως, ἐκάστου τῶν τοῦ ὄλου μερῶν διαλύσεως, χερσαίων φθορᾶς κατὰ γένη
- 118 ζώων. κατασκευάζειν<sup>2</sup> δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτως· εἰ μὴ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἢ γῆ, μέρος ὑπανεστὸς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἑωρᾶτο, χθαμαλὰ δ' ἤδη τὰ ὄρη πάντα ἐγεγένητο καὶ οἱ γεώλοφοι πάντες ἰσόπεδοι τῇ πεδιάδι· τοσοῦτων γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὄμβρων ἐξ αἰδίου φερομένων, εἰκὸς ἦν τῶν διηρμένων πρὸς ὕψος τὰ μὲν χεῖμαρροις ἀπερρῆχθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπονοστήσαντα κεχαλάσθαι, πάντα δὲ διὰ πάντων ἤδη λελειάνθαι.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀναλογίας.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κατασκευάζει. See note b.

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<sup>a</sup> Or more exactly "those who affirm of the world that it is subject to *γένεσις* and *φθορά*," with the suggestion perhaps that such an idea is depreciatory (*κατηγοροῦντας*).

<sup>b</sup> Bernays retains the indicative *κατασκευάζει*, which is I think quite defensible. In either case the statement is

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 116-118

vehicle is necessarily carried above it. Once more 116 we must not suppose that the world is destroyed by transmutation, for there is a balance of powers in the interchange of the elements and such a balance produces unswerving stability and unshaken permanence, since it neither encroaches nor is encroached on. And thus the reciprocation, the giving and taking of values, equalized according to the standards of proportion creates sound health and perpetual security. These things show the world to be everlasting.

XXIII. Further, Theophrastus says that those who 117 maintain the creation and future destruction of the world<sup>a</sup> are misled by four main considerations, the unevenness of the earth's surface, the withdrawal of the sea, the dissolution of each several part of the universe, and the perishing of whole species of land animals. The proof which they base on the first 118 of these is according to him the following.<sup>b</sup> If the earth had no beginning in which it came into being, no part of it would still be seen to be elevated above the rest. The mountains would now all be quite low, the hills all on a level with the plain, for with the great rains pouring down from everlasting each year, objects elevated to a height would naturally in some cases have been broken off by winter storms, in others would have subsided into a loose condition and would all of them have been completely planed

loosely worded. The "first part" may be either that the surface of the world is uneven, or that they are deceived by this unevenness. Taking the infinitive, they prove neither of these, but that the unevenness shows that the world is everlasting. Taking the indicative, Theophrastus states their reason for holding this opinion, but the proof that it is misleading is deferred till § 143.

## PHILO

119 νυνὶ δὲ συνεχεῖς ἀνωμαλῖαι καὶ παμπόλλων ὀρῶν αἰ πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος ὑπερβολαὶ μνηύματ' ἐστὶ τοῦ τὴν γῆν μὴ αἰδῖον εἶναι. πάλαι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ ταῖς ἐπομβρίαῖς ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα πᾶσ' ἂν λεωφόρος ἐγεγένητο· πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ ὕδατος φύσις καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ ὑψηλοτάτων καταράπτουσα τὰ μὲν ἐξωθεῖν τῇ βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῶ συνεχεῖ τῶν ψεκάδων κολάπτουσα κοιλαίνειν ὑπεργάζεσθαι τε τὴν σκληρόγεω καὶ λιθωδεστάτην ὀρυκτῆρων οὐκ ἔλαττον.

120 Καὶ μὴν ἥ γε θάλασσα, φασίν, ἤδη μεμείωται. μάρτυρες δ' αἰ νήσων εὐδοκιμώταται Ῥόδος τε καὶ Δῆλος· αὐταὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἠφανισμένοι κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐδεδύκεσαν ἐπικλυζόμενοι, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐλαττουμένης ἠρέμα, κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνίσχουσαι διεφάνησαν, ὡς αἰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνα-

121 γραφεῖσαι μνηύουσιν ἱστορίαι. τὴν δὲ Δῆλον καὶ Ἀνάφην<sup>1</sup> ὠνόμασαν δι' ἀμφοτέρων ὀνομάτων πιστούμενοι τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναφανείσα δήλη ἐγένετο, ἀδηλουμένη καὶ ἀφανῆς οὖσα τὸ πάλαι. <sup>2</sup> διὸ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ τῆς Δήλου φησί·

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀναγραφὴν (-ειν).

<sup>2</sup> διὸ . . . αἰνιττόμενος appears in the mss. after ἀποβράττεσθαι at the end of § 122. It certainly is less appropriate there. Both Bernays and Cumont however retain it there.



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 119-121

down. As it is, the constant unevennesses and the 119  
great multitude of mountains with their vast heights  
soaring to heaven are indications that the earth is  
not from everlasting. For in the course of infinite  
time it would long ago as I have said <sup>a</sup> have under the  
rain-pour become an open, level road from end to  
end. For it is a natural characteristic of water that  
sometimes, particularly when it dashes down from  
a great height, it drives everything out before it by  
its force, sometimes by constant dripping it scoops  
out and hollows and so completely undermines the  
hardest and stoniest ground quite as much as a  
digger would.

Again, they say, the sea is already diminished. 120  
Witness the most famous of the islands, Rhodes and  
Delos. For these in old times had disappeared,  
sunk and submerged below the sea, but in the  
course of time as the sea was slowly diminishing  
they gradually emerged and became conspicuous, as  
we read in the narratives written about them. Men 121  
also gave the name of Anaphe to Delos,<sup>b</sup> using both  
names to vouch for the fact here stated, because <sup>c</sup> it  
became apparent and visible, while in the past it  
was unapparent and invisible, and so Pindar says  
of Delos.

<sup>a</sup> Note the first person singular, an illustration of Philo's tendency to identify himself with the argument he is stating, even though he disagrees with it. See on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 6 ff. It can hardly be that he is verbally reproducing Theophrastus, for this is not what Theophrastus says but what he says the Stoics say.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently a mistake. Delos and Anaphe are different islands.

<sup>c</sup> The anacoluthic *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ* is read by all three editors (though *γὰρ* is omitted by some mss.). Cf. § 75.

## PHILO

“ Χαῖρ’, ὦ θεοδμάτα, λιπαροπλοκάμου  
 παίδεσσι Λατοῦς ἱμεροέστατον ἔρνος,  
 πόντου θύγατερ, χθονὸς εὐρείας ἀκίνητον τέρας,  
 ἄν τε βροτοὶ  
 Δᾶλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ’ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
 τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον.”

122 θυγατέρα γὰρ πόντου τὴν Δῆλον εἶρηκε τὸ λεχθὲν  
 [511] αἰνιττόμενος. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μεγάλων | πελαγῶν  
 μεγάλους κόλπους καὶ βαθεῖς ἀναξηρανθέντας ἠπει-  
 ρῶσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι τῆς παρακειμένης χώρας  
 μοῖραν οὐ λυπρὰν σπειρομένους καὶ φτευομένους,  
 οἷς σημεῖ’ ἄττα<sup>1</sup> τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐναπολελείφθαι θαλατ-  
 τώσεως ψηφιδᾶς τε καὶ κόγχας καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα  
 123 πρὸς αἰγιαλοὺς εἶωθεν ἀποβράττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μει-  
 οὔται ἢ θάλαττα, μειωθήσεται μὲν καὶ ἡ γῆ,  
 μακραις δ’ ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἐκά-  
 τερον στοιχείον ἀναλωθήσεται, δαπανηθήσεται δὲ  
 καὶ ὁ σύμπας ἀῆρ ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐλαττού-  
 μενος, ἀποκριθήσεται δὲ τὰ πάντα εἰς μίαν οὐσίαν  
 τὴν πυρός.

124 XXIV. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ τρίτου κεφαλαίου κατα-  
 σκευὴν χρῶνται<sup>2</sup> λόγῳ τοιῶδε· φθείρεται πάντως  
 ἐκεῖνο, οὗ πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ  
κόσμου πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, φθαρτὸς ἄρα  
 125 ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν. ὁ δ’ ὑπερεθέμεθα, νῦν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. σημεία τὰ.

<sup>2</sup> Bernays χρῆται with some ms. authority. Cf. § 117.

<sup>a</sup> The idea is supposed to be that earth seems dark-blue to the gods, as heaven seems to us, and that Delos shines like a

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 121-125

Hail, island built by gods,  
Thou scion best beloved by those  
Whom lustrous-haired Latona bore,  
Daughter of Ocean, marvel of broad earth,  
Whose base no power can shake.  
Delos we mortals name thee, but on high,  
Where dwell the blessed ones, they call thee Star  
Seen in the distance of the azure earth.<sup>a</sup>

By calling Delos the daughter of the sea he suggests what has been said above. In addition to this they 122 point out that belonging to great tracts of sea there are deep and great bays which have dried up and turned into mainland and become a part of the adjoining cō<sup>u</sup>ntry, by no means barren but sown and planted, yet have left in them some signs that they once were sea—pebbles and shells and all things of the same sort which are so often thrown up upon the seashore. Now if the sea diminishes 123 the earth will diminish also and after many a long cycle of years both elements will be utterly exhausted. So, too, will the whole air be gradually lessened and waste away and all things will be drafted off into one single substance, namely, fire.

XXIV. To establish their third point they employ 124 an argument of this sort. Anything, the parts of which are all perishable, necessarily perishes itself. All the parts of the world are perishable, therefore, the world itself is perishable.<sup>b</sup> This point which we 125 reserved for future argument <sup>c</sup> must now be examined.

star in it. See Sandys's note on Pindar, fr. 87 (Loeb translation). Asteria was another name of Delos.

<sup>b</sup> This argument is stated by Diog. Laert. vii. 141 in almost the same words as here, but the reason given there for believing that the parts are perishable is that they change into each other.

<sup>c</sup> Or simply "assumed in this syllogism," *cf.* § 56.

## PHILO

σκεπτέον. ποῖον μέρος τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀρξώμεθα, μείζον ἢ ἔλαττον, οὐ χρόνω διαλύεται; λίθων οἱ κραταιότατοι ἀρ' οὐ μυδῶσι καὶ σήπονται <καὶ> κατὰ τὴν ἕξεως ἀσθένειαν—ἢ δ' ἐστὶ πνευματικὸς τόνος, δεσμὸς οὐκ ἄρρηκτος ἀλλὰ μόνον δυσδιάλυτος—θρυπτόμενοι καὶ ῥέοντες εἰς λεπτὴν τὸ πρῶτον ἀναλύονται κόνιν, εἴθ' ὕστερον δαπανηθέντες ἐξαναλοῦνται;<sup>1</sup> τί δ', εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀνέμων ριπίζοιτο τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀκίνητον ἔαθ' οὐχ ὑφ' ἡσυχίας νεκροῦται; μεταβάλλει γοῦν καὶ δυσωδέστατον γίνε-  
 126 νεται, οἷα ψυχὴν ἀφηρημένον ζῶον. ἢ γε μὴν ἀέρος φθορὰ παντὶ τῷ δῆλον· νοσεῖν γὰρ καὶ φθίνειν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀποθνήσκειν πέφυκεν. ἐπεὶ τί ἂν τις μὴ στοχασάμενος ὀνομάτων εὐπρεπείας ἀλλὰ τὰλη-  
 127 θοῦς εἴποι λοιμὸν εἶναι πλὴν ἀέρος θάνατον τὸ οἰκεῖον πάθος ἀναχέοντος ἐπὶ φθορᾷ πάντων ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται; τί χρὴ μακρηγορεῖν περὶ πυρός; ἀτροφῆσαν γὰρ αὐτίκα σβέννυται, χλωόν,  
 [512] | ἢ φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, γεγονὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ· διὸ σκηριπτόμενον<sup>2</sup> ὀρθοῦται κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναφθείσης  
 128 ὕλης μονήν,<sup>3</sup> ἐξαναλωθείσης δ' ἀφανίζεται. τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δράκοντάς φασι πάσχειν· ἀνέρποντας γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐξαναλοῦνται.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont reads χλωός Ἡφαιστος . . . γεγονώς ἐξ αὐτοῦ Διὸς σκηριπτόμενος. See App. p. 529. <sup>3</sup> Cumont νομῆν.

<sup>a</sup> See on § 86.

<sup>b</sup> The lameness of Hephaestus (*cf. Il. xviii. 397*) was interpreted by the allegorists as the inability of the earthly fire (in contrast to the heavenly) to go on without the support of fuel. See App. p. 529.

<sup>c</sup> This story, which is found also in Pliny and Aelian, seems very inappropriate. The fire consumes the fuel and

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 125-128

To begin with earth. What part of it, great or small, is there which is not dissolved by the action of time? Do not the strongest stones become dank and decay through the weakness of their cohesiveness, that current of spirit force,<sup>a</sup> that bond which is not unbreakable but merely difficult to loose? They break in pieces and first disintegrate into a stream of fine dust and afterwards waste away till there is nothing left of them. Again if water is not whipped by the wind but left unmoved, does it not become like a dead thing through its inactivity? It certainly changes and becomes very malodorous like an animal bereft of its vital force. As for the air, its destruction 126 is evident to everybody, for sickness and decay and what may be called death is natural to it. How, indeed, could anyone, who aimed at truth rather than elegance of language, describe a pestilence save as a death of the air which diffuses its own distemper to destroy all things to which the life force has been given? We need not spend many words on fire, for 127 when it has lost its sustenance it is extinguished at once, in itself lame as the poets say.<sup>b</sup> While with a support it stands erect because the kindled fuel is still there; when that is used up it is seen no more. Much the same is said to happen with the snakes in 128 India.<sup>c</sup> They creep up to those hugest of animals, then perishes. The snakes suck the blood and then perish also; but not because they can get no blood, though Philo seems to suggest this by *μηκέτ' έχοντες τροφήν*, but because the fallen elephants stifle them. We may suppose that the story interested him so much that he brought it in without considering whether it really illustrated his point. Cumont aptly quotes the account in *De Ebr.* 174 of the elk, which camouflages its colours to illustrate the different impressions which an object makes on different people, and the same may be said of the polypus and chameleon in the same context.

- μέγιστα τῶν ζώων, ἐλέφαντας, περὶ νῶτα καὶ νηδὺν ἅπασαν εἰλεῖσθαι, φλέβα δ' ἦν ἂν τύχη διελόντας ἐμπίνειν τοῦ αἵματος, ἀπλήστως ἐπι-σπωμένους βιαίῳ πνεύματι καὶ συντόνῳ ροίῳ, μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ἐξαναλουμένους ἐκείνους ἀντέχειν ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας ἀνασκιρτῶντας καὶ τῇ προνομαίᾳ τὴν πλευρὰν τύπτοντας. ὡς καθιζομένους τῶν δρακόντων, εἶτα αἰετινομένους τοῦ ζωτικῆς, πηδᾶν μὲν μηκέτι δύνασθαι, κραδαιομένους δ' ἐστάναι, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ τῶν σκελῶν ἐξασθενησάντων, κατασεισθέντας ὑπὸ λιφαιμίας ἀποψύχειν, πεσόντας δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ θανάτου
- 129 συναπολλύναι τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· μηκέτ' ἔχοντες τροφήν οἱ δράκοντες ὄν περιέβησαν δεσμὸν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐκλύειν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἤδη ποθοῦντες, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βάρους τῶν ἐλεφάντων θλιβόμενοι πιέζονται, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴν τύχη στέριφον καὶ λιθῶδες τὸ ἔδαφος· ἰλυσπώμενοι γὰρ καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες εἰς διάλυσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πιέσαντος βίας πεδηθέντες, ἑαυτοὺς πολυτρόπως ἐν ἀμηχανοῖς καὶ ἀπόροις γυμνάσαντες ἐξασθενοῦσι (καὶ) καθάπερ οἱ καταλευσθέντες ἢ τείχους αἰφνίδιον ἐπενεχθέντος προκαταληφθέντες, οὐδ' ὅσον ἀνακύψαι δυνάμενοι, πιυγῇ τελευτῶσιν. εἰ δὲ τῶν μερῶν ἕκαστον τοῦ κόσμου φθορὰν ὑπομένει, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν παγεῖς κόσμος ἀφθαρτος οὐκ ἔσται.
- 130 Τὸν δὲ τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν λόγον ἀκριβωτέον ὧδε, φασίν· εἰ ὁ κόσμος αἰδῖος ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ τὰ ζῶα αἰδία καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ὅσῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄμεινον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀψίγονον φανῆναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐρευνᾶν τὰ

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 128-130

the elephants, and wind themselves round their backs and the whole of their belly. Then making an incision in a vein, as chance directs, they imbibe the blood, sucking it in greedily with violent inhalations and continuous hissing. For a time the elephants hold out, leaping about in their helplessness, and beating their sides with the trunk to try and reach the snakes, then as their life-power is continually being drained, they can leap no more but stand still quivering. Soon afterwards when their legs have lost all strength they drop down through lack of blood and expire. But in their fall they involve the authors of their death in the same fate. The way of it is as follows : the snakes no longer getting their 129 nourishment try to loosen the bond which they have drawn round their victims, as they now desire release, but being squeezed and pressed down by the weight of the elephants, most especially when the ground happens to be hard and stony, they wriggle about and do everything they can to free themselves but are fettered by the force of the weight upon them. In their helpless straits, their manifold exertions only exhaust them, and like people stoned to death or caught by the sudden fall of a wall, unable even to free their heads<sup>a</sup> they are stifled and die. Now if each part of the world suffers destruction, clearly the world compacted from them will not be indestructible.

The fourth and last proposition must, they tell us, 130 be argued out as follows. If the world was everlasting, the animals in it would be everlasting also, and most especially the human race inasmuch as it is superior to the rest. But man also is seen to be of late origin by those who wish to search into the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 530.

## PHILO

- φύσεως· εἰκὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις  
 συνυπάρξαι τὰς τέχνας ὡς ἂν ἰσηλικας, οὐ μόνον  
 ὅτι λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἐμμέθοδον οἰκείον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 131 ὅτι ζῆν ἀνευ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν. ἴδωμεν οὖν τοὺς  
 ἐκάστων χρόνους ἀλογήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτραγωδου-  
 μένων θεοῖς μύθων \* \* \* εἰ (δέ) μὴ αἰδῖος ἀνθρω-  
 πος, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ζῶον, ὥστ' οὐδ' αἰ δεδεγμένα  
 ταῦτα χῶραι, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ· ἐξ ὧν τὸ  
 φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δῆλόν ἐστιν.
- 132 XXV. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην εὐρε-  
 σιλογίαν ἀπαντῆσαι, μὴ τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων  
 ἐνδοὺς ὑπαχθῆ· καὶ ἀρκτέον γε τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως  
 [513] ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης | οἱ σοφισταί. τὰς ἀνω-  
 μαλίας οὐκέτ' ἐχρῆν εἶναι τῆς γῆς, εἴπερ αἰδῖος  
 ἦν ὁ κόσμος; διὰ τί, ὦ γενναῖοι; φήσουσι γὰρ  
 ἕτεροι παρελθόντες, ὅτι δένδρων οὐδὲν αἰ φύσεις  
 τῶν ὀρῶν διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα καιροῖς  
 μὲν τισι φυλλορροεῖ καιροῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀνηβᾶ—διὸ  
 καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν εὖ εἴρηται
- “ φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ  
 θ' ὕλη  
 τηλεθώσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὤρη ”—,  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν ἀπο-  
 133 θραύεται μέρη, τὰ δὲ προσφύεται. μακροῖς δὲ  
 χρόνοις ἢ πρόσφυσις καθίσταται γνώριμος, διότι

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<sup>a</sup> Presumably some words followed showing that the arts were invented by particular men who lived at one particular time and not by the gods, as Hermes is said to have invented the lyre and Hephaestus and Pallas artistic work (*cf. Od. vi. 233*). Bernays' suggestion that no such passage ever



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 130-133

facts of nature. For it is probable or rather necessary that the existence of the arts should coincide with that of man, that they are in fact coeval, not only because system and method are natural to a rational being but also because it is impossible to live without them. Let us observe then the dates 131 of each of the arts, disregarding the myths palmed off on the gods by the play-wrights.<sup>a</sup> . . . But if man is not from everlasting, so neither is any other living creature, therefore neither the regions which have given them a habitat, earth and water and air. This shows clearly that the world is destructible.

XXV. All this special pleading must be en- 132 countered lest any of the less proficient should yield to its authority. And the refutation must begin with that with which the sophistical speakers also opened their delusive argument. "The unevennesses of the earth would no longer exist if the world was from everlasting." Why so, my dear sirs? For others will come forward to say that trees and mountains differ not in nature. The trees shed their leaves at some seasons and then bloom again at others. And so there is truth in the poet's lines which tell us that

Driven by the wind the leaves pour down to earth,  
But others come when spring returns and brings  
Fresh life into the forest.<sup>b</sup>

In the same way the mountains, too, have parts broken off but others come as accretions. But the 133 accretions take long periods of time to become re-

appeared in this treatise and that though it was in his source the author left it because the details were too much for him, depreciates the "Compiler," as he calls him, far too much.

<sup>b</sup> *Il.* vi. 147 f.

## PHILO

- τὰ μὲν δένδρα ὠκυτέρα χρώμενα τῇ φύσει θάπτον καταλαμβανομένην ἔχει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, τὰ δ' ὄρη βραδυτέρα,<sup>1</sup> διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐκφύσεις αὐτῶν αἰσθητὰς ὅτι μὴ χρόνῳ μακρῷ μόλις εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.
- 134 εἰοικασί γε τὸν τρόπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἄγνοεῖν, ἐπεὶ κὰν ἴσως αἰδεσθέντες ἠσύχασαν. φθόνος δ' οὐδεὶς ἀναδιδάσκειν· ἔστι δ' οὔτε νέον τὸ λεγόμενον οὔτε ῥήμαθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν ἀδιερεύνητον τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην
- 135 ἀναγκαίων ἀπολέλειπται. ὅταν τὸ κατακεκλεισμένον ἐν τῇ γῆ πυρῶδες ἄνω τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλαύνηται φυσικῇ δυνάμει, πρὸς τὸν οἰκείον τόπον στείχει, κὰν τινος λάβηται βραχείας ἀναπνοῆς, ἄνω μὲν συνασπᾶ πολλὴν τῆς γεώδους οὐσίας, ὄσσην ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, ἔξω δ' ἐπιγενόμενον φέρεται βραδύτερον,<sup>2</sup> [ἦ] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συμπαρελθεῖν βιασθεῖσα, πρὸς μήκιστον ἀρθείσα ὕψος, στέλλεται κορυφουμένη καὶ πρὸς ὀξείαν ἀποτελευτᾶ κορυφήν
- 136 τὸ πυρὸς σχῆμα μιμουμένη. γίνεται γὰρ τοῦ κουφοτάτου καὶ βαρυτάτου τότε, τῶν φύσει ἀντιπάλων, ἀναγκαῖα συρραξάντων διαμάχῃ, πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκατέρου χώραν ἐπειγομένου καὶ (πρὸς) τὸ βιαζόμενον ἀντιτείνοντος· τὸ μὲν δὴ πῦρ συνανέλκον γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ περι αὐτὴν νευστικοῦ βρίθειν ἀναγκάζεται, ἡ δὲ γῆ κατωτάτῳ ταλαντεύουσα τῷ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνωφοίτῳ συνεπελαφρισθεῖσα μετέωρος ἐξαίρεται καὶ κρατηθεῖσα μόλις ὑπὸ δυνατω-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βραχύτερα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔξω δ' ἐπιγενόμενον φέρεσθαι βραχύτερον. Cohn pronounces ἐπιγενόμενον to be corrupt, but does not suggest any

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 133-136

cognizable, because as the process of growth in trees is more rapid their advance is apprehended more quickly, while in mountains that process is slower, and, therefore, their after-growths become just perceptible only after a long time. These people seem 134 to have no knowledge of the way in which mountains come to be, otherwise they would probably have held their tongues for shame. But we shall not grudge giving them instruction, for the tale is nothing new, nor are the words ours, but old-time sayings of wise men, who left nothing uninvestigated that was necessary for knowledge. When the fiery element 135 enclosed in the earth is driven upward by the natural force of fire, it travels towards its proper place, and if it gets a little breathing space, it pulls up with it a large quantity of earthy stuff, as much as it can, but with this outside and on it it moves more slowly. This earthy substance forced to travel with it for a long distance, rises to a great height and contracts and tapers, and passes finally into a pointed peak with the shape of fire for its pattern. For there is 136 necessarily then a conflict when the natural antagonists, the heaviest and the lightest, clash. Each presses on to its proper location and resists the force applied by the other. The fire which is dragging the earth with it is necessarily weighted by the counter-pull which the earth exerts upon it, while the earth though gravitating ever downwards lightened by the upward tendency of the fire rises aloft, and, compelled at last to yield to the stronger power which

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emendation; nor does Cumont, who also retains it. Bernays ἡ δ' ἔξωθεν ἐπιγενομένη. The translation I have given supposes ἐπιγενομένης (sc. οὐσίας) and ἡ or ἡ δὲ for the ἡ expunged by Cohn.

## PHILO

τέρας τῆς ἐπικουφιζούσης ἰσχύος ἄνω πρὸς τὴν  
 137 τοῦ πυρὸς ἔδραν ὠθεῖται καὶ ἴσταται.<sup>1</sup> τί οὖν  
 θαυμαστόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄρη ταῖς τῶν ὑετῶν φοραῖς  
 ἐξανήλωται, τῆς συνεχούσης αὐτὰ δυνάμεως, ὑφ'  
 ἧς καὶ διανίσταται, μάλα παγίως καὶ κραταιῶς  
 ἐνειλημμένης; λυθέντος γὰρ δεσμοῦ τοῦ συν-  
 ἔχοντος, εἰκὸς ἦν διαλυθῆναι καὶ πρὸς ὕδατος  
 σκεδασθῆναι, δυνάμει δὲ σφιγγόμενα τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς  
 στεγανώτερον πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν φορὰς ἀντέχει.

[514] XXVI. | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν λελέχθω περὶ τοῦ τὴν  
 ἄνωμαλίαν τῆς γῆς πίστιν οὐκ εἶναι γενέσεως καὶ  
 φθορᾶς κόσμου.

138 Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μειώσεως τῆς θαλάττης  
 ἐπιχειρηθὲν ἐκεῖνο δεόντως ἂν λέγοιτο· μὴ τὰς  
 ἀνασχούσας νήσους αὐτὸ μόνον αἰεὶ μηδ' εἴ τινες  
 ἀποτομαὶ κατακλυζόμεναι τὸ πάλαι χρόνοις αὐθις  
 ἠπειρώθησαν σκοπεῖτε—φυσιολογίας γὰρ ἀντί-  
 παλον φιλονεικία τριπόθητον ἠγουμένης ἀλήθειαν  
 ἰχνηλατεῖν—, ἀλλὰ πολυπραγμονεῖτε<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῦναν-  
 τίον, ὅσαι μὲν ἐν ἠπείροις οὐ παράλιοι μόνον ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ μεσόγειοι μοῖραι κατεπόθησαν, ὅση δὲ χέρσος  
 139 θαλαττωθεῖσα μυριοφόροις ναυσὶν ἐμπλείται. (ἦ)  
 τὴν περὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον Σικελικὸν πορθμὸν ἄδο-  
 μένην ἱστορίαν ἀγνοεῖτε; (ἦν μὲν γὰρ) τὸ

<sup>1</sup> So mss., to which I can see no objection. Cohn and Cumont κἀνίσταται.

<sup>2</sup> mss. πολυπραγμονεῖται or πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔτι.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 136-139

buoys it up, is pushed up into the seat of fire and takes its stand there. Why should we wonder then 137 that the mountains are not destroyed by the onrush of the rain,<sup>a</sup> since the power which holds them together, which also makes them rise as they do, embraces them so firmly and stoutly? For if the bond which held them together were loosened, they might naturally be dissolved and dispersed by the water. As it is, kept tight by the force of fire they hold their own and show themselves weather-proof in face of the onrush of the rains. XXVI. This is what we have to say to show that the unevennesses of the earth are no proof that the world is created and will be destroyed.

To the proof which they attempt to draw from 138 the diminution of the sea, the following answer may justly be given. Do not perpetually fix your eyes merely on the islands which have emerged or any segments which were submerged long ago and in the course of time have been rejoined to the mainland. For contentiousness is a foe to the nature study which holds the investigation of truth to be profoundly desirable. Busy yourselves also with the converse of this, namely, all the parts of the mainland, not only on the sea-coast but in the centre, which have been swallowed up, and all the dry land which has been turned into sea and is the sailing ground of ships of considerable tonnage. Do you 139 not know the celebrated story of the sacred Sicilian

theory here stated to account for the permanence of mountains from that in § 132. Philo might reply that the two reasons though different are not inconsistent. The fire prevents them from being destroyed just as the trunk stands when the leaves go, but does not prevent the breaking-off of pieces, which are replaced by new accretions.

## PHILO

παλαιὸν ἠπειρῶ Ἰταλία Σικελία συνάπτουσα, μεγάλων δὲ τῶν παρ' ἑκάτερα πελαγῶν βιαίοις πνεύμασιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπιδραμόντων, ἡ μεθόριος ἐπεκλύσθη καὶ ἀνερράγη, παρ' ἣν καὶ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τοῦ πάθους Ῥήγιον κτισθεῖσα ὠνομάσθη. καὶ τοῦναντίον οὐ προσεδόκησεν ἂν τις ἀπέβη· συνεζεύχθη μὲν γὰρ τὰ τέως διεστῶτα πελάγη κατὰ τὴν σύρρυσιν ἐνωθέντα, ἡ δὲ ἠνωμένη γῆ τῶ μεθοριῶ πορθμῶ διεζεύχθη, παρ' ὅν ἠπειρος οὐσα

140 Σικελία νήσος ἐβιάσθη γενέσθαι. πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας λόγος τῆς θαλάττης ὑπερσχούσης ἠφανίσθαι πόλεις καταποθείσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ Πελοπόννησόν φασι τρεῖς

“ Αἴγειραν Βοῦράν τε καὶ ὑψηλὴν Ἐλίκειαν, τείχεσιν ἢ τάχ' ἔμελλε περὶ βρύα μυρία φύσειν,”

εὐδαίμονας τὸ πάλαι γενομένας πολλῇ τοῦ πελάγους

141 ἐπικλυσθῆναι φορᾶ. ἡ δὲ Ἀτλαντὶς νήσος, “ ἅμα Λιβύης καὶ Ἀσίας μείζων,” ἢ φησιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ Πλάτων, ἡμέρα μιᾶ καὶ νυκτὶ “ σεισμῶν ἐξαισίων καὶ κατακλυσμῶν γενομένων δῦσα κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐξαίφνης ἠφανίσθη,” γενομένη πέλαγος, οὐ

<sup>a</sup> This belief including the derivation of the name Rhegium is mentioned by Diodorus, Strabo, Seneca and Pliny.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 139-141

straits? In old days Sicily joined on to the mainland of Italy but under the assault on either side of great seas driven by violent winds from opposite directions, the land between them was inundated and broken up and at its side a city was founded, whose name of Rhegium records what happened to it. The result was the opposite of what one would have expected. The seas which were hitherto divided joined together through their confluence, while the land once united was divided by the intervening straits, by which Sicily, which had been mainland, was forced to become an island.<sup>a</sup> Many other cities also are stated 140 to have been swallowed up and to have disappeared overwhelmed by the sea. And so too in Peloponnese they say that the three,

Aegira, Bura, lofty Heliceia,  
Whose walls would soon be clad with thick sea-moss,<sup>b</sup>

which were most flourishing in old times were inundated by a great inroad of the sea. And the 141 island of Atlantis "greater than Libya and Asia put together," as Plato says in the *Timæus*, "in a single day and night through extraordinary earthquakes and floods sank below the sea and suddenly disappeared," turning into a sea which was not navigable but full

Strabo's notice, vi. 6, shows that it was also mentioned by Aeschylus, from whom he quotes the line ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Πήγμον κικλήσκειται.

<sup>b</sup> The source of these lines is unknown. In themselves they do not imply the submersion of any except Heliceia, and nothing is said elsewhere of that of Aegira. Bura (Buris) and Heliceia (Helice) are mentioned as submerged by later writers, including Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* vi. 23. 4 and vii. 5. 3), where he gives Callisthenes as his authority, as well as an unknown treatise of Aristotle.

## PHILO

- 142 πλωτόν, ἀλλὰ βαραθρῶδες. οὐδὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ φθει-  
 ρεσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἢ πλασθεῖσα τῷ λόγῳ μείωσις  
 τῆς θαλάττης συνεργεῖ· φαίνεται γὰρ ὧν μὲν ἐξ-  
 αναχωροῦσα, τὰ δ' ἐπικλύζουσα. ἐχρῆν δὲ μὴ  
 θάτερον τῶν γινομένων ἀλλὰ συνάμφῳ θεωροῦντας  
 ἐπικρίνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ βίον ἀμφισβητήμασιν  
 [515] | ὁ νόμιμος δικαστής, πρὶν [παρὰ] τῶν ἀντιδίκων  
 ἀκοῦσαι, γνώμην οὐκ ἀποφανεῖται.
- 143 XXVII. Καὶ μὴν ὁ τρίτος λόγος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ  
 διελέγχεται, μὴ ὑγιῶς ἐρωτηθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθύς  
 ἐν ἀρχῇ φάσεως. οὐ γὰρ δήπουθεν οὐδὲ πάντα τὰ  
 μέρη φθίρεται φθαρτόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 πάντα τὰ μέρη ἅμα καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ <καὶ> ἀθρόα  
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄκρον ἀποκοπεῖς  
 τις δάκτυλον ζῆν οὐ κεκώλυται, εἰ δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν  
 τῶν μερῶν καὶ μελῶν πᾶσαν, αὐτίκα τελευτήσει.
- 144 τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον, εἰ μὲν συλλήβδην ἀπαξ-  
 ἅπαντα τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἠφανίζετο,  
 φάσκειν ἐνδέχασθαι τὸν κόσμον φθορὰν ἦν ἀναγ-  
 καῖον· εἰ δ' ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γείτονος

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<sup>a</sup> Taken partly verbatim from *Timaeus* 24 E and 25 c-d. The meaning of *βαραθρῶδης* is doubtful. Philo is paraphrasing Plato's *ἄπορον καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον . . . πηλοῦ κάρτα βραχέος* (v.l. *βαθέος*) *ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, ὃν ἡ νῆσος ἰζομένη παρ-έσχετο*. L. & S. (revised) give (for this passage) "dangerous." Bernays has "mit Untiefen besäete Wasserfläche."



## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 142-144

of abysses.<sup>a</sup> So then the fiction which they propound 142 that the sea is diminished contributes nothing to show that the world is destroyed, for it is clear that the sea withdraws from some places and inundates others. And judgement should not be given on observation of one of the phenomena but of both together, just as also in the disputes of ordinary life the law-abiding judge will not declare his decision until he has heard both litigants.

XXVII. Further, their third argument stands self- 143 convicted as an unsound proposition <sup>b</sup> from the very terms of the enunciation with which it begins. For the truth surely is not that a thing is destructible if all its parts are destroyed, but if all its parts are destroyed together and simultaneously, just as one who has had the tip of his finger cut away is not prevented from living, but if the whole system of his parts and limbs is cut away, he will die at once. In the same way, if the elements one and all were 144 put out of existence at one and the same time, it would be necessary to admit that the world is liable to destruction. But if each of them separately is

Dr. Rouse suggests that he may mean hidden reefs, which he thinks of as sunken ravines. Stephanus quoting this passage says "fortasse coenosus," and cites *De Agr.* 144 θολερῶ δὲ καὶ βαραθρῶδει βίω. There Mangey's correction to βορβορῶδει has been generally accepted. Is it possible that the same correction should be made here?

<sup>b</sup> This use of ἐρωτάω = "to state a proposition or syllogism not in the form of a question," is described as a late usage by L. & S. (revised), who cite Galen v. 327. Stephanus speaks of it as a known usage, but after giving some examples of συνερωτάω, gives one example of the simple verb, Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* iii. 13 οἱ κατὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἠρωτημένοι λόγοι. Our passage seems to be a clear example, and cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 53, though that may only apply to the question asked by Zeno. See also App. p. 530.

## PHILO

μεταβάλλει φύσιν, ἀθανατίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ φθείρεται  
κατὰ τὸ φιλοσοφηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραγικοῦ

“ θνήσκει δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,  
διακρινόμενον δ’ ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο  
μορφήν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.”

- 145 Παντελής γε μὴν εὐήθεια τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι· τῇ γὰρ περὶ τὸν  
λόγον ἀτοπία τις ἀκολουθήσας νέον τὸν κόσμον  
ἀποφανεῖ κομιδῇ μόλις πρὸ χιλίων παγέντα ἐνιαυ-  
τῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὓς παρειλήφαμεν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν  
εὐρετὰς τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ  
146 ὑπερβάλλουσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λεκτέον τὰς τέχνας  
ισήλικας ἀνθρώπων γένει, μεθ’ ἱστορίας φυσικῆς  
ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ῥαθύμως λεκτέον. ἡ  
δ’ ἱστορία τίς; φθοραὶ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐκ  
ἀθρόων ἀπάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων, δυσι ταῖς  
μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ἀνατίθενται, πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος  
ἀλέκτοις φοραῖς· κατασκήπτειν δ’ ἑκατέραν ἐν  
μέρει φασὶν ἐν πάνυ μακραῖς ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις.  
147 ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἔμπρησις καταλαμβάνῃ, ῥεῦμα αἰθε-

<sup>a</sup> See on § 30. The citation of these three lines for the third time must be regarded as a piece of careless composition.

<sup>b</sup> With this sentence begins the answer to the fourth argument. It is abruptly introduced and very imperfectly carried through. The fourth argument was (1) that as men could not exist without the arts and the arts are known to have been invented by definite persons at definite times, man could not have existed from everlasting and therefore (2) neither the inferior animals, (3) nor their habitats. The answer to the first point is given at length and it might be said that, with the refutation of this, that of the second and third follows at once, but we should have expected Philo to indicate it.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 96 A σοφίαν, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 144-147

changed into the nature of its neighbour, it is not destroyed but rather rendered immortal, as says the tragic poet philosophizing

Nothing that is born can die,  
Hither and thither its parts disperse  
And take another form.<sup>a</sup>

Finally it is the height of folly to take the arts as 145  
the standard of measurement for mankind.<sup>b</sup> Anyone  
who follows this topsy-turvey line of reasoning will  
make out that the world is quite new, framed hardly  
a thousand years ago, since those who tradition tells  
us were the inventors of the sciences do not go back  
farther than that number of years. And if they must 146  
say that the arts are coeval with the human race,  
they must do so not carelessly and perfunctorily but  
with the aid of natural history.<sup>c</sup> And what does  
natural history tell us?<sup>d</sup> Destructions of things on  
earth, destructions not of all at once but of a very  
large number, are attributed by it to two principal  
causes, to tremendous onslaughts of fire and water.  
These two visitations, we are told, descend in turns  
after very long cycles of years. When the agent is 147

*ιστορίαν*. The phrase covers both the research as here and the result obtained as in the next sentence.

<sup>a</sup> The substance of the next four sections is drawn from Plato, *Laws* iii. 676, 677, and *Timaeus* 22 A f. In the former we have the periodical destruction of mankind by deluge and other causes, and the consequent extinction of the arts, and also the remark that the traditional discoveries of the arts as we have them go back at most to a thousand or two thousand years. In the *Timaeus* nothing is said about the arts (though it is noted that the records and traditions of a nation perish in the destruction), but we have a more specific account of the destruction by fire and deluge, and the different ways in which the two affect the inhabitants of the highlands and the lowlands. See also App. p. 530.

## PHILO

ρίου πυρὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκχεόμενον πολλαχῆ σκεδάν-  
 νυσθαι, μεγάλα κλίματα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιτρέχον·  
 ὅταν δὲ κατακλυσμός, ἅπασαν τὴν ὕδατος [κατομ-  
 βρίαν] κατασύρειν<sup>1</sup> φύσιν, αὐθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων  
 ποταμῶν οὐ πλημμυρούντων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
 καθεστὸς προσυπερβαλλόντων τῆς ἐπιβάσεως καὶ  
 τὰς ὄχθας ἢ τῇ βίᾳ παραρρηγνύντων ἢ ὑπερ-  
 πηδῶντων ἀναβάσει τῇ πρὸς μήκιστον ὕψος· ὅθεν  
 ὑπερβλύσαντας εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην ἀναχεῖσθαι  
 πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς μεγάλας λίμνας  
 διανέμεσθαι, πρὸς τὰ κοιλότερα αἰεὶ τοῦ ὕδατος  
 συνίζοντος, αὐθις δ' ἐπιρρέοντος καὶ τοὺς μεθορίους  
 [516] ἰσθμοὺς | κατακλύζοντος, οἷς διεκρίνοντο αἱ λίμναι,  
 εἰς μέγεθος ἀχανοῦς πελάγους κατὰ τὴν πολλῶν  
 148 ἔνωσιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ μαχομένων δυνά-  
 μewn ἐν μέρει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οἰκοῦντας  
 τόποις ἀπόλλυσθαι, πυρὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ  
 γεωλόφοις καὶ δυσύδροις χωρίοις, ἅτ' οὐκ ἔχοντας  
 φύσει<sup>2</sup> πυρὸς ἀμυντήριον ἀφθονον ὕδωρ, ἔμπαλιν δ'  
 ὕδατι τοὺς παρὰ ποταμοῖς ἢ λίμναις ἢ θαλάττῃ·  
 γειτόνων γὰρ ἄπτεισθαι φιλεῖ τὰ κακὰ πρώτων ἢ  
 149 καὶ μόνων.<sup>3</sup> κατὰ δὴ τοὺς λεχθέντας τρόπους δίχα  
 μυρίων ἄλλων βραχυτέρων φθειρομένου τοῦ πλεί-  
 στου μέρους ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλείπειν<sup>4</sup> ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ  
 τὰς τέχνας· δίχα γὰρ τοῦ μεθοδεύοντος οὐκ εἶναι  
 καθ' αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν ἐπιστήμην. ἐπειδὴν δὲ αἱ μὲν  
 κοιναὶ νόσοι χαλάσωσιν, ἄρξῃται δὲ ἀνηβᾶν καὶ  
 βλαστάνειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν μὴ προκαταληφθέντων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κατασύρει (-η).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. φησι which Bernays retains.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἡγεμόνων or ἡγουμένων

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐπιλείπειν.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 147-149

the conflagration, a stream of heaven-sent fire pours out from above and spreads over many places and over-runs great regions of the inhabited earth. When it is the deluge, it sweeps along in every form which water takes. The rivers, either spring fed or winter torrents, not only flow with a full volume but exceed the usual level to which they rise and either break down their banks by force or over-leap them mounting to a very great height. Then streaming over they are diffused into the adjoining lowland, which is at first divided into great lakes as the water always subsides into the deeper hollows, then again as it flows on and submerges the intervening isthmuses which divide the lakes, making many into one, is converted into a great expanse of boundless sea. Through these contending powers the inhabitants of 148 contrasted regions have perished alternately. Fire is fatal to the dwellers in the mountains and hills and places ill-supplied with water, as they do not possess the abundance of water which is the natural instrument of defence against fire. Water, on the other hand, destroys those who live near rivers, or lakes, or the sea, for it is a way that evils have, that those who live close to them are the first if not the only ones to feel their power. Since the chief part 149 of mankind perish in the way here mentioned apart from numberless minor ways<sup>a</sup> the arts, too, necessarily fail. Science in itself is lost to sight, without someone to put it in practice. But when the epidemics of evil have abated and from those who have not fallen victims to their overwhelming terrors a new race begins to bloom again and grow, the arts

<sup>a</sup> So *Timaeus* 22 c φθοραὶ . . . πυρὶ μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μέγιστα, μυρίοις δὲ ἄλλοις ἔτεραι βραχύτεραι.

## PHILO

τοῖς ἐπιβρίασσι δεινοῖς, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τὰς τέχνας  
πάλιν συνίστασθαι, οὐ τότε<sup>1</sup> πρῶτον γενομένας, ἀλλὰ  
τῇ μειώσει τῶν ἐχόντων ὑποσπανισθείσας.

150 Ἄ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου παρειλή-  
φαμεν, εἴρηται κατὰ δύναμιν. τὰς δὲ πρὸς ἕκαστον  
ἐναντιώσεις ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα δηλωτέον.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὔτε.

## THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 149–150

also, which are not then born for the first time but have sunk into insignificance through the diminution of persons possessing them, establish themselves once more.

We have described to the best of our abilities the 150 arguments transmitted to us to maintain the indestructibility of the world. In what follows we have to expound the answers given in opposition to each point.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Introduction, p. 177 note *a*.





FLACCUS  
(IN FLACCUM)



## INTRODUCTION TO *IN FLACCUM*

THE story told in this treatise <sup>a</sup> is as follows.

Flaccus, whose misgovernment and cruelty to the Jews and ultimate fate are here described, was appointed prefect of Alexandria and Egypt in or about A.D. 32 near the end of the principate of Tiberius. Philo tells us that he showed considerable ability and industry during his first five years of office. He remarks that he praises him to exhibit his villainy in a clearer light, and he might have added that his description goes to prove that his toleration of the abominable cruelty shown to the Jews by the Alexandrian populace was not due to weakness but to definite intention (1-7). He had stood well with Tiberius, but the accession of Gaius in 37 endangered his position, for he had been a partisan of Tiberius Gemellus, the rival candidate for the succession, had been concerned in the steps taken to prosecute Agrippina, Gaius's mother, and was friendly with Macro, who, though he had done much to protect Gaius from the distrust and dislike of Tiberius, soon

<sup>a</sup> It is generally accepted that this is the second part of a work of which the first part has been lost. For (1) the opening words suggest that it follows on an account of the accusations brought against the Jews by Sejanus which are alluded to in *Legatio* 160; (2) the closing sentence "Flaccus also suffered" implies that the fate of some or other persecutor has been told; (3) a passage not to be found in the extant work, but stated to come from the *Flaccus*, is cited by St. John Damascene (see Prolegomena to Cohn-Reiter, vol. vi. pp. xlix f.).

## PHILO

fell into disfavour with Gaius and was put to death (8-15). This last event reduced Flaccus to despair, and it was at this point that according to Philo the anti-Semitic party in Alexandria, though they included some who at bottom were his enemies, approached him and suggested that if he would give them his support they and the city as a whole would stand by him to protect him against the hostility of the Emperor (16-24). All this may be partially or even wholly true, but it is compatible with the view held by some, who have more right to pronounce an opinion than I, that behind it lies a movement on the part of the Jews to enlarge to full citizenship the special privileges which they had as a *πολίτευμα*, and that it was this which roused the Greeks to take action and enlist Flaccus's support.<sup>a</sup>

Philo represents Flaccus as only gradually throwing his lot in with them and exhibiting his hostility to the Jews (24). The climax came when Herod Agrippa, recently appointed by Gaius to the kingship of his uncle Philip's tetrarchy, visited Alexandria on his way to his kingdom, and the Alexandrians deeply resenting this exaltation of a Jew and (though Philo does not tell us this) further exasperated by the enthusiasm with which the Jews welcomed their compatriot,<sup>b</sup> staged an insulting mockery by bringing the lunatic Carabas into the Gymnasium and greeting him with royal honours. Philo does not accuse Flaccus of taking an active part in this, and, indeed, admits that in public he behaved to Agrippa with courtesy and friendliness, but charges him with abetting it in as much as he took no steps to suppress the demonstration or punish the offenders (25-40).

<sup>a</sup> See note to § 54, App. p. 534.

<sup>b</sup> See note to § 30.

## FLACCUS

The Alexandrians, presumably aware that they might compromise themselves by insulting Gaius's favourite, then proceeded to a step which would naturally be gratifying to the Emperor. They desecrated the synagogues by setting up images of Gaius in them. We are told very little about this in this treatise.<sup>a</sup> Philo enlarges upon the consequences it entailed, on the danger of such a movement extending beyond Alexandria, and on its futility because the desecrated synagogues would cease to exist as synagogues and the Jews would be unable to pay the homage which they were accustomed to pay by dedicating them in honour of the Emperor or installing such emblems as had been lawfully installed in them in the past (41-52).<sup>b</sup> He passes on to a second wrong, a certain proclamation issued by Flaccus. This which is vaguely described as denouncing the Jews as foreigners and aliens may be fairly connected with the eviction from four of the five "letters" or quarters of the city which is mentioned in the same section (53-54).<sup>c</sup> Then comes a third wrong. He permitted the mob not merely to evict the householders but to plunder their houses, and one consequence of the evictions was that the Jews were unable to carry on their businesses. In fact, a regular

<sup>a</sup> In the *Legatio* 132 ff. we hear a good deal more. There the desecration seems to follow the pogrom, not precede it, as here, and we are told that there was a wholesale destruction and burning of the synagogues. It is only where the density of the Jewish inhabitants resisted this that the images were installed, though one would have thought that this might have been prevented more easily than the other.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Legatio* 133, where the destruction of the synagogues is said to have involved the destruction of many shields and inscriptions of this sort.

<sup>c</sup> See note to § 54, App. p. 534.

## PHILO

pogrom ensued and its brutalities are described in lurid terms. The items selected are somewhat different from those of the *Legatio* but the story is substantially the same (54-72). One point on which Philo dwells with considerable length is the treatment of the Jewish senators. Apparently these as a body were accused of some offences and, though only about half of the members were arrested, they were cruelly flogged. In particular some of them had lost all their property in the sack, and though Flaccus had already been informed of this they were scourged none the less (73-77). A further indignity was the instruments used. Alexandrian citizens were scourged with blades, and hitherto Alexandrian Jews had had the same privilege, but on this occasion there were substituted the scourges used on the Egyptians (78-80). Further, apparently all this took place on or about the Emperor's birthday, which was usually considered an occasion for mercy, but on this occasion brutal treatment of Jews was actually made part of the birthday celebrations (81-85).

The next outrage seems far less serious. The Jews or some of them were accused of having stocks of arms. Their houses were searched and according to Philo none were found, in marked contrast to the huge number taken when a similar investigation had been held of the Egyptians. His indignation seems overdone,<sup>a</sup> and, indeed, the only specific complaint he makes is that the modesty of the women was offended by a military investigation of their intimate belong-

<sup>a</sup> If the Jews, as stated in *Legatio* 134, effectively resisted in some cases the attacks upon the synagogues, they must have had weapons of some kind, and though these may not have been of the kinds enumerated in § 90, the suspicion that they were such was natural.

## FLACCUS

ings, and in connexion with this he mentions other ill-treatment which the women had received in the pogrom (86-96).

The last item in the list of Flaccus's crimes is that he suppressed the resolution of congratulation which the Jewish senate had passed at Gaius's accession and which he had promised to transmit to the Emperor. The Jews suspecting that he had not sent it on had consulted Agrippa when he visited Alexandria and received from him an undertaking which they believed <sup>a</sup> that he had carried out (97-103).

So much for Flaccus's offences. We pass on to his punishment. The story of his arrest with a detailed account of the circumstances and of the exultation felt by the Jews, is related with all the vividness of which Philo is a master. We note that this occurred during the Feast of Tabernacles, not much more than a month after the birthday of the emperor and that his journey to Rome, during which he suffered from stormy weather, was at the beginning of winter (104-125). We do not know exactly what he was charged with, but are told that Isidorus and Lampo, who were mentioned earlier as leaders of the faction which urged him to secure his position by persecuting the Jews, now appeared as his accusers (126-127). And here Philo interrupts his narrative to tell us something about these two. His tirade against Lampo amounts to a charge that as secretary to the prefect acting as judge he persistently perverted justice, though we also incidentally learn that he had been for a time in serious trouble under Tiberius (128-134). As to Isidorus, we have a lengthy account of an incident belonging to the early days of Flaccus's prefectship.

<sup>a</sup> *ὡς ἀκούομεν*. Does this imply some uncertainty?

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Flaccus had originally shown him considerable favour. When he became less cordial Isidorus took umbrage and organized a gathering of his touts, who brought baseless slanders against Flaccus here represented as behaving with moderation and good sense. A meeting to which the respectable part of the people were summoned brought the whole city together full of indignation against the slanderers and sympathy with the governor. Isidorus was completely exposed and had to flee from the city (135-145). He must have reappeared and, surprising as it seems, must, if Philo's account is true, have persuaded Flaccus that he was a friend on whose advice he could rely. What charges he and Lampo brought against Flaccus we are not told, but a trial was held in which Flaccus was condemned, his property confiscated and himself sentenced to deportation (146-150).

From this point the story proceeds straightforwardly to the end. We are given an account of his journey to Andros and his miserable plight after his arrival, interspersed with speeches and soliloquies in which he laments his fall and acknowledges that his punishment is just. Whether this last represents his feeling may be doubted. We have not and probably Philo had not any means of judging. The end came when Gaius, who is said to have come to the conclusion that the life of the deported was too mild a punishment for him, determined to have him executed. The treatise closes with a description of the way in which this was carried out, followed by the assertion that the fate of Flaccus shows that God still watches over the Jews (151-191).

The Flaccus has considerable literary merits. The narrative, particularly in the last forty sections, is



## FLACCUS

exceedingly vivid. It is also, no doubt, historically valuable in so far as it gives a substantially true account of events of which we know very little from other sources. How far it is good history, in the sense of giving a reliable account of the motives and feelings of the actors in the story, I leave to those more competent than myself to assess. Also it is a powerful embodiment of that profound conviction that the nation is under the special Providence of God which has been the life and soul of Judaism throughout the centuries. This conviction naturally entails a belief that the enemies of Judaism are the enemies of God and their punishment a divine visitation. But this belief has its evil side, which seems to me to be very strongly exhibited in this treatise. In § 117 the Jews are represented as saying " We do not rejoice at the punishment of an enemy because we have been taught by the Holy Laws to have human sympathy." This is easily said but not so easily done, and if Philo believed that he himself had learnt this lesson I think he deceived himself. He gloats over the misery of Flaccus in his fall, exile, and death, with a vindictiveness which I feel to be repulsive.<sup>a</sup> While, as I have said in the preface, none of the treatises in this volume have any great value nor would probably have survived but for the high esteem given to his main work, this is the only one which those who admire the beauty and spirituality so often shown both in the Commentary and Exposition might well wish to have been left unwritten.

<sup>a</sup> See also the conclusion to the *De Praemiis*.

## ΕΙΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ

[517] I. Δεύτερος μετὰ Σηιανὸν Φλάκκος Ἰουδαίος  
<sup>1</sup> διαδέχεται τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλὴν, σύμπαν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος ὡσπερ ἐκείνος ἀντικρυσ οὐ δυναθεῖς—ἐλάττους γὰρ εἶχε τὰς εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφορμάς—, ἐφ' ὅσους δ' ἔφθανεν, ἀθρόους ἀνηκέστοις περιέπειρε κακοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρει δόξας ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπι-  
<sup>2</sup> ὀρθοῦσιν. ὁ Φλάκκος οὖν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐταίροις κριθεῖς παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι μετὰ τὴν Ἰβήρου<sup>1</sup> τελευτήν, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος, ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀρχῇ μυρία καλοκαγαθίας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐξενεγκῶν δείγματα· πυκνὸς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ συνεχῆς καὶ ὀξὺς νοῆσαι καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα πράξαι καὶ προχειρότατος εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ  
<sup>3</sup> λεγομένου τὸ ἡσυχάζομενον αἰσθῆσθαι. παντά-  
 πασι οὖν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον

<sup>1</sup> So Reiter for mss. βήρου or σεβήρου. See note b.

<sup>a</sup> For Sejanus's hostility to the Jews cf. *Legatio* 159-161, and see further App. p. 531.

<sup>b</sup> The name of Iberus is mentioned by Dio Cass. lviii. 19. 6

## FLACCUS

I. The policy of attacking the Jews begun by 1  
Sejanus <sup>a</sup> was taken over by Flaccus Avillius. He had  
not like his predecessor the power to ill-treat out-  
right the whole nation, for he had less opportunities  
of doing so, but those whom he reached suffered  
the direst misery from the stabs which he dealt to  
them one and all. And, indeed, though his assault  
appeared to be only partial, by employing craft  
rather than power he brought them all wherever they  
were within the scope of his hostility. For persons  
naturally tyrannical who have not the addition of  
strength achieve their malignant designs through  
cunning. This Flaccus then, who had been given a 2  
place in the suite of Tiberius Caesar, was after the  
death of Iberus, <sup>b</sup> who had been prefect of Egypt,  
made prefect of Alexandria and the country round it.  
He was a man who at first gave to all appearance  
a multitude of proofs of high excellence. He was  
sagacious and assiduous, quick to think out and  
execute his plans, very ready at speaking, and at  
understanding what was left unspoken better even  
than what was said. So in quite a short time he 3  
became thoroughly familiar with Egyptian affairs,

as succeeding Vitrasius Pollio as prefect of Egypt. Older  
editions adopting the reading of most of the mss. called him  
Severus. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 123 and note, vol. v. p. 609.

## PHILO

πραγματειῶν ἐθὰς γίνεται· πολύτροποι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ποικίλοι, μόλις τοῖς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτήδευμα πεπονημένοις γνωριζόμεναι. περιττὸς ὄχλος ἦσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, ἥδη πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα φθάνοντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις, ὡς μὴ μόνον ὑπερβαλεῖν ἀλλὰ χάριν ἀκριβείας ἀντὶ γνωρίμου διδάσκαλον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν τέως ὑφηγη-  
 4 τῶν. καὶ ὅσα μὲν περὶ λογισμοὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν προσοδομένων κατώρθου διοίκησιν, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδέν γε δεῖγμα  
 [518] | ψυχῆς ὑπέφαιεν ἡγεμονικῆς, ἃ δὲ λαμπρότεραν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐδήλου φύσιν, μετὰ πλείονος παρρη-  
 σίας ἐπεδείκνυτο· οἷον σεμνότερον ἦγεν αὐτόν— ἄρχοντι δὲ λυσιτελέστατον ὁ τύφος—, ἐδίκαιζε τὰ μεγάλα μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει, τοὺς ὑπεραύχους καθήρει, μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων ὄχλον ἐκώλυνεν ἐπισυνίστασθαι· τὰς τε ἑταιρείας καὶ συνόδους, αἱ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἰστιῶντο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπαροinouσαι, διέλυε τοῖς ἀφηνία-  
 5 ζουσιν ἐμβριθῶς καὶ εὐτόνως προσφερόμενος. εἶπ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνέπλησεν εὐνο-  
 μίας, ἐν μέρει πάλιν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφήδρευεν ἐκτάττων, συγκροτῶν, γυμνάζων πεζοὺς,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 133.

<sup>b</sup> *παρρησία* seems to be used here in a wider sense than the ordinary "frankness of speech" and to describe a person who shows his mind by actions as well as speech.

<sup>c</sup> Or simply "behaved in matters generally like drunkards." So Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 12. 7 uses the phrase of Saul's general conduct. Cf. *De Ios.* 45, where the adulterer ἐμπαροινεῖ ταῖς ἑλπίσιν of the husband. But the description of the θίασοι in § 136 suggests that drunkenness in the literal sense is intended.

<sup>d</sup> This is a curious use of ἐφεδρεύω. The regular sense of

## FLACCUS, 3-5

intricate and diversified as they are and hardly grasped even by those who have made a business of studying them from their earliest years. His crowd of secretaries were a superfluity, since nothing small or great was beyond the reach of his experience, so that he not only surpassed them but thanks to his mastery of detail became the teacher instead of the pupil of his erstwhile instructors. And <sup>4</sup> all matters connected with accountancy and administration of the revenue he managed successfully.<sup>a</sup> These indeed, great and vital though they were, did not supply proof that he possessed the soul of a leader of men, but in a more open way <sup>b</sup> he displayed qualities which revealed a more brilliant and kingly nature. Thus he bore himself with dignity, for outward pomp is very useful to a ruler. He judged important cases with the help of those in authority, humbled the arrogant and prevented any motley promiscuous horde of people from combining in opposition. The sodalities and clubs, which were constantly holding feasts under pretext of sacrifice in which drunkenness vented itself in political intrigue,<sup>c</sup> he dissolved and dealt sternly and vigorously with the refractory. Then when he had fully <sup>5</sup> established good order throughout the city and the country he began to turn his attention to supporting<sup>d</sup> the armed forces. He set them in array,<sup>e</sup> drilled, exercised them, cavalry, infantry and light-

of the word in Philo is to watch or wait generally for an opportunity to attack, sometimes to help. So in *De Mig.* 57 *πρὸς βοήθειαν δύναμις ἀρωγὸς ἐφεδρεύει παρὰ θεῶν*. In other writers the sense of waiting seems sometimes to be lost, and it is used more generally for "help" or "reinforce," though hardly in the sense required here of improving the morale of the troops. <sup>e</sup> Box gives "detail to special duties."

## PHILO

ἰππεῖς, τοὺς τῆς κούφης ὀπλίσεως, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι πρὸς ληστείας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλείψωσι, πάλιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἕξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν περιεργάζηται μεμνημένος, ὅτι τέτακται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην διαφυλάττειν.

- 6 II. Ἴσως δ' ἂν τις εἴποι· “σὺ δ', ὦ οὗτος, ἐγνωκῶς ἀνθρώπου κατηγορεῖν ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν διεξῆλθες, μακροὺς δ' ἐπαίνους συνείρεις· μὴ ἄρα παραπαίεις καὶ μέμνηνας;”—οὐ μέμνηνα, ὦ οὗτος, οὐδ' ἠλίθιός τίς εἰμι, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι πράγματος
- 7 ἀκολουθίαν ἰδεῖν. ἐπαινῶ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδηλοτέραν παραστήσω· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοία τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἀδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει προεαλωκῶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ συν-
- 8 εἰδότος δικαστηρίῳ. III. ἐξαιτίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαβὼν πέντε μὲν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν τε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε καὶ οὕτως εὐτόνως καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀφηγήσατο, ὡς
- 9 τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν. τῷ δ' ὑστάτῳ, Τιβερίου μὲν τελευτήσαντος, Γαίῳ δ' ἀποδειχθέντος αὐτοκράτορος, ὑφίεναι καὶ χαλᾶν ἤρξατο τὰ πάντα εἴτε διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ βαρύτερον πένθος—δῆλος γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἐπ' οἰκειοτάτῳ περιπαθῶν ἕκ τε τῆς συνεχοῦς κατηφείας καὶ τῆς τῶν δακρύων φορᾶς, ἃ καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀπαύστως ἐξεχεῖτο

<sup>a</sup> Box takes μεμνημένος as agreeing with Flaccus instead of the individual soldier. This is grammatically possible, but I think the run of the sentence is against it, and

## FLACCUS, 5-9

armed alike, training the officers not to withhold the pay of their men and so incite them to pillage and rapine, and also each single soldier not to interfere in things outside his military duties but remember<sup>a</sup> that he had been appointed also to maintain the peace.

II. Possibly someone may say " My dear sir, after 6 deciding to accuse a man you have stated no charge but come out with a long string of praises. Are you out of your senses and gone quite mad ? " No, my friend, I have not gone mad and I am not a silly person who cannot see what the sequence of an argument demands. I praise Flaccus not because I 7 thought it right to laud an enemy but to show his villainy in a clearer light. For to one who sins through ignorance of a better course pardon may be given, but a wrongdoer who has knowledge has no defence but stands already convicted at the bar of his conscience. III. Flaccus held his prefectship 8 for six years and for the first five of these while Tiberius Caesar was alive maintained peace and held command with such activity and vigour that he excelled all his predecessors. But in the last year 9 when Tiberius was dead and Gaius had been appointed Emperor he began to let everything slip from his hands. This may have been due to his profound grief at the death of Tiberius. For how greatly he mourned the loss of one whom he looked on as his closest friend was shown by his constant depression and the stream of tears which poured ceaselessly from

" remembered " is hardly the word we should expect. I doubt also whether the sense is much, if at all, better. The soldier may very properly be admonished to remember that he is a policeman as well.

## PHILO

—εἴτε καὶ κακόνους ὧν τῷ διαδόχῳ διὰ τὸ τῆν τῶν γνησίων πρὸ τῆς τῶν θετῶν τεθεραπευκέναι μερίδα εἴτε καὶ τῶν συνεπιθεμένων τῇ Γαῖου μητρί, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἶχε τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς ἀνηρέθη, γεγονὼς καὶ διὰ φόβον ἀλώσεως ἐπιλελησμένος.<sup>1</sup>

- 10 καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἔτ' ἀντείχε μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς μεθιέμενος τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντίληψιν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τὸν Τιβερίου μὲν νιωνὸν  
 [519] κοινωνὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναιρεθέντα | Γαῖου κελεύσαντος, ἀλέκτῳ πληγείς συμφορᾷ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀχανῆς ἔκειτο, τῆς διανοίας πολὺ πρότερον  
 11 ἀπειρηκυίας καὶ παρειμένης αὐτῷ. ζῶντος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μειρακίου τὰ ζώπυρα τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ συντεθνάαι καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἐλπίδας ἔδοξεν, εἰ καὶ μικρά τις ἀπελείπετο αὖρα βοηθείας, ἢ πρὸς Μάκρωνα φιλία τὰ σύμπαντα παρὰ Γαῖῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς δυνηθέντα καὶ πλείστην μοῖραν ὡς λόγος εἰσενεγκάμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἐτι μᾶλλον πρὸς  
 12 τὸ σωθῆναι, πολλάκις μὲν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι

<sup>1</sup> The translation is based on the suggestion that some such phrase as ὧν ἔδει has fallen out. The simplest emendation perhaps would be to change *καὶ* to *καίπερ* or, according to Philo's common use, to *καίτοι* "though he had neglected later" (to take an active part). But can *ἐπιλελησμένος* mean this?

<sup>a</sup> For this use of *γνήσιος* see note on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 87.

<sup>b</sup> Tiberius Gemellus. For him and other historical points in these sections see App. p. 531.

<sup>c</sup> The statement seems hardly consistent with what has been said just before. A better sense can be got if *πολὺ πρότερον* can be taken as a "much graver matter," *i.e.* the effect of the news upon him extended much beyond the refusal to speak. There are other passages in Philo which



him as from a fountain. Or it may have been the ill-will he bore to his successor, since he had been a devoted partisan of the actual<sup>a</sup> rather than the adopted children. Or again as he had been one of those who had attacked Gaius's mother when she lay under the charges for which she was put to death, his fear of being held guilty on this count caused him to neglect his duties. And for a time he held out 10 and did not entirely lose his grasp of affairs, but when he heard that the grandson of Tiberius,<sup>b</sup> who shared the sovereignty, had been killed by Gaius's orders, this misfortune was so terrible a blow that he threw himself down and lay speechless, and for a considerable time before<sup>c</sup> this his thinking powers had become feeble and paralysed. For while the youth lived, 11 his hopes of preserving his own safety were still alight, but with his death it seemed that his personal hopes had died also, even though some little waft of possible assistance still reached him in his friendship with Macro, who originally was all-powerful with Gaius, said to have contributed more than anyone to his gaining the principate and still more to his preservation.<sup>d</sup> For Tiberius had been often minded to 12

point to some such meaning for the phrase. In *Spec. Leg.* i. 101 (of priests marrying) we have "he is a man *πολύ πρότερον* than a priest and therefore must feel the desire for mating." Here the idea may be that manhood is a wider thing than priesthood. In *De Mig.* 87, "there is no use in seeming to be so and so, unless you are it *πολύ πρότερον*." Here "long before" is rather pointless and a better sense is got if the phrase emphasizes the necessity of "being." In *Legatio* 115 the Jews have been taught from the cradle to worship the one God, by their parents and teachers and *πολύ πρότερον* by the holy laws. So also perhaps *Mos.* i. 162, *De Praem.* 88.

<sup>d</sup> On Macro see *Legatio* 32-61, where what is stated here is given much more fully.

## PHILO

- τὸν Γάιον διανοηθέντος Τιβερίου ὡς κακοήθη καὶ οὐ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀρχήν, καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱωνῷ φόβον—ἐδεδίδει γάρ, μὴ παρανάλωμα γένηται τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ—, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ Μάκρωνος τὰς ὑπονοίας ὑπεξαιρουμένου καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐπαινοῦντος ὡς ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀπόνηρον καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μάλιστα ἠττημένον, ὡς ἢ μόνῳ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι παραχωρῆσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάντως
- 13 τὰ πρωτεῖα. ὑφ' ὧν ἀπατηθεῖς ἔλαθεν ἄσπονδον ἐχθρὸν ἐαυτῷ καὶ υἱωνῷ καὶ γένει καὶ παρακλήτῳ Μάκρωνι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατα-
- 14 λιπών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Μάκρων ὄρων αὐτὸν ἐκδιαιτώμενον καὶ ἀχαλίνοις ταῖς ὀρμαῖς, ἐφ' ἃ ἂν τύχη καὶ ὡς ἂν τύχη, χρώμενον ἐνουθέτει καὶ παρηγόρει νομίζων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι Γάιον τόν, ἡνίκ' ἔτ' ἔζη Τιβέριος, ἐπειικῆ καὶ πειθαρχικόν, ὁ κακοδαίμων εὐνοίας περιττῆς ἔδωκε τὰς ἀνωτάτω δίκας πανοίκιος αὐτῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις συναναιρεθεῖς
- 15 ὡς περιττὸν ἄχθος καὶ παρενόχλημα. καὶ γὰρ ὁπότε πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀφικνούμενον ἴδοι, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας διεξήει· “μὴ μειδιῶμεν, κατηφῶμεν· ὁ νουθετητῆς παραγίνεται, ὁ αὐθέκαστος, ὁ ἀνδρὸς τελείου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενος νῦν εἶναι παιδαγωγός, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήλασε καὶ διεξέυξεν.”
- 16 IV. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτον ἔγνω προσανηρη-

<sup>a</sup> The word παρανάλωμα recurs in *Legatio* 369, but in a different sense. There life if sacrificed for no profitable purpose is a παρανάλωμα. Here the idea may be as in the translation, or perhaps simply “an extra expenditure,” *i.e.* “having got rid of Tiberius let us get rid of his kin too.”

## FLACCUS, 12-16

get Gaius out of the way as a person ill-disposed and devoid of natural gifts for rulership, and also because he was concerned for his grandson, who he feared might at his death be got rid of as an encumbrance.<sup>a</sup> But Macro often tried to eliminate his suspicions and would praise Gaius as straight-forward and free from vice and liberal and particularly devoted to his cousin, so much so that he would willingly relinquish the principate to his sole charge, or, at any rate, the premier place.

Deceived by these representations Tiberius unwittingly left behind him an implacable enemy to himself, his grandson, his family, Macro the intercessor and all mankind. For when Macro saw him straying from the regular way and letting his impulses range unbridled anywhither and in any way he would admonish and exhort him, thinking that he was the same Gaius who while Tiberius still lived was reasonable and docile. But, alas, poor wretch, for his excessive goodwill he paid the extreme penalty, being slain with his whole house, wife and children as a burden, a superfluity and a nuisance. For whenever Gaius caught sight of him at a distance he would talk in this strain to his companions, "Let us not smile, let us look downcast, for here comes the monitor, the stickler for straight speaking,<sup>b</sup> who has begun to take charge as tutor of a grown man and an emperor, at this very time which has dismissed and set aside those who tutored him from his earliest years."

IV. So when Flaccus learnt that Macro too had

<sup>b</sup> Or simply "martinet," "strict disciplinarian." The word is coupled by Plutarch with *ὀμφακίας* and *στρυφνός* in describing a harsh father. For other examples see Stephanus, who explains it as meaning a person who reckons *αὐτὰ ἕκαστα* and leaves nothing out.

## PHILO

μένον ὁ Φλάκκος, τὴν λοιπὴν ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ  
 παντελὲς ἀπεγνώκει καὶ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντιλαμ-  
 βάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων οἷός τε ἦν ἐξασθενῶν  
 17 καὶ διαρρέων τὴν γνώμην. ὅταν δ' ὁ ἄρχων  
 ἀπογνῶ τὸ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπη-  
 κόους εὐθὺς ἀφηνιάζειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ μικρῶν  
 καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πεφυκότας ἀνερεθίζεσθαι· ἐν οἷς  
 18 σπινθῆρος εἰωθὸς ἐκφυσᾶν στάσεις μεγάλας. ἐν  
 ἀμηχάνοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις γεγωνῶς ἐσφάδαξε καὶ  
 τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ πάντα<sup>1</sup> ἥλλαξεν ἅμα τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ  
 [520] | πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῇ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν συνηθεστάτων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὖνους καὶ  
 μάλιστα φίλους ὑφωρᾶτο καὶ διωθεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἀνομολογηθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐσπένδετο καὶ  
 19 συμβούλοις περὶ πάντων ἐχρήτο. οἱ δ'—ἐγκότως  
 γὰρ εἶχον—τὸ κατηλλάχθαι δοκεῖν λόγῳ μόνον  
 ἐπιμορφάσαντες, ἔργοις δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀσύμβατα  
 μνησικακοῦντες καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ καθυποκρι-  
 νόμενοι γνησίαν φιλίαν ὄλον αὐτὸν συναρπάζουσι·  
 καὶ γίνεται ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ὑπήκοος, οἱ δ' ὑπήκοοι  
 ἡγεμόνες, εἰσηγούμενοι μὲν ἀλυσιτελεστάτας γνώ-  
 20 μας, εὐθὺς δὲ ταύτας ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι. βεβαιωταὶ  
 γὰρ ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο πάντων ἐγίνοντο κωφὸν ὡς  
 ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσωπέιον ἔνεκα προσχήματος αὐτὸ  
 μόνον παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὄνομα  
 ἀρχῆς, Διονύσιοι δημοκόποι, Λάμπωνες γραμμα-

<sup>1</sup> Some word or phrase to express policy seems to be needed. Reiter suggests *δόξαντα*.

## FLACCUS, 16-20

been put to death he completely lost any hope that he still had and could no longer keep any grip of affairs, so utterly enfeebled was he and incapable of solid judgement. And when the ruler despairs of 17 keeping control the subjects necessarily at once become restive, particularly those who are naturally excited by quite small and ordinary occurrences. Among such the Egyptian nation holds the first place, accustomed as it is to blow up the tiniest spark into grave seditions. Flaccus, thus left without help 18 or resources, was much agitated and at the same time as his reasoning powers deteriorated made changes in all his recent policy, beginning with his treatment of his closest companions. For he suspected and repelled those who were well disposed and particularly friendly to him, while he allied himself to those who from the first had been his avowed enemies and took them for his counsellors in every matter. But their rancour was still there. The 19 apparent reconciliation was a counterfeit, existing only in words. In real fact they cherished an implacable vindictiveness and acting as in a theatre the part of genuine friends they carried him off into complete captivity. The ruler became the subject, the subjects leaders, who put forward very pernicious proposals and straightway set on them the seal of reality. They proceeded to confirm all their plans, 20 and took Flaccus like a masked dummy on the stage with the title of government inscribed upon him merely for show, to be an instrument in the hands of a popularity-hunting Dionysius,<sup>a</sup> a paper-

<sup>a</sup> Dionysius's name does not recur again in this treatise, but see App. p. 532, on him as well as on Isidorus and Lampo.

## PHILO

τοκύφωνες, Ἰσιδωροὶ στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονες,  
 κακῶν εὐρεταί, ταραξιπόλιδες· τοῦτο γὰρ κεκρά-  
 21 τηκέ πως τοῦνομα.                      συνταξάμενοι πάντες  
 οὔτοι βούλευμα βουλεύουσι κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
 ἀργαλεώτατον καὶ τῷ Φλάκκῳ προσελθόντες ἰδίᾳ  
 22 φασίν· “ ἔρρει μὲν σοὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος  
 τοῦ παιδός, ἔρρει δὲ καὶ ἡ μετ’ ἐκείνον ἐλπίς, ὁ  
 ἑταῖρός σου Μάκρων, αἴσια δ’ οὐκ ἔστι σοὶ τὰ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ κρατοῦντος· δεῖ δὴ παράκλητον ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν  
 23 δυνατώτατον, ὅφ’ οὗ Γάιος ἐξευμενισθήσεται. ὁ  
 δὲ παράκλητος ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐστίν, ἣν  
 τετίμηκε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος,  
 διαφερόντως δ’ ὁ νῦν ἡμῶν δεσπότης. παρα-  
 κλητεύσει δὲ τυχούσά τινος παρὰ σοῦ δωρεᾶς·  
 μείζον δ’ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρέξεις ἢ τοὺς  
 24 Ἰουδαίους ἐκδοὺς καὶ προέμενος.” ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ὀφείλων ἀπώσασθαι καὶ δυσχερᾶναι τοὺς λέγοντας  
 ὡς νεωτεροποιὸς καὶ κοινὸς πολεμίους συνεπι-  
 γράφεται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 ἀδηλοτέρας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβουλάς μῆτ’ ἴσον  
 παρέχων καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τὰς  
 ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θάτερον ἀπο-  
 κλίνων μέρος, μῆτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσηγορίαν  
 διδούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε προσίοι τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων,  
 ἀποστρεφόμενος καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον ἐπιτηδεύων

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<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps “paper-nosing,” if that is not too slangy.  
 “Paper-porer” is a variation on L. & S.’s “record-porer.”  
 This epithet, which recurs again in § 131, is taken from *De*  
 314

## FLACCUS, 20-24

poring<sup>a</sup> Lampo, an Isidorus, faction leader, busy intriguer, mischief contriver and a name which has gained special currency—state embroiler.<sup>b</sup> All 21 these combining concerted a plot of the most damaging kind against the Jews and coming to Flaccus privately said, “Lost are your prospects from the 22 boy Tiberius Nero, lost too the hope that you had next to him in your comrade Macro, and your expectations from the Emperor are anything but favourable. We must find you a really powerful intercessor to propitiate Gaius. Such an intercessor 23 is the city of the Alexandrians which has been honoured from the first by all the Augustan house and especially by our present master; and intercede it will if it receives from you some boon, and you can give it no greater benefaction than by surrendering and sacrificing the Jews.” Though on hearing these 24 words it was his duty to repulse and frown upon the speakers as sedition-makers and enemies of the commonwealth he subscribed to their suggestions. At first he showed his hostile intentions in a somewhat less obvious way by refusing to give a fair and impartial hearing to the parties in disputes and leaning to one side only, while in all other matters he gave them no right of free speech, but whenever any Jew approached he turned away, while to all others he

*Cor.* 209. Though it is uncertain whether Demosthenes applies it to Aeschines as a scribe, or as an usher in his father's school, Philo clearly takes it in the first sense. No effective rendering has been suggested to my knowledge for the term which describes a pedant hunching his shoulders over writings. Kennedy translates it by “scribbler,” Abbott by “hack of a scribe.” Dr. Rouse suggests to me a number of renderings of which I select “ledger-dredger” as the most effective.

<sup>b</sup> This epithet is again applied to Isidorus in § 137.

## PHILO

ἐπὶ μόνων τούτων· αὐθις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ  
τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐπεδείξατο.

- 25 V. Προσεπέρρωσε δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ μαθήσεως  
τὸ πλεόν ἢ φύσεως ἐπιτετηδευμένην ἀπόνοιαν καὶ  
συντυχία τις τοιαύτη. Γάιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγρίππα  
τῷ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως υἱωνῶ δίδωσι βασιλείαν  
[521] | τῆς παπώας λήξεως τρίτην μοῖραν, ἣν Φίλιππος  
τετράρχης θεῖος ὢν αὐτῷ πρὸς πατρός ἐκαρπούτο.
- 26 μέλλοντι δ' ἀπαίρειν συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Γάιος τὸν  
μὲν ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν μακρὸν  
ὄντα καὶ καματηρὸν παραιτήσασθαι, χρῆσθαι δ'  
ἐπιτόμῳ τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀναμείναντι τῷ διὰ τῆς  
Ἀλεξανδρείας· τὰς τε γὰρ ἐκείθεν ὀλκάδας ταχυ-  
ναυτεῖν ἔφασκε καὶ ἐμπειροτάτους εἶναι κυβερνήτας,  
οἱ καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς ἵππους ἡνιοχοῦσιν ἀπλανῆ  
παρέχοντες τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας δρόμον. ὁ δὲ πει-  
θαρχεῖ ὡς δεσπότη τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα συμ-  
27 φέρειν παραγγέλλονται. καταβὰς δ' εἰς Δικαι-  
άρχειαν καὶ ναῦς ὑφόρμους Ἀλεξανδρίδας ἰδὼν  
εὐτρεπεῖς πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν, ἐπιβὰς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων,  
εὐπλοῖα χρησάμενος, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις  
ἀνεπιφάτως καὶ ἀφωράτως κατάγεται, κελεύσας  
τοῖς κυβερνήταις—περὶ γὰρ δείλην ὥραν ὁ Φάρος  
ἀναφαίνεται—τὰ μὲν ἰστία συνάγειν, ἔξω δὲ περὶ  
αὐτὸν μὴ μακρὰν ἀφισταμένους θαλαττεύειν ἄχρι  
τοῦ βαθείαν ἐσπέραν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς τοῖς  
λιμέσι προσσχεῖν, ἵν' ἀποβὰς ἤδη τετραμμένων  
<ἀπάντων> πρὸς ὕπνον, μηδενὸς ὀρώντος, ἀφίκηται  
28 πρὸς τὸν ξενοδόχον. ὁ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοσαύτης  
αἰδοῦς ἐπεδήμησε βουλόμενος εἶ πως οἶόν τε ἦν,

<sup>a</sup> For Agrippa see App. p. 532.

<sup>b</sup> Puteoli.



## FLACCUS, 24-28

made himself easily accessible. But later he also showed his ill-will openly.

V. The infatuation due to instruction from others 25 rather than to his own nature, which thus was shown in his conduct, was further strengthened by the following incident. Gaius Caesar gave to Agrippa, the grandson of King Herod, the kingship over that third part of his grandfather's territory, the revenues of which were taken by Philip the tetrarch, Agrippa's paternal uncle.<sup>a</sup> When he was about to set out 26 thither Gaius advised him not to undertake the voyage from Brundisium to Syria which was long and wearisome but wait for the etesian winds and take the short route through Alexandria. He told him that thence there were swift-sailing merchant vessels and highly skilled pilots who manage them as a charioteer manages race-horses and provide a straightforward passage along the direct route. Agrippa did as he was told, partly out of deference to his lord and master, and also because the course he enjoined seemed to be advisable. He went down 27 to Dicaearchia,<sup>b</sup> and seeing there some ships of Alexandria lying at anchor and ready to sail he embarked with his retinue, and after a good voyage came to land a few days later without being expected or his purposes detected. He had ordered the pilots when they sighted Pharos in the late afternoon to furl the sails and lie outside round about it and not far off until the evening had well set in, and then by night to put in at the harbour, so that he might disembark when everyone had settled down to sleep and reach the house of his host without anyone seeing him. His reason for making his visit in such an unassuming 28 way was that he wished if possible to slip out of the

## PHILO

ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαθὼν ὑπεξελεθεῖν· οὐ  
 γὰρ κατὰ θεῶν ἀφίκτο τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιδη-  
 μητικῶς αὐτῇ πρότερον, ἡνίκα τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης  
 πλοῦν ἐστέλλετο πρὸς Τιβέριον, ἀλλ' ὁδῶ χρησό-  
 29 μενος ἐπιτόμῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ἀφίξεως. οἱ δ' ὑπὸ  
 φθόνου ῥηγνύμενοι—βάσκανον γὰρ φύσει τὸ Αἰγυ-  
 πτιακόν—καὶ τὰς ἐτέρων εὐτυχίας ἰδίας ὑπελάμ-  
 βανον εἶναι κακοπραγίας καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν  
 καὶ τρόπον τινα (φύσει) γεγενημένην<sup>1</sup> πρὸς Ἰου-  
 δαίους ἀπέχθειαν ἤσχαλλον ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενῆσθαι τινα  
 βασιλέα Ἰουδαίων οὐχ ἦττον, ἢ εἰ αὐτός τις  
 30 ἕκαστος βασιλείαν προγονικὴν ἀφήρητο. καὶ τὸν  
 ἄθλιον Φλάκκον πάλιν οἱ συνόντες ἀνηρέθιζον εἰς  
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνάγοντες καὶ προκαλούμενοι<sup>2</sup> φθόνον,  
 “σὴ κατάλυσις ἐστὶ” φάσκοντες “ἢ ἐπιδημία  
 τούτου· μείζονα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ὄγκον ἢ σὺ  
 περιβέβληται· πάντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὴν  
 δορυφόρον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων στρατιὰν ὀρῶντας  
 ἐπαργύροις καὶ ἐπιχρύσοις ὄπλοις διακεκοσμημένην.  
 31 ἔδει γὰρ ἦκειν εἰς ἐπικράτειαν ἐτέρου δυνάμενον  
 πλῶ χρησάμενον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς παρα-  
 πεμφθῆναι; καὶ γὰρ εἰ Γάιος ἐπέτρεπε, μᾶλλον  
 δ' ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐχρῆν ἐκλιπαρήσαντα παραιτήσασθαι  
 τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν, ἵνα μὴ παρενημερηθεῖς ὁ τῆς  
 32 χώρας ἡγεμῶν ἀδοξῆ.” ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔτι μᾶλλον

<sup>1</sup> Other suggestions are *συγγεγενημένην* or *ἐγγεγενημένην*. (Perhaps *συγγεγεννημένην* as Cohn in *De Praem.* 62.)

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *προσκαλούμενοι*.

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<sup>a</sup> This and indeed the general excitement caused by Agrippa's visit seem inconsistent with his attempt to remain incognito. The explanation presumably is that the Jews forced this change of attitude on him. We find later (§ 103)

city quietly and unobserved by the whole population. For he had not come to see Alexandria as he had stayed there before on his voyage to Rome to join Tiberius, and he only wanted to get a short route for his journey home. But jealousy is part of the 29 Egyptian nature, and the citizens were bursting with envy and considered that any good luck to others was misfortune to themselves, and in their ancient, and we might say innate hostility to the Jews, they resented a Jew having been made a king just as much as if each of them had thereby been deprived of an ancestral throne. And the unhappy Flaccus 30 was again stirred up by his companions with incitements and appeals calculated to make him as envious as themselves. "His stay here," they said, "is your deposition. The dignity of the honour and prestige which invest him surpasses yours; he is attracting all men to him by the sight of his bodyguard of spearmen, decked in armour overlaid with gold and silver.<sup>a</sup> Was it right for him to come to another 31 ruler's domain when a fair wind<sup>b</sup> could have carried him safely by sea to his own? For if Gaius gave him permission or rather put compulsion on him to do so, he ought to have earnestly entreated to be excused from coming here, so that the governor of the country would not be thrown into the background and lose prestige." Such words made his temper 32

that they took the occasion to lay before him their grievance against Flaccus for failing to transmit their address to Gaius and doubtless were as ready to make much of his royal status as the Alexandrines were to resent it.

<sup>b</sup> πλω here = *εὐπλοία*. See examples in L. & S. revised, e.g. *πλοῦς ἡμῖν γίγνεται*, and the same phrase as here *πλω χρησασθαι* Thuc. iii. 3. 5. Cf. also *εὐπλοία χρησάμενος* § 27 above.

## PHILO

ἢ πρότερον ᾧδει καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερωῷ τὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ φίλον καθυπεκρίνετο διὰ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος φόβον, ἰδία δὲ ἐξηλοτύπει καὶ ἐξελάλει τὸ μῖσος [522] καὶ πλαγίως | αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἄντικρυς 33 οὐκ ἐθάρρει. τῷ γὰρ ἀργοῦντι καὶ σχολάζοντι τῆς πόλεως ὄχλω—πλήθος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιτετηδευκὸς γλωσσαλίαν καὶ ἐνευκαιροῦν διαβολαῖς καὶ βλασφημίαις—ἐπιτρέπει κακηγορεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἴτε ἀρξάμενος δι' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν λοιδοριῶν εἴτε προτρεψάμενος καὶ ἐναγαγὼν αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ 34 τοιαῦτα εἰωθότων. οἱ δ' ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι διημέρευον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ χλευάζοντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ σκώμματα συνείροντες· πῆ δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς μίμων καὶ γελοίων διδασκάλοις χρώμενοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς εὐφυῖαν ἐπεδείκνυντο, βραδεῖς μὲν ὄντες τὰ καλὰ παιδεύεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία 35 μανθάνειν ὀξύτατοι καὶ προχειρότατοι. διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἠγανάκτησεν, οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπέπληξε τῆς αὐθάδους βλασφημίας; εἰ δὲ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, οὐκ ᾧφειλε προνομίαν τινὰ καὶ τιμὴν ἔχειν; ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' εἰσὶ πίστεις ἐναργεῖς τοῦ συναίτιον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν βλασφημιῶν Φλάκκον· ὁ γὰρ ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ τὸ πανύστατον ἐπέχειν ἂν δυνηθεῖς εἰ μὴ κεκώλυκε, δῆλος ἦν ἐφίεις καὶ ἐπιτρέπων αὐτός. πρὸς ὅτι δ' ἂν ὄχλος ἀσύντακτος ἀφορμὴν λάβῃ τῶν

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. "took a leaf from their book," referring to the  
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## FLACCUS, 32-35

rise still more, and while in public he played the part of friend and comrade to Agrippa through fear of him who had sent him there, in private he vented his jealousy and gave full utterance to his hatred by insulting him indirectly since he had not the courage to do so outright. For the lazy and unoccupied mob 33 in the city, a multitude well practised in idle talk, who devote their leisure to slandering and evil speaking, was permitted by him to vilify the king, whether the abuse was actually begun by himself or caused by his incitement and provocation addressed to those who were his regular ministers in such matters. Thus started on their course they spent 34 their days in the gymnasium jeering at the king and bringing out a succession of gibes against him. In fact they took the authors of farces and jests for their instructors<sup>a</sup> and thereby showed their natural ability in things of shame, slow to be schooled in anything good but exceedingly quick and ready in learning the opposite. Why did Flaccus show no 35 indignation? Why did he not arrest them? Why did he not chastise them for their presumptuous evil-speaking? Even if Agrippa had not been a king, yet as a member of Caesar's household, did he not deserve to have some precedence and marks of honour? No, these are clear proofs that Flaccus was a party to the defamation. For it is evident that if he who could have chastised or at the very least stopped them did nothing to prevent them from acting in this way they did it with the full permission and consent of him himself. And if the undisciplined mob get a starting point for their misconduct in any

Carabas incident which was a sort of "mime." See Box's notes on §§ 34 and 38.

ἀμαρτημάτων, οὐχ ἴσταται, μέτεισι δ' ἀφ' ἑτέρων εἰς ἕτερα προσεπεξεργαζόμενος αἰεί τι νεώτερον.

- 36 VI. Ἦν τις μεμηνὼς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς οὐ τὴν ἀγρίαν καὶ θηριώδη μανίαν—ἄσκηπτος<sup>1</sup> γὰρ αὕτη γε καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνειμένην καὶ μαλακωτέραν. οὗτος διημέρευε καὶ διενυκτέρευε γυμνὸς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς οὔτε θάλπος οὔτε κρυμὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος, ἄθυρμα νηπίων καὶ  
37 μειρακίων σχολαζόντων. συναλάσαντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἄχρι τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ στήσαντες μετέωρον, ἵνα καθορῶτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαιστρώτῳ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκήπτρου βραχύ τι παπύρου τμήμα τῆς ἐγχωρίου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐρριμμένον ἰδὼν  
38 τις ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀνειλήφει καὶ διεκεκόσμητο εἰς βασιλέα, νεανίαὶ ράβδους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες ἀντὶ λογχόφορων ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκεσαν μιμούμενοι δορυφόρους. εἶθ' ἕτεροι προσήεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀσπασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ὡς δικασόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντευξόμενοι περὶ κοινῶν  
39 πραγμάτων. εἶτ' ἐκ τοῦ περιστῶτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄτοπος Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων—οὕτως δέ φασι τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις— ἤδεσαν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν καὶ γένει

<sup>1</sup> So mss. This otherwise unknown word, for which L. & S. gives "which cannot be feigned," makes nonsense here. So also does ἄσκηπτος, which Mangey adopts and translates "improvisus." I think that another suggestion ἀσκεπής (better in the equivalent form ἀσκέπαστος) is not quite hopeless. From its natural meaning of "uncovered" it

## FLACCUS, 35-39

direction, they do not halt there but pass on from one thing to another, always engaging in some fresh form of violence.

VI. There was a certain lunatic named Carabas, 36 whose madness was not of the fierce and savage kind, which is dangerous both to the madmen themselves and those who approach them, but of the easy-going, gentler style. He spent day and night in the streets naked, shunning neither heat nor cold, made game of by the children and the lads who were idling about. The rioters drove the poor fellow into the gymnasium 37 and set him up on high to be seen of all and put on his head a sheet of byblus spread out wide for a diadem, clothed the rest of his body with a rug for a royal robe, while someone who had noticed a piece of the native papyrus thrown away in the road gave it to him for his sceptre. And when as in some theatrical 38 farce he had received the insignia of kingship and had been tricked out as a king, young men carrying rods on their shoulders as spearmen stood on either side of him in imitation of a bodyguard. Then others approached him, some pretending to salute him, others to sue for justice, others to consult him on state affairs. Then from the multitudes standing 39 round him there rang out a tremendous shout hailing him as Marin,<sup>a</sup> which is said to be the name for "lord" in Syria. For they knew that Agrippa was both a

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. R.V. "Maranatha," with marginal note, "That is, our Lord cometh."

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might come to mean "defenceless" and so as applied to a position "indefensible" and therefore "dangerous," which seems to be what we want here. But we have no knowledge of any such development. Box very tentatively suggests ἀστεκτος = "insufferable."

## PHILO

- [523] Σύρον καὶ Συρίας μεγάλην | ἀποτομὴν ἔχοντα,  
 40 ἧς ἐβασίλευε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀρών  
 ὁ Φλάκκος, δεόντως ἂν καὶ τὸν μεμνηότα συλλαβῶν  
 καὶ καθείρξας, ἵνα μὴ παρέχῃ τοῖς κατακερτομοῦσιν  
 ἀφορμὴν εἰς ὕβριν τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐνσκευά-  
 σαντας τιμωρησάμενος, ὅτι γε βασιλέα καὶ φίλον  
 Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τιμη-  
 μένον στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἔργοις  
 καὶ λόγοις καὶ φανερώς καὶ πλαγίως ὑβρίζειν, οὐ  
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίωσεν  
 ἄδειαν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν διδούς τοῖς ἐθελοκακοῦσι καὶ  
 ἐθελέχθρως ἔχουσι, προσποιούμενος ἅ τε εἴωρα μὴ  
 41 ὄραν καὶ ὦν ἤκουε μὴ ἀκούειν. ὅπερ συναισθη-  
 μένος ὁ ὄχλος—οὐχ ὁ καθεστῶς καὶ δημοτικός,  
 ἀλλ' ὁ πάντα θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς εἰωθὸς ἀναπι-  
 πλάναι διὰ φιλοπραγμοσύνην καὶ ζῆλον ἀβιώτου  
 βίου καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν, πρᾶγμα  
 ἐπίβουλον—συρρυνέντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ  
 Φλάκκον ἤδη τιμῶν ἀθλίων ἐωνημένοι, ἃς ὁ  
 δοξομανῆς καὶ παλίμπρατος ἐλάμβανεν οὐ καθ'  
 αὐτοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας,  
 ἀνεβόησαν ἀφ' ἑνὸς συνθήματος εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς  
 προσευχαῖς ἀνατιθέναι, καινότατον καὶ μηδέπω  
 42πραχθὲν εἰσηγούμενοι παρανόμημα. καὶ τοῦτ'  
 εἰδότες—ὀξύτατοι γὰρ τὴν μοχθηρίαν εἰσὶ—κατα-  
 σοφίζονται τὸ Καίσαρος ὄνομα προκάλυμμα ποιη-  
 σάμενοι, ᾧ προσάπτειν τι τῶν ἐπαιτίων οὐ θεμιτόν.  
 43 τί οὖν ὁ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος; ἐπι-

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<sup>a</sup> Hardly, I think, as Box "called upon *him*." Flaccus is only accused here of not taking any steps to stop it, *cf.* 324



Syrian by birth and had a great piece of Syria over which he was king. When Flaccus heard, or rather 40 saw all this, it was his duty to take and keep the madman in charge, to prevent him from providing an occasion to the railers for insulting their betters and then to punish those who had arrayed him thus, because they had dared both in word and deed both openly and indirectly to insult a king, a friend of Caesar's, a person who had received Praetorian honours from the Roman Senate. Instead of this not merely did he refrain from chastising them but even shrank from restraining them, thereby giving immunity and free-play to those who displayed evil intentions and hostile feeling by pretending not to see what he saw nor hear what he heard. When 41 the crowd perceived this, not the peaceful, public-spirited crowd, but the crowd which regularly fills everything with confusion and turmoil, which by its love of meddling, its eager pursuit of the worthless life, its habitual laziness and idling, is a thing that means mischief, they streamed into the theatre at early dawn, and having Flaccus purchased by the miserable price which he crazy for fame and ever-ready to be sold took to the destruction not only of himself but of the public safety, called out with one accord <sup>a</sup> for installing images in the meeting-houses. What they proposed was a breach of the law en- 42 tirely novel and unprecedented and knowing this, quick-witted as they are for villainy, they cunningly glozed it by using the name of Caesar as a screen, that name with which no guilty action can lawfully be associated. What then did the governor 43

*Legatio* 132 f. Later in § 53 a more active participation is suggested.

PHILO

στάμενος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις οἰκήτορας ἔχει διττούς, ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους, καὶ πᾶσα Αἴγυπτος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὀρίων Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ ὡς ἡ πείρα κατὰ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς οὐ λυσιτελὲς ἔθη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἀμελήσας ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπει ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μυρία καὶ πάντα προνοητικὰ δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς ἄρχων κελεύειν ἢ συμβουλεύειν ὡς φίλος.

- 44 VII. Ὁ δέ—συνεχειροῦργει γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων—καὶ ἀπὸ μείζονος ἐξουσίας ἀναρριπίζειν καινοτέραις αἰεὶ κακῶν προσθήκαις τὴν στάσιν ἡξίου καὶ τό γ' ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἅπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν φάναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμφυλίων  
45 πολέμων ἐπλήρωσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν προσευχῶν φήμη λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διαδοθήσεται μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νομούς, δραμεῖται  
[524] | δ' ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰγύπτου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἐῶα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποταυνίου καὶ Μαρείας, αἱ Λιβύης εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, πρὸς δυσμᾶς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἐσπέρια. Ἰουδαίους γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ πολυανθρω-  
46 πῖαν οὐ χωρεῖ. ἥς αἰτίας ἔνεκα τὰς πλείστας καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτας τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατὰ τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους ἐκνέμονται μητρόπολιν μὲν

<sup>a</sup> As to what is implied by this word, see App. p. 533.

<sup>b</sup> Or district below the coastal strip (Box, see his note on the geography). Mangey has "ora maritima."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "the most and most prosperous." So in § 51 "the most and most necessary," and in *De Aet.* 64 τὰ πλείστα καὶ

of the country do? He knew that both Alexandria and the whole of Egypt had two kinds of inhabitants, us and them, and that there were no less than a million Jews resident in Alexandria and the country from the slope into Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia; also that this was an attack against them all, and that ancestral customs cannot be disturbed without harm, yet he disregarded all these facts and permitted the installation of the images though there were a host of considerations all tending to caution which he might have set before them either as orders from a ruler or advice from a friend.

VII. But since he worked hand in hand with them 44 in all their misdeeds he did not scruple to use his superior power to fan the flames of sedition perpetually by still more novel additions of evil, and as far as lay in his power filled, one may also say, the whole habitable world with racial conflict. For it was perfectly clear that the rumour of the overthrowing<sup>a</sup> of the synagogues beginning at Alexandria would spread at once to the nomes of Egypt and speed from Egypt to the East and the nations of the East and from the Hypotaenia<sup>b</sup> and Marea, which are the outskirts of Libya, to the West and the nations of the West. For so populous are the Jews that no one country can hold them, and therefore they settle in 46 very many of the most prosperous countries<sup>c</sup> in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland, and while they hold the Holy City where

*μέγιστα τῶν ὀρῶν*. Here Box gives "the most extensive and wealthiest," and below "the greatest and most important." I am not sure whether *πλείστα* can mean this and at any rate it does not fit in with *De Aet.* 64. I think that in all three places it is a curious way of expressing "most of the wealthiest, greatest," etc.

## PHILO

τὴν ἱερόπολιν ἡγούμενοι, καθ' ἣν ἰδρυται ὁ τοῦ  
 ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὺς ἅγιος, ἃς δ' ἔλαχον ἐκ πατέρων  
 καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἄνω  
 προγόνων οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν  
 αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν· εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ  
 κτιζομένας εὐθὺς ἦλθον ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι, τοῖς  
 47 κτίσταις χαριζόμενοι. καὶ δέος ἦν, μὴ οἱ πανταχοῦ  
 τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐκεῖθεν λαβόντες ἐπηρεάζωσι τοῖς  
 πολίταις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ  
 48 τὰ πάτρια νεωτερίζοντες. οἱ δέ—οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλον  
 ἄχρι παντὸς ἡσυχάζειν καίτοι πεφυκότες εἶπὸς  
 εἰρήνην, οὐ μόνον ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ  
 περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀγῶνες καὶ τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς κινδύ-  
 νους ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'  
 ἡλίον ἅμα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν εἰς  
 τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν, ὃ μυρίων θανάτων  
 ἐτετίμηστο ἄν—οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱεροὺς περιβόλους, οἷς  
 ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιου-  
 49 μένοις εἶπον ἄν· “λελήθατε ἑαυτοὺς οὐ προστι-  
 θέντες τοῖς κυρίοις τιμὴν, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐκ  
 εἰδότες ὡς τοῖς πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰου-  
 δαίοις ὀρμητήρια τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον

<sup>1</sup> It would perhaps be better to omit the marks of the parenthesis, and put a colon or full stop at εὐχάριστον. In this case we have the same anacoluthic γὰρ as in *De Aet.* 75, and the verb to which οἱ δὲ is subject is ἔμελλον. See note *b*.

<sup>a</sup> The thought here seems confused. The point in which the Jews were unique is that they believed that the admission of an image into a place of worship desecrated it, and assuming as Philo does that εὐσέβεια can only be adequately shown in a place of worship, they would be deprived of the means of

stands the sacred Temple of the most high God to be their mother city, yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors even farther back, are in each case accounted by them to be their fatherland in which they were born and reared, while to some of them they have come at the time of their foundation as immigrants to the satisfaction of the founders. And 47 it was to be feared that people everywhere might take their cue from Alexandria, and outrage their Jewish fellow-citizens by rioting against their synagogues and ancestral customs. Now the Jews though 48 naturally well-disposed for peace could not be expected to remain quiet whatever happened, not only because with all men the determination to fight for their institutions outweighs even the danger to life, but also because they are the only people under the sun <sup>a</sup> who by losing their meeting-houses were losing also what they would have valued as worth dying many thousand deaths, namely, their means of showing reverence to their benefactors, since they no longer had the sacred buildings where they could set forth their thankfulness.<sup>b</sup> And they might have said to their enemies " You have failed to see that you are 49 not adding to but taking from the honour given to our masters, and you do not understand that everywhere in the habitable world the religious veneration of the Jews for the Augustan house has its basis as

showing it adequately. But the destruction of their temples would equally incapacitate Gentiles. But see App. p. 533.

<sup>b</sup> The sentence as punctuated here has no verb to the initial *οἱ*, unless *καὶ* at the end is taken = "also," which seems pointless. If punctuated as suggested in note 1, there would be no objection to taking *εἶπον* as 1st person singular, which will fit in better with *οὐκ οἶδα*.

## PHILO

ὁσιότητός εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ ἐπιδήλως, ὧν ἡμῖν  
 ἀναιρεθεισῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀπολείπεται τόπος ἢ  
 50 τρόπος τιμῆς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφιέντων<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐθῶν  
 ὀλιγωροῦμεν, τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας δίκαιοι τυγ-  
 χάνειν ἐσμέν μὴ παρέχοντες ἀρτίους καὶ πλήρεις  
 τὰς ἀμοιβάς. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν τοῖς ἰδίῳις ὑποστέλ-  
 λομεν νομίμοις, ἃ καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ φίλον βεβαιοῦν,  
 τί μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πλημμελοῦμεν οὐκ οἶδα· πλὴν εἰ  
 μὴ ψέγειν τις ἐθελήσειε τὸ μὴ γνώμη ἐκουσίῳ  
 παρανομεῖν τὰς ἐκδαιτήσεις τῶν ἐθῶν οὐ φυλαξα-  
 μένους, αἷ, κὰν ἀφ' ἐτέρων ἄρξωνται, τελευτῶσι  
 51 πολλάκις εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους." ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Φλάκκος  
 τὰ τε λεκτέα ἡσυχάζων καὶ τὰ ἡσυχαστέα λέγων  
 οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξημάρτανεν. ἐκείνοι δ', οἷς  
 ἐχαρίζετο, τίνα γνώμην εἶχον; ἄρα γε τὴν τῶν  
 τιμᾶν ἐθελόντων; εἶτα σπάνις ἦν ἱερῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 πόλιν, ἧς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτα μέρη  
 52 τετεμένισται, πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν ὧν ἐβούλοντο; τὴν  
 μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαπεχθημόνων καὶ μετὰ τέχνης  
 ἐπιβουλευόντων ὄρμην ἔφαμεν, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐπηρεά-  
 [525] ζοντες | οὐ δόξουσιν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἐπηρεαζομένοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀφιέντων or ἀφεθέντων.

<sup>a</sup> I take νομίμοις as a dative of the same kind as νόμῳ or νόμοις corresponding to our own "by the law," e.g. χρῆθαι ἀντιὸν ἀντιὸν ἀντιὸν answered by ποίῳ νόμῳ; or οἰκεῖν τοῖς νόμοις. See other examples in Stephanus. Box takes it after ὑποστέλλειν = "shelter ourselves under the laws."

<sup>b</sup> The sentence πλὴν . . . αἰτίους is very difficult, for (1) πλὴν εἰ μὴ is pleonastic instead of either πλὴν εἰ or εἰ μὴ; (2) the general sense seems to be "if we are to be blamed it is not because we refused to break the law by admitting images, but because we have not been strict enough in preventing defec-tion" (though what this alludes to is not clear); (3) τοὺς αἰτίους must mean those who are responsible by having allowed the

all may see in the meeting-houses, and if we have these destroyed no place, no method is left to us for paying this homage. If we neglect to pay it 50 when our institutions permit we should deserve the utmost penalty for not tendering our requital with all due fullness. But if we fall short because it is forbidden by our own laws,<sup>a</sup> which Augustus also was well pleased to confirm, I do not see what offence, either small or great, can be laid to our charge.<sup>b</sup> The only thing for which we might be blamed would be that we transgressed, though involuntarily, by not defending ourselves against the defections from our customs, which even if originally due to others often ultimately affect those who are responsible for them." It was by saying what he should leave unsaid and 51 leaving unsaid what he should say that Flaccus treated us in this iniquitous way. But what were the motives of those whose favour he was seeking? Was it that they really wished to honour the Emperor? Was there then any lack of temples in the city, so many parts of which are consecrated and give all that is needed for the installation of anything they wished? No, what we have described is an act of aggression 52 by bitterly hostile and crafty plotters in which the authors of the outrages would not appear to be acting unjustly and the sufferers could not oppose them with others to begin. But this is very forced (I am inclined to think that *μη* has dropped out as often in Philo, or that we should read *ἀναίτιους*); (4) assuming that *τοὺς αἰτίους* is right, what is meant by *τελευτῶσι . . . εἰς*? Perhaps "they at last come to practise them" (Box). Rather I think "they ultimately suffer from the consequences," and perhaps the thought may be something like this: "If we had insisted more on the strict observance of the law in other matters, the Greeks would not have attempted to force this desecration upon us."

## PHILO

οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐναντιοῦσθαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς γενναῖοι, τιμὴ καταλύειν νόμους, ἔθνη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς συνοικοῦσι, διδάσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁμοφροσύνης ἀλογεῖν.

- 53 VIII. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἢ κατὰ τῶν νόμων πείρα εὐδοεῖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὰς προσευχὰς ἀρπάσαντι καὶ μηδὲ τοῦνομα ὑπολιπομένῳ, πάλιν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐτρέπετο, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν, ἢ ἀποκοπέντων οἷς μόνοις ἐφώρμει ὁ ἡμέτερος βίος ἐθῶν τε πατρίων καὶ μετουσίας πολιτικῶν δικαίων τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομένωμεν συμφορὰς οὐδενὸς
- 54 ἐπειλημμένοι πείσματος εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. ὀλίγαις γὰρ ὕστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπήλυδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει μηδὲ λόγου μεταδούς, ἀλλ' ἀκρίτως καταδικάζων. οὐ τί ἂν εἶη τυραννίδος ἐπάγγελμα μείζον; αὐτὸς γενόμενος τὰ πάντα, κατήγορος, ἐχθρός, μάρτυς, δικαστής, κολαστής, εἶτα δυσὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν ἐφείς ὡς ἐν ἀλώσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι
- 55 πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἄδειαν τί πράττουσι; πέντε μοῖραι τῆς πόλεως εἰσιν, ἐπώνυμοι τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς· τούτων δύο<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαϊκαὶ λέγονται διὰ τὸ πλείστους Ἰουδαίους ἐν ταύταις κατοικεῖν· οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐκ ὀλίγοι σποράδες. τί οὖν ἐποίησαν; ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γραμμάτων ἐξώκισαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ συνήλασαν εἰς ἑνὸς μοῖραν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐν δυσὶν.

<sup>a</sup> As to what this proclamation actually meant, see App. pp. 534 f. The only point which here emerges is that the Jews were restricted to the one quarter (Delta, according to 332



safety. For surely, my good sirs, there is no honour given by overthrowing the laws, disturbing ancestral customs, outraging fellow-citizens and teaching the inhabitants of other cities to disregard the claims of fellow feeling.

VIII. When then his attack against our laws by 53 seizing the meeting-houses without even leaving them their name appeared to be successful, he proceeded to another scheme, namely, the destruction of our citizenship, so that when our ancestral customs and our participation in political rights, the sole mooring on which our life was secured, had been cut away, we might undergo the worst misfortunes with no cable to cling to for safety. For a few days afterwards he 54 issued a proclamation in which he denounced us as foreigners and aliens and gave us no right of pleading our case but condemned us unjudged.<sup>a</sup> What stronger profession of tyranny could we have than this? He became everything himself, accuser, enemy, witness, judge and the agent of punishment, and then to the two first wrongs he added a third by permitting those who wished to pillage the Jews as at the sacking of a city. Having secured this immunity what did 55 they do? The city has five quarters named after the first letters of the alphabet, two of these are called Jewish because most of the Jews inhabit them,<sup>b</sup> though in the rest also there are not a few Jews scattered about. So then what did they do? From the four letters they ejected the Jews and drove them

Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 18. 8) which had been originally allotted to them. It did not of course formally sanction the pogrom which ensued. That Flaccus did not stop this was a *third* wrong.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "because most of the inhabitants are Jews," *i.e.* there are also Gentiles.

## PHILO

56 βραχυτάτην. οἱ δὲ ἐξεχέοντο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ κοπρίας καὶ μνήματα πάντων στερόμενοι τῶν ἰδίων. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταδραμόντες ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ ὡς ἐκ πολέμου λείαν διενέμοντο, μηδενὸς δὲ κωλύοντος καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίλλῃ πένθος ἀναρρήξαντες ὅσα εὖρον—πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν—ἐξεφόρησαν καὶ διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκόμιζον ὡς οἰκείους τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις

57 καταχρώμενοι. τῆς δ' ἀρπαγῆς ἡ ἀπραξία κακὸν ἦν βαρύτερον, τὰς μὲν ἐνθήκας ἀπολωλεκότων τῶν ποριστῶν, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐωμένου, μὴ γεωργοῦ, μὴ ναυκλήρου, μὴ ἐμποροῦ, μὴ τεχνίτου, τὰ συνήθη πραγματεῦσθαι, ὡς διχόθεν κατεσκευάσθαι πενίαν, ἔκ τε τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἐξουσιῶν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ γενομένων καὶ περισεσυλημένων τὰ ἴδια, κακ τοῦ μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι πορίζειν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

[526] 58 IX. | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἀφόρητα, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς αὐθις πεπραγμένοις συγκρινόμενα οἰστά. πενία γὰρ χαλεπὸν μὲν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν κατασκευάζεται πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ

59 σώματα ὑβρεως, κἂν ἢ βραχυτάτη. τοὺς δ' ἡμετέρους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὧν ἔπαθον οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὑβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδέχθαι κυρίοις χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ προσρήσεων οἰκείων ἂν ἀπορηῆσαι διὰ μέγεθος κεκαιουργημένης ὠμότητος, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολέμων μὲν κρατησάντων, ἐκ φύσεως δ' ἀσπόνδων εἰς τοὺς ἐαλωκότας, συγκρινόμενα

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<sup>a</sup> Gaius's sister. She died on June 10th, which gives the *terminus a quo* for the attack. See also App. p. 535.

to herd in a very small part of one. The Jews were 56 so numerous that they poured out over beaches, dunghills and tombs, robbed of all their belongings. Their enemies overran the houses now left empty and turned to pillaging them, distributing the contents like spoil of war, and as no one prevented them they broke open the workshops of the Jews which had been closed as a sign of mourning for Drusilla,<sup>a</sup> carried out all the articles they found, which were very numerous, and bore them through the middle of the market-place, dealing with other people's property as freely as if it was their own. A still more grievous 57 evil than the pillaging was the unemployment produced. The tradespeople had lost their stocks, and no one, husbandman, shipman, merchant, artisan, was allowed to practise his usual business. Thus poverty was established in two ways : first, the pillaging, by which in the course of a single day they had become penniless, completely stripped of what they had, and secondly, their inability to make a living from their regular employments.

IX. Unbearable though these things were, yet 58 compared with subsequent actions they were tolerable. Poverty, indeed, is grievous, particularly when it is effected by enemies, but it is less grievous than bodily injuries if suffered through wanton violence, even the slightest. But so excessive were the suffer- 59 ings of our people that anyone who spoke of them as undergoing wanton violence or outrage would be using words not properly applicable and would I think be at a loss for adequate terms to express the magnitude of cruelty so unprecedented that the actions of conquerors in war, who are also naturally merciless to the conquered, would seem kindness

## PHILO

- 60 τοῖς τούτων ἡμερώτατα ἂν εἶναι δόξαι. χρήματα ἀρπάξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσαντες, εἶπερ ἠττήθησαν, ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ οἰκεία. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους, ὧν λύτρα κατατιθέασι συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι, μεθίενται τῶν δορυαλώτων, ἴσως μὲν ἀκαμπεῖς ὄντες πρὸς ἔλεον, ἠττώμενοι δὲ φιλαργυρίας. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; φαίη τις ἄν· τοῖς γὰρ εὖ πάσχουσιν ἀδιαφορεῖ τῆς
- 61 σωτηρίας ὁ τρόπος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ταφῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἐπεικεῖς καὶ φιλάνθρωποι ταῖς οἴκοθεν δαπάναις, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ πρὸς νεκροὺς ἀποτείνοντες ὑπόσπονδα τὰ σώματα διδόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῆς τελευταίας χάριτος ἀμοιρῆσαι τῶν νομιζομένων.
- 62 ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν οἱ δυσμενεῖς ταῦτα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δ' οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ φίλοι θεασώμεθα ὅποια. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀνοικισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς πόλεως βιαίους ἐλάσεις καθάπερ τειχήρεις ἐν κύκλῳ περικαθημένων ἐχθρῶν γεγονότες, ἀπορία καὶ σπάνει δεινῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεζόμενοι καὶ γύναια καὶ τέκνα νήπια ὄρωντες ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παραπολλύμενα λιμῷ χειροποιήτω—
- 63 πάντα γὰρ τᾶλλα εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας μεστὰ ἦν, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως λιμνάσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδιάδος, ὄση πυροφόρος, ἀφθονώτατον ὑπ' εὐγονίας τὸν τοῦ
- 64 σίτου καρπὸν ἀναγούσης—, μηκέτι στέγειν δυνάμενοι τὰς ἐνδείας, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, πρότερον οὐκ εἰωθότες, οἰκίας ἤλθον ἔρανον αὐτὰ

<sup>a</sup> For another account of the pogrom described in the next

FLACCUS, 60-64

itself in comparison. Those conquerors do seize 60 property and take numerous captives but they have run the risk of losing their own if they were defeated. And indeed, multitudes of the prisoners of war, whose ransoms are provided by their kinsfolk and friends, are released by their captors, not perhaps because they have weakened towards mercy, but because they cannot resist their desire for money, though of that one might say, "to the benefited the method of their rescuing is a matter of indifference." Ob- 61 serve, too, that enemies fallen in war are allowed burial. The mild and humane give it at their own expense and those who extend their hostility even to the dead restore the bodies under a truce, that they may not lack the final boon which the established rites supply. This is what enemies do in war. 62 Let us see what was done in peace by our friends of yesterday.<sup>a</sup> After the pillaging and eviction and violent expulsion from most parts of the city the Jews were like beleaguered men with their enemies all round them. They were pressed by want and dire lack of necessities; they saw their infant children and women perishing before their eyes through a famine artificially created, since elsewhere all else was 63 teeming with plenty and abundance, the fields richly flooded by the overflow of the river and the wheat-bearing parts of the lowlands producing through their fertility the harvest of grain in unstinted profusion. Unable any longer to endure their privation, 64 some of them contrary to their former habits went to the houses of their kinsmen and friends to ask for

ten sections see *Legatio* 119-131, where the violence is ascribed to the belief of the Alexandrians that Gaius hated the Jews, a point completely ignored here.

## PHILO

τὰ ἀναγκαῖα αἰτήσοντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ φρονήματος  
 εὐγενοῦς τὴν μεταιτῶν τύχην ὡς δουλοπρεπῆ καὶ  
 ἀνελεύθερον ἐκτρεπόμενοι προῆλθον εἰς ἀγορὰν  
 οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου χάριν ἢ τοῦ πρίασθαι τοῖς τε  
 65 οἰκείοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τροφάς, οἱ δυστυχεῖς. εὐθὺς  
 γὰρ συναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν  
 ἐπιτειχισάντων δολοφονοῦνται καὶ συρόμενοι καὶ  
 πατούμενοι διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἐξαναλώθησαν,  
 οὐδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους, ὃ δυνήσεται κοινω-  
 66 νῆσαι ταφῆς. μυρίους μέντοι καὶ ἄλλους πολυ-  
 τρόποις κακῶν ιδέαις ἐπιτετηδευμέναις εἰς χαλεπὴν  
 ὠμότητα κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν οἱ λελυτ-  
 [527] τηκότες ὑπ' ἀγριότητος | εἰς θηρίων φύσιν· τοὺς  
 γὰρ ὄπη τύχοι φανέντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ κατέλεον  
 ἢ ξύλοις κατέκοπτον οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα  
 μέρη τὰς πληγὰς φέροντες, ἵνα μὴ θάττον τελευ-  
 τήσαντες θάττον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἀντίληψιν  
 67 ἀπόθωνται. τῇ δὲ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀδεία<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 ἐκεχειρία τινὲς ἐπινεανιεύμενοι, τῶν ἀμβλυτέρων  
 ὄπλων ἀλογήσαντες, ἀνελάμβανον τὰ πάντων ἀνυ-  
 σιμώτατα, πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ξίφεσιν  
 68 ἀνεῖλον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ πυρὶ διέφθειραν. ἤδη δὲ  
 καὶ γενεὰς ὅλας, ἄνδρας μετὰ γυναικῶν, τέκνα  
 νήπια μετὰ γονέων, ἐνέπρησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλε-  
 ἔστατοι κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πόλιν, μὴ γῆρας, μὴ  
 νεότητα, μὴ παίδων ἄκακον ἡλικίαν οἰκτισάμενοι·  
 καὶ ὁπότε ξύλων ὕλης ἀπορήσειαν, φρύγανα συλ-  
 λέγοντες καπνῶ τὸ πλεόν ἢ πυρὶ διέφθειρον,  
 οἰκτρότερον καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερον ὄλεθρον τοῖς δει-  
 λαίοις τεχνάζοντες, ὧν τὰ σώματα ἡμίφλεκτα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀδικία or ἀδίκω.

## FLACCUS, 64-68

the mere necessities as a charity, while those whose high-born spirit led them to avoid the beggar's lot as fitter for slaves than for the free went forth into the market solely to buy sustenance for their families and themselves. Poor wretches, they were at once 65 seized by those who wielded the weapon of mob rule, treacherously stabbed, dragged through the whole city, and trampled on, and thus completely made away with till not a part of them was left which could receive the burial which is the right of all. Multi- 66 tudes of others also were laid low and destroyed with manifold forms of maltreatment, put in practice to serve their bitter cruelty by those whom savagery had maddened and transformed into the nature of wild beasts ; for any Jews who showed themselves anywhere, they stoned or knocked about with clubs, aiming their blows at first against the less vital parts for fear that a speedier death might give a speedier release from the consciousness of their anguish. Some, made rampant by the immunity and licence <sup>a</sup> 67 which accompanied these sufferings, discarded the weapons of slower action and took the most effective of all, fire and steel, and slew many with the sword, while not a few they destroyed with fire. Indeed, 68 whole families, husbands with their wives, infant children with their parents, were burnt in the heart of the city by these supremely ruthless men who showed no pity for old age nor youth, nor the innocent years of childhood. And when they lacked wood for fire they would collect brushwood and dispatch them with smoke rather than fire, thus contriving a more pitiable and lingering death for the miserable victims whose bodies lay promiscuously half-burnt,

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 123.

## PHILO

69 ἀναμιξ ἔκειτο, χαλεπή καὶ ὀδυνηροτάτη θέα. εἰ  
 δὲ καὶ οἱ παραληφθέντες ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ἐβρά-  
 δυνον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων σκευῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς  
 ἐνεπίμπρασαν τοὺς δεσπότας τὰ μὲν πολυτελῆ  
 νοσφιζόμενοι, τὰ δὲ μὴ πάνυ χρήσιμα συγκαταφλέ-  
 70 γοντες, οἷς ἀντὶ ξύλων εἰκαίων ἐχρῶντο. πολλοὺς  
 δὲ καὶ ζῶντας τοῖν ποδοῖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκδήσαντες  
 κατὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἶλκον ἅμα καὶ κατηλόων ἐναλλό-  
 71 μενοι θάνατον ὠμότατον ἐπινοήσαντες· καὶ τελευ-  
 τησάντων, οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἀτελεύτητα μηνιῶντες  
 βαρυτέρας αἰκίας τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπέφερον, διὰ  
 πάντων ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τῶν τῆς πόλεως στενω-  
 πῶν κατασύροντες, ἕως ὃ νεκρὸς δοράς, σάρκας,  
 ἴνας ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐδάφων ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύ-  
 τητος περιβρυφθεῖς, καὶ τῶν ἠνωμένων μερῶν τῆς  
 συμφυίας διαστάντων καὶ διασπαρέντων ἀλλαχόσε  
 72 ἄλλων, ἔδαπανήθη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα  
 δρῶντες ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς μίμοις καθ-  
 υπεκρίνοντο τοὺς πάσχοντας· τῶν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς  
 πεπονθότων φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς, ὅτι μόνον ταῖς  
 τῶν προσηκόντων συμφοραῖς συνήλγησαν, ἀπή-  
 γοντο, ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχίζοντο, καὶ μετὰ πάσας  
 τὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας ἐδύνατο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα  
 αὐτοῖς, ἢ τελευταία καὶ ἔφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρὸς  
 ἦν.

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<sup>a</sup> Not to be translated "mimicked the sufferers," even if that is the outcome of what is said. The regular use of this verb followed by the article with a noun or participle points to what I have put. Thus in § 32 above we have τὸν ἐταῖρον καὶ φίλον καθυπεκρίν., in *De Ios.* 50 Potiphar's wife accusing



a painful and most heart-rending spectacle. And 69 if the persons enlisted to get brushwood were too slow, they would burn the owners with their own furniture taken out of the spoil. Costly articles, indeed, they appropriated but anything that was not very useful they put on the fire to serve instead of ordinary wood. Many also while still alive they 70 drew with one of the feet tied at the ankle and meanwhile leapt upon them and pounded them to pieces. And when by the cruel death thus devised, their life 71 ended, the rage of their enemies did not end, but continued all the same. They inflicted worse outrages on the bodies, dragging them through almost every lane of the city until the corpses, their skin, flesh and muscles shattered by the unevenness and roughness of the ground, and all the parts which united to make the organism dissevered and dispersed in different directions, were wasted to nothing.

While those who did these things like 72 actors in a farce assumed the part of the sufferers,<sup>a</sup> the friends and kinsmen of the true sufferers, simply because they grieved over the misfortunes of their relations, were arrested, scourged, tortured and after all these outrages, which were all their bodies could make room for, the final punishment kept in reserve was the cross.

Joseph καθυπεκ. τὴν σώφρονα, *ibid.* 166 Joseph to his brothers καθυπεκ. τὸν δυσχεραίνοντα. So also in this treatise with similar verbs ἐπιφάσκων τὸν πλούσιον § 130 and προσποιούμενος τὸν ἠδόμενον § 98. No doubt "pretended to be the sufferers" may mean "mimicked them," but I should prefer to take it that they assumed the air of the injured parties, who were only inflicting a righteous punishment. This will give more point to ἀληθῶς, and if Box is right in his note on "mimes" (§ 34) that they emphasized the characteristic rather than the dramatic, it will be in accord with this view.

PHILO

- 73 X. Πάντα δὲ διορύξας καὶ τοιχωρυχήσας ὁ  
 Φλάκκος καὶ μηδὲν μέρος τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀμέτοχον  
 ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω καταλιπὼν ἐπενόησεν  
 74 λουργός, ὁ καινῶν ἀδικημάτων εὐρετής. τῆς γὰρ  
 ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης  
 Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἴλετο  
 [528] μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου | τελευτὴν διὰ τῶν πρὸς  
 Μάγιον Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν μέλλοντα πάλιν [ἀπ']  
 Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν, ὅκτῳ  
 καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβῶν τοὺς εὐρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς  
 οἰκίαις εὐθὺς μὲν δῆσαι κελεύει, καὶ στείλας καλὴν  
 πομπὴν διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς πρεσβύτας δεσμίους  
 ἐξηγκωνισμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἱμάσι, τοὺς δὲ σιδηραῖς  
 ἀλύσειν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσάγει—θέαν οἰκτίστην  
 75 καὶ ἄλλοτριωτάτην τῷ καιρῷ—καὶ στάντας ἀντικρὺ  
 ἐχθρῶν καθεζομένων πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν αἰσχύνης προσ-  
 τάττει πάντας περιδυσθέντας αἰκισθῆναι μᾶστιξιν,  
 αἷς ἔθος τοὺς κακούργων πονηροτάτους προπηλακί-  
 ζεσθαι, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τοὺς μὲν φοράδην  
 ἐκκομισθέντας αὐτίκα τελευτῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ νοσή-  
 σαντας ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας  
 76 ἔλθειν. ἧς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ μέγεθος ἐξελέγ-  
 λεγκται μὲν καὶ δι' ἐτέρων, οὐχ ἦττον δὲ καὶ διὰ

<sup>a</sup> The term *γενάρχης* elsewhere applied by Philo to founders and heads of the nation (Abraham, the three Patriarchs, and the Seventy Elders) here apparently = the technical word *ἐθνάρχης* (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 32), the official who at Alexandria, at any rate according to Strabo writing under Augustus, served as general administrator and judge of the Jews.

<sup>b</sup> Or "elsewhere," *i.e.* either in some other treatise or some lost part of this. Reiter and others assume that this is the

X. Having broken into everything like a burglar 73 and left no side of Jewish life untouched by a hostility carried to the highest pitch, Flaccus devised another monstrous and unparalleled line of attack worthy of this perpetrator of enormities and inventor of novel iniquities. Our Senate had been appointed 74 to take charge of Jewish affairs by our saviour and benefactor Augustus, after the death of the ethnarch,<sup>a</sup> orders to that effect having been given to Magius Maximus when he was about to take office for the second time as Governor of Alexandria and the country. Of this Senate the members who were found in their houses, thirty-eight in number, were arrested by Flaccus, who having ordered them to be straightway put in bonds marshalled a fine procession through the middle of the market of these elderly men trussed and pinioned, some with thongs and others with iron chains, and then taken into the theatre, a spectacle most pitiable and incongruous with the occasion. Then as they stood with their 75 enemies seated in front to signalize their disgrace he ordered them all to be stripped and lacerated with scourges which are commonly used for the degradation of the vilest malefactors, so that in consequence of the flogging some had to be carried out on stretchers and died at once, while others lay sick for a long time despairing of recovery.

The great lengths 76 of malevolence to which the plan was carried have been fully proved in other ways,<sup>b</sup> but all the same

meaning of δι' ἐτέρων and perhaps there are other places in Philo, not quoted by them nor observed by me, which go to prove that this is its meaning here. Failing such evidence, I should prefer to take it as above. The ἐπιβουλή may be either the pogrom in general or the treatment of the thirty-eight just described.

## PHILO

- τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι σαφέστερον ἐπιδειχθήσεται. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας τρεῖς ἄνδρες, Εὐδοσ καὶ Τρύφων καὶ Ἄνδρων, ἐγεγένητο ἐξουσιοί, πάνθ' ὅσα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαρπασθέντες ἐφόδω μιᾷ, οὓς οὐκ ἠγνόησε ταῦτα πεπονθότας· ἐδηλώθη γὰρ αὐτῷ μεταπεμφαμένῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄρχοντας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ καταλλαγαῖς ταῖς πρὸς
- 77 τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. καὶ ὁμως εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς (τού)-  
τους στερομένους τῶν ἰδίων ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν ἀρπασάν-  
των ἔτυπτεν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ὑπομένωσι διττὰς συμφοράς,  
πενίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὕβριν, οἱ δὲ  
διττὴν ἠδονὴν, ἀλλότριόν τε καρπούμενοι πλοῦτον  
καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων ἀτιμίας εἰς κόρον ἀπο-  
λαύοντες.
- 78 Ἐχων τι τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν ἐπαμφο-  
τερίζω, μὴ ἄρα εὐτελὲς εἶναι νομισθὲν ἐκλύση τὰ  
μεγέθη τῶν τοσούτων· ἔστι δ' εἰ καὶ μικρόν, ἀλλ'  
οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖγμα κακονοίας. τῶν μαστίγων εἰσὶ  
διαφοραὶ διακεκριμένα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὰ  
τῶν τύπτεσθαι μελλόντων ἀξιώματα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ  
Αἰγυπτίους ἐτέραις μαστίζεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ  
πρὸς ἐτέρων, τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέας σπάθαις καὶ
- 79 ὑπὸ σπαθηφόρων Ἀλεξανδρέων. τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διετήρησαν οἱ πρὸ Φλάκκου  
καὶ Φλάκκος αὐτὸς τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους. ἔστι

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<sup>a</sup> It will be observed that this interview must have taken place after the pillaging described in §§ 56 f. This suggests the possibility that it was either the attitude there taken up by

## FLACCUS, 76-79

they will be shown still more clearly by the following statement. Three members of the Senate, Euodus, Trypho and Andro, had become penniless, having been robbed in a single inroad of all that they had in their houses ; and that they had been so treated was known to Flaccus, who had been so informed when on an earlier occasion <sup>a</sup> he sent for our magistrates, ostensibly to reconcile them with the rest of the city. Nevertheless, though he knew quite well 77 that they had been deprived of their property, he beat them before the eyes of their despoilers. Thus, while they suffered a twofold misfortune, poverty and the outrage to their persons, the others had a twofold pleasure, enjoying the possession of the wealth which was not their own and sating themselves with gloating on the dishonour of those from whom that wealth was taken.

One point in the deeds committed at this time I 87 mention only with hesitation, lest by being considered an insignificant matter it may detract from the magnitude of these horrors. Yet even if it is a small thing it is an evidence of no small malignancy. There are differences between the scourges used in the city, and these differences are regulated by the social standing of the persons to be beaten. The Egyptians actually are scourged with a different kind of lash and by a different set of people, the Alexandrians with a flat blade, and the persons who wield them also are Alexandrians. This custom was also ob- 79 served in the case of our people by the predecessors of Flaccus and by Flaccus himself in his first years of office. For it is surely possible when inflicting the magistrates or their failure to carry out the conditions there laid down which led to their arrest and punishment.

PHILO

γάρ, ἔστι καὶ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ βραχύ τι τῶν εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν  
 εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν ὕβρει παραφερόμενόν τι τῶν εἰς τὸ  
 ἀνύβριστον, ὅταν τις αὐτὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐὰ τὰς  
 φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάζεσθαι, μὴ προστιθεὶς  
 οἴκοθεν ἐπίβουλον πάθος, ὃ πάνθ' ὅσα παρα-  
 μέμικται τῆς ἐπιεικεστέρας ἰδέας ὑφαίρει καὶ  
 80 διοικίζει. πῶς οὖν οὐ παγχάλεπον, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν  
 Ἰουδαίων ταῖς ἐλευθεριωτέραις καὶ  
 πολιτικωτέραις μάστιξι τετυπτημένων, εἴ ποτε  
 ἔδοξαν πληγῶν ἄξια ἐργάσασθαι, τοὺς ἄρχοντας,  
 [529] | τὴν γερουσίαν,<sup>1</sup> οἳ καὶ γήρως καὶ τιμῆς εἰσιν  
 ἐπώνυμοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔλαττον τῶν  
 ὑπηκόων ἐνέγκασθαι, καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς  
 ἀφανεστάτους καὶ ἐνόχους τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδική-  
 81 μασιν; ἐὼ λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μυρία ἦσαν  
 ἡμαρτηκότες, ὥφειλε τὸν καιρὸν αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς  
 τιμωρίας ὑπερθέσθαι· τοῖς γὰρ ὀρθῶς πολιτευο-  
 μένοις τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μὴ προσποιουμένοις  
 τιμᾶν ἀλλ' ὄντως τιμῶσι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἔθος ἐστὶ  
 μηδένα κολάζειν τῶν κατακρίτων, ἄχρῖς ἂν αἱ  
 ἐπιφανεῖς<sup>2</sup> γενέθλιοι καὶ πανηγύρεις αὐταὶ τῶν  
 82 ἐπιφανῶν Σεβαστῶν διεξέλθωσιν. ὁ δ' ἐν αὐταῖς  
 παρηγόμεναι καὶ ἐτιμωρεῖτο τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας,  
 οὓς ἐνῆν<sup>3</sup> αὐθις, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο, κολάζειν. ἀλλ'  
 ἔσπευδε καὶ κατήπειγεν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐναντίον  
 ὄχλον ἀρεσκείας, ταύτῃ νομίζων ἐξοικειώσασθαι  
 83 μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἰς ἅπερ διανοεῖτο. ἤδη τινὰς οἶδα

<sup>1</sup> Very possibly a gloss inserted in view of the words which follow.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey held, an insertion. The duplication of the epithet, with no obvious point, is not like Philo.

degradation on others to find some little thing to sustain their dignity, or when wantonly maltreating them, to find some accompaniment to counteract the wantonness, if one allows the nature of the case to be determined on its own merits and does not import some personal feeling of malice which removes and dislodges all ingredients of the milder type. Surely then it was the height of harshness that when 80 commoners among the Alexandrian Jews, if they appeared to have done things worthy of stripes, were beaten with whips more suggestive of freemen and citizens, the magistrates, the Senate, whose very name implies age and honour, in this respect fared worse than their inferiors and were treated like Egyptians of the meanest rank and guilty of the greatest iniquities.

I leave out of account 81 the point that if they had committed a host of crimes he ought to have postponed the punishments in respect for the season,<sup>a</sup> for rulers who conduct their government as they should and do not pretend to honour but do really honour their benefactors make a practice of not punishing any condemned person until these notable celebrations in honour of the birthdays of the illustrious Augustan house are over. Instead he made them an occasion for illegality and 82 for punishing those who had done no wrong, whom he could have punished at a later time if he wished. But he hurried and pressed on the matter to conciliate the mob, who were opposed to the Jews, thinking that this would help to bring them to make his policy their own. I have known cases when on 83

<sup>a</sup> Apparently the birthday of Gaius himself (Aug. 31st). Cf. *αὐτοκράτορος* § 83.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οὐδένα ἦν.

PHILO

τῶν ἀνεσκολοπισμένων μελλούσης ἐνίστασθαι τοιαύτης ἐκεχειρίας καθαιρεθέντας καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῆς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ τυχεῖν τῶν νενομισμένων ἀποδοθέντας· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπολαῦσαι τινος χρηστοῦ γενεθλιακαῖς ἀυτοκράτορος καὶ ἅμα τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς τῆς πανηγύρεως φυλαχθῆναι.

84 ὁ δ' οὐ τετελευτηκότας ἐπὶ σταυρῶν καθαιρεῖν, ζῶντας δ' ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι προσέταπτεν, οἷς ἀμνηστίαν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν, ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου πρὸς ὑπέρθειν τιμωρίας, οὐκ ἄφεισιν παντελῆ. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰργάζετο μετὰ τὸ πληγαῖς αἰκίσασθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σι-  
85 δῆρῳ βασανίσαι. καὶ ἡ θεὰ διενενέμητο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τῶν θεαμάτων ἄχρι τρίτης ἢ τετάρτης ὥρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ταῦτα ἦν· Ἰουδαῖοι μαστιγοῦμενοι, κρεμάμενοι, τροχιζόμενοι, κατακιζόμενοι,<sup>1</sup> διὰ μέσης τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἀπαγόμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν ὀρχησταὶ καὶ μῖμοι καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα σκηνικῶν ἀθύρματα ἀγώνων.

86 XI. Καὶ τί ταῦτα μηκύνω; δευτέρα γὰρ ἐπινοεῖται πόρθησις, βουλομένου καὶ τὸ στρατευόμενον πλῆθος ἡμῖν ἐπιτειχίσαι ξένου συκοφαντήματος εὐρέσει. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα ἦν, ὡς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πανοπλίας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐχόντων. μεταπεμφόμενος οὖν ἑκατόνταρχον ᾧ μάλιστα ἐπίστευε, Κάστον ὄνομα, κελεύει παραλαβόντα τῆς ὑπηκόου τάξεως ἑαυτῷ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους στρατιώτας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καταδικαζόμενοι.

<sup>a</sup> This elliptical phrase is principally cited from Herodotus, κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ i. 109, συλλαβῶν δέ σφεας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ iii. 119, and so with κατέδησαν v. 72. If this



the eve of a holiday of this kind, people who have been crucified have been taken down and their bodies delivered to their kinsfolk, because it was thought well to give them burial and allow them the ordinary rites. For it was meet that the dead also should have the advantage of some kind treatment upon the birthday of an emperor and also that the sanctity of the festival should be maintained. But 84

Flaccus gave no orders to take down those who had died on the cross. Instead he ordered the crucifixion of the living, to whom the season offered a short-lived though not permanent reprieve in order to postpone the punishment though not to remit it altogether. And he did this after maltreating them with the lash in the middle of the theatre and torturing them with fire and the sword. The show had been arranged 85 in parts. The first spectacle lasting from dawn till the third or fourth hour consisted of Jews being scourged, hung up, bound to the wheel, brutally mauled and haled for their death march<sup>a</sup> through the middle of the orchestra. After this splendid exhibition came dancers and mimes and flute players and all the other amusements of theatrical competitions.

XI. But why dwell on these things, for he had a 86 second plan of spoliation hatching. He desired to use the large body of soldiers serving under him as a weapon against us, and to do this he invented a strange calumny to the effect that the Jews had stocks of every kind of arms in their houses. Accordingly having sent for a centurion named Castus, whom he especially trusted, he bade him take the most intrepid soldiers in the company under him and with-

represents the facts it would seem to be a deliberate archaism in Philo. Lucian however also uses it (*Alex.* 44).

## PHILO

ἐπισπεύδειν καὶ ἄνευ προρρήσεως ἐπεισιόντα ταῖς  
 87 τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἰκίαις ἐρευνᾶν, μή τις ὄπλων  
 [530] ἐναπόκειται παρασκευή. | καὶ ὁ μὲν συντείνας  
 ἔθει τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπί-  
 νοιαν οὐκ εἰδότες ἀχανεῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰστήκεσαν  
 ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, γυναίων καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἐμπλε-  
 κομένων καὶ ῥεομένων δάκρυσι διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αἰχμα-  
 λώτοις φόβον· ὁ γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς πορθήσεως, τοῦτ'  
 88 αἰὲ προσεδόκων. ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν παρά τινος τῶν  
 ἐρευνώντων· “ ποῦ ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὄπλα; ” μικρὸν  
 ἀνέπνευσάν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετά-  
 89 σαντες ἐπεδείκνυντο, τῇ μὲν ἠδόμενοι, τῇ δὲ  
 στένοντες, ἠδόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διελεγχθῆσεσθαι  
 τὸ συκοφάντημα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, δυσχεραίνοντες δέ,  
 ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν αἱ τηλικαῦται διαβολαὶ κατ' αὐτῶν  
 προπιστεύονται συντιθέμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἔπειτα  
 δ', ὅτι γυναῖα κατάκλειστα μηδὲ τὴν αὐλειον  
 προερχόμενα καὶ θαλαμευόμεναι παρθένοι, δι' αἰδῶ  
 τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὄψεις καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐκτρεπό-  
 μεναι, τότε οὐ μόνον ἀσυνήθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιω-  
 90 τικὸν δέος ἐπανατεινομένοις ἐμφανεῖς ἐγένοντο.  
 γενομένης δ' ὅμως ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης ὅσον<sup>1</sup> πλήθος  
 ἀμυντηρίων ὄπλων εὔρεθη! κράνη, θώρακες, ἀσ-  
 πίδες, ἐγχειρίδια, κοντοί, παντευχίαι σωρηδὸν  
 προεκομίζοντο, καὶ ἐν μέρει τὰ ἐκηβόλα, παλτοί,

<sup>1</sup> Wendland suggests *πόσον*, but see note c.

<sup>a</sup> The phrase τὸν ἐπ' αἰχμαλώτοις is certainly strange, but we have something like it in *De Ios.* 184 τὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι φόβον “the fear that he is dead,” though here to make the parallel complete we should have a participle ἐσομένους.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 169 “The women are best suited to the indoor life which keeps to the house, within which the

out loss of time and without giving notice enter and search the houses of the Jews to see whether they had any arms stored there. Castus hurried off to do what 87 he was told. The Jews as they knew nothing of the scheme at first stood dumbfounded in consternation, while their women and children clung to them bathed in tears in the fear of being taken into captivity.<sup>a</sup> For they lived in expectation of this which was the one thing left to complete the spoliation. When they heard one of the searching party say 88 "Where do you stock your arms?" they revived somewhat and laid open everything, even the contents of the recesses. In one way they felt pleased, 89 in another deeply pained. They were pleased that the refutation of the calumny would be self-evident but indignant first that such grave slanders, fabricated against them by their enemies, were so readily believed, secondly that their women kept in seclusion, never even approaching the outer doors, and their maidens confined to the inner chambers, who for modesty's sake avoided the sight of men, even of their closest relations, were displayed to eyes, not merely unfamiliar, but terrorizing through the fear of military violence.<sup>b</sup> And after this careful inves- 90 tigation, what an enormous amount<sup>c</sup> of defensive weapons was discovered, the helmets, breastplates, shields, daggers, pikes, outfits of armour, piles of which were produced, and on another side, the mis-

middle door (*μέσαυλον* = *θαλαμεύμεναι* here) is taken by the maidens as their boundary, and the outer door by those who have reached full womanhood." See note, vol. vii. p. 640. A good deal of additional information is given by Box.

<sup>c</sup> ὅσον exclamatory may be kept as more expressive than *πόσον*, cf. e.g. *Rep.* 450 *α* οἶον . . . εἰργάσασθε! ὅσον λόγον . . . κινεῖτε!

PHILO

σφενδόναί, τόξα, βέλη! τούτων ἀπλῶς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν διάιταν ὀψαρτυτῶν  
 91 αὐτάρκη μαχαιρίδια. ἕξ οὗ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον  
 εὐθύς εὐκολία διεφαίνετο πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὸ  
 ἀβροδίατον μὴ προσιεμένων, ἃ πέφυκε γεννᾶν  
 κόρον· κόρου δ' ὕβρις ἕκγονον, ἡ πάντων κακῶν  
 92 ἀρχή. καίτοι γ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν  
 κατὰ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίων ὀπλολογηθέντων ὑπὸ  
 Βάσσου τινός, ᾧ προσέταξεν ὁ Φλάκκος τουτὶ τὸ  
 ἔργον, [ἀλλ'] ἦν τότε ἰδεῖν στόλον μὲν πολὺν νεῶν  
 καταπεπλευκότα καὶ ἐνορμοῦντα τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 λιμέσι, γέμοντα παντοίων ὄπλων, ἀχθοφόρα δ'  
 ὑποζύγια παμπληθῆ συνδεδεμένων δοράτων φορ-  
 μηδὸν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς εἰς τὸ ἰσόρροπον, τὰς  
 δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάσας σχεδὸν ἀρμαμάξας  
 μεστὰς πανοπλιῶν, αἱ στοιχηδὸν ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν  
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐν κόσμῳ προῆσαν· τὸ  
 δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν λιμένων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις  
 ὀπλοθήκης, εἰς ἣν ἔδει κατατεθῆναι τὰ ὄπλα, δέκα  
 93 σταδίων πού διάστημα σύμπαν ἔχον. τὰς τῶν  
 ταῦτα παρασκευασαμένων οἰκίας ἄξιον ἦν ἐρευ-  
 νᾶσθαι· πρὸς γὰρ νεωτερισμὸν ὑποπτοὶ πολλάκις  
 ἀποστάντες ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἱερῶν  
 ἀγώνων τριετηρίδας ἄγειν καινὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 συγκομιδῆς ὄπλων τοὺς προεστῶτας, ἔν' ἡ μὴ  
 κατασκευάζεσθαι φθάνωσιν ἢ ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα,  
 94 καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰς ἀναχώρησιν.<sup>1</sup> ἡμᾶς δὲ τί  
 [531] τοιοῦτον ἔδει παθεῖν; | πότε γὰρ εἰς ἀπόστασιν

<sup>1</sup> The word is hopeless. Of the corrections proposed,  
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## FLACCUS, 90-94

sile kind, javelins, slings, bows and arrows! Why! absolutely nothing, not even the knives which suffice the cooks for their daily use. This last in itself 91 showed clearly the simplicity of the life led by people who discarded the expensive habits and luxury which naturally breed that satiety, whose child is the wanton insolence which is the source of all evils.

And yet not long before, when the Egyptians in the 92 country districts had their weapons collected by one Bassus, on whom Flaccus had laid this task, there was a great array of ships to be seen which had sailed to the bank and moored in the harbours of the river brimful of all manner of weapons, also a great number of beasts of burden with spears tied in bundles hung on each side to balance equally. Also there was a procession of waggons sent from the camp, nearly all full of outfits of armour, moving regularly one after the other so as to form a single ordered line, all visible at once, and the space between the harbours and the armoury in the palace where the arms had to be deposited was, taken altogether, about ten stades long. Those who procured these equipments 93 might well have had their houses searched, for they had often revolted and were suspected of favouring sedition. Indeed, the authorities ought to have copied the sacred contests by instituting new triennial celebrations for the collection of arms, so that the Egyptians would not have time to provide them or at least only a few instead of this great quantity, as they had no opportunity for replacing them. But why 94 should we have been subject to anything of the kind?

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*ἀνανέωσις* and *ἀναχώνευσις* ("reforging"), the latter seems the more probable. Considering that it follows on *ἀντὶ πολλῶν δόλῳ*, I should myself prefer *ἀναπλήρωσιν* to *ἀνανέωσιν*.

## PHILO

ὑπωπτεύθημεν; πότε δ' οὐκ εἰρηνικοὶ πᾶσιν  
 ἐνομίσθημεν; τὰ δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα, οἷς καθ' ἐκά-  
 στην ἡμέραν χρώμεθα, οὐκ ἀνεπίληπτα, οὐ συντεί-  
 νοντα πρὸς εὐνομίαν πόλεως καὶ εὐστάθειαν; εἴ  
 γε μὴν εἶχον ὄπλα Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὑπὲρ  
 τετρακοσίας ἀφηρέθησαν οἰκίας, ἐξ ὧν μετα-  
 νάσται ἐγένοντο, φυγαδευθέντες πρὸς τῶν τὰς  
 οὐσίας ἀρπασάντων<sup>1</sup>. διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ  
 τούτοις ἠρεύνησέ τις, τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἴδια ὄπλα,  
 95 ὅσα γοῦν ἤρπασαν, ἔχουσιν; ἀλλ' ἦν,  
 ὡς ἔφην, ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλή τῆς ἀποτομίας  
 Φλάκκου καὶ τῶν ὄχλων, ὧν ἀπέλαυσαν καὶ  
 γυναῖκες. οὐκ ἐν ἀγορᾷ γὰρ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν  
 μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτοι συνηρπάζοντο  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δήποτε συκοφαντού-  
 μεναι παρήγγοντο μετὰ τινος ἀφορήτου καὶ ἀργα-  
 16 λεωτάτης ὕβρεως. εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἐγνωρίσθησαν  
 ἐτέρου γένους, ἀπελύοντο—πολλὰς γὰρ ὡς Ἰουδαίας  
 ἀκριβῆ μὴ ποιούμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἔρευναν  
 συνελάμβανον—, εἰ δ' ἐφάνησαν ἡμέτεραι, προσ-  
 ἔταπτον οἱ ἀντὶ θεατῶν τύραννοι καὶ δεσπότες  
 γεγονότες κρέα χοίρεια διδόναι κομίζοντας. ὅσαι

<sup>1</sup> Mangey, Reiter, etc., take this sentence as a question, and Reiter inserts *ἂν* after ἀφηρέθησαν. But see note a.

<sup>a</sup> This sentence has been taken by other editors as a question (*ἂν* being inserted after ἀφηρέθησαν) and understood to mean "if they had had arms, would they have been stripped of their homes?" This is quite good sense in itself, but what bearing has it on the sequel? As I have taken it, the apodosis is suppressed for the moment, but is understood from the next sentence, *i.e.* "if they had arms, they must have passed into the hands of those who occupied their houses."

## FLACCUS, 94-96

When were we suspected of revolting? When were we not thought to be peacefully inclined to all? Were not our ways of living which we follow day by day blameless and conducive to good order and stability in the State? Indeed, if the Jews did have arms in their possession, they had been dispossessed from over four hundred houses from which they were driven to wander by those who seized their property.<sup>a</sup> Why then did not their despoilers have their property searched, since they would have, if not arms of their own, at any rate those which they had seized?

But the whole proceeding was as I have 95  
said a malicious plot, due to the ruthlessness of Flaccus and the turbulent outbreaks,<sup>b</sup> the effect of which was felt by women also.<sup>c</sup> For they were seized like captives not only in the market-place but also in the middle of the theatre and taken on to the stage on no matter what calumnious charge, meanwhile being subjected to outrage of an intolerable and most barbarous kind. Then, if they were recognized 96  
to be of another race, since many were arrested as Jewesses without any careful investigation of the truth, they were released. But if they were found to be of our nation then these onlookers at a show turned into despotic tyrants and gave orders to fetch swine's flesh and give it to the women. Then all

<sup>b</sup> So rather than "crowds," for which Philo would use the singular; nor does it suit ἀπέλαυσαν so well. For the use cf. τὸ πλῆθος . . . ὄχλων καὶ θορύβων *De Mut.* 144.

<sup>c</sup> Why does Philo bring this account of the women's sufferings in at this point? They belong rather to the pogrom which we left at § 85. Possibly he means that the insult to feminine modesty involved in the investigation just described did not stand alone, though in the account of the atrocities nothing had been said about the women.

## PHILO

μὲν οὖν φόβῳ κολάσεως ἀπεγεύσαντο, μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν προσυπομείνασαι ἀπελύοντο· αἱ δ' ἐγκρατέστεραι βασιανισταῖς παρεδίδοντο πρὸς αἰκίας ἀνηκέστους, ὅπερ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὰς σαφειστάτη πίστις ἐστί.

- 97 XII. Πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτει καὶ ἐπενόει κακοῦν ἡμᾶς. τιμὰς γάρ, ὅσας οἶόν τε ἦν καὶ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ νόμοι, πάσας Γαῖῳ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντες ἔργοις ἀνέδομεν τὸ ψήφισμα αὐτῷ, δεηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένοις οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἵνα διαπέμψηται δι' αὐτοῦ.
- 98 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πολλακίς τῇ κεφαλῇ συνεπινεύσας, ὑπομειδιῶν καὶ γεγανωμένος ἢ προσποιούμενος τὸν ἠδόμενον, “ ἀποδέχομαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ” ἔφη “ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ πέμψω, καθάπερ αἰτεῖσθε, ἢ πρεσβευτοῦ τάξιν ἐκπλήσω, ἵν' αἰσθηται Γάιος τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχαριστίας. μαρτυρήσω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα σύννοια τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς κοσμιότητα καὶ εἰς εὐπίθειαν προστιθεῖς οὐδέν· ἢ γὰρ ἀλήθεια αὐταρκέστατος
- 100 ἔπαινος.” ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι γεγηθότες εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὡς ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρανεγνωσμένου Γαῖῳ τοῦ ψηφίσματος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων πέμπεται μετὰ
- [532] σπουδῆς | ἀνυπέρθeton ἔχει τὴν παρ' ἡγεμονί<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἡμῖν or ὑμῖν.

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<sup>a</sup> The sections which follow describe events which go back to a time previous to those narrated in § 25 and onwards. Philo seems to take this action of Flaccus as his crowning

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## FLACCUS, 96-100

the women who in fear of punishment tasted the meat were dismissed and did not have to bear any further dire maltreatment. But the more resolute were delivered to the tormentors to suffer desperate ill-usage, which is the clearest proof of their entire innocence of wrongdoing.

XII. <sup>a</sup>To all these we have to add that Flaccus had 97 before this been seeking to utilize the emperor to supplement his own efforts to injure us and laid his plans accordingly. We had decreed and ratified with our actions all the tributes to Gaius which were possible and were allowed by the laws and had submitted the decree to Flaccus, begging him since he would not have granted our request for an embassy to provide himself for its transmission. He read it and nodded 98 his head several times in assent at each point, smiled gently, and looked pleased or pretended to be pleased, and said "I commend you all for your piety, and I will send it as you ask or will fulfil the duties of an envoy myself that Gaius may learn your gratitude. I will also testify myself from my own knowledge to 99 your abundantly orderly and loyal behaviour without adding anything else,<sup>b</sup> for the truth in itself is all-sufficient praise." When we heard these promises 100 we rejoiced and were thankful, feeling in our hopefulness as though Gaius had already read the decree. The hope was reasonable, since any communication sent by a viceroy with urgency secures a prompt de-wickedness, and very possibly connects it directly with his fall, perhaps justly. It is quite conceivable that when the insulted Agrippa informed the emperor that Flaccus had suppressed a complimentary address to himself, his animosity against Flaccus was roused to activity.

<sup>b</sup> Or "without adding to the multitude," etc. But the dative of the thing known following *σύνουδα* is not uncommon.

## PHILO

- 101 *διάγνωσιν.* ὁ δὲ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας οἷς δι-  
 ενοήθημεν, οἷς εἶπεν, οἷς ὠμολόγησε, τὸ ψήφισμα  
 παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρακατέσχεν, ἵνα μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'  
 ἡλίον ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὶ νομισθῶμεν. ταῦτ' οὐ  
 διηγρυπνηκότος ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ περιεσκεμμένου  
 τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἀπόνοιαν<sup>1</sup>  
 αὐτοσχεδιάζοντος ἀκαίρῳ φορᾷ καὶ παραγωγῇ τινὶ
- 102 *λογισμοῦ;* θεὸς δ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ᾧ μέλει  
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, τοὺς θῶπας αὐτοῦ  
 λόγους καὶ κεκομφευμένους ἐπὶ φενακισμῷ καὶ τὸ  
 τῆς ἐκνόμου διανοίας βουλευτήριον, ἐν ᾧ κατ-  
 εστρατήγει, προβαλλόμενος, λαβῶν οἶκτον ἡμῶν,  
 ἀφορμὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐμπαρέσχε τοῦ μὴ ψευ-
- 103 *σθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.* Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐπίδημήσας  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς διηγησαμένοις ἡμῖν τὴν ἐκ Φλάκκου  
 γενομένην ἐπιβουλήν ἐπανορθοῦται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ  
 ὑποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαπέμψεσθαι λαβῶν ὡς  
 ἀκούομεν ἔπεμψεν, ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 χρόνου, ὡς οὐκ ὀψέ μαθόντων εὐσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν  
 εὐεργέτην οἶκον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν σπουδασάντων,  
 ἐπηρεῖα δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος τὴν καίριον ἐπίδειξιν
- 104 *ἀφαιρεθέντων.* ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ἤρξατο κονίεσθαι  
 κατ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπέρμαχος μὲν καὶ παραστάτις  
 ἀδικουμένων τιμωρὸς δ' ἀνοσίων καὶ ἔργων καὶ  
 ἀνθρώπων δίκη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καινοτάτην

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *ἐπίνοιαν.*

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "perusal," for *διαγιγνώσκω* is sometimes used for *διαναγιγνώσκω*. Perhaps indeed read *διανόγνωσιν*, which Mangey suggested and Box adopts.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "in the council chamber (or council) of his lawless mind," cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 27. The figure it may be noted is a common one in Philo, cf. *Quod Det.* 40, *De Ebr.*

## FLACCUS, 101-104

cision<sup>a</sup> by the head. But Flaccus, dismissing all con- 101  
sideration for our intentions and his own words and  
agreements, detained the decree in his own possession  
so that it might be supposed that we alone among  
men who dwell under the sun were hostile. Do not  
these actions show long unsleeping vigilance and  
careful preparation of the insidious attack against  
us and that it was not improvised in a fit of insanity,  
in an ill-timed outburst due to some perversion of the  
reason?

But God, it is clear, who takes 102  
care for human affairs, rejected his flattering words  
so elegantly framed to cajole and the treacherous  
counsels against us debated in his lawless mind<sup>b</sup> and  
in His compassion before long provided us with  
grounds for thinking that our hopes would not be  
disappointed. For when King Agrippa visited Alex- 103  
andria and we told him of Flaccus's malignant action,  
he rectified the matter, promised us that he would  
have the decree transmitted and took it and as we  
understand sent it, apologizing also for the delay and  
stating that we had not been slow to learn the duty  
of piety to the house of our benefactors; on the  
contrary we had been eager to show it from the first  
but had been deprived of the chance of proving it in  
good time by the spite of the Governor. At this 104  
point justice, the champion and defender of the  
wronged, the avenger of unholy men and deeds,  
began to enter the lists against him. For in the

165, *De Conf.* 86, *De Dec.* 98. *καταστρατηγέιν* = "to overcome by cunning or treachery" is here used absolutely by Philo, as also in *Legatio* 25, and perhaps *De Dec.* 141. In *De Dec.* 91 we have *καταστρατηγείς τὸν ὄρκον* of making the oath which the judges have sworn of none effect. All the other examples cited by Stephanus have an accusative or genitive following.

PHILO

- ὑπέμεινεν ὕβριν καὶ συμφορὰν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάλαι  
γενομένην ὑπάρχων, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ  
Σεβαστὸς οἶκος ἀνήψατο γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.
- 105 ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν διεπόντων τὰς ἐπι-  
κρατείας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰς  
δυναστείαν καὶ τυραννίδα μεθαρμοσάμενοι, τὰς  
χώρας ἐνέπλησαν κακῶν ἀνηκέστων δωροδοκίας,  
ἀρπαγαῖς, καταδίκαις, τῶν μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκῶτων  
ἐλάσσει καὶ φυγαῖς, τῶν δυνατῶν ἀκρίτοις ἀναι-  
ρέσει· οὗς μετὰ τὸν ὀρισθέντα χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς  
ἐπανελθόντας εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λόγον  
καὶ εὐθύνας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἤτουν, καὶ μάλιστα
- 106 ὁπότε πρεσβεύσαιντο αἱ ἀδικηθεῖσαι πόλεις. τότε  
γὰρ κοινὸς παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς δικαστάς, ἐξ ἴσου  
καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων  
ἀκροώμενοι, μηδενὸς ἀκρίτου προκαταγινώσκειν  
ἀξιοῦντες, ἐβράβευον οὔτε πρὸς ἔχθραν οὔτε πρὸς  
χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ δόξαντα
- 107 εἶναι δίκαια. Φλάκκω δ' οὐ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλ'  
ἐμπροθέσμως προϋπήντησεν ἡ μισοπόνηρος δίκη  
ταῖς ἀμέτροις ὑπερβολαῖς ὧν ἡδίκηει καὶ παρηνόμει  
δυσχεράνασα.
- [533]  
108 XIII. | Γίνεται δ' ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς συλλήψεως  
τοιόσδε. ὑπέλαβεν ἤδη τὸν Γάιον περὶ ὧν ὑποπτος  
ἦν ἐξευμενίσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίοις γράμμασιν,  
ἃ κολακείας ἦν ὑπέρμεστα, τὰ δὲ ἐν οἷς δημηγορῶν  
πολλάκις ἐθεράπευε λόγους θῶπας καὶ μακρὰς  
ρήσεις πεπλασμένων ἐγκωμίων συνείρων, τὰ δὲ  
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα εὐδοκμεῖν παρὰ τῷ πλείστῳ

## FLACCUS, 104-108

first place he was subjected to an unprecedented indignity and disaster such as had not befallen any of the viceroys in the past since the Augustan House assumed the sovereignty of land and sea.

Some, indeed, of those who held governorships in the 105  
time of Tiberius and his father Caesar, had perverted  
their office of guardian and protector into domination  
and tyranny and had spread hopeless misery through  
their territories with their venality, robbery, unjust  
sentences, expulsion and banishment of quite inno-  
cent people, and execution of magnates without  
trial. But these people on their return to Rome,  
after the termination of their time of office, had been  
required by the emperor to render an account and  
submit to scrutiny of their doings, particularly when  
the aggrieved cities sent ambassadors. For on these 106  
occasions the emperors showed themselves impartial  
judges; they listened equally to both the accuser  
and the defender, making it a rule to condemn no  
one offhand without a trial, and awarded what they  
thought to be just, influenced neither by hostility  
nor favour but by what actually was the truth.  
Flaccus, on the other hand, not after his time of office, 107  
but in advance of the regular date, was encountered  
by justice, who hates evil and was indignant at the  
boundless excesses of his unjust and lawless actions.

XIII. The manner of his arrest was as follows. He 108  
supposed that Gaius had been by now propitiated as  
to the matters on which he was under suspicion, partly  
through his written dispatches, which overflowed  
with flattery, partly through the obsequiousness of  
his public harangues, in which he span together  
fawning words and long screeds of insincere en-  
comium, partly again by the high esteem in which

PHILO

- 109 μέρει τῆς πόλεως. ἔλαθε δ' αὐτὸν ἀπατῶν· ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδες, εἰκαζόντων μὲν τὰ χρηστότερα, τὰ δὲ παλίμφημα καὶ ὧν ἄξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσὶ πασχόντων. πέμπεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Βάσσος ἑκατοντάρχης ὑπὸ Γαίου χειροτονηθεὶς μετὰ τῆς τάξεως τῶν
- 110 στρατιωτῶν, ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο. σκάφους δ' ἐπιβάς τῶν μάλιστα ταχυναυτούντων ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πρὸς τοῖς λιμέσι γίνεται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν καὶ κελεύει τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μέχρις ἡλίου καταδύσεως ἔξω θαλαττεύειν, τεχνάζων τὸ ἀνεπίφαντον ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ προαισθόμενον Φλάκκον καὶ βουλευσάμενόν τι νεώτερον ἄπρακτον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι.
- 111 γενομένης δ' ἐσπέρας, ἣ μὲν ναῦς προσέσχεν, ὁ δὲ Βάσσος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβάς προῆει, μήτε γνωρίζων τινὰ μήτε γνωριζόμενος ὑπὸ του, στρατιώτην δέ τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων καθ' ὁδὸν εὐρῶν κελεύει δεικνύναι τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ στρατάρχου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐβούλετο τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἀνενεγκεῖν, ἵνα, κὰν δέῃ πολυχειρίας, ἔχη τὸν
- 112 συναγωνιούμενον. πυθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν ἐστιᾶσθαι παρὰ τινι σὺν Φλάκκῳ, μηδὲν τάχους ἀνείεις συνέτεινεν ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ κεκληκότος οἰκίας—Στεφανίων ἦν τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων, παρ' ᾧ κατήγοντο—καὶ μικρὸν ἄποθεν ὑποστείλας ἐκπέμπει τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευσόμενον εἰς ἀκόλουθον ἀσκήσας, σόφισμα τοῦ μηδένα

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 92. It is somewhat surprising to find another and evidently different Bassus. But the name is too common to justify any suspicion of its genuineness here or there.

<sup>b</sup> More literally "the sentries arrayed in quaternions,"

## FLACCUS, 109-112

he was held by the chief part of the city. But he 109  
 little knew that he was deceiving himself, for the  
 hopes of the wicked are without foundation. Their  
 prognostications are favourable but their experiences  
 fraught with evil omens are what they deserve. A  
 centurion named Bassus<sup>a</sup> was sent from Italy by  
 Gaius's appointment with the company of soldiers  
 which he commanded. Having embarked on one of 110  
 the swiftest sailing ships he arrived in a few days at  
 the harbours of Alexandria, off the island of Pharos, in  
 the late afternoon and bade the pilot wait at sea out-  
 side till sunset, his scheme being to avoid observation,  
 so that Flaccus might not get knowledge of it before-  
 hand and by planning some act of violence, make his  
 mission unsuccessful. When it was evening the ship 111  
 was brought to land and Bassus disembarking with  
 his men went forward without recognizing or being  
 recognized by anyone. And finding on the way a  
 soldier belonging to the quaternions acting as sen-  
 tries,<sup>b</sup> he ordered him to show him the house of the  
 military commander. For he wished to communicate  
 his secret instructions to him so that if a strong force  
 was required he might have someone to support him  
 in the contest. And learning that the commander 112  
 as well as Flaccus was feasting with someone, he  
 hurried with unabated speed to the house of the  
 giver of the feast, by name Stephanio, one of the  
 freedmen of Tiberius Caesar. It was in his house  
 that the two were being entertained, and Bassus  
 keeping in the background a little way off sent on one  
 of his men to reconnoitre attired as an attendant,  
 hoping by this artifice to maintain secrecy. The

*i.e.* the night was divided into four watches and each watch  
 was served by four soldiers. For "quaternions" *cf.* Acts xii. 4.

## PHILO

- συναισθέσθαι. παρελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὡς  
 ἑνός τινος τῶν παρατυγχανόντων οἰκέτης, ἅπαντα  
 μετ' ἀκριβείας περιαθρήσας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐμήνυσε
- 113 τῷ Βάσσῳ. γνούς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἀφύ-  
 λακτον καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ὀλιγότητα—  
 μόλις γὰρ δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν διακονικῶν  
 ἀνδραπόδων ἐπηκολουθήκει—σύνθημα δὸς τοῖς  
 περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέδραμεν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ τῶν στρατιω-  
 τῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπιστάντες ὑπέζω-  
 σμένοι τὰ ξίφη κυκλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οὐ προῖδόμενον·  
 ἐτύγγανε γὰρ καὶ πρόποσίν τινα διδοὺς καὶ φιλο-
- 114 φρονούμενος τοὺς παρόντας. εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ  
 Βάσσου παρελθόντος, ἰδὼν εὐθύς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως  
 ἀχανῆς γίνεται καὶ βουλόμενος ἀναστῆναι, τὴν ἐν  
 κύκλῳ φρουρὰν θεασάμενος, ἔγνω καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι,  
 τί βούλεται Γάιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τί προστέτακται  
 τοῖς ἤκουσι καὶ τί παραντίκα μελλήσει ὑπομένειν·  
 δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ  
 γινόμενα πάνθ' ἅμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀθρόων<sup>1</sup>
- 115 ἀκοῦσαι. τῶν μὲν | οὖν συνδειπνούντων ἕκαστος  
 [534] ἀναστὰς ὑπὸ δέους ἐπεφρίκει καὶ ἐπεπήγει, μὴ τις  
 ὄρισται καὶ τοῦ συνεστιαθῆναι δίκη· φεύγειν γὰρ  
 οὔτ' ἀσφαλὲς ἦν οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐνεδέχето, προκατ-  
 εχομένων τῶν εἰσόδων. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
 τοῦ Βάσσου κελεύσαντος ἀπάγεται, τελευταίαν  
 ταύτην ἀνάλυσιν ἐκ συμποσίου ποιησάμενος· ἔδει  
 γὰρ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἄρξασθαι τὴν δίκην κατὰ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄθροον.



## FLACCUS, 112-115

soldier made his way into the dining-hall in the guise of a servant of one or other of the visitors and having taken a careful look all round returned with his information to Bassus. He, learning the unguarded 113 condition of the entrances and the scantiness of Flaccus's retinue, for barely ten or fifteen of his household slaves had accompanied him, gave the signal to his companions and rushed in suddenly. Some of the soldiers taking their stand along the dining-hall, with swords in their girdles, surrounded Flaccus before he saw them, since he was drinking the health of some particular person and toasting<sup>a</sup> the company. But 114 when Bassus came forward into the middle of the room he saw him and was at once struck speechless with consternation. He wished to rise but when he surveyed the guard around him, he knew even before he heard it what Gaius wanted to do with him and what orders had been given to the newcomers and what would be his fate in the immediate future. For the mind has a marvellous power of seeing all at once and hearing altogether the successive events which will cover a long space of time. As for his fellow- 115 guests, each of them rose shuddering and petrified with fear lest their presence in his company at the feast was a crime destined for punishment. For it was unsafe to fly and, moreover, impossible, since the entrances had been occupied in advance. Flaccus himself at Bassus's orders, was led away by the soldiers. Thus it was from a convivial gathering that he made his final departure, for it was only right that a hospitable hearth should be the scene where justice

<sup>a</sup> According to the lexicons, *φιλοφρονείσθαι* merely means "making himself agreeable to them"; but the context seems to need some specific action which diverted his attention.

## PHILO

μυρίους ἀνεστίους οἴκους οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότων ἀνθρώπων ἐργασαμένου.

- 116 XIV. Τοῦτο καινότερον ὑπέμεινε Φλάκκος ἐν χώρα, ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο, πολεμίου τρόπον ζωγρηθεὶς ἕνεκά μοι δοκῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει λιμοδοξῶν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς συλλήψεως· ἑορτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦν πάνδημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν,
- 117 ἐν ἣ διαγείν Ἰουδαίους ἔθος ἐν σκηναῖς. οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἑορτῇ συνόλως ἀπετελεῖτο, τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔτι καθειργμένων μετὰ τὰς ἀνηκέστους καὶ ἀφορήτους αἰκίας καὶ ὕβρεις, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν τὰς τε ἐκείνων συμφορὰς ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους κοινὰς νομιζόντων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξαιρέτοις, ἃς ἰδίᾳ
- 118 ἕκαστος ὑπέμεινε, οὐ μετρίως κατηφούντων. τὰ γὰρ ἀνιαρὰ διπλασιάζεσθαι φιλεῖ μάλιστα ἐν ἑορταῖς τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις ἑορτάζειν, στερήσει τε ἰλαρὰς εὐθυμίας, ἣν πανήγυρις ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ μετουσία λύπης, ὑφ' ἧς ἐξετραχλίζοντο, μηδὲν ἄκος τῶν τοσοῦτων κακοπραγιῶν ἀνευρεῖν δυνάμενοι.
- 119 σφόδρα δ' ἔχουσιν ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ πεπιεσμένοις ἄχθει βαρυτάτῳ—συνεῖληντο δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἅτε νυκτὸς ἐπεχούσης—ἠκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν γενομένην σύλληψιν. οἱ δ' ἀπόπειραν εἶναι νομίσαντες, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ κατακερτομείσθαι καὶ ἐνεδρεύεσθαι δοκεῖν ὠδυνῶντο.

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<sup>a</sup> Philo means that providence shows itself by sending deliverance just when things are darkest. The festal season, particularly as its chief characteristic, the living in booths, could not be observed, brought their misery to a climax.

<sup>b</sup> Note the imperfect with its sudden change from the general to the particular.

## FLACCUS, 115-119

first fell on one who had destroyed numberless hearths and homes of persons that had done no wrong.

XIV. Such was the unprecedented blow which fell 116 upon Flaccus, carried off like a prisoner in war in the country which he was governing. It was caused, I am convinced, by his treatment of the Jews, whom in his craving for aggrandisement he had resolved to exterminate utterly. We have a clear proof of this also in the time of his arrest,<sup>a</sup> for the Jews were holding then the national feast of the autumn equinox, in which it is the custom of the Jews to live in tents. But nothing at all of the festal proceedings 117 was being carried out. The rulers after suffering deadly and intolerable injuries and outrages were still in prison and their misfortunes were regarded by the commoners as shared by the whole nation, while the special sufferings which each of them experienced individually made them extremely depressed. For 118 painful sensations are apt to double themselves most especially at feast time in persons who are unable to observe the feast, both because they are deprived of the cheerful gaiety which the festal gathering demands and also because they communicate to each other their sorrow—sorrow which in this case <sup>b</sup> laid them prostrate through their powerlessness to find any remedy for their great miseries. They were 119 in this very painful condition oppressed by an overwhelming burden when there came to them while crowded in their houses, because night was falling,<sup>c</sup> some messengers who announced the arrest that had been made. They supposed that it was no true story but something fabricated to try them and were still more pained at what seemed a mockery and a snare.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "was in possession," *i.e.* "had fallen."

## PHILO

- 120 θορύβου δ' ὄντος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄνω κάτω διαθεόντων καὶ τινων ἱππέων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τάχει συντόνω μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀντεξελαυνόντων, τῷ τοῦ πράγματος ἀήθει κινηθέντες τινὲς προῆλθον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν κατὰ πύστιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος·
- 121 ἐφαίνετο γὰρ εἶναι τι νεώτερον. ὡς δ' ἦσθοντο τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ἐντὸς ἀρκύων ἤδη γεγεννημένον, προτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ὕμνον καὶ παιᾶνας ἐξῆρχον εἰς τὸν ἔφορον θεὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, “ οὐκ ἐφηδόμεθα,” λέγοντες, “ ὦ δέσποτα, τιμωρίας ἐχθροῦ, δεδιδαγμένοι πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν· ἀλλὰ σοὶ δικαίως εὐχαριστοῦμεν οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον ἡμῶν λαβόντι καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους |  
[535] κακώσεις ἐπικουφίσαντι.” πάννηχοι δὲ διατελέσαντες ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἔω διὰ πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς ἀφικνοῦνται—τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς ἀφήρηντο—κἀν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν ὁμοθυμαδόν·
- 122 “ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ἀέρα τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων, παρακαλέσοντες εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τὴν σὴν ἤκομεν, οἷς μόνοις ἐνδιδαιτώμεθα, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα δημιουργεῖται πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐληλαμένοι καὶ στερόμενοι πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν πόλει δημοσίων καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν περιβόλων, ἀπόλιδες καὶ ἀνέστιοι μόνοι τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίον ἐξ

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<sup>a</sup> This is the classification natural to the ordinary man, who speaks of what he sees around him, rather than the scientific “four elements.” So of the translators of the LXX

But when a tumult arose in the city and the night- 120  
 watch were running up and down and horsemen  
 busily riding backwards and forwards at full speed  
 to and from the camp, some of them, stirred by so  
 unusual an event, advanced from their houses to get  
 information of what had occurred. For it was clear  
 that there was some upheaval. And when they 121  
 learnt of the arrest and that Flaccus was now within  
 the toils, with hands outstretched to heaven they  
 sang hymns and led songs of triumph to God who  
 watches over human affairs. "We do not rejoice,  
 O Lord," they said, "at the punishment meted to  
 an enemy, for we have been taught by the holy laws  
 to have human sympathy. But we justly give thanks  
 to Thee because Thou has taken pity and compassion  
 on us and relieved our unbroken and ceaseless  
 afflictions." All night long they continued to sing 122  
 hymns and songs of praise and at dawn pouring out  
 through the gates, they made their way to the parts  
 of the beach near at hand, since their meeting-houses  
 had been taken from them, and standing in the most  
 open space cried aloud with one accord "Most 123  
 Mighty King of mortals and immortals, we have come  
 here to call on earth and sea, and air and heaven,<sup>a</sup>  
 into which the universe is partitioned, and on the  
 whole world, to give Thee thanks. They are our only  
 habitation, expelled as we are from all that men have  
 wrought, robbed of our city and the buildings within  
 its walls, public and private, alone of all men under  
 the sun bereft of home and country through the malig-  
 in *Mos.* ii. 37, where these same four as here are called τὰ μέρη  
 τῆς φύσεως (where μέρη should not have been translated  
 "elements"). Cf. also *Mos.* i. 113 and *De Som.* i. 15, though  
 in the last the phrase ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε instead of μέρη is nearer  
 to the scientific conception. See also on *De Act.* 29.

## PHILO

124 ἐπιβουλῆς ἄρχοντος γενόμενοι. χρηστὰς ὑπογράφεις ἡμῖν ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λειπομένων ἐπανορθώσεως, ἥδη ταῖς ἡμετέραις λιταῖς ἀρξάμενος συνεπινεύειν, εἴ γε τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ συμφορῶν ὑφηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον μέγα πνέοντα καὶ οἰηθέντα διὰ ταῦτα εὐδοκιμήσειν ἐξαίφνης καθεῖλες, οὐ πορρωτάτω γενόμενον, ἢν' αἰσθόμενοι δι' ἀκοῆς οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἀμβλύτερον ἡσθῶσι, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς οὕτωςί, μόνον οὐκ ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἡδικημένων, πρὸς τρανότεραν φαντασίαν τῆς ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐπεξόδου."

125 XV. Τρίτον δ' ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις κακείνῳ μοι δοκεῖ θεία προνοία συμβῆναι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναχθεὶς ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος—ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ φοβερῶν ἀπολαῦσαι τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς ἀσεβημάτων ἀναπλήσαντα—μυρία πονηθεὶς μόλις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εὐθὺς ἐκδέχονται τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίας δύο τῶν ἐχθίστων, Ἰσίδωρος

126 τε καὶ Λάμπων, οἳ πρὸ μικροῦ μὲν τάξιν εἶχον ὑπηκόων δεσπότην καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνακαλοῦντες, νυνὶ δ' ἀντιδίκων οὐκ ἰσόρροπον ἀλλὰ δυνατωτέραν ἰσχὺν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐπιδεικνυμένων, οὐ μόνον ἔνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλ', ὃ δὴ μέγιστον ἦν, ὅτι τὸν πρῦτανιν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἐχθρὸν

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "wilt restore what is in an inferior condition" or "fallen behind," a sense which *λείπομαι* sometimes has.

<sup>b</sup> On the common phrase (*cf.* § 152) signifying sometimes pride and sometimes influence see note on *De Virt.* 171.

<sup>c</sup> See further on these two App. p. 532.

## FLACCUS, 124-126

nancy of a governor. Thou givest also a glimpse of 124  
cheering hopes that Thou wilt amend what remains  
for amendment,<sup>a</sup> in that Thou hast already begun to  
assent to our prayers. For the common enemy of  
the nation, under whose leadership and by whose  
instruction these misfortunes have befallen it, who  
in his windy pride <sup>b</sup> thought that they would promote  
him to honour, Thou hast suddenly brought low ; and  
that not when he was afar off, so that they whom he  
ill-treated would hear it by report and have less keen  
pleasure, but just here close at hand almost before  
the eyes of the wronged to give them a clearer picture  
of the swift and un hoped-for visitation."

XV. Besides the two circumstances which I have 125  
mentioned there is a third which seems to me to have  
been brought about by divine providence. He had  
started on his voyage in early winter and endured  
a multitude of hardships, tasting of the terrors of  
the sea also, a just fate for one who had filled the  
elements of the universe with his impious deeds.  
When with difficulty he arrived in Italy the charges  
against him were taken up by two of his worst enemies,  
Isidorus and Lampo.<sup>c</sup> It was not long since these 126  
men had ranked as his subjects and hailed him as  
their master and benefactor and saviour and the like.  
But now they appeared to plead against him with  
a strength which was not a mere match for his but  
vastly more powerful.<sup>d</sup> For not merely had they  
confidence in the justice of their case but their most  
important advantage was that they saw that he who  
presided over human affairs was his mortal enemy,

<sup>a</sup> Here ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος intensifies δυνατωτέραν and marks the contrast to ἰσόρροπον, "so far from being equal it is more powerful with a lot to spare." See note on *De Vit. Cont.* 63.

## PHILO

- έώρων άσπονδον αυτώ, μέλλοντα σχήμα μέν  
 υποδύεσθαι δικαστοῦ, προνοία τοῦ μή δοκεῖν  
 άκρίτου τινός προκαταγνώσκειν, έργον δ' έπι-  
 δείκνυσθαι δυσμενοῦς, πρό κατηγορίας και άπο-  
 λογίας ήδη τή ψυχή κατεγνωκότος και τās άνωτάτω*
- 127 *τιμωρίας ώρικότος έπ' αυτώ. χαλεπόν δ' ουδέν  
 ούτως, ώς ύπ' έλαττόνων κρείττους και προς  
 ύπηκόων άρχοντάς ποτε γενομένους κατηγορεῖσθαι,  
 ώσπερ αν ει και δεσπότας ύπ' οικοτρίβων ή  
 άργυρωνήτων.*
- 128 XVI. *'Αλλ' ήν, ώς έοικε, τουτο κουφότερον  
 κακόν συγκρινόμενον έτέρω μείζονι. ου γάρ  
 άπλην τινα τάξιν έχοντες ύπηκόων αιφνίδιον έπ-  
 [536] έθεντο ταίς κατηγορίαις | έπαποδυσάμενοι και  
 συμφρονήσαντες, αλλά και τον πλείστον χρόνον  
 τής επιτροπής ήν έπετρόπευσε τής χώρας εκ  
 πάντων ουτοι μάλιστ' αυτώ δι' άπεχθείας έγεγέ-  
 νητο. Λάμπων μέν άσεβείας τής εις Τιβέριον  
 Καίσαρα δίκην σχών και επί διετίαν τριβομένου*
- 129 *του πράγματος άπειρηκώς. υπερθέσεις γάρ και  
 αναβολάς ό δικαστής έθελοκακών έσκήπτετο βου-  
 λόμενος, καν άποφύγη τó έγκλημα, τον γοῦν περι  
 μέλλοντος άδηλου<sup>1</sup> φόβον προς μήκιστον χρόνον  
 επικρεμάσας αυτώ ζωήν οδυνηροτέραn θανάτου*
- 130 *παρασχεῖν. ειθ' ύστερον και οτε νικαν έδοξεν,  
 εις την ουσίαν έπηρεασθήναι έφασκεν—ήναγκάσθη  
 γάρ γυμνασιαρχειν—, ήτοι τώ γλίσχρος και ανελεύ-  
 θερος είναι περι τās δαπάνας, προφασιζόμενος τó  
 μή κεκτηθῆσθαι προς τοσαύτην άφθονίαν αναλω-  
 μάτων ικανήν ουσίαν, ή τώ οντι μή κεκτημένος,*

<sup>1</sup> mss. άδηλον (also άδολον and άδικον).



who would assume, indeed, the guise of a judge to save himself from appearing to condemn anyone by anticipation and without trial, but in his actions would be revealed as an enemy, who forestalled the accusation and defence by condemning him already in his soul and had fixed his punishment at the uttermost. And no lot is so hard as for superiors to be ac- 127  
cused by inferiors and rulers by their former subjects ; as well might masters be accused by the slaves whom they have bred in their house or purchased with their money.

XVI. But this as we shall see was a lighter evil 128  
compared with another still greater. For they were not simply in the position of subjects who suddenly attacked him and by mutual agreement addressed themselves to accusing him. On the contrary, throughout the greater part of his time of governorship of the country, they were above all others his bitterest enemies. Lampo had been put on his trial for impiety to Tiberius Caesar and as the trial had dragged on for two years he had broken down under it. For the ill-will of his judge had concocted post- 129  
ponements and delays, as he wished, even if he was acquitted on the charge, to keep hanging over him for as long as possible the fear of the uncertain future, and so render his life more painful than death. Afterwards when he appeared to have won his case 130  
he declared that he was the victim of an outrageous attack upon his property. For he was forced to act as gymnasiarch and protested that he had not sufficient means to meet the great expenses of the office.<sup>a</sup> The excuse may be due to meanness and illiberality in spending his money, or it may be that

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 535.

## PHILO

- ἀλλὰ πρὶν μὲν εἰς ἀπόπειραν ἔλθειν ἐπιφάσκων τὸν πάνυ πλούσιον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ μὴ φανείς ἄγαν πολυχρήματος ἄνθρωπος, ὅσα ἐκτήσατο σχεδὸν
- 131 ἅπαντα ἐξ ἀδικημάτων περιποιησάμενος· προσ-  
 εστὼς γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅποτε δικάζοιεν,<sup>1</sup> ὑπ-  
 εμνηματίζετο τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων ὡς ἔχων τάξιν,<sup>2</sup>  
 εἶτα τὰ μὲν ἀπήλειπεν ἢ παρήει ἐκῶν, τὰ δ' οὐ  
 λεχθέντα προσενέταπτεν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὑψηλ-  
 λάττετο μεταποιῶν καὶ μετατιθεῖς καὶ στρέφων  
 ἄνω κάτω τὰ γράμματα, κατὰ συλλαβὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 καὶ κεραίαν ἐκάστην ἀργυρολογῶν ὁ γραμματο-
- 132 κύφων· ὃν πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ὁμοθυμαδὸν  
 εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως καλαμοσφάκτην ἐξε-  
 κήρυξεν, οἷς ἔγραφε μυρίους [καὶ] ἀνελόντα καὶ  
 ζῶντας ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀπεργασά-  
 μενον, οἱ δυνάμενοι νικᾶν καὶ περιουσιάζειν ἤτταν  
 καὶ πενίαν ἀδικωτάτην ὑπέμειναν, ὠνησαμένων  
 ἀμφοτέρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τοῦ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας
- 133 οὐσίας ἐπευωνίζοντος καὶ πιπράσκοντος. ἀμή-  
 χανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοσαύτης χώρας  
 ἐπιτροπεύοντας, αἰεὶ<sup>3</sup> καινοτέρων ἐπεισερόντων ἰδιω-  
 τικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ἀπάντων  
 μεμνήσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ δικάζοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ λογισμοὺς τῶν προσόδων καὶ δασμῶν λαμ-  
 βάνοντας, ὧν ἡ ἐξέτασις τὸν πλείονα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
- 134 χρόνον ἀνήλισκεν. ὁ δὲ φυλάττειν ἐπιτραπείς τῇν

<sup>1</sup> mss. δικάζοντο.

<sup>2</sup> This can hardly give the required sense, and even with the addition of *τοίανδε* (as in A) is rather otiose. Mangey suggested *ὡς ἔχριεν τάξιν* ("as they came in order"). The suggestion *εἰσαγωγῆς* for *εἰσάγων ὡς* made by Mr. Box in *Class. Quarterly* 1935 seems admirable, if it can be fitted in with the functions here described. On this see App. p. 536.

he really had not the means, and though before the test he had pretended to be quite rich he was shown under examination to be not very wealthy, owning in fact hardly anything beyond the proceeds of his iniquitous deeds.<sup>a</sup> For he stood beside the governors 131 when they were giving judgement, and took the minutes of the cases which he introduced in virtue of this position. He would then expunge some of the evidence or deliberately pass it over and sometimes insert statements which had not been made, sometimes, too, tamper with the documents by remodelling and rearranging them and turning them upside-down, while he picked up money at every syllable, or rather at every jot and tittle, like the paper-porer that he was. Frequently the whole 132 people, truly and appropriately, denounced him as a pen-murderer, whose writings had done multitudes to death and made more miserable than the dead multitudes of the living, who, when they might have won their case and enjoyed abundance, had suffered a defeat and poverty utterly undeserved, both purchased by their enemies from this cheapjack and vendor of other people's property. For it was im- 133 possible that the governors who had the management of so large a territory should keep in mind the perpetual flood of new cases private and public, particularly as they not only acted as judges but received the calculations of revenues and tributes, the scrutiny of which took up the greater part of the year. But 134 Lampo, who was commissioned to guard the most

<sup>a</sup> Philo means that his attempt to avoid the office was discreditable on either supposition. Either he was rich and mean or if he was not rich he had pretended to be rich.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *διὰ*.

## PHILO

ἀναγκαιοτάτην παρακαταθήκην, τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀσιωτάτας γνώμας, ἐνεπορεύετο τὴν λήθην τῶν δικαστῶν, τοὺς μὲν νικᾶν ὀφείλοντας γράφων ἐν ἡττημένοις, τοὺς δ' ἡττᾶσθαι μετὰ τὸν ἐπάρατον μισθὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν τὸ μίσθωμα ἐν νενικηκόσιν.

[537]

135

XVII. | Ὁ μὲν δὴ Λάμπων τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐφειστήκει κατήγορος, ὁ δ' Ἰσίδωρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἄνθρωπος ὀχλικός, δημοκόπος, ταραττειν καὶ συγχέειν πράγματα μεμελετηκῶς, ἐχθρὸς εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐσταθείᾳ, στάσεις καὶ θορύβους κατασκευάσαι μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, γενομένους δὲ συγκροτῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι δεινός, ὄχλον ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον ἐκ μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἡρμοσμένον περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐσπουδακῶς, ὃς εἰς μοίρας καθάπερ τινὰς συμμορίας διανενέμηται.

136 θίασοι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ πολυάνθρωποι, ὧν κατάρχει τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ' ἄκρατος καὶ μέθη καὶ παροινία καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις· σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι προσονομάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν

137 ἐγχωρίων. ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς θιάσοις ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Ἰσίδωρος τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται καὶ λέγεται ὁ συμποσίαρχος,<sup>1</sup> ὁ κλινάρχης, ὁ ταραξίπολις. εἶτα ὅταν τι βουλευθῆ διαπράξασθαι τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν, ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος ἀθρόως συνέρχονται καὶ τὸ

138 κελευσθὲν λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσι. καὶ ποτε τῷ Φλάκκῳ δυσχεράνας, ὅτι δόξας παρ' αὐτῷ τις εἶναι κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως αὐθις ἐσπουδάζετο, μισθοδοτήσας τοὺς ἀλειφοβίους καὶ φωνασκεῖν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ποσίαρχος.

vital trust, justice and the verdicts based with all sanctity on justice, traded on the short memory of the judges and recorded defeat for those who should have had victory and for those who should have been defeated a victory in return for the accursed fee, better described as hire, which he received.

XVII. Such was the Lampo who appeared against 135 Flaccus as an accuser. And with him was Isidorus nothing behind him in villainy, a mob courter, popularity hunter, practised in producing disturbance and confusion, a foe to peace and tranquillity, an adept at creating factions and tumults where they do not exist and organizing and fostering them when made, ever at pains to keep in contact with him an irregular and unstable horde of promiscuous, ill-assorted people, divided up into sections, or what might be called syndicates.

In the city there are clubs 136 with a large membership, whose fellowship is founded on no sound principle but on strong liquor and drunkenness and sottish carousing and their offspring, wantonness. "Synods" and "divans"<sup>a</sup> are the particular names given to them by the people of the country. In all or most of the 137 clubs Isidorus held the first place and was called the feast ruler or divan master and state embroiderer. Then when he wished to get some worthless project carried out, a single call brought them together in a body and they said and did what they were bidden. And at one time being annoyed with Flaccus, because, 138 whereas at first he seemed to be regarded by him as a person of some importance, he afterwards found himself no longer in the same favour, he hired the

<sup>a</sup> As to whether this term implies a religious association or merely one for banqueting, see App. p. 536.

## PHILO

- εἰωθότας, οἱ τὰς καταβολήσεις ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς  
 πιπράσκουσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠνητικῶς, παρακελεύει  
 139 συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες  
 αὐτὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως κατη-  
 γόρουν, ἀγένητα πλάττοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ψευδεῖς  
 ῥήσεις δι' ἀναπαίστων καὶ μακρὰς συνείροντες, ὡς  
 καταπεπλήχθαι μὴ μόνον Φλάκκον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ καί, ὅπερ ἦν, συμβαλεῖν,  
 ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶ τις ᾧ χαρίζονται, μήτ' αὐτοὶ τι  
 πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον μήτε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν εὐ  
 140 εἰδότες πλημμεληθεῖσαν. ἔπειτα βουλευομένοις  
 ἔδοξε συλλαβεῖν τινὰς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀκρίτου  
 καὶ αἰφνιδίουμανίας καὶ λύττης πυνθάνεσθαι. οἱ  
 δὲ συλληφθέντες ἄνευ βασάνων ὁμολογοῦσι τάληθές,  
 ἅμα καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἔργων πίστει ἐφαρμόζοντες,  
 τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν, τὸν ἤδη δεδομένον,  
 τὸν καθ' ὑποσχέσεις ὕστερον δοθησόμενον, τοὺς  
 ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν αἰρεθέντας ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνας τῆς  
 στάσεως, τὸν τόπον, τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἡ  
 141 δωροδοκία. πάντων δ', ὡς εἰκός, ἀγανακτοῦντων  
 καὶ τῆς πόλεως χαλεπῶς φερούσης ἐπὶ τῷ  
 τὴν ἐνίων ἀγνωμοσύνην προσαναμάττεσθαι τοῦνομι'  
 αὐτῆς, ἔδοξε τὸ καθαρῶτατον τοῦ δήμου μετα-  
 πεμψαμένῳ<sup>1</sup> τῇ ὕστεραία παραγαγεῖν τοὺς τὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μεταπεμψάμενον.

<sup>a</sup> Or "touts" (Box). See App. p. 537.

<sup>b</sup> The word φωνασκεῖν, which properly means "exercising" (rather than as L. & S. "training") the voice, does not seem to carry in itself any unfavourable sense. It is applied by Demosthenes to Aeschines in several places (*e.g.* *De Cor.* 308 and *De Fal.* *Leg.* 336), but that Aeschines had a fine voice is recognized. Cf. also Plato, *Legg.* 665 f.

<sup>c</sup> Or possibly literally "in anapaests." See App. p. 537.

beggarly lot<sup>a</sup> who regularly served him as vocalists,<sup>b</sup> the people who sell their yells as in a market to willing purchasers, and ordered them to come to the gymnasium. They filled the building and launched 139 accusations against Flaccus with no foundation, inventing against him things which had never happened and spinning long lying screeds of ribald doggerel,<sup>c</sup> so that not only Flaccus but everyone else was utterly astonished at so unexpected an onset and conjectured, as indeed was the case, that there was surely someone whom they wanted to gratify and that they had never themselves suffered any injury past mending nor had real knowledge of any offence<sup>d</sup> committed 140 against the rest of the State. Then on deliberation the authorities decided to arrest some and ascertain the cause of so reckless and sudden an outburst of insanity. The persons arrested without being put to the question confessed the truth and also added the proofs supplied by the facts, the payment agreed upon, both what had already been given and what was to be given afterwards according to the promises; the persons chosen as ringleaders of the agitation to distribute the money, the place and occasion where and when the act of bribery had taken place. And 141 as everyone was naturally indignant and the city felt annoyed that the senselessness of some persons should also set its stamp<sup>e</sup> upon her name, he decided to summon the most highly respectable part of the public on the morrow and set the dispensers of the

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "knew well that no offence," etc., though in that case the second *μήτε* is wrongly used.

<sup>e</sup> The subject of the infinitive is probably *τοῦνομ'*, not *ἀγνωμοσύνην*, but see App. p. 538. The point of *προσ-* is perhaps that the loss of reputation was an addition to the actual inconvenience caused by the uproar.

## PHILO

μισθὸν ἐπινείμαντας, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπελέγξῃ καὶ ἀπολογήσῃται περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ὡς ἀδίκως διαβληθεῖς. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ [538] τῆς παραγγελίας | οὐχ οἱ ἐν τέλει μόνον ἦκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σύμπασα πόλις, ἔξω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπ-  
 142 ελέγχεσθαι μέρους ἐπὶ τῷ μεμισθοδοτηῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρετήσαντες τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναβιβασθέντες, ἵνα μετέωροι καὶ ἐμφανεῖς εἶεν καὶ γνωρίζοντο πρὸς ἀπάντων, ἤλεγχον τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ὡς αἴτιον τῶν θορύβων καὶ τῶν βλασφημιῶν τῶν εἰς Φλάκκον γενομένων, οὐκ ὀλίγω πλήθει παρασχόντα καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ οἶνον δι'  
 143 αὐτόν.<sup>1</sup> “ἐπεὶ πόθεν” ἔφασκον “ἡμῖν ἀφθονία τοσαύτη; πένητές ἐσμεν καὶ μόλις τοῦφήμερον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πορίζειν δυνάμεθα. τί δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθειμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὡς βιασθῆναι μνησικακεῖν; ἀλλ’ ὁ πάντων αἴτιος καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐκεῖνος, αἰεὶ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι βασκαί-  
 144 ων καὶ εὐνόμῳ καταστάσει πολέμιος.” ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες—τύποι γὰρ τινες ἦσαν ἀρίδηλοι καὶ χαρακτήρες τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τοῦ κατηγορουμένου προαιρέσεως—ἀνεβίων, οἱ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν, οἱ δὲ φυγαδεύειν, οἱ δ’ αἶρειν· πλείους δ’ ἦσαν οὗτοι· πρὸς οὓς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μετεβάλλοντο, ὡς ἅπαντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ κεκραγῆναι, κτείνειν τὸν κοινὸν λυμεῶνα, τὸν ἀφ’ οὗ παρῆλθε

<sup>1</sup> So three mss. of the four. But the sense “on account of him,” *i.e.* Flaccus, is very poor, and I have translated the reading of S δι’ αὐτῶν. A possible alternative would be παρασχόντες (αὐτόν = Isidorus).

<sup>a</sup> Something like this must be the meaning of διακύπτω



## FLACCUS, 141-144

payment before them so that he might both expose Isidorus and defend his own administration against the aspersions unjustly cast upon him. But on hearing the summons there came not only persons in high position but the whole city except that part whose acceptance of payment was to be exposed. And those who had served in this glorious capacity, being set on a platform so that in this conspicuous elevation they might be recognized by all, gave proof that Isidorus was responsible for the tumults and slanders against Flaccus and had employed them to supply both money and wine to no small number of people. "Whence," they asked, "could we have had all this money to squander? We are poor people scarcely able to provide the daily wage needed to purchase absolute necessities. What terrible grievance had we suffered from the governor that we should be compelled to cherish a grudge against him? No! The author and creator of all these things is that Isidorus ever envious of the prosperous and the foe of law-abiding tranquillity." The audience, recognizing the truth of this, since the statement clearly represented and indicated the motives and intention of the accused, shouted out some for disfranchisement, some for banishment, some for death. These last were the majority and the rest came over and joined them so that they all cried out with one heart and voice, "Slay the ruiner of all alike, who ever since he came to the front and wormed his way<sup>a</sup> into state

here and it is a fairly natural development from the original meaning of "stoop through." But there is little authority for such a development, at any rate in Philo. He uses the word at least fourteen times, but never except here in any other sense than to look or peer into, suggesting minute examination.

## PHILO

- καὶ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, μηδὲν μέρος τῆς πόλεως  
 145 ἄνοσον εἶσαντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔνεκα τοῦ συνειδότητος  
 ἀπεδίδρασκε σύλληψιν εὐλαβηθείς· ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος  
 οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιειργάζετο, νομίσας ἐκποδῶν  
 ἔκουσίῳ γνώμῃ γεγονότος ἀστασίαστα καὶ ἀνερί-  
 θευτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι.
- 146 XVIII. Ταῦτ' ἐμήκυνα, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παλαιῶν  
 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ τεθαυμακῶς τὴν  
 ἔφορον τῶν ἀνθρωπέων δίκην, ὅτι οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 γενόμενοι δυσμενεῖς αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἐκ πάντων ἀπηχ-  
 θάνετο καὶ ἐκκληρώσαντο τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίαν  
 εἰς ἀνίας ὑπερβολήν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸν τὸ  
 ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὡς τὸ πρὸς ὁμολογουμένων ἐχθρῶν.
- 147 ὁ δ' οὐ κατηγορήθη μόνον, ἀρχῶν πρὸς ὑπηκόων  
 καὶ ὑπὸ δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ γενομένων ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ  
 κύριος ὢν τῆς ἐκατέρου ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος  
 ἠλίσκετο, διπλοῦν ἐκδεχόμενος κακόν, τὸ μεθ'  
 ἡττης γελαῖσθαι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐφηδομένων, ὃ καὶ  
 θανάτου χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν.
- 148 εἰτά τις εὐφορία γίνεται κακοπραγιῶν αὐτῷ· τῆς  
 τε γὰρ οὐσίας ἀπάσης εὐθὺς ἐξίσταται, ἣν τε παρὰ  
 γονέων ἐκληρονόμησε καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο,  
 φιλόκοσμος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονώς. οὐ γὰρ ὡς  
 [539] | ἐνίων πολυχρημάτων ὁ πλοῦτος ἀργὸς ἦν ὕλη,  
 πάντα δ' ἐξητασμένα πρὸς τὸ περιέργον, ἐκπώματα,  
 ἐσθῆτες, στρωμαί, ἔπιπλα, τᾶλλα ὅσα οἰκίας κό-
- 149 σμος, ἔκλογα πάντα· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ οἰκετικὴ  
 θεραπεία, ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν  
 σωμάτων εὐμορφίας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ κατὰ  
 τὸ ἄπταιστον ἐν τῷ χρειώδει τῶν ὑψηρεσιῶν· ἐφ'

## FLACCUS, 144-149

affairs, has let no part of the city remain untainted." Fearing arrest, Isidorus fled conscious-stricken, but 145 Flaccus took no trouble about him, thinking that, since he was out of the way by his own freewill, the life of the city could now go on undisturbed by faction and intrigue.

XVIII. I have described these events at length, 146 not in order to recall long-past iniquities but to extol the justice which watches over human affairs, because, to those who had been hostile to him from the first and of all his foes the most bitter it also fell to conduct his arraignment and so magnify his afflictions to the uttermost. For arraignment is not by itself so grievous as when it is brought by admitted foes. Not only was he accused, a ruler by his subjects, a 147 potentate who but now had the life of both in his hands by inveterate enemies, but he was also condemned, suffering thereby a mighty twofold blow in that his fall was coupled with the laughter of gloat-ing enemies, which to men of good sense is worse even than death.

Then there came to 148 him a rich harvest of misfortunes. He was at once deprived of all his property, both what he inherited from his parents and what he acquired himself. For his taste for things ornamental was quite exceptional. Wealth was not with him as it is with some rich men inert matter, but everything had been carefully selected for its elaborate workmanship, his cups, clothes, coverlets, utensils and all the other ornaments of the house, all were of the choicest: besides these 149 the staff of household slaves had been picked as the best for comeliness of form and fine condition and the faultless way in which they ministered to the needs of their master. For whatever tasks they were

## PHILO

ὧν γὰρ ἦσαν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, διέφερον, ὡς ἢ  
 150 πρῶτοι νομίζεσθαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδευόντων ἢ  
 μηδενὸς δεύτεροι τὸ παράπαν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις  
 τὸ μυρίων δημοπράτων γενομένων οὐσιῶν, αἱ τῶν  
 κατακρίτων ἦσαν, μόνην τὴν τοῦ Φλάκκου ταμειυ-  
 θῆναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, δίχα τινῶν ὀλίγων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 μὴ παραβιβασθῆναι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἑαλωκόσι  
 151 τεθέντα νόμον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας  
 κατέγνωστο αὐτοῦ φυγή, καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης μὲν ἡλαύ-  
 νετο τῆς ἠπείρου—τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μείζον καὶ ἄμεινον  
 τμήμα τῆς οἰκουμένης—, ἐξ ἀπάσης δὲ νήσου τῶν  
 εὐδαιμόνων. ἐμέλλησε γὰρ εἰς τὴν λυπροτάτην  
 τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ—Γύαρα καλεῖται—διώκεσθαι, μὴ  
 παρακλήτῳ χρησάμενος Λεπίδῳ, δι' ὃν ἀνθυπηλ-  
 152 λάξατο Γυάρων Ἄνδρον ἐγγυτάτῳ κειμένην. εἰτ'  
 ἐστέλλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου πάλιν  
 ὁδόν, ἣν καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἐστείλατο, καθ' ὃν  
 καιρὸν κεχειροτόνητο τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου  
 Λιβύης ἐπίτροπος, ἵν' αἱ τότε θεασάμεναι πόλεις  
 αὐτὸν μέγα πνέοντα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς εὐτυχίας  
 ἐπιδεικνύμενον πάλιν θεάσωνται μεστὸν ἀτιμίας.  
 153 ὁ δὲ δακτυλοδεικτούμενος καὶ ὄνειδιζόμενος τῆς  
 ἀθροῆς μεταβολῆς πιέζεται βαρυτέρας ἀνίας, αἰεὶ  
 καινουμένης<sup>1</sup> καὶ ζωπυρουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς  
 νεωτέρων <κακῶν> προσθήκαις, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καινουμένης.

<sup>a</sup> For Gyara or Gyaros as the proverbial place for “deportatio” see Mayor’s note on *Juv. i. 73* “*aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.*”

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps “and reproached for the complete (or overwhelming) change.” My only objections to this are that I do not know what authority there is for this genitive after *ὄνειδίζω*, and the “complete change” is hardly a matter for

severally appointed to do they excelled in, so that they were held to stand either first among those who performed the same functions or certainly second to none. A clear proof of this is that while a vast number of 150 properties belonging to condemned persons were sold by public auction, that of Flaccus alone was reserved for the emperor, a few articles only being excepted so as not to run counter to the law enacted about persons convicted on these grounds. And when his 151 property had been taken from him he was sentenced to banishment and expelled not only from the whole continent, which is the larger and better section of the habitable world, but also from every one of the islands in which life can prosper. For he was to be exiled to the most miserable of the Aegean islands, called Gyara,<sup>a</sup> had he not found an intercessor in Lepidus who enabled him to exchange Gyara for Andros, the island which lies nearest to it. He then again 152 travelled along the road from Rome to Brundisium which he had travelled a few years before at the time when he had been appointed a governor of Egypt and its neighbour Libya, so that the cities which then beheld him puffed with pride, parading the grandeur of his good fortune, might once more behold him covered with dishonour instead. As fingers pointed 153 at him and reproaches poured upon him he was oppressed by the heavier afflictions caused by the change which had overwhelmed him,<sup>b</sup> for his misery was ever being renewed and rekindled by the accession of fresh troubles which also forcibly brought back, reproaches, which I should suppose were pointed against real or supposed misdeeds. If the translation is right the meaning is that the finger-pointing and reproaches affected him comparatively little, because the sense of ruin occupied his mind.

## PHILO

νόσοις ὑποτροπιάζειν ἀναγκάζει<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων κακοπραγιῶν ὑπομνήσεις, αἱ τέως ἔδοξαν ἡμαυρῶσθαι.

- 154 XIX. Περαιωσάμενος δὲ τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον ἔπλει τὴν ἄχρι Κορίνθου θάλατταν, ταῖς παράλοις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων θεῶν γινόμενος κατὰ πύστιν τῆς αἰφνιδίου μεταβολῆς· ὅποτε γὰρ ἀποβαίῃ τῆς νεώς, συνέθεον οἱ μὲν μοχθηροὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐθελοκακοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συναλγήσοντες, οἷς
- 155 ἔθος ταῖς ἐτέρων τύχαις σωφρονίζεσθαι. διελθὼν δ' ἀπὸ Λεχαιῶν τὸν Ἴσθμόν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν θάλατταν καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Κεγχρεάς, τὸ Κορίνθιον ἐπίνειον, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἀναχώρησιν οὐδ' ἠντιναοῦν ἐνδιδόντων εὐθύς ἐπιβὰς
- [540] βραχείας ὀλκάδος | ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ πνεύματος ἐναντίου καταρραγέντος μυρία ταλαιπωρηθεὶς μόλις
- 156 ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατασύρεται. λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, παραμειψάμενος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄχρι τῆς Σουνιάδος ἄκρας τὰς ἐξῆς λοιπὸν ἐπεραιούτο νήσους, τὴν Ἑλένην, τὴν Κίαν, τὴν Κύθνον, τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι κεῖνται στοιχηδὸν ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς ἐφ' ἣν τελευταίαν ἐλθεῖν ἔδει, τὴν Ἀνδριῶν.
- 157 ἣν πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν ὁ κακοδαίμων δακρύων τινὰ

<sup>1</sup> Mangey suggested ὑποτροπιαζούσαις ἀνάγει which Box has adopted. See note a.

<sup>a</sup> Literally "which force the recollections to recur." The whole sentence is rather vague and wordy, but I see little or no difficulty in the text, whereas Mangey's would give a difficult order in ἐν ταῖς νόσοις ὑποτροπ. for ἐν ταῖς ὑ. ν. ὑποτροπιάζω is a medical term which can be applied to the

like symptoms recurring in sickness, recollections of past mishaps which seemed for a while to have been dulled.<sup>a</sup>

XIX. Having passed through the Ionian Gulf he sailed upon the sea which extends to Corinth, a spectacle to the Peloponnesian cities on the seaboard when they heard of his sudden change of fortune. For whenever he disembarked the people flocked thither, the baser natures out of malice, the rest, whose way is to find lessons of wisdom in the fate of others, to sympathize. And crossing the Isthmus from Lechaëum to the opposite coast and coming down to Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, he was forced by his guards, who refused him any kind of intermission, to embark at once on a small merchant vessel and put to sea, where under the violence of a contrary wind he suffered a thousand discomforts and only with difficulty arrived storm-tossed<sup>b</sup> at the Peiræus. When the tempest ceased he coasted along Attica to Cape Sunium and then continued his journey along the series of islands, namely Helene, Cia, Cythnus and the rest, which lie in a row one after the other, to that which was to be the end of his journey, the island of the Andrians.

When he saw it afar off the miserable man let a stream of tears pour

disease which recurs as in § 182, to the things (*i.e.* symptoms) which recur in diseases as here, and to the patient who relapses into his old disease (*ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον*) as in *De Mig.* 150. The only slight difficulty is that *καί*, which brings out that new misfortunes remind us of the old, besides the actual misery which they give, should come before *ὑποτροπ. ἀναγκ.* instead of after it. But I do not think that Philo is very particular where he places his *καί*.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "kept being swept down," a phrase which would naturally suggest a rapid passage, the reverse of *μόλις*. Here "was swept about till he reached Peiræus."

## PHILO

φορὰν ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐξέχει κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν  
 καὶ τὰ στέρνα πλήξας, πικρότατα ἀνοιμώξας,  
 “ ἄνδρες,” εἶπεν, “ οἱ φύλακές μου καὶ προπομποί,  
 καλήν γε χώραν Ἄνδρον, οὐκ εὐτυχῆ νῆσον, τῆς  
 158 εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας ἀνθυπαλλάττομαι, Φλάκκος, ὁ  
 γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐν τῇ  
 ἡγεμονίδι Ῥώμῃ, συμφοιτητῆς δὲ καὶ συμβιωτῆς  
 γενόμενος τῶν θυγατριδῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κριθεὶς  
 δὲ τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβεριῷ Καίσαρι καὶ  
 159 ἕξαετιαν ἐπιτραπεῖς. τίς ἢ τοσαύτη μεταβολή;  
 νῦξ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καθάπερ ἐκλείψεως γενομένης, τὸν  
 ἐμὸν ἐπέσχηκε βίον. τὴν νησίδα ταύτην τί φῶ;  
 πότερον φυγαδευτήριον ἐμὸν ἢ πατρίδα καινήν,<sup>1</sup>  
 ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀτυχῆ; τάφος ἂν εἴη  
 τὸ κυριώτατον αὐτῆς ὄνομα. στέλλομαι γὰρ ὁ  
 κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ τρόπον τινὰ νεκροφορῶν ἐμαντὸν  
 ὡσπερ εἰς ἡρίον· ἢ γὰρ ταῖς ἀνίαις τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν  
 ἀπορρήξω ἢ, κὰν ἐπιβιώσαις δυνηθῶ, τὸν μακρὸν  
 160 καὶ σὺν αἰσθήσει θάνατον ἐκδέξομαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 τοιαῦτα ἀπωδύρετο. τῆς δὲ νεὼς τῷ λιμένι προσ-  
 σχούσης, ἀπέβαινε πᾶς εἰς τοῦδαφος νεύων, ὡσπερ  
 οἱ θλιβόμενοι πρὸς ἄχθους βαρυτάτου, τὸν αὐχένα  
 ταῖς συμφοραῖς πιεζόμενος, οὐδ’ ὅσον ἀνακύψαι  
 σθένων ἢ μὴ τολμῶν διὰ τοὺς συναντῶντας καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἦκοντας, οἱ παρ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς ὁδοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κενήν.

<sup>a</sup> “ Sons of daughters,” *i.e.* the sons of Julia by her second husband M. Agrippa. These were C. Caesar, L. Caesar and Agrippa Postumus, all of whom died young. As the eldest would have been 58 at the time of Flaccus’s banishment,



down his cheeks as from a fountain and smiting his breast with bitter wailing cried " Oh my guards and escort, it is for this fine land of Andros, this unblest island that I exchange happy Italy, I, Flaccus, 158 who was born and reared and educated in sovereign Rome, the school-mate and familiar associate of the grandsons<sup>a</sup> of Augustus, chosen at the court of Tiberius to be among his foremost friends, entrusted for six years with the charge of Egypt the greatest of his possessions? This great reversal what does it 159 mean? A night in daytime as in an eclipse has taken possession of my life. This petty island what shall I call it? My home of exile,<sup>b</sup> or a new fatherland, a hapless haven and refuge? A tomb would be its truest name, for as I journey in my misery it is as though I were bearing the corpse that is myself to a sepulchre. For either through my afflictions I shall break the thread of my miserable life, or even, if I am able to survive die a long drawn-out death in which consciousness still lives." In such wise did 160 he lament and when the ship put in at the haven he got out with his whole body bowing down to the ground, as people do under the pressure of an exceedingly heavy load, his neck over-weighted with his misfortunes, lacking either the strength even to lift his head, or else the courage to face those who met him and came to gaze at him as they stood in

and the youngest 50, we get a hint of Flaccus's age which is not, I think, found elsewhere.

<sup>b</sup> So perhaps rather than "city of refuge," and so avoid the tautology with *καταφυγήν*. Elsewhere Philo uses the word only in reproducing the LXX of Num. xxxv. 12, etc., for the "Cities of Refuge." But in dealing with *φυγή* he passes very easily from refuge to banishment, and the Cities themselves are regarded as places of exile in *De Fug.* 100 f.

## PHILO

- 161 προεισηγήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ παραπέμφαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀγαγόντες τῶν Ἀνδρίων ἐπεδείξαντο πᾶσι, μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι τῆς εἰς τὴν
- 162 νῆσον ἀφίξεως τοῦ φυγάδος. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν διακονίαν ἐκπλήσαντες ἀπήεσαν· τῷ δὲ Φλάκκῳ μηδεμίαν ὄψιν οἰκείαν ἔτι θεωμένῳ τὸ πάθος ἐκαινοῦτο τρανότερον φαντασίαις ἐναργεστέραις· καὶ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ κατανοοῦντι πολλὴν ἐρημίαν, ἧς μέσος ἀπειλήπτο, κουφότερον ἐδόκει κακὸν ἢ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι βίαιος ἀναίρεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ συγκρίσει
- [541] τῶν παρόντων ἀσπαστὸν ἀγαθόν. | οὕτως ἐσφάδαζεν, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μεμνηνόντων διαφέρειν· ἐπήδα πολλάκις ἄνω κάτω διαθέων, τὰς χεῖρας συνεκρότει, τοὺς μηροὺς ἔπαιε, κατέβαλεν εἰς τοῦδαφος ἑαυτόν,
- 163 ἐξεφώνει πολλάκις· “ ἐγὼ Φλάκκος εἰμί, ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἢ πολυπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγεμῶν, ὁ τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης χώρας ἐπίτροπος Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ὃν ἐπέστρεφον αἱ τοσαῦται μυριάδες τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὁ δυνάμεις πολλὰς πεζὰς καὶ ἵππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως ἄλλ’ ὅσον δοκιμώτατον ἐν ὑπηκόοις ἔχων, ὁ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις ὑπὸ μυρίων ὄσων
- 164 παραπεμπόμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ φάσμα ταῦτ’ ἦν, οὐκ ἀλήθεια; καὶ κοιμώμενος ὄναρ εἶδον τὴν τότε εὐθυμίαν, εἶδωλα κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνοντα, πλάσματα ψυχῆς ἴσως ἀναγραφούσης τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα ὡς
- 165 ὄντα; διηπάτημαι· σκιὰ πραγμάτων ἄρ’ ἦσαν, οὐ πράγματα, μίμησις ἐναργείας, οὐκ ἐνάργεια τρα-

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<sup>a</sup> Or “ so violent was his emotion.” That is to say σφάδαζεν in Philo nearly always suggests strong mental emotion,

## FLACCUS, 161-165

front on either side of the road. His 161  
escort brought him to the popular assembly of the  
Andrians and exhibited him to them all, calling them  
to witness to the arrival of the exile at the island.  
Then having fulfilled their service they departed, 162  
but Flaccus having no longer before his eyes any  
familiar face felt his sufferings renewed thereby more  
poignantly as his imaginations grew more vivid. And  
gazing at the wide desolation around him, in the  
midst of which he was isolated, it seemed to him  
that a death by violence in his native land would  
be the lighter evil, or rather in comparison with his  
present plight a welcome boon. His wild gesticu-  
lations<sup>a</sup> were just like those of a madman. He  
would often jump about, run up and down, clash his  
hands together, smite his thighs, fling himself on  
the ground and often cry out, " I am Flaccus, who 163  
but now was governor of Alexandria, that great city,  
or multitude of cities, ruler of the highly blest land  
of Egypt, to whom so many thousands of inhabitants  
paid regard, who had among his subjects great forces  
of infantry, cavalry, naval, not a mere lot of counters  
but all men of the best-proved excellence, who every  
day when I proceeded forth went escorted by a host  
of followers. But was this then a phantom, not the 164  
truth? Was I asleep and dreamt the light-hearted-  
ness of those days, saw but spectres moving in a void,  
figments of a soul which recorded as we may suppose  
things which had no existence as though they were?  
Yes, I have been deluded. They were the shadow 165  
of realities, not the realities themselves, a counterfeit  
of clear vision, not the clear vision which exposes the  
but does not necessarily imply that the violence has any special  
outward expression. See further App. p. 538.

## PHILO

ουσα τὸ ψεῦδος. ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀνείροις φανέντων οὐδὲν περιαναστάντες εὐρίσκομεν, ἀλλ' οἴχεται πάντα ἄθροα διαπτάντα, οὕτως καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκεῖνα, οἷς ποτε ἐνωμίλησα, ἐσβέσθη βραχυτάτη καιροῦ ῥοπή.”

- 166 XX. Τοιούτοις ἀεὶ κατεπαλαίετο λογισμοῖς καὶ τρόπον τινα ἐξετραχλιζετο· τὰς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν συνόδους ἀποδιδράσκων διὰ τὴν παρακολουθοῦσαν αἰσχύνην οὐτ' εἰς λιμένα κατῆει οὐτ' εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' οἴκοι συγκλεισάμενος ἐφώλευε, μηδὲ τὴν αὐλιον ὑπερβαίνειν θαρρῶν.
- 167 ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον, ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν εὐναῖς ὄντων, μηδενὶ φανεῖς τὸ παράπαν ἔξω τείχους προῆει καὶ διημέρευεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἐκτρεπόμενος. εἴ πού τις ὑπαντήσειεν ἔμελλε, καὶ ταῖς ἐναύλοις μνήμαις τῶν κακοπραγιῶν διακναιόμενος καὶ διεσθιόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δειλαιος, νυκτὸς εἰσῆει βαθείας, εὐχόμενος διὰ τὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους ἀδημονίας ἐσπέραν μὲν πρῶϊαν γενέσθαι, πεφρικῶς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὰς ἀλλοκότους φαντασίας, ὅποτε τύχοι καταδαρθῶν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἔω πάλιν ἐσπέραν· ὁ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ζόφος ἦναν-
- 168 τιοῦτο τοῖς φαιδροῖς ἅπασιν. ὀλίγοις δ' ὕστερον μῆσι βραχὺ τι γῆδιον πριάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διέτριβε μονούμενος καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπι-

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<sup>a</sup> So perhaps simply, though the examples of ῥοπή= “moment” without qualification are principally from the LXX. Otherwise more exactly “by a momentary change in what time brings,” *i.e.* in fortune. Cf. *καιρῶν ὀξείαις μεταβολαῖς De Post.* 113.

## FLACCUS, 165-168

falsehood to the light. For just as when we wake up we find nothing of what we saw in our dreams, but all are gone and have taken flight together, so, too, that brightness which surrounded my life has been quenched in one short moment of time.”<sup>a</sup>

XX. Such were the thoughts which held him ever 166  
firmly in their grip and so to speak flung him prostrate  
to the ground. He shunned meeting with people  
in large numbers because of the sense of shame which  
accompanied him. He did not go down to the  
harbour nor bring himself to enter the market but  
shut himself at home and there lay hidden not having  
even the courage to pass the threshold. Sometimes, 167  
too, in the dark hours of the morning when everyone  
else was still in bed he would come out without a soul  
seeing him and advance outside the wall and spend  
the day in the solitude, turning aside if anyone was  
about to meet him, his soul lacerated, poor wretch,  
and devoured by the vivid memories of his calamities.  
Then when the night had quite closed in he  
would go indoors, praying in his endless and bound-  
less sorrow that the evening might be morning, so  
much did he dread the darkness and the weird  
visions which it gave him, if he chanced to fall asleep.  
So in the morning again he prayed for evening, for  
to the gloom that surrounded him everything bright  
was repugnant.<sup>b</sup> A few months later he 168  
bought a small piece of ground and spent much of  
his time there in solitude, bewailing with tears and

<sup>b</sup> Clearly a reminiscence of the curse in Deut. xxviii. 67  
“ In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even !  
and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning ! ”  
See note on *De Praem.* 151, where as here Philo takes the  
words which follow “ for the sight of thine eyes which thou  
shalt see ” to refer to the awful dreams seen by the accursed.

## PHILO

- 169 στένων καὶ κατακλαίων δαίμονα. λέγεται δέ ποτε  
 [542] καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὥσπερ οἱ | κορυβαντιῶντες  
 ἔνθους γενόμενος, ἐκ τῆς ἐπαύλευς ἕξω προελθὼν  
 καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀσ-  
 τέρας, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον ὄντως ἰδὼν, ἀναβοῆ-  
 170 σαι· “ βασιλεῦ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἄρα τοῦ  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀμελῶς ἔχεις, οὐδ’ ἐπιψεύ-  
 δονται τὴν ἐκ σοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι φασὶν αὐτοὺς  
 μὴ προαγωνιστῆ σοι καὶ ὑπερμάχῳ χρῆσθαι, δόξης  
 ὑγιοῦς διαμαρτάνουσι. σαφῆς δ’ ἐγὼ πίστις· ὅσα  
 171 γὰρ κατεμάνην τῶν Ἰουδαίων, αὐτὸς πέπονθα. τὰς  
 οὐσίας ἀρπαζομένων περιεῖδον ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς λεη-  
 λατοῦσι διδούς· ἀφηρέθην διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πατρῶα καὶ  
 μητρῶα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μέρει χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς  
 ἔλαβον ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα καθ’ ἐτέρας ἰδέας ἐκτησάμην.  
 172 ὠνείδισά ποτε ἀτιμίαν καὶ ξενιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτί-  
 μοις οὔσι κατοίκους, ἵν’ ἡσθῶσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι,  
 πλῆθος ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον, ὑφ’ οὗ κολα-  
 κευόμενος ὁ δυστυχῆς ἡπατώμην· διὰ τοῦτο ἡτί-  
 μωμαι καὶ φυγὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐληλαμένος τῆς  
 173 οἰκουμένης ἐνταυθοῖ συγκέκλεισμαι. παράγων εἰς  
 τὸ θέατρον ἐνίους ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν ἐχθίστων αἰκίζεσθαι  
 προσέταπτον ἀδίκως· τοιγαροῦν ἐγὼ δικαίως οὐκ  
 εἰς θέατρον ἐν ἣ μίαν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις  
 ὕβρεσι παρήχθην αἰκισθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν  
 ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ’ ἐπόμπευσα διὰ μὲν πάσης  
 Ἰταλίας ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου, διὰ δὲ πάσης Πελο-  
 ποννήσου μέχρι Κορίνθου, διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ

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“ Lit. “ his peculiar fate.” οἰκεῖον seems pleonastic, but expresses, perhaps, the feeling of one who asks “ Why should I in particular have this fate?” See however on *De Prov.* 8.

## FLACCUS, 169-173

groans that such should be his fate.<sup>a</sup> It is said that 169  
once about midnight he became possessed as in a  
Corybantic frenzy, and coming out of the shelter put  
up there turned his eyes to heaven and the stars,  
and beholding that veritable world within a world,<sup>b</sup>  
lifted up his voice. "King of gods and men," he 170  
cried, "so then Thou dost not disregard the nation  
of the Jews, nor do they misreport Thy Providence,  
but all who say that they do not find in Thee a  
Champion and Defender, go astray from the true  
creed. I am a clear proof of this, for all the acts  
which I madly committed against the Jews I have  
suffered myself. I allowed them to be robbed 171  
of their possessions by giving free licence to the  
plunderers. For that I had taken from me my heri-  
tage from father and mother and all I received by  
way of benefactions and gifts and other possessions  
which do not fall under this head. I cast on them the 172  
slur that they were foreigners without civic rights,  
though they were inhabitants with full franchise,  
just to please their adversaries, a disorderly and  
unstable horde, whose flattery, to my sorrow, deceived  
me, and, therefore, I have lost my rights and have  
been driven in exile from all the habitable world  
to be shut up here. Some I marched into the theatre 173  
and ordered them to be maltreated before the eyes  
of their bitterest enemies unjustly, and, therefore,  
justly was I maltreated in my miserable soul rather  
than in my body, with the utmost contumely; I was not  
indeed marched into one theatre or one city but was  
paraded through all Italy to Brundisium and through  
all the Peloponnese to Corinth and past Attica and

<sup>b</sup> The thought occurs also in *De Abr.* 159 and *De Praem.*  
41. Cf. *De Aet.* 4.

## PHILO

- 174 τῶν νήσων ἄχρις Ἄνδρου, τῆς ἐμῆς εἰρκτῆς. καὶ πέπεισμαι σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὄρος οὗτος τῶν ἐμῶν κακοπραγιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἕτεραι πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἀντίρροπον ὧν εἰργασάμην. ἀνεῖλόν τινας καὶ ἀναιρεθεῖσι πρὸς ἐτέρων οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθον· κατελεύσθησάν τινες καὶ ζῶντες οἱ μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μέσης κατεσύρησαν ἀγορᾶς, ἕως
- 175 ὅλα τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἐδαπανήθη. τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι ἀναμένουσί με αἱ Ποιναί, καὶ οἱ ἀλάστορες ὡσπερ ἐπὶ βαλβῖσιν ἐστᾶσιν ἤδη καὶ φωνῶντες ἔγκεινται, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὥραν, προαποθνήσκω πολλοὺς θανάτους ὑπομένων
- 176 ἀνθ' ἐνὸς τοῦ τελευταίου." πολλάκις δὲ ἐδειματοῦτο καὶ διεπτόητο καὶ φρίκη μὲν τὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατεσειέτο, φόβῳ δ' ὑπότρομον εἶχε τὴν ψυχὴν ἄσθματι καὶ παλμῶ τινασσομένην, ἅτε τοῦ μόνου παρηγορεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐκ φύσεως δυναμένου στερόμενος, χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος.
- 177 ὄρνις αἰσιος οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προυφαίνετο· πάντες δυσοιώνιστοι, κληδόνες παλίμφημοι, ἐπίπονος ἐγρήγορσις, περιδεῆς ὕπνος, ἢ μόνωσις θηριώδης. ἀλλ' ἠδιστον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγελαῖον; ἀηδέστατον αἱ |
- [543] κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαί· ἀσφαλὲς ὄνειδος ἢ κατ' ἀγρὸν ἐρημία; σφαλερόν, ἀδυσώπητον. ὁ ἡρέμα προσιῶν
- 178 ὑποπτος· "βουλεύεται τι" φησὶ "κατ' ἐμοῦ· ὁ θᾶπτον βαδίζων οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σπεύδων ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ διώκει<sup>1</sup>. ὁ ἡδὺς ἐνεδρεύει, ὁ παρησιαστῆς καταφρονεῖ· σιτία μοι καὶ ποτὰ καθάπερ
- 179 τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἐπὶ σφαγὴν δίδονται. μέχρι τίνος ὁ

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is punctuated differently in other editions ὁ ἡρέμα προσιῶν ὑποπτος. "βουλεύεται τι" φησὶ "κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ θᾶπτον βαδίζων· οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σπεύδων ἔοικε," κτλ.



## FLACCUS, 174-178

the islands to Andros my prison. And I have a clear 174  
conviction that this is not the limit of my misfortunes  
but there are others in reserve to complete the sum  
and counterbalance all that I did. I killed some and  
when others killed them took no steps to punish the  
murderers. Some were stoned, some while still alive  
were burnt to death or dragged through the middle  
of the market-place till nothing at all was left of  
their bodies. That their avenging furies await me 175  
I know full well. The ministers of punishment are  
already as it were standing at the barriers and press  
forward eager for my blood; every day or rather every  
hour I die in anticipation and suffer many deaths  
instead of the final one." He often became frightened 176  
and scared and while the limbs and members of his  
body shivered and shuddered, his soul shaken with  
his pantings and palpitations quailed with dread.  
For the one thing which is naturally capable of con-  
soling human life, the comforter hope, he had lost.  
No favourable omen was vouchsafed to him, only all 177  
of evil omen, sinister sounds and voices, his waking  
hours spent in weariness, his sleep full of terrors, his  
solitude as the solitude of the beasts of the field.  
Then was life in the crowd what he craved for most?  
No, staying in a city was most hateful of all. Did  
his lone rural life, a slur though it was, bring safety?  
No, danger menacing with shameless insistence.  
Someone approaches quietly, he suspects him:  
"He is plotting something against me," he says. 178  
"This one who comes walking fast surely has no  
other purpose for his hurry than to pursue me. This  
bland agreeable person is laying a snare. This frank  
talker is showing his contempt. My food and drink  
are given to me as to animals to keep them for the

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σιδηροῦς πρὸς τοσαύτας ἀντέχω συμφοράς; οἶδ' ὅτι μαλακίζομαι πρὸς θάνατον, ἐξ ἐπηρείας δαίμονος οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντός μοι τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν συντόμως ἀπορρηῆξαι διὰ τινος ὑπερβολὰς ἀνηκέστων κακῶν, ἃ κατ' ἐμοῦ θησαυρίζομενος χαρίζεται τοῖς δολοφονηθεῖσι."

- 180 XXI. Τοιαῦτα ἀναπολῶν καὶ σφαδάζων ἐκαραδόκει τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὸ πέρασ· καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἰσυνεχεῖς ὀδύναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνεκύκων καὶ ἀνέστρεφον. Γάιος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὠμόθυμος ὢν καὶ ἀκόρεστος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι μεθίετο τοὺς ἅπαξ κολασθέντας, ἀλλ' ἀτελεύτητα μηνιῶν αἰεὶ τινα καινὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐμεγαλουργεῖ συμφορὰν· τὸν δὲ Φλάκκον καὶ διαφερόντως ἤχθαιρεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ὁμωνύμους ἀλλοτριώσει τῆς
- 181 κλήσεως ὑποβλέπεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸν μετανοια εἰσήει, διότι κατέγνω φυγὴν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ θάνατον, καὶ τὸν παράκλητον αἰδούμενος ὅμως ἠτιᾶτο Λέπιδον, ὥστ'<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖνος ἀπηγόρευσε φόβῳ τῆς καθ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας· ἐδεδίει γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, μὴ παραίτιος ἄλλῳ γενόμενος κουφοτέρας δίκης βαρυτέραν αὐτὸς ἐνδέξεται. μηδενὸς οὖν ἔτι τι τῶν εἰς παραίτησιν λέγειν θαρροῦντος, ἀμειλίκοις καὶ ἀφέτοις ἐχρήτο ταῖς ὀργαῖς, αἶ, χρόνῳ δέον ἀμαυροῦσθαι, παρεθῆγοντο μᾶλλον καθάπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὑποτροπιάζουσαι νόσοι· τῶν γὰρ προτέρων
- 183 εἰσὶν ἀργαλεώτεραι. φασὶν οὖν, ὅτι νύκτωρ ποτὲ διαγρυπνῶν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἤλθε τῶν ἐν τέλει φυγάδων, ὀνόματι μὲν ὑποπτευομένων ἀτυχεῖν, βίον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡς.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "desisted from pleading."

## FLACCUS, 179-183

slaughter. How long shall I steel my heart against 179  
all these misfortunes? Yet I know that I do not  
boldly face death. For my destiny in its malignancy  
does not permit me to cut abruptly the thread of my  
wretched life, because there is still a huge stock of  
deadly ills which it treasures against me as boons  
to those whom I treacherously murdered."

XXI. Such were the wild thoughts that he re- 180  
volved as he waited anxiously for the fated end.  
And continual pangs kept his soul reeling in con-  
fusion. But Gaius, naturally ruthless and never  
satisfied with the revenges he had taken, did not like  
some others show clemency to those who had been  
punished once, but always in his unceasing anger  
was preparing some great new blow to inflict upon  
them. He hated Flaccus especially, so much so that  
in his dislike of his name he looked askance at all who  
shared it with him. He was often seized with regret 181  
that he had condemned him to exile instead of death  
and censured his intercessor Lepidus, in spite of the  
respect which he had for him, so that Lepidus was  
prostrate<sup>a</sup> with fear of finding himself punished. For  
he naturally dreaded that by helping to lighten the  
sentence of another he would himself incur one still  
more severe. So as no one had any longer the courage 182  
to plead for mercy Gaius allowed his fierce passions to  
range unsoftened and unbridled, passions which were  
not blunted, as they should be, by time, but grew  
still more sharp-edged like relapses in bodily disease,  
which are more severe than those which preceded  
them. And so they say that one night as he lay awake 183  
his thoughts turned upon the exiles of high rank,  
how though nominally they were supposed to be  
people in misfortune they had really secured a life

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δ' ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὄντως  
 184 περιπεποιημένων. μετετίθει δὲ καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν  
 ἀποδημίαν προσαγορεύων· “ ἀποδημία γάρ τις  
 ἐστίν ” ἔφασκεν “ ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔλασις ἐχόντων  
 ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ σὺν ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ  
 εὐσταθείᾳ ζῆν δυναμένων· οὓς ἄτοπον εἶναι τρυφᾶν  
 ἀπολαύοντας εἰρήνης, βίον καρπουμένους φιλόσο-  
 185 φον.” εἶτα προστάττει τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ  
 ὦν πλείστος ὁ λόγος ἀναιρεθῆναι, γραφὴν δούσ  
 ὀνομάτων, ἧς ἠγείτο Φλάκκος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκον εἰς  
 “ Ἄνδρον οἷς κτείνειν διείρητο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐτύγ-  
 χανεν ἀγρόθεν εἰς ἄστὺ παραγινόμενος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ  
 [544] λιμένος ὑπηγντίαζον, | καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀντιπροεῖδον  
 186 ἀλλήλους. ὅθεν συναισθηόμενος ἐφ' ὃ σπεύδουσι—  
 μαντικώτατον γὰρ ἢ ἐκάστου ψυχῆ, καὶ μάλιστα  
 τῶν ἐν κακοπραγίαις—ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ  
 τραχείας ἔθει φεύγων, ἐπιλεησμένος ἴσως, ὅτι  
 νῆσος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠπειρός ἐστίν, ἐν ἧ τί ὄφελος  
 ὠκυτότος, περικλειούσης θαλάττης; ἀνάγκη γὰρ  
 δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ προσωτέρω χωροῦντα κατὰ τοῦ  
 πελάγους ἐνεχθῆναι ἢ συλληφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ  
 187 πέρασ ἦκοντα. βέλτιον ἄρ' ἐν συγκρίσει κακῶν ἢ  
 κατὰ γῆν τῆς ἐν πελάγει φθορά, ἐπειδήπερ ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις καὶ πᾶσι χερσαίοις οἰκειότατον ἢ φύσις χωρίον  
 ἀπένειμε γῆν, οὐ μόνον ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανοῦ-  
 σιν, ἢ ἢ αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδέχεται γένεσιν  
 188 καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ἀνάλυσιν. οἱ δ'  
 400

## FLACCUS, 183-188

of release from business, of tranquillity and true liberty. He proposed also to change the title from 184 exile to residence abroad, "for," said he, "the banishment of such people is a sort of residence abroad where they have abundance of necessaries and can exist released from business and in general well-being and it is preposterous that they should luxuriate in the enjoyment of peace and the advantages of the philosopher's life." He then ordered that the 185 most distinguished and those who were held in the highest account should be put to death and gave a list of the names headed by that of Flaccus. When the persons appointed to execute him arrived at Andros, Flaccus happened to be passing from the country to the town, and the party from the harbour came forward to meet him. When they were at some 186 distance they saw him and he saw them and thence inferred the purpose which was urging them on. For the soul of every man is highly prophetic, particularly in distressing circumstances. He struck out from the road and raced away from them through the rough ground forgetting, perhaps, that Andros is not the mainland but an island in which speed is no use since it is enclosed by the sea. For there are only two possible alternatives, to go on farther and fall into the sea or to be caught on arriving at the very edge. And surely if we compare two evils it 187 were better to perish on the land than in the sea, since nature has assigned the land to men and all the creatures that dwell on it as the most appropriate place not only in their lifetime but at their death; it received them when they first came into existence, it should also receive them when they finally depart from life. The assassins never lost a moment 188

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- ἀπνευστὶ διώκοντες καταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ὄρυττον βόθρον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς βίαν εἶλκον ἀφηνιάζοντα καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ διαπαλαίοντα· ὧν χάριν καὶ σύμπαν κατετρώθη τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ τὰ
- 189 θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιτρέχων. ἐμπλεκόμενος γὰρ καὶ τῶν κτεινόντων ἔλλαμβανόμενος, νῦν μὲν ἐπιφέρειν τὰ ξίφη κωλυομένων, ἐγκαρσίους δὲ πληγὰς καταφερόντων, αἴτιος ἐγένετο βαρυτέρων ἑαυτῷ συμφορῶν· διατμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ διακοπεῖς χεῖρας, βάσεις, κεφαλὴν, στέρνα, πλευράς, ὡς ἱερείου τρόπον κρεουργηθῆναι, ἔκειτο, τῆς δίκης σφαγὰς ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς φόνοις τῶν ἐκνόμῳς ἀναιρεθέντων Ἰουδαίων ἐνὶ σώματι βουληθείσης ἐργάσασθαι.
- 190 καὶ ὁ μὲν τόπος ἅπασ αἵματι κατερρεῖτο διὰ πλειόνων φλεβῶν, αἱ κατὰ μέρος διεκόπησαν, κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεομένῳ<sup>1</sup>· συρομένου δ' εἰς τὸν ὄρωρυγμένον βόθρον τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη διελύετο, τῶν νεύρων κατεσχισμένων, οἷς ἡ κοινω-
- 191 νία συνεδεῖτο πᾶσα τοῦ σώματος. τοιαῦτα καὶ Φλάκκος ἔπαθε γενόμενος ἀψευδεστάτῃ πίστις τοῦ μὴ ἀπεστερηῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκχεομένων.

## FLACCUS, 188-191

in pursuing him. When they caught him some of them at once dug a pit while others violently dragged him along, resisting and screaming and struggling hard, the result of which was that as wild beasts do, he ran upon the blows and had his whole body pierced with wounds. For, as he clutched hold 189 of the slaughterers and was so entangled in the scramble with them that they had no room to apply their swords directly but dealt their blows downwards and sideways, he caused himself to suffer more severely, and with hands, feet, head, breast and sides slashed and cut to bits, he lay carved like a sacrificial victim. For it was the will of justice that the butcheries which she wrought on his single body should be as numerous as the number of the Jews whom he unlawfully put to death. The whole place 190 was flooded with the blood which poured out like a fountain from the many veins which one after the other were severed, while as his corpse was dragged into the pit which had been dug, most of the parts fell asunder as the ligaments which bind the whole body together in one had been rent. Such was the 191 fate of Flaccus also,<sup>a</sup> who thereby became an indubitable proof that the help which God can give was not withdrawn from the nation of the Jews.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* as well as Sejanus? See Introd. p. 295 note *a*.





HYPOTHETICA  
(APOLOGIA PRO IUDAEIS)



## INTRODUCTION TO EXTRACTS FROM THE *HYPOTHETICA*

WE have no information about the two extracts which are here reproduced beyond what Eusebius tells us, namely that the first is taken from the second book of a work entitled by Philo "Hypothetica," in which the author is writing a defence of the Jews, and that the second comes from the "apology for the Jews," while in his history (ii. 18) when giving a list of the works of Philo he mentions one *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων*. The general assumption is that these three are one and the same.<sup>a</sup>

Of the second extract, which describes the Essenes, nothing need be said here, as some remarks on its relation to Philo's other account of these communities will be found in the Appendix. The first extract is divided into two main parts and both of these again have two sub-divisions joined together by the phrase *μετὰ βραχέα φησίν*. Very little discussion so far as I can learn has been devoted to it, though in many ways it is very curious and interesting.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Certainty of course is not attainable. Though the title given to the second extract expresses what he says is the substance of the contents or part of the contents of the first, surprise may still be felt that the titles should be different.

<sup>b</sup> The longest discussion known to me is in Bernays' *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 261-282. This principally deals with the meaning of the name "Hypothetica," and with certain phrases, particularly *ἄ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν*

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The opening part gives the impression that he wishes to meet the hostile criticism of the Gentiles by giving a rationalistic version of the history. The Exodus is described as the movement of an increasing population seeking a fresh living-room and inspired by a yearning for their own natal land of which the Pentateuch knows nothing. The divine influence is indeed admitted but has been given through dreams and visions, a strange way of treating the visitations described in Exodus. The divine mission of Moses is kept very much in the background and the observer is invited to choose between natural explanations of the fact that he led the people successfully through the wilderness. When we come to the occupation of Palestine any appeal to the miraculous victories of Joshua is definitely set aside, and outsiders are left to choose between two possibilities, one that it was due to superior force, the other that the virtues of the incomers won the

αὐτόν and ἃ μὴ κατέθηκε μηδ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι (7. 6) and with the Buzygia (7. 8). Heinemann in his *Bildung*, pp. 352-358, discusses some aspects of the description of the Mosaic laws in the *Hypothetica*, particularly the glaring differences between it and the *Spec. Leg.*, such as the indiscriminate assignment of death as a penalty. It is interesting to note that he says these differences had led Cohn to express a doubt as to the genuineness of the fragment. Heinemann himself does not actually repudiate this suspicion, but says that he does not consider it convincing, largely because of the inconsistencies in *Spec. Leg.* itself. It certainly seems to me that the style as well as the substance of this part of the first extract is rather unlike Philo, but while it is no doubt possible to deny the genuineness of the first extract without impugning that of the second, the pieces which Eusebius describes as from the *Hypothetica* must stand and fall together, and the concluding piece on the Sabbath seems to me, as I say below, thoroughly Philonic.

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respect and submission of the native population. I find it difficult to understand the motive of Philo in this treatment of the story, or of Eusebius in recording it, for Eusebius's purpose is to give an account of the Mosaic constitution as it is depicted by the two most distinguished Jewish writers, and on this it has no bearing.<sup>a</sup>

The second part of the extract, which does describe this constitution, is at least in the first subdivision curious in another way. We naturally compare it with the vastly longer and fuller account in the four books on the Special Laws and the *De Virtutibus*. The scope of the two is so hugely different that we should not expect more than the smallest fragment of the great Exposition in these few pages. The strange thing is that they contain so much which is ignored in the Exposition. There we hear little about the subjection of women, or of the inviolability of dedicated offerings or of the ways of obtaining release from these on which so much stress is here laid, or of the minor duties of supplying water, fire and burial. Humanity to animals is stressed in both, but the one law bearing on this which is mentioned here is not noticed there. The contrast no doubt is partly accounted for in the words where he states his intention to note the unwritten as well as the written, but only partly to my mind.

<sup>a</sup> There seems to me to be a remarkable similarity between the *Hypothetica* and the *Contra Apionem* on many points. See notes. I do not know whether this has been taken into account by scholars in discussing Josephus's possible indebtedness to Philo. Thackeray, who notes resemblances in his preface to the translation of the *Antiquities* (see note in vol. vi. of my *Philo*, p. xvii), says nothing about it in his few lines of preface to the *Apion*.

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The second subdivision of this second part on the other hand, which deals with the observation of the sabbath, does not contradict anything that we find elsewhere in Philo. The account of the meetings in the Synagogue is much the same as that given in his description of the Essenes in the *Quod Omn. Prob.* and of the Therapeutae in the *De Vit. Cont.* and of the nation as a whole in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 62, and the stress laid on the sabbatical year both as a tribute to the land itself and an act of charity to the poor is thoroughly in his spirit.

The meaning of the title is obscure. The theory of Viger that it means "suppositions," between which those addressed are invited to choose, only fits the opening sections, and was superseded by that of Bernays, who suggested that it meant exhortations or directions on conduct. Bernays shows that not only is *ὑποθήκαι* often used in this sense but the *ὑποθετικὸς λόγος* is a technical term for a discourse with this object. The examples he quotes show that the hypothetical discourse has a close connexion with the protreptic, the term which Philo so often uses, and that in one case at least it is to be distinguished from the latter as the summary of counsels which closes the discourse.<sup>a</sup> Still this does not seem to agree with the nature of the treatise so far as we can judge it from the specimens which Eusebius records. A hortatory discourse is a very different thing from a defence, at least, a defence of this kind. Bernays indeed quotes a passage in which

<sup>a</sup> ἐπεισενεκτέον τὸν ὑποθετικὸν λόγον, δι' οὗ τὰς πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς ἐκάστου χρήσεως ὑποθήκας ἐπιτομαῖς ἔξουσι (Bernays, p. 267).

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the closely connected if not identical protreptic is stated on the one hand to show the high worth of virtue and on the other hand to convict those who deny or accuse or otherwise defame philosophy.<sup>a</sup> But this does not apply to the opponents whom Philo is refuting. They do not attack the philosophy of the Law as he represents it, but either deny or are not aware that the Jews have any such philosophy.

The text of these extracts is not included in the Editio Maior of Cohn. As here printed it is that of the Editio Minor. It is not stated who is responsible for this, and there is no Apparatus Criticus. I have however carefully compared the text with those of Heinichen 1842, Dindorf 1867, and Gifford 1903, in their editions of the *Preparatio*. Gifford has such an apparatus, and in his introduction gives a full account of the manuscripts of which he obtained collations. I am not aware of any later edition.

The following is an analysis of the two extracts :

### FIRST EXTRACT, viii. 6. 1-9, 7. 1-20

Part I. The first subdivision (6. 1) gives a short account of the causes which led to the Exodus from Egypt. The second subdivision (6. 2-9) suggests for consideration different explanations of the success of Moses in leading the people through the wilderness (2-4) and of the conquest of Palestine (5-8) and ends with an emphatic assertion of the devotion of the people through all the centuries to Moses and the Law (9).

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς ἀνασκευάζοντας ἢ κατηγοροῦντας ἢ πως ἄλλως κακοηθισμένους τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπελέγχει.

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Part II. The first subdivision (7. 1-9) gives a general sketch of the Mosaic constitution, contrasting its severity with the laxity of Gentile law and practice (1-3), particularly dwelling on the inviolability attached to vows and dedications (3-5). Other laws and customs are mentioned largely dwelling on duties of charity and mercy (6-9). The second subdivision (7. 10-20) describes the Sabbath as an institution intended mainly to provide opportunities for studying the law, gives a short account of the meetings and commends the universal knowledge of the Law which they effect (10-14). It then passes on to the sabbatical year, described as a proper relaxation for the land itself (15-18) and as a charitable institution, because the fruits which grew from it untilled were at the service of the poor and needy (19-20).

### SECOND EXTRACT, viii. 11. 1-18

This is merely another description of the Essene communities, a general description (1-2), the mature age required for admission (3), their simple and communal life (4-5), their industry and practice of every kind of innocent activity (6-9), how the proceeds are put into a common bank (10-11), even clothes being held in common (12), their care for the sick and aged (13), their repudiation of marriage and exclusion of women, with some of their reasons for so doing (14-18). A final eulogy (18).

The references to chapters in the eighth book are those in all editions of the *Preparatio*. The references to sections with the chapters are those in Cohn's Editio Minor. Sections are also numbered in



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Heinichen's edition, but do not correspond to these. Gifford has no such sections, but gives the pages of Viger's edition with subdivisions a, b, c, d. I have noted these pages but not the sub-divisions. I have also noted the pages in Mangey, vol. ii. They are to be distinguished from the others by the square brackets.

## ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΩΝ

(ΥΠΕΡ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ)

355

[626]

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* viii. 5. 11. Φέρε λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς κατὰ Μωυσέα νομοθεσίας ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι διαφανῶν θεασώμεθα. πρῶτα δὲ θήσω Φίλωνος τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἣν πεποιήνται Μωυσέως ἡγουμένου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος ὧν ἐπέγραψεν Ὑποθετικῶν, ἐνθα τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ὡς πρὸς κατηγοροὺς αὐτῶν ποιούμενος λόγον ταυτὰ φησιν·

6. 1. Τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν αὐτοῖς πρόγονον ἀπὸ Χαλδαίων εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἀναστῆναι τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετωκισμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας τὸ πάλαι, μυριάσι τε ἀμυθήτοις πλήθοντα καὶ τῆς γῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἱκανῆς, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ νεότητι φρονημάτων ἐντεθραμμένον μεγάλως καὶ ἅμα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ φασμάτων καὶ ὄνειράτων ἕξοδον αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντος, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον εἰς πόθον κατὰ δαίμονα ἐμπε-  
[627] σόντας τῆς πατρίου καὶ ἀρχαίας γῆς· | ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸν πρόγονον ἐκείνον αὐτοῖς κατελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, εἴτε τῷ θεῷ δὴ δόξαν εἴτε προνοίᾳ τινί, <καὶ>

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius follows this extract with another from Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 163-228, to the same effect.

<sup>b</sup> As the sequel shows that Jacob, not Abraham, is intended, Mangey wished to emend this to Canaanite. But Moses himself is said by Philo to be a Chaldean by race (*Mos.* i. 5).

## HYPOTHETICA

(APOLOGY FOR THE JEWS)

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* viii. 5. 11. Let us proceed to survey the constitution established by the legislation of Moses as described by authors<sup>a</sup> held in high honour among the Jews. I will begin by quoting Philo's account of their journey from Egypt under the leadership of Moses from the first book of the work which he entitled *Hypothetica*, where, while speaking in defence of the Jews as against their accusers, he says as follows :

6. 1. Their original ancestor belonged to the Chaldeans,<sup>b</sup> but this people who had emigrated from Syria to Egypt in past time removed from Egypt partly because of the vast size of the population for which the land was insufficient. Also it was due to the high spirit of enterprise in which they had been bred and to the revelations of God made by dreams and visions bidding them go forth, and what influenced them as much as anything was that they had providentially<sup>c</sup> been seized by a yearning for their ancient fatherland. It was from there that this ancestor of theirs had passed over into Egypt either because God had so decreed or through some prevision of his own.

<sup>c</sup> κατὰ δάιμονα, as L. & S. says, in ordinary usage means little more than *τύχη*, with which it is sometimes coupled, but in Philo's mouth perhaps something more, though hardly so much as Gifford's "under divine inspiration."

## PHILO

πάντων εὐδαιμονῆσαι μάλιστα, ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρις εἰς τὸ παρὸν τό τε ἔθνος αὐτοῖς καὶ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ διαμένειν καπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς πολυανδρίαν.

6. 2. Καὶ μετὰ βραχεία φησίν·

Ἄνῆρ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἠγγεῖτο τῆς τε ἐξόδου καὶ τῆς πορείας εἰς οὐδέν τῶν πολλῶν, εἰ βούλει, διάφορος· οὕτω καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν γόητα καὶ κέρκωπα λόγων. καλῆς μέντοι γοητείας καὶ πανουργίας, ἐξ ἧς τὸν γε λαὸν ἅπαντα ἐν ἀνυδρία καὶ λιμῶ 356 καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἀγνοία καὶ ἀπορία τῶν συμπάντων οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ παντελές διεσώσατο [καὶ] ὥσπερ ἐν εὐθηνία πάσῃ καὶ παραπομπῇ τῶν μεταξὺ κειμένων ἔθνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀστασιάστους αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα εὐπειθεῖς διεφύλαξε. 6. 3. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὀλίγον δήπου χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐδ' οἰκίαν ἐν ὁμοφροσύνῃ συμμεῖναι μετὰ πάσης εὐθηνίας εἰκός ἐστιν. καὶ οὐ δῖφος, οὐ λιμός, οὐ φθορὰ σωμάτων, οὐχὶ φόβος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐκ ἀγνοια τῶν συμβησομένων, ἐπὶ τὸν γόητα ἐκείνον ἐπήρε τοὺς ἐξαπατωμένους καὶ περιφθειρομένους λαοὺς. 6. 4. καίτοι τί βούλει; φῶμεν ἐκείνω τινὰ εἶναι τοσαύτην

<sup>a</sup> Probably this refers to the abusive terms used by Molon, etc., cf. Jos. c. *Apion*. ii. 145 γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα, rather than to the murmurers in the wilderness, though the imperfect ἐλοιδόρουν rather suggests this. The next sentence shows that he persists in ignoring any rebellion.

<sup>b</sup> For the ironical use of καλῆς cf. *Flacc.* 157.

<sup>c</sup> The punctuation and exact meaning of the following section is not clear. The translation supposes that there are three alternatives: (1) the extraordinary virtues of Moses; (2) the docility of the people; (3) divine influence. In this

## HYPOTHETICA, 6. 1-4

There he had prospered to an unequalled degree so that from his time to the present day their nation has existed and survives and is so exceedingly populous.

6. 2. Shortly afterwards he says :

Their departure and journey was made under the command of one who nothing differed from the ordinary run of men. So you may say if you like : indeed there were people also who abused him as an impostor and prating mountebank.<sup>a</sup> Well, that was a fine <sup>b</sup> kind of imposture and knavery which enabled him to bring the whole people in complete safety amid drought and hunger and ignorance of the way and lack of everything as well as if they had abundance of everything and supplies obtainable from the neighbouring nations, and further to keep them free from internal factions and above all obedient to himself. 6. 3. And observe that these conditions lasted not for a little while but for a space of time during which even a household living in all comfort could not be expected to remain in unanimity. Yet neither thirst nor hunger nor bodily decay, nor fear of the future, nor ignorance of the course which events would take roused these deluded and perishing masses of men against that impostor. 6. 4. <sup>c</sup> How will you explain this ? Shall we say that he had some

case ἢ γὰρ is hardly intelligible and Bernays, who translates the section, corrects to ἢ ἄρα. Gifford, who puts colons instead of question marks after ἔχω and ἐπιστατεῖν, translates ἢ γὰρ, κτλ., by "For either we must admit," etc. This suggests that the double ἢ introduces a dilemma which is the logical consequence of accepting the high estimate of Moses, but I do not understand the logic. A minor point is that he punctuates the opening words as τί βούλει φῶμεν; ἐκείνω, κτλ., which seems to me very possible.

## PHILO

τέχνην ἢ δεινότητα λόγων ἢ σύνεσιν, ὡς τῶν τοσοούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀτόπων καὶ πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἅπαντας ἀγόντων ἐπικρατεῖν; ἢ γὰρ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀμαθῶς οὐδὲ δυσκόλως, ἀλλ' εὐπειθῶς καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐκ ἀπρονοήτως ἔχειν; ἢ τούτους μὲν ὡς μάλιστα κακοὺς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν τὰς δυσκολίας αὐτῶν πρᾶνναι καὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὡσπερ ἐπιστατεῖν; ὅπερ γὰρ σοι μάλιστα ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἀληθὲς εἶναι δόξῃ, πρὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ζήλου περὶ αὐτῶν συμπάντων ἰσχύειν φαίνεται.

6. 5. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἐξόδου δὴ ταῦτα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἦλθον, ὅπως μὲν ποτε ἄρα ἰδρῦθησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔσχον, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται. οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε δικαίῳ μᾶλλον καθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ κατὰ τινα λογισμὸν περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εἰκότα ἐπεξελεθῆιν. 6. 6. πότερον γὰρ ποτε βούλει τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι περιόντας, καίπερ εἰς τέλος κεκακωμένους, ὅμως δ' ἰσχύοντας<sup>1</sup> [628] καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας, εἶτα | κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν τὴν χώραν, Σύρους τε ὁμοῦ καὶ Φοίνικας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκείνων γῆ μαχομένους νικῶντας, ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέμους καὶ ἀνάνδρους εἶναι καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγους ὑποθῶμεθα καὶ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀπόρους, αἰδέσεως δὲ τυχεῖν παρὰ τούτοις

<sup>1</sup> Mangey and Heinichen ὅμως δὲ *δυσχύνοντας*. Gifford ὅμως δὲ *(δυσχυρίζοντας)* with a note “δὲ *(δυσχυρίζοντας)* Mangey?” But I cannot find any support of this in Mangey, nor any trace of the active *δυσχυρίζω* elsewhere.

<sup>a</sup> Or “praise and honour and admiration for them all.” So Gifford, Mangey and Bernays. Still on the whole I prefer the rendering of *ζήλος* given above for the following reasons:

## HYPOTHETICA, 6. 4-6

kind of skill or eloquence or intelligence great enough to surmount so many strangely different circumstances which were carrying them all to perdition? Otherwise we must suppose that either his subjects were naturally not stupid nor discontented but docile and gifted with some prevision of the future or else that they were thoroughly bad though God softened their discontents and kept their present and their future state as it were in his charge. Whichever of these views you consider to be the truth it appears to redound mightily to his praise and honour and zeal for them all.<sup>a</sup>

6. 5. So much for the story of the migration. But when they came to this land the holy records show clearly how they established themselves there and occupied the country. Yet in discussing the probable facts of this occupation I think it better to go not so much by the historical narrative as by what our reason tells us about them. 6. 6. Which alternative do you prefer? Were they still superior in the number of their fighting men though they had fared so ill to the end, still strong and with weapons in their hand, and did they then take the land by force, defeating the combined Syrians and Phoenicians when fighting in their own country? Or shall we suppose that they were unwarlike and feeble, quite few in numbers and destitute of warlike equipment, but won the

(1) Philo's use of the word as shown in some twenty-five examples in the index suggests not admiration in the abstract, but "zeal," *i.e.* admiration followed by emulation or passion; (2) one of the alternatives mentioned, *i.e.* that they were thoroughly bad, but "softened" by God, does not seem to demand praise and honour for them; (3) in this section we are more concerned with the praise of Moses than of the nation.

## PHILO

καὶ τὴν γῆν λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δ' εὐθύς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸν τε νεῶν οἰκοδομησαὶ καὶ τὰλλα εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀγιστείαν καταστήσασθαι; 6. 7.

357 δηλοῖ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ταῦτα καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους αὐτοὺς ἀνωμολογήσθαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· ἐχθροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξαίφνης ἦλθον ὡς ἀφαιρεσόμενοι.

6. 8. παρὰ τούτοις δ' οὖν αἰδέσεως καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνοντες πῶς οὐχ ὑπερβάλλειν εὐτυχία τοὺς ἄλλους φαίνονται; τίνα δὲ τὰ δεύτερα ἐφεξῆς ἢ τὰ τρίτα πρὸς τούτοις λέγωμεν; πότερον τὸ τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς ὁσιότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας; ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ὁ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς θεῖς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν, ὡς ὁ τι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς. 6. 9. εἴτε οὖν λελογισμένος αὐτὸς εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τοῦτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγειν, καὶ πλειόνων ἐτῶν διεληλυθότων, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὅποσα, πλείω δ' οὖν ἢ δισχίλιά ἐστι, μηδὲ ῥῆμά γε αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων κινήσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυριάκις αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομεῖναι θάπτον ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν ἐναντία πεισθῆναι.

6. 10. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπιτέμνεται τὴν ἐκ τῶν Μωυσέως νόμων καταβεβλημένην τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει πολιτείαν γράφων οὕτως·

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<sup>a</sup> The literal translation "straightway" seems incompatible not only with the history but with οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν.



## HYPOTHETICA, 6. 6-10

respect of their opponents who voluntarily surrendered their land to them and that as a direct consequence<sup>a</sup> they shortly afterwards built their temple and established everything else needed for religion and worship?

6. 7. This would clearly show that they were acknowledged as dearly beloved of God even by their enemies. For those whose land they suddenly invaded with the intention of taking it from them were necessarily their enemies.

6. 8. And if they got credit and honour in the sight of their enemies surely it shows that they exceeded all in good fortune. What qualities shall we put in addition to this good fortune in the second and the third place? Shall we give the preference to their respect for law and loyal obedience or to their religion and justice and piety? Whichever you choose the fact remains that so great was their veneration for that man who gave them their laws, whatever view we take of him, that anything which approved itself to him approved itself also to them.

6. 9. So whether what he told them came from his own reasoning powers or was learnt from some supernatural source they held it all to come from God and after the lapse of many years, how many I cannot say exactly, but at any rate for more than two thousand, they have not changed a single word of what he wrote but would even endure to die a thousand deaths sooner than accept anything contrary to the laws and customs which he had ordained.

6. 10. After these remarks he gives the following summary of the constitution laid down for the nation in the laws of Moses.

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The use of *εὐθύς* for what follows as a logical consequence is common in Philo, e.g. *De Op.* 3.

## PHILO

7. 1. Ἐὰν τί τούτων ἢ τούτοις προσόμοιον παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐστί, πρῶτον εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ τιθασὸν καὶ δικῶν εἰσαγωγὰς<sup>1</sup> καὶ σκῆψεις καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ τιμῆσεις καὶ πάλιν ὑποτιμῆσεις ἔχον; οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀπλᾶ καὶ δῆλα. ἐὰν παιδεραστῆς, ἐὰν μοιχεύῃς, ἐὰν βιάσῃ παῖδα, ἄρρενα μὲν μηδὲ λέγε, ἀλλὰ κἄν θήλειαν· ὁμοίως ἐὰν σαυτὸν καταπορνεύῃς, ἐὰν καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν αἰσχρὸν τι πάθῃς ἢ δοκῆς ἢ μέλλῃς, θάνατος ἢ ζημία. 7. 2. ἐὰν εἰς δοῦλον σῶμα, ἐὰν εἰς ἐλεύθερον ὑβρίζῃς, ἐὰν δεσμοῖς συνέχῃς, ἐὰν ἀπάγων πωλῆς, ἐὰν βέβηλα ἐὰν ἱερὰ παρακλέπτῃς, ἐὰν ἀσεβῆς, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον  
 358 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ῥήματι τῷ τυχόντι, εἰς μὲν θεὸν αὐτὸν (ἕλωσ ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τούτων  
 [629] ἐννοίας γένοιτο) οὐδὲ | ἄξιον λέγειν, ἀλλ' εἰς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ εὐεργέτην σαυτοῦ θάνατος ὁμοίως, καὶ οὗτος οὐ κοινὸς οὐδ' ὁ τυχών, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> So Cohn. Other editions and apparently all mss. ἐπαγωγὰς. See note b.

<sup>a</sup> Philo has evidently in a part omitted by Eusebius given proofs that Gentiles allowed all sorts of evasions of the penalties prescribed in their laws. So Jos. c. *Apion*. ii. 276 contrasts the Jewish strictness with the *διαλύσεις* or *διαδύσεις* ("evasions") provided by the legislators themselves.

<sup>b</sup> See note 1. The mss. ἐπαγωγὰς is translated by Gifford "solicitations of justice" (?), by Mangey "intentiones

## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 1-2

7. 1. Do we find any of these things <sup>a</sup> or anything similar among the Jews ; anything which so savours of mildness and lenity, anything which permits of legal proceedings <sup>b</sup> or extenuations or postponements or assessments of penalties and reductions of assessments ? <sup>c</sup> Nothing at all, everything is clear and simple. <sup>d</sup> If you are guilty of pederasty or adultery or rape of a young person, even of a female, for I need not mention the case of a male, similarly if you prostitute yourself or allow or purpose or intend any action which your age makes indecent the penalty is death. 7. 2. So too if you commit an outrage on the person of a slave or a free man, if you confine him in bonds or kidnap and sell him. So too with larceny of things profane and sacred, so too with impiety not only of act but even of a casual word and not only against God Himself (may He forgive the very thought of such a thing which should not even be mentioned), but also against a father or mother or benefactor of your own the penalty is the same, death and not the common ordinary death : the offender in words only

litium." In the sense of "chicanery" I see no great difficulty about it, and all of the first three accusatives at any rate should perhaps be taken with *δικῶν*.

<sup>c</sup> Or "self-assessments" (L. & S.). These of course would suggest mitigation of penalties. Philo has used the word in the general sense of "excuse" or "extenuation" in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 157.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* all the offences that follow are stated in the law to be capital crimes. This is true of *παιδεραστία* (Lev. xviii. 22, xx. 13), of *μοιχεία* (Lev. xx. 10), for kidnappers and selling men (Ex. xxi. 16), for reviling a parent (Ex. xxi. 17), (*לֹא יִקְלָל אֶת אָבִיו וְאֶת אִמּוֹ*, R.V. "curseth"), for rape (under certain circumstances) (Deut. xxii. 23 ff.). But I do not think that either Philo in *Spec. Leg.* or the law itself suggests death for stealing in general, or that the punishment for reviling a parent extends to reviling a benefactor.

## PHILO

λευσθήναι τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον ὡς οὐ χείρονα  
 ἀσεβείας πράξαντα. 7. 3. ἄλλα δ' αὖ

πάλιν ὁποῖά τινα· γυναικας ἀνδράσι δουλεύειν,  
 πρὸς ὕβρεως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, πρὸς εὐπειθειαν δ' ἐν  
 ἅπασι· γονεῖς παίδων ἄρχειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ  
 πολυωρίᾳ· τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κτημάτων ἕνα ἕκαστον  
 κύριον εἶναι, μὴ θεὸν γε ἐπιφημίσαντα αὐτοῖς μηδ'  
 ὡς τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα ἀνίησιν· εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μόνον  
 ὑποσχέσθαι προσπέσοι, ψαῦσαι καὶ θιγεῖν αὐτῶν  
 οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπάντων ἀποκεκλείσθαι.

7. 4. μή μοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάζειν μηδ' ἀποσυλᾶν  
 ἑτέρων ἀναθέντων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ὥσπερ  
 ἔφην, προσπεσόν τι καὶ λαθὸν αὐτὸν ῥῆμα ἐπ'  
 ἀναθέσει, εἰπόντα δὲ<sup>1</sup> πάντων στéρεσθαι· μετα-  
 γινώσκοντι δὲ ἢ ἀπαρνούμενῳ τὰ λελεγμένα καὶ  
 τὴν ψυχὴν προσαφαιρείσθαι. 7. 5. καὶ

ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὣν κυριεύει ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος. εἰ  
 ἐπιφημίση τροφήν γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ἱεράν εἶναι,  
 τροφῆς ἀνέχειν· εἰ πατὴρ υἱοῦ, εἰ ἀρχων τοῦ  
 ὑπηκόου, ταῦτόν. καὶ ἔκλυσις δὲ ἐπιφημισθέντων  
 ἢ μὲν τελειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη τοῦ ἱερέως ἀποφή-

<sup>1</sup> The sentence as it stands is ungrammatical. Mangey omits δέ.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "as (being) no worse having committed (*i.e.* if he has committed) impieties"—an extraordinarily awkward construction.

<sup>b</sup> Gifford, who translates ὡς θεῷ by "as to God," explains the construction as an "abrupt transition" and quotes Heinichen "ἀνίησι sequitur quasi praecessit εἰ μὴ ἐπιφημίξει." This is only a way of saying that the sentence is ungrammatical. I think it is best explained by taking ὡς=ὅτι as introducing oratio obliqua and governed by ἐπιφημίσαντα.

## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 2-5

must be stoned to death. His guilt is as great as if he were the perpetrator of impious actions.<sup>a</sup>

7. 3. Other rules again there are of various kinds: wives must be in servitude to their husbands, a servitude not imposed by violent ill-treatment but promoting obedience in all things. Parents must have power over their children to keep them safe and tend them carefully. Each individual is master of his possessions unless he has solemnly named the name of God over them declaring that he has given them to God.<sup>b</sup> And if he has merely made a chance verbal promise of them he must not touch or handle them, but hold himself at once debarred from them all.

7. 4. I need not consider the case of his robbing what belongs to the gods<sup>c</sup> or plundering what others have dedicated; even with his own, I repeat, a chance word of dedication spoken unawares deprives him of them all and if he repents or denies his promise his life is forfeit also.

7. 5. The same holds of any other persons over whom he has authority. If a man has devoted his wife's sustenance to a sacred purpose he must refrain from giving her that sustenance; so with a father's gifts to his son or a ruler's to his subjects. The chief and most perfect way of releasing dedicated property is by the priest refusing it, for he

This verb can be followed either by a noun or a clause as below *ἐπιφημίση τροφήν . . . ἱερὰν εἶναι*. See examples in lexicon. The combination of the two constructions is awkward but not ungrammatical.

<sup>a</sup> In using the plural Philo may have in mind Ex. xxii. 28 (LXX "thou shalt not revile the gods"), a text on which both he (*Mos.* ii. 205, *Spec. Leg.* i. 53) and Jos. (*c. Apion.* ii. 237) base the prohibition of speaking evil of the heathen gods. But it is hardly necessary to bring this in here. He would naturally deny the possibility of his people committing sacrilege in any temples.

## PHILO

σαντος· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ κύριος οὗτος δέξασθαι·  
καὶ μετὰ ταύτην δέ<sup>1</sup> ἢ παρὰ τῶν μᾶλλον αἰεὶ κυρίων  
ὁσία ἴλεω τὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνειν, ὡς μηδὲ ἐπάναγκες  
τὴν ἀνάθεσιν δέχεσθαι. 7. 6. μυρία δὲ

ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγράφων ἐθῶν καὶ  
νομίμων κὰν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῖς· ἃ τις παθεῖν  
ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν· ἃ μὴ κατέθηκεν, μηδ'  
ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἐκ πρασιᾶς μηδ' ἐκ ληνοῦ μηδ'  
ἐξ ἄλωνος· μὴ θημῶνος ὑφαιρεῖσθαι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν  
ἀπλῶς μηδέν· μὴ πυρὸς δεηθέντι φθονεῖν· μὴ  
νάματα ὑδάτων ἀποκλείειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ  
πηροῖς τροφήν ἐρανίζουσι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐαγῶς  
ἀνέχειν. 7. 7. μὴ ταφῆς νεκρὸν ἐξείργειν, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> This redundant δὲ is, I think, very unusual, if not unique, in Philo.

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<sup>a</sup> While the Pentateuch (Num. xxx. 1-3, Deut. xxiii. 21-23) more or less bears out the strict obligation of a vow, it says nothing about any penalty (much less death) for failure to keep it, or on the other hand of ways of absolution. See App. p. 539.

<sup>b</sup> The construction is difficult. The translation assumes that ἢ agrees with ἐκλυσις, and ὁσία ἀποφαίνειν="holy enough to declare" (or perhaps, "make") God propitious. But I have not found any example of such an infinitive following ὁσιος. Possibly ἢ may agree with the noun ὁσία and ἀποφαίνειν depends on κυρίων. But the order of the words is somewhat against it.

<sup>c</sup> The nearest text to this in the O.T. is, I suppose, Lev. xix. 18 "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," which is adopted in the N.T. as well as the positive form of that given here "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," Matt. vii. 12. On this Wetstein gives abundant illustration from ancient literature both in the positive and negative form, beginning with Herodotus iii.

## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 5-7

is empowered by God to accept it or not.<sup>a</sup> Next to this, that given by those who at the time have the higher authority may lawfully declare that God is propitiated<sup>b</sup> so that there is no necessity to accept the dedication.

7. 6. Besides these there is a host of other things which belong to unwritten customs and institutions or are contained in the laws themselves. What a man would hate to suffer he must not do himself to others.<sup>c</sup> What he has not laid down he must not take up<sup>d</sup> either from a garden or a wine press or a threshing floor. He must not filch anything great or small from a stack. He must not grudge to give fire to one who needs it or close off running water.<sup>e</sup> If the poor or the cripple beg food of him he must give it as an offering of religion to God.<sup>f</sup> 7. 7. He must not debar dead bodies from

142. 3 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω. The nearest in form to this is from Isocrates ἀ πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ὀργίξεσθε ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ ποιείτε.

<sup>a</sup> This also, as Bernays points out, is not found in this short form in the O.T., nor indeed in any nearer form than Deut. xxii. 1-3, where the finder of a lost animal or garment is bidden to restore it to the owner. On the other hand it is a famous piece of moralizing in Greek, ascribed to Solon (Diog. Laert i. 57), and described by Plato, *Legg.* xi. 913 c, as κάλλιστος νόμος. Jos. (*c. Apion.* ii. 208) follows Philo in declaring it to be a recognized principle of Judaism, and that it was so recognized is suggested by Luke xix. 21, where αἶρεις δ' οὐκ ἔθηκας is the reproach made by the unprofitable servant to his master.

<sup>e</sup> So too Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 211.

<sup>f</sup> ἀνέχω seems to be used in the somewhat rare sense of offering sacrifices or prayers, unless πρὸς τὸν θεόν can, like πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, etc., mean "in the presence of" or "before God." The duty of giving charity to the poor is enjoined by Philo from the Law in *De Virt.* 82-87. It is to be found more definitely in other passages outside the Law, e.g. Prov. xix. 17 and Ps. xli. 1 ff. and still more in Tobit iv.

## PHILO

καὶ γῆς αὐτοῖς ὅσον γε εἰς τὴν ὁσίαν προσεπι-  
 359 βάλλειν· μὴ θήκας, μὴ μνήματα ὄλως κατοικο-  
 [630] μένων κινεῖν. | μὴ δεσμά, μὴ κακὸν μηδὲν πλέον  
 τῶ ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσεπιφέρειν. μὴ γονὴν ἀνδρῶν  
 ἐκτέμνοντας, μὴ γυναικῶν ἀτοκίους καὶ ἄλλαις  
 μηχαναῖς ἀμβλοῦν· μὴ ζώοις ἔμπαλιν ἢ κατέδειξεν  
 εἴτ' οὖν ὁ θεὸς εἴτε τις καὶ νομοθέτης προσφέρε-  
 σθαι· μὴ σπέρμα ἀφανίζειν· μὴ γέννημα δολοῦν.<sup>1</sup>  
 7. 8. μὴ ζυγὸν ἄδικον ἀνθυποβάλλειν, μὴ χοῖνικα  
 ἄμετρον, μὴ νόμισμα ἄδικον. μὴ φίλων ἀπόρρητα  
 ἐν ἔχθρᾳ φαίνειν. ποῖ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν τὰ  
 Βουζύγια ἐκεῖνα; ἄλλα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὄρα· μὴ  
 παίδων διοικίξειν γονέας, μηδ' ἂν αἰχμαλώτους  
 ἔχῃς, μὴ γυναῖκα ἀνδρός, κἂν νομίμως ἐωνημένος  
 ἦς δεσπότης. 7. 9. ἦ που σεμνότερα  
 καὶ μείζω ταῦτα, ἄλλα δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα·  
 μὴ νεοττιάν φησι κατοικίδιον ἐρημοῦν· μὴ ζώων

<sup>1</sup> Other editions δολοῦν. But δολοῦν seems to have good mss. authority. See note c.

<sup>a</sup> So also Jos. *l.c.* The duty is acknowledged in Tobit i. 17 ff.

<sup>b</sup> So Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 213 "He permitted only the lawful use of them (*i.e.* animals), and forbade all others." Thackeray refers this to the prohibition of working animals on the sabbath. But Philo at least must, I think, have something more than this in mind.

<sup>c</sup> The suggestion given by the translation, which must be regarded as merely tentative, is that it forbids the castration of animals, which Jos. *l.c.* 271 seems to treat as a crime, and taking away the offspring prematurely. Perhaps we might translate "destroy not the seed (referring to the story of Onan); frustrate not the thing which might be born." This would be distinguished from μὴ γονήν, κτλ., above as being the action of the man himself. In this case a full stop should be put after προσφέρεσθαι. But it is strange that  
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## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 7-9

burial,<sup>a</sup> but throw upon them as much earth as piety demands, nor disturb in any way the resting places and monuments of the departed. He must not by fettering or any other means worsen the plight of him who is in hard straits; he must not make abortive the generative power of men by gelding nor that of women by sterilizing drugs and other devices. There must be no maltreatment of animals contrary to what is appointed by God or even by a law-giver<sup>b</sup>; no destroying of their seed nor defrauding of their offspring.<sup>c</sup> 7. 8. No unjust scales, no false measurements, no fraudulent coinage must be substituted.<sup>d</sup> The secrets of a friend must not be divulged in enmity.<sup>e</sup> What need in heaven's name have we of your Buzyges<sup>f</sup> and his precepts? There are other matters to be noted: children must not be parted from their parents even if you hold them as captive, nor a wife from her husband even if you are her owner by lawful purchase.

7. 9. These no doubt are more important and serious matters, but there are others, little things of casual occurrence. Do not render desolate the nesting

the vague statement about the treatment of animals should separate two such closely connected injunctions. The other reading *δουλοῦν* is translated by Gifford "enslave not thy offspring," but such a command seems very unnecessary and pointless.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Prov. xi. 1, xvi. 11, Lev. xix. 35, Deut. xxv. 13-16.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* when they quarrel or become enemies. It is more clearly expressed by Jos. § 207 "We must conceal nothing from our friends, nor divulge secrets, *ἐὰν συμβῆ τις ἕχθρα.*"

<sup>f</sup> Buzyges, a hero of Athens, who first yoked oxen to the plough (Hesychius), was commemorated at a festival of Demeter, where one of his family repeated various imprecations against those who refused fire and water and did other uncharitable actions. For an abstract of Bernays' full note on the subject see App. p. 539.

## PHILO

ἰκεσίαν οἶα ἔσθ' ὅτε προσφευγόντων ἀναιρεῖν, μὴ εἴ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἡττόν ἐστίν. οὐδενὸς ἄξια ταυτὰ γε εἶποις ἄν· ἀλλ' ὅ γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἴτιος, καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις μεγάλαι καὶ ἄραϊ κατὰ τε<sup>1</sup> ἐξωλείας, καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπόπτης τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τιμωρὸς ἀπανταχοῦ.

7. 10. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν·

“Ὀλην δὲ ἡμέραν, εἰ τύχοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ μίαν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς, καὶ ταύτας οὐκ εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, καὶ τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐπτὰ, κρατοῦντος ὡς εἰκὸς αἰεὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὰς βεβήλους ἔθους, μηδὲν ἄν παραβῆναι τῶν προστεταγμένων οὐ θαυμάζεις; 7. 11. ἄρ' οὐ πρὸς ἀσκήσεως μόνον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκρατείας ἐστίν, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ δρᾶν τι πονοῦντας καὶ ἀνέχειν ἰσχύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, εἰ δέοι; οὐ δῆτα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργου μεγάλου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ τινος ὤθηθαι δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτοὺς μὴ τᾶλλα μόνον ἱκανοὺς εἶναι δρᾶν καὶ μὴ δρᾶν ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχειν. 7. 12. τί οὖν ἐποίησε; ταῖς ἐβδόμαις

<sup>1</sup> I should prefer to omit τε. As it stands the phrase is awkwardly coupled with μεγάλαι.

<sup>a</sup> Or “the nest under thy roof” (Gifford). But the allusion is clearly to Deut. xxii. 6, where anyone who finds a bird's nest “in the way or on a tree or on the ground” may take the eggs, but not the mother bird.

<sup>b</sup> So Jos. § 213 “creatures which take refuge in our houses like suppliants he has forbidden us to kill.” I do not understand what is meant. See App. p. 540.

## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 9-12

home of birds<sup>a</sup> or make the appeals of animals of none effect when they seem to fly to you for help as they sometimes do.<sup>b</sup> Nor commit any lesser offence of the kind. These things are of nothing worth, you may say, yet great is the law which ordains them and ever watchful is the care which it demands. Great too and appalling<sup>c</sup> are the warnings and imprecations which accompany it. And such deeds are everywhere surveyed and avenged by God Himself.

7. 10. <sup>a</sup> Shortly afterwards he says :

Is it not a marvel that for a whole day they should have kept from transgressing on any occasion any of the ordinances, or rather for many days, not one only, days too which did not follow straight on each other but only after intervals, and intervals of seven during which habits belonging to the secular days naturally hold the mastery? 7. 11. You may ask : Is not this merely a case of practising self-control so that they should be capable of abstaining from toil if necessary no less than of toilsome activity? No, it was a great and marvellous achievement<sup>e</sup> which the law-giver had in view. He considered that they should not only be capable of both action and inaction in other matters but also should have expert knowledge of their ancestral laws and customs. 7. 12. What then did he do? He required them to

<sup>c</sup> More literally "threatening destruction." Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 34 for this Demosthenic phrase.

<sup>d</sup> The part here omitted by Eusebius contained no doubt an account of the strict rules enforced on the sabbath.

<sup>e</sup> Gifford translates *πρὸς ἔργου* "at the cost of great and extraordinary pains." I understand *πρὸς* as = "belonging to" like *πρὸς δίκης* or *πρὸς λόγου* and indeed *πρὸς ἐπαίνου* καὶ *τίμης* in 6. 4 above.

## PHILO

ταύταις ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς εἰς ταῦτὸν ἡξίου συν-  
 ἀγεσθαι καὶ καθεζομένους μετ' ἀλλήλων σὺν αἰδοῖ  
 καὶ κόσμῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ μηδένα  
 360 ἀγνοῆσαι χάριν. 7. 13. καὶ δῆτα συνέρχονται μὲν  
 αἰεὶ καὶ συνεδρεύουσι μετ' ἀλλήλων· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ  
 σιωπῇ, πλὴν εἴ τι προσεπευφημῆσαι τοῖς ἀνα-  
 γνωσκομένοις νομίζεται· τῶν ἱερέων δέ τις ὁ  
 παρῶν ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἀναγνώσκει τοὺς |  
 [631] ἱεροὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξηγεῖται  
 μέχρι σχεδὸν δειλῆς ὀψίας· καὶ τοῦδε ἀπολύονται  
 τῶν τε νόμων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ  
 πολὺ δὴ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐπιδεδωκότες. 7. 14. ἀρά  
 σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἀργούντων εἶναι καὶ οὐ παντὸς  
 ἔργου μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖα αὐτοῖς; τοιγαροῦν οὐκ  
 ἐπὶ θεσμοδούς ἔρχονται περὶ τῶν πρακτέων καὶ  
 μὴ διερωτῶντες οὐδὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας  
 τῶν νόμων ῥαδιουργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντινα αὐτῶν  
 κινεῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν πατρίων διαπυθάνη, προ-  
 χείρως ἔχει καὶ ῥαδίως εἰπεῖν· καὶ ἀνὴρ γυναικὶ  
 καὶ παισὶ πατὴρ καὶ δούλοις δεσπότης ἰκανὸς εἶναι  
 δοκεῖ τοὺς νόμους παραδιδόναι. 7. 15.  
 καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε ἔτους τοῦ ἐβδόμου ῥάδιον  
 ὡσαύτως λέγειν, οὐ μὴν ταῦτὸν ἴσως. οὐ γὰρ  
 αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις  
 ἐκείναις ἡμέραις, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀργῆν ἀφιάσιν εἰς

<sup>a</sup> Or persons who make a profession of enunciating moral and legal opinions? The words *θεσμοδός* and *θεσμοδέω* are only cited by Stephanus from this passage and *De Som.* i. 193, and L. & S. (revised) has nothing to add except a reference to one inscription. In both cases *θεσπι-* has been proposed, and in the sense of making divine or prophetic

## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 12-15

assemble in the same place on these seventh days, and sitting together in a respectful and orderly manner hear the laws read so that none should be ignorant of them. 7. 13. And indeed they do always assemble and sit together, most of them in silence except when it is the practice to add something to signify approval of what is read. But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon, when they depart having gained both expert knowledge of the holy laws and considerable advance in piety. 7. 14. Do you think that this marks them as idlers or that any work is equally vital to them? And so they do not resort to persons learned in the law <sup>a</sup> with questions as to what they should do or not do, nor yet <sup>b</sup> by keeping independent transgress in ignorance of the law, but any one of them whom you attack with inquiries about their ancestral institutions can answer you readily and easily. The husband seems competent to transmit knowledge of the laws to his wife, the father to his children, the master to his slaves. 7. 15.

Again with regard to the seventh year one can without difficulty use much the same though perhaps not identical words.<sup>c</sup> For here it is not they themselves who abstain from work as on those seventh days, but it is the land which they leave idle against the days

utterances would be suitable enough in *De Som.*, but hardly here. If the word is right, the termination would seem to have lost its force.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "relying on themselves," *i.e.* they learn from each other.

<sup>c</sup> Philo's remarkable insistence on the sabbatical year has been shown several times, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 86-109, iv. 215-217, *De Virt.* 97, 98, *De Praem.* 154-157.

## PHILO

τὰ μέλλοντα αὐθις εὐθηνίας χάριν· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρειν αὐτὴν ἀνάπαυλαν λαβοῦσαν, εἶτα δὲ εἰς νέωτα γεωργεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἐργασίας κατεξάνθαι. 7. 16. ταῦτὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἂν ἴδοις συμβαῖνον εἰς ῥώμην· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ὑγείαν μόνον διαλείμματα καὶ τινὰς ἀναπαύλας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἰατροὺς προστάττοντας· τὸ γὰρ συνεχὲς καὶ μονοειδὲς αἰεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπ' ἔργων, βλάβπτει ἔοικε. 7. 17. σημεῖον δέ· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ταύτην γῆν εἴ τις ἐπαγγέλλοιτο αὐτοῖς ἐξεργάσεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ ἔβδομον ἔτος τουτὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν πάντων συμπαρᾶχωρήσειν ὅλων, οὐκ ἂν οὐδαμῶς δέξαιντο· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν πόνων ἀνέχειν οἴονται δεῖν μόνοι—καίτοι κἂν εἰ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν ἂν θαυμαστὸν ᾦν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς ἀνεσὶν τινα καὶ ῥαστώνην εἰς ἀρχὴν ἑτέραν τῆς αὐθις ἐπιμελείας καὶ γεωργίας λαβεῖν. 7. 18. ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους αὐτὴν προεκδοῦναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐκείνων τὸν<sup>1</sup>

361 φόρον τοῦ ἔτους ἐκλέγειν; ἀλλ', ὡσπερ ἔφην, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων προνοία μοι δοκεῖ τῆς χώρας ἐκδέχονται. 7. 19. τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς σημεῖον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἀνέχουσι, τοὺς γινομένους καρποὺς οὐκ οἴονται δεῖν συλλέγειν οὐδ' ἀποτίθεσθαι μὴ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἅτε τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος αὐτοῖς, ἀνιείσης ἀπ' αὐτομάτου τῆς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸν ἐκείνων, and so Dindorf. Gifford τὸν ἐκείνου.

## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 15-19

to come hereafter to give it fertility, for they believe that it gains much by getting a respite and is then tilled in the next year without being exhausted by unbroken cultivation. 7. 16. You may see that the same treatment of our bodies tends to strengthen them. Physicians prescribe some intermissions and relaxations not merely when health has to be restored.<sup>a</sup> For monotony without a break, particularly in work, is always seen to be injurious. 7. 17. Here is a proof that their object is as I describe. If anyone offered to cultivate this same land during the seventh year much more strenuously than before and to surrender to them the whole of the fruits they would absolutely refuse. For they do not think that it is only themselves who should abstain from work, though if they did so it would be nothing to wonder at, but that the land should gain at their hands a respite and easing off to make a fresh start in receiving renewed attention and husbandry. 7. 18. For what in heaven's name was to hinder them from letting out the land during the year<sup>b</sup> and collecting the produce of that year at its end from the others who tilled it? But, as I have said, they entirely refuse anything of the kind, doubtless out of consideration for the land. 7. 19. We have a truly great proof of their humanity in the following also. Since they themselves abstain from labour during that year, they think that they should not gather or lay by the fruits produced which do not accrue to them from their own toil, but since God has provided them, sprung from the soil by its own action,

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* they prescribe it for people who are perfectly well.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "during the past year," *i.e.* the year which will be past when the fruit is gathered.

## PHILO

γῆς, τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ δεομένους τῶν τε ὁδοι-  
 [632] πόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιούσι μετὰ ἀδείας χρῆσθαι. |  
 7. 20. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις σοι· τὸ γὰρ ταῖς  
 ἐβδόμαις ἤδη τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς στήσαι ταῦτα οὐκ  
 ἂν ἐμὲ ἀπαιτήσαις, ἴσως πολλῶν πολλάκις καὶ  
 ἰατρῶν καὶ φυσιολόγων καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκηκοῶς  
 περὶ τούτου πρότερον, ἦντιν' ἄρα δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς  
 τε τὴν τῶν συμπάντων καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν  
 φύσιν. οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἐβδόμης λόγος.

11. 1. Μυρίους δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ ἡμέτερος  
 νομοθέτης ἤλειψεν ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν, οἱ καλοῦνται  
 μὲν Ἑσσαῖοι, παρὰ τὴν ὁσιότητά μοι δοκῶ τῆς  
 προσηγορίας ἀξιωθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πολλὰς μὲν  
 πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ<sup>1</sup> μεγά-  
 λους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὀμίλους. 11. 2. ἔστι δ'  
 αὐτοῖς ἢ προαίρεσις οὐ γένει—γένος γὰρ ἐφ'  
 ἔκουσίοις οὐ γράφεται—, διὰ δὲ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ?—Though accepted without comment by Mangey  
 and Gifford, the construction οἰκεῖν ὀμίλους seems hardly  
 possible.

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<sup>a</sup> The following extract is made by Eusebius at a later  
 point in the same book of the *Praeparatio*. He introduces it  
 by saying that the Jewish nation is divided into two sections,  
 (1) the multitude which Moses intended to be guided by the  
 literal meaning (*ρήτῃ διάνοια*), and (2) the philosophers who  
 can rise from the literal to the higher meaning. As an  
 example of the second class he reproduces Philo's two



## HYPOTHETICA, 7. 19—11. 2

they should grant them to be used freely by wayfarers and others who desire or need them. 7. 20. You have now had enough on this subject, for you will not require me to show that these rules for the seventh days are established firmly among them by the law. Probably you have often heard ere now from many physicians, scientists and philosophers what influence it has over the life of all things and of mankind in particular. This is what I have to say about the seventh day.

<sup>a</sup> 11. 1. Multitudes of his disciples has the lawgiver trained for the life of fellowship. These people are called Essenes, a name awarded to them doubtless in recognition of their holiness. They live in many cities of Judaea and in many villages and grouped in great societies of many members. 11. 2. Their persuasion <sup>b</sup> is not based on birth, for birth is not a descriptive mark of voluntary associations,<sup>c</sup> but on their zeal for

accounts of the Essenes, one from the *Quod Omn. Prob.* (see pp. 54-63), and the following which he quotes from "The Apology for the Jews." See for this title Introduction, p. 407, and for remarks on the two accounts App. p. 514.

<sup>b</sup> Or "vocation." Cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 2, and see App. p. 514.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* when we define the principles or considerations on which a voluntary association is based, birth or family is not among them. But Gifford may be right in translating more simply "family descent is not ranked among matters of choice," though I am not sure that *γράφεται ἐπι* can mean this, or what the point of the remark is.

## PHILO

φιλανθρωπίας ἴμερον. 11. 3. Ἐσσαιῶν γοῦν κομιδῇ νήπιος οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρωτογένειος ἢ μειράκιον, ἐπεὶ τά γε τούτων ἀβέβαια ἦθη τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀτελεῖ συννεωτερίζοντα,<sup>1</sup> τέλειοι δ' ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίνοντες ἤδη, μηκέθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιρροῆς κατακλυζόμενοι μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγόμενοι, τὴν ἀψευδῆ δὲ καὶ μόνην ὄντως ἐλευθερίαν καρπούμενοι. 11. 4. μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ὁ βίος. ἴδιον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπομένει κτήσασθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐκ οἰκίαν, οὐκ ἀνδράποδον, οὐ χωρίον, οὐ βοσκήματα, οὐχ ὅσα ἄλλα παρασκευαὶ καὶ χορηγίαι πλούτου· πάντα δ' εἰς μέσον ἀθρόα καταθέντες κοινὴν καρποῦνται τὴν ἀπάντων ὠφέλειαν. 11. 5. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν ταυτῷ κατὰ θιάσους ἑταιρίας καὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένοι καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς πραγματευόμενοι [633] διατελοῦσιν. 11. 6. ἀλλ' ἑτέρων | ἕτεραι πραγματεῖαι, αἷς ἐπαποδύντες ἀόκνως διαθλοῦσιν, οὐ κρυμόν, οὐ θάλπος, οὐχ ὅσα ἀέρος νεωτερίσματα προφασιζόμενοι· πρὶν δ' ἡλίον ἀνασχεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τρεπόμενοι δυομένου μόλις ἐπανίασι χαίροντες οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐξεταζομένων ἀγῶσιν. 11. 7. ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ ἅττ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύωσιν εἶναι βιωφελέστερα καὶ ἡδίω ψυχῇ

<sup>1</sup> Other editions *συννεωτερίζονται*. One ms. has —τα, which accords better with Philo's general if not universal rule of using the singular verb with a neuter plural subject. (But see note in vol. viii. p. 445.) On the other hand if *ἀβέβαια* is predicate its position is strange.

## HYPOTHETICA, 11. 3-7

virtue and desire to promote brotherly love. 11. 3. Thus no Essene is a mere child nor even a stripling or newly bearded, since the characters of such are unstable with a waywardness corresponding to the immaturity of their age, but full grown and already verging on old age, no longer carried under by the tide of the body nor led by the passions, but enjoying the veritable, the only real freedom. 11. 4. This freedom is attested by their life. None of them allows himself to have any private property, either house or slave or estate or cattle or any of the other things which are amassed<sup>a</sup> and abundantly procured by wealth, but they put everything together into the public stock and enjoy the benefit of them all in common. 11. 5. They live together formed into clubs, bands of comradeship with common meals, and never cease to conduct all their affairs to serve the general weal. 11. 6. But they have various occupations at which they labour with untiring application and never plead cold or heat or any of the violent changes in the atmosphere as an excuse. Before the sun is risen they betake themselves to their familiar tasks and only when it sets force themselves to return, for they delight in them as much as do those who are entered for gymnastic competitions. 11. 7. For they consider that the exercises which they practise whatever they may be are more valuable to life, more pleasant to soul and body and more

<sup>a</sup> παρασκευή πλούτου may mean what prepares or procures wealth. But it is better taken as = "what wealth procures," the word often carrying with it the idea of affluence or luxury both in quality and quantity. Thus τῆς ἀφθόνου παρασκευῆς of Pharaoh, *De Sac.* 48, τῶν περιττῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων παρασκευῶν *Leg. All.* iii. 147, and τὴν παρασκευὴν of the sumptuous banquet in *De Vit. Cont.* 53.

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καὶ σώματι τὰ γυμνάσματα καὶ πολυχρονιώτερα τῶν ἐν ἀθλήσεσι, μὴ συναφηβῶντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ. 11. 8. εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν γεηπόνοι τῶν περὶ σπορὰν καὶ φυτουργίαν ἐπιστήμονες, οἱ 380 δὲ ἀγελάρχαι, παντοδαπῶν θρεμμάτων ἡγεμόνες, ἔνιοι δὲ σμήνη μελιττῶν ἐπιτροπεύουσιν. 11. 9. ἄλλοι δὲ δημιουργοὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνας εἰσὶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὦν αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι βιάζονται παθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενοι τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἀνυπαίτιον. 11. 10. ἐκ δὴ τῶν οὕτως διαφερόντων ἕκαστοι τὸν μισθὸν λαβόντες ἐνὶ διδόασι τῷ χειροτονηθέντι ταμία, λαβῶν δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτίκα τὰπιτήδεια ὠνεῖται καὶ παρέχει τροφὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ τᾶλλα ὦν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος χρειώδης. 11. 11. οἱ δ' ὁμοδαῖοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εἰσὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀσμενίζοντες, ὀλιγοδείας ἐρασταί, πολυτέλειαν ὡς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος νόσον ἐκτρεπόμενοι. 11. 12. κοινὴ δ' οὐ τράπεζα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἐστι· πρόκεινται γὰρ χειμῶνι μὲν στιφραὶ χλαῖναι, θέρει δ' ἐξωμίδες εὐτελεῖς, ὡς εὐμαρῶς ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἢ ἂν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνὸς ἀπάντων καὶ τὰ πάντων ἔμπαλιν ἐνὸς ὑπείληπται. 11. 13. καὶ μὴν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀσθενήσειεν, ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν νοσηλεύεται θεραπευόμενος ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φροντίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πρεσβῦται, κἂν εἰ τύχοιεν ἄτεκνοι, καθάπερ οὐ πολὺπαιδες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα εὐπαιδες, ἐν εὐτυχεστάτῳ καὶ λιπαρωτάτῳ γήρᾳ τὸν βίον εἰώθασι καταλύειν, ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων προνομίας ἀξιούμενοι καὶ τιμῆς ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ μᾶλλον 440

## HYPOTHETICA, 11. 7-13

lasting than those of the athlete in as much as they can still be plied with vigour when that of the body is past its prime. 11. 8. Some of them labour on the land skilled in sowing and planting, some as herdsmen taking charge of every kind of cattle and some superintend the swarms of bees. 11. 9. Others work at the handicrafts to avoid the sufferings which are forced upon us by our indispensable requirements and shrink from no innocent way of getting a livelihood. 11. 10. Each branch when it has received the wages of these so different occupations gives it to one person who has been appointed as treasurer. He takes it and at once buys what is necessary and provides food in abundance and anything else which human life requires. 11. 11. Thus having each day a common life and a common table they are content with the same conditions, lovers of frugality who shun expensive luxury as a disease of both body and soul. 11. 12. And not only is their table in common but their clothing also. For in winter they have a stock of stout coats ready and in summer cheap vests,<sup>a</sup> so that he who wishes may easily take any garment he likes, since what one has is held to belong to all and conversely what all have one has. 11. 13. Again if anyone is sick he is nursed at the common expense and tended with care and thoughtfulness by all. The old men too even if they are childless are treated as parents of a not merely numerous but very filial family and regularly close their life with an exceedingly prosperous and comfortable old age; so many are those who give them precedence and honour as their due and minister to them as a duty voluntarily and deliberately ac-

<sup>a</sup> Or " tunics," *cf. De Vit. Cont.* 38.

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ἢ φύσεως ἀνάγκη θεραπεύειν ἀξιούντων.

11. 14. ἔτι τοίνυν ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα τὴν κοινωनीαν ἔμελλε διαλύειν ὀξυδερκέστερον ἰδόντες γάμον παρητήσαντο μετὰ τοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν. Ἐσσαίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄγεται γυναῖκα, διότι φίλαυτον ἢ γυνὴ καὶ ζηλότυπον οὐ μετρίως καὶ δεινὸν ἀνδρὸς ἦθη παλεῦσαι καὶ συν-  
 [634] γὰρ θῶπας λόγους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην | ὑπόκρισιν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, ὅψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς ὅταν δελεάσῃ, δι-  
 ηπατημένων οἷα ὑπηκόων τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φενα-  
 κίζει. 11. 16. παῖδες δ' εἰ γένοιτο, φρονήματος ὑποπλησθεῖσα καὶ παρρησίας ὅσα κατ' εἰρωνείαν πρότερον ὑπούλως ὑπηγνίτετο, ταῦτα ἀπ' εὐ-  
 381 τολμοτέρου θράσους ἐκλαλεῖ καὶ ἀναισχυντοῦσα βιάζεται πράττειν ὧν ἕκαστον κοινωνίας ἐχθρόν.  
 11. 17. ὁ γὰρ ἢ γυναικὸς φίλτροις ἐνδεθεὶς ἢ τέκνων ἀνάγκη φύσεως προκηδόμενος οὐκέτι πρὸς ἄλλους ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἕτερος λέληθε γεγονώς,<sup>1</sup> ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου δούλος.

11. 18. Οὕτως γοῦν ὁ βίος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν περι-  
 μάχητος, ὥστ' οὐκ ἰδιῶται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἀγάμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρας τεθήπασι καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῶν ἀποδοχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς ἔτι μᾶλλον σεμνοποιοῦσι.

<sup>1</sup> Other editions γέγονε λεληθώς.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. ἔριδες ἐκ πάθους γυναικείου, ζηλοτυπίας *Spec. Leg.* i. 108. This diatribe must not, I think, be taken as Philo's definite opinion, but rather as what might be plausibly argued by the Essenes.

## HYPOTHETICA, 11. 13-18

cepted rather than enforced by nature.

11. 14. Furthermore they eschew marriage because they clearly discern it to be the sole or the principal danger to the maintenance of the communal life, as well as because they particularly practise continence. For no Essene takes a wife, because a wife is a selfish creature, excessively jealous<sup>a</sup> and an adept at beguiling the morals of her husband and seducing him by her continued impostures. 11. 15. For by the fawning talk which she practises and the other ways in which she plays her part like an actress on the stage she first ensnares the sight and hearing, and when these subjects as it were have been duped she cajoles the sovereign mind. 11. 16. And if children come, filled with the spirit of arrogance and bold speaking she gives utterance with more audacious hardihood to things which before she hinted covertly and under disguise, and casting off all shame she compels him to commit actions which are all hostile to the life of fellowship. 11. 17. For he who is either fast bound in the love lures of his wife or under the stress of nature makes his children his first care ceases to be the same to others and unconsciously has become a different man and has passed from freedom into slavery.

11. 18. Such then is the life of the Essenes, a life so highly to be prized that not only commoners but also great kings look upon them with admiration and amazement, and the approbation and honours which they give add further veneration to their venerable name.





ON PROVIDENCE  
(DE PROVIDENTIA)



## INTRODUCTION TO *DE PROVIDENTIA*

As stated in the Preface the fragments from the *De Providentia* recorded by Eusebius stand on a different footing from the extracts from the *Hypothetica*, in that not only they but the whole treatise of which they are a part exist in an Armenian version.<sup>a</sup> It consists of two books, both cast at any rate originally in the form of a dialogue between Philo who maintains the belief that the world is governed by Providence and one Alexander who puts forth his doubts and difficulties. This Alexander may be taken with fair certainty to be Philo's nephew Alexander Tiberius, who afterwards apostatized from Judaism.

As Eusebius's extracts are all drawn from the second book we need not trouble with the much shorter first book. It will be enough to record Wendland's verdict without necessarily accepting it entirely. It amounts to this. It has been worked over by a clumsy hand which has destroyed the interlocutory setting, and torn the thoughts away from their essential order; it includes two large Christian interpolations, but otherwise is genuinely Philonic. The second book, which is twice the length, has no such difficulties. The dialogue is

<sup>a</sup> The Armenian version was translated into Latin by Aucher in 1822, together with another, *De Animalibus*. It is this Latin translation which is always quoted by commentators and editors of Philo.

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clearly maintained throughout. There is nothing which suggests interpolation and the parallelism both of thought and language, at any rate in the part of which the original is preserved by Eusebius, gives overwhelming evidence of its genuineness. This is particularly true of the first part of the second fragment. It is very remarkable therefore that it is more devoid of traces of Judaism than even the *Quod Omn. Prob.* and the *De Aet.* There are no allusions to the O.T., and no mention of Moses; the one and only fact which suggests that the writer is a Jew is the personal allusion to his visit to Jerusalem via Ascalon (§ 64). This has naturally raised doubts in the minds of critics who have not made themselves thoroughly familiar with Philo's thoughts and diction, but Wendland's<sup>a</sup> searching analysis and collection of the parallels can hardly fail to carry conviction to the most sceptical, and even without this any fairly careful reader of Philo will constantly feel, as he goes through the Greek of the *De Providentia*, that he has seen something like this before though he cannot exactly say where it is to be found.

Eusebius has recorded something like two-thirds of Philo's answers to Alexander's argument but of the argument itself only the first section of this text, and even this he represents as if it were a statement by Philo himself of the objections which opponents might adduce—there are occasional uses of a second person singular but otherwise there is hardly anything to suggest a dialogue.

The omission of the opponent's case is not seriously felt either in the short extract given here as Frag-

<sup>a</sup> *Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung*, 1892.

## ON PROVIDENCE

ment (1), or in the long answer to the argument that Providence, if it exists, treats the good too badly and the bad too well. For this is a difficulty felt in every age and probably found in every literature from Job and Asaph onwards. Philo was able to manipulate, even if he did not entirely invent, the part which Alexander plays, and he does not seem to have treated his opponent fairly in making him quote as examples of the good fortune of the wicked Polycrates, who was finally impaled, and Dionysius, whose life of perpetual anxiety was proverbial. In the second part of this extract things are rather different and the suppression of Alexander's difficulties makes the discourse seem disjointed. The references for instance to the country of the Cyclopes, to the habits of swallows, snakes and crocodiles seem a chaotic ramble until we turn to the argumentation to which they are an answer.

For the full understanding of this part of the extract the earlier part of the Armenian version is invaluable. What is its value in the part where the Greek and Armenian stand side by side? As a translation, not much, nor would it be very much, even if Aucher's Latin was always intelligible, or if we were sure that he had always rendered the Armenian accurately. But in deciding the text it has a value which seems to have been ignored by the editors of the *Praeparatio*.<sup>a</sup> Where the Latin

<sup>a</sup> I do not see in the editions of either Gaisford or Gifford, who give a critical apparatus, any allusions to the readings of the Armenian, nor in either Heinichen's or Dindorf's edition any sign that they have been taken into account, though Aucher's translation was available to them all. None of them probably knew any Armenian, and Wendland, who as far as I can ascertain, was the first to make use of it

## PHILO

corresponds closely to the Greek there is often some word or phrase which clearly points to a variant from the text of all or most of the mss. of Eusebius and constitutes an important independent authority. Several examples of this will be found in the notes.

What was said in the introduction to *Quod Omn. Prob.*, that it may probably be ascribed to an earlier stage in Philo's spiritual life when his mind was more occupied with Greek philosophy and he had not yet settled down to his great task of interpreting the Pentateuch in the light of that philosophy, may be said of this treatise and also of the *De Aet.* if that is his work.

The following is an analysis of the extracts :

First fragment—The Divine artist in creating the Cosmos may be held to have accomplished what human artists aim at, namely, to use exactly the right amount of matter.

Second fragment—Alexander says that the wicked as a rule fare best and the good fare worst and that this shows that human life is not governed by Providence (1). Philo replies that if God does not at once punish the wicked it is on the same principle as that a father does not at once cast off a profligate

for this purpose, tells us that he was equally ignorant of it, but he had great help from Conybeare, who was a distinguished Armenian scholar.

An Armenian version also exists for several treatises in the six volumes of Cohn and Wendland and is frequently cited by them, and these citations have been occasionally noted in this translation, though I do not remember many places except in the *De Vit. Cont.* where it has had much influence on them. They had, I suppose, no authoritative version of the Armenian like Aucher's to assist them.

## ON PROVIDENCE

son (2-6). Also that the wicked are never really happy (7-8). The external goods valued by men are not valued by God or by the wise (9-10). Gold and silver are but lumps of earth though we fight for their possession (10-12). So with clothes, so with reputation (13). Bodily strength (14). Beauty (15). All these the true philosopher despises (16). The physician who is called in to attend a king does not waste time in admiring the royal trappings but goes straight to his patient (17). So, too, the physician of the soul should treat spiritual maladies and not be dazzled by external things or misled by the judgement of the evil world (18-20). It is no wonder therefore that the sages defied poverty (21) and the ill-treatment they receive is a necessary consequence of the moral atmosphere around them, even as the rain falls upon the just and the unjust (22-23). Alexander has cited the cases of Polycrates and the elder Dionysius. Polycrates' ultimate fate and his life of anxiety is an answer to this (24-25). And so too with Dionysius—witness the stories of his suspicions of his wife (26-28) and of Damocles (29-30). This is followed by general reflections on the mental sufferings sustained by such as these (30-32). The fate of the Phocian leaders who robbed the temple at Delphi shows that Heaven sometimes sends an immediate punishment for sin (33-34). And if tyrants sometimes remain unpunished we must remember first that God's judgement of their deserts are surer than ours (35-36) and also that they may be ministers sent to purge a sinful land, just as he sends pestilence and the like for the same purpose (37-42).

In the second part of this discourse he deals first

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with the disasters caused by natural phenomena, such as storms. All these are explained on the theory of "attendant circumstances" on the primary works of nature which are rightly regarded as providential (43-46). At the same time these attendant circumstances may be indirectly useful and illustrations of this are given (47-50). Phenomena which we do not understand, at any rate give an opportunity for research which is in itself valuable (51-52). The same applies to earthquakes and pestilences which are not to be regarded as Divine judgement (this seems to contradict 41). And that some even of the just should suffer from them is as inevitable as their participation in the dangers of a storm (53-55). Other points which Alexander has raised are then dealt with.<sup>a</sup> The existence of savage beasts is no reflection on Providence. Hunting them develops courage and the less courageous can easily guard against them if they are reasonably careful (56-58). Reptiles if generated from putrefaction may be classed as "attendant circumstances" (59), if generated in the ordinary way they may be accounted for on the grounds that their poisons are useful in compounding drugs and also it is suggested that they are sent as ministers of punishment (60-61). Alexander had also made a point of their hiding in houses, which Philo denies. At any rate if they sometimes do so it is the accumulation of rubbish which brings them (62). He also asked why Providence made the swallow frequent houses while the birds which we eat keep away. Philo replies that

<sup>a</sup> The objections raised by Alexander, which are indispensable for understanding the latter part of the treatise, are for convenience stated again more fully in the notes to the text.



## ON PROVIDENCE

the swallows know that men will not hurt them, and illustrates this by the habits of the pigeons at Ascalon where they may not be eaten, and the crocodiles in parts where they are held in honour by the Egyptians (63-65). Alexander contrasted the fertility according to Homer of the land of the unjust Cyclopes with the barrenness of Greece, the country of the wise. The story of the Cyclopes, says Philo, is a fable and the dry climate of Greece though bad for the vegetation is good for intellect (66-68). Again he asks, why should Providence create animals and scents, both of which pander to luxury? Philo replies that we need not eat animal flesh and that scents of flowers have other uses (69-71). He concludes by saying that he thinks he has given a satisfactory answer to Alexander's difficulties.

## DE PROVIDENTIA

(EUS. PRAEP. EVANG. VII. 21, 336 b—337 a)

[625] Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς οὐσίας, εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὄντως, ἐκείνο λεκτέον. ἔστοχάσατο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ Θεὸς αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης ὡς [626] μήτ' ἐνδέοι μήθ' ὑπερβάλλοι. καίγαρ | ἄτοπον ἦν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ μέρος τεχνίταις, ὅποτε τι δημιουργοῖεν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολυτελῶν, τὸ ἐν ὕλαις αὐταρκες σταθμῆσασθαι, τὸν δ' ἀριθμούς καὶ μέτρα καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἰσότητας ἀνευρηκότα μὴ φροντίσαι τοῦ ἱκανοῦ. λέξω δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας, ὅτι οὗτ' ἐλάττωνος οὔτε πλείονος οὐσίας ἔδει τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς κατασκευὴν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο τέλειος, οὐδ' ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρος· εὖ δὲ δεδημιουργημένος ἐκ τελείας οὐσίας ἀπετελέσθη· πανσόφου γὰρ τὴν τέχνην ἴδιον, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινος κατασκευῆς, τὴν ἱκανὴν ἰδεῖν ὕλην. ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὖν κἂν εἰ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διαφέρῃ, μὴ δυνάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν συγγενῆ τῶν θνητῶν πλάνην, ἀπατωτο

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<sup>a</sup> The context of this fragment (Aucher, pp. 78-82) is as follows : Alexander has asked why, if God created the world, was just this amount of matter used and why just four elements taken. Philo, conceding for the sake of argument that matter may have been unoriginate, argues that this

## ON PROVIDENCE

(FRAGMENT I)<sup>a</sup>

As to the quantity of the substance assuming that it<sup>b</sup> was really created what we have to say is this. God estimated for the creation of the world just sufficient matter that there should be neither deficiency nor excess. For it would be monstrous to suppose that while particular craftsmen when framing something, especially anything costly, estimate what material is just sufficient, He who invented numbers, measures and equality in them had no thought for what was adequate. I will say indeed with all confidence that the world needed neither less nor more substance for its construction, since otherwise it would not have been made perfect nor complete in all its parts, whereas actually it was made excellently out of a perfect substance. For it is a characteristic of a complete master of his art to see before he begins any constructive work that he has sufficient material. Now a man even if superior to everyone in knowledge may perhaps, as he cannot escape the errors congenital to mortals, be deceived as to the quantity of would not exclude the work of Providence in shaping it into the Cosmos.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably the *οὐσία*. But I do not understand the clause, for the assumption on which he is arguing is that it was not created by God. See App. p. 541.

## PHILO

ἂν ἴσως περὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς ὕλης, ὅποτε  
 τεχνιτεῖοι· τότε μὲν ὡς ἐλάττονι<sup>1</sup> προστιθέναι, τότε  
 δὲ ὡς περιττῆς ἀφαιρεῖν· ὁ δὲ πηγὴ τις ὢν ἐπι-  
 στημῶν, ἐνδέον ἢ περιττεύον οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ὑπο-  
 βάλλεσθαι, μέτροις ἄτε χρώμενος εἰς ἀκρίβειαν  
 337 ὑπερφυῶς πεπονημένοις ἅπασιν ἐπαινετοῖς. ὁ δὲ  
 βουλόμενος ἄλλως ὑθλεῖν οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι καὶ τὰ  
 πάντων ἔργα τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀντία<sup>2</sup> τιθέμενος, ὡς  
 ἄμεινον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντα προσθέσει  
 τινὸς ἢ μειώσει τῶν ἐν ὕλαις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ σοφιστείας  
 μὲν ἔργον εὐρεσιλογεῖν, σοφίας δὲ ἕκαστα διερευνᾶν  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει.

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἔλαττον εὐρεσιλογεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> So Viger, Heinichen and Gifford for mss. αἴτια. I should myself prefer to retain αἴτια with Gaisford and Dindorf but insert ἂν after ἄμεινον = they are sure to bring it against the work of craftsmen as a whole that it might have been improved by using less or more, *i.e.* no human work uses an absolutely perfect amount of material and the same may be

## ON PROVIDENCE, 1

material needed when he practises his craft. He may sometimes find it too little and have to add, sometimes excessive and have to take away. But He who is as it were the fountain head of all knowledge was sure to provide nothing deficient or superfluous, since the standards which He employs are all to be extolled as elaborated with absolute accuracy. A person who wishes to waste his time in foolishness is sure <sup>a</sup> also to confront us at once with the works of all other craftsmen as having improved their construction by adding to or diminishing the material. But we leave futile argument for the sophist: the task of wisdom is to investigate all that nature has to show.

<sup>a</sup> For this idiomatic use of *οὐκ ἄν φθάνοι*, to express an immediate or inevitable action, see lexicon.

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true of the Cosmos. The Armenian seems to have read *αἴτια* ("cunctorum opera artificum accusabit"), though what follows seems widely different from the Greek.

## DE PROVIDENTIA

(EUS. PRAEP. EVANG. VIII. 14, 386—399)

[634]

1

Κατασκευάζει δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

Πρόνοιαν εἶναι λέγεις ἐν τοσαύτῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ταραχῇ καὶ συγχύσει; τί γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διατέτακται; τί μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀταξίας γέμει καὶ φθορᾶς; ἢ μόνος ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν κακίστοις καὶ πονηροτάτοις ἄφθονα ἐπικωμᾶζει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, τιμαὶ παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν· ἡγεμονία πάλιν, ὑγεία, εὐαισθησία, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῶν ἀκώλυτος, διὰ τε παρασκευῶν περιουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰρηνικωτάτην σώματος εὐμοιρίαν; οἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης ἐρασταί τε καὶ ἀσκηταὶ πάντες εἰσὶν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πένητες, ἀφανεῖς, ἄδοξοι, ταπεινοί;

2 Ταῦτα εἰς ἀνασκευὴν καὶ μυρία ἄλλα πλείω τούτων εἰπών,

<sup>a</sup> See Introduction, p. 448.

<sup>b</sup> Alexander goes on to enlarge on all these injustices and to argue that they cannot be the work of a just providence. He then mentions specific cases, Polycrates and the elder Dionysius, both of which are later answered by Philo. He also says that the fall of the son of Dionysius is not to the point, for a just ruler does not punish the children for the guilt of the father (see § 55). He then speaks of the martyrdoms of Socrates, Zeno and Anaxarchus (*cf. Quod Omn. Prob.* 106 ff.). Philo in his reply does not deal with these.

## ON PROVIDENCE

### (FRAGMENT 2)

THIS is the method in which he conducts this discussion. <sup>1</sup>  
Alexander says “:

“ Do you maintain the existence of providence amid this vast welter and confusion of things? For what part of human life is subject to order, nay, what is not brimful of disorder and corruption? Or are you alone ignorant that to the worst and vilest of men good things in abundance come crowding in, wealth, high repute, honours paid to them by the masses, again authority, health with efficiency of the senses, beauty, strength, unimpeded enjoyment of pleasures through the abundance of their resources and the bodily well-being free from all disturbance which they possess, while the lovers and practisers of wisdom and every virtue are almost universally poor, obscure, of little repute and in a humble position? ”

After stating these and a host of others <sup>b</sup> on the negative <sup>2</sup>

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In fact Alexander is represented as more or less answering himself. For he says of Zeno that by his endurance he earned high praise and of Anaxarchus that he could not really suffer affliction, “ qui divinae partis dignus est factus.”

The first part of Philo's reply is not given by Eusebius. In it in answer to Alexander's assertion of the poverty of the just, he points out that Democritus and Anaxagoras voluntarily resigned their property (*cf. De Vit. Cont.* 14 and 15, where a somewhat different view of their conduct is taken).

## PHILO

*ἐξῆς ἐπιλύεται τὰς ἀντιθέσεις διὰ τούτων.*

Οὐ τύραννος ὁ Θεός, ὠμότητα καὶ βίαν καὶ ὅσα  
 [635] δεσπότης ἀνημέρου | ἀρχῆς ἔργα ἐπιτετηδευκώς,  
 ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ἡμερον καὶ νόμιμον ἀνημμένος  
 ἡγεμονίαν, μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρα-  
 3 νόν τε καὶ κόσμον βραβεύει. βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι  
 πρόσρησις οἰκειότερα πατρός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς  
 συγγενείαις πρὸς τέκνα γονεῖς, τοῦτο βασιλεὺς μὲν  
 πρὸς πόλιν, πρὸς δὲ κόσμον ὁ Θεός, δύο κάλλιστα  
 φύσεως θεσμοῖς ἀκινήτοις ἀδιαλύτῳ ἐνώσει ἀρμοσά-  
 4 μενος, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κηδεμονικοῦ.  
 καθάπερ οὖν τῶν ἀσώτων υἰέων οὐ περιορῶσιν οἱ  
 τοκέες, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας οἶκτον λαμβάνοντες  
 περιέπουσι καὶ τημελοῦσι, νομίζοντες ἐχθρῶν  
 ἀσπόνδων ἔργον εἶναι κακοπραγίαις ἐπεμβαίνειν,  
 φίλων δὲ καὶ συγγενῶν ἐπελαφρίζειν τὰ πταίσματα.  
 5 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς σῶφροσιν  
 ἐπιδαιψιλευόμενοι χαρίζονται, σαφῶς εἰδότες, ὡς  
 ἐκείνοις μὲν ἄφθονος εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀφορμὴ πάρεστιν  
 ἢ σωφροσύνη, τοῖς δ' ἐλπίς μία οἱ γονεῖς, ἧς εἰ  
 6 σφαλεῖεν, ἀπορήσουσι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ Θεός, λογικῆς συνέσεως πατὴρ  
 ὢν, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν λογισμοῦ μεμοιραμένων  
 387 κῆδεται, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαιτίως ζώντων,  
 ἅμα μὲν καιρὸν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς διδούς,  
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἴλεων φύσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπερβαίνων,

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<sup>a</sup> ἀνασκευή is the regular term for a destructive argument. Cf. Quintilian ii. 4. 18 "opus confirmandi destruendique eas (i.e. narrationes) quod κατασκευή et ἀνασκευή vocatur." κατασκευή (-άζω) can be used in a more general way as above.



## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 2-6

side <sup>a</sup> he next proceeds to refute the objections as follows.

God is not a tyrant who has made a practice of cruelty and violence and all the deeds committed by a despot who rules by ruthlessness, but a king invested with a kindly and law-abiding sovereignty who governs the whole heaven and earth with justice. Now for a king there is no fitter name than father, <sup>3</sup> for what the father in family life is to the children the king is to the state and God is to the world,<sup>b</sup>—God who under the immutable laws of nature has joined in indissoluble union two things most excellent, governorship and guardianship. Now parents do <sup>4</sup> not lose thought for their wastrel children but, in pity for their unhappy state, bestow on them care and attention, deeming that it is only mortal enemies who take advantage of the miseries of others to trample on them, while friends and kinsmen should lighten their downfall.<sup>c</sup> Often too they lavish their <sup>5</sup> kindness on the wastrels more than on the well behaved, knowing well that these have in their sober disposition a plentiful source of prosperity while the wastrels' one hope is in their parents, and if this fail them they will lack the very necessities of life. In the same way God too the Father of reasonable <sup>6</sup> intelligence has indeed all who are endowed with reason under His care but takes thought also for those who live a misspent life, thereby giving them time for reformation and also keeping within the bounds of His merciful nature, which has for its attendant

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius at this point has omitted some words "and therefore in the greatest of poets, Homer, Zeus is called the father of gods and men."

<sup>c</sup> On the line of thought taken in this section see App. p. 541.

## PHILO

ἧς ὁπαδὸς ἀρετὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπία γέγονεν, ἐπαξία τὸν θεῖον περιπολεῖν κόσμον.

7 Ἐνα μὲν δὴ λόγον τοῦτον, ὧ ψυχῇ,<sup>1</sup> δέξαι τέως αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην, ἕτερον δὲ συνωδὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αὐτῷ τοιόνδε. μὴ τοσοῦτόν ποτε ψευσθείης τῆς ἀληθείας, ὡς εὐδαίμονά τινα τῶν φαύλων εἶναι νομίσαι, κἂν πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἦ Κροίσου, Λυγκέως δ' ὄξυωπέστερος, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου Μίλωνος, καλλίων δὲ Γανυμήδους,

“ὄν καὶ ἀνηρέψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεῦειν,  
κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἴο.”

8 τὸν γοῦν ἴδιον δαίμονα, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν, μυρίων ὄσων δεσποτῶν δούλον ἀποφήνας, ἔρωτος, ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἀφροσύνης, ἀκολασίας, δειλίας, ἀδικίας, οὐκ ἂν εἶναί ποτε δύναιτο εὐδαίμων, κἂν οἱ πολλοὶ σφαλλόμενοι κρίσεως ἀληθοῦς νομίζωσι, δεκασθέντες ὑπὸ κακοῦ διδύμου, τύφου καὶ κενῆς δόξης, δεινῶν παλεῦσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν ἀνερματίστους ψυχάς, περὶ ἃ  
9 κηραίνει γένος τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. εἰ μέντοι

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian seems to have read *ψυχῇ* (“in animum accipe”), which certainly seems more appropriate to a dialogue. On the other hand such an address to the soul or mind in general is thoroughly Philonic, cf. *De Cher.* 29, *De Sac.* 20; and in these sections 6-18 he is so seriously pursuing one of his favourite doctrines that we may well believe him to have cast aside for a moment the thought of a dialogue.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps “traverse,” i.e. leave no part unvisited, as

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 6-9

virtue and loving kindness well fitted to keep watch as sentry <sup>a</sup> around God's world.

Here is one thought. Receive it, O soul, and ponder <sup>7</sup> it awhile as a trust committed to thee by Him, but receive also another in harmony and agreement with it. It is this. Mayst thou never be so led astray from the truth as to think that happiness is the lot of any of the wicked though he excel Croesus in wealth, Lynceus in keen sight, Milo of Croton in muscular strength and Ganymede in beauty,

He who was for his beauty by the gods  
Caught up to be the cupbearer of Zeus.<sup>b</sup>

Surely <sup>c</sup> if he has brought the ruler of his lot,<sup>d</sup> that is <sup>8</sup> his mind, into slavery to a host of masters, love, lust, pleasure, fear, grief, folly, incontinence, cowardice, injustice, happiness can never be his lot, however much it seems so to the multitude led astray from true judgement, seduced by the twofold pest, vain pomps and vain imaginations which are so highly skilled to cajole and mislead unballasted souls and are the source of disaster <sup>e</sup> to most of the human race. If <sup>9</sup>

God's scouts observing the needs of all. Hardly "pervade," as Gifford.

<sup>b</sup> *Il.* xx. 234.

<sup>c</sup> Philo's *γοῦν* can rarely be translated (as by Gifford here) by the traditional "at least." It generally serves to introduce an example or illustration and may be given by "thus." Here it introduces a definition of the *φάυλος* which shows his essential *κακοδαιμονία*.

<sup>d</sup> For *τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα* cf. *τὸν οἰκείον δαίμονα* *Flaccus* 168. The force of the adjective in both cases is to mark that *δαίμων* here indicates the genius or personified fate of the individual and not a demon or supernatural being in general. (So perhaps rather than as in note on p. 394.)

<sup>e</sup> Or "of anxiety." On Philo's use of this phrase see App. p. 542.

## PHILO

- [636] τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς | ὄμμα τείνας βουληθείης περιαθρήσαι  
 Θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῶ,  
 τρανωτέραν τὴν τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοῦ λαβὼν  
 φαντασίαν, γελᾶσθαι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἃ τέως ἐθαύμαζες.  
 αἰεὶ γὰρ ἀπουσία τῶν κρειττόνων τιμᾶται τὰ  
 χείρονα, τὴν ἐκείνων κληρονομοῦντα τάξιν· ἐπι-  
 φανέντων δὲ ὑποστέλλει, δευτερείους ἄθλων ἀρκού-  
 10 μενα. καταπλαγεῖς οὖν τὸ θεοειδὲς ἐκείνο ἀγαθόν  
 τε καὶ καλόν, πάντως ἐννοήσεις, ὅτι παρὰ Θεῶ  
 τῶν εἰρημένων πρότερον οὐδὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ τῆς  
 ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἠξίωται, διότι τὰ μὲν ἀργύρου  
 μέταλλα καὶ χρυσοῦ γῆς ἐστὶ ἡ φαυλοτάτη μοῖρα,  
 τῆς πρὸς καρπῶν ἀνειμένης γένεσιν ὄλω καὶ τῷ  
 11 παντὶ λειπομένη. οὐ γάρ ἐστ' ὁμοιον τροφῆς, ἥς  
 ἄνευ ζῆν ἀδύνατον, εὐπορία<sup>1</sup> χρημάτων. μία τού-  
 των ἐστὶ βάσανος ἐναργεστάτη λιμός, ᾧ τὸ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον δοκιμάζεται·  
 θησαυροὺς γὰρ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ἀντικατ-  
 ἀλλάξαιτ' ἂν τις βραχείας ποτὲ τροφῆς ἄσμενος.  
 12 ὅταν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθονία, μυρίῳ φορᾶς  
 <καὶ> ἀκατασχέτῳ πλήθει ῥυεῖσα, κατὰ πόλεις  
 ἀναχέηται, τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθοῖς ἐντροφῶντες,  
 388 ἐπ' αὐτῶν μόνων οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἴστασθαι, κόρον  
 δ' ὑβριστὴν ἠγεμόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενοι, ἀργύρου  
 τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεσιν ἐπαποδύντες, ἅπασι, παρ'  
 ὧν ἂν τι κερδανεῖν ἐπελπίσωμεν, κονιόμεθα

<sup>1</sup> Gifford following Mangey reads εὐπορία <καὶ> χρημάτων, believing that ὁμοιος cannot be followed by a genitive. But cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 41. If emendation is required rather τροφῆ, cf. the Armenian "non est similis cibo . . . opum possessio."

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 9-12

indeed you would strain the soul's eyes to contemplate the providence of God as far as human reason can do so, you will gain a clearer vision of the true good and laugh to scorn what here are reckoned as goods which hitherto had your admiration. For in the absence of the better things worse are always held in honour and succeed to the position which belongs to the better, but when these return the worse withdraw and have to be content with the second prize. Then 10 awestruck at that divine revelation, so good and excellent, you will surely recognize that none of the things mentioned above ranks of itself in the sight of God as a good ; for mines of silver and gold are the most worthless portion of the earth, utterly and absolutely inferior to that which is given up to the production of fruit. For there is no likeness between 11 abundance of money, and the food without which we cannot live. The one clearest proof of this is famine, which tests what is truly necessary and useful. For anyone would gladly exchange all the treasures in the world for a little food. But when the lavish supply 12 of necessaries spreads in a vast resistless flood from city to city we enjoy the luxury of these good gifts of nature but are not content to confine ourselves to them. We take insolent satiety <sup>a</sup> as our guide in life and prepare ourselves for the task of acquiring gold and silver, armed <sup>b</sup> with every means by which we may hope to get some gain, like blind men whose mind

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Flacc.* 91 and see note on *De Virt.* 162.

<sup>b</sup> Both ἐπαποδύεσθαι and κοιέσθαι are favourite words of Philo (cf. *Flacc.* 128, *Hyp.* 11. 6 and *Flacc.* 104). When they occur together as here and in *Quod Det.* 32 and *De Abr.* 256 they presumably indicate the preliminary and the final stage in the preparation for any action, the stripping preceding the powdering.

## PHILO

- καθάπερ τυφλοί, μηκέτι τῇ διανοίᾳ βλέποντες ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ὅτι γῆς εἰσὶν ὄγκοι, περὶ ὧν ἐκ μὲν
- 13 εἰρήνης συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιάστατος πόλεμος. ἐσθῆ-  
 τές γε μὴν προβάτων εἰσὶν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ που  
 φασίν, ἄνθος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δημιουργὸν τέχνην,  
 ὑφαντῶν ἔπαινος. εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ δόξῃ μέγα φρονεῖ,  
 τὴν παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀποδοχὴν ἀσπαζόμενος,  
 ἴστω μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς φαῦλος ὧν· τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον
- 14 χαίρει τῷ ὁμοίῳ. εὐχέσθω δὲ καθαρσίων μετα-  
 λαχῶν ἰαθῆναι τὰ ὦτα, δι' ὧν αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχῆ  
 νόσοι κατασκήπτουσι. μαθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπ'  
 εὐτονία πεφύσηνται μὴ ὑψαυχενεῖν, ἀπιδόντες εἰς  
 τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ἀτιθάσων ζώων ἀμυθήτους  
 ἀγέλας, αἷς ἰσχὺς καὶ ῥώμη συγγεγένηται. τῶν  
 γὰρ ἀτοπωτάτων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θηρίων ἀρεταῖς, καὶ  
 ταῦτα παρενημερούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἄνθρωπον
- 15 ὄντα σεμνύνεσθαι. διὰ τί δ' ἂν τις εὖ φρονῶν  
 ἐπὶ σώματος εὐμορφία ἀγάλλοιτο, ἢν βραχὺς
- [637] καιρὸς ἔσβησε, πρὶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀνθῆσαι, | τὴν  
 ἀπατηλὴν αὐτῆς ἀκμὴν ἀμαυρώσας, καὶ ταῦθ'  
 ὄρων ἐν ἀψύχοις περιμάχητα καλλιγράφων ἔργα  
 καὶ πλαστῶν καὶ ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν, ἐν τε ζωγρα-  
 φήμασι, καὶ ἀνδριάσι, καὶ ὑφασμάτων ποικιλίαις,  
 ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην
- 16 εὐδοκιμοῦντα; τούτων οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲν  
 παρὰ Θεῷ τῆς <του> ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἠξίωται. καὶ  
 τί θαυμάζομεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ Θεῷ; οὐδὲ γὰρ παρὰ  
 ἀνθρώποις τοῖς θεοφιλέσι, παρ' οἷς τὰ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ τετίμηται, φύσεως μὲν  
 εὐμοίρου λαχοῦσι, μελέτῃ δὲ μετ' ἀσκήσεως τὴν  
 φύσιν ἐπικοσμήσασιν, ὧν ἡ ἄνοθος φιλοσοφία

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 12-16

through covetousness has lost the power to see that it is for lumps of earth that we forfeit peace and wage a constant and persistent war. As for clothes, they are 13 but what the poets call the flower of the sheep<sup>a</sup> and on the craftsman's side a credit to the weavers. And if anyone prides himself on his prestige and welcomes with open arms the approval of the worthless he may be assured of his own worthlessness, for like delights 14 in like. Let him pray to get purging medicine for his ears, through which pass heavy maladies to strike the soul. And all who puff themselves up on their bodily strength must learn not to be proud necked but turn their eyes to the myriad kinds of animals tame and wild, in which bodily strength and muscle are congenital. It is a monstrous absurdity for a human being to pride himself on excellencies which belong to savage beasts when actually he is outdone in these by them. And why should anyone of good 15 sense glory in bodily beauty which ere it has flowered for its full span is brought to extinction by a brief season which dims the brightness of its delusive prime?—particularly when he sees exhibited in lifeless forms the much prized work of painters, sculptors and other artists, in portraits, statues and cunning tapestry work, works which are famous in every city throughout Greece and the outside world. None of these as 16 I have said is ranked in God's sight as a good. And why should we wonder that God does not accept them as goods?—since neither do godly men accept them, who honour things truly good and excellent, men who have been blest with a gifted nature and by study and exercise have further beautified that nature, men who have been made what they are by genuine

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Il.* xiii. 599 and elsewhere *οἶος ἄωρον*.

## PHILO

17 δημιουργός. ὅσοι δὲ νόθου παιδείας ἐπεμελήθησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἐμιμήσαντο τὸ δούλον ψυχῆς σῶμα θεραπεύοντας, οἱ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπιφάσκοντες ἰᾶσθαι. ἐκείνοι μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴν τις εὐτυχῆς νοσήσῃ, κἂν ὁ μέγας ἢ βασιλεύς, πάνθ' ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα, τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας, γραφάς, ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, 389 ἄσημον, ἐπίσημον, ἐκπωμάτων ἢ ὑφασμάτων πλήθος, τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων αἰοίδιμον κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ τὴν φίλων ἢ συγγενῶν, ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει θεραπείαν ἐάσαντες,<sup>1</sup> [τῶν σωματοφυλάκων],<sup>2</sup> ἄχρι τῆς εὐνῆς ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἀλογήσαντες, οὐθ' ὅτι κλίνας λιθοκόλλητοι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι θαυμάσαντες, οὐθ' ὅτι ἀραχνοῦφείς ἢ λίθῳ γεγραφημέναι<sup>3</sup> στρωμαί, οὐθ' ὅτι ἐσθημάτων ἰδέαι διάφοροι, προσέτι δὲ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν χλαίνας ἀπαμφιάσαντες,

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἄξαντες, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain. See App. p. 542.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence cannot stand as it is, but I doubt whether Gifford and others are right in regarding τῶν σωμα. as a gloss. The picture seems to have passed from τις εὐτυχῆς to the Great King, and that beside the friends and courtiers he should have bodyguards round his bed is natural enough. I should prefer to read <διά> τῶν σωμα. The Armenian is translated by "per custodes corporis." Also perhaps καὶ should be inserted after συγγενῶν.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase, for which some mss. have λιθογραφημένοι, is justly suspected both because of λιθοκόλλητοι just above and because jewels do not fit well with bedding or with γράφω or γραφέω. Mangey, who asks "why not λίνον for λίθος?", goes on to suggest λινορραφεῖς or λινορραφούμεναι (so Dindorf). But is there any serious objection to the formation of



philosophy.<sup>a</sup> But those whose study has 17  
 been in a spurious culture do not even follow the  
 example of the physicians who treat the body which  
 is the servitor of the soul, though they claim to be  
 healing the mistress. For those physicians of the  
 body, when a man favoured by fortune is sick, even  
 though he be the Great King himself, take no notice  
 of the colonnades, of the men's apartments, of the  
 ladies' bowers, of the pictures, of the silver and gold  
 whether coined or uncoined, of the accumulation of  
 goblets or tapestry work and the rest of the mag-  
 nificence which adorns kingship. They care not for  
 the multitude of serving men or the friends or kins-  
 men or subjects in high positions who are in attend-  
 ance,<sup>b</sup> but make their way to his bed and taking no  
 account of the surroundings of the body itself nor  
 noting with admiration that the beds are inlaid with  
 jewels and of pure gold and that the bedding is of  
 spider-web silk or brocaded, or the coverlets<sup>c</sup> of differ-  
 ent kinds of beauty, they go farther and strip the wrap-

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps better "which (*i.e.* μελέτη and άσκησις) are produced by genuine philosophy," though philosophy cannot properly be said to create the study. But *cf.* *Quod Omn. Prob.* 160.

<sup>b</sup> Or possibly ὄχλον may be governed by ὑπερβάντες and θεραπείαν εάσαντες = "omitting to pay their respects" (to the great people). This would emphasize the antithesis between these physicians and the false physicians of the soul who render homage (προσεκύνουν) to the courtiers (see § 19).

<sup>c</sup> Or "his clothes," and χλαίνας "blankets" (so Gifford).

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λινογραφέω? That it is not known from elsewhere matters little in Philo. The meaning will be the same as that of ἀνοβαφεῖς *De Vit. Cont.* 49. Wendland suggests ἡνογραφημέναι, *cf.* *De Op.* 138. The Armenian has "lapillis descriptum."

## PHILO

ἄπτονται χειρῶν, καὶ τὰς φλέβας προσπιεζοῦντες ἀκριβοῦσι τοὺς παλμούς, εἰ σωτήριοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀναστειλαντες, εἰ περιπληθῆς ἐσθ' ἡ γαστήρ ἐξετάζουσιν· εἰ πεπυρωμένος ὁ θώραξ, εἰ ἄτακτα ἡ καρδία πηδᾷ· κᾶπειτα τὴν οἰκείαν προσφέρουσι θεραπείαν.

- 18 ἔδει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἰατρικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας ἐπιτηδεύειν τῆς φύσει βασιλίδος ψυχῆς, καταφρονεῖν μὲν ἀπάντων ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφοπλαστοῦσιν, εἴσω δὲ προσιόντας ἄπτεσθαι διανοίας αὐτῆς, εἰ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνισοταχεῖς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν κεκινημένοι παλμοί, ἄπτεσθαι καὶ γλώττης, εἰ [638] τραχεῖα καὶ | κακῆγορος, εἰ πεπορνευκυῖα καὶ ἀταμίευτος, ἄπτεσθαι καὶ γαστρός, εἰ ἀπλήστω σχήματι<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθυμίας διώδηκε· καὶ συνόλως παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων, εἰ κεκρᾶσθαι δοκεῖ, διερευνᾶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μὴ διαμαρτάνωσι
- 19 τῶν προσφόρων εἰς τὸ σώζειν. νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἔξω περιαιγασθέντες λαμπρότητος, ἅτε νοητὸν φῶς ἰδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα λογισμὸν φθάσαι μὴ δυναθέντες, ἄχρι δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων μόλις ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἀρετῆς, πλοῦτόν τε καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ

<sup>1</sup> See note a. Mangey suggested *φυσήματι* or *ρέυματι*. But I should like to read *ἀπλήστω θρέμματι ἐπιθυμία*, cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 74, *Spec. Leg.* i. 148, iv. 94. The regular association of this Platonic phrase with the belly makes it very suitable here. I do not know that the change of letters involved is very promising, but it is a remarkable coincidence that in *De Mut.* 105 the mss. have *σχημάτων*, which has been with general acceptance corrected to *θρεμμάτων*. But see App. p. 543.

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 17-19

pings off him and take hold of his hands and squeezing the veins mark carefully the pulsations to see whether they are healthy. And often they draw up the under-vest and make an examination to see whether the belly is over-loaded or the chest inflamed, or the heart-beats irregular, and then they apply the appropriate treatment.

So too the philosophers who 18  
profess to practise the art of healing that queen of Nature's making, the soul, should despise all the vain inventions of idle opinion, and passing within take hold of the mind itself, to see whether anger makes its pulsations run at an irregular rate and with unnatural excitement: so too with the tongue to see whether it is rough and evil speaking or bawdy and licentious: so too the belly to see whether it is swollen by an insatiable form of lust<sup>a</sup>; and in general if there appear to be a complication of passions, distempers and infirmities to investigate each of them so as not to miss anything which may serve to restore it to health. As it is, dazzled by the brilliance 19  
of external things, because they are unable to see the spiritual light, they have continued to wander for ever, never able to reach King Reason, only just managing to make their way to his portal where, struck with admiration for those who wait at virtue's doorstep, riches, reputation, health and their kin, they

<sup>a</sup> Namely gluttony. So rather than as Gifford "some insatiable form." As Philo has dealt with the particular vices of which the tongue is the instrument, so now with the belly. Possibly *λαιμαργία* or its equivalent has fallen out. But *σχήματι* itself is open to suspicion. Philo does not seem to use it=form in the sense of "kind." When it is not used in a literal or geometrical way, it="guise" or "appearance," whether external as *De Vit. Cont.* 30 or moral as in *Flacc.* 126. For possible corrections see note 1.

## PHILO

- 20 τεθραυμακότες, προσεκύνουν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ὑπερβολὴ μανίας χρωμάτων κριταῖς χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς, ἢ κωφοῖς τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν φθόγγων, οὕτω καὶ φαύλοις ἀνδράσι τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς διάνοιαν πεπήρωνται, ἧς βαθὺ σκότος ἀφροσύνη κατέχεεν.
- 21 εἶτα νῦν θαυμάζομεν, εἰ Σιωκράτης
- 390 καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν πενίᾳ διετέλεσαν, ἄνθρωποι μηδὲν πρόποτε τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ὅσα ἢ παρὰ φίλων πολυχρημάτων ἢ παρὰ βασιλέων δωρεὰς μεγάλας προτεινόντων [παρῆν]<sup>1</sup> λαβεῖν ἀξιώσαντες, ἔνεκα τοῦ μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν ἠγείσθαι, περὶ ἣν πονοῦμενοι τῶν ἄλλων
- 22 ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἠλόγουν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀλογήσαι νόθων ἔνεκα προνοίας τῶν γνησίων; εἰ δὲ σώματος θνητοῦ μεταλαχόντες, καὶ κηρῶν γέμοντες ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτου πλήθους ἀδίκων ζῶντες, ὧν οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν εὐπορον, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, τί τὴν φύσιν αἰτιώμεθα, δέον τὴν τῶν
- 23 ἐπιθεμένων κακίζειν ὠμότητα; καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀέρι γεγένητο λοιμικῶ, πάντως ὄφειλον νοσησαὶ καταστάσεως δὲ λοιμικῆς μᾶλλον, ἢ οὐχ ἦττον, φθοροποιός ἐστιν ἢ κακία. ὡς δ' ὁπόταν ὑετοῦ μὲν ὄντος, ἀνάγκη τὸν σοφόν, εἰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγοι, καταβρέχεσθαι, Βορέου δὲ ψυχροῦ καταπνέοντος ῥίγει πιέζεσθαι καὶ ψυχεῖ, θέρους δ' ἀκμάζοντος ἀλεαίνεσθαι (ταῖς γὰρ ἔτησίοις τροπαῖς τὰ σώματα

<sup>1</sup> παρῆν is bracketed by most editors, including Dindorf; Gifford's Apparatus Criticus indicates that it is omitted by most if not all mss. If retained as by Mangey translate "all that they might have received."

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 20-23

rendered homage to them.<sup>a</sup> But to take the judgment of the bad as to what is truly good is as grossly insane as to take that of the blind on colours or the deaf on musical sounds. For the bad have lost the use of their most dominant part, their mind, over which folly has shed profound darkness.

Can we then still wonder that Socrates<sup>b</sup> and any virtuous person you like to name have continued to live a life of poverty, never having practised any method of gaining wealth, refusing indeed to take anything from wealthy friends or kings who offered them great gifts, because they considered that there is nothing good or excellent save acquiring virtue, for which they laboured neglecting all the other goods? And who with the thought of the genuine before them would not disregard the spurious for its sake? But if possessed of a mortal body and brimful of the plagues which beset mankind and living amid the unjust, a multitude so great that it cannot even be easily counted, they become the victims of malice, why do we accuse Nature when we should reproach the cruelty of their assailants? For if they had been living in a pestilential atmosphere they would have been bound to take the disease, and vice is more or at least no less destructive than pestilential surroundings. And as the wise man must needs get drenched if he stays in the open air when it is raining or suffer from the rigour of the cold when the north wind's blast is chilly, or get heated in the summer, since it is a law of nature that our bodily feelings correspond

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* as courtiers in attendance (see examples in lexicon) rather than gate-keepers.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps in allusion to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 50), though there it is the unjust condemnation, not the poverty of Socrates, which is cited.

## PHILO

σμπάσχειν νόμος φύσεως), τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις ἐνοικοῦντα,

“ ἔνθα φόνοι λιμοὶ τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν,”

ἐναλλάττεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τιμὰς ἀναγκαῖον.<sup>2</sup>

24 Ἐπεὶ Πολυκράτει γε, ἐφ’ οἷς δεινοῖς ἠδίκησε  
[639] καὶ ἠσέβησε, χορηγὸς ἀπήντησε, χείρων | μὲν ἢ τοῦ  
βίου βαρυδαιμονία· πρόσθε δ’ ὡς ὑπὸ μεγάλου  
βασιλέως ἐκολάζετο, καὶ προσηλοῦτο, χρησμὸν  
ἐκπιπλάς. Οἶδα, ἔφη, κάμαντὸν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ  
θεωρῆσαι<sup>3</sup> δόξαντα ὑπὸ μὲν ἡλίου ἀλείφεσθαι,  
λούεσθαι δ’ ὑπὸ Διός. αἱ γὰρ διὰ συμβόλων  
αἰνιγματώδεις αὐταὶ φάσεις, ἀδηλούμεναι τὸ πάλαι,  
τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀριδηλοτάτην ἐλάμβανον  
25 πίστιν. οὐκ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ  
πάντα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βίον, ἐλελήθει πρὸ τοῦ σώ-  
ματος τὴν ψυχὴν κρεμάμενος. αἰεὶ γὰρ φοβού-  
μενος καὶ τρέμων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων  
ἐπτόητο, σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ὅτι εὖνους μὲν ἦν  
οὐδεῖς, ἐχθροὶ δὲ πάντες δυσπραξία ἀμείλικτοι.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φόνοι τελοῦνται καὶ, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius here has missed out a sentence which is given by Aucher (p. 63) thus: “ nullatenus ergo decet eos felices putare, qui paulo ante memorati sunt, etsi fortuna iuvare eos videatur.” This explains the ἐπεὶ . . . γε which begins the next sentence.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf ἠωρῆσθαι. See App. p. 543.

<sup>a</sup> Quoted from Empedocles, though the line runs φόνος τε κῶτος τε. See App. p. 543.

<sup>b</sup> χείρων may possibly mean that the punishment was worse than the offence, but the addition of μὲν followed by πρόσθε δέ suggests that the βίου βαρυδαιμονία was worse than the impalement, and this is brought out in what follows.

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 23-25

to the annual changes of the season, so also he who lives in places

Where murder's rife and famine too and tribes of other ills<sup>a</sup>  
must submit to the penalties which they successively impose.

For as for Polycrates, in requital for his terrible acts<sup>24</sup> of injustice and impiety he encountered his rewarder in the shape of lifelong misery. Add to this a lesser ill,<sup>b</sup> that he was punished by the Great King and impaled, thus fulfilling an oracle. "I know," he said, "that I saw myself not long ago anointed as it seemed by the sun and washed by Zeus."<sup>c</sup> For the riddle thus symbolically stated, though at first obscure, received very clear attestation from what actually occurred. But it was not only at the end but through<sup>25</sup> all his life from the first that his soul, though he knew it not, was in the same suspense which later befell his body.<sup>d</sup> For he lived in perpetual fear and trembling, scared by the multitude of his assailants and knowing well that none was friendly to him, but all had been turned by their misery into implacable enemies.

<sup>c</sup> I have translated the sentence as punctuated in the editions, but I see no point in the *οἶδα* or *καί* in *κάμαντόν*. I should prefer to punctuate the sentence, *χρησμόν ἐκπιπλᾶς οἶδα, ἔφη, κάμαντόν, κτλ.* and translate: "I recognize that I have fulfilled an oracle, and that it was myself that I saw who appeared to be anointed," etc., *i.e.* he dreamt that he saw somebody being anointed, etc., but did not recognize that it was himself. This is I think quite in accordance with the phenomena of dreams. In any case the story differs from Her. iii. 124, where it is the daughter of Polycrates who sees the dream. On the Armenian version see App. p. 543.

<sup>d</sup> Or "even more than in his body." Cf. the same phrase in § 56, where order in value rather than in time seems to be indicated. And so also, I think, in *Flacc.* 2.

26 Τῆς δὲ ἀνηνύτου καὶ συνεχοῦς<sup>1</sup> εὐλαβείας μάρτυρες  
 391 οἱ τὰ Σικελικὰ συγγράψαντες, οἳ φασιν, ὅτι καὶ  
 τὴν θυμηρεστάτην ὑποπτον εἶχε γυναῖκα. σημεῖον  
 δέ· τὴν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον εἴσοδον, δι' ἧς φοιτήσῃ  
 ἔμελλεν ὡς αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσε στορεσθῆναι σανίσιν,  
 ἵνα μὴ λάθῃ ποτὲ παρεισερπύσασα, ψόφῳ δὲ καὶ  
 κτύπῳ τῆς ἐπιβάσεως προμηνύῃ τὴν ἀφίξιν· εἶτ'  
 οὐκ ἀνείμονα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι  
 γυμνήν, ἃ μὴ θέμις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀράσθαι, παρ-  
 ἔρχεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τὸ συνεχές τοῦ κατὰ  
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδάφους εἰς τάφρου γεωργικῆς εὐρος καὶ  
 βάθος διακοπῆναι, κατὰ δέος μὴ τι πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν  
 ἀφανῶς ἐπικρύπτηται, ὅπερ ἢ ἄλμασιν ἢ μακραῖς  
 27 διαβάσεσιν ἔμελλε διελέγχεσθαι. πόσων ἄρα κακῶν  
 ὁ ταῦτα παρατηρῶν καὶ τεχνάζων ἐπὶ γυναικός,  
 ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὠφείλε πιστεύειν, μεστὸς ἦν;  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐώκει τοῖς δι' ἀπορρῶγος ὄρους ἐπὶ τῷ  
 τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις ἀριδηλοτέρας κατανοῆσαι  
 κρημνοβατοῦσιν, οἳ μόλις φθάνοντες ἄχρι προ-  
 νενευκότος αὐχένος, οὐτ' ἄνω χωρεῖν<sup>2</sup> ἔτι δύνανται,  
 πρὸς τὸ λειπόμενον ὕψος ἀπειρηκότες, οὔτε κατα-  
 βαίνειν θαρροῦσι, πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν χασμάτων  
 28 ἰλιγγιῶντες. ἐρασθεῖς γάρ, ὡς θείου πράγματος  
 καὶ περιμαχήτου, τυραννίδος, οὔτε μένειν οὔτε  
 ἀποδιδράσκειν ἀσφαλές εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε. μένοντι

<sup>1</sup> It seems quite necessary to insert here Διονυσίου, though no ms. nor the Armenian translation has it.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀναχωρεῖν.

<sup>a</sup> Or "anxiety," so rather than "caution," though the noun usually carries a favourable sense in Philo as in other writers. Philo however sometimes uses the verb in a more general sense, e.g. *Flacc.* 145.

<sup>b</sup> The same story is told of Dionysius in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.*



## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 26-28

The endless and continual fear<sup>a</sup> shown by Dionysius 26 is attested by the historians of Sicily, who tell us that he suspected even his dearly beloved wife.<sup>b</sup> This is proved by his ordering that the entrance to the chamber through which she had to pass to join him should be covered with boards so that she should never creep in unawares but should give notice of her arrival by the creaking and rattling made by her stepping on them. Also she had to come not merely undressed<sup>c</sup> but with the parts naked which it is indecent for men to see. Further he had the continuous line of the floor along the passage broken by a gap as deep and broad as a ditch in the farmland, so that if, as he dreaded, some secret attempt to do him a mischief were made in the darkness it would be detected by the visitors jumping or striding across the gap. How vast a burden of ills was his who 27 watched so craftily over the wife whom he was bound to trust above all others. Indeed he resembled the climbers who scale a precipitous mountain to get a clearer view of the heavenly bodies,<sup>d</sup> and when they manage with difficulty to reach some outstanding cliff cannot go any higher because their heart fails them before the height which still remains, nor have they courage to descend as their heads swim at the sight of the yawning chasms below. For enamoured 28 as he was of tyranny as something divine and much to be coveted he did not consider it safe either to stay as he was or to flee. If he stayed he was sure

v. 59, though there Dionysius has two wives treated thus. So also the story of Damocles, *ibid.* 61 f. <sup>c</sup> See App. p. 544.

<sup>d</sup> Or more accurately "heavenly beings"—a common phrase for the stars conceived of as alive. Cf. e.g. *Quod Det.* 88, and the description of sun and moon as *θεῖαι φύσεις* below, § 50, also *De Aet.* 47.

## PHILO

μὲν γὰρ ἀλλεπάλληλα ἐπέρρει κακὰ ἀμύθητα·  
 βουλομένῳ δ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ὁ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπ-  
 [640] εκρέματο κίνδυνος, ὠπλισμένων, | εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς  
 σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοι ταῖς διανοίαις κατ' αὐτοῦ.

29 δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ᾧ πρὸς τὸν  
 μακαρίζοντα τὸν τῶν τυράννων βίον φασὶ χρή-  
 σασθαι Διονύσιον. καλέσας γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ λαμπρο-  
 τάτου καὶ πολυτελεστάτου δείπνου παρασκευήν,  
 ἐκ μηρίνθου πάνυ λεπτῆς προσέταξεν ἠκονημένον  
 ὑπεραιωρηθῆναι πέλεκυν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατακλιθεὶς  
 εἶδεν αἰφνίδιον, οὗτ' ἐξαναστήναι θαρρῶν διὰ τὸν  
 τύραννον, οὗτ' ἀπολαῦσαί τινος τῶν παρεσκευα-  
 σμένων διὰ δέος οἷός τε ὦν, ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων  
 30 ὄψεις ἐκαραδόκει τὸν οἰκεῖον ὄλεθρον. συνεῖς δ'  
 ὁ Διονύσιος, Ἄρ' ἤδη κατανοεῖς, ἔφη, τὸν αἰοίδιμον  
 καὶ περιμάχητον ἡμῶν βίον; ἔστι γὰρ τοιοῦτος,  
 εἰ μὴ βούλοιτό τις ἑαυτὸν φενακίζειν, ἐπειδὴ  
 περιέχει παμπληθεῖς μὲν χορηγίας, ἀπόλαυσιν δ'  
 392 οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ· φόβους δ' ἐπαλλήλους, καὶ  
 κινδύνους ἀνηκέστους, καὶ νόσον ἐρπηνώδους καὶ  
 φθινάδος χαλεπωτέραν, ἀθεράπευτον αἰεὶ φέρουσαν  
 31 ὄλεθρον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνεξετάστων ὑπὸ τῆς  
 λαμπρᾶς φανερότητος ἀπατώμενοι, ταῦτόν πε-  
 πόνθησι τοῖς ἀγκιστρευομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδεχθῶν  
 ἑταιρίδων, ἃ τὴν δυσμορφίαν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῶ  
 καὶ ταῖς τῆς ὄψεως ὑπογραφαῖς ἐπισκιάζοντα,  
 γνησίου κάλλους ἀπορία, νόθον ἐπ' ἐνέδρα τῶν

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<sup>a</sup> Or "by painting under (*i.e.* pencilling) their eyes," and probably this is what is intended here. But strictly speaking the singular ὄψιν, which Philo also uses, *Leg. All.* iii. 62,

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 28-31

to meet a torrent of innumerable evils in constant succession. If he wanted to flee, his life was menaced by danger from those whose minds at least if not their bodies were armed against him. Another 29 proof is the way in which he is said to have treated a person who asserted the felicity of the tyrant's life. Having invited him to a dinner which had been provided on a very magnificent and costly scale he ordered a sharp-edged axe to be suspended over him by a very slender thread. When after taking his place on the couch the guest suddenly saw this, he had neither the courage in the tyrant's presence to rise and remove himself nor the power in his terror to enjoy the dishes provided, and so regardless of the abundance and wealth of the pleasures before him, he lay with neck and eye strained upwards, expecting his own destruction. Dionysius perceived this and 30 said: "Do you now understand what this glorious and much coveted life of ours really is?" This is the sort of thing it is in the eyes of anyone who does not wish to deceive himself. For it includes wealth supplied in full abundance but not the enjoyment of anything worth having, only terrors in constant succession, dangers unescapable, a malady more grievous than the creeping and wasting sickness, bringing with it destruction that knows no remedy. But the 31 thoughtless multitude deluded by the brilliant outward appearance are in the same condition as men ensnared by unsightly courtesans who disguise their ugliness with fine raiment and gold and the paint upon their faces,<sup>a</sup> and so for lack of the genuine beauty

*De Sac.* 21, *De Fug.* 153, must mean "face." Cf. also of the male prostitutes *Spec. Leg.* iii. 37 τὰς ὄψεις τριβόμενοι καὶ ὑπογραφόμενοι.

## PHILO

- 32 *θεωμένων δημιουργεί. τοιαύτης γέμουσι βαρυνδαιμονίας οἱ λίαν εὐτυχεῖς, ἧς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς αὐτοὶ δικάσαντες παρ' ἑαυτοῖς οὐ στέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ἄρρωστήματα<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐκλαλοῦντες, ἀφιασι τὰς ἐκ πάθους ἀψευδεστάτας φωνάς, ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ τιμωριῶν καὶ παρουσῶν καὶ προσδοκωμένων ζῶντες, καθάπερ τῶν θρεμμάτων τὰ πρὸς ἱερουργίαν παινόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς πλείστης ἐπιμελείας ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγῆναι τυγχάνει διὰ πολύκρεων εὐωχίαν.*
- 33 *Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ περὶ χρημάτων<sup>2</sup> ἀσεβῶν οὐκ ἀδήλους ἀλλὰ φανεράς ἔδοσαν δίκας, ὧν τὰ πλήθη καταλέγεσθαι περιττὸς πόνος, ἀπόχρη δ' ἔν ἔργον παράδειγμα πάντων ἐστάναι. λέγεται τοίνυν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγεγραφότων τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον<sup>3</sup> ἐν Φωκίδι, νόμου κειμένου τὸν ἱερόσυλον κατακρημνίζεσθαι ἢ καταποντοῦσθαι ἢ καταπίμπρασθαι, τρεῖς συλήσαντας τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν, Φιλόμηλον καὶ Ὀνόμαρχον καὶ Φάυλλον, διανείμασθαι τὰς τιμωρίας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόφου τραχέος καὶ λιθώδους ραγείσης πέτρας κατακρημνισθῆναί τε*

<sup>1</sup> Or *ἄρρητα*, which is read by one good ms. and is adopted by Mangey and Dindorf. It was also read by the Armenian (Aucher, p. 67) "sicut illi, qui arcana quae silere vellent, tamen coacti tormentis exponunt," and gives a more natural sense.

<sup>2</sup> The Armenian (Aucher, p. 67) "sunt qui *illico* impietatis non occultas sed potius manifestas poenas luant" evidently reads *παραχρήμα τῶν ἀσεβῶν*, which Wendland believes to be the true reading. And though "for impious gains" suits the examples which follow quite well, the form is rather strange, and the next paragraph suggests that the im-

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 31-33

create the spurious to entrap those who behold them. Such is the misery which fills to the brim the life of 32 those greatly favoured by fortune, misery whose extent measured by the judgement of their own hearts is more than they can contain, and like those who are forced to proclaim their maladies<sup>a</sup> they utter words of absolute sincerity wrung from them by their sufferings. Surrounded by punishments present and expected they live like beasts who are fattened for a sacrifice, for such receive the most careful attention to prepare them for the slaughter, because of the rich feast of flesh which they supply.

There are some who have been punished not 33 obscurely but conspicuously for sacrilegious robbery, a numerous body which it would be superfluous labour to name in full. It will suffice to let one case stand as an example of them all. The historians who have described the sacred war in Phocis state that whereas there was a law enacted that the temple robber should be thrown from a precipice or drowned in the sea, or burnt alive, three persons who robbed the temple at Delphi, Philomelus, Onomarchus and Phayllus, had these punishments distributed between them. The first fell over a rugged and stony crag and as a piece of rock broke off he was killed both from the fall from the height and from the weight of

<sup>a</sup> Or "disclose what should be kept secret." See note 1.

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piety punished is not restricted to sacrilege, but includes all violence.

<sup>3</sup> All other editions insert *τὸν* without any ms. authority. Gifford is, I think, quite right in arguing that when one attribute has been given between the article and the noun, a second attribute may follow the noun without a repetition of the article.

## PHILO

- καὶ καταλευσθήναι· τὸν δέ, ἀφηνιάσαντος τοῦ  
 [641] κομίζοντος ἵππου | καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης καταβάντος,  
 ἐπιδραμόντος τοῦ πελάγους, εἰς ἀχανῆ βυθὸν αὐτῷ  
 ζῶω καταδῦναι· Φάυλλον δὲ φθινάδι νόσῳ (διττὸς  
 γὰρ ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος) συντακῆναι, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐν  
 34 Ἄβαις ἱερῷ συνεμπρησθέντα ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα  
 γὰρ φιλονεικότατον λέγειν ἀποβῆναι κατὰ τύχην.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ τινες ἢ ἐν διαφέρουσι καιροῖς ἢ ἑτέραις  
 ἐκολάσθησαν τιμωρίαις, εἰκὸς ἦν τὸ ἄστατον τῆς  
 τύχης προφασίζεσθαι· πάντων δ' ἀθρόως καὶ ὑφ'  
 ἓνα καιρὸν καὶ μὴ ἑτέραις τιμωρίαις ἀλλὰ ταῖς  
 περιεχομέναις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κολασθέντων, εὐλογον  
 35 φάσκειν ὅτι Θεοῦ δικάσαντος ἐάλωσαν.  
 393 Εἰ δέ τινες τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων βιαίων, καὶ τοῖς  
 πλήθεσιν ἐπαναστάντων, καὶ δουλωσαμένων οὐ  
 μόνον δῆμους ἑτέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρίδας τὰς  
 ἑαυτῶν, ἀτιμώρητοι διετέλεσαν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν.  
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπος δικάζει  
 καὶ Θεός, διότι τὰ μὲν φανερά ἡμεῖς ἐρευνῶμεν,  
 ὁ δὲ ἄχρι μυχῶν ψυχῆς εἰσδυόμενος ἀψοφητί,  
 καθάπερ ἐν ἡλίῳ λαμπρὰν διάνοιαν ἀυγάζει,  
 ἀπαμπίσχων μὲν τὰ περιάπτα, οἷς ἐγκατείληπται,  
 γυμνὰ δὲ περιαθρῶν τὰ βουλήματα, καὶ δια-  
 γινώσκων εὐθὺς τὰ τε παράσημα καὶ δόκιμα.  
 36 μηδέποτ' οὖν τὸ οἰκείον δικαστήριον τοῦ θείου  
 προκρίναντες, ἀψευδέστερον αὐτὸ καὶ εὐβουλό-

<sup>a</sup> So cf. Diodorus xvi. 30 ἑαυτὸν κατεκρήμνισε, Pausanias x. 2 ρίπτει ἑαυτὸν κατὰ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου κρημνοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias x. 2 gives a different version of this: φεύγων . . . καὶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηκοντίσθη τῶν οἰκείων, who ascribed their defeat to his cowardice and blundering.

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 33-36

the stone.<sup>a</sup> In the case of the second the horse on which he was riding got out of control and rushed down to the sea and under the onrush of the tide both rider and horse sank in the deep gulf.<sup>b</sup> As for Phaÿllus, there are two versions of his story, one that he wasted away in consumption, the other that he perished in the flame which consumed the temple at Abae.<sup>c</sup> To assert that these events are due to chance 34 is pure contentiousness. No doubt if people had been punished at different times or by other penalties it would be sensible enough to ascribe them to the caprice of fortune. But when all were punished together about the same time and by penalties not of another kind but those contained in the laws, it is reasonable to assert that they were the victims of divine justice.

And if some of the men of violence still left un- 35 mentioned, insurgents who seized power over the populace and enslaved not only other peoples but their own countries, continued unpunished, why should we wonder? For in the first place the judgements of men and God are not alike. For we inquire into what is manifest but He penetrates noiselessly into the recesses of the soul, sees our thoughts as though in bright sunlight, and stripping off the wrappings in which they are enveloped, inspects our motives in their naked reality and at once distinguishes the counterfeit from the genuine. Let us never then 36 prefer our own tribunal to that of God and assert that it is more infallible and wiser in counsel, for that

<sup>c</sup> The first version is given by both Diodorus and Pausanias, *l.c.* Pausanias x. 35 mentions the burning of the temple at Abae by the Thebans, together with the Phocian refugees within it. .

## PHILO

τερον εἶναι φῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ἐν ᾧ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, ἀπατηλαὶ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα, κακιῶν ὁ βαρύτατος ἐπιτειχισμός, ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν ἐπ' ἑξαπάτη, δικαιοσύνης δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια, αἷς ἕκαστον βραβευόμενον ἐπαινετῶς ἐξορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν.

37 Ἐπειτ', ὧ γενναῖε, μὴ νομίσης ἀλυσιτελὲς ἐπικαιρον εἶναι τυραννίδα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κόλασις ἀλυσιτελὲς, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας διδόναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἢ ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ οὐκ ἀποδέον. οὐ χάριν ἐν ἅσασι μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς γραφεῖσι παρείληπται νόμοις· οἱ δὲ γράψαντες ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινοῦνται. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν δήμῳ τύραννος, τοῦτ' ἐν νόμῳ κόλασις.

38 ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἔνδεια μὲν καὶ σπάνις δεινὴ καταλάβῃ τὰς πόλεις ἀρετῆς, ἀφθονία δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπιπολάσῃ, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Θεός, ὥσπερ ρεῦμα χειμάρρου τὴν φορὰν τῆς κακίας ἀποχετεῦσαι γλιχόμενος, ἵνα καθάρῃ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν, ἰσχὺν καὶ κράτος [642] δίδωσι | τοῖς τὰς φύσεις ἀρχικοῖς. ὡμῆς γὰρ δίχα 39 ψυχῆς οὐ καθαίρεται κακία. καὶ ὅνπερ τρόπον αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους καὶ προδόταις καὶ θεοσύλαις δημίους ἀνατρέφουσιν, οὐ τὴν γνώμην ἀποδεχόμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας χρήσιμον ἐξετάζουσιν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου κηδεμών, οἷα δημίους κοινούς ἐφίστησι τοὺς τυράννους ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς ἂν αἰσθηταὶ βίαν, ἀδικίαν, ἀσέβειαν,

<sup>a</sup> Literally "more profitable or not less so," i.e. than the absence of any punishment for offences. But the sentence is obscure. The translation above makes the best sense, but we should expect either δίδοσθαι or τοὺς ἀδίκους as subject to



## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 36-39

religion forbids. Ours has many pitfalls, the delusions of the senses, the malignancy of the passions and most formidable of all the hostility of the vices; while in His there is nothing that can deceive, only justice and truth, and everything that is judged according to these standards brings praise to the judge and cannot but be settled aright.

Secondly, my friend, do not suppose that a temporary tyranny is without its uses. For neither is punishment useless, and that penalties should be inflicted is actually profitable to the good or at any rate not detrimental.<sup>a</sup> And therefore in all properly enacted laws punishment is included, and those who enacted them are universally praised, for punishment has the same relation to law as a tyrant has to a people. So when a dire famine and dearth of virtue takes possession of states, and folly unstinted is prevalent, God, desiring to drain off the current of wickedness as if it were the stream of a torrent, gives strength and power to men naturally fitted to rule in order to purify our race. For wickedness cannot be purged away without some ruthless soul to do it. And just as states maintain official executioners to deal with murderers and traitors and temple robbers, not that they approve of the sentiments of these persons, but with an eye to the usefulness of their service, so the Governor of this great city of the world sets up tyrants like public executioners over the cities which He sees inundated with violence, in-

*διδόναι*. The straightforward translation "it is more profitable to the good to be punished," *i.e.* because punishment however unjust brings out heroism, seems out of place here. Another possibility "it is more beneficial to give the power of punishing to the good (than to a tyrant)" does not suit *οὐκ ἀποδέον*. The two could hardly be put on a par.

## PHILO

- 40 τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ πλημμύροντα, ὅπως ἤδη ποτὲ στάντα  
 394 λωφήσῃ. τηνικαῦτα καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους, ὡς ἐκ  
 δυσκαθάρτου καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς ψυχῆς ὑπηρετήσαντας,  
 ἐφ' ἅπασι, ὥσπερ τινὰς κορυφαίους, ἀξιοὶ μετέρ-  
 χεσθαι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις, ὅταν  
 παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀναλώσῃ, τελευταῖον αὐτὴν  
 ἐπινέμεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 πλήθεσι δυναστείας εἰληφότες, ὅταν δαπαινῆσαντες  
 τὰς πόλεις κενὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐργάσωνται, τὰς ὑπὲρ  
 41 ἀπάντων τίνοντες δίκας ἐπιδιαφθείρονται. καὶ τί  
 θαυμάζομεν, εἰ διὰ τυράννων ὁ Θεὸς κακίαν  
 ἀναχθεῖσαν ἐν πόλεσι καὶ χώραις καὶ ἔθνεσιν  
 ἀποδιοπομπεῖται; πολλάκις γὰρ μὴ χρώμενος  
 ὑπηρεταῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτ' ἐργάζεται,  
 λιμὸν ἐπάγων ἢ λοιμὸν ἢ σεισμὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
 θεήλατα, οἷς ὄμιλοι μεγάλοι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι  
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόλλυνται, καὶ πολλὴ μοῖρα  
 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐρημοῦται διὰ προμήθειαν ἀρετῆς.  
 42 Ἰκανῶς μὲν οὖν εἷς γε τὰ παρόντα περὶ τοῦ μή  
 τινα τῶν φαύλων εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὡς οἶμαι, λέλεκται·  
 δι' οὗ μάλιστα παρίσταται τὸ εἶναι πρόνοϊαν. εἰ  
 δὲ μηδέπω πέπεισαι, τὸν ἔθ' ὑποικουροῦντα ἐν-  
 δοιασμὸν εἰπέ θαρρῶν· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἦ τάληθές  
 ἔχει συνδιαπορήσαντες εἰσόμεθα.

43 Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα πάλιν φησίν·

Ἐνέμων καὶ ὑετῶν φορὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν

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<sup>a</sup> There is a considerable interval between these two parts of Philo's argument. In this interval Alexander, in response to the invitation given in the preceding sentence, alleges various facts about the construction of the universe, which seem to serve no purpose which can be ascribed to Providence. Philo has answered many of these difficulties as

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 39-43

justice, impiety and all the other evils, in order that they may be at last brought to a standstill and abate. Then too it seems good to Him to crown the punishment of all by bringing to justice those who have carried it out. For knowing that their services were the outcome of an impious and ruthless soul He treats them as in a sense the capital offenders. For just as the force of fire after devouring all the fuel supplied to it finally consumes itself, so too those who have seized dominion over the populaces when they have exhausted the cities and emptied them of all their men pay the penalty due for all and perish as well. And why should we wonder that God uses tyrants to sweep away the wickedness which has spread through cities and countries and nations. For often instead of employing other ministers He effects this by Himself by bringing famine or pestilence and earthquake, and all the other divine visitations whereby great bodies of people perish in huge numbers every day and a large part of the world is desolated for His purpose of promoting virtue.

Enough then I think has been said for the present on the theme that none of the wicked has happiness, and this is a very strong proof that providence exists. But if you are not yet convinced, fear not to tell me your still lingering doubts, for by combining our efforts we shall both get to know where the truth is to be found.

Later again he says <sup>a</sup>:

Storms of wind and rain were made by God, not as

they arise, and among these is that recorded by Eusebius in another connexion (see Frag. I). The others he deals with in his final answer, which is given by Eusebius in the sections which follow.

## PHILO

πλεόντων, ὡς ἐνόμιζες, ἢ γεωργούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ'  
 ὠφελεία τοῦ παντός ἡμῶν γένους ὁ Θεὸς ἐργάζετο.  
 ὕδασι μὲν γὰρ τὴν γῆν καθαίρει, τὸν δ' ὑπὸ σελήνην  
 ἅπαντα χῶρον πνεύμασιν· ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ζῶα καὶ  
 44 φυτὰ τρέφει, καὶ αὔξει, καὶ τελειοῖ. εἰ δὲ τοὺς  
 μὴ ἐν καιρῷ πλωτῆρας ἢ γεωπόνους ἐστὶν ὅτε  
 βλάπτει, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· βραχὺ γὰρ οὗτοι μέρος,  
 ἢ δ' ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ παντός ἀνθρώπων γένους.  
 ὡσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἄλειμμα τίθεται  
 μὲν ἐπ' ὠφελεία, πολλάκις δ' ὁ γυμνασίαρχος  
 ἔνεκα πολιτικῶν χρειῶν ὥρας τῆς ἐν ἔθει μετέθηκε  
 [643] τὴν τάξιν, δι' ἧς | ὑστέρησαν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀλειφομένων·  
 οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεός, οἷα πόλεως τοῦ παντός ἐπι-  
 μελούμενος κόσμον, θέρη χειμαίνοντα καὶ χειμῶνας  
 ἐαρίζοντας εἴωθε ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παντός ὠφελεία,  
 κἂν εἰ ναύκληροί τινες ἢ γῆς ἐργάται μέλλοιεν ταῖς  
 45 τούτων ἀνωμαλίαις ζημιουῖσθαι. τὰς οὖν τῶν  
 στοιχείων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολάς, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος  
 ἐπάγη καὶ συνέστηκεν, εἰδὼς ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον,  
 395 ἀκωλύτους παρέχεται· πάχνη δὲ καὶ χιόνες καὶ  
 ὄσα ὁμοιότροπα ἀέρος ἐπακολουθεῖ καταψύξει, καὶ  
 πάλιν προσαράξει καὶ παρατρίψει νεφῶν, ἀστραπαὶ  
 τε καὶ βρονταί· ὧν οὐδὲν ἴσως κατὰ πρόνοιαν,

<sup>a</sup> Alexander has been represented (Aucher, p. 100) as describing the injuries caused by rain and wind and adding that while rain may be often useful, hail, snow, thunder and lightning are quite useless.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "the anointing is appointed" or even "the oil is placed," and below "those who are being anointed," and the importance in the next section attached to the oil favours this. But *πολιτικάι χρεῖαι*, whatever that exactly means,

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 43-45

you supposed,<sup>a</sup> to do grievous harm to voyagers and husbandmen, but to benefit our race as a whole. For He purges the earth with water and the whole sub-lunary region with breezes. And with both He gives sustenance, growth and maturity to animals and plants. If these sometimes harm persons who travel 44 by sea out of season or tillers of the land there is nothing wonderful. They are but a small fraction and His care is for the whole human race. So then as the course of training in the gymnasium is drawn up <sup>b</sup> for the benefit of the pupils, but the gymnasiarch sometimes to suit civic requirements makes a change in the arrangement of the regular hours whereby some of those under training lose their lesson, so too God having the charge of the whole world as though it were a city is wont to create wintry summers and spring-like winters for the benefit of the whole, even though some skippers and workers on the land are bound to suffer loss through the irregular way in which they occur. The interchanges of the elements 45 out of which the world was framed and now consists He knows to be a vital operation and produces them in unimpeded succession. But frost and snow and similar phenomena are circumstances attendant <sup>c</sup> on the refrigeration of the air as thunders and lightnings are on the clashing and friction of clouds. And none of these we may suppose is by providence, but while

could hardly affect the mere act of anointing, unless that was necessarily the prelude to instruction. The functions of the ἀλειπτῆς were a good deal wider than merely anointing.

<sup>c</sup> The terms here used, ἐπακολουθεῖν and παρακολουθεῖν, ἐπισυμβαίνειν, ἐπιγίνεσθαι below all express the Stoic doctrine, which accounts for evils such as diseases, etc., as not primary (προηγούμενα) works of nature but incidental consequences. See App. p. 545.

## PHILO

ἀλλ' ὑετοὶ καὶ πνεύματα ζωῆς καὶ τροφῆς καὶ  
 αὐξήσεως τοῖς περὶ γῆν αἴτια, ὧν ταῦτα ἔπακο-  
 46 λουθήματα. οἶα, γυμνασιάρχου φιλοτιμίαις πολ-  
 λάκις ἀνειμένας ποιουμένου δαπάνας, ἀνθ' ὕδατος  
 ἐλαίῳ καταιονοῦμενοί τινες τῶν ἀπειροκάλων εἰς  
 τοῦδαφος ῥανίδας ἀποστάζουσιν, ὁ δ' ὀλισθηρό-  
 τατος αὐτίκα γίνεται πηλός· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις εὖ  
 φρονῶν εἴποι, τὸν πηλὸν καὶ τὸν ὀλισθον προ-  
 μηθεῖα τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου γεγονέναι, παρηκολου-  
 θηκέναί δὲ ἄλλως τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν χορηγιῶν ταῦτα.  
 47 ἴρις δὲ καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα πάλιν ἐστὶν  
 αὐγῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐγκριναμένων τοῖς νέφεσιν ἔπακολουθήματα,  
 οὐκ ἔργα φύσεως προηγούμενα, φυσικοῖς δ' ἐπι-  
 συμβαίνοντα ἔργοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παρέχει τινὰ  
 καὶ ταῦτα χρεῖαν ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις·  
 νηνεμίας γὰρ καὶ πνεύματα, εὐδίας τε καὶ χειμῶνας  
 48 ἀπὸ τούτων τεκμαιρόμενοι προλέγουσι. τὰς κατὰ  
 πόλιν στοὰς οὐχ ὄρας; τούτων αἱ πλείους πρὸς  
 μεσημβρίαν νενεύκασιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ἐμπερι-  
 πατοῦντας χειμῶνι μὲν ἀλεαίνεσθαι, θέρους δὲ  
 καταπνεῖσθαι. παρακολουθεῖ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον,  
 ὃ μὴ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ κατεσκευακότος ἐπιγίνεται.  
 τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν; αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκπίπτουσαι  
 σκιαὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πείρᾳ διασημαίνουσι τὰς ὥρας.<sup>2</sup>  
 49 καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ πῦρ φύσεως ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον·

<sup>1</sup> mss. αὐτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey, Gifford and Heinichen. On the other hand Gaisford and Dindorf τὰ μέτρα διασημαίνουσι ταῖς ὥραις. See App. p. 545.

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<sup>a</sup> According to Wendland this refers to the ablution after the exercise. I understand provisionally that the ἀπειρό-  
 490

rainstorms and breezes are causal to the life and sustenance and growth of terrestrial things they have these others for their attendant circumstances. Similarly a gymnasiarch prompted by ambition may often provide on a lavish scale and some vulgarly extravagant people wash themselves with oil instead of water and let the drops drip to the ground, so that at once we have some slippery mud <sup>a</sup>; yet no sensible person would say that the slipperiness and the mud were due to the purposive design of the gymnasiarch or anything but mere concomitants to the munificent scale of the supply. Again a rainbow and a halo and all similar phenomena are attendant circumstances caused by rays mixing with clouds, not primary works of Nature but happenings consequent upon her works. Not but what they often render essential service to the more thoughtful who from the evidence which they give predict the presence or absence of wind and fine or stormy weather. Observe the porticoes in the cities. Most of them have been built to face the south so that persons who walk in them may enjoy the sun in winter and the breeze in summer. But they also have an attendant circumstance which does not arise through the intention of the builder. What is this? The shadows cast at our feet indicate the hours as we find by experience. Fire too is a most essential work of nature and smoke

*καλοι* seeing an abundance of the valuable article use it for a purpose for which it is not suited. For the word *cf. De Vit. Cont.* 52, and also *De Ios.* 205 of the "tasteless display" which Joseph avoided by not providing a sumptuous banquet in famine time. Gifford's note is "the unrefined, being accustomed to bathe only in water and shake off the drops, do the same with the oil which is meant to be rubbed in."

<sup>b</sup> Or "for our experience."

## PHILO

ἐπακολούθημα δὲ τούτου, καπνός· ἀλλ' ὅμως παρ-  
 ἔχεται τινα ὠφέλειαν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ αὐτός. ἐν γοῦν  
 ταῖς μεθημεριναῖς πυρσεῖαις, ἥνικα τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ἡλιακῶν καταλαμπόμενον αὐγῶν ἐξαμαν-  
 50 ροῦται, καπνῶ μηνύεται πολεμίων ἔφοδος. οἷός  
 γ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱριδος, τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἐκλείψεων ὁ λόγος· θείαις γὰρ φύσεσιν ἡλίου καὶ  
 σελήνης ἐπακολουθοῦσιν ἐκλείψεις· αἱ δὲ μηνύματά  
 εἰσιν ἢ βασιλέων τελευτῆς, ἢ πόλεων φθορᾶς· ὁ  
 [644] καὶ | Πίνδαρος ἠνίξατο γενομένης ἐκλείψεως διὰ  
 51 τῶν πρόσθεν εἰρημένων. ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ γάλακτος  
 κύκλος τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς οὐσίας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστροις  
 μετέσχηκε, δυσαιτιολόγητος δ' εἴπερ ἔστι, μὴ  
 ἀποκνείψωσαν οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἐρευνᾶν εἰωθότες.  
 396 ὠφελιμώτατον γὰρ ἢ εὔρεσις, ἥδιστος δὲ καὶ καθ'  
 52 αὐτὸ τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἢ ζήτησις. ὥσπερ οὖν  
 ἡλιος καὶ σελήνη προνοία γεγόνασιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ  
 ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα, κἂν ἡμεῖς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις  
 τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἡσυχά-  
 53 ζωμεν. σεισμοί τε καὶ λοιμοί, καὶ κεραυνῶν  
 βολαί, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, λέγεται μὲν εἶναι θεήλατα,  
 πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔστι (Θεὸς γὰρ οὐδενὸς  
 αἴτιος κακοῦ τοπαράπαν), ἀλλ' αἱ τῶν στοιχείων  
 μεταβολαὶ ταῦτα γεννῶσιν, οὐ προηγουμένα ἔργα  
 φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, καὶ τοῖς  
 54 προηγουμένοις ἐπακολουθοῦντα. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν

<sup>a</sup> See on § 27. The point of the phrase here is that though divine they are part of nature.



## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 49-54

is a circumstance attendant to it, yet smoke too itself is sometimes helpful. Take for instance beacon signals in the daytime: when the fire is deadened by the rays of the sun shining on it, the enemy's approach is announced by the smoke. Much the same may be 50 said about eclipses as about the rainbow. The sun and moon are natural divinities,<sup>a</sup> and so these eclipses are concomitant circumstances, yet eclipses announce the death of kings and the destruction of cities as is darkly indicated by Pindar on the occurrence of an eclipse in the passage quoted above.<sup>b</sup> As for the 51 belt of the Milky Way<sup>c</sup> it possesses the same essential qualities as the other stars, and though it is difficult to give a scientific account of it students of natural phenomena must not shrink from the quest. For while discovery is the most profitable, research is also a delight to lovers of learning. Just then as the sun 52 and moon have come into being through the action of providence so too have all the heavenly bodies, even though we, unable to trace the natures and powers of each, are silent about them. Earthquakes, pestilence, 53 thunderbolts and the like though said to be visitations from God are not really such.<sup>d</sup> For nothing evil at all is caused by God, and these things are generated by changes in the elements. They are not primary works of nature but a sequel of her essential works, attendant circumstances to the primary. If some 54

<sup>b</sup> Aucher, p. 97. See App. p. 546 for what can apparently be made of the Armenian version of this passage from Pindar.

<sup>c</sup> Alexander (Aucher, p. 101) has mentioned the various explanations given of this and suggested the only use of it is to provide philosophers with something to dispute about.

<sup>d</sup> On the discrepancy between this and § 41 see App. p. 546.

## PHILO

χαριστέρων<sup>1</sup> συναπολαύουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων βλάβης, οὐκ αἰτιατέον τὴν διοίκησιν. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, οὐκ εἴ τινες ἀγαθοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζονται, καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν εἰσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Θεοῦ κριτήρια τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν πάντων ἀκριβέστερα· δεύτερον δέ, τὸ προμηθὲς ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνεκτικώτατα ἐφορᾶν ἀγαπᾶ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις καὶ στραταρχίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὐκ ἐπὶ τινα τῶν ἡμελημένων,

55 καὶ ἀφανῶν ἓνα τὸν προστυχόντα. λέγουσι δέ τινες, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τυραννοκτονίαις καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀναιρεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰ ἀδικήματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κὰν ταῖς λοιμώδεσιν νόσοις παραπόλλυσθαι τινὰς τῶν μὴ ὑπαιτίων, ἵνα πόρρωθεν οἱ ἄλλοι σωφρονίζωνται, δίχα τοῦ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἐμφερομένους ἀέρι νοσῶδει νοσεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν νηϊ χειμαζομένους κινδυνεύειν

56 ἐξ ἴσου. τὰ δ' ἄλκιμα τῶν θηρίων γέγονεν (οὐ γὰρ ὑποσιωπητέον, εἰ καὶ τῶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν εἶναι προλαβὼν τὴν ἀπολογίαν διέσυρες)

<sup>1</sup> The word seems very strange. Gifford gives "the more refined." But why should they be particularly mentioned? Mangey gives "probos," Aucher "bonos" from the Armenian, and so Gaisford. But no example is forthcoming of any such general use of the word. Mangey in his *Addenda* suggests *χρηστοτέρων*.

<sup>a</sup> See note 1. A possible explanation might be that the

persons of a finer character<sup>a</sup> participate in the damage which they cause, the blame must not be laid on God's ordering of the world, for in the first place it does not follow that if persons are considered good by us they are really such, for God judges by standards more accurate than any which the human mind employs. Secondly providence or forethought<sup>b</sup> is contented with paying regard to things in the world of the most importance, just as in kingdoms and commands of army it pays regard to cities and troops, not to some chance individual of the obscure and insignificant kind. Some declare that just as 55 when tyrants are put to death it is justifiable to execute their kinsfolk also, so that wrongdoings may be checked by the magnitude of the punishment,<sup>c</sup> so too in times of pestilence it is well that some of the guiltless should perish also as a lesson extending further to call all others to a wiser life. Apart from this they point out that persons who move in a tainted atmosphere must needs take the sickness just as in a storm or on board a ship they share the danger equally. The stronger kinds of wild 56 animals were made in order to give us practice in warlike contests, for I feel bound to mention this point though you as a skilful advocate anticipated

word is used with some irony. The visitations even affect the superior people, who think themselves exempt from anything of the kind. But this is not in Philo's manner.

<sup>b</sup> In the first example τὸ προμηθεὺς refers to divine providence, but passes in the second to forethought in general.

<sup>c</sup> This seems to be intended as a reply to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 49) that the fall of the younger Dionysius could not be regarded as justifying Providence in leaving the father unpunished. Philo does not actually accept the view that such executions are justifiable. Indeed he has strongly argued against it in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 164 ff.

## PHILO

- ἀσκήσεως ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας.  
 τὰ γὰρ γυμνάσια καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς θῆραι συγκροτοῦσι  
 καὶ νευροῦσιν εὖ μάλα τὰ σώματα, καὶ πρὸ τῶν  
 [645] σωματίων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐθίζουσιν ἐχθρῶν ἐξαπιναίαις  
 57 ἐφόδους τῷ καρτερῷ τῆς ῥώμης ἀλογεῖν. | τοῖς δὲ  
 τὰς φύσεις εἰρηνικοῖς ἕξεστιν, οὐ μόνον τειχῶν  
 ἐντὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ κλισιάδων θαλαμευομένοις, ἀποζῆν  
 ἀνεπιβουλεύτως, ἔχουσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀφθονω-  
 397 τάτας ἡμέρων ἀγέλας, ἐπειδὴ σῦς, καὶ λέοντες,  
 καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα, ἐκουσία φύσει χρώμενα,  
 μακρὰν ἄστεος ἀπελήλαται, τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν  
 58 ἀγαπῶντα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῆς. εἰ δέ τινες  
 ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας ἄοπλοι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ταῖς καταδύ-  
 σεσι τῶν θηρίων ἀδεῶς ἐνδιαιωῦνται, τῶν συμ-  
 βαινόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν αἰτιάσθωσαν,  
 διότι φυλάξασθαι παρὸν ὠλιγώρησαν. ἤδη γοῦν  
 καὶ ἐν ἵπποδρομίαις εἶδόν τινες εἴξαντας ἀλογιστία,  
 οἷ, δέον ἐγκαθέζεσθαι καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ θεωρεῖν, ἐν  
 μέσῳ στάντες, ὑπὸ τῆς ῥύμης τῶν τεθρίπων  
 ἀνωσθέντες, ποσὶ καὶ τροχοῖς κατηλοήθησαν,  
 ἀνοίας τὰπίχειρα εὐράμενοι.
- 59 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη τὰ λεχθέντα. τῶν  
 δ' ἐρπετῶν τὰ ἰοβόλα γέγονεν οὐ κατὰ πρόνοιαν,  
 ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον.  
 ζωογονεῖται γάρ, ὅταν ἡ ἐνυπάρχουσα ἰκμὰς μετα-

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<sup>a</sup> Alexander, after speaking of the ravages of wild beasts (Aucher, p. 102) which do not attack those whom they know to be practised huntsmen, but only peaceful cultivators of the soil, adds that even if it can be pleaded that they seem to give practice in bodily courage, nothing of the kind can be said about poisonous animals. By "through being skilful at speaking" Philo means that Alexander has shown

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 56-59

this defence and tried to discredit it.<sup>a</sup> For the training in gymnastics and constant hunting expeditions weld and brace the body admirably and affect the soul even more than the body by inuring it in the starkness of its strength to meet unconcernedly sudden onsets of the enemy. And people of peaceful nature<sup>b</sup> can live sheltered within the walls of their cities and even of their chambers without fear of attack with abundance of different kinds of animals for their enjoyment, since boars and lions and the like following their natural inclination are banished to a distance from the town, preferring to be immune from men's hostility. And if some persons are so careless that they do not fear to resort unarmed and unprepared to the lairs of these beasts they must lay the blame of what happens on themselves and not on Nature, since they have neglected to take precautions when they could. Thus in chariot races too I have seen people giving way to thoughtlessness who, instead of sitting in their places as they should as orderly spectators, stood in the middle of the course and pushed over by the rush of the chariots were crushed under the feet and wheels, a proper reward for their folly.

Enough has been said on these matters. As for reptiles the venomous kinds have not come into being by direct act of providence but as an attendant circumstance as I have said above. For they come to life when the moisture already in them changes to himself an accomplished rhetorician. Anticipation of an argument was a recognized device, technically known as *προκατάληψις*.

<sup>b</sup> This is said to counter the suggestion of Alexander that the fact that wild beasts are allowed to attack such persons tends to disprove Providence.

## PHILO

βάλη πρὸς τὸ θερμότερον. ἔνια δὲ καὶ σῆψις  
 ἐψύχωσεν, ὡς ἔλμινθας μὲν ἢ περὶ τροφήν, φθειρας  
 δ' ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ιδρώτων. ὅσα δ' ἐξ οἰκείας ὕλης  
 κατὰ φύσιν σπερματικὴν καὶ προηγουμένην ἔχει  
 60 γένεσιν, εἰκότως ἐπιγέγραπται πρόνοιαν. ἤκουσα  
 δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων διττοὺς λόγους, ὡς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότων, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἐπικρυφαίμην.  
 ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἕτερος, τοιοῦδε· πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν  
 ἰατρικῶν ἔφασάν τινες τὰ ἰοβόλα συνεργεῖν, καὶ  
 τοὺς μεθοδεύοντας τὴν τέχνην, εἰς ἃ δεῖ καταχρω-  
 μένους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστημόνως, ἀλεξιφαρμάκων εὐ-  
 πορεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχόντων  
 ἀπροσδοκίῳ σωτηρίᾳ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν  
 τοὺς μὴ ραθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἰατρεῦειν ἐπιχει-  
 ροῦντας ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρμάκων κατα-  
 61 χρωμένους ἐκάστοις οὐ παρέργως. ὁ δ' ἕτερος  
 λόγος οὐκ ἰατρικός, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε.  
 τῷ γὰρ Θεῷ ταῦτ' ἔφασκεν ἠὺτρεπίσθαι κατὰ τῶν  
 ἁμαρτανόντων κολαστήρια, ὡς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἡγε-  
 μόσι ὕστριχας ἢ σίδηρον· οὐ χάριν, ἠρεμοῦντα τὸν  
 ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 κατακριθείσιν, ὧν ἡ φύσις ἐν τῷ ἀδωροδοκίῳ  
 62 δικαστηρίῳ ἑαυτῆς κατέγνω θάνατον. τὸ δ' ἐν  
 ταῖς οἰκείαις πεφωλευκέναι μᾶλλον, ἐστὶ μὲν ψεῦδος·  
 398 ἔξω γὰρ ἄστεος ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἐρημίαις θεωρεῖται, |

<sup>a</sup> The same phrase is used in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 52 and 121. By *ἑαυτῆς* he means perhaps the "court which is herself," *i.e.* Nature is both court and judge. Cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 27, and similar phrases, *e.g.* *De Ebr.* 165 καθίσας οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συνεδρίῳ.

<sup>b</sup> Alexander has said (Aucher, p. 103) that the useful animals, *i.e.* those good to eat, such as roes (capri), deer (cervi) and hares, have been kept far away from mankind,

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 59-62

a higher temperature. In some cases putrefaction breeds them. For instance putrefaction in food and in perspiration breed respectively worms and lice. But all kinds which are created out of their proper substance by a seminal and primary process of nature are reasonably ascribed to providence. As to them I have heard two theories, which I should be sorry to suppress, to the effect that they are made for the benefit of mankind. One of them was as follows. Some have said that the venomous animals co-operate in many medical processes, and that those who practise the art scientifically by using them with knowledge where suitable are well provided with antidotes for saving unexpectedly the life of patients in a particularly dangerous condition. And even to this day we may see those who take up the medical profession with care and energy making use of every kind of these creatures as an important factor in compounding their remedies. The other theory clearly belongs not to medicine but to philosophy. It declares that these creatures were prepared by God as instruments for the punishment of sinners just as generals and governors have their scourges or weapons of steel, and therefore while quiescent at all other times they are stirred up to do violence to the condemned whom Nature in her incorruptible assize <sup>a</sup> has sentenced to death. But the statement that they hide themselves chiefly in houses <sup>b</sup> is false, for they are to be seen in the fields and desolate places outside the town, avoiding man as

while the poisonous snakes lurk in houses. (The argument is surprising from a Jew, as hares at any rate were forbidden.) He uses the same argument about edible birds, as opposed to swallows, and this is dealt with in the sequel.

## PHILO

- [646] φεύγοντα ὡς δεσπότην τὸν ἄνθρωπον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ', εἰ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἔχει τινὰ λόγον. ἐν γὰρ μυχοῖς σεσώρευται φορυτός, καὶ σκυβάλων πλήθος, οἷς εἰσδύεσθαι φιλεῖ, δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὴν κνίσαν ὀλκὸν
- 63 ἔχειν δύναμιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες ἡμῖν συνδιατῶνται, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· τῆς γὰρ τούτων θήρας ἀπεχόμεθα. σωτηρίας δὲ πόθος ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ λογικαῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγοις ἐνίδρυσται. τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν οὐδὲν ὁμοδιαιτον διὰ τὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλὰς, πλὴν παρ' οἷς ἢ τῶν τοιούτων
- 64 χρήσις ἀπηγόρευται νόμῳ. τῆς Συρίας ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις ἐστίν, Ἀσκάλων ὄνομα· γενόμενος ἐν ταύτῃ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἰς τὸ πατρῶων ἱερὸν ἐστελλόμεν, εὐξόμενός τε καὶ θύσων, ἀμήχανόν τι πελειάδων πλήθος ἐπὶ τῶν τριόδων καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκάστην ἔθεασάμην. πυνθανομένῳ δέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἔφασαν οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι συλλαμβάνειν· ἀπειρησθαι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τὴν χρῆσιν. οὕτως ἡμέρωται τὸ ζῶον ὑπ' ἀδείας, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ὑπωρόφιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον αἰεὶ
- 65 γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς ἐκεχειρίαῖς ἐντρυφᾶν. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ καὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρωποβόρον καὶ θηρίων ἀργαλεώτατον ὁ κροκόδειλος, γεννώμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ Νεῖλῳ, τῆς ὠφελείας, καίτοι βύθιος ὢν, ἐπαισθάνεται. παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶται πληθύνει μάλιστα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς λυμαινομένοις οὐδ' ὄναρ φαίνεται, ὡς τῶν πλεόντων ὅπου μὲν καὶ τοὺς

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<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps somewhat stronger "which we indulge in"; cf. § 69. Philo there, as elsewhere, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, treats all meat-eating as a luxury.



though he was their master. Not but what if it really is true there is some reason for it. For rubbish and a great quantity of refuse accumulate in the corners of houses, into which the creatures like to creep, and also the smell has a powerful attraction for them. If swallows live with us there is nothing to be 63 wondered at for we do not attempt to catch them, and the instinct of self-preservation is implanted in irrational as well as in rational souls. But birds which we like to eat<sup>a</sup> will have nothing to do with us because they fear our designs against them except in cases where the law forbids that their kind should be used as food. There is a city on the sea coast of 64 Syria called Ascalon. While I was there at a time<sup>b</sup> when I was on my way to our ancestral temple to offer up prayers and sacrifices I observed a large number of pigeons at the cross roads and in each house, and when I asked the reason I was told that it was not lawful to catch them because they had been from old times forbidden food to the inhabitants. In this way the creature has been so tamed by its security that it not merely lives under their roof but shares their table regularly and takes delight in the immunity which it enjoys. In Egypt you may see a 65 still more wonderful sight, for the man-eating crocodile, the most dangerous of wild animals, which is born and bred in the holiest of rivers the Nile, understands the benefit of this though it is a deep water creature. For among the people who honour it, it is found in great numbers, but where men try to destroy it not a glimpse of it is to be seen, so that in

<sup>b</sup> So, rather than "the time" as Gifford. Philo does not imply that this was a solitary or even a rare visit to Jerusalem.

πάνυ θρασεῖς μηδ' ἄκρον ἐπιτολμᾶν καθιέναι δάκ-  
 τυλον, ἀγεληδὸν ἐπιφοιτῶντων· ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄγαν δειλοὺς ἐξαλλομένους νήχεσθαι μετὰ παιδιᾶς.

66

χώρα<sup>1</sup> δ' ἡ Κυκλώπων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος  
 αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πλάσμα μύθου, δίχα σπορᾶς καὶ γεω-  
 πόνων ἀνδρῶν ἡμερος καρπὸς οὐ φύεται, καθάπερ  
 οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τι γεννᾶται. τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 οὐ κατηγορητέον, ὡς λυπρᾶς καὶ ἀγόνου· πολὺ γὰρ  
 κὰν ταύτῃ τὸ βαθύγειον. εἰ δ' ἡ βάρβαρος δια-  
 φέρει ταῖς εὐκαρπίαῖς, πλεονεκτεῖ μὲν τροφαῖς,  
 ἐλαττοῦται δὲ τοῖς τρεφομένοις, ὧν χάριν αἱ τροφαί.

[647]

399

μόνη γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπογονεῖ, φυτὸν  
 οὐράνιον καὶ | βλάστημα θεῖον ἠκριβωμένον, λογι-  
 σμὸν ἀποτίκτουσα οἰκειούμενον ἐπιστήμη. τὸ δ'  
 αἴτιον· λεπτότητι ἀέρος ἢ διάνοια πέφυκεν ἀκονᾶ-  
 67 σθαι. διὸ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος οὐκ ἄπο σκοποῦ φησίν,  
 “οὐ γῆ<sup>2</sup> ξηρή, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.” τεκ-  
 μηριώσαιτο δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς μὲν νήφοντας  
 καὶ ὀλιγοδεεῖς συνετωτέρους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ποτῶν

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is an anacoluthon. If emendation is required the simplest would be *χώρα* (= *χώρα*) δὲ Κυκ.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *αὐγῆ* (a form of the saying which is found elsewhere, see App. p. 546). *οὐ γῆ* is required here by the sense and is supported by the Armenian “in terra sicca animus est sapiens ac virtutem amans.” Gaisford and Dindorf retain *αὐγῆ*.

<sup>a</sup> Alexander (Aucher, p. 105) has quoted *Od.* ix. 106-111 to the effect that the arrogant and lawless Cyclopes neither sow nor plough, “trusting to the immortal gods,” yet everything grows there, wheat and barley and vines. On the contrary “*pietatem colentibus nihil fere remanet*,” and Greece is thin-soiled and barren and the barbarians have to supply it with everything. The answer has a certain dry humour rare in Philo.

some places people sailing on the Nile do not venture, even the very boldest, to dip the tip of a finger in the water as the crocodiles resort thither in shoals, while in other places quite timid people jump out and swim and play about. As to the land of the 66

Cyclopes,<sup>a</sup> since that race is a mythical fiction, it is not the case that cultivated fruit is produced without seed being sown or husbandmen tilling it, on the principle that from what does not exist nothing is generated. Greece must not be accused of being a sour unproductive land. For it too has plenty of deep rich soil, and if the world outside excels in fruitfulness its superiority in foodstuffs is counterbalanced by inferiority in the people to be fed for whose sake the food is produced. For Greece alone can be truly said to produce mankind, she who engenders the heavenly plant,<sup>b</sup> the divine shoot, a perfect growth, even reason so closely allied to knowledge, and the cause of this is that the mind is naturally sharpened by the fineness of the air.<sup>c</sup> And so Heracleitus aptly says 67  
 "where the land is dry the soul is best and wisest." One may find evidence for this in the superior intelligence of the sober and frugal, while those who cram

<sup>b</sup> From *Timaeus* 90 A, cf. *Quod Det.* 85, *De Plant.* 17. In Plato the heavenly plant is mankind, and in the passages cited Philo recognizes this. I think it may be possible (1) to take both *φυτόν* and *βλάστημα* as governed by *ἀνθρωπογονεῖ* or rather as in apposition with *ἀνθρώπων* implied, and (2) *ἡκριβωμένον* as agreeing with *λογισμόν*. Even if (1) is impossible, (2) seems to me preferable. *ἡκριβ.* is an epithet more suitable to *λογισμόν* than to *βλάστημα*. So the Armenian translator, p. 117 ("certam veramque intellegentiam procreans"), though he goes wrong in taking *φυτόν* and *βλάστημα* in apposition with *Ἑλλάς*.

<sup>c</sup> Mangey quotes Cic. *De Fat.* 4 "Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici."

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ἀεὶ καὶ σιτίων ἐμπιπλαμένους ἤκιστα φρονίμους,  
 68 ἄτε βαπτίζομένου τοῖς ἐπιούσι τοῦ λογισμοῦ. διὸ  
 κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον ἔρνη μὲν ταῖς εὐτροφίαις καὶ  
 στελέχη περιμήκιστα, καὶ ζώων ἀλόγων σφόδρα  
 τὰ γονιμώτατα, νοῦν δ' ἤκιστα γεννᾷ, διότι τὸ  
 ὑψωθῆναι ἐξ ἀέρος αἰτίου<sup>1</sup> αἱ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἐπάλ-  
 ληλοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις κατεκράτησαν.  
 69 ἰχθύων δὲ καὶ ὀρνίθων καὶ χερσαίων  
 γένη ζώων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκλήματα φύσεως ἐφ'  
 ἡδονὴν παρακαλοῦσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ψόγος τῆς  
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίας. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ἦν εἰς  
 τὴν τοῦ ὄλου συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος ἐν  
 ἐκάστω μέρει, φύναι ζώων ἰδέας ἀπάντων· οὐκ  
 ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ὀρμησαί  
 τὸ σοφίας συγγενέστατον χρῆμα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
 70 μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀγριότητα θηρίων. διὸ καὶ μέχρι  
 νῦν, οἷς λόγος ἐγκρατείας, ἅπαξ ἀπάντων ἀπ-  
 ἔχονται, λαχανώδει χλόῃ καὶ καρποῖς δένδρων  
 προσοψήμασιν ἡδίστη ἀπολαύσει χρώμενοι. τοῖς  
 δὲ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων θοίνην ἡγουμένοις εἶναι  
 κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέστησαν διδάσκαλοι, σωφρονισταί,

<sup>1</sup> So apparently all mss. All editors except Gifford αὐτοῦ. If αἰτίου is retained, the sense must be as in the translation. But αἴτιον in this sense is strange without some clearer indication of what it causes. Mangey suggested τὸ μὴ ψυχωθῆναι ἐξ ἀέρος αὐτοῦ, οὐ, and I am inclined to think that ψυχωθῆναι is right. In this case the objection to αἰτίου is removed, for the air is the cause of vitalization. Cf. *De Som.* i. 136 τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὗτος ἐψύχωσεν, where ἐκείνοις is earth and water and οὗτος is air. This is supported by the Armenian "mens nusquam nascitur ob frigefactionem et gelationem." The translator, who often duplicates, may easily have taken ψυχοῦσθαι in the sense which it sometimes bears, though not in Philo, of "being refrigerated." See App. p. 547.

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 67-70

themselves with food and drink are most wanting in wisdom, because the reason is drowned by the stuff that is brought in. And therefore in the world outside Greece the plants and trunks are so well nourished that they grow to a great height and it is exceedingly productive of the most prolific animals but very unproductive of intelligence, because the continual and unceasing exhalations from the earth and water overpower it and prevent it from rising out of the air which is its source. The various

kinds of fishes, birds and land-animals do not give grounds for charging Nature of inviting us to pleasure, but they constitute a severe censure on our want of restraint.<sup>a</sup> For to secure the completeness of the universe and that the cosmic order should exist in every part it was necessary that the different kinds of living animals should arise, but it was not necessary that man the creature most akin to wisdom should be impelled to feast upon them and so change himself into the savagery of wild beasts. And therefore to this day those who have thought for self-restraint abstain from every one of them and take green vegetables and the fruits of trees as a relish to their bread with the utmost enjoyment. And those who hold that feasting on these animals is natural have had placed over them teachers, censors and lawgivers who in

<sup>a</sup> Alexander has argued (p. 106) that if self-denial and temperance, as the philosophers say, are acceptable to God and gluttony and the like are not, Providence, if it existed, would not have created animals of this kind to minister to men's appetites. Philo is unkind to his opponent in putting the argument into his mouth, since above he was bringing it against Providence that it kept these animals at a distance from mankind. See on § 62.

## PHILO

νομοθέται κατὰ πόλεις, οἷς ἐμέλησε τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στείλαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέψασι τὴν χρῆσιν  
 71 ἀδεᾶ πᾶσι πάντων. ἴα<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ ρόδα καὶ κρόκος, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν ἀνθέων ποικιλία, πρὸς ὑγίειαν, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν γέγονεν. ἄπλετοι γὰρ τούτων αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ καθ' αὐτὰς διὰ τῶν ὁσμῶν ὠφελούσιν, εὐωδίας πάντας ἀναμιπλάσαι, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἰατρικαῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρμάκων. ἔνια γὰρ ἀναμιχθέντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις ἀριδηλοτέρας παρέχεται, καθάπερ εἰς ζώου γένεσιν ἡ ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος μίξις, ἰδίᾳ ἑκατέρου μὴ  
 72 πεφυκότος ποιεῖν ἄπερ ἄμφω συνελθόντα. ταῦτ' ἀναγκαίως λέλεκται πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπό σου  
 400 διαπορηθέντων, ἱκανὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι δυνάμενα τοῖς μὴ φιλονείκως ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἰ. See App. p. 547.

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<sup>a</sup> The same argument had been applied to the scents of flowers, particularly as an accompaniment of banquets. Philo elsewhere does not appear insensible to the beauty of flowers, but neither this nor their fragrance seem to him to come under the head of sensual pleasure, which is what he means by ἡδονή here.

## ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 70-72

the different cities make it their business to restrain the intemperance of their appetites by refusing to allow all people to use them all without restriction.

Violets, roses, and crocuses and the 71 other flowers in their manifold variety were made to give health not pleasure.<sup>a</sup> For their properties are infinite; they are beneficial in themselves by their scents, impregnating all with their fragrance, and far more beneficial when used by physicians in compounding drugs. For some things show their virtues more clearly when combined with others, just as the union of male and female serves to engender animal life while neither of them is qualified to do separately what they can do when combined.

This is the best answer I can make<sup>b</sup> to the rest of 72 the points raised by you, and it is enough to create in the mind of those who are not contentiously inclined solid grounds for believing that God takes care of human affairs.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> For this sense of ἀναγκαίως cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 4, *Quod Det.* 160, and note on the latter, vol. ii. p. 497.

<sup>c</sup> This is not actually the end of the treatise. Philo goes on to invite any other questions, but Alexander politely declines further discussion for the present.





## APPENDIX TO QUOD OMNIS PROBUS LIBER SIT

§ 2. "Walk not on the highways." The form given here is almost the same as that in the latest edition of Diogenes Laertius, viz. τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίσειν. But another reading is ἐκτὸς λεωφόρου μὴ βαδίσειν. This has been emended to ἐντὸς, but does it not rather point to a variant assigning a quite different and more obvious meaning to the maxim?

§ 3. *Super-law*. Or "divine ordinance." Cf. *De Op.* 143 νόμος ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος, ὃς κυριωτέρα κλήσει προσονομάζεται θεσμός, νόμος θεῖος ὢν. In the same way the Ten Commandments are in a true sense θεσμοί, *Quis Rerum* 168. Besides being more divine the θεσμός has a wider scope and is like a general principle. So the Ten are θεσμοί τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπείρων νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, *De Cong.* 120. It is a pity that these examples from Philo have not been used in the lexica. For though L. & S. remarks that θεσμός properly applies to ancient laws supposed to be sanctioned by the gods, it cites no examples which bring out the distinction from νόμος. Stephanus too after quoting the θεσμοί of Draco and the νόμοι of Solon, which may be merely traditional titles, only cites Plato, *Er* viii. 355 B, where after an exhortation to set the ἀρετή of the soul above that of the body, and that again above money, he says ὁ ταῦτα ἀπεργαζόμενος θεσμός νόμος ἂν ὀρθῶς ὑμῖν εἴη κείμενος, which points to a sort of distinction as that quoted above from *De Cong.*

§ 5. *The puppet show*. Though probably this is suggested by the words quoted in the footnote, those do not mean what is stated here. Plato does not mean that the prisoners in the cave mistake the realities for θαύματα. The phrase comes in incidentally to indicate that the wall behind which move the persons who carry the objects the shadows of which are reflected is like the screen behind which the θαυματοποιοί

## PHILO

stand when exhibiting their show. Elsewhere Plato uses the figure (*Laws* 644 D, 804 B) to describe human conduct, mankind being the puppets whose strings are worked by some higher power, a figure which Philo also uses, *De Op.* 117, *De Fug.* 46.

§ 10. *Highly connected.* Or more exactly "highly connected on both sides." Philo has ἀμφιθαλής twice elsewhere, *De Cong.* 132, where Moses is said to be καὶ τὰ πρὸς πατρός καὶ τὰ πρὸς μητρός ἀμφιθαλής, and *Legatio* 93, where Hermes, Apollo, and Ares are μείζονες καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς as compared with Dionysus and Heracles, presumably because Semele and Alcmena were mere women. This is a natural extension of the meaning in *Il.* xxii. 496 and Plato, *Laws* 927 D, viz. a child who has both parents alive. So here cf. πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν below.

§ 15. (The hiatus παιδεία ἀναθεῖναι.) Cohn in *Hermes*, li. (1916), pp. 172 ff. propounds a theory that the hiatus here is justified on the principle that Philo does not avoid it between the verb and its noun or adjective, which are so grammatically connected as to form a sort of unity. In the same way he accounts for ἰση ἀντιτιμηθέντες εὐνοία (§ 42) and φόβω ἐκκλίνει (§ 159), and notes similar examples in other treatises. On the other hand εὐτονία κραταιοτάτη ἰσχύος (§ 40), θεοῦ ἐλευθέρους (§ 42) and σὺν εὐτολμία εὐθυβόλον (§ 124) have no such justification. Accordingly the first of these remains "suspect" (though one would have thought κραταιοτάτης was an easy correction), the second is corrected to τῶν θεῶν, and the third has μετ' εὐτολμίας suggested in a footnote. This new law of justifiable exceptions is a big extension of the principle laid down by Jessen and Cumont (see my note in vol. viii. p. 428), by which familiar conjunctions like ἐτήσιοι ὄραι are declared acceptable. There are no such familiar conjunctions in the instances quoted from §§ 42 and 159.

Wendland in his essay on *De Providentia* written several years earlier points out (p. 146) Philo's general avoidance of the hiatus in that treatise, but notes a few exceptions, ἀδιάλυτῳ ἐνώσει ἀρμოსάμενος (§ 3), εὐμορφία ἀγάλλοιτο (§ 15), ἀπατηλαὶ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα (§ 36), and there are some others which he has not observed. He then makes a remark which seems to me worth quoting: "We must not forget that avoidance of the hiatus is a matter of feeling only, not of

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anxious calculation, and there were very few writers in whom this feeling was so finely developed that it was not exposed to fluctuations and caprices." This is not quite the same as the view suggested in the note above mentioned, namely that he avoided it generally but not when the avoidance would hamper his expression, but it leads to the same practical conclusion. When the tradition, Wendland continues, does not present any difficulty or any other cause for alteration, the editor of a writer like Philo will do well not to introduce any alteration merely on account of the hiatus.

§ 15. *New vessels*, etc. Cohn quotes Quintilian i. 1. 5 "natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor, quo nova imbuas, durat." The parallel will be still clearer if we adopt the correction "quo nova imbuas <vasa>." As Quintilian in the sentence before has quoted Chrysippus, *Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς*, it seems probable that the illustration in both cases comes from a Stoic source.

§ 28. (Insertion of *οὕτως*.) Though not grammatically necessary it certainly appears to be Philo's invariable usage when a comparison begins with a relative conjunction to introduce the main clause with an adverb *οὕτως* or *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον*. So in this treatise §§ 15, 30, 45, 49, 51, 130, 140. And so in *De Prov.* §§ 3, 6, 20, 23, 39, 40, 52, 55. If the comparison begins with the main clause as in § 155 the rule naturally does not apply, nor always if the relative clause does not contain a separate verb as in *De Prov.* 32. Otherwise I have found no exceptions either in these two treatises or in *De Praem.*, in which I have tested it.

§ 70. *Wholefruits*. Or "wholly fruits." In this digression induced by a favourite text, Deut. xxx. 14, and the favourite interpretation of mouth, heart, hands by words, thoughts, actions, we have something more akin to the Philo of the Commentary than we find anywhere else in this treatise. The meaning is that while in the natural garden the fruit only comes in the final stage, in the spiritual life all is fruit. As a matter of fact *ὀλοκαρπώματα* occurs only three times in our text of the Pentateuch and then only as a variant for *ὀλοκαυτώματα*. But the form *ὀλοκάρπωσις* is more frequent, occurring three times in Gen. xxii. in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, and also in Gen. viii. 20, where Noah took of

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every clean beast and every clean fowl and offered them for a *ολοκάρπωσις*. On this passage, where perhaps he read *ολοκάρπωμα* for *ολοκάρπωσις*, Philo has a special meditation in *Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 52. The point of this is that the pure beasts are "sapientis sensus" and the pure fowls "intellectus cum cogitationibus in mente agitatis" and that they must be offered as "integer fructus." The thought is perhaps much the same as in the stanzas of Rabbi Ben Ezra beginning "Not on the vulgar mass."

§ 73. οἱ ἐτύμως ἐπτά σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες. I find that the view taken in the footnote that the appellation is *ἔτυμον* because *ἐπτά* is akin to *σέβας* and *σεμνός* is thought to be a hard saying; and I am asked why it should not mean that they were called *σοφοί* because they were truly wise. I think that that explanation not only slurs the *πρός* but is entirely contrary to Philo's use of *ἐτύμως* and *ἔτυμος*. That word in classical use is an epic or lyric word, in the ordinary sense of "true," but with the grammarians came to mean the true or original form of the root from which other words spring, and thence the name "etymology" for the science of these *ἔτυμα*. Thus (*De Op.* 127) the Latin "septem" is said to be *ἐτυμώτερον* than the Greek *ἐπτά* because it preserves the original *σ* of the etymon.

As stated shortly in the note in vol. iv. p. 556, the examples of *ἐτύμως* in the index bear this out.

Names are said to be given *ἐτύμως*:

(1) *De Op.* 36. *στερέωμα* to "heaven," because it is *σωματικός* (as opposed to *νοητός*), and *σῶμα* is *στερεόν*.

(2) *Ibid.* 126. *φωνήεντα* to the vowels, because *ἐξ ἐαυτῶν φωνοῦνται*.

(3) *Ibid.* 133. *παμμήτωρ* and like names given by the poets to *γῆ*, because it is the source (*αἰτία*) of *γένεσις*.

(4) *De Conf.* 137. *θεός* to God, because *ἔθηκε τὸ πᾶν*.

(5) *Mos.* i. 17. Moses so called, because he was drawn from the water and the Egyptian for water is *μῶν*.

(6) *Ibid.* 130. "Dog-fly" from its persistence, because the dog and the fly are the most shameless creatures in earth and air.

(7) *Mos.* ii. 105. *θυματήριον* given to the altar of incense, because *ἀναθυμιάσεις τηρεῖ*.

(8) *Ibid.* 149. *τελειώσεως* to the rams by which the sacrificers were admitted to the *τελεταί*.

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(9) *Spec. Leg.* i. 88. *λογείον* to the breastplate symbolizing heaven, because heaven is governed by *λόγος*.

(10) *Ibid.* 93. *ροῖσκοι* to pomegranates *παρὰ τὴν ῥύσιν*.

(11) *Ibid.* 147. *σιαγόνες* to the jaws, because they shake (*σειώω*).

(12) *Ibid.* 183. *πρωτογεννημάτων* to Pentecost, because *τὰ πρῶτα τῶν γεννημάτων* are then offered. So also *De Dec.* 160.

(13) *Spec. Leg.* ii. 188. "Trumpet-feast" to the *ιερομηνία*, because it is the custom to sound the trumpet.

In this volume, besides the words under discussion, we have (14) *De Vit. Cont.* 2, the *Therapeutae*, so called because *θεραπεύουσι* ("worship" or "heal").

(15) *De Aet.* 54. *κόσμος* to the world, because it exhibits *κόσμος* ("order").

Many of these are explanations of a term rather than what we should call derivations or etymologies, but they all have this in common, that the *ἐτυμότης* does not consist in the appropriateness of the term in itself, or of its application in the particular case, but in its relation to some other word or in (15) to some other sense of the same word. None of them suggest that a person could be called *ἐτύμως σοφός* because the adjective *σοφός* could be justly applied to him. The *ἐτυμότης* therefore I believe belongs to *ἐπτά*, and the words of *De Op.* 127 explain in what it consists.

I should add that in the note, vol. iv. p. 556, I suggested that *σοφός* also was traced to *σεβασμός*, but this, I think, has no foundation.

§ 74. *πρεσβευταὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων*. Or *πρεσβεύεται λόγων ἔργα*? In support of the latter it is worth noting that Strabo xv. 1. 59 cites Megasthenes as saying of the Brachmanes (on whom see next note) *ἐν ἔργοις γὰρ αὐτοῦς κρείττους ἢ λόγοις εἶναι*. That Philo in his account of the Gymnosophists and Calanus had Megasthenes in mind is at least very probable.

§ 74. *Gymnosophists*. What did Philo understand by the *Gymnosophists*? Is it simply another name for the caste of the philosophers, *i.e.* the Brahmins, or for a specially ascetic type among them and possibly other castes? They are mentioned in the same vague way as here by Strabo xvi. 2. 39 coupled with the Magi and the *μάντιες* of other nations. So too Plut. ii. 322 v eulogizes the *γυμνήτις σοφία* of the Indian sages.

When Strabo xv. 1. 39 ff. describes from Megasthenes the seven castes, of which the philosophers are the first, he does

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not use the term Gymnosophist or indicate any especial asceticism. Further on, *ibid.* 59, Megasthenes is stated to classify the philosophers as Brachmanes, *i.e.* presumably Brahmins, and Garmanes, by whom experts appear to understand Buddhists, and it is these Garmanes or some of them who seem best to exemplify the asceticism implied in the name of Gymnosophists, though nakedness is not actually mentioned. Again, *ibid.* 70, the Brachmanes are distinguished from the Pramnae and it is as applied to some of these last that we first meet the term.

On the other hand Arrian, who also is supposed to be quoting Megasthenes, definitely says of the philosophical caste that as a whole they live (*διαιωῶνται*) naked, and when Plutarch (*Alexander* 64) applies the name Gymnosophists to the philosophers who had stirred up national feeling against the invader (§ 59), presumably he means the caste as a whole. I leave the experts to disentangle these conflicting statements. I suspect that the legend as Philo received it included (1) a belief that the philosophers were a caste, (2) that some of them were believed to practise a special asceticism, without aiming at anything more exact.

§ 75. *Essenes*. This note does not attempt to digest the many theories propounded about the Essenes but merely to summarize what Philo says about them and compare it with Josephus. In *Quod Omn. Prob.* Philo gives the following account of them : (1) They do not sacrifice animals ; (2) they live in villages ; (3) they work industriously at various occupations, not military nor commercial ; (4) they keep no slaves ; (5) their study is on morals and religion, particularly the allegorical meaning of the Scriptures ; (6) they pursue and exhibit every kind of virtue ; (7) this includes refusal to swear oaths and ceremonial purity ; (8) they hold goods and clothing in common ; (9) they provide for the sick and aged. To this is added an account of their sabbatical meetings, but this does not materially differ from that given of the Therapeutae in the *De Vit. Cont.* and of the nation as a whole in the *Hypothetica*.

Of these the *Hypothetica* mentions in much the same strain (3), (6), (8) and (9) and adds (10) that only adults are admitted to the order and (11) that they eschew marriage and have a poor opinion of women.

Josephus's account is given in *B.J.* ii. 8. 2-13, with some

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additions in *Ant.* xviii. 1. 5. It confirms practically all the points mentioned by Philo but goes far more into detail. Thus he describes fully the terms and process of admission to the order and also their refusal to take oaths in ordinary life and their ceremonial ablutions, points indicated by Philo only by the single words ἀνώμοτον and ἀγνεία. Interesting additions which he gives are that they regard the use of oil as a defilement, wear white garments, keep the sabbath with extraordinary strictness and show a feeling of reverence for the sun and sunrise which reminds us somewhat of *De Vit. Cont.* 27 and 89. Elsewhere he credits them with the power of predicting the future, also he gives us, what Philo entirely omits, some information about their doctrines, that they believed in the immortality of the soul though not of the body and in future rewards and punishments.

(Sections 89 to 91.) I have not seen any notice of the historical statements made in these sections and this note must be regarded as a tentative inquiry. I feel little doubt that Philo is referring in the first instance to Herod, who, according to *Jos. Ant.* xv. 10. 5, treated the Essenes with special friendship and thought of them as something higher than human (μείζον τι φρονῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὸν φύσιν). This friendship is traced by Josephus originally to the predictions made by the Essene Manahem to Herod, first in his boyhood when Manahem prophesied that he would be a king who at first would govern righteously but afterwards would commit crimes for which he would be punished. When he became king Herod asked Manahem how long he would reign and was told that for at least thirty years, but no other limit was given, which answer appears to have satisfied Herod.

We have no other evidence, I think, as to how the Essenes were treated by any other ruler in Palestine. But we may ask who are these ferocious or treacherous potentates here alluded to. Apart from the wild statement of Pliny, *N.H.* v. 17 that the Essenes had flourished in Palestine "per millia saeculorum," the only allusion to their existence in earlier times is in *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 5. 9, where he mentions them as existing in the times of Jonathan the high priest, *i.e.* about 150 B.C. But this does not of course show that they did not exist at a considerably earlier date, and Philo might well have had Antiochus Epiphanes in mind. One would

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hardly think that any of the Hasmoneans would appear in this light to Philo, though both Aristobulus and Alexander Jannaeus are credited with some barbarity. Archelaus at the other end, who also (*B.J.* ii. 7. 3) listened to the prediction of an Essene, would fit, but his date is too late, at any rate if the *Quod Omn. Prob.* is an early work of Philo.

§ 96. (Death of Calanus.) This is described by Strabo (xv. 1. 68), who says that while the historians differ on some minor points they agree that he accompanied Alexander and when in his seventy-third year he fell ill for the first time he burnt himself to death in Alexander's presence. Strabo adds that Megasthenes denied that suicide was enjoined by the philosophers, who regarded it as showing a reckless disposition.

*Ibid.* (Text of the letter.) Cohn in the article in *Hermes* mentioned in the note on § 15 observes that it contains four instances of hiatus, which however need not concern us, as Philo though avoiding it himself does not trouble himself to correct them in quotations. Cohn would not therefore raise this objection to my proposed insertion of ἀραιὰ ἡμῖν.

§ 99. "Burn me, consume my flesh," etc. I am rather surprised that Nauck, *T.G.F.* p. 525, lists this quotation as from the *Syleus*. Is not its juxtaposition with the *Syleus* in this one of the four places where it occurs sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Heracles plays a part in both? But the attitude which it represents seems very different from the boisterous behaviour in the Satyric play.

§ 100. (The *Syleus*.) Who speaks the last four lines of the first quotation and the three of the second? Cohn, following Nauck, *T.G.F.* p. 526, says *Syleus*. Subject to correction from those who know the ways of Satyric drama better than I do, I should reconstruct the situation as follows. *Hermes* brings Heracles to market much as Diogenes is brought in § 123, and one of the possible purchasers asks the question whether he is φαῦλος. The auctioneer emphatically denies this, and then turning to Heracles says "Do try and look more like the sort of servant that people like to have." Heracles then accommodates himself somewhat and is bought by *Syleus*, who finds out too late what a bad bargain he has made. Even if we assume that Cohn and Nauck are so far right that the last four lines from οὐδεις to ἐμβολήν are to be detached from the other four, I should still prefer to



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ascribe them to one of the ἀνητικῶς ἔχοντες, who declined to buy anyone so dangerous, rather than to Syleus.

§ 127. *Theodorus*. An account of this follower of Aristippus about the end of the fourth century is given by Diog. Laert. ii. 98-102, who mentions his important book Περὶ θεῶν and his denial of much of the popularly accepted morality. According to Diogenes Laertius he did not take refuge with Lysimachus on his expulsion from Athens but with Ptolemy, who sent him on an embassy to Lysimachus. Another saying attributed to him by Cicero and others is that when Lysimachus threatened to crucify him he replied that it was a matter of indifference to him whether he went to corruption in the earth or in the air.

§ 134. *Ion*. A contemporary of the great Tragedians and sufficiently eminent for Longinus to say that though he was faultless, polished and elegant no one in his senses would match all his tragedies taken together with one of Sophocles. Little has been preserved of his, and of the sixty-eight fragments listed by Nauck many are single words, few as long as this and only one longer.

§ 140. *The Venerable Goddesses*. Cohn's statement that these are Demeter and Persephone seems rather rash. He adduces Ar. *Thesm.* 294

δούλοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων,

and though this line has been suspected as a gloss the preceding words,

σὺ δ' ἄπιθ', ὦ Θράττ', ἐκποδών,

show that the slave girl was excluded. But it does not follow that this was the only cult from which slaves were excluded. Though no doubt the epithet *σεμναὶ θεαί* might be applied to Demeter and Persephone, its regular connotation is the Eumenides. The procession in honour of the Eumenides is alluded to by Aeschylus at the end of the play and is mentioned by other writers as including the carrying of sacred cakes (see Pfühl, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris*, pp. 92 ff., a reference given me by Dr. Cook). Pfühl accepts without question that it is this to which Philo refers.

Also it would seem *prima facie* unlikely that the procession at the Thesmophoria would include men as well as women or that the cakes would be prepared by the Ephebi, though I do not know that there is positive evidence about this.

## APPENDIX TO *DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA*

(Title and sub-title.) The main title as here printed is that used by Eusebius himself, first when making his famous disquisition on the Therapeutae, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17, and again in his list of Philo's writings in the next chapter. There can therefore be no doubt of its authenticity, but it is difficult to see why Philo substituted *ἰκετῶν* for *θεραπευτῶν*. It does not occur in the treatise itself and though as Conybeare shows there are many passages where *ἰκεταί* and *θεραπευταί* are coupled, they are not exactly the same and *ἰκεταί* does not suit the sense of healing which he gives as an alternative meaning for Therapeutae.

As for the sub-title, the "fourth (part or book) of the virtues" has no authority from Eusebius but appears to be given in all the mss. The title of *Περὶ ἀρετῶν* is given by Eus. ii. 18 to the treatise of which the *Legatio* as we have it is a part, and he says in ii. 5 that this had five books and in ii. 6 speaks of the sufferings of the Jews in Alexandria as being described in the second book. The sub-title, therefore, affirms that the *De Vit. Cont.* was the fourth book of this treatise. We may be sure at any rate that Eusebius had no idea of this. But this, being part of the wider question what the complete *Περὶ ἀρετῶν* consists of and what is the meaning of the title, may be postponed until the *Legatio* is translated.

§ 2. *προαίρεσις*. This word occurs again five times in this treatise, §§ 17, 29, 32, 67, 79, and twice elsewhere in this volume, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 89 and *Hyp.* 11. 2. The uses in Philo, all springing from the sense of choice or purpose, may be divided into those which describe the purpose or motive of some particular action and those which indicate the motives and principles which regulate a lifetime or a career. To the first class belong §§ 29 and 79 as I under-

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stand the passage, and § 32 might be taken in the same way. In the other passages it is used in the second sense. In §§ 2, 17 and *Hyp.* 11. 2, where it is applied to the Therapeutae or the Essenes, it may be thought that it simply = the sect itself. So indeed Gifford translates it in the latter passage and L. & S. recognizes this use of the word. But it seems to me better in the Philonic passages to take it as the beliefs and principles held by the sects, thus including both a creed and a rule of life. The various attempts made in this volume to translate it, *i.e.* "persuasion," "vocation," "creed" and "rule of life," are none of them, perhaps, quite adequate.

§ 3. (Hephaestus and Poseidon.) So Cornutus (§ 19) says of Hephaestus ἐκ τοῦ ἡφθαί ὀνομασμένος. In the same chapter he, like Philo in *De Dec.* 54, identifies Ἥρα with ἀήρ, but does not suggest a common derivation. For Poseidon *cf.* Corn. 4, where he identifies him with ἡ ἀπεργαστικὴ τοῦ ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑγροῦ δύναμις and adds εἶτ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως οὕτω κέκληται. This is followed by two alternative suggestions, *cf.* Philo's τάχα.

§ 17. *ῥαψωδίας*. Conybeare, scolding Lucius, who saw in this reference to the thirteenth rhapsody the mark of later authorship, says that the division into rhapsodies was the work of Zenodotus and Aristarchus, 250 years before Philo. He does not give his authority for this. As to the use of the word in this sense the lexica do not give any certain evidence. L. & S. (old and revised) gives "portions of an epic poem fit for recitation, etc., *e.g.* a book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, Plut. 2, 186 E, Lucian, *D. Mort.* 20. 2 and *Cont.* 9." In this they are really repeating Stephanus. In the first of the Lucian passages the greater Homeric personalities when in Hades are described as τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν ῥαψωδιῶν. In the second Homer in Charon's boat was sea-sick and vomits his rhapsodies. Plutarch is more definite. Alcibiades asks the teacher for a rhapsody of Homer and when the teacher says he has no Homer gives him a box on the ears. In the *Life of Alcibiades* 7 Plutarch repeats this story, substituting βίβλιον for ῥαψωδίαν. It is both curious and regrettable that this passage of Philo which so definitely establishes the use of the word for the Homeric books as we have them has not found its way into the lexicon.

§ 25. *μοναστήριον*. On this word Conybeare states that

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it does not exist elsewhere in any Greek document until the end of the third century, when it has acquired the sense of a building or establishment for a single monk or hermit (for which he gives references from Athanasius and other patristic writers) or for several monks together. The statement that it does not occur earlier is confirmed by L. & S. revised, which, apparently ignoring the patristic use, quotes this passage but nothing else earlier than the sixth century. It translates it here by "hermit's cell," which does not seem to me a happy phrase. It indicates simply a room in a house, into which no one else is allowed to enter. The familiar "closet" of Matt. vi. 6, though the R.V. has replaced it by "inner chamber," seems to me to carry the same idea.

*Ibid.* (End of section.) τὰ ἄλλα presumably refers to writings of some kind. But the words may refer to the συγγράμματα mentioned in § 29, or to the other books of scripture besides those indicated above. So Wendland, who quotes the Canon given by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 8, *i.e.* the Law, the Prophets (including the historical books), and the four books of the psalms and precepts of human life, *i.e.* Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Cantica. If Philo means this, τὰ ἄλλα will be the last three. But unless other evidence is forthcoming this seems very conjectural.

§ 36. λιπαίνουσιν. Wendland, like Conybeare, takes this word to mean "anoint" in the literal sense. He does not translate the passage, but as he thinks that τὰ θρέμματα is figuratively used and cites several passages where Philo uses the word to represent the senses or body as cattle under the guidance of the shepherd, the mind, he presumably would translate it "releasing as it were the animal side from its labours." He also takes the passage to be a reminiscence of Plato, *Menexenus* 238 A, where oil is spoken of as πόνων ἀρωγὴν, *cf.* *De Aet.* 63. With all due deference to two such high authorities, I still hold to the interpretation given in the translation that the relaxation of abstinence on the sabbath is to the Therapeutae what release from labour is to the beasts of burden. The Therapeutae have not endured the labour for which oil is a relief nor is λιπαίνω the natural word for anointing. Wendland certainly makes a point when he remarks that the indicative ἀνίασι would be expected rather than the participle. But the construction may, I think, be explained quite easily by understanding

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λιπαίνουσι. When he asks if they only eat bread and salt on the sabbath, what did they do on the other days, the natural answer is that on the sabbath they did not fast for the whole day or even until sunset. It is, I think, worth noting that according to Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 8. 3, the Essenes abstained altogether from the use of oil. Though it is not a decisive point it is a little surprising to find the Therapeutae making a sabbatical luxury of the indulgence which the less ascetic Essenes refuse.

§ 49. *τρίκλινα*. "Sets of three couches" is one of the meanings given in L. & S. revised for *τρίκλιος* (the more usual form) and *τρίκλιον* which appears to be found occasionally. Conybeare gives "couches for three to recline upon." Whatever the exact meaning is the point is, as he says, that they are large articles of furniture and therefore it shows extravagance to make them of very expensive material.

§ 58. (Xenophon's *Symposium*.) Philo's description of this is very superficial. The amusements mentioned chiefly appear at the beginning and end of the banquet and he does not justice to the mixture of banter and seriousness (*ἀναμιξέσκωψάν τε καὶ ἐσοῦδασαν*) which characterizes most of the talk, nor to the real seriousness in Socrates' longer speech, while, on the other hand, he ignores the fact that the acceptance of the feature in Greek sentiment so strongly denounced in §§ 60-62 is as prominent here as in Plato's *Symposium*.

§ 59. (Plato's *Symposium*.) Philo's criticisms of this are not very creditable to him. In the first place his equating *πάνδημος ἔρως* with *παιδεραστία* is entirely wrong. The essence of *πάνδημος ἔρως* as represented in Pausanias's speech, where the phrase principally appears, is that it is *περὶ σώματος*. It is concerned with women as much as with boys (181 B) and the passion of a male for a younger male plays a greater part in *οὐράνιος ἔρως*. But more important than this is the error of dismissing the *οὐράνιος ἔρως* as merely a secondary adjunct brought in to give a touch of humour or wit. Such a description indeed would be appropriate to Aristophanes' fable of the original third sex which Philo takes so seriously in § 63, but it does not apply to the rest, and much of the picture ascribed by Socrates to Diotima is very much after Philo's heart. Indeed, he himself uses the word *ἔρως* in the same idealistic way, *e.g.* *De Ebr.* 136.

Philo, of course, is not the only person who has been

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shocked by the acceptance in some parts of the *Symposium* of παιδεραστία as a normal feeling and still more by the apparent callousness of Socrates as described by Alcibiades in the last part. It was perhaps with reference mainly to this that Athenaeus xi. 506 c declares that what Plato says about Alcibiades in the *Symposium* is not fit for repetition οὐδ' εἰς φῶς ἄξιον λέγεσθαι, and that, as every Cambridge student learnt in an earlier generation, Paley in the *Evidences*, part ii. 2, says that Socrates himself was more than suspected of the foulest impurities. Philo makes very little use of the *Symposium* himself. The only definite reminiscence listed by Leisegang is that noted on p. 232 of this volume, though perhaps the thought of the preference of the Therapeutae for the immortal rather than mortal children in *De Vit. Cont.* 68 may have in mind *Symp.* 209.

§ 65. δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων. Wendland rejects Conybeare's view almost entirely on the ground that the word cannot yield this sense. He is wrong, I believe, in saying that the words in themselves cannot mean "after seven weeks." διὰ in this sense indicates the interval between two events, but whether this interval occurs only once or recurs regularly depends on the context. Here, as stated in the footnote, since weekly sabbaths have been mentioned, "every seven weeks" is the natural meaning. But admitting that Philo has expressed himself carelessly if he means seven weeks after the Passover, is it likely that the Therapeutae, who appear to have been orthodox Jews, discarded the religious calendar of Moses and arranged a new system of festal days which one would have thought would have been difficult in itself? For since periods of fifty days do not fit into the year, this great feast would recur seven times in one year and eight times in another and in different months from year to year.

Wendland does not notice μεγίστης ἑορτῆς, which is not without its difficulties on Conybeare's hypothesis but much more perplexing on his. In what sense is every fiftieth day which follows the *Symposium* on the forty-ninth called the greatest feast and what happened on it? Nor does he notice τὸ μὲν πρῶτον. Conybeare understood this to mean that they first meet on the eve for the banquet, the religious meeting on the day itself for worship being taken for granted. By translating it "first of all" I suggest that he does not rule

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out other cheerful convivial meals but takes this as the most notable, *cf.* § 40.

*Ibid.* *The chief feast.* Conybeare, p. 313, gives the following as reasons why Philo describes the Pentecostal meal in preference to the Paschal. The Passover was a domestic feast celebrated more austere than Pentecost, which was also a day prescribed by the Law for rejoicing; also it occurred in a season more suited to remaining all night in the open air. These are perhaps satisfactory reasons for his selection of the feast for description, but not for his calling it the greatest feast, and Conybeare is mistaken when he says, p. 300, that Philo uniformly refers to Pentecost as the greatest of the feasts. Philo I think only mentions Pentecost three times, *De Dec.* 160, *Spec. Leg.* i. 183, ii. 176 ff. In the third of these he remarks that it is a greater feast than the Sheaf which he has just described. In the second he calls it *δημοτελεστάτη*, *i.e.* especially national or generally celebrated, while in the first he speaks of the Passover and Tabernacles as the greatest feasts. However this inconsistency is not greater than many of those to be found in Philo's writings.

§ 67. (Genuineness of ἀλλ' ἔτι κομιδῇ νέους παίδας.) In *Hermes*, 1916, p. 179, Cohn gives as an additional reason for expunging these words that they make no sense, and that not they but ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης . . . φιλοσοφίας are the antithesis to τοὺς πολυτετεῖς καὶ πολιοῦς. This last is true, but the sentence contains another antithesis, *viz.* πρεσβυτέρους and νέους παίδας. This may be awkward, but is perfectly intelligible. Conybeare says "Armenio plane desunt, non tamen omittenda esse videntur."

§ 78. *Reminding.* I think this should be taken as an allusion to the Platonic doctrine that learning is recollection (*Meno* 81). The knowledge is latent in the mind and the teacher only brings it into consciousness, *cf.* *De Praem.* 9.

Conybeare discussing this thinks that the employment of ὑπόμνησις instead of ἀνάμνησις is against it. But surely if learning is recollection, teaching is reminding. He considers that *Spec. Leg.* iv. 107 is still more against it, but this seems to me irrelevant. There Philo says that, when the lesson is over, the pupil, by chewing the cud, *i.e.* by using his memory to call up what the teacher has told him, stamps a firm impression of them on his mind.

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§ 80. (The hymns.) That the Jewish churches in the Hellenistic world should have hymns and that they should be composed in metres familiar to Greeks is perfectly natural, and I presume it was knowledge of such hymns that led Josephus to make the fanciful statement (*Ant.* vii. 12. 3) that David arranged the Psalms, some in trimeters and others in pentameters, and also that Moses composed both his longer and shorter hymns in hexameters (ii. 16. 4, iv. 8. 44), but I have seen no illustration of this statement of Philo which seems curiously elaborate, particularly its enumeration of Greek metres. Among these *προσodίων* (or, at least the variant *προσοδιακῶν*) and *στασίμων* are recognized metrical terms. But *παραβωμίων* and *παρασπονδείων* are not cited elsewhere, at least as applied to hymns or lyrics, and *χορικῶν* appears to be a general term for any choral hymn.



## APPENDIX TO *DE AETERNITATE MUNDI*

§ 12. *Ocellus*. The work attributed to Ocellus consists of four chapters. The first argues the indestructibility of the Cosmos and it is in this that the analogies to the *De Aet.* are mostly to be found. The most striking is in the eleventh section where he argues that the destroying cause must come either from within or from without and both of these are impossible. This is to the same effect as *De Aet.* 20-24 and in one place there is a certain similarity of language, *ὁ κόσμος ἀγει τὰ πάντα μέρη* § 22, beside *ἀγεται τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντός* of Ocellus. It has far less detail than Philo and in fact is more a statement than an argument. Again i. 9 makes much the same point as *De Aet.* 70, namely that the world causes other things to exist and therefore causes itself to exist. Thirdly, §§ 12-13 describe shortly the transmutation of elements and there is a considerable analogy to *De Aet.* 107-110 and in both we have the same phrase *κύκλον ἀμείβειν*. The second chapter deals with *γένεσις* and is largely a reproduction of Aristotle, *De Generatione et Corruptione*. The third short chapter asserts the existence from everlasting of the human race, arguing to much the same effect as Critolaus in *De Aet.* 55. Chapter four is ethical; the view that the generation of mankind is from the first from mankind and not from the earth is declared to demand sexual purity and continence.

A curious point about the book is that the quotations from it in Stobaeus are in Doric while our manuscripts are in ordinary Greek. The presumption is that it was originally written in Doric, probably to give it the appearance of a heritage from the early days of Pythagoreanism, and afterwards translated into ordinary Greek to make it more acceptable to the general reader.

§ 13. *Gods sprung from gods*, etc. Archer-Hind (who

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translates "Gods of gods") and others take this as an intensive expression like *κακά κακῶν* and *ἄρρητ' ἄρρήτων* in Sophocles, but these do not seem to me quite analogous. The other rendering however is also very difficult. The words which follow in the mss. of Plato *ὦν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων ἃ δι' ἐμοῦ γινόμενα ἅλτα ἐμοῦ γε μὴ ἐθέλοντος* are rendered by Archer-Hind "whose creator am I and father of works which by me coming into being are indissoluble save by my will." Philo omits not only *ὦν* but *ἃ δι' ἐμοῦ γινόμενα*.

Bernays held that these words are a gloss in Plato, and I see that the Loeb edition and apparently others omit them, quoting Philo as their authority. I do not think that the omission by Philo is a strong argument for their spuriousness. The translation given above making *ὦν ἔργων* = *ἔργων ἃ* would of course be impossible with the ordinary reading.

I think it is an alternative possibility that Philo did omit *ὦν* but actually wrote *ἃ* before *ἅλτα* which has fallen out. In this case he may have taken the words as "Gods, of gods I am the maker (*cf.* *θεοπλάστην* below) and father of works which," etc.

The *μὴ δεθὲν* for *δὴ δεθὲν* is of course a mere scribe's blunder. The same uncertainty between *θέλοντος* and *μὴ θέλοντος* is found in the mss. both of Plato and Philo, but I cannot feel with Archer-Hind that the sense is as good with the positive as with the negative.

§ 21. *Opposite extremes.* The use of *ἐναντιότης* for a pair of opposites or for one member of such a pair, or for the condition of such a member, is too well supported by Philo's use of it, particularly in *Quis Rerum*, to allow us to take the phrase *ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐναντ.* as = "the other hostile forces." So too Ocellus in chapter two of his treatise taken, as stated in the last note, from Aristotle, *De Gen. et Corr.* Here the *ἐναντιότητες* or at least the primary ones are hot and cold, wet and dry. Fire is hot and dry, air hot and wet, water wet and cold, earth dry and cold. When one opposite overcomes the other, *e.g.* the wetness of water overcomes the dryness of fire, fire changes to air, and it is the overcoming of one opposite by the other which brings about the transmutation of the elements described by Philo, §§ 107 ff., but this conversion of one element into another is quite distinct from the causes of destruction of the world. Philo clearly

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has in mind the passage from the *Timaeus* translated in § 26. I suspect that he thought that when Plato follows "hot things and cold" by "all that have strong powers" he refers to the other *ἐναντιότητες*: if so I think he misunderstood Plato.

§ 23. (Transposition of the text.) Between *ἄδεκτον ἔσται* and *κατὰ τὸ παντελές* the mss. insert a mass of sections from § 53 *ὑποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτὸν* to § 77 *νέος ἦν συνεπιγραφάμενος*. This no doubt happened because the leaves containing these sections were torn off and then replaced wrongly. The result was confusion at all three places, §§ 23, 53, 77. *ἄδεκτον ἔσται ὑποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτὸν, κτλ., τὸ μηδέ χρόνον τῷ δόγματι, κτλ.* and *συνεπιγραφάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελές, κτλ.* are all equally unintelligible. Mangey of course perceived this but supposed that at each place words had dropped out which would have supplied the necessary connexion. Bernays' discovery that the confusion was caused by the displacement of these sections was a brilliant feat of scholarship and is incontrovertible. The words fit in exactly where they are now placed and nothing needs to be added. In this way the transposition stands on a different footing from that made by Cohn in *De Vit. Cont.* p. 144 of this volume, where several words have to be added to make the passage coherent.

§§ 25 and 38. (Text of quotations from Plato.) In § 25 besides a few minor differences there are as stated in the footnotes three departures of some importance in the mss. of Philo from the accepted text of Plato. In the first, *ὡς τὰ τῷ* for *ὡς συστάτῳ*, it must be noted that *συστάτῳ* though accepted by recent editors is a correction. The mss. for the most part have *συνιστὰς (-άν) τῷ σώματι*, out of which Stallbaum produced *ἃ συνιστᾶ τὰ σώματα*. If *συστάτῳ* is accepted the accommodation of *τὰ τῷ* to this is justifiable, since that makes no sense and cannot have been written by Philo. The second case of *λυπεῖ* for *λύει* is different, for *λυπεῖ* makes good sense. But there is no reason to doubt that Plato wrote *λύει* or that Philo meant to reproduce Plato's words as exactly as possible. He often indeed does not reproduce quotations exactly, but the substitution of *λυπεῖ* for *λύει* is as likely to be due to a scribe as to him, and it seems to me a doubtful point whether we should not make the correction here as Mangey and the earlier editions did. Bernays indeed supports *λυπεῖ* on the grounds that it

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gives a preferable meaning, but surely that is irrelevant unless he means that the text of Plato should be emended accordingly. In the third case of θεός for ἐν we have in θεός an interpolation which Philo might naturally make by mistake, and though ἐν is of some importance as echoing πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐν above this might easily escape notice, and the text is best left as it stands. In § 38 the change of the three masculines, αὐτὸς . . . παρέχων . . . πάσχων, to the corresponding neuters is necessitated by the neuters in the last sentence. But the addition of ἄλλων is perhaps unnecessary and is not accepted by Cumont and Bernays.

§ 48. *ιδίως ποιόν*, etc. Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*, p. 100, says of *ποιόν* that it "comprises all those essential attributes by means of which a definite character is impressed on otherwise indeterminate matter. If the definite character belongs to a group or class it is called a common form *κοινῶς ποιόν*, or if it be something peculiar and distinctive it is called a distinctive form *ιδίως ποιόν*." There are a good many passages quoted in *S.V.F.* which contain the phrase, though they do not I think throw much light on the meaning. To them we may add Diog. Laert. vii. 138, where one definition of the Cosmos is ὁ *ιδίως ποιὸς τῆς τῶν ὄλων οὐσίας*, which Hicks translates the "individual being qualifying the whole of substance" (perhaps rather "the substance of the all"). I do not feel that either this or Zeller's "distinctive form" conveys to me any clear meaning. On the formula stated here that "two *ιδίως ποιόι* or *ποιά* cannot exist on the same substratum," Zeller says that it follows as a matter of course since *ιδίως ποιός* distinguishes a thing from every other. As to the argument based on it Bernays in the dissertation which precedes his commentary says frankly that we cannot expect to understand it, but in the commentary itself he does give an explanation which I do not understand. We can see however that, assuming as in the typical case that Theon is destroyed when Dion's foot is amputated, the application which Philo makes is logical or at least intelligible. The Cosmos is a composite being with body and soul, the soul being Providence. In the conflagration when the Cosmos loses its bodily part it is on the same analogy not the Cosmos which is destroyed but its soul.

It may possibly help us to compare the similar argument

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in Plutarch *Comm. Not.* chapter 36, 1077 B where we have the Cosmos, identified with Zeus, as the whole man with Providence for its soul. What happens at the conflagration according to the Stoics is that Zeus alone among the gods is not destroyed, *cf. De Aet.* 81, and passes over or withdraws (*ἀναχωρεῖ* = *ἀνέδραμε* here) into Providence and they (*i.e.* the Cosmos and Providence) being brought together (*ὁμοῦ γενομένους*) both continue to exist on the single *οὐσία* of ether (does this mean that as in the *διακόσμησις* the Cosmos was the *ιδίως . . . ποιὸς τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ὅλων* now that *τὰ ὅλα* are resolved into ether, this has both Zeus and Providence for its *ιδίως ποιός*?), and this is supposed to contradict the doctrine of *δύο ιδίως ποιά*, etc. The only thing I can claim to gather with certainty from the two passages is that the Peripatetics argued that the Stoic doctrine of the *ἐκπύρωσις* contradicted their own doctrine of *δύο ιδίως ποιά*, etc.

Two minor points are: (1) the mss. reading *εἰδοποιούς* is retained by Bernays though he clearly takes it as equal to *ιδίως ποιούς*. He curiously says that this is not to be put down to the scribes, but shows that the source is Peripatetic, since Aristotle uses the term as = "specific." (2) The treatise *Περὶ αὐξανόμενων* is not mentioned in Diogenes Laertius's catalogue of Chrysippus's writings. The subject no doubt is what Plutarch 1083 B calls *ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐξήσεως* and deals with the relation of increases and diminutions to identity of personality. Plutarch represents the Stoics as holding that these changes are wrongly called in familiar language increase and diminution and are rather *γενέσεις* and *φθοραί*.

§ 127. *Fire . . . lame*. This allegorical interpretation of the post-Homeric story that Hephaestus became lame when thrown from heaven to earth comes originally from Heraclitus according to a scholiast on *Il.* i. 590. It is also alluded to by Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae* 922 A and Cornutus 19, who says that fire cannot advance *ἄνευ ξύλων* nor a lame man *ἄνευ ξυλάδους βάκτρον* (see quotations in Cohn). Cumont's emendation given in the footnotes is ingenious in the sense that *Ἡφαιστος* might easily have been lost before *ἢ φασι*, and *Διὸς σκηρ.* corrupted to *διὸ σκηρ.*, but is surely impossible. He cites the passage from the scholiast to support it, but this only mentions Zeus to equate him with the heavenly fire which is contrasted with the earthly. He

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also declares that ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ would be καθ' ἑαυτὸν if taken as Bernays and the translation take it, but see § 20 above, and *De Vit. Cont.* 4 and 5. νομῆν ("feeding on") for μονήν is also unnecessary and indeed less suitable to the context.

§ 129. *Free their heads.* So I think rather than "lift their heads." ἀνακύπτω in the common sense of emerging from water suggests coming up to breathe, cf. ἀνανήξασθαι *Spec. Leg.* iii. 3. The snakes might conceivably, even though crushed by the elephants, still have their heads free, and it is this that is negatived here.

§ 143. (ἐρωτάω="state a proposition.") Another example of this use, which may be much commoner than the lexicon suggests, occurs in the passage of Plutarch mentioned in the note on ἰδίως ποιόν above, ὁ περὶ αὐξήσεως λόγος . . . ἠρώτηται ὑπ' Ἐπιχάρμου.

Sections 147 ff. I take the opportunity of pointing out a serious omission in the notes in vol. vi. In *De Abr.* 1 Philo says that the Book of Genesis tells how fire and water wrought the greatest destructions on what is on the earth. In *Mos.* ii. 53, speaking of the punishment of the wicked, he says that the most forceful elements in the universe, fire and water, fell upon them, so that as the times revolved some perished by water, others by conflagration. He then mentions the deluge itself and continues "at a later time when the race sprung from the remnant had again become very populous, he determined to destroy them by fire," and we then have a short account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. I did not at the time perceive the close connexion of these passages with the *Timaeus* and the *Laws*. The connexion is clearer still in *Mos.* ii. 263, where we are told that the men had lost count of the sabbath by reason of the constant destructions by fire and water. Philo evidently considers the deluge and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah as examples of the destructions described by Plato. Whether he supposed that they were only examples, as the last passage suggests, and that other unrecorded visitations had occurred, we cannot tell. At any rate he would hold that what truth there was in Plato's story came from Moses.

## APPENDIX TO *IN FLACCUM*

§ 1. *Sejanus*. According to Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5, Philo related in his "Embassy" that "Sejanus, who had the greatest influence with the Emperor, was zealous to destroy utterly the whole Jewish nation." In *Legatio* 160 he says that Sejanus brought charges against the Jews in Rome, the falsity of which was recognized by Tiberius after Sejanus's fall and execution. Sejanus had invented these calumnies because he knew that the Jews would defend the Emperor against his treason. I have not seen elsewhere any support of these statements.

§ 10. (Tiberius Gemellus.) Gemellus was the son of Drusus, Tiberius's son who had died in A.D. 23. He was therefore one of the *γνήσιοι* while his cousin Gaius was the son of Germanicus, Tiberius's nephew, who had been adopted (*θετός*) into the Gens Julia. The story of the murder of Gemellus, or, more strictly speaking, his enforced suicide, is told by Philo in *Legatio* 22-31. Philo is somewhat inaccurate in speaking of him as *κοινωνός τῆς ἀρχῆς* here and in *Legatio* 23, 28. Tiberius had left his property to the two equally, but had said nothing about the succession to the principate. This, however, might be taken to imply that he wished the two to share the sovereignty, and Gemellus's partisans, no doubt, claimed that this was his rightful position. Indeed, though Gaius obtained from the senate the cancellation of the will, he according to Philo declared his wish that Gemellus should ultimately be his partner, but that as he was a mere child (he was actually 17 or 18, and only seven years younger than Gaius), he needed to be educated for this and he therefore made him his adopted son.

There seems to be another inaccuracy in the statement that Gaius's mother, Agrippina, was put to death. She and her son, Nero, had been condemned and exiled in A.D. 33. The

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statement made by both Tacitus and Suetonius that she starved herself to death seems to be generally accepted, though Tac. *Ann.* v. 25 suggests that possibly food was refused her.

§ 20. *Dionysius.* Dionysius is presumed to be identical with the Gaius Julius Dionysius or Dionysius son of Theon, mentioned in the recently discovered letter of Claudius, see the text with translation and commentary in H. I. Bell's *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 23 ff. The letter was written in answer to the embassy sent by the Alexandrians, primarily to congratulate Claudius on his accession, but also to present their defence for the recent anti-Jewish disturbances. Dionysius is named among the ambassadors and also the zeal with which he pleaded his case is especially mentioned.

Our knowledge of Isidorus and Lampo is not confined to the activities described by Philo, see Introduction, pp. 299 f. They reappear in another interesting document. This is a fragment of what Bell calls the Alexandrian Propagandists' Literature, known as the "pagan acts of the martyrs." This fragment probably belongs to some twelve years later. It appears that Isidorus, now gymnasiarch, and Lampo are still the protagonists of the Greek cause. They have brought charges against Agrippa the Second, but have lost their case and are themselves put to death. In this literature the arch-rogues and villains have become the true patriots who withstand the pernicious influence of the Jews and the tyranny of Rome.

In another fragment, apparently of the same type, described by Box, p. lvi, Dionysius appears with Isidorus as having an interview with Flaccus, in which they procure from him a permit to leave the country. This does not appear to do more than confirm Philo's statement that Dionysius was one of Isidorus's leading supporters.

§ 25. *Agrippa.* Agrippa the First is a subject of a long biographical notice in Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6 and other notices elsewhere, but he is also well known to multitudes, who have never heard of Josephus, from Acts xii. He is the Herod who figures there as persecutor of the early church and dying miserably. A grandson of Herod the Great, his early life was one of extravagance, and when reduced to destitution he had on a visit to Alexandria borrowed a large sum from



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Philo's brother, the alabarch Alexander. This visit is mentioned by Philo in § 28, though he discreetly says nothing of the circumstances. At Rome he had made friends with Gaius but got into trouble with Tiberius and was imprisoned. But Gaius on his accession released him and gave him as Philo tells us the territory which Philip had ruled as tetrarch as well as the title of king. Philip, the "best of the Herods," had died three years before and Tiberius had annexed the tetrarchy to the province of Syria, but under the condition that the revenues should be kept separate, and these presumably fell into Agrippa's hands. Josephus adds that Gaius gave him at the same time the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and, finally, after Gaius's death, Claudius gave him also Judea and Samaria, so that he held all the dominions over which his grandfather had ruled. Agrippa's loyalty to his nation appears again in *Legatio* 261-332, where Gaius while praising his candour blames him for his complaisance (*ἀρέσκεια*) to his fellow nationals, thus agreeing with the author of the Acts when he tells us how Agrippa slew James the brother of John with a sword, and because he saw that it pleased (*ἀρεστον εἶσσι*) the Jews proceeded further to take Peter also.

§ 45. (*κατάλυσις*.) Up to this point we should think that the overthrow or destruction consisted in the desecration caused by the installation of the images. But in § 53 this is expanded into "Flaccus seizes them without even leaving them their name." And in *Legatio* 132 the Alexandrians, thinking that Gaius would approve their action, destroy and burn all the synagogues in which the Jews did not make an effective resistance and installed the images in the others. How are we to reconcile these statements? I should suggest as most probable that Flaccus had merely ostentatiously abstained from interfering when the Alexandrians tried to install the images by force. These attacks resulted in riotous conflicts in which many synagogues actually were destroyed, and the statement quoted above from § 53 merely means that the Jews felt that they had lost their holy houses and considered that Flaccus was ultimately responsible. On the other hand, H. I. Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. x. p. 310, takes the statement in § 53 more literally and says that Flaccus forbade the Jews the exercise of their religion, closing the synagogues. See also note on § 54.

§ 48. (Footnote *a*, p. 328.) When I wrote this note I had

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not sufficiently considered Box's translation and note. He translates "they have no sacred precincts in which they could set forth their gratitude" and gives as a note "the Jews of the Diaspora had no temples," *i.e.* the *προσευχαί* are not *ἱεροὶ περίβολοι*, whereas I understand Philo to say that they are holy until they are desecrated. His explanation has the great merit that he gets rid of the difficulty mentioned in my footnote, but it seems to me to raise other difficulties. It is true that the synagogues were not temples, that is to say sacrifices could not be offered in them, but that they were *ἱεροὶ περίβολοι* is implied by the very fact that they could be desecrated. Box seems also to suggest a distinction between the pagan temples and the synagogues in that inscriptions to benefactors could not be placed in them, and loyalty could only be shown by dedications and emblems in honour of the imperial power. I dare say he may have evidence of this, but it seems rash to assume that the phrase *ἐνδιθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον* would not apply to dedications and emblems. If it does not, then neither were the Jews deprived of the means of showing their loyalty, for they never had it. I still prefer my view and explain the *μόνοι ἀπεστεροῦντο* to mean that the Jews were the only people who would be deprived of their places of worship by the introduction of images and thus also be deprived of the means of showing their gratitude. It is badly and obscurely expressed, but so is much in these sections.

§ 54. (The edict.) The purport of this is obscure and I can do little more than record some recent suggestions on the subject. Box, p. xliv, looks upon it as a pronouncement that the Jews would retain only legal rights assured by a competent authority, and that every merely prescriptive right or concession would be withdrawn. Among these were the right to live in other quarters than the one originally granted, and the privilege of being beaten by blades, mentioned in § 78. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, p. 132, says that the Alexandrians pleaded that the Jews had no right to live in Alexandria at all and that what Flaccus did was to lay down that this right was limited as above. I do not know what evidence he has that the Alexandrians proposed anything so extreme. Both these views imply, I suppose, that when Philo says that the edict deprived the Jews of their political rights in general, it is merely a rhetorical exaggeration.

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The fact that the edict was issued a few days after the demand for desecrating the synagogues suggests that the two things are connected. Accordingly Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. x. p. 310, says that Flaccus welcomed the proposal and on the inevitable refusal by the Jews branded them as aliens and intruders. This hint started the pogrom, the blame for which Flaccus cast on the Jews and in consequence closed the synagogues. Box and Balsdon, so far as I can judge, would hold that these two things were separate though practically simultaneous attacks organized by the Alexandrians.

Another possibility, more or less favoured by Bell, in his *Jews and Christians*, p. 16, is that at the bottom of both, but kept in the background by Philo, is a claim made by the Jews of full citizenship. This may have been formally made by the Jews or formally repudiated by the Alexandrians; if so, the edict is exactly what it stated, a specific answer to a specific question. The Jews are aliens and incomers and, as Claudius worded it some years afterwards, live in a city "which is not their own." It need not, though it may have added, "but there are certain ancient privileges which they may retain." In this case, the two things have the very close connexion, that the Alexandrians strengthened their case by bringing out the disloyal refusal of the Jews to give the honours to the Emperor which the true citizens give.

§ 56. *Drusilla*. The mourning for Drusilla is not the ordinary tribute to the death of a royal person. She was especially beloved by Gaius, who was believed to live incestuously with her, and on her death he proclaimed a *iustitium*, during which it was a capital crime to laugh, bathe, dine, with parents or wife or children (Suet. *Gaius* 24).

§ 130. *Great expenses of the office*. "The gymnasiarch had to maintain and pay the persons who were preparing themselves for the games and contests in the public festivals, to provide them with oil and perhaps with the wrestlers' dust, also to adorn the gymnasium or the places where the *agones* took place" (*Dict. of Ant.*). This is said of Athens, but the statement here and the particular expense of the oil mentioned in *De Prov.* 46 show that much the same held in Alexandria. Bell (*Camb. Anc. History*, vol. x. p. 299) says that in the capitals of each nome in Egypt the Roman rule established a superior class known as the Gymnasium Class

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and "only members of this were entitled to that education in the gymnasium which was as much the hall-mark of social superiority as a public school education has been in England." If this is to be extended to Alexandria, we can understand that the official who catered for so select a body would naturally feel bound not to skimp the expenses. Lampo's protest is perhaps to his credit.

§ 131. (εἰσάγων ὡς or εἰσαγωγέως.) Mr. Box is too modest over this emendation; textually it is obviously satisfactory, getting rid of a serious, if not a fatal, difficulty, at a minimum cost. In his note in *Class. Quart.* 1935, he refers to papyri for the use of the term εἰσαγωγεύς. I am not sure that these help him as far as the functions are concerned, but they show, at any rate, that the word was in use in Egypt, and if so it is only natural that the persons who εἰσάγουσι τὰς δίκας should be called εἰσαγωγεῖς. He quotes also a parallel from Lucian, which is worth quoting for itself, though since Lucian does not actually use the word εἰσαγωγεύς it does not strengthen his case. Lucian, *Apol.* 12, says that he at one time held a post in Egypt, which was important, lucrative, and likely to lead to high promotion. In this he introduced the cases (εἰσάγει τὰς δίκας), assigned the order, taking minutes of the proceedings (ὑπομνήματα τῶν πραττομένων καὶ λεγομένων γράφεισθαι), arranged (ρυθμίζειν) the speeches of the pleaders, preserved the decisions of the magistrates, clearly, faithfully and accurately, and transmitted them to be kept for ever.

§§ 136, 137. (κλίνη and κλιναρχης.) On the question of the exact meaning of these terms, the lexicon speaks with uncertain sound. The original L. & S. gives for the second "one who takes the first place," with reference to this passage. The revised repeats this misleading, indeed, erroneous entry, but adds (for κλιναρχος) "president of an Isiac fraternity." For κλίνη the original edition noted "ἱερά κλίνη, the lectisternium or pulvinar deorum of the Romans," and the revised while repeating part of this has added the example κλίνη τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος, and finally κλίνη is used "generally for a banquet." Under πρωτοκλιναρχος, a word unknown to the original edition, it gives "president of a κλίνη, i.e. a religious association." This and the other references added by the revised are all from papyri or inscriptions. Stephanus gives nothing on the subject; Box adds more references from

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similar sources. The natural conclusion seems to be that originally the couch is that on which the divine image is laid (*cf.* the couch of Adonis in the fifteenth *Idyll* of Theocritus), and the extensions to the festal meeting and further to the associates themselves are quite intelligible. The present passage suggests that the religious side was often left very much in the background. The words are untranslatable, "couch" is meaningless, and the substitution of "divan" on the grounds that the word connotes both a couch and a collection of people is perhaps not much improvement.

§ 138. (*ἀλειφόβιος.*) A rare word of which only one other example from a fragment of Aristophanes is cited. Hesychius explains it as *πένης*. L. & S. regards it as a contemptuous term for *ἀλειπτής* or the menial serving an *ἀλειπτής*, and so Bekker's *Anecdota* 382. 17 τὸν περὶ παλαιστραν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ ὑπηρετοῦντα.

§ 139. (*Anapaests.*) It certainly seems that this term may be applied to verse which is not anapaestic in the regular sense, though it does not follow that it connotes ribald verse in general. The Greek ear could find in certain metres and rhythms, as in music, something undignified and suited to burlesque, and these are called anapaestic, presumably because anapaests often predominated in them. So Demetrius, *De Eloc.* 189, speaks of *σύνθεσις ἀναπαιστική καὶ μάλιστα εὐκυνία τοῖς κεκλασμένοις καὶ ἀσέμοις μέτροις*. So it is applied to the parabasis in the Old Comedy even to the parts which are not anapaestic (see several examples in Stephanus). L. & S. revised notes its special application to "ribald and satirical" verse and cites two examples. The first, Plut. *Per.* 33, consists of regular anapaests. In the second, from Dion Cassius 65. 8, the Alexandrians taunt Vespaasian; and, though Titus appeases his anger somewhat, still continue. Their first refrain is *ἐξ ὀβόλου προσαίεις* and the second *συγγινώσκομεν αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ οἶδε καισαρεῦεν*. Here only the first words of the second piece are anapaestic, but Vespaasian is said to have been enraged not only by the substance of what they said, but *ἐκ τοῦ κατακεκλασμένου καὶ ἀναπαίστου*. Here *κατακεκλασμένου*, like *κεκλασμένοις* in the quotation from Demetrius, indicates something lacking the proper seriousness and dignity. Cornutus 30 seems to equate the "anapaestic" with the iambic, which also often indicates a lampoon. He derives *θρίαμβος* from *θροεῖν* and

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ιαμβίξειν and then adds ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων θριάμβοις πολλοῖς ἀναπαίστοις σκώπτοντες χρῶνται.

§ 141. (Subject of προσαναμάττεσθαι.) The use of these compounds of -μάττομαι is somewhat uncertain. The only one listed by Leisegang is ἐναπομάττομαι. Of his ten examples of this seven are middle in the sense of "receiving the impression," but three, namely, *Quod Deus* 43, *Mos.* ii. 76 and *Spec. Leg.* i. 47, have an active sense of "giving the impression." In other compounds I have noted ἀναμάττομαι *De Virt.* 24 and *De Aet.* 2, both in the sense of receiving, also ἀπομάττομαι *De Virt.* 207. L. & S. gives our word as "besmirch in addition," clearly taking ἀγνωμοσύνην as subject. No doubt this is possible, but the mass of evidence as far as I can judge is in favour of τοῦνομ'.

§ 162. (σφαδάζειν.) A favourite word with Philo. It is badly dealt with in Leisegang's index, which though frequently missing an example or two is generally near enough to completeness to enable one to decide how Philo uses the word. Here he has listed five examples, namely, *De Cher.* 36, *De Mig.* 156, *De Abr.* 257, *De Virt.* 128 and *Quod Omn. Prob.* 39. In addition to these I have noted eight, some from Siegfried, and probably there are others, possibly many. For the use of other students I give the references: *De Ebr.* 121, *Mos.* i. 170, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 81, *De Virt.* 30, *De Praem.* 140, and in this volume besides this passage *Flacc.* 18 and 180, also *Legatio* 184. Only in *De Praem.* 140 is bodily struggling necessarily implied and in most of them it would be grotesque.

## APPENDIX TO HYPOTHETICA

§ 7. 5. (Absolution from vows.) On this Edersheim (*The Temple, its Ministry and Services*, p. 69) says that release from a vow which affected the interests of others might be obtained from one sage or from three persons in the presence of him who had been affected by the vow. He does not state the authority for this and it seems strange that in treating the subject he does not refer to this passage in Philo. In the same connexion he remarks that all laws were limited by higher obligations: according to the Mishnah a man could not vow what of his fortune he owed to others nor his widow's portion. Philo's statement that a man by vowing his wife's τροφή could bind himself not to support her agrees with the practice denounced in Mark vii. 10 ff., but is contrary to the principle described by Edersheim, and it is strange to find Philo apparently approving it.

§ 7. 8. (Precepts of Buzyges.) The rare passages alluding to these are collected by Bernays (see *Introd.* p. 407 note *b*). The *Paroemiographer*, p. 233, has ὁ γὰρ Βουζύγης Ἀθήνησι ὁ τὸν ἱερὸν ἄροτον ἐπιτελῶν ("instituted the sacred rite of the plough") ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀρᾶται καὶ τοῖς μὴ κοινηνοῦσι κατὰ τὸν βίον ὕδατος ἢ πυρός, ἢ μὴ ὑποφαίνουσιν ὁδὸν πλανωμένοις. A scholiast on *Soph. Ant.* 255 mentions the saying that Buzyges cursed those who left a corpse unburied. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* ii. 503 says that those who bid others do what they judge to be not profitable to themselves οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοιεν τὴν Βουζυγίαν ἀράν. Though the name of Buzyges is not mentioned, there is clearly an allusion to the same in a fragment of Diphilus where refusals of charity are said to be denounced in the "curses." Cicero, *De Off.* iii. 54 f., speaks of refusing to show the way as denounced "Athenis execrationibus publicis" and interprets it to include those who allow a purchaser to be defrauded by a mistake.

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Bernays notes that three of the specific things here mentioned, the duty of showing the way, allowing free use of fire and water, and giving burial are all mentioned by Philo. Bernays does not give any quotation for the statement that the curses are repeated by a descendant of Buzyges at a feast of Demeter.

§ 7. 9. (Appeal of animals.) The statement seems to me remarkable and I should like to meet with some illustration of it or comment on it particularly in the form given it by Josephus. When is it that animals enter our houses as suppliants? The only thing in the law which suggests helping animals in trouble is the command in Deut. xxii. 4 to help to raise up a fallen beast and there really the point is helping the owner.

Philo in *De Virt.* 125-147 has insisted earnestly on the duty of kindness to animals, but it is remarkable that of the points which he mentions, namely the prohibitions against (1) separating the mother and offspring before seven days, (2) killing the two in the same day, (3) seething the lamb in its mother's milk, (4) muzzling the treading ox, (5) yoking different kinds of animals together, none is mentioned here, at any rate definitely, though (1) may be alluded to in § 7. On the other hand the one which precedes this here is omitted there.



## APPENDIX TO *DE PROVIDENTIA*

### FRAGMENT 1

*Really created.* In the preceding paragraph, if the Latin translation of the Armenian version is to be trusted, Philo has declared that he is ready to concede "universum ingenitum et sempiternum esse," a belief which he ascribes not only to Parmenides and Empedocles but also to Zeno and Cleanthes. But still of the "ingenita materia" some part may be created and destroyed ("generetur et corrumpatur"), sometimes by providence, sometimes in the course of nature. He goes on to compare this with the work of a statuary and other craftsmen. According to this hypothesis God did not create eternally the primal matter but used matter to shape the Cosmos. And even if we go a step farther and suppose that the Cosmos itself as well as matter was uncreated ("etsi una cum materia mundus ingenitus supponatur") there is still room for providence in directing it. In this case the analogy is with the Ephors at Sparta, which they rule though they did not build it. I cannot fit εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὄντως into this. I should understand it better if for ὄντως we substituted οὐτως = "assuming that this is the method of its genesis." This is not quite satisfactory, since properly speaking if it is ἀγένητος it has no genesis.

The Armenian has "materiae specialiter factae," of which Aucher says that the translator read τῆς ὕλης εἶδος. Is it not simpler to suppose that he took εἰ δὴ as a single word and unable to make anything of the rest omitted it?

### FRAGMENT 2

§ 4. The thought here is very striking. Wendland cites for it from Sen. *Ep.* lxxvi. 26-27. Here we have "num quis tam iniquam censuram inter suos agit, ut sanum filium

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quam aegrum magis diligit? . . . quoniam quidem etiam parentium amor magis in ea, quorum miseretur, inclinatur." But this is not quite the same. For as the sequel "virtus quoque opera sua, quae videt affici et premi, non magis amat, sed parentium bonorum more magis complectitur ac fovet" shows, it is pity for the sufferings of the good and not a yearning for those who have gone astray which Seneca means. Philo's words come nearer to the spirit of the story of the Prodigal Son than anything I have seen elsewhere in ancient philosophy.

§ 8. *περὶ ἃ κηραίνει*. This phrase is here given in Gifford's translation by "about which . . . are anxious"; in Mangey's by "quorum in cupiditate . . . contabescit," and L. & S. revised, connecting it with *κῆρ* and citing a very similar passage to this (*De Dec.* 153), has "be sick at heart or anxious." But the evidence of Philo's use of the phrase points to the meaning given in the translation, *i.e.* "incurring disaster" or "getting into trouble in connexion with something." Leisegang has eight examples of it, to which add this passage and perhaps *De Virt.* 31. In none of these is "suffering disaster" impossible and in some "being anxious" is impossible. Thus in *Spec. Leg.* i. 81 the body of the would-be priest must be scrutinized *ἵνα περὶ μηδὲν ἀτύχημα κηραίνῃ*; *ib.* 260 the bodies of the victims sacrificed must be without flaw and the souls of the offerers must *κηραίνειν περὶ μηδὲν πάθος*; *De Praem.* 29 the defectiveness of human reason is shown by *ὁ λογισμὸς περὶ πολλὰ κηραίνων*. In *De Ebr.* 164 Lot *περὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα κηραίνει*, where *ταῦτα* is explained as the fact that Lot had only daughters and therefore could breed nothing masculine or perfect.

§ 17. (Footnote 1, *ἄξαντες*.) I do not know what sense Dindorf and Gaisford supposed this to have. Gifford, clearly taking it from *ἄγνυμι*, says that "if it is retained the meaning will be 'having broken through,'" but no such meaning of *ἄγνυμι* is known, and even if it were possible it would still be necessary to follow it with *διά*. Nor can any meaning be obtained by taking it from *ἄγω*. But it is not quite so impossible that it should be the participle of *αἰσσω*, though the picture of the physicians being so eager to reach the royal bed that they dart or rush through the bodyguard is, like "breaking through," somewhat grotesque. In this case we should print *ἄξαντες <διά>* (though the mss. would have it without

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the iota subscript) and ὄχλον and θεραπείαν would be governed by ὑπερβάντες. Wendland suggests as alternatives ἐξ ἐναντίας or ἀντικρῦ or ἀμελήσαντες.

§ 18. σχήματι. Something is to be said for Mangey's proposal to correct this to ρεύματι. This is supported by Wendland, but it should be pointed out that in this case the word would be used in the medical sense of a flux or discharge. Galen and Dioscorides both speak of a ρεῦμα γαστρὸς or κοιλίας in this sense. The Armenian has a word which Aucher translates by "laxitate" and it is possible that it is some medical term which might indicate discharges or as we should say "looseness" of the bowels, but is διώδηκε a word which would be joined with ρεῦμα in this medical sense?

§ 23. (The quotation from Empedocles.) Two lines of this are quoted by Synesius

“ ἔνθα φόνος τε κότος τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν  
αὐχμηραὶ τε νόσοι καὶ σήμιες ἔργα τε ρευστά.”

Another line quoted by Clement

“ κλαυθὰ τε καὶ κώκυσα ἰδὼν ἀσυνήθεα χῶρον”

is no doubt rightly supposed to precede the two. The correction of φόνοι τελοῦνται to φόνοι λιμοὶ τε is apparently due to Stephanus, but I feel as Dindorf evidently did that it is somewhat arbitrary. There is no great similarity between τελοῦνται and λιμοὶ τε and nothing very strange in Philo quoting the first two words, then inserting the verb, and then quoting the conclusion of the line. Nor is hunger to the point. The places spoken of are those in which not physical evils but human cruelty predominates. The Armenian no doubt had τελοῦνται, for the Latin is “ubi caedes aliaeque huius modi pravae gentium consuetudines vigent.”

§ 24. (Footnote 3, ἠωρήσθαι.) This correction of Dindorf for θεωρήσαι, which is not noticed in Gifford's later edition, is clearly based on the fact that in Her. iii. 124 Polycrates' daughter dreamt that her father ἐν ἠέρι μετέωρον ὄντα was washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun. Mangey had suggested μετεωρίζεσθαι. The correction leads up well to κρεμάμενον.

§ 24. The Armenian version of this section as it appears in Aucher's translation is very curious. Wendland dismisses it

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as corrupt, but much of it admits of some interesting interpretation. It does not give the name of Polycrates at all, and Aucher in a note says that the translator seems to have read *πολὸν κρατεῖ γε*, which he rendered by a phrase which Aucher represents by "per multum temporis tenet." This no doubt he tacked on to the clause about fortune given in the footnote as omitted by Eusebius. He made a full stop then and continued with what Aucher represents by "con-digne iis quae patrauerat inique impieque ut eorum promotor et auctor sortitus est deterioris vitae infortunium, atque iussu magni regis diu tortus et clavis compressus crudeliter consummatus est." That is to say he took *χορηγός* as = "promoter and author" and as subject to *ἠδίκησε καὶ ἡσέβησε*. At the end of the sentence his "crudeliter consummatus est" seems to represent what he read for *χρησμών ἐκπιπλᾶς* or perhaps *χρησμών ἐκπιπλᾶς οἶδα*. The Latin then proceeds "illa vero dimiserunt eum quae non multis ante horis gloriae speciem ferebant ante solem ungi et a Iove lavari." The words *ἔφη κάμαντόν* of the received text are to some extent conjectural, for almost all the mss. divide them otherwise such as *ἔφηκ' ἔμαντόν* or *ἀμαντόν*, and if the Armenian by a slight change got *ἀφήκεν αὐτόν* it will explain "dimiserunt eum." I suspect therefore that he read *ἀφήκεν αὐτόν τὰ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκτιμήσαι* (or some similar word which he substituted for *θεωρήσαι*) *δόξαντα*, and the translation will run "He was sent out of life by the things which seemed a short time before to have promised him high honour, namely being anointed," etc. If the similar word is *θεῶ ἐικάσαι* "to liken him to a god," we should have something which would make admirable sense and be textually fairly satisfactory, but not well represented by "gloriae." His version, I am afraid, cannot be accepted in face of the violent changes from the mss. involved, but it is a much more sensible version. It avoids the pointlessness of putting these words into the mouth of Polycrates and also the contradiction of Herodotus's story. If we had no access to the Greek and had to choose between his account and that in the translation no one would hesitate to choose the former.

§ 26. *ἀνείμωνα*. For this word see note on *De Som.* i. 99 (vol. v. p. 599), where this example should have been noted as well as *Spec. Leg.* i. 83. In all these cases Philo uses this apparently rare word in the sense of without the upper

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covering and contrasted with *γυμνός*. The contrast is obvious both here and in *Spec. Leg.*, where it is explained as—"in short tunics," almost as obvious in *De Som.* i. 99, where the phrase *κοιμάσθαι ἀνείμωνα* means sleeping with inadequate covering. In that note I suggested that Philo had *Od.* iii. 348 in mind, but if so he misunderstood the meaning, for there the *ἀνείμων* is not a person who sleeps uncovered but a host who is unable to supply proper covering to himself or his guest. But the misunderstanding is shared by L. & S. which translates it as—"unclad." I also commented on L. & S. revised being, like Stephanus, still unable to supply an example of the word except that in the *Odyssey*. In the Addenda however two examples are given, one from a fragment of Callimachus in a papyrus and our *Spec. Leg.* passage (which however should be given as *Ph. 2. 225*—not 355).

§ 45. For the Stoic doctrine of "incidental consequences" as distinguished from the "primary works of nature" *cf.* Gellius vii. 1. 7 "existimat (*sc.* Chrysippus) non fuisse hoc principale consilium ut faceret homines morbis obnoxios . . . sed cum multa, inquit, atque magna gigneret pareretque aptissima ac utilissima alia quoque simul agnata sunt incommoda, eaque non per naturam sed per sequelas quasdam necessarias facta dicit quod ipse appellat *κατὰ παρακολούθησιν*." This dictum of Chrysippus applies primarily to diseases but the latter part gives it the same general application as Philo gives it here. See Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*, p. 179 (Eng. trans.). Zeller adds that the Stoics also pointed out that things ordinarily regarded as evil may be of the greatest service, and illustrates this from a saying of Chrysippus quoted by Plutarch that bugs do us good service by preventing us from sleeping too long. *Cf.* for this the incidental uses pointed out by Philo in §§ 47-51.

§ 48. (Footnote 2.) I have allowed what may be called the generally received text to stand but further investigation since the translation was made makes me think that Gaisford and Dindorf were almost certainly right. Gaisford's App. Crit. seems to indicate that he found *τὰ μέτρα* or *τὰ ἡμέτερα μέτρα* in his mss. with one exception and found *πείρα* in none. Gifford in the two mss. which he relied on for this part of the *Praeparatio* found the same. Also *ταῖς ὥραις*, not *τὰς ὥρας*, appears to be universal. On the other hand

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τῆ ἡμετέρα πείρα goes back to Viger, 1688 and possibly (though I have had no opportunity of verifying it) to Stephanus in 1544. How then did Viger or Stephanus get it? The clue seems to be that the one exception noted by Gaisford has τῆ ἡμετέρα πέτρα. Assuming that Viger or Stephanus found this, the correction to πείρα would be very natural. But if μέτρα is right, ἡμέτερα, which appears in nearly all mss., must either be dismissed as a dittography or amended to ἡμέρινα (or ταῖς ἡμερίναις . . . ὥραις?). Wendland, quoting the Armenian, "diei mensuras notat et horas," suggests τῆς ἡμέρας, but the adjective used in its common antithesis to νυκτέρινος seems to me preferable.

Wendland also notes that the Armenian has "quae de columnis cadunt umbrae," and suggests that παστάδων should replace ποδῶν.

§ 50. (Quotation from Pindar.) The quotation here alluded to occurs in that part between the two divisions of the second fragment which was omitted by Eusebius. It is undoubtedly from the beginning of a fragment of Pindar preserved in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Vi Dem.* 6. It is listed among the fragments of Pindar as 107 or 74 (Schröder, p. 427), in Sandys's Loeb translation, p. 548 as *Paeon* 9. The Latin version in Aucher has enough resemblance to show the identity, but otherwise is sheer nonsense and does not even suggest the general sense, which is that the sun is asked why by this darkening it threatens the world with evil. A version supplied by Conybeare, from which Schröder quotes various bits, would probably explain it better. But it certainly seems that the Armenian who could manage Philo with general accuracy was unable to tackle Pindar. The continuation as given by Dionysius does not suggest the death of kings or the destruction of cities, but war and faction, abnormal storms and floods and through these the destruction of mankind. Some lines however seem to be missed out in the continuation, which may have been more specific.

§ 53. The inconsistency between this and the view expressed in § 41 may perhaps be explained by supposing that though earthquakes, pestilences, etc., are in themselves incidental consequences they may still be employed by God as a means of chastisement.

§ 67. οὐ γῆ ξηρή, κτλ. Zeller in *Presoc. Phil.* vol. ii. pp. 80-81

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(Eng. trans.) has a long discussion on this Heracleitean saying. It is quoted by numerous writers, Stobaeus, Musonius, Plutarch, Galen, Clement and others in various forms and the variation extends to different mss. of these authors. The chief variants are *αῦη ψυχῆ*, *αὔγη ξηρῆ ψυχῆ*, *ξηρῆ ψυχῆ*. Zeller thinks that *αὔγη ξηρῆ* can hardly be the original form, largely on the ground that there is no such thing as a wet beam. The form *οὐ γῆ ξηρῆ* does not appear in any of these quotations, though one variant in the mss. of Musonius has *αὐ γῆ ξηρῆ*, but Zeller has no doubt that this is a true reading in our passage, though his remarks, which are transcribed by Gifford, are oddly worded and not very logical. "Philo," he says, "*ap. Eus. Praep. Evang.* viii. 14. 67 has *οὐ γῆ ξηρῆ*, κτλ., and that this is the true reading . . . is clear from the passage in Philo, *De Prov.* ii. 109 'in terra sicca,' etc., *i.e.* Zeller, unless the translator has misrepresented him, and Gifford certainly, were not aware that Philo *ap. Eus.* and Philo, *De Prov.* were the same, and that what he is quoting is only the Latin translation of the Armenian translation of the same passage. What the words in Aucher show beyond doubt is that the Armenian found *οὐ γῆ* in his text, for he is not likely to have had the acumen to make the correction independently, and they thus give a very convincing support to what we might otherwise have supposed to be an emendation of Stephanus or Viger.

§ 68. (Footnote 1.) The Armenian also presumably read *αἰτίου*. The full sentence is "mens tamen nusquam nascitur ob frige factionem gelationemque, quoniam aer, terra et aquae in causis sunt simul, et frequentes exhalationes densae supereminent." I imagine that he read or translated as if he read *ἐξ ἀέρος αἰτίου καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος* instead of *αἰ γῆς*.

§ 71. *ia.* So Wendland from the Armenian "viola vero et rosa crocusque"; this is perhaps the best example of the value which the Armenian occasionally has, see *Introd.* pp. 449 f. The common reading *εἰ* does not give any good sense. The rendering which I had given, "though roses, etc., exist they exist for health not pleasure," lays a difficult stress upon *γέγονεν* and Gifford's "roses, etc., are meant, if for health, yet not all for pleasure" misplaces the "if" and gives no clear meaning.

PHILO  
THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS

TRANSLATION BY  
F. H. COLSON

INDICES TO VOLUMES I–X  
J. W. EARP



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## INTRODUCTION TO THE *DE LEGATIONE*

THE treatise generally known by this somewhat misleading name is a very lively and powerful invective against the Emperor Gaius. One part of it, in which he gives an account of the ineffectual design of Gaius to introduce his statue into the temple of Jerusalem, supplementing and in many places differing from Josephus's account of the same incident, is of considerable value in the history of Judaism. Otherwise it adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the reign of Gaius or to the accounts given in the regular historians of his follies and vices. It does not repel by its vindictiveness to the same extent as the *Flaccus*, though perhaps if we possessed the "Palinode" which is promised at the end, this opinion would have to be modified. It has some difficult problems peculiar to itself which are discussed later in this introduction. Meanwhile I give the following analysis of its contents.

It opens with a few introductory remarks, on which see p. xx (1-7), and then proceeds to describe the splendid prospects with which Gaius's reign opened and the world-wide delight and hope which his accession aroused (8-13), then the deep disappointment and sorrow which his serious illness caused, followed

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by renewed rejoicing for his recovery (14-21). From this recovery dates the revelation of Gaius's true character: and there follows a full account of the compulsory suicide of Tiberius Gemellus (22-31) and of Macro, prefaced by a long description of the services he had rendered to Gaius before his accession and his attempts to keep him in the straight path after his accession and the resentment felt by him at his admonitions (32-64); also the murder of his father-in-law Silanus (62-65). Public opinion indeed was shocked by these atrocities; yet it still clung to the hope that Gaius was not really depraved, and found some measure of justification for them (66-73).

Having thus freed himself from all rivalry and restraint Gaius proceeded to his crowning wickedness, his claim to divinity. This occupies the next forty sections and is developed with very powerful rhetoric. He held that he was as far above other men as a shepherd is above his sheep (74-76); so he assumed the insignia of the demigods Heracles, the Dioscuri and Dionysus, but his actions were the complete reverse of the beneficent labours of the first, the brotherly affection of the second and the gift of wine bestowed by the third (77-92). Worse still, he assumed the part of the full-blown deities Hermes, Apollo, Ares. What a contrast was his life to the pacific mission of the herald's staff of Hermes, to the work of Apollo as physician and prophet, and to the function of the true Ares which is to protect the weak! (93-113).

Hitherto the treatise has dealt entirely with the general depravity of Gaius culminating in his assumption of godship, and the Jews have not been mentioned since the introductory sections. From this

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point onwards it is his hostility to the Jews and their sufferings traceable to it which occupy the treatise. The connecting link between the two is that this hostility is supposed to be due to the Jews alone refusing to acknowledge his godship (114-119). The Alexandrians knew his resentment of this, and made it an opportunity for the great pogrom of A.D. 38 which is described in 120-131. In this description we traverse much the same ground as in the *Flaccus*, though there is no suggestion that Gaius's resentment had anything to do with it, while on the other hand the active connivance of Flaccus, which was there a leading feature, is only just hinted here. There are many differences but no substantial contradiction between the two accounts. But in this treatise the pogrom is followed by the attack made upon the synagogues by introducing the images of Gaius (132-136) and here the differences are numerous. In the *Flaccus*, the violation of the synagogues precedes the pogrom and nothing is heard of the wholesale destruction by fire or demolition nor of the effective resistance by the Jews in neighbourhoods where they were in considerable force. That the motive of the Alexandrians was not really loyalty to the emperor is shown because no such attempt was made by them during the reigns of previous sovereigns, neither of the Ptolemies nor yet of Tiberius nor Augustus, though if Gaius deserved such honours, how much more did they, and this is followed by a glowing and possibly sincere panegyric on Augustus (137-151). Why then did the Alexandrians make no attempt during these two reigns to force the Jews to admit their images into the synagogues? It was because they knew that Augustus would tolerate no such violation and

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that in fact in various ways he showed his careful consideration and respect for Jewish institutions (152-158). The same in general may be said of Tiberius in spite of certain troubles which were entirely due to Sejanus's evil influence (159-161).

Gaius however was so deluded as to believe that the adoration of the Alexandrians was genuine, and their influence helped to excite him against the Jews (162-165). Others who worked in the same direction were the Egyptian courtiers headed by Helicon, who was particularly intimate with the emperor and employed his gift of satire to prejudice him against the Jews in the way which Philo describes at length (166-177). At first the Jewish Embassy hoped to conciliate him, but when they found this impossible they determined to address the emperor directly, but it was in vain (178-180). Gaius indeed greeted the envoys in a friendly manner, but this was hypocrisy as Philo suspected at the time (181-183), and this was proved when while waiting for the summons they heard the terrible news of the proposed violation of the temple at Jerusalem (184-188). The horror caused by the news and the perplexity of the envoys as to what should be their next step are fully described (189-196), and we pass on to the full story of the proposed introduction of the statue into the temple, which occupies two-fifths of the treatise. The first part of this is supposed to be told by the persons who brought the tidings, but it glides imperceptibly into a narrative by Philo himself. There are five main stages: (1) the Jamneian incident, the destruction by the Jews of the rude altar set up by the Jamneians, the anger of Gaius when this was reported to him by Capito, and his consequent order to

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Petronius the governor of Syria that a colossal statue of himself should be introduced into the Temple (197-206); (2) Petronius while seeing the danger of the proposal makes an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the Jewish authorities to the inevitable (207-224); (3) a vast assembly of Jews from all parts comes to supplicate Petronius saying that they would rather die than live to see such sacrilege. Meanwhile they demand to be allowed to send an embassy to the emperor (225-242); (4) Petronius though much moved by their appeal cannot accept this demand but sends a diplomatic letter to the emperor pleading for or rather apologizing for delay (243-253). Gaius though much enraged postponed taking any measures against Petronius, but merely bade him get the statue made and set up as soon as possible (250-260); (5) meanwhile Agrippa appears on the scene and hears from Gaius the story of what has happened. He collapses utterly and remains in this state for some days (261-275). On his recovery he writes a long epistle to Gaius, appealing for consideration for the Jewish nation, the city of Jerusalem and the Temple, and with regard to this last he expatiates on the honour which has been paid to it by Gaius's ancestors and predecessors (276-329). The emperor yields to this appeal and countermands his orders for the time, but Philo declares that he not only nullified the concession by threatening to punish any Jews who did violence to any altar or statue dedicated to himself outside Jerusalem, but really intended to carry out his previous intention in the course of the coasting voyage which he proposed to make to Egypt (330-338). To this story is appended some denunciations of his treachery, capriciousness, and cruelty in

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other matters, stressing especially his hatred of the Jews and the sin of intending to violate the Temple itself (339-348). The rest of the treatise is an account of the scene in which the ambassadors were summoned to Gaius's presence to lay before him their political claims whatever they were. It is one continuous scene, in the first part of which they are carried about in the company of the emperor who is engaged in inspecting some houses, and have a few contemptuous remarks flung at them not bearing on the subject (349-362). In the second part they are treated a little more seriously and are actually invited to state their case, but no real hearing is given to them and they are finally dismissed with the verdict that they are not so much knaves as fools (363-367). The sense of hopelessness with which they depart is described (368-372) and the treatise breaks off with the promise of the Palinode (373).

The title *Περὶ ἀρετῶν* is mysterious. It is given in all the mss. used by Reiter save one, and the majority have the addition of *ἀ*. It is vouched for as the title assigned by Philo himself in two passages of Eusebius, in one of which he says that the name was given by Philo to his description of Gaius's blasphemous impiety (*θεοστρυγία*) "facetiously (or whimsically) and ironically" (*μετὰ ἠθους καὶ εἰρωνείας*), i.e. it really means "On the wickedness of Gaius and his gang."

No one I think has ever taken this explanation of Eusebius seriously, yet perhaps we should note that in this treatise we do find ironical phrases which do not appear elsewhere as well as I can remember in his writings, e.g., his description of Gaius's "wise and excellent advisers," and the "aristocratic" Helicon (203), his application of *σεμνός* to the animal worship



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of Egypt (163) and the "affability and kindness" of Gaius's greeting to the ambassadors in § 352. We may remember that the treatise belongs to a totally different kind of literature from all the other serious works of Philo except the *Flaccus*, and is written in a different vein even from that, which does claim to be a continuous historical narrative. It is perhaps just possible that Philo may have extended this peculiar gift of sarcasm to the title itself but it is only just possible.

Passing over the suggestions that it refers to the virtues of the Greek gods (93-113) or those of the persecuted Jews, we have the far more satisfactory explanation given by Reiter.<sup>a</sup> According to him the ἀρεταί are those of God. He points out that in inscriptions we sometimes find the term indicating not an attribute of the God but a particular act of intervention. Further it is suggested that the word ἀρετάλογος, the meaning of which has been disputed, means a person who describes or proclaims the ἀρεταί, i.e. the miracles of the god.<sup>b</sup> Philo then gives this title to a work which shows how God ultimately saves or rewards his people. Special examples are the working of providence in §§ 220, 336 and 367. The crowning example no doubt would have been the death of Gaius.

This explanation has the great merit that though the examples of God's ἀρεταί in this sense are not a prominent feature in the treatise as we have it, it harmonizes with the note struck in the introduction that the events of his time proved that God takes thought for men and particularly for Israel. There

<sup>a</sup> In Ἐπιτύμβιον Η. Swoboda dargebracht, pp. 228-237.

<sup>b</sup> e.g., Σαράπιδος ἀρετή ἢ περὶ Συρίωνα τὸν κυβερνήτην.

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are only two considerations which may make one hesitate to accept it. The title must originally have been as Reiter himself says *Περὶ ἀρετῶν θεοῦ* and it is difficult to see how this vital addition should have dropped out before the time of Eusebius. Secondly Philo constantly speaks of the *ἀρεταὶ θεοῦ*, often coupled with *δυνάμεις*, but there is no indication, but rather the contrary, that this means anything more than the excellencies, *i.e.* the attributes of God, or that he conceives of any particular action as being an *ἀρετή*, as according to Reiter's theory it must be. If this explanation is rejected we should have to set it down as a mistake of Eusebius, who perhaps confused the name of this treatise with the other *Περὶ ἀρετῶν*, which is a part of the Exposition of the Laws and is given in vol. viii. of this translation, and that from Eusebius it found its way into the mss.

A far more important question concerns the structure of the treatise. The concluding words show that Philo wrote or intended to write what he calls the Palinode, that is an account of or reflections on the terrible end of Gaius. But apart from this we have to consider whether what we have is a continuous part of a longer whole, or selected portions of a longer and mutilated work, or whether on the other hand what we have is apart from the Palinode all that he actually wrote. The subject has been discussed both by Schürer, who held that the *Legatio* as we have it is the fourth in a series of five books; by Massebieau, who finds four books within the compass of our *Legatio* but postulates two great lacunae, and by Cohn in a somewhat vaguer statement suggesting that pieces out of four books have been compressed into the existing book. All three agree in holding

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that the Palinode was the fifth book in the series and that apart from this much has been lost. This opinion seems to be generally accepted, not only by the three writers mentioned but by Reiter and Delaunay and also quite recently by Goodenough, Box and Bell; and indeed I had myself taken it for granted; however it now seems to me, to say the least of it, unproved, and though I can hardly hope to carry conviction I feel bound to ask for a fresh consideration of the evidence.

The foundation on which all the three scholars mentioned primarily rest is the following passage in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5 :

Philo has narrated in five books what happened to the Jews in the time of Gaius. He combines in this work a full description of the insanity of Gaius as shown by his announcing himself as a god and perpetrating innumerable outrages in his government, of the miseries of the Jews in his time, of the embassy which he himself conducted to the city of the Romans on behalf of those of his own race in Alexandria, and of how when he appeared before Gaius on behalf of his ancestral laws he received nothing but laughter and ridicule and narrowly escaped risking his life.<sup>a</sup>

Leaving this for future examination, we have to consider what Eusebius says about the treatise elsewhere. After quoting Josephus's version of the interview of the ambassadors with Gaius, he goes on :

Philo himself in the *Embassy* which he wrote gives a carefully detailed account of what he did at the time. I shall pass over the greater part and cite only those points which plainly demonstrate to readers the misfortunes which came upon the Jews in consequence of their crimes against Christ

<sup>a</sup> In this and the other passages cited from the *Hist. Eccl.* I have used Kirsopp Lake's version in the Loeb translation with some minor and some more important alterations.

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both at the same time <sup>a</sup> and shortly afterwards. In the first place he relates that in the time of Tiberius in the city of the Romans Sejanus, who of the men of that time had most influence with the emperor, seriously concerned himself <sup>b</sup> to effect the destruction of the whole race, and in Judaea Pilate, in whose time the crime against the Saviour was perpetrated, made an attempt on the temple still standing in Jerusalem contrary to what was lawful to the Jews and stirred them to the greatest frenzy.

With this compare the following entry in the Eusebian *Chronicle* (Jerome's version) :

Seianus praefectus Tiberii, qui aput eum plurimum poterat, instantissime cohortatur ut gentem Iudaeorum dealeat. Filo meminit in libro legationis secundo.

Then passing on to Gaius's reign Eusebius quotes *Legatio* 346 and then proceeds :

Philo in the second <sup>c</sup> of the books which he entitled *On the Virtues* narrates innumerable other atrocities perpetrated on the Jews in Alexandria in the same reign and Josephus confirms him, showing in the same way that the universal misfortunes of the nation date from the time of Pilate and the crimes against the Saviour.

On the mention of Sejanus and Pilate in the second of these quotations Cohn and the others build a theory that the treatise originally included a book or a large part of a book describing the persecutions

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* as the Crucifixion ; *cf.* (in *Chronicle*) " scribit autem (Josephus) quod eodem anno [as the Crucifixion] Pilatus praeses secreto noctis imagines Caesaris in templo statuerit, et haec prima seditionis et turbarum Iudaeis causa exstitit."

The disturbances caused by Sejanus are apparently dated in the *Chronicle* two years later.

<sup>b</sup> Or " took energetic steps."

<sup>c</sup> I follow Cohn in reading *δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ὧν ἐπέγραψε* for *φ*. This is not a correction as it is the reading of two mss. and Rufinus's translation. Kirsopp Lake's objection that it would require the article is sufficiently disproved a few lines lower down by *ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου*

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suffered under those two persons. Is it really necessary to look beyond the passage about Sejanus in *Legatio* 154 f. and the story of Pilate bringing images into Jerusalem in *Legatio* 299 ff. ? These scholars all ignore the obvious fact that Eusebius is not here concerned to give an account of Philo's writings, which he does somewhat confusedly in the eighteenth chapter, but to support his conviction that the troubles of the Jews date from the Crucifixion, and were a retribution for it.

The passage about Sejanus is very short but it is good enough to prove that Philo supports this view and Eusebius here follows his words pretty closely, while his entry in the *Chronicle* to judge from Jerome's version is closer still. As to Pilate, if we had this passage alone it might well be argued that the reference is to something outside our existing *Legatio*, for the attempted outrage is said to be against the temple, whereas in *Legatio* 299 ff. not only is there no such suggestion but the point is made that unlike Gaius's proposed sacrilege it was not against the temple (302). But in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* viii. p. 403 Eusebius cites Josephus as stating that Pilate brought the images of Caesar by night into the temple and continues : " to this Philo testifies saying that Pilate set up by night the royal ensigns of Caesar in the temple, which was the beginning of factions." Now I think there can be no reasonable doubt in spite of the discrepancy between shields and ensigns <sup>a</sup> that the incident here mentioned as being described by Josephus and testified to by Philo is the same as

<sup>a</sup> It should be added that Philo in *Legatio* does not say that the shields were brought in by night, though he does not deny it.

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that described by Agrippa in *Legatio* 299.<sup>a</sup> But Eusebius states that both Josephus and Philo made the temple the scene of the outrage.<sup>b</sup> Now we know that Josephus does not do so in either of the two accounts<sup>c</sup> which he has written and that Philo does not in the account which has come down to us. Which is the more natural supposition? That Philo in some other version of the incident lost to us contradicted himself or that Eusebius made the same mistake about Philo as he did about Josephus? If we say the latter, the natural conclusion is, that when he speaks in the *History* of an attempt on the temple mentioned by Philo he refers to the same incident. And in view of this there seems to me to be no more necessity to postulate a fuller account now lost of Pilate's activities than of those of Sejanus.

In addition to this supposed necessity Cohn and Massebieau rely on the number of lacunas which they think are evident in the existing treatise. The first of these lies between the first and second chapters. The *γάρ* with which the second opens has, they say, no logical connexion with the preceding chapter. I think this is a misapprehension of Philo's regular method. The essence of the introductory chapter is in the first three or four sections. Men judge blindly by the present (1, 2) and yet the events which have happened should convince them of the reality of providence, especially its care for Israel (3, 4). At this point he goes off into a thoroughly Philonic

<sup>a</sup> I observe that Reiter, though he accepts the mutilation theory, gives on *Legatio* 299 a reference to Dem. p. 403, and that Heikel on Dem. p. 403 gives a reference to *Legatio* 299.

<sup>b</sup> He ascribes the same statement to Josephus in the *Chronicle*. See citation, p. xviii.

<sup>c</sup> *Ant.* xviii. 3. 1, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 2.

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ramble : (a) Israel means he who sees God, (b) to see God is the highest gift, (c) for reason in itself cannot apprehend God nor even His powers, (d) the powers mean His punitive as well as His beneficial powers. Now I confess I am surprised that in introducing the treatise Philo has allowed himself to ramble into a train of ideas which belong to the Commentary, where all four frequently reappear, particularly as he keeps clear of anything of the kind in the rest of the book. But I am not surprised, that when after the introduction he starts to work, he harks back to what is the essence of the introduction. It is quite in his way to go back to the main point after a rambling parenthesis, often as here with a logical connexion which ignores the parenthesis.<sup>a</sup> And if this is understood what better proof of the blindness of men could be found than the joy and hopefulness which greeted Gaius's accession and recovery ?<sup>b</sup> Though indeed the *γάρ* goes further than this. It suggests that the story which begins with this blind rejoicing will also illustrate the belief expressed in § 4 that providence watches over Israel and overthrows the oppressor. Should we expect him to put this into words at this point and anticipate the Palinode by mentioning the fate of Gaius, an event presumably quite recent and common knowledge to all his readers ?

Of the other three lacunas registered in Reiter's

<sup>a</sup> For such resumptive conjunctions after a longer or shorter parenthesis see, e.g., (*γάρ*) *Spec. Leg.* i. 6, iv. 101, (*οὖν*) *Leg. All.* i. 77 and iii. 211, (*ὡστε*) *De Fug.* 64, (*οὕτως*) *De Cong.* 135. The resumption of Gaius's vices in § 339 of this treatise, after the parenthetical disquisition on Alexandria, is much the same, though *μῆτροι* does not imply the same causal connexion, cf. also note on § 292.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 21.

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text two are discussed in the notes on §§ 180 and 292. Before we come to the fourth we have Cohn's complaint that the Embassy is suddenly introduced in § 174 without any account of how it came to be sent, which therefore must have dropped out. This seems to me to mistake entirely the nature and object of the treatise. It has acquired the title of the *Embassy* naturally enough because all that Philo tells us about himself is connected with the Embassy, but there is no sign that Philo himself gave it that title. In fact throughout it is a "Philippic,"<sup>a</sup> an invective against Gaius and to a minor extent his satellites, and nothing else. Hardly anything<sup>b</sup> is mentioned which does not reflect on these, either directly or indirectly by extolling his predecessors or his honest servants like Petronius. The Embassy only appears in the story when Philo gives us his personal experiences of the enemy. It first appears when the machinations of Helicon in fostering Gaius's hostility are described. Then comes the first meeting with Gaius and Philo's conviction that his friendly greeting was only hypocrisy. There follows the scene in which they hear of the proposed outrage. In his long story of this attempt Philo is throughout at pains to emphasize the Jewish feeling of horror and he inevitably begins

<sup>a</sup> Though the analogy is of course very rough, one cannot help observing how Cicero in the *Second Philippic* leaves a vast number of less relevant matters unexplained. Philo is not likely to have read Cicero, but he did read Demosthenes, and may have got something of the same lesson from his attacks on Aeschines. The story in Eus. ii. 18, that he read the *Περὶ ἀπερῶν* or part of it to the whole senate in Rome does not sound very probable but does represent a feeling that the treatise was of the epideictic Oration type.

<sup>b</sup> The one thing which strikes me as irrelevant to the invective is the mention of the memorial in § 179.



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with the sensations and perplexities of his own party. At this point the story passes on to scenes and personages far away from the ambassadors and while it is proceeding we hear no more of them. Then comes the actual interview. Surely, says Delaunay, he must have described how this interview came to be conceded. Possibly if his subject was the Embassy, not if it is Gaius. I cannot feel that there is any strong reason for placing a lacuna at § 311.

Cohn and Delaunay might possibly have replied that my view that the treatise is essentially a Philippic and not a sober history of the Embassy is not only unacceptable to them, but is contradicted by Eusebius when he says that Philo gives a carefully detailed account of what he did at that time. Different opinions may be held about this, but it seems to me that what we have in the treatise would be felt by Eusebius to justify his statement. For the scenes in which the ambassadors appear, particularly the last, are described with the vividness of detail which deserves the epithets τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβῶς and I do not think he would have troubled himself about the abruptness of the introduction. Moreover the phrase "the things done by him" is used with a looseness which forbids taking it very seriously. For he says that of these "doings" he will omit most and cite—what? the troubles caused by Sejanus and Pilate, which on no supposition can be parts of his doings.

So far then I can find no sign that apart from the Palinode the *Legatio* ever extended beyond what we still have. But what about the Five Books? Can we pack them or even four of them into the existing 372 sections? If not, it may reasonably create a suspicion that something has been lost.

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The description given by Eusebius of the scope of the five books agrees quite closely with what we have. It may suggest that more was said about the Embassy, but as it confines itself to the events of Gaius's reign it certainly does not support the idea that events of Tiberius's reign like the persecutions of Sejanus and Pilate were given at any length. As no titles are given we cannot rule out the possibility that the *Flaccus* was one of the five, since it certainly describes one of the matters mentioned in the list. But the phrase πέντε βιβλίοις does not fit in very well with a five made up of four books of *Legatio* plus a totally distinct work like the *Flaccus*. The *Legatio*, if judged by the sense, naturally splits up into four parts: (1) 1-113, where Gaius's degeneration and his three murders of Gemellus, Macro and Silanus and his blasphemous assumption of godship are the subject, and the Jews are never once mentioned after the introductory sections; (2) 114-161, giving the troubles of the Jews in Alexandria and the contrast of their treatment under former emperors, and it is significant that the two matters mentioned by Eusebius as belonging to the second book of the *Embassy* or *Virtues* both fall within these limits<sup>a</sup>; (3) 162-348, events outside Egypt and the whole story of Gaius's proposed outrage on the temple; (4) 349 to the end, the interview, and if we add as all the others do the Palinode we get the required number. I indeed feel very doubtful whether Eusebius included this among the Five or knew of its existence, for surely he would have added such a leading matter as the

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the sufferings of the Alexandrian Jews "in the second of the books which he entitled *On the Virtues*"; Sejanus "in the second book of the *Legation*" (*Chronicle*).

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retribution on the blasphemer to his list of subjects. I should prefer to get a five-fold division rather than a four-fold from the 372 sections, but I do not find it easy. A good break indeed is made at § 73, but this would bring the two matters definitely stated as being in the second book into the third. Possibly the inordinately long third division might have been re-divided at the appearance of Agrippa at § 261, but such an arrangement would not be very logical as the story of the statue is a continuous whole which does not admit of any real break. But let us take the easier course, and assume that the 372 sections made up four books. Can it be objected that βιβλίον is too big a word for such divisions? I do not know of any grounds for thinking so. Or that the mss. tradition has no knowledge of such divisions as separate books except the inscription Περὶ ἀρετῶν α' at the beginning which may have held on when β' and γ' and δ' were lost? The argument may have some force, but surely will apply with much more force to the schemes of the advocates of the mutilation theory. Or that the length of the third division and the brevity of the fourth are objections? I think that the first may have some weight but not the second. The *De Specialibus Legibus* i. with 350 sections is divided in the mss. into six separate treatises, the first of which is only eleven sections and the other, *De Virtutibus*, includes one separate heading *On repentance* which is only twelve.

Altogether, even if the statement about the five books creates some difficulty, the possibilities<sup>a</sup> con-

<sup>a</sup> Among these may perhaps be included the possibility that a single letter ε' was put by mistake for some other numeral letter.

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nected with it are so many, that we cannot build on it without that support from internal evidence which to my mind is entirely wanting. However I quite feel the weight of the body of opinion which asserts the contrary, and do not forget the Cromwellian adjuration "to believe that it is possible that I may be mistaken."

The Embassy is not the subject of the treatise, but we have to consider what we learn about it from incidental hints.

It had two distinct objects, and was sent to plead two distinct causes (*ὑποθέσεις*). These two are vaguely indicated in describing the memorandum (179) as our sufferings or experiences (*ὧν ἐπάθομεν*) and our claims (*ὧν τυχεῖν ἠξιούμεν*). But they are more clearly defined in §§ 191 ff. where it appears that one was concerned with the synagogues (*προσευχαί*) and the other with their *πολιτεία*. As to the first, the envoys remark that if Gaius does not shrink from desecrating the Temple he will not listen to any appeal against the desecration of the synagogues. As to the other, we learn that it consists in "showing that we are Alexandrians." When we come to the actual reception (349 ff.), how many months after we do not know, the envoys are invited to state their claims as to *πολιτεία*, this only, and the other is not mentioned.<sup>a</sup> For the opening passage of arms, in which Gaius reproaches the Jews for refusing to admit his deity and is backed up by Isidorus's state-

<sup>a</sup> This is curious. Had there been meanwhile a change of conditions in Alexandria, which made the plea unnecessary? or was it thought more politic not to start a question which by its similarity might stir up Gaius's resentment at having been driven to make the concession to Jerusalem, which I assume him to have made before the interview?

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ment that they neglected to sacrifice, a charge which the envoys indignantly deny, has really nothing to do with the complaint that the synagogues have been desecrated. The claim which they are invited to discuss is represented (350) as a plea to retain rights which have never been questioned in the four centuries during which Alexandria has existed, and it is alleged (371) that an adverse decision would be a disastrous blow to the whole of the Dispersion and would put the Jewish population in every city at the mercy of the hostile Gentiles, who would destroy the synagogues and take away the privileges which they had enjoyed. Whether this claim was one for full Alexandrian citizenship, as the phrase "showing that we are Alexandrians" suggests, or to specific rights to independence asserted by the Jews and denied by the others,<sup>a</sup> is a question which I do not feel competent to answer, and I doubt whether in the absence of other evidence it can be answered with any certainty.

A further very difficult question is the chronological. Did this Embassy, of which are we only told that it set out in mid-winter, arrive in Italy in A.D. 39 or 40?

We have the following certain data to work upon: we know that the troubles at Alexandria which gave rise to the Embassy took place in the summer of A.D. 38, that Gaius was away from Italy in Gaul and Germany from September 39 to at least May 40,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> That is to say, *πολιτεία*=*πολίτευμα* or membership of a *πολίτευμα*, i.e. of a "corporation formed by membership of race or community domiciled in a foreign state." This perhaps would give more body to the prophecies of the disasters to be anticipated from an adverse decision.

<sup>b</sup> See Balsdon, *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xxiv. pp. 17 and 21.

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and that he was killed on 24th January 41. Now clearly Gaius was in Rome when the ambassadors first met him, and in the south of Italy when they first heard of the proposed violation of the Temple, and in Rome when they had their interview with him. We have therefore to place each of these incidents either before September 39 or after May 40.

Now if we took Josephus's (*Ant.* xviii. 261-308) account, we should place them all at the later date. According to him Gaius had written to Petronius cancelling the order for the statue before he received Petronius's apologetic letter, but this enraged him so much that he sent a violent reprimand which being delayed on the way did not reach Petronius till two months after the assassination, *i.e.* in March 41. Mr. Balsdon<sup>a</sup> arguing for the arrival of the ambassadors in 40 gives careful calculations to show, that if we accept this story, the whole of the correspondence from the first report to Gaius of the Jamneian incident to the final letter to Petronius can be got in after his return in May 40, though this perhaps is unnecessary for his purpose, since part of it might have been carried on while Gaius was in the north, though it only became known to Philo after his return.<sup>b</sup> Is there anything in Philo's account which conflicts with the view that the Embassy arrived in 40? Apart from the general probability that it would be undertaken as soon as possible after Flaccus's arrest in September 38 and not be postponed for more than a

<sup>a</sup> *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xxiv. p. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Balsdon assumes that the order had just been given, when Philo heard of it at Puteoli. It seems to me more natural to suppose that the news travelled to him from Palestine, and that the matter may have been far advanced before he heard of it.

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year, there is only one serious fact to be reckoned with. While Josephus speaks of the recalcitrant Jews as neglecting their tilling though it was the season for sowing, Philo says that Petronius, after receiving the order and spending some considerable time in trying to talk over the chief Jews and in meeting the great body of the people, proceeded to write his letter recommending postponement of the installation of the statue and gave as one of his reasons that the sown crops were now ripe and he feared that the Jews might ravage them as well as the fruit trees later. That is to say this letter was written between April and June. Mr Balsdon meets this by suggesting that the crops are the spring sown crops. I do not know whether this is agriculturally sound, but I think that anyone who reads through the second book of the *Special Laws* with its account of the ripening of the crops and fruits and their adjustment to the various feasts will find it difficult to believe that Philo meant by what he calls τὰ θέρη anything but the autumn sown crops. At any rate this is what his readers would inevitably infer. If this is so, and if Petronius's letter was written not later than June,<sup>a</sup> the order must have been given some time earlier while Gaius was still in the north. This does not prove that the ambassadors did not arrive in the spring of 40, but at any rate the suggestion that the whole of the affair can be concentrated into the eight months between Gaius's return and his death must be given up.

<sup>a</sup> Philo is, I think, the better authority. He need not have had any authentic knowledge of Petronius's correspondence, but he would hardly put into his mouth a statement conflicting with dates which were known to him by personal experience.

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I suggest as an alternative the following scheme for consideration. The ambassadors sailed in the winter of 38–39, arrived at Rome in the spring, and after looking about them for some time were met and greeted by Gaius and later heard the story of the proposed outrage before he left Italy. Meanwhile he had heard of the Jamneian incident, had sent his first order to Petronius but was not aware of the opposition till he got the letter pleading for delay. He replied to this acquiescing in some delay though maintaining his purpose. When was it that Agrippa intervened? If Josephus is to be believed, it would be before Gaius left Italy, since he says that Agrippa was then staying at Rome, though as far as Philo's story is concerned it might have been while he was at Lyons at the end of the year.<sup>a</sup> It was after his return in the next May or later that he granted the interview to the ambassadors.<sup>b</sup>

For it seems to me that the most certain point in the controversy is that the interview occurred after the whole of the affair of the statue had died down. If we are to give any weight to Philo's account I cannot conceive that the conference should have taken the form described and that Gaius should have merely censured the Jews for their refusal to acknowledge his deity and their offering sacrifices

<sup>a</sup> The statement of Dio lix. 24. 1 that people at Rome were disturbed to hear that Agrippa was in Gaius's company (*συνείναι*) seems to apply to the time of his absence from Italy.

<sup>b</sup> The statement about the sacrifices (356) points, I think, to the same. If they were carried out at Jerusalem (see note to § 356), this would most likely be when the expedition was well afoot. And even if it was somewhat earlier, time must be allowed for the ambassadors to know that they had been offered.



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for him and not to him, if he was boiling with rage at the threat of a national insurrection, or that he should have dismissed them with the comparatively kindly remark that they were more fools than knaves. And if so we can hardly find time for the interview before Gaius's departure in September 39. That there should have been a delay of many months was natural in any case, since the Jews at any rate would not during the crisis press their case, in which, as Philo himself says, §§ 190 ff., they would be at a hopeless disadvantage, but it became inevitable from the simple reason that Gaius was inaccessible.

Of course this scheme involves throwing Josephus over. If it is right, he was mistaken, not only in placing the crisis at seed time instead of harvest, but also in bringing the events into so close a connexion with the death of Gaius. This is certainly a serious and some may think a fatal objection and therefore I only put it forward for consideration; the question is one, I think, on which certainty is unobtainable.



## INTRODUCTION TO INDICES

I HAVE tried to make it as easy as possible for the reader to find what he wants. In this the Editors and the Printer have given me every assistance. Some of the abbreviations used for Philo's treatises are confusing for those not familiar with his works, and so I have adopted ones which will, I hope, be readily understood. It is likely that many will wish to use the Index who do not possess a set of the Loeb edition of Philo, and so I have given the references to chapters, rather than to pages. Roman numerals indicate the Loeb volume, the "n" or "nn" stands for "footnote(s)," the capital "N" or "NN" for the additional notes given by the Translators at the end of the volume. To give an example :

V. *Mut.* 63f, *Som.* i. 192, ii. 70 & N, VI. *Abr.* 12 & n, 57, 73nn

means Loeb Philo volume V, *De Mutatione Nominum*, chapters 63 and 64, *De Somniis*, First Treatise, chapter 192, Second Treatise, chapter 70 and the Additional Note thereto, Volume VI, *De Abrahamo*, chapter 12 and the footnote thereto, chapter 57, and the footnotes to chapter 73. I have avoided "ff" as much as possible, since in Philo that might stand for two chapters or twenty. Occasionally round brackets have been placed round a reference to indicate that

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there is no direct allusion in those chapters or that it is too trivial to be studied.

In the Scripture Index the alignment of chapters and verses has been designed to help the reader's eye. Where there is a divergence in numeration between the Septuagint and the English Versions, this has been indicated ; the reader is warned, however, that the Translators were not consistent and that there will sometimes be a discrepancy between their references and mine.

In compiling the Index to Names and Places in Philo's text I have had in mind the reader who recalls a passage without remembering where it occurs. To trace some such recollections in an author like Philo might take hours, even days ; I have therefore given a summary of what Philo has to say about the commoner figures or places. Sometimes this may contribute something new to the understanding of Philo's interpretations, but the summaries are deliberately concerned with Philo's language more than with the philosophical background of his thought, and I hope that scholars will not expect more from them than that.

In the Index to the Translators' Notes I have marked with an asterisk those names that also occur in the text of Philo and therefore in the Index of Names. There is no need to distinguish them there, since references to notes are included. I had thought of compiling a fourth index to comprise all notes concerned only with the text adopted ; but I have decided to include this in this third index. The reader who wishes to study textual readings will find that these have been included under the names of the several previous editors of Philo—Yonge, Mangey,

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Cohn and Wendland, Heinemann, etc.—and, for the Loeb edition, *s.v.* Translators. Mr Colson himself listed the Translators' own readings in Supplements at the end of vols. V (for I-V) and VI ; for subsequent volumes the reader is referred to what I have listed, but my list includes not only new readings adopted by the Translators but also the many more tentative suggestions made by them in the footnotes or Additional Notes.

Finally, I know very well that these indices cannot be exhaustive, and I should welcome notice of any mistakes or omissions, so that these may be corrected in any later edition.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Abr.* = *De Abrahamo*  
*Aet.* = *De Aeternitate Mundi*  
*Agr.* = *De Agricultura*  
*Cher.* = *De Cherubim*  
*Conf.* = *De Confusione Linguarum*  
*Congr.* = *De Congressu Eruditionis gratia*  
*Decal.* = *De Decalogo*  
*Det.* = *Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet*  
*Ebr.* = *De Ebrietate*  
*Flacc.* = *In Flaccum*  
*Fug.* = *De Fuga et Inventione*  
*Gig.* = *De Gigantibus*  
*Hyp.* = *Hypothetica*  
*Jos.* = *De Josepho*  
*Leg.* = *De Legatione ad Gaium*  
*Leg. All.* i, ii, iii = *Legum Allego-riarum*  
*Mig.* = *De Migratione Abrahami*  
*Mos.* i, ii = *De Vita Mosis*  
*Mut.* = *De Mutatione Nominum*

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- Op.* = *De Opificio Mundi*  
*Plant.* = *De Plantatione*  
*Post.* = *De Posteritate Caini*  
*Praem.* = *De Praemiis et Poenis*  
*Prov.* = *De Providentia*  
*Quis Her.* = *Quis rerum divinarum Heres sit*  
*Quod Deus* = *Quod Deus sit Immutabilis*  
*Quod Omn. Prob.* = *Quod omnis Probus liber*  
*Sac.* = *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*  
*Sob.* = *De Sobrietate*  
*Som. i, ii* = *De Somniis*  
*Spec. Leg. i, ii, iii, iv* = *De Specialibus Legibus*  
*Virt.* = *De Virtute*  
*Vit. Cont.* = *De Vita Contemplativa*

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

#### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)  
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini)  
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate  
Caini)  
On the Giants (De Gigantibus)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit)  
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)  
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)  
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-  
guarum)  
On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione Abra-  
hami)  
Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)  
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae  
Eruditionis gratia)
- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)  
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)  
On Dreams (De Somniis)
- VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)  
On Joseph (De Iosepho)  
Moses (De Vita Mosis)

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- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)  
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
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On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)  
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- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)  
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)  
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)  
Flaccus (In Flaccum)  
Hypothetica <sup>1</sup> (Apologia pro Iudaeis)  
On Providence <sup>1</sup> (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)  
GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis <sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
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GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.



ON THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS  
(THE FIRST PART OF THE TREATISE  
ON VIRTUES)  
(DE VIRTUTIBUS PRIMA PARS, QUOD  
EST DE LEGATIONE AD GAIUM)

ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ Ο ΕΣΤΙ  
ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΙΟΝ

[545] I. | Ἄχρι τίνος ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἔτι παῖδές  
<sup>1</sup> ἔσμεν, τὰ μὲν σώματα χρόνου μήκει πολιοί, τὰς  
 δὲ ψυχὰς ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας κομιδῇ νήπιοι, νομί-  
 ζοντες τὸ μὲν ἀσταθμητότατον, τὴν τύχην, ἀκλι-  
 νέστατον, τὸ δὲ παγιώτατον, τὴν φύσιν, ἀβεβαιο-  
 τατον; ὑπαλλαττόμεθα γὰρ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς  
 πεττεῖαις τὰς πράξεις μετατιθέντες, οἴομενοι τὰ  
 μὲν τυχηρὰ μοιμώτερα εἶναι τῶν φύσει, τὰ δὲ  
<sup>2</sup> κατὰ φύσιν ἀβεβαιοτέρα τῶν τυχηρῶν. αἴτιον δὲ  
 τὸ τὰ παρόντα βραβεύειν ἄπροοράτως τῶν μελλον-  
 των ἔχοντας, αἰσθήσει πεπλανημένη χρωμένους  
 πρὸ διανοίας ἀπλανοῦς· ὀφθαλμοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐν  
 φανερῷ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καταλαμβάνεται, λογισμὸς  
 [546] δὲ φθάνει καὶ πρὸς τὰ | ἀόρατα καὶ μέλλοντα, οὗ  
 τὴν ὄψιν ὀξυωπεστέραν οὔσαν τῆς δι' ὀμμάτων  
 σώματος ἀμαυροῦμεν, οἱ μὲν ἀκράτῳ καὶ πλη-  
 σμοναῖς ὑποσυγγέοντες, οἱ δὲ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν  
<sup>3</sup> κακῶν, ἀμαθία. πλὴν ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς  
 καὶ αἰ κατ' αὐτὸν κριθεῖσαι πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι  
 ὑποθέσεις, κἂν εἰ ἄπιστοι γεγόνασί τινες τοῦ προ-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read *θεραπεύειν* as Mangey suggests. See note *a*.

## ON THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS

(THE FIRST PART OF THE TREATISE ON VIRTUES)

I. How long shall we the aged continue to be <sup>1</sup> children grown grey in our bodies through length of years, but infants in our souls through want of sense, holding fortune, the most unstable of things, to be the most unchangeable, nature, the most constant, to be the most insecure? For we change our actions about from place to place as on a draught board, and fortune's gifts seem to us more permanent than nature's, nature's more insecure than fortune's. The reason is that, having no forethought for the <sup>2</sup> future, we are ruled<sup>a</sup> by the present, following erratic sense-perception rather than unerring intelligence. For the eyes of the body discern what is manifest and close at hand, but reason reaches to the unseen and the future. Reason's vision, which is keener than the vision of the bodily eyes, we bedim and confuse, some with strong drink and surfeiting, others with that worst of evils, ignorance. And yet <sup>3</sup> the present time and the many important questions decided in it are strong enough to carry conviction even if some have come to disbelieve that the Deity

<sup>a</sup> This use of *βραβεύειν* is doubtful, since when transitive it is usually applied to contests, suits and the like. If *θεραπεύειν* is read *ἐχόντας* is of course the subject.

## PHILO

νοεῖν τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἱκετικοῦ  
 γένους, ὃ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὄλων καὶ  
 πάντων αἰτίῳ προσκεκλήρωται, ἱκαναὶ [τοῦ] πείσαι  
 4 αὐτούς. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος Χαλδαῖστί μὲν Ἰσραὴλ  
 καλεῖται, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ἐρμηνευθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος  
 “ὄρων θεόν,” ὃ μοι δοκεῖ πάντων χρημάτων ἰδίων  
 5 τε καὶ κοινῶν εἶναι τιμιώτατον. εἰ γὰρ πρεσβυ-  
 τέρων ἢ ὑψηγητῶν ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ γονέων ὄψις κινεῖ  
 τοὺς βλέποντας πρὸς αἰδῶ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν καὶ σώ-  
 φρονος βίου ζῆλον, πόσον τι νομίζομεν ἀρετῆς ἔρμα  
 καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἀνευρήσειν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ψυχαῖς, αἱ τὸ  
 γενητὸν πᾶν ὑπερκύψασαι τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ θεῖον  
 ὄραν πεπαιδεύονται, τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν  
 καὶ εὐδαιμον καὶ μακάριον, εἰ <δὲ> δεῖ τάληθές  
 εἰπεῖν, τὸ κρεῖττον μὲν ἀγαθοῦ, κάλλιον δὲ καλοῦ,  
 καὶ μακαριότητος μὲν μακαριώτερον, εὐδαιμονίας  
 δὲ αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονέστερον, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τῶν εἰρη-  
 6 μένων τελειότερον. οὐ γὰρ φθάνει προσαναβαίνειν  
 ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄψαυστον καὶ ἀναφῆ πάντη θεόν,  
 ἀλλ’ ὑπονοστεῖ καὶ ὑπορρεῖ κυρίοις ὀνόμασιν ἀδυνα-  
 τῶν ἐπιβάθρα χρῆσθαι πρὸς δῆλωσιν, οὐ λέγω τοῦ  
 ὄντος—οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς ἔναρθρος φωνῆ  
 γενόμενος εὐθυβόλων καὶ εὐσκόπων εἰς τοῦτο ἂν  
 εὐποροίη ῥημάτων—ἀλλὰ τῶν δορυφόρων αὐτοῦ  
 δυνάμεων, κοσμοποιητικῆς τε καὶ βασιλικῆς καὶ  
 προνοητικῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι εὐεργετίδες τε

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνεύρεσιν.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 3-6

takes thought for men, and particularly for the suppliants' race which the Father and King of the Universe and the Source of all things has taken for his portion. Now this race is called in the Hebrew 4 tongue Israel, but, expressed in our tongue, the word is "he that sees God" and to see Him seems to me of all possessions, public or private, the most precious. For if the sight of seniors or instructors or 5 rulers or parents stirs the beholders to respect for them and decent behaviour and the desire to live a life of self-control, how firmly based is the virtue and nobility of conduct which we may expect to find in souls whose vision has soared above all created things and schooled itself to behold the uncreated and divine, the primal good, the excellent, the happy, the blessed, which may truly be called better than the good, more excellent than the excellent, more blessed than blessedness, more happy than happiness itself, and any perfection there may be greater than these. For reason<sup>a</sup> cannot attain to 6 ascend to God, who nowhere can be touched or handled, but subsides and ebbs away unable to find the proper words by which it may approach to expound, I do not say the God who is, for if the whole Heaven should become an articulate voice, it would lack the apt and appropriate terms needed for this, but even for God's attendant powers. Such are the creative, the kingly, the providential, and of the others all that are both beneficial and punitive,

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* those who infer the existence of God and His Powers from His created works have an apprehension inferior to the higher intuition of the Israel-soul. Cf. *De Praem.* 40-46 and *Leg. All.* iii. 97-99. Mangey understands λόγος as language (*sermo*), which is perhaps more in accordance with the words that follow, but not so Philonic in thought.

## PHILO

7 καὶ κολαστήριοι, εἰ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς κολαστηρίους ἐν εὐεργέτισι τακτέον, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ νόμων καὶ θεσμῶν εἰσι μοῖραι—νόμος γὰρ ἐκ δυοῖν συμπληροῦσθαι πέφυκε, τιμῆς ἀγαθῶν καὶ πονηρῶν κολάσεως,— ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ κόλασις νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει πολλάκις μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντως γοῦν τοὺς πλησιάζοντας· αἱ γὰρ ἐτέρων τιμωρίαὶ βελτιοῦσι τοὺς πολλοὺς φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ παραπλήσια παθεῖν.<sup>2</sup>

8 II. Τίς γὰρ ἰδὼν Γάιον μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τελευταίην παρειληφότα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀστασίαστον καὶ εὐνομον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένην εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον, ἑώοις, ἑσπερίοις, μεσημβρινοῖς, ἀρκτικοῖς—τοῦ [547] μὲν βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τῷ | Ἑλληνικῷ, τοῦ δ' Ἑλληνικοῦ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν στρατιωτικοῦ τῷ κατὰ πόλεις, τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ τῷ στρατευομένῳ συμφρονήσαντος εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εἰρήνης—οὐκ ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατεπλάγη τῆς ὑπερ-  
9 φυοῦς καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονος εὐπραγίας, ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὰγαθὰ ἀθρόα σωρηδὸν κεκληρονομηκότα, παμπληθεῖς θησαυροὺς χρημάτων, ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν, τὸν μὲν ὡς ὕλην, τὸν δὲ ὡς νόμισμα, τὸν δὲ ὡς προκόσμημα<sup>3</sup> δι' ἐκπωμάτων καὶ τινων ἐτέρων ἃ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν τεχνιτεύεται, παμπληθεῖς δυνάμεις, πεζάς, ἵππικάς, ναυτικάς, προσόδους ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῶν ἀενάῳ τινὶ φορᾷ χορηγουμένας,

<sup>1</sup> A has εἰ μὴ (so Mangey), but as ὅσα . . . τε has already identified the two, the doubt expressed in εἰ μὴ is out of place. Cf. note a.

<sup>2</sup> Reiter here notes a lacuna. See Introd. pp. xxii.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 7-10

assuming that<sup>a</sup> the punitive are to be classed among 7 the beneficial, not only on the ground that they are a part of laws and statutes, since no law can be complete unless it includes two provisions—honours for things good and punishment for things evil, but because the punishment of others often admonishes offenders and calls them to wisdom, or, certainly at any rate, their neighbours. For penalties are good for the morals of the multitude, who fear to suffer the like.

II. For who that saw Gaius when after the death 8 of Tiberius he succeeded to the sovereignty of the whole earth and sea, gained not by faction but established by law, with all parts, east, west, south, north, harmoniously adjusted, the Greek in full agreement with the barbarian, the civil with the military, to enjoy and participate in peace—who I say was not filled with admiration and astonishment at his prodigious and indescribable prosperity? He found 9 ready in hand a mass of accumulated goods, gold and silver, which he had inherited, some in bullion, some in specie, some as ornaments in the form of drinking-cups and other things which craftsmanship produces for display; vast forces of infantry, cavalry, ships, revenues supplied like a perennial stream flowing from a fountain; a dominion not confined to the 10

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 171 δυνάμεις ἀρωγοὺς καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ γενομένου πάσας, αἷς ἐμφέρονται καὶ αἱ κόλαστήριον ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ κόλασις οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀμαρτημάτων οὐσα κώλυσις καὶ ἐπανόρθωσις.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. προβόσκημα.

## PHILO

- 10 ἀρχὴν οὐχὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων  
μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἀ δὴ καὶ κυρίως ἂν τις  
οἰκουμένην εἴποι, δυσὶ ποταμοῖς ὀριζομένην, Εὐ-  
φράτῃ τε καὶ Ῥήνω, τῷ μὲν ἀποτεμνομένῳ Γερ-  
μανίαν καὶ ὅσα θηριωδέστερα ἔθνη, Εὐφράτῃ δὲ  
Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τὰ Σαρματῶν γένη καὶ Σκυθῶν,  
ἅπερ οὐχ ἦττον ἐξηγγρίωται τῶν Γερμανικῶν, ἀλλ',  
ὡς εἶπον ἦδη, τὴν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος ἄχρι δυομένου  
τῆν τε ἐντὸς ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ὑπερωκεάνιον; ἐφ' οἷς  
ὁ τε Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐγεγῆθει καὶ πᾶσα Ἰταλία
- 11 τὰ τε Ἀσιανὰ καὶ Εὐρωπαϊα ἔθνη. ὡς γὰρ ἐπ'  
οὐδενὶ τῶν πρόποτε γενομένων αὐτοκρατόρων ἅπαν-  
τες ἠγάσθησαν, κτῆσιν καὶ χρήσιν ἰδίων τε καὶ  
κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἕξειν, ἀλλ' ἔχειν  
ἦδη νομίζοντες πλήρωμά τινος εὐτυχίας, ἐφεδρευ-
- 12 ούσης εὐδαιμονίας. οὐδὲν γοῦν ἦν ἰδεῖν ἕτερον  
κατὰ πόλεις ἢ βωμούς, ἱερεῖα, θυσίας, λευχειμο-  
νοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμένους, φαιδρούς, εὐμένειαν ἐξ  
ἰλαρᾶς τῆς ὄψεως προφαίνοντας, ἐορτάς, πανηγύ-  
ρεις, μουσικούς ἀγῶνας, ἵπποδρομίας, κώμους,  
παννυχίδας μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ κιθάρας, τέρψεις, ἀνέ-  
σεις, ἐκεχειρίας, παντοίας ἡδονὰς διὰ πάσης αἰ-
- 13 σθήσεως. τότε οὐ πλούσιοι πενήτων προύφερον,  
οὐκ ἔνδοξοι ἀδόξων, οὐ δανεισταὶ χρεωστῶν, οὐ  
δεσπότηαι δούλων περιῆσαν, ἰσονομίαν τοῦ καιροῦ  
διδόντος, ὡς τὸν παρὰ ποιηταῖς ἀναγραφέντα  
Κρονικὸν βίον μηκέτι νομίζεσθαι πλάσμα μύθου  
διὰ τε τὴν εὐθηνίαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν τό τε ἄλυπον  
καὶ ἄφοβον καὶ τὰς πανοικίας ὁμοῦ καὶ πανδήμους

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the most and most necessary." For this frequent coupling of *πλείστα* with another superlative see note on *Flaccus* 46 (vol. ix. p. 326).



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 10-13

really vital parts which make up most<sup>a</sup> of the inhabited world, and indeed may properly bear that name, the world, that is, which is bounded by the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Rhine, the one dissevering us from the Germans and all the more brutish nations, the Euphrates from the Parthians and from the Sarmatians and Scythians, races which are no less savage than the Germans, but a dominion extending, as I said above, from the rising to the setting sun both within the ocean and beyond it. All these things were a joy to the Roman people and all Italy and the nations of Europe and Asia; not so much had they all exulted over any of his imperial predecessors. It was not now a matter of hoping that they would have the possession and use of good things public and private; they considered that they had already the plenitude as it were of good fortune with happiness waiting in its train. Thus nothing was to be seen throughout the cities but altars, oblations, sacrifices, men in white robes and crowned with garlands, bright and smart, their cheery faces beaming with goodwill, feasts, assemblages, musical contests, horse races, revels, nightlong frolics with harp and flutes, jollification, unrestraint, holiday-keeping, every kind of pleasure ministered by every sense. In these days the rich had no precedence over the poor, nor the distinguished over the obscure, creditors were not above debtors, nor masters above slaves, the times giving equality before the law. Indeed, the life under Saturn, pictured by the poets, no longer appeared to be a fabled story, so great was the prosperity and well-being, the freedom from grief and fear, the joy which pervaded households and people,

## PHILO

μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ εὐφροσύνας, αἱ μέχρι  
 [548] μηνῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν πρώτων ἄπαυστοι καὶ συνεχεῖς |  
 14 ἐγένοντο. τῷ δὲ ὀγδόῳ κατασκήπτει

βαρεῖα νόσος τῷ Γαῖῳ τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ δίαιταν,  
 ὅτε ἕξῃ Τιβέριος, εὐκολωτέραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 ὑγιεινότεραν οὖσαν εἰς πολυτέλειαν μεθαρμοσα-  
 μένῳ. πολὺς γὰρ ἄκρατος καὶ ὀψοφαγίαι καὶ ἐπὶ  
 πλήρεσι τοῖς ὄγκοις ἀπλήρωτοι ἐπιθυμίαι θερμο-  
 λουσίαι τε ἄκαιροι καὶ ἔμετοι καὶ εὐθύς πάλιν  
 οἰνοφλυγίαι καὶ ἔφεδροι γαστριμαργίαι, λαγνεῖαι  
 διὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα καθαιρε-  
 τικὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ  
 δεσμῶν συνεπέθετο. τὰ δὲ ἐπίχειρα ἐγκρατείας  
 μὲν ὑγεία καὶ ἰσχύς, ἀκρασίας δὲ ἀσθένεια καὶ  
 νόσος γειτνιῶσα θανάτῳ.

15 III. Διαγγελείσης οὖν τῆς ὅτι νοσεῖ φήμης, ἔτι  
 πλοῦτων ὄντων—ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἦν μετοπώρου, τελευ-  
 ταῖος πλοῦς τοῖς θαλαττεύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν παντα-  
 χόθεν ἐμπορίων εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους λιμένας καὶ  
 ὑποδρόμους ἐπανιοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς πρόνοια  
 τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάζειν ἐπὶ ξένης ἐστὶ—μεθέμενοι τὸν  
 ἀβροδίατον βίον ἐσκυθρώπαζον, συννοίας τε καὶ  
 κατηφείας πᾶσα οἰκία καὶ πόλις γεγένητο μεστή,  
 ἰσορρόπῳ λύπῃ τῆς πρὸ μικροῦ χαρᾶς ἀμφικλινοῦς  
 16 γενομένης. τὰ γὰρ μέρη πάντα τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 αὐτῷ συνενόσησε, βαρυτέρα νόσῳ χρησάμενα τῆς  
 κατασχούσης Γάιον· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ σώματος ἦν  
 αὐτὸ μόνον, ἡ δὲ τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων, ψυχικῆς  
 εὐσθενείας, εἰρήνης, ἐλπίδων, μετουσίας καὶ ἀπο-

17 λαύσεως ἀγαθῶν. ἀνεπόλουν γὰρ ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 13-17

night and day, and lasted continuously without a break through the first seven months.

But in the eighth month Gaius was struck down by 14 severe sickness. He had exchanged the recent more homely and, therefore, healthier way of life which he had followed while Tiberius was alive, for one of extravagance. Hard drinking, luxurious feeding and appetites still unsatisfied when the cavities were stuffed full, hot baths, ill-timed, and acting as emetics, followed at once by renewed toping and gormandizing in its train, lasciviousness venting itself on boys and women, and everything else that can destroy soul and body and the bonds in both which keep them together, joined in the assault. Self-restraint is rewarded by strength and health, incontinence by infirmity and sickness bordering on death.

III. The news of Gaius's illness travelled every- 15 where, since the time still made navigation possible. For it was the beginning of autumn, the close of the sailing season when the mariners return from their trading ports everywhere to their own harbours and roadsteads, particularly those who take care not to winter in a foreign country. So people abandoned their luxurious life and became dismal. Every household and city was filled with anxiety and dejection, their recent joy being counter-balanced by a grief no less intense. For every part of the habitable world 16 shared his sickness, and theirs was a sickness more grievous than that which overcame him. His was of the body only, theirs was felt by all and everywhere, affecting the well-being of the soul, their peace, their hopes and participation and enjoyment of every good thing. Thoughts of the many great evils which 17

## PHILO

κακὰ ἐξ ἀναρχίας φύεται· λιμόν, πόλεμον, δενδροτομίας, δηώσεις χωρίων, στερήσεις χρημάτων, ἀπαγωγάς, τοὺς περὶ δουλείας καὶ θανάτου φόβους ἀνηκέστους, ὧν ἰατρὸς ἦν οὐδεὶς, μίαν ἐχόντων

- 18 θεραπείαν τὸ ῥωσθῆναι Γάιον. ὅτε γοῦν ἤρξατο λωφᾶν ἢ νόσος, ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ οἱ μέχρι περάτων συνήσθοντο—φήμης γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον—, καὶ μετέωρος πᾶσα πόλις ἦν ἀκοῆς ἀεὶ διψῶσα βελτίονος, ἕως διὰ τῶν ἐπιφοιτώντων παντελῆς ῥώσις εὐηγγελίσθη, δι' ἣν πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐτρέποντο θυμηδίας, ἰδίαν ἑαυτῶν νομίζουσαι σωτηρίαν πᾶσαι μὲν ἡπειροὶ πᾶσαι δὲ
- 19 νῆσοι. μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοσαύτην μιᾶς χώρας ἢ ἐνὸς ἔθνους γενέσθαι χαρὰν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ καταστάσει ἡγεμόνος, ὅσην ἐπὶ Γαίῳ συμπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
- 20 ῥωσθέντι ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ νομάδος βίου καὶ θηριώδους νῦν πρῶτον ἀρχόμενοι μετα-
- [549] βάλλειν πρὸς τὸ σύννομον καὶ | ὁμοδίαιτον καὶ ἐξ ἔρημίας καὶ σηκῶν καὶ ὑπωρειῶν εἰσοικίζεσθαι πόλεσι τειχῆρεσι καὶ ἐξ ἀνεπιτροπεύτου ζωῆς ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπῳ τάττεσθαι νομεῖ τινι καὶ ἀγελάρχη τῆς ἡμερωτέρας ἀγέλης ἐγεγήθεσαν ἀγνοία τῆς ἀλη-
- 21 θείας· τυφλώττει γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὄντως αἴσθησιν εἰκασία καὶ στοχασμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος.
- 22 IV. Εὐθύς γοῦν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης εἶναι νομισθεὶς καὶ τινὰς ἀγαθῶν πηγὰς νέας ἐπομβρήσειν Ἀσία τε καὶ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀκαθαίρετον, ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ πᾶσι

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 17-22

spring from anarchy occupied their mind: famine, war, ravaging, devastation of estates, loss of property, abductions, fears of enslavement and death, so deadly that no physician could cure them and the only remedy lay in the recovery of Gaius. So when the 18 sickness began to abate, in quite a short time it was known even to the inhabitants of the ends of the world, for nothing is more speedy than rumour, and every city was on edge, ever craving for a better report until the good news of his complete recovery was announced by the travellers who arrived. At this every continent, every island, returned once more to its former happiness, for they felt that they personally shared in his preservation. For no one 19 remembers any single country or single nation feeling as much delight at the accession or preservation of a ruler, as was felt by the whole world in the case of Gaius, both when he succeeded to the sovereignty and when he recovered from his malady. They felt 20 as if they were beginning for the first time to change a nomadic and brutish for a social and gregarious life, or were passing from desolate life in pens and huts on a mountain side to be settled in a walled city, or from an existence unprotected by a guardian, to take their place under a guardian, a shepherd of the civilized flock. Such was their joy but they did not know the truth. The human mind in its blindness 21 does not perceive its real interest and all it can do is to take conjecture and guesswork for its guide instead of knowledge.

IV. So it was with Gaius. He who had been 22 recently regarded as a saviour and benefactor, who would pour new streams of blessings on Asia and Europe, giving happiness indestructible to each singly

## PHILO

κοινῇ, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο “ ἀφ’ ἱερᾶς ἤρξατο ”<sup>1</sup>  
 μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀτίθασον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἦν συν-  
 εσκίαζεν ἀγριότητα τῷ πλάσματι τῆς ὑποκρίσεως  
 23 ἀναφήνας. τὸν γὰρ ἀνεψιὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν ἀπο-  
 λειφθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ οἰκειότερον αὐτοῦ διάδοχον  
 —ὁ μὲν γὰρ θέσει υἱωνὸς ἦν, ὁ δὲ φύσει Τιβερίου—  
 κτείνει προφασισάμενος ἐπιβουλήν, μηδὲ τῆς ἡλι-  
 κίας χωρούσης ἔγκλημα τοιοῦτον· ἄρτι γὰρ ἐκ  
 24 παίδων εἰς μειράκιον ὁ δύστηνος μετῆι. καὶ ὡς  
 γέ φασί τινες, εἰ βραχὺν ἐπεβίω χρόνον Τιβέριος,  
 ὁ μὲν ἂν ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγένητο Γάιος, δι’ ὑποψιῶν  
 κεχωρηκῶς ἀνηκέστων, ὁ δὲ γνήσιος υἱωνὸς μόνος  
 ἀπεδέδεικτο ἡγεμῶν καὶ κληρονόμος τῆς παππίας  
 25 ἀρχῆς. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἔφθη συν-  
 αρπασθεῖς, πρὶν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὰ βουλευμάτα·  
 Γάιος δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παραβαίνειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν  
 κοινωνὸν δίκαια διαβολὴν ἐνόμιζεν ἀποδράσασθαι  
 26 καταστρατηγῶν. τὸ δὲ σόφισμα τοιοῦ-  
 τον ἦν· συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει, “ βούλομαι μὲν,”  
 ἔφη, “ τὸν γένει μὲν ἀνεψιὸν εὐνοία δὲ ἀδελφόν,  
 ἐπόμενος καὶ τῇ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Τιβερίου  
 γνώμῃ, κοινοπραγεῖν τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἐξουσίας·  
 ὁρᾶτε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ νήπιον ἔτι ὄντα κομιδῇ καὶ  
 χρήζοντα ἐπιτρόπων καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδα-  
 27 γωγῶν. ἐπεὶ τί ἂν ἦν μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὰ τοσαῦτα  
 βάρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας μὴ μίαν ψυχὴν ἢ σῶμα ἐν  
 ἐπιχθίσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν τὸν δυνησόμενον ἐπελαφρί-  
 ζειν καὶ συνεπικουφίζειν; ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη, “ παιδα-  
 γωγούς καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους ὑπερ-

<sup>1</sup> Reiter “ ἀφ’ ἱερᾶς ” ἤρξατο. But ἤρξατο appears to be part of the proverbial phrase.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “ began from the sacred line.” This line is the last

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 22-27

and all in common, at once "ran amuck" as they say,<sup>a</sup> changing to savagery, or rather revealing the brutality which he used to disguise under the mask of hypocrisy. His cousin, who had been left to share the 23 sovereignty and was more entitled by kinship to the succession, since Gaius was the grandson of Tiberius by adoption while the other was by blood, he put to death on the pretext of conspiracy, though his age in itself precluded such an accusation. For the poor youth was just emerging from boyhood into adolescence. And according to some, if Tiberius had 24 survived a little longer, Gaius would have been put out of the way, lying as he did under fatally damaging suspicions, and his real grandson would have been appointed sole ruler and heir to his grandfather's sovereignty. But Tiberius was snatched away by 25 fate before he had consummated his plans, while Gaius thought that by strategy he would escape the odium which dereliction in his duty to his partner would excite.

He employed the following 26 artifice. Having summoned the chief officials he said, "In accordance with the will of the deceased Tiberius I wish the imperial authority to be shared by him who is my cousin by birth but my brother by affection, though you see yourselves that he is still a mere child and needs guardians and teachers and tutors. For what greater boon could there be than 27 that a single soul or body should cease to be laden with the heavy burden of sovereignty and should have one who would be able to relieve and lighten them? And I," he continued, "will be more than a guardian, a tutor and a teacher. I will appoint

line of a chessboard, and the actions of anyone who went beyond it would naturally be all "at sea."

PHILO

[550] βαλὼν ἔμαυτὸν μὲν ἤδη γράφω πατέρα, υἷὸν δὲ  
 28 ἐκεῖνον.” V. | τούτοις καὶ τοὺς παρόν-  
 τας ἀπατήσας καὶ τὸ μειράκιον—δέλεαρ γὰρ ἦν ἡ  
 θέσις οὐκ ἐλπιζομένης ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ’ ἀφαιρέσεως  
 ἧς εἶχεν ἤδη—τῷ συγκληρονόμῳ καὶ κοινωνῶ<sup>1</sup>  
 δικαίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας οὐδενὸς ἔτι πεφρον-  
 τικῶς ἐπεβούλευεν. ἢ γὰρ υἱοῦ παντελῆς ἐξουσία  
 κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἀνάκειται πατρί,  
 δίχα τοῦ καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν αὐτοκρά-  
 τορα, μηδενὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπωσοῦν πεπραγμένοις  
 29 λόγον ἀπαιτεῖν τολμῶντος ἢ δυναμένου. τοῦτον  
 μὲν δὴ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι ἐφεδρον ὑπολαβὼν  
 εἶναι καταπαλαίει, μήτε συντροφίας μήτε οἰκειότη-  
 τος μήτε ἡλικίας οἴκτον λαβῶν, δύστηνον, ὠκύ-  
 μορον, συνάρχοντα, συγκληρονόμον, τὸν ἐλπισθέντα  
 ποτὲ καὶ μόνον αὐτοκράτορα διὰ τὴν πρὸς Τιβέριον  
 ἐγγυτάτῳ συγγένειαν· υἱῶν γὰρ πατέρων ἀπο-  
 θανόντων ἐν υἱῶν τάξει παρὰ πάπποις καταριθ-  
 30 μοῦνται. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ κελευσθεῖς  
 αὐτοχειρία κτείνειν ἑαυτὸν, ἐφεστώτων ἑκατοντάρ-  
 χου καὶ χιλιάρχου, οἷς εἴρητο μὴ συνεφάσασθαι τοῦ  
 ἄγους, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπογόνους πρὸς  
 ἑτέρων ἀναιρεῖσθαι—νόμων γὰρ ἐν ἀνομίαις καὶ  
 ὀσιότητος ἐν ἀνοσιουργίαις ἐμέμνητο κατειρωνεύο-  
 μενος τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας—, ἀπείρως ἔχων—  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕτερόν τινα κτεινόμενον εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἡσκητό  
 πω ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις, αἱ μελέται καὶ προγυμνά-  
 σματα παίδων ἐφ’ ἡγεμονία τρεφομένων εἰσὶ διὰ  
 τοὺς ἐνισταμένους πολέμους—τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς  
 ἦκοντας παρεκάλει τὸν αὐχένα προτείνας ἀνελεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κοινωνῶν.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 27-30

myself to be his father and him to be my son.”

V. With these words he deceived both 28  
the audience and the lad. The adoption was a snare  
to assure not the sovereignty which he expected, but  
the loss of that which he held already. And Gaius pro-  
ceeded to plot against his fellow-heir and true partner  
with full security and disregard of all opposition, for  
the Roman laws assign absolute power over the son  
to the father, not to mention his irresponsible author-  
ity as emperor, since no one had either the courage  
or the power to call him to account for his actions of  
any kind. As the victor in the arena throws to the 29  
ground the one remaining champion, so dealt he,  
without pity for their fellowship in breeding, their  
kinship or his youth, with this unhappy lad, and sent  
to an early grave his co-regent, his co-heir who had  
been expected to be sole emperor as most nearly  
related to Tiberius, for grandsons when their fathers  
are dead hold the rank of sons in the eyes of their  
grandparents.

It is said, too, that the 30  
boy was ordered to kill himself with his own hands  
under the superintendence of a centurion and a  
chiliarch, who had been instructed to take no hand  
in the sacrilege on the grounds that it was unlawful  
that the descendants of emperors should be slain by  
others. For amid his lawless and unsanctified deeds  
Gaius remembered law and sanctity, a travesty of  
their true nature. But the lad lacked skill to do the  
deed, for he had never seen anyone else killed and  
had not yet been practised in the martial exercises  
which in view of the imminent prospect of war are  
used to give preliminary training to those who are  
being brought up to rule. So at first he stretched  
out his neck to the emissaries present and bade them

## PHILO

- 31 ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπέμενον, αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ ξίφος ἐπυνθά-  
νετο τὸν καιριώτατον τόπον ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ  
ἀηθείας, ἵνα εὐσκόπῳ πληγῇ τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν  
ἀπορρήξῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν οἶα διδάσκαλοι κακοδαι-  
μονίας ὑφήγοῦντό τε καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν τὸ μέρος, ᾧ  
χρὴ τὸ ξίφος ἐπενεγκεῖν· ὁ δὲ πρώτην καὶ ὑστά-  
την μάθησιν ἀναδιδαχθεὶς ἀνδροφόνος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ  
γίνεται βιασθεὶς, ὁ δύστηνος.
- 32 VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἄθλος οὗτος  
Γαίῳ κατέιργαστο, μηδενὸς ἔτι λειπομένου (κοινω-  
νοῦ) τῆς ἡγεμονίας πρὸς ὃν ἀποκλινοῦσί τινες τῶν  
ἐθελοκακούντων καὶ ἐν ὑποψίαις ὄντων, ἐπὶ δεύ-  
τερον εὐθύς ἐκονίετο τὸν Μάκρωνος, ἀνδρὸς εἰς  
[551] πάντα αὐτῷ | συναγωνισαμένου τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ  
μόνον ἀποδειχθέντι ἡγεμόνι—κολακείας γὰρ ἴδιον  
τὰς εὐπραγίας θεραπεύειν—ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον εἰς  
33 τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας. ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος φρονήσει  
βαθείᾳ χρώμενος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων  
δεινότατος ὢν ἀφανὲς ἀνθρώπου βούλημα συνιδεῖν  
καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον συνέσει διενεγκῶν, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ  
εὐτυχία, πολλάκις ὑπεβλέπετο τὸν Γάιον ὡς κακό-  
νον μὲν ἅπαντι τῷ Κλαυδίῳ οἴκῳ, προσκείμενον  
δὲ μόνῳ τῷ μητρώῳ γένει—καὶ ἐδεδίει περὶ τοῦ  
34 υἱοῦ, μὴ νέος ἀπολειφθεὶς παραπόληται—, πρὸς  
δὲ ἀρχὴν καὶ τοσαύτην ἀνεπιτηδεῖως ἔχοντα διὰ  
τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινωνήτον καὶ  
τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν ἀνωμαλίαν· ἀλλόκοτα γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ  
ἐπιμανῇ κατεφαίνετο, μηδεμιᾶς σωζομένης ἀκολου-

<sup>a</sup> §§ 32-65. For a very short account of Macro's services to Gaius and his subsequent fall see *Flaccus* 12-15.

<sup>b</sup> As Gaius could claim through his mother, who was the

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 30-34

dispatch him, and when they could not bring them- 31  
selves to do it, he took the sword himself and in his  
ignorance and inexperience asked them what was  
the most vital spot so that by a well-aimed blow he  
might break the thread of his miserable life. And  
they playing the part of preceptors in misery gave  
their instructions and showed him the part to which  
he should apply the sword, and having received this  
first and last lesson he was forced to become his  
own murderer, poor boy!

VI. <sup>a</sup> When Gaius had won this first and principal 32  
bout and no partner in his sovereignty was still left  
to divert the allegiance of ill-wishers and suspects, he  
at once prepared for a second effort, this time against  
Macro, who had been throughout his ally in estab-  
lishing his power, not only after he was appointed  
emperor (for flattery never fails to pay court to  
success) but also earlier in helping him to get the  
sovereignty. For Tiberius, who always acted with 33  
profound prudence and was clever above all his con-  
temporaries in divining a man's secret wishes, and  
as much distinguished for shrewdness as for good  
fortune, often looked on Gaius with disfavour as  
being ill-disposed to the whole Claudian house and  
attached only <sup>b</sup> to his mother's family, and he feared  
for his grandson that if he was left alone when  
young he might be made away with. Moreover he 34  
doubted his fitness for an office of such magnitude,  
both because of his unsociable and unfriendly nature  
and also because of his erratic temperament, for he  
showed abnormal and crazy tendencies and main-  
daughter of Julia the daughter of Augustus, descent by birth  
from Augustus, this might be supposed to weigh with him  
more than his descent by adoption through his Claudian  
father Germanicus.

PHILO

35 θίας, μήτε ἐν λόγοις μήτε ἐν ἔργοις. ἂ παντὶ  
 σθένει κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον<sup>1</sup> ὁ Μάκρων ἐθεράπευε, τὰς  
 μὲν ὑπονοίας τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστ'  
 ἔδοκει τὴν διάνοιαν ἐλκοῦσθαι διὰ τὸν ἄληκτον ἐπὶ  
 36 τῷ υἰώνῳ φόβον ἐξιώμενος. εὖνον γὰρ καὶ  
 πειθαρχικὸν ἀπέφαινε τὸν Γάιον καὶ σφόδρα ἡττη-  
 μένον τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ, ὡς ἔνεκα φιλοστοργίας καὶ  
 μόνῳ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεκστῆναι· τὴν δὲ  
 αἰδῶ μὴ λυσιτελῆσαι πολλοῖς, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ Γάιον  
 37 ἀπλοῦν ὄντα ποικίλον νομίζεσθαι. καὶ ὁπότε μὴ  
 πείθῃ τὰ εἰκότα διεξιῶν, τὴν ἀπὸ συνθηκῶν <πί-  
 στιν> ἐπέφερεν, “ἐγγυῶμαι,” λέγων, “ἀξιόχρεώς  
 εἰμι πρὸς πίστιν· ἱκανὰς ἀποδείξεις δέδωκα τοῦ  
 φιλόκαισαρ ἰδίως καὶ φιλοτιβέριος εἶναι, τὴν ἐπί-  
 38 θεσιν<sup>2</sup> καὶ καθαίρεσιν ἐγχειρισθεὶς Σηιανοῦ.” καὶ  
 συνόλως δὲ ἱκανὸς ἦν ἐν τοῖς εἰς Γάιον ἐπαίνους,  
 εἰ δεῖ καλεῖν ἀξίως<sup>3</sup> ἐπαίνους<sup>4</sup> τὰς ἀπολογίας, αἱ  
 πρὸς τὰς ἐξ ὑπονοιῶν αἰτίας καὶ κατηγορίας  
 ἀδήλους καὶ ἀσαφεῖς<sup>5</sup> ἐγίνοντο· συνόλως γὰρ ὅσα  
 περὶ ἀδελφῶν εἶποι τις ἂν ἢ υἰῶν γνησίων ἐγκώμια,  
 τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω Μάκρων ὑπὲρ Γαΐου διεξήγει  
 39 πρὸς Τιβέριον. αἴτιον δέ, ὡς ὁ τῶν  
 πολλῶν λόγος, οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀντιθεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς  
 αὐτοῦ τὸν Μάκρωνα, πλείστον ἢ καὶ σύμπαν ἐν τῇ  
 ἡγεμονίᾳ δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Μάκρωνος γυνὴ  
 διὰ σωπωμένην αἰτίαν, ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν  
 ἤλειφε καὶ συνεκρότει τὸν ἄνδρα μηδὲν ἀνιέναι  
 σπουδῆς καὶ βοηθείας τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παρήκον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὑπόθεσιν.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀξίας.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐπαίνου.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. σαφεῖς.

<sup>a</sup> According to Dio lviii. 28 and Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45, Macro connived at her seduction.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 34-39

tained no consistency in word or deed. These faults 35  
Macro strove with all his might to remedy as opportunity offered and also to eradicate the suspicions of Tiberius on the subject which owing to his ceaseless fear for his grandson seemed to fester most in his mind. Macro represented him as well-disposed and 36  
docile and so exceedingly devoted to the service of his cousin that family affection would make him willing to retire and leave him sole emperor. Modesty, he said, in many cases was a disadvantage, and it was his modesty which caused the simple-minded Gaius to be considered cunning. And when 37  
the plausibility of his arguments failed to convince Tiberius he would pledge his credit for their truth. "I guarantee it," he said, "I have earned the right to be believed. I have given sufficient proof that I am in a special sense a friend of Caesar, a friend of Tiberius, when the task of attacking and destroying Sejanus was placed in my hand." And in general 38  
he was successful with his eulogies of Gaius, if eulogies is a suitable name for the defences directed to meet the vague charges and accusations based on suspicion. For in general the terms in which one might speak in commendation of brothers or sons in the full sense were used in equal or even greater measure of Gaius by Macro, when pleading his cause to Tiberius.

This was due, according to what most 39  
people said, not merely to the fact that Gaius in return courted the favour of Macro as possessing a predominant and, indeed, all-powerful influence in the government, but to Macro's wife, though the charge against her was not mentioned. She every day incited and worked upon her husband not to abate his zeal and assistance of the young Gaius."

## PHILO

- δεινὸν δὲ γυνὴ γνώμην ἀνδρὸς παραλῦσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα μαχλὰς· ἔνεκα γὰρ τοῦ  
 40 συνειδότος κολακικωτέρα γίνεται. ὁ δὲ τὴν δια-  
 φθορὰν μὲν τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀγνοῶν,  
 [552] τὴν | δὲ κολακείαν εὖνοϊαν ἀκραιφνεστάτην εἶναι  
 νομίζων, ἀπατᾶται καὶ λανθάνει τοῖς στρατηγήμασι  
 τοὺς ἐχθίστους ὡς φιλτάτους προσιέμενος.
- 41 VII. Εἰδὼς οὖν, ὅτι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθόντα μυ-  
 ριάκις αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι διέσωσεν, ἀνυπούλοις καὶ  
 πεπαρρησιασμέναις ἐχρήτο ταῖς νουθεσίαις· ἐβού-  
 λετο γάρ, ὡς ἀγαθὸς δημιουργός, ἀκαθαίρετον  
 διαμεῖναι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, μήτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δια-  
 42 λυθὲν μήτε ὑφ' ἑτέρου. ὁπότε οὖν ἢ καταδαρθόντα<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐν συμποσίῳ θεάσαιτο, περιανίστη στοχαζόμενος  
 ἅμα μὲν τοῦ πρέποντος ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας  
 —εὐεπιβούλευτον γὰρ ὁ κοιμώμενος—, ἢ τινὰς  
 ἐκμανῶς ὀρχηστὰς ὀρῶντα ἢ ἔστιν ὅτε συνορχού-  
 μενον ἢ ἐπὶ μίμοις αἰσχροῦν καὶ σκωμμάτων μὴ  
 ὑπομειδιῶντα σεμνότερον ἀλλὰ μεिरακιωδέστερον  
 καγχάζοντα ἢ κιθαρῳδῶν ἢ χορῶν τῆς ἐμμελείας  
 ἠττώμενον, ἔστιν ὅπου καὶ συνάδοντα, ἔνυττε πλη-  
 σίον καθεζόμενος ἢ κατακεκλιμένος καὶ ἐπέχειν  
 43 ἐπειράτο. πολλακίς δὲ καὶ ἐπικλίνας πρὸς οὓς,  
 ἵνα μὴ κατακούοι τις ἕτερος, ἡσύχῃ καὶ πράως  
 ἐνουθέτει φάσκων· “οὐδενὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀλλ’  
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοιον εἶναί σε δεῖ,  
 οὔτε ἐν θεάμασιν οὔτε ἐν ἀκουσμασιν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὅσα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἀλλὰ προ-  
 φέρειν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον,  
 44 ἐφ’ ὅσον καὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις διενήνοχας. ἄτοπον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καταδαρθέντα.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 39-43

A wife has great power to paralyse and seduce her husband<sup>a</sup> and particularly if she is a wanton, for her guilty conscience increases her wheedling. The 40 husband, unaware of the corruption of his marriage and household, and thinking that her wheedling is benevolence pure and simple, is deceived and little knows that her artifices are leading him to take his worst enemies to be his dearest friends.

VII. Knowing then that he had saved Gaius over 41 and over again when within an ace of destruction, he gave his admonitions frankly and without disguise, for like a good builder he wished his handiwork to remain proof against destruction or dissolution either by himself or another. So whenever he saw Gaius 42 asleep at a banquet he would wake him up with the double object of preserving propriety and his personal safety, since a sleeping man is an easy target for conspiracy. Or if he saw him frantic with excitement at the sight of dancers and sometimes joining in the dance, or greeting a nime of scandalous scenes and broad jesting with a loud youngster's guffaw, instead of a subdued or sedate smile, or fascinated by the music of harpers or choric singers and occasionally accompanying them, he would sit or lean back at his side and nudge him and try to restrain him. Often, 43 too, bending down to his ear so that no one else should listen, he would admonish him gently and quietly. "As a spectator," he would say, "or listener, or using any other of your senses, you ought not to be like those around you or anyone else at all. In every side of life you ought to be as far above these as you have surpassed them in your good

<sup>a</sup> δείνον . . . παραλῦσαι read like part of an hexameter.

## PHILO

γὰρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα γῆς καὶ θαλάττης νικᾶσθαι πρὸς  
 ὤδῃς ἢ ὀρχήσεως ἢ χλευαστικοῦ σκώμματος ἢ  
 τινος τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, ἀλλὰ μὴ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ  
 μεμνήσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καθάπερ ποιμένα τινὰ  
 καὶ ἐπιστάτην ἀγέλης, τὰ πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἀπὸ  
 παντὸς οὔτινοσοῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔλκοντα καὶ λόγου  
 45 καὶ πράγματος." εἶτα ἔφασκεν· "ὅταν παρατυγ-  
 χάνῃς σκηنيκοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἢ γυμνικοῖς ἢ τοῖς κατὰ  
 τὰς ἵπποδρομίας, μὴ σκόπει τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα,  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι κατόρθωσιν, καὶ  
 46 λάμβανε τὸν τοιοῦτον λογισμόν· εἰ τὰ μηδὲν ὠφε-  
 λοῦντα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, τέρψιν δὲ καὶ ἡδονὴν  
 αὐτὸ μόνον παρέχοντα θεαταῖς, ἐκπονοῦσιν οὕτω  
 τινές, ὡς ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ γέρα  
 καὶ τιμὰς καὶ στεφάνους μετὰ κηρυγμάτων λαμβά-  
 νειν, τί χρὴ πράττειν τὸν τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης  
 47 τέχνης ἐπιστήμονα; μεγίστη δὲ καὶ ἀρίστη τέχνη  
 πασῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ἡγεμονία, δι' ἧς πᾶσα μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ  
 καὶ βαθεῖα πεδιάς τε καὶ ὄρεινὴ γεωργεῖται, πᾶσα  
 δὲ θάλαττα φορτηγοῖς ὀλκάσιν ἀκινδύνως διαπλεῖ-  
 ται κατὰ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις ὧν ἀλλήλαις ἀγαθῶν  
 ἀντεκτίνουσιν αἱ χῶραι κοινωνίας ἡμέρω, τὰ μὲν  
 [553] ἐνδέοντα λαμβάνουσαι, ὧν δ' ἄγουσι περισσίαν |  
 48 ἀντιπέμπουσαι. φθόνος γὰρ οὐδέποτε πᾶσαν τὴν  
 οἰκουμένην ἐκράτησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς μεγάλας  
 αὐτῆς ἀποτομάς, ὅλην Εὐρώπην ἢ ὅλην Ἀσίαν·  
 ἀλλ' ἰοβόλου τρόπον ἐρπετοῦ φωλεύει βραχέσιν  
 εἰσερπύσας χωρίους ἀνδρὶ ἐνὶ ἡ οἴκῳ ἐνὶ ἡ, εἴ ποτε

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<sup>a</sup> I understand κατόρθωσις as used in the Stoic sense of the moral state which produces κατορθώματα, i.e. τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 43-48

fortune. For it is not to be thought of that the 44  
sovereign of earth and sea should be overcome by a  
song or dancing or ribald jesting or anything of the  
kind, instead of always and everywhere remembering  
his sovereignty, that he is as a shepherd and master  
of a flock, and extracting for himself whatever may  
tend to betterment from everything whatever that  
is said or done." Then he would continue, "When 45  
you are attending theatrical or gymnastic competi-  
tions or those of the chariot race, do not pay regard to  
what the performers actually do, but to the moral  
achievement<sup>a</sup> shown in their doings, and reason thus  
with yourself. If there are those who so labour on 46  
things which do not profit human life but merely pro-  
vide pleasure and enjoyment to the spectator, so that  
they win praise and admiration and rewards and hon-  
ours and crowns announced by proclamations, what  
should he do who has learnt the highest and greatest  
art? And the best and greatest art is the art of 47  
government which causes the good deep soil in low-  
lands and highlands to be tilled, and all the seas to be  
safely navigated by merchantships laden with cargoes  
to effect the exchange of goods which the countries  
in desire for fellowship render to each other, receiv-  
ing those which they lack and sending in return  
those of which they carry a surplus. For envy has 48  
never gained the mastery over the habitable world,  
nor even of the great sections of it, the whole of  
Europe or the whole of Asia. But like a venomous  
reptile it creeps into tiny hiding-places, into a single  
man or a single house or, if the force of its blast be

*ἐνεργήματα*. The virtue in this case is *ἀνδρεία*, and it is only  
in so far as the performers showed this that their performance  
was worth looking at. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 243.

## PHILO

- πολὺς ἄγαν πνέοι, πόλει μιᾷ· πρὸς δὲ μείζονα κύκλον ἔθλους ἢ χώρας οὐ πρόσσεισι, καὶ μάλιστα ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ὑμέτερον γένος τὸ Σεβαστὸν ὄντως ἤρξατο
- 49 πρυτανεύειν τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ εὐήμεροι τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ ἐν μέσοις ἐξητάζετο, πρὸς ἔσχατιὰς ὑπερόρια καὶ Ταρτάρου μυχοὺς ἤλασε, τὰ δὲ τρόπον τινὰ φυγαδευθέντα τῶν λυσιτελῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων κατήγαγεν ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην· ἅ πάντα μιᾷ χειρὶ σῆ κυβερνᾶν ἐπιτέτραπται.
- 50 παραπεμφθεῖς γοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀνωτάτω καὶ τοὺς οἴακας ἐγχειρισθεῖς πηδαλιούχει τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων σκάφος σωτηρίως, ἐπὶ μηδενὶ μᾶλλον χαίρων καὶ τερπόμενος ἢ τῷ τοὺς ὑπηκόους
- 51 εὐεργετεῖν. ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἔρανοι, οὓς ἀναγκαίως εἰσφέρουσιν ἰδιῶται κατὰ πόλεις· ἄρχοντι δὲ οἰκειότατος ἔρανος, βουλὰς ἀγαθὰς εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων καὶ πράττειν τὰ βουλευθέντα ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀταμίευτα προφέρειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πλουσία χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ, πλὴν ὅσα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀδηλότητος ἄξιον παραφυλάττειν.”
- 52 VIII. Τοιούτοις κατεπῆδεν ὁ δυστυχῆς, ὥστε βελτιῶσαι τὸν Γάιον. ὁ δὲ φίλερις καὶ φιλόνεικος ὢν ἐπὶ τὰναντία τὴν διάνοιαν ἔτρεπεν, ὥσπερ εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρακληθεῖς, καὶ τὸν σωφρονιστὴν ἀντικρυς ἀπεθάρρει δυσωπεῖν, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀφικνούμενον ὀρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ταυτὶ διε-
- 53 λάλει· “ πάρεστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ μηκέτι μαθητῆν ὀφείλοντος, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ μηκέτι παιδὸς

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 48-53

overstrong, into a single city. But to the wider circuit of a nation or country it has no entry, particularly since your family, the truly Augustan, began to hold sway over all and everywhere. For 49 all the mischiefs which used to prosper and occupy a central place have been driven by your house into exile and into the utmost corners and recesses of Tartarus, and things beneficial and profitable which lay as though in banishment it has brought back from the ends of the earth and sea into the world of our habitation. The governance of all these has been entrusted to your single hand. Accordingly 50 having under Nature's escort risen to the highest post in the stern, and the tiller placed in your hand, steer in security the common ship of mankind, rejoicing and delighting in nothing so much as in benefiting your subjects. For various are the contributions 51 which private citizens throughout the cities render under compulsion, but the fittest contribution for a ruler is to put forth good proposals for the benefit of his subjects and to execute these proposals in the best way possible and to bring forth good gifts with a bountiful hand and will, reserving nothing save what in provision for the uncertainty of the future may fitly be stored in safe-keeping."

VIII. With such talk the unfortunate man tried to 52 charm Gaius into better ways. But quarrelsome and contentious as he was, he let his inclination turn to the opposite direction as though it was that to which Macro urged him. And he grew bold enough to flout his monitor outright, and sometimes when he saw him coming a little way off he would discourse thus to the bystanders, "Here comes the teacher of 53 one who no longer needs to learn, the tutor of one who

## PHILO

ὄντος, ὁ νουθητητῆς τοῦ φρονιμωτέρου, ὁ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῷ ὑπηκόῳ πειθαρχεῖν ἀξιῶν, ἐθάδα τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ παιδευτὴν ἑαυτὸν γράφει, παρὰ τίνι μαθὼν τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἔγωγε οὐκ  
 54 οἶδα. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων μυριοὶ διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, πατέρες, ἀδελφοί, θεῖοι, ἀνεψιοί, πάπποι, πρόγονοι μέχρι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν, οἱ ἀφ' αἵματος πάντες καθ' ἑκάτερον γένος τό τε πατρῶον καὶ μητρῶον, αὐτοκρατεῖς ἐξουσίας περιποιησάμενοι, χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ ταῖς πρώταις τῶν σπερμάτων καταβολαῖς εἶναι τινὰς δυνάμεις βασι-  
 55 λικὰς τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν. ὡς γὰρ αἱ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμοιότητες κατὰ τε τὴν μορφήν καὶ σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις βουλὰς τε καὶ πράξεις ἐν τοῖς σπερματικοῖς σῶζονται λόγοις, οὕτως εἰκὸς ἐν  
 [554] τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπογράφεσθαι τυπωδέστερον | καὶ τὴν  
 56 πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἐμφέρειαν. εἶτα ἐμὲ τὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ διαπλασθέντα αὐτοκράτορα τολμᾷ τις διδάσκειν, ἀνεπιστήμων ἐπιστήμονα; ποῦ γὰρ τοῖς ιδιώταις πρὸ μικροῦ θέμις εἰς ἡγεμονικῆς ψυχῆς παρακύψαι βουλεύματα; τολμῶσι δὲ ὑπ' ἀναισχύντου θράσους ἱεροφαντεῖν καὶ τελεῖν τὰ  
 57 ἡγεμονικὰ μόλις ἂν ἐν μύσταις ἀναγραφέντες." ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον μελετῶν ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἤρχετο καὶ ψευδεῖς μὲν πιθανὰς δὲ καὶ εὐπαραγώγους κατ' αὐτοῦ πλάττειν αἰτίας· δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ εὐθικτοὶ καὶ μεγάλαι φύσεις εἰκοτολογῆσαι.

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\* Or "principles." See note on *De Aet.* 85, and on *De*

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 53-57

is no longer in tutelage, the censor of his superior in wisdom, who holds that an emperor should obey his subjects, who rates himself as versed in the art of government and an instructor therein, though in what school he has learnt its principles I do not know. For I from the cradle have had a host of 54 teachers, father, brothers, uncles, cousins, grandparents, ancestors, right up to the founders of the House, all my kinsmen by blood on both the maternal and paternal sides, who attained to offices of independent authority, apart from the fact that in the original seeds of their begetting kinglike potentialities for government were contained. For just as 55 the seminal forces<sup>a</sup> preserve similarities of the body in form and carriage and gait, and of the soul in projects and actions, so we may suppose that to the governing faculty they contain a resemblance in outline. And 56 then does anyone dare to teach me, who even while in the womb, that workshop of nature,<sup>b</sup> was modelled as an emperor, ignorance dare to instruct knowledge? How can they who were but now common citizens have a right to peer into the counsels of an imperial soul? yet in their shameless effrontery they who would hardly be admitted to rank as learners dare to act as masters who initiate others into the mysteries of government." Step by step he began to practise 57 alienating himself from Macro and also to fabricate charges against him, which though false were specious and readily accepted. For quick and highly gifted natures are clever at producing plausible argu-

*Op.* 43 (vol. i. p. 475), where reference is given to *S.V.F.* index p. 93 a.

<sup>b</sup> This phrase for the womb has been used several times, see note on *De Act.* 66.

## PHILO

- 58 τοιαῦται δὲ ἦσαν αἱ προφάσεις· “ ἐμόν ἐστι τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἔργον Γάιος· μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ οὐχ ἤττον τῶν γονέων γεγέννηκα· τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀνήρπαστο ἂν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Τιβερίου φονῶντος, εἰ μὴ δι’ ἐμέ καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς παρηγορίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἔχων ὑπηκόους τὰς στρατιωτικὰς δυνάμεις εὐθύς εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου παρέπεμψα τάξιν, ἀναδιδάσκων ὅτι ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς γέγονεν ἔνδεια· μένει δὲ ἄρτιος καὶ πλήρης ἢ
- 59 ἡγεμονία.” τούτοις συνεπειθοντό τινες ὡς ἀψευδέσιν ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν φένακα τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος· οὐπω γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεπλασμένον αὐτοῦ καὶ ποικίλον τῶν ἡθῶν ἐμφανές· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐκποδῶν ὁ κακοδαίμων γίνεται σὺν τῇ γυναικί, τῆς περιττῆς εὐνοίας ἀμοιβὰς τὰς
- 60 ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας ἀντιλαβῶν. τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀχαρίστους χάρις· ἀντὶ γὰρ ὧν ὠφελήθησαν, παρέχουσι τὰς μεγίστας ζημίας τοῖς εὐεργετήσασιν. ὁ γοῦν Μάκρων πάντα ἐπ’ ἀληθείας πραγματευσάμενος μετ’ ἐκτενεστάτης σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι Γάιον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδέξασθαι, τοιαῦτα εὗρατο τὰ ἐπίχειρα. λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι ἠναγκάσθη ὁ δεῖλαιος αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδέξατο συμφορὰν ἢ γυνή, καίτοι ποτὲ νομισθεῖσα διὰ συνηθείας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· βέβαιον δὲ οὐδὲν φασὶ τῶν ἐν ἔρωτι φίλτρων εἶναι διὰ τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἀψίκορον.
- 62 IX. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάκρων πανοίκιος ἰέρευτο,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἰερεύετο.

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<sup>a</sup> It is strange not to find some words to the effect that Marco had been heard to say this. For since what follows

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## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 57-62

ments. This was the sort of allegation which he 58 made, "Macro says,<sup>a</sup> 'It is I Macro who made Gaius, I am his begetter more or not less than his parents. Not once only but thrice, when Tiberius wished to kill him he would have been violently removed, had it not been for me and my exhortations. Even when Tiberius was dead, as I had the military forces under my control, I at once brought them over into his camp by teaching them that one man was needed and so his sovereignty remains perfect and complete.' "

Some people accepted these charges as 59 veracious, not knowing the deceptive and cunning character of the speaker, for his artificial and cunning disposition was not yet manifest. However a few days later the unhappy man together with his wife was got rid of and paid the extreme penalty in return for his excessive zeal. This is the gratitude 60 gained by benefits bestowed on the ungrateful. They return the benefits they have received by inflicting the severest penalties on their benefactors. Such were, for example, the rewards which Macro reaped after having busied himself throughout in all sincerity with the most intense zeal and ardour, first to save Gaius's life and secondly to secure his sole accession to the sovereignty. For it is said that the unhappy 61 man was forced to slay himself with his own hand and that his wife submitted to the same fate, though she was supposed to have been at one time Gaius's mistress. But love as they say is a fickle passion, and therefore none of its endearments are stable.

IX. When Macro, too, with his whole house had 62

simply repeats what Philo declares to have been the truth, the falsity could only lie in that he had actually made the boast.

## PHILO

τρίτῳ ἐπαπεδύετο δόλῳ βαρυτέρῳ. πενθερὸς ἐγε-  
 γένητο αὐτῷ Μάρκος Σιλανός, μεστὸς φρονήματος  
 ἀνὴρ καὶ γένει λαμπρός. οὗτος ὠκυμόρου τῆς  
 θυγατρὸς ἀποθανούσης ἔτι περιεῖπε τὸν Γάιον,  
 εὖνοιαν προσφερόμενος οὐ πενθεροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ  
 γνησίου πατρός, ἧς<sup>1</sup> ἐνόμιζεν ἀντιλήψεσθαι κατὰ  
 νόμον ἰσότητος μεθαρμοσάμενος τὸν γαμβρὸν εἰς  
 υἱόν. ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα ψευδοδοξῶν καὶ ἀπατώ-  
 [555] 63 μενος. | ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τοῦ κηδεμόνος<sup>2</sup> λόγους αἰεὶ  
 διεξήκει μηδὲν ἐπικρυπτόμενος τῶν εἰς βελτίωσιν  
 καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἡθῶν καὶ βίου καὶ ἡγεμονίας, ἔχων  
 εἰς παρρησίαν καὶ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς ὑπερβάλλουσάν  
 τε εὐγένειαν καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκειότητα.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτεθνήκει χρό-  
 νων, ὡς ἀμαυρωθῆναι τὰ δίκαια τῶν κηδεστῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ ἦσπαιρεν, ἔτι λευψάνων τινῶν  
 ὑστάτων τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος ἐνυπαρχόντων καὶ  
 64 ἐγκατελλημμένων τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὕβρεως  
 τὰς νουθεσίας λαμβάνων τῷ πάντων οἶεσθαι φρο-  
 νιμώτατος καὶ σωφρονέστατος ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρειότατος  
 εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτος ἤχθαιρε μᾶλλον τῶν ὁμολο-  
 65 γουμένων πολεμίων τοὺς διδάσκοντας. ὑπολαβὼν  
 οὖν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι παρενόχλημα, τὴν πολλὴν  
 αὐτοῦ ῥύμην τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐφέξοντα, πολλὰ χαί-  
 ρειν φράσας τοῖς δαίμοσι τῆς ἀποθανούσης γυναι-  
 κός, εἰ πατέρα μὲν ἐκείνης ἑαυτοῦ δὲ γενόμενον  
 πενθερὸν μεταστήσεται, δολοφονεῖ.

66 X. Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη περιβόητον τοῖς ἐπαλ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τοὺς κηδομένους οἱ τοῦ κηδομένου.

<sup>a</sup> Possibly second, *i.e.* before that of Macro, which is



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 62-66

been slaughtered Gaius armed himself to deal a third<sup>a</sup> blow of still more grievous treachery. He had for his father-in-law M. Silanus, a man with plenty of fine spirit and of distinguished family. His daughter died early but he continued to pay the same attentions to Gaius and showed him an affection suited not so much to a father-in-law as to an actual father, thinking that by thus converting his son-in-law into a son he would have it reciprocated by the rule of equality. But he little knew how false and deceptive was his expectation. In all his discourse he talked as a guardian, concealing nothing which might tend to improve and benefit Gaius's character, conduct and government. He had, indeed, strong inducements to speak freely in his pre-eminently noble lineage and his close connexion by marriage. For his daughter had died only a short time before ; the rights of her kinsfolk had grown faint but had all but ceased to struggle for breath although some last remnants of their vitality still existed enclosed in their body. But Gaius took his admonitions as an insult since he thought himself the wisest and most temperate of men and also the bravest and justest and hated his instructors more than his avowed enemies. He considered, too, that Silanus was a nuisance, who would obstruct the torrent of his lusts, and, dismissing all thought of his dead wife's ghostly avengers, should he make away with her father, afterwards his own by marriage, he treacherously murdered him.

X. The matter at once gained notoriety by follow- mentioned by Dio and Suetonius at a later point in their narratives. The death of both Tiberius Gemellus and Silanus is fixed as before 24th May 38, by the records of the Arval Brothers, which note the appointment of their successors at that date. See Balsdon, *Gaius*, pp. 37, 38.

## PHILO

- λήλοις τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν φόνοις ἐγεγένητο, ὡς διὰ παντὸς στόματος δυσκάθαρτα ἄγη συνηχέσθαι, φανερώς μὲν οὐ διὰ δέος, ἡρεμαιοτέρα δὲ τῇ φωνῇ.
- 67 κᾶπειτα ἐκ μεταβολῆς—ὄχλος γὰρ ἀνίδρυτον ἐν ἅπασι, καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν—ἀπιστοῦντες, εἰ οὕτως ἀθρόαν ἐνδέδεται τροπὴν ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ χρηστὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἴσος τε καὶ κοινωνικὸς εἶναι νομισθεῖς Γάιος, ἀπολογίας ἐσκόπουν καὶ διερευνῶντες εὔρισκον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἀνεψιῷ καὶ συγκληρονόμῳ τοιαῦτα φάσκοντες·
- 68 “ἀκοινώνητον ἀρχή, θεσμὸς φύσεως ἀκίνητος. οὗτος ἂ παθεῖν ἐμέλλησεν ἂν ὑπ’ ἀδυνατωτέρου προδιέθηκεν ἰσχυρότερος ὢν· ἄμυνα τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἀνδροφονία. τάχα δὲ καὶ προνοητικῶς ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους τὸ μειράκιον ἐκποδῶν γεγένηται, τῶν μὲν τούτῳ τῶν δὲ ἐκείνῳ προσκληρουμένων, ἐξ ὧν ταραχαὶ ἐμφύλιοί τε καὶ ξενικοὶ πόλεμοι συνίστανται. τί δὲ ἄμεινον εἰρήνης; εἰρήνη δὲ ἐξ ἡγεμονίας ὀρθῆς φύεται· ἡγεμονία δὲ ἀφιλόνεικος καὶ ἀνερίθευτος ὀρθῆ μόνη, δι’ ἧς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα κατορθοῦται.”
- 69 ἐπὶ δὲ Μάκρωνι· “πλέον ἐφυσήθη τοῦ μετρίου· τὸ Δελφικὸν γράμμα οὐ διανέγνω, τὸ ‘γνώθι σαυτόν’· φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστήμην εὐδαιμονίας τὴν δὲ ἄγνοιαν κακοδαιμονίας αἰτίαν εἶναι. τί παθῶν ὑπελλάττετο καὶ μετετίθει τὸν μὲν ὑπήκοον αὐτὸν εἰς τάξιν ἄρχοντος, τὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα
- [556] Γάιον | εἰς ὑπηκόου χώραν; οἰκειότατον ἡγεμονίαν μὲν τὸ προστάττειν, ὅπερ ἐποίει Μάκρων, ὑπηκόω

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 66-69

ing on the successive murders of the foremost men. And so in every mouth there was common talk about these inexpiable abominations, though quietly and in undertones, since fear prevented open discussion. Then there was a reaction, for a multitude is unstable 67 in everything, intentions, words and deeds. They could not believe that Gaius, who but now had been thought kind and humane, showing fairness and fellowship to all, had undergone at once so complete a change. They began to look for arguments of defence and by close search found them. Of his own cousin and fellow-heir they would talk thus. "Sovereignty cannot be shared, that is an immutable 68 law of nature. He being the stronger promptly did to the weaker what the weaker would have done to him. This is defence, not murder. Perhaps, too, it was providential and for the benefit of all mankind, that the lad was put out of the way, since some would have been partisans of him and others of Gaius, and it is such things that create disturbances and wars both civil and foreign. And what is better than peace? But peace springs from right government. The only right government is that which is free from disputes and factions which also causes everything else to be carried on aright." Of Macro they said, "His pride extended beyond 69 reasonable limits, he did not read well the Delphic motto 'Know thyself.' It is a common saying that knowledge is the source of happiness and ignorance of unhappiness. What reason had he for reversing his part and transferring the subject to the rank of ruler, and Gaius, the emperor, to the place of a subject? To command, which is what he did, befits best the sovereign, and to obey, which is what

## PHILO

- δὲ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν, ὅπερ ὑπομένειν ἡξίου Γάιον.”
- 70 ἐκάλουν γὰρ οἱ ἀνεξέταστοι τὴν παραίνεσιν πρόσ-  
ταξιν καὶ τὸν σύμβουλον ἄρχοντα, ἦτοι μὴ συν-  
ιέντες ὑπ’ ἀναισθησίας ἢ διὰ κολακείαν τὰς φύσεις  
τῶν ὀνομάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων μεταχαράτ-  
71 τοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ Σιλανῶ· “ χλεύης ἄξιον  
ὁ Σιλανὸς ἔπαθεν, οἰηθεὶς πενθερὸν τοσοῦτον παρὰ  
γαμβρῶ δύνασθαι, ὅσον πατέρα γνήσιον παρ’ υἱῶ.  
καίτοι πατέρες ἰδιῶται γενομένων ἐν ἀρχαῖς με-  
γάλαις καὶ ἐξουσίαις υἱῶν ὑποστέλλουσιν, ἀγα-  
πητῶς φερόμενοι δευτερεία. ὁ δὲ ἡλίθιος, οὐδὲ  
πενθερὸς ὢν ἔτι, τὰ μὴ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν προσπερι-  
ειργάζετο μὴ συνιείς, ὅτι θανάτῳ τῆς θυγατρὸς  
συνετεθνήκει καὶ ἢ κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκειότης·  
72 δεσμὸς γὰρ οἴκων ὀθνείων αἰ ἐπιγαμίαι τὴν ἄλλο-  
τριότητα εἰς οἰκειότητα συνάγων, οὗ λυθέντος  
λέλυται καὶ τὰ τῆς κοινωνίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν  
ἀνεπανορθῶται πράγματι λυθῆ, τελευτῆ τῆς εἰς  
73 ἀλλότριον οἶκον δεδομένης ἐπὶ γάμῳ.” τοιαῦτα  
ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς συλλόγοις ἐθρύλουν πλείστον διδόντες  
μέρος τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν ὠμὸν εἶναι τὸν  
αὐτοκράτορα· χρηστότητα γὰρ καὶ φιланθρωπίαν  
ἐλπίσαντες ὄσσην παρ’ οὐδενὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐνδρῦ-  
σθαι τῇ Γαίου ψυχῇ σφόδρα ἄπιστον ἐνόμιζον, εἰ  
τοσαύτην καὶ οὕτως ἀθρόαν ἐνδέδεκται μεταβολὴν  
πρὸς τάναντία.
- 74 XI. Κατεργασάμενος οὖν τρεῖς τοὺς εἰρημένους  
ἄθλους ἐκ τριῶν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων μερῶν, δυοῖν  
μὲν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τοῦ τε βουλευτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 69-74

he deemed Gaius should submit to, befits the subject." For in their thoughtlessness they gave the name of commanding to exhortation and of the ruler to the counsellor, whether they misunderstood the matter through stupidity, or in flattery recast the words and the things signified by them away from their natural use.

Of Silanus, "He was under a ridiculous delusion in thinking that a father-in-law had the same influence over a son-in-law as a real father has over his son, though, indeed, in private life fathers whose sons have obtained high offices and posts of authority waive their claims and are content to take the second place. But this silly man even though he had ceased to be a father-in-law extended his activities beyond his sphere and did not understand that the death of his daughter carried with it the death of the matrimonial affinity. For intermarriage is a lien between unconnected households bringing the status of stranger into one of affinity, and if this be broken the community of interests is broken also, particularly if the break is caused by an irretrievable event, the death of her whose admission to a house not her own rested on her marriage." Such were the ideas on which they dwelt in all their talks, and what principally weighed with them was their wish to think that the emperor was not cruel. For as they had hoped that kindness and humanity were established in his soul in a greater degree than in any of his predecessors they thought it very incredible that he had undergone all at once so complete a change to the reverse.

XI. Gaius had thus won the three contests described above in three vitally important departments. Two of these, the Senate and the Equestrian Order,

## PHILO

- τῆς ἵππικῆς τάξεως, τρίτου δὲ τοῦ συγγενικοῦ, καὶ  
 ὑπολαβὼν τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων  
 75 περιγεγενημένος καταπληκτικώτατον δέος ἐνεργά-  
 σθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, διὰ μὲν τῆς Σιλιανοῦ  
 σφαγῆς τοῖς βουλευταῖς—ἦν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν  
 συγκλήτῳ δεύτερος—, διὰ δὲ τῆς Μάκρωνος τοῖς  
 ἵππικοῖς—οἶα γὰρ χοροῦ τινος ἡγεμῶν ἐγεγένητο  
 φερόμενος τὰ πρωτεῖα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας—, διὰ  
 δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀνεμιοῦ καὶ συγκληρονόμου τοῖς ἀφ'  
 αἵματος ἅπασιν, οὐκέτι ἡξίου μένειν ἐν τοῖς τῆς  
 ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ὄροις, ἀλλ' ὑπερέκυπτε σπου-  
 76 δάζων θεὸς νομίζεσθαι. καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 ταύτης τῆς παραπληξίας φασὶν αὐτὸν χρήσασθαι  
 τοιοῦτω λογισμῷ· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ζώων ἀγελάρχαι, βουκόλοι καὶ αἰπόλοι καὶ νομεῖς,  
 [557] οὔτε βόες εἰσὶν οὔτε αἶγες οὔτε ἄρνες, ἀλλ' ἄν-  
 θρωποι κρείττονος μοίρας καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐπι-  
 λαχόντες, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀγελαρχοῦντα καμὲ  
 τῆς ἀρίστης ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀγέλης νομιστέον  
 διαφέρειν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἀνθρωπον εἶναι, μείζονος δὲ  
 77 καὶ θειοτέρας μοίρας τετυχηκέαι. ταύ-  
 την τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἐνσφραγισάμενος τῇ διανοίᾳ  
 περιέφερον ὁ ἡλίθιος ἐν ἑαυτῷ μυθικὸν πλάσμα ὡς  
 ἀψευδεστάτην ἀλήθειαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐθρασύ-  
 νατο καὶ ἀπετόλμησεν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν  
 τὴν ἀθεωτάτην ἐκθέωσιν αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ  
 συνωδὰ πράττειν ἐπεχειρεῖ καὶ οἶα δι' ἀναβαθμῶν  
 ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς τὸ ἄνω προῆει.  
 78 ἤρχετο γὰρ ἐξομοιοῦν τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς λεγομένοις  
 ἡμιθέοις ἑαυτὸν, Διονύσω καὶ Ἑρακλεῖ καὶ Διοσκ-  
 κούροις, Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἀμφιάραον καὶ Ἀμφί-  
 λοχον καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους χρηστηρίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 74-78

concerned his relations to his Capital; the third was his family life. So supposing that by his victory over the strongest and most powerful personages he had inspired all the rest with abject fear, the senators by the murder of Silanus who was 75 second to none of the members of that body, the knights by the death of Macro who had become like the leader of a chorus and stood first in honours and reputation among them, and all his blood relations by the death of his cousin and fellow-heir, he no longer considered it worthy of him to abide within the bounds of human nature but overstepped them in his eagerness to be thought a god.

In the 76 first stage of this infatuation he is said to have taken this line of argument. "Those who have charge of the herds of other animals, ox herds, goat herds, shepherds, are not themselves oxen, nor goats nor lambs, but men to whom is given a higher destiny and constitution, and in the same way I who am in charge of the best of herds, mankind, must be considered to be different from them and not of human nature but to have a greater and diviner destiny."

This conception he had firmly sealed 77 in his mind and carried about with him, poor fool, a mythical fiction as if it was an indisputable truth. And when once he had gained courage and was emboldened to publish to the multitude his most godless assumption of godship he tried to make his actions correspond and harmonize with it and gradually as if on stepping-stones advanced to the top.

For he began first of all to 78 liken himself to the so-called demigods, Dionysus and Heracles and the Dioscuri, treating Trophonius and Amphiaraus and Amphiloachus and their like and their

## PHILO

- ὀργίοις χλεύην τιθέμενος κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῆς ἰδίας  
 79 δυνάμεως. εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ σκευὴν ἄλλοτε  
 ἄλλοίαν ἀνελάμβανε, τοτὲ μὲν λεοντήν καὶ ῥόπαλον,  
 ἀμφοτέρα ἐπίχρυσα, διακοσμούμενος εἰς Ἑρακλέα,  
 τοτὲ δὲ πῖλους ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὁπότε ἄσκειτο  
 εἰς Διοσκούρους· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε κιττῶ καὶ θύρσῳ  
 80 καὶ νεβρίσιν εἰς Διόνυσον ἠσκέιτο. καὶ  
 ταύτῃ διαφέρειν ἀξιῶν, ὅτι ἐκείνων μὲν ἕκαστος  
 ἰδίας ἔχων τιμὰς οὐ μετεποιεῖτο ὧν ἐκοινωνοῦν  
 ἕτεροι, ὁ δὲ τὰς πάντων ἀθρόων<sup>1</sup> ἐσφετερίζετο  
 φθόνῳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεί-  
 νους, οὐκ εἰς Γηρυόνην τὸν τρισώματον μεταβαλὼν,  
 ἵνα τῷ πλήθει παραγάγῃ τοὺς ὀρώντας, ἀλλ', ὁ δὴ  
 παραδοξότατον ἦν, ἐνὸς σώματος οὐσίαν μετασχη-  
 ματίζων καὶ μεταχαράττων εἰς πολυτρόπους μορ-  
 φάς, Αἰγυπτίου τρόπον Πρωτέως, ὃν εἰσήγαγεν  
 Ὅμηρος μεταβολὰς παντοίας ἐνδεχόμενον εἰς τε τὰ  
 στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ζῶα καὶ φυτά.
- 81 Καίτοι τί παρασῆμων ἔδει σοι, Γάιε, οἷς ἔθος  
 ἀσκεῖσθαι<sup>2</sup> τὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀφιδρύματα; ἐχρῆν  
 γὰρ ζηλοῦν τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετάς. Ἑρακλῆς ἐκά-  
 θηρε γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἄθλους ἀναγκαιοτάτους καὶ  
 ὠφελιμωτάτους ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑποστὰς ἕνεκα  
 τοῦ τὰ βλαβερά καὶ κακωτικὰ φύσεως ἐκατέρας  
 82 ἀνελεῖν. Διόνυσος ἡμερώσας ἄμπελον  
 καὶ ποτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναχέας ἠδιστον ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 ὠφελιμωτάτον ψυχαῖς τε καὶ σώμασι τὰς μὲν ἄγει  
 πρὸς εὐθυμίαν, κακῶν λήθην καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄθροον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀρκεῖσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> According to Dio lix. 26, he also impersonated goddesses: Hera, Aphrodite and Artemis.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 78-82

oracles and celebrations as laughing-stocks compared with his own power. Then, as in a theatre, he assumed 79 different costumes at different times, sometimes the lion skin and club, both overlaid with gold, to adorn himself as Heracles, sometimes caps on his head when he made himself up as the Dioscuri, or again as Dionysus with ivy, thyrsus and fawn's skin.<sup>a</sup>

And he thought it fit to differ from these in that 80 while each of them held to his own honours and did not lay claim to those which were shared by others, he, filled with envy and covetousness, took possession wholesale of the honours of them all, or rather of the deities themselves. He did not convert himself into a triple-bodied Geryon to bewilder the spectators by the multiplication, but performed a feat which could be least expected by remodelling and recasting what was nothing but a single body into manifold forms, like the Egyptian Proteus whom Homer represented as admitting every kind of transfiguration both into the elements and into the animals and plants of which they are the components.<sup>b</sup>

And yet what business had you, Gaius, to take the 81 insignia commonly used to adorn the images of the said deities? For you should have emulated their virtues. Heracles purged the earth and the sea, undergoing trials of endurance most necessary and profitable for all mankind in order to destroy things which are mischievous and baneful to either form of life.

Dionysus cultivated the wild vine and 82 drew pouring from it a drink most delicious and at the same time profitable to souls and bodies. The soul he brings into a state of cheerfulness, creating oblivion

<sup>b</sup> See *Od.* iv. 454 ff. Cf. *Ebr.* 36.

## PHILO

- ἐνεργαζόμενος, τὰ δὲ σώματα ὑγιεινότερα καὶ κρα-  
 83 ταιότερα καὶ εὐκινήτοτερα παρασκευάζει· καὶ ἰδίᾳ  
 τε ἕκαστον ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup> βελτίονα ποιεῖ καὶ πολυ-  
 ἀνθρώπους οἰκίας καὶ συγγενείας ἐξ αὐχμηροῦ  
 καὶ ἐπιπόνου βίου μεθαρμόζεται πρὸς ἀνειμένης  
 σχῆμα καὶ ἰλαρᾶς διαίτης καὶ πάσαις πόλεσιν |  
 [558] Ἑλληνικαῖς τε καὶ βαρβαρικαῖς εὐωχίας, εὐφρο-  
 σύνας, θαλίας, ἑορτὰς ἐπαλλήλους παρέχει· πάντων  
 γὰρ τῶν λεχθέντων αἴτιος ἄκρατος.
- 84 πάλιν Διοσκούρους λόγος ἔχει κοινώσασθαι τὴν  
 ἀθανασίαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θνητὸς ὁ δὲ ἀθάνατος  
 ἦν, οὐκ ἔδικαίωσεν ὁ τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἀξιο-  
 θεῖς φιλαυτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοίαν  
 85 ἐπιδείξασθαι. φαντασιωθεῖς γὰρ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰ-  
 ῶνα καὶ λογισάμενος, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν αἰεὶ βιώσεται,  
 ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αἰεὶ τεθνήξεται, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀθανα-  
 σίας ἀθάνατον τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πένθος ἀναδέξεται,  
 θαυμαστὴν ἐμεγαλουργήσεν ἀντίδοσιν ἀνακερασά-  
 μενος αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ θνητόν, τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῷ τὸ  
 ἄφθαρτον, καὶ ἀνισότητα, τὴν ἀδικίας ἀρχὴν,  
 ἐνηφάνισεν<sup>2</sup> ἰσότητι, ἣτις ἐστὶ πηγὴ δικαιοσύνης.
- 86 XII. Οὗτοι πάντες, ὦ Γαίε, διὰ τὰς ὑπηρεγμένας  
 εὐεργεσίας ἐθαυμάσθησαν καὶ ἔτι νῦν θαυμάζονται  
 καὶ σεβασμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω τιμῶν ἠξιώ-  
 θησαν. εἰπέ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τίνι γαυριᾶς  
 87 καὶ πεφύσησαι τῶν παραπλησίων; ἐμιμήσω τοὺς  
 Διοσκούρους εἰς φιλαδελφίαν; ἵνα ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξω-  
 μαι. τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγκληρονόμον ἐν ἀκμῇ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐνεκαίνεσεν or ἀνεκοίνωσεν.

° Philo has alluded to the story of the Dioscuri, *De Som.* i.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 82-87

of evils and hopes of good, while he renders the body healthier and stronger and more agile. In private life 83 he improves each person and converts large households and families from a squalid and toilsome existence to a free and gay mode of living, and for all cities Greek and barbarian he provides a constant succession of banquets, merrymakings, galas, festivals. For all these owe their existence to Dionysus. Again, 84

the Dioscuri<sup>a</sup> are said to have shared the immortality between them, for since one of them was mortal and the other immortal he who had been judged worthy of the higher destiny did not think it fit to gratify his selfish instinct instead of showing affection to his brother. For having before his eyes the endless ages 85 and reflecting that while he lived for ever his brother would be dead for ever and his mourning for him would be as everlasting as his own existence, he achieved a great and marvellous reciprocation in that he mingled mortality with his own lot and indestructibility with his brother's, and thus made inequality, the source of injustice, vanish in equality, which is the fountain of justice.

XII. All these, Gaius, received and still receive 86 admiration for the benefits for which we are beholden to them<sup>b</sup> and were judged worthy of worship and the highest honours. Tell me yourself what deeds like these have you to make you so boastful and puffed with pride. To begin with the Dioscuri. Did you 87 imitate them in brotherly love? Your brother and

150 and *De Dec.* 56. Here he takes the version of the legend in which Castor the mortal was actually killed and then Pollux renounced half his immortality to him.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* benefits in which they took the initiative and not in return for anything which we had done. For this use of *ὑπάρχω* see Lexicon.

## PHILO

τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ὡ σιδήρειε καὶ ἀνηλεέστατε,  
 ὡμῶς ἀπέσφαξας, τὰς <δ'> ἀδελφὰς ὕστερον ἐφυ-  
 γάδευσας· μὴ καὶ αὐταὶ τὸν περὶ ἀφαιρέσεως  
 88 ἀρχῆς φόβον εἰργάζοντό σοι; ἐμμήσω  
 Διόνυσον; εὐρετῆς καινῶν γέγονας χαρίτων ὡς  
 ἐκείνος; εὐφροσύνης κατέπλησας τὴν οἰκουμένην;  
 Ἀσία καὶ Εὐρώπη τὰς ἐκ σοῦ γεγενημένας δωρεὰς  
 89 οὐ χωρεῖ; καινὰς μὲν οὖν τέχνας καὶ ἐπιστήμας  
 ἀνεύρες ὡς κοινὸς λυμεὼν καὶ παλαμναῖος, αἷς  
 μεταβάλλεις τὰ ἡδέα καὶ χαρτὰ πρὸς ἀηδίας καὶ  
 λύπας καὶ ἀβίωτον βίον τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσι, τὰ  
 μὲν παρ' ἑτέροις ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ πάντα σφετεριζό-  
 μενος ἀπλήστοις καὶ ἀκορέστοις ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις,  
 τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐψῶν, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων, τὰ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ παντὸς κλιμάτων, εἴ τινα ἢ κατὰ  
 μεσημβρίαν ἢ πρὸς ἄρκτον, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 σαυτοῦ πικρίας καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ἐπαράτοις καὶ ἰοβόλοις  
 ψυχαῖς γεννᾶν ἔθος βλαβερὰ καὶ ἐπιζήμια ἀντι-  
 διδοὺς καὶ ἀντιπέμπων· διὰ ταῦτα ὁ νέος Διόνυσος  
 90 ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνης; ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑρακλέα ἐζή-  
 λωσας τοῖς ἀκαμάτοις σαυτοῦ πόνοις καὶ ταῖς  
 ἀτρύτοις ἀνδραγαθίαις, εὐνομίας καὶ εὐδικίας εὐ-  
 θηνίας<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν  
 ἀφθονίας, ὧν ἡ βαθεῖα εἰρήνη δημιουργός, ἀνα-  
 πλήσας ἠπείρους τε καὶ νήσους, ὁ ἀγεννέστατος,  
 ὁ δειλίας μεστός, ὁ τῶν μὲν εἰς εὐστάθειαν καὶ  
 εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπάντων κενώσας τὰς πόλεις, μεστὰς  
 [559] δὲ τῶν | εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ θορύβους καὶ τὴν  
 91 ἀνωτάτω βαρυδαιμονίαν ἀναφήνας; ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐσθενείας.

<sup>a</sup> For an account of the banishment by Gaius of his sisters

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 87-91

fellow-heir you, iron-hearted and utterly ruthless, cruelly slew in the flower of his prime. Your sisters you afterwards sent into exile.<sup>a</sup> Did they too give you cause to fear that they might rob you of your throne? Did you imitate Dionysus? 88

Have you become an inventor of new bounties as he was? Did you fill the inhabited world with joyfulness? Are the gifts bestowed by you more than Asia and Europe can contain? Rather the novel 89 arts and sciences, which you as the author of general ruin and destruction discovered, were such that with them you changed what gave pleasure and joy into discomfort and grief and a life which all men everywhere find unworthy of the name. And so insatiable and quenchless were your lusts that you stole all that was good and valuable whether from the east or the west or from all other regions of the world southwards or northwards, and in return you gave and sent them the fruits of your own bitterness and all things mischievous and hurtful that abominable and venomous souls are wont to generate. Was it these which revealed you to us as the new Dionysus?

Or did you also emulate Heracles in your unwearied 90 labours, your tireless feats of courage? Did you fill continents and islands with legality and justice, with fertility and prosperity and a lavish supply of the other boons which peace deep-founded creates?—you the utterly ignoble, brimful of cowardice, who stripped the cities of all that tends to well-being and happiness and turned them into hotbeds of what makes for confusion and tumults and the height of misery. Is it because of the great harvests of your 91

Agrippina and Livilla to the Pontian islands on the charge of adultery and conspiracy see Suet. *Gaius* 24 and Dio lix. 22. 8.

## PHILO

- τοσαύταις φοραῖς, ὥς ἤνεγκας ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ, εἰπέ μοι, Γάιε, ζητεῖς ἀθανασίας μεταλαχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὀλιγοχρονίους καὶ ἑφημέρους ἀλλὰ ἀθανάτους ἀπεργάσῃ συμφοράς; ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τοῦναντίον, εἰ καὶ τις ἔδοξας γεγενῆσθαι θεός, πάντως ἂν σε μεταβαλεῖν ἔνεκα τῶν πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν· εἰ γὰρ ἀθανατίζουσιν ἀρεταί, πάντως
- 92 φθείρουσι κακίαι. μήτε οὖν ἐν Διοσκουροῖς γράφου τοῖς φιλαδελφοτάτοις, ὁ σφαγεὺς καὶ λυμεὼν τῶν ἀδελφῶν γεγονώς, μήτε Ἡρακλέους ἢ Διονύσου τιμῆς<sup>1</sup> κοινοπράγει τῶν τὸν βίον ὀνησάντων, ὁ κακωτῆς καὶ διαφθορεὺς ὧν ἔδρασαν ἐκεῖνοι.
- 93 XIII. Τοσαύτη δέ τις περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν λύττα καὶ παράφορος καὶ παράκοπος μανία, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθέους ὑπερβὰς ἐπανήει καὶ ἐπαπεδύετο τοῖς τῶν μειζόνων καὶ ἀμφιβαλῶν εἶναι δοκούντων σεβα-
- 94 σμοῖς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἄρεως. Ἑρμοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, κηρυκείοις καὶ πεδίλοις καὶ χλαμύσιν ἐνσκευαζόμενος τάξιν τε ἐν ἀταξίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν συγχύσει καὶ λογισμὸν ἐν φρενοβλαβείᾳ
- 95 παρεπιδεικνύμενος· εἶτα, ὁπότε δόξειεν αὐτῷ, τὰ μὲν ἀπετίθετο, εἰς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα μετεμορφοῦτο καὶ μετεσκευάζετο, στεφάνοις μὲν ἀκτινοειδέσει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενος, τόξον δὲ τῆ εὐωνύμῳ καὶ μέλη κρατῶν χειρὶ, χάριτας δὲ τῆ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τιμαῖς.

<sup>a</sup> Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioscuri all had mortal mothers. See note on ἀμφιβαλῆς *Quod Omn. Prob.* 20 (vol. ix. p. 510).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Pausanias ix. 35. 3 Ἀγγελίων τε καὶ Τεκταῖος οἱ γε Διονύσου τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐργαζόμενοι τοῖς Δηλίοις τρεῖς ἐποίησαν

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 91-95

raising, Gaius, whose fruit is destruction, that you seek to partake of immortality so that you may produce calamities not short-lived nor ephemeral but everlasting? I think that on the contrary even if it appeared that you were one of the gods your evil practices would have caused you to change into the mortal kind of existence, for if virtues give immortality, vices certainly bring destruction. So then <sup>92</sup> you must not rank with the Dioscuri, those best of brothers, you who dealt murder and perdition to your brother, nor share the honour of Heracles or Dionysus who benefited the life of man, you who wrought havoc and corruption in what they had achieved.

XIII. So great a frenzy possessed him, so wild and <sup>93</sup> delirious an insanity that leaving the demigods below he proceeded to advance upwards and armed himself to attack the honours paid by their worshippers to the deities held to be greater and divine on both sides,<sup>a</sup> Hermes, Apollo and Ares. To take Hermes first, <sup>94</sup> he arrayed himself with herald's staffs, sandals and mantles, a grotesque exhibition of order in disorder, consistency in confusion, reason in derangement.

Then when it pleased him he <sup>95</sup> would strip them off and change his figure and dress into Apollo's, his head encircled with garlands of the sun-rays, wielding a bow and arrows in his left hand and holding out Graces <sup>b</sup> in his right to signify

*ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ Χάριτας.* Pausanias says nothing of the right hand and Plutarch, *De Musica* 16, says that the Graces were carried in the left hand, and the bow in the right. But coins believed to be copied from the Delian Apollo at Athens, which itself was a copy of the statue at Delos mentioned by Pausanias, bear out Philo's statement. See Frazer on Pausanias *l.c.*

## PHILO

δεξιᾶ προτείων, ὡς δέον τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ὀρέγειν ἐξ ἑτοίμου καὶ τετάχθαι τὴν βελτίονα τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾶ, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις ὑποστέλλειν καὶ τὴν καταδεεστέραν χώραν κεκληρῶσθαι τὴν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα.

96 χοροὶ τε εὐθύς εἰσθήκεσαν συγκεκροτημένοι, παιᾶνας εἰς αὐτὸν ᾄδοντες, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ Βάκχον καὶ Εὐήμιον καὶ Λυαῖον ὀνομάζοντες καὶ ὕμνοις γεραίροντες, ἥνίκα τὴν Διονυσιακὴν ἀνελάμβανε σκευήν.

97 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἐνδύομενος ξιφῆρης προΐει μετὰ κράνουσ καὶ ἀσπίδος, Ἄρης ἀνακαλούμενος· καὶ παρ' ἑκάτερα οἱ Ἄρεως τοῦ καινοῦ [καὶ νέου] θεραπευταὶ συμπροΐεσαν, ἀνδροφόνων καὶ δημοκοίνων θίασος, ὑπηρετήσοντες κακὰς ὑπηρεσίας φονῶντι καὶ διψῶντι ἀνθρωπείου

98 αἵματος. εἶτα τοῖς ταῦτα ὀρώσι κατάπληξις ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον, πῶς ὁ τάναντία δρῶν οἷς ἰσότημος εἶναι προαιρεῖται τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, τοῖς δὲ παρασήμοις εἰς ἕκαστον σκευάζεται. καίτοι τὰ περίαπτα ταῦτα καὶ προκοσμήματα ξοάνοις καὶ ἀγάλμασι προσκαθίδρυται, διὰ συμβόλων μηνύοντα

[560] τὰς ὠφελείας, | ἃς παρέχονται τῷ γένει τῶν ἀν-

99 θρώπων οἱ τιμώμενοι. πέδιλα Ἑρμῆς ὑποδεῖται πτερῶν ταρσοὺς ἔχοντα· διὰ τί; ἄρα οὐχ ὅτι προσήκει τὸν ἑρμηνέα καὶ προφήτην τῶν θεῶν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὠνόμασται, τὰ ἀγαθὰ διαγγέλλοντα—κακοῦ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι θεὸς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ γίνεται μηνυτής—ποδωκέστατόν τε εἶναι καὶ μόνον οὐ πτηνὸν φέρεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆν ἀνυπέρεθον; ἐπειδὴ τὰ λυσιτελεῖ φθάνοντας εὐαγγελίζεσθαι προσήκει, καθάπερ τὰ παλίμφημα μέλλοντας,



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 95-99

that it was fitting for him to extend good things readily and that these should hold the superior position on the right, while punishment should be kept in the background and allotted the inferior place on the left. And at once at his side singing paeans to him stood drilled choirs of those who but now were calling him Bacchus or Evius or Lyaeus and honouring him with hymns when he was assuming the garb of Dionysus. 96

Often too he would don a breastplate and proceed sword in hand, with helmet and shield, hailed as Ares, and on either side went a procession of the worshippers of the new Ares composed of homicides and official cut-throats to render their base service to a master avid for slaughter and thirsting for human blood. 97

Then those who saw these things were struck with amazement at the strange contradiction, marvelling how one, whose actions were the opposite of those whose honours he purposed to share as their equal, did not think fit to practise their virtues and yet at the same time invested himself with their insignia each in turn. Yet surely these trappings and ornaments are set as accessories on images and statues as symbolically indicating the benefits which those thus honoured provide for the human race. Hermes is shod with sandals like outstretched wings, why? Is it not because it befits the interpreter (*ἑρμηνεύς*) and spokesman of things divine, whence also he gets his name of Hermes, that when he is the harbinger of good, since not even a wise man, much less a god, makes himself the announcer of evil, he should be very swift-footed, travelling with well-nigh the speed of wings in the zeal which brooks no delay. The news of things profitable should be carried quickly, bad news slowly if it is not permitted to 98

## PHILO

- 100 εἰ μὴ ἐπιτρέποι τις αὐτὰ ἡσυχάζεσθαι. πάλιν κηρύκειον ἀναλαμβάνει δείγμα συμβατηρίων σπονδῶν· πόλεμοι γὰρ ἀνοχὰς καὶ διαλύσεις λαμβάνουσι διὰ κηρύκων εἰρήνην καθισταμένων· οἱ δὲ ἀκήρυκτοι συμφορὰς ἀτελευτήτους ἀπεργάζονται καὶ
- 101 τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις. Γάιος δὲ πρὸς τίνα χρεῖαν πέδιλα ἀνελάμβανεν; ἢ ἵνα τὰ δύσφημα καὶ δυσώνυμα, δέον ἡσυχάζεσθαι, βοηδρομηταὶ τάχει συντόνω πάντη συνηχοῦντα; καίτοι τί κινήσεως ἐπεσπυευμένης ἔδει; μένων γὰρ κακὰ ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἀμύθητα ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀενάων πηγῶν εἰς
- 102 ἅπαντα τὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὤμβρει. τί δὲ δεῖ κηρυκείου τῷ μηδὲν εἰρηναῖόν ποτε μήτε εἰπόντι μήτε δράσαντι, πᾶσαν δὲ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν ἐμφυλίων ἀναπλήσαντι πολέμων κατὰ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον; ἀποθέσθω δὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀφοσιωσάμενος τὴν ἀνοίκειον κλήσιν, ὁ ψευδώνυμος.
- 103 XIV. τί δὲ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιακῶν ἐμφερές ἐστι παρ' αὐτῷ; στέφανον ἀκτινωτὸν φορεῖ, εὖ πως ἀπομαξαμένου τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ τεχνίτου. ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἥλιος ἢ φῶς συνόλως ἀσπαστόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νύξ (καὶ σκότος) καὶ εἴ τι σκότους ἀφεγγέστερον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκνόμων ἔργων διάθεσιν; ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν καλὰ περιανγείας μεσημβρινῆς δεῖται πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, τὰ δὲ αἰσχρά φασιν ἐσχατιᾶς Ταρτάρου, εἰς ὃν ἄξιον συνωθεῖσθαι δεόντως ἐπι
- 104 κρυφθησόμενα. μεταθέτω καὶ τὰ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ χειρὶ

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<sup>a</sup> He is alluding to the way in which ἀκήρυκτος comes to be applied to any truceless or exceptionally bitter conflict, with no thought whether heralds can enter it or not. Cf.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 99-104

leave it untold. Again Hermes assumes the herald's 100 staff as an emblem of covenants of reconciliation, for wars come to be suspended or ended through heralds establishing peace; wars where no heralds are admitted<sup>a</sup> create endless calamities both for the assailants and the defenders. But for what useful 101 purpose did Gaius assume the sandals? Was it that everything of ill report and evil name, instead of being buried in silence, as it should be, might be noised abroad with impetuous speed and resound on every side? And yet what need was there for this activity in locomotion? Standing where he was, he rained miseries untold one after the other as from perennial fountains on every part of the inhabited world. And what need of the herald-staff had he 102 whose every word and deed was not for peace but filled every house and city throughout Greece and the outside world with intestine wars! No, let him shed Hermes, let him purge himself of his lying claim to a title so ill-fitting, the impostor! XIV. As 103 for the appurtenances of Apollo, what is there like them in Gaius? Apollo wears a crown adorned with rays, for the craftsman has managed to make a good copy of the rays of the sun, but was the sun or light in any form welcome to Gaius and not rather night and darkness or anything more rayless than darkness for disposing his lawless actions, since things noble and beautiful need the full brightness of noonday to show them forth, but the base and ugly need as they say deepest Tartarus into which they should be thrown to lie in the concealment which they deserve? Let him also transpose what he holds in either hand 104

§ 119. The play upon words involved cannot be reproduced in English.

## PHILO

καὶ μὴ κιβδηλευέτω τὴν τάξιν. τὰ μὲν βέλη καὶ τοῖχα τῇ δεξιᾷ προφερέτω· βάλλειν γὰρ καὶ τοξεύειν εὐσκόπως οἶδεν ἄνδρας, γυναῖκας, συγγενείας ὄλας,  
 105 εὐανδρούσας πόλεις, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ παντελεῖ. τὰς δὲ χάριτας ἢ ῥυψάτω θάπτον ἢ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ συσκιαζέτω· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἤσχυεν αὐτῶν, προσοφθαλμιῶν καὶ προσκεχηγνῶς ταῖς μεγάλαις οὐσίαις εἰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀδίκους, αἷς ἐπικατεσφάττοντο οἱ δεσπότες τῆς εὐτυχίας ἔνεκα κακοδαιμονοῦντες.

106 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν Ἀπόλλωνος εὖ πως μετεχάραξεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σωτηρίων φαρμάκων εὐρετῆς ἐγένετο πρὸς ὑγίαν ἀνθρώπων, ἀξιῶν καὶ τὰς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐγγινομένας νόσους αὐτὸς ἰᾶσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὑπερβάλλουσαν |  
 [561] ἡμερότητα. ὁ δὲ ἔμπαλιν νόσους μὲν τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι, πηρώσεις δὲ τοῖς ὀλοκλήροις, καὶ συνόλως  
 107 θανάτους τοῖς ζῶσι χειροποιήτους πρὸ τοῦ μοιριδίου χαλεποὺς ἐπέφερε, πάντα τὰ φθοροποιὰ χορηγίαις ἀφθόνοις παρεσκευασμένος, οἷς, εἰ μὴ ἔφθασε προαναιρεθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης [χρήσασθαι], κὰν τὸ  
 108 ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει δοκιμώτατον ἤδη διέφθαρτο. πρὸς τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τέλει καὶ πλουσίους εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν αἱ παρασκευαί, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ, παρ' οἷς ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς τεθησαύριστα τοσοῦτος, ὥστε, εἰ σύμπας ὁ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων αὐτῶν συνενεχθείη, πολλῶ καταδεέστερος ἂν εὐρεθῆναι. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἱερᾶς

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "he began from the sacred line." See § 22, pp. 12-15.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 104-108

and not falsify the arrangement; let him carry the bow and arrows in his right hand, for he knows how to use them both with a true aim against men and women, against whole families, against populous cities to bring them to utter perdition. But the 105 Graces he should either cast quickly away or carry them shaded in his left hand. For he put their beauty to shame when he fixed his greedy eyes and gaping mouth on great estates to work the unjust robberies which were crowned with the slaughter of their owners, whose prosperity was the cause of their miserable end.

He also managed to make 106 a fine recasting of Apollo's art of medicine. For Apollo became the inventor of salutary remedies promoting the health of mankind, deigning also to heal himself the maladies engendered by the actions of others in virtue of the supreme kindness which nature and practice gave him. Gaius on the other 107 hand brought disease to the healthy, crippling to the sound of limb and in general death to the living, death in cruel forms, the work of men anticipating that of fate. Every instrument of destruction he had provided with unstinted liberality whereby, had not his death at the hands of justice forestalled his use of them, all the most highly reputed part of the community in every city would already have perished. For he had all his arrangements ready to deal with 108 the magnates and the rich, particularly those in Rome and the rest of Italy, in whose possession there lay treasured such a great amount of gold and silver that if all contained in all the rest of the inhabited world from its very boundaries was gathered together it would be found to fall far short of it. And therefore<sup>a</sup> with utter recklessness, he proceeded to cast

## PHILO

- ἤρχετο τὰ σπέρματα τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπορρίπτειν,<sup>1</sup> ὁ  
 109 μισόπολις, ὁ δημοβόρος, ἡ λύμη, τὸ φθοροποιὸν  
 λέγεται μὴ μόνον ἰατρός ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ μάντις ἀγαθὸς Ἀπόλλων εἶναι, χρησμοῖς προ-  
 λέγων τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα  
 μὴ τις ἐπισκιασθεῖς αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> περὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἀπρο-  
 οράτως καθάπερ τυφλὸς τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις ὡς λυσι-  
 τελεστάτοις ἐπιτρέχων ἐπεμπίπτῃ, προμαθῶν δὲ  
 τὸ μέλλον ὡς ἤδη παρὸν καὶ βλέπων αὐτὸ τῇ  
 110 διανοίᾳ οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς σώ-  
 ματος φυλάττηται, προνοούμενος τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνή-  
 κεστον παθεῖν. ἄρα ἄξιον τούτοις ἀντιθεῖναι τὰ  
 παλίμφημα Γαῖου λόγια, δι' ὧν πενίαι καὶ ἀτιμῖαι  
 καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ θάνατοι προεμηνύοντο τοῖς πανταχοῦ  
 τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ δυνατῶν; τίς οὖν κοινωνία πρὸς  
 Ἀπόλλωνα τῷ μηδὲν οἰκείον ἢ συγγενὲς ἐπιτε-  
 τηδευκότι; πεπαύσθω καὶ ὁ ψευδώνυμος Παιᾶν  
 τὸν ἀληθῆ Παιᾶνα μιμούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ὡσπερ  
 τὸ νόμισμα παράκομμα καὶ θεοῦ μορφὴ γίνεται.  
 111 XV. πάντα γε μὴν ἐλπίσειεν ἂν τις  
 ἄλλου) ἢ τοιοῦτον σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ἄμφω  
 μαλακὰ καὶ κατεαγότα, τῇ περὶ ἑκάτερον Ἄρεως  
 ἀλκῇ δυνηθῆναι ποτε ἐξομοιωθῆναι· ὁ δὲ ὡσπερ  
 ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐναλλάττων πολυειδῆ προσωπεῖα φαντα-  
 112 σίαις ψευδέσιν ἡπάτα τοὺς ὄρωντας. φέρε δ' οὖν,  
 μηδὲν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἐξεταζέσθω<sup>3</sup> διὰ  
 τὴν ἐν πάσαις σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσεσι ἀλλοτριότητα

<sup>1</sup> ? ἀπορρίπτων.

<sup>2</sup> mss. τῶν. Perhaps, as Mangey and others, to be ex-  
 punged. <sup>3</sup> mss. ἐξετάζεσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> ἐπεμπίπτειν may mean to fall upon (and seize). But  
 that they "come a cropper" is suggested by the conclusion

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 108-112

away the seeds of peace from his homeland, city-hater, people-devourer, scourge and baleful pest.

Apollo is said to be not only a physician <sup>109</sup> but a good prophet, foretelling by his oracles the future for the benefit of men, lest any of them too beclouded to discern its uncertainties should, with no more foresight than the blind, expect high profit from what prove to be things he little welcomes when he races to them only to stumble and fall upon them,<sup>a</sup> but with foreknowledge of the future as though it were now present and seeing it with his mind as clearly as he sees what lies before him with the eyes of his body, protect and secure himself against any fatal disaster. Can we rightly <sup>110</sup> place beside these those ominous pronouncements of Gaius by which the coming poverty, disfranchisement, exile, death were announced to the highly-placed and powerful everywhere? What fellowship then with Apollo has he whose conduct never showed any affinity or kinship? Falsely does he call himself Paeon, let him cease once for all to mimic the true Paeon, for a divine form cannot be counterfeited as a coin can be. XV. And <sup>111</sup>

surely the last thing one would expect is that such a body and soul as his, both of them feeble and nerveless, could ever be assimilated to the prowess of Ares in both. Yet like an actor wearing in turn many kinds of masks he beguiled the spectators with the deceptive appearances he assumed. Well, one need <sup>112</sup> not examine his characteristics of body and soul, since his every posture and movement showed the

of the very similar passage *Spec. Leg.* iii. 79 ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπροοράτως σώμασιν ὁμοῖ καὶ πράγμασιν ἐπεμπίπτοντες τυφλῶν τρόπον . . . οὐκ ἐλάττω ὧν διατιθέασι πάσχουσι.

## PHILO

- πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον δαίμονα· τὴν Ἄρεως οὖν, οὐχὶ τοῦ μεμυθευμένου, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ φύσει λόγου, ὃν ἀνδρεία κεκλήρωται, δύναμιν οὐκ ἴσμεν ἀλεξίκακον οὔσαν καὶ βοηθὸν καὶ παραστάτιν ἀδικουμένων, ὡς
- 113 καὶ αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοῦνομα; παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀρήγειν, ὅπερ βοηθεῖν ἐστὶ, κατὰ γλῶτταν Ἄρης ὠνομάσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, καθαιρετικὸς πολέμων, δημιουργὸς εἰρήνης, ἧς ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἦν ἕτερος, ἑταῖρος<sup>1</sup> δὲ πολέμων, τὴν εὐστάθειαν εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ
- [562] στάσεις μεθαρμοζόμενος.
- 114 XVI. | Ἄρα γε ἤδη μεμαθήκαμεν ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι οὐδενὶ θεῶν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἡμιθέων ἐξομοιοῦσθαι δεῖ Γάιον, μήτε φύσεως μήτε οὐσίας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ προαιρέσεως τετυχηκότα τῆς αὐτῆς; τυφλὸν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν προσλάβῃ κενοδοξίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλονεικίαν μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας, ὑφ' ἧς ἡμεῖς οἱ πρότερον εὐτυχεῖς<sup>2</sup> ἐπορεύμεθα.
- 115 μόνους γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ὑπεβλέπετο, ὡς δὴ μόνους τάναντία προηρημένους καὶ δεδιδαγμένους ἐξ αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ σπαργάνων ὑπὸ γονέων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν καὶ ὑφηγητῶν καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἀγράφων ἔθῶν ἕνα νομίζειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ
- 116 κόσμου θεόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, πόλεις, ἔθνη, χῶραι, κλίματα γῆς, ὀλίγου

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. omit ἕτερος, others ἑταῖρος.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἀτυχεῖς.

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. the Ares which belongs to the order of things which is governed not by *μῦθος* but by *λόγος*, and is the deity whose special province among the virtues is, *ἀνδρεία*. How Mangey



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 112-116

difference which divided him from the deity in question. Surely we know the power of Ares, not the Ares of mythology, but the Ares of the realm of reason whom courage has taken for its own.<sup>a</sup> That power is a defence from evil, the helper and champion of the wronged as its very name declares. For 113 under the name of Ares I think is disguised ἀρήγω, that is "help." That Ares is the destroyer of wars, the creator of peace. This other<sup>b</sup> was the foe of peace, the friend of wars, the converter of stability into turmoil and faction.

XVI. Need we more than these proofs to teach us 114 that Gaius has no right to be likened to any of the gods or demigods either, for his nature, his substance, his purpose in life, is different from theirs? But passion we see to be a blind thing, particularly when it is reinforced by vanity and ambition, combined with possession of the supreme dominion which made havoc of our former prosperity. For he looked with 115 disfavour on the Jews alone because they alone opposed him on principle, trained as they were we may say even from the cradle, by parents and tutors and instructors and by the far higher authority<sup>c</sup> of the sacred laws and also the unwritten customs, to acknowledge one God who is the Father and Maker of the world. For all others, men, women, cities, nations, 116 countries, regions of the earth, I might almost say

understood the words is not clear from his translation "(Martis) eius per quem naturalem fortitudinem intellegimus."

<sup>b</sup> The imperfect shows that the "other" is Gaius rather than the Ares of mythology, though Philo may perhaps mean to equate the two in their vices.

<sup>c</sup> So rather than "long before." For probable examples of this meaning of the phrase see note on *Flaccus* 10.

## PHILO

- δέω φάναι πᾶσα ἢ οἰκουμένη, καίτοι στένοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις, οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκολάκευον αὐτὸν ἀποσεμνύνοντες πλέον τοῦ μετρίου καὶ τὸν τύφον συναύξοντες. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἔθος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἤγαγον, τὴν προσκύνησιν, τὸ εὐγενές τῆς
- 117 Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐλευθερίας παραχαράττοντες. ἐν δὲ μόνον ἔθνος ἐξαίρετον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑποπτον ἦν ἀντιπράξειν, εἰωθὸς ἐκουσίους ἀναδέχεσθαι θανάτους ὡσπερ ἀθανασίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν πατρῴων περιδεῖν ἀναιρούμενον, εἰ καὶ βραχύτατον εἴη, διὰ τὸ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ὑφαίρεσει ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ ἔτι παγίως ἐστάναι δοκοῦντα συμπίπτειν πρὸς τὸ κενωθὲν χαλῶμενα καὶ καταρρέοντα.
- 118 μικρὸν δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὸ κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ὄντων, ἀνθρώπου γενητὴν καὶ φθαρτὴν φύσιν εἰς ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν θεοπλαστῆσαι, ὅπερ ἀσεβημάτων ἔκρινεν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον—θᾶπτον γὰρ ἂν εἰς ἄνθρωπον θεὸν ἢ εἰς θεὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταβαλεῖν—, δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἀνωτάτω κακίας ἀναδέξασθαι, ἀπιστίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν πρὸς τὸν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς εὐεργέτην, ὃς τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει τοῖς μέρεσι πᾶσι τοῦ παντὸς ἀφθόρους περιουσίας ἀγαθῶν ἐκδίδωσιν.
- 119 XVII. Μέγιστος οὖν καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει συνεκροτεῖτο. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη δούλω βαρύτερον κακὸν ἢ δεσπότης ἐχθρός; δούλοι δὲ αὐτοκράτορος οἱ ὑπήκοοι, καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἐτέρου

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ar. Rhet.* i. 5. 9 τὰ βαρβαρικά, οἷον προσκνήσεις, where Jebb translates "salaams." See Sandys's note, which is to the effect that properly speaking προσκ. signifies kissing the hand to another rather than prostration or salaam, though

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 116-119

the whole inhabited world, groaning though they were at what was happening, flattered him all the same and magnified him out of all proportion and augmented his vanity. Some too even introduced into Italy the barbarian practice of prostrating themselves,<sup>a</sup> a degradation of the high tradition of Roman freedom. One nation only standing apart, 117 the nation of the Jews, was suspected of intending opposition, since it was accustomed to accept death as willingly as if it were immortality, to save them from submitting to the destruction of any of their ancestral traditions, even the smallest, because as with buildings if a single piece is taken from the base, the parts that up to then seemed firm are loosened and slip away and collapse into the void thus made. But that displacement was of nothing 118 petty, but of the greatest of all that exists, when the created and corruptible nature of man was made to appear uncreated and incorruptible by a deification which our nation judged to be the most grievous impiety, since sooner could God change into a man than a man into God. Apart from that it included the supremely evil vices of infidelity and ingratitude to the Benefactor of the whole world who through His power bestows blessings poured in unstinted abundance on every part of the All.

XVII. So then a vast and truceless war was pre- 119 pared against the nation. For what greater curse can a slave have than a hostile master? Subjects are slaves of the absolute emperor, and if this is not true

the two probably often went together. They appear to be confused by Eur. *Orestes* 1507 προσκυνῶ σ', ἀναξ, νόμοισι βαρβάροισι προσπίτνων, but distinguished by Plato, *Legg.* x. 887 ε προκυλίσεις ἄμα καὶ προσκυνήσεις.

PHILO

τῶν προτέρων διὰ τὸ σὺν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ μετὰ νόμων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ τοι Γαίτου πᾶσαν ἐκτετημημένου τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμερότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐζήλωκόςτος— νόμον γὰρ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτὸν τοὺς τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ νομοθετῶν ὡς κενὰς ῥήσεις ἔλυεν— ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐν δούλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλων τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις ἐγραφόμεθα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τρέποντος<sup>1</sup> εἰς δεσπότην.

[563] XVIII. | ὅπερ συναισθόμενος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων μιγὰς  
120 καὶ πεφορημένος ὄχλος ἐπέθετο ἡμῖν, καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον παραπεπτωκέναι ὑπολαβῶν, καὶ τὸ τυφόμενον ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων μῖσος ἀνέφηνε πάντα  
121 κυκῶν καὶ συνταράττων. ὡς γὰρ ἐκδοθέντας εἰς ὁμολογουμένας καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἢ πολέμῳ κατακρατηθέντας<sup>2</sup> ἐκμανέσι καὶ θηριωδεστάταις ὄργαις κατειργάζοντο, ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπιτρέχοντες, τοὺς δεσπότης αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐλαύνοντες, ὡς κενὰς οἰκητόρων  
122 ἀποφῆναι. ἐπιπλα καὶ κειμήλια οὐκέτι ὡς λησταὶ νύκτα καὶ σκότος ἐπιτηροῦντες διὰ φόβον ἀλώσεως ἔκλεπτον, ἀλλὰ φανερώς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξεφόρουν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ κεκληρονομηκότες ἢ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κυρίων. εἰ δὲ καὶ πλείους συνέθεντο κοινοπραγῆσαι τῶν ἀρπαγῶν, τὴν λείαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ διενέμοντο, πολλάκις ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν δεσποτῶν, κατακερτομοῦντες καὶ ἐπι-  
123 χλευάζοντες. δεινὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὰ καὶ ταῦτα· πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πένητας ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἀπόρους ἐξ εὐπόρων γεγενῆσθαι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐξαιφνης καὶ ἀνοίκους καὶ ἀνεστίους, ἐξεωσμένους καὶ πεφυγαδευμένους τῶν ἰδίων οἰκιῶν, ἵνα μεθ' ἡμέραν

<sup>1</sup> τρέπω intransitive in the active is otherwise unknown. τραπεῖντος has been suggested.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 119-123

of any of his predecessors since they ruled with moderation and observance of the law, it was indeed true of Gaius who had excised all kindness from his soul and zealously practised lawlessness. For considering that he himself was a law, he abrogated those laid down by legislators in the several states, treating them as empty talk. And we were ranked not only as slaves but as the most degraded slaves when the ruler changed into a despotic master. XVIII. The promiscuous and unstable rabble of the Alexandrians perceived this, and thinking that a very suitable opportunity had occurred, attacked us and brought to light the hatred which had long been smouldering, reducing everything to chaos and confusion. For treating us as persons given over by the emperor to suffer the extremity of calamity undisguised or as overpowered in war, they worked our ruin with insane and most brutal rage. They overran our houses, expelling the owners with their wives and children, and left them uninhabited. Then they stole the furniture and cherished valuables and, not needing now like robbers through fear of capture to watch for night and darkness, they carried them out openly in daylight and exhibited them to those whom they met as if they had inherited them or bought them from the owners. And if several agreed together to share the pillaging they divided the spoil in mid-market, often before the eyes of the owners, jeering and reviling them the while. These things are horrible in themselves, how could it be otherwise?—when the rich became poor, the well-to-do destitute, suddenly through no fault of their own rendered hearthless and homeless, outcasts and exiles from their own

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. κατακρήντας or κρατηθέντας.

## PHILO

- καὶ νύκτωρ ὕπαιθροι διατελοῦντες ἢ ταῖς ἀφ' ἡλίου  
 φλογώσεσιν ἢ νυκτεριναῖς περιψύξεσι διαφθαρώσι.  
 124 κουφότερα δὲ τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι ταῦτα·  
 συνελάσαντες γὰρ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καθάπερ βοσκήματα καὶ  
 θρέμματα ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πόλεως εἰς μοῖραν ἐλα-  
 χίστην οἰά τινα σηκόν, ᾧήθησαν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις  
 σωροὺς ἀθρόων νεκρῶν ἐφευρήσειν ἢ λιμῶ διαφθα-  
 ρέντων διὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐ προευτρεπισ-  
 μένων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ μαντείαν τῶν ἐξαπιναίων  
 125 κακοπραγιῶν, ἢ δι' ὠθισμόν καὶ πνίγος, μηδεμιᾶς  
 εὐρυχωρίας προσφερομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πέριξ  
 ἀέρος κακωθέντος καὶ ὅσον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωτικὸν  
 ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, τοῖς  
 ἐκπνεόντων ἄσθμασιν ἀποβαλόντος,<sup>1</sup> ὑφ' ὧν φλεγό-  
 μενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καταβολῇ πυρετοῦ πιεσθεὶς  
 θερμὸν καὶ ἄτοπον πνεῦμα διὰ μυκτῆρων καὶ  
 στόματος εἰσέπεμπε, τὸ λεγόμενον κατὰ τὴν παροι-  
 126 μίαν πῦρ ἐπιφέρων πυρί. τῶν γὰρ ἐντὸς σπλάγγ-  
 νων ἡ δύναμις ἐκ φύσεως φλογωδεστάτη καθέστη-  
 κεν, ἦν ὅταν μὲν αἱ θύραθεν αὔραι μετρίως ψυχραὶ  
 καταπνέωσιν, εὐδοεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς ὄργανα ταῖς  
 εὐκρασίαις, ὅταν δὲ μεταβάλωσι πρὸς τὸ θερμότε-  
 ρον, ἀνάγκη δυσοδοεῖν πυρὸς ἐπεισρέοντος πυρί.  
 127 XIX. μηκέτι οὖν ὑπομένειν τὴν δυσ-  
 [564] χωρίαν | οἰοί τε ὄντες ἐξεχέοντο εἰς ἐρημίας καὶ αἰ-  
 γιαλοὺς καὶ μνήματα, γλιχόμενοι σπάσαι καθαροῦ  
 καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς ἀέρος. εἰ δὲ τινες ἢ προκατελήφ-  
 θησαν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἀγνοία

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey, but apparently with no ms. authority. Reiter with mss. (one ὑπερβάλλοντος) prints ὑποβαλόντος. But I cannot see what meaning it can have here.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 123-127

houses, to dwell night and day under the open sky, and sent to their death by the burning heat of the sun or the freezing cold of the night. But all this is 124 light compared with what is still to be told. After driving all these many myriads of men, women, and children like herds of cattle out of the whole city into a very small portion as into a pen, they expected in a few days to find heaps of dead massed together, perished either by famine through lack of necessaries, since having had no prophetic inkling of the sudden disasters they had not provided what was needed, or else through overcrowding and stifling heat. For no 125 sufficiency of room was obtainable, and the air was vitiated and lost all its life-giving properties through the respirations or, to give them their true name, the gasps of expiring men. Inflamed by these and heavily labouring under something like an attack of fever it injected hot and noisome breath through the mouth and nostrils, adding fire to fire, to use the proverbial phrase. For our internal parts as 126 constituted by nature work<sup>a</sup> at a very great heat, and when the outside airs which ventilate them are fairly cool, the favourable combination keeps the organs of respiration in good order, but when the atmosphere changes to a higher temperature and one stream of fire is added to another these organs are bound to get out of order. XIX. So 127

the Jews, unable to endure any longer the painful want of space, poured out into deserted spots and beaches and tombs, eager to get a breath of pure and innocuous air. And if any were caught in the other parts of the city before they could escape or

<sup>a</sup> *δύναμις* in this usage seems to imply function as well as nature.

## PHILO

τῶν κατασκευησάντων κακῶν ἀγρόθεν παρεγένοντο, πολυτρόπων ἀπέλαυον συμφορῶν, ἢ καταλευόμενοι ἢ κεράμῳ τιτρωσκόμενοι ἢ πρίνου κλάδοις καὶ δρυὸς τὰ καιριώτατα<sup>1</sup> μέρη τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα κεφαλὴν ἄχρι θανάτου καταγνύμενοι.

128 περικαθήμενοι δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τινὲς τῶν ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν εἰωθότων τοὺς συνεληλαμένους καὶ συνεωσμένους εἰς ἔσχατιᾶς βραχὺ τι μέρος, ὡς ἔφη, καθάπερ τοὺς τειχίρεις γεγονότας ἐπετήρουν, μή τις ὑπεξέλθῃ λαθῶν. ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ὀλίγοι διὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλογήσαντες τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας ἐξιέναι, δέει τοῦ μὴ λιμῶ πανοίκιοι παραπολέσθαι. τούτων τὰς διαδύσεις<sup>2</sup> παραδοκοῦντες ἐπετήρουν καὶ τοὺς συλληφθέντας εὐθύς διέφθειρον αἰκιζόμενοι πάσαις αἰκίαις.

129 ἕτερος δὲ λόχος ἦν ἐφεδρεῦν τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμέσι πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν καταγομένων Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὧν κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἐκόμιζον· ἐπεισβαίνοντες γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ τὸν φόρτον ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν κυρίων ἐξεφόρου καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαγκωνίζοντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὕλη χρώμενοι πηδαλίους, οἶαξι, κοντοῖς καὶ ταῖς

130 ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων σανίσι. τοῖς δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει κατακαιομένοις οἰκτρότατος ἦν ὄλεθρος· σπάνει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ξύλων φρύγανα συνεφόρου καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάψαντες ἐπερρίπτου τοῖς ἀθλίους· οἱ δὲ ἡμίφλεκτοι καπνῶ τὸ πλέον ἢ πυρὶ διεφθείροντο, τῆς φρυγανώδους ὕλης πῦρ μὲν ἀμνηγὸν καὶ καπνώδες ἐξαπτύσεως καὶ αὐτίκα σβεννυμένης, ἀνθρακοῦσθαι δὲ διὰ κουφότητα μὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κυριώτατα.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey.—Reiter with MSS. διαλύσεις (one MS. διελύσεις).



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 127-130

if they came up from the country in ignorance of the disasters which had fallen upon us they experienced manifold misfortunes, being stoned or wounded by tiles or branches of ilex or oak in the most vital parts of the body and particularly in the head, the fracture of which proved fatal.

Some of the habitual idlers and loungers would 128 make a circle round the Jews who, as I have said, had been driven and thrust together into a small part of the extremity of the city, and sit there watching them as though they were in a besieged fortress lest anyone should escape unseen. It was of course certain that several in lack of necessities would, regardless of their own safety, sally out through fear of their whole household being starved to death. A close watch was kept for these attempts to slip through and when any were caught they were at once dispatched by their enemies with every possible maltreatment. There was another 129 company who lay in waiting at the harbours of the river to rob the Jews who put in there and seize the goods which they were bringing for trade. They boarded the vessels and carried out the cargo before the eyes of the owners, whom they pinioned and burnt, using for fuel rudders, tillers, poles and the planks on the decks. Most pitiable was 130

the fate of those who were burnt to death in the middle of the city. For sometimes through lack of proper wood they collected brushwood and after setting it on fire threw it upon the unhappy victims, who perished half burnt more through the smoke than by the fire. For brushwood produces a feeble and smoky flame which is at once extinguished since its slightness prevents it from burning steadily like

## PHILO

- 131 δυναμένης. πολλοὺς δὲ ἔτι ζῶντας ἱμάσι καὶ βρόχοις περιβαλόντες καὶ ἐπισφίγγαντες τὰ σφυρὰ διὰ μέσης κατέσυρον ἀγορᾶς ἐναλλόμενοι καὶ μηδὲ νεκρῶν ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων· διαρτῶντες γὰρ αὐτὰ κατὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη καὶ πατοῦντες οἱ καὶ τῶν ἀτιθιάσων θηρίων ὠμότεροι καὶ ἀγριώτεροι πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἐξανήλισκον, ὡς μηδὲ λείψανον γοῦν ὁ δυνήσεται ταφῆς ἐπιλαχεῖν ὑπολιπέσθαι.
- 132 XX. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς χώρας, ὃς μόνος ἐδύνατο βουληθεὶς ὥρα μιᾷ τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν καθελεῖν, προσποιουμένου ἅ τε ἑώρα μὴ ὄρᾶν καὶ ὧν ἤκουε μὴ ἐπακούειν, ἀλλ' ἀνέδην ἐφίεντος πολεμοποιεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συγχέοντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς ἀναισχύντους καὶ θρα-  
 [565] συτέρας ὤρμησαν | ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ συνταξάμενοι στίφη πολυανθρωπότατα τὰς προσευχὰς<sup>1</sup>—πολλαὶ δὲ εἰσι καθ' ἕκαστον τμήμα τῆς πόλεως—τὰς μὲν ἐδενδροτόμησαν τὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς θεμελίους κατέσκαψαν, εἰς αἷς δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐνέπρησαν, ὑπὸ λύττης καὶ μανίας ἔκφρονος ἀλογήσαντες καὶ τῶν πλησίον οἰκίῶν· πυρὸς γάρ, ὁπότε λάβοιτο  
 133 ὕλης, οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον. καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς συγκαθαιρεθείσας καὶ συμπρησθείσας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τιμὰς ἀσπίδων καὶ στεφάνων ἐπιχρῦσων καὶ στήλων καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, δι' ἃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὠφείλον ἀνέχειν· ἀλλ' ἐθάρρουν ἅτε τὴν ἐκ Γαίτου τίσιν οὐ δεδιότες, ὃν εὖ ἠπίσταντο μίσος ἄλεκτον ἔχοντα πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζοιτο μείζον ἢ πάσας κακῶν ἰδέας  
 134 ἐπιφέρων τῷ ἔθνει. βουλόμενοι δὲ καινοτέραις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 130-134

coal. Many too, while still alive, they tied with 131  
thongs and nooses and, binding fast their ankles,  
dragged them through the middle of the market,  
leaping on them and not even sparing their dead  
bodies. For, more brutal and savage than fierce wild  
beasts, they severed them limb from limb and piece  
from piece and trampling on them destroyed every  
lineament, so that not even the least remnant was left  
which could receive burial.

XX. When the governor of the country, who, if he 132  
wished, could have by himself suppressed in a single  
hour the tyranny of the mob, pretended not to see  
what he saw and not to hear what he heard but  
allowed them to wage war unrestrainedly and so  
wrecked the peace, they became still more excited  
and pressed forward to carry out shameless designs  
of a bolder kind. They collected great bodies of  
men to attack the meeting-houses, of which there are  
many in each section of the city. Some they ravaged,  
others they demolished with the foundations as well,  
others they set fire to and burnt regardless in their  
frenzy and insane fury of the fate of the neighbouring  
houses, for nothing runs faster than fire when it gets  
hold of something to feed it. I say nothing of the 133  
tributes to the emperors which were pulled down or  
burnt at the same time, the shields and gilded crowns  
and the slabs and inscriptions, consideration for which  
should have made them spare the rest. But they  
were emboldened by having no fear of the ven-  
geance of Gaius. They knew well that he had an  
indescribable hatred of the Jews, and so they sur-  
mised that nothing anyone could do would gratify  
him more than the infliction on the nation of every  
kind of ill-treatment. And as they wished to in- 134

## PHILO

κολακείαις ὑπελθόντες αὐτὸν ἀνυπευθύνους χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ταῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπηρείαις τί ποιούσι; προσευχὰς ὅσας μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἐμπρήσει καὶ κατασκαφαῖς ἀφανίσει διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀθρόους πλησίον οἰκεῖν Ἰουδαίους ἕτερον τρόπον ἐλυμήναντο μετὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων καὶ ἔθῶν ἀνατροπῆς· εἰκόνας γὰρ ἐν ἀπάσαις μὲν ἰδρύνοντο Γαῖου, ἐν δὲ τῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ περισημοτάτῃ καὶ  
 135 ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐποχούμενον τεθρίππῳ. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ σύντονον τῆς σπουδῆς, ὥστε οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐν ἐτοίμῳ καινὸν τέθριππον ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου παλαιότατον (ἐκόμιζον) ἰοῦ γέμον, ἠκρωτηριασμένον ὦτα καὶ οὐρὰς καὶ βάσεις καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὡς δὲ φασί τινες καὶ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς ἀνατεθὲν τῆς ἀρχαίας Κλεοπάτρας, ἧτις  
 136 ἦν προμάμμη τῆς τελευταίας. ἠλίκην μὲν οὖν καθ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀναθεῖσιν ἐπέφερε κατηγορίαν, παντί τῳ δῆλον. τί γάρ, εἰ [καὶ] καινὸν γυναικὸς; τί δέ, εἰ παλαιὸν ἀνδρός; τί δέ, εἰ συνόλως ἐπιφημισθὲν ἑτέρῳ; τοὺς τοιοῦτον ἀνατιθέντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν εὐλαβηθῆναι, μή τις γένηται μήνυσις τῷ πάντα σεμνοποιούντι  
 137 τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν διαφερόντως; οἱ δέ γε ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἠλπίζον ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι καὶ μειζόνων καὶ λαμπροτέρων ἀπολαύσειν ἀγαθῶν ἕνεκα τοῦ καινὰ τεμένην προσαναθεῖναι Γαίῳ τὰς προσευχὰς,

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\* The meaning as I understand it is that while the fact that the statue was an old one, or that that the figure represented by it was a female, would each of them separately have disqualified the statue, it is unnecessary to press them as the mere fact that it had been dedicated to someone else was enough to show its impropriety.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 134-137

gratiate themselves with him by further novelties in flattering and so secure complete immunity for their maltreatment of us, what do you suppose they did? The meeting-houses which they could not raze or burn out of existence, because so many Jews live massed together in the neighbourhood, they outraged in another way, thereby overthrowing our laws and customs. For they set up images of Gaius in them all and in the largest and most notable a bronze statue of a man mounted on a chariot and four. And <sup>135</sup> so speedy and impetuous were they in their eagerness, that not having a new chariot of the kind at hand they fetched a very old one out of the gymnasium, a mass of rust with the ears, tails, feet and many other parts mutilated, and as some say dedicated to the honour of a woman, the original Cleopatra, great-grand-mother of the last queen of that name. What a serious charge this in itself <sup>136</sup> entailed upon the dedicators is obvious to everyone. What does it matter if it was the new chariot of a woman? What if it was an old chariot of a man?<sup>a</sup> As long as the general fact remains that it had been dedicated to someone else? Might not the authors of an offering of this kind in honour of the emperor reasonably feel alarm lest some information should be laid before one who always particularly insisted on his personal glorification? No doubt they had <sup>137</sup> extravagant<sup>b</sup> hopes of getting praise and reaping greater and more splendid benefits for turning our meeting-houses into new and additional precincts consecrated to him, though their motive was not

<sup>b</sup> For the common phrase *ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος* see note on *De Vit. Cont.* 63, where among its uses intensification of an action or creation of a superlative are given. So here.

## PHILO

οὐχ ἕνεκα τιμῆς τῆς εἰς ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα τρόπον ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει κακοπραγιῶν.

138 [566] ἔστι· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων· δέκα που ἐναργεῖς δὲ πίστει | λαβεῖν

σχεδὸν ἢ καὶ πλείονων ἐν τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἐξῆς γενομένων, ἀνάθεσιν εἰκόνων ἢ ἀνδριάντων ἐν προσευχαῖς οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησαντο, καίτοι γε οἰκείων ὄντων καὶ συγγενῶν, οὓς θεοὺς καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ

139 ἔγραφον καὶ ἐκάλουν. τί δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνθρώπους γε ὄντας οἱ κύνας καὶ λύκους καὶ λέοντας καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα θηρία καὶ ἔνυδρα καὶ χερσαῖα καὶ πτηνὰ θεοπλαστοῦντες, ὑπὲρ ὧν βωμοὶ καὶ ἱερά καὶ ναοὶ καὶ τεμένη κατὰ πᾶσαν

140 Αἴγυπτον ἰδρυνται; XXI. τάχα που νῦν φήσουσι τότε οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντες—τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐπραγίας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς εἰώθασι θεραπεύειν—, ὅτι μείζους μὲν οἱ αὐτοκράτορες τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰς τύχας τῶν Πτολεμαίων εἰσὶ, μειζόνων δὲ καὶ τιμῶν τυγχάνειν ὀφείλουσιν.

141 εἶτα, ὧ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀναγκασθῶ βλάσφημον εἰπεῖν, εὐηθέστατοι, διὰ τί τὸν πρὸ Γαίτου Τιβέριον, ὃς κακείνω τῆς ἡγεμονίας αἰτίας γέγονε, τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀναψάμενον τὸ κράτος καὶ μηδὲ σπέρμα πολέμου μήτε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον ὑποτυφόμενον εἶασαντα, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ παρασχόμενον ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς ἀφθόνω καὶ πλουσίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ

142 γνώμῃ, τῆς ὁμοίας τιμῆς οὐκ ἠξιώσατε; τὸ γένος ἦν ἐλάττων; ἀλλ' εὐγενέστατος κατ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς. ἀλλὰ τὴν παιδείαν; καὶ τίς ἦν φρονιμώτερος ἢ λογιώτερος ἐκείνου τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 137-142

to honour him but to take their fill in every way of the miseries of our nation. We can 138  
find clear proofs of this. Take first the kings of Egypt. In three hundred years there was a succession of some ten or more of these, and none of them had any images or statues set up for them in our meeting-houses by the Alexandrians, although they were of the same race and kin as the people and were acknowledged, written and spoken of by them as gods. It was only natural that they who at any rate 139  
were men should be so regarded by those who deified dogs and wolves and lions and crocodiles and many other wild animals on the land, in the water and the air, for whom altars and temples and shrines and sacred precincts have been established through the whole of Egypt. XXI. Perhaps they will 140  
now say what they would not have said then, since it is their way to pay more court to the good fortunes of rulers than to the rulers themselves, that the emperors are superior to the Ptolemies in prestige and fortune and deserve to receive superior honours. Tell me, you of all men most foolish, for I do not wish 141  
to be forced into abusive language, what of Gaius's predecessor Tiberius from whom he derived his sovereignty, who for twenty-three years was invested with dominion over sea and land and did not let the smallest spark of war smoulder in Greece or the world outside Greece, and to the very end of his life provided peace and the blessings of peace with a rich and unstinting hand and heart? Did you not deem him worthy of like honour? Was he inferior 142  
in birth? No, his birth was of the highest on both sides of his parentage. In culture? who was a greater master of thought or of language among

## PHILO

ἀκμασάντων; ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν; καὶ ποῖος μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέων ἢ αὐτοκρατόρων εὐγέρωσ; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι νέος ὢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐλέγετο δι' αἰδῶ τὴν περὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τοσοῦτος ὑμῖν παρώφθη καὶ παρεσύρη.

143 Τί δέ; ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ὁ διὰ μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας αὐτοκρατοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ καλοκαγαθίας πρῶτος ὀνομασθεῖς Σεβαστός, οὐ διαδοχῇ γένους ὥσπερ τι κλήρου μέρος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβὼν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀρχὴ σεβασμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα; ὁ τοῖς μὲν πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις καὶ συγκεχυμένοις ἐπιστάς, ὅτε εὐθύς παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν

144 ἐπιμέλειαν; νῆσοι γὰρ πρὸς ἡπείρους καὶ ἡπειροὶ πρὸς νήσους περὶ πρωτείων ἀντεφιλονεῖκουσ ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσαι καὶ προαγωνιστάς Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐν τέλει δοκιμωτάτους· καὶ αὖθις τὰ μεγάλα τμήματα τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀσία πρὸς Εὐρώπην καὶ Εὐρώπη πρὸς Ἀσίαν, ἡμιλλῶντο περὶ κράτους ἀρχῆς, τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπὸ ἐσχάτων γῆς ἀναστάντων καὶ βαρεῖς πολέμους |

[567] ἀντεπιφερόντων διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης πεζομαχίαις (καὶ ναυμαχίαις), ὡς μικροῦ σύμπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀναλωθὲν ταῖς ἀλληλοκτονίαις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀφανισθῆναι, εἰ μὴ δι' ἓνα ἄνδρα καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν [οἶκον], ὃν ἄξιον καλεῖν

145 ἀλεξίκακον. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁ τοὺς καταρράξαντας πανταχόθι χειμῶνας εὐδιάσας, ὁ τὰς κοινὰς νόσους Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἰασάμενος, αἱ κατέβησαν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καὶ



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 142-145

those who were in the prime of life in his time? In length of days? and which of the kings or emperors reached a longer and happier old age, not but what while still in his youth he was called the old man out of respect for his shrewdness? Such and so great was he who was overlooked and brushed aside by you.

Again, consider him who in all the virtues transcended human nature, who on account of the vastness of his imperial sovereignty as well as nobility of character was the first to bear the name of the August or Venerable, a title received not through lineal succession as a portion of its heritage but because he himself became the source of the veneration which was received also by those who followed him; who from the moment that he had charge of the common weal took in hand the troubled and chaotic condition of affairs. For islands were engaged with continents in fierce rivalry for primacy, and continents with islands, all having for their leaders and champions those of the Romans in great positions who stood foremost in repute. And again the great regions which divide the habitable world, Europe and Asia, were contending with each other for sovereign power with the nations of both brought up from the uttermost parts of the earth waging grievous war all over sea and land, battling on either element, so that the whole human race exhausted by mutual slaughter was on the verge of utter destruction, had it not been for one man and leader Augustus whom men fitly call the averter of evil. This is the Caesar who calmed the torrential storms on every side, who healed the pestilences common to Greeks and barbarians, pestilences which descending from the

## PHILO

ἐώων, ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ μέχρι δύσεως καὶ πρὸς  
 ἄρκτον, τὰ μεθόρια χωρία καὶ πελάγη κατασπεί-  
 ρασαι τῶν ἀβουλήτων· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ δεσμά, οἷς  
 κατέζευκτο καὶ ἐπεπίεστο ἢ οἰκουμένη, παραλύσας,  
 146 οὐ μόνον ἀνείς· οὗτος ὁ καὶ τοὺς φανεροὺς καὶ  
 ἀφανεῖς πολέμους διὰ τὰς ἐκ ληστῶν ἐπιθέσεις  
 ἀνελών· οὗτος ὁ τὴν θάλατταν πειρατικῶν μὲν  
 σκαφῶν κενὴν ἐργασάμενος, φορτίδων δὲ πληρώ-  
 147 σας. οὗτος ὁ τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν  
 ἐξελόμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀταξίαν εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγών, ὁ τὰ  
 ἄμικτα ἔθνη καὶ θηριώδη πάντα ἡμερώσας καὶ  
 ἄρμοσάμενος, ὁ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλάσι πολλαῖς  
 παραυξήσας, τὴν δὲ βάρβαρον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιο-  
 τάτοις τμήμασιν ἀφελληνίσας, ὁ εἰρηνοφύλαξ, ὁ  
 διανομὸς τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἐκάστοις, ὁ τὰς  
 χάριτας ἀταμιεύτους εἰς μέσον προθείς, ὁ μηδὲν  
 ἀποκρυψάμενος ἀγαθὸν ἢ καλὸν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ  
 148 ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ. XXII. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τοσοῦτον  
 εὐεργέτην ἐν τρισὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐνιαυτοῖς,  
 οὓς ἐπεκράτησεν Αἰγύπτου, παρεκαλύψαντο, μηδὲν  
 ἐν προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἄγαλμα, μὴ ξόανον,  
 149 μὴ γραφὴν ἰδρυσάμενοι. καὶ μὴν εἴ τιμι καινὰς  
 καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ἔδει ψηφίζεσθαι τιμάς, ἐκείνῳ  
 προσῆκον ἦν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γένους  
 ἀρχὴ τις ἐγένετο καὶ πηγῆ, οὐδὲ ὅτι πρῶτος καὶ μέ-  
 γιστος καὶ κοινὸς εὐεργέτης, ἀντὶ πολυαρχίας ἐνὶ  
 κυβερνήτῃ παραδοὺς τὸ κοινὸν σκάφος οἰακονομεῖν  
 ἑαυτῷ, θαυμασίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐπιστήμην—τὸ

<sup>a</sup> On the technical law term ἐξελεσθαι εἰς ἐλευθερίαν see  
*Dict. of Ant. s.v. ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη* "If a reputed slave wished

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 145-149

south and the east coursed to the west and north sowing the seeds of calamity over the places and waters which lay between. This is he who not only 146 loosed but broke the chains which had shackled and pressed so hard on the habitable world. This is he who exterminated wars both of the open kind and the covert which are brought about by the raids of brigands. This is he who cleared the sea of pirate ships and filled it with merchant vessels. This is 147 he who reclaimed every state to liberty,<sup>a</sup> who led disorder into order and brought gentle manners and harmony to all unsociable and brutish nations, who enlarged Hellas by many a new Hellas and hellenized the outside world in its most important regions, the guardian of the peace, who dispensed their dues to each and all, who did not hoard his favours but gave them to be common property, who kept nothing good and excellent hidden throughout his life. XXII. This 148 great benefactor they ignored during the forty-three years in which he was sovereign of Egypt, and set up nothing in our meeting-houses in his honour, neither image, nor bust, nor painting. And yet if it was 149 right to decree new and exceptional honours to anyone, he was the proper person to receive them. He was what we may call the source and fountain-head of the Augustan stock in general. He was also the first and the greatest and the common benefactor in that he displaced the rule of many and committed the ship of the commonwealth to be steered by a single pilot, that is himself, a marvellous master of the science of government. For there is justice in the

to recover his rights as a freeman he could only do so with the assistance of one who was himself a freeman and was said *ἐξαιρείσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν*."

## PHILO

γὰρ “ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη ” λέλεκται δεόν-  
 τως, ἐπειδὴ πολυτρόπων αἴτιαι κακῶν αἱ πολυ-  
 ψηφίαι—, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη τὰς  
 150 ἰσολυμπίους αὐτῷ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ μαρτυ-  
 ροῦσι ναοί, προπύλαια, προτεμενίσματα, στοαί, ὡς  
 ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων, ἢ νέα ἢ παλαιά, ἔργα φέρουσι  
 μεγαλοπρεπῆ, τῷ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Και-  
 σαρείων παρενημερεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν  
 151 ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ τοι-  
 οὔτον ἐστὶ τέμενος, οἶον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβαστεῖον,  
 ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, <ὅς> ἀντικρὺ τῶν  
 εὐορμοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἰδρυται μέγιστος  
 [568] καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος καὶ | οἶος οὐχ ἑτέρωθι κατὰ-  
 πλεως ἀναθημάτων, [ἐν] γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι  
 καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ,  
 τέμενος εὐρύτατον στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶ-  
 σιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις, εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις,  
 ἅπασιν τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἡσκημένον,  
 ἐλπίς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέουσι σωτήριος.

152                   XXIII. ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτας ἀφορμὰς  
 καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ὁμογνώμονας οὔτε περὶ  
 τὰς προσευχὰς ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον <τὸ>  
 νόμιμον ἐφύλαξαν· ἢ τινα σεβασμὸν παρέλιπον τῶν  
 ὀφειλομένων Καίσαρι; καὶ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν

<sup>a</sup> II. ii. 204. The passage is quoted more fully in *De Conf.* 170.

<sup>b</sup> The other place where this word is known is Thuc. iii. 10. 5, where the Mitylenaeans say that the members of the

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 149-152

saying "It is not well that many lords should rule,"<sup>a</sup> since multiplicity of suffrages<sup>b</sup> produces multiform evils. But besides all these the whole habitable world voted him no less than celestial honours. These are so well attested by temples, gateways, 150 vestibules, porticoes, that every city which contains magnificent works new and old is surpassed in these by the beauty and magnitude of those appropriated to Caesar and particularly in our own Alexandria.

For there is elsewhere no precinct like 151 that which is called the Sebasteum, a temple to Caesar on shipboard,<sup>c</sup> situated on an eminence facing the harbours famed for their excellent moorage, huge and conspicuous, fitted on a scale not found elsewhere with dedicated offerings, around it a girdle of pictures and statues in silver and gold, forming a precinct of vast breadth, embellished with porticoes, libraries, chambers, groves, gateways and wide open courts and everything which lavish expenditure could produce to beautify it—the whole a hope of safety to the voyager either going into or out of the harbour.

XXIII. Though they had such 152 grounds for action and could command the approval of all men everywhere they brought no violence to bear upon the meeting-houses and observed the law in every respect. Or did they neglect any mark of the reverence that was due to Caesar? No one in his senses would say that they did. Why

confederacy of Delos could not unite to resist the encroachments of the Athenians *διὰ τὴν πολυψήφισιν*. It does not seem very appropriate here.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* commemorating the voyage of Augustus which led to the surrender of Alexandria on 1st Aug. 30 B.C. Dr. Cook compares coins found in Alexandria bearing the image of a ship with the inscription *σεβαστόφορος*.

## PHILO

- εἶποι; διὰ τί οὖν ἐστέρησαν;<sup>1</sup> ἐγὼ φράσω μηδὲν  
 153 ὑποστειλάμενος. ἤδεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ  
 ὅτι τοσαύτην ποιεῖται τῆς βεβαιώσεως τῶν παρ'  
 ἑκάστοις πατρίων, ὅσην καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν, καὶ  
 ὅτι δέχεται τὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν παρ'  
 ἐνίοις νομίμων τυφοπλαστῶν ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ  
 154 μεγέθει τῆς τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας ἐπόμενος, ἢ διὰ  
 τῶν τοιούτων πέφυκε σεμνοποιεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ μὴ  
 ταῖς ὑπερόγκοις τιμαῖς δεθῆναι<sup>2</sup> καὶ φυσηθῆναι ποτε  
 πίστις ἐναργεστάτη τὸ μηδέποτε θεὸν ἑαυτὸν  
 ἐθελῆσαι προσειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν εἰ λέγοι τις δυσ-  
 χεραίνειν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποδέχεσθαι, οὓς  
 ἀκριβῶς ἤδει πάντα ἀφοσιουμένους τὰ τοιαῦτα.  
 155 πῶς οὖν ἀπεδέχετο; τὴν πέραν τοῦ  
 Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτομὴν  
 [ἦν] οὐκ ἠγγόει κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς  
 Ἰουδαίων.<sup>3</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευ-  
 θερωθέντες· αἰχμάλωτοι γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων ἠλευθερώθησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν  
 156 πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιασθέντες. ἠπίστατο οὖν  
 καὶ προσευχὰς ἔχοντας καὶ συνιόντας εἰς αὐτάς,  
 καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐβδόμαις, ὅτε δημοσίᾳ τὴν  
 πάτριον παιδεύονται φιλοσοφίαν. ἠπίστατο καὶ  
 χρήματα συνάγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἱερά καὶ  
 πέμποντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διὰ τῶν τὰς θυσίας

<sup>1</sup> Wendland suggested <τιμῆς> ἐστέρησαν. Something is perhaps needed, but why not <τοῦδ'>?

<sup>2</sup> δεθῆναι is clearly corrupt. Suggestions are οἰδηθῆναι, ἐπαρθῆναι, διαρθῆναι (or perhaps the simple ἀρθῆναι).

<sup>3</sup> So Mangey. I am surprised that Reiter should have adopted the mss. text by retaining ἦν, which involves putting the question mark after Ἰουδαίων. There is little or no point

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 152-156

then did they withhold this from him? I will answer that question without any reserve. They 153 knew his carefulness and that he showed it in maintaining firmly the native customs of each particular nation no less than of the Romans, and that he received his honours not for destroying the institutions of some nations in vain self-exaltation<sup>a</sup> but in accordance with the magnitude of so mighty a sovereignty whose prestige was bound to be enhanced by such tributes. That he was never elated or puffed 154 up by the vast honours given to him is clearly shown by the fact that he never wished anyone to address him as a god but was annoyed if anyone used the word, and also by his approval of the Jews, who he knew full well regarded all such things with horror.

How then did he show his approval? 155 He was aware that the great section of Rome on the other side of the Tiber is occupied and inhabited by Jews, most of whom were Roman citizens emancipated. For having been brought as captives to Italy they were liberated by their owners and were not forced to violate any of their native institutions. He knew therefore that they have houses of prayer 156 and meet together in them, particularly on the sacred sabbaths when they receive as a body a training in their ancestral philosophy. He knew too that they collect money for sacred purposes from their first-fruits and send them to Jerusalem by persons who

<sup>a</sup> So, I think, rather than as L. & S. revised, citing this passage, "deceiving himself."

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in the question "how did he approve of the section beyond the Tiber?" By the very small change involved in expelling ἡν after ἀποτομήν, the course of the argument is clearly shown.

PHILO

- 157 ἀναξόντων. ἀλλ' ὁμως | οὔτε ἐξώκισε τῆς Ῥώμης  
 [569] ἐκείνους οὔτε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν αὐτῶν ἀφείλετο  
 πολιτείαν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἐφρόντιζον, οὔτε  
 ἐνεωτέρισεν εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς οὔτε ἐκώλυσε  
 συνάγεσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων ὑψηγήσεις οὔτε  
 ἠναντιώθη τοῖς ἀπαρχομένοις, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡσίωτο  
 περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὥστε μόνον οὐ πανοίκιος ἀνα-  
 θημάτων πολυτελείαις τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν ἐκόσμησε,  
 προστάξας καὶ διαιωνίους ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελε-  
 χεῖς ὀλοκαύτους καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
 προσόδων ἀπαρχὴν τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ, αἱ καὶ μέχρι  
 νῦν ἐπιτελοῦνται καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἐπιτελεσθήσονται,  
 158 μήνυμα τρόπων ὄντως αὐτοκρατορικῶν. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς μηνιαίοις τῆς πατρίδος<sup>1</sup> διανομαῖς,  
 ἀργύριον ἢ σίτον ἐν μέρει παντὸς τοῦ δήμου  
 λαμβάνοντος, οὐδέποτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠλάττωσε  
 τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ συνέβη τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης  
 ἐνεστῶσης γενέσθαι τὴν διανομὴν, ὅτε οὔτε λαμβά-  
 νειν οὔτε διδόναι ἢ συνόλως τι πράττειν τῶν  
 κατὰ βίον καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ποριστὴν ἐφεῖται,  
 προσετέτακτο τοῖς διανέμουσι ταμιεύειν τοῖς Ἰου-  
 δαίοις εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν κοινὴν φιλανθρωπίαν.  
 159 XXIV. Τοιγαροῦν οἱ πανταχοῦ πάντες, εἰ καὶ  
 φύσει διέκειντο πρὸς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ εὐμενῶς,  
 εὐλαβῶς εἶχον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν  
 νομίμων προσάφασθαι· καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου μέντοι  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καίτοι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλία παρα-  
 κινήεντων, ἠνίκα Σηιανὸς ἐσκευάσει τὴν ἐπίθεσιν.  
 160 ἔγνω γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν,

<sup>1</sup> "πατρίδος suspectum," says Reiter, and a correction to *σποριδος* = *sportulae* has been suggested. But cf. the application of *πατρίς* to Jerusalem in § 278. It is an essential part



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 156-160

would offer the sacrifices. Yet nevertheless he 157  
neither ejected them from Rome nor deprived them  
of their Roman citizenship because they were careful  
to preserve their Jewish citizenship also, nor took any  
violent measures against the houses of prayer, nor  
prevented them from meeting to receive instructions  
in the laws, nor opposed their offerings of the first-  
fruits. Indeed so religiously did he respect our  
interests that supported by wellnigh his whole house-  
hold he adorned our temple through the costliness of  
his dedications, and ordered that for all time con-  
tinuous sacrifices of whole burnt offerings should be  
carried out every day at his own expense as a tribute  
to the most high God. And these sacrifices are  
maintained to the present day and will be maintained  
for ever to tell the story of a character truly imperial.  
Yet more, in the monthly doles in his own city when 158  
all the people each in turn receive money or corn, he  
never put the Jews at a disadvantage in sharing the  
bounty, but even if the distributions happened to  
come during the sabbath when no one is permitted  
to receive or give anything or to transact any part of  
the business of ordinary life, particularly of a lucra-  
tive kind, he ordered the dispensers to reserve for  
the Jews till the morrow the charity which fell to all.

XXIV. Therefore everyone everywhere, even if he 159  
was not naturally well disposed to the Jews, was  
afraid to engage in destroying any of our institutions,  
and indeed it was the same under Tiberius though  
matters in Italy became troublesome when Sejanus  
was organizing his onslaughts. For Tiberius knew the 160  
truth, he knew at once after Sejanus's death that

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of the argument that Augustus's favour was shown to the  
Jews in his own city.

## PHILO

- ὅτι τὰ κατηγορηθέντα τῶν ὠκνηρότων τὴν Ῥώμην Ἰουδαίων ψευδεῖς ἦσαν διαβολαί, πλάσματα Σηιανοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀναρπάσαι θέλοντος, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα ἤδει βουλαῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ πράξεσιν ἀντιβησόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρασπονδηθῆναι κινδυνεύσαντος αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ τοῖς πανταχόσε χειροτονουμένοις ὑπάρχοις ἐπέσκηψε παρηγορῆσαι μὲν τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὡς οὐκ εἰς πάντας προβάσσης τῆς ἐπεξελεύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς αἰτίους—ὀλίγοι δὲ ἦσαν—, κινήσαι δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαταθήκην ἔχειν τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ὡς εἰρηνικοὺς τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ὡς ἀλείφοντα πρὸς εὐστάθειαν.
- 162 XXV. Ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν ἐξετύφωσεν, οὐ λέγων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεός. εἶτα οὐδένας εὔρεν οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων ἐπιτηδειοτέρους Ἀλεξανδρέων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθυμίας βεβαίωσιν· δεινοὶ γάρ εἰσι τὰς κολακείας καὶ γοητείας καὶ ὑποκρίσεις, παρεσκευασμένοι μὲν θῶπας λόγους, [570] ἀνειμένοι | δὲ στόμασι καὶ ἀχαλίνοις πάντα φύροντες. θεοῦ κλήσις οὕτως ἐστὶ σεμνὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ ἴβеси καὶ ἰοβόλοις ἀσπίσι ταῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν ἐξηγριωμένων θηρίων αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> μεταδεδώκασιν· ὥστε εἰκότως ἀταμιεύτοις χρώμενοι ταῖς εἰς θεὸν τεινούσαις προσηγορίαις ἀπατῶσι μὲν τοὺς ὀλιγόφρονας καὶ ἀπίστους τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀθεότητος, ἀλίσκονται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισταμένων τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἡλι-  
164 θιότητα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσέβειαν. ἦς ἄπειρος ὢν

<sup>1</sup> Reiter's text has αὐτῆς θηρίων, but he notes "transponenda vidit Mang.," as indeed seems necessary.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 160-164

the accusations made against the Jewish inhabitants of Rome were false slanders, invented by him because he wished to make away with the nation, knowing that it would take the sole or the principal part in opposing his unholy plots and actions, and would defend the emperor when in danger of becoming the victim of treachery. And he charged 161 his procurators in every place to which they were appointed to speak comfortably to the members of our nation in the different cities, assuring them that the penal measures did not extend to all but only to the guilty, who were few, and to disturb none of the established customs but even to regard them as a trust committed to their care, the people as naturally peaceable, and the institutions as an influence promoting orderly conduct.

XXV. But Gaius grew beside himself with vanity, 162 not only saying but thinking that he was God. He then found among the Greeks or the outside world no people fitted better than the Alexandrians to confirm the unmeasured passion which craves for more than is natural to mankind. For the Alexandrians are adepts at flattery and imposture and hypocrisy, ready enough with fawning words but causing universal disaster with their loose and unbridled lips. How much reverence is paid by them to the title of 163 God is shown by their having allowed it to be shared by the indigenious ibises and venomous snakes and many other ferocious wild beasts. It naturally followed that by this unrestricted use of names appertaining to God, while they deceived the little-wits who do not see through Egyptian godlessness, they stand condemned by those who understand their great folly or rather impiety. Failing to 164



## PHILO

- Γάιος ὑπελάμβανε τῷ ὄντι νομίζεσθαι παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι θεός, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πλαγίως ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἅπασιν ἐχρῶντο κατακόρως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, 165 ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθος ἐπιφημίζεσθαι θεοῖς. εἶτα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς προσευχὰς νεωτεροποιίαν ἀπὸ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκραιφνοῦς τιμῆς ὥετο γεγενῆσθαι, τῇ μὲν ταῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἐφημερίσιν, ἃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διεπέμποντο τινες, προσέχων—ἥδιστον γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα τοῦτο αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν ἀηδέστατα συγκρίσει τῆς ἐν τούτοις χάριτος νομίζεσθαι—, τῇ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐνίους οἰκέτας τοὺς τωθάζοντας αἰεὶ καὶ χλευάζοντας σὺν αὐτῷ.
- 166 XXVI. Τούτων ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Αἰγύπτιοι, πονηρὰ σπέρματα, κροκοδείλων καὶ ἀσπίδων τῶν ἐγχαυρίων ἀναμεμαγμένοι τὸν ἰὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ θυμὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. ἠγεμὼν δὲ οἶά τις ἦν χοροῦ τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ θιάσου παντὸς Ἑλικῶν, ἐπάρατον καὶ ἐξάριστον ἀνδράποδον παρεισφθαρὲν εἰς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν οἰκίαν· ἀπεγεύσατο γὰρ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων κατὰ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότη, 167 ὃς αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι. τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτύγχανε προνομίας, ὅσα μειρακιώδη χαριεντίσματα Τιβερίου διαμεμισθηκότος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ αὐστηρότερον σχεδὸν 168 ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησε, Γάιος δὲ τὴν ἠγεμονίαν διεδέξατο,

<sup>a</sup> Or " in the regular curriculum of the schools."

<sup>b</sup> Or simply " zeal " as in § 60. In any case the meaning seems to be that his master wished to give an acceptable

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 164-168

understand this Gaius supposed that he was really regarded by the Alexandrians as a god, since they incessantly used plainly and without any indirection terms which other people commonly employ when speaking of God. Then again he thought that the violent proceedings against the meeting-houses had sprung from a clear conscience and from a sincere desire to do him honour. This impression was due partly to the attention he paid to the periodical notifications which were sent at the instance of some persons in Alexandria and made very pleasing reading for him, so much so that in comparison with their charm the works of others either in prose or poetry seemed to him very distasteful. Partly also it was caused by some of his domestics who joined him in perpetual scoffing and mockery. 165

XXVI. The majority of these were Egyptians, a seed bed of evil in whose souls both the venom and the temper of the native crocodiles and asps were reproduced. The one who played the part of chorus-leader to the whole Egyptian troupe was Helicon, an abominable execrable slave, who had been foisted for ill into the imperial household. For he had received a smattering of a liberal education<sup>a</sup> through the ambition<sup>b</sup> of his former master, who made a present of him to Tiberius Caesar. In his time indeed he got no high position as Tiberius thoroughly hated all juvenile pleasantries, since from his earliest years he was inclined to solemnity and austerity. But when he died and Gaius succeeded to his sovereignty, 167 168

present to Tiberius and therefore had his slave educated for this purpose. Yonge's translation, "in emulation of his master," would, I think, need *πρός* with acc. rather than the simple genitive.

## PHILO

*νέω δεσπότη παρεπόμενος εἰς ἀνέσεις καὶ τρυφὴν τὴν διὰ πάσης αἰσθήσεως ἐπιχαλῶντι, “σός,” εἶπε, “νῦν ὁ καιρὸς ἐστίν, Ἑλικῶν, ἐπέγειρε σαυτὸν· ἔχεις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀκροατὴν καὶ θεατὴν τὸν πάντων ἄριστον· εὐθικτος<sup>1</sup> εἶ τὴν φήσιν· σκώπτειν καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι δύνασαι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων· ἀθύρματα καὶ παιδιὰς ληρώδεις καὶ παρασεσυρμένας οἶδας· τῶν ἐγκυκλίων οὐχ ἦττον πεπαίδευσαι τὰ ἀχόρευτα· πρόσσεσί σοι καὶ τὸ στωμύλον οὐκ*

**169** *ἀτερπές· ἐὰν ἔτι κέντρον ἐγκαταμίξης τοῖς τωθασμοῖς ὑποκακόηθες, ὡς μὴ γέλωτα κινεῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πικρίαν ἐκ τοῦ καχυπόνου, τὸν δεσπότην*

**[571]** *ὄλον ἤρπακας | εὐφυῶς διακείμενον πρὸς ἀκρόασιν τῶν μετὰ χλεύης ἐγκλημάτων· ἀναπέπταται γὰρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οἶδας, τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἀνωρθίασται πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτετηδευκότας συνυφαίνειν τὸ βλασφημεῖν*

**170** *τῷ συκοφαντεῖν· ὕλας δὲ μὴ ζήτηι περιττοτέρας· ἔχεις τὰς κατὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἔθων διαβολάς,<sup>2</sup> αἷς ἐνετράφης· ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων ἀνεδιδάχτης αὐτάς, οὐ παρ’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀλλὰ τοῦ γλωσσαργοτάτου μέρους τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως.*

**171** *ἐπίδειξαι τὰ μαθήματα.”* **XXVII.** τούτοις τοῖς παραλόγοις καὶ ἐπαράτοις λογισμοῖς ἐπάρας καὶ συγκροτήσας ἑαυτὸν συνέιχε καὶ περιεῖπε τὸν Γάιον, οὐ νύκτωρ, οὐ μεθ’ ἡμέραν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐθικτος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καταβολάς. Perhaps, as Mangey suggested as an alternative, καταβοάς.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 168-171

Helicon, attaching himself to his new master who was relaxing into dissipation and voluptuous enjoyment of every sense, said to himself, "Now is your hour, Helicon! rouse yourself; you have an unrivalled auditor and spectator of your exhibitions; you are naturally quick of apprehension, you can scoff and jest more than other people, you now how to amuse and to play the fool with drolleries and quips and cranks. Your education has been quite as much in subjects unrecognized in the schools<sup>a</sup> as in those of the regular course; also your gift of the gab is not without its charm. If you also mix with your jestings the sting of a touch of malice so that you stir not only laughter but bitterness born of suspicion, you have your master a complete captive. For he is happily disposed by nature to listen to accusations mixed with derision. His ears as you know are wide open and pricked up to listen to those who have studied to combine abuse with sycophancy. And do not seek for needless abundance of material. You have the obloquy cast upon the Jews and their customs; in this you were reared; right from the cradle you were taught it not by one person only but by the noisiest element in the city of the Alexandrians. Display your learning." XXVII. Having

stimulated and worked himself up with these perverse and execrable reflections he got a hold of Gaius and paid much court to him. Neither by day nor by night

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps more strongly "base and vicious." Philo may be thinking of Plato, *Laws* 654 A, where *ὁ ἀχόρευτος* is said to be *ἀπαιδευτος*, and the *πεπαιδευμένος* is the *ἰκανῶς κεχορευκίως*, which is afterwards defined as including not merely dancing and singing well, but showing in them a love for τὰ καλά, and hatred for τὰ αἰσχρά. If this is right, *πεπαιδευσαι τὰ ἀχόρευτα* is an intentional oxymoron.

## PHILO

ἀφιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ συμπαρών, ἵνα ταῖς ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀναπαύλαις αὐτοῦ καταχρήται πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους αἰτίας, ἡδονὰς κινῶν τὰς διὰ σκωμμάτων ὁ πανουργότατος, ἵνα τιτρώσκωσιν αἱ διαβολαί· τὸν γὰρ ἐπ' εὐθείας κατήγορον οὔτε ὠμολόγει οὔτε ὁμολογεῖν ἐδύνατο, πλαγιάζων δὲ καὶ τεχνιτεύων χαλεπώτερος καὶ βαρύτερος ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων<sup>1</sup> ἄντικρυς τὴν δυσ-  
 172 μένειαν. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων οἱ πρέσβεις εὐ τοῦτο εἰδότες ἀφανῶς ἐμεμίσθωντο αὐτὸν μεγάλοις μισθοῖς, οὐ διὰ χρημάτων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς ἐλπίδων, ἃς ὑπέσπειραν αὐτῷ παρέξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκηται  
 173 Γάιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ὁ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνιον ὄνειροπολῶν, ἐν ᾧ παρόντος τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης—οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι κατὰ θεραπείαν Γαίῳ συνεισβαλεῖ τὸ δοκιμώτατον καὶ ὅσον τῶν πόλεων ὅσους ἐστὶν ἀναστὰν ἀπὸ περάτων αὐτῶν—ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτης πόλεως τιμηθήσεται, πάντα ὑπ-  
 174 ισχνεῖτο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος τὸν ἐμφω-  
 λεύοντα ἔνδον πολέμιον ἀγνοοῦντες ἐφυλαττόμεθα τοὺς ἕξω μόνους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθόμεθα, διηρενῶμεν περιβλεπόμενοι πάσας ὁδοὺς, εἴ πως δυνησόμεθα μαλθάξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου καὶ τόπου βάλλοντα καὶ τοξεύοντα ἡμᾶς

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀπογεγραμμένων ("registered themselves"), a word which seems not inappropriate here, where stress is laid on the open profession. I doubt whether change is necessary, though ἐπιγ. is very common in Philo.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 171-175

did he leave him but was everywhere in his company, so that he might make full use of his hours of solitude and leisure to press the charges against our nation. An utter villain, he worked upon the pleasure which malicious jesting gives to add a sting to slanders. For he neither owned that he was bringing a direct accusation nor could he have done so, but by his indirect and crafty methods he was a more difficult and formidable enemy than those who straightforwardly ranged themselves among their enemies. It is said also that the envoys of the Alexandrians knew this well and had secretly bribed him with big fees not only in money but also with hopes of honours which they covertly suggested they would procure for him soon when Gaius should come to Alexandria. Elated with visions of that occasion when in the presence of his master and of almost the whole habitable world, since undoubtedly all the men of light and leading<sup>a</sup> in the cities would journey from the furthest parts to join in homage to Gaius, he would be honoured by the greatest and most illustrious city of them all, he promised everything.

For some time, knowing nothing of the foe who was lurking within, we took precautions against foes outside only, but when we perceived the truth we began to search about and scan every path in the hope that we might be able to appease and soften the heart of a man who in every way and from every place was aiming his javelins and arrows at us so effectively. For he played ball with

<sup>a</sup> The "eye of the city" is those through whom it sees what it needs, *cf.* the phrase *ὄφθαλμὸς βασιλείας*. Or perhaps simply "the choicest part" (so also *ὄφθαλμὸς*); *cf.* *ὡς ὄψιν ἐν σώματι Spec. Leg. iv. 157*.

## PHILO

- 175 εὐσκόπως. καὶ συνεσφαίριζε γὰρ καὶ συνεγυμνά-  
 ζετο καὶ συνελούετο καὶ συνηρίστα καὶ μέλλοντι  
 κοιμᾶσθαι παρῆν Γαῖω, τὴν τοῦ κατακοιμιστοῦ  
 καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀρχισωματοφύλακος τεταγμένος  
 τάξιν, ὅση μηδενὶ προσῆν ἄλλω, ὡς μόνος ἔχειν  
 εὐκαιρούσας καὶ σχολαζούσας ἀκοὰς αὐτοκράτορος  
 τῶν ἔξω διαφειμένας θορύβων εἰς ἀκρόασιν ὧν
- 176 μάλιστα ἐπόθει. διασυρμοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀνακεκραμένοι  
 κατηγορίαις, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὰς κινῆ, ἡμᾶς δὲ  
 τὰ μέγιστα βλάβη· τὸ μὲν γὰρ προηγούμενον  
 ἔργον εἶναι δοκοῦν, ὁ διασυρμός, πάρεργον ἦν  
 αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον πάρεργον, αἱ κατηγορίαι,
- 177 μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἔργον. πάντα δὲ κάλων ἀνα-  
 σείων, ὡς οἱ πνεῦμα δεξιὸν κατ' οἰάκων ἔχοντες,
- [572] ἐφέρετο πλησίστιος οὐριοδρομῶν, ἄλλας | ἐπ' ἄλ-  
 λαις συντιθεῖς καὶ συνείρων αἰτίας. τοῦ δὲ ἐνετυ-  
 ποῦτο ἡ διάνοια παγιώτερον, ὡς ἄληστον εἶναι τὴν  
 τῶν ἐγκλημάτων μνήμην.
- 178 XXVIII. Ἐν ἀπόροις δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀμηχάνοις  
 ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ πάντα λίθον κινοῦντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν  
 Ἑλικῶνα ἐξευμενίσασθαι πάροδον οὐδεμίαν ἀνευ-  
 ρίσκομεν, μηδενὸς μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε προσελθεῖν  
 τολμῶντος ἕνεκα τῆς ἀλαζονείας καὶ βαρύτητος,  
 ἥ πρὸς πάντας ἐκέχρητο, καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν,  
 εἴ τις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀλλοτρι-  
 ωσις ἀλείφοντι τὸν δεσπότην αἰεὶ καὶ συγκροτοῦντι  
 κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους, τὸ μὲν ἔτι πονεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦτο  
 τὸ μέρος εἰάσαμεν, τοῦ δὲ ἀναγκαιοτέρου περιειχό-  
 μεθα· γραμματεῖον γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀναδοῦναι Γαῖω  
 κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχον ὧν τε ἐπάθομεν καὶ
- 179 ὧν τυχεῖν ἡξιούμεν. ἦν δὲ σχεδὸν τοῦτο ἐπιτομή  
 τις ἱκετείας μακροτέρας, ἣν ἐπεπόμφεμεν πρὸ

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 175-179

Gaius, practised gymnastics with him, bathed with him, dined with him and was with him when he was going to bed, as he held the post of chamberlain and Captain of the Guard in the house, a post greater than any that was given to anyone else, so that he alone had convenient and leisurely audiences of the emperor, where he could listen released from outside disturbances to what was most to his heart. Satire 176 was blended with accusations so that while he gave rise to pleasure he did us a maximum of harm, for what seemed the leading feature, the satire, was with him secondary and what appeared secondary, the accusations, were his sole and primary task. So 177 letting out every reef like sailors with a fair wind at the stern, he was carried along at full sail racing before the breeze, while he assembled a string of indictments one after the other. And the impression made on Gaius's mind grew firmer so that his memory of the charges was ineffaceable.

XXVIII. In these straits and difficulties, since 178 while leaving no stone unturned to propitiate Helicon we found no way open, as no one dared to address or approach him because of the arrogance and harshness he showed to all, and also we did not know whether in always inciting and working up his master against the nation he was influenced by a personal dislike of the Jewish race, we ceased to exert ourselves in this direction and confined our efforts to the more pressing side. We determined to give Gaius a document representing in a summarized form the story of our sufferings and our claims. This document was practically 179 an epitome of a longer supplication which we had sent to him a short time before through the hands

## PHILO

ὀλίγου δι' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως· ἐκ τύχης γὰρ ἐπεδήμησε τῇ πόλει μέλλων εἰς Συρίαν κατὰ τὴν  
 180 δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν ἀπαίρειν.<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* ἐλελή-  
 θειμεν δὲ ἄρα ἔτι ἀπατῶντες ἑαυτούς· καὶ γὰρ  
 πρότερον, ὅτε εὐθύς ἠρξάμεθα πλεῖν οἰόμενοι πρὸς  
 κριτὴν ἀφίξεσθαι τευξόμενοι τῶν δικαίων.

ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐχθρὸς ἄσπονδος, δελεάζων ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν  
 φαιδρῷ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ἰλαρωτέραις ταῖς προσ-  
 181 ρήσεσι. δεξιωσάμενος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς  
 Τιβέρει πεδίῳ τὸ πρῶτον—ἔτυχε δὲ ἐκ τῶν μη-  
 τρώων ἐξιῶν κήπων—ἀντιπροσηγόρευσε καὶ τὴν  
 δεξιὰν χεῖρα κατέσεισεν ἀνιττόμενος εὐμένειαν καὶ  
 τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν, "Ὀμιλον ὄνομα, προσ-  
 πέμφας, " αὐτός," ἔφη, " τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑποθέσεως  
 ἀκούσομαι προσευκαιρήσας," ὥστε τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ  
 πάντας συνήδεσθαι καθάπερ ἤδη νενικηκόσι καὶ  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅσοι ταῖς ἐπιπολαίοις παράγονται

<sup>1</sup> Reiter here places what he calls (*Prolegomena*, p. 60) a "lacuna maior." On this see note *b*.

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<sup>a</sup> This document of course was quite different from the complimentary address mentioned in *Flaccus* 103 as sent in duplicate through Agrippa. The statement made here seems to me to raise considerable difficulty. The natural meaning is that it was handed to Agrippa at his visit to Alexandria in the spring of 38. That the Jews might have given him a petition setting forth their rights, *i.e.* their claims to citizenship, is possible enough, and as circumstances had not changed this, this petition might have been adequate later. But it also is said to have set forth their sufferings, *i.e.* the persecutions and the desecration of the synagogues, and these could not have been described in a document handed to Agrippa during this visit, for it is impossible to suppose that he remained at Alexandria through the pogrom which culminated at the end of August. The only intelligible

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 179-181

of King Agrippa.<sup>a</sup> For he had chanced to pay a visit to the city when he was about to sail to Syria to take up the kingdom which had been given to him. . . .<sup>b</sup> But we proved to have been unwittingly 180  
deceiving ourselves, not for the first time. For it was the same earlier, when we first started on our voyage thinking that we should meet a judge and get our rights.

Actually he was our mortal foe, beguiling us with the seeming geniality with which he eyed us and the increased cheeriness of his address. After first greeting us in the 181  
plain by the Tiber, as he issued from the gardens left him by his mother, he repeated his salutation and waved his right hand signifying goodwill and sent the official who managed the admission of ambassadors named Homilus with the message: "I will hear your statement of the case myself when I get a good opportunity." Consequently everyone around us rejoiced with us as though we had already won the case, and those of our party who were mis-

meaning I can give to the statement is that the visit of Agrippa had created an intimacy which made him a natural channel in the subsequent matters for approaching Gaius. Unless indeed some words are lost. See next note.

For Agrippa's life and personality see vol. ix. p. 532.

<sup>b</sup> Reiter gives no reason for supplying a lacuna here beyond the words "lacunam statuit Cohn." But Cohn's article in *Philologus* says nothing bearing on it, though he observes that as the ambassadors are suddenly introduced in ch. xxvii., some account of the reasons for the embassy may have been originally given there. I expect that his idea of a lacuna at this point in ch. xxviii. is a later modification. I see no reasons for supposing lacunas on any such grounds. See *Intro.* pp. xxii. But it is true that a few words to the effect that Agrippa's visit had led to intimacy with him might have cleared up the difficulty mentioned in the preceding note.

## PHILO

- 182 φαντασίαις. ἐγὼ δὲ φρονεῖν τι δοκῶν περιττότερον καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν εὐλαβέστερος ἤμην ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι. “διὰ τί γάρ,” ἔφασκον ἀνακινῶν τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ λογισμόν, “τοσούτων ὄντων πρεσβευτῶν σχεδὸν ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἀφιγμένων, ἡμῶν εἶπε τότε μόνων ἀκούσεσθαι; τί βουλόμενος; οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει γε ὄντας Ἰουδαίους,
- 183 οἷς ἀγαπητὸν τὸ μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ προνομίας οἶεσθαι τυγχάνειν παρ' ἄλλοθενεὶ καὶ νέῳ καὶ αὐτεξουσίῳ δεσπότη μὴ καὶ μανίας ἐγγύς ἐστιν; ἀλλ' ἔοικε τῇ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλεξανδρέων |
- [573] μερίδι προσκείσθαι, ἥ διδοὺς προνομίαν θάττον ὑπέσχετο δικάσειν, ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ τὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν ὑπερβάς ἀντὶ δικαστοῦ γένηται τῶν μὲν συναγωνιστής, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀντίπαλος.”
- 184 XXIX. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐσφάδαζον καὶ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν οὔτε νύκτωρ ἠρέμουν. ἀθυμοῦντος δέ μου καὶ τὴν ἀνίαν στέγοντος<sup>1</sup>—οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνενεγκεῖν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν—, ἕτερον κατασκήπτει βαρύτατον ἐξαπινάϊως ἀπροσδόκητον κακόν, οὐχ ἐνὶ μέρει τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπάγον, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην
- 185 ἅπαντι τῷ ἔθνει. ἀφίγμεθα μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης κόλπον, ἀμείβων τὰς ἰδίας ἐπαύλεις πολλὰς καὶ εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν ἐπακολουθοῦντες Γαίῳ· κατεληλύθει δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ διέτριβε περὶ τὸν
- 186 πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένας. φροντίζουσι δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς ὑποθέσεως—αἰεὶ γὰρ κληθήσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν—προσέρχεταιί τις ὑφαιμόν τι καὶ ταραχῶδες ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἄνοιαν (or ἀγνοίαν) στένοντος.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 181-186

led by short-sighted fancies felt the same. But as 182  
I believe myself in virtue of my age and my good  
education otherwise to possess a greater amount of  
good sense, what gave joy to the others rather  
alarmed me. Bestirring my thinking powers I said,  
“ Why when so many envoys were present from  
almost the whole earth did he say that he would  
hear us only ? What was his object ? For he must  
have known that we were Jews who would be con-  
tented if they were not treated worse than others.  
To suppose that we shall take precedence with a 183  
despot of an alien race, a young man possessing  
absolute power, surely borders on madness ; it looks  
as if he is attaching himself to the party of the  
other Alexandrians and it was to them that he gave  
precedence and promised to give judgement quickly,  
if indeed he has not discarded the idea of giving a  
fair and impartial hearing and instead of a judge  
become their advocate and our opponent.”

XXIX. Thus thinking I was deeply disturbed and 184  
had no rest by day or night. But while in my  
despondency I kept my affliction concealed since it  
was not safe to let it appear, another very heavy  
calamity was suddenly and unexpectedly launched  
upon us, which endangered not one part only of the  
Jewish race but the whole body of the nation. We 185  
had travelled from Rome to Puteoli following Gaius,  
who had come down to the sea side and was spending  
some time round the bay passing from one to another  
of the numerous and expensively furnished country  
houses which he owned. While we were anxiously 186  
considering the statement of our case, since we were  
always expecting to be summoned, there came to  
us one with a troubled look in his bloodshot eyes and

## PHILO

- βλεπόμενος, ἄσθματος μεστός, καὶ μικρὸν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγαγών—πλησίον γὰρ ἦσαν τινες—  
 “ἠκούσατε,” ἔφη, “τὰ καινά;” καὶ μέλλων  
 ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπεσχέθη, δακρύων ἀθρόας φορᾶς  
 187 ἐνεχθείσης. καὶ πάλιν ἀρξάμενος δεύτερον ἐπ-  
 εσχέθη καὶ τρίτον. ἄπερ ὁρῶντες ἡμεῖς ἐπτοήμεθα  
 καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν μηνῦσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ χάριν  
 ἐλθεῖν ἔφασκεν. “οὐ γὰρ ἔνεκα τοῦ διὰ μαρτύρων  
 κλαίειν· εἰ δὲ ἄξια δακρύων ἐστί, μὴ μόνος ἀπόλαυε  
 τῆς λύπης· ἐθάδες γεγόναμεν ἤδη κακοπραγιῶν.”  
 188 ὁ δὲ μόλις μὲν ἀναλύζων δὲ ὁμως κεκομμένῳ τῷ  
 πνεύματί φησιν. “οἴχεται ἡμῶν τὸ ἱερόν· ἀνδριάντα  
 κολοσσιαῖον ἐσωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνατεθῆναι  
 189 Γάιος προσέταξε Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ.” θαν-  
 μασάντων δὲ τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ πεπηγόντων ὑπ’ ἐκ-  
 πλήξεως καὶ μηδὲ προελθεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἔτι δυναμένων—  
 ἀχανεῖς γὰρ εἰσθήκειμεν ὀλιγοδρανοῦντες καὶ  
 καταρρέοντες περὶ αὐτοῖς, τῶν σωματικῶν τόνων  
 ἐκνευρισμένων—, ἕτεροι παρήσαν τὰς αὐτὰς  
 190 φέροντες ὠδῖνας. ἔπειτα συγκλεισάμενοι πάντες  
 ἀθρόοι ἰδίας ὁμοῦ καὶ κοινὰς τύχας ἐθρηνοῦμεν καὶ  
 οἷα ὑπέβαλλεν ὁ νοῦς διεξήμεν—λαλίστατον γὰρ  
 ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχῶν—· ἀγωνιάσωμεν<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ  
 εἰς ἅπαν ταῖς ἀνιάτοις<sup>3</sup> παρανομίαις ἀφεθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> mss. προσελθεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> For another punctuation see note *a*.

<sup>3</sup> mss. ἐν αὐτοῖς: see note *a*. If the punctuation there suggested is accepted, Mangey’s conjecture of ἐν ἀστοῖς is possible. I would also ask for consideration for ἐνιαυσίους, *i.e.* outrages which have now lasted a year.

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<sup>a</sup> If this punctuation is right the meaning is “don’t let us be led into making illegal resistance, or perhaps into action



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 186-190

gasping convulsively. He drew us a little way apart since there were some people standing near and said, "Have you heard the new tidings?" and when he was going to report it he was brought up short, as a flood of tears streamed from his eyes. He began 187 again and the second time stopped short and so too a third time. When we saw this we were all in a flutter and bade him tell us the matter which he said had brought him there. "For," we said, "you have not come just to have your weeping witnessed. If the facts are worth tears do not be the only one to feel sorrow. We have become inured to misfortunes by now." He managed with difficulty while sobbing 188 and breathing spasmodically to say, "Our temple is lost, Gaius has ordered a colossal statue to be set up within the inner sanctuary dedicated to himself under the name of Zeus." As we marvelled at his 189 words and, petrified by consternation, could not get any further, since we stood there speechless and powerless in a state of collapse with our hearts turned to water, others appeared bringing the same woeful tale. Then gathered altogether in seclusion 190 we bewailed the disaster personal to each and common to all and such thoughts as the mind suggested we discussed at length. For nothing is more ready of tongue than a man in misfortune. "Let us struggle," we said, "to save us from delivering ourselves altogether to fatal acts of lawlessness.<sup>a</sup> We sailed in

which will bring upon us lawless outrages." But I should prefer to put the stop after *ἀγωνιάσωμεν* instead of after *ἀφεθῆναι*. The sense will be "let us face the crisis. It was to save ourselves from being the victims of outrages that we sailed," etc. In this case the *παρανομίαι* are the outrages we expected to happen in Alexandria. So substantially Mangey, though he reads *ἀγωνιζόμενοι*.

## PHILO

χειμῶνος μέσου διεπλεύσαμεν ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅσος  
 χειμῶν ἔφεδρός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ γῆν ἀργαλεώτερος  
 πολλῶ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις  
 αἰτία διακρίνουσα τοὺς ἐτησίους καιρούς, φύσις  
 δὲ σωτήριον· ἐκείνου δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν φρονῶν  
 ἀνθρώπινον, νέος καὶ νεωτεροποιὸς ἀνημμένος τὴν  
 [574] ἐφ' ἅπασιν | ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν· νεότης δὲ μετ' ἐξ-  
 ουσίας αὐτοκρατοῦς ὄρμαῖς ἀκαθέκτοις χρωμένη  
 191 κακὸν δῦσμαχον. ἐξέσται δὲ προσελθεῖν ἢ διαῖραι  
 τὸ στόμα περὶ προσευχῶν τῷ λυμεῶνι τοῦ πανιέ-  
 ρου; δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐ φροντιεῖ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων  
 καὶ τιμῆς ἐλάττονος ἡξιωμένων ὁ τὸν περιση-  
 μότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον νεών, εἰς ὃν ἀνατολαὶ  
 καὶ δύσεις ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡλίου τρόπον πανταχόσε  
 192 λάμποντα, καθυβρίζων. εἰ δὲ καὶ γένοιτό τις ἄδεια  
 προσόδου, τί χρῆ προσδοκᾶν ἢ θάνατον ἀπαραίτη-  
 τον; ἀλλ' ἔστω, τεθνηξόμεθα· ζωὴ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν  
 ὁ ὑπὲρ φυλακῆς νόμων εὐκλεέστατος θάνατος. εἰ  
 δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας τελευτῆς γενήσεται μηδὲν  
 ὄφελος, οὐ μανία παραπολέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρεσ-  
 βεύειν δοκοῦντας, ὡς τῶν πεμφάντων μᾶλλον ἢ

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<sup>a</sup> The six sections which follow become intelligible if we recognize that *ιδίου* in § 193 refers to the particular interests of the Alexandrian Jews, especially their claims to citizenship, as opposed to the interests of the nation as a whole, and not to the personal safety of the ambassadors. Philo and his colleagues had three courses of action before them. First they might proceed with their suit, perhaps by sending the document mentioned in § 178 if that had not been sent already. This was impracticable as far as the synagogue question was concerned and might probably cost them their lives (§ 191). Such a death was, indeed, honourable but under the circumstances a mere waste (§ 192). As to the other question, the

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 190-192

midst of the stormy winter, not knowing how great a storm was awaiting us, a land storm far more dangerous than that of the sea. For that is the work of nature who divides the annual seasons, and nature is a preserver. But the other is the work of a man whose thoughts are not those of a man, a youth with the recklessness of youth, invested with irresponsible dominion over all. And youth coupled with absolute authority is subject to unrestrainable impulses, a formidable power for evil. <sup>a</sup> Shall we be allowed to 191 come near him and open our mouths in defence of the houses of prayer to the destroyer of the all-holy place? for clearly to houses less conspicuous and held in lower esteem no regard would be paid by one who insults that most notable and illustrious shrine whose beams like the sun's reach every whither, beheld with awe both by east and west. And even if we were allowed to approach him un- 192 molested, what have we to expect but death against which there is no appeal? Well so be it, we will die and be no more, for the truly glorious death, met in defence of laws, might be called life. But if our decease brings no advantage, is it not madness to let ourselves perish as well, particularly as we are supposed to act as ambassadors, so that the disaster citizenship, to press it when the national existence was in danger would be felt to be a selfish particularism (§§ 193, 194). The second alternative was to throw up the whole thing and go home. This is rejected as unworthy (§ 195). The third was to wait on quietly in Italy trusting in God and hoping that the crisis would pass (§ 196). This is probably what actually happened thanks to Agrippa's intercession, after which the envoys were admitted and even if unsuccessful, at any rate, left unharmed. I see no reason to agree with Balsdon, page 136, that this "laboured defence shows that they were criticised for neglecting to make any gesture at this point."

## PHILO

- 193 τῶν ὑπομενόντων εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὰς φύσεις μισοπονηρότατοι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀσέβειαν ἡμῶν κατηγορήσουσιν ὡς, ἐν ἐσχάτῳ κινδύνῳ τῶν ὅλων σαλευόντων, ἐπιμνησθέντων ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἰδίου τινός· τοῖς γὰρ μεγάλοις τὰ βραχέα καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς τὰ ἴδια ὑποστέλλειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὧν οἰχομένων ἔρρει καὶ ἡ πολιτεία.
- 194 ποῦ γὰρ ὅσιον ἢ θεμιτὸν ἄλλως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, δεικνύντας ὡς ἐσμὲν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, οἷς ὁ περὶ τῆς καθολικωτέρας πολιτείας ἐπικρέμαται κίνδυνος τῆς Ἰουδαίων; ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλύσει δέος, μὴ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ ἔθνους ὄνομα συναφανισθῆναι κελεύσῃ ὁ νεωτεροποιὸς καὶ μεγαλοουργὸς ἀνθρω-
- 195 πος. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν τῶν ὑποθέσεων δι' ἃς ἐστάλημεν οἰχομένων, ἴσως φήσει τις· τί οὖν, οὐκ ἤδесαν πραγματεύεσθαι τὴν μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἐπάνοδον; πρὸς ὃν εἶπομι ἄν· ἢ οὐκ ἔχεις ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς πάθος γνήσιον ἢ οὐκ ἐνετράφης οὐδὲ ἐνησκῆθης τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. ἐλπίδων εἰσὶ πλήρεις οἱ ὄντως εὐγενεῖς, καὶ οἱ νόμοι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι μὴ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισ ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς
- 196 δημιουργοῦσιν. ἴσως ἀπόπειρα ταῦτα τῆς καθ-  
 εστῶσης γενεᾶς ἐστὶ, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ εἰ  
 πεπαίδευται φέρειν τὰ δεινὰ λογισμοῖς ἰσχυρογνώ-  
 μοσιν οὐ προκαταπίπτουσα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀν-  
 θρώπων ἅπαντα καὶ ἔρρει καὶ ἐρρέτω· μενέτω  
 δὲ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀκαθαίρετος ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα  
 θεὸν ἐλπίς, ὃς πολλάκις ἐξ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀπόρων  
 περιέσωσε τὸ ἔθνος.
- 197 XXX. Ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὰς ἀπροσ-

<sup>a</sup> See *Intro.* pp. xxvi f.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 192-197

would fall more on those who sent us than on the actual sufferers? Indeed those among our fellow 193 nationals who most detest wickedness will accuse us of impiety in selfishly pleading for something which concerns us in particular, when the existence of all is tottering in extreme danger. For small things must needs give way to big and particular to general interests, the loss of which means the perdition of the body politic. For what religion or righteousness 194 is to be found in vainly striving to show that we are Alexandrians, when we are menaced by the danger which threatens a more universal interest, the corporate body of the Jews? For it is to be feared that the overthrow of the temple will be accompanied by an order for the annihilation of our common name and nation from the man who deals in revolution on so great a scale. If then both the 195 causes<sup>a</sup> which we were sent to plead are lost, someone perhaps will say, 'Well what then? did they not know how to manage their safe return?' To such a one I would say, 'Either you have not the genuine feelings of the nobly born or you were not reared or trained in the sacred writings.' The truly noble are always hopeful and the laws create good hopes for those who take more than a mere sip of their study. Perhaps these things are sent to try the 196 present generation, to test the state of their virtue and whether they are schooled to bear dire misfortunes with a resolution which is fortified by reason and does not collapse at once. So then what man can do is gone, and let it go. But let our souls retain indestructible the hope in God our Saviour who has often saved the nation when in helpless straits."

XXX. Thus we talked on, at once lamenting 197

## PHILO

δοκήτους ἀτυχίας ἅμα δὲ καὶ παρηγοροῦντες  
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐλπίδι μεταβολῆς γαληνοτέρας διεξῆμεν.  
 μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχόντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγείλαντας, |  
 [575] “ τί καθ’ ἡσυχίαν,” εἶπομεν, “ κάθησθε, σπινθῆρας  
 αὐτὸ μόνον τοῖς ὤσιν ἡμῶν ἐνιέντες, ὑφ’ ὧν καιό-  
 μεθα καὶ πυρπολούμεθα, δέον προσεξηγεῖσθαι καὶ  
 198 τὰ κεκινηκότα τὸν Γάιον;” οἱ δέ· “ τὴν μὲν  
 ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτην αἰτίαν ἴστε, ἣν καὶ πάντες  
 ἴσασι· ἄνθρωποι· θεὸς βούλεται νομίζεσθαι, ὑπ-  
 εἶλθε δὲ μόνους Ἰουδαίους μὴ πείσεσθαι, οἷς  
 μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν προστρίψαιτο κακὸν ἢ λυμηνάμενος  
 τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σεμνότητα. κατήχηται δέ, ὅτι καὶ  
 πάντων ἱερῶν τῶν πανταχοῦ κάλλιστόν ἐστιν ἐξ  
 ἀπείρων χρόνων ἀπαύστοις καὶ ἀφειδέσι δαπάναις  
 αἰεὶ προσκοσμούμενον· δύσερις δὲ καὶ φιλόνεικος  
 ὧν σφετερίσασθαι τοῦτο εἰς ἑαυτὸν διανοεῖται.  
 199 παρατέθηται δὲ νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρό-  
 τερον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν ἔπεμψε Καπίτων. φόρων  
 ἐκλογεὺς ὁ Καπίτων ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἔχει  
 δὲ πῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐγκότως· πένης γὰρ  
 ἀφιγμένος καὶ ἐξ ὧν νοσφίζεται καὶ παρεκλέγει  
 ποικίλον τινὰ καὶ πολὺν πλοῦτον ἠθροικῶς, εἶτα  
 εὐλαβηθεῖς, μή τις αὐτοῦ γένηται κατηγορία,  
 τέχνην ἐπενόησεν, ἣ διαβλαῖς τῶν ἀδικηθέντων  
 200 διακρούσεται τὰς αἰτίας. ἀφορμὴν ἡ δὲ αὐτῷ δίδω-  
 σιν εἰς ὅπερ ἐβούλετο συντυχίᾳ τις τοιαύτη. τὴν  
 Ἰάμνειαν—πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν τοῖς  
 μάλιστα πολυάνθρωπος—[ταύτην] μιγάδες οἰκοῦσιν,  
 οἱ πλείους μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἕτεροι δὲ τινες ἀλλόφυλοι  
 παρεισφθαρέντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων, οἱ τοῖς  
 τρόπον τινὰ αὐθιγενέσιν ὄντες μέτοικοι κακὰ καὶ

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 197-200

our unexpected misfortunes and comforting ourselves with a hope of a change to serener conditions. Then pausing for a little we said to those who had brought the news, "Why do you sit here silently merely implanting in our ears the sparks to light the fire by which we are consumed, instead of proceeding to tell us the causes which have moved Gaius to do this?" They replied, "You know the chief and 198 primary cause which all men also know. He wishes to be thought a god and has supposed that the only dissentients will be the Jews on whom he could inflict no greater injury than the ruin of the sanctity of their temple. He has been instructed that of all the temples anywhere it is the most beautiful, ever from endless ages embellished by ceaseless and un-sparing expenditure. Quarrelsome and contentious as he is, he proposes to appropriate it for his own use. But now his eagerness has become 199

keener than ever before owing to a letter sent to him by Capito. Capito is the tax-collector for Judaea and cherishes a spite against the population. When he came there he was a poor man but by his rapacity and peculation he has amassed much wealth in various forms. Then fearing that some accusation might be brought against him he devised a scheme to elude the charges by slandering those whom he had wronged. It chanced that an opportunity for obtain- 200 ing his object was given by the following incident. Jamneia, one of the most populous cities of Judaea, is inhabited by a mixture of people, the majority being Jews with some others of alien races, intruders for mischief from the dwellers in adjacent countries. These people being new settlers have made themselves a pest and a nuisance to those who are in a

## PHILO

- πράγματα παρέχουσιν, αεί τι παραλύοντες τῶν  
 201 πατρίων Ἰουδαίους. οὗτοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιφοιτῶντων  
 ἀκούοντες, ὄση σπουδῇ κέχρηται Γάιος περὶ τὴν  
 ἰδίαν ἐκθέωσιν καὶ ὡς ἀλλοτριώτατα διάκειται  
 πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν γένος, καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον  
 εἰς ἐπίθεσιν παραπεπτωκέναι νομίζοντες αὐτοσχέ-  
 διον ἀνιστάσι βωμὸν εἰκαιοτάτης ὕλης, πηλὸν  
 σχηματίσαντες εἰς πλίνθους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνον ἐπι-  
 βουλεύειν τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν· ἤδεσαν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνεξο-  
 μένους καταλυομένων τῶν ἐθῶν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.  
 202 θεασάμενοι γὰρ καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς  
 ἱερᾶς χώρας τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὄντως ἀφανίζεσθαι  
 καθαιροῦσι συνελθόντες· οἱ δὲ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Κα-  
 πίωνα ἤκον, ὃς ἦν τοῦ δράματος ὄλου δημιουργός.  
 ἔρμαιον δὲ εὐρηκέναι νομίσας, ὅπερ ἐκ πολλῶν  
 χρόνων ἀνεζήτηι, γράφει Γαῖῳ διαίρων τὰ πράγ-  
 203 ματα καὶ μετεωρίζων. ὁ δὲ διαναγνοῦς<sup>1</sup>  
 πλουσιώτερον καὶ μεγαλοφρονέστερόν τι ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 πλυνθίνου βωμοῦ τοῦ κατ' ἐπήρειαν ἀνασταθέντος  
 [576] ἐν Ἰαμνείᾳ κελεύει | κολοσσιαῖον ἀνδριάντα ἐπί-  
 χρυσον ἐν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἱερῷ καθιδρυθῆναι,  
 συμβούλοις χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ σοφωτά-  
 τοις, Ἐλικῶνι τῷ εὐπατρίδῃ δούλῳ, σπερμολόγῳ,  
 περιτρίμματι, καὶ Ἀπελλῇ τινι τραγωδῷ, ὃς ἀκμῇ  
 μὲν τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ὡς φασιν, ἐκαπήλευσε  
 τὴν ὥραν, ἕξωρος δὲ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν  
 204 παρῆλθεν. ὅσοι δὲ σκηνοβατοῦσιν ἐμπορευόμενοι  
 θεαταῖς καὶ θεάτροις, αἰδοῦς εἰσι καὶ σωφροσύνης  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναισχυντίας καὶ ἀκοσμίας ἐρασταὶ τῆς  
 ἀνωτάτῳ· διὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διαγνοῦς (which however is sometimes used in the same sense: v. Stephanus); cf. Flaccus 100.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 200-204

sense indigenous by perpetually subverting some part of the institutions of the Jews. Hearing from travel- 201  
lers visiting them how earnestly Gaius was pressing his deification and the extreme hostility which he felt towards the whole Jewish race, they thought that a fit opportunity of attacking them had fallen in their way. Accordingly they erected an extemporized altar of the commonest material with the clay moulded into bricks, merely as a plan to injure their neighbours, for they knew that they would not allow their customs to be subverted, as indeed it turned out. For, when they saw it and felt it intolerable 202  
that the sanctity which truly belongs to the Holy Land should be destroyed, they met together and pulled it down. The others at once went off to Capito, who was the author of the whole episode, and he, thinking that he had found a piece of luck which he had long been seeking, wrote to Gaius a highly exaggerated account of the facts. Gaius 203  
after reading it gave orders that in place of the altar of bricks erected in wanton spite in Jamneia something richer and more magnificent, namely a colossal statue coated with gold, should be set up in the temple of the mother city. In this he followed the advice of those excellent and sapient advisers, that member of the aristocracy Helicon, slave, scrap retailer, piece of riff-raff, and one Apelles<sup>a</sup> a tragic actor, who, they say, in the flower of his prime had trafficked his youthful charms, but when the bloom was passed went on to the stage. Of course performers on the stage 204  
whose trade is with theatres and theatre-goers are lovers of modesty and sobriety, not of shamelessness and extreme indecency. The reason why Apelles

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Suet. *Gaius* 33 and Dio lix. 5.

## PHILO

τάξιν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς παρήλθεν, ἵνα βουλευέσθαι Γάιος μεθ' οὗ μὲν ὡς σκωπτέον, μεθ' οὗ δὲ ὡς ἀστέον, ὑπερβὰς τὰς περὶ τῶν ὄλων σκέψεις, ὡς εἰρηνεύ-

205 εσθαι καὶ ἡρεμείσθαι τὰ πανταχοῦ πάντα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἑλικῶν, σκορπιῶδες ἀνδράποδον, τὸν Αἴγυπτιακὸν ἰὸν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἤφιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀσκάλωνος ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν· Ἀσκαλωνίταις δὲ ἀσύμβατός τις καὶ ἀκατάλλακτος δυσμένεια πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας οἰκήτορας Ἰουδαίους

206 ἐστὶν οὖσιν ὁμόροις." ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἐφ' ἐκάστου ῥήματος καὶ ὀνόματος ἐτιρωσκόμεθα τὰς ψυχάς. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καλῶν πράξεων καλοὶ σύμβουλοι μικρὸν ὕστερον τὰ ἐπίχειρα εὗρον τῆς ἀσεβείας, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ Γαίου σιδήρῳ δεθεὶς ἐφ' ἐτέραις αἰτίαις καὶ στρεβλούμενος καὶ τροχιζόμενος ἐκ περιτροπῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς περιοδιζούσαις νόσοις, ὁ δὲ Ἑλικῶν ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθείς, ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλοις ὁ φρενοβλαβῆς ἠδίκησεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

207 XXXI. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιστολὴ γράφεται, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν περιεσκευμένως εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. κελεύει γὰρ Πετρωνίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἀπάσης ὑπάρχῳ, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγεγράφει, τῆς παρ' Εὐφράτῃ στρατιᾶς, ἢ τὴν διάβασιν τῶν ἐξῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἐθνῶν παρεφύλαττε, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸν ἀνδριάντα παραπέμψουσας, οὐχ ἵνα σεμνοποίησιν τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἰ διακωλύοι<sup>1</sup>

208 τις, εὐθύς ἀπόληται. τί λέγεις, ὦ δέσποτα;

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διακωλύει.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 204-207

was advanced to the post of councillor was that Gaius might take advice on the right method of jesting from one and of chanting from the other, having set aside all consideration for the general welfare by which peace and tranquillity of every thing in every place might be maintained. So then Helicon, scorpion 205 in form of a slave, vented his Egyptian venom on the Jews and so too Apelles with the venom of Ascalon. For that was the place he came from, and the Ascalonites have a truceless and irreconcilable hostility to the Jewish inhabitants of the Holy Land on whose borders they live." As we heard this every single 206 word was a wound to our souls. But shortly afterwards these admirable advisers of admirable actions received the reward of their impiety. Apelles for other reasons was thrown by Gaius into chains of iron and tortured by the rack and the wheel in turns <sup>a</sup> like people suffering from recurring fevers. Helicon was put to death by Claudius Germanicus Caesar for the other wrongs which the madman had committed. But these events belong to a later time.

XXXI. Gaius's letter enjoining the dedication of 207 the statue was written not in simple terms but with all circumspection possible to ensure safety. He ordered his viceroy for the whole of Syria, Petronius, to whom the letter was addressed, to bring for the conduct of the statue to Judaea half the army quartered on the Euphrates to guard the passage against the kings and nations of the east. This was done not to add dignity to the dedication but to effect the immediate destruction of anyone who tried to prevent it.

<sup>a</sup> Or "periodically" (rack and wheel being regarded as a single process), which suits the figure of recurrent fevers better.

## PHILO

προειληφώς οὐκ ἀνεξομένους, ἀλλ' ὑπερασπιούοντας  
 τοῦ νόμου καὶ προαποθανουμένους τῶν πατρίων  
 πολεμοποιεῖς; οὐ γὰρ ἔοικας δι' ἄγνοιαν ὧν εἰκὸς  
 ἦν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἄψασθαι νεω-  
 τερισμοῦ, προμαθῶν δὲ ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς  
 ἤδη παρόντα καὶ τὰ γενησόμενα ὡς χειριζόμενα<sup>1</sup> |  
 [577] τὴν στρατιὰν εἰσάγειν προσέταξας, ἵνα θυσίαις  
 ἐναγέσι<sup>2</sup> πρώταις καθιερωθῇ τὸ ἀφίδρυμα, σφαγαῖς  
 209 ἀθλίων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν. ὁ  
 μὲν οὖν Πετρώνιος τὰ ἐπισταλέντα διαναγνοὺς ἐν  
 ἀμηχάνοις ἦν, οὔτε ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμενος διὰ  
 φόβον—ἦδει γὰρ ἀφόρητον οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τὰ  
 κελευσθέντα μὴ πραξάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ  
 εὐθύς—οὔτε ἐγχειρεῖν εὐμαρῶς· ἦδει γὰρ ἀνθ' ἐνὸς  
 θανάτου μυρίουσ ἄν, εἴπερ δυνατὸν ἦν, ἐθελήσοντας  
 ὑπομεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ περιδεῖν τι τῶν ἀπειρημένων  
 210 δρώμενον. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι φυλακτικοὶ τῶν  
 ἰδίων ἔθῶν εἰσι, διαφερόντως δὲ τὸ Ἰουδαίων  
 ἔθνος· θεόχρηστα γὰρ λόγια τοὺς νόμους εἶναι  
 ὑπολαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ  
 μάθημα παιδευθέντες ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀγαλματο-  
 211 φοροῦσι τὰς τῶν διατεταγμένων εἰκόνας· εἶτα  
 ἐναργεῖς τύπους καὶ μορφὰς αὐτῶν καθορῶντες  
 ἀεὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς αὐτῶν τεθήπασι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
 τιμητικῶς ἔχοντας ἀλλοφύλους αὐτῶν οὐχ ἦττον  
 τῶν ἰδίων ἀποδέχονται πολιτῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἢ καθαι-  
 ροῦσιν ἢ χλευάζουσιν ὡς πολεμιωτάτοις ἀπέχθονται·  
 καὶ πεφρίκασι μὲν ἕκαστον τῶν διηγορευμένων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χειριζόμενα ὅτ ἐν χειρὶ ἐσόμενα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. εὐαγέσι.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 208-211

What mean you by this, my lord and master? is it 208  
an act of war based on the foreknowledge that they  
would not submit but would take up arms to defend  
the laws and die for their national institutions?  
For surely it was not done in ignorance of the  
probable results of any attempt to violate the  
temple. No, you foresaw what would take place as  
clearly as if it were already present and the future  
events as though they were already in hand, and  
so you ordered the army to be brought in that the  
first sacrifice with which the image was consecrated  
might be polluted with the massacre of unhappy  
men and women alike.

Petronius hav- 209  
ing read the instructions was in great difficulties.  
Fear made it impossible for him to oppose the  
order, for he knew that Gaius crushed irresistibly  
not only those who did not carry out his command  
but also those who did not do so at once. Neither  
could he lightly undertake it, for he knew that the  
Jews would willingly endure to die not once but  
a thousand times, if it were possible, rather than  
allow any of the prohibited actions to be committed.  
For all men guard their own customs, but this is 210  
especially true of the Jewish nation. Holding that  
the laws are oracles vouchsafed by God and having  
been trained in this doctrine from their earliest years,  
they carry the likenesses of the commandments  
enshrined in their souls. Then as they contemplate 211  
their forms thus clearly represented they always think  
of them with awe. And those of other races who  
pay homage to them they welcome no less than their  
own countrymen, while those who either break them  
down or mock at them they hate as their bitterest  
foes. And such dread is inspired by each of the pro-

## PHILO

- οὕτως, ὡς ἅπασαν τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώποις εἶτε εὐτυ-  
 χίαν εἶτε εὐδαιμονίαν χρῆ καλεῖν μηδέποτ' ἂν ὑπὲρ  
 παραβάσεως καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος ἂν ὑπαλλάξασθαι.
- 212 περιττοτέρα δὲ καὶ ἐξαιρέτος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἅπασιν  
 ἢ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν σπουδή. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον·  
 θάνατος ἀπαραίτητος ὤρισταὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς  
 ἐντὸς περιβόλους παρελθόντων—δέχονται γὰρ εἰς  
 τοὺς ἐξωτέρω τοὺς πανταχόθεν πάντας—τῶν οὐχ  
 ὁμοειδῶν.
- 213 Εἰς δὴ ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ὁ Πετρώνιος βραδὺς ἦν  
 ἐγχειρητής, ὅσον τόλμημα μεγαλουργεῖται σκεπτό-  
 μενος, καὶ συγκαλέσας ὡς ἐν συνεδρίῳ τοὺς τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἅπαντας λογισμοὺς τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην  
 διηρεῦνα καὶ πάντας εὑρισκεν ὁμογνωμονοῦντας  
 περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κινεῖν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθωσιωμένων,  
 πρῶτον διὰ τὸ φύσει δίκαιον καὶ εὐσεβές, ἔπειτα  
 διὰ τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον κίνδυνον, οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ μόνον
- 214 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζομένων. ἔννοιά τε  
 αὐτὸν εἰσῆει τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν πολυαν-  
 θρωπία, ὅπερ οὐχ ἐδέξατο καθάπερ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἕκαστον μιᾶς χώρας τῆς ἀποκεκληρωμένης αὐτῷ  
 μόνῳ περίβολος, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου δέω φάναι πᾶσα ἡ  
 οἰκουμένη· κέχυται γὰρ ἀνά τε τὰς ἡπείρους καὶ  
 νήσους ἀπάσας, ὡς τῶν αὐθιγενῶν μὴ πολλῶ τινι
- 215 δοκεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι. τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἐφέλ-  
 κεσθαι πολεμίων ἄρ' οὐ σφαλερώτατον; ἀλλὰ  
 μήποτε γένοιτο συμφρονήσαντας τοὺς ἑκασταχοῦ  
 πρὸς ἄμυναν ἐλθεῖν· ἄμαχόν τι συμβήσεται χρῆμα·  
 δίχα τοῦ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατοικοῦντας |  
 [578] ἀπείρους τε εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ σώματα γεν-

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 211-215

nouncements that they would never purchase what men deem good fortune or happiness, whichever name is right, by transgressing even in the slightest matters. Still more abounding and peculiar is the 212 zeal of them all for the temple, and the strongest proof of this is that death without appeal is the sentence against those of other races who penetrate into its inner confines. For the outer are open to everyone wherever they come from.

Having these things before his eyes Petronius was 213 slow to set to work. He saw the audacity of so vast an enterprise, and having mustered all the reasoning faculties of his soul, as though in a council, he looked to see what verdict they gave, and found it unanimous against destroying anything which was held sacred from the beginning, primarily from a feeling of natural justice and piety, secondly from the danger threatened not only from God but from the victims of the outrage. He bethought him of the 214

vast number of people comprised in the nation, which needed to contain it not like every other the circumference of a single country allotted to itself alone, but, one might almost say, the whole habitable world. For it is spread abroad over all the continents and islands so that it seems to be not much less than the indigenous inhabitants. To draw all these myriads 215 into war against him was surely very dangerous. Heaven forbid indeed that the Jews in every quarter should come by common agreement to the defence. The result would be something too stupendous to be combated.<sup>a</sup> But without this the inhabitants of Judea are unlimited in number. Their bodies are

<sup>a</sup> *χρῆμα* is used in the idiomatic sense of something big, of which *ὅς χρῆμα μέγα* is the stock example.

## PHILO

ναιοτάτους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐτολμοτάτους καὶ  
 προαποθνήσκειν αἰρουμένους τῶν πατρίων ὑπὸ  
 φρονήματος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι τῶν διαβαλλόντων εἵποιεν  
 ἄν, βαρβαρικοῦ, ὡς δὲ ἔχει τάληθές, ἐλευθερίου καὶ  
 216 εὐγενοῦς. ἐφόβουν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ αἱ πέραν Εὐ-  
 φράτου δυνάμεις· ἦδει γὰρ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πολλὰς  
 ἄλλας τῶν σατραπειῶν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεχομένας,  
 οὐκ ἀκοῆ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πείρα· καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ  
 ἔνιαυτὸν ἱεροπομποὶ στέλλονται χρυσοῦν καὶ ἄργυρον  
 πλεῖστον κομίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸν ἀθροισθέντα  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, δυσβάτους καὶ ἀτριβεῖς καὶ  
 ἀνηνύτους ὁδοὺς περαιούμενοι, ἃς λεωφόρους εἶναι  
 νομίζουσιν, ὅτι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἄγειν δοκοῦσι.  
 217 περιδεῆς οὖν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, μὴ πυθόμενοι τὴν  
 καινουργουμένην ἀνάθεσιν ἐπιφοιτήσωσιν ἐξαίφνης  
 καὶ περίσχωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν οἱ δὲ ἔνθεν, κύκλος  
 γενόμενοι, καὶ συνάψαντες ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ἐναποληφ-  
 θέντας μέσους δεινὰ ἐργάσωνται. τοιοῦτοις μὲν  
 218 λογισμοῖς χρώμενος ἀπώκνει. πάλιν δὲ  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνθείλκετο, “ δεσπότης,” λέγων,  
 “ ἡ πρόσταξις ἐστὶ καὶ νέου καὶ ὃ τι ἂν βουλευθῆ  
 τοῦτο συμφέρον κρίνοντος καὶ τὸ γνωσθὲν ἅπαξ  
 ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, κἂν ἀλυσιτελέστατον ἦ καὶ φιλο-  
 νεικίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας γέμον, ὅς γε καὶ ὑπερπηδή-  
 σας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν θεοῖς ἦδη γράφει ἑαυτόν.  
 ἐπικρέμαται δὴ μοι κίνδυνος ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ  
 ἐναντιωθέντι καὶ εἷξαντι, ἀλλ' εἷξαντι μὲν μετὰ  
 πολέμου καὶ τάχα ἀμφίβολος<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐ πάντως  
 ἀποβησόμενος,<sup>1</sup> ἐναντιωθέντι δὲ ἀπαραίτητος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read ἀμφίβολου . . . ἀποβησομένου, which would be more logical.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 215-218

of the finest quality and their souls of the highest courage, preferring to die in defence of their national institutions, moved by a high spirit not as some of their slanderers would say barbaric but in very truth worthy of the free and nobly born. He was frightened 216 also by the forces beyond the Euphrates, since that Babylon and many other satrapies were occupied by Jews was known to him not only by report but by experience. For every year envoys were dispatched for the sacred purpose of conveying to the temple a great quantity of gold and silver amassed from the firstfruits, and these envoys travel over the pathless, trackless, endless routes which seem to them good highroads because they feel that they lead them to piety. So he was naturally much alarmed lest hearing 217 of this unprecedented dedication the Jews of those parts might suddenly take to raiding, and coming from different quarters might encircle his troops and joining hands attack them now isolated in their midst with terrible effect. While following this line of reasoning he shrank from action.

Then again he was drawn in the opposite direction 218 by counter-arguments. "The order," he said, "is given by a master who is young and judges that whatever he wishes is beneficial and that what he has once decreed is as good as accomplished, be it ever so unprofitable and charged with contentiousness and arrogance. For he has soared above man's estate and already ranks himself as among the gods. My life is in imminent danger whether I oppose or give way, but while if I give way the danger is the prospect of war the result of which is doubtful, and there is no certainty that it will happen at all, if I oppose, its source is Gaius and it admits of no appeal and no

## PHILO

- 219 ὁμολογούμενος ἐκ Γαίου." συνελάμβανον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πολλοὶ τῶν συνδιεπόντων τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρώτους αἱ ἀπὸ Γαίου χωρήσουσιν ὄργαι καὶ τιμωρίαι ὡς συναιτίους τοῦ τὸ κελευσθὲν μὴ
- 220 γενέσθαι. παρέσχε δὲ εἰς ἀκριβεστέραν σκέψιν ἀναχώρησιν ἢ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης διεπέμψατο—θεοῦ μοι προνοία δοκῶ τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀφανῶς ὑπερέχοντος—οὔτε τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ὅστις ἂν ἄριστος εἶναι δοκιμασθῆ μετακομίζειν προσέταξεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς παρανομίας ταχὺς ἐξήφθη ὁ
- 221 πόλεμος. καιρὸν οὖν σχῶν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος [579] διάσκεψιν |—τὰ γὰρ αἰφνίδια καὶ μεγάλα, ὅταν ἀθρόα προσπέσῃ, κατακλᾷ τὸν λογισμὸν—προσάττει τὴν κατασκευὴν ἔν τινι τῶν ὁμόρων
- 222 ποιεῖσθαι. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ὁ Πετρώνιος δημιουργοὺς τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ τοὺς φρονιμωτάτους δίδωσι τὴν ὕλην· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σιδῶνι εἰργάζοντο. μεταπέμπεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας, ἅμα μὲν δηλώσωσιν τὰ ἀπὸ Γαίου, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συμβουλευσῶσιν ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου προσταττομένων καὶ τὰ δεινὰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνειν· εὐτρεπεῖς γὰρ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. σχόντος. I feel some doubt about this correction, which is accepted by Mangey and Reiter. The form of the sentence and the appearance of Petronius's name in the next sentence rather suggest that Gaius and not he is the subject of προσάττει. Is there any objection to this on the ground

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 218-222

denial." This latter view was supported by many 219  
Romans who shared his administration of Syria, since  
they knew that the wrath and vengeance of Gaius  
would reach them first as accomplices in making his  
orders of none effect. An opportunity for a respite 220  
to take a closer consideration was afforded by the  
constructing of the statue. For Gaius had not had  
one sent from Rome, in my opinion through the  
providence of God, who unseen by us stretched out  
his hand to protect the wronged, nor did he command  
Petronius to select from the statues in Syria the one  
approved of as best and send it to Jerusalem. For  
speed in the execution of his unlawful purpose would  
have led to a speedy outburst of war. So Petronius 221  
having got an opportunity for consideration of the  
best course to adopt, since great and sudden emer-  
gencies when they fall with concentrated force crush  
the reasoning faculty, ordered the construction to be  
carried out in some one of the adjacent countries  
and accordingly sent for the most clever craftsmen 222  
to be found in Phoenicia and gave them the material  
which they worked up in Sidon.

He also  
sent for the magnates of the Jews, priests and magis-  
trates, partly to explain Gaius's intentions and partly  
to advise them to accept the orders of their lord  
and master and keep before their eyes the dire con-  
sequences of doing otherwise. For, as he told them,  
the more efficient part of the armed forces in Syria

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of sense? It was natural that Gaius should tell Petronius to  
get a statue made and he may be credited with enough sense  
to see that it had better not be made in Judaea itself. In this  
case the proper correction would be *σχόνη*, but even this is  
not absolutely necessary. Examples of the genitive absolute  
where strict grammar demands another case are not un-  
known. See Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* 850.

## PHILO

τὰς μαχιμωτέρας, αἱ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καταστορέ-  
 223 σουσι νεκρῶν. ᾤετο γάρ, εἰ προμαλάξειε τούτους,  
 δυνήσεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πληθὺν ἅπασαν  
 ἀναδιδάξαι<sup>1</sup> μὴ ἐναντιοῦσθαι· γνώμης δέ, ὡς εἰκός,  
 διημάρτανε. πληχθέντας γάρ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 πρώτων ῥημάτων εὐθύς αὐτοὺς ἀήθους<sup>2</sup> κακοῦ  
 διηγῆσει καταπαγῆναι<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀχανεῖς γενομένους  
 φοράν τινα δακρύων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῶν ἀθρόαν  
 ἐκχεῖν, τὰ γένεια καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς  
 224 τίλλοντας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντας· “πολλὰ εἰσ-  
 ηνέγκαμεν εἰς εὐγήρω βίον οἱ λίαν εὐτυχεῖς, ἵνα ὁ  
 μηδεὶς πώποτε εἶδε τῶν προγόνων ἡμεῖς θεασώ-  
 μεθα· τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς; ἐκκοπήσονται πρότερον  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπωδύνου ζωῆς  
 ἢ τοιοῦτον ὄψονται κακόν, ἀθέατον θέαν, ἣν οὔτε  
 ἀκοῦσαι θέμις οὔτε νοῆσαι.”

225 XXXII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὠλοφύροντο. πυθό-  
 μενοι δὲ οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἱερόπολιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 χώραν τὸ κινούμενον, ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος  
 συνταξάμενοι, τοῦ κοινοῦ πάθους τὸ σύνθημα  
 δόντος, ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ κενὰς τὰς πόλεις  
 καὶ κώμας καὶ οἰκίας ἀπολιπόντες μιᾷ ῥύμῃ  
 συνέτεινον εἰς Φοινίκην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὧν ἐτύγγχανεν  
 226 ὁ Πετρώνιος. ἰδόντες δὲ τῶν Πετρωνίου τινὲς  
 ὄχλον ἀμύθητον φερόμενον ἐβοηδρόμουν ἀπαγγέλ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀναδιδάξειν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀληθοῦς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. καταπαγῆναι.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 222-226

were ready at hand and would strew the land with the dead. For he thought that if he could start by 223  
appeasing them he could use them to instruct all the rest of the population to abstain from opposition. But he failed as might be expected to effect his intention. Smitten by his first words, we are told, as soon as they heard the story of the abnormal calamity they stood riveted to the ground, incapable of speech, and then while a flood of tears poured from their eyes as from fountains they plucked the hair from their beards and heads and finally 224  
uttered such words as these, "Did we too fortunate pay so much to purchase a long and happy life,<sup>a</sup> only to behold what none of our forefathers saw in the past? How can our eyes bear it? they shall be torn out and with them the miseries of life, the anguish of our existence, before they look on such a calamity—a sight unfit for them to see, unlawful for the ears to hear, or the mind to imagine."

XXXII. While they were thus lamenting, the 225  
inhabitants of the holy city and the rest of the country hearing what was afoot marshalled themselves as if at a single signal, the signal which their common situation gave them, and issued forth in a body leaving cities, villages and houses empty and in one onrush sped to Phoenicia where Petronius chanced to be. Some of his people seeing a vast 226  
crowd moving along ran to his aid and made their report in order that he might take precautions

<sup>a</sup> If the translation is right it seems to mean that their fortunes and actions had been such that they expected to end their days happily. But the phrasing is odd. Mangey translates "en quo minus beati pervenimus," which I cannot fit into the Greek at all.

## PHILO

λοντες, ἵνα φυλάττηται, πόλεμον προσδοκήσαντες.  
 ἔτι δὲ διηγουμένων, ὁ μὲν ἀφρούρητος ἦν, ἡ δὲ τῶν  
 Ἰουδαίων πληθὺς ἐξαπιναίως ὥσπερ νέφος ἐπι-  
 σταῖσα πᾶσαν Φοινίκην ἐπέσχε, κατάπληξιν τοῖς  
 227 μένη. καὶ βοή μὲν τοσαύτη τὸ πρῶτον ἦρθη μετὰ  
 κλαυθμῶν καὶ στερνοτυπιῶν, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ τὰς  
 ἀκοὰς τῶν παρόντων χωρεῖν τὸ μέγεθος· οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ ἐπαύσατο παυσαμένων, ἀλλ' ἡσυχασάντων ἔτι  
 συνήχει. ἔπειτα πρόσοδοι καὶ δεήσεις, οἷας ὁ  
 καιρὸς ὑπέβαλλε· διδάσκαλοι γὰρ τοῦ παρόντος<sup>1</sup>  
 αὐταὶ αἱ συμφοραὶ. εἰς τάξεις δὲ ἐξ διενεμήθησαν,  
 πρεσβυτῶν, νέων, παίδων, πάλιν ἐν μέρει πρεσ-  
 βυτιδίων, γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, παρθένων.  
 228 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐξ ἀπόπτου κατεφάνη, πᾶσαι  
 [580] αἱ τάξεις καθάπερ | κελευσθεῖσαι προσπίπτουσιν  
 εἰς ἔδαφος ὀλολυγῆν θρηνώδη τινὰ μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν  
 ἀφιεῖσαι. παραινέσαντος δὲ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ προσ-  
 ελθεῖν ἐγγυτέρω, μόλις ἀνίσταντο καὶ καταχεά-  
 μνοι πολλὴν κόνιν καὶ ρέομενοι δακρύοις, τὰς  
 χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας εἰς τοῦπίσω περιαγαγόντες  
 229 τρόπον ἐξηγκωνισμένων, προσήεσαν. εἶτα ἡ  
 γερουσία καταστᾶσα τοιάδε ἔλεξεν· “ ἄσπλοι μὲν  
 (ἔσμεν), ὡς ὄρας, παραγενομένους δὲ αἰτιῶνται  
 τινες ὡς πολεμίους. ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις ἐκάστω προσ-  
 ἐνειμεν ἀμυντήρια μέρη, χεῖρας, ἀπεστρόφαμεν,  
 ἔνθα μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι δύνανται, παρέχοντες αὐτῶν  
 τὰ σώματα πρὸς εὐσκόπους τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀπο-  
 230 κτεῖναι βολὰς. γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γενεὰς<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reiter and Mangey, who suggested *πρέποντος*, both suspect *παρόντος*. Note that *τοῦ γὰρ παρόντος συμφοραὶ διδάσκαλοι* would form an iambic line.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 226-230

against the war which they expected. They had not finished their story and Petronius still remained unguarded, when the multitude of the Jews suddenly descended like a cloud and occupied the whole of Phoenicia to the profound astonishment of those who did not know how populous the nation was. The first thing to be observed was the great shouting <sup>227</sup> which arose mingled with weeping and smiting of breasts, so great that it was more than the ears of those present could contain. For even when they paused there was no pausing in the sound but it still echoed even amid their silence. The next step was to approach Petronius and make such supplications as the occasion suggested, for great misfortunes themselves teach men what their situation is. They were divided into six companies, old men, young men, boys, and again in their turn old women, grown women, maidens. When Petronius <sup>228</sup> first appeared in the distance all the companies as though at a word of command fell before him to the ground uttering a dirge-like wail with cries of supplication. When he encouraged them to rise and come nearer, they rose with some reluctance and with dust poured all over them, their eyes streaming with tears and both hands set behind them as though they were pinioned, they approached him. Then the body <sup>229</sup> of elders stood and spoke as follows, "We are unarmed as you see, though some accuse us of having come as enemies in war, yet the parts which nature has assigned to each of us for defence, our hands, we have put away where they can do nothing and present our bodies as an easy target for the missiles of those who wish to kill us. We have brought our <sup>230</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Perhaps read *γυνέας*. See note *a* on p. 120.

## PHILO

- ἐπηγαγόμεθά σοι καὶ διὰ σοῦ προσεπέσομεν<sup>1</sup> Γαῖω  
 μηδένα οἴκοι καταλιπόντες, ἵνα ἢ περισώσητε  
 πάντας ἢ πάντας πανωλεθρία διαφθείρητε. Πε-  
 τρώνιε, καὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐσμέν εἰρηνικοὶ καὶ τὴν  
 προαίρεσιν, καὶ αἱ διὰ παιδοτροφίαν φιλεργίαι  
 τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευσαν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα.
- 231 Γαῖω παραλαβόντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρῶτοι τῶν  
 κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπάντων ἡμεῖς συνήσθημεν, Οὐτελ-  
 λίου τότε, παρ' οὗ διεδέξω τὴν ἐπιτροπήν, ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει διατρίβοντος, ᾧ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐκομίσθη  
 γράμματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως εὐαγ-  
 γελιουμένη πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἔδραμεν ἢ φήμη.
- 232 πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐδέξατο τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς Γαῖου θυσίας, ἵνα πρῶτον ἢ καὶ μόνον  
 ἀφαιρεθῇ τῆς θρησκείας τὸ πάτριον; ἐξιστάμεθα  
 τῶν πόλεων, παραχωροῦμεν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ κτη-  
 μάτων, ἐπιπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ κειμήλια καὶ τὴν  
 ἄλλην ἅπασαν λείαν εἰσοίσομεν ἐκόντες· λαμβάνειν,  
 οὐ διδόναι, ταῦτα νομιοῦμεν. ἐν ἀντὶ πάντων  
 αἰτούμεθα, μηδὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι νεώτερον,  
 ἀλλὰ φυλαχθῆναι τοιοῦτον, οἶον παρὰ τῶν πάππων
- 233 καὶ προγόνων παρελάβομεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθομεν,  
 παραδίδομεν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ἵνα μὴ ζῶντες  
 ἐπίδωμεν θανάτου χεῖρον κακόν. πυνθανόμεθα  
 πεζὰς καὶ ἵππικὰς δυνάμεις εὐτρεπίσθαι καθ'

<sup>1</sup> mss. *προσπεσοῦμεθα*. I am not sure that the change is necessary. Their prostration before Petronius could when reported in the future to Gaius constitute a prostration before him.

<sup>a</sup> Philo sometimes uses *γενεά* = "family," cf. § 308. But



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 230-233

wives, our children and our families<sup>a</sup> to you, leaving none at home, and have prostrated ourselves before Gaius in doing so to you, that you and he may either save us all from ruin or send us all to perish in utter destruction. O Petronius, both by our nature and our principles we are peaceable, and the diligence which parents devote to rearing their children has trained us in this practice from the very first. When 231 Gaius succeeded to the sovereignty we were the first of all the inhabitants of Syria to show our joy, for Vitellius your predecessor as governor was staying in the city, and it was to him that the letter telling the news was sent and it was from our city that rumour to carry the good tidings sped to the others. Was our temple the first to accept sacrifices in behalf 232 of Gaius's reign only that it should be the first or even the only one to be robbed of its ancestral tradition of worship? We are evacuating our cities, withdrawing from our houses and lands; our furniture and money and cherished possessions and all the other spoil we will willingly make over. We should think ourselves gainers thereby, not givers. One thing only we ask in return for all, that no violent changes should be made in this temple and that it be kept as we received it from our grandparents and ancestors. But if we cannot persuade you, we give up ourselves 233 for destruction that we may not live to see a calamity worse than death. We hear that forces of cavalry and infantry have been prepared against us if we

it is strange to find it=" the rest of the family." So in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 159 we have γύναια τούτων καὶ τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην γενεάν. In suggesting γονέας I do not forget that elsewhere he seems regularly to use γονεῖς. But γονέας is a known Attic form and he may have thought it appropriate for a highly rhetorical speech put into the mouth of another.

## PHILO

ἡμῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ἀντιβαίημεν. οὐδεὶς  
 οὕτως μέμηνεν, ὡς δούλος ὢν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεσ-  
 πότη· παρέχομεν ἐν ἐτοίμῳ τὰς σφαγὰς ἄσμενοι,  
 κτεινέτωσαν, ἱερευέτωσαν, κρεανομείτωσαν ἅμαχεὶ  
 καὶ ἀναιμωτί, πάντα ὅσα κεκρατηκότων ἔργα  
 234 δρᾶτωσαν. τίς δὲ χρεῖα στρατιᾶς; αὐτοὶ κατάρ-  
 [581] ξομεν | τῶν θυμάτων οἱ καλοὶ ἱερεῖς, παραστησό-  
 μενοι τῷ ἱερῷ γυναικας οἱ γυναικοκτόνοι, ἀδελφοὺς  
 καὶ ἀδελφὰς οἱ ἀδελφοκτόνοι, κούρους καὶ κόρας,  
 τὴν ἄκακον ἡλικίαν, οἱ παιδοφόνται· τραγικῶν  
 γὰρ ὀνομάτων δεῖ τοῖς τὰς τραγικὰς συμφορὰς  
 235 ὑπομένουσιν. εἴτ' ἐν μέσοις στάντες καὶ λουσά-  
 μενοι τῷ συγγενικῷ αἵματι—τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ λουτρά  
 τοῖς εἰς ἄδου φαιδρυνόμενοις—ἀνακερασόμεθα τὸ  
 236 ἴδιον ἐπικατασφάζαντες αὐτούς. ἀποθανόντων τὸ  
 ἐπίταγμα γενέσθω· μέμφαιτ' ἂν οὐδὲ θεὸς ἡμᾶς  
 ἀμφοτέρων στοχαζομένους, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν  
 αὐτοκράτορα εὐλαβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς καθω-  
 σιωμένους νόμους ἀποδοχῆς· γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτο,  
 ἐὰν ὑπεκστῶμεν ἀβιώτου βίου καταφρονήσαντες.  
 237 ἄκοην ἐδεξάμεθα παλαιάτην ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα λογίων παραδοθεῖσαν, οἱ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνης  
 κεφαλὴν τοσαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὠμολόγουν, ὥστε  
 τοὺς προσιδόντας εὐθύς λίθους καὶ πέτρους γίνε-  
 σθαι. τοῦτο μύθου μὲν πλάσμα ἔοικεν εἶναι, τὸ  
 δ' ἀληθὲς αἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ἀβούλητοι καὶ ἀνήκεστοι  
 συντυχίαι ἐπιφέρουσιν. ὄργαι δεσπότης θάνατον  
 238 ἀπεργάζονται ἢ παραπλήσιόν τι θανάτῳ. νομίζεις,  
 ὃ μήποτε γένοιτο, παραπεμπόμενον εἰ θεάσαιντό

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\* Or "fine priests indeed"—a strange travesty of priest-  
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## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 233-238

oppose the installation. No one is so mad as to oppose a master when he is a slave. We gladly put our throats at your disposal. Let them slaughter, butcher, carve our flesh without a blow struck or blood drawn by us and do all the deeds that conquerors commit. But what need of an army! our 234 selves will conduct the sacrifices, priests of a noble order <sup>a</sup>: wives will be brought to the altar by wife-slayers, brothers and sisters by fratricides, boys and girls in the innocence of their years by child-murderers. For the tragedian's vocabulary is needed for those who endure tragical misfortunes. Then 235 standing in the midst of our kinsfolk after bathing ourselves in their blood, the right bathing for those who would go to Hades clean, we will mingle our blood with theirs by the crowning slaughter of ourselves. When we are dead let the prescript be 236 carried out; not God himself could blame us who had a twofold motive, respectful fear of the emperor and loyalty to the consecrated laws. And this aim will be accomplished if we take our departure in contempt of the life which is no life. We have 237 heard a very ancient story handed down by the common consent of learned men of Greece, that the Gorgon's head had such great power that those who looked upon it were turned at once into rocks and stones. The story is no doubt a mythical figment but great and disastrous and irreparable circumstances do bring with them the truth which it conveys. A despot's angry passions do work death or something like death. Think you that if, which 238 Heaven forbid, any of our people should see the hood, *καλοί* being used ironically, as perhaps always when applied to persons.

## PHILO

- τινες τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν ἀνδριάντα, οὐκ ἂν εἰς πέτρους<sup>1</sup> μεταβαλεῖν, παγέντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄρθρων, παγέντων δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὡς μηδὲ κινήθῃναι δύνασθαι, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ σώματος τὰς φυσικὰς κινήσεις μεταβαλόντος καθ' ἕκαστον
- 239 τῶν ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ μερῶν αὐτοῦ; τελευταίαν δέησιν, ᾧ Πετρώνιε, ποιησόμεθα δικαιοσάτην· οὐ φάμεν μὴ δεῖν τὰ κελευσθέντα δρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀναχώρησιν αἰτούμεθα προσικετεύοντες, ἵνα πρεσβείαν ἐλόμενοι πέμψωμεν τὴν ἐντευξομένην τῷ δεσπότη.
- 240 τάχα που πρεσβευσάμενοι πείσομεν, ἢ περὶ θεοῦ τιμῆς πως διεξελθόντες ἢ περὶ νομίμων ἀκαθαιρέτων φυλακῆς ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐθνῶν, οἷς τετήρηται τὰ πάτρια, ἔλαττον ἐνέγκασθαι ἢ περὶ ὧν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόπαππος ἔγνωσαν ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἔθνη
- 241 μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας. ἴσως ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔσται μαλακώτερος· οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένουσιν αἱ γνώμαι τῶν μεγάλων, αἱ δὲ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ τάχιστα κάμνουσι. διαβεβλήμεθα, τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπίτρεψον
- 242 ἰάσασθαι· ἀκρίτους καταγνωσθῆναι χαλεπὸν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείσωμεν, τί λοιπὸν ἐμποδῶν ἐστίν [ἢ]
- [582] ταῦτα ἂ καὶ | νῦν διανοῆ πράττειν; ἕως οὐ πρεσβεύμεθα, μὴ ἀποκόψῃς τὰς ἀμείνους ἐλπίδας μυριάδων τοσοούτων, αἷς οὐχ ὑπὲρ κέρδους ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐστὶν ἢ σπουδῆ. καίτοι γε ἡμάρτομεν τοῦτο εἰπόντες· τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη κέρδος λυσιτελέστερον ὁσιότητος ἀνθρώποις;”
- 243 XXXIII. Ταῦτα δὲ διεξήεσαν ὑπ' ἀγωνίας καὶ περιπαθήσεως ἄσθματι πολλῷ, κεκομμένῳ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πέτρον.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 238-243

statue being carried in procession to the temple, they would not be transformed to stone, their joints stiffened and their eyes likewise so that they could not even move, and their whole body in each part of its system changed from its natural motions? Our final prayer, the justest of all, Petronius, will 239 be this. We do not say that you are not bound to do as you are bidden but we add to our supplications a request for a respite so that we may choose a body of envoys and send them to seek an interview with our lord. It may be that by this 240 mission we shall persuade him, pleading in full either the honour due to God or the preservation of our laws undestroyed, or our right to be no worse treated than all the nations, even those in the uttermost regions, who have had their ancestral institutions maintained, or the decisions of his grandfather and great-grandfather in which they ratified our customs with all respect for them. Per- 241 haps when he hears this he will be softened. The judgements of the great do not remain unchanged; if they have been made in anger they soonest lose their strength. We have been slandered, permit us to purge the slanders; it is a grievous thing to be condemned untried. But if we fail to persuade him 242 what remains to hinder you from carrying out your present intention? Wait till we have sent our embassy before you cut away their hopes for better things from all these myriads whose zeal is for their religion and not for gain. And yet we err when we say this, for what more profitable gain can men have than holiness?"

XXXIII. This appeal was made in great agitation 243 and intense emotion accompanied with much gasping

## PHILO

πνεύματι, ρέομενοι κατὰ τῶν μελῶν ἀπάντων  
 ἰδρῶτι, μετὰ φορᾶς ἀπαύστων δακρῶν, ὡς ἤδη  
 συναλγεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τὸν Πετρώνιον—ἦν  
 γὰρ καὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμενῆς καὶ ἡμερος—ὑπὸ τῶν  
 λεχθέντων καὶ ὀρωμένων συνηρπάσθαι· ἐδόκει γὰρ  
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι δικαιοτάτα καὶ οἰκτρά  
 244 τις ἢ τῶν ὀρωμένων περιπάθησις. ἐπεξαναστὰς  
 δὲ μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ἐβουλεύετο τὰ πρακτέα  
 καὶ ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν πρὸ μικροῦ παντάπασιν ἐναν-  
 τιουμένους ἐπαμφοτερίζοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιαστὰς  
 ἐπιρρέποντας ἤδη τῷ πλείονι μέρει πρὸς ἔλεον·  
 ἐφ' οἷς ἤδετο, καίτοι τὴν φύσιν εἰδὼς τοῦ  
 προεστῶτος καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητος ὀργήν.  
 245 ἀλλ' εἶχέ τινα καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐναύσματα  
 τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας ἅμα καὶ εὐσεβείας,  
 εἴτε καὶ πάλαι προμαθῶν ἕνεκα τῆς περὶ παιδείαν  
 σπουδῆς εἴτε καὶ ἀφ' οὗ τῶν χώρων ἐπετρόπευσεν,  
 ἐν οἷς Ἰουδαῖοι καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπλη-  
 θεῖς, Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας, εἴτε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 οὕτω διατεθεῖς αὐτηκόῳ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστῳ καὶ  
 αὐτομαθεῖ τι πρὸς τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια φύσει. τοῖς  
 δὲ ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὰς ὑπηχεῖν ἔοικε γνώμας ὁ θεός,  
 δι' ὧν ὠφελοῦντες ὠφεληθήσονται· ὅπερ κακεῖνῳ  
 246 συνέβη. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι; μὴ κατ-  
 επείγειν τοὺς δημιουργούς, ἀλλ' ἀναπειθεῖν εὖ  
 τετεχνιτευμένον ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα,  
 στοχαζομένους καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἶόν τε ἢ μὴ ἀπολειφ-  
 θῆναι τῶν διωνομασμένων ἀρχετύπων εἰς πλείο-  
 νος χρόνου μῆκος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν αὐτοσχέδια φιλεῖ

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\* Or "suggests." For Philo's frequent use of ὑπηχεῖν,  
 generally carrying with it the idea of a voice heard in-  
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## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 243-246

and spasmodic breathing, the sweat streaming over every limb amid a flood of ceaseless tears, so that by now their hearers shared their sorrow, and Petronius who was naturally kindly was quite carried away both by what he heard and what he saw. For he felt that what they said was very just and that the emotion displayed in what he saw was worthy of pity. He rose and retiring deliberated with his fellow-councillors on the course to be taken. He saw that those who had just before been entirely opposed to the Jews were wavering, and that the doubters had thrown most of their weight into the scale of mercy. This pleased him though he knew the nature of his chief and how implacable was his anger. Indeed it appears that he himself had some rudiments of Jewish philosophy and religion acquired either in early lessons in the past through his zeal for culture or after his appointment as governor in the countries where the Jews are very numerous in every city, Asia and Syria, or else because his soul was so disposed, being drawn to things worthy of serious effort by a nature which listened to no voice nor dictation nor teaching but its own. But we find that to good men God whispers a good decisions by which they will give and receive benefits, and this was true in his case. What then were his decisions? He would not press the craftsmen but would urge them to perfect the statue with good artistry and aim as far as possible to take a long time to reach the standard of the widely known exemplars, since work, if perfunctory, is gen-

wardly, often as here the divine voice, see note on *De Som.* i. 164 (vol. v. p. 601). The complete omission of this usage in L. & S., which was remarked on in that note, has since been rectified in the revised edition.

## PHILO

πως ἐπιτέμεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ καὶ ἐπιστήμη  
 247 μῆκος χρόνων ἐπιζητεῖν. ἦν ἠτήσαντο πρεσβείαν,  
 οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν· ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι. τοῖς βου-  
 λομένοις ἐπὶ τὸν πάντων ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην  
 ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα μὴ ἐναντιοῦσθαι. τῷ  
 248 πλῆθει μῆτε ὁμολογεῖν μῆτε ἀρνεῖσθαι· ἐκάτερον  
 [583] γὰρ φέρειν κίνδυνον. ἐπιστέλλειν | Γαῖῳ μὴδὲν  
 μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατηγοροῦντα, μὴ δηλοῦντα δὲ  
 ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὰς ἰκετείας καὶ ἀντιβολίας αὐτῶν,  
 καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν βραδυτήτος αἰτιᾶσθαι  
 τὸ μὲν τι τὴν κατασκευὴν χρόνου μεμετρημένου  
 δεομένην, τὸ δέ τι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν διδόντα μεγάλας  
 ἀφορμὰς εἰς ἀναβολὴν εὐλόγους, αἷς συναινέσειν  
 249 οὐκ ἴσως ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως καὶ αὐτὸν Γάιον. ἐν  
 ἀκμῇ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὅσα σπαρτά, δεδιέναι δὲ μὴ κατ' ἀπόγνωσιν  
 τῶν πατρίων ἄνθρωποι καὶ τοῦ ζῆν καταφρονούντες  
 ἢ δηλώσωσι τὰς ἀρούρας ἢ ἐμπρήσωσι τὴν σταχυη-  
 φόρον ὄρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, φυλακῆς δὲ χρήξειν  
 εἰς ἐπιμελεστέραν τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὴν, οὐ  
 μόνον τῶν σπειρομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἡ δενδροφόρος  
 250 παρέχει. διεγνώκει<sup>1</sup> μὲν γάρ, ὡς λόγος, πλεῖν εἰς  
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, πελάγει δὲ οὐκ  
 ἀξιώσει τοσοῦτος ἡγεμὼν διὰ τε τοὺς κινδύνους  
 καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ παραπέμποντος στόλου καὶ  
 ἅμα διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σώματος, ἃ δὴ πάντα  
 γίνεται ραδίως τὸν δι' Ἀσίας καὶ Συρίας κύκλον  
 251 περαιουμένῳ· δυνήσεται γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν  
 καὶ πλεῖν καὶ ἀποβαίνειν, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς πλείστας  
 ναῦς ἐπαγόμενος μακράς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὀλκάδας, αἷς  
 ὁ παρὰ γῆν πλοῦς ἀνυσιμώτερος, ὡς ταῖς φορτίσι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διέγνωκα μὲν.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 246-251

erally short-lived and to have it executed with pains and knowledge requires a long time. He would 247 not grant their request for an embassy. It was not safe. He would not oppose those who wished to lay the matter before the ruler and master of them all, but to the general multitude he would express neither assent nor denial, as both were dangerous. He would send to Gaius a letter in 248 which, without accusing the Jews or giving a candid account of their prayers and entreaties, he would charge the delay in the installation partly to the work requiring a definite allowance of time for the construction, partly to the season, which gave strong grounds for delay, the reasonableness of which Gaius himself not only might but necessarily must admit. For the wheat crop was just ripe and 249 so were the other cereals, and he feared that the Jews in despair for their ancestral rites and in scorn of life might lay waste the arable land or set fire to the cornlands on the hills and the plain. He needed a guard to insure more vigilance in gathering the fruits not only of the cornfields but also those provided by the orchards. For Gaius had deter- 250 mined, they were told, to sail to Alexandria by Egypt, but so great a potentate would not think it right to go by the open sea because of the dangers and the numbers of ships required for a convoy, and also the need of providing for his bodily comfort, all which ends are easily obtained by taking the circuitous route along Asia and Syria. For he would be able every 251 day to combine the voyage with landing, particularly as most of the vessels which he would take would be not merchant ships but warships for which coasting is more feasible, just as an open sea voyage is for

PHILO

- 252 διὰ πελάγους ἐστίν. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσι καὶ τροφὰς ἀφθόνους ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς Συριακαῖς πόλεσιν εὐτρεπίσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς παράλοις. ἀφίξεται γὰρ παμπληθῆς ὄχλος καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάττης, οὐ μόνον ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀναστάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξῆς ἄχρι Συρίας ἐπικρατειῶν ἐπηκολουθηκώς, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὁ δὲ στρατιωτικός, ἰππέων, πεζῶν, τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ὁ δὲ οἰκετικός οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ
- 253 στρατιωτικοῦ. δεῖ δὲ χορηγιῶν οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα συμμεμετρημένων αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιττὴν δαψίλειαν, ἣν ἐπιζητεῖ Γάιος. τούτοις ἔαν ἐντύχη τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἴσως πρὸς τῷ μὴ δυσχερᾶναι καὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξεται ὡς ποιησαμένους τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν, οὐ χάριτι τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδῆς.
- 254 XXXIV. Ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν συνέδρων, κελεύει γράφεσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολάς καὶ ἐχειροτόνει τοὺς διακομιοῦντας ἄνδρας εὐζώνους, ἐθάδας δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπιτομῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦκοντες ἀνέδοσαν τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ὁ
- [584] δ' ἔτι μὲν ἀναγινώσκων διώδει | καὶ μεστὸς ἦν
- 255 ὀργῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ σημειούμενος· ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο, συνεκρότει τὰς χεῖρας “ εὖ, Πετρῶνιε,” φάσκων, “ οὐκ ἔμαθες ἀκούειν αὐτοκράτορος· αἱ ἐπάλληλοί σε ἀρχαὶ πεφυσήκασιν· ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἀκοῇ γνωρίζειν μοι δοκεῖς Γάιον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
- 256 αὐτοῦ πείραν ἕξεις. μέλει μὲν γάρ σοι τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν νομίμων, ἐχθίστου μοι ἔθνους, ἀλογεῖς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντος ἡγεμονικῶν προστάξεων. ἐφοβήθης τὸ πλῆθος· εἶτα οὐ παρήσαν αἱ στρα-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτῷ.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 251-256

cargo boats. It would be necessary therefore to have 252  
fodder for the beasts and a vast stock of food got  
ready in all the cities of Syria, particularly on the  
coast. For a huge crowd would come both by sea  
and by land, drawn not only from Rome itself and  
Italy, but also from the successive provinces right up  
to Syria, a crowd composed partly of persons of high  
rank, partly of soldiers, infantry and cavalry and  
marines, while the multitude of servants would be  
not less than the military. Supplies were needed 253  
calculated not merely for absolute necessities but for  
the excessive expenditure which Gaius demanded.  
If he reads this letter, thought Petronius, he will pro-  
bably not merely refrain from anger but approve  
our forethought, recognizing that the postponement  
which we have made is not due to favouritism to the  
Jews but in order to insure the carrying of the harvest.

XXXIV. As his fellow-councillors approved of his 254  
policy he ordered the letters to be written, and  
appointed to carry them persons who were active  
travellers and also knew how to make short cuts in  
their journey. When they arrived they delivered the  
letter, but Gaius while he was still reading was fuming  
and was filled with wrath as he noted each point.  
When he stopped reading he smote his hands together 255  
and said, " Good, Petronius, you have not learnt to  
hearken to an emperor ; your successive offices have  
puffed you with pride. Up to this time you seem to  
have no knowledge of Gaius even by report ; you will  
soon know him by actual experience. You concern 256  
yourself with the institutions of the Jews, the nation  
which is my worst enemy ; you disregard the imperial  
commands of your sovereign. You feared their great  
numbers. Then had you not with you the military

## PHILO

- 257 *τιωτικαὶ δυνάμεις, ὡς δέδιεν ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα καὶ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν Παρθυαῖοι; ἀλλ' ἠλέησας· εἶτα οἰκτῶ μᾶλλον ἐνέδωκας ἢ Γαῖω; προφασίζου νῦν ἄμνητον, τὸν ἀπροφάσιστον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐνδεξόμενος αὐτὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ· συγκομιδὴν αἰτιῶ καρπῶν καὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄφιξιν παρασκευάς· εἰ γὰρ ἀφορία παντελῆς ἐπέσχε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, οὐκ ἦσαν αἱ πλησιόχωροι τοσαῦται καὶ οὕτως εὐδαίμονες ἱκαναὶ χορηγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*
- 258 *καὶ τὴν μῆσ ἐνδειαν ἀναπληρῶσαι; ἀλλὰ τί προανίσταμαι τῶν χειρῶν; τί δέ μου τῆς γνώμης προαισθάνονται τινες; ὁ μέλλων τὰ ἐπίχειρα καρποῦσθαι γινωσκέτω πρῶτος ἐξ ὧν ἂν πάθῃ· παύομαι λέγων, φρονῶν δὲ οὐ παύσομαι."*
- 259 *καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ἐπισχῶν τινι τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὑπέβαλε τὰς πρὸς Πιτρῶνιον ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν εἰς τὸ προμηθὲς καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκριβῆ περίσκεψιν· σφόδρα γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ἡγεμονίαις εὐλαβεῖτο τὰς πρὸς νεωτεροποιίαν ἀφορμὰς ὄρων ἔχοντας ἐν ἐτοιμῷ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις καὶ μεγάλοις ἐπιτάττοντας στρατοπέδοις, ἡλίκα τὰ πρὸς Εὐφράτη*
- 260 *κατὰ Συρίαν ἐστίν. θεραπεύων οὖν τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ γράμμασιν ἄχρι καιροῦ τὸ ἔγκοτον ἐπεσκίαζε βαρῦμηις ὢν. εἶτα ἐπὶ πᾶσι γράφει κελεύων μηδενὸς οὕτω φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ θάπτον ἀνατεθῆναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ θέρη, τὴν εἶτε πιθανὴν εἶτε ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν, συγκεκομίσθαι δύνασθαι.*
- 261 **XXXV.** *Μετ' οὐ πολὺ μέντοι παρῆν Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀσπασόμενος Γάιον.*

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 256-261

forces which are feared by the nations of the east and their rulers the Parthians? Oh but you had 257 compassion! Then did pity weigh more than Gaius with you? Go on, plead the harvest as your pretext; the harvest for which no pretext will avail will soon be visited on your own head. Yes, lay the blame on the ingathering of the fruits and the preparations needed for our journey. Why, even if complete barrenness reigned in Judaea were not the neighbouring countries so many and so prosperous capable of providing the necessaries and compensating the deficiency in one? But why should I not sit still till 258 my hands get to work? why should any people know my intentions beforehand? he who is to reap the reward, let him know of it before others through personal experience. I stop speaking, but I shall not stop thinking.” After waiting a short 259 time he gave one of his secretaries instructions about answering Petronius. In these he seemingly praised him for his forethought and his careful exploration of future requirements. For he greatly feared the holders of governorships, he saw that they had resources ready for an uprising, particularly those who had large provinces and commanded large armies of the size of those in Syria on the Euphrates. So his 260 language and letters were ingratiating, and though furiously angry he disguised his rancour waiting for an opportunity. Then he concluded his letter by bidding him interest himself in nothing so much as in hastening the installation of the statue, since the harvest which he alleged as an excuse, whether truly or plausibly, could already have been carried.

XXXV. Not long afterwards King Agrippa ap- 261 peared to pay his wonted respects to Gaius. Now he

## PHILO

ἦδει δὲ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν οὔτε ὦν ἐπεστάλκει ὁ Πε-  
 τρώνιος οὔτε ὦν ὁ Γάιος ἢ πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον·  
 ἔτεκμαίρετο μέντοι διὰ τῆς οὐκ ἐν τάξει κινή-  
 σεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀμμάτων ταραχῆς ὑποτυφομένην  
 ὄργην καὶ ἀνεσκόπει καὶ διηρεῖνα ἑαυτὸν πάντη  
 καὶ πρὸς πάντα μικρά τε αὐτὸ καὶ μεγάλα τὸν λογι-  
 σμὸν ἀποτείνων, μὴ τι δέδρακεν ἢ εἶπεν ὦν οὐ χρή.  
 262 ὡς δὲ συνόλως οὐδὲν εὔρισκεν, ἐτόπασεν, ὅπερ ἦν  
 εἰκός, ἐτέροις τισὶ πικραίνεσθαι. πάλιν δὲ ὅτε  
 ὑποβλεπόμενον εἶδε καὶ τετακότα τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς  
 μηδένα τῶν παρόντων ἢ μόνον ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐδεδίει |  
 [585] καὶ πολλάκις ἐρέσθαι διανοηθεὶς ἐπέσχε, τοιοῦτον  
 λαμβάνων λογισμὸν. “ ἴσως τὴν ἀπειλήν πρὸς  
 ἐτέρους οὔσαν αὐτὸς ἔλξω περιεργίας ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 προπετείας καὶ θράσους ὑπόληψιν ἐξενεγκάμενος.”  
 263 ἐπτοημένον δ' οὖν καὶ ἀποροῦντα θεασάμενος  
 αὐτὸν Γάιος—ἦν γὰρ δεινὸς ἐκ τῆς φανεράς ὄψεως  
 ἀφανὲς ἀνθρώπου βούλημα καὶ πάθος συνιδεῖν—  
 “ ἀπορεῖς,” εἶπεν “ Ἀγρίππα; παύσω σε τῆς  
 264 ἀπορίας. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν μοι χρόνον συνδιατρίψας  
 ἠγνόησας, ὅτι οὐ τῇ φωνῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς  
 ὀμμασι φθέγγομαι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον ἕκαστα  
 265 διασημαίνων; οἱ καλοὶ σου καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πολῖται,  
 παρ' οἷς μόνοις ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους θεὸς  
 οὐ νομίζεται Γάιος, ἦδη μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ θανατᾶν  
 ἀφηγιάζοντες· ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Διὸς  
 ἀνδριάντα ἀνατεθῆναι, πανδημεὶ συνταξάμενοι τῆς  
 πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ὑπεξῆλθον, πρόφασιν ἰκε-  
 τεύσοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐναντία τοῖς προστεταγ-  
 266 μένοις ἐργασόμενοι.” μέλλοντος δὲ προσεπιφέρειν  
 ἕτερα, ὑπ' ἀγωνίας παντοδαπὰς χροῶς ἐνήλλαπτεν

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 261-266

knew absolutely nothing about the contents of the letter sent by Petronius or of those written earlier and later by Gaius. He judged however by his irregular movements and the disturbance shown in his eyes that anger was smouldering beneath, and he examined and searched himself in every way, setting his reason to work in every direction and on every possibility small or great, to see whether he had done or said something which he should not. But when he could find nothing at all he conjectured naturally enough that Gaius was exasperated by some other persons, but again when he saw him frowning and that his eyes had been fixed on no one else in the company but himself alone, he was frightened and though he was often minded to question him he forbore, reasoning thus: "Perhaps I shall draw upon myself the menace directed to others and have officiousness, rashness and effrontery imputed to me." Gaius, who was skilled in discerning a man's secret wishes and feelings from his open countenance, observed his agitation and perplexity and said, "You are perplexed, Agrippa, I will release you from your perplexity. Have you sojourned with me all this time and not learnt that I speak not only with my voice but quite as much with my eyes in every intimation that I make? Your excellent and worthy fellow-citizens, who alone of every race of men do not acknowledge Gaius as a god, appear to be courting even death by their recalcitrance. When I ordered a statue of Zeus to be set up in the temple they marshalled their whole population and issued forth from the city and country nominally to make a petition but actually to counteract my orders." He was about to add further charges when Agrippa in deep distress turned

## PHILO

- ἐν ταύτῳ γινόμενος αἰμωπός, ὠχρός, πελιδνός.  
 267 ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄκρας ἄχρι ποδῶν φρίκη  
 κατέσχητο, τρόμος τε καὶ σεισμός πάντα αὐτοῦ  
 τὰ μέρη καὶ τὰ μέλη συνεκύκα, χαλωμένων τε  
 καὶ ἀνιεμένων τῶν σωματικῶν τόνων περὶ ἑαυτῷ  
 κατέρρει καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα παρεθεῖς μικροῦ κατ-  
 ἔπεσεν, εἰ μὴ τῶν παρεστώτων τινὲς ὑπέλαβον  
 αὐτόν· καὶ κελευσθέντες φοράδην οἴκαδε κομίζουσιν  
 οὐδενὸς συναισθανόμενον ὑπὸ κάρου τῶν ἀθρόων  
 268 κατασκηψάντων κακῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γάιος  
 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετραχύνθη τὸ κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους μίσος  
 ἐπιτείνων· “εἰ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας,” ἔφασκεν, “ὁ  
 συνηθέστατος καὶ φίλτατος καὶ τοσαύταις ἐνδε-  
 δεμένος εὐεργεσίαις ἤττηται τῶν ἐθῶν, ὡς μηδὲ  
 ἀκοὴν ἀνέχεσθαι τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἐκλύ-  
 σεως μικροῦ καὶ τελευτήσαι, τί χρὴ περὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων προσδοκᾶν, οἷς μηδεμία πρόσσεστιν ὄλκος  
 269 δύναμις εἰς τούναντίον;” ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας τὴν  
 μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς  
 ὑστεραίας ὑπὸ κάρου πιεσθεὶς βαθέος οὐδὲν ἐγνώ-  
 ριζε τῶν ὄντων, περὶ δὲ δεῖλην ἐσπέραν μικρὸν  
 ὅσον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας καὶ βεβαρημένους τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ βραχὺ μόλις διοίξας ἀμαυραῖς καὶ  
 ἀχλυῶδεσι ταῖς ὄψεσι τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ παρεθεᾶτο,  
 μήπω γνωρίζειν δυνάμενος ἐπ’ ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἐκά-  
 270 στων ἰδέας. πάλιν δὲ ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ὕπνον ἠρέμει  
 τῆς προτέρας ὑγιεινότερα καταστάσει χρώμενος,  
 ὡς ἐνῆν ἔκ τε τῆς ἀναπνοῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ  
 [586] σῶμα σχέσεως τεκμήρασθαι. | περιαναστὰς δὲ  
 271 ὕστερον ἐπυθάνετο· “ποῦ τὰ νῦν εἰμι; μήτι  
 παρὰ Γαῖω; μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς πάρεστιν ὁ δεσπότης;”  
 ἀποκριναμένων δέ· “θάρρει, παρὰ σαυτῷ διατρί-  
 136



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 266-271

to every kind of colour, blood-red, dead pale and livid all in a moment. And by now from the crown of his 267 head to his feet he was mastered by a fit of shuddering, every part and every limb convulsed with trembling and palpitation. With his nervous system relaxed and unbraced he was in a state of utter collapse, and finally thus paralysed was on the point of falling. But some of the bystanders caught him and, when ordered to bring him home, took him thither on a stretcher, quite unconscious in his coma of the mass of troubles which had fallen upon him.

Gaius indeed was still more ex- 268 asperated and pushed his hatred of the nation still further. "If Agrippa," he said, "who is my dearest and most familiar friend and bound to me by so many benefactions, is so under the dominion of its customs that he cannot even bear to hear a word against them and is prostrated almost to the point of death, what must we expect of the others who are not under the influence of any counter-acting force?" On the other hand Agrippa for the first 269 day and the greater part of the next lay sunk in profound coma and knew nothing of what went on. But about the late afternoon he lifted his head slightly and just managed to open his eyes a little, weary as they were, and with their dim and misty vision cast a half look on those around him, unable as yet to distinguish clearly their several forms. Then again 270 he dropped off into sleep and rested quietly in a healthier condition than before, as far as could be judged from his revival and the state of his body. Afterwards he woke up and asked, "Where am I 271 now? At Gaius's? is my lord also present?" They replied, "Cheer up, you are staying in your

## PHILO

- 272 βεις, Γάιος οὐ πάρεστιν· ἰκανῶς ἠρέμησας (ὑπενεχθεῖς) εἰς ὕπνον· ἀλλ' ἐπιστραφεῖς καὶ μετεωρίσας σαυτὸν τὸν ἀγκῶνα πῆξον, γνώρισον τοὺς παρόντας· ἴδιοι πάντες εἰσί, φίλων καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν οἱ μάλιστα τιμῶντες καὶ ἀντιτιμῶμενοι”
- 273 —ὁ δὲ—νήφειν γὰρ ἤρχετο—καθεώρα τὸ παρ' ἐκάστω συμπαθές· καὶ κελευσάντων τοὺς πολλοὺς μεταστῆναι τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἵνα δι' ἀλειμμάτων καὶ
- 274 τροφῆς καιρίου τὸ σωματίον ἀνακτήσωνται, “ πάνν γάρ,” εἶπε, “ φροντιστέον ὑμῖν ἐπιμελεστέρας τῆς εἰς ἐμὲ διαίτης; οὐ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ μοι τῷ βαρυδαίμονι λιμὸν ἀκέσασθαι διὰ ψιλῆς καὶ εἰς εὐτέλειαν ἀπηκριβωμένης τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρήσεως; οὐδ' αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα προσηκάμην ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἔνεκα τελευταίας βοηθείας, ἣν ὄνειροπολεῖ μου ἡ διάνοια
- 275 τῷ ταλαιπῶρῳ ἔθνει παρασχεῖν.” καὶ ὁ μὲν δεδακρυμένος καὶ ἀναγκοφαγῶν δίχα προσοψήματος οὐδὲ κράματος προσενεχθέντος ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' ὕδατος ἀπογευσάμενος, “ ἀπέχει<sup>1</sup> μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ ἡ τάλαινα γαστήρ ὁ ἀπήτει δάνειον· ἐμοὶ δὲ τί προσήκει ποιεῖν ἢ δεῖσθαι Γαῖου περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων;”
- 276 XXXVI. Καὶ δέλτον λαβὼν ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλει· “ τὴν μὲν κατ' ὄψιν ἔντευξις, ὧ δέσποτα, φόβος με καὶ αἰδῶς ἀφείλαντο, ὁ μὲν ἀπειλήν ἐκτροπέμενος, ἡ δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ περὶ σὲ ἀξιώματος

<sup>1</sup> Reiter prints ἐπέχει from A only. I do not understand why, for ἀπέχω in the sense of “ receive in full ” is well known, e.g., St. Matth. vi. 2. No such sense is cited for ἐπέχω.

<sup>a</sup> For the medical use of σωματίον for a sick man's body under treatment see examples in L. & S. revised.

<sup>b</sup> πάνν may be regarded as introducing a question, or an

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 271-276

own house ; Gaius is not here ; you got a good rest 272  
when you fell asleep ; now turn round, lift yourself  
up, lean upon your elbow and recognize the com-  
pany present. They are all your own people, those  
of your friends and freedmen and servants who most  
value you and are valued by you." He was begin- 273  
ning to come to his sober senses and observed the  
sympathy shown by all, and when the physicians told  
most of them to leave the room so that they might  
restore their patient <sup>a</sup> with unguents and suitable  
nourishment he said, " The idea of troubling your- 274  
selves to give me a more elaborate diet ! <sup>b</sup> Isn't it  
enough for me, ill-fated wretch that I am, to assuage  
hunger merely with the use of bare necessities care-  
fully calculated to maintain economy ?—and even  
these I would not have accepted save to insure the  
last remaining help which it is the dream of my  
heart to give to the unhappy nation." Tearfully he 275  
forced himself to swallow some food without any-  
thing to season it, and even refused the offer of  
a mixed drink, and merely took a taste of water  
instead. " The belly," he said, " poor creature,  
has been paid in full the debt which it claimed.  
What should I now do but make my petition to Gaius  
about the present situation ? "

XXXVI. He took a tablet and wrote to him as 276  
follows : " My opportunity, my master, of interced-  
ing with you face to face has been lost through  
fear and reverend shame, fear which could not  
confront the menace, reverence which struck me  
dumb before the greatness of your dignity. But

ironical affirmation. In either case the sentence indicates a  
strong repudiation, though no example of any such use is  
given in Stephanus or L. & S.

## PHILO

- καταπλήττουσα· γραφή δὲ μηνύσει μου τὴν δέησιν,  
 277 ἣν ἀνθ' ἱκετηρίας προτείνω. πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις,  
 αὐτοκράτορ, ἐμπέφυκεν ἔρως μὲν τῆς πατρίδος,  
 τῶν δὲ οἰκείων νόμων ἀποδοχή· καὶ περὶ τούτων  
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶ σοι χρεῖα διδασκαλίας, ἐκθύμως μὲν  
 στέργοντι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκθύμως δὲ τὰ πάτρια  
 τιμῶντι. καλὰ δὲ ἐκάστοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειάν ἐστι, διαφαίνεται τὰ οἰκεία· κρίνουσι γὰρ  
 αὐτὰ οὐ λογισμῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς εὐνοίας πάθει.
- 278 γεγέννημαι μὲν, ὡς οἶδας, Ἰουδαῖος· ἔστι δέ μοι  
 Ἱεροσόλυμα πατρίς, ἐν ἣ ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεῶς  
 ἅγιος ἵδρυται· πάππων δὲ καὶ προγόνων βασιλέων  
 ἔλαχον, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἐλέγοντο ἀρχιερεῖς, τὴν  
 βασιλείαν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τιθέμενοι  
 καὶ νομίζοντες, ὅσῳ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων διαφέρει κατὰ  
 τὸ κρεῖττον, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ βασιλείας ἀρχιερωσύνην<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι θεοῦ θεραπείαν, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν  
 279 ἀνθρώπων. ἔθνει δὴ τοιούτῳ προσκεκληρωμένος  
 καὶ πατρίδι καὶ ἱερῷ δέομαι ὑπὲρ πάντων· τοῦ  
 μὲν ἔθνους, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ἐνέγκηται  
 τῆς ἀληθείας, εὐσεβέστατα καὶ ὀσιώτατα διακεί-  
 [587] μενον | ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον·  
 280 ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἐφέεται καὶ ἕξεστι μετὰ νόμων εὐσεβεῖν,  
 οὐδενὸς οὔτε τῶν Ἀσιανῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ  
 λείπεται τὸ παράπαν, εὐχαῖς, ἀναθημάτων κατα-  
 σκευαῖς, πλήθει θυσιῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ  
 τὰς δημοτελεῖς ἑορτὰς ἀναγομέναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν  
 ταῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντελεχέσιν· ἐξ ὧν οὐ  
 στόματι καὶ γλώσση μηνύουσι τὸ εὐσεβὲς μᾶλλον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀρχιερωσύνη.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 276-280

my handwriting will declare to you the petition which I put forward instead of the suppliant's olive branch. All men, my emperor, have planted in them a passionate love of their native land and a high esteem for their own laws; and on this there is no need to instruct you, who love your native city as ardently as you honour your own customs. Every people is convinced of the excellence of its own institutions, even if they are not really excellent, for they judge them not so much by their reasoning as by the affection which they feel for them. I as you know am by birth a Jew, and my native city is Jerusalem in which is situated the sacred shrine of the most high God. It fell to me to have for my grandparents and ancestors kings, most of whom had the title of high priest, who considered their kingship inferior to the priesthood, holding that the office of high priest is as superior in excellence to that of king as God surpasses men. For the office of one is to worship God, of the other to have charge of men. As my lot is cast in such a nation, city and temple I beseech you for them all. For the nation, that it may not get a reputation the reverse of the truth, when from the very first it has been so piously and religiously disposed to all your house. For in all matters in which piety is enjoined and permitted under the laws it stood not a whit behind any other either in Asia or in Europe, in its prayers, its erection of votive offerings, its number of sacrifices, not only of those offered at general national feasts but in the perpetual and daily rites through which is declared their piety, not so much with mouth and tongue as in intentions formed in the secrecy of the soul by those

PHILO

- ἢ ψυχῆς ἀφανοῦς βουλευμασιν οἱ μὴ λέγοντες, ὅτι φιλοκαίσαρές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντες ὄντως.
- 281 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἱεροπόλεως τὰ προσήκοντά μοι λεκτέον· αὕτη, καθάπερ ἔφη, ἐμὴ μὲν ἐστὶ πατρίς, μητρόπολις δὲ οὐ μιᾶς χώρας Ἰουδαίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλείστων, διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ καιρῶν εἰς μὲν τὰς ὁμόρους, Αἴγυπτον, Φοινίκην, Συρίαν τὴν τε ἄλλην καὶ τὴν Κοίλην προσαγορευομένην, εἰς δὲ τὰς πόρρω διωκισμένας, Παμφυλίαν, Κιλικίαν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι Βιθυνίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου μυχῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εἰς Εὐρώπην, Θετταλίαν, Βοιωτίαν, Μακεδονίαν, Αἰτωλίαν, τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Ἄργος, Κόρινθον, τὰ
- 282 πλείστα καὶ ἄριστα Πελοποννήσου. καὶ οὐ μόνον αἱ ἠπειροὶ μεστὰι τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποικιῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσων αἱ δοκιμώταται, Εὐβοία, Κύπρος, Κρήτη. καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς πέραν Εὐφράτου· πᾶσαι γὰρ ἔξω μέρους βραχέος, Βαβυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν αἱ ἀρετῶσαν ἔχουσαι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ
- 283 γῆν Ἰουδαίους ἔχουσιν οἰκήτορας. ὥστ' ἐὰν μεταλάβῃ σου τῆς εὐμενείας ἢ ἐμὴ πατρίς, οὐ μία πόλις ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίαὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργετοῦνται καθ' ἕκαστον κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἰδρυθεῖσαι, τὸ Εὐρωπαϊόν, τὸ Ἀσιανόν, τὸ Λιβυκόν, τὸ ἐν ἠπείροις, τὸ ἐν νήσοις, παράλόν τε καὶ μεσόγειον.
- 284 ἀρμόττει δέ σου τῷ μεγέθει τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης διὰ τῶν εἰς μίαν πόλιν εὐεργεσιῶν μυρίας ἄλλας συνευεργετεῖν, ὅπως διὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν ἄδηταί σου τὸ κλέος καὶ οἱ μετ'
- 285 εὐχαριστίας ἔπαινοι συνηχῶνται. φίλων ἐνίων πατρίδας ὅλας<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡξίωσας πολιτείας,

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὅλης.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 280-285

who do not tell you that they love their Caesar but love him in very truth. As for the holy 281 city, I must say what befits me to say. While she, as I have said, is my native city she is also the mother city not of one country Judaea but of most of the others in virtue of the colonies sent out at divers times to the neighbouring lands Egypt, Phoenicia, the part of Syria called the Hollow and the rest as well and the lands lying far apart, Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia up to Bithynia and the corners of Pontus, similarly also into Europe, Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth and most of the best parts of Peloponnese. And not only are 282 the mainlands full of Jewish colonies but also the most highly esteemed of the islands Euboea, Cyprus, Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for except for a small part they all, Babylon and of the other satrapies those where the land within their confines<sup>a</sup> is highly fertile, have Jewish inhabitants. So that if my own home-city 283 is granted a share of your goodwill the benefit extends not to one city but to myriads of the others situated in every region of the inhabited world whether in Europe or in Asia or in Libya, whether in the mainlands or on the islands, whether it be seaboard or inland. It well befits the magnitude of 284 your great good fortune that by benefiting one city you should benefit myriads of others also so that through every part of the world your glory should be celebrated and your praises mingled with thanksgiving resound. Some of your friends have had their 285 homelands as a whole deemed worthy by you of

<sup>a</sup> Or "the land round them," the satrapy being identified with its capital.

## PHILO

καὶ γεγόνασιν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ δοῦλοι δεσπότηαι  
 286 ἑτέρων· καὶ τῶν ἀπολελαυκότων τῆς χάριτος μάλ-  
 λον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον οἱ δι' οὓς γέγονεν ἡδοναί. καὶ γὰρ  
 τίς εἰμι τῶν εἰδόντων μὲν ὅτι δεσπότην ἔχω καὶ  
 κύριον, κεκριμένων δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐταίρων,  
 [588] ἀξιώματος μὲν ἕνεκα οὐ πολλῶν ὕστερος, | εὐνοίας  
 287 δὲ οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πρῶτος. διὰ τε  
 οὖν τὸ πεφυκέναι<sup>1</sup> καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν εὐερ-  
 γεσιῶν, αἷς με κατεπλούτισας, θαρρήσας ἂν ἴσως  
 αἰτήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ αὐτός, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν  
 Ῥωμαϊκὴν πολιτείαν, ἐλευθερίαν γοῦν ἢ φόρων  
 ἄφεσιν, οὐδὲν ἀπετόλμησα τοιοῦτον αἰτήσασθαι,  
 τὸ δὲ φορητότατον, χάριν σοὶ μὲν ἀζήμιον δοῦναι,  
 τῇ δὲ πατρίδι λαβεῖν ὠφελιμωτάτην· τί γὰρ ἂν  
 γένοιτο εὐμενείας ἡγεμόνος ὑπηκόοις ἄμεινον  
 288 ἀγαθόν; ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρῶτον, αὐτοκράτορ,  
 ἡγγέλη σου ἢ εὐκταία διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερο-  
 πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς παρ' ἑκάτερα ἡπείρους ἐχώρησεν  
 ἡ φήμη· προνομίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν ἐστὶν  
 289 ἀξία παρὰ σοί. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συγγενείαις  
 οἱ πρεσβύτατοι παῖδες τυγχάνουσι πρεσβείων, ὅτι  
 πρῶτοι τὸ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ μητὴρ ὄνομα τοῖς  
 γονεῦσιν ἐφήμισαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν  
 ἀνατολικῶν πρώτη πόλις αὕτη σε προσείπεν  
 αὐτοκράτορα, δικαία τυγχάνειν πλειόνων ἐστὶν  
 290 ἀγαθῶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῶν γοῦν ἴσων. τοσαῦτα δικαιο-  
 λογηθεῖς καὶ δεηθεῖς ἅμα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἰμι  
 τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τὴν <περὶ> τοῦ ἱεροῦ δέησιν.  
 τοῦτο, Γαίε δέσποτα, τὸ ἱερὸν χειρόκμητον οὐδε-  
 μίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μορφὴν παρεδέξατο διὰ τὸ ἔδος τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Α τὸ πεφυκέναι εὐ, Mangey τὸ (τοιούτος) πεφυκέναι.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 285-290

Roman citizenship, and men who but now were slaves have become masters of others. The pleasure which this gracious action gives to those who have enjoyed it is felt quite as much if not more by those for whose sake it was done. I myself, being one of those who 286 while knowing we have a lord and master have been chosen to rank among your companions, am in dignity inferior to few and in loyalty second to none, I might almost say the first. And though, because I am what 287 I am and in view of the multitude of benefits with which you have enriched me I might perhaps have had the courage to beg myself that my homeland should obtain if not Roman citizenship at least freedom and remission of tribute, I have felt it would be overbold to ask for anything of the kind and only prefer the very modest request of a favour which you will lose nothing by giving and my country will best profit by receiving. For what greater boon can subjects have than the goodwill of their ruler? It 288 was in Jerusalem, my emperor, that your much-prayed-for succession was first announced, and from the holy city the rumour travelled to the mainlands on both sides, and for that reason it deserves to hold the premier place in your esteem. For just as in 289 families the oldest children hold the primacy because they have been the first to give the name of father and mother to their parents, so too this city since it was the first of eastern cities to address you as emperor deserves to receive greater boons than they or at least no less. Having said thus much as a 290 claimant for justice and as a suppliant also on behalf of my native place I come finally to my supplication for the temple. This temple, my Lord Gaius, has never from the first admitted any figure wrought by

## PHILO

ἀληθοῦς εἶναι θεοῦ· γραφέων μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλαστῶν  
 ἔργα μιμήματα τῶν αἰσθητῶν θεῶν εἰσιν· τὸν δὲ  
 ἀόρατον εἰκονογραφεῖν ἢ διαπλάττειν οὐχ ὅσιον  
 291 ἐνομίσθη τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις. Ἀγρίππας  
 ἐτίμησε τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλθὼν, ὃ πάππος σου, καὶ ὁ  
 Σεβαστὸς διὰ τοῦ κελεῦσαι τὰς πανταχόθεν ἀπαρ-  
 χὰς ἐπιστολαῖς<sup>1</sup> πέμπειν ἐκείσε καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐντε-  
 292 λεχοῦς θυσίας· καὶ ἡ προμάμμη σου \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> ὅθεν  
 οὐδεὶς, οὐχ Ἕλλην, οὐ βάρβαρος, οὐ σατράπης, οὐ  
 βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἐχθρὸς ἄσπονδος, οὐ στάσις, οὐ  
 πόλεμος, οὐχ ἄλωσις, οὐ πόρθησις, οὐκ ἄλλο τι  
 τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρισέ ποτε οὕτως εἰς τὸν  
 νεών, ὡς ἀγαλμα ἢ ξόανον ἢ τι τῶν χειροκμήτων  
 293 ἰδρῦσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τῆς χώρας  
 [589] ἀπήχθοντο δυσμενεῖς ὄντες, ἀλλ' αἰδῶς γέ | τις  
 ἢ φόβος εἰσῆει παραλῦσαί τι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς νενο-  
 μισμένων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ  
 πατρός· ἦδεσαν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοιοτρό-  
 πων τὰς τῶν θεηλάτων κακῶν φνομένας ἀνηκέστους  
 συμφοράς. ἥς χάριν αἰτίας ἀσεβῆς σπέρμα σπείρειν  
 εὐλαβοῦντο δεδιότες, μὴ θερίζειν ἀναγκασθῶσι  
 τοὺς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ παντελεῖ καρπούς.

<sup>1</sup> The position of ἐπιστολαῖς seems very strange, if not impossible. Mangey suggests transposition—presumably in juxtaposition to κελεῦσαι—or correction to ἀποστολαῖς=“by missions” (of persons chosen for the purpose). But the evidence he cites for this use does not seem to do away with its superfluity after πέμπειν.

<sup>2</sup> The supposed lacuna suggested by Mangey is supported by Cohn and Reiter. It certainly looks as if some words had fallen out anticipating what is said of Julia Augusta (Livia) in § 319, as ἐλθὼν anticipates the account of Agrippa in

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 290-293

men's hands, because it is the sanctuary of the true God. For the works of painters and modellers are representations of gods perceived by sense but to paint or mould a likeness of the invisible was held by our ancestors to be against their religion. Your 291 grandfather Agrippa visited and paid honour to the temple, and so did Augustus by the letters in which he ordered the first fruits to be sent from every quarter and by instituting the perpetual sacrifice. Your great-grandmother too . . . Thus no one, Greek or 292 non-Greek, no satrap, no king, no mortal enemy, no faction, no war, no storming or sacking of the city, nor any existing thing ever brought about so great a violation of the temple as the setting up in it of an image or statue or any hand-wrought object for worship. For even if they were ill-disposed and 293 hostile to the inhabitants of the land yet an instinct of reverence or fear warned them against breaking down any of the customs observed from the first in honour of the Maker and Father of all, for they knew that it was from these and like actions that the irreparable calamities of divine visitations spring. Therefore they took good care not to sow the seed of impiety, lest they should be compelled to reap its fruits which bring utter destruction.

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§§ 294-297, and the words about Augustus anticipate §§ 311-318. But I should not expect more than something like δι' ὧν ἐδωρήσατο, since ἐτίμησε has all three persons for its subject. Mangey however thought that something more was required on the grounds that § 292 has no logical connexion with § 291. But if we regard that section as parenthetical there is a sufficient logical connexion between §§ 290 and 292, and it is quite in Philo's manner to have causal clauses which connect with something which has not immediately preceded. See *Intro.* pp. xxi-xxiii.

PHILO

- 294 XXXVII. “ Ἄλλὰ τί μοι ξένους καλεῖν μάρτυρας ἔχοντι πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σοι παραστήσαι; Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας εὐθέως, ὁ πρὸς μητρός σου πάππος, ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ γενόμενος, ἡνίκα Ἑρῳδῆς ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος ἐβασίλευε τῆς χώρας, ἀναβῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐν μεσογειῷ  
 295 κειμένην ἠξίωσε· θεασάμενος δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἱερέων κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀγιστεῖαν, ἠγάσθη χρῆμα νομίσας ὑπέρσεμνόν τι καὶ παντὸς λόγου μείζον ἔωρακέναι, καὶ διήγημα οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας τότε τῶν ἐταίρων ἢ ὁ τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀπάντων  
 296 ἔπαινος. ὅσας γοῦν ἡμέρας διέτριψεν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ χάριν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρῳδῆν, ἐφοίτησεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τερπόμενος τῇ θεᾷ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἱερουργούμενα λειτουργίας καὶ τάξεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα σεμνότητος, ὅποτε ἀσκηθεῖη τῇ ἱερᾷ στολῇ καὶ  
 297 κατάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀναθήμασι δὲ κοσμήσας ὅσοις ἐξῆν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας εὐεργετήσας ὅσα μὴ βλάψει χαριζόμενος, Ἑρῳδῆν εὐφημήσας πολλὰ καὶ εὐφημηθεῖς μυρία, παρεπέμφθη μέχρι λιμένων, οὐχ ὑπὸ μᾶς πόλεως, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης, φυλλοβολούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζό-  
 298 μενος ἐπ’ εὐσεβείᾳ. τί δὲ ὁ ἕτερός σου πάππος Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ; οὐχὶ ταῦτα φαίνεται προηρημένος; ἐν γοῦν τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν οἷς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκ μηκίστων χρόνων παραδεδομένην θρησκείαν ἐτήρη-

<sup>a</sup> Meaning perhaps such as would not be offensive to Herod or be felt to be encroaching on his authority.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 294-298

XXXVII. "But why should I cite the testimony of 294  
strangers when I can set before you that of many of  
your closest kinsmen? For instance your maternal  
grandfather M. Agrippa, being in Judaea when Herod  
my grandfather was king of the country, saw fit to  
come up from the coast to the capital situated in the  
centre of the land. But when he surveyed the temple 295  
and the rich array of the priests and the worship paid  
by the native population he was filled with wonder  
thinking that he had seen something to be profoundly  
reverenced, something greater than words could  
describe. His discourse to those of his friends who  
were there with him consisted of nothing else but  
praise of the sanctuary and all that pertained to it.  
Thus throughout the days which he spent in the 296  
city out of courtesy to Herod he resorted to the  
precinct, delighting himself with the spectacle both  
of the ornate structure and of the sacrifices and the  
ritual observed in the services and the majestic aspect  
of the high priest when arrayed in the sacred vest-  
ments and conducting the holy rites. After decking 297  
the temple with all the dedicatory gifts which the  
law made permissible and benefiting the inhabitants  
by granting every favour which he could without  
causing mischief<sup>a</sup> and paying many compliments to  
Herod and receiving a host of the same from him,  
he was escorted to the harbours not by one city only  
but by the whole population of the country amid  
showers of posies which expressed their admiration  
of his piety. What of your other grand- 298  
father Tiberius Caesar? Did he not evidently adopt  
the same policy? At any rate in the twenty-three  
years during which he was emperor he maintained the  
tradition observed in the temple from distant ages and

## PHILO

σεν, οὐδὲν αὐτῆς παραλύσας ἢ παρακινήσας μέρος.  
 299 XXXVIII. ἔχω δέ τι καὶ φιλοτίμημα αὐτοῦ προσ-  
 διηγῆσασθαι, καίτοι μυρίων ἀπολελαυκῶς ὅτε ἔζη  
 κακῶν· ἀλλὰ τάληθές φίλον καὶ σοὶ τίμιον. Πιλᾶ-  
 τος ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχων ἐπίτροπος ἀποδεδειγμένος τῆς  
 Ἰουδαίας· οὗτος οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμῇ Τιβερίου μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἔνεκα τοῦ λυπῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἀνατίθησιν ἐν τοῖς  
 κατὰ τὴν ἱερόπολιν Ἑρῳδου βασιλείοις ἐπιχρύσους  
 [590] ἀσπίδας μήτε | μορφὴν ἐχούσας μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν  
 ἀπηγορευμένων, ἔξω τινὸς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀναγκαίας,  
 ἢ δύο ταῦτα ἐμήνυε, τὸν τε ἀναθέντα καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ  
 300 ἢ ἀνάθεσις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ πολλοί—καὶ  
 περιβόητον ἦν ἤδη τὸ πρᾶγμα—, προστησάμενοι  
 τοὺς τε βασιλέως υἱεῖς τέτταρας οὐκ ἀποδέοντας  
 τό τε ἀξίωμα καὶ τὰς τύχας βασιλέων καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ἀπογόνους καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐν  
 τέλει παρεκάλουν τὸ νεωτερισθὲν περὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας  
 εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ μὴ κινεῖν ἔθνη πάτρια  
 τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πάντα αἰῶνα διαφυλαχθέντα καὶ πρὸς  
 301 βασιλέων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοκρατόρων ἀκίνητα. στερ-  
 ρῶς δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος—ἦν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπῆς  
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθάδους ἀμειλικτος—, ἀνεβόησαν·  
 ‘ μὴ στασίαζε, μὴ πολεμοποιεῖ, μὴ κατάλυε τὴν  
 εἰρήνην· οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτιμία νόμων ἀρχαίων αὐτο-  
 κράτορος τιμῆ. μὴ πρόφασις τῆς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος  
 ἐπηρείας ἔστω σοὶ Τιβέριος· οὐδὲν ἐθέλει τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων καταλύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ φῆς, αὐτὸς ἐπίδει-  
 ξον ἢ διάταγμα ἢ ἐπιστολὴν ἢ ὁμοιότροπον, ἵνα

\* Or perhaps “showing his public spirit,” as *φιλοτιμία* is sometimes used of the munificence of rulers (see *Lexicon*). L. & S. revised strangely cite this passage in the sense of “a.”

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 298-301

destroyed or disturbed no part of it. XXXVIII. I 299  
can quote in addition one act showing a fine spirit.<sup>a</sup>  
For though I experienced many ills when he was alive,  
truth is dear, and is held in honour by you.<sup>b</sup> One  
of his lieutenants was Pilate, who was appointed to  
govern Judaea. He, not so much to honour Tiberius  
as to annoy the multitude, dedicated in Herod's  
palace in the holy city some shields coated with gold.  
They had no image work traced on them nor any-  
thing else forbidden by the law apart from the barest  
inscription stating two facts, the name of the person  
who made the dedication and of him in whose honour  
it was made. But when the multitude understood 300  
the matter which had by now become a subject of  
common talk, having put at their head the king's four  
sons,<sup>c</sup> who in dignity and good fortune were not in-  
ferior to a king, and his other descendants and the  
persons of authority in their own body, they appealed  
to Pilate to redress the infringement of their tradi-  
tions caused by the shields and not to disturb the  
customs which throughout all the preceding ages had  
been safeguarded without disturbance by kings and  
by emperors. When he, naturally inflexible, a blend 301  
of self-will and relentlessness, stubbornly refused they  
clamoured, 'Do not arouse sedition, do not make  
war, do not destroy the peace; you do not honour  
the emperor by dishonouring ancient laws. Do not  
take Tiberius as your pretext for outraging the  
nation; he does not wish any of our customs to be  
overthrown. If you say that he does, produce your-  
self an order or a letter or something of the kind so  
act of ambition or ostentation," which is surely quite out of  
place.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "reflects honour on you."

<sup>c</sup> For the account in Josephus *cf. Bell. Jud.* ii. 169 ff.,  
vol. ii. p. 389 L.C.L.

## PHILO

πανσάμενοι τοῦ σοὶ διενοχλεῖν πρέσβεις ἐλόμενοι  
 302 δεῦμέθα τοῦ δεσπότου.' τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο μά-  
 λιστα αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυνε καταδείσαντα, μὴ τῷ ὄντι  
 πρεσβευσάμενοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτὸν ἐπιτροπῆς  
 ἐξελέγξωσι τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀρ-  
 παγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ  
 ἐπαλλήλους φόνους, τὴν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀργαλεω-  
 303 τάτην ὠμότητα διεξελθόντες. οἷα οὖν ἐγκότως  
 ἔχων καὶ βαρῦμηνις (ὦν) ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀμηχάνοις  
 ἦν, μήτε καθελεῖν τὰ ἅπαξ ἀνατεθέντα θαρρῶν  
 μήτε βουλόμενός τι τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις  
 ἐργάσασθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις σταθερό-  
 τητα Τιβερίου μὴ ἀγνοῶν· ἅπερ ὀρῶντες οἱ ἐν  
 τέλει καὶ συνιέντες, ὅτι μετανοεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 πεπραγμένοις, δοκεῖν δὲ οὐ βούλεται, γράφουσι  
 304 Τιβερίῳ δεητικωτάτας ἐπιστολάς. ὁ δὲ διαναγνοὺς<sup>1</sup>  
 οἷα μὲν εἶπε Πιλάτον, οἷα δὲ ἠπέιλησεν· ὡς δὲ  
 ὠργίσθη, καίτοι οὐκ εὐληπτος ὦν ὀργῇ, περιττόν  
 ἐστὶ διηγείσθαι, τοῦ πράγματος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φωνὴν  
 305 ἀφιέντος. εὐθέως γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν  
 ὑπερθέμενος ἐπιστέλλει, μυρία μὲν τοῦ καινουργη-  
 θέντος πολμήματος ὀνειδίζων καὶ ἐπιπλήττων,  
 κελεύων δὲ αὐτίκα καθελεῖν τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ  
 μετακομισθῆναι ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ  
 θαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν, ἐπώνυμον τοῦ προπάππου  
 Σεβαστήν, ἵνα ἀνατεθεῖεν ἐν τῷ Σεβαστείῳ· καὶ  
 ἀνετέθησαν. οὕτως ἀμφότερα ἐφυλάχθη, καὶ ἡ |  
 [591] τιμὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν πόλιν

<sup>1</sup> mss. διαγνοὺς. See on § 203.

<sup>a</sup> So in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 136, though the epithet Σεβαστή does not appear elsewhere. It is usually distinguished from  
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## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 301-305

that we may cease to pester you and having chosen our envoys may petition our lord.' It was this final 302 point which particularly exasperated him, for he feared that if they actually sent an embassy they would also expose the rest of his conduct as governor by stating in full the briberies, the insults, the robberies, the outrages and wanton injuries, the executions without trial constantly repeated, the ceaseless and supremely grievous cruelty. So with all his vindictiveness and furious temper, he was in a difficult 303 position. He had not the courage to take down what had been dedicated nor did he wish to do anything which would please his subjects. At the same time he knew full well the constant policy of Tiberius in these matters. The magnates saw this and understanding that he had repented of his action but did not wish to appear penitent sent letters of very earnest supplication to Tiberius. When he had read 304 them through what language he used about Pilate, what threats he made! The violence of his anger, though he was not easily roused to anger, it is needless to describe since the facts speak for themselves. For at once without even postponing it to 305 the morrow he wrote to Pilate with a host of reproaches and rebukes for his audacious violation of precedent and bade him at once take down the shields and have them transferred from the capital to Caesarea on the coast surnamed Augusta<sup>a</sup> after your great-grandfather, to be set up in the temple of Augustus, and so they were. So both objects were safeguarded, the honour paid to the emperor and the policy observed from of old in dealing

Caesarea Philippi by ἡ ἐπὶ θalάσση as here; *v. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.*

PHILO

- 306 ἀρχαία συνήθεια. XXXIX. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀσπίδες ἦσαν, αἷς οὐδὲν ἀνεζωγράφητο μίμημα· νυνὶ δὲ κολοσσιαῖος ἀνδριάς. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡ ἀνάθεσις ἐν οἰκίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἦν· τὴν δὲ μέλλουσάν φασιν ἐσωτάτω τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἄδυστα γίνεσθαι, εἰς ἃ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς εἰσέρχεται τῇ νηστείᾳ λεγομένη μόνον ἐπιθυμιάσων καὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εὐξόμενος φορὰν ἀγαθῶν εὐετηρίαν τε
- 307 καὶ εἰρήνην ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις. κἂν ἄρα τίς που, οὐ λέγω τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, οὐχὶ τῶν ὑστάτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὴν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον τάξιν εἰληχότων, ἢ καθ' αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου συνεισέλθῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ κἂν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς δυσὶν ἡμέραις τοῦ ἔτους ἢ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τρὶς ἢ καὶ τετράκις εἰσφοιτήσῃ, θάνατον
- 308 ἀπαραίτητον ὑπομένει. τοσαύτη τίς ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἄδυστα φυλακὴ τοῦ νομοθέτου μόνα ἐκ πάντων ἄβαστα καὶ ἄψαυστα βουλευθέντος αὐτὰ διατηρεῖσθαι. πόσους ἂν οὖν οἶε θανάτους ἐκουσίως ὑπομένειν τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα ὠσιωμένους, εἰ θεάσαιτο τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰσκομιζόμενον; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκοῦσι γενεὰς ὅλας αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀποσφάζαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν οἰκείων πτώμασιν ἑαυτοὺς τελευταῖον καθιερεύσειν. ταῦτα μὲν
- 309 Τιβέριος ἔγνω. τί δὲ ὁ σοὺς πρόπαππος, ὁ τῶν πώποτε γενομένων αὐτοκρατόρων ἄριστος, ὁ πρῶτος ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τύχης Σεβαστοῦ ὀνομασθεῖς, ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην διαχέας πάντῃ διὰ γῆς
- 310 καὶ θαλάττης ἄχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων; οὐκ ἀκοῆ πυνθανόμενος τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀφίδρυμα ἐν αὐτῷ χειρόκμητον, ὄρατὸν ἀοράτου μίμημα φύσεως, ἐθαύμαζε καὶ προσεκύνει,

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 305-310

with the city. XXXIX. Now at that time it was 306  
shields on which no likeness had been painted ;  
now it is a colossal statue. Then too the installation  
was in the house of the governors ; now they say  
it is to be in the inmost part of the temple in the  
special sanctuary itself, into which the Grand Priest  
enters once a year only on the Fast as it is called, to  
offer incense and to pray according to ancestral  
practice for a full supply of blessings and prosperity  
and peace for all mankind. And if any priest, to 307  
say nothing of the other Jews, and not merely one  
of the lowest priests but of those who are ranked  
directly below the chief, goes in either by himself or  
with the High Priest, and further even if the High  
Priest enters on two days in the year or thrice or four  
times on the same day death without appeal is his  
doom. So greatly careful was the law-giver to guard 308  
the inmost sanctuary, the one and only place which  
he wished to keep preserved untrodden and un-  
touched. How many deaths think you would those  
who have been trained to holiness in these matters  
willingly endure if they should see the statue im-  
ported thither? I believe that they would slaughter  
their whole families, women and children alike, and  
finally immolate themselves upon the corpses of their  
kin. This Tiberius knew. But what of 309  
your greatgrandfather the best of the emperors that  
ever were to this day, he who first received the  
title of Augustus for his virtue and good fortune,  
who disseminated peace everywhere over sea and  
land to the ends of the world? Did he not, hearing 310  
by report the story of the temple and that it had  
no work of man's hands, a visible effigy of an invi-  
sible being, erected in it, marvel and pay it honour?

φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄκροισ χεῖλεσι γευσάμενος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐστιαθεῖς καὶ σχεδόν τι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐστιώμενος, τὰ μὲν μνήμαις ὧν ἡ διάνοια προμαθοῦσα τὰ φιλοσοφίας ἀνεπόλει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν συνόντων ἀεὶ λογίων συνδιαιτήσεσι; κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐν δείπνῳ συνουσίας ὁ πλείστος χρόνος ἀπενέμετο τοῖς ἀπὸ παιδείας, ἵνα μὴ τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀνατρέφοιτο.

311 XL. τεκμηρίοις δὲ ἀφθόνοις πιστώσασθαι δυνάμενος τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ προπάππου σου δυσὶν ἀρκεσθήσομαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπικρατειῶν, πυθόμενος ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι τὰς ἱερὰς ἀπαρχάς, ἵνα ἐπιτρέπωσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μόνοις εἰς τὰ συναγώγια

312 συνέρχεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα συνόδους ἐκ μέθης καὶ παροιρίας ἐπὶ συστάσει,<sup>1</sup> ὡς λυμαινέσθαι

[592] τὰ | τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτηδευόντων μὲν ἀρετὴν, ἀπαρχὰς δὲ ἐτησίους συμφερόντων, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγουσι θυσίας στέλλοντες ἱεροπομποὺς εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱερο-

313 σολύμοις ἱερόν. εἶτα κελεύει μηδένα ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μήτε συνιούσι μήτε συνεισφέρουσι μήτε διαπεμπομένοις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· ταῦτα γὰρ εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασι,

314 τοῖς γοῦν πράγμασι ἐπέσταλται. μίαν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν ὑποτέταχα πρὸς τὴν σὴν τοῦ δεσπότητος πειθῶ, ἣν Γάιος Νορβανὸς Φλάκκος ἐπιστέλλει

<sup>1</sup> Reiter has ἐπισυστάσας on Cohn's conjecture. The mss. readings recorded are ἐπὶ συστάσει (so Mangey), ἐπὶ συστάσεως and ἐπισυστάνα. I do not see much reason for ἐπισυστάσας, which, if taken in the sense of conspiring, would naturally be followed by a dative, nor any difficulty in ἐπὶ συστάσει. For σύστασις in this sense cf. *De Praem.* 75.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 310-314

For he had not taken a mere sip of philosophy but had feasted on it liberally and continued so to feast almost every day, partly by the memories of the lessons which his mind had conned from its earlier instruction in philosophy, partly by intercourse with the learned who from time to time were in his company. For in the gatherings at his table most of the time was assigned to listening to men of culture<sup>a</sup> so that not only the body but also the soul might be nourished by the food proper to each. XL. While I have 311 a great abundance of evidence to show the wishes of your great-grandfather Augustus I will content myself with two examples. The first is a letter which he sent to the governors of the provinces in Asia, as he had learnt that the sacred first-fruits were treated with disrespect. He ordered that the Jews alone should be permitted by them to assemble in synagogues. These gatherings, he said, were not 312 based on drunkenness and carousing to promote conspiracy and so to do grave injury to the cause of peace, but were schools of temperance and justice where men while practising virtue subscribed the annual first-fruits to pay for the sacrifices which they offer and commissioned sacred envoys to take them to the temple in Jerusalem. Then he commanded that no 313 one should hinder the Jews from meeting or subscribing or sending envoys to Jerusalem according to their ancestral practice. For these were certainly the substance if not the actual words of his instructions. But 314 there is one letter which I subjoin here to convince you, my lord and master, sent by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus

<sup>a</sup> This might mean "subjects of culture," but *cf.* in *De Mut.* 33 and *Quod Omn. Prob.* 125, where we have *οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας*.

- δηλῶν τὰ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ γραφέντα. ἔστι δὲ  
 315 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τόδε· *Γάιος Νορβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. Καίσαρ μοι ἔγραψεν, Ἰουδαίους, οὗ ἂν ὦσιν, ἰδίῳ ἀρχαίῳ ἐθισμῷ νομίζειν συναγομένους χρήματα φέρειν, ἃ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· τούτους οὐκ ἠθέλησε κωλύεσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἔγραψα οὖν ὑμῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὡς ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι κελεύει.*
- 316 ἄρ' οὐκ ἐναργῆς πίστις ἐστίν, αὐτοκράτορ, τῆς Καίσαρος προαιρέσεως, ἣ περι τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἱεροῦ τιμὴν ἐκέχρητο, μὴ βουλευθεὶς τῷ κοινῷ τύπῳ τῶν συνόδων ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ συμφουτήσεις, ἃς ἀπαρχῶν ἔνεκα ποιοῦνται  
 317 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐσεβείας; ἕτερον δὲ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀποδέον τούτου δείγμα σαφέστατον τῆς βουλήσεως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· διετάξατο γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελεχεῖς<sup>1</sup> ὀλοκαύτους τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, αἱ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐπιτελοῦνται· ἄρνες εἰσὶ δύο καὶ ταῦρος τὰ ἱερεῖα, οἷς Καίσαρ ἐφαίδρυε τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιστάμενος σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστὶν ἀφίδρυμα οὔτε  
 318 φανερόν οὔτε ἀφανές· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τοσοῦτος ἡγεμὼν καὶ φιλόσοφος<sup>2</sup> οὐδενὸς δεύτερος ἐλογίσαστο παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς περιγείοις ἐξαιρετόν ἀπονεμεῖσθαι τόπον ἱερὸν τῷ ἁοράτῳ θεῷ μηδὲν ὄρατόν ἀπεικόνισμα περιέξοντα πρὸς μετουσίαν ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν  
 319 τελείων. ὑφήγητῆ τοιοῦτῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας χρησαμένη καὶ ἡ προμάμμη σου Ἰουλία Σεβαστῆ κατεκόσμησε τὸν νεὼν χρυσαῖς φιάλαις καὶ σπονδαίοις καὶ ἄλλων ἀναθημάτων πολυτελε-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐντελεῖς.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 314-319

declaring what Caesar had written to him. Here is a transcript of this letter. 'Gaius Norbanus Flaccus pro- 315  
consul to the magistrates of the Ephesians, greeting. Caesar has written to me that the Jews, wherever they may be, regularly according to their old peculiar custom, make a rule of meeting together and subscribing money which they send to Jerusalem. He does not wish them to be hindered from doing this. I therefore write to you to let you know that this is what he orders to be done.' Is not this a clear proof, my 316  
emperor, of the principles which he followed as to the honour due to our temple? He did not think that the form generally adopted about meetings should be applied to do away with the assemblages of the Jews to which they resort for collection of the first-fruits and their other religious observances. Another 317  
example no less cogent than this shows very clearly the will of Augustus. He gave orders for a continuation of whole burnt offerings every day to the Most High God to be charged to his own purse. These are carried out to this day. Two lambs and a bull are the victims with which he added lustre to the altar, knowing well that there is no image there openly or secretly set up. Indeed this great ruler, this philosopher 318  
second to none, reasoned in his mind that within the precincts of earth there must needs be a special place assigned as sacred to the invisible God which would contain no visible image, a place to give us participation in good hopes and enjoyment of perfect blessings. Under such an instructor in 319  
piety your great-grandmother Julia Augusta adorned the temple with golden vials and libation bowls and a multitude of other sumptuous offerings. What made

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<sup>a</sup> MSS. φιλοσοφία (= -α) or φιλοσοφίας.

## PHILO

- στάτων πλήθει· τί παθοῦσα καὶ αὕτη, μηδενὸς ἔνδον ὄντος ἀφιδρύματος; ἀσθενέστεραι γὰρ πῶς εἰσιν αἱ γινώμαι τῶν γυναικῶν ἔξω τῶν αἰσθητῶν
- 320 μηδὲν ἰσχύουσαι νοητὸν καταλαβεῖν. ἡ δέ γε  
 [593] καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄλον | τὸ γένος κὰν τούτῳ  
 διήνεγκεν, ὑπὸ παιδείας ἀκράτου φύσει καὶ μελέτῃ  
 περιγεγενημένης,<sup>1</sup> ἀρρενωθεῖσα τὸν λογισμόν, ὃς  
 οὕτως ὀξύτερκῆς ἐγεγένητο, ὡς μᾶλλον τὰ νοητὰ  
 καταλαμβάνειν τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν  
 ἐκείνων εἶναι σκιάς.
- 321 XLI. “Ἐχων οὖν, δέσποτα, τῆς ἡμερωτέρας<sup>2</sup>  
 προαιρέσεως τοιαῦτα παραδείγματα, πάντα οἰκειό-  
 τατα καὶ συγγενέστατα ἀφ’ ὧν ἐσπάρης καὶ ἀνέβλα-  
 στες καὶ τοσοῦτον ηὔξηθης, διατήρησον ἃ κακείνων  
 322 ἕκαστος. παρακλητεύουσι τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοκρά-  
 τες πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα, Σεβαστοὶ πρὸς Σεβαστόν,  
 πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι πρὸς ἕκγονον, πλείους πρὸς  
 ἓνα, μονονουχὶ φάσκοντες· ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις βουλή-  
 σεσιν ἃ μέχρι καὶ τήμερον ἐφυλάχθη νόμιμα μὴ  
 καθέλῃς· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς καταλύσεως

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey with some mss. Others περιγεγενημένη (so Reiter). See note a.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἡμετέρας.

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<sup>a</sup> The exact meaning, as well as the reading, see note 1, is uncertain. The one thing certain is that we have an allusion to the Educational Trinity, Nature, Instruction and Practice, which occurs so frequently in Philo, particularly in its spiritual application. See particularly Introd. to vol. vi. pp. x f. and vol. viii. p. 453. Mangey's translation "ex eruditione pura quam natura et studio comparaverat," is, I think, impossible.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 319-322

her too do this, as there was no image there? For the judgements of women as a rule are weaker and do not apprehend any mental conception apart from what their senses perceive. But she excelled all her sex in this as in everything else, for the purity of the training she received supplementing nature and practice<sup>a</sup> gave virility to her reasoning power, which gained such clearness of vision that it apprehended the things of mind better than the things of sense and held the latter to be shadows of the former. 320

XLI. "So then, my lord, having such patterns of the gentler line of treatment, patterns so closely connected by kinship to yourself, the seed-bed from which you sprang<sup>b</sup> and grew up and rose to such greatness, maintain what each of them also maintained. The cause of the laws is pleaded by emperors to emperor, by Augusti to an Augustus, by grandparents and ancestors to their descendant, by several to one, and you may almost hear them say, 'Do not destroy the institutions which under the shelter of our wills were safeguarded to this day, for even if no sinister result were encountered through their 322

By *παιδείας* Philo clearly refers to the instruction received from her *ύφηγητής* Augustus, and it is inconsistent with this to say that it was gained by nature and practice. The same applies if reading with Reiter we translate "through instruction she surpassed (her sex) in nature and practice." The translation above seems to me to give the required sense. Livia had the advantage of Augustus's instruction but like everybody else she could not use it properly without the other two. But I cannot find examples of *περιγίγνομαι* in this sense and I should like to read *παραγεγεννημένης* = "supporting" or "supplementing."

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "most closely akin to those from whom you sprang," *τούτων* being omitted before *ἀφ' ὧν*. Cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 104 and 123.

## PHILO

αὐτῶν ἀπαντηθεῖη παλίμφημον, ἀλλ' ἣ γε τοῦ  
 μέλλοντος ἀδηλότης καὶ τοῖς θαρραλεωτάτοις, εἰ  
 μὴ καταφρονηταὶ τῶν θείων εἰσίν, οὐ παντελῶς  
 323 ἔστιν ἄφοβος. εἴαν καταλέγωμαι τὰς εἰς ἑμαυτὸν  
 ἐκ σοῦ γενομένας εὐεργεσίας, ἐπιλείψει με ἡ  
 ἡμέρα, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ ἀρμόττον εἶναι προηγούμενον  
 ἔργον πάρεργον ἑτέρου ποιεῖσθαι λόγου· κἂν ἡσυ-  
 χάζω μέντοι, τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ βοᾷ καὶ φωνὴν  
 324 ἀφίησιν. ἔλυσάς με σιδηρῷ δεδεμένον· τίς οὐκ  
 οἶδεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ χαλεπωτέροις δεσμοῖς, αὐτο-  
 κράτορ, ἐπισφίγξης· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λυθέντες μέρει  
 περιβέβληντο τοῦ σώματος, οἱ δὲ νῦν προσδοκώ-  
 μενοι ψυχῆς εἰσιν, ὅλην αὐτὴν δι' ὅλων μέλλοντες  
 325 πιέζειν. τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον αἰεὶ τοῦ θανάτου φόβον  
 ἀπώσω καὶ τεθνεῶτα τῷ δέει ζωπυρήσας καθάπερ  
 ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας ἀνήγειρας· διατήρησον τὴν χάριν,  
 αὐτοκράτορ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ σὸς Ἀγρίππας ἀποτάξῃται  
 τῷ βίῳ· δόξω γὰρ οὐ τοῦ σωθῆναι χάριν ἀφείσθαι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ βαρυτέρας ἐνδεξάμενος συμφορὰς  
 326 ἐπισημότερον τελευτῆσαι. τὸν μέγιστον καὶ εὐ-  
 τυχεστάτον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλῆρον ἔχαρισω μοι,  
 βασιλείαν, πάλαι μὲν μιᾶς χώρας, αὐθις δὲ καὶ  
 ἑτέρας μείζονος, τὴν Τραχωνίτιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν  
 Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας· μὴ τὰ πρὸς περιουσίαν μοι  
 χαρισάμενος, ὧ δέσποτα, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀφέλης  
 327 μὴδὲ εἰς φῶς ἀναγαγὼν τηλαυγέστατον ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς  
 εἰς βαθύτατον σκότος ῥίψης. ἐξίσταμαι | τῶν  
 [594] λαμπρῶν ἐκείνων, τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ τύχην οὐ  
 παραιτοῦμαι, πάντα ὑπαλλάττομαι ἐνός, τοῦ μὴ

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\* Or "I do not deprecate my recent (ill) fortune." So Mangey. This is certainly more in accordance with the  
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## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 322-327

overthrow, still the uncertainty of the future cannot entirely fail to strike fear into the most courageous unless he holds things divine in contempt.' If I should 323 recount the benefits conferred on myself by you, the day will be too short, and besides it is not suitable to treat a primary task as an appendage to another subject. And indeed even if I hold my peace the facts themselves break into speech and cry aloud. You released me bound fast in iron fetters, who does 324 not know it? but do not clamp me, my emperor, with still more grievous fetters, for those which were then unbound encompassed but a part of my body, those which I see before me are of the soul and must press hard on every part of its whole being. You thrust 325 away the ever imminent terror of death, you kindled fresh life in me when dead with fear, you awakened me as though I were born anew. Maintain your bounty, my emperor, that your Agrippa may not bid farewell to life, for it will seem as though my release was not given to save me but that a victim to heavier misfortunes I should come to a more notorious end. The greatest gift of fortune that man can possess 326 you granted to me, a kingdom, in the past of one country, later of another and a greater when you added Trachonitis as it is called and Galilee. Do not after granting me favours in super-abundance take from me bare necessities, and after restoring me to light of fullest radiance cast me anew into deepest darkness. I renounce all that brilliance, I do not 327 beg to keep my shortlived good fortune.<sup>a</sup> I exchange all for one thing only, that the ancestral institutions

common use both of *παραιτούμαι* and *πρὸ μικροῦ*, but the sentence, if so taken, entirely contradicts what is said in § 323.

## PHILO

κινηθῆναι τὰ πάτρια. τίς γὰρ ἂν μου γένοιτο  
 λόγος ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ  
 προδότην τῶν ἰδίων ἢ σοὶ μηκέτι ὁμοίως φίλον  
 328 νομισθῆναι· ὦν τί ἂν εἶη μείζον κακόν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐταίρων ἔτι καταριθμοῦμαι, προ-  
 δοσίας ἐξοίσομαι δόξαν, εἰ μὴτε ἡ πατρίς ἀπα-  
 θῆς παντὸς κακοῦ διαφυλαχθῆ μῆτε τὸ ἱερὸν  
 ἄψαυστον· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ προσπεφευγό-  
 των ταῖς αὐτοκρατορικαῖς ἐπιφανείαις ὑμεῖς οἱ  
 329 μεγάλοι διασώζετε. εἰ δὲ ὑποικουρεῖ τί σου τὴν  
 διάνοιαν ἔχθος, μὴ δήσης ὡς Τιβέριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὴν τοῦ δεθῆναί ποτε αὐθις ἐλπίδα συνανελῶν κέ-  
 ληυσον ἐκποδῶν αὐτίκα γενέσθαι· τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ ζῆν  
 καλόν, ὧ μίᾳ σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἦν τὸ σὸν εὐμενές;”  
 330 XLII. Ταῦτα γράψας καὶ σφραγισάμενος πέμπει  
 Γαίῳ καὶ συγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι κατέμενευ, ἀγω-  
 νιῶν καὶ συγκεχυμένος καὶ πῶς ἐντύχοι<sup>1</sup> μάλιστα  
 φροντίζων· οὐ γὰρ βραχὺς ἐπέρριπτο κίνδυνος, ἀλλ’  
 ὁ περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ παν-  
 τελοῦς πορθήσεως, οὐ μόνον τοῖς τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν  
 κατοικοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκου-  
 331 μένης Ἰουδαίοις. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ διαναγινώσκων ἐφ’  
 ἑκάστῳ τῶν νοημάτων ἅμα μὲν ὧδει, μὴ κατορ-  
 θουμένου τοῦ βουλήματος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλάτο  
 ταῖς δικαιολογίαις ὁμοῦ καὶ δεήσεσι, καὶ τὸν  
 332 Ἀγρίππαν τῇ μὲν ἐπήγει, τῇ δὲ ἐμέμφετο· ἦτι-  
 ἀτο μὲν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἄγαν ἀρεσκειᾶς  
<sup>1</sup> A strange use of ἐντυγχάνω. Perhaps, as Mangey,  
 ἂν τύχοι.

<sup>a</sup> Or “take shelter under the manifestations.”

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 327-332

be not disturbed. For what would be my reputation among either my compatriots or all other men ? Either I must seem a traitor to my people or no longer be counted your friend as I have been ; there is no other alternative, and what greater ill could befall me than these ? For if I still keep my place 328 in the list of your companions I shall lie under an imputation of treachery, unless my homeland is guarded unscathed from every kind of mischief and the temple is untouched. For you great potentates safeguard the interests of your companions and those who take refuge with you by manifestations of your absolute power.<sup>a</sup> But if your mind harbour any 329 hostility to me, do not imprison me as Tiberius did, rather do away with any idea of future imprisonment and at the same time bid me take myself out of the way forthwith. For of what value would life be to me whose one hope of salvation lay in your goodwill ? ”

XLII. Having written and sealed this letter he 330 sent it to Gaius and shut himself up in his house where he remained greatly agitated and distraught, particularly by anxiety about the turn events might take. For the danger which had fallen upon him was no trifle but one which involved the expulsion, enslavement, and wholesale spoliation of the Jews who dwelt not only in the Holy Land but everywhere through the habitable world. Gaius received the 331 letter and, as he read it, its every sentiment filled him with resentment at the ill-success of his project, yet at the same time he began to bend under the claims for justice coupled with supplication. And from one point of view he praised Agrippa and blamed him from another. He charged him with over-complai- 332

## PHILO

- μόνους ἀνθρώπων ἀφηνιάζοντας καὶ ἐκτρεπομένους αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκθέωσιν, ἐπῆναι δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ συσκιάζειν καὶ ἐπικρύπτειν, ἅπερ ἔλεγεν εἶναι δείγματα ἐλευθεριωτάτων καὶ εὐγενεστάτων ἡθῶν.
- 333 ἡμερωθεῖς οὖν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἀποκρίσεων χρηστοτέρων Ἀγρίππαν ἠξίωσε, τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ μέγιστον δωρούμενος, τὸ μηκέτι γενέσθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν· καὶ Ποπλίῳ Πετρωνίῳ, τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἐπιτρόπῳ, κελεύει γραφῆναι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτι νεώτερον κινεῖν.
- 334 Ὅμως μέντοι καὶ τὴν χάριν διδοῦς ἔδωκεν οὐκ ἀκέραιον, ἀλλ' ἀναμίξας αὐτῇ δέος ἀργαλεώτατον· προσγράφει γάρ· “ ἐὰν δέ τινες ἐν ταῖς ὁμόροις ἔξω μιᾶς τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐθέλοντες βωμοὺς ἢ ἱερά ἢ τινὰς εἰκόνας ἢ ἀνδριάντας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἰδρῦεσθαι κωλύονται, τοὺς εἴργοντας ἢ
- 335 παραχρῆμα κολάζειν ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνάγειν.” τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ στάσεως καὶ ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐδόκει παρασχεῖν, πλάγιός τις ἀναίρεσις· ἔμελλον γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρὸς Γάιον εὐσεβῆς καταπλήσειν τὴν χώραν
- [595] ἅπασαν | ἀναθημάτων, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄψεσι ταῖς αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν πατρίων ὀρώντες κατάλυσιν, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἦσαν πραοπαθέστατοι, μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι, Γάιος δὲ τοὺς παρακινηθέντας τιμωρίᾳ κρίνων μεγίστη ἀνατεθῆναι
- 336 πάλιν κελεύειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. προνοία

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 332-336

sance to his compatriots, who stood alone among mankind in their recalcitrance and refusal to accept his deification. He praised him for disguising and concealing nothing of his real self and this he said proved that he had the characteristics of the truly free and noble. Thus to all appearance mollified he 333 thought good to give kindly answers to Agrippa's request, granting him the chief and principal thing, that the installation should not now take place, and he ordered letters to be sent to Publius Petronius, governor of Syria, that he should forbear to take further steps to violate the tradition of the temple of the Jews.

Nevertheless the concession thus granted by him 334 was not unmixed but had blended with it a very grave cause for alarm. For he added an injunction that if any persons in neighbouring regions outside the capital who wished to set up altars or temples or any images and statues in honour of him or his were prevented from so doing, Petronius was to punish the obstructors at once or send them up to him. Now this was nothing else than a starting point 335 for seditions and civil conflicts and an indirect cancelling of what appeared to be a straightforward gift on his part. For it was to be expected that one party, through hostility to the Jews rather than reverence for Gaius, would fill the whole country with such installations, and the others seeing with their own eyes their ancestral institutions overthrown would not hold their hands even if they were the mildest of men. Then Gaius while awarding the severest punishment to those who had been provoked to violence would again order the statue to be set up in the temple. But by a dispensation 336

## PHILO

δέ τινι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος καὶ  
 σὺν δίκῃ πρυτανεύοντος θεοῦ τῶν ὁμόρων παρε-  
 κίνησεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ εἰς, ὡς μὴ χρεῖαν τινὰ γενέσθαι,  
 ἢ πρὸ μετριωτέρας μέμψεως ἀπαραίτητος ἔμελλεν  
 337 ἀπαντᾶσθαι συμφορά. τί δὲ ὄφελος; εἴποι τις ἄν·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡρεμοῦντων ὁ Γάιος ἡρέμει, μετανοῶν  
 ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι ἤδη καὶ τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ ζωπυρῶν  
 ἐπιθυμίαν· προστάττει γὰρ ἕτερον ἀνδριάντα δη-  
 μιουργεῖσθαι κολοσσιαῖον χαλκοῦν ἐπίχρυσον ἐν  
 Ῥώμῃ, μηκέτι τὸν ἐν Σιδῶνι κινῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ  
 κινήσει διαταράξῃ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ἡρεμοῦντος καὶ  
 τῆς ὑπονοίας ἀπηλλαγμένου κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν  
 ἀφανῶς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ κομισθέντα λαθῶν τοὺς πολ-  
 338 λούς ἐξαίφνης ἰδρύσῃται. XLIII. τοῦ-  
 το δὲ πράξειν ἔμελλεν ἐν παράπλῳ κατὰ τὴν  
 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποδημίαν. ἄλεκτος γὰρ τις αὐτὸν  
 ἔρωσ κατείχε τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς ἣν ἐπόθει  
 σπουδῇ πάσῃ παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἀφικόμενος πλεῖ-  
 στον χρόνον ἐνδαιτηθῆναι, νομίζων τὴν ἐκθέωσιν,  
 ἣν ὠνειροπόλει, μίαν ταύτην πόλιν καὶ γεγεννη-  
 κέναι καὶ συναυξήσειν, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παράδειγμα  
 γεγενῆσθαι τοῦ σεβασμοῦ, μεγίστην τε οὖσαν καὶ ἐν  
 καλῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης· τὰ γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων εἶτε  
 ἀνδρῶν εἶτε πόλεων τοὺς καταδεεστέρους ἀνδρας  
 339 τε καὶ δῆμους ζηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἦν

<sup>a</sup> More literally, " admirably situated for commanding or serving the habitable world." So rather than " in the finest situation in the world " (as Mangey), which would need καλλίστῳ. Thus Stephanus quotes from Lucian (Πλοῖον 15) ἡ οἰκία ἐν καλῷ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομηθεῖσα, but more parallel to the use here is Xen. *Hell.* ix. 2. 9 κείσθαι τὴν Κερκύραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτον καθήκουσι, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Λακωνικὴν χώραν βλέπτεν, ἐν



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 336-338

of the providence and watchful care of God, who surveys and presides over all things with justice, not a single person among the neighbours gave any provocation to violence, so that no occasion arose which would entail a calamity passing beyond a moderate censure and against which no prayers would avail. But what was the use of this? one might 337 say, for if they remained quiet, Gaius did not. He was already repenting of his concession and resuscitating his recent desire. He ordered another bronze statue of colossal size coated with gold to be constructed in Rome. The one in Sidon he forbore from moving, for he did not wish to perturb the multitude by moving it, but intended when they were tranquil and freed from suspicion to have the other conveyed very quietly and secretly on shipboard and suddenly erected unobserved by the mass of the population.

XLIII. This he intended to 338 do while coasting along on his voyage to Egypt. For he was possessed by an extraordinary and passionate love for Alexandria. His heart was entirely set upon visiting it and on his arrival staying there for a very considerable time. For he thought this city was unique in that it had both given birth to and would foster the idea of godship which occupied his dreams, and that its vast size and the world-wide value of its admirable situation<sup>a</sup> had made it a pattern to other cities of the worship due to him, since it is true both of individual men and of whole populations that the inferior try to emulate the qualities of the great men and cities respectively.

*καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντιπέραν Ἠπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ Σικελίας παράπλου.* There the genitives give the places conveniently reached whether for attack or other purposes.

## PHILO

- μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τᾶλλα πάντα τὴν φύσιν ἄπιστος,  
 ὡς, εἰ καὶ τι χρηστὸν ἐργάσαιτο, μετανοεῖν εὐθὺς  
 καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δι' οὗ καὶ ταυτὶ λυθήσεται ζητεῖν
- 340 μετὰ μείζονος ἀνίας καὶ βλάβης. οἶον δὴ τι λέγω·  
 δεσμώτας ἔλυσεν ἐνίους ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ προφάσει,  
 πάλιν ἔδησε βαρυτέραν τῆς προτέρας ἐπαγαγῶν
- 341 συμφορὰν, τὴν ἐκ δυσελπιστίας. πάλιν κατέγνω  
 φυγὴν ἐτέρων θάνατον προσδοκησάντων, οὐκ  
 ἐπειδὴ συνήδεσαν αὐτοῖς ἄξια θανάτου πεπραχόσιν  
 ἢ συνόλως βραχυτέρας ἢστινοσοῦν τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ  
 διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ὠμότητα τοῦ δικαστοῦ μὴ  
 προσδοκῶντες ἀποφεύξεσθαι. τούτοις ἔρμαιον ἦν  
 ἢ φυγὴ καὶ ἰσότημος καθόδω τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς
- 342 ἀνωτάτω κίνδυνον ἀποδεδρακέναι νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ'  
 οὐ μακρὸς διῆλθε χρόνος, καὶ τῶν στρατευομένων  
 ἐπιπέμψας τινάς, μηδενὸς καινοτέρου προσπεσόν-  
 τος, τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ εὐγενεστάτους ἤδη ζῶντας
- [596] ὡς ἐν πατρίσι ταῖς νήσοις καὶ τὴν | ἀτυχίαν  
 εὐτιχέστατα φέροντας ἀθρόους ἀνήρει, πένθος  
 οἰκτρότατον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον οἴκοις τῶν ἐν
- 343 Ῥώμῃ μεγάλων προσβαλῶν. εἰ δέ τισι καὶ δωρεὰν  
 ἔδωκεν ἀργύριον, οὐχ ὡς δάνειον ἀνέπραττε τόκουσ  
 προσεκλέγων καὶ ἐπιτοκίας, ἀλλ' ὡς φώριον μετὰ  
 μεγίστης τῶν λαβόντων ζημίας· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκει  
 τὰ δοθέντα τοῖς ἀθλίοις ἀποτινῦειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς  
 οὐσίας ὅλας προσεϊσέφερον, ὥς ἢ παρὰ γονέων ἢ  
 παρ' οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἐκληρονόμουσιν ἢ ποριστῆν

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° Here the description of Gaius's conduct, interrupted by the parenthetical section on Alexandria, is resumed. The arrangement by which a new chapter is begun at § 338 is unfortunate.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 339-343

<sup>a</sup> In fact in all other matters he was 339 naturally untrustworthy, so that if he did commit any kind action he immediately repented of it and sought some means of cancelling it, thus causing increased affliction and injury. Here is an instance of this 340 sort of thing. He released some prisoners for no reason, and then by imprisoning them again imposed on them a suffering heavier than the former through the bitter disappointment. Again he sentenced 341 others to banishment when they expected death, not because their conscience told them that their action deserved death or even any minor penalty at all, but because in view of the supreme cruelty of their judge they did not expect to get off unpunished. To these banishment was a godsend as good as repatriation, since they felt that they had escaped from the extremity of danger which threatened their lives. But no long time had elapsed when, though no fresh 342 occasion had been given, he sent some of his soldiers on duty to deal with them, and when these men of high excellence and nobility were leading their lives on the islands as though they were their native homes and bearing their misfortunes with the spirit of the favourites of fortune, he proceeded to slaughter them in a body, a blow which brought misery as heartrending as it was unexpected into the households of the great in Rome. So too if he gave a present of money 343 to some he did not treat it as a loan and exact interest and compound interest, but as stolen property entailing very heavy loss for those who took it. For it was not enough for the poor wretches to repay the sums given to them, but they had to contribute as well their whole properties which they inherited from their parents or their relations and friends or

PHILO

- 344 ἐλόμενοι βίον ἐκτήσαντο αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν. οἱ δ' εὐπάρυφοι καὶ σφόδρ' εὐδοκιμεῖν οἰόμενοι τρόπον ἕτερον τὸν σὺν ἡδονῇ μετὰ προσποιήσεως φιλικῆς ἐβλάπτοντο, πάμπολλα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἀτάκτους καὶ ἐξαπιναίους ἀποδημίας ἀναλίσκοντες, πάμπολλα δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐστιάσεις· ὅλας γὰρ οὐσίας ἐξανάλουν εἰς ἑνὸς δείπνου παρασκευήν, ὡς καὶ
- 345 δανείζεσθαι· τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἡ πολυτέλεια. τοιγαροῦν ἀπηύχοντό τινες ἤδη τὰς δεδομένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χάριτας, ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐκ ὠφέλειαν ἀλλὰ
- 346 δέλεαρ εἶναι καὶ ἐνέδραν ἀφορήτου ζημίας. τοσαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἡ περὶ τὸ ἦθος ἢ ἀνωμαλία πρὸς ἅπαντας, διαφερόντως δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ᾧ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχθανομένας τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι προσευχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀρξάμενος σφετερίζεται, καταπλήσας εἰκότων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς—ὁ γὰρ ἐτέρων ἀνατιθέντων ἐφείς αὐτὸς ἰδρύετο δυνάμει—, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱεροπόλει νεών, ὃς λοιπὸς ἦν ἄφραυτος ἀσουλίας ἠξιωμένος τῆς πάσης, μεθηρμόζετο καὶ μετεσχημάτιζεν εἰς οἰκεῖον ἱερόν, ἵνα Διὸς Ἐπι-
- 347 φανοῦς Νέου χρηματίζη Γαῖου. τί φῆς; σὺ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ὢν αἰθέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν ζητεῖς προσλαβεῖν, οὐκ ἀρκεσθεῖς τῷ πλήθει τῶν τοσοῦτων ἡπείρων, νήσων, ἐθνῶν, κλιμάτων, ὧν ἀνήψω τὴν ἀρχήν; τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀξιοῖς, οὐ χώρας, οὐ πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βραχὺν οὕτως περίβολον αὐτῷ καθιερωθέντα καὶ καθοσιωθέντα χρησιμοῖς καὶ λογιόις θεσφότοις

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* now seen in bodily form. So coins of Antiochus Eiphanes bear the inscription Ἀντιόχου θεοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς. Mangey's suggestion that ἐπιφανής in these cases carries the

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 343-347

by choosing a business career acquired through their own efforts. Dignitaries who considered themselves particularly distinguished suffered in another way which served his pleasure under the guise of friendship. His visits to them made without discretion, or order, or warning, cost them huge sums as did also the entertainments which they gave him. For they used to spend their whole substance on providing a single dinner and so run into debt. So vast was the lavish expenditure. And so some came to the point of deprecating the favours bestowed by him, thinking that they were no benefit but a snare to trap them into losses more than they could bear. This great inconstancy of conduct affected all, but particularly the Jewish race. Having conceived a violent enmity to them he took possession of the synagogues in the other cities after beginning with those of Alexandria, by filling them with images and statues of himself in bodily form. For by permitting others to instal them he virtually did it himself. The temple in the Holy City, which alone was left untouched being judged to have all rights of sanctuary, he was proceeding to convert and transmogrify into a temple of his own to bear the name of Gaius, "the new Zeus made manifest."<sup>a</sup>

What is this that you say? do you a mere man seek to annex also ether and heaven, not satisfied with the sum of so many mainlands, islands, nations, regions, over which you assumed sovereignty, and do you deem God worthy of nothing in our world here below, no country, no city, but even this tiny area hallowed for Him and sanctified by oracles and divine messages you propose

same sense as the Latin *praesens*, i.e. powerful and ready to help, is perhaps unnecessary.

PHILO

ἀφελέσθαι διανοῆ, ἵν' ἐν τῷ τῆς τοσαύτης γῆς |  
 [597] περιβόλω μηδὲν ἴχνος μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα καταλειφθῆ  
 τιμῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τὸν ὄντως ὄντα ἀληθῆ  
 348 θεόν; καλὰς ὑπογράφεις τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐλπίδας· ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι πηγὰς ἀνατέμνεις ἀθρόων  
 κακῶν, καινουργῶν καὶ μεγαλουργῶν ἃ μῆτε δρᾶν  
 μῆτε λογίζεσθαι θέμις;<sup>1</sup>

349 XLIV. Ἄξιον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ ὧν εἶδομέν  
 τε καὶ ἠκούσαμεν μεταπεμφθέντες ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν  
 περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀγῶνα. εἰσελθόντες γὰρ εὐθύς  
 ἔγνωμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέμματος καὶ τῆς κινήσεως,  
 ὅτι οὐ πρὸς δικαστὴν ἀλλὰ κατήγορον ἀφίγμεθα,  
 350 τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων μᾶλλον ἐχθρόν. δικαστοῦ μὲν  
 γὰρ ἔργα ταῦτα ἦν· καθίσαι μετὰ συνέδρων ἀρι-  
 στίνοδην ἐπιλελεγμένων, ἐξεταζομένης ὑποθέσεως  
 μεγίστης ἐν τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἡσυχασθείσης καὶ  
 νῦν πρῶτον εἰσαγομένης ἐπὶ μυριάσι πολλαῖς τῶν  
 Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἰουδαίων, ἐκατέρωθεν στήναι τοὺς  
 ἀντιδίκους μετὰ τῶν συναγορευσόντων, ἐν μέρει  
 μὲν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐν μέρει δὲ τῆς  
 ἀπολογίας πρὸς μεμετρημένον ὕδωρ, ἀναστάντα  
 βουλευσασθαι μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων, τί χρῆ φανερώς  
 ἀποφῆνασθαι γνώμη τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ τυράννου δὲ  
 ἀμειλίκτου δεσποτικῆν ὄφρὺν ἐπανατειναμένου τὰ  
 351 πραχθέντα. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἀρτίως εἶπον  
 ἐργάσασθαι, μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς δυεῖν κήπων  
 ἐπιτρόπους τοῦ τε Μαικήνα καὶ Λαμία—πλησίον

<sup>1</sup> Reiter here indicated a lacuna. See *Introd.* pp. xii, xxiii.

<sup>o</sup> For Josephus's account of this interview see *Ant.* xviii. 8. 1.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 347-351

to take away, so that in the circumference of this great earth no trace or reminder should be left of the reverence and honour due to the truly existing veritable God? Fine hopes are these which you 348 picture for the human race. Know you not that you are opening the springs of a flood of evil, in these strange and monstrous actions which it is unlawful either to do or conceive?

XLIV. It is right that I should record also both what 349 we saw and what we heard when we were summoned to take a part in the contention about our citizenship.<sup>a</sup> The moment we entered we knew from his look and movements that we had come into the presence not of a judge but of an accuser more hostile than those arrayed against us. For this is what a judge would 350 do: he would sit with assessors selected for their high merit, as the case under examination was of the greatest importance, since nothing had been heard of it for four centuries and it was now for the first time brought up against the many myriads of the Alexandrian Jews<sup>b</sup>: the opposing parties would stand on either side of him with the advocates who would speak for them, and he would listen in turn to the accusation and the defence for the space of water-time allowed! then he would rise and consult with his assessors as to the verdict which in full accordance with justice they would publicly declare. The actual proceedings showed a ruthless tyrant with a menacing frown on his despotic brow. Instead 351 of doing anything that I have just mentioned he sent for the stewards of the two gardens belonging to Maecenas and Lamia near to each other and the

<sup>b</sup> See *Introd.* pp. xxvi ff.

## PHILO

δέ εἰσιν ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἐκ  
 τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν διέτριβε· κείθι γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 παροῦσιν ἡμῖν ἢ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἔμελλε  
 σκηνοβατεῖσθαι δραματοποιία—κελεύει τὰς ἐπαύ-  
 λεις αὐτῷ πάσας περιανοιχθῆναι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ  
 352 μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐκάστην ἰδεῖν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν  
 εἰσαχθέντες ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ  
 εὐλαβείας τῆς ἀπάσης νεύοντες εἰς τοῦδαφος ἔδε-  
 ξιούμεθα, Σεβαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορα προσειπόντες·  
 ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀντιπροση-  
 γόρευσεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
 353 ζῆν ἀπογνῶναι. σαρκάζων γὰρ ἅμα καὶ σεσηρῶς,  
 “ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ ἐστὲ οἱ θεομισεῖς, οἱ θεὸν μὴ  
 νομίζοντες εἶναί με, τὸν ἤδη παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἀνωμολογημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀκατονόμαστον ὑμῖν; ”  
 καὶ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπεφήμιζε  
 πρόσρησιν, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκούειν θεμιτὸν, οὐχ ὅτι  
 354 διερμηνεύειν αὐτολεξεί. πόσης εὐθύς ἀνεπλήσθησαν  
 ἡδονῆς οἱ τῆς ἐναντίας μερίδος πρέσβεις, ἡδη  
 κατωρθωκέναι διὰ τῆς πρώτης ἀναφθέγγεως Γαῖου  
 τὴν πρεσβείαν νομίζοντες· ἐπεχειρονόμουν, ἀνωρ-  
 [598] χοῦντο, | τὰς θεῶν ἀπάντων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπεφήμιζον  
 355 αὐτῷ. XLV. γανύμενον δὲ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνην  
 φύσιν προσήρῃσει θεασάμενος ὁ πικρὸς συκοφάντης  
 Ἰσιδωρος, “ ἔτι μᾶλλον,” ἔφη, “ δέσποτα, μισήσεις  
 τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ὦν εἰσιν ὁμόφυλοι, ἐὰν  
 γνῶς τὴν εἰς σέ κακόνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσέβειαν·  
 ἀπάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σῆς  
 θυσίας ἀναγόντων εὐχαριστηρίους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν  
 οὗτοι μόνοι θύειν· ὅταν δὲ οὗτοι λέγω, καὶ τοὺς  
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## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 351-355

city, in which gardens he had been spending three or four days. For this was the stage where the tragedy which was aimed against our whole nation was to be performed with us who were present as the immediate victims. He ordered them to leave all the villas completely open as he wished to make a careful survey of each of them. When we were brought into his presence the moment we saw him we bowed our heads to the ground with all respect and timidity and saluted him addressing him as Emperor Augustus. The mildness and kindness with which he replied to our greeting was such that we gave up not only our case but our lives for lost! In a sneering, snarling way he said, "Are you the god-haters who do not believe me to be a god, a god acknowledged among all the other nations but not to be named by you?" And stretching out his hands towards heaven he gave utterance to an invocatory address which it was a sin even to listen to, much more to reproduce in the actual words. How vast was the delight which at once filled the envoys on the other side! They thought that Gaius's first utterance had secured the success of their mission. They gesticulated, they danced about and invoked blessings on him under the names of all the gods. XLV. Seeing that he was delighted at being addressed as of more than human nature the virulent sycophant Isidorus said, "My lord, you will hate still more these people here present, and those of whose nation they are, if you understand their malevolence and impiety towards you. For when all men were offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for your preservation they alone could not bear the thought of sacrificing. And when I say 'they' I include also

## PHILO

- 356 ἄλλους Ἰουδαίους συμπαλαμβάνω.” ἀναβοη-  
 σάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ὁμοθυμαδόν, “ κύριε Γάιε, συ-  
 κοφαντούμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἐθύσαμεν καὶ ἑκατόμβας  
 ἐθύσαμεν, οὐ τὸ μὲν αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περισπείσαντες  
 τὰ δὲ κρέα εἰς θοίνην καὶ εὐωχίαν οἴκαδε κομί-  
 σαντες, ὡς ἔθος ἐνίοις ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὀλόκαυτα τὰ  
 ἱερεῖα παραδόντες τῇ ἱερᾷ φλογί, καὶ τρίς, οὐχ  
 ἅπαξ, ἤδη· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε διεδέξω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν,  
 δεύτερον δὲ ὅτε τὴν βαρεῖαν νόσον ἐκείνην ἣν πᾶσα  
 ἡ οἰκουμένη συνενόσησεν ἐξέφυγες, τρίτον δὲ κατὰ  
 357 τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς νίκης,” “ ἔστω,” φησί,  
 “ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, τεθύκατε, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρω, κὰν’ ὑπὲρ  
 ἐμοῦ· τί οὖν ὄφελος; οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τεθύκατε.”  
 φρίκη βύθιος εὐθύς κατέσχευεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ  
 καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντας, ἣ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας  
 358 ἀνεχύθη. καὶ ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγων ἐπήει τὰς ἐπαύλεις,  
 ἀνδρῶνας κατανοῶν, γυναικωνίτιδας, τὰ ἐν ἐπι-  
 πῆδω, τὰ ὑπερῶα, ἅπαντα, αἰτιώμενος ἐνίας ὡς  
 ἔλλιπεῖς κατασκευάς, ἐτέρας ἐπινοῶν καὶ προσδια-  
 359 τάττων πολυτελεστέρας αὐτός. εἶτα ἡμεῖς ἐλαυνό-  
 μενοι παρηκολουθοῦμεν ἄνω κάτω, χλευαζόμενοι  
 καὶ κατακερτομούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὡς  
 ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα μιμεία  
 τις ἦν· ὁ μὲν δικαστῆς ἀνειλήφει σχῆμα κατηγοροῦ,  
 οἱ δὲ κατήγοροι φαύλου δικαστοῦ πρὸς ἔχθραν  
 ἀποβλέποντος, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας.  
 360 ὅταν δὲ αἰτιᾶται κρινόμενον δικαστῆς καὶ τοσοῦτος,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ οἱ καὶ οὐχ.

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\* As sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem, they must mean by “we” the Jewish nation, or else (less probably) that the contributions of money which they sent there were

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 355-360

the other Jews." We cried out with one accord, 356  
" Lord Gaius, we are slandered ; we did sacrifice  
and sacrifice hecatombs too, and we did not just pour  
the blood upon the altar and then take the flesh home  
to feast and regale ourselves with it as some do, but  
we gave the victims to the sacred fire to be entirely  
consumed, and we have done this not once but thrice  
already, the first time at your accession to the  
sovereignty, the second when you escaped the severe  
sickness which all the habitable world suffered with  
you, the third as a prayer of hope for victory in  
Germany." <sup>a</sup> " All right," he replied, " that is true, 357  
you have sacrificed, but to another, even if it was for  
me ; what good is it then ? For you have not sacrificed  
to me." When we heard these words following on  
his first remark we were seized by a profound terror  
which spread till it became visible in the countenance.  
While he was saying this he was going on with his 358  
survey of the houses, the different chambers, men's  
or women's, the ground floors, the upper floors, all of  
them, and some he censured as defective in structure,  
and for others he made his own plans and gave orders  
that they should be more magnificent. Then driven 359  
along we followed him up and down mocked and re-  
viled by our adversaries, as they do in the mimes at  
the theatres. For indeed the business was a sort of  
mime ; the judge had taken on the rôle of accuser, the  
accusers the rôle of a bad judge who had eyes only  
for his enmity and not for the actual truth. But 360  
when the person on trial is accused by a judge and

accompanied with instructions that they were to be applied  
to pay for sacrifices for these particular purposes, *cf.* § 232.  
For the bearing of the statement about the German victory  
the chronology see *Intro.* p. xxvii.

## PHILO

ἀνάγκη σιωπᾶν· ἔστι γάρ πως καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας  
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς οὐδέν ὧν ἐπεζήτει  
 καὶ ἐπεπόθει δυναμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι, τῶν ἐθῶν  
 καὶ νομίμων τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπεχόντων καὶ τὸ στόμα  
 361 κλειόντων καὶ ἀπορραπτόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνια τῶν  
 περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς διατάξατο, μέγιστον καὶ σεμνὸν  
 ἐρώτημα ἠρώτα· “διὰ τί χοιρείων κρεῶν ἀπ-  
 ἔχεσθε;” πάλιν πρὸς τὴν πεύσιν γέλως ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀντιδίκων κατερράγη τοσοῦτος, τῇ μὲν ἡδομένων  
 τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύόντων ἔνεκα κολακείας ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ τὸ λεχθὲν δοκεῖν σὺν εὐτραπείᾳ καὶ χάριτι  
 εἰρησθαι, ὡς τινα τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ θεραπόντων  
 [599] | ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν αὐτο-  
 κράτορος, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ τὸ μετρίως μειδιάσαι τοῖς μὴ  
 362 πάνυ συνήθεσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλές. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ  
 ἡμῶν, ὅτι “νόμιμα παρ’ ἑτέροις ἕτερα καὶ χρήσις  
 ἐνίων ὡς ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀντιδίκους ἀπείρηται,” καὶ  
 φαμένου τινός, “ὡς πολλοὶ γε καὶ τὰ προχειρότατα  
 ἀρνία οὐ προσφέρονται,” γελάσας, “εἶ γε,” εἶπεν,  
 363 “ἔστι γὰρ οὐχ ἡδέα.” τοιαῦτα φλυαρηθέντες καὶ  
 κατακερτομηθέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦμεν. εἶτα ὀψέ  
 ποτε παρασεσυρμένως, “βουλόμεθα μαθεῖν,” ἔφη,  
 364 “τίσι χρήσθε περὶ τῆς πολιτείας δικαίοις.” ἀρξα-  
 μένων δὲ λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν, ἀπογευσάμενος τῆς  
 δικαιολογίας καὶ συνεὶς ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκαταφρόνη-  
 τος, πρὶν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὰ ἐχυρώτερα, συγκόψας καὶ  
 τὰ πρότερα δρομαίως εἰς τὸν μέγαν οἶκον εἰσ-  
 ἐπήδησε καὶ περιελθὼν προστάττει τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ  
 θυρίδας ἀναληφθῆναι τοῖς ὑάλῳ λευκῇ παραπλη-

<sup>a</sup> The imperfects ἐπεζήτει and ἐπεπόθει show that we have here a sudden transition from the general to the particular. We have had an exact parallel in *Flaccus* 118.

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 360-364

that one of such eminence, he must needs hold his peace. For silence too may in a way serve as a defence, particularly to us <sup>a</sup> who could not answer any of the points which he was investigating and wished to press, because our customs and laws muzzled the tongue and closed and stitched up the mouth. But <sup>361</sup> after giving some of his orders about the buildings he put to us this grave and momentous question, "Why do you refuse to eat pork?" The question was greeted by another outburst of laughter from some of our opponents because they were delighted, while with others it was a studied attempt to flatter him, intended to make the remark seem witty and sprightly. The laughter was so great that some of the servants following him were annoyed at it as showing disrespect for the emperor, with whom even a tempered smile is unsafe except for quite intimate friends. We answered, "Different people have different <sup>362</sup> customs and the use of some things is forbidden to us as others are to our opponents." Then someone said, "Yes, just as many don't eat lamb which is so easily obtainable," whereupon Gaius laughed and said, "Quite right too, for it's not nice." Under such befooling and reviling we were helpless. <sup>363</sup> Then tardily going on a different tack <sup>b</sup> he said, "We want to hear what claims you make about your citizenship." We started to speak and give him the <sup>364</sup> information; but when he had had a taste of our pleading and recognized that it was by no means contemptible, he cut short our earlier points before we could bring in the stronger ones, and dashed at high speed into the large room of the house, and walked round it and ordered the windows all round

<sup>b</sup> Or "with a sarcastic air."

## PHILO

- σίως διαφανέσι λίθοις, οἱ τὸ μὲν φῶς οὐκ  
 ἐμποδίζουσιν, ἄνεμον δὲ εἶργουσι καὶ τὸν ἄφ'  
 365 ἡλίου φλογμόν. εἶτα προελθὼν ἄνευ σπουδῆς  
 μετριώτερον ἀνηρώτα· “ τί λέγετε; ” συνείρειν  
 δὲ ἀρξαμένων τὰ ἀκόλουθα, εἰστρέχει πάλιν εἰς  
 ἕτερον οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ γραφὰς ἀρχετύπους ἀνατεθῆναι  
 366 προσέταπτεν. οὕτω τῶν ἡμετέρων σπαραττομένων  
 καὶ διαρτωμένων καὶ μόνον οὐ συγκοπτομένων καὶ  
 συντριβομένων δικαίων, ἀπειρηκότες καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι  
 σθένοντες, αἰεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ θάνατον προσ-  
 δοκῶντες, οὐκέτι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶχομεν,  
 ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀγωνίας ἔξω προεληλύθεσαν ἰκετεύειν τὸν  
 367 ἐπίσχη. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οἶκτον ἡμῶν τρέπει τὸν  
 θυμὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἔλεον· καὶ ἀνεθίς πρὸς τὸ  
 μαλακώτερον, τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν, “ οὐ πονηροὶ μᾶλλον  
 ἢ δυστυχεῖς εἶναι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ  
 ἀνόητοι μὴ πιστεύοντες, ὅτι θεοῦ κεκλήρωμαι  
 φύσιν, ” ἀπαλλάττεται προστάξας καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπέρ-  
 χεσθαι.
- 368 XLVI. Τοιοῦτον ἀντὶ δικαστηρίου θέατρον ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ δεσμωτήριον ἐκφυγόντες—ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἐν  
 θεάτρῳ κλωσμὸς συριπτόντων, καταμωκωμένων,  
 ἄμετρα χλευαζόντων, ὡς δὲ ἐν εἰρκτῇ πληγαὶ κατὰ  
 τῶν σπλάγγων φερόμεναι, βάσανοι, κατατάσεις  
 τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς διὰ τε τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον βλασ-  
 φημιῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπανατάσεων, ἃς τοσοῦτος  
 [600] αὐτοκράτωρ | ἐπανετείνοτο, μνησικακῶν οὐ περὶ  
 ἑτέρου, ῥαδίως γὰρ ἂν μετέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑαυ-  
 τοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκθέωσιν ἐπιθυμίας, ἥ μόνους  
 ὑπελάμβανε μῆτε συναιεῖν Ἰουδαίους μῆτε δύνα-  
 369 σθαι συνυπογράψασθαι—μόλις ἀνεπνεύσαμεν, οὐκ  
 182

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 364-369

to be restored with transparent stones, which in the same way as white glass do not obstruct the light but keep off the wind and the scorching sun. Then 365 he advanced in a leisurely way and said in a more moderate tone, "What is it that you say?" and when we began on the points which came next in the thread of our argument he ran again into another room and ordered original pictures to be put up there. So with the statement of our case thus mangled and 366 disjointed, one may almost say cut short and crushed to pieces, we gave up, for there was no strength left in us, and since we all the time expected nothing else but death, in our deep distress our souls had passed from within us and went forth to supplicate the true God that he should restrain the wrath of the pretender to that name. And God taking compassion on 367 us turned his spirit to mercy; he relaxed into a softer mood and said just this, "They seem to me to be people unfortunate rather than wicked and to be foolish in refusing to believe that I have got the nature of a god," and saying this he went off bidding us be gone also.

XLVI. Such was this combination of a theatre 368 and a prison in place of a tribunal, theatre-like in the cackling of their hisses, their mockery and unbounded jeering, prison-like in the strokes inflicted on our flesh, the torture, the racking of the whole soul through the blasphemies against God and menaces launched upon us by this mighty despot, who resented the affront not to another, since then he might easily have changed his mind, but to himself and his desire of the deification to which he supposed the Jews alone did not assent and could not pledge themselves to subscribe. From this prison we had 369

## PHILO

ἐπειδὴ φιλοζωοῦντες θάνατον κατεπτήχειμεν, ὃν ἄσμενοι καθάπερ ἀθανασίαν εἰλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ δὴ τι τῶν νομίμων ἔμελλον ἐπανόρθωσιν ἕξειν, ἀλλ' εἰδότες ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λυσιτελεῖ παρανάλωμα γενησόμενοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυσκλείας· ἃ γὰρ ἂν πρέσβεις ὑπομένωσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας λαμβάνει τὴν

370 ἀναφορὰν. τούτων μὲν δὴ χάριν ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐδυνήθημεν ἀνακύψαι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἐφόβει διεπτοημένους καὶ ἀποροῦντας, τί γινώσεται, τί ἀποφανεῖται, ποταπὴ γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ κρίσις· ἤκουσε γὰρ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὃς πραγμάτων ἐνίων παρήκουσεν; ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ πέντε πρεσβευταῖς σαλεύειν τὰ τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων Ἰουδαίων οὐ χαλεπόν;

371 εἰ γὰρ χαρίσαιτο τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς, τίς ἕτερα πόλις ἡρεμήσει; τίς οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται τοῖς συνοικουσί; τίς ἀπαθῆς καταλειφθήσεται προσευχῆ; ποῖον πολιτικὸν οὐκ ἀνατραπήσεται δίκαιον τοῖς κοσμουμένοις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἀνατετράψεται, ναυαγήσει, κατὰ βυθοῦ χωρήσει καὶ τὰ ἐξαίρετα νόμιμα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πρὸς ἑκάστας

372 τῶν πόλεων αὐτοῖς δίκαια. τοιούτοις ὑπέραντλοι γενόμενοι λογισμοῖς ὑπεσυρόμεθα καταποντούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τέως συμπράττειν ἡμῖν δοκοῦντες ἀπειρήκεσαν· καλουμένων γούν, ἔνδον ὄντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ὑπεξῆλθον διὰ φόβον ἀκριβῶς

<sup>a</sup> See *Flacc.* 12 and note.

<sup>b</sup> Balsdon, who translates (p. 161) "for he heard our case though he paid no attention to some of the facts," whence he infers that Philo is compelled to admit that Gaius gave a hearing to the Jewish arguments, is, I think, certainly wrong. The question mark appended both by Mangey and Reiter is necessitated by ὃς, which cannot bear the sense which Balsdon gives it.



## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 369-372

escaped and were just able to breathe again, not because we clung to life and cringed from death, which we would gladly have chosen as being immortality, if thereby we were going to get restoration of our institutions, but because we knew that we should prove to have thrown ourselves away for no useful purpose <sup>a</sup> and to our great discredit. For whatever ambassadors suffer recoils upon those who sent them. For the above reasons we were able to 370 lift our heads above water to some extent but the other circumstances alarmed us in our trepidation and suspense as to what he would decide, what verdict he would declare, on what grounds the judgement would be given. For had a hearing been given to our case by him who heard some points only to misunderstand? <sup>b</sup> Surely it was a cruel situation that the fate of all the Jews everywhere should rest precariously on us five envoys. For if he should 371 decide in favour of our enemies, what other city will keep tranquil or refrain from attacking its fellow inhabitants, what house of prayer will be left unscathed, what kind of civic rights will not be upset for those whose lot is cast under the ancient institutions of the Jews? First upset, then shipwrecked, then sunk to the very bottom will be both their peculiar laws and the rights which they enjoy in common in every city. Waterlogged by such 372 considerations we were dragged down and submerged in the depths, for those who hitherto seemed to be acting with us gave up. At least when we were summoned <sup>c</sup> they did not stay in and hold their ground but slunk away in fear, knowing full well

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "when we called upon them," which gives better sense, though with poorer grammar, *cf.* note on § 221.

## PHILO

ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν ἡμερον, ᾧ κέχρητο πρὸς τὸ νομί-  
ζεσθαι θεός.

373 Εἴρηται μὲν οὖν κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἢ αἰτία τῆς  
πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπεχθείας Γαΐου·  
λεκτέον δὲ καὶ τὴν παλινοδίαν.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ? παλινοδίαν. See note a.

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<sup>a</sup> "Counter-story" or "reversal." Presumably this gave an account of Gaius's death and probably also the change of policy adopted by Claudius, as shown in the two edicts recorded by Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 5. If, that is, it was ever written, for it is curious that Eusebius in his brief notice of

## THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 372-373

the longing which he cherished for being acknowledged as a god.

So now I have told in a summary way the cause 373 of the enmity which Gaius had for the whole nation of the Jews, but I must also describe the palinode.<sup>a</sup>

the *Legatio*, see Introd. pp. xvii, shows no knowledge of it. But the word is an odd one, for though Philo uses *παλινοφθεῖν*="repeat" in *De Mut.* 53, the noun itself is only cited in the sense of recantation. Cf. in Philo himself *De Post.* 179, *De Som.* ii. 232. The only sense in which the story of these events would be a recantation would be that it would force the doubters of providence to recant. I think *παλινοδία*, said by Suidas to=*ἐναντία ὁδός*, would be a more natural word.



# INDICES TO PHILO

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Old Testament : I. Gen. Introd. pp. xii, xiii n, xv, xvi n, xix, xxi, II. *Cher.* 53[N], 84[N], *Sac.* 45[N], IV. *Mig.* 140[N], VII. Gen. Introd. p. xv, *Spec. Leg.* i. 60n, iii. 47n, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xii, *Virt.* 122[N], *Praem.* 23[N], IX. Gen. Introd. p. v, *Vit. Cont.* Introd. p. 107, *Vit. Cont.* 25n, 28, *Hypoth.* 7. 6nn, *De Prov.* Introd. p. 448

Pentateuch <sup>a</sup> : I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii n, IV. *Mig.* 184n, V. *Mut.* 216n, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. ix, xi, xvi, xvii, *Mos.* i. 290n, ii. 26-44[N], 47n & [N], 65[N], VII. Gen. Introd. pp. x, xi, xiv, xv, *Spec. Leg.* i. 1n, 71[N], 79[N], 180[N], ii. 28n, 176n, 243n, iii. 64n, 110n, 120[N], 149[N], VIII. Gen. Introd. pp. xv, xix(xx) n, xx, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2[N], 51n, *Virt.* 28[N], 44[N], 122[N], *Praem.* 78[N], 87[N], 171[N], IX. Gen. Introd. p. v, *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd. pp. 2, 3, 5, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57 & n, 70[N], *Vit. Cont.* 25[N], 65[N],

<sup>a</sup> These general references to the Pentateuch include those made to "the Law."

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*Hypoth.* Introd. pp. 407 & n-411, 7.  
1n, 7. 5n, 7. 6n, 7. 7n, *De Prov.*  
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<sup>a</sup> Where the A.V. has "unto the plain of Moreh" the LXX reads ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλήν. R.V. "unto the oak of Moreh."

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\* Where the EV have "an officer of Pharaoh's, captain of the guard" the LXX reads *ὁ εὐνοῦχος Φαραῶ ὁ ἀρχιμάγειρος*, "the eunuch of Pharaoh and chief cook."

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 2. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 150 & n  
 3. IV. *Congr.* 106 & n  
 4. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 165, IV. *Quis Her.* 193  
 6. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145[N]  
 8. IV. *Congr.* 162  
 11. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 154, II. *Sac.* 63, IV. *Mig.*  
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 13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145[N], 146n  
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 21. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145[N]  
 23. I. *Leg. All.* ii. 34, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii.  
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27. VI. *Mos.* i. 147 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145n & [N]  
 29-36. VI. *Mos.* i. 134-142  
 34. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 158 & n  
 37. VI. *Mos.* i. 147 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 146 & n  
 38. IV. *Mig.* 152-155, 158, 163 & n, VI. *Mos.* i. 147 & n  
 39. II. *Sac.* 62 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 158 & n  
 48. VIII. *Virt.* 104n
- xiii. 1, 2. IV. *Quis Her.* 117, 118 & n, 119  
 2. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 137f  
 11-13. II. *Sac.* 89-117  
 11. II. *Sac.* 89-101 & n  
 12. II. *Sac.* 102-112  
 13. II. *Sac.* 112 & n-117  
 17-22. VI. *Mos.* i. 163-166  
 19. V. *Som.* ii. 109
- xiv. VI. *Mos.* i. 167-179, ii. 247-257, VIII. *Praem.* 78[N]  
 7. III. *Ebr.* 111  
 14. V. *Som.* ii. 265  
 14, 15. IV. *Quis Her.* 14 & n, 15  
 20. IV. *Quis Her.* 203  
 27. IV. *Conf.* 70 & [N]  
 30. IV. *Conf.* 35-37, V. *Som.* ii. 279 & n-282
- <sup>a</sup> xv. VII. *Decal.* 15, 16 & n, 17

<sup>a</sup> Called "The Song": III. *Agr.* 81, *Plant.* 48, V. *Som.* ii. 269. Cf. II. *Post.* 167n, III. *Sob.* 10n, V. *Mut.* 182n.

1. I. *Leg. All.* ii. 102, III. *Agr.* 80-83, 81[N], *Ebr.* 111, *Sob.* 13, V. *Som.* ii. 269, VI. *Mos.* i. 180
4. III. *Ebr.* 79 & n, 111
5. VI. *Mos.* ii. 252 & n
8. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 172
9. II. *Cher.* 74-78
10. VI. *Mos.* ii. 252 & n
17. III. *Plant.* 46-55, IV. *Congr.* 57
18. III. *Plant* 46-55
- 20, 21. III. *Agr.* 80-83, 81[N], VI. *Mos.* i. 180
- 22-26. IV. *Congr.* 163-166, 164n, VI. *Mos.* i. 181-187
23. II. *Post.* 155
25. II. *Post.* 156, IV. *Mig.* 36f
27. V. *Fug.* 183-187, VI. *Mos.* i. 188-190
- xvi. I. Gen. *Introd.* p. xi, VI. *Mos.* i. 191-208, ii. 258-269, VII. *Decal.* 15, 16 & n, 17
4. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 162-168, V. *Fug.* 137f, *Mut.* 258-260
13. VI. *Mos.* i. 209 & n
- 13-15. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 169-176, 171n
- 15, 16. I. Gen. *Introd.* p. xi, V. *Fug.* 137-139 & n
18. IV. *Quis Her.* 191 & n
23. V. *Mut.* 260n, VI. *Mos.* ii. 219n
31. II. *Det.* 118 & [N]
36. IV. *Congr.* 100f
- xvii. VI. *Mos.* i. 210-219
- 1-7. VI. *Mos.* i. 210f
6. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 4, II. *Sac.* 67f, IV. *Conf.*

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- 138, *Mig.* 183, V. *Som.* i. 241, ii. 221 & [N]
- 8-16. VI. *Mos.* i. 214 & n-219 & n, VIII. *Virt.* 22n
- 11<sup>c</sup> I. *Leg. All.* iii. 186
12. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 45, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd. p. 5n, 29 & n
14. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 187
15. VI. *Mos.* i. 219 & n
- xviii. III. *Ebr.* 37, V. *Mut.* 104 & n, VI. *Gen.* Introd. p. xv, *Mos.* i. & ii. Introd. p. 275 & n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 170-175
1. V. *Mut.* 106
4. IV. *Quis Her.* 59f
7. IV. *Quis Her.* 44 & n
- 9-11. II. *Gig.* 50, V. *Mut.* 105
11. III. *Ebr.* 41-45
14. II. *Gig.* 50f
16. III. *Ebr.* 37
17. V. *Mut.* 104 & n
21. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 171 & n
25. IV. *Congr.* 110
26. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 197
- xix. 6. III. *Sob.* 66 & n, VI. *Abr.* 56
8. IV. *Conf.* 58f
13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 144n
- <sup>a</sup> 14-19. VII. *Decal.* 44-49
16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 189
17. V. *Som.* i. 71
18. IV. *Quis Her.* 251, VII. *Decal.* 44 & n-49

<sup>a</sup> In the footnote (a) to *Decal.* 44 the reference is wrongly given as ch. xx. 14-19.

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19. IV. *Quis Her.* 17f  
 20. II. *Cher.* 114[N]  
 24. II. *Post.* 136  
 33, 34. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 51f
- xx. 1-17. (The Ten Commandments), IV. *Quis Her.* 168-173, *Congr.* 120, VII, VIII. *Decal.*, *Spec. Leg.* i-iv  
 2, 3. <sup>a</sup> 1st : IV. *Congr.* 133[N], V. *Mut.* 23f, VII. *Decal.* 52-65, 155, *Spec. Leg.* i. 12-20, 256  
 4-6. 2nd : VII. *Decal.* 66-81, 156, *Spec. Leg.* i. 21-31, 255  
 5. III. *Sob.* 48  
 7. 3rd : VII. *Decal.* 82-95, 157, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 2-38, 27n, 252-254  
 8-11. 4th : I. *Op.* 128, VII. *Decal.* 96-105, 158-164, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 39-222 (esp. 39, 56-70 & n), 249-251  
 10. II. *Cher.* 87-90, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 70 & n  
 12. 5th : II. *Det.* 52-56, VII. *Decal.* 106-120, 165-167, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 224-248  
<sup>b</sup> 13 (EV 14). 7th (Adultery ; LXX, Philo, 6th) : VII. *Decal.* 121-131, 168f, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 8 & n-82 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Not only does the LXX have a different order from the Hebrew and English, but there are two versions of the order in the LXX itself: Philo at this point follows the same order as that of Deuteronomy v.

<sup>b</sup> There are three variations of the order. In the Hebrew and English it is murder, adultery, theft. In the LXX of Exodus it is, as shown above, adultery, theft, murder. In the LXX of Deut. v, and in Philo it is, adultery, murder, theft.

<sup>c</sup> The Translator's note is not in keeping with the order of the text adopted by Swete.



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- <sup>a</sup> 14 (EV 15). 8th (Theft; LXX 7th, Philo 8th): VII. *Decal.* 135-137, 171, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 1-40
- <sup>a</sup> 15 (EV 13). 6th (Murder; LXX 8th, Philo 7th): VII. *Decal.* 132-134, 170, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 83-209
16. 9th: VII. *Decal.* 138-141, 172, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 41-77
17. 10th: VII. *Decal.* 142-153, 173f, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 78-131
- <sup>b</sup> 18. IV. *Mig.* 47, VI. *Mos.* ii. 213 & n, VII. *Decal.* (32-35), 44-49, 47n
19. II. *Post.* 143f, IV. *Quis Her.* 19, V. *Som.* i. 143
21. II. *Post.* 14, *Gig.* 54, V. *Mut.* 7 & [N], *Som.* i. 186-188[N]
23. I. *Leg. All.* i. 51, IV. *Congr.* 159 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 21-31, 22nn
24. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 215
25. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 273 & n
26. V. *Som.* ii. 67
- xxi. 2. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 79n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 4n
- 2, 3. VIII. *Virt.* 122[N]
- 5, 6. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 198f, II. *Cher.* 72 & n, 73, IV. *Quis Her.* 186 & n
10. IV. *Mig.* 105 & n
- 12-14. V. *Fug.* 53-82
12. V. *Fug.* 53-64 (esp. 53-55), VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 83f

<sup>a</sup> See note *b* on previous page.

<sup>b</sup> In the footnote (*b*) to *Decal.* 47 the reference is wrongly given as ch. xix. 18.

13. II. *Sac.* 133, IV. *Conf.* 160f, V. *Fug.* 65f, 75 & n, 76, 86, 93, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 120 & n & [N]-122
14. IV. *Conf.* 160f, V. *Fug.* 77-82, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 86 & n & [N]-91
- 15, 17 (LXX 16). V. *Fug.* 83-86, VII. *Spec. Leg.* 243 & n-248 & n
- 16 (LXX 17). VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 13 & n & [N]-19
- 18, 19. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 105, 106 & n & [N], 107, 120[N]
- 20, 21. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 137-143 & nn
- 22, 23. IV. *Congr.* 136-138 & nn, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 108 & n & [N], 109 & [N], 110 & n-119
- <sup>a</sup> 23-25. (the *ius talionis*) VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 181-204
- 26, 27. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 184, 195-203
- 28-32. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 144, 145 & n
- 33, 34. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 147 & n, 148 & [N]
- 35, 36. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 144-146 & nn
- xxii. 1-4. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2n (p. 8, n. a)
1. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 11 & n & [N]
2. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 7 & n & [N]
- 2, 3. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 32 & [N]-35
3. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 3 & n
4. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2 & n & [N]
5. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 22 & n-25
6. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 248-250, IV. *Quis Her.* 296, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 26-29 & n
7. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2n, 30-33
8. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 34 & nn
- <sup>a</sup> Cf. Lev. xxiv. 19-21, Deut. xix. 21.

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9. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2n  
 9-13. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 36 & n  
 14, 15. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 37 & n, 38  
 16, 17. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 65 & n-70  
 18. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 93 & n-103, 94n,  
 102n  
 19. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43-45  
 22. IV. *Congr.* 178 & n, 179  
 25. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 74 & n-78, VIII. *Virt.*  
 82-85  
 26, 27. II. *Gig.* 53[N], V. *Som.* i. 92-114  
 28. VI. *Mos.* ii. 203n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 53  
 & n, IX *Hypoth.* 7. 4n  
 29. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 134 & n, 137f  
 30. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 135f, VIII. *Virt.* 126n  
 31. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 119 & n-121
- xxiii. 1. IV. *Conf.* 141, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 44n,  
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 2. III. *Ebr.* 25f, IV. *Mig.* 61f, VIII. *Spec.*  
*Leg.* iv. 44n, 45-47  
 3. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 72 & n-77  
 4, 5. VIII. *Virt.* 116, 117 & n-120  
 7. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 44n  
 8. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 62 & n-69, 169  
 10, 11. IV. *Mig.* 32 & [N], VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii.  
 86-109, VIII. *Virt.* 97 & n, 98  
 13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 256 & nn  
 14. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 181 & n  
 16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 183n & [N]  
<sup>a</sup> 19. II. *Sac.* 72-75, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 134,  
 VIII. *Virt.* 142-144  
 20. III. *Agr.* 51f, IV. *Mig.* 174 & [N]

<sup>a</sup> The verse occurs again at xxxiv. 26.

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21. IV. *Mig.* 174 & [N]  
 26. VIII. *Praem.* 108 & n-111  
 28. VIII. *Praem.* 96
- xxiv. 1. IV. *Mig.* 168, 169 & n, 170, 201, V. *Mut.* 125f  
 6. IV. *Quis Her.* 182-185  
 10. IV. *Conf.* 96 & n, 97, V. *Som.* i. 62, ii. 222  
 11. IV. *Conf.* 56 & n, VIII. *Virt.* 44[N]  
 16, 17. V. *Som.* i. 186[N]  
 18. V. *Som.* i. 36, VI. *Mos.* ii. 70 & n
- xxv. 1, 2. IV. *Quis Her.* 113-117, 122  
 10-22. VI. *Mos.* ii. 95-97  
 10. III. *Ebr.* 85, V. *Mut.* 43f  
 19. II. *Cher.* 25f  
 21. IV. *Quis Her.* 166, V. *Fug.* 100f  
 23-30. VI. *Mos.* ii. 104-108  
 29. IV. *Congr.* 168  
 30. IV. *Quis Her.* 175  
 31. IV. *Quis Her.* 218[N], *Congr.* 8  
 31-40. VI. *Mos.* ii. 102f, 105  
 36. IV. *Quis Her.* 216-218  
 37. IV. *Congr.* 8 & n  
 40. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 102, IV. *Congr.* 8n
- xxvi. 1. IV. *Congr.* 116 & n  
 1-14. VI. *Mos.* ii. 84-88  
 18-30. VI. *Mos.* ii. 77 & n-83  
 33. V. *Mut.* 43f, 192  
 36. V. *Som.* i. 207 & n, VI. *Mos.* ii. 87n
- xxvii. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 273-276  
 1. III. *Ebr.* 85, 87

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- 9-18. VI. *Mos.* ii. 89-93  
 9. V. *Mut.* 190  
 16. VI. *Mos.* ii. 77n  
 21. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 296-298
- xxviii. VI. *Mos.* ii. 109-135, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 83-97, 84n
1. V. *Som.* ii. 186  
 4. III. *Ebr.* 85f, V. *Mut.* 43f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 85, 94  
 6-8. VI. *Mos.* ii. 109, 111, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 86, 88n  
 9-12. IV. *Quis Her.* 176, VI. *Mos.* ii. 112, 122f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 86, 94  
 15, 16. VI. *Mos.* ii. 112, 125, 127f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 87f  
 15-21. I. *Leg. All.* i. 81-84, IV. *Quis Her.* 178n, V. *Fug.* 185, VI. *Mos.* ii. 112 & n, 124-128, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 87f  
 22, 24, 25 (EV 22-28). VI. *Mos.* ii. 113, 130  
<sup>a</sup>26 (EV 30). I. *Leg. All.* iii. 118, 128f, 140, IV. *Quis Her.* 303 & n, VI. *Mos.* ii. 112, 113 & n, 117-135[N], VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 84n, 88 & n-92, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 69  
 27-30 (EV 31-34). IV. *Mig.* 102f, VI. *Mos.* ii. 110, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 93-97  
 27 (EV 31). VI. *Mos.* ii. 118, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 85  
<sup>a</sup>29, 30 (EV 33, 34). IV. *Mig.* 103, VI. *Mos.*

<sup>a</sup> At *Leg. All.* iii. 119 the reference is to the EV; at *Mos.* ii. 113 there is no exact reference; at *Mos.* ii. 114[N] and 115n LXX and EV are mixed, but it is indicated; at *Spec. Leg.* ii. 83 the reference is to the EV; at *Spec. Leg.* iv. 69 no reference is given. At *Mig.* 103f the references are to the LXX.

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- ii. 110, 119-121, 133-135, 117-135[N],  
 VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 84n, 93-95  
 31 (EV 35). IV. *Mig.* 104  
<sup>a</sup> 32 (EV 36). IV. *Mig.* 103, VI. *Mos.* ii. 114  
 & [N], 115 & n, 132, 117-135[N]  
 35, 36 (EV 39, 40). VI. *Mos.* ii. 116, 131-133  
 36-39 (EV 40-43). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 82f  
 37 (EV 41). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 79[N]
- xxix. VI. *Mos.* ii. 143-152  
 4, 5. V. *Som.* i. 214f  
 38, 39. IV. *Quis Her.* 174  
 39. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 276n  
 40. IV. *Congr.* 102
- xxx. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 273-276  
 1, 2. III. *Ebr.* 85, 87, IV. *Quis Her.* 226,  
 VI. *Mos.* ii. 101, 105  
 7. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 176n  
 7, 8. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 171  
 12-16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 77 & n, 78  
 12, 13. IV. *Quis Her.* 186f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* 33n  
 15. IV. *Quis Her.* 189f  
 19, 20. IV. *Mig.* 98n  
 34, 35. IV. *Quis Her.* 196-200, 226
- xxx. 2-11. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 95f, 102f, III. *Plant.* 26f,  
 V. *Som.* i. 206  
 2, 3. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 95f, II. *Gig.* 23, V. *Som.*  
 i. 207 & n  
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<sup>a</sup> See note a on previous page.

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- xxxii. III. *Ebr.* 95 & [N]-110, VI. *Mos.* ii. 161-173, 270-274, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 124-127
2. II. *Post.* 166f
- 3, 4. II. *Sac.* 130, III. *Ebr.* 95 & [N], V. *Fug.* 90, VI. *Mos.* ii. 161f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 125
16. IV. *Mig.* 85, *Quis Her.* 187
- 17-19. III. *Ebr.* 96 & [N]-98 & [N], 99, 104f, 121-124
20. II. *Post.* 158-165
- 26-29. II. *Sac.* 130, III. *Ebr.* 66-71, V. *Fug.* 90-92, VI. *Mos.* ii. 167-171, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 79 & n & [N], iii. 125f
32. IV. *Quis Her.* 19f, VI. *Mos.* ii. 166
- xxxiii. 7. I. *Leg. All.* ii. 54f, iii. 46-48, II. *Det.* 160, *Gig.* 54, III. *Ebr.* 100, 124
11. IV. *Quis Her.* 21, V. *Som.* i. 232, VI. *Mos.* i. 156, ii. 163, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 44
- 13-23. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41-50
13. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 101-103, II. *Post.* 13-16, V. *Mut.* 7[N], 8-10, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41 & n
15. IV. *Mig.* 170-172
17. III. *Quod Deus* 109f
18. V. *Fug.* 164, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41n, 45
- 19-23. II. *Post.* 169, V. *Fug.* 164f, *Mut.* 8-10, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41n, 46-50
- xxxiv. 12. IV. *Mig.* 8
16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 29 & n
26. = xxiii. 19, *q.v.*
28. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 142

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- 28-35. VI. *Mos.* ii. 69, 70 & n  
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 3. IV. *Mig.* 91, VI. *Mos.* ii. 219 & n, VII.  
*Spec. Leg.* ii. 65, 251  
 22, 23. IV. *Mig.* 97
- xxxvi. <sup>a</sup> 10 (EV xxxix. 3). II. *Sac.* 83, IV. *Quis Her.*  
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<sup>b</sup> 15-21 (EV xxxix. 8-14). V. *Som.* i. 202 & n  
<sup>b</sup> 38 (EV xxxix. 30). VI. *Mos.* ii. 114[N]
- xxxviii. <sup>c</sup> 13, 14 (EV xxxvii. 17). IV. *Congr.* 8n  
<sup>d</sup> 15-17 (EV xxxvii. 18-24). IV. *Quis Her.*  
 218 & [N]-229  
 26, 27 (EV xxxviii. 8). IV. *Mig.* 98 & n, VI.  
*Mos.* ii. 136-140  
 xl. 6, 26 (EV xl. 6, 29). VI. *Mos.* ii. 94 & n

LEVITICUS

For the title compare *Plant.* 26 and *Fug.* 170 & n

- i. 1. III. *Plant.* 26  
 3-9. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 198-211  
 3, 4. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 163-165  
 6. II. *Sac.* 84f

<sup>a</sup> In both passages the LXX numeration is followed. At *Quis Her.* 131 there is a misprint; for xxxvii. 10 read xxxvi. 10.

<sup>b</sup> At *Som.* i. 202 the numeration is LXX (EV); in *Mos.* ii. 114[N] it is EV (LXX).

<sup>c</sup> In the footnote to *Congr.* 8, for Ex. xxxviii. 5f (xxxvii. 17) read xxxviii. 13, 14 (EV xxxvii. 17).

<sup>d</sup> The LXX differs considerably from the EV.



9. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 143f  
 10, 11. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 163-165  
 14. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 162
- ii. 1, 2. V. *Som.* ii. 71-74  
 11. IV. *Congr.* 69, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 291-295, ii. 182-185  
 13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 289f  
 14. II. *Sac.* 76 & n-87
- iii. II. *Sac.* 136-139, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 212-219  
 16, 17. II. *Post.* 123  
 17. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 123 & n, 124
- iv. 3. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 226 & nn-230 & n, 231-233  
 6-12. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 231-233  
 7-10. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 125  
 11. II. *Sac.* 137[N]  
 13, 22, 27. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 226 & nn-233
- v. 1. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 26 & n  
 2. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 119n  
 4, 5. V. *Som.* ii. 296 & n-299, 298n  
 5-12. V. *Mut.* 233-251  
 15, 16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 234
- vi. 2-7. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 235-239  
 9. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 285-288  
 10. V. *Mut.* 43f  
 12, 13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 285-288  
 20. IV. *Quis Her.* 174, *Congr.* 103-105  
 20-22. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 255f

- 25, 26, 29. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 240-246, 242[N]  
<sup>a</sup> 38 (EV vii. 8). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 151  
<sup>a</sup> 40 (EV vii. 10). IV. *Quis Her.* 195
- <sup>b</sup> vii. 2, 3, 5 (EV 12, 13, 15). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 224f  
<sup>c</sup> 21 (EV 31). I. *Leg. All.* iii. 140 & n  
 21-24 (EV 31-34). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 145 & n, 146  
 24 (EV 34). I. *Leg. All.* iii. 133-137
- viii. VI. *Mos.* ii. 143-152  
 21. IV. *Mig.* 67  
 29. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 129-132, 140, 147, IV. *Mig.* 67
- ix. VI. *Mos.* ii. 143-152  
 14. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 140-145, 147  
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<sup>a</sup> At *Spec. Leg.* i. 151 the reference is to the EV (LXX); at *Quis Her.* 195 it is to the LXX only.

<sup>b</sup> At *Spec. Leg.* i. 224f the numeration is that of the LXX (EV); but at i. 145f of the EV (LXX); while in *Leg. All.* iii. 133-137, 140 only the EV is given.

<sup>c</sup> In the footnote to *Leg. All.* iii. 140 there is a misprint. For Lev. vii. 3 read vii. 21 (EV 31).

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In a few cases there is a difference of one verse or more between the LXX and the EV, so that the references given by the Translators are slightly inaccurate. I have thought it sufficient to indicate these in the list of corrigenda and simply to print the correct numeration above.

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Aaron : ' mountainous,' the reason whose thoughts are lofty and sublime (*Ebr.* 128) ; Speech (*Leg. All.* iii. 103, *Mig.* 79, 169 & n) or Word (*Leg. All.* iii. 45, 118 (ἱερός λ.) *Quis Her.* 201f, *Mut.* 208), the logos in utterance (*προφορικός*, *Mig.* 78, *Det.* 39, 126), the perfect interpreter (*Det.* 132, *cf.* 40, *Mig.* 78, 81, 84, *Mut.* 208, *Mos.* i. 84). He is also the man of gradual improvement (ὁ προκόπτων, *Leg. All.* iii. 140, 144, *Som.* ii. 234, 237), training or practising (ἀσκητής, opp. to τέλειος, *Leg. All.* iii. 144), but falling short of consummation (*Som.* ii. 234-237), and so inferior to Moses (*ib.* ; δεύτερος, *Leg. All.* iii. 128, 132), whom he is predisposed to obey (*Mos.* i. 85)

Aaron, Speech, is the brother of Moses, Mind (*Det.* 39f, 126-135, *Mig.* 78-84, *cf.* *Mut.* 208), the logical nature being the one mother of them both (*Mig.* 78-84, *cf.* 168f). On the other hand, he is contrasted with Moses because he receives a less direct revelation (*Leg. All.* iii. 103, *Mig.* 81) and access (*Gig.* 52), he is instable (*ib.*, *Som.* ii. 234-237), he is not whole-hearted in rejecting the passions (*Leg. All.* iii. 128, 132, 134) and pleasure (140), he is subject to toil and discipline (135, 144), a learner, imperfect (135, *Som.* ii. 234-237), making only gradual improvement (see above)

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He is a Levite ('speech in deep earnest,' *Det.* 132), and head of its priesthood (*Gig.* 52 & [N], *Ebr.* 135-138). His mistakes are exposed (*Leg. All.* iii. 103, *Fug.* 159), but there is silence about his making the Golden Calf (*Mos.* ii. 161ff), unless he is referred to in *Ebr.* 95f, 108f, 124-126. But he is an example of good voluntary action (*Post.* 75f), and his aim is Truth, which he attains at death (*Leg. All.* iii. 45)

I. *Leg. All.* iii. 45, 103, 118-129, 140, 144, II. *Det.* 39f, 126-132, 135, *Post.* 75f, *Gig.* 52 & [N], III. *Ebr.* 95f, 108-110, 124-138, IV. *Mig.* 78-84, 168f, *Quis Her.* 195, 201f, V. *Fug.* 159, *Mut.* 207f, *Som.* ii. (187-189), 234-237, VI. *Mos.* i. 84-86, 90f, 97-113, 126-129, *Mos.* ii. 142-154, 161ff, 176-186, 278, VIII. *Praem.* 78

Abae : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33 & n

Abel : 'one who refers all things to God' (*Sac.* 2, 51, *Det.* 32), the God-loving principle or creed (*φιλόθεον δόγμα*, *Sac.* 3, *Det.* 32, 38, 78, 103), the good conviction (*καλὸν δόγμα*, *Sac.* 5), the type of the good in man (*Det.* 78), the noble (*Det.* 69), virtue (*Sac.* 14), holiness, the perfect good (*Sac.* 10, *cf. Det.* 62). In *Mig.* 74 Philo derives Abel from a different Hebrew root ('mourn') : he is one to whom things mortal are a grief and things immortal are full of happiness

He is contrasted with Cain, the self-loving principle (*Sac.* 3, 5, *Det.* 32, 49), with whom he should not have fought as he had never learned the arts of speech (*Det.* 37, *Mig.* 74). Though he was killed, yet he is alive with the happy life in God (*Det.* 48f, 69, *Post.* 38f, *cf.* 173). He finds a new birth, as it were, in Seth (*Post.* 124)

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II. *Cher.* 40, *Sac.* 1-3, 10f, 14, 51f, 88, 136, *Det.* 1, 32, 37, 42, 45-49, 57 & [N], 61, 68f, 78f, 93, 100, 103, *Post.* 10, 38f, 49, 124, 170-173, (III. *Agr.* 21), IV. *Conf.* 124 & [N], *Mig.* 74, *Congr.* 54 [N], VI. *Abr.* 12n & [N], VIII. *Virt.* 199

Abihu : see Nadab

Abimelech : III. *Plant.* 169 (Gen. xxvi), IV. *Quis Her.* 258, V. *Som.* i. 1-2[N] (Gen. xx), VI. *Abr.* 92-106

Abraham : Abram is πατήρ μετέωρος, the 'father high-soaring' or 'uplifted father,' signifying the mind which surveys the supra-terrestrial, called 'father' because it cares for its tenets (*Abr.* 82), or because it is the father of our compound being (*Gig.* 62, cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 83), or because it is productive of some wisdom (*Mut.* 68). This is the mind of the lover of learning, the meteorologist or astrologer, given to nature-study (*Gig.* 62f, *Mut.* 70f, 76, cf. *Abr.* 82, 84), associated with Abram's residence in Chaldaea and contrasted with his departure from there and his new name (*Leg. All.* iii. 83f,<sup>a</sup> cf. 244, *Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 62, *Mut.* 66-71, 76, *Abr.* 81-84)

Abraham is πατήρ ἐκλεκτός ἡχοῦς, the 'elect father of sound,' signifying the good man's reasoning (*Gig.* 64, cf. *Cher.* 7), because reason (*Gig.* 64) or mind (*Cher.* 7, *Mut.* 66, *Abr.* 83, 99) is father of the uttered word (ὁ γεγωνὸς or προφορικὸς λόγος). This is the man of wisdom (*Mut.* 69f, *Abr.* 84) or man of worth, chosen out of all for his merits (*Gig.* 63), who pursues ethical philosophy

<sup>a</sup> In *Leg. All.* iii. 83f Philo may be coupling this with a favourable interpretation, 'the mind which contemplates the Deity'; but probably there too he is alluding to the change of name.

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(*Mut.* 76), the man of God (*Gig.* 63). See *Cher.* 7, *Gig.* 63f, *Mut.* 66, 69f, 76, *Abr.* 81-84

He is called the wise man or Sage (*passim*; see p. 278, n), or the man of worth,<sup>a</sup> the good man (*ὁ σπουδαῖος*, *Leg. All.* iii. 217, *Mig.* 110, 129, *Quis Her.* 129, *Mut.* 31, 201, *Som.* ii. 256), pious (*Leg. All.* iii. 10), faithful (*Post.* 173), just (*Leg. All.* iii. 9, *Decal.* 38, *cf.* *Abr.* 232), perfect (*Leg. All.* iii. 203, 244, *Quod Deus* 4, *Quis Her.* 275, *Mut.* 270, *cf.* *Abr.* 244 & n, 270, *Virt.* 217, *Sac.* 7), the lover of God (*φιλόθεος*,<sup>b</sup> *Cher.* 7, *Post.* 21, *Abr.* 50, *cf.* 170) and beloved of God (*θεοφιλής*, *Abr.* 50, 89, *cf.* 273, *Sob.* 56 & [N], *Som.* i. 193f). He is the elder (*πρεσβύτερος*, *Gen.* xxiv. 1; by virtue of his right reasoning, *Sob.* 17, 18 & [N], or wisdom, *Abr.* 270, 274), the most ancient (*πρεσβύτατος*, *Virt.* 212), the first (*Abr.* 272, 276), the founder of the race (*Quis Her.* 279, *Som.* i. 167, *Mut.* 88, *Abr.* 98, 276, *cf.* 56, *Mos.* i. 7, *Virt.* 206f, *cf.* *Praem.* 166 & n). He is regarded as a prophet (*Quis Her.* 258f, 263-266, *Virt.* 218). (See further below)

Abraham at first dwelt in Chaldaea, signifying mere opinion (*Gig.* 62, *Mig.* 187) and the study of the supra-terrestrial (*Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 62, *Mut.* 67f) or astrology (*Congr.* 45n, 49, *Mut.* 16, 71, *Som.* i. 53, 161, *Abr.* 69, 77, 82, *Virt.* 212 & n, *Praem.* 58), the study of nature and its causes (*Congr.* 48f,

<sup>a</sup> *ἀστέιος*, *Mig.* 130, *Quis Her.* 276, *Mut.* 175, 180, 193, 252, *Som.* ii. 244, *Abr.* 83, 85, 90, 118, 214, 225, 242, 274. The English translations vary.

<sup>b</sup> Compare also *φιλάρετος* (*Abr.* 68, *cf.* 220, 224), *φιλοδίκαιος* (225), *φιλομαθής* (*Congr.* 68, 73, 111, *Mut.* 70, *cf.* 270), *φιλόσοφος* (*Mut.* 70, *cf.* *Cher.* 45, *Mig.* 149, *Abr.* 224, 271); *cf.* also *Abr.* 271 (with *φρόνησις*), *Mig.* 197 (with *ἐπιστήμη*).



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*Mut.* 76, *cf. Quis Her.* 289, *Abr.* 69f), a polytheistic creed (*Virt.* 214, *cf. Mig.* 184 & n).<sup>a</sup> But he awoke or was awakened to the falsity of this (*Abr.* 70, 78-80, *Virt.* 214, *Abr.* 88) and departed from Chaldaea and dwelt in Haran, the land of sense-perception (*Mig.* 176f, 184-189, 195, *Som.* i. 41-44, 47, 52-60, *Abr.* 72 & n). Then in obedience to divine command, or by free impulse (*Abr.* 88 ; contrast 67, *cf. Virt.* 214), he left Haran and his kindred and his father's house (*Abr.* 67, 85-88, *Virt.* 214 ; 'body, sense and speech,' *Det.* 159, *Mig.* 1-12, 192, 195).<sup>b</sup> Soon after God appeared to him (*Det.* 159, *Mig.* 192, 195, *Som.* i. 59f, *Abr.* 70f, 77-80, 84, 88, *Virt.* 214, *Praem.* 58).<sup>b</sup> So this was a spiritual emigration (*Abr.* 66, 68f), an advance from self-knowledge to the vision and knowledge of God (*Mig.* 1-12, 192, 195, *Quis Her.* 287-289, *Congr.* 48f, *Abr.* 72 & n, 77-80, 87f, *cf. Mut.* 16, *Som.* i. 59f, *Abr.* 70f, *Virt.* 214f, *Praem.* 58, *Leg. All.* iii. 244), to wisdom (*Mut.* 70f) and virtue (*Mut.* 70-76) and truth (*Mig.* 1-12, *Virt.* 214, *Praem.* 58), a true stripping of the soul (*Leg. All.* ii. 59, *cf. Mig.* 192 & n, *Som.* i. 43). Thereafter his name was changed (see above).<sup>c</sup> Mean-

<sup>a</sup> In *Cher.* 4, *Mig.* 178-181, *Mut.* 67f (*cf. Gig.* 62) Philo's view of the sojourn in Chaldaea is favourable or partly favourable. It is unfavourable or partly unfavourable in *Abr.* 69f, 79, 84, 88, *Virt.* 212f, *Praem.* 58, *Mig.* 179, 194, *Congr.* 48f, *Som.* i. 161.

<sup>b</sup> Often Philo directly links the vision of God with Abraham's earlier migration from Chaldaea (*Quis Her.* 287-289, *Congr.* 48f, *Mut.* 16, 70-73, *Som.* i. 161, *Abr.* 69-71, 80, *cf.* 84, 88, *Virt.* 214, *Praem.* 58).

<sup>c</sup> The similarity of *Gen.* xii. 7 and xvii. 1 has made it easy for Philo to connect the change of name (xvii. 5) with the emigrations from Chaldaea and Haran (xi. 31, xii. 1).

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while, when compelled by famine to enter Egypt (*Quis Her.* 286-289) his marriage <sup>a</sup> was protected as a reward for his departure from Haran (*Abr.* 90-98). His separation from Lot (*Abr.* 211-225) showed his kindness (208ff) and peaceableness (216, 225); the quarrel represented a conflict of principles in the soul (220-223 & n, *cf. Mig.* 150 & [N]). On the other hand, his courageous and warlike nature (225) was revealed by his conflict with Chederlaomer and the kings; this was a victory over the four passions and five sense-faculties (*Ebr.* 105, *Conf.* 26, *Congr.* 92f, *Abr.* 236-244), over evil and wrongdoings (*Ebr.* 24, *Quis Her.* 286-289), a victory of reason or the Word (*Abr.* 243f), of the friendly and perfect number, Ten (*Congr.* 91-93, *Abr.* 244), establishing democracy (*Abr.* 242 & n). In this Abraham revealed his kindness and trust in God (*Abr.* 232, *cf. Virt.* 22n) and might (*Ebr.* 105f). His refusal to accept any spoil from the king of Sodom was the obedience of the man of worth who dissociates himself from evil (*Leg. All.* iii. 24 & n, 197) and acknowledges only God (*Ebr.* 105f)

When God made promise of a son, "Abraham believed God and He counted it to him for righteousness": that is, his virtue or expectation was rewarded with faith, the one sure good (*Mig.* 44, *Abr.* 268, 273, *Virt.* 216, *Praem.* 27, 49f & [N]). His faith in God is in contrast to trust in reasonings (*Leg. All.* iii. 228), the inconstancy of created things (*Quod Deus* 4, *Praem.* 28-30), lower things (*Quis Her.* 92f), externals (*Abr.* 269),

<sup>a</sup> Sarah is Virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 218, *Post.* 62, etc.), or Wisdom (*Congr.* 72f).

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sense-perception (*Praem.* 28-30). On the other hand, his faith is not absolute, such as that of God (*Mut.* 181f, 186, *cf.* 201, 218 ; *cf.* *Quis Her.* 94f). His union with Hagar was advised by Sarah because he was still Abram, inquiring into supra-mundane things (for Hagar is School-learning or the Culture of the Schools ; *Leg. All.* iii. 244) and the things of sense (*Congr.* 81, 88). Abram's name was changed to Abraham when his character improved and he became perfect (see Scripture Index, *s.v.* Gen. xvii. 1, *Leg. All.* iii. 244, *Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 63, *Mut.* 65, 70f, 76, *cf.* 83f, 87). His laughter at God's promise of a son is variously justified : it was because he was about to beget Happiness (*Leg. All.* iii. 85-87, 218, *cf.* *Mut.* 166) ; because of his joy in God as the sole cause of good gifts (*Mut.* 154-156) ; the doubt was one of the mind only, and quite momentary (175-180), but sincere (193 & n, *cf.* *Abr.* 110f). His entertainment of the three strange visitors showed his kindness (*Abr.* 107), generosity (110) and piety (114), and God's recognition of his wisdom (118). Allegorically the incident represents Abraham's vision of God and His potencies (*Cher.* 106, *Abr.* 119-132). The birth of Isaac was promised as a thank-offering for their stay (*Sac.* 122, *Abr.* 110). Abraham interceded for Sodom because he believed that God would spare the rest for the sake of the least particle of virtue (*Mig.* 122f, *Mut.* 228) : scanty goodness by God's favour expands ; this is signified by the number Ten (*Sac.* 122, *Congr.* 109), which God accepted, *viz.*, the lower training or education (*Mut.* 228). *Cf.* *Abr.* 164-166

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Abraham's greatest action was his readiness to sacrifice Isaac (*Abr.* 167-207); he was steadfast in his love for God (170), and it was an offering made in piety (177, 198) and obedience (192), an allegory of the offering of joy to God (200-207). Attention is drawn to his moderation in grief over the loss of Sarah (245f, 255-261). For this he was hailed as a king (261, *Virt.* 216 & n, 218)—an example of a ruler appointed for ever by Nature herself (*Mut.* 151). This kingship in the mind illustrates the principle that the sage alone is king (*Mut.* 152f & [N], *Som.* ii. 244, *Abr.* 261, *cf. Mig.* 196f) and that this kingship is a gift from God in reward for virtue (*Abr.* 261, *Virt.* 216).<sup>a</sup> Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah (see Scripture Index, *s.v.* Gen. xxiii. 3ff) and his marriage to Keturah (*Sac.* 43f, *cf. Congr.* 34f, *Virt.* 207; contrast *Cher.* 40) are both mentioned. Finally, Gen. xxv. 8 (Lxx) is interpreted as not implying death: Abraham, being a fully purified soul, inherited incorruption and passed direct to heaven (*Sac.* 5-7, *Quis Her.* 276-289)

He had been a man of wealth and power (*Det.* 14, *Mig.* 94, *Abr.* 209 & n, 252; contrast *Mut.* 152); though his life was comparatively short (*Sob.* 17, *Quis Her.* 291), he had lived in harmony with nature (*Mig.* 128) and with the will of God (*Leg. All.* iii. 197), Whose worthy servant (*Quis Her.* 8f) and companion (*Gig.* 64) he was, enjoying access (*Post.* 27, *Mig.* 132) and intimacy (*Cher.* 18, *Gig.* 62f, *Ebr.* 94, *Quis Her.* 289). God was his instructor (*Som.* i. 173, *cf. Sac.* 5-7) and standard in

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's interest in Gen. xxv. 5, 6, see Scripture Index.

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all things (*Cher.* 31); for, recognizing his meanness before Him (*Quod Deus* 161), his was the soul that hides away wickedness and longs for all beautiful things (*Leg. All.* iii. 27, *cf. Abr.* 48-51), flying from himself and taking refuge in God (*Leg. All.* iii. 39), stretching Godwards (*Ebr.* 105f), the very type of the pilgrim soul (*Quis Her.* 280). He was a man of vision (*Ebr.* 107, *Som.* ii. 226f, *Abr.* 70f, 79f, *Praem.* 30, 58, *cf. Det.* 159) and a man of God (*Gig.* 63), inspired by divine spirit, whereby his whole being and character were refined (*Virt.* 217)

He is numbered in the second (and higher) Patriarchal triad of those who yearn for virtue, signifying that virtue which comes by Teaching (*Congr.* 35f, *Mut.* 12, *Som.* i. 168-172, *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 27, 49 & [N], *cf. Mig.* 125 & [N].<sup>a</sup> See *s.vv.* Isaac, Jacob). Thus he was the grandfather of Jacob's early training and knowledge (*Sac.* 43 & n, *Sob.* 65, *Mut.* 270, *Abr.* 50, *Som.* i. 47 & n & [N], 70; contrast 171f, *cf. Quod Deus* 92 & [N]) and the starting-point for that of Moses (*Post.* 174). He was thus himself a learner (*Congr.* 63, 122, *Som.* i. 171) and pupil of God (see above), apt to learn because he despaired of himself (*Som.* i. 60) and was eager for knowledge (*Mut.* 88), and because he combined attention, memory (*cf. Mig.* 125 & [N], *Mut.* 84, 270) and the valuing of deeds before words (*Congr.* 68), and retained what he had learned and so remained constant (*Mut.* 84, *cf. Post.* 27). Thus, taught by natural zeal, he was not only one who obeyed the law,

<sup>a</sup> Here Abraham is described as one of the threefold divisions of eternity or time (*αιώνος μέτρα*).

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but rather himself a law and an unwritten statute (*Abr.* 275f)

Philo often mentions his particular qualities of character : in addition to the epithets already mentioned, he alludes to his virtue,<sup>a</sup> his piety,<sup>b</sup> his holiness (*Abr.* 198, *cf. Praem.* 24), spiritual refinement (*Virt.* 217), justice (*Abr.* 219, 225, 232), sincerity (*Mut.* 193 & n), obedience (*Abr.* 60, 88, 192, 276), faith (see Scripture Index *s.v.* Gen. xv. 6) and faithfulness (*Quis Her.* 129) and constancy (see above), his wisdom,<sup>c</sup> sound sense (*φρόνησις*, *Mig.* 164, *Abr.* 219, 271), moderation (*σωφροσύνη*, *Abr.* 219, *cf.* 256-261), reason (*Abr.* 256, *Praem.* 30, *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 9), knowledge (*Congr.* 153, 156, *Som.* i. 59f, 160, *Praem.* 61, *cf. Quis Her.* 93), confidence blended with caution (*Quis Her.* 22) ; his courage (*Abr.* 225, 219) and war-like quality (225), yet peaceableness (*ib.*), love of tranquillity (216) and solitude (87) ; his kindness of heart (107, 208, 232), hospitality (114,

<sup>a</sup> ἀρετή, *Leg. All.* iii. 24, 244f, *Cher.* 40, *Post.* 62, 75f, *Mig.* 167 & n, *Congr.* 35, *Mut.* 71, 83f, *Som.* ii. 90, 255-258, *Abr.* 51f, *cf.* 60, 219f, 221, *cf.* 224, 244, 261, 269, *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 27.

<sup>b</sup> εὐσέβεια, *Leg. All.* iii. 209, *Mut.* 76, 155, *Abr.* 60f, 98-208, esp. 114, *cf.* 177, 198f, 208, *Virt.* 218.

<sup>c</sup> σοφία, *Cher.* 45, *Post.* 174, *Sob.* 55f, *Conf.* 77-79, *Congr.* 48, 73ff, 153, 156, *Mut.* 32, 69, 71, 270, *Som.* i. 66, *Abr.* 118, 219f, 224, 271, *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 27, 49 & [N]. 'Wise' is the most frequent epithet of Abraham : *Leg. All.* iii. 210, 217, 244, *Cher.* 7, 10, 18 (πάνσοφος), 31, 106, *Sac.* 122, *Det.* 59, 124, *Post.* 18, 27, *Plant.* 73, *Ebr.* 24, 105, *Sob.* 17, 65, *Conf.* 26, 77-79, *Mig.* 13, 94, 109, 122, 129, 140, *Quis Her.* 1, 88, 91, 258, 280, 313, *Congr.* 48, 92, 109, 119, *Fug.* 200, *Mut.* 69-71, 152, 155, 270, *Som.* i. 214, *Som.* ii. 89f, 226, 244, 255, *Abr.* 68, 77, 80, 83f, 118, 132, 142, 168, 199, 202, 213, 229, 255, 261, 272, 275, *Praem.* 58.

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*cf.* 167), domestic authority (116), fatherly affection (170, 194-199), conjugal faithfulness (*Congr.* 73, 78-80), sexual continence (*Cher.* 40, *Mut.* 31-34, *Abr.* 253 & n); his industry (*Plant.* 73-77), law-abidingness and stability (*Quis Her.* 289, *Abr.* 276); he was great and lofty in character (*Abr.* 199), worthy of our affection (88), the very pattern of nobility (*Virt.* 219, *cf.* *Abr.* 98, 276)

- I. Gen. Introd. pp. xiii, xvii, *Leg. All.* ii. 59, iii. 9f, 24, 27, 39, 41f, 83-85, 177, 197, 203, 209f, 217f, 228, 244f, II. *Cher.* 4, 7, 8[N], 10, 18, 31, 40, 45 & [N], 106, *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], 43 & n, 59, 122, *Det.* 14, 59-61, 124, 159, *Post.* 17-20, 27, 62, 75f, 173f, *Gig.* 62-64, III. *Quod Deus* 4, 161, *Plant.* 73-77, *Ebr.* 24, (61), 94, 105-107, 110, *Sob.* 8, 17f & [N], 38n, 55f & [N], 65, IV. *Conf.* 26, 74, 79, *Mig.* 1, 13, 35n, 43f, 94, 109f, 122f, 125 & n & [N], 128-130, 132, 139f, 149f & [N] (154), 164, 166, 167 & n, 173-195, 184n, 197f, *Quis Her.* Introd. p. 273 n, 1f, 8f, 22-39, 66, 76, 88, 90-95, 99f, 129, 258f, 263-266, 275-292, 313f & [N], *Congr.* Title, p. 249 n, 34f, 48, 63, 68, 72f, 78-82, 91-93, 109, 111, 119, 122, 153-156, V. *Fug.* 25ff[N] (132-136), 200, *Mut.* 1ff, 12f, 15-18, 31-34, 39-76, 83-88, (130), 152, 154-156, 166 & n, 175-187, 188, 193, 201, (210, 216), 218, (228), 252f, 270, *Som.* i. (3, 14), 41-44, 47 & n & [N], 52, 56n, 59f, 64-67, 70, 159-162, 166-173, 193-195, 214, *Som.* ii. 89f, 226f, 244, 255-258, VI. Gen. Introd. x-xii, xv n, xvi, xvii, *Abr.* 48-55, (56), 60-62 & n, 66-72, 77-99 & nn, 100-102[N], 107-111, 114-118 & [N], 131f, 142, 167-276 & nn, (*Jos.* 1), *Mos.* i. 7 & n, 76, VII. *Decal.* 38, VIII. Gen. Introd. pp. xvii, xviii, xxi, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 168n, *Virt.* 22n, 78[N], 206, 207 & n, 211-219,

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212n, *Praem.* 23[N], 24-30, 49 & [N], 57f & nn, 61, 166 & n, IX. *Flacc.* 74n, *Hyp.* 6. 1n

Ada : wife of Lamech (*Post.* 75, 112), means 'Witness' (79), bearing witness to the success of worthless things and being borne witness to as helping to accomplish them (83). Represents the Epicurean school (79[N])

Adam : For Philo Adam is generic man rather than an actual individual ; and in fact he treats the story of Eve's creation from Adam as an allegorical myth (*Leg. All.* ii. 19, cf. I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii). As such Adam stands for the mind of man, and occasionally for the soul

" There are two races of men, the one made after the (Divine) Image, and the one moulded out of the earth " (*Leg. All.* ii. 4) ; Philo generally distinguishes the two accounts of creation given in Gen. i. 27 and ii. 7 ; the first is the genus man, male and female, the second is the species (*Leg. All.* ii. 13). In *Op.* 134 he says that the first is not an objective being at all, but an idea, type or seal, incorporeal. Generally the contrast is between the spiritual man made after the image of God and the earthly man made out of clay. In *Quis Her.* 56f the point of contrast is not the two creations but the two elements in man, the spiritual (Gen. i. 27 and ii. 7, " God breathed into him the breath of life ") and the earthly (ii. 7, made from clay). In *Plant.* 18-20 the two creations are taken together as complementary rather than contrasted ; so, too, in the fine passage in *Virt.* 203-205 (cf. *Op.* 72-76, where Philo builds upon the use of the plural in ' Let us make, ' accounting thus for the evil in man).



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When contrasted, the points of contrast are the material and the manner of the constitution of each (*Op.* 134, *Leg. All.* i. 31, 33, 42, 88, *Plant.* 44f, *cf. Quis Her.* 56f), their character (*Leg. All.* i. 53-55, 92-96, *Plant.* 45, *cf. Quis Her.* 56f), their status and function in Eden (*Leg. All.* i. 53-55, 88f, 92-96, *Plant.* 44f).

The direct equation of Adam with Mind is made frequently (*Leg. All.* i. 90, 92, iii. 50, 185, (222), 246, *Cher.* 10, 57 (*Plant.* 42, 46, *Quis Her.* 52, 257, *Virt.* 204)); in many more instances Philo assumes this equation and launches into his interpretation (*e.g.*, *Leg. All.* i. 42, 55, ii. 49f, *Quis Her.* 231). It is in respect of the mind within the soul that Adam or man is said to be made after the image of God (*Op.* 69, *Virt.* 204). This mind may be said to partake of spirit, for its reasoning faculty possesses robustness (*Leg. All.* i. 42). It is the less material mind, having no part in perishable matter, endowed with a constitution of a purer and clearer kind: it is the heavenly mind (88, 90), immortal (*Op.* 134, *Plant.* 44), the child of God (*Virt.* 204). This is the mind to whom God affords secure knowledge of virtue and the double advantage of practising and remembering it (*Leg. All.* i. 89). It possesses virtue instinctively, and so needs no command or prohibition from God (*ib.* 92). Usually the emphasis is on the likeness and proximity to God; but in *Quis Her.* 231 (*cf. Leg. All.* iii. 96) Philo deduces from "after the image of God" that the likeness was at third hand

It is less easy to define the other type of mind, the one signified by the man moulded from the

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earth (*Plant.* 32, 34, 41f, 44, *Congr.* 90, *Abr.* 12 ; *cf. Som.* ii. 70, *Abr.* 56, *Virt.* 203), because Philo is sometimes comparing it unfavourably with the first creation, and sometimes favourably with the creation of Sense-Perception (Eve). The man moulded from the earth is the first objective creation by the Artificer, but not His offspring (*Leg. All.* i. 31 ; but see *Virt.* 204). Nevertheless it is, more strictly speaking, this mind which is called Adam (*Leg. All.* i. 90, *Cher.* 57, *Plant.* 42 ; *cf. Op.* 165. But see *Quis Her.* 261). He is mind mingling with, but not yet blended with, body. This earth-like mind is also corruptible, were not God to breathe into it a power of real life, making it a soul, endowed with mind and actually alive (*Leg. All.* i. 32). This was 'of grace' on God's part, Who has thus created no soul barren of virtue (34). Furthermore, it means that man could not plead that his sin was due to ignorance (33-35). It is only by this in-breathing that the soul of man conceives of God (38). The mind in turn shares this inspiration with the unreasoning part of the soul (40). On the other hand, this breathing into the mind made out of matter is insubstantial air compared with the spirit of the image-mind (42). It is placed amid virtue (*Eden.* 47) because it is rational (*Plant.* 42) ; but in contrast to the image-mind, it neither remembers nor practises it, but has facility for apprehending it only (*Leg. All.* i. 55). Such a mind is the more earthly and perishable (88, 90) ; it is incapable of knowing itself (91) ; it can have no part in wisdom independently of command and exhortation (92) ; it is

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neutral, being neither bad nor good (93, 95) ; it cannot be alone, for it is closely linked with the senses, passions, and vices (*Leg. All.* ii. 4). Here Philo begins to treat of it in relation to Eve or Sense-Perception. The mind prior to the creation of sense-perception is the older (*Cher.* 60) and princely part of the soul, as opposed to the irrational portion (*Leg. All.* ii. 6). It is mind without body (*Leg. All.* ii. 22, iii. 49, *Cher.* 58) ; with many powers and faculties lying dormant (*Leg. All.* ii. 22, 37), but an incomplete soul (24, *cf. Op.* 166, *Cher.* 59f). From one of these faculties, a quiescent state of perception, God made the *activity* of perception (*Leg. All.* ii. 35-37, 40, 45). This was done while the mind was asleep, for that means the waking of sense (25, *Quis Her.* 257 ; but see *Leg. All.* ii. 31). This sense-perception poured light into the mind (*Cher.* 61). For the sake of sense-perception the mind abandons both God and His wisdom, resolving itself into the inferior order of flesh (*Leg. All.* ii. 49f). Sense-perception has a certain independence of mind (iii. 56-58 ; contrast ii. 41) ; when it is subservient to mind, good results (i. 50, iii. 221f) : but the reverse is profitless. The nakedness of Adam and Eve typifies the nakedness of the neutral mind, clothed neither with vice nor with virtue (ii. 53, *cf.* iii. 55). It is irrational and amoral (ii. 64f). This infant-like state (53) is prior to that of apprehension (70).<sup>a</sup> It is in *Leg.*

<sup>a</sup> Notice that whereas the neutral state of the moulded mind was contrasted with the goodness of the image-mind in *Leg. All.* i. 93, 95 above, and that because it was prior to the creation of sense-perception, here the neutrality is that of

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*All.* iii. 246f that Philo seems to develop this theme of neutrality most fully, in terms of *Gen.* iii. 17 : Adam is the neutral mind, for in so far as he is mind, his nature is neither bad nor good, but under the influence of virtue and vice it is his wont to shift towards good and bad. The doings of the whole soul (does Philo mean mind and sense-perception ?) are blameworthy when it allows wickedness to regulate them. In pain does the bad man all his life long avail himself of his own vitality ; his only motive for joy is supplied by righteousness and good sense and the virtues. Thus the neutral mind is given the high calling of deciding its own destiny (*Plant.* 45). The Fall ended all neutrality, and Adam becomes the foolish mind <sup>a</sup> or the bad man (*Leg. All.* iii. 200, 216, 251f, *Cher.* 10). His flight from God leads only to the error of self-sufficiency (*Leg. All.* iii. 28-31). He is expelled from Eden or Virtue for ever (*Leg. All.* i. 55, *Cher.* 10, *Plant.* 46). His vanity of soul is later revealed in his naming his son as Cain or ' Possession ' (*Cher.* 57, 63 ; *cf. Leg. All.* ii. 68-70)

Adam is often referred to as the ' first founder of the race ' (*Op.* 79, 136, 142, *Mut.* 64, *cf. Abr.* 56, *Virt.* 199) or, simply, ' the first man ' (*Op.* 136, 140, 148, 151, 156, *Leg. All.* ii. 14f, *Plant.* 34, *Abr.* 12, 56, *Virt.* 203). He is the first ' world-citizen ' (*Op.* 3 & [N], 142 & [N]). In contrast with his later folly and wickedness, he is wise (*Op.* 148, *Mut.* 64, *cf. Leg. All.* ii. 15), surpassing all later men

Adam and Eve, prior to the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge.

<sup>a</sup> But see below.

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in body and soul, the bloom of the race (*Op.* 140), the noblest of things earthborn and of perishable creatures, a miniature heaven (*Op.* 82, *cf.* *Virt.* 203), a being naturally adapted for sovereignty (*Op.* 84), and so a king, viceroy of God (148, *cf.* *Mut.* 63). It was because of this kingship that he was made responsible for the naming of the creatures (*ib.*); but also because of his wisdom (148, *Mut.* 64), and because God was testing him, to make him exert some faculty of his own (149), testing, too, his character, to see how he would welcome, name, and make use of wealth, pleasure, etc. (*Leg. All.* ii. 16-18); also because he was to be regarded as the beginning of the use of speech (*ib.* 14f, 18), God carefully avoiding being responsible for letters and parts of speech (*Mut.* 63f). But in fact these names were signs of moral values (*Mut.* 65). By thus assigning the giving of names to one man incongruity and inconsistency were avoided (*Leg. All.* ii. 15). Adam was placed in Eden that his choice might be tested (*Op.* 155, *Plant.* 32, 41, *Virt.* 205). There woman became for him the beginning of a blame-worthy life: bodily pleasure led to his fall (*Op.* 151, 165). His crime was that he honoured the two before the One, the created rather than the Creator (*Som.* ii. 70), the false rather than the true (*Virt.* 205). He was expelled<sup>a</sup> from the garden by God, evil-mindedness expelled from holy boundaries by the Good (*Congr.* 171); thus he forfeited immortality and happiness and en-

<sup>a</sup> The departure from Eden is usually an expulsion or an involuntary act (*Post.* 10); but in *Plant.* 34 and *Leg. All.* i. 55 Adam is said to run away or migrate.

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tered upon a life of toil and misery (*Virt.* 205, *cf. Op.* 167)

- I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii, *Op.* 25, 69-88, 134-169, *Leg. All.* i. 31-43, 53-55, 79, 88-96, 101f, ii. 1, 4-9, 11, 13-16, 18-26, 31, 35, 40-43, 45, 49f, 53, 64, 68-73, iii. 1, 4, 6f, 28-31, 49-61, 66, 185, 220-224, 246-248, 251-253, II. *Cher.* 1f, 10, 40 & n, 43, 53f, 57-62, *Det.* 80, *Post.* 10f, 33ff (89, 91), 124 (*Gig.* 65), III. *Plant.* 18-20, 32, 34, 41f, 44-46, (59f), *Ebr.* 4n, IV. *Conf.* 169, *Quis Her.* 52f, 56f, 164, 231, 257, *Congr.* (58), 90, 171, V. *Mut.* 63f, *Som.* i. 192, ii. 70 & [N], VI. *Abr.* 12 & n, 56, *Mos.* i. 263 [N], VIII. *Virt.* 199, 203-205

Adullamite : V. *Fug.* 149 (Gen. xxxviii. 20)

Aegean : IX. *Flacc.* 151

Aegira : IX. *Aet.* 140 & n

Aeschylus : (VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15, 16 & n) ; IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 143 & n, (*Aet.* 49 & n)

Aetolia : X. *Leg.* 281

Agag : *Mos.* i. 290n (Num. xxiv. 7)

Agathon : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57

Agrippa : Herod Agrippa I, King of Judaea, etc. (*Acts* xii. 1ff), a grandson of Herod the Great, IX. *Flacc.* 25 & [N]-35, 39, 103, X. *Leg.* Introd. pp. xx, xxv, xxx & n, 179, 261-333

Agrippa : Marcus Agrippa, grandfather of Gaius Caesar, X. *Leg.* 291 & n, 294-297

Ahiman : one of the sons of Anak, dwelling in Hebron (*Num.* xiii. 22). Means ' My brother,' and typifies the body, brother to the body-loving soul, II. *Post.* 60f

Alexander the Great : II. *Cher.* 63f, VI. *Mos.* i. 29, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 94-96

Alexandria, Alexandrians : VI. *Mos.* ii. 35, IX. *Quod*

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- Omn. Prob.* 125, *Vit. Cont.* 21, *Flacc.* Introd. pp. 295-299, 2, 23, 26, 28, 43, 45, 47, 74, 78, 80, 103, 110, 141, 163, **X. Leg.** Introd. pp. xi, xii, xvii, xviii, xxi n, xxiv & n, xxvi & n, xxvii, 120-141, 150, 162-166, 170, 172f, 183, 194, 250, 338, 346, 350
- Aloeidae** : **IV. Conf.** 4
- Amalek** : ' a people licking out,' so ' Passion,' which " eats up the whole soul and licks it out, leaving behind in it no seed or spark of virtue " ; through it all the war of the soul is fanned into flame (**I. Leg. All.** iii. 186f, *cf.* **IV. Mig.** 143f, **Congr.** 54-56). It represents the very opposite of the Practiser, whom it attacks (**III. Ebr.** 24, **IV. Mig.** 143f), **VI. Mos.** i. 214n, 215ff, **VIII. Virt.** 22n
- Aminadab** : **II. Post.** 76 (**Exod.** vi. 23)
- Ammonites** : descendants of Lot's daughters, by incest, according to **Gen.** xix. 38 (**II. Post.** 176f, **VII. Spec. Leg.** i. 333n). They refused hospitality to Israel before the entry into Canaan, and so were to be shut out from the congregation of the Lord (**Deut.** xxiii. 3, 4 ; **I. Leg. All.** iii. 81) ; but they are also excluded, in Philo's mind, because of their impure descent, by which they inherit the nature of sense-perception (**II. Post.** 177, **VII. Spec. Leg.** i. 333n, 327[N]). They signify those who attribute creation to (mind and) sense-perception (**II. Post.** 177). See also Moabites
- Amorites** : ' talkers ' (**I. Leg. All.** iii. 232, **IV. Quis Her.** 302), a figure of the uttered word (*ὁ γεγωνὸς λόγος*), especially plausible, sophisticated speech (**Quis Her.** 302, 304) or unanalysed ways of thought (308). In **III. Quod Deus** 99 they represent the inward feelings which chase (**Deut.** i. 43f) those who do not achieve righteousness.

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- VI. *Mos.* i. 258-262 describes Israel's battle with them
- Amphiaraus : X. *Leg.* 78
- Amphilochus : X. *Leg.* 78
- Anak : II. *Post.* 60
- Anaphe : IX. *Aet.* 121 & n
- Anaxagoras : (V. *Fug.* 10 & n & [N], *Som.* i. 22 & n & [N]), IX. *Vit. Cont.* 14, *Aet.* 4, (47 & n)
- Anaxarchus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 106, 109
- Andro : IX. *Flacc.* 76
- Andros, Andrians : IX. *Flacc.* 151, 156-159, 161, 173, 185f
- Antigenidas : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 144 & n
- Antigonus Doston : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 114 & n
- Antisthenes : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 28
- Apelles : X. *Leg.* 203-206
- Aphrodite : VII. *Decal.* 54, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 59
- Apollo : VII. *Decal.* 54, X. *Leg.* 93, 95, 103-110
- Arabia, Arabians : VI. *Jos.* 15, *Mos.* i. 47, 51, VIII. *Virt.* 34
- Ares : X. *Leg.* 93, 97, 111-113 & nn
- Argo, Argonauts : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 128, 137n, 142f & n
- Argos : X. *Leg.* 281
- Aristippus : III. *Plant.* 151
- Aristotle : IX. *Aet.* 10, 12, 16, 18
- Arnon : a river forming the northern boundary of Moab and the Amorite country (*Num.* xxi. 28, I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225). It means 'their light' and signifies the reasoning, with boundary-stones of particular thoughts and judgements, which is the frontier of the mind (Moab), invaded by corrupting false opinion (Sihon, king of the Amorites), *ib.* 230



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**Arphaxad** : son of Shem, begotten when he was a hundred years old (Gen. xi. 10). Means ' he disturbed affliction ' : the soul's offspring harasses and destroys injustice, afflicted and full of evils as it is (V. *Mut.* 189). Philo is discoursing upon the perfect number one hundred

**Artemis** : VII. *Decal.* 54

**Asa** : (IV. *Conf.* 149)

**Ascalon** : IX. *Prov.* 2. 64, X. *Leg.* 205

**Asenath** : wife of Joseph, daughter of the priest of Heliopolis (Gen. xli. 45). Signifies the Senses, daughters of Mind (V. *Som.* i. 78 & n)

**Asher** : means ' felicitation ' and symbolizes natural wealth, which has the reputation of conferring felicity (V. *Som.* ii. 35). But he was the son of Leah's handmaid, and so in IV. *Mig.* 95 he is the symbol of counterfeit (bastard) wealth, outward and visible (*cf.* III. *Sob.* 12[N])

**Asia, Asians** : II. *Cher.* 63, III. *Quod Deus* 175, V. *Som.* ii. 54, VI. *Jos.* 134, *Mos.* i. 263, ii. 19f, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 94, 132, *Aet.* 141, *Flacc.* 46, X. *Leg.* 10, 22, 48, 88, 144, 245, 250, 280f, 283, 311

**Assyria, Assyrians** : means ' directing ' and stands for pleasure, which thinks that it can direct the course of human weakness (I. *Leg. All.* i. 69, 85-87). Philo is interpreting Gen. ii. 14, where the river Tigris (self-mastery) is said to flow over against Assyria. VI. *Mos.* i. 23 & [N], Assyrian letters

**Athena** : I. *Leg. All.* i. 15

**Athens, Athenians** : I. *Op.* 104, VI. *Abr.* 10, *Mos.* ii. 19, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 22, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 47, 127-129, 132, 137n, 140

**Athos** : V. *Som.* ii. 118

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- Atlantic : III. *Ebr.* 133  
Atlantis : IX. *Aet.* 141  
Attica, Attic : II. *Post.* 94, IX. *Flacc.* 156, 173, X. *Leg.* 281  
Augusta : see *s.vv.* Caesarea, Julia  
Augustan House : IX. *Flacc.* 23, 49, 81, 103f, X. *Leg.* 48, 149, 322  
Augustus : G. Julius Caesar Octavianus, first Emperor, 27 B.C.—A.D. 14, grandfather of Gaius Caesar (Caligula), IX. *Flacc.* 50, 74, 105, X. *Leg.* 143-158, 291, 305, 309-319, 322  
Augustus : Gaius Caesar (Caligula), third Emperor, A.D. 37-41, X. *Leg.* 240, 322, 352. See *s.v.* Gaius  
Aunan : IV. *Mig.* 164, 165 & n. Means 'eyes,' and so stands for the vision-lover, since the eyes of the soul are opened by cheerfulness. Eshcol (good natural ability) and Aunan are rewarded with Mamre (the contemplative life) for inheritance (Gen. xiv. 24)  
Autolycus : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57  
Avillius : see Flaccus  
  
Baal : VI. *Mos.* i. 276n  
Baal-Peor : " And Israel joined himself unto Baal-Peor " (Num. xxv. 3), perhaps 'Baal of Peor'; in any case the reference is to heathen cult. It occurs in the context of the incident of Phinehas leading to the Midianite war (see VIII. *Virt.* 34[N]), described in VI. *Mos.* i. 300-304, VIII. *Virt.* 34-46. So Philo interprets: Midianites (those 'sifted out' as unfit), initiated in the unholy rites of Baal-Peor, and widening all the orifices of the body to receive the streams which pour in from outside (for the meaning of Baal-

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- Peor is 'mouth of skin (or leather) above'—*ἀνωτέρω στόμα δέρματος*), flood the ruling mind and sink it (*V. Mut.* 106f). So Midian is also described as the nurse of things bodily, and Baal-Peor as her offspring, the heavy leathern weight (*δερμάτινον ὄγκον*, *IV. Conf.* 55; here Philo is interpreting *Num.* xxxi. 49 with xxv in mind). In *Deut.* iv. 3, 4 the Israelites are reminded of the fate of their fellows who sinned in following Baal-Peor and perished; this allusion underlies Philo's exposition in *V. Fug.* 56, *VII. Spec. Leg.* i. 31 & n, 345 & n
- Babel: or 'Confusion' (*Gen.* xi. 9, *LXX*, *A.V.* mg.), *II. Post.* 81, *IV. Conf.* 1, 183-195, *IV. Quis Her.* 228n, *V. Som.* ii. 283-290, 283n & [N], *VIII. Praem.* 23 [N], 111[N]
- Babylon, Bablyonia: *II. Gig.* 66, *V. Som.* ii. 59, *VI. Abr.* 188, *Mos.* i. 5, 34, *VIII. Virt.* 223, *X. Leg.* 216, 282. Only in *Gig.* 66 does Philo allegorize; Nimrod ('desertion') has Babylon ('alteration') as the beginning of his kingdom (*Gen.* x. 10, *LXX*), for with every deserter change and alteration of purpose are the first steps
- Bacchants, Bacchic, Bacchus: *III. Plant.* 148, *IX. Vit. Cont.* 85, *X. Leg.* 96
- Balaam: 'foolish (or 'vain,' *μάταιος*) people' (*Cher.* 32, *Conf.* 159 & n, *Mig.* 113), a sophist, an empty (*μάταιος*) conglomeration of incompatible and discordant notions (*Det.* 71), a dealer in auguries and prodigies and in the vanity of unfounded conjecture (*Quod Deus* 181, *Conf.* 159, *Mut.* 202), dwells in Mid-River Land, for his understanding is submerged (*Conf.* 66); he is no heavenly growth, but a creature of earth (*Quod Deus* 181).

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With his soothsaying mock wisdom he defaces the stamp of heaven-sent prophecy (*Mut.* 202)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 210n, II. *Cher.* 32f, 35n, *Det.* 71, III. *Quod Deus* 53[N], 181, 183, IV. *Conf.* 66, 159, *Mig.* 113, 115, V. *Mut.* 202, VI. Gen. Introd. p. xv n, *Mos.* i. 263n & [N], 264-300, 282n, 294n, VIII. *Virt.* 34n & [N]

Balak : means ' foolish,' for it is the pitch of folly to hope that God should be deceived and His purpose upset by the devices of men (IV. *Conf.* 65, on Num. xxiii. 7f). The whole story of Balak and Balaam is told at length in VI. *Mos.* i. 263-300, 305. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 210n, VI. Gen. Introd. p. xv, VIII. *Virt.* 34n & [N]

Bassus : IX. *Flacc.* 92

Bassus : IX. *Flacc.* 109n, 109-114

Beersheba : the ' well of the oath ' is so named by Abraham and by Isaac (Gen. xxi. 31, III. *Plant.* 73f, 78 ; xxvi. 33, *Plant.* 78-84, V. *Som.* i. 8, 12, 14, 40). It is from Beersheba that Isaac departs to go to Haran (xxviii. 10, *Som.* i. 4, 5 & n, 6-13, 42, 61, 68). It represents the inexhaustible nature of knowledge (*Plant.* 78-84, *Som.* i. 42) ; also the endless quest of the fourth cosmic region, heaven (*Som.* i. 14-24)

Ben-Ammi : VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 333n

Benjamin : means ' Son of days ' (*Mut.* 92f, *Som.* ii. 36) and symbolizes vainglory, for the day is illumined by the sunlight visible to our senses, to which we liken vainglory (*Mut.* 92). This name is given him by his father, the head of the house, the reason ; but the soul (Rachel) calls him a Son of Sorrow, knowing by experience the unhappiness that goes with vainglory. Rachel

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died on giving birth to him, for the conception and birth of vainglory, the creature of sense, is in reality the death of the soul (*Mut.* 94-96). In *Som.* ii. 36, 41 the interpretation of his name is quite neutral : he is a symbol of time, both that of youth and that of old age, which are alike measured by days and nights. In *Mig.* 203 it is almost favourable : he is the offspring of sense-perception, and he receives from Joseph five changes of raiment because he deems the senses pre-eminent and deserving of adornment and honour. Naturally in the narrative of Joseph's life he is often mentioned (*Jos.* 167-236)

IV. *Mig.* 203, V. *Fug.* 73, *Mut.* 92-96, *Som.* ii. 33, 36, 41, VI. *Jos.* 167-236, 234n

Benoni : ' Son of my sorrow ' (*Mut.* 94-96). See *s.v.* Benjamin

Bered : Hagar's well was between Kadesh (holy) and Bered (in evils) ; he that is in gradual progress (Hagar symbolizes School learning) is on the border-land between the holy and the profane (*V. Fug.* 213)

Bethel : IV. *Conf.* 74, V. *Som.* i. 228 & n

Bethuel : father of Rachel (II. *Post.* 76), means ' Daughter of God ' and signifies Wisdom, an ever-virgin daughter, who by reason alike of her own modesty and the glory of Him that begot her hath obtained a nature free from every defiling touch. And Wisdom is not only masculine but father, begetting aptness to learn, sound sense, etc. (*V. Fug.* 48, 50-52). See also Laban

Bezaleel : the craftsman of the Tabernacle (*Exod.* xxxi. 2ff), filled with the spirit of God (II. *Gig.* 23). The name means ' In the shadow of God,'

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for Bezaleel made the copies only : Moses had already made the original archetypes (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 102, III. *Plant.* 26f, V. *Som.* i. 206). In *Som.* i. 207 his work typifies the variegated (see 207n) fabric of the world, the product of wisdom. In *Leg. All.* 95-99 it typifies the soul ; God's shadow is His Word, by which He made the world ; but this shadow is the archetype for further creations (and Philo applies this elaborately to Gen. i. 27)

Bias : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 153

Bilhah : handmaid of Rachel (III. *Quod Deus* 119-121, VIII. *Virt.* 223 & n, 224). The name means 'swallowing' and represents the necessary subsistence of the mortal life (I. *Leg. All.* i. 94-96, iii. 146, IV. *Congr.* 29f), which in turn is necessary to the higher, spiritual life (*Congr.* 33). Also VIII. *Gen.* Introd. p. xviii n

Bithynia : X. *Leg.* 281

Boeotia : X. *Leg.* 281

Boethus : IX. *Aet.* 76 & nn, 78

Brundisium : IX. *Flacc.* 26, 152, 173

Brutus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 118

Bura : IX. *Aet.* 140 & n

Buzyges, Buzygia : IX. *Hyp.* Introd. p. 407 n, 7, 8 & n & [N]

Caesar : Julius Caesar : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 118.

Caesar Augustus : see *s.v.* Augustus. Tiberius

Caesar : see *s.v.* Tiberius. Gaius Caesar

(Caligula) : IX. *Flacc.* 25, 35, 40, 42, X. *Leg.*

Introd. pp. xviii, xix, 280, 322, 352, 240 ; and

see *s.v.* Gaius. Claudius Germanicus Caesar :

X. *Leg.* 206

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Caesarea : X. *Leg.* 305 & n

Cain : 'possession'; passively (Adam's possession) in *Cher.* 52, 124-126, but otherwise actively, as claiming that all things are his own possession (*Cher.* 57, 64-66, *Sac.* 2, 72, *cf. Det.* 32), and that even when he is incapable of ruling himself (*Cher.* 65f, *Post.* 42). He symbolizes the self-loving principle (*Sac.* 3, 51f, 71, *Det.* 32, 68, 78, *Post.* 21, *cf. Conf.* 128), ascribing all things to mind rather than God (*Sac.* 2f, *cf. 71f, Post.* 35, *cf. 42*),<sup>a</sup> impious and godless (*Cher.* 65, *Sac.* 71, *Det.* 50, 103, 119, *Post.* 12, 34f, 42, *cf. 52, Conf.* 125); he is occupied with the lower, mortal, earthly level of life (*Det.* 119, *cf. 156f, Post.* 38, *cf. 172*), and is dead to the life directed by virtue (*Det.* 47, 69f, 78, *cf. 156, 165f, Post.* 45, *Conf.* 122), a deserter in the war against wickedness (*Post.* 172, *cf. Det.* 142, 165f), an example of worthlessness (*Det.* 140, 165), wickedness (*Det.* 68, 165, 167-169, *Post.* 172, *Fug.* 64) and depravity (*Conf.* 122). With him Philo associates false opinion and folly (*οἰήσις, Cher.* 57; *εὐήθεια, 65f*; *ἄτοπος δόξα, Sac.* 5; *ἀφροσύνη, Det.* 178, *Conf.* 165; *ἀπόνοια, Post.* 35). Often in these passages he is consciously contrasted with Abel

Cain was "a tiller of the ground" (*Gen.* iv. 2), but an unscientific one, no husbandman (*Agr.* 20-25, 27).<sup>b</sup> His quarrel with Abel is interpreted thus: Cain aimed to draw Abel into a dispute and to

<sup>a</sup> In *Det.* 167f (on *Gen.* iv. 15) Philo makes Cain the mind, the eighth part which is ruler of the seven irrational parts of the soul.

<sup>b</sup> This must underlie Philo's remark in *Mig.* 74f that Cain has the cleverness of the town.

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master him with plausible sophistries (*Det.* 1, *cf.* 37, *Post.* 38, *Mig.* 74); in murdering Abel he only did away with himself (*Det.* 47, 50, 52, 69f, 78, *cf. Post.* 21; *cf. Post.* 45, *Conf.* 122) and succeeded in slaying only the impression, the specimen, not the original, the pattern, the class (*Det.* 75-78); Gen. iv. 11: he stood agape for all outward things, praying in his greed to take them in for the destruction of Abel (*Det.* 100-103); he was accursed (*Fug.* 60, *Virt.* 199f, *Praem.* 68-73)—indeed he must have been accursed from the very start (*Det.* 96),—and was doomed to fear and misery (*Det.* 119, 140, *Conf.* 165, *Virt.* 199f, *Praem.* 71, 72 & n); he “went out from the presence of the Lord” voluntarily (Adam was driven out): his was the moral failure which is of free choice, and therefore worse (*Post.* 10). Cain’s wife is the opinion held by an impious man’s reasoning faculty (*Post.* 33-39). He built a city, *i.e.*, he resolved to set up his own creed (*Post.* 49-51, 52f, 65, *Conf.* 122). Nothing is said of his death; so Philo uses this to declare that folly is a deathless evil (*Det.* 177f, *Post.* 39, *Conf.* 122, *Fug.* 60 & n, 61, 64, *Virt.* 200, *Praem.* 68-73)

- II. *Cher.* 12, 52, 53 & [N]-55, 64-66, 124-126, *Sac.* 1-3, 5, 11, 14, 51f, 71f, 88 & n, *Det.* 1, 32, 37, 47f, 50, 57, 61f, 68-70, 74, 75n, 78f, 96, 100, 103f, 119, 140-142, 163-169, 177f, *Post.* 1, 5f, 10, 12, 21, 33-35, 38f, 40, 42, 45, 48, 49-51, 52, 65, 124, 172, III. *Agr.* 20-25, 27, 127, *Sob.* 50 & n, IV. *Conf.* 122 & n, 124, 165, *Mig.* 74, *Congr.* 54[N], 171[N] V. *Fug.* 60 & n, 64 & n, *Mut.* 195f, VI. *Abr.* 12n & [N], VIII. Gen. Introd. xxi, *Virt.* 199f, *Praem.* 68-72, 68n, 72n



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Calanus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 93-96 & n & [N]  
Caleb : VI. *Mos.* i. 232-236. In V. *Mut.* 123f, Num.  
xiv. 24 is taken as showing there was a total  
change of the man himself, because his name  
means ' all heart '

Callias : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57

Canaan, Canaanites : Canaan's father Ham saw  
Noah's nakedness and told his brothers, and  
Noah pronounced a curse on Ham (Gen. ix. 18-  
27). That Canaan, not Ham, is cursed leads  
Philo to say that it was Canaan reported abroad  
the incident (*Leg. All.* ii. 62).<sup>a</sup> This publishing  
represents the accomplishment of evil which  
until then was only purposed (*ib.*) ; this hints at  
what Philo develops in another treatise, namely  
that Ham is vice in the quiescent state, but  
Canaan, which means ' tossing,' is vice when it  
passes into active movement (*Sob.* 30-34, 44-48,  
*Congr.* 81-88). Thus the Exodus is from passion  
(Egypt) to vice (*Congr.* 84), Canaan also symbol-  
izing the stage of adolescence (82, 85). In *Sac.*  
90 he applies ' tossing ' differently : the land of  
the Canaanites is where reason is tossed to and  
fro. In *Post.* 122 the reference suggests that the  
Canaanites ( ' the people of the land ' ) stand for  
opposing doctrines.

I. *Leg. All.* ii. 62, II. *Sac.* 90, *Post.* 122, III. *Sob.* 30-  
34, 44-48, 51, 69, IV. *Congr.* 71, 81-88, 87n, 121,  
V. *Fug.* 87, VI. Gen. *Intro.* p. xiv n, *Abr.* 77n,  
85n, 133, *Mos.* i. 163, 214n, 220, (250) & n,

<sup>a</sup> God's curse makes Canaan slave to Ham's brothers ;  
the fool is slave of the virtuous, either for improvement or  
for chastisement (*Sob.* 69).

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- VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 29n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219n,  
*Virt.* 202, 221 [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd.  
 p. 4, *Hyp.* 6, 1n
- Capito : X. *Leg.* 199-202
- Carabas : IX. *Flacc.* 34n, 36-40
- Carthage : III. *Quod Deus* 174
- Castor and Pollux : VII. *Decal.* 56 & [N], X. *Leg.*  
 78-92
- Castus : IX. *Flacc.* 86f
- Cenchreae : IX. *Flacc.* 155
- Chaereas : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 125
- Chaldaea, Chaldaeans : Chaldaea was famed for as-  
 trology (*Mig.* 178, *Som.* i. 53, *Abr.* 69), and so  
 Abraham's connexion with Chaldaea is taken to  
 imply he too was an astrologer (*Ebr.* 94, *Mig.*  
 177-181, *Quis Her.* 96f, *Abr.* 69-72, 82, *Virt.* 212  
 & n, *Praem.* 58), though at other times Philo  
 makes the identification only allegorically. It  
 is called, rather contemptuously, the 'Chaldaean  
 δόξα—creed, opinion,' (e.g. *Gig.* 62, *Mig.* 187),  
 and is contrasted unfavourably even with Haran  
 (sense-perception). It represents the attempt to  
 regard the physical universe as the only reality  
 and to attribute causation to the heavenly bodies,  
 thus honouring the created world before the  
 Creator (*Mig.* 179, *Quis Her.* 97, 280, *Congr.* 49,  
*Mut.* 16, *Abr.* 69, *Virt.* 212f). Only once does  
 Philo translate the name : in *Quis Her.* 97 he  
 says it corresponds to 'even tenour or levelness';  
 it was the even tenour of the heavenly bodies  
 that suggested this creed
- In the later treatises 'Chaldaean' is used for  
 'Hebrew' tongue (*Abr.* 8 & n, 12, 99, 201, *Mos.*  
 ii. 26, 31, 38, 40, 224, *Praem.* 14, 23, 31, 44).

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- Moses and Jacob are called Chaldaeans (*Mos. i. 5, Hyp. 6. 1 & n*), and Moses is said to have been trained in Chaldaean astronomy (*Mos. i. 23 & n*)
- II. *Gig. 62, III. Ebr. 94, IV. Mig. 177-181, 184 & n, 187, Quis Her. 96-99, 277, 280, 289, Congr. 49f, V. Mut. 16, Som. i. 52-54, 161, VI. Abr. 8 & n, 12, 62n, 67-72, 77, 82, 99, 188, 201, Mos. i. 5, 23, ii. 26, 31, 38, 40, 224, VIII. Virt. 212n, 212-214, Praem. 14, 23, 31, 44, 58, IX. Hyp. 6. 1 & n*
- Chananes : VI. *Mos. i. 250 & n*
- Charybdis : V. *Som. ii. 70 & n*
- Chedorlaomer : III. *Ebr. 24*
- Chemosh : I. *Leg. All. iii. 225, 231* : Moab's people maimed and blinded ; for Chemosh means ' as a groping,' and groping is characteristic of one who cannot see
- Cherubim : The Cherubim with flaming sword guarding Eden are an allegorical figure of the revolution of the whole heaven. One symbolizes the outer sphere of fixed stars, the other the inner contained sphere of the seven planetary zones (*Cher. 21-24*). The Cherubim over the mercy-seat of the ark suggest an alternative interpretation : they are the two hemispheres, circling round the earth ; the flaming sword on this interpretation is the sun (*25f, Mos. ii. 98*). But there is a third and higher interpretation : the Cherubim represent God's two chief potencies or powers, sovereignty and goodness, the sword is the symbol of reason, which unites them (*27-30* ; so too, on the ark, *Quis Her. 166 & n, Fug. 100, Mos. ii. 99*). Philo translates the Cherubim as recognition or full knowledge (*Mos. ii. 97 & n*)

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- II. Cher.** 1 & n, 11, 20, 21-30 & 28[N], **IV. Quis Her.**  
 166 & n, **V. Fug.** 100, **VI. Mos.** ii. 97-100  
**Cheth** : see **Heth**  
**Chimera** : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 45  
**Chrysippus** : **IX. Aet.** 48 & [N], 90, 94  
**Cia** : **IX. Flacc.** 156  
**Cilicia** : **X. Leg.** 281  
**Claudia, Gens** : **X. Leg.** 33 & n, 206  
**Cleanthes** : **IX. Aet.** 90  
**Cleopatra** : **X. Leg.** 135  
**Coele Syria** : see *s.v.* **Syria**  
**Corinth** : **V. Som.** ii. 55, **VI. Jos.** 132, **IX. Flacc.** 154f,  
 173, **X. Leg.** 281  
**Corybants** : **I. Op.** 71, **IV. Mig.** 35, **Quis Her.** 69,  
**IX. Flacc.** 169  
**Crete** : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 43, **X. Leg.** 282  
**Critolaus** : **IX. Aet.** *Introd.* p. 176, 55ff, 70ff, 71n, 74  
**Croesus** : **VI. Jos.** 133, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 136, 153  
 & n, **Prov.** 2. 7  
**Croton** : **IX. Prov.** 2. 7  
**Cyclops** : **IX. Vit. Cont.** 40f, **Prov.** 2. 66 & n  
**Cynic** : **III. Plant.** 151  
**Cyprus** : **X. Leg.** 282  
**Cythnus** : **IX. Flacc.** 156  
  
**Daedalus** : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 44  
**Damascus** : **Gen.** xv. 2, **IV. Quis Her.** 2 & n, 54f, 58,  
 61. Means ' the blood of a sackcloth robe ' ; by  
 ' sackcloth robe ' he intimates the body, and by  
 ' blood ' the blood-life ; the substance of the  
 soul is twofold, blood being that of the soul as a  
 whole, and the divine breath or spirit that of its  
 most dominant part (54f)  
**Damocles** : (**IX. Prov.** 2. 29f)

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- Dan** : I. *Leg. All.* ii. 94-108, III. *Agr.* 94-123 & 95[N], *Sob.* 58[N], V. *Som.* ii. 35, 39. In *Som.* ii. 35 Dan is the symbol of distinguishing and analysing matters. In *Leg. All.* ii. 94ff and *Agr.* 94ff Philo allegorizes the reference to Dan in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16-18). Dan, offspring of Bilhah, typifies the soul's second and perishable offspring. His name means 'sifting': for this race distinguishes and separates things immortal from those that are mortal. So his father prays that he may prove a lover of self-mastery. (This is worked out in detail according to the text. *Leg. All.* ii. 94-108 ; cf. *Agr.* 95[N] and 94ff)
- Dardania** : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 115 & n
- Darius** : (IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 132, cf. 136)
- David** : IV. *Conf.* 149, VIII. *Virt.* 221[N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* p. 5 (-6)n
- Delos** : IX. *Act.* 120, 121 & n
- Delphi** : II. *Post.* 113 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 19, *Prov.* 2. 33, X. *Leg.* 69
- Demeter** : I. *Op.* 133, VII. *Decal.* 54, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 40 & [N], IX. *Vit. Cont.* 3
- Democritus** : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 14 & n, 15, *Act.* 8
- Deucalion** : VIII. *Praem.* 23 & [N]
- Dibon** : I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225, 233 ; a name given to going to law, for probabilities and plausible arguments involve trial and disputation and everything of that sort
- Dicaearchia (Puteoli)** : IX. *Flacc.* 27 & n, X. *Leg.* 185
- Dinah** : Gen. xxxiv. Means 'judgement' and signifies the soul's court of justice ; the virgin soul is not to be ravished by the shameless fool (IV. *Mig.* 223, 224 & n, V. *Mut.* 194f)
- Diogenes the Babylonian** : IX. *Act.* 77 & n

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Diogenes the Cynic : III. *Plant.* 151, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 121n, 121-124, 157

Dion : IX. *Aet.* 48-51, 48[N]

Dionysius, of Alexandria : IX. *Flacc.* 20 & [N]

Dionysius of Sicily, the Elder : IX. *Prov.* 2. 26-32, 26n

Dionysius of Sicily, the Younger : VI. *Jos.* 132 & n

Dionysus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 130, X. *Leg.* 78-96

Dioscuri : VII. *Decal.* 56 & [N], X. *Leg.* 78-92

Doric : V. *Som.* ii. 55

Dothaim, Dothan : II. *Det.* 5, 28, V. *Fug.* 127f. Means 'thorough quitting'; Joseph's brethren have whole-heartedly set themselves to study how to quit all that does not contribute to virtue

Drusilla : IX. *Flacc.* 56 & n & [N]

Eden : The Garden (*παράδεισος*) signifies the ruling power of the soul, which is full of countless opinions, as it might be of plants (*Op.* 154); for its plants are endowed with soul or reason, bearing the virtues for fruit (*ib.*, *cf. Leg. All.* i. 46, 53-55, 64, 89, *Plant.* 37, *Conf.* 61, *Mig.* 37). Elsewhere Philo treats the Garden as meaning earthly wisdom, a copy of the heavenly (*Leg. All.* i. 43, 64; contrast *Plant.* 40, *Som.* ii. 242), virtue or excellence or joy (*Leg. All.* i. 45, *Cher.* 12f, *Mig.* 37), or right reason (*ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος*, *Leg. All.* i. 46, *cf. Post* 32). The whole universe (*Plant.* 45) and the placing of man in it signifies the gift of facility in apprehending (*ib.*, *Leg. All.* i. 45). But his hiding in it is made to mean hiding in the garden of the soul, for he that runs away from God takes refuge in himself (*Leg. All.* iii. 28)

Its name Eden literally means 'luxuriance' (*τρυ-*

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φῆ,<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* i. 45, *Post.* 32, *cf. Plant.* 38; 'delight,' *Som.* ii. 242); symbolically it means right and divine reason (*Post.* 32, *cf. Plant.* 37f), wisdom of God (*Som.* ii. 242). It is situated "toward the sun-rising" (*Gen.* ii. 8) because right reason, wisdom or the heavenly virtues are radiant and without setting (*Leg. All.* i. 46, *Plant.* 40, *Conf.* 61) In *Op.* 153, *Leg. All.* i. 43, *Plant.* 32, *Conf.* 61 Philo insists upon the impropriety of thinking of a literal garden

I. *Op.* 153-155, *Leg. All.* i. 41, 43-47, 53-56, 63f, 88-90, 96f, 100f, iii. 1, 28-31, II. *Cher.* 1n, 12f, *Post.* 1, 32, 128, III. *Plant.* 32-46, IV. *Mig.* 37, *Congr.* 171 & [N], V. *Som.* ii. 241f

Edom: signifies the earthly one<sup>b</sup> (*Quod Deus* 144), all that is good in outward appearance (for all things whose goodness lies in mere seeming are of earth (148; so 166, 180, *Mig.* 146))

II. *Post.* 101, III. *Quod Deus* 144f, 148, 166, 180, IV. *Mig.* 146

Egypt, Egyptians: These nearly always symbolize the body<sup>c</sup> or passions<sup>d</sup> or both<sup>e</sup>; or the adject-

<sup>a</sup> So the later LXX; but 'Eδέμ in Genesis. Eden is from a different Hebrew root than that for 'luxury.'

<sup>b</sup> From I. ארם, man, ארמה, ground, instead of II. ארם, red.

<sup>c</sup> Body, *Leg. All.* ii. 59, 77, iii. 37, 212, 242, *Sac.* 130, *Det.* 38, *Post.* 60-62, *cf.* 158, *cf. Ebr.* 95 & [N], *Ebr.* 208, *cf. Sob.* 13, *Conf.* 70, 92, *Mig.* 23, 154, *Quis Her.* 256, 315, *Congr.* 20f, *Fug.* 180, *cf.* 147f, *Mut.* 173f, 209, *Som.* ii. 258, 277f, *cf. Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 151f.

<sup>d</sup> Passions, *Leg. All.* ii. 84 & [N], 103, iii. 13, 37f, 81, 87, 94, 175, *Sac.* 51, 62, 134, *Det.* 46, 95, *Ebr.* 111, 209, *Conf.* 70, *Mig.* 202, *Quis Her.* 255 & n, *Congr.* 83 (tr. 'sense'), 84f, 87 & n, 163f, *Fug.*, *Mut.* 172, *Som.* ii. 269, 278, 281.

<sup>e</sup> *Sac.* 48, *Post.* 96, 155, *Quod Deus* 111, *Agr.* 64, 88,

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tives body-loving, passion-loving, pleasure-loving<sup>a</sup> are used. The wickedness and vices of Egypt are also mentioned (*Leg. All.* iii. 38, *Som.* ii. 255, *cf.* 266), and Israel's sojourn there signifies the dissolute and licentious life (*Post.* 156, *cf.* *Det.* 95); or it is a childhood stage to be left behind (*Congr.* 85), its fleshpots contrasted with the wilderness manna (*Quis Her.* 79f). It is earthly (*Congr.* 20)

Other interpretations are also given. Egypt represents sense (*αἴσθησις*, *Mig.* 77, *Quis Her.* 315, *Congr.* 83, *cf.* 21, *Mut.* 117-119), the mortal element or values (*Det.* 95f, *cf.* *Quis Her.* 316), the lower education (*Congr.* 20, *cf.* *Som.* i. 240), unholy doctrines (*Conf.* 36). The King of Egypt is thus the body-loving mind (*Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 151f), the boastful mind (*Ebr.* 111), rebellious against God (*Conf.* 88, *Congr.* 118), the power that flings away all ideas of what is noble (*Det.* 95); he is the sovereign of all that is animal and composite (*Sac.* 48), the king of terror (*Mut.* 173).<sup>b</sup> And the Nile, or river Egyptus (*Quis Her.* 315, 316 & n, *Som.* ii. 255-259), represents speech (*Som.* ii. 255-259, 300 & [N]) or the tide of passions (*Conf.* 29f, *Som.* ii. 277f). The arrogance of the Egyptians is mentioned (*Agr.* 62) and their jealousy (*Flacc.* 129) and folly (*Sac.* 51, *Mut.* 170, *cf.* *Leg.* 163),

*Conf.* 81f, 88-90, *Mig.* 14-16, 18, 20f, 77, 151, 160-162, *Fug.* 18, *Som.* ii. 109, 255f.

<sup>a</sup> φιλοσώματος, *Conf.* 70, *Mig.* 16, *Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 151f; φιλοπαθής, *Sac.* 51, *Mig.* 77, 202; φιλήδονος, *Leg. All.* iii. 37f, 212, 242, *Agr.* 88, *cf.* *Det.* 95, *Mig.* 18, 29, *Quis Her.* 203, 272, *Congr.* 84, *Fug.* 147f, *cf.* *Mut.* 174, *Som.* ii. 278.

<sup>b</sup> See further *s.v.* Pharaoh.



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but especially their godlessness (*ἄθεος*, *Quis Her.* 203, etc.; cf. *Leg.* 163) in worshipping the animals or the Nile (*Leg. All.* iii. 212, *Fug.* 180 & n, *Jos.* 254, *Mos.* ii. 194-196, *Decal.* 76ff & n & [N], *Vit. Cont.* 8 & n, 9, *Leg.* 163); and the worship of the Golden Calf is usually regarded as a revival of this (*Sac.* 130, *Post.* 2 & [N], 158, 165, *Ebr.* 95 & [N], *Mig.* 160 & [N], *Fug.* 90, *Mos.* ii. 161f & n, 169, 270, *Spec. Leg.* i. 79, iii. 125)

An allusion is made in *Quod Deus* 174, *Jos.* 135 to the great Egyptian empire of ancient times

- I. Gen. Introd. p. xvi, *Leg. All.* ii. 59, 77, 83-87 & [N], 103, iii. (3), 13, 37f, 81, 94, 175, 212, (243), II. *Sac.* 48, 51, 62 & [N], 118, 130, 134, *Det.* 38f, 46, 91 [N], 93-95, 177, III. *Quod Deus* 111, 174, *Agr.* 62, 64, 84, 88f, *Ebr.* 36, 95 & [N], 111, 208-210, *Sob.* 13, IV. *Conf.* 29f, 36, 70, 72, 81f, 88-90, 92, *Mig.* 14, 15 & n, 16-26 & n, 29, 54, 76f, 83n, 141, 142n, 151, 154, 159-162 & 160 [N], 200-202, 204, 215, *Quis Her.* 79f, 203, 242 [N], 251, 255f & n, 315f, *Congr.* 1, 20f, 71, 83-87 & n, 118, 163f, V. *Fug.* 18f, 90, 147n, 148, 179f & n, *Mut.* 20, 97, 117-119, 125, 126n, 170-174 & nn, 208f, *Som.* i. 114, 220, 240, ii. 5, 43, 88, 106, 109, 123, 189, 216, 255-259, 266, 269, 277-281, 300 & [N]-302, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. xii, xiii, *Abr.* 92f, 103, 107, 251, *Jos.* 3 [N], 15, 27, 37, 117, 121, 135, 151f, 157 & n, 159, 161, 184, 186, 188, 195f, 201, 203, 237f, 242, 248, 250f, 254f, 259, *Mos.* i. 5f, 17, 21, 23f & nn, 34, 36, (47), 71, 81, 85f, 91, 96, 99, 100ff, 107, 109, 112-118, 120-122, 134ff, 143ff, 147, 149, 163f, 167, 171f, 178f, 193, 202, 210, 216, 237, 240, 247, 284, 290, ii. 1, 19, 29, 161f & n, 169, 193-195, 246,

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- 248, 270, VII. *Decal.* 76 & n & [N], 80, *Spec. Leg.* i. 2 & n & [N], 5, 79, 101n, 133 [N], ii. 145n, 146, 148[N], 164[N], 204[N], 217, 250, iii. 23, 125, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2[N], 158n, *Virt.* 17[N], 103n, 106f, 139[N], *Praem.* 78[N], 90, 124n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73[N], 125, *Vit. Cont.* Introd. pp. 295, 298 & n, 2 & n, 3, 17, 29, 43, 45, 78, 80, 92f, 130[N], 131[N], 152, 158, 163, *Hyp.* 6. 1, *Prov.* 2. 65, X. *Leg.* Introd. pp. xv, xxiv, 138f, 148, 163, 166, 205, 250, 281, 338
- Elea : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 106 (Zeno)
- Eleazar (Exod. xxviii. 1) : V. *Som.* ii. 186, VI. *Mos.* ii. 276 & n
- Eli : III. *Ebr.* 146n
- Eliezer (Gen. xv. 2) : IV. *Quis Her.* 2 & n, 39, 52, 54, 58
- Eliezer (Exod. xviii. 4) : IV. *Quis Her.* 59f
- Elijah : III. *Quod Deus* 136, 138
- Elim : V. *Fug.* 183, 187, 'gateways,' a figure of the entrance to virtue through the preliminary exercises of the Schools. In VI. *Mos.* i. 188f the twelve springs and seventy palm trees of Elim are allegorized
- Eliphaz : IV. *Congr.* 54-56, father of Amalek, 'God hath dispersed me'—the soul rejected by God, which then begets passion
- Elis : III. *Agr.* 119
- Elizabeth : II. *Post.* 76
- Elzaphan : I. *Leg. All.* ii. 58
- Enaim : V. *Fug.* 149
- Enoch (Gen. iv. 17) : offspring of Cain and his opinion ; means 'thy gift,' and represents those who are beholden to the human mind for everything (in contrast to Enoch, descendant of Seth,

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Gen. v. 3-24, *Post.* 41), II. *Post.* 33, 35, 40, 66, IV. *Conf.* 122-127

Enoch (Gen. v. 18-24) : means ' thy gift ' (*χάρις σου*, cf. *κεχαρισμένος*, *Abr.* 17), and signifies those who acknowledge all as from God the Universal Mind (*Post.* 41f). Enoch's translation (LXX, " he was not found, because God translated him ") indicates that such people are seldom found, because they escape from the wickedness of this life, translated by God (*Post.* 40-44, *Mut.* 34-38). In each case Philo seems to understand the ' translated ' as both an ordinary removal, literal and metaphorical, and as a ' translation ' to immortality (cf. *Quaest. in Gen.* 86, *Abr.* 17[N]). In *Abr.* 17-26, 47 this change is one of heart (repentance) or of abode (seclusion), and the immortality seems to be associated with his finding company with those who are immortalized in their works.<sup>a</sup> In *Praem.* 15-21 the change of abode is a removal from the familiar surroundings of the old life of passion to solitude

II. *Post.* 40-44, V. *Mut.* 34 & n & [N]-38, VI. *Gen.* Introd. p. x, *Abr.* 17 & n & [N]-26, 47f, VIII. *Gen.* Introd. p. xxi, *Praem.* 15 & n-21, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 63n

Enos : ' Man ' hopes in God (Gen. iv. 26, LXX), and Enos is thus made the founder of the truly reasonable race (Gen. v. 1) (II. *Det.* 138-140, VI. *Abr.* 7-16, 12n). As the representative of hope he figures in the first triad (Enos, Enoch,

<sup>a</sup> In this treatise Philo is contrasting the triad Enos, Enoch, Noah, who yearn for virtue, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who achieve it (47f).

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Noah), contrasted with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (VI. Gen. Introd. p. x, *Abr.* 7-16, 47f), a type of those who yearn for virtue but do not attain to it. Similarly VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi, *Praem.* 13 & n, 14

**Ephraim** : Ephraim is the figurative name of Memory, meaning 'fruitbearing': for the soul's proper fruit is to retain what it learns (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 90-93, III. *Sob.* 27f, IV. *Mig.* 205f, *Congr.* 40f, V. *Mut.* 97f). In *Leg. All.* iii. 94 & n Ephraim typifies those who (? remember to) sacrifice the Passover in the first month (Num. ix. 6ff). In *Mut.* 97f, 101f his association with Reuben (Gen. xlviii. 5) is fitting, because of the kinship of Memory with natural excellence. In all these passages he is favourably contrasted with his elder brother Manasseh ('recollection')

**Ephron** : IV. *Conf.* 79. Ephron, from whom Abraham bought Machpelah (Gen. xxiii), means 'clay,' and represents the Hittite preference for mortality, clay, and dust rather than the soul

**Epicurus** : II. *Post.* 2 & [N], IX. *Aet.* 8

**Equestrian Order** : X. *Leg.* 74

**Equinoxes** : I. *Op.* 116, *Leg. All.* i. 8 & n

**Er** : Er, slain by God (Gen. xxxviii. 7), means 'leathern' and typifies the body, especially as something corpse-like, and those who love it. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 69-75, II. *Post.* 180

**Esau** : Philo's interpretation of Esau is nearly always suggested by some phrase from the narratives of Gen. xxv or xxvii rather than by his etymology of the name, which is more than usually absurd. So too Esau is most often named in contrast to Jacob

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Mainly, Esau typifies the bad man or vice, in pursuit of the passions and bodily lusts,<sup>a</sup> the worse part of the soul (*Fug.* 24, 42f), the base and irrational nature (*Leg. All.* iii. 88f); or he represents folly.<sup>b</sup> Here Philo sometimes appeals to a fanciful derivation<sup>c</sup> and progress of ideas, which may be summarized as  $\sqrt{\pi\psi\gamma}$ —ποίημα—fiction, to which belongs folly, or  $\sqrt{\gamma\gamma}$ —δρῦς—oak—stubbornness—folly. Only in *Quis Her.* 251-254 does Philo suggest an altogether different interpretation; here Esau is passion (πάθος), pursued and supplanted by Jacob, by acquired skill a hunter for the good, in a sense, but slow and procrastinating (Jacob anticipated him with the venison)

Other details are suggested by texts. For instance, Esau being a man of the fields (ἄγρικός, in contrast to Jacob, who was a 'simple' man, ἄπλαστος, dwelling in the city, *Gen.* xxv. 27, LXX), is interpreted as vice unfit to dwell in the city of virtue, following rustic grossness (*Leg. All.* iii. 2, ἀγροικία), the friend of fiction and make-up (*Plant.* 44, *Congr.* 62, playing on the ἄπλαστος (Jacob) of the text and the derivation Esau—ποίημα). In *Praem.* 59 the text has coloured Philo's description of Esau's character as wild (ἄγριος) and fierce. Esau was hairy, Jacob smooth (xxvii. 11): thus he is contrasted with

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* (ii. 59), iii. 2, 191f, *Sac.* 81 & n, 120 (*contr. Quis Her.* 251-254), 135, *Ebr.* 9f, *Det.* 45f, *Mig.* 208 & n, *Congr.* 129, *Fug.* 24, 43, *Virt.* 210, *Praem.* 62.

<sup>b</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 193, *Sac.* 17 & [N], *Ebr.* 9f, *Sob.* 26, *Congr.* 61, 175, *Virt.* 209, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57. Ignorance, *Fug.* 39.

<sup>c</sup> *Sac.* 17 & [N], *Congr.* 61, *Fug.* 39, 42.

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the soul stripping bodily passions (*Leg. All.* ii. 59), with the man of single aim (*Mig.* 153). Esau sold his birthright when weak from hunting (xxvi. 33): this represents his bodily and unspiritual desires (*Leg. All.* iii. 191, *Virt.* 208, *cf. Sac.* 121), or his recognition that he has no claim to spiritual values (*Sac.* 17), or the defeat of the bad man by reason (*Gen.* xxvi. 29, *Sac.* 81 & n), the inferiority of folly (*Sob.* 26—if it refers to this). Further examples may be found by reference to the Scripture Index, particularly *s.v.* *Gen.* xxv. 23 and xxvii. 40, 42-45

I. *Leg. All.* ii. 59, iii. 2, 88f, 191-195, II. *Sac.* 17f & [N], 81 & n, 120, 135, *Det.* 45f, III. *Plant.* 44, *Ebr.* 9f, *Sob.* 26, IV. *Mig.* 153, 208 & n-211, *Quis Her.* 251-254 & n, *Congr.* 54, 61f, 129, 175f, V. *Fug.* 4, 23-25 & n & [N], 39, 42f, *Mut.* 230, VI. *Mos.* i. 240-242, VIII. *Virt.* 206n, 208 & [N]-210, *Praem.* 59, 61n, 62f, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* *Intro.* p. 4, 57

Eshcol: IV. *Mig.* 164f. Means 'fire' and symbolizes good natural ability, which like fire is full of daring and is hot and fastens on whatever it touches. See *s.v.* Aunan

Essenes: IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75 & [N]-91, *Vit. Cont.* 1 & n, 2 [N], 90n, *Hyp.* ii. 1-18, 1n, 14n

Etesian Winds: VI. *Mos.* i. 115, IX. *Flacc.* 26

Ethiopia, Ethiopian: I. *Leg. All.* i. 63, 68, 85, ii. 67 & [N], III. *Quod Deus* 174, VI. *Mos.* i. 99, IX. *Flacc.* 43

(a) *Gen.* ii. 13, Ethiopia, 'lowness,' signifies cowardice (*Leg. All.* i. 68)

(b) *Num.* xii. 1ff, the Ethiopian wife of Moses signifies unalterable resolve, the nature tried

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by fire ; black like the pupil of the eye, she represents the soul's power of vision (*Leg. All.* ii. 67 & [N])

Euboea : *X. Leg.* 282

Euodus : *IX. Flacc.* 76

Euphrates : *I. Leg. All.* i. 63, 72, 85-87, *IV. Quis Her.* 315f, *V. Som.* ii. 255-258, 300, *VI. Abr.* 266, *VIII. Virt.* 223, *X. Leg.* 10, 207, 216, 259

- (a) *Gen.* ii. 14, means 'fruitfulness' and is a figurative name for justice (*Leg. All.* i. 72, 85-87), a virtue which brings gladness to the mind (*εὐφραίνουσα*)
- (b) *Gen.* xv. 18, represents the wisdom of God, full of joy and gladness (*εὐφροσύνη*, *Quis Her.* 315f)
- (c) *Ib.*, represents the soul and the soul's virtues (*Som.* ii. 255-258)

Euripides : *I. Leg. All.* i. 7 & n, iii. 202 & n, *VI. Jos.* 78 & n, *VIII. Spec. Leg.* iv. 47 & n, *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 25, 99 & n & [N], 101 & n, 102f, 116 & n, 141 & n, 146 & n, 152 & n, *Aet.* 5f, 30, 144

Eurystheus : *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 120

Eve<sup>a</sup> : Eve is consistently<sup>b</sup> made to represent Sense-perception,<sup>c</sup> the details of the narrative in *Gen.* ii and iii giving colour to this emphasis or that. Thus sometimes Sense-perception is contrasted with Mind (Adam), sometimes with Pleasure (the serpent)<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Eve is mentioned by name comparatively seldom (*Leg. All.* ii. 79-81, *Cher.* 54, 57, 60, *Post.* 33, 124, *Agr.* 95-99, 107f, *Congr.* 171 & [N]).

<sup>b</sup> *Agr.* 95-99 is hardly an exception. See below.

<sup>c</sup> *Op.* 165, *Leg. All.* ii. 5f, 9, 14, 24, 38-45, 49f, 53, 68-70, iii. 49f, 56-68, 182, 184f, 200, 216, 220-224, *Cher.* 40, 43, 57-65, *Post.* 124-126, 170 ; *cf. Agr.* 95-99.

<sup>d</sup> Eve is contrasted with the animals, the passions, in *Leg.*

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The creation of man " male and female " (*Op.* 76, *Leg. All.* ii. 13, *Quis Her.* 164) calls for no comment ; but the creation of Eve from Adam's side (*Gen.* ii. 18ff) is seen to have significance. It must not be taken literally (*Leg. All.* ii. 19 ; *cf.* *Op.* 156f). We learn that man's helper is a created one, formed subsequent to man (*Leg. All.* ii. 5, 24 ; *cf.* 73), and represents Sense or Sense-perception (*αἴσθησις*), which completes man's soul (*ib.* 24, *Cher.* 58-60), adding to the activity of mind the passivity of the senses (*ib.* 38f) ; thus turning a quiescent potentiality into a reality, an activity (38, 40, 44f), and pouring light into the mind (*Cher.* 61). This creation out of Adam reveals that the starting-point of sense is mind (*Leg. All.* iii. 185). Adam united to his wife as " one flesh " indicates the degrading of mind into sense-perception (ii. 49f, *cf.* *Gig.* 65), and the begetting of bodily pleasure (*Op.* 152f) ; thus woman is for man the beginning of a blame-worthy life (*Op.* 151). Their nakedness (*Leg. All.* ii. 53, 68-70 ; contrast iii. 56-58) suggests the imperfection and powerlessness of mind and sense-perception, each of which can dominate the other

The Temptation and Fall is also a myth (*μύθου πλάσματα*, *Op.* 156). The serpent represents pleasure, and appropriately " beguiles " the senses first and through them reaches the mind (*Op.* 165), which apprehends simultaneously (*Leg.*

*All.* ii. 5f, 9-14 ; with Adam, mind, in *Leg. All.* ii. 38-43, 49f, 56-58, 222-224, *Gig.* 65, *Quis Her.* 52f, with the serpent, pleasure, in *Leg. All.* iii. 61-64, 66-68, 183-185 ; with wisdom in *Quis Her.* 52f.



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*All.* iii. 59f); for sense-perception "gives" without guile (*ib.* 61-64). She is so beguiled by pleasure because she is morally neutral: whether she is good or bad depends upon whether she is in the wise man or the fool (*ib.* 66-68); therefore she is not condemned outright like pleasure, but given an opportunity of defence. The disobedience of Adam and Eve having been discovered, God called mind only, not sense-perception, which being irrational cannot receive instruction and is merely included in the call of mind (*ib.* 49f). Questioned, Adam says, "The woman whom Thou gavest with me, she gave me." This indicates that sense is free ("with," not "to"), independent of mind (contrast ii. 68-70); it apprehends simultaneously "with" mind and "gives" to it opportunities of apprehending (iii. 56-58)

In *Op.* 157 their crime seems to be chiefly one of omission: they passed by the tree of life immortal, the consummation of virtue

God's curse upon the serpent includes "enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed." This is because pleasure is really a foe to sense (*Leg. All.* iii. 182), and warfare takes place over what is on the boundary between the two realms. They have opposing "seed," for the starting-point for pleasure is passion, while that of sense is mind (184f). The curse upon Eve tells us that as sense she must be subject to grief and with pangs bring forth perception (*Leg. All.* iii. 200, 216). Her resort shall be to her husband—she has two, the lawful one being mind, the other a seducer, known when

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the objects of perception dominate irrational sense (220f). The curse upon Adam shows that it is profitless for mind to listen to sense-perception, for that means the rule of the inferior (222f; cf. ii. 49f)

The expulsion from Eden illustrates God's expulsion of evil-mindedness from the holy boundaries (*Congr.* 171 & [N])

“ Adam called his wife's name Eve,<sup>a</sup> because she was the mother of all living ” (Gen. iii. 20). In *Cher.* 57 this means sense is the source of life to all living bodies. In *Agr.* 95-99 woman is life, depending upon the senses and material substances of our bodies (*αἰσθήσεως καὶ σαρκῶν ἐκκρεμασμένη ζωή*). In *Quis Her.* 52f (where Philo is discussing Masek, Gen. xv. 2) Adam gave sense the name of what was his own death to her life, for she is the mother of those who are in truth dead to the life of the soul; those who are really living have wisdom for their mother, but sense they take for a bond-woman

Eve bore Cain; so sense bears vanity of thought (*Cher.* 57, cf. 61-65). This, which implies the union of mind with sense, is reprehensible, and that is why men like the patriarchs did not know women (*Cher.* 40, 43). On the other hand, Eve's giving birth to Seth is more favourably regarded: the senses are watered from the mind and so broaden and extend their powers

I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii, *Op.* 76, 151-153, 156f, 165, 167, *Leg. All.* ii. 1, 5, 8f, 13f, 19, 24, 38-45, 49f, 53, 68-70, 73, 79, 81, iii. 1, 49f, 56-68, 182, 184f, 188, 200, 216, 220-224, II. *Cher.* 40, 43, 53f, 57-65,

<sup>a</sup> See note a on p. 311.

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- Sac.* 1, *Post.* 33, 124-126, 170, *Gig.* 65, **III.** *Agr.* 95-99, 107f, *Ebr.* 4n, **IV.** *Quis Her.* 52f, 164, *Congr.* 171 & [N], **VI.** *Mos.* i. 263 [N], **VIII.** *Virt.* 199
- Evilat : **I.** *Leg. All.* i. 63, 66f, 74f, 85f, is the kindly and gracious disposition where lies God's greatest treasure, prudence (66f); it is folly 'in travail' for the foolish mind travails for its desires but is powerless to bring to birth (74f, 85f)
- Evius : **X.** *Leg.* 96
- Flaccus Avillius : **IX.** *Flacc. passim*  
Flaccus, G. Norbanus : **X.** *Leg.* 314f
- Gad : **V.** *Som.* ii. 35, 40. Symbol of piratical attack and counter-attack
- Gaidad : son of Enoch (*Gen.* iv. 18), 'flock,' symbolic of the irrational faculties (**II.** *Post.* 66, 69)
- Gaius Caesar : **IX.** *Flacc.* 9-15, 22, 25f, 31f, 35, 40, 42, 97-100, 108f, 114, 126, 150, 180ff, **X.** *Leg.* 32-39, 41-119, 133f, 136f, 141, 162-165, 168, 180-209, 218, 230-232, 239-242, 244, 247-251, 253-373
- Gaius Flaccus : **X.** *Leg.* 314f
- Galilee : **X.** *Leg.* 326
- Ganymede : **IX.** *Prov.* 2. 7
- Geloans : **III.** *Ebr.* 174
- Genesis : **I.** *Op.* 12, **II.** *Post.* 127, **VI.** *Abr.* 1, **IX.** *Aet.* 19
- Geon : one of the four rivers of *Gen.* ii. 13; means 'breast' or 'butting' (*κερατίζων*), figurative of courage (**I.** *Leg. All.* i. 63, 68, 85f, **II.** *Post.* 128)
- Germanicus : see Caesar
- Germany, Germans : **V.** *Som.* ii. 121f & [N], **X.** *Leg.* 10, 356 & n
- Geryon : **X.** *Leg.* 80

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- Gideon : ' robbers' hold,' ready to destroy Penuel (Judges viii. 9). IV. *Conf.* 129-132, *cf.* VIII. *Praem.* 4-6[N]
- Gilead : ' migration of witness ' : for God caused the soul (Jacob) to migrate from the passions (Laban), and bore witness to it . . . etc. (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 16, 19). ' Heap of witness ' : for the mind is witness of each man's secret purposes (II. *Post.* 59 & [N]). Also IV. *Congr.* 43
- Gog : VI. *Mos.* i. 290n
- Gomorrhah : III. *Ebr.* 222, V. *Som.* i. 85, ii. 191f (' measure,' figuring those who make man the measure of all), VI. *Abr.* 1 & n, *Mos.* ii. 52-65, 263, *cf.* i. 207, IX. *Aet.* 147[N]
- Gorgon : X. *Leg.* 237
- Goshen : VI. *Jos.* 256n
- Graces, The : VI. *Abr.* 54, *Mos.* ii. 7, X. *Leg.* 95, 105
- Great Bear : I. *Op.* 114, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 57
- Greece <sup>a</sup> : III. *Quod Deus* 173, VI. *Jos.* 134, *Mos.* i. 21, ii. 18, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 16, VIII. *Praem.* 165, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73, 94, 132, 138, 140, *Vit. Cont.* 14, 57, *Prov.* 2. 15, 66, X. *Leg.* 141, 147, 237
- Greek, Greeks <sup>a</sup> : I. *Op.* 127, *Leg. All.* ii. 15, II. *Cher.* 91, III. *Plant.* 14, 67, *Ebr.* 193, IV. *Conf.* 6, 68, *Quis Her.* 214, V. *Mut.* 35, 179, VI. *Abr.* 136, 180, 267, *Jos.* 30, 56, 134, *Mos.* i. 2, 21, 23, ii. 12, 18, 20, 23, 27, 40, VII. *Decal.* 153, *Spec. Leg.* i. 211, ii. 44, 165, iii. 15, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, 120, *Praem.* 8, 23, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 88, 94, 96, 98, 140, *Vit. Cont.* 14, 21, 42, 48, 68, *Aet.* 57, X. *Leg.* 8, 83, 145, 162, 237, 292
- Greek language, The <sup>a</sup> : I. *Op.* 127, IV. *Conf.* 6, 68,

<sup>a</sup> Some overlapping in these three divisions is inevitable.

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190, *Congr.* 37, VI. *Abr.* 17, 27, 99, 201, *Jos.* 28, *Mos.* ii. 31f, 38, 40, 97, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 194, VIII. *Praem.* 14, 23, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75

Gyara : IX. *Flacc.* 151 & n

Gymnosophists : V. *Som.* ii. 56, VI. *Abr.* 182, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43n, 74 & [N], 93, 96n

Hades : a mythical place (IV. *Congr.* 57), the resort of those who look to created things (IV. *Quis Her.* 45), the spiritually blind (*ib.* 78) ; the life of the bad, a life of damnation and bloodguiltiness, the victim of every curse (ὁ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος, *Congr.* 57) ; cf. V. *Som.* i. 151. Also VI. *Mos.* ii. 281, X. *Leg.* 235

Hagar : Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, is consistently contrasted with her, Sarah being Virtue or Wisdom,<sup>a</sup> while Hagar is the Lower Education of the Schools.<sup>b</sup> (What this comprised is sometimes told us : *Congr.* 11f, 15ff, 74ff, 142, 144, 146ff.) The School-learning is the step towards the perfection represented by her mistress,<sup>c</sup> and is necessary (*Congr.* 24), but represents a stage of in-

<sup>a</sup> Sarah is philosophy in *Congr.* 79, 145 ; knowledge and wisdom, *ib.* 156 ; better judgement (γνώμη), *Fug.* 205 ; good sense (φρόνησις), *ib.* 207.

<sup>b</sup> The lower education, ἡ μέση παιδεία, in *Cher.* 3, 6, *Post.* 130, *Congr.* 12, 14, 20, 22, *Mut.* 255 (μέσαι τέχναι, *Congr.* 140, cf. 128 ; παιδεία, *Congr.* 23, 72f, 121, *Som.* i. 240). παιδεύματα (*Leg. All.* iii. 244) and προπαιδεύματα (*Cher.* 8, 10, *Congr.* 152, 180, *Fug.* 2, 213, *Mut.* 263) are also used ; and the adjective ἐγκύκλιος, *Leg. All.* iii. 244, *Cher.* 2, 6 & [N], *Sac.* 43f, *Congr.* 14, 19f, 23, 72f, 79, 121, 155, *Fug.* 213, *Som.* i. 240.

<sup>c</sup> In *Congr.* 79 the handmaid-mistress relationship is used twice over to convey Encyclopaedia-Philosophy, Philosophy-Wisdom.

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completeness (*ἀτελής*, *Fug.* 207) and gradual progress only (*ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα*, *ib.* 202, 213, *cf.* 211), something temporary (*Congr.* 12); this is typified in Hagar being Abraham's concubine, not his wife (*ib.* 23, 154-156)

Hagar's name means 'sojourning'; for the aspirant to virtue sojourns with the subjects of the Schools (*Leg. All.* iii. 244 & [N]); or it signifies that the student of secular learning only sojourns and is not domiciled with wisdom (*Sac.* 43f, where Philo also identifies the 'alien sojourner' with the lower knowledge itself; *cf.* *Congr.* 20, 22f). She is an Egyptian (*Gen.* xvi. 1): so the student of the Schools must necessarily be associated with the body (Egypt) and its senses to apprehend knowledge (*Congr.* 20); but this disqualifies her from seeing God Himself (*Som.* i. 240 & n; see below)

Abraham's union with Hagar, sponsored by Sarah (*Congr.* 72), occurs before he is perfect, while he is still Abram and concerned with supramundane things (*Leg. All.* iii. 244), ten years after his arrival in Canaan, while the soul had passed the stage of the senses and passions and was able to apprehend and choose between virtue and vice (*Congr.* 81f), when it was mature enough to begin the training of the Schools (*ib.* 121f, *cf.* 88). Hagar's conception led to a feud with Sarah (*ib.* 127-129, 158)—not the jealousy of women, but the conflict of two minds of different quality (180). Hagar fled, voluntarily (*Cher.* 3, contrasting the expulsion later), to escape the stern search for virtue (*Cher.* 6 & [N]; but contrast *Fug.* 213), throwing away achievements for un-

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certainties (*Fug.* 205f), a flight prompted by shame (*Fug.* 5f, 203, 213). But an angel (? conviction, *Fug.* 6) finds her (*Cher.* 3, *Fug.* 5f, 202ff, 211-213; contrast *Som.* i. 240) by a spring (wisdom: Hagar is not said to draw from it, *Fug.* 202), and she returns <sup>a</sup>

Hagar is expelled with her sophist son Ishmael after the birth of Isaac (*Leg. All.* iii. 245, *Cher.* 3, 8f, *Post.* 130, 132, *Sob.* 8f). Again she is found by a well (knowledge: and she draws for Ishmael, *Post.* 130, 132, 137) and she is preserved by God. In *Abr.* 247-254 Philo gives a summary of the story, somewhat idealized

I. Gen. Introd. pp. xviiif, *Leg. All.* iii. 244 & [N], II. *Cher.* 3, 6, 8, *Sac.* 43, *Post.* 130, 132, 137, III. *Sob.* 8, IV. *Congr.* p. 449n, 1, 11f, 20, 22-24, 71f, 81, 88, 121f, 127-129, 139, 153-158, 180, V. *Fug.* 1, 5f, 202f, 211 & n, 212, *Mut.* 255, *Som.* i. 240 & n, VI. *Abr.* 247-254

Ham: a name for vice in the quiescent state; by interpretation 'heat'—a sign of fever in the body and of vice in the soul (*Sob.* 44). See also s.v. Canaan, III. *Sob.* 1, 6, 32, 44f, 47f, VIII. *Virt.* 202

Hamor: irrational being (*ἄλογος φύσις*), for Hamor means 'ass' (IV. *Mig.* 224 & n). Folly or unintelligence (*ἄνοια*, V. *Mut.* 193f)

Hannah: the gift of the wisdom of God, for Hannah means 'her grace' (III. *Quod Deus* 5, *Ebr.* 145-152, V. *Mut.* 143, 144[N], *Som.* i. 254). Hannah's song (1 Sam. ii. 1-10, esp. v. 5) suggests that she represents the soul sterilized to wickedness and

<sup>a</sup> Further details in the story belong rather to Ishmael, *g.v.*

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mortal sowing but holding fast to the 'seventh' and mother of its peace (V. *Mut.* 143f, III. *Quod Deus* 10f, VIII. *Praem.* 159 & n, 160)

**Haran**: the country of sense-perception, understanding's bodily tenement (*Mig.* 187, 197, 207-214, *Som.* i. 53, 68); for Haran is 'hole,' and holes are figures for eyes, ears, etc. (*Mig.* 188, *Som.* i. 59). So Haran stands also for the organs of sense (*Mig.* 195 & n, *Fug.* 45, *Som.* i. 41, *Abr.* 72)

**Abraham's father, Terah** (the explorer of sense; Socrates; self-knowledge), lived and died in Haran (*Som.* i. 47-59). It is to Haran that he and Abraham migrate, teaching us to discard the speculations of astrology in favour of the Socratic study of ourselves (*Mig.* 176-197, esp. 185-189, *cf.* 137f; *Fug.* 45f, *Som.* i. 55 & n-58, *Abr.* 70-80, 72n); and it is a necessary intermediate stage in the soul's progress (*Mig.* 198f). But Abraham leaves it to go on to immortality and the knowledge of God (*Mig.* 189-195, *Som.* i. 47, 60, *Abr.* 72n, 85-88)—for to despair of oneself is the first step (*Som.* i. 60, *cf.* 56; *Mig.* 195)

In the Jacob stories also Haran is significant. His mother wisely counsels him to flee to Haran (*Gen.* xxvii. 43-45), for compromise with the senses may sometimes be the best course (*Mig.* 208 & n-213). In *Fug.* 45f this is the advice to know ourselves. In either case it is to be a temporary measure (*Mig.* 211, *Fug.* 46, *Som.* i. 45f). Jacob goes to Haran (*Gen.* xxviii. 10, *Som.* i. 4, 5 & n, 41-45, 61, 68, 70) from Beersheba ('well of knowledge'): if a man cannot com-



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mune with the understanding by itself, he wins in sense-perception a second-best refuge (*ib.* 44). Laban's shepherds tell him they are of Haran (Gen. xxix. 4): their flocks are the irrational faculties, fittingly associated with the senses (*Mig.* 212f). But Jacob too eventually leaves Haran to live in the fear of God (*ib.* 214f, *cf.* 5 & n)

- IV. *Mig.* 176f, 184 & n-195 & n (esp. 187f), 197f, 207[N], 208-216, 210[N], 212n, V. *Fug.* 23, 45f, *Som.* i. 4, 5 & n, 41-45, 55n, 56n, 61, 68, 70, VI. *Abr.* 62n, 67, 72 & n, 77 & n-80

Havilah : see *s.v.* Evilat

Hebrew, Hebrews : Hebrew means ' migrant ' ; the wont of the Hebrews is to quit the objects of sense-perception and go after those of mind (*Mig.* 20). Thus Joseph was proved to be a Hebrew and proved himself one (*ib.*). The Hebrew women needed no midwives (Exod. i. 19) : the self-taught nature arises by no human will, but by a God-inspired ecstasy (*Fug.* 168, *cf.* *Mig.* 141f & n, *Congr.* 3 & n)

- IV. *Mig.* 20, 141f, *Quis Her.* 128, *Congr.* 3, V. *Mut.* 117, *Fug.* 168, VI. *Abr.* 251, *Jos.* 42, 50, 104, 203, *Mos.* i. 15f (34ff), 105, 143-147, 179f, 216, 218, 240, 243, 252, 263, 276, 278, 284f, 288f, 295, 305, 311, ii. 32, VIII. *Virt.* 34f

Hebrew language, The <sup>a</sup> : III. *Plant.* 169, *Sob.* 45, IV. *Conf.* 68, 129f, *Mig.* 13, *Congr.* 40, V. *Som.* ii. 250, VI. *Abr.* (8 & n, 12), 17, 27f, 57, (99, 201), *Jos.* 28, (*Mos.* ii. 26, 31, 38, 40, 97, 224), VII.

<sup>a</sup> In the later treatises Philo tends to use *Χαλδαῖοι*, *Χαλδαῖοσί*; these references are included, in brackets.

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- Decal.* 159, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 41, 86, 145, (*VIII. Praem.* 14, 23, 31, 44), (*X. Leg.* 4)
- Hebron : Hebron means 'coupling' or 'union' (*συσυγή*) and 'comradeship' (*συνεταίρις*) and is a figurative title for our body, because it is coupled with a soul and has established a comradeship with it. So Jacob sent Joseph out of the vale of Hebron (*Gen.* xxxvii 14) to stir him from the hollows of the body and senses (*II. Det.* 15-17). In *II. Post.* 60-62 Philo gives a similar interpretation of *Num.* xiii. 22, but says the 'union' may also be that of the soul with virtue (so *Gen.* xxiii. 9, 19). Hebron is also called a treasure-house, guarding personal monuments of knowledge and wisdom (*Num.* xiii. 22, *Post.* 60-62 & [N])
- Helene : *IX. Flacc.* 156
- Heliceia : *IX. Aet.* 140 & n
- Helicon : *X. Leg.* 166-178, 203-206
- Heliopolis : *II. Post.* 54, 57 & [N]; the mind, sun-like, sending forth its proper light, causes all forms and conditions to be clearly apprehended. So *V. Som.* i. 77f
- Hellas : see *s.v.* Greece
- Hellespont : *V. Som.* ii. 118
- Hephaestus : *VII. Decal.* 54 & [N]; *IX. Vit. Cont.* 3, *Aet.* 68
- Hera : *VII. Decal.* 54 & N, *IX. Vit. Cont.* 3
- Heracleitus : *I. Leg. All.* i. 108, iii. 7 & [N], *IV. Quis Her.* 214, *V. Fug.* 61 & n, *IX. Aet.* 111 & n, *Prov.* 2. 67
- Heracles : *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 99-104, 101n, 120, 127 & n, 128, *X. Leg.* 78f, 81, 90-93 & n
- Hermes : *VII. Decal.* 54 & n, *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 101 & n, *X. Leg.* 93 & n-102; *cf.* *IV. Quis Her.* 224

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- Herod : Herod the Great, grandfather of Agrippa (*q.v.*), **IX. Flacc.** 25, **X. Leg.** 294-300
- Heroes' City (Goshen) : **VI. Jos.** 256 & n
- Heshbon : ' reasonings,' so quibbling riddles, full of obscurity, **I. Leg. All.** iii. 225-233
- Hesiod : **IX. Aet.** 17, 18 & n, 19
- Heth : **V. Fug.** 25 [N], **Som.** ii. 89, 90 & n : Abraham, to avoid giving provocation, did obeisance to the sons of Heth (**Gen.** xxiii. 7), the enemies of reason who remove instruction (Heth is ' removing '), that he might obtain Machpelah
- Hiddekel : see *s.v.* Tigris
- Hippocentaurs : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 45
- Hippocrates : **I. Op.** 105, 124, **IX. Vit. Cont.** 16 & n
- Homer : **I. Gen.** Introd. p. xvi n, **IV. Conf.** 4, **VI. Abr.** 10, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 31, **Vit. Cont.** 17 & n & [N], **X. Leg.** 80<sup>a</sup>
- Homilus : **X. Leg.** 181
- Hor : Hor (LXX <sup>Ω</sup>ρ, E.V. Hur) supports Moses' hands (**Exod.** xvii. 12) : that is, the wise man's doings are steadied by truth (Hor is ' light '). Similarly **Num.** xx. 25 : Aaron goes up into Mt. Hor to die, for the end and goal of the Word (Aaron) is truth (**I. Leg. All.** iii. 45 ; *cf.* **VI. Mos.** i. 214n)
- Hormah : **III. Quod Deus** 99
- Hoshea : Moses changes the name of Hoshea to Joshua (**Num.** xiii. 17), thus transforming the individual who embodies a state to the state itself ; for Hoshea is ' he,' *i.e.* a particular individual, ' is saved,' and Joshua is ' salvation ' (**V. Mut.** 121 & n)
- Hur : see *s.v.* Hor

<sup>a</sup> For many quotations from Homer, without his name, see Index to 'Translators' Notes.

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Hydra : V. *Som.* ii. 14

Hypotaenia : IX. *Flacc.* 45

Iberus : V. *Som.* ii. 123 & [N], IX. *Flacc.* 2 & n

*Iliad* : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 17. (Without naming the *Iliad*, Philo also quotes from it in III. *Agr.* 41, VI. *Mos.* i. 61, VII. *Decal.* 69 & n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 31)

India, Indians : V. *Som.* ii. 56, 59, VI. *Abr.* 182, VIII. *Praem.* 89, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 74 & [N], 93-96, *Aet.* 128f

Ion : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 134 & [N]

Ionia, Ionian, Ionic : V. *Som.* ii. 55 (Ionic carvings), VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 102 (Ionians and luxury), IX. *Flacc.* 154 (Ionian Gulf)

Isaac : Isaac means 'laughter,'<sup>a</sup> the soul's gladness (*Leg. All.* iii. 43, 87),<sup>b</sup> or Happiness (*ib.* 217-219) in generic form (τὸ εὐδαιμονίας γένος, *Cher.* 8, 106, *Det.* 60, *Post.* 134), joy, the best of the good emotions,<sup>c</sup> given by God to soothe and cheer truly peaceful souls (*Mut.* 131). But chiefly he represents the virtue<sup>d</sup> or wisdom<sup>e</sup> or knowledge<sup>f</sup> which is self-learned or self-taught,<sup>g</sup> that which is by nature<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* i. 82, ii. 82, iii. 43, 87, 217-219, *Cher.* 8, 106, *Det.* 60, 124f, *Post.* 134, *Plant.* 168f, *Mut.* 137, 157, 161, 166f, *Abr.* 201-204, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54, *Praem.* 31.

<sup>b</sup> So *Mut.* 157-161; cf. γέλως ἐνδιάθετος, 131.

<sup>c</sup> εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστη χαρά, *Congr.* 36, *Mut.* 1, 130f, 264, *Abr.* 201-204, *Praem.* 31-35, 50; cf. *Mut.* 261, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54.

<sup>d</sup> ἀρετή, *Mig.* 125, *Congr.* 34-36, *Som.* i. 167-169, *Abr.* 52, 54, *Praem.* 31, 50.

<sup>e</sup> σοφία, *Post.* 78, *Quod Deus* 4, *Sob.* 9, *Congr.* 37, cf. 111.

<sup>f</sup> ἐπιστήμη, *Sob.* 9, *Som.* i. 160.

<sup>g</sup> See notes a and b, p. 326.

<sup>h</sup> φύσις, *Mut.* 88, *Som.* i. 160, 167, 171, *Abr.* 52, 54, *Praem.* 31; φυσική, *Abr.* 52.

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Thus he belongs to the second and higher triad of those who yearn for virtue,<sup>a</sup> not so much men as values—Abraham (by teaching), Isaac (by nature<sup>b</sup>), Jacob (by practice). All alike are God-lovers and God-beloved (*Abr.* 48-56), all are wise men (*Som.* i. 167); but Isaac's is the higher gift (*Sac.* 5-7 & [N], *Som.* i. 169), so he is often favourably contrasted with the other two,<sup>c</sup> though once Philo inconsistently admits that nature cannot be complete without them (*Abr.* 53); and once he seems to indicate limitation in Isaac's apprehension of God (*Som.* i. 68 & n). This identification of Isaac with natural ability is not explained (see VI. Gen. Introd. p. xi & n)

Some other contrasts are interesting. Philo subordinates Abraham to Isaac even when following the narrative of Gen. xxii (*Mig.* 166f & n); when interpreting "The Lord God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac" (*Som.* i. 160f, 166-171); and God taught Abraham but begat Isaac (*ib.* 173). Jacob falls short of Isaac in the apprehension of the divine (*Som.* i. 68 & n). Ishmael, though elder in years, is spiritually junior to Isaac (*Sob.* 7-9; *cf.* *Mut.* 262f)

The usual epithet ('self-taught') for Isaac is *αὐτο-*

<sup>a</sup> This trinity appears in *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], *Sob.* 38n, *Mig.* 125 & [N], *Congr.* 34-38, *Mut.* 12 & [N], *Som.* i. 166-173, *Abr.* 48-56, *Praem.* 24-51, *cf.* *Leg. All.* ii. 59. See Vol. VI, Gen. Introd. pp. x-xii.

<sup>b</sup> But Isaac is 'perfection' in *Mut.* 12; see [N].

<sup>c</sup> *E.g.* *Som.* i. 167-173; *Congr.* 34-38, his is legitimate rather than 'concubine' knowledge; *Mut.* 88, he keeps the same name throughout; *Leg. All.* ii. 59, 'nakedness' from passion.

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μαθήης<sup>a</sup>; sometimes αὐτοδίδακτος<sup>b</sup> and αὐτή-  
κοος<sup>c</sup> are linked with it.<sup>d</sup> But φύσις (natural  
ability) is also used.<sup>e</sup> He is wise<sup>f</sup> and noble  
(ἀστέιος, *Som.* i. 171, *Abr.* 52, *cf.* γενναίος in  
*Som.* ii. 10), a lover of self-discipline (σωφροσύνη,  
*Congr.* 175), a man of faith (*Som.* i. 68), holy  
(ὅσιος, *Abr.* 52, *cf.* 172), excellent (ἄριστος,  
*Congr.* 175; σῶμα κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν ἄριστος, *Abr.*  
168), perfect in virtues<sup>g</sup> (*Sob.* 8f, *cf.* *Congr.* 38),  
the perfect good,<sup>h</sup> one who is free from passion  
(ἀπαθὲς εἶδος) and inviolable (ἀτρώτου γένους  
εἶδος, *Det.* 46 & n),<sup>i</sup> who has left behind his own  
self (*Quis Her.* 68). He is a prophet (*ib.* 261),  
and one of the founders of the race (*Mut.* 88; *cf.*  
*Som.* i. 167)

Isaac was the child promised (see *s.v.* *Gen.* xv. 4,  
xvii. 6f) to Abraham (the good man, etc.) and

<sup>a</sup> αὐτομαθήης, *Sac.* 6 & [N], 120[N], *Det.* 30, *Quod Deus* 4,  
*Post.* 78, *Plant.* 168, *Ebr.* 60, 94, *Sob.* 38n, 65, *Conf.* 74, 81,  
*Mig.* 29f, 101, 125 & [N], 140, 166, 167 & n, *Congr.* 24n,  
34, 36, 38, 111, *Fug.* 166, *Mut.* 1, 12 & [N], 88, 137, 255,  
263, *Som.* i. 68, 160, 168f, 194, ii. 10, *Praem.* 27, 59. *Cf.*  
μαθητῆς Θεοῦ, *Sac.* 7; ἱκανὸς διδάσκειν καὶ μαθάνειν οὐ δεόμενος,  
*Mig.* 140.

<sup>b</sup> αὐτοδίδακτος, *Post.* 78, *Fug.* 166, *Mut.* 88, *Som.* i. 160, ii.  
10, *Praem.* 27, 59.

<sup>c</sup> αὐτήκοος, *Plant.* 168, *Sob.* 65, *Som.* i. 160, 168f, *Praem.*  
27, 50.

<sup>d</sup> αὐτουργός, *Plant.* 168.

<sup>e</sup> φύσις, *Plant.* 168, *Fug.* 168, *Mut.* 88, *Som.* i. 160, 167-  
171, *Abr.* 52, 54, *Praem.* 31.

<sup>f</sup> πάνσοφος, *Cher.* 47, *Sac.* 43; σοφός, *Sob.* 9, *Fug.* 200,  
*Som.* i. 167. *Cf.* note e, p. 324.

<sup>g</sup> ἀρετή, *Cher.* 40. *Cf.* note d, p. 324.

<sup>h</sup> τέλειον ἀγαθόν, *Mut.* 188, *cf.* 88, 166; ἀγαθὸς καὶ τέλειος,  
*Som.* i. 162; τέλειος, *Sac.* 43; *cf.* τελειότης, *Mut.* 12 & [N].

<sup>i</sup> See further below, on *Gen.* xxvi. 2.

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Sarah (virtue) in their old age. They both greet this with laughter, and the offspring of them both is laughter itself (*Leg. All.* iii. 217f).<sup>a</sup> God's covenant would be with him (*Gen.* xvii. 19); this praise even before his birth is because joy gladdens in anticipation, and therefore God held Isaac worthy of his great name and of a great endowment (*ib.* 85-87). This male child (one free from all womanish feelings—*πάθος*) is to be named by the feeling he raises in Abraham, namely joy (*Mut.* 261).<sup>b</sup> Isaac is the most perfect thank-offering given to Abraham by the divine potencies after their visit (*Gen.* xviii. 9f, *Cher.* 106); while his answer to their question, "Where is Sarah?" is fitting: Virtue is in the soul, but Happiness can only come with the exercise of it—that is, when Sarah conceives and bears Isaac, happiness in its totality (*Det.* 60). "It had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women" (xviii. 11): this favourite text<sup>c</sup> applies to Isaac, for happiness is conceived when we are dead to the passions (*Cher.* 8 & [N]), when virtue is free from alloy (*Post.* 134), and the self-taught nature requires us to forsake those human ways of custom and mere reasoning (*Fug.* 167f, *cf. Ebr.* 60). Sarah "conceived and bare" (xxi. 2) not a man,<sup>d</sup> but a most pure thought, beautiful, not by practice but by nature (*Fug.* 167). Abraham was then one hundred years old (xxi. 5), the number irradiated by the self-taught nature,

<sup>a</sup> How they could laugh before laughter was born is discussed in *Mut.* 157, 166.

<sup>b</sup> See note c, p. 324.

<sup>c</sup> See *s.v.* Sarah.

<sup>d</sup> *Cf. Mig.* 140-142, *Mut.* 130f, *Som.* i. 172, *Abr.* 54f.

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Isaac, who is joy, the best of the good emotions <sup>a</sup> (*Mut.* 1, 188). "The Lord has made laughter for me" (xxi. 6, Lxx): as Isaac and laughter are the same, this means that God made or begat Isaac; for He Himself is the Father of the perfect nature, sowing and begetting happiness in men's souls (*Leg. All.* iii. 219, *Mut.* 130f, 137, *Som.* i. 173).<sup>b</sup> Sarah's rejoicing ("all that hear me will laugh with me") calls for fellowship in joy when one hears that Virtue has given birth to Happiness (*Leg. All.* ii. 82, *cf.* iii. 218f). The child gives rather than receives nourishment ('suck,' xxi. 7), being capable of teaching and not needing to learn (*Mig.* 140 & [N] and perhaps 29). The same interpretation is given for his being weaned (*Sob.* 7-9, *Mig.* 29, *Som.* ii. 10)

Abraham's (intended) sacrifice of Isaac is variously explained. It is, of course, no human being, but the fruit of a rich and fertile soul which is offered (*Mig.* 142, *Leg. All.* iii. 209); the sum offering of the mind that has reached the summit (*ib.* 139 & n, *cf. Abr.* 172); a fitting thank-offering, which illustrates what it is not to beget for oneself (*Quod Deus* 4): a perfect, undivided, whole burnt-offering (*cf. Som.* i. 194), because Isaac had no passion which breeds corruption (*Sac.* 110); the sacrifice of the good emotion of the understanding, that is, joy, showing that rejoicing is most clearly associated with God alone (*Abr.* 202, *Leg. All.* iii. 209).

<sup>a</sup> See note c, p. 324.

<sup>b</sup> So too *Cher.* 45, *Det.* 124f, where Isaac is also the offspring of wisdom, *i.e.* of Abraham (*cf. Abr.* 194); and *Mig.* 139-142, offspring of the soul, *i.e.* Sarah (*cf. Quod Deus* 4, where the soul is Abraham).



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Such an acknowledgement God fully rewards by returning the gift; so Isaac is saved (*ib.* 177, 203f) One further topic in the story <sup>a</sup>: "so they went both of them together" (xxii. 8) means with equal speed of mind rather than body along the road to holiness (*Abr.* 172); that is, the learner's virtue along with that of the self-taught, the pair being now capable of winning virtue's prize in equal measure (*Mig.* 166 & n, 167) <sup>b</sup>

"Isaac went into the plain to meditate at the eventide" (Gen. xxiv. 63, LXX). This means that he quits his own mind to be with God (*Leg. All.* iii. 43, *Det.* 29, cf. *Quis Her.* 68 on Gen. xv. 4, *Leg. All.* i. 82); the plain signifies the conquest of opposing principles, and Isaac is the champion unopposed who finds the field empty of all his adversaries (*Det.* 29-31)

"Abraham gave all that he had <sup>c</sup> unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines . . . Abraham gave gifts" (xxv. 5, 6): The real substances, the perfect virtues, are the possessions of the perfect and true-born only (*Sac.* 43); so Isaac alone receives substantial realities, graven on the heart (in contrast to idols, Gen. xxxi. 35) of the wise, the self-taught nature (*Congr.* 74). These 'substances' or 'realities' are the natural laws (*Mig.* 94 & n & [N], cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 197)

<sup>a</sup> Philo also treats of Abraham's binding of Isaac (*Quod Deus 4*) and their dialogue (*Fug.* 132-136, *Abr.* 173).

<sup>b</sup> "When this higher stage is reached the old antithesis between labour and natural gifts, between art the imitator and nature the creator, is wiped out." (Translator's note *ad loc.*)

<sup>c</sup> τὰ ὑπάρχοντα is each time taken as the philosophical term τὰ ὑπαρκτά, 'realities.' See *Mig.* 94[N].

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Isaac was warned not to enter Egypt (xxvi. 2, 3).

This means he was always spiritually 'naked' of passions and vices (*Leg. All.* ii. 59, *Det.* 46), and dwells in Wisdom-land (*Mig.* 29f, *Som.* i. 160). In *Conf.* 81 Philo perversely interprets the text to teach that the good man is a *sojourner* in the body but *dwells* in wisdom. His 'sporting' with Rebecca (xxvi. 8) was a divine pursuit (*Cher.* 8 & n & [N]), the sacred sporting of the soul with the one who waits patiently for all that is beautiful (*Plant.* 168-170)

Philo interprets Gen. xxiv. 67 so that he can qualify Isaac's *taking* a wife (rather than *receiving* one from God); so Isaac is included with those who, self-taught, are ready to accept from God Reason or Knowledge, the partner in the life of the wise (*Post.* 77f). No concubines of Isaac are mentioned: for the self-taught nature wants neither the practice (Jacob) nor the teaching (Abraham) which entails the need of the concubine as well as the legitimate forms of knowledge; he is the husband of no slavish arts, but of the queen and mistress of virtue, constancy (*Congr.* 34-38, 111). Philo goes further: Isaac and the other lovers of wisdom and those of like spirit did not know women, but rather rejected sense.<sup>a</sup> Their wives are called women, but are really virtues, Rebecca being 'steadfastness in excellence' (*Cher.* 40f, 47, *cf.* *Post.* 62)

Of Isaac's death (xxxv. 29, "he was added to his people"—γένος) it is said that self-learnt knowledge is translated into the genus of the im-

<sup>a</sup> αἰσθησις is Philo's regular interpretation of Eve or generic woman.

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perishable and fully perfect (*Sac.* 6f & [N])

- I. *Leg. All.* i. 82, ii. 59, 82, iii. 43, 85-87, 177, 209, 217-219, II. *Cher.* 8 & n & [N], 40f, 47, 106, *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], 43, 64, 110, 120[N], *Det.* 29-31, 46 & n, 60, 124f, *Post.* 62, 77f, 134, III. *Quod Deus* 4, 92 & [N], *Plant.* 78f, 168-170, *Ebr.* 60, 94, 119f, *Sob.* 7-9, 38n, 65, IV. *Conf.* 74, 81, *Mig.* 26n, 29, 94, 101, 125 & n & [N], 126, 139, 140 & [N], 142n, 166, 167 & n, *Quis Her.* 8, 68, 251, 261, *Congr.* 24n, 34-38, 70, 111, 175, V. *Fug.* 48, 132, 166f, 200, *Mut.* 1, 12 & [N], 13, 88, 130f, 137, 157, 161, 166f, 175-177, 188, 190, 218, 230, 252f, 255, 261-264, *Som.* i. 3, 14, 38, 68 & n, 159 & n, 160, 162f, 166-173, 194f, *Som.* ii. 10, VI. *Gen. Introd.* pp. x, xi & n, xii, xvi f, *Abr.* 485-6, 168-177, 188, 192-207, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54, VIII. *Virt.* 207 & n, 208, *Praem.* 24, 27, 31-35, 50, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 70[N]
- Ishmael : bastard <sup>a</sup> son of Abraham by Hagar. Hagar is the *προπαιδεύματα* of the Schools, the lower learning ; and so her son <sup>b</sup> represents sophistry. <sup>c</sup> He is contrasted with the true-born son, Isaac : Ishmael, though elder in years, is spiritually junior to Isaac, <sup>d</sup> his sophistry contrasts with

<sup>a</sup> *νόθος*, *Sob.* 8, cf. *Fug.* 208.

<sup>b</sup> Ishmael is closely linked with Hagar in *Cher.* 8, *Post.* 130-132, *Congr.* 127-129, *Fug.* 204, 208-212 & n, *Mut.* 255.

<sup>c</sup> *σοφιστεία*, *Cher.* 9, *Sob.* 9 ; *σοφιστής*, *Cher.* 8, 10, *Sob.* 9, *Congr.* 129, *Fug.* 209-211.

<sup>d</sup> *Gen.* xxi. 14-16 uses *παῖδιον* of Ishmael, and so he is a 'child' compared with Isaac. In *Post.* 130f Philo makes this 'child' the soul just beginning to crave after instruction ; when grown to manhood it becomes the sophist (xxi. 20). In *Fug.* 208 Ishmael is inferior to Israel (*seeing* God), who is a true-born son. Philo evidently has in mind the inferiority of Ishmael (*νόθος*, *Sob.* 8) to Isaac (*γνήσιος*).

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Isaac's wisdom (*Sob.* 8f); he is the progeny of teaching, Isaac is self-taught (*Mut.* 255, *cf.* 218f, 263). So Hagar and the sophist Ishmael, with his child's play, are cast out when generic happiness (Isaac) is born, whose 'play' (with Rebecca) is divine (*Cher.* 8 & [N])

Philo equates Ishmael with sophistry because he is the child of Hagar; but Gen. xxi. 20, "and he became an archer," is used to develop the theme, for whatever point he sets forth as a target, at this he discharges proofs like arrows, with sure aim (*Post.* 131); he is the quarrelsome sophist who shoots or is shot at with the bow (*Congr.* 129), loving to argue and shoot at men of every kind of learning, and of course being shot at in return (*Fug.* 209-211)

Philo treats Gen. xv. 11f, giving the meaning of Ishmael's name (see below), and explaining ἄγροικος as his 'country' wisdom, compared with the more civilized, gentle virtue (*Fug.* 208f); and xxi. 19: Hagar 'watered' Ishmael with the same incomplete education as her own (*Post.* 130), with gradual progress (*προκοπαῖς*, 132). But it is Abraham's prayer in xvii. 18, "Let Ishmael live before Thee," which obtains the fullest treatment (*Mut.* 201-263). *Ishmael* means 'hearing God' (202, *Fug.* 208)—he was so named because Hagar was chastened by hearing the words of God (*Fug.* 208)—so Philo discusses right and wrong hearing (*Mut.* 201-205). It is spiritual *life* which is concerned, that what Ishmael hears from God may abide and inflame him (209f), that his may be the sum happiness of living *before God*, that is, the mind knowing that God's eye is

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always watching over him (216f). The prayer teaches that the soul may be inadequate to receive God's greatest gifts (*i.e.* Isaac), but it must dedicate what gifts it has and cherish these lesser ones (220-227). God's answer to the prayer is two gifts rather than one: Ishmael will flourish, but with Isaac the greater gift is given (252f, 255, 263)

I. Gen. Introd. p. xvii, II. *Cher.* 8 & [N], *Post.* 130-132, III. *Sob.* 8f, IV. *Congr.* 127-129, V. *Fug.* 1, 204, 208-212 & n, *Mut.* 201-263 (esp. 201f, 204, 209f, 216f, 252f, 255, 263), VI. *Abr.* 253f, VIII. *Virt.* 206n

Ishmaelites : (VI. *Jos.* 15, 27)

Isidorus : IX. *Flacc.* 20 & [N]-24, 125-127, 135-150, X. *Leg.* 355

Israel <sup>a</sup> : The proper preface to Philo's treatment of the nation is his interpretation of the individual, Jacob, renamed Israel. In some cases Philo links the nation onto the man (*e.g.* *Mig.* 199-201, *Conf.* 145-148) <sup>b</sup> ; in others he does not distinguish between the two (*e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 15, where Lev. xv. 31 is used to develop teaching on Jacob ; and, for the contrary, *Ebr.* 24, where the nation is called  $\delta$  Ἰσραηλῆς, Philo's regular term for Jacob ;

<sup>a</sup> Only passages containing the actual word(s) are included, with a few exceptions. Of course Philo often alludes to Israel without mentioning the name ; and that applies particularly to the biographical books. On the other hand, he repeatedly uses texts proper to Israel without any reference to context ; this makes a complete analysis almost impossible. See also Hebrews, Jews, Alexandrians.

<sup>b</sup> Sometimes, of course, Philo's text uses Jacob or Israel for the nation (*e.g.* *Num.* xxiii. 7, see *Conf.* 72).

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*cf.* 111). In one case it is Isaac with whom Israel is almost equated (*Fug.* 208)

For Philo Israel means 'seeing God,' and so he calls Israel 'the seeing one' or 'the race of vision.'<sup>a</sup> By Israel he usually means the mind or soul. Sometimes it is the good (or better) mind as a whole,<sup>b</sup> often faced with outward opposition<sup>c</sup>; sometimes it is the better part of it,<sup>d</sup> contrasted with a lower inward element represented by one of Israel's enemies<sup>e</sup>; sometimes divisions in Israel represent the conflicting elements of the soul.<sup>f</sup> But it would be unwise to press these distinctions

<sup>a</sup> (ὁ) ὁρῶν (τὸν Θεόν), *Leg. All.* ii. 34, iii. 15, 172, 186, 212, *Sac.* 134, *Post.* 63, 89-92, *Plant.* 58, *Sob.* 13, *Conf.* 56, 146, 148, 159, *Mig.* 113, 125, *Quis Her.* 78, *Congr.* 51, *Fug.* 208, *Som.* ii. 44, 172f, *Abr.* 57, *Leg.* 4, *cf. Agr.* 81, *Mig.* 200f, 224, *Congr.* 51, *Som.* ii. 279. τὸ ὁρατικὸν γένος, *Quod Deus* 144, *Conf.* 91f, *Mig.* 18, 54, *Mut.* 109, 189, 258, *Som.* ii. 279; ὁρατικός with τρόπος, *Plant.* 60; ψυχή, *Ebr.* 111, *Fug.* 139; διάνοια, *Mig.* 14; νοῦς, *Mut.* 209; ὁ ὁρατικός, οἱ ὁρατικοί. *Mig.* 163, *Plant.* 46f. Other expressions are used in *Sac.* 118-120, *Plant.* 58, *Conf.* 72, *Quis Her.* 279, *Fug.* 208, *Mut.* 203, 209, *Som.* i. 114, 172f.

<sup>b</sup> *E.g. Plant.* 58 (ψυχῶν σοφῶν θίασος), *Leg.* 5; *cf. Abr.* 58f, *Conf.* 148.

<sup>c</sup> *E.g. Mig.* 14, *Mut.* 209, where Israel is the population of the soul led out from Egypt, the body; *Mut.* 107, the ruling mind, swamped by Midianite sensuality.

<sup>d</sup> *E.g. Sac.* 119 (μεσαίτατον καὶ ἡγεμονικώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς) and *Abr.* 57 (ὄρασις ἢ διὰ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικοῦ προφέρει τὰς ἄλλας σοαὶ περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεις· αὕτη δέ ἐστι φρόνησις, ὅψις διανοίας).

<sup>e</sup> *E.g. Pharaoh (Det.* 91-95), the Egyptians (*Leg. All.* ii. 34, *Sac.* 134, *Conf.* 91f), Amalek (*Leg. All.* iii. 186).

<sup>f</sup> *Leg. All.* ii. 77f (the Israelites killed by serpents, οὐ τὸ ἄρχον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχόμενον τὸ λαῶδες), *Mig.* 18 (of the Exodus, τὰ θνητὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ ἀφθαρτα, κτλ.), *Quis Her.* 78f (of Manna, *cf. Mig.* 199-201, *Agr.* 79-81).

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This soul-vision is an unaided faculty, transcending any perception through instruction, symbolized by hearing (*Conf.* 72, 148, *Fug.* 208, *cf.* *Abr.* 57). It represents the highest kind of seeing, the sight of the truly Existing, superior to the contemplation of the heavens and the trivialities of the sophist (*Congr.* 51f, *cf.* *Abr.* 58, *Leg.* 5f, *Praem.* 43-46).<sup>a</sup> It is the sight of the understanding, namely wisdom (*Abr.* 57, *Plant.* 58), outstripping reason (*Leg.* 4-6, *cf.* *Praem.* 43-46). It means the acme of happiness (*Abr.* 58). In one passage Philo allows Israel to be eclipsed; if any cannot attain to being a son of God, the next place is to be a son of God's First Born, variously entitled as the Word, Israel, etc. Those who do are sons of God's invisible image, the Word, or 'sons of Israel' (*Conf.* 145-148)

On the nation itself Philo makes little direct comment, though much can be inferred from its symbolical precedence. He calls it 'beloved of God' (*Mig.* 113) and 'the best of races' (*Congr.* 51), and describes it as a plant whose root was Abraham (*Quis Her.* 279). In *Mos.* i. 67 he says that the Burning Bush was a symbol of the suffering people

- I. *Gen.* *Introd.* p. xvi, *Leg. All.* ii. 34, iii. 11, 15, 172, 186, 194n, 212-214, II. *Sac.* 118-120 & [N], 134f, *Det.* 67, 91 & [N]-95, *Post.* 54, 63, 89, 92, 158, III. *Quod Deus* 144f, *Agr.* 81 & [N], *Plant.* 46f, 58-60, 63, *Ebr.* 24, 77, 79n, 82f, III. *Sob.* 13, 19, IV. *Conf.* 36, 56 & n, 72, 91-94, 145-148, 150,

<sup>a</sup> But it may be of interest to notice *Quis Her.* 279, where Israel is *σκεπτικὸν καὶ θεωρητικὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων*, and *Som.* ii. 17, *νοῦς θεωρητικὸς Θεοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου*.

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- Mig.* 14f, 18, 25, 26 & n, 54, 113f, 125, 163 & n, 200f, 224, *Quis Her.* 19, 78, 117, 124, 203, 251, 279, *Congr.* 51, 86, 177n, V. *Fug.* 139, 208, *Mut.* 107, 109, 189, 207-209, 258-260, *Som.* i. 62, 71, 77, 89, 114, 117, ii. 44, 172f, 222, 271, 279f, VI. *Abr.* 56-59, *Mos.* i. 294n, ii. 186n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 51n, 100n, 131n, 303n, 319n, ii. 82n, 145n, 163n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 13n, 55n, *Virt.* 34[N], 75n, 92n, 120n, X. *Leg.* *Introd.* pp. xv, xx f, 4-6 & n
- Issachar** : Leah's fifth son, born after Judah ('Praise'), means 'pay' or 'reward'; for the thanksgiver finds in thanksgiving itself an all-sufficient reward (*Plant.* 134-136). Elsewhere Issachar signifies the man of toil (*Gen.* xlix. 15; so *Mig.* 221) who is worthy of reward. Thus in *Leg. All.* i. 79-83, 80[N], he represents the man who *exercises* good sense, labouring in noble deeds, and not in vain, for he is rewarded by God; so too in *Som.* ii. 34, where Philo suggests the deeds themselves may constitute the perfect reward; in *Ebr.* 94 he symbolizes those worthy of rewards because they have toiled in the acquisition of virtue
- I. *Leg. All.* i. 79, 80 & n & [N], 83, ii. 94, III. *Plant.* 134-136, *Ebr.* 94, IV. *Mig.* 221, V. *Fug.* 73, *Som.* ii. 34
- Italy, Italian** : I. *Leg. All.* i. 62, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 48, *Aet.* 139, *Flacc.* 109, 125, 157f, 173, X. *Leg.* 10, 108, 116, 155, 159, 252
- Ithamar** : (*Exod.* xxviii. 1), V. *Som.* ii. 186, VI. *Mos.* ii. 276 & n

**Jabal** : see *s.v.* *Jobel*

**Jacob** : Jacob, the third of the three great Patriarchs,



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is usually ὁ ἀσκητής, the Practiser <sup>a</sup>; but, following the derivation in Gen. xxvii. 36, Philo also uses ὁ περηνιστής, περηνίζων, the Supplanter <sup>b</sup>; much less often, Israel, and almost always with reference to the change of name.<sup>c</sup> Jacob symbolizes the soul (e.g. *Som.* i. 128, 179-181, *Abr.* 52) or mind (e.g. *Quis Her.* 256) or reason,<sup>d</sup> especially as the type of those who learn by practise, making gradual progress,<sup>e</sup> with toil.<sup>f</sup> In this he is often compared with Abraham and Isaac.<sup>g</sup> Otherwise his particular significance is mostly suggested by the Genesis narratives, so that we find Jacob repeatedly contrasted with Esau or Laban <sup>g</sup>

When Isaac's wife Rebecca eventually conceived she learned she had twins and that the elder would serve the younger (Gen. xxv. 23, *Congr.* 129); for God foreknew their potential faculties, and that Jacob, the good character endowed

<sup>a</sup> ἀσκητής itself is used nearly sixty times; if we include the cognate words ἀσκητικός, ἀσκησις, ἀσκέω, there are nearly a hundred occurrences. Usually it is ὁ ἀσκητής, occasionally with a noun in apposition (νοῦς, ἀρετή) or with a descriptive genitive (σοφίας, καλῶν); or ἀσκητικός (λόγος, τρόπος, ψυχὴ διάνοια, βίος, ἀρετή, μελέται). The translators have varied their renderings—Practiser, Self-trained, (self-)disciplined, man of earnest effort, devotee of virtue, etc.

<sup>b</sup> *Leg. All.* i. 61, ii. 89, iii. 15, 93, 180, *Sac.* 42, 135, *Mig.* 200, cf. *Quis Her.* 252, *Mut.* 81, *Som.* i. 171.

<sup>c</sup> See below.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ λογισμὸν, *Som.* i. 180; πρεσβύτερος λόγος, *Mut.* 94; πρεσβύτερος ὀρθὸς λόγος, *Som.* ii. 135.

<sup>e</sup> προκόπτω, προκοπή. *Det.* 5, 51, *Sac.* 120, *Post.* 78, *Conf.* 72.

<sup>f</sup> πόνος, *Leg. All.* iii. 15, *Cher.* 46, *Sac.* 120, *Mig.* 214, *Congr.* 35, *Fug.* 14, *Mut.* 84-86, 88, *Som.* i. 120, 127, 168, 179, *Jos.* 223, cf. 230, *Praem.* 27, 36. Cf. ἀγωνία, *Mut.* 81, *Som.* i. 168.

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with reason, would dominate the slavish, base and irrational Esau (*Leg. All.* iii. 88f, *cf. Congr.* 129, *Praem.* 63). Esau was ἄγρoυκοs, Jacob ἄπλαστος (xxv. 27). Philo exploits the adjectives to point the contrast: Jacob's nature is simple, unfabricated, in contrast to Esau, whose very name suggests fabrication to Philo (*Plant.* 44). Jacob dwelt in a house, that is, virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 2), but Esau is houseless (*Congr.* 61f). Esau surrenders to Jacob his birthright (xxv. 29-34). This is the victory <sup>a</sup> of the practiser of excellence in his unrelenting warfare against the passions (*Sac.* 17f, 120), the bad man's power "fainting" at Jacob's "seething" reason (*ib.* 81 & n). Though Esau is the elder, Jacob is proved morally senior (*Sac.* 17f, *Sob.* 26). In the story of Jacob cheating Esau of their father's blessing, Jacob says Esau is hairy, he himself smooth (λεῖοs, xxviii. 11). This smoothness signifies Jacob's nakedness of soul (*i.e.* freedom from passion; in *Mig.* 153, singleness of aim), which his marrying Leah (Λεία) confirms (*Leg. All.* ii. 59 & n). Isaac's surprise at the *speed* with which the venison was brought (xxvii. 20) also interests Philo: Jacob found quickly because God imparts wisdom to his disciples and the slow stages of learning are by-passed (*Sac.* 64, *Quod Deus* 92f, *Ebr.* 120, *Fug.* 168f). Philo contrives other contrasts with Esau from the same text (see *Quis Her.* 252-254 & n). Jacob had hardly gone out when Esau entered (xxvii. 30, *Ebr.* 9), for the exodus of virtue works the entrance of evil, and vice versa—but only to find himself supplanted

<sup>a</sup> *Cf.* p. 339, note a.

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(xxvii. 36, *Sac.* 134f). This is the soul's victory over passion (*Leg. All.* iii. 190f, *cf. Mig.* 208, *Quis Her.* 252n).<sup>a</sup> Esau's blessing says he is to serve Jacob (xxvii. 40): it is the chance for the ignorant to learn from the wise (*Leg. All.* iii. 193, *cf. Quod Omn. Prob.* 57), for the rebellious and warring nature to submit to self-control (*Congr.* 175f)<sup>b</sup>

Rebecca then advised Jacob to flee to her brother Laban (xxvii. 42-45). This was a flight from evil (Esau), but also from perfect virtue (his parents), giving him the chance to know himself (*Fug.* 42-47), a flight from intellect to the senses, when discretion required it (*Mig.* 208-211): it is politic to avoid action too antithetical (*Fug.* 27), and sense-perception is a useful second-best refuge (*Som.* i. 41-46). In any case it was only a temporary measure. Jacob "journeyed to Haran and met a place" (xxviii. 10f). This place is the Logos, intermediate to the perception of God (*Som.* i. 68-70),<sup>c</sup> for direct illumination has been withdrawn (*ib.* 115-117). It is also the Logos that Jacob uses for the pillow of his mind (127f). The dream of the Ladder and its allegorical significance are treated at length

<sup>a</sup> In *Mig.* 208 Jacob is said to be τέλειος τὴν ψυχὴν (contr. *Fug.* 40); but perfection is usually associated with the wrestling victory and his change of name. See below, p. 347, note *e*.

<sup>b</sup> ἐγκράτεια, *Quis Her.* 254, *Congr.* 31, 175, *Som.* ii. 15.

<sup>c</sup> The 'place' is on the way to Haran, and might have been intermediate in a local sense. But Philo seems to assume that Jacob has arrived at Sense-perception (Haran), and that (the incident in) this place is on the way to his vision of God (Israel).

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(see *Som.* i. 133-188, and the Analytical Summary, V. pp. 289-291)

When Rachel demanded children of him, thinking that sense-perception and mind can procreate all things (*Post.* 179 ; virtue, *Leg. All.* iii. 180), Jacob expostulated, saying that he was not in the place of God (xxx. 1f), that is, that God is antecedent to the mind and the only Cause (*Leg. All.* ii. 46f)

Jacob and Laban divided the flocks. Jacob's share was the variegated beasts, Laban's those without mark (xxx. 42). This division represents that between things approved by their stamp, awarded by God to the lover of instruction, and those having no mark, assigned to the man of ignorance (*Quis Her.* 180, *Fug.* 9f). The soul can refuse impressions, or it can submissively receive indelible stamps (*ib.* 181). In *Fug.* 11 ἐπίσημος<sup>a</sup> passes to Jacob himself as champion of a theistic philosophy against the materialist Laban ; the world is created, and each thing has been shaped and marked by God's Word. Jacob's dream about the flocks (xxxi. 10ff, *Som.* i. 189-256) refers to the couplings and breedings of thoughts (*Som.* i. 197), the mating of well-endowed souls with perfect virtues (200), 'variegated' like the branches of knowledge (205). Jacob flees from Laban (xxxi. 20f). This was flight inspired by hatred<sup>b</sup> (*Fug.* 4), shared by the faculties and virtues of the Practiser.<sup>c</sup> It is the soul's flight

<sup>a</sup> In *Som.* i. 202 ἐπίσημος may have suggested 'genuine' coinage ; see note.

<sup>b</sup> The earlier flight from Esau was one of fear.

<sup>c</sup> ἀσκητικαὶ δυνάμεις, *i.e.* Rachel and Leah, Gen. xxxi. 14-16 ; *Fug.* 14f, *cf. Congr.* 31.

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from materialism (*ib.* 8), from folly (14), from the passions (22, *Leg. All.* iii. 15-19), to the height and greatness of virtue (Gilead)

The wrestling of Gen. xxxii. 24f marks a stage in the soul's progress, as contrasted with Jacob's victory and new name (xxxii. 28, *Mig.* 200). It is the exercise given by the Logos to the pupil-athlete to develop his strength (*Som.* i. 129, *Mut.* 14 & n; contrast *Mig.* 27). In *Mut.* 14, *Som.* i. 131, it represents the quest for virtue. In *Praem.* 48 it is apparently a wrestling against passions within himself. The numbing of the thigh ligament is the paralysing of conceit (*ib.* 47f), a voluntary disabling (*Som.* i. 131), yet the reward for victory (*Praem.* 47, *Som.* i. 130); but in *Mut.* 187 we are told that virtue is not sound-footed in our mortal and bodily nature, but limps a little. Elsewhere the reward is the vision of God (*Mut.* 82, *cf.* *Som.* i. 129). Apart from all this, the 'wrestling' has provided Philo with a metaphor which he uses frequently to describe the Practiser's conflict against the passions (see below)

After the wrestling Jacob was told, "thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel shall thy name be. Because thou hast been strong with God and mighty with men" (xxxii. 28). The second part of the verse indicates the soul's inward and outward purity; to win honour in its duty towards the uncreated and the created demands a mind truly midway between the world and God (*Mut.* 44f); the soul wholeheartedly following virtue will respect both parents, right reason (father), which teaches it

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to honour the Father of all, and instruction (mother), which introduces custom and convention (*Ebr.* 80-83). The change of name from Jacob to Israel is for Philo the most significant incident in Jacob's career. Generally it is associated with his wrestling victory: the prize is the vision of God, Israel (*Mig.* 199-201, *Mut.* 81f, *Praem.* 27). Hitherto Jacob has been characterized by learning and progress, now he has attained perfection (*Ebr.* 82, *Som.* i. 119f, *Praem.* 36; contrast *Mut.* 87); toil in the quest for truth has given place to vision (*Leg. All.* iii. 15, *Praem.* 27); hearing<sup>a</sup> is replaced by eyesight (*Ebr.* 82, *Conf.* 72, *Mig.* 38, *Som.* i. 129); or, what was seen before, but dimly, is now seen clearly (*Mut.* 81f, *Som.* i. 177, *Praem.* 37); the irrational element has been conquered, the soul has achieved intellectual apprehension (*Mig.* 199-201). This is a reminting or remodelling of the soul (*μεταχαράττω*, *Mig.* 39, *Som.* i. 129f, 171). Different emphases are found according to the context. Thus in *Ebr.* 83 the advance which this change of name represents wins the approval of both parents, right reason and convention (see above). In *Mig.* 199-201 it is shown that seventy and five (the senses) were associated with Jacob, but seventy only (intellectual apprehension) with Israel. In *Sac.* 119f Reuben is son of Jacob but Levi son of Israel, because devout contemplation is proper to the service of God. Vision is an appropriate reward for the Practiser, as faith was for Abraham and joy for Isaac (*Praem.* 27),

<sup>a</sup> Learning depends upon hearing, but the vision of God represents that perfection which does so no longer.

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or because an active life goes with youth but a contemplative one suits old age (*ib.* 51 & [N]). In *Som.* i. 238-241 it is said that hitherto Jacob has mistaken the Logos for God, now he sees God Himself. In *Mut.* 83, 87 it is an angel rather than God that renames Jacob (contr. Abraham) because Jacob continues often to be called by his old name : he is not consistently perfect. In *Praem.* 44-46, on the other hand, it is stressed that the revelation of God is given by God Himself : seekers for truth see God through God (*cf.* 39f, and *Som.* i. 240). Philo sometimes gives the impression that it is the climax of Jacob's own achievement (*cf.* *Som.* i. 171, *Mig.* 199-201, *Mut.* 81f), but then emphasizes that it is a revelation (*e.g.* *Praem.* 27, 36-39, *cf.* *Som.* i. 240). The vision of God only revealed that God is, not what He is (*Praem.* 39). Once or twice Israel is used for Jacob without reference to the renaming (*e.g.* *Leg. All.* ii. 46 & [N],<sup>a</sup> *Quod Deus* 121). Otherwise Israel refers to the nation, see *s.v.* Israel. In *Ebr.* 24 the nation is termed ' the Practiser '

Only a few of Philo's further comments on the narrative need be added. " In my rod I crossed this Jordan " (xxxii. 10) is the mind crossing over the lower nature by schooling (*Leg. All.* ii. 89). The hiding of the strange gods (xxxv. 4) is the hiding, guarding, and destroying of passions (*Leg. All.* iii. 23, 27). " The God who feedeth me from my youth up unto this day, the Angel who delivereth me out of all my ills, bless these boys "

<sup>a</sup> ὁ βλέπων, although in a context chronologically earlier than the renaming.

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(Jacob's words in *xlvi. 15*): from this Philo deduces that God rather than the Word feeds Jacob, that is, the principal boons (the various forms of knowledge) are from God Himself, the secondary gifts (remedial) from His Word (*Leg. All. iii. 177, Fug. 66*); or, that sustenance is from God rather than created things like rain (*Quod Deus 157f*); or, that God gives the good for virtue-loving souls, while angels have the province of evils for punishment (*Conf. 181, Fug. 67*). *Mut. 41* deals with another phrase, "pleasing before God" rather than *to Him*

"Jacob departed and was added to his people" (*xlix. 33*). Like Abraham, he inherited incorruption and joined the angels, advancing to something better (*Sac. 5*)

*Mut. 81f* tells of Jacob's practice of virtue and warfare (*Som. i. 174, 255*) against the passions,<sup>a</sup> and this passage happens to contain most of the links in the chain of Philo's terms for this. Jacob is the *supplanter* of Esau, hence the supplanter of the passions (*Leg. All. ii. 89, iii. 93, Sac. 42*), which he is even said to hunt (*Quis Her. 252 & n*). He is the practised *wrestler* (*πάλην ἡσκηκόςτος, Leg. All. iii. 190*), so the struggle is a contest or bout (*Congr. 31, Mig. 200, Som. i. 129, 255*); the *practised* or *trained* wrestler, so we find athletic metaphors (*γεγυμνασμένος, ἀθλητής, etc.*).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> His struggle is also directed against ignorance (*Det. 3*), the irrational element (*Mig. 200*), vainglory (*Som. i. 255*), effeminacy (*ib. 126*).

<sup>b</sup> *γυμνάζω, etc., Sob. 65, Mut. 84f; ἀθλέω, ἀθλητής, etc., Mig. 26f, Congr. 70, Fug. 43, Som. i. 126, 131, 168, 179, cf. Jos. 230, Virt. 210; and both in Mig. 199f, Som. i. 129, 251, Abr. 48, Jos. 26, 223.*



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This of course suggests that the vision of God is a *prize* (see above)

Esau provides the most frequent contrast to Jacob, representing passion<sup>a</sup> or wickedness and vice,<sup>b</sup> folly or ignorance,<sup>c</sup> the irrational.<sup>d</sup> Once Esau and Jacob are types of the twin natures in man (*Praem.* 63). Laban, too, is passion against Jacob's virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 18-22), but chiefly he represents the (objects of the) senses<sup>e</sup> and corporeal ideas,<sup>f</sup> materialist and atheist philosophy (*Fug.* 8f, 11, 46f); he champions particular qualities against Jacob's theism (*Cher.* 67), the laws of time-order (*Ebr.* 48), sophistry (*ib.* 50); he represents ignorance and lack of schooling,<sup>g</sup> folly,<sup>h</sup> vainglory (*Fug.* 47). With him are associated his daughters,<sup>i</sup> but as the wives of Jacob they are faculties or virtues of the Practiser<sup>j</sup>

But it is the relationship of Abraham and Isaac to Jacob which most interests Philo. The three form an educational trinity representing the spiritual knowledge or virtue which is reached

<sup>a</sup> Passion, *Leg. All.* iii. 2, 190-192, *Sac.* 17f, 42, 81, *Quis Her.* 252-254, *Virt.* 208, *Praem.* 59.

<sup>b</sup> Wickedness, *Sac.* 134f, *Det.* 45f, *Mig.* 208, *Congr.* 129.

<sup>c</sup> Folly, *Sac.* 17, *Ebr.* 10, *Sob.* 26, *Congr.* 61, 175, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57; cf. *Virt.* 209, *Praem.* 59. Ignorance, *Fug.* 39-43.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἄλογον, *Leg. All.* iii. 88f, *Praem.* 59; φαῦλον also in *Sac.* 18, *Virt.* 209.

<sup>e</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 15-17, 20-22, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28, *Fug.* 22, 45.

<sup>f</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 15, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28.

<sup>g</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 20, cf. *Quis Her.* 180, *Fug.* 14.

<sup>h</sup> *Agr.* 42, *Fug.* 14, 16, 45.

<sup>i</sup> E.g., *Cher.* 67, *Leg. All.* iii. 20.

<sup>j</sup> E.g., *Cher.* 40 & [N], *Post.* 62, *Congr.* 24 & n-33, *Quis Her.* 43, *Fug.* 15.

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by teaching (Abraham), nature (Isaac), practice (Jacob).<sup>a</sup> Most of what Philo has to say about Jacob has been governed by his being the Practiser of virtue : and that rôle was chosen for him because of Philo's wish to reproduce an educational trinity in the Patriarchs. They are compared with each other in these particulars : they are all founders of the race (*Mut.* 88, *cf.* *Jos.* 172), God names Himself by them (*Mut.* 12, *Mos.* i. 76), their descent has spiritual significance<sup>b</sup> (*Som.* i. 166-170), they have certain qualities in them, whether these are potential or active (*Sob.* 38), they are sojourners only (*Conf.* 79-81), their deaths are a progress to something better (*Sac.* 5-7). They represent learning by teaching, by nature, by practice<sup>c</sup> ; *Mig.* 125 offers a variation on the theme : the Patriarchs are the threefold divisions of eternity (see note). Isaac is once or twice distinguished from Abraham and Jacob<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], *Sob.* 38 & n, *Conf.* 79-81, *Mig.* 125 & [N], *Congr.* 34-36, *Mut.* 12 & [N], 83-88, *Som.* i. 166-170, *cf.* 160, 173, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. x & n, xi & n, *Abr.* 48-55, *Jos.* 1, *Mos.* i. 76, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi, *Praem.* 24-27, 49-51 & [N], 57ff. The threefold education is also mentioned, without reference to the Patriarchs, in *Leg.* 320.

<sup>b</sup> Abraham is called ' father ' of Jacob in Gen. xxviii. 13. But see also the passages where Philo speaks of Abraham being grandfather of Jacob's knowledge : *Sac.* 43, *Som.* i. 47 & [N], 70, *cf.* *Quod Deus* 92 & [N].

<sup>c</sup> διδασκαλία, φύσις, ἄσκησις are found in *Sob.* 38 (*Conf.* 79-81), *Abr.* 48-55, *Jos.* 1 (μάθησις for διδασκαλία), *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 24-27, 49-51, 57ff. There is a variation in *Mut.* 12, but see [N].

<sup>d</sup> Their names are changed, Isaac's not (*Mut.* 83-88). They married several women, Isaac only one (*Congr.* 34-36)—but in *Cher.* 40f the patriarchs have nothing to do with women, for they reject sense : their wives are virtues. Isaac might

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Jacob's character never suffers eclipse with Philo.

He is the practiser of virtue, the supplanter of passion, at war for the one against the other (see above). His virtue or his being a type of virtue is constantly referred to,<sup>a</sup> his pursuit of things noble,<sup>b</sup> his wisdom.<sup>c</sup> He is the man of worth.<sup>d</sup> He becomes perfect.<sup>e</sup> We are also told he is wealthy (*Det.* 13f), courageous (*Mut.* 214), holy (*Abr.* 52, *Jos.* 167), a prophet (*Quis Her.* 261), God-loving (*Abr.* 50) and God-beloved (*Sob.* 29, *cf. Som.* i. 243, *Jos.* 167, 200), one of the band of friends of God (*Som.* i. 196)

I. Gen. Introd. p. xii, *Leg. All.* i. 61, ii. 46 & [N], 89, 94-97, 103, iii. 15-23, 88f, 90, 93, 146, 177, 179-181, 190-195, II. *Cher.* 40, 41 & [N], 46, 67, *Sac.*

seem to lag behind! But Philo is not here thinking of the educational triad.

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 2, 15, 22, 89, 93, *Cher.* 40, *Sac.* 17f, 46, 134f, *Det.* 45, *Ebr.* 82f, *Sob.* 15, 65, *Conf.* 181, *Mig.* 27, 200, *Quis Her.* 256, *Congr.* 24, 35, 123, *Fug.* 21, 25, *Mut.* 14, 81, 83, 171f & nn, *Som.* i. 45, 121, 131, 174, 179, *Abr.* 50, 52, *Jos.* 1, 172, 230, *Mos.* i. 76, *Virt.* 210, *Praem.* 65.

<sup>b</sup> *Sac.* 17, *Sob.* 26, *Mig.* 153, *Fug.* 45, *Som.* i. 126, 131, 251, *Jos.* 4.

<sup>c</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 2, 25f, 195, *Sac.* 18, 48, 135, *Ebr.* 48, *Sob.* 27, *Mig.* 101, *Som.* i. 70, 169, 175f, 178, 205, 207, *Jos.* 191, *Mos.* i. 76, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 3, *Virt.* 223, *Praem.* 51. *Cf. Quod Deus* 119, *Quis Her.* 180, *Fug.* 45-47.

<sup>d</sup> ἀστειός, *Leg. All.* iii. 23, 89, 191, *Sac.* 5, *Conf.* 73, *Som.* i. 176.

<sup>e</sup> He becomes τέλειος by his victory over Esau (*Mig.* 208; but contrast *Fug.* 39f, 'child'); but in *Som.* i. 213 he is said to be not yet perfect, because Philo mostly thinks of Jacob reaching perfection after his wrestling victory, when he became Israel (*Ebr.* 82, *Mig.* 27, 199-201, 214, *Som.* i. 131). His perfection is through practice: *Agr.* 42, *Conf.* 181, *Congr.* 35. In *Mut.* 83-87 he does not remain consistently perfect even after the change of name.

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5, 17f, 42, 46-48, 64, 81 & n, 119f, 134f, *Det.* 3-5, 13f, 17, 45, 46 & n, 51 & n, 67, *Post.* 59 & [N], 62, 75f, 78, 89, 179, *Gig.* 22 [N], III. *Quod Deus* 92, 119-121, 157f, *Agr.* 42, *Plant.* 44, 90, 110 & [N], *Ebr.* 9f, 24, 48 & [N], 53, 82f, 120, *Sob.* 12, 15, 26-29, 38 & n, 65 & n, 66, IV. *Conf.* 72-74, 80, 181, 182n, *Mig.* 5, 26-30, 38f, 101, 125 & [N], 153f, 159f, 199-201, 207 & [N]-214, *Quis Her.* 38, 43, 180, 242[N], 251-254 & n, 256, 261, *Congr.* 24 & n, 31-35, 61f, 70, 99, 123, 129, 175f, V. *Fug.* 4, 7-52 (esp. 10, 23-25 & [N], 39-48 & 45[N], 52), 67, 143, *Mut.* 12 & [N]-14, 41, 44-46, 81-88, 92, 94, 97, 171 & n, 172 & n, 187, 210, 214f, *Som.* i. 1-2[N], 3f, 5n, 45-47 & [N], 61, 68-72, 112n, 115 & n-120, 125, 126 & n & [N]-133, 144, 150, 159 & n, 163, 166-182 & n, (183-188), 189f, 196-205, 207f & n, 213, 227f, 238, 240 & n, 249-256, *Som.* ii. 15, 19f, 66, 135, 136n, 141, 207 & n, VI. *Gen. Introd.* pp. x-xii, xv n, xvi f, *Abr.* 48-56, *Jos.* 1, 4f, 8-14, 20, 22-27, 163-270 (esp. 223, 230), *Mos.* i. 76, 239-242, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 3 & n, VIII. *Gen. Introd.* pp. xviii, xxi, *Virt.* 6n, 208 & n & [N]-210, 223f, *Praem.* 24-27, 36-39, 40n, 44 & n, 51, 57, 59f, 61n, 63, 65f & n & [N], 78[N], 166n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57, (*Flacc.* 74n), *Hyp.* 6. 1 & n

Jamneia : X. *Leg.* 200, 203

Japhet : praised for covering over the soul's sad change (I. *Leg. All.* ii. 63); Noah's prayer for Japhet (*Gen.* ix. 27) is that mind and body and external advantages may all contribute to his attaining the good (III. *Sob.* 59-61 & [N]), though his final home is to be the excellence of the soul (67f). See also III. *Sob. Introd.* p. 441

Jason : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 143

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Jehovah : VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 217n, 222n

Jeremiah : II. *Cher.* 49 & [N]. See Scripture Index

Jerusalem : the 'city of God' in one sense is the whole world ; in another sense it is the soul of the sage. Its name Jerusalem means 'vision of peace' ; and God is peace, and dwells in the peace-loving soul. (V. *Som.* ii. 246-254), IX. *Flacc.* 46, X. *Leg.* 156, 203, 220, 225, 231f, 278, 281, 288f, 312f, 315, 346

Jethro : Jethro symbolizes τῦφος, 'vanity.'<sup>a</sup> In Greek his name is περισσός, for which it is hard to find an equivalent in English.<sup>b</sup> His is the mind which welcomes conceit (τῦφος) in preference to truth, and conceit is an 'uneven' thing (περισσόν); the conceit that modifies basic principles and so deceives the true life (*Agr.* 43 & [N]); the vacillating opinion whose superficial wisdom (δοκησίσοφος) contrasts with the true wisdom of Moses (*Ebr.* 36f); the one who jeers at things equal (ἴσα) and necessary to life, and glorifies the inequalities of surplus (? 'covetousness' : πλεονεξίας ἄνισα σεμνύνων, *Mut.* 103 & n). Besides δοκησίσοφος (*Ebr.* 37, *Mut.* 105), Philo uses δημαγωγέω (*Ebr.* 37) and ἀσέβεια (*ib.* 41) of Jethro. For his interpretation of Jethro's advice to Moses see *Ebr.* 36-40 ; compare *Mut.* 103ff & nn, where Philo misrepresents the story

<sup>a</sup> τῦφος, *Gig.* 50, *Agr.* 43, *Ebr.* 36 (πλάσμα τῦφου), 40, *Mut.* 103, 114.

<sup>b</sup> Whitaker began with 'worldling' in *Sac.* 50 ; used 'uneven' in *Agr.* 43, and withdrew 'worldling' ; in *Mut.* 103 he chose 'superfluous.' See his notes on *Sac.* 50 and *Agr.* 43. περισσός is also used in *Gig.* 50.

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In Exod. ii. 18, Num. 10. 29, Moses' father-in-law is Raguel, which means 'the shepherding of God.' This change of name reflects a change of character in Jethro, who is won over to the herd of God in admiration of Moses' direction of it (*Mut.* 105). His connexion with Midian <sup>a</sup> signifies that he is the judicial justice-dispensing sort, with seven daughters symbolizing the seven faculties of the unreasoning element (*ib.* 110-120)

II. *Sac.* 50 & [N], *Post.* 77, *Gig.* 50, III. *Agr.* 43 & [N], *Ebr.* 36-45, IV. *Quis Her.* 44, V. *Mut.* 103-114, 104nn, VI. *Mos.* i. 52, 58f, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 173

Jews, Jewish <sup>b</sup>: In *Mos.* i. 67 Philo says that the Burning Bush was a symbol of the suffering Jews. In *Spec. Leg.* iv. 179 he remarks that the race is in the position of an orphan compared with the nations all around. In *Virt.* 65 he says that what others gain from philosophy the Jews gain from their customs and laws, that is, to know the Cause of all

VI. *Mos.* i. 7, 34, ii. 17, 25, 41, 193, 216, VII. *Decal.* 96, *Spec. Leg.* i. 97, ii. 163, 166, iii. 46, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 173-175 & n, 179, 224, *Virt.* 65, 108, 206, 212, 226, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29, 43, 57, 68, 75, *Aet.* 19, *Flacc.* 1, 21, 23f, 29, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54-56,

<sup>a</sup> It is as Jethro he is priest of Midian (Exod. iii. 1). Philo associates this good, judiciary character of Midian with Raguel (*Mut.* 110ff); perhaps he intended us to infer that the bad sense of Midian applies to Jethro, but omitted any explicit statement for lack of a convenient text to illustrate Jethro being 'sifted out.' See Midian.

<sup>b</sup> The references only include the passages in which the word occurs in the Greek text. See also Israel, Hebrews, Alexandrians.

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- 66, 73f, 80, 85f, 94, 96, 116, 170, 189, 191, **X. Leg.** 115, 117, 129, 133f, 154f, 157-160, 170, 182, 184, 194, 198, 200f, 205, 210, 216, 222, 226, 245, 248, 253, 256, 278, 282, 307, 311, 313, 315f, 330, 333, 335, 346, 350, 355, 368, 370f, 373
- Job** : **V. Mut.** 48, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** *Introd.* p. 5n, *Prov.* *Introd.* p. 449
- Jobel** : **II. Post.** 83-100. Son of Ada, and μέγιστον κακόν, for he removes the landmarks fixed by the natural order (83 ; by divine principles, 89), the boundaries of virtue fixed by right reason (91). His name means 'altering' (83, 93), and he changed the virtues for vices (93), adulterating the original coinage (98). He is the father of all those who rear what is not of the soul but of the senses (99)
- Jordan** : Jacob said, " In my rod I crossed this Jordan " (*Gen.* xxxii. 10)—the supplanter of the passions, the disciplined mind, by schooling himself crossed the lower nature : for Jordan means 'descent.' Philo adds that it would be ταπεινόν to take the verse at its face value, **I. Leg. All.** ii. 89. The three Cities of Refuge beyond Jordan are the three divine Potencies that are far removed from men, **V. Fug.** 87, 103. Add **VI. Mos.** i. 319, 330, **VII. Spec. Leg.** i. 158
- Joseph** : Philo's treatment in the Allegorical Commentary is most unfair to the Joseph we find in Genesis. Presumably this was forced upon him by his own allegorical scheme ; for most of Joseph's career takes place in Egypt, the type of the body and its passions, and he is there honoured as second only to Pharaoh, the anti-thesis of all that is good. In order to present

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Joseph in this unfavourable light, Philo often ignores texts uncongenial to his thesis, or misrepresents those which he does quote.<sup>a</sup> Nevertheless he does sometimes allow Joseph to have had good qualities <sup>b</sup> and to be a type of the good soul.<sup>c</sup> In the *De Josepho*, however, the whole approach is reversed; no praise can be too high for the Patriarch (*φύλαρχος*, *Jos.* i.), and only once does Philo hint at a flaw in his character.<sup>d</sup> Again and again we find what amounts to a categorical denial of things which he has said of him in the earlier works. An indication of this is given in Philo's discussion of Joseph's name. It means, he says, 'Addition'—of external advantages (*Mut.* 89f), of spurious qualities (*Som.* ii. 47), of vanity rather than simplicity (*ib.* 63). But in *Jos.* 28 it is 'Addition of a lord,' and refers—favourably—to his political career. For a further discussion of this see VI. Gen. Introd. pp. xii-xiv

Joseph is the politician,<sup>e</sup> attempting to 'keep in' with two worlds, the real and the sham, prepared to compromise (*Mig.* 158, 162, *Som.* ii. 14f) and

<sup>a</sup> Philo omits, *e.g.*, that Jacob loved Joseph and that he gave him the coat (xxxvii. 3a), and that the Lord was with Joseph and gave him favour with the gaoler (xxxix. 2a, 21); he misrepresents xxxix. 1 by applying 'eunuch' to the Joseph-soul (*Quod Deus* 111 & [N]), xxxvii. 33 by assuming the false allegation there to be true (*Som.* ii. 65f & n, *Jos.* 36), and perhaps 1. 7f (*Mig.* 159f). In *Mig.* 21 (see [N]) the misrepresentation is in Joseph's favour.

<sup>b</sup> Philo lists these in *Mig.* 18-24.

<sup>c</sup> *Fug.* 126-131, *Mut.* 214f.

<sup>d</sup> *Jos.* 34-36.

<sup>e</sup> *ὁ πολιτικός*, *Leg. All.* iii. 179, *Jos.* 1, *ὁ πολιτικός τρόπος*, *Fug.* 126, *cf. Mig.* 159, *Som.* i. 221, *πολιτεία*, *Det.* 6, *Som.* i. 78, 219f. See p. 354, note c.



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to subordinate truth to expediency or falsehood (*Det.* 7, *Som.* i. 220), accommodating himself to both body and soul (*Mig.* 159, *cf.* *Som.* ii. 11, i. 78); and, being a politician, he is often given to worldly and unspiritual ambitions (*Mig.* 163, *cf.* *Som.* i. 219f, ii. 12, 16; contrast *Fug.* 126), he is eager for vainglory,<sup>a</sup> self-opinionated,<sup>b</sup> presumptuous (*Som.* ii. 99), swollen-headed with vanity<sup>c</sup>

Because Egypt is the scene of his activity, his πολιτεία is connected with the body (*Som.* i. 78, *cf.* *Mig.* 159); his responsible position signifies care for the body (*Post.* 96, *Sob.* 13, *Mut.* 90, *Som.* ii. 42, 46). So Joseph is the lover of the body and its passions,<sup>d</sup> the champion of the body and externals,<sup>e</sup> fond of luxury (*Som.* ii. 9, 16). From his mother he inherited the irrational strain of sense-perception (τὸ ἄλογον αἰσθήσεως, *Som.* ii. 16), and it found expression in his marriage (*Som.* i. 78 & n), his fondness for Benjamin (*Mig.* 203), and his corn laws (*ib.*).<sup>f</sup> Yet Joseph is a Hebrew, 'emigrant' from sense-perception (*Mig.* 20, *cf.* *Som.* ii. 107), although in Egypt, he is ruler rather than subject (*Mig.* 20, *Quis Her.* 256), he is proof

<sup>a</sup> κενὴ δόξα, *Agr.* 56, *Sob.* 15, *Som.* ii. 12, 16, 42, 78, 93-99, 115, 155, *cf.* *Mig.* 21; δοξομανέω, *ib.* 114.

<sup>b</sup> Δοκησίσοφος, *Leg. All.* iii. 179.

<sup>c</sup> ποικίλος τοῦ βίου τύφος, *Conf.* 72; *cf.* *Mig.* 161 & [N], *Som.* ii. 46f, 63f, 66, 95, 98, 115, 139.

<sup>d</sup> Ὁ φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς νοῦς, *Quod Deus* 111, *Mig.* 16; see also *Quod Deus* 120, *Agr.* 56, *Som.* ii. 16.

<sup>e</sup> Of the three goods, soul, body, and externals (see *Det.* 7[N]), Joseph is concerned with the lower two: so *Sob.* 13, *Mig.* 22 & n, 203. In *Det.* 7 and *Som.* ii. 9, 11, all three classes are mentioned.

<sup>f</sup> αἰσθησις also in *Mig.* 207, *Som.* ii. 65, 107.

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against luxury (*Mut.* 215), from his father he inherited self-control <sup>a</sup>

Joseph began by shepherding the sheep with his half-brothers as a young man <sup>b</sup> (*Gen.* xxxvii. 2). This association with the sons of Jacob's concubines is fitting, for Joseph's concern is with lower things (*Quod Deus* 119-121) and those who honour spurious goods (*Sob.* 12-15); he pastures the realm of the body (*ib.*) and irrational natures (*Agr.* 55f). Philo ignores Jacob's love for Joseph, but the coat of many colours (xxxvii. 3, *ποικίλον χιτῶνα*) indicates the complex doctrine (*λαβυρινθώδης καὶ δυσέκλυτος δόξα*) of the three goods (see above, p. 353, note *e*; *Det.* 6-9, 28); it is the robe of statecraft, variegated with falsehood and sophistry (*Som.* i. 219-225; contrast *Jos.* 32). It also underlies Philo's description of Joseph's character in *Conf.* 72 (*ποικίλος τοῦ βίου τῦφος*), and probably that in *Som.* ii. 10-16 (*δόξα πολυμυγῆς καὶ κεκραμένη*) and 66 (*ὁ πολυπλοκώτατος . . . τυφοπλασθηθεὶς βίος*) <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *ἐγκρατής. ἐγκράτεια, Leg. All.* iii. 237-241, *Det.* 19, *Som.* ii. 15, 106, *Jos.* 54f.

<sup>b</sup> *ὦν νέος; xlix.* 22, *νεώτατος.* He remains young and immature, *Quod Deus* 119f, *Agr.* 55f, *Sob.* 12-15, *Conf.* 72 (where the translation seems to miss this allusion); *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 242, *Mig.* 205.

<sup>c</sup> Philo's chain of ideas is also *πολυπλοκώτατος*, and can best be shown by a diagram. For *δόξα* see *Som.* ii. 15, *Det.* 6-8; the arrows indicate the influence of one idea upon another; for *Αἴγυπτος*—*τῦφος* see *Mig.* 160 & [N].



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The dreams of the sheaves and the stars (xxxvii. 7-11) reveal the vainglory of Joseph's character (*Som.* ii. 5-7, 30-33, 78, 93-99, 110-116; contrast *Jos.* 5-11). His father sends him to join his brothers in the plain (xxxvii. 13-17) to learn to discipline his lower nature (*Det.* 5f, 10-17); so he seeks and finds the virtuous family (*Fug.* 126-128)

Joseph was taken to Egypt and sold to Pharaoh's chief cook, a eunuch (xxxix. 1, LXX). So the body-loving mind is enslaved to Pleasure (*Quod Deus* 111).<sup>a</sup> But Potiphar's wife fails to entice him (xxxix. 7-11), and here Joseph appears in a good light as the type of self-control (*Leg. All.* iii. 237-242, *Mig.* 19, 21 &[N], *Som.* ii. 106; and see p. 354, note a). Unjustly imprisoned, Joseph acts as an interpreter of dreams.<sup>b</sup> In *Mig.* 19 Philo gives him credit for saying God is the author of interpretations; but in *Cher.* 128 he blames him for saying they are *through* God instead of *by* Him (xl. 8). The interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams resulted in Joseph being set over all the land of Egypt (xli. 41f), which Philo treats caustically (*Som.* ii. 44; but see *Mig.* 20). Pharaoh put Joseph in his second chariot: but this is Joseph's conceit (*Som.* ii. 16, 46, *Mig.* 160 & [N]; contrast *Jos.* 148-150). Pharaoh also changed his name to Psonthomphanecli, 'mouth

<sup>a</sup> Philo applies 'eunuch' to the Joseph-soul. See p. 352, note a.

<sup>b</sup> *Som.* ii. 42, 78. In view of their context, these titles should probably be regarded as uncomplimentary; in this book Philo constantly depreciates Joseph's dreams (*Som.* ii. 42, 97, 105, 138; contrast *Jos.* 95) and ignores his skill at interpretation.

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which judges in answer,' which Philo makes to suggest that fools will look for wise pronouncements from any man who happens to have great wealth (*Mut.* 89-91)

When his father learns that Joseph lives,<sup>a</sup> it means Joseph claimed to have real life—to Jacob's surprise, who expected him to have shared in the death of vain opinions and of the body (*Mig.* 21 & n, *cf. Quis Her.* 256), or to have succumbed to the luxury with which he was surrounded (*Mig.* 214f, *cf. Fug.* 126). Joseph's words in l. 19, "I am of God," also win approval (*Mig.* 22, 160, *Som.* ii. 107, *Jos.* 265f). On his death he was buried in a coffin in Egypt, but he had requested that his bones accompany his people (l. 25f); so the lower side of Joseph's personality is said to have been buried in Egypt (body) and forgotten, but the higher qualities are worthy to be remembered, and leave Egypt with Moses (*Mig.* 16-24, *Som.* ii. 105-109)

- I. Gen. Introd. pp. xii & n, xiii, xxii n, *Leg. All.* iii. 90-93, 179f, 237-242, II. *Cher.* 128, *Det.* 5-28, *Post.* 80, 96, III. *Quod Deus* 111 & [N]-116, 119-121, *Agr.* 55-59, *Ebr.* 210, *Sob.* 12-15, 27, IV. *Conf.* 71f, *Mig.* 16 & n-24 & 17[N], 21[N], 23[N], 159-163 & n & 160[N], 203f, 207 & [N], *Quis Her.* 242[N], 251, 256, V. *Fug.* 73, 126-131, *Mut.* 89-91, 97, 170, 171 & n, 215, *Som.* i. 78, 219-225, ii. 5-21, 30, 33, 42-44, 46f, 64-66, 78, 93-116, 135-141, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. xii-xiv & nn, *Jos. passim*,

<sup>a</sup> xlv. 26, the brothers report that Joseph is alive; 28, Jacob rejoices that he is alive; xlv. 30, he says so to Joseph. For other points in Gen. xlv see *Leg. All.* iii. 179f, *Mig.* 21-23, *Quis Her.* 251, 256, *Mut.* 171, 215.

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- VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 51[N], VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xviii n, *Praem.* 65[N], IX. *Flacc.* 72n, *Prov.* 2. 46n  
 Joshua : in the incident of Exod. xxxii, Joshua represents a man's *feeling* inward tumult, while Moses is the reasoning side of his nature interpreting the true cause (III. *Ebr.* 96-98 & [N], 103f). Joshua's name had been Hoshea, 'he is saved'; it was changed to Joshua, 'salvation'; thus it is a change from an individual to a state, the one mortal, the other permanent, and so the coin was reminted in a better form (V. *Mut.* 121 & n-123). Add VI. *Mos.* i. 216, (232-236), VIII. *Virt.* 55f, 60, 66-70 & n, 72
- Jubal : II. *Post.* 100-111. Brother of Jobal (*q.v.*) and akin in meaning; for it means 'inclining now this way, now that' (*μετακλίνων*), and it is a figure for the uttered word (*ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγος*), the unsure speech of the wavering mind (100). He is the inventor of musical instruments, which are inferior to song-birds but, like articulate speech, capable of such *varied* utterance that it is natural that they should be invented by one *μετακλίνων λόγους* (103-111)
- Judaea : VI. *Mos.* ii. 31, IX. *Hyp.* ii. 1, X. *Leg.* 199f, 207, 215, 257, 281, 294, 299
- Judah : Philo's interest in Judah is in his name and in the Tamar story. His name means 'confession of praise to the Lord.'<sup>a</sup> This is the crowning virtue, and so there is significance in Leah ceasing to bear after giving birth to Judah (Gen. xxix. 35)<sup>b</sup> and in his being the fourth son: for

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* i. 80, 82, ii. 95f, iii. 26, 146, *Plant.* 134-136, *Ebr.* 94, *Congr.* 125, *Mut.* 136, *Som.* i. 37, ii. 34.

<sup>b</sup> *Leg. All.* i. 80, ii. 95, iii. 146, *Plant.* 134f, *Som.* i. 37f.

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four is the number of praise and thanksgiving ; Issachar is appropriately so called ( ' reward ' ), because he was born next after Judah ( xxx. 18 ), and thanksgiving itself is an all-sufficient reward ( *Plant.* 134-136 ). In *Leg. All.* i. 79-84 Philo compares Judah with Issachar. Judah represents good sense ( *φρόνησις* ) as a mystical spiritual condition, Issachar good sense in the action of noble deeds. With this Philo links Judah's name ; for ' thanksgiving ' takes a man out of himself, making him independent of the body, while he acknowledges that even praise is the work, not of the soul, but of God. All this is in the discussion of the precious stones of Gen. ii. 12 ; so Judah is engraved on the ruby of the High Priest's robes, because he is permeated by fire in thanksgiving and drunk with sober drunkenness

Philo varies his interpretation of the Tamar incident, but consistently idealizes it. In *Congr.* 125f he is the lover of learning unveiling knowledge to discover its virtue. In *Fug.* 149-156 the story is an instance of seeking and not finding (by Judah's messenger) invincible virtue. Here Judah is the mind wooing piety ( *θεοσέβεια* ) and giving pledges of his sincerity. In *Mut.* 134-136 Tamar's veil prevents her seeing her wooer, though she recognizes his pledges : it is God impregnating the soul, the pledges being His working in the universe. Judah is the thankful character, gratified that no profane element has defiled the divine. In *Som.* ii. 44f Judah is king of the race of vision (Israel), and Tamar is the soul. The pledges are again God's working in

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the universe, but it is Judah who teaches the soul. In *Virt.* 221f Judah is not mentioned; but see [N]. The description of Judah as 'king' (*Congr.* 125, *Som.* ii. 44; cf. ἀρχικὸς φύσει, *Jos.* 189) seems to depend upon the 'staff' in the story

- I. *Gen.* Introd. p. xii n, *Leg. All.* i. 80 & n & [N]-84, ii. 95f, iii. 26, 74, 146, III. *Plant.* 134-136, *Ebr.* 94, IV. *Quis Her.* 255 & n, *Congr.* 125f, V. *Fug.* 73f, 149-156, 150[N], *Mut.* 134-136 & 135n, *Som.* i. 37f, ii. 34, 44 & n, 45, VI. *Jos.* 15, 189, 222-231, VIII. *Virt.* 221[N]

Julia Augusta : X. *Leg.* 291, 319f

Julius Caesar : see *s.v.* Caesar

Jupiter : IV. *Quis Her.* 224

Kadesh : V. *Fug.* 195f, 213. The spring at which Rebecca fills her water-pot (*Gen.* xxiv. 16) is the Divine Wisdom, which waters the fields of knowledge and souls that love the best. Philo identifies this with En-Mishpat ('spring of judgement' or 'sifting') at Kadesh ('holy') in *Gen.* xiv. 7, and says the Wisdom of God is holy and free from earthy ingredient (= Kadesh) and a sifting of all the universe, separating opposites (= κρισις). In 213 Hagar's well (xvi. 14) between Bered and Kadesh is the well of School knowledge, so situated because he that is in gradual progress is on the borderland between the holy and the profane, fleeing from the bad but not yet ready to share the perfect good

Keturah : wife or concubine of Abraham (*Gen.* xxv. 1), meaning 'incense-burning'; interpreting xxv. 5f, Philo contrasts true wisdom with school-

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learning (suggested by Hagar); the man engaged on this can only shed over the soul a *fragrance* from his studies, he cannot truly feed it. III. *Sac.* 43f, (VIII. *Praem.* 23[N])

Kibroth-Hattaavah : VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 130 & n

Korah : V. *Fug.* 145f,<sup>a</sup> (VI. *Mos.* ii. 275-287), VIII. *Gen.*

Intro. p. xxi, *Praem.* 75 & n, 78[N]

Kore : VII. *Decal.* 54

Laban : in the Genesis narratives, and consequently in Philo, Laban acts as a foil to Jacob ; much, therefore, of Laban's story may be found in that of Jacob (*q.v.*). Laban means 'whitening' (λευκασμός, *Agr.* 42 ; λευκός, *Fug.* 44) and that suggests *colours* generally (*Mig.* 213) ; these in turn suggest *variety* of character or ideas (*ib.* 213, 28, *Cher.* 67). Laban therefore stands for the man who sets his mind on *colours, forms, bodies*, and all things belonging to the *senses* (*Leg. All.* iii. 15, 22, *Sac.* 46, *Ebr.* 46f). His connexion with Haran also implies sense-perception (*Som.* i. 41-46, *Fug.* 45f), so that this is the most consistent significance of Laban<sup>b</sup>

Laban's name, 'white,' suggests *brightness*, the bright success of *vainglory* (*Fug.* 44, 47 ; *cf.* *Som.* i. 126 & n).<sup>c</sup> But it also suggests *colours*, things which belong to sense and appearance, so shadowy and deceptive, and *unreal values* (*Agr.* 42). But once again, *colours* have suggested the

<sup>a</sup> Where, it seems to me, Philo is playing upon the likeness of Κοπέ (LXX) to κόρη, 'maiden' ; this has not been shown in the translation.

<sup>b</sup> αἰσθητά in *Leg. All.* iii. 15-17, 20-22, *Det.* 4, *Agr.* 42, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28, 208-214, *Fug.* 22, 45f ; *cf.* *Som.* i. 41f.

<sup>c</sup> To this 'Syrian' contributes also in *Fug.* 44.



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variety of things that belong to the world of sense, including bodies or corporeal ideas ; this leads Philo to the philosophical concept of the three ' goods ' or values—those of the soul, the body, and externals (see *s.v.* Joseph). Laban has no share in the divine values (*i.e.*, of the soul ; *Fug.* 20) : his philosophy is that of the body and external things (*Leg. All.* iii. 20, *Ebr.* 46-52 & [51[N], *cf.* *Det.* 4) ; here we probably link up with the αἰσθητὰ καὶ φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ of *Agr.* 42. Whether he is drawing upon αἰσθητὰ generally or σώματα in particular, Philo makes Laban also represent the *passions* (*Leg. All.* iii. 19-22)

In *Fug.* 8-22, esp. 8-13, Philo might be thought to reverse Laban's philosophy of ποιότης, variety. But in fact what he says there is partly governed by antithesis with Jacob and the terms under discussion (ἄσημος, ἐπίσημος ; see *s.v.* Jacob), and partly by his argument, which here is directed against an *evolutionary philosophy* (11-13[N], *cf.* *Som.* i. 45f). Laban's sheep typify the irrational (*Sac.* 46f), as do his shepherds, apparently (*Mig.* 212f) ; and Laban enslaves the rational Jacob (*Leg. All.* iii. 17, *cf.* 19). So he typifies the *irrational* element. This goes with his interest in the bodily things <sup>a</sup> and his neglect of the highest good, that of the soul or mind

Because of his opposition to Jacob, one of the educational triad, Laban comes to be ignorant, foolish, and unwilling to learn. He loses his daughters to Jacob, a stripping of the virtues which leaves him worthless indeed (*Fug.* 15-18) ; but he is really their foe, a hater of virtue (*Quis*

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 15, 22, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28, *Som.* i. 45f.

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*Her.* 43f). Or, their going is the departure of his good sense, leaving him ignorant and uneducated (*Leg. All.* iii. 20-22), as does the loss of the arts and branches of knowledge (*Cher.* 67-71). In *Ebr.* 46-55 his attempt to marry the elder to Jacob before the younger was a mistaken adherence to time order and a sophistic flouting of the natural sequence of education—first the School culture and then the higher training in philosophy. As brother of Rebecca he is regarded more leniently than as Laban the Syrian (*Fug.* 44-46, *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 18); but as Bethuel he becomes divine Wisdom (*Fug.* 49-52)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 15-22, II. *Cher.* 67-70, *Sac.* 46f, *Det.* 4, *Post.* 59 & [N], 76, III. *Agr.* 42, *Ebr.* 46-52, IV. *Conf.* 74, *Mig.* 28, 208-214, *Quis Her.* 43f, 180, V. *Fug.* 4, 7-22 & 11-13[N] & 16[N], 44-52 & 45[N], 143, *Som.* i. 1-2[N], 45f, 126n, 189, 202n, 225-227, VIII. *Virt.* 223 & n

Lacedaemonia : see Sparta

Laconian : see Sparta

Laius : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15

Lamech : II. *Det.* 50f, *Post.* 40f, 46-48, 74f, 79-81, 112, 124. Lamech, whose name means 'humiliation' or 'lowness' (*ταπεινωσις*), appears as a descendant both of Cain and of Seth (*Gen.* iv. 18, v. 25). The name therefore has a twofold application. There is the 'lowness' to which the soul is reduced by irrational passions owing to weakness : this is the Cain strain (*cf. Det.* 50); and there is the self-imposed check to conceit, an exercise of strength : herein lies Lamech's being a descendant of Seth and father of Noah (*Post.* 40f, 46-48). His grandfather and father

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(Methuselah, iv. 18) had names indicating soul-death, and his own refers to the low state to which the soul is brought by the birth of passion (*ib.* 74). "Lamech took unto himself two wives" (iv. 19). When a worthless man presumes to take anything to himself it is bound to be evil, and Lamech chose two very great evils (75). He arranged the marriage for himself, because he fancied the mind should proceed to its ends unhindered; and in his case they were wrong ends (79-81). His words to his wives in Gen. iv. 23 illustrate that, because the soul's actions affect the soul itself, the worthless man's wrongdoing is an injury to himself (*Det.* 50f)

Lamia : X. *Leg.* 351

Lampo : IX. *Flacc.* 20 & n & [N], 125-135

Leah : 'virtue.'<sup>a</sup> With this Philo fits his interpretation of her name: twice he takes the Greek *Λαία*, associating this with Jacob's 'smooth' nakedness of soul (Esau was hairy, Jacob *λεῖος*, *Leg. All.* ii. 59), and with the 'smooth' movement of Leah's peaceful virtue (Rachel's is combatant, *Congr.* 25-32); otherwise he derives it from Hebrew words, *lo*, 'not,' and *lahah*, 'to be weary.' Thus in *Cher.* 41 Leah means 'rejected and weary'—with sustained practice (of virtue), 'rejected,' because every fool says 'no' to her and turns from her.<sup>b</sup> In *Mut.* 253-255 the same

<sup>a</sup> In almost every passage. Philosophy contrasted with the lower culture in *Ebr.* 46-53. Beauty of soul (tantamount to virtue) contrasted with that of the body in *Sob.* 12

<sup>b</sup> But see the translation and [N] at *Cher.* 41, where Colson takes the relative to refer to the *ἀσκήσεως*, immediately antecedent; I have ventured an alternative rendering, taking Leah as the (admittedly remote) antecedent of 'whom'

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interpretation is given for 'rejected,' but 'weary' is 'causing weariness through the commands she lays upon us (Virtue).' In *Mig.* 145 *κοπιῶσα* is intransitive, 'growing weary': for it is the life of wickedness which causes weariness, and she in fact refuses to have anything to do with it; she 'wearies of' it

Laban justified marrying Leah to Jacob before Rachel because she was the elder (*Gen.* xxix. 26f); this was to claim that the senior culture, philosophy, may precede the junior, the School learning, and that it may be deserted in favour of the latter. Jacob's reply means he will never leave philosophy (*Ebr.* 46-53)

"When the Lord saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb" (xxix. 31). Most of what Philo says about Leah revolves round this text. "Leah was hated": man hates virtue, but God honours her by making her the first to bear (*Leg. All.* ii. 47, *Mut.* 132f); men hate virtue, because she despises their association with sense-perception (Rachel): but she has fellowship with God (*Post.* 134f); Leah and Rachel together representing the 'mixed' life, men naturally prefer the pleasant life of the senses to the austere life of knowledge and virtue (*Quis Her.* 45-48); men dissent from that to which God assents, namely virtue and the commands which she lays upon us (*Mut.* 253-255). God "opened her womb": this Philo interprets as the impregnation of virtue by God Himself (*Leg. All.* ii. 47, *Cher.* 43f;

('which'): Leah is never *ἀσκησις*, always virtue; and in the close parallel in *Mut.* 253-255 it is Leah and virtue from which men 'turn away.'

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*cf. Congr. 7*, and perhaps *Quis Her. 50f*); He is the husband, but as Leah bore "to Jacob," Jacob is the father for whose sake God sowed the seed in virtue (*Leg. All. iii. 180, Cher. 46, Mut. 132f*; but *cf. Congr. 7*); by this divine impregnation virtue conceives and bears noble deeds (τὰ καλά, *Leg. All. iii. 180, cf. 146, Post. 135, Quis Her. 50, Mut. 255, cf. Congr. 31*)

After bearing Judah (thankfulness) Leah "left bearing" ("stood off"), *Gen. xxix. 35*. This indicates that Judah is the crowning virtue (*Leg. All. i. 80-82 & n*), beyond which Leah could not go (*Som. i. 37f*); and God wanted to balance the good things of the soul (Leah's sons) with progressive representatives of the body (from Rachel and the concubines) (*Leg. All. iii. 146*)

These contrasts with Rachel as sense-perception are not maintained in *Congr. 24-33*. There the soul (*Jacob*) is twofold, the reasoning part having Leah to wife, the unreasoning Rachel. Rachel, acting through the senses, helps the soul to fight the passions: she represents the way of war: Leah is the λεία κίνησις of virtue, most healthy and peaceful, through whom the Practiser reaps the higher and dominant blessings. See 24n

- I. *Gen. Intro. p. xii n, Leg. All. i. 80 & n, ii. 47, 59 & n, 94, iii. 20, 146, 180f, II. Cher. 41 & [N], 44-46, Det. 3, Post. 62, 134f, III. Plant. 134, Ebr. 46-53, Sob. 12, IV. Mig. 95f, 99, 145 & n, Quis Her. 45-48 & 46n, 50, 175, Congr. 7, 24 & n-32, 29[N], 123, V. Fug. 15-19 & 16[N], 73, Mut. 132, 254f, Som. i. 37f, VIII. Virt. 221n, 223 & n-225*

Lepidus: IX. *Flacc. 151, 181*

Levi, Levites: there are few references to Levi as

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an individual, and most of them merge into Levi the tribe.<sup>a</sup> The many passages about Levi or Levites as the tribe appointed to the temple service depend upon certain texts. First, Deut. x. 9, "Levi hath no part nor portion with his brethren; the Lord Himself is his portion." With this is usually linked <sup>b</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 9a, "Saying to his father and mother, I have not seen thee, and he acknowledged not his brethren and his sons he disowned"; which Philo seldom quotes but often alludes to in the word γένεσις.<sup>c</sup> Thus Philo contrasts Levi with the man who leaves father and mother yet 'cleaves to' sense-perception (*Leg. All.* ii. 51); although Reuben is Jacob's oldest son, Levi, being son of 'Israel,' is spiritually senior, and his 'portion' is that of the eldest—God Himself (*Sac.* 119f); like slayers compelled to flee from home to a city of refuge, Levites too are exiles, having left their families to win an immortal portion (*ib.* 129, *Fug.* 102); that is one reason why Levitical cities were chosen for refuge (*Fug.* 88); with proselytes, orphans, and widows, Levites <sup>d</sup> are suppliants

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* i. 81, *Sac.* 120, *Ebr.* 94, *Mig.* 224, *Fug.* 73f, 200, *Mut.* 199f, *Som.* ii. 34, 37.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. x. 9 alone in *Sac.* 127, *Det.* 62, *Plant.* 69-72, *Fug.* 102. Deut. xxxiii. 9 alone in (*Det.* 67f), *Plant.* 63f, *Ebr.* 72, *Fug.* 88f. Both in *Leg. All.* ii. 51, *Sac.* 119f, 129, *Congr.* 133, *Mut.* 127, *Som.* ii. 272f.

<sup>c</sup> *Sac.* 120, *Plant.* 63f, *Mut.* 127, *Som.* ii. 273. Colson translated it 'creation': and certainly it is contrasted with τὸ ἀγένητον in *Plant.* 63f; but is there not all the time a play upon its sense of 'family' or 'kin,' summarizing Deut. xxxiii. 9? Perhaps 'creatures' or 'creature family' would convey both.

<sup>d</sup> Philo treats these as three classes with phrases corre-

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and fugitives, orphans to their creature families, God being their husband and father (*Som.* ii. 272f); the mind, perfectly cleansed, which renounces all creatures, knows only One, the Uncreate (*Plant.* 62-64); the mind that slays all that claims kinship with the soul—body, passions, senses—is one with the Levi-mind, who renounced his family, and with the Phinehas mind (*Ebr.* 70-74); it is from this great transcendent soul who holds fast to the Uncreated alone that Moses is descended on both sides, thus having a double link with truth (*Congr.* 131-135); and this portion allotted to the wise is not material possessions, of course, but the greatest spiritual benefits, given by God to those who serve Him, who are thereby very kings (*Plant.* 62-72) <sup>a</sup>

The third key passage is Exod. xxxii,<sup>b</sup> the incident of the Golden Calf and its sequel. Moses asked, Who is on the Lord's side? The Levites alone responded, and slaughtered three thousand, not excluding their own kin. Because of this, says Philo, they too are in a sense slayers, which is why their cities are chosen for refuge (*Sac.* 130-134, *cf. Fug.* 88-90, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 123f, 128); it

sponding to each, using *μév* and *δέ*. But the vocabulary of the phrases, while appropriate to each, is drawn from terms used of Levites, so I have amalgamated them.

<sup>a</sup> With Deut. x. 9 in *Plant.* 63 is linked a similar verse, Num. xviii. 20. In *Mut.* 199f, Deut. xxxiii. 8 is used; and 9b, 10 in *Det.* 62-68. See below.

<sup>b</sup> *Sac.* 130, *Ebr.* 66-74, *Fug.* 90-92, *Mos.* ii. 161-172, 272-274, *Spec. Leg.* i. 79, iii. 124-126; and the description of Levi in *Som.* ii. 37 (*cf.* 34) is surely an allusion to this (*cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 128). The very similar story of Phinehas (Num. xxv) is laid under contribution deliberately in *Ebr.* 73f, and accidentally in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 126.

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was a slaughter of false doctrines : when the soul fell the holy thoughts (*ἱεροὶ λόγοι*), armed with the proofs of knowledge, championed true religion (*Sac.* 130) ; it was also a cutting away of all that is near and dear to the mind : “ each his brother, each his nearest ” (*xxxii.* 27) means the body, ‘ brother ’ of the soul, and the senses, ‘ nearest ’ to the uttered word <sup>a</sup> (*Ebr.* 65-71, *Fug.* 88-92). This was an instance where right reason was obeyed rather than custom (*Ebr.* 65, 68). The reward was the priesthood (*Sac.* 134, *Ebr.* 65, *Mos.* ii. 173, 274, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 125-128)

The fourth passage is *Num.* xxxv. and its parallels : the six cities of refuge taken from among the forty-eight Levitical cities. This was done because the good are a ransom for the bad (*Sac.* 128), because the Levites are themselves virtually exiles, but voluntarily (*Sac.* 129, *Fug.* 88), because they too are fugitives, but in God (*Sac.* 129), because they too are slayers (*Sac.* 130, *Fug.* 90). Yet another reason is suggested by *Exod.* xxi. 13, from which Philo deduces that involuntary homicide is God’s way of punishing : Levites and homicides, therefore, are both serving God, each in their way (*Fug.* 93, *Sac.* 133). The non-allegorical explanation, that Levitical cities

<sup>a</sup> ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν (προφορικὸς) λόγος. In *Det.* 63-66, ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος is the Levite’s brother minister of *Num.* viii. 26 ; while the perfect Levite (having reached fifty) guards the teachings of virtue, his brother will have the subordinate duties of teaching those who seek education (*παιδεία*). Aaron is ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος : “ Aaron the Levite shall speak for thee ” (*Exod.* iv. 14) means that only to the *ἱερεὶ καὶ σπουδαίῳ λόγῳ* is it fitting to reveal the thoughts of perfect mind (*Moses*), *Det.* 126, 132.



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would afford the protection of the sacred office and territory, is given in *Spec. Leg.* i. 158, iii. 129 & n. In *Sac.* 127 Philo tells why the Levitical cities are "ransomed for ever" (*Lev.* xxv. 32). The fugitive to the city of refuge was a 'suppliant'; the Levites themselves, as we have seen, were exiles from their kin, casting themselves wholly upon God. So the texts from *Deut.* and *Num.* combine to provide *ικέρτης*, often used of the Levites <sup>a</sup>

The Levites are called *φύλακες*, 'guardians.' In *Fug.* 37, *Det.* 62-66, this is based upon *Num.* viii. 24-26. But in the latter it leads up to one of the Deuteronomy texts (xxxiii. 9b, 10), which must be presumed to underlie *Som.* ii. 272f. The discussion of *Num.* viii also raises the matter of symbolic numbers. The Levite begins his ministry at twenty-five, retires to "guard" at fifty; the latter is the number of release from toil, the former the half-way stage of exercise and practice (*Det.* 63-66). Elsewhere Philo discusses Levi as ransom for the tenth (*Congr.* 98); and the Levites contribute tenths to make a hundred, the number of perfection (*Mut.* 2, 191; *cf. Spec. Leg.* 157)

Philo's only etymology of Levi is in *Plant.* 64: it means *αὐτός μοι*, 'He (is precious) to me'

The Levites are the consecrated tribe,<sup>b</sup> to whom belongs the active ministry and service of God (*Sac.* 120, 127, *Som.* ii. 34, 272f); they represent the mind that has been perfectly cleansed (*Plant.*

<sup>a</sup> *Sac.* 119, 129, *Det.* 62, *Plant.* 63, *Ebr.* 94, *Quis Her.* 124.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ ἱερωμένη φυλή or cognate phrases, *Sac.* 128f, *Det.* 62, *Quis Her.* 124, *Mos.* ii. 186, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 120f, iii. 123, 129.

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64), perfect virtue (*Sac.* 120, *Mos.* ii. 181, *cf.* *Plant.* 70f). They are the wise, contrasted with the worthless fool (*Sac.* 121, 126, *Plant.* 69-72); they are the representatives of reason <sup>a</sup>; with them is truth (*Congr.* 132, *Ebr.* 70; and *cf.* *Mos.* i. 177). They are guardians of the oracles and covenants of God, the most excellent exponents of his laws (*Deut.* xxxiii. 9f, *Det.* 68)

I. *Leg. All.* i. 81, ii. 51, II. *Sac.* 118-135 (for 128-133, *cf.* *Fug.* 88-93), *Det.* 62-68, (126), 132, 135, III. *Plant.* 62-72, *Ebr.* 65-74, 94, IV. *Mig.* 224, *Quis Her.* 124 & n, *Congr.* 98, 131f & n, 133 & n & [N], 134, 135n, V. *Fug.* 37, 73f, 88-93 (*cf.* *Sac.* 128-133), 102, *Mut.* 2, 127 & n, 191, 199f, *Som.* ii. 34, 37, 272f, VI. *Mos.* i. 316, ii. 159-186, 272-274, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 79 & n & [N], 121n, 156-161, ii. 120f, iii. 123-128, 129n, 130, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 190n, *Praem.* 54n, 74, 75n

Leviticus : III. *Plant.* 26, *cf.* V. *Fug.* 170 & n

Libya : III. *Quod Deus* 174, V. *Som.* ii. 54, IX. *Aet.* 141, *Flacc.* 43, 45, 152, X. *Leg.* 283

Lot : the name means 'inclination' or 'leaning' (*ἀπόκλισις* <sup>b</sup>); for the mind 'inclines,' sometimes turning away from what is good, sometimes from what is bad (*Mig.* 148). In his description of Lot's character in *Abr.* 212 Philo no doubt had this derivation in mind; but he would also be thinking of the story of Abraham's separation from Lot (*Gen.* xiii. 1-11, esp. *v.* 9), which he proceeds to tell (212-216) and to allegorize (217-

<sup>a</sup> *λέγος*, *Sac.* 119; *ὀρθὸς λόγος*, *Ebr.* 68, *Congr.* 98; *λογικός*, *Fug.* 90-92.

<sup>b</sup> So *Mig.* 148. *ἀποκλίνω* in *Som.* i. 86, 246, *κλίνω* in *Post.* 175, *Mig.* 13, 175. *Cf.* *Abr.* 212.

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224), making Lot stand for the philosophy that pursues externals. In *Mig.* 13 Lot is the soul that inclines to sense-perception, which Abraham thrusts away. He had begun by inclining in a good direction, for he set out with the man of wisdom (xii. 4); but he soon proved a hindrance rather than a help when he inclined back to lack of learning (*ἀμαθία*), and Abraham had to protect himself by separation (*ib.* 148-150 & [N]). Like his wife (*Fug.* 121f), he was capable of growing up straight and unswerving, but he bent aside his soul (*Mig.* 175). But it was an *ἀπόκλισις* to virtue when he left Sodom (xix. 23f, *Som.* i. 85f & n, 246). His capture by the four kings (Gen. xiv. 12) refers to the soul's enemies (the four passions, *Mig.* 150 & [N]); the incident and its sequel is described in *Abr.* 225-235

Lot's wife is affected with the same *ἀπόκλισις* : in *Som.* i. 246-248 we have an allusion to Lot's inclination away from virtue (in entering Sodom), aggravated by sense-perception, so that the soul becomes a monument of its own disaster. In a similar passage (*Fug.* 121f), her looking back is the soul's lazy refusal to exercise its power of reason, having no desire to seek and find, so that the soul becomes lifeless. This speaks of the soul's capability for better things; but in *Leg. All.* iii. 213 we are told God did not allow repentance. The right name for Lot's wife is 'custom'; her nature is hostile to truth, and if we take her with us, she lags behind and gazes round at the old familiar objects and remains among them like a lifeless monument (*Ebr.* 164)

This was the mother of Lot's daughters, Delibera-

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tion and Assent ; Lot, their father, was incapable of rearing any male or perfect growth within his soul. He is the man not only lacking knowledge but confident that he has got it—which is even worse than sheer ignorance. With his two daughters the mind discusses and assents readily to every pleasurable suggestion. This could only happen when the mind is intoxicated (*Ebr.* 162-166). This initiates a long discussion by Philo on the unreliability of the mind : it cannot by deliberation find out the truth nor give a right assent or judgement (166-205 ; see III. *Ebr.* Introd. pp. 314-316). The same passage (xix. 30-38) is allegorized in *Post.* 175-177, where Philo is treating " God raised up to me . . ." (Gen. iv. 25). With that attitude is to be contrasted that of Lot's daughters (with the same names) ; their desire to have children by mind is the assertion that mind can replace God (contrast " God raised up ") and be the author of everything—a truly sottish idea, created by the strong drink of folly

The offspring from this unpromising union were Moab and Ammon (*q.v.*). Their people are to be excluded from the congregation of the Lord (Deut. xxiii. 2), for they suppose that sense-perception and mind can procreate all things (*Post.* 177)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 213, II. *Post.* 175-177, III. *Ebr.* 162-205 (esp. 162-170, 203-205), IV. *Mig.* 13, 148-150 & [N], 175, V. *Fug.* 121f, *Som.* i. 85f & n, 246-248, VI. Gen. Introd. p. xv n, *Abr.* 212-235, *Mos.* ii. 57f, IX. *Prov.* 2. 8[N]

Lucanian : IX. *Aet.* 12

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- Lyaeus : **X. Leg.** 96  
 Lycurgus : **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 47, 114. *Cf.* **VI. Mos.**  
     ii. 19, **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 22, **VIII. ib.** iv. 102  
 Lydia : **VI. Jos.** 133  
 Lynceus : **IX. Prov.** 2. 7  
 Lysimachus : **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 127-130
- Macedonians, Macedonia : **II. Cher.** 63, *Gig.* 7 & [N]  
     (-ia), **III. Quod Deus** 173f (both), *Plant.* 12 (-ia),  
     **VI. Jos.** 135, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 94, 115, **X. Leg.**  
     281 (-ia)
- Machir : **IV. Congr.** 39-43. Machir means 'the  
 father's,' and his parentage symbolizes the in-  
 feriority of reminiscence and being reminded to  
 memory and remembering
- Machpelah : Abraham's burial place in Hebron,  
 called in the *LXX* 'the double cave' (*Gen.* xxiii).  
 In it the patriarchs and their wives were buried  
 in pairs, so that it is a treasure house of memories  
 (*μνημαί*, probably playing on *μνημεῖον* in xxiii.  
 6 ; see *Som.* ii. 26n), memories of knowledge and  
 wisdom (**II. Post.** 62 & n). Along with other  
 'doubles,' it illustrates that the man of worth  
 both contemplates the created universe and  
 thinks upon the Father who brought it into  
 being. The cave is 'the pair of memories'  
 (**V. Som.** ii. 26 & n)
- Macro : **IX. Flacc.** 11-16, 22, **X. Leg.** 32-64, 69f, 75  
 Maecenas : **X. Leg.** 351  
 Maenads : **III. Plant.** 148  
 Maenoles : **III. Plant.** 148  
 Magi : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 100 & n & [N], **IX. Quod**  
     **Omn. Prob.** 74 & n  
 Magius Maximus : **IX. Flacc.** 74

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- Mahujael (Maiel)** : the worthlessness of Cain and his creed is continued in his descendants, Enoch, Gaidad, Maiel, Methuselah, Lamech. The flock of irrational faculties which is Gaidad had for son Maiel, 'away from the life of God,' who also leads an irrational life (II. *Post.* 69). He also contributes to Lamech's bad character, whose grandfather he was ; for Mahujael (E.V. ; LXX, Maiel) represents that death of soul which is due to passion (*ib.* 74f)
- Maiden, The** : see Athena
- Maltese Dogs** : VIII. *Praem.* 89 & [N]
- Mamre** : the portion awarded to Aunan and Eshcol by Abraham (Gen. xiv. 24), symbolizing the award to natural ability and vision, is awarded the contemplative life ; for Mamre means 'from seeing' (IV. *Mig.* 164 & n, 165)
- Manasseh** : there are many whose natural gifts differ, as their names show. Such were Ephraim and Manasseh. In blessing them their grandfather Jacob gave precedence to the younger (Gen. xlviii. 19) ; that is because memory (Ephraim) is better than recollection (Manasseh), for the latter is always preceded by forgetfulness. It is older than memory, for in the first stages of education we begin with recollection of what we forget, then advance to remembering. Manasseh is the type of recollection (*ἀνάμνησις*, opposed to *μνήμη*) because his name means 'out of forgetfulness' (*Leg. All.* iii. 90-93, *Sob.* 27-29, *cf.* *Mig.* 205). To Manasseh's tribe belong Zelophehad's five daughters, showing five is the number of the senses (*Mig.* 205). The contrast between memory and recollection is also made in *Congr.*

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39-43. A discussion on legitimate wives and concubines leads Philo to mention Manasseh's marriage to a Syrian concubine (Gen. xlv. 20, LXX) who bore to him Machir. "Jacob said, Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me" (xlviii. 5). Reuben is natural excellence, Simeon learning; with the relation between these two corresponds that between Ephraim and Manasseh (*Mut.* 97-102). This passage has the same remarks about forgetfulness, memory, recollection

Marah: on the journey from Passion the pilgrim soul is continually tempted by pleasures to return, and Marah marks the bitterness that the soul's toil comes to have. But the Saviour sweetened the waters, producing love of labour (*II. Post.* 156f, *IV. Congr.* 164-166). The passage, *Exod.* xv. 23-25, ends ". . . and the water was sweetened. There he laid down for him ordinances and judgments . . ."—the statutes were given for chastening, and therefore Marah was appropriate—" . . . and there he tried him,"—so that the bitterness is also that of trial in the soul's toil (*IV. Congr.* 163f)

Marea: *IX. Flacc.* 45

Mareotic Lake: *IX. Vit. Cont.* 22

Marin: *IX. Flacc.* 39 & n

Mars: *IV. Quis Her.* 224

Masek: *IV. Quis Her.* 2, 39-42, 51-54, 61. 'From a kiss,' and kissing is not the same as loving, but represents the senses; she (so LXX) is the mistress of the multitude, the servant of the good, who do not love her, only greet her with a kiss. The offspring of this blood-life is Damascus Eliezer

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**Melchizedek** : God made him both ' king ' of ' peace ' (Salem) and priest, without previous qualification. He was worthy of it, for he was a ' righteous ' king, no despot. Let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness and induce that divine intoxication which is sobriety itself. For he is a priest (Gen. xiv. 18), that is reason, having his portion in God <sup>a</sup> (*Leg. All.* iii. 79-82). " He gave him a tenth of all " (xiv. 20) is an example of that principle seen in all tithes, the offering of first-fruits to God from all the faculties of our reason ; and it illustrates that ten is the perfect number (*Congr.* 98f). Here Melchizedek's priesthood is *αὐτομαθῆς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτος*. The story is told in *Abr.* 235. Add I. Gen. Introd. p. xx & n

**Memphis** : VI. *Mos.* i. 118

**Mercury** : II. *Cher.* 22, IV. *Quis Her.* 224

**Mesopotamia** : II. *Post.* 76, IV. *Conf.* 65f, *Congr.* 70, V. *Fug.* 48f, VI. *Abr.* 188, *Mos.* i. 264, 278, VIII. *Virt.* 223n. Isaac advised Jacob to flee into Mesopotamia (Gen. xxviii. 2) ; this means the Practiser is to enter the midst of the torrent of life's river, not overwhelmed by it, but beating back the current of affairs (*Fug.* 48f). For Mesopotamia is ' Mid-river-land ' (*Conf.* 66). It is the home of Balaam, whose understanding is submerged in the midmost depths of a river (*ib.*)

**Methuselah** : II. *Post.* 40f, 44f, 73f. His name means ' a sending forth of death. ' He is a descendant both of Seth and of Cain, and his name can be interpreted in two ways to fit both the good and the bad strain. In close affinity with Seth he is the good man from whom death is dismissed, he

<sup>a</sup> Deut. x. 9, of Levi. Levi also represents reason.



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has reaped true life. But as a member of Cain's house he is at the receiving end of *ἐξαποστολή θανάτου*, which means he is ever dying to the life of virtue (41, 44f). With this fits his relationship to soul-death and lowness ; for he is son of Mahujael and father of Lamech (73f)

Midas : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 136

Midian, Midianites : Midian is 'from judgement,' and Philo associates with it *κρίσις*, 'judgement' or 'sifting.' Moses settles in Midian (Exod. ii. 15), that is, in the examination (*κρίσις*) of the things of nature (*Leg. All.* iii. 12f). But *ἐκ κρίσεως* can be taken in two senses : it can mean 'out-sifting,' 'elimination' ; or it can mean 'from (belonging to) judgement,' 'judiciary' (*Mut.* 106 & n, 110). The Midianites in the story of Phinehas (Num. xxv) come under the first heading ; their religion was that of Baal-Peor, drowning the ruling mind beneath bodily passions, and so they had to be eliminated. Phinehas killed the Midianitish woman ; and the Israelites defeated the Midianites (Num. xxxi). But the other, the good sense, applies to Raguel, "priest of Midian" (*Mut.* 106-109, *Leg. All.* iii. 242) (by implication, the bad sense perhaps applies to him in his character of Jethro), whose seven daughter-faculties bring objects to the mind, their judge and king. Philo is discussing the double name, Jethro-Raguel (*Mut.* 103-114). In *Conf.* 55 Midian is called 'the nurse of things bodily' ; if the reading is right, Midian must have this connotation from Baal-Peor, as in *Mut.* 106f. But see [N]. In *Jos.* 15ff the Midianite merchants of Gen. xxxvii are

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mentioned, but not named. In *Mos.* i. 295ff and *Virt.* 34ff Philo narrates the two incidents from Numbers ; but only in *Virt.* 34 are the Midianites named. See [N]

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 12f, 242, III. *Agr.* 43, IV. *Conf.* 55 & [N], 57n, V. *Mut.* 103-114, VI. *Jos.* 15, 27, 36, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xiii n, *Virt.* 22n, 34ff & [N]

Milcah : wife of Nahor. Her name means ' queen ' ; Nahor stayed in Chaldaea, the home of astrology, queen of sciences, and this Milcah symbolizes. It is second best to the true vision of Israel, but better than the Sceptic philosophy, represented by Nahor's concubine (IV. *Congr.* 43-53)

Milky Way : IX. *Prov.* 2. 51

Milo : IX. *Prov.* 2. 7

Miltiades : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 132

Minos : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43

Minotaur : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43

Miriam : Miriam criticized Moses for marrying an Ethiopian woman, and was punished (I. *Leg. All.* i. 76). This was sense-perception presuming to find fault with the man of vision (ii. 66f & [N], iii. 103). But her leading the song of the women at the Red Sea in company with Moses is good : it is sense-perception made pure and clean leading Virtue's women along with perfect mind and the men of vision (III. *Agr.* 80f). There is a non-allegorical narrative of this in VI. *Mos.* i. 180, ii. 256, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 87

The unnamed sister who witnessed the finding of the infant Moses (Exod. ii) is referred to in VI. *Mos.* i. 12, 16f, and in V. *Som.* ii. 142 she is given the allegorical name of ' Hope ' ; for she

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“spied out from a distance” (ii. 4), looking to the consummation of his life

Mishael : see *s.v.* Nadab

Mnemosyne : III. *Plant.* 129 & [N]

Moab, Moabites : Ammonites and Moabites were the descendants of the incestuous union of Lot's daughters with their father, and for this they were excluded from the Israelite congregation (Deut. xxiii. 2). They suppose that sense-perception and mind procreate all things (II. *Post.* 177, I. *Leg. All.* iii. 81, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 327[N], 333 & n-336). Num. xxi. 30, “And the women kindled yet further a fire in Moab,” indicates a conflagration of the mind occasioned by the senses ; for Moab means ‘out of a father,’ and our father is the mind (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225, 231, IV. *Mig.* 99f). The “whoredom with the daughters of Moab” of Num. xxv. 1 stands for the enervating intercourse with mind's daughters, the senses (V. *Som.* i. 89, VIII. *Virt.* 34[N])

Moon, The : IV. *Quis Her.* 224

Morning Star, The : II. *Cher.* 22

Moses<sup>a</sup> : The narrative of Moses' infancy is given in *Mos.* i. 5-17. He was by race a Chaldaean (*ib.* 5 ; ‘Hebrew,’ 15), the seventh from Abraham, a Levite (7, *cf.* *Post.* 173f) by both his parents, giving him a double link with truth (*Congr.* 132f & nn & [N]). He was, we read, “a proper

<sup>a</sup> In this analysis only a few references are made to *Mos.* i and ii. In the final index of passages the many quotations from or allusions to the Pentateuch, given in the form ‘Moses says’ or ‘he says,’ are not included ; only those passages are listed which seem to contribute to the character, career, or significance of Moses himself. It has been hard to be consistent ; and I have usually ignored Deuteronomy.

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child" (9): this means he was purest mind (*Congr.* 131f), the Stoic character (*Conf.* 106 & n & [N]), a world-citizen (*ib.*).<sup>a</sup> His royal education included the learning of Greece and Assyria and Egypt (*Mos.* i. 21-24); and he became heir to Pharaoh (32)

Moses "smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand" (*Exod.* ii. 11-14, *Mos.* 1. 34-44)—the Egyptian being the bad man who sinks down into his own mind (*Leg. All.* iii. 37-39). This and the subsequent incident represent Moses' attempt to overthrow the domination of the body in two attacks directed against Epicureanism and the Peripatetics (*Fug.* 147 & n, 148). Pharaoh sought his life (a seeking that had no finding, *Fug.* 147), and Moses fled to Midian (*Mos.* i. 45-49); or rather, he withdrew from the leader of the passions (*cf. Conf.* 82) to the place of sifting in order to inquire of God (*Leg. All.* iii. 11-14). Midian (Arabia, *Mos.* i. 47) here signifies the judicial type (*Mut.* 110f). At the well the virtue-loving mind delivers the unreasoning faculties from mind's enemies (*Exod.* ii. 15-22, *Mut.* 110-114). Moses was given Zipporah to wife (*Exod.* ii. 21, *Post.* 77f). Really she was not a woman but a virtue; for Zipporah, 'bird,' signifies one speeding up to heaven and contemplating divine things (*Cher.* 40-42, 47); she is the winged and inspired prophetic nature (*Mut.* 120), perhaps Knowledge or Reason (*Post.* 78). Moses became shepherd to his father-in-law (*Exod.* iii. 1, *Mos.* i. 60, 63): that is, Moses' right reason rules the thoughts of the Jethro mind (*Sac.* 50, *Agr.* 43).

<sup>a</sup> By a pun on ἀσρέϊος.

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At the Burning Bush (*Mos.* i. 65-70) the prophet was seeking nature's causes; he was spared from a futile search by the divine warning ("Draw not nigh hither," *Exod.* iii. 5), and instead he inquired into the nature of the Creator (*Fug.* 161-164). He did not see God Himself (*Fug.* 141, *Mut.* 134), but an angel, the symbol of God's providence (*Mos.* i. 66, *cf.* *Som.* i. 231f). God promised His presence to Moses (*Mos.* i. 70-76), the secret of successful achievement (*Fug.* 140). He was given three signs (*Mos.* i. 76-82): God asks the wise man what there is in the active life of his soul, and he answers Schooling, giving it the name of a rod; when cast away it becomes the serpent Pleasure, which must be seized and disciplined (*Leg. All.* ii. 87-93). Moses protested that he was not eloquent (*Exod.* iv. 10): he sets no value upon probabilities and plausibilities, but follows after truth in its purity (*Sac.* 12f & [NN], *Det.* 38, *Mig.* 76f); he was tongue-tied with joy, and speech was replaced with fluent thoughts (*Quis Her.* 4). He was made "a god to Pharaoh" (*Exod.* vii. 1): the mind is god of the unreasoning part (*Leg. All.* i. 40, *cf.* *Mig.* 84); Moses enjoyed a unique supremacy over the body and the mind which rules it (*Sac.* 9f & [N]); the wise is god to the foolish (*Mut.* 125, 128f & n, *Det.* 161f)—not in reality, only in men's imagination (*Det.* 161f, *cf.* *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43 & n, 44). Moses especially earned this title because of his beneficence (*Mut.* 128f). See also *Som.* ii. 189, *Mos.* i. 158

Philo divides the Ten Plagues (*Mos.* i. 90-146) into those due to the agency of Aaron (96-112) and

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of Moses (113-125), and those of independent causation

After the Exodus and the Passage of the Red Sea, the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 1) is the hymn of victory over the passions sung by the army of guardian virtues led by mind in its perfection (*Agr.* 80-83 & [N], *cf.* *Leg. All.* ii. 102, *Ebr.* 111, *Sob.* 13, *Mos.* i. 180). In the battle against Amalek, Moses held up his hands and Israel prevailed; but his hands were heavy (Exod. xvii. 11): when the mind lifts itself up away from mortal things the seeing soul is strengthened against passion (*Leg. All.* iii. 186); the wise man's doings are weighty, immovable, upheld by the Word and Truth (*ib.* 45, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29). At Sinai Moses "drew near unto the thick darkness where God was" (Exod. xx. 21): that is, in his eager search for God he entered into immaterial conceptions, seeking to reach the unattainable, the transcendent God (*Post.* 14f; *cf.* *Mut.* 7 & [N]); the people said, "Speak thou with us" (xx. 19): this illustrates the fact that God tempers His communications, for none could endure His perfection (*Post.* 143f, *cf.* *Som.* i. 143), and that wise men take God for their guide and teacher, but the less perfect take the wise man (*Quis Her.* 19). Moses led his people up the mountain to the vision of the Existent (xxiv. 10, *Conf.* 95-97). His division of the sacrificial blood (xxiv. 6) represents the twofold nature of wisdom, divine and human (*Quis Her.* 182 & [N]-185). During his forty days and nights in the mount he fasted, entranced by the perfect music of the spheres (*Som.* i. 36). The incident of the

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Golden Calf reveals Joshua and Moses as the feeling and the reasoning elements in man (*Ebr.* 96-104, 121-124); fired by his vision of the beautiful, Moses burned the pleasures of the body (*Post.* 158-165)

He pitched the tabernacle outside the camp (xxxiii. 7): this is an instance of that nakedness of soul which is escape from the body and its passions to dwell in virtue (*Leg. All.* ii. 54f, *Gig.* 54, *Det.* 159f); the tent is wisdom, in which the wise man tabernacles, establishing it outside the body because the good man escapes from himself and returns to the apprehension of the One (*Leg. All.* iii. 46-48, cf. *Ebr.* 99), a pilgrim travelling from war to peace, from mortality to the divine life of reasonable and happy souls (*Ebr.* 100). The Lord "spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend" (xxxiii. 11; see Scripture Index), and Moses asked that he might know Him (xxxiii. 13): the more perfect mind gets direct apprehension of the First Cause (*Leg. All.* iii. 100-103); he was eager to replace uncertainty with assured confidence (*Post.* 13-16). He required that God's presence should go with him (xxxiii. 15), for he knew his quest was unattainable except by revelation (*Mut.* 8, cf. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41f); the Divine presence and guidance are necessary for the way to the Existent (*Mig.* 170-172, cf. *Fug.* 140 on *Exod.* iii. 11). Not even Moses was allowed to see God: he was permitted to see only what follows behind Him, His attendant powers (xxxiii. 23, *Post.* 169, cf. *Fug.* 164f, *Mut.* 8-10) or their manifestation in the sensible world (*Spec. Leg.* i. 43n,

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47-53 <sup>a</sup>). Deut. v. 31 is also a favourite text with Philo, "Stand thou here with me": it shows Moses to have been higher than the trio Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, for he was trained to soar above species and genus and was stationed beside God Himself (*Sac.* 8 & n); it shows the steadfastness of the man of worth (contrasted with Adam and Cain), who shares the very nature of God, which is repose (*Post.* 28, *cf.* *Gig.* 49); and that the perfect man seeks for quietude (*Quod Deus* 23-26)

Moses is pre-eminently, of course, the law-giver.<sup>b</sup> Philo regards Genesis as but the exordium to the laws (*Op.* 2f), and only alludes to the subsequent history of Israel (*Praem.* 4 & n & [N]). So great was Israel's veneration for Moses that whatever he approved was law for them (*Hyp.* 6. 8f). The Greeks in their Attic law copied Moses in one particular at least (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, *cf.* *Aet.* 147ff & [N]). The laws reveal the qualities of the legislator (*e.g.* his humanity, *Virt.* 80f). Philo regularly quotes the Pentateuch in the form 'Moses says' or 'he says,' not only from the narrative (*e.g.* *Cher.* 45, 49, 124, *Det.* 86, *Post.* 133), but even when repeating the words attributed to God Himself (*Conf.* 192 & n); and at times we are given the impression that Moses shaped the details of his narrative to suit the

<sup>a</sup> In spite of Colson's note at *Spec. Leg.* i. 41, I think there is a difference between that passage, in which Philo interprets 'my glory' as the Powers, and the other three passages, where it is God Himself. This affects the interpretation of τὰ ὀπίσω μου.

<sup>b</sup> See below, and p. 386, note a.



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symbolical lessons he wishes to give (*e.g.* *Sob.* 26f). Philo defends the repetitions (*Congr.* 73), anthropomorphisms (*Quod Deus* 57-69), and seemingly bold statements of Moses (*Plant.* 62), and does not allow that such a passage as *Gen. vi* is mythical (*Gig.* 6, 58).<sup>a</sup> For a comparison between the Law and the Prophets see *Cher.* 49 & [N]. Those who follow the great law-giver's teaching are often called his pupils.<sup>b</sup> In the law we find the philosophy of Moses, which is sometimes held to have anticipated that of later Greek philosophers, and sometimes is contrasted with their theories (*e.g.* *Op.* 8, 12, 131, *Leg. All.* ii. 14ff, *Quis Her.* 213f, 227f & [N], *Mos.* ii. 12, *Aet.* 19). The Mosaic system is called a polity (*πολιτεία* *Gig.* 59 & [N], *Quis Her.* 169 & [N], *Spec. Leg.* iii. 51, iv. 55, 100, *Praem.* 4, *cf.* *Hyp.* 6, 10)

Comparisons and contrasts are made between Moses and other figures. Thus, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he is said to have married no woman but to have been wedded to a virtue (*Cher.* 40-47, *cf.* *Leg. All.* ii. 67; contrast *Post.* 77); yet he excels them in being called to stand beside God Himself (*Conf.* 192 & n). A similar sort of comparison is made between Moses and Noah in *Quod Deus* 109f. The consistency of

<sup>a</sup> On the other hand, he tells us not to take some things literally, *e.g.* in *Leg. All.* ii. 19, *cf.* *Op.* 156f.

<sup>b</sup> *γνώριμοι*, *Det.* 86, *Post.* 12, *Conf.* 39, *Quis Her.* 81, *Spec. Leg.* i. 59, 345, *Vit. Cont.* 63, *Hyp.* 11. 1; *θιασῶται*, *Quod Deus* 120, *Plant.* 39; *ἐταῖροι*, *Conf.* 62; *φοιτηταί*, *Spec. Leg.* i. 345, ii. 256. In *Spec. Leg.* i. 59 Moses is said to stamp truth upon his disciples. In *Som.* ii. 1 Philo says that, as Moses learned when he did not know, he may teach us too.

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Moses is contrasted with the character of his father-in-law Jethro in *Gig.* 50f; Jethro's presumption in offering advice to Moses is criticized in *Ebr.* 36-45, *Mut.* 103f; but as Raguel he is held to have joined the people of God in admiration for their leader Moses (*Mut.* 105). Miriam also showed presumption towards Moses (*Leg. All.* ii. 66f, *cf.* iii. 103, i. 76). Joshua reacted to the passionate clamour from the camp, but Moses could not be reached with it, for he was in the presence of God (*Ebr.* 96-103 & [NN]); however, Joshua was a worthy pupil and successor to Moses (*Virt.* 51ff). With Bezaleel also there is a contrast: he was instructed by Moses, but Moses was instructed by God (*Leg. All.* iii. 102f); he made the shadows of the tabernacle, Moses made the archetypes (*ib.*, and *Plant.* 23, 26f). Most of all, Philo compares and contrasts Moses with Aaron, *q.v.*

Philo makes comparatively little use of Moses as a symbolical figure. He is sometimes the type of the wise man (see below, and p. 387, note *f*); he stands for the mind (*e.g. Leg. All.* i. 40) at its purest (*Mut.* 208, *cf. Mos.* ii. 40) or some form of excellence

“The chief of the prophets proves to have many names,” says Philo in *Mut.* 125. He derives ‘Moses’ from Hebrew to mean ‘handling’ (*ib.* 126 & n), or from Egyptian to mean ‘water’ (*Mos.* i. 17). Philo's most common title for Moses is ‘the law-giver,’<sup>a</sup> with which must be

<sup>a</sup> θεσμοφύλαξ *Sac.* 50; θεσμοθέτης, *Mig.* 23; ὁ τοὺς νόμους προφητεύσας *Spec. Leg.* ii. 104. Otherwise νομοθέτης, νομοθεσία, κτλ.: *Leg. All.* ii. 14, iii. 145, *Cher.* 40, 53, *Sac.* 16, 72,

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linked other similar expressions.<sup>a</sup> He is also the 'prophet'<sup>b</sup> and 'revealer,'<sup>c</sup> chief priest,<sup>d</sup> king,<sup>e</sup> the wise man,<sup>f</sup> perfect,<sup>g</sup> most holy of men,<sup>h</sup> be-

83, 136, *Det.* 62, 105, 115, 135, 147, 171, *Post.* 22, 25, 47, 57, 78, 128, 133, 166, *Gig.* 19, 32, 58, 66, *Quod Deus* 21, 23, 52, 60, 67, 125, *Agr.* 2, 41, 84, 86, 144, *Plant.* 66, 141, *Ebr.* 1, 13, 47, 109, *Sob.* 1, 7, *Conf.* 5, 23, 107, 135, 142, 191, *Mig.* 113, *Quis Her.* 21, 55, 163, 292, *Congr.* 120, 132, *Fug.* 120, 173, 188, 194, *Som.* i. 39, 93, 112, 121, ii. 4, *Mos.* i. 1, 7-16, 45-51, 66, 187, 190, 292, *Decal.* 2-17, *Spec. Leg.* i. 15, 234, 319, iii. 42, 102, 151, 167, iv. 39, 143, *Virt.* 22n, 80, 133, 201, *Praem.* 53, 55, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29, 43, 68, *Aet.* 19, *Hyp.* 6. 8, 7. 11, 11. 1. In *Mos.* ii. 48 God is the true lawgiver.

<sup>a</sup> *E.g.* 'keeper and guardian of the mysteries of the Existent One' (*Plant.* 26).

<sup>b</sup> προφήτης, προφητεία, κτλ., *Leg. All.* ii. 1, iii. 43, 173, *Sac.* 130, *Gig.* 49, 56, *Mig.* 15, 151, *Quis Her.* 4, 262, *Congr.* 132, 170, *Fug.* 140, 147, *Mut.* 11, 103, 125f, *Som.* ii. 189, 277, *Mos.* i. 57, 156, ii. 2-7, 69, 187-191, 209, 213, 229, 246, 250, 253, 257f, 265, 269, 275, 280, 284, 291f, *Decal.* 18f, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 104, 256, iii. 125, *Virt.* 51, *Praem.* 1, 53, 55, *Vit. Cont.* 64, 87; θεολόγος, *Praem.* 53; ὁ ἱερός λόγος, *Quis Her.* 207, cf. 259; ἀνθρωπος θεοῦ, *Det.* 162, *Mut.* 25, 125, 128.

<sup>c</sup> ἱεροφάντης, *Leg. All.* iii. 150, 173, *Sac.* 94, *Post.* 16, 164, 173, *Mig.* 14, *Som.* ii. 3, 29, 109, *Decal.* 18, *Spec. Leg.* i. 41, *Virt.* 75, 174; θεοπρόπος, *Ebr.* 85, *Conf.* 29, *Fug.* 138; θεοφράδμων, *Quis Her.* 30, *Mut.* 96, *Mos.* ii. 269; ἑρμηνεύς, ἑρμηνεία, κτλ., *Praem.* 55, *Quis Her.* 213 & n, *Mut.* 126, *Mos.* i. 1, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 6, *Post.* 1; μάρτυς μαρτυρέω, *Det.* 138, cf. *Post.* 57, *Mig.* 3, *Congr.* 160, *Mut.* 258, *Som.* i. 231, ii. 222, *Abr.* 262 (+ θεσπίζω); ἐπίσκοπος, *Quis Her.* 30.

<sup>d</sup> *Sac.* 130, *Quis Her.* 182, *Mos.* i. 334, ii. 2-7, 66-71, 75, cf. 153-158, 187n, 275, 292, *Praem.* 53, 56, cf. *Θεραπευτής θεοῦ*, *Sac.* 13, *Det.* 160.

<sup>e</sup> In *Mos.* ii. 3ff (see also *Mos.* i and ii, *Introd.* p. 274) and *Praem.* 53-56 Philo treats of Moses as king, legislator, prophet, and high-priest. Moses is also called 'guardian' and 'leader' of the nation (*Virt.* 42, *Praem.* 77).

<sup>f</sup> Moses is or symbolizes ὁ σοφός (πάνσοφος) κτλ., in *Leg. All.* ii. 87, 93, iii. 45, 131, 140f, 144, 147, *Cher.* 41, *Sac.* 9, *Det.* 126, 162, *Post.* 18, 28, 169, 173, *Gig.* 27, 47f, 50, 56, *Quod*

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loved of God <sup>a</sup> and His friend,<sup>b</sup> truly great.<sup>c</sup> He is a lover of God,<sup>d</sup> and of virtue <sup>e</sup> and of humanity,<sup>f</sup> given to piety <sup>g</sup> and continence (*Mos.* i. 25-31), a man of spiritual vision,<sup>h</sup> the healer of the soul's diseases (*Quod Deus* 67), the nursing father of all things good (*Mig.* 23f); indeed he is himself worthy and noble,<sup>i</sup> a true world-citi-

*Deus* 23-26, *cf.* 110, *Agr.* 20, 43, *Plant.* 27, *Ebr.* 1, 37, 100, *Sob.* 20, *Conf.* 1, 30, 192 & n, *Mig.* 45f, 76, 113, 201, *Quis Her.* 19, 21, 55, 301, *Congr.* 132, *Fug.* i. 57, 165, *Mut.* 19, 104, 128, *Som.* ii. 229, 237, 278, *Abr.* 13, *Mos.* i. 4, ii. 67, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 194, iv. 69, 143, 157, 175, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29, 68. Other terms are: φιλομαθής, *Fug.* 161; αὐτομαθής, *Leg. All.* iii. 135, *Post.* 77f, *cf. Mos.* i. 21f, ἐπιστήμη, *Agr.* 2.

<sup>a</sup> τέλειος, *Leg. All.* ii. 91, iii. 100, 131, 134f, 140, 144, 147, *Sac.* 9f, *Det.* 132, *Quod Deus* 23, *Agr.* 80, *Plant.* 94, *Ebr.* 103, *Mut.* 128, *Som.* ii. 234, *Mos.* i. 1; *cf. Gig.* 24-26.

<sup>b</sup> ἱερώτατος, *Leg. All.* iii. 185, *Cher.* 45, *Det.* 135, *Gig.* 67, *Quod Deus* 6, 140, *Agr.* 85, *Plant.* 86, 168, *Mig.* 131, *Quis Her.* 21, *Congr.* 89, *Mut.* 30, 187, *Som.* i. 121, *Abr.* 181, *Spec. Leg.* i. 15, 59, iii. 24, iv. 95, *Virt.* 175.

<sup>c</sup> θεόφιλος, θεοφιλής, *Op.* 5, *Leg. All.* i. 76, ii. 79, 88, 90, iii. 130, *Cher.* 49, *Sac.* 77, *Det.* 13, *Plant.* 62, *Conf.* 95, *Mig.* 67, *Mos.* ii. 67, 163, *Spec. Leg.* i. 41, iv. 175, *Virt.* 77, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 44.

<sup>d</sup> φίλος θεοῦ, based on Exod. xxxiii. 11; *Sac.* 130, *Ebr.* 94, *Mig.* 45, *Quis Her.* 21, *Som.* i. 193f, 231f, *Mos.* i. 156.

<sup>e</sup> μέγας, *Op.* 12, *Plant.* 18, *Ebr.* 1, *Sob.* 49, *Mut.* 128, *Mos.* i. 1, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 51.

<sup>f</sup> φιλόθεος, *Post.* 15, 21, *Mos.* ii. 67, *Spec. Leg.* i. 42.

<sup>g</sup> φιλάρετος, *Op.* 128, *Leg. All.* ii. 90, iii. 130f, 147, *Fug.* 157, *Mut.* 113, *Som.* ii. 29, *Virt.* 175 (+ φιλόκαλος); ἀρετή, *Cher.* 40, *Gig.* 48, *Som.* ii. 230, *Mos.* i. 48, ii. 66.

<sup>h</sup> φιλόανθρωπος, *Mos.* ii. 163, *cf. Spec. Leg.* ii. 79ff, 104, *Virt.* 51, 66, 76f, 80, 82ff, 175.

<sup>i</sup> εὐσέβεια, *Praem.* 52-56.

<sup>k</sup> ὁ βλέπων, *Leg. All.* ii. 93; φιλοθεάμων, *Ebr.* 124; ὄξυ-δερκής, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 194; ὄξυνωπία, *ib.* iii. 91.

<sup>l</sup> σπουδαῖος, *Post.* 28, 169, *Mos.* i. 157; ἀστέιος, a favourite word with Philo, esp. applicable to Moses because it is used

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zen.<sup>a</sup> He was finally translated, because God prizes the wise man as the world (*Sac.* 8-10)

In the following index only those passages are cited in which Moses the man is mentioned, or which seem in some way to be significant ; thus the repeated quotations from the Pentateuch given as 'Moses says' are not included. Nor are the words of Moses in Deuteronomy usually included

- I. Gen. Introd. pp. xiii, xvii n, *Op.* 1-3, 8, 12, 128, 131, *Leg. All.* i. 40, 60[N], 76, ii. 14f, 54, 66f, 78-81, 87-93, 102-104, iii. 11-14, 37f, 43-48, 100-103, 128-147(-159), 173, 186, 197, 204, 228, II. *Cher.* 40-42, 47, 49 & [N], 56 & [N], 114[N], 130, *Sac.* 8-10, 9 & [N], 12 & [N], 13, 50f, 69, 77, 130, *Det.* 16 & [N], 38-40, 86, 126-138, 160 & [N]-162, 177, *Post.* 1, 12-16, 21, 28-31, 67f, 77f, 136f, 143f, 169, 173f, *Gig.* 24-31, 47-59 & nn & [NN], III. *Quod Deus* 23-26, 67, 109f, *Agr.* 2, 43-49, 80f & [N], 94-101, *Plant.* 26f, 46-58, 62, *Ebr.* 36-45, 67, 79, 96-103 & [NN], 111-113, 124, *Sob.* 19f, IV. *Conf.* 29-36, 82, 95-97, 106 & n & [N], 141[N], *Mig.* 14f, 23f, 44-46, 76-85, 122 & n, 168, 169 & n-172, *Quis Her.* 3f, 16-21, 44, 59f, 169 & [N], 182 & [N], 205f, 213f, 228 & [N], 255, 262, *Congr.* 57, 110, 131-133 & [N], V. *Fug.* 140f, 147 & n, 148, 157-165, *Mut.* 7 & [N]-11, 19-21, 25f & n, 103-105 & nn, 113-120, 125-129 & nn, 134, 168, 207-209, *Som.* i. 36, 71, 164f, 188[N], 193f, 206, 231f, ii. 109, 142, 170, 189 & n, 227-234, 237, 277f, 300, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. ix, x, xii, xv-xvii & nn, *Mos.*

of him in Exod. ii. 2 : *Conf.* 106, *Quis Her.* 19, *Congr.* 132, *Som.* ii. 227, 230, *Mos.* i. 9.

<sup>a</sup> *Conf.* 106 & n & [N], *Mos.* i. 157.

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- i & ii *passim*, VII. Gen. Introd. p. ix, *Decal.* 2-19, 45, *Spec. Leg.* i. 41 & n-51 & n, 59, ii. 256 & n, iii. 125, VIII. Gen. Introd. pp. x, xiv, xv, xxi, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, 104[N], 106[N], 173-175, *Virt.* title[N], 42, 51-81 & 78[N], 175, *Praem.* 4 & n & [N], 40n, 52-56, 77, 78 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd. p. 5 n, 10[N], 29 & n, 43 & n, 73[N], *Vit. Cont.* 65[N], 80[N], 87, *Aet.* 19, 147[N], *Hyp.* Introd. pp. 408f, 6. 1n, 6. 2-4 & nn, 6. 8f, 6. 10, 7. 11f, 11. 1 & n, *Prov.* Introd. p. 448
- Muses : III. *Plant.* 129 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 62, *Aet.* 55 ; cf. IV. *Mig.* 72

Naamah : see Noeman

Naason : II. *Post.* 76

Nadab and Abihu : I. *Leg. All.* ii. 57f, (iii. 133), IV. *Mig.* 168f & n, *Quis Her.* 309 & n, V. *Fug.* 59, 160n, *Som.* ii. 67 & n, 186 & n, VI. *Mos.* ii. 142ff, 276n, VIII. *Virt.* 53, 59, *Praem.* 78

Nadab and Abihu must be included in several references to Moses' nephews (*Leg. All.* iii. 133, *Mos.* ii. 142ff, *Virt.* 53, 59, *Praem.* 78). Their names are explained in Philo's exposition of Exod. xxiv. 1 : Nadab means 'voluntary' honouring of God ; Abihu, 'my father,' signifies the man sensible enough to have God for his father rather than master, whom he thus approaches fearlessly and affectionately (*Mig.* 168f & n). They are simply 'holy principles' (*Som.* ii. 67). But the significant passage for Philo is Lev. x. 1ff, which he contrives to interpret wholly in favour of Nadab and Abihu. The "strange fire" which they offered was their zeal, 'alien' to creation but akin to God (*Som.*

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ii. 67 & n), or their piety (*ib.* 186 ; *cf.* 67). Their death "before the Lord" was a translation to God's presence (*Fug.* 59, *Som.* ii. 67, *Quis Her.* 309 & n, *Mos.* ii. 276n). Their leaving their coats behind (*Lev.* x. 5) illustrates that nakedness which is freedom from passions (*Leg. All.* ii. 57f)

**Nahor** : II. *Post.* 76, IV. *Congr.* 43, 45 & n-53. Nahor means 'rest of light' (*Congr.* 45), and as kinsman of Abraham he obtained a share in wisdom's light ; yet his knowledge was incomplete, resting where it was, for he did not remove from Chaldaea, but honoured the created before the Creator (*ib.* 43). He represents, therefore, any philosophy that does not acknowledge God (*ib.* 45n). Philo is considering cases where men married wives and concubines, and he allegorizes Nahor's Milcah and Reumah. In *Post.* 75f he and Abraham represent examples of good men making good choices

**Naid** : see Nod

**Naphtali** : denotes 'broadening' or 'flung wide open,' and so he is the symbol of peace, by which all things are opened out and given width, just as they are shut in by war (V. *Som.* ii. 36)

**Nazirite** <sup>a</sup> : I. *Leg. All.* i. 17 & n, III. *Quod Deus* 87-90, 89[N]

**Nero** : IX. *Flacc.* 22

**Nike** : I. *Op.* 100

**Nile** : VI. *Mos.* i. 115f, ii. 195, IX. *Prov.* 2. 65 ; and, as 'the river of Egypt,' IV. *Conf.* 29f, *Quis Her.* 315f & n, V. *Fug.* 179f, *Som.* ii. 255-259, 278, 300,

<sup>a</sup> Colson used both 'Nazarite' and 'Nazirite,' but the latter more often. Both are correct.

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- VI. *Mos.* i. 6, 99-101, 202, VIII. *Praem.* 90. For its allegorical significance see Egypt
- Nimrod : means 'desertion,' and typifies the fleshly outlook of the earth-born "giants," who are held to have 'deserted' the good (II. *Gig.* 65f)
- Noah : In Gen. v. 29 Lamech names his son Noah, and a punning explanation derives the name from a Hebrew root meaning 'rest.' By his birth Philo means us to understand the birth of righteous reasoning to the soul, whereby all painful ambitions, griefs, and wickednesses are banished (*Det.* 121-123); the birth of just Noah and his sons makes evident the abundance of the unjust (*Gig.* 3); being tenth from Adam (ten is a perfect number), righteous Noah's birth shows how his ancestor Seth was enlarged in virtue (*Post.* 173f), and how justice in the soul is perfect and the true goal (*Congr.* 90). In *Leg. All.* iii. 77, *Abr.* 27, Philo treats Gen. vi. 8 : "Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," even though he had as yet done nothing noble (*cf.* *Abr.* 47) : so God promotes goodly natures without giving reason (*cf.* *Quod Deus* 70-74); Noah's was an excellent nature, for he signifies 'rest' or 'righteous' (see below). The deeper meaning of "finding grace" with God is that only God, not creation, has grace to bestow; His grace is the origin of creation (*Leg. All.* iii. 78, *cf.* *Quod Deus* 86, 104-108)
- "These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a just man, perfect in his generation, Noah was well-pleasing to God" (vi. 9, LXX) : the offspring of a good mind are the virtues mentioned, that he was a man, just, perfect, well-pleasing to God



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(*Quod Deus* 117f, *Abr.* 31-35); the righteous alone is a man (*Abr.* 32f); yet "perfect in his generation" indicates that he was not good absolutely but in comparison with the men of that time (*ib.* 36-39); Noah was pleasing to the Potencies, but Moses to God (*Quod Deus* 109, 116). This text supplies Philo with his regular epithet for Noah, "just" or "righteous,"<sup>a</sup> and with "perfect,"<sup>b</sup> and with the idea of Noah's virtues.<sup>c</sup> Other descriptions of Noah make him good (*Quod Deus* 70, *Mos.* ii. 15, *cf.* *Det.* 105, *Quod Deus* 107) and noble (*Abr.* 27, 35, 56, *Virt.* 201, *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 78) and wise (*Det.* 170f, *Abr.* 27, 31), holy and pious (*Virt.* 201), beloved of God (*Abr.* 27, 46, *Som.* ii. 225)

Noah begat sons (vi. 10), for the just man who follows the truly masculine reason (λόγος) begets males, true-born and excellent fruit (*Gig.* 4f)

The corruption of the earth, the flood, and Noah being spared (vi. 11ff) are variously interpreted. In *Det.* 170ff the deluge is the washing away of the soul's defilements, and Noah is the goodly reasoning faculty instructed to bring into the body or vessel containing the soul (the ark) "from among the clean beasts seven, male and female" (vii. 2) that it should find all parts of

<sup>a</sup> δίκαιος, *Leg. All.* iii. 77f, *Det.* 105-123, *Post.* 173f, *Gig.* 5, *Quod Deus* 85, 117f, 140, *Agr.* 2, 20, 181, *Plant.* 1, 140, *Sob.* 30, *Conf.* 105, *Mig.* 125, *Quis Her.* 260, *Congr.* 90, *Mut.* 189, *Som.* ii. 223f & n, *Abr.* 27, 33, 46, 56, *Praem.* 22f & n, *cf.* *Mos.* ii. 59.

<sup>b</sup> τέλειος, *Quod Deus* 117, 122, *Abr.* 34, 36ff, 47, *Praem.* 22 & n, *cf.* *Gig.* 5, see also VI. Gen. Introd. p. x.

<sup>c</sup> *Quod Deus* 117f, 122, 140, *Som.* ii. 225, *cf.* *Post.* 173; φιλάρετος, *Abr.* 27, 31, 34, 36ff, (48).

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the irrational side clean for its use. In *Quod Deus* 73-76, 85, God in anger judges the earth, but mingles mercy with judgement, that the race might survive, and valued one just man above the multitude of unjust thoughts. In *Conf.* 105 Philo is discussing asphalt, and suggests that its safety (*ἀσφάλεια*) is of bodily rather than spiritual things ; so Noah, in the great ceaseless deluge of life, while still needing sense to behold realities, " coats the ark with asphalt " (vi. 14), that is, strengthens the bodily impressions ; but presently he will come forth from the body and use his understanding, free from it, to apprehend truth. In *Mig.* 125, where Philo is dealing with the blessing of Abraham, Noah illustrates his argument that the righteous man is a good influence in the race, as is the righteous mind in the soul, for he survived the engulfing of so many parts of the soul and begat wisdom's new race. In *Mos.* ii. 60-65 Philo tells the story of the Flood and the Ark to show how the historical part of Moses' law-book records the punishment of the wicked and the salvation of the good. In *Virt.* 201, on Nobility, and the inheriting of it, Noah's piety is emphasized by his being the only family to be preserved from the flood : yet his son Ham was degenerate. In *Praem.* 22f the individual Noah was rewarded for his justice with preservation from the deluge and made the founder of a new race.<sup>a</sup> This thought, that Noah was the last of the old race and first of the new, also occurs to Philo in *Abr.* 46, 56, *Mos.* ii. 60, 65, *cf. Mut.* 189. The covenant made with Noah

<sup>a</sup> Noah is here equated with Deucalion ; see [N].

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(ix. 11) is briefly treated in *Som.* ii. 223-225 : the Pharaoh-mind had said, " I stood " ; but this stability belongs to God ; He imparts it to the Logos, which under the name of Covenant is said to be made to stand upon the just Noah. We learn that justice and God's covenant are identical, and that God gives the recipients of His gifts to themselves (see note *ad loc.*). It is the desire of the God-beloved to escape the waters of engrossing business and anchor in the calm and safety of virtue

" And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine, and became drunken [LXX, " and was made naked " ] within his house " (ix. 20f). Tilling the soil is a skilled trade and therefore proper to righteous Noah ; for the good man prunes away the growths of passions and vices in the soul (*Det.* 105, *Agr.* 1-10, 20) ; yet Noah only " began " : he had not the strength to complete his task (*Agr.* 125, 181). Noah's drunkenness leads to disquisitions on the subject (*Plant.* 140ff, *Ebr.* 4ff). His nakedness was of the foolish kind, a deprivation of virtue ; but " in his house " shows that the sin was limited in its harmful effect (*Leg. All.* ii. 60f, *cf. Ebr.* 4 and n). When Noah awoke to soberness, he blessed and cursed his sons (ix. 24ff) ; this indicates sobriety of the soul (*Sob.* 1-5), when it perceives the former doings of the young rebellious wickedness within it and curses them (*ib.* 30) ; and the blessing and cursing must have been the inspired utterances of a prophet (*Quis Her.* 260)

Noah symbolizes the good man, etc. (see above),

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the righteous philosopher (*Leg. All.* iii. 77f, *Quod Deus* 107), the righteous reasoning in the soul (*Det.* 121, 170, *cf. Gig.* 5, *Quod Deus* 70-72, *Mig.* 125 & n), the incorruptible element (*Quod Deus* 123), the soul itself (*Leg. All.* ii. 60f). In *Abr.* 7-47 (see VI. Gen. Introd. p. x), an imperfectly wise Triad comprising Enos (Hope), Enoch (Repentance), and Noah (Justice) is contrasted with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the first three are like the studies of children in comparison with the exercises of grown athletes in the sacred contests (*ib.* 48); Philo again treats the Triad in *Praem.* 22f & n (see VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi)

- I. *Leg. All.* ii. 60f, iii. 77f, II. *Det.* 105, 121-123, 170, *Post.* 173f, *Gig.* 1-5, III. *Quod Deus* 7-74, 86, 104-109, 116f, 122, 140, *Agr.* 1-10, 20, 125, 181, *Plant.* 1, 73, 140, *Ebr.* 4 & n, *Sob.* 1-5, 30-32, 44, 52n, (59), IV. *Conf.* 105 & n, *Mig.* 125 & n, *Quis Her.* 260, *Congr.* 90, V. *Mut.* 189, *Som.* ii. 223-225 & n, VI. Gen. Introd. p. x, *Abr.* 27, 31-39, 46-48, 56, *Mos.* ii. 59-65, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi, *Virt.* 201f, *Praem.* 22f & n & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd. p. 4, 70[N]

Nod (LXX, Naid) : means 'tossing' (σάλος), symbol of the vice that creates tumult (κλόνος) in the soul of the foolish man (II. *Cher.* 12, *Post.* 22 & n), or 'tumult,' the destination of Cain (*Post.* 1, 32)

Noeman : one of the degenerate descendants of Cain, the 'fatness' of those whose goal is material comfort, II. *Post.* 120

Norbanus : X. *Leg.* 314f

Ocellus : IX. *Aet.* 12 & n & [N]

Odysseus : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 40f

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- Oedipus : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15f & n  
Olympic Games : III. *Quod Deus* 147, *Agr.* 119 & [N],  
VIII. *Virt.* 193  
Olympus, Olympians : III. *Agr.* 119 & [N], IV. *Conf.*  
4, V. *Som.* i. 151, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 105  
On : see Heliopolis  
Onan : ' That evil suggestion of an unnatural creed,'  
represents self-love or the selfish pursuit of  
pleasure (II. *Post.* 180f, III. *Quod Deus* 16-18,  
IX. *Hyp.* 7. 7n)  
Onomarchus : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33  
Ossa : IV. *Conf.* 4
- Paeon : X. *Leg.* 110  
Palestine : VI. *Abr.* 133, *Mos.* i. 163, VIII. *Virt.* 221,  
IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75  
Pamphylia : X. *Leg.* 281  
Panaetius : IX. *Aet.* 76 & n  
Panathenaea : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 132  
Pandora : I. *Op.* 133, IX. *Aet.* 63  
Panhellenes : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 42  
Paradise : II. *Cher.* 11, 20, IV. *Congr.* 171 & [N]  
Parthians : III. *Quod Deus* 174, VI. *Jos.* 136, X. *Leg.*  
10, 256  
Pasch, Passover : I. *Leg. All.* (ii. 34), iii. 94 & n, 154,  
165, II. *Sac.* 62 & [N], 63, IV. *Mig.* 25f, *Quis Her.*  
192f, 255, *Congr.* 106, cf. 162, VI. *Mos.* ii. 224 (cf.  
' crossing-feast,' 226, 228, 233, and *Leg. All.* iii.  
94, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 41, 145 & n & [N]), VII. *Decal.*  
159, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 41, 145 & n & [N], 150n, IX.  
*Vit. Cont.* 65n & [N]  
The Passover represents the passage from the life  
of the passions to the practice of virtue (*Sac.* 63),  
sacrificed with haste that the mind may eagerly

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pass away from the passions and thank God its Saviour (*Mig.* 25, *cf.* *Quis Her.* 255); when, at the Passover, the soul studies to unlearn irrational passion and of its own free will experiences the higher form of passion which reason sanctions, the lamb is divided for distribution: this illustrates proportioned equality of numbers (*Quis Her.* 192f, *cf.* *Congr.* 162); the perfect number, ten, is seen in the Passover being sacrificed on the tenth day (*Congr.* 106). See also *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145n & [N]

Pasiphaë: VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43-45, VIII. *Praem.* 23[N]

Peiraeus: IX. *Flacc.* 155

Peitho: The Egyptian city Peitho signifies our speech, because persuasion (Greek *πειθῶ*) is its function, and the word means 'harassing mouth' (Hebrew), for the worthless man's speech harasses and overturns all that is good, II. *Post.* 54f, V. *Som.* i. 77

Pelion: IV. *Conf.* 4

Peloponnesse, Peloponnesian: IX. *Aet.* 140, *Flacc.* 154, 173, X. *Leg.* 281

Pentecost: VII. *Decal.* 160, *Spec. Leg.* i. 183, ii. 176 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73 [N], *Vit. Cont.* 65 & nn & [N]

Penuel: The fate of Penuel at Gideon's hands indicates what is in store for the builders of Babel towers. Penuel, which is 'turning from God,' was destroyed: piety overturns every argument of impiety. IV. *Conf.* 129-132

Peor: see Baal-Peor

Peripatetic: IX. *Aet.* 55

Persians: III. *Quod Deus* 174, V. *Som.* ii. 117, VI. *Jos.* 133, 136, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 13 & n & [N], 17f

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& [N], 100 & n & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 74  
 Petronius : X. *Leg.* 207-261, 333f

Pharaoh : Since Egypt (*q.v.*) represents the body, passions, etc., the king of Egypt (included here whether or not styled 'Pharaoh') signifies much the same things. He is the mind which is king of the realm of the body (*Agr.* 57, *Conf.* 88, *Fug.* 124, *Jos.* 151), sovereign of the animal and composite (*συγκρίτου ζώου*, *Sac.* 48), ruling the passions (*Leg. All.* iii. 13), the mind that fancies itself a king (*Mig.* 160, *Som.* ii. 215), the king of terror (*Mut.* 173). The same adjectives are used to describe Pharaoh as Egypt: he is a lover of pleasure and self, of the body and passion<sup>a</sup>; he represents the foolish man,<sup>b</sup> the incontinent soul<sup>c</sup>; he is proud (*Ebr.* 111, *Mos.* ii. 88), stubborn (*Som.* ii. 184, *cf.* *Mos.* ii. 89), impious (*Mut.* 19, *Som.* ii. 182; see below, on *Exod.* v. 2). But Philo's favourite description presupposes the derivation of 'Pharaoh' from a word meaning 'to scatter,'<sup>d</sup> so that he is 'the scatterer of things noble.'<sup>e</sup> Frequent, too, is the term 'god-

<sup>a</sup> *φιλήδων*, *Leg. All.* iii. 212, *Mut.* 171f, *Jos.* 153; *φίλαντρος*, *Cher.* 74, *Som.* ii. 219; *φιλοσώματος*, *Abr.* 103; *φιλοπαθής*, *Ebr.* 208f, *Som.* ii. 277.

<sup>b</sup> *ἄφρων*, *Det.* 161f, *Mut.* 125, 128f, 171-175, *cf.* 89-91, *Som.* ii. 181; *φῶλος*, *ib.* 237.

<sup>c</sup> *Ebr.* 210, *Som.* ii. 181f, 184, 200f, 211, *Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 153.

<sup>d</sup> 'Pharaoh' is Egyptian and has no such meaning; nor is there an obvious Hebrew word for 'scatter'; but Philo perhaps had in mind an intensive form of III. *פָּרַץ*, or even just the general sound of the word, akin to many that begin with 'para-' and mean 'break out,' etc.; or perhaps the Greek equivalent, *φάρω*.

<sup>e</sup> *ὁ σκεδαστής τῶν καλῶν* *Leg. All.* iii. 236, 243, *cf.* 12f, *Sac.* 48, 69, *Det.* 95, *Quis Her.* 59f, *Som.* ii. 211.

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less<sup>a</sup>; it is an obvious term for the enemies of God's people, but Philo justifies it in the case of Egypt by their worship of sacred beasts, and in the case of Pharaoh by Exod. v. 2, "I know not the Lord."<sup>b</sup> God's words to Moses in vii. 1, "I give thee as a god to Pharaoh," are also much used.<sup>c</sup> Other relevant texts are Gen. xli. 17 (*Som.* ii. 215-219, instability), Exod. ii. 15 (*Leg. All.* iii. 12f, *Fug.* 47), ii. 23 (*ib.* 212, *Det.* 93-95, Pharaoh's death and Israel's groaning), vii. 15 (*Conf.* 29f, *Som.* ii. 277f, wrong speaking of pleasure-lovers, *i.e.* Epicureans), the passions, viii. 9, 10 (*Sac.* 69-71, the folly of postponement), meet the soul with xiv. 7, xv. 1, 4 (*Ebr.* 77-79 & n, 111, the destruction of the wicked and boastful mind), xv. 9 (*Cher.* 74-83, God alone acts, man's part is passivity); the wickedness of making (brick) structures of evil-minded thoughts (*Conf.* 88f); failure to seek and find (*Fug.* 124f, 147)

- I. *Leg. All.* i. 40, iii. 12-14, 212, 236, 243, II. *Cher.* 74, *Sac.* 9 & [N], 48, 49-71, *Det.* 94f, 161f, *Post.* 115, III. *Agr.* 57-60, *Ebr.* 19, 77-79 & n, 111, 208-210, 214ff, IV. *Conf.* 72, 88, *Mig.* 84, 159-162 & n & 160[N], *Quis Her.* 20, 59f, V. *Fug.* 124f, 147, *Mut.* 19-21, 89-91, 125, 128f & n, 171-175, 207-209, *Som.* i. 77f, ii. 5, 159, 181-184, 195, 200f, 211,

<sup>a</sup> ἄθεος, *Leg. All.* iii. 12f, 212, *Ebr.* 19; ἀντίθεος, *Conf.* 88, *Congr.* 118, *Som.* ii. 183, *cf.* 277.

<sup>b</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 12f, 243, *Post.* 115, *Ebr.* 19, 77, *Som.* ii. 182, *Mos.* i. 88.

<sup>c</sup> See *Sac.* 9[N]; *Leg. All.* i. 40, *Sac.* 9, *Det.* 161f, *Mig.* 84, *Mut.* 19, 125, 128f, *Som.* ii. 189, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43 & n.



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215-219, 237f, 261, 277-279, VI.<sup>a</sup> Gen. Introd. p. xiii f, *Abr.* 93-106, *Jos.* 27 & n, 88-124, 148-150, 151-153, 157, 163, 166, 222, 242, 248-251, 256-258, *Mos.* i. 8-10, 13 & n, 15, 32f, 36f, 45f, 49, 73, 87-91, 105, 120, 122f, 134, 138f, 149, 167-169, ii. 248, VIII. *Virt.* 92n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43 & n, *Hyp.* 11. 4n

Pharos : VI. *Mos.* ii. 35-44, IX. *Flacc.* 27, 110

Phaÿllus : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33f

Pheidias : III. *Ebr.* 89

Pheison : The river of Eden (Gen. ii. 10ff) divides into the four cardinal virtues (II. *Post.* 128f), Pheison being Prudence, owing to its 'sparing' (Greek *φείδεσθαι*) and guarding the soul from doing wrong ; it is the best of virtues (I. *Leg. All.* i. 63-66). Another derivation, supposedly from Hebrew, makes it mean 'alteration of mouth,' which is characteristic of prudence, for it transforms words into action ; universal (not particular) prudence is seated in the wisdom of God (*ib.* 74-78, 85)

Philadelphus, Ptolemy : VI. *Mos.* ii. 28-33

Philip the tetrarch : IX. *Flacc.* 25 & [N]

Philolaus : I. *Op.* 100 & n

Philomelus : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33f

Phinehas : When one of the Israelites introduced a Midianitish woman into the camp, Phinehas, one of the priests, took a spear and thrust both of them through. "So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel." And God said,

<sup>a</sup> In Vol. VI only *Jos.* 151-153 contains allegorical matter about Pharaoh. For the contrast between the *De Josepho* and the *Allegorical Commentary* see VI. Gen. Introd. pp. xiii f.

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“ Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace . . . even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood ” (Num. xxv. 6-13). Philo interprets this as follows : Phinehas, the controller of the inlets and outlets of the body (*Post.* 182), consecrated intelligence (*ib.* 184), most war-like reason (*Conf.* 57), a hater of evil and zealous for good, came as self-bidden champion (*Mut.* 108) ; he took a spear or probe (*σειρομάσσης*), that is, zeal for virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 242, *Conf.* 57) or the exploring of the nature of existent things that discovers virtue (*Post.* 182, *cf. Ebr.* 73), the sharp and two-edged word (or ‘ reason,’ *λόγος*) that explores each thing (*Mut.* 108), and he pierced through the Midianitish woman, the nature ‘ sifted out ’ from the sacred company, namely folly (*Leg. All.* iii. 242), the virtue-hating, pleasure-loving creature (*Post.* 182, *cf. Conf.* 57), passion (*Mut.* 108), the belief which ascribes causation to creation itself (*Ebr.* 73, *cf. Conf.* 57), and with her the man, that is the ideas or reasonings based on this belief (*Ebr.* 73) ; by thus thrusting through her womb, the part that typifies her belief (*Ebr.* 73, *Conf.* 57), he destroyed the source of baseness and voluptuousness (*Post.* 182), and prevented the further growth of wickedness (*Leg. All.* iii. 242), that the womb should bring to birth no plague of God’s sending (*Mut.* 108). The twofold reward of peace and priesthood (*Mos.* i. 304) are sister virtues awarded to the soul for cutting out folly (*Leg. All.* 242, *cf. Ebr.* 74), peace, because Phinehas had ended the war of lusts in the soul, and priesthood, because it is akin to peace (the assonance is never far from Philo’s mind : *cf. Mut.*

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108), and the consecrated intelligence delights to do God's will (*Post.* 183, *cf. Ebr.* 75); peace is awarded to warlike reason (*Conf.* 57)

A broader survey is this: Joseph and Phinehas represent two methods of dealing with pleasure—flight and fight (*Leg. All.* iii. 242); Onan and Phinehas are contrasted in their dealing with pleasure within themselves: Phinehas 'muzzled' his inward revolt. This war in the soul is the cause of all wars (*Post.* 182-185); like the Levites of the similar incident in *Exod.* xxxii, Phinehas is an example of those dutiful children who despise the female parent, convention, and follow the male parent, right reason, and he slays the philosophy which attributes causation to creation itself (*Ebr.* 73-76); there is a good 'symphony' of men of peace (*Gen.* xlii. 11)—peace which is yet a warfare against the symphony of evil; such was that of the captains who warred against Midian (led by Phinehas, *Num.* xxxi); most warlike of all is Phinehas himself, for his exploit (*Num.* xxv): he wins the true peace; but the captains share it in their turn (*Conf.* 55-57 & n); Midian is a double name, and it can stand for the exclusion by judgement of wrong elements, as it does in the story of Phinehas and the Midianite war that followed (*Mut.* 108f)

I. *Leg. All.* iii. 242, II. *Post.* 182-185, III. *Ebr.* 73-76, IV. *Conf.* 55-57 & n, V. *Mut.* 106-109, VI. *Mos.* i. 300-304 & n, 305f, 313, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 56 & n, VIII. *Virt.* 34 & [N]-42

Phocis: IX. *Prov.* 2. 33

Phoenicia, Phoenicians: VI. *Mos.* i. 163, 214, IX. *Hyp.* 6. 6, X. *Leg.* 222, 225f, 281

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**Phuah and Zipporah** : The two Hebrew midwives (Exod. i. 15) represent human and divine wisdom, each indivisible, and appropriately named because Zipporah means 'bird,' and divine wisdom soars aloft like a bird, and Phuah means 'ruddy,' and human wisdom implants modesty and discretion, whose presence is proved by blushing (IV. *Quis Her.* 128)

**Pilate** : X. *Leg.* 299-305

**Pindar** : VIII. *Virt.* 172, IX. *Aet.* 121, *Prov.* 2. 50 & n

**Planets** : I. *Op.* 54 & [N], 113 & [N], 126, *Leg. All.* i. 8 & n

**Plato** : I. *Op.* 119 & n, 133, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 13 & n, *Vit. Cont.* 57-59, *Aet.* 13 & [N]-17 & nn, 25 & n-27, 38 & n, 52 & n, 141 & n<sup>a</sup>

**Pleiades** : I. *Op.* 115, *Leg. All.* i. 8 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 57

**Pluto** : VII. *Decal.* 54

**Polycrates** : IX. *Introd.* p. 449, *Prov.* 2. 1n, 2. 24f & n & [NN]

**Polyxena** : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 116

**Pontus** : III. *Quod Deus* 175, X. *Leg.* 281

**Poseidon** : VI. *Abr.* 244[N], VII. *Decal.* 54 & [N], IX. *Vit. Cont.* 3 & [N]

**Potiphar** : Philo's treatment mainly centres round three texts: Gen. xxxvii. 36 with xxxix. 1, which tell of Joseph being sold by the Midianites and purchased by Potiphar, who is "a eunuch of Pharaoh, his chief cook" (LXX); and xxxix. 7, etc., which is the account of the attempt to seduce Joseph made by Potiphar's wife. Thus, I. *Leg. All.* iii. 236-241: Potiphar's wife, who is pleasure, is contrasted with Joseph and Phinehas,

<sup>a</sup> See further Index to Translators' Notes.

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who meet pleasure with flight and fight ; Potiphar, eunuch and servant of Pharaoh, is the mind incapable of begetting wisdom because it serves the one who is disperser of noble things ; this interpretation explains how a eunuch can be said to have a wife. In III. *Quod Deus* 111-116 & [N] it is Potiphar himself who is identified with pleasure, the chief cateress of our compound nature ; Philo is contrasting Noah and Joseph, who " found grace " with the ruler of the prison : if we are prisoners of passion, we should at least avoid friendship with our gaoler. In III. *Ebr.* 210-217, 224 the subject is the relation of wine to greed, and Potiphar, eunuch and chief cook, shows that the ministers of pleasure are incapable of producing wisdom (*cf. Leg. All.* 236) or virtue. In IV. *Mig.* 19, 21 & [N] the discussion is on the survival of the higher qualities of the mixed or Joseph mind ; Potiphar's wife is pleasure, lusts, and passions. In V. *Mut.* 173, Philo, having said that joy is only for the good, says that Egyptian expressions of joy are either assumed or the hope of seducing the soul, as was done with Joseph ; Potiphar is the soul unable to beget anything that tends to discipline ; cook-like, he lives in an environment of dead ideas, hashed to pieces (see *Quis Her.* 242 [N]), arousing the appetites of the passions. His wife is bodily pleasure in V. *Som.* ii. 106 : but Joseph, like our own better judgement, refuses to acknowledge any claim but that of God. In *Jos.* 37-80 the same allegories are adapted to Philo's theme of Joseph as a statesman ; Potiphar represents the multitude that buys the statesman : as politicians,

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the multitude is occupied, like a cook, in choosing what will give pleasure, until the soul is enervated thereby; eunuch-like, the multitude is unproductive of wisdom; Potiphar's wife is desire, for the desire of the multitude makes love to the statesman, seducing him to succumb for its favour. Other references are insignificant—IV. *Conf.* 95, VI. *Jos.* 104, IX. *Flacc.* 72n

Potiphara: Priest of Heliopolis (Gen. xli. 45), V. *Som.* i. 78

Priene: IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 153

Protagoras: II. *Post.* 35, an offspring of Cain's madness

Proteus: III. *Ebr.* 36, X. *Leg.* 80

Psonthomphanech: V. *Mut.* 89 & n-91; see Joseph

Ptolemies: VI. *Jos.* 136, *Mos.* ii. 28-33, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 125, X. *Leg.* 140

Puteoli (Dicaearchia): IX. *Flacc.* 27 & n, X. *Leg.* 185

Pythagoreans: I. *Op.* 100 & n, *Leg. All.* i. 15, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 2 & n, *Act.* 12 & n

Raamses: Egyptian city of Exod. i. 11, signifying sense-perception, for it means a 'moth's troubling,' since the mind is eaten out by each of the senses (II. *Post.* 54-57 & [N] & 56n, V. *Som.* i. 77)

Rachel: Rachel typifies sense-perception,<sup>a</sup> and she is usually depreciated in favour of Jacob, the Practiser, and Leah, virtue (see I. Gen. Introd. p. xii & n). Thus, as the younger daughter of Laban, though the more beautiful (Gen. xxix. 16), she is comeliness of the body, and mortal only, whereas Leah is immortal beauty of the soul (*Sob.* 12, cf. *Ebr.* 52). Again, "when the

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. All.* ii. 46, *Post.* 135, 177-179, *Ebr.* 54, *Sob.* 12, *Quis Her.* 50f, *Mut.* 96, *Som.* ii. 16.

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Lord saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb : but Rachel was barren" (xxix. 31) : when the soul is pregnant and bears excellent deeds, the erstwhile beloved objects of sense become barren (*Quis Her.* 50f, *cf. Post.* 135). And though Rachel demand children from Jacob (xxx. 1f), it is God only who is the source of creation, as Leah's case shows (*Leg. All.* iii. 180, *Post.* 135). Rachel later recanted, however (xxx. 24, *Post.* 179). Nearly all these points are included in *Leg. All.* ii. 46f

On the other hand, the story of the flight of Rachel and Leah with Jacob (xxxi. 14ff) classes them together as the faculties of the Practiser (*Fug.* 14-18, *cf. Cher.* 40 & [N], *Post.* 62, *Quis Her.* 43f, *Congr.* 24 & n-32), while Laban complains that Jacob has stolen his sound sense, namely his daughters (xxxi. 26f; *Leg. All.* iii. 20-22), a stripping of the virtues (*Fug.* 15-18), a loss of the arts and branches of knowledge (*Cher.* 67-71). They, however, have rightly dissociated themselves from Laban and would refuse his kiss (xxxi. 28; *Quis Her.* 43f). In the search for the teraphim (xxxi. 34f), Rachel's words reveal that custom is followed more by women (weaker and effeminate souls), than by men, and they are the soul's confession that it cannot rise up against the external goods represented by Laban (*Ebr.* 54-59 & 56 [N])

After hard labour, Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin, whom she wanted to call Benoni, 'son of my sorrow' (xxxv. 16, 18f); here she is contrasted with Jacob, reason, and her words signify the secret misery of the soul that is mother of

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vainglory; *cf.* *Ebr.* 52, for her bitter experience contrasts with public opinion of it; vainglory means the death of the soul (*Mut.* 92-96)

In *Congr.* 24 & n-32 we have Philo's only derivation of the name (but see *Fug.* 16 & [N]), and a different treatment: the Practiser of virtue has two wives; one is the smooth movement which proceeds to noble life without conflict (the *λεία κίνησις* of Stoic terminology): the other is Rachel, who is like a whetstone on which the mind sharpens its edge. Her name means 'vision of profanation,' because she judges the visible world to be profane; she belongs to the unreasoning element in the soul, training us through the senses (so her handmaid is Bilhah, 'swallowing,' a bodily function). The Practiser loves Rachel when he wrestles with the passions and opposes all objects of sense. Thus Leah helps by giving peaceful enjoyment of the good, Rachel by the fighting opposition to evil. See also Jacob, Laban, Leah

- I. *Gen. Introd.* p. xii & n, *Leg. All.* ii. 46f & [N], 94, iii. 20-22, 180, II. *Cher.* 40 & [N], 67-71, *Post.* 62, 135, 179, III. *Ebr.* 52-59 & 56[N], *Sob.* 12, IV. *Quis Her.* 43f, 50f, 175, *Congr.* 24 & n-32, V. *Fug.* 14-18 & 16 [N], *Mut.* 92-96, 97n, *Som.* ii. 16, VIII. *Virt.* 221n, 223 & n-225

Raguel: see Jethro

Ram: I. *Op.* 116

Rameses: see Raamses

Rebecca: Rebecca is the symbol of Patience,<sup>a</sup> or

<sup>a</sup> *ὑπομονή*, *Leg. All.* iii. 88f (*ὑπομονητικὴ ψυχὴ*), *Sac.* 4, *Det.* 45, 51, *Plant.* 169f, (*τῶν καλῶν*), *Mig.* 208f, *Congr.* 36, 111-408



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Steadfastness in excellence, a queenly, virgin virtue <sup>a</sup> ; she is also to be connected with Reason (*Post.* 77f) or Knowledge (*ib.* 77f, 138, *Fug.* 52, 195 ; see Isaac)

Abraham sent his servant to obtain a wife for Isaac, and it was Rebecca who fulfilled his words by offering water to the servant and for his camels (*Gen.* xxiv. 15ff). In a sustained allegory, Philo contrasts Rebecca with Hagar, the type of School learning : Rebecca, virgin virtue, waters her pupil from the well of divine wisdom (*cf.* *Fug.* 194), not with gradual progress but with perfection (*Post.* 132-153, and *Introd.* p. 325f). She ' went down ' to the well (xxiv. 16), a descent from proud imposture ; she ' came up ' thereby to virtue's height (*Fug.* 194f, *Post.* 136). In *Congr.* 111-113 Philo illustrates the use of the perfect number, Ten : the servant had ten camels, he gave Rebecca bracelets of ten weights of gold (xxiv. 10, 12)

Philo maintains that the lovers of wisdom, represented by Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and others, did not know women but were wedded to virtues, Rebecca being Patience (*Cher.* 40f, *cf.* *Congr.* 34-38, *Post.* 62, 132f). ' Taking a wife ' is to be understood in this way : good men choose good, bad men choose evils ; but some are above that, so Isaac, though he " took Rebekah " (xxiv. 67), did so only in his mother's

113, *Fug.* 39, 194f, *Som.* i. 46, *cf.* *Fug.* 45 (ἐπιμονή, ἐπιμένω), *Cher.* 41 (τῶν καλῶν), 47, *Det.* 30f (τοῖς καλοῖς), *Fug.* 24 (ὀρθογνώμων).

<sup>a</sup> *Congr.* 36 and *Post.* 132f ; ἀρετή, *Cher.* 40f, *Post.* 62, 77f, 132f, 136, *Congr.* 36, 111f.

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tent (*Post.* 77f; Sarah is sovereign Virtue or Wisdom). Rebecca was barren, but Isaac prayed to the Lord and she conceived (xxv. 21): virtue brings forth to her lover, but receives the divine seed from God (*Cher.* 47). She learned that she was to have twins ("Two nations are in thy womb . . ." xxv. 22f), the base and irrational nature, the good and rational (*Leg. All.* iii. 88). Hers being a pregnancy accompanied by wisdom, Rebecca received (opposed to 'having') in her womb the knowledge of the two nations of the mind, virtue and vice, and distinguished between them, and she was happily delivered (*Congr.* 129f, *cf. Sac.* 4)

Abimelech saw Isaac "sporting with Rebekah his wife" (xxvi. 8)—a divine pursuit (*Cher.* 8 & n), the wise man making merry with her who waits patiently for all that is beautiful (*Plant.* 169f)

I. *Leg. All.* iii. 88f, II. *Cher.* 8 & n, 40f, 47, *Sac.* 4, *Det.* 30f, 45, 51, *Post.* 62, 77f, 132-153, III. *Plant.* 169f, IV. *Mig.* 208-211, *Congr.* 34-38, 111-113, 129, V. *Fug.* 23-25 & [N], (26-38), 39-52 & 45[N], 194f, *Som.* i. 46, VIII. *Virt.* 208f & n, 221n

Red Sea: VI. *Gen. Introd.* p. xv, *Mos.* i. 165, 169-181, ii. 1, 247-257, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145n, VIII. *Praem.* 78[N], IX. *Vit. Cont.* 85; *cf. I. Leg. All.* iii. 94, 172, III. *Ebr.* 79 & n, and see *Passover*

Reuben: Reuben is the symbol of good natural endowments, for 'seeing son' he is called, in so far as he is a son not perfect, but in so far as he is a man with power to see and keenness of vision, well endowed by nature (*Som.* ii. 33). Philo keeps consistently to 'natural ability' for Reuben, and develops the idea in accordance

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with various texts : thus in Num. iii. 12f the Levites are said to be a ransom for the first-born ; this means that Levi, 'sanctified reason,' is accepted by God before Reuben, natural ability (*Sac.* 118-121). "This our son is disobedient . . ." (Deut. xxi. 18-21) suggests other sons, not disobedient ; such are the reasonings of the naturally gifted, of which Reuben is a type (*Ebr.* 94). God employs subordinate ministers for the lower work of punishment, and so we find the six best tribe-leaders, Reuben amongst them, set over the blessing, and six others over the cursing (Deut. xxvii. 12f, *Fug.* 73). The blessing of Moses (mistakenly attributed to Jacob) prays that natural ability may live (Deut. xxxiii. 6, *Mut.* 210). Jacob's words in Gen. xlviii. 5, "Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me," lead Philo to find an analogy between Reuben, the gifted nature, and Ephraim, memory, etc. (*Mut.* 97-102)

I. *Leg. All.* i. 81, II. *Sac.* 118-121, III *Ebr.* 94, V. *Fug.* 73, *Mut.* 97-102, 210, *Som.* ii. 33, VI. *Jos.* 13, 16-21, 173-176, 188, 217, *Mos.* ii. 175, 186n, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xviii n, *Praem.* 75n

Reumah : Nahor, Abraham's kinsman, shared in his wisdom, yet his knowledge never went beyond the Chaldaean astrology ; he represents, therefore, any scheme of things that does not acknowledge God as Creator. He had a wife, Milcah, who symbolizes the Chaldaean astrology, queen of the sciences ; his concubine was Reumah, which means 'seeing something,' and symbolizes the sceptics, busying themselves with quibbling

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over little things, missing the better, more profitable things. They come third, astrology is second best, best is Israel that sees God (Gen. xxii. 23f, IV. *Congr.* 43-53)

Rhegium : IX. *Act.* 139

Rhine : X. *Leg.* 10

Rhodes : IX. *Act.* 120

Rome, Romans : I. *Op.* 127 (spelling of *septem*), IX. *Flacc.* 28, 40 (Senate), 105, 152, 158, X. *Leg.* 10, 28 (laws), 108, 116 (freedom), 144, 153, 155, 157, 160 (Jews), 185, 219f, 252, 285-287 (citizenship), 337, 342, (351)

Salem : I. *Leg. All.* iii. 79-81 : Melchizedek was made king of 'peace' (Salem) and priest of God without first doing anything to merit it. Peace is the proper realm of a king, as war is of the despot

Samuel : Hannah gave Samuel to the Lord, and his name means 'appointed to God' (V. *Som.* i. 254, III. *Quod Deus* 5, 11, *Ebr.* 143f, IV. *Mig.* 196). Hannah's dedication of her child contrasts with those who beget for themselves (Gen. vi. 4, *Quod Deus* 5); in thanksgiving she said, "The barren hath borne seven . . .," and Samuel, whose existence is ordered in accordance with God alone, the Monad, implies the number of rest, namely Seven (*ib.* 11-13). This ordering of his life included abstinence from strong drink (1 Sam. i. 11, LXX), and Samuel is therefore evidence that drunkenness is a moral folly; we are to think, however, not so much of Samuel the man (whose real existence Philo appears to doubt: see I. Gen. Introd. p. xiv) as of the mind that rejoices in the service of God alone (*Ebr.*

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143f). Before instructing Saul in kingship, Samuel, appointed to the highest post in God's service, withdraws him from the baggage (1 Sam. x. 22f, *Mig.* 196f). Samuel himself is styled 'greatest of kings and prophets' (*Ebr.* 143 & n). He represents an inspired temper possessed by a God-sent frenzy (*Som.* i. 254 & [N]). See also VIII. *Praem.* 4-6[N]

**Sarah** : Sarah stands for Virtue,<sup>a</sup> or Wisdom,<sup>b</sup> often described as 'ruling' or 'sovereign'<sup>c</sup>; that is an allusion to the interpretation of her names, made in *Cher.* 3-10, *Congr.* 1-13, *Mut.* 61, 66n, 77-80, 130. Sarai, as her name was at the first, means 'my sovereignty,' and is a symbol of specific virtue—the wisdom in me, the self-control in me, etc.—which perishes with its possessor. When the name was changed to Sarah (in Greek, by the addition of another rho, *Mut.* 61, 77), that is, 'sovereignty,' she ceased to symbolize the particular and became the type of generic virtue, greater than the species, the archetype, imperishable. She is thus the motherless principle of things (*ἀμήτωρ ἀρχή*): and this probably contains a play upon *ἀρχή*, 'rule,' 'sovereignty'; certainly Philo alludes to the name when he uses *ἀρχουσα*, 'ruling.' As wife of Abraham, the

<sup>a</sup> *ἀρετή*, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, iii. 218, 244, *Cher.* 3-7, 9 (*τελεία*), 41, *Sac.* 59, *Det.* 59-61, *Post.* 62, 132 (*τελεία*), 134, *Ebr.* 59 (*φιλόρετος διάνοια*), *Quis Her.* 62, 258, *Congr.* 2-12, 22f, 63, 71, 128, *cf.* 180, *Fug.* 128, *Mut.* 77, 80, 142, 148-150, 166f, 255, 261.

<sup>b</sup> *σοφία*, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, *Cher.* 9f, 45, 49f, *Det.* 124, *Congr.* 9, 13, 22, 79f, 129, *Mut.* 79f, 151-153, *Abr.* 100.

<sup>c</sup> *ἀρχουσα*, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, iii. 244, *Cher.* 3, 41 (*ἀρχουσα και ἡγεμονίς*), *Quis Her.* 258, (*cf.* *ἀρχή*, 62), *Abr.* 99.

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wise man, the type of the virtue that comes by teaching, Sarah assists his advance from the inferior creeds of Chaldaea and Haran to the vision and knowledge of God, chiefly by advising him to have union with Hagar (see below). As Hagar's mistress, Sarah is repeatedly contrasted with her, the higher education compared with that of the Schools (*e.g. Leg. All. iii. 244f, Congr. 71-80*), the branches of knowledge compared with the lower arts (*Congr. 139f*). Besides virtue and wisdom, Sarah also signifies sound sense,<sup>a</sup> knowledge,<sup>b</sup> the fruitful mind (*Spec. Leg. ii. 54, cf. Mig. 140*), good (*Post. 76f*)

“ Abram and Nahor took to themselves wives ” (Gen. xi. 29) : among Cain's descendants was Lamech, who did the same ; such choices can be good or bad, according to the chooser, and Abram's was a deliberate choice of the good (*Post. 76-78*). Sarai was barren, and told Abram to obtain children by her handmaid Hagar (xvi. 1f) : she was barren, yet prolific, for from her sprang the populous Israel ; and virtue is barren of all that is bad, but a fruitful mother of the good (*Congr. 3, Mut. 143*). Yet as Sarai she represents wisdom in the individual, as yet unable to have children by her (“ she was not bearing for him,” xvi. 1) ; thus the incapacity is that of the immature soul (Abram), who must resort to the School learning (Hagar) (*Congr. 1-23, Leg. All. iii. 244*). “ And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai ” : the learner must obey virtue's com-

<sup>a</sup> φρόνησις, *Mig. 126, Congr. 72, 154, 156, cf. 2, Fug. 207, Mut. 137, 151-153.*

<sup>b</sup> ἐπιστήμη, *Congr. 22, 139f, 154, 156.*

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mands (*cf. Leg. All.* iii. 244) ; yet only real lovers of knowledge do hearken—which implies assent and obedience as well as hearing (*Congr.* 63-70). When Sarah gave him Hagar, she is again called “ Abram’s wife ” : this points the lesson that the lover of learning engaged in the Encyclica does not forget his faith plighted to his true wife, philosophy (*ib.* 71-80). The words, “ when she saw that she had conceived ” (xvi. 4f), are interpreted as “ when Sarai saw,” borne out by her report to Abram in the next verse, and they signify that the lower arts can only dimly see their own products, whereas knowledge can clearly apprehend them (*ib.* 139f). Abram said, “ Behold thy maid is in thy hands,” which can mean ‘ subject to thee,’ but may also mean that the school subjects require the bodily organs and faculties, while the mistress wisdom reaches to the soul (*ib.* 155 & [N]-158). Sarah then afflicted Hagar ; but we are not here dealing with women’s jealousy, but with minds, that occupied with the preliminary learning, and that striving for virtue’s palm, not ceasing till it is won (*ib.* 180). Hagar fled ; but she could return because Sarai was favourably disposed, a deduction made on the basis of Hagar’s flight being one of shame (“ humiliation ” or “ affliction,” xvi. 11), not fear (*Fug.* 1-6). The whole story is given in *Abr.* 247-254 as an instance of Sarah’s wifely qualities. The change of name was made by God (xvii. 15). It indicates a betterment of soul. While she was Sarai, still specific virtue, Hagar will return to her, lower to lower ; but later, when Sarai’s name and character have been changed, and Isaac has

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been born, then the preliminary study and her sophist son will be banished for good (*Cher.* 4-8). The main lesson from this change of name is that generic virtue is higher than the specific, and imperishable (see above); but in passing, Philo states that we learn also that every virtue is a queen and a sovereign and a ruler of human life (*Mut.* 80). With Sarah's change of name came promises from God to Abraham. "I will give thee a child of her": this means God is to be father of the child; but he is also husband of the virtue-loving mind (proved by *Gen.* xxix. 31) (*Mut.* 130-132, *cf.* *Cher.* 49); "of her" can be taken in several ways: Philo prefers that which makes virtue the mother of the good (*Mut.* 141-144). The promise continues, "I will bless her and she shall be for nations, and kings of nations shall be from her." The first phrase indicates the subdivision of generic virtue; but we may also learn that virtue is beneficial for nations, whether peoples or groups of ideas: and Philo praises virtue's part in life in terms that recall the praises of Wisdom (*e.g.* *Prov.* viii. 14ff). The last phrase shows that virtue's sons are all rulers, for the sage alone is king (*Mut.* 148-150, 151-153)

Omniscient God does not usually ask questions, which imply ignorance. But when he asked Abraham, "Where is Sarah thy wife?" (xviii. 9), it was because it was necessary for Abraham to answer where his virtue was. Abraham replied that it was in the soul ("Behold, in the tent"), laid up like a treasure, yet not making him happy because happiness consists in the



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exercise of virtue, impossible until the birth of Isaac (*Det.* 57-61). The promise of a son was renewed, but Sarah laughed, for "it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women (*ἐξέλειπεν δὲ Σάρρα γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικία*)" (xviii. 11). This is a favourite text with Philo. It means her passions were now calmed within her (*Spec. Leg.* ii. 54 & n); the passions are feminine and must be quitted for the masculine noble affections (*Det.* 28, *Fug.* 128); the "customs of women" are the external things of sense; but Sarah fled from these to where the men are quartered when she was about to conceive Isaac (*Ebr.* 59-64); his mother forsook the human ways of custom and mere reasoning when she was to bear Isaac, the self-taught nature that finds without seeking (*Fug.* 167f); God is husband of virginity, that is, wisdom, who is Sarah: she was virgin, for she passed from the emasculate passions to virtues (hence God only speaks to her after *v.* 11) (*Cher.* 49f); her virginity was not of the ever-virgin type (Rebecca), but she typifies those who pass from womanhood to virginity (*Post.* 134). This text is closely connected with the birth of Isaac in *Leg. All.* iii. 217, *Cher.* 8, *Post.* 134, *Ebr.* 59. In *Cher.* 8 it is apparently applied to Isaac himself (see [N]). When Sarah "laughed within herself" (xviii. 12) with incredulity (*Abr.* 111f), it was the joy of virtue contrasted with sense-perception's groaning (*Leg. All.* iii. 217f); even though Isaac was not yet born, laughter was possible because virtue is by nature cause for joy, while vice is grievous (*Mut.* 166f). In *Abr.* 205f it is again

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virtue's joy ; but Philo recognizes Sarah's incredulity by saying she doubted whether joy is not more than humanity can expect ; so too *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54f. In *Ebr.* 62 it is a mocking laugh at the anxious cares of men, especially their concern with the things of sense. Sarah denied that she had laughed. Philo treats this in *Abr.* 205f and *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54f : joy was in mind's womb, so she smiled ; but she reflected that joy is the property of God alone, and becoming afraid, she denied her soul's laughter. God made her acknowledge it, thereby showing her that joy is not altogether denied to the creature : only it is a mixed joy, blended with sorrow

The story of Abraham and Sarah deceiving Abimelech (*Gen.* xii) is given in *Abr.* 92-106. Abraham's words in the parallel story of *Gen.* xx. (v. 12), "She is my sister, daughter of my father but not of my mother," are apt, for the virtue-loving mind has no female parentage—the material substance perceptible to the senses—but was born of the Father and Cause of all things (*Ebr.* 61, *Quis Her.* 62). The same sort of interpretation is applied to the non-mention of Abraham at Sarah's conception in *Gen.* xxi. 1 : "The Lord visited Sarah." The lovers of wisdom wed virtues, not women, and these bear *to* their lovers but *by* God ; an example is Sarah, who was alone at her conception (*Cher.* 43-45 & [N]). She said, "The Lord hath made laughter for me (E.V., "made me to laugh"), for whoever hears it shall rejoice with me" (xxi. 6). This is (a) the joy of virtue contrasted with sense-perception's

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grief (*Leg. All.* iii. 219, *cf. Det.* 123; *cf.* also *Leg. All.* ii. 82, where it is used for an analogy), and (b) the truth that God is the Father ("The Lord hath made") of the perfect (Isaac) nature (*Leg. All.* iii. 219), or of laughter, the offspring of wisdom (*Det.* 124),<sup>a</sup> and (c) the fact that few can receive this teaching ("whoever" suggests few) (*Mut.* 138f, *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 219). The next words of Sarah seem to mean to Philo that spiritually it is Isaac who suckles Sarah (*Mig.* 140 & [N]-142)

Sarah's death (xxiii. 2) calls forth from Philo a eulogy of her character (*Abr.* 245ff), and he describes in detail Abraham's grief and his purchase of a burial-ground (*ib.* 255-261). So eventually Abraham and Sarah were buried in Machpelah, the double cave that received the virtues in pairs (*Post.* 62)

- I. Gen. *Intro.* p. xvi f, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, iii. 85, 217-219, 244f, II. *Cher.* 3-10, 40-52, *Sac.* 59f, *Det.* 28, 57-61, 123-125, *Post.* 62, 76-78, 130, 134, III. *Ebr.* 59-62 & n, IV. *Mig.* 126, 140 & [N]-142 & n, *Quis Her.* 62 & n, 258, *Congr.* 1-23, 63-82, 127-129, 139f, 151-158, 180, V. *Fug.* 16, 128, 166f, 207, *Mut.* 61 & [N], 66n, 77-80, 130, 137f, 141-143, 148-153, 166f & n, 176, 252, 261, 264, VI. *Abr.* 92-106 & 100-102[N], 108-113, 168, 206 & n, 254-261, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54 & n, 55

Sardanapalus : VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 122

Sarmatians : X. *Leg.* 10

Saturn : IV. *Quis Her.* 224, X. *Leg.* 13

<sup>a</sup> God the Father of Sarah, *Ebr.* 61, *Quis Her.* 62; of Isaac, *Leg. All.* iii. 219, *Cher.* 43-45 & [N], 49, *Det.* 124, *Mig.* 140, *Mut.* 130-132, 137-141, 255.

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- Saul : IV. *Mig.* 196f  
 Scales : I. *Op.* 116  
 Sceptics : IV. *Congr.* 52  
 Scylla : II. *Det.* 178 & [N]  
 Scythians : III. *Ebr.* 174, V. *Som.* ii. 59, VI. *Mos.* ii. 19,  
     X. *Leg.* 10  
 Sebasteum : X. *Leg.* 151  
 Seir : III. *Quod Deus* 99  
 Sejanus : IX. *Flacc.* 1 & [N], X. *Leg.* 37, 159-161  
 Sella (Zillah) : one of the two wives taken for himself  
     by the worthless Lamech, Sella means ' shadow '  
     and is a symbol for bodily and external goods,  
     which are really only shadows (II. *Post.* 75f, 112f).  
     Sella was mother of Thobel (*ib.* 114, 119)  
 Semele : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 130  
 Senate : IX. *Flacc.* 40, X. *Leg.* 74  
 Seth : Adam's involuntary going out from God's face  
     later meets with some remedy in the birth of  
     Seth to replace Abel (*Post.* 10, 124, *cf.* 172f).  
     There are two persons called Enoch (or one ?) :  
     one, a son of Cain (Gen. iv. 17), the other a de-  
     scendant of Seth (v. 18) ; it is the same with  
     Methuselah and Lamech. Under the one line  
     should be enrolled all those who share the godless  
     creed of Cain, under the other those who acknow-  
     ledge all (esp. offspring) as the gift of God, with  
     Seth at their head (*ib.* 40-48). Seth means  
     ' watering,' for the mind waters the senses (*ib.*  
     124-126, *cf.* 10, 170) : this leads Philo into a  
     long excursus on Watering (127-169). When  
     Seth is called " another seed " (iv. 25), " another "  
     can be taken as virtue, being ' hostile ' to wicked-  
     ness (Cain) and friendly to Abel, being ' different '  
     only in degree from him (172f). In 170 Seth is a

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kind of first pattern of virtue begotten by the mind. In 173f the limit of Seth's attainment in knowledge is said to be the starting-point for that of righteous Noah, who is ten (the perfect number) places removed from Seth: Seth's virtue steadily grows in his descendants. Seth also occurs in II. *Cher.* 54, *Det.* 138, VI. *Abr.* 12n

**Shechem** : Jacob hid the "strange gods" under the terebinth in Shechem (Gen. xxxv. 4). These are bad men's gods, the passions or pleasures, and must be placed under guard in Shechem ('shoulder,' symbol of toil), for he that devotes toil to pleasures keeps them well guarded. Again, Shechem is the things of the body and of the senses when in Gen. xlviii. 22 Jacob is said to give a portion to Joseph, who toils at these things. They are secondary, so the wise man does not keep them but passes them on (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 23-26 & n). But Shechem is also used to signify toil *against* bodily pleasure, a struggle that is a great burden such as 'shoulder' suggests (II. *Det.* 9, on Gen. xxxvii. 13). When Abraham "travelled through the country as far as Shechem" (xii. 6), it was the mind's quest for knowledge and mastery of the body and of created things, and Shechem signifies the toil involved (IV. *Mig.* 216, 221)—very necessary if the judgement faculties of the understanding are not to be raped by him who practises the opposite kind of toil, as does the Shechem of Gen. xxxiv. (*ib.* 223f & nn, *cf.* V. *Mut.* 193f)

**Shem** : Shem means simply 'name,' and so we must understand the whole genus, representing good, which alone is a thing of name and good report,

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- just as bad is nameless and of evil name. So Noah's prayer is unique and transcendent : it is the Lord whom he declares to be peculiarly the God of Shem (Gen. ix. 26, III. *Sob.* 51 & [N], 52 & n & [N], 53f). The words " let him dwell in the houses of Shem " may be a prayer that God Himself with His providential care may inhabit the mind ; and Shem was the root of those qualities seen in the Patriarchs and the twelve tribes, " the palace and priesthood of God " (Exod. xix. 6) (*ib.* 62-66). But perhaps it is Japhet who is to dwell in the houses of Shem : in that case it is a prayer that the mind that takes bodily and external things to be forms of the good should return to the one good which belongs to the soul (*ib.* 67f). In V. *Mut.* 189 Shem is used to prove the perfection of the number one hundred. Shem is also mentioned in II. *Post.* 173, IV. *Mig.* 125n, VIII. *Virt.* 221[N]
- Sheshai : ' Outside me,' stands for external goods (II. *Post.* 60f)
- Shinar : The Babel-builders " moved from the east (' rising ') and found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there." This was where vice was located, the starting-point of folly : for Shinar means ' shaking out,' signifying the chaos and disintegration of the soul of the fool, from which all good is shaken out (IV. *Conf.* 1, 60, 68f)
- Shittim : ' Thorns,' a symbol of passions pricking and wounding the soul (Num. xxv. 1, V. *Som.* i. 89-91)
- Shur : Shur, where the angel of the Lord found Hagar (Gen. xvi. 7, V. *Fug.* 1, 203), means ' wall ' or ' straightening ' and symbolizes the way in

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- which the soul is kept on the safe highway of discipline
- Sicily : I. *Leg. All.* i. 62, VI. *Jos.* 132, IX. *Aet.* 139, *Prov.* 2. 26
- Siddim : Gen. xiv. 3, A.V. LXX, " salt ravine " : the place of vices and passions (IV. *Conf.* 26)
- Sidon : IX. *Aet.* 76 & n, X. *Leg.* 222, 337
- Sihon : When Mind listens to Sense-perception, as Adam did to Eve, disaster follows ; the mind is set on fire. Philo illustrates this by allegorizing Num. xxi. 27-30 ; he interprets " a flame (hath gone forth) from the city of Sihon " as that an irrational impulse issues forth from the mind that corrupts the truth (Sihon = ' corrupting '). Philo manages to read the destruction of the Sihon mind in the latter part of his text (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225, 228, 233)
- Silanus, M. : X. *Leg.* 62-65, 71f, 75
- Simeon : " This our son is disobedient . . ." (Deut. xxi. 18) implies other sons who are not : among these are Reuben, Simeon, Levi, etc. Simeon is the docile scholar, for his name means ' hearing ' (III. *Ebr.* 94, V. *Som.* ii. 34, 37). In treating the Shechem of Gen. xii. 6, Philo discusses the incident of Gen. xxxiv, when Shechem, the toiler in folly, tried to ravish Dinah, the soul's judgement ; then the ' hearers ' and pupils of sound sense, Simeon and Levi, defeated him (IV. *Mig.* 224). These two champions were so much one in mind and purpose that Moses compresses Simeon into Levi in Deut. xxxiii. 8 (V. *Mut.* 200 & n). God uses subordinate ministers for punishment ; this is seen in his allocating blessing to the six best tribe-leaders (including

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- Simeon), and setting the other six over the cursing (V. *Fug.* 73). Jacob's blessing in Gen. xlvi. 5, "Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me," leads Philo to see a correspondence between Ephraim and Reuben, Manasseh and Simeon. The advance 'from forgetfulness' (Manasseh) involves recollection (which M. symbolizes), and recollection is akin to learning (Simeon), in which it often plays a part. Reuben (natural excellence) is named before Simeon: so natural excellence, which resembles sight (Reuben='seeing son'), is better than learning, which resembles 'hearing' (V. *Mut.* 97-102). Simeon is also mentioned in I. *Leg. All.* i. 81 and VI. *Jos.* 175-210
- Sinai: IV. *Quis Her.* 251, VI. Gen. Introd. p. xv, *Mos.* i & ii, Introd. p. 275 & n, VII. Gen. Introd. p. ix, *Decal.* 32ff, VIII. *Praem.* 4-6[N]
- Sisyphus: II. *Cher.* 78
- Socrates: III. *Quod Deus* 146 & n, 147, *Plant.* 65f, V. *Som.* i. 55-58, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57, *Prov.* 2. 21. In *Som.* i. 58 Socrates is equated with Terah: but whereas Socrates was a human propounding a philosophy of self-knowledge, Terah was self-knowledge itself
- Sodom, Sodomites: Sodom means 'blindness' and 'barrenness' (e.g. *Scm.* ii. 191f). Thus Gen. xiii. 12 indicates Lot's relapse into his old state of ignorance (*ἀμαθία*, *Mig.* 150 & [N]); the city of Sodom stands for the animal nature, blind of reason, nearly destroyed in the soul's warfare of Gen. xiv (*Congr.* 91f & n; the events are described in *Abr.* 225ff); when Abraham refused the offer of the king of Sodom ("Give me the



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men, and take the horses for thyself," xiv. 21, LXX), it was the refusal to accept irrational creatures in exchange for reasonable beings and so make himself rich in the products of evil (*Leg. All.* iii. 23f); Abraham was retaining God-given property and ridding himself of the possessions ignorantly claimed by the Sodom character (*ib.* 195-197); Abraham interceded for Sodom, but in spite of this it was destroyed: every wise man is a ransom for the fool, unless his evil be a sickness so violent that it overpowers the physician's treatment (*Sac.* 118, 121-123); when praying for the soul barren of good and blind of reason, Abraham stopped at ten, the redemption number (*Conf.* 109); Gen. xix. 4 tells how the Sodomites, representing those barren of wisdom and blind in understanding, surrounded the soul to dishonour the sacred Thoughts that were its guests (*ib.* 27f & n); they "wearied themselves in seeking the door" (xix. 11), but this was a seeking that had no finding (*Fug.* 143f); the destruction of Sodom by fire (*Abr.* 1 & n, *Mos.* ii. 55f, *Aet.* 147[N]), and, with an allegory attached, *Abr.* 133ff) was judgement on the adversaries of virtue (*Som.* i. 85, *cf.* *Leg. All.* 213); the raging passion for wine is insatiable, and, allegorically, drunkenness is a symbol for folly in general: all of which is suggested by "the vine of Sodom," etc., in Deut. xxxii. 32f, for Sodom is barrenness and blindness, and the fool's desires are barren of true gladness (*Ebr.* 222-224, *Som.* ii. 191f)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 23f, 195-197, 212f, II. *Sac.* 118, 121-123, III. *Ebr.* 222-224, IV. *Conf.* 27f & n, 91f & n, 109, *Mig.* 150 & [N], V. *Fug.* 143f, *Som.* i. 85,

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- ii. 191f, VI. *Abr.* 1 & n, 133ff, 225ff, *Mos.* ii. 55f, IX. *Aet.* 147[N]
- Solomon : IV. *Congr.* 177 (one of Moses' disciples, who is named a man of peace)
- Solon : I. *Op.* 103-105 ; VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 22 & [N] ; IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 47
- Sophocles : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 19
- Sparkler, or Mercury : II. *Cher.* 22, IV. *Quis Her.* 224
- Sparta, Spartan : VI. *Mos.* ii. 19 (laws), VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 22 (laws), VIII. *ib.* iv. 102 (legislator), IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 47, 114, *Vit. Cont.* 69 (austerity), *Aet.* 57, 68 (sown men)
- Stephanio : IX. *Flacc.* 112
- Stoic : II. *Post.* 133, IX. *Aet.* 4 & n, 8, 18, 54, 76, 78 & n, 89, 102f
- Sun : II. *Cher.* 21-26 (the "flaming sword" of Gen. iii. 24), V. *Som.* i. 72-76, 87-92, 112-114 (God Himself) ; *ib.* 77-86 (Mind, Sense-perception, Logos)
- Sunium : IX. *Flacc.* 156
- Sybarites : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43, VIII. *ib.* iv. 102
- Sychem : see Shechem
- Syleus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 101 & n & N-104
- Symeon : see Simeon
- Syria : I. *Leg. All.* iii. 16, 18, IV. *Congr.* 41-43, V. *Fug.* 7, 44f & [N], 49, *Som.* ii. 59, VI. *Abr.* 91, 133, *Jos.* 230, *Mos.* i. 163, ii. 56, 246, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 217, VIII. *Virt.* 221, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75, *Flacc.* 25[N], 26, 39, *Hyp.* 6. 1, 6. 6, *Prov.* 2. 64, X. *Leg.* 179, 207, 219-222, 231, 245, 250-252, 259, 281, 333
- Jacob flees from "Laban the Syrian" (Gen. xxxi. 20f) because Syria means 'highlands,' and discretion is the better part of valour when the practising mind meets passion in an exalted state (*Leg. All.* iii. 16, 18). For the same reason,

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when he fled to Laban in the first place, it was to his mother's brother, not Laban "the Syrian" (xxvii. 43), the mind empty of sound sense (*Fug.* 44f & [N], 49). "Syrian" stands for the loftiness of arrogance when it is used of the concubine married to Manasseh (*Congr.* 41-43)

Talmi: 'One hanging' from lifeless things, as does the soul enamoured of external goods (*II. Post.* 60f)

Tamar: Tamar, 'palm,' is a symbol of victory; but Philo's interpretations are connected, not so much with the name, as with the story of Judah and Tamar in Gen. xxxviii, from which Tamar emerges as a type of virtue, even of chastity. "Judah took for Er a wife whose name was Tamar" (*v.* 6): the soul is a corpse-bearer; but it only realizes this when it becomes perfect and worthy of reward—when it weds Tamar, the sign of victory (*I. Leg. All.* iii. 74). She became widowed, and Judah bade her remain in his house (*vv.* 11ff): the soul was widowed of passions and pleasures, remained in the house of her Father and Saviour, received divine impregnation, conceived virtue, bore noble actions, and so won the 'palm' of victory (*III. Quod Deus* 136f). There the story of Tamar's deception of Judah is only suggested in barest outline; but the details of it form increasingly elaborate allegories. Thus, on *vv.* 14ff: virtue makes trial of her scholars, and sits veiled at the cross-roads, wanting inquiring minds to unveil her and behold her virgin beauty; it is the excellent Judah soul who does so, and there follows a mutual 'conceiving' or 'taking' (*IV. Congr.* 124-126)

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& n). Invincible virtue, vexed at men's absurd aims, is not found by Judah's messenger (seeking and not finding); a mind bent on purchasing piety gave pledges, the human virtues of fidelity, constancy, discipline; but inquiries showed there was no harlot-soul in the region of the excellent, to the joy of the Judah mind, glad that his understanding (feminine, *διάνοια*; but the allegory is becoming confused: see 154n) is a lady of chastity and no easy prey; but his testing of the Tamar character was excusable, for reality is often concealed by semblance (V. *Fug.* 149-156 & 150[N]). When discussing divine parenthood, Philo uses the Tamar story to illustrate his point: the pledges are not the gifts of any mortal—the archetypal pattern of the universe (seal), the world's order and sequence of things (cord), the divine discipline (staff)—these all reveal the giver to be God; (so the Tamar soul, or virtue, is impregnated by God) and the Judah mind, pleased at the divine inspiration that masters her, says, "She is justified, since I gave her to no mortal": for he holds it impiety to defile the divine with things profane (V. *Mut.* 134-136). In V. *Som.* ii. 44 & n, 45, Judah's pledges to Tamar ('the soul') are contrasted with the insignia given to Joseph by Pharaoh. In VIII. *Virt.* 220-222, Tamar is said to have turned from polytheism to worship the one great Cause, to have kept her life stainless, and to be a pattern and source of nobility (see 208[N], 221[N], and VIII. *Gen. Introd.* pp. xvii, xviii & n)

Tantalus: IV. *Quis Her.* 269, VII. *Decal.* 149, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 81

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- Tartarus : VIII. *Praem.* 152 & n, X. *Leg.* 49, 103
- Terah : Abraham came out from Haran, land of the senses, but his father, Terah, died there (Gen. xii. 4, xi. 32) ; this points to a contrast between the virtue-loving Abraham and Terah, whose name means 'scent-exploring' : he is only an explorer or spy of virtue, not a citizen, only smelling at sound sense, taking only the second prize (V. *Som.* i. 47-52). But the Haran-life includes exploration of the mind, so Terah stands for the "Know thyself" philosophy, and with him Socrates is identified (*ib.* 56 & n-58)
- Thebes : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15
- Theodorus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 127 & [N]-130
- Theodotus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 1
- Theon : IX. *Aet.* 48 & [N]-51
- Theophrastus : IX. *Aet.* 117-119 & nn
- Therapeutae : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73[N], 75[N], *Vit. Cont.* Introd. pp. 104, 106, 108, title [N], *passim*, esp. 2 & [N], 11, 36n & [N], 59[N], 65[N], 88, 90 & n, *Hyp.* Introd. p. 410
- Thersites : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 9 & n
- Thesmophoria : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 140 & [N]
- Thessaly : X. *Leg.* 281
- Thobel : Sella, one of Lamech's two wives, bore a son, Thobel, which means 'all together' ; he stands for the self-conceit of those who think they have secured everything when they have health and wealth. He is by trade a hammerer (Gen. iv. 22), maker of war and munitions of war, for lusts are the real war-makers and batterers of mankind ; he is indeed son of 'shadow' (Sella) (II. *Post.* 114-120)
- Thummim : see Urim
- Thyestes : VIII. *Praem.* 134 & n

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- Tiber : **X. Leg.** 155, 181
- Tiberius Caesar : **IX. Flacc.** *Introd.* p. 295, 2, 8-14 & 10[N], 28, 105, 112, 128, 158, **X. Leg.** *Introd.* p. xxiv, 8, 14, 23-26, 29, 33-38, 58, 141, 158-161, 166-168, 240, 298-305, 308, 329
- Tiberius Gemellus : **IX. Flacc.** *Introd.* p. 295, 10 & n & [N], 13, **X. Leg.** 23-33, 67f, 75
- Tiberius Nero, son of Germanicus : **IX. Flacc.** 22
- Tigris : " The third river is Tigris (A.V., Hiddekel) ; this is that whose course is over against the Assyrians " (Gen. ii. 14). Assyria means ' directing,' Tigris means ' tiger ' : Self-mastery is the virtue set " over against " pleasure, which thinks to direct the course of human weakness ; Tigris symbolizes self-mastery because the desire with which self-mastery is occupied is like a tiger (!). The river does not encircle any land, for self-mastery is powerless to encircle desire and pleasure (**I. Leg. All.** i. 63, 69-73, 85-87)
- Timaeus : Philo names the work in **IX. Aet.** 13, 25, 141 ; see also Plato
- Timna : Concubine of Esau's son Eliphaz and mother of Amalek (Gen. xxxvi. 12). The wicked take to themselves as concubines wicked doctrines, and beget evil offspring. The bodily nature is the concubine, here called Timna, or ' tossing faintness,' through which passion (Amalek) is generated : for the soul faints and loses all power through passion (**I. Leg. All.** i. 54, 59f)
- Trachonitis : **X. Leg.** 326
- Triptolemus : **VIII. Praem.** 8 & [N]-10
- Trophonius : **X. Leg.** 78
- Trypho : **IX. Flacc.** 76
- Tubal : see Thobel

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Urim and Thummim : VI. *Mos.* 113n, 117ff[N], VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 84n ; and see Scripture Index at Exod. xxviii. 26, LXX (E.V., 30)

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Xerxes : V. *Som.* ii. 117-120

Zabulon : V. *Fug.* 73. The sheaves or 'doings' of Joseph's dream include Zabulon the symbol of light, since he is named 'night's flowing' ; the man in pursuit of light replacing darkness grasps wakefulness and keen-sightedness (V. *Som.* 34, 39)

Zaphenath-Paneah : V. *Mut.* 89 & n-91

Zelophehad : The prophetic oracles of Moses include his pronouncement on the law of inheritance, made in answer to the question of the five daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxvii. 1-11, VI. *Mos.* ii. 233-245, cf. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 124-132 & 127n). They symbolize the five senses, and so it is appropriate that they belong to the tribe of Manasseh ('from forgetfulness' = recollection) ; for while memory has male progeny, the irrational portion of the soul can bear only female offspring (IV. *Mig.* 205f)

Zelpah : see Zilpah

Zeno : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 53 & n-57, 97, 106-108 & n, 160

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Zillah : see Sella

Zilpah : The soul that learns by instruction (Abraham) needs the School learning (Hagar), but the Practiser (Jacob) has two wives and two concubines, of which Zilpah is one ; she is the handmaid of Leah (virtue) and signifies oratorical power : for her name means ' walking mouth ' (IV. *Congr.* 24 & n, 29 & [N], 30 & n, 33). In contrasting Noah and Joseph, the " generations " of Noah indicate a development of a good kind, whereas there is a regressive development from Jacob to Joseph, who is said to have been " young " and keeping sheep with the bastard sons of the concubines, Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. xxxvii. 2, III. *Quod Deus* 119-121). In VIII. *Virt.* 223 & n-225 Philo describes the extraordinarily cordial relations of the wives with the concubines and their respective offspring with each other (!) as an example of nobility of character among women. Zilpah is also named in I. *Leg. All.* ii. 94

Zipporah : Zipporah, wife of Moses (Exod. ii. 21), means ' bird,' and so she represents virtue that wings its way from earth to heaven. Moses, therefore, like other virtuous souls, did not " know " a woman, but his mate was a virtue (II. *Cher.* 41) ; yet the virtues must generate, and so they are impregnated by God Himself, as was Zipporah (*ib.* 47). Moses did not *take* Zipporah to wife, but received her, as the perfect natures receive Reason from God Himself (II. *Post.* 77f). In V. *Mut.* 120 she is the winged, inspired, and prophetic nature



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- The Hebrew midwife of Exod. i. 15 (E.V., Shiphrah) called Zipporah typifies the divine wisdom, which soars aloft like a bird (IV. *Quis Her.* 128)
- Zoan : “ Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt ” (Num. xiii. 22) : the soul wedded to goodness, in which are buried the virtues (Hebron), takes precedence over the body (Egypt) and vice (Zoan)—for Zoan means ‘ command of evacuation ’ (II. *Post.* 59 & [N]-62 & [N])
- Zoar : V. *Som.* i. 85, VIII. *Praem.* 78[N]
- Zodiac : V. *Som.* ii. 112, VI. *Mos.* ii. 123f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 87, VIII. *Praem.* 65 & n & [N]; cf. IV. *Quis Her.* 176 & n, V. *Som.* i. 214

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An asterisk indicates words which are also included in the Index of Names to which reference should be made. They are only given here when they are discussed in the Notes without having been in the text of Philo at that point.

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Aenesidemus : III. *Ebr.* Introd. p. 314n, 170N, VI. *Jos.* 125-147N

Aeschines : IX. *Flacc.* 20n, 138n, X. *Leg.* Introd. p. xxii n

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Agamemnon : V. *Som.* ii. 144n

Agrippa \* : Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great, friend of Gaius Caesar, d. A.D. 44, IX. *Flacc.* 25N, 30n, 97n, X. *Leg.* Introd. pp. xiii, xx, xxv, xxx & n, 179n, 180n, 191n, 292n

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# PHILO

SUPPLEMENT

I

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON GENESIS

TRANSLATED FROM THE ANCIENT ARMENIAN  
VERSION OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK BY

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## PREFACE

PHILO'S *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin et Exodum* presents a special problem of translation because all but a small portion of the Greek original—less than ten per cent if we disregard the paraphrastic citations in late writers—has been lost and because for the bulk of the work we must depend upon the ancient Armenian version published by Aucher in 1826.<sup>a</sup> This edition is based chiefly upon three mss., all of them from the thirteenth century, and in part upon two others of about the same date. The Armenian version itself seems to have been made in the fifth century.<sup>b</sup>

For various reasons we can be reasonably sure that the Armenian version has faithfully preserved Philo's meaning except in a few cases where the Greek text used by the translator was corrupt or ambiguous or unusually obscure. In the first place, the Armenian language is singularly well designed to reproduce the word-order, word-compounds and many of the idioms of Greek. In the second place, the literalness and consistency of the Armenian version are shown by the correspondences between it and the original Greek in several treatises of Philo which are extant in both languages. The same is true of the correspondences between the Armenian *Quaestiones* and the Greek fragments which are not paraphrastic. A third check on the accuracy of the Armenian version is to be found in the Armenian-Greek equivalents given by Avedikean, Siurmelean and

<sup>a</sup> J. B. Aucher, *Philonis Judaei Paralipomena Armena : libri videlicet quatuor in Genesin, libri duo in Exodum, sermo unus de Sampsonē, alter de Jona, tertius de tribus angelis, etc., Venetiis, MDCCCXXVI.*

<sup>b</sup> *Id.* pp. i-ii.

## PREFACE

Aucher in their Armenian dictionary published in Venice in 1836 in two large volumes.

With the help of this material I have ventured to reconstruct many of the philosophical and religious terms used by Philo in passages which are no longer extant in Greek. These reconstructions are not all to be regarded as certain but most of them, I think, are probably correct. At the same time I have tried to improve upon Aucher's Latin translation of the Armenian version. A good many of the inaccuracies in his pioneer rendering are really the fault of the ancient Armenian translator. Others result from Aucher's failure to divine the Greek idiom underlying a literal Armenian rendering. In calling attention to Aucher's deficiencies I am in a sense repaying the great debt I owe him for helping me to see the meaning of many a difficult passage. It would be ungrateful of me to let it appear that my knowledge of Armenian remotely approaches his.

To one of my students, Mr. Edward Hobbs, I am indebted for help in reading proof. To my friend Professor H. A. Wolfson, whose book on Philo is a fine contribution to knowledge, I owe several good suggestions about the solution of problems of Greek philosophy.

The firm of R. and R. Clark has, as always, been remarkably accurate in printing.

R. M.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

16 *November* 1951

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## INTRODUCTION

### I

PHILO'S *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus* is, as its name indicates, a brief commentary in the form of questions and answers on the first two books of the Pentateuch, and in its form resembles Hellenistic (pagan) commentaries on the Homeric poems.

To each question concerning the meaning of a Biblical expression or verse Philo gives a twofold answer; one refers to the literal meaning (τὸ ῥητόν), and the other to the allegorical meaning (τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν,<sup>a</sup> τὸ συμβολικόν). The allegorical interpretation may be subdivided into three kinds: the physical (*i.e.* cosmological or theological), the ethical or psychological, and the mystical. Sometimes Philo's comment contains only one kind of allegorical interpretation, sometimes two, and occasionally all three.

Thus Philo's twofold method of interpretation is a forerunner of the fourfold method used by Rabbinic and Patristic commentators. His "literal" interpretation corresponds to the "literal" or "historical" interpretation of the Church Fathers and to the *pešať* of the Rabbis. His "physical" interpretation corresponds to the "allegorical" interpretation of the Church Fathers and to the *remez* of the Rabbis. His "ethical" interpretation corresponds to the "moral" interpretation of the Church Fathers and to the *deraš* of the Rabbis. His mystical interpretation corresponds to the "anagogical" inter-

<sup>a</sup> This is the literal equivalent of Armenian *ar i mitsn*, but Philo elsewhere uses τὸ ἐν ὑπονοίαις and other expressions.

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pretation of the Church Fathers and to the *sod* of the Rabbis.

In his earlier work,<sup>a</sup> the *Allegoriae* or allegorical commentary on Genesis, which now consists of eighteen treatises in twenty-one books (about ten treatises have been lost, and some of the extant ones are incomplete), Philo allowed himself the luxury of long digressions and comparisons of the verses discussed with other passages in Scripture. The *Quaestiones* sticks more closely to the text and stays within a more limited area of ideas. On the other hand, there appears to be relatively more Pythagorean number-symbolism in the *Quaestiones* than in the *Allegoriae*. Possibly this indicates that Philo became more interested in this rather mechanical form of mysticism as he grew older.

### II

Something must now be said about the original extent of the *Quaestiones et Solutiones* and the division into books of the treatises on Genesis and Exodus.

Massebieau and Schürer<sup>b</sup> have called attention to a passage (*QG* iv. 123) in which Philo says, "the principle of these things will be explained when we inquire into the blessings." This may be a reference either to Genesis ch. xlix or to Deuteronomy ch. xxxiii or to both. It is likely, however, that Philo refers only to the passage on blessings in Genesis, since Eusebius knew only of Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18. 1, 5) and also because the Greek fragments preserved by Byzantine

<sup>a</sup> That the *Quaestiones* is later than the *Allegoriae* is indicated by the fact that in the former Philo occasionally refers to the larger commentary, e.g. in *QG* ii. 4, *QE* ii. 34, 113. Schürer (*GJV* iii, 3rd ed. 501) believes that the *Quaestiones* is partly earlier, partly later than the *Allegoriae*. That is possible.

<sup>b</sup> M. L. Massebieau, "Le Classement des œuvres de Philon," *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études . . . sciences rel.* 1 (1889), 1-91; Emil Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüdischen Volkes*, etc., 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1898), iii. 497, n. 33.



## INTRODUCTION

writers are, with two doubtful exceptions, all ascribed either to Genesis or Exodus.<sup>a</sup> We shall probably be safe in assuming either that Philo never wrote similar commentaries on the last three books of the Pentateuch or that, if he did, they were lost before the time of Eusebius.

As for the original book-divisions of *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin*, it is clear that there were originally six books instead of the four indicated in the Armenian version. This is shown by the fact that some of the Greek fragments are ascribed to books ε' and ζ' of *QG* and that six books are listed for *QG* in a Vienna codex of the *De Opificio Mundi*.<sup>b</sup>

But it is also clear that the Armenian version has preserved all six books of the original treatise. As Wendland<sup>c</sup> and other scholars have pointed out, Book IV of the Armenian *QG* is about as long as Books I, II and III together. It therefore probably contains Books IV, V and VI of the original *QG*. Since the end of Book IV reaches only Gen. xxviii. 9, it seems that Philo did not intend to treat the whole of Genesis.<sup>d</sup>

We can also tell with a fair degree of certainty just where in the present Book IV the beginnings of the original Books V and VI are to be placed. Since the Old Latin version begins with *QG* iv. 154 and since it extends through approximately a third of the book, it is probable that

<sup>a</sup> J. Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus* (Cambridge, 1886), p. 75, labels two fragments as "from the lost book of Questions on Leviticus," but only one of the two is said in the ms. (Cod. Vat. 1553, cited from Mai) to be ἐκ τῶν ἐν Λευϊτικῷ ζητημάτων. See also Schürer, *op. cit.* p. 497, n. 34.

<sup>b</sup> See L. Cohn in Cohn-Wendland, *Philonis Opera*, vol. i (Berlin, 1896), p. xxxvi.

<sup>c</sup> Paul Wendland, *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos* (Berlin, 1891), p. 92; see also Schürer, *op. cit.* p. 498, n. 35.

<sup>d</sup> In the Armenian version Book I covers Gen. ii. 4-vi. 13; Book II covers Gen. vi. 14-x. 9; Book III covers Gen. xv. 7-xvii. 27; Book IV covers Gen. xviii. 1-xx. 18 and xxiii. 1-xxviii. 9. Thus, beside the omission of single verses in all four books, the following entire chapters are omitted: i, xi-xiv, xxi-xxii, xxix-l.

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Book VI of the original treatise corresponded to *QG* iv. 154-245 (end).

As for the beginning of Book V, Wendland <sup>a</sup> would locate it between *QG* iv. 76 and *QG* iv. 99 because this would give a book about one-third the size of the Armenian Book IV and also because *QG* iv. 99 and 104 are ascribed to Book ε' in the Greek fragments. I think, however, that we should place the beginning of Book V at *QG* iv. 71 (on Gen. xxiii. 1), since this section begins with a new episode and also corresponds to the beginning of a new Pentateuch-lection in both the Palestinian triennial cycle (where it is Seder 19b <sup>b</sup>) and the Babylonian annual cycle (where it is Seder 5).

Thus we may suppose that the original book-divisions of the *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* were as follows :

Original Greek		Armenian Version
Book I	=	Book I
Book II	=	Book II
Book III	=	Book III
Book IV	=	Book IV. 1-70
Book V	=	Book IV. 71-153
Book VI	=	Book IV. 154-245

Somewhat similar but more complicated is the problem of the original extent and the book-divisions of the commentary on Exodus. The Armenian version has two books of unequal size. Book I covers Ex. xii. 2-23 in 25 pages of Aucher's edition, while Book II (aside from the first section on Ex. xx. 25) covers Ex. xxii. 21-xxviii. 34 (with the omission of several verses) in 80 pages. If we suppose that *QE* was divided into books of about the same length as those of *QG*, we must conclude that the present Book I is less than half of an original Book I or Book II, and that the present Book II is either a complete book or else contains parts of several of the original books.

<sup>a</sup> *L.c.*

<sup>b</sup> See Jacob Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, vol. i (Cincinnati, 1940), p. 183.

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When we turn to the external evidence, we find further complications. According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18. 5), Philo's commentary on Exodus contained five books, but since he proceeds to mention a work *περὶ τῆς ακηνῆς*, which seems to be a reference to *QE* Book II, we ought perhaps not to rely too heavily upon his authority. The Vienna codex of *De Opificio Mundi*, mentioned above, lists the books of the *QE* as Books A' (with a line drawn through it), B' and E', leaving it in doubt whether the scribe knew of two books or three. The Greek fragments of *QE* preserved by Byzantine writers are usually ascribed to Books *α'* or *β'* or *τοῦ τελευταίου*.<sup>a</sup> If, then, Eusebius was right in counting five books, some of these must have been lost soon after his death. Wendland <sup>b</sup> believes that part of the original Book I has been preserved in the Armenian Book I but doubts that as many as three of the original five books have been lost, while Schürer <sup>c</sup> thinks that our Book I is the original Book II, and our Book II is the original Book V.

### III

It may be that a clue to the original extent and book-divisions of *QE* will be furnished by the correspondences between the books of *QG* and the Pentateuch-lessons of the ancient synagogue. We must bear in mind that in Philo's time neither the Hebrew nor the Greek Bible was divided into chapters like those in our printed Bibles, and that these chapter-divisions date from the Middle Ages.<sup>d</sup>

It was natural for Philo to think of his Greek Pentateuch as divided into weekly lessons for reading in the synagogue, just as Origen did two centuries after Philo when he composed homilies on the Church-lessons. Now the Jews of Palestine in Philo's time, or soon after,<sup>e</sup> read the whole

<sup>a</sup> One Greek fragment is said to come from Book δ', but this is a corruption of α'.

<sup>b</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 103.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 498, n. 36.

<sup>d</sup> See Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 343-344.

<sup>e</sup> See Mann, *op. cit.* p. 5.

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Pentateuch in the course of three years, dividing it into 154 weekly lessons, called in Hebrew *sedarim* (sing. *seder*). Each lesson was, on the average, as long as one of our modern chapters. The Jews of Babylonia, however, read the whole Pentateuch in the course of a single year, dividing it into 54 weekly lessons. Each of these was, on the average, as long as three and a half of our modern chapters.

Unfortunately we do not know whether the Alexandrian Jews followed the Palestinian triennial system or the Babylonian annual system. One might assume the former on the ground of the close relations between Egypt and Palestine, but we must remember that lateral areas are more conservative than the central area of a culture. Moreover, it has been found that in certain points Philo's legal exegesis agrees with the Palestinian exegesis of the pre-Roman period rather than that of his Palestinian contemporaries. It is quite possible, therefore, that the Alexandrian Jews, like the Babylonian Jews, followed an annual system that may have been in use in Palestine also before the Hellenistic or Roman period.

At any rate, we find a remarkable agreement between the coverage of some of the books of Philo's commentary on Genesis (assuming our reconstructions, as given above, to be correct) and of the weekly lessons of the Babylonian annual system.

Books of <i>QG</i> (as reconstructed)	~	Babylonian <i>sedarim</i>
Book III on Gen. xv. 7- xvii. 27	~	3. ( <i>lek-leka</i> ) on Gen. xii. 1-xvii. 27.
Book IV on Gen. xviii. 1- xx. 18	~	4. ( <i>wayyiqra</i> ) on Gen. xviii. 1-xxii. 24.
Book V on Gen. xxiii. 1- xxv. 8	~	5. ( <i>hayye Sarah</i> ) on Gen. xxiii. 1-xxv. 18.
Book VI on Gen. xxv. 20- xxviii. 9	~	6. ( <i>toledot</i> ) on Gen. xxv. 19-xxviii. 9.

Books I and II together on Gen. ii. 4-x. 9 correspond to a single *seder*, Nr. 2 (*Noah*) on Gen. ii. 9-xi. 32.

## INTRODUCTION

These correspondences, while not complete, are close enough, it seems to me, to warrant our supposing that Philo designed each book of his commentary on Genesis to cover a Pentateuchal portion of about the same length as a weekly lesson in the Babylonian annual cycle of 54 *sedarim*, and that each portion in his synagogal Bible began at just about the same place as did a Babylonian *seder*.

If we apply the same comparison to the two books of the commentary on Exodus, we see that Book I, covering Ex. xii. 2-23, corresponds to only part of the Babylonian *seder*, Nr. 15 (*bo'*), on Ex. xi-xiii. 16. Book II (if we ignore the isolated first section) covers Ex. xxii. 21-xxviii. 33. It therefore seems to contain parts of three successive *sedarim*:

18. (*mišpaṭim*) on Ex. xxi. 1-xxiv. 18.
19. (*terumah*) on Ex. xxv. 1-xxvii. 19.
20. (*tešawweh*) on Ex. xxvii. 20-xxx. 10.

It therefore seems justified to conclude that the present Book II of *QE* contains parts of the lost Books III, IV and V. Book I may preserve part of the lost Book I or the lost Book II. In any case, it is clear that the original treatise did not discuss more than a quarter of the Biblical book.

If the preceding hypothesis is sound (and there is room for doubt), it will serve to determine the original extent and book-divisions of the *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum*, and at the same time will furnish at least some evidence that the Alexandrian Jews in Philo's time followed a system of weekly synagogue-readings of the Pentateuch very much like that used in ancient Babylonia and still in use to-day.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- Arm. = Armenian version of *Quaestiones*.  
 Aucher = J. B. Aucher, *Philonis Judaei Paralipomena*, etc. (see Preface), Venice, 1826.  
 A.V. = Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible.  
 Colson = F. H. Colson in Loeb Philo, vols. i-ix.  
 frag. = Greek fragment of *Quaestiones* (see Appendix A).  
 Früchtel = Ludwig Früchtel, "Griechische Fragmente zu Philons Quaestiones, etc.," *Zeit. f. Alttest. Wiss.*, N.F. 14 (1937), 108-115.  
 Harris = J. Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, Cambridge, 1896.  
 Heb. = Hebrew Old Testament.  
 Lewy = Hans Lewy, *Neue Philontexte in der Uebersetzung des Ambrosius*, etc., Berlin, 1932.  
 lit. = literally.  
 LXX = Septuagint or Greek Old Testament.  
 OL = Old Latin version of *Quaestiones in Genesis* iv. 154-245 (see Appendix B).  
 QE = *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum*.  
 QG = *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesis*.  
 Staehle = Karl Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandria*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1931.  
 v.l. = *varia lectio*.  
 vel sim. = *vel simile* (used of some reconstructions of Philo's Greek given in footnotes to translation).  
 Wendland = Paul Wendland, *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos*, Berlin, 1891.  
 Wolfson = H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1947.  
 \* placed before section number indicates that part of the section is extant in Greek (see Appendix A).  
 ( ) indicate words supplied by translator.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NAME	DEGREE	CLASS
ALAN T. BROWN	B.A.	1953
ALAN T. BROWN	M.A.	1954
ALAN T. BROWN	Ph.D.	1955
ALAN T. BROWN	Ph.D.	1956
ALAN T. BROWN	Ph.D.	1957
ALAN T. BROWN	Ph.D.	1958
ALAN T. BROWN	Ph.D.	1959
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ALAN T. BROWN	Ph.D.	2021
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## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

#### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)  
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini)  
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate  
Caini)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit)  
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)  
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)  
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-  
guarum)  
On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione  
Abrahami)  
Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)  
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae  
Eruditionis gratia)
- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)  
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)  
On Dreams (De Somniis)
- VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)  
On Joseph (De Iosepho)  
Moses (De Vita Mosis)

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)  
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
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On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)  
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)  
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)  
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi) Flaccus (In Flaccum)  
Hypothetica<sup>1</sup> (Apologia pro Iudaeis)  
On Providence<sup>1</sup> (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)  
GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus<sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)  
GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

# GENESIS

# GENESIS

## BOOK I

\*1. (Gen. ii. 4) Why, when he (Moses) considers and reflects on the creation of the world, does he say, " This is the book of the coming into being of heaven and earth when they came into being " ?

The expression " when they came into being," which is undetermined and uncircumscribed,<sup>a</sup> apparently indicates time. And this evidence confutes those who consider it to be a certain number of years summed under one head, during which the cosmos was to come into being. But the expression, " this is the book of coming into being " is meant to indicate a supposed book <sup>b</sup> which contains the creation of the world and an intimation of the truth about the creation of the world.<sup>c</sup>

2. (Gen. ii. 5) What is the meaning of the words, " And God made every green thing of the field before it came into being on the earth, and every grass before it grew " ?

In these words he alludes to the incorporeal ideas. For the expression, " before it came into being " points to the perfection <sup>d</sup> of every green thing and grass, of plants and trees. And as Scripture says that before they grew on the earth He made plants and grass and the other things,

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. has only *ἄριστον* (*l. ἀόριστον*).

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. has *τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τεύχους*.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. reads differently *ἀναφορά τῶν εἰρημένων περὶ τῆς κοσμοποιίας πρὸς τὰ ἐπ' ἀληθείας γεγονότα*.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ τέλος.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

it is evident that He made incorporeal and intelligible ideas in accordance with the intelligible nature which these sense-perceptible things on earth were meant to imitate.

3. (Gen. ii. 6) What is the meaning of the words, "a spring went up from the earth and watered all the face of the earth"?

How is it possible to water all the earth from one spring? Not only because of its size but also because of the unevenness of mountains and plains. Unless indeed as all the cavalry force of the king is called "the horse," so also "spring" means all the veins of the earth producing potable water, which comes like that from a spring. But well does Scripture also say, not "all (the earth)," but "its face" was watered. Just as in a living being the head is the ruling part,<sup>a</sup> so the good and fertile and principal part of the earth is that which can become fruitbearing, and this is in need of the help given by springs.

4. (Gen. ii. 7) Who is the "moulded"<sup>b</sup> man? And how does he differ from him who is (made) "in accordance with the image (of God)"?

The moulded man is the sense-perceptible<sup>c</sup> man and a likeness of the intelligible type.<sup>d</sup> But the man made in accordance with (God's) form<sup>e</sup> is intelligible and incorporeal and a likeness of the archetype, so far as this is visible. And he is a copy of the original seal.<sup>f</sup> And this is the Logos of God, the first principle, the archetypal idea,<sup>g</sup> the pre-measurer<sup>h</sup> of all things. For this reason the man who was moulded as by a potter was formed out of dust and earth, in respect of the body. And he obtained a spirit when God breathed life into his face. And the mixture of his nature was a mixture of the corruptible and incorruptible. For that which is in accordance with form<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

<sup>b</sup> πλαστός.

<sup>c</sup> αἰσθητός.

<sup>d</sup> νοητοῦ τρόπου.

<sup>e</sup> εἶδος.

<sup>f</sup> σφραγίδος.

<sup>g</sup> ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα.

<sup>h</sup> προμετρητήης.

<sup>i</sup> εἶδος ἢ ἰδέαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

is incorruptible, coming from an invisible nature, from that which is simple and pure.

5. (Gen. ii. 7) Why is He said to have breathed life into his face ?

First of all, because the face is the principal part of the body. For the rest (of the body) was made like a pedestal, while the face, like a bust, is firmly placed above it. And sense-perception is the principal part of the animal species, and sense-perception is in the face. In the second place, man is admitted to be part not only of the animal order but also of that of rational animals, and the head is the temple of the mind, as some have said.

6. (Gen. ii. 8) Why is God said to have "planted Paradise" and for whom? And what is Paradise?

Of Paradise, so far as the literal meaning is concerned, there is no need to give an explicit interpretation. For it is a dense place full of all kinds of trees. Symbolically, however, it is wisdom<sup>a</sup> or knowledge<sup>b</sup> of the divine and human and of their causes. For it was fitting, after the coming into being of the world, to establish the contemplative life in order that through a vision of the world and the things in it praise of the Father might also be attained. For it is not possible for nature to see nor is it possible without wisdom to praise the creator of all things. And His ideas the Creator planted like trees in the most sovereign thing, the rational soul. But as for the tree of life in the midst (of the garden), it is the knowledge, not only of things on the earth, but also of the eldest and highest cause of all things. For if anyone is able to obtain a clear impression<sup>c</sup> of this, he will be fortunate and blessed and truly immortal. But after the world wisdom came into being, since after the creation of the world Paradise was made in the same manner as the poets say the chorus of

<sup>a</sup> σοφία.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπιστήμη.

<sup>c</sup> σαφείαν φαντασίαν.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

Muses (was formed), in order to praise the Creator and His work. For just as Plato said,<sup>a</sup> the Creator is the greatest and best of causes, while the world is the most beautiful of created things.

7. (Gen. ii. 8) Why is He said to have planted Paradise in Eden toward the East ?

In the first place, because the movement of the world is from East to West ; and that from which movement starts is first. Second, that which is in the region of the East is said to be the right side of the world, while that in the region of the West is the left. And so the poet testifies,<sup>b</sup> calling the birds in the region of the East "right," and those which are in the region of the West "on the left side." If they go to the right side, it is to the day and the sun ; but if to the left, toward evening and darkness. But the name Eden when translated is certainly a symbol of delicacies, joy and mirth. For all good things and benefits have their origin in this sacred place. In the third place, because it <sup>c</sup> is wisdom and radiance and light.

8. (Gen. ii. 8) Why does He place the moulded man in Paradise, but not the man who was made in His image ?

Some, believing Paradise to be a garden, have said that since the moulded man is sense-perceptible, he therefore rightly goes to a sense-perceptible place. But the man made in His image is intelligible and invisible, and is in the class of incorporeal species. But I would say that Paradise should be thought a symbol of wisdom. For the earth-formed man is a mixture, and consists of soul and body, and is in need of teaching and instruction, desiring, in accordance with the laws of philosophy, that he may be happy. But he who was made in His image is in need of nothing, but is self-hearing and self-taught and self-instructed by nature.

<sup>a</sup> *Timaeus* 92 c.

<sup>b</sup> Hom. *Il.* xii. 239, *Od.* xx. 242.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* Paradise.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

9. (Gen. ii. 9) Why does (Scripture) say that in Paradise was every tree beautiful to look at and good <sup>a</sup> to eat ?

Because there are two virtues of trees, to be many-branched and fruitful, of which one is for the pleasure of sight, and the other for the enjoyment of taste. But not ineptly is the word "beautiful" used, for it would be natural <sup>b</sup> that plants should be ever flourishing and ever green, as belonging to the divine Paradise, without suffering the extremity of being leafless. But it did not say that the fruit also was "beautiful" but "good," <sup>a</sup> and this is philosophically said, for men use food not only for pleasure but also for utility, and utility is the outflowing <sup>c</sup> and the distillation of the good.

10. (Gen. ii. 9) What is "the tree of life" and why is it in the midst of Paradise ?

Some believe that as plants are corporeal and subject to death, so also some have life and immortality. Wherefore they say that life and death are opposed to each other. And some plants are destructive, and it is necessary to be saved (from their effects). <sup>d</sup> But that this state is healthful they do not know. For generation, as the arguments of philosophers go, is the beginning of corruption. And may it not be that this (*i.e.* the above) is said allegorically ? For some say that the tree of life is the earth, for it causes all things to grow for the life of both man and all other things. Wherefore He apportioned a central place to this plant ; and the centre of all is the earth. And some say that the tree of life is a name for the seven circles <sup>e</sup> which are in heaven. And some say it is the sun because it is, in a sense, in the midst of the planets and is the cause of the seasons, by which all things are produced. And some have said that the tree of life is the government <sup>f</sup> of the soul. For the soul innervates and strengthens sense-

<sup>a</sup> καλός.

<sup>b</sup> εἰκὸς ἂν εἶη.

<sup>c</sup> ἀπόρροια.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. obscure, lit. "and of necessity salvation is obtained."

<sup>e</sup> κύκλοι ἢ στροφαί.

<sup>f</sup> ἡγεμονία (ἢ ὑφήγησις).



## GENESIS, BOOK I

perception by directing its energies<sup>a</sup> to what is suitable for it, with the participation<sup>b</sup> of the parts of the body. And the centre, in one meaning, is the chief and head, as is the leader of a chorus. But worthy and excellent men say that the tree of life is the best of the virtues in man, namely piety,<sup>c</sup> through which pre-eminently the mind becomes immortal.

11. (Gen. ii. 9) What is "the tree of knowing the science<sup>d</sup> of good and evil"?

This very clear statement, which in its literal meaning is elusive, it presents to us as an allegory. For, as he intimates, it is prudence,<sup>e</sup> and this is the science of knowing, through which good and beautiful things and bad and ugly things are distinguished; and (the science of knowing) all things which are contrary to each other, of which the one is of a superior order, and the other of an inferior order. Now the wisdom which is in this world is not God but is truly the work of God<sup>f</sup>; it sees nature and studies it. But the wisdom which is in man sees with dim eyes, confusing one thing with another, for it is weak in seeing and understanding purely, simply, clearly each thing by itself alone. Wherefore with man's wisdom a kind of deception is mixed, in the same manner as to the eyes certain shadows are often an impediment to catching sight of unmixed and pure light. For what the eye is to the body, mind and wisdom are to the soul.

12. (Gen. ii. 10) What is the river that went out from Eden, by which Paradise is watered; and four rivers separated, the Pishon,<sup>g</sup> Gihon,<sup>h</sup> Tigris and Euphrates?

<sup>a</sup> ἐνεργείας.

<sup>b</sup> κοινωνία.

<sup>c</sup> εὐσέβεια.

<sup>d</sup> τοῦ γινώσκειν τὴν ἐπιστήμην (οὐ τῆς γνώσεως τῆς τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι).

<sup>e</sup> φρόνησις.

<sup>f</sup> Probably we should correct the Arm. to read "Now the wisdom which is in this world sees (*tesē* for *ē* "is") not God but truly the work (or the true work) of God."

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *Phison* = Gr. Φεισών.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. *Gehōn* = Gr. Γηών.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

For the sources of the Tigris (Arm. *Dktat*<sup>4</sup>) and Euphrates (Arm. *Araçani*) are said to rise in the Armenian mountains. And in that place there is no Paradise, nor are there the two other sources of the river. Unless perhaps Paradise is in some distant place far from our inhabited world, and has a river flowing under the earth, which waters many great veins so that these rising send (water) to other recipient veins, and so become diffused. And as these are forced by the rush of water, the force which is in them makes its way out to the surface, both in the Armenian mountains and elsewhere. And these are the supposed sources, or rather the outflowings of the river; but properly the supposed sources, since divine Scripture, in which the matter of the four rivers is mentioned, is wholly veracious. For the origin is a river and not a source (according to Scripture). Unless perhaps in this passage matters are allegorized, and the four rivers are a symbol of four virtues<sup>a</sup>: of prudence,<sup>b</sup> called Pishon in respect of frugality<sup>c</sup>; of moderation,<sup>d</sup> called Gihon because it labours with regard to food and drink, and produces the various pleasures of the belly and those parts which are below the belly, and this is earthly; of courage,<sup>e</sup> called Tigris, for this checks the affection of anger which rages in us; of justice,<sup>f</sup> called Euphrates, for in nothing do the thoughts of man rejoice and have gladness more than in justice.<sup>g</sup>

13. (Gen. ii. 14) Why does (Scripture) omit to give the location of the Euphrates alone, while it says that the Pishon goes round all the land of Havilah (Arm. and LXX *Evilat*), and the Gihon goes round all the land of Cush (Arm. and LXX *Ethiopia*), and the Tigris flows opposite Assyria (Arm. *Asorestan*)?

The Tigris (*Dktat*<sup>4</sup>) is the wildest and most destructive

<sup>a</sup> ἀρετῶν.

<sup>b</sup> φρόνησις.

<sup>c</sup> φειδώ.

<sup>d</sup> σωφροσύνη.

<sup>e</sup> ἀνδρεία.

<sup>f</sup> δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>g</sup> In the above passage, paralleled in *Leg. All.* i. 63 ff., Philo plays on the Greek names of the four rivers.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

of rivers, as the Babylonians and the Magians testify, who have determined that its nature is somewhat different from (that of) water. However it is likely that (Scripture) has still another reason for keeping silence. For the Euphrates (*Araçani*) is very gentle and life-giving and nourishing, wherefore the wise men of the Hebrews and Assyrians call it "augmenting" and "prospering." For this reason it is known, not from anything else, like the three (other rivers) but by itself. To me it seems that the matter is symbolical and figurative. Since prudence<sup>a</sup> is a faculty<sup>b</sup> of the rational element,<sup>c</sup> in which evil is found, and courage<sup>d</sup> is a faculty of the irascible element,<sup>e</sup> and moderation<sup>f</sup> is a faculty of the concupiscent element,<sup>g</sup> but anger and concupiscence are bestial.<sup>h</sup> Thus (Scripture) refers to the three rivers by the regions through which they flow but the Euphrates (*Araçani*), which is a symbol of justice,<sup>i</sup> is not similarly referred to, since not merely some part of it is assigned to the soul, but it is acquired all at once and becomes a partnership<sup>j</sup> and harmony of the three parts of the soul and of the same number of virtues.

14. (Gen. ii. 15) Why does (God) place the man in Paradise for two things, to work and guard it, when Paradise was not in need of work, for it was complete in all things as having been planted by God, and was not in need of a guardian, for who was there to be harmed?

These are the two things which a cultivator should keep in mind and achieve, cultivation of the field and guarding of the things in it, for it may be ruined either by idleness or by invasion. But although Paradise was not in need of either of these things, nevertheless it was necessary that he who received the supervision and care of it, (that is) the first man, should be, as it were, a law to husbandmen in all things which it is fitting to labour in. Moreover it was

<sup>a</sup> φρόνησις.  
<sup>d</sup> ἀνδρεία.

<sup>b</sup> ἀρετή.  
<sup>e</sup> τοῦ θυμικοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> τοῦ λογικοῦ.  
<sup>f</sup> σωφροσύνη.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ.

<sup>h</sup> θηριώδεις.

<sup>i</sup> δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>j</sup> ὁμόνοια, κοινωνία, etc.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

proper that as it was full of all things, He should leave to the cultivator the superintendence<sup>a</sup> and the work of caring for it, such as watering it, tending it, nurturing it,<sup>b</sup> spading it, digging trenches, and irrigating it with water. And although there was no other man, it was necessary to guard it at least against wild animals, and especially against air and water, for when there is a drought, one must water it abundantly, but when there are rainstorms, one must stop the overflow by making another channel.

15. (Gen. ii. 16) Why does (God) say, when He commands (Adam) to eat of every tree which is in Paradise, "Eat" in the singular number; but, when He forbids eating of the tree which gives knowledge of good and evil, says, in the plural number, "Do not eat, for on the day when ye shall eat, ye shall die"?

First, because though it extends over many things,<sup>c</sup> the good is one, and not less for this reason,<sup>d</sup> namely that He who gave the benefit is one, as is also the one who received the benefit. This "one" I speak of, not with reference to the number which precedes the number two, but with reference to the unitary power, in accordance with which many things are harmonized and agree and by their concord imitate the one, such as a flock, a herd, a drove, a chorus, an army, a nation, a tribe, a household, a city. For all these, extending over many, are one community and embrace lovingly; but when they are unmixed and have nothing in common, they fall into duality and into a multitude and are divided. For duality is the beginning of division. But two who use the same philosophy as one enjoy an unadulterated and clear virtue which is free of evil. But when good and evil are mixed, they have as their beginning a mixture of death.

<sup>a</sup> ἐπιμέλειαν.    <sup>b</sup> τρυφᾶν, μαλακίζειν, etc.    <sup>c</sup> διὰ πολλῶν.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. phrase is obscure to me, as also to Aucher apparently. He renders, "primum, quia unum ex multis factum bonum est; id autem haud exiguum his etiam rationibus . . ."

## GENESIS, BOOK I

16. (Gen. ii. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "Ye shall die by the death<sup>a</sup> " ?

The death of worthy men is the beginning of another life. For life is twofold ; one is with corruptible body ; the other is without body (and) incorruptible. So that the evil man dies by death even when he breathes, before he is buried, as though he preserved for himself no spark at all of the true life, and this is excellence of character.<sup>b</sup> The decent and worthy man, however, does not die by death, but after living long, passes away to eternity, that is, he is borne to eternal life.

\*17. (Gen. ii. 18) Why does (Scripture) say, " It is not good for man to be alone. Let us make for him a helpmeet like him " ?

By these words it refers to partnership, and that not with all persons but with those who wish to help and bring mutual profit even though they may not be able (to do so). For love is a strengthener of character<sup>c</sup> not more by usefulness than by union and concord, so that to every one of those who come together in the partnership of love the saying of Pythagoras can be applied, that " a lover is indeed another self."

18. (Gen. ii. 19) Why, after first saying, " Let us make a helper for man," does (God) create wild animals and cattle ?

Intemperate<sup>d</sup> and gluttonous people would say that wild animals and fowl, being necessary food, are a help to man. For the eating of meat co-operates with the stomach toward (attaining) health and bodily strength. But I believe that now, because evil is found in him, man has enemies and adversaries in terrestrial animals and fowl. But to the first man, who was altogether adorned with virtue, they were rather like military forces and allies, and a close

<sup>a</sup> θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε, a reflection of the Hebrew idiom.

<sup>b</sup> καλοκάγαθία.

<sup>c</sup> βεβαίωσις ἡθῶν, cf. Greek frag.

<sup>d</sup> ἀκόλαστοι.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

friend naturally becomes tractable (?). And with this man alone they became familiar, as was fitting for servants with a master.

19. (Gen. ii. 19) Why are beasts and birds now again created, when their creation <sup>a</sup> was announced <sup>b</sup> earlier in the six-day (creation story) ? <sup>c</sup>

Perhaps those things which (were created) in the six days were incorporeal <sup>d</sup> and were symbolically typical species <sup>e</sup> of beasts and birds. But now were produced in actuality <sup>f</sup> their likenesses, <sup>g</sup> sensible <sup>h</sup> (likenesses) of invisible things. <sup>i</sup>

\*20. (Gen. ii. 19) Why does (God) bring all the animals to the man that he may give names to them ?

Scripture has cleared up the great perplexity of those who are lovers of wisdom by showing that names exist by being given and not by nature, since each is an apt and naturally suitable name through the skilful calculation of a wise man who is pre-eminent in knowledge. And very proper to the mind of the wise man alone, or rather to the first of earth-born creatures, is the giving of names. For it was fitting that the lord of mankind and the king of all earth-born creatures should obtain this great honour also. For as he was the first to see living creatures, so he was the first to be worthy of being lord over all and the first introducer and author of the giving of names. For it would have been vain and foolish to leave them without names or to accept names from some other younger man to the disgrace and degradation of the honour and glory of the older man. We must, however, also suppose that the giving of names was so exact that so soon as he gave the name and the animal heard it, it was affected as if by the phenomenon of a familiar and related name being spoken.

<sup>a</sup> γένεσις.                      <sup>b</sup> ἀνηγγέλθη.                      <sup>c</sup> ἐν τῷ ἑξαήμερω.

<sup>d</sup> ἀσώματα.                      <sup>e</sup> δεικτικαὶ καὶ τροπικαὶ ἰδέαι.

<sup>f</sup> ἔργω.                      <sup>g</sup> ὁμοιότητες.                      <sup>h</sup> αἰσθηταί.                      <sup>i</sup> ἀοράτων.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

\*21. (Gen. ii. 19) Why does (Scripture) say, "He led the animals to man to see what he would call them," when God is not in doubt?

Truly it is alien to the divine power to be in doubt. But it appears that He was not in doubt, since He gave mind to man, especially the first earth-born noble man, in accordance with which he became wise and could naturally reason like a leader and ruler and know how to move and make himself known.<sup>a</sup> And he saw the good origin of his spirit. Moreover through this he also typifies all that is voluntary in us, thus confounding those who say that all things exist by necessity. Or perhaps because mankind was destined to use them, for that reason He granted to man the giving of their names.

22. (Gen. ii. 19) What is the meaning of the words, "Whatever he called a living soul, that was its name"?

It is necessary to believe that he gave names not only to animals but also to plants and to all other things without life, beginning with the highest genus: and the animal is the highest thing. Scripture contents itself with the best part, not completely illustrating the naming of all things for stupid men. Wherefore the naming of inanimate things, which could not change their places or make use of the affections of the soul,<sup>b</sup> was easy. It was more difficult in the case of animals because of the movements of the body and the various manifestations of the impulses of the soul through the senses and passions from which energies arise. Thus the mind was able to give names to the more difficult and more troublesome genera of animals. Wherefrom it follows that he named (other things) as if they were easy and near at hand.

23. (Gen. ii. 20) What is the meaning of the words, "For Adam there was not found a helper like himself"?

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. is very obscure and apparently a mistranslation. Cf. Greek fragment, in Appendix A in Suppl. II.

<sup>b</sup> παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Everything helped and co-operated with the founder of mankind, such as earth, rivers, sea, air, light and sky. Also co-operated all the species of fruit and plants and herds of cattle. And wild animals were not ferocious to him. However, none of these was in any way a helper like himself, since they were not human. Thus (Scripture) approves of one man showing himself a succourer and co-operator with another man and showing his complete similarity in body and soul.

\*24. (Gen. ii. 21) What is the meaning of the words, "And He cast a trance <sup>a</sup> upon Adam, and made him sleep" ?

Philosophers are at a loss and uncertain how to explain how sleep comes about. But the prophet clearly solved the problem. For sleep in itself is properly <sup>b</sup> a trance, not that which comes about through madness, <sup>c</sup> but that which comes about through the relaxing <sup>d</sup> of the senses and the withdrawal of the reason. For then the senses withdraw from sense-perceptible things, and the intellect withdraws from the senses, not activating the nerves and not giving motion even to those parts which have as their special function the production of energy, being separated from sense-perceptible things.

25. (Gen. ii. 21-22) What is the "side" <sup>e</sup> which He took from the earth-born man; and why did He mould the side into a woman ?

The literal sense is clear. For by a certain symbolical use of "part" <sup>f</sup> it is called a half of the whole, as both man and woman, being sections of Nature, become equal in one harmony of genus, <sup>g</sup> which is called man. But in the figurative sense, man is a symbol of mind, and his side

<sup>a</sup> ἔκστασιν.

<sup>b</sup> "Properly" is omitted in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> μανίας.

<sup>d</sup> ὑφέσιν in the Greek frag.

<sup>e</sup> πλευρά.

<sup>f</sup> μέρος.

<sup>g</sup> ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ γένους ἁρμονίᾳ.



## GENESIS, BOOK I

is a single sense-faculty. And the sense-perception of a very changeable reason is symbolized by woman. Some speak of prowess<sup>a</sup> and strength as "side," whence they call a fighting athlete with strong sides a powerful man. Accordingly the lawgiver says that woman was made from the side of man, intimating that woman is a half of man's body. For this we also have evidence in the constitution of the body, its common parts,<sup>b</sup> movements, faculties, mental vigour and excellence. For all things are seen as if in double proportion. Inasmuch as the moulding<sup>c</sup> of the male is more perfect than, and double, that of the female, it requires only half the time, namely forty days; whereas the imperfect woman, who is, so to speak, a half-section of man, requires twice as many days, namely eighty. So that there is a change in the doubling of the time of man's nature (or natural growth), in accordance with the peculiarity of woman. For when the nature of the body and soul<sup>d</sup> of something is of double measure, such as man's, then the forming<sup>e</sup> and moulding of that thing is in half-measure. But when the nature of the body and the construction of something is in half-measure, such as woman's, then the moulding and forming of that thing is in double measure.<sup>f</sup>

26. (Gen. ii. 22) Why does Scripture call the likeness<sup>g</sup> of the woman "a building"<sup>h</sup>?

The harmonious coming together<sup>i</sup> of man and woman and their consummation is figuratively a house. And everything which is without a woman is imperfect and homeless.<sup>j</sup> For to man are entrusted the public affairs of state; while to a woman the affairs of the home are proper.

<sup>a</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>b</sup> κοινωνία.

<sup>c</sup> πλάσμα.

<sup>d</sup> ψυχή (or πνεῦμα).

<sup>e</sup> τύπωσις.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. that material which is imperfect or half-perfect takes twice as long to complete as that which is perfect to start with.

<sup>g</sup> εἰκόνα.

<sup>h</sup> οἰκοδομήν; cf. LXX ὠκοδόμησε.

<sup>i</sup> συναγωγή ἁρμονίας vel sim.

<sup>j</sup> ἄοικος.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The lack <sup>a</sup> of her is ruin,<sup>b</sup> but her being near at hand <sup>c</sup> constitutes household management.<sup>d</sup>

\*27. (Gen. ii. 21) Why was not woman, like other animals and man, also formed <sup>e</sup> from earth, instead of the side of man ?

First, because woman is not equal in honour with man. Second, because she is not equal in age, but younger. Wherefore those who take wives who have passed their prime are to be criticized for destroying the laws of nature. Third, he wishes that man should take care of <sup>f</sup> woman as of a very necessary <sup>g</sup> part of him ; but woman, in return, should serve him <sup>h</sup> as a whole. Fourth, he counsels man figuratively to take care of <sup>i</sup> woman as of a daughter, and woman to honour man as a father. And this is proper ; for woman changes her habitation from her family <sup>j</sup> to her husband. Wherefore it is fitting and proper that one who receives something should in return show goodwill to those who have given it, but one (*i.e.* the woman) who has made a change should give to him who has taken her the honour which she showed those who begot her. For man has a wife entrusted to him as a deposit <sup>k</sup> from her parents, but woman (takes a husband) by law.

\*28. (Gen. ii. 23) Why does the moulded man, on seeing the woman, say in addition, " This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh ; she shall be called woman, for she was taken from her husband " <sup>l</sup> ?

He might have said deprecatingly, <sup>m</sup> being dumbfounded

<sup>a</sup> ἀπορία.

<sup>b</sup> κατάλυσις.

<sup>c</sup> οὐσία τῆς ὁμιλίας or ἀγχιουτείας, prob. for original οὐσης αὐτῆς πλησίον. <sup>d</sup> οἰκονομία. <sup>e</sup> ἰδρυτο.

<sup>f</sup> προκήδεσθαι or προνοεῖν.

<sup>g</sup> ἀναγκαιότερον.

<sup>h</sup> ἐκεῖ, an error for ἐκείνω.

<sup>i</sup> προκήδεσθαι.

<sup>j</sup> The Greek frag. has γονέων.

<sup>k</sup> παρακαταθήκην, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. has a word-play on *αρν* " man " and *αρnem* " to take."

<sup>m</sup> ὡς παραιτούμενος *vel sim.*

## GENESIS, BOOK I

at this apparition, "Is it really possible that this wonderful and lovely vision <sup>a</sup> came from bones and formless flesh and things without quality <sup>b</sup>—this most shapely <sup>c</sup> and very charming creature! It is incredible that a similar thing can be. And yet it is credible, for God was the creator and painter."<sup>d</sup> He might have said trustingly,<sup>e</sup> "Truly this is a creature of my bone and my flesh, for she has been separated and put together from these several parts of mine." Moreover he makes mention of bones and flesh very naturally, for the human <sup>f</sup> tent <sup>g</sup> is made of bones, flesh, arteries, veins, nerves, ligaments and the vessels of breathing and of the blood. And the woman is called the power of giving birth <sup>h</sup> with fecundity, and truly so; either because after receiving the seed, she conceives and gives birth, or, as the prophet says, because she came from man, not through spirit nor through seed, like those after him, but by a kind of mediate nature, just as a shoot is taken from a vine for growing another vine.<sup>i</sup>

\*29. (Gen. ii. 24) Why does (Scripture) say, "Wherefore man shall leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh"?

(Scripture) commands man to act toward his wife with the most extreme exaggeration in partnership,<sup>j</sup> so that he may endure to abandon even his parents. Not as though this is proper, but as though they would not be causes of goodwill <sup>k</sup> to the wife. And most excellent and careful was it not to say that the woman should leave her parents and be joined to her husband—for the audacity <sup>l</sup> (of man) is bolder than the nature of woman—but that for the sake of woman man is to do this. Since with a very ready

<sup>a</sup> εἶδος, ἰδέα, ὄρασις, etc.

<sup>b</sup> ἀποιών.

<sup>c</sup> εὐμορφότατος.

<sup>d</sup> ζωγράφος.

<sup>e</sup> ὡς ἀναδεχόμενος.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "corporeal."

<sup>g</sup> σκηνή.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek must have had a word-play on γυνή and γεννᾶν.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. paraphrases.

<sup>j</sup> κοινωνία.

<sup>k</sup> εὐνοίας.

<sup>l</sup> παρρησία.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and prompt impulse<sup>a</sup> he is brought to a concord of knowledge.<sup>b</sup> Being possessed<sup>c</sup> and foreseeing the future,<sup>d</sup> he controls and stills his desires,<sup>e</sup> being fitted to his spouse alone as if to a bridle. And especially because he, having the authority of a master,<sup>f</sup> is to be suspected of arrogance. But woman, taking the rank of servant, is shown to be obedient to his life. But when Scripture says that the two are one flesh, it indicates something very tangible and sense-perceptible, in which there is suffering and sensual pleasure, that they may rejoice in, and be pained by, and feel the same things, and, much more, may think the same things.

30. (Gen. ii. 25) Why are both the earth-born man and the woman said to be naked, and were not ashamed?

First, because they were related to the world, and its parts are naked, all showing their own qualities and using their own covering. Second, because of the simplicity of their morals<sup>g</sup> and because they were by nature without arrogance; for not yet had presumption been created. Third, because the pleasant climate of the place was also a quite sufficient covering to them, so that there was neither too much cold nor too much heat for them. Fourth, because of their kinship with the world, they suffered no harm from any of its parts, it being closely related to them.

\*31. (Gen. iii. 1) Why does (Scripture) represent the serpent as more cunning<sup>h</sup> than all the beasts?

It is proper to tell the truth, that the serpent is truly more cunning than all the beasts. To me, however, it seems that this was said because of the serpent's inclina-

<sup>a</sup> ἔτοιμωτέρα καὶ προχείρα ὄρμη.

<sup>b</sup> ὁμόνοιαν τῆς ἐπιστήμης (ἢ γνώσεως). <sup>c</sup> μαινόμενος.

<sup>d</sup> προνοῶν. <sup>e</sup> ἐγκρατεῖται καὶ συστέλλει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας.

<sup>f</sup> κυρίαν ἔχων ἐξουσίαν.

<sup>g</sup> διὰ τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν ἀπλότητα.

<sup>h</sup> Or "prudent"—φρονιμώτερος.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

tion toward passion, of which it is the symbol. And by passion is meant sensual pleasure,<sup>a</sup> for lovers of pleasure are very clever and are skilled in arts<sup>b</sup> and means<sup>c</sup>; they are clever in finding devices,<sup>d</sup> both those which produce pleasure and those which lead to enjoyment of some kind. But it seems to me that since that creature which excelled in cunning was prepared to become the deceiver of man,<sup>e</sup> the argument applies to a very cunning creature, not the whole genus, but this particular serpent alone, for the reason mentioned.

\*32. (Gen. iii. 1) Did the serpent speak in the manner of men?

First, it is likely that not even in the beginning of the world's creation were the other animals without a share in speech, but that man excelled in voice (or utterance), being more clear and distinct. Second, when some miraculous deed is prepared, God changes the inner nature. Third, because our souls are filled with many sins and deaf to all utterances except one or another tongue to which they are accustomed; but the souls of the first creatures,<sup>f</sup> as being pure of evil and unmixed, were particularly keen in becoming familiar<sup>g</sup> with every sound. And since they were not provided only with defective senses, such as belong to a miserable bodily frame, but were provided with a very great body and the magnitude of a giant, it was necessary that they should also have more accurate senses,<sup>h</sup> and what is more, philosophical sight and hearing. For not inaptly do some conjecture that they were provided with eyes with which they could see those natures and beings and actions which were in heaven, and with ears to perceive sounds of every kind.

<sup>a</sup> ἡδονή.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν τέχναις.

<sup>c</sup> τρόποις or ἐξευρέσει.

<sup>d</sup> μηχανάς.

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. reads differently.

<sup>f</sup> τῶν πρώτων.

<sup>g</sup> *andelout'iuu* "familiarity" is prob. error for *andoune-lout'iuu* = "perception." The Greek frag. paraphrases.

<sup>h</sup> ἀκριβεστέρας αἰσθήσεις.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

33. (Gen. iii. 1) Why does the serpent speak to the woman and not to the man ?

In order that they may be potentially mortal<sup>a</sup> he deceives by trickery and artfulness. And woman is more accustomed to be deceived than man. For his judgment,<sup>b</sup> like his body, is masculine and is capable of dissolving or destroying the designs of deception; but the judgment of woman is more feminine, and because of softness she easily gives way and is taken in by plausible falsehoods which resemble the truth. Accordingly, since in old age the serpent casts off his skin from the top of his head to his tail, by casting it, he reproaches<sup>c</sup> man, for he has exchanged death for immortality. From his bestial nature he is renewed and adjusts himself<sup>d</sup> to different times. Seeing this, she was deceived, though she ought to have looked, as if at an example, at him who practised stratagems and trickery, and to have obtained ageless and unfading life.

34. (Gen. iii. 1) Why does the serpent lie, saying, " God said, Do not eat of any<sup>e</sup> tree of Paradise " ? For on the contrary, He said, " From every tree which is in Paradise you may eat except from one."

It is the custom of those who fight to lie artfully in order that they may not be found out. This is what happens now. For it was commanded that every (tree) might be used except one. But he who devises evil stratagems, coming between, says, " The command was given not to eat of any." As a slippery thing and a stumbling-block to the mind, he put forward an ambiguity<sup>f</sup> of words. For the expression " not to eat from all " clearly means " not even from one," which is false. And again it also means

<sup>a</sup> Arm. obscure, lit. = ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοὺς δυνάμει θανάσιμους. <sup>b</sup> διάνοια, λογισμός. <sup>c</sup> ὀνειδίζει.

<sup>d</sup> ὁμοιοῦται, ἀπεικάζεται, lit. " likens himself."

<sup>e</sup> Lit. " all, every," reflecting the Semitic idiom in which " all " after a negative = " any."

<sup>f</sup> ἀπορίαν, ἀμφισβήτησιν.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

“not from every one,” by which is to be understood “not from some,” which is true. Thus he spoke a falsehood in a very clear manner.

35. (Gen. iii. 3) Why, when the command was given not to eat of one particular tree, did the woman include even approaching it closely, saying, “He said, You shall not eat of that one and not come near it”?

First, because taste and every sense consists generically <sup>a</sup> in its contact.<sup>b</sup> Second, for the severe punishment of those who have practised this. For if merely approaching was forbidden, would not those who, besides touching the tree, also ate of it and enjoyed it, adding a great wrong to a lesser one, become condemners <sup>c</sup> and punishers of themselves?

36. (Gen. iii. 5) What is the meaning of the words, “You will be as gods, knowing good and evil”?

Whence did the serpent know this plural noun “gods”? For the true God is one, and he now names Him for the first time. It could not have been a prescient quality <sup>d</sup> that foresaw that there was to be among mankind a belief in a multitude of gods, which, as the narrative <sup>e</sup> first proved, came about not through anything rational nor yet through the better irrational creatures, but through the most noxious and vile of beasts and reptiles. For these lurk in the ground, and their dens are in caves and in the hollows of the earth. And it is truly proper <sup>f</sup> to a rational being to consider God to be the one truly existing being,<sup>g</sup> but to a beast to create many gods,<sup>h</sup> and to an irrational creature to create a god who does not exist in truth.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> γένει.

<sup>b</sup> ὁμιλία.

<sup>c</sup> κατάκριτοι.

<sup>d</sup> προγνωστικὴ δύναμις.

<sup>e</sup> διήγησις, ἱστορία, etc. ; apparently Scripture is meant.

<sup>f</sup> ἴδιον.

<sup>g</sup> τὸν ἕνα ὄντως ὄντα.

<sup>h</sup> θεοπλαστεῖν.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher's rendering, “to create many gods and irrational ones,” is not justified grammatically.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Moreover he shows cunning in another way ; for not only is there in the Deity knowledge of good and evil but also the acceptance<sup>a</sup> and pursuit of good and the aversion to and rejection of evil. But these things he did not reveal, for they were useful ; he included a reference only to the knowledge of both contraries, good and evil. In the second place, “ as gods ” in the plural was now said not without reason but in order that he might show forth the good and evil, and that these gods are of a twofold nature. Accordingly, it is fitting that particular<sup>b</sup> gods should have knowledge of opposites ; but the elder cause<sup>c</sup> is superior (to good and evil).

37. (Gen. iii. 6) Why does the woman first touch the tree and eat of its fruit, and afterwards the man also take of it ?

According to the literal meaning the priority (of the woman) is mentioned with emphasis.<sup>d</sup> For it was fitting that man should rule over immortality and everything good, but woman over death and everything vile. In the allegorical sense, however, woman is a symbol of sense, and man, of mind. Now of necessity sense comes into contact with the sense-perceptible ; and by the participation of sense,<sup>e</sup> things pass into the mind ; for sense is moved by objects,<sup>f</sup> while the mind is moved by sense.

38. (Gen. iii. 6) What is the meaning of the words, “ And she gave to her husband with her ” ?

What has just been said is stated because there is almost one and the same time of appearance—at the same time sense-perception is received from objects and the mind is impressed by sense-perception.

<sup>a</sup> τὸ δέχεσθαι ἢ μετοχή. <sup>b</sup> κατὰ μέρος.

<sup>c</sup> ἢ πρεσβυτέρα αἰτία (God).

<sup>d</sup> ἐνεργείᾳ, the precise sense of which is doubtful here.

<sup>e</sup> τῇ τῆς αἰσθήσεως κοινωνίᾳ.

<sup>f</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποκειμένων κινεῖται.



## GENESIS, BOOK I

39. (Gen. iii. 7) What is the meaning of the words, "The eyes of both were opened" ?

That they were not created blind is evident from the fact that even all the other beings were created perfect,<sup>a</sup> both animals and plants ; and should not man be endowed with the superior parts, such as eyes ? Moreover, a little while before he gave earthly<sup>b</sup> names to all animals, and so it is clear that he had first seen them. Or it may be that by eyes Scripture symbolically indicates the vision of the soul, through which alone are perceived all good and bad, noble and shameful things, and all opposites. But if the eye is a separate intelligence,<sup>c</sup> which is called the counsellor<sup>d</sup> of the understanding,<sup>e</sup> there is also a special irrational eye which is called opinion.<sup>f</sup>

40. (Gen. iii. 7) What is the meaning of the words, "For they knew that they were naked" ?

It was of this, that is, of their own nakedness, that they first received knowledge by eating of the forbidden fruit. And this was opinion<sup>g</sup> and the beginning of evil, for they had not used any covering, inasmuch as the parts of the universe<sup>h</sup> are immortal and incorruptible<sup>i</sup> ; but (now) they needed that which is made by hand and corruptible. And this knowledge was in being naked, not that it was in itself the cause of change<sup>j</sup> but that now a strangeness<sup>k</sup> was conceived by the mind toward the whole world.<sup>l</sup>

\*41. (Gen. iii. 7) Why do they sew the leaves of the fig tree as loin-cloths ?<sup>m</sup>

First, because the fruit of the fig tree is sweeter and

<sup>a</sup> τέλεια.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "earth-born"—γηγενᾶ.

<sup>c</sup> διάνοια, λογισμός, etc.

<sup>d</sup> νουθέτημα, συμβουλία, παιδεία, etc.

<sup>e</sup> φρονήσεως, ἐπιστήμης, etc. <sup>f</sup> δόξα.

<sup>g</sup> δόξα.

<sup>h</sup> τοῦ παντός.

<sup>i</sup> ἄφθαρτα.

<sup>j</sup> ἀλλοιότητος ἢ διαφορᾶς.

<sup>k</sup> ἀλλοτριώσεις.

<sup>l</sup> κόσμον.

<sup>m</sup> The Arm. Bible has "apron" = *lxx περιζώματα*.

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pleasant to the taste. Accordingly it symbolically indicates those who sew together <sup>a</sup> and weave together <sup>b</sup> many sense pleasures <sup>c</sup> one with another. Wherefore they (the leaves) are girded round the place of the genitals, which are the instrument <sup>d</sup> of greater things. <sup>e</sup> Second, because the fruit of the fig tree is, as I have said, sweeter than that of other trees, and its leaves are rougher. <sup>f</sup> Accordingly (Scripture) wishes to make clear symbolically that although the movement of pleasure seems to be somewhat slippery and smooth, nevertheless in truth it proves to be rough, and it is impossible to feel joy or pleasure without first feeling pain and again feeling additional pain. For it is always a grievous thing to feel pain in the midst of two painful states, one of them being at the beginning, and the other being added. <sup>g</sup>

42. (Gen. iii. 8) What is the meaning of the words, "The sound was heard of God's walking"? Can there be a noise of words or feet, or does God walk?

Whatever sensible gods are in heaven—that is, the stars—all move in a circle and proceed in revolutions. <sup>h</sup> But the highest and eldest cause <sup>i</sup> is stable and immobile, <sup>j</sup> as the theory of the ancients holds. For He gives an indication and impression <sup>k</sup> as though He wished to give the appearance <sup>l</sup> of moving; for though no voice is given forth, prophets hear through a certain power a divine voice sounding what is said to them. Accordingly, as He is heard without speaking, so also He gives the impression of walking without actually walking, indeed without moving at all. And you see that before there was any tasting of evil, (men) were stable, constant, immobile, peaceful and eternal; similarly and in the same way they believed God

<sup>a</sup> *συρράπτουσι.*                      <sup>b</sup> *συνυφαίνουσι.*                      <sup>c</sup> *ἡδονάς.*  
<sup>d</sup> *ὄργανον.*                              <sup>e</sup> *μειζόνων.*                              <sup>f</sup> *τραχύτερα.*  
<sup>g</sup> The Greek frag. paraphrases.  
<sup>h</sup> *περιφοραῖς ἢ περιόδοις.*  
<sup>i</sup> *πρεσβυτέρα αἰτία.*                      <sup>j</sup> *βεβαία καὶ ἀκίνητος.*  
<sup>k</sup> *φαντασίαν, ἐπιφάνειαν.*                      <sup>l</sup> *δόξαν.*

## GENESIS, BOOK I

to be, just as He is in truth. But after they had come into association with deceit, they moved of themselves, and changed from being immobile, and believed that there was alteration and change in Him.

43. (Gen. iii. 8) Why, when they hid themselves from the face of God, was not the woman, who first ate of the forbidden fruit, first mentioned, but the man ; for (Scripture) says, " Adam and his wife hid themselves " ?

It was the more imperfect and ignoble element, the female, that made a beginning of transgression<sup>a</sup> and lawlessness,<sup>b</sup> while the male made the beginning of reverence and modesty<sup>c</sup> and all good, since he was better and more perfect.

44. (Gen. iii. 8) Why did they hide themselves, not in any other place, but in the midst of the trees of Paradise ?

Not all things are done with reflection and wisdom by sinners ; but there are times when thieves sit over the theft which they have committed, not seeing the consequence<sup>d</sup> and that that which lies beside them and at their feet is already sought and hunted. So also it now befell. Whereas they ought to have fled far away from the tree whence came their transgression, in the very midst of this place he was caught, so that proof of their lawlessness was more evident and clear, and there was no fleeing. And thus (Scripture) symbolically indicates that every evil person has a refuge in evil, and every sensual person resorts to, and finds rest in, sensuality.

45. (Gen. iii. 9) Why does He, who knows all things, ask Adam, " Where art thou ? ", and why does He not also ask the woman ?

The things said appear to be not a question but a kind

<sup>a</sup> παραβάσεως.  
<sup>c</sup> αἰσχύνης.

<sup>b</sup> παρανομίας.  
<sup>d</sup> τὸ ἀκόλουθον.

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of threat and reproach <sup>a</sup>: where art thou now, from what good hast thou removed thyself, O man!; giving up immortality and a blessed life, thou hast gone over to death and unhappiness, in which thou hast been buried. But the woman He did not consider it fitting to question, although she was the beginning of evil and led him (man) into a life of vileness.<sup>b</sup> But this passage also has a more apt<sup>c</sup> allegory. For the sovereign and ruling element<sup>d</sup> in man, having reason,<sup>e</sup> when it listens to anyone, introduces the vice of the female part also, that is, perception.

46. (Gen. iii. 12-13) Why does the man say, "The woman gave me of the tree and I ate," while the woman says, "The serpent did not give it, but deceived me, and I ate" <sup>f</sup>?

What is so stated (literally) contains a sentiment that is to be approved,<sup>g</sup> for woman is of a nature to be deceived rather than to reflect greatly, but man is the opposite here. But according to the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> the object of sense-perception<sup>i</sup> deceives and deludes the particular senses of an imperfect being to which it comes; and sense-perception being already infected by its object,<sup>j</sup> passes on the infection to the sovereign and ruling element.<sup>k</sup> So then the mind receives from sense, the giver, that which the latter has suffered. And sense is deceived and deluded by a sense-perceptible object,<sup>l</sup> but the senses of a wise man, like the reflections of his mind, are not to be deceived.

<sup>a</sup> ἀπειλή καὶ ἐπιτίμησις.

<sup>b</sup> τοῦ φαύλου.

<sup>c</sup> προχειροτέραν.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ἀρχηγετικὸν καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

<sup>e</sup> λόγον.

<sup>f</sup> So the Arm. literally; one expects "the woman said not, 'the serpent gave me it,' but, 'the serpent deceived me and I ate.'" The "not" appears to be out of place.

<sup>g</sup> δόξαν ἀποδεκτὴν.

<sup>h</sup> πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ αἰσθητόν.

<sup>j</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου.

<sup>k</sup> τῷ ἀρχηγετικῷ καὶ ἡγεμονικῷ (*i.e.* mind).

<sup>l</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου αἰσθητοῦ.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

47. (Gen. iii. 14-17) Why does He first curse the serpent, next the woman, and third the man ?

The arrangement of curses follows the order of the wrongdoing. The serpent was the first to deceive. Second, the woman sinned through him, yielding to deceit. Third the man (sinned), yielding to the woman's desire rather than to the divine commands. However the order also is well suited <sup>a</sup> to allegory ; for the serpent is a symbol of desire,<sup>b</sup> as was shown ; and woman is a symbol of sense, and man of mind. So that desire becomes the evil origin of sins, and this first deceives sense, while sense takes the mind captive.

48. (Gen. iii. 14-15) Why is this curse laid upon the serpent—to move upon its breast and belly, to eat dust and to have enmity toward woman ?

The text is plain, since we have as testimony that which we see. But according to the deeper meaning it is to be allegorically interpreted as follows. Since the serpent is a symbol of desire,<sup>c</sup> he takes the form <sup>d</sup> of lovers of pleasure,<sup>e</sup> for he crawls upon his breast and belly, stuffed with food and drink, and has the insatiable desire of a cormorant,<sup>f</sup> and is intemperate and unbridled in eating flesh.<sup>g</sup> And whatever has to do with food is altogether earthy ; wherefore he is said to eat dust. And desire has a natural enmity toward sense, which (Scripture) symbolically calls woman. And notwithstanding that desires seem to be critical<sup>h</sup> of the senses, they are in reality flatterers who plot evil in the manner of enemies. And it is the custom of adversaries<sup>i</sup> that through that which they bestow as gifts<sup>j</sup> they cause great harm, such as defectiveness of vision to the eyes, and difficulty of hearing to the ears, and insensibility<sup>k</sup> to the other (sense organs) ; and they bring

<sup>a</sup> καλῶς ἔχει.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπιθυμίας.

<sup>c</sup> ἐπιθυμίας.

<sup>d</sup> σχηματίζει or σχηματοποιεῖ.

<sup>e</sup> φιληδόνων.

<sup>f</sup> ἀκορέστη τῆς αἰτύας (?) ἐπιθυμία.

<sup>g</sup> σαρκοφαγία.

<sup>h</sup> φιλαίτιοι.

<sup>i</sup> Or "warriors"—πολεμίων.

<sup>j</sup> χαρίζονται.

<sup>k</sup> ἀναισθησίαν.

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upon the whole body together dissolution and paralysis,<sup>a</sup> taking away all its health<sup>b</sup> and for no good reason<sup>c</sup> newly bringing<sup>d</sup> many bad sicknesses.

49. (Gen. iii. 16) Why does the curse on the woman consist of an increase in sorrow and lamentation and in giving birth in pain and in turning<sup>e</sup> to her husband and being under his rule.<sup>f</sup>

This experience comes to every woman who lives together with<sup>g</sup> a man. It is (meant) not as a curse but as a necessity. But symbolically the senses of man have difficult labours and suffering,<sup>h</sup> being treated badly<sup>i</sup> and scourged by domestic ills.<sup>j</sup> And these are the offspring<sup>k</sup> of sense: seeing, of the organ of sight; hearing, of the organ of hearing; smelling, of the nostrils; tasting, of the organ of taste; contact, of the organ of touch. And since the life of the worthless and evil man is sorrowful and necessitous,<sup>l</sup> it is necessary that whatever is acted upon<sup>m</sup> by sense should be mixed with fear and suffering. But according to the deeper meaning, there takes place a turning of sense to the man, not as to a helper, for it is a subject of no worth,<sup>n</sup> but as to a master,<sup>o</sup> since it prizes force<sup>p</sup> more than righteousness.<sup>q</sup>

50. (Gen. iii. 17) Why does He curse the serpent and the woman by referring directly to them<sup>r</sup> and not do so similarly to the man, instead of placing it<sup>s</sup> on the earth, saying, "Cursed be the earth for thy sake; in sorrow shalt

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| <p><sup>a</sup> ἔκλυσιν καὶ παράλυσιν.<br/> <sup>c</sup> εἰκῆ.<br/> <sup>f</sup> κυριότητι οὐ ἐξουσία.<br/> <sup>h</sup> χαλεποὺς πόνοὺς καὶ ἀλγήματα.<br/> <sup>i</sup> φανλιζόμεναι <i>vel sim.</i><br/> <sup>k</sup> ἔκγονοι.<br/> <sup>n</sup> ὑποκειμένη καὶ εὐτελής.<br/> <sup>p</sup> δυναστείαν οὐ βίαν.<br/> <sup>r</sup> νέυσας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτούς.</p> | <p><sup>b</sup> ὑγίειαν.<br/> <sup>e</sup> ἐπιστροφῆ.<br/> <sup>g</sup> συμβιώσα.<br/> <sup>j</sup> οἰκονομικαῖς κακίαις.<br/> <sup>l</sup> ἄπορος.<br/> <sup>m</sup> ἐνεργεῖται.<br/> <sup>o</sup> κύριον.<br/> <sup>q</sup> δικαιοσύνην.<br/> <sup>s</sup> <i>i.e.</i> the curse.</p> |
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## GENESIS, BOOK I

thou eat it ; thistles and thorns it shall grow for thee, and thou shalt eat the grass of the field ; in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread " ?

Since the mind is a divine inbreathing,<sup>a</sup> He does not deem it right to curse it, but He turns the curse against the earth and its cultivation.<sup>b</sup> And the earth is of the same nature <sup>c</sup> as the body of man, of which the mind is the cultivator. When the cultivator is virtuous and worthy, the body also bears its fruits, namely health, keenness of sense,<sup>d</sup> power and beauty. But when he is cruel,<sup>e</sup> the opposite is brought to pass, for his body is cursed, receiving as its cultivator a mind undisciplined and imprudent.<sup>f</sup> And its fruit consists of nothing useful but only of thistles and thorns, sorrow and fear and other ills, while thoughts strike the mind and shoot arrows at it. And the " grass " is symbolically food, for he changes from a rational being to an irrational creature, overlooking <sup>g</sup> the divine foods ; these are those which are granted by philosophy through principles <sup>h</sup> and voluntary laws.<sup>i</sup>

\*51. (Gen. iii. 19) What is the meaning of the words, " Until thou return to the earth from which thou wast taken " ? For man was moulded not only from the earth but also from the divine spirit.

First, it is evident that the earth-born creature was compounded out of earth and heaven. And because he did not remain uncorrupted <sup>j</sup> but made light of the commands of God, turning away from the best and most excellent part, namely heaven,<sup>k</sup> he gave himself wholly over to the earth, the denser and heavier element.<sup>l</sup> Second, if he had been desirous of virtue, which makes the soul immortal,<sup>m</sup> he would certainly have obtained heaven as his lot. Since

<sup>a</sup> ἐμφύσησις.      <sup>b</sup> γεωργίαν.      <sup>c</sup> ὁμοφυής or ὁμοούσιος.

<sup>d</sup> εὐαίσθησιαν.      <sup>e</sup> δεινός or χαλεπός *vel sim.*

<sup>f</sup> ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἄφρονα.      <sup>g</sup> ὑπερορῶν.

<sup>h</sup> λόγων.      <sup>i</sup> ἐκουσίων νόμων.      <sup>j</sup> ἄφθαρτος.

<sup>k</sup> The Greek frag. reads differently.

<sup>l</sup> παχυτέρῳ καὶ βαρυτέρῳ στοιχείῳ.      <sup>m</sup> ἀθανατίζει τὴν ψυχὴν.

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he was zealous for pleasure, through which spiritual death is brought about, he again gives himself back to earth ; accordingly Scripture says, "Dust thou art, wherefore to dust shalt thou return." Thus earth is the beginning and end of the evil and vile man, but heaven of the virtuous man.

52. (Gen. iii. 20) Why does the earth-born man call his wife "Life" and exclaim, "Thou art the mother of all living things" ?

First, he gave the name of Life, which was most suitable <sup>a</sup> to the first created woman, because she was to be the source of all the generations that were to come after them. Second, perhaps because she took the substance of her being <sup>b</sup> not from the earth but from a living being, and from one part of the man, the rib, was given bodily form as a woman, she was called Life ; for from a living being she first came into being, and because the first rational creatures were born to her. However it is also possible to understand this metaphorically <sup>c</sup> ; for is not sense, which is symbolically woman, rightly called Life ? For the living is distinguished from the non-living by sense, through which impressions <sup>d</sup> and impulses <sup>e</sup> come to us, since sense is the cause of these. And in truth sense is the mother of all living things ; just as nothing is born without a mother, so there is no living creature without sense.

53. (Gen. iii. 21) Why does God make tunics <sup>f</sup> of skin for Adam and his wife and clothe them ?

Some may ridicule the text when they consider the cheapness <sup>g</sup> of the apparel of tunics, as being unworthy of the touch <sup>h</sup> of such a Creator. But a man who has tasted

<sup>a</sup> οἰκειότερον.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν τῆς ὑπάρξεως οὐσίαν or possibly τὴν τῆς οὐσίας σύστασιν.

<sup>c</sup> τροπικῶς.

<sup>d</sup> φαντασίαι.

<sup>e</sup> ὄρμαί.

<sup>f</sup> χιτῶνας.

<sup>g</sup> εὐτέλειαν.

<sup>h</sup> ἐφάπτεσθαι.



## GENESIS, BOOK I

of wisdom and virtue <sup>a</sup> will surely consider this work suitable to God for the wise instruction <sup>b</sup> of those who labour idly <sup>c</sup> and care little about providing necessities but are mad for wretched glory <sup>d</sup> and give themselves up to amusement, and despise wisdom and virtue. Instead, they love a life of luxury <sup>e</sup> and the skill of the artificer <sup>f</sup> and that which is hostile to the good. <sup>g</sup> And the wretches do not know that contentment with little, <sup>h</sup> which is in need of nothing, is like a relative and neighbour, <sup>i</sup> but luxury <sup>j</sup> is like an enemy, to be driven away and made to live far off. Accordingly, the tunics of skin, if we judge truly, are to be considered a more precious possession <sup>k</sup> than varicoloured dyes and purple stuffs. So much, then, for the literal meaning. But according to the deeper meaning, <sup>l</sup> the tunic of skin is symbolically the natural skin of the body. <sup>m</sup> For when God formed the first mind, He called it Adam; then he formed the sense, which He called Life; in the third place, of necessity He made his body also, calling it symbolically a tunic of skin, for it was proper that the mind and sense should be clothed in the body as in a tunic of skin, in order that His handiwork might first appear worthy of the divine power. <sup>n</sup> And could the apparel of the human body be better or more fittingly made by any other power than God? Wherefore, having made their apparel, He straightway clothed them. For in the case of human clothing, there are some who make it and others who put it on. But this natural tunic, that is, the body, was the work of Him who had also made it, and having made it, also clothed them in it.

<sup>a</sup> σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς.

<sup>b</sup> εἰς παιδείαν σοφίας.

<sup>c</sup> ματαίως.

<sup>d</sup> πρὸς ταλαίπωρον δόξαν μαινόμενοι.

<sup>e</sup> βίον λαμπρόν.

<sup>f</sup> χειροτεχνίτου.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ μισόκαλον.

<sup>h</sup> ὀλιγόδεια.

<sup>i</sup> συγγενῆς καὶ γείτων.

<sup>j</sup> λαμπρότης οἱ πολυτέλεια.

<sup>k</sup> τιμαλφεστέραν κτῆσιν.

<sup>l</sup> πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ τοῦ σώματος φυσικὸν δέρμα.

<sup>n</sup> ἄξιον τῆς θείας δυνάμεως.

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54. (Gen. iii. 22) To whom does He say, " Behold, Adam is as one of us, to know good and evil " ?

" One of us " indicates plurality.<sup>a</sup> But it must not be thought that He spoke with His powers,<sup>b</sup> which He used as instruments <sup>c</sup> in making the whole universe.<sup>d</sup> Now the word " as " is indicative of an example and likeness and comparison <sup>e</sup> not of a dissimilarity.<sup>f</sup> For the intelligible and sense-perceptible good is known by God in one way and by man in another way.<sup>g</sup> For to the extent that the natures of those who inquire and comprehend <sup>h</sup> differ, as do those things which are accurately grasped and comprehended, to that extent is man's power able to comprehend.<sup>i</sup> And all these things are likenesses and forms and images in man. But in God they are archetypes and models and very brilliant examples of <sup>j</sup> dark things. And the unbegotten and uncreated One <sup>k</sup> and Father mingles and associates with no one. He holds out <sup>l</sup> to sight the glory of His powers.<sup>m</sup>

\*55. (Gen. iii. 22) What is the meaning of the words, " Lest perchance he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life and eat and live forever " ? For there is neither doubt <sup>n</sup> nor envy <sup>o</sup> in God.

It is true that the Deity neither doubts nor envies. However, (Scripture) often uses ambiguous <sup>p</sup> terms and names, according as it indicates a principle as if addressed to man.<sup>q</sup> For the highest principles, as I have said, are two : one, that God is not like man ; and the

<sup>a</sup> πλῆθος.      <sup>b</sup> δυνάμεσι.      <sup>c</sup> ὄργανοις.      <sup>d</sup> τὸν κόσμον.

<sup>e</sup> δηλωτικὸν τῶν ὑποδειγμάτων καὶ ὁμοιοτήτων καὶ ἀναλογιῶν.

<sup>f</sup> ἀνομοιότητος.      <sup>g</sup> ἄλλως . . . ἄλλως.

<sup>h</sup> τῶν ἐξεταζόντων καὶ καταλαμβάνοντων.      <sup>i</sup> καταληπτική.

<sup>j</sup> ὑποδείγματα.      <sup>k</sup> ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀγέννητος.

<sup>l</sup> προτείνει.      <sup>m</sup> τὴν τῶν δυνάμεων δόξαν.

<sup>n</sup> ἐνδοιασμός, as in one Greek frag.

<sup>o</sup> φθόνος ἰβιδ.      <sup>p</sup> ἐνδοιαστικοῖς.

<sup>q</sup> The Greek frag. from John Monachus reads κατ' ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ " ὡς ἄνθρωπος " κεφάλαιον.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

other, that just as a man disciplines <sup>a</sup> his son, so the Lord God disciplines you. Accordingly, the first principle is a matter of authority,<sup>b</sup> while the second is one of discipline <sup>c</sup> and the first step in training,<sup>d</sup> in order that one may be quite voluntarily and gradually led into it.<sup>e</sup> For the words "lest perchance" are not a sign of doubt in God but an indication <sup>f</sup> of man's being a doubter by nature, and a manifestation of the affection <sup>g</sup> that exists in him. For whenever there comes to someone an appearance of something, there immediately follows an impulse <sup>h</sup> toward the appearance, of which the appearance is the cause.<sup>i</sup> And (so comes) the second uncertainty <sup>j</sup> of one who is in doubt and is drawn here and there in spirit, whether (the appearance) is to be received or not. It is this second "lest perchance" that these words indicate. The Deity, however, is without part <sup>k</sup> in any evil and is not envious of immortality or anything else whatever in the case of the good man. And a sure sign of this is that without being urged by anyone,<sup>l</sup> He created the world as a benefactor,<sup>m</sup> making contentious, disordered, confused and passive substance <sup>n</sup> into something gracious and lovingly mild with a great and harmonious order and array of good things. And the truly existent One <sup>o</sup> planted the tree of life by His lucid understanding.<sup>p</sup> Moreover, He did not use any intermediary to urge Him or exhort Him <sup>q</sup> to give others a share of incorruptibility.<sup>r</sup> Now while (man's) mind was pure and received no impression <sup>s</sup>

<sup>a</sup> παιδεύει.                      <sup>b</sup> ἐξουσίας.                      <sup>c</sup> παιδείας.

<sup>d</sup> τῆς πρώτης εἰς ἐπιτήδευμα ἀγωγῆς.

<sup>e</sup> καὶ ἐκούσιος παρεισάγεται.

<sup>f</sup> νεῦμα, but cf. Procopius.                      <sup>g</sup> πάθος.                      <sup>h</sup> ὁρμή.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. construction not quite clear.

<sup>j</sup> ἀπορία.

<sup>k</sup> ἀμέτοχος.

<sup>l</sup> μηδενὸς παρακαλουμένον.

<sup>m</sup> εὐεργετῶν.

<sup>n</sup> ἐρίζουσαν καὶ ἄκοσμον καὶ ἄτακτον καὶ πάσχουσαν οὐσίαν.

<sup>o</sup> ὁ ὄντως Ὄν.

<sup>p</sup> τῇ λαμπρῇ (φωτεινῇ) φρονήσει.

<sup>q</sup> μεσίτῃ παρακαλοῦντι καὶ προτρέποντι.

<sup>r</sup> πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας κοινωνίαν.

<sup>s</sup> φαντασίαν.

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of any evil deed or word, he had secure enjoyment <sup>a</sup> of that which led him to piety,<sup>b</sup> which is unquestioned and true immortality.<sup>c</sup> But after he began to turn to wickedness <sup>d</sup> and to hurl himself down <sup>e</sup> thereto, desiring mortal life, he failed to obtain immortality,<sup>f</sup> for it is unseemly <sup>g</sup> to immortalize <sup>h</sup> evil, and it is unprofitable for him to whom it happens. For the longer the evil and wicked man lives, the more wretched he is and the more greatly harmful both to himself and to others.

56. (Gen. iii. 23) Why does He now call Paradise "delight," <sup>i</sup> when He drives man out of it to till the earth, from which he was taken?

The difference in agriculture is clear.<sup>j</sup> When he was cultivating wisdom in Paradise, he took care <sup>k</sup> of the cultivation of wisdom as if of trees, nourishing himself on its immortal and beneficial fruits, through which he became immortal. And when he was driven out of the place of wisdom, he was to practise the opposite, (namely) works of ignorance,<sup>l</sup> through which his body is polluted,<sup>m</sup> and his mind is blinded,<sup>n</sup> and being starved of his own food,<sup>o</sup> he wastes away and suffers a miserable death. Wherefore now indeed as a reproach to the foolish man <sup>p</sup> He called Paradise "pleasure" as the antithesis <sup>q</sup> of a painful and terrible life. For in truth a life of wisdom is a delight of spacious joy <sup>r</sup> and an enjoyment most suitable to the rational soul.<sup>s</sup> But a life without wisdom is harsh and

<sup>a</sup> ἄδειαν τῆς ἀπολαύσεως.

<sup>b</sup> εὐσέβειαν.

<sup>c</sup> ἀψευδῆς καὶ ἀληθῆς ἀθανασία.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ φαῦλον.

<sup>e</sup> ἑαυτὸν καταρρίπτειν.

<sup>f</sup> διήμαρτε τῆς ἀθανασίας.

<sup>g</sup> ἀπρεπές.

<sup>h</sup> ἀθανατίζειν.

<sup>i</sup> τρυφή = Heb. 'ēden.

<sup>j</sup> ἡ τῆς γεωργίας διαφορὰ σαφῆς ἐστὶ.

<sup>k</sup> ἐπεμελεῖτο.

<sup>l</sup> τὰ τῆς ἀμαθίας ἔργα.

<sup>m</sup> βεβηλοῦται, μαίνεται.

<sup>n</sup> τυφλοῦται.

<sup>o</sup> πεινῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τροφῆς.

<sup>p</sup> εἰς ὄνειδος τοῦ ἄφρονος.

<sup>q</sup> εἰς ἀντίθεσιν.

<sup>r</sup> εὐρυχώρου εὐφροσύνης.

<sup>s</sup> οἰκειοτάτη τῇ λογικῇ ψυχῇ.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

terrible. For even though one is completely deceived by sense-pleasures, both before and after (them) comes suffering.

57. (Gen. iii. 24) Why did He place<sup>a</sup> over against Paradise the cherubim and the fiery<sup>b</sup> sword, which was turning, to guard the way to the tree of life?

The cherubim are symbols of the two primary attributes<sup>c</sup> of God, namely the creative<sup>d</sup> and the kingly,<sup>e</sup> of which one is called God,<sup>f</sup> and the other, the kingly one, is called Lord.<sup>g</sup> And the form of the creative attribute is a benevolent and friendly and beneficent<sup>h</sup> power. But that of the kingly attribute is legislative and punitive.<sup>i</sup> Moreover "fiery sword" is a symbolical name for heaven, for the ether<sup>j</sup> is flamelike and turns round the world.<sup>k</sup> And as all these have undertaken the guarding of Paradise, it is evident that they are overseers of wisdom,<sup>l</sup> like a mirror. For in a certain sense<sup>m</sup> the wisdom of the world was a mirror of the powers of God, in accordance with which it became perfect<sup>n</sup> and this universe is governed and managed.<sup>o</sup> But the road to wisdom is called philosophy, for the creative power is a lover of wisdom<sup>p</sup>; so also the kingly power is a lover of wisdom, and the world too is a lover of wisdom. But there are some who say that the fiery sword is the sun, since by its revolution and turning it reveals the yearly seasons,<sup>q</sup> as if it were the guardian of life and of whatever leads to the life of all things.

<sup>a</sup> κατώκισε: LXX κατώκισε . . . καὶ ἔταξε.

<sup>b</sup> πυρίνην: LXX φλογίνην.

<sup>c</sup> τῶν δυοῖν πρώτων δυνάμεων.

<sup>d</sup> τῆς ποιητικῆς. <sup>e</sup> τῆς βασιλικῆς.

<sup>f</sup> θεός. <sup>g</sup> κύριος.

<sup>h</sup> εὐμενῆς καὶ φίλη καὶ εὐεργετική.

<sup>i</sup> νομοθετική καὶ κολαστική. <sup>j</sup> αἰθήρ.

<sup>k</sup> αἰῶνα. <sup>l</sup> ἐπιστάται τῆς σοφίας.

<sup>m</sup> τρόπον τινά. <sup>n</sup> ἐτελειώθη.

<sup>o</sup> κυβερνᾶται καὶ οἰκονομεῖται. <sup>p</sup> φιλοσοφική.

<sup>q</sup> τοὺς ἔτησίους χρόνους.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

58. (Gen. iv. 1) Was it correctly said about Cain, "I have acquired <sup>a</sup> a man through God" ? <sup>b</sup>

(Concerning acquisition) a distinction is made between "by someone" <sup>c</sup> or "from someone" <sup>d</sup> and "through something" <sup>e</sup> or "from something," that is, from matter. <sup>f</sup> "Through someone" means through a cause, <sup>g</sup> and "through something" means through an instrument. <sup>h</sup> But the father and creator of the universe <sup>i</sup> is not an instrument but a cause. Accordingly he errs against correct thinking <sup>j</sup> who says that things <sup>k</sup> come into being not by the agency of God <sup>l</sup> but through God. <sup>m</sup>

\*59. (Gen. iv. 2) Why does (Scripture) first describe the work of the younger man Abel, saying, "He became a shepherd of flocks, and Cain tilled the ground" ?

Even though the righteous man <sup>n</sup> was younger in time than the wicked one, <sup>o</sup> still he was older in activity. <sup>p</sup> Wherefore now, when their activities are appraised, <sup>q</sup> he is placed first in order. For one of them labours and takes care of living beings <sup>r</sup> even though they are irrational, <sup>s</sup> gladly undertaking the pastoral work which is preparatory <sup>t</sup> to rulership and kingship. But the other occupies himself with earthly and inanimate things.

<sup>a</sup> ἐκτησάμην.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. has instrumental case of θεός : LXX διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. has instrumental case of indef. m. pr.

<sup>d</sup> ἔκ τινος.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. has instrumental case of indef. n. pr.

<sup>f</sup> ἐξ ὕλης. <sup>g</sup> δι' αἰτίαν, ἐξ αἰτίας.

<sup>h</sup> δι' ὄργανου, ἐξ ὄργανου.

<sup>i</sup> πατήρ καὶ ποιητὴς τοῦ παντός.

<sup>j</sup> ὀρθοῦ λογισμοῦ, λόγου. <sup>k</sup> τὰ γενόμενα.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. has ablative case of "God."

<sup>m</sup> Arm. has instrumental case of "God."

<sup>n</sup> ὁ δίκαιος in Procopius. <sup>o</sup> τοῦ φαύλου.

<sup>p</sup> ἐπιτηδεύμασι in Procopius.

<sup>q</sup> Or "tested" ? (δοκιμάζονται) : Aucher "conferenda sunt."

<sup>r</sup> ἐμψύχων. <sup>s</sup> ἀλόγων. <sup>t</sup> προγυμναστικόν.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

\*60. (Gen. iv. 3-4). Why did Cain after some days<sup>a</sup> offer firstfruits of offerings,<sup>b</sup> while Abel (brought an offering) from the first-born<sup>c</sup> and fat ones, not after some days? "

Scripture manifests a distinction between the lover of self and the lover of God. For one of them took for himself the fruit of the firstfruits and impiously thought God worthy (only) of the second fruits. For the words "after some days" instead of "immediately" and "from the offerings" instead of "from the firstfruits"<sup>d</sup> indicate great wickedness.<sup>e</sup> But the other offered<sup>f</sup> the first-born and elder animals without any delay at all or rejection by his Father.

\*61. (Gen. iv. 4-5) Why does (Scripture), having begun by first mentioning Cain, (now) mention him in second place, for it says, "God looked upon Abel and his offerings,<sup>g</sup> but of Cain and his sacrifice<sup>h</sup> He did not approve"<sup>i</sup>?

First, (Scripture) does not mean that he is first by nature who happens to be the first to be perceived, but he who comes in his time and with sound morals. Second, as there were two persons, good and evil, He turned toward the good man, looking upon him because He is a lover of goodness and virtue,<sup>j</sup> and first seeing him to be more inclined toward that side in the order of nature,<sup>k</sup> He

<sup>a</sup> Arm. obscure: Aucher "post dies primitias fructuum offert," in note "*vel ita, post dies primitiarum primitias offert,*" but *cf.* Greek fragments.

<sup>b</sup> Procopius differs: *lxx από τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν.*

<sup>c</sup> *τῶν πρωτοτόκων.*

<sup>d</sup> *τῶν πρωτοτόκων.*

<sup>e</sup> *ἀδικίαν, ἀνομίαν.*

<sup>f</sup> *ἀγιάζων ἦν, ἀνατιθέμενος ἦν.*

<sup>g</sup> *δῶρα, προσφοράς.*

<sup>h</sup> *θυσία.*

<sup>i</sup> *οὐκ ἠδόκησε;* Aucher suggests *ἡγεσάω* "looked" for *ἡδέσάω* "approved." *lxx οὐ προσέσχεν.*

<sup>j</sup> Aucher translates, "seeing that he (Abel) is a lover of goodness and virtue," but in that case we should expect in the Arm. *zi* "that" for *wasn zi* "because."

<sup>k</sup> *τῇ τῆς φύσεως τάξει.*

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

deprecates <sup>a</sup> and turns away from the evil man. Accordingly, most excellently (Scripture) says not that God saw the offerings <sup>b</sup> but that He first saw those who were offering gifts <sup>c</sup> before the gifts themselves, for men look at the quantity of gifts and approve <sup>d</sup> them; but God looks at the truth of the soul, <sup>e</sup> turning aside <sup>f</sup> from arrogance <sup>g</sup> and flattery. <sup>h</sup>

\*62. (Gen. iv. 4-5) What difference is there between a gift <sup>i</sup> and a sacrifice? <sup>j</sup>

He who slaughters <sup>k</sup> a sacrifice, <sup>l</sup> after dividing it, pours the blood on <sup>m</sup> the altar <sup>n</sup> and takes the flesh home. But he who offers <sup>o</sup> something as a gift <sup>p</sup> offers the whole of it, it seems, to him who receives it. And the lover of self is a divider, <sup>q</sup> as was Cain, while the lover of God is a giver, <sup>r</sup> as was Abel.

\*63. (Gen. iv. 5) Whence did Cain know that his sacrifice was not pleasing? <sup>s</sup>

Perhaps his difficulty was resolved through the cause mentioned in the addition <sup>t</sup>; for he was grieved <sup>u</sup> and his countenance fell. He therefore took this grief as a sign of having sacrificed something not pleasing. For joy <sup>v</sup> and gladness <sup>w</sup> ought to come to him who sacrifices something purely <sup>x</sup> and blamelessly. <sup>y</sup>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><sup>a</sup> παραιτείται.<br/> <sup>c</sup> τοὺς τὰ δῶρα προσφέροντας.<br/> <sup>e</sup> εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλήθειαν.<br/> <sup>g</sup> ἀλαζονείας, τύφους, ὑπερηφανίας <i>vel sim.</i><br/> <sup>h</sup> κολακειάς.<br/> <sup>k</sup> θύει, σφάττει.<br/> <sup>m</sup> Or "around," <i>v.l.</i> "near."<br/> <sup>n</sup> βωμόν, θυσιαστήριον.<br/> <sup>p</sup> ὡς δῶρον.<br/> <sup>r</sup> δωρούμενος, as in Greek fragments.<br/> <sup>t</sup> In the second half of verse 5.<br/> <sup>v</sup> εὐφροσύνη.<br/> <sup>x</sup> καθαρῶς.</p> | <p><sup>b</sup> τὰ προσφερόμενα.<br/> <sup>d</sup> δοκιμάζουσι.<br/> <sup>f</sup> ἐκκλίνων.<br/> <sup>i</sup> θυσία.<br/> <sup>j</sup> θυσίαν.<br/> <sup>o</sup> προσφέρει.<br/> <sup>q</sup> ἐπιδιαιρῶν, as in Greek fragments.<br/> <sup>s</sup> ἀρεστή.<br/> <sup>u</sup> ἐλυπήθη.<br/> <sup>w</sup> χαρά.<br/> <sup>y</sup> ἀμώμως.</p> |
|---|---|



## GENESIS, BOOK I

\*64. (Gen. iv. 7) What is the meaning of the words, "Not that thou dost not offer rightly,<sup>a</sup> but that thou dost not divide rightly"?

First of all, correct division and incorrect division are nothing else than order.<sup>b</sup> And through order equally<sup>c</sup> are made the whole world and its parts.<sup>d</sup> Wherefore the creator of the world,<sup>e</sup> when He began to order<sup>f</sup> refractory<sup>g</sup> and unordered<sup>h</sup> and passive<sup>i</sup> substance,<sup>j</sup> made use of cutting<sup>k</sup> and division. For in the midst of the universe,<sup>l</sup> He placed the heavy things<sup>m</sup> and those that naturally bear downwards,<sup>n</sup> (namely) earth and water; but air and fire He placed above, for they ascend through their lightness.<sup>o</sup> But He separated<sup>p</sup> and marked off<sup>q</sup> the pure nature, (namely) heaven, and surrounded and enclosed<sup>r</sup> the universe by it, that it might be invisible<sup>s</sup> to all, containing within itself all things equally.<sup>t</sup> But the fact that animals and plants come into being from moist and dry seeds<sup>u</sup>—what else is this than a cutting and separative division?<sup>v</sup> Accordingly it is necessary to imitate this order in all things in the world and especially in returning thanks for those things for which we are required<sup>w</sup> to make a corresponding<sup>x</sup> return to him who gives them to us. In the second place, to give thanks<sup>y</sup> to God is right in itself<sup>z</sup> specifically,<sup>a</sup> but it is blameworthy that He should not first receive them nor receive the first of the new products. For it is not proper to offer the best things<sup>b</sup> to that which is created, namely oneself,

<sup>a</sup> ὀρθῶς.

<sup>b</sup> τάξις.

<sup>c</sup> ἴσως.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μέρη. <sup>e</sup> ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ποιητής.

<sup>f</sup> τάττειν.

<sup>g</sup> ἐρίζουσαν.

<sup>h</sup> ἄτακτον.

<sup>i</sup> πάσχουσαν.

<sup>j</sup> οὐσίαν.

<sup>k</sup> τομῇ, διαιρέσει.

<sup>l</sup> τοῦ παντός.

<sup>m</sup> τὰ βαρῆ.

<sup>n</sup> τὰ φύσει καταφερῆ.

<sup>o</sup> κούφισιν.

<sup>p</sup> διεχώρισε.

<sup>q</sup> ἀφώρισε.

<sup>r</sup> περιβάλλον συνέκλεισε.

<sup>s</sup> ἀόρατος: Aucher conj. *tesaneli* = ὄρατός.

<sup>t</sup> ἴσως οἱ κοινῇ.

<sup>u</sup> ἐξ ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν σπερμάτων.

<sup>v</sup> διάστημα διακρίσεως.

<sup>w</sup> ἐξεταζόμεθα?

<sup>x</sup> ἄλλω τρόπῳ?

<sup>y</sup> εὐχαριστεῖν.

<sup>z</sup> καθ' ἑαυτό.

<sup>a</sup> ἰδίως.

<sup>b</sup> τὰ πρεσβεῖα.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and the second best to the All-wise. This is a reprehensible and blameworthy division,<sup>a</sup> showing a certain disorderliness of order.<sup>b</sup>

\*65. (Gen. iv. 7) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou hast sinned, be quiet" ?<sup>c</sup>

The oracle<sup>d</sup> utters something very useful. For not to sin at all is the greatest good. But he who sins and is abashed and ashamed is kin to this man<sup>e</sup> and, as one might say, is the younger beside the elder. For there are some who rejoice<sup>f</sup> over sins as if over good deeds,<sup>g</sup> thus having a disease<sup>h</sup> that is difficult to cure<sup>i</sup> or rather is incurable.<sup>j</sup>

\*66. (Gen. iv. 7) Why does He seem to give the good man into the hand of the evil man, saying, "To thee is his return" ?

He does not give him into his hand, but the sense<sup>k</sup> is quite the contrary, for He speaks not of the pious man<sup>l</sup> but of an act already done. And He says to him, "the return<sup>m</sup> and reference<sup>n</sup> of this impiety is to thee.<sup>o</sup> Do not therefore blame necessity,<sup>p</sup> but thine own character,<sup>q</sup> so that in this place He represents it as voluntary.<sup>r</sup> But the words, 'thou shalt rule over him,' again have reference<sup>s</sup> to an act." In the first place thou didst begin to act impiously, and then another wrong<sup>t</sup> follows a great and impious lawlessness.<sup>u</sup> And so He considers and proves<sup>v</sup> that this is the beginning of every voluntary wrongdoing.

<sup>a</sup> διαίρεσις.      <sup>b</sup> ἀταξίαν τινὰ τάξεως, as in John Monachus.

<sup>c</sup> = LXX ἡμαρτες, ἡσύχασον.      <sup>d</sup> χρησμός.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. the one who does not sin.      <sup>f</sup> ἀγάλλονται.

<sup>g</sup> κατορθώμασι.      <sup>h</sup> πάθος.      <sup>i</sup> δυσίατον.      <sup>j</sup> ἀνίατον.

<sup>k</sup> ἀκοή?      <sup>l</sup> θεοσεβοῦς.      <sup>m</sup> ἀποστροφή.      <sup>n</sup> ἀναφορά.

<sup>o</sup> πρὸς σέ ἐστιν.      <sup>p</sup> μὴ τὴν ἀνάγκην αἰτίαςης.

<sup>q</sup> ἦθος, τρόπον.      <sup>r</sup> ἐκούσιον.

<sup>s</sup> νεῦμα.      <sup>t</sup> ἀδικία.

<sup>u</sup> μεγάλην ἀνομίας ἀσεβίαν.      <sup>v</sup> ἐλέγχει.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

67. (Gen. iv. 8) Why does he (Cain) kill his brother in the field? <sup>a</sup>

In order that <sup>b</sup> when once again it is sown or planted, infertility <sup>c</sup> and unfruitfulness <sup>d</sup> may altogether come upon its fruits, and by bringing the murder to mind, may reveal its foulness. <sup>e</sup> For the ground <sup>f</sup> was not to be the same after being forced to drink human blood unnaturally so as also to grow food for him who polluted it with the blood of a foul deed.

\*68. (Gen. iv. 9) Why does He who knows all ask the fratricide, "Where is Abel, thy brother?"?

He wishes that man himself of his own will shall confess, <sup>g</sup> in order that he may not pretend <sup>h</sup> that all things seem to come about through necessity. <sup>i</sup> For he who killed through necessity would confess <sup>j</sup> that he acted unwillingly; for that which is not in our power <sup>k</sup> is not to be blamed. <sup>l</sup> But he who sins of his own free will <sup>m</sup> denies it, <sup>n</sup> for sinners are obliged to repent. <sup>o</sup> Accordingly he (Moses) inserts <sup>p</sup> in all parts of his legislation <sup>q</sup> that the Deity is not the cause of evil.

\*69. (Gen. iv. 9) Why does he (Cain) reply as if to a man, saying, "I do not know. Am I my brother's keeper?"?

It is an atheistic <sup>r</sup> belief not to hold that the divine eye penetrates <sup>s</sup> all things and sees all things at one time, not only what is visible but also what is in recesses, depths and abysses. "Why dost thou not know where thy brother is?" someone will say. "And how shouldst thou not know this, being the fourth man in the world together

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ.

<sup>b</sup> v.l. "lest."

<sup>c</sup> ἀφορία.

<sup>d</sup> ἀκαρπία, ἀγονία.

<sup>e</sup> βδέλυγμα.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ἔδαφος.

<sup>g</sup> ἐξομολογήται.

<sup>h</sup> προσποιῆται.

<sup>i</sup> ἀνάγκη.

<sup>j</sup> Construction of Arm. uncertain.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "in us."

<sup>l</sup> ἀνυπαίτιόν ἐστιν.

<sup>m</sup> ἐκουσία γνώμη.

<sup>n</sup> ἀπαρνέεται.

<sup>o</sup> τῇ μετανοίᾳ ἐνοχοί.

<sup>p</sup> ὑφαίνει.

<sup>q</sup> τῆς νομοθεσίας.

<sup>r</sup> ἄθεος.

<sup>s</sup> διήκει.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

with thy two parents and thine only brother ? ” But the reply, “ I am not my brother’s keeper ” is a fine defence ! <sup>a</sup> And of whom else rather than of thy brother shouldst thou have been a keeper and protector ? <sup>b</sup> Thou didst show so much care for violence, <sup>c</sup> injustice, <sup>d</sup> treachery <sup>e</sup> and homicide, <sup>f</sup> which is a great abomination <sup>g</sup> and accursed <sup>h</sup> deed, but didst show contempt for <sup>i</sup> thy brother’s safety, as though it were something superfluous. <sup>j</sup>

\*70. (Gen. iv. 10) What is the meaning of the words, “ The voice of thy brother calls to me from the earth ” ?

This is most exemplary, <sup>k</sup> for the Deity hears the deserving <sup>l</sup> even though they are dead, <sup>m</sup> knowing that they live an incorporeal life. <sup>n</sup> But from the prayers of evil men He turns away His face even though they enjoy the prime of life, <sup>o</sup> considering that they are dead to true life and bear their body with them like a tomb that they may bury their unhappy soul <sup>p</sup> in it.

71. (Gen. iv. 11) Why does he (Cain) become accursed upon <sup>q</sup> the earth ?

The earth is the last <sup>r</sup> of the parts of the universe. <sup>s</sup> Accordingly, if this curses him, it is understandable that appropriate <sup>t</sup> curses will be laid upon him by the other elements <sup>u</sup> as well, namely by springs, rivers, sea, air, winds, fire, light, the sun, the moon, the stars and the whole heaven together. <sup>v</sup> For if inanimate <sup>w</sup> and terrestrial

- <sup>a</sup> ἀπολογία.                      <sup>b</sup> ὑπερασπιστής.                      <sup>c</sup> βία.                      <sup>d</sup> ἀδικία.  
<sup>e</sup> Text uncertain ; I conj. *dawaçank'* = ἐπιβουλία for Arm. *dawank* = ὁμολογία.                      <sup>f</sup> ἀνδροφονία.  
<sup>g</sup> βδέλυγμα.                      <sup>h</sup> κατάρατον.                      <sup>i</sup> κατεφρόνησας.  
<sup>j</sup> περισσόν.                      <sup>k</sup> δογματικώτατον.  
<sup>l</sup> ὁσίων or δικαίων in Greek fragments.  
<sup>m</sup> καίπερ τελευτήσαντας.                      <sup>n</sup> ζώην ἀσώματον.  
<sup>o</sup> κἂν εὐεξία χρήσωνται in the Greek fragments.  
<sup>p</sup> ταλαίπωρον ψυχὴν.                      <sup>q</sup> ἐν or ἐπί: LXX ἀπό  
<sup>r</sup> ἔσχατον or “ latest ” ὕστατον.                      <sup>s</sup> τοῦ κόσμου.  
<sup>t</sup> ἀρμονικάς, ἀκολουθούς.                      <sup>u</sup> στοιχεῖα.  
<sup>v</sup> κοινή.                      <sup>w</sup> ἄψυχος.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

nature opposes and revolts <sup>a</sup> against wrongdoing, <sup>b</sup> will not purer natures <sup>c</sup> do so still more? But he with whom the parts of the universe wage war—what hope of salvation <sup>d</sup> will he any longer have? I do not know.

\*72. (Gen. iv. 12) What is the meaning of the words, “Groaning and trembling <sup>e</sup> shalt thou be upon the earth”?

This too is a universal principle.<sup>f</sup> For every evildoer has something which immediately awaits him and is to come.<sup>g</sup> For things to come <sup>h</sup> already bring fears,<sup>i</sup> and that which is immediately present causes grief.<sup>j</sup>

\*73. (Gen. iv. 13) What is the meaning of the words, “Too great is my guilt <sup>k</sup> to let me go”?

Indeed there is no misfortune of greater hopelessness <sup>m</sup> than God’s leaving and abandoning <sup>n</sup> one. For the lack of a ruler <sup>o</sup> is terrible and difficult for depraved men. But to be overlooked <sup>p</sup> by a great king and to be cast out and rejected <sup>q</sup> by the chief authority is an indescribable misfortune.<sup>r</sup>

\*74. (Gen. iv. 14) What is the meaning of the words, “Every one who finds me will kill me,” inasmuch as there were no other people but his parents?

<sup>a</sup> ἀντιλέγει καὶ στασιάζει.

<sup>b</sup> ἀδικίαν.

<sup>c</sup> καθαρωτέραι φύσεις.

<sup>d</sup> σωτηρίας.

<sup>e</sup> στενάζων καὶ τρέμων: so LXX: Heb. different (A.V.

“a fugitive and a vagabond”).

<sup>f</sup> λόγιον καθολικώτατον in Procopius.

<sup>g</sup> δεχόμενον καὶ μέλλον.

<sup>h</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα.

<sup>i</sup> φόβους.

<sup>j</sup> λύπας.

<sup>k</sup> αἰτία.

<sup>l</sup> Cf. LXX τοῦ ἀφειθῆναί με; Arm. O.T. “for thee to let me go.”

<sup>m</sup> μείζονος ἀπορίας.

<sup>n</sup> ἀφίεναι καὶ ἐγκαταλείπειν.

<sup>o</sup> ἀναρχία.

<sup>p</sup> Or “looked down upon”—παρορᾶσθαι or ὑπερορᾶσθαι.

<sup>q</sup> ἀποβάλλεσθαι.

<sup>r</sup> ἀτυχία.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

First of all, he was likely <sup>a</sup> to suffer harm from the parts of the world, which were made for the use <sup>b</sup> and participation <sup>c</sup> of good men but none the less exact punishment from the wicked. Second, because he feared the attacks of beasts and reptiles, for nature produced these for the punishment of unjust men. Third, perhaps one may think of his parents, to whom he first brought new grief and their first misfortune,<sup>d</sup> as they had not known what death is.

75. (Gen. iv. 15) Why shall everyone who slays Cain suffer seven punishments ?

Our soul <sup>e</sup> is made and constituted of eight parts : of the rational part,<sup>f</sup> which permits of no division, and of the irrational part,<sup>g</sup> which is naturally <sup>h</sup> divided into seven parts—the five senses,<sup>i</sup> the organ of speech and the organ of reproduction. And these seven parts are the causes of wickedness and are brought to judgment.<sup>j</sup> And death is acceptable <sup>k</sup> to the chief ruler (*i.e.* the mind) in whom evil is.<sup>l</sup> Accordingly whoever kills the mind <sup>m</sup> by mixing in folly <sup>n</sup> instead of sense <sup>o</sup> will cause the dissolution and breaking up <sup>p</sup> of the seven irrational parts. For just as the chief ruler is disposed toward virtue,<sup>q</sup> so also are disposed <sup>r</sup> the parts which are subordinate to him.<sup>s</sup>

\*76. (Gen. iv. 15) Why is a sign placed upon the fratricide in order that any who finds him may not kill him, when it

<sup>a</sup> συνέβη αὐτῷ.                      <sup>b</sup> ὠφέλειαν.                      <sup>c</sup> κοινωνίαν.

<sup>d</sup> Procopius reads more briefly κοινὸν πένθος.

<sup>e</sup> ψυχῆ.                      <sup>f</sup> τὸ λογικόν.                      <sup>g</sup> τὸ ἄλογον.

<sup>h</sup> πέφυκε.                      <sup>i</sup> αἰσθήσεις.                      <sup>j</sup> εἰς κρίσιν.                      <sup>k</sup> ἀγαπητός.

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. construction is not clear to me ; Aucher's rendering is very doubtful, "mors autem principis praesidis (mentis sc.) proprie est illa quae in eo sedet malitia." The word "ruler" (*ἰσχαν*) is nom., not gen. as Aucher renders.

<sup>m</sup> τὸν νοῦν.                      <sup>n</sup> ἀφροσύνην.                      <sup>o</sup> αἴσθησιν.

<sup>p</sup> λύσιν καὶ παράλυσιν.                      <sup>q</sup> πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἔχει.

<sup>r</sup> ἀρμόζεται.                      <sup>s</sup> αὐτῷ ὑποτάττεται.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

was fitting to do the opposite <sup>a</sup> and give him into the hands (of another) for destruction ?

First, one kind of death is the change of nature of the living. But continuous sorrows, unmixed with joy, and violent fears, <sup>b</sup> empty <sup>c</sup> of good hope, bring on <sup>d</sup> many grave and manifold <sup>e</sup> deaths, which are caused by sense. <sup>f</sup> Second, immediately at the outset <sup>g</sup> (Scripture) wishes to describe the law of the incorruptibility of the soul <sup>h</sup> and to refute the false belief <sup>i</sup> of those who think that this bodily life alone is blessed. <sup>j</sup> For behold one of the two (brothers) is guilty <sup>k</sup> of the greatest evils, namely impiety <sup>l</sup> and fratricide, and yet is alive and begets children and founds cities. But he who gave evidence of piety is destroyed by cunning. <sup>m</sup> Not only does the divine word <sup>n</sup> clearly proclaim that it is not the life of sense <sup>o</sup> which is good and that death is not an evil, but also that the life of the body is not even related <sup>p</sup> (to life). But there is another (life) unaging and immortal, <sup>q</sup> which incorporeal souls <sup>r</sup> receive as their lot. <sup>s</sup> For that which was said by the poet about Scylla, "She is not a mortal but an immortal evil," <sup>t</sup> was said more appropriately about him who lives evilly and enjoys many years of life. Third, although Cain in the first place committed a great fratricide, He offers him an amnesty, <sup>u</sup> imposing a benevolent and kindly law concerning the first (crime) on all judges, not that they may not destroy evil men, but that by hesitating <sup>v</sup> a little and showing patience, <sup>w</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τὸναντίον.

<sup>b</sup> ἄκρατοι φόβοι. Aucher mistakenly takes Arm. *anarak* (= ἄκρατος) in the sense of "unmixed" ("meri").

<sup>c</sup> ἀμέτοχοι.

<sup>d</sup> ἐπάγουσι.

<sup>e</sup> πολυτρόπους.

<sup>f</sup> Arm. construction doubtful, but apparently = διδούσης τῆς αἰσθήσεως, cf. the Greek frag. <sup>g</sup> εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ.

<sup>h</sup> τῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφθαρσίας.

<sup>i</sup> ἐξελέγχειν τὴν ψευδοδοξίαν.

<sup>j</sup> μακάριος.

<sup>k</sup> ἔνοχος.

<sup>l</sup> ἀσεβείας.

<sup>m</sup> ἐπιβουλῇ διαφθείρεται.

<sup>n</sup> ὁ τοῦ κυρίου λόγος.

<sup>o</sup> ἢ αἰσθητῇ ζωῇ.

<sup>p</sup> οὐ συγγενῆς ἐστι.

<sup>q</sup> ἀγήρωσ καὶ ἀθάνατος.

<sup>r</sup> ἀσώματοι ψυχαί.

<sup>s</sup> λαγχάνουσι.

<sup>t</sup> *Odyssey* xii. 118.

<sup>u</sup> ἀμνησίαν.

<sup>v</sup> πανόμνοι.

<sup>w</sup> μακροθυμοῦντες.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

they may cleave to mercy rather than to cruelty. But He most wisely <sup>a</sup> prescribed a canon of gentleness <sup>b</sup> and understanding <sup>c</sup> concerning the first sinner, not killing the homicide but destroying <sup>d</sup> him in another manner. For He did not permit him to be numbered with his father's family, <sup>e</sup> but announces that he is proscribed not only by his parents but also by the whole human race, counting him a genus <sup>f</sup> peculiar and separate from the rational species, <sup>g</sup> like one driven out and a fugitive, <sup>h</sup> and one transformed into the nature of beasts.

\*77. (Gen. iv. 23) Why does Lamech after five generations condemn himself <sup>i</sup> for his ancestor Cain's fratricide, for, says Scripture, he said to his wives Ada and Zillah, "A man have I killed to my wound, and a young man to my hurt. If sevenfold punishment shall be exacted for Cain, then for Lamech seventy times seven" ?

In numbers the ones are prior to the tens both in order and in power, <sup>j</sup> for the former are the beginnings and elements and measures. <sup>k</sup> And the tens are younger <sup>l</sup> and are measured, and are second both in order and in power. So that seven is more archetypal and elder <sup>m</sup> than seventy; but seventy is younger than seven and has the status <sup>n</sup> of that which is generated. These things being determined, <sup>o</sup> the first man who sinned, as one who did not exactly <sup>p</sup> know what it really meant, <sup>q</sup> was more simply <sup>r</sup> punished

<sup>a</sup> πανσόφως.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. here = ἡμερότητας, not οικειότητος as Aucher's rendering "familiaritatis" implies.

<sup>c</sup> Or "moderation"—συνέσεως or ἐπιεικείας.

<sup>d</sup> διαφθείρων.

<sup>e</sup> τῇ πατρίᾳ γενεᾷ.

<sup>f</sup> γένος.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ λογικοῦ εἶδους.

<sup>h</sup> διωκόμενος καὶ φυγᾶς.

<sup>i</sup> ἑαυτὸν καταγινώσκει.

<sup>j</sup> τάξει καὶ δυνάμει.

<sup>k</sup> ἀρχαὶ καὶ στοιχεῖα καὶ μέτρα.

<sup>l</sup> νεώτεροι.

<sup>m</sup> ἀρχετυπικωτέρα καὶ πρεσβυτέρα.

<sup>n</sup> λόγον.

<sup>o</sup> τούτων ὀρισθέντων.

<sup>p</sup> ἀκριβῶς, βεβαίως.

<sup>q</sup> τὸ κύριον.

<sup>r</sup> ἀπλούστερον.



## GENESIS, BOOK I

in accordance with the first and doubtful number, I mean one. But the second man, as one who had the first man as an example,<sup>a</sup> and had no excuse, was guilty of voluntary sin. And in not receiving august wisdom<sup>b</sup> through the first simpler punishment, he will suffer this punishment also, and in addition, will receive the second punishment which is in the tens. For just as in the hippodrome it is the horse-trainer who gets both the first and second prize, so also some evil men by rushing toward an unjust victory,<sup>c</sup> carry off a miserable victory,<sup>d</sup> and then they are punished by a double penalty, first by that which is in the ones, and then by that which is in the tens. Wherefore also Cain, who was the first to commit homicide, because he did not know the magnitude of the foul deed,<sup>e</sup> since he had never encountered death, paid the simpler penalty, the seven of the ones. But his imitator, not being able to take refuge in the same defence of ignorance,<sup>f</sup> deserved to suffer a double punishment, the first equal and similar to the other (Cain's), and another, the seven of the tens. For according to the law a sevenfold judgment is given. First, upon<sup>g</sup> the eyes, because they saw what was not fitting; second, upon the ears, because they heard what was not proper; third, upon the nose, which was deceived by smoke and steam; fourth, upon (the organ of) taste, which was a servant of the belly's pleasure; fifth, upon (the organs of) touch, to which by the collaboration<sup>h</sup> of the former senses in overcoming the soul<sup>i</sup> are also brought in addition other separate<sup>j</sup> acts, such as the seizure of cities and the capture of men and the demolition of the citadel of the city where the council resides; sixth, upon the tongue and the organs of speech for being silent about things that should be said and for saying things that should be kept silent; seventh,

<sup>a</sup> παράδειγμα.

<sup>b</sup> σεμνήν σοφίαν.

<sup>c</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀδικίας νίκην ὀρμῶντες.

<sup>d</sup> ταλαίπωρον νίκην.

<sup>e</sup> βδελύγματος, μιάσματος.

<sup>f</sup> εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπολογίαν τὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "through," διὰ w. gen.

<sup>h</sup> κοινοπραγίας.

<sup>i</sup> κατὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπέρθεσιν.

<sup>j</sup> κατ' ἰδίαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

upon the lower belly <sup>a</sup> which with lawless licentiousness sets the senses on fire. This is (the meaning of) what is said (in Scripture), that a sevenfold vengeance is taken on Cain, but on Lamech seventy times seven, for the reasons mentioned, in accordance with which he, being the second sinner and not being chastened <sup>b</sup> by the punishment of the earlier one, wholly <sup>c</sup> received both the latter's punishment, which was the simpler, as is the unit among numbers, and also the more complex punishment, similar to the tens among numbers.

78. (Gen. iv. 25) Why does Adam in begetting Seth say in addition, "God has raised up for me another seed in place of Abel whom Cain killed" <sup>d</sup> ?

Truly Seth is another seed and the beginning <sup>e</sup> of another birth <sup>f</sup> of Abel in accordance with a certain natural principle. For Abel is like one who comes from above to below, wherefore he is injured, <sup>g</sup> but Seth (is like one who comes) from below to above, wherefore he grows. <sup>h</sup> And a confirmation <sup>i</sup> of this is that "Abel" is interpreted as "brought and offered up on high" <sup>j</sup> to God. And it is not fitting to offer up <sup>k</sup> everything, but only what is good, for (God) is not the cause <sup>l</sup> of evil. Wherefore the undefined <sup>m</sup> and unseparated <sup>n</sup> and obscure <sup>o</sup> and confused <sup>p</sup> and perturbed <sup>q</sup> one appropriately also receives a mixture of praise and blame; praise, because he honours the Cause, and blame, because just as something happens, <sup>r</sup> so it turns out by chance <sup>s</sup> without his taking thought <sup>t</sup> or giving thanks. <sup>u</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὁ κάτω γαστήρ.      <sup>b</sup> σωφρονισθεῖς, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> παντελῶς in the Greek frag.      <sup>d</sup> ἀρχή.      <sup>e</sup> γενέσεως.

<sup>f</sup> κατά τινα φυσικὸν λόγον.      <sup>g</sup> βλάπτεται ἢ ἐπιβουλεύεται.

<sup>h</sup> αὐξάνεται.      <sup>i</sup> πίστις.

<sup>j</sup> προσφέρεται ἄνω, as though from Heb. *ybl*, *wbl* "to bring"; cf. *Quod Deterius* 32.

<sup>k</sup> προσφέρειν, ἀνάγειν.      <sup>l</sup> ἀναίτιος.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ ἀόριστος.      <sup>n</sup> ὁ ἀχώριστος.      <sup>o</sup> ὁ ἄδηλος.

<sup>p</sup> ὁ συγκεχυμένος, ἀμυδρός.      <sup>q</sup> ὁ τεθορυβημένος.

<sup>r</sup> συμβαίνει.      <sup>s</sup> ὡς ἔτυχε.      <sup>t</sup> ἄνευ τοῦ λογίζεσθαι.

<sup>u</sup> τοῦ εὐχαριστεῖν, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

Wherefore nature separated from him his twin,<sup>a</sup> and made the good man worthy of immortality,<sup>b</sup> resolving<sup>c</sup> him into a voice interceding<sup>d</sup> with God; but the wicked man it gave over to destruction. But "Seth" is interpreted as "one who drinks water,"<sup>e</sup> in accordance with the changes that take place in plants which by watering grow and blossom and bear fruit. And these are symbols of the soul.<sup>f</sup> But no longer may one say that the Deity is the cause of all things, good and evil, but only of the good, which alone properly puts forth live shoots.<sup>g</sup>

\*79. (Gen. iv. 26) Why did Seth's son Enosh hope to call the name of the Lord God?

"Enosh" is interpreted as "man." And this is now taken, not as a mixture,<sup>h</sup> but as the logical part of the soul,<sup>i</sup> the mind,<sup>j</sup> to which hope is peculiarly fitting,<sup>k</sup> for irrational animals are bereft of hope.<sup>l</sup> And hope is a certain anticipation of joy<sup>m</sup>; before joy there is an expectation<sup>n</sup> of good.

80. (Gen. v. 1) Why, after (mentioning) hope, does (Scripture) say, "This is the book of the generation of men"?

By these words (Scripture) makes the aforementioned statement trustworthy.<sup>o</sup> What is man? Man is that which more than other kinds of animals has obtained a very large and extraordinary<sup>p</sup> portion of hope. And this

<sup>a</sup> τὸν δίδυμον.

<sup>b</sup> ἀθανασίας.

<sup>c</sup> λύσας.

<sup>d</sup> παρακαλοῦσαν.

<sup>e</sup> As though from Heb. *šth* "to drink"; cf. *De Poster. Caini* 124 (ποτισμός).

<sup>f</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς, or "spirit"—τοῦ πνεύματος.

<sup>g</sup> ζωοφυτεῖν.

<sup>h</sup> μίξις or κράσις.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς λογικὸν μέρος.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>k</sup> ἰδίως πρέπον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλπίζειν.

<sup>l</sup> ἀμέτοχα τῆς ἐλπίδος.

<sup>m</sup> προπάθειά τις τῆς χαρᾶς.

<sup>n</sup> προσδοκία.

<sup>o</sup> πιστόν.

<sup>p</sup> θαυμαστόν or παράδοξον.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

is celebrated <sup>a</sup> as if inscribed in nature, for the mind of man naturally hopes.

\*81. (Gen. v. 3) Why, in the genealogy of Adam, does (Scripture) no longer mention Cain, but Seth, who, it says, was made according to his appearance and form? Whence it begins to count the generations <sup>b</sup> from him (Seth).

Scripture does not associate the foul and violent homicide with the order of either reason or number, for he is to be thrown out <sup>c</sup> like ordure, as someone has said, considering him to be such. Wherefore (Scripture) does not show him to be either the successor <sup>d</sup> of his earthly father or the beginning of later generations, but distinguishing Seth in both respects as guiltless, <sup>e</sup> being a drinker of water, for he is watered by his father, and begetting hope by his growth and progress. <sup>f</sup> Wherefore not casually or idly does (Scripture) say that he was made according to his father's appearance and form, in reprobation of the elder (brother) who because of his foul homicide bears within himself nothing of his father either in body or in soul. Wherefore (Scripture) separated <sup>g</sup> him and divided <sup>h</sup> him from his kin, <sup>i</sup> but to the other apportioned and gave a part of the honour of primogeniture. <sup>j</sup>

82. (Gen. v. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "Enoch was pleasing to God, after he begot Methuselah, two hundred years" <sup>k</sup>?

(Scripture) legislates <sup>l</sup> about the sources of all good

<sup>a</sup> διαφημίζεται.

<sup>b</sup> γενεαλογεῖν.

<sup>c</sup> ἐκβαλλετός.

<sup>d</sup> διάδοχον.

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. is obscure but seems to render *διαρῶν Σηθ ὡς ἀμφοτέρων ἀναίτιον*. Aucher renders, "sed utrumque illibato distribuens praestat Seth." The Greek frag. freely paraphrases.

<sup>f</sup> αὐξήσει καὶ προκοπῇ.

<sup>g</sup> διεῖλε.

<sup>h</sup> διεχώρισε.

<sup>i</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς συγγενείας.

<sup>j</sup> τῆς πρεσβείας.

<sup>k</sup> So LXX: Heb. has "And Enoch walked with God after he begot Methuselah three hundred years." <sup>l</sup> νομοθετεῖ.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

things at the beginning of Genesis.<sup>a</sup> What I mean is somewhat as follows. It defined <sup>b</sup> mercy <sup>c</sup> and forgiveness <sup>d</sup> a little earlier. This time, however, it defines repentance, not mocking <sup>e</sup> or in any way reproaching <sup>f</sup> those who appear to have sinned. At the same time it presents the descent <sup>g</sup> of the soul from evil to virtue <sup>h</sup> like the return of those who have fled into a snare.<sup>i</sup> For behold, on becoming a man and father, in his very procreation, he made a beginning of probity,<sup>j</sup> being said to have been pleasing to God. For although he did not altogether remain in piety, none the less that period of time was reckoned to him as belonging to the order of the praiseworthy,<sup>k</sup> for he was pleasing (to God) so many years. And so many (years) are symbolically mentioned,<sup>l</sup> not perhaps because of what he was, but as he was believed by another to appear.<sup>m</sup> But (Scripture) reveals the ordering <sup>n</sup> of things. For not very long after the forgiving of Cain it introduces the fact that Enoch repented, informing us that forgiveness is wont to produce repentance.

83. (Gen. v. 21-23) Why is Enoch, who repented, said to have lived one hundred and sixty-five years before his repentance, but after his repentance two hundred?

The hundred and sixty-five consists of the ten (digits) added one by one—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,<sup>o</sup> which make fifty-five, and of the double numbers after one—2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, which make one hundred and ten. And the combination <sup>p</sup> of these (two sets of numbers) pro-

<sup>a</sup> τῆς γενέσεως.                      <sup>b</sup> διώρισε, or "set apart"—διεχώρισε.

<sup>c</sup> ἔλεος.                                  <sup>d</sup> ἄφεσιν.                                  <sup>e</sup> ἐγγελῶν or χλευάζων.

<sup>f</sup> ὀνειδίζων.                              <sup>g</sup> (sic) κατάβασιν.                              <sup>h</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>i</sup> βρόχον.                                  <sup>j</sup> καλοκάγαθίας.                                  <sup>k</sup> εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐπαινετοῦ τάξιν.

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. is obscure, but seems to render τοσαῦτα σύμβολα τῶν εἰρημένων ἐστί.

<sup>m</sup> Here too the Arm. is obscure.

<sup>n</sup> ἀκολουθίαν or διοίκησιν.

<sup>o</sup> The Arm. here uses numeral letters=Greek α', β', etc.

<sup>p</sup> σύνθεσις.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

duces one hundred and sixty-five. And among these the even numbers are double <sup>a</sup> the odd numbers, for the female is more powerful <sup>b</sup> than the male by some inversion,<sup>c</sup> as when the wicked man lords it over the good man, or sense over mind, the body over sense, matter over cause. But two hundred (years) in which there was repentance consists of twice a hundred, of which the first hundred indicates a purification from wrongdoing,<sup>d</sup> while the other indicates the fullness of one who is perfect in virtue.<sup>e</sup> For even from an ailing body one must cut away <sup>f</sup> the sick part, and afterwards introduce health, for the former is first, while the latter comes second. The number two hundred is composed of fours, for it arises, as if from a seed,<sup>g</sup> from four triangles <sup>h</sup> and four tetragons and four pentagons and four hexagons and four heptagons, and it stands, in a certain manner, in the number seven. And these are the four triangles—1, 3, 6, 10, which make 20.<sup>i</sup> The four tetragons are 1, 4, 9, 16, which make thirty. And the four pentagons are 1, 5, 12, 22, which make forty. The five hexagons are 1, 6, 15, 28, which make 50. And the four heptagons are 1, 7, 18, 34, which make sixty. These combined produce two hundred.

<sup>a</sup> διπλάσιοι.

<sup>b</sup> δυνατωτέρα, or “more violent”—βιαιοτέρα.

<sup>c</sup> τροπήν.

<sup>d</sup> κάθαρσιν ἀδικίας.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πλήρωμα τὸ τοῦ κατ’ ἀρετὴν συντετελεσμένου. Aucher renders, “plenitudinem virtutis consummatae.”

<sup>f</sup> ἀποτεμεῖν.

<sup>g</sup> ὡς ἐκ σπέρματος.

<sup>h</sup> “Triangles” (τριγώνων) = “triangular numbers,” those which can be arranged in triangular form, *e.g.*

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 & & \cdot \\
 & & \cdot \\
 & \cdot & \cdot \\
 3 = \cdot & 6 = \cdot\cdot & 10 = \cdot\cdot\cdot \\
 & & \cdot \\
 & & \cdot \\
 & & \cdot
 \end{array}$$

etc.; similarly, “tetragons” are “four-sided numbers,” etc.

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. here sometimes uses numeral letters, sometimes numeral words.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

84. (Gen. v. 23) Why, being repentant,<sup>a</sup> is (Enoch) said to have lived three hundred and sixty-five years?<sup>b</sup>

First of all, the year has three hundred and sixty-five days. Accordingly (Scripture) symbolically indicates the life of this penitent by the revolution<sup>c</sup> of the sun. Second, just as the sun is the cause of day and night, revolving above the earth's hemisphere by day, and under the earth by night, so also the life of the penitent consists of darkness and light—of darkness by the impact<sup>d</sup> of passions and injustices,<sup>e</sup> and of light when the light of virtue<sup>f</sup> shines out, and its splendour is very bright.<sup>g</sup> Third, (Scripture) apportioned to him a full number, in accordance with which the sun, sovereign of heavenly stars, is adorned; and in this number is included also the time before his repentance, in forgetfulness<sup>h</sup> of the sins which he had formerly committed. For as God is good,<sup>i</sup> He liberally bestows great kindnesses,<sup>j</sup> and at the same time through the virtues of those who so desire,<sup>k</sup> He wipes out<sup>l</sup> the old convictions involving punishment.<sup>m</sup>

\*85. (Gen. v. 23-24) Why, after Enoch's end,<sup>n</sup> does (Scripture) add, "He was pleasing to<sup>o</sup> God"?

First of all, because it demonstrates that souls are immortal,<sup>p</sup> since when they become incorporeal,<sup>q</sup> they again become pleasing. Second, it praises the penitent since he persevered in the same condition of morals<sup>r</sup> and did not again change until the end of his life. For behold, some men after briefly experiencing uprightness<sup>s</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> μετανοῶν.

<sup>b</sup> LXX and Heb. "And all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years." <sup>c</sup> περίοδω, κυκλώσει.

<sup>d</sup> ἐκ βολῆς. <sup>e</sup> παθῶν καὶ ἀδικιῶν. <sup>f</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>g</sup> Or "pure"—καθαρώτατος. <sup>h</sup> εἰς ἀμνηστίαν.

<sup>i</sup> ἀγαθός. <sup>j</sup> ἀφθόνως χαρίζεται. <sup>k</sup> τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων.

<sup>l</sup> ἐξαλείφει. <sup>m</sup> τὰς καταγνώσεις τὰς τιμωρίαν ἐχούσας.

<sup>n</sup> τελευτήσαντος Ἐνώχου. <sup>o</sup> εὐηρέστησε.

<sup>p</sup> παρίστησι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους οὐσας.

<sup>q</sup> ἀσώματοι γενόμενοι. <sup>r</sup> ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡθῶν διαθέσει.

<sup>s</sup> γευσάμενοι καλοκάγαθίας.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

having been given hope of health, again quickly revert to the same disease.

86. (Gen. v. 24) What is the meaning of the words, "And he was not found, for God had translated <sup>a</sup> him" ?

First of all, the end of worthy and holy men <sup>b</sup> is not death but translation <sup>c</sup> and approaching <sup>d</sup> another place. Second, something very marvellous <sup>e</sup> took place. For he seemed to be rapt away <sup>f</sup> and become invisible. <sup>g</sup> For then he was not found. And this is shown by the fact that when he was sought, <sup>h</sup> he was invisible, <sup>i</sup> not merely rapt from their eyes. For the translation to another place is nothing else than another position <sup>j</sup>; but he is said (to have moved) from a sensible and visible place to an incorporeal and intelligible form. <sup>k</sup> This gift the protoprophet <sup>l</sup> also obtained, for no one knew his burial-place. And still another, Elijah, followed him on high from earth to heaven at the appearance of the divine countenance, <sup>m</sup> or, it would be more proper and correct to say, he ascended. <sup>n</sup>

87. (Gen. v. 29) How is it that at the very birth of Noah his father says, "This one will give us rest from our labours and from our sorrows and from the earth which the Lord God has cursed" ?

Not idly <sup>o</sup> did the holy fathers <sup>p</sup> prophesy, and although not always nor in all things, still at least for once and in one thing which they knew <sup>q</sup> are they worthy of prophetic

<sup>a</sup> μετέθηκε.      <sup>b</sup> ἀξίων καὶ ἀγίων.      <sup>c</sup> μεταθέσεις, μεταβολή.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ἐγγίζειν.      <sup>e</sup> θαυμασιώτατόν τι.      <sup>f</sup> ἀρπασθῆναι.

<sup>g</sup> ἀόρατος.      <sup>h</sup> ζητούμενος.      <sup>i</sup> ἀφανής, ἀόρατος.      <sup>j</sup> θέσις.

<sup>k</sup> εἰς ἀσώματον καὶ νοερὰν μορφήν (ὡς εἶδος, γένος).

<sup>l</sup> ὁ πρωτοπροφήτης (Moses).

<sup>m</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν τοῦ θείου προσώπου.

<sup>n</sup> ἀνέβη.      <sup>o</sup> οὐκ εἰκῆ.

<sup>p</sup> οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες. I do not know why Aucher renders, "sanctorum patres."

<sup>q</sup> Arm. *canean* = ἐγνώσαν: variant *cnan* = ἐγέννησαν "produced."



## GENESIS, BOOK I

praise.<sup>a</sup> And not idly is this too a symbolical example, for "Noah" is a sort of cognomen<sup>b</sup> of justice, by participation<sup>c</sup> in which the mind gives us rest from the evil of labours and will give us rest from sorrows and fears, making us fearless and sorrowless. And it gives us rest from that earthly nature by whose curse the body is afflicted with sickness; and they are guilty who consume their lives in pursuit of pleasures.<sup>d</sup> But in the realization of the prediction,<sup>e</sup> the prophecy spoke falsely, for in the case of this particular man it was not so much a cessation of evils<sup>f</sup> that took place but an intensification of violence and strange and unavoidable disasters and innovations<sup>g</sup> of the great flood. And carefully bear in mind<sup>h</sup> that Noah is the tenth from the earth-born man.<sup>i</sup>

88. (Gen. v. 32) Who are the three sons of Noah—Shem, Ham and Japheth?

These names are symbols of three things in nature—the good, the evil and the indifferent.<sup>j</sup> Shem is distinguished<sup>k</sup> for good, Ham for evil, and Japheth for the indifferent.

\*89. (Gen. vi. 1) Why, from the time when the great flood drew near, is the human race said to have increased into a multitude?<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The above is a slightly free (in construction) rendering of the obscure Arm. sentence, which has no main verb and an intrusive rel. pron.

<sup>d</sup> ἡδονῶν.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀναγγελθέντων ἐνέργειαν.

<sup>f</sup> κατάπαυσις κακῶν.

<sup>g</sup> καιουργίαι.

<sup>h</sup> ἐπιμελῶς προνοεῖ.

<sup>i</sup> Before the words "carefully bear in mind" the Arm. glossator inserts (in § 89) in cod. A "Some used to say that there were innumerable aeons from Adam to Noah, and others said that Noah was the first beginning, wherefore Scripture says."

<sup>j</sup> Prob. τοῦ ἀδιαφόρου, although Arm. *anoroš* usu. = ἀόριστος. See below, QG ii. 71.

<sup>k</sup> διαφέρει.

<sup>l</sup> εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Divine favours<sup>a</sup> always precede His judgments,<sup>b</sup> for His activity<sup>c</sup> is first to do good, while destruction<sup>d</sup> comes afterwards. He, however, is loving, and it is usual,<sup>e</sup> when great evils are about to take place, that an abundance of great and numerous good things is first produced.<sup>f</sup> In this same manner, when the seven years' barrenness was about to come, as the prophet says, Egypt became fruitful for the same number of years in succession through the beneficent and saving power of the universe.<sup>g</sup> In the same way as He does good He teaches (men) to refrain and keep themselves from sins, lest they change the good into the opposite. Because of this now too cities grow to excellence<sup>h</sup> through freedom of customs,<sup>i</sup> so that if afterwards corruption<sup>j</sup> arises, they may condemn<sup>k</sup> their own immeasurable and irremediable wrongdoing, and not make the Deity responsible,<sup>l</sup> for He is innocent of evil and evil deeds,<sup>m</sup> since His activity<sup>n</sup> is to bestow<sup>o</sup> only good first of all.

90. (Gen. vi. 3) What is the meaning of the words, " My spirit<sup>p</sup> shall not remain in men forever, because they are flesh " ?

This legislation<sup>a</sup> is an oracle.<sup>r</sup> For the divine spirit is not a movement of air but intelligence<sup>s</sup> and wisdom.<sup>t</sup> Thus also concerning him who artfully constructed the holy

<sup>a</sup> αἱ θεῖαι χάριτες.                    <sup>b</sup> κρίσεις, κρίματα.                    <sup>c</sup> ἔργον.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ διαφθεῖρειν, ἀναιρεῖν *vel sim.*

<sup>e</sup> εἶωθε, πέφυκε.

<sup>f</sup> γεννᾶσθαι.

<sup>g</sup> διὰ τὴν εὐεργετικὴν καὶ σωτήριαν δύναμιν τὴν τῶν ὄλων.

<sup>h</sup> εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν (?).

<sup>i</sup> ἐκ ἐλευθερίας ἐθῶν (meaning ?).

<sup>j</sup> διαφθορά *vel sim.*

<sup>k</sup> καταγνώσι.

<sup>l</sup> αἴτιον.

<sup>m</sup> κακίας καὶ κακῶν.

<sup>n</sup> ἔργον.

<sup>o</sup> χαρίζεσθαι.

<sup>p</sup> πνεῦμα.

<sup>q</sup> τὸ νομισθητόν.

<sup>r</sup> χρησμός. Aucher reverses subj. and pred., " oraculum est velut lex prolatum."

<sup>s</sup> σύνεσις ἢ φρόνησις ἢ νοῦς ἢ ἐπιστήμη.

<sup>t</sup> σοφία.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

tabernacle, namely Bezaleel, (Scripture) reported, saying, "I filled him with the divine spirit of wisdom and knowledge."<sup>a</sup> Accordingly, this spirit comes into men<sup>b</sup> but does not remain or long endure.<sup>c</sup> But (Scripture) adds the reasons therefor, saying, "because they are flesh." For the nature of flesh is alien to wisdom so long as it is familiar with desire.<sup>d</sup> Whence it is clear that incorporeal and unsubstantial<sup>e</sup> spirits do not stumble over anything heavy or meet any obstacle to seeing and understanding nature, since pure understanding<sup>f</sup> is acquired along with stability.<sup>g</sup>

91. (Gen. vi. 3) Why shall "the days of man be a hundred and twenty years"?

By this number (Scripture) seems to define<sup>h</sup> human life, indicating many prerogatives<sup>i</sup> of honour. For in the first place, it is derived from the units by composition<sup>j</sup> of fifteen.<sup>k</sup> And the fifteenth reckoning<sup>l</sup> is a very brilliant one,<sup>m</sup> for the moon becomes full of light on the fifteenth day, receiving its light from the sun at evening and giving it over to him in the morning, so that on that night no darkness appears, but everything is light. Second, a hundred and twenty is a triangular number<sup>n</sup> and consists of fifteen triangles.<sup>o</sup> Third, because it consists of the equal

<sup>a</sup> Cf. LXX, Ex. xxxi. 3, καὶ ἐπέπληκα αὐτὸν πνεῦμα θεῖον σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης.

<sup>b</sup> ἐγγίνεται ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>c</sup> οὔτε μένει οὔτε διαίωνει (ἢ διαχρονίζει).

<sup>d</sup> τὸ γὰρ ἦθος τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς τῇ σοφίᾳ ἀλλότριον ἐστὶ ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον αἰκείον ἐστὶ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ.

<sup>e</sup> Prob. ἀναφή, as Aucher suggests.

<sup>f</sup> ἄκρατος σύνεσις.

<sup>g</sup> στάσει ἢ βεβαιώσει ἢ στηρίγματι.

<sup>h</sup> Or "limit"—ὀρίζειν.

<sup>i</sup> προνομίας.

<sup>j</sup> κατὰ σύνθεσιν.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. 120 is the sum of the first fifteen numbers:  $1 + 2 + 3 + \dots + 15 = 120$ .

<sup>l</sup> λόγος. <sup>m</sup> φωτειδέστερος. <sup>n</sup> ἀριθμὸς τρίγωνος.

<sup>o</sup> 120 is  $15 \times 8$ , and 8 is a triangular number ( $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ).

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for consistent and reliable data collection processes to support informed decision-making.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in modern data management. It discusses how advanced software solutions can streamline data collection, storage, and analysis, leading to more efficient and accurate results.

4. The fourth part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data management, such as data quality, security, and privacy. It provides strategies to mitigate these risks and ensure the integrity and confidentiality of the organization's data.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by summarizing the key findings and recommendations. It stresses the importance of ongoing monitoring and evaluation to ensure that data management practices remain effective and aligned with the organization's goals.

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## GENESIS, BOOK I

(children); and forty-five is that of the triple scale. But sixteen, nineteen, twenty-two and twenty-eight add up to eighty-five, by which are formed the nine-month (children).<sup>a</sup> And fifth, it (the number 120) has fifteen parts and a double composition<sup>b</sup> of its own, inasmuch as twice sixty is the measure of all things; and it is three times forty, (which is) the form<sup>c</sup> of prophecy<sup>d</sup>; and it is four times thirty, (which is) a generation<sup>e</sup>; and it is five times twenty-four, (which is) the measure of day and night,<sup>f</sup> and it is six times twenty, (which is) the beginning<sup>g</sup>; and it is eight times fifteen, most brilliant<sup>h</sup> (of numbers); it is ten times twelve, (which is) the zodiac<sup>i</sup>; it is twelve times ten, (which is) the holy (number)<sup>j</sup>; it is fifteen times eight, (which is) the first cube<sup>k</sup>; it is twenty times six, (which is) genesis<sup>l</sup>; it is twenty-four times five, (which is) the form<sup>m</sup> of the senses<sup>n</sup>; it is thirty times four, (which is) the beginning of solids<sup>o</sup>; it is four times thirty, (which is) fullness,<sup>p</sup> consisting of beginning, middle and end; it is sixty times two, (which is) the feminine<sup>q</sup>; and it is a hundred and twenty times one, (which is) the masculine.<sup>r</sup> And each of these numbers is very natural,<sup>s</sup> as is shown

<sup>a</sup> On this obscure calculation see Staehle, pp. 81-82.

<sup>b</sup> σύνθεσιν διπλασίαν.

<sup>c</sup> εἶδος or ἰδέα.

<sup>d</sup> Referring to Moses' forty-day sojourn on Mt. Sinai.

<sup>e</sup> Reckoning 30 years to a generation.

<sup>f</sup> Referring to the 24 hours of a day.

<sup>g</sup> ἀρχή; probably meaning the age when the young man is ready for communal responsibilities, cf. Ex. xxxviii. 26 and QG iv. 27.

<sup>h</sup> παμφαίνων, referring to the full moon on the 15th day of the lunar month.

<sup>i</sup> ζωφόρος κύκλος.

<sup>j</sup> Elsewhere Philo calls 10 the perfect (τέλειος) number, cf. Staehle, pp. 53-58.

<sup>k</sup> ὁ πρῶτος κύβος.

<sup>l</sup> γένεσις; referring to the six days of Creation.

<sup>m</sup> Or "species"—ἰδέα.

<sup>n</sup> τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

<sup>o</sup> ἡ τῆς στερεομετρίας ἀρχή.

<sup>p</sup> πλήρωμα; probably because it is the sum of the first four square numbers: 1, 4, 9, 16, cf. QG ii. 5.

<sup>q</sup> τὸ θῆλυ.

<sup>r</sup> τὸ ἄρρεν.

<sup>s</sup> φυσικώτερος.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

separately. Moreover, it is a double composition,<sup>a</sup> for it becomes two hundred and forty, which is a sign of becoming worthy of twofold life, for just as the number of years is doubled, so also life is to be thought of as doubled; there is one (life) with the body, and another without the body, to receive the gift of prophecy,<sup>b</sup> each of them being holy and altogether perfect.<sup>c</sup> Sixth, because the fifth and sixth are produced when three numbers are multiplied,<sup>d</sup> (namely) three times four five times (*sic*); for three times four five times makes sixty. Similarly a hundred and twenty (is produced) by the following numbers, four times five six times (*sic*), for four times five six times makes a hundred and twenty. Seventh, taking the number twenty, in which is the beginning of man, his redemption<sup>e</sup>—twenty added to itself two and three times in the following manner, twenty, forty, sixty, makes a hundred and twenty. But perhaps a hundred and twenty years are not the universal limit<sup>f</sup> of human life, but only of the men living at that time, who were later to perish in the flood after so great a number of years, which a benevolent benefactor<sup>g</sup> prolonged, allowing repentance for sins. However, after this limit they lived a more abundant<sup>h</sup> life in later generations.

\*92. (Gen. vi. 4) Why were the giants born from angels and women?

The poets<sup>i</sup> relate that the giants were earthborn, children of the earth. But he (Moses) uses this name analogically<sup>j</sup> and frequently<sup>k</sup> when he wishes to indicate

<sup>a</sup> σύνθεσις διπλασία.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. construction difficult, lit. "the gift with respect to the prophet"; Aucher renders, "donum prophetiae."

<sup>c</sup> παντέλειος.

<sup>d</sup> πολλαπλασιασθέντων.

<sup>e</sup> λύτρωσις; the connexion of the number 20 with "redemption" eludes me, but see note *g*, p. 59.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ καθολικὸς ὅρος.

<sup>g</sup> εὐεργέτης εὐμενής.

<sup>h</sup> πλείονα ὅς περισσόν.

<sup>i</sup> οἱ ποιηταί.

<sup>j</sup> καταχρηστικῶς.

<sup>k</sup> συνεχῶς, or perhaps "for the most part"—ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

excessive size of body, after the likeness of Haik.<sup>a</sup> And he relates that their creation<sup>b</sup> was a mixture of two things, of angels and mortal women. But the substance<sup>c</sup> of angels is spiritual<sup>d</sup>; however, it often happens that they imitate the forms of men and for immediate purposes,<sup>e</sup> as in respect of knowing women for the sake of begetting Haiks.<sup>f</sup> But if children become zealous emulators<sup>g</sup> of maternal depravity,<sup>h</sup> they will draw away from paternal virtue and depart from it through desire of pleasure<sup>i</sup> in a wicked stock,<sup>j</sup> and through contempt<sup>k</sup> and arrogance<sup>l</sup> toward the better<sup>m</sup> they are condemned as guilty<sup>n</sup> of wilful wrongdoing.<sup>o</sup> But sometimes he calls the angels "sons of God" because they are made incorporeal<sup>p</sup> through no mortal man<sup>q</sup> but are spirits<sup>r</sup> without body. But rather does that exhorter,<sup>s</sup> Moses, give to good and excellent men the name of "sons of God," while wicked and evil men (he calls) "bodies."

\*93. (Gen. vi. 6) What is the meaning of the words, "He was concerned<sup>t</sup> when reflecting<sup>u</sup> that He had made man upon the earth, and He considered"<sup>v</sup>?

Some believe that the repentance of the Deity<sup>w</sup> is shown by these words,<sup>x</sup> but not rightly do they so believe, for the

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. has probably substituted the name of the legendary Armenian eponymous hero for Greek Heracles, as Aucher remarks.

<sup>b</sup> γένεσιν.

<sup>c</sup> οὐσία. <sup>d</sup> πνευματική. <sup>e</sup> πρὸς ὑποκειμένας χρείας.

<sup>f</sup> *i. e.* "giants," see note *a* above.

<sup>g</sup> ζηλωταί. <sup>h</sup> πονηρίας ἢ ἀφροσύνης. <sup>i</sup> ἡδονῆς (?).

<sup>j</sup> γένους. <sup>k</sup> καταφρονήσει. <sup>l</sup> ὑπερηφανία ἢ ἀλαζονεία.

<sup>m</sup> τοῦ κρείττονος. <sup>n</sup> ἔνοχοι. <sup>o</sup> ἑκουσῶν ἀδικιῶν.

<sup>p</sup> ἀσώματοι. <sup>q</sup> θνητόν. <sup>r</sup> πνεύματα.

<sup>s</sup> προτρεπτικός ἢ παραινετικός.

<sup>t</sup> ἐφρόντισε ἢ ἐμερίμνησε. <sup>u</sup> λογιζόμενος.

<sup>v</sup> διενόηθη. LXX has καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ διενόηθη. The Arm. O.T. also differs from the Arm. text of Philo's citation of the verse.

<sup>w</sup> μεταμέλειαν . . . περὶ τὸ θεῖον in John Monachus.

<sup>x</sup> ὀνομάτων.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Deity is without change. Nor are His being concerned when reflecting and His considering signs of repentance but of lucid and certain reflection,<sup>a</sup> which is concerned and considers the reason why He made man upon the earth. And since earth is a place of wretchedness,<sup>b</sup> even that heavenly man<sup>c</sup> is a mixture<sup>d</sup> consisting of soul and body; and from his birth until his end he is nothing else than a corpse-bearer.<sup>e</sup> Accordingly, it does not seem at all very remarkable<sup>f</sup> that the Father should be concerned with, and consider, these things, since indeed many men acquire wickedness rather than virtue,<sup>g</sup> being governed by the two-fold impulse<sup>h</sup> mentioned above, (namely) by the nature of the corruptible body<sup>i</sup> and the horrid position<sup>j</sup> of the earth, which is the last<sup>k</sup> of things.

\*94. (Gen. vi. 7) Why, when threatening to wipe out<sup>l</sup> man, does He say that He will also destroy the beasts<sup>m</sup> together with him, "from man to beasts and from reptiles to birds"?<sup>n</sup> For what sin were the beasts committing?

The literal meaning is this: it makes it clearly known that not necessarily<sup>o</sup> and primarily<sup>p</sup> were beasts made but for the sake of men and for their service.<sup>q</sup> And when these were destroyed, the former were rightly<sup>r</sup> destroyed together with them, since there no longer existed those for whose sake they had been made. But as for the allegorical meaning<sup>s</sup>—inasmuch as symbolically<sup>t</sup> man is the mind<sup>u</sup> within us, and beast is sense-perception,<sup>v</sup> when the chief

<sup>a</sup> John Monachus reads more briefly ἀκραιφνοῦς λογισμοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> ταλαιπορίας, ἀτυχίας.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος.

<sup>d</sup> μίξις.

<sup>e</sup> νεκροφόρος.

<sup>f</sup> παραδοξότερον.

<sup>g</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>h</sup> ὁρμηῆ.

<sup>i</sup> φθαρτοῦ σώματος.

<sup>j</sup> φρικτῶ τόπῳ.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ ἔσχατον.

<sup>l</sup> ἀπαλεῖψαι.

<sup>m</sup> τὰ ἄλογα, τὰ κτήνη.

<sup>n</sup> Cf. LXX ἕως πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

<sup>o</sup> ἀναγκαίως.

<sup>p</sup> προηγουμένως.

<sup>q</sup> ὑπηρεσίας. See below, QG ii. 9.

<sup>r</sup> εἰκότως, δικαίως.

<sup>s</sup> τὸ πρὸς νοῦν ἢ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν.

<sup>t</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>u</sup> νοῦς.

<sup>v</sup> αἴσθησις.



## GENESIS, BOOK I

ruler <sup>a</sup> is perverted and corrupted by evil, all sense-perception also perishes together with it, because it has no remains <sup>b</sup> of virtue.

\*95. (Gen. vi. 7) Why does He say, " I am angry <sup>c</sup> that I have made them " ?

In the first place, again as if warning man He relates something extraordinary. <sup>d</sup> However, properly speaking, God does not become angry but is immune (from anger) and is above all passions. <sup>e</sup> Accordingly, He wishes to prove by using exaggeration <sup>f</sup> that the lawless deeds of men have increased to such an extent that they have invited and provoked and incited to anger One who is naturally without anger. Second, He intimates symbolically that those things which have been done confusedly <sup>g</sup> are also blameworthy, <sup>h</sup> but those things which have been done out of wise reflection <sup>i</sup> and determined <sup>j</sup> are praiseworthy.

\*96. (Gen. vi. 8) Why is Noah now said to find favour <sup>k</sup> with God ?

In the first place the occasion <sup>l</sup> requires a comparison. <sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τοῦ πρώτου ἀρχηγοῦ, ἡγεμόνος.

<sup>b</sup> λείψανα, ὑπόλειμμα.

<sup>c</sup> Similarly Arm. O.T.; LXX has ἐνεθυμήθην = Heb. *nihamtî* " I repent."

<sup>d</sup> ἄκρον, κεφάλαιον.

<sup>e</sup> πάθη.

<sup>f</sup> ὑπερβολῆ.

<sup>g</sup> συγκεχυμένως or " obscurely "—ἀμυδρῶς (?).

<sup>h</sup> ἔνοχα.

<sup>i</sup> τῷ τῆς σοφίας λογισμῷ.

<sup>j</sup> διορισθέντα. The sentence is obscure; Aucher renders, " quae vero ex consilio sapientiae procedunt definitive, laudabilia." Procopius briefly paraphrases the section.

<sup>k</sup> χάριν.

<sup>l</sup> καιρός or χρόνος (?).

<sup>m</sup> σύγκρισιν. The meaning of the sentence is not clear, but perhaps is that this statement about Noah stands in contrast to the preceding statement about God's anger. Aucher renders, " primum tempus postulat comparationem," which is literal but as obscure as the original.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Inasmuch as all the others were rejected <sup>a</sup> because of ingratitude,<sup>b</sup> He justly puts him in their place, saying that he found favour, not because he alone was deserving of favour, for the entire human race in common had met with (His) beneficence,<sup>c</sup> but because he alone appeared grateful.<sup>d</sup> In the second place, since the generation was given over to destruction,<sup>e</sup> with the exception of one household,<sup>f</sup> it was necessary to say that the remnant was worthy of the divine favour as the seed and spark <sup>g</sup> of the new generation of men that was to be. And what favour is greater than that this same one should be both the end <sup>h</sup> and beginning <sup>i</sup> of mankind ?

97. (Gen. vi. 9) Why does (Scripture) give the generations of Noah not by his predecessors but by his virtues ? <sup>j</sup>

First, because the men who were of his time were wicked. Second, it lays down the laws of the will,<sup>k</sup> because to the virtuous man virtue is truly a generation.<sup>l</sup> For a generation of men (consists of) men, and (a generation) of souls (consists) of virtues. Wherefore it says, "he was righteous, perfect and pleasing (to God)."<sup>m</sup> But righteousness and perfection and being pleasing to God are the greatest virtues.

98. (Gen. vi. 11) What is the meaning of the words, "The earth was corrupted <sup>n</sup> before God, and the earth was filled with injustice" <sup>o</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> ἀποδοκιμασθέντων, ἀποβληθέντων. Procopius ἀπολωλότων.

<sup>b</sup> ἀχαριστίαν. <sup>c</sup> εὐεργεσίαν, ἀγαθοποιίαν.

<sup>d</sup> εὐχάριστος.

<sup>e</sup> Or "corruption" — φθορᾶ, διαφθορᾶ.

<sup>f</sup> οἴκου.

<sup>g</sup> σπινθήρ.

<sup>h</sup> τέλος.

<sup>i</sup> ἀρχή.

<sup>j</sup> ἀρεταῖς.

<sup>k</sup> θελήματος (?). The sense escapes me.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher renders, less literally, "virtutis studioso pro vera generatione est virtus."

<sup>m</sup> Cf. LXX δίκαιος, τέλειος ὧν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ, τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησε. <sup>n</sup> ἐφθάρη. <sup>o</sup> αδικίας.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

He (Moses) himself has given the reason in speaking of injustice (as being) for the sake of the earth's corruption. For deliverance <sup>a</sup> from this in particular is justice <sup>b</sup> both for men and for the parts of the world, (namely) heaven and earth.

\*99. (Gen. vi. 12) What is the meaning of the words, "All flesh corrupted his <sup>c</sup> way upon the earth" ?

First of all (Scripture) has called the self-loving <sup>d</sup> man "flesh"; therefore having formerly called him "flesh," it adds, not "the same" <sup>e</sup> but "of the same," <sup>f</sup> evidently meaning "in respect of man," <sup>g</sup> for one who misuses <sup>h</sup> an uncultivated life is flesh. Second, it considers flesh as the cause of spiritual corruption, <sup>i</sup> which is indeed the truth, for it is the seat of desires, <sup>j</sup> from which, as from a spring, flow the properties <sup>k</sup> of desires and other passions. <sup>l</sup> Third, the (pronoun) "his" is more natural, being declined as the oblique case <sup>m</sup> or from the nominative case of the pronoun "himself." <sup>n</sup> For when we offer honour to someone we do not venture to call him by any other name than "himself." Hence was derived the Pythagorean principle, <sup>o</sup> "He himself has said it" <sup>p</sup> when they exalted and magnified their honoured teacher, fearing to call him by name. The same custom is found both in cities and in homes; for at the coming of the master, slaves say "Himself is coming

<sup>a</sup> σωτηρία.

<sup>b</sup> δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>c</sup> αὐτοῦ as in LXX; Heb. requires αὐτοῦ "his own"; Arm. O.T., like Heb., has reflexive pronoun, referring to man.

<sup>d</sup> φίλαντον.

<sup>e</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν <σάρκα>.

<sup>f</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>g</sup> περὶ οὗ ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

<sup>h</sup> παραχρᾶται.

<sup>i</sup> πνευματικῆς φθοράς.

<sup>j</sup> τόπος τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

<sup>k</sup> αἱ ιδιότητες.

<sup>l</sup> παθῶν.

<sup>m</sup> πλαγία πτώσις.

<sup>n</sup> *i.e.* αὐτός. Lit. "from the nominative pronoun"—ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀντωνυμίας. The sense is somewhat obscure to me. Aucher renders, "tertio magis naturaliter *ejus*, casus est partialis declinatus (ab *Is*), vel de recto pronominis (*Ipse*) *ipsius*." For the general meaning see the parallel, *Quod Deus sit Immut.* §§ 140 f. Procopius condenses and paraphrases.

<sup>o</sup> ἀρχή.

<sup>p</sup> αὐτὸς ἔφα.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

in." And in the several cities, when the lord has come, they call him by the name "himself." But why have I dwelt at length on such things? Because I wished to show that the Father of the universe <sup>a</sup> is here mentioned, since all good things celebrated for their virtues are His. And out of reverence <sup>b</sup> (Scripture) uses truly admirable names <sup>c</sup> cautiously because it was about to introduce the destruction (of mankind). But the oblique case of the pronoun is taken in an honourable sense in the saying, "All flesh corrupted his <sup>d</sup> way," for truly the way of the Father has been corrupted through the desires and pleasures of the flesh; for these are the adversaries <sup>e</sup> of the laws of continence,<sup>f</sup> frugality,<sup>g</sup> prudence,<sup>h</sup> courage <sup>i</sup> and justice,<sup>j</sup> through which (virtues) the way which leads to God is found and broadened, becoming wholly . . .<sup>k</sup>

\*100. (Gen. vi. 13) What is the meaning of the words, "The time of all mankind has come against <sup>l</sup> me, for the earth is filled with injustice" ?

Those who reject Fate <sup>m</sup> use (these and) many other arguments, especially when death comes upon very many in a short time, as in the overthrow of houses, in conflagrations, shipwreck, tumult, in war, in combats on horse and combats on foot, in naval battles and plagues. To those who say this we say the same thing that was just said by the prophet (Moses), taking the reasoning <sup>n</sup> from him. For

<sup>a</sup> πατήρ τῶν ὅλων.

<sup>c</sup> θαυμασίους ὀνόμασι.

<sup>e</sup> ἀντίμαχοι, ἀντίπαλοι.

<sup>g</sup> ὀλιγαρκίας, ὀλιγοδείας.

<sup>i</sup> ἀνδρείας.

<sup>b</sup> δι' αἰδῶ.

<sup>d</sup> αὐτοῦ; see note *n* on p. 65.

<sup>f</sup> ἐγκρατείας.

<sup>h</sup> σωφροσύνης.

<sup>j</sup> δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>k</sup> The word *eriw* is, as Aucher remarks, unknown; he emends to *diwr* "smooth" or *iwr* "his"; the Arm. glossator gives "open (or "spacious") road."

<sup>l</sup> LXX ἐναντίον, lit. "opposite" or "against" here renders Heb. *liph'ne* "before." Philo stresses the literal meaning of the Greek preposition, ignoring the required sense for homiletical purposes.

<sup>m</sup> εἰμαρμένην (prob.).

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "reason"—αἰτίαν.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

the meaning of the words, "The time of all mankind has come against me" is about as follows. The life-time of all mankind has been limited and restricted to one time.<sup>a</sup> In consequence of this they no longer live in accordance with the harmonious principle of Fate.<sup>b</sup> And the reckoning<sup>c</sup> of every single one is gathered<sup>d</sup> into one, and has the same end in accordance with some harmony<sup>e</sup> and revolution of the stars, by which the race of mortals<sup>f</sup> is constantly preserved and destroyed. Accordingly, these things they may accept as they wish, both those who are among the learned<sup>g</sup> and those who contradict them. But this must first be said by us, that there is nothing so contrary and hostile and opposed to the Almighty<sup>h</sup> as is injustice.<sup>i</sup> Wherefore (Scripture) says that "The time of all mankind has come against me," and adds the reason for the opposition,<sup>j</sup> (namely) that the earth was filled with injustice. Second, time is considered a god<sup>k</sup> by the wicked among men, who would conceal<sup>l</sup> the really existing One.<sup>m</sup> For which reason (Scripture) says, "The time of all mankind has come against me," inasmuch as they make a god<sup>n</sup> of human time and oppose it to the true (God). But this is indicated in other places as well, where (Scripture) expresses the same principle as follows, "The time stood far off from them but God is among us,"<sup>o</sup> as if meaning that by wicked

<sup>a</sup> διωρίσθη καὶ . . . εἰς ἓνα χρόνον.

<sup>b</sup> κατὰ τὸν συμφωνοῦντα (οἱ ὁμοιοῦντα) λόγον τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης. The syntax and meaning are rather obscure to me. Professor H. A. Wolfson of Harvard University calls attention to a relevant statement in Aristotle, *De Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10, 336 b, διὸ καὶ οἱ χρόνοι καὶ οἱ βίοι ἐκάστων ἀριθμὸν ἔχουσι καὶ τούτῳ διορίζονται. πάντων γὰρ ἔστι τάξις, καὶ πᾶς χρόνος καὶ βίος μετρεῖται περιόδῳ. <sup>c</sup> λόγος. <sup>d</sup> συναγεται.

<sup>e</sup> ὁμόνοιαν. <sup>f</sup> τὸ φθαρτὸν γένος. <sup>g</sup> τῶν διδακτῶν (?).

<sup>h</sup> Dam. Par. has "to the most holy powers of God."

<sup>i</sup> ἀδικία. <sup>j</sup> τῆς ἐναντιότητος.

<sup>k</sup> θεός. <sup>l</sup> καλύπτειν *vel sim.*

<sup>m</sup> τὸν ὄντως ὄντα. The Greek frag. has τῷ ἀληθεῖ θεῷ.

<sup>n</sup> θεοπλαστοῦσι.

<sup>o</sup> Cf. LXX, Num. xiv. 9, ἀφέστηκε γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

men time is believed to be the cause of the events of the universe <sup>a</sup>; but by wise and cultured men <sup>b</sup> not time but God (is believed to be the cause), from Whom come times and seasons. But He is the cause not of all things but only of the good and of those which are in accordance with virtue. <sup>c</sup> For just as He is unsharing and without portion in evil, so also is He not responsible <sup>d</sup> for it. Third, in respect of the above statement (Scripture) indicates a certain excess of impiety in saying, "The time of all mankind has come" as if it meant that all men everywhere with one accord <sup>e</sup> had agreed upon impiety. And the statement that "the earth was filled with injustice" is as much as to say that no part of it remains empty <sup>f</sup> so as to receive and support righteousness. <sup>g</sup> But the expression "against" is a confirmation of what has been said, for the divine judgment <sup>h</sup> of choice <sup>i</sup> alone is firm. <sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τῶν τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. has εὐσεβέσι.

<sup>c</sup> ἀρετήν.  
κενόν.

<sup>d</sup> ἀνάτιος.

<sup>g</sup> δικαιοσύνην.

<sup>e</sup> μιᾷ γνώμῃ.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ θεία δίκη.

<sup>i</sup> αἰρεσέως, ἐκλογῆς. Arm. variant = θέσεως.

<sup>j</sup> βεβαία. The syntax of the last clause is obscure.

## BOOK II

1. (Gen. vi. 14) What is the construction <sup>a</sup> of (the ark of) Noah ?

If anyone wishes to examine that ark more physically, <sup>b</sup> he will find the construction of the human body (in it), as we shall discover in detail.

2. (Gen. vi. 14) Why does he (Noah) make the ark out of quadrangular beams ?

First of all, the figure of a quadrangle, wherever placed, keeps its place firmly, making all right angles ; and the nature <sup>c</sup> of the human body is constituted most impeccably <sup>a</sup> and most faultlessly. <sup>e</sup> Second, although our body is an instrument, <sup>f</sup> and each of its parts is rather rounded, <sup>g</sup> nevertheless the limbs constituted by these parts perforce <sup>h</sup> reduce the quadrangular figure to the circular one, as (for example) in the case of the chest, for the lungs are rather quadrangular. <sup>i</sup> Such too is the stomach before it has become swollen with food or through intemperance, <sup>j</sup> for there are certain fat-bellied people whom one may leave out of the argument. However, if anyone will examine the arms and the hands and the back and the thighs and the feet, he will find them all in common having a quadrangular form together with a spherical one. Third, a

<sup>a</sup> κατασκευή.

<sup>c</sup> φύσις, v.l. = ὕλη.

<sup>e</sup> ἀπταιστότατα.

<sup>g</sup> κυκλώτερον.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher similarly renders, "pro exemplo sit pectus quod quadratum potius est quam orbiculare."

<sup>j</sup> ἀμετρία.

<sup>b</sup> φυσικώτερον.

<sup>a</sup> ἀπλανέστατα, ἀσφαλέστατα.

<sup>f</sup> ὄργανον.

<sup>h</sup> βία, ἀνάγκη.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

quadrangular beam has almost all its dimensions <sup>a</sup> unequal, since the length is greater than the width, and the width is greater than the height. Similarly constituted is the construction of our bodies, which are separated into a great, a medium and a small dimension <sup>b</sup>: a great one in length, a medium one in width, and a small one in height.

3. (Gen. vi. 14) Why does (Scripture) say, "Nests, nests <sup>c</sup> thou shalt make the ark" ?

Very naturally (does Scripture speak), for the human body is altogether perforated <sup>d</sup> like a nest, and every one of its parts is built like a nest, <sup>e</sup> since a respiratory force <sup>f</sup> penetrates them from their very beginnings. So, for example, the eyes are, in a sense, holes and nests, in which visions nestle. Other nests are the ears, in which sounds nestle. A third kind of nest are the nostrils, in which smells make their home. A fourth kind of nest, greater than the preceding, is the mouth, in which, again, tastes make their nest. And this was made large because another great organ of the articulate voice nestles in it, (namely) the tongue, which, as Socrates said, when it strikes and touches now here now there, articulates <sup>g</sup> and forms the voice, making it truly rational. <sup>h</sup> Moreover there

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "differences (or "intervals") of separation," διαστολαὶ χωρισμῶν or the like; Aucher renders, "distinctiones in sua extensione."

<sup>b</sup> χωρισμός; Aucher "extensione."

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. and Palest. Syriac versions of Scripture repeat the word νοσσιάς = Heb. qinnîm "nests," i.e. "cells" (A.V. "rooms"). LXX MSS. have only a single occurrence of νοσσιάς in this verse. Probably the Armenian translator of Philo has added the second occurrence to make Philo agree with his version of Scripture. Philo quotes part of this verse in *De Confus. Ling.* 105 but does not mention the "nests."

<sup>d</sup> τετρημένον (?). <sup>e</sup> νοσσεύεται.

<sup>f</sup> πνευματικὴ δύναμις (?). <sup>g</sup> ἄρθροῖ.

<sup>h</sup> ἐργαζομένη τὴν φωνὴν ὄντως λογικὴν, r.l. "becoming a truly rational instrument"—γενομένη ὄντως λογικὸν ὄργανον.



## GENESIS, BOOK II

is another (nest) inside the skull.<sup>a</sup> And there is a certain nest of the brain <sup>b</sup> which is called the *dura mater*. And the chest (is the nest) of the lungs and the heart. And both of these are the nests of other parts called the inwards <sup>c</sup>; the lungs (are the nest) of the breath, and the heart (is the nest) of the blood and the breath. For it (the heart) has two sacs <sup>d</sup> as if nests nestling in the chest; (one is) the blood, from which the veins are irrigated like receptacles,<sup>e</sup> and the other is the breath, by which, again, being diffused as into receptacles the trachea is irrigated.<sup>f</sup> And both the firmer and the softer parts are, in a certain sense, nests, and nourish their chicks, the bones; the firmer parts are the nests of the marrow, and the softer flesh (is the nest) of pleasures and pains. And if one were to inquire into other parts he would find them to have the same kind <sup>g</sup> of construction.

4. (Gen. vi. 14) Why does He command that the ark be tarred inside and outside?

Bitumen <sup>h</sup> is so called because of its tarry firmness <sup>i</sup> and because it cements what is brought together of detached and disjointed things, being a bond <sup>j</sup> that is indissoluble and untouched and indivisible.<sup>k</sup> For everything that is held together by glue is forcibly held <sup>l</sup> by this in a natural union.<sup>m</sup> But our body, which consists of many parts, is united both outside and inside. And it stands by its own cohesion.<sup>n</sup> And the higher habit of these parts is the soul,<sup>o</sup> which being in the middle, everywhere rushes out to the entire upper surface and from the upper surface returns to the middle, so that one psychic nature is enveloped <sup>p</sup> by a

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῷ κρανίῳ.

<sup>b</sup> ἐγκεφάλου.

<sup>c</sup> τῶν σπλάγχχνων.

<sup>d</sup> κοιλίαι.

<sup>e</sup> δεξαμεναί.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "filled with breath."

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "nature"—φύσιν.

<sup>h</sup> ἄσφαλτος.

<sup>i</sup> ἀσφάλειαν (?).

<sup>j</sup> δεσμός.

<sup>k</sup> ἀδιάλυτος καὶ ἄφαντος καὶ ἄτμητος.

<sup>l</sup> βιάζεται.

<sup>m</sup> κατὰ φυσικὴν ἔνωσιν.

<sup>n</sup> ἔξει, cf. Colson on *Leg. All.* ii. 22.

<sup>o</sup> ψυχῆ.

<sup>p</sup> περιπλέκεται.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

double bond, (thus) being fitted <sup>a</sup> to a firmer consistency <sup>b</sup> and union. <sup>c</sup> Accordingly this ark is overlaid with bitumen inside and out for the beforementioned reason. But that (other ark) in the temple, <sup>d</sup> which is overlaid with gold, is a likeness of the intelligible world, <sup>e</sup> as is shown in the treatise concerning this subject. <sup>f</sup> For the intelligible world, which exists in one place, is, as it were, <sup>g</sup> incorporated <sup>h</sup> in the incorporeal forms, <sup>i</sup> being fitted together <sup>j</sup> and united <sup>k</sup> out of all the forms. For in the measure that gold is more valuable than bitumen, in the same measure is the (ark) which is in the temple more excellent than (Noah's) ark. Wherefore He instructed that the measure of this ark be quadrangular, looking toward its usefulness <sup>l</sup>; but in the case of the other (ark He was looking toward) its imperishability, <sup>m</sup> since the nature of incorporeal and intelligible things <sup>n</sup> is imperishable and incorruptible <sup>o</sup> and permanent. <sup>p</sup> And this ark is carried about here and there, but the other one has its position firmly in the temple. But that which is stable <sup>q</sup> is related to the divine nature, just as this (ark), which turns now in one direction and now in another and changes (is related) to that which is generated. <sup>r</sup> And this ark of the flood is held up <sup>s</sup> as a type of corruptibility. <sup>t</sup> But the other one in the temple follows the condition <sup>u</sup> of the incorruptible.

\*5. (Gen. vi. 15-16) Why does (Scripture) hand down the dimensions of the ark in this manner: "the length (shall

<sup>a</sup> ἄρμοζομένη.

<sup>b</sup> βεβαιότερον τόνον.

<sup>c</sup> ἔνωσιν.

<sup>d</sup> ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

<sup>e</sup> τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Ebrietate* 88-90.

<sup>g</sup> Construction not certain.

<sup>h</sup> σωματοῦται.

<sup>i</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις ἰδέαις.

<sup>j</sup> ἄρμοζόμενος.

<sup>k</sup> ἐνώμενος.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ χρήσιμον.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ ἀσάπες (?).

<sup>n</sup> ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν.

<sup>o</sup> ἀφθαρτος.

<sup>p</sup> διαμένων.

<sup>q</sup> στάσιμον ἢ βέβαιον.

<sup>r</sup> Arm. here seems to have read τὸ γόνιμον ἢ τὸ γεννητικόν "generative" for γενητόν "generated."

<sup>s</sup> Or "cited"—ἀναφέρεται (?).

<sup>t</sup> ὡς τρόπος τῆς φθορᾶς.

<sup>u</sup> Or "lot"—τὸν κλήρον.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

be) three hundred cubits, its width fifty (cubits) and its height thirty (cubits). And to a cubit above (it is to be) finished, coming together gradually in the manner of a mound <sup>a</sup> ” ?

In a literal sense <sup>b</sup> it was necessary to construct a great work <sup>c</sup> for the reception of so many animals, of which the several genera were to be brought inside together with their food. But symbolically, <sup>d</sup> correctly considered and understood, it points to the knowledge <sup>e</sup> of the make-up <sup>f</sup> of our body, and there was now to be used, <sup>g</sup> not the quantity of cubits but the accurate proportion <sup>h</sup> which subsists in them. And the reckonings <sup>i</sup> which subsist in them are sixfold and tenfold and five thirds. For three hundred is six times fifty and ten times thirty, while fifty is five thirds of thirty. And similar are the proportions of the body. For if anyone wishes to inspect (the matter), he will perceive on reflexion that man has <sup>j</sup> a measure <sup>k</sup> that is not very great and not very small ; and if one takes a cord and stretches it from the head to the feet he will find that the cord is six times (as long) compared with the width of the chest, and ten times (as long) compared with the thickness of the sides (of the body), and that the width is five thirds of the thickness. Similar is the actual proportion, <sup>l</sup> taken from nature, of the human body, which is made with a measure essentially excellent in the case of those who are neither excessive nor deficient. And He most excellently <sup>m</sup> determined the (ark's) being finished to a cubit above, <sup>n</sup> for the upper part of the body imitates unity ; (that is), the head, like the citadel <sup>o</sup> of a king, has as its occupant

<sup>a</sup> This is an expansion of I.XX, καὶ εἰς πῆχυν συντελέσει αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν. “Mound” here is given for Arm. *ko't'ol* which usually renders βάσις or σκόπελον ; Aucher renders “instar obelisci.” <sup>b</sup> πρὸς τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>c</sup> μέγα ἔργον.

<sup>d</sup> συμβολικῶς or πρὸς τὸ σημειωθέν.

<sup>e</sup> γνῶσιν.

<sup>f</sup> τῆς ποιήσεως (?).

<sup>g</sup> χρησθήσεται vel sim.

<sup>h</sup> ἢ ἐπ' ἀκριβείας ἀναλογία.

<sup>i</sup> οἱ λόγοι.

<sup>j</sup> χρώμενον.

<sup>k</sup> μέτρῳ, μετρήσει.

<sup>l</sup> ἀναλογία.

<sup>m</sup> παγκάλως.

<sup>n</sup> See note a.

<sup>o</sup> ἄκρον, ἀκρόπολις.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

the sovereign mind.<sup>a</sup> But those (parts) which are below the neck are divided into several parts, into hands and especially into the lower limbs; for the thighs and the legs and the feet are separated (from one another). Accordingly the aforementioned proportion <sup>b</sup> of cubits of relation <sup>c</sup> will easily be recognized, as I have pointed out, by anyone who wishes to learn them.<sup>d</sup> However, it is fitting not to ignore the fact that as for the number of cubits, each of them has its own necessary reckoning <sup>e</sup>; but one must begin at first with the length. Now three hundred is composed of single numbers joined one by one with an increase of one (each time, namely), of these twenty-four <sup>f</sup>: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. But twenty-four, a very natural <sup>g</sup> number, is apportioned among the hours of day and night and among the letters of written sound.<sup>h</sup> And being composed of three cubes,<sup>i</sup> it is entire,<sup>j</sup> complete and quite full in equality,<sup>k</sup> since the triad steadily exhibits the first equality, having a beginning, middle and end, which are equal. And the number eight is the first cube because it first shows equality again with others.<sup>l</sup> And the number twenty-four has also many other virtues, being the substance<sup>m</sup> of three hundred, as has been shown; this is the first (virtue).<sup>n</sup> And another virtue is that it is composed of twelve quadrangles, with which the monad is combined through single and double lengths, and of twelve doubles, moreover, which are com-

<sup>a</sup> τὸν ἡγεμονικὸν νοῦν.

<sup>b</sup> μέτρον, μέτρησις.

<sup>c</sup> ἀναλογίας.

<sup>d</sup> Construction of Arm. slightly uncertain.

<sup>e</sup> λόγον.

<sup>f</sup> The following numerals are given as numeral letters in Arm.

<sup>g</sup> φυσικώτατος.

<sup>h</sup> The 24 letters of the Greek alphabet.

<sup>i</sup>  $1 \times 3 \times 8$ .

<sup>j</sup> ὅλος.

<sup>k</sup> κατ' ἰσότητα.

<sup>l</sup> So literally; Aucher renders, "quia cum ceteris aequitatem rursus primam declaravit." Probably Philo means the repetition of 2 in the factors of 8 ( $= 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ).

<sup>m</sup> οὐσία.

<sup>n</sup> ἀρετή.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

posed of twos, to which two is separately added.<sup>a</sup> Now the angular numbers which compose the twelve quadrangles are as follows: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23. And it composes quadrangles as follows: one, four,<sup>b</sup> 9, 16, 25, 36, 49, 64, 81, 100, 121, 144.<sup>c</sup> But the angular (numbers) which compose the other lengths are the following: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24; these make 12 (numbers). But from these are composed 2, 6, 12, 20, 30, 42, 56, 72, 90, 110, 132, 156, and these again are twelve (numbers).<sup>d</sup> If you add the twelve quadrangles (that is), one hundred forty-four and twelve other lengths (that is), one hundred fifty-six, you will find that three hundred is produced. (And you will get) a harmony of the nature of the odd (number), which is completed and goes over to the even (number) and the infinite.<sup>e</sup> For the odd completed (number) is the maker of equality in accordance with the nature of the square.<sup>f</sup> But the even and infinite (number is the maker) of inequality in accordance with the composition of another length.<sup>g</sup> But the whole consists of the equal and the unequal. Whence the Creator of the world<sup>h</sup> also in the corruption of earthly creatures has given judgment with the ark as an example.<sup>i</sup> Now enough has been said concerning (the number) three hundred. But

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. is obscure. Aucher renders, “adhaec ex duplicibus longis, geminis duodecim, compositis nempe ex duobus singillatim auctis per duo.”

<sup>b</sup> The first two numerals are given as numbers, the rest as numeral letters.

<sup>c</sup> The preceding are the squares of the numbers 1 to 12.

<sup>d</sup> As my colleague I. J. Gelb has pointed out to me, each of the twelve numbers of this series combines the corresponding number of the earlier series with the numbers preceding the latter; thus  $2=2+0$ ,  $6=2+4$ ,  $12=2+4+6$ ,  $20=2+4+6+8$ , etc.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ἄρτιον καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher inadvertently renders, “trianguli.”

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *QG* i. 15.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ κοσμοποιός.

<sup>i</sup> So literally; Aucher renders more smoothly, “unde conditor ipse mundi etiam in corruptione terrenorum certum quasi exemplum praebuit in arca.”

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now we must speak concerning (the number) fifty.<sup>a</sup> In the first place it consists of a rectangular (triangle) of quadrangles,<sup>b</sup> for a rectangular (triangle) consists of three, four, five; but from these (comes) the quadrangle,<sup>c</sup> nine, sixteen, twenty-five, the sum of which is fifty. And in the second place, fifty is completed and filled<sup>d</sup> by the unity of the following triangles: 1, 3, 6, 10, and again by the following four, equal in unity: 1, 4, 9, 16.<sup>e</sup> Now the triangular (numbers), added together, make twenty,<sup>f</sup> and the quadrangular (numbers) make thirty,<sup>g</sup> of which (the sum) is fifty. And if the triangular and quadrangular (numbers) are combined, the septangular (number) is produced, so that potentially it is contained in the divine fiftieth,<sup>h</sup> which the prophet had in view when he designated it as the festival of the fiftieth (year).<sup>i</sup> But the fiftieth year is entirely free<sup>j</sup> and freedom-giving.<sup>k</sup> The third argument<sup>l</sup> is that three squares<sup>m</sup> in succession from unity and three cubes in succession from unity give fifty; the three squares

<sup>a</sup> The measure of the width of the ark in cubits.

<sup>b</sup> ἐξ ὀρθογώνου τετραγώνων; cf. *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 177, where Philo says it is formed from ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου.

<sup>c</sup> Meaning the square on each side of the triangle.

<sup>d</sup> τελεσθεῖς πληροῦται.

<sup>e</sup> Apparently these four numbers are considered equal in being squares of the first four digits.

<sup>f</sup>  $1 + 3 + 6 + 10 = 20$ .

<sup>g</sup>  $1 + 4 + 9 + 16 = 30$ .

<sup>h</sup> ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ πενηκοστῷ. The Arm. adds "the holy trinity," a Christian gloss. Aucher omits "trinity" in his translation but connects "holy" with "fiftieth."

<sup>i</sup> The word "year" is supplied from the context; Aucher renders, "festum Iubilaeum."

<sup>j</sup> In Lev. xxv. 9 f. Heb. *yôbél* "Jubilee" is rendered by LXX as ἐναντὸς ἀφέσεως, similarly by Arm. O.T. In *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 176 ff. Philo applies the virtues of 50 to Pentecost, not to the Jubilee year. In dealing with the latter, *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 110 ff., he does not indulge in Pythagorean number-mysticism.

<sup>k</sup> ἐλευθεροποιός, used only of God in extant Greek works of Philo.

<sup>l</sup> θεωρία or θεώρημα.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher again inadvertently gives "trianguli."

## GENESIS, BOOK II

in succession from unity are the following : 1, 4, 9 (of which the sum) is 14 ; and the cubes are the following : 1, 8, 27 (of which the sum) is 36 ; and their sum is fifty. Moreover thirty is a very natural <sup>a</sup> (number). For as the triad is to unity, so thirty is to the decad, so that the period of the moon is full-orbed by collections of months.<sup>b</sup> Second, it consists of the following four squares in succession from unity : 1, 4, 9, 16, which (added together) make thirty. Wherefore not idly or inappropriately did Heracleitus call this a generation, saying, " From a man thirty years old there can come a grandfather, for he attains manhood in his fourteenth year, when he is able to sow seed, and the (child) sown within a year comes into being and similarly after fifteen years begets one like himself."<sup>c</sup> And from these names of grandfathers, fathers, begotten sons, and of mothers, daughters,<sup>d</sup> and sons of daughters there comes about a complete generation.

6. (Gen. vi. 16) What is the meaning of the words, " a door at the side " ? For (Scripture) says, " Thou shalt make a door at the side."

Not vulgarly <sup>e</sup> does that door at the side (of the ark) represent the human structure,<sup>f</sup> which He decently mentioned, saying it was " at the side,"<sup>g</sup> through which the excreta are removed to the outside. (This is) very excel-

<sup>a</sup> φυσικώτατος.

<sup>b</sup> Text and meaning obscure ; Aucher renders, " idque lunae cyclus, collectio singulorum mensium plena delineatione." Staehle, following Robbins, cites a partial parallel from John Lydus, p. 55, ἐπει καὶ ὁ τοῦ μηνὸς κύκλος συνέστηκεν.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Def. Orac.* ii. 415 D ap. Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 4th ed., i. 76, also Censorinus 17. 2 and John Lydus, *De Mens.* iii. 14 (the latter " misverstanden " according to Diels).

<sup>d</sup> Variant " sons."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher " obscure," but Arm. *douznak<sup>e</sup>εgay* means " small," " slight," " cheap."

<sup>f</sup> κατασκευήν.

<sup>g</sup> πλαγίαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

lent, for,<sup>a</sup> as Socrates used to say, whether taught by Moses or moved by the things themselves, the Creator, valuing<sup>b</sup> the decency of our body, turned to the rear of the senses the orifices of the passage of the canals,<sup>c</sup> lest we should feel disgust at ourselves,<sup>d</sup> when in purging ourselves of the bile-carrying waste, we see this shameful sight. Wherefore He surrounded and enclosed that passage by the back and hinder parts as by high swelling mounds; and also for other uses have the buttocks been made soft.

7. (Gen. vi. 16) Why does (Scripture) say, "Ground-floor (chambers)<sup>e</sup> and second-storey ones<sup>f</sup> and third-storey ones<sup>g</sup> shall be made"<sup>h</sup>?

Most excellently<sup>i</sup> has (Scripture) alluded to the receptacles<sup>j</sup> of food by calling them "ground-floor chambers," since food is corruptible and the corruptibility is of the lower part, because it (the food) is carried downward.<sup>k</sup> For only a very little food and drink is distributed (through the body),<sup>l</sup> and by this we are nourished, while the greater part is separated and carried outside in the excrement. But the intestines have been made second-storey and third-storey chambers by the providence of the Creator<sup>m</sup> for the preservation of created things.<sup>n</sup> For if He had made

<sup>a</sup> *k' anzi* "for" comes before "very excellent" in the Arm., but the sense requires its transposition.

<sup>b</sup> *δοκιμάζων.*

<sup>c</sup> *τὰς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξόδους τῆς τῶν ὀχετῶν.* For a different allegory of this physiological fact see *De Poster. Caini* 127 f.

<sup>d</sup> *βδελυττώμεθα.*

<sup>e</sup> *κατάγεια.*

<sup>f</sup> *διώροφα.*

<sup>g</sup> *τριώροφα.*

<sup>h</sup> So LXX and Arm. O.T. (except for the verb which is 2nd p. sing. as in Heb.). The Heb. has for "ground-floor chambers," etc., merely "lower ones, second ones, third ones."

<sup>i</sup> *παγκάλως.*

<sup>j</sup> *ἀγγεία ἢ σκεύη.*

<sup>k</sup> *κάτω.*

<sup>l</sup> *ἀναδίδονται* in the medical sense; Aucher renders literally, "sursum exhibentur."

<sup>m</sup> *τῆ τοῦ ζωοπλάστου προνοία.*

<sup>n</sup> *εἰς τὴν τῶν κτισθέντων διαμογήν.* Aucher renders, "ad sustentationem confulciendam factorum."



## GENESIS, BOOK II

straight<sup>a</sup> receptacles of food from the stomach<sup>b</sup> to the buttocks,<sup>c</sup> something terrible<sup>d</sup> might have happened. In the first place, (there might have been) continual lack,<sup>e</sup> desire<sup>f</sup> and famine; these are the misfortunes which might have occurred in that case, and instantaneous evacuation.<sup>g</sup> Second, a certain insatiate desire<sup>h</sup> (would have resulted). For when the receptacles have been emptied, hunger and thirst must of necessity immediately follow, as in the case of pregnant matrons, and the pleasant desire of food must become insatiate desire and something unphilosophical.<sup>i</sup> For nothing is more uncultured<sup>j</sup> than to give oneself wholly<sup>k</sup> to the belly. And third, death lies in wait<sup>l</sup> at the entrance, for they must be subject to an early death<sup>m</sup> who, when they eat, are immediately hungry, and when they drink, are immediately thirsty, and before they are filled, are emptied and feel hunger. But by the windings and twistings of the intestines we are saved from all hunger and insatiate desire and from being subject to an early death. So long as the food which is taken remains within (us), not that which is in passage but that which is necessary is changed.<sup>n</sup> For the force<sup>o</sup> of the food is first released<sup>p</sup> and squeezed out<sup>q</sup> in the belly.<sup>r</sup> And then it is warmed in the liver and carried out.<sup>s</sup> And then whatever is best flavoured<sup>t</sup> resolves itself<sup>u</sup> into the several parts, into growth for children and into strength for adults, but the rest is separated as excrement and

<sup>a</sup> Or "direct"—ὀρθά.

<sup>b</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ στομάχου meaning "stomach" as in *De Opif. Mundi* 118; Aucher renders, "visceribus."

<sup>c</sup> τὴν ἔδραν.

<sup>d</sup> δεινότατόν τι.

<sup>e</sup> ἔνδεια.

<sup>f</sup> ἐπιθυμία (?).

<sup>g</sup> κένωσις.

<sup>h</sup> ἀπληστία.

<sup>i</sup> ἀφιλόσοφον.

<sup>j</sup> ἀμουςότερον.

<sup>k</sup> σχολάζεσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> ἐφεδρεύει.

<sup>m</sup> ὠκύμοροι.

<sup>n</sup> ἀλλοιοῦται. The meaning is that only useful food is digested. Aucher renders, "non ut transitus exigit sed ut necessarium erat variatio efficitur."

<sup>o</sup> δύναμις.

<sup>p</sup> ἀναλύεται.

<sup>q</sup> ἐκπιέζεται.

<sup>r</sup> γαστρί.

<sup>s</sup> Variant "it is warmed and poured out from the liver."

<sup>t</sup> Or "most wholesome"—εὐχυμώτατον.

<sup>u</sup> ἀναλύεται.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

waste, and cast out. Now for such a dispensation <sup>a</sup> much time is consumed, as nature easily performs this forever.<sup>b</sup> But it seems to me that if the ark is taken (to refer) to the human body, nature is wonderfully <sup>c</sup> fond of life.<sup>d</sup> For these reasons, when living beings were destroyed and perished in the flood, He prepared a counterpart <sup>e</sup> to the earth. Wherefore whatever flourished on the earth the ark most generally <sup>f</sup> carried. And He wished that which was to be on the waves should be like the earth, a mother and nurse. And as they were nourished in the manner of pregnant women, (He wished) to show them (who were) within the sun and moon and the multitude of other stars and also the universal whole heaven.<sup>g</sup> For seeing by means of that which he <sup>h</sup> had constructed by art,<sup>i</sup> they learned more clearly the principle <sup>j</sup> and proportions <sup>k</sup> of the human body. For nothing so enslaved <sup>l</sup> man as the

<sup>a</sup> διακονίαν or διοίκησιν.      <sup>b</sup> εἰς αἰῶνα.      <sup>c</sup> δεινῶς.

<sup>d</sup> φιλόζωος, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 205 διὰ τὸ προμηθῆς τῆς φιλοζώου φύσεως. The Arm. variant reads "it is not impossible for nature to make the human body, being fond of life."  
<sup>e</sup> ἀντικείμενον vel sim.

<sup>f</sup> Or "generically"—γενικώτατα.

<sup>g</sup> Sense obscure. Aucher's rendering is not much clearer, "atque educatores ipsos tamquam gravidas ostendere una cum sole ac luna, caeteraque astrorum multitudine et universo toto caelo." The Armenian gloss reads "as an infant, being in the womb, does not see the sun and moon but still lives and grows, so they were in the ark. They say that Noah had in the ark a device that showed the heavens, and through this knew day and night, and the sun and moon reached him." According to the rabbinic legends, "the ark was illuminated by a precious stone, the light of which was more brilliant by night than by day, so enabling Noah to distinguish between day and night," see L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, i. 42; v. 183. Possibly Philo's reference to pregnant women is based on the Heb. word *šōhar*, which most versions render "window" (in the ark) but the *lxx* by ἐπισυνάγων.

<sup>h</sup> Apparently Noah is meant.

<sup>i</sup> τὸν λόγον.

<sup>k</sup> τὴν ἀναλογίαν.

<sup>l</sup> τέχνη.

<sup>l</sup> κατεδούλωσε.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

bodily elements <sup>a</sup> of his being, <sup>b</sup> and those things through which passions <sup>c</sup> come, and especially wicked passions of pleasure <sup>d</sup> and appetites. <sup>e</sup>

8. (Gen. vi. 17) Why does (Scripture) say, “ There shall be a flood to destroy all flesh in which there is living breath <sup>f</sup> under heaven ” ?

This is almost as if it now reveals <sup>g</sup> what before it had intimated. <sup>h</sup> For there was no other reason for the destruction of man to take place than that having become slaves of pleasures and appetites, they did everything and suffered, <sup>i</sup> wherefore they attained a life of the very utmost misery. However, (Scripture) adds something very natural <sup>j</sup> in saying that the place of the vital spirit <sup>k</sup> is under heaven, since the heavens too are living. <sup>l</sup> For not (alone ?) fortunate is the body made from a heavenly substance, <sup>m</sup> as if it alone had obtained a peculiar wonderful portion <sup>n</sup> better than (that of) creatures endowed with life. <sup>o</sup> But heaven, in the first place, appeared worthy of this benefit <sup>p</sup> in the form <sup>q</sup> of wonderful divine living beings which are altogether intellectual spirits <sup>r</sup> and give also to those who are on earth a portion of participation in vital power, <sup>s</sup> and animate those who can be animated. <sup>t</sup>

<sup>a</sup> στοιχεῖα (?).

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders, “ corporis humores essentielles.”

<sup>c</sup> πάθη or “ vices ”—κακίαι *vel sim.*

<sup>d</sup> ἡδονῆς. <sup>e</sup> ἐπιθυμῖαι.

<sup>f</sup> πνεῦμα ζῶν, so also Arm. O.T. ; LXX πνεῦμα ζωῆς.

<sup>g</sup> ἀποκαλύπτει (?). <sup>h</sup> ἠνέξατο.

<sup>i</sup> ἔπασχον or “ were ill ”—ἐνόσουν. <sup>j</sup> φυσικώτερον.

<sup>k</sup> τοῦ ζωτικῆς πνεύματος, *cf. De Opif. Mundi* 30 ζωτικώ-  
τατον τὸ πνεῦμα.

<sup>l</sup> Variant “ in heaven there are living beings.”

<sup>m</sup> ἐξ οὐρανίας οὐσίας. <sup>n</sup> ἴδιον καὶ θαυμάσιον κληρον.

<sup>o</sup> τῶν ὄντων τῶν ζωογονηθέντων. Aucher renders less literally, “ creaturis viventibus.”

<sup>p</sup> χάριτος or χαρίσματος.

<sup>q</sup> εἰκόνος or τύπου.

<sup>r</sup> νοερά πνεύματα.

<sup>s</sup> μέρος τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς ζωτικῆς δυνάμεως.

<sup>t</sup> ψυχοὶ τοὺς ψυχοῦσθαι δυναμένους.

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\*9. (Gen. vi. 17) Why does (Scripture) say, "Whatever is on earth shall die," for what sin did the beasts <sup>a</sup> commit ?

In the first place, just as when a king is killed in battle, his military forces also are struck down together with him, so He decides now too that when the human race is destroyed like a king, other beasts should be destroyed together with it. For which reason it happens that beasts die before (men) also in a plague, especially those that are brought up with men and live with them,<sup>b</sup> as, for example, dogs and their like, and men die later. Second, just as when the head is cut off, no one blames <sup>c</sup> nature if so many other parts of the body also die together with it, so also no one will now condemn (this). For man is a kind of ruling head,<sup>d</sup> and when he is destroyed, it is not to be wondered at <sup>e</sup> that other living beings should perish together with him. Third, the beasts were made, not for their own sake, as wise men reason,<sup>f</sup> but for the service <sup>g</sup> and needs <sup>h</sup> and honour <sup>i</sup> of man. It is right that when those are taken away for whose sake they (the beasts) were made, they too should be deprived of life. This is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>j</sup> we may say the following, that when the soul is deluged <sup>k</sup> by streams of passion,<sup>l</sup> and in a certain sense <sup>m</sup> is submerged,<sup>n</sup> those who are on earth—by which I mean the earthy parts<sup>o</sup> of the body—must die with it. For a life of evil is death. The eyes that see die <sup>p</sup> when they see unjustly.<sup>q</sup> And the ears that hear die when they hear unjustly. Every sense also dies when it perceives unjustly.

<sup>a</sup> τὰ κτήνη or τὰ ἄλογα. A similar question is asked in QG i. 94, see above, p. 62.

<sup>b</sup> σύντροφα καὶ σύνοικα.

<sup>c</sup> αἰτιᾶται.

<sup>d</sup> ἀρχική τις κεφαλή.

<sup>e</sup> οὐ θαυμαστόν.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. seems literally to translate ὡς ἐστὶ τῶν σοφῶν ὁ λόγος. Aucher renders, "ut a sapientibus dictum est."

<sup>g</sup> εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν.

<sup>h</sup> χρείας.

<sup>i</sup> εὐπρέπειαν or "enjoyment"—ἀπόλαυσιν.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>k</sup> κατακλύζεται.

<sup>l</sup> Or "sin."

<sup>m</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>n</sup> καταποντίζεται.

<sup>o</sup> τὰ χοϊκά or τὰ γεώδη.

<sup>p</sup> τελευτῶσι.

<sup>q</sup> ἀδίκως.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

\*10. (Gen. vi. 18) What is the meaning of the words, "I will establish my covenant <sup>a</sup> with thee" ?

In the first place He announces <sup>b</sup> that no one will be the heir <sup>c</sup> of the divine substance <sup>d</sup> except only him who is virtuous. Though men have heirs when they are no longer (alive) but are dead, God is eternal and gives participation in inheritance <sup>e</sup> to the wise, and rejoices in their possession. <sup>f</sup> For he who possesses all things is not in need <sup>g</sup> of anything, but those who lack <sup>h</sup> all things possess nothing in truth. Wherefore, being gracious, He benefits those who are worthy, <sup>i</sup> bestowing <sup>j</sup> on them whatever they lack. Second, He bestows a certain additional inheritance on the wise man, for He does not say, "I will establish my covenant for thee" but "with thee," that is to say, "thou art a just and true <sup>k</sup> covenant, which I will establish as a rational class <sup>l</sup> in possession and enjoyment (of that) for which virtue is necessary."

\*11. (Gen. vii. 1) Why does (Scripture) say, "Enter thou and all thy household <sup>m</sup> into the ark, for I have seen thee righteous <sup>n</sup> before me in this generation" ?

In the first place, (it is) clear evidence that because of one righteous and worthy man, many men are saved <sup>o</sup> through their relation <sup>p</sup> to him, just as sailors and a (military) force <sup>q</sup> (are saved, the former) when they meet with a good skipper, <sup>r</sup> and the latter with one who is experienced in battle and is a good commander. In the second place, He praises the righteous man who acquires virtue not only for himself but also for his household, <sup>s</sup> wherefore it also becomes worthy of salvation. <sup>t</sup> And most excellently <sup>u</sup> is the following added, "I see thee righteous before me."

<sup>a</sup> διαθήκην.

<sup>b</sup> ἀναγγέλλει.

<sup>c</sup> κληρονόμον.

<sup>d</sup> τῆς θείας οὐσίας.

<sup>e</sup> κοινωνίαν τῆς κληρονομίας.

<sup>f</sup> Dam. Par. περιουσίᾳ.

<sup>g</sup> οὐκ ἐνδεής. <sup>h</sup> ἄποροι.

<sup>i</sup> τοὺς ἀξίους.

<sup>j</sup> χαριζόμενος.

<sup>k</sup> δικάια καὶ ἀληθής.

<sup>l</sup> λογικὸν γένος.

<sup>m</sup> οἰκία.

<sup>n</sup> δίκαιον.

<sup>o</sup> σώζονται.

<sup>p</sup> συγγένειαν.

<sup>q</sup> δύναμις.

<sup>r</sup> κυβερνήτη.

<sup>s</sup> οἴκῳ.

<sup>t</sup> σωτηρίας.

<sup>u</sup> παγκάλως.

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For in one way do men appraise <sup>a</sup> the manner of life <sup>b</sup> (of someone), and in another way the Deity (judges). For they judge by visible things, but He judges by the invisible thoughts of the soul.<sup>c</sup> And it is remarkable <sup>d</sup> that what follows this is placed first,<sup>e</sup> in that He means, “in this generation thee have I seen righteous,” lest He should seem to condemn former (generations) and cut off hope from those who are to come later.<sup>f</sup> This is the literal meaning. But the deeper meaning <sup>g</sup> (is as follows). When God saves the sovereign mind,<sup>h</sup> which is the master <sup>i</sup> of the soul,<sup>j</sup> then He also saves the whole household with it. By this I mean all the parts <sup>k</sup> and those things which are partial,<sup>l</sup> and speech,<sup>m</sup> which is projected outward, and the things of the body. For as the mind is in the soul, so the soul is in the body.<sup>n</sup> Through reflexion <sup>o</sup> all the parts of the soul are well-off,<sup>p</sup> and all its household experiences benefit together with it. And when the whole soul fares well, then its household experiences benefit with it,<sup>q</sup> the body (doing so) through moderation and restraint of habits <sup>r</sup> and by cutting off its insatiable desire, which is the cause of illnesses.

\*12. (Gen. vii. 2, 3) Why does He command (Noah) to lead into the ark seven of the clean beasts,<sup>s</sup> male and

<sup>a</sup> δοκιμάζουσι.

<sup>b</sup> διαγωγῆν.

<sup>c</sup> ἐκ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀοράτων λογισμῶν.

<sup>d</sup> θαυμαστόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὰ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐτέθη πρότερον. Aucher's rendering, “quod interea additur,” misses the point, namely that in Scripture the words “in this generation” follow “thee have I seen righteous.”

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders, “neque posteriorem futurorum spem concideret.” Procopius μήτε τὰς ἀθις ἀπογινώσκειν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν ἡγεμονικὸν νοῦν.

<sup>i</sup> οἰκοδεσπότης.

<sup>j</sup> I have slightly transposed here; Arm. has “of the soul” after “mind” and before the rel. pr.

<sup>k</sup> τὰ μέρη.

<sup>l</sup> τὰ κατὰ μέρη.

<sup>m</sup> λόγος.

<sup>n</sup> Or “what the mind is to the soul, so is the soul to the body.”

<sup>o</sup> λογισμῶν.

<sup>p</sup> εὐπαθοῦντα.

<sup>q</sup> Note the repetition.

<sup>r</sup> σωφροσύνη καὶ ἐγκρατεία ἐθῶν.

<sup>s</sup> τῶν καθαρῶν κτηνῶν.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

female, but of the unclean, two, male and female,<sup>a</sup> to nourish seed on all the earth ?

In a manner befitting God<sup>b</sup> (Scripture) calls the hebdomad pure<sup>c</sup> but the dyad impure,<sup>d</sup> for by nature the number seven is truly<sup>e</sup> pure, inasmuch as it is virginal<sup>f</sup> and unmixed<sup>g</sup> and unmothered,<sup>h</sup> nor does it give birth<sup>i</sup> nor is it born, as are the several (digits) which are in the decad, because of its likeness to the Eternal,<sup>j</sup> for He<sup>k</sup> is uncreated and unbegotten<sup>l</sup> and nothing is begotten by Him,<sup>m</sup> although He is the causes of generation<sup>n</sup> and things begotten,<sup>o</sup> for He moves<sup>p</sup> all those powers<sup>q</sup> which are naturally well suited to the generation of what is begotten. But the number two is impure. In the first place, because it is empty and not dense<sup>r</sup>; and what is not full is also not pure. Then too it is the beginning of a vast infinity in matter.<sup>s</sup> And it has inequality because of oblongs,<sup>t</sup> for those (numbers) which are multiplied by two are all oblongs.<sup>u</sup> But the unequal<sup>v</sup> is not pure, and neither is the material,<sup>w</sup> but that which comes from it is doubtful<sup>x</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> Philo omits the birds mentioned in Gen. vii. 3.

<sup>b</sup> θεοπρεπῶς.      <sup>c</sup> καθαρὰν.      <sup>d</sup> Lit. "not pure."

<sup>e</sup> ὄντως; Aucher omits this word.

<sup>f</sup> παρθένος.      <sup>g</sup> ἄκρατος.

<sup>h</sup> ἀμήτωρ. Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 15.

<sup>i</sup> τίκτει.      <sup>j</sup> τῷ ὄντι.

<sup>k</sup> That God is meant seems probable from the context, but cf. *Leg. All.* i. 15.

<sup>l</sup> ἀγένητος καὶ ἀγέννητος.

<sup>m</sup> See note k.      <sup>n</sup> τῆς γενέσεως.

<sup>o</sup> τῶν γεννηθέντων.      <sup>p</sup> κινεῖ.

<sup>q</sup> δυνάμεις.      <sup>r</sup> κενὸς καὶ οὐ ναστός, as in J. Lydus.

<sup>s</sup> ἀπειρίας διὰ τὴν ὕλην. Cf. *QG* i. 15.

<sup>t</sup> διὰ τοὺς ἑτερομήκεις (ἀριθμούς), meaning numbers "not square" or produced by multiplying unequal factors; cf. Colson's Appendix on *Leg. All.* i. 3 (vol. i. p. 477 of Loeb Philo).

<sup>u</sup> Aucher's rendering "caeteros longos (numeros)" misses the point of the Greek behind Arm. *ayl arkaracn*, lit. "other lengths," as explained in preceding note.

<sup>v</sup> τὸ ἀνισον.      <sup>w</sup> τὸ ὑλικόν.      <sup>x</sup> σφαλερόν.

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incongruous,<sup>a</sup> lacking a reason<sup>b</sup> for purity, (namely) that which brings it to an end.<sup>c</sup> And it is automatically<sup>d</sup> brought to an end by periods<sup>e</sup> of harmony and equality. These are the natural aspects.<sup>f</sup> But the moral aspects<sup>g</sup> are now to be spoken of. The irrational and unintelligent part<sup>h</sup> of our souls<sup>i</sup> is divided into seven parts, into the five senses,<sup>j</sup> the organ of speech<sup>k</sup> and that of reproduction.<sup>l</sup> These are all pure in a virtuous man<sup>m</sup> and by nature are feminine when they belong to the irrational species,<sup>n</sup> but (when they belong to) a good possessor,<sup>o</sup> they are masculine, for the thoughts<sup>p</sup> of a virtuous man bring virtue to them also, since they are not permitted by his better part<sup>q</sup> to come to the external senses rashly and unrestrained and uncurbed but he subdues<sup>r</sup> them and turns them back to right reason.<sup>s</sup> But in a wicked man<sup>t</sup> the evil produces twins,<sup>u</sup> for the foolish man is of two minds and hesitates between two courses, mixing things that are not to be mixed, and confusing and mingling those things which can easily be separated.<sup>v</sup> Such is he who bears a colour in his soul,<sup>w</sup> for he is like one spotted<sup>x</sup> and a leper in his body,

<sup>a</sup> ἀνάρμοστον.

<sup>b</sup> αἰτίας or "occasion"—ἀφορμῆς.

<sup>c</sup> The last clause is obscure; Aucher renders, "quae illud in desinentiam (vel, perfectionem) conducatur."

<sup>d</sup> αὐτονόμως.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *nouag* has several different meanings; two of its common Greek equivalents are περίοδος (or κάθοδος) and μέλος. Aucher chooses the latter meaning here, rendering it by "canticus."

<sup>f</sup> τὰ φυσικά.

<sup>g</sup> τὰ ἠθικά.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ἄλογον καὶ ἄνουν.

<sup>i</sup> τῶν ψυχῶν.

<sup>j</sup> αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ σπερματικόν or, as usually in Philo, τὸ γόνιμον.

<sup>m</sup> τῷ σπουδαίῳ.

<sup>n</sup> τῷ ἀλόγῳ εἶδει.

<sup>o</sup> ἀγαθῷ κτησαμένῳ.

<sup>p</sup> οἱ λογισμοί.

<sup>q</sup> Or possibly "for the most part"—ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους.

<sup>r</sup> ταπεινοῖ.

<sup>s</sup> πρὸς τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἀναστρέφει.

<sup>t</sup> τῷ φαύλῳ.

<sup>u</sup> διδυμοτοκεῖ.

<sup>v</sup> διακρίνεσθαι.

<sup>w</sup> The Arm. seems to be slightly corrupt; the Greek fragment has τοιαῦτα ἐν ψυχῇ χρώματα ἐπιφέρων, "bearing such colours in his soul."

<sup>x</sup> ποικίλος.



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defiling and staining his healthy thoughts<sup>a</sup> by death-bringing and murderous ones.<sup>b</sup> However, in a natural way<sup>c</sup> there is added (by Scripture) the reason for the entry and guarding<sup>d</sup> of the animals, for (Scripture) says this was for the nourishing<sup>e</sup> and preserving<sup>f</sup> of seed.<sup>g</sup> In the literal sense,<sup>h</sup> although particular (animals)<sup>i</sup> may perish,<sup>j</sup> nevertheless the genus<sup>k</sup> is preserved in the seed of others in order that the divine purpose<sup>l</sup> which was formed at the creation of the world<sup>m</sup> might forever remain inextinguishable by the saving of the genus. But in the figurative sense,<sup>n</sup> it is necessary that there be saved<sup>o</sup> the irrational parts of the soul, pure of movement, to be, as it were, seed-bearing principles<sup>p</sup> of non-holy things<sup>q</sup> as well. For man's nature is receptive of contraries,<sup>r</sup> both virtue and vice, each of which (Scripture) has indicated in the account of the Creation<sup>s</sup> by the tree which is called the knowledge<sup>t</sup> of good and evil, since our mind,<sup>u</sup> in which are knowledge and understanding,<sup>v</sup> comprehends both of them, good and evil. However, the good is kin<sup>w</sup> to the hebdomad, while evil is brother to the dyad. Moreover, the Law, abounding in beauty and loving wisdom,<sup>x</sup> says that seed is to be

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς ὑγιεῖς λογισμούς.

<sup>b</sup> ἐκ θανατούντων καὶ φονούντων.

<sup>c</sup> φυσικῶς.

<sup>d</sup> τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς.

<sup>e</sup> τοῦ θρέψαι.

<sup>f</sup> τοῦ διατηρεῖν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ σπέρμα.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>i</sup> τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους.

<sup>j</sup> διαφθειρήται.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ γένος.

<sup>l</sup> ἡ θεία πρόθεσις.

<sup>m</sup> ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιῖᾳ.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>o</sup> The last four words are bracketed by Aucher.

<sup>p</sup> The syntax of the Arm. is obscure; Aucher construes differently, rendering, "oportet et in irrationalibus (partibus) animi mundos motus esse ut seminalia quaedam principia etsi non sint munda (animalia)."<sup>q</sup>

<sup>q</sup> ἀνοσίων.

<sup>r</sup> ἐναντίων.

<sup>s</sup> ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιῖᾳ.

<sup>t</sup> τὸ γινώσκειν.

<sup>u</sup> ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς.

<sup>v</sup> The first Arm. term, *gitout<sup>c</sup>iwn*, usually renders ἐπιστήμη or γνῶσις: the second term, *hančar*, renders σύνεσις, φρόνησις, ἐπιστήμη, etc., but in the Arm. version of Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa* it regularly renders ἐπιστήμη.

<sup>w</sup> συγγενές.

<sup>x</sup> φιλόσοφος.

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nourished not in one place but in all the earth. This is very natural and at the same time very moral,<sup>a</sup> for it is very natural that in all parts and sections of the earth there should again be the seed of living things<sup>b</sup>; and it is very fitting for God again to fill the emptied places with similar things through another (act of) generation. (It is also) very moral that the substance of our body, being earthy, should not be altogether overlooked,<sup>c</sup> destitute and empty<sup>d</sup> of living beings. For if we resort to drunkenness<sup>e</sup> and fine cooking and chasing after women<sup>f</sup> and to altogether lewd and loose behaviour, we shall be corpse-bearers<sup>g</sup> in our body. But if the merciful<sup>h</sup> God turns aside the flood of vices<sup>i</sup> and makes the soul dry,<sup>j</sup> He will proceed to quicken<sup>k</sup> and animate<sup>l</sup> the body with a purer soul, whose guide<sup>m</sup> is wisdom.<sup>n</sup>

\*13. (Gen. vii. 4, 10) Why, after (their) entering the ark, did seven days pass, after which (came) the flood?<sup>o</sup>

The benevolent Saviour<sup>p</sup> grants repentance of sins<sup>q</sup> in order that when they see the ark over against them,<sup>r</sup> which had been made as a symbol of time,<sup>s</sup> and the genera of animals placed in it, which the earth bore in itself, in accordance with their several particular species,<sup>t</sup> they may have faith<sup>u</sup> in the announcing<sup>v</sup> of the flood; (and that)

<sup>a</sup> ἠθικώτατον.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. syntax seems slightly corrupt here.

<sup>c</sup> παροραθῆναι.

<sup>d</sup> ἔρημον καὶ κενήν.

<sup>e</sup> οἰνοφλυγία.

<sup>f</sup> θηλομανία.

<sup>g</sup> νεκροφοροῦντες.

<sup>h</sup> οἰκτείρων.

<sup>i</sup> Or "passions."

<sup>j</sup> ξηράν.

<sup>k</sup> ζωογονεῖν.

<sup>l</sup> ψυχούν.

<sup>m</sup> κυβερνήτης.

<sup>n</sup> σοφία. Dam. Par. paraphrases.

<sup>o</sup> ὁ κατακλυσμός.

<sup>p</sup> ὁ εὐμενῆς (or ἰλεως) σωτήρ, meaning God.

<sup>q</sup> μετάνοιαν ἁμαρτιῶν.

<sup>r</sup> κατεναντίας. Procopius ἀντίμμενον γῆς.

<sup>s</sup> τύπον τοῦ χρόνου (?): text and meaning doubtful.

<sup>t</sup> Aucher "quae in se ferebat terra juxta partes ad speciem perspectantes." Cod. Barb. reads somewhat more intelligibly τὰ τῶν ζώων γένη . . . ὧν ἔφερον ἡ γῆ τὰ κατὰ μέρος εἶδη.

<sup>u</sup> πιστεύουσι.

<sup>v</sup> τῷ κηρύγματι.

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fearing destruction, they may first of all turn back (from sin), breaking down and destroying all impiety <sup>a</sup> and evil. Second, this passage <sup>b</sup> clearly represents <sup>c</sup> the extraordinary abundance <sup>d</sup> of the seemingly kindness <sup>e</sup> of the Saviour and Benefactor <sup>f</sup> in loosing man's evil of many years, <sup>g</sup> extending almost from birth to old age, in those who repent for a few days. <sup>h</sup> For the Deity is void of malice <sup>i</sup> and a lover of virtue. <sup>j</sup> Accordingly, when He sees genuine virtue <sup>k</sup> in the soul, He apportions <sup>l</sup> such <sup>m</sup> honour to it as to be gracious <sup>n</sup> to all those who stand guilty of earlier sins. <sup>o</sup> Third, the number of seven days, during which the (divine) command <sup>p</sup> kept back the flood after their entering the ark, is a reminder of the genesis of the world, <sup>q</sup> of which the birthday <sup>r</sup> is celebrated on the seventh day, clearly exhibiting the Father <sup>s</sup> as though (saying), "I am both the creator of the world <sup>t</sup> and He who brings into being non-existent things, and now I am about to destroy the world by a great flood. But the cause of creating <sup>u</sup> the world was the goodness and kindness <sup>v</sup> in Me, while (the cause) of the destruction that is about to befall them <sup>w</sup> is the ingratitude and impiety <sup>x</sup> of those who have experienced

- <sup>a</sup> ἀσέβειαν.
- <sup>b</sup> λόγος.
- <sup>c</sup> παρίστησι.
- <sup>d</sup> ἑξαισίαν ὑπερβολήν.
- <sup>e</sup> Cod. Barb. τῆς ἐπιεικείας.
- <sup>f</sup> τοῦ σωτηῆρος καὶ εὐεργέτου.
- <sup>g</sup> τὴν πολυετῆ μοχθηρίαν.
- <sup>h</sup> Cod. Barb. and Procopius ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις.
- <sup>i</sup> Greek equivalent uncertain.
- <sup>j</sup> φιλάρετος.
- <sup>k</sup> γνησίαν ἀρετήν.
- <sup>l</sup> ἀπονέμει.
- <sup>m</sup> Arm. *aync̄ar* = "such"; variant *an̄car* = ἀμετρον *vel sim.*
- <sup>n</sup> χαρίσασθαι.
- <sup>o</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "ut deletat omnia de primis delicti imminentia damna."
- <sup>p</sup> ὁ χρησμός (?).
- <sup>q</sup> τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως.
- <sup>r</sup> τὰ γενέθλια.
- <sup>s</sup> Aucher more freely renders, "demonstrando patris auctoritatem."
- <sup>t</sup> ὁ κοσμοποιός.
- <sup>u</sup> τῆς γενέσεως.
- <sup>v</sup> ἡ ἀγαθότης καὶ ἡ χρηστότης.
- <sup>w</sup> τῆς μελλούσης καταλήψεσθαι.
- <sup>x</sup> τὸ ἀχαρίστους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς εἶναι.

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good.”<sup>a</sup> He therefore holds off<sup>b</sup> for seven days in order that those who lack faith and belief<sup>c</sup> may be mindful of the genesis of the world, and coming as suppliants to the Creator of all<sup>d</sup> may ask for the perpetuity of His works,<sup>e</sup> and that they may ask (this) not with mouth or tongue but rather with a chastened mind.<sup>f</sup>

\*14. (Gen. vii. 4, 12) Why was there a flooding rain<sup>g</sup> for forty days and as many nights?

First of all, “day” is spoken of in two senses. The first is the time from morning to evening, from the rising of the shining sun to its setting. Thus do they determine<sup>h</sup> who say, “It is day while the sun is above the earth.” But the day is spoken of in a second sense and is reckoned with the night. Thus we say that the month is of thirty days, joining and reckoning with them also the night-time. Now with these things determined,<sup>i</sup> I say that the statement (of Scripture)<sup>j</sup> contains in itself<sup>k</sup> forty days and forty nights not vainly or idly but to emphasize the two numbers which are set apart<sup>l</sup> for the birth of man, (namely) forty and eighty, as is reported by many others, by physicians and also by naturalists.<sup>m</sup> And especially is this written in the sacred Law,<sup>n</sup> which was for them<sup>o</sup> also the beginning<sup>p</sup> of being physiologists.<sup>q</sup> Accordingly, since

<sup>a</sup> Aucher more freely renders, “qui beneficiis a me cumulatim fuerant.” Procopius τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων ἀσέβεια.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπέχει (or κωλύει sc. τὸν κατακλυσμόν).

<sup>c</sup> οἱ ἀπιστοῦντες καὶ ἀπειθοῦντες, probably Arm. doublet.

<sup>d</sup> τὸν τῶν πάντων ποιητήν.

<sup>e</sup> τὴν τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ αἰδιότητα.

<sup>f</sup> νῶ ἐπανορθώσεως.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. “a rain of flood.”

<sup>h</sup> Or “define”—διορίζουσι or “measure”—μετροῦσι.

<sup>i</sup> τούτων ὀρισμένων.

<sup>j</sup> τὸν λόγον.

<sup>k</sup> περιέχει (?).

<sup>l</sup> ὀρισθέντας.

<sup>m</sup> τῶν φυσικῶν. On the number of days required for forming the male and female embryos see *QG* i. 25.

<sup>n</sup> ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ νόμῳ.

<sup>o</sup> Apparently the generation of Noah.

<sup>p</sup> Or “principle”—ἀρχή.

<sup>q</sup> τοῦ εἶναι φυσιολόγους.

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destruction was about to come upon all persons everywhere, both men and women, because of their excessive unity<sup>a</sup> in discord<sup>b</sup> and unbridled wrongdoing,<sup>c</sup> the Judge<sup>d</sup> decided to fix<sup>e</sup> a time for their destruction equal to that which<sup>f</sup> He had determined for the creation of nature<sup>g</sup> and the first production of living beings.<sup>h</sup> For the beginning of generation is eternity in the parts of seeds.<sup>i</sup> And it was necessary to honour man with pure and unshadowed light,<sup>j</sup> but woman, since she was a mixture, with night and darkness and a mixed mass.<sup>k</sup> Therefore in the constitution of the universe<sup>l</sup> the (numerical) oddness<sup>m</sup> of the masculine number composed of unity<sup>n</sup> produces squares,<sup>o</sup> but the feminine even number, composed of two, produces oblongs.<sup>p</sup> Now the square numbers are splendour and light, consisting of an equality of sides.<sup>q</sup> But the oblong numbers have<sup>r</sup> night and darkness because of their inequality,

<sup>a</sup> ὑπερβολῆς τῆς συμφωνίας (or ὁμοιότητος).

<sup>b</sup> ἐν ἀσυμφωνίᾳ (or διαφωνίᾳ).

<sup>c</sup> Aucher, construing a little differently, renders, "ob unionem in excessu iniquitatum inter dissidia."

<sup>d</sup> ὁ κριτής.

<sup>e</sup> ὀρίζειν or μετρεῖν.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher, taking "people" as the antecedent of the relative pr. instead of "time," renders, "aequale . . . tempus . . . eis quos" instead of ". . . ei quod."

<sup>g</sup> τῇ τῆς φύσεως κτίσει.

<sup>h</sup> τῇ πρώτῃ ζωογονίᾳ, cf. QG i. 25.

<sup>i</sup> ἡ αἰδιότης ἢ ἐν τοῖς τῶν σπερμάτων μέρεσι. This means that the species is eternal while the individual is subject to death; cf. QG i. 96 and *De Aeter. Mundi* 35 ff.

<sup>j</sup> καθαρῶ καὶ ἀσκήῳ (?) φωτί. See also the Greek frag.

<sup>k</sup> φυράματι. The above is a literal translation of the obscure and probably incomplete Arm. clause; Aucher, disregarding some of the syntactical problems, renders, "femina vero mixturam habebat massae cum nocte atque tenebris." The context requires an original something like "to honour woman, since she had a mixed nature, with a mixture of light and darkness."

<sup>l</sup> ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄλων συστάσει.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ περιττόν.

<sup>n</sup> ἐξ ἐνότητος συντεθέν.

<sup>o</sup> One MS. "triangles."

<sup>p</sup> ἔτερομήκεις (Pythagorean terminology).

<sup>q</sup> ἐξ ἰσότητος πλευρῶν.

<sup>r</sup> I.it. "has."

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for that which is excessive casts a shadow on that which falls under the excess. In the second place, the number forty is a power<sup>a</sup> producing many things,<sup>b</sup> as has been shown elsewhere,<sup>c</sup> and is often used as an indication of the giving of the Law<sup>d</sup> both in the case of<sup>e</sup> those who have rightly<sup>f</sup> accomplished something (deserving) of praise and honour and also in the case of those who because of transgressions are subject to blame and punishment. And evidently to adduce testimony<sup>g</sup> of these things would mean a lengthy speech.<sup>h</sup>

\*15. (Gen. vii. 4) What is the meaning of the words, "I will blot every growth of vegetation<sup>i</sup> which I have made from the face of the earth"<sup>?</sup>

Would you not indeed jump up at hearing this because of the beauty of the sentiment?<sup>j</sup> It does not say, "blot from the earth" but "from the face of the earth," that is, from the surface,<sup>k</sup> in order that in the depths the vital power<sup>l</sup> of the seeds of all things may be preserved unharmed and not suffer from anything that might be able to injure them. For the Creator does not forget His own purpose<sup>m</sup> but destroys those things which move above and on the very surface while in the depths He leaves the roots for the generation of other impulses.<sup>n</sup> Moreover, divinely<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> δύναμις.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, "numerus quadraginta plurimarum productor est virtutum."

<sup>c</sup> QG i. 91.

<sup>d</sup> τῆς νομοθεσίας. This probably refers to Ex. xxiv. 18 on Moses' sojourn of forty days and nights on Mt. Sinai, though the "often" may refer to other writings beside Philo's.

<sup>e</sup> ἐπί (?). Aucher has "super."

<sup>f</sup> ὀρθῶς. <sup>g</sup> μαρτύρια προφέρειν. <sup>h</sup> μακρολογία.

<sup>i</sup> ἀνάστημα φυτοῦ. LXX has ἐξανάστασιν = Heb. *y<sup>e</sup>qum*, "growth" (lit. "rising"); Arm. O.T. has *hasak* = ἡλικίαν. Philo treats this passage again in QG ii. 24.

<sup>j</sup> διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐννοίας κάλλος.

<sup>k</sup> τῆς ἐπιφανείας.

<sup>l</sup> ἡ ζωτικὴ δύναμις, as in Greek frag.

<sup>m</sup> τῆς ἰδίας προθέσεως.

<sup>n</sup> πρὸς γένεσιν ἄλλων ἀφορμῶν.

<sup>o</sup> θεοπρεπῶς.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

is it written " I will destroy " for it so happens that when something is to be blotted out, the writing is blotted but the writing-tablets <sup>a</sup> survive. Thereby He shows that because of their impiety He will blot out the superficial generation <sup>b</sup> in the manner of writing but will eternally preserve the use and substance <sup>c</sup> of the human race as seed for those to come in the future. In accord with this is what follows, for next to " I will blot " comes " the growth of vegetation." Now " growth " <sup>d</sup> is the dissolution of opposites, <sup>e</sup> and that which is dissolved casts off its quality <sup>f</sup> but keeps its substance and its matter. <sup>g</sup> This is the literal meaning. But the deeper meaning is as follows. The flood is a symbol of spiritual dissolution. <sup>h</sup> And so, when by the grace of the Father <sup>i</sup> we wish to cast off and wash off <sup>j</sup> from the mind <sup>k</sup> all the sensible and corporeal things <sup>l</sup> by which it was stained as if by ulcers, <sup>m</sup> it is inundated <sup>n</sup> like salt-flats <sup>o</sup> by the flow of sweet streams and potable springs.

\*16. (Gen. vii. 5) Why does (Scripture) say, " Noah did everything whatsoever the Lord God instructed <sup>p</sup> him " ?  
(This is) great praise for the righteous man, <sup>q</sup> first of all

<sup>a</sup> Lit. " the tablets and writing." The Greek fragments have *αἱ δέλτοι*.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Barb. has *τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν γένεσιν*.

<sup>c</sup> *χρήσιν καὶ οὐσίαν*; Arm. *var* " use " is Lucher's emendation of mss. *rayr* " place," based on Ambrose's " substantiam et conversationem." The Greek fragments have *τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς οὐσίας*.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. " rising," see note *i* on p. 92.

<sup>e</sup> *κατάλυσις ἀντικειμένων*. Procopius *ἀντίπαλον καθαίρεισι*.

<sup>f</sup> *ποιότητα*. <sup>g</sup> *τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ὕλην*.

<sup>h</sup> *σύμβολον τῆς πνευματικῆς καταλύσεως*.

<sup>i</sup> *χάριτι τοῦ πατρὸς*. <sup>j</sup> *ἀπορρίπτειν καὶ ἀπολούεσθαι*.

<sup>k</sup> *τὸν νοῦν*. <sup>l</sup> *πάντα τὰ αἰσθητικὰ καὶ τὰ σωματικά*.

<sup>m</sup> Arm. *palat* " ulcer " here probably corresponds to *κῆλη*, a corruption of *κηλῖς* " stain," which the context demands.

<sup>n</sup> *κατακλύζεται*. <sup>o</sup> *ἀλμυρά*, cf. *De Confus. Ling.* 26.

<sup>p</sup> *ἐνετείλατο*. <sup>q</sup> *τοῦ δικαίου*.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

because he carried out, not a part, but all of the orders with a strong conviction and a god-loving mind.<sup>a</sup> And second, because He does not wish to order<sup>b</sup> him so much as to instruct<sup>c</sup> him. For masters<sup>d</sup> command their servants, but loved ones<sup>e</sup> instruct their friends,<sup>f</sup> especially elders their juniors.<sup>g</sup> Thus it is a wonderful gift to be found in the rank<sup>h</sup> of servants and in the rank<sup>i</sup> of ministers<sup>j</sup> of God. But it is a superfluity of beneficence<sup>k</sup> to be also beloved of the praiseworthy uncreated One.<sup>l</sup> Moreover (Scripture) now carefully presents both names<sup>m</sup>; it speaks of the higher powers,<sup>n</sup> the destructive<sup>o</sup> and the beneficent,<sup>p</sup> and it places "Lord" first, and the beneficent "God" second. For, as it was the time of judgment, (Scripture) says that the destroyer came first. However, being a kind and good and benevolent king,<sup>q</sup> He leaves some remains<sup>r</sup>— seminal principles<sup>s</sup> through which the vacant places may again be filled. Wherefore in the beginning of created things the expression "let there be" was not a destructive power but beneficent. And so, in the creation of the world<sup>t</sup> He changed the style of His names.<sup>u</sup> For He is called God as beneficent, and this name He regularly<sup>v</sup> used in constituting the universe.<sup>w</sup> But after all this was completed He was called Lord in the creation of the world, and

- <sup>a</sup> φιλοθέω (Cod. Barb. θεοφιλεῖ) διανοία.  
<sup>b</sup> κελεύειν οἱ προστάττειν. <sup>c</sup> ἐντέλλεσθαι.  
<sup>d</sup> δεσπότες. <sup>e</sup> ἀγαπητοί. <sup>f</sup> τοῖς φίλοις.  
<sup>g</sup> Lit. "the greater the less." <sup>h</sup> τάξει.  
<sup>i</sup> Arm. here uses different word also = τάξει.  
<sup>j</sup> Prob. θεραπεόντων, as in Cod. Barb.  
<sup>k</sup> ὑπερβολὴ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. <sup>l</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπαινετοῦ ἀγενήτου.  
<sup>m</sup> i.e. the two highest attributes of God, identified with the names "Lord" and "God" respectively.  
<sup>n</sup> τὰς ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεις.  
<sup>o</sup> τὴν διαφθειρούσαν (elsewhere in Philo called κολαστήριον).  
<sup>p</sup> τὴν εὐεργέτιν.  
<sup>q</sup> χρηστός καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐμενὴς βασιλεὺς.  
<sup>r</sup> λείψανα. <sup>s</sup> σπερματικὰς ἀρχάς.  
<sup>t</sup> ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ.  
<sup>u</sup> τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων κλήσεις.  
<sup>v</sup> συνεχῶς οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺ. <sup>w</sup> ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄλων συστάσει.



## GENESIS, BOOK II

this is His kingly and destructive name.<sup>a</sup> For where there is coming into being,<sup>b</sup> "God" is placed first in order, but where there is punishment, "Lord" comes before "God."

\*17. (Gen. vii. 11) Why (does Scripture say), "In the six-hundredth (year) of Noah's life was the flood, in the seventh<sup>c</sup> month, on the twenty-seventh<sup>d</sup> of the month" ?

Perhaps it would have been fitting for<sup>e</sup> the righteous man<sup>f</sup> to be born at the head of the month in the first month, opportunely<sup>g</sup> at the beginning of that year which it is the custom to call in honorary fashion the sacred month.<sup>h</sup> For (otherwise)<sup>i</sup> (Scripture) would not have been so exact in stating the month and day when the flood took place, both the seventh month and the twenty-seventh day. But perhaps in this way it clearly shows the time of the vernal equinox, for this always occurs in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh.<sup>j</sup> But why does the flood

<sup>a</sup> See note *o* on p. 94.

<sup>b</sup> γένεσις.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. and LXX have "second," Arm. O.T. like Philo has "seventh"; Josephus also gives "second month called . . . Marsuan (Heb. *Marḥeshwan* = Oct.-Nov.)." Philo also differs from Heb. and LXX of Gen. viii. 14 (*QG* ii. 47), by giving "seventh" for "second" month for the drying up of the flood-waters in the 601st year of Noah's life.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX; Heb. "seventeenth."

<sup>e</sup> Or "might have happened that"; Arm. *dēp* renders *συμβαίνει* as well as *εἰκός, προσῆκον*, etc.

<sup>f</sup> τὸν δίκαιον.

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ καιρὸν (?); Aucher omits this phrase in his rendering.

<sup>h</sup> τὴν ἱερομηνίαν (not "annum sacrum" as Aucher renders). By this word Philo elsewhere (*cf.* Colson's appendix to *De Decalogo* 159 in vol. vii. pp. 613-614) means the period introduced by the 1st of Tishri (autumnal New Year) or the 1st of Nisan (vernal New Year).

<sup>i</sup> I follow Aucher in inserting "otherwise," which is required by the context.

<sup>j</sup> Philo means the seventh month reckoned from the 1st of Tishri, namely Nisan (March-April); *cf.* *De Opif. Mundi* 116 on the two equinoxes of the two seventh months, Tishri and Nisan. But on what tradition he bases his statement that the equinox occurs on the 27th of the seventh month is not known to me.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

occur at the vernal equinox? Because at that time come the increases and births of all things, both animals and plants. Accordingly, the punishment carries a more terrible threat at the time of increase and abundance of all produce,<sup>a</sup> and in time of fertility the evil supervenes to convict<sup>b</sup> of impiety those who are subject<sup>c</sup> to punishment. For, behold, says (Scripture), the nature<sup>d</sup> of all things contains in itself its own fullness sufficiently<sup>e</sup>—grain, barley and all other things as well which are sown and brought to completion, and it begins to bear the fruits of trees. But you, as mortals, corrupt His benefactions<sup>f</sup> and with them corrupt the intention of the divine gift.<sup>g</sup> For if the flood had happened to take place at the autumnal equinox, when there was nothing on the earth but all things were collected in their mass,<sup>h</sup> it would not have seemed a punishment so much as a benefit<sup>i</sup> because of the water purifying fields and mountains. Accordingly at this time there came into being the first earthborn man,<sup>j</sup> whom the divine oracles<sup>k</sup> call Adam; for it was fitting and proper that the progenitor of the human race or forefather or father or however one ought to call that eldest man<sup>l</sup> should be formed at the time of the vernal equinox when all earthly things are full of fruits. And the vernal equinox occurs in the seventh month and this is also called the first in ac-

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "sheaves" or "stalks"—*δραγμαίων*.

<sup>b</sup> *εἰς ἔλεγχος*.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. pres. subj. of *krem* "to bear, suffer."

<sup>d</sup> ἡ φύσις.

<sup>e</sup> Meaning doubtful; apparently = τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἀρκούντως πλήρη. Aucher renders, "sua vel plenissime."

<sup>f</sup> τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ.

<sup>g</sup> Syntax and meaning uncertain; Aucher renders, "divina simul dona consilia (vel, mysteria)." The Arm. construction *pargew xorhourdsn* seems to be genitival rather than appositional, but the word *xorhourd* has many meanings such as "thought," "intention," "mystery," "type," "symbol."

<sup>h</sup> i.e. future plants under the earth.

<sup>i</sup> εὐεργεσία.

<sup>j</sup> γηγενής.

<sup>k</sup> οἱ θεῖοι χρησμοί.

<sup>l</sup> ἐκείνον τὸν πρεσβύτατον.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

cordance with a varying assumption.<sup>a</sup> Accordingly, since Noah after the destruction (of mankind) by the flood becomes the first beginning of the race,<sup>b</sup> with mankind again being propagated,<sup>c</sup> he is made similar, so far as possible, to the first earthborn man.<sup>d</sup> Now the six hundredth year has as its source the number six, but the world was created with<sup>e</sup> the number six; accordingly, through this again He exposes<sup>f</sup> those who act impiously<sup>g</sup> and shames<sup>h</sup> them, for in no wise would He who brought all things into being through the number six, have destroyed earthly creatures under the form<sup>i</sup> of six, had it not been for the excess of their wrongdoing.<sup>j</sup> For six hundred is a third and lesser six,<sup>k</sup> and the number sixty is the mean of both, for the tens bear a likeness to one, and in a lesser degree, the hundreds.

18. (Gen. vii. 11) What is the meaning of the words, "All the fountains of the abyss broke forth and the cataracts<sup>l</sup> of heaven were opened"?

The literal meaning<sup>m</sup> is clear, for it is stated that earth and heaven are the principles and extremities of the universe,<sup>n</sup> and are joined in the condemnation<sup>o</sup> and destruction of mortals, as the waters met together with one

<sup>a</sup> Arm. *arac*—usu.= *λήμμα*; the Greek fragment has *ἐπιβολήν*. Philo means that the seventh month of the autumnal calendar, Nisan (March–April), is the first month of the vernal calendar.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ πρώτη τοῦ γένους ἀρχή.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "sown"—*σπειρομένων*. The Greek fragment has *δευτέρας ἀνθρώπων σποράς*.

<sup>d</sup> τῷ πρώτῳ γηγενῇ.

<sup>e</sup> In Arm. expressed by instr. case of noun "number"; Aucher renders, "sub numero."

<sup>f</sup> ἐλέγχει.

<sup>g</sup> τοὺς ἀνοσιουργούς.

<sup>h</sup> καταισχνώνων.

<sup>i</sup> σχήματι.

<sup>j</sup> ἀδικίας.

<sup>k</sup> In the sequence 6 : 60 : 600.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. *sohank*<sup>c</sup> or *sahank*<sup>c</sup> "streams" = LXX *καταρράκται*.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>n</sup> τῶν πάντων αἱ ἀρχαὶ (καὶ) τὰ ἄκρα. Aucher renders, "orbis extrema."

<sup>o</sup> εἰς κατάκρισιν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

another, some rushing up from the earth, some pouring down from heaven. And most clear and evident (is it why) it is said that "the fountains of the abyss broke forth," for when there is a break,<sup>a</sup> the course (of the waters) is unrestrained. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>b</sup> this is to be said. The heaven is symbolically<sup>c</sup> the human mind,<sup>d</sup> and the earth is sense-perception and body.<sup>e</sup> And great misfortune and doubt<sup>f</sup> are incurred when neither one remains<sup>g</sup> but both together practise deceit.<sup>h</sup> Now what do I mean by this? Many times the mind entertains cunning and evil and shows bitterness<sup>i</sup> toward all things when the sensual pleasures<sup>j</sup> of the body are restrained and suppressed.<sup>k</sup> And many times it happens that it experiences the contrary when the sensual pleasures are fortunate<sup>l</sup> and creep along<sup>m</sup> and grow luxury-loving and prodigal in living. And the senses and the body<sup>n</sup> are the harbours<sup>o</sup> of these things. Now when the mind stands firm<sup>p</sup> in indifference<sup>q</sup> to these things, they decline and are inert.<sup>r</sup> But when they both come together, reason<sup>s</sup> using all kinds of wickedness, and the body flushed<sup>t</sup> with all the senses and indul-

<sup>a</sup> ῥῆγμα.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>c</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ ἀνθρώπειος νοῦς.

<sup>e</sup> αἰσθησις καὶ σῶμα.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "of doubt"—ἀπορίας *vel sim.*; Aucher renders, "aerumna calamitatum."

<sup>g</sup> Apparently "remains constant" is meant.

<sup>h</sup> ἀπάτας *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> πικρία χρῆται.

<sup>j</sup> αἰ ἡδοναί.

<sup>k</sup> κωλύονται καὶ συστέλλονται.

<sup>l</sup> εὐτυχεῖς ἢ εὐδαίμονες.

<sup>m</sup> ἔρπουσι.

<sup>n</sup> αἰ αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ σῶμα.

<sup>o</sup> λιμένες.

<sup>p</sup> Lit. "stands in itself."

<sup>q</sup> ἀμελεία.

<sup>r</sup> Arm. has verbs in sing. (prob. reflecting sing. verb with neut. pl. in Greek) = κατακλίνεται καὶ παραλύεται. The context requires us to take "senses and body" as the subjects of these verbs; Aucher renders, "sed quum intellectus neglectis rebus constet in se, illi inefficaces jacent ut derelicti," and remarks in a footnote, "Hunc sensum tenuit nobiscum Glossarius in serie obscuri huius loci."

<sup>s</sup> τοῦ λογισμοῦ.

Lit. "watered"—ἀρδευομένου *vel sim.*

## GENESIS, BOOK II

ging all the passions to satiety, (then) we are flooded.<sup>a</sup> And this is truly a great flood when the streams of the mind are opened by folly,<sup>b</sup> madness,<sup>c</sup> insatiable desire,<sup>d</sup> wrongdoing,<sup>e</sup> senselessness,<sup>f</sup> recklessness<sup>g</sup> and impiety<sup>h</sup>; and when the fountains of the body are opened by sensual pleasure,<sup>i</sup> desire,<sup>j</sup> drunkenness,<sup>k</sup> gourmandism and licentiousness with kin and sisters and by incurable vices.<sup>l</sup>

19. (Gen. vii. 16) What is the meaning of the words, "God closed<sup>m</sup> the ark outside of<sup>n</sup> him"?

Since we have said that the structure<sup>o</sup> of the human body is symbolically<sup>p</sup> indicated by the ark, it is also to be noted that our body is enclosed<sup>q</sup> on the outside by a hard skin which is laid around it as a covering<sup>r</sup> for all parts. For Nature made this as a garment lest cold and heat have power to do harm. The literal meaning<sup>s</sup> is clear. For the ark is carefully<sup>t</sup> closed from the outside by the divine power<sup>u</sup> for the sake of guarding (it)<sup>v</sup> lest the water come in through any part, since it was destined to be storm-tossed for a whole year.

20. (Gen. vii. 18) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> κατακλυζόμεθα.

<sup>b</sup> ἀφροσύνη or "baseness" — πονηρία, φαυλότητι.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *šarroumṇ* is glossed here by *γίμαρουτ'οἶυν* = μωρία, ἔκστασις; Aucher renders, "insipientia"; elsewhere *šarroumṇ* = μανία or εὐήθεια.

<sup>d</sup> ἀκορέστω ἐπιθυμία.

<sup>e</sup> ἀδικία.

<sup>f</sup> ἀναισθησία or ἀφροσύνη. Aucher omits the word.

<sup>g</sup> τόλμη or θράσει.

<sup>h</sup> ἀσεβεία.

<sup>i</sup> ἡδονῆ.

<sup>j</sup> ὀρέξει.

<sup>k</sup> οἰνοφλυγία.

<sup>l</sup> ἀνιάτοις πάθεσι.

<sup>m</sup> ἔκλεισε.

<sup>n</sup> ἔξωθεν (so LXX) = Heb. *ba'adô*, here meaning "behind."

<sup>o</sup> κατασκευή.

<sup>p</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>q</sup> περικλήεται.

<sup>r</sup> σκέπασμα.

<sup>s</sup> τὸ ῥήτῳ.

<sup>t</sup> ἐπιμελῶς.

<sup>u</sup> θεία δυνάμει.

<sup>v</sup> τῆς φυλακῆς.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

“ And the water increased and lifted the ark, and it was borne upon the water ”<sup>a</sup> ?

The literal meaning is clear. But it is to be allegorized<sup>b</sup> as follows. Our body must in a certain sense<sup>c</sup> cross the sea and be storm-tossed by necessities<sup>d</sup> overcoming hunger and thirst, cold and heat, by which it is thrown up and down,<sup>e</sup> perturbed and moved.

21. (Gen. vii. 20) Why did the water increase fifteen cubits above all the high mountains ?<sup>f</sup>

It should be noted that as for the literal meaning<sup>g</sup> it was not increased fifteen cubits over<sup>h</sup> all the high mountains but over the very longest and highest,<sup>i</sup> and (thus) it was still higher over<sup>j</sup> the lower ones. But one should treat this allegorically.<sup>k</sup> The high mountains indicate the senses<sup>l</sup> in our bodies, for it happens that they have their fixed position in the top of our head. And they are five, each of them severally being viewed as threefold,<sup>m</sup> so that altogether there are fifteen : sight, the thing seen, (the act of) seeing<sup>n</sup> ; hearing, the thing heard, (the act of) hearing<sup>o</sup> ; smell, the thing smelled, (the act of) smelling<sup>p</sup> ; taste, the thing tasted, (the act of) tasting<sup>q</sup> ; touch, the

<sup>a</sup> Philo's text differs slightly from LXX, which reads *καὶ ἐπεκράτει τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπληθύνετο σφόδρα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπέφερετο ἢ κιβωτὸς ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος*. The Arm. O.T. agrees with LXX. <sup>b</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται. <sup>c</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>d</sup> τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις.

<sup>e</sup> ἄνω καὶ κάτω κλονεῖται.

<sup>f</sup> Philo combines two parts of the LXX verse, *δέκα πέντε πῆχεις ἐπάνω ὑψώθη τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπεκάλυψεν πάντα τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλά*. <sup>g</sup> πρὸς τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>h</sup> Lit. “ more than.”

<sup>i</sup> Apparently Philo takes *πάντα τὰ ὑψηλά* in the LXX to indicate the superlative degree of height.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. “ more excessive.”

<sup>k</sup> *πραγματεύεσθαι πρὸ ἀλληγορίας vel sim.*

<sup>l</sup> τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. “ three.”

<sup>n</sup> ἢ ὄρασις, τὸ ὄρατόν, τὸ ὄρᾶν.

<sup>o</sup> ἢ ἀκοή, τὸ ἀκουστόν, τὸ ἀκούειν.

<sup>p</sup> ἢ ὄσφρησις, τὸ ὄσφραντόν, τὸ ὄσφραίνεσθαι.

<sup>q</sup> ἢ γεῦσις, τὸ γευστόν, τὸ γεύεσθαι.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

thing touched, (the act of) touching.<sup>a</sup> These are the fifteen cubits which were over and above (the mountains). For they too are flooded and destroyed by the sudden onrush of never-ending vices and evils.<sup>b</sup>

22. (Gen. vii. 21) What is the meaning of the words, "All flesh that moved died" ?

Excellently and naturally has (Scripture) spoken of the destruction of moving flesh, for flesh moves <sup>c</sup> the sensual pleasures <sup>d</sup> and is moved by sensual pleasures. But such movements are the causes <sup>e</sup> of the destruction of souls, just as the rules of self-control <sup>f</sup> and patience <sup>g</sup> (are the causes) of salvation.<sup>h</sup>

23. (Gen. vii. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "Everything that was upon the dry land died" ?

The literal meaning is known to all,<sup>i</sup> for in the great flood everything that was upon the earth was utterly destroyed.<sup>k</sup> But the deeper meaning <sup>l</sup> is that just as the wood of trees, when it is altogether dried out,<sup>m</sup> is immediately consumed by fire, so also the soul,<sup>n</sup> when it is not mixed <sup>o</sup> with wisdom, justice and piety <sup>p</sup> and also with the

<sup>a</sup> ἡ ἀφή, τὸ ἀπτόν, τὸ ἄπτεσθαι.

<sup>b</sup> ἀτηνύτων παθῶν καὶ κακῶν.

<sup>c</sup> κινεῖ.

<sup>d</sup> τὰς ἡδονάς.

<sup>e</sup> αἱ αἰτίαι.

<sup>f</sup> ἐγκρατείας or "endurance"—καρτερίας.

<sup>g</sup> ὑπομονῆς.

<sup>h</sup> σωτηρίας.

<sup>i</sup> Philo's text differs slightly from LXX, which reads *καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει πνοὴν ζωῆς καὶ πᾶς ὅς ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ἀπέθανεν*. Philo applies the neuter gender of the first subject to the second, which is masc. and animate in LXX (the Heb. indef. pron. *kol* "all" may refer to either animate or inanimate subjects).

<sup>j</sup> τὸ ῥητόν γινώριμόν ἐστι.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "being destroyed was overturned."

<sup>l</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>m</sup> Arm. uses three different adjectives all meaning "dry."

<sup>n</sup> ἡ ψυχῆ.

<sup>o</sup> κεκραμένη *vel sim.*

<sup>p</sup> σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ θεοσεβεία.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

other fine virtues <sup>a</sup> which alone are able to gladden the mind, <sup>b</sup> dries up and becomes arid like a plant that is barren and sterile, or like an aged tree, and dies when it is given over to the flood of the body.

24. (Gen. vii. 23) What is the meaning of the words, "He blotted out every growth <sup>c</sup> that was on the face of the earth" ?

The literal meaning <sup>d</sup> has a clear explanation. <sup>e</sup> But it is to be allegorized <sup>f</sup> as follows. Not idly <sup>g</sup> does (Scripture) speak of "growth," for this is the name of arrogance and pride, <sup>h</sup> through which men despise the Deity and human rights. But arrogance and haughtiness on the surface of our earthly and corporeal nature appear more (clearly) when the face is lifted up and the eyebrows are knitted. For there are some who approach with their legs, but with their breast, neck and head sway backwards and forwards, <sup>i</sup> rearing back <sup>j</sup> and wavering like a balance ; with half the body, the legs, they come forward, but from the breast upward <sup>k</sup> they lean backward like those whose backbone <sup>l</sup> or occiput <sup>m</sup> pains them, whereby they are prevented from bending over naturally. But it was reasonable <sup>n</sup> that all

<sup>a</sup> ἀστέϊοις ἀρεταῖς. Arm. *asti* is twice <sup>1</sup> used in *De Vita Cont.* to render ἀστέϊος because of its similarity in sound to the Greek word, although its meaning is quite different, usu. "firm," "fresh," etc. ; Aucher renders, "virtutibus constantibus."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "thoughts"—λογισμούς.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "rising," LXX ἀνάστημα ; see above, p. 92 note *i* on *QG* ii. 15.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> ἐξήγησιν or "narrative"—διήγησιν, as Aucher renders.

<sup>f</sup> ἀλληγορεῖσθαι.

<sup>g</sup> εἰκῆ or ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>h</sup> Both Arm. words render ἀλαζονεία, ὑπερηφανία, ὕβρις, etc.

<sup>i</sup> ταλαντεύουσι.

<sup>j</sup> ἀναχαιτίζοντες vel sim.

<sup>k</sup> Not "pectore superiori" as Aucher renders.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. gloss "loins," Aucher "musculi."

<sup>m</sup> ἰνίον. Arm. gloss "nerves," similarly Aucher. Probably the original text of Philo referred to the tendons and nerves of the back of the neck.

<sup>n</sup> εἰκόσ.



## GENESIS, BOOK II

men of this sort should be blotted out from the Lord's memory <sup>a</sup> and from the divine narrative of Scripture.

25. (Gen. vii. 23) What is the meaning of the words, "Noah remained alone and those who were with him in the ark" ?

The literal meaning <sup>b</sup> is clear. But the deeper meaning <sup>c</sup> must be somewhat as follows. The mind <sup>d</sup> which is desirous of wisdom and justice, <sup>e</sup> like a tree, cuts off all the harmful growths which grow on it and drain <sup>f</sup> its nourishment. <sup>g</sup> By this is meant immoderateness of the passions <sup>h</sup> and wickedness and the acts (resulting) from these. He is left alone with his own. And peculiar <sup>i</sup> to each are all the thoughts <sup>j</sup> which are ordered <sup>k</sup> in accordance with virtue. <sup>l</sup> Wherefore it is added that "he remained alone and those who were with him" to (give) a clear impression of the truest joy. <sup>m</sup> And he remained in the ark, by which is meant the body, which is pure <sup>n</sup> of all passions and spiritual diseases, <sup>o</sup> not yet having been enabled to become altogether incorporeal. <sup>p</sup> But thanks should be given to the Saviour and Father <sup>q</sup> for this benefaction also, (namely) that he received a yoke-fellow <sup>r</sup> and one bound to him, <sup>s</sup> no longer a ruler <sup>t</sup> over him but under his rule. Therefore his body was not overwhelmed by the flood but (remained) above the flood, not being destroyed by the streams of the

<sup>a</sup> ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου μνήμης.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>e</sup> σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "suck" or "drink up."

<sup>g</sup> τροφήν. Aucher renders, "humores nutritionis."

<sup>h</sup> τὴν τῶν παθῶν ἀμετρίαν.

<sup>i</sup> ἴδιοι.

<sup>j</sup> οἱ λογισμοί.

<sup>k</sup> τάττονται.

<sup>l</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἀρετήν.

<sup>m</sup> εἰς φανεράν φαντασίαν τῆς ἀληθεστάτης χαρᾶς.

<sup>n</sup> καθαρόν.

<sup>o</sup> πάντων παθῶν καὶ ψυχικῶν (ἢ πνευματικῶν) νόσων.

<sup>p</sup> πάντως ἀσώματον.

<sup>q</sup> τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ πατρί.

<sup>r</sup> σύζυγον (i.e. the body).

<sup>s</sup> συνδέσμον.

<sup>t</sup> ἄρχοντα vel sim.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

cataracts which gurgled up, (namely) luxuriousness and intemperance and lewd habits and empty desires.

\*26. (Gen. viii. 1) Why does (Scripture) say, "God remembered Noah and the beasts and the cattle,"<sup>a</sup> but does not mention his wife and children?

When a man is united<sup>b</sup> and associated<sup>c</sup> with his wife, and a father with his sons, there is no need for several<sup>d</sup> names, but only of the first one. And so, having mentioned Noah, (Scripture) potentially<sup>e</sup> mentions those who were in his household.<sup>f</sup> For when a man and woman quarrel, and their children and relatives, the household no longer bears (the name of household),<sup>g</sup> but in place of one there are many. But when there is concord,<sup>h</sup> one household is described<sup>i</sup> after one eldest person,<sup>j</sup> and all (the others) depend<sup>k</sup> on him like the branches which grow out of a tree or like the fruits of a plant which do not fall off. And the prophet has said somewhere,<sup>l</sup> "Look at Abraham your father and at Sarah who travailed with you," which shows very clearly that there was (only) one root<sup>m</sup> in respect of concord with the woman.<sup>n</sup>

27. (Gen. viii. 1) Why does (Scripture) first make mention of the wild beasts<sup>o</sup> and afterwards of the cattle,<sup>p</sup> saying

<sup>a</sup> LXX has "all the beasts (θηρίων) and all the cattle (κτηνῶν) and all the birds and all the reptiles, etc."

<sup>b</sup> ἐνοῦται.

<sup>c</sup> κοινωνεῖται (?).

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "many."

<sup>e</sup> δυνάμει.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.

<sup>g</sup> The last phrase must be supplied to make sense; cf. Aucher's rendering, "nec ultra patitur domus (una dici)."

<sup>h</sup> δμόνοια. Procopius συμφωνία.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *grem usu.* = γράφειν. Aucher renders, "exhibetur."

<sup>j</sup> ἀφ' ἐνὸς πρεσβυτάτου.

<sup>k</sup> κρέμανται. Procopius συνυπακούεσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> Isaiah li. 2.

<sup>m</sup> ῥίζα.

<sup>n</sup> The syntax is somewhat obscure; Aucher renders, "quod nempe una erat stirps ad mulierem versus concordiam patefacit."  
<sup>o</sup> τῶν θηρίων. <sup>p</sup> τῶν κτηνῶν.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

that "He remembered Noah and the beasts and the cattle"?

In the first place, this poetic saying <sup>a</sup> is not inaptly quoted, (namely) that "he drove the base ones into the middle."<sup>b</sup> For He stationed <sup>c</sup> the wild beasts in the midst of the domestic ones,<sup>d</sup> (that is) men and cattle, in order that they might become tamed and domesticated by acquiring familiarity <sup>e</sup> with both. Second, it did not seem right to the Overseer <sup>f</sup> to bestow a benefaction on the wild beasts at the same time. For (Scripture) was immediately about to <sup>g</sup> mention further the beginning of the diminution of the flood. This is the literal meaning.<sup>h</sup> As for the deeper meaning <sup>i</sup>—the righteous mind,<sup>j</sup> living in the body as in an ark, also has wild beasts and cattle <sup>k</sup> but not those particular ones <sup>l</sup> which bite and are harmful, but, as I might say, the generic ones <sup>m</sup> having the status <sup>n</sup> of seed and principle <sup>o</sup>; for without these the soul <sup>p</sup> is not able to appear in the body. Accordingly, (the soul) of the wicked man <sup>q</sup> uses all things poisonous and lethal, but that of the virtuous <sup>r</sup> those things which transform the nature of wild beasts into that of domestic ones.

\*28. (Gen. viii. 1) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> τόδε τὸ ποιητικόν.

<sup>b</sup> κακοὺς δ' ἐς μέσον ἔλασεν, *Iliad* iv. 299.

<sup>c</sup> ἔταξεν. <sup>d</sup> τῶν οἰκείων. <sup>e</sup> οἰκειότητος.

<sup>f</sup> τῷ ἐπόπτῃ ἢ ἐπισκόπῳ (God). Perhaps, however, one should take Arm. *tesouč* "overseer" as having adjectival force here, *i.e.* meaning "providential" and agreeing with "benefaction"; so Aucher renders, "providum beneficium."

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ δίκαιος νοῦς.

<sup>k</sup> Or "animals"; Arm. *anasoun* (lit. "irrational") = both κτῆνος and ἄλογον (ζῶον).

<sup>l</sup> τὰ μερικά.

<sup>m</sup> τὰ γενικά.

<sup>n</sup> τὸν λόγον.

<sup>o</sup> σπέρματος καὶ ἀρχῆς.

<sup>p</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ although Arm. *ogi* (*hogi*) also = τὸ πνεῦμα.

<sup>q</sup> τοῦ πονηροῦ (ἢ φαύλου). <sup>r</sup> τοῦ σπουδαίου.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

“ He <sup>a</sup> brought a spirit <sup>b</sup> over the earth and the water ceased ” ?

Some would say that by “ spirit ” is meant the wind <sup>c</sup> through which the flood ceased. But I myself do not know of water being diminished by a wind. Rather is it disturbed and seethes.<sup>d</sup> Otherwise vast expanses <sup>e</sup> of the sea would long ago have been consumed.<sup>f</sup> Accordingly, (Scripture) now seems to speak of the spirit of the Deity,<sup>g</sup> by which all things are made secure,<sup>h</sup> and of the terrible condition of the world, and of those things which are in the air and are in all mixtures <sup>i</sup> of plants and animals. For this time the flood was not a trifling outpouring <sup>j</sup> of water but a limitless and immense one, which almost flowed out beyond the Pillars of Heracles and the Great Sea.<sup>k</sup> Therefore the whole earth and the mountainous regions were flooded. That such (an amount of water) should be cleared out by the wind is not fitting, likely or right ; but, as I said, (it must have been done) by the invisible power of God.<sup>l</sup>

\*29. (Gen. viii. 2) What is the meaning of the words, “ the fountains of the abyss were covered up,<sup>m</sup> and the cataracts of heaven ” ?

In the first place, it is clear that the downpour <sup>n</sup> was

<sup>a</sup> LXX (and Heb.) “ God.”

<sup>b</sup> πνεῦμα.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ ἄνεμος.

<sup>d</sup> κυμαίνει, as in Procopius.

<sup>e</sup> Procopius τὰ μέγιστα.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. dried up by the action of the winds.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα. Procopius πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον.

<sup>h</sup> Or “ freed (of danger from the flood) ” ; Arm. γαροῦ = both ἀσφαλῆς and ἀπηλλαγμένος. Aucher renders, “ securitatem assequitur.”

<sup>i</sup> So lit., apparently meaning “ varied forms.”

<sup>j</sup> Lit. “ blow,” “ incidence.”

<sup>k</sup> The Atlantic.

<sup>l</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς ἀοράτου δυνάμεως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>m</sup> ἐπεκαλύφθησαν (as in LXX) or ἐκρύφθησαν. Arm. O.T. “ were closed.”

<sup>n</sup> Lit. “ streams of falling ” ; Aucher renders, “ fluentia poenosa.”

## GENESIS, BOOK II

incessant during the first forty days when from the earth below the fountains broke forth, and from the heaven above the cataracts were opened <sup>a</sup> until all the regions of plain and mountain were flooded. And for another full hundred and fifty days the streams did not cease from pouring down nor the fountains from welling up, but they were more gentle, no longer for increase <sup>b</sup> but for the continuation <sup>c</sup> of the outpouring <sup>d</sup> of water. And from on high there was assistance. <sup>e</sup> This is indicated by what is now said, "after a hundred and fifty days the fountains and cataracts were covered up." Thus, so long as they were still not kept back, it is clear that they were active. <sup>f</sup> Second, it was necessary that what (Scripture) adduces (as) streams of the flood, (namely) the twofold reservoir <sup>g</sup> of water, one being the fountains in the earth, the other the streams in the heaven, should be closed; for in proportion as the additional supplies <sup>h</sup> of material give out, so is this consumed by expending itself, <sup>i</sup> especially when the divine power <sup>j</sup> has commanded it. This is the literal meaning. <sup>k</sup> As for the deeper meaning <sup>l</sup>—since the flood of the soul <sup>m</sup> wells up from two (sources), from reason <sup>n</sup> as though from heaven, and also from the body and the senses as though from the earth, evil entering it <sup>o</sup> through the passions, and passions through evil at the same time, it

<sup>a</sup> Cf. above, *QG* ii. 18 on Gen. vii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> οὐκέτι πρὸς αὐξήσιν.

<sup>c</sup> πρὸς διαμονήν.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *taraçank* <sup>e</sup> = both *κατάχυσσις* and *ἐκτένεια*. Aucher "extensionis." John Monachus reads differently.

<sup>e</sup> This seems to mean that at God's command the outpouring of the waters of heaven and earth ceased, cf. below.

<sup>f</sup> ἐνήργουν.

<sup>g</sup> ταμείον or ἀποθήκην.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "assistances" or "means."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher more freely renders, "quo magis enim deficiunt præbitiones materiae, ista consumitur a se."

<sup>j</sup> ἡ θεία δύναμις.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς κατακλυσμός.

<sup>n</sup> ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ.

<sup>o</sup> i.e. the soul.

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was necessary for the word <sup>a</sup> of the divine physician <sup>b</sup> to enter into the soul for a visit of healing <sup>c</sup> in order to heal its illness and to keep back <sup>d</sup> both streams. For the beginning of healing is to keep back the causes of the illness and not to leave any more material for the effects of illness. <sup>e</sup> (Scripture) has indicated this also in the case of the leper <sup>f</sup>; for when (the spot) stays and no longer spreads, then in respect of its staying and remaining in the same place, (Scripture) has legislated <sup>g</sup> that it <sup>h</sup> is clean, for that which moves against <sup>i</sup> nature is unclean.

30. (Gen. viii. 3) What is the meaning of the words, "The water went down, diminishing <sup>j</sup> after a hundred and fifty days"?

We must inquire <sup>k</sup> whether indeed these hundred and fifty days of subsiding and diminishing are other than (the period) which lasted five months <sup>l</sup> or else allude to this

<sup>a</sup> τὸν λόγον.

<sup>b</sup> Or "the healing word of God." On the Logos as healer of ills see *Leg. All.* iii. 177 τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον ὃς ἐστὶ λόγος ὡσπερ ἰατρὸν κακῶν.

<sup>c</sup> πρὸς ἐπισκοπὴν ἰάσεως.

<sup>d</sup> κωλύειν ἢ εἴργειν ἢ ἐπισχεῖν.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "the making of illness."

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Lev. xiii. 6 ff.

<sup>g</sup> ἐνομοθέτησε.

<sup>h</sup> Or "he," the suspected leper.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "not in accordance with."

<sup>j</sup> Philo's text differs slightly from the LXX, which in turn differs slightly from Heb. (the Arm. O.T. differs slightly from both LXX and Philo). Heb. has "And the waters returned from the earth, continuously returning, and the waters disappeared at the end of a hundred and fifty days"; LXX has καὶ ἐνεδίδου τὸ ὕδωρ πορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἐνεδίδου καὶ ἡλαττονοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ μετὰ πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας.

<sup>k</sup> ζητητέον.

<sup>l</sup> Cf. Gen. vii. 24, not cited by Philo, "and the waters were high upon the earth a hundred and fifty days." Aucher, construing and interpreting differently, renders, "an distincti sint isti centum quinquaginta dies minuendae aquae per quinque menses."

## GENESIS, BOOK II

former (period) <sup>a</sup> when the flood was unsubiding,<sup>b</sup> that is, was still increasing.

31. (Gen. viii. 4) Why does (Scripture) say, "The ark rested <sup>c</sup> in the seventh month <sup>d</sup> on the twenty-seventh day of the month" ?

It is fitting to consider how the beginning of the flood fell in the seventh month <sup>e</sup> on the twenty-seventh, and the diminution (of the flood), when the ark rested upon the summits of the mountains, also <sup>f</sup> (fell) in the seventh month on the twenty-seventh of the month. It must therefore be said that there is a homonymity <sup>g</sup> of months and days, for the beginning of the flood fell in the seventh month on the birthday <sup>h</sup> of the righteous man <sup>i</sup> at the vernal equinox, but the diminution (of the flood began) in the seventh month, taking its beginning from the flood, at the autumnal equinox.<sup>j</sup> For the equinoxes are separated and divided from each other by seven months, having five (months) in the middle.<sup>k</sup> For the seventh month of the equinox is potentially <sup>l</sup> also the first, since the creation of the world took place in this (month) because all things were full at

<sup>a</sup> See the verse cited in the preceding note.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. *anznsteli*, not found in the large Arm. dictionary, is composed of the privative particle *an* and a derivative of *znestel* "to subside"; Aucher renders, "indesinens."

<sup>c</sup> *ἐκάθισεν* (as in LXX).

<sup>d</sup> See notes on *QG* ii. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Philo here means Nisan (March-April), the seventh month in the civil calendar beginning with Tishri (Sept.-Oct.).

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "again."

<sup>g</sup> *ὁμωνυμία*.

<sup>h</sup> *ἐν τῇ γενεθλίᾳ*.

<sup>i</sup> *τοῦ δικαίου* = Noah. Philo takes Gen. vii. 11 and viii. 4 to mean that the beginning of the flood in Noah's 600th year and its subsidence in his 601st year coincided with his birthday.

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* the flood subsided in Tishri, the seventh month in the festival calendar beginning with Nisan.

<sup>k</sup> Or "an interval of five months," as Aucher renders. Actually there are five months between Tishri and Nisan in both calendars.

<sup>l</sup> *δυνάμει*.

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this time. Similarly the (month of the) autumnal equinox, (which) is the seventh in time,<sup>a</sup> is the first in honour,<sup>b</sup> the seventh having its beginning from the air.<sup>c</sup> Accordingly, the flood takes place in the seventh month, not in time but in nature,<sup>d</sup> having (as) its beginning the vernal equinox.

32. (Gen. viii. 5) Why does (Scripture) say, "In the tenth<sup>e</sup> month, on the first (day of the month), the summits of the mountains appeared"?

Just as among numbers the decad is the limit of the ones<sup>f</sup> (and is) the complete and perfect number, being the cycle and end<sup>g</sup> of the ones and the beginning and cycle of the tens and of an infinity<sup>h</sup> of numbers, so the Creator thought it good<sup>i</sup> that when the flood had ceased, the summits of the mountains should appear through the perfect and complete number ten.

33. (Gen. viii. 6) Why did the righteous man (Noah) open the window of the ark after forty days?

Note carefully that the theologian<sup>j</sup> uses the same num-

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ χρόνον.

<sup>b</sup> κατὰ τιμήν.

<sup>c</sup> Or "climate." The original probably was τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἐξ αἴρος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν. Three explanations of this puzzling statement occur to me: (1) The Arm. translator read αἴρος for Philo's ἔαρος (as in the last sentence of the section); (2) Philo is alluding to the etymology of the first Heb. month *Nisan*, as though from *nissa'* (*niph'al* ptc. of *ns'*) meaning "lifted up," "exalted"; (3) Philo connects the seventh month Tishri with the beginning of the rainy season in Palestine. Aucher, construing less accurately, renders, "septimi ex aere habens principium." See my note in *Classical Philology* 39 (1945), 257-258.

<sup>d</sup> κατὰ φύσιν.

<sup>e</sup> So Heb.; LXX and Arm. O.T. have "eleventh."

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Congressu* 90 ὡσπερ δεκάς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πέρασ τελειότατον.

<sup>g</sup> κύκλος καὶ τέλος.

<sup>h</sup> ἀπειρίας.

<sup>i</sup> ἠξίωσε.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ θεολόγος (Moses, cf. *De Vita Mos.* ii. 115).



## GENESIS, BOOK II

ber of the course of the flood <sup>a</sup> as of its cessation and the complete remedying of the disaster.<sup>b</sup> And so, in the seventh month on the twenty-seventh (day) in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, that is, on his birthday, the flood began in the spring. Moreover, in the seventh month on the twenty-seventh (day) the ark rested upon the summits of the mountains at the autumnal equinox. And from three things it is clear that the flood became invisible <sup>c</sup> in the six hundred and first year, also in the seventh month on the twenty-seventh (day); for just <sup>d</sup> a year afterwards it was to subside,<sup>e</sup> establishing the earth as it was at (the time of) destruction,<sup>f</sup> blossoming and flourishing in the spring and being full of all (kinds of) fruit. Moreover, it was in forty days that the streams of the flood came, when the cataracts were opened in heaven and the fountains broke forth from beneath the earth. And again, the hope of stability returned <sup>g</sup> in forty days after a long cessation,<sup>h</sup> when he (Noah) opened the window. Again, the duration of the remaining<sup>i</sup> of the flood was a hundred and fifty days, while its diminution was (also) a hundred and fifty days, so that one must wonder at the equality,<sup>j</sup> for the disaster<sup>k</sup> increased and ceased in an equal number (of days), as (does) the moon. For in the same number (of days) it takes its increase from its conjunction <sup>l</sup> until it becomes full, and its waning when it returns to its conjunction after first having been full. Similarly, in divine visitations<sup>m</sup> the

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *QG* ii. 14 on Gen. vii. 12.

<sup>b</sup> κατὰ τὴν πᾶσαν θεραπείαν τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> ἀόρατος ἢ ἀφανής.

<sup>d</sup> εὐθύς (?).

<sup>e</sup> ἡμερωθήσεται.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. restoring the earth to the condition it was in before the flood.

<sup>g</sup> Syntax and meaning slightly uncertain.

<sup>h</sup> κατάπαυσιν.

<sup>i</sup> Lit.=ἡ διαμονὴ ἢ τοῦ μένειν *vel sim.* Probably the original had merely ἡ διαμονή.

<sup>j</sup> Ὁρ "exact correspondence"—τὴν ἰσότητα.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ κακόν.

<sup>l</sup> ἀπὸ συνόδου, i.e. the new moon.

<sup>m</sup> ἐν τοῖς θεηλάτοις <κακοῖς>.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Creator preserves due order <sup>a</sup> and drives out disorder <sup>b</sup> from the divine borders.<sup>c</sup>

\*34. (Gen. viii. 6) What is the "window of the ark" which the righteous man (Noah) opened?

The literal meaning <sup>d</sup> does not admit difficulty or doubt, for it is clear. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> the following is to be said. The several parts of the senses <sup>f</sup> are likened to the windows of the body.<sup>g</sup> For through them as through a window there enters into the mind <sup>h</sup> the apprehension of sense-perceptible things,<sup>i</sup> and, again, the mind stretches out to seize these through them. And a part of the windows, by which I mean the senses, is sight,<sup>j</sup> because it is especially related to the soul <sup>k</sup> and also is familiar <sup>l</sup> with light, the most beautiful of existing things, and a ministrant of things divine.<sup>m</sup> And this same (sense) first cut and made <sup>n</sup> the road to philosophy.<sup>o</sup> For when it sees the movements of the sun and moon, and the wanderings of the other planets,<sup>p</sup> and the inerrant revolution of the entire heaven,<sup>q</sup> and the order which is above all description,<sup>r</sup> and the harmony,<sup>s</sup> and the one true certain Creator

<sup>a</sup> τάξιν.

<sup>b</sup> Probably ἀταξίαν, cf. *De Plantatione* 3 εἰς τάξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας . . . ἄγων ὁ κοσμοπλάστης.

<sup>c</sup> ἐκ τῶν θείων ὄρων.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων μέρη.

<sup>g</sup> ταῖς τοῦ σώματος θυρίσιν ἐξομοιοῦται.

<sup>h</sup> εἰς τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>i</sup> ἢ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κατάληψις.

<sup>j</sup> ἢ ὄρασις.

<sup>k</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς μάλιστα συγγενής.

<sup>l</sup> οἰκεία.

<sup>m</sup> ὑπηρετής τῶν θείων.

<sup>n</sup> τεμοῦσα ἀπηργάσατο. Greek frag. has simply ἔτεμε.

<sup>o</sup> τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὁδόν.

<sup>p</sup> τὰς τῶν ἄλλων πλανητῶν περιφοράς. Greek frag. has τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων περιόδους.

<sup>q</sup> τὴν ἀπλανῆ περιφορὰν τὴν τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ.

<sup>r</sup> τὴν παντός τοῦ λόγου κρείττονα τάξιν.

<sup>s</sup> τὴν ἁρμονίαν.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

of the world,<sup>a</sup> it reports to its only<sup>b</sup> sovereign, reason,<sup>c</sup> what it has seen. And this (reason), seeing with a sharp eye both these (celestial phenomena) and through them the higher paradigmatic forms<sup>d</sup> and the cause of all things, immediately apprehends<sup>e</sup> them and genesis and providence,<sup>f</sup> for it reasons<sup>g</sup> that visible nature<sup>h</sup> did not come into being by itself<sup>i</sup>; for it would be impossible for harmony and order<sup>j</sup> and measure<sup>k</sup> and proportions of truth<sup>l</sup> and such concord<sup>m</sup> and real prosperity<sup>n</sup> and happiness to come about by themselves.<sup>o</sup> But it is necessary that there be some Creator and Father,<sup>p</sup> a pilot and charioteer,<sup>q</sup> who both begat<sup>r</sup> and wholly<sup>s</sup> preserves and guards<sup>t</sup> the things begotten.

<sup>a</sup> τὸν τοῦ κόσμου μόνον ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀψευδῆ κοσμοποιόν. Greek frag. has τόν . . . μόνον ἀψευδέστατον κοσμοποιόν.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher, taking Arm. *μίαγν* = *μόνω* to refer to the subject, renders, "retulit solus"; the Greek frag. omits the word.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, "uni principi consiliorum"; the Greek frag. has ἡγεμόνι λογισμῶ, which is probably correct.

<sup>d</sup> τὰ ἀνώτερα παραδειγματικὰ εἶδη. This text is preferable to that of the Greek frag. παραδείγματι καὶ εἶδει διὰ τούτων; Mangey correctly emended to παραδειγματικὰ εἶδη but wrongly deleted διὰ.

<sup>e</sup> καταλαμβάνει or perhaps εἰς ἔνοιαν ἦλθε, as in Greek frag. <sup>f</sup> γένεσιν καὶ πρόνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> λογισάμενος. Aucher here punctuates wrongly.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ ὁρατὴ φύσις. Greek frag. has ὅλη φύσις.

<sup>i</sup> Probably αὐτοματισθεῖσα, as in Greek frag.

<sup>j</sup> ἁρμονίαν καὶ τάξιν. <sup>k</sup> λόγους. Greek frag. has λόγον.

<sup>l</sup> ἀναλογίαν ἀληθείας (or ἀκριβείας). Greek frag. has only ἀναλογίαν. <sup>m</sup> συμφωνίαν.

<sup>n</sup> τὴν τῷ ὄντι εὐοδίαν (?) εὐδαιμονίας. Greek frag. has τῷ ὄντι εὐδαιμονίαν. <sup>o</sup> See note i.

<sup>p</sup> ποιητὴν τινα καὶ πατέρα.

<sup>q</sup> κυβερνήτην τε καὶ ἡνίοχον.

<sup>r</sup> ἐγέννησε or γεγέννηκε. The latter is found in Greek frag. p. 70 Harris; Greek frag. p. 22 Harris has πεποίηκε.

<sup>s</sup> ὀλόκληρα; Greek frag. omits.

<sup>t</sup> σώζων φυλάττει; Greek frag. has only σώζει.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

35. (Gen. viii. 7) Why did (Noah) first send the raven ?

As for the literal meaning,<sup>a</sup> the raven is said to be a sort of heralding<sup>b</sup> and fulfilling<sup>c</sup> creature. Wherefore down to our own time many observantly attend to its flight and its voice when it caws<sup>d</sup> (as though) indicating something hidden.<sup>e</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>f</sup> the raven is a blackish and reckless<sup>g</sup> and swift creature, which is a symbol of evil,<sup>h</sup> for it brings night and darkness upon the soul, and it is very swift, going out to meet all things in the world at one time. In the second place, (it leads)<sup>i</sup> to the destruction of those who would seize it,<sup>j</sup> and is very reckless, for it produces arrogance<sup>k</sup> and shameless impudence. And<sup>l</sup> to this is opposed virtue,<sup>m</sup> (which is) luminous<sup>n</sup> and steady<sup>o</sup> and modest and reverent by nature. And so it was right to expel beyond the borders whatever residue of darkness there was in the mind which might have led to folly.<sup>p</sup>

36. (Gen. viii. 7) Why, after going out, did the raven

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> ἀγγελικόν τι.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *v̄carem* = *συντελεῖν, πληροῦν, περαινεῖν, λύειν*, etc. ; Aucher renders, "functioni addictum."

<sup>d</sup> Var. "calls."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher, punctuating differently, renders, "volatum atque garritum suum (*sic*) multi expectant, dijudicantes aliquid significare de incognitis rebus."

<sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> θρασύ or τολμηρόν.

<sup>h</sup> σύμβολον τῆς κακίας.

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. is probably incomplete, and the Greek original can only be guessed.

<sup>j</sup> Meaning doubtful ; Arm. *ουνολαση* is *nomen agentis* of verb *ουνημι* = *ἔχειν, κρατεῖν*, etc. ; Aucher renders, "in exitium aucupantium."

<sup>k</sup> ἀλαζονίαν *vel sim.* ; Aucher's "superbia" should be "superbiam."

<sup>l</sup> Arm. has a superfluous "for" after "and."

<sup>m</sup> ἀρετή.

<sup>n</sup> φωτοειδής.

<sup>o</sup> βέβαιος.

<sup>p</sup> ἀφροσύνην or "wickedness"—*πονηρίαν* or *φωυλότητα*.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

not return again, for not yet was any part of the earth dried? <sup>a</sup>

The passage is to be interpreted allegorically,<sup>b</sup> for unrighteousness<sup>c</sup> is the adversary<sup>d</sup> of the light of righteousness<sup>e</sup> so that it considers being very merry<sup>f</sup> with its relative,<sup>g</sup> the flood, more desirable than the good works of the virtuous man.<sup>h</sup> For unrighteousness is a lover of confusion and corruption.<sup>i</sup>

37. (Gen. viii. 7) Why has (Scripture) used enallage,<sup>j</sup> saying, "until the water was dried from the earth," for water is not dried from the earth, but the earth is dried of water?

It allegorizes<sup>k</sup> in these words, indicating by the instance of the water the immeasurableness of the passions.<sup>l</sup> When stuffed and swollen with these, the soul is corrupted.<sup>m</sup> And it is saved<sup>n</sup> when these (passions) are dried up.<sup>o</sup> For then they are not able to injure the soul in any way, being in a certain sense<sup>p</sup> weakened and dead.

38. (Gen. viii. 8) Why does (Noah) a second time send a dove both "from himself"<sup>q</sup> and to see whether the

<sup>a</sup> Philo here slightly alters the LXX, which reads οὐχ ὑπέστρεψεν ἕως τοῦ ξηρανθῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, though in the next section he follows the LXX literally; Heb. has "and it went out, going and returning, until, etc."

<sup>b</sup> ἀλληγορίαν δέχεται ὁ τόπος.

<sup>c</sup> ἀδικία.

<sup>d</sup> ἀντίπαλος ἢ ἀντίμαχος.

<sup>e</sup> τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>f</sup> περιχαρῆς.

<sup>g</sup> σὺν τῷ συγγενεῖ.

<sup>h</sup> τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα τὰ τοῦ σπουδαίου.

<sup>i</sup> συγχύσεως καὶ φθορᾶς.

<sup>j</sup> ἐνήλλαξε.

<sup>k</sup> ἀλληγορεῖ.

<sup>l</sup> τὴν τῶν παθῶν ἀμετρίαν.

<sup>m</sup> Or "destroyed"—διαφθείρεται.

<sup>n</sup> σώζεται.

<sup>o</sup> Arm. uses two synonyms for "dried."

<sup>p</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>q</sup> LXX says that Noah sent the dove ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ, i. e. after the raven; so the Arm. O.T. Philo here seems to follow the Heb., which has *mē'ittō* "from him(self)." Less plausible is Aucher's suggestion that the reflexive pronoun is based on Gen. viii. 9 (see below, § 40), which says that Noah brought the dove "to himself" into the ark.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

water had ceased, which is not said in the case of the raven ?

First of all, the dove is a clean creature,<sup>a</sup> and then it is tame and manageable<sup>b</sup> and a fellow-inhabitant<sup>c</sup> of man. Therefore it received the honour of being offered on the altar among the sacrifices.<sup>d</sup> Therefore (Scripture) said in a definite and positive manner,<sup>e</sup> "he sent it from himself," making it appear (that it was) a fellow-inhabitant. But by seeing "whether the water had ceased," (he made it appear that it was) sociable and like-minded.<sup>f</sup> And these (birds), the raven and the dove, are symbols of vice and virtue.<sup>g</sup> For the one is homeless, hearthless, stateless,<sup>h</sup> wild,<sup>i</sup> implacable<sup>j</sup> and unsociable.<sup>k</sup> But virtue is a matter of<sup>l</sup> humaneness<sup>m</sup> and sociability, and it is helpful.<sup>n</sup> This the virtuous man<sup>o</sup> sends (as) a messenger of healthful and salutary things,<sup>p</sup> wishing to learn through this whence to know.<sup>q</sup> But this (dove) like a messenger renders a true service,<sup>r</sup> in order that he may be careful of injurious things and may receive helpful things with great zeal and willingness.

<sup>a</sup> καθαρὸν ζῶον.

<sup>b</sup> οἰκεία καὶ χειροθήης.

<sup>c</sup> σύνοικος.

<sup>d</sup> ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "sealing and affirming."

<sup>f</sup> κοινήν καὶ ὁμογνώμονα *vel sim.*

<sup>g</sup> σύμβολα κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς.

<sup>h</sup> ἄοικος καὶ ἀνέστιος καὶ ἄπολις, *cf. De Virtutibus* 190 ἄοικος . . . καὶ ἄπολις ὁ φαῦλος.

<sup>i</sup> ἀνήμερος ἢ ἄγριος.

<sup>j</sup> ἀκατάλακτος ἢ ἄσπονδος.

<sup>k</sup> ἀκοινωνήτος.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher more freely renders, "colit."

<sup>m</sup> φιλανθρωπίας.

<sup>n</sup> ὠφέλιμος ἢ συμφέρων.

<sup>o</sup> ὁ σπουδαῖος.

<sup>p</sup> ὑγιεινῶν καὶ σωτηρίων. Aucher renders, "pro rebus sanis ac salutaribus."

<sup>q</sup> This seems to be the literal meaning of the obscure and probably corrupt Arm. (unless the corruption lies in the lost Greek original). Aucher's rendering makes better sense but takes liberties with the Arm. text, "volens per ipsam edoceri condignum."

<sup>r</sup> Lit. "reports a true favour"—ἀληθῆ ἀναγγέλλει χάριν.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

\*39. (Gen. viii. 9) Why did the dove, not finding a resting-place <sup>a</sup> for its feet, return to him (Noah) ?

Is not this, then, clear evidence that through the symbols <sup>b</sup> of the raven and the dove vice and virtue <sup>c</sup> are shown ? For, behold, the dove, after being sent out, does not find a resting-place. How, then, could the raven, which went out first while there was still an excessive flood,<sup>a</sup> find a place to rest ? For the raven was neither an *artawaza-hawd* <sup>e</sup> nor an ibis nor yet one of those (birds) that dwell in the water. But it signifies <sup>f</sup> that vice, going out to the risen streams of passions and desires,<sup>g</sup> which inundate and destroy both souls and (human) lives, welcomes <sup>h</sup> them and consorts with them as with intimates and relatives <sup>i</sup> with whom it dwells. But virtue, being vexed <sup>j</sup> at the first sight (of these things), immediately springs away without returning again, and does not find a resting-place for its feet, that is to say, it does not find any standing-place worthy of it. For what greater evil could there be than that virtue should not find any place in the soul, even the smallest, as a place to rest and remain ?

40. (Gen. viii. 9) What is the meaning of the words, "Stretching forth his hand, he took it and brought it in to himself" ?

The literal meaning <sup>k</sup> is plain. But the deeper meaning <sup>l</sup> is to be exactly determined.<sup>m</sup> The wise man <sup>n</sup> uses virtue <sup>o</sup> as an inspector <sup>p</sup> and messenger <sup>q</sup> of affairs. And when

<sup>a</sup> ἀνάπαυσιν, as in LXX.

<sup>b</sup> διὰ τῶν συμβόλων.

<sup>c</sup> κακία καὶ ἀρετή.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *aweli arkaçk<sup>c</sup> jrhelelin* almost certainly renders ὑπερβολὴ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ. Aucher less accurately renders, "aerumna diluvii."

<sup>e</sup> Some sort of water-bird, according to the Arm. gloss ; Aucher renders, "cygnus." Procopius omits.

<sup>f</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>g</sup> παθῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν.

<sup>h</sup> ἀσπάζεται.

<sup>i</sup> ὡς μετ' οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν.

<sup>j</sup> δυσχεραίνουσα *vel sim.*

<sup>k</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>m</sup> ἀκριβωτέον.

<sup>n</sup> ὁ σοφός ἢ ὁ ἀστείος.

<sup>o</sup> ἀρετῇ.

<sup>p</sup> ἐφόρῳ.

<sup>q</sup> ἀγγέλῳ.

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he sees them to be natures worthy of himself,<sup>a</sup> he remains and dwells with them, correcting them and making them better. For wisdom<sup>b</sup> is most common, most equal and most helpful.<sup>c</sup> But when it sees them perversely increase in the opposite direction and being altogether uncontrolled and wilful, it returns to its own place. And virtue admits it, stretching forth its hand in word,<sup>d</sup> and in deed<sup>e</sup> opening the whole mind and unfolding<sup>f</sup> and expanding it through the perfect and even and full number<sup>g</sup> with all willingness.<sup>h</sup> Nor then when he sent it forth from himself did he separate it from himself in order to survey the natures of others<sup>i</sup> but in the manner in which the sun sends its rays to earth, making all things bright. For in the great strength of its light there is no separation or division.<sup>j</sup>

\*41. (Gen. viii. 10) Why, after holding back<sup>k</sup> still another seven days, did he (Noah) again send out the dove?

(This was) an excellent manner of life. For although at first he sees that their natures are hard,<sup>l</sup> he does not give up<sup>m</sup> hope of their changing for the better. But just as a good physician does not immediately apply treatment to

<sup>a</sup> φύσεις ἀξίας ἑαυτοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> σοφία.

<sup>c</sup> κοινοτάτη καὶ ἰσοτάτη καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτη.

<sup>d</sup> λόγῳ.

<sup>e</sup> ἔργῳ.

<sup>f</sup> Or "resolving," "explaining."

<sup>g</sup> διὰ τοῦ τελείου καὶ ἀρτίου καὶ πλήρους ἀριθμοῦ, i.e. the decad. The same three adjectives are applied to human nature (φύσις) in *De Ebrietate* 135.

<sup>h</sup> μετὰ προθυμίας πάσης.

<sup>i</sup> κατασκοπεῖν τὰς τῶν ἄλλων φύσεις.

<sup>j</sup> Text and meaning uncertain. Arm. *sastkout'oiun* usually means "strength" but may also render ἀποτομή; in one ms. it is nominative, in another, genitive. Arm. *γογζ*, here translated "great," normally means "very"; it may possibly be an anomalous locative of the noun *ογζ* "strength." Aucher renders, "quia universae ejus lucis est minime disjungi."

<sup>k</sup> Probably ἐπισχών, as in LXX.

<sup>l</sup> φύσεις σκληράς.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "cut off"; cf. Greek parallel προανατέμνη τὴν ὁδόν.



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reach the disease all at once but allows nature first to open the way to recovery,<sup>a</sup> and then uses health-giving and salutary drugs (as) a physician, so the virtuous man<sup>b</sup> uses principles<sup>c</sup> which are in accordance with the laws<sup>d</sup> of philosophy.<sup>e</sup> And the hebdomad<sup>f</sup> is holy and sacred<sup>g</sup>; and it was in accordance with this<sup>h</sup> that the Father of the universe, when He created the world, is said to have seen His work. But the seeing of the world and the things in it is nothing else than philosophy, a most glorious and choice part,<sup>i</sup> which is attained by scientific wisdom,<sup>j</sup> which contains in itself an activity most necessary for seeing.

42. (Gen. viii. 11) What is the meaning of the words, "The dove returned again to him at evening, holding an olive-leaf, a dry branch<sup>k</sup> in its mouth"?

All (these) are chosen symbols and tests<sup>l</sup>—the "returning again," the "at evening," the "holding an olive-leaf," the "dry branch," the "oil"<sup>m</sup> and the "in its mouth." But the several symbols must be studied in detail.<sup>n</sup> Now the return is distinguished<sup>o</sup> from the earlier (flight). For

<sup>a</sup> εἰς σωτηρίαν.

<sup>b</sup> ὁ σπουδαῖος.

<sup>c</sup> Or "words"—λόγοις.

<sup>d</sup> νόμοις or "doctrines"—δόγμασι.

<sup>e</sup> τῆς φιλοσοφίας. The Greek parallel has λόγοις κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ δόγμασιν.

<sup>f</sup> Here meaning both the number seven and the week.

<sup>g</sup> ἱερὰ καὶ ἁγία.

<sup>h</sup> Or "at this (interval of time)"—κατ' αὐτήν.

<sup>i</sup> εὐκλεέστατον καὶ δοκιμώτατον μέρος.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. literally = ἐπιστήμη σοφίας; Aucher renders, "sapientia."

<sup>k</sup> LXX has φύλλον ἐλαίας κάρφος translating Heb. "olive-leaf freshly plucked"; Arm. O.T. has *šil* "dry-stick" (=LXX κάρφος); Aucher's rendering "ramum gracilem" somewhat obscures the point.

<sup>l</sup> Perhaps the original had "approved symbols," as Aucher conjectures.

<sup>m</sup> Implied by the olive-leaf.

<sup>n</sup> ἀκριβωτέα.

<sup>o</sup> διαφέρει.

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the latter brought <sup>a</sup> the report <sup>b</sup> of a nature altogether corrupt and rebellious, and one destroyed by the flood, (that is) by great ignorance and lack of education.<sup>c</sup> But the other <sup>d</sup> repents of its beginning. And to find repentance <sup>e</sup> is not easy but is a very difficult and laborious task. For these reasons it comes at evening, having passed the whole day from early morning until evening in inspection,<sup>f</sup> in word <sup>g</sup> by passing over various places but in deed <sup>h</sup> by looking over and inspecting the parts of its nature <sup>i</sup> and in seeing them clearly from beginning to end,<sup>j</sup> for the evening is a symbol of the end.<sup>k</sup> And the third symbol is the "bearing a leaf." The leaf is a small part of the plant. And similar to this is the beginning to repent.<sup>l</sup> For the beginning of improvement <sup>m</sup> gives a slight indication, as if it were a leaf, that it is to be guarded and also can be shaken off. But <sup>n</sup> there is great hope withal that it will attain correction of its ways.<sup>o</sup> The fourth symbol is that the leaf was of no other tree than the olive. And oil is the material <sup>p</sup> of light. For evil, as I have said, is profound darkness, but virtue <sup>q</sup> is a most radiant splendour; and repentance <sup>r</sup> is the beginning of light. But do not think that the beginning of repentance is already in blossoming and growing things; only while they are still dry and arid do they have a seminal principle.<sup>s</sup> Wherefore the fifth symbol is that when it (the dove) came it bore a "dry branch." And the sixth symbol is that the dry branch

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "held."

<sup>b</sup> Or "announcement."

<sup>c</sup> ὑπὸ μεγάλης ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. the returning dove.

<sup>e</sup> μετάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> ἐπισκοπῇ ἢ ἐπισκέψει.

<sup>g</sup> λόγῳ μὲν.

<sup>h</sup> ἔργῳ δέ.

<sup>i</sup> τὰ τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως μέρη. What Arm. *agnorik* = ἐκείνου refers to is not clear.

<sup>j</sup> ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. here uses a different word for "end" which also = τέλος.

<sup>l</sup> μετανοεῖν.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "becoming good" (or "better").

<sup>n</sup> Why Aucher here renders the adversative conjunction *βαγε* as "quominus" I do not understand.

<sup>o</sup> κατόρθωσιν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

<sup>p</sup> ὕλη.

<sup>q</sup> ἀρετή.

<sup>r</sup> ἢ μετάνοια.

<sup>s</sup> σπερματικὸν λόγον.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

was "in its mouth," since six is the first perfect number<sup>a</sup>; for virtue bears in its mouth, that is, in its speech,<sup>b</sup> the seeds of wisdom and justice<sup>c</sup> and generally of goodness of soul.<sup>d</sup> And not only does it bear these but it also gives a share in them<sup>e</sup> to outsiders,<sup>f</sup> offering water to their souls and watering with repentance their desire for sin.

43. (Gen. viii. 11) Why (does Scripture say that) Noah knew that the water had ceased from the earth?

The literal meaning<sup>g</sup> is clear. For if the leaf had been taken from the water, it would have been still damp and moist. But now it was dry; and (Scripture) says that it was a "dry stick,"<sup>h</sup> as though it had been dried above a dried earth. But as for the deeper meaning<sup>i</sup>—the wise man<sup>j</sup> takes it as a symbol of repentance,<sup>k</sup> and the bringing of the leaf as preventing the occurrence<sup>l</sup> of great ignorance,<sup>m</sup> even though it was no longer flourishing and blossoming but, on the contrary, was a "dry stick," for the reasons previously stated. And at the same time one must admire the Father for His great goodness and kindness.<sup>n</sup> For though destruction had overtaken earthly creatures through their excess of injustice and impiety,<sup>o</sup> nevertheless there remained a residue of antiquity<sup>p</sup> and of that which had been in the beginning<sup>q</sup> and a small and light seed of ancient virtues.<sup>r</sup> And no less is it a symbol of the fact

<sup>a</sup> τέλειος ἀριθμός (in the Pythagorean sense).

<sup>b</sup> ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.                      <sup>c</sup> σοφίας (ὡς φρονήσεως) καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>d</sup> ἀγαθότητος τῆς ψυχῆς.                      <sup>e</sup> κοινωνίαν.

<sup>f</sup> Ὁρ "laymen"—τοῖς ἰδιώταις.                      <sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> κάρφος, see note *k* on p. 119.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.                      <sup>j</sup> ὁ σοφός ὡς ἀστείος.

<sup>k</sup> σύμβολον τῆς μετανοίας.

<sup>l</sup> Ὁρ "blows"—βολάς.                      <sup>m</sup> ἀμαθίας.

<sup>n</sup> τῆς λίαν ἀγαθότητος καὶ χρηστότητος.

<sup>o</sup> ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας.

<sup>p</sup> ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ ἀρχαίου.                      <sup>q</sup> ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ.

<sup>r</sup> μικρὸν καὶ λεπτὸν σπέρμα ἀρχαίων ἀρετῶν; Aucher renders, "virtutum majorum semen exile," omitting *azazoun* = λεπτόν, which refers to the "dry stick."

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that the memory of the good persons <sup>a</sup> who were created in the beginning is not altogether destroyed. Wherefore the following statement was given as law <sup>b</sup> by some prophet <sup>c</sup> who was a disciple and friend of Moses: "If Almighty God <sup>d</sup> had not left us a seed, we should have become like the blind and barren," <sup>e</sup> so as not to know the good and not be able to beget offspring. And blindness and barrenness are called in the ancestral language <sup>f</sup> of the Chaldeans "Sodom" and "Gomorrhah." <sup>g</sup>

44. (Gen. viii. 12) Why did he (Noah) a third time send out the dove after another seven days, and why did it not again return to him?

The not returning to him applies in word to the dove but in deed <sup>h</sup> to virtue. <sup>i</sup> This is not a symbol of alienation, <sup>j</sup> for it did not at that time, <sup>k</sup> as I have said, separate itself, but in the manner of a ray of light it was sent to see the natures of others. But at that time, not finding any who were receiving discipline, <sup>l</sup> it again returned and hastened straight to him alone. But now it is no longer the possession <sup>m</sup> of one alone but is the common good of all those who wish to take the outpouring of wisdom as if from the earth and from a very early time have thirsted for the knowledge of wisdom.

<sup>a</sup> Or "good things"—τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

<sup>b</sup> ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐνομοθετήθη.

<sup>c</sup> Isaiah i. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Heb., LXX and Arm. O.T. have "Lord of hosts."

<sup>e</sup> Heb., LXX and Arm. O.T. have "like Sodom and Gomorrhah."

<sup>f</sup> τῇ πατρίᾳ γλώττῃ.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *De Somniis* ii. 192, where "Sodom" alone is etymologized as τύφλωσις or στείρωσις, and "Gomorrhah" as μέτρον.

<sup>h</sup> λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δέ.

<sup>i</sup> τῆς ἀρετῆς.

<sup>j</sup> σύμβολον τῆς ἀλλοτριώσεως.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. the second flight, cf. § 42.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. *xrat* = παιδεία, νουθέτησις, ἐπιστήμη, etc.

<sup>m</sup> κτήμα.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

45. (Gen. viii. 13) Why did the water cease <sup>a</sup> from the earth in the six hundred and first year of Noah's life <sup>b</sup> in the first (month) on the first <sup>c</sup> of the month?

This "first" in connexion with cessation <sup>d</sup> can be said either of the month or of man, and it takes account <sup>e</sup> of both. For though the cessation of the water is to be understood <sup>f</sup> (as taking place) in the first month, we are to suppose that the seventh month is to be understood as meant, namely that (which is first) in respect of the equinox, for the same month is both the first and the seventh <sup>g</sup>; this amounts to saying that the first in nature and power <sup>h</sup> is the seventh in time. Accordingly, in another place <sup>i</sup> (Scripture) says, "This month <sup>j</sup> is for you the beginning of months; it is first in the months of the year." Thus it calls "first" that (month) which is first in nature and power but is seventh in temporal number, for the equinox has first and highest rank among the annual seasons.<sup>k</sup> But if "first" is said of the man it will be said most properly,<sup>l</sup> for the righteous man <sup>m</sup> is truly and particularly first, as the skipper <sup>n</sup> is first in the ship, and the ruler <sup>o</sup> is first in the state.<sup>p</sup> But he <sup>q</sup> is first not only in virtue <sup>r</sup> but also in order,<sup>s</sup> for he himself was the beginning and first in the regeneration <sup>t</sup> of the second human seed. Moreover, it is

<sup>a</sup> So LXX, ἐξέλιπεν. Heb. has "dried up."

<sup>b</sup> "Of Noah's life" is in LXX but not in Heb.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "on the one," as in LXX and Heb.

<sup>d</sup> κατὰ ἔκλειψιν. <sup>e</sup> λόγον. <sup>f</sup> ἀκουστέον.

<sup>g</sup> Depending on whether one uses the vernal or autumnal calendar, cf. above, § 17 on Gen. vii. 11 and § 31 on Gen. viii. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Or "rank"—δύναμιν.

<sup>i</sup> Ex. xii. 2.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. Nisan (March-April).

<sup>k</sup> The Greek original seems to be τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀρίστην τάξιν δι' ἔτους ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις, but the meaning is not quite clear.

<sup>l</sup> κυριώτατα.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ δίκαιος.

<sup>n</sup> ὁ κυβερνήτης. <sup>o</sup> ὁ ἄρχων or δυνάστης or ἡγεμών.

<sup>p</sup> ἐν τῇ πόλει.

<sup>q</sup> i.e. Noah.

<sup>r</sup> ἀρετῇ.

<sup>s</sup> τάξει.

<sup>t</sup> κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, i.e. of the human race after the flood.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

excellently stated in this passage that the flood came in the lifetime of the righteous man and again subsided and returned to its former state. Wherefore, when the flood came, he alone was destined to live with all his household, and when the evil had passed, he alone was destined to be found on earth before the regeneration—his later life.<sup>a</sup> And both then and now this has been not inaptly <sup>b</sup> attested. For whereas he desires only true life, one that is in accord with virtue, others eagerly pursue death because of deathly evils. Accordingly, it was necessarily <sup>c</sup> in the six hundred and first year that the evil ceased, for in the number six there was corruption <sup>d</sup> and in the number one there was salvation,<sup>e</sup> for the number one is most soul-begetting <sup>f</sup> and most able to form life.<sup>g</sup> Wherefore the receding of the water took place at the new moon in order that the monad might have pre-eminence in being honoured above both months and years,<sup>h</sup> when God would save those who were upon the earth. For one who is outstanding in character <sup>i</sup> the Hebrews call “Noah” in their ancestral tongue, while the Greeks say “righteous.”<sup>j</sup> But he is not removed from and freed of bodily necessities,<sup>k</sup> for although he is not under (another’s) authority <sup>l</sup> and has authority <sup>m</sup> himself, nevertheless he is obliged to die,<sup>n</sup> and so the number six is associated with the monad. For the flood re-

<sup>a</sup> Variant “their later life”; as Aucher observes, both readings are obscure; “life” is in apposition with “regeneration,” but seems to have the force of a genitive.

<sup>b</sup> οὐκ ἀπό σκοποῦ.

<sup>c</sup> ἀνάγκη.

<sup>d</sup> Or “destruction.”

<sup>e</sup> σωτηρία.

<sup>f</sup> ψυχογονιμώτατος, cf. *De Vita Mos.* i. 97.

<sup>g</sup> ζωπλαστεῖν.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders, “in mensibus et annis,” but Arm. *k’an* has comparative force.

<sup>i</sup> ἐκλεκτὸν ἦθος *vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> δίκαιον, cf. *De Abrahamo* 27. Philo professes to etymologize the Hebrew name “Noah” but really renders the adjective applied to Noah in Scripture.

<sup>k</sup> οὐκ ἐξαιρείται οὐδ’ ἐλευθεροῦται σωματικῶν ἀναγκῶν.

<sup>l</sup> ἀρχῇ or ἐξουσία.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. “is a ruler.”

<sup>n</sup> Lit. “mixed with dying.”

## GENESIS, BOOK II

ceded not in one (year) viewed separately by itself, but in six, that (number) proper to the body and inequality,<sup>a</sup> since the number six is the first oblong number.<sup>b</sup> For this reason (Scripture) says "in the six hundred and first (year)" and "righteous in his generation."<sup>c</sup> Not in that (generation) which is universal<sup>d</sup> nor in that which was to be destroyed was he righteous, but in respect of a certain one. For the comparison is with his own generation. But praiseworthy also is that (generation) which God singled out and deemed worthy of life above every generation, setting a limit<sup>e</sup> to it by which it was to be as the end<sup>f</sup> of generations and ages,<sup>g</sup> that is, of those which must perish, and as the beginning of those which were to come afterward. Most of all, however, is it proper to praise him who stretched up with his whole body and looked (upward) because of his kinship<sup>h</sup> with God.

46. (Gen. viii. 13) What is the meaning of the words, "Noah opened the covering<sup>i</sup> of the ark"?

The literal meaning<sup>j</sup> needs no exposition. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>k</sup> since the ark is symbolically<sup>l</sup> the body, the covering of the body must be thought of as whatever protects<sup>m</sup> and preserves it and closely guards<sup>n</sup> its power,<sup>o</sup> (namely) pleasure.<sup>p</sup> For by pleasure it is truly<sup>q</sup> preserved and sustained in measure<sup>r</sup> and in accordance

<sup>a</sup> τῆ ἐξάδι τῆ τῶ σώματι οἰκεία καὶ τῆ ἀνισότητι, cf. *Leg. All.* i. 4 on the six movements of animals.

<sup>b</sup> ἑτερομήκης, i.e. produced by the multiplying of unequal factors, see above, § 12 notes, and below, *QG* iii. 38.

<sup>c</sup> On this phrase, occurring in Gen. vi. 9, Philo does not comment above.

<sup>d</sup> καθολική. <sup>e</sup> ὄρον.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ τέλος.

<sup>g</sup> γενεῶν καὶ αἰώνων.

<sup>h</sup> οἰκειώσεως.

<sup>i</sup> τὴν στέγην (so LXX).

<sup>j</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>m</sup> σκεπάζει ὅτ καλύπτει.

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "long guards" but Arm. *yerkar* here probably reflects the preverbal particle *δια-* in *διαφυλάττει*; Aucher renders more literally, "diu conservat."

<sup>o</sup> τὴν δύναμιν.

<sup>p</sup> ἢ ἡδονή.

<sup>q</sup> ὄντως.

<sup>r</sup> μέτροις.

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with nature,<sup>a</sup> just as it is disintegrated<sup>b</sup> by pain.<sup>c</sup> Accordingly, when the mind<sup>d</sup> is smitten by heavenly pleasure,<sup>e</sup> it desires to leap upward and cut off all forms of (sensual) pleasure, in order that it may remove from its midst that which covers it with a veil and darkens it like a shadow, and that it may be able to bring sense-perception<sup>f</sup> to naked and incorporeal natures.<sup>g</sup>

\*47. (Gen. viii. 14) Why was the earth dried up in the seventh month,<sup>h</sup> on the twenty-seventh (day) ?

Do you see that a little before<sup>i</sup> (Scripture) spoke of the first month, and now of the seventh ? For the seventh is the same in time, as I have said,<sup>j</sup> but in nature<sup>k</sup> is first in so far as it is connected with the equinox. Moreover, excellently<sup>l</sup> did the advent of the flood fall in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh (day), and the letting up and subsiding of the flood a year later in the same seventh month and on the same day.<sup>m</sup> For it was at the equinox that the flood came, and at the very same time<sup>n</sup> (came) the return of life. Concerning the causes of this we have already written. But the seventh month is homonymous<sup>o</sup> with such months and days. And again it was on the twenty-seventh day that the ark rested upon the mountains. This is the month which is seventh in nature but first in time, which is at the equinox. So that it is at the equinoxes that distinctions<sup>p</sup> (are made) through the seventh months and twenty-seventh days.<sup>q</sup> For the flood

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ φύσιν.                      <sup>b</sup> λύεται.                      <sup>c</sup> ὑπ' ἀλγηδόνων.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς.                      <sup>e</sup> ὑπ' οὐρανίας ἡδονῆς.                      <sup>f</sup> αἴσθησιν.

<sup>g</sup> γυμναῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις φύσει.

<sup>h</sup> Heb. and most LXX MSS. "second."

<sup>i</sup> See § 45 on Gen. viii. 13.

<sup>j</sup> See above, §§ 17, 45.                      <sup>k</sup> φύσει.                      <sup>l</sup> παγκάλως.

<sup>m</sup> See § 17 on Gen. vii. 11.

<sup>n</sup> Arm. *andren* usu. = εὐθύς or ἀντίκα but here seems to have the meaning given above.                      <sup>o</sup> ὁμώνυμος.

<sup>p</sup> διαίρέσεις or διακρίσεις, or perhaps "choices"—αἱρέσεις or ἐκλογαί.

<sup>q</sup> Meaning not quite clear to me.



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(occurred) in the seventh month, in which the vernal equinox falls, and which is the seventh in time and the first in nature.<sup>a</sup> But with the same number <sup>b</sup> was the return and retreat (of the water) when the ark came to rest on the summits of the mountains; this, again, was in the seventh month, not in the same one, but in that which falls at the autumnal equinox, which is seventh in nature but first in time.<sup>c</sup> Moreover, the complete remedying of the evil,<sup>d</sup> when the evil was dried up, similarly (took place) in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh (day), at the vernal equinox. For both the beginning of the flood and its end had previously <sup>e</sup> received a limit-fixing <sup>f</sup> at the same time, but the middle of his later life was the middle time.<sup>g</sup> And more exactly <sup>h</sup> is to be explained what is said (in Scripture): the flood together with its remedying was a — <sup>i</sup> year. For its beginning was in the six hundredth year, in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh day, so that the interval of time was a complete year, taking its beginning from the vernal equinox and similarly ending at the same time, at the vernal equinox. For, as I have said, as they had corrupted earthly things when filled with fruits, so, when those who had used these fruits had perished, and (the survivors) were released and delivered from evil, the earth was again found to be full of seed-bearing things and trees which bore such fruit as spring calls forth. For He thought it right that just as the earth was when it was flooded, so, when it was dried, it should

<sup>a</sup> When the calendar year begins in Tishri (Sept.—Oct.).

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "measure." <sup>c</sup> See note *a*.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the flood. <sup>e</sup> *πρότερον*.

<sup>f</sup> Arm. *sahmanadrout'iun* = *ὄροθεσία*, but this word seems not to be used elsewhere in Philo's works.

<sup>g</sup> Arm. text is obscure to me; Aucher renders, "medietas autem vitae reparatae, medii temporis." The Arm. glossator explains that "in this interval a year of Noah's life was completed."  
<sup>h</sup> *ἀκριβέστερον*.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *ōrabanak* "sojourning a day" may possibly reflect Gr. *ἐφ' ἡμέραν* "to a day," *i.e.* "exact," as Prof. L. A. Post suggests.

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again show itself and yield (its produce). And do not wonder that the earth, given one day, grew all things through the power of God,<sup>a</sup> (such as) seeds, trees, an abundance of grass, ears, plants and fruits, and was unexpectedly full of all kinds. For also in the creation of the world, in one day out of the six He completed the production of plants. But these (later plants) were complete in themselves to start with and bore such fruits as were appropriate to the fertility of the spring season. For all things are possible<sup>b</sup> to God, who does not need time at all<sup>c</sup> in order to create.<sup>d</sup>

\*48. (Gen. viii. 15-16). Why, after the drying up of the earth, did Noah not go out of the ark before hearing the word<sup>e</sup> (of God), for "The Lord God<sup>f</sup> said to Noah, Go out, thou and thy wife and thy sons<sup>g</sup> and the wives of thy sons and the other living creatures"<sup>h</sup>?

Righteousness<sup>i</sup> is reverent<sup>j</sup> just as, on the other hand, injustice,<sup>k</sup> which is its opposite, is boastful and self-satisfied.<sup>l</sup> And it is an evidence of reverence not to acquiesce and believe in reason<sup>m</sup> more than in God. And especially for him who saw the whole earth suddenly become a boundless sea was it natural and proper to think that, as was natural and possible, the evil might return again. And he also believed what was consistent<sup>n</sup> with this, (namely) that as he had entered the ark at God's command, so also he

<sup>a</sup> θεία δυνάμει.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "a power"—δύναμις or ἐξουσία.

<sup>c</sup> πάντως.

<sup>d</sup> ποιῆσαι.

<sup>e</sup> τὸν λόγον (sc. τοῦ θεοῦ).

<sup>f</sup> So LXX; Heb. has only "God." Aucher omits "Lord" in his rendering.

<sup>g</sup> So Heb. and most mss. of LXX; some LXX mss. and the Bohairic version have "thy sons" before "thy wife." See § 49.

<sup>h</sup> Here Scripture specifies beasts, birds and reptiles.

<sup>i</sup> δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>j</sup> εὐλαβής.

<sup>k</sup> ἀδικία.

<sup>l</sup> ἀλαζών και αὐτάρεσκος.

<sup>m</sup> συγχωρεῖν και πείθεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ ἀκόλουθον.

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should go out at God's command, for one cannot have complete power over anything if God does not guide him and first give him a command.

49. (Gen. viii. 18) Why, when they entered the ark, was the order (of words) "he and his sons" and then "and his sons' wives,"<sup>a</sup> but when they went out, was it changed? For (Scripture) says, "Noah went out and his wife" and then "his sons and his sons' wives."<sup>b</sup>

In the literal sense,<sup>c</sup> by "going in" (Scripture) indicates the non-begetting<sup>d</sup> of seed, but by "going out" it indicates generation.<sup>e</sup> For when they went in, the sons are mentioned together with their father, and the daughters-in-law together with their mother-in-law. But when they went out, it was as married couples, the father together with his wife, and then the several sons, each with his wife. For He<sup>f</sup> wishes through deeds rather than through words to teach His disciples<sup>g</sup> what is right for them to do. Accordingly, He said nothing by way of vocal explanation<sup>h</sup> to the effect that those who went in should abstain from intercourse with their wives, and that when they went out, they should sow seed in accordance with nature. This (He indicated) by the order (of words)<sup>i</sup> but not<sup>j</sup> by exclaiming and crying aloud, "After so great a destruction

<sup>a</sup> So Heb. and LXX in Gen. vii. 7 (not separately discussed by Philo).

<sup>b</sup> Here Philo's text agrees with LXX against Heb. in making Noah's wife precede his sons.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> ἀγονίαν.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "begetting of generation"; both Arm. words usu. = γένεσις.

<sup>f</sup> Perhaps not God but Moses is meant. Philo, like the Palestinian rabbis, sometimes treats Scripture as the word of God, sometimes as the word of Moses, God's spokesman.

<sup>g</sup> τοὺς γνωρίμους.

<sup>h</sup> φωνῇ διασαφῶν vel sim.

<sup>i</sup> i.e. by pairing off Noah with his wife, Noah's sons with their wives.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "not only"; what the Greek construction was is not clear from the Arm.

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of all those who were on earth, do not indulge in luxury, for this is not fitting or lawful. It is enough for you to receive the honour of life.<sup>a</sup> But to go to bed with your wives <sup>b</sup> is the part of those seeking and desiring sensual satisfaction."<sup>c</sup> For these it was fitting to sympathize with wretched humanity, as being kin to it. And at the same time they were watching for something unseen that might be impending, lest evil might overtake <sup>d</sup> them at some time. But in addition to this it would have been inept <sup>e</sup> for them now, while the living were perishing, to beget those who were not (yet) in existence and to be snared and surfeited at an unseasonable hour with sensual pleasure.<sup>f</sup> But after (the flood) had ceased and come to an end, and they had been saved from the evil, He again instructed them through the order (of their leaving the ark) to hasten to procreate, by specifying <sup>g</sup> not that men (should go out) with men nor women with women but females with males. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> this must be said. When the soul <sup>i</sup> is about to wash off and cleanse its sins, man should join with man, (that is) the sovereign mind <sup>j</sup> like a father should join with its particular thoughts <sup>k</sup> as with its sons, but (not join) any of the female sex, (that is) what belongs to sense.<sup>l</sup> For it is a time of war, in which one must separate one's ranks <sup>m</sup> and watch out lest they be mixed up and bring about defeat instead of victory. But when just the right time has come for the

<sup>a</sup> So lit., perhaps meaning "to be thought worthy of life."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* while in the ark.

<sup>c</sup> ἡδονῆς.

<sup>d</sup> φθάνη.

<sup>e</sup> ἀνοίκειον.

<sup>f</sup> ἡδονῆς.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "writing," as though God's command were a written order, or as if Moses were here acting God's rôle.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ or, less probably, "spirit"—τὸ πνεῦμα; Aucher has "animus."

<sup>j</sup> τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν.

<sup>k</sup> τοῖς κατὰ μέρη λογισμοῖς.

<sup>l</sup> πρὸς αἴσθησιν.

<sup>m</sup> τὰς τάξεις διαιρεῖν *vel sim.*

## GENESIS, BOOK II

cleansing,<sup>a</sup> and there is a drying up of all ignorance<sup>b</sup> and of all that which is able to do harm, then it is fitting and proper for it<sup>c</sup> to bring together<sup>d</sup> those (elements) which have been divided and separated, not that the masculine thoughts may be made womanish<sup>e</sup> and relaxed by softness, but that the female element, the senses, may be made manly<sup>f</sup> by following masculine thoughts and by receiving from them seed for procreation, that it may perceive (things) with wisdom, prudence, justice and courage,<sup>g</sup> in sum, with virtue.<sup>h</sup> But in the second place, in addition to this, it is proper to note also that when confusion comes upon the mind, and, like a flood, in the life of the world mounds of affairs are erected at one time,<sup>i</sup> it is impossible to sow or conceive or give birth to anything good. But when discords and attacks and the gradual invasions of monstrous<sup>j</sup> thoughts are kept off, then being dried, like the fertile and productive places of the earth, it produces virtues and excellent things.<sup>k</sup>

50. (Gen. viii. 20) Why did he build an altar, not having been ordered (to do so) ?

It was proper that acts of gratitude<sup>l</sup> to God should be (performed) without an order and without deliberate delay, to show a soul free of passions. For it was fitting that he

<sup>a</sup> τῆς καθάρσεως. Because of the double meaning of Arm. *hamōrēn* (=σύμπασι and ἄμα) and *dēp linel* (=συμβαίνει and ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστι), one may also accept Aucher's rendering, "quando vero integra fiat purgatio."

<sup>b</sup> ἀμαθίας.

<sup>c</sup> The soul.

<sup>d</sup> συναγαγείν.

<sup>e</sup> ἐκθηλύνωνται οἱ ἄρρενες λογισμοί.

<sup>f</sup> ἀρρενικαὶ γίνωνται αἱ αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>g</sup> σοφία καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία.

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετῇ.

<sup>i</sup> Meaning not quite clear to me ; Aucher renders, more freely, "quando confusio pervaserit intellectum ad similitudinem diluvii atque negotiis hujus mundi tamquam aggeribus contra erectis altercari inter se coeperint" ; he omits the words "in life" and adds "altercari inter se coeperint."

<sup>j</sup> Or "arrogant."

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "works"—ἔργα.

<sup>l</sup> εὐχαριστήρια.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

who had received good by the grace of God should give thanks with a willing disposition. But one who waits for a command <sup>a</sup> is ungrateful,<sup>b</sup> being compelled by necessity <sup>c</sup> to honour his benefactor.

51. (Gen. viii. 20) Why is he said to build an altar to "God," not to "the Lord" <sup>d</sup>?

Because in benefactions and on the occasion <sup>e</sup> of regeneration,<sup>f</sup> as at the creation of the world,<sup>g</sup> He assumes only His beneficent power,<sup>h</sup> by which He makes all things, and causes His kingly power <sup>i</sup> to be put aside, preferring (the former).<sup>j</sup> Similarly, also now there is the beginning of a regeneration <sup>k</sup> and He changes to His beneficent power, which is called "God." For He had set up <sup>l</sup> His kingly and sovereign power, which is called "Lord," when he brought down retribution in the form of water.

52. (Gen. viii. 20) What is the meaning of the words, "He took of the clean beasts and birds and offered whole burnt-offerings" <sup>m</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> Arm. *ar karg* = *πρὸς τάξιν*, an obvious error for *πρόσταξιν*: Aucher, not seeing this, renders, "ordinem."

<sup>b</sup> *ἀχάριστος*.

<sup>c</sup> *ἀνάγκη*.

<sup>d</sup> Most uncial mss. of LXX have *θεῶ* "God" (so also Arm. O.T.), but a good many cursives and the Coptic versions have *κυρίῳ* "Lord," rendering *YHWH*, as the Heb. here reads.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "place."

<sup>f</sup> *παλιγγενεσίας*.

<sup>g</sup> *ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιῷ*.

<sup>h</sup> *τῇ εὐεργέτιδι δυνάμει*, one of the two chief divine attributes (also called *ποιητική*), symbolized by the name *θεός*.

<sup>i</sup> *τὴν βασιλικὴν δύναμιν*, the other chief divine attribute (also called *κολαστήριος*), symbolized by the name *κύριος*.

<sup>j</sup> Meaning not quite clear to me; Aucher renders, less accurately, I think, "facit autem nomine regio dissimilato tamquam summam auctoritatem praeferente."

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "second genesis."

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "ordered"—*ἔταξε* *vel sim*.

<sup>m</sup> Arm. *βοβορartουῖ* = both *ὀλοκάρπωμα* (or *ὀλοκάρπωσις*) and *ὀλοκαύτωμα*, both of which words elsewhere in LXX render Heb. *’olāh*, used here; most LXX mss. here have *ὀλοκάρπωσιν*.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

All this is said in a deeper meaning,<sup>a</sup> both because he had received everything from God as a kindness and gift and that that which was of the genus of clean (animals) and unblemished in kind, and of the tame ones the most gentle and unblemished he might completely burn as whole burnt-offerings. For they are sacrifices<sup>b</sup> of good things and are whole and full of wholeness,<sup>c</sup> and they have the status<sup>d</sup> of fruit; and the fruit is the end<sup>e</sup> for the sake of which the plant exists. This is the literal meaning.<sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> the clean beasts and birds are the senses and the mind of the wise man,<sup>h</sup> (for) in the mind the thoughts<sup>i</sup> rove about. And it is proper to bring all these, when they have altogether become fruits, as a thank-offering<sup>j</sup> to the Father, and to offer them as immaculate and unblemished offerings<sup>k</sup> for sacrifices.<sup>l</sup>

53. (Gen. viii. 21) Why does he sacrifice to the beneficent power<sup>m</sup> of God, when the reception (of the sacrifice) is through both powers, (namely those of) Lord and God, for (Scripture) says, "the Lord God<sup>n</sup> smelled a sweet odour"?

(This is) because we who, when hope wavers, are unexpectedly saved from the evil that comes upon us, consider only the benefactions (of God), and in our joy ascribe this to the Benefactor<sup>o</sup> rather than to the Lord. But the

<sup>a</sup> πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>b</sup> θυσίαι ἢ προσφοραί.

<sup>c</sup> Meaning uncertain; Aucher renders, "integritate plenae."

<sup>d</sup> τὸν λόγον.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ τέλος.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν; but which is the literal, and which the deeper meaning is not clear.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ (ἢ ἀστείου) αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ ὁ νοῦς. Philo apparently means that the beasts symbolize the senses, and the birds, the mind.

<sup>i</sup> οἱ λογισμοί.

<sup>j</sup> εὐχαριστίαν.

<sup>k</sup> προσφοράς.

<sup>l</sup> πρὸς θυσίας.

<sup>m</sup> τῇ εὐεργετικῇ δυνάμει; see above, § 51.

<sup>n</sup> So LXX and Arm. O.T.; Heb. has only "The Lord" (YHWH).

<sup>o</sup> Symbolized by the name "God."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Benefactor inclines to us<sup>a</sup> with either power, Himself accepting (our sacrifice) and honouring the gratitude of the good man<sup>b</sup> lest He seem to make a halting return.<sup>c</sup> But it greatly pleases the Eternal<sup>d</sup> (to make use) of both His powers.<sup>e</sup>

\*54. (Gen. viii. 21) What is the meaning of the words, "And the Lord God said, reflecting,<sup>f</sup> Never again will I curse<sup>g</sup> the earth because of the deeds of men, for the thought of man is resolutely turned toward evils from his youth. Therefore never again will I smite all living flesh as I did on another occasion"<sup>h</sup>?

The proposition<sup>i</sup> indicates repentance,<sup>j</sup> which is a passion alien to the divine power. For the dispositions of men are weak and unstable, just as their affairs are full of great uncertainty. But to God nothing is uncertain and nothing is unattainable,<sup>k</sup> for He is most firm of opinion and most stable. How then (did it happen) that with the same cause present and with His knowing from the beginning that the thought of man is resolutely turned toward evils from his youth, He first destroyed the human

<sup>a</sup> *κατανεύει vel sim.*

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. construction is not clear; the above rendering is probably closer to the original than Aucher's rendering, "honorabiliter acceptans gratos animos."

<sup>c</sup> *χωλὴν ἀπόδοσιν.*

<sup>d</sup> *τῷ ὄντι.*

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders, "sed utrique virtuti Entis gratissimum esse declarabit," and in his footnote, "*vel*, per utramque virtutem agere Enti valde placet."

<sup>f</sup> *διανοηθεῖς*, as in LXX; Heb. "said to his heart (= mind)."

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "not again will I add to curse," a Hebrew idiom taken over by the LXX.

<sup>h</sup> *ἔτι*, found in some LXX mss. and Syr. and Arm. O.T., is joined to the following verse in our biblical texts.

<sup>i</sup> Or "premiss"; Arm. *patčar* (elsewhere = *πρόφασις*, *αἴτιον*, *ὄρμη*, etc.) here prob. = *πρότασις* as in the Greek frag.

<sup>j</sup> Or "regret"—*μετάνοιαν* or *μεταμέλειαν*; the latter is found in the Greek frag.

<sup>k</sup> Or "incomprehensible"; the Greek frag. has *ἀκατάληπτον*.



## GENESIS, BOOK II

race through the flood, but after this said that He would not again destroy (them), even though the same evils remained in their souls? Now it should be said that all such forms of words (in Scripture) are generally used <sup>a</sup> in the Law rather for learning and aid in teaching than for the nature of truth. For as there are two texts <sup>b</sup> which are found in the Legislation, one in which it is said, "Not like man (is God)," <sup>c</sup> and another in which the Eternal <sup>d</sup> is said to chastise as a man (chastises) his son, <sup>e</sup> the former (text) is the truth. For in reality God is not like man nor yet like the sun nor like heaven nor like the sense-perceptible world but (only) like God, if it is right to say even this. For that blessed and most happy One <sup>f</sup> does not admit any likeness or comparison or parable <sup>g</sup>; nay, rather He is beyond blessedness itself and happiness and whatever is more excellent and better than these. <sup>h</sup> But the second (text pertains) to teaching and exposition, <sup>i</sup> (namely) "like a man (He chastises)," for the sake of chastising us earth-born creatures in order that we may not be eternally requited with His wrath and retribution through His implacable enmity without peace. For it is enough to be resentful <sup>j</sup> and embittered this one time and to exact punish-

<sup>a</sup> So rendered on the basis of *περιέχεται* in the Greek frag.; Arm. *əmbryneal p'akin* means "are circumscribed" or "confined."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "heads"; Greek frag. *κεφαλαίων*.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. omits "is God," found in Greek frag. The quotation is from Num. xxiii. 19.

<sup>d</sup> *ὁ Ὄν*, omitted in Greek frag.

<sup>e</sup> Deut. viii. 5.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. has only *μακάριον ἐκείνο*.

<sup>g</sup> *παραβολήν* as in the Greek frag.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. has only *μᾶλλον δὲ μακαριότητος αὐτῆς ὑπεράνω*.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *arajnordout'ean patmout'ean* lit. = "guidance-narration" prob. renders *ὑφήγησεν* as in the Greek frag.

<sup>j</sup> This appears to be the meaning of Arm. *anazdakel* in this context, with God as implied subject; usu. the verb means "be stubborn" or "disobedient"; Aucher renders, "com-moveri."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ment of sinners. But (to punish others) many times for the same cause is the act of a savage and bestial spirit. "For in-requiting one who is to be punished as is possible, I will make a fitting recollection of each proposition."<sup>a</sup>

And so, "reflecting" is properly<sup>b</sup> used of God, since (His) mind and intention are most firm, whereas our wills<sup>c</sup> are unsettled and inconstant and vacillating. Wherefore we do not properly reflect in thinking,<sup>d</sup> for reflection is the issue of the mind.<sup>e</sup> But it is impossible for the human mind to be extended and disseminated<sup>f</sup> as it is too weak<sup>g</sup> to pass very completely and effortlessly among all things.

But the words "not again will I curse the earth" are most excellently used. For it is not proper to add new curses to those already given, inasmuch as it is filled with evils. Nevertheless, though they<sup>h</sup> are endless,<sup>i</sup> inasmuch as the Father is good and kind and a lover of mankind,<sup>j</sup> He

<sup>a</sup> The literal retranslation in Greek of this obscure sentence would be something like the following: ἀναποδοὺς γὰρ τοῖς ἐξεταζομένοις, ὡς δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἐκάστης προθέσεως ποιήσω τὴν πρέπουσαν μνήμην (or ἀνάμνησιν); the Arm. glossator paraphrases it as follows: "God says, whatever my judgment exacted of the several sinners, this they paid, and so now, in accordance with my first proposal, I consider mercy fitting." Possibly the original Greek read καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐκάστω πρόθεσιν ποιήσω τῆς πρεπούσης ἀμνηστείας.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. has οὐ κυριολογεῖται; either this is a rhetorical question or the οὐ is a dittography of the case-ending of θεοῦ or οὐ was interpolated by a scribe who misunderstood Philo's meaning, which is that God's "reflecting" indicates His sureness of purpose.

<sup>c</sup> προαιρέσεις or βουλαί.

<sup>d</sup> οὐ κυρίως διανοοῦντες λογιζόμεθα.

<sup>e</sup> ἡ γὰρ διανόησις ἡ τοῦ νοῦ διέξοδος ἐστι, cf. *Quod Deus Immut.* 34. Without this parallel it would be difficult to render the obscure Arm. clause.

<sup>f</sup> ἐκτείνεσθαι καὶ διασπείρεσθαι.

<sup>g</sup> ἀσθενοῦντι, or "unable"—ἀδυνατοῦντι.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. the evils of earth.

<sup>i</sup> Prob. ἀτελῆ; Aucher renders, "imperfecta."

<sup>j</sup> φιλόανθρωπος.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

lightens these evils rather than adds to their misfortunes. But, as the proverb says, it is the same as "washing brick" or "carrying water in a net" to remove evil from the soul of man, which is stamped with its mark.

For if (the evil) exists from the beginning,<sup>a</sup> says (Scripture), it does not exist incidentally<sup>b</sup> but is engraved in (the soul) and closely fitted<sup>c</sup> to it. Moreover, since the mind<sup>d</sup> is the sovereign and ruling part of the soul,<sup>e</sup> (Scripture) adds "resolutely,"<sup>f</sup> and that which is reflected upon with resolution and care<sup>g</sup> is investigated<sup>h</sup> with accuracy.<sup>i</sup> But resolution is (turned) not toward one evil (only) but, as is clear, toward all "evils," and this (state) exists not momentarily<sup>j</sup> but "from his youth," which is all but from his very swaddling bands, as if he were to a certain extent united, and at the same time, nourished and grown, with sins.

However, He says, "Not again will I smite all living flesh," showing that He will not again destroy the whole of mankind in common<sup>k</sup> but (only) the greater part of those individuals who commit indescribable wrongs. For He does not leave evil unpunished nor does He grant it unrestraint or security,<sup>l</sup> but while showing consideration<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "first"; the Arm. differs considerably from the Greek frag. in this sentence.

<sup>b</sup> *παρέργως*; the Arm. words *gorç ar gorçou* (lit. = *ἔργον πρὸς ἔργω*) are prob. a gloss to explain *varkaparazi* = *παρέργως*, or an alternate rendering.

<sup>c</sup> Prob. *προσῆρμοσται* as in the Greek frag.

<sup>d</sup> *ὁ νοῦς*.

<sup>e</sup> *τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ κυριώτατον μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς*.

<sup>f</sup> *ἐπιμελῶς*.

<sup>g</sup> *σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ φροντίδι*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>h</sup> *διηρευνημένον*; the Greek frag. has *διηγορευμένον*.

<sup>i</sup> *εἰς ἀκρίβειαν*, as in the Greek frag., or possibly *εἰς ἀλήθειαν*.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "not barely"; prob. the original was *οὐκ ὀψέ καὶ μόλις* as in the Greek frag.

<sup>k</sup> *κατὰ κοινόν*.

<sup>l</sup> *ἀσφάλειαν*.

<sup>m</sup> *φειδόμενος*.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

for the (human) race because of His purpose,<sup>a</sup> He specifies <sup>b</sup> punishment by necessity <sup>c</sup> for those who sin.

55. (Gen. viii. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "Seed and harvest, cold and heat, summer and spring, by day and night <sup>d</sup> they shall not cease" ?

In the literal meaning <sup>e</sup> this indicates the permanent recurrence <sup>f</sup> of the annual seasons (and that) no longer is there to be a destruction of the earthly climates <sup>g</sup> of animals and plants, for when the seasons are destroyed,<sup>h</sup> they destroy these (creatures) also, and when they are safely preserved, they keep them safe. For in accordance with each of these (seasons) they are kept sound and are not weakened, but are wont to be produced, each in a wonderful way, and to grow with it. But nature was constituted like a harmony of contrary sounds, of low ones and high ones, just as the world (was composed) of contraries. When mortal temperaments <sup>i</sup> fully <sup>j</sup> preserve unmixed the natural order <sup>k</sup> of cold and warmth and of moisture and dryness, they are responsible <sup>l</sup> for the fact that destruction does not fall upon all earthly things. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>m</sup> seed is the beginning, and harvest is the end.<sup>n</sup> And both <sup>o</sup> the end and the beginning are the

<sup>a</sup> διὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν αὐτοῦ.                      <sup>b</sup> ὀρίζει.                      <sup>c</sup> ἀνάγκη.

<sup>d</sup> Philo follows the LXX in making "day and night" adverbial rather than part of the compound subject of the verb "cease" as in the Heb. and some ancient versions.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. lit. = ἀνάστησιν (or ἔγερσιν) τῆς διαμονῆς; Aucher renders, "continuationem durationis."

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "mixtures," prob. κράσεων; Aucher renders, "temperacionem."

<sup>h</sup> Or "corrupted"—φθείρονται.

<sup>i</sup> κράσεις.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "abundantly" or "superfluously": Aucher "apprime."

<sup>k</sup> τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τάξιν.

<sup>l</sup> αἷτιαι.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>n</sup> ἢ ἀρχή . . . καὶ τὸ τέλος.

<sup>o</sup> Aucher, amplifying, renders, "ambo concurrentes."

## GENESIS, BOOK II

causes of salvation.<sup>a</sup> For each by itself is imperfect,<sup>b</sup> since the beginning requires an end, and the end looks toward the beginning. But cold and heat motivate<sup>c</sup> winter and autumn. For autumn marks an interval,<sup>d</sup> coming after the annual (crop),<sup>e</sup> and chilling the fiery (summer).<sup>f</sup> But symbolically,<sup>g</sup> in connexion with the soul, cold indicates fear,<sup>h</sup> which causes trembling and shuddering,<sup>i</sup> but heat (indicates) anger, for anger and wrath<sup>j</sup> are flamelike and fiery. For it is necessary for these too to come into being and to endure always with things that come into being and are destroyed.<sup>k</sup> For summer and spring are set apart for fruits; spring is for the ripening<sup>l</sup> of seeds, while summer is for (the ripening) of fruits and foliage.<sup>m</sup> And these are symbolically regarded as pertaining to the mind, as they bear fruits of two kinds, those which are necessary, (such as) those of the vernal season, and those which are by way of superfluity,<sup>n</sup> as in the summer. Thus, necessary are the foods which (are produced) throughout the spring from seeds as for the body,<sup>o</sup> and for the mind (what is produced) through the virtues. But those (which are) in superfluity, such as the corporeal fruits of the trees of

<sup>a</sup> σωτηρίας.

<sup>b</sup> ἀτελής.

<sup>c</sup> Or "announce" or "reveal"; Arm. *azdel* = ἐνεργεῖν and ἀναγγέλλειν, δηλοῦν, etc.

<sup>d</sup> For Arm. *bocagoyh* "flamelike" (φλογώδης) we should almost certainly read *bacagoyh* = διάστημα ἔχων; cf. *Quis Heres* 165, where Philo speaks of the divider (τομεύς) of the seasons.

<sup>e</sup> "crop" is supplied from *De Virtutibus* 6, where Philo speaks of τὰς ἐτησίας ὀπώρας.

<sup>f</sup> θέρος is to be supplied, cf. Aucher "igneum (aestum)."

<sup>g</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. uses two words both usu. = φόβος.

<sup>i</sup> τρόμον καὶ φρίκην.

<sup>j</sup> ὀργή καὶ θυμός.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. living creatures.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "perfecting."

<sup>m</sup> Or "buds"—θαλλιῶν.

<sup>n</sup> κατὰ περιουσίαν.

<sup>o</sup> The Arm. construction is not clear to me; Aucher renders, "cibus itaque necessarius fere est pro corpore quidquid producitur in vere ex seminibus."

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summer, (bring) corporeal and external goods to souls,<sup>a</sup> for the external ones are serviceable to the body. But (the goods) of the body (are serviceable) to the soul, while those of the mind (are serviceable) to God.<sup>b</sup> Moreover,<sup>c</sup> day and night are measures of times and numbers; and time and number endure long<sup>d</sup>; and (so) day is a symbol of lucid reason,<sup>e</sup> and night of shadowy folly.<sup>f</sup>

56. (Gen. ix. 1-2) Why does (God) bless Noah and his sons by saying, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth and dominate it."<sup>g</sup> And let the terror and fear of you be upon the beasts and the birds and the reptiles and the fish, which I have given into your hands"<sup>h</sup>?

This prayer<sup>i</sup> was granted to the man (made) in the image (of God)<sup>j</sup> even at the beginning of creation<sup>k</sup> on the sixth day. For (Scripture) says,<sup>l</sup> "And God made man, in the image of God He made him, male and female He made

<sup>a</sup> This rendering, while literal, is of doubtful correctness, as is the less literal rendering of Aucher, "quotquot autem per excessum veniunt ex arboribus fructus aestate, praeter corpus animo quoque ferunt bona corporalia ut externa."

<sup>b</sup> The distinction between Arm. *ogi* = ψυχή (sometimes πνεῦμα) and *mitk'* = νοῦς is obscured in Aucher's rendering, "haec enim externa serviunt corpori, corpus autem animo, animus Deo."

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *baç* is prob. a printer's error for *bayç*.

<sup>d</sup> Prob. *διαμένονσι*.

<sup>e</sup> *φωτοειδούς λογισμοῦ*.

<sup>f</sup> *σκοταίας ἀφροσύνης*; for the same combination see *De Plantatione* 40.

<sup>g</sup> Prob. *κατακυριεύσατε* as in LXX; Heb. omits the last verb, but see below, where Philo quotes Gen. i. 28.

<sup>h</sup> Philo abbreviates the latter part of the biblical verse, which reads, "upon all the beasts of the earth and upon all the birds of heaven and upon all that creeps upon the earth and upon all the fish of the sea, which I have given (Heb. "which have been given") into your hands."

<sup>i</sup> Or "request"; Arm. *alōtk'* = εὐχή, δέησις, ἰκετία, etc.

<sup>j</sup> τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπου.

<sup>k</sup> ἐν τῇ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρχῇ.

<sup>l</sup> Gen. i. 28.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

them. And God blessed them, saying, Increase and multiply and fill the earth and dominate it, and rule over the fish and the birds and the reptiles of the earth." <sup>a</sup> But has it not indeed been clearly shown through these words that He considers Noah, who became, as it were, the beginning of a second genesis of man, of equal honour with him who was first made in (His) image? And so He granted rule over earthly creatures in equal measure <sup>b</sup> to the former and the latter. And it should be carefully noted that (Scripture) shows him who in the flood was made righteous king <sup>c</sup> of earthly creatures to have been equal in honour not with the moulded and earthy man <sup>d</sup> but with him who was (made) in the form and likeness of the truly incorporeal Being <sup>e</sup>; and to him (Noah) He also gives authority, appointing as king not the moulded man but him who was (made) in the likeness and form (of God), Who <sup>f</sup> is incorporeal. Wherefore the genesis of him who was incorporeal in form, was shown to be on the sixth day, in accordance with the perfect number <sup>g</sup> six. But the moulded man (was created) after the completion of the world and after the days <sup>h</sup> of the genesis of all creatures, on the seventh day, <sup>i</sup> for then at the very last he was moulded into an earthly statue. <sup>j</sup> And so, after the days of genesis,

<sup>a</sup> Here again Philo slightly abbreviates Scripture.

<sup>b</sup> κατ' ἰσότητα. <sup>c</sup> ὃς καθίστατο ὁ δίκαιος βασιλεύς.

<sup>d</sup> τῷ πλαστῷ καὶ γήινῳ, cf. *QG* i. 4, *Leg. All.* i. 31 et al.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ὄντως ἀσωμάτου ὄντος.

<sup>f</sup> The antecedent of "who" is grammatically "him who was made," but ought rather to be "God."

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ τὸν τέλειον ἀριθμὸν.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher omits "the days of."

<sup>i</sup> Cf. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. v. p. 79, "This does not harmonize with his general view of creation, according to which the former [the ideal man] is of a timeless state (cf. e.g. *Legum Alleg.* 2. 4), and it appears that he tried to fit a Haggadah [homiletic interpretation] into his system but did not succeed."

<sup>j</sup> εἰς γεώδη ἀνδριάντα, cf. e.g. *De Virtutibus* 203 χερσὶ μὲν θείαις εἰς ἀνδριάντα τὸν σωματοειδῆ τυπωθείς.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

on the seventh day of the world, (Scripture) says,<sup>a</sup> " For God <sup>b</sup> had not caused it to rain on the earth, and there was no man who should cultivate the earth "; then (it says),<sup>c</sup> " God moulded man, dust from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and the man became a living soul." And so, by the literal bearing (of Scripture) it has been shown how the beginning of the second genesis of the human race was worthy of the same kingship as the man (made) in the likeness and form (of God).<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> it is to be interpreted as follows. He desires that the souls of intelligent men increase in greatness and multitude (and) in the form <sup>f</sup> of virtues, and fill the mind with its form, as though it were the earth, leaving no part empty and void for follies <sup>g</sup>; and that they should dominate and rule over the earthy body and its senses, and strike <sup>h</sup> terror and fear into beasts, which is the exercise <sup>i</sup> of the will against evil, for evil is untamed and savage.<sup>j</sup> And (he wishes that they should rule) over the birds, (that is) those who are lightly lifted up in thought, those who are (filled) with vain and empty arrogance, (and) having been previously armed,<sup>k</sup> cause great harm, not being restrained by fear. Moreover, (He wishes that they should rule over) the reptiles, which are a symbol of poisonous passions <sup>l</sup>; for through

<sup>a</sup> Gen. ii. 5. Philo comments upon the first part of the verse above in *QG* i. 2.

<sup>b</sup> So most mss. of LXX; Heb. and Arm. O.T. have " the Lord God." <sup>c</sup> Gen. ii. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher's rendering is less intelligible to me than the Arm.; he gives " quomodo ergo eidem regno dignus efficitur secundum imaginem formati hominis istud principium secundae facturae hominum indicatum fuit juxta litteram referentem." <sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν. <sup>f</sup> εἶδει.

<sup>g</sup> ἀφροσυνῶν.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. " make " or " effect."

<sup>i</sup> Prob. ἐπιτήδευσις.

<sup>j</sup> ἀνοικεία καὶ ἀγρία.

<sup>k</sup> πρότερον ἄπλισμένοι; Aucher connects the participle with the preceding phrase, " et inani superbia iam armata." There are syntactical difficulties in both renderings.

<sup>l</sup> σύμβολον τῶν ἰοβόλων παθῶν.



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every soul sense-pleasures and desires and grief and fear<sup>a</sup> creep, stabbing and piercing and wounding. And by the fish I understand<sup>b</sup> those who eagerly welcome a moist and fluid life<sup>c</sup> but not one that is continent, healthy and lasting.<sup>d</sup>

57. (Gen. ix. 3) Why does (Scripture) say, "Every reptile<sup>e</sup> that lives shall be to you for food"?

The nature of reptiles is twofold. One is poisonous, and the other is tame.<sup>f</sup> Poisonous are those serpents which in place of feet use the belly and breast to crawl along; and tame are those which have legs<sup>g</sup> above their feet. This is the literal meaning.<sup>h</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> the passions<sup>j</sup> resemble unclean reptiles, while joy<sup>k</sup> (resembles) clean (reptiles). For alongside sensual pleasures there is the passion of joy.<sup>l</sup> And alongside the desire for sensual pleasure there is reflection.<sup>m</sup> And alongside grief there is remorse and constraint.<sup>n</sup> And alongside desire<sup>o</sup> there is caution.<sup>p</sup> Thus, these passions threaten souls with death and murder, whereas joys are truly living, as He Himself has shown in allegorizing,<sup>q</sup> and are the causes<sup>r</sup> of life for those who possess them.

<sup>a</sup> ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἡμεροὶ καὶ λύπη καὶ φόβος.

<sup>b</sup> λέγω.

<sup>c</sup> ὑγρὸν καὶ ῥοώδη βίον.

<sup>d</sup> ἐγκρατῆ καὶ ὑγιεινὸν καὶ διαμένοντα.

<sup>e</sup> ἔρπετόν.

<sup>f</sup> ἰοβόλος . . . ἡμερος (οἱ οἰκείος).

<sup>g</sup> σκέλος οἱ κνήμην.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> τὰ πάθη.

<sup>k</sup> χαρά οἱ εὐφροσύνη.

<sup>l</sup> In each case a good passion is contrasted with an evil one; Arm. *αἴ* here = *παρά*; Aucher's rendering "apud" here and below is misleading.

<sup>m</sup> Possibly Philo here contrasts *ἐνθύμημα* and *ἐπιθυμία*.

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "biting" (or "striking") and contraction"; Aucher renders, "punctio et compunctio."

<sup>o</sup> πόθον.

<sup>p</sup> εὐλάβεια.

<sup>q</sup> ἀλληγορῶν.

<sup>r</sup> αἱ αἰτίαι.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

58. (Gen. ix. 3) What is the meaning of the words, "As the herbs of fodder <sup>a</sup> I have given you all things" ?

Some say that through this (statement) "as the herbs of fodder I have given you all things" the eating of meat is enjoined.<sup>b</sup> But though this (interpretation) also is admissible, I myself believe that the legislation <sup>c</sup> indicates that above all the use of herbs is necessary, and that it implies other additions <sup>d</sup> in the form of herbs without legislating. But now they <sup>e</sup> are customary not (only) among a chosen race of men nor among those who are desirous of wisdom,<sup>f</sup> by whom continence of habit <sup>g</sup> is honoured, but among all men, all of whom at once <sup>h</sup> it is impossible to keep from eating meat. But perhaps the passage <sup>i</sup> is not about food but about authority<sup>j</sup>; for not everything that is an herb is edible nor is the food of all living creatures <sup>k</sup> sure and safe. For He saw the poisonous and death-bringing (creatures) which are also (found) among all of them. And so it may be that what (Scripture) means is the following, that irrational creatures <sup>l</sup> are to be given over to, and made obedient to man, just as we sow herbs and tend them by agriculture.

\*59. (Gen. ix. 4) What is the meaning of the words, "Flesh in the blood of the life you shall not eat" <sup>m</sup> ?

(Scripture) seems to indicate through these (words) that

<sup>a</sup> ὡς λάχανα χόρτον, as in LXX; Heb. "as herbs of grass."

<sup>b</sup> Prob. χρηματίζεται, i.e. "oracularly spoken."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ νομοθετεῖν.

<sup>d</sup> Apparently meaning other kinds of food.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. herbs.

<sup>f</sup> σοφίας.

<sup>g</sup> ἐγκράτεια τῶν ἐθῶν.

<sup>h</sup> ὁμοῦ or κοινῶς.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>j</sup> περὶ ἀρχῆς or ἐξουσίας; this is explained in the last sentence of the section.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. food derived from living creatures.

<sup>l</sup> ἄλογα ζῶα.

<sup>m</sup> LXX κρέας ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς οὐ φάγεσθε; Heb. "flesh with its soul (= life), its blood you shall not eat."

## GENESIS, BOOK II

the blood is the substance of the soul,<sup>a</sup> but of the sense-perceptive and vital soul,<sup>b</sup> not of that which is called (soul) *katexochen*, (namely) that which is rational and intelligent.<sup>c</sup> For there are three parts of the soul: one is nutritive, another is sense-perceptive, and the third is rational.<sup>d</sup> Now the divine spirit<sup>e</sup> is the substance of the rational (part), according to the theologian,<sup>f</sup> for in (the account of) the creation of the world, he says,<sup>g</sup> "He breathed the breath of life into his face" (as) his cause.<sup>h</sup> But blood is the substance of the sense-perceptive and vital (soul), for he says in another place,<sup>i</sup> "The soul<sup>j</sup> of all flesh is its blood." Very properly does (Scripture) say that the blood is the soul of flesh. And in the flesh are sense-perception and passion but not mind or reflection.<sup>k</sup> Moreover, (the expression) "in the blood of the life"<sup>l</sup> indicates that soul is one thing, and blood another, so that the substance of the soul is truly and infallibly<sup>m</sup> spirit.<sup>n</sup> The spirit,<sup>o</sup> however,

<sup>a</sup> ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσία, as in Greek frag.

<sup>b</sup> τῆς αἰσθητικῆς καὶ ζωτικῆς ψυχῆς; the second adjective is omitted in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> λογικὴ καὶ νοερά, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>d</sup> θρεπτικόν . . . αἰσθητικόν . . . λογικόν, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα; with the Greek frag. we must emend Arm. *ogouy* = πνεύματος to *ogì* = πνεῦμα.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. Moses.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. ii. 7, cf. *QG* i. 5.

<sup>h</sup> The last phrase (one word in Arm.) precedes the words "the breath of life," as though it were part of the biblical text.

<sup>i</sup> Lev. xvii. 14.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. life.

<sup>k</sup> ἡ αἴσθησις καὶ τὸ πάθος, οὐχ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ὁ λογισμός, as in Greek frag.

<sup>l</sup> ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς, as in Greek frag. (after LXX); Aucher ineptly renders, "per spiritum sanguinis."

<sup>m</sup> ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀψευδῶς; the Greek frag. has only ἀψευδῶς.

<sup>n</sup> πνεῦμα, as the Greek frag. shows. Arm. *ogì* and *hogì* are phonetic alternants, each of which renders both *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*; here apparently the Arm. translator artificially equates *ogì* with *ψυχή* and *hogì* with *πνεῦμα*.

<sup>o</sup> The Greek frag. does not repeat the word *πνεῦμα*.

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does not occupy any place by itself alone without the blood but is carried along <sup>a</sup> and mixed together <sup>b</sup> with the blood. For the arteries, <sup>c</sup> the vessels of breath, contain not only air by itself, unmixed and pure, but also blood, though perhaps a small amount. For there are two kinds of vessels, veins and arteries <sup>d</sup>; the veins have more blood than breath whereas the arteries have more breath than blood, but the mixture in both kinds of vessel is differentiated by the greater or less (amount of blood and breath). This is the literal meaning. <sup>e</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>f</sup> (Scripture) calls "blood of the life" its hot and fiery virtue <sup>g</sup> (or) uprightness. <sup>h</sup> And he who is filled with this wisdom despises all food and all sensual pleasure, <sup>i</sup> which are of the belly and of the parts below the belly. <sup>j</sup> For one who is dissolute and sportive <sup>k</sup> like the wind, or hide-bound <sup>l</sup> by sloth and a soft life, <sup>m</sup> does nothing but fall on his belly like a reptile on the ground, and gives himself up to licking what is on the ground, and ends his life without tasting the heavenly food which wisdom-loving souls obtain.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "woven in and carried," probably a double rendering of ἐμφέρεσθαι, found in the Greek frag.

<sup>b</sup> Two Arm. synonyms prob. render the single Greek verb συγκεκράσθαι, found in the Greek frag. (which ends at this point).

<sup>c</sup> αἱ ἀρτηρίαι, here used in the sense of respiratory vessels, cf. *De Praemiis* 144 τοῦ μὲν ἐν φλεβῖν αἵματος . . . τοῦ δ' ἐν ἀρτηρίαις πνεύματος.

<sup>d</sup> φλέβες καὶ ἀρτηρίαι.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>h</sup> Or "rising"; Arm. *kangnout' iun* = ἀνόρθωσις, ἔγερσις, ἀνάστασις; Aucher renders, "fortitudinem" and adds, in a footnote, "vox anceps, *fortitudo* a nobis exposita, poterat etiam verti *vigor* vel *in vigore* aut *rectitudinem*."

<sup>i</sup> ἡδονῆς.

<sup>j</sup> Cf. *QG* i. 12 (above, p. 8).

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "enjoying himself"—prob. ἡδόμενος.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "hardened" or "frozen."

<sup>m</sup> ὑγρῷ βίῳ, cf. *De Vita Cont.* 47 ὑγρός . . . καὶ ἄσωτος βίος ἅπασιν ἐπίβουλος; Aucher's "vitamque humidam" misses the metaphorical sense of the adjective.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

60. (Gen. ix. 5) What is the meaning of the words, " I will require your blood of your souls, of all living creatures, and from the hand of man of his brother " <sup>a</sup> ?

There are two classes <sup>b</sup> of preyers, <sup>c</sup> one (consisting) of beasts, and the other of men. But beasts do rather little harm because they have no familiarity <sup>d</sup> with those whom they seek to prey on, and especially because they are not in authority but prey upon those who have authority. <sup>e</sup> And (Scripture) calls " brothers " those men who plot mischief, <sup>f</sup> demonstrating three things. One, that all we men are kinsmen and brothers, <sup>g</sup> being related by the possession of an ancient kinship, <sup>h</sup> since we receive the lot <sup>i</sup> of the rational nature <sup>j</sup> from <sup>k</sup> one mother. The second is that nearly all great quarrels and plots occur between those who are blood-relatives, especially brothers, whether

<sup>a</sup> The above is a literal translation of Philo's abbreviated citation of the biblical verse, which is awkwardly phrased both in Heb. and LXX. The Heb. reads, " and also your blood as to your souls (*i.e.* your life-blood) I will require from the hand of every living creature, I will require it (*sic*), and from the hand of man, from the hand of man his brother (*i.e.* every man's brother) I will require the soul (*i.e.* life) of the man "; LXX has καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἷμα τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἐκζητήσω ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν θηρίων ἐκζητήσω αὐτό, καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀδελφοῦ ἐκζητήσω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

<sup>b</sup> τάξεις ἢ τάγματα.

<sup>c</sup> ἐπιβούλων.

<sup>d</sup> οἰκειότητα.

<sup>e</sup> The two verbs are in the sing. but probably reflect Greek usage of sing. verb with neut. pl. subject (θηρία or ζῶα); Aucher renders, " maxime quod non sub principatu cadunt sed principes demoliuntur," and remarks in a footnote, " ubi subintelligitur *natura bestiarum*, quamquam Gloss. voluerit intelligi hominem." The Arm. glossator paraphrases, " Man is not under the power (of others ?) but the beasts fear him as their ruler."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. " plotters " or " cheaters " ; Aucher renders, " occisores."

<sup>g</sup> συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοί.

<sup>h</sup> κατὰ ἄνω συγγενείας σχέσιν ὠκείωμένοι.

<sup>i</sup> κλήρον.

<sup>j</sup> τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. " of " (gen. case).

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because of inheritance or because of family honour.<sup>a</sup> For family strife is even worse than that of strangers,<sup>b</sup> since (in the former) they quarrel with great knowledge.<sup>c</sup> In truth those are (like ?) genuine brothers<sup>d</sup> who are skilled in knowledge<sup>e</sup> of what attack<sup>f</sup> is to be used in battle.<sup>g</sup>

And third, it seems to me, (Scripture) applies the name of "brothers" to the unrelenting and implacable punishment of homicides in order that they may suffer without mercy for what they have done, for they have slain, not strangers but their own true brothers.<sup>h</sup> And most excellently<sup>i</sup> does (Scripture) say that God is the inspector<sup>j</sup> and overseer<sup>k</sup> of those who are slain by men. For even if (some) men despise and belittle the carrying out of justice,<sup>l</sup> let these men not be carefree and think to escape and be safe though they are impure and savage, but let them know that they have already been apprehended in a great assize,<sup>m</sup> in the divine court of justice set up for the retributive punishment<sup>n</sup> of savage men on behalf of those who have suffered unjust and undeserving attacks.<sup>o</sup> This is the literal meaning.<sup>p</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>q</sup> (Scripture) says that the beneficent, good, philanthropic and only Saviour<sup>r</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or "rights of birth" (*i.e.* primogeniture and the like).

<sup>b</sup> ξένων or ἄλλοτριῶν.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* of the weaknesses of their opponents.

<sup>d</sup> γνήσιοι ἀδελφοί (or ἀδελφῶν ?).

<sup>e</sup> ἔμπειροι.

<sup>f</sup> ὄρμη.

<sup>g</sup> The construction of this sentence is not clear to me ; a demonstrative pron. is used as the subject, and the word "brothers" is in the gen.-abl.-dat. case for a reason that escapes me ; Aucher renders, more smoothly but with questionable accuracy, "fratres vere ex natura genuini, satis conscii," etc.

<sup>h</sup> τοὺς γνησίους ἀδελφούς.

<sup>i</sup> παγκάλως.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *aycelou* and *verakazou* are prob. a double rendering of ἐπίσκοπος.

<sup>k</sup> ἔφορος ; the meaning is, of course, that God is the observer of the crime.

<sup>l</sup> δίκην.

<sup>m</sup> δικαστήριον.

<sup>n</sup> ἐκδίκησιν.

<sup>o</sup> Lit. "experiences."

<sup>p</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>q</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>r</sup> ὁ εὐμενὴς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ μόνος σωτήρ.

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does not overlook <sup>a</sup> the worth of the purity of the soul which can be saved from unending and unbearable corruption, but drives off and scatters all the enemies that surround it, (namely) the beasts and the men (called) brothers. For symbolically those are beasts who act savagely and threaten (others) with wicked murder. But men and brothers (Scripture symbolically calls) the various thoughts <sup>b</sup> and words <sup>c</sup> which are heard when expressed <sup>d</sup> by the tongue and mouth, for they are related <sup>e</sup>; and therefore they bring insurmountable misfortune, omitting no word or deed that results in misery.

61. (Gen. ix. 6) What is the meaning of the words, "He who sheds the blood of a man, in return for his blood he shall be shed" <sup>f</sup>?

There is no error in this text <sup>g</sup> but rather a sign of emphasis, <sup>h</sup> for, says (Scripture), he himself shall be shed like blood who sheds blood; for that which is shed flows out and is absorbed and does not have the power of consistency. <sup>i</sup> And by this (Scripture) indicates <sup>j</sup> that the souls of those who act impiously <sup>k</sup> imitate the mortal body in being corrupted, in so far as each of them is wont to seem

<sup>a</sup> οὐ παρορᾷ.

<sup>c</sup> τοὺς λόγους.

<sup>e</sup> συγγενεῖς.

<sup>b</sup> τοὺς λογισμοὺς.

<sup>d</sup> κατὰ προφορὰν ἀκούονται.

<sup>f</sup> Philo follows the LXX, which reads ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται. The Heb. reads more intelligibly "He who sheds the blood of a man, by a man his blood shall be shed." The Arm. O.T. combines the two texts, reading "He who sheds the blood of a man, in return for his blood, his (*i.e.* the slayer's) blood shall be shed."

<sup>g</sup> Prob. ἐξηγήσει, though Arm. *meknout' iun* also renders ἐρμηγεία.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. *erewoyt'* usu. = ἐπιφάνεια or φαντασία, neither of which fits the context; prob. the original had ἐμφάσεως, *cf.* the Ambrosian paraphrase (cited by Aucher), "sed emphasis est." Aucher himself renders, "majoris declarationis."

<sup>i</sup> δύναμιν συστάσεως (or οὐσίας).

<sup>j</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>k</sup> τῶν ἀνοσιουργῶν.

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to suffer corruption.<sup>a</sup> For the body is dissolved <sup>b</sup> into those (parts) out of which it was mixed and compounded,<sup>c</sup> and is again resolved into its original elements.<sup>d</sup> But the cruel<sup>e</sup> and labouring<sup>f</sup> soul is tossed about and overwhelmed by its intemperate way of life<sup>g</sup> and by the evils with which it has grown up,<sup>h</sup> (which are) in a certain sense its members<sup>i</sup> and grow together with it.<sup>j</sup>

\*62. (Gen. ix. 6) Why does (Scripture) say, as if (speaking) of another God, "in the image of God He made man" and not "in His own image"<sup>k</sup>?

Most excellently and veraciously<sup>l</sup> this oracle was given by God.<sup>m</sup> For nothing mortal can be made in the likeness of the most high One and Father of the universe but (only) in that of the second God, who is His Logos.<sup>n</sup> For it was

<sup>a</sup> πέφυκε δοκεῖν (or ὀραῖσθαι) φθορὰν ἐνδέχεσθαι; Aucher renders more freely and with omission of one infinitive, "quatenus singulis soleat corruptia supervenire."

<sup>b</sup> καταλύεται.

<sup>c</sup> Prob. συγχεόμενον πέφυρται.

<sup>d</sup> ἀναστοιχειοῦται.

<sup>e</sup> Or "terrible"; Arm. *džndak* = δεινός, χαλεπός, etc.

<sup>f</sup> Apparently the Arm. translator took *μοχθηρά* or *πονηρά* in the sense of "labouring" rather than "wicked."

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. *v.ll.* do not affect the sense.

<sup>h</sup> συντρόφων κακῶν, cf. *De Virtutibus* 26 δειλία . . . ἢ δ' ἐστὶ κακὸν σύντροφον.

<sup>i</sup> <τούτων> τρόπον τινὰ μελῶν αὐτῆς ὄντων; i.e. the evils are parts of the soul somewhat as limbs are parts of the body.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher's rendering of this clause is unnecessarily obscure, "una cum illa et ipsa mala connutrita idem pati solita sunt ad modum partium membrorum."

<sup>k</sup> Philo asks the natural question, why does God refer to Himself in the third person? The Arm. here differs from the LXX and the Greek frag. (preserved by Eusebius) as well as from the Arm. O.T. in having the verb "made" in the 3rd pers. instead of the 1st.

<sup>l</sup> παγκάλως καὶ ἀψευδῶς; the Greek frag. has *παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς*.

<sup>m</sup> Prob. *κεχρησµώδηται*, as in Greek frag.

<sup>n</sup> πρὸς τὸν δεῦτερον θεόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐκείνου λόγος, as in Greek frag.



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right that the rational (part) of the human soul should be formed as an impression <sup>a</sup> by the divine Logos, since the pre-Logos God <sup>b</sup> is superior to every rational nature.<sup>c</sup> But He who is above the Logos (and) exists in the best and in a special form—what thing that comes into being can rightfully bear His likeness? <sup>d</sup> Moreover, Scripture wishes also to show that God most justly avenges the virtuous and decent men because they have a certain kinship <sup>e</sup> with His Logos, of which the human mind <sup>f</sup> is a likeness and image.<sup>g</sup>

63. (Gen. ix. 11) <sup>h</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "There shall not again <sup>i</sup> be a flood to destroy the whole earth"?

Through this last (statement Scripture) shows us clearly <sup>j</sup> that there may be <sup>k</sup> many floods but not such a one as will be able to inundate the whole earth. This is the literal meaning.<sup>l</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>m</sup> it is the divine grace <sup>n</sup> which, though it does not aid all the parts of the soul in all the virtues,<sup>o</sup> nevertheless does adorn <sup>p</sup> some (of them) in some respects. For so too, though one may not be able to be vigorous <sup>q</sup> in all his body, nevertheless that which he can do to achieve vigour he should practise with

<sup>a</sup> Prob. σχηματίζεσθαι (or χαραχθῆναι, as in Greek frag.) τύπον.

<sup>b</sup> ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεός, as in Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> One Arm. ms. reads πανλογικὴ φύσις for πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις; the latter is found in Greek frag.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends with this sentence) reads slightly differently, having the conclusion in a negative rather than interrogative form.

<sup>e</sup> οἰκειότητα.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νοῦς.

<sup>g</sup> ὁμοίωσις καὶ εἰκῶν.

<sup>h</sup> Philo prob. omits comment on Gen. ix. 7-10, because these verses are largely repetitions of earlier ones.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "no longer," as in LXX οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "face to face." <sup>k</sup> Or "will be."

<sup>l</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>m</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν. <sup>n</sup> ἡ θεία χάρις.

<sup>o</sup> οὐκ ὠφελεῖ πάντα τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη κατὰ πάσας ἀρετάς.

<sup>p</sup> κοσμεῖ.

<sup>q</sup> θάλλειν.

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all care (and) diligence. Nor, if one is too weak to correct his way of life completely, should he despair of those things of which he is capable and which he can achieve. For in so far as one does not work in accordance with the power <sup>a</sup> which every one has, he is a slacker <sup>b</sup> and, at the same time, an ingrate. He is a slacker in being sluggish, and an ingrate in that, having received an excellent start,<sup>c</sup> he opposes Being.<sup>d</sup>

\*64. (Gen. ix. 13-17) Why, as a sign that there will not be a flood on all the earth, does He speak of placing His bow <sup>e</sup> in the clouds ?

Some suppose that this means that bow which by some is called the rainbow,<sup>f</sup> since from its form they take it to be a reliable <sup>g</sup> symbol for the rainbow. I, however, do not find this soundly <sup>h</sup> argued. In the first place, this bow should have its own special nature and substance,<sup>i</sup> since it is called the bow of God, for He says, "my bow I will place." And to belong to God and to be placed (means) that it is not non-existent.<sup>j</sup> But the rainbow does not have a special separate nature by itself but is an appearance <sup>k</sup> of the sun's rays in moist clouds, and all appearances

<sup>a</sup> τὴν δύναμιν.

<sup>b</sup> δειλός or νωθής.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *patčar* (here used in pl.) usu. = *αἰτία*, sometimes = *πρότασις* or *πρόφασις*. In the present passage it seems to mean a man's natural endowment from God ; Aucher renders "mediis."

<sup>d</sup> Apparently God, ὁ Ὄν, is meant.

<sup>e</sup> τόξον, as in LXX.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "girdle of Aramazd (= Zeus)"; the Greek probably had ἶριν ; the following word for "rainbow" also = ἶρις.

<sup>g</sup> Or "accurate" or "true" ; Arm. *hastatoun* = βέβαιος, ἀληθής, ἀκριβής, etc. ; Aucher renders, "constantem."

<sup>h</sup> ὑγιῶς.

<sup>i</sup> τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν καὶ οὐσίαν.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *anē* and *angoy* are prob. a double rendering of ἀνύπαρκτον.

<sup>k</sup> φαντασία or φαινόμενον.

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are non-existent and immaterial. And evidence <sup>a</sup> (of this is that) the rainbow never appears at night, although there are clouds (then). In the second place, moreover, it must be said that even by day, when the clouds are overshadowed, the rainbow never appears earlier. <sup>b</sup> But it is necessary to speak without falsehood also of the other things which the legislator <sup>c</sup> (says, namely), "my bow I will place in the clouds." <sup>d</sup> For, behold, while there are clouds there is no appearance of a rainbow. And (Scripture) says that upon the gathering of the clouds the bow will appear in the clouds. For many times when there is a gathering of the clouds, and the air is overshadowed and dense, there is nowhere an appearance of a rainbow. But perhaps the theologian <sup>e</sup> indicates something else by the bow, (namely that) in the laxness and force of earthly things <sup>f</sup> there will not take place a dissolution by their being completely loosened to (the point of) incongruity <sup>g</sup> nor (will there be) force up to (the point of) reaching a break. <sup>h</sup> But either power is determined by fixed measures. <sup>i</sup> For the great flood came about through a break <sup>j</sup> as (Scripture) itself

<sup>a</sup> πίστις.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* before the sun comes out.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ νομοθέτης.

<sup>d</sup> In this section the Arm. uses indifferently the sing. and pl. forms of "cloud."

<sup>e</sup> ὁ θεολόγος, *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. reads more intelligibly *τούτεστιν ἄνεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν τῶν ἐπιγείων*; Aucher takes the nouns in a moral sense, rendering, "in ipsa videlicet tum indulgentia tum acerbitate erga terrestres."

<sup>g</sup> This is reasonably close to the text of the Greek frag. *μήτε τῆς ἀνέσεως εἰς ἐκλυσιν ὑφιεμένης παντελῆ καὶ ἀναρμωσίαν*; Aucher renders the Arm. somewhat freely, "nec ultimam dissolutionem futuram esse ad modum (arcus) nimis mollis et inepti."

<sup>h</sup> This again is close to the text of the Greek frag. *μήτε τῆς ἐπίτάσεως ἄχρι ῥήξεως ἐπιτεινομένης*.

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. closely agrees with the Greek frag. *ἀλλὰ μέτροις ὀρισμένοις ἐκατέρας δυνάμεως σταθμηθείσης*.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *ραxαmamb παταxαmamb* is a double rendering of ῥήξει.

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confesses, saying,<sup>a</sup> "the fountains of the abyss broke forth,"<sup>b</sup> but not with any particular (degree of) violence.<sup>c</sup> Second, the bow is not a weapon but an instrument of a weapon, an arrow which pierces; and the arrow released by the bow reaches a long way from a distance,<sup>d</sup> while there is no effect on that which is close-by and remains near.<sup>e</sup> This is a sign that never again will the whole earth be flooded, for no arrow reaches every place but only the place at a distance.<sup>f</sup> Thus the bow is symbolically the invisible power of God,<sup>g</sup> which is in the air. And this (air) is thinned out when it is separated in good weather,<sup>h</sup> and is condensed when there are clouds. It<sup>i</sup> does not permit the clouds to turn wholly into water, taking care that a flood shall not again . . .<sup>j</sup> the earth, for it manages and directs<sup>k</sup> the density of the air, which is likely at that time to be especially

<sup>a</sup> Arm. lit. = ὁμολογεῖ, λέγων; Greek frag. has only φησίν.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. vii. 11, see above, *QG* ii. 18.

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. corresponds pretty closely with the Greek frag. οὐκ ἐπιτάσει ποσῆ τινι; Wendland was perhaps influenced by Aucher's rendering "non tamen vehementia sine mensura" in conjecturing ἐπιτάσει περιττῆ.

<sup>d</sup> "A long way" (lit. "part") has no parallel in the Greek frag.; Aucher omits "from a distance," which corresponds to τοῦ πόρρω in the Greek frag.; probably the Arm. is merely a double rendering of the latter.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* on the bow and the person who uses it.

<sup>f</sup> This differs from the Greek frag., which has οὕτως οὖν, φησίν, οὐ πάντες κατακλυσθήσονται, κὰν τοῦτό τις ὑπομένειν συμβῆ. For some of the remainder of this section there are two Greek parallels, one from Catena Lipsiensis, the other from Procopius.

<sup>g</sup> θεοῦ δύναμις ἀόρατος.

<sup>h</sup> This is probably an awkward rendering of some such text as that of Cat. Lips. ἀνεμῆν κατὰ τὰς αἰθρίας.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* the divine power.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. verb *yizdil* (*v.l.* *yezdil*) is unknown to the Arm. lexicons; the Arm. translator, however, must have had before him a text much like that of Cat. Lips. τῷ μὴ γενέσθαι καθόλου κατακλυσμόν.

<sup>k</sup> Prob. κυβερνᾷ καὶ ἡνιοχεῖ as in Cat. Lips.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

refractory and insolent because of a repletion of satiety,<sup>a</sup> since when there are clouds, it shows itself to be full, dripping and sated.

\*65. (Gen. ix. 18-19) Why does (Scripture) in mentioning the sons of the righteous man,<sup>b</sup> Shem, Ham and Japheth, tell of the genealogy of the middle one only, saying, "Ham was the father of Canaan," and after this add, "these (were) the three sons of Noah" ?

After first mentioning four (persons), Noah and his sons, it says that three were . . .<sup>c</sup> Since the offspring<sup>d</sup> was similar in character to the father who begot him, it reckoned both as one (person), so that they are four in number but three in power.<sup>e</sup> But he<sup>f</sup> now speaks of only the middle generation in Scripture because later on the righteous man will speak of his case.<sup>g</sup> For though he was indeed his father,<sup>h</sup> he did not rebuke the father and did not

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. agrees closely with Cat. Lips. (which ends here), ἀπαυχενίζειν καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν διὰ πλησμονῆς κόρου.

<sup>b</sup> Noah.

<sup>c</sup> The word *bnaxratakan* is not found in the Arm. lexicons. It is a compound of *boun* "nature" and *xratakan* "moral," "instructive" from *xrat* = παιδεία, νουθέτησις, ἐπιστήμη (also τάξις). What Greek compound it renders is difficult to say. Possibly it means something like "in a natural moral order." Aucher renders, "morigeratos" and in a footnote adds, "vel, pro admonendis morigeratis, vel, eos qui morum indicio fuere": he then quotes the Arm. glossator, who writes, "the three sons were *bnaxrat*, since it [Scripture] has already called Shem good, Ham evil, and Japheth neither good nor evil."

<sup>d</sup> Canaan.

<sup>e</sup> Or "potentially"—δυνάμει; Aucher has "virtute."

<sup>f</sup> Moses.

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* Noah will later on (in Gen. ix. 25, *cf.* below, § 75) curse Ham's son Canaan because of Ham's disrespect for him (Noah).

<sup>h</sup> Meaning that Ham was father of Canaan.

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give the progenitor a share of that which he thought it right for the son to share.<sup>a</sup> In the second place, it may be that (Scripture) foretells to those who are able to see from afar what is distant with the sharp-sighted eyes of the mind that He will take away the land of the Canaanites after many generations and give it to the chosen and god-beloved race.<sup>b</sup> And so (Scripture) wishes to show that Canaan, the ruler and inhabitant of that country, practised peculiar evils of his own, as well as those of his father, so that from both sides his ignobility and low-born alienness<sup>c</sup> are shown. This is the literal meaning.<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> (Scripture) does not say that Canaan was son to Ham but uses a special expression,<sup>f</sup> saying that "Ham was the father of Canaan," for such a character is always the father of such thoughts.<sup>g</sup> This is shown by the interpretations of their names, for when they are rendered from one (language) into the other,<sup>h</sup> "Ham" is "heat" or "hot,"<sup>i</sup> while "Canaan" is "merchant"<sup>j</sup> or "media-

<sup>a</sup> Apparently this means that Noah did not curse Ham as he did curse Ham's son Canaan. The Greek frag. from Procopius has a different sense (the text is given in Appendix A), namely that he (Ham) did not respect (*οὐκ ἐτίμησεν*; Arm. *oč sasteac* = *οὐκ ἐπετίμησεν*) his father (Noah), and did not give him that portion of respect which he (Noah) thought it right to receive from his son.

<sup>b</sup> *τῶ ἐκλεκτῶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ γένει.*

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. lit. = *ἀνελευθερία καὶ ἀπαλλοτριώσις* (or *προγραφῆ*) *τῆς δυσγενείας*; this last word is perhaps an error for *εὐγενείας*, which seems to be required by the context; Aucher renders, "mancipatio ac proscriptio ignobilis."

<sup>d</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν.*

<sup>e</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.*

<sup>f</sup> *ἰδίᾳ προφορᾷ.*

<sup>g</sup> *λογισμῶν.*

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* from Hebrew into Greek.

<sup>i</sup> Philo gives the same etymology of *ham* "to be hot" in *De Sobrietate* 44.

<sup>j</sup> "Canaanite" is sometimes used typologically in the sense of "merchant" in the Old Testament.

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tor.”<sup>a</sup> But now it is evidently not<sup>b</sup> a matter of kinship<sup>c</sup> or that one is the father or son of the other, but it is now evidently the (kinship of) thought with thought that (Scripture) shows, because of (Canaan’s) remoteness from kinship with virtue.<sup>d</sup>

\*66. (Gen. ix. 20) What<sup>e</sup> is the meaning of the words, “Noah began to be a husbandman of the earth”<sup>f</sup>?

(Scripture) likens Noah to that first moulded earthy man,<sup>g</sup> for it uses the same expression<sup>h</sup> of him, when he came out of the ark, as of the other,<sup>i</sup> for there was a beginning of agriculture both then and now,<sup>j</sup> both times after a flood. For at the creation of the world the earth was, in a sense,<sup>k</sup> flooded. For (God) would not have said, “Let the waters<sup>l</sup> be gathered into one gathering, and let the dry land appear,” if there had not been an inundation in some abyss of the earth. But not ineptly does (Scripture) say “he began to be a husbandman,” since in the second genesis of mankind he was the beginning of both seed and agriculture and other (forms of) life. This is the literal

<sup>a</sup> Arm. *arit'* = *μεσίτης* or *πρόξενος*, also *ἀφορμή*, *ὑπόθεσις*; Aucher renders “caussa.” What Greek word Philo used it is hard to say. In *De Sobrietate* 44, 48 Philo etymologizes “Canaan” as *σάλος* “tossing” (seemingly connecting it with Heb. *na'* = “to move (constantly)”).

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “not evidently.”

<sup>c</sup> *συγγενείας*.

<sup>d</sup> *διὰ τὴν ἀλλοτριώσιν τὴν τῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν οἰκειότητος*.

<sup>e</sup> We should prob. follow Arm. ms. C in omitting the words “On agriculture” before “what.”

<sup>f</sup> Philo closely follows *LXX καὶ ἤρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος γεωργὸς γῆς*.

<sup>g</sup> *τῷ πρώτῳ διαπλασθέντι <καὶ> γεώδει (or γηγενεῖ) ἀνθρώπῳ*. The Greek frag. from Procopius omits *γεώδει (or γηγενεῖ)*; perhaps it is a doublet in Arm.

<sup>h</sup> *λόγῳ*.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* Adam when driven from Eden, of Gen. iii. 23.

<sup>j</sup> Both in Adam’s time and in Noah’s.

<sup>k</sup> *τρόπον τινά*.

<sup>l</sup> *LXX* and Heb. have “waters under the heavens.”

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meaning.<sup>a</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>b</sup> there is a difference between being a husbandman<sup>c</sup> and a worker of the earth,<sup>d</sup> wherefore, when the fratricide<sup>e</sup> is introduced, it is said of him that he shall work the earth but not that he shall cultivate it. For symbolically the body is called "earth" (since) by nature our<sup>f</sup> (body) is earthy, and it works basely and badly like an unskilled hireling.<sup>g</sup> But the virtuous man cultivates like a skilled and experienced caretaker of plants, and the husbandman is an overseer of the good. For the worker-mind of the body, in accordance with its bodily (nature), pursues bodily pleasures, but the husbandman-mind strives to obtain useful fruits, those which (come) through continence and moderation<sup>h</sup>; and it cuts off the superfluous weaknesses (that grow) around our characters like the branches of wide-spreading trees.

67. (Gen. ix. 20) Why did the righteous man<sup>i</sup> first plant a vineyard?

It was proper (for him) to fall into perplexity<sup>j</sup> where he should find a plant after the flood, since all those things which were on the earth had wasted away and perished. But what was said a little earlier<sup>k</sup> seemed to be true, (namely) that the earth was dried up at the spring season, for the spring produced a growth of plants; accordingly,

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>c</sup> γεωργός.

<sup>d</sup> ἐργάτης τῆς γῆς; on this distinction see *De Agricultura* 5 ff.

<sup>e</sup> Cain; see *De Agricultura* 21 ff. on Gen. iv. 2.

<sup>f</sup> In the Arm. text the pronoun "our" is unaccountably separated by the relative clause from the word "body" in the main clause.

<sup>g</sup> ὡς ἀτεχνος μισθωτός (or ἔμμισθος as in *De Agricultura* 5).

<sup>h</sup> δι' ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης (the latter noun has a double rendering in Arm.).

<sup>i</sup> i.e. Noah.

<sup>j</sup> The two Arm. verbs both = ἀπορεῖν.

<sup>k</sup> In *QG* ii. 47 on Gen. viii. 14.



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it was natural that both vines and vine-shoots were found that could flourish,<sup>a</sup> and that they were gathered by the righteous man. But it must be shown why he first planted a vineyard and not wheat and barley, since some fruits are necessary and it is impossible to live without them, while others are the material of superfluous luxury.<sup>b</sup> Now those which are necessary to life he consecrated and set apart for God<sup>c</sup> as being useful (to man), not having any co-operation<sup>d</sup> in their production; but superfluous things were assigned to man, for the use of wine is superfluous and not necessary. And so, in the same way that God Himself with His own hand caused fountains of potable water to flow out without the co-operation of men, so also He gave wheat and barley. For both forms of nourishment, food as well as drink, He alone by Himself bestowed (on man). But those (foods) which are for a life of luxury He did not keep for Himself<sup>e</sup> nor grudge that they should fall to man's possession.<sup>f</sup>

\*68. (Gen. ix. 21) What is the meaning of the words, "he drank of the wine<sup>g</sup> and became drunken" ?

In the first place, the righteous man<sup>h</sup> did not drink the wine but a portion of wine<sup>i</sup> and not all of it. For the incontinent and self-indulgent man<sup>j</sup> does not give up going to drinking-bouts before he has put away inside himself all

<sup>a</sup> Prob. βλαστοὺς ἀμπέλου ζωοφυτοῦντας.

<sup>b</sup> ὕλη πλεοναζούσης τρυφῆς.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. man should not presume to claim credit for producing the necessities of life, for which God alone is responsible.

<sup>d</sup> συνεργίαν.

<sup>e</sup> οὐκ ἐνοσφίσατο.

<sup>f</sup> Construction of Arm. uncertain; Aucher renders, "quin homines assequerentur per industriam propriam."

<sup>g</sup> ἔπιεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου, as in LXX.

<sup>h</sup> Noah.

<sup>i</sup> Philo stresses the scriptural wording "drank of the wine."

<sup>j</sup> ὁ ἀκρατῆς καὶ ἀσελγῆς vel sim.

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the unmixed (wine).<sup>a</sup> But the continent and abstemious man measures the things necessary for use. And "becoming drunken" is used in the sense of <sup>b</sup> "making use of wine." For there is a twofold and double way of becoming drunken: one is to drink wine to excess,<sup>c</sup> which is a sin peculiar to the vicious and evil man; the other is to partake of wine, which always happens to the wise man.<sup>d</sup> Accordingly, it is in the second signification that the virtuous and wise man is said to be drunken, not by drinking wine to excess,<sup>e</sup> but merely by partaking of wine.<sup>f</sup>

69. (Gen. ix. 21) What is the meaning of the words, "he was uncovered in his house" ?<sup>g</sup>

It is a matter of praise for the wise man both literally and in a deeper sense <sup>h</sup> that his nakedness does not (take place) somewhere outside but that he was in his house, concealed by the screen of his house. For the nakedness of his body was concealed by his house, which was built of stone and wood. But the covering and screen of the soul is knowledge.<sup>i</sup> Now there are two kinds of nakedness. One is by chance <sup>j</sup> and comes through involuntary transgressions,<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τὸν ἄκρατον (οἶνον).

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "instead of."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "to be excessive in being senseless in drinking wine," probably an awkward rendering of a text like that of the Greek frag. τὸ παρ' οἶνον ληρεῖν.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ οἰνοῦσθαι ὅπερ εἰς σοφὸν πίπτει, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>e</sup> See note *c* above.

<sup>f</sup> On the theme of "sober drunkenness" (νηφάλιος μέθη) in Philo and other Hellenistic writers, see Hans Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas*, Giessen, 1929.

<sup>g</sup> ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, as in LXX; for "house" Heb. has "tent." On the theme of Noah's nakedness cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 60 ff.

<sup>h</sup> καὶ τὸ ῥητὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> The compound *xrat hanjaroy* elsewhere in the Arm. translation of Philo = ἐπιστήμη; Aucher here renders, "disciplina sapientiae," which is a perfectly justifiable rendering.

<sup>j</sup> ἐκ τύχης.

<sup>k</sup> δι' ἀκουσίων ἀμαρτημάτων.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

for in a certain sense <sup>a</sup> he who practises rectitude <sup>b</sup> is clothed, and if he stumbles, it is not by his own free will <sup>c</sup> but as is the case of those who are drunken or shakily stagger from one side to the other or fall asleep or are seized by madness. For those who transgress in these ways do not do so with malice aforethought. <sup>d</sup> But it is an obligation <sup>e</sup> to put on, like a covering, good instruction and good training. <sup>f</sup> And there is another nakedness, that of the soul, (which) can very nobly <sup>g</sup> escape the entire burdensome weight <sup>h</sup> of the body, as from a tomb, as if it had been buried in it a long time, as in a tomb, <sup>i</sup> and sense-pleasures and innumerable miseries of other passions and the perturbations of anxieties about evil, and the troubles caused by each of these. For he who has the power to come through <sup>j</sup> so many deeds and wounds, and strip himself of all of them, has obtained a fortunate and blessed lot <sup>k</sup> without false show <sup>l</sup> and deformity. For this I should say is beauty and adornment <sup>m</sup> in those who have proved worthy of living incorporeally. <sup>n</sup>

70. (Gen. ix. 22) Why does (Scripture) not simply say, "Ham saw the nakedness" instead of "Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father"?

<sup>a</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>b</sup> Prob. κατόρθωσιν; Aucher suggests ὀρθωσιν.

<sup>c</sup> ἐκουσία γνώμη.

<sup>d</sup> Prob. προμηθεία καὶ βουλῆ.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "service"—λειτουργία or ὑπηρεσία.

<sup>f</sup> εὐμάθειαν καὶ εὐπαιδείαν.

<sup>g</sup> πάνυ γενναίως vel sim.; Aucher "per summam virtutem."

<sup>h</sup> ὄγκον δυσχερῆ.

<sup>i</sup> The awkward repetition in the Arm. suggests a scribal error.

<sup>j</sup> διήκειν.

<sup>k</sup> εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον κληρον.

<sup>l</sup> This rendering is based on the Arm. glossator's explanation of *kmaygeak* which is not found in the large Arm. lexicon; Aucher renders, "sine labe."

<sup>m</sup> κάλλος καὶ κόσμος.

<sup>n</sup> ἀσωμάτως.

<sup>o</sup> Lit. "but."

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It convicts <sup>a</sup> both the son through the father and the father through the son, for in common and as one they have committed an act of folly, wickedness and impiety <sup>b</sup> and other evils. This is the literal meaning. <sup>c</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>d</sup> (it is) what has been said before about these things. <sup>e</sup>

\*71. (Gen. ix. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "He related it to his two brothers outside" <sup>f</sup>?

(Scripture) increasingly magnifies the accusation. <sup>g</sup> First of all, <sup>h</sup> it was not to one brother alone that he told his father's involuntary transgression but to both. And if there had been many, he would have told them all rather than only those whom he could. And this he did derisively <sup>i</sup> when he spoke to them (of a matter) deserving not of derision and jest <sup>j</sup> but of modesty, awe and reverence. <sup>k</sup> And second, (Scripture) says that he related it not within but outside, which shows clearly that he betrayed it <sup>l</sup> not only to his brothers but also to those who were standing around them outside, <sup>m</sup> men and women alike. This is the literal meaning. <sup>n</sup> But as for the deeper mean-

<sup>a</sup> ἐλέγχει.

<sup>b</sup> ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>e</sup> In § 65 on Gen. ix. 18-19.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀνήγγειλεν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔξω; Heb. has no word corresponding to ἐξελθὼν.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "complaint (or "penalty") of accusation," probably an expanded rendering of ἔγκλημα, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. has πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπεριδεῖν, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τοῦ εἰπεῖν καὶ οὐχ ἐνὶ μόνῳ κτλ.; thus the second charge in the Arm. corresponds to the third charge in the Greek frag., εἶτα οὐκ ἔνδον κτλ.

<sup>i</sup> Prob. διαχλευάζων as in Greek frag.

<sup>j</sup> The Greek frag. has only χλεύης.

<sup>k</sup> The Greek frag. has only αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας.

<sup>l</sup> Both Greek fragments (the second ends with this sentence) have ἀκηκοέναι . . . τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher's translation omits the last word.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

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ing,<sup>a</sup> the wicked and malevolent character was glad and rejoiced and evilly regarded the misfortunes of others, judging them peculiarly by himself as though (they were) right.<sup>b</sup> Because of this he even now exults at the involuntary behaviour<sup>c</sup> of the lover of wisdom,<sup>d</sup> and celebrates and proclaims<sup>e</sup> his misfortunes, and becomes an adversary and accuser,<sup>f</sup> though it would have been fitting to show tolerance and forgiveness rather than (bring) blame and accusation. And so, because, as I have said before,<sup>g</sup> these three—the good, the bad and the indifferent<sup>h</sup>—are brothers of one another (and) the offspring of one reason,<sup>i</sup> they watch over<sup>j</sup> various things; some praise the virtues,<sup>k</sup> and some, evils,<sup>l</sup> and others, wealth and honours and other goods which are around the body and outside the body. These watchers and zealots<sup>m</sup> of evil rejoice at the fall<sup>n</sup> of the wise man, and mock, accuse and slander<sup>o</sup> him on the

<sup>a</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>b</sup> Text and meaning somewhat uncertain (from “and evilly regarded”); Aucher renders, “malum est autem (in note, “*vel*, et male accusat”) aliorum miserias *vel* apud se solum judicare, ut judex corrigens” (in note, “*vel*, sicut correctio”).

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *bark'*, translated above as “character” (= ἦθος or τρόπος), also renders ἀγωγή, the meaning seemingly required by the context here; Aucher here renders, “casum.”

<sup>d</sup> τοῦ τῆς σοφίας ἔραστοῦ, *i.e.* Noah.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. “becoming a singer and announcer.”

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. synonyms are probably a double rendering of κατήγορος.

<sup>g</sup> In *QG* i. 88 on Gen. v. 32.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ἀδιάφορον.

<sup>i</sup> ἐνὸς ἔκγονοι λογισμοῦ.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *verakazouk'* lit. = “overseers,” “superintendents” and the like, and usu. renders ἐπιστάται, ἐπίσκοποι, etc.; below it is used as a parallel of *παραζηωροκ'* = ζηλωταί, which suggests that its Greek original here had the meaning of “jealous observers” or the like; Aucher renders, “prae-sides.”

<sup>k</sup> τὰς ἀρετὰς.

<sup>l</sup> τὰ κακά.

<sup>m</sup> See note *j*.

<sup>n</sup> τῷ πταίσματι.

<sup>o</sup> The two Arm. verbs are prob. a double rendering of διαβάλλουσι.

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ground that somehow <sup>a</sup> he does not profit <sup>b</sup> from those parts <sup>c</sup> of which he consists <sup>d</sup> and of which he is zealous, which are good for the soul, nor from those which (are good) for the body and are external—neither in the internal virtues nor in those things which are bodily and external goods.<sup>e</sup> But (they argue) that he alone can achieve his purpose <sup>f</sup> who is practised in wrongdoing,<sup>g</sup> which alone is wont to be of profit to human life. These and similar things are stated by those who are watchers of wicked folly <sup>h</sup> and mock the lovers of virtue <sup>i</sup> and those things by which virtue comes into being and is formed, just as some think that which is bodily and external has the status <sup>j</sup> of instruments of service.<sup>k</sup>

\*72. (Gen. ix. 23) What is the meaning of the words, "Shem and Japheth took a garment and laid it upon both their shoulders and went backward and covered the nakedness of their father and did not see it" <sup>l</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>m</sup> is clear. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>n</sup> this must be said. The light and hasty man is

<sup>a</sup> *τρόπον τινά.*

<sup>b</sup> *οὐκ ὠφελείται.*

<sup>c</sup> *τὰ μέρη*: the sense of the phrase is not clear to me.

<sup>d</sup> *συνίσταται.*

<sup>e</sup> The construction of the Arm. is obscure, as is Aucher's somewhat less literal rendering, "praesides malitiam aemulantes gaudent de sapientis lapsu, irrident et detrahunt, quasi vero ille per partes, quas praefert ac prosequitur sicut meliores pro animo, vel corpore aut externis suis, nihil profecerit nec internis, neque externis virtutibus, quominus et bonis circa et extra corpus," etc.

<sup>f</sup> *τὴν πρόθεσιν.*

<sup>g</sup> *ἀδικίαν.*

<sup>h</sup> *ἀφροσύνης ἢ πονηρίας.*

<sup>i</sup> *τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐραστὰς.*

<sup>j</sup> *τὸν λόγον.*

<sup>k</sup> *ὀργάνων διακονίας* (or *ὑπηρεσίας* or *λειτουργίας*); the connexion of ideas is far from clear.

<sup>l</sup> Philo abbreviates the biblical verse, which in both LXX and Heb., after "the nakedness of their father," reads "and their faces were backward, and the nakedness of their father they did not see."

<sup>m</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν.*

<sup>n</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.*

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satisfied to see only what is straight ahead and before his eyes.<sup>a</sup> But the wise man (sees that which is) behind, that is, the future.<sup>b</sup> For just as the things behind come after the things ahead, so the future (comes after) the present,<sup>c</sup> and the constant and wise man<sup>d</sup> obtains sight of this, like the mythical Lynceus,<sup>e</sup> having eyes on all sides. But every wise one, not man but mind,<sup>f</sup> goes backward, that is, looks behind as at a very radiant light<sup>g</sup>; and seeing everything clearly from all sides,<sup>h</sup> and looking around, is found to be hedged about and fortified, so that no part of the soul shall remain naked and unseemly before the blows and attacks that overtake it.<sup>i</sup>

73. (Gen. ix. 24) What is the meaning of the words, "Noah sobered up from the wine" <sup>j</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. is slightly different: ὁ εὐχερῆς καὶ ὁ ἀπερίσκεπτος τὸ ἐπ' εὐθείας καὶ πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν μόνον ὄρᾱ.

<sup>b</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα.

<sup>c</sup> τῶν ἐνεστώτων.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *astin* and *imastoun* are a double rendering of Greek ἀστείος, as the Greek frag. shows—*astin* "constant" being chosen here as elsewhere in Philo for its phonetic resemblance to ἀστείος.

<sup>e</sup> For the words "like the mythical Lynceus" the Greek frag. has only ἀυγαίως, prob. a corruption of Λυγκέως <δίκην>, as Harris suggests.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. agrees almost literally with the Arm., πᾶς οὖν σοφὸς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ νοῦς; Aucher, rightly puzzled, somewhat freely renders, "omnis ergo sapiens, qui non ita homo est, quantum intellectus."

<sup>g</sup> The clause "goes backward . . . light" is not found in the Greek frag.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. has only καταθεώμενος.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly περιπέφρακται πρὸς τὰ ἐνεστώτα καὶ τὰ ἀδοκῆτως κατασπιάζοντα. Apparently the "naked" and "unseemly" are due to the Arm. translator's misunderstanding of τὰ ἀδοκῆτως κατασπιάζοντα "the things that swoop down unexpectedly" as if ἀδοξον καὶ καταψιλοῦν or the like.

<sup>j</sup> So most LXX MSS., ἐξένηψεν δὲ Νῶε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου; Heb. has "And Noah awakened from his wine."

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The literal meaning is very comprehensible.<sup>a</sup> But the deeper meaning <sup>b</sup> must be rendered. When the mind <sup>c</sup> is strong, it is able to see clearly with soberness<sup>d</sup> both the things before and those behind, that is, the present <sup>e</sup> and the future.<sup>f</sup> But blindness comes upon him who is not able to see clearly either the present or the future.<sup>g</sup> And to him who sees the present and does not guard himself by foreseeing the future, wine-bibbing and drunkenness are (ascribed). But in him who is capable of looking around and comprehending the different natures of things present and future, there are soberness and sobriety.<sup>h</sup>

74. (Gen. ix. 24) Why, after reckoning Ham as the middle child of the three brothers,<sup>i</sup> does (Scripture) call him "the youngest,"<sup>j</sup> saying, "what his youngest son had done to him" ?

(Scripture) clearly allegorizes.<sup>k</sup> It takes the youngest to be, not the one who is so in age and time, but the one who is more youthful,<sup>l</sup> for wickedness is unable to receive an aged and elder teaching,<sup>m</sup> and elder are the thoughts of

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητὸν γνωριμώτατόν ἐστι.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>d</sup> νήφων.

<sup>e</sup> τὰ ἐνεστώτα; the Ambrosian paraphrase has "praeterita."

<sup>f</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. words for "present" and "future" are different from those used in the preceding sentence.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "soberness of sobriety," prob. rendering τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης νηφάλιον.

<sup>i</sup> Cf. QG i. 88 on Gen. v. 32; Aucher renders less literally, "in medietate prolium, sive medium inter fratres."

<sup>j</sup> νεώτερον, used as superlative, as in LXX; Heb. has "his small son," also indicating the youngest of three.

<sup>k</sup> ἀλληγορεῖ.

<sup>l</sup> νεώτερον; here the Arm. uses a different word from that rendered "youngest" above.

<sup>m</sup> The Arm. lit. = εἰσδέχεσθαι γεροντικὴν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν μάθησιν; Aucher renders more freely, "percipere doctrinam seniori propriam."



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wills <sup>a</sup> that are truly hoary <sup>b</sup>—this, moreover, not in body but in mind.<sup>c</sup>

75. (Gen. ix. 26) Why, in praying for Shem, does (Noah) say, “Blessed be the Lord God, God of Shem,<sup>d</sup> and Canaan shall be his servant”?

“Lord” and “God” is an apposition <sup>e</sup> of the two chief powers, the beneficent and the kingly,<sup>f</sup> through which the world <sup>g</sup> came into being. Now the king made the world in accordance with His beneficence, while after its completion it was put in order <sup>h</sup> by His sovereignty. Accordingly, He deemed the wise man worthy of the common honour <sup>i</sup> which the whole world received in common, for the parts of the world were joined with him by the powers of the Lord and God,<sup>j</sup> and He gave His beneficent grace and largess with peculiarly abundant magnificence. Therefore the name of the beneficent power, “God” is twice used; once, as has been said, in apposition with the kingly power, and a second time without visible connexion,<sup>k</sup> in order that the wise man may become worthy of both the common and the special gift <sup>l</sup> (of God), being loved both by the world and by God—by the world, because of the common grace; by God, because of the special (grace).<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> οἱ τῶν βουλῶν λογισμοί.

<sup>b</sup> πολιαί; for the metaphor see *De Sacr. Abelis* 79 ὡς δέον πολὺν μὲν μάθημα χρόνῳ μηδὲν ἀρνείσθαι.

<sup>c</sup> οὐ κατὰ σῶμα ἀλλὰ κατὰ νοῦν.

<sup>d</sup> So Arm. O.T.; LXX and Heb. have “The Lord, the God of Shem” (LXX κύριος “Lord” renders Heb. YHWH).

<sup>e</sup> Or “harmonization.”

<sup>f</sup> τῶν δυεῖν πρώτων δυνάμεων τῆς εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς; see *QG* ii. 51.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ κόσμος.

<sup>h</sup> ἐτάχθη *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> τῆς κοινῆς τιμῆς, cf. *De Sobrietate* 51-55.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher renders, “*junctis itidem partibus quoque mundi cum virtutibus Domini et Dei,*” but the Arm. requires “*junctis cum eo,*” not “*junctis . . . cum virtutibus.*”

<sup>k</sup> ἄνευ ὀρατῆς συμπλοκῆς.

<sup>l</sup> καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ τῆς ἰδίας δωρεᾶς.

<sup>m</sup> διὰ τὴν ἐξαίρετον <χάριν>.

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76. (Gen. ix. 27) Why, in praying for Japheth, does (Noah) say, " God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the house<sup>a</sup> of Shem, and Canaan shall be their<sup>b</sup> servant " ?

Leaving aside the literal meaning,<sup>c</sup> since it is clear, the deeper meaning<sup>d</sup> must be examined ; according to this, the secondary and tertiary goods<sup>e</sup> receive an enlargement, (such as) health and keenness of perception and beauty and power and wealth, glory, nobility, friends and offices<sup>f</sup> and many other such things. Therefore he says, " shall enlarge." For the full possession of so many things separately and by themselves works harm to many who do not live in accordance with righteousness and wisdom and the other virtues,<sup>g</sup> of which the full possession controls<sup>h</sup> bodily and external things. But the inaccessibility and remoteness (of virtue) leaves it<sup>i</sup> without management and use. And when it is abandoned and left alone by good overseers,<sup>j</sup> it brings harm instead of the profit which it might have brought. Wherefore he prays for him who possesses bodily and external things that " he shall dwell in the houses<sup>k</sup> of the wise man,"<sup>l</sup> in order that he may look toward the example of all good, and seeing this, may set straight his own way.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> So Arm. O.T. ; LXX has οἴκοις, Heb. " tents " ; below the Arm. has " houses " (plural).

<sup>b</sup> Some LXX MSS. and ancient versions have " his."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>e</sup> As the Ambrosian paraphrase explains, Japheth is a symbol of " the indifferent " (τὸ ἀδιάφορον) ; see above, QG i. 88.

<sup>f</sup> ὑγίειαν καὶ εὐαισθησίαν καὶ κάλλος καὶ δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐγένειαν καὶ φίλους καὶ ἀρχάς.

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς.

<sup>h</sup> οἰκονομεῖ *vel sim.* ; Aucher " optime dispensat."

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* the possession of worldly goods.

<sup>j</sup> These " overseers " have prob. no connexion with those mentioned above in QG ii. 71.

<sup>k</sup> See above, note *a*.

Shem is here the symbol of the wise man, see the preceding section.

<sup>m</sup> εὐθύνη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁδόν.

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\*77. (Gen. ix. 27) Why, when Ham sins, does (Scripture) present his son Canaan as the servant of Shem and Japheth?

In the first place, because both father and son practised the same wickedness, both being mingled without distinction, as if using one body and one soul.<sup>a</sup> And in the second place, because the father too was to be greatly saddened by the cursing of his son, knowing that it was not so much for his own sake as for his father's that he <sup>b</sup> was punished, for the punishment (fell) on the prime mover and teacher of evil thoughts, words and deeds.<sup>c</sup> This is the literal meaning.<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> potentially <sup>f</sup> they are two—not so much men as characters.<sup>g</sup> And this is shown by the giving of names, which also clearly indicates the nature of things.<sup>h</sup> For "Ham" is to be interpreted as "heat" or "hot," while "Canaan" means "merchants" or "middle-men."<sup>i</sup>

78. (Gen. ix. 28) Why did Noah, after the flood, live three hundred and fifty years?

The form of the world <sup>j</sup> was represented as founded at the beginning in two heptads of years,<sup>k</sup> and the wise man <sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὡς ἐνὶ σώματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ χρώμενοι.

<sup>b</sup> Canaan.

<sup>c</sup> τὸν ἡγεμόνα (οἱ ἀρχηγέτην) καὶ διδάσκαλον κακῶν λογισμῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> δυνάμει.

<sup>g</sup> ἦθη οἱ τρόποι.

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* the etymology of their names is indicative of their characters.

<sup>i</sup> See notes to *QG* ii. 65 near end.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ τοῦ κόσμου εἶδος.

<sup>k</sup> This appears to be the literal meaning of the obscure Arm. sentence which Aucher more freely renders, "bis septenis annis declaratur jam ex principio condita atque renovata (sub Noe) forma mundi"; he adds in a footnote that, as the Arm. glossator reminds us, the world was created in seven days, and Noah waited seven days before sending out the dove.

<sup>l</sup> ὁ σοφός (οἱ ἀστεῖος), *i.e.* Noah.

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lived the same number times twenty-five, for fourteen times twenty-five is seventy times five years, and fifty times seven. Now the reckoning <sup>a</sup> of the seventh and fiftieth year has a special order <sup>b</sup> which is Levitical, for there it is established.<sup>c</sup>

79. (Gen. x. 1) Why, among the three sons of Noah, does Ham always appear in the middle, while the extremes <sup>d</sup> vary? When they are born, Shem is mentioned first, as follows, "Shem, Ham, Japheth," <sup>e</sup> but when they beget children, Japheth is put first in order, and the family begins to be reckoned from Japheth <sup>f</sup>?

Those who investigate the literal nature of Holy Scripture <sup>g</sup> pretend to believe <sup>h</sup> concerning the order of sons that he who is mentioned first, Shem, is the youngest, while the last, Japheth, is the eldest. But such persons may think as they severally please and hold whatever belief they happen to find suitable.<sup>i</sup> By us, however, who investigate the intelligible nature of others <sup>j</sup> it must be said that of these three, the good, the bad and the indifferent, which are called secondary goods,<sup>k</sup> the bad always appears <sup>l</sup> in the middle, in order that it may be caught in the middle and overcome

<sup>a</sup> Or "principle"—*λόγος*.

<sup>b</sup> *ἰδίαν τάξιν*.

<sup>c</sup> This is probably a reference to the passages in the book of Leviticus on the Sabbath and Jubilee year; *cf. De Spec. Leg.* ii. 176.

<sup>d</sup> *τὰ ἄκρα*, *i.e.* the eldest and youngest sons.

<sup>e</sup> In Gen. x. 1; see also *QG* ii. 65 on Gen. ix. 18-19.

<sup>f</sup> In Gen. x. 2.

<sup>g</sup> *τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ῥητὴν φύσιν*.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "make pretences (or "excuses"), believing"; Aucher "ratum habent . . . putantes."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "opinionis suae ratione ducti."

<sup>j</sup> *τὴν νοερὰν τῶν ἄλλων φύσιν*: Aucher "mentalem in his sensum."

<sup>k</sup> See above, *QG* ii. 76 and *QG* i. 88.

<sup>l</sup> Or "is always reckoned (by Scripture)."

## GENESIS, BOOK II

from either side, so that either may seize it, press it closely and crush it. But the good and the indifferent or secondary good exchange their order. So long as the bad is present only virtually but not actually,<sup>a</sup> the good is first and has the rank <sup>b</sup> of governor and ruler.<sup>c</sup> But when an act results from will and intention,<sup>d</sup> and injustice does not merely remain in the mind <sup>e</sup> but is realized in unjust acts, (then) the good, which is first, changes its place to another one in the order, as do the good traits with which it is adorned, and it takes leave of instruction and management,<sup>f</sup> as if not able to understand them, like a physician when he sees an illness that is incurable. However, the eldest good ministers to that virtue <sup>g</sup> which is bodily and external,<sup>h</sup> and carefully watches the extreme ends,<sup>i</sup> confining the beast <sup>j</sup> in a net and showing that it no longer has power to bite and do harm. But when it perceives that this has not been done, it changes to a more secure and stable place, and leaves its former place for <sup>k</sup> a more powerful one, and having obtained one easy to capture <sup>l</sup> lower down, holds it ; the barrier <sup>m</sup> and guarding of this is held by a more powerful guard,<sup>n</sup> for there is nothing more powerful than virtue.

<sup>a</sup> δυνάμει μόνον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐντελεχείᾳ.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν τάξιν.

<sup>c</sup> οἰκονόμου καὶ ἄρχοντος *vel* *sim.*

<sup>d</sup> ἔργον ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ γίνεται.

<sup>e</sup> ἐν τῷ νῷ.

<sup>f</sup> διδασκαλίαν καὶ οἰκονομίαν.

<sup>g</sup> τῇ ἀρετῇ διακονεῖ.

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* Shem, the symbol of good, looks after Japheth, the symbol of "the indifferent" ; *cf.* *QG* ii. 76.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "the ends of the extremes."

<sup>j</sup> τὸ θηρίον.

<sup>k</sup> Or "to" ? As Aucher observes, the whole passage "obscurus est textus."

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. lit. = εὐάλωτον ; Aucher renders, "servatu facilem." The original of the obscure passage (which seems to have no parallel in Philo) would not be easy to reconstruct.

<sup>m</sup> Arm. *çank* means both "barrier" and "always" ; Aucher chooses the latter meaning here and renders, "semper."

<sup>n</sup> This rendering is admittedly obscure but is closer to the Arm. than is Aucher's, "faciliter enim observare semper accidit ei fortiori custodis vi."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

80. (Gen. x. 4-5) Why do "the Kittians and Rhodians<sup>a</sup> and the islands of the Gentiles" (spring) from Japheth?

Because (his name) is to be interpreted as "breadth,"<sup>b</sup> for he is broadened in growth and progress,<sup>c</sup> and is no longer contained by the other part of those regions which have been granted by Nature for the use of man, (namely) the earth, but he passes over to still another (part), the sea, and to the islands which are in it. This is the literal meaning.<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> those things which by nature<sup>f</sup> are external goods, (such as) wealth, honour and authority, are everywhere poured out and extended both to those in whose hands they are, and, at a distance, to those in whose hands they are not. And even more—or not less—do they fence them in round about and keep them close because of those who are filled with desire and are lovers of money and glory, and, since they love authority, nothing is enough for them because of their insatiable desire.

81. (Gen. x. 6) Why is Ham's eldest son Cush?

The theologian<sup>g</sup> has expressed a most natural principle<sup>h</sup> in calling Cush the eldest offspring of evil,<sup>i</sup> (since he is) the sparse<sup>j</sup> nature of earth.<sup>k</sup> For earth that is fertile, well-stocked, well-watered, rich in herbage and in grain, and well-forested is distributed and divided into the products of fruit. But sparse and dusty earth is dry, unfruitful, barren and sterile, and is carried off and lifted up by the wind, and

<sup>a</sup> LXX has Κήτιοι and Ῥόδιοι; Heb. has *Kittim* and *Dōdānīm* (prob. a scribal error for *Rōdānīm*).

<sup>b</sup> πλάτος; see above, QG ii. 76 on Gen. ix. 27.

<sup>c</sup> κατ' αὔξησιν καὶ κατὰ προκοπὴν πλατυνόμενος.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> φύσει.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ θεολόγος (Moses).

<sup>h</sup> φυσικώτατον λόγον.

<sup>i</sup> Or "of the evil one."

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "scattered" or "sporadic."

<sup>k</sup> Philo here etymologizes the name "Cush," not as a Hebrew name, but as if from Greek χῶς "heap of earth," "dust."

## GENESIS, BOOK II

causes the salubrious air <sup>a</sup> to suffer from dust. Such are the first buds of evil, for they are barren and unproductive of good practices,<sup>b</sup> and are the causes of barrenness in all the parts of the soul.<sup>c</sup>

82. (Gen. x. 8-9) Why did Cush beget Nimrod <sup>d</sup> who began to be "a giant hunter" <sup>e</sup> before the Lord, wherefore they said, "like Nimrod a giant hunter before God" <sup>f</sup>?

It is proper that one having a sparse <sup>g</sup> nature, which a spiritual bond does not bring together and hold firmly, and not being the father of constancy either of soul or nature or character, but like a giant valuing and honouring earthly things more than heavenly, should show forth the truth of the story <sup>h</sup> about the giants and Titans. For in truth <sup>i</sup> he who is zealous for earthly and corruptible things always fights against and makes war on heavenly things and praiseworthy and wonderful natures, and builds walls and towers <sup>j</sup> on earth against heaven. But those things which are here <sup>k</sup> are against those things which are there.<sup>l</sup> For this reason it is not ineptly <sup>m</sup> said, "a giant before <sup>n</sup> God," which clearly is opposition to the Deity. For the impious man <sup>o</sup> is none other than the enemy and foe who stands against <sup>p</sup> God. Wherefore it is proverbial that everyone

<sup>a</sup> τὸν ζωτικὸν ἀέρα; for the same expression see *Leg. ad Gaium* 125.

<sup>b</sup> ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher more freely renders, "causae sterilitatis animae partiumque ejus omnium."

<sup>d</sup> LXX Νεβρώ or Νεβρώθ.

<sup>e</sup> LXX γίγας κυνηγός = Heb. *gibbôr-šayid* "champion in hunting."

<sup>f</sup> Most LXX mss. have "before the Lord God"; Heb. has "before YHWH" (= "the Lord").

<sup>g</sup> See above, *QG* ii. 81, note *k*.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν μῦθον ἀληθεύειν.

<sup>i</sup> ὄντως.

<sup>j</sup> Or "heaps and mounds."

<sup>k</sup> *i.e.* on earth.

<sup>l</sup> *i.e.* in heaven.

<sup>m</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>n</sup> ἐναντίον in the biblical sense of "before" is interpreted by Philo in the usual sense of "against."

<sup>o</sup> ὁ ἀσεβής.

<sup>p</sup> Lit. "around."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

who is a great sinner should be compared with <sup>a</sup> him as the chief head and fount,<sup>b</sup> as when they say, "like Nimrod." Thus the name is a clear indication of the thing (signified), for it is to be translated as "Ethiopian,"<sup>c</sup> and his skill <sup>d</sup> is that of the hunter. Both of these are to be condemned and reprehended, the Ethiopian because pure evil has no participation in light,<sup>e</sup> but follows night and darkness, while hunting is as far removed as possible from the rational nature.<sup>f</sup> But he who is among beasts seeks to equal the bestial habits of animals through evil passions.

<sup>a</sup> Meaning doubtful; lit. "should be exchanged (or "completed"), being brought back"; Lucher renders, "referri."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "ruler and leader."

<sup>c</sup> Philo confuses the etymology of "Nimrod" with that of his father Cush, elsewhere interpreted as "Ethiopian" (though not above in *QG* ii. 81). In *De Gigantibus* 66 Philo etymologizes "Nimrod" as if from Heb. *mrd* "to rebel" and interprets it as *αὐτομόλησις* "desertion."

<sup>d</sup> τέχνη.

<sup>e</sup> ἄκρατος κακία οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κοινωνίαν τοῦ φωτός.

<sup>f</sup> τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως.



### BOOK III

1. (Gen. xv. 7) What is the meaning of the words, "I am the Lord God <sup>a</sup> who led thee out of the land of the Chaldaeans <sup>b</sup> to give thee this land to inherit" ?

The literal meaning <sup>c</sup> is clear. That which must be rendered as the deeper meaning <sup>d</sup> is as follows. The "land of the Chaldaeans" is symbolically mathematical theory,<sup>e</sup> of which astronomy <sup>f</sup> is part. And in this (field) the Chaldaeans labour not unsuccessfully or slothfully. Thus He honours the wise man with two gifts. For one thing He takes him away <sup>g</sup> from Chaldaean doctrine,<sup>h</sup> which in addition to being difficult to seize and grasp, is the cause of great evils and impiety in attributing to that which is created the powers of the Creator, and persuades men to honour and worship the works of the world instead of the

<sup>a</sup> LXX has merely "God," Heb. has merely "Lord" (YHWH). In the parallel passage, *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 96, Philo follows the LXX in reading "God." Possibly the Arm. translator has here inserted "Lord" on the basis of Arm. O.T. which reads, "Lord God."

<sup>b</sup> So LXX; Heb. has "Ur Kasdim" (=Ur of the Chaldaeans).

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "to the understanding of its nature"; Aucher more freely renders "ad sensūs essentiam." In the *Quaestiones* the usual antithesis to τὸ ῥητόν is τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>e</sup> συμβολικῶς μαθηματικὴ θεωρία ἐστί.

<sup>f</sup> ἀστρονομία in the sense of astrology.

<sup>g</sup> Or "saves him."

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "doctrine (or "school"—δόγματος) of opinions"; Aucher renders *ad hoc*, "de secta astrologorum videlicet de Chaldaeismi hallucinatione."

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Creator of the world.<sup>a</sup> And again, He grants him fruitful wisdom which He symbolically calls "land." And the Father shows that wisdom and virtue<sup>b</sup> are immutable and without change or turning, for it is not proper for God to reveal<sup>c</sup> that which is able to admit turning or change, because that which is revealed should be and remain unchangeable and constant. But that which is subject to change and is wont to be always fluid does not admit of true and proper<sup>d</sup> revelation.

2. (Gen. xv. 8) Why does (Abraham) say, "Lord,<sup>e</sup> by what shall I be informed<sup>f</sup> that I shall inherit it"?

He seeks an indication<sup>g</sup> of knowing (His) agreement.<sup>h</sup> But two things worthy of admiration<sup>i</sup> are described. (One), which is an affection of the mind,<sup>j</sup> is to trust in God in accordance with the word which He has earlier spoken. And (the other) is to have an immense<sup>k</sup> desire<sup>l</sup> not to be without a share in certain signs through which one may be sense-perceptibly informed that a promise has been confirmed. And to Him who made the promise (he shows) reverential awe by using the expression "Lord"; "for," he says, "I know that Thou art lord and ruler of all things and that Thou canst do all things and that there is nothing impossible for thee. And though I myself have faith in what Thou hast promised, I now<sup>m</sup> desire and long to

<sup>a</sup> τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἔργα ἀντὶ τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> σοφία καὶ ἀρετή. <sup>c</sup> Lit. "to show."

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. translator seems to have taken κύριος in the sense of "divine."

<sup>e</sup> LXX "Lord God," Heb. "Lord YHWH" (traditionally read as "Lord God" since YHWH by itself is conventionally read "Lord" (*Adōnay*)).

<sup>f</sup> LXX and Heb. "know."

<sup>h</sup> Or "promise."

<sup>i</sup> πάθος τοῦ νοῦ.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "desire of yearning."

<sup>g</sup> σημεῖον.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "zeal"—σπουδῆς.

<sup>k</sup> Or "inexpressible."

<sup>m</sup> Aucher may be right in connecting the adverb "now" with the infinitive "to obtain" and in rendering, "citius assequi."

## GENESIS, BOOK III

obtain, if not the fulfilment, at least some clear sign by which the fulfilment will be revealed. For I am a mortal,<sup>a</sup> and even though I have attained<sup>b</sup> the highest degree of integrity,<sup>c</sup> I am not always able to contain the impulses of desire,<sup>d</sup> so that when I see or hear something good I go to it slowly and not immediately. Wherefore I pray that Thou wilt show me a way of knowing,<sup>e</sup> so that I may comprehend the future."

\*3. (Gen. xv. 9) Why does (God) say, "Take for me a heifer three years old and a she-goat three years old and a ram three years old and a turtle-dove and a dove" <sup>f</sup>?

He mentions five animals which are offered on the sacred altar. And they are divided among these (kinds of) offerings: of terrestrial creatures<sup>g</sup> three—ox, goat and bull,<sup>h</sup> and of birds two—turtle-dove and dove. For (Scripture) celebrates<sup>i</sup> the fact that the eternal offerings take their origin from the patriarch,<sup>j</sup> who was also the founder of the race.<sup>k</sup> But instead of "bring<sup>l</sup> to me" it is said most excellently, "take for me," for to a mortal creature<sup>m</sup> there is nothing properly his own,<sup>n</sup> but all things are the gift and grace<sup>o</sup> of God, to whom it is pleasing that one who has received something should show gratitude with all eagerness.<sup>p</sup> And He commands him to take a three-year old

<sup>a</sup> γενητός.

<sup>b</sup> Or "should attain" (?).

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *k'ajabarout'iuu* usu. = καλοκάγαθία or εὐήθεια; the Arm. variant *k'ajaberout'iuu* = εὐφορία.

<sup>d</sup> τὰς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὀρμὰς.

<sup>e</sup> γνώρισμα οἱ γνώσιν.

<sup>f</sup> LXX περιστερὰν: Heb. *gōzāl* "young pigeon."

<sup>g</sup> τῶν χερσαίων.

<sup>h</sup> Philo here uses the generic names, but the last name, "bull" (Arm. *dowar* usu. = ταῦρος), is puzzling; one expects Arm. *ošxar* "sheep," as below. Possibly the Arm. translator read βουῖν for οῖν.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "sings."

<sup>j</sup> τοῦ πατριάρχου.

<sup>k</sup> τοῦ γένους.

<sup>l</sup> Or "offer."

<sup>m</sup> τῷ γενητῷ.

<sup>n</sup> κυρίως ἴδιον.

<sup>o</sup> δῶρον καὶ χάρις.

<sup>p</sup> μετὰ προθυμίας πάσης.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

one of each animal, since the number three is full and perfect, consisting of beginning, middle and end. However, it is proper to be in doubt why He adduces two females among the three animals—the heifer and the she-goat, and one male—the ram. May it not be because the ox <sup>a</sup> and goat are offered for sins, and the sheep is not? Sinning comes from weakness,<sup>b</sup> and the female is weak.

So much was it fitting and proper <sup>c</sup> to say first. But I am not unaware that all such things give occasion to idle calumniators <sup>d</sup> to reject the Sacred Writings and to talk nonsense about them. Thus they say that in the present instance nothing else but the sacrificial victim is described and indicated by the dismembering and dividing of the animals and by the inspection of the entrails. And as for what happens to them,<sup>e</sup> they say that this is an indication of chance <sup>f</sup> and of opportunely visible likenesses. But such people, it seems to me, are (in the class) of those who judge and evaluate <sup>g</sup> the whole by only one part, and do not,<sup>h</sup> on the contrary, (judge) the part by the whole. For this is the best test of anything, whether name <sup>i</sup> or object.<sup>j</sup>

Accordingly, the Legislation <sup>k</sup> is in some sense a unified creature,<sup>l</sup> which one should view from all sides in its entirety with open eyes <sup>m</sup> and examine the intention of the

<sup>a</sup> Here again Philo uses the generic name (*βοῦς*).

<sup>b</sup> ἐξ ἀσθενείας.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "harmonious and congruent"; Aucher renders, "apposite."

<sup>d</sup> τοῖς ἀπὸ σκοποῦ συκοφαντοῦσι.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders, "quod autem adsederit eis"; an ambiguity lies in Arm. *nstim* which means both "sit" and "happen"; the latter meaning is favoured by the use of the noun *ane* "happening," which Aucher omits.

<sup>f</sup> Or "fitness"; Aucher "convenientiae."

<sup>g</sup> The Greek frag., which begins with this sentence, has only one verb, κρίνουσι.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. inadvertently omits the negative.

<sup>i</sup> Instead of ὄνομα the Greek frag. has σῶμα.

<sup>j</sup> πρᾶγμα.

<sup>k</sup> ἡ νομοθεσία (the Mosaic Law); the Greek frag. has ἡ θεία νομοθεσία.

<sup>l</sup> ζῶον ἠγνωμένον.

<sup>m</sup> μέγαλοις ὄμμασι.

entire writing exactly, truly and clearly,<sup>a</sup> not cutting up its harmony or dividing its unity.<sup>b</sup> For when things are deprived of their common element, they appear to be of somewhat different form and species.<sup>c</sup> What, then, is the intention<sup>d</sup> of the Legislation? It is gnostic<sup>e</sup> and describes the various forms of knowledge,<sup>f</sup> since the sacrificial (act) is to be interpreted<sup>g</sup> as conjecture and opportune reasoning<sup>h</sup> and all (kinds of) knowledge,<sup>i</sup> through which not only are the traces of the truth followed out but they are also hidden, as love (is hidden) by flattery, (and as) natural and genuine things are subjected to tests (by comparison with) foreign and untested things.

And the natures of the aforementioned five<sup>j</sup> animals are related to the parts of the universe. The ox (is related) to the earth, for it ploughs and tills the soil. The goat (is related) to water, the animal being so called from its rushing about or leaping,<sup>k</sup> for water is impetuous; this is attested by the currents of rivers and the effusions<sup>l</sup> of the wide sea and the flowing sea. The ram (is related) to air,

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. has only ἀκριβῶς καὶ τηλαυγῶς.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. agrees closely with Greek frag., μὴ κατακόπτοντας τὴν ἁρμονίαν, μηδὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν διαρτῶντας.

<sup>c</sup> ἑτερόμορφα καὶ ἑτεροειδῆ, as in Greek frag., which ends with this sentence.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ προαίρεσις.

<sup>e</sup> γνωστικῆ; this seems to be an allusion to the allegorical interpretation of the three animal sacrifices as states of the soul, as given in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 125.

<sup>f</sup> τὰ γνωστικὰ εἶδη.

<sup>g</sup> ἀποδέχεται.

<sup>h</sup> στοχασμὸς καὶ καιρολογία (?).

<sup>i</sup> If the above rendering is correct, Aucher's is far off the track, "quoniam convenientiam et coaptatum verbum opinionemque recipit immolatio ac omnis scientia."

<sup>j</sup> The word "five" is inadvertently omitted by Aucher.

<sup>k</sup> Philo plays on the word αἶξ "goat" and ἄπτειν (aor. ἄξαι) "to dart"; cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 126 τὴν ἄπτουσαν (Wendland's conj. for MSS. δίπτουσαν, διάγουσαν) αἰσθησιν . . . αἶγα.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. *taracoumnh* = both κατάχυσις and ἐκτένεια; Aucher here renders, "extensiones."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

since it is very violent and lively, whence the ram is a most useful soul<sup>a</sup> and the most helpful of animals to mankind because it provides them with clothing. For these reasons, it seems to me, He commands him to take the females first, (namely) the she-goat and the heifer, because the elements earth and water are material and, as it were, female, while the third animal, the ram, is male because the air or the wind in some sense<sup>b</sup> becomes male.<sup>c</sup> For all nature is divided either into body or earth or water, and these are female by nature; while the soul-like<sup>d</sup> air (comes under the head) of the more vital spirit.<sup>e</sup> And this, as I have said, is male. It is therefore proper to call the moving and active cause<sup>f</sup> male, and female that which is moved and passive.

But to the birds, such as the dove and the turtle-dove, the whole heaven is equally<sup>g</sup> appropriated,<sup>h</sup> being divided into the circuits of the planets and the fixed stars. And so (Scripture) assigns<sup>i</sup> the dove to the planets, for this is a tame and domesticated creature, and the planets also are rather familiar to us, as though contiguous to terrestrial places, and sympathetic.<sup>j</sup> But the turtle-dove (is related) to the fixed stars, for this animal is something of a lover of solitude,<sup>k</sup> and avoids meeting and mixing with the multitude. (So too) is the inerrant sphere<sup>l</sup> distant (from us) and at the ends of the world,<sup>m</sup> at the very extremes of nature.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> So lit. ; Aucher renders, " animal."

<sup>b</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>c</sup> Prob. ἀρρενοῦται.

<sup>d</sup> ψυχοειδής.

<sup>e</sup> ζωτικώτερον πνεῦμα (ὁ ζωτικώτερον πνοήν).

<sup>f</sup> τὸ κινῶν καὶ δρῶν αἴτιον ; cf., e.g., *De Fuga* 133.

<sup>g</sup> ἴσως or " in common "—κοινῇ ; Aucher omits the adverb in his rendering.

<sup>h</sup> οἰκειοῦται ; Aucher renders, " familiaris reperitur."

<sup>i</sup> ἀφορίζει vel sim.

<sup>j</sup> συμπαθεῖς.

<sup>k</sup> φιλέρημος ; cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 126-127.

<sup>l</sup> ἡ ἀπλανῆς σφαῖρα.

<sup>m</sup> Arm. *tiezerk'* renders both οἰκουμένη and τὸ πᾶν.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, " sic longinquus et in ultimis orbis extremitatibus est globus inerrans."

## GENESIS, BOOK III

And both orders of the two birds <sup>a</sup> are likened to the heavenly forces, wherefore, as the Socratic Plato says, <sup>b</sup> it is likely <sup>c</sup> that "Heaven is a flying chariot" because of its very swift revolution which surpasses in speed even the birds in their course. Moreover, the aforesaid birds are singers, and the prophet <sup>d</sup> is alluding to the music <sup>e</sup> which is perfected in heaven and is produced by the harmony <sup>f</sup> of the movement of the stars. For it is an indication of human skill <sup>g</sup> that all harmonic melody is formed by the voices of animals and living <sup>h</sup> organs through the mechanism <sup>i</sup> of the intelligence. But the heavenly singing does not extend or reach as far as the Creator's earth, as do the rays of the sun, because of His providential care for the human race. For it <sup>j</sup> rouses to madness those who hear it, and produces in the soul an indescribable and unrestrained pleasure. It causes them to despise food and drink and to die an untimely death through hunger <sup>k</sup> in their desire for the song. For did not the singing of the Sirens, as Homer says, <sup>l</sup> so violently summon listeners that they forgot their country, their home, their friends and necessary foods? And would not that most perfect and most harmonious and truly heavenly music, when it strikes the organ of hearing, compel them to go mad and to be frenzied <sup>m</sup>?

Now concerning the fact that these several (animals) were three years old and three in number we have spoken above. But here something must be said in accordance

<sup>a</sup> *Sic*; the "two" is superfluous in English, of course.

<sup>b</sup> *Phaedrus* 246 Ε ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεύς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα.

<sup>c</sup> Or "fitting."

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>e</sup> τὴν μουσικὴν.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "is harmonized" (two Arm. verbs being used).

<sup>g</sup> τέχνης.

<sup>h</sup> Or "respiratory"; Aucher renders, "instrumentorum animantium."

<sup>i</sup> Or "contrivance" or "method."

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* the heavenly singing.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "to die of early death-bringing hunger."

<sup>l</sup> *Od.* xii. 39-45 (paraphrased).

<sup>m</sup> κορυβαντιᾶν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

with another form of reasoning.<sup>a</sup> For it appears that each of those things which are sublunar, (namely) earth and water and air are triads.<sup>b</sup> For the earth's divisions are vast continents and islands and peninsulas. And those of water are sea and rivers and lakes. And of the air the two equinoxes, the summer and winter solstices<sup>c</sup> are reckoned as one, for the equinoxes have one (and the same) interval of night and day and in the same manner are neither hot nor cold. And the summer and winter solstices . . .<sup>d</sup> For the sun is borne through these three cycles,<sup>e</sup> those of summer, winter and the equinox.<sup>f</sup> Now this interpretation is most natural.<sup>g</sup> But a more ethical one<sup>h</sup> must be discussed.

To every one of us there happen to belong<sup>i</sup> these things: body and sense-perception and reason.<sup>j</sup> Accordingly, the heifer is related<sup>k</sup> to bodily substance, for our body is tamed

<sup>a</sup> Or "of the mystery"; Arm. *xorhourd* = both *λογισμός* and *μυστήριον*; Aucher here renders, "sub altera specie mysterii."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher more freely renders, "trino gaudere ordine." In *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 133-136 Philo speaks of the *twofold* division of natural elements to fit his allegory of Abraham's dividing of the sacrificial animals "in the middle"; see below, *QG* iii. 5.

<sup>c</sup> *προπαί*. The Arm. text adds in parentheses "like the vernal and autumnal"; the Ambrosian paraphrase has "aer quoque habet divisiones temporum veris, aestatis, autumni, hyberni." Probably the Arm. text is here corrupt; the context seems to require a reference only to the two solstices here; see note *f* below.

<sup>d</sup> There is no verb in the Arm. text; Aucher amplifies in rendering, "quibus adde conversiones aestivam et brumalem."

<sup>e</sup> *κύκλους* or *στροφάς*.

<sup>f</sup> *τῆς ἰσημερίας* (sing.); Philo artificially preserves the threefold division of the climate by counting the two equinoxes as one, and the two solstices separately.

<sup>g</sup> Or "physical"—*φυσικωπάτη*.

<sup>h</sup> *ἠθικωτέρα*. <sup>i</sup> *συμβαίνει ὑπάρχειν vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> *σῶμα καὶ αἴσθησις καὶ λόγος*.

<sup>k</sup> Or "likened"—*ὡκείωται*.



## GENESIS, BOOK III

and driven and made to obey and is yoked to the service of life. And Nature is feminine in a material sense,<sup>a</sup> and proves on investigation <sup>b</sup> to be solely suffering and passive rather than active.<sup>c</sup> And the she-goat is to be likened to the community of senses,<sup>d</sup> whether because the various objects perceived are referred to their (appropriate) sense or because the impulse and movement of the soul come from the impressions made upon the senses.<sup>e</sup> And these are first followed by inclination and aversion,<sup>f</sup> which some call occasion,<sup>g</sup> which is an impulse <sup>h</sup> of any kind. Since sense-perception is feminine, for it is affected by the perceived object, (Scripture) couples it with a female animal, a she-goat. But the ram is kin to reason,<sup>i</sup> first of all, because this is masculine and because it is energetic,<sup>j</sup> and then <sup>k</sup> because it is the cause of the world and its foundation.<sup>l</sup> For the ram (is necessary) because of the clothing (which it yields),<sup>m</sup> while reason (is necessary) in the ordering of life. For whatever is not disordered and unruly, from that very fact <sup>n</sup> has reason. But there are two forms of reason: there is one in nature, by which things in the sense-perceptible world are analysed <sup>o</sup>; and (the other is

<sup>a</sup> καθ' ἑλγην.

<sup>b</sup> ἐξετάζεται.

<sup>c</sup> φέρειν καὶ πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ποιεῖν.

<sup>d</sup> τῆ τῶν αἰσθήσεων κοινωνία.

<sup>e</sup> ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄρμη καὶ κίνησις γέγονται ἐκ τῶν διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φαντασιῶν. For this formulation see, e.g., *De Opif. Mundi* 166 τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φαντασίας.

<sup>f</sup> οἰκείωσις καὶ ἀλλοτριώσις, cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 154.

<sup>g</sup> Prob. ἀφορμήν, see next note.

<sup>h</sup> ὄρμη. It is not clear whether Philo here contrasts ὄρμη with ἀφορμή, as the Stoics sometimes did, or considers ἀφορμή as a special kind of ὄρμη.

<sup>i</sup> τῷ λόγῳ. <sup>j</sup> ἐνεργός, or "efficient"—δραστήριος.

<sup>k</sup> Aucher's "secundo" and "tertio" are amplifications of the Arm. text.

<sup>l</sup> τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἰδρύσεως.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "for the ram is through clothing."

<sup>n</sup> εὐθύς (?).

<sup>o</sup> Cf. the parallel passage in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 125 λάβε μοι κριόν, λόγον . . . ἱκανὸν μὲν τὰ σοφίσματα . . . λῦσαι.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

found) in those forms which are called incorporeal, by which the things of the intelligible world are analysed. With these are compared the dove and the turtle-dove. For the dove (is a symbol) of physical theory,<sup>a</sup> for it is a very tame bird, and sense-perceptible things are familiar to sight. And the soul of the physicist and physiologist<sup>b</sup> leaps up and grows wings and is borne aloft and travels round the heavens, viewing all its parts and their several causes. But the turtle-dove is likened to the intelligible and incorporeal form (of reason); for just as this creature is fond of solitude,<sup>c</sup> so (the reason) by an effort surpasses the forms of sense-perception<sup>d</sup> and is united in essence with the invisible.<sup>e</sup>

4. (Gen. xv. 10) Why does (Scripture) say, " And he took for Him<sup>f</sup> all these things " ?

Most excellently does it add the expression, " he took for Him," for it is the act of a god-loving soul<sup>g</sup> which has received any good and precious theories and doctrines, to attribute them not to itself but to God, who gives favours.<sup>h</sup>

5. (Gen. xv. 10) What is the meaning of the words " And he divided them in the middle and placed them one opposite the other " <sup>i</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> φυσικῆς θεωρίας.

<sup>b</sup> τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ φυσιολόγου.

<sup>c</sup> φιλέρημος.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher, wrongly, I think, renders, " excellit violentas sensus species."

<sup>e</sup> For the symbolism of dove and turtle-dove as human and divine reason see *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 126-127.

<sup>f</sup> LXX ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ renders Heb. *wayyiqah lo*, " he (Abraham) took for himself." In Heb. the reflexive pron. is identical in form with the personal pron. Philo artificially presses the use of αὐτῷ (= God) where LXX should have used ἐαυτῷ (= Abraham).  
<sup>g</sup> φιλοθέου ψυχῆς. <sup>h</sup> χάριτας.

<sup>i</sup> This phrase provides the text for an extended allegory in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 129-229, which is here greatly abridged, though the passage on the bilateral symmetry of the body in our text is longer than the corresponding passage (§ 151) in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres*.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

The structure of the body also is somewhat of this sort in make-up. For the kindred <sup>a</sup> parts are as it were divided and separated in opposition, inclining and facing toward one another for the sake of natural co-operation <sup>b</sup>; for the Creator of life <sup>c</sup> so divided it for the sake of use, in order that one (part) might be concerned with <sup>d</sup> another and that they might mutually serve one another by exchanging necessary services. For example, that which is directly seen from the middle of the nose is divided between the two eyes, each of them moving round toward the other. For the pupils inclining toward one side, in a certain sense, <sup>e</sup> look toward each other, not wandering outward or straying from the position of the eyes, <sup>f</sup> but each looking toward the direction of the other, especially when they come across something to be seen. Again, hearing is divided between the two ears, and both of them are turned toward each other, tending to one place and to the same activity. Moreover, smell is divided between the two nostrils, going round to the tubes <sup>g</sup> of each nostril, for these are not turned or bent down to the cheeks <sup>h</sup> or drawn up so that one of them faces toward the right and the other toward the left, but being gathered and brought together inwardly, they admit smells by a common act. <sup>i</sup> Moreover, the hands are made, not interchangeable, <sup>j</sup> (but as) brothers and divided parts facing each other, and by nature prepared beforehand for their appropriate activity and deeds in taking and giving and working. Furthermore, the soles of the feet (co-operate), for each foot is so made that it yields to the other, and walking is achieved by the movement of both but cannot be completed by one alone. And not only the

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "brother."

<sup>b</sup> ἕνεκα τῆς φυσικῆς συνεργείας.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ ζωοπλάστης.

<sup>d</sup> περιεργάζεται (?)

<sup>e</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>f</sup> μὴ ἔξω πλανούμεναι μηδ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν θέσεως  
ῥεμβόμεναι *vel sim.*

<sup>g</sup> πρὸς τοὺς αὐλοὺς.

<sup>h</sup> Or "jaws."

<sup>i</sup> κοινοπραγία.

<sup>j</sup> οὐκ ἐνηλλαγμένοι.

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feet <sup>a</sup> and the legs but also the thighs and the backbone <sup>b</sup> and the ribs and the breasts and the right and left sides, being divided in the same way, indicate harmony and fitness and, as it were, the natural union of each of the forms considered.

And in general whoever at one and the same time equally considers two divided parts which have been brought together in one place, will find that both constitute one nature.<sup>c</sup> When, for example, the hands are united with, and extended toward, the fingers, they appear to form <sup>d</sup> a harmony with them. And when the feet are brought together, they adhere to the same place.<sup>e</sup> And the ears are gathered in the form of a theatre with circles, and are united across the cavity.<sup>f</sup> So also in the case of each of the forms of those parts that belong to us, nature effects a division and separates the divided parts so that they are opposite and facing, whereby an ornamental effect <sup>g</sup> is obtained, and at the same time that which is of service (is put into) easy operation. And again it unites each of these several forms in one operation and in the same work, bringing together and assembling what is comprehensively viewed.<sup>h</sup>

Now it is not only the parts of the body that one sees

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "steps."

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps Philo means the vertebrae of the spine; Aucher renders, apparently *ad hoc*, "scapulae."

<sup>c</sup> *μίαν φύσιν.*

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "to admit."

<sup>e</sup> Meaning slightly uncertain; Aucher renders, more freely, "et pedes recollecti in unionem tendere."

<sup>f</sup> Philo compares the ridges of the ear with the circular tiers of an amphitheatre, as in *De Poster. Caini* 104 *πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ὠτων σχῆμα ἄκρως ἢ θεάτρων κατασκευὴ μεμίμηται.* The "cavity" seems to mean the hollow of the skull, represented as similar to the hollow space enclosed by the tiers of the theatre.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "ornament"—*κόσμος.* Aucher rightly remarks in his footnote that Arm. *ašxarh* may be rendered either as "mundus," or "ornamentum." The latter meaning is called for here.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "what it views moving in a circle"; Aucher renders, "colligens omnia universim considerata."

## GENESIS, BOOK III

thus connected and paired, separated in union and united in division, but also those of the soul. For of this too the higher divisions are two, like public squares,<sup>a</sup> that is the rational and irrational,<sup>b</sup> and the parts of either division have their own sections. Thus, for example, the rational (is divided) into mind and speech,<sup>c</sup> while the sensible part<sup>d</sup> (is divided) into the four senses, since the fifth (sense), touch, is common to the (other) four. Two of these, by which we see and hear, are philosophic,<sup>e</sup> and through them a good life is attained by us. But the others, being non-philosophic, (namely) smell and taste, are servants and have been created only for living. Smelling is for the sake of the smell,<sup>f</sup> for they continuously take up one another<sup>g</sup>; and continuous breathing is the food of living beings. And taste is for the sake of<sup>h</sup> food and drink. Thus smell and taste strengthen the mortal body. But sight and hearing help the immortal mind.

Accordingly, these divisions of our limbs in body and soul were made by the Creator. But one should recognize that the parts of the world also are divided into two and are set up one against the other. The earth (is divided) into mountains and plains, and water into sweet and salt; the sweet or potable<sup>i</sup> is that which springs and streams yield, and the salt is from the sea. And the climate (is divided) into winter and summer, and again into spring

<sup>a</sup> Or "colonnades" (possibly double colonnades); Aucher renders "plateae." The point of the comparison escapes me.

<sup>b</sup> λογικός καὶ ἄλογος.

<sup>c</sup> εἰς νοῦν καὶ τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον—Stoic terminology often used elsewhere in Philo.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ αἰσθητικόν.

<sup>e</sup> φιλόσοφοι.

<sup>f</sup> ὄσφρησις διὰ τὴν ὀσμήν (?); perhaps Aucher is right in taking the Arm. prep. *i zern* in its usual sense of "through" (= *διά* with gen.), but, if so, the phrase becomes still more obscure.

<sup>g</sup> Meaning uncertain; Aucher renders, "plura continet se se excipientia."

<sup>h</sup> See note *f* above.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher's rendering omits the word "potable."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and autumn. And setting out from this fact, Heraclitus wrote books *On Nature*, getting his opinions on opposites from our theologian,<sup>a</sup> and adding a great number of laborious arguments to them.<sup>b</sup>

6. (Gen. xv. 10) Why does (Scripture) say, "But the birds he did not divide"<sup>c</sup>?

It indicates<sup>d</sup> the fifth and cyclic nature<sup>e</sup> of which the ancients said the heaven is made.<sup>f</sup> For the four elements,<sup>g</sup> as they are called, are mixtures rather than elements, and by them they divide<sup>h</sup> those divided things into that of which they are mixed.<sup>i</sup> Thus, for example, the earth contains in itself also a watery (element) and an aerial one and what is called a fiery one more by comprehension than by sight. And water is not so pure and unmixed that it does not have some share of wind and earth. And in each of the others there are mixtures. But the fifth substance<sup>j</sup> only is made unmixed and pure, for which reason it is not of a nature to be divided. Wherefore it is well said that "the birds he did not divide," since,

<sup>a</sup> τοῦ θεολόγου (Moses).

<sup>b</sup> That Heraclitus was indebted to Moses for his theory of the harmony of opposites is stated by Philo also in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 214.

<sup>c</sup> For another allegory of this half-verse see *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 230-236.

<sup>d</sup> ἀνίπτεται.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* the quintessence, *cf.* *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 283 πέμπτη . . . οὐσία κυκλοφορητική. Ultimately the term is based on Aristotle, *De Caelo* i. 2 f.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "is perfected."

<sup>g</sup> στοιχεῖα.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. verb is 3rd pers. sing., but probably reflects Greek 3rd sing. with neuter pl. subject.

<sup>i</sup> This rendering (like the elements spoken of) is rather mixed up, but so is the Arm. text, as well as Aucher's rendering, "quibus subdividit jam divisa in id (*vel*, ex illo) ex quo commixta sunt."

<sup>j</sup> Or "quintessence," see note *e*.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

as in the case of birds, it is the nature of celestial bodies, the planets and fixed (stars), to be elevated and to resemble both (kinds of) clean <sup>a</sup> birds, the turtle-dove and the dove, which do not admit of cutting or division, since they belong to the simpler and unmixed fifth substance,<sup>b</sup> and therefore this nature, more especially resembling unity, is indivisible.

\*7. (Gen. xv. 11) What is the meaning of the words, "And the birds came down upon the divided bodies" <sup>c</sup> ?

Because the three divided animals, the heifer, the she-goat and the ram, are symbolically,<sup>d</sup> as we have said, earth, water and air. But (we must) harmoniously fit the answer to the question by weighing the truth of the comparison in our reason.<sup>e</sup> May it not be that by the flight of the birds over the divided (bodies, Scripture) alludes to, and warns against, the attack of enemies? For every sublunary nature is full of battles and domestic and foreign disasters.<sup>f</sup> It is for the sake of food and gluttony that birds are seen to fly over divided bodies; and by nature the more powerful rush upon the weaker as if upon dead bodies, often coming at them unexpectedly. But they do not fly over the turtle-dove and dove, for heavenly (beings) are without passion and without guile.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* ritually clean—καθαρῶν.

<sup>b</sup> τῇ ἀπλουστέρα καὶ ἀκράτῳ πέμπτῃ οὐσίᾳ.

<sup>c</sup> LXX (followed by Arm. O.T.) has κατέβη δὲ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, τὰ διχοτομήματα αὐτῶν, differing slightly from Heb., which reads "And there came down the birds-of-prey upon the carcasses."

<sup>d</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>e</sup> By taking Arm. *xndreçeloyñ* (here = ζητήσεως) to mean "reason," and *xorhrdovk'* (here λογισμῶ) to mean "mystery," Aucher has given an inexact rendering, "opus est tamen coaptare redditionem rationis, perpensa veritate sub mysterio similitudinis."

<sup>f</sup> ἐμφυλίων καὶ ξένων κακῶν, as in the Greek frag. (which consists of only one sentence).

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\*8. (Gen. xv. 11) Why does (Scripture) say, "And Abraham stopped and sat over them"<sup>a</sup>?

Now those who believe that a (literal) sacrifice is signified by the present passage say that the virtuous man stops, as it were, and sits in an assembly,<sup>b</sup> examining the entrails and taking them as a reliable indication<sup>c</sup> (and) as that which shows forth the truth. But we disciples<sup>d</sup> of Moses, clearly understanding the intention of our teacher, who turns his face away from every form of prognosis<sup>e</sup> and believes in God alone, say that by these now gathered birds that fly above he<sup>f</sup> represents the virtuous man,<sup>g</sup> and symbolically indicates nothing else than that he restrains wrongdoing and greed, and is hostile to quarrels and fights, but loves stability and peace. And he is really, as it were, the true guardian of peace. For because of evil men no city has quiet and peace,<sup>h</sup> but they remain unmoved<sup>i</sup> through the goodness of one or two inhabitants<sup>j</sup> whose virtue heals these civic diseases,<sup>k</sup> for the virtue-

<sup>a</sup> Philo's "stopped" (or "went over") is an addition to Scripture; his "sat over" is a slight variation of LXX συν-εκάθισεν αὐτοῖς, which, in turn, mistakes Heb. wayyaššēb 'othām "and he drove them off" for wayyēšēb 'ittām "and he sat with them." The half-verse is also allegorized in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 243-248 where Philo concludes that the good man sits down in the company of unjust men to restrain them like a presiding officer or judge.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

<sup>c</sup> Or "symbol."

<sup>d</sup> γνώριμοι.

<sup>e</sup> ἀπὸ παντὸς γνωστικοῦ (?) εἶδους; Aucher renders, "ab omni specie sophistica vel pronostica."

<sup>f</sup> i. e. Moses.

<sup>g</sup> τὸν σπουδαῖον.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag., which begins with this sentence, has ἠρέμησεν ἄν.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. has ἀστασίαστοι.

<sup>j</sup> The Greek frag. from Cod. Rup. reads a little differently δι' ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦντος; the Arm. read οἰκοῦντος (as in John Monachus) for ἀσκοῦντος.

<sup>k</sup> The Arm., like Anton Melissa, read πολιτικὰς νόσους; Cod. Rup. reads πολεμικὰς νόσους.



## GENESIS, BOOK III

loving <sup>a</sup> God grants as an honour to excellent men, <sup>b</sup> that they help not only Him <sup>c</sup> but also those who approach (Him). <sup>d</sup>

9. (Gen. xv. 12) What is the meaning of the words, "At sunset an ecstasy <sup>e</sup> fell upon Abram and behold a great dark fear <sup>f</sup> fell upon him" <sup>g</sup> ?

A certain divine tranquility <sup>h</sup> came suddenly upon the virtuous man. For ecstasy, <sup>i</sup> as its very name clearly shows, is nothing else than the departing and going out of the understanding. <sup>j</sup> But the race of prophets <sup>k</sup> is wont to suffer this. For when the mind is divinely possessed <sup>l</sup> and becomes filled with God, <sup>m</sup> it is no longer within itself, for it receives the divine spirit <sup>n</sup> to dwell within it. Nay rather, as he <sup>o</sup> himself has said, it fell upon (Abram), for it does not come upon one gently and softly but makes a sudden

<sup>a</sup> φιλαρέτου, as in Anton Melissa ; Cod. Rup. has φιλανθρώπου.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "to excellence"—καλοκάγαθία.

<sup>c</sup> God rather than the city seems to be referred to by the pronoun, which has no distinction of gender in Arm. ; the Greek frag. has τοῦ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὠφελεῖσθαι ; Aucher renders differently, "nec eis solum modo sed illis quoque qui (vel, quibus) appropinquant ad utilitatem parandam."

<sup>d</sup> The pronoun is supplied from the context.

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἔκστασις ; Heb. *tardēmāh* "deep sleep."

<sup>f</sup> LXX φόβος μέγας σκοτεινός.

<sup>g</sup> Philo expounds this verse at length in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 249-265, enumerating four kinds of ecstasy, of which the fourth is ἐνθουσιῶντος καὶ θεοφορήτου τὸ πάθος.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. ὑπαρηγοῦμνη usu. = ἀσφάλεια but connotes freedom from anxiety.

<sup>i</sup> Here the Arm. word for "ecstasy," *artakaçout'ium* is different from that used above to render LXX ἔκστασις ; the latter, *hιαçoumne* more properly means "astonishment."

<sup>j</sup> λογισμοῦ ἢ διανοίας.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ προφητικὸν γένος.

<sup>l</sup> ἐνθουσιάζει.

<sup>m</sup> θεοφόρητος γίνεταί.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα.

<sup>o</sup> Moses.

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attack.<sup>a</sup> Excellent, moreover, is that which is added, (namely) that “a great dark fear<sup>b</sup> fell upon him,” for all these are ecstasies of the mind, since he who is in fear is not within himself. And darkness is an impediment to sight; and the greater the fear is, so much duller does (the mind) become in seeing and understanding. These things, moreover, are not ineptly<sup>c</sup> spoken of but as evidence of the clear knowledge of prophecy, by which oracles and laws are legislated by God.<sup>d</sup>

10. (Gen. xv. 13-14) Why (does Scripture say), “It was said to him,<sup>e</sup> Thou shalt surely know<sup>f</sup> that thy seed shall be a sojourner<sup>g</sup> in a land not its own, and they<sup>h</sup> will enslave them and oppress them and afflict them<sup>i</sup> for four hundred years”<sup>j</sup>?

Most excellently is it indicated that “it was said to him,” for the prophet seems to say something but he does not give his own oracle<sup>k</sup> but is the interpreter<sup>l</sup> of another,<sup>m</sup> who puts things into his mind. However, that which he utters and murmurs in words is all true and divine; first of all, because the human race lives on another’s earth, for all that which is under heaven is the possession of God, and those who live on it may properly and legitimately

<sup>a</sup> ὄρμην *vel sim.*

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. word for “fear” here is different from that used above to render LXX φόβος.

<sup>c</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>d</sup> χρησμοὶ καὶ νόμοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νομοθετοῦνται.

<sup>e</sup> Most LXX MSS. and Heb. have “to Abram.”

<sup>f</sup> Lit. “knowing thou shalt know.” The Arm., like the LXX, reflects the Heb. idiom.

<sup>g</sup> πάροικος.

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* the natives.

<sup>i</sup> δουλώσουσι καὶ ταπεινώσουσι καὶ κακώσουσι αὐτούς, as in some LXX MSS.

<sup>j</sup> The verse is discussed also in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 266-271.

<sup>k</sup> Or “edict.”

<sup>l</sup> ἔρμηνεύς, here rendered by two Arm. words.

<sup>m</sup> *i.e.* of God; *cf.* *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 266.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

be said to be sojourners<sup>a</sup> rather than to inhabit their own territory, (which) they do not<sup>b</sup> hold by nature. Second, because the whole race of mortals<sup>c</sup> is a slave.<sup>d</sup> And no one is free<sup>e</sup> but (everyone) has many masters and gets beatings and ill-treatment both outside and inside himself; outside there is winter, which chills him, and summer, which burns him, and hunger and thirst and many other afflictions; and inside there are sense-pleasures, desires, sorrow and fear. But this slavery is limited to four hundred years after the above-mentioned passions come upon (them).<sup>f</sup> For this reason it was earlier said<sup>g</sup> that "Abram stopped<sup>h</sup> and sat over them," (that is) he was hindering and driving off and turning away, in word<sup>i</sup> the flesh-eating birds which were flying over the divided animals, but in deed<sup>j</sup> the afflictions which come upon men. For he who is by nature zealous for virtue and by practice is a lover of man,<sup>j</sup> is a healer of our race and is a genuine and true apothecary<sup>k</sup> and dispeller of evils. Now all these are allegories of the soul.<sup>l</sup> For the soul of the wise man, when it comes from above<sup>m</sup> from the ether and enters into a mortal and is sown<sup>n</sup> in the field of the body, is truly a sojourner in a land not its own, for the earthy nature of the body is an alien<sup>o</sup> to the pure mind and subjects it to slavery and brings upon it all kinds of suffering until the

<sup>a</sup> παροικεῖν.

<sup>b</sup> The negative seems intrusive here.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "mortalis quisque in genere."

<sup>d</sup> δούλος; cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 267-271.

<sup>e</sup> ἐλεύθερος.

<sup>f</sup> The point is more clearly made in the parallel, *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 269, "And the slavery is for 400 years, in accordance with the powers of the four passions."

<sup>g</sup> See *QG* iii. 8 on Gen. xv. 11.

<sup>h</sup> Or "went over."

<sup>i</sup> λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δέ.

<sup>j</sup> φιλάνθρωπος.

<sup>k</sup> φαρμακευτής.

<sup>l</sup> περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλληγορεῖται.

<sup>m</sup> ἄνωθεν.

<sup>n</sup> σπείρεται.

<sup>o</sup> ξένος.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Saviour <sup>a</sup> brings to judgment the race taken captive <sup>b</sup> by passion, and condemns it ; for thus does it once more enter into freedom. <sup>c</sup> Therefore (Scripture) adds <sup>d</sup> “ But the nation whom they shall serve I will judge, and after this they shall go out with great possessions,” <sup>e</sup> (that is) with the same measure and even better, inasmuch as the mind <sup>f</sup> is released from its evil bond, <sup>g</sup> the body. It <sup>h</sup> goes forth and exchanges its state not only for salvation and freedom but also for possessions, that it may not leave behind for its enemies anything good or useful. For every rational soul <sup>i</sup> bears good fruit or is fruitful. <sup>j</sup> And one who is thought to be very responsible <sup>k</sup> and virtuous <sup>l</sup> in his thoughts is none the less unable to preserve them to the end. <sup>m</sup> Wherefore it is proper that the virtuous man <sup>n</sup> with resolution should attain to that which he has in mind, and for the sake of this it is fitting that he have thoughts of wisdom. <sup>o</sup> For just as some trees enjoy fertility in the first growth of their fruit but are not able to keep nourishing <sup>p</sup> them, so that for some slight cause their entire fruit may

<sup>a</sup> ὁ σωτήρ (God).

<sup>b</sup> Aucher accurately renders Arm. *geriç* by “ captivantem ” but the context requires a pass. participle in the Greek original.

<sup>c</sup> εἰς ἐλευθερίαν.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xv. 14.

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἀποσκευῆς.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>g</sup> συνδέσμου or “ bond-fellow ”—συνδεσμίον.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. pl. verbs undoubtedly refer to the grammatical pl. *mitk* “ mind ”: Aucher correctly renders the verbs as sing.

<sup>i</sup> πᾶσα λογικὴ ψυχὴ.

<sup>j</sup> Text obscure and prob. corrupt, as Aucher notes.

<sup>k</sup> This is the best approximation I can give to Arm. *partapan*, which usu. renders ἔνοχος, ὑπόχρεως vel sim. ; Aucher renders, “ onustum.”

<sup>l</sup> σπουδαῖος.

<sup>n</sup> τὸν σπουδαῖον.

<sup>m</sup> εἰς τέλος.

<sup>o</sup> This difficult sentence is less literally rendered by Aucher, “ id enim decet probum hominem, consequi ultro meditata, sicut etiam eis congruum sapientiae consilium.”

<sup>p</sup> τρέφειν.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

fall <sup>a</sup> or be shaken off before it reaches maturity, so also the souls of inconstant men <sup>b</sup> understand many things that lead to fertility but are unable to preserve them intact <sup>c</sup> until they are perfected, as is proper for a virtuous man who collects his own possessions.

\*11. (Gen. xv. 15) What is the meaning of the words, "But thou shalt go to thy fathers with peace,<sup>a</sup> nourished <sup>e</sup> in a good old age" ?

Clearly this indicates the incorruptibility of the soul, which removes its habitation from the mortal body <sup>f</sup> and returns as if to the mother-city,<sup>g</sup> from which it originally moved its habitation to this place.<sup>h</sup> For when it is said to a dying person, "Thou shalt go to thy fathers," what else is this than to represent another life without the body, which only the soul of the wise man ought to live ? <sup>i</sup> And (Scripture) speaks of "the fathers" of Abraham, meaning not those who begot him, his grandfathers and forefathers, for they were not all worthy of praise <sup>j</sup> so as to be a source of pride and glory to those who reach the same rank,<sup>k</sup> but in the opinion of many it seems that "the fathers" indicate all the elements <sup>l</sup> into which the dissolution (of the

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "flow away."

<sup>b</sup> αἱ τῶν ἀβεβαίων ψυχαί.

<sup>c</sup> ὀλόκληρα.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX, μετ' εἰρήνης; Heb. "in peace."

<sup>e</sup> So LXX, τραφεῖς; Heb. has "buried" = ταφεῖς.

<sup>f</sup> ἐναργῶς ἀφθαρσίαν ψυχῆς αἰνίττεται μετοικιζομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος, as in the paraphrase of Procopius.

<sup>g</sup> μητρόπολιν.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. this world or the body.

<sup>i</sup> τί ἕτερον ἢ ζῶν ἐτέραν παρίστησι τὴν ἄνευ σώματος καθ' ἣν ψυχὴν μόνην τοῦ σοφοῦ συμβαίνει ζῆν, as in Procopius, except that the latter omits τοῦ σοφοῦ.

<sup>j</sup> ἐπαινετοί, as in Procopius (which omits the rest of the clause down to "rank").

<sup>k</sup> τάξιν. Meaning uncertain; Aucher renders, "qui assecutus est successionem ejusdem ordinis."

<sup>l</sup> πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα. Perhaps the original was τὰ τοῦ παντός στοιχεῖα "the elements of the universe."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

body)<sup>a</sup> takes place. To me, however, it seems to indicate the incorporeal Logoi<sup>b</sup> of the divine world, whom elsewhere it is accustomed to call "angels."<sup>c</sup> Moreover, not ineptly does (Scripture) speak of "being nourished with peace" and "in a good old age." For the evil and sinful man is nourished and lives by strife, and ends and grows old in evil.<sup>d</sup> But the virtuous man in both his lives—in that with the body and in that without the body—enjoys peace,<sup>e</sup> and alone is very good<sup>f</sup> while no one of the foolish<sup>g</sup> is (so), even though he should be longer-lived than an elephant. Wherefore (Scripture) has accurately said, "Thou shalt go to thy fathers," nourished not in a long<sup>h</sup> old age but in a "good"<sup>i</sup> old age. For many foolish men linger on<sup>j</sup> to a long life,<sup>k</sup> but to a good and virtuous life only he who is a lover of wisdom.<sup>l</sup>

\*12. (Gen. xv. 16) Why does (God) say, "In the fourth generation they shall return hither"?

The number four is the most harmonious<sup>m</sup> with all numbers, as it is the most perfect.<sup>n</sup> And it is the root and base<sup>o</sup> of the most perfect decad. Now in accordance with

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "loosing of the dissolution."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher prefers the reading *bnaks* "inhabitants" to *bans* "Logoi."

<sup>c</sup> The section from "worthy of praise" to "angels" is telescoped in the Greek paraphrase to ἀλλ' ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι πατέρας οὓς ἐτέρωθι καλεῖν ἀγγέλους εἶωθεν.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps the original was τελευτᾷ ἐν γῆρα κακῶ "ends in an evil old age."

<sup>e</sup> εἰρήνην χρῆται.

<sup>f</sup> Or "very brave."

<sup>g</sup> τῶν ἀφρόνων or πονηρῶν.

<sup>h</sup> μακρῶ.

<sup>i</sup> καλῶ.

<sup>j</sup> τείνουσι, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>k</sup> The Greek frag. has αἰῶνα.

<sup>l</sup> The Greek frag. has ὁ φρονήσεως ἐραστής.

<sup>m</sup> παναρμόνιος. This adj. is applied to the hebdomad in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 210, cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 48.

<sup>n</sup> For other references to the perfection of the tetrad see Staehle, pp. 26-31.

<sup>o</sup> ῥίζα καὶ θεμέλιον; cf. *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 40 πρὸς τετράδα, τὴν δεκάδος ἀρχὴν τε καὶ πηγὴν.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

the principle <sup>a</sup> of the number four all things being collected return hither, as He himself has said. And as it is perfect in itself,<sup>b</sup> it is filled with perfected beings.<sup>c</sup> Now what do I mean by this? In the generation of living beings the first (stage) is the sowing of seed. The second is when the various organs are modelled <sup>d</sup> by something akin to nature.<sup>e</sup> The third, after the fashioning,<sup>f</sup> is their growth. And the fourth, above all these, is the perfecting of their generation. The same principle <sup>g</sup> applies to plants. The seed is sown in the earth and then it is moved upward and downward, partly into roots, partly into stalks. Then it grows, and in the fourth (stage) bears fruit. Again, trees first of all bear fruit, which then grows. In the third (stage) it changes colour, having become ripe, and in the fourth (stage), which is the last, it becomes full and complete. And thereupon follow the use and enjoyment of it.<sup>h</sup>

13. (Gen. xv. 16) What is the meaning of the words, "Not yet full are the sins of the Amorites until now"?

Some say that by this expression Fate <sup>i</sup> was introduced by Moses into his narrative,<sup>j</sup> as though all things were to be completed in accordance with this time, and times <sup>k</sup> were to be determined by periods.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ τὸν λόγον.

<sup>b</sup> αὐτοτελής.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "perfectos quoque generat plane."

<sup>d</sup> τυπούσθαι.

<sup>e</sup> Apparently the Arm. = ὑπό τινος τῆ φύσει συγγενοῦς.

<sup>f</sup> μετὰ τὸ πλάττειν.

<sup>g</sup> λόγος.

<sup>h</sup> χρήσις καὶ ἀπόλαυσις.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *ḥakatagir* renders *εἰμαρμένη*, *μοῖρα* and *τύχη*.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *patmout'eamb* is the instr. case of the noun that usu. renders *ἱστορία* or *διήγησις*, sometimes *ἐξήγησις*. Aucher renders, "explicite," and adds in a footnote "notat vox illa . . . *historice*, id est *enarrando explicite*."

<sup>k</sup> The Arm. uses two different words for "time."

<sup>l</sup> *περίοδος*. Probably, as Aucher suggests, this section was originally longer and contained Philo's own interpretation in contrast to that of "some" who saw a reference to Fate in this verse. Such a contrasted interpretation is given in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 300-306.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

14. (Gen. xv. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "When the sun went down there came a flame" <sup>a</sup>?

Either the sun appeared flame-like in its setting, or another flame, not lightning but some kind of fire akin to it, fell <sup>b</sup> from above at evening. This is the plain interpretation of the oracle. But this is to be said by way of conjecture.<sup>c</sup>

15. (Gen. xv. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "Behold, a smoking furnace and torches <sup>d</sup> of fire, which passed through the midst of the half-pieces" <sup>e</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>f</sup> is clear, for the fountain and root of the divine Logos <sup>g</sup> wishes the victims to be consumed, not by that fire which has been given to us for use,<sup>h</sup> but by that which comes down from above from the ether, in order that the purity of the substance <sup>i</sup> of heaven may be attested by the holiness which is in the victims. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>j</sup> all sublunary things are likened to the smoking furnace, because of the vapour from earth and water, in which are the divisions of nature. As has been shown above,<sup>k</sup> the several things which are parts of

<sup>a</sup> So LXX, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ ἥλιος πρὸς δυσμαῖς, φλόξ ἐγένετο; Heb. reads "when the sun set and it was dark." Apparently LXX read Heb. *lahat* "flame" instead of *'alātāh* "darkness."

<sup>b</sup> ἔσταξε.

<sup>c</sup> διὰ δοξῶν *vel sim.* Aucher renders, "verum illud quod sensum respicit dicendum est." Evidently the rest of the section is missing or is to be supplied from the following section on the second half of the biblical verse.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX, λαμπάδες; Heb. has sing., "torch."

<sup>e</sup> ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν διχοτομημάτων, as in LXX. For a parallel allegory see *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 308-312.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* God.

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* for profane use.

<sup>i</sup> τῆς οὐσίας.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>k</sup> QG iii. 5.



## GENESIS, BOOK III

the world are divided into two. And by these,<sup>a</sup> like torches of fire, are kindled the most swiftly moving and most effective powers,<sup>b</sup> the divine words,<sup>c</sup> burning and aflame. Now they keep the universe intact, one with another together,<sup>d</sup> and now they purify the superfluous fog. The most particular and proper cause<sup>e</sup> is to be explained in the following way. Human life is like a smoking furnace, not having a clear and pure fire and pure<sup>f</sup> light, but abundant smoke (coming) through a smoking and obscuring flame, which produces fog and darkness and veiling of the eyes, not of the body, but of the soul, which prevents them from seeing clearly outwards until the Saviour God<sup>g</sup> lights the heavenly torches. By these I mean the most pure and holy sparks,<sup>h</sup> which unite the two parts divided on the right side and on the left, and at the same time illuminate them and become the causes of harmony and splendour.<sup>i</sup>

16. (Gen. xv. 18) Why does (Scripture) say, "On that

<sup>a</sup> What "these" are is not wholly clear. To judge from the parallel in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 311-312 "these" are "the divided things," which are kindled by the divine powers. We should therefore correct the Arm. construction here to read "and these . . . are kindled by the . . . divine words."

<sup>b</sup> δυνάμεις.

<sup>c</sup> οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι; Aucher renders more freely, "ardentes sane velut ignei sermones divini."

<sup>d</sup> This is the literal meaning of the obscure Arm. text, which Aucher renders, "modo universum totum secum invicem integre servantas." The general idea is the same as that in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 312, "the divine powers, as they pass through the midst of objects and bodies, destroy nothing—for the half-pieces remain unharmed—but divide and distinguish very well the nature of each."

<sup>e</sup> ἡ ἰδιωτάτη καὶ οἰκειοτάτη αἰτία.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. uses two different words for "pure."

<sup>g</sup> ὁ σωτήρ θεός.

<sup>h</sup> Prob. σπινθήρας, as in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 309; the Arm. word can also mean "rays, beams."

<sup>i</sup> αἰτιαὶ γινόμενοι ἁρμονίας καὶ λαμπρότητος.

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day <sup>a</sup> He made a covenant with Abraham, saying, To thy seed will I give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates ” <sup>b</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>c</sup> is that it describes the boundaries of the region between the two rivers, that of Egypt and the Euphrates, for anciently the land and the river were homonymously <sup>d</sup> called “ Egypt.” A witness to this is the poet, <sup>e</sup> who says, “ At the river of Egypt stay the ships which you steer from both sides.” But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>f</sup> it indicates felicity, <sup>g</sup> which is the fulfilment of three perfections, <sup>h</sup> of spiritual goods, of corporeal goods and of those which are external. This (doctrine) was praised by some of the philosophers who came afterward, (such as) Aristotle and the Peripatetics. Moreover this is said to have been also the legislation <sup>i</sup> of Pythagoras. For Egypt is the symbol of corporeal and external goods, while the Euphrates (is the symbol) of the spiritual, for through them veritable and true joy <sup>j</sup> comes into being, having as its source wisdom and every virtue. And the boundaries rightly take their beginning from Egypt and they end at the Euphrates. For in the end things happen to the soul which we manage to approach with difficulty, but first one must pass and run through the bodily and

<sup>a</sup> Philo agrees with some LXX MSS. which, like Heb. and the oriental versions, read ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ; most LXX MSS. read ἐκεῖ.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. *aracani* = “ Euphrates ”; the Arm. O.T. transcribes the Greek name.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> ὁμωνυμία.

<sup>e</sup> Homer, *Od.* xiv. 258 *στήσα δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῶν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.* The wording is slightly different in the Arm. text.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> ἀνίσταται τὴν εὐτυχίαν (or εὐπραγίαν).

<sup>h</sup> So Arm. lit.; Aucher renders, “ perfecta plenitudo triplicium bonorum.” Prob. the original had merely *τελειότης τριῶν ἀγαθῶν*.

<sup>i</sup> ἡ νομοθεσία.

<sup>j</sup> Here, as elsewhere, Philo plays on the similarity of sound between *Εὐφράτης* and *εὐφροσύνη*.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

external goods,<sup>a</sup> health and keenness of sense <sup>b</sup> and beauty and strength, which are wont to flourish and grow and be attained in youth. And similarly those things which pertain to profit and selling, (such as) piloting and agriculture and trade. For all (this) is proper to youth, especially those things which have rightly been so described.<sup>c</sup>

17. (Gen. xv. 19-21) <sup>d</sup> Who are "the Kenites and the Kenizzites and the Kadmonites and the Hittites and the Perizzites and the Rephaim and the Amorites and the Canaanites and the Girgashites and the Jebusites" ?

These ten nations are reckoned (as) evils which he destroys <sup>e</sup> because of being neighbours,<sup>f</sup> since also a rejected and counterfeit denarius <sup>g</sup> (is a neighbour ?) of acceptable ones.<sup>h</sup> For the all-perfection <sup>i</sup> of the number ten is most

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. text from "in the end" to "external (goods)" is far from clear to me. Aucher's rendering is fairly literal but also obscure, "in ultimis enim occurrunt res animae; quibus aegre appropinquare succedit nobis, postquam tamen transitum fuerit per corporales et externas." His "postquam" is questionable; *yarajagoyñ* means "first" or "formerly," and here is contrasted with *yetoy housk* "in the end" or "finally." The general sense of the passage seems to be that youth is the time for enjoying corporeal and external goods, and later life for spiritual goods. <sup>b</sup> *εὐαισθησίαν*.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "juvenem namque omnia decere, maxime praedicta jure dictum est."

<sup>d</sup> These verses are not commented on elsewhere by Philo.

<sup>e</sup> Or "which destroy," assuming that there was a neut. pl. subj. (ἔθνη) in the original; variant "which (he) likens."

<sup>f</sup> The sentence is obscure and prob. corrupt; Aucher renders, "decem gentes numerantur malitiae quas destruit ob vicinitatem."

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *dahekan* = "denarius," "drachma," etc.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "of loved ones." The sentence is very puzzling; Aucher renders, "quoniam Denarius quoque falsus, et male signatus vicinus est bono ac amabili." The Arm. glossator explains, "The evil which is ten strives to be like the good, just as a rejected denarius, etc."

<sup>i</sup> ἡ παντέλεια, cf. *De Decalogo* 20 τὸν ἀριθμὸν δεκάδι τῇ παντέλειᾳ.

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completely harmonious <sup>a</sup> and is the measure of an infinity <sup>b</sup> of numbers, by which the world and the mind of the wise man are ordered and ruled. But evil overturns and changes its <sup>c</sup> substance, <sup>d</sup> overlooking the most necessary powers, because of its only being said <sup>e</sup> that that which is good is the pursuit of virtue. <sup>f</sup> For the wicked man is such as to admit opinion rather than truth, in which are those who see. <sup>g</sup>

\*13. (Gen. xvi. 1) Why did not Sarah the wife of Abraham bear him children ?

As a barren woman is the mother of the race spoken of ; first of all, in order that the seed of offspring <sup>h</sup> may appear more wonderful and miraculous. <sup>i</sup> Second, in order that

<sup>a</sup> *παναρμονιώτατος* (*sic* !).

<sup>b</sup> *ἀπειρίας* ; *cf. De Decalogo 27 ἡ ἀπειρία τῶν ἀριθμῶν ταύτη (sc. τῆ δεκάδι) μετρεῖται.*

<sup>c</sup> The decad's ?

<sup>d</sup> Or "essence"—*οὐσίαν*.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "heard."

<sup>f</sup> This is a lit. translation of the troublesome Arm. text, which Aucher renders, "hujus tamen substantiam convertit subvertitque malitia, despectis viribus pernecessariis, ut solum restet illud quod dixerit (*vel*, audierit) bonum esse studium virtutis."

<sup>g</sup> The last phrase is unintelligible to me. One ms. adds "The birth of Ishmael"; another ms. prefixes these two words to the following section. Aucher renders—on what basis I do not know—, "in quibus semen prophetarum (*vel*, admittens ad aucupandos videntes)." The Arm. glossator explains, not very helpfully, "the virtuous man with single constancy abides in the truth and sees the good, while the evil man (abides) in opinion, and hearing belongs to him, who has not a credible birth, as seeing belongs to the former one." Here there seems to be an allusion to the symbolism of the names Israel ("seeing God") and Ishmael ("hearing God").

<sup>h</sup> So Arm. lit. = τὸ τῶν ἐγγόνων σπέρμα ; prob. the original read, as in the paraphrase of Procopius, ἡ τῶν ἐγγόνων σπορά ; Aucher renders awkwardly, "generationibus filius (appareat)."

<sup>i</sup> Prob., as in Procopius, παράδοξος . . . θαυματουργηθείσα. The verse is rather differently allegorized in *De Congressu* 1-10.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

the conceiving and bearing might be not so much through union with a man as through the providence <sup>a</sup> of God. For when a barren woman gives birth, it is not by way of generation <sup>b</sup> but the work of the divine power.<sup>c</sup> This is the literal meaning.<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> first, giving birth is wholly peculiar to woman, just as begetting is to man. (Scripture) therefore wishes the soul of the virtuous man to be likened to the male sex rather than the female, considering that activity rather than passivity is congenial to him.<sup>f</sup> Furthermore, both (kinds of mind) beget—the virtuous mind and the wicked—, but they beget differently and opposites.<sup>g</sup> The virtuous man (begets) good and useful things, while the wicked and evil man (begets) dirty, shameful and useless things. And the third (point) is that he who has progressed <sup>h</sup> even to the very end <sup>i</sup> is near to what is called by some the forgotten and unknown light.<sup>j</sup> This progressive man <sup>k</sup> does not

<sup>a</sup> *προνοία* or *ἐπιμελεία*; the Greek frag. from Cod. Barb. *ap.* Wendland has *ἐπιφροσύνη*, Procopius has *ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη*.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "not of being in accordance with generation" (or "offspring"); Aucher renders, "non pariendi facultatis est"; the Greek frag. has more simply *οὐ γεννήσεως* (*ἔργον*).

<sup>c</sup> *τῆς θεᾶς δυνάμεως ἔργον*, as in the Greek frag. (omitting the article), which ends here.

<sup>d</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν.*

<sup>e</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.*

<sup>f</sup> *τὸ δρᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πάσχειν αὐτῷ οἰκείον εἶναι.*

<sup>g</sup> *διαφόρως καὶ ἐναντία.*

<sup>h</sup> *ὁ προκόψας.*

<sup>i</sup> *καὶ δὴ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> The text is obscure; Aucher, who punctuates and construes differently, renders, "qui est adhuc proficiscens, ad ipsam summitatem invitandus, prope est ad lumen, quod apud aliquos dicitur oblivioni traditum ac incognitum." The Arm. glossator explains it in this way, "He who is alienated from sin has made a beginning of virtue; of this some say that such a man is near the unknown light, which he formerly knew, but strayed from through sin, and now has come back to." Perhaps a partial parallel is to be found in *De Congressu* 5-6, which contrasts the preliminary studies (Hagar) with complete virtue (Sarah).

<sup>k</sup> Reading Arm. *γαράjatealn* (ptc.) for *γαράjateln* (inf.).

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

beget vices nor virtues either, since he is not yet complete, but he is the same as one who is not ill and (yet) not altogether well in body, but is now coming (back) from a long illness to health.

19. (Gen. xvi. 1) What is the meaning of the words, "And she had an Egyptian maidservant, whose name was Hagar" ?

"Hagar" is interpreted as "sojourning,"<sup>a</sup> and she is a servant, waiting on a more perfect nature. And she is very naturally an Egyptian by race. For she is the study of school disciplines,<sup>b</sup> and being a lover<sup>c</sup> of wide learning,<sup>d</sup> is in a certain sense<sup>e</sup> a servant waiting on virtue,<sup>f</sup> since school studies<sup>g</sup> are serviceable to him who needs help in receiving it,<sup>h</sup> inasmuch as virtue has the soul as its place, while the school studies need bodily organs; and Egypt is symbolically the body, (wherefore Scripture) rightly describes the form<sup>i</sup> of the school studies as Egyptian. Moreover, it also named her "sojourning" for the reason that sophistry<sup>j</sup> is a sojourner in comparison with native virtue<sup>k</sup> which alone is at home<sup>l</sup> and which is mistress of

<sup>a</sup> παροίκησις; cf. *De Congressu* 20.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπιτήδευσις τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἐπιστημῶν *vel sim.*

<sup>c</sup> Or "friend."

<sup>d</sup> πολυμαθείας.

<sup>e</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>f</sup> ἀρετῆς. Aucher, misled in part by the seemingly erroneous repetition of *bazoumoumnout'ium* (= πολυμάθεια) in the Arm. text, renders, "nam studium encyclicae disciplinae deligit copiam scientiae et copiosa scientia tamquam ministra est virtutis."

<sup>g</sup> τὰ ἐγκύκλια.

<sup>h</sup> This is a slight emendation of the Arm. text which seems to mean lit. "who is of help, etc.;" Aucher renders freely but more intelligibly, "qui scit proficere acquisitione ejus ad acquirendam virtutem."<sup>i</sup> εἶδος or ιδέα.

<sup>j</sup> τὰ σοφίσματα; cf. *De Congressu* 18.

<sup>k</sup> κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῆς πατρίας ἀρετῆς.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "belongs" (= ἐπιτηδεῖα?).

## GENESIS, BOOK III

intermediate education <sup>a</sup> and provides for us <sup>b</sup> through the school studies.

\*20. (Gen. xvi. 2) Why does Sarah say to Abraham, <sup>c</sup> "Behold, the Lord has closed me up so as not to bear. Go into my maidservant that thou mayest beget children <sup>d</sup> from her" ?

In the literal sense <sup>e</sup> it is the same (as) not to be envious and jealous (but) to look out for the wise man and husband and genuine kinsman. <sup>f</sup> At the same time, to make up for her childlessness through the maidservant which she had, she designated her as her husband's concubine. Moreover, the excessiveness of her wifely love is indicated (thereby), for since she seemed to be barren, she did not think it right to let her husband's household suffer from childlessness, for she valued his gain more than her own standing. That is the literal meaning. <sup>g</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>h</sup> it has somewhat the following argument. <sup>i</sup> Those who are unable by virtue to beget fine and praiseworthy deeds ought to pursue intermediate education, <sup>j</sup> and in a certain sense <sup>k</sup> produce children from the school studies, <sup>l</sup> for wide learning <sup>m</sup> is a sort of whetstone

<sup>a</sup> τῆς μέσης παιδείας, cf. *De Congressu* 12, where Colson translates it as "lower instruction."

<sup>b</sup> χορηγέι (?); Aucher "choreas agit"; cf. *De Congressu* 19.

<sup>c</sup> LXX, Heb. and Arm. O.T. have "Abram." The form "Abraham" is first used in Scripture in Gen. xvii. 5, see below, *QG* iii. 43.

<sup>d</sup> Some LXX mss. in agreement with Heb. read τεκνοποιήσω(μαι), as do the Oriental versions.

<sup>e</sup> τῷ μὲν ῥητῷ.

<sup>f</sup> The construction and sense are not wholly clear to me; Aucher renders, "in ipsa littera idem est non invidere et providere de sapiente," etc.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> λόγον.

<sup>k</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>m</sup> πολυμάθεια.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> τὴν μέσῃν παιδείᾳν.

<sup>l</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

of the mind and reason.<sup>a</sup> But most excellently was it written, "He closed me up," for what is closed is wont to open at a suitable time. So that his<sup>b</sup> wisdom<sup>c</sup> is not resigned<sup>d</sup> to being childless for ever but knows that she will bear children. She will however, not bear now but when the soul<sup>e</sup> shows purity of perfection.<sup>f</sup> But while it is imperfect it is sufficient for it to have a milder and gentler teaching<sup>g</sup> which comes through the school studies. Whence it is not for nothing that in the sacred athletic contests those who cannot take the first prizes in the contest are deserving of the second. For a first and second and third prize are put before the contestants by the officials of the games, who resemble nature, for before him<sup>h</sup> it puts a first prize of virtue and a second of the school studies.

\*21. (Gen. xvi. 3) Why does (Scripture) call Sarah the wife of Abraham,<sup>i</sup> for it says, "And Sarah the wife of Abraham, taking her maidservant Hagar the Egyptian, gave her into his hands"<sup>j</sup>?

The theologian<sup>j</sup> emphasizes<sup>k</sup> the marriage of worthy

<sup>a</sup> ἀκόνη τις τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ λόγου. In *De Congressu* 25 Rachel, as symbol of the lower education, is called a whetstone.

<sup>b</sup> To what or whom "his" refers is not clear, but prob. is the mind.

<sup>c</sup> σοφία.

<sup>d</sup> *Arm. včarem* has a number of meanings, such as "complete," "discharge," "release," none of which seems to fit here; Aucher renders freely, "spe destituta erat ac fixa in consilio."

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "souls"; but in the next sentence the verb is sing.

<sup>f</sup> καθαριότητα τελειότητος (a collocation that sounds un-Philonic).

<sup>g</sup> ἐπιεικεστέρα καὶ γαλακτώδει διδασκαλία χρῆσθαι; cf. *De Congressu* 19.

<sup>h</sup> The person referred to is not clear.

<sup>i</sup> i.e. why does Scripture repeat the phrase "wife of Abraham?" ; cf. *De Congressu* 73-80.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ θεολόγος (Moses).

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "seals" or "stamps"; Aucher renders, "concludit comprobatione."



## GENESIS, BOOK III

persons in view of the intemperance of lascivious ones. For these, because of their concubines, whom they madly love, look down upon their wise<sup>a</sup> wives. Wherefore (Scripture) introduces the virtuous man<sup>b</sup> as a more constant<sup>c</sup> husband to his wife when the occasion dictated<sup>d</sup> the use of the maidservant. And (Scripture represents) the wise wife as more sober<sup>e</sup> when he entered another's bed.<sup>f</sup> For with the concubine the embrace was a bodily one for the sake of begetting children. But with the wife the union was one of the soul harmonized to heavenly love.<sup>g</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>h</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> he who has truthfully entrusted his thoughts<sup>j</sup> to wisdom and justice and other virtues,<sup>k</sup> when once he has received the thoughts<sup>l</sup> of wisdom and has tasted marriage with her, remains her mate<sup>m</sup> and husband, even though he provides<sup>n</sup> abundantly for the education of the school.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Probably, as Wendland suggests, the Arm. translator read *ἀστείων* "wise" or "virtuous" (in Philo) for *ἀστῶν* "lawful." The latter word is used in the frag. from Procopius and in *De Congressu* 77.

<sup>b</sup> τὸν σπουδαῖον, i.e. Abraham.

<sup>c</sup> βεβαιότερον, as in Procopius.

<sup>d</sup> ὅτε παρήγγελον οἱ καιροί, as in Procopius.

<sup>e</sup> Or "temperate." The Procopius frag. has *παγιωτέραν* "more steadfast"; the point of the reference is clearer in the parallel, *De Congressu* 37, where the name Rebecca is etymologized as *ὑπομονή* "constancy" or "endurance."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher, construing wrongly, renders, "et sobrium profecto (designat) mulier sapientem quum alium in thalamum ingressus est."

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. agrees literally with the Greek frag. *ἔνωσις ψυχῆς ἀρμοζομένης ἔρωτι θεῖῳ.*

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥήτόν. <sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> Prob. τοὺς λογισμούς; Aucher "secreta sua."

<sup>k</sup> σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς.

<sup>l</sup> Or perhaps "counsel," as Aucher, renders; the Arm. word is the same as that mentioned in note *j*.

<sup>m</sup> σύνοικος.

<sup>n</sup> Prob. χορηγεῖ; Aucher renders literally, "choreas agitet."

<sup>o</sup> τῇ ἐγκυκλίᾳ παιδείᾳ.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

For even if the virtuous man has ready to hand <sup>a</sup> the theories <sup>b</sup> of geometry, arithmetic, grammar, rhetoric and other scientific disciplines, none the less is he mindful of his integrity,<sup>c</sup> and addresses himself to the one as a task, and to the other as to a side-task.<sup>d</sup> But most worthy of praise is it that (Scripture) calls the maidservant “wife,”<sup>e</sup> for he came together with her in bed by the will and at the injunction of his true wife, and not by any means of his own will. For this reason (Scripture) does not (here) call her “maidservant,” for the maidservant, having been given to him (as wife), obtains this (status), if not in fact, at any rate in name. However, let us allegorize <sup>f</sup> by saying that the training in intermediate studies has the force <sup>g</sup> of a concubine but the form and rank <sup>h</sup> of a wife. For the several school studies resemble and imitate true virtue.

\*22. (Gen. xvi. 4) What is the meaning of the words, “She saw that she was pregnant, and her mistress was dishonoured before her” ?

Advisedly <sup>i</sup> does (Scripture) now call Sarah “mistress” when she seems to be eclipsed <sup>j</sup> and subdued by her maidservant—a childless woman by a childbearing one. But this principle of reasoning <sup>k</sup> extends to almost all the matters necessary to life. For more lordly <sup>l</sup> is the wise poor man than the foolish rich man,<sup>m</sup> and the inglorious

<sup>a</sup> πρόχειρα.

<sup>b</sup> τὰ θεωρήματα.

<sup>c</sup> τῆς καλοκάγαθίας.

<sup>d</sup> ἔργον . . . παρέργον, as Aucher conjectures.

<sup>e</sup> By implication at least; cf. *De Congressu* 80.

<sup>f</sup> ἀλληγορώμεν.

<sup>g</sup> δύναμιν.

<sup>h</sup> τιμὴν.

<sup>i</sup> Or “cautiously,” “guardedly”; the Greek frag. has κατὰ καιρόν.

<sup>j</sup> Or “made light of”—ἐλαττοῦσθαι.

<sup>k</sup> κεφαλὴ τοῦ λόγου(?); there is nothing corresponding to this phrase in the Greek frag.

<sup>l</sup> κυριώτερος (as in the Greek frag.) is rendered by two Arm. words.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ φρόνιμος πένης ἄφρονος πλουσίου, as in the Greek frag.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

man than the glorious one,<sup>a</sup> and the sick man than the healthy one.<sup>b</sup> For whatever is with wisdom <sup>c</sup> is wholly lordly and independent <sup>d</sup> and masterful.<sup>e</sup> But whatever is with folly is a slave and infirm.<sup>f</sup> And well is it said, not that she dishonoured her mistress, but "her mistress was dishonoured."<sup>g</sup> For the former would contain a personal accusation while the latter would be a declaration of things that happened.<sup>h</sup> But (Scripture) does not wish to lay blame and condemnation upon anyone for the sake of praising (another),<sup>i</sup> but to make clear the bare and simple truth of matters. That is the literal meaning.<sup>j</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>k</sup> those who accept and honour glory more than the science of wisdom,<sup>l</sup> and consider sense-perception <sup>m</sup> more honourable than reason,<sup>n</sup> set themselves apart from familiarity with the facts,<sup>o</sup> thinking that the production of many things and the complacent love <sup>p</sup> of appearances are great and perfect goods and are alone honourable, while barrenness in these is bad, and dishonourable. For they do not see that invisible seed <sup>q</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> ἄδοξος ἐνδόξου.

<sup>b</sup> ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνοντος.

<sup>c</sup> σὺν φρονήσει, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *boun* = φυσικός, γνήσιος, αὐτός, etc.

<sup>e</sup> To these three adjectives the single adj. κύρια corresponds in the Greek frag.

<sup>f</sup> ἄστατον.

<sup>g</sup> A somewhat parallel distinction (between Sarah's seeing Hagar's pregnancy and Hagar's seeing her own pregnancy) is made in *De Congressu* 139-150.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) says more briefly οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει κατηγορεῖν, δηλῶσαι δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός.

<sup>i</sup> The context requires the pronoun; cf. Aucher "in alterius laude."

<sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> τὴν τῆς σοφίας ἐπιστήμην.

<sup>m</sup> τὴν αἴσθησιν.

<sup>n</sup> τὸν λογισμὸν.

<sup>o</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκειότητος *vel sim.*

<sup>p</sup> Lit. "sufficient loving"; Aucher paraphrases, "magnam generationem . . . produxisse."

<sup>q</sup> Or "sowing"; cf. *De Somniis* i. 199 ἀοράτῳ σπορᾷ φρονήσεως.

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the intelligible generations <sup>a</sup> which the mind is wont to produce by itself.

\*23. (Gen. xvi. 5) Why does Sarah, as it were, repent, saying to Abraham, "I am wronged by thee. I have given my maidservant into thy bosom, but seeing that she is pregnant, I have been dishonoured before her" <sup>b</sup> ?

This statement contains doubt and indecision. And it is clear that the "since" <sup>c</sup> is the same as "the time when I gave my maidservant." And the other statement refers to a person, <sup>d</sup> that is, when she says, "By thee I am wronged." <sup>e</sup> For this is a reproach. And it is proper (for Scripture) to keep the good, worthy, truthful and unforgetting husband from blame and accusation and always to present him with all honour, calling him "lord." But the first statement is true, for since the time when she gave (him) her maidservant and made her his concubine, she seemed to be disesteemed and dishonoured. That is the literal meaning. <sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>g</sup> when

<sup>a</sup> τὰ νοερά γένη.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. closely follows the LXX ἀδικοῦμαι ἐκ σου· ἐγὼ δέδωκα τὴν παιδίσκην μου εἰς τὸν κόλπον σου. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ὅτι ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχει, ἠτιμάσθη ἐναντίον αὐτῆς. Aucher's rendering, "quia vidit," is misleading, since the Arm., like the LXX, makes "seeing" (ptc.) refer to Sarah, whereas the Heb. makes the verb (in its finite form) refer to Hagar. In the parallel, *De Congressu* 139 Philo, following the LXX in reading ἰδοῦσα, makes the point that it was Sarah, not Hagar, who saw Hagar's pregnancy. The concluding part of the verse, Gen. xvi. 5, "let God judge between us," is cited at the end of his comment.

<sup>c</sup> No such conjunction or prep. occurs in the LXX or Arm. O.T. texts of this verse.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "to the opposite."

<sup>e</sup> The argument is unclear but the meaning seems to be that Sarah's doubts about Abraham's feeling are indicated by the interval of time implied; cf. the Greek frag. ἀλλ' ἔστι χρονικὸν τῷ ἐξῆς συναπτόμενον· ἐξ οὗ σοι καὶ ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου ἐγὼ δέδωκα τὴν παιδίσκην μου.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥήτων.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

someone gives (to another) the maidservant of wisdom,<sup>a</sup> the latter, being ignorant and through sophistic reasoning,<sup>b</sup> dishonours the mistress. For when he receives and delights in the splendour<sup>c</sup> of the school studies,<sup>d</sup> since each of them is very attractive and seductive and, as it were, has the power of forcibly drawing (others) to itself, he is from then on no longer able to find time to unite with the mistress either in respect of enjoying the image of wisdom or her wonderful appearance<sup>e</sup> until that cutter<sup>f</sup> of things, the divine Logos, supervenes and separates, divides and cuts off the probable from the true,<sup>g</sup> and the means from the ends, and secondary things from those ranged in the first rank. Wherefore she says later, "God will judge between me and thee."

\*24. (Gen. xvi. 6) Why does Abraham say, "Behold, thy maidservant is in thy hands. Do with her as is pleasing to thee"?

The literal text<sup>h</sup> contains praise of the wise man,<sup>i</sup> for it was not "wife" nor "concubine" but "maidservant" of his wife that he called her who was pregnant by him. When he saw that she was growing big, he did not become indignant and provoke<sup>j</sup> the appetite of passion<sup>k</sup> but pacified it. And the passage "in thy hands" contains an allegory<sup>l</sup> in a certain sense,<sup>m</sup> by which I mean that sophistry "

<sup>a</sup> τὴν τῆς σοφίας παιδίσκην.

<sup>b</sup> τῷ τῆς σοφιστείας λογισμῷ; Aucher renders, "consilio illa [!] sophismatis ignorans."

<sup>c</sup> Or "clarity."

<sup>d</sup> τῶν ἐγκυκλίων.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders a little differently, "sive imagine sapientiae, ac gloriosa ejus mirabilique forma."

<sup>f</sup> τομεύς, a term applied to the Logos in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 225; Aucher more freely renders, "acutus judex rerum."

<sup>g</sup> τὰ πιθανὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ.

<sup>j</sup> In the Arm. it is not clear who the subject is.

<sup>k</sup> τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὄρεξιν.

<sup>l</sup> ἀλληγορίαν.

<sup>m</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>n</sup> ἡ σοφιστεία.

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is under the authority <sup>a</sup> of wisdom, as if it flowed from the same source but crookedly, not straight, and not keeping its flow whole and pure but carrying filth and many other similar things along with it. And so, since this is in thy hands and thy power, to whom, being wisdom, all the school disciplines belong, <sup>b</sup> do with her as is pleasing to thy heart. For I am confident that thou wilt not judge more severely than is right, for this is very pleasing to thee, (namely) to apportion to each what is in accordance with his deserts, <sup>c</sup> and not to honour or dishonour (anyone) more (than is right).

25. (Gen. xvi. 6) Why does (Scripture) say, "Sarah afflicted her" <sup>d</sup> ?

The literal meaning is clear. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>e</sup> it has something like the following content. <sup>f</sup> Not all afflictions are harmful, <sup>g</sup> but there are times when they are even helpful. This is what sick people experience at the hands of physicians, and children at the hands of teachers, and the foolish at the hands of those who enlighten them. This I would never call an affliction, but salvation <sup>h</sup> and aid to soul and body. This is the part that wisdom gives to the group of school studies, <sup>i</sup> judging that a soul filled with much learning <sup>j</sup> and pregnant with sophistry <sup>k</sup> will not be refractory or haughty, as if it were in possession of a great and excessive good, but will be

<sup>a</sup> Or "power." In *De Congressu* 155 Philo allegorizes the words "in thy hands" as a symbol of the bodily senses used in the school studies.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, "cujus enim sapientia, ejus sunt et omnes encyclicae disciplinae."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ἄξιον *vel sim.*

<sup>d</sup> ἐκάκωσεν αὐτήν, as in LXX.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> λόγον.

<sup>g</sup> οὐ πᾶσαι κακώσεις βλαβεραὶ εἰσι.

<sup>h</sup> σωτηρίαν.

<sup>i</sup> τῷ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων χορῷ.

<sup>j</sup> πολυμαθείας.

<sup>k</sup> σοφιστείας, here used in a semi-respectable sense.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

quiet <sup>a</sup> and show respect for a higher and better nature as its true mistress, to whom belongs stability itself and sovereignty over (all) matters.

\*26. (Gen. xvi. 6) <sup>b</sup> Why does Hagar flee from her face? <sup>c</sup>  
 Not every soul gladly receives discipline, <sup>d</sup> but the friendly and particularly gentle mind <sup>e</sup> loves reproof, <sup>f</sup> and becomes more familiar with <sup>g</sup> those who discipline it, while the hostile and malevolent (mind) <sup>h</sup> hates and avoids and flees from it, and draws near pleasant words <sup>i</sup> rather than those which can profit it, thinking that (the former) are preferable and more valuable.

27. (Gen. xvi. 7) What is the meaning of the words, "There found her an angel of the Lord <sup>j</sup> by a spring of water in the wilderness on the road to Shur" <sup>k</sup>?

All these things that are said are symbols and types, <sup>l</sup> by which (Scripture) represents <sup>m</sup> the widely learned soul, <sup>n</sup> which is the property of virtue <sup>o</sup> but is not yet able to see

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "rest" or "subside."

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xvi. 6-9 forms the subject of *De Fuga et Inventione*, where Philo says (§§ 3-5) that Hagar fled, not out of hatred or fear, but shame.

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῆς.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "receives attention and discipline"; the Greek frag. has merely δέχεται νοουθεσίαν.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders, "facilis ac suavis proprie (in note: "vel, ac constans sibi propria") mens."

<sup>f</sup> ἔλεγχον.

<sup>g</sup> Or "used to"—οἰκειοῦται.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. has only ἡ δὲ ἐχθρὰ <ψυχῆ>.

<sup>i</sup> τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους.

<sup>j</sup> Some LXX MSS. have "the Lord God."

<sup>k</sup> In *De Fuga* 1 Philo follows the LXX more closely, in reading ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Σούρ.

<sup>l</sup> σύμβολα καὶ τύποι.

<sup>m</sup> σχηματίζει.

<sup>n</sup> τὴν πολυμαθῆ ψυχὴν.

<sup>o</sup> κτήμα τῆς ἀρετῆς; i.e. Hagar, symbolizing the school studies, is owned by Sarah, symbolizing virtue.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

the beauty of its mistress. Now these are the symbols: the "finding," "by the angel," "by the spring," "in the wilderness," "on the road"—none other than (the road) to Shur. However, we must begin with the first one. Now a very deceitful sophist<sup>a</sup> and contentious person<sup>b</sup> is not always<sup>c</sup> found out because of the skill and the sophistical arguments<sup>d</sup> with which he is accustomed to trick and deceive. But he who is without evil habits is zealous only for wide learning,<sup>e</sup> which comes through the group of school studies<sup>f</sup>; and although this is hard to find,<sup>g</sup> still it is not altogether undiscoverable. For perdition<sup>h</sup> is akin to the undiscoverable, while discovery<sup>i</sup> is salvation and life.<sup>j</sup> And especially (is this so) when one is sought and found by a purer and more worthy spirit. But what is purer or more worthy than a divine angel? For it was he who was entrusted with the search for a wandering soul,<sup>k</sup> which because of its learning did not surely know that which it ought to honour.<sup>l</sup> However, it might have<sup>m</sup> obtained correction, for the sake of which the search was made. Now it is not incomplete<sup>n</sup> but is right at hand. For the soul was found fleeing from virtue, not being able to receive discipline.<sup>o</sup> And there is a second symbol after the "finding," namely that the finding by the angel took place "by

<sup>a</sup> σοφιστής.

<sup>b</sup> φιλόνεικος.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek prob. had the indef. pr. τι.

<sup>d</sup> Or "proofs," "persuasions."

<sup>e</sup> τῆς πολυμαθείας.

<sup>f</sup> διὰ τοῦ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων χοροῦ.

<sup>g</sup> δυσεύρετος.

<sup>h</sup> ἀπώλεια.

<sup>i</sup> Or "discoverability"?

<sup>j</sup> σωτηρία καὶ ζωή. For an extended discussion of the symbolism of other biblical passages on "finding" see *De Fuga* 119-176.

<sup>k</sup> πλανωμένην ψυχήν.

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. seems to make better sense than Aucher's rendering, "et ob praesumptam eruditionem nescientem constanter, quam oportebat venerari."

<sup>m</sup> Or "was able to"—ἐδύνατο.

<sup>n</sup> ἀτελής (?); the noun referred to is prob. "search," as Aucher conjectures.

<sup>o</sup> παιδείαν.



## GENESIS, BOOK III

a spring." <sup>a</sup> By this I understand nature to be meant. For she offers the sciences of learning in accordance with each one's practices, <sup>b</sup> wiping out and cleansing the wrong kind of learning. <sup>c</sup> And the passage is in praise <sup>d</sup> of the soul which is thirsty for knowledge <sup>e</sup> and is desirous of its laws and is eager to draw up and drink its water, as a fellow-celebrant in the company of those who drink wine. So does it behave with those who are nourished by and luxuriate in the exercises that train the reason, <sup>f</sup> for nature, as from a spring, offers an abundance of instruction and guidance. <sup>g</sup> And the fourth symbol is the finding "in the wilderness," <sup>h</sup> for the perturbation and anxiety which come upon the various senses, and the floods of the various passions oppress the soul and do not permit it to drink pure water. <sup>i</sup> But when it is able to escape it betakes itself, as it were, to the wilderness, and it has surcease from the thoughts <sup>j</sup> that disturbed it, and recovers its health. And it obtains hope, not only of life, but even of immortal life. The fifth symbol was the finding "on the road," since perverted characters use a trackless route, while he who is able to improve himself goes by the road that leads to virtue. And this road is a wall and a protection to those who are able to save themselves. For "Shur" is

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's extended discussion of the symbolism of the various senses of "spring" in Scripture see *De Fuga* 177-201.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "left-handed learning"; variant "lack of learning."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "is praise."

<sup>d</sup> Prob. ἐπιστήμης; Aucher has "ingenium"; cf. *De Fuga* 187 μαθήσεως διψῶντες . . . ἐπιστήμαις ἰδρύνονται.

<sup>e</sup> ἐν τοῖς τῆς λογικῆς παιδείας ἐπιτηδεύμασι vel sim. On this sentence Aucher rightly comments, "totius periodi constructio obscuritatem habet in Arm."

<sup>f</sup> In *De Fuga* 197-198 Philo treats the spring as, among other things, a symbol of the living God, quoting Jer. ii. 13.

<sup>g</sup> Philo omits this symbol in *De Fuga*.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "drink water purely."

<sup>i</sup> τῶν λογισμῶν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

to be translated as "wall."<sup>a</sup> Do you not see that all this is a tropical figure<sup>b</sup> of the soul that progresses?<sup>c</sup> And one who progresses does not become lost like one who is completely foolish. If the divine Logos<sup>d</sup> is to be found, he seeks it. And he who is not pure and good in his habits is put to flight and pursued by the divine Logos; however, he has a spring of water by which he may wash<sup>e</sup> away his passion and evil, and from which he may drink the superabundance<sup>f</sup> of its laws. But he is a lover of the wilderness who flees from passion and evil, and on seeing the road of virtue, turns away from the trackless way of evil. All these are a wall and protection to him, so that he is in no way harmed either in word or deed, and does not suffer evil from those things which rush upon him.

28. (Gen. xvi. 8) Why does the angel say to her, "Hagar, maidservant of Sarah, whence comest thou and whither goest thou"?

The literal meaning<sup>g</sup> does not need any exposition,<sup>h</sup> for it is exceedingly clear. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> forcefulness<sup>j</sup> (is meant), for the divine Logos<sup>k</sup> is a disciplinarian<sup>l</sup> and an excellent healer of the weakness of the soul. He says to her, "Whence comest thou? Dost thou not know what good thou has left? Surely thou art not useless and crippled?<sup>m</sup> For with seeing thou dost not see, and having senses, thou dost not perceive, and though thou

<sup>a</sup> In *De Fuga* 203 Philo etymologizes "Shur" as "wall or straightening."

<sup>b</sup> Prob. *τρόπος καὶ σχῆμα*; Aucher has "symbolice (vel, legitima) figura."

<sup>c</sup> *τῆς προκοπούσης ψυχῆς.*

<sup>d</sup> *ὁ θεῖος λόγος.*

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "fertility."

<sup>h</sup> *ἐξηγήσεως.*

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "asperitas"; perhaps the original was *ἐπίπληξις*, as in *De Fuga* 205.

<sup>k</sup> *ὁ θεῖος λόγος.*

<sup>m</sup> Or "blind," as Aucher renders; Arm. *hašm* has both meanings.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "he washes."

<sup>g</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν.*

<sup>i</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.*

<sup>l</sup> Perhaps *νουθετητής.*

## GENESIS, BOOK III

seemest to have a portion of mind,<sup>a</sup> thou seemest to me to be altogether without mind. But whither goest thou? From what piety to what misery?<sup>b</sup> Why dost thou wander in such a way as to throw away the good which thou didst have in thy hands, and follow after a more remote good? Do not, do not do this, but subdue this stupid and irrational impulse.<sup>c</sup> Come back and return from there to the same road (as before). Consider wisdom to be thy mistress, whom formerly thou didst have as an overseer and caretaker in those things which thou didst practise.”

\*29. (Gen. xvi. 8) What is the meaning of the words, “From the face of Sarah my mistress I am fleeing”<sup>d</sup>?

It is proper to praise a sincere nature<sup>e</sup> and consider it a lover of truth. Wherefore it is now also fitting to admit the veracity<sup>f</sup> of a mind that confesses what it has experienced.<sup>g</sup> For “from the face” I take to mean, “I am struck dumb<sup>h</sup> by the appearance of virtue and wisdom.”<sup>i</sup> For at the sight of this royal sovereign it<sup>j</sup> shudders and is dismayed, not being able<sup>k</sup> to endure the sight of her greatness and exaltedness, and must flee. For there are some who flee from virtue not because of hate but because of reverential awe,<sup>l</sup> for they believe themselves to be unworthy to live with<sup>m</sup> their mistress.

<sup>a</sup> νοῦ: I have omitted an apparently intrusive negative before “to have.”

<sup>b</sup> ἀφ’ ὁποίας εὐσεβείας εἰς ὁποίαν ταλαιπωρίαν.

<sup>c</sup> ὀρμήν.

<sup>d</sup> This scriptural half-verse is not commented on by Philo in *De Fuga*.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ τοῦ ἠθους ἀνυπόκριτον, as in the Greek frag. from Procopius.

<sup>f</sup> ἀψεύδειαν.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ πέπονθεν, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>h</sup> καταπέπληγμα; cf. καταπέπληκται in the Greek frag.

<sup>i</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>j</sup> The mind.

<sup>k</sup> Reading *kareal* (ptc.) for *karel* (inf.).

<sup>l</sup> Prob. αἰδοῖ, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>m</sup> συμβιοῦν, as in the Greek frag.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

\*30. (Gen. xvi. 9) Why did the angel say to her, "Return to thy mistress and submit thyself under her hands"?

Since the literal meaning <sup>a</sup> is clear, the deeper meaning <sup>b</sup> must be considered. The divine Logos <sup>c</sup> disciplines and admonishes <sup>d</sup> the soul which is able to receive healing, and turns it back to sovereign wisdom, <sup>e</sup> lest, being left without a mistress, <sup>f</sup> it leap into absurd folly. And he <sup>g</sup> disciplines it, <sup>h</sup> not only that it may turn back to virtue but also submit itself under her hands, by which I mean under her powers. <sup>i</sup> Now submission <sup>j</sup> is of two forms. One is by way of deficiency, <sup>k</sup> arising from the soul's weakness, <sup>l</sup> which it is easy to overcome, arrest and condemn. <sup>m</sup> The other is that which the dominant Logos <sup>n</sup> enjoins, and arises from awe and reverence, such as sons feel toward their parents, and pupils toward their teachers, and youths toward their elders. For it is most expedient to be obedient to, and fall before, <sup>o</sup> one's betters. He who has learned to be ruled, also learns at once how to rule. For not even if one should assume power over all the earth and sea, would he be able to rule in truth if he had not first learned and first been trained to be ruled.

31. (Gen. xvi. 10) Why does the angel say to her, "I will multiply, he says, <sup>p</sup> thy seed and it shall not be numbered for multitude"?

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ θεῖος λόγος.

<sup>e</sup> πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν σοφίαν.

<sup>g</sup> The Logos.

<sup>i</sup> ταῖς δυνάμει.

<sup>k</sup> κατ' ἐκλειψιν ἢ ἐλάττωσιν; variant "by way of corruption."

<sup>m</sup> ὑπερβάλλειν καὶ καταλαμβάνειν καὶ καταγιγνώσκειν.

<sup>n</sup> ὁ κύριος λόγος.

<sup>o</sup> The Greek frag., which begins here, has only τὸ ὑποτάττεσθαι.

<sup>p</sup> Why the Arm. inserts "he says" is not clear; possibly it is a substitute for the Heb. idiom, reproduced in the LXX, "multiplying I will multiply."

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> παιδεύει καὶ νοουθετεῖ.

<sup>f</sup> ἀδέσποτος.

<sup>h</sup> The soul.

<sup>j</sup> ταπεινώσις.

<sup>l</sup> ἐκ ψυχικῆς ἀσθενείας.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

The honourable thing for a believing soul <sup>a</sup> is not to revolt and resist because of its progress in learning <sup>b</sup> and the most useful growth <sup>c</sup> which comes from wide learning.<sup>d</sup> For it is no longer like the word-catchers and word-traders <sup>e</sup> who greedily stuff themselves with the various opinions that are (found) in the school studies,<sup>f</sup> but (seeks) that truth which is in the various (studies).<sup>g</sup> When it follows after this, and begins to seek out and search for it, it becomes worthy of beholding the sight of its unbribable, irreprehensible and irreproachable mistress.<sup>h</sup>

32. (Gen. xvi. 11) What is the meaning of the words, "The angel <sup>i</sup> said to her, 'Behold, thou hast conceived and wilt bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Ishmael, for the Lord has heard thy affliction' " ?

The literal meaning <sup>j</sup> admits no questioning, but (the verse) is to be allegorized <sup>k</sup> as follows. Wide learning,<sup>l</sup> which is practised and used through the administration <sup>m</sup> of virtue as through a mistress, is not barren but receives the seeds of wisdom.<sup>n</sup> And when it conceives, it bears. However, it bears, not a perfect work,<sup>o</sup> but an imperfect one, like a child that is in need of care and nourishment.<sup>p</sup> And is this not right ? <sup>q</sup> For it is clear that the offspring <sup>r</sup>

<sup>a</sup> πιστευσίη ψυχῆ.

<sup>b</sup> διὰ τὴν τῆς μαθήσεως προκοπήν.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "seed."

<sup>d</sup> ἐκ πολυμαθείας.

<sup>e</sup> λογοθῆραι καὶ λογοπῶλαι; these two epithets are coupled in *De Congressu* 53.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "non enim ulterius, ut verborum captores venditoresque, ad placitum usurpat omnia encyclopediæ argumenta, sed illam quæ in singulis continetur veritatem."

<sup>h</sup> τῆς ἀδεκάστου καὶ ἀκαταγνώστου καὶ ἀνεπιτιμῆτου κυρίας.

<sup>i</sup> Heb. and LXX "angel of the Lord."

<sup>j</sup> τὸ ῥήτόν.

<sup>k</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

<sup>l</sup> πολυμάθεια.

<sup>m</sup> οἰκονομίαν *vel sim.*

<sup>n</sup> τὰ τῆς σοφίας σπέρματα.

<sup>o</sup> τέλειον ἔργον.

<sup>p</sup> ἐπιμελείας καὶ τροφῆς.

<sup>q</sup> Aucher, in his rendering, inadvertently omits this sentence.

<sup>r</sup> Lit. "births."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

of a perfected soul are perfect, and these are words and deeds.<sup>a</sup> But those of inferior<sup>b</sup> (souls) which are still under service and in bondage are more imperfect. Therefore he was truly<sup>c</sup> named Ishmael, and this is to be interpreted as "hearing God."<sup>d</sup> Now hearing is second in rank to seeing. For as prizes in the contest of the senses<sup>e</sup> Nature has given the first to the eyes, the second to the ears, the third to the nostrils, and the fourth to (the organ) by which we taste.

33. (Gen. xvi. 12) What is the meaning of the words, "He will be a wild man<sup>f</sup>; his hand will be against all, and the hands of all against him, and he will dwell over against<sup>g</sup> all his brothers"<sup>h</sup>?

In the literal sense<sup>h</sup> he has no brothers up to this point, for he was the first who came<sup>i</sup> to his parents. However, Nature indicates<sup>j</sup> something rather unclear, which must be examined, for it gives a picture<sup>k</sup> of those things which are to be. Now this picture clearly represents the sophist,<sup>l</sup> whose mother is wide learning and wisdom.<sup>m</sup> But the sophist is wild in thought,<sup>n</sup> while the wise man is civil<sup>o</sup> and is suited to the state and to civilization<sup>p</sup>; but the man of wild thought is from that very fact<sup>q</sup> a lover of conten-

<sup>a</sup> λόγοι καὶ ἔργα.

<sup>b</sup> δευτερείων.

<sup>c</sup> ἐτύμως.

<sup>d</sup> ἀκοή θεοῦ; cf. *De Fuga* 208, where Ishmael and Israel ("seeing God") are contrasted.

<sup>e</sup> ἄθλον ἐν τῷ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀγωνίσματι.

<sup>f</sup> LXX ἄγροικος ἄνθρωπος.

<sup>g</sup> LXX κατὰ πρόσωπον.

<sup>h</sup> κατὰ τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "began to be."

<sup>j</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>k</sup> σχῆμα (καὶ μορφήν?).

<sup>l</sup> τὸν σοφιστήν; cf. *De Fuga* 209.

<sup>m</sup> πολυμάθεια καὶ σοφία.

<sup>n</sup> In *De Fuga* 209 Philo calls him ἀγροικόσοφον.

<sup>o</sup> πολιτικός.

<sup>p</sup> πόλει καὶ πολιτεία.

<sup>q</sup> Text uncertain; for Arm. *andēn* "thence" Aucher suggests *anden* "infidelis, irreligiōsus" [?]; the Arm. glossator explains *andēn* as "crooked," but seems to be guessing.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

tion.<sup>a</sup> Therefore (Scripture) adds, "his hands against all, and the hands of all against him," for, being trained in wide learning and much knowledge,<sup>b</sup> he contradicts all men (He is) like those who are now called Academics and Sceptics,<sup>c</sup> who place no foundation<sup>d</sup> under their opinions and doctrines and do not (prefer) one thing to another, for they admit those as philosophers who shoot at (the doctrines) of every school,<sup>e</sup> and these it is customary to call "opinion-fighters."<sup>f</sup> For first they fight and become defenders and champions of their native school<sup>g</sup> lest they be stopped by those who oppose them. For they are all kin and, in a certain sense,<sup>h</sup> uterine brothers,<sup>i</sup> offspring of the same mother, philosophy.<sup>j</sup> Therefore (Scripture) says, "over against all his brothers he will dwell." For in truth<sup>k</sup> the Academics and the Non-committals<sup>l</sup> take opposite stands in their doctrines, and oppose the various opinions which others hold.<sup>m</sup>

34. (Gen. xvi. 13) Why does (Scripture) say, "And she<sup>n</sup> called the name of the Lord, who was speaking to her, Thou art God who seest me, for she said, For indeed I have seen before (me) him who appeared to me"<sup>o</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> φιλόνεικος.

<sup>b</sup> πολλῇ ἐπιστήμῃ (or γνώσει).

<sup>c</sup> I.it. "investigators," but the word evidently reflects Greek σκεπτικοί.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "terminum."

<sup>e</sup> ἐκάστης αἰρέσεως δόγματα vel sim.

<sup>f</sup> Perhaps Philo here used γνωμομαχοῦντες, though the word is not attested in his writings or elsewhere, it seems; cf. γνωσιμαχοῦντες, used of sceptics, in *De Congressu* 53; Aucher here renders, "voluntatis oppugnatores (quasi Thelemachos vel Thelemamachos)."

<sup>g</sup> τῆς πατρίας αἰρέσεως vel sim.; cf. *De Fuga* 210 ἀμνημονέων ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἐγγόνων ὧν ἔτεκεν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχὴ δογμάτων.

<sup>h</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>i</sup> ὁμογάστριοι ἀδελφοί.

<sup>j</sup> τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

<sup>k</sup> ὄντως.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "non-sayers"; Aucher "indicibiles." Prob. the Sceptics are meant, as above.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "decree"—νομοθετοῦσι.

<sup>n</sup> LXX "Hagar."

<sup>o</sup> Philo literally follows the LXX, ἐνώπιον ἴδον ὀφθέντα μοι.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Observe the first point carefully, that he <sup>a</sup> was the servant of God in the same way (that Hagar was) the maidservant of wisdom.<sup>b</sup> Hence the angel was called (God) <sup>c</sup> in order that she <sup>d</sup> might harmonize the reality <sup>e</sup> to his appearance.<sup>f</sup>

For it was fitting and proper that God, the Most High One and Lord of all, should appear to wisdom,<sup>g</sup> while he who was his Logos (and) minister <sup>h</sup> (should appear) to the maidservant and attendant of wisdom.<sup>i</sup> But it was not strange <sup>j</sup> (for her) to believe that the angel was God. For those who are unable to see the first cause <sup>k</sup> naturally <sup>l</sup> suffer from an illusion <sup>m</sup>; they believe that the second is the first. (They are like those) who have poor eyesight and are not able to see the corporeal form <sup>n</sup> which is in heaven, (namely) the sun, and believe that the rays which it sends to the earth are this itself. And all those who do not see the Great King ascribe the dignity of the first in sovereignty <sup>o</sup> to his satrap and the one under him. Moreover, wild men,<sup>p</sup> who have never seen cities even from a

<sup>a</sup> That the angel is the implied subject is indicated by the parallel *De Fuga* 212 ἄγγελοι δ' οἰκέται θεοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> τῆς σοφίας.

<sup>c</sup> So also Aucher and the Arm. glossator understand the elliptical phrase.

<sup>d</sup> Or "it" (Scripture)?

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρᾶγμα (?).

<sup>f</sup> Or "person"; Aucher renders, "ut personae propriae rem (ipsi) adaptaret." This rendering, like mine, finds no place for the adverb *i veray* "above"; possibly we should emend the Arm. verb *γarmareçouçē* "might harmonize" to *hamaresçē* "might reckon," and thus fit in the adv. "above," rendering, "in order that she might consider the reality as more important than the appearance."

<sup>g</sup> Apparently Sarah, the symbol of wisdom, is meant.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "verbum ut ministrum"; there is no conjunction between the two nouns in the Arm. text.

<sup>i</sup> i.e. to Hagar.

<sup>j</sup> ἄτοπον, or "inept"—ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον.

<sup>l</sup> εἰκός.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "deceit"—ἀπάτην *vel sim.*

<sup>n</sup> τὸ σωματοειδές. <sup>o</sup> Lit. "first king."

<sup>p</sup> οἱ ἄγριοι.



## GENESIS, BOOK III

hill-top, believe that a village or a country-estate is a metropolis,<sup>a</sup> and that those who live in them are citizens of a metropolis, because of their ignorance of what a true metropolis really<sup>b</sup> is.

35. (Gen. xvi. 14) What is the meaning of the words, "Therefore she called<sup>c</sup> the well 'the well of him<sup>d</sup> whom I saw before (me)'<sup>e</sup>?"

A well has two things, both depth and a source.<sup>f</sup> Now the teachings of the school studies<sup>g</sup> are not superficial<sup>h</sup> and not without principles,<sup>i</sup> for they have discipline<sup>j</sup> as a source. And so she rightly says that it was before the well that the angel appeared like God. And though the school studies have second rank in learning,<sup>k</sup> they seem to be<sup>l</sup> first, and they are divided and separated from that first wisdom<sup>m</sup> which it is proper for wise men but not for sophists<sup>n</sup> to see.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> κώμην ἢ αὐλήν <εἶναι> μητρόπολιν.

<sup>b</sup> ὄντως.

<sup>c</sup> Philo follows the LXX in reading *ἐκάλεσεν*, rendering Heb. *qārā'* which is here used impersonally, meaning "one called" or "people called."

<sup>d</sup> So the Arm. O.T., taking *οὗ* as gen. s. masc. of the relative pronoun; the variant in the Arm. text of Philo takes the *οὗ* as a relative adverb.

<sup>e</sup> Or "face to face" as in the Arm. O.T.; both renderings are based on LXX *φρέαρ οὗ ἐνώπιον ἴδον*. Heb. reads differently, "the well Beer-lahai-roi," traditionally explained as "the well (*bə'ēr*) of the living one (*lahay*) who sees me (*rō'ī*)." Apparently the LXX translators took Heb. *lahay* as the noun *lehī* "cheek" in the sense of "before my face." For a somewhat similar interpretation of this verse see *De Fuga* 213.

<sup>f</sup> πηγὴν.

<sup>g</sup> τῶν ἐγκυκλίων.

<sup>h</sup> ἐπιπόλαιαι.

<sup>i</sup> ἀναρχοί.

<sup>j</sup> παιδείαν.

<sup>k</sup> τὰ ἐγκύκλια τῆς πολυμαθείας ἔχει τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν; Aucher renders, "eruditio encyclopaediae" although the Arm. construction requires "encyclopedia eruditionis."

<sup>l</sup> πρεσβύτερα.

<sup>m</sup> τῆς πρώτης σοφίας.

<sup>n</sup> τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς σοφισταῖς.

<sup>o</sup> The meaning is unclear in part.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

36. (Gen. xvi. 14) Why is the well said to be "between Kadesh and between <sup>a</sup> Pharan" <sup>b</sup> ?

"Kadesh" is interpreted as "holy," while "Pharan" is "hail" or "dots." <sup>c</sup>

37. (Gen. xvi. 15) What is the meaning of the words, "Hagar bore to Abraham a son" ?

This is very natural, <sup>d</sup> for possession <sup>e</sup> does not bear anything for itself but for him who possesses, as does literature for the literary man, <sup>f</sup> and music for the musician, and mathematics for the mathematician, for he is a part of it and is in need of it. But possession is received <sup>g</sup> as if it were not in need (of anything), as fire is not in need of heat, since it is its own heat and gives a common share <sup>h</sup> of its heat to those who come close or approach it.

\*38. (Gen. xvi. 16) Why is Abraham said to be eighty-six <sup>i</sup> years old when Hagar bore him Ishmael ?

Because that which follows the "eighty," (namely) the number six, is the first perfect number. <sup>j</sup> It is equal to its parts and is the first even-odd <sup>k</sup> number, having a part in

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX, which retains the Heb. idiom "between and between."

<sup>b</sup> Most LXX MSS. and Arm. O.T. have βαράδ (Heb. *Bered*), as does Philo in *De Fuga* 213.

<sup>c</sup> Or "minute pieces." The etymology "hail" fits the name "Bered" but not "Pharan." In *De Fuga* 213 Philo fancifully etymologizes "Bered" as "in evil" (=Heb. *bāra'*).

<sup>d</sup> φυσικώτατον.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "having of possessions"; perhaps Philo here used *ἔξις* in the philosophical sense of "condition," "disposition."

<sup>f</sup> ἡ γραμματικὴ τῷ γραμματικῷ.

<sup>g</sup> Or "admitted to be."

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "a part of participation"—μέρος κοινωνίας.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "six and eighty"; LXX "eighty-six."

<sup>j</sup> ὁ πρῶτος τέλειος ἀριθμός. On the symbolism of the number six see *QG* ii. 45 and Staehle pp. 32-34.

<sup>k</sup> ἀρτιοπέριτος; cf. *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 58.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

an active cause through its oddness, and in a material and affective (cause) through its evenness.<sup>a</sup> Therefore among the ancients who were in the beginning,<sup>b</sup> some called it "marriage," others "harmony."<sup>c</sup> And the theologian<sup>d</sup> represented the creation of the world (as taking place) in six (days). And the number eighty is the most harmonious<sup>e</sup> of numbers, consisting of two most excellent scales,<sup>f</sup> (namely) of that which is by doubles and that which is by triples in the scheme<sup>g</sup> of fourths. It includes all<sup>h</sup> progressions,<sup>i</sup> the arithmetic, the geometric and the harmonic; the first is that (consisting) of proportions of two, that is, 6, 8, 9, 12,<sup>j</sup> of which the sum is 35.<sup>k</sup> And the other consists of (proportions of) three, that is, 6, 9, 12, 18,<sup>l</sup> of which the sum is forty-five. And of these two (numbers), thirty-five and forty-five, is made up the number eighty. And when the theologian began to speak of the divine commandments,<sup>m</sup> he was eighty years old.<sup>n</sup> Now the first of our nation who was circumcised by law and was named after

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Joh. Lydus, p. 32, 4-8 (cited by Staehle) μετέχων καὶ τῆς δραστικῆς οὐσίας (Arm. = αἰτίας) κατὰ τὸν περιττὸν καὶ τῆς ὑλικῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄρτιον.

<sup>b</sup> Joh. Lydus has only οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

<sup>c</sup> γάμον . . . ἁρμονίαν, as in the frag. from Joh. Lydus, which ends here.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ θεολόγος, i.e. Moses.

<sup>e</sup> ἁρμονικώτατος.

<sup>f</sup> ἐκ δυοῖν ἀρίστων διαγραμμάτων, meaning the numbers 35 and 45, as explained just below.

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ τὸ πλινθίον, the figure of musical intervals; cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 107-110.

<sup>h</sup> Variant "all four."

<sup>i</sup> ἀναλογίας.

<sup>j</sup> Philo explains in *De Opif. Mundi* 107 ff. that 6, 8, 9, 12 form a proportion for 12 : 9 as 8 : 6, making a double proportion of 4 : 3.

<sup>k</sup> The Arm. uses numeral letters here and below.

<sup>l</sup> 18 : 12 = 9 : 6, a double proportion of 3 : 2.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "commands of precepts"; Aucher "oraculum praeceptorum."

<sup>n</sup> i.e. when he appeared before Pharaoh, according to Ex. vii. 7.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

the virtue of joy <sup>a</sup> was called Isaac in Chaldaean, which in Armenian <sup>b</sup> is "laughter." (His was) a nature <sup>c</sup> which rejoiced in all things and was not displeased at all with anything in the world, but was pleased with what happened as happening in a good and useful way.

39. (Gen. xvii. 1) <sup>d</sup> Why does (Scripture) say that when Abraham was ninety-nine years old, "the Lord God <sup>e</sup> appeared to him and said, I am the Lord thy God" <sup>f</sup> ?

It gives the two appellations <sup>g</sup> of the two highest powers <sup>h</sup> in connexion with <sup>i</sup> the wise man, for by them the world came into being, and having come into being, it is governed <sup>j</sup> by them. By one of them, indicated as <sup>k</sup> "God," it was created and ordered, for "God" is the name of the creative power, <sup>l</sup> while the other, indicated as "the Lord," comes under the head of power and kingship. <sup>m</sup> And so, (Scrip-

<sup>a</sup> Arm. construction obscure; Aucher renders, "virtute praestans ille nomen gerit gaudii." The reference to Isaac properly belongs below, in § 39.

<sup>b</sup> *Sic!* The Arm. translator has substituted "Armenian" for "Greek." Aucher omits "in Armenian" in his translation.

<sup>c</sup> The formerly unidentified Greek frag. in Harris p. 97, recognized by Früchtel as belonging here, has μακαρία φύσις.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xvii. 1-5, 15-22 are commented on in *De Mut. Nom.*, where Philo devotes a long section to the discussion of the second half of verse 1, commented on in the next section.

<sup>e</sup> So also the Arm. O.T.; LXX and Heb. have only "the Lord," as does *De Mut. Nom.*

<sup>f</sup> Heb. "I am El Shaddai"; LXX has ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου, similarly Arm. O.T. and *De Mut. Nom.* 1.

<sup>g</sup> Prob. = κλήσεις.

<sup>h</sup> τῶν ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεων, i.e. the kingly power, symbolized by the name "Lord," and the creative power, symbolized by the name "God"; see *QG* ii. 51 notes.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *i veray* prob. here = ἐπί; Aucher renders, "super."

<sup>j</sup> οἰκονομείται.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "in accordance with"—κατά.

<sup>l</sup> τῆς ποιητικῆς δυνάμεως.

<sup>m</sup> ἡγεμονίας (or ἐξουσίας vel sim.) καὶ βασιλείας.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

ture) wishes to show that the virtuous man <sup>a</sup> is a citizen of the world <sup>b</sup> and of equal honour with the whole world <sup>c</sup> by representing as his overseers and guards <sup>d</sup> the cosmic powers, the divine and kingly, in a unique sense. <sup>e</sup> Now the manifestation <sup>f</sup> took place in his ninety-ninth year, a number rightly (chosen). In the first place, it is next <sup>g</sup> to a hundred, and a hundred is a power <sup>h</sup> of ten when the latter is multiplied by itself, and this the theologian calls "the holy of holies." <sup>i</sup> For the *kor*, <sup>j</sup> the first tenth, is simply called "holy," and this he assigns to the caretakers of the temple. <sup>k</sup> And the tenth of the tenth, which he further commands the caretakers to set aside as an offering <sup>l</sup> to the presiding official, <sup>m</sup> is a tenth reckoned from a hundred, for what else is a tenth of a tenth but a hundredth part? However, the number ninety-nine years is not only distinguished <sup>n</sup> by its kinship and nearness to a hundred but

<sup>a</sup> τὸν σπουδαῖον, *i.e.* Abraham.

<sup>b</sup> κοσμοπολίτην.

<sup>c</sup> ἰσότημον παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ.

<sup>d</sup> ἐπιστάτους (*vel sim.*) καὶ φύλακας.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "by a singularity of word" (or "principle")—κατ' ἰδιότητα λόγου; Aucher renders, "singulari modo." The exact sense is not clear to me.

<sup>f</sup> ἡ ἐπιφάνεια.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "neighbour."

<sup>h</sup> δύναμις.

<sup>i</sup> Apparently Philo here, as in the parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 2, refers to the tithe of the Levitical tithe, Num. xviii. 26, though in the biblical passage it is not called "holy of holies"; however, the offerings are generally called τὰ ἅγια in the LXX of Num. xviii. 32.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *k'or* = Greek *κόρος* = Heb. *kōr*, a measure = 10 baths, *cf.* Ez. xlv. 14 *et al.*

<sup>k</sup> τοῖς νεωκόροις, a name given by Philo to the Levites, *cf.* *De Fuga* 90, *De Vita Mosis* i. 316.

<sup>l</sup> Prob. ἀπαρχήν, as in *De Mut. Nom.* 2 and LXX Num. xviii. 26.

<sup>m</sup> Prob. τῷ προεστηκότι = the high priest; Aucher supplies "summo sacerdoti."

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "adorned."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

it also receives special participation in a remarkable nature,<sup>a</sup> for it consists of fifty and seven heptads.<sup>b</sup> Now the Pentecostal (year)<sup>c</sup> is called "release"<sup>d</sup> in the Legislation,<sup>e</sup> for all are freed,<sup>f</sup> both inanimate and animate beings.

And the Sabbatical<sup>g</sup> years are the power<sup>h</sup> of rest<sup>i</sup> and deep peace in body and soul,<sup>j</sup> for the seventh year is a memorial<sup>k</sup> of the self-grown goods<sup>l</sup> that require no thought or labour, which nature produced by itself at the first establishing of the world. And the number forty-nine, which is made up of seven hebdomads, indicates, not superficial goods,<sup>m</sup> but rather those which have power and wisdom in respect of invincible and most powerful firmness.<sup>n</sup>

\*40. (Gen. xvii. 1-2)<sup>o</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "Be well-pleasing before Me<sup>p</sup> and be blameless,<sup>q</sup> and I will place My covenant<sup>r</sup> between Me and between thee, and I will multiply thee greatly greatly"<sup>s</sup>?

He lays down a law most appropriate<sup>t</sup> to the race of

<sup>a</sup> φύσεως θαυμασίας ἰδίαν (or ἐξαιρέτων) κοινωνίαν.

<sup>b</sup> 50 + 49 = 99.

<sup>c</sup> Or Jubilee year, cf. Lev. xxv. 10.

<sup>d</sup> ἄφεσις, as in LXX.

<sup>e</sup> ἐν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. of debts and obligations to work.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "hebdomadal."

<sup>h</sup> δύναμις (?); Aucher "mysterium."

<sup>i</sup> ἀναπαύσεως.

<sup>j</sup> κατὰ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν.

<sup>k</sup> μνημείον.

<sup>l</sup> τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν, cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 260.

<sup>m</sup> ἐπιπόλαια ἀγαθά.

<sup>n</sup> βεβαίωσιν or σύστασιν.

<sup>o</sup> This half-verse (1b) and verse 2 are commented on in *De Mut. Nom.* 39-53.

<sup>p</sup> LXX εὐαρέσκει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ; for ἐναντίον some LXX MSS. have ἐνώπιον, as does Philo in *De Mut. Nom.* 39.

<sup>q</sup> ἄμεμπτος.

<sup>r</sup> διαθήκην.

<sup>s</sup> So Heb.; LXX has only σφόδρα. The last clause is not quoted by Philo in *De Mut. Nom.* 52-53.

<sup>t</sup> οἰκειότατον.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

mortals. For he who has no share,<sup>a</sup> and is not involved,<sup>b</sup> in evil <sup>c</sup> is perfectly good and noble—a property of incorporeal natures.<sup>d</sup> But as for those who are in the body, (they are good) to the extent that they reject evil and in accordance with their part in sin. For the life of man appears virtuous not because they are without weaknesses <sup>e</sup> from beginning to end, but when they are inspired (to rise) from weakness to health.<sup>f</sup> For these reasons He said directly and straightly, “Be blameless” because it suffices for the happiness of mortal nature <sup>g</sup> not to incur blame and not to say or do anything deserving of reproach. This is directly pleasing to the Father, wherefore He says, “Be well-pleasing before Me and be blameless.” Hence these statements relate and correspond (to each other),<sup>h</sup> for a character which pleases God does not incur blame, while one who is blameless and faultless in all things is altogether pleasing (to God). And He promises to grant a double grace to him who is far from all blame. In the first place, He says that He appoints him the repository and guardian <sup>i</sup> of the divine covenants,<sup>j</sup> and then that He will increase him to an indescribable multitude. For the words, “I will place My covenant between Me and thee” show that the custody and guardianship belong to a truly noble and

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “part of sharing,” prob. = *κοινωνίαν*.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “is unmixed.”

<sup>c</sup> Lit. “in evilness (abstract) and evil (concrete).”

<sup>d</sup> *ιδιότης ἀσωμάτων φύσεων*; for a similar idea see *De Mut. Nom.* 50.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders, “immunitum ab aegritudine.”

<sup>f</sup> *ὀγιάν* or “wholeness”—*ὀλοκληρίαν*.

<sup>g</sup> *τῇ θνητῇ φύσει πρὸς εὐτυχίαν*.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders, “ubi mutuam praefert conversionem assertio.” The meaning is clearer in the parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 47, *προσεπιλέγει, καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος, ἀκολουθία καὶ εἰρμῶ χρώμενος*.

<sup>i</sup> *φυλακὴν* (or *ἀποθήκην*) καὶ *φύλακα* *vel sim.* Aucher renders, “custodem depositi.” There is no similar phrase in *De Mut. Nom.*

<sup>j</sup> *τῶν θείων διαθηκῶν*. The Arm. uses two different words in this section for *διαθήκη*, namely *owxt* and *ktakaran*.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

virtuous man. Now the divine covenant consists of<sup>a</sup> all the incorporeal principles, forms<sup>b</sup> and measures for the whole of all the things of which this world<sup>c</sup> was made. Moreover that He twice<sup>d</sup> says, "I will multiply thee greatly greatly" clearly shows the indescribability and immensity of the multitude, (that is) the growth of the multitude (of people) and sometimes of human virtues.

\*41. (Gen. xvii. 3) What is the meaning of the words, "Abraham fell upon (his) face"<sup>e</sup>?

What is now said is the development of the preceding,<sup>f</sup> for He had said, "be blameless." Now that for which life is blameworthy and reprehensible is nothing else than sense-perception,<sup>g</sup> for this is the head and font of passion.<sup>h</sup> Rightly and properly does he fall upon his face, by which I understand his senses, which (lead) to transgression and sin; and this indicates His beneficence.<sup>i</sup> This is the first (point). And second, it should be said that he is struck<sup>j</sup> by the manifestation<sup>k</sup> of the Existent One,<sup>l</sup> and being

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "are."

<sup>b</sup> οἱ ἀσώματοι λόγοι καὶ τὰ εἶδη (or αἱ ἰδέαι); Aucher less literally renders, "incorporeum est verbum."

<sup>c</sup> οὗτος ὁ κόσμος.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. repetitiously.

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἔπεσεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. This biblical half-verse is commented upon (in part differently) in *De Mut. Nom.* 54-57, which omits the αὐτοῦ after πρόσωπον, as does the Arm. here.

<sup>f</sup> κατασκευή (?) τῶν προτέρων; Aucher "constructio prae-missorum."

<sup>g</sup> αἴσθησις.

<sup>h</sup> ἀρχή τε καὶ πηγή τῶν παθῶν.

<sup>i</sup> αἰνιττομένης τῆς ἐκείνου εὐεργασίας. In *De Mut. Nom.* 56 Philo more clearly says that God keeps the senses from erring. Aucher's rendering is inaccurate, "sensuum delicta (in unum cecidisse) operibus bonis jam illos deditas (sic) fuisse ostendens."

<sup>j</sup> πλήττεται.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "very manifest appearance," prob. = ἐπιφανεία.

<sup>l</sup> τοῦ ὄντος.



## GENESIS, BOOK III

unable to look (at Him) directly, falls down in consternation and kisses the ground, being overawed and abashed by the vision which appeared to him. Third, the manifestation was made by Him who was in the appearance, (namely) the Existent One, who exists, whom he knew in truth by (His) opposition to nature, which comes into being,<sup>a</sup> for the one remains firm and intact,<sup>b</sup> while the other vacillates and falls upon its place, the earth.

42. (Gen. xvii. 3-4) What is the meaning of the words, "And God spoke with him, saying, And I, behold My covenant (is) with thee. And thou shalt become the father of a multitude of peoples" <sup>c</sup> ?

Since He had earlier spoken of the covenant, He says, "Do not seek it in writing,<sup>a</sup> for I Myself am, in the highest sense,<sup>e</sup> the genuine covenant."<sup>f</sup> For after showing Himself and saying, "I," He adds, "behold My covenant," (as if to say, "This is) nothing else but Me, for I am that same covenant by which pacts are made and formed and agreed upon, and, moreover, all things are well distributed and set apart." This is the archetypal form <sup>g</sup> of covenant, composed of ideas and incorporeal measures and principles,<sup>h</sup> through which this world <sup>i</sup> was completed. Was it not

<sup>a</sup> ὃν οἶδε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐξ ἀντιθέσεως πρὸς τὴν γενομένην φύσιν; Aucher renders less accurately, "quem novit ut veritatem naturae creatae oppositam."

<sup>b</sup> ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ καὶ ἀπταιστώ *vel sim.*

<sup>c</sup> So LXX, καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων, καὶ ἐγώ, ἰδοὺ ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ· καὶ ἔση πατὴρ πλήθους ἐθνῶν. The second half of verse 3 to "with thee" is similarly interpreted in *De Mut. Nom.* 58-59.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* in written form.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τὸν ἀνώτατον λόγον, *cf. De Mut. Nom.* 58 τὸ δ' ἀνώτατον γένος διαθηκῶν.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. = γνησία διαθήκη τῶν διαθηκῶν; the Arm. here uses two different words for covenant, *ouxt* and *ktakaran*.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ἀρχέτυπον εἶδος.

<sup>h</sup> ἐξ ἰδεῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων μέτρων καὶ λόγων συντεθειμένον.

<sup>i</sup> οὗτος ὁ κόσμος.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

then indeed a superfluity of beneficence which the Father granted the wise man,<sup>a</sup> that He not only carried him off and brought him up from earth to heaven or from heaven to an incorporeal and intelligible world,<sup>b</sup> but also (brought him) from here to Himself, showing (Himself) clearly,<sup>c</sup> not as He is, for this is impossible,<sup>d</sup> but (in so far) as the eyes of the beholder are able to attain to the genuine and intelligible power itself.<sup>e</sup> Wherefore He says, "No longer shalt thou be a son, but a father." And a father, not of one, but "of a multitude," and of a multitude, not of individuals,<sup>f</sup> but of a numerous group of nations.<sup>g</sup> And of the agreements<sup>h</sup> revealed, two are literal,<sup>i</sup> while the third is more physical.<sup>j</sup> Now of the literal ones, the first is as follows. "Truly<sup>k</sup> thou shalt be a father of nations and shalt beget nations, that is, each of thy sons shall be the founder of a nation."<sup>l</sup> And the other is as follows. "In the manner of a father, thou shalt be invested with the care and supervision of many nations,<sup>m</sup> for a lover of God<sup>n</sup> is by the same token<sup>o</sup> wont to be a lover of mankind,<sup>p</sup> so that he is greatly concerned not only for his countrymen<sup>q</sup> but also for all others at the same time, especially for those who are able to receive the discipline of attention<sup>r</sup> and whose characters are not unpleasant and hard but easily give place to virtue<sup>s</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> τῷ σοφῷ, *i.e.* Abraham.

<sup>b</sup> εἰς ἀσώματον καὶ νοερὸν κόσμον.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits the adverb.

<sup>d</sup> ἀδύνατον.

<sup>e</sup> εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν γνησίαν καὶ νοερὰν δύναμιν.

<sup>f</sup> κατὰ μέρος; Aucher renders literally but not quite to the point, "secundum partes."<sup>g</sup> πολυανθρωπίας γενῶν.

<sup>h</sup> Prob. = τῶν ὁμολογιῶν; Aucher "promissis."

<sup>i</sup> ῥηταί.

<sup>j</sup> φυσικωτέρα, in the sense of physical (or psychic) allegory.

<sup>k</sup> ὄντως.

<sup>l</sup> γενάρχης.

<sup>m</sup> πολλῶν γενῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐπιστάσιαν ἐνδύσει.

<sup>n</sup> φιλόθεος.

<sup>o</sup> εὐθύς.

<sup>p</sup> φιλάνθρωπος.

<sup>q</sup> τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις.

<sup>r</sup> τὴν τῆς προσοχῆς (or ἐπιμελείας) παιδείαν; Aucher "disciplinam attentionis"; the exact meaning is not clear to me.

<sup>s</sup> ἀρετῇ.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

are submissive to right reason.<sup>a</sup> But the third (promise) is to be allegorized<sup>b</sup> as follows. The multitude of nations is like there being in each of us a variety of inclinations in the soul,<sup>c</sup> both those which it is wont to form<sup>d</sup> by itself, and those which it receives through the senses<sup>e</sup> and which slip<sup>f</sup> into its sight from without.<sup>g</sup> And if the mind<sup>h</sup> assumes sovereignty over these like the father of all,<sup>i</sup> it changes them for the better, nursing<sup>j</sup> the infantile and puerile thoughts, while urging on and helping to advance those which are mature but incomplete, and praising those which persist in the right way but restraining<sup>k</sup> the rebellious and refractory ones through discipline and reproof. For being desirous of imitating the Deity,<sup>l</sup> it receives from His powers, the beneficent and destructive,<sup>m</sup> as if from a fountain, a double stream: beneficence toward those who wish to obey, reproof toward those who are out of hand and refractory, since some profit from praise, others from castigation. For he who is widely versed<sup>n</sup> in virtue can profit from all things in accordance with his power.

43. (Gen. xvii. 5) What is the meaning of the words, "Thy name shall not be called Abram, but Abraham<sup>o</sup> shall be thy name"?

<sup>a</sup> καὶ ὑποτάττονται τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ. <sup>b</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

<sup>c</sup> ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πολυτρόπων οὐσῶν γνωμῶν *vel sim.*

<sup>d</sup> πλάττειν. <sup>e</sup> διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

<sup>f</sup> παρεισαγόμεναι.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "to the sight (or "eyes") of vision inside from without"; Aucher renders more freely, "imaginatione intermediente ab extra intus."<sup>h</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "communis pater."

<sup>j</sup> θηλάζων.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "putting a bit into the mouth of."

<sup>l</sup> τῷ Θεῷ.

<sup>m</sup> On the two divine attributes see *QG* ii. 51 notes.

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "extends everywhere."

<sup>o</sup> Arm. and LXX "Abraam." In *De Mut. Nom.* Philo devotes a long section, §§ 60-120, to the changes of name of various biblical persons beside Abraham.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Some of the uncultivated,<sup>a</sup> or rather, of the uninitiated<sup>b</sup> and of those who do not belong to the divine chorus ridicule and reproach the one who is blameless in nature,<sup>c</sup> and say reproachfully and chidingly, "Oh what a great gift! The Ruler and Lord of all<sup>d</sup> has graciously given one letter,<sup>e</sup> by which He has increased and made greater the name of the patriarch, so that instead of having two syllables it has three." Oh what great devilishness<sup>f</sup> and impiety (it is) that some presume to bring forward slanders against God, being deceived by the superficial aspects of names, whereas it would be proper to thrust their minds into the depths in search of the inner facts for the sake of greatly possessing the truth.<sup>g</sup> And yet these (names) which are ready to hand<sup>h</sup> (and) which someone is said to have granted (in) writing—why do you not believe that (they are the work of) Providence<sup>i</sup> and that this is to be honoured?<sup>j</sup> For the first written element of sound is A, both in order and in power.<sup>k</sup> Second, it is a vowel,<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τῶν ἀμούσων, represented by two words in Arm.

<sup>b</sup> τῶν ἀμνήτων.

<sup>c</sup> ἄμωμον φύσει. Apparently Moses is meant.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ ἡγεμὼν καὶ κύριος τῶν ὄλων.

<sup>e</sup> ἐχάρισε ἐν γράμμα (or στοιχείον, as in *De Mut. Nom.* 61).

<sup>f</sup> Arm. lit. = μεγαλοδαιμονία (not found in the Greek works of Philo).

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "for the sake of great possessions in truth"; Aucher freely renders, "ob veram magnitudinem possessionis."

<sup>h</sup> ἔτοιμα καὶ πρόχειρα.

<sup>i</sup> τὴν πρόνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> The text is very obscure; Aucher's rendering takes liberties with the syntax, "ad haec et litteram concessam, et si levem et facilem, quare providentiam non reputatis, neque pretium suum ponderatis?" We may well suspect either that the Greek *Vorlage* was corrupt or that the Arm. translator has misunderstood it. In the parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 64, Philo says that it is impossible to suppose that God took credit for altering Abram's name since "He did not see fit to assign names even in their completed forms, but committed the task to a wise man (Adam)."

<sup>k</sup> καὶ τάξει καὶ δυνάμει.

<sup>l</sup> φωνήεν (στοιχείον).

## GENESIS, BOOK III

and the first of the vowels, being fitted on to them like a kind of head. And third, it is not naturally one of the long vowels, and not naturally one of the short ones, but one of those which have both these (quantities). For it is (sometimes) extended in length, and then again it is contracted to the same shortness, easily taking many different forms <sup>a</sup> like wax, and forming the word into various and manifold forms. And the reason is that it is a brother of the number one, <sup>b</sup> with which all things begin and end. And now if someone sees its great beauty and that the letter is exhibited as so necessary, can he pretend <sup>c</sup> that he has not seen it? If he has seen it, he (shows himself) to be captious and a hater of the good. <sup>d</sup> And if he has not seen it, it is very easy to scoff and gleefully make fun of something he knows nothing of, as though he did know it. <sup>e</sup> But these things are, as I have said, mentioned incidentally. <sup>f</sup> Now we must examine the necessary and principle matter.

The addition of A as <sup>g</sup> one letter, by changing the entire position of the forms of the soul, <sup>h</sup> provides it with the knowledge of wisdom <sup>i</sup> instead of the study of astronomy. For skill in the study of astronomy is acquired in one part of the world, (namely) in the heaven and in the revolutions and circlings of the stars, <sup>j</sup> whereas wisdom (pertains) to the nature of all things, both sense-perceptible and intelligible. <sup>k</sup> For wisdom is the science of divine and

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "formed into many things."

<sup>b</sup> *Alpha* as a numeral letter = 1.

<sup>c</sup> σκήπτεται.

<sup>d</sup> φιλόσοφος καὶ μισόκαλος.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher, punctuating differently and supplying a verb, renders, "quod si non viderit tam facile negotium, quomodo quod nescit, irridere et despiciere praesumit, quasi sciat?"

<sup>f</sup> παρέργως.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "through."

<sup>h</sup> πᾶσας τὰς τῶν ψυχῆς εἰδῶν θέσεις *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> τὴν τῆς σοφίας ἐπιστήμην.

<sup>j</sup> ἐν ταῖς περιφοραῖς καὶ χορείαῖς τῶν ἀστέρων.

<sup>k</sup> φύσιν αἰσθητικὴν τε καὶ νοεράν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

human things and of their causes.<sup>a</sup> Among these divine things is that which is visible and that which is invisible, and the paradigmatic idea.<sup>b</sup> Among human things there is that which is corporeal and that which is incorporeal ; and to obtain knowledge of these is a truly great work of ability and prowess. And not only to see all substances and natures but also to trace and search out their various causes shows a power that is more perfect than is human.<sup>c</sup> For it is necessary for the soul which receives so many good things to be all eyes and to complete its life in the world unsleepingly and wakefully, and with an unshadowed and radiant light all around it, to receive lightning-flashes (of illumination), having God as its teacher and leader in obtaining knowledge of things and attaining to their causes.

Now the dissyllabic name " Abram " is interpreted as " uplifted father " <sup>d</sup> in respect of the nomenclature of astronomy and mathematics.<sup>e</sup> But the trisyllabic (name) " Abraham " is translated as " elect father of sound," <sup>f</sup> the appellation of a wise man. For what else is an echo in us but an uttered word <sup>g</sup> coming from an organ constructed by nature through the wind-pipe,<sup>h</sup> the mouth and the tongue. And the " father of sound " is our mind,<sup>i</sup> and the elect mind is that of the virtuous man.<sup>j</sup> And that the mind is eminently, properly and naturally the father of the uttered word is clear, for it is the special function

<sup>a</sup> ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία τῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων. Exactly the same definition is given in *De Congressu* 79.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ παραδειγματικὴ ἰδέα.

<sup>c</sup> δύναμιν τελειοτέραν ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>d</sup> μετέωρος πατήρ, as in *De Mut. Nom.* 66, *De Cherubim* 4 et al.

<sup>e</sup> μαθηματικῆς (almost certainly not " astrology " here).

<sup>f</sup> πατήρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἡχοῦς, as in *De Mut. Nom.* 66 et al.

<sup>g</sup> λόγος προφορικὸς.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ τραχεῖα ἀρτηρία.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς.

<sup>j</sup> τοῦ σπονδαίου ; the parallel in *De Mut. Nom.* 69 f. has τοῦ σοφοῦ.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

of a father to beget, and the word is begotten by the mind. And (of this) there is clear evidence, for when it <sup>a</sup> is moved by thoughts, it makes a sound, and when these are lacking, it stops. Witnesses (of this) are the orators and philosophers,<sup>b</sup> who show their tendencies <sup>c</sup> through statements.<sup>d</sup> For, so long as the mind produces heads,<sup>e</sup> it begets them in accordance with the various constructions stored up in itself,<sup>f</sup> and the word flows like a fountain into the ears of those who happen to be there as if into cisterns.<sup>g</sup> But when it fails <sup>h</sup> and is no longer able to give out (its thoughts), the sound also stops, since there is no one to cause it to resound.<sup>i</sup>

But now surely it must seem to you, O men who are full of, and overflowing with, all absurd verbosity, and are empty and bereft of wisdom, that this single letter and element is a gift <sup>j</sup> and that through this letter and element he became worthy of the divine power of wisdom, than which there is nothing more precious <sup>k</sup> in our nature, for instead of the knowledge of astronomy He granted (him) that which was entire, full and overflowing in place of a small part. For in wisdom is included astronomy, as is the part in the whole, and mathematics is (also) a part. But it behooves you, O men, to bear this too in mind, that he who is learned and skilled in investigating the nature

<sup>a</sup> Apparently the organ of speech is meant.

<sup>b</sup> οἱ ῥήτορες καὶ φιλόσοφοι.

<sup>c</sup> Prob. τὰς ἕξεις.

<sup>d</sup> Prob. διὰ προβλημάτων.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *gloux* = κεφαλή, κεφάλαιον, ἄκρον.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders this obscure sentence a little differently, "in quantum enim mens foras edit capita, singulosque apparatus in se reconditos producit ad modum geniturae."

<sup>g</sup> δεξαμενάς.

<sup>h</sup> Prob. "the mind" is the subject (a grammatical pl. with pl. verb in Arm.).

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "to strike it."

<sup>j</sup> Apparently the Arm. translator has interchanged subject and predicate, here reversed; Aucher renders more literally, "videtur ne donum meri unius elementi fuisse."

<sup>k</sup> τιμιώτερον *vel sim.*

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of higher things <sup>a</sup> may be <sup>b</sup> of a wicked and impure character. But the wise man <sup>c</sup> is good and fine in all things. Let us then no longer laugh at this gift, for one cannot find anything more perfect. For what is worse than wickedness or better than virtue? <sup>d</sup> Surely it cannot be that good is not opposed to evil? Can it be compared with wealth or honours or freedom or health or anything at all of the body or any abundance of external possessions? For all philosophy comes into our lives like the healing of the soul <sup>e</sup> that it may give freedom from suffering and from sickness. <sup>f</sup> And it is the part of a virtuous man to be a philosopher. <sup>g</sup> That a wonderful skill should be precious is very fine <sup>h</sup> (but) more precious is the end <sup>i</sup> for the sake of which the skill (exists). And this is wisdom and the good, which He called "Abraham" in Chaldaean, and in Armenian, <sup>j</sup> "elect father of sound," <sup>k</sup> as if giving a definition <sup>l</sup> of the wise man. For just as the definition of man is "rational, mortal animal," <sup>m</sup> so the definition of the wise man is symbolically <sup>n</sup> "elect father of sound."

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* heavenly bodies.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "can be."

<sup>c</sup> ὁ σοφός.

<sup>d</sup> ἀρετή.

<sup>e</sup> ὡς περ ἰατρῆιον τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>f</sup> τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ τὸ ἄνοσον.

<sup>g</sup> φιλόσοφος.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. seems lit. = θαυμασίαν τέχνην τιμίαν <εἶναι> σφόδρα καλόν, but this is not quite certain; Aucher, omitting the word "precious," renders, "et mira ars nobilis veraciter."

<sup>i</sup> τὸ τέλος.

<sup>j</sup> Sic! The original, of course, had "Greek"; cf. *QG* iii. 38.

<sup>k</sup> Aucher here again mistakenly renders, "pater sonitus electi."

<sup>l</sup> ὄρον or ὀρισμόν.

<sup>m</sup> ζῶον λογικὸν θνητόν; the same definition, common in Greek philosophy, is given by Philo in *De Abrahamo* 32 *et al.*

<sup>n</sup> Arm. *xorhouird* = λογισμός, διάνοια, σύμβολον, τύπος, μυστήριον, etc.; Aucher here renders, "mystica."



## GENESIS, BOOK III

44. (Gen xvii. 6) What is the meaning of the words, " I will increase thee greatly <sup>a</sup> and I will make <sup>b</sup> thee into nations, and kings shall come into being <sup>c</sup> from thee " <sup>d</sup> ?

" I will increase thee greatly " is said to the wise man <sup>e</sup> very rightfully, <sup>f</sup> since every wicked and evil man grows and flourishes, not toward increase but toward deficiency, <sup>g</sup> just as those flowers which are (subject to) fading (grow), not into life but death. But he whose life is long is like a cloud which endures and grows exceedingly, and like streams of rivers, for he overflows and broadens out and becomes more ample as he goes out, since he is also the divine wisdom. <sup>h</sup> And the words, " I will make thee into nations " are spoken to show clearly that he does something of worth, <sup>i</sup> as if (to say that) the wise man is the foundation and base and firm support of the nations and of mankind and of those who are of various opinions in soul, <sup>j</sup> as has been said before. For the wise man is the saviour <sup>k</sup> of nations and an intercessor <sup>l</sup> with God and one who seeks forgiveness for his countrymen <sup>m</sup> who have committed sins. Moreover that " kings shall come into being from thee " He very rightfully <sup>n</sup> says, for all that which

<sup>a</sup> So LXX and Arm. O.T. ; Heb. " greatly greatly."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. " place " as in LXX, Heb. and Arm. O.T.

<sup>c</sup> So Old Lat. ; LXX, Heb. and Arm. O.T. " shall go out."

<sup>d</sup> Philo does not comment elsewhere on this verse.

<sup>e</sup> τῷ σοφῷ.

<sup>f</sup> νομιμώτερον.

<sup>g</sup> ἐλάττωσιν ἢ ἐκλείψιν.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ θεία σοφία. It is not wholly clear what the grammatical subject of this sentence is.

<sup>i</sup> The text seems to be in some disorder.

<sup>j</sup> For Arm. *karcik'* " opinion " Aucher suggests *karik'* " needs " ; he renders, " hominibus vario modo egentibus secundum animum." The meaning of the Arm. is far from clear.

<sup>k</sup> σωτήρ.

<sup>l</sup> μεσίτης ἢ παράκλητος. This important passage is overlooked by Nils Johansson, *Parakletoi*, Lund, 1940.

<sup>m</sup> τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις.

<sup>n</sup> νομιμώτερον.

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belongs to wisdom is of royal origin, and is sovereign and ruling by nature. And the wise man is unproductive and unfruitful<sup>a</sup> in respect of his own private seed,<sup>b</sup> and is fertile and productive in respect of ruling (seed).<sup>c</sup>

45. (Gen. xvii. 8) What is the meaning of the words, "I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee the land in which thou sojournest,<sup>d</sup> all the land of Canaan as an eternal possession"<sup>e</sup>?

The literal meaning<sup>f</sup> is clear, so that the passage<sup>g</sup> does not require any interpretation. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> it is to be allegorized<sup>i</sup> as follows. The mind of the virtuous man<sup>j</sup> is a sojourner in its corporeal place rather than an inhabitant.<sup>k</sup> For its fatherland<sup>l</sup> is the ether and the heaven, while its temporary abode<sup>m</sup> is the earth and the earthly body, in which it is said to sojourn. But the Father in His benefactions to it,<sup>n</sup> gives it authority<sup>o</sup> over all earthly things as an "eternal possession," as He says, in order that it may never be dominated by the body but may always be the ruler and chief, acquiring it<sup>p</sup> as a servant and follower.

46. (Gen. xvii. 10-11) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> ἄγονος καὶ ἄκαρπος.

<sup>b</sup> τοῦ ἰδίου (?) σπέρματος.

<sup>c</sup> τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ (?) <σπέρματος>; Aucher "semine ab ipso principali."

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "in which thou dwellest in sojourn" = LXX παροικεῖς.

<sup>e</sup> εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον, as in LXX. <sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ τοῦ σπουδαίου νοῦς.

<sup>k</sup> πάροικος ἐν τῷ σωματικῷ τόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κάτοικος.

<sup>l</sup> ἡ πατρίς.

<sup>m</sup> Arm. *gaļout* = ἀποικία or μετὰστασις; here it seems to have the meaning of "exile" as does Heb. *gālûth*.

<sup>n</sup> εὐεργετῶν αὐτόν.

<sup>o</sup> ἀρχήν or ἡγεμονίαν *vel sim*.

<sup>p</sup> i.e. the body.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

“ There shall be circumcised every male of you, and you shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin ” <sup>a</sup> ?

I see two circumcisions, one of the male, and the other of the flesh ; that of the flesh is by way of the genitals, while that of the male, it seems to me, is by way of the reason.<sup>b</sup> For that which is, one might say,<sup>c</sup> naturally male in us is the mind,<sup>d</sup> whose superfluous growths it is necessary to cut off and throw away in order that it may become pure and naked of every evil and passion, and be a priest of God. Now this is what He indicated<sup>e</sup> by the second circumcision, stating (in) the Law<sup>f</sup> that “ you shall circumcise your hardness of heart,”<sup>g</sup> which means your hard and rebellious and refractory thoughts, and by cutting off and removing arrogance, you shall make the sovereign part<sup>h</sup> free and unbound.

47. (Gen. xvii. 10) Why does He command that only the males be circumcised ?

In the first place, the Egyptians by the custom of their country circumcise the marriageable youth and maid<sup>i</sup> in the fourteenth (year) of their age, when the male begins to get seed, and the female to have a menstrual flow. But the divine legislator<sup>j</sup> ordained circumcision for males alone for many reasons. The first of these is that the male has more pleasure in, and desire for, mating<sup>k</sup> than does the female, and he is more ready for it.<sup>l</sup> Therefore He rightly

<sup>a</sup> Or “ of your uncircumcision,” = LXX τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑμῶν.

<sup>b</sup> διὰ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἢ τῆς διανοίας.

<sup>c</sup> σχεδόν.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>e</sup> ἤνιξατο.

<sup>f</sup> Deut. x. 16.

<sup>g</sup> τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν, as in LXX.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, i.e. the mind.

<sup>i</sup> τὸν νύμφιον καὶ τὴν νύμφην.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ κύριος νομοθέτης. Philo refers to God as a legislator in a few other passages, e.g. *De Fuga* 66 ; *De Vita Mosis* ii. 48. Usually “ the legislator ” is Moses.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *amounnout' iun* = γάμος, ὄμιλία, συνουσία, etc.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits rendering the last clause.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

leaves out the female, and suppresses the undue<sup>a</sup> impulses of the male by the sign of circumcision. The second is that the matter<sup>b</sup> of the female in the remains of the menstrual fluids produces the fetus.<sup>c</sup> But the male (provides) the skill and the cause.<sup>d</sup> And so, since the male provides the greater and more necessary (part) in the process of generation, it was proper that his pride should be checked by the sign of circumcision, but the material element, being inanimate,<sup>e</sup> does not admit of arrogance. So much for that. However, we must note what follows upon it. That which sees in us is the mind,<sup>f</sup> and it is necessary to cut off its superfluous growths.<sup>g</sup> Now these superfluous growths are vain opinions<sup>h</sup> and what is done in accordance with them. And when the mind is circumcised and contains only necessary and useful things, and when at the same time there is cut off whatever causes pride to increase, then with it are circumcised the eyes also, as though they could not (otherwise) see.

\*48. (Gen. xvii. 12) Why does He say, "And the child of eight days shall be circumcised, every male" ?

He commands that the foreskin be circumcised. In the first place this is granted because of disease, for it is more difficult and formidable to cure an affliction of the genitals, (which is like) a fire to those on which a covering skin

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "superfluous."

<sup>b</sup> ἡ ὕλη.

<sup>c</sup> The text is slightly uncertain as there are variants to three words, but the above rendering is supported by other passages in which Philo follows the common Greek view of the physiology of conception, e.g. *De Opif. Mundi* 132, "just as with women the course of the menstrual fluids (τῶν καταμηνίων), for these are said by physical scientists to be the bodily substance of the fetus (οὐσία σωματικὴ βρεφῶν)."

<sup>d</sup> τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸ αἴτιον; there is no governing verb in the Arm.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ὑλικὸν ὡς ἄψυχον.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>g</sup> See above, *QG* iii. 46.

<sup>h</sup> κεναὶ δόξαι.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

grows,<sup>a</sup> but this does not happen to one who is circumcised. Now if there were some way of avoiding other afflictions and diseases as well by cutting off some member<sup>b</sup> or some part of the body, by the removal of which there would be no obstacle to the functioning of its parts, man would not be known as mortal<sup>c</sup> but would be changed into immortality. And that it has pleased some to circumcise themselves through foresight of soul without any ill effect is plain, for not only the Jews<sup>d</sup> but also the Egyptians, Arabs and Ethiopians and nearly all those who inhabit the southern regions near the torrid zone are circumcised. And what is the particular reason if not that in these places, especially in summer, the foreskin of the genitals, which is the skin that surrounds and covers (them), becomes inflamed and infected.<sup>e</sup> But when this is cut off, by being laid bare (the penis) is restored,<sup>f</sup> and the affliction is resisted and expelled. For this reason the nations which are in the northern regions and all those to whom has been allotted a portion in those regions of the earth which are windy<sup>g</sup> are not circumcised. For in those regions, as the heat of the sun is relaxed and diminished, so too is the disease which is produced by heat in the skin of the parts of the body.<sup>h</sup> And a sure indication of the credibility of this matter one may find in the time (of year) when the disease is especially (strong); it never occurs in winter, and it thrives and flourishes when it comes in summer, for it loves, as it were, to spread in this season<sup>i</sup> like fire.

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. is elliptic; Aucher renders more freely, "igne fere comburens ea quibus membranum supernascitur." The reference is to the disease called anthrax by the Greeks, see *De Spec. Leg.* i. 4.

<sup>b</sup> μέλος τι.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher, wrongly, I think, renders, "nesciente mortali homine."

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *hreyk'* (Hebrews).

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "wounded."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "is revived."

<sup>g</sup> Why Aucher renders, "partium terrae serenae" is a puzzle to me.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "in the skin of the limbs."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "in these parts."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

In the second place, it was not only for the sake of health that the ancients devoted thought <sup>a</sup> (to this) but also for the sake of populousness, <sup>b</sup> for we see that nature is a living thing and very well disposed toward man. <sup>c</sup> Now as wise men they knew that as the seed often flows into the folds of the foreskin, it is likely that it will be scattered unfruitfully ; but if there is no obstacle to prevent, it will succeed in reaching its proper place. For this reason such nations as practise circumcision increase greatly in population. But our legislator, <sup>d</sup> who had in mind, and was familiar with, this result, prohibited the immediate circumcision of infants, <sup>e</sup> having in mind the same thing, <sup>f</sup> that both circumcision and desire were populousness. <sup>g</sup> Wherefore, it seems to me, the Egyptians indicate that for the sake of populousness it is proper to perform circumcision in the fourteenth year when the pleasurable desires for procreation begin. But it is very much better and more far-sighted of us to prescribe circumcision for infants, for perhaps one who is full-grown would hesitate through fear to carry out this ordinance of his own free will.

In the third place, (Scripture) says that it is also for the

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "forethought of soul."

<sup>b</sup> ἕνεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας. This is cited as the fourth and "most compelling" reason for circumcision in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 7.

<sup>c</sup> φιλόανθρωπον.

<sup>d</sup> νομοθέτης (here God or Moses).

<sup>e</sup> Apparently Philo means immediately after birth, unless the Arm. is inexact in using "prohibited" for "commanded"; Aucher renders, "citius fieri monuit infantium circumcissionem."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "seeing in the same mind."

<sup>g</sup> The above is a literal rendering of a clause that is unintelligible to me ; Aucher, in disregard of the syntax, renders freely, "eandem intentionem circumcissionis ob populationem attendens." He remarks in a footnote that the passage is obscure, and the punctuation uncertain. Possibly the original Greek meant that Moses (or God) regarded populousness as due to circumcision as well as to sexual desire.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

sake of purity in the sacred offerings, for those who enter the courts of the sacred precinct are purified by ablutions and sprinklings. And the Egyptians shave the whole body, (removing) the hair which conceals and overshadows the body, in order that it may appear shining and bare. The circumcision of the skin, moreover, is not a little helpful for one is revolted by this when one sees it as it (really) is.

In the fourth place,<sup>a</sup> there are two generative (organs), in the soul and in the body; thoughts<sup>b</sup> are the generative (organ) of the soul, and that in the body is the (organ) of the body. Now the ancients<sup>c</sup> were disposed to regard the bodily organ of generation as resembling thought,<sup>d</sup> which is the most generative (force) of the heart.<sup>e</sup> And it is like nothing else so much as the circumcision of the heart. Now these are the widely known facts concerning the problems we are inquiring into. But we must speak about more symbolical things,<sup>f</sup> which have their own status.<sup>g</sup>

They say that the circumcision of the skin is a symbol, as if (to show that) it is proper to cut off superfluous and excessive desires<sup>h</sup> by exercising continence and endurance in matters of the Law.<sup>i</sup> For just as the skin of the fore-skin is superfluous in procreation because of the burning affliction which comes upon it, so the excess of desire is

<sup>a</sup> The fourth reason for circumcision given here corresponds to the third reason given in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 6.

<sup>b</sup> τὰ νοήματα. The idea is more clearly expressed in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 6, πρὸς γὰρ γένεσιν ἄμφω παρεσκεύασται, τὸ μὲν ἐγκάρδιον πνεῦμα νοημάτων, τὸ δὲ γόνιμον ὄργανον ζώων.

<sup>c</sup> οἱ πρῶτοι.

<sup>d</sup> νοήμασι ἢ τῷ νῷ.

<sup>e</sup> τῆς καρδίας, here regarded as the seat of the mind; see Colson's note in vol. vii. p. 615.

<sup>f</sup> περὶ συμβολικωτέρων.

<sup>g</sup> τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον ἐχόντων.

<sup>h</sup> τὰς περιττὰς καὶ πλεοναζούσας ἐπιθυμίας, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 9.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "continence of endurance of the Law"—ἐγκράτειαν ὑπομονῆς τοῦ νόμου (ἢ τῆς θρησκείας); Aucher renders, "continentiae religionis." There is no parallel to this phrase in *De Spec. Leg.*

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

superfluous and at the same time harmful. It is superfluous because it is not necessary, and it is harmful because it is the cause of diseases of body and soul. But through this great desire (Scripture) alludes also to the fact that one ought to cut off other desires as well. And the greatest desire is that of intercourse between man and woman, since it forms the beginning of a great thing, procreation, and brings about in the progenitors a great desire toward their progeny, for it is rather natural <sup>a</sup> to be very fond of, and tender toward, them. And it <sup>b</sup> indicates the cutting off not only of excessive desires but also of arrogance and <sup>c</sup> great evil and such habits.<sup>d</sup> And arrogance, as the saying of the ancients goes, is the excision and impeding of progress,<sup>e</sup> for one who thinks (well of himself)<sup>f</sup> does not admit of betterment,<sup>g</sup> thinking that he is the cause that is involved.<sup>h</sup>

Very naturally does (Scripture) instruct those who think that they are the causes of generation, and do not intently fix their minds on seeing the begetter of all things,<sup>i</sup> for He is the veritable and true<sup>j</sup> Father. But we who are called begetters are used as instruments in the service<sup>k</sup> of generation. For as by a miracle of imitation<sup>l</sup> all those

<sup>a</sup> φυσικόν τι.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. the symbol of circumcision.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders, "ut."

<sup>d</sup> τῶν συντρόφων.

<sup>e</sup> The brief Greek frag. printed by Harris, p. 99, was identified by Früchtel as belonging here; it reads οἴησις, ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἐστὶν ἐκκοπή προκοπῆς.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. translator either read οἰόμενος or mistook the meaning of κατοιόμενος, which is found in the Greek frag.

<sup>g</sup> βελτίωσις, as in the Greek frag., which ends here.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders, perhaps more aptly, "putans se sufficientem interesse causam."

<sup>i</sup> τὸν γεννητὴν τῶν συμπάντων.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. uses three synonyms, two of which = ἀψευδής.

<sup>k</sup> εἰς χρείαν ὑπηρεσίας or διακονίας.

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. *i hrašs nmanout'ean* is a misunderstanding of θαύματι, which here means "puppet-show," as in *Quod Omnis Probus* 5. See also p. 247 note *f*.



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things which are visible are inanimate,<sup>a</sup> while that which activates them like puppets<sup>b</sup> is invisible. The cause of this is the cause of the habits<sup>c</sup> and movements of visible things. In the same way the Creator of the world sends out<sup>d</sup> His powers<sup>e</sup> from an eternal and invisible place, but we are wonderfully<sup>f</sup> moved like puppets toward that which pertains to us, (namely) seed and procreation. Otherwise we might think that the shepherd's pipe<sup>g</sup> is played by itself instead of being meant<sup>h</sup> for the production of harmony by the artisan by whom the instrument was devised for this service and necessary use.

49. (Gen. xvii. 12) Why does He command the circumcision (to be) on the eighth day?

The eighth (digit) reveals many beauties.<sup>i</sup> One is, in the first place, that it is a cube. And the second is that everywhere it contains in itself the forms of equality,<sup>j</sup> because the number eight is the first which indicates length and breadth and depth, which are equal to<sup>k</sup> one another. Third, the composition of eight produces agreement, (namely) the number thirty-six, which the Pythagoreans call "homology" since it is the first in which there is an agreement of odd with even,<sup>l</sup> for the four separate odd

<sup>a</sup> ἄψυχα.

<sup>b</sup> νευροσπαστεῖ; Aucher's rendering, "nervos corroborat," misses the point of the implied metaphor.

<sup>c</sup> Prob. σχέσεις in the Aristotelian sense.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *zgel* = ἐκτείνειν, ἐκπέμπειν, etc.

<sup>e</sup> τὰς δυνάμεις.

<sup>f</sup> Again θαῦμα "puppet-show" has been misunderstood.

<sup>g</sup> Reading, with Aucher, *sring* (σύριγγς) for *sik'* (πινοή vel *sim.*).  
<sup>h</sup> Lit. "set aside" or "apportioned."

<sup>i</sup> κάλλη. For other passages on the properties of the number eight see *QG* i. 75, 91, ii. 5. Stachle, p. 51, also cites parallels from Joh. Lydus.

<sup>j</sup> τὰ τοῦ ἴσου (or τῆς ἰσότητος) εἶδη.

<sup>k</sup> Or "congruent with."

<sup>l</sup> Cf. Joh. Lydus, p. 150 ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰ περιττὰ τοῖς ἀρτίοις ὁμολόγησαν.

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(numbers) from one on, and the even ones from two on make a total of thirty-six. The odd ones are 1, 3, 5, 7,<sup>a</sup> making 16 in all; and the even ones are 2, 4, 6, 8, making 20. The sum of both totals amounts to thirty-six, truly a most productive<sup>b</sup> number, for it is quadrangular, having as its side the hexad, which is the first even-odd number<sup>c</sup>; this some accurately<sup>d</sup> call "harmony" or "marriage."<sup>e</sup> By making use of it the Creator of the universe made the world, as the holy and wonderful writing of Moses relates. Fourth, the form<sup>f</sup> of the ogdoad produces sixty-four, which is the first cube and, at the same time, square, the pattern of an incorporeal, intelligible and invisible and (also) corporeal substance<sup>g</sup>; incorporeal in so far as it produces a square plane,<sup>h</sup> but corporeal in so far as it produces a cubic solid.<sup>i</sup> Fifth, it is kin to the ever-virginal hebdomad,<sup>j</sup> for when the parts of eight are added together, they make seven, for a half (of eight) is four, a quarter is two, and an eighth is one; and the sum of these is seven. Sixth, the power<sup>k</sup> of eight is sixty-four, which, as we have said, is the first number that is a cube and a square at the same time. Seventh, from the number one on, the several double (numbers) 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32 make 64.<sup>l</sup> The ogdoad

<sup>a</sup> In the Arm. text the two sets of numbers are indicated by numeral letters.

<sup>b</sup> γεννητικώτατον. The same adjective is applied to the number six in *De Opif. Mundi* 13.

<sup>c</sup> See *QG* iii. 38, and *cf.* Joh. Lydus, p. 32 (cited by Staehle, p. 33).

<sup>d</sup> ἐτύμως.

<sup>e</sup> *Cf.* Joh. Lydus, *loc. cit.* ὅθεν καὶ ἀρχαῖοι γάμον καὶ ἀρμονίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν.

<sup>f</sup> εἶδος in the sense of a numeral base to be raised to a certain power.

<sup>g</sup> παράδειγμα ἀσωμάτου καὶ νοεράς καὶ ἀοράτου καὶ <γε> σωματικῆς οὐσίας.

<sup>h</sup> τετράγωνον ἐπίπεδον (οἱ ἐπιφάνειαν).

<sup>i</sup> κυβικὸν στερέωμα.

<sup>j</sup> τῇ ἀειπαρθένῳ ἑβδομάδι συγγενής. *Cf., e.g., De Vita Mosis* ii. 210.

<sup>k</sup> ἡ δύναμις, here = exponential power.

<sup>l</sup> In order to get the total 64 we must add the number 1 twice.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

has other further powers, about which we have spoken elsewhere.<sup>a</sup> But we must give the reasons which are suitable to, and in harmony with, the present inquiry, and depend upon the facts laid down as fundamental.

However, this is to be said first. That nation to which was given the command to circumcise (children) on the eighth (day) is called "Israel" in Chaldaean, and in Armenian<sup>b</sup> (this means) "seeing God."<sup>c</sup> It wishes to be a part both of naturally righteous ones<sup>d</sup> and of those who are<sup>e</sup> (so) by choice.<sup>f</sup> By the principle of creation<sup>g</sup> (this occurs) through the first hebdomad,<sup>h</sup> which, coming immediately after the creation, the Begetter and Creator clearly showed to be the festival of the creation of the world,<sup>i</sup> for He completed this on the sixth (day). But as to that which is by choice,<sup>j</sup> (it occurs) through the ogdoad, which is the beginning of the second hebdomad. Just as eight is (the sum of) seven and one, so the adorned nation<sup>k</sup> is always a nation, and it receives this lot in addition, being chosen by nature and in accordance with the will and pleasure<sup>l</sup> of the Father. In the second place, the number eight everywhere indicates equality, showing all dimensions equal, as has been said, (namely) length,

<sup>a</sup> See note *i* on p. 247.

<sup>b</sup> Here, as elsewhere, the Arm. translator substitutes "Armenian" for "Greek."

<sup>c</sup> This etymology occurs a good many times throughout Philo's writings.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. lit. = μέρος ἔχειν τῶν φυσικῶν (or γνησίων) δικαίων; the context seems to show that "righteous" refers to persons rather than things.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "is."

<sup>f</sup> καθ' αἴρεσιν.

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ τὸν τῆς γενέσεως λόγον.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher inadvertently renders, "per primum quidem sextum."

<sup>i</sup> τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 89 ἑορτὴ . . . τοῦ παντός . . . καὶ τοῦ κόσμου γενέθλιον.

<sup>j</sup> See note *f* above.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ κεκοσμημένον γένος.

<sup>l</sup> κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ γνώμην.

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breadth and depth. Equality produces righteousness,<sup>a</sup> and by this (Scripture) first proves that the god-loving<sup>b</sup> nation is adorned by equality and righteousness, and is brought into possession.<sup>c</sup> In the third place, not only is the (number eight) a measure<sup>d</sup> of complete equality in all dimensions, but also the first, since it is the first cube.<sup>e</sup> For the number eight, which indicates equality, is assigned to the second, but not the first, place in the order of rank.<sup>f</sup> Thus He symbolically indicates<sup>g</sup> that He has adapted<sup>h</sup> this first nation naturally<sup>i</sup> to the highest and utmost equality and righteousness. And it is the foremost of the human race, not through creation<sup>j</sup> or in time, but by the prerogative of virtue,<sup>k</sup> the righteous and equal being cognate<sup>l</sup> and united as if one part.<sup>m</sup> In the fourth place, since there are four elements, earth, water, air and a form of fire,<sup>n</sup> fire has been assigned the homonym of "pyramid,"<sup>o</sup> while air is eight-sided, and water is twenty-sided,<sup>p</sup> and the earth is a cube. It was therefore thought necessary that the earth, which was destined to be the (home) of the worthy and virtuous human race, should have as its share

<sup>a</sup> δικαιοσύνην.

<sup>b</sup> φιλόθεον or "divinely-favoured"—θεοφιλές.

<sup>c</sup> κατάσχεσι or "inheritance"—κληρονομίαν.

<sup>d</sup> As Aucher notes, Arm. *օր* (= *ἡμέρα*) must be a transcription of Greek *ὄρος*.

<sup>e</sup> This fact has been mentioned twice before in the present section.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* eight begins a new series after seven.

<sup>g</sup> συμβολικῶς αἰνίττεται.

<sup>h</sup> ἐφῆρμοσε.

<sup>i</sup> Or "genuinely."

<sup>j</sup> Or "generation"—γενέσεως.

<sup>k</sup> προτιμήσει τῆς ἀρετῆς.

<sup>l</sup> συμφυῆ.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher renders differently, "ac si connaturalis pars sit unita iustitia cum paritate."

<sup>n</sup> εἶδος τοῦ πυρός.

<sup>o</sup> Philo plays on the resemblance between *πυραμῖς* and *πῦρ* or *πυροειδές*.

<sup>p</sup> ὀκτάεδρον . . . εἰκοσάεδρον.

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a cubic number, in accordance with which the whole earth was formed equally,<sup>a</sup> and that it should share in the parts of generation. For the nature <sup>b</sup> of the earth is very productive and fertile, and it brings forth various and distinct species of all animals and plants.

50. (Gen. xvii. 12) Why does one circumcise (both) the home-born and the purchased <sup>c</sup> (child) ?

The literal meaning <sup>d</sup> is clear, for it is right that servants imitate their masters for the sake of the necessary offices of life and service. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> the home-born characters <sup>f</sup> are those which are moved by nature, while the purchased ones are those who are able to improve through reason <sup>g</sup> and teaching. There is need for both of these to be purified and trimmed <sup>h</sup> like plants, both those which are natural and genuine, and those which are able to bear fruit constantly <sup>i</sup>; for well-grown (plants) produce many superfluous (fruits) because of their fertility, which it is useful to cut off. But those who are taught by teachers <sup>j</sup> shave off <sup>k</sup> their ignorance.

51. (Gen. xvii. 13) What is the meaning of the words, "And my covenant shall be upon your flesh" <sup>l</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> ἴσως, or "in common"—κοινῶς, or "at the same time"—ὁμοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ φύσις.

<sup>c</sup> οἰκογενῆ καὶ ἀργυρώνητον, as in LXX.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> τρόποι οἱ ἡθῆ.

<sup>g</sup> διὰ λόγου.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "cut."

<sup>i</sup> ἐν διαμονῇ *vel sim.* Aucher renders somewhat differently, "utraque istarum opus habet ut plantarum more purgetur et putetur, ad propriae ac fructiferae partis constantiam."

<sup>j</sup> ὑπὸ διδασκάλων.

<sup>k</sup> So lit. ; Arm. = ἀποξυροῦσι.

<sup>l</sup> LXX καὶ ἔσται ἡ διαθήκη μου ἐπὶ (Heb. "in") τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν.

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He wishes (to point out) that not only does the virtuous man <sup>a</sup> profit (thereby) but that together with the soul the divine word <sup>b</sup> is appointed over the body also, to be, as it were, its physician, to whom it is a matter of concern to circumcise the excessive and harmful impulses <sup>c</sup> of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch <sup>d</sup> and of the organ of speech and of reproduction and of the whole body, to which taking pleasure in desire (is) to feel pain.<sup>e</sup>

\*52. (Gen. xvii. 14) Why does He prescribe a sentence of death for the infant, saying, "The uncircumcised male who shall not circumcise the flesh of his uncircumcision on the eighth day, that soul shall be destroyed from its kind" <sup>f</sup>?

The law does not declare (anyone) guilty of any involuntary (crime) since it pardons even him who commits involuntary homicide,<sup>g</sup> specifying the cities to which he may flee to find safety. For he becomes sanctified and immune after taking refuge there, and no one has authority to take him away from there and bring him before a court of judgment. But if the child is not circumcised on the eighth day after birth, what sin has he committed that he should be judged deserving of suffering death? Accord-

<sup>a</sup> τὸν σπουδαῖον.

<sup>b</sup> Or "Logos"—τὸν θεῖον λόγον.

<sup>c</sup> ὀρμάς.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "of things seen, heard, etc."

<sup>e</sup> The last clause has no verb in Arm.; Aucher renders freely, "quo peragitur tum delectari in cupiditatibus, tum dolore affici," adding in a footnote, "vel sine puncto sic: cui vel ipsum delectari in cupiditatibus dolore affici est."

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. differs slightly from LXX and Heb., which have "who shall not be circumcised." Moreover, the words "on the eighth day" are not found in the Heb.

<sup>g</sup> So too the Greek fragments in the Catenae and Procopius, οὐδὲν τῶν ἀκουσίων ἐνοχον ἀποφαίνει ὁ νόμος ὅποτε καὶ τῷ φόνον ἀκούσιον δράσαντι συγγινώσκει (the Greek fragments omit the references to cities of refuge, and resume with the sentence beginning, "But if the child").

## GENESIS, BOOK III

ingly, some say that the law of interpretation <sup>a</sup> has in view the parents, for it <sup>b</sup> believes that they show contempt for the commandment of the law. Others, however, say that it has imposed a very excessive penalty on infants, it seems, and that those adults who disregard and violate the law are deserving of punishment without regret or remission. <sup>c</sup> This is the literal meaning. <sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>e</sup> that which is excessively male in us is the mind. <sup>f</sup> This He commands to be circumcised in the ogdoad <sup>g</sup> for the reasons which I gave earlier <sup>h</sup>; and (He mentions) no other part but the flesh of the foreskin, symbolizing those sense-pleasures and impulses <sup>i</sup> which afterwards come to the body. Wherefore He adds a principle of law <sup>j</sup> in His statement. For the mind which is not circumcised and purified and sanctified of the body and the passions which come through the body will be corrupted <sup>k</sup> and cannot be saved. <sup>l</sup> And since the argument <sup>m</sup> does not concern man but the mind which has health, <sup>n</sup> He adds, "that soul shall be destroyed" <sup>o</sup>—not the human body or man but the soul <sup>p</sup> and the mind. And from what? "From its

<sup>a</sup> One may also accept Aucher's rendering, "formam edicti."

<sup>b</sup> Apparently the law or Scripture is meant.

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. agrees closely with the Greek frag. printed by Harris from the Catenae, less closely with the recension of Procopius; for these texts see Appendix A.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>g</sup> This is Philo's allegorical variation of the scriptural "eighth day."

<sup>h</sup> In § 49.

<sup>i</sup> ἡδονὰς καὶ ὀρμάς.

<sup>j</sup> Or, as Aucher renders, "rationem legitimam."

<sup>k</sup> Or "be destroyed."

<sup>l</sup> σώζεσθαι.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>n</sup> ὑγίειαν or ὁλοκληρίαν.

<sup>o</sup> ἐξολεθρευθήσεται in LXX.

<sup>p</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ (though sometimes Arm. *ogi* = πνεῦμα).

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kind,"<sup>a</sup> He says. For the whole genus is incorruptible ; thus from incorruption the sinner is brought to corruption.

53. (Gen. xvii. 15) Why does He say, " Sara thy wife shall not be called *Sara*, but *Sarra* shall be her name"<sup>b</sup> ?

Once more some of the stupid people may laugh<sup>c</sup> at the addition of one letter, *rho*,<sup>d</sup> and ridicule and make fun of it because they are unwilling to apply themselves to the inward facts of things and follow after truth. For that which seems to be the addition of one letter produces all harmony.<sup>e</sup> In place of the small (it gives) the great, and in place of the particular, the general,<sup>f</sup> and in place of the mortal, the immortal. For through the one *rho* she is called *Sara*, which in translation means " my rule,"<sup>g</sup> while with two *rhos* it means " ruler."<sup>h</sup> In what way these are individually distinguished from each other must be investigated. My prudence and temperance and justice and fortitude<sup>i</sup> rule over me only, and are mortal. When I die, they die. But prudence itself is a ruler, and so is justice itself, and each of the other virtues ; it is not (merely) sovereign over me but is itself a ruler and queen, an immortal rule and sovereignty. Do you see the greatness of the gift ? He has converted the part into the whole, and the species into the genus,<sup>j</sup> and the corruptible into

<sup>a</sup> γένος in LXX (Heb. " people ").

<sup>b</sup> Philo follows the LXX forms of the Heb. names *Sarai* and *Sarah* ; for parallels see *De Congressu* 2, *De Mut. Nom.* 61 *et al.*

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 43 on those who ridicule the change of Abraham's name.

<sup>d</sup> ἐνὸς στοιχείου ρ' (the last word is rendered by its numerical equivalent, " hundred," in Arm.).

<sup>e</sup> πᾶσαν ἁρμονίαν.

<sup>f</sup> ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους τὸ καθολικόν.

<sup>g</sup> ἀρχή μου.

<sup>h</sup> ἄρχουσα.

<sup>i</sup> φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία ; cf. *De Congressu* 2 *et al.*

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. misprints *ser* (γνήσιος) for *ser* (γένος) ; Aucher renders correctly.



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the incorruptible. And all these are granted in advance for the sake of the future birth of a more perfect happiness and joy, of which the name is Isaac.<sup>a</sup>

54. (Gen. xvii. 16) Why does He say, " I will give thee from her children,<sup>b</sup> and I will bless him and he shall be for peoples, and the kings of the nations shall come from him " <sup>c</sup> ?

It is not in place to inquire why He used the plural " children " in speaking of their only beloved son, for the allusion is to his descendants, from whom (were to come) peoples and kings. This is the literal meaning.<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> when the soul has (only) that virtue which is particular,<sup>f</sup> slight and mortal, it is still barren. But when once it receives a portion of the divine and incorruptible (virtue), it begins to conceive and bear a variety of peoples and of all other holy things. For each of the immortal virtues has very many voluntary laws,<sup>g</sup> which bear the likenesses of peoples and kings. For virtues and the generations of virtues are kingly affairs, being taught beforehand <sup>h</sup> by nature what is sovereign and unservile.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Philo etymologizes the name Isaac as *γένεως* and *χαρά* in several passages, e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 218.

<sup>b</sup> LXX, Heb. and Arm. O.T. all have " son " or " child." In the parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 130-153, Philo not only follows the LXX in reading *τέκνον* but emphasizes the singular number of the noun.

<sup>c</sup> It is here assumed that the pronouns are masculine, as in the LXX rather than feminine as in the Heb. (referring to Sarah). There is no distinction of gender in Armenian. But Philo follows the Heb. against the LXX in *De Mut. Nom.* 148-151.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> Or " partial."

<sup>g</sup> ἔκουσίους νόμους.

<sup>h</sup> προδιδασκόμεναι.

<sup>i</sup> ἀδούλωτον.

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55. (Gen. xvii. 17) Why did Abraham fall upon his face and laugh ?

Two things are shown by his falling upon his face.<sup>a</sup> One is his prostration<sup>b</sup> because of an excess of divine ecstasy.<sup>c</sup> And the other is his confession,<sup>d</sup> which is consonant with, and equal to, what has been said. For his mind acknowledged that God stands alone. But those things which<sup>e</sup> are under the generation of birth all fall into periodical change. And they fall with respect to that<sup>f</sup> part through which they are wont to be raised up and be erect, (namely) with respect to the sovereign<sup>g</sup> face. Rightly did he laugh in his joy over the promise, being filled with great hope and in the expectation that it would be fulfilled, and because he had clearly received a vision,<sup>h</sup> through which he knew more certainly Him who always stands firm, and him who<sup>i</sup> naturally bends and falls.

56. (Gen. xvii. 17) Why is he incredulous,<sup>j</sup> as it were, in his confession,<sup>k</sup> for says (Scripture), "He said in his mind,<sup>l</sup> shall a son be born to a centenarian, and shall Sarah<sup>m</sup> bear at ninety years ?"

<sup>a</sup> For parallels in Philo see *Leg. All.* iii. 217 and *De Mut. Nom.* 154 ff.

<sup>b</sup> προσκύνησις.

<sup>c</sup> θείας ἐκστάσεως.

<sup>d</sup> ὁμολογία (in the biblical sense).

<sup>e</sup> The sing. verb in Arm. indicates here that the nominal subject was neuter plural, not masculine plural, as Aucher renders.

<sup>f</sup> The context requires emendation of the nom. pl. demons. pron. *sok'a* to gen. sing. *sora*. The Arm. letters *k'* and *r* are very similar.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "first."

<sup>h</sup> ἐπιφάνειαν.

<sup>i</sup> Or "that which."

<sup>j</sup> ἀπιστεῖ.

<sup>k</sup> ὁμολογία.

<sup>l</sup> LXX ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>m</sup> LXX Sarra.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

Not ineptly or casually <sup>a</sup> are added the words, "He said in his mind."<sup>b</sup> For unworthy words spoken by tongue and mouth fall under transgressions and punishment. But those which are in the mind are not at all guilty.<sup>c</sup> For involuntarily does the mind show arrogance<sup>d</sup> when various desires come upon it from various directions, and there are times when it resists these and disputes with them resentfully, and seeks to avoid their appearances. Perhaps too he is not in a state of doubt<sup>e</sup> but being struck with amazement at the excessiveness of the gift, says, "Behold, our body has passed (its prime) and has gone beyond the age for begetting. But to God all things are possible, even to change old age into youth, and to bring one who has no seed or fruit into the begetting and fruitfulness." And so, if a centenarian and (a woman) of ninety years produce children, the element of ordinary events is removed,<sup>f</sup> and only the divine power and grace clearly appear.

But we must (now) show what virtues<sup>g</sup> the number one hundred has.<sup>h</sup> In the first place, the hundred is a power of the decad. In the second place, the myriad is (a power) of this itself. And the myriad is brother to unity, for just as one times one is one, so ten thousand times one is ten thousand. In the third place, all the parts of the number one hundred are well ordered.<sup>i</sup> In the fourth place, it consists of thirty and of six and of sixty and of four, which is a cube and a square<sup>j</sup> at the same time. In the fifth place, it consists of these several odd numbers, 1, 3,

<sup>a</sup> παρέργως.

<sup>b</sup> See the parallel discussion in *De Mut. Nom.* 177-200.

<sup>c</sup> ἔνοχα.      <sup>d</sup> ἀλαζονείαν.      <sup>e</sup> οὐκ ἐνδοιάζει.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* we are dealing here with something miraculous.

<sup>g</sup> δυνάμεις.

<sup>h</sup> In the parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 188-192, Philo cites a number of biblical passages involving the number 100, but does not treat them in the fashion of Pythagorean number mysticism as here.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *parkešt* = *σώφρων*, *κόσμος*, etc.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher inadvertently renders, "triangulum."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, making 100.<sup>a</sup> In the sixth place, it consists of four (numbers), one and its double, and four and its double, 1, 2, 4, 8, making 15, and of the four numbers,<sup>b</sup> 1, 4, 16, 64, making 85. Now there is a twofold proportion<sup>c</sup> in all things, containing that of four and that of five,<sup>d</sup> but four is twice in all things. In the seventh place, it consists of several fours, each of which has one added (namely), 1, 2, 3, 4, making 10, and of four triangular numbers,<sup>e</sup> 1, 3, 6, 10, making 20, and of four quadrangular numbers, 1, 4, 9, 16, making 30, and of four pentagonal numbers, 1, 5, 12, 22, making 40, and (all) these together make 100. In the eighth place, the number one hundred is completed by the cubes of the four separate numbers beginning with one, for given the numbers from one on, (namely) 1, 2, 3, 4, their cubes, 1, 8, 27, 64, make 100. In the ninth place, it is divided into forty and sixty, both of which are most natural (numbers).<sup>f</sup> And in respect of the several decads in the pentagonal figure up to the number ten thousand, the number one hundred holds the middle place. For the number one hundred is the middle one of (the series) one, ten, a hundred, a thousand and ten thousand.

But it is proper not to pass over in silence the number ninety in respect of its visible<sup>g</sup> (elements). It seems to me that the number ninety takes second place after the hundred, in so far as a tenth part (of the latter) is taken away, which is the decad. For in the Law I find two tenths<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> These figures are expressed as numeral letters in the Arm. text here and below; other numbers are indicated by name.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher correctly amplifies in rendering, "ex quatuor istis multiplicatis," since the second set of four is that of the squares of the first four.

<sup>c</sup> Or "principle"—*λόγος*.

<sup>d</sup> "Five" is an error for "two," as Staehle notes, p. 71.

<sup>e</sup> See *QG* i. 83.

<sup>f</sup> *φυσικώτατοι ἀριθμοί*.

<sup>g</sup> Or "conspicuous"; Aucher "quoad notas visibles."

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* tithes, the first tithe going to the Levite and the tenth of this Levitical tithe going to the priest ("peace-offering of tithe").

## GENESIS, BOOK III

of first fruits distinguished, one of the whole (produce) and one of the remainder. And when the tenth is taken from the produce of grain or wine or oil, another tenth is taken from the remainder.<sup>a</sup> Now of these two (numbers) the initial and first one is honoured with seniority, and the one that comes after with second place. For the hundred contains the two (kinds of) first fruits of the years of the wise man, by which he is consecrated, (namely) the first and second (offerings), while the number ninety (contains) the second first-fruits of the years of feminine gender, the younger and lesser remainder of the first and greatest among the sacred numbers. The former, therefore, is called "a sown aroura"<sup>b</sup> in the sacred Law, while the latter has a general nature,<sup>c</sup> for the number ninety is generative,<sup>d</sup> wherefore also women are productive in the ninth month. But the decad is sacred and perfect. And when these<sup>e</sup> are multiplied there is formed the sacred and generative power<sup>f</sup> of ninety, which gets its fruitful generation from nine, and its sacredness from the decad.

57. (Gen. xvii. 18) Why does Abraham say to God, "Let this Ishmael<sup>g</sup> live before Thee"?

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 191.

<sup>b</sup> The parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 190, enables us to correct the unintelligible Arm. text. Arm. *tesouac* renders *θεωρία* but this is a corruption of *ἄρουρα*; *ἄνταναῖα* is the ptc. of the verb which renders *σπερματίζω*, not of its homonym which renders *οἰκειοῦσθαι*. As Colson notes in the passage from *De Mut. Nom.* (L.C.I., Philo, vol. v. p. 239), "Philo interprets *ἄρουρα* in the technical sense of a piece of land of 100 square cubits."

<sup>c</sup> *καθολικὴν φύσιν*.

<sup>d</sup> *γόνιμος*.

<sup>e</sup> The numbers 9 and 10 (9 being unobtrusively substituted for 90).

<sup>f</sup> *δύναμις*.

<sup>g</sup> So LXX; Heb. has no demonstr. pron. before "Ishmael." Philo comments at length on this verse in *De Mut. Nom.* 201-251.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

First of all, (he says), "We<sup>a</sup> do not despair, O Lord, of a better generation, but I have faith in Thy promises. However, it is enough of a gift for me that this one should live who is for the time being a living son, even though he is not a son by genuine descent, being born of a concubine." In the second place, what he now seeks is an additional good, for it is not merely life that he desires for his son but a life "before God,"<sup>b</sup> than which nothing is worthy to be considered more perfect, (a life) before God (being) one of wholeness and salvation,<sup>c</sup> which is on a par with immortality.<sup>d</sup> In the third place, he symbolically<sup>e</sup> indicates that not (only) should the heard laws of God be committed to hearing,<sup>f</sup> but they should (also) pass into the inner (life) and mould and form its most sovereign part,<sup>g</sup> for that (alone) is life in the sight of God whose words are worthy to become deeds.<sup>h</sup>

\*58. (Gen. xvii. 19) Why is the divine oracle<sup>i</sup> an agreement,<sup>j</sup> for He says to Abraham, "Yes, behold,<sup>k</sup> Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son" ?

What is indicated is somewhat as follows. "This agreement,<sup>l</sup>" He says, "is something for Me Myself to

<sup>a</sup> On the 1st pl. for the expected 1st sing. see Colson's note on *De Mut. Nom.* 216 (vol. v. p. 255).

<sup>b</sup> ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας.

<sup>d</sup> ἰσότημος τῇ ἀθανασίᾳ.

<sup>e</sup> ἐν ὑπονοίαις. Aucher's rendering, "per conjecturam," is not quite right.

<sup>f</sup> In *De Mut. Nom.* 202 *et al.* Philo alludes to the interpretation of the name Ishmael as "hearing God."

<sup>g</sup> τυποῦν καὶ μορφοῦν τὸ ἡγεμονικώτατον μέρος.

<sup>h</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain; Aucher renders, "vita enim est ista divino conspectui condigna verbum effectum esse."  
<sup>i</sup> ὁ θεῖος χρησμός.

<sup>j</sup> Or "assent"—συγχώρησις or ἐπίνευσις.

<sup>k</sup> So LXX, ναί, ἰδοῦ; Heb. 'abāl usu. = "but." Philo comments on the expression in *De Mut. Nom.* 253-254.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. has two words, both rendering ὁμολογία, which is also used in the Greek frag.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

keep <sup>a</sup> being clearly without denial. <sup>b</sup> And thy faith <sup>c</sup> is not ambiguous but is unhesitating, and partakes of modesty and reverence. <sup>d</sup> Wherefore that which thou didst formerly receive as destined to come about because of thy faith in Me, shall wholly <sup>e</sup> be." For this is shown by the "Yes."

59. (Gen. xvii. 20) Why does He say, "But concerning Ishmael, behold I will hear thee, and I will bless <sup>f</sup> him. Twelve nations he shall beget."

"Both the first and the second good things," He says, "I grant to thee, both that which comes by nature and that which comes by teaching <sup>g</sup>; by nature <sup>h</sup> is that which comes through the genuine <sup>i</sup> Isaac, and by teaching is that which comes through the not-genuine Ishmael, for hearing <sup>j</sup> when compared with seeing is like the not-genuine beside the genuine, and that which comes by teaching does not have the same standing <sup>k</sup> as that which comes by nature. And "he shall beget twelve nations" (means) the train of

<sup>a</sup> Text obscure; Aucher renders, "confessio ac homologiae ista, ait, mea parte admissio est voti." The Greek frag. reads ἡ ὁμολογία, φησίν, ἡ ἐμὴ κατάφασις ἐστίν.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. *ouraxout' enē* "joy" is clearly a scribal error for *ouraxout' enē = ἀρνήσεως*, which is also found in the Greek frag. Philo apparently means that the "Yes" of Scripture indicates God's unhesitating willingness to reward Abraham's unhesitating faith.

<sup>c</sup> *πίστις*.

<sup>d</sup> *αἰδοῦς καὶ ἐντροπῆς μετέχουσα*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>e</sup> Or "absolutely"—*πάντως*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>f</sup> LXX and Heb. "I have heard thee and I have blessed."

<sup>g</sup> In the parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 255-264, Philo calls Ishmael *ἔγγονον διδασκόν*, and Isaac *αὐτομαθής*.

<sup>h</sup> *φύσει*.

<sup>i</sup> *γνήσιον*. In *De Mut. Nom.* 261 he is called *γενναῖον*.

<sup>j</sup> Here again, as in *QG* iii. 57, Philo plays on the etymology of the name Ishmael, "hearing God."

<sup>k</sup> *λόγον*.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

school studies,<sup>a</sup> for the number twelve is a cyclical number in the cycle of days and years.<sup>b</sup>

60. (Gen. xvii. 21) Why does He say, "And My covenant I will establish with Isaac whom Sarah shall bear<sup>c</sup> at this time<sup>d</sup> in the other year"<sup>e</sup>?

Just as in human testaments<sup>f</sup> some persons are inscribed as heirs, and some are counted worthy of (receiving) gifts, which they receive from the heirs, so also in the divine testament he is inscribed as heir who is by nature a good disciple<sup>g</sup> of God, adorned with perfect virtues.<sup>h</sup> But he who is introduced<sup>i</sup> through hearing<sup>j</sup> and is subjected to the law of wisdom<sup>k</sup> and participates in the discipline of school studies<sup>l</sup> is not an heir but receives gifts which are bestowed by grace.<sup>m</sup> Most wisely,<sup>n</sup> moreover, is it said that "in the other year" she will bear Isaac, for that birth is not one of the life of the time<sup>o</sup> which now exists but of another great, holy, sacred and

<sup>a</sup> τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων. In *De Mut. Nom.* 263 they are called τὸν χορὸν τῶν σοφιστικῶν προπαιδευμάτων.

<sup>b</sup> Since the year consists of 12 months, and day and night of 12 hours each, as Philo explains in *De Fuga* 184.

<sup>c</sup> LXX and Heb. add "to thee."

<sup>d</sup> LXX καιρὸν, Heb. *mô'ed* "set time."

<sup>e</sup> So LXX and Heb., *i.e.* "next year." The verse is differently allegorized in *De Mut. Nom.* 264-269, where the covenant is not mentioned, perhaps because Philo planned to include it in his projected treatise *On Covenants*, which has not come down to us.

<sup>f</sup> διαθήκαις.

<sup>g</sup> μαθητής.

<sup>h</sup> τελείαις ἀρεταῖς.

<sup>i</sup> εἰσάγεται.

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* Ishmael. See *QG* iii. 59.

<sup>k</sup> ὑποτάσσεται τῷ τῆς σοφίας νόμῳ.

<sup>l</sup> τῆς τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείας.

<sup>m</sup> Arm. lit. = χαριστήρια (for χάριτας?) καὶ δωρεάς.

<sup>n</sup> πανσόφως.

<sup>o</sup> Text slightly emended, following Aucher.



## GENESIS, BOOK III

divine one,<sup>a</sup> which has an abundant fullness <sup>b</sup> and is not like that of the gentiles.<sup>c</sup>

\*61. (Gen. xvii. 24-25) Why does (Scripture) say that Abraham was ninety-nine years old when he was circumcised, and Ishmael, his son, thirteen years old ?

The number of ninety-nine years is set beside <sup>d</sup> the number one hundred. And in accordance with this number it is destined to be the seed and progeny of a more perfect generation, which is to appear in the hundred.<sup>e</sup> But the number thirteen is composed of the first two squares, of four and nine, of even and odd ; the even one has sides which are a double material form,<sup>f</sup> and the odd one has a practical form.<sup>g</sup> Through all these comes the triad,<sup>h</sup> and this is the greatest <sup>i</sup> and most perfect of festival offerings, which the pillars <sup>j</sup> of the divine scriptures contain. This is one (explanation). But it is proper to mention

<sup>a</sup> Prob. the noun " life " is understood.

<sup>b</sup> πλησμονήν or possibly πλήρωμα.

<sup>c</sup> τῶν ἐθνῶν. Philo does not often use ἔθνη in the biblical sense of " gentiles."

<sup>d</sup> In *QG* iii. 39 (on Gen. xvii. 1) and in *De Mut. Nom.* 1, Philo speaks of 99 as being " neighbour " (γείτων) to 100.

<sup>e</sup> An allusion to the birth of Isaac in Abraham's 100th year.

<sup>f</sup> διπλοῦν ὑλικὸν εἶδος.

<sup>g</sup> πρακτικὸν (?) εἶδος : Aucher " formam operativam." Possibly Philo here refers to the nine months of conception, as above in *QG* iii. 56 ; if so, we might render " productive " (ποιητικόν) rather than " practical."

<sup>h</sup> Apparently Philo means the 3 in 13.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. " greatness."

<sup>j</sup> στήλαι : Aucher " exarationes." Probably Philo means the tablets of the Law, as elsewhere, or the Law generally. The " festival offerings " are presumably those of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles, as the Arm. glossator suggests. It is curious, however, that in *De Somniis* i. 242 (on the pillar at Beth-el, Gen. xxxi. 13), Philo says that a pillar is a symbol of three things, " of standing, of dedication and of inscription."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

another as well, (namely) that the age of thirteen years is a neighbour and associate of fourteen <sup>a</sup> years, when <sup>b</sup> the generative movements are brought to their seed.<sup>c</sup> And so, lest alien seed <sup>d</sup> be sown, He takes care that the first generation shall be preserved intact,<sup>e</sup> representing the generative organ by the symbol of generation.<sup>f</sup>

In the third place He instructs him who is about to undertake marriage by all means to circumcise his sense-pleasures <sup>g</sup> and amorous desires, rebuking those who are lascivious and lustful,<sup>h</sup> in order that they may restrain their excessive embraces,<sup>i</sup> which usually come about not for the sake of begetting children but for the sake of unrestrained pleasure.

62. (Gen. xvii. 27) Why does Abraham circumcise those of foreign birth ? <sup>j</sup>

The wise man is helpful and at the same time philanthropic.<sup>k</sup> He saves and calls to himself not only his kinsmen <sup>l</sup> and those of like opinions <sup>m</sup> but also those of foreign birth and of different opinions,<sup>n</sup> giving them of his own goods with patience and ascetic continence,<sup>o</sup> for these are the firm foundations <sup>p</sup> to which all virtue <sup>q</sup> hastens and finds rest.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "twice seven."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "behold !"

<sup>c</sup> The syntax is obscure ; Aucher renders, "quo seminis motus ad generationem fertur."

<sup>d</sup> ἀλλογενές σπέρμα.

<sup>e</sup> ὀλόκληρον.

<sup>f</sup> συμβόλω τοῦ γένους.

<sup>g</sup> ἡδονάς.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "woman-loving."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "minglings."

<sup>j</sup> τοὺς ἀλλογενεῖς.

<sup>k</sup> φιλόανθρωπος.

<sup>l</sup> Or "countrymen."

<sup>m</sup> Text slightly emended by Aucher.

<sup>n</sup> ἕτεροδόξους.

<sup>o</sup> ὑπομονῇ καὶ ἀσκήσει ἐγκρατείας *vel sim.*

<sup>p</sup> θεμέλια.

<sup>q</sup> ἀρετή.

## BOOK IV <sup>a</sup>

1. (Gen. xviii. 1-2) Why does (Scripture) say, "And the Lord God <sup>b</sup> appeared to Abraham <sup>c</sup> at the oak of Mambre,<sup>d</sup> when he was sitting in the heat of day <sup>e</sup> at the entrance of his tent; and he lifted up his eyes"<sup>f</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>g</sup> seems to me quite clear. But it is only necessary to explain the tree allegorically through the Chaldaean <sup>h</sup> speech. According to Heraclitus,<sup>i</sup> our nature [a tree] likes to hide itself.<sup>j</sup> Now, in the first place, it is proper to recognize that the interpretation of *Mambre* is "from sight,"<sup>k</sup> and this means something like the following. Just as being wise comes from wisdom,<sup>l</sup> and being prudent comes from prudence,<sup>m</sup> and having various dispositions comes from these (various dispositions), so

<sup>a</sup> Book IV, which is about as long as the combined first three books of the *Quaestiones in Genesin*, originally comprised Books IV, V and VI, as some ancient mss. indicate. See the Introduction.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. "YHWH"; LXX and Arm. O.T. "God."

<sup>c</sup> LXX and Heb. "to him."

<sup>d</sup> Heb. "Mamre."

<sup>e</sup> So Heb.; LXX and Arm. O.T. "at midday."

<sup>f</sup> So Heb. and Arm. O.T.; LXX "and looking up with his eyes."

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. Hebrew.

<sup>i</sup> Cf. Diels-Kranz, *Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker*, B 123 [10] ἡ φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ (from Porphyry). The Arm. *car* "tree" is out of place here.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. here uses two verbs, both of which render κρύπτεσθαι.

<sup>k</sup> ἀπὸ δράσεως (or ὄρωμένων), as if from Heb. *mim-mar'eh*. The same etymology is given in *De Migratione* 165.

<sup>l</sup> σοφίας.

<sup>m</sup> σωφροσύνης.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

in the case of the senses<sup>a</sup> the act of touching comes from touch, and tasting from taste, and hearing from the auditory sense, and seeing necessarily comes from sight. This is what enriches the spiritual,<sup>b</sup> clear-sighted and excellent mind, which in Chaldaean is called *Mambre*, and in Armenian,<sup>c</sup> "from sight" by enabling it to see better<sup>d</sup> and to be sharp-sighted<sup>e</sup> and unsleeping, seeing not only the created world,<sup>f</sup> the forms<sup>g</sup> of which it is the part of philosophy to see, but its Father and Creator, the uncreated God.<sup>h</sup> For of what use would it be for Him to come and not be seen? And since He is incomprehensible,<sup>i</sup> not only to the human race but also to all the purest parts of heaven, He caused to shine forth, as it were, a certain radiance, which we most properly call "form,"<sup>j</sup> and caused this radiance of light to shine around the whole soul, and filled it with an incorporeal and more than heavenly light. And being guided<sup>k</sup> by this, the mind<sup>l</sup> is brought by<sup>m</sup> form to the archetype.<sup>n</sup> For what is said<sup>o</sup> is better fitted to and harmonized with sight than with all the organs,<sup>p</sup> since it is through sight that a vision is apprehended.<sup>q</sup> And

<sup>a</sup> ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι.

<sup>b</sup> πνευματικόν.

<sup>c</sup> *Sic!* The original, of course, had "in Greek" or "in our language."

<sup>d</sup> The syntax is not altogether clear. Aucher renders, "Hoc est, quod spirituali perspicacique mente sana, puta Mambre, sive visu ditat animum, praestans ei ut melius videat."

<sup>e</sup> ὀξύδερκῆς.

<sup>f</sup> τὸν γενητὸν κόσμον.

<sup>g</sup> τὰ εἶδη (ὁρ τὰς μορφάς).

<sup>h</sup> τὸν ἀγένητον θεόν.

<sup>i</sup> ἀκατάληπτος, here rendered by two Arm. words.

<sup>j</sup> εἶδος (ὁρ μορφήν).

<sup>k</sup> ἡγούμενος.

<sup>l</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>m</sup> Or "through."

<sup>n</sup> πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον.

<sup>o</sup> *i.e.* in Scripture, about God's appearing to Abraham.

<sup>p</sup> *i.e.* the other organs of sense. Aucher's rendering seems to me to miss the point, "siquidem visu potius quam cunctis instrumentis sensus coaptavit symphoniam dictam."

<sup>q</sup> νοεῖται.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

in the second place, since the extremes<sup>a</sup> are wonderful—both He who appeared, for He is God, and he to whom He appeared, for he it was who saw, (Scripture) has very symbolically<sup>b</sup> placed between them both an oak-tree, which is most powerful and sovereign. And inasmuch as it is a tree that has been domesticated from a rather wild one,<sup>c</sup> it indicates<sup>d</sup> the wise man who is provided with eyes.<sup>e</sup> And beginning to see the truly existent One,<sup>f</sup> the excellent and powerful and sovereign ruler of all things, he sees a wild (tree) unrestrainedly possessed by density,<sup>g</sup> and the limit of unrestraint which contends, and the radiance which resists until it is reconciled with seeing.<sup>h</sup> For the trunk of the tree<sup>i</sup> is wild, but its fruit is the domesticated acorn,<sup>j</sup> which was given to man as food earlier than wheat; and for this reason they ascribed life to it (as) its principle,<sup>k</sup> considering the oak<sup>l</sup> to be the temple and altar of the only God. For, like the laurel of the sun,<sup>m</sup> it comes to the aid of health. And the turnings<sup>n</sup> of the sun clearly show forth the yearly seasons, of which

<sup>a</sup> Apparently Philo means that God and Abraham were the two end-points in the relation, and the oak of Mambre the mid-point.

<sup>b</sup> *συμβολικώτερον.*

<sup>c</sup> *ἐξ ἀγρίου τι.*

<sup>d</sup> *αἰνίττεται.*

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "eyed." Possibly the original was *ὀφθαλμιζόμενον* "grafted" but there is no other reference here to tree-grafting.

<sup>f</sup> *τὸν ὄντως ὄντα.*

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. seems literally to render *πυκνότητι κατεχόμενον ἀκωλύτως ἄγριον*, whatever that means.

<sup>h</sup> The above is a literal translation, which is admittedly unintelligible. Aucher very freely renders, or rather paraphrases, "ita tamen ut expedite et libere splendorem obvians renitentem, placidum redderet oculis."

<sup>i</sup> The compound *stelnatounk* is not listed in the great Arm. dictionary. Aucher renders less accurately, "planta ipsa."

<sup>j</sup> *φηγός* (or *βάλανος*) *οἰκείος.*

<sup>k</sup> *ἀρχήν* (?); Aucher has "ut propriam facultatem."

<sup>l</sup> *τὴν δρῦν.*

<sup>m</sup> Probably a reference to the laurel of Apollo Daphnephoros.

<sup>n</sup> *αἱ τροπαί, i.e.* the solstices.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

one brings mild temperateness,<sup>a</sup> and the other brings about severe intemperateness (and) sickness. Now the ever-virginal olive-tree<sup>b</sup> is of the purest substance which the inerrant sphere<sup>c</sup> attains, for olive-oil is the material of light, and radiant in form is the heaven in which are the light-giving stars. Wherefore it is customary to call most of them<sup>d</sup> not what they themselves are but after the most sovereign and chief of them, (namely) the oak, in places where trees and groves are especially dense and thick, even though the oak does not seek any payment of tribute.<sup>e</sup> And they are called oak-cutters<sup>f</sup> who cut down fir-trees<sup>g</sup> and cedars and the like, and even others, of the timber of which it is usual to erect what are called *dryphaktoi*.<sup>h</sup> And the fruits of trees of all kinds, both cultivated and wild, are called oak-fruits<sup>i</sup> and olives. And "oak-ripe"<sup>j</sup> is what they call those (fruits) that ripen on the stalk. And the name of oak and olive is given to all (trees) as sovereign and chief. And rightly is He said to have appeared to him when seated, since sitting is a state of tranquillity and<sup>k</sup> peace of body. Now the mind of the virtuous man, when it sits in restful quietness and secure peace, wishing to bear a likeness to the unwearied and unchanging true being of God, which is of an intelligible nature and a thing of non-living life,<sup>l</sup> so far as is possible

<sup>a</sup> εὐκρασίαν.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ ἀειπάρθενος ἐλαιά, here perhaps considered a variety of δάφνη, cf. Strabo 16. 3. 6 on the trees of Arabia.

<sup>c</sup> ἡ ἀπλανῆς σφαῖρα, i.e. the sphere of the fixed stars.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. trees.

<sup>e</sup> Prob. τιμὴν φόρου. Aucher less aptly renders, "ultionem," ignoring Arm. *hark* "tribute." <sup>f</sup> δρυηκόποι.

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *elat* is not defined in dictionaries available to me. I have followed Aucher's rendering.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. transliterates δρύφακτοι "rails, balconies," etc.

<sup>i</sup> Prob. βάλανοι, which includes acorns, dates, etc.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. "tree-ripe"—δρυπεπεῖς.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "a state (ἔξις) and tranquillity of."

<sup>l</sup> ἀβιώτου βίου. Aucher renders the whole clause elliptically, "illam quam secundum intelligibilem vitam laboris nesciam, similitudinem veri Entis Dei volens imitari."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

for human nature,<sup>a</sup> describes a form that is very obscure in comparison with the archetype.<sup>b</sup> But the sitting at the entrance of his tent seems to be a symbol,<sup>c</sup> that is, of the body, which the divine and holy Scriptures in another place call a "tunic of skin,"<sup>d</sup> as if of the soul, for (through the body) are the paths of colours, forms, voices, elements<sup>e</sup> and vapours, and everything that is at all sense-perceptible. And it is fitting for the virtuous reason<sup>f</sup> to sit by the senses and be a doorkeeper<sup>g</sup> lest anything harmful slip within and be the cause of harm to the soul, inasmuch as it is able to preserve it unharmed and whole and unaffected by any evil. For the senses of foolish men are left stranded without protection and abandoned to themselves, and there is no one of them at all who stands at the entrance to exclude useless and harmful impressions.<sup>h</sup> Wherefore many desperate misfortunes find their way within, no less voluntary than involuntary, and because of these, which shamelessly and unopposed find their way in, impressions<sup>i</sup> are engraved upon the mind, and by these the soul is shaken and agitated day and night, since the senses are left without protection and abandoned to their own devices.

And excellently is it said that the vision occurred at midday,<sup>j</sup> for this is the most luminous (hour) in the whole length of the day. Thus, symbolically it sets before us<sup>k</sup> the intelligible sun,<sup>l</sup> (which) sends out its incorporeal rays

<sup>a</sup> Aucher wrongly transposes the rendering of "for human life" to the next clause.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher goes astray in rendering, "humana natura similem originali describit obscuram formam."

<sup>c</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *QG* i. 53 on Gen. iii. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Or "humours."

<sup>f</sup> τῷ σπουδαίῳ λογισμῷ.

<sup>g</sup> θυρωρόν. <sup>h</sup> φαντασίας.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, "turpes ideae."

<sup>j</sup> Above, in quoting Scripture, Philo writes "in the heat of the day."

<sup>k</sup> συμβολικῶς ἐναντίον παρίστησι.

<sup>l</sup> τὸν νοητὸν ἥλιον.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

most luminously and splendidly upon pure souls,<sup>a</sup> which gaze directly into the rays and behold them; and piety, after passion is removed,<sup>b</sup> makes the heaven familiar. But they are not able to gaze at it for a long time, since that unmixed, undiluted, holy, pure, diffused and incorporeal light shines too brilliantly, and with its brightness blinds and dulls the eyes. But it seems to me that, since the light is purer and more luminous at midday, when impressions are seen more clearly, it wishes to illumine the mind of the wise man and have the rays shine about him with divine light, and make clearer and firmer the impressions of things that really exist,<sup>c</sup> the rays being without shadow.

2. (Gen. xviii. 2) What is the meaning of the words, "He saw,<sup>d</sup> and behold, three men were standing over him"<sup>e</sup>?

Most natural things<sup>f</sup> to those who are able to see does (Scripture) present, (namely) that it is reasonable<sup>g</sup> for one to be three and for three to be one, for they were one by a higher principle.<sup>h</sup> But when counted with the chief powers, the creative and kingly,<sup>i</sup> He makes the appearance of three to the human mind. For this cannot be so keen of sight that it can see Him who is above the powers that belong to Him, (namely) God, distinct from anything else. For so soon as one sets eyes upon God, there also appear, together with His being,<sup>j</sup> the ministering powers, so that

<sup>a</sup> In the Arm. text the "and" before "pure souls" seems to be misplaced.

<sup>b</sup> Text uncertain.

<sup>c</sup> τῶν ὄντως ὄντων.

<sup>d</sup> LXX and Heb. "he lifted his eyes and saw."

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. The verse is allegorically explained in *De Abrahamo* 119-132 in much the same way as here.

<sup>f</sup> φυσικώτατα.

<sup>g</sup> εἰκός.

<sup>h</sup> κατ' ἀνώτερον λόγον.

<sup>i</sup> σὺν ταῖς πρώταις δυνάμεσι, τῇ ποιητικῇ καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ.

*Cf.* *QG* ii. 51 notes.

<sup>j</sup> Or "essence"—οὐσία. Aucher renders less accurately, "una cum illo existentes apparent."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

in place of one He makes the appearance of a triad. For when the mind begins to have an apprehension of the Existent One,<sup>a</sup> He is known to have arrived there,<sup>b</sup> making (Himself) unique, and appearing as chief and sovereign. But, as I said a little earlier, He cannot be seen in His oneness without something (else), the chief powers that exist immediately<sup>c</sup> with Him, (namely) the creative, which is called God, and the kingly, which is called Lord. For (when Scripture) says, "he lifted up his eyes," (this means) not those of the body, for it is not possible to see God through the senses, but those of the soul. For in the moment of wisdom<sup>d</sup> He is seen with the eyes.<sup>e</sup> But the sight of many ignoble and idle souls is always blocked, since they are in a deep sleep and are never able to leap up and rouse themselves to the things of nature and to the sights and impressions therein. But the spiritual eyes of the virtuous man are awake and see; or rather, he is sleepless because of his desire of seeing, and he spurs himself and leaps up to wakefulness. Wherefore it was well said in the plural that he opened, not one eye, but all the eyes which are in the soul, so that he was altogether an eye.<sup>f</sup> And having become an eye, he begins to see the sovereign, holy and divine<sup>g</sup> vision in such a way that the single appearance appears as a triad, and the triad as a unity.

It is fitting to speak of what follows these words and not omit them. For not idly<sup>h</sup> is it said that "they stood

<sup>a</sup> κατάληψιν τοῦ ὄντος.

<sup>b</sup> Meaning unclear to me.

<sup>c</sup> εὐθύς.

<sup>d</sup> καιρῶ σοφίας.

<sup>e</sup> One may also render, "For at the (right) time He is seen with the eyes of wisdom."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher amplifies slightly in rendering, "ut totum totaliter oculum esse eum dixeris."

<sup>g</sup> Perhaps in selecting these three adjectives, which render κυρίαν καὶ ἀγίαν καὶ θείαν, Philo wishes to suggest that the central being of God is flanked (παρ' ἑκάτερα is used in *De Abrahamo* 121) by His kingly and creative powers.

<sup>h</sup> οὐκ εἰκῆ.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

over him." For God is above and over all generated creatures, and (so are) the divine powers that administer and oversee and govern. Now generally everything necessary has already been said, for concerning the activity of things it is proper to see a vision in no casual manner<sup>a</sup>; with a single turning of the eyes the mind apprehends a double appearance<sup>b</sup>; the one was of God coming with His two highest powers, by which He is served, (namely) the creative, through which He creates and operates the world, and the kingly, through which He rules what has come into being. And the other (appearance) was that of the strange men, not such men as one may happen to meet by chance, but most perfect of body according to human nature, and of venerable holiness. And being struck by either appearance, he was drawn toward seeing, now by one, now by the other. And he was not able to see just which of them was likely to be the true one.<sup>c</sup> For the sake of safety and because of uncertainty and doubt he did not ignore (either of them), nor did he, like some, out of slothfulness forget them but received and apprehended both appearances, thinking it better to accustom<sup>d</sup> his doubt, by truth rather than by falsehood, to the acquisition of two great virtues, (namely) holiness and love of mankind<sup>e</sup>—holiness, in so far as his gaze was fixed upon the one aspect,<sup>f</sup> in which he saw God; and love of mankind, in the other aspect, which is common participation<sup>g</sup> with strangers. And that he was moved by either

<sup>a</sup> Lit. the Arm. seems to render *περὶ γὰρ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐργασίας πρέπον ἐστὶ οὐ παρέργως ὄρασιν ἰδεῖν*. Aucher renders, "de ipsa vero rerum causa non obiter visionem videre liceat"; in a footnote to "causa" he adds, "ad verb. *opere*, quod accipio sicut *opifice*." The Arm. glossator renders, "concerning the interpretation of things."

<sup>b</sup> Of God with His powers, on the one hand, and of the three angels, on the other.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "quae ex illis certior credenda sit."

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. verb = *ἐθίζειν, οἰκειοῦν, ἡμεροῦν*.

<sup>e</sup> *ὁσιότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας*.

<sup>f</sup> *ιδέαν*.

<sup>g</sup> *μετοχὴ κοινωνίας vel sim.*

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

appearance is clear from Scripture, for whatever is said concerning one or to one or by one is brought as evidence of an appearance as God, while whatever is said concerning several or to several is of an appearance as of strange men.

For when it says,<sup>a</sup> "God appeared to him," and "Lord, if indeed I have found favour before Thee," and "Do not pass over thy servant," and, "Thus do as thou hast said,"<sup>b</sup> and when it is said to him, "Where is Sarah, thy wife?" and "Again I will come to thee at this time," and "God said to him, why did Sarah laugh?"—all these passages point to His appearance as God. But the following indicate an appearance as of strange men: "And lifting up his eyes, he looked, and three men were standing over him," and "He ran to them," and "Let your feet be washed," and "Refresh yourselves under the tree," and "Eat,"<sup>c</sup> and "He stood before them," and "The men got up from there." So that through both piety and love of man<sup>d</sup> (Scripture) guides everyone who is considered civilized.<sup>e</sup> For in such civilized manner<sup>f</sup> did the founder and chief of our race<sup>g</sup> make his way of life an example. Seeing the vision before his eyes, which was not constant, being at one time that of God, at another time that of strangers, he decided to show piety as toward God, and equal oneness and love of man toward the strangers. Some, taking this as a point of departure, have gone astray in their beliefs, for they have been struck by the notion that there are measures and weights of proportion and structure.<sup>h</sup> As the clever and considerably learned Homer

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xviii. 2-15.

<sup>b</sup> This particular phrase does not indicate that one person is speaking.

<sup>c</sup> In the plural.

<sup>d</sup> δι' εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "who is written in polity (πολιτεία)."

<sup>f</sup> διὰ τοιαύτης πολιτείας.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. Abraham.

<sup>h</sup> Probably we should supply the words "in God," as does Aucher, who renders, "hinc ansa capta, nonnulli mensuram pondusque harmoniae corporeae excogitarunt (in Deo) abnormi opinione."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

with beauty of sound describes the conduct of life, it is not right to be harmfully arrogant,<sup>a</sup> for he says that the Deity in the likeness of a beautiful human form is believed to appear many times, (in this) not diverging from the belief of a polytheist. His verses are as follows. "And yet the gods in the likeness of strangers from other lands, in all kinds of form go about unknown, seeing and beholding the many enmities of men and their lawlessness and also their good laws."<sup>b</sup>

3. (Gen. xviii. 2) Why does (Scripture) say, "And when he saw (them), he ran to meet them<sup>c</sup> and prostrated himself upon the ground"<sup>d</sup>?

It gives a warning to those who without reflexion and taking thought rush upon whatever happens to be there, without first thinking and looking, and it teaches them not to rush out before they clearly see and grasp what the matter is. Wherefore (Scripture) says, "Having seen, he ran," in order that when the perception of sight has first taken place, there may afterwards come an act that is irreproachable and pleasing. But excellently is it said that after his seeing, he then "ran forward," for having seen, he did not delay or tarry, but (like) one who has seen something worthy of this, hastened and ran toward them. Moreover, very discriminatingly does (Scripture) say that he made prostration "on the ground," for it would not be to mortal men that he prostrated himself but to Him

<sup>a</sup> This obscure clause is somewhat differently rendered by Aucher, "quem admodum severus ille, et sufficiens in scientia exponit Homerus, decore vitae ut pulchrae harmoniae non licere superbire, ac noxam subire."

<sup>b</sup> *Od.* xvii. 485-488; the same passage is paraphrased by Philo in *De Somniis* i. 233 with the comment, "The report may not be a true one but it is at any rate profitable and beneficial that it is made."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "ran forward to them." Philo omits the words "from the entrance of the tent."

<sup>d</sup> *LXX προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.*

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

who is above heaven and earth, and is God of the whole world in common.<sup>a</sup>

4. (Gen. xviii. 3) (What is the meaning of the words), "Lord, if I have found favour before Thee, do not pass over <sup>b</sup> Thy servant" ?

Now <sup>c</sup> his mind <sup>d</sup> clearly forms an impression with more open eyes and more lucid vision, not roaming about nor wandering off with the triad, and being attracted thereto by quantity and plurality, but running toward the one. And He manifested Himself without the powers <sup>e</sup> that belong to Him, so that he saw His oneness directly before him, as he had known it earlier in the likeness of a triad. But it is something great that he asks, (namely) that God shall not pass by nor remove to a distance and leave his soul desolate and empty.<sup>f</sup> For the limit <sup>g</sup> of happiness is the presence <sup>h</sup> of God, which completely fills the whole soul with His whole incorporeal and eternal light. And (the limit) of misery is (His) passing on the way, for immediately thereafter comes heavy and profound darkness and possesses (the soul). Wherefore also the fratricide Cain says, "Great is the guilt of my punishment that Thou leavest me,"<sup>i</sup> indicating that there is no greater punishment for the soul than to be abandoned by God. Moreover, in another place Moses says, "Lest the Lord be

<sup>a</sup> κοινῇ.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX, μὴ παρέλθης. Heb. "do not pass from."

<sup>c</sup> i.e. on this occasion.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>e</sup> ἀνευ τῶν δυνάμεων, i.e. the creative and kingly attributes.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. uses two words to render ἐρήμην and two to render κενήν.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ ὄρος.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. uses two words to render παρουσία.

<sup>i</sup> Gen. iv. 13, where LXX reads μείζων ἢ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι με. Cf. QG i. 73 where Philo takes this to mean that Cain is punished by being abandoned by God, not that his guilt is too great to be overlooked.

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removed from them,"<sup>a</sup> showing that for the soul to be separated from the contemplation of the Existent One<sup>b</sup> is the most complete of evils. For these reasons he<sup>c</sup> attempts to lead the people toward God, not (any men), for this is not possible, but god-loving souls which can (be led), when a heavenly love<sup>d</sup> and desire have come upon them and seized them.

5. (Gen. xviii. 4) Why does he again say, in the plural, "Let water be taken and let them wash<sup>e</sup> your feet, and do you refresh yourselves<sup>f</sup> under the thick<sup>g</sup> tree"?

This again applies to the other appearance, in accordance with which he thought them strangers, having reached a stage of knowledge which was not certain, but again being attracted and strongly drawn by a most excellent and divine countenance.<sup>h</sup> Wherefore he does not give a command like a lord and master, nor does he presume to offer washing of the feet to freemen or servants but (regards) Him who had made Himself directly visible as the one who gives commands, saying, "Let water be taken," and does not add by whom. And again (in saying) "Let them wash (your) feet," he does not make clear whom nor make it known exactly, because, as it seems to me, he did not have confidence and assurance concerning the sense-perceptible appearance as (being one) of men seen, but rather that it was intelligible, as if a divine manifestation had been made. Something like this is clear from Scripture, (namely) that

<sup>a</sup> Probably, as Aucher suggests, a reference to Ex. xix. 22, where LXX reads *μήποτε ἀπαλλάξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν κύριος*.

<sup>b</sup> τοῦ Ὁντος.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently Moses is meant.

<sup>d</sup> ἔρωσ.

<sup>e</sup> Philo reads *νιβάτωσαν*, as do some LXX MSS.; most LXX MSS. have *νιβάτω*. The Masoretic Heb. has 2nd pl. imperative, "wash ye," but the consonantal (*i.e.* unvocalized) Heb. can also be read as 3rd pl. perfect, here meaning "let them wash."

<sup>f</sup> LXX *καταψύξατε*.

<sup>g</sup> No adjective is used in LXX or Heb.

<sup>h</sup> *προσώπου οὐ δψεως*.

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men are sanctified when washed with water, while the water itself (is sanctified) by the divine foot. Now symbolically <sup>a</sup> the foot is the last <sup>b</sup> and lowest (part) of the body, while to the air is allotted the last portion <sup>c</sup> of divine things, for it animates <sup>d</sup> the congregated things that have been created. <sup>e</sup> For if (the air) does not touch and move this (water), it dies; and it becomes alive through nothing else than having air mixed in with it. Wherefore not ineptly <sup>f</sup> is it said at the beginning of the genesis of creatures <sup>g</sup> that “the spirit of God was borne upon the waters,” which (Scripture) in allegorizing <sup>h</sup> on this occasion symbolically calls “the foot.”

6. (Gen. xviii. 5) Why does he say in this fashion, “I will take bread, and eat ye,” <sup>i</sup> and not, “Take ye”?

Here again he shows his doubt and his inclination toward either appearance. For when it is said, “I will take,” he imagines it to be God, to Whom he does not dare to say, “Take <sup>j</sup> food.” But when (he says), “Eat,” <sup>k</sup> he imagines it to be the three strange men. That is the literal meaning. <sup>l</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>m</sup> when the mind begins to prepare and order itself and to take the divine and holy foods, which are the laws and forms of wisdom, <sup>n</sup> then it is symbolically <sup>o</sup> said to eat also of divine (food); and this is the food that is fitting for the heavenly Olympians, <sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ἔσχατον.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ ἔσχατος κλῆρος.

<sup>d</sup> ψυχῶν.

<sup>e</sup> τὰ συναθρόντα κτιστά *vel sim.*, *i.e.* the gathering together of the waters, mentioned in Gen. i. 10 (LXX τὰ σπαστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων).

<sup>f</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>h</sup> ἀλληγορῶν.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. i. 2.

<sup>i</sup> LXX λήψομαι ἄρτον, καὶ φάγεσθε.

<sup>j</sup> Imperative sing.

<sup>k</sup> Imperative plural.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>n</sup> οἱ νόμοι καὶ αἱ ἰδέαι τῆς σοφίας.

<sup>o</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>p</sup> Aucher renders, “caelestem Olympum.”

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(namely) the desires and yearnings of the rational soul,<sup>a</sup> which it uses for the apprehension of wisdom and the acquisition of perfect virtue.<sup>o</sup>

7. (Gen. xviii. 5) Why does He say,<sup>e</sup> “ So do as thou hast said ” ?

He reproves those of two minds and two tongues, who say one thing and do the opposite. But the virtuous man<sup>d</sup> He sets apart<sup>e</sup> and determines that he shall be saved<sup>f</sup> through either order,<sup>g</sup> his words first being inclined toward deeds, and his deeds toward words.<sup>h</sup> For just as his words are, so is his life,<sup>i</sup> and as his life is, so do the words of the wise man appear.

\*8. (Gen. xviii. 6-7) Why do they all hasten? For (Scripture) says, “ Abraham hastened to the tent to Sarah and said to her, Hasten and mix three measures of wheat-flour<sup>j</sup> and make ash-cakes.<sup>k</sup> And he ran to the cattle and took a tender<sup>l</sup> calf and gave it to the boy,<sup>m</sup> and he hastened to do this.”

This is a eulogy of the virtuous man according to either

<sup>a</sup> τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>b</sup> τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς.

<sup>c</sup> Most LXX MSS. have εἶπεν. Some LXX MSS. and ancient versions have εἶπαν. Heb. has “ they said.”

<sup>d</sup> τὸν σπουδαῖον.

<sup>e</sup> Or “ approves of.”

<sup>f</sup> σώζεσθαι. Aucher renders less literally, “ vivere.”

<sup>g</sup> δι’ ἐκατέρας τάξεως.

<sup>h</sup> λόγοι contrasted with ἔργα.

<sup>i</sup> βίος or διαγωγή.

<sup>j</sup> LXX σεμιδάλεως.

<sup>k</sup> LXX ἐγκρυφίας. Heb. ‘ugôth is rendered in A.V. as “ cakes upon the hearth.”

<sup>l</sup> LXX and Heb. add “ and goodly.”

<sup>m</sup> i.e. his servant.

<sup>n</sup> LXX ποιῆσαι αὐτό, rendering Heb. la’asôth ’ôthô, which here means not “ to do this ” but “ to prepare him ” (the calf).



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

appearance.<sup>a</sup> For if it was the strange men whom he believed to have come to him, he is to be admired for his humanity and hospitality.<sup>b</sup> And if (he thought) that it was God who had come to him together with His chief powers, he was blessed and fortunate. Now, as to what they did for the appearance of the strange men, Abraham and his wife and his boy must be thought hospitable persons. But as to what they did for the powers of God, they must no longer be thought hospitable persons but incorporeal.<sup>c</sup> And the man and woman are (to be considered) ideas,<sup>d</sup> one being that of the most pure mind,<sup>e</sup> which is called Abraham, and the other that of the perfection of virtue,<sup>f</sup> which is called Sarah, while that which is the utterance of thought<sup>g</sup> is named "boy." And without delay or hesitation the mind and the virtues hasten under pressure<sup>h</sup> to please<sup>i</sup> and serve God and His powers. And the mind rules<sup>k</sup> in the manner of an overseer<sup>l</sup> and becomes a helper and stimulator in that which it is proper to do, while virtue shows unhesitating speed in the completion of the three portions and the ash-cakes. Speech,<sup>m</sup> moreover, brings the offering that is commanded.

And most natural<sup>n</sup> is the passage concerning the three measures,<sup>o</sup> for in reality<sup>p</sup> all things are measured by three,

<sup>a</sup> *i. e.* either the three "strange men" or God.

<sup>b</sup> τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς φιλοξενίας.

<sup>c</sup> ἀσωμάτων.

<sup>d</sup> ιδέας.

<sup>e</sup> τοῦ καθαρωτάτου νοῦ.

<sup>f</sup> τελειότητος τῆς ἀρετῆς.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. lit. = προφορὰ τοῦ λόγου. Elsewhere in Philo the expressions ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγος or λόγος προφορικός are used.

<sup>h</sup> There is an intrusive rel. pron. before the verb in the Arm. text.

<sup>i</sup> ἐπειγόμενοι *vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> Or "to attend."

<sup>k</sup> Or "leads (them)."

<sup>l</sup> ἐπιστάτου *vel sim.*

<sup>m</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>n</sup> φυσικώτατος.

<sup>o</sup> For a somewhat different allegorizing of the three measures and ash-cakes see *De Sacr. Abelis* 59-62.

<sup>p</sup> Prob. ὄντως.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

having a beginning, middle and end. And each of these partial things <sup>a</sup> is empty if it does not have (the others), similarly constituted.<sup>b</sup> Wherefore Homer not ineptly says that "all things are divided into three."<sup>c</sup> And the Pythagoreans assume that the triad among numbers, and the right-angled triangle among figures are the foundation of the knowledge of all things.<sup>d</sup> And so, one measure is that by which the incorporeal and intelligible world was constituted.<sup>e</sup> And the second measure is that by which the perceptible heaven was established in the fifth (element), attaining to a more wonderful and divine essence, unaltered and unchanged in comparison with these (things below),<sup>f</sup> and remaining the same.<sup>g</sup> And the third measure is the way in which sublunary things were made out of the four powers,<sup>h</sup> earth, water, air and fire,<sup>i</sup> admitting generation and corruption.<sup>j</sup> Now the measure of the incorporeal

<sup>a</sup> ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ μέρος.

<sup>b</sup> This sentence is rendered more freely by Aucher, "quorum utrumque inane comperitur absque tertia parte, carens existentia."

<sup>c</sup> *Iliad* xv. 189 τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται.

<sup>d</sup> Staehle, p. 25, cites Joh. Lydus, p. 25, 12-16, who is probably dependent upon Philo, and quotes the same passage from Homer. Lydus' text continues, διὰ μὲν τοῦτο οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τριάδα μὲν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἐν δὲ σχήμασι τὸ ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον ὑποτίθενται στοιχείων τῆς τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως (Arm. Philo = γνώσεως).

<sup>e</sup> Joh. Lydus has ἐν μὲν οὖν μέτρον ἐστὶ, καθ' ὃ συνέστη ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς κόσμος.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher's rendering, "secundum illud," misses the point of the contrast between the heavenly sphere and the sublunary regions.

<sup>g</sup> Joh. Lydus reads slightly differently δεύτερον δὲ μέτρον, καθ' ὃ ἐπάγη ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὐρανός, πέμπτην λαχὼν καὶ θειοτέραν οὐσίαν, ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβολον.

<sup>h</sup> So also Joh. Lydus, τρίτον δὲ καθ' ὃ ἐδημιουργήθη τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην, ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων δυνάμεων (not στοιχείων, as one would expect).

<sup>i</sup> The four elements are not named in Lydus' text.

<sup>j</sup> γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἐπιδεχόμενα, as in Joh. Lydus, whose parallel text ends here.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

forms <sup>a</sup> by which the intelligible world was constituted must be said to be the eldest of causes.<sup>b</sup> And (the cause) of the fifth, perceptible and circular essence,<sup>c</sup> which the heaven has had allotted to it, is the creative power of the Existent One,<sup>d</sup> for it has found an imperishable, pure and unmixed blessing <sup>e</sup> in obtaining an immortal and incorruptible portion. But the kingly (power) <sup>f</sup> (is the cause) of sublunary things, those that (are subject to) change and alteration because they participate in generation and corruption. But (He gives) speech as an aid for guidance in a certain one <sup>g</sup> when something is to be done, for the sake of those who carry out and complete something. And to those who sin in some measure (there is assigned) corrective reformation through deserved punishments and chastisements. But those who commit indescribable and inexpressible wrongs are punished through retributive chastisement and banishment.<sup>h</sup>

So that truly and properly speaking, God alone is the measure of all things, both intelligible and sense-perceptible, and He in His oneness is likened to a triad because of the weakness <sup>i</sup> of the beholders. For the eye of the soul, which is very lucid and bright, is dimmed before it falls upon and gazes at Him who is in His oneness without anyone else at all being seen. For just as the eyes of the body when they are weak, often come upon <sup>j</sup> a double

<sup>a</sup> τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν αἰτίων.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the sphere of the fixed stars.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ τοῦ ὄντος ποιητικὴ δύναμις. On the two powers of God see *QG* ii. 51, iv. 2 *et al.*

<sup>e</sup> More literally "benevolence."

<sup>f</sup> ἡ βασιλικὴ (δύναμις).

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. seems lit. to render τὸν λόγον (ὡς) ἐν ἐνί τινι ἡγεμονίας ἀντίληψιν, but the meaning is obscure to me. Aucher renders, "verbum vero certum regiminis auxilium praebet."

<sup>h</sup> Apparently banishment from God's presence is meant.

<sup>i</sup> διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

<sup>j</sup> The first of the two Arm. verbs used here I cannot translate.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

appearance from a single lamp, so also in the case of the soul's vision, it is not able to attain to the One as one but finds it natural to receive an impression of the triad in accordance with the appearances that attend the One like ministers, (namely) the chief powers.

Wherefore Moses, the chief prophet and chief messenger,<sup>a</sup> desired to see the One without His powers, as one in His oneness, to which no one by art or wisdom or anything else that exists<sup>b</sup> hoped to be adequate or to reach the upper regions by advancing upward from below. For he wished to receive the chiefest of all (blessings)<sup>c</sup> and to be granted the mercy of having (Him) appear to the god-loving soul all alone without any other (being present), for he says, "Show Thyself to me that I may see Thee knowingly."<sup>d</sup>

But most excellently, after the three measures, does (Scripture) speak of the ash-cakes, not only because knowledge and understanding of the wisdom of the Father and His two highest powers are hidden<sup>e</sup> from many, but also because such an inquiry<sup>f</sup> should not be spoken of to all. For to reveal mysteries to uninitiated and unworthy men is the act of one who destroys and sacks and undermines the laws of the mysteries of divine perfection.<sup>g</sup> O thrice happy and thrice fortunate soul, in which God has not disdained to dwell and move and to make it His palace and home, that the giver of joy may have joy, for this is really

<sup>a</sup> ὁ ἀρχιπροφήτης καὶ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "is in genesis."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ἀρχικόν.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. LXX of Ex. xxxiii. 13 ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω σε, which is quoted by Philo in *Leg. All.* iii. 101 and elsewhere. The Heb. has "Show me Thy ways that I may know Thee."

<sup>e</sup> Philo plays on the word ἐγκρυφίας "ash-cakes," as if meaning "hidden."

<sup>f</sup> ζήτησις.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. translator has evidently mistaken τελετῆς "initiation" for τελειότητος "perfection"; cf. the Greek frag. from Dam. Par. τοῖς ἀμυήτοις ἐκλαλεῖν μυστήρια καταλύοντός ἐστι τοὺς θεσμοὺς τῆς ἱερατικῆς τελετῆς.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

genuine and true.<sup>a</sup> For while those who receive men <sup>b</sup> show joy and conviviality, the most pure mind <sup>c</sup> is wholly filled and overflowing with the appearance of God, and it (alone) may properly be said to feast and rejoice lavishly. And may it not be that this is fitting and proper? For the host is in need and in want, while He who came to him is in need of nothing but is most rich and great,<sup>d</sup> and after Him come fountains of ever-flowing good, from which not all men but only those who are well and genuinely purified can drink, being invited to symposia of joy, in which the souls <sup>e</sup> of prophets and messengers rejoice and eat the food of the voluntary laws <sup>f</sup> of imperishable and pure wisdom at the invitation and through the entertainment of God.

9. (Gen. xviii. 8) Why does (Scripture) say, "He placed (it) before them,<sup>g</sup> and they ate"?

It is clear that "they ate" (is said) symbolically <sup>h</sup> and not of food, for these happy and blessed natures do not eat food or drink red wine,<sup>i</sup> but it is (an indication) of their readiness in understanding and assenting to those who appeal to them and put their trust in them.<sup>j</sup> For just as human guests who are hospitably received and are glad-

<sup>a</sup> Apparently the word "joy" is to be understood.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* into their homes.

<sup>c</sup> ὁ καθαρῶτατος νοῦς.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *De Abrahamo* 167 ἐν οἷς δοκῶν ἐστιᾶν ὁ ξενοδόχος εἰσιᾶτο.

<sup>e</sup> Or "spirits."

<sup>f</sup> ἐκουσίων νόμων, cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 26 ἐκουσίους ἅπαντας νόμους (Colson conj. μῶμους). The text in both passages is suspect.

<sup>g</sup> LXX παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς.

<sup>h</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>i</sup> Cf. *De Abrahamo* 118 "It is a marvel indeed that though they neither ate nor drank they gave the appearance of both eating and drinking."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "sed annuendi benignitati fidenter rogantis indicio est."

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dened with food rejoice in their host and entertainer, so does the Deity in those whom He finds sincerely and genuinely pleasing to Him. For, more figuratively,<sup>a</sup> the pious and worthy life of a virtuous man is the food of God.

\*10. (Gen. xviii. 8) Why is it said, " And he was standing before them <sup>b</sup> under the tree " ?

That he had a multitude of servants is clear from the flock of 318 house-slaves <sup>c</sup> with whom he fought the kings of the gentiles.<sup>d</sup> (But) he himself becomes an attendant and servant <sup>e</sup> to show his hospitality, if he believed them to be men, and his worthy way of life and love of God, if (he believed them to be) the divine powers appearing with the Father, for he thinks it right to perform the service of piety himself.<sup>f</sup>

11. (Gen. xviii. 9) Why does He again say <sup>g</sup> in the singular, " Where is Sarah, thy wife, and he answered, In the tent " ?

The literal meaning <sup>h</sup> is clear from what has been said before. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> (he so answers) because in some sense virtue is the wife and consort of the wise man,<sup>j</sup> and through her are born virtuous thoughts and

<sup>a</sup> τροπικώτερον. Aucher has " commodius."

<sup>b</sup> So Arm. O.T.: LXX παρειστήκει αὐτοῖς: Heb. " was standing by (or " over ") them." In the Heb. the whole clause precedes the phrase " and they ate," which Philo, following the LXX order of words, has discussed in the preceding section.

<sup>c</sup> οἰκογενῶν, cf. Gen. xiv. 14.

<sup>d</sup> τῶν ἀλλοφύλων.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. " attendant of service."

<sup>f</sup> Cf. the Greek frag. (paraphrastic) from Procopius, αὐτουργῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν.

<sup>g</sup> Some LXX mss. and the Heb. have " they said."

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> τρόπον τινα γυνή καὶ σύμβιός ἐστι τοῦ σοφοῦ ἢ ἀρετή. In the parallel allegory, *Quod Deterius* 59-61, Philo actually substitutes " virtue " for " Sarah " in citing the biblical verse.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

fine deeds and praiseworthy words. To this question he replies, "Behold, virtue is not only in my mind <sup>a</sup> but also in an empty and safe tent, in my body, extending itself and spreading as far as the senses <sup>b</sup> and the other functional parts <sup>c</sup> (of the body). For in accordance with virtue I see and hear and smell and taste and touch, and I make other movements in accordance with wisdom, health, fortitude and justice. <sup>d</sup>"

12. (Gen. xviii. 10) Why does He say in the singular, "Returning I will come to thee at this season at hours,<sup>e</sup> and a son will be born to Sarah thy wife" ?

Why (He speaks) in the singular has long ago <sup>f</sup> been said. For in what is now related it is not men but the Father of all whom he imagines <sup>g</sup> to have come with His powers. But His gracious act <sup>h</sup> He postpones in order to give his soul a more certain test of visitation. For He wishes to make his thirst greater by the delay and to give him an unmeasured desire for piety.<sup>i</sup> But "season" <sup>j</sup> is not merely the name of a time <sup>k</sup> (but is found) together with completion,<sup>l</sup> for the season is the time (required) for

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ νῶ.

<sup>b</sup> τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>c</sup> τὰ ὀργανικὰ μέρη. The same phrase is used in *De Congressu* 115.

<sup>d</sup> The original prob. had the four Platonic virtues, φρόνησις, σωφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>e</sup> LXX κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας (Arm. O.T. "at this time in these days"). The Heb. has simply "at the time of living," prob. meaning "at the time of giving birth." This biblical phrase is briefly commented on by Philo in *De Migratione* 126 and *De Abrahamo* 132 ; in the former passage Philo has εἰς ὥρας as here, in the latter, εἰς νέωτα "next year."

<sup>f</sup> πάλαι: Aucher "iam." Prob. the reference is to *QG* iv. 2.

<sup>g</sup> φαντάζεται.

<sup>h</sup> τὴν χάριν.

<sup>i</sup> ἄπειρον πόθον τῆς εὐσεβείας.

<sup>j</sup> καιρός.

<sup>k</sup> χρόνου.

<sup>l</sup> σὺν τῷ περαίνειν (πληροῦν, λύειν, etc.). The sense is not clear. Aucher renders, "sed cum debita solutione rerum."

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completing a reformation.<sup>a</sup> And clear evidence of the completion of every reformation<sup>b</sup> is what He has said.<sup>c</sup> For it is peculiar<sup>d</sup> to the divine power to complete something by the reformation of those also to whom He wishes to show favour.<sup>e</sup> And He mentions "hours" not so much (in the sense) of length of time and intervals as for the aptness of order. For it was natural<sup>f</sup> to order and arrange the period of the year by seasons. And these He makes a symbol<sup>g</sup> of the soul which comes from disorder into order and proper arrangement,<sup>h</sup> and to this He says he will grant, if He sees it remaining in order and evenness, a better progeny through a nature that rises<sup>i</sup> by itself.<sup>j</sup>

13. (Gen. xviii. 10) Why does (Scripture) say, "And Sarah heard, for she was by the entrance of the tent behind him"<sup>k</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> ἐπανορθώσεως.

<sup>b</sup> Emending the noun *oullout'iuu* from nom. to gen. case.

<sup>c</sup> This obscure sentence is differently punctuated and construed by Aucher, who renders, "persolvendi autem omnem rectitudinem. Manifestam huic facit fidem ille, qui (*vel*, illud quod) dixit."

<sup>d</sup> ἴδιον.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders differently and, I think, less accurately, "proprium enim ac certum est per divinam virtutem persolvi quidquam recte, sicut et per illos quibus velit concedere."

<sup>f</sup> εἰκόσ.

<sup>g</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>h</sup> εἰς τάξιν καὶ ἄξιον κόσμον.

<sup>i</sup> Or "proceeds."

<sup>j</sup> The syntax is not clear. Aucher renders, "generationem meliorem natura ipsius per se edocti," but there is no indication of a comparison in the Arm. The "nature that rises by itself" is perhaps an allusion to Isaac who is elsewhere referred to by Philo as a symbol of self-taught virtue.

<sup>k</sup> LXX Σάρρα δὲ ἤκουσεν πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς σκηνῆς οὐσα ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ. For "she was behind him" Heb. has "it (or "he") was behind him," possibly using the masc. pron. *hû'* as a feminine, as occasionally in older Heb., in which case LXX renders correctly.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

The literal meaning <sup>a</sup> seems to be clear, but the deeper meaning <sup>b</sup> is perhaps as follows. Virtue <sup>c</sup> stands behind <sup>d</sup> the one who is virtuous by nature, not like a slave-boy but like a perfect administrator and governor, <sup>e</sup> who holds the reins in his hands, directs the entire soul and way of life. For those in front do not see those behind, while those who are behind see those who stand beside them. And the proper place for virtue to stand is at the entrance; and the entrance to reflexion <sup>f</sup> is speech, <sup>g</sup> and each of the senses is (the entrance) to a vital part of the soul. For when this <sup>h</sup> is near at hand, it must necessarily say and perceive what is fitting.

14. (Gen. xviii. 11) Why does (Scripture) say, "Abraham and Sarah were old and advanced in days" <sup>i</sup>?

It tells us of the lawful years, <sup>j</sup> teaching us that the foolish man is a child and a crude person, for even though he may be advanced in age, his folly produces childishness. But the wise man, even though he may be in the prime of youthfulness, is old, and virtue is old and venerable, since it is worthy of old age and higher honour. Wherefore rightly does (Scripture) speak of old age and being "advanced in days," for it is fitting that days and months and years and all intervals and solar lengths (of time) should not be lacking to virtue, which nature has exalted with priority and headship. And in addition to these there is the substance of the light, or rather the mind <sup>k</sup> is luminous in the several disciplines of knowledge. And so this

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>c</sup> ἡ ἀρετή, symbolized by Sarah.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "at the back side of."

<sup>e</sup> ὡς τέλειος οἰκονόμος καὶ κυβερνήτης.

<sup>f</sup> τῷ λογισμῷ.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. virtue.

<sup>i</sup> LXX προβεβηκότες.

<sup>j</sup> ἔτη νόμιμα *vel sim.*, apparently meaning lawfully responsible or law-observant age rather than chronological age. One Arm. ms. has "wishes" for "years."

<sup>k</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

symbol <sup>a</sup> purports to show that virtue is (composed) of all the sciences as light (is) of light.<sup>b</sup>

15. (Gen. xviii. 11) What is the meaning of the words, "There ceased to be to Sarah the ways of women" <sup>c</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>a</sup> is clear. For (Scripture) by a euphemism calls the monthly purification of women "the ways of women." But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> it is to be allegorized <sup>f</sup> as follows. The soul has, as it were, a dwelling, partly men's quarters, partly women's quarters.<sup>g</sup> Now for the men there is a place where properly dwell the masculine thoughts (that are) wise, sound, just, prudent, pious, filled with freedom and boldness,<sup>h</sup> and kin to wisdom. And the women's quarters are a place where womanly opinions go about and dwell, being followers <sup>i</sup> of the female sex. And the female sex is irrational <sup>j</sup> and akin to bestial <sup>k</sup> passions, fear, sorrow, pleasure and desire, from which ensue incurable weaknesses and <sup>l</sup> indescribable diseases. He who is conquered by these is unhappy, while he who controls <sup>m</sup> them is happy. And longing for and

<sup>a</sup> τοῦτο τὸ σύμβολον.

<sup>b</sup> The connexion of the last two sentences with the preceding is not clear. Perhaps Philo refers to a comparison between Sarah (=virtue) being "advanced in days" and the light of day.

<sup>c</sup> LXX ἐξέλειπεν δὲ Σάρρα γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναίκια. Heb. has "there ceased to be to Sarah a way like (that of) women." This half-verse is commented on or referred to by Philo in *De Cherubim* 50, *Quod Deterius* 28, *De Poster. Caini* 134, *De Ebrietate* 60, *De Fuga* 128, 167, *De Somniis* ii. 185. In all of these passages Philo briefly gives about the same allegorical explanation as here.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

<sup>g</sup> γυναικῶν, here connected with LXX τὰ γυναίκια (=τὰ καταμήνια).

<sup>h</sup> ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρρησίας.

<sup>i</sup> ζηλωταί.

<sup>j</sup> ἄλογον.

<sup>k</sup> Or "irrational."

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "of."

<sup>m</sup> Or "repels," "reduces"; Aucher renders, "usus fuit (prudenter)."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

desiring this happiness, and seizing a certain time to be able to escape from terrible and unbearable sorrow, which is (what is meant by) "there ceased to be the ways of women"—this clearly belongs to minds full of Law,<sup>a</sup> which resemble the male sex and overcome passions and rise above all sense-pleasure and desire and are without sorrow and fear and, if one must speak the truth, without passion,<sup>b</sup> not zealously<sup>c</sup> practising apathy,<sup>d</sup> for this would be ungrateful<sup>e</sup> and shameless and akin to arrogance and reckless boldness, but that which is consistent with the argument given,<sup>f</sup> (namely) cutting the mind off from disturbing and confusing passions.

16. (Gen. xviii. 12) What is the meaning of the words, "And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, Not yet has anything happened until now,<sup>g</sup> and my lord is old"?

The mind,<sup>h</sup> which was about to be filled with joy and divine laughter, had not yet been freed from sorrow, fear, sense-pleasure and desire, by which it is shaken and compelled to stagger.<sup>i</sup> And when the mind is moved,<sup>j</sup> it does not know laughter, except perhaps for its visible

<sup>a</sup> νόμον or "religion"—*θηρησκείας*.

<sup>b</sup> ἀπαθείς.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "shamefully."

<sup>d</sup> ἀπάθειαν.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *angoy* "non-existent" is clearly a scribal error for *angoh* "ungrateful."

<sup>f</sup> Text and meaning uncertain; Aucher renders, "quae consistit juxta praedictum verbum," adding in a footnote, "ita ms. A, ubi C, D *dicens* vel *prolativum verbum*."

<sup>g</sup> LXX οὐπω μὲν μοι γέγονεν ἕως τοῦ νῦν. The Heb. is different, "After I have become worn, will there be pleasure to me?" The Arm. O.T. has a compromise, "What has not happened to me until now, will it then happen?" This verse is commented on by Philo in *De Mut. Nom.* 166-169; see also *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 54.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ νοῦς or ἡ διάνοια.

<sup>i</sup> καρῆβαρεῖν.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. by passion.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

appearance,<sup>a</sup> until a firm foundation is laid for a very strong and stable position ; for, in the fashion of the science of agriculture, virtue<sup>b</sup> does not appear only on the surface and lose its flowers, but it always lasts a long time in a flourishing state, being held together by an invisible bond. Similarly does (Scripture) introduce the high priest<sup>c</sup> rejoicing inwardly and released<sup>d</sup> from all corporeal thoughts and entering into joy,<sup>e</sup> for it says, " And seeing thee he will rejoice within himself." Very reverently does she<sup>f</sup> afterwards say, " Not yet has anything happened until now, and my lord is old," for this shows that having wholly forgotten passion through teaching, she has begun to rejoice, and that she is not yet perfect in attaining the end of perfect joy, whose true and genuine appearance she confesses to have been changed into an elder one.<sup>g</sup>

17. (Gen. xviii. 13-14) Why is Sarah, as it were, rebuked, while Abraham laughed and was not rebuked ? For (Scripture) says, " And the Lord said to Abraham, Why is it that<sup>h</sup> Sarah laughed, saying,<sup>i</sup> Shall I then truly bear, and<sup>j</sup> I am old ? Can it be that anything is impossible for God ? "

That the divine words are deeds and powers is clear from the preceding, for there is no impossibility<sup>k</sup> for the Deity.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* merely external laughter, *cf.* *De Mut. Nom.* 169 *κᾶν προσποιῆται τῷ προσώπῳ μειδιᾶν.*

<sup>b</sup> ἡ ἀρετή.

<sup>c</sup> Aaron, in Ex. iv. 14. The same verse is cited by Philo in the parallel, *De Mut. Nom.* 168.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. " spread out " ; Aucher " quod superat."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher omits the last four words.

<sup>f</sup> Sarah.

<sup>g</sup> πρεσβύτερον.

<sup>h</sup> Some LXX mss. and ancient versions, including Arm., have *τί ὅτι*, which closely follows Heb. " why then ? ", but most LXX mss. have simply *ὅτι*.

<sup>i</sup> So Heb. ; LXX *ἐγέλασεν Σάρρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα.*

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* " seeing that."

<sup>k</sup> ἀδυνατία.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

But the rebuke would seem to indicate praise rather than personal <sup>a</sup> blame according to natural expectation.<sup>b</sup> For she wonders that when all the necessary and plausible conditions have been removed by which birth can be successfully accomplished, a new act should be sown by God in the whole soul for the birth of joy and great gladness, which in Armenian <sup>c</sup> is called "laughter," and in Chaldaean, "Isaac."<sup>d</sup> But Abraham was delivered and, as it were, escaped rebuke and reprobation, being secured by an unswerving and inflexible conviction of faith,<sup>e</sup> for to him who has faith in God all uncertainty is alien.

18. (Gen. xviii. 14) What is the meaning of the words, "At this season I will return to thee at hours,<sup>f</sup> and a son will be born to Sarah" ?

(Scripture) manifestly and very clearly demonstrates that if God returns to the soul, and the soul returns to Him,<sup>g</sup> He immediately shows it to be filled with joy,<sup>h</sup> the name of which is feminine, while its nature <sup>i</sup> is masculine. For sorrowful and suffering is he from whom God is distant, and full of joy and gladness is he to whom He is near. Joy (consists) in seeming to receive the most lucid radiance that is brought from above.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or "direct" (?)—*ἐκ προσώπου* (?).

<sup>b</sup> *κατὰ φυσικὴν προσδοκίαν*, apparently meaning the expectation of the reader of Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* "Greek."

<sup>d</sup> This is only one of several passages where Philo plays on the meaning of "Isaac," Heb. *yishaq* = "he laughs."

<sup>e</sup> *ἀτρέπτω καὶ ἀρρεπεί λογισμῶ πίστεως vel sim.*

<sup>f</sup> *LXX εἰς ὥρας*. Heb. "at the time of living." See note *e* to *QG* iv. 12 on Gen. xviii. 10.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits to render the second part of the conditional clause.

<sup>h</sup> *χαρᾶς*.

<sup>i</sup> *φύσις*.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "ita ut pro laetitia lucidiores recepisse se existimabit radios desuper allatos."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

19. (Gen. xviii. 15) Why is it that " Sarah made a denial, saying, I did not laugh, for she was afraid. And He said, No, but thou didst laugh " <sup>a</sup> ?

Appropriately this happened to a pious character,<sup>b</sup> who saw the greatness of God and her incapacity to bear (children) and the imminence <sup>c</sup> (of this event). For where does (Scripture) <sup>d</sup> say that she is able to rejoice wholly <sup>e</sup> with most radiant and unmixed joy, when she is involved in sorrow and fear and in many other misfortunes? But may it not be that rejoicing is peculiar <sup>f</sup> to the divine nature alone, from the territory of Whose kingdom <sup>g</sup> and from its borders are kept out and banished sorrow and fear? And so, when the soul laughs and seems to rejoice, it takes hold of itself,<sup>h</sup> fearing that perchance through too great ignorance or reckless confidence it may drive away <sup>i</sup> something of the divine, to Whom alone is given the portion <sup>j</sup> of a happy nature. Wherefore, accepting in a gracious, affectionate and benevolent manner the mind's modest humility <sup>k</sup> of prayerfulness and reverence, He says to it, " Do not be afraid, for the matter does not call for <sup>l</sup> fear, that thou shouldst make denial.<sup>m</sup> Accordingly, thou hast laughed and wast filled with joy, for I am about to give thee (cause) for rejoicing, like a stream rushing from a spring, or a form of the archetype,<sup>n</sup> or a mixture of unmixed, pure and whole (wine)—like these (shall be thy joy),<sup>o</sup> for the generation of children is by a double number."<sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This verse is more briefly allegorized by Philo in *De Abrahamo* 206-207.

<sup>b</sup> θεοσεβει τρόπω. Aucher renders, "eventus accidit exempli pietatis opportunus."

<sup>d</sup> Or "she."

<sup>e</sup> ἀπλῶς.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρόσκαιρον *vel sim.*

<sup>f</sup> ἴδιον.

<sup>g</sup> βασιλείας.

<sup>h</sup> ἐπιλαμβάνεται ἑαυτῆς.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* "alienate."

<sup>j</sup> κλήρος.

<sup>k</sup> Prob. αἰδῶ καὶ ἐντροπήν.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "is not worthy of."

<sup>m</sup> *i.e.* of having laughed.

<sup>n</sup> μορφήν ἐξ ἀρχετύπου.

<sup>o</sup> *i.e.* the soul's joy is an inferior form of its source, the divine joy.

<sup>p</sup> As Aucher notes, this may refer to the double birth, of Isaac and of the soul's joy.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

\*20. (Gen. xviii. 16) Why did Abraham "go with them, escorting them" <sup>a</sup>?

Through the literal meaning <sup>b</sup> (Scripture) shows the abundance of the humaneness <sup>c</sup> with which he was endowed, <sup>d</sup> for he had willingly given them whatever was fitting, together with his household, and also he could hardly be separated from them and was so much grieved at parting that he continued and persisted in escorting them; and in this, it seems to me, he took as his example what the poet <sup>e</sup> fittingly says, "It is proper to welcome a stranger when he comes, and to give him a send-off when he wishes to go," for this shows a most generous and agreeable nature. <sup>f</sup> However, it is not proper to leave unnoticed the deeper meaning. <sup>g</sup> When once the soul of the virtuous man <sup>h</sup> has received a very clear impression <sup>i</sup> of God and His powers, <sup>j</sup> it is filled with longing, <sup>k</sup> and hardly or not at all can it be separated and parted (from Him). If He is with it and remains, it adores Him and holds Him and possesses Him. And if He moves away, it follows Him with longing, having a heavenly desire that clings <sup>l</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> Philo cites only the second half of the verse, the whole of which reads, in the LXX, Ἐξαναστάντες δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οἱ ἄνδρες κατέβλεψαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας. Ἀβραὰμ δὲ συνεπορεύετο μετ' αὐτῶν συναποπέμψων αὐτούς. The second half of the verse is commented on also in *De Migratione* 173-175.

<sup>b</sup> διὰ τοῦ ῥητοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> τῆς φιλανθρωπίας.

<sup>d</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain. Aucher omits the participle in his rendering.

<sup>e</sup> ὁ ποιητής, i.e. Homer in *Od.* xv. 74, χρὴ ξείνον παρέοντα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν (said by Menelaus to Telemachus on the latter's departure).

<sup>f</sup> κοινωνικώτατον καὶ σύμφωνον (vel sim.) ἦθος. The Greek frag. from Procopius has simply κοινωνικώτατον ἦθος.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> τοῦ σπουδαίου.

<sup>i</sup> φαντασίαν, or "appearance"—ἐπιφάνειαν.

<sup>j</sup> τῶν δυνάμεων, referring to the two angels; see the preceding sections. <sup>k</sup> πόθου.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "that is glued."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

adheres closely. For not ineptly <sup>a</sup> is it said that "he went with them," but for a more certain demonstration of the powers of the Father, which he surely <sup>b</sup> knew were not even for a little while far off.

21. (Gen. xviii. 17) Why does He say, "Shall I conceal <sup>c</sup> from my servant Abraham what I do?"?

O happy soul, to which God has shown nature <sup>d</sup> and what is in accordance with <sup>e</sup> nature, when the veil has been removed and various works have been revealed for more effective comprehension! <sup>f</sup> This is the consummation of the contemplative life and all the virtues, <sup>g</sup> (namely) to see nature naked and the coverings of nature by which it is concealed, after the Lord and Father has removed them and clearly shown His works to the mind, <sup>h</sup> than which nothing is to be honoured as a finer sight or more worth seeing and studying. For those who do not philosophize properly <sup>i</sup> with the eyes of the soul are blinded and cannot see either the world <sup>j</sup> or the things that are in it. For all things are deservedly <sup>k</sup> spread out, <sup>l</sup> and concealed from those who cannot see.

22. (Gen. xviii. 19) Why does He say, "I know that he will command his sons and his household after him, and they will observe the ways of the Lord to do righteousness

<sup>a</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>b</sup> Or "constantly."

<sup>c</sup> LXX μὴ (variant οὐ μὴ) κρύψω here renders a Heb. question, expecting a negative answer.

<sup>d</sup> τὴν φύσιν.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "beyond."

<sup>f</sup> Arm. = εἰς ἐνεργότεραν κατάληψιν. I suspect that the original adj. was ἐναργεστέραν "clearer."

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ βίου καὶ πασῶν ἀρετῶν τελείωσις. One Arm. ms. omits "and all the virtues."

<sup>h</sup> τῶ νῶ.

<sup>i</sup> οἰκείως, or "genuinely"—γενήσιως.

<sup>j</sup> τὸν κόσμον. <sup>k</sup> ἀξίως.

<sup>l</sup> i.e. for the discerning.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

and justice,<sup>a</sup> that He <sup>b</sup> may bring upon Abraham that which He said <sup>c</sup> to him " ?

(Scripture) clearly shows the prescient power of the Existing One <sup>d</sup> in saying, " For I know <sup>e</sup> that he will command." For it is natural <sup>f</sup> for created beings to know various things from their fulfilment, while for God (it is natural) to know future happenings <sup>g</sup> before their beginning. And the virtuous man <sup>h</sup> is deserving of honour and glory, for he not only himself honours virtue <sup>i</sup> but also produces <sup>j</sup> the desire for it in others. And of honour He spoke before.<sup>k</sup> For sight consists in <sup>l</sup> nakedness and removing the veil of nature, and, with the keen eyes that belong to the mind <sup>m</sup> converting the perception of incorporeal light into a clear apprehension,<sup>n</sup> in finding a more weighty promise,<sup>o</sup> which relegates to a second place <sup>p</sup> the aetiological ideas that belong to philosophy.<sup>q</sup> For it is necessary that the soul which clearly knows and is able

<sup>a</sup> LXX δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίσιν.

<sup>b</sup> LXX and Heb. " the Lord."

<sup>c</sup> Variant " promised." Philo does not comment here or elsewhere on Gen. xviii. 18, in which God promises that all nations will be blessed in Abraham, unless this is referred to in the obscure passage that follows in this section.

<sup>d</sup> τὴν προγνωστικὴν δύναμιν τὴν τοῦ ὄντος.

<sup>e</sup> Here and above the Arm. imperfect tense is used to render ἦδειν, which in the LXX is equivalent to Heb. *yāda'ti*, having the force of the present tense.

<sup>f</sup> οἰκείον.

<sup>g</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα (omitted in Aucher's rendering).

<sup>h</sup> ὁ σπουδαῖος.

<sup>i</sup> τὴν ἀρετήν.

<sup>j</sup> ἐνεργῶν.

<sup>k</sup> The subject may be God or Abraham or Scripture.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. " is."

<sup>m</sup> τῷ νῷ.

<sup>n</sup> τὴν τοῦ ἀσωμάτου φωτὸς μετοχὴν εἰς σαφῆ κατάληψιν περιάγοντα.

<sup>o</sup> βαρυτέραν ὁμολογίαν *vel sim.*

<sup>p</sup> ὑποστέλλει.

<sup>q</sup> τὰς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἰτιολογικὰς ἰδέας. The meaning seems to be similar to that found in *De Fuga* 163, " What kind of place is meant (in Ex. iii. 5)? Evidently the aetiological, which He has assigned only to divine natures, deeming no human being capable of dealing with aetiology."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

to comprehend should immediately with most lucid reasoning have a notion of the causes through which something has happened.

23. (Gen. xviii. 20) What is the meaning of the words, "And the Lord said, The outcry of the Sodomites and the Gomorrahites <sup>a</sup> has increased, and their sins are very great" <sup>b</sup> ?

There are two heads <sup>c</sup> under which the whole Legislation <sup>d</sup> is ordered, (namely) evil and virtue. <sup>e</sup> After treating of virtue <sup>f</sup> and the virtuous character which is adorned by it, it passes over to still another form, <sup>g</sup> that of evil, and to those who are its fond inventors and who practise it. Now he who is truly righteous <sup>h</sup> is a faithful priest <sup>i</sup> of their folly and madness. And God is the common mediator <sup>j</sup> and supporter <sup>k</sup> of all, and His tribunal <sup>l</sup> is unbribable and without deception, but only full of truth with which no falsehood is mixed. Now "Sodom" is to be translated as "blindness" or "sterility," <sup>m</sup> (which are) names of impiety and irrationality, for every unworthy man is blind and sterile. And "Gomorrah" (meaning) "measure"

<sup>a</sup> LXX and Heb. "Sodom and Gomorrah."

<sup>b</sup> So LXX, αἱ ἀμαρτίαι αὐτῶν μεγάλαι σφόδρα. Heb. has "their sin is very heavy."

<sup>c</sup> κεφάλαια.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ νομοθεσία, i.e. the Mosaic Law.

<sup>e</sup> κακία καὶ ἀρετή.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. in the preceding verses.

<sup>g</sup> Or "species"—εἶδος.

<sup>h</sup> δίκαιος.

<sup>i</sup> πιστός ἱερεύς, which does not make much sense. Just possibly Arm. *k'ourm* "priest" is here a corruption of *bourm*, meaning "lord," "antagonist," "fighter" or the like (Arm. *k'* and *b* look much alike).

<sup>j</sup> μεσίτης, a term elsewhere in Philo applied to the Logos.

<sup>k</sup> ἀντιλαμβανόμενος.

<sup>l</sup> βῆμα ὁ κριτήριον.

<sup>m</sup> τύφλωσις ἢ στέρωσις. The same fanciful etymologies are given in *De Ebrietate* 222 and *De Somniis* ii. 192.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

true and just, is the divine Logos,<sup>a</sup> by which <sup>b</sup> have been measured and are measured all things that are on earth—principles,<sup>c</sup> numbers and proportions in harmony and consonance being included, through which the forms and measures of existing things<sup>d</sup> are seen. But the measure of evil is a spurious thing,<sup>e</sup> a false name without measure and without value. For nothing is measured or numbered or ordered by an evil man, since he is full of all disorder and unmeasuredness.<sup>f</sup>

\*24. (Gen. xviii. 21) Why does He speak like a man,<sup>g</sup> saying, "Going down, then, I will see whether it is in accordance with their outcry which has come to Me that they are acting,<sup>h</sup> but if not, that I may know" ?

This statement is rightly one of true condescension<sup>i</sup> and accommodation to our nature, for God through His prescient power<sup>j</sup> knows all things, including the future, as I said a little while earlier.<sup>k</sup> And He wishes to instruct those who were to act in accordance with the sacred Legislation<sup>l</sup> not to give orders to anyone lightly and immediately but first to enter into matters and inspect, observe and examine them severally with all care,<sup>m</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> μέτρον . . . ὁ θεῖος λόγος. The same etymology is given in *De Somniis* ii. 192.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "to which" but the dat. reflects Greek dat. of agency with perf. pass. verb.

<sup>c</sup> Or "ratios"—λόγων.

<sup>d</sup> τῶν ὄντων.

<sup>e</sup> νοθεία ἢ κατάχρησις.

<sup>f</sup> ἀμετρίας.

<sup>g</sup> ἀνθρωπίνως *vel sim.*

<sup>h</sup> LXX συντελοῦνται: Heb. "have done (or "do") completely."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "humiliationis."

<sup>j</sup> προγνωστικῇ δυνάμει. The same phrase occurs in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 190, where it is said to be God's gift to Moses.

<sup>k</sup> In *QG* iv. 22.

<sup>l</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν νομοθεσίαν, *i.e.* the Mosaic Law.

<sup>m</sup> πάσῃ ἀκριβείᾳ.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

not to be deceived by obvious appearances.<sup>a</sup> For there are some things that appear fair and just, and after they depart and recede, are shameful and unjust. And on the other hand, things which seem evil and deserving of condemnation are found through selective tests to be virtuous and very praiseworthy. It is, therefore, an excellent doctrine of the good life that He announces and legislates,<sup>b</sup> (namely) that one should not lightly and immediately give credence to any appearance before examining it with wise reflexion<sup>c</sup> to see what sort of thing it is in truth. For the first impression<sup>d</sup> is deceptive. And so, no one among men, especially princes, should be ashamed of not knowing, since in the case of an appearance that one encounters one is not able to attain the real truth that is invisible. (And therefore Scripture) represents the ruler and sovereign of the universe as not believing beforehand but as inquiring and examining whether the facts follow rumour or whether they say some things that deserve condemnation, and do other things that are not reprehensible. For many who speak evil act virtuously, and (many) who profess goodness violate the law through their acts. And this must be carefully ascertained by him who is destined to be the champion<sup>e</sup> of human affairs in sincerity.<sup>f</sup>

25. (Gen. xviii. 22) Why does (Scripture) again say in

<sup>a</sup> This sentence is briefly paraphrased by Procopius ; see Appendix A.

<sup>b</sup> νομοθετεί.

<sup>c</sup> λογισμῶ τῆς σοφίας.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. has *držoumn* (= ἐπιβουλή) which Aucher correctly renders as "fraudatio" (except that he seems to confuse subject and predicate). But ἐπιβουλή is clearly an error for ἐπιβολή, here meaning "first impression," as in *De Vita Moysis* i. 26 τὰς πρώτας τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολάς τε καὶ ὄρμὰς ὡς ἀφηνιαστὴν ἵππον ἐπετήρει.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "mediator of help."

<sup>f</sup> καθαρῶς: variant "in human fashion."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

the singular, " And Abraham was still <sup>a</sup> standing before the Lord " <sup>b</sup> ?

Again <sup>c</sup> the soul becomes filled with God, <sup>d</sup> worshipping, admiring and honouring the Cause <sup>e</sup> above His powers, and also standing still in His likeness, for constancy in the truth is immovable and enduring. And so it was now necessary to introduce him in the fashion of a suppliant servant, <sup>f</sup> standing before Him who Was about to inflict punishment upon the impious in order that the human race might not be altogether destroyed but might have some worthy and God-loving <sup>g</sup> example, whose prayers, since He who was entreated was benevolent, He did not disregard. Wherefore He gave him understanding, <sup>h</sup> for not without the assent of divine providence was he about to make entreaty, but He used the wise man <sup>i</sup> as a foundation and base <sup>j</sup> for showing beneficence to those who were worthy of receiving kindness, and for demonstrating two virtues, the power of unconquerable sovereignty and that of righteous judgment, <sup>k</sup> suitably tempered with a familiar gentleness. <sup>l</sup>

26. (Gen. xviii. 23) What is the meaning of the words, " And approaching, Abraham said, Thou wilt not destroy

<sup>a</sup> Some LXX mss. and ancient versions, like Philo, follow the Heb. in reading " still " ; most LXX mss. omit it.

<sup>b</sup> Philo does not comment on the first half of the verse, which reads " And departing from there, the men went to Sodom." The second half of the verse is briefly alluded to in *De Cherubim* 18, *De Poster. Caini* 27 and *De Somniis* ii. 226.

<sup>c</sup> Or " turning."

<sup>d</sup> ἐνθεος γίνεται or θεοφορεῖται.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ Αἴτιον, i.e. God, as elsewhere in Philo.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, " hunc servum supplicantem in exemplum adducere."

<sup>g</sup> Or " God-beloved "—φιλόθεος or θεόφιλος.

<sup>h</sup> διάνοιαν or " mind "—νοῦν.

<sup>i</sup> τῷ σοφῷ.

<sup>j</sup> ὡς θεμελίῳ καὶ βάσει.

<sup>k</sup> δικαιοκρισίας.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. " with a familiarity (οἰκειότητι) of gentleness."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

the righteous with the impious, and shall the righteous be as the unrighteous?"<sup>a</sup>?

The literal meaning<sup>b</sup> is clear. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> man is said to be close to<sup>d</sup> God rather figuratively but not in the proper sense.<sup>e</sup> For He is far from, and away from, the body, and never even comes into our mind, for a mortal and dissoluble substance<sup>f</sup> is separated and far removed from an uncreated and undisturbed nature. Nevertheless, the sovereign part of the soul,<sup>g</sup> which is called the mind,<sup>h</sup> and has the dignity and capacity to be close (to God), becomes worthy of travelling<sup>i</sup> with Him who is entreated, and offers Him, together with his entreaties, great praise for His benevolence and kindness and love of man.<sup>j</sup> For he entreats Him not to destroy the righteous together with the impious, nor thought with thought.<sup>k</sup> But it seems to me that the uncorrupted and righteous character, in which there is no admixture of unrighteousness, is removed from the argument that is now put before us. For it is to be firmly believed<sup>l</sup> that such a person is worthy of salvation<sup>m</sup> and will by all means be saved.<sup>n</sup> But he trembles and shudders for the man who is mixed and jumbled up<sup>o</sup> and, as it were, (both) righteous and unrighteous. For he hopes that such a

<sup>a</sup> Philo follows the LXX against the Heb. in including the clause, *καὶ ἔσται ὁ δίκαιος ὡς ἀσεβής* (except that for *ἀσεβής* Arm. has *ἄδικος*). The verse is cited in part in *Leg. All.* iii. 9, *De Cherubim* 18, *De Poster. Caini* 27 and *De Migratione* 132.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "to be beside" (*παρεῖναι*) or "to touch" (*ἄπτεσθαι*).

<sup>e</sup> τροπικώτερον <ἀλλ'> οὐ κυρίως. <sup>f</sup> οὐσία.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν, a common Stoic term in Philo.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ νοῦς. <sup>i</sup> τῆς ὁδοιπορίας.

<sup>j</sup> τῆς φιλανθρωπίας.

<sup>k</sup> λογισμὸν σὺν λογισμῶ, *i.e.* the thoughts of the righteous together with those of the impious.

<sup>l</sup> Or "he firmly believes." Aucher's rendering is ambiguous and (or because) ungrammatical, "verum mihi videtur quod purum et justum moribus . . . interim a praesenti sermone seponere, persuasus etc."

<sup>m</sup> ἄξιός τῆς σωτηρίας. <sup>n</sup> σωθήσεται. <sup>o</sup> πεφυρμένος.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

person, having a revived spark <sup>a</sup> of brightness and a gleam of the fire of righteousness, can be converted to spiritual health.<sup>b</sup> For he believes it to be better and more fitting that through the beneficent powers of God (which are used) for the righteous the punishments awaiting the unrighteous should be lightened and decreased than that on account of the impious the righteous should be involved.

27. (Gen. xviii. 24-32) Why does he <sup>c</sup> begin with fifty and end with ten? And why does he at the beginning subtract five at a time <sup>d</sup> down to forty, and from then on ten at a time down to the end, (namely) the decad? For he says, <sup>e</sup> "If there are fifty righteous men in the city, wilt Thou destroy them? Wilt Thou not spare the place? And what if there are forty-five? And, further, if there are forty? And what if there are 30,<sup>f</sup> or if there are 20? And what if there are ten? <sup>g</sup>"

Two things he seeks: that the righteous be saved, and also others for their sake. And all the numbers are sacred. Fifty (consists) of a rectangular triangle.<sup>h</sup> And in accordance with its power <sup>i</sup> the prophet <sup>j</sup> proclaims the release <sup>k</sup> in the fiftieth (year). But forty-five is a productive number,

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "revivification of a spark." The same figure of speech is used in connexion with the present verse in *De Migratione* 122.

<sup>b</sup> *ὑγίειαν ψυχικὴν* (or *πνευματικὴν*). The phrase *ὑγίεια ψυχῆς* occurs elsewhere in Philo.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* Abraham in pleading with God to spare Sodom.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "five five."

<sup>e</sup> Here Philo condenses nine verses.

<sup>f</sup> This and the following number in contrast to the rest are indicated by numeral letters in the Arm.

<sup>g</sup> This passage is alluded to in *De Congressu* 109 and *De Mut. Nom.* 228-229, where Philo applies Pythagorean number-mysticism more briefly than here.

<sup>h</sup> See *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 177 and *QG* ii. 5 where Philo explains that the squares of the sides 3, 4, 5 (namely 9, 16, 25) add up to 50.

<sup>i</sup> *δύναμιν*.

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>k</sup> *ἄφεσιν*, *i.e.* from debt-slavery, *cf.* Lev. xxv. 10.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

consisting of intervals of three, in accordance with which they first appear as progressions, the arithmetic, the geometric and the harmonic,<sup>a</sup> for the scheme of intervals<sup>b</sup> is 6, 9, 12, 18, the sum of which is 45. And in the same number of odd-numbered days the embryo is formed, rarely in forty, and less (often) in more, for it is productive.<sup>c</sup> And again, in the same number of days is the embryo formed in the womb, in the case of almost (all) nine-month (infants),<sup>d</sup> for in the case of seven-month (infants) it takes thirty-five days, as they say similarly.<sup>e</sup> Thirty (days), moreover, is the lunar interval of separation, the cycle of the moon.<sup>f</sup> And twenty (years is that) of age<sup>g</sup> and of one who has advanced in age and belongs to the elders<sup>h</sup>; and it is the number<sup>i</sup> of military service. And ten is altogether perfect.<sup>j</sup> And through these numbers, which are harmonies in music, all those (numbers)<sup>k</sup> are seen which in all cases<sup>l</sup> are a double ratio, as forty to twenty, or twenty to ten. But through five<sup>m</sup> (they are) the ratio of one and a half to one,<sup>n</sup> (as is) thirty to twenty, while through four<sup>o</sup> (they are) the ratio of four to three,<sup>p</sup> (as

<sup>a</sup> See *QG* iii. 38.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πλινθίον.

<sup>c</sup> In *QG* i. 25, ii. 14, iv. 154 and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 18 Philo says that the male embryo is formed in 40 days. Which number is here meant as "productive" is not quite certain.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "fere in paucis novem mensium."

<sup>e</sup> Where the "similarly" belongs is not clear.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders less literally but more smoothly, "triginta vero mensuale est spatium circuli lunae."

<sup>g</sup> Philo means that 20 years is the beginning of maturity.

<sup>h</sup> So lit.; Aucher renders more freely, "et viginti aetatis norma, qua transacta, inter majores computatur."

<sup>i</sup> i.e. the age.

<sup>j</sup> παντέλειος. Cf. *De Decalogo* 20 δεκάδι τῇ παντελείᾳ.

<sup>k</sup> What noun is to be supplied is not clear.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "through all."

<sup>m</sup> Where 5 comes from is not clear. Possibly Philo means the fifth (and below, the fourth) proposal made to God by Abraham.

<sup>n</sup> ἡμιόλιος λόγος.

<sup>o</sup> See note *m*.

<sup>p</sup> ἐπίτριτος λόγος.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

is) forty to thirty. But there is an angular interval <sup>a</sup> of separation, <sup>b</sup> (as is) forty to forty. Therefore fittingly and properly, <sup>c</sup> since he makes entreaty on behalf of the salvation <sup>d</sup> of the city, does he use salutary numbers, <sup>e</sup> since they consist of harmony, and harmony is salutary, just as, on the other hand, disharmony is the cause of dissolution and destruction.<sup>f</sup>

28. (Gen. xviii. 27) Why does he say, "Now I have begun <sup>g</sup> to speak with the Lord, and I am earth and ashes" ?

Those who approach God with a pure mind <sup>h</sup> are especially aware of their own weakness in comparison with the greatness of Him whom they approach. For the God-loving mind <sup>i</sup> will tell forth and confess its humility by its deeds. But we should consider his entreaty concerning earth and ashes as noble,<sup>j</sup> and declare the earth and ashes holy as in the holy offerings and holocausts. And either of these is a symbol of the soul.<sup>k</sup> For earth is goodly and fertile, since the mind of the wise man is fruitful.<sup>l</sup> And the ashes <sup>m</sup> are the other (symbol), for whatever mortal remains were mixed in were, under the laws of piety,<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> γωνιακὸν διάστημα. Did Philo write ἐνωτικόν ?

<sup>b</sup> Emending Arm. *makout'iun* (of unknown meaning) to *meknout'ean* as above.

<sup>c</sup> οἰκείως καὶ κυρίως.

<sup>d</sup> τῆς σωτηρίας.

<sup>e</sup> σωτηρίοις ἀριθμοῖς.

<sup>f</sup> Or "corruption."

<sup>g</sup> So LXX, ἡρξάμην, rendering Heb. *hó'altí* "I have presumed."

<sup>h</sup> γνώμη or "character"—ἦθει or τρόπω.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ φιλόθεος (or θεοφιλῆς) νοῦς.

<sup>j</sup> The two Arm. adjectives used here render *σεμνός*.

<sup>k</sup> σύμβολον τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. variant is rendered by Aucher, "sapientis mentem fructificat," but this rendering is questionable. Rather does the variant agree in meaning with the accepted reading except that an impersonal construction is used.

<sup>m</sup> The Arm. translator uses three different words for "ashes" in this section.

<sup>n</sup> *i.e.* by the sacrificial laws of the Pentateuch.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

tested and examined as is gold by fire. And in his prayers his worthiness remained.<sup>a</sup>

29. (Gen. xviii. 33) What is the meaning of the words, "The Lord went away as He ceased to speak with Abraham. And Abraham returned to his place"<sup>b</sup>?

The one who is begotten and brought into being<sup>c</sup> is not wont to be God-possessed<sup>d</sup> always, but when he has been divinely inspired<sup>e</sup> for some time he then goes and returns to himself. For it is impossible for the soul to remain permanently in the body when nothing slippery or no obstacle strikes its feet. But it is necessary that the most pure and luminous mind<sup>f</sup> should be mixed with the mortal (element)<sup>g</sup> for necessary uses. This is what is indicated by the heavenly ladder,<sup>h</sup> (where) not only an ascent but also a descent of the angels is mentioned. And this is what is said of the prophet,<sup>i</sup> (namely) his descent and ascent reveal the swift turning and change of his thoughts.<sup>j</sup> And thought and change altogether bear a resemblance to those who practise continence<sup>k</sup> for athletic well-being,<sup>l</sup> whom their trainers teach methodically, not in order to do violence to<sup>m</sup> the body but that it may be able to endure necessary labours easily and not

<sup>a</sup> Apparently this means that Abraham's nature was tested and approved by the wording of his prayer.

<sup>b</sup> This verse is more briefly commented on in *De Somniis* i. 70-71.

<sup>c</sup> *ἔνθεος* or *θεόφορος*. <sup>e</sup> *ἔνθουσιδάσας*.

<sup>f</sup> *ὁ καθαρῶτατος καὶ εἰλικρινέστατος νοῦς*.

<sup>g</sup> *τῷ θνητῷ*. <sup>h</sup> In Gen. xxviii. 12 ff.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* Moses, in Ex. xix. 17 ff. The passage from Exodus is also referred to in the parallel, *De Somniis* i. 71.

<sup>j</sup> *τῶν λογισμῶν*.

<sup>k</sup> *ἐγκρατεία*: Aucher "studiosam vitam."

<sup>l</sup> *πρὸς ἀθλητικὴν εὐεξίαν*, cf. *De Plantatione* 157. Aucher renders, "pro athletica quiete," but though Arm. *hangist* means "rest" as well as "well-being" the context and the parallel seem to support the latter rendering.

<sup>m</sup> *ἐξυβρίσωσι*.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

be worn down and afflicted by continuous and frequent labours. This too is what musicians carefully observe in respect of their instruments, when they loosen the strings lest they snap through unrelieved tension. For these reasons nature too has adjusted the voices of living creatures to sing not with only one intensity but with all kinds of variation, becoming lax and tense (in turn). And so, just as music is by its laws adapted not only to distinct and increased intensities but also to medium ones and to relaxations, so too is it with the mind.<sup>a</sup> For when it is wholly intent upon pleasing<sup>b</sup> the Father and becomes God-possessed,<sup>c</sup> it is rightly said to be fortunate.<sup>d</sup> And when it ceases to be inspired,<sup>e</sup> after its enthusiasm<sup>f</sup> it returns to itself and reflects upon its own affairs and what is proper to it. For piety and love of man are related virtues.<sup>g</sup> And these the wise man<sup>h</sup> uses and observes, taking care to be reverent as a suppliant. While God stays, he remains there, and when He departs, he too departs. And the Father takes His departure because of His providential care and consideration<sup>i</sup> for our race, knowing that it is by nature shackled and involved in its needs.<sup>j</sup> Wherefore he<sup>k</sup> saw fit to retire and be alone, for not everything is to be done by the sons in the sight of the Father:

\*30. (Gen. xix. 1) Why, when three had appeared, does (Scripture) say, "The two angels came to Sodom at evening"?

To Abraham three appeared and at midday, while to Lot two (appeared) and at evening. (Scripture) indicates

<sup>a</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>b</sup> Or "being grateful to" or "worshipping."

<sup>c</sup> ἔνθεος.

<sup>d</sup> εὐδαίμων ἢ εὐτυχής.

<sup>e</sup> κορυβαντιᾶν.

<sup>f</sup> τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν.

<sup>g</sup> συγγενεῖς γὰρ εἰσι ἀρεταὶ εὐσέβεια καὶ φιλανθρωπία.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ σοφός.

<sup>i</sup> διὰ τὴν πρόνοιάν τε καὶ φειδώ.

<sup>j</sup> ταῖς ἐνδείαις *vel sim.*

<sup>k</sup> Apparently Abraham, not God, is meant.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

a most natural distinction between the perfect man and the progressive one.<sup>a</sup> For the perfect man has an impression<sup>b</sup> of a triad, a nature that is full, dense,<sup>c</sup> not-empty and overflowing, while the other has the dyad, which is divided and empty. The one perceives the Father between His ministers, the two chief powers,<sup>d</sup> while the other (perceives) the servant-powers<sup>e</sup> without the Father,<sup>f</sup> for he is unequal to seeing and understanding Him who is between and king of the powers. And the one is illumined by a most radiant light at midday without shadow, while the other (is illumined) by a changing (light) between night and day. For evening occupies an intermediate place; it is not<sup>g</sup> the cessation of day, and not<sup>g</sup> the beginning of night.

31. (Gen. xix. 1) Why was Lot sitting at<sup>h</sup> the gate of the Sodomites?<sup>i</sup>

Sodom is to be interpreted as "blindness" or "sterility,"<sup>j</sup> and being seated at the gate is very proper to the progressive man<sup>k</sup> in respect of a symbolical interpretation.<sup>l</sup> The gate is neither within the city nor outside the city; similarly he who wishes to progress is neither within virtue<sup>m</sup> nor outside virtue, but sometimes he is

<sup>a</sup> φυσικωτάτην διαφορὰν τοῦ τελείου καὶ τοῦ προκόπτοντος (the Greek frag. has φυσικώτατα διαφόρον, which may have been the original reading). For the distinction between the τέλειος and the προκόπτων see *Leg. All.* iii. 140.

<sup>b</sup> φαντασιούται, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. has διηνεκῆ.

<sup>d</sup> πρώτων δυνάμεων, see *QG* ii. 51.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "powers of service."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher inaccurately renders, "virtutes ipsas sine cultu Patri exhibitō" instead of "virtutes cultus sine patre."

<sup>g</sup> The negatives are surprising.

<sup>h</sup> LXX παρά: Heb. "in."

<sup>i</sup> So Arm. O.T.: LXX and Heb. "of Sodom."

<sup>j</sup> The same etymology is given above in *QG* iv. 23 and elsewhere (see note there).<sup>k</sup> τῷ προκόπτοντι.

<sup>l</sup> πρὸς συμβολικὴν (ἢ τροπικὴν) ἀπόδοσιν.<sup>m</sup> ἀρετῆ.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

among those who, as if within a city, are involved in the usual passions <sup>a</sup> that belong to the soul and are the work of sterility and unfruitfulness and blindness. And sometimes, as if in a desert, <sup>b</sup> he pursues a pure zeal <sup>c</sup> which is without practical concern, <sup>d</sup> and a truly contemplative way of life. <sup>e</sup>

32. (Gen. xix. 1) What is the meaning of the words, "Seeing (them), he arose (and) hastened toward them and bowed with his face to the ground" <sup>f</sup>?

The face in man is uncovered. Now our — <sup>g</sup> especially prostrates itself before an appearance <sup>h</sup> and receives it before the truth. <sup>i</sup> Such is everyone who is not perfect. <sup>j</sup> He admires the visible things that are seen rather than the invisible and unseen things, while the mind <sup>k</sup> grasps these before the senses. <sup>l</sup>

\*33. (Gen. xix. 2) Why, when they are invited, do they refuse hospitality, saying, "No, but in the street will we spend the night" <sup>m</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> πάθεισι.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν ἐρήμῳ.

<sup>c</sup> καθαρὸν ζῆλον.

<sup>d</sup> ἄνευ πραγμάτων.

<sup>e</sup> τὴν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεωρητικὴν διαγωγὴν (or ζωὴν). Aucher inaccurately renders, "contemplationem veritatis vitae."

<sup>f</sup> Philo slightly varies the wording of the LXX, ἰδὼν δὲ Λὼτ ανέστη εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσεκύνησεν τῷ προσώπῳ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

<sup>g</sup> Either a word has fallen out after the poss. pronoun, or the text is corrupt.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders unintelligibly, "nostro magis itaque modo nunc factam adorat apparitionem."

<sup>i</sup> Or "in preference to the truth"—πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας: Aucher renders, "ante certificationem."

<sup>j</sup> οὐ τέλειος, i.e. Lot in contrast to Abraham.

<sup>k</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>l</sup> αἱ αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>m</sup> So the LXX, οὐχί, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ καταλύσομεν (the last word is rendered literally in the Arm., "we will break up").

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Him <sup>a</sup> they refuse, being unwilling, but in the case of Abraham, the friend of God,<sup>b</sup> who invited them, they accepted. And the reason is that the divine powers <sup>c</sup> accept the perfect man, while to the imperfect man they hardly ever come.<sup>d</sup> And so the "no" (is the reply) of those who refused to come to him. But (in saying) "in the street will we spend the night" they announced that every foolish man is a narrow one, being constrained by love of money, love of pleasure, love of glory and similar things, which do not permit the mind to move in free space.<sup>e</sup> And so (Scripture) excellently presents a law <sup>f</sup> showing that for the wise man every place in the world is spacious <sup>g</sup> for living with and seeing individual things.<sup>h</sup> But he who is unlike this does not have even his own house or a mind of his own but is confused and is treated contemptuously like those <sup>i</sup> who, as it were, enter an inn only to fill themselves <sup>j</sup> and vomit <sup>k</sup> in their passions.

<sup>a</sup> Lot.

<sup>b</sup> τοῦ φιλοθέου or θεοφιλοῦς (Philo sometimes combines the adjectives in a single phrase).

<sup>c</sup> αἱ θεῖαι δυνάμεις, see the preceding sections and QG ii. 51.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "aegre veniunt."

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. agrees very closely (except for one slight difference in word-order) with the Greek frag. printed by Harris, which ends here. The rest of the section agrees almost as closely with another Greek frag. from the same Catena (Cod. Rupefucaldi) printed by Lewy; see Appendix A.

<sup>f</sup> Or "doctrine"; the Greek frag. has δόγμα.

<sup>g</sup> Here the Arm. differs somewhat from, or freely renders, the Greek τῷ μὲν σοφῷ ἀναπέπταται τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ.

<sup>h</sup> Here the Greek frag., reading τῶν κατὰ μέρος, shows that we must prefer the Arm. reading ἰμασθῆν to the variant ἰμασθῆν.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. has ὑπὸ τῶν.

<sup>j</sup> Possibly the Arm. ἰουσθῆν "fill themselves" is an emendation or corruption of λουσθῆν "spend the night" (καταλύωσι), which the scribe did not understand in its idiomatic Greek sense.

<sup>k</sup> Lewy conjecturally restores κορεσθῶσι.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

34. (Gen. xix. 3) What is the meaning of the words, "He forced them, and they turned aside to him" <sup>a</sup>?

Carefully is it said that they did not come in but turned aside. For seldom is there a turning aside <sup>b</sup> of the sacred (and) holy words to those who have progress (but) not wholly perfect acceptance. <sup>c</sup> And the reason for their turning aside was the use of force. For to him who is progressing it is peculiar to attain to a better nature not easily and willingly and with a free and easy letting go, <sup>d</sup> but he is laboriously and arduously forced, <sup>e</sup> whereas the wise man is accustomed to desire wisdom willingly. <sup>f</sup> But the other is disciplined by necessity and unwillingly.

35. (Gen. xix. 3) Why did he <sup>g</sup> alone make for them drink and unleavened bread, <sup>h</sup> whereas Abraham (made) ash-cakes <sup>i</sup> and no drink?

It is said by medical students <sup>j</sup> that the use of drink is not (as) a food but the conveyance <sup>k</sup> of food. And the

<sup>a</sup> LXX παρεβιάζετο (*v.l.* κατεβιάζετο: Heb. "he pressed") αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξέκλιναν πρὸς αὐτόν. <sup>b</sup> More literally "rolling."

<sup>c</sup> The syntax and meaning are not clear. Aucher, construing differently and, I think, wrongly, renders, "quoniam pauciter tantum declinatio efficitur sacrorum verborum apud proficientes, non vera perfectissima acceptatio." The general meaning is that Lot, the type of the progressive man, could not receive the divine word as easily as Abraham, the type of the perfect man.

<sup>d</sup> ἀφέσει *vel sim.* <sup>e</sup> Or "forces himself."

<sup>f</sup> Construction slightly uncertain.

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* Lot in distinction from Abraham.

<sup>h</sup> LXX ἀζύμους.

<sup>i</sup> ἐγκρυφίας, see *QG* iv. 8 on Gen. xviii. 6-7.

<sup>j</sup> παρὰ τοῖς ἰατρῶν παισὶ. *Cf. De Josepho* 160 ἰατρῶν παῖδες.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *kark'* = ἄρμα. Apparently the original had ἄρμα (with smooth breathing), meaning "conveyance" or "stimulus" or the like (?). According to Liddell-Scott-Jones ἄρμα was used by Hippocrates (*ap. Photius*, p. 533 b) in the sense of taking food.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

passage shows that it is a superfluous enjoyment <sup>a</sup> and not a necessity. <sup>b</sup> And it was proper and fitting for the wise man <sup>c</sup> to prepare the necessary (foods), in which the greatness of nature is determined and circumscribed, <sup>d</sup> while for him who is still under discipline (it is fitting to prepare) the superfluities of sensual pleasure, <sup>e</sup> which do harm rather than good. But he who is not yet perfectly purified does not have anything hidden <sup>f</sup> but (only) what is in the sight of the multitude, because he has taken hold of what is common. <sup>g</sup> But the wise man has many things that are hidden. For it is not seldom that equality is hardly given to plants and herbs, <sup>h</sup> which exhibit the mysteries <sup>i</sup> of the Deity as if they were intelligible, and a hidden and invisible sense. <sup>j</sup>

36. (Gen. xix. 4) Why did the Sodomites surround his house, from youth up to old man, all the people at once? <sup>k</sup>  
All these are causes of their guilt, (namely) their age

<sup>a</sup> περιττή απόλαυσις.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "necessary need."

<sup>c</sup> τὸν σοφόν, Abraham.

<sup>d</sup> Syntax and meaning are obscure. Aucher renders, "quibus naturae latitudo conclusa est."

<sup>e</sup> τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν περιττά.

<sup>f</sup> κρυπτόν *vel sim.* Philo here makes a punning allusion to the ἐγκρυφίας "ash-cakes" of Abraham.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ κοινοῦ.

<sup>h</sup> The above is a literal translation of the obscure Arm., which Aucher renders (with grave doubt expressed in his footnote), "quoniam non desunt neque in plantis res inaequales."

<sup>i</sup> Or "thoughts."

<sup>j</sup> Prob. δianoίαν.

<sup>k</sup> LXX καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως οἱ Σοδομεῖται περιεκύκλωσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπὸ νεανίσκου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου, ἅπας ὁ λαὸς ἅμα. For "at once" Heb. has "from end (to end)." In *De Confus. Ling.* 28 Philo cites the verse a little differently, πᾶς δ' ὁ λαὸς περιεκύκλωσαν ἅμα τὴν οἰκίαν, νέοι τε καὶ πρεσβύται, but in the lines preceding he uses the LXX wording ἀπὸ νεανίσκου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

and their multitude and that they had neither harmony nor unanimity in their affairs. The literal meaning <sup>a</sup> is very clear. But the literal meaning has a base and foundation in the deeper meaning. <sup>b</sup> For the traits of soul that are blind and unproductive of wisdom, which (Scripture) calls "Sodomites," <sup>c</sup> surround its connatural home, <sup>d</sup> the body. And old men and youths, making up a single chorus with one accord, take care of it and tend it, <sup>e</sup> as if they were offering abundant food and other sensual pleasures to an insatiable, untamed, mad and unclean beast.

37. (Gen. xix. 5) What is the meaning of the words, <sup>f</sup> "Bring them out to us that we may know them" <sup>g</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>h</sup> indicates servile, lawless and unseemly pederasty. <sup>i</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>j</sup> lascivious and unrestrainedly impure men, raising a mound of desires, <sup>k</sup> threaten with death those who are self-controlled and desirous of continence. <sup>l</sup> To these they say, "Let them come forth from their own wills and from their choice of a constant, seemly and noble way of life in order that we may know them. For they will be persuaded to change (their ways) and gladly accept ours, learning in the

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>c</sup> See above, *QG* iv. 31, for the etymologies of "Sodom" as "blindness" and "sterility."

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *De Somniis* i. 122 τὸν συμφυᾶ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶκον, τὸ σῶμα, similarly *De Praemiis* 120.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. the body.

<sup>f</sup> Spoken to Lot by the Sodomites.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. preposition or preverb *and* used here prob. reflects Greek *συν-* compounded with the verb, as in the *LXX* συγγενώμεθα αὐτοῖς. Philo, like the Arm. O.T., holds more literally to the Heb. "that we may know them."

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "unseemly and male pederasty."

<sup>j</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>k</sup> The "mound," *χωμα*, is suggested by the picture of the Sodomites surrounding Lot's home as if besieging it.

<sup>l</sup> ἐγκρατείας.

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act that souls are not naked and incorporeal<sup>a</sup> so as not to be in want,<sup>b</sup> but have something in common<sup>c</sup> with the body, which lacks many necessities. They should not treat it<sup>d</sup> badly or dismiss it but tame it and domesticate it by offering it the materials that belong to it."

38. (Gen. xix. 7-8) Why does Lot say to them, "Not so, brothers, do not do evil. For I have two daughters, who have not known a man. I will bring them to you, and you shall use them as it pleases you. Only do not do any wrong to these men inasmuch as they have come under the shelter of my roof"<sup>e</sup>?

The literal text<sup>f</sup> very clearly shows that the Sodomites were pederasts. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> in the soul of the progressive man<sup>h</sup> there are some thoughts<sup>i</sup> that are masculine, and some offspring that are feminine. Now he wishes, if it is somehow possible, to save all parts.<sup>j</sup> Otherwise, if his hostile opponents who make war on him overcome him, (he will try) to keep the masculine kind unharmed but will abandon the feminine for the sake of the former. For no one condemns those who for the sake of saving and preserving the better accept the lesser,<sup>k</sup> since, as I have said, they are unable to withstand all

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, "quod non nudaе animae incorporeae sunt."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher rightly renders, "immunes a timore," but the context suggests that the Greek had ἀδεις which was here rendered by the Arm. translator as "without fear" instead of "without want."

<sup>c</sup> κοινωνίαν.

<sup>d</sup> It is not clear whether "it" means the body or the soul.

<sup>e</sup> Philo closely follows the LXX Μηδαμῶς, ἀδελφοί, μὴ πονηρεύσηθε. εἰσὶν δὲ μοι δύο θυγατέρες αἱ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἄνδρα· ἐξάγω αὐτὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ χρήσασθε αὐταῖς καθὰ ἀρέσκη ὑμῖν. μόνον εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους μὴ ποιήσητε μηδὲν ἄδικον οὐ εἶνεκεν εἰσηλθόν ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην (v.l. σκέπη) τῶν δοκῶν μου.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> ἐν τῇ τοῦ προκόπτοντος ψυχῇ.

<sup>i</sup> λογισμοί.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. of the soul.

<sup>k</sup> Apparently meaning the lesser evil or the like.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

things.<sup>a</sup> Which then are the masculine thoughts? Those which are emulous of wisdom and of all virtue in general<sup>b</sup> and of that which is truly good and alone is good. But the feminine kind, having the position of daughters, are under service to bodily needs and under the dominion of the passions.<sup>c</sup>

39. (Gen. xix. 9) What is the meaning of the words, "They said, Go to, stay away.<sup>d</sup> You have come to dwell as a sojourner<sup>e</sup> and not indeed to sit in judgment"?

Those who gather to make war on the soul, workers of evil and impurity, shamelessly choose a leader and teacher, saying, "O thou, dost thou not wish to come to us<sup>f</sup> who are—are we not?—inhabitants and countrymen? Thou art in need of our ways and shouldst emulate the ways of our country. For our territory is licentiousness, and our law and lawful will is sensual pleasure.<sup>g</sup> And now that we have permitted thee to live in freedom as a sojourner, dost thou dare to resist and rebel? And whereas thou shouldst be quiet, dost thou judge and decide matters, saying that these things are bad, and others better, that these are good, virtuous and honourable, and those are evil, disreputable and dishonourable, changing some into virtue,<sup>h</sup> and applying the measure of evil to the nature of<sup>i</sup> others? In every one of the beings who exist there is desire,<sup>j</sup> and to

<sup>a</sup> Aucher curiously renders, "cunctis satisfacere."

<sup>b</sup> ζηλωταὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ κοινῇ πάσης ἀρετῆς.

<sup>c</sup> τῶν παθῶν.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. seems to be a double rendering of LXX ἀπόστα ἐκεῖ.

<sup>e</sup> LXX εἰσηλθες παροικεῖν: Heb. "shall one come to sojourn?"

<sup>f</sup> The text is uncertain, perhaps a conflation of two clauses. Aucher renders, "O tu, qui ingressus es ad nos, an non amas (vel, nescis) conversari nobiscum?"

<sup>g</sup> ἡδονή.

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>i</sup> Or perhaps "the measure of an evil nature to." Aucher omits "nature" in his rendering.

<sup>j</sup> ἐπιθυμία.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

this must we refer all things on earth. This is the ancient law of the Sodomites, which some boys call their helper,<sup>a</sup> like boys in grammar-school<sup>b</sup> who are unable to receive instruction because of weariness."<sup>c</sup>

\*40. (Gen. xix. 10-11) What is the meaning of the words, "Stretching out their hands, the men drew Lot to themselves into the house, and closed the door of the house, and the men who were at the door they struck with blindness"<sup>d</sup>?

Three things they did: they saved their host, they closed the door, and they blinded those who were rising up and were using force.<sup>e</sup> In the first place, they passed judgment upon undisciplined and licentious men so that they might not be victorious through the use of force, and having been defeated, might let go the one whom they were mistreating. Second they kept them—in word, from the house, but in deed,<sup>f</sup> from attaining their desire<sup>g</sup> and its end, which remained.<sup>h</sup> For this is the most terrible of evils, (namely) that passion spreads and grows in the suffering soul. For despair of (attaining) the end is like the remainder of a touch of disease.<sup>i</sup> And there is (only) one cure for those who are thirsty and hungry when their need<sup>j</sup> is prolonged, (namely) to drink and eat. And for those who desire something (the only cure) is to attain it. And third, the judgment of blindness overtakes those who

<sup>a</sup> βοηθόν.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν τῇ γραμματικῇ.

<sup>c</sup> Or "labour." Aucher renders, "prae labore." Apparently the meaning is that all work and no play makes for dullness, in the opinion of the "Sodomites."

<sup>d</sup> Philo omits, after "blindness," the words "from small to great."

<sup>e</sup> As stated in the latter part of Gen. xix. 9 which Philo does not comment on in § 39.

<sup>f</sup> λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δέ.

<sup>g</sup> τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. from completely attaining their desire.

<sup>i</sup> Text and meaning somewhat uncertain; Aucher renders, "velut residuum morbi inurentis."

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "hunger."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

have been condemned.<sup>a</sup> This (affliction) would seem to be in the eyes, but in truth (it affects) the soul of those who see, for they are made blind to the appearance of most holy visions. Let the law, therefore, be (invoked)<sup>b</sup> against those who have not seen fit to see nobly and gloriously and in a manner worthy of God<sup>c</sup> that which is noble and pure<sup>d</sup> and divine,<sup>e</sup> and the punishment of being struck with blindness be inflicted (upon them).<sup>f</sup>

41. (Gen. xix. 11) What is the meaning of the words, "And they gave up<sup>g</sup> seeking the door"?<sup>?</sup>

The literal text<sup>h</sup> denotes an excess of licentiousness, for not even when blinded did they lessen in their desire<sup>i</sup> but thought nothing of so great an evil as blindness, and acted madly and wildly in the insanity of desire. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>j</sup> those who pursue desire<sup>k</sup> as their end while pretending that through this they are seeking virtue,<sup>l</sup> will never find an entrance to it<sup>m</sup> but will soon give up in despair, for nothing fights so hard against another thing as does wisdom<sup>n</sup> against sensual pleasure,<sup>o</sup> and the shameful<sup>p</sup> against the best.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς κατεγνωσμένους: Aucher "devictos."

<sup>b</sup> Probably νόμος ἔστω, as in the Greek frag., which begins at this point.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. has, more briefly, σεμνῶς καὶ θεοπρεπῶς.

<sup>d</sup> Or "seemly."

<sup>e</sup> Here again the Greek frag. has only two adjectives, σεμνὰ καὶ θεία. Aucher's "vultum divinum" is an expansion of the Arm. text.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. has, more briefly, κόλασιν ἐπιφέρειν ἀορασίας.

<sup>g</sup> LXX παρελίθησαν, which, like the Heb., might also be rendered, "they were tired out." The phrase is quoted in *De Fuga* 144.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> τὴν ἀρετήν.

<sup>n</sup> σοφία.

<sup>p</sup> τὸ αἰσχρόν *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ.

<sup>k</sup> τῆς ἐπιθυμίας.

<sup>m</sup> i.e. virtue.

<sup>o</sup> τὴν ἡδονήν.

<sup>q</sup> τὸ ἄριστον *vel sim.*

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42. (Gen. xix. 12-13) What is the meaning of the words, "The men told Lot to lead out <sup>a</sup> his whole household, for we are about to destroy this place, <sup>b</sup> for," it says, <sup>c</sup> "their outcry has gone up before the Lord, and He has sent us to blot it out" <sup>d</sup> ?

(The phrase) "their outcry has gone up before the Lord" denotes something which is usually found among licentious and intemperate men, and is even greater than impiety. <sup>e</sup> For they do not believe that there is an overseer and inspector <sup>f</sup> of human affairs, nor do they believe that there is a providence <sup>g</sup> over such things as seem good (to Him). <sup>h</sup> And they do nothing else but what is contrary to what He says, and they send forth voices that are hostile to the Father and His truth. But (the phrase) "He has sent us to blot it out" indicates a philosophical law. <sup>i</sup> For He provides the virtues through Himself, but the contraries <sup>j</sup> through His servants. <sup>k</sup> And these are the laws of nature, <sup>l</sup> which He determined from the beginning <sup>m</sup> together with

<sup>a</sup> Aucher supplies "ex urbe."

<sup>b</sup> Variant "this city."

<sup>c</sup> Apparently Philo here parenthetically refers to scripture; Aucher omits the phrase.

<sup>d</sup> Philo here partly paraphrases, partly quotes LXX, which reads *εἶπαν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες πρὸς Λώτ, "Ἔστιν τίς σοι ὧδε, γαμβροὶ ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ θυγατέρες ἢ εἴ τίς σοι ἄλλος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐξάγαγε ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου. ὅτι ἀπόλλυμεν ἡμεῖς τὸν τόπον τούτου ὅτι ὑψώθη ἡ κραυγὴ αὐτῶν ἐναντίον κυρίου, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἡμᾶς κύριος ἐκτρίψαι αὐτήν.* <sup>e</sup> ἀσέβεια.

<sup>f</sup> ἐπίτροπον καὶ ἔφορον *vel sim.*

<sup>g</sup> πρόνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, "neque existimant ad suum placitum providentiam esse." In a footnote he adds "*Vel, neque putant quod providentia sit illis, qui existimant ita esse.*" This second rendering can hardly be right. <sup>i</sup> νόμον φιλόσοφον.

<sup>j</sup> τὰς ἐναντιότητας—a punning allusion to the biblical phrase *ἐναντίον κυρίου*. Philo here means the contraries of nature, mentioned in the next sentence; *cf.* also *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 311 *τῶν ἐναντιότητων ἐξ ὧν ἅπας ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκε.*

<sup>k</sup> *i.e.* the angels, as symbols of natural forces here.

<sup>l</sup> οἱ τῆς φύσεως νόμοι.

<sup>m</sup> ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

the things of creation. But (Scripture) clearly represents the beauty of a just judgment <sup>a</sup> in removing from such a destruction one household which had the sparks and seeds of virtue and had become sojourners <sup>b</sup> among sensual pleasures and passions. Not idly, <sup>c</sup> however, but naturally <sup>d</sup> is it written that "we are destroying <sup>e</sup> this place." For it is proper not only to kill venomous creatures but also to destroy and lay waste their holes and caves, in which it may happen that there remains one that has not been destroyed. And now a similar thing is to be applied <sup>f</sup> to the soul, (namely) that not only is that which pertains to sensual pleasure or anger to be removed and destroyed, but also the entire place of desire and anger, where they lurk, in order that the mind <sup>g</sup> may have paths that are broad and free of fear, with nothing to impede its feet and keep it from right conduct. <sup>h</sup>

\*43. (Gen. xix. 14) Why does (Scripture) say that when Lot was exhorted by the angels, <sup>i</sup> "he seemed to his sons-in-law to be jesting" <sup>j</sup>?

Those who are in a lavish and unlimited state of wealth and glory and the like, and live in health and strength and vigour of body, <sup>k</sup> and have a store of <sup>l</sup> pleasures (acquired)

<sup>a</sup> τὸ δικαιοκρισίας κάλλος.

<sup>b</sup> πάροικοι.

<sup>c</sup> οὐκ εἰκῆ.

<sup>d</sup> φυσικῶς.

<sup>e</sup> So LXX, but above in the title-question the Arm. has "we are about to destroy."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "fitted" or "harmonized."

<sup>g</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>h</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς κατορθώσεως.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, "nunciante Lot ut monitum habuerat ab Angelis."

<sup>j</sup> LXX ἔδοξεν δὲ γελοιάζειν ἐναντίον τῶν γαμβρῶν αὐτοῦ. Philo omits the first part of Gen. xix. 14 containing the angels' warning that Lot and his family must flee to escape destruction.

<sup>k</sup> The Greek frag. differs slightly, reading καὶ ἐν ὑγιείᾳ καὶ εὐαισθησίᾳ σώματος καὶ εὐεξίᾳ ζωῆς.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "store away": the Greek frag. has κρατούμενοι, which Harris (p. 110 note) would emend to καρπούμενοι.

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through all of the senses,<sup>a</sup> believing themselves to have achieved genuine happiness,<sup>b</sup> do not look for change or variation,<sup>c</sup> but laugh at, and mock, those who say that everything which is in the body and outside contains great harmfulness and is short-lived.<sup>d</sup> For, when the Persians ruled land and sea, who expected that they would fall? And again, when the Macedonians (ruled)? But if anyone had dared to say so, he would most certainly have been laughed at as a fool and simpleton. And no less necessary a change awaits those nations that opposed them, though they have become illustrious and conspicuous in the meantime; so that those at whom (others) laughed are beginning to laugh (at them), while those who laughed are becoming (an object of) laughter for thinking that things which are by nature mobile and changeable are immobile and unalterable.<sup>e</sup>

\*44. (Gen. xix. 16) Why did the angels, when they<sup>f</sup> were dazed and confused, take by the hand Lot and his wife and his daughters?<sup>g</sup>

Certainty and clarity not only provided<sup>h</sup> those whom

<sup>a</sup> τὰς διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἡδονάς, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. differs slightly, reading τῆς ἄκρας εὐδαιμονίας.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. has only μεταβολήν.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. seems to be a double rendering of ἐπικαίρως ἔχει, the reading of the Greek fragment, which ends here.

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. writes "immobile and unalterable" (or "unchangeable") twice, the first time before the ptc. "thinking," where it is out of place. Like Aucher, I have omitted the redundant pair of predicate adjectives.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. Lot and his family.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher, following the biblical text, gives "his two daughters." After "daughters" LXX adds ἐν τῷ φείσασθαι κύριον αὐτοῦ, while Heb. continues still farther with the clause, "and they led him out and left him outside the city."

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "(was?) adapted and fitted."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

they touched with confidence but also prevented the incidence of evil.<sup>a</sup> For just as living beings <sup>b</sup> (are controlled) <sup>c</sup> by natural reason,<sup>d</sup> so too do inanimate beings <sup>e</sup> reverence and fear the words of the Deity <sup>f</sup>; so that they do not harm those who are touched (by them).<sup>g</sup> This is the literal meaning.<sup>h</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> the souls which are governed and led by the holy scriptures <sup>j</sup> can be saved <sup>k</sup> if only (once) having taken hold, they hold on to them. For if they are separated and cut off from them, they will be condemned to misery along with other things.

45. (Gen. xix. 17) Why did the angels who led (them out) say, "Save thyself. Do not look backward and do not stay in all this region" <sup>l</sup>?

It is the custom of teachers, when they explain some

<sup>a</sup> The syntax is very obscure. Aucher renders somewhat differently and more freely, "certa securitas data eis, quos apprehenderunt, non solum confortare eos debuit, sed etiam impediabat eventum malorum."

<sup>b</sup> Or "animals"—τὰ ζῶα.

<sup>c</sup> What verb is to be supplied is far from clear. Aucher's guess "detinentur" is probably as good as any.

<sup>d</sup> ὑπὸ φυσικοῦ λόγου. Aucher's rendering "verbo naturali" is also acceptable.

<sup>e</sup> Prob. τὰ ἄψυχα rather than οἱ ἄψυχοι, since the following verb is sing., and the Arm. translator usually follows the Greek construction of sing. verb with neuter plural subject. ἄψυχα are contrasted with ζῶα in *De Ebrietate* 183.

<sup>f</sup> Apparently Philo here refers to the (inanimate) evils mentioned in the preceding sentence.

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* by the angels symbolizing the words of God.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> Or "words"—τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων.

<sup>k</sup> σώζεσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> Philo closely follows the LXX, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡνίκα ἐξήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἔξω καὶ εἶπαν (Heb. "and he said"), Σώζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν· μὴ περιβλέψῃς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω μηδὲ στῆς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ (Heb. "in the *kikkar*," *i.e.* the land around Sodom).

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theory <sup>a</sup> to their pupils, to instruct them to remember it and say it by themselves. And similar to this is what the divine words <sup>b</sup> command, saying, "O thou, behold, on many occasions we have explained worthy things <sup>c</sup> to thee; holding thee by the hand, we have led it <sup>d</sup> on to worthy and useful things. Henceforth, then, do thou move by thyself, having been taught in what manner thou must be saved. Strive to preserve whole <sup>e</sup> all that which is in accord with (our) teaching, willingly and of thine own desire.<sup>f</sup>" This too is what the physician says to the ailing man who has been saved by him, "O thou, I have delivered thee from affliction and I have done everything useful in my art.<sup>g</sup> Now that thou art saved, do not relapse into illness so as again to be in need of another recovery,<sup>h</sup> but keep thyself whole, and enjoy health." Thus, the first command given was, "save thyself," (that is) do not seek <sup>i</sup> salvation elsewhere. And the second was, "do not look backward"—(this being said) philosophically,<sup>j</sup> for the things behind <sup>k</sup> the body are blind and insensitive.<sup>l</sup> And (Scripture) prays that the mind <sup>m</sup> will see and be keensighted and avoid those who are licentious and foolish and atheistic, and, after leaving them behind, will hasten with all its might toward continence <sup>n</sup> and holiness.<sup>o</sup> For many men who are, as it were, carried into port, again go back from there and are drawn into the same harm and helplessness <sup>p</sup> because their withdrawal and abandonment (of these) was not carried out with firm resolution (and)

<sup>a</sup> θεώρημά τι.

<sup>c</sup> αξία *vel sim.*

<sup>e</sup> ὁλόκληρον.

<sup>g</sup> τῆς τέχνης μου.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "hunt" or "catch."

<sup>k</sup> Or "at the back of."

<sup>l</sup> Cf. *De Somniis* i. 248 on Lot's wife and her backward glance, περιβλέπεται δὲ τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νῶτια, κωφὴν δόξαν καὶ τυφλὸν πλοῦτον καὶ ἀναίσθητον εὐσαρκίαν κτλ.

<sup>m</sup> τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>n</sup> ἐγκράτειαν, here rendered by two Arm. words.

<sup>o</sup> ὁσιότητα *vel sim.*

<sup>b</sup> οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* thy hand.

<sup>f</sup> ἐκουσία γνώμη.

<sup>h</sup> ἄλλης σωτηρίας.

<sup>j</sup> φιλοσοφικῶς.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

thoughtfulness.<sup>a</sup> And the third divine command was, “do not stay in all this region,” (that is) the mind (not staying) in the body, or the mind (not staying) in the soul.<sup>b</sup> Thus it says, “O thou, if thou dost wish to be of pure character, do not stay, not even in any one place of this region, but pass them all by, in order to pass at once from all harm here, by which the mind is harmed (being) in the body and the several senses. But whatever characters remain in these and stand firm, fall of themselves, for they lean on, and trust in, dead things.”<sup>c</sup>

46. (Gen. xix. 17) What is the meaning of the words, “Escape to the mountain lest thou be seized among them”<sup>d</sup>?

The literal text<sup>e</sup> reveals the destruction<sup>f</sup> of a plain of low-lying (places).<sup>g</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> it seems to be somewhat as follows. When the mind<sup>i</sup> begins to take the higher road,<sup>j</sup> it becomes better and progresses,<sup>k</sup> leaving behind earth-bound and low things,<sup>l</sup> which those men pursue and admire who are undisciplined.<sup>m</sup> But (the mind), becoming light,<sup>n</sup> is elevated to higher things, and looking around observes what is in the air and in the ether

<sup>a</sup> ἰσχυρᾶ γνώμη καὶ λογισμῶ.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. lit. = τοῦ νοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἢ τοῦ νοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. Aucher renders, wrongly, I think, “puta intellectum in carne vel affectibus animi.” However, the text is troublesome, and should perhaps be emended from the following sentence.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher “in mortuos,” but the neuter ptc. is indicated by the context.

<sup>d</sup> LXX εἰς τὸ ὄρος σώζου μή ποτε συνπαραλημφθῆς.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>f</sup> φθοράν vel sim.

<sup>g</sup> Perhaps “people” is to be supplied. Aucher less literally renders, “humilioris campi.”

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>j</sup> τὴν ἀνωτέραν ὁδόν.

<sup>k</sup> προκόπτει.

<sup>l</sup> τὰ χαμαιζέλα καὶ τὰ ταπεινά. The two adjectives are used together of external and bodily things in *Quod Deus Immut. Sit* 167.

<sup>m</sup> ἀπαίδευτοι.

<sup>n</sup> κοῦφος.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and the whole heaven together, its substance <sup>a</sup> and movements and harmonies and affinities <sup>b</sup> and sympathies, <sup>c</sup> by which things are related to one another, and this whole world. <sup>d</sup> This ascent is more figuratively <sup>e</sup> called "mountain," but its true name is "wisdom," <sup>f</sup> for the soul <sup>g</sup> which is truly a lover of wisdom <sup>h</sup> desired a vision of higher and more exalted things, by being in ethereal regions. Accordingly, a divine response and warning was uttered, that those who strive after low and base and earthly things shall die in respect of true life—the soul, <sup>i</sup> wandering about in the manner of the dead. But those who desire heavenly things and are borne on high shall be saved <sup>j</sup> alone, exchanging mortal for immortal life.

\*47. (Gen. xix. 18-20) What is the meaning of the words, "Lot said, <sup>k</sup> I shall not be able to escape to the mountain lest perchance evils overtake me, and I die. Behold this city is near to escape to, which is small, and it is not small. Thereto I will escape, <sup>l</sup> and my soul will live" <sup>m</sup> ?

The divine word, <sup>n</sup> extending abundant grace, <sup>o</sup> calls up the soul of the progressive man <sup>p</sup> to perfection. <sup>q</sup> But he is still small and, like those whose health revives after a

<sup>a</sup> οὐσίαν.

<sup>b</sup> συγγενείας.

<sup>c</sup> συμπαθείας, in the Stoic sense of cosmic sympathies. Aucher inadvertently omits to render the word.

<sup>d</sup> κόσμον.

<sup>e</sup> τροπικώτερον.

<sup>f</sup> σοφία.

<sup>g</sup> ἡ ψυχή.

<sup>h</sup> φιλόσοφος.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "moriuntur animā e vera vita."

<sup>j</sup> σωθήσονται.

<sup>k</sup> After "Lot said" Philo omits the last few words of vs. 18 and the first half of vs. 19. In the LXX the phrase which Philo renders "and it is not small" is a question. For a different allegory of the phrase see *De Abrahamo* 166.

<sup>l</sup> In LXX and Heb. the words "thereto I will escape" precede the phrase "and it is not small."

<sup>m</sup> After "will live" many LXX MSS. add "because of thee."

<sup>n</sup> ὁ θεῖος λόγος.

<sup>o</sup> ἀφθονον χάριν.

<sup>p</sup> τοῦ προκόπτοντος.

<sup>q</sup> πρὸς τελειότητα, cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 24.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

long illness and who, though they are delivered from the danger of death, are not yet well but still maintain a balance between health and illness, confesses his own poverty <sup>a</sup> by saying that he is not able to depart altogether from his city and from civilization <sup>b</sup> and change to the security of quiet that is becoming to wise men.<sup>c</sup> But it is for him to progress and no longer accept the city and civilization as great and honoured, and to restrain his admiration for them, considering them small indeed but somehow necessary and not a little useful.<sup>d</sup> Thus there are three persons who stand in the middle <sup>e</sup>: the wise man, the progressive man and the wicked man; and the extremes are at war. For the wise man (pursues) <sup>f</sup> peace and — <sup>g</sup> and leisure <sup>h</sup> in order that he may devote himself to following after divine contemplation.<sup>i</sup> But the wicked man (pursues) the city and the excitement of the multitude and the crowding of the city and the stream of men and things as well.<sup>j</sup> For the love of business and greed and zeal to obtain authority <sup>k</sup> are honourable to

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "imbecillitatem."

<sup>b</sup> τῆς πολιτείας.

<sup>c</sup> τὴν τοῖς σοφοῖς ἐπιτηδείαν ἀσφάλειαν ἡσυχίας.

<sup>d</sup> The text is suspect. Aucher renders more freely, "flocci faciendo similia, ita tamen ut non parvipendat ceu necessaria utiliaque."

<sup>e</sup> One expects something like "thus he stands in the middle of three persons."

<sup>f</sup> The verb is supplied from the Greek frag., which begins here.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. here is meaningless; it is either a corruption or misunderstanding of ἀπραγμοσύνην, which is found in the Greek frag. Aucher's rendering, "nescius dimicationis," appears to be a guess.

<sup>h</sup> σχολήν, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. reads ἵνα τοῖς θείοις θεωρήμασιν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐντύχη.

<sup>j</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly ὁ φαῦλος πόλιν τε καὶ τὸν κατὰ πόλιν ὄχλον τε καὶ φυρμὸν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων μεταδιώκει.

<sup>k</sup> For the last phrase the Greek frag. has δημοκοπίαί τε καὶ δημαρχίαί.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

such a man, but quiet is not honourable.<sup>a</sup> But he who is progressive between both <sup>b</sup> moves toward the peacefulness of security ; he is not, however, able to get entirely beyond civilization though he no longer, as formerly, admires the city as a great good but restricts his perception <sup>c</sup> and receives the impression that that which formerly seemed great is a slight and small thing. But the statement of contradiction <sup>d</sup> that the same city is small and not small has a most natural reason,<sup>e</sup> which is in order and follows upon the things that were declared earlier. For the life of the city seems great to him who wishes to please the multitude, but small to the progressive man. And this question has a solution something like this. There are three ways of life which are well known : the contemplative, the active <sup>f</sup> and the pleasurable.<sup>g</sup> Great and excellent is the contemplative ; slight and unbeautiful is the pleasurable ; small and not small is the middle one,<sup>h</sup> which touches on, and adheres to, both of them. It is small by reason of the fact that it is a close neighbour to pleasure ; but it is great because of its nearness and also its kinship to contemplation.

48. (Gen. xix. 21) What is the meaning of the words, "Behold, I have admired thy face also concerning this word" <sup>i</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> τὸ δὲ ἡσυχάζειν ἄτιμον (ἀτιμώτατον in the Greek frag., which ends here).

<sup>b</sup> i.e. between the perfect man and the wicked man.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "aviditatem."

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "of quarrelling."

<sup>e</sup> λόγον φυσικώτατον.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ θεωρητικὸς καὶ ὁ πρακτικός.

<sup>g</sup> In rendering "condecens" Aucher has chosen the wrong meaning of Arm. *vayelčakan*.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. the active or practical life.

<sup>i</sup> Philo follows the LXX rendering, ἐθαύμασά σου τὸ πρόσωπον, of the Heb. idiom which means "I have looked upon thee with favour." Also, LXX ῥῆμα = Heb. *dābār*, meaning both "word" and "matter." Philo omits the rest of the verse, "not to destroy the city of which thou hast spoken."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

It is proper to accept <sup>a</sup> those who do not boast and do not promise more than their ability (to perform). Wherefore the divine and sacred word praises the things said.<sup>b</sup> For many men in their desire for the very great things lose even middling things which it is proper to seek.

49. (Gen. xix. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "Hasten to escape <sup>c</sup> there" <sup>d</sup> ?

The sweet, good and humane <sup>e</sup> word of God gives a share of salvation <sup>f</sup> to him who is able to save himself, and it accepts his decision <sup>g</sup> as true and inexorable when he promises to progress so far as possible. And so it says, "O thou, although thou art not able to walk upon the mountainous and heavenly road, and the middling things that are worthy <sup>h</sup> still attract thee, nevertheless hasten and bestir thyself, henceforth no longer thinking these the greatest. And now that thou hast most firmly established these opinions, so that no longer may anything soft or dissolute change in thee <sup>i</sup> or emanate (from thee),<sup>j</sup> for thou art most firmly established, the avenger and destroyer of the impious will not bring judgment near to thy borders."

50. (Gen. xix. 22) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders freely, "humaniter recipere."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* by Lot.

<sup>c</sup> Or "be saved."

<sup>d</sup> LXX σπεύσον οὖν τοῦ σωθῆναι ἐκεῖ.

<sup>e</sup> φιλόανθρωπος.

<sup>f</sup> κοινωνίαν σωτηρίας.

<sup>g</sup> γνώμην or "character" (?)—ἦθος, τρόπον.

<sup>h</sup> τὰ μέσα καθήκοντα *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. = μεταλλάττη, perhaps a corruption of μεταλέυη "undermine (thee)." Aucher has "in te haereat," apparently a guess.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "fluat." The verb is suspect.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

“ Because of this he <sup>a</sup> called the name of the city ‘ Zoor ’ ” <sup>b</sup> ?

“ Zoor ” is translated as “ mountain,” <sup>c</sup> which is for the salvation of those who progress, and for the destruction of those who are incurable. <sup>d</sup>

\*51. <sup>e</sup> (Gen. xix. 23-24) Why (does Scripture say that) “ the sun went out over <sup>f</sup> the earth, and Lot entered Zoor, <sup>g</sup> and the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah sulphur and fire from heaven ” <sup>h</sup> ?

The same time is given, to those who progress, for salvation, and to those who are incurable, for punishment. <sup>i</sup> And at the very beginning of day, when the sun rose, He immediately brought down punishment, <sup>j</sup> wishing to show that the sun and the day and light and whatever other things in the world are excellent and precious <sup>k</sup> are appor-

<sup>a</sup> The Heb. idiom often has the 3rd sing. pers. pron. (incorporated into the verb) as an impersonal subject = “ one ” or “ people.”

<sup>b</sup> LXX (followed by Arm. O.T.) has *Σηγώρ* for Heb. *Ṣō‘ar* (A.V. “ Zoar ”). In *De Somniis* i. 85 most mss. of Philo have *Σηγώρ* or *Σιγώρ* but two read *Σοέρ*. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 204, uses the form *Ἰωώρ*.

<sup>c</sup> Philo inaccurately connects Heb. *Ṣō‘ar* with *šūr* “ rock ” or “ mountain.”

<sup>d</sup> For the Greek original of this clause see the following section, where it is repeated.

<sup>e</sup> Two separate Greek fragments, making up the first half of this section, have been preserved in the *Catena*e, and printed by Harris and Lewy respectively ; see Appendix A.

<sup>f</sup> LXX ἐπί.

<sup>g</sup> See the note on the name in the preceding section ; the Greek frag. here has *Σηγώρ* as in the LXX.

<sup>h</sup> LXX and Heb. “ from the Lord, from heaven.”

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. has *ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος γίνεται καὶ τοῖς προκόπτουσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνιάτως ἔχουσι πρὸς κόλασιν*.

<sup>j</sup> Or possibly “ he (*i.e.* Moses = Scripture) introduced (the theme of) punishment.”

<sup>k</sup> ὅσα ἄλλα ἐν κόσμῳ καλὰ καὶ τίμα.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

tioned only to the wise <sup>a</sup> and not to any of the wicked whose wickedness is incurable. But from heaven, from which come the annual storms and rains for the growth of plants <sup>b</sup> that are sown and (of) <sup>c</sup> trees for the production of fruits for the food of men and other living creatures, (Scripture) says that sulphur and fire came down <sup>d</sup> for the destruction of all things on earth, in order to show that the cause of the seasons and annual times <sup>e</sup> is not heaven or the sun or the processions and revolutions <sup>f</sup> of the other stars but the power of the Father, <sup>g</sup> who presides over the whole world as over a winged chariot, and guides it as He thinks best and most useful.<sup>h</sup> And this marvellous activity <sup>i</sup> shows, not the established <sup>j</sup> habit of the elements,<sup>k</sup> but a certain autocratic and arbitrary power which trans-

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. has *τοῖς ἀστέροις*.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "of growing things"—*τῶν φυομένων*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> One expects the gen. case of "trees" but both Arm. and the Greek frag. have the nom.

<sup>d</sup> Or "streamed down." The Greek frag. has *καταρραγῆναι*.

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. uses the same word twice for "seasons." The Greek frag. has *τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρῶν*.

<sup>f</sup> *χορεύει καὶ περιπολήσεις*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>g</sup> *ἡ τοῦ πατέρος δύναμις*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>h</sup> Lewy reconstructs the Greek of this clause (not preserved in the Catena) as *ἐφεδρεύοντος μὲν ὡς ἄρματι πτηνῶ σύμπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ, ἡμοχοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν ὡς βέλτιστ' ἂν νομίσειεν*. On the concept of the world or heaven as a winged chariot, which Philo in *QG* iii. 3 ascribes to Plato (*cf. Phaedrus* 246 E), see *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 301 *καὶ τὸν πτηνὸν ἄρμα, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν, ἡμοχεῖ χρώμενον ἀτεξουσίῳ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι βασιλείᾳ*.

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. differs slightly in syntax from the Greek frag., which has *ἡ τεθαυματουργημένη πράξις*.

<sup>j</sup> As Lewy notes, the Arm. = *καθεστὸς ἔθος*, while the Greek frag. has *καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθος*.

<sup>k</sup> With Lewy I emend Arm. *tareworsd* "annual (seasons)" to *tareroḡd* "elements," on the basis of the Greek frag.'s *ἐπὶ τῶν στοιχείων*.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

forms the elements of all things as it chooses.<sup>a</sup> For sulphur and fire are light<sup>b</sup> by nature, and for this reason they are borne aloft,<sup>c</sup> but the innovation of the curse<sup>d</sup> changed their movement into the opposite one, from up (to down),<sup>e</sup> and forced the lightest things to be borne like the heaviest.

And it is fitting to enter into the difficult problem why He not only destroyed the inhabitants, for they were unrighteous and impious, but also overturned and burned down cities and homes and all the buildings. In regard to this it should be said that there is a certain principle<sup>f</sup> in the nature of places and sites, and that there are some, on the one hand, that are privileged<sup>g</sup> and honoured, and, on the other, some that are the opposite. For where wise men<sup>h</sup> dwell there are places called venerable and honourable, (such as) council-halls, shrines and temples.<sup>i</sup> But where licentious, intemperate, impious and unrighteous men (dwell), there are defiled, polluted and impure (places), stained by the pollution of those who live there without

<sup>a</sup> Here the Arm. closely follows the wording of the Greek frag., which has *τινα δύναμιν αὐτοκρατῆ καὶ ἀντεξούσιον* (cf. the quotation from *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* in note *h*, p. 327) *μεταστοιχειούσαν, ὡς ἂν προέλῃται, τὰ σύμπαντα.*

<sup>b</sup> *κούφα*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> *ἄνω φορεῖται.* The Greek frag. has *ἄνω φοιτᾷ.*

<sup>d</sup> *τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς κεκαιουργημένον*, as in the Greek frag., except that the Arm. has the ptc. in the accus. instead of the nom. case.

<sup>e</sup> The words "to down" are supplied from the Greek frag., which has *κάτω.*

<sup>f</sup> *λόγος τις.* Philo seems to mean "principle of congruence" or the like.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders, "ita ut hic praerogativa praevalent cum utilitate," and adds in a footnote that Arm. *awar* "booty" here seems to mean "utility" or the like. It is more likely, however, that *awar*, which elsewhere = *προνομή*, is here used merely as a synonym of *haxabašxout' iun*, which = *προνομία.*

<sup>h</sup> *οἱ σοφοί.*

<sup>i</sup> Construction uncertain because of the curious word-order.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

virtue and in vice.<sup>a</sup> For these reasons that (place) which is honourable flourishes and, in addition, continues to be adorned, while the place of unrestraint is overturned, overthrown and destroyed with its resident<sup>b</sup> men and populace. Moreover, it is also defiled. But the divine word<sup>c</sup> is an example to future generations<sup>d</sup> not to seek to do anything unworthy, (like) those cursed by calamities and burned by fire, in order that they may be admonished by seeing the sufferings of their fellows, and keep them in mind and be fearful lest they suffer their sentence, and that they may be kept from the same impious behaviour. For if men saw this, not with bodily eyes but rather with the mind,<sup>e</sup> they would certainly be converted to virtue.<sup>f</sup> If they cannot be persuaded by reason,<sup>g</sup> at least they may assume moderation<sup>h</sup> through violent and necessary fear. And some will say that there are two examples on earth, (namely) Paradise and the region of the Sodomites, of which one is the immortality of the virtues, and the other, complete destruction through evil.<sup>i</sup> The former (existed) at the beginning and was contemporary with the creation of the world; the other was at the end.<sup>j</sup> For virtue is prior and elder and (is) the activity of nature at the be-

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly emended. The Arm. has the ablative instead of the locative case of the word meaning "vice," probably by attraction to the preceding noun.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders, "legitimis" but Arm. *δρινawor* here translates *ἐννομος* in the sense of "residing in" rather than "lawful."

<sup>c</sup> ὁ θεῖος λόγος, *i.e.* Scripture.

<sup>d</sup> The punctuation is uncertain. Aucher, while noting this fact, renders, "imo et ab ipso dominico verbo abominationem subit, ut pote futurae deinde generationes moneantur, etc."

<sup>e</sup> τῷ νῶ.

<sup>f</sup> εἰς ἀρετήν.

<sup>g</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου.

<sup>h</sup> σωφροσύνην.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits the rendering of this clause (from "of which one" to "evil").

<sup>j</sup> At the end of what period is not clear.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ginning,<sup>a</sup> while vice is a child and a minor, being born later to a foolish and unjust soul.

\*52. (Gen. xix. 26) Why did his <sup>b</sup> wife look backward and become a pillar of salt and not some other material? <sup>c</sup>

The literal meaning <sup>d</sup> is very clear. For the angels had commanded (them) not to turn backward, and she transgressed the command, wherefore she paid the penalty, though it was not the same as that of the Sodomites. For it <sup>e</sup> was destroyed by sulphur and fire, whereas the woman was changed into the nature <sup>f</sup> of salt. All these <sup>g</sup> indicate unproductiveness and unfruitfulness, for when the region was burnt up, the salt-plain was no less unfruitful.<sup>h</sup> Thus, (Scripture) wishes (to admonish) <sup>i</sup> you by producing even more wonderful miracles.<sup>j</sup> Just as in the case of Sodom, that which was light by nature <sup>k</sup> was made to bear downward like those things which are heavy <sup>l</sup> by nature, so did salt, one of those things which were made for well-being and endurance,<sup>m</sup> become a cause of ruin and destruction.

And now <sup>n</sup> the reason must be told why the angels commanded (them) not to turn backward. They knew

<sup>a</sup> The context makes it likely that "activity" is one of the predicates of "virtue" rather than the subject of an independent clause.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Lot's.

<sup>c</sup> This verse is briefly commented on in *Leg. All.* iii. 213 and more fully in *De Fuga* 121-125, but neither passage is a direct parallel to the present one.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥήτόν.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* Sodom.

<sup>f</sup> φύσιν.

<sup>g</sup> Exactly what "these" are is not clear.

<sup>h</sup> The meaning of the sentence is somewhat doubtful.

<sup>i</sup> The missing verb is supplied in Aucher's rendering.

<sup>j</sup> θαυματουργῶν.

<sup>k</sup> *i.e.* the sulphur and fire, see *QG* iv. 51.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher inadvertently renders, "levia" instead of "gravia."

<sup>m</sup> εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ διαμονήν.

<sup>n</sup> To several sentences in the following paragraph there are Greek parallels in Procopius and the Catenae.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

that some might perhaps rejoice at seeing these troubles.<sup>a</sup> But to rejoice and exult over the misfortunes of others, while it may be just, is not humane.<sup>b</sup> For the future is unforeseeable,<sup>c</sup> and punishment is ———,<sup>d</sup> and suddenly it overtakes (men) everywhere, as do impotence and heaviness. But others might perhaps be soft and weak and might suffer from the misfortune more than they can (bear), being moved to pity and compassion and being overcome (by their feeling) for their friends and acquaintances and those with whom only a short while before they had been living,<sup>e</sup> because it is ———,<sup>f</sup> and they are united by the greatest mutual tenderness and compassion. And so, there were two reasons for their being forbidden (to look backward, namely) that they might not rejoice greatly nor grieve greatly at the punishment inflicted upon those who were suffering deservedly. And there was a third (reason), which I shall at once explain.<sup>g</sup> (Scripture) says, “Do not, O men, look at <sup>h</sup> God when He punishes, for it is enough for you simply to know that they suffered the punishment which they deserved. But to investigate and examine <sup>i</sup> how they suffered is an act of impudence and

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of the Sodomites.

<sup>b</sup> Similarly Procopius and the Catenae, *χαίρειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀτυχίαις εἰ καὶ δίκαιον* (+ ποτε Catenae), ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον.

<sup>c</sup> ἀδηλον, as in the Procopius frag., which lacks the words that follow in Arm., down to “But others.”

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *anpatkareli* can mean only “irreverent” or “shameless.” Aucher renders, “inexorable,” which fits the context, though it appears to be a guess. Probably the Greek had ἀπαραίτητος.

<sup>e</sup> The last part of the sentence reads more briefly in Procopius *ἡττώμενοι φίλων καὶ συνηθείας*.

<sup>f</sup> Arm. *anari* means “unmanly” and also “enormous.” Neither meaning fits here. Aucher omits the phrase.

<sup>g</sup> The last clause is missing in the Procopius frag., which resumes here (the Catenae resume with the next sentence).

<sup>h</sup> Procopius and the Catenae have *μὴ κατανοεῖτε*.

<sup>i</sup> Procopius and the Catenae have only one verb, *περιεργάζεσθαι*.

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shamelessness <sup>a</sup> and not of reverence, <sup>b</sup> with which it is the part of the rational nature <sup>c</sup> to live most carefully, constantly and familiarly. <sup>d</sup> The above is the literal meaning. <sup>e</sup>

But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>f</sup> the wife of the mind is symbolically sense-perception, <sup>g</sup> which becomes insolent not only in evil men but also in those who progress, <sup>h</sup> and it inclines toward sense-perceptible things which are external rather than the things seen internally by reason. <sup>i</sup> And for this reason it turns back, in appearance to Sodom, but in truth to all the visible possessions, and it returns to those things which are with measure and without measure and to the varieties of their exhalations <sup>j</sup> and to the properties <sup>k</sup> of pleasant odours and tastes and substances, <sup>l</sup> and it changes into an inanimate thing <sup>m</sup> by separating itself from the mind, for the sake of which it was animated. <sup>n</sup>

53. (Gen. xix. 27-28) Why did Abraham "go early in the morning to the place where he had been standing before the Lord and look toward Sodom and Gomorrah <sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Procopius and the Catenae have *προπετείας καὶ θράσους*.

<sup>b</sup> *εὐλαβείας*, as in the Greek fragments, which end here.

<sup>c</sup> *τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως*.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "non vero timoris (Dei), quocum conversari diligentius et constantius familiare est naturae rationali."

<sup>e</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν.* <sup>f</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.*

<sup>g</sup> *ἡ τοῦ νοῦ γυνή συμβολικῶς ἐστὶν αἰσθησις.*

<sup>h</sup> *τοῖς προκόπτουσι.*

<sup>i</sup> *ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου.*

<sup>j</sup> *εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων διαφοράς.* Is Philo perhaps thinking of the Heracleitian saying (Diels 4 ed., Frag. 12) *Ζήνων τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει αἰσθητικὴν ἀναθυμίασιν?*

<sup>k</sup> *εἰς τὰς ιδιότητας.*

<sup>l</sup> Or "humours."

<sup>m</sup> *ἄψυχον.*

<sup>n</sup> Aucher mistakes the meaning of the last clauses in rendering, "convertens se ac mutans in res spiritu carentes, reposito intellectu, eo quod jam animalis fere merus erat."

<sup>o</sup> Lit. "Sodomites and Gomorrhaites."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

and the surrounding region, and behold, a flame went up from the earth like the flame of a furnace " <sup>a</sup> ?

Wonderfully has (Scripture) described piety, <sup>b</sup> for it is the part of the wise man <sup>c</sup> to stand and not to weary but continuously and unceasingly to pray when punishment is inflicted upon undeserving <sup>d</sup> men. O God-worthy example of holiness and humaneness ! <sup>e</sup> For he says, " If thou seest some men going astray, <sup>f</sup> do not be afraid and do not give up." And fearing the authority of the power that punishes and destroys, <sup>g</sup> he made supplication to the Father. And in supplicating Him, without turning backward <sup>h</sup> but with great prayers placating, venerating and worshipping <sup>i</sup> Him, he ran to meet Him with prayer because of the uncertainty of the future. For just as He is kind and gentle, so too He is terrible ; He is kind in so far as He is God, and terrible in so far as He is Lord. <sup>j</sup> That is the literal meaning. <sup>k</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>l</sup> the mind <sup>m</sup> is firm, <sup>n</sup> as the one God is firm. And behold, when it has become unalterable and unchangeable, all the things which it sees on looking around, which are all sense-perceptible, corporeal and subject to passion—all

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX except that for " flame of a furnace " it has ἀτμός καμίνου. Heb. has " smoke " instead of " flame " in both parts of the comparison.

<sup>b</sup> εὐσέβειαν.

<sup>c</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ.

<sup>d</sup> Or " unworthy " ?—ἀναξίους.

<sup>e</sup> ὡ θεοπρεποῦς τύπου (vel sim.) τῆς οὐσιότητος καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας.

<sup>f</sup> I follow Aucher's rendering, " deviantes," though the Arm. verb regularly means " to scatter."

<sup>g</sup> i.e. God's attribute of justice, the δύναμις κολαστήριος or βασιλική, see QG ii. 51 notes.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher freely renders, " indesinenter."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher renders the last verb, " de salute anhelando." The original was probably θεραπεύων, in the religious sense.

<sup>j</sup> The two chief divine attributes of mercy and justice correspond to the appellatives θεός and κύριος respectively, see QG ii. 51 notes.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>n</sup> βέβαιος vel sim.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

these substances it imagines as exhalation, furnace and smoke. For the feverish body is a furnace, and the exhalation (rising) from the senses is like vapour and smoke (rising) from the earth. And the passions <sup>a</sup> which surround us like a flame <sup>b</sup> and burn us up are fire <sup>c</sup> and wind. And these it is not possible to examine closely and to know and see (that they arise) from vice and evil, for they are certain and clear only to the wise man,<sup>d</sup> especially the appearances of the several parts mentioned.

\*54. (Gen. xix. 29) Why is it that " God, after wiping out those inhabiting the environs of Sodom,<sup>e</sup> remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the destruction " <sup>f</sup> ?

You see how the literal meaning <sup>g</sup> is. For Lot was saved not for his own sake so much as for the sake of the wise man,<sup>h</sup> Abraham, for the latter had offered prayers for him. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> when the Father remembers a perfect family,<sup>j</sup> He also saves its kinsmen <sup>k</sup> and the progressive man.<sup>l</sup> Excellent and wise, moreover, was it that " He sent Lot out from the midst of the destruction " but not out of all (destruction). For the way of life of the progressive man does not proceed rightly <sup>m</sup> in every respect, but he limps somewhat and falls.<sup>n</sup> And the middle parts are those that guide and are the right ones of those that

<sup>a</sup> τὰ πάθη.

<sup>b</sup> Exact meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, " quae vero flammis circumdant nos."

<sup>c</sup> Variant " odour."

<sup>d</sup> τῷ σοφῷ.

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἐν τῷ ἐκτρίψαι κύριον (Heb. " God ") πάσας τὰς πόλεις τῆς περιούκου.

<sup>f</sup> LXX and Heb. add " when the Lord (Heb. " He ") devastated the cities in which Lot dwelt."

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> τελείου γένους.

<sup>k</sup> τοὺς συγγενεῖς.

<sup>l</sup> τὸν προκόπτοντα.

<sup>m</sup> ὀρθῶς.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher, taking the ptc. as transitive, renders, " impingit."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

lead.<sup>a</sup> Wherefore he has good hope of moving in the right direction and of being (rightly) ordered toward other things. For when his most proper parts <sup>b</sup> are sound, he is able to give a share of salvation <sup>c</sup> to those that are still ailing.

55. (Gen. xix. 30) Why does Lot, fearing to dwell in Segor,<sup>d</sup> go up to the mountain and dwell in a cave with his two daughters?<sup>e</sup>

As for the literal meaning,<sup>f</sup> it is fitting to say this, that he did not think it sound or safe to be near cities that had been burned up. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> when the progressive mind <sup>h</sup> becomes still purer, it removes still farther and separates from the guilty and unlivable way of life <sup>i</sup> and, to speak truly and properly, from destruction. And the mind has two connatural daughters,<sup>j</sup> (namely) counsel and consent.<sup>k</sup>

\*56. (Gen. xix. 31-32)<sup>l</sup> Why is it that "the elder

<sup>a</sup> The above is a literal translation of the Arm., which makes little sense to me. Aucher, bravely ignoring syntax, renders more smoothly, "partes autem ejus sunt mediocres in principatu conductrices in rectitudine."

<sup>b</sup> τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη.

<sup>c</sup> κοινωνίαν σωτηρίας.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX: Heb. *Ṣō'ar* (A.V. "Zoar"). See the note on "Zoor" in *QG* iv. 50.

<sup>e</sup> Philo condenses the verse, which reads "and Lot went out of Segor and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him, for he was afraid to dwell in Segor, and he dwelt in the cave, he and his two daughters with him."

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ προκόπτων νοῦς. One might expect ἡ προκόπτουσα ψυχή, "the progressive soul."<sup>i</sup>

<sup>i</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνόχου καὶ ἀβιώτου βίου.

<sup>j</sup> συμφύτους θυγατέρας.

<sup>k</sup> In *De Poster. Caini* 175 Lot's daughters appear as symbols of βουλή and συγκατάθεσις.

<sup>l</sup> These verses are differently explained in *De Poster. Caini* 175-177. A small portion of this section is paraphrased by Procopius.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(daughter of Lot) said to the younger, Our father is an old man, and there is no one <sup>a</sup> who will come in to us as is proper <sup>b</sup> for the whole earth. Come now <sup>c</sup> and let us give our father wine to drink and let us lie with him and raise up seed from our father" ?

This undertaking <sup>d</sup> against the present custom of marriage is somewhat unlawful and an innovation but it has an excuse. <sup>e</sup> For these virgins, because of their ignorance <sup>f</sup> of external matters and because they saw those cities burned up together with all their inhabitants, supposed that the whole human race (had been destroyed at the same time) <sup>g</sup> and that no one remained anywhere except the three of them. Wherefore, in the belief that (they were showing) foresight (and) that (the earth) <sup>h</sup> might not be devastated and remain desolate and that the human race might not be destroyed, they rushed into an audacious act <sup>i</sup> to overcome their helplessness in this matter and their difficulties. That is the literal meaning. <sup>j</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>k</sup> this (passage) must be said (to pertain) to counsel and consent, <sup>l</sup> for these are the daughters of the mind, <sup>m</sup> counsel being the elder, and consent being the younger. For it is impossible for anyone to consent before taking counsel. And these are necessarily and naturally born to their father, (namely) the mind. For through counsel the mind sows worthy, fitting

<sup>a</sup> LXX and Heb. "there is no one on earth."

<sup>b</sup> LXX *ὡς καθήκει* : Heb. "as is the way."

<sup>c</sup> LXX *δεῦρο οὖν*.

<sup>d</sup> Or "argument"—*ἐπιχείρημα*.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "aggressum interim propositum ad morem spectans matrimonii, iniquum est, et novarum rerum molitio enormis; veniam tamen habere videtur."

<sup>f</sup> Or "inexperience."

<sup>g</sup> This last phrase is included in parentheses in the Arm. text, presumably because it has been supplied by Aucher.

<sup>h</sup> I follow Aucher in supplying the missing noun.

<sup>i</sup> *παρρησίαν vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν.*

<sup>k</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.*

<sup>l</sup> *βουλῆς καὶ συγκαταθέσεως.* See *QG* iv. 55 last note.

<sup>m</sup> *τοῦ νοῦ.*

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

and persuasive things in those who are not discordant in aiming at the truth.<sup>a</sup> But consent is that which in respect of appearances<sup>b</sup> makes way for the several senses.<sup>c</sup> For what can counsel do by itself without the mind, and what (can) consent (do)? For by themselves they are ineffective and unproductive, unless they are moved by the mind to their proper business and activities.<sup>d</sup>

57. (Gen. xix. 37) Why did the elder (daughter) on bearing a son call him Moab, proclaiming aloud<sup>e</sup> what ought to have been concealed, (namely) "he is from my father"<sup>f</sup>?

The literal meaning<sup>g</sup> is (an occasion of) exultation and glorification for those who think rightly. For she did not cease (talking) and remain quiet as if (it were) a reproach but prided herself in thought as if on a great achievement,<sup>h</sup> and with delight said, "I have a deserved honour, which the father, who is the mind in me,<sup>i</sup> sowed. And having been sown,<sup>j</sup> he did not disintegrate<sup>k</sup> and pass away but having been born perfect,<sup>l</sup> he was found worthy of birth

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τοῖς μὴ ἀσυμφώνοις οὖσιν ἐν τῷ στοχάζεσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders, "juxta propositum."

<sup>c</sup> ἐκάσταις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι.

<sup>d</sup> εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πράγματα καὶ ἐνεργείας *vel sim.*

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders, "vocitando super eum."

<sup>f</sup> LXX ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μου. Here, as elsewhere (*e.g. Leg. All.* iii. 81), Philo follows the popular, biblical etymology of Moab, as if = *mē-'āb* "from the father."

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> κατορθώσεως *vel sim.* Aucher renders, "de magna probitate."

<sup>i</sup> Perhaps in the original the prepositional phrase "in me" was connected with "sowed" rather than "the mind."

<sup>j</sup> Apparently the unspecified subject is the son born to Lot's daughter (βουλή).

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *vižem* has a variety of meanings, including "to miscarry," "to flow," "to be borne," "to be thrown." Aucher renders, "non abortus fuit inaniter."

<sup>l</sup> Or "complete"—τέλειος.

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and nurture.”<sup>a</sup> And what should be the irreprehensible and irreproachable<sup>b</sup> progeny of the mind and counsel if not good and excellent counsel.<sup>c</sup> Wherefore (the child) who was born was a male.

58. (Gen. xix. 37-38) Why does the elder (daughter) call the son born (to her) “from my father,” while the younger says, “Ammon,<sup>d</sup> the son of my people”<sup>e</sup>? And of the former (why is it that Scripture) says, “This is the father of the Moabites,<sup>f</sup>” and of the other, “This is the father of the Ammonites unto this day”<sup>g</sup>?

Because that which reflects is called “mind,”<sup>g</sup> and its counsel is directed<sup>h</sup> toward the good, wherefore also counsel<sup>i</sup> naturally exclaims, “from my father.” For it is only from the mind that counsel (and) imagination<sup>j</sup> are acquired by me. And consent<sup>k</sup> is nothing (in itself) but gives way to imagination. But to give way and not to retire<sup>l</sup> is a maternal and very feminine thing. For this reason she speaks of the child that is born as “Ammon,” as no longer being “from the father” but “from the

<sup>a</sup> τροφής.

<sup>b</sup> The two Arm. adjectives probably render the single Greek adj. ἀκατάγνωστος *vel sim.*

<sup>c</sup> The same Arm. word, *xorhourd* (=βουλή, λογισμός etc.), is here used of the offspring of νοῦς and βουλή as of βουλή itself.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. and LXX “Amman.”

<sup>e</sup> So LXX, Ἀμμάν, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ γένους μου. Heb. reads more briefly “The son of my people” (*ben-ammî*), omitting the ethnic name.

<sup>f</sup> LXX and Heb. add “unto this day.”

<sup>g</sup> νοῦς.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. “is thought.”

<sup>i</sup> βουλή, symbolized by the elder daughter of Lot, see the preceding sections.

<sup>j</sup> βουλή (καὶ) φαντασία: variant “counselling imagination,” Aucher renders, “cogitare junctim cum imaginatione,” with a query in the footnote.

<sup>k</sup> συγκατάθεσις, see the preceding sections.

<sup>l</sup> Or “to feel shame.” Perhaps we should emend *xorsheln* to *xorheln* “to reflect” or “to take counsel.”

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

people." For to give way to imagination, which is consent, is to be close to, and near to, the senses,<sup>a</sup> and sense-perception is in generation and change.<sup>b</sup>

59. (Gen. xx. 1) What is the meaning of the words, "And Abraham moved<sup>c</sup> from there to the land in the south,<sup>d</sup> and he dwelt between Kadesh<sup>e</sup> and between<sup>f</sup> Shur,<sup>g</sup> and he dwelt as a sojourner<sup>h</sup> in Gerar"<sup>?</sup>

The statement<sup>i</sup> includes the dwelling and the sojourning of the virtuous man,<sup>j</sup> the dwelling being that between Kadesh and Shur, and the sojourning that in Gerar. Naturally does (Scripture) wish to reveal the powers<sup>k</sup> which are in these names, for "Kadesh" is to be interpreted as "sacred,"<sup>l</sup> and "Shur" as "wall."<sup>m</sup> Within the borders of these two is the region of God-loving thoughts.<sup>n</sup> And in this dwell those who are provided with, and surrounded by, virtues<sup>o</sup> as if by an inexpugnable and indestructible wall; and they are nourished by the sacred laws, and rejoice throughout the days of their life with the house-master of wisdom,<sup>p</sup> drinking from ever-flowing

<sup>a</sup> ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι.

<sup>b</sup> Text uncertain; the above is the reading of one ms.

<sup>c</sup> LXX ἐκίνησεν: Heb. "journeyed."

<sup>d</sup> LXX εἰς γῆν πρὸς λίβα: Heb. "to the land of the Negeb" (= "dry land" in the south of Palestine).

<sup>e</sup> Arm. and LXX "Kades."

<sup>f</sup> Philo follows the LXX in retaining the Heb. idiom "between . . . and between . . ."

<sup>g</sup> Arm. and LXX "Sur."

<sup>h</sup> Arm. uses two words to render LXX παρώκησεν. In biblical Greek πάροιχος = Heb. *gēr* "resident alien," later "convert."

<sup>i</sup> τοῦ σπουδαίου.

<sup>k</sup> τὰς δυνάμεις.

<sup>l</sup> Heb. *qādēš* (*qādōš*) "sacred," "holy"; cf. *De Fuga* 213 *Κάδης δὲ ἅγια.* <sup>m</sup> See *QG* iii. 27 for the same etymology.

<sup>n</sup> Or "thoughts dear to God"—λογισμῶν θεοφιλῶν.

<sup>o</sup> ἀρεταῖς.

<sup>p</sup> σὺν τῷ οἰκοδεσπότη τῆς σοφίας. Cf. *De Somniis* i. 149 where Philo calls God the "house-master of the world."

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fountains. And these the divine word <sup>a</sup> has led to one place. And like sojourners they dwell in Gerar,<sup>b</sup> which is the region of God-loving thoughts.

60. (Gen. xx. 2) Why does Abraham again <sup>c</sup> say, concerning his wife, "She is my sister" ?

Always and everywhere it was a kind of counsel of homage,<sup>d</sup> that among strangers he called his wife "sister." Wherefore anyone who says that this (was done) through levity of character <sup>e</sup> with unwashed feet <sup>f</sup> and with a changed countenance and with complete practice <sup>g</sup> is deserving of condemnation.<sup>h</sup> For they cannot reflect and bear in mind that <sup>i</sup> no one is so stupid and silly (even) among those who go far in wrongdoing <sup>j</sup> (as to think) that he in whom there is perfection <sup>k</sup> would, as it were, wish

<sup>a</sup> ὁ θεῖος λόγος.

<sup>b</sup> Philo connects the name "Gerar" with Heb. *gēr* "sojourner," "resident alien."

<sup>c</sup> As in Gen. xii. 13 ff., not commented on by Philo in *QG*, but *cf. De Abrahamo* 89 ff. LXX here (Gen. xx. 2) departs from the Heb. in adding that Abraham was afraid to say that Sarah was his wife lest the men of the city kill him on her account.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. seems to render βουλή τις θεραπείας, but one would expect σωτηρίας "safety."

<sup>e</sup> Syntax and meaning uncertain. The verb "says" is in the 2nd pers. sing., and the phrase "through levity of character" may depend upon it rather than upon the verb here supplied. Aucher renders, "qui levitate morum similia dixerint."

<sup>f</sup> ἀνίπτους ποσί, *i.e.* "impromptu" or the like.

<sup>g</sup> Arm. lit. = πράγμασι τελείοις but the meaning escapes me (see next note). Aucher renders, "re peracta."

<sup>h</sup> Perhaps we should ignore the conjunction "and" before the phrase "with complete practice" and render, "is completely deserving of condemnation."

<sup>i</sup> Taking Arm. *k'anzi*, which usu. = "for," as here = *zi* "that."

<sup>j</sup> οἱ ἀδικία προκόπτουσι.

<sup>k</sup> *i.e.* Abraham.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

to remain in sinful transgression and to celebrate <sup>a</sup> many times those things which when spoken only once bring shame and disgrace. But let not such a streak of impiety come upon us as that we should think unworthy things of the patriarch, father and founder.<sup>b</sup> For a most noble (occasion of) glorification are those things which are seen by nature.<sup>c</sup> For the virtue-loving mind <sup>d</sup> calls virtue "sister" but not "wife," because it seems to be not only a protector <sup>e</sup> of wisdom <sup>f</sup> as if of a wife but by calling it "sister" it shows that eagerness and zeal for this are common to all who are genuine and sincere in their desire for excellence.<sup>g</sup>

61. (Gen. xx. 2) What is the meaning of the words, "Abimelech, the king of Gerar, sent and took Sarah"?

Passing over the opinion of some who believe that the wise man <sup>h</sup> was a betrayer of the laws of marriage, for the king, being impure and licentious and unrestrainedly lascivious, wished to bring shame upon the laws relating to strangers, and took the wife of another, we say that the question is one of virtue,<sup>i</sup> of which all wicked and evil men claim to be champions <sup>j</sup> so far as appearance is concerned,<sup>k</sup> for few are they who desire it and by labour and great effort succeed in acquiring it.

62. (Gen. xx. 3) What is the meaning of the words, "God went in to Abimelech <sup>l</sup> in his sleep at night, and

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "to sing in speech."

<sup>b</sup> ἀρχηγέτου, rendered by two Arm. words.

<sup>c</sup> This sentence is unintelligible to me.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ φιλάρετος νοῦς (or διάνοια).

<sup>e</sup> προστάτης *vel sim.* <sup>f</sup> σοφίας.

<sup>g</sup> καλοκάγαθίας. <sup>h</sup> τὸν σοφόν, *i.e.* Abraham.

<sup>i</sup> ἀρετῆς, symbolized by Sarah.

<sup>j</sup> προστάτους *vel sim.*

<sup>k</sup> Aucher renders, "quatenus ad vulgi opinionem."

<sup>l</sup> LXX εἰσῆλθεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχ.

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said, Behold, thou shalt die <sup>a</sup> because of the woman whom thou didst take, and she is living with a man ” <sup>b</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>c</sup> is clearly signified. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>d</sup> it presents something like the following. The foolish man who violently insists <sup>e</sup> that he possesses virtue <sup>f</sup> is convicted <sup>g</sup> by the divine Logos, <sup>h</sup> which enters his soul and examines and searches him and forces him to confess that this <sup>i</sup> is the possession of another man and not his. And most excellently is it written, “ in his sleep at night.” For the foolish soul spends its life carefully shut up <sup>j</sup> in darkness and night and deep sleep, and it has no part at all in wakefulness. <sup>k</sup>

63. (Gen. xx. 4) What is the meaning of the words, “ Abimelech did not touch her ” <sup>l</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>m</sup> indicates holiness and purity. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>n</sup> this must be said. The foolish soul does not wish to touch or come near virtue, and is unable to do so because of its peculiar nature. <sup>o</sup>

\*64. (Gen. xx. 4-5) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “ thou diest,” as in LXX and Heb.

<sup>b</sup> LXX αὐτῆ δέ ἐστὶν συνωκηκυῖα ἀνδρί: Heb. “ she is a married woman.”

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ διάνοια.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders, “ falso se persuadet.”

<sup>f</sup> ἀρετήν, symbolized by Sarah.

<sup>g</sup> ἐλέγχεται.

<sup>h</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου.

<sup>i</sup> i.e. virtue.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher, taking, the ptc. as active, renders, “ omnino includens.”

<sup>k</sup> ἀγρυπνίας.

<sup>l</sup> LXX οὐχ ἤψατο αὐτῆς: Heb. “ did not approach her.”

<sup>m</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>o</sup> διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

“ And Abimelech said, Lord, wilt Thou destroy a nation (that is) in ignorance <sup>a</sup> and righteous ? ” <sup>b</sup> ?

I do not know whether ignorance is compatible with righteousness. However, there are those who say that (this) is not one of the very clear-cut cases <sup>c</sup> so that it is possible to confirm and clearly define the notion and distinguish that which is not germane. For I would say, “ My good man, not like a voluntary sin’s being unrighteous is an involuntary (sin committed) through ignorance by that very fact righteous, <sup>d</sup> but, it seems to me, <sup>e</sup> it is half-way between both, the righteous and the unrighteous, which by some is called ‘ indifferent,’ for no sin is the effect of righteousness.” <sup>f</sup> But this is what he says concerning this, “ With a pure heart and with righteous hands <sup>g</sup> have I done this.” Of these statements one is true and the other false, for it is true that (it was) with a pure heart, but false that (it was) with righteous hands. For I would say to him, “ Is not that which is actually done <sup>h</sup> enough for thee of unrighteousness ? ” <sup>i</sup>

65. (Gen. xx. 6) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> The LXX has the ptc. *ἀγνοοῦν* while the Arm. has the noun “ ignorance ” in the instr. case.

<sup>b</sup> The Heb. reads more briefly “ Wilt Thou kill even a righteous nation ? ”

<sup>c</sup> Lit. “ one of the very pure ones ”—*τῶν λίαν καθαρῶν*.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag., *οὐχ ὡς τὸ ἐκουσίως ἀμαρτάνειν ἐστὶν ἀδικον, οὐτῶ τὸ ἀκουσίως καὶ κατ’ ἀγνοίαν εὐθὺς δίκαιον*.

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. has *τάχα που*.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag. (which ends here), *μεθόριον ἀμφοῖν, δίκαιον καὶ ἀδικον, τὸ ὑπὸ τινων καλούμενον ἀδιάφορον. ἀμαρτημα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔργον δικαιοσύνης*.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. “ with hands of righteousness.” LXX (Gen. xx. 5) has *ἐν δικαιοσύνη χειρῶν*.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. “ that which is through deeds.”

<sup>i</sup> In view of Philo’s earlier statements about Abimelech’s licentiousness, one would expect him here to admit that he had righteous hands, since he had not touched Sarah, but not a pure heart. But see the next section.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

“ And God said to him in his sleep,<sup>a</sup> Indeed I knew that with a pure heart thou didst this, and I spared thee from sinning against Me. Because of this I did not let thee come near her ”<sup>b</sup> ?

All the things that stand in these words are truly divine words and commandments.<sup>c</sup> Now to be pure in mind<sup>d</sup> belongs to him who sins unknowingly and in an unwilling manner, not in a willing one. And those are to be spared whom (Scripture) has shown to be grieved,<sup>e</sup> and those are to be held indifferent<sup>f</sup> who have unwillingly done wrong. And, in the third place, those who have acted unlawfully in divine matters, sin not only against these but also against the Deity, to Whom care and overseeing are proper, and to Whom is all grace,<sup>g</sup> and Who reverses the first impulses of the soul and guides it by His providence<sup>h</sup> lest it drop headlong into wrath and anger, and fall into lawlessness.

66. (Gen. xx. 7) What is the meaning of the words, “ Now give back his wife to the man, for he is a prophet<sup>i</sup> and will pray for thee.” But if thou dost not give (her) back, know that thou wilt die, and all that is thine ” ?

The literal meaning<sup>k</sup> contains a defence<sup>l</sup> against the event that the betrayer of marriage might suffer retribu-

<sup>a</sup> So LXX: Heb. “ in his dream.”

<sup>b</sup> Philo here closely follows the LXX.

<sup>c</sup> ὄντως εἰσὶ θεῖοι λόγοι καὶ ἐντολαί.

<sup>d</sup> καθαρὸν τῷ νῷ (or τῇ διανοίᾳ). Aucher omits “ mind ” in his rendering.

<sup>e</sup> Meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, “ parcendum autem esse illis quos monstravit aegre ferendos.”

<sup>f</sup> ἀδιαφόρους.

<sup>g</sup> πᾶσα χάρις.

<sup>h</sup> προνοία. Aucher renders somewhat differently, “ quae primos animi impetus rebellantes retrovertit per providentiam.”

<sup>i</sup> προφήτης, as in LXX.

<sup>j</sup> LXX and Heb. add “ and thou shalt live,” as does Philo in the parallel comment *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 258-259.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>l</sup> ἀπολογία (rendered here by two Arm. words).

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

tion,<sup>a</sup> and especially and peculiarly (a man) of prophecy.<sup>b</sup> Knowing that he<sup>c</sup> would remain without defiling and coming near her, and that his wife would be kept pure, he did not hesitate to call her "sister," (a name that was) sweet, tender, fitting and appropriate among the natives, and not "wife." Altogether excellent also is the manner<sup>d</sup> of speech of the divine command, "Give back his wife," not "sister" or "Sarah," which was as much as to say, "Give back the wife with her body preserved whole, sanctified and holy, not ravished or stripped, and just as she came to her husband from her virgin state, and return her pure and undefiled. If thou dost not return her as a wife, a penal judgment will be set up and increased upon thee and upon all thy house by death." But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> those who profess wisdom, righteousness and virtue in general,<sup>f</sup> just as they can live only with a virtuous mate as wife, so they can live an immortal life of soul. But any who drag her<sup>g</sup> off and lacerate her, wishing to shame her, are not able to shame or lacerate her, but out of self-love and in the senselessness of mad impulses are altogether deprived of virtue, and destroy themselves. And, says (Scripture), if thou wert not placated<sup>h</sup> before, and it seemed pleasant to thee to appear to be seized by

<sup>a</sup> Meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, "littera praesefert apologiam juridicam contra eventus, ita ut satisfactio reddatur legi matrimonii," and in a footnote on "legi," adds, "Verba sunt *proditori matrimonii*: quod si ad Abraham referatur, indicat eum per vim sibi factam vel invitus [*sic*] prodidisse alienigenis uxorem suam: si vero ad Abimelech, demonstrat vim ab illo factam, qui tulit Sarram, nolente Abrahamo: sequentia quoque praeferunt ambiguitatem sensus."

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "and (this is) special and peculiar to prophecy."

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* Abimelech. Aucher, rendering somewhat carelessly, has, "quod intacta remansura erat."

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "face"—*πρόσωπον*.

<sup>e</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν*.

<sup>f</sup> *σοφίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρετήν*.

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* virtue. <sup>h</sup> Variant "pleased."

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a mad impulse and passion, at least change, and do not take <sup>a</sup> for thyself what belongs to others. For virtue is a stranger to foolish men if she is thought worthy to be possessed as a wife and not as a sister. For she can indeed be a kinswoman <sup>b</sup> to the progressive man <sup>c</sup> as to a brother, but only to the perfect man <sup>d</sup> as a real wife.<sup>e</sup>

\*67. (Gen. xx. 10-11) Why, when Abimelech asked (Abraham), "What was in thy mind <sup>f</sup> that thou didst this?" did he reply, "Because I thought <sup>g</sup> that God <sup>h</sup> was not in this place, and that I should be waylaid and slain" <sup>i</sup>?

Not all the truth is to be told to all men, wherefore also now the wise man manages the whole (affair) with an alteration and change of names.<sup>j</sup> For he knew that as for his wife, she would not be corrupted. This, however, he does not admit but only what it was proper for his interrogators to hear, in order that they might be delighted by the fact that he seemed to be showing that that region had a desire for piety <sup>k</sup> and for respect toward strangers, and that they might be even more mindful of piety and hospitality.<sup>l</sup>

68. (Gen. xx. 12). What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "cut off."

<sup>b</sup> συγγενής.

<sup>c</sup> τῷ προκόπτοντι.

<sup>d</sup> τῷ τελείῳ.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "a wife as a wife."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "seeing what": so LXX, τί ἐνιδών, retaining the Heb. idiom.

<sup>g</sup> LXX εἶπα, retaining the Heb. idiom "I said" = "I thought."

<sup>h</sup> LXX θεοσέβεια, Heb. "fear of God."

<sup>i</sup> LXX and Heb. "that they would kill me because of my wife."

<sup>j</sup> So the Greek frag. (which consists only of this sentence), οὐ πάντα ἀληθῆ λεκτέον ἅπασιν ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ὁ ἀστέιος (the Arm. word used usu. = ὁ σοφός) ὄλον οἰκονομεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα μεταθέσει καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆ τῶν ὀνομάτων.

<sup>k</sup> τῆς θεοσεβείας.

<sup>l</sup> τῆς φιλοξενίας.

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“ And in truth she is my sister by the father but not by the mother. And she became my wife ” <sup>a</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>b</sup> is excellently clear. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>c</sup> (Scripture) says something most natural, <sup>d</sup> for it introduces virtue <sup>e</sup> as in truth being motherless <sup>f</sup> and having no part in the female sex <sup>g</sup> but being sown only by the Father of all, <sup>h</sup> who needs no material substance for His <sup>i</sup> generation. But the virtue of the virtuous man has the rights <sup>j</sup> of both sister and wife, of a sister because there is one Father for both, Who begot all things, and of a wife because everything that comes about through conjugation <sup>k</sup> is called “ wife.” <sup>l</sup> And so, the righteous man <sup>m</sup> is a consort <sup>n</sup> of righteousness, the ignorant man <sup>o</sup> of ignorance, the sincere man <sup>p</sup> of sincerity, the pious man <sup>q</sup> of piety, and, in a word, the wise man <sup>r</sup> of wisdom.

\*69. (Gen. xx. 16) Why does Abimelech say to Sarah, “ Behold, I have given a thousand (pieces of) silver <sup>s</sup> to

<sup>a</sup> This verse is allegorized in similar fashion to the first part of this section (down to “ generation ”) in *De Ebrietate* 61 and *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 62. <sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> φυσικώτατον.

<sup>e</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>f</sup> ἀληθῶς ἀμήτορα.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *De Ebrietate* 61 θήλεος γενεᾶς ἀμέτοχος.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 62 ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ πάντων θεοῦ μόνου γεννηθεῖσα.

<sup>i</sup> Or “ its ” (i.e. virtue’s). Cf. *De Ebrietate* 61 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὕλης τῆς αἰσθητῆς συνισταμένης.

<sup>j</sup> δικαίωματα vel sim.

<sup>k</sup> κατὰ συζυγίαν.

<sup>l</sup> So lit. the Arm.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ δίκαιος.

<sup>n</sup> σύμβιος.

<sup>o</sup> Or “ foolish man.”

<sup>p</sup> Or “ sound man.”

<sup>q</sup> ὁ εὐσεβής.

<sup>r</sup> ὁ σοφός.

<sup>s</sup> So Heb. : LXX χίλια δίδραχμα (δίδραχμον regularly renders Heb. “ shekel,” which is here understood).

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

thy brother. Let this be for the honour <sup>a</sup> of thy face <sup>b</sup> and of all women who are with thee, <sup>c</sup> and speak the truth about everything " <sup>d</sup> ?

He is deserving of approval who has imposed also upon himself a penalty for an involuntary sin <sup>e</sup> for the consolation and assuagement and the honour of the face (of Sarah). But the expression " speak the truth about everything " is the injunction of an unphilosophical and unlearned man. <sup>f</sup> For if human life were properly directed <sup>g</sup> and admitted nothing false, it would be proper to speak the truth to everyone about everything. But since hypocrisy of an evil kind <sup>h</sup> acts with authority as if in a theatre, <sup>i</sup> and arrogance is concealed with the truth, <sup>j</sup> the wise man requires a versatile art from which he may profit in imitating those mockers <sup>k</sup> who say one thing and do another in order to save whom they can. <sup>l</sup> Now it is not right for this to happen in all cases. For it is profitable for a

<sup>a</sup> Or " price "—τιμήν.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX : Heb. " covering of the eyes," *i.e.* an " amende honorable."

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ πάσαις ταῖς μετὰ σοῦ : Heb. " and for all which is with thee."

<sup>d</sup> So LXX : Heb. is somewhat obscure but probably means " and in everything thou hast been justified."

<sup>e</sup> ὑπὲρ ἀκουσίας ἁμαρτίας.

<sup>f</sup> ἀφιλοσόφου καὶ ἰδιώτου παράγγελμα, as in the Greek frag., which begins with this sentence.

<sup>g</sup> εὐώδει, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. " hypocrisy of evil " : the Greek frag. has merely ὑπόκρισις.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. has ὡς ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δυναστεύει : ἑκατέρῳ is evidently a scribal error for θεάτρῳ. Whether δυναστεύει was the reading of the Arm. translator is less clear.

<sup>j</sup> Variant " with art " or " with artifice " : The Arm. is obscure and is probably an inaccurate rendering of the original. The Greek frag. reads more intelligibly καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος παραπέτασμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστί.

<sup>k</sup> Prob. an inaccurate rendering of τοὺς ὑποκριτάς which the Greek frag. has.

<sup>l</sup> So the Greek frag. (which ends with this sentence).

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

counsellor of evil to speak falsely about everything to his hearers,<sup>a</sup> while a salutary nature is peculiar to virtue.<sup>b</sup>

70. (Gen. xx. 17-18) Why is it that, after Abraham had prayed, " God healed Abimelech and his wife and his maid-servants, and they bore, for God had closed up <sup>c</sup> every womb in the household of Abimelech because of the wife-<sup>d</sup> of Abraham " ?

When the Father wishes to do some kindness to someone, He considers this a special grace to the wise man,<sup>e</sup> as is the case now. For it seems that because the wise man offered up prayers He granted forgiveness<sup>f</sup> of the involuntary sins of the household, even though no one (of them) prayed. Moreover, (Scripture) teaches a doctrine that is beautiful for those who give judgment and for those who are judged, (namely) that the former should not first strike down, or be beforehand in punishing sinners, but should at the very start softly persuade and reconcile the one who seems to have been wronged ; and as for the others, they should supplicate the court not to inflict punishment upon all (of them) for always.

71. (Gen. xxiii. 1)<sup>g</sup> Why was the life of Sarah a hundred and twenty-seven years ?

Each of the numbers which are here contained has a

<sup>a</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, " quoniam consultoris malitiae est omnia falso dicere ad aucupandos auditores." <sup>b</sup> σωτηρία φύσις ἰδία ἐστὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. " closing up, closed up," retaining the Heb. idiom. LXX here has only συνέκλεισεν.

<sup>d</sup> LXX and Heb. " because of Sarah, the wife."

<sup>e</sup> ἰδίαν χάριν τῷ σοφῷ (i.e. Abraham).

<sup>f</sup> Lit. " forgetfulness " — ἀμνηστίαν.

<sup>g</sup> In the extant text of the *Quaestiones* there are no sections on chaps. xxi and xxii of Genesis. Chap. xxi relates (a second time) the birth of Isaac and the flight of Hagar (see above, §§ 18 ff.); chap. xxii tells of the sacrifice of Isaac (see *De Abrahamo* 167-177).

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sacred and separate <sup>a</sup> status,<sup>b</sup> (namely) seven, twenty and a hundred. Moreover, it has a wonderful unity and harmony of parts. For the seven after the one <sup>c</sup> by a double proportion produces a hundred and twenty-seven, as follows: 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64,<sup>d</sup> which make a hundred and twenty-seven.<sup>e</sup>

72. (Gen. xxiii. 2) Why does (Scripture) specify the place where (Sarah) died, (saying), "She died in the city of Arbok <sup>f</sup> which is in the valley <sup>g</sup>; this is Hebron <sup>h</sup> in the land of Canaan" ?

The translation of "Arbok" is "of four,"<sup>i</sup> and "Hebron" means "being joined with" or "associating with women"<sup>j</sup> and "Canaan" is, as it were, "their appearance."<sup>k</sup>

\*73. (Gen. xxiii. 2-3) Why does (Scripture) say, "Abraham came to bewail Sarah and to mourn, and Abraham arose from his dead" ?

Carefully and deliberately <sup>l</sup> does (Scripture) say that he arose, not from Sarah, but "from his dead." And he came there to bewail and mourn, not his dead, but "Sarah." And this is somehow most natural,<sup>m</sup> for it is proper for the virtuous man to separate and dwell far from a body that

<sup>a</sup> Or "consecrated."

<sup>b</sup> λόγον.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the digit 7, see *De Opif. Mundi* 91.

<sup>d</sup> The numbers are written as numeral letters in the Arm.

<sup>e</sup> The sum of the seven terms in the geometric progression by 2.

<sup>f</sup> So LXX: Heb. "in Kiriath Arba."

<sup>g</sup> So LXX, ἢ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κοιλάματι: Heb. omits the clause.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. *K'ebron*: LXX *Χεβρών*: Heb. *Hebrón*.

<sup>i</sup> Heb. 'arba' = "four."

<sup>j</sup> Cf. *Quod Deterius* 15 συζυγή δὲ καὶ συνεταιρίς Χεβρών καλεῖται συμβολικῶς ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα.

<sup>k</sup> In *De Sobrietate* 44-48 "Canaan" = σάλος. The present etymology is obscure.

<sup>l</sup> Or "cautiously."

<sup>m</sup> φυσικώτατόν τι.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

had died naturally by itself,<sup>a</sup> and to mourn for wisdom <sup>b</sup> as though it seemed in actual fact <sup>c</sup> to be separated from virtue.<sup>d</sup> For there is no mourning among incorruptible things,<sup>e</sup> and wisdom is incorruptible, as is all virtue. But in respect of those things which men are able to possess, and which (sometime) fail and are lacking,<sup>f</sup> they must of necessity be grieved. But excellently and carefully does (Scripture) show that the virtuous man did not resort to wailing or mourning but only came there for some such thing. For things that unexpectedly and against his will strike the pusillanimous man <sup>g</sup> weaken, crush and overthrow him, whereas everywhere they merely bow down <sup>h</sup> the man of constancy <sup>i</sup> when they direct their blows against him, and not in such a way as to bring (their work) to completion, since they are strongly repelled by the guiding reason,<sup>j</sup> and retreat. And so it is not fitting for a man devoted to moral excellence <sup>k</sup> to stand (fixed) in prayer when something happens against his will, or to be entirely rapt and moved and drawn toward this, but he should somewhat gradually go toward it, and retire before the end is reached. This holy and consecrated law was written as a warning against those sins that are about to be committed, so that when men are moved by those things which are external, such as the possessions of others, or by the divisions <sup>l</sup> of women or by theft or by plunder or by adultery or by similar evils, they may not perpetrate them but shall think it sufficient <sup>m</sup> to have been struck by these impulses,

<sup>a</sup> Aucher omits the rendering of the reflexive pronoun.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν σοφίαν (symbolized by Sarah). <sup>c</sup> ἔργω.

<sup>d</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain. Aucher renders similarly.

<sup>e</sup> ἐν ἀφθάρτοις. <sup>f</sup> i.e. material things.

<sup>g</sup> τὸν μικρόψυχον. <sup>h</sup> Or "deflect."

<sup>i</sup> τὸν βέβαιον *vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "by the charioteer, reason." Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 73 τὸν ἡνίοχον, λέγω δὲ τὸν λογισμὸν.

<sup>k</sup> καλοκάγαθίας.

<sup>l</sup> Or "dissensions." The exact meaning is not clear.

<sup>m</sup> Variant "proper."

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and shall move away and take their stand upon the immovable and firm mind.<sup>a</sup>

\*74. (Gen. xxiii. 4) <sup>b</sup> Why does (Abraham) say, "I am an immigrant and sojourner among you" <sup>c</sup> ?

But does not every wise soul <sup>d</sup> live like an immigrant and sojourner in this mortal body, having (as its real) dwelling-place and country <sup>e</sup> the most pure substance <sup>f</sup> of heaven, from which (our) nature migrated to this (place) by a law of necessity ? <sup>g</sup> Perhaps this was in order that it might carefully inspect terrestrial things, that even these might not be without a share in wisdom to participate in a better life, or in order that it might be akin <sup>h</sup> to created beings and not be continuously and completely happy. Wherefore in concluding the expression of his thought, <sup>i</sup> he says not ineptly <sup>j</sup> "immigrant and sojourner," but adds, "among you." For truly the lover of wisdom does not dwell, or go about, with any vain or empty things, even though he has grown together with them, (but) is far removed from them in thought. Wherefore the wise man is truly and properly said not to sail, or journey, or be a fellow-citizen, or live, with the foolish man, since the sovereign and ruling mind <sup>k</sup> does not unite, or mix, with anything else. <sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ βέβαιον νοῦν.

<sup>b</sup> This half-verse is briefly commented on in *De Confus. Ling.* 79.

<sup>c</sup> ΛXX πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος ἐγὼ εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν.

<sup>d</sup> πᾶσα σοφὴ ψυχὴ.

<sup>e</sup> πατρίδα.

<sup>f</sup> καθαρωτάτην οὐσίαν.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "by a necessary law."

<sup>h</sup> Aucher more freely renders, "sive ut noscat se cognatum."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "In sealing the thoughts of his opinion" (or "will").

<sup>j</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ *vel sim.* Aucher curiously renders, "non simpliciter."

<sup>k</sup> ὁ ἡγεμῶν νοῦς.

<sup>l</sup> The last two sentences are paralleled in somewhat abbreviated form in a Greek frag. from Dam. Par. 754 (Harris, p. 69), identified by Früchtel; see Appendix A.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

75. (Gen. xxiii. 4) What is the meaning of the words, "Give me the possession of a grave,<sup>a</sup> and I will bury my dead before me"?

The literal meaning <sup>b</sup> is clear and well known, but as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> we may explain it allegorically <sup>d</sup>; it is as follows. As it seems, the wise man <sup>e</sup> does not seek a grave, for the body is the grave of the soul,<sup>f</sup> in which it is buried as if in a grave, but "the possession of a grave," that is to say, authority and lordship over it,<sup>g</sup> for,<sup>h</sup> he says, "I shall become master and receive authority, and not be subjected to authority and no longer be, as it were, buried among them as formerly,<sup>i</sup> but rather will I bury (them) far from me."

\*76. (Gen. xxiii. 5-6) <sup>j</sup> Why do they say to him, "A king from God <sup>k</sup> art thou among us"?

In the first place, (Scripture) wishes to show that all men, and not merely rational wise men,<sup>l</sup> admire and honour him who is a follower of pure and non-fraudulent wisdom.<sup>m</sup> And not only (is he regarded) as a ruler but as a ruler of rulers and a divine one, and as a king of kings,

<sup>a</sup> Though the Arm. lit. = κληρον τάφου, Philo probably read κτήσιν τάφου, as our text of the LXX reads; similarly Heb. and Arm. O.T. have "possession of a grave." Philo omits "among you" which Heb. and LXX add after "grave."

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> ἀλληγοροῦντες.

<sup>e</sup> ὁ σοφὸς ἢ ἀστεῖος.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ σῶμα τάφος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστι.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. the body.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher notes that from here to the middle of § 122 there is a lacuna in Cod. A of the Arm. version.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "non amplius, sicut illis ante contigebat, dixerim, quasi vero sepeliar."

<sup>j</sup> This passage is briefly commented on by Philo in *De Mut. Nom.* 152, *De Somniis* ii. 244, *De Abrahamo* 261, and is alluded to in *De Virtutibus* 216.

<sup>k</sup> So LXX, βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ: Heb. "a prince of God."

<sup>l</sup> σοφοὶ λογικοί.

<sup>m</sup> ὅς καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀδόλου ζηλωτῆς ἐστι σοφίας.

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being excellent and virtuous,<sup>a</sup> and as being elected, not by men, but by God.<sup>b</sup> And, in the second place, (Scripture) lays down a most natural law,<sup>c</sup> which some of those who philosophize<sup>d</sup> have rejected. This law is that no one of the foolish<sup>e</sup> (is) a king, even though he should be master of all the land and sea, but only the wise and God-loving man,<sup>f</sup> even if he is without the equipment and resources through which many obtain power with violence and force.<sup>g</sup> For whereas the man ignorant of the art of the pilot or of the physician or of the musician has trouble<sup>h</sup> with the rudders or with the compounding of drugs and ointments<sup>i</sup> or with flutes and lyres, since he is unable to use any of them for its natural purpose, to the pilot, on the other hand, and the physician and the musician they may be said to be fitting and suitable. And this is proper, since there is a certain kingly art,<sup>j</sup> and it is the most noble of the arts.<sup>k</sup> For he who is ignorant and unversed in the needs<sup>l</sup> of men must be considered a layman,<sup>m</sup> while only he (can be considered) a king who is knowing and experienced.<sup>n</sup> In the third place, moreover, (Scripture)

<sup>a</sup> Or "noble": Aucher "generosus."

<sup>b</sup> χειροτονηθείς . . . ὑπὸ θεοῦ. The same phrase is applied to Moses in *De Praemiis* 54, where Philo makes a similar contrast between the ideal and the actual king.

<sup>c</sup> νόμον φυσικώτατον.

<sup>d</sup> τῶν φιλοσοφούντων: Aucher "nonnulli sophistarum."

<sup>e</sup> τῶν ἀφρόνων οὐδείς, as in the Greek frag. (which begins here).

<sup>f</sup> Or "God-beloved"—θεοφιλής, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>g</sup> The Greek frag. differs very slightly, δι' ὧν πολλοὶ κρατῦνται τὰς δυναστείας.

<sup>h</sup> Following the Greek frag., which has παρέλκον πρᾶγμα, misunderstood by the Arm. translator as παραδειγματικά πράγματα or the like.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. has only φαρμάκων σύνθεσις.

<sup>j</sup> τέχνη τις βασιλική, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>k</sup> τεχνῶν ἀρίστη.

<sup>l</sup> Or "affairs"—τῶν χρειῶν or, as in the Greek frag., χρήσεως.

<sup>m</sup> The Arm. uses two words to render ιδιώτην.

<sup>n</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) has only τὸν ἐπιστήμονα.

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also tells us this in addition, that the judgments of God are greater than those of men. For men consider him to be their ruler and master who has an abundance of power in respect of corruptible materials,<sup>a</sup> whereas God inspires with all wisdom<sup>b</sup> him for whom no inanimate and irrational materials<sup>c</sup> have any value, when He sees his soul greatly purified and his mind<sup>d</sup> free and unenslaved, and him who has wisdom He inscribes among the greatest rulers and kings. And in the fourth place, there falls under the necessary order of connexion<sup>e</sup> that which pertains to constancy,<sup>f</sup> for the elections<sup>g</sup> of men are inconstant and transitory, changing their direction, now up, now down, in accordance with (changing) customs, events and fortunes, while those of God are constant, and because of their incorruptibility, they make themselves available to law-observant men.<sup>h</sup>

77. (Gen. xxiii. 6) Why do they say, "In our choice monuments 'bury thy dead'?"

The literal meaning<sup>j</sup> is easy to explain. Because of the honour in which he was held they agreed to give him a choice burial-place. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>k</sup> in a wicked man the body lives when it is animated by desire

<sup>a</sup> ἐν φθαρταῖς ὕλαις (for this standing expression see Leisegang's *Index Philonis*, p. 794, col. a).

<sup>b</sup> αὐτῷ πᾶσαν σοφίαν ἐμπνέι. Arm. *hnčem* means "resound" and also "inspire" (like *šnčem*). Aucher renders, "omnino eum sapientia adornat," which is more nearly correct than his alternate rendering (in his footnote), "sicut sapientiam celebrat."

<sup>c</sup> οὐτίνα τῶν ἀψύχων καὶ ἀλόγων ὑλικά.

<sup>d</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν . . . καὶ τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>e</sup> εἰς τὴν κατὰ εἰρμὸν τάξιν ἀναγκαίως.

<sup>f</sup> πρὸς βεβαίωσιν *vel sim*.

<sup>g</sup> αἱ χειροτονίαι.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders inaccurately, "exhibentes illis legitimam constantiam."

<sup>i</sup> So LXX, ἐν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μνημείοις ἡμῶν.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and sensual pleasure <sup>a</sup> and whatever else it delights in, whereas in a virtuous man <sup>b</sup> it is dead, for he is a man of frugality and is self-controlled and endures the hunger of continence, <sup>c</sup> so that it is not wide of the mark to say that the soul of the wise man, <sup>d</sup> having a body that is inanimate and heavy, like a bronze statue, is always carrying a corpse. <sup>e</sup> And so those who are opposite characters say, <sup>f</sup> "Give over to us the care and concern for this, <sup>g</sup> that it may have the choice of everything and be worthy of remembrance <sup>h</sup> through food and drink and clothing and whatever else belongs to a sumptuous, luxurious and enjoyable life. But he is displeased by these words, and biding his time, takes greater care, <sup>i</sup> mollifying them all <sup>j</sup> through prostration, <sup>k</sup> and conciliating and embracing <sup>l</sup> them so far as he thinks it suitable and proper by way of invocation, <sup>m</sup> and that he may not send them away before he has removed <sup>n</sup> his dead, not giving the body into their hands, and taking possession <sup>o</sup> of the burial-place but not the burial-place (itself). <sup>p</sup> Moreover, it is proper to observe also that the characters

<sup>a</sup> ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡδονῇ ψυχωθέν.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν τῷ σπουδαίῳ.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders somewhat less literally, "praeferens in se famem mediocritatis et temperatae continentiae."

<sup>d</sup> ἡ τοῦ σοφοῦ (οἱ ἀστέίου) ψυχῆ.

<sup>e</sup> νεκροφορεῖ. Cf. *De Agricultura* 25 <ἡ ψυχῆ> οὐκ ἀποτίθεται νεκροφοροῦσα.

<sup>f</sup> Prob. οἱ ἐναντίοι τρόποι, meaning the Hittites as types of materialists. Aucher renders less literally, "porro exempla contraria ponuntur, dicentes."

<sup>g</sup> i.e. the body.

<sup>h</sup> Philo plays on the similarity of μνήμη and μνημεῖον.

<sup>i</sup> The sense is not altogether clear.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher more freely renders, "adversarios."

<sup>k</sup> διὰ προσκνήσεως. Cf. LXX of Gen. xxiii. 7 Ἀβραὰμ προσεκύνησεν τῷ λαῷ τῆς γῆς, τοῖς υἱοῖς Χέτ, on which Philo comments in *De Somniis* ii. 89-92.

<sup>l</sup> καταφιλῶν.

<sup>m</sup> κατὰ πρόσκλησιν vel sim. : Aucher "ad alliciendum."

<sup>n</sup> Aucher "deponat."

<sup>o</sup> κτήσιν.

<sup>p</sup> See above, § 75.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

who speak <sup>a</sup> call the burial-place a "monument," <sup>b</sup> but the wise man calls it "the possession of a monument" or "the property of a burial-place." Why? Because the former consider only the body and the various (aspects) of the body worthy of remembrance, <sup>c</sup> while he (so considers) not this but lordship over it and possession of it, as was said before. <sup>d</sup>

78. (Gen. xxiii. 8-9) <sup>e</sup> Why does (Abraham) say, "If you have in your mind <sup>f</sup> to bury my dead before me, <sup>g</sup> listen to me and speak of me <sup>h</sup> to Ephron, the son of Sahar, <sup>i</sup> and let him give me the double cave <sup>j</sup> belonging to him, which is in the portion of his field. <sup>k</sup> For as much silver as it is worth <sup>l</sup> let him give it to me and to you <sup>m</sup> as a possession of a monument" <sup>n</sup> ?

Having shown his wisdom and presented his case by first prostrating himself, <sup>o</sup> he says, "You who do not use speech" <sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "quod qui loquuntur sicut exempla."

<sup>b</sup> μνημείον.

<sup>c</sup> See note *h*, p. 356.

<sup>d</sup> In § 75.

<sup>e</sup> The "double cave" mentioned in these verses is briefly allegorized in *De Poster. Caini* 62 and *De Somniis* ii. 26.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν, as in LXX.

<sup>g</sup> ἀπὸ προσώπου μου, as in LXX.

<sup>h</sup> So LXX, λαλήσατε περὶ ἐμοῦ: Heb. "intercede for me."

<sup>i</sup> LXX Σάαρ: Heb. *Šōhar* (A.V. "Zohar").

<sup>j</sup> τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν, as in LXX: Heb. "the cave of Machpelah" (the last word from the root meaning "to double").

<sup>k</sup> ἐν μερίδι τοῦ ἀγροῦ αὐτοῦ, as in LXX: Heb. "which is in the limit (or "end") of his field."

<sup>l</sup> LXX ἀργυρίου τοῦ ἀξίου: Heb. "for full silver."

<sup>m</sup> The Arm. "and to you" is prob. an error. LXX has ἐν ὑμῖν: Heb. and Arm. O.T. have "in your midst."

<sup>n</sup> So LXX, εἰς κτήσιν μνημείου, see above, § 75.

<sup>o</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, "sensu rerum usurpato, quem praecedenti adoratione jam intimavit auditoribus."  
<sup>p</sup> λόγω.

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for deception but for the (benefit of the) soul and mind,<sup>a</sup> confess this, (namely) that we are clothed with a dead body and that we should bury this and not permit our passions<sup>b</sup> to arise and be revived and flourish, but keep them out of sight, because<sup>c</sup> they are an obstacle to the impulses<sup>d</sup> which arise from reflexion.<sup>e</sup> Speak, therefore, in the council of the soul<sup>f</sup> on my behalf and for my appearance,<sup>g</sup> and make haste that whatever is the value of the price in silver, that is to say, what has the worth of reason,<sup>h</sup> may be given to me,<sup>i</sup> as I said, not for a burial monument but for the possession of a memorial.”<sup>j</sup>

79. (Gen. xxiii. 10) What is “Ephron,” and why is it that “he dwelt among the sons of Heth”?

“Ephron” is to be interpreted as “dust,”<sup>k</sup> while “Hittite”<sup>l</sup> means “being out of one’s mind.”<sup>m</sup> And (Scripture) by “dust” indicates corporeal natures,<sup>n</sup> while by “being out of one’s mind” (it indicates) madness and folly.<sup>o</sup> For among foolish and mad men the body has the true and chief rank,<sup>p</sup> receiving the service and attendance

<sup>a</sup> εἰς ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦν.

<sup>b</sup> τὰ πάθη.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher curiously has “ut,” introducing a purpose clause.

<sup>d</sup> ταῖς ὀρμαῖς.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τὸν λογισμόν *vel sim.*

<sup>f</sup> Prob. ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλευτηρίῳ, *cf. De Vita Cont.* 27 ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς (*sc.* τῆς ψυχῆς) συνεδρίῳ καὶ βουλευτηρίῳ.

<sup>g</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, “et apparente mihi (*sic*).”

<sup>h</sup> τοῦ λόγου.

<sup>i</sup> Philo does not make it as clear as does Scripture that the money is given by Abraham, and the burial-place is given to him.

<sup>j</sup> See § 77.

<sup>k</sup> χουῖς (as if from Heb. ‘*aphār*). The same etymology is given in *De Confus. Ling.* 79.

<sup>l</sup> Χετταῖος.

<sup>m</sup> ἔκστασις (as if from Heb. *hath* “panic fear”). *Cf. De Somniis* ii. 89 where Philo etymologizes τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Χέτ as ἐξιστάντες.

<sup>n</sup> αἰνίττεται σωματικὰς φύσεις.

<sup>o</sup> μανίαν καὶ ἀφροσύνην.

<sup>p</sup> τάξιν.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

of those who know nothing of any proper and genuine good, and do not make an effort to know it.

\*80. (Gen. xxiii. 9, 11) <sup>a</sup> What is the "double cave" <sup>b</sup> ?

The literal text <sup>c</sup> does not require any exposition, for there are altogether two burial caves under the mountain, <sup>d</sup> one outside and the other inside, or two walls, <sup>e</sup> one, which encloses, and the other, which is enclosed. <sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>g</sup> it must be judged as follows. The human body bears a likeness to a double cave. For it insatiably desires that which is external, making insatiable lust <sup>h</sup> its guide and ruler. On the other hand, in respect of internal things it conducts itself with reason, <sup>i</sup> using patient self-control. <sup>j</sup> For he is foolish who gives up internal things for the sake of external things, and psychic things for sense-perceptible ones, <sup>k</sup> and exchanges that which is in accordance with patient self-control for unbridled lust. But the virtuous man <sup>l</sup> makes use of a hedge and a wall, and a screen between <sup>m</sup> psychic things and the forms among phenomena <sup>n</sup> and things that are seen. While the double cave exists in an evil man, the body too is unclean and lewd. But when it dwells within, it changes itself into a god-loving soul, <sup>o</sup> receiving holiness and purity and the

<sup>a</sup> For other Philonic passages on the double cave see § 78.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν: Heb. "the cave of Machpelah" (see § 78 note). <sup>c</sup> ὁ ῥητὸς λόγος.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. has δύο εἰσὶν ἀνθρώδεις ὑπώρειαι.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *bak* means "colonnade" and "court" or "precinct." The Greek frag. has περίβολοι.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) has ὁ μὲν περιέχων, ὁ δὲ περιεχόμενος.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> ἀσελεία or "profanation"—βεβηλώσει *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> κατὰ νοῦν οἰκονομεῖται *vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> ἐγκρατεία ὑπομονῆς.

<sup>k</sup> ψυχικὰ ἀντὶ αἰσθητῶν.

<sup>l</sup> ὁ σπουδαῖος.

<sup>m</sup> The preposition is supplied.

<sup>n</sup> Meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, "et habentibus visum apparentium." <sup>o</sup> εἰς ψυχὴν θεοφιλή.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

possession <sup>a</sup> of a blameless life. Wherefore, I believe, the Creator and Constructor made the tabernacle <sup>b</sup> double, marking off the inner from the outer part by a veil, <sup>c</sup> and calling the inner part the "holy of holies" and the outer part merely "the holy (place)." But all these are entirely psychic and intelligible forms, <sup>d</sup> while the double cave has a share in the body, although they <sup>e</sup> are indeed the possessions of the god-loving mind. <sup>f</sup>

\*81. (Gen. xxiii. 11) Why is it that though Abraham sought only the cave, Ephron gave him the field as well? <sup>g</sup>

As for the literal meaning, <sup>h</sup> one would say that out of admiration for the man and for the wisdom which he saw him display, <sup>i</sup> he thought it right to lavish upon him very abundant favours. <sup>j</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>k</sup> he thought it right to attach <sup>l</sup> the field symbolically <sup>m</sup> to the virtuous man <sup>n</sup> in order that the body might have the things necessary to pleasure <sup>o</sup> and their equipment. And he does not refuse, being of liberal character, as he is rich, <sup>p</sup> but clearly says, "I will give you all the treasures in my possession and everything which has honour and power

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "portion," but here prob. = κτήσιω as in the LXX, see the preceding sections.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν σκηνήν.

<sup>c</sup> καλύμματι, see *De Vita Mosis* ii. 87.

<sup>d</sup> ψυχικά καὶ νοητὰ εἶδη.

<sup>e</sup> What "they" refers to is not clear.

<sup>f</sup> Or "thoughts"—λογισμῶν.

<sup>g</sup> LXX τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ σοὶ δίδωμι.

<sup>h</sup> πρὸς τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek paraphrase in Procopius reads more briefly, ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν σοφίαν.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. here is closer to the Greek frag. (which ends here), ολόμενος δεῖν ἀφθόνοους ἐπιδαμιλεύεσθαι χάριτας.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> Meaning somewhat uncertain.

<sup>m</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>n</sup> τῷ σπουδαίῳ.

<sup>o</sup> ταῖς ἡδοναῖς.

<sup>p</sup> Lit. "full."

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among men, nor will I be caught by any of those who falsely bear the name of good,<sup>a</sup> but handling them <sup>b</sup> as is proper, I will show everyone what necessary power <sup>c</sup> is in all of them."

82. (Gen. xxiii. 9, 11, 17, 19) Why is it that before his acquiring the burial-place, the cave was said to be "in the field," while after his acquiring it, the field (was said to be) "in the cave" <sup>d</sup>?

(Scripture) says something most natural.<sup>e</sup> For so long as the mind <sup>f</sup> does not rule over the body, the body falls under the power of, and is supported <sup>g</sup> by, external things, by wine and meals and food and other things that grow from the all-bearing earth as if from a field. But when it <sup>h</sup> assumes power, it compels the body, which has long been in servitude, to show its power and not to fall under the power of external things but, on the contrary, to contain <sup>i</sup> them and rule over them, not being a part of them (any longer).

83. (Gen. xxiii. 19) Why does (Scripture) say that the

<sup>a</sup> τῶν ψευδωνύμων ἀγαθῶν. But the meaning of the clause is uncertain. Aucher renders, "neque ab ullo falsi nominis bonorum deprehendar."

<sup>b</sup> Apparently the possessions are meant.

<sup>c</sup> ἀναγκαία δύναμις.

<sup>d</sup> Although Aucher is correct in distinguishing between the Arm. prepositions *i nerk'oy* = ὑπό, and *i nerk's* = ἐν, he has completely mistranslated the sentence and missed its point in rendering, "spelunca dicebatur sub agro esse, et post acquisitionem agri, intus in ipso agro." What Philo refers to is the fact that in Gen. xxiii. 9, 11, the cave is said to be in the field, while in vs. 17 (obviously corrupt) the field is said, at the beginning of the verse, to be in the cave, ὁ ἀγρὸς Ἐφρών, ὃς ἦν ἐν τῷ διπλῷ σπηλαίῳ.

<sup>e</sup> φυσικώτατα.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>g</sup> Or "overshadowed." Aucher "detentum."

<sup>h</sup> i.e. the mind.

<sup>i</sup> περιέχειν.

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burial-place was "opposite Mambre,"<sup>a</sup> or why does it say that "this is Hebron"<sup>b</sup>?

"Hebron" is to be interpreted as "union"<sup>c</sup> or "the companionship of women,"<sup>d</sup> as has been correctly said. For behold, in some sense,<sup>e</sup> in the case of those who have a double cave, it is possible to join and fit together companionship and sincere liking, and to make the body genuinely (devoted) to the soul,<sup>f</sup> the one as the ruler, and the other as the minister, being persuaded (to do)<sup>g</sup> whatever the queen may announce, in order that she<sup>h</sup> may give a likeness of her power, through which it<sup>i</sup> may have power over external things and rule over sense-perceptible objects.<sup>j</sup>

84. (Gen. xxiv. 1) Why does (Scripture) say, "And Abraham was an old man advanced (in days),<sup>k</sup> and the Lord blessed Abraham in all things"?

<sup>a</sup> LXX ἀπέναντι Μαμβρή (Heb. "Mamre").

<sup>b</sup> LXX αὕτη ἐστὶν Χεβρών ἐν τῇ γῆ Χανάαν.

<sup>c</sup> συζυγή. The same etymology is given in *Quod Deterius* 15 and *De Poster. Caini* 60, see also *QG* iv. 72.

<sup>d</sup> The alternate etymology *συνεταιρίς* is given in *Quod Deterius* 15. <sup>e</sup> τρόπον τινά. Aucher "exempli gratia."

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. lit. = γνήσιον τῇ ψυχῇ. Aucher renders, "fidele . . . cum anima."

<sup>g</sup> This obscure clause apparently refers to the soul as the ruler, and the body as the minister or servant. Aucher renders inaccurately, "uno principem, altera satellitem persuadente."

<sup>h</sup> The fem. pronoun seems to be required by the context, as referring to the soul.

<sup>i</sup> Apparently the body is meant. The Arm. verb is an infinitive but Aucher renders it as a 3rd pers. plural.

<sup>j</sup> τῶν αἰσθητῶν. The passage is obscure, and seems to overlook the reference to Mambre, which in *De Migratione* 165 is allegorized as the contemplative life.

<sup>k</sup> LXX πρεσβύτερος προβεβηκώς ἡμερῶν. The same phrase is quoted in *De Sobrietate* 17, also with the omission of ἡμερῶν. There too Philo explains that the wise man is figuratively a πρεσβύτερος.

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It does not seem that this admits of explanation as chronological age, since one would be at a loss <sup>a</sup> to call him an old man who was more short-lived than all who were before him. <sup>b</sup> He has precedence in virtue who is worthy of old age and honour. <sup>c</sup> Wherefore it says above, "an old man advanced," (meaning) increase in worthiness, <sup>d</sup> of which the consummation is piety, <sup>e</sup> (and) excellent judgment <sup>f</sup> in all aspects of life, in thoughts, deeds and words. <sup>g</sup>

85. (Gen. xxiv, 2) What is the meaning of the words, "The eldest servant of his house and ruler of all his things" <sup>h</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>i</sup> is clear, for (Scripture) indicates that the man <sup>j</sup> was a sort of steward or manager of his master's possessions. <sup>k</sup> But as for the allegorical and natural meaning, <sup>l</sup> it must, it seems, be considered to be as follows. The status of a servant among us and of a minister and attendant is held by discourse <sup>m</sup> which is an utterance of

<sup>a</sup> ἀπορήσειέ τις ἄν.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher can hardly be blamed for his inaccurate rendering, "qui paucis temporibus superat annos ejus (anteriores)", since the Arm. translator probably misunderstood the Greek original; cf. *De Sobrietate* 17 ὅτι σχεδὸν τῶν προγόνων ἑαυτοῦ πάντων ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ ὀλιγοχρονώτατος εἰσάγεται.

<sup>c</sup> Here again the Arm. translator seems to have misunderstood the Greek; cf. *De Sobrietate* 16 ὡς δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτερον οὐ τὸν γήρα κατεσχημένον ἀλλὰ τὸν γέρως καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιον ὀνομάζει.

<sup>d</sup> καλοκάγαθίας.

<sup>e</sup> θεοσέβεια, which in *De Congressu* 130 is called ἀγαθὸν τέλειον. <sup>f</sup> εὐβουλία.

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ λογισμοὺς καὶ ἔργα καὶ λόγους.

<sup>h</sup> LXX τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, τῷ ἄρχοντι πάντων τῶν αὐτοῦ. <sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> Abraham's steward (Eliezer).

<sup>k</sup> οἰκονόμον ἢ ἐπίτροπον τῶν τοῦ κυρίου.

<sup>l</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain.

<sup>m</sup> Philo here refers to the Stoic term λόγος προφορικός.

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the mind, which <sup>a</sup> is more perfect <sup>b</sup> than speech, and is the ruler and master. This uttered discourse is the eldest (servant), for (it receives) the authority of natural behaviour over corporeal and invisible objects from the reason as if from a king.<sup>c</sup> For discourse <sup>d</sup> uses and manages all these things with virtue.<sup>e</sup>

\*86. (Gen. xxiv. 2) Why does he say, "Place thy hand under my thigh" <sup>f</sup>?

Being about to bind him by an oath <sup>g</sup> concerning the betrothal,<sup>h</sup> he bids him place his hand close to the place of generation,<sup>i</sup> indicating a pure association and an unpolluted marriage, not having sensual pleasure as its end but the procreation of legitimate children.<sup>j</sup> And allegorizing,<sup>k</sup> we might say that (Scripture) accurately <sup>l</sup> calls "thigh" that place in the soul which does not flow <sup>m</sup> but is firm in solidity and stability. Upon this he bids him with

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the mind—*ὁ νοῦς*.

<sup>b</sup> *τελειότερος*.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "principatum habens ex natura tamquam a suo rege, sive ratione super corporalia instrumenta et objecta."

<sup>d</sup> It is not clear whether speech (*ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος*) or reason (*ὁ ἐνδιάθετος λόγος*) is meant; probably the former is meant.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, "haec enim universa per virtute ornatum ministrum disponit ratio."

<sup>f</sup> *LXX* *θὲς τὴν χεῖρά σου ὑπὸ τὸν μηρόν μου*.

<sup>g</sup> *ἐξορκίσειν*.

<sup>h</sup> Of Isaac. *Cf.* the Greek frag. from Procopius *ἐπὶ μνηστείαν καὶ γάμον πέμπων*.

<sup>i</sup> Procopius *κατὰ τῶν γαμικῶν ὀργάνων*.

<sup>j</sup> So, almost literally, the Greek frag. (which ends here), *καθαρὰν ὀμιλίαν καὶ γάμον ἀνεπίληπτον αἰνιττόμενος οὐχ ἡδονὴν τὸ τέλος ἀλλὰ γνησίους ἔχοντα παῖδας*. The last phrase was originally, as Wendland notes, *γνησίων παιδῶν γένεσιν*.

<sup>k</sup> *ἀλληγοροῦντες*.

<sup>l</sup> *ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἐτύμως*.

<sup>m</sup> *μὴ ῥέοντα*. Philo here gives a fanciful etymology of *μηρός* as if from *μή* and *ῥεῖν*.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

reason <sup>a</sup> place his hand for the sake of reverencing and honouring that place to which nature has given as a special honour undeviating and unchanging forms <sup>b</sup> in order that it may not, so to say, receive lightly what in the same manner has a flow, <sup>c</sup> but may remain unchanged and truthful in its agreements.

87. (Gen. xxiv. 3) Why does he adjure him by heaven, uttering a double invocation, and by earth with a single one, <sup>d</sup> for he says, "I adjure thee by the Lord God of heaven and the God of earth" <sup>e</sup> ?

Heaven is the best of the parts of the world, <sup>f</sup> wherefore it has been allotted the highest place, being of the purest substance, <sup>g</sup> and full of stars, each of which is a godlike image. <sup>h</sup> And the last <sup>i</sup> (part) is the earth, to which was allotted the lowest place for the reason that animals and the plants surrounding them are mortal and corruptible. Rightly, therefore, does he give first honour and privilege <sup>j</sup> to the best (part), uttering a double invocation to the powers of the Father, (namely) the creative and kingly. <sup>k</sup> But from the lesser he removed one (appellation) <sup>l</sup> for the

<sup>a</sup> The text seems to be corrupt; the original prob. made the thigh a symbol of reason (ὁ λόγος).

<sup>b</sup> ἄτρεπτα καὶ ἀμετάθετα εἶδη *vel sim.*

<sup>c</sup> The above is an uncertain rendering of what Aucher rightly calls a "locus obscurissimus." He himself renders, "qui itidem ac similiter habet fluxum, non ut dixerit quisquam, pauca receperit." Apparently the λόγος προφορικός is the subject of the last clause.

<sup>d</sup> Philo refers to the expression "Lord God of heaven," contrasted with "God of earth."

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἐξορκίσω σε κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὸν θεὸν (some MSS. omit τὸν θεόν) τῆς γῆς.

<sup>f</sup> τοῦ κόσμου.

<sup>g</sup> τῆς καθαρωτάτης οὐσίας.

<sup>h</sup> ἄγαλμα θεοειδές οἱ εἰκὼν θεοειδής.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ἔσχατον <μέρος>.

<sup>j</sup> προτιμίαν καὶ προνομίαν.

<sup>k</sup> ταῖς δυνάμεσι τοῦ πατρὸς, τῇ ποιητικῇ καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ. See *QG* ii. 51 notes.

<sup>l</sup> That of "Lord," signifying God's kingly power.

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reason that heaven and the natures <sup>a</sup> similar to it, being always undeviating and unchanging, are never sated with, nor fail in, the service of the Father, but serve God as the Creator and obey Him as king,<sup>b</sup> while we earth-born and corruptible creatures cannot deny God, for He who comes to create <sup>c</sup> is necessarily imagined as the efficient cause,<sup>d</sup> but still we do not acknowledge His kingship and government (as) the true Lord,<sup>e</sup> some because of impiety,<sup>f</sup> and others because of perverse and sophistical ingenuity.<sup>g</sup> And so, the whole school of philosophers <sup>h</sup> is not ashamed and does not blush to rule out <sup>i</sup> the providence and care <sup>j</sup> which are given by the Father to His offspring. This was also the opinion and belief <sup>k</sup> of the Egyptian king, who took it upon himself to say, "I do not know the Lord,"<sup>l</sup> by which he shows that "I know God, indeed, because of natural necessity,"<sup>m</sup> in so far as he perceives and admits that he was made by the Creator, but he denies that he knows the Lord, believing that the world and what is in the world are without providence and care.

\*88. (Gen. xxiv. 3) Why does he instruct, not his son,

<sup>a</sup> αἱ φύσεις.

<sup>b</sup> Because the double appellation "Lord God" is associated with heaven in the present verse, Philo argues that heavenly beings worship God as king ("Lord") and Creator ("God").

<sup>c</sup> i.e. under the name of "God."

<sup>d</sup> ἐξ ἀνάγκης φαντάζεται <ὡς> τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον.

<sup>e</sup> Because Scripture uses only "God of earth" not "Lord God of earth."

<sup>f</sup> δι' ἀσέβειαν.

<sup>g</sup> διὰ κακότεχνον σοφιστείαν καὶ εὐρεσιλογίαν *vel sim.*

<sup>h</sup> Prob. αἵρεις is rendered by two Arm. words here. Aucher supplies "prava" in rendering, "prava illa sententia sectarum philosophorum."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "to cut off."

<sup>j</sup> τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν.

<sup>k</sup> Here again Aucher supplies the word "pravus."

<sup>l</sup> Ex. v. 2, on which Philo comments similarly in *De Ebrietate* 19, 77-79.

<sup>m</sup> διὰ φυσικὴν ἀνάγκην.



not to take a Canaanite wife, as later his parents (instructed) Jacob,<sup>a</sup> but the servant? <sup>b</sup>

Truly the literal meaning <sup>c</sup> contains an anxiety of doubt and the thought of deliberation.<sup>d</sup> For since Isaac was of mature and marriageable age,<sup>e</sup> and was not under the dominion of the servant, one of two things (was bound to happen): either he would obey or he would oppose (him). Now, in case of his obedience, it would be natural for his father to be his sponsor.<sup>f</sup> And if he did not obey, the ministration of the servant would be superfluous.<sup>g</sup> And to say that because Abraham had migrated from the land of the Chaldaeans on account of a divine oracle, he did not consider it right to send his son (there), is very silly and foolish. In the first place, for this (same) reason it would not have been right (for him) to undertake the matter and be a sponsor at all in a family connexion from which he had been told to depart, nor for Jacob to go there to betroth himself, since he was an imitator of his father, and very well understood the instructions that had been given him.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In Gen. xxviii. 1, on which see *QG* iv. 242.

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek frag. from Procopius, Διατί δὲ μὴ τῷ υἱῷ παραγγέλλει μὴ λαβεῖν Χανανίτιν (LXX ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Χαναναίων) ὡσπερ ὕστερον τῷ Ἰακώβ οἱ γονεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδί;

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> λογισμὸν ἐπισκέψεως *vel sim.* Aucher "consilium consideratione dignum."

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., καίτοι τελείου τυγχάνοντος Ἰσαάκ καὶ ἡλικίαν ἔχοντος γάμου.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. reads less specifically καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔμελλε πείθεσθαι, εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον παρεγγυᾶν. On the meaning of "sponsor" see note below.

<sup>g</sup> So the Greek frag., εἰ δὲ ἀπειθεῖν, περιττὴ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡ διακονία.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) reads more briefly τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι, χρησμῶ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθὼν, πέμπειν εἰς αὐτὴν οὐκ ἡξίου τὸν υἱόν [εἰ καὶ εὐλογον, ὅμως ἀπαρέσκει τισί], διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἂν τὸν Ἰακώβ, εἰ τοῦτο ἦν ἀληθές, ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἐνταῦθα πεμφθῆναι. Of the clause in Procopius bracketed by Harris, Wendland rightly remarks (p. 79), "es erinnert wenigstens dem Sinne und dem ganzen Tone nach an Philo."

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However, there remain for him <sup>a</sup> not a few questions. For it is not as if (speaking) to a servant-boy <sup>b</sup> that he says, "Be an attendant <sup>c</sup> in going forth, in order that my son may not take a wife from that land," but as if (speaking) to the chief sponsor, <sup>d</sup> for he says, "I adjure thee not to take for my son a Canaanite wife."

And so, necessarily allegorizing, we might most naturally say <sup>e</sup> that Isaac has no need of exhortation, <sup>f</sup> for he had never taken a wife from among the Canaanites. And I say this, not concerning man and woman, but concerning the traits of the soul, <sup>g</sup> to which the symbols of the names here used refer. For Isaac is the mind, <sup>h</sup> the self-teacher and the self-taught, <sup>i</sup> the distinct among the indifferent, <sup>j</sup> rejoicing always and daily in his Father and God and in all His works. And he does not become dissatisfied with anything that happens in the world, but knows that all things happen in accordance with nature through divine providence <sup>k</sup> and are for the wellbeing and eternity of all things. <sup>l</sup> He does not, therefore, take a Canaanite wife, by which I mean that he does not have the traits of the

<sup>a</sup> Or "concerning it," *i.e.* the matter.

<sup>b</sup> The two Arm. words used here prob. render παιδί.

<sup>c</sup> ὑπουργός or διάκονος.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. lit. = τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς ἐγγύης, *i.e.* the guarantor of the marriage-settlement, in this case Abraham's servant acting for the father of the bridegroom.

<sup>e</sup> ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἀλληγοροῦντες φυσικώτατ' ἂν εἴποιμεν.

<sup>f</sup> The two Arm. words used here render παράκλησις or παραμυθία. Aucher renders, "solaminis," but the context calls for "exhortation" rather than "consolation."

<sup>g</sup> περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τρόπων.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ νοῦς. Although Philo usually treats Isaac as a symbol of laughter or joy, he sometimes refers to him as ὁ ἀστεῖος or ὁ σοφός, as in *De Somniis* i. 171, *De Fuga* 200.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ αὐτομαθὴς καὶ ὁ αὐτοδιδάκτος, *cf.* *De Somniis* ii. 10.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ διαφέρων ἐν τοῖς ἀδιαφόροις, *cf.* *De Fuga* 152.

<sup>k</sup> κατὰ φύσιν θεία προνοία.

<sup>l</sup> εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ αἰδιότητα πάντων.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

above-mentioned school,<sup>a</sup> because "Canaanites," when rendered into the Armenian <sup>b</sup> language, means "those out of their mind."<sup>c</sup>

Now it is still to be feared that perhaps the uttered word,<sup>d</sup> which he has called "servant," may use sophistic inventions <sup>e</sup> and so deceive and trick and get the better of <sup>f</sup> him who was by nature well-pleasing (to God).<sup>g</sup> Wherefore he holds him by a horrid and dreadful oath as if placing reins upon him in order to soften and make milder those things which, when spoken, cause consternation <sup>h</sup> and overcome <sup>i</sup> him who is unable to stand upright, as is fitting, and to be firm in speech.<sup>j</sup> He says, "Go there, whence I emigrated"<sup>k</sup>—for it is one family and nation; that is, the migration came about through the command of God.<sup>l</sup> "From there shalt thou take a wife for my son."

<sup>a</sup> τῆς προειρημένης αἰρέσεως, *i.e.* the school of philosophers who deny divine providence, see above, § 87.

<sup>b</sup> Here, as elsewhere, the Arm. translator substitutes "Armenian" for "Greek."

<sup>c</sup> οἱ ἐξιστάντες, see § 79 and *De Somniis* ii. 89 where Philo gives this etymology for "Hittites." Evidently he here equates Hittites and Canaanites, *cf.* *QG* iv. 242. Elsewhere he etymologizes Χανάαν as σάλος or as "merchants," *cf.* *QG* ii. 65.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγος.

<sup>e</sup> σοφιστικοῖς εὐρήμασι.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher "in delirium vertat."

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* Isaac, as symbol of the mind.

<sup>h</sup> Or "stupefaction."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "pervertere." The change of number in the two Arm. verbs in the relative clause is to be disregarded in view of the context which requires a neuter plural (τὰ εἰρημένα or the like) as subject of both verbs.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher, referring to the sentence in a footnote as "locum intricatissimum," renders, "qui nequeat condignam firmitatem tenere in verbo."

<sup>k</sup> The LXX of Gen. xxiv. 4 reads ἀλλὰ εἰς τὴν γῆν μου οὗ ἐγενόμην πορεύση καὶ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν μου καὶ λήμψῃ γυναῖκα τῷ υἱῷ μου Ἰσαὰκ ἐκεῖθεν.

<sup>l</sup> This statement seems to be parenthetical.

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But he takes from him an admonition (concerning) the character of his spouse,<sup>a</sup> (namely, from) him who was shown to have emigrated, or in accordance with custom and usage, especially as the Chaldaeans practise astronomy, first of all, of invisible and incorporeal nature.<sup>b</sup>

89. (Gen. xxiv. 5-6) Why, when the servant inquired, "Shall I, if the woman is unwilling to migrate here, take thy son there?", does he say, "Look to it (and) take care that thou do not return my son there" <sup>c</sup>?

While the literal meaning <sup>d</sup> is clear, the deeper meaning <sup>e</sup> is in accord with philosophical opinion.<sup>f</sup> For he admonishes the word <sup>g</sup> to look to it and take care not to move the constant character <sup>h</sup> from that worthiness <sup>i</sup> which is in accordance with the laws of good conduct.<sup>j</sup> For what is more worthy than to be pleased with that (which comes) from the Creator of the universe and Father of all, and not to find fault with anything at all, as is the habit of inconstant men and those who do not have a stable character of habit <sup>k</sup> but because of petty things that happen and partake of a

<sup>a</sup> This obscure sentence is somewhat differently rendered by Aucher "alterum monitum ut vitae consortem in moribus acceptit."

<sup>b</sup> ἀοράτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου φύσεως. The last sentence is also obscure.

<sup>c</sup> LXX εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς, Μὴ ποτε οὐ βούλεται ἡ γυνὴ πορευθῆναι μετ' ἐμοῦ ὀπίσω εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην· ἀποστρέψω τὸν υἱόν σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες ἐκεῖθεν; εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀβραάμ, Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸν υἱόν μου ἐκεῖ.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> τοῖς φιλοσοφουμένοις.

<sup>g</sup> τὸν λόγον (*i.e.* τὸν κατὰ προφορὰν λόγον), symbolized by the servant of Abraham.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν βέβαιον τρόπον *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> ἀξιώματος *vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *haçoyout'ian* usu. = εὐδοκία or θεραπεία. Here it seems to mean "conduct pleasing (to God)." Aucher renders, "legis gratissimae."

<sup>k</sup> The Arm. translator perhaps confuses ἔθος and ἦθος.

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blameworthy nature,<sup>a</sup> accuse and incriminate that which <sup>b</sup> is not to be accused or incriminated ?

90. (Gen. xxiv. 7) <sup>c</sup> Why does he say, " The Lord God of heaven and God of earth <sup>d</sup> will send His angel before thy face,<sup>e</sup> and thou shalt take a wife for my son Isaac " <sup>f</sup> ?

Thus do I see that he is a prophet and legislates oracularly concerning things that are to come.<sup>g</sup> For law is an invention of nature, not of men.<sup>h</sup> As the god-loving mind <sup>i</sup> changes its residence to another land (away from) every sense-perceptible land,<sup>j</sup> it is immediately seized <sup>k</sup> and prophesies. For whence does he know that the servant will be able to complete his journey through the guidance of the angel if not from <sup>l</sup> some divination and prophecy ? But perhaps someone will say, " What need did the servant have of an angel to go along, since he bore with him the command to complete the marriage with a virgin of their

<sup>a</sup> Or, construing differently, " but play the part of fault-finders concerning the petty things that happen."

<sup>b</sup> Or " Him Who."

<sup>c</sup> Philo briefly comments upon another part of this verse (see next note) in *Leg. All.* iii. 42.

<sup>d</sup> " And God of earth " is found in LXX but not in Heb. In both texts there follows a long clause, here omitted by Philo, reading, " Who took me from the house of my father and from the land where I was born, Who spoke to me and swore to me, saying, ' to thee and [Heb. omits " to thee and " ] to thy seed will I give this land.' "

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἐμπροσθέν σου, rendering Heb. *l'phānēkā*, lit. " to thy face."

<sup>f</sup> LXX and Heb. add " from there."

<sup>g</sup> προφήτης ἐστὶ καὶ νομοθετεῖ ἐπιθειάζων τὰ μέλλοντά τε καὶ τὰ γενησόμενα.

<sup>h</sup> νόμος γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσεως εὐρημα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ φιλόθεος νοῦς.

<sup>j</sup> <ἀπὸ> πάσης αἰσθητῆς γῆς.

<sup>k</sup> κατέχεται. H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* ii. 70, compares Plato, *Ion* 534 B.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. " in accordance with "—κατά.

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family? <sup>a</sup>” To this it must be said, “Not ineffectual,<sup>b</sup> Sir,<sup>c</sup> did He wish the human mind to be in nature, but to be active,<sup>d</sup> and the several things that occur to it to be acts,<sup>e</sup> even though it<sup>f</sup> performs everything externally.” For this reason the steersman will not abandon the rudder even though the ship may be enjoying a favourable wind, nor will (a soldier)<sup>g</sup> desert the post where he has been stationed by the wisdom of the laws of science and knowledge,<sup>h</sup> nor will the farmer give up<sup>i</sup> the cultivation of the land even though the rains are on time, and the temperature of the air is in accord with the season of the year. And let not any other thing be regarded with astonishment as (happening) automatically,<sup>j</sup> nor anyone choose and hold on to treacherous and evil inactivity. For it is unpleasant that someone who does not wish<sup>k</sup> to do anything or make any effort should get (precious) stones and all kinds of inanimate things for himself.<sup>l</sup> But many wish only to enjoy an increase of sensual pleasure<sup>m</sup> without engaging at all in human affairs. That is the literal meaning.<sup>n</sup> But

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> ἀνήνυτον.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. “O Thou.” Aucher amplifies this into “benigne lector.”

<sup>d</sup> ἐνεργεῖν.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. to be realized in act.

<sup>f</sup> It is not clear whether the mind or nature is the subject.

<sup>g</sup> Apparently this noun is to be supplied, as is done by Aucher.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders, less literally, “a lege sapientiae atque ingenii secundum peritiam.”

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *yaytnesçi* “will make clear” is apparently a corruption of *yaresçi* or the like. Aucher renders, “praetermittit.”

<sup>j</sup> ἀὐτομάτως. The sentence is obscure and probably corrupt. Aucher renders differently, “neque alius ququam oculos figat, ut per se prosperitas adveniat.”

<sup>k</sup> Reading *kameal* (ptc.) for *kamel* (inf.).

<sup>l</sup> The sense is not wholly clear to me nor, apparently, to Aucher, who renders, “difficile namque est ut quis nihil facere ac laborare volens, saxum vel quidquid inanimatum sibi acquirere possit (vel, imitari velit).”

<sup>m</sup> ἡδονῆς.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

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the passage also contains an allegory <sup>a</sup> in harmony with what has been said before. For inasmuch as the uttered word, <sup>b</sup> which in comparison with <sup>c</sup> the mind has been called "servant," <sup>d</sup> at once was in doubt and gave an appearance <sup>e</sup> of weakness and deceit, the Saviour <sup>f</sup> joined and fitted to it another word, <sup>g</sup> not deceived or defrauded, <sup>h</sup> which He calls "angel," (as) the interpreter of the divine oracles and commands. And when he comes along and teaches man, he compels him not to vacillate in his reasoning <sup>i</sup> or move about and be confused.

91. (Gen. xxiv. 8) What is the meaning of the words, "If the woman does not wish to go with thee, <sup>j</sup> thou shalt be clear of this oath. <sup>k</sup> Only, thou shalt not return my son there" ?

Someone may be at a loss and in doubt how it is that after it has been made altogether certain that the woman will come with the angel of God accompanying him on the way, <sup>l</sup> he now says doubtingly, "If the woman does not wish to go with thee, thou shalt be clear of the oath." But may it not be that this (difficulty) is to be solved in the form of an allegory ? <sup>m</sup> You need but say <sup>n</sup> that if the angel of God is not there, it would seem that the woman might not wish to go along. Wherefore he says, by way of sealing and confirming the matter, "If she does not go with thee as if perhaps wishing to go with a companion, she may wish to go along with the divine word." <sup>o</sup> And even

<sup>a</sup> ἀλληγορίαν.

<sup>b</sup> ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγος.

<sup>c</sup> τοῦ νοῦ.

<sup>d</sup> παῖς, see above, § 88.

<sup>e</sup> Or "showed suspicion."

<sup>f</sup> ὁ σωτήρ.

<sup>g</sup> ἄλλον λόγον.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders, "infallibile ac infallax."

<sup>i</sup> λόγῳ. Aucher "verbis."

<sup>j</sup> Philo agrees with Heb. against LXX in omitting, after "thee," the words "to this land."

<sup>k</sup> LXX καθαρὸς ἔσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρκου τούτου (v.l. ὄρκου μου, as in Heb.).

<sup>l</sup> συνοδοιπόρου αὐτῶ.

<sup>m</sup> τρόπῳ ἀλληγορίας.

<sup>n</sup> i.e. the reader need only suppose. <sup>o</sup> σὺν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ.

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though she may not have faith in this youth,<sup>a</sup> she (will have faith) in him who instructs<sup>b</sup> and leads to the elected way and the completion<sup>c</sup> of a great work. And the work is the divine, holy and consecrated marriage of the soul, the harmony of the self-taught reason.<sup>d</sup> Wherefore he will be unchangeable who is wise by nature without teaching.<sup>e</sup>

92. (Gen. xxiv. 10) <sup>f</sup> Why does the servant take with him ten camels of the camels of his master and of all his goods? <sup>g</sup>

The decad is a most perfect number,<sup>h</sup> and the camel is a symbol of memory,<sup>i</sup> since it ruminates, grinding and chewing its food over and over. And such is the affection<sup>j</sup> of remembering former (experiences), for whatever the mind<sup>k</sup> receives through the activity of thinking,<sup>l</sup> it is moved by these and turns from side to side until it is reduced to order and takes its proper place and is stabilized by the two things<sup>m</sup> being joined and settling together. For this reason he is said to take, not "of the good parts" but "of

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Abraham's servant, symbolizing "the uttered word" (see above). The variant "in this honour" makes no sense.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the angel, symbolizing "the divine word" or Logos.

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. has "incompleteness," apparently in error.

<sup>d</sup> ἄρμονία τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς (or αὐτοδιδάκτου) λογισμοῦ. Cf. *De Somniis* ii. 10.

<sup>e</sup> ὃς φύσει ἄνευ διδασκαλίας ἐστὶ σοφός.

<sup>f</sup> In *De Congressu* 111-112 Philo allegorizes this verse similarly; cf. also *De Poster. Caini* 148-149.

<sup>g</sup> LXX καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ παῖς δέκα καμήλους ἀπὸ τῶν καμήλων τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ (Heb. "in his hand").

<sup>h</sup> τελειότατος ἀριθμός. For parallels in Philo see Stachle, p. 54.

<sup>i</sup> σύμβολον μνήμης, as in *De Poster. Caini* 148, or ἀναμνήσεως, as in *De Congressu* 111.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ πάθος.

<sup>k</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>l</sup> κατὰ τὸν τῆς διανοίας λογισμὸν *vel sim.*

<sup>m</sup> Apparently the two things are the mind and sense-impression.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

all (his goods),” since the whole life of the virtuous man <sup>a</sup> is completely full of happiness, <sup>b</sup> with no part left vacant and empty for the bringing in and admitting of sins. But it is well that (Scripture) adds, “he took of all his goods with him,” for many others make use of good things as of alien possessions without profiting therefrom, such as sophists and word-chasers. <sup>c</sup> For though they have been taught the laws of philosophy, which are beautiful and worthy of zeal and virtue, <sup>d</sup> they do not become any better, but while correcting the lives of others, they leave their own souls uncared for and untended, inasmuch as they do not have in themselves and with themselves a genuine philosophy <sup>e</sup> but one that is on their lips and is superficial. And this is like an ill-favoured woman being dressed in precious purple. The garment is not an ornament to the wearer <sup>f</sup> but a reproach, which very clearly shows her lewdness. <sup>g</sup>

93. (Gen. xxiv. 10) What is “Mesopotamia, <sup>h</sup>” where he goes, and what is “the city of Nahor” <sup>i</sup>?

In the literal sense <sup>j</sup> “Mesopotamia” is the land of Babylonia, lying between the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris, <sup>k</sup> from which fact it was appropriately <sup>l</sup> named. And as for “Nahor,” it is clear that this was first the name of a city in Babylonia, which, as happens in many cases, was changed into another name. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>m</sup> it is proper to say that “Nahor” is to be trans-

<sup>a</sup> τῶ σπουδαίῳ. Aucher renders, less exactly, “sapientis.”

<sup>b</sup> εὐδαιμονίας. <sup>e</sup> ὡς σοφισταὶ καὶ λογοθηῆραι.

<sup>d</sup> τοὺς νόμους τῆς φιλοσοφίας τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ σπουδῆς τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀξίους.

<sup>e</sup> γνησίαν (rendered by two Arm. words) φιλοσοφίαν.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. “to the one having (it).”

<sup>g</sup> μαχλοσύνην.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. renders LXX Μεσοποταμία as “between the rivers”: Heb. “Aram Naharaim.”

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *Nak'ôr*: LXX Ναχώρ: Heb. *Nāhôr*.

<sup>j</sup> τῷ ῥήτῳ. <sup>k</sup> Arm. *Aracan* and *Dklat'*.

<sup>l</sup> ἐτύμως. <sup>m</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

lated as "rest of light."<sup>a</sup> And the light of corporeal eyes is the sun or the moon or the lamp used for fire, while wisdom is the light of the soul.<sup>b</sup> And for this to rest and be quiet and still is not profitable,<sup>c</sup> but movement<sup>d</sup> is profitable for him who possesses (it) and for those who are near him. And he becomes wholly good when moved by wisdom toward those things which are suitable and related to him,<sup>e</sup> while (he becomes) lame and imperfect when he is motionless. For these reasons, though the city of Mesopotamia is confined by its own streams as if by torrents,<sup>f</sup> he proceeds with unimpeded and free steps, while those who oppose the movements that take place in accordance with nature<sup>g</sup> in the soul that becomes knowing and wise when illuminated—in them are many things, some of which are due to us ourselves, others to external causes, which like river-streams flow round the mind<sup>h</sup> and confine it.<sup>i</sup>

94. (Gen. xxiv. 11) Why does (Scripture) say, "He caused the camels to rest outside the city beside a well of water at evening, when the (women-)drawers of water<sup>j</sup> came out"?

The literal significance<sup>k</sup> is clear, for it is the custom of wayfarers to spend the night by springs in order to rest

<sup>a</sup> φωτὸς ἀνάπαυσις. The same fanciful etymology is given in *De Congressu* 45, as if Heb. *Nāhōr* were a compound of *nāh* "to rest" and 'ōr "light."

<sup>b</sup> τὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς φῶς σοφία ἐστίν. Cf. *De Congressu* 47 φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς ἡλιοειδέστατον ἐπιστήμη.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> κίνησις.

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. text is obscure but not more so than Aucher's rendering, "namque fit nota familia sua bona per sapientiam mota ad sibi decentia."

<sup>f</sup> This clause too is syntactically unclear in the Arm.

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ φύσιν.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>i</sup> Philo seems to mean that the wise man seeks "the quiet of light" by responding to the right kinds of movement in the soul.

<sup>j</sup> LXX αἱ ὑδρευόμεναι.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ ῥητὸν σύμβολον.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

themselves and their asses for the needs of the journey. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>a</sup> it is as follows. When the memory<sup>b</sup> rests and is inactive, it turns, as it were, to sleep, and rests outside the city in sleep<sup>c</sup> by nature. For every one of us appears (to be) a city, the body being like a building,<sup>d</sup> and the soul like an inhabitant.<sup>e</sup> When the memory happens to be awake, it wakens the mind by entering the city, that is, by dwelling within us. But when sleep overtakes it—and sleep is forgetfulness<sup>f</sup> of memory—, it necessarily removes its dwelling from that place, namely from us, until it is once again aroused. For what is forgetfulness but the going out (of memory)? And most excellently does (Scripture) say that memory turned to sleep not only “outside the city” but also “beside a well of water,” indicating that forgetfulness is not perpetual or daily, since the spring is near by, from which the memory-form<sup>g</sup> is drawn<sup>h</sup> and enters the soul, and sleep, which by another name is called “forgetfulness,” is shaken off. And when wakefulness comes in, of which the true name is “memory,” it remains by the spring to which the drawers of water come out at evening. Now, who they are (Scripture) does not tell, for the subject of investigation (here) is not women or water but the mind of the God-loving man,<sup>i</sup> which desires a water-course.<sup>j</sup> And the time of its resting is the setting of the sun, when the senses are far gone<sup>k</sup> and there is no longer shadow and shade from its

<sup>a</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ μνήμη. On the camels as a symbol of memory see above, *QG* iv. 92.

<sup>c</sup> Variant “at home.”

<sup>d</sup> οἰκοδομή.

<sup>e</sup> οἰκήτορι. Cf. *De Poster. Caini* 61 <ψυχῇ> σωματικαῖς συζυγίαις ὑποβάλλουσα αὐτὴν οἰκήτορας ἔχει τοὺς λεχθέντας.

<sup>f</sup> λήθη.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ μνημονικὸν εἶδος.

<sup>h</sup> Reading Arm. *oroganeal* (ptc.) for *oroganel* (inf.).

<sup>i</sup> περὶ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ φιλοθέου.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *vtak* = *χειμάρρους*, *λίμνη*, *ὑδραγωγός*, etc.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *zarancem* = *προβεβηκέναι*, *ληρεῖν*, *ἐξιστάναι*, etc.

Aucher renders, “defatigatis jam sensibus,” and adds in a footnote, “*vel*, antiquatis jam sensibilibus.”

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rays.<sup>a</sup> For then it<sup>b</sup> receives impressions<sup>c</sup> of a more lucid reason<sup>d</sup> from the things seen, and, behold, it arrives at the divine spring, and this is wisdom,<sup>e</sup> which takes the appearance of water by its power.<sup>f</sup> And some persist in drinking with the edges of the lips, some only so much as is sufficient to satisfy their thirst, while still others hasten the more eagerly to rejoice in it, being insatiably impelled to those things which belong to virtue.<sup>g</sup>

95. (Gen. xxiv. 12-14) Why does the servant, beginning with the prospering of the journey, prophesy what is to come?<sup>h</sup>

The literal meaning<sup>i</sup> is that since the angel of God was his companion on the journey and was near by, he was perhaps enthused<sup>j</sup> by him and began to be possessed.<sup>k</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>l</sup> they<sup>m</sup> are types of God-loving characters, each of which the reason<sup>n</sup> carefully

<sup>a</sup> This last clause is not quite clear.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently the mind is the subject.

<sup>c</sup> φαντασίας.      <sup>d</sup> Or "Logos"—λόγου.      <sup>e</sup> σοφία.

<sup>f</sup> πρὸς (or κατὰ) δύναμιν. The meaning is not clear, possibly "in accordance with the power (or "capacity") of those who use it."  
<sup>g</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>h</sup> This is Philo's somewhat awkward summary of the LXX καὶ εἶπεν, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἀβραάμ, εὐδωσον (Heb. "cause it to befall") ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ σήμερον καὶ ποιήσον ἔλεος μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἀβραάμ. ἴδου ἐγὼ ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος, αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορεύονται ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ καὶ ἔσται ἡ παρθένος ἣ ἂν ἐγὼ εἶπω, Ἐπίκλινον τὴν ὑδρίαν σου ἵνα πῖω, καὶ εἶπη μοι, Πίε σύ, καὶ τὰς καμήλας σου ποτιῶ ἕως ἂν παύσωνται πίνουσαι, ταύτην ἠτοίμασας τῷ παιδί σου Ἰσαάκ· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γνώσομαι ὅτι ἐποίησας ἔλεος τῷ κυρίῳ μου Ἀβραάμ.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> Reading *astouacareal* (ptc.) for *astouacarel* (inf.) = ἐνθουσιάζων or ἐπιθειάζων.

<sup>k</sup> κατέχεσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>m</sup> i.e. the persons and objects mentioned by the servant.

<sup>n</sup> Or "the passage (of Scripture)"—ὁ λόγος.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

examines and fully investigates.<sup>a</sup> And when it finds that they are united, it rejoices at their being complete, as it hoped. Now, there are three types. One is being a virgin; the second, that she inclines the water-jar; and the third, that she gives (them) to drink. For the sign of a virgin is a pure and sincere intention,<sup>b</sup> which honours the sincere and incorruptible nature without passion. Moreover, the inclining downward of the water-jar (signifies) length of teaching and participation,<sup>c</sup> not for all whomsoever, for death rather than profit.<sup>d</sup> And it is not for those whose custom it is to act like the envious sophists,<sup>e</sup> who with what they have drawn in from things formerly heard take water with the greatest difficulty, being able to draw only a little.<sup>f</sup> For he who in tasting desires to draw <sup>g</sup> the measure of the water-jar is anxious not to spill it altogether on the ground,<sup>h</sup> and lifts up <sup>i</sup> the drink for the sharing (of it) and for love

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders differently, "ad scrutanda singulorum verba et veraciter adimplenda."

<sup>b</sup> The two Arm. words probably render προαίρεσις.

<sup>c</sup> μῆκος (or μακρότητα) διδασκαλίας καὶ κοινωνίας. Probably τῆς σοφίας or τῆς ἀρετῆς is to be understood. See the parallel in *De Poster. Caini* 146.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. text is obscure and evidently incomplete or corrupt. Aucher renders, "non cunctis simul, ne mortis, quam utilitatis sit causa." The sense seems to be that wisdom is not for those who prefer death to the help to be obtained from wisdom.

<sup>e</sup> τοῖς φθονεροῖς σοφισταῖς. See the next note.

<sup>f</sup> The text is obscure, partly because of the multiple meanings of the Arm. verb *tanem*, here rendered "to draw." Aucher renders, "qui per auditum anteriorum, quae intus acceperunt, hauriunt aquam tantam ut paucissimam in se ferre queant." In *De Poster. Caini* 150 Philo speaks of the grudging and mercenary spirit of the sophists, who withhold from their pupils much that they ought to tell them.

<sup>g</sup> Here again the Arm. verb *tanem* is ambiguous. Aucher renders, "qui vero post gustum desiderat in mensura hydriae secum dortare" [*l.* "portare"].

<sup>h</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>i</sup> Variant "opens."

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of man,<sup>a</sup> as one might be able to harmonize on a musical instrument, and there would be a most excellent and wonderful harmony.

96. (Gen. xxiv. 15) Why does (Scripture) say, "It came about before he finished speaking in his mind"<sup>b</sup>?

First, it makes clear that there are two (kinds of) discourse,<sup>c</sup> one which resides within, in the understanding,<sup>d</sup> and (another) which we utter.<sup>e</sup> And each of these has a special sound<sup>f</sup>; that which we utter has that of nouns and verbs,<sup>g</sup> while that which is in the understanding has that of thoughts, reflection and comprehension,<sup>h</sup> for (Scripture) very emphatically proves this by showing that he spoke what had been decided in his mind. And in the second place, it vividly represents the fact that before every utterance and thought<sup>i</sup> there come the surpassing kindnesses of God,<sup>j</sup> which seem to be swifter than anything in creation.

97. (Gen. xxiv. 15) What is the meaning of the words, "And Rebekah<sup>k</sup> came out, who had been born to Bethuel"<sup>l</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> εἰς κοινωνίαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ἐγένετο πρὸ τοῦ συντελέσαι αὐτὸν λαλοῦντα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ (Heb. lacks the words after "speaking").

<sup>c</sup> λόγοι.

<sup>d</sup> ἐν τῷ λογισμῷ.

<sup>e</sup> προφέρομεν. On the distinction between the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and the λόγος προφορικός see above, *QG* iv. 85 notes.

<sup>f</sup> ἴδιον φθόγγον or "tone"—τόνον: Aucher "vocem." Although the inner λόγος, strictly speaking, has no "sound," it is articulately expressed, as Philo states in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 4.

<sup>g</sup> δι' ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, i.e. words in general.

<sup>h</sup> διὰ λογισμῶν καὶ ἐννοιῶν καὶ συνέσεως *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "mind."

<sup>j</sup> αἱ θεῖαι χάριτες αἱ ὑπερβάλλουσαι, cf. *De Abrahamo* 39 αἱ τῶν χαρίτων ὑπερβολαί. Aucher renders, "praecedunt gratiae Dei praevenientes et praetereuntes."

<sup>k</sup> LXX Ῥεβέκκα, Heb. *Ribqāh*.

<sup>l</sup> LXX Βαθουήλ, Heb. *B'ethū'el*.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

Just as in the world the heaven has special honour greater than that of all other things, always being the same in itself,<sup>a</sup> so too the soul of him who philosophizes genuinely<sup>b</sup> is inflexible and unchangeable. And truly equal to the heavenly nature is she whom in their ancestral language the Hebrews and Chaldaeans call "Rebekah," which name is to be translated as "constancy"<sup>c</sup> since she suffers neither diminution nor increase. And (Scripture) tells her lineage, saying that she was born to "Bethuel," which should be interpreted as "daughter of her God."<sup>d</sup> And who is to be considered the daughter of God but Wisdom, who is the first-born mother of all things<sup>e</sup> and most of all of those who are greatly purified in soul?

98. (Gen. xxiv. 15) Why is (Rebekah) said to carry the water-jar "on her shoulders" <sup>f</sup>?

(Scripture) is wont to make a bodily symbol of the shoulders,<sup>g</sup> for they are the beginnings and origins of the

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "semper se suaque aeque habens."

<sup>b</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ τοῦ ἀνόθως φιλοσοφούντος.

<sup>c</sup> As Aucher notes, Arm. *garoui'ian* usually = "resurrection" (ἀνάστασις or ἐγερσις), but here it is evidently a nominal formation from the verb *yarem* "to adhere," as the context and other passages in Philo show. In *De Somniis* i. 46 "Rebekah" is etymologized as ἡ ὑπομονή, in *De Fuga* 45 and *De Cherubim* 41 as ἐπιμονή (τῶν καλῶν).

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *De Fuga* 50-51, where the name "Bethuel" is interpreted as θυγάτηρ θεοῦ, i.e. σοφία, as if from Heb. *bath* "daughter" and 'el "God." Here "daughter of her God" indicates an etymon *bitto* "his daughter."

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *De Fuga* 109 μητρὸς δὲ σοφίας δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν, and *De Virtutibus* 62 σοφίαν δὲ πρεσβυτέραν οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς οὐσαν.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ἰδοὺ Ῥεβέκκα . . . ἔχουσα τὴν ὕδριαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων (Heb. "her shoulder").

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *Quod Deterius* 9 ἐν Συχέμῃ ὤμος . . . τλητικῶς σημεῖον πόνου, *De Mut. Nom.* 193 Συχέμ . . . ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἐστὶν ὤμος, πόνου σύμβολον, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 130 τὸν γὰρ ὤμον ἐνεργείας καὶ πράξεως ποιεῖται σύμβολον.

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arms and forearms and also of the hands, through which the works and activities of life are accomplished. And the water-jar is a vessel of water, and this is a symbol of education <sup>a</sup>; and water (is a symbol) of those things which are seen through wisdom.<sup>b</sup> For the water-jar contains water, and knowledge (contains) law, counsel and contemplation.<sup>c</sup> And animals and plants are nourished <sup>d</sup> with water, while the sovereign mind <sup>e</sup> (is nourished) with those things which are seen through wisdom. And so the God-loving soul <sup>f</sup> bears heavy things most lightly, (namely) all things pertaining to knowledge.<sup>g</sup>

\*99. (Gen. xxiv. 16) Why does (Scripture) use a double expression in calling her a virgin, saying, "She was a virgin very fair of face. She was a virgin whom no man had known" <sup>h</sup>?

It wishes to show clearly that she had two virginities, one in respect of the body, the other in respect of the incorruptible soul.<sup>i</sup> And she was fair to see and to know.<sup>j</sup> Do not, however, think that it now presents to us fairness of body in respect of that which is called beauty of form,<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> σύμβολον τῆς παιδείας.

<sup>b</sup> κατὰ σοφίαν. Cf. *De Poster. Caini* 146 ἐπαινετέον οὖν καὶ Ῥεβέκκαν, . . . ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου χωρίου καθελοῦσα τὸ σοφίας ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα, τὴν ὑδρίαν ὀρέγει τῷ μαθητῇ ὡς ἰκανὸς ἐκεῖνός ἐστι δέξασθαι διδασκαλίας.

<sup>c</sup> ἡ ἐπιστήμη <περιέχει> τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς βουλὰς καὶ τὰς θεωρίας *vel sim.*

<sup>d</sup> ποτίζονται.

<sup>e</sup> ὁ ἡγεμονικὸς νοῦς.

<sup>f</sup> ἡ φιλόθεος ψυχὴ.

<sup>g</sup> πάντα τὰ ἐπιστημονικά.

<sup>h</sup> LXX ἡ δὲ παρθένος (Heb. "young woman") ἦν καλὴ τῇ ὄψει σφόδρα. παρθένος ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτήν.

<sup>i</sup> ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀφθαρτον ψυχὴν.

<sup>j</sup> Or perhaps, as Aucher renders, "erat enim tam visu, quam intellectu pulchra."

<sup>k</sup> κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην εὐμορφίαν.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

which consists of the symmetry of parts and beauty of form <sup>a</sup> such as even harlots have. These I would never call fair, but on the contrary, foul,<sup>b</sup> for this is their proper name. And, it seems to me, just as bodily properties are seen in mirrors, so those of the soul (are seen) in the face and countenance. But a shameless look and an elevated neck and a continuous movement of the eyebrows and a womanish walk <sup>c</sup> and not blushing at, or being ashamed of,<sup>d</sup> any evil at all is the sign of a lewd soul,<sup>e</sup> which clearly pictures and describes the forms of its invisible disgraces on its visible body.<sup>f</sup> But he in whom the divine words <sup>g</sup> of wisdom and virtue <sup>h</sup> dwell, even though he may be more deformed of body than Silenus, is necessarily fair.<sup>i</sup> Since it is good for him to be revered through his own modesty, it follows that he will conform to that which is acceptable to those who look at him.<sup>j</sup> Wherefore (Scripture) adds to her virginity <sup>k</sup> what some may think superfluous but is (in fact) necessary, namely "a man had not known her," for, it says, what is she whom a man has known? But may it not be that by "man" it does not present one who is such in body and soul but a model character,<sup>l</sup> who does not

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

<sup>b</sup> Or "lewd."

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. has βάδισμα σεσοβημένον.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. has only ἐρυθριᾶν.

<sup>e</sup> Greek frag. ψυχῆς αἰσχίστης.

<sup>f</sup> This is close to the wording of the Greek frag. (which ends here), τοὺς ἀφανεῖς τῶν οἰκείων ὄνειδῶν τύπους ἐγγραφοῦσης τῷ φανερῷ σώματι.

<sup>g</sup> Or "oracles."

<sup>h</sup> σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς. The syntax is not clear. Aucher renders, "sapientiae studio atque virtutis."

<sup>i</sup> καλός ἐστι ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

<sup>j</sup> The text is obscure. Aucher renders, "bonum est enim ei proprio pudore venerabiliter conformari acceptationi videntium."

<sup>k</sup> τῇ παρθενίᾳ αὐτῆς, i.e. to the (second) reference to Rebekah's virginity.

<sup>l</sup> τρόπον ὑποδείγματος vel sim.; Aucher "morem exemplarem."

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permit himself to corrupt the uncorrupted, or to defile the undefiled, soul but has the courage to think it impious to sow the corrupt seeds of sensual pleasure in the mind,<sup>a</sup> and, instead, receives the unadulterated seeds of divinity which the Father of all is wont to sow in us from above, (namely) those that are incorporeal and intelligible.<sup>b</sup>

\*100. (Gen. xxiv. 16) What is the meaning of the words, "Going down to the spring, she filled her water-jar and went up"<sup>c</sup>?

(Scripture) gives the intention of the Law<sup>d</sup> symbolically.<sup>e</sup> For whatever soul is shown to descend from its own beliefs (is shown) to ascend from there quite soon, just as, on the contrary, whoever is haughty, boastful, puffed up and swollen descends and is destroyed<sup>f</sup>; so that it is most natural to enter into the practices of education.<sup>g</sup> For the descent of the soul is its ascent through belief,<sup>h</sup> and its ascent and elevation are the ebbing of arrogance.<sup>i</sup> But it is impossible for one to fly upward to the heavenly place of virtue<sup>j</sup> who has not filled his whole soul like a water-jar<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς φθαρτὰ σπέρματα εἰς τὸν νοῦν σπείρειν.

<sup>b</sup> τὰ ἀσώματα καὶ νοερά.

<sup>c</sup> This sentence is more fully commented on in *De Poster. Caini* 136-138 and more briefly in *De Fuga* 195.

<sup>d</sup> τὴν τοῦ νόμου γνώμην. Aucher renders, "legem voluntatis," adding in a footnote, "*ad verb.* voluntatem legis (fortasse ut legitimam)."

<sup>e</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>f</sup> Or "is dissolved" (or, perhaps, "is deflated").

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. lit. = ὥστε εἶναι φυσικώτατόν τι καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς παιδείας ἐπιτηδεύματα εἰσερχόμενον. The Greek frag. (Harris, p. 100, identified by Früchtel) has merely φυσικώτατα ταῦτα δέδεικται.

<sup>h</sup> Similarly the Greek frag., κατάβασιν μὲν ψυχῆς τὴν δι' οἰήσεως ἀνάβασιν.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) has similarly ἀνοδὸν δὲ καὶ ὕψος τὴν ἀλαζονείας ὑπονόστησιν.

<sup>j</sup> πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον ἀρετῆς τόπον.

<sup>k</sup> ὕδριαν.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

from the divine spring, which we declare to be the eternal wisdom of knowledge.<sup>a</sup>

101. (Gen. xxiv. 17) Why did the servant run to meet her<sup>b</sup>?

There are two praises<sup>c</sup> of the servant: one is his running toward her, and the other is his meeting (her). For (thus) is clearly shown, in the first place, the eagerness of the progressive man<sup>d</sup> and the learned man's attainment of the good,<sup>e</sup> and, in the second place, that it is considered a pleasure and delight and joyfulness of mind by those whose (desire) God has entirely approved<sup>f</sup> and whom He has made perfect in the knowledge of wisdom<sup>g</sup> by His wisdom, which like a spring He has opened up and poured out with lavish generosity. For there are those who are slothful in respect of good deeds and voluntarily hold back from them. And there are those who are seized with envy so as not to rejoice (in the good) and even turn their faces away from those who are (held) in honour and are in a state of prosperity. Such men does sacred Scripture<sup>h</sup> rebuke by praising the opposite way of life.

\*102. (Gen. xxiv. 17) Why does he ask for a little water, saying, "Give me a little water to drink from thy water-jar"<sup>i</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> The text is perhaps in disorder. Cf. *De Poster. Caini* 138 <Ῥεβέκκαν> ὑδρευσαμένην οὖν ἀπὸ σοφίας, τῆς θείας πηγῆς, τὰς ἐπιστήμας.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "run toward her," as in the Arm. O.T., rendering LXX εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῆς. The sentence is commented on in passing in *De Poster. Caini* 138.

<sup>c</sup> One expects "descriptions" or the like.

<sup>d</sup> τοῦ προκόπτοντος.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "et peritia [abl. case] perveniendi ad bonum."

<sup>f</sup> The text is defective, since the noun-object is lacking. Aucher renders, "quorum Deus votum integerrime acceptans adimplevit." <sup>g</sup> κατ' ἐπιστήμην σοφίας. <sup>h</sup> ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος.

<sup>i</sup> Philo indirectly comments on this phrase in *De Poster. Caini* 139-147.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

It is proper to interpret (this as meaning) that one should not desire anything that is beyond one's capacity,<sup>a</sup> for everything that has measure is praiseworthy.<sup>b</sup> Wherefore in another passage sacred Scripture<sup>c</sup> (orders)<sup>d</sup> the measuring of the spiritual food that came forth from the ether and heaven like a spring and was called "manna"<sup>e</sup> by the Hebrews, that it might not be too much for anyone or too little. For it is necessary that teaching should be more abundant for the intelligent man, and less for the foolish man because of the fine equality of proportion.<sup>f</sup> In another place<sup>g</sup> (Scripture) also says that one should offer sacrifices in accordance with the power of the hands,<sup>h</sup> alluding to what has been said, lest there be too little or too much, the little being suited to little men and the great to great men; this is that equality which is most useful to life.<sup>i</sup> And so, he appropriately asks for "a little water," thereby measuring<sup>j</sup> his own nature, for this is little, being that of a servant. And to kindle the spirit of uttered discourse<sup>k</sup> with a more perfect nature, the Father did not leave any part empty but completely filled the vessel of

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., ἀξίον ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸ μηδενὸς ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. Aucher renders inexactly, "oportet non desiderare ut recipiantur ampliora suis viribus."

<sup>b</sup> πᾶν γὰρ τὸ συμμετρίαν ἔχον, ἐπαινετόν is the reading of the Greek frag., which breaks off here and is resumed below, "For it is necessary, etc."

<sup>c</sup> ὁ ἱερός λόγος.

<sup>d</sup> There is no main verb in the Arm.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *mananay*. Cf. *De Sacr. Abelis* 86, *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 79 et al. on manna as spiritual food.

<sup>f</sup> For ἐν ταῖς ἀναλογίαις the Greek frag. (which again breaks off, to be resumed briefly below) has ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. Lev. xii. 8.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. in accordance with one's means.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) has καὶ τοῦτό γέ ἐστι τὸ βιωφέλεστατον ἴσον.

<sup>j</sup> Reading Arm. *ἔαρ' eal* (ptc.) for *ἔαρ' el* (inf.); so also Aucher, who renders, "mensurans."

<sup>k</sup> τῷ προφορικῷ λόγῳ, symbolized by Abraham's servant; see above, *QG* iv. 85.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

spirit, knowing that it naturally does not seek drink from her who has it,<sup>a</sup> but from the water-jar,<sup>b</sup> to teach us that it is not mortal man who pours out blessings<sup>c</sup> but the grace of God,<sup>d</sup> which is too high for man<sup>e</sup> and of which he prays to be thought worthy to partake, and that He give him to drink that which He had earlier put into (the vessel).<sup>f</sup>

103. (Gen. xxiv. 18) Why does she say in addition, "Master," (although she was) almost the mistress of the servant?<sup>g</sup>

This is an indication and proof of theoretical matters,<sup>h</sup> from which one ought to see that the passage<sup>i</sup> is not about mortal man but about the characters<sup>j</sup> of good men, who are zealous for immortality. And so, wisdom<sup>k</sup> rightly

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* from wisdom or virtue, symbolized by Rebekah.

<sup>b</sup> The passage is obscure, and the correctness of the above rendering is uncertain. Aucher renders, "adhaec vero quia secundum verbum pronuntiativum, quod animam refovet, perfectionis erat naturae, nullam reliquit partem vacuum, sed totum ex toto vas animae implendum pater novit. Naturaliter, non ex habente, sed de hydria potum petit." In a footnote he adds "*Vel*, implevit pater. Quod noscens naturaliter, etc."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "waters with good things."

<sup>d</sup> χάρις θεοῦ.

<sup>e</sup> So Aucher, "quae super hominem apparet." Perhaps the Greek original meant "which appears to man from above."

<sup>f</sup> Meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, "de qua rogat sibi largiri dignare, et illam, quam prius introducit (in os animae) potare facere."

<sup>g</sup> LXX ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, Πίε, κύριε. The sentence is briefly allegorized in *De Poster. Caini* 138 to mean that "only the wise man is free and a ruler, though he may have ten thousand masters of his body."

<sup>h</sup> θεωρητικῶν (οἱ ὁρατικῶν). Aucher renders, "speculativae sententiae."

<sup>i</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>j</sup> Or "types."

<sup>k</sup> ἡ σοφία.

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desires to give to another some of the drink <sup>a</sup> which she has taken. For grudging envy does not touch the god-loving soul. And she calls him "Master," not with regard to the empty dignity of slavery or freedom, but with regard to the eagerness of will of the recipient. For he is not constant in ignorance and indiscipline <sup>b</sup> but truly concerns himself with discipline and knowledge, <sup>c</sup> for he labours on behalf of genuinely noble things.

\*104. (Gen. xxiv. 18) Why does she hasten to lower the water-jar upon her arm? <sup>d</sup>

This is in harmony with the preceding. For (Scripture) wishes to reprove the character of the sophist <sup>e</sup> and to praise the true and genuine seeker of wisdom. For he who is trained in words <sup>f</sup> and uses one after the other, helps (only) one soul in training himself, but does not bring any profit to those who come to him. Because of their speed and their being produced one after the other his words when spoken do not enter their ears but are, as it were, poured away outside. This is what those men do who transfer water or wine all at once into a jar with a narrow mouth, for more is spilled than is put into (the jar). But he who genuinely philosophizes and shares (his wisdom) humanely, <sup>g</sup> gives profit through his words by inclining himself and making allowance for the character of the learner. For the pupil's capacity to learn is not like the teacher's capacity to teach, <sup>h</sup> since the one is perfect, and the other imperfect. <sup>i</sup> Wherefore it is fitting to bear in

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* drinking-water.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "non enim doctrinae disciplinaeque odium fert."

<sup>c</sup> παιδείας καὶ ἐπιστήμης.

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ ἔσπευσεν καὶ καθείλεν τὴν ὕδριαν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς. The sentence is allegorized in similar fashion but at greater length in *De Poster. Caini* 140-147.

<sup>e</sup> τὸν σοφιστικὸν τρόπον.

<sup>f</sup> λόγοις.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ ἀνόθως φιλοσοφούμενος καὶ κοινωνῶν φιλανθρώπως.

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag. (which begins here).

<sup>i</sup> ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν τέλειος, ὁ δὲ ἀτελής ἐστι, as in the Greek frag.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

mind and to weigh <sup>a</sup> the capacity of the one who is being educated.<sup>b</sup>

105. (Gen. xxiv. 18-19) What is the meaning of the words, "She gave him to drink until he ceased drinking" <sup>c</sup> ?

(Scripture) shows the teacher's amiability and friendliness toward the learner from the fact that she not only gave him to drink but until he ceased drinking. And it is an indication of the fact that one should not superficially <sup>d</sup> take account (of the learner's needs) <sup>e</sup> but should take cognizance of the impulse <sup>f</sup> of the disciple and pupil, and completely satisfy all his zeal.<sup>g</sup> For, as I was saying a little before,<sup>h</sup> one should not take either more or less water than one's capacity (to use). For where there is too much, it is spilled outside, and where there is too little, it does not fill but leaves an empty place in the soul of the learner.

106. (Gen. xxiv. 19) Why does she say, "And for thy camels I will draw water until they have all drunk" ?

(Scripture) dwells at length on the benevolence of the teacher who wishes not only to hand over and entrust scientific knowledge <sup>i</sup> (to the pupil) but to put it in order <sup>j</sup> and make it stick to him, since she gives drink to his

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. has only one verb, *στοχάζεσθαι*.

<sup>b</sup> *τὴν τοῦ παιδευομένου δύναμιν*, as in the Greek frag. (with change of case).

<sup>c</sup> So the LXX, *καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτὸν ἕως ἐπαύσατο πίνων*. The Heb. is slightly different, "and she gave him to drink and (*i.e.* until) she ceased giving him to drink." The verse is somewhat differently allegorized in *De Poster. Caini* 147.

<sup>d</sup> *οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως*.

<sup>e</sup> The meaning of the Arm. text is not altogether clear. Aucher renders, "cujus indicium est haud obiter facere enarrationem."

<sup>f</sup> *τὴν ὁρμήν*.

<sup>g</sup> *τὴν σπουδὴν*.

<sup>h</sup> In *QG* iv. 102, 104.

<sup>i</sup> *τὰ ἐπιστημονικά*.

<sup>j</sup> *κοσμεῖν vel sim.*

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memory,<sup>a</sup> of which the camels are symbols. For genuine teachers and instructors<sup>b</sup> direct their teaching not to display but to the profit of their pupils, and compel them to repeat from memory what has been said by them,<sup>c</sup> thus firmly impressing upon them what they have heard.

107. (Gen. xxiv. 20) Why does (Scripture) say, "She hastened and poured out the water-jar into the drinking-trough"<sup>d</sup>?

In man the drinking-trough is a symbol of hearing,<sup>e</sup> for it is through hearing that the flow of words comes into the mind and soul.<sup>f</sup> Excellently, moreover, is it said that she poured out the whole water-jar, for thereby (Scripture) clearly shows that the good is far removed from envy and grudgingness, for without storing up and keeping them for itself, it gives up the various kinds of knowledge<sup>g</sup> and hides nothing, as some sophists<sup>h</sup> do. And the reason for this is that some men because of small-mindedness<sup>i</sup> suppose that there are only those things in nature which they alone know. But the good man, on the contrary, knows that he knows little or nothing rather than the illimitable greatness of nature,<sup>j</sup> wherefore he has learned to take water from the divine spring, as though having

<sup>a</sup> τὰς μνήμας, plural as in the parallel, *De Poster. Caini* 148-150.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, "fideles magistri, genuinique doctores."

<sup>c</sup> *i. e.* the teachers.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX, καὶ ἔσπευσεν καὶ ἐξεκένωσεν τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐπὶ τὸ ποτιστήριον. The last word is taken by Philo, in the parallel, *De Poster. Caini* 150-152, as a synonym of δεξαμενὴ and as a symbol of the learner's soul or understanding.

<sup>e</sup> τοῦ ἀκούειν.

<sup>f</sup> εἰς τὸν νοῦν (οἷον τὴν διάνοιαν) καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν.

<sup>g</sup> τὰ τῆς ἐπιστήμης εἶδη.

<sup>h</sup> σοφισταί.

<sup>i</sup> δι' ὀλιγοψυχίαν.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ ἄπειρον τῆς φύσεως μέγεθος. Cf. *De Poster. Caini* 152 πάνυ εὐήθεις ὅσοι πρὸς τὸ πέρασ ἡστυοσοῦν ἐπιστήμης ἀφικέσθαι διανοήθησαν.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

nothing of his own and receiving (everything) from the pure and unfailing wisdom of God.<sup>a</sup>

108. (Gen. xxiv. 21) Why is he no longer called "boy" <sup>b</sup> but "man," for (Scripture) says, "The man examined and studied her and stood silent so as to know whether the Lord God would bring success to him" <sup>c</sup> ?

Because while he was preparing to learn and was at the beginning <sup>d</sup> of instruction,<sup>e</sup> he was considered to be of the boys and minors,<sup>f</sup> but when he began to progress,<sup>g</sup> he was considered a rational man,<sup>h</sup> who was indeed able to use uttered discourse.<sup>i</sup> And this progressive man is a type of character <sup>j</sup> and sees, as it were, a most beautiful image <sup>k</sup> and the nature of a wise teacher of the wisdom of knowledge.<sup>l</sup> And also because he stood silent a long while,<sup>m</sup> giving place to that which spoke in him without mouth or tongue or instruments or voice, (namely) the divine Logos,<sup>n</sup> understanding and seeing that path which leads to virtue and happiness,<sup>o</sup> and whether he will reach it. For in truth there is no prospering <sup>p</sup> for anyone else (or) for those (engaged) in material things,<sup>q</sup> whether as private citizens or as kings.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ἐκ τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ ἀδιαλείπτου σοφίας θεοῦ. <sup>b</sup> παῖς.

<sup>c</sup> The LXX reads slightly differently ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος κατεμάνθανεν αὐτήν (Heb. "contemplated her") καὶ παρεσιώπα τοῦ γινῶναι ἢ εὐόδωκεν κύριος τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ οὐ.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "had a beginning." <sup>e</sup> διδασκαλίας.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν τοῖς ἀτελέσι. <sup>g</sup> ὡς ἐγένετο προκόπτων.

<sup>h</sup> ἄνθρωπος λογικός.

<sup>i</sup> τῷ προφορικῷ λόγῳ, see above, Q<sup>U</sup> iv. 85 notes.

<sup>j</sup> τύπος ἡθῶν *vel sim.* <sup>k</sup> Or "picture."

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. lit. = σοφοῦ διδασκάλου φύσιν σοφίας ἐπιστήμης. This can hardly have been the original.

<sup>m</sup> Or "sufficiently."

<sup>n</sup> τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ. <sup>o</sup> εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν.

<sup>p</sup> εὐδοεῖν *vel sim.* <sup>q</sup> ἐν τοῖς ὑλικοῖς.

<sup>r</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "alias vero prosperitas in nullo constitit eorum, quae in materiis sunt, sive privata sive publica aut regia."

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109. (Gen. xxiv. 22) Why, after all the camels ceased drinking, did the man give ear-rings of gold and bracelets <sup>a</sup> to the virgin ?

This is something most natural,<sup>b</sup> for he who learns has also learned by remembering the words, " And do thou drink," <sup>c</sup> which was (the same as) learning.<sup>d</sup> And his seeing the camels watered was the equivalent of revivifying his memory.<sup>e</sup> And he returned thanks and gratitude to his teacher very genuinely and appropriately,<sup>f</sup> for in return for what he had heard he gave the ear-rings as an adornment to her ears, for the word was hers who was teaching, and the ears were his who received the teaching. And in return for what she had done, (he gave) a memorial (consisting of) bracelets, an adornment of memory and deeds.

\*110. (Gen. xxiv. 22) Why does (Scripture) speak of ear-rings of a drachma in weight <sup>g</sup> and of bracelets of gold of ten drachmas <sup>h</sup> but not of five and five of gold ? <sup>i</sup>

Altogether excellently has it apportioned the two into

<sup>a</sup> Scripture specifies two bracelets. In *De Congressu* 113, where the verse is briefly allegorized (see also the next section), Philo transfers the number two to the ear-rings.

<sup>b</sup> φυσικώτατόν τι.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Gen. xxiv. 18. Philo does not comment on this phrase in dealing with the verse in *QG* iv. 103-105.

<sup>d</sup> As Aucher remarks in a footnote, the syntax of the whole section is " nimis abstrusa obfuscataque."

<sup>e</sup> ἴσον τῷ ζωπυρεῖν τὴν μνήμην. On the camels as a symbol of memory see above, *QG* iv. 92 notes.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher " cum munere familiarissimo."

<sup>g</sup> LXX ἀνὰ δραχμὴν (*v.l.* δίδραχμον) ὀλκῆς: Heb. " a beqa' (half-shekel) its weight": Arm. O.T. " a dahekan (usu. = drachma or denarius) in weight." In *De Congressu* 113 Philo has δύο μὲν ἐνώτια ἀνὰ δραχμὴν ὀλκῆν. Here the Arm. translator probably uses k'ank'ar " talent " in the sense of a drachma.

<sup>h</sup> LXX δύο ψέλια . . . δέκα χρυσῶν ὀλκὴ αὐτόν, so also Heb. In *De Congressu* 113 Philo has ψέλια δὲ δέκα χρυσῶν.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* ear-rings and bracelets of five drachmas each.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

one <sup>a</sup> in order to change the bad nature of the dyad and adapt it to that of the good monad. And it has taken the dyad and left it undivided,<sup>b</sup> for ten is divisible into two fives. And the decad is better than the pentad, for the former is a most perfect, complete and superior number and is appropriate to the divine mysteries,<sup>c</sup> while the number five is the measure of the senses,<sup>d</sup> and the senses bear the same relation to the mind <sup>e</sup> as does the traveller to the king.<sup>f</sup> And it would be folly to change the better into the worse. Now, what sort of nature the decad has both in respect of intelligible substance <sup>g</sup> and in respect of sense-perceptible (substance) <sup>h</sup> has already been stated in the book *On Numbers*.<sup>i</sup> Now, however, this much must be said, that both in the world and in man the decad is all.<sup>j</sup> In the world, together with the number seven (of planets) and the eighth sphere of fixed stars and those sublunary things of one species which are changeable among themselves,<sup>k</sup> the divine Logos <sup>l</sup> is the governor and administrator <sup>m</sup> of all things, since it has melodically harmonized

<sup>a</sup> Apparently Philo means that it replaced the equation 5 : 5 by the proportion 1 : 10, where 10 is considered a kind of unity, as in *De Congressu* 105.

<sup>b</sup> ἀδιαίρετον.

<sup>c</sup> Or "thoughts."

<sup>d</sup> τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

<sup>e</sup> πρὸς τὸν νοῦν (or τὴν διάνοιαν).

<sup>f</sup> ὁ ὁδοιπὸρος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. On the Philonic concept of the king's highway of spiritual progress see Joseph Pascher, *Η ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΟΔΟΣ . . . bei Philon von Alexandria* (Paderborn, 1931), chap. iii, "Der mystische Wanderer auf dem 'Königsweg.'"

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ νοερὰν οὐσίαν.

<sup>h</sup> κατὰ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν.

<sup>i</sup> ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀριθμῶν. This lost book of Philo has been reconstructed in outline by Staehle, pp. 1-18.

<sup>j</sup> Apparently in the sense of all-important or the sum total.

<sup>k</sup> Such as earth, water, air.

<sup>l</sup> ὁ θεῖος λόγος. In *De Congressu* 103-105 the tenth part of the universe is said to be the alone truly existent God. The other nine parts are, as here, the seven planets, the sphere of fixed stars and the sublunary world; these constitute the "seeming sense-perceptible God."

<sup>m</sup> κυβερνήτης καὶ οἰκονόμος vel sim.

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the chorus of the nine musical (intervals).<sup>a</sup> And in our body and soul there are also seven irrational parts <sup>b</sup> and the mind, which is a single part.<sup>c</sup> Now, the divine Logos is concerned with these nine (parts),<sup>d</sup> being the leader and ruler of harmony, and by it the nine parts are harmonized, and melodies and songs sound as one. Therefore Moses admits that the decad is holy, naturally leaving the ennead to creation,<sup>e</sup> and the decad to the divine Logos. And rightly is it holy, for it echoes divine things, trumpeting <sup>f</sup> the theme of forgiveness <sup>g</sup> in concordant and antiphonal chants leading to one and the same mixture of harmony. And necessarily does (Scripture) apportion one to the ears and ten to the hands,<sup>h</sup> for one is the beginning of the numbers,<sup>i</sup> and ten is the end; and these are symbols of things. For it is proper to hear first and then to act, since we learn not for the sake of learning but for the sake of doing.<sup>j</sup> And one is proportioned and united to hearing, for both of them are a beginning, one of numbers, and the

<sup>a</sup> Philo seems here to liken the ninefold visible world to an harmonic progression or scale of nine notes.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπτά ἄλογα μέρη.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* body and soul = 2, + seven irrational parts = 9, + the mind = 10.

<sup>d</sup> The meaning of Arm. *darḡnam* (usu. = στρέφεισθαι or ἀναστρέφεισθαι) is not clear here. Aucher renders, "itidem de istis novem distinctionibus disponit."

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* to created things.

<sup>f</sup> Or "playing" (a stringed instrument), but the rendering given above is favoured by the context, see the next note.

<sup>g</sup> ἄφεσιν. The Arm. glossator's guess that Philo here refers to the Day of Atonement, ushered in by the blowing of trumpets and falling on the 10th day of Tishri (Lev. xxiii. 24, 27), is confirmed by the parallel in *De Congressu* 107.

<sup>h</sup> Philo refers to the one-drachma weight of the ear-rings and ten-drachma weight of the bracelets.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* of the digits.

<sup>j</sup> So the brief Greek frag. printed by Mai, ἀκούσαι δεῖ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐργάσασθαι· μαθάνομεν γὰρ οὐ τοῦ μαθεῖν χάριν ἀλλὰ τοῦ πράξαι. In *De Congressu* 113 Philo allegorizes the two numbers a little differently.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

other of learning,<sup>a</sup> while the decad (is the beginning) of doing, for it is the end of the numbers and is the act of teaching, through which we learn. And the monad differs from one as the archetype surpasses and differs from the copy, for the monad is the archetype while one is a likeness of the monad.<sup>b</sup> Why? Because one can admit the completion<sup>c</sup> of many (as in the case of) a herd or chorus or family or nation or army or city, for each of these is one. But the monad does not come from many, for it is unsharing and has no association<sup>d</sup> and is without complexity<sup>e</sup> because of its aloneness, as its very name shows. Now this monad is what Moses writes of in the beginning when he commands that half a didrachmon be brought as first fruits.<sup>f</sup> And this<sup>g</sup> was a very appropriate ornament to be fitted to the ears of Rebekah (who was a symbol of) alertness<sup>h</sup> and perseverance,<sup>i</sup> that she might listen and bear in mind the unity<sup>j</sup> of the divine Logos.

111. (Gen. xxiv. 23) Why does he say, "Whose daughter

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* one is the beginning of the series of digits, and hearing is the beginning of learning.

<sup>b</sup> This agrees closely with the passage from Joh. Lydus given in the Appendix.

<sup>c</sup> τὴν τελειότητα : Aucher "perfectionem."

<sup>d</sup> κοινωνιάν.

<sup>e</sup> ἀνευ συμπλοκῆς *vel sim.*

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 186-189 on Ex. xxx. 13-15 where a tax of half a didrachmon (Heb. shekel) is prescribed as a "ransom" for souls during the taking of the census. On that biblical passage Philo comments that the half didrachmon "is both a drachma and a monad." First fruits (as tithes) are included in his allegories of the number ten in *De Congressu* 95. Here Philo seems to combine the two allegories. <sup>g</sup> *i.e.* the ear-ring of one-drachma weight.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "raising up" : Aucher "perseverantiae."

<sup>i</sup> The two Arm. nouns probably represent a single Greek noun, ἐπιμονῆς or ὑπομονῆς, which are the allegorical explanations of the name Rebekah given elsewhere by Philo.

<sup>j</sup> Or "monad," here fancifully connected with ἐπιμονή or ὑπομονή.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

art thou? Tell me whether there is to thy father a place for us to stay" <sup>a</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>b</sup> is very easy to understand. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>c</sup> he is struck speechless and astonished by the beauty of the veritably true virgin <sup>d</sup> and her unstained, intact and holy soul, which <sup>e</sup> remains constant in doing good and worthy deeds. And he is at a loss to tell whether perhaps it was one not a mortal who begot her, and so he asks, "Whose daughter art thou?" "For," he says, "I see that no one who is created and born is worthy to be thought the father of such fair virtue," <sup>f</sup> as though saying, "Instruct and correct my ignorance by revealing thy lineage and the source <sup>g</sup> of thy beautiful youth. <sup>h</sup>" Since he <sup>i</sup> was embarrassed by modest shame lest he seem to boast too greatly and freely in believing that her lineage was heavenly and marvellous, he asks again immediately, "Is there indeed a place and space for us with thy Father in the ether and heaven or, still higher, with their governor, the divine Logos? <sup>j</sup> For, being there, we should leave all mortal and corruptible things <sup>k</sup> behind. Or shall we be altogether kept back and shut in, planted and rooted in the earth and with heads bent down as if we were trees on a cliff?"

112. (Gen. xxiv. 25) What is the meaning of the words, "There is straw and much fodder with us and a place to lodge" <sup>l</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> So LXX, εἰ ἔστιν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ σου τόπος ἡμῖν καταλύσαι.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> τῆς ὄντως ἀληθοῦς παρθένου.

<sup>e</sup> Or "who" (i.e. the virgin).

<sup>f</sup> ἀρετῆς. <sup>g</sup> Lit. "planting."

<sup>h</sup> Variant "beautiful humanity."

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. glossator, who takes Eleazar to be the implied subject, seems to me to be right as against Aucher who takes Rebekah to be the subject.

<sup>j</sup> τῷ κυβερνήτῃ αὐτῶν, τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ.

<sup>k</sup> πάντα τὰ θνητὰ καὶ φθαρτά. <sup>l</sup> LXX τοῦ καταλύσαι.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

Since some of the soul is rational and some irrational,<sup>a</sup> she mentions also those things which are fitting for the irrational part and are suitable and necessary,<sup>b</sup> (namely) straw and fodder and whatever is the food of animals.<sup>c</sup> And she gives a special place to the rational part for dissolving and breaking up and destroying<sup>d</sup> the passions,<sup>e</sup> inasmuch as each of them is poisonous.

113. (Gen. xxiv. 26) What is the meaning of the words, "The man, being well pleased, prostrated himself before the Lord<sup>f</sup> " ?

When the man who has been disciplined<sup>g</sup> hears that which he has especially desired, (namely) that he is not homeless and not kept outside but has found a place and space and has received the word of virtue,<sup>h</sup> he is very well pleased and receives (it) willingly, and in gratitude for this prostrates himself.

114. (Gen. xxiv. 27) Why does he name, not his Lord or God, but that of Abraham, saying, "Blessed is the Lord God of my lord Abraham"<sup>i</sup> ?

First of all, he lays upon servants (the obligation) to love their lords and to honour their lords and hold them in greater esteem than themselves. In the second place, he wishes to show clearly the advantage (that comes) from teaching<sup>j</sup> to him who has been properly and genuinely<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν λογικόν, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders somewhat more freely, "dicit adesse illa quoque, quae conveniunt bruto ad fruendum cum decore."

<sup>c</sup> τῶν ἀλόγων.

<sup>d</sup> Here, as Aucher notes, Philo plays on the double meaning of καταλύσαι. <sup>e</sup> τὰ πάθη : Aucher "cupiditates."

<sup>f</sup> So the LXX, καὶ εὐδοκῆσας (Heb. "and bowed") ὁ ἄνθρωπος προσεκύνησεν κυρίῳ.

<sup>g</sup> Prob. ἐπαιδεύθη.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λόγον.

<sup>i</sup> So LXX, Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἀβραάμ.

<sup>j</sup> ἐκ διδασκαλίας.

<sup>k</sup> οἰκείως καὶ γνησίως vel sim. : Aucher "familiariter ac fideliter."

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taught. And profiting from that great saying, "Know thyself," he chose and thought it best to be called, not a servant of God,<sup>a</sup> but an attendant of the intercessor.<sup>b</sup> And the intercessor is a servant of the Creator of all and Father. But he who transgresses this order,<sup>c</sup> which nature has arranged, perpetrates a great injustice<sup>d</sup> by setting before himself a disorder of confusion.<sup>e</sup>

115. (Gen. xxiv. 27) What is the meaning of the words, "He has not abandoned His righteousness and truth to<sup>f</sup> my lord"<sup>g</sup>?

Very naturally<sup>h</sup> does (Scripture) show that these very same virtues,<sup>i</sup> righteousness and truth,<sup>j</sup> are especially and pre-eminently<sup>k</sup> divine. For among the human race there is nothing pure<sup>l</sup> but (only) what is mixed. For there is mixed with it in slight measure both falseness and unrighteousness. And the righteousness and truth among men are, to speak properly, likenesses and images,<sup>m</sup> while those with God are paradigmatic principles and types<sup>n</sup> and ideas.<sup>o</sup> Deservedly, therefore, does he give thanks that he<sup>p</sup> had both (virtues) and that God gives him both virtues uninterruptedly and daily, and that there grows<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In the Arm. the negative directly precedes "of God."

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. uses two words to render παρακλήτου.

<sup>c</sup> τάξιν. <sup>d</sup> ἀδικίαν.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "proposita sibi morum dissolutione perturbata."  
<sup>f</sup> Lit. "from."

<sup>g</sup> LXX οὐκ ἐγκατέλειπεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην (variant ἔλεος, cf. Heb. *hasdô* "His kindness") καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου.

<sup>h</sup> φυσικώτερον. <sup>i</sup> αὐτὰς τὰς ἀρετάς.

<sup>j</sup> Both nouns, here and below, are in the plural.

<sup>k</sup> διαφόρως: variant "symbolically."

<sup>l</sup> ἄκρατον.

<sup>m</sup> ὁμοιότητες (or μιμήματα) καὶ εἰκόνες.

<sup>n</sup> The Arm. lit. = παραδειγματικαὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τύποι. Possibly, however, Philo wrote ἀρχέτυποι.

<sup>o</sup> ἰδέαι. <sup>p</sup> i.e. Abraham.

<sup>q</sup> Or "wells up" or "bubbles up."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

in his soul an estrangement from falsehood and unrighteousness and a familiarity <sup>a</sup> with truth and righteousness.

116. (Gen. xxiv. 28) What is the meaning of the words, "The young woman, running into the house, told her mother" <sup>b</sup> ?

A virtuous soul is a lover of the good <sup>c</sup> and has a status that is greatly inflexible and unchanging. For when it perceives that someone is not quickly satiated with desire but is constant and genuine,<sup>d</sup> it rejoices and makes haste and does not restrain <sup>e</sup> the swiftness of its joy but tells the whole maternal household of wisdom <sup>f</sup> with a sober and prudent festivity of joy and dance and still other lavish displays of welcome, such as he shows who is not strange and spurious in his desire,<sup>g</sup> in order that those who hear it may rejoice and become joyful.

117. (Gen. xxiv. 29) Who is the brother of Rebekah, whose name is Laban ?

Our soul has a natural brother who is rational and one who is irrational.<sup>h</sup> Now to the rational part is assigned Rebekah the virgin, (who is) constancy <sup>i</sup> and perseverance ; and Laban (is assigned) to the irrational part, for this (name) is to be translated as "whiteness," which is a figure of the honours (shown) to the splendour of sense-

<sup>a</sup> ἀλλοτριώσεις μὲν . . . οικειότης δέ.

<sup>b</sup> LXX (like Heb.) reads a little differently καὶ δραμοῦσα ἡ παῖς ἀπήγγειλεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.

<sup>c</sup> φιλάγαθός (or φιλόκαλός) ἐστι ἡ σπουδαία ψυχή.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "fidelis."

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "bear" or "contain." <sup>f</sup> σοφίας.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher, construing less accurately, I think, renders, "quae omnia illis, qui genuinum habent desiderium, demonstrat."

<sup>h</sup> ὁ μὲν λογικός, ὁ δὲ ἄλογος.

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. lit. = ἀνάστασις or ἔγερσις, but see *QG* iv. 97 note c.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

perceptible things.<sup>a</sup> For one should know very well that just as there are three different kinds of literal elements of speech,<sup>b</sup> namely vowels, semi-vowels and consonants,<sup>c</sup> so also is it with our nature. For the mind <sup>d</sup> is like the vowel, and the senses <sup>e</sup> like the semi-vowel, and the body like the consonant. However, I shall begin my exposition from the end.<sup>f</sup> For just as the consonant by itself alone has no sound at all but (only) when combined with a vowel achieves a literal sound,<sup>g</sup> so also is the body by itself alone unmoving ; and it is moved by the rational soul <sup>h</sup> through the several organic parts toward that which is suitable and necessary to it. Again, just as the semi-vowels make lame and imperfect sounds, but, if they are combined with vowels, make fully articulated speech,<sup>i</sup> so also is sense-perception (only) half effective <sup>j</sup> and imperfect, and it occupies a position midway between the mind and the body, for it has a part in each of them ; it is not inanimate <sup>k</sup> like the body, and it is not intelligent <sup>l</sup> like reason.<sup>m</sup> But when the mind <sup>n</sup> by extending itself <sup>o</sup> is fused with, and engraved on it,<sup>p</sup> it prepares it to see and hear rationally

<sup>a</sup> Construction and meaning are not clear. Aucher renders, "indicium claritatis rerum secundum sensus." The interpretation of "Laban" as "whiteness" and as a symbol of sense-perception is found in several other passages in Philo, e.g. *De Fuga* 44.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Agricultura* 136 τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς.

<sup>c</sup> φωνήεντα καὶ ἡμίφωνα καὶ ἄφωνα, cf. *De Congressu* 150.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς. <sup>e</sup> ἡ αἰσθησις.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. from the last of the three terms.

<sup>g</sup> See above, note b.

<sup>h</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>i</sup> ἔναρθρον φωνήν.

<sup>j</sup> ἡμίεργος. Aucher "semivivus."

<sup>k</sup> ἀψυχος.

<sup>l</sup> νοερά ἢ νοητή.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ λογισμὸς. <sup>n</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>o</sup> ἐκτείνων ἑαυτόν.

<sup>p</sup> i.e. sense-perception. Perhaps the original was "when the impression (τύπος) is fused with the senses by the mind."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

and at the same time to speak with reason and to perceive rationally. However, in the same way as the vowels by themselves alone and also when combined with other (sounds) produce sound, so also is the mind moved by itself alone without anything else, since intelligible things are received and grasped by themselves alone,<sup>a</sup> and it is also the cause of the movement of other things, giving release<sup>b</sup> like the leader of a chorus.<sup>c</sup> But, as I have said, the senses (are moved) to bodily perception by the rational part and are, as it were, effectively brought to their natural<sup>d</sup> functions by the voices of the organic parts.<sup>e</sup>

118. (Gen. xxiv. 30-31) Why does Laban, after seeing the ear-rings and the bracelets on his sister, say to the youth,<sup>f</sup> "Come, enter,<sup>g</sup> blessed of the Lord.<sup>h</sup> Why dost thou stand without?"?

In the first place, this is meant to show clearly that whoever belongs to the characters which measure all

<sup>a</sup> The last clause was probably a gen. absolute construction in the Greek original. Aucher, construing differently, renders, "et mens, tam per se solum sine ullo alio movetur, ab intellectualibus per se adjuta."

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. word and its cognates usu. = ἄφεσις. Aucher renders, "vigorem" and in a footnote suggests "permissionem sive motionem."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "tamquam dux cohorti."

<sup>d</sup> Variant "logical."

<sup>e</sup> Philo apparently means that the meeting of the senses and external objects, which results in perception, is like the meeting of vowels and consonants, which results in speech.

<sup>f</sup> LXX πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον: Heb. "to the man." Philo omits most of vs. 30 on Rebekah's report to Laban and the latter's coming out to Eleazar.

<sup>g</sup> LXX Δεῦρο, εἴσελθε: Heb. "come in."

<sup>h</sup> So Heb. and Arm. O.T.: LXX εὐλογητὸς κύριος. Since Philo has the LXX reading below, it is probable that here the Arm. translator or a copyist has accommodated his text to that of the Arm. O.T.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

things by the senses <sup>a</sup> is always of necessity bribed <sup>b</sup> by something sense-perceptible, <sup>c</sup> and is unable to judge <sup>d</sup> in purity and holiness without gifts. <sup>e</sup> But when he sees gold, he calls it to him, and when (it) is called, he becomes more subservient. And this is something most natural. <sup>f</sup> And when he sees the ornament of the ears, (namely) the monad, and the ornament of the hands and deeds, (namely) the decad, <sup>g</sup> he is struck by the holy appearance of lordship, <sup>h</sup> and gives thanks and says in a loud voice, "Blessed (be) the Lord." <sup>i</sup> With Him is good teaching, and (for Him) <sup>j</sup> good works are performed, as is indeed fitting, by offering the first fruits <sup>k</sup>; and the first fruits of words <sup>l</sup> (is) the word in accordance with the monad, for just as the monad is holy among numbers, so also is the word (holy) in teaching. And (the first fruits) of deeds (is the word) <sup>m</sup> in accordance with the decad, for just as the decad is the end <sup>n</sup> of numbers, so also is the deed <sup>o</sup> in learning.

119. (Gen. xxiv. 31) Why does Laban say, "I have prepared the house and a place for the camels," although Rebekah had (earlier) added the "lodging," saying, <sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Laban is a symbol of the sensual character (τύπος or τρόπος). Aucher renders, "quicumque secundum sensum praefert argumentum aliquod exemplare."

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. = δωροκοπέται, a word not elsewhere used by Philo. Possibly the original here had δωροδοκεῖ.

<sup>c</sup> ὑπ' αἰσθητικοῦ τινοῦ.

<sup>d</sup> For *datel* = κρίνειν, two Arm. mss. have *dasel* = τάττειν.

<sup>e</sup> ἄνευ δώρων.

<sup>f</sup> φυσικώτατόν τι.

<sup>g</sup> See above, *QG* iv. 110.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. lit. = τῇ ἀγία (or ἱερᾷ) κυριότητος φαντασία. Perhaps the original was τῇ ἀγία καὶ θείᾳ φαντασία.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 401, note *h*.

<sup>j</sup> The context makes it necessary to supply these words.

<sup>k</sup> τὰ πρωτογεννήματα or τὰς ἀπαρχὰς (τῶν πρώτων καρπῶν).

<sup>l</sup> λόγων.

<sup>m</sup> Here too the context requires a supplement.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ τέλος.

<sup>o</sup> Lit. "the doing."

<sup>p</sup> In Gen. xxiv. 25, see above, *QG* iv. 112.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

“ And there is much fodder with us and a place to lodge ” ?

(Scripture) reports a very great difference of superiority <sup>a</sup> between the mind of the virgin, which makes use of nothing sense-perceptible, <sup>b</sup> and the class of the type which receives the sense-perceptible. <sup>c</sup> For the loosing <sup>d</sup> and inactivity of those things which are subject to generation and destruction are to instruct us to prepare a place in the soul in this fashion. But the other says that he is prepared, not for loosing, but for the reception of irrational natures, <sup>e</sup> for he is unable to deny what he experiences. <sup>f</sup>

120. (Gen. xxiv. 34) Why does the elderly man begin in this way, “ I am the boy <sup>g</sup> of Abraham ” ?

The deeper meaning <sup>h</sup> of that which is said is very easy to discover and see. <sup>i</sup> For a young boy has the same position in relation to a mature man as does uttered discourse <sup>j</sup> to the inner (discourse) in the reason. <sup>k</sup> But the literal meaning <sup>l</sup> gives the praise of him who is past old age. <sup>m</sup> For whereas others make the error of declaring themselves to be of (such and such) a family or country, he (declares himself to be) of his lord, whom he considers

<sup>a</sup> διαφορὰν ὑπερβολῆς μεγίστην.

<sup>b</sup> αἰσθητικῶ.

<sup>c</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, “ et inter exemplum ejus qui sensibilia recepit in cognitionem.” Possibly the original was “ the type of those who receive the class (γένος) of sense-perceptible things.”

<sup>d</sup> Philo here, as earlier, plays on the double meaning of καταλύειν, i.e. “ to loose ” and “ to lodge.”

<sup>e</sup> ἀλόγων φύσεων.

<sup>f</sup> Or “ bears.”

<sup>g</sup> LXX παῖς, i.e. “ servant ” (as in Heb.). See above, QG iv. 108.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> Or “ conjecture.”

<sup>j</sup> On Abraham’s servant as a symbol of the λόγος προφορικός see above, QG iv. 85, 88.

<sup>k</sup> ἐν τῷ λογισμῶ.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>m</sup> L. A. Post reconstructs the original as τὸ δὲ ῥητόν εὐλόγως ἀποδίδωσι Μένανδρος (misread as μὲν ἀνδρός) ἐν Ὑπεργήρῳ, “ Menander rendered the literal meaning eloquently in his *Superannuated*.”

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his country and family.<sup>a</sup> Going on with the trimeters from that point, he says fittingly,<sup>b</sup> "To me the lord is a city, a refuge and a law and a judge of every righteous and unrighteous man. It befits me to live with the servant mind."<sup>c</sup>

121. (Gen. xxiv. 35) Why does he say, "The Lord has blessed my lord exceedingly, and he has been exalted. And He has given him sheep<sup>d</sup> and cattle and gold and silver<sup>e</sup> and men-servants and maid-servants and camels and asses" ?

It is fitting and proper to admire the literal meaning<sup>f</sup> inasmuch as among the benefits<sup>g</sup> mentioned the divine wonders fall to the lot of the sovereign ruler,<sup>h</sup> while the human (benefits fall to the lot) of the minister and servant. For wonderful and divine is that benefit which is the bles-

<sup>a</sup> Post suggests that Menander's verses were something like the following :

ἄλλοι μὲν ἀποκρίνοιντ' ἂν εἰπόντες γένους  
τίνος εἰσὶ καὶ πατρίδος, ἐγὼ δὲ δεσπότου,  
ὡς ὄντος ἀντὶ πατρίδος ἡμῖν καὶ γένους.

The Arm. translator prob. read ἀποκλίνοντο instead of ἀποκρίνοιντο.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek original, Post suggests, was ἐντεῦθεν προβαίνων εἰς τὸ πρόσω τῶν τριμέτρων ἐξῆς ποιεῖ.

<sup>c</sup> The original passage (Frag. 581 Koch) reads

ἐμοὶ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ νόμος  
καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου παντὸς κριτῆς  
ὁ δεσπότης. πρὸς τοῦτον ἕνα δεῖ ζῆν ἐμέ.

F. G. Allinson in the Loeb Menander renders the passage, "For me my master is at once a city and a place of refuge and law and judge in everything of what is right and wrong. With eyes on him alone I needs must live."

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. *dowar* usu. = ταῦρος but here apparently = πρόβατον.

<sup>e</sup> LXX and Heb. have "silver and gold," in reverse order.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. the mind (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν), symbolized by Abraham.

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sing <sup>a</sup> of God, and this is good counsel, <sup>b</sup> while the mortal and material ones are human. And these it was proper for those to hear who receive bodily and external things. For there are two forms <sup>c</sup>: one is he who is said to be wholly worthy of God <sup>d</sup>; and the other is those hearers who are not yet purified. (God) distributed and gave to each his own good, at the same time teaching (us) which of them should precede the other. But as for the allegorical meaning, <sup>e</sup> to whomever God graciously gives <sup>f</sup> good counsel and prudence, <sup>g</sup> to these He (also) gives authority and rule of power <sup>h</sup> over the senses and all the irrational parts <sup>i</sup> and whatever things are blindly invented in accordance with vain opinions by one who is involved <sup>j</sup> in a blind way of life. Wherefore he adds, "exceedingly" and "was exalted," for the good counsel was not superficial <sup>k</sup> nor yet of little worth. <sup>l</sup> And those who are strong in prudence easily prevail <sup>m</sup> and exalt themselves over secondary and tertiary benefits. But all those who receive mighty power <sup>n</sup> through wisdom and prudence are elevated to heavenly greatness and height. Wherefore they rule in truth over earthly and subterranean things (as if) seizing (their own) possessions.

122. (Gen. xxiv. 36) Why does he say, "Sarah, the wife

<sup>a</sup> εὐλογία.                      <sup>b</sup> εὐβουλία (or εὐφροσύνη).                      <sup>c</sup> εἶδη.

<sup>d</sup> Construction and meaning uncertain, but apparently reflecting *ὅς ἐλέγετο εἶναι οἴκοθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἄξιος*. Aucher renders, "quod dicebatur a domo domini subjecto condigno."

Two Arm. mss. lack *ἰ ταυῆ = οἴκοθεν*: one lacks *ταυῆ = τοῦ κυρίου*.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ δ' ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ.

<sup>f</sup> χαρίζεται.

<sup>g</sup> φρόνησιν.

<sup>h</sup> Variant "rule of providing" (*προνοίας*).

<sup>i</sup> τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀλόγων μερῶν.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "mixed."

<sup>k</sup> ἐπιπόλαιος.

<sup>l</sup> εὐτελής *vel sim.*: Aucher "humile."

<sup>m</sup> Construction not clear. Aucher, construing differently, renders, "ita ut facile exaltari queat per prudentiam."

<sup>n</sup> δύνᾱμιν *ἰσχυράν vel sim.*: Aucher "virtutem fortissimam."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

of my lord, bore a son <sup>a</sup> to my lord after (his) becoming old <sup>b</sup>” but not, “Abraham begot”?

The literal meaning <sup>c</sup> is that the father had another son before the legitimate one, (namely) the illegitimate one from his concubine. But this wife was the mother of his beloved and only son, and afterwards she was called “the ruler.” <sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>e</sup> (she is) the virtue which is perfected through teaching, <sup>f</sup> and was therefore afterwards called “the ruler,” which the Hebrews call “Sarah.” <sup>g</sup> She gives birth to the model of character, <sup>h</sup> who is by nature self-taught. <sup>i</sup> For the end and beginning and genesis of teaching is sometimes what is heard from another <sup>j</sup> and is sometimes he who becomes wise by nature. <sup>k</sup> And he is born to no one but to his lord, that is, to him who has in his mind <sup>l</sup> a firm grasp of all those things which pertain to us, and also knows them at the same time. And (Scripture) confirms <sup>m</sup> the perfection in all things of him who is born by saying, not that he was born in the old age, but after the old age, of his father; that is, not in length of time but as if to say that nothing in mortal life is untemporal <sup>n</sup> but only that which comes after mortality and is not corruptible. For it belongs peculiarly to the incorruptible soul <sup>o</sup> which has been removed from its corporeal nature and has been fitted to the incorporeal ruler (and)

<sup>a</sup> Most LXX MSS. have *υἷὸν ἔνα*.

<sup>b</sup> LXX *μετὰ τὸ γηρᾶσαι αὐτόν* (*v.l.* *αὐτήν*): Heb. “after her old age.” <sup>c</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν*.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ ἄρχουσα, see above, *QG* iii. 53.

<sup>e</sup> *τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν*.

<sup>f</sup> ἡ ἐκ διδασκαλίας τελειομένη ἀρετή.

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *Sarra* = LXX *Σάρρα* (Heb. *Sārāh*).

<sup>h</sup> *τύπον ἡθῶν vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> *αὐτοδίδακτον*, *i.e.* Isaac; *cf. De Somniis* ii. 10 *et al.*

<sup>j</sup> Variants “by oneself from another” and “by oneself” (omitting “from another”). Aucher renders, “per se ab alio.”

<sup>k</sup> *ὁ ἐκ φύσεως γενόμενος σοφός*.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. “seals” or “stamps.”

<sup>n</sup> *ἄχρονον*. *Cf. De Fuga* 169.

<sup>o</sup> *ἰδίον ἐστὶ τῆ ἀφθάρτῳ ψυχῆ*.

<sup>l</sup> *ἐν τῷ λογισμῷ*.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

sovereign of joys to sow gladness,<sup>a</sup> for the race without sorrow <sup>b</sup> approaches and is near to God.

123. (Gen. xxiv. 36) Why does he say, "And he gave him whatever was his"?

Most excellently does the literal meaning <sup>c</sup> contain a symbol <sup>d</sup> for hearers. For it would be fitting for those who receive external material things <sup>e</sup> to hear that the youth receives from his father whatever was his. But the self-taught <sup>f</sup> has a symbol of the things indicated.<sup>g</sup> For whatever over a long period of time teaching <sup>h</sup> enables one to acquire, this does nature <sup>i</sup> grant as a prepared gift. Now the prophet <sup>j</sup> does something similar to this in respect of the patriarchs,<sup>k</sup> for when he prays for the first (tribe) he says, "May Reuben live and not die, and may he be great in number," and immediately thereafter he mentions <sup>l</sup> the fourth (tribe), passing over the second and third,<sup>m</sup> and speaks as follows, "And this (is the blessing) of Judah." <sup>n</sup> What is here said as a blessing of Reuben stands first, and (then) that of Judah. But it is for him alone, while the other is as a part, for he is placed above with the sole and

<sup>a</sup> On Isaac as a symbol of joy and laughter see above, *QG* iii. 53.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ἄλυπον γένος.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>e</sup> τὰς ἐκτὸς ὕλας, *cf. De Poster. Caini* 116.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ αὐτοδίδακτος, *i.e.* Isaac, see above, *QG* iv. 122.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. text seems corrupt. Possibly the original read "Symbolically this statement refers to the self-taught" or the like.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ διδασκαλία.

<sup>i</sup> ἡ φύσις.

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>k</sup> Or "tribe-leaders," *i.e.* the sons of Jacob, in Deut. xxxiii. 6-7.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "he responds" or "requisites": Aucher "inducit."

<sup>m</sup> Philo here, as in *De Mut. Nom.* 200, refers to Simeon and Levi.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher seems to have taken this sentence as a comment of Philo instead of a quotation from Scripture.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

elder.<sup>a</sup> But what the principle of these things is will be explained when we inquire into the blessings.<sup>b</sup>

124. (Gen. xxiv. 16, 18, 20, 28, 46) Why does Rebekah hasten in everything, for (Scripture) says, "And hastening to the spring, she drew water," and "hastening, she lowered the water-jar upon her arm," and "running, she announced" <sup>c</sup>?

Excellent and good people perform their good works without delay: Such too was the whole household together of the all-wise Abraham.<sup>d</sup> For when he became the host of the divine natures <sup>e</sup> and was about to entertain them with <sup>f</sup> food of gladness, and in turn on the reverse was to receive the same from them, he did not delay at all, but himself hastened and ordered his wife to make ash-cakes <sup>g</sup> in haste, and his wife also hastened. The servant too resorted to running in carrying out the service that was proper to him. Whereas frivolous people are in doubt about those things which it is proper to delay,<sup>h</sup> those who know how to do things accurately and clearly, when an opportunity is found, do not take a long time.<sup>i</sup> Excel-

<sup>a</sup> This obscure statement may refer to Judah's being associated with Reuben, or to Judah's "entering into his people" (Deut. xxxiii. 7) or to Simeon's being included with Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 8).

<sup>b</sup> These Pentateuchal passages, Gen. ch. xlix and Deut. ch. xxxiii, are not discussed in the extant text of the *Quaestiones*.

<sup>c</sup> Philo here includes five different verses, on some of which he has commented above, in *QG* iv. 100, 104, 107, 116.

<sup>d</sup> τοῦ πανσόφου Ἀβραάμου. The same adjective is applied to Abraham in *De Migratione* 45, and to Isaac, Jacob and Moses elsewhere.

<sup>e</sup> τῶν θείων φύσεων, *i.e.* the three angels, see above, *QG* iv. 1 ff.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "to receive them into."

<sup>g</sup> See above, *QG* iv. 8.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders, "quoniam sicut histriones haesitant, ubi par erit, cunctari."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher renders, more freely, "e contra qui conscius est constanter agendorum, hoc dato, non terit tempus."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

lently, however, has (Scripture) said this too, and is to speak in future of a double inactivity.<sup>a</sup>

125. (Gen. xxiv. 48) What is "the way of truth," for he says, "in the way of truth" <sup>b</sup> ?

(This means) that truth is a wonderful and divine virtue <sup>c</sup> and a force <sup>d</sup> destructive of falsehood, which <sup>e</sup> is (so) called in reprobation,<sup>f</sup> while truth (is so called) because of unforgetfulness,<sup>g</sup> since virtue is worthy of remembrance. Now the way which leads to it, so far as it rests with us, is knowledge and wisdom,<sup>h</sup> for through these is it found. But by an involuntary principle <sup>i</sup> (it is found) through prophecy.<sup>j</sup> And since that which is proportioned and equal <sup>k</sup> is a safe road,<sup>l</sup> it leads to truth more evenly, briefly and smoothly than <sup>m</sup> the former.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Possibly Philo refers to such passages as those commented on below, *QG* iv. 131.

<sup>b</sup> So the LXX (agreeing with Heb.), according to which Abraham's servant blesses God, *ὁς εὐόδωσέν μοι ἐν ὁδῷ ἀληθείας.*

<sup>c</sup> *θανμασία καὶ θεία ἀρετή.*

<sup>d</sup> *δύναμις.*

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* falsehood.

<sup>f</sup> Philo evidently plays on the similarity between *ψεῦδος* and *ψόγος*, not, as Aucher suggests in his footnote, on a double meaning of *παράκρουσις*.

<sup>g</sup> As if *ἀλήθεια* were derived from *ἀ-* and *λήθη*.

<sup>h</sup> *ἐπιστήμη καὶ σοφία.*

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. lit. = *κατ' ἀκούσιον λόγον.*

<sup>j</sup> *διὰ προφητείας.* On Philo's theory of divinely vouchsafed prophecy as opposed to human knowledge see H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, ii. 22-62.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *hamemat* = *ἀνάλογος* and *ἴσος*. The second adjective *kš'ir* also = *ἴσος*.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, "porro haec proportionata aequaque via secura est."

<sup>m</sup> Aucher's "quae" is apparently a misprint for "quam" (comparative particle).

<sup>n</sup> Philo evidently means that the way of prophecy leads to truth more directly than does the way of knowledge.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

126. (Gen. xxiv. 49) What is the meaning of the words, "If you act with mercy and justice toward my lord, tell me; but if not, indicate (this), that I may turn to the right or to the left" <sup>a</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>b</sup> is clear. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>c</sup> it seems to indicate that the right side (consists of) worthy and completed deeds, while the left side (consists of) things outside worthiness and of errors of transgression.

127. (Gen. xxiv. 50) Why did Rebekah's brothers <sup>d</sup> say to the servant, "From the Lord has this command come. <sup>e</sup> We shall not be able to speak against (it) good for evil" <sup>f</sup>?

Imagining (this) in their minds, <sup>g</sup> and with obedience without any hindrance, <sup>h</sup> they knew that the command of God was true, infallible <sup>i</sup> and unimpeded <sup>j</sup> in undertaking benefactions. <sup>k</sup> And there is a complete harmony between constancy <sup>l</sup> and the self-taught wise man. <sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> LXX εἰ οὖν ποιείτε ὑμεῖς ἔλεος καὶ δικαιοσύνην πρὸς τὸν κύριόν μου, ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι ἵνα ἐπιστρέψω εἰς δεξιὰν ἢ εἰς ἀριστεράν. The Arm. renders the two occurrences of ἀπαγγεῖλατε by different words.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> Scripture mentions by name Laban and Bethuel (Rebekah's father, as Philo notes in *De Fuga* 48).

<sup>e</sup> LXX ἐξῆλθεν τὸ πρόσταγμα (v.l. πρᾶγμα) τοῦτο: Heb. "has this word (or "thing") come forth."

<sup>f</sup> LXX οὐ δυνησόμεθα οὖν σοι ἀντειπεῖν κακὸν καλῶ (v.l. κακὸν ἢ καλόν): Heb. "we shall not be able to speak to thee evil or good."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "revolventes in mente."

<sup>h</sup> Construction uncertain. Aucher renders, "idque rite, sine ullo obstaculo," and in a footnote adds, "*Vel ita*: et videntes nullum esse obstaculi locum."

<sup>i</sup> ἀδιάπτωτον *vel sim.*: Aucher "illaesus."

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "not stumbling."

<sup>k</sup> εὐεργεσιῶν.

<sup>l</sup> ὑπομονῆς, symbolized by Rebekah, see above, *QG* iv. 97.

<sup>m</sup> πρὸς τὸν αὐτοδίδακτον σοφόν, symbolized by Isaac, see above, *QG* iv. 122.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

128. (Gen. xxiv. 50) What is the meaning of the words, which they say, "Against (it) we shall not be able to speak" ?

Since whatever we may say against good proposals will be found evil,<sup>a</sup> it is seemly and fine, as I have already said,<sup>b</sup> that he who has become virtuous without teaching<sup>c</sup> should be the consort of constancy<sup>d</sup> and perseverance,<sup>e</sup> for the opposite, the divorce of knowledge<sup>f</sup> from them, is evil.

129. (Gen. xxiv. 51) What is the meaning of the words, "Behold, Rebekah is before thee<sup>g</sup>; take her and go. And she shall be a wife to the son of thy master, as the Lord promised"<sup>h</sup> ?

What is expressly said<sup>i</sup> is clear. The deeper meaning<sup>j</sup> is to be given as follows. Behold, it says, the eye of thy soul<sup>k</sup> has been instructed<sup>l</sup> (and) sees the form of perseverance<sup>m</sup> face to face<sup>n</sup> without shamelessness.<sup>o</sup> For, behold, it is before thee. Thou seest and understandest. Take it and receive it in thy soul, and having taken it hence with

<sup>a</sup> This rendering follows Aucher's in transposing the words "good proposals," which stand after "evil" in the Arm.

<sup>b</sup> In the preceding section.  
<sup>c</sup> ἄνευ διδασκαλίας. This refers to Isaac, "the self-taught."

<sup>d</sup> ὑπομονῆς, see above, QG iv. 97 notes.

<sup>e</sup> Prob. διαμονῆς.

<sup>f</sup> ἐπιστήμης.

<sup>g</sup> LXX ἐνώπιόν σου.

<sup>h</sup> LXX ἐλάλησεν: Heb. "spoke."

<sup>i</sup> τὸ εἰρημένον.

<sup>j</sup> ἡ διάνοια.

<sup>k</sup> ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ὀφθαλμός, cf. *De Confus. Ling.* 92 et al.

<sup>l</sup> πεπαιδευται, cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 203 (τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα) μόνον τὸν θεὸν ὄραν πεπαιδευται.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ τῆς διαμονῆς εἶδος, symbolized by Rebekah, see above, QG iv. 117, 128.

<sup>n</sup> ἐνώπιον ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον vel sim.: Aucher "intuitive."

<sup>o</sup> Arm. *lpršout'iuu* = ἀναισχυντία. Aucher curiously renders, "sine lippitudine," possibly because he fancies that there is an etymological connexion between the Arm. and Latin words.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

an unimpaired and uncorrupted character, pass and go, lest perhaps thou mayest again be seized by the lures of the locality and the body.<sup>a</sup> But while thine impulses<sup>b</sup> are moved as if starting a race,<sup>c</sup> go quickly on a straight course.<sup>d</sup> And be a surety<sup>e</sup> of perseverance (and) endurance to the self-taught man,<sup>f</sup> of whom it is said in Proverbs,<sup>g</sup> "From God is woman suited to man"<sup>h</sup>—not to man so much as is virtue to reason.<sup>h</sup>

\*130. (Gen. xxiv. 52-53) Why does the servant, after prostrating himself before the Lord, give vessels of silver and gold, and garments to Rebekah and her mother?<sup>i</sup>

This is praise for the house of the virtuous man who is taught,<sup>j</sup> for it is proper to make thanksgiving and honour to God the beginning of every pure deed.<sup>k</sup> For this reason the servant first prostrates himself before the Lord, and then offers the gifts. But prostration<sup>l</sup> is nothing else than a sign of genuine admiration and true love,<sup>m</sup> which those

<sup>a</sup> ταῖς ἐγχωρίαις (ὀρ πατρίαις) καὶ σωματικαῖς ἀπάταις.

<sup>b</sup> ὄρμαί.

<sup>c</sup> ὡς ἐν ἀφετηρίῳ : Aucher "velut in linea hippodromi."

<sup>d</sup> ἔγγυος : Aucher "vadimonio."

<sup>e</sup> τῷ αὐτοδιδάκτῳ, symbolized by Isaac, see above, QG iv. 122.

<sup>f</sup> Prov. xix. 14.

<sup>g</sup> LXX παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ ἀρμόζεται γυνὴ ἀνδρί : Heb. "from the Lord (comes) an understanding woman." The Arim. variant, rendered by Aucher, "mulier optima a Deo coaptatur" is clearly an error.

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετὴ λογισμῶ.

<sup>i</sup> Scripture says that he gave the vessels and garments to Rebekah, and gifts to her brother and mother.

<sup>j</sup> τοῦ σπουδαίου τοῦ διδασκομένου, i.e. Abraham. Aucher renders, "domui sapientis doctae."

<sup>k</sup> πάσης πράξεως καθαρᾶς, as in the Greek frag. (which ends with this sentence). Aucher renders, less literally, "omnis operae praeclarae."

<sup>l</sup> προσκύνησις.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher renders, more freely, "demonstratio admirationis (sive, venerationis) verae, amorisque puri."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

men know who sip from that source <sup>a</sup> which cannot be approached or touched <sup>b</sup> but is incorporeal. For being given wings and out of heavenly desire being borne aloft, they move in flight about the Father and Creator of all things, and Him, who truly with His being <sup>c</sup> fills all things with His powers <sup>d</sup> for the salvation of all, <sup>e</sup> they call "holy, blessed Creator, <sup>f</sup> all-mighty, <sup>g</sup> God of truth."

\*131. (Gen. xxiv. 55-56) Why did they say, "Let the virgin <sup>h</sup> remain with us (some) days," <sup>i</sup> and why does he press on, saying, "Do not slow me up, <sup>j</sup> and the Lord has prospered <sup>k</sup> my way" ?

These men felt regret, who had said a little before, <sup>l</sup> "Behold, Rebekah is before thee ; take her and go." And this is said in reproof <sup>m</sup> of those who are slippery, and against the ways of unstable <sup>n</sup> men, who imagine things now in one way, now in another, as well as many contradictory and conflicting things. But he who shows zeal with constancy and vigour cries out, <sup>o</sup> "Do not hold me back, for God the saviour <sup>p</sup> has sent (me) on the broad <sup>q</sup> way of virtue, <sup>r</sup> on which I came hither and will go hence."

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "taste."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "has no approach or touch."

<sup>c</sup> ὄντως τῆ οὐσίας.

<sup>d</sup> τὰς δυνάμεις.

<sup>e</sup> εἰς σωτηρίαν πάντων.

<sup>f</sup> κτίστην.

<sup>g</sup> παντοκράτορα.

<sup>h</sup> So the LXX, ἡ παρθένος : Heb. "the young woman."

<sup>i</sup> LXX and Heb. "some ten days." Both texts add "and afterwards she shall go."

<sup>j</sup> So Heb. : LXX μὴ κατέχετέ με.

<sup>k</sup> Both LXX and Heb. use the past tense here, though we expect a future.

<sup>l</sup> In Gen. xxiv. 51, see above, *QG* iv. 129.

<sup>m</sup> εἰς ἔλεγχος.

<sup>n</sup> Variant "unfaithful."

<sup>o</sup> The Arm. has the participle though the pres. indicative is needed.

<sup>p</sup> θεοῦ τοῦ σωτήρος.

<sup>q</sup> Aucher omits this word in his rendering.

<sup>r</sup> ἀρετῆς.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

132. (Gen. xxiv. 57) Why does (Scripture) say, "Let us call the maid and question her mouth" <sup>a</sup> ?

In the first place, it is to be said that this law is written by the holy father <sup>b</sup> concerning a virgin who is to be betrothed <sup>c</sup> when she has no guardian, <sup>d</sup> that they <sup>e</sup> may not be led by force like maid-servants or captives but may go willingly and accept marriage of their own accord and enter into an harmonious union. In the second place, since the mind <sup>f</sup> is always variable and subject to all kinds of change because of the thoughts <sup>g</sup> which frequently and continuously come at it from without and come into it like a torrent with ceaseless blows, they said deliberately, "Let us question"—not "her" but—"her mouth," saying this for the reason that they were voluntarily suffering <sup>h</sup> the changes that come like a flood from those things that supervene from without, and they bring speech <sup>i</sup> into account. <sup>j</sup> Wherefore in another passage of the legislation <sup>k</sup> (Moses) says, "And whatsoever comes forth from thy lips thou shalt do," but does not (say), "Whatsoever thou takest into thy mind," for men hear the voice, while God (hears) thoughts. And so, it is fitting that they do not question the thoughts themselves but their servant, (namely) the speech that is uttered.

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX (retaining the Heb. idiom, which A.V. renders, "inquire at her mouth"), καλέσωμεν τὴν παῖδα καὶ ἐπερωτήσωμεν τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently Moses is meant, or possibly God as the author of Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> See above, QG iv. 91 on Gen. xxiv. 8. See also *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 71.

<sup>d</sup> Prob. ἐπιμελητήν, as in *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 81.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* betrothed women.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>g</sup> τοὺς λογισμούς.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "receiving."

<sup>i</sup> τὸν λόγον.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher renders a little more freely, "et verbum pro ratione in medium duci voluerunt."

<sup>k</sup> νομοθετῶν. See Num. xxx. 2, where LXX reads πάντα ὅσα εἰάν ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ποιήσει.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

133. (Gen. xxiv. 58) Why, when they ask her, "Wilt thou go with this man?" does she at once make reply, saying, "I will go"?

It is indeed proper to praise her interrogators for esteeming and honouring the voluntary more than the necessary.<sup>a</sup> For violence is the cause of immediately confessing one's reasons.<sup>b</sup> And the soul that is a lover of good<sup>c</sup> avoids arrogance and impiety, and considers of no worth the intentions of the men of the crowd and of those who stick together,<sup>d</sup> since some of them are in no way distinguishable from beasts in human form.<sup>e</sup> And he who a little while before had been a boy is now a man,<sup>f</sup> no longer in natural power<sup>g</sup> but in perfection,<sup>h</sup> having given many proofs of wisdom and prudence and a disposition worthy of regard and master-loving and, what is much more, virtue-loving and God-loving.<sup>i</sup> And knowing this, Constancy<sup>j</sup> consents and says, "I will go with him," in order that she may remain the more firm. For it does not profit one's thinking<sup>k</sup> at all to receive virtue if it is subsequently to flow away and dissolve instead of being strengthened more firmly and powerfully by a lasting bond.

134. (Gen. xxiv. 59) What is the meaning of the words, "They sent Rebekah and whatever belonged to her" <sup>l</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ἐκούσιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον.

<sup>b</sup> The somewhat obscure Arm. sentence is rendered more freely by Aucher, "nam violentia in causis est incunctanter fatendi aliquid per praetextum."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders, "laude digna."

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. lit. = τῆς συμφυΐας.

<sup>e</sup> τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων θηρίων, cf. *De Abrahamo* 33.

<sup>f</sup> See above, *QG* iv. 108 on Gen. xxiv. 21.

<sup>g</sup> δυνάμει φυσικῇ.

<sup>h</sup> τελειότητι.

<sup>i</sup> σοφίας καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ γνώμης ἀξιοθεάτου τε καὶ φιλοδеспότου καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον φιλαρέτου τε καὶ φιλοθέου.

<sup>j</sup> ὑπομονή or διαμονή, symbolized by Rebekah, see above, *QG* iv. 97, 128.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "thoughts"—λογισμούς.

<sup>l</sup> Philo abbreviates Scripture. *LXX* reads καὶ εὐλόγησαν Ῥεβέκκαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ. Heb. reads similarly.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The literal meaning <sup>a</sup> is clearly expressed,<sup>b</sup> but the symbol indicates that the substance of the virtuous soul <sup>c</sup> is the firm grasp of the good in accordance with the contemplation of virtue and wisdom,<sup>d</sup> which are the only substances in truth. For this reason those things which are bodily and external are ephemeral and transitory and uncertain possessions. Happy are they, therefore, to whom the constant family <sup>e</sup> passes over, while those whom it begins to leave are unhappy.

135. (Gen. xxiv. 60) Why do they bless her in this way : “ Our sister, mayest thou become <sup>f</sup> thousands of myriads, and may thy seed inherit the cities <sup>g</sup> of their enemies ” ?

While Constancy <sup>h</sup> is still near the soul, it is its brother,<sup>i</sup> but so soon as it meditates separation and dissociation, it removes itself and diminishes the blessing, saying, “ Become myriads.” But what possessed <sup>j</sup> those who prayed that they directed their prayers to those not yet born rather than to her ? It was because enemy cities are symbolically the evils in us and various invading passions which have lawlessness as their law, and a harmful form of government.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. adj. *gaytanšan* lit. = “ clear as to sign ” (or “ symbol ”). Aucher renders, “ evidenti symboli est,” and, in a footnote, “ *vel, evidens est valde.*”

<sup>c</sup> τὰ ὑπάρχοντα (as in LXX, see p. 415, note 1) τῆς σπουδαίας ψυχῆς.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ βεβαία κατάληψις τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κατὰ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τε καὶ σοφίας θεωρήματα.

<sup>e</sup> γένος, i. e. Rebekah and her train, symbolizing constancy, ὑπομονή or διαμονή, on which see above, *QG* iv. 97, 128, 133.

<sup>f</sup> LXX and Heb. “ Our sister art thou ; mayest thou become.” <sup>g</sup> So LXX, τὰς πόλεις : Heb. “ the gate.”

<sup>h</sup> διαμονή, symbolized by Rebekah, see above, *QG* iv. 97, 128, 133.

<sup>i</sup> Which is the brother and which the sister is not clear ; apparently the fem. noun ψυχή is here treated symbolically as masc. <sup>j</sup> Aucher “ impedit.”

<sup>k</sup> βλάπτουσιν (or ἐπιβουλεύουσιν) πολιτείαν.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

136. (Gen. xxiv. 61) What is the meaning of "mounting the camels" <sup>a</sup>? Who are the maids <sup>b</sup> with whom Rebekah "rose and mounted the camels"?

The mounting of the camels shows that character and religion <sup>c</sup> are superior to the mnemonic form, <sup>d</sup> for Constancy <sup>e</sup> is related to memory, and the camel, as has been said many times, <sup>f</sup> is a symbol of memory. But "to mount" is nothing else than to stand upon memory and not to imagine the sleep of forgetfulness. <sup>g</sup> But the maids are the servants of Constancy, being tender and delicate and docile <sup>h</sup> natures, prepared and adorned to serve their mistress. And the names of the servants of Constancy are Inflexible, Unbending, Unvacillating, Unrepentant, Unchanging, Indifferent, Firm, Stable, Unconquerable and Upright, <sup>i</sup> and all their brothers who desire lasting perseverance.

137. (Gen. xxiv. 61) What is the meaning of the words, "Taking Rebekah, the boy <sup>j</sup> departed"?

Just as we say that disciples <sup>k</sup> and pupils receive from their instructors theories of knowledge <sup>l</sup> which are genuine,

<sup>a</sup> LXX ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὰς καμήλους. Aucher notes that this first question, missing in Cod. A of the Arm. text, is found in Codd. C and D at the beginning of the Answer, though it seems to belong at the beginning of the Question.

<sup>b</sup> LXX αἱ ἄβραι.

<sup>c</sup> ἡθὸς καὶ θρησκεία (or "contenance"—ἐγκράτεια).

<sup>d</sup> τοῦ μνημονικοῦ εἶδους.

<sup>e</sup> Or "perseverance"—διαμονή, symbolized by Rebekah, see the preceding sections. <sup>f</sup> e.g. in QG iv. 92, 106.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. lit. = ὕπνον λήθης φαντάζεσθαι, perhaps "to dream the sleep of forgetfulness."

<sup>h</sup> Here Philo plays on LXX ἄβραι "maids" and ἄβρός "delicate."

<sup>i</sup> ἀρρεπὴς κ. ἀκλινὴς κ. — (?) κ. ἀμετανόητος κ. ἄτρεπτος κ. ἀδιάφορος (?) κ. βέβαιος κ. ἰδρυμένος κ. ἀήττητος κ. ὀρθός.

<sup>j</sup> LXX ὁ παῖς: Heb. "the servant."

<sup>k</sup> γνωρίμους. Aucher less accurately renders, "proximos."

<sup>l</sup> ἐπιστήμησ θεωρήματα.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

excellent, well chosen and refined by wise men, so also must it be supposed that the progressive mind <sup>a</sup> takes Constancy <sup>b</sup> as (an object of) contemplation.<sup>c</sup> For the inquiry of the theologian <sup>d</sup> is about characters and types and virtues,<sup>e</sup> and not about persons who were created and born.<sup>f</sup>

138. (Gen. xxiv. 62) Why does (Scripture) say, "Isaac went through the wilderness by the well of Seeing" <sup>g</sup> ?

Oh contemplation <sup>h</sup> fitting to God and worthy intellection <sup>i</sup> and vision,<sup>j</sup> which was deserving of being commemorated in song, and most excellent (vision), which the eyes of the body cannot see! Therefore, O mind,<sup>k</sup> with thy psychic eyes <sup>l</sup> opened behold him who is within thee (as) an example <sup>m</sup> (of) unsorrowing laughter,<sup>n</sup> Isaac, who without interruption <sup>o</sup> rejoices continually over all those

<sup>a</sup> ὁ προκόπτων νοῦς.

<sup>b</sup> Or "perseverance"—διαμονή, symbolized by Rebekah, see the preceding sections.

<sup>c</sup> ὡς θεώρημα.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ τοῦ θεολόγου (Moses) ζήτησις.

<sup>e</sup> περὶ ἡθῶν καὶ τρόπων (vel sim.) καὶ ἀρετῶν.

<sup>f</sup> In general Philo attributes both allegorical (usu. ethical or psychological) and historical meaning to the narratives of Scripture, see H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, i. 125-127. In a private communication Professor Wolfson suggests that Philo's expression "the inquiry of the theologian" corresponds to the rabbinic expression, "the verse comes to teach you," *bā' hak-kātūb l' lammēdkā*.

<sup>g</sup> So the LXX, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου κατὰ τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ὄρασεως. Heb. reads "And Isaac came from the direction (lit. "coming") of the well Lahai Roi." This proper name was anciently explained as meaning "Verily, my seer lives."<sup>h</sup> θεάν or θεώρημα.

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *imaçowac* = both νόημα (or ἔννοια) and νοῦς, prob. the former here. <sup>j</sup> ὄρασιν or θεωρίαν. <sup>k</sup> ὦ νοῦ.

<sup>l</sup> τῶν ψυχικῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. <sup>m</sup> τρόπον or τύπον.

<sup>n</sup> ἄλυπον γέλωτα. For other references to Isaac as a symbol of joy or laughter see Leisegang *s.v.* Ἰσαάκ.

<sup>o</sup> ἀδιαστάτως.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

things which have been created by God. For thou wilt see him not guarded by confused and precipitate <sup>a</sup> beliefs of thought <sup>b</sup> but with firm steps and with feet making use of wisdom, <sup>c</sup> which is devoid <sup>d</sup> of great evils, of ignorance and lack of discipline. <sup>e</sup> And see him spending his time <sup>f</sup> in the genuine and most proper part of wisdom, at the well, (by which) I understand the wonderful and divine source, which (Scripture) calls "Seeing," giving an appropriate and natural name to the contemplative life <sup>g</sup> in reference to Him Who exists <sup>h</sup> and to the incorporeal ideas <sup>i</sup> in Him, which were made as measures of all things of both worlds. <sup>j</sup> For this <sup>k</sup> is the model and archetype <sup>l</sup> of the intelligible and of the sense-perceptible (world) <sup>m</sup> in which we are mixed with the incorporeal, <sup>n</sup> since our better part soars <sup>o</sup> upward to that (region) which is beyond the ether <sup>p</sup> and above the heaven and above all sense-perceptible things. Similarly every true prophet <sup>q</sup> was called "seer" or "beholder," <sup>r</sup> the name being given in reference to the eye of the soul.

<sup>a</sup> Or "stormy" or "vague": Aucher "procellosis."

<sup>b</sup> So the Arm. lit. Aucher simplifies to "cogitationibus."

<sup>c</sup> σοφία.

<sup>d</sup> Philo plays on the double meaning of ἔρημος, "wilderness" and "devoid."

<sup>e</sup> ἀπαιδευσίας.

<sup>f</sup> ποιούμενον διατριβάς.

<sup>g</sup> τῷ θεωρητικῷ βίῳ.

<sup>h</sup> τοῦ Ὄντος.

<sup>i</sup> ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις ἰδέαις or τοῖς . . . εἶδεσι.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. the intelligible and the sense-perceptible world, as explained in what follows.

<sup>k</sup> The demonstrative pron. seems to refer to the word "source," symbolizing the cosmic Logos.

<sup>l</sup> παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχέτυπος.

<sup>m</sup> τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ (κόσμου).

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "are by an incorporeal mixture."

<sup>o</sup> Lit. "leaps," cf. *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 115 ἄνω πηδᾶν . . . εἰς αἰθέρα.

<sup>p</sup> ἐπέκεινα τοῦ αἰθέρος.

<sup>q</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "omnis propheta mendacii nesciens."

<sup>r</sup> ὁρῶν ἢ βλέπων, cf. *Quod Deus Immut. Sit* 139 and *De Migratione* 38, both based on the LXX of 1 Sam. ix. 9.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

139. (Gen. xxiv. 62) Why is he said to dwell in the south? <sup>a</sup>

This too is in harmony with the preceding.<sup>o</sup> For every one who is desirous of wisdom <sup>b</sup> and is really a lover of God <sup>c</sup> avoids what is visible,<sup>d</sup> (that is) vain opinions, and accounts separation and deficiency <sup>e</sup> as good things.<sup>f</sup>

140. (Gen. xxiv. 63) <sup>g</sup> What is the "meditation" <sup>h</sup> of Isaac, and why did he go out "to meditate in the field toward the turn of day," <sup>i</sup> and why is the one with whom (he conversed) not revealed?

(This statement) has a connexion and order in harmony <sup>j</sup> with the preceding. For he to whom separation from, and deficiency <sup>k</sup> of, opinions of visible things are precious, begins to seclude himself alone with only the invisible God.<sup>l</sup> Moreover, we are accustomed to call long speeches and conversations "meditations." But (Scripture) shows that

<sup>a</sup> LXX ἐν τῇ γῆ πρὸς λίβα: Heb. "in the land of the Negeb" (the dry region south of Judaea).

<sup>b</sup> σοφίας. <sup>c</sup> φιλόθεος.

<sup>d</sup> Reading *yerewelic* for *yarewelic* "the east," because of the context.

<sup>e</sup> διάστημα (*vel sim.*) καὶ ἔκλειψιν. The latter noun seems to have been suggested to Philo by LXX πρὸς λίβα, as though λίβα were cognate with λείπειν and ἔκλειψιν. Note, moreover, that in *Quod Deterius* 26-29, where Philo allegorizes the following verse, Gen. xxiv. 63, he explains the place name Δωθαίμ as meaning ἔκλειψις ἰκανή (so also in *De Fuga* 128).

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "places separation and deficiency in a good part"; Aucher renders, "in melioris partis ratione collocans."

<sup>g</sup> This verse is briefly treated in *Leg. All.* iii. 43 and *Quod Deterius* 29.

<sup>h</sup> ἀδολεσχία.

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ἰσαὰκ ἀδολεσχῆσαι εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ πρὸς δείλης. Here ἀδολεσχῆσαι renders Heb. *sú<sup>ah</sup>* "to converse" (A.V. "to meditate"). <sup>j</sup> εἶρμόν καὶ τάξιν ἐναρμόνιον.

<sup>k</sup> See notes to preceding section.

<sup>l</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 43 ὅταν ἀδολεσχῆ καὶ ἰδιάξῃ θεῶ, *Quod Deterius* 29 μόνον δὲ ἰδιάσαι βουλόμενος καὶ ἰδιολογήσασθαι τῷ . . . θεῶ.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

the character of the wise man <sup>a</sup> is not quickly satisfied but is constant and hard to efface and hard to remove from the idea <sup>b</sup> of that which is above the good and above the wise man and above the very best. <sup>c</sup> And various conversations come together, one after the other, so that he never departs from the conversation of speech <sup>d</sup> because of his insatiable and incessant desire and longing, by which <sup>e</sup> the sovereign (mind) <sup>f</sup> is drawn and seized ; and it is led by the attractive force of sovereign existences. <sup>g</sup> Hence they come forth, in word, from the city or the home, but in fact <sup>h</sup> particularly when the mind <sup>i</sup> begins to be filled with God and divinely inspired and possessed by God. <sup>j</sup> And the going out on the way takes place in the field in order that it may exercise and enter contests <sup>k</sup> and practise the divine law for the fitting and proper production of sound fruits, which are the immortal foods of the soul. <sup>l</sup> And the time was the turn of day, when the natural force and strength <sup>m</sup> of the sun's rays, by which I understand visible opinions, are lessened and have their many flames extinguished. And meditation takes place when there is no man present <sup>n</sup> but (one is) in undisturbed peacefulness. What does (Scripture) say ? That you should know that the sacred scriptures are not monuments of knowledge and vision <sup>o</sup> but are the

<sup>a</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "contemplation."

<sup>c</sup> αὐτὸ τὸ ἄριστον *vel sim.*

<sup>d</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμιλίας τῶν λόγων *vel sim.*

<sup>e</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

<sup>g</sup> Construction and meaning not clear. Aucher renders, "quod intense tractum captumque est principali duce (mente) per trahentem vim entium principalium."

<sup>h</sup> λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δέ. <sup>i</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>j</sup> θεοφορεῖσθαι καὶ θειάζειν (ὡς ἐνθουσιάζειν) καὶ θεοληπτεῖσθαι.

<sup>k</sup> γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> αἱ ἀθάνατοι τῶν ψυχῶν τροφαί, *cf. Leg. All. iii. 162 οὐράνιοι αἱ ψυχῆς τροφαί.*

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "force of strength."

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "is in the midst."

<sup>o</sup> μνημεῖα ἐπιστήμης καὶ θεωρίας.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

divine commands and the divine words,<sup>a</sup> which make known Him who is quiet, who is near as not there.<sup>b</sup> And He speaks without uttering words<sup>c</sup> and talks with someone without audible voice, and He does not turn away from (other) speakers or from His disciples or pupils,<sup>d</sup> but gives them freedom of speech<sup>e</sup> in incorporeal matters and in conversation of speech about the intelligible things which are with Him, in order that by questioning they may understand what they do not (already) know, and may comprehend what they think they surely know. At the same time testimony is given by the Father of wisdom himself. "See, then, and judge for yourselves this spiritual conversation<sup>f</sup> and (also) those friendships with kings and potentates which are fought over,<sup>g</sup> and their outcome, together with the uprightness of those who achieve them.<sup>h</sup> For many (of the latter kind) fail and meet difficulties, while the other (kind)<sup>i</sup> provides joyous well-being and eternal happiness."

141. (Gen. xxiv. 63) Why does (Scripture) say, "Looking up with his eyes, he saw the camels that were coming"<sup>j</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> This important statement is mistranslated by E. R. Goodenough in his *By Light, Light*, p. 160 (see my review in *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 57 [1936], 203-205), but is correctly translated by H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, ii. 10, 189, who remarks, "By 'knowledge and vision' Philo means rational knowledge which ultimately rests upon sensation."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* "although not there." The Arm. glossator explains, "God is near to one who prays, and is quiet (or "ceases") even though He is not seen." The Arm. verb rendered above as "is quiet" usu. = *παύεσθαι* or *ἀναπαύεσθαι*.

<sup>c</sup> *μηδὲν φθεγγόμενος.*

<sup>d</sup> *μαθητῶν καὶ γνωρίμων.*

<sup>e</sup> *παρρησίαν.*

<sup>f</sup> *ταύτην τὴν ψυχικὴν ὁμιλίαν.*

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "suspectae dilectiones."

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "una cum functorum rectitudine." Apparently Philo is being ironical.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* friendship or converse with God.

<sup>j</sup> So LXX, *καὶ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς* (Heb. "and he lifted his eyes") *ἶδεν καμήλους ἐρχομένας.*



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

It is proper to have doubts <sup>a</sup> (about this statement), for with what else do we look at things than our eyes? Nor do we hear with anything else than our ears. But may it not be that (Scripture) is not discussing the eyes of the body but those of the mind,<sup>b</sup> which have been educated to look up at higher and ethereal (regions) and others above heaven, and at the nature which is outside the world? <sup>c</sup> Wherefore, from other memories,<sup>d</sup> he perceives <sup>e</sup> the presence of the woman, whom (the camels) easily bear as a burden, (namely) the perseverance of the finest virtues,<sup>f</sup> and also her maidservants, concerning whom I wrote what was fitting a little above.<sup>g</sup>

142. (Gen. xxiv. 64) Why did (Rebekah), when she saw Isaac, leap from the camel? <sup>h</sup>

In the literal sense,<sup>i</sup> it was because of modesty and veneration.<sup>j</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>k</sup> it was because of the humility and submissiveness and perception of virtue <sup>l</sup> (found) in <sup>m</sup> a genuine and sincere lover.<sup>n</sup> For this <sup>o</sup> is not easily able to ascend to such a height but must

<sup>a</sup> ἀπορεῖν.

<sup>b</sup> τοῦ νοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου.

<sup>d</sup> Symbolized by the camels, see *QG* iv. 92, 106 *et al.*

<sup>e</sup> φαντάζεται.

<sup>f</sup> τὴν τῶν ἀρίστων ἀρετῶν διαμονήν. On Rebekah as the symbol of Perseverance or Constancy see *QG* iv. 97, 128 *et al.*

<sup>g</sup> In *QG* iv. 136.

<sup>h</sup> So *LXX*, κατεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τῆς καμήλου: Heb. "and she fell from the camel."

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "modesty of veneration."

<sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>m</sup> The Arm. prep. *est* usu. = κατά.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher renders the clause, "propter humiliationem, indulgentiam, gustandamque virtutem secundum genuinum fidelemque amore captum," and remarks in a footnote, "*Vel sic*: indulgentiam ad sensibilem etiam virtutem. Ambiguitas oritur ex variante lectione *ew zgaloy* [=gen. case of substantival infinitive] aut *ew zgalwoy* [=gen. case of adjective]."

<sup>o</sup> The demonstr. pron. apparently refers to "virtue."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

by all means descend to become intimate.<sup>a</sup> For it is destined <sup>b</sup> to come into participation <sup>c</sup> of converse and speech, and to receive <sup>d</sup> profit (from this). But what was it not destined to receive,<sup>e</sup> since it did not keep within itself any seed or remnant of jealousy and envy and terrible <sup>f</sup> passion <sup>g</sup> but had expelled from its borders conniving and malicious envy ?

143. (Gen. xxiv. 65) Why did (Rebekah) take her scarf <sup>h</sup> and throw it about her ?

Not in the same manner as virgins now (are adorned) was that wonderful nature and admirable virgin adorned and beautified, for she had within herself an ornament <sup>i</sup> most adequate, and she was not in need of anything else whatever from outside. And the scarf is a visible symbol of clear-shining virtue,<sup>j</sup> of which the inner part and that which is in its depths and in its inner recesses is uncovered and becomes apparent only to the lover of wisdom,<sup>k</sup> and is clearly seen (by him), but is covered from, and becomes invisible to, the uninitiated and unskilled <sup>l</sup> and those who are not possessed by God.<sup>m</sup>

\*144. (Gen. xxiv. 66) Why, when (the servant) had been sent on a mission <sup>n</sup> by one person,<sup>o</sup> did he give a response <sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> διὰ τὸ οἰκειοῦσθαι, apparently meaning intimacy with God. <sup>b</sup> μέλλει.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>d</sup> Text slightly emended. Aucher renders, "utilitatem datura." <sup>e</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>f</sup> Or "bitter."

<sup>g</sup> Variant "prayer."

<sup>h</sup> LXX τὸ θέριστρον "a light summer-garment": Heb. *šā'if* "veil." <sup>i</sup> κόσμον.

<sup>j</sup> σύμβολον φανερόν αὐγοειδιστάτης (*vel sim.*) ἀρετῆς.

<sup>k</sup> μόνω τῷ τῆς σοφίας ἐραστῇ.

<sup>l</sup> τοῖς ἀμυήτοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπείροις.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher "non initiatis."

<sup>n</sup> ἐπὶ πρεσβείαν, as in the Greek frag. from Procopius.

<sup>o</sup> *i.e.* by Abraham.

<sup>p</sup> The Greek frag. has ἀποπρεσβεύει.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

to another, for, says (Scripture), "He related to Isaac all the things <sup>a</sup> which he had done" <sup>b</sup> ?

One may say that inasmuch as it was on behalf of the son that he had been sent on the mission by the father, when the mission had been completed, he brought the good news <sup>c</sup> to him on whose behalf he had been sent, especially because he met him first on the road, as he was coming. It is clear that <sup>d</sup> he afterwards related (these things) also to the father, who had sent him, for even though this has not been expressly <sup>e</sup> written, it is to be inferred <sup>f</sup> from the text. However, it is proper to speak of this allegorically,<sup>g</sup> for when Abraham and Isaac are analysed,<sup>h</sup> (they are) one and the same thing, that is, (one is a symbol) of taught virtue, (the other) of natural (virtue).<sup>i</sup> For the end of teaching is the beginning of nature.<sup>j</sup> And so he does not relate the events <sup>k</sup> of the journey to anyone else sooner than to him alone. Consider them, therefore, not as mortal men who question each other now,<sup>l</sup> but as formless types of soul being examined,<sup>m</sup> which wisdom <sup>n</sup> harmonizes and

<sup>a</sup> Lit. " words," see the next note.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ διηγήσατο πάντα τὰ ῥήματα (Heb. *dēbārīm* = " words " and " things ") ἃ ἐποίησεν.

<sup>c</sup> εὐαγγελίζεται, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. has πάντως " certainly."

<sup>e</sup> Prob. ῥητῶς: Aucher " in historia." The Greek frag., which ends here, has merely γέγραπται.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. " it is persuaded " or " is plausible."

<sup>g</sup> ἀλληγοροῦντα.

<sup>h</sup> Prob. ἀναλυομένου. Aucher, who renders, " resoluti," notes that the meaning of the verb is not clear.

<sup>i</sup> See, e.g., *De Vita Mosis* i. 76 θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ . . . ὦν ὁ μὲν τῆς διδακτῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς . . . σοφίας κανὼν ἐστίν.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ γὰρ τῆς διδασκαλίας τέλος ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ τῆς φύσεως.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. " deeds."

<sup>l</sup> Aucher, preferring the variant reading in the Arm., renders, " non ergo homines putabunt, mortales quasdam esse quaestiones."

<sup>m</sup> Meaning not clear. The Arm. lit. = ἀνειδέους τρόπους ψυχῆς ἐξεταζομένους.

<sup>n</sup> ἡ σοφία.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

fits together to bring about partnership <sup>a</sup> and unity. For many have been likened to <sup>b</sup> one, and different ones to unity.<sup>c</sup>

\*145. (Gen. xxiv. 67) Why is Isaac said to have entered the house, not of his father but of his mother, for the purpose of marriage,<sup>a</sup> and yet these were dwelling in the same house? <sup>e</sup>

Because those who wish to know and examine the literal meaning <sup>f</sup> will perhaps say that since his father had taken to himself many wives, he virtually <sup>g</sup> had many <sup>h</sup> houses also. For "house" is a name given not only to <sup>i</sup> a building but also to the gathering of husband, wife and children.<sup>j</sup> But he <sup>k</sup> until (her) death remained together with the wife (first taken) as a virgin,<sup>l</sup> wherefore he seems to have had (only) one house.<sup>m</sup> One does not, does one,

<sup>a</sup> κοινωνιάν : Aucher "aequalitatem."

<sup>b</sup> Or "imitate," as Aucher renders.

<sup>c</sup> τῇ μονάδι *vel sim.* The meaning of the last sentence is not clear to me.

<sup>d</sup> LXX εἰσῆλθεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ γυνή, καὶ ἠγάπησεν αὐτήν. For a slightly different allegorizing of the verse see *De Poster. Caini* 77-78.

<sup>e</sup> The Greek fragments *ap.* Harris and Wendland do not have the last clause. <sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> δυνάμει, as in the Greek fragments.

<sup>h</sup> One Greek text has πλείστους.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "is said . . . of."

<sup>j</sup> One Greek text has τὸ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων σύστημα : the other has τὸ ἐκ γαμικῆς συζυγίας καὶ τέκνων σύστημα.

<sup>k</sup> The Arm. demonstr. pron. may be either masc. or fem. (as Aucher takes it), but the context indicates that the antecedent is Isaac, not Sarah (or Rebekah or Abraham). One Greek text has ὁ δέ, the other ἡ δέ.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "with his wife from virginity." The Greek fragments have τῷ κουριδίῳ.

<sup>m</sup> The Greek fragments end here.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

see (him) separated and betrothed to another.<sup>a</sup> But someone else more naturally <sup>b</sup> giving the sense of the text, (might) say, in allegorizing,<sup>c</sup> that since the mother of the self-taught person <sup>d</sup> was motherless wisdom,<sup>e</sup> whose right reason <sup>f</sup> is symbolically <sup>g</sup> called "house," it was changed into a bridal-chamber for him so as to be a unity of betrothal and a partnership of the self-taught kind with ever-virginal Constancy,<sup>h</sup> from the love <sup>i</sup> of whom may it never come about that I cease.

146. (Gen. xxiv. 67) Why, when he had taken a wife and loved Rebekah, is (Isaac) said to have been consoled for Sarah, his mother? <sup>j</sup>

Rightly and fittingly (is this said), for he did not drive out wisdom <sup>k</sup> but found (it), not after a time in old age but when flourishing in nonage <sup>l</sup> and youth,<sup>m</sup> and ever blossoming without sense-perceived colour in incorporeal beauty.<sup>n</sup> For consolation <sup>o</sup> belongs to the contemplation-loving soul <sup>p</sup> in its concern for <sup>q</sup> the earliest

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain. Aucher renders, "Numquid visa est separata, et alium despondens?"

<sup>b</sup> φυσικώτερον, probably in the Stoic sense of "symbolically."

<sup>c</sup> ἀλληγορῶν.

<sup>d</sup> On Isaac as a symbol of the αὐτοδίδακτος see *QG* iv. 122.

<sup>e</sup> ἀμήτωρ σοφία. Sarah appears as a symbol of ἀρετή . . . ἀμήτωρ ἀρχή in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 62.

<sup>f</sup> ὀρθὸς λόγος.

<sup>g</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>h</sup> εἰς ἔνωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τοῦ αὐτοδιδάκτου γένους σὺν τῇ ἀειπαρθένῳ διαμονῇ. On Rebekah as a symbol of constancy see *QG* iv. 128, 129 *et al.*

<sup>i</sup> ἔρωτος.

<sup>j</sup> LXX . . . καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ γυνή, καὶ ἠγάπησεν αὐτήν· καὶ παρεκλήθη Ἰσαὰκ περὶ (Heb. "after") τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

<sup>k</sup> τὴν σοφίαν.

<sup>l</sup> ἐν ἀγηρασίᾳ.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher, disregarding the Arm. word-order, renders, "non per tempus in senectute vigens, sed in senectute ac juventute."

<sup>n</sup> ἄνευ αἰσθητῆς χροῆς ἄσωμάτῳ κάλλει.

<sup>o</sup> παράκλησις.

<sup>p</sup> τῆς φιλοθεάμονος ψυχῆς.

<sup>q</sup> Lit. "concerning" or "about."

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and first discipline,<sup>a</sup> which it is accustomed to practise from youth, when it is mated with, and betrothed to, a wife who is constant<sup>b</sup> in virtue and perseverance.<sup>c</sup> For when he bears in mind and remembers his former way of life,<sup>d</sup> which he lived without any discipline, he is consoled. And he was consoled (also) by the fact that he has not spent his time in vain and in an unworthy manner.

147. (Gen. xxv. 1) What is the meaning of the words, "And Abraham added to take a wife,<sup>e</sup> whose name was Keturah"<sup>f</sup>?

That which is added is not the same as that to which it is added but is something else altogether. Now what is it, then, which is added to the good? Is it, indeed, the bad or the contrary and unlike?<sup>g</sup> But it is clear that this is a mixture, which is neither bad nor good. For riches and honours and bodily affections<sup>h</sup> and whatever things are connected with<sup>i</sup> the body and are outside the body are measured for the virtuous man,<sup>j</sup> not, however, as good but as additions to his own goods,<sup>k</sup> and being indifferent,<sup>l</sup> they are mixed and foreign. The addition is therefore called "Keturah," which name is to be translated as

<sup>a</sup> παιδείας.

<sup>b</sup> The instrumental case of the Arm. noun "constancy" is here prob. used predicatively.

<sup>c</sup> κατὰ διαμονήν. See the notes to the preceding section.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "ways and life," prob. = διαγωγὴν τοῦ βίου.

<sup>e</sup> So LXX, προσθέμενος δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα, following the Heb. idiom which means "Abraham took another wife."

<sup>f</sup> Arm. *Kentoura*: LXX *Χετούρα*: Heb. *Qeṭṭûrah*.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ἐναντίον καὶ ἀνόμιον.

<sup>h</sup> σωματικὰ πάθη.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "are around."

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. lit. = τῷ σπουδαίῳ μετρεῖται, and probably is an inexact rendering. Aucher renders, "penes honestum dimensa sunt."

<sup>k</sup> i.e. to those of the soul.

<sup>l</sup> ἀδιάφορα, in the technical ethical sense. See H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, ii. 297-303.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

“incense-burning.”<sup>a</sup> And the odour is an addition to food but is not food, wherefore some have said, not ineptly, that smell is a foretaster.<sup>b</sup> And to those who are subject to danger of pain physicians present odours when they are unable to give them food. This must be said first. And still another thing must be set beside this, that among the senses<sup>c</sup> there are two which are virtuous and philosophical,<sup>d</sup> (namely) those of sight and hearing; and a third, that of smell, is a mean between the good and the bad; and there are two bad ones belonging to the bad, (namely) taste and touch. And when the four (senses) are arranged in groups of two, smell is the middle one,<sup>e</sup> for it is clearer and purer than taste and touch, and is duller and more short-sighted<sup>f</sup> than sight and hearing. For this reason (Scripture) has attributed the three best forms of sense to Him who is the sovereign of all things. For (it refers) to sight when it says,<sup>g</sup> “And God saw all the things which He had made, and, behold, they were very good”; and to hearing when it says,<sup>h</sup> “The Lord heareth the poor”; and to smell when it says,<sup>i</sup> “And the Lord God smelled a sweet savour.” Now since the consummation of a happy life is likeness to God,<sup>j</sup> he who was a true man<sup>k</sup> judged it best to marry three wives, (who were) symbolically some three powers,<sup>l</sup> the most admirable of all (the senses, namely) hearing, sight and smell. For the maidservant in Chaldaean was

<sup>a</sup> θυμῶσα, as in *De Sacr. Abelis* 43-44, which partially parallels this section.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Sacr. Abelis* 44 ὄσφρησιν . . . καθάπερ βασιλίδος προγευστρίδα.

<sup>c</sup> τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

<sup>d</sup> σπουδαῖαι καὶ φιλόσοφοι, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 337-338.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. smell, the fifth, is between the two groups of two senses each.

<sup>f</sup> Lucher “tardior.”

<sup>g</sup> Gen. i. 31.

<sup>h</sup> Ps. lxix. 33.

<sup>i</sup> Gen. viii. 21.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν εὐδαίμονος ζωῆς ἢ πρὸς θεὸν ὁμοιότης.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. Abraham.

<sup>l</sup> συμβολικῶς τρεῖς τινας δυνάμεις.

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called "Hagar" <sup>a</sup> and in Armenian <sup>b</sup> "sojourning." <sup>c</sup> And her offspring was "hearing God," who among the Hebrews was called "Ishmael." <sup>d</sup> And (the offspring) of his lady <sup>e</sup> (was called) "laughter," <sup>f</sup> (being) a psychic eye and light, <sup>g</sup> for light and sight are joyful, just as darkness and blindness are sad. And the third (wife) mentioned was allusively <sup>h</sup> named "incense-burning," which the Chaldaeans call "Keturah."

\*148. (Gen. xxv. 5-6) What is the meaning of the words, "And Abraham gave all that was his to Isaac his son, and to the sons of his concubines he gave gifts" <sup>i</sup> " ?

(Scripture) refers to a difference between possessions and gifts, <sup>j</sup> both in the literal sense and in the deeper meaning. <sup>k</sup> As for the literal meaning, those things that assure a quiet life, and whatever things remain stable and in our possession are called "possessions," while gifts are those things given by hand, <sup>l</sup> the use of which is for a short time. <sup>m</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, it is the virtues founded with firmness and the deeds (performed) with virtue <sup>n</sup> that are

<sup>a</sup> Arm. *Agar*, as in LXX.

<sup>b</sup> As usual, the Arm. translator substitutes "Armenian" for "Greek." <sup>c</sup> *παροίκησις*, as in *De Congressu* 20.

<sup>d</sup> Ishmael's name is etymologized as ἀκοή θεοῦ in *De Mut. Nom.* 202 *et al.*

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* Sarah, in contrast to the concubines, Hagar and Keturah.

<sup>f</sup> "Isaac" is etymologized as γέλωσ and χαρά in many passages of Philo.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *e.g.* *De Confus. Ling.* 92 ὁ ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ διαυγέστατος καὶ καθαρώτατος καὶ πάντων ὀξυωπέστατος.

<sup>h</sup> αἰνίγματι *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> LXX ἔδωκεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ Ἰσαὰκ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν Ἀβραὰμ δόματα.

<sup>j</sup> διαφορὰν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ δομάτων, as in the Greek frag. from Procopius. <sup>k</sup> καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥήτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> χειρόδοτα, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>m</sup> The Greek frag., which ends here, has ὦν ἡ χρῆσις ἐφήμερος. <sup>n</sup> κατ' ἀρετήν.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

called "substances" and "possessions." <sup>a</sup> Those things, however, which are indifferent <sup>b</sup> and unstable, being about the body and outside the body, it calls "gifts." And so, it presents (as) the heir of the virtues the legitimate son, laughter, <sup>c</sup> who rejoices at all things in nature, <sup>d</sup> whereas the indifferent and undetermined <sup>e</sup> (sons born) to Abraham by his concubines (rejoice in) indifferent things. <sup>f</sup> So much superior was Isaac to (the sons) of the concubines as are possessions <sup>g</sup> to gifts. Wherefore (Scripture) recently <sup>h</sup> described Isaac as motherless, and it calls those born to the concubines fatherless. <sup>i</sup> Accordingly, those who were harmonious in the father's family are of the male progeny, while the (sons) of the women and those of inferior descent are certainly to be called female and unvirile, <sup>j</sup> for which reason they are little admired as great ones. <sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> οὐσίαι καὶ κτήματα, "substances" being rendered by two words in the Arm. <sup>b</sup> ἀδιάφορα.

<sup>c</sup> τὸν γνήσιον υἱόν, γέλωτα, symbolized by Isaac.

<sup>d</sup> On Isaac as a symbol of the naturally virtuous or self-taught man see, *e.g.*, *QG* iv. 122, 145.

<sup>e</sup> ἀόριστους, *cf.* *De Praemiis* 36 πᾶσα ἡ αἰσθητὴ φύσις ἀόριστος.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "indifferentes autem Abrahae natos ex concubinis indifferentibus ac indistinctis gaudere bonis."

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. has "possessions" in the gen. case, but the context seems to require us to take it as nom. Aucher too renders it as the subject of the final clause.

<sup>h</sup> See *QG* iv. 145 on Gen. xxiv. 67.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* as not being legitimate sons of Abraham.

<sup>j</sup> ἀνανδροί, an adjective elsewhere applied by Philo to the senses and sense-perceptible things.

<sup>k</sup> The above is a literal translation of the obscure Arm. text, which Aucher, confessing doubt of its meaning (his footnote reads: "Quamquam uncis aliqua adjeci, nec ita tamen me sensum verum expressisse confido"), renders, "illi ergo, qui concordēs erant in patria gente, etiam masculi nati (nomen sortiuntur); verum illi (ipsi) quia (alienam participant) femineam lineam pravis prolibus gaudentem, certo certius vocandi sunt feminae vecordes, eoquod ob minora illa tamquam majores (sibi ipsi) admiratione sunt."

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149. (Gen. xxv. 6) Why, after giving gifts to his alien <sup>a</sup> offspring, did he send them away from his son Isaac, while he was still living, to the land of the east ? <sup>b</sup>

In its literal sense <sup>c</sup> the significance is clear. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>d</sup> it is the intention of the sacred word <sup>e</sup> to preserve (him) for ever virtuous, perfect, passionless and unstained. <sup>f</sup> And he is (so) preserved if those of opposed and earthly thoughts are removed and settled (elsewhere). <sup>g</sup> For, as they are born alien to virtue, <sup>h</sup> so they wish to pollute the legitimate <sup>i</sup> (son). But it is impossible for such a removal to take place unless (the father) is living and sound in true life and healthy thought. <sup>j</sup> For not ineptly is it said that while he was still living he sent away wrongdoing and passion. <sup>k</sup> And he sent them away, not to the region of the east, but most naturally "to the land of the east," (that is) not to the heavenly and divine light but to earthly and corruptible splendours and appearances <sup>l</sup> of arrogance and vain honours, of which they are emulous. For empty are the strivings of the mind, through which many consider riches and honours and the like to be good.

150. (Gen. xxv. 7) Why, in speaking about the life of

<sup>a</sup> ἀλλοτρίοις, cf. *De Virtutibus* 207, where Philo speaks of the sons of Abraham's concubines as ἀλλοτριωθέντες τῆς αἰοιδίμου εὐγενείας.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν Ἀβραὰμ δόματα, καὶ ἐξάπεστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰ εἰς γῆν ἀνατολῶν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>e</sup> γνώμη τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου.

<sup>f</sup> σπουδαῖον καὶ τέλειον καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον. Aucher renders slightly differently, "probum (filium), perfectum, vitioque et ulceribus carentem perpetuo servare." Here, as in *QG* ii. 15, the Arm. translator seems to have confused κήλη "ulcer" with κηλῖς "stain."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "transmittantur in coloniam."

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>i</sup> τὸν γνήσιον.

<sup>j</sup> ὑγιεῖ λογισμῶ.

<sup>k</sup> ἀδικίαν (vel sim.) καὶ πάθος.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "lumina et phantasmata."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

Abraham, does (Scripture) say, "These are the years of the days of the life of Abraham" <sup>a</sup> ?

Most excellently does it say "days," for it does not wish to bring out the number of years, as do those who write (historical) narratives, but to show that the several ages of the wise man are praiseworthy when he lives his whole life excellently. <sup>b</sup> For a year is a sum of days, but days are not (a sum) of years. For it is proper that for those who live in accordance with virtue <sup>c</sup> there should be an addition of the length of time rather than that the time of an old man (should be) a divine splendour. <sup>d</sup>

151. (Gen. xxv. 7) Why are the years of (his) life "one hundred and seventy-five" ?

Because (this number) is seven times twenty-five, and twenty-five is a lunar period, <sup>e</sup> in accordance with which (Scripture) wishes the temple-servants to perform the service of the temple, <sup>f</sup> beginning at twenty-five years, and to be in attendance and serve for the same number (of years), for it makes them retire from active service <sup>g</sup> after reaching fifty, taking care that the priest shall be an imitator and emulator of the heavenly (body). Accord-

<sup>a</sup> So LXX, ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔτη ἡμερῶν ζωῆς Ἀβραάμ. Heb. has "These are the days of the years of the life of Abraham."

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. seems to render ἐκάστας τὰς τοῦ σοφοῦ ἡλικίας ἐπαινετὰς εἶναι, αὐτὸν δὲ διαφερόντως διαιωνίζειν. Aucher renders, "singulas sapientis aetates distinctas tam laudabiles fuisse, quam perenniter durasse."

<sup>c</sup> κατ' ἀρετήν.

<sup>d</sup> L. A. Post suggests that the meaning of the original was something like the following, "Old age is marked rather by the measure of time of which light is lord (ὃ φῶς κύριον μέτρῳ), in place of the addition of a long period" (i.e. the year).

<sup>e</sup> In round numbers, of course.

<sup>f</sup> See Num. viii. 24-25, prescribing that Levites shall serve from the age of 25 to 50, and Philo's comments in *Quod Deterius* 64.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "being quiet cease."

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ingly, just as that most useful star <sup>a</sup> which is near the earth, (namely) the moon, serves the whole earth in twenty-five (days), so also (Scripture) has thought it right to ordain an equal length of time of attendance for temple-servants.<sup>b</sup> Now the hebdomad is the most sacred of numbers, as has been especially shown.<sup>c</sup> And these are all the perfect numbers which are contained at once in the life of the wise man,<sup>d</sup> (namely) one hundred, and seventy,<sup>e</sup> and five, so that both their addition and their division are most beautiful. And these things have been noted concerning numbers.

\*152. (Gen. xxv. 8) What is the meaning of the words, "failing, he died," and why (did he die) "in a good old age, old and full of days" <sup>f</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>g</sup> does not raise <sup>h</sup> any question, but this (statement) is to be taken more naturally,<sup>i</sup> and the interpretation to be given is that the death of the body is the life of the soul, since the soul lives an incorporeal life of its own.<sup>j</sup> In regard to this, Heraclitus, like a thief taking law and opinions from Moses,<sup>k</sup> says, "we live their death, and we die their life,"<sup>l</sup> intimating <sup>m</sup> that the life

<sup>a</sup> ἀσθήρ, here as occasionally elsewhere in Philo, means "planet."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* 25 days correspond to 25 years.

<sup>c</sup> For the many passages in Philo see Staehle, pp. 34-50.

<sup>d</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ, *i.e.* Abraham.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher inadvertently renders, "septenarius."

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ἐκλείπων ἀπέθανεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐν γῆρει καλῶ πρεσβύτης καὶ πλήρης ἡμερῶν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "have."

<sup>i</sup> φυσικώτερον, *i.e.* "more allegorically."

<sup>j</sup> ἴδιον ἐαυτῆ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσώματον βίον διαγωγούσης *vel sim.*

<sup>k</sup> On Philo's charges of plagiarism against Heraclitus and other Greek philosophers see Wolfson, *Philo*, i. 141-142.

<sup>l</sup> ζῶμεν τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων βίον, quoted by Philo in *Leg. All.* i. 108 *et al.* The wording of the quotation is slightly different in other ancient sources, *cf.* Bywater, frag. 67, Diels, frag. 62.

<sup>m</sup> αἰνιττόμενος.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

of the body is the death of the soul. And what is called "death" is the most glorious <sup>a</sup> life of the first soul.<sup>b</sup> Moreover, "in a good old age" is a most useful description of law and opinions <sup>c</sup> in so far as a virtuous man <sup>d</sup> is said to be "a fine old man."<sup>e</sup> For all these are good and desirable measures of age,<sup>f</sup> and are more flourishing than contemptible youth in which the sensual pleasures <sup>g</sup> of the body are still growing. For as a youth this young man did not highly esteem any passion in word or deed and did not choose such a life.<sup>h</sup> And as a man he did not always stir up childish outbreaks and quarrels and fights, since he practises manliness.<sup>i</sup> And in middle age, with his virtues seated around him,<sup>j</sup> he is highly esteemed. He does not, therefore, first begin to act prudently <sup>k</sup> and soundly when in the course of time the passions of old age pass away and cease, but because in the way one fits a head to a statue he has fitted a most beautiful and lovable aspect <sup>l</sup> to his former way of life. This the eyes of the body do not see, but the pellucid and pure mind is taught to see.<sup>m</sup>

Moreover, I am greatly puzzled <sup>n</sup> by the addition (in Scripture), for it says that he was "full of days," making him appear densely full,<sup>o</sup> for the Father does not allow the life of the virtuous man <sup>p</sup> to be empty or vacant in any

<sup>a</sup> Or "most blessed."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, "vita felicissima ac prima animae." Probably we should emend Arm. *arajin* "first" to "*arak'ini* "virtuous."

<sup>c</sup> i.e. of moral conduct.

<sup>d</sup> σπουδαῖος.

<sup>e</sup> εὐγῆρως.

<sup>f</sup> ἡλικία.

<sup>g</sup> αἱ ἡδοναί.

<sup>h</sup> Text and meaning are uncertain. Aucher renders, "quoniam in aetate tyronica nullum hic juvenis nec vitium nec verbum neque opus voluit sibi permittere, et praeeligere vitam."

<sup>i</sup> ἀνδρείαν.

<sup>j</sup> τῶν ἀρετῶν συνεδρευουσῶν.

<sup>k</sup> σωφρονίζεσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> πάγκαλον καὶ ἀξιέραστον πρόσωπον.

<sup>m</sup> ὁ διαυγῆς καὶ καθαρὸς νοῦς ἰδεῖν παιδεύεται. Aucher renders more freely, "nitidae tamen ac limpidae animae edoctae sunt ad videndum."

<sup>n</sup> διαπορῶ.

<sup>o</sup> πυκνόν.

<sup>p</sup> τοῦ σπουδαίου.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

place for evil (to enter) his mind <sup>a</sup> or any part of him. <sup>b</sup> For (Scripture) says that the virtuous man is full not of years but of days, always ordering and placing the distinctions of length of time of the virtuous man <sup>c</sup> under the divine light. And again in another way it has determined the several days (to be) worthy of study and care, as those guilty of transgressions (are in need of) orators (and) speakers of truth, <sup>d</sup> when the law of nature testifies against them <sup>e</sup> concerning what each of them has said or done day by day from morning to evening and from evening to morning.

\*153. (Gen. xxv. 8) Why is it said that "he was added to his people" <sup>f</sup>?

You see that when (Scripture) spoke a little earlier of his "failing," <sup>g</sup> it did not allude to his corruption <sup>h</sup> but to his more stable endurance. <sup>i</sup> And so it naturally <sup>j</sup> is. For the casting off of that which is mortal and bad is the

<sup>a</sup> τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "tamquam confertam monstrans veri boni vitam, nullum relinquente Patre situm vacuum in mente ejus, vel in aliqua parte, ad ingressum mali."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders, "bene transacti temporis spatii distinctiones."

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders, "tamquam obligatio causarum apud rhetores et juridicos."

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. text seems to render τοῦ τῆς φύσεως νόμου κατ' αὐτῶν διδόντος λόγον. Aucher renders, "ratione ei (vel, eis) concessa legis naturae." L. A. Post queries, "Is there a concealed reference to the sun as all-knowing?"

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ: Heb. "and he was gathered to his kin." In *De Sacr. Abelis* 5 Philo quotes the verse as προστίθεται τῷ θεοῦ λαῷ, explaining that Abraham "enjoyed incorruptibility and became equal to the angels"; see further on in this section.

<sup>g</sup> See the preceding section in which Philo quotes LXX καὶ ἐκλείπων ἀπέθανεν κτλ. <sup>h</sup> φθοράν.

<sup>i</sup> βεβαιοτέραν διαμονήν.

<sup>j</sup> φυσικῶς vel sim.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

addition of that which is excellent and more immortal.<sup>a</sup> And the addition to his people is spoken of although there was not yet a people in existence, since he himself was the origin and forefather of the race.<sup>b</sup> But that (people) which was to come into being through him<sup>c</sup> (is represented) as already in existence, and (Scripture) establishes this as being granted to him because of the godlike virtues<sup>d</sup> to which he is said to be added.<sup>e</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>f</sup> But let us speak allegorically.<sup>g</sup> The people is truly of God,<sup>h</sup> that is to say and declare that it is a transition which is rational and heavenly.<sup>i</sup> For every soul is rational which<sup>j</sup> flees and is loosed and released from that to which it is bound,<sup>k</sup> and is delivered and freed from confinement. For the ancients used to call a tomb a "naked grave."<sup>l</sup> And (Scripture) in another passage calls him "forefather"<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The comparative degree of the adj. *ἀθάνατος* seems not to occur in Philo's extant Greek writings.

<sup>b</sup> *ἀρχὴ καὶ προπάτωρ τοῦ γένους*, as in the Greek frag. from Procopius.

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. uses the instrumental case of the pers. pron., while the Greek frag. has *δι' αὐτόν* "because of him."

<sup>d</sup> *διὰ τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς ἀρετάς*.

<sup>e</sup> The syntax is not certain. The Greek frag., which ends here, has *τὸν οὖν μέλλοντα δι' αὐτόν γενέσθαι ὡς ἡδὴ γεγονότα χαριζόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ θεοπρεπεῖ τῶν ἀρετῶν ιδρύεται, ᾧ καὶ λέγεσθαι (l. λέγεται) προστίθεσθαι.* <sup>f</sup> *τὸ ῥητόν.*

<sup>g</sup> *ἀλληγοροῦντες.* <sup>h</sup> See the first note on this section.

<sup>i</sup> *διάβασις λογικὴ καὶ οὐρανία.* The syntax and meaning of the sentence are uncertain however. Aucher renders, "etenim populus certe Dei est, ut ita dixerim, et transactus rationalis caelestisque," but in a footnote he proposes an alternative rendering, ". . . Dei est ut dictione locutioneque praeditus, et proventus, is qui est rationalis . . ."

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. has the ablative case of the rel. pron., perhaps because of a misreading of *ἀφείσα* as *ἀφ' ἧς*.

<sup>k</sup> *ἀπὸ τοῦ συνδέτου (sc. σώματος), cf. Leg. All. iii. 72.*

<sup>l</sup> Apparently Philo here alludes not to the conventional equation of *σῆμα* (= *σημείον*) and *σῶμα* but to the idea of a dead body being naked of soul.

<sup>m</sup> *προπάτορα.* There does not seem to be any instance of this epithet applied to Abraham in the LXX.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

but not "first-born" <sup>a</sup> inheriting all from his divine Father and being without share in a mother or female line. <sup>b</sup>

154. (Gen. xxv. 20) <sup>c</sup> Why was Isaac forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife? <sup>d</sup>

The fortieth year is the right time for the marriage <sup>e</sup> of the wise man, <sup>f</sup> for it is good (for him) to be trained and directed and abound in the right forms <sup>g</sup> of discipline <sup>h</sup> in youth and to have regard for nothing else whatever and not to wander in any other direction toward things which are not to be liked but thoroughly to enjoy the thoughts and company of those (studies) and be more happy in them. It is necessary to receive enjoyment of love and affection from a wife and to fulfil the law concerning the rearing of children. <sup>i</sup> For the generation of living beings <sup>j</sup> (is accomplished) in forty (days), during which, physicians say, the seed injected into the womb is formed <sup>k</sup> and, especially when it is a male, becomes a formed creature. <sup>l</sup> For at

<sup>a</sup> πρωτόγονον, here apparently reserved for Isaac.

<sup>b</sup> On the allegorical motherlessness of Isaac see above, *QG* iv. 145.

<sup>c</sup> At this point, probably the beginning of Book VI in the original form of Philo's *Quaestiones*, begins the Old Latin version of the *Quaestiones in Genesin*, extending to the end of Book IV. The date of this Old Latin version (hereafter abbreviated as *OL*) will be discussed in Appendix B. In the notes I cite the *OL* text as reprinted by Aucher from the 1538 edition. Here it may be noted that *OL* is often paraphrastic rather than literal, if we assume that the Armenian version is literal.

<sup>d</sup> Philo here abbreviates the biblical verse which gives Rebekah's genealogy.

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. uses two words to render γάμος.

<sup>f</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ.

<sup>g</sup> ὀρθοῖς εἶδεσι or ὀρθαῖς ἰδέαις. *OL* "spiculis" must be a corruption of "speciebus."

<sup>h</sup> τῆς παιδείας.

<sup>i</sup> τῆς παιδοτροφίας.

<sup>j</sup> ἡ ζωογονία.

<sup>k</sup> κτίζεσθαι or πλάττεσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> κτίσμα or πλάσμα. On the forty-day duration of the male embryo see *QG* i. 25, ii. 14 and iv. 27.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

this time it was not for the sake of irrational sensual pleasure <sup>a</sup> or with eagerness <sup>b</sup> that he had intercourse with his wife but for the sake of begetting legitimate children, (and so) it was wholly appropriate that he should undertake marriage when the number of his years was the same as the number of days of the embryo in the womb.

155. (Gen. xxv. 22) <sup>c</sup> Why does (Rebekah) say, "If so it is to be for me, why is this for me?" <sup>d</sup>?

Virtuous and a lover of virtue <sup>e</sup> is the mind <sup>f</sup> which announces this not so much by voice as by being sympathetic, and bears itself in mind.<sup>g</sup> For it says, "What (use) was there for me to weigh contrary and opposed (forces) <sup>h</sup> as if in balanced scales, at one time being drawn by opinion <sup>i</sup> and at another time being pulled in the opposite direction by truth. For the uncertainty of the mind <sup>j</sup> is always imperfect and lame and, if one must use the real and proper name, it is also blind. But it is sometimes better to have eyes and to be sharp-sighted for the certain attainment of the knowledge of good and evil.<sup>k</sup> For when someone has come across the nature of either of them and welcomes it <sup>l</sup> or sees it by chance, he necessarily accepts one of them and dismisses the other.

<sup>a</sup> δι' ἄλογον ἡδονήν.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "foolishness."

<sup>c</sup> The two verses, Gen. xxv. 21-22a, not commented on by Philo (but see *De Sacr. Abelis* 4), tell of Rebekah's pregnancy with Jacob and Esau.

<sup>d</sup> LXX εἰ οὕτως μοι μέλλει γίνεσθαι, ἵνα τί μοι τοῦτο: Heb. "If so, why then I?"

<sup>e</sup> φιλάρετος.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ νοῦς or ἡ διάνοια.

<sup>g</sup> The sense is obscure. For "by voice" *OL* has "fastidio."

<sup>h</sup> Symbolized by the twins struggling in Rebekah's womb.

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. translator takes δόξα in the sense of "glory," so too Aucher renders the Arm.

<sup>j</sup> Apparently Philo means the uncertain mind.

<sup>k</sup> γνώσεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ (or τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ).

<sup>l</sup> τῇ ἐκατέρου φύσει ἐπιτυχὸν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος.

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156. (Gen. xxv. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "She went to inquire of the Lord" <sup>a</sup> ?

This statement <sup>b</sup> is an argument against <sup>c</sup> arrogant and conceited persons who, though they know nothing, admit <sup>d</sup> that they know everything. And they consider nothing (more) shameful and disgraceful (than) searching and being in doubt and inquiring. Wherefore, being afflicted to the end of life with that great disease ignorance and lack of education, <sup>e</sup> they cannot endure to take a physician, by whom they might perhaps easily be cured. But those who have a desire for education <sup>f</sup> are fond of inquiry and fond of learning everything from every source even though they may be elderly.

157. (Gen. xxv. 23) What is the meaning of the words which (the Lord) spoke when she inquired, (namely) "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples will be separated from thy womb, and people will surpass people in excellence, and the elder will serve the younger" <sup>g</sup> ?

This statement <sup>h</sup> shows four things. One is most astonishing, <sup>i</sup> for He does not speak of two children in the womb but instead of children speaks of nations. And it is clear that He alludes <sup>j</sup> not to their names but to the nations which were to come into being from both of them, for they were patriarchs <sup>k</sup> of great nations that were later

<sup>a</sup> LXX ἐπορεύθη δὲ πυθέσθαι παρὰ κυρίου : OL "perrexit interrogare a domino eloquium Dei."

<sup>b</sup> λόγος.

<sup>c</sup> ἔλεγχος.

<sup>d</sup> ὁμολογοῦσι, here evidently used in irony.

<sup>e</sup> μεγάλῳ πάθει (ὡς νόσῳ) τῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας.

<sup>f</sup> παιδείας.

<sup>g</sup> LXX καὶ εἶπεν κύριος αὐτῇ, Δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου εἰσιν, καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται· καὶ λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει, καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. The verse is briefly allegorized by Philo in *Leg. All.* iii. 89 and *De Congressu* 129-130.

<sup>h</sup> λόγος.

<sup>i</sup> παραδοξότατον : OL "glorioso dictum."

<sup>j</sup> ἀνίττεται.

<sup>k</sup> πατριάρχαι.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

to appear.<sup>a</sup> And second, what was most useful<sup>b</sup> and helpful, they were not to admit confusion but separation and distinction and division, one people from the other, so far as opinion goes, but in reality, prudence and imprudence.<sup>c</sup> For this reason (Scripture) first mentions "nations" and thereafter speaks of "peoples," (so) naming them with reason and prudence.<sup>d</sup> And this is a most helpful distinction of opposed concepts,<sup>e</sup> since one of them desires wickedness, and the other virtue.<sup>f</sup> And third, what is most just, that equals should not be mixed and put together with unequals,<sup>g</sup> whence it is excellently said, "people will surpass people in excellence," for it is necessary for one of the two to surpass the other and to increase, and for the other to decrease and to diminish. And "to surpass in excellence" again means the following, that the good man shall surpass the bad, and the righteous the unrighteous, and the temperate man the intemperate.<sup>h</sup> For one of them is heavenly and worthy of the divine light, and the other is earthy and corruptible and like darkness.<sup>i</sup> And fourth, what is most truthful, that "the elder will serve the younger," for evil is older in time, since from our earliest age it grows with us, while virtue is younger and is acquired by us with difficulty and at the last belatedly,

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, "quia patriarchae magnarum gentium deinde apparituri erant": *OL* more briefly "qui postmodum principes magnarum gentium fierent."

<sup>b</sup> *OL* "propheticum," which indicates a confusion between *χρήσιμος* and *χρησμός*.

<sup>c</sup> *σωφροσύνην* και *ἀφροσύνην*: *OL* "sapientiam et modestiam." In *De Congressu* the two children in Rebekah's womb symbolize *ἀρετή* and *κακία*, as in the next sentence of this section.

<sup>d</sup> *κατὰ λόγον* και *φρόνησιν* vel *sim.*: *OL* "quia multum interest verbo et rationabilitati." <sup>e</sup> *λογισμῶν ἐναντίων*.

<sup>f</sup> *κακίας . . . ἀρετῆς*: *OL* "uno inertiam, altero justitiam appetente." <sup>g</sup> *OL* "ne justa injusto aptentur."

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. uses two words for "temperate" and for "intemperate."

<sup>i</sup> *ὁ μὲν οὐράνιος* και *θείου φωτὸς ἄξιος*, *ὁ δὲ γεώδης* και *φθαρτὸς* και *σκότῳ ὄμοιος*.

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when the immense excesses of passion <sup>a</sup> have extended their strength (to the utmost) and have (then) become lax. For it is then that the mind <sup>b</sup> begins to judge and discriminate and obtain sovereign rule.<sup>c</sup> And these things are said to us,<sup>d</sup> for who does not know that heaven has no share or mixture or part of evil, nor do whatever sense-perceptible gods <sup>e</sup> are borne in a circle around it, for they are all good and altogether most perfect in virtue.<sup>f</sup> But in the world <sup>g</sup> temperance (and) prudence <sup>h</sup> are older than folly and imprudence, and justice <sup>i</sup> is older than injustice, and so are the several other (virtues) older than their opposite dispositions.<sup>j</sup> In the human race, however, the opposite and contrary of this (is true), for the good, as I have said, is more recent and younger, while its opposite, folly,<sup>k</sup> has been established in us almost from youth and continues. Nevertheless, the younger <sup>l</sup> is the ruler and sovereign of the elder by the law of nature.<sup>m</sup>

158. (Gen. xxv. 24) What is the meaning of the words, "Fulfilled were the days for her to give birth" <sup>n</sup> ?

The birth of the wise man <sup>o</sup> is not defective as to the month or the day but is full and perfect and consists of

<sup>a</sup> ἄπειροι ἀμετρίαί παθῶν.

<sup>b</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>c</sup> ἡγεμονικὴν ἀρχήν.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. for our benefit. *OL* has "haec tamen pro nobis dicta sunt."

<sup>e</sup> ὅσοι αἰσθητοὶ θεοί, i.e. the stars, similarly designated in *De Opif. Mundi* 27 and elsewhere.

<sup>f</sup> πάντως (read πάσαις?) ἀρεταῖς τελειότατοι: *OL* "in omnibus necessariis perfectissimi."

<sup>g</sup> ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

<sup>h</sup> σωφροσύνη (καὶ) φρόνησις.

<sup>i</sup> δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>j</sup> τῶν ἐναντίων διαθέσεων.

<sup>k</sup> Or "wickedness."

<sup>l</sup> i.e. virtue.

<sup>m</sup> τῷ φύσεως νόμῳ. This phrase probably modifies "the elder" rather than "is ruler and sovereign." *OL* has "pravitas . . . regitur a juveniore non temporis lege sed naturae."

<sup>n</sup> LXX καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν.

<sup>o</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

perfect numbers.<sup>a</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>b</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> (this) must be said. When the soul of the virtuous man becomes filled with the contemplation of wisdom,<sup>d</sup> which, like the day and the sun,<sup>e</sup> illumines the whole reason and the mind,<sup>f</sup> then it begins to give birth to opposites<sup>g</sup> in the separation of distinction and discrimination between holy and profane.

159. (Gen. xxv. 24) What is the meaning of the words, "There were twins in her womb"<sup>h</sup>?

The literal meaning<sup>i</sup> is easily discerned and clear. But one should not fail to recognize the symbolical meaning,<sup>j</sup> that just as two shoots grow from a single root, (so) in the very same mind<sup>k</sup> (there exists) the form<sup>l</sup> of that which is good and of that which is evil, and by nature they are twin.<sup>m</sup> For the soul<sup>n</sup> flees and withdraws and is unable to act but retreats from the proximity of one and goes over to the other.<sup>o</sup> Moreover, the powers<sup>p</sup> which are in the

<sup>a</sup> ἐκ τελείων ἀριθμῶν. See QG iv. 154.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> ὅταν ἡ τοῦ σπουδαίου ψυχὴ πεπλήρωται τῶν τῆς σοφίας θεωριῶν (or ιδεῶν): Aucher "quum animus virtute pollens sit plenus sapientiae speciebus": OL "cum studiosa anima saginata fuerit sapientiae institutis."

<sup>e</sup> OL "vice meridiani luminis."

<sup>f</sup> τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>g</sup> ἐναντιότητας, symbolized by the twins in Rebekah's womb, see the preceding section.

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ τῆδε ἦν δίδυμα ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ (v.l. κοιλίᾳ: Heb. "belly") αὐτῆς.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ συμβολικόν.

<sup>k</sup> ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νῷ.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ εἶδος.

<sup>m</sup> φύσει δίδυμα. A similar notion is expressed in *De Sacr. Abelis* 4 and *De Ebrietate* 8. On the phraseology see notes below.

<sup>n</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ.

<sup>o</sup> i.e. vacillates between the opposite courses. OL paraphrases, "cunctante anima pro utrorumque obsequio, per absentiam enim unius obsecundat altero."

<sup>p</sup> αἱ δυνάμεις: Aucher "virtutes": OL "valetudinis" (l. "valetudines").

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body experience the same thing as this, for desires and sensual pleasures and pains <sup>a</sup> are from the same root, as the poet says,<sup>b</sup> (and) whatever things are divided and separated from the top <sup>c</sup> are both divided at the extremities.<sup>d</sup> But these give place to their opposites in respect to the place of chief authority,<sup>e</sup> for when sensual pleasure is powerful and superior, pain retreats and gives place,<sup>f</sup> but when the latter seizes it, sensual pleasure becomes power-

<sup>a</sup> ὀρέξεις καὶ ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἀλγηδόνες. *OL* has more briefly "libido enim et dolor."

<sup>b</sup> In *De Ebrietate* 8 the same notion is attributed to a παλαιὸς λόγος, which Colson in his note *ad loc.* supposes to be *Phaedo* 60 B, where Socrates in discussing the opposed feelings τὸ ἡδύ and τὸ λυπηρόν says, in part, ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς ἡμμένω δὺ ὄντε. A more probable source, called to my attention by my colleague, Prof. B. Einarson, is Sophocles (*Incert. Frag.* 824 in Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 910 in Pearson),

χώρος γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου φρενῶν  
ὅπου τὸ τέρπον καὶ τὸ πημαῖνον φύει.

Prof. Einarson also informs me that the same idea is expressed by Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Uxorem* 609 B.

<sup>c</sup> ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς, see the preceding note.

<sup>d</sup> περὶ τὰ ἄκρα *vel sim.*: Aucher renders, "quae ex uno vertice distincta divisaque sunt, utriusque eorum summitates separatae comperiuntur": *OL* omits. The repetition of the idea of division in respect of the top and the extremities (here apparently meaning the root) seems a confusion or textual corruption. The passage in *De Ebrietate* 8 reads more intelligibly ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα φύσει μαχομένας . . . εἰς μίαν κορυφὴν συνάβας ὁ θεὸς ἑκατέρας αἰσθησιν οὐκ ἐν ταύτῳ . . . οὕτως ἀπὸ μιᾶς ρίζης τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τά τε ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας διττὰ ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνη μήτε βλαστάνοντα μήτε καρποφοροῦντα ἐν ταύτῳ.

<sup>e</sup> Construction and meaning doubtful. Aucher renders, "atque ita contrariis cedunt a principio partibus principatus." *OL* omits.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher ignores the syntax in rendering, "namque quum fortior ac superior sit voluptate dolor, illa vitans abscedit." *OL* has more briefly "agitante enim libidine dolor, caelatur."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

ful.<sup>a</sup> In similar fashion every virtue <sup>b</sup> (is related) to every vice, and conversely. For wisdom <sup>c</sup> gives place to folly, and temperance <sup>d</sup> to unbridled lasciviousness, and injustice <sup>e</sup> to justice, and cowardice <sup>f</sup> to courage, and the other contraries similarly.

160. (Gen. xxv. 25) Why was the first-born ruddy and like a hairy hide? <sup>g</sup>

What is said (here) is clear.<sup>h</sup> The ruddy body and the hairy hide are a sign of a savage man <sup>i</sup> who rages furiously in the manner of a wild beast. For a reddish and sanguine aspect is the same as the colour of those who are angry, and character,<sup>j</sup> truly like a hide <sup>k</sup> and whatever else is very hairy, is found (to be) a covering and outer garment and a protection and guard over cunning and aggression.<sup>l</sup> And through this he is everywhere easily captured, for the wicked man, as much as he schemes and contrives to find (a way of making) himself hard to capture, is so much (the more) easily captured by those who follow wisdom <sup>m</sup> and use it. But a distinction should be made between "first-

<sup>a</sup> The context requires us to suppose that the original read "sensual pleasure loses power" or the like. *OL* reads more intelligibly "porro si is [*i.e.* dolor] tenuerit, illa [*i.e.* libido] subducitur." <sup>b</sup> ἀρετή. <sup>c</sup> σοφία.

<sup>d</sup> σωφροσύνη. In disregard of the syntax of the first two clauses Aucher makes "insipientia" and "intemperantia" the subjects of the verb "give place," whereas in the Arm. text, it is the opposite qualities that form the subjects of the verb. <sup>e</sup> ἀδικία. <sup>f</sup> δειλία.

<sup>g</sup> LXX ἐξῆλθεν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ πρωτότοκος πυρράκης, ὅλος ὡσεὶ δора δασύς (Heb. "like a mantle of hair").

<sup>h</sup> Following Aucher's emendation of Arm. *erek* "three" to *erewelik* "clear."

<sup>i</sup> ἀγρίου.

<sup>j</sup> ἦθος or τρόπος.

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "et moribus insuavis ut pellis." The Arm. word rendered "truly" appears to be a misreading.

<sup>l</sup> *OL* reads differently.

<sup>m</sup> σοφίαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

born" and "first-begotten." <sup>a</sup> For the one is (the offspring) of female and material matter, <sup>b</sup> for the female gives birth; but the first-begotten is a male and (the offspring) of a more responsible power, <sup>c</sup> for it is the property of the male to beget. <sup>d</sup> For the wise and cultivated man <sup>e</sup> comes into being as the portion of the Cause, <sup>f</sup> whereas the wicked man, as the first-born in general, <sup>g</sup> is related to passive matter, <sup>h</sup> which gives birth like a mother. <sup>i</sup> Wherefore among beings <sup>j</sup> some incorporeal powers are rightly said to be first-begotten, <sup>k</sup> and some call them "forms" <sup>l</sup> and "measures" and "types." <sup>m</sup> But sense-perceptible things are not so completed, <sup>n</sup> for the forms without a mother are from the Cause alone, while sense-perceptible things are

<sup>a</sup> Philo seems to be making an artificial distinction between *πρωτότοκος*, used of Esau in the LXX, and *πρωτόγονος*, used by him elsewhere in a laudatory sense.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. lit. = *ὕλικῶν ὑλῶν*. Aucher renders more smoothly but less literally, "humidae materiae." *OL* omits these last two words.

<sup>c</sup> *αἰτιωτέρας δυνάμεως*: Aucher "potioris causae virtutis": *OL* "principalis virtutis."

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *enanel* = both *τίκτειν*, as in the first part of this sentence, and *γεννᾶν*, as here. <sup>e</sup> *ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ἀστείος*.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* the active and divine principle in contrast to the female and passive principle or matter. Aucher renders somewhat inaccurately, "siquidem sapiens et generosus sortitus est causam propriam." *OL* condenses and paraphrases, "adeo primogenitus melior."

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *enধানour* usu. = *καθόλου* or *καθολικός*. Aucher, perhaps rightly, here renders, "in genere."

<sup>h</sup> Prob. *παθητῆ ὑλη*: Aucher "vitiosis materiae complicibus": *OL* "fluxu materiali passibilis."

<sup>i</sup> On Philo's concept of matter as mother see Wolfson, *Philo*, i. 267. <sup>j</sup> *οὐσίαις*.

<sup>k</sup> *ἀσώματοί τινες δυνάμεις δικαίως λεγόμεναι πρωτόγονοι*.

<sup>l</sup> *εἶδη*, or "ideas"—*ιδέας*.

<sup>m</sup> *καὶ μέτρα καὶ τύπους*. See *De Opif. Mundi* 34, 130.

<sup>n</sup> *τὰ αἰσθητὰ οὐχ οὕτως τελειωθέντα*. Aucher follows the Arm. order in placing the negative after the word meaning "completed" and renders, "sensibilia vero perfectione praedita, non ita."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

completed by matter, which not ineptly might be said to be the mother of created things.<sup>a</sup>

161. (Gen. xxv. 25) Why is the man called Esau? <sup>b</sup>

“Esau” is interpreted as “a thing made”<sup>c</sup> or as “oak,”<sup>d</sup> both being clearly expressive and indicative of character.<sup>e</sup> For the man of evil character is full of fictions and sugared wisdom,<sup>f</sup> as if trained in these and used to them, but he does not think of anything sound. And foolish ignorance,<sup>g</sup> for so I call characters<sup>h</sup> which are unbending and stiff-necked and unyielding, is similar to an oak, which will be broken sooner than bend or yield.

162. (Gen. xxv. 26) What is the meaning of the words, “After this went out his brother”<sup>i</sup>?

Virtue and vice<sup>j</sup> are brothers inasmuch as they are the offspring of the same soul.<sup>k</sup> And they are enemies inasmuch as they are opposed to each other and fight. Wherefore, though they come together and are united as by necessity<sup>l</sup> and are connected by some bond, they desire

<sup>a</sup> τῶν γενομένων.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. *Isaw*; LXX Ἰσαύ: Heb. *Ēśaw*.

<sup>c</sup> πλάσμα ἢ ποίημα.

<sup>d</sup> δρῦς. The same etymologies are given in *De Congressu* 61, cf. *De Sacr. Abelis* 17. The first etymology is based on Heb. *‘āsā(h)* “to make,” the second on Heb. *‘ēs* “tree.” *OL*, making the interpretations part of the question instead of the beginning of the answer, renders, “*factura vel rubor*” (*l.* “*robur*”).

<sup>e</sup> τρόπου.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher “*blandis sapientiis*”: *OL*, paraphrasing, “*infidus*.”

<sup>g</sup> Or “wickedness.”

<sup>h</sup> Following Aucher in reading Arm. *bars* for *bans* (λόγους).

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (*v.l.* τοῦτον: Heb. “afterwards”) ἐξῆλθεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ.

<sup>j</sup> ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία.

<sup>k</sup> τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>l</sup> ἀνάγκη.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

separation. And when they are loosed and drawn apart and freed, they become distinct.<sup>a</sup>

163. (Gen. xxv. 26) Why did the hand of the second (child) seize and hold the sole <sup>b</sup> of the foot of the elder ?

Because <sup>c</sup> the noble understanding <sup>d</sup> is a fighter and contestant <sup>e</sup> and is by nature good in battle,<sup>f</sup> always opposing passion <sup>g</sup> and not allowing it to raise itself and rise up. But to seize and hold the heel shows strength of character in the victor and in him who does not allow passion to be refractory and unbridled,<sup>h</sup> and (it shows) the weakness <sup>i</sup> of him who is seized. And if one receives these things not with his eyes but with his understanding and mind,<sup>j</sup> he will grasp the greatest causes among the virtues.<sup>k</sup> For when the mind gets the upper hand and maintains it, becoming more glorious and proud, it seizes its adversary in its hand and holds him. And passion is lamed when it falls down and is held on the ground. What else, then,

<sup>a</sup> Lit. " they appear clearly."

<sup>b</sup> LXX agrees with Heb. in reading, *καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἐπειλημμένη τῆς πτέρνης* 'Hsau: so too Arm. O.T. Farther on in this section as elsewhere, e.g. in *De Mut. Nom.* 81, Philo makes Jacob the symbol of the *περνησιότης* on the basis of the resemblance (implied in the Heb. of Gen. xxv. 26) between the name *Ya'aqob* and the word *'āqz̄b* "heel." *OL* here has "calcaneum," as does Philo below. We must therefore assume that the Arm. translator is inaccurate here.

<sup>c</sup> Reading, with Aucher, Arm. *k'anzi* for *kam zi*.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ σπουδαῖος λογισμός (or νοῦς): *OL* "studiosus animus."

<sup>e</sup> ἀγωνιστής or, as Philo elsewhere calls Jacob, ἀσκητής.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "strenuus." Aucher renders freely, "paratus ad mortem."

<sup>g</sup> πάθει: *OL* "vitium": Aucher "cupiditatibus."

<sup>h</sup> Similarly *OL*, "luctatoris non admittendis (l. "admittentis") malum exaceruari." Aucher renders less accurately, "victoris, qui vix sinit jugum detrectare."

<sup>i</sup> ἀσθένειαν.

<sup>j</sup> λογισμῶ καὶ νῶ.

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "inveniet facultates virtutis idoneas."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

must we consider this than the possession <sup>a</sup> of moral excellence? <sup>b</sup> Whence he received the accurate name of Supplanter, <sup>c</sup> whom the Hebrews call "Jacob."

164. (Gen. xxv. 26) Why is Isaac said to have begotten sons (at the age) of sixty years <sup>d</sup>?

The number sixty <sup>e</sup> is the measure which includes in itself those (bodies) which are the zodiac in the world when the twelve pentagons are numbered together. <sup>f</sup> The same relation <sup>g</sup> which the number six bears to the units the number sixty (bears) to the tens. For through the hexad the entire heaven and world were made, <sup>h</sup> and in his sixtieth (year) the perfect man <sup>i</sup> begat (sons), in accordance with his kinship with the world, <sup>j</sup> for as the number sixty is kin to the number six, so the virtuous man <sup>k</sup> (is kin) to the entire world. Wherefore just as there is in the world something which is a pure substance, <sup>l</sup> which the heaven obtains

<sup>a</sup> Possibly the Arm. translator read *σχέσις* for *ἄσκησις*.

<sup>b</sup> *καλοκάγαθίας* or *εὐθηλείας*.

<sup>c</sup> *περριστης* is here rendered by two Arm. words. Aucher has "Deceptorem et Supplantatorem."

<sup>d</sup> Philo here differs slightly from Scripture, which says that Isaac was sixty years old when Rebekah bore him sons.

<sup>e</sup> This seems to be the only passage in which Philo speculates on the symbolism of 60.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders, "quinque angulorum duodecim divisionibus simul sumptis." *OL* has something quite different. What the pentagons are is far from clear to me. But see Plato, *Timaeus* 55 c, on the dodecahedron (of which the twelve sides are pentagons) which God is said to use for the decoration (*διαζωγραφῶν*) of the cosmos. R. G. Bury in the Loeb Plato remarks *ad loc.* "The reference may be to the signs of the zodiac." <sup>g</sup> *λόγον*: *OL* "elegantiam" (!).

<sup>h</sup> Cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 89 *ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐτελειώθη κατὰ τὴν ἑξάδος ἀριθμοῦ τελείου φύσιν*. For similar passages see Staehel, pp. 32-34. <sup>i</sup> *ὁ τέλειος*.

<sup>j</sup> *κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κόσμον συγγένειαν*: *OL* "secundum seculi proximitatem."

<sup>k</sup> *ὁ σπουδαῖος*: *OL* "strenuus."

<sup>l</sup> *καθαρὰ οὐσία*.

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as its lot, and there is something mixed and corruptible,<sup>a</sup> (namely) whatever is sublunary,<sup>b</sup> so also, says (Scripture), is it fitting that the offspring of the virtuous man be distinguished and separated into a mortal and immortal (son).<sup>c</sup> For of these sons one is heavenly and the other earthly.<sup>d</sup>

\*165. (Gen. xxv. 27) <sup>e</sup> Why was Esau a hunter and man of the fields, and Jacob a simple man, living at home <sup>f</sup> ?

This passage admits of allegorizing,<sup>g</sup> for the wicked man is (so) in a twofold way, being a hunter and a man of the fields. Wherefore? Because just as a hunter spends his time with dogs and beasts, so does the cruel man <sup>h</sup> with passions and evils, of which some, which are like beasts, make the mind <sup>i</sup> wild and untamed and intractable and ferocious and bestial; and some (are like) dogs because they indulge immoderate impulses <sup>j</sup> and in all things act madly and furiously. In addition to this, being a man of the fields, he is without a city and a fugitive from the laws,<sup>k</sup> unknowing <sup>l</sup> of right behaviour <sup>m</sup> and unbridled and refractory and not having anything in common with righteous and good men, and an enemy of intercourse, humaneness and community,<sup>n</sup> and leading an unsocial life.<sup>o</sup> But the

<sup>a</sup> μικτόν καὶ φθαρτόν. <sup>b</sup> ὅσα κάτω σελήνης.

<sup>c</sup> Symbolized by Esau and Jacob.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ μὲν οὐράνιος, ὁ δὲ γήινος.

<sup>e</sup> Philo comments on this verse in *Leg. All.* iii. 2-3 and, more briefly, in *De Plantatione* 44 and *De Congressu* 62.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ἦν Ἡσαὺ ἄνθρωπος εἰδὼς κυνηγεῖν, ἄγροικος Ἰακώβ δὲ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἀπλαστος, οἰκῶν οἰκίαν. <sup>g</sup> ἀλληγορίαν.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. *džneay* usu. = δεινός. Aucher here renders, "ne-farius": *OL* "pravus."

<sup>i</sup> τὸν νοῦν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> ἀμέτροις ὄρμαϊς. *OL* curiously renders, "justo plus satiati."

<sup>k</sup> *Leg. All.* iii. 3 reads a little differently ἀπολις . . . καὶ ἄοικος, φυχὰς ἀρετῆς ὄν. <sup>l</sup> Lit. "untasting."

<sup>m</sup> Aucher renders, "rectae vitae gustus nescius."

<sup>n</sup> οἰκειότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ κοινωνίας.

<sup>o</sup> ἄμικτον βίον.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

wise and cultivated man,<sup>a</sup> on the other hand, possesses both of the following (qualities): he is simple and he lives at home. A simple nature shows the truth of simplicity<sup>b</sup> and a lack of flattery and hypocrisy, while hypocrites, flatterers and charlatans<sup>c</sup> contrive to show the opposite. Moreover, the domestic care of the house is an antithesis to living in the fields,<sup>d</sup> for one of these (states) is household-management<sup>e</sup> and is a special instance of statecraft on a small scale,<sup>f</sup> since statecraft and household-management are related virtues,<sup>g</sup> which, it would not be amiss to show, are, as it were, interchangeable, both because statecraft is household-management in the state, and because household-management is statecraft in the home.

\*166. (Gen. xxv. 28) Why does (Scripture) say, "Isaac loved Esau, and Rebekah was loving Jacob"<sup>h</sup>?

Who would not admire the position of the names which stand contrasted and dexterously placed, being aptly and

<sup>a</sup> ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ἀστείος. *OL* has simply "urbanus."

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ἀπλαστον ἦθος δηλοῖ τὴν τῆς ἀπλότητος ἀλήθειαν. The Greek frag. from Procopius paraphrases, μηδὲν ἔχων ἐπίπλαστον ἢ ἐπίσακτον κακόν. *OL* renders, "infictum insinuat pro simplicitate."

<sup>c</sup> γόητες ἢ φαρμακεῖς, cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 302 οἱ γόητες, οἱ κόλακες, οἱ πιθανῶν σοφισμάτων εὐρεταί.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) reads ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀντιδιαστέλλει τῷ κυνηγέτῃ Ἡσαὺ καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγοντι. *OL* has "ita ruralitas dissipat statum domesticum."

<sup>e</sup> οἰκονομία.

<sup>f</sup> τῆς ἐλάττονος πολιτείας περιγραφῆ vel sim.: Aucher "et urbanitatis exiguae comprehensio": *OL* "ut civili albo conscriptus." With the notion expressed here compare *De Josepho* 38 οἰκία τε γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐσταλμένη καὶ βραχεία, καὶ οἰκονομία συνηγμένη τις πολιτεία. <sup>g</sup> συγγενεῖς ἀρεταί.

<sup>h</sup> LXX ἠγάπησεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἡσαὺ, ὅτι ἡ θῆρα αὐτοῦ βρώσις αὐτῶν (this clause is discussed in the following section) Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ἠγάπα τὸν Ἰακώβ. LXX follows Heb. in distinguishing the aorist and imperfect aspects in the two occurrences of ἀγαπᾶν.

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fittingly adjusted to the correct writing? <sup>a</sup> For "loved" as a narrative (tense) <sup>b</sup> indicates past time, <sup>c</sup> while "was loving" (indicates) what is always present and is eternally the same without ever admitting an end or termination. <sup>d</sup> And may it not be that this is rightly (said)? <sup>e</sup> For the admission of evil and weakness, <sup>f</sup> if it does sometimes occur, is shortlived and ephemeral, <sup>g</sup> but that of virtue <sup>h</sup> is, in a certain sense, immortal, <sup>i</sup> since it does not admit of regret or change of mind. <sup>j</sup>

\*167. (Gen. xxv. 28) Why does he (Isaac) love (Esau) for some (stated) reason, for (Scripture) says, "because his venison was food for him," <sup>k</sup> while his mother loved (Jacob) without a reason? <sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Similarly *OL*, "quis non miretur nominum positionem, tam recte et aptissime rebus consonantem?" The Greek frag. has more briefly and clearly *τίς δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀγάσαιτο τὸ ἡγάπησε τὸν Ἡσαὺ ἢ δὲ Ῥεβέκκα ἡγάπα τὸν Ἰακώβ* ;

<sup>b</sup> One Arm. ms. omits "as a narrative (tense)."

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. has *παρελήλυθε*.

<sup>d</sup> Similarly *OL*, "quod vero diligitur adest utrique et sempiternatur sine fine defectionis." The Greek frag. has much more briefly *πάρεστιν αἰεί*.

<sup>e</sup> There is no parallel to this sentence in the Greek frag. or *OL*.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. has more briefly *ἀποδοχὴ τοῦ φαύλου*. *OL* has "prava conversatio."

<sup>g</sup> *ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐφήμερος*, as in the Greek frag.: *OL* "temporalis, utpote diurna, non diuturna est."

<sup>h</sup> *τοῦ σπουδαίου*, as in the Greek frag. *OL* "respui" (*marg.* "reprobi") must be an error for "recti" or the like.

<sup>i</sup> *τρόπον τινὰ ἀθανατίζεται*. The Greek frag. has simply *ἀθανατίζεται*. *OL*, misunderstanding *τρόπον τινά*, has "mores immortales." The sentences following *ἀθανατίζεται* in the Greek frag. (Harris, p. 39) belong to the following section, *QG* iv. 167. <sup>j</sup> *μετάνοιαν ἢ μετάμελος*: *OL* "impoenitibiles."

<sup>k</sup> *LXX* ὅτι ἡ θήρα αὐτοῦ βρώσις αὐτῶ: Heb. "because venison was in his mouth."

<sup>l</sup> *i.e.* without a reason for Rebekah's love being stated in Scripture.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

Most wisely is (this said), for virtue <sup>a</sup> is not loved for any other reason.<sup>b</sup> And concerning this some of the younger (philosophers) and those who are recent,<sup>c</sup> having received their virtue-loving opinions directly from Moses as from a source,<sup>d</sup> (have stated) that the good alone is desired and pleasing for its own sake. But that which is not of this nature (is loved) for its usefulness.<sup>e</sup> And so, (Scripture) adds, "he loved (him) because his venison was food for him." And this is most natural,<sup>f</sup> for it is not the venison that it speaks of as food but his hunting of character itself as of a wild animal. And this indeed is the way it is. The soul of the philosopher <sup>g</sup> is not nourished or fed by anything so much as by being able to hunt down the passions <sup>h</sup> and to keep all vice at bay.

\*168. (Gen. xxv. 29) What is the meaning of the words, "And Jacob prepared a preparation" <sup>i</sup>?

I know that things of this kind provide (occasion for) ridicule and mocking derision to uncultivated men and

<sup>a</sup> The brief Greek frag. has τὸ σπουδαῖον: Aucher, following the *OL* "studiosus," has "virtute praeditus." In Arm. the adjective can be either neuter or masculine.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* other than itself. The Greek frag. reads οὐ δι' ἑτερόν τι ἀγαπᾶται: *OL* "ex utraque parte diligitur."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders, "nonnulli juniorum novissimorumque": *OL* has simply "nonnulli." There seem to be no other references in Philo to οἱ νεώτεροι which clearly indicate to what school of thought he refers.

<sup>d</sup> εὐθὺς δεχόμενοι ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς τινος παρὰ Μωυσέως τὰς φιλαρέτους γνώμας (*vel sim.*): *OL* has merely "imitantes Mosen."

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. (which resumes here) has τὸ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτον, ἐκ τῶν χρειῶν.

<sup>f</sup> φυσικώτατον. *OL*, misconstruing, reads "esca fuit ei naturalis suumque edictum est."

<sup>g</sup> ἡ τοῦ φιλοσόφου ψυχῆ.

<sup>h</sup> τὰ πάθη.

<sup>i</sup> LXX ἤψησεν δὲ Ἰακώβ ἔψημα (similarly Arm. Philo below): Heb. "And Jacob cooked a cooking" (A.V. "And Jacob sod pottage").

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those who lack consistency of character <sup>a</sup> and do not recognize any form or appearance of virtue <sup>b</sup> and attribute their own uneducatedness and stupidity and perversity <sup>c</sup> and thoughtlessness to the holy Scriptures, which are more truthful than any other thing. And the reason for this is that just as the blind merely touch and approach and come near to bodies by touch but are not able to perceive their colour, shape, form or any other particular property whatever, so also uneducated, untrained and untaught men, blinded in soul <sup>d</sup> and thick-skinned, <sup>e</sup> dwell on the literal meaning only rather than on the (content of the) narrative <sup>f</sup> and touch and deal with only the words and the literal text. <sup>g</sup> But they are unable to look into the inner (meaning) at the intelligible forms. <sup>h</sup> And the literal meaning <sup>i</sup> contains a not insignificant <sup>j</sup> reproof of the intemperate man <sup>k</sup> for the admonition of those who can be cured. <sup>l</sup> For it was not for the sake of a trifling cooked pottage that (Esau) gave up his rights as first-born <sup>m</sup> and yielded to the younger (brother) but because he made himself a slave to the pleasures of the belly. <sup>n</sup> Let him be reprov'd and con-

<sup>a</sup> τοῖς ἀμούσοις καὶ τοῖς ἀναρμόστοις τὸ ἦθος.

<sup>b</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly emended by Aucher.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "in eyes of the soul."

<sup>e</sup> Meaning uncertain: Aucher "caecutientes."

<sup>f</sup> Meaning uncertain: Aucher renders, "supra litteras tantum insidunt." *OL* has "in sermone narrationis occupati."

<sup>g</sup> τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥητοῖς λόγοις.

<sup>h</sup> πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ εἶδη.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. (which begins here) has τὸ ῥητὸν τῆς διηγήσεως.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "small." The Greek frag. omits the adjective.

<sup>k</sup> ἔλεγχον τοῦ ἀκολάστου, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>l</sup> πρὸς νουθεσίαν τῶν θεραπεύεσθαι δυναμένων, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>m</sup> τῶν πρεσβείων, as in the Greek frag., which, however, does not begin the sentence with οὐ γάρ, as does the text followed by the Arm., but with ὁ γάρ, and therefore has no contrast between the two clauses.

<sup>n</sup> So the Greek frag., δοῦλος γαστρὸς ἡδοναῖς: *OL* "famulus ventris."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

demned as one who never was zealous for restraint and continence.<sup>a</sup> (The passage) also contains what is in accordance with the appearance of opinion, (namely) a most natural explanation of the narrative.<sup>b</sup> For everything that is cooked is dissolved, and there is a decrease and loss of the virtue<sup>c</sup> which it formerly had. And to this is passion<sup>d</sup> likened in form (by Scripture). For this is unsalted and unbelieving.<sup>e</sup> And the self-restraint of continence loosens and dissolves it through reason<sup>f</sup> by tearing apart and cutting up its sinews and strength.

\*169. (Gen. xxv. 29) Why does (Scripture) say, "Esau came from the field, giving up"<sup>g</sup>?

In the case of the patriarchs,<sup>h</sup> giving up is said to be adding,<sup>i</sup> for when they give up mortal life, they are added to the other life.<sup>j</sup> But the wicked man has only a deficiency, since he suffers only from an incessant hunger for virtue<sup>k</sup> more than from that for food and drink.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. reads a little differently εἰς ὄνειδος προκεισθῶ τῶν μήποτε ζῆλον ἐγκρατείας λαβόντων. Originally, perhaps, the Greek was τοῦ μήποτε . . . λαβεῖν, as in the Arm. and *OL* "vituperator (*l.* "vituperatur") nullum continentiae zelum sectando."

<sup>b</sup> The above is a literal translation of the obscure Arm., which Aucher more freely renders, "habet et opinionis locus naturalem quandam rationem historiae elucidandae." *OL* paraphrases, "ita altiora intellectu hujus dicti veritatis titulos commendat."

<sup>c</sup> τῆς δυνάμεως : *OL* "virtute."

<sup>d</sup> πάθος.

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. lit. = ἀναλον καὶ ἀπειθές, and seems to be corrupt. *OL* reads "quod poterat non coctum (*marg.* "contactum") nullo subjacere imperio."

<sup>f</sup> λόγῳ. For a parallel to the idea see *De Sacr. Abelis* 81.

<sup>g</sup> LXX ἐκλείπων : Heb. "weary."

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. has τῶν σπουδαίων.

<sup>i</sup> So the Greek frag., ἡ ἐκλειψις εἶναι λέγεται πρόσθεσις.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "to that life." The Greek frag. has ἀθανάτω ζωῆ : *OL* "immortalitas."

<sup>k</sup> So the Greek frag., μόνον λιμὸν ἀρετῆς ὑπομένων ἀδιάστατον.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

170. (Gen. xxv. 30) Why does (Esau) say, " Give me a taste of that red pottage, for I have given up " <sup>a</sup> ?

The passion-loving and unmanly character <sup>b</sup> confesses his hunger for wisdom and prudence <sup>c</sup> and, at the same time, his deficiency in all virtue.<sup>d</sup> For this reason he straightway hastens to taste of passion, not considering this as anything less than his virtue but (as something) cooked <sup>e</sup> and mixed so as to be pleasing for its pleasurable colour.<sup>f</sup> And (Scripture) calls this (pottage) " red," adding (this word) as genuinely related to his passion,<sup>g</sup> for an impulse <sup>h</sup> is more red when passion is reddened <sup>i</sup> or else because it is proper and fitting that those who are in passion should blush and be ashamed of lauding and honouring shameful things as though (they were) good and seemly.

171. (Gen. xxv. 30) Why is his name called " Edom " ?  
 " Edom " translated into the Armenian <sup>j</sup> tongue is called " flame-coloured " <sup>k</sup> or " earthy," <sup>l</sup> and this name is appropriately given to him who is intemperate and unrestrained in character, and seeks not heavenly and divine things but all that is earthy and corruptible.<sup>m</sup> And not even in sleep

<sup>a</sup> LXX γευσόν με ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐψέματος τοῦ πυρροῦ τούτου ὅτι ἐκλείπω ἐγώ. In the Heb. the red pottage 'ādōm is connected with the name *Edom*, descendants of Esau.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ φιλοπαθὲς καὶ ἄναδρου ἦθος.

<sup>c</sup> λιμὸν σοφίας καὶ φρονήσεως.

<sup>d</sup> ὁμοῦ πάσης ἐκλειψιν ἀρετῆς.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *apok'eal* means both " cooked " and " tempered."

Aucher here renders, " contemperatum." The *OL*, though confused, seems to favour the former rendering.

<sup>f</sup> Variant " to be pleasing as more pleasurable."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher misconstrues, I think, in rendering, " simile vitio suo adjecto." <sup>h</sup> ὀρμή.

<sup>i</sup> Text slightly emended. Aucher renders literally, " quia majorem habet impetum rufa, atque rubicunda cupiditas."

<sup>j</sup> Sic ! The original, of course, had " Greek."

<sup>k</sup> φλόγιμος vel sim.

<sup>l</sup> γήινος, as in *Quod Deus Immut. Sit* 148.

<sup>m</sup> οὐ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ θεῖα ἀλλὰ πᾶν γήινον καὶ φθαρτόν.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

does he know the Form that is without quality and shape and form and body,<sup>a</sup> but he is the slave of colours and qualities, by which all the senses<sup>b</sup> are deceived.<sup>c</sup>

\*172. (Gen. xxv. 31) Why does his brother say, "Sell me this day thy birthright"<sup>d</sup>?

The literal meaning, it would seem,<sup>e</sup> shows the greed<sup>f</sup> of the younger in wishing to deprive his elder brother of his rights.<sup>g</sup> But the virtuous man is not greedy,<sup>h</sup> inasmuch as he is a companion of frugality and restraint,<sup>i</sup> and is especially helpful in these.<sup>j</sup> He therefore clearly understands that a continuous and unlimited abundance of possessions is the occasion and cause of sin to the wicked man<sup>k</sup> and is necessary to the righteous man alone.<sup>l</sup> And he considers

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ἄπειον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἄμορφον καὶ ἀσώματον εἶδος.  
OL has merely "in reprehensibilem vitam."

<sup>b</sup> αἱ αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>c</sup> OL "quibus per omnem sensum opprimitur," perhaps reading a form of πατεῖσθαι instead of ἀπατᾶσθαι.

<sup>d</sup> LXX Ἀπόδου μοι σήμερον τὰ πρωτοτοκεῖά σου ἐμοί.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ μὲν ῥητόν, οἷα τῷ δοκεῖν, as in the Greek frag. from Cat. Lipsiensis.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. uses two words to render πλεονεξίαν, which is found in both Greek fragments, Cat. Lips. and Procopius.

<sup>g</sup> So, almost exactly, Cat. Lips., σφετερίζεσθαι ἀδελφοῦ δίκαια ποθοῦντος. The phrase is missing from Procopius.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος οὐ πλεονέκτης, as in Cat. Lips. Procopius has ὅπερ ἀλλότριον σπουδαίου.

<sup>i</sup> So both Greek fragments, ὀλιγοδείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας ἐταῖρος.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. seems to be a partial misunderstanding of an original text like that in Procopius, καὶ ὠφελητικὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα. Cat. Lips. omits the phrase.

<sup>k</sup> The Greek fragments read slightly differently: Cat. Lips. αἱ ἄφθονοι περιουσίαι τῶν φαύλων χορηγοὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, Procopius αἱ ἄφθονοι περιουσίαι παντὶ φαύλῳ χορηγοὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων εἰσίν.

<sup>l</sup> Variant "to righteousness." The Greek fragments omit this last clause.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

it most necessary to remove from evil,<sup>a</sup> as from a fire, that matter which is set on fire by heat,<sup>b</sup> for the improvement of character.<sup>c</sup> And this does not harm, but is a great benefit to him who is believed to be harmed.<sup>d</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>e</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>f</sup> it should be understood that the discourse of the wise legislator<sup>g</sup> is not so much about brute animals or possessions or harvested fruits<sup>h</sup> as about the dispositions of souls.<sup>i</sup> For by nature the first-born and elder (brother) is activity in accordance with the several virtues,<sup>j</sup> which<sup>k</sup> the wicked man changes because of the opinions of the multitude. For no one among the imprudent has ever been so mad as to confess that he is evil. Therefore does he say to him,<sup>l</sup> "Do not mistreat<sup>m</sup> all truth as if lying or as if laughing at a stage-performance, but confess at once that virtue<sup>n</sup> is a possession unfamiliar and not genuine or natural<sup>o</sup> to thee, and far removed from it wilt thou pass thy days. But it is familiar and suitable and proper and kin to the cultivated and wise character."<sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "improbo," but the Arm. = *κακία*, as the Greek fragments read.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "materiam illam, quae ignis magis succendendi causa est."

<sup>c</sup> The Greek fragments read more smoothly *τὴν προσαναφλέγουσαν ὕλην, ὡς πυρός, τῆς κακίας ἀφαιρεῖν εἰς βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν.*

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek fragments (which end with this sentence), *ὅπερ οὐ βλάβην ἀλλὰ μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν περιποιεῖ τῷ ζημιουῦσθαι δοκοῦντι.* <sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ τοῦ σοφοῦ νομοθέτου λόγος, *i.e.* of Moses.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "pecuniis."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "de animae statu": *OL* "pro constantia animae." <sup>j</sup> ἡ κατὰ τὰς ἐκάστας ἀρετὰς ἐνέργεια.

<sup>k</sup> Aucher has "quos," which should be "quas," since "virtutes" is the antecedent of the rel. pron. *OL* has "aquarum," obviously a corruption of "quarum."

<sup>l</sup> *i.e.* Jacob to Esau.

<sup>m</sup> *μη̄ κακοποιήσης vel sim.* Aucher "noli . . . deturbare."  
<sup>n</sup> ἀρετή.

<sup>o</sup> *παρὰ φύσιν vel sim.* Aucher "aliena."

<sup>p</sup> τῷ ἀστείῳ καὶ σοφῷ ἦθει.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

\*173. (Gen. xxv. 32) Why does he reply as follows, "Behold, I am going to die, and for what is this birthright (to me)?"<sup>a</sup>?

The literal meaning<sup>b</sup> of what is said is a parable,<sup>c</sup> for truly the life of the wicked man hastens to death every day, reflecting on and training for dying.<sup>d</sup> For would he not (otherwise) say, "What is this to me which leads to virtue and happiness?"<sup>e</sup> "For," he says, "I have something else to choose and to recommend to myself,<sup>f</sup> (namely) to desire sensual pleasure and to seek lasciviousness and to be dissolute and to be greedy and avaricious and whatever else is akin<sup>h</sup> to these things."<sup>i</sup>

\*174. (Gen. xxv. 34)<sup>j</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "Esau despised the birthright"<sup>k</sup>?

This legislation<sup>l</sup> is also given by God, agreeing with the earlier one.<sup>m</sup> For just as the virtuous and wise man

<sup>a</sup> LXX ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πορεύομαι τελευτᾶν, καὶ ἵνα τί μοι ταῦτα τὰ πρωτοτοκεία ;  
<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *arak* = παραβολή, αἶνγμα, τύπος, etc. Aucher here renders, "aenigma." Procopius has λόγιον, *OL* "eloquium."

<sup>d</sup> Procopius omits the words "every day . . . dying." *OL* has "per singulos dies nec enim meditando."

<sup>e</sup> Variant "for he says."

<sup>f</sup> *OL* reads "adeo non dixit : ad quae mihi primitia, quae dirigunt virtutem et beatitudinem." Procopius reads more smoothly οὐ φησὶ δὲ "ἵνα τί μοι πρωτοτοκεία," μετὰ προσθήκης δὲ τοῦ "ταῦτα," ὃ ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἄγοντα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν. According to this reading, Philo stresses the use of the demonstrative pron. before "birthright."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "eligere et mihi parare." Procopius has ἐξάίρετα ἕτερα, *OL* "praerogativam."<sup>h</sup> Lit. "brother."

<sup>i</sup> So, almost literally, Procopius. *OL* reads more briefly "libidinis et luxuriae et quaecumque horum similia videntur."

<sup>j</sup> Philo omits comment on Gen. xxv. 33, which tells of Esau's oath and the sale of the birthright to Jacob.

<sup>k</sup> LXX καὶ ἐφάυλισεν Ἡσαὺ τὰ πρωτοτοκεία. <sup>l</sup> νομοθεσία.

<sup>m</sup> *OL* reads more briefly "divinum responsum consonat priori."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

despises and rejects the things of the wicked man,<sup>a</sup> so the wicked man (despises) the thoughts and deeds and words of the virtuous man.<sup>b</sup> For it is impossible and unviable that concord should ever come into being from harmony and disharmony.<sup>c</sup>

175. (Gen. xxvi. 1) Why does a famine come upon the land beside the earlier famine which came in the time of Abraham? <sup>d</sup>

It is fitting to inquire why (Scripture) adds, "upon the land," for where else does a famine ever come if not upon the land? For it is not proper to say "in heaven." But may it not be that the passage contains an allegory? <sup>e</sup> For the body is an earthy substance <sup>f</sup> about us, and when the virtuous and purified mind <sup>g</sup> dwells in it, it causes a famine not of food and drink but of wrongdoing.<sup>h</sup> And these famines are distinct. The former was a lack of ignorance and uneducatedness <sup>i</sup> in the man who has progressed and become perfect through education and teaching.<sup>j</sup> But superior to this is the destruction of things not in accord

<sup>a</sup> Procopius reads more briefly *κακίζει γὰρ ὡσπερ ὁ ἀστείος τὰ τοῦ φαύλου*. OL has "solertiam (l. "solet enim") strenuus pravorum spernere facta."

<sup>b</sup> So Procopius, *τὰ τοῦ ἀστείου καὶ βουλευματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ λόγους*. OL has "derogat enim et pravus studiosum."

<sup>c</sup> Procopius reads more briefly *ἀσύμφωνον γὰρ ἀρμονία πρὸς ἀναρμυσίαν*.

<sup>d</sup> LXX Ἐγένετο δὲ λιμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χωρὶς τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ πρότερον (Heb. "the first") ὃς ἐγενήθη ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.

<sup>e</sup> ἀλληγορίαν.

<sup>f</sup> γήινη οὐσία *vel sim.*: OL "terrenus sensus": Aucher "terrenum."

<sup>g</sup> ὁ σπουδαῖος καὶ καθαρθεὶς νοῦς: OL "pura et sobria mens." <sup>h</sup> ἀδικιῶν. <sup>i</sup> ἔνδεια ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας.

<sup>j</sup> ἐν τῷ προκόψαντι καὶ τελειωθέντι ἐκ παιδείας καὶ διδασκαλίας. Here, as often elsewhere in Philo, Abraham is a symbol of virtue acquired through learning in contrast to Isaac as a symbol of natural or self-taught virtue and to Jacob as a symbol of virtue acquired by practice.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

with nature <sup>a</sup> in him who possesses virtue by nature, without taking thought or practising but by the power of self-teaching and self-hearing.<sup>b</sup> Both are excellent and agreeable to all happiness and prosperity and sagacity, and are susceptible of joy.<sup>c</sup>

176. (Gen. xxvi. 1) What is the meaning of the words, "Isaac went to Abimelech, king of the Philistines, to Gerara" ?

The literal meaning <sup>d</sup> clearly shows his journeying. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> it requires a more exact inquiry and examination, which we shall reveal and make clear through the interpretation of the names. For "Abimelech" is to be interpreted as "father king,"<sup>f</sup> and "Philistines" as "foreigners,"<sup>g</sup> and "Gerara" as "hedge."<sup>h</sup>

177. (Gen. xxvi. 2) Why does the (divine) word <sup>i</sup> say to him, "Do not go down to Egypt" ?

<sup>a</sup> Text and meaning uncertain. Aucher renders, "verum his superior est corruptio (vitiatorum) praeter naturam." *OL* paraphrases, "novissima <sc. "fames"> dissipavit ea quae minus apte videbantur."

<sup>b</sup> ἀντοδιδάκτω καὶ αὐτηκόω δυνάμει, symbolized by Isaac, cf. *De Plantatione* 168. *OL* renders inaccurately, "naturaliter enim et sine doctrina virtutes acquiruntur obediente fortitudine."

<sup>c</sup> *OL* paraphrases, "ita utraque famis abundantiae et frugalitatis meliores ac laetiores" (v.l. "lectiores").

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "paternus rex." The name seems to be etymologized merely as "king" in *De Plantatione* 169.

<sup>g</sup> Philo's etymology is based on the fact that this name is usually rendered in the LXX as ἀλλόφυλοι, though not in this particular verse.

<sup>h</sup> Apparently this fanciful etymology is based on Heb. *gādēr*, *geder* = "wall," "hedge."

<sup>i</sup> Or "oracle," as Aucher renders. *OL* has "eloquium divinum."

<sup>j</sup> LXX ὥφθη δὲ αὐτῷ κύριος καὶ εἶπεν, Μὴ καταβῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον. The verse is allegorized as here in *Quod Deterius* 46, *De Confus. Ling.* 81, *De Migratione* 29.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The passage <sup>a</sup> is clear, containing in itself nothing dark or unclear. It is to be allegorized <sup>b</sup> as follows. "Egypt" is to be translated as "oppressing," <sup>c</sup> for nothing else so constrains and oppresses the mind <sup>d</sup> as do desire for sensual pleasures <sup>e</sup> and grief and fear. But to the perfected man, <sup>f</sup> who by nature enjoys the happiness of virtue, <sup>g</sup> the sacred and divine word <sup>h</sup> recommends all perfection <sup>i</sup> and not to go down into the passions <sup>j</sup> but to accept impassivity <sup>k</sup> with joy, bidding (the passions) a fond farewell. <sup>l</sup> And to those who are moderate <sup>m</sup> (Scripture) reveals and recommends the middle way <sup>n</sup> because of their weakness, and (this) they accept, <sup>o</sup> not being venturesome or confident and not being able to ascend with him. <sup>p</sup> But those who attain and reach the summit <sup>q</sup> and attain to the very limit of the end do not give any thought <sup>r</sup> at all to that which clings to the ground. <sup>s</sup>

178. (Gen. xxvi. 2-3) Why does He say, "Dwell in the land of which I shall tell thee." <sup>t</sup> And thou shalt dwell sojourning in the land " <sup>u</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>b</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

<sup>c</sup> θλίβων. Philo here plays on the resemblance between Heb. *Misrayim* "Egypt" and *mēsārim* "straits." Elsewhere (*passim*) he makes Egypt a symbol of τὰ κατὰ σῶμα πάθη. Interesting in this connexion is his discussion in *De Migratione* 157-160, where Egypt symbolizes bodily passion, and he remarks, διὰ τὸν ὄγκον μηκέτι χωρεῖν τὸ σῶμα θλιβόμενον κτλ.

<sup>d</sup> τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>e</sup> ἐπιθυμῖαι ἡδονῶν.

<sup>f</sup> τῷ τελειωθέντι, symbolized by Isaac. <sup>g</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ ἱερός καὶ θεῖος λόγος. <sup>i</sup> παντέλειαν. <sup>j</sup> κάτω εἰς τὰ πάθη.

<sup>k</sup> ἀπάθειαν, cf. *De Plantatione* 98 ἀπάθειαν ἀντὶ παθῶν.

<sup>l</sup> πολλὰ χαίρειν φράζοντα. <sup>m</sup> τοῖς μετρίοις. <sup>n</sup> μεσότητα.

<sup>o</sup> Aucher punctuates differently and renders, "quia ob infirmitatem id ultro acceptant." *OL* paraphrases freely.

<sup>r</sup> i.e. Isaac.

<sup>q</sup> πρὸς ἀκρότητα.

<sup>t</sup> Lit. "do not make way."

<sup>u</sup> τῷ χαμαιζήλω.

<sup>t</sup> LXX κατοίκησον δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἣ ἄν σοι εἴπω.

<sup>u</sup> The Arm. lit. = παροικία κατοικία ἐν τῇ γῇ. LXX has καὶ παροικεῖ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, as does Philo in *De Confus. Ling.* 81. It is probable that this was the original reading here also.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

He indicates a distinction between sojourners and dwellers, for in word <sup>a</sup> men dwell in these cities, but in fact the soul <sup>b</sup> does not show the same dispositions.<sup>c</sup> And He commands the wise man <sup>d</sup> to sojourn <sup>e</sup> in that land which admits of pointing to and touching,<sup>f</sup> but to dwell in that (land) which the divine oracle will command. For the sense-perceptible and earthy <sup>g</sup> is our body. And the soul, which is the principal thing within it, if it is to desire a blessing,<sup>h</sup> should and must (merely) sojourn <sup>i</sup> in it, being mindful of the mother-city,<sup>j</sup> to which it seeks to remove and to dwell there. Wherefore He legislates <sup>k</sup> for the divinely born soul, admonishing and encouraging it to dwell there with constancy. And what other city is a fitting symbol <sup>l</sup> of this character<sup>m</sup> according to the law of allegory <sup>n</sup> if not virtue? <sup>n</sup>

\*179. (Gen. xxvi. 3) What is the meaning of the words, "I will be with thee and I will bless thee" <sup>o</sup>?

(This) shows the connexion and harmonious order of the things fitted together methodically in the divine oracles.

<sup>a</sup> λόγῳ μὲν, contrasted with ἔργῳ δέ in the following clause.

<sup>b</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>c</sup> διαθέσει. Aucher renders, "re autem animae in suis dispositionibus vix sese uniformiter habentis."

<sup>d</sup> τῷ σοφῷ.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "to dwell in sojourning," see note *u* on p. 462.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "in ea, quam tantummodo videat et tangat, terra." *OL* has "permittitur ergo sapienti incolatus pro spectaculo tantum et actu" (*l.* "tactu"), and adds an explanatory clause. <sup>g</sup> τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ γήινον.

<sup>h</sup> Arm. *geleşkabanout' iun* = "beauty of speech" or the like, but here prob. is a too literal rendering of εὐλογία, mentioned in the next clause in Scripture and in Philo's next section. Aucher here renders, "pulchrum negotium," *OL* "benivolentiam" (*sic*).

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "dwell in sojourning," see note *u* on p. 462.

<sup>j</sup> τῆς μητροπόλεως.

<sup>k</sup> νομοθετεῖ.

<sup>l</sup> αἰνίγμα.

<sup>m</sup> κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀλληγορίας νόμον.

<sup>n</sup> ἀρετῆ.

<sup>o</sup> LXX ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ εὐλογήσω σε.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

For God necessarily <sup>a</sup> brings near to man concord and blessing <sup>b</sup> and pleasantness of speech, <sup>c</sup> just as, on the contrary, distance (from God brings) irrationality. <sup>d</sup> For there is no greater evil for the soul than folly and stupidity, when it is deprived of the rational genus, the mind, which is characteristic of it. <sup>e</sup>

\*180. (Gen. xxvi: 3) What is the meaning of the words, "I will establish my oath which I swore to thy father" <sup>f</sup> ?

First, this must be said, that the words of God do not differ from oaths. And by whom does God swear if not by Himself? <sup>g</sup> And He is said to swear, because of our weakness, for we think that just as in the case of man an oath differs from words, so also is it in the case of God. <sup>h</sup> And since He is blessed and gracious and propitious, He does not judge created beings <sup>i</sup> in accordance with His greatness but in accordance with theirs. <sup>j</sup> And in the

<sup>a</sup> ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

<sup>b</sup> ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εὐλογίαν.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "bonamque eloquentiam": *OL* "complacationem." The Arm. variant seems to be merely an orthographic one.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. word usu. = ἀλογία. Aucher renders, "privationem verbi (*vel*, rationis)": *OL* "maledictionem." The Arm. variant means "lack of (permanent) dwelling."

<sup>e</sup> Slightly different is the text of the Greek frag., μείζον ἀνθρώπῳ κακὸν ἀφροσύνης οὐδέν ἐστι, τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ λογιστικοῦ γένους, τὸν νοῦν, ζημιωθέντι.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ στήσω τὸν ὄρκον μου ὃν ὤμοσα Ἀβραὰμ τῷ πατρί σου.

<sup>g</sup> So the Greek frag., ἀδιαφοροῦσιν ὄρκων λόγοι θεοῦ. καὶ κατὰ τίνος ἂν ὤμοσεν ὁ θεός, ὅτι μὴ ἑαυτοῦ;

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag., λέγεται δὲ ὀμνῆναι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ὑπολαμβανόντων ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου διαφέρειν λόγων ὄρκους, οὕτως ἐπὶ θεοῦ. *OL*, taking διαφέρειν in the sense of "excel," renders the next to last clause, "juraacula hominum fortiora esse verborum."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "those in generation."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, "juxta eorum (pusillanimitatem)," *OL* "adversus generis possibilitatem." There is no Greek preserved of this sentence.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

second place, He wishes to praise the son as one worthy of his father's nobility,<sup>a</sup> for He would not firmly establish the prayers<sup>b</sup> made to the father with an oath, for the sake of the son, if He did not witness the same virtue<sup>c</sup> in him.<sup>d</sup> Cease, therefore, now from praising nobility<sup>e</sup> separately by itself and learn from the divine Scriptures what true (nobility) is, and repent. For this (passage) clearly teaches us to define and judge and discern the well-born (as being) not those who have sprung from good fathers or grandparents and are content with that alone, but those who are themselves emulators of their (fathers') piety.<sup>f</sup> And it is wrong<sup>g</sup> to praise those who are involuntarily good<sup>h</sup> or an involuntary origin,<sup>i</sup> for not by taking thought does each of us come into being,<sup>j</sup> and that which is voluntary is not to be placed in any order,<sup>k</sup> and the voluntary is best and is the acceptance and imitation of the good.<sup>l</sup>

181. (Gen. xxvi. 4a) What is the meaning of the words, "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven"<sup>m</sup>?

Two things are indicated, in which the nature of all things in general<sup>n</sup> consists, (namely) quantity and quality—quantity in "I will multiply," and quality in "as the stars." So may (thy descendants) be pure and far-shining<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *εὐγενείας*. The Greek frag. has *εὐεργίας*.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. has *εὐλογίας*, which makes better sense. *OL* has "foederis."

<sup>c</sup> *ἀρετήν*, as in the Greek frag. <sup>d</sup> *i. e.* the son.

<sup>e</sup> More lit. "freedom" (of birth)—*ἐλευθερίαν*: *OL* "generis nobilitatem."

<sup>f</sup> *εὐσεβείας*.

<sup>g</sup> *ἄτοπον*, apparently rendered here by two Arm. words.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher, taking the adj. as neuter, renders, "involuntaria bona," *OL* "minus ultroneum bonum." <sup>i</sup> *γένεσιν*.

<sup>j</sup> *OL* "nec enim per cuiusdam consilium nascimur."

<sup>k</sup> Meaning not wholly clear. *OL* has "ita enim spontanea bonitas pro nihilo imputatur."

<sup>l</sup> *OL* reads "quoniam spontaneum melius actus testimonium est, et paterna imitatio."

<sup>m</sup> *ΛXX καὶ πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

<sup>n</sup> *κοινῶς (vel sim.) ἢ τῶν πάντων φύσις.* <sup>o</sup> *τηλαυγείς*.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and always be ranged in order and obey their leader,<sup>a</sup> and may they behave like the luciform (stars) which everywhere with the splendour of ethereal brightness also illumine all other things.

182. (Gen. xxvi. 4b) What is the meaning of the words, "To thy seed I will give all this land"<sup>b</sup>?

The literal text<sup>c</sup> makes clear the special meaning of the Law,<sup>d</sup> in which it is said that only the wise man is rich<sup>e</sup> and that all things belong to the wise man. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>f</sup> He says, "I will grant to thee all earthly and corporeal substances as if servants subject to a ruler."<sup>g</sup> For I wish thee not to collect revenue<sup>h</sup> and not to exact tribute,<sup>i</sup> which immoderate and insatiable passions determine, but in the manner of a king to be a ruler and leader, and to lead the way rather than be led."

183. (Gen. xxvi. 4c) What is the meaning of the words, "In thy seed<sup>j</sup> will be blessed all the nations of the earth"<sup>k</sup>?

The literal meaning<sup>l</sup> is significant<sup>m</sup> and clear. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>n</sup> it is to be allegorized,<sup>o</sup> as follows.

<sup>a</sup> τῶ ταξιάρχῳ. Probably God is meant as in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 230 <ψυχαὶ> πειθόμεναι τῶ ταξιάρχῳ.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ δώσω τῶ σπέρματί σου πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ταύτην (Heb. "all these lands"). In *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 8 Philo comments on Gen. xxvi. 3-5 as a unit.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.  
<sup>d</sup> τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ νόμου γνώμην *vel sim.*: OL "utpote Dei decreto pronuntiatum."

<sup>e</sup> μόνον ὁ σοφὸς πλούσιος.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> OL "ut principatum (l. "principatui"?) quendam subjectum."

<sup>h</sup> εἰσόδους.  
<sup>i</sup> φόρον: OL "foenora." <sup>j</sup> OL "in nomine tuo."

<sup>k</sup> LXX καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῶ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.  
<sup>l</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher "symbolica." OL omits the first sentence.

<sup>n</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>o</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

All the nations of this earth's soil <sup>a</sup> are in us.<sup>b</sup> And the various senses,<sup>c</sup> such as they may be, consist of the various passions.<sup>d</sup> And these become better when they adhere to a governor and overseer and superintendent, who has power as, according to the poet,<sup>e</sup> "both a goodly king and a warlike spearman." But they undergo a change for the bad when the sovereign mind <sup>f</sup> changes to obedience and submission, and, like a bad and weak charioteer, is unable to restrain the headlong course and wildness of yoked <sup>g</sup> horses, and is carried away by their great speed.

\*184. (Gen. xxvi. 5) Why does He say, "Forasmuch as thy father was obedient and kept My precepts and My commandments and My rights and My laws" <sup>h</sup> ?

Everything which is Mine, He says, is this.<sup>i</sup> For good and virtuous men are familiar with the powers of God,<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "of this earthy earth."

<sup>b</sup> *OL* renders freely, "omnes gentes figuras esse terreni corporis nostri." <sup>c</sup> αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. text seems to be inexact; one would expect "give rise to the various passions." Aucher renders, "in singulas cupiditates coalescunt": *OL* "per singulos sensus singula vitia nascuntur."

<sup>e</sup> Homer, *Iliad* iii. 179 (on Agamemnon) ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ ἡγεμὼν νοῦς.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher and *OL* omit the participle.

<sup>h</sup> Philo here slightly abbreviates the *LXX* text (which he follows verbatim in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 8), ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκουσεν Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατήρ σου τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς, καὶ ἐφύλαξεν τὰ προστάγματα μου (Heb. "My observance") καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά μου (Heb. "My statutes") καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου. *OL* renders δικαιώματα as "justificationes," and omits νόμιμα. Philo comments on the verse also in *De Migratione* 130 and *De Abrahamo* 275.

<sup>i</sup> So the Arm. literally. Aucher renders, "omnia Mea, haec sunt, ait." *OL* paraphrases.

<sup>j</sup> οἱ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σπουδαῖοι ταῖς θεοῦ δυνάμεσιν οἰκείοι εἰσιν. *OL* renders loosely, "haec Mea praeclara bona divinae virtutis domestica."

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from which, as from a spring, a few men draw,<sup>a</sup> (namely) those who are well provided with a proper education,<sup>b</sup> and genuinely desire wisdom.<sup>c</sup> Now, of the four (things mentioned), the first two are considered to be consecrated to God,<sup>d</sup> (namely) "the precepts and commandments," for He gives precepts as a ruler to those who do not readily obey without fear, and He gives commandments as to His friends<sup>e</sup> to those who pray and have faith.<sup>f</sup> But the other two, (namely) "the rights and laws" are virtues<sup>g</sup> toward men, concerning whom it is fitting and proper to have great care of laws and rights,<sup>h</sup> for rights can somehow exist and consist by nature, while laws (do so) by convention. But those things (existing) by nature are older than those (existing) by convention, and so, rights (are older) than laws.<sup>i</sup>

185. (Gen. xxvi. 6) Why does (Scripture) say that "Isaac dwelt as a sojourner<sup>j</sup> in Gerar"<sup>k</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "take."

<sup>b</sup> ὀρθῆ παιδεία κεχορηγημένοι. Aucher renders, "qui recta disciplina pulchre incedunt." *OL* renders defectively (omitting participle or verb), "plura (*l.* "pura"?) disciplina."

<sup>c</sup> σοφίας γνησίως ἐφιένται.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* they are the laws concerning man's duties toward God as opposed to those concerning his relations toward his fellow-men. See H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, ii. 200.

<sup>e</sup> *OL* "ut amicus" (*l.* "amicis"?).

<sup>f</sup> Aucher "credulis."

<sup>g</sup> ἀρεταί.

<sup>h</sup> Construction not quite clear. Aucher renders, "quibus etiam convenire dixeris leges et iura (sancire) aut potius magnam habere curam."

<sup>i</sup> Similarly the brief Greek frag. (from Dam. *Sacra Par.*, identified by Lewy, p. 59), διαφέρει δικαιώματα νομίμων τὰ μὲν γὰρ πως δύνανται συνίστασθαι (*sic*) φύσει, τὰ δὲ νόμμα θέσει. πρεσβύτερα δὲ τῶν θέσει τὰ φύσει, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον νόμον.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "in sojourn." *LXX* has simply κατώκησεν, Heb. and Arm. O.T. "dwelt." The Arm. *Philo* seems to reflect a reading παρώκησεν as in one *LXX* ms. (E).

<sup>k</sup> Arm. and *LXX* "Gerara."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

“Gerar” is to be interpreted as “hedge,”<sup>a</sup> which we allegorically<sup>b</sup> declare to be that which concerns the body and whatever external things vain, empty and useless opinions blindly invent. For he who dwells within this hedge is wretched, serving many implacable, cruel and inexorable masters. And he endures their threats, being deceived,<sup>c</sup> in the manner of beasts, by what is not good as though it were the best of all. But the sojourner<sup>d</sup> imagines the hope of his entire freedom,<sup>e</sup> being contented with necessities. Wherefore he easily slips away from the hedge<sup>f</sup> and from the snares which are in it.

186. (Gen. xxvi. 7) Who are the men who inquired concerning his wife?<sup>g</sup>

To the various parts of the soul there are thoughts related as inhabitants<sup>h</sup> as follows. To the rational (part)<sup>i</sup> (are related thoughts) pertaining to wisdom and folly<sup>j</sup>; to the irascible<sup>k</sup> (are related thoughts) pertaining to courage and cowardice<sup>l</sup>; to the appetitive<sup>m</sup> (are related

<sup>a</sup> φραγμός, a word which the LXX usually employs to render Heb. *gāḏēr*. In *QG* iv. 59 (on Gen. xx. 1) Philo explains Gerar as “the region of God-loving thoughts,” evidently connecting it with Heb. *gēr* “sojourner” or “resident alien.”

<sup>b</sup> ἀλληγοροῦντες.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* “infructuosa spe occupatus.”

<sup>d</sup> ὁ πάροιχος.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders, “at peregrinus spe quadam depicta totalis suae libertatis”: *OL* “incola vero spem sibi recondit futurae libertatis.”

<sup>f</sup> *OL* “cujus spem facillime effugiet.”

<sup>g</sup> *OL* reads differently “qui sunt illi viri quos Scriptura meminit?” Philo here comments only on the first part of the verse, which goes on to say that Isaac reported Rebekah to be his sister, fearing that the men of Gerar might kill him because of her beauty.

<sup>h</sup> ἐκάστοις τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν οἰκέοι εἰσι λογισμοὶ ὡσπερ οἰκήτορες.

<sup>i</sup> τῷ λογικῷ. *OL* renders, “partem eloquentiae.”

<sup>j</sup> σοφίαν καὶ ἀφροσύνην.

<sup>k</sup> τῷ θυμικῷ.

<sup>l</sup> ἀνδρείαν καὶ δειλίαν.

<sup>m</sup> τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ.

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thoughts) pertaining to moderation <sup>a</sup> and licentiousness ; to the nutritive <sup>b</sup> (are related thoughts) pertaining to food and drink ; to the sense-perceptible <sup>c</sup> (are related the thoughts) which in accordance with the several senses seek to find enjoyment and new sensual pleasures. <sup>d</sup> But the place of the hedge <sup>e</sup> itself has its own men, (namely) the thoughts which depend upon and are attached to <sup>f</sup> the body and external things. Wherefore they attempt to corrupt and stain its unstained, holy and pure nature.

187. (Gen. xxvi. 8a) What is the meaning of the words, " He was there a long time " <sup>g</sup> ?

The retreat <sup>h</sup> of the contemplative and God-loving soul <sup>i</sup> is (considered to be) a dwelling in a place of sojourn <sup>j</sup> for a long time even if (only) for a day. But that which <sup>k</sup> is without place and without time is best. <sup>l</sup> For places <sup>m</sup> and times are brothers, which come into existence together and are moved <sup>n</sup> together.

\*188. (Gen. xxvi. 8b) <sup>o</sup> What is the game <sup>p</sup> which Abimelech, looking through the window, saw Isaac playing with his wife ? <sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> σωφροσύνην.

<sup>b</sup> τῷ θρεπτικῷ.  
<sup>d</sup> ἡδονάς.

<sup>c</sup> τῷ αἰσθητικῷ.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. Gerar, see the preceding section.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders the two ptes. by one, " adhaerentes."

<sup>g</sup> LXX ἐγένετο δὲ πολυχρόνιος ἐκεῖ.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ ἀναχώρησις: Arm. variant " distance " or " absence."

<sup>i</sup> τῆς φιλοθεάμονος καὶ φιλοθέου ψυχῆς.

<sup>j</sup> ἐν τόπῳ παροικίας.

<sup>k</sup> The rel. pron. here is evidently neuter, as *OL* correctly renders. Aucher renders it as masc., " qui."

<sup>l</sup> Arm. uses two adjectives.

<sup>m</sup> i.e. space.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher " incedentia " : *OL* " agitata."

<sup>o</sup> Philo comments similarly on this passage in *De Plantatione* 169-177.

<sup>p</sup> ἡ παιδιά.

<sup>q</sup> LXX παρακύβας δὲ Ἀβιμέλεχ . . . διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ἶδεν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ παίζοντα μετὰ Ῥεβέκκας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.



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The literal meaning <sup>a</sup> represents lawful commerce <sup>b</sup> with one's wife.<sup>c</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>d</sup> this must be attributed (to it, namely that) not every game is blame-worthy but sometimes it is virtuous and praiseworthy, for it is a sign of the innocence and sincerity of the pure festiveness of the heart.<sup>e</sup> For the age of playfulness is guileless and without cunning, whence "boy" <sup>f</sup> was first named. And from this, in accordance with (our) interpretation, the festive enjoyments of perfect men <sup>g</sup> which are worthy and virtuous are called a "game."<sup>h</sup> And wicked and luxury-loving men have no share or part or taste of this at all but lead sorrowful and painful lives. The virtuous,<sup>i</sup> however, happily enjoy (this) <sup>j</sup> always, (as) men, when their souls are impressed upon <sup>k</sup> the mortal body, or when they are released and separated and removed at death, or else when they have never in any way been bound (to bodies). So also (do) the divine beings <sup>l</sup> which

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. *hawasarout'iyun* usu. = *κοινωνία*, but here the original prob. had *συνουσίαν*. The brief paraphrase in Procopius (of this sentence only) reads Ἐβραῖοι δέ φασιν εὐσχημόνως εἰρησθαι τὸ "παίζειν" ἀντὶ τοῦ συνουσιάζειν. *OL* has "coitus."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, "litera conversationem mutuum indicat legitimi viri cum uxore."

<sup>d</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>e</sup> σημεῖον τῆς ἀκακίας καὶ ἀπλότητος τῆς καθαρῶς εὐωχουμένης καρδίας.

<sup>f</sup> παῖς, as if from *παίζων* "playing." <sup>g</sup> τελείων.

<sup>h</sup> παιδιά. Aucher renders somewhat differently, "ex quo secundum usum receptum et perfectorum jucunditas grata et honesta vocatur paedia (relaxatio animi, ludus, jocus)." *OL* has "superveniente autem perfectorum delectatione facile transiguntur. Est enim in ipsis jocositas."

<sup>i</sup> οἱ σπουδαῖοι. <sup>j</sup> *OL* adds "in bonis operibus."

<sup>k</sup> Such seems to be the literal meaning of Arm. *ənd arak harealk'* here. Aucher has "conjuncti": *OL* reads quite differently "semoti malorum." Possibly the original Greek had *έντυμβευόμεναι*, which was miscopied as *έντυπούμεναι*.

<sup>l</sup> οἱ δαίμονες.

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the sacred word of Moses <sup>a</sup> is wont to call "angels," <sup>b</sup> and the stars.<sup>c</sup> For these <sup>d</sup> are, as it were, intelligible, marvellous and divine natures,<sup>e</sup> having acquired eternal joy unmixed with sorrow. Similar is the universal and whole heaven and world since it is both a rational animal and a virtuous animal and philosophical by nature.<sup>f</sup> And for this reason it is without sorrow or fear, and full of joy. Moreover, it is said that even the Father and Creator of the universe <sup>g</sup> continually rejoices in His life and plays and is joyful, finding pleasure in play which is in keeping with the divine and in joyfulness.<sup>h</sup> And He has no need of anything nor does He lack anything, but with joy He delights in Himself and in His powers <sup>i</sup> and in the worlds <sup>j</sup> made by Him. But in the system of invisible evidence these are measures of all incorporeal forms <sup>k</sup> in the likeness and in the image of the invisible.<sup>l</sup> Rightly, therefore, and properly

<sup>a</sup> ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Μωυσέως. Aucher renders freely, "sacro Moyses verbo": *OL* "religiosus Moses."

<sup>b</sup> ἀγγέλους, cf. *De Somniis* i. 141. <sup>c</sup> οἱ ἀστέρες.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. the stars or heavenly bodies generally.

<sup>e</sup> ὥσπερ νοεραὶ καὶ θαυμάσιαι καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις τινές εἰσιν.

<sup>f</sup> οὐρανὸς καὶ κόσμος· ζῶον γάρ ἐστι λογικὸν καὶ ζῶον σπουδαῖον καὶ φύσει φιλόσοφον.

<sup>g</sup> καὶ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων, a common locution in Philo.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "gaudens decenti divinum jocum jucunditate." *OL* abbreviates the whole passage after "Creator of the universe," reading "semper digno suo lusu delectari." <sup>i</sup> ταῖς δυνάμεσι.

<sup>j</sup> Note the plural. *OL* renders the sentence more briefly, "delectatur enim in splendore virtutum et creaturarum suarum universitate." <sup>k</sup> ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν (or εἰδῶν).

<sup>l</sup> Aucher, remarking in a footnote that the sentence is "obscurissima," renders more freely, "invisibilis vero illius ideae, quae indicativa est hujus compaginis, incorporearum specierum mensurae haec sunt, omnes illas esse in similitudine formaque invisibilis (creatoris)." *OL* reads more intelligibly "invisibili ergo exemplari ex incorporalibus figuris constituto, merito mensurae universorum in ipsius (*l.* "ipsis"?) visibiles sunt pro imitaculo verae atque syncerae supernae imaginis."

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does the wise man,<sup>a</sup> believing (his) end <sup>b</sup> (to consist in) likeness to God, strive, so far as possible, to unite the created with the uncreated and the mortal with the immortal, and not to be deficient or wanting in gladness and joyfulness in His likeness.<sup>c</sup> For this reason he plays this game of unchangeable and constant virtue <sup>d</sup> with Rebekah, whose name is to be interpreted in the Armenian <sup>e</sup> language as "Constancy."<sup>f</sup> This game and delight of the soul the wicked man does not know, since he has no marriage <sup>g</sup> with wonderful pleasure.<sup>h</sup> But the progressive man,<sup>i</sup> as if looking from a window, sees it but not the whole of it and not the mingling <sup>j</sup> of both alone.<sup>k</sup> For this there is need of the especially sharp-sighted eyes of one accustomed (to seeing) from a distance and of those who are accustomed to see.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὁ σοφός, here represented by Isaac.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ τέλος.

<sup>c</sup> A different text underlies *OL*, "quapropter sapiens finem perfectum aestimando assimilare deo tunc capit nascibilem innato coniectum, festinat non deesse hujus similitudinis et jucunditatis."

<sup>d</sup> βεβαίαις ἀρετῆς.

<sup>e</sup> As usual, the Arm. translator substitutes "Armenian" for "Greek."

<sup>f</sup> διαμονή or ὑπομονή, see *QG* iv. 97, 135 *et al.*

<sup>g</sup> γάμον.

<sup>h</sup> Here Philo uses ἡδονή in an (exceptional) good sense.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ προκόπτων, symbolized by Abimelech. *OL* has "munus," which possibly is based on a misreading of προκόπτων as πρακτικόν.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "those mingled."

<sup>k</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "sive utriusque (ludum) singulariter purum." In a footnote he gives a literal rendering similar to mine. *OL* has "non tamen purum sentit utrorumque jocum" (*v.l.* "jugum").

<sup>l</sup> Aucher renders, "ad quod acutissimi oculi opus est diu assuefacti, etiam quae in consuetudine cernere." *OL* paraphrases, "cujus mens dubitat acutius (*v.l.* "citius") cernere melioras olet (*l.* "meliora, solet") enim suam consuetudinem pro plenitudine laudis accipere."

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\*189. (Gen. xxvi. 12) <sup>a</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "He sowed in that year and found hundredfold barley" <sup>b</sup> ?

The year is a completed time <sup>c</sup> and consists of all the times <sup>d</sup> of the year, when it is called "within itself and outside of itself." <sup>e</sup> Now, one hundred is the most sacred of numbers, (being) a power <sup>f</sup> of the all-perfect decad. <sup>g</sup> But the literal text is a sort of testimony <sup>h</sup> that for the virtuous man <sup>i</sup> there is prosperity both in agriculture and in other things pertaining to the life of the world, and that that which comes afterwards is many times greater than that which was in the beginning, and is fullness. <sup>j</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>k</sup> barley is the food of both men and irrational creatures, <sup>l</sup> but in each of us the mind is a man, and sense-perception is a beast. <sup>m</sup> Accordingly, when barrenness and unproductivity of good things do not follow but the soul <sup>n</sup> presents itself as fertile land like a field which is able to receive the seed of virtue, <sup>o</sup> it becomes

<sup>a</sup> Philo here passes over Gen. xxvi. 9-11, telling of Abimelech's discovery that Rebekah was Isaac's wife and his decree that none of his subjects should molest them on pain of death.

<sup>b</sup> Philo abbreviates the LXX text, which reads ἔσπειρεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐκείνῃ καὶ εὗρεν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἑκατοστεύουσαν κριθήν· εὐλόγησεν δὲ αὐτὸν κύριος. The word κριθήν "barley" is based on Heb. *šē'ōrīm*; our extant Heb. text has *šē'ārīm* "gates." Philo comments on the hundredfold yield in *De Mut. Nom.* 268-269.

<sup>c</sup> OL "anni (*sic*) tempus perfectum." <sup>d</sup> *i.e.* seasons.

<sup>e</sup> *V.l.* "and outside within itself": OL "apud se et infra se omnia habere." The meaning of the apparently corrupt Arm. text is clear from *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 235 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, ὅς, καθάπερ αὐτὸ μνηύει τοῦνομα, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα περιέχει συμπεραιούμενος. <sup>f</sup> δύναμις.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *QG* iii. 56 and Staehle, pp. 70-71.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητὸν μαρτύριόν τι ἐστί. <sup>i</sup> τῷ σπουδαίῳ.

<sup>j</sup> OL paraphrases, "semperque ejus germina ampliantur plus quam pridem." <sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> καὶ ἀλόγων ζώων, *i.e.* beasts.

<sup>m</sup> ἄνθρωπος ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἄλογον ἢ αἰσθησις.

<sup>n</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ. <sup>o</sup> τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς σπέρμα.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

fruitful; and when it is seen to bear in accordance with its several virtues, it finds more than it bore, for God furthers the growth.<sup>a</sup> And from the invisible to the visible and another form He benefits<sup>b</sup> the rational and the irrational<sup>c</sup> with one and the same grace,<sup>d</sup> in accordance with the perfect number, the hundred, which is the most perfect and sacred principle<sup>e</sup> from the sacred principle of the decad.<sup>f</sup>

190. (Gen. xxvi. 13) What is the meaning of the words, "Progressing, he became greater until he was very great,"<sup>g</sup>?

Since the literal meaning<sup>h</sup> is clear, it is the deeper meaning that must be ascertained.<sup>i</sup> To<sup>j</sup> the perfect number and that which contains the year within itself<sup>k</sup> (Scripture) clearly likens<sup>l</sup> the progress and growth of the mind,<sup>m</sup> and gives an account of the first stage.<sup>n</sup> And when it reaches

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "furthers and causes to grow."

<sup>b</sup> εὐεργετοῦντος.

<sup>c</sup> The above is a literal translation of the obscure Arm. passage, which Aucher renders, "atque ex invisibili in visibilem, et aliam formam benefice transvehente rationalem partem et irrationalem." *OL* paraphrases, "deo palam proferente certa ex invisibili suo thesauro, ut utraque res beneficia sentiat, persona videlicet atque rationalis."

<sup>d</sup> τῇ αὐτῇ χάριτι.

<sup>e</sup> ἀρχή.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* abbreviates the text after "grace," reading, "quae est primitiva numeri sanctioris."

<sup>g</sup> ΙΧΧ καὶ ὑψώθη (Heb. "became great") ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ προβαίνων μείζων ἐγένετο ἕως οὗ μέγας ἐγένετο σφόδρα.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν ἀκριβωτέον.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. prep. *i* with the ablative case usu. = "from" but the context here requires the meaning "to"; cf. *OL* "secundum similitudinem perfecti numeri."

<sup>k</sup> See the preceding section.

<sup>l</sup> Emending the ending of the Arm. verb, *-el* (inf.) to *-eal* (ptc.).

<sup>m</sup> τὴν τοῦ νοῦ προκοπὴν καὶ αὐξήσιν.

<sup>n</sup> *OL* "prudentiam crescere, primo interim gradu pro vectam."

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the first magnitude, why should it examine and inquire into those things which are created sinless? <sup>a</sup>

\*191. (Gen. xxvi. 15) Why did the Philistines stop up and fill (the wells) which the servants of his father had dug? <sup>b</sup>

The literal text <sup>c</sup> indicates a twofold reason. One of them, the first, is that it is the custom of inconsiderate men <sup>d</sup> not to allow any pillars or monuments of the good, whatever they may be, to remain <sup>e</sup> which redound to their happiness. <sup>f</sup> And the second (reason) is that, bursting with envy and jealousy of the others' continuous <sup>g</sup> prosperity, they are contemptuous of their own profit, <sup>h</sup> thinking it better to suffer harm than to find good in that which they

<sup>a</sup> Variant "which are uncreated." The text is obviously corrupt. *OL* has "jam non pro nascibilibus sed pro incomparabilibus mente occupantur." Perhaps the Arm. translator read ἀναμαρτήτων for ἀμέτρων, the original meaning being that Scripture does not specify the exact measure of greatness which Isaac reached.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ πάντα τὰ φρέατα ἃ ὤρυξαν οἱ παῖδες τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (some LXX MSS. and Heb. add "Abraham") ἐνέφραξαν αὐτὰ οἱ Φυλιστιεῖμ καὶ ἐπλησαν αὐτὰ γῆς.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> τοῖς γὰρ ἀβούλοις ἔθος ἐστί, as in the Greek frag. from Cat. Lips. The second Greek frag., from Procopius, has οἱ ἐμπαθεῖς.

<sup>e</sup> Cat. Lips. μήτε μνημεῖόν τι ἀπολιπεῖν τῶν καλῶν: Procopius καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐξαλείφουσι: *OL* "nullos titulos insignis memoriae relinquere."

<sup>f</sup> Cat. Lips. omits the rel. clause: Procopius κἂν τύχωσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφελοῦμενοι: *OL* "quod benevoli pro capessenda gloria student."

<sup>g</sup> Or "exceeding."

<sup>h</sup> So, almost verbatim, Cat. Lips., ἢ ὅτι ῥηγνύμενοι φθόνῳ καὶ βασκανίᾳ τῆς περὶ ἐκείνους (v.l. ἐκείνων) εὐπραγίας ὀλιγωροῦσι καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν (l. αὐτῶν) ὠφελείας: Procopius omits: *OL* reads inaccurately "secunda, pro invidia et livore prosperitatis communem despicientibus utilitatem."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

do not desire.<sup>a</sup> "For what," one might say, "prevented (you), O most stupid and foolish of all men,<sup>b</sup> from leaving alone the springs which another had found, for the use of those among you who were in need (of them)?"<sup>c</sup> But one might say in reply, "Do not look for an apology of liberality<sup>d</sup> from jealous and envious men, who think it a punishment (to accept) kindnesses extended by the noblest men."<sup>e</sup> That is the literal meaning. But the deeper meaning<sup>f</sup> must be sought. The wells that were dug are symbols of education and knowledge,<sup>g</sup> and each of them is deep, and their final end<sup>h</sup> is (to furnish) drink to the thirsty. But do you seek from among the polymaths the stoppers of ignorance<sup>i</sup> in order that they may get rid of it<sup>j</sup> as a burden and purify the observances of those things formerly

<sup>a</sup> The two Greek fragments differ slightly from the Arm. and from each other; Cat. Lips. ἄμεινον ἢ γούμενοι βλάπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑφ' ὧν οὐκ εἶ τι θέλουσιν (v.l. οὐκέτι θέλουσιν: Wendland conj. οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν) εὐεργετῆσαι: Procopius προτιμῶντες βλάβην μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐξ ὧν μὴ θέλουσιν εὐεργεσίαν: OL "mallentes laedi potius quam sentire beneficia." Procopius adds, apparently on his own account, ὠφέλου γὰρ αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ τῶν Φυλιστιεῖμ τοὺς βουλομένους κεκρηῆσθαι. The quotations from this section in Cat. Lips. and Procopius end here, but the next two sentences are preserved in a frag. from Cod. Len. 124 (Lewy, p. 59).

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. has ὁ πάντων ἡλιθιώτατοι: OL "O stolidissimi hominum."

<sup>c</sup> Slightly emending the Arm. from the Greek frag., which reads τὰς πηγὰς εἶσαι, ἃς ἕτερος εὗρεν πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς δεομένων χρήσιν.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. "a frank apology"; the Greek frag. has ἀπολογίαν εὐγνώμονα: OL "defensionem rationabilitatis."

<sup>e</sup> τῶν βελτίστων χάριτας vel sim. <sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> σύμβολα παιδείας καὶ ἐπιστήμης: OL "fossuras puteorum auspicia esse disciplinarum." Cf. De Somniis i. 11 ἐπιστήμης φρέαρ. <sup>h</sup> τὸ τέλος.

<sup>i</sup> ἐκ τῶν πολυμαθῶν τοὺς ἐμφράττοντας τὴν ἀμαθίαν.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "qui abijciunt," but the context requires a subjunctive, although the Arm. has the indicative (singular!). OL reads "harum (v.l. "escarum") ergo amatores injectam obstrusionem, quae pro ignorantia accipitur, expurgant."

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determined.<sup>a</sup> For it is not the perfect man <sup>b</sup> who is introduced as digging now, for he has the wells in his soul, which clearly means the springs of education (and) knowledge,<sup>c</sup> but the servants whom he considered worthy of the service of his education.<sup>d</sup> These are they who have recently taken hold of education and, by gradually going farther and deeper, have finally attained their end. And so, by exerting themselves in good labours,<sup>e</sup> they become perfect,<sup>f</sup> not failing of that desire.<sup>g</sup> But foreign characters,<sup>h</sup> whom the Hebrews call "Philistines,"<sup>i</sup> being envious of our progress,<sup>j</sup> not only obstruct the free spaces <sup>k</sup> through which doctrines proceed on a firm footing,<sup>l</sup> but also fill them with earth, that is, with earthy desires,<sup>m</sup> which are the pleasures connected with the belly,<sup>n</sup> and they hasten to fill it. By these the mind <sup>o</sup> is weighed down (as by) a burden,<sup>p</sup> and becomes irrational and unphilosophical.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. lit. = τὰς τῶν πρότερον ὀρισμένων παρατηρήσεις : OL "per observantiam institutorum." Aucher renders freely, "obstacula ab aliis injecta." <sup>b</sup> ὁ τέλειος.

<sup>c</sup> OL "adeo perfectus hujusmodi fossuras non facit, est enim plenus scientiae."

<sup>d</sup> OL "sed pueri quos dignos sui ministerii arbitratur."

<sup>e</sup> ἐν καλοῖς πόνοις ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "they become able."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "ne aberrant ab ipso desiderio perfectionis." OL renders the whole sentence differently, "hi quidem bonum desiderium prosequentes, dignum inveniunt fructum."

<sup>h</sup> ἀλλόφυλοι (or ἀλλογενεῖς) τρόποι : OL "alienigenarum mens." I do not understand why Aucher renders, "alienigenae vocitati."

<sup>i</sup> Heb. *Pe'listim* "Philistines" is usu. rendered ἀλλόφυλοι in the LXX.

<sup>j</sup> προκοπῆς : OL "prosperitatis."

<sup>k</sup> τὰς εὐρυχωρίας : OL "opportunitatis" : Aucher "amplitudines (vel, liberos transitus)".

<sup>l</sup> OL "pro promptis gressibus."

<sup>m</sup> γηίνων ἐπιθυμιῶν.

<sup>n</sup> αἱ περὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἡδοναί.

<sup>o</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>p</sup> Arm. lit. = "being weighed down by these, the mind becomes a burden." <sup>q</sup> ἄλογος καὶ ἀφιλόσοφος.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

192. (Gen. xxvi. 16) Why does Abimelech say to Isaac, "Go, depart from us because thou hast become much<sup>a</sup> more powerful than we"<sup>b</sup> ?

Cruel and envious and at the same time reprehensible and, moreover, blind is the wicked man.<sup>c</sup> He did not think it enough to banish the trained<sup>d</sup> and wise reason,<sup>e</sup> in word from the city but in reality<sup>f</sup> from his soul,<sup>g</sup> but also with cause shows his jealousy and envy.<sup>h</sup> For he says, "Thou hast become more powerful than we," whereas he ought to have ended<sup>i</sup> his weakness and to have congratulated (the other) on the opportune good fortune which he enjoyed and on the power of his abundance of possessions.<sup>j</sup> For some things were within the body, and some were outside the body, but to him who philosophizes<sup>k</sup> further there should be one food<sup>l</sup> for all.<sup>m</sup>

\*193. (Gen. xxvi. 18)<sup>n</sup> Why does he again dig the obstructed wells?<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *OL* omits "much."

<sup>b</sup> *LXX* "Ἀπελθε ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὅτι δυνατώτερος ἡμῶν ἐγένου σφόδρα.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* "pessimum invidiae virus et vituperabile, ita pravus utpote caecus."

<sup>d</sup> *Arm.* *varž* = ἔμπειρος and ἀσκητής. The latter word is usu. applied to Jacob.

<sup>e</sup> καὶ τὸν σοφὸν λόγον. *OL* translates the whole phrase (after "banish"), "virum prudentem."

<sup>f</sup> λόγῳ μὲν . . . ὄντως δέ. <sup>g</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "cum clausula (l. "causa") livoris ingestae."

<sup>i</sup> Variant "shown": *OL* "optando" (l. "ostendendo" ?).

<sup>j</sup> *OL* renders unintelligibly, "utpote infirmitatem optando his qui diriguntur, cum possit congratulari melioribus."

<sup>k</sup> τῷ φιλοσοφούντι. <sup>l</sup> Lit. "grain"—σίτος.

<sup>m</sup> *OL* "et in utrisque proficere, maxime philosophiae titulis, quorum omnes unanimes esse oportuerat."

<sup>n</sup> A different interpretation of this verse (among others) is given in *De Fuga* 200. The preceding verse, Gen. xxvi. 17, omitted by Philo, tells us that Isaac settled in the valley of Gerar.

<sup>o</sup> Philo abbreviates the text of the *LXX* καὶ πάλιν Ἰσαὰκ ὤρυξεν τὰ φρέατα τοῦ ὕδατος ἃ ὤρυξαν οἱ παῖδες Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ

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In the literal sense <sup>a</sup> because the wise man is by nature humane and benevolent and forgiving <sup>b</sup> and does not bear a grudge to anyone at all but in overcoming his enemies thinks <sup>c</sup> it right to do them good rather than harm. <sup>d</sup> That is the literal meaning. <sup>e</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>f</sup> it is the task of the contemplative man, <sup>g</sup> even though for a short while the mind <sup>h</sup> may be obstructed <sup>i</sup> when it is bogged down by useless and irrelevant distractions <sup>j</sup> as if by the mud and slime of earth, to get rid of these and become light <sup>k</sup> in order to be able to look upward again <sup>l</sup> and be unhindered and unimpeded in seeing the first rays of the light of wisdom. <sup>m</sup>

πατὴρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέφραξαν αὐτὰ οἱ Φυλιστιεῖμ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. The rest of the verse is cited in the following section.

<sup>a</sup> τῷ μὲν ῥητῷ.

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek fragments from Cat. Burney and Cat. Lips., ὅτι φύσει φιλόανθρωπος ὁ ἀστείος καὶ εὐμενῆς καὶ συγγνώμων: the parallel fragment from Procopius reads τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὡς . . . πάλιν ὤρυξεν Ἰσαὰκ ὡς πᾶσιν ὧν εὐμενῆς.

<sup>c</sup> Reading *hamarē* (3 sing.) for *hamarel* (inf.).

<sup>d</sup> So Cat. Burney and Cat. Lips., ἀλλὰ νικᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀξίων ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ μᾶλλον ἢ βλάπτειν: Procopius καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ μνησικακεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐνεργετῆσαι σπουδάζων νικᾶν τὴν ἐκείνων κακίαν. The Greek fragments end here.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. Aucher omits this sentence, perhaps because it is missing in *OL*.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ φιλοθεάμονος: *OL* “(mens) deo dedita,” reading φιλοθέου.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>i</sup> Adopting Aucher’s emendation of *xousescin* “may withdraw.” to *xcescin* “may be obstructed.” *OL* has “decipiatur,” possibly reading ἀπατᾶται for ἐπιφράττεται *vel sim*.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher renders more freely, “occupationibus ingentibus immensisque”: *OL* “supradictis quibusdam molestiarum ponderibus . . . inquietantibus et occupantibus.”

<sup>k</sup> *OL* “revelare” (*l.* “relevari”).

<sup>l</sup> *OL* (omitting the words “to look upward”) “interim” (*l.* “iterum”).

<sup>m</sup> σοφίας.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

\*194. (Gen. xxvi. 18) Why does he give the wells the same names as those which his father <sup>a</sup> gave? <sup>b</sup>

The literal meaning <sup>c</sup> shows (Isaac's) piety toward his father and honourably commends his industry in working.<sup>d</sup> For this reason he himself was zealous in again purifying and cleaning out and digging the wells in order that he might not always incur the envy of the inhabitants of the region.<sup>e</sup> Accordingly, it was consistent <sup>f</sup> that he who submitted <sup>g</sup> to the work should similarly abstain also from names.<sup>h</sup> That is one (interpretation). But a second must be given, (namely) that the wise man is an enemy of self-love,<sup>i</sup> since he loves justice and truth,<sup>j</sup> which are worthy of love. These two he clearly showed in youth <sup>k</sup>; (he showed) justice since he removed nothing else. Although it had been deliberately perverted,<sup>l</sup> he himself with repeated labour found (it).<sup>m</sup> (He showed) truthfulness by

<sup>a</sup> OL "praeter" (l. "pater").

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα κατὰ τὰ ὀνόματα ἃ ὠνόμασεν Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> Text somewhat uncertain. Aucher renders, "et honorem adhibet opere suo labori ejus": OL "honorem sibi referens per (marg. "simul pro") operis industria."

<sup>e</sup> The brief frag. from Procopius (which contains only this clause) reads defectively μὴ συγχωρῶν (l. ἐγχωρίων?) εἰσάπαν τῷ φθόνῳ νικᾶν: OL "ne omnino praevaleat invidia in terram eorum."

<sup>f</sup> ἀκόλουθον vel sim.

<sup>g</sup> OL reads more appropriately "procedentem."

<sup>h</sup> OL "etiam nomina confirmare." Aucher, rendering literally as I have done, suggests an alternative rendering in a footnote, "similiter abstineret se a novis nominibus."

<sup>i</sup> ὁ σοφὸς (or ἀστεῖος) τῇ φιλαυτίᾳ ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶ.

<sup>j</sup> δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλήθειαν.

<sup>k</sup> OL "quas utrasque sectatur amator integritatis."

<sup>l</sup> Apparently justice is referred to: OL "licet diu obolita": Aucher amplifies, "etsi consulto erat depravatum (opus patris ab aliis)."

<sup>m</sup> Cf. OL "potuit invenire." Aucher, taking "his father's work" as the implied object, renders, "refecit."

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making acknowledgment <sup>a</sup> to him who first began the work, and (by indicating) the constructor by the giving of names.<sup>b</sup> This reveals a very precise mind.<sup>c</sup> For those who give names are undeniably wise men <sup>d</sup> since they give (names) significative of things,<sup>e</sup> in which as in a mirror their properties <sup>f</sup> and also their figures appear very clearly.<sup>g</sup> And so, repeating former (statements) I say that since his learned <sup>h</sup> father had named (the wells), he himself was content with the names given originally, for he knew that if he should change the names, he would change the things at the same time. Similar is the case of geometrical figures,<sup>i</sup> for each of them has its own appellation,<sup>j</sup> and if anyone changes this, he changes the nature of the object.<sup>k</sup>

195. (Gen. xxvi. 19) Why was the well in the valley of Gerar ?<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὁμολογῶν.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* by giving the wells the same names as those first given by his father. Aucher renders slightly differently, "prout per nominum impositionem denotans fabricationem ipsam." *OL* renders freely, "veritatem vero in omnibus imitando et paternam operum constitutionem nominumque firmitatem."

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. seems to reflect δηλοῖ νοῦν ἀκριβέστατον (or διάνοιαν ἀκριβεστάτην). Aucher, construing differently, renders, "id probat et mens egregia": *OL* "quibus etiam mens cautior nuntiatur."

<sup>d</sup> *Cf. Leg. All.* ii. 15 οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφοῦντες εἶπον εἶναι σοφοὺς τοὺς πρώτους τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ ὀνόματα θέντας.

<sup>e</sup> δηλωτικὰ πραγμάτων.

<sup>f</sup> ἰδιότητες.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "tamquam de speculo declarantes suarum formarum conditiones."

<sup>h</sup> Or "eloquent": Aucher "eruditissimus."

<sup>i</sup> τὰ κατὰ γεωμετρίαν σχήματα.

<sup>j</sup> τὴν ἰδίαν κλήσιν.

<sup>k</sup> τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φύσιν: *OL* "mutatur sensus natura."

<sup>i</sup> *Cf. LXX* ὠρυξαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἰσαὰκ ἐν τῇ φάραγγι Γεράρων. Heb. omits "of Gerar."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

“Gerar” is to be interpreted as “sojourn.”<sup>a</sup> But this is symbolical<sup>b</sup> and has a twofold content.<sup>c</sup> For he who dwells in sojourn either yields<sup>d</sup> to those among whom he dwells in sojourn or else is alienated.<sup>e</sup> Now yielding<sup>f</sup> is (signified by) the obstructing of the wells, which foreigners accomplish (by changing) the names of virtuous souls.<sup>g</sup> But the digging and cleansing and purifying are an alienation, for the soul is thereby drawn away from that to which it is accustomed toward the depth of the discipline of knowledge<sup>h</sup> and toward difficult labours, by which they<sup>i</sup> are again found. Therefore the valley is like a sojourn,<sup>j</sup> for he who yields in accordance with the lures of custom is out of place<sup>k</sup> and continually goes about in a low-lying (place) and in a valley-site. But he who is raised above them ascends and is removed to the greatness of virtue.<sup>l</sup> And then, when he represents to himself<sup>m</sup> the number four,<sup>n</sup> of which he is in search and is desirous, he leaves

<sup>a</sup> παροιμία : *OL* “incolatus.” In *QG* iv. 59 Philo explains Gerar as “the region of God-loving thoughts”; in *QG* iv. 185 he etymologizes it as φραγμός, see below.

<sup>b</sup> συμβολικόν.

<sup>c</sup> λόγον.

<sup>d</sup> Prob. συγχωρεῖ : Aucher “acceptat res” : *OL* “consentit.”

<sup>e</sup> ἀπαλλοτριούται : *OL* “alienatur.”

<sup>f</sup> Prob. συγχώρησις.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. clause is syntactically incomplete. Aucher amplifies similarly in rendering, “quam fecerunt alienigenae, deturbantes proborum animorum nomina.” Quite unintelligible is *OL* “pares boni pectoris.”

<sup>h</sup> εἰς τὸ βάθος τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης παιδείας : *OL* “in altitudinem disciplinarum ministrare.”

<sup>i</sup> i.e. discipline and knowledge.

<sup>j</sup> *OL* “maceries incolato comparatur,” apparently reading φραγμός in place of φάραγξ, but see *QG* iv. 185.

<sup>k</sup> Or “is a fugitive” : Aucher “aufugit.”

<sup>l</sup> ἀρετῆς. *OL* renders the clause, “demigrare autem cupiens, erigitur ad titulos virtutis.”

<sup>m</sup> φαντασιούται.

<sup>n</sup> This reference to the number four seems to anticipate the commentary on Gen. xxvi. 19b-35, which has been preserved only in the *OL* version ; see the first note on *QG* iv. 196.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

behind the valley with the three wells,<sup>a</sup> and departs to proceed farther. One (he leaves) because it is an ambush and a snare and ambiguity.<sup>b</sup> And the others (he leaves) because they contain advances<sup>c</sup> and vilenesses<sup>d</sup> and troubles, and not a nature that is untroubled and free of danger and free of misery.<sup>e</sup>

196. (Gen. xxvii. 1) <sup>j</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "After Isaac became old, his eyes became weak<sup>g</sup> in seeing"<sup>h</sup>?

Those who give a literal explanation<sup>i</sup> say that because of a dispensation<sup>j</sup> the prophet failed in sight, and afterwards was again established and became keen of sight.

<sup>a</sup> These the LXX, translating the Heb. names 'Eseq, Siṭnāh and R<sup>e</sup>hōbōth, calls Ἐδικία, Ἐχθρία and Εὐρυχωρία.

<sup>b</sup> OL renders more briefly, "separatus ab insidia et ambiguitate."

<sup>c</sup> Arm. γαργατῶν<sup>i</sup> usu. = προκοπή. Possibly the original here was κόπους. Aucher renders, "augmentum (rixae)."

<sup>d</sup> εὐτελείας.

<sup>e</sup> OL renders the last clause somewhat differently, "revera enim offendebat erumnis detentus miserrimis, titulo infatigatae et minus laboriosae libertatis."

<sup>j</sup> Our Arm. text of QG, Book IV, does not contain Philo's comments on the rest of chap. xxvi of Gen. (vss. 19b-35), but OL has eleven *quaestiones et solutiones* following § 195. These contain genuine Philonic interpretations mixed with later ones. Moreover, Procopius and the Greek Catenae have preserved a few bits of the missing sections. For the OL version of these eleven sections (hereafter designated as QG iv. 195a, 195b, etc.) see Appendix B.

<sup>g</sup> Arm. vatanam usu. = ὀκνεῖν or ἀργεῖν.

<sup>h</sup> LXX ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὸ γηρᾶσαι Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἡμβλύνθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄραν.

<sup>i</sup> Or "account"; Arm. patmout<sup>i</sup> has both meanings. Aucher renders, "qui literalem historiam prosequuntur": OL "ad videndum oratoriam partem examinantes."

<sup>j</sup> διὰ χορηγίαν or οἰκονομίαν: Aucher "propter dispensationem aliquam": OL "pro quadam utilitate."

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But the dispensation was a blessing,<sup>a</sup> that not a wicked man but one deserving of blessings might obtain it.<sup>b</sup> To me they seem to give a plausible explanation.<sup>c</sup> Not in this, however, does the beauty of Scripture lie but in the natural meaning,<sup>d</sup> which those who allegorize<sup>e</sup> are accustomed to determine.<sup>f</sup> Now it is written appropriately,<sup>g</sup> not (merely) that his eyes became dim but that (they became dim) "after he became old." And (this is) very natural. For in old age the eyes fail since the whole body (fails) altogether. After he becomes old, that is, when he changes and is transformed,<sup>h</sup> then at last the soul,<sup>i</sup> being invested with the senses,<sup>j</sup> begins to see God obscurely<sup>k</sup> and to become keener of sight toward intelligible things,<sup>l</sup> if, indeed, one may properly<sup>m</sup> say this.<sup>n</sup> For he who is seized (by this vision) and is prepared for prophesying,

<sup>a</sup> εὐλογία.

<sup>b</sup> *OL* "et contigit utiliter ne benedictionis indignus accipiat."

<sup>c</sup> *OL* "siquidem verisimili ratione disserunt."

<sup>d</sup> ἐν τῇ φυσικῇ ὑπονοίᾳ, *i.e.* in the Stoic sense of philosophical allegory.

<sup>e</sup> οἱ ἀλληγοροῦντες.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, "non tamen in hoc stat pulchritudo textus sed sententiam naturale inquirere mos est apud eos qui allegoria utuntur": *OL* "non tamen hac usque scripturae decus definitur sed altioribus titulis allegoriam cautius extendi."

<sup>g</sup> πρεπόντως: *OL* "congrue."

<sup>h</sup> The exact difference in meaning between the two *Arm.* verbs used here is not clear. Aucher renders, "mutabit et commutabitur": *OL* "cum decidendo mutaverit."

<sup>i</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ.

<sup>j</sup> The *Arm.* lit. = ἐνδνομένη τὰς αἰσθήσεις, but see the next note.

<sup>k</sup> ἀμυδρῶς. Aucher, construing differently, renders the clause, "tunc demum incipiet anima Deum induens per sensus subobscure videre": *OL* "tunc enim Dei feratur anima sensibili obscure cernendo."

<sup>l</sup> πρὸς τὰ νοητά.

<sup>m</sup> κυρίως.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher renders freely, "hoc sane dixeris verum visum."

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no longer uses his own judgment<sup>a</sup> but that of God, echoing<sup>b</sup> the things spoken by Him.<sup>c</sup> And the prophet becomes an instrument,<sup>d</sup> while God (is) the artist.<sup>e</sup> The sound, moreover, comes when the plectrum, His Logos,<sup>f</sup> melodiously and skilfully strikes a harmony, through which legislation is made known.<sup>g</sup>

197. (Gen. xxvii. 1-3) Why does (Isaac) say to his elder son, "Take thy gear, thy quiver and thy bow"<sup>h</sup>?

Since the literal meaning<sup>i</sup> is known, (the passage) is to be allegorized<sup>j</sup> as follows. It indicates<sup>k</sup> that the wicked man does not think of anything peaceful but delights in battle and is prepared and equipped with war-gear.<sup>l</sup> And he is by nature rash and bold, and at the same time is by nature timid and cowardly.<sup>m</sup> For fear and rashness<sup>n</sup> are bound together in the same place as brothers and kin.<sup>o</sup> For this reason he does not use the arms of

<sup>a</sup> τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶ.

<sup>b</sup> ἠχῶν.

<sup>c</sup> OL "divino spiritu subsona praesagit."

<sup>d</sup> Though Arm. *anōt'* usu. = σκεῦος, the original here was undoubtedly ὄργανον, cf. OL "pro organo" and *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 259 <ὁ σοφός> μόνος ὄργανον θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἠχείον, κρούμενον καὶ πληττόμενον ἀοράτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

<sup>e</sup> ὁ τεχνίτης: OL "Deus autem propheta."

<sup>f</sup> τὸ πλήκτρον, ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.

<sup>g</sup> τὰ νομοθετηθέντα δηλοῦται.

<sup>h</sup> Philo shortens the LXX text of Gen. xxvii. 1b-3a καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἡσαὺ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτερον καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἰέ μου. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἴδου ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπεν, Ἴδου γεγήρακα, καὶ οὐ γινώσκω τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς μου. νῦν οὖν λάβε τὸ σκεῦος, τὴν τε φαρέτραν καὶ τὸ τόξον.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> ἀλληγορητέον.

<sup>k</sup> ἀνίττεται.

<sup>l</sup> OL "gaudere praelio et paratura belli."

<sup>m</sup> OL reads more briefly "natura quidem audacem et plus timidum."

<sup>n</sup> φόβος καὶ προπέτεια (vel sim.).

<sup>o</sup> OL "uno enim loco versatur contumacia et timiditas ut sorores."



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those <sup>a</sup> who in the thick (of battle) contend with their arms locked together and become one mass, in which their renown and prowess become evident, but (he fights) always by shooting from far away and from a great distance. For archery is a contest proper to the cowardly and unmanly, who cannot endure to remain and stand their ground but flee and fight <sup>b</sup> from a distance. <sup>c</sup>

\*198. (Gen. xxvii. 3-4) What is the meaning of the words, " Hunt for me game and prepare for me food <sup>a</sup> as I like it, and bring it to me that I may eat, in order that my soul may bless thee before I die " <sup>e</sup> ?

The literal text, <sup>f</sup> it seems to me, indicates the following thought. <sup>g</sup> Though there are two sons, one good and the other blameworthy, <sup>h</sup> he says that he will bless the one who is blameworthy, <sup>i</sup> not because he honours <sup>j</sup> him more than the virtuous one <sup>k</sup> but because he knows that the latter is able by himself to set right and complete his affairs, while the former is held fast and restrained by his

<sup>a</sup> Emending Arm. *aynosik* (loc. pl. of dem. pron.) to *aynosik* (gen. pl.). Aucher, retaining the latter, renders, " in eos." <sup>b</sup> *ἀμύνονται.*

<sup>c</sup> *OL* renders the last two sentences more briefly and freely, " *cujus causa non utitur armis aptis constantiae virtuti sed sagittis pro inertia timiditatis: uno enim certamine devitantes longiter ulciscere machinantur.*"

<sup>d</sup> *OL* " *epulas,*" see following note.

<sup>e</sup> LXX (καὶ ἐξέλθε εἰς τὸ πεδῖον) καὶ θήρευσόν μοι θήραν. καὶ ποιήσόν μοι ἐδέσματα (Heb. " delicacies " : A.V. " savoury meat ") ὡς φιλῶ ἐγώ, καὶ ἔνεγκόν μοι ἵνα φάγω· ὅπως εὐλογήσῃ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν μου.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> αἰνίττεται τοιαύτην διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* " *noxio,*" see following note.

<sup>i</sup> So the Greek fragments from the *Catena*, *δυοῖν ὄντων υἱῶν, τοῦ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ὑπαιτίου, τὸν μὲν ὑπαιτίον εὐλογήσῃ φησίν.*

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. uses two verbs with the same meaning.

<sup>k</sup> So the Greek fragments, *οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ σπουδαίου προκρίνει τοῦτον* : *OL* more briefly " *non anteponendo alterius.*"

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own character,<sup>a</sup> and has hope of salvation only in the prayers<sup>b</sup> of his father.<sup>c</sup> And if he did not obtain this, he would be the most wretched of men.<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> this may properly be said. He admonishes him<sup>f</sup> in the first place not to hunt a brute animal<sup>g</sup> but those which are wild beasts by habit,<sup>h</sup> in accordance with which he desires irrational and savage passions,<sup>i</sup> so that he may avenge himself upon an untamed beast that is not domesticated, and kill it.<sup>j</sup> In the second place, when he becomes capable of this or shall repel (these vices?), it is not that he himself likes it but his father.<sup>k</sup> And all foods are altogether good for the virtuous man through intelligible things and virtuous words and deeds.<sup>l</sup> And so, he says, if it will be that thou wilt hunt the disposition<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Catenaes read only slightly differently ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνον οἶδε δι' αὐτοῦ κατορθοῦν δυνάμενον, τοῦτον δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις τρόποις ἀλισκόμενον: Procopius, omitting the last clause, has ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ὡς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκειῶν τρόπων ἔχει τὴν εὐμένειαν, cf. *OL* "sed qui novit illum etiam per semet benedictionis dignum: pravum vero suis moribus prohibendum."

<sup>b</sup> *OL* "oracula."

<sup>c</sup> So the Catenaes, μηδεμίαν δὲ ἔχοντα σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, εἰ μὴ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ πατρός: the Procopius frag. (which ends here) has οὗτος δὲ μίαν ἔχει σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ πατρός.

<sup>d</sup> So the Catenaes fragments (which end here), ὧν εἰ μὴ τύχοι, πάντων ἂν εἶη κακοδαιμονέστατος.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. Isaac admonishes Esau.

<sup>g</sup> ζῶον ἄλογον: *OL* "animalia."

<sup>h</sup> ἃ ἔξει εἰσὶ θηρία.

<sup>i</sup> καθ' ἃ ἀλόγων καὶ ἀγρίων παθῶν ὀρέγεται: *OL* has more briefly "pessima et ferocissima vitia."

<sup>j</sup> *OL* "uti more immanissimi animalis ulciscatur illas (l. "illa"?) et perimat."

<sup>k</sup> The Arm. is obscure, though obviously meant to explain Isaac's words "prepare for me food as I like it." Aucher renders, "secundo, quod quando ejus compos fit aut erit, non ut sibi placitum faciat sed sicut patri": *OL* "secundo, ut praevalere possit, non ut ei mos est sed ut patrem libet."

<sup>l</sup> διὰ νοητῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων σπουδαίων: *OL* "per intellectus et sermones et strenuas operas."

<sup>m</sup> διάθεσιν.

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of eager,<sup>a</sup> unrestrained and savage passions,<sup>b</sup> and wilt sweeten this for me as food that is sweet, pleasant and likable, and wilt bring it and offer it with thy progress,<sup>c</sup> there will pray for thee not the wise man with me<sup>d</sup> but the sovereign soul in me.<sup>e</sup>

199. (Gen. xxvii. 6) <sup>f</sup> Why does Rebekah, on hearing this, say to Jacob, her son, "Behold, I heard thy father saying to Esau thy brother" <sup>g</sup> ?

Well and carefully does (Scripture) call Jacob "her son" and Esau "the brother of Jacob" but does not call him "the son" of anyone.<sup>h</sup> For (Jacob) was adorned with orderliness and a system of decency<sup>i</sup> in the manner of Constancy,<sup>j</sup> whose offspring he is described (as being).<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "open-mouthed."

<sup>b</sup> *OL* reads differently "si ergo coeperit pessimorum vitiorum voraginem."

<sup>c</sup> *προκοπαῖς*: *OL* "demonstrando istam tuam operam."

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. lit. = ὁ σοφὸς ἄνθρωπος κατ' ἐμέ: Aucher "sapiens homo mihi similis": *OL* "compositus ego homo."

<sup>e</sup> ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἡγεμονικὴ ψυχὴ: *OL* "quod est in me augustissima sobrietas animae." Philo frequently speaks of the sovereign part of the soul, i.e. the mind (*νοῦς*), rarely of "the sovereign soul," as, e.g., in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 258.

<sup>f</sup> Philo does not comment on Gén. xxvii. 5 which tells us that Rebekah heard Isaac speaking to Esau, and that Esau went out to hunt game for his father.

<sup>g</sup> LXX 'Ρεβέκκα δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς Ἰακώβ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν ἐλάσσω (*v.l.* τὸν νεώτερον: Heb., like Philo, has only "her son"), Ἴδε (*v.l.* Ἰδοῦ) ἐγὼ ἤκουσα τοῦ πατρὸς σου λαλοῦντος πρὸς Ἡσαὺ τὸν ἀδελφόν σου λέγοντος—(vs. 7 repeats vs. 4).

<sup>h</sup> *OL* reads defectively "bene et observantissime hunc quidem Jacob, filium autem suum minime."

<sup>i</sup> τάξει καὶ συστήματι (*vel sim.*) εὐκοσμίας. Aucher renders more freely, "moderatione probitateque morum."

<sup>j</sup> διαμονή or ὑπομονή, symbolized by Rebekah, see *QG* iv. 97, 188 *et al.*

<sup>k</sup> *OL* is corrupt, "constantissimi enim et ornatissimi mores perseverantiae ne post merito vacatur" (*l.* "nepos merito vocatur").

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But the other (being an example) of profligacy and indecency,<sup>a</sup> is no longer (called "her son"), for orderliness belongs to peace.<sup>b</sup> And they are brothers (only) as the odd and the even (are brothers), and similarly the ordered and the disordered.<sup>c</sup> And even though<sup>d</sup> they are brothers, it is possible for them to be opposites and contraries.<sup>e</sup>

\*200. (Gen. xxvii. 8-10) What is the meaning of the words, "And now, my son, listen to me and go to the flock, (and) fetch me from there two kids of the flock, tender and good,<sup>f</sup> and I will make<sup>g</sup> this food for thy father, as he likes, and after eating, he will bless thee before he dies"<sup>h</sup>?

The greatness of his body and the healthiness of the stomach in it are clear from the preparation of the food.<sup>i</sup> For the offering of the fat kids shows a huge and immense body with mighty power, which surpasses all medical power.<sup>j</sup> For if as an old man he succeeded in eating two

<sup>a</sup> ἀσωτίας καὶ ἀκοσμίας: Aucher "immodestiae et improbitatis": *OL* "procax vero et iners."

<sup>b</sup> *OL* adds "hujus vero non ita."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "modestus et immodestus."

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "quia."

<sup>e</sup> *OL* shortens the last two sentences, "quamvis enim constantissimi et temerarii fratres sint, attamen possunt sibi esse contrarii."

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "molles Aegyptios" (*marg.* "et optimos"), see note *h*.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "fac cito," see note *h*.

<sup>h</sup> LXX Νῦν οὖν, υἱέ, ἀκουσον μου καθὰ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι σοι· καὶ πορευθεὶς εἰς τὰ πρόβατα λάβε μοι ἐκεῖθεν δύο ἐρίφους ἀπαλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς (Heb. "two good kids of the goats"), καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἐδέσματα (Heb. "delicacies": A.V. "savoury meat") τῷ πατρὶ σου ὡς φιλεῖ· καὶ εἰσοίσεις τῷ πατρὶ σου καὶ φάγεται ὅπως εὐλόγησῃ σε ὁ πατήρ σου πρὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν.

<sup>i</sup> Slightly different is the wording of a Greek frag. (in *Cat. Lips.*, from Procopius) ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶ μαθεῖν τὸ τοῦ σώματος μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἐκ κατασκευῆς φυσικὴν εὐεξίαν: *OL* "vastitas corporis et insita robustis certa est ex praeparatione epularum."

<sup>j</sup> *OL* "quae omnem palestricosibilitatem (!) superat." This sentence is missing from the Greek frag.

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kids, how much more when he was young! <sup>a</sup> (This he did) not through insatiableness, for he was continent as no one else has ever been found (to be), but because of his wonderful structure. <sup>b</sup> For it was fitting that he who was so great in virtue <sup>c</sup> and the founder <sup>d</sup> of so great a nation should have <sup>e</sup> a formidable and wonderful greatness of body. But this they say in passing, <sup>f</sup> and it is said by the way. <sup>g</sup> More clearly, <sup>h</sup> however, must the following be said. The wishes and characters of the parents <sup>i</sup> do not fight and contend with one another, as some are accustomed, <sup>j</sup> but without division and separation the couple (are) in harmony, <sup>k</sup> for they are eager to reach one end <sup>l</sup> although they are motivated by different thoughts. <sup>m</sup> For the one (parent) <sup>n</sup> wishes him who is good <sup>o</sup> to attain that of which he is deserving, <sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> So *OL*: the Greek frag. reads slightly differently *ὁ γὰρ ἐν γῆρα δύο πίοσιν ἐρίφοις κεχρημένος προεφήμασι, τίς ἂν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ νεότητι;*

<sup>b</sup> So *OL*: the Greek frag. (which ends here) reads more briefly *καὶ ταῦτα ὦν ἐγκρατῆς καὶ οὐκ ἄπλητος.*

<sup>c</sup> ἀρεταῖς.

<sup>d</sup> γενάρχη.

<sup>e</sup> *OL* "habitare" (*l.* "habere"?).

<sup>f</sup> ἐν παρεκβάσει.

<sup>g</sup> παρέργως.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "praecipue."

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* Rebekah and Isaac.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. translator seems to have taken *νομίσαντας* (here="believing") to mean "accustomed." The second Greek frag. from Procopius (which begins here) reads *οὐ διαμάχονται δὲ κατὰ τοὺς οὕτω νομίσαντας τῶν γονέων αἰ γινώμει.* *OL* reads somewhat differently "sententiae solertissimorum non dimicantur inter se, ut quidam putaverunt."

<sup>k</sup> This clause is missing in the Greek frag.

<sup>l</sup> The Greek frag. reads similarly *πρὸς ἓν δὲ τέλος ἐπείγονται:* *OL* "ad unum enim terminum festinat" (*l.* "festinant").

<sup>m</sup> *διαφόροις λογισμοῖς:* *OL* "uno consilio freti." The clause is missing in the Greek frag.

<sup>n</sup> *i.e.* Rebekah.

<sup>o</sup> *i.e.* Jacob.

<sup>p</sup> So the Greek frag., *τῆς μὲν βουλομένης τὸν ἀγαθὸν τυχεῖν ὦν ἄξιος ἦν:* *OL* "ideo desiderat mater sibi similem digna nanciscere."

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but the other (says),<sup>a</sup> "I do not hold thee in dishonour who art born of her,<sup>b</sup> but on (thy) justified helplessness I have mercy,<sup>c</sup> that I may set thee right and correct thee<sup>d</sup> so far as is possible."<sup>e</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> the soul that practises virtue<sup>h</sup> has a certain disposition of constancy,<sup>i</sup> which is called Rebekah<sup>j</sup>; and it has a certain asceticism,<sup>k</sup> which has the name of Jacob.<sup>l</sup> Accordingly, Constancy says to the ascetic, as if in an assembly of psychic traits,<sup>m</sup> "Go to the flock," that is, to the familiar, pure and well-formed (virtues)<sup>n</sup> which adorn progress,<sup>o</sup> "and fetch me from

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Isaac to Esau.

<sup>b</sup> Or "of me," the pronoun being ambiguous in Arm. : Aucher "ex illa (*vel*, ex me)": *OL* "ex eomet." The clause is missing in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> ἀπορίας δικαίας ἐλεῶ *vel sim.* but the construction is uncertain. Aucher renders, "haesitationis justae misereor"; so the Greek frag. and *OL*, see note *e*.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. synonyms prob. both render ἐπανορθώσασθαι, as in the Greek frag., see next note.

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) reads τοῦ δὲ τοῦ σκαιοῦ, τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τῷ ἐλέῳ τῷ εἰς αὐτόν: *OL* "pater vero non vult dehonoreari ex eomet natum, egestatem pessimi moris per misericordiam emendando."

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν

<sup>h</sup> ἡ ἀρετῶσα ψυχὴ: *OL* "anima cultrix pietatis."

<sup>i</sup> διάθεσιν τινὰ ὑπομονῆς: *OL* "quendam perseverantiae affectum."

<sup>j</sup> On Rebekah as a symbol of constancy see *QG* iv. 97, 199 *et al.*

<sup>k</sup> ἀσκητικόν τι, in the sense of athletic training: *OL* "habet palestricum suum quomodo natura."

<sup>l</sup> There are many references in Philo to Jacob as the ἀσκητής.

<sup>m</sup> ὡσεὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ψυχικῶν τρόπων *vel sim.*: *OL* "ut pote ergo in concilio animae morum suadet perseverantiam (*l.* "perseverantia") palestrico."

<sup>n</sup> *OL* "ad lenes et puras auras" (possibly reading τὰ εὐμορφα as πνεύματα?).

<sup>o</sup> τὰς προκοπὰς: *OL* reads curiously "quibus censura laudabilis sua capit augmenta."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

there two utterances,"<sup>a</sup> which are called kids,<sup>b</sup> one of them being the desire for piety,<sup>c</sup> the other for humanity<sup>d</sup> in form,<sup>e</sup> "in order that I may show them as pleasant and desirable to thy lovable and thoughtful father,<sup>f</sup> and that, being nourished by them, he may make thee similar to (his) good counsel."<sup>g</sup>

201. (Gen. xxvii. 11-12)<sup>h</sup> Why does Jacob reply, "Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy man, and I am smooth. Perhaps my father will feel me, and I shall be before him as a deceiver"<sup>i j</sup>?

The conjectured meaning<sup>k</sup> is right and plausible.<sup>l</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>m</sup> it has a very natural explanation.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "oracula": *OL* "electos." What the original Greek word was is not easy to conjecture.

<sup>b</sup> *OL* "hordos" (*l.* "haedos").

<sup>c</sup> εὐσεβείας.

<sup>d</sup> φιλανθρωπίας.

<sup>e</sup> The syntax and meaning of the Arm. word (*usu.* = μορφή) are not clear. *OL* connects it with the following sentence, rendering it, "secundum figuram."

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "hos ego etiam patri tuo, qui est clementissimi pectoris, titulos libentissimos pronuntiabo."

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "quibus reffectus, te sibi similem faciat destinatione benedictionis" (apparently reading εὐβουλία as εὐλογία).

<sup>h</sup> Vs. 11 is briefly commented on in *Leg. All.* ii. 59.

<sup>i</sup> *OL* "contemptor" (see LXX, next note).

<sup>j</sup> LXX εἶπεν δὲ Ἰακώβ πρὸς Ῥεβέκκαν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, "Ἔστιν Ἡσαὺ ὁ ἀδελφός μου ἀνὴρ δασύς, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνὴρ λεῖος. μήποτε ψηλαφήσῃ με ὁ πατήρ μου, καὶ ἔσομαι ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ὡς καταφρονῶν (Heb. "as a mocker": *L.V.* "as a deceiver")."

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "the conjecture (στοχασμός) of meaning" (or "suspicion"): Aucher "conjectura suspicionis (litteralis)": *OL* "conjectura lectionis." In any case, the literal meaning, τὸ ῥητόν, seems to be meant.

<sup>l</sup> *OL* "rationabilis simul ac verisimilis."

<sup>m</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>n</sup> ἀπόδοσις φυσικωτάτη τίς ἐστι, in the Stoic sense of "natural" = philosophical-allegorical.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

For if continence and restraint,<sup>a</sup> as in a theatre,<sup>b</sup> wear a covering and garment<sup>c</sup> (of) unrestraint and lecherousness, and wish to trick and deceive and to disregard and despise the truth,<sup>d</sup> the protector and helper<sup>e</sup> is accustomed, like a good physician, to feel and examine their most proper and genuine parts,<sup>f</sup> through which one becomes well or ill, and thus (the situation) is grasped and comes to be known.<sup>g</sup> But everything is directly, accurately and truly made known by its correct name.<sup>h</sup> For the hairy one is the unrestrained, lecherous, impure and unholy man, (who feeds) on uncultivated herbs and things of the field, which is the orbit and resort of untamed and undomesticated beasts.<sup>i</sup> But the smooth one is the restrained and continent friend of frugality.<sup>j</sup> Now the father who feels (with his hands) is he who does not leave any part of the soul<sup>k</sup> unexamined and unfelt but to those who are worthy makes it all altogether known in an accurate and careful way.<sup>l</sup> And, he

<sup>a</sup> Aucher's rendering, "religiosa abstinentia," may be defended on the ground that the first of the two Arm. nouns used here = both *θηρησκεία* and *ἐγκράτεια*: *OL* has only "continentia." <sup>b</sup> *ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ*. <sup>c</sup> *σκέπασμα καὶ περίβλημα*.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* renders the clause, "nam etsi quasdam vestitus species continentia tanquam in spectalon (*sic*) temperantiae fallere videtur, contemnendo veritatis."

<sup>e</sup> *ὁ ὑπερασπιστῆς καὶ βοηθός*: *OL* "factorem" (*marg.* "factorem").

<sup>f</sup> *τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ γνησιώτατα μέρη vel sim.*: *OL* has only "membra."

<sup>g</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, "quibus sanitas et imbecillitas declaratur omnis."

<sup>h</sup> *OL* has only "igitur directis vocabulis summae nuntiantur."

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. text is syntactically incomplete: Aucher renders, at once more briefly and more freely, "et incultis nutritus herbis agri in campo agrestium ferarum": *OL* "sensus [!] enim luxuriosus incultis sordibus agresti luco (*l. "loco" ?*) similis ut habitaculum ferarum."

<sup>j</sup> *ὀλιγοδείας ἑταῖρος*. The same phrase is used in *De Ebrietate* 58. <sup>k</sup> Lit. "part in respect of souls."

<sup>l</sup> *OL* "totam planam inveniendō servantissime dignatur."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

says, it does not seem right that he <sup>a</sup> should be despised <sup>b</sup>; for no one having intelligence <sup>c</sup> despises or disregards him who uses wisdom,<sup>d</sup> for the wise man does not put him to shame.<sup>e</sup>

\*202. (Gen. xxvii. 12-13) Why, when he says, "I will bring <sup>f</sup> upon myself a curse and not a blessing," does the mother say, "Upon me (will be) the curse,<sup>g</sup> my son" <sup>h</sup>?

It is fitting indeed to admire the mother for the thoughtfulness of her goodwill,<sup>i</sup> for she agrees to take upon herself the curse upon him,<sup>j</sup> and (to admire) in the son his honouring of both his parents.<sup>k</sup> For he was drawn in opposite directions by his piety toward both <sup>l</sup> lest he seem to deceive his father and to desire (what belonged) to

<sup>a</sup> Who is referred to is not clear, but prob. it is Jacob, as the symbol of the man who strives for virtue.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders, "non videtur, inquit, contemnendus ut contemnes me," adding in a footnote that a more literal rendering would be "non contemptum (*vel*, contemnere) videatur, inquit, illum." *OL* has "eum non uti contemptorem respuere." <sup>c</sup> νοῦν or διάνοιαν. <sup>d</sup> σοφία.

<sup>e</sup> *OL* renders differently, "nec enim possunt sobrii tali vitio maculari."

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "adducat," see note *h*.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "maledictio tua."

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ ἐπάξω ἐπ' ἐμαυτὸν κατάραν καὶ οὐκ εὐλογίαν. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ μήτηρ (*v.l.* + αὐτοῦ: Heb. "his mother"), Ἐπ' ἐμέ ἡ κατάρα σου, τέκνον (Heb. "my son").

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. from Cat. Ined. Reg. 1825 reads more briefly τῆς εὐνοίας, as does the frag. from Procopius (which, however, places this sentence at the end of the section): *OL* "favorem."

<sup>j</sup> Similarly the Catena (the clause is missing in Procopius), τὰς κατάρας ὁμολογοῦσαν εἰσδέξασθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου: *OL* "confitentem excipere maledictum pro eo filio."

<sup>k</sup> So the Catena, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς τιμῆς: *OL* "qui utrisque tuetur parentibus pro honore."

<sup>l</sup> So the Catena, ἀνθέλκεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἑκάτερον εὐσεβείας: Procopius θαυμαστὸς τῆς πρὸς ἀμφω τοὺς γονεῖς εὐσεβείας: *OL* "agitur enim gemina pietate."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

another,<sup>a</sup> and as for his mother, lest he seem to disobey and disregard her<sup>b</sup> when she addressed herself to him with supplication and importunity.<sup>c</sup> Wherefore he says very reverently and worthily,<sup>d</sup> not, "My father will rebuke<sup>e</sup> me" but, "I will bring a curse upon myself<sup>f</sup>"; for even if he is silent and quiet out of beautiful love toward me,<sup>g</sup> my conscience will none the less seize<sup>h</sup> and reproach (me) as having done something deserving of a curse."<sup>i</sup>

203. (Gen. xxvii. 15) Why did Rebekah, taking the beautiful robe of Esau, which was with her in the house, clothe Jacob (in it)?<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Catena reads more fully τὸν μὲν γὰρ πατέρα ἐδεδίει, μὴ δόξη φενακίζειν καὶ ὑφαρπάζειν ἐτέρου γέρας: Procopius paraphrases briefly, τὸν μὲν ἵνα μὴ κινήσῃ: OL "ne videatur fallere patrem, usurpando privilegium alterius."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "neque matrem negligere ac verba ejus nihili facere": the Catena has only τὴν δὲ μητέρα, μὴ καὶ ταύτης νομισθῆ παρακούειν: Procopius τῆς δὲ μὴ παρακούσῃ: OL "neve matri minus inveniat obtemperasse."

<sup>c</sup> The Catena reads more briefly λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένης: Procopius and OL omit the clause.

<sup>d</sup> The Catena has ἄγαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ ὀσίως: Procopius only καλῶς: OL "verecunda pietate."

<sup>e</sup> Or "curse," as in the Catena, καταράσεται: OL, omitting "my father," has "non quod maledictum aliquod prolaturus est."

<sup>f</sup> So the Catena frag. (which ends here): Procopius reads more briefly τὸ "ἐπ' ἐμᾶυτὸν ἄξω": OL "ait nequando superducat maledictum."

<sup>g</sup> κἂν γὰρ ἡσυχάζῃ φιλοστοργία τῇ πρὸς ἐμέ: OL "quamvis ille pro visceribus piis quiverit" (i.e. "quieverit").

<sup>h</sup> Possibly the Arm. translator misread ἐπιμέμφεται (found in Procopius, see next note) as ἐπιλήμφεται.

<sup>i</sup> Procopius τὸ συνειδὸς (i.e. συνείδησις) ἐπιμέμφεται ὡς ἄξια κατάρας ἐργασάμενον: OL "ne forte conscientia mea pulsata, tale aliquid accipiat incusando memet, tanquam merita maledictio paretur."

<sup>j</sup> LXX καὶ λαβούσα Ῥεβέκκα τὴν στολὴν (Heb. "garments") Ἡσαὺ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τὴν καλὴν, ἣ ἦν παρ' αὐτῆ τῷ οἴκῳ, καὶ ἐνέδυσεν Ἰακώβ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν νεώτερον.

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The literal meaning <sup>a</sup> is clear and conspicuous <sup>b</sup>: it seemed that through the robe he who was not there was present. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>c</sup> the wicked man has another robe <sup>d</sup> and many garments, by which he conceals and covers (himself), <sup>e</sup> inasmuch as he cunningly contrives <sup>f</sup> many matters of wrongdoing. <sup>g</sup> And he has one beautiful robe, that of the senses, <sup>h</sup> and outward adornment and the education <sup>i</sup> which extends to words and which some acquire from school-studies. <sup>j</sup> For there is no one who is perfectly evil, <sup>k</sup> but (man) is a mixture of opposites, of righteousness and unrighteousness, of the ignoble and the noble, and, in general, of the good and the bad. <sup>l</sup> Moreover, very excellently does Epicharmus say, <sup>m</sup> "Whoever transgresses the least is the best man, for no one is sinless and no one is without blame." <sup>n</sup> And Euripides (says), <sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπίσημον *vel sim.*: *OL* renders the clause more briefly, "scriptura clara est."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* "alias stolas."

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. verbs are active forms, but the context requires the passive or the addition of the reflexive pronoun.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. verb usu. = πανουργεῖν.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* renders the last two clauses somewhat differently, "quibus ut callidus signa injuriarum occulta habet."

<sup>h</sup> τὴν αἰσθητήν: *OL* "sensibilem."

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. lit. = παιδείαν ἐπιστήμης: *OL* "pro industria."

<sup>j</sup> ἐκ τῆς ἐγκυκλίας παιδείας: *OL* "quam ex musica disciplina imbutus placare festinat."

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "non unam (*margin.* "nomanam") naturam perfecte malus est."

<sup>l</sup> *OL* "sed etiam contrarietatibus temperatus justitiae et iniquitatis documentis infamiae et benevolentiae optimorum et malorum esse virorum" (*margin.* "virum").

<sup>m</sup> The Greek text of this frag. of Epicharmus seems not to have been preserved. In the collection of Diels-Kranz, *FV*, frag. 46 (vol. i. p. 205), it is cited in Aucher's Latin version.

<sup>n</sup> *OL* renders defectively, "qui mediocrius delinquit, dum nullus sine peccato," omitting the reference to Epicharmus' name.

<sup>o</sup> Here, too, the Greek original seems not to have been

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“ Those who are incontinent and (those in whom) evil (and) enmities and injustices <sup>a</sup> abound are evil. But those who have the opposite (qualities) are virtuous. However, some are such that they have an equal mixture, so that there are none who have all evil without a single good (quality).” <sup>b</sup>

\*204. (Gen. xxvii. 16) Why does she put a skin of goats upon his arms and upon his neck? <sup>c</sup>

The literal meaning <sup>d</sup> is clear and apparent, (namely) that it was for the sake of being unknown and that (his father) might not understand and that when he <sup>e</sup> was in his presence he might not seem to be who he (really) was but might seem to be the brother who was absent. <sup>f</sup> And she threw the skins of goats over his arms and naked neck <sup>g</sup> because the latter (Esau) was hairy. But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>h</sup> the arms and the back of the neck <sup>i</sup> are stronger than all of man's (other) limbs, and they are smooth. <sup>j</sup> And

preserved. Nauck, *TGF* (2nd ed.), p. 660, cites Aucher's Latin version.

<sup>a</sup> Aucher “malum inimicitiae et injustitiae.”

<sup>b</sup> *OL* renders the quotation somewhat confusedly, “Eripides (*marg.* “Euripides”) quoque neminem irreprehensibilem dixit, tamen quibusdam abundantur (*marg.* “abundant”) malitiarum fomenta turpia, iniqua, adeo pravis adversantur strenui, quibusdam tamen ita altrinsecus inest temperantia ut nonnulli omnia pessima obtineant absque uno bono, nonnulli omnia necessaria sine ullo malo.” This is followed by several sentences not found in the Arm. text. See Appendix B.

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν ἐρίφων (*v.l.* αἰγῶν : Heb. “kids of the goats”) περιέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνά (Heb. “smoothness”) τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτοῦ : *OL* “quare pelles super brachia et nuditatem colli posuit?”

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* Jacob.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, “dictum insinuat qua possit latere, assistens patri ne videretur quis sit sed absens frater.”

<sup>g</sup> *OL* “alia proxima membra.”

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> Prob. ὁ σφόνδυλος τοῦ ἀγένοσ : *OL* “terganea colla” : Aucher “humérique circa collum.”

<sup>j</sup> *OL* “lenia” (*l.* “levia”).

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the wise man <sup>a</sup> is gleaming and naked to the truth <sup>b</sup>; and just as in the case of the other virtues, so also does he in pure fashion exhibit and practise and pursue courage.<sup>c</sup> And if it sometimes happens that he conceals this and makes it hairy because of the necessity of the occasion, and uses economy,<sup>d</sup> he still remains in the same state and does not retreat from his original purpose,<sup>e</sup> but because of involuntary occurrences he changes to another kind of form, as in a theatre, for the benefit of the spectators.<sup>f</sup> For this is just what physicians are accustomed to do, for they change the foods of ill persons, and their places (of residence) and the ways (of living) which they had before their illness.<sup>g</sup> And the physician who is skilled in worldly matters does foolish things for a time (but) wisely, and

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag., which begins here, has *ὁ ἀστεῖος*: *OL* "strenuus vir" (usu.= *ὁ σπουδαῖος*; Aucher "virtute valens."

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. omits the predicate: *OL* has "aperta ad veritatem habet."

<sup>c</sup> Similarly the Greek frag., *ὡσπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ὁ ἀστεῖος, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καθαρῶς ἐπιτετηδευκῶς*: *OL* renders more briefly, "sicut alias virtutes, ita fortitudinem sectatur."

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. is clearer than the Greek frag., which reads *ἐάν που ταύτην ἐπισκιάζη χάριν, καιρῶν οἰκονομία χρῆται* (possibly *χάριν* is a corruption of *καὶ τραχύνη*): *OL* renders, "cum autem hanc obumbraverit densando pro necessitate temporis et utilitate utitur."

<sup>e</sup> Similarly the Greek frag., *μένων μὲν ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθέσεως οὐκ ἀναχωρῶν*: *OL* "permanens in eodem statu et praecedentia vota non excedens."

<sup>f</sup> Similarly the Greek frag., *διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀβουλήτων συντυχίας ἐναλλάττων ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ μυρφήν ἑτέραν ὑπὲρ ὠφελείας τῶν ὀρώντων*: *OL* renders defectively, "pro secundis autem casibus formam in alteram pro usitate videntur" (l. "utilitate videntium").

<sup>g</sup> This sentence is missing in the Greek frag.: *OL* renders more briefly, "hoc enim etiam medici solent observare, immutantes remedia laborantium quam habuerunt ante languorem."

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unlasciviously and moderately does lecherous things, and bravely does cowardly things, and righteously does unrighteous things.<sup>a</sup> And sometimes he will speak falsehoods, not being a liar, and he will deceive, not being a deceiver,<sup>b</sup> and he will insult, not being an insulter.<sup>c</sup>

205. (Gen. xxvii. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "She gave the foods and the bread which she had made into the hand of Jacob" <sup>d</sup> ?

(This is said) because for a perfect life it is fitting not only to wish for things worthy of pursuit and virtue <sup>e</sup> but also to do them.<sup>f</sup> And appropriately <sup>g</sup> does the character of constancy and continence,<sup>h</sup> because she is the mother of the law of nature, extend to his hands bread, the symbol of frugality,<sup>i</sup> and the foods of a relaxed, released and pure life.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Similarly the Greek frag., *ιατρὸς γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων ὁ ἀστεῖος, ὃς ἔνεκα τῶν καιρῶν φρονίμως ἐνεργεῖ τὰ ἀφροσύνης, καὶ σωφρόνως τὰς ἀκολασίας καὶ τὰς δειλίας ἀνδρείως καὶ δικαίως τὰς ἀδικίας*: *OL* renders defectively, "medicus autem circa vitam rerum pro statu temporum fit, sapienter gubernando insipientiae momenta, et viriliter timiditatem, et jusse (*l.* "juste") iniquitatem."

<sup>b</sup> So *OL*, "et fallat alienus fallaciae." The clause is missing in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag., *καὶ ὑβρίσει μὴ ὦν ὑβριστής*: *OL* "et detrahebat (*l.* "detrahebit") non derogando."

<sup>d</sup> *OL* reads defectively "quid est: dedit Isaac (*marg.* "Esau") panes quos fecit in manibus Jacob?": *LXX* *καὶ ἔδωκεν τὰ ἐδέσματα καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους οὓς ἐποίησεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας Ἰακώβ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς.* <sup>e</sup> *ἄξια σπουδῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς.*

<sup>f</sup> *OL* paraphrases, "complenti vitam (*l.* "vitae"?) mavult perseverantiam non modo per ambitionem studii sed etiam pro merito certatoris agere." <sup>g</sup> *πρεπόντως vel sim.*

<sup>h</sup> *τρόπος* (or *ἦθος*) *τῆς διαμονῆς* (or *ὑπομονῆς*) *καὶ τῆς ἐγκρατείας*. On Rebekah as a symbol of constancy see *passim*, *QG* iv. 97-199. <sup>i</sup> *σύμβολον τῆς ὀλιγοδείας.*

<sup>j</sup> *OL* renders the last sentence more briefly, "est enim naturalium conditionum mater quae porrigit in manibus auspicia, parsimonia quidem panis, pro pura autem et abundantiori refectione caeteras epulas."

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\*206. (Gen. xxvii. 18-19) Why, when his father asks, "Who art thou, son?" does he reply, "I am Esau, thy first-born. I have done as thou hast told me" <sup>a</sup>?

Again he will seem to be a deceiver, although he is not to be thought (to be connected) with any evil.<sup>b</sup> For calumniators <sup>c</sup> call the dispensation of virtue <sup>d</sup> deceit and fraud.<sup>e</sup> And what dispensation is better than when one does not ascribe good things and virtues to those who wish to live shamefully and disgracefully? <sup>f</sup> But let the spy say, when he is caught, "I am not an enemy but a friend"; and if this is not praised,<sup>g</sup> and his words have no place,<sup>h</sup> let him say these words, "I hastened to you of my own accord,<sup>i</sup> condemning my own (side)."<sup>j</sup> Let the general speak

<sup>a</sup> LXX τίς εἶ σύ, τέκνον (Heb. "my son"); καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακώβ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, Ἐγὼ Ἡσαὺ ὁ πρωτότοκός σου, ἐποίησα (v.l. πεποίηκα) καθὰ ἐλάλησάς μοι.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. text is not altogether clear. Aucher renders, "rursum fallax esse putetur nullo cum malo reputandus": OL "item fallax esse videtur a bonis emotis pravitate negotiationum." Procopius' paraphrase reads πάλιν ἀπατεῶν εἶναι δόξει τοῖς μὴ τὴν κατ' ἀρετὴν σκοποῦσιν οἰκονομίαν.

<sup>c</sup> οἱ συκοφάνται: OL "calumniatores."

<sup>d</sup> τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς οἰκονομίαν (cf. the end of the preceding sentence in the Greek frag. from Procopius): OL "pro virtute acquisita."

<sup>e</sup> The Procopius fragment lacks this sentence.

<sup>f</sup> OL reads unintelligibly "quid autem dispensabilius utilitati quam optime studiosa turpissimi quoque et scrupulosae vitae homines et optimi viri exquirunt?" Procopius is briefer and clearer, ἡ δὲ οἰκονομία πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀναξίους δίδοσθαι τὰ καλά. The original probably meant that Esau did not merit the status of first-born.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "haud probetur."

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. idiom *zeli ounel* (lit. "to have place") often means "to stop" but occasionally, as here, it seems, "to make an impression." Aucher renders, "neque locum habet dictum."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "of myself": Aucher "ego ex me ipso."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "improbatis meis (sociis)." OL lacks this sentence. Procopius reads more briefly λεγέτω καὶ κατάσκοπος συλληφθείς· οὐκ εἰμι πολέμιος ἢ ὡς ἠντομόληκα. For the

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of making war when he is doing the work of peace, or in time of peace when he is thinking of drawing up his line of battle.<sup>a</sup> Let the king also put on the guise of a commoner if he is not able in another way to obtain benefit for his realm and his subjects.<sup>b</sup> And (let) the master (put on the guise) of a slave in order not to be ignorant of anything that is done in the house.<sup>c</sup> These are familiar things<sup>d</sup> and principally of the literal meaning.<sup>e</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>f</sup> let us say allegorically<sup>g</sup> that the soul<sup>h</sup> of each of us has, as it were, several kinds of man in itself<sup>i</sup> in accordance with the various incidences of similar things.<sup>j</sup>

following three sentences we have two Greek texts, one from Procopius, the other from Cod. Vat. 1553.

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. is apparently defective. One expects the latter part of the sentence to read "or in time of peace let him think of drawing up his line of battle." *OL* is also awkward, "dicit enim et magister militiae pacem velle, praelia parando, et pacis tempore arma renovando." The Greek fragments have λεγέτω καὶ (*v.l.* καὶ ὁ) στρατηγὸς τὰ πολεμοποιούντα εἰρήνην πραγματευόμενος ἢ τὰ εἰρηναῖα (Cod. Vat. εἰρήνης) πολεμεῖν ἐγνωκῶς (Cod. Vat. διανοούμενος).

<sup>b</sup> Similarly Cod. Vat., ὑποδυέσθω καὶ βασιλεὺς ἰδιώτου σχήμα εἰ μὴ δύναιτο ἐτέρως τὸ συμφέρον τῇ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις λαβεῖν. Procopius reads slightly differently οὐδὲν κωλύσει καὶ βασιλέα ἰδιώτου σχῆμα λαβεῖν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὸ συμφέρον θηρώμενον. *OL* has "ita demum etiam rex amictu subornatur privati pro utilitate si aliter non poterit evadere, expedit enim ut subjectis, ita et domesticorum conditionibus" (the last four words seem to belong to the sentence which follows in the Arm. version and is not independently rendered in the *OL*).

<sup>c</sup> So Cod. Vat., καὶ ὁ δεσπότης δούλου, εἵνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἀγνοῆσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν δρωμένων: Procopius καὶ τὸν δεσπότην οἰκέτου μηδὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἐθέλοντα τῶν κτλ. The Greek fragments end with this sentence. <sup>d</sup> οἰκεῖα.

<sup>e</sup> τοῦ ῥήτου. *OL* renders the sentence more briefly, "haec pro partibus orationis." <sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> ἀλληγοροῦντες φήσομεν.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ.

<sup>i</sup> *OL* "plurimos habere infra se tamquam homines."

<sup>j</sup> *OL* "pro varietate accedentium rerum."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

It is as if Esau were in me, an oak <sup>a</sup> inflexible, unbending and hairy, and a type alien to the thoughts of virtue,<sup>b</sup> and confused <sup>c</sup> in his impulses,<sup>d</sup> and yielding to irrational and inscrutable impulses.<sup>e</sup> In me is also Jacob, smooth and not rough.<sup>f</sup> In me are both an old man and a youth, both a ruler and a non-ruler,<sup>g</sup> both a holy person and a profane one.<sup>h</sup> But when one is virtuous <sup>i</sup> and in a (state) opposite to virtue,<sup>j</sup> it is altogether superficially and merely on a tangent that one deceives, and not <sup>k</sup> by an affinity to every being and in mortal fashion.<sup>l</sup> When, however, one is wicked, one openly says that which is foolish and unjust, but feebly gives the appearance of wisdom and justice.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For other references in Philo to Esau as a symbol of an oak, based on the fanciful etymology of "Esau" as Heb. 'עֵשׂ "tree," see *QG* iv. 161.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. seems lit. to render ἀλλότριος ταῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς γνώμας: Aucher, construing differently, renders, "alienae virtutis probabile exemplum": *OL* "obscurus ad captandas virtutum fruges."

<sup>c</sup> Or "impure": Aucher "intemperatus."

<sup>d</sup> *OL* has merely "procax," omitting reference to "his impulses."

<sup>e</sup> The rendering in *OL*, "in montibus passim procedens," is perhaps based in part on a reading ἀν' ἰχνη ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι *vel sim.* in place of ἀνιχνεύτοις ὄρμαῖς.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "nec temere audax."

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "et privatus et magistratus."

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "ne (l. "in") me et religiosus, inquit, et profanus."

<sup>i</sup> σπουδαῖος: *OL* "studiosus." <sup>j</sup> ἀρετῆ.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. οὐ "not" is printed in parentheses as if supplied by Aucher.

<sup>l</sup> The obscure Arm. seems literally to render οὐ κατὰ συγγένειαν πάση οὐσία καὶ θνητὸν τρόπον *vel sim.* Aucher renders more freely, "minime vero secundum indolem cognatam, qua reperitur exemplum omnis creaturae ac mortalis." *OL* has nothing to correspond (see the next note).

<sup>m</sup> σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης. *OL* seems to incorporate part of this sentence with the preceding in rendering the passage, "si enim studiosus fuero, differentia virtutis ostentatorie et procaciter ego tantummodo quantum oculis placeres (*sic*), sufficit sapientiae et iustitiae merita dissimulando."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

But when Jacob says to his father, " I am Esau," he speaks the truth according to the principle of nature,<sup>a</sup> for his soul is moved in accordance with that form.<sup>b</sup>

\*207. (Gen. xxvii. 20) Why does his father say, " What is this that thou didst quickly find, son ? " <sup>c</sup> ?

The literal text <sup>d</sup> has both a fitting answer to the question <sup>e</sup> and also one for the allegory <sup>f</sup> of the literal text.<sup>g</sup> For reckoning the time sufficient for a hunter to hunt, he found it brief and thought it little.<sup>h</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> the wise man <sup>j</sup> wondered that one of the wicked should so unexpectedly become well taught <sup>k</sup> so as to be able to find (what he sought) not only with speed but also with keenness and commendably,<sup>l</sup> since he was thought to be very irrational and foolish <sup>m</sup> and really an oak.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον : *OL* " imploratione naturae."

<sup>b</sup> τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνου εἶδος κινουμένης : *OL* " dum anima secundum illius speciem mota est."

<sup>c</sup> LXX εἶπεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, τί τοῦτο ὃ ταχὺ εὗρες, ὦ τέκνον.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> Variant " answer of reply."

<sup>f</sup> πρὸς τὴν ἀλληγορίαν.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. text is awkward. Aucher renders more freely, " habet litera tam congruam responsionem quae reddi potest quam allegoriam." *OL* reads " habet oratoria pars rationabilem redditionem, allegoria quoque tanto melius."

<sup>h</sup> *OL* " dementi (*sic*) enim sufficientes moras venationi compendiosiore invenit et minus quam aestimavit." The brief paraphrase in Procopius reads οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασε χρόνον προσήκοντα κυνηγέτη.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> ὁ σοφός.

<sup>k</sup> οὕτως εὐμαθῆ γενέσθαι παραδόξως *vel sim.* : Aucher " sic repente progressum fecerit in laudabili studio " : *OL* " tam cito . . . eruditus sit repentino studio melioratus."

<sup>l</sup> εὐλόγως *vel sim.* : Aucher " acumine optima rationis " : *OL* omits.

<sup>m</sup> *OL* " ex inertia ingeniosus " (?).

<sup>n</sup> See *QG* iv. 206.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

\*208. (Gen. xxvii. 20) Why does he reply, "What the Lord gave into my hands" <sup>a</sup>?

This answer is virtuous and suitable to a God-loving mind. <sup>b</sup> "For," he says, "I use no mortal teacher, <sup>c</sup> but the Father gave into my hands the contemplation of wisdom and knowledge, <sup>d</sup> because of which I not only learned but was also able to find." For he who uses God as teacher both profits and is competent to bring profit (to others). <sup>e</sup> He profits by learning, and he brings profit by finding disciples and familiars <sup>f</sup> at first. <sup>g</sup> And afterwards he receives the rank of teacher and leader in order. <sup>h</sup>

209. (Gen. xxvii. 21) Why does he say, "Come near to me, and I will feel thee, son, whether thou art my son Esau or not" <sup>i</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> *OL* "quod tradidit dominus in pectus (*l.* "spectu"?) meo." Philo differs from *LXX* ὁ παρέδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς (*v.l.* + σου) ἐναντίον μου: Heb. "for the Lord Thy God caused (it) to fall before me." In *De Sacr. Abelis* 64 and *Quod Deus Immut. Sit.* 92 Philo follows the *LXX* text verbatim; in *De Ebrietate* 120 and *De Fuga* 169 he cites the *LXX* text incompletely, ὁ παρέδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεός. The interpretation of the half-verse given here (in *QG*) resembles most closely that given in *De Sacr. Abelis* 64-65.

<sup>b</sup> θεοφιλεῖ λογισμῶ *vel sim.*: *OL* "religioso animi" (*l.* "animo"?). Procopius paraphrases the sentence (the only one in this section preserved in his commentary), ὁ δὲ θεοφιλῆς ἐπὶ θεὸν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνάγει διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* "magistro, asserenti, nulli mortalium auxiliosum esse."

<sup>d</sup> τὰς θεωρίας (*vel sim.*) τὰς τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης: *OL* "disciplinarum pignora spectatissima sapientiae."

<sup>e</sup> *OL* "et prodesse alteris."

<sup>f</sup> γνωρίμους (in the sense of "disciples"): *OL* "notos."

<sup>g</sup> *OL* curiously renders, "ac minime dissonantes," possibly taking ἐν ἀρχῇ to mean "under authority" or the like.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, "postmodum autem doctoris dignitatem assumit."

<sup>i</sup> *OL* omits the last two words. Philo here follows the *LXX* Ἐγγισόν μοι καὶ ψηλαφήσω σε, τέκνον, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου Ἡσαὺ ἢ οὐ.

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The virtuous man <sup>a</sup> is justly <sup>b</sup> incredulous <sup>c</sup> and wonders that the wicked man in such wholly unexpected fashion <sup>d</sup> received an increase in virtue. <sup>e</sup> In the first place, because he who had been sickly and lazy and slow <sup>f</sup> became quick, and quick to learn. <sup>g</sup> In the second place, because not only did he receive in memory the things in which he had been instructed and had learned, <sup>h</sup> but he also himself became a rule to many, <sup>i</sup> and like quick-witted men who are easily taught, changed into a receptive, fertile and productive (person) instead of being, as a little before, sterile. <sup>j</sup> And in the third place, because he considers the teachings and traditions <sup>k</sup> and doctrines of divine guidance to be worthy of pursuit, and rightly and fittingly does he consecrate and offer <sup>l</sup> them to God, his leader. <sup>m</sup> For this reason, being astonished, he says, "Come near to me, for I wish to know certainly whether you are he or someone else." Wherefore he is said to feel him, not so much with his hands as with the thoughts of his mind, <sup>n</sup> and by himself he grasps and compares the things now said with those earlier ones, in word and deed. For he finds a great opposition <sup>o</sup> between them.

<sup>a</sup> ὁ σπουδαῖος : *OL* "studiosus."      <sup>b</sup> Aucher "statim."

<sup>c</sup> *OL* carelessly renders, "non incredulus."

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "tam subito" : *OL* omits.      <sup>e</sup> ἀρετῇ.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher, ignoring the first adjective, renders, "ignavus et deses" : similarly *OL*, "surdus et tardus."

<sup>g</sup> *OL* has only "strenuus."

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "quae dicit (*l.* "didicit") meminit."

<sup>i</sup> *OL* loosely renders, "plurima acquisivit."

<sup>j</sup> *OL* renders the whole clause very briefly, "utpote de sterilitate foetusus."      <sup>k</sup> παραδόσεις.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher renders both verbs by "adscribit."

<sup>m</sup> *OL* renders the sentence very briefly, "tertio, quod titulos divinitus largitos refert, et deum confitetur autorem."

<sup>n</sup> Aucher renders more literally, "mente consilii," but it appears that the Arm. translator had the case-endings of the two nouns reversed. *OL* reads more smoothly "mentis intuitu."

<sup>o</sup> Lit. "warfare" : Aucher "oppugnationem" : *OL* "dissonantiam."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

\*210. (Gen. xxvii. 22) Why after feeling (Jacob) does he say, "The voice is the voice of Jacob, and the hands are the hands of Esau" <sup>a</sup>?

The voice now brought into speech is not that which is the sound of air through mouth and tongue <sup>b</sup> but that which had already been said, <sup>c</sup> which was indefinite <sup>d</sup> and indifferent in its own significance. <sup>e</sup> And that which is signified is an indication of piety of will, <sup>f</sup> which is suitable to and in harmony with continent characters of productivity and worthiness. <sup>g</sup> For this reason, repeating himself, he twice uses the (same) expression, "The voice is the voice of Jacob, and the hands are the hands of Esau," indicating that it is not any voice whatsoever that he praises but (only) that in which it has been acknowledged that the inventions <sup>h</sup> of good things are in accordance with God. <sup>i</sup> This (attitude) was foreign and strange to the undisciplined and uncultivated character <sup>j</sup> but familiar and genuine to the continent one which considers strenuous labours

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX, Ἡ φωνὴ φωνὴ Ἰακώβ, αἱ δὲ χεῖρες χεῖρες Ἡσαύ.

<sup>b</sup> OL "non oris et linguae pulsantis aerem."

<sup>c</sup> OL "pro casum (v.l. "casu") dictum" (v.l. "vindictam").

<sup>d</sup> ἀόριστος: OL omits.

<sup>e</sup> ἀδιάφορος ἐν τῷ δι' ἑαυτῆς σημαιομένῳ vel sim.: OL "et habentem differentiam (sic) pro suo indicio" (v.l. "iudicio").

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Procopius' paraphrase τὴν εὐσεβῆ φωνὴν οὐκ ἂν λεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαύ . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδιότητι προφορᾶς ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἦν ἡ φωνή.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders somewhat more freely, "quae convenit indolis religiosae fertilitatis dignitatisque": OL "congrua exercitorii (v.l. "exercitoris") moribus continentia quibus benevolentia et sanctitas oriuntur." Perhaps for Arm. *k'ajaberout' iun* "productivity" we should read *k'ajabarout' iun* "rectitude," "simplicity."

<sup>h</sup> τὰς εὐρέσεις.

<sup>i</sup> OL "non vocem quamlibet sed eam laudat quae professa est autoris esse emolumenta bonorum."

<sup>j</sup> τῷ ἀπαιδέυτῳ καὶ ἀμούσῳ τρόπῳ: OL has only "quod erat alienum pravi."

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more valuable and not merely more useful than sensual pleasure.<sup>a</sup>

\*211. (Gen. xxvii. 23) What is the meaning of the words, "He did not recognize him, for his hands were hairy <sup>b</sup> like Esau's" <sup>c</sup> ?

(Scripture) seals and confirms still more what was said a little earlier, pointing out and declaring that many times the good man and the wicked man perform good and worthy deeds of this sort and bring profit,<sup>d</sup> but not with the same intention,<sup>e</sup> for the one uses his judgment about what is good while the wicked man acts nobly <sup>f</sup> and makes that appear good which is a matter of avaricious greed.<sup>g</sup> For no one is ever able to find folly doing anything worthy unless it is contriving some scheme or scheming some dodge,<sup>h</sup> as the tragic poet says.<sup>i</sup> On that account it gives a hint,<sup>j</sup> adding that their acts are somewhat similar but

<sup>a</sup> τῆς ἡδονῆς. *OL* renders the clause unintelligibly, "pravum (*sic*) vero continentiam studentis et exercitati pro libidine doloris eligentis hanc vitam utiliolem et preciosam credenti." After this sentence *OL* has an additional section, for which see Appendix B.

<sup>b</sup> *OL* omits this word.

<sup>c</sup> LXX and Heb. "Esau's his brother."

<sup>d</sup> The two Arm. verbs prob. render the single Greek verb ἐνεργετοῦσι, a variant or corruption of ἐνεργοῦσι, see next note.

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. (Harris, p. 70, identified by Bréhier) from Cod. Vat. 1553 reads more smoothly τὰ αὐτὰ καθήκοντα πολλάκις ἐνεργοῦσιν ὃ τε ἀστεῖος καὶ ὃ φαῦλος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας.

<sup>f</sup> Possibly the Arm. translator read σεμννόμενος for μνώμενος (see next note).

<sup>g</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends with this sentence) reads ὁ μὲν γὰρ κρίνων ὅτι καλόν, ὁ δὲ μοχθηρὸς μνώμενός τι τῶν εἰς πλεονεξίαν.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "aliqua nova": *OL* "machinam fraudulentam quae nascitur a Mercurio."

<sup>i</sup> This may be an allusion to Euripides, *Hippolytus* 331 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ αἰσχρῶν ἐσθλὰ μηχανώμεθα.

<sup>j</sup> αἰνίγματι.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

not that the two are the same,<sup>a</sup> because each has received a (different) type of will.<sup>b</sup>

212. (Gen. xxvii. 23-24) Why is it that he blessed him and (then) says, "Art thou my son Esau?"<sup>c</sup>?

The divine oracle ordains<sup>d</sup> that this word<sup>e</sup> be uttered at once, to make evident the (act of) blessing before (mentioning) the individual blessings.<sup>f</sup> And this demonstrates very clearly and certainly that it was God who did the blessing through the prophet, who speaks.<sup>g</sup> For the one did not say anything at all by opening his mouth, while the other by his power of foreknowing<sup>h</sup> first rendered the blessings to the end with an articulate sound.<sup>i</sup> Wherefore indeed (Scripture) seals the conclusion and confirms it by an utterance of the divine oracle, in accordance with which it has made clear that he blessed him.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *OL* "non tamen eadem qualitate amborum."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "ob insitos in utroque indoles voluntatis":  
*OL* "litigant enim utrorumque consilia."

<sup>c</sup> I.xx and Heb. add "and he (Jacob) said, I am."

<sup>d</sup> ὁ θεῖος χρησμὸς νομοθετεῖ.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. the words ἠϋλόγησεν αὐτόν, the last words of vs. 23.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* renders freely, "tam resonat vox legis Dei per eloquium sanctum, et ante particulares benedictiones quid sit benedictio."

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "deum fuisse secrete benedicientem ante verba dicentis."

<sup>h</sup> προγνωστικῇ δυνάμει, cf. *Vita Mosis* ii. 190, where this power is ascribed to Moses.

<sup>i</sup> ἐνάρθρω φωνῇ. The meaning of the sentence is obscure. Aucher renders, "quoniam unus neque quidquam dixit ore tenus: alter vero virtute prophetica ab initio usque ad finem reddidit benedictiones articulata voce": *OL* "illo enim necdum ori (*sic*) liniamenta distinguente praescia virtute culminis destinantur benedictiones usque in finem paratissime pronuntiatæ."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "quare et finem concludit divinae vocis oraculo secundum illud quo patefecit nimirum benedixisse ei": *OL* "unde etiam terminum designat responso divino lex, prius declarando quoniam benedixit eum." Apparently Philo is

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213. (Gen. xxvii. 25-27) Why, when he had eaten and drunk <sup>a</sup> and smelled his <sup>b</sup> garments, is he said to have blessed (him) ? <sup>c</sup>

The literal text <sup>d</sup> does not require any explanation.<sup>e</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>f</sup> it has a certain necessary speculation.<sup>g</sup> For symbolically <sup>h</sup> the garments are visible decency <sup>i</sup> and opinion, which to many is seemly, splendid and approved.<sup>j</sup> And this, too, is a praiseworthy part, which those use who are not perfected in virtue.<sup>k</sup> Deservedly is the good man <sup>l</sup> introduced <sup>m</sup> both because he desires this and because he partakes of that food which is intellectual.<sup>n</sup>

drawing attention to the significance of the fact that the expression "he blessed him" stands at the end of a verse.

<sup>a</sup> OL omits the reference to Isaac's drinking.

<sup>b</sup> Jacob's.

<sup>c</sup> Philo summarizes vss. 25-27a, which read, *καὶ εἶπεν, Προσάγαγέ μοι καὶ φάγομαι ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας σου, τέκνον, ὅπως εὐλογῆσθαι σε ἢ ψυχῆ μου· καὶ προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔφαγεν· καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ οἶνον, καὶ ἔπιεν. (26) καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰσαὰκ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, Ἐγγισόν μοι καὶ φίλησόν με, τέκνον. (27) καὶ ἐγγίσας ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν· καὶ ὠσφράνθη τὴν ὄσμην τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἠὐλόγησεν αὐτόν κτλ.*

<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>e</sup> λόγου : OL "dubitationem."

<sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> θεωρίαν τινὰ ἀναγκαίαν : OL "relationem necessariam."

<sup>h</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>i</sup> εὐκοσμία, cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 246 : Aucher "probitas" : OL "censuram spectabilem."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher, in disregard of the syntax, renders, "qua apud multos habetur quisquam in bona probataque aestimatione" : OL "quae est apud probabilis," and makes "existimatio" (= Arm. *karcik'* = Gr. *δόξα*) the subject of the following sentence.

<sup>k</sup> οἱ μὴ τελειωθέντες ἀρετῇ : OL "minus perfecti."

<sup>l</sup> ὁ ἀστεῖος ἢ ὁ σπουδαῖος.

<sup>m</sup> OL "utator" (*sic* : v.l. "ut autor").

<sup>n</sup> τῆς κατὰ λογισμὸν τροφῆς *vel sim.* : Aucher "tum id desiderante (patre) tum participanti cibum mysterii" : OL "hujus stolae prosequitur ad fructum meliorem."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

214. (Gen. xxvii. 27b) Why does he begin the blessings in this way, "Behold, the smell of my son is like the smell of a full field, which the Lord <sup>a</sup> has blessed" <sup>b</sup> ?

Full is that place in which are all seeds, trees, flowers and fruits.<sup>c</sup> And deserving of blessings is not that which at one time (only) is fragrant <sup>d</sup> and well provided with grain and fruit <sup>e</sup> but that which continually enjoys fertility. And in the soul is a place full of wisdom <sup>f</sup> and herbage of virtue.<sup>g</sup> And the fruits are its several deeds and the words that accompany them,<sup>h</sup> each of which in some way <sup>i</sup> has its own smell,<sup>j</sup> some accompanied by the prudence of wisdom, some by temperance, and others by justice.<sup>k</sup> For our lives are, as it were, made fragrant by our several virtues, for through their speech they send out breaths and exhalations to those near by, who are greatly gladdened when struck by incorporeal smells which are better than incense or myrrh or any other material (smells).<sup>l</sup> Now

<sup>a</sup> *OL* "deus."

<sup>b</sup> *LXX* Ἰδοὺ ὄσμη τοῦ υἱοῦ μου ὡς ὄσμη ἀγροῦ πλήρους (Heb. lacks the adjective "full") ὃν ηὐλόγησεν κύριος.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* "plenus itaque ager serendorum arborumque florentium frugiferis auspiciis." <sup>d</sup> εὐώδης.

<sup>e</sup> εὐσταχυς καὶ εὐκαρπος: *OL* "quod non tempore segetis (*v.l.* "egestuosus") a fecunditate sit."

<sup>f</sup> σοφίας. Aucher, construing slightly differently, renders, "animae vero campus est plenus sapientia": *OL* "est enim anima plena sapientiae et ager, etc." <sup>g</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>h</sup> ἕκαστα τὰ ἔργα καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτὰ λόγοι: *OL* "fruges autem facit laudabiles ipsis operibus veritatis."

<sup>i</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>j</sup> *OL* "quarum singulae proprio (*v.l.* "pro pio") pollentes odore benedicuntur."

<sup>k</sup> ὧν τὰ μὲν κατὰ φρόνησιν σοφίας (prob. originally κατὰ φρόνησιν), τὰ δὲ κατὰ σωφροσύνην, τὰ δὲ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην: *OL* has merely "pro vigilantia pudicitia."

<sup>l</sup> *OL* freely "de singulis enim vitales oriuntur vapores suavitatis in dicendis gerendisque: suos etiam approximantes delectant, quod melius est totius libaminis et hostiarum et odoramentorum jucundius: pulsantes enim mentes incorporaliter exhortantur ampliare charitatem."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

that which is said above all things <sup>a</sup> is the seal of confirmation of Him Who is above.<sup>b</sup> For to bless and to be blessed by Him Who holds the foundation of all things and is Lord in truth renders the spiritual field <sup>c</sup> full of virtues.<sup>d</sup> For it is fitting to recognize clearly that wherever God is not present, that (place) is altogether imperfect and is easily taken.<sup>e</sup>

215. (Gen. xxvii. 28) Why does he say, "May the Lord God <sup>f</sup> give to thee of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of earth" <sup>g</sup> ?

He receives the most excellent order <sup>h</sup> of blessings, which, according to the same prophet,<sup>i</sup> the creation of the world had. For he gave first place to heaven, and second to earth, wishing to teach us that it befits the virtuous man <sup>j</sup> to turn toward <sup>k</sup> and acquire heavenly and divine things first, and in the second place, earthly and corruptible things. For the former are the heads and higher parts, and the latter are the bases and lower parts. In man the mind <sup>l</sup> is like

<sup>a</sup> This is a literal rendering of the obscure Arm. clause.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "qui supremus est."

<sup>c</sup> τὸν πνευματικὸν (or ψυχικὸν) ἄγρον.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* paraphrases, "est enim pro integro titulo plenissime dictum, quod siquid benedicatur acceptabile est autori domino universorum, ipsa veritate plenum agrum bonarum virtutum in corde operantis" (*sic*).

<sup>e</sup> *OL* again renders freely, "res autem minus perfectae sunt et fluxidolae quae elongantur a scientia dei."

<sup>f</sup> *OL*, like *LXX* and Heb., has only "God."

<sup>g</sup> *LXX* καὶ δάψη σοι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄνωθεν (Heb. omits "from above") καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πύθης τῆς γῆς. Philo omits the concluding phrase, καὶ πλήθος σίτου καὶ οἴνου, as also in *De Migratione* 101, where he briefly allegorizes this verse in similar fashion.

<sup>h</sup> τάξι.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* Moses. *OL*'s "profectu" is an obvious corruption of "profeta."

<sup>j</sup> τῷ σπουδαίῳ: *OL* "vigilantissimo."

<sup>k</sup> Aucher "morem gerere."

<sup>l</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

heaven, for they are both rational parts, the one of the world, the other of the soul.<sup>a</sup> But sense-perception<sup>b</sup> (is like) the earth, for both are irrational.<sup>c</sup> Fittingly, therefore, does he pray and ask that the progressive man<sup>d</sup> become better in respect of both the rational and irrational (part) by acquiring a "fat" sense-perception and a "dewy" mind. And symbolically<sup>e</sup> "dew" is the divine Logos,<sup>f</sup> which greatly, fittingly, gently and continually brings profit to the sovereign mind.<sup>g</sup> But lavish "fatness" is the abundance of provisioning<sup>h</sup> in accordance with the several senses when they are restrained by continence and temperance.<sup>i</sup> Excellently, moreover,<sup>j</sup> did the ancients say that riches and noble birth<sup>k</sup> and friendships and honours and whatever similar things are external are serviceable to the body,<sup>l</sup> while health and power<sup>m</sup> and keenness of

<sup>a</sup> λογικὸν μέρος ἑκάτερός ἐστιν, ὁ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου, ὁ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ αἴσθησις.

<sup>c</sup> ἄλογοι.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. has the infinitive but the context requires the participle=ὁ προκόπτων. Similarly Aucher renders, "proficiens."

<sup>e</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ θεῖος λόγος.

<sup>g</sup> τῷ ἡγεμόνι νῶ. *OL* alters the order of the preceding sentences and condenses. It also contains a Christian interpolation, "et asserunt ipsum coelum animal esse: unde credo Apollinaristas incarnationis animam negasse, indignam salvatoris existimasse."

<sup>h</sup> χορηγίας: Aucher "officii choragi (vel regiminis)."

<sup>i</sup> ἐγκρατεία καὶ σωφροσύνη: Aucher "sub habena religionis et sobrietatis": *OL* renders inaccurately, "pinguedo vero copiosae sumministrationis sensualitatis secundum continentiam gubernantem."

<sup>j</sup> Text and meaning uncertain: Aucher "quoque": *OL* "etiam."

<sup>k</sup> εὐγένεια: *OL* "parenteles."

<sup>l</sup> *OL*, omitting the last verb and noun, renders, "et alia hujus modi extra corpus esse."

<sup>m</sup> So *OL*, "fortitudinem": Aucher "virtus."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

sense <sup>a</sup> (are serviceable) to the soul, as is the soul to the mind. <sup>b</sup> For the senses are its servants, and the mind is God's. <sup>c</sup> From this it is clear that all things serve God, beginning with that which has the highest position in us, (namely) that allotted to the mind.

216. (Gen. xxvii. 29) Why does he say, "The nations shall serve thee" <sup>d</sup>?

The Law is not an exponent of inequality <sup>e</sup> so as to proclaim servitude to all nations, for it is accustomed to reject also those who have obtained liberty. <sup>f</sup> But it recognizes that it is not profitable for all men to be released and free, <sup>g</sup> for many use this (liberty) unrestrainedly and skittishly, kicking and trampling upon that which is right and useful. <sup>h</sup> For this reason, wishing to bring profit to the multitude, <sup>i</sup> it placed a lord <sup>j</sup> over them as a driver, (namely) the mind, <sup>k</sup> in order that it might rein in that to which it is bound. <sup>l</sup> That is the literal meaning. <sup>m</sup> But as for the allegorical

<sup>a</sup> εὐαίσθησία : Aucher "bonus sensus" : OL "sensibilitatem."

<sup>b</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ τῶ νῶ.

<sup>c</sup> OL "animam ergo mens protegit et sensus mente stipatur."

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ δουλευσάτωσάν σοι ἔθνη.

<sup>e</sup> OL "non sunt iniqua legis instituta."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher "quum libertate quoque praeditos consueverit distinguere," adding in a footnote "vel, ejicere (a libertate)" : OL "cum etiam (v.l. "eo") minimos in libertatem vocare consuevit."

<sup>g</sup> OL "non omnibus utilem esse securitatem."

<sup>h</sup> OL renders unintelligibly, "nec acurentur (v.l. "alterentur") jura per requiem divaricantibus gentibus adversus ea quae expedit."

<sup>i</sup> OL "vitiis," evidently reading πάθει instead of πλήθει.

<sup>j</sup> κύριον.

<sup>k</sup> ὡς ἡνίοχον, τὸν νοῦν : OL "utpote agnatorem (l. "aurigam" ?), ut mentis, etc." (see next note).

<sup>l</sup> τὸ σύνδετον, i.e. the body, cf. Leg. All. iii. 72 et al. OL renders inaccurately, "ut mentis ingenio procax infrenaretur caterva."

<sup>m</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

meaning,<sup>a</sup> this is to be said. There are many nations in the soul, in its various <sup>b</sup> irrational parts,<sup>c</sup> I mean such as anger and desire,<sup>d</sup> for which nothing is so useful as to be ruled by reason, their natural ruler and lord.<sup>e</sup>

217. (Gen. xxvii. 29b) What is the meaning of the words, "Princes shall bow down to thee" <sup>f</sup> ?

He corroborates and extends the argument,<sup>g</sup> for first <sup>h</sup> it subjected commoners <sup>i</sup> to him, and now nobles.<sup>j</sup> And the "princes" are those who preside over and are in charge of heterodox principles,<sup>k</sup> whose concern it is to pride themselves on and glorify whatever is connected with the body and external goods.<sup>l</sup> And they deride and jeeringly mock at discipline, wisdom, continence and endurance <sup>m</sup> and all the other things which preserve the soul <sup>n</sup> without passion and without disease.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ἀλληγορικῶς.

<sup>b</sup> Emending Arm. *erkak'ançiu* "both" to *iurak'ançiu* "each": *OL* "singulis." Aucher follows the Arm. text in rendering "utramque."

<sup>c</sup> τὰ ἄλογα μέρη.

<sup>d</sup> ὀργή καὶ ἐπιθυμία.

<sup>e</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ γνησίου ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν καὶ κυρίου.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι ἄρχοντες (Heb. "peoples").

<sup>g</sup> τὸν λόγον.

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* in the preceding sentence of vs. 29.

<sup>i</sup> *ιδιώτας* (so Philo interprets the Scriptural word "nations"): Aucher "rusticos": *OL* "privatos."

<sup>j</sup> *εὐγενεῖς vel sim.*: Aucher "liberos": *OL* "principes."

<sup>k</sup> *λόγων ἑτεροδόξων*: Aucher "sermonum alienae sententiae": *OL* "sectarum quarundum (*sic*)."

<sup>l</sup> *OL* renders defectively, "quibus sollicitudo est haec curare quae corpori expediunt."

<sup>m</sup> *παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν*: Aucher "disciplinam sapientiam et sobrietatem religiosam": *OL* "industriam, sapientiam, pudicitiam, continentiam, patientiam."

<sup>n</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν.

<sup>o</sup> *OL* has (after "patientiam") merely "et horum similia."

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218. (Gen. xxvii. 29c) What is the meaning of the words, "Be lord of thy brother" <sup>a</sup> ?

He extends (the argument) still farther, gradually coming nearer and going higher. First he mentioned commoners, <sup>b</sup> then princes, and then the nearest kin. <sup>c</sup> But can he who is the teacher of humaneness and domesticity <sup>d</sup> possibly publish this greatest of wrongs in the sacred scriptures, for what could be a greater wrong than for brother to be lorded over by brother? Such a thing it is not right either to think or to say. But, as I said a little earlier, he believes that it is more profitable for the foolish man <sup>e</sup> not to be free but rather to have wisdom as a mistress, <sup>f</sup> in order that in the fashion of a good physician she may expel his fever and cure the passions and diseases in his miserable and unhappy life. <sup>g</sup> But those who are wont to allegorize <sup>h</sup> may say that the brothers are parts of the soul, the rational and irrational <sup>i</sup> and that the rational ranks above and is appointed over and is lord of the irrational by the law of a more righteous nature. <sup>j</sup> And so long as the former rules, the latter is in a good way of life. <sup>k</sup> But if it becomes indignant and withdraws as if from

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ γίνου κύριος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. Philo omits the rest of the sentence καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σε οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου (Heb. "of thy mother").

<sup>b</sup> ἰδιώτας, see above, QG iv. 216, 217.

<sup>c</sup> OL "proximum generis fratrem."

<sup>d</sup> διδάσκαλος φιλανθρωπίας καὶ οἰκειότητος, i.e. Moses.

<sup>e</sup> τὸν ἄφρονα, here symbolized by Esau.

<sup>f</sup> ὡς κυρίαν ἔχειν τὴν σοφίαν. OL renders freely, "dominum studiosum et prudentem virum."

<sup>g</sup> ἐν τῷ ταλαιπῶρῳ καὶ κακοδαίμονι βίῳ αὐτοῦ. OL seems to run this clause into the following sentence, rendering, "qui eum tamquam medicus bonus ut his arceat infirmitates curando reficiat. Caeteras etiam animae anxietates sanare quamvis solent asseverare nonnulli, etc."

<sup>h</sup> ἀλληγορεῖν.

<sup>i</sup> μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ μὲν λογικόν, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον.

<sup>j</sup> OL, construing the Greek differently from the Arm. translator, renders, "per justissimam legis naturam."

<sup>k</sup> OL "melior enim (l. "meliores") statum obtinebit."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

(another's) drunkenness, (the latter) will suffer the evils of anarchy.<sup>a</sup> For what (else) can be expected if the pilot does not steer the ship, or the charioteer does not drive the yoked horses, or the army commander does not lead his army, or the steward does not rule the household, or the statesman <sup>b</sup> the state? Are not these things, therefore, to be deprecated, and should one not prayerfully ask that they may not happen? <sup>c</sup> Of all these the worst and most terrible is anarchy in the soul.<sup>d</sup>

219. (Gen. xxvii. 29d) What is the meaning of the words, "He who curses thee is cursed,<sup>e</sup> and he who blesses is blessed <sup>f</sup> " <sup>g</sup> ?

This expresses a very natural law and opinion,<sup>h</sup> for he who curses the virtuous and wise man <sup>i</sup> first curses himself, while he who praises him similarly praises himself together with him. For, indeed, he who hates good men is himself hated,<sup>j</sup> while he who loves them is at once <sup>k</sup> loved. For (Scripture) does not say that he who curses will incur <sup>l</sup> a curse, and he who blesses (will obtain) blessings but that the former is cursed by himself, and the latter, on the other hand, is praised.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ἀναρχίας. *OL* renders the sentence freely, "porro si indignatur ut populi rebellantis callositas absente magisterio sentiat poenas seiores." <sup>b</sup> ὁ οἰκονομικός . . . ὁ πολιτικός.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* omits this clause.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* "quorum omnium peior est anima sine rectore."

<sup>e</sup> *OL* "maledictus erit."

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "benedictionibus repleatur."

<sup>g</sup> *LXX* ὁ καταρώμενός σε ἐπικατάρατος, ὁ δὲ εὐλογῶν σε εὐλογημένος (Heb. has the subjects in the plural, the predicates in the singular number).

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "naturale arbitrium promit."

<sup>i</sup> τὸν ἀστέϊον (or σπουδαῖον) καὶ σοφόν: *OL* "prudentem."

<sup>j</sup> *OL* reads differently "revera enim laus est benivolis quod ab odiosis odiuntur."

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "semper."

<sup>l</sup> *OL* "meretur."

<sup>m</sup> *OL* "sed quod is semel maledictus est, ut est alter similiter laudabilis."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

220. (Gen. xxvii. 30) What is the meaning of the words, "When Jacob went out from the presence <sup>a</sup> of his father, Esau his brother came " <sup>b</sup> ?

The literal text <sup>c</sup> admits no doubt or ambiguity, for it is very significant <sup>d</sup> and very apt. <sup>e</sup> For when one (of two) contraries goes out, the other follows it in. What I mean is something like this. <sup>f</sup> When poverty and ignominy go out, riches and honour follow them in. And when suffering and infirmity go away, health and strength come in after them. And in the same way, when continence and reason <sup>g</sup> go away, which have subjugated and driven out the passions by their attack, <sup>h</sup> there follows them unrestraint, (which is) both the seducer and protagonist of the passions. <sup>i</sup> And not distant or long is the interval which separates them but, as (Scripture) itself says, "while <sup>j</sup> he went out," (that is) after a certain (small) portion of time. <sup>k</sup> For the good and the bad are related to each other as contraries

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "face."

<sup>b</sup> Philo abbreviates LXX, which reads *καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ παύσασθαι Ἰσαὰκ εὐλογοῦντα τὸν Ἰακώβ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ* (Heb. omits "his son"), *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς (v.l. ὅσον, see below) ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακώβ ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἡσαὺ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας αὐτοῦ*. In his brief comment on this verse in *De Ebrietate* 9 Philo uses slightly different wording, *ἐγένετο ὅσον ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακώβ, ἦκεν Ἡσαὺ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ*.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher, choosing the alternative meaning of Arm. *nšanakān*, which renders both *σημαντικός* and *συμβολικός*, translates, "valde manifesta per symbolum."

<sup>e</sup> OL "auspicia naturalissima et aptissimi tituli dicentur."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher "exempli gratia": OL "ut puta."

<sup>g</sup> *ἐγκρατείας καὶ λόγου*: OL "continentiae verbo."

<sup>h</sup> OL condenses, "excervicante contumaces."

<sup>i</sup> OL "vitiurum intemperantia decurrit cum suo defensore et propugnatore."

<sup>j</sup> Here Philo read *ὅσον* in the LXX (see above, note *b*), as in *De Ebrietate* 9.

<sup>k</sup> OL "sed ad quantum duxerit momentum quantum exierit."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

by mutual observance,<sup>a</sup> just as one (runner) strives to meet the next one at the starting-point.<sup>b</sup> For not even for a little while is the soul deserted <sup>c</sup> nor does it remain altogether empty even for a short time.<sup>d</sup> For the soul is a place of necessity <sup>e</sup> and is always filled with contraries and is densely <sup>f</sup> occupied by inhabitants.<sup>g</sup>

221. (Gen. xxvii. 31a) What is the meaning of the words, "He too prepared food and brought it to his father" <sup>h</sup> ?

Do you see that the divine oracle <sup>i</sup> testifies for Jacob, saying <sup>j</sup> that he prepared food such as his father loved ? Not so in the case of this one,<sup>k</sup> but it remains silent about a name being pleasing.<sup>l</sup> And may this not be right ? <sup>m</sup> For even though wicked men contrive to do things similar and equal to those done by virtuous men,<sup>n</sup> they are none the less deserving of hatred because they do them with

<sup>a</sup> *OL* "tantum ad invicem sibi praestolatur arte quadam observatissima."

<sup>b</sup> τῶ ἀφετηρίῳ, *i.e.* in a relay race : Aucher "quasi vero ex loco cursus in hippodromo se invicem obviassent." *OL* omits the clause.

<sup>c</sup> ἔρημος (rendered by two Arm. adjectives) ἢ ψυχῆ.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* renders the sentence more briefly, "ne punctum temporis cessant animae vacuitatem relinquere."

<sup>e</sup> τόπος ἀνάγκης (rendered by two Arm. nouns).

<sup>f</sup> πυκνῶς (rendered by two Arm. adverbs).

<sup>g</sup> *OL* renders the sentence obscurely, "necesse enim capacem contrarietatem plenam esse supervenientium habitaturum" (*l.* "haborum").

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ ἐποίησεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδέσματα καὶ προσήνεγκεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>i</sup> ὁ θεῖος χρησμός.

<sup>j</sup> See Rebekah's speech in Gen. xxvii. 9 (*cf.* *QG* iv. 200).

<sup>k</sup> *i.e.* Esau.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "sed tacetur nomen complacentiae" : *OL* "licet siletur de nomine placentis." Whatever the original, it must have meant that nothing was said (in Scripture) about Esau's food being pleasing to Isaac.

<sup>m</sup> *OL* omits this question.

<sup>n</sup> τῶν σπονδαίων.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

impure minds.<sup>a</sup> For who does not know that sophists do the same things as wise men,<sup>b</sup> and perhaps still more effectively, since they are trained and exercised in words.<sup>c</sup> But their (speech) seems contrary and opposed (to that of the wise) and unmelodious and loathsome. And no grace blossoms over them because of the interpreters' indiscipline in character and way of life.<sup>d</sup> But acceptable and pleasant and sweet, as though flowing from a sweet spring, (are the words proceeding) from integrity.<sup>e</sup>

222. (Gen. xxvii. 31b) Why does he say, "Let my father arise and eat of the venison of his son" <sup>f</sup>?

Dissimilar are the forms of address <sup>g</sup> of this (son) and of the former one.<sup>h</sup> For the latter, on entering, properly called (Isaac) by his right name, saying, "Father,"<sup>i</sup> but this one says unfamiliarly <sup>i</sup> and savagely, as though from one (stranger) to another, "Let my father arise and eat." Wherefore unwillingly, being compelled by natural necessity,<sup>j</sup> he utters the truth that the virtuous and wise son had placed the food before the venison of the foolish and stupid son.<sup>k</sup> For that which had been caught as game would perhaps become tame, but that which had been set

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "non ex mundis moribus": *OL* "non puro consilio."

<sup>b</sup> σοφισταί . . . σοφοῖς: *OL* "commentatores velle sapientium similes titulos prosequi."

<sup>c</sup> λόγοις: *OL* "verborum arte."

<sup>d</sup> τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν ἤθεσι καὶ βίῳ.

<sup>e</sup> ἐκ καλοκάγαθίας.

<sup>f</sup> LXX Ἀναστήτω ὁ πατήρ μου καὶ φαγέτω τῆς θήρας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. Philo does not comment on the rest of the verse, ὅπως εὐλογήσῃ με ἢ ψυχὴ σου.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "vociferationes": *OL* "sententia."

<sup>h</sup> i.e. of Jacob who had appeared earlier.

<sup>i</sup> ἀνοικείως.

<sup>j</sup> φυσικῇ ἀνάγκῃ.

<sup>k</sup> The meaning is not altogether clear. Aucher renders, "quod insipientis filii venatum sapiens ille proponit in cibum": *OL* has only "quoniam copiosam filii venationem."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

free and made subject to savage and bestial passion would be incurable.<sup>a</sup>

223. (Gen. xxvii. 32a) Why, when Isaac asks, "Who art thou?"<sup>b</sup> does he not add,<sup>c</sup> "Son," as he had said to the former one?<sup>d</sup>

These are the pleasant and desirable spices with which the wonderful Logos<sup>e</sup> spices holy and divine Scripture.<sup>f</sup> And it confutes and confounds the foolish man, since he is alien in character and is unable to show any kinship<sup>g</sup> to or any part of that which is worthy of zeal and virtue.<sup>h</sup>

224. (Gen. xxvii. 32b-33a) Why, when Esau said, "I am thy first-born son," did his father start up with a very great withdrawal<sup>i</sup>?

By adding the "very" (Scripture) shows the pitiable wretchedness of him from whom (Isaac) removed himself

<sup>a</sup> *OL* renders defectively, "scilicet mansuetorum, alioquin gurgite ferocitatis detento, insanabilis languor proveniet."

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰσαὰκ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, Τίς εἶ σύ;

<sup>c</sup> *OL* "unum (l. "non"?) adjecit."

<sup>d</sup> i.e. to Jacob, in Gen. xxvii. 20-21 (cf. *QG* iv. 207, 209).

<sup>e</sup> ὁ θαυμάσιος λόγος.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* renders the sentence more freely, "hae sunt suavitates quas divina scriptura condere dignatur, divino sermone temperatus."

<sup>g</sup> συγγένειαν.

<sup>h</sup> σπουδῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς. *OL* renders the sentence freely, "corripit enim et tacere monet insipientem alienantem se a recta sententia, nullo liberalitatis indicio institutorum nec aliquo digno sobrietatis titulo."

<sup>i</sup> *OL* "excessu (l. "excessu") mentis detentus est pater valde vehementer" (see next note).

<sup>j</sup> LXX ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ υἱός σου ὁ πρωτότοκος Ἡσαῦ. ἐξέστη δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἑκστασιν μεγάλην σφόδρα (Heb. "was fearful with a great fear": Arm. O.T. "was astonished with very great astonishment").

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and made an additional withdrawal,<sup>a</sup> for he was insolent and disobedient. In the first place, he dared to present himself as a son although, as a wicked man, he was not to be reckoned in the rank of an attendant servant.<sup>b</sup> And in the second place, (he called himself) "first-born son," although a little while before the wretch had sold his birth-right for a little sensual pleasure.<sup>c</sup> "For," he says, "these two things will properly be decreed and assigned only to the former one,<sup>d</sup> (namely) that he should be called by both names, that of 'son' and that of 'first-born,' as one who has been marked by distinction.<sup>e</sup> But to thee shall leave and authority not be given to say similar and identical things in arrogance, pride and insolence, for thou art <sup>f</sup> false to the truth."<sup>g</sup>

225. (Gen. xxvii. 33b) What is the meaning of the words, "I ate of all before thou camest" <sup>h</sup>?

The literal meaning <sup>i</sup> is apparent. But as for the deeper

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders differently, "nimiam cum commiseratione miseriam indicat ejus, a quo recessionem perfectae renuntiationis facit": *OL* "incremento sermonis extenso, lectio notum fecit quod ultra modum compunctus erat. Indignatur namque, etc."

<sup>b</sup> *OL* "ne quidem famuli ordinem promerendo."

<sup>c</sup> ἡδονῆς.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. Jacob.

<sup>e</sup> Or "choice"—Arm. *antrout'iun* = διαίρεσις and ἐκλογή: Aucher "probitate (vel electione)": *OL* renders the sentence defectively, "haec utraque sancire libet (v.l. "licebit") prophetam secundum merita pignorum, quaeritentem quantum et filius et primogenitus probaretur."

<sup>f</sup> Variant "they are."

<sup>g</sup> *OL* condenses the sentence, "alter vero ne permittitur similia postulare, pro petulantia et superbia sauciente veritatem."

<sup>h</sup> Philo abbreviates vs. 33b, which reads καὶ εἶπεν, Τίς οὖν ὁ θηρεύσας μοι θήραν καὶ εἰσενέγκας μοι, καὶ ἔφαγον ἀπὸ πάντων πρὸ τοῦ σε εἰσελθεῖν. The rest of the verse is quoted in the following section. Philo quotes the entire verse in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 251 without allegorical comment.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

meaning,<sup>a</sup> the soul of the virtuous man<sup>b</sup> enjoys all good things before there enters it the thought which is alienated from virtue.<sup>c</sup> For this, when it follows and comes in, is like a drunken ribald fellow<sup>d</sup> who upsets and disturbs a well-behaved and orderly gathering of drinkers of wine.<sup>e</sup>

226. (Gen. xxvii. 33c) What is the meaning of the words, "I blessed him, and he shall be blessed" <sup>f</sup>?

That "he who performs what lies before him<sup>g</sup> carries off that which lies in the future" is properly and appropriately<sup>h</sup> said concerning that which is now taking place.<sup>i</sup> For one<sup>j</sup> is undisciplined and untamed and is slow and hesitant toward all that is right and good.<sup>k</sup> But the other, having all discipline<sup>l</sup> in himself, is zealous and keen, and considers it a disgrace when someone makes more progress<sup>m</sup> than he himself. Wherefore he further seals this (attitude) and confirms the blessing for him, being vexed and displeased by the appearance of the unlearned man.<sup>n</sup> Such

<sup>a</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ τοῦ σπουδαίου ψυχῆ.

<sup>c</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>d</sup> εὐτράπελος vel sim.

<sup>e</sup> *OL* "vice vinolenti praeconis placidum scholae convivium conturbat."

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ἠὐλόγησα αὐτόν, καὶ εὐλογημένος ἔστω (v.l. ἔσται).

<sup>g</sup> τὸ προκείμενον vid.

<sup>h</sup> κυρίως.

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. sentence is obscure, as Aucher remarks in a footnote to his rendering, "*qui jam opus peragit futuri praesefert perfectionem, vere proprie dictum est de nunc factis*": *OL* "sic proverbium cujusdam legimus dicentis, Qui antecessu egerit venturi praemia portando habet (v.l. "abit"). Hic proprie dicitur de his qui modo consistunt."

<sup>j</sup> Of the two brothers, i.e. Esau.

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "inertissimus enim ille per omnia justa et optima procrastinando, et tardus et hebes revelatur."

<sup>l</sup> παιδείαν.

<sup>m</sup> προκόπτειν.

<sup>n</sup> τοῦ ἀμαθοῦς. *OL* renders differently, "cujus gratia confirmat benedictiones ejus adversus praesumptionem inertis, spernendo difficultatem."

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is the way things are wont to be. For so long as nothing terrible or evil has crept in, whether as deed or word, the mind <sup>a</sup> enjoys a blessing first of all and sets forth on the open royal highway. <sup>b</sup> But when some (evil) <sup>c</sup> comes along into it, the entire soul <sup>d</sup> is moved and upset and agitated, and its evil-hating passion <sup>e</sup> swells up, <sup>f</sup> so that, as though in envy, it further opposes benevolence in a firmer state of mind which thereafter remains the same. <sup>g</sup>

\*227. (Gen. xxvii. 34) Why, when Esau heard (this), did he cry out in a loud voice and very bitterly, and say, " Bless me also, father " <sup>h</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>i</sup> is somewhat as follows. He is vexed and grieved <sup>j</sup> not so much because he failed to obtain the blessings as because his brother was thought worthy

<sup>a</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν λεωφόρον ὁδόν. *OL* renders the latter part of the sentence somewhat differently, " procedentibus benedictionibus paratur spaciosissima via ad proficiscendum."

<sup>c</sup> The context requires " evil " or the like to be supplied, as Aucher does : *OL* " eo tamen molestante."

<sup>d</sup> ψυχῆ : Aucher " animus " : *OL* " anima."

<sup>e</sup> τὸ μισοπύνηρον αὐτῆς πάθος.

<sup>f</sup> Syntax and meaning not clear. Aucher renders less literally, " et affectus ejus infensus contra malum intumens indignatur." *OL* has merely " pro odio malignitatis."

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. is very obscure. Aucher renders, " quasi vero prae invidia contrarium se objiciat benevolentiae suae ex illa comprobatione fortiori quae et deinceps in illo statu permanet " : *OL* " lacessitur etiam zelo plus exhortante justitia ad benedicendum pro infirmiori (*v.l.* " firmiori ") arbitrio ut etiam in futuro ibidem ordo perseveret."

<sup>h</sup> LXX ἐγένετο δὲ ἤνικα ἤκουσεν Ἡσαὺ τὰ ῥήματα Ἰσαὰκ (*v.l.* and Heb. omit " Isaac ") τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀνεβόησεν Ἡσαὺ φωνὴν μεγάλην καὶ πικρὰν σφόδρα καὶ εἶπεν, Εὐλόγησον δὴ καμέ, πάτερ.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> The Greek fragments (see next note) have only one verb.

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(of them).<sup>a</sup> For he was envious and jealous,<sup>b</sup> and thought that the other's loss was of more concern and interest than his own profit.<sup>c</sup> For this is shown by his crying "aloud and bitterly" and his saying further, "Bless me also."<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> he is ignorant and wanders to and fro and is treacherous and self-contradictory and quarrelsome in deeds,<sup>f</sup> thoughts and words.<sup>g</sup> And so you see that at one and the same time he desires a blessing and is envious. And at the same time he confirms for him whom he envies the prophecy of the blessing.<sup>h</sup> For he who says "Bless also me" grants that the prayed-for blessing had rightly been given to the other. For that which confesses something in word but does not admit it in deed is a character-trait<sup>i</sup> rather than a man.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Greek fragments (from Procopius, *Catena Regia Inedita 1825 et al.*) read almost identically οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ μῆ τυχεῖν (*v.l.* adds φασί) τῶν εὐλογιῶν οὕτω δυσχεραίνει ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῶν (*v.l.* αὐτοῦ) ἀξιοθῆναι. *OL* reads defectively "pro nec dum impetrata benedictione aspernatur pro dignis fratri meritis."

<sup>b</sup> The Greek fragments have only one adjective (see next note).

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek fragments, βασκανὸς γὰρ ὢν ἐπιμελέστερον προκρίνει (*v.l.* ἐπιμελεστέραν κρίνει) τῆς ἰδίας ὠφελείας τὴν ἐκείνου ζημίαν. *OL* renders inaccurately, "ut pote enim fascinator curatissimam iudicat plus suam utilitatem pro alterius detrimento."

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek fragments (which end with this sentence), ταῦτα γὰρ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τοῦ μέγα καὶ πικρὸν ἐκβοῆσαι (*v.l.* ἀνοιμῶξαι) καὶ ἐπιλέγειν, "Εὐλόγησον δὲ (*v.l.* δὴ) καμέ, πάτερ": *OL* "adeo magna et amara exclamatio innotuit, eo dicente: Benedic utique etiam me pater."<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> Reading, with Aucher, Arm. *gorcovk'* instead of *grovk'* (= "writings"): so too *OL* (see next note).

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "dicetur et altero sensu versutia inducti ex utroque dolosa et sibimet adversa in negociis, sentiis, verbis."

<sup>h</sup> Exact meaning of the last two nouns is uncertain. Aucher renders, "confirmat orationem voto factam": *OL* "in viso confirmat vota."<sup>i</sup> τρόπος *vel sim.*

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* Esau is here the symbol of an attitude rather than an

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\*228. (Gen. xxvii. 35) Why does he reply in this way, "Thy brother coming with deceit received thy blessing" <sup>a</sup>?

Now if he received it through deceit, perhaps someone may say that he is not praiseworthy; how, then, can he <sup>b</sup> also say, "He shall be blessed" <sup>c</sup>? But he seems to indicate by these statements that not every deceit is blameworthy. <sup>d</sup> Thus it is that night-watchers are unable to seize and overcome robbers without deceit, and army commanders (to defeat) the enemy in war; but by ambushing them they seem to achieve their end. <sup>e</sup> And those (acts) which are called stratagems have a similar principle, and so do the contests of athletes, for in these deceit and trickery are considered honourable, and those who by trickery overcome their adversaries are thought worthy of prizes and wreaths. <sup>f</sup> So that no falsehood and blame <sup>g</sup> attach to "with deceit" but rather praise, as it is equi-

historical person. *OL* renders unintelligibly, "quae tamen ore tantummodo confitetur, rem autem ipsam sine compromisso subscripsit suis moribus satisfaciens."

<sup>a</sup> *LXX* εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ, Ἐλθὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου μετὰ δόλου ἔλαβεν τὴν εὐλογίαν σου. Heb. reads less ambiguously "Thy brother came with deceit and received thy blessing."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Isaac. Procopius has πῶς οὖν ἐπιφέρεις.

<sup>c</sup> See *QG* iv. 226 on Gen. xxvii 33c.

<sup>d</sup> So *Cat. Reg. Ined.* 1825, ἀλλ' ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος ὅτι οὐ πᾶς δόλος ὑπαίτιός ἐστιν. Procopius reads more briefly αἰνίττεται τοίνυν ὡς οὐ πᾶς δόλος ὑπαίτιος.

<sup>e</sup> Similarly *Cat. Reg. Ined.*, ἐπεὶ καὶ ληστὰς νυκτοφύλακες καὶ πολεμίους στρατηγοί, οὓς ἀδόλως συλλαβεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐνδρεύοντες κατορθοῦν δοκοῦσι. Aucher divides the Arm. sentences wrongly.

<sup>f</sup> So *Cat. Reg. Ined.*, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα στρατηγήματα τοιοῦτον λόγον ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀγωνίσματα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἢ ἀπάτη γενόμενοι τίμιον καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπάτης περιγεγόμενοι τῶν ἀντιπάλων, βραβεῖων ἀξιοῦνται καὶ στεφάνων. Procopius reads more briefly τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα στρατηγήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὁμοίως οἱ μετὰ δόλου νικῶντες θαυμάζονται στεφανούμενοι.

<sup>g</sup> The two Arm. nouns probably reflect the single Greek noun διαβολή, as in *Cat. Reg. Ined.* (see next note).



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valent to "with art," for the virtuous man does nothing without art.<sup>a</sup>

229. (Gen. xxvii. 36) What is the meaning of what Esau says, "Rightly is his name called Jacob, for he has tripped me now for the second time. My birthright he took, and now he has taken my blessings"<sup>b</sup>?

Although he believes himself to be speaking the truth about both instances, he falsifies. For he<sup>c</sup> did not "take" either the one thing or the other<sup>d</sup> but kept hold<sup>e</sup> of both, (namely) the birthright and the blessing. For these are the private inheritance<sup>f</sup> of the continent<sup>g</sup> and disciplined man and of him who makes progress.<sup>h</sup> And if some foolish or stupid man seizes these for himself for the sake of appearing to be good and being thought (so) by the multitude, none the less, as though they belonged to another, does he either willingly reject them or else unwillingly disdain them.<sup>i</sup> Thus this is not false.<sup>j</sup> But what is added is

<sup>a</sup> Cat. Reg. Ined. ὥστε οὐ διαβολὴ τὸ "μετὰ δόλου" ἀλλ' ἐγκώμιον ἰσοδυναμοῦν τῷ "μετὰ τέχνης." οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀτέχνως πράττει ὁ σπουδαῖος. Procopius reads more briefly οἷς ἰσοδυναμεῖ τὸ "μετὰ δόλου" τῷ "μετὰ τέχνης." οὐδὲν δὲ ἀτέχνως ὁ σπουδαῖος ποιεῖ.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ εἶπεν, Δικαίως ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ· ἐπτέρνικεν (Heb. *way-ga'q'ebēnī*, with a play on the name *Ya'aqōb*) γὰρ με ἤδη δεύτερον τοῦτο· τὰ τε πρωτοκεῖά μου εἴληφεν, καὶ νῦν εἴληφεν τὴν εὐλογίαν μου. In *Leg. Al.* iii. 191 Philo quotes the verse with a slight variation, reading τότε τὰ for τοῦτο· τὰ τε. His interpretation there is, in general, similar to that given here. <sup>c</sup> i.e. Jacob.

<sup>d</sup> OL "nihil enim tulit."

<sup>e</sup> The exact meaning of the Arm. compound verbal form *i bac ehan* is not clear: Aucher "retinuit": OL "recepit."

<sup>f</sup> ἢ ἰδία κληρονομία: OL "propriae sortes."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "religiosi."

<sup>h</sup> OL "certatoris jam et successibus meliorato (sic)."

<sup>i</sup> The text is obscure. OL renders, "nihilominus ut alienam aut ultro spernit aut invitus soluit."

<sup>j</sup> The text may be corrupt. OL renders, "et haec quidem nam (l. "non"?) mendose" (l. "mendosa").

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wholly false and a lie, (namely) when he says, "And now he has taken my blessing." To this one might rightly reply,<sup>a</sup> "Not *thy* blessing, fellow,<sup>b</sup> has he taken, but one which is suitable to him. For the blessing (given) to thee takes its origin from the earth, but that (given) to him, from heaven. And thou wast inscribed among the slaves, he among the masters.<sup>c</sup> And thy hope is the sword and war, while to him peace is beloved, and (also) the hope of making peace.<sup>d</sup> Since, then, there are such great differences and distinctions between (you), how didst thou dare to say that he took thy blessing?—he who did not take any part of that which is his own."<sup>e</sup>

230. (Gen. xxvii. 36b-37) Why, when asked, "Why did not so great a blessing remain for me?," did the father reply,<sup>f</sup> "If<sup>g</sup> I made him thy lord and I made all his brothers servants, I supported him with threshed grain and trees.<sup>h</sup> But for thee, who hast angered me,<sup>i</sup> what shall I do, O son?"<sup>j</sup>

Virtually<sup>k</sup> he says, "Not one of the hoped for things

<sup>a</sup> *OL* "ego respondebo."

<sup>b</sup> ὁ οὗτος, as in the rough parallel, *Leg. All.* iii. 192.

<sup>c</sup> δούλοις . . . δεσπόταις.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "peace-making hope." *OL* renders, "spes vero pacis merito funditur."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "qui nullam illiusmodi tui partem accepit": *OL* "cujus nulla portio tibi competit."

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "non dereliquisti mihi benedictionem pater? Respondit," etc. See LXX below.

<sup>g</sup> See below on LXX.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "frumento et vino," so LXX, see below.

<sup>i</sup> This relative clause is lacking in *OL* and Scripture.

<sup>j</sup> LXX καὶ εἶπεν Ἡσαὺ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, Οὐχ ὑπελείπου μοι εὐλογίαν πάτερ; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰσαὰκ εἶπεν τῷ Ἡσαὺ, Εἰ (Heb. *hen* here = "behold" rather than "if") κύριον αὐτὸν ἐποίησα σου, καὶ πάντα τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ ἐποίησα αὐτοῦ (v.l. αὐτῶ) οἰκέτας, σίτω καὶ οἴνω ἐστήρισα αὐτόν· σοὶ δὲ τί ποιήσω, τέκνον;

<sup>k</sup> δυνάμει: *OL* "in ipsa substantia": Aucher "virtute (*sive*, in intellectu)."

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which it is now right for the good man to put away and acquire as his own property <sup>a</sup> have I left for thee." <sup>b</sup> For by nature <sup>c</sup> the good man is a ruler and lord and rich, while the foolish man is poor and a servant and beggar. But it is proper to examine and inquire what men he speaks of as being brothers of Jacob, for there was (only) one, and he a twin. But he seems to invite us to an allegory, <sup>d</sup> and almost openly invites us. For the present passage is not about men but about types of soul, <sup>e</sup> which consist of several irrational parts <sup>f</sup> (such as) sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch, and desires and sensual pleasures and fear and grief. <sup>g</sup> For the passions <sup>h</sup> are kin and brothers of the soul. But when he calls him "son," he does not testify to his genetic descent as a son <sup>i</sup> but to the silliness of a child.

231. (Gen. xxvii. 38) Why does he say, "Is there one blessing (left) to thee, father? Bless me too, father" <sup>j</sup>?

Even the perfectly untamed and undisciplined man <sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ἴδιον.

<sup>b</sup> Syntax and meaning not wholly clear. Aucher renders somewhat differently, "nec unum ex votis orationis, quae conveniebat (tibi) nunc colligere et acquirere ut bonum proprium (in footnote he adds, "sed forte etiam bono"), reservavi tibi." *OL* reads unintelligibly "nullum votorum titulum quem dignum est carpere vere bonum pater nisi (v.l. "nisi") enim tibi." <sup>c</sup> φύσει.

<sup>d</sup> ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν παρακαλεῖν, cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 157.

<sup>e</sup> περὶ τρόπων (vel sim.) ψυχῶν: Aucher "de symbolis animarum": *OL* "de moribus animae."

<sup>f</sup> ἀλόγων μερῶν: *OL* "per partes animae."

<sup>g</sup> ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν καὶ φόβον καὶ λύπης. <sup>h</sup> τὰ πάθη.

<sup>i</sup> *OL* "non ut filio testimonium parentelae perhibeat."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher brackets the word for "father" in the second sentence, which is missing in *OL* as well. In *De Mut. Nom.* 230 Philo differs slightly from LXX in quoting the verse as Μη εὐλογία σοι μία (LXX μία σοι) ἐστὶ, πάτερ; εὐλόγησον (LXX + δὴ) καμέ, πάτερ.

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "maximus inertiarum cultor": Aucher "perquam ineruditus."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

knows that the sources of divine grace are abundant <sup>a</sup> and that the mind and thoughts <sup>b</sup> of the virtuous man <sup>c</sup> overflow with good like a source. For this reason he is condemned <sup>d</sup> even more (severely) because in spite of seeing that which is praiseworthy, he welcomes, chooses and accepts for himself that which is blameworthy and reprehensible. <sup>e</sup> For pardon is (to be granted) to a blind person who stumbles <sup>f</sup> and falls over something, but one would rightly condemn a keen-sighted man who does not avoid or keep away from or watch out for paths that are slippery or, to speak more properly, <sup>g</sup> untrodden paths. <sup>h</sup> But another thing must be said, <sup>i</sup> (namely) that there is one blessing and there are also many—one in genus and many in species, <sup>j</sup> in accordance with differences of circumstances. <sup>k</sup>

232. (Gen. xxvii. 38) What is the meaning of the words, "And Isaac was dismayed, and Esau cried out in a loud <sup>l</sup> voice and wept" <sup>m</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> τῶν θείων χαρίτων ἄφθονοί εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί.

<sup>b</sup> The Arn. lit. = νοῦς (or διάνοια) λογισμῶν.

<sup>c</sup> τοῦ σπουδαίου or ἀστείου: Aucher "sapientis": OL "prudens."

<sup>d</sup> κατακρίνεται: OL "efficitur conditionalis."

<sup>e</sup> OL renders defectively, "quoniam videndo laudabilia, amabilia, vituperabilia."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher, less accurately, "periclitanti": OL "offendenti."

<sup>g</sup> κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν.

<sup>h</sup> OL condenses greatly, "tanti autem acuminis virum reprehendat quivis merito pro lapsis."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "porro alias dicendum erit": OL "proprie tamen interpretatur" (v.l. "interfatur").

<sup>j</sup> γένει μὲν . . . εἶδει δέ: OL "secundum genus . . . secundum species."

<sup>k</sup> κατὰ τὰς τῶν συμβεβηκότων διαφορὰς vel sim.: Aucher "juxta illorum diversitatem qui (sic) eam consequuntur": OL "pro differentia interponendorum." <sup>l</sup> OL omits "loud."

<sup>m</sup> Most LXX MSS. lack this sentence but a few read κατανυχθέντος δὲ Ἰσαάκ, ἀνεβόησεν φωνήν (v.l. φωνῇ μεγάλῃ) Ἠσαὺ καὶ ἔκλαυσεν. Heb. has only "And Esau lifted up his voice and wept."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

He was dismayed <sup>a</sup> not because of his old age, for he lived thereafter over fifty years more, but because the untamed and undisciplined man possessed an understanding <sup>b</sup> of good and worthy thoughts <sup>c</sup> but made the opposite use of them. <sup>d</sup> And that he assumed some appearance of virtue <sup>e</sup> is clearly attested by the fact that he desired a blessing <sup>f</sup> —not from someone or other but from a man beloved of God. <sup>g</sup> And that he knew the wealth of blessings to be abundant (is clear) from his saying, <sup>h</sup> “Is there one blessing (left) to thee, father?” And so, when the wise man <sup>i</sup> sees that the untaught man receives nothing more <sup>j</sup> of all these after so many things have happened, <sup>k</sup> he is, as it were, wounded and grieved at (the other’s) indiscipline of character. <sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher, choosing another meaning of Arm. *zljānam*, renders, “poenituit se”: *OL* “compunctum.”

<sup>b</sup> Prob. *διάνοιαν*.

<sup>c</sup> *λογισμῶν*.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, “ut ineruditus repispiscens bonum aggrediretur consilium et in usum utilem verteret contraria,” adding in a footnote “*vel, fortasse melius ita: propterea quod ineruditus habens intellectionem bonorum usurpabat contraria*”: *OL* “quod tam inertissimus novit optimarum rerum merita, utitur autem illis in adversis.”

<sup>e</sup> Arm. lit. = *ἀρετῶν*: Aucher less literally renders, “sapientis”: *OL* “meliorum.”

<sup>f</sup> Arm. *alot* = both *εὐχῆ* (*vel sim.*) and *εὐλογία*: Aucher “benedictionem”: *OL* “optibilia.”

<sup>g</sup> Or “loving God”—Arm. *astouacasēr* = both *θεοφιλῆς* and *φιλόθεος*: Aucher “viro Deum amantissimo (*sic*)”: *OL* “vero (*l.* “viro”) amabili deo.”

<sup>h</sup> *OL* “scit bene nunc adventibilem esse thesaurum, dicendo.”

<sup>i</sup> The Arm. = *ὁ ἀστεῖος (καὶ) σοφός*: *OL* “strenuus,” see *QG* iv. 233 for a different *OL* rendering of presumably the same Greek original. <sup>j</sup> One ms. omits “more.”

<sup>k</sup> *OL* “inductum (*v.l.* “indutum”: *l.* “indoctum”) haec omnia prosequentem et in nullo prudentiarum conspirantem.”

<sup>l</sup> *δι’ ἀπαιδευσίαν τρόπων* (or *ἡθῶν*): Aucher renders more freely, “cruciaturo animo ob ejus voluntariam ineruditionem”: *OL* “sauciaturo non leviter pro spontanea ejus imprudentia” (*OL* here adds several lines of comment on various Scriptural meanings of “compunctum”).

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

233. (Gen. xxvii. 39) Why, after Esau cried aloud and wept, did his father begin to bless him ?

Perhaps someone may say that seeing his tears, (his father) was moved to pity.<sup>a</sup> But whoever says this is in error. For the wise man<sup>b</sup> feels pity for all<sup>c</sup> but prays (only) for the deserving. For the deserving are the unfortunate, and not those who do themselves a wrong.<sup>d</sup> And so, it was not pity that aroused<sup>e</sup> the invoker of blessings<sup>f</sup> but the belief in (the other's) repentance (and turning) toward the better.<sup>g</sup> For he saw him weeping and shedding tears, and he believed, as was natural, that he was groaning and lamenting and bewailing his own unhappy life<sup>h</sup> and his indecent ways. Similar to this was the way in which (God) had pity on those whose souls were afflicted in Egypt —(namely, those of) Israel, a name (meaning) "one who sees."<sup>i</sup> And by groaning and lamenting and crying aloud with his voice no more than in his thoughts,<sup>j</sup> he attained

<sup>a</sup> *OL* amplifies in rendering, "lachrymas intuentem animam passum pio dolore patrem pro filio."

<sup>b</sup> Here, as in the preceding section, the Arm. = ὁ ἀσπείτος (καὶ) σοφός: *OL* "prudens." <sup>c</sup> *OL* omits "for all."

<sup>d</sup> *OL* renders more freely, "digni sunt miseri vel infelices, non superbi vel facinorosi."

<sup>e</sup> *OL* "novit," an obvious scribal error for "movit."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "the one praying" or "the suppliant": Aucher "orantem": *OL* "obtuentem" (*l.* "optantem"?).

<sup>g</sup> μετάνοιαν πρὸς τὰ κρείττονα.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "pro suavitate infelicissima, felicitate." Here "suavitate" is an obvious scribal error for "sua vita" but the origin of "felicitate" is not clear. *OL* lacks the final phrase.

<sup>i</sup> The etymology of the name "Israel" as "one who sees (God)" is frequently given by Philo, but the syntax and meaning of this sentence are far from clear. Aucher, who comments in a footnote on its obscurity, renders, "huic similiter et in Aegypto cruciante animum suum ille qui naturae videns nomine Israel supplex erat": *OL* "simile hujus patitur deprimentia Aegypti anima, et Israel mentis intuitu stibrium (*sic*)."

<sup>j</sup> *OL* "non regibili voce sed intelligibili."

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

to the salvation <sup>a</sup> of God, Who calls distress in difficult matters <sup>b</sup> “appeal” and “invocation” and “petition.” <sup>c</sup> For He makes allowances, as is necessary for benevolence, and is indulgent to those who complain.<sup>d</sup>

234. (Gen. xxvii. 39) Why does he begin the blessing as follows, “Behold, from the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling, and from the dews of heaven from above” <sup>e</sup> ?

Do you see that it is by one who considers earthly things superior to heavenly things that such a mode (of speech) is introduced ? <sup>f</sup> But let all thanks be given to a gracious and beneficent one <sup>g</sup> who does not permit the mind <sup>h</sup> to be emptied and bereft of an excellent and most divine form <sup>i</sup> when it descends into an earthly body and is burned by the necessities and flames of desire,<sup>j</sup> for these are a true Tartarus,<sup>k</sup> but he permits it to spread its wings <sup>l</sup> sometimes and to behold heaven above and to taste (*sic*) of that sight.<sup>m</sup> For there are some who through gluttony, lechery

<sup>a</sup> σωτηρίαν.

<sup>b</sup> The whole phrase prob. = στενοχωρίαν.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders this obscure clause similarly, “qui angustias rerum appellationem et preces vocat.” *OL* renders differently, “qui oportunas obsecrationes tacitis exclamationibus praevenit.”

<sup>d</sup> Aucher “pro necessario beneficio remissionem ac libertatem concedens invocantibus.” *OL* renders defectively, “pro beneficiis peccantium largiendo.”

<sup>e</sup> LXX Ἰδοὺ ἀπὸ τῆς πλοῦτητος τῆς γῆς ἔσται ἡ κατοίκησίς σου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄνωθεν.

<sup>f</sup> τοιοῦτος τρόπος εἰσάγεται *vel sim.* : Aucher “talīs modus intervenit” : *OL* “modus iste probatur.”

<sup>g</sup> It is not clear whether God or Isaac is meant.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>i</sup> *OL* “a meliori et beatiori specie.”

<sup>j</sup> Aucher “vitiis flammisque comburi cupiditatum” : *OL* “in Acheronte et Pyriphlegethonte concupiscentiarum.”

<sup>k</sup> *OL* “hii (*sic*) sunt enim tartarei domini.”

<sup>l</sup> πτερύττεσθαι.

<sup>m</sup> *OL* “jam deitudinis degustare scintillas.”

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and over-indulgence<sup>a</sup> are always submerged and sunken,<sup>b</sup> being drowned in passion.<sup>c</sup> And these wicked and wretched men do not wish to raise themselves up.<sup>d</sup>

235. (Gen. xxvii. 40a) What is the meaning of the words, "By thy sword shalt thou live"<sup>e</sup>?

Most naturally<sup>f</sup> has he shown and declared that the life of the foolish man is warfare without peace or friendship<sup>g</sup> but that of the righteous man<sup>h</sup> is deep peace.<sup>i</sup> For the latter rejoices in justice and security and rectitude,<sup>j</sup> while the former (rejoices) in strife and avarice,<sup>k</sup> thinking it the part of zeal to do wrong and thereby to overreach (another).<sup>l</sup> But peace and wrath<sup>m</sup> are enemies to one another.<sup>n</sup> And such things are fitting and proper to the dead, whereas the others are for the living. Among those (dead) I should call him thrice (wretched),<sup>o</sup> not once

<sup>a</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, "ex impuni luxuria."

<sup>b</sup> καταποντοῦνται καὶ καταδύονται, as in *De Agricultura* 89 : *OL* "diluvium passi."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "cupiditatibus dediti."

<sup>d</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, "nequaquam se exinde erigentes."

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μαχαίρῃ σου ζήσῃ. Philo allegorizes the phrase similarly in *De Congressu* 176.

<sup>f</sup> φυσικώτατα : *OL* "quam natus aliter" (l. "naturaliter").

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "insipientis fortunam praelium esse impraedicabile."

<sup>h</sup> τοῦ δικαίου.

<sup>i</sup> *OL* "justi vero per (l. "pax") altissima."

<sup>j</sup> δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀσφαλεία καὶ κατορθώσει *vel sim.* : *OL* "segregatione (l. "securitate"?) et constantia."

<sup>k</sup> πλεονεξία.

<sup>l</sup> *OL* "quemlibet pati injuriam et facere."

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "heat"; evidently the Arm. translator read θερμός instead of θυμός.

<sup>n</sup> The syntax of this sentence is peculiar. Aucher renders, "pacem et iram (confundens) sibi invicem infensas." *OL* omits the sentence.

<sup>o</sup> The word "wretched" is supplied from *OL*, so, too, in Aucher's rendering.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

(wretched), who has to suffer death through sense-perception.<sup>a</sup>

236. (Gen. xxvii. 40b) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt serve thy brother" <sup>b</sup>?

This is a great good for the foolish man,<sup>c</sup> (namely) that he should not be left free,<sup>d</sup> for to be headstrong <sup>e</sup> is very harmful for such a man, whereas servitude is most profitable,<sup>f</sup> especially when he happens to get a master who is virtuous.<sup>g</sup> Similarly, a ship is saved when the sailors carry out the orders of the pilot and listen to him, and a household (is saved) when the slaves in service obey the master,<sup>h</sup> and a state <sup>i</sup> (is saved) when the inhabitants yield and submit to the magistrates,<sup>j</sup> and the young to their elders,<sup>k</sup> and the unskilled to the skilled and informed.<sup>l</sup>

237. (Gen. xxvii. 40c) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> In this sentence, too, the syntax and meaning are not clear. Aucher renders the last clause, "qui cum sensu sustinet mortem": *OL* "qui eum (*l.* "cum") nimia (*v.l.* "minima") sensibilitate mortem sustineat."

<sup>b</sup> *LXX* καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου δουλεύσεις. Philo gives slightly different allegories of this passage in *Leg. All.* iii. 193-194 and *De Congressu* 176, and a generally similar allegory in *Quod Omnis Probus* 57.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* renders awkwardly, "hoc (*v.l.* "ob") jam proximo bono prosecutis contumaci dignum."

<sup>d</sup> ἐλεύθερον: *OL* "ne laxamentum capiat."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "elatio cervicis": *OL* "sine jugo degere."

<sup>f</sup> *OL* "dum servituti (*l.* "servitium") conditio utilissima."

<sup>g</sup> δεσπότου σπουδαίου: *OL* "studiosum dominum."

<sup>h</sup> *OL* renders somewhat differently, "et domus erigitur melius famulis vigilantibus pro imperio domini."

<sup>i</sup> πόλις: *OL* "urbs."

<sup>j</sup> *OL* renders more freely, "erit beatior si plebs subjecta sit administranti."

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "et juvenes veteranis debitum deferentes honorem."

<sup>l</sup> τοῖς ἐμπείροις καὶ ἐπιστήμοισιν: *OL* "felices (*marg.* "vides malim") (=?) et indocti sapientibus obsecundantes."

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“ And it shall be when thou wilt free thyself,<sup>a</sup> and <sup>b</sup> thou shalt cast off his yoke <sup>c</sup> from thy neck ” <sup>d</sup> ?

“ As for this good, which thou believest to be evil,” he says, “ (namely) servitude, it comes to thee not ineptly <sup>e</sup> nor by chance <sup>f</sup> but when thou wilt cast off pride and empty vaingloriousness by giving up arrogance, and when thou wilt loosen the yoke of the passions <sup>g</sup> from thee. For so long as thou art under their yoke and because of them arrogantly holdest thy head high, the wise man <sup>h</sup> will hold thee unworthy of servitude to him and to be free. For how will it be (possible) to move about and obtain freedom without him ? <sup>i</sup> But in place of one thou wilt acquire many masters and mistresses <sup>j</sup> hidden within thee, who will incessantly and uninterruptedly wear out thy soul.” <sup>k</sup>

238. (Gen. xxvii. 41b) <sup>l</sup> What is the meaning of the words, “ He said in his mind,<sup>m</sup> ‘ There will draw near the

<sup>a</sup> See the Scriptural text below.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* “ then ” (a Hebraism, retained in the LXX).

<sup>c</sup> *OL* “ jugum tuum.”

<sup>d</sup> LXX ἔσται δὲ ἡνίκα ἐὰν κατέλῃς (Heb. *tārīd*, prob. = “ move freely ” or the like: A.V. “ have the dominion ”) καὶ ἐκλύσεις (*v.l.* ἐκλύσης, see below) τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου. In *Leg. All.* iii. 193 (see above, *QG* iv. 236), Philo cites this passage in part, ἐκλύσης τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου, and allegorizes in much the same way as here.

<sup>e</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>f</sup> *OL* “ non quolibet casu advocavit tibi.”

<sup>g</sup> τῶν παθῶν: *OL* “ vitiorum.”

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. lit. = ὁ ἀστείος (καὶ) ὁ σοφός: *OL* “ prudens.”

<sup>i</sup> *OL* omits this sentence.

<sup>j</sup> *OL* omits “ and mistresses.”

<sup>k</sup> Aucher “ qui animam tuam immediate ac sine recessu deperdant ”: *OL* “ qui tuam animam incessanter exposcant.”

<sup>l</sup> Philo omits the first part of vs. 41 “ And Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing with which his father had blessed him.”

<sup>m</sup> *OL* “ in corde,” see the Scriptural text below.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

days of the mourning of my father,<sup>a</sup> and <sup>b</sup> I will kill Jacob, my brother' " " c ?

Wrath and ill-will are not superficial<sup>d</sup> but they appear from within from the heart, as the poet says.<sup>e</sup> For not to say (something) with the voice but (to say it) without voice, in the mind, is very clear evidence of a wrathful and deep intention.<sup>f</sup> Such is the wicked, maleficent, harsh, pleasant<sup>g</sup> and deceitful man.<sup>h</sup> And in addition to this he is perfectly untaught<sup>i</sup> and proposes to himself plans<sup>j</sup> and things which are impossible.<sup>k</sup> For how is it ever possible that to the impassive genus,<sup>l</sup> which nature has endowed,<sup>m</sup> licentiousness,<sup>n</sup> the disturber of the passions of the soul,

<sup>a</sup> The biblical text refers to the mourning for the death of Isaac, not to Isaac's mourning, as Philo takes it.

<sup>b</sup> OL " ut," see below.

<sup>c</sup> LXX εἶπεν δὲ Ἡσαὺ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ (Heb. " heart," i.e. " mind ") αὐτοῦ, Ἐγγισάτωσαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πένθους (v.l. πάθους: Heb. and Arm. O.T. " mourning," see below) τοῦ πατρός μου ἵνα ἀποκτείνω (v.l. καὶ ἀποκτενῶ) Ἰακώβ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου. In *Quod Deterius* 46 Philo quotes the last two clauses, ἐγγισάτωσαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πένθους (v.l. πάθους, see below) τοῦ πατρός μου ἵνα ἀποκτείνω Ἰακώβ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου.

<sup>d</sup> OL " non in propatulo saevit infestus."

<sup>e</sup> Philo is probably thinking of such Homeric phrases as περὶ κῆρι . . . ἐχολώθη and κοτεσσάμενος τό γε θυμῷ.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher " consilium offensi animi subdoli et profundi " : OL " consilii est externi et profundi."

<sup>g</sup> Sic: Aucher " blandus."

<sup>h</sup> OL " talis est pravitata malignantium iracundia suppressa scrupulosa insidiosa."

<sup>i</sup> OL omits this clause.

<sup>j</sup> ὑποθέσεις.

<sup>k</sup> OL " paraturas sibi impossibiles reservando."

<sup>l</sup> τῷ ἀπαθεί γένει, as in *Quod Deterius* 46. Apparently while reading πένθους, not πάθους, in his copy of the Greek Bible, Philo interpreted πένθος as a specific form of πάθος, cf. *Quod Deterius* 46 ἡδονῆς ἢ λύπης ἢ τινος ἄλλου πάθους.

<sup>m</sup> Isaac is often described by Philo as a type of natural virtue.

<sup>n</sup> Symbolized by Esau.

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should draw near and kill his virtuous brother? <sup>a</sup> For <sup>b</sup> he has been disciplined by training, exercise and labour to trip up <sup>c</sup> and to catch off guard and to repel, not to be tripped up and to be caught off guard and to be repelled. <sup>d</sup> For true life lies before him as a prize, <sup>e</sup> just as, on the other hand, before the wicked and evil man (lies) death, which is in sense-perception, <sup>f</sup> because of (his) suffering incurable pain. <sup>g</sup>

239. (Gen. xxvii. 42-43) Why, when his mother heard of his outburst, <sup>h</sup> did she say, <sup>i</sup> "Arise, go off <sup>j</sup> to Laban, my brother, in Haran" <sup>k</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders, less accurately, I think, "nam quomodo unquam fieri poterit ut vitium perturbatae animae adsit nationi vitiis carenti ex dono naturae; et occidere fratrem virtute praeditum?": *OL* reads defectively "nullo enim genere praevalerit laedere congeries vitiorum impassibilitatis titulum, cui permittitur a natura decipientis animam et dissipare et perimere."

<sup>b</sup> *Arm. our lit.* = "where": *OL* "enim."

<sup>c</sup> Elsewhere in Philo Jacob is called ἀσκητής and περηνιστής, as the symbol of virtue acquired by training.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* "didicit enim ex industria hujusmodi frater plantare et superare, non utique superari."

<sup>e</sup> ἀθλον: Aucher's rendering, "bravium," seems to be a printer's error for "praemium." <sup>f</sup> δι' αἰσθήσεως.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "dum est (*v.l.* "etiam") vita verissima ante oculos ejus preciosa, ut illi a diverso mors quam excipiat consensualitate nimiam (*v.l.* "minimam") pro pessimo contagio et insanabili cruciatu."

<sup>h</sup> Or "revolt": Aucher "insurgentem eum" (footnote, "Sensus est, *comminationem ejus*"): *OL* "minas."

<sup>i</sup> To Jacob, not to Esau, as one might suppose from Philo's wording.

<sup>j</sup> *OL* "surgens fuge."

<sup>k</sup> Philo condenses vss. 42-43, which read, in the LXX, ἀπηγγέλη δὲ Ῥεβέκκα τὰ ῥήματα Ἡσαὺ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ πέμψασα ἐκάλεσεν Ἰακώβ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν νεώτερον καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἴδου Ἡσαὺ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ (Heb. "seeks revenge") τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναί σε. νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἀκουσόν

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

The literal meaning <sup>a</sup> is clear, for it makes apparent the careful solicitude of the mother, who by causing (him) to change residence, contrives his safety.<sup>b</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> "Laban" is to be interpreted as "whiteness,"<sup>d</sup> a symbol of sense-perceptible light,<sup>e</sup> and "Haran" as "openings,"<sup>f</sup> through which (Scripture) indicates some of the senses, (namely) the eyes, the ears and the nose.<sup>g</sup> Thus, the counsel of the soul<sup>h</sup> says to its fellow-counsellors and advisers,<sup>i</sup> "If you laboriously acquire clear, lucid and genuine endurance of patience and firmness in life, and, while dwelling near the envious man, act with complete independence, you will encounter the greatest danger because of him."<sup>j</sup>

μου τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν (v.l. and Heb. omit εἰς τὴν Μεσ.) πρὸς Λαβάν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου εἰς Χαρράν. Philo cites vss. 42-45 in *De Fuga* 23, vss. 43-44 in *De Somniis* i. 46, and vss. 43-45 in *De Migratione* 208-211, in these places allegorizing somewhat as here.

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>b</sup> OL "dictum palam designat praesagium matris transmigrationem nuntiantis pro cautela dilecti."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> The same etymology, based on Heb. *lābān* "white," occurs elsewhere in Philo, e.g. *De Agricultura* 42.

<sup>e</sup> φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ, cf. *Quod Deterius* 4 τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητόν . . . προσηγόρευται Λαβάν.

<sup>f</sup> τρῶγλαι. The same etymology, based on Heb. *hōr* "hole," occurs elsewhere in Philo (see next note).

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *De Fuga* 45 Χαρράν, ἣ μεταληφθείσά εἰσι τρῶγλαι, σύμβολον τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. lit.= λογισμὸς τῆς ψυχῆς, here symbolized by Rebekah, who is generally for Philo a symbol of constancy.

<sup>i</sup> τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ συμβούλοις. OL renders the clause more freely, "suadet ergo secretae anima sobria susceptis suis."

<sup>j</sup> The syntax of this sentence, especially of the latter part, is far from clear. Aucher renders much more freely, I think, "quod si lucidam fidelemque patientiae et constantiae vitam acquirere studetis, in quantum assidetis apud invidiosum, omni libertate invadente eo, vix superiores eritis periculis": OL "si obstinatissime verissimam vitam sectando, atrocissi-

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But if you take leave <sup>a</sup> of concord <sup>b</sup> and separate yourselves, do not immediately thereafter, as if you had become incorporeal, despise necessary foods or consider them bestial, <sup>c</sup> but at once return on the middle way, neither afflicting your bodies with hunger and want nor offering them a variety of the most splendid delicacies; and live carefully with simple elegance. <sup>d</sup> For what is simpler than the colour white, which is called 'Laban' in Chaldaean? <sup>e</sup> For those who are not firmly in control of themselves go very far wrong and cause (others) to transgress in the opposite direction. <sup>f</sup> But the middle course <sup>g</sup>

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mum et infestissimum vicinum patimini, enormissimam excipietis cladem." My rendering is, I think, supported by the parallel passage in *De Migratione* 208-211, where Philo advises the seeker of virtue to give up philosophy just long enough to come to terms with sense and passion in order to overcome them by diplomacy. It must be admitted, however, that his various treatments of Gen. xxvii. 42-45 (see the references in note *k* on the preceding pages) are obscure, perhaps because he is embarrassed by having to explain why Rebekah (the symbol of constancy) advised Jacob to flee to Haran (the symbol of sense); see also Colson's notes in the Loeb Philo, vol. iv. p. 566, and vol. v. p. 582.

<sup>a</sup> *πολλὰ χαίρειν φράζοντες.*

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "association"—*ὁμιλία*: *OL* "ejus colloquiis." Whether Philo means separation from philosophy or from sense and passion is not clear.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "nolite nec illico tamquam incorporii effecti contemnere corporea neque brutorum more cogitare cibos necessarios": *OL* "penitus separati tanquam incorporales ne victum quidem quotidianum habebitis."

<sup>d</sup> *ἀπλῆ εὐπρεπεία vel sim.*: Aucher "simplici victu": *OL* "simpliciter fruentes tutiores eritis."

<sup>e</sup> Here, as frequently elsewhere, Philo refers to the Hebrew language as "Chaldaean."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, "quoniam summa errant errareque faciunt in contraria eos (*sic*), qui non sunt constantius firmati": *OL* renders defectively, "ultra modum ergo meliora concidere possunt ad pejora."

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. word lit. = *αἱ μεσότητες*: Aucher "mediocritates": *OL* "mediae."

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has a way out (in the form) of precaution that nothing unforeseen and irremediable be experienced.<sup>a</sup>”

240. (Gen. xxvii. 45b) What is the meaning of the words “ Sending, I will call thee from there to here lest perchance I be bereaved of you both in one day ”<sup>b</sup> ?

Since the literal meaning<sup>c</sup> is clear, we shall say allegorically<sup>d</sup> that she does not think that dwelling there for all time is good for the practiser<sup>e</sup> but that it is useful for this time.<sup>f</sup> For she wishes him to depart from his kin and twin, (namely) wickedness,<sup>g</sup> not to a simpler<sup>h</sup> and unlighted place but to one lighted by the senses,<sup>i</sup> and in some way<sup>j</sup> to give himself to all (kinds of) exercise, in order that after

<sup>a</sup> *OL* adds a passage on the symbolism of light and darkness which is evidently from a Christian hand, since it ends with the words “ ad maternae ecclesiae viscera revocati.”

<sup>b</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, “ quid aestimando (*l.* “ quid est mandando ”) accipiam te inde ne quando orbitabor ”: *LXX* και ἀποστείλασα μεταπέμφομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν μή ποτε ἀτεκνωθῶ ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾶ. In vss. 44-45a, which Philo here omits, Rebekah tells Jacob to remain with Laban “ some days ” until Esau will have forgotten his anger. Philo quotes the phrase μεταπέμφομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν in *De Fuga* 47, and alludes briefly to Rebekah’s ἀτεκνία in *Quod Deterius* 51.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> ἀλληγοροῦντες φήσομεν.

<sup>e</sup> τῷ ἀσκητῇ, of which Jacob is a standing symbol in Philo: Aucher “ religioso ”: *OL* “ certatorem.”

<sup>f</sup> *OL* amplifies somewhat in rendering, “ mediam hanc larem assidue habitare certatorem mater inutile arbitrat, sed ad tempus ei prodesse.”

<sup>g</sup> Symbolized by Esau.

<sup>h</sup> ἀπλούστερον (τόπον). Possibly “ simpler ” is here used in the sense of “ more primitive,” as applied to Esau, see below.

<sup>i</sup> φωτιζόμενον ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν: *OL* renders freely, “ utpote in lucidiori quadam mentis regione exhibernantem.” Possibly “ lighted by the senses ” has some connexion with the phrase τὰς τῆς κενῆς δόξης λαμπράς . . . εὐπραγίας in *De Fuga* 47.

<sup>j</sup> τρόπον τινά.

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the athlete has become an accomplished fighter he may come back from there where he will no longer be cheated or harmed.<sup>a</sup> For he was indeed a half-youth, and as his companion at birth<sup>b</sup> was dead to the life of virtue,<sup>c</sup> she rightly feared that the other (son) too might unite with the simpler senses and gradually go on to further and superfluous senses.<sup>d</sup> For if he should fall in love with that place, he would not be able to return from there and would cause her<sup>e</sup> more serious harm, (namely) bereavement of the classes of virtuous thoughts.<sup>f</sup>

241. (Gen. xxvii. 46a) Why does Rebekah say to Isaac, "I am weary of my life because of the daughters<sup>g</sup> of the Hittites"<sup>h</sup>?

The literal meaning<sup>i</sup> is apparent, for she seemed to be vexed because of the former<sup>j</sup> women who were from that land.<sup>k</sup> And, as was said before,<sup>l</sup> they were envious of her

<sup>a</sup> *OL* renders the last two clauses more briefly, "inde palestricon perfectum redeuntem jam minime decipiendum."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Esau.

<sup>c</sup> τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς βίῳ *vel sim.* : *OL* renders the clause more freely, "altero tamen per inopiam sobrietatis pro mortuo imputato."

<sup>d</sup> *OL* "veretur merito paternae quibusdam casibus (apparently reading πατρός τισι ἦθει *vel sim.* instead of ἀπλουστέρας αἰσθήσει) paulatim cedat simplicitas morum, superfluis et curiosis occupatur."

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *anzn* here seems to be an indirect reflexive : *OL* "animae."

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. seems lit. = ἀτεκνίαν ἀστείων ἐννοιῶν τάξεων : Aucher "orbatio a filiis solidae sapientiae ordinis" : *OL* "sterilitatem (*v.l.* "stabilitatem") insignium titularum sapientiae." <sup>g</sup> *OL* "filias filiorum" (see next note).

<sup>h</sup> LXX εἶπεν Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς Ἰσαάκ, Προσώχθικα (*v.l.* προσώχθισα) τῇ ζωῇ μου διὰ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν υἱῶν Χέτ (Heb. "daughters of Heth").

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> Variant "first."

<sup>k</sup> *OL* "aspernatur enim pro uxoribus prioris (*sic*) inter-rancis." <sup>l</sup> Apparently this is a reference to *QG* iv. 88.



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

daughter-in-law.<sup>a</sup> But we must examine the more philosophical aspect through allegory.<sup>b</sup> The name "Hittite" (means) "being beside oneself"<sup>c</sup> and senselessness.<sup>d</sup> And the daughters of those thoughts which are beside themselves are the unrestrained impulses.<sup>e</sup> And these the virtue-loving soul<sup>f</sup> hates and very bitterly hates, for they honour that which is contrary to order and decency.<sup>g</sup>

242. (Gen. xxvii. 46b) What is the meaning of the words, "If<sup>h</sup> Jacob takes a wife from the daughters of the Hittites,<sup>i</sup> for what should I live?"<sup>j</sup>

The philosophical character<sup>k</sup> is fearful and in doubt lest perhaps that part<sup>l</sup> which is able to be saved may not be aware that it is incurring corruption<sup>m</sup> by living with earthly and terrestrial things rather than heavenly ones.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *OL* lacks this sentence and part of the following one.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν φυσικωτέραν θεωρίαν ἐπισκεπτόν ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* "excessus." Aucher in a footnote conjectures ἀποστάσια as the original, but it was probably ἔκστασις as in *QG* iv. 88.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* "dolorationis" (*l.* "delirationis").

<sup>e</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, "filiae autem hujus intentabiles sunt incursiones."

<sup>f</sup> ἡ φιλάρετος ψυχὴ: *OL* "clementissima anima."

<sup>g</sup> τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ *vel sim.*: *OL* renders the clause unintelligibly, "dignus vitii quae deferendo quaeque ordinem cunctaque censuram."

<sup>h</sup> *OL* "Isaac," apparently a corruption of "si ac."

<sup>i</sup> *OL* "ex hac terra" (see next note).

<sup>j</sup> LXX εἰ λήμψεται Ἰακώβ γυναῖκα ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῆς γῆς ταύτης (Heb. "from the daughters of Heth like these from the daughters of the land"), ἵνα τί μοι ζῆν;

<sup>k</sup> ὁ φιλόσοφος τρόπος *vel sim.*

<sup>l</sup> *i.e.* of the soul.

<sup>m</sup> διαφθοράν.

<sup>n</sup> *OL* renders defectively, "clementissimi pectoris decus ne quando ille delitescat per contagium ejus partis quod salvari praecipue possit, terreno matrimonio ante coelestia copulato."

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“ If,” it says, “ he who seems to be a practised character <sup>a</sup> takes a wife from the polluted daughters of this land, <sup>b</sup> that is, the senses, <sup>c</sup> which readily wish to be polluted, or the pleasures <sup>d</sup> connected with the senses, and he passes over the heavenly and ever-virginal understanding, <sup>e</sup> what reason is there for me to live, when I see such an overturn, seizure and capture, as if of a city, and the whole soul being desolated ? <sup>f</sup> For by nature he <sup>g</sup> is his brother, though hostile in character, and from the beginning being a hater of virtue, <sup>h</sup> he walked in a trackless path, <sup>i</sup> disregarding that which led right and straight. And being alienated from familiarity with that which has discipline, <sup>j</sup> he gladly welcomed the savagery which knows no discipline, and made his mind completely savage through anger, desire, wrongdoing and cunning.” <sup>k</sup>

243. (Gen. xxviii. 2) <sup>l</sup> Why does his father say, “ Arise, go off to Mesopotamia to the home of Bethuel, the father

<sup>a</sup> ἀσκητικὸς τρόπος : *OL* “ qui jam studiosus est moribus inquinatissimis ” (the last word perhaps being all that remains of the rendering of the following phrase).

<sup>b</sup> Aucher, construing slightly differently, renders, “ ex filiabus hujus terrae (hominum) immundorum.”

<sup>c</sup> τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>d</sup> τὰς ἡδονάς.

<sup>e</sup> ἐὼν (vel sim.) τὴν οὐρανίαν καὶ ἀειπάρθενον διάνοιαν : *OL* “ praevericando (l. “ praetereundo ” ?) coelestia copulato, quae semper casta sunt concilia.”

<sup>f</sup> *OL* omits this last phrase.

<sup>g</sup> Apparently Esau is meant, although he is not mentioned in this verse.

<sup>h</sup> μισάρετος : *OL* “ detentus odio clementiae.”

<sup>i</sup> *OL* “ perversas vias.”

<sup>j</sup> *OL* has merely “ mansuetudinis (sic) alienatus.”

<sup>k</sup> θυμῶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ πανουργίᾳ : *OL* “ desideriorum iniquis venatus (v.l. “ venenatus ”) se religavit astutiis.”

<sup>l</sup> Gen. xxviii. 1 reads “ And Isaac, calling Jacob to him, blessed him and commanded him, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife from the daughters of Canaan.”

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of thy mother,<sup>a</sup> and take for thyself a wife from the daughters of Laban, the brother of thy mother ”<sup>b</sup> ?

The literal meaning<sup>c</sup> is easy to understand, (namely that) the father orders his son to make a journey to a foreign (land)<sup>d</sup> (and) to seek in marriage<sup>e</sup> a wife of his (own) race.<sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> it has a symbolical explanation somewhat as follows.<sup>h</sup> In the council-meeting of the soul, in which the thoughts are gathered, it says to the better part,<sup>i</sup> “Thou seest the wicked man uttering cries of accusation against thee.<sup>j</sup> Why dost thou delay and (why) dost thou not move and leap up? And since thou art still resorting to the weaker labours of war and not yet acting with firm enough force to be able to offer opposition and to gain victory through the pursuit of virtue,<sup>k</sup> go away, flee.<sup>l</sup> For if thou removest thy dwelling somewhere far from such a beast, thou wilt fare better and happily, and his desire and anger will cease,

<sup>a</sup> *OL* “*matris meae.*”

<sup>b</sup> *LXX* ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι (Heb. “go”) εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν (*v.l.* + Συρίας: Heb. “to Paddan Aram”) εἰς τὸν οἶκον Βαθουήλ (Heb. *B’thú’el*, see below) τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς μητρὸς σου καὶ λάβε σεαυτῷ ἐκεῖθεν γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Λαβάν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς σου. Philo quotes the *LXX* text verbatim in *De Poster. Caini* 77 (without commentary) and in *De Fuga* 48 with an allegorical commentary similar to but briefer than the one given here.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> *OL* renders defectively, “in utroque permittere.”

<sup>e</sup> *μνηστεύειν*: *OL* “ad copulandam.”

<sup>f</sup> *OL* “*proprii generis.*”

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> συμβολικὴν ἀπόδοσιν τοιαύτην τινὰ ἔχει.

<sup>i</sup> *OL* “*concilium bonarum cogitationum suarum convocando animas vadat (l. “anima suadet”) meliori parti.*”

<sup>j</sup> *OL* condenses, “*videns infestum adversarium.*”

<sup>k</sup> σπουδῆ ἀρετῆς.

<sup>l</sup> *OL* renders defectively, “*sed exurgens dum adhuc firmis (l. “infirmis”?) doloribus uteris nec dum certamine prolatam fortitudinem demonstrantes nec ad retribuentem praevalentes festinanter recede.*”

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and (though they are) wicked and fatal, they will become empty and vain.<sup>a</sup> Therefore go off, flee to Mesopotamia, in word <sup>b</sup> to a land in which Chaldaeans and Babylonians dwell, but in truth to the boundary between the region of virtue and that of wickedness,<sup>c</sup> which is progress and improvement,<sup>d</sup> (that is) a path leading to felicity."<sup>e</sup> For the land which is now called Mesopotamia is between two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates.<sup>f</sup> And as for its place in the soul, it is the boundary, (consisting) of progress and improvement, between wickedness and virtue, as has been said.<sup>g</sup> Of these, wickedness, being ferocious, is equated with the Tigris,<sup>h</sup> whereas virtue, through which joy is obtained, has a name, "pleasantness," similar to that of the river called Euphrates.<sup>i</sup> And "Bethuel" is to be interpreted as "daughter of God."<sup>j</sup> It is a power<sup>k</sup> honoured with second (place) of lineal descent after the

<sup>a</sup> The text and meaning are not wholly certain. Aucher renders more freely, "et ejus ardor ac indignatio malae indolis exitialesque irritae cessabunt": *OL* "hii quoque (v.l. "quotque") furorae (sic) et concupiscentiae instinctu malitiarum evanescent."

<sup>b</sup> λόγῳ μὲν, contrasted with ἀληθείᾳ δέ below.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ μεσώριον τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς κακίας vel sim.: *OL* "os (sic) malitiae atque virtutis." Philo's implied etymology of "Mesopotamia" differs from those implied in *De Confus. Ling.* 66 ἐν μεσαιτάτῳ ποταμοῦ βυθῶ τῆς διανοίας and in *De Fuga* 49 μέσον τὸν χειμάρρον ποταμὸν τοῦ βίου.

<sup>d</sup> προκοπή καὶ βελτίωσις, cf. e.g. *De Sacr. Abelis* 113.

<sup>e</sup> εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν: *OL* "aut beatitudine" (l. "ad beatitudinem").

<sup>f</sup> In Armenian called *Dklat'* and *Aracçani*, as in *QG* i. 13 (with a slight difference in spelling) and *QG* iv. 93.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* renders more briefly, "talis enim in anima grumus est malitiae atque virtutis."

<sup>h</sup> The same word-play occurs in *Leg. All.* i. 63 f. and *QG* i. 13.

<sup>i</sup> This word-play on εὐφροσύνη and Εὐφράτης is found in *QG* i. 13, where the Euphrates is a symbol of δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>j</sup> So Philo etymologizes elsewhere, see *QG* iv. 97, notes.

<sup>k</sup> δύναμις.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

masculine.<sup>a</sup> And this has a place in the soul which <sup>b</sup> the noble word <sup>c</sup> calls "home" <sup>d</sup> from which (Isaac) commands him to take a wife who loves the wisdom of knowledge.<sup>e</sup> And the wife's name was "contenance,"<sup>f</sup> (and she was) of the daughters of the brilliant family,<sup>g</sup> which in Chaldaean is called "Laban," and in Armenian,<sup>h</sup> "whiteness."<sup>i</sup> There are some who, looking at the faces of things,<sup>j</sup> either blame them or praise them. But for us, for whom it is natural to allegorize<sup>k</sup> and who seek other things beyond

<sup>a</sup> *OL* "secundo quodam gradu pro maribus substitutus sicut in haereditatibus: prerogativus titulus et subcisivus." This obscure passage is explained by the parallel, *De Fuga* 51, where Philo says that Bethuel, "daughter of God" = σοφία, "occupies a second place and therefore was termed feminine to express the contrast with the Maker of the universe, who is masculine."

<sup>b</sup> The rel. pron. refers to "place" (as in *OL*), not to "soul," as in Aucher's rendering.

<sup>c</sup> *OL* "sermo divinus." Philo nowhere else describes Scripture as "noble" or the like.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the home of Bethuel.

<sup>e</sup> σοφίαν τῆς ἐπιστήμης *vel sim.*: *OL* has merely "disciplinae."

<sup>f</sup> Arm. *krōnaworout' iun* usually renders ἐγκράτεια, more rarely θρησκεία. Aucher here renders, "continentia," adding in a footnote, "Vel Sobrietas, ad verb. religio." *OL* has "possessio," which may render a corruption of ἐγκράτεια. Elsewhere in Philo Rachel is a symbol of αἴσθησις, and Leah, etymologized as ἡ κοπιῶσα, is a symbol of δικαιοσύνη and similar virtues. Apparently Leah is meant here.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* "pro filiis generis praeclari."

<sup>h</sup> Here, as elsewhere, the Arm. translator substitutes "Armenian" for "Greek."

<sup>i</sup> *OL* "quod jam diximus Laban, Graece enim διειδής (*sic*). On the etymology "white" for Laban see *QG* iv. 239. <sup>j</sup> *OL* "personis," reflecting προσώποις.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. lit. = "to whom through allegory is nature," apparently a misunderstanding of οἷς ἀλληγορεῖν πέφυκε. Aucher renders, "nobis tamen quae (*l.* "qui"?) allegoricam quaerimus naturam"; *OL* "nobis tamen, qui per allegoricum examen ista requirimus."

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that which is seen,<sup>a</sup> it is fitting and proper to examine and question the names, and not to be deceived or taken in by homonyms.<sup>b</sup> Between these <sup>c</sup> there is a distinction and difference: there is one quality <sup>d</sup> which is perfect and splendid and like light,<sup>e</sup> and there is (another) somewhat sense-perceptible quality <sup>f</sup> which is superficially coloured <sup>g</sup> as in those images painted deceptively by bad men.<sup>h</sup>

244. (Gen. xxviii. 7) <sup>i</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "Jacob heard his father and mother, and went to Mesopotamia" <sup>j</sup>?

As for the literal meaning,<sup>k</sup> praise is given to the journeying of the son who obeyed both parents. For some please only one (parent), showing incomplete virtue.<sup>l</sup> And there

<sup>a</sup> *OL* "quia (l. "quae"?) semota sunt a visibilibus."

<sup>b</sup> ὁμωνυμίαις.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the different qualities of whiteness.

<sup>d</sup> ποιότης: Aucher "creatura" (but he gives "qualitas" below for the Arm. synonym of the word used here).

<sup>e</sup> *OL* renders freely, "sic et modo candor, quem ajunt esse Laban, perfecta translatione lucidus vel splendens."

<sup>f</sup> Laban appears as a symbol of sense-perception (αἴσθησις) in several other passages of Philo, e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 20.

<sup>g</sup> Apparently "with bright colours" is meant.

<sup>h</sup> *OL* amplifies in rendering, "sin vero secundum visibilia transtuleris, nomen candoris, hoc est, albescentis coloris indicium, ut solent pictores ex candore colorum faciem exprimere interno minio." *OL* adds "ita enim Isaac, qui dicitur risus, perfecta translatione serenus atque lucidus intelligitur."

<sup>i</sup> The four verses, Gen. xxviii. 3-6, passed over by Philo, tell of Isaac's blessing Jacob and sending him to Laban and of Esau's overhearing the blessing and Isaac's charge to Jacob not to take a Canaanite wife.

<sup>j</sup> LXX καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. In the citation of this verse in *De Congressu* 70, the mss. of Philo vary between εἰσήκουσεν and ὑπήκουσεν for LXX ἤκουσεν. Philo's brief commentary there differs from that given in the present passage.

<sup>k</sup> πρὸς τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>l</sup> ἡμιτελῆ ἀρετήν.

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are still others who do not (please) even one (parent). These the legislator <sup>a</sup> has denounced and threatened with death.<sup>b</sup> Whence it is clear that (Scripture) has publicly proclaimed <sup>c</sup> life and immortality <sup>d</sup> for those who offer parents a piety <sup>e</sup> that is sound, full and perfect.<sup>f</sup> And as for the deeper meaning, symbolically <sup>g</sup> it appears that praise is bestowed when the continent type of soul honours the sovereign reason,<sup>h</sup> which has the force of a father, and the knowledge of discipline,<sup>i</sup> which bears the glorious honour of a mother who nourishes and tends and carefully watches over (her child).<sup>j</sup>

245. (Gen. xxviii. 8-9) What is the meaning of the words, "When Esau saw that the daughters of the Canaanites <sup>k</sup> were evil before his father Isaac, he went and took Mahalath,<sup>l</sup> the daughter of Ishmael the son of Abraham,<sup>m</sup> the sister of Nebajoth,<sup>n</sup> in addition to his other <sup>o</sup> wives as a wife" ?<sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὁ νομοθέτης, i.e. Moses.

<sup>b</sup> OL renders the sentence defectively, "quidam autem (v.l. "enim") semiplenam et mancam exhibent devotionem malis, nec ipsam quibus legislator interminatur mortem."

<sup>c</sup> προκήρυξε: OL "praedicari."

<sup>d</sup> ἀθανασία.

<sup>e</sup> εὐσέβειαν.

<sup>f</sup> OL renders freely, "qui recto corde et integra mente utrorumque parentum pietatem suscipiunt."

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν συμβολικῶς.

<sup>h</sup> ὅταν ὁ ἐγκρατῆς ψυχῆς τρόπος τὸν ἡγεμονικὸν λόγον τιμᾷ: OL "cum studiosi sobrietas moribus synceri pectoris (v.l. "pastori") ornatur et verbo praedicantis defert."

<sup>i</sup> ἐπιστήμην παιδείας.

<sup>j</sup> OL renders the latter part of the sentence freely, "pro paterna virtute et disciplinarum dignitati, favens pro materna quoque clementia, quae nutrit et diligit."

<sup>k</sup> OL "Chanaan," see note p.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. *Mayelet*, see note p.

<sup>m</sup> OL omits this phrase.

<sup>n</sup> Arm. *Nabeot*, see note p.

<sup>o</sup> Reading, with Aucher, *αἰλος* "other" for *αἰνες* "those."

<sup>p</sup> LXX καὶ ἶδεν Ἡσαὺ ὅτι πονηραὶ εἰσιν αἱ θυγατέρες Χαναάν (v.l. τῶν Χανααίων) ἐναντίον Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπο-

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Here, in the present passage, is to be discerned the difference between the former (son) <sup>a</sup> and the one now in question. For the former pleased both his parents and men in the manner of teachers. <sup>b</sup> But the latter <sup>c</sup> did not please anyone, and wishing to act stealthily and secretly in order to seem to be showing honour, he was not mindful of his mother but only of his father. <sup>d</sup> And the wretch does not make even this dissimulation complete, <sup>e</sup> but knowing exactly <sup>f</sup> that his father was displeased with the inhabitants of the land, he did not send away those (wives) whom he had but took others in addition to them, (thus) adding sin to sin and not being absolved of the former ones. Therefore the prophet, <sup>g</sup> ascribing shamelessness to him, adds that he did not send (his wives) away but took a wife in addition to his other wives. This fact is not to be taken as casual or incidental or by the way, but as proof <sup>h</sup> of the goodwill <sup>i</sup> which he had for the women who were alienated from wisdom <sup>j</sup> and whom his incorruptible and impartial father judged evil. "But why, O miserable man," we might say to him, "wouldst thou join and connect thyself

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ρευθή Ἡσαὺ πρὸς Ἰσμαήλ, καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν Μαέλεθ (Heb. *Mah<sup>a</sup>lath*) θυγατέρα Ἰσμαήλ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἀδελφὴν Ναβαιώθ (Heb. *N<sup>e</sup>bāyōth*) πρὸς ταῖς γυναῖξιν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Jacob.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning of the last phrase is uncertain. Aucher renders, "tamquam exemplar (*vel*, "exemplaribus") magistrorum": *OL* "ut censura discipuli magistris." Perhaps Philo means that Jacob obeyed his parents as men regularly obey their teachers.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* Esau. *OL* has "hi," an obvious scribal error for "hic."

<sup>d</sup> The text of the last phrase is uncertain. *OL* renders, "patrem vero hucusque."

<sup>e</sup> ὀλόκληρον ὑπόκρισιν. <sup>f</sup> Or "clearly."

<sup>g</sup> ὁ προφήτης, *i.e.* Moses. *OL*'s "profecto" is an obvious scribal error for "profeta."

<sup>h</sup> Or "reproof"—ὡς ἔλεγχος: Aucher "sicut reprehensionem": *OL* "pro testimonio."

<sup>i</sup> τῆς ἐννοίας *vel sim.*: Aucher "intimae amicitiae": *OL* "favoris."

<sup>j</sup> Or "understanding": *OL* "sapientiae et pudicitiae."



## GENESIS, BOOK IV

with a third (wife) ? ” <sup>a</sup> But who indeed can bring into a state of reformation that which is with him ? Nothing at all (can be done) but, on the contrary, whether some be taken or, on the other hand, given, an unlivable life (is his). <sup>b</sup> And his wife is called in Hebrew “ Mahalath,” which is to be interpreted “ from the beginning.” <sup>c</sup> And potentially <sup>d</sup> this is sensual pleasure, <sup>e</sup> for it is considered to have been congenital <sup>f</sup> to every living creature from the beginning and from the first creation. And sensual pleasure is said to be the cause of many evils, both to those who have it and to those who come near it. <sup>g</sup> And her father is Ishmael, who is “ hearing ” <sup>h</sup> because of his not participating in vision. For the mind of the pleasure-loving man <sup>i</sup> is blind and unable to see those things which are worth seeing, (namely) the world and that which is in the world—the nature of existing things, the sight of which is wonderful to behold and desirable. <sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *OL* renders freely, “ qualem . . . etiam tertiam illam desponsationem.”

<sup>b</sup> ἀβίωτος βίος. The text of these two sentences is difficult. Aucher renders freely (with apologies in his footnotes), “ quae enim corrigere potuerit eas quae apud illum sunt ? Nullatenus, sed potius in contrarium : tum accepta quam data (pro exemplo) vita est praeter vitam ” : *OL* “ de qua possit etiam priores emendare, absit sed ut rursus acciperet et praemuneretur eam quae vitam sine vita conficiunt.”

<sup>c</sup> As if composed of the Heb. preposition *mē* “ from ” and the verbal root *hll* “ to begin.”

<sup>d</sup> δυνάμει.

<sup>e</sup> ἡδονή.

<sup>f</sup> σύντροφος.

<sup>g</sup> *OL* “ pro subcisiva innumerabilium malorum tam pessimam tam noxiam preparavit etiam approximantibus perniciem.”

<sup>h</sup> Cf. *De Fuga* 208 ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἰσμαὴλ ἀκοή θεοῦ : *De Mut. Nom.* 209 τὸ θεῖον ἀκουσμα. <sup>i</sup> ὁ τοῦ φιληδόνου νοῦς.

<sup>j</sup> At the end of this section, which concludes Book IV of the *Quaestiones in Genesin*, the Latin translator remarks, “ Secundum consequentiam testimoniorum divinae Scripturae non exposuit Philo titulos allegoriae sed ea captare voluit capitula quae videntur intuitui mentis suae succurrisse.” See also Appendix B in *Suppl. II*.

# PHILO

SUPPLEMENT

II

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON EXODUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE ANCIENT ARMENIAN  
VERSION OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK BY

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<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

# EXODUS



# EXODUS

## BOOK I

\*1. (Ex. xii. 2) <sup>a</sup> " This month (shall be) for you the beginning of months ; it is the first in the months of the year." <sup>b</sup>

(Scripture) thinks it proper to reckon the cycle of months from the vernal equinox.<sup>c</sup> Moreover, (this month) is said to be the " first " and the " beginning " by synonymy,<sup>d</sup> since these (terms) are explained by each other, for it is said to be the first both in order and in power <sup>e</sup> ; similarly that time which proceeds from the vernal equinox also appears (as) the beginning both in order and in power, in the same way as the head (is the beginning) of a living creature. And thus those who are learned in astronomy have given this name <sup>f</sup> to the before-mentioned time. For they call the Ram the head of the zodiac <sup>g</sup> since in it the sun appears to produce the vernal equinox.<sup>h</sup> And in addition to this, it was fitting for it to be (the beginning) <sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Philo comments on this verse, without quoting it literally, in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 222-223 and *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 151-152.

<sup>b</sup> LXX ὁ μὴν οὗτος ὑμῖν ἀρχὴ μηνῶν, πρῶτός ἐστιν ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς μηνσὶν τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας.

<sup>d</sup> κατὰ συνωνυμίαν.

<sup>e</sup> καὶ τάξει καὶ δυνάμει.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. of " head."

<sup>g</sup> κεφαλὴν τοῦ ζωοφόρου . . . τὸν κριόν.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 116 ἥλιος διττὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἑνιαυτὸν ἀποτελῶν ἰσημερίας . . . τὴν μὲν ἑαρινὴν ἐν κριῶ.

<sup>i</sup> I follow Aucher in supplying the words " the beginning " (Aucher " exordium "), to which nothing corresponds in the Arm. text.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

of the times that come into being during the year. Accordingly, when the fruits of things that are sown become full grown on the trees, then they receive the beginning of bearing, in order that the gracious acts of God may be prolonged perpetually as they replace one another and as they join the ends to the beginnings and the beginnings to the ends.<sup>a</sup> But in the first creation<sup>b</sup> of all things, in which He also made the world,<sup>c</sup> He constituted all things at the same time to be filled with their fruits of mated thoughts.<sup>d</sup> For it was proper that this be so, since the Father left no appearance<sup>e</sup> at all of superfluity or deficiency. And this was especially for the sake of man, to whom He was about to entrust the beginning of customs,<sup>f</sup> that he might immediately find all things perfect and perfectly produced.<sup>g</sup>

And that (Scripture) presupposes<sup>h</sup> the vernal equinox to be the beginning of the cycle of months is clear from the notions of time held<sup>i</sup> in the ordinances<sup>j</sup> and traditions of various nations. And one may make certain of this<sup>k</sup> from the sheaves of first-fruits<sup>l</sup> which (Scripture) commands

<sup>a</sup> Only slightly different is the wording of the Greek fragment (which contains only this sentence of the section), "Ὄταν οἱ τῶν σπαρτῶν καρποὶ τελειωθῶσιν, οἱ τῶν δένδρων γενέσεως ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἵνα δολιχεύωσιν αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες τὸν αἰῶνα, παρ' ἄλλων ἄλλαι διαδεχόμεναι καὶ συνάπτουσαι τέλη μὲν ἀρχαῖς, ἀρχὰς δὲ τέλεσιν, ἀτελεύτητοι ᾧσιν. The last two words appear to be an addition to the original text of Philo.

<sup>b</sup> Prob. δημιουργία : Aucher "productione."

<sup>c</sup> τὸν κόσμον.

<sup>d</sup> The last phrase is obscure to me : Aucher "plena propriis fructibus connaturalis consilii."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "suspicionem."

<sup>f</sup> ἐθῶν.

<sup>g</sup> τελειοποιηθέντα.

<sup>h</sup> ὑποτίθησι.

<sup>i</sup> ἐκ τῶν χρόνων καταλήψεων *vel sim.* : Aucher renders more literally, "ex retentis temporibus."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "ordinem."

<sup>k</sup> ἀκριβώσαιεν ἂν τις : Aucher "certius id verificet."

<sup>l</sup> δραγμάτων τῶν ἀπαρχῶν (Lev. xxiii. 10-11), *cf. De Spec. Leg.* ii. 162, 175.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(us) to bring on the second day of the festival <sup>a</sup> for the needs of the service,<sup>b</sup> and spring is the season of harvest.<sup>c</sup>

But one may be in doubt why it is that since there are two equinoxes, the vernal and the autumnal, which nature <sup>d</sup> established as the just canons <sup>e</sup> of the equinoxes, it was not from the autumnal one but from that which falls in spring that (Scripture) begins to reckon time.<sup>f</sup> For it is in the spring that every fertile place both in mountain and plain grows and blossoms and bears fruit, but in the autumn, so soon as there is gathered whatever fruit the earth has borne, the plants lose their leaves and dry up. But it is necessary to attribute the beginning to the better and more desirable (season). To me, moreover, it seems that the autumnal equinox is to the vernal as a servant is to a queen. For it ministers to the earth by giving it rest and by making lighter the trees which have been suffering hardship in their nature, and by fighting like a brave athlete, it enables them to gather together their strength and to make a new start from the beginning.<sup>g</sup> Now, if this is so, no one will err in saying that in the same way as heaven (is superior) to (the rest of) the universe,<sup>h</sup> so among the seasons the spring is prior to and more sovereign than the autumn.

But not all (peoples) treat the months and years alike, but some in one way and some in another. Some reckon by the sun, others by the moon. And because of this the initiators of the divine festivals have expressed divergent views about the beginnings of the year, setting divergent

<sup>a</sup> Of Unleavened Bread or Passover.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "in usum ministrorum." According to Lev. xxiii. 20 the sheaves are to be given to the priests.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* of barley.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ φύσις.

<sup>e</sup> κανόνες.

<sup>f</sup> See *QG* ii. 17 notes.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders somewhat differently, "hoc enim colit terram, quiete ei data, et arbores levitate donat, quum defatigata fuisset earum natura, luctatoris instar generose certans, qui velut pugil cum adversario optime congressus foret, sinit ut lassus renovetur rursus ex principio."

<sup>h</sup> τῶ ὄλῳ : Aucher "mundo."

## EXODUS, BOOK I

beginnings to the revolutions of the seasons suitable to the beginnings of the cycles. Wherefore (Scripture) has added, "This month (shall be) to you the beginning," making clear a determined and distinct number of seasons, lest they follow the Egyptians, with whom they are mixed, and be seduced by the customs of the land in which they dwell.<sup>a</sup> For He wishes this season to be (the beginning) of creation for the world, and the beginning of months and years for the race.<sup>b</sup> Now the season in which the world was created, as anyone will ascertain in truth who uses a proper method of inquiry (and) deliberation, was the season of spring, since it is at this time that all things in common blossom and grow, and the earth produces its perfected fruits. And, as I have said, nothing was imperfect in the first creation of the universe.<sup>c</sup> For special care was taken that the race should be civilized<sup>d</sup> and receive a special portion of excellence in honour of (its) piety,<sup>e</sup> (namely) this megalopolis, the world,<sup>f</sup> and civilization,<sup>g</sup> by which it manages its economy.<sup>h</sup> Wherefore He thought it proper that the same season (should be) a memorial both of the creation of the world and of that which is kin to it,<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders slightly more freely, "ne in Aegyptiorum abirent mores, mixtim in regione eorum habitantes consuetudine seducti."

<sup>b</sup> τῷ γένει. Apparently the human race, not merely the Israelite nation, is meant.

<sup>c</sup> οὐδὲν ἀτελὲς ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ὅλου γενέσει.

<sup>d</sup> The original probably had πολιτεύεσθαι, in the sense given above rather than its more usual senses "to behave politically" or "to be governed": Aucher "optime conversaretur in mundo."

<sup>e</sup> τῆς εὐσεβείας.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 34 τὸν οὖν ἀφικόμενον εἰς τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς μεγαλόπολιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον . . . ἔννοιαν λήψεσθαι δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ προσέτι ἡγεμόνος.

<sup>g</sup> πολιτείαν: Aucher "urbanitatem."

<sup>h</sup> οἰκονομία χρῆται: Aucher "qua dispensatione bene conversatur."

<sup>i</sup> Apparently time is meant as that which is kin to the world.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

again in order that the spring might be the beginning of every time, for time came into being together with the creation of the world. And the race,<sup>a</sup> following nature and the whole dispensation of heaven,<sup>b</sup> reckoned <sup>c</sup> the seasons similarly and in harmony with the months and years, giving the same priority to the spring as it has in the creation of the world. For at the command of the Lord,<sup>d</sup> wherever it was arranged <sup>e</sup> that they should change their dwelling from Egypt, being persuaded by clear words, He prescribed <sup>f</sup> the first month as the time of migration.<sup>g</sup> But this is the same as the seventh (month) in the solar period, for the seventh (month) from the autumnal equinox is described as the time of migration, and it is the first (month) according to the solar reckoning.<sup>h</sup>

2. (Ex. xii. 3, 6) Why does (Moses) command that from the tenth (day of the first month) a sheep be kept for the fourteenth (day), which was to be sacrificed ?<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See note *b* on p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> ἀκόλουθον τῇ φύσει καὶ ὅλη τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἰκονομία.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "aptavit."

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. reads *ar arn zain*, lit. "at the voice of the man," but I have ventured to emend *ar n* "man" to *tearn* "Lord."

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "it was made": Aucher "oportebat."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "wrote."

<sup>g</sup> ἀποικίας.

<sup>h</sup> Nisan (March-April) is the first month of the vernal or festival calendar, and the seventh month of the autumnal or civil calendar, which begins with Tishri (Sept.-Oct.). The above passage has a close parallel in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 150 ἑβδομος ὧν ὁ μῆν οὗτος (Nisan) ἀριθμῶ τε καὶ τάξει κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον δυνάμει πρῶτός ἐστι, διὸ καὶ πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγράφεται.

<sup>i</sup> LXX τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου λαβέτωσαν ἕκαστος πρόβατον κατ' οἴκους πατριῶν, ἕκαστος πρόβατον κατ' οἰκίαν . . . (vs. 6) καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν διατετηρημένον ἕως τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου, καὶ σφάζουσιν αὐτὸ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος συναγωγῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Philo quotes part of vs. 3 and comments on it differently in *De Congressu* 106-108; he also alludes to vs. 6 in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 224-225.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

In the first place, (this was commanded) in order that he who offered sacrifice might perform the sacrifice not offhandedly <sup>a</sup> and on the spur of the moment and without preparation but with care and thought as if rendering thanks to God, the saviour and benefactor of all (men).<sup>b</sup> In the second place, by this allusion <sup>c</sup> to the sacrifice which was to be prepared beforehand he wishes to teach this first, (namely) that he who was about to offer the sacrifice should first prepare his soul and body <sup>d</sup>—the latter by abstaining from uncleanness in holiness and purity, and the former by quietly giving himself up to God <sup>e</sup> in order that it might be released, even though not altogether, from the passions that disturbed it, for, according to the saying, one should not enter with unwashed feet on the pavement of the temple of God.<sup>f</sup> In the third place, he wishes to test the nation for several <sup>g</sup> days as to just how it stands in respect of faith,<sup>h</sup> since he clearly knew (them to be) of two minds,<sup>i</sup> not having been prepared beforehand for sacrifice and through negligence not having taken thought as was suitable and fitting. In the fourth place, he clearly introduces the defeat of the Egyptians, for though they were not altogether crushed and dismayed by the things which had happened to them, he was referring to the evils which were about to overtake them in five days and which they would have to endure one after another <sup>j</sup> when the enemy would prepare to offer the sacrifices of victory. That is the literal meaning.<sup>k</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>l</sup> it was fitting that this should be, (namely) that the numbers and the nature of all things should be brought

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. uses two expressions to render *παρέργως*.

<sup>b</sup> τῷ σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ πάντων θεῷ.

<sup>c</sup> αἰνιττόμενος. <sup>d</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα.

<sup>e</sup> τῷ ἐνθουσιᾶν οὐ ἐπιθειάζειν.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 138 on Ex. xxx. 19.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "multis." <sup>h</sup> πρὸς πίστιν.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "dubio actos."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher renders slightly differently, "illud quoque futurum eis malum quod post certos quoque dies debuissent perpeti." <sup>k</sup> τὸ ῥήτόν. <sup>l</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

together.<sup>a</sup> For when souls<sup>b</sup> appear bright and visible, their visions<sup>c</sup> begin to hold festival,<sup>d</sup> hoping for a life without sorrow or fear as their lot and seeing the cosmos<sup>e</sup> with the weight of the understanding<sup>f</sup> as full and perfect, in harmony with the decad.<sup>g</sup> That is to say, what else would its experience<sup>h</sup> be but festive?<sup>i</sup>

3. (Ex. xii. 3b) Why is it that (Moses) commands a sheep to be taken "in accordance with the houses of the clans"<sup>j</sup>?

In the first place, because clans are a kind of great kin-group and a large number of men,<sup>k</sup> but small are those (clans) which in accordance with the houses and by blood are reduced to a small number of men. And so, bringing those (groups) which are small into kinship with the large

<sup>a</sup> Apparently Philo is thinking of the numbers ten and fourteen in relation to the lunar calendar.

<sup>b</sup> ψυχαί (see note d).

<sup>c</sup> Or "forms": Aucher "visus."

<sup>d</sup> One is tempted to restore the apparently corrupted original as, "For when bright and visible visions appear to souls, they (*i.e.* "the souls") begin to hold festival." It seems that the original had ψυχαῖς, not ψυχαί.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *zard*, which Aucher renders literally by "ornamentum," obviously reflects κόσμον in the sense of "cosmos."

<sup>f</sup> Slightly emending the Arm. which seems to reflect τοῦ λόγου ὀλκῆ, *cf. De Plantatione* 21 τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄν διανοίας ὀλκῆν.

<sup>g</sup> This is the best sense which I can get from the obscure clause, which Aucher renders, "vitam tristitia et timore carentem sperantes sortiri certo in decimo plenum, et perfectum cernentes ornamentum rationis perpensionisque."

<sup>h</sup> πάθος.

<sup>i</sup> ἐορτώδες.

<sup>j</sup> LXX λαβέτωσαν ἕκαστος πρόβατον κατ' οἴκους πατριῶν (Heb. "of the fathers"), ἕκαστος πρόβατον κατ' οἰκίαν. In *De Congressu* 106 Philo quotes part of the verse, δεκάτη τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου λαβέτωσαν ἕκαστος πρόβατον κατ' οἰκίαν, and comments in part as here, see below. See also *De Vita Mosis* ii. 224.

<sup>k</sup> μεγάλαι τινές συγγένειαι καὶ πολυανθρωπία. Philo here anticipates his comments on vs. 4 in § 5 below.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

ones, he makes them worthy to be table-companions <sup>a</sup> and to come together in one place for the sharing of salt and offerings and sacrifices, which makes for harmonious affection <sup>b</sup> and binds it more firmly. For law is always a maker of peace and unity, <sup>c</sup> especially as they were about to go on a journey. But on a journey tent-mates <sup>d</sup> are useful, and he thought it right for them to make this after beginning with sacrifice. In the second place, he commands that everyone's sacrifice shall be made "in accordance with the house," (and also the sacrifices) of defenders and allies, <sup>e</sup> since in every house of their adversaries the death of the first-born was to take place, so that anyone seeing one (death) after another may at the same time praise and fear the beneficence and just acts (of God). For unexpected things <sup>f</sup> happened within a short time: among some there would be the offering of sacrifices, among others the destruction of the first-born; for some there would be festivals and rejoicing, for others mourning and sorrow; for some there would be blessings and hymns, for others wailings and groans and incessant lamentations. That is the literal meaning. <sup>g</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>h</sup> it is this. The sheep is "progressive," as the name itself shows, being so called in accordance with the progress <sup>i</sup> of the soul, and it indicates improvement. <sup>j</sup> And he wishes that not in one part but in all their parts, by which I mean their nature, <sup>k</sup> they may progress and grow in virtue <sup>l</sup> in respect of their senses and words and sovereign mind, <sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὁμοτραπέζους.      <sup>b</sup> Prob. φιλίαν: Aucher "amorem."

<sup>c</sup> εἰρήνης καὶ ἐνώσεως αἰεὶ δημιουργός ἐστιν ὁ νόμος.

<sup>d</sup> σύσκηνοι, rendered by two Arm. nouns.

<sup>e</sup> Apparently this is a reference to the Israelites' "neighbours" mentioned in vs. 4, see § 5.

<sup>f</sup> παράδοξα.      <sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.      <sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> προκοπήν, expressed by two Arm. nouns.

<sup>j</sup> The same connexion between *pascha*, the Paschal lamb, and spiritual progress is made in *De Congressu* 106 τὸ ψυχικὸν Πάσχα, ἢ . . . διάβασις πρὸς τὸ δέκατον . . . ἱερουργεῖν ἤδη δύνηται τὰς αἰωνεῖς καὶ ἀμώμους προκοπάς.

<sup>k</sup> φύσιν.      <sup>l</sup> ἀρετῇ.

<sup>m</sup> κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν.



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

in order that their natural kinship,<sup>a</sup> admitting a stronger likeness,<sup>b</sup> may more firmly bring about a harmony consisting of counsel and justice.<sup>c</sup>

4. (Ex. xii. 11) <sup>d</sup> But what is the Pascha,<sup>e</sup> which is interpreted as "Passover" <sup>f</sup>?

They make the Passover sacrifice while changing their dwelling-place in accordance with the commands of the Logos,<sup>g</sup> in return for three beneficent acts (of God), which are the beginning and the middle of the freedom to which they now attain.<sup>h</sup> And the beginning was that they were able to conquer the harsh and insupportable masters of whom they had had experience and who <sup>i</sup> had brought all kinds of evil upon them, and this (came about) in two ways, by having their force <sup>j</sup> and their numbers increase. And the middle was that they saw the divinely sent punishments and disasters which overtook their enemies, (for) it was not the nations which fought against them but the regions of the world and the four elements <sup>k</sup> which came against them with the harmfulness and violence of beasts. That is the literal meaning.<sup>l</sup> But the deeper meaning <sup>m</sup> is this. Not only do men make the Passover sacrifice when they change their places but so also and more properly <sup>n</sup> do

<sup>a</sup> ἡ φυσικὴ συγγένεια.

<sup>b</sup> οἰκειότητα.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "copiam prudentiae et justitiae."

<sup>d</sup> Since the name Pascha does not occur before vs. 11 in Ex. chap. xii, the present section should follow § 18.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *P'esek* (Heb. *Pesah*).

<sup>f</sup> διάβασις or διαβατήρια as elsewhere in Philo, e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 154, *De Sacr. Abelis* 63, *De Migratione* 25, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 224. See also *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 146-148 for an allegorical explanation of the name.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ λόγου: Aucher "verbi (divini)."

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "quae sunt principium et medium et proxima consecutio libertatis."

<sup>i</sup> Reading Arm. *ork'* for the meaningless *oyk'*.

<sup>j</sup> δύναμιν: Aucher "virtutem."

<sup>k</sup> τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη καὶ τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>n</sup> οἰκειότερον.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

souls when they begin to give up the pursuits of youth and their terrible disorder <sup>a</sup> and they change to a better and older state. And so our mind <sup>b</sup> should change from ignorance and stupidity to education and wisdom,<sup>c</sup> and from intemperance and dissoluteness to patience and moderation,<sup>d</sup> and from fear and cowardice to courage and confidence,<sup>e</sup> and from avarice and injustice to justice and equality.<sup>f</sup> And there is still another Passover of the soul <sup>g</sup> beside this, which is its making the sacrifice of passing over from the body ; and there is one of the mind, (namely, its passing over) from the senses <sup>h</sup> ; and as for thoughts,<sup>i</sup> (their passing over consists) in one's not being taken with oneself <sup>j</sup> but in willingly thinking further of desiring and emulating prophetic souls.<sup>k</sup>

5. (Ex. xii. 4a) Why is it that (Moses) commands that "if there are few in the house," they shall take their neighbours "in accordance with the number of souls" <sup>l</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> στάσις : Aucher "insipientia." <sup>b</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>c</sup> ἐξ ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ ἀνοίας εἰς παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν.

<sup>d</sup> ἐξ ἀκρασίας καὶ ἀκολασίας εἰς ὑπομονὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην.

<sup>e</sup> ἐκ φόβου καὶ δειλίας εἰς ἀνδρείαν καὶ θάρσος : Aucher renders incompletely, "ex timore in fortitudinem."

<sup>f</sup> ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἰσότητα.

<sup>g</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>h</sup> τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

<sup>i</sup> τῶν λογισμῶν.

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* with one's own importance : Aucher "ut non a se capiatur."

<sup>k</sup> προφητικῶν ψυχῶν or πνευμάτων : Aucher "spirituum prophetorum."

<sup>l</sup> LXX εἰν δὲ ὀλιγοστοὶ ὦσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ἱκανοὺς εἰς πρόβατον, συλλήμψεται μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν γείτονα τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ· κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν κτλ. : the Heb. reads somewhat differently "And if the house (*i.e.* household) be too small for a sheep, then it and its near neighbour shall take (it) for its house by the number of souls." In *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 193 Philo quotes the verse in the following form, εἰν ὀλίγοι ὦσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὥστε μὴ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι εἰς τὸ πρόβατον, τὸν πλησίον γείτονα προσλαβεῖν, κατ' ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν κτλ.

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From the literal text <sup>a</sup> you see how much love of mankind and common feeling <sup>b</sup> he shows, since the divine Word gives the command <sup>c</sup> not only to keep (the festival) <sup>d</sup> but also to take thought about giving a share in it <sup>e</sup> to their neighbours and those near by, both in equality and in likeness. For it is about a most honourable thing—and what is more honourable than sacrifice?—and about that which is held in honour and is a matter of sharing in the smallest things that he seems to be legislating <sup>f</sup> in the present passage.<sup>g</sup> That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> there are some souls which have a full and complete kinship,<sup>i</sup> being adapted to the nobility of concord,<sup>j</sup> their thoughts being in accord with their words, and their words with their deeds.<sup>k</sup> And there are others which lack the elements <sup>l</sup> of eternity, being deficient in nobility. Now these elements pour out love,<sup>m</sup> always <sup>n</sup> receiving neighbours and those who come near. For as a kind of neighbour and as near to us in respect of desire for virtue <sup>o</sup> (we may consider) the theories of the so-called school studies.<sup>p</sup> And one who is nourished by these and keeps in practice,<sup>q</sup> makes up for his deficiencies by receiving the common discipline of the mind.<sup>r</sup> And the instruction of the school studies should be not childish and puerile but rational <sup>s</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ.

<sup>b</sup> φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν.

<sup>c</sup> προστάττοντος τοῦ θείου (οἱ ἱεροῦ) λόγου.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders, "servare," without supplying an object.

<sup>e</sup> κοινωνίαν.

<sup>f</sup> νομοθετεῖν.

<sup>g</sup> The meaning is not wholly clear.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> συγγένειαν.

<sup>j</sup> καλοκάγαθία ὁμονοίας *vel sim.*

<sup>k</sup> τῶν βουλῶν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῶν λόγων τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμοουσύν-

των.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "parts."

<sup>m</sup> ἔρωτα ἐκχέει: Aucher "amore effluunt."

<sup>n</sup> Aucher renders the adverb freely, "humaniter."

<sup>o</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>p</sup> τὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων λεγομένων θεωρήματα.

<sup>q</sup> Aucher "instructus . . . solido exercitio."

<sup>r</sup> τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ νοῦ παιδείαν.

<sup>s</sup> λογική.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

accountable <sup>a</sup> and spiritual,<sup>b</sup> for it adapts the mind to the number of souls.<sup>c</sup>

\*6. (Ex. xii. 4b) Why does (Moses) command that everyone shall "number sufficient for himself" for the sacrifice? <sup>d</sup>

In the first place, excess and defect of equality <sup>e</sup> produce inequality.<sup>f</sup> And inequality,<sup>g</sup> if I may use rather mythological terms, is the mother of injustice, just as, on the other hand, equality <sup>h</sup> is (the mother of) justice.<sup>i</sup> But sufficiency is midway between excess and defect.<sup>j</sup> In this passage Holy Scripture lays down (the rule), "Nothing too much."<sup>k</sup> But in the second place, one's own labour in tilling the soil is a measure of moderation <sup>l</sup> in the things necessary and useful for bodily life. And it is natural <sup>m</sup> for it to have as sisters frugality and contentment <sup>n</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "taken into account": Aucher "aestimatione dignum."

<sup>b</sup> πνευματική.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "quoniam secundum numerum animalium id conciliat mentem," which does not make much sense.

<sup>d</sup> LXX ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναριθμῆσεται εἰς πρόβατον: Hebrew "everyone according to his eating you shall number for the sheep." In *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 192-193 Philo quotes this verse as an illustration of "proportioned equality," the wording of the latter part being ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναριθμῆται.

<sup>e</sup> ἰσότητος, rendered by two Arm. nouns.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly ὑπερβολαὶ καὶ ἐλλείψεις ἀνισότητα ἐγέννησαν.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher mistakenly takes this noun as the second object of "produce" in the preceding sentence.

<sup>h</sup> Here again ἰσότης is rendered by two Arm. nouns.

<sup>i</sup> Slightly emending the Arm. on the basis of the Greek frag., ἀνισότης δέ, ἵνα αὐτὸς μυθικώτερον χρῆσωμαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, μήτηρ ἀδικίας ἐστίν, ὡς ἔμπαιιν ἰσότης δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>j</sup> So the Greek frag., ὑπερβολῆς δὲ καὶ ἐλλείψεως μέσον τὸ αὐταρκές.

<sup>k</sup> Similarly the Greek frag. (which ends here), ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν γράμμα περιέχεται τὸ "μηδὲν ἄγαν."

<sup>l</sup> σωφροσύνης μέτρον.

<sup>m</sup> εἰκός.

<sup>n</sup> Prob. εὐφροσύνη: Aucher "facilitas."

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unexcessive virtue <sup>a</sup> and everything which accepts the task of attacking and overthrowing arrogance.

\*7. (Ex. xii. 5a) Why does (Moses) command (them) to take a "perfect male sheep of one year" <sup>b</sup> ?

(It is to be) perfect in two physical features, <sup>c</sup> (namely) in the sensitive parts of the body and also in the other organs. <sup>d</sup> For an imperfect (sacrifice) is not worthy to be brought to the altar of God. And (it is to be) male, first, because the male is more perfect than the female. Wherefore it is said by the naturalists that the female is nothing else than an imperfect male. <sup>e</sup> In the second place, since it was commanded by the king of the land that the males should die, he thought it right, in face of this and also for the sake of thanksgiving, to make a sacrifice of male animals. And third, because of the king's cruelty and wickedness <sup>f</sup> in ordering the proclamation against the Hebrew children, (he thought it right) to nourish the female and to kill the male (sheep). For since the (king's) command had been annulled by the friendliness and humaneness and power of God, <sup>g</sup> it was proper to give thanks for the males unexpectedly <sup>h</sup> kept alive by (making) male sacrifices. And (the sheep is to be) a year old, since the males become perfect <sup>i</sup> in a year. For having added the

<sup>a</sup> ἀρετή.

<sup>b</sup> LXX πρόβατον τέλειον ἄρσεν (v.l. + ἄμωμον) ἐνιαύσιον ἔσται ὑμῖν. <sup>c</sup> κατὰ δύο ἡλικίας.

<sup>d</sup> καὶ κατὰ τὰ αἰσθητικὰ τοῦ σώματος μέρη καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὄργανα.

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag. (which contains only this sentence and the last sentence of this section), λέγεται ὑπὸ φυσικῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον εἶναι θῆλυ ἢ ἀτελὲς ἄρσεν. For the thought see Aristotle, *De Gener. An.* 775 a; cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 90 A ff.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits the second noun in his rendering.

<sup>g</sup> τῇ οἰκειότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ: Aucher "per humanissimum beneficium divinae potentiae."

<sup>h</sup> ἀπροσδοκῆτως or παραδόξως: Aucher "subito."

<sup>i</sup> τέλειοι, i.e. full-grown.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

“ perfect ” as a sort of prime consideration,<sup>a</sup> he further adds those details in which it is perfect, (namely) that it is more perfect than the female, while the “ year old ” shows the time sufficient for the perfecting of such animals. That is the literal meaning.<sup>b</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> progress<sup>d</sup> toward piety and worthy holiness<sup>e</sup> ought to be both male and of a year’s (duration). But what this means must be shown. Some (men) who have progressed in virtue turn back and flee before they have reached the end,<sup>f</sup> for the newly grown power of virtue in the soul<sup>g</sup> is destroyed by ancient error,<sup>h</sup> which after being quiet for a short while again returns to the attack with great power.<sup>i</sup>

### 8. (Ex. xii. 5b) Why is a sheep chosen ?<sup>j</sup>

Symbolically,<sup>k</sup> as I have said,<sup>l</sup> it indicates perfect progress,<sup>m</sup> and at the same time the male. For progress is indeed nothing else than the giving up of the female gender<sup>n</sup> by changing into the male, since the female gender

<sup>a</sup> Aucher “ tamquam principale.”

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. uses two nouns to render τὰς προκοπὰς.

<sup>e</sup> ἐπ’ εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀξίαν ἀγιότητα.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., ἔνιοι προκόψαντες ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ὑπενόστησαν πρὶν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ τέλους.

<sup>g</sup> Slightly different is the reading of the Greek frag., τὴν ἄρτι φνομένην ἀριστοκρατείαν ἐν ψυχῇ.

<sup>h</sup> Here again the Greek frag. differs somewhat, καθελούσης τῆς παλαιᾶς ὀλιγοκρατείας (v.l. ὀχλοκρατίας).

<sup>i</sup> So the Greek frag., ἡ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἠρεμήσασα πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μετὰ πλείονος δυνάμεως ἀντεπέθετο (v.l. ἐναπέθετο).

<sup>j</sup> LXX (πρόβατον) . . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων (Heb. “ from the sheep and from the goats ”) λήμψεσθε.

<sup>k</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>l</sup> In the preceding section.

<sup>m</sup> προκοπὴν τελείαν. Perhaps the original was προκοπὴν τελειότητα, as in *De Ebrietate* 82. On the word πρόβατον as a symbol of προκοπή see *Leg. All.* iii. 165 and *De Sacr. Abelis* 112.

<sup>n</sup> τοῦ θήλεος γένους.

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is material, passive,<sup>a</sup> corporeal and sense-perceptible,<sup>b</sup> while the male is active, rational, incorporeal and more akin to mind and thought.<sup>c</sup> But not ineptly<sup>d</sup> has it added "of a year,"<sup>e</sup> since the year is (so) called from the fact that it holds everything contained within itself.<sup>f</sup> But since in two of the four seasons, (namely) in autumn and winter, plants lose their leaves and dry up, and, on the other hand, in two (seasons, namely) spring and summer, they flower and bear fruit, so do the souls of progressive men experience similar things.<sup>g</sup> For when they cast off the causes of life,<sup>h</sup> they become almost entirely dry, being changed by desires<sup>i</sup> and all the other sorts<sup>j</sup> of passion.<sup>k</sup> And then<sup>l</sup> it<sup>m</sup> brings forth new buddings<sup>n</sup> of prudence and moderation,<sup>o</sup> and sometimes bears and brings forth perfect fruits of wisdom.<sup>p</sup> But as for the command to prepare lambs and kids,<sup>q</sup> perhaps (it was given) because the Egyptian considered these animals especially divine, in order that the protector and champion<sup>r</sup> might show the overthrow of their adversaries and by what power they were destroyed who were unable

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "vitiosum," see next note.

<sup>b</sup> ὑλικὸν καὶ πάσχον καὶ σωματικὸν καὶ αἰσθητικόν.

<sup>c</sup> δραστήριον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ νῶ τε καὶ λογισμῶ οἰκειότερον. <sup>d</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ.

<sup>e</sup> ἐνιαύσιον, see the preceding section on the first half of Ex. xii. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 235 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, ὅς, καθάπερ αὐτὸ μνηνεί τοῦνομα, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα περιέχει συμπεραιούμενος.

<sup>g</sup> τούτοις ὁμοία καὶ αἱ τῶν προκοπόντων ψυχῶν πάσχουσι.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. their life-giving qualities or the like: Aucher "vitae rationibus (causis)." <sup>i</sup> ἐπιθυμίαις.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "qualities."

<sup>k</sup> παθῶν.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, "post eam vero mutationem."

<sup>m</sup> Apparently the individual soul is meant.

<sup>n</sup> βλαστήματα.

<sup>o</sup> εὐβουλίας (*vel sim.*) καὶ σωφροσύνης: Aucher "prudentiae et sanae mentis."

<sup>p</sup> σοφίας.

<sup>q</sup> Aucher "oves et haedos."

<sup>r</sup> i.e. God, who is called ὑπερασπιστής in *De Ebrietate* 111.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

to help even their ancestral gods. And finally the male (lambs) were chosen and appointed for the daily sacrifices, and the goats for the forgiveness of sins. These, however, are symbols of the virtuous soul which desires perfection.<sup>a</sup> First it was necessary to pluck out sins and then to wash them out and, being resplendent, to complete the daily (tasks) in the practice of virtue.<sup>b</sup>

9. (Ex. xii. 6a) Why does He command (them) to keep the sacrifice ° until the fourteenth (day of the month) ?<sup>d</sup>

(Consisting of) two Sabbaths,<sup>e</sup> it has in its nature a (special) honour because in this time the moon is adorned.<sup>f</sup> For when it has become full on the fourteenth (day), it becomes full of light in the perception of the people. And again through (another) fourteen (days) it recedes from its fullness of light to its conjunction,<sup>g</sup> and it wanes as much in comparison with the preceding Sabbath as the second (waxes) in comparison with the first.<sup>h</sup> For this reason the fourteenth (day) is pre-festive,<sup>i</sup> as though (it were) a road leading to festive rejoicings, during which it is incumbent upon us to meditate.

<sup>a</sup> τελειότητος.

<sup>b</sup> ἀρετῆ.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the Paschal lamb.

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν διατετηρημένον ἕως τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης (v.l., following Heb., adds ἡμέρας) τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. weeks. The Greek prob. had ἑβδομάδας, see next note.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 149 ἄγεται γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη τοῦ μηνός, ἣτις ἐκ δυεῖν ἑβδομάδων συνέστηκεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀμοιρῆ τῶν ἀξίων τιμῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀλλ' αὐτὴ κατάρχη πᾶσιν ἐπιφανείας καὶ σεμνότητος.

<sup>g</sup> ἀπὸ πλησιφαοῦς εἰς σύνοδον, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 178.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher renders obscurely, "diminuitur eo magis quam anterieus sabbatum crescit, et quantum se habebat et secundum ad primum (vel, unitatem)."

<sup>i</sup> προέροτος, as in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 176, which supports Aucher's emendation of Arm. *γαϱαϱατουνακ* ("progressive") to *γαϱαϱατῶνακ*.



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

10. (Ex. xii. 6b) "And," He says, "all the multitude shall sacrifice." <sup>a</sup>

Now at other times the daily priests <sup>b</sup> (chosen) from the people, being appointed for the slaughtering and taking care of them, performed the sacrifices. But at the Pass-over, <sup>c</sup> here spoken of, the whole people together is honoured with the priesthood, for all of them act for themselves <sup>d</sup> in the performance of the sacrifice. For what reason? Because, in the first place, <sup>e</sup> it was the beginning of this kind of sacrifice, the Levites not yet having been elected <sup>f</sup> to the priesthood nor a temple set up. And in the second place, because the Saviour and Liberator, <sup>g</sup> Who alone leads out all men to freedom, deemed them (all) equally worthy of sharing in the priesthood and in freedom as well, since all who were of the same nation had given evidence of equal piety. <sup>h</sup> And because, I think, <sup>i</sup> He judged all the Egyptians to be equally impious, unworthy and unclean, He intended to punish them. For they would not have suffered this if they had not been guilty of the same things before the Father (and) Judge and His justice, <sup>j</sup> so that this (period of) time brought out the equality of both nations, the Egyptian and the Hebrew—an equality of impiety in one, and of piety in the other. In the third place, because a temple had not yet been built, He showed that the dwelling together of several good persons in the home was a temple and altar, in order that in the first sacrifices of the nation no one might be found to have more than any other. In the fourth place, He thought it just and fitting that before

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ σφάζουσι αὐτὸ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος συναγωγῆς υἰῶν Ἰσραήλ (Heb. "all the community of the congregation of Israel"). Philo comments more briefly and somewhat similarly on this half-verse in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 145-146.

<sup>b</sup> οἱ ἐφημερευοί.

<sup>c</sup> Πάσχα.

<sup>d</sup> αὐτουργοῦσι.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "nunc primum."

<sup>f</sup> χειροτονηθέντων.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ ἐλευθεροποιός.

<sup>h</sup> εὐσέβειαν.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "vereor"—a puzzling rendering.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "coram Patre et in tribunali justitiae suae."

## EXODUS, BOOK I

choosing the particular priests <sup>a</sup> He should grant <sup>b</sup> priest-hood to the whole nation in order that the part might be adorned <sup>c</sup> through the whole, and not the whole through a part—above all the popular element.<sup>d</sup> And He permitted the nation, as the very first thing to be done, to prepare with their own hands <sup>e</sup> and to slaughter the sacrifice of the so-called Passover <sup>f</sup> (as) the beginning of good things.<sup>g</sup> And He decided <sup>h</sup> that there is nothing more beautiful than that the divine cult <sup>i</sup> should be performed by all in harmony.<sup>j</sup> And also that the nation might be an archetypal example <sup>k</sup> to the temple-wardens <sup>l</sup> and priests and those who exercise the high-priesthood <sup>m</sup> in carrying out the sacred rites. In the fifth place, because He wished every household and similarly (every) head of a household <sup>n</sup> to act worthily and not to incur any profanation, (being) like a priest who is purified of all sins in whatever he says or does or thinks. And in now speaking of the multitude as a “congregation”<sup>o</sup> He uses apposite names <sup>p</sup> for a more exact appearance of sobriety <sup>q</sup> in the matters entrusted to them <sup>r</sup> now at the present time. For when the whole multitude came together with harmonious oneness to give thanks for their migration, He no longer called them a multitude or a nation or a people but a “congregation.”

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς κατὰ μέρος ἱερεῖς. <sup>b</sup> χάρισασθαι.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher “honorificaretur.”

<sup>d</sup> τὸ λαϊκόν: Aucher “populares.”

<sup>e</sup> χειροποιεῖσθαι.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* the Paschal lamb.

<sup>g</sup> Apparently the kindnesses of God are meant.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher “certam eam (*i.e.* “the nation”) reddens.”

<sup>i</sup> τὴν θεϊαν λατρείαν (or διακονίαν *vel sim.*).

<sup>j</sup> Aucher “unanimitur.”

<sup>k</sup> παράδειγμα ἀρχέτυπον.

<sup>l</sup> τοῖς νεωκόροις, *i.e.* the Levites.

<sup>m</sup> τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ.

<sup>n</sup> οἰκοδεσπότην.

<sup>o</sup> Philo here refers to the LXX expression πλῆθος συναγωγῆς.

<sup>p</sup> Sic (plural): Aucher “nomenclaturam.”

<sup>q</sup> Or “watchfulness”: Aucher “vigilantiae.”

<sup>r</sup> Aucher “in rebus suppositis.”

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

And so it happened that they congregated and came together not only in body but also in mind <sup>a</sup> as being about to sacrifice with one character and one soul.<sup>b</sup>

11. (Ex. xii. 6c) Why is the Passover <sup>c</sup> sacrificed at evening? <sup>d</sup>

Perhaps because good things <sup>e</sup> were about to befall at night (and because) it was not the custom to offer a sacrifice in darkness, and for those who were about to experience good things at night it was not (proper) to prepare it before the ninth hour.<sup>f</sup> Therefore it was not at random but knowingly that the prophet <sup>g</sup> set a time between the evenings.<sup>h</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>i</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>j</sup> this should be said. The true sacrifice <sup>k</sup> of God-loving souls consists in abandoning an empty and visible splendour <sup>l</sup> and attempting to change to the un-

<sup>a</sup> οὐ μόνον σώματι ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοίᾳ.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν ἡθροί (vel sim.) καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ.

<sup>c</sup> ἡ διάβασις ἢ τὰ διαβατήρια = τὸ πάσχα as in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 255 and *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 145.

<sup>d</sup> LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν: Heb. "between the evenings (dual)." In *Lev.* xxiii. 5 LXX renders more literally, ἀπὸ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν, but in *Num.* ix. 3 it has πρὸς ἑσπέραν as here. In *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 145 Philo sets the time for sacrificing the Paschal lamb "from noon until evening."

<sup>e</sup> εὐπραγίαι, i.e. the judgment executed on the Egyptians, see below, *QE* i. 20 on Ex. xii. 12.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. 3 P.M. In Palestine the Paschal lamb was usually slaughtered at about 3 P.M., although theoretically the slaughtering might be done "between noon and twilight" (see above, note *d*).

<sup>g</sup> ὁ προφήτης, i.e. Moses, here represented as speaking for God.

<sup>h</sup> See note *d*. Aucher renders more literally, "tempus mediocre ad vesperam vergens."

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>k</sup> ἡ ἀψευδὴς θυσία: Aucher "infallibile sacrificium."

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. *parḳ* may here reflect *δόξαν* in the sense of "opinion."

## EXODUS, BOOK I

apparent and invisible.<sup>a</sup> Now the time of evening does not have a refulgent brightness, such as occurs at midday, nor is it darkened, although while day is near and close to night, it is dimmed to a certain extent. Such happens to be<sup>b</sup> the state of progressive men.<sup>c</sup> For they do not completely change to virtue<sup>d</sup> nor do they remain unhindered<sup>e</sup> in the affairs of mortal life.

12. (Ex. xii. 7) Why does He command (them) to place some of the blood upon the doorposts and upon the lintel of every house?<sup>f</sup>

That is (because), as I said a little earlier,<sup>g</sup> at that time every house became an altar and a temple of God for the contemplative,<sup>h</sup> wherefore He rightly deemed them worthy of making divine offerings of blood upon the front parts of each (house)<sup>i</sup> that they might at the same time, showing

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "in invisibilem studere transferri."

<sup>b</sup> πέφυκε: Aucher "habetur ex natura."

<sup>c</sup> τῶν προκοπτόντων.

<sup>d</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "sine obstaculo (vel, discrimine)." One would expect "nor do they remain completely immersed" or the like. The Arm. *anargel* renders ἀκόλυτος, ἀκόλαστος and ἀκρατής. Perhaps, therefore, we should here render, "incontinent."

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ λήμφονται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ θήσουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δύο σταθμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν φλιὰν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἐν οἷς ἐὰν φάγωσιν αὐτὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. The meanings of the two architectural terms in the Arm. and LXX texts are not precise, since both terms in both languages may render "doorpost" or "lintel" or "threshold." But the Philonic context and the Heb. original favour the rendering given above. Aucher, however, renders, "super limina et super postes."

<sup>g</sup> In *QE* i. 10.

<sup>h</sup> τοῖς θεωρητικοῖς (or ὁρατικοῖς)= Israel as elsewhere in Philo, e.g. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 78, *De Somniis* ii. 173; so, too, Aucher, "contemplativis (Israelitis)."

<sup>i</sup> As Aucher notes, the meaning is somewhat uncertain because of the ambiguity of two of the Arm. words; he renders, "unde jure divini sacrificii ex sanguine offerendo super postes singulorum dignos eos afficit."

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contempt of their enemies, sacrifice without fear and, as it were, bear testimony to and show confidence in the greatness and abundance of God's gracious acts.<sup>a</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>b</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> it is this. Since our soul is threefold,<sup>d</sup> the heart is likened to the lintel, desire to the house, and reason to the two doorposts. And since each of these parts is destined 'to move on' to righteousness and piety and worthy holiness<sup>e</sup> and to change to other virtues,<sup>f</sup> it is necessary for it to participate in virtue, to which it is kin by blood.<sup>g</sup>

13. (Ex. xii. 8a) Why does He command (them) to eat the flesh of the Paschal lamb<sup>h</sup> at night?<sup>k</sup>

As for the literal meaning,<sup>l</sup> since good things<sup>m</sup> were ordered to take place at night, it was right<sup>n</sup> that the

<sup>a</sup> τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων. Aucher renders the last clause somewhat differently, "sed quasi ostentantes confidenter per magnitudinem copiamque Dei gratiae."

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 225 ψυχὴ γὰρ τρισμερῆς μὲν ἐστὶ. Philo here follows Plato in assuming that the soul has three faculties or parts, emotion (θυμός), appetite or desire (ἐπιθυμία) and reason (λόγος).

<sup>e</sup> μέλλοντος.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "to migrate."

<sup>g</sup> εἰς δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀξίαν ὁσιότητα.

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετὰς.

<sup>i</sup> The meaning of the last clause is uncertain. Aucher renders, "necesse habet ut participet sanguinem cognatum virtute," adding in a footnote, "vel, ut consanguineus participet virtutem." Apparently Philo means that blood is in general a symbol of kinship, cf. *De Virtutibus* 79.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *p'esxeeki* = τοῦ πάσχα.

<sup>k</sup> LXX καὶ φάγονται τὰ κρέα τῆ νυκτὶ ταύτη.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>m</sup> εὐπραγιῶν, i.e. the judgment executed upon the Egyptians, cf. *QE* i. 11 and 20.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher, in disregard of the Arm. word-order, renders, "rectum fuit secundum ordinem."

## EXODUS, BOOK I

victims sacrificed in thanksgiving should be consumed by the eaters at the same time. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>a</sup> it was proper for those who wished truly to repent<sup>b</sup> to effect the purification of their souls<sup>c</sup> invisibly and without making signs and not saying anything more but only believing (themselves) to stand in night and darkness, in order that no visible (and) visionary form of imaginary idols might appear to be seen.<sup>d</sup> And none the less does glory follow the humility of the worshippers,<sup>e</sup> for darkness does not make the stars invisible; rather do they appear more clearly at night.

14. (Ex. xii. 8b) (Why) does He command that the flesh of the Passover<sup>f</sup> sacrifice be offered roasted?<sup>g</sup>

First, for the sake of speed, for He was hastening the exodus. Second, for the sake of simplicity,<sup>h</sup> for that which is roasted is prepared more simply<sup>i</sup> and without dressing. In the third place, He does not permit (us) to lead a life

<sup>a</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>b</sup> μετανοεῖν.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 147 "But to those accustomed to turn literal facts into allegory the Passover (τὰ διαβατήρια) suggests the purification of the soul (ψυχῆς κάθαρσιν)."

<sup>d</sup> The text is somewhat obscure. Aucher renders a little more freely, "coquod nulla videatur imaginaria visio simulacri idolorum instar." In *De Spec. Leg.* i. 319-323 Philo inveighs against the pagan mysteries celebrated in the darkness of night, while in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 155 he points out that the Passover sacrifice takes place in the clear light of the full moon.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher less aptly, I think, renders, "quum non parva sequitur religiosos humilitas ac gloria."

<sup>f</sup> τῶν διαβατηρίων, see *QE* i. 11, note c.

<sup>g</sup> LXX καὶ φάγονται τὰ κρέα . . . ὅπτα πυρί.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. lit. = δι' ἀκρασίαν, which usu. means "intemperance" in Philo, but here means more literally "not being mixed (with spices, etc.)." Possibly, however, the original was ἀκηρασίαν "purity."

<sup>i</sup> ἀπλούστερον.

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filled with luxury,<sup>a</sup> for boiling<sup>b</sup> is an indication of variety and seasoning.<sup>c</sup>

15. (Ex. xii. 8c) (Why) does He say that they shall offer<sup>d</sup> unleavened bread on bitter herbs together with the above-mentioned sacrifice?<sup>e</sup>

Unleavened bread is (a sign) of great haste and speed, while the bitter herbs (are a sign) of the life of bitterness and struggle which they endure as slaves. That is the literal meaning.<sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> this is worth noting, (namely) that that which is leavened and fermented<sup>h</sup> rises, while that which is unleavened is low.<sup>i</sup> Each of these is a symbol of types of soul,<sup>j</sup> one being haughty and swollen with arrogance, the other being unchangeable and prudent, choosing the middle way rather than extremes because of desire and zeal for equality.<sup>k</sup> But the bitter herbs are a manifestation of a psychic migration,<sup>l</sup> through which one removes from passion to impassivity and from wickedness to virtue.<sup>m</sup> For those who naturally and genuinely repent<sup>n</sup> become bitter toward their former way of life and are vexed with their wretched life, weeping, sighing and groaning because they have given over the most necessary part of time to that seductive

<sup>a</sup> τρυφῆς *vel sim.* : Aucher "voluptate."

<sup>b</sup> ἐψησας, as opposed to ὄπησας.

<sup>c</sup> ποικιλίας καὶ ἀρτύματος.

<sup>d</sup> Scripture "eat," see next note.

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ ἄζυμα ἐπὶ πικρῶν ἔδονται. In commenting briefly on this phrase in *De Congressu* 162 Philo cites it as ἐπὶ πικρῶν τὰ ἄζυμα ἐσθίειν.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ἐζυμωμένον <καὶ> ζέον *vel sim.* : Aucher "fermentatum pustulis."

<sup>i</sup> ταπεινόν : Aucher "desidet."

<sup>j</sup> ὡν ἑκάτερον σύμβολόν ἐστι τῶν ψυχῶν τρόπων.

<sup>k</sup> ἰσότητος.

<sup>l</sup> ψυχικῆς ἀποικίας : Aucher "spiritualis emigrationis."

<sup>m</sup> ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἀπάθειαν καὶ ἐκ πονηρίας εἰς ἀρετήν.

<sup>n</sup> φύσει καὶ γνησίως μετανοοῦσι.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

and deceitful mistress, Desire,<sup>a</sup> and have spent <sup>b</sup> the prime of their youth in being deceived by her when they ought to have renewed themselves and advanced <sup>c</sup> in the contemplation of wisdom <sup>d</sup> toward the goal of a happy, fortunate and immortal life.<sup>e</sup> And so, we who desire repentance eat the unleavened bread with bitter herbs, that is, we first eat bitterness over our old <sup>f</sup> and unendurable life, and then (we eat) the opposite of overboastful arrogance through meditation on humility,<sup>g</sup> which is called reverence.<sup>h</sup> For the memory of former sins causes fear, and by restraining it through recollection brings no little profit to the mind.<sup>i</sup>

16. (Ex. xii. 9a) What is the meaning of the words, "You shall not eat (it) raw" <sup>j</sup> ?

And who of mankind will eat raw meat? Carnivores among beasts and eaters of raw flesh (alone do so). But man is a tame animal by nature,<sup>k</sup> especially those who are adorned with a character <sup>l</sup> in accordance with the divine law.<sup>m</sup> Accordingly, He appears to allegorize <sup>n</sup> all this, for He says that those who change from wickedness to virtue <sup>o</sup> shall not eat of repentance <sup>p</sup> when it is raw and crude but (shall do so) by heating it, that is, with hot and ignited principles. For many men change unexpectedly to the opposite by an irrational impulse,<sup>q</sup> from generosity to

<sup>a</sup> ἐπιθυμία.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, "male traduxerunt."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher combines the two infinitives in rendering, "jucunde proficere." <sup>d</sup> τῆ σοφίας θεωρία.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "ad felicem immortalis vitae statum."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "oldness" (παλαιότητος): Aucher "transactum tempus." <sup>g</sup> ταπεινώσεως.

<sup>h</sup> Prob. αἰδώς: Aucher "pudor."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher renders less literally and less intelligibly, "et in se recolligens mentem, non paucam utilitatem fert."

<sup>j</sup> LXX: οὐκ ἔδεσθε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠμόν.

<sup>k</sup> ἡμερον ζῶων φύσει.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "cunctis moribus."

<sup>m</sup> κατὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον.

<sup>n</sup> ἀλληγορεῖν.

<sup>o</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>p</sup> μετανοίας, see the preceding section.

<sup>q</sup> ἀλόγῳ ὀρμῇ.



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parsimony, and from a barbarous,<sup>a</sup> artificial and delicate way of life to a harsh way of life,<sup>b</sup> and from love of glory they fly to ingloriousness. These men no one will praise. For, as one might say allegorically, their change is raw and crude and unstable,<sup>c</sup> wherefore they are not aware of changing, not to virtue but to the opposite vices. But those who change by the principle of knowledge<sup>d</sup> and are hardened<sup>e</sup> as though by the force of fire have acquired a stable and unmoving usefulness.

17. (Ex. xii. 9b) Why was the head to be offered with the feet and the entrails at the Paschal sacrifice? <sup>f</sup>

The literal meaning <sup>g</sup> is, I believe, somewhat as follows. Since He believes that the whole sacrifice should be consumed, He mentions all the parts, indicating <sup>h</sup> that it is not proper to leave anything at all. But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> the head is the first, highest and principal (part). But the internal (parts) He opposes to the external. For He says that it is fitting for him who is purified to purify his entire soul <sup>j</sup> with his inner desires,<sup>k</sup> and the words that go outward and the deeds through serviceable instruments <sup>l</sup> and through the head (as) chief, as it were.

18. (Ex. xii. 10) (Why) does He command that the remainder of the Paschal sacrifice be burnt at dawn? <sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "agresti."

<sup>b</sup> σκληραγωγίαν.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders inaccurately, "quoniam cruda et inconstans est, ut aliquis diceret, summa commutatio eorum."

<sup>d</sup> λόγω ἐπιστήμης vel sim.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "are fitted together": Aucher "componuntur."

<sup>f</sup> LXX κεφαλὴν σὺν τοῖς ποσὶν (Heb. "legs") καὶ τοῖς ἐνδοσθίοις.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> αἰνιττόμενος: Aucher "declarans."

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. noun (= ψυχή) is strangely in the plural.

<sup>k</sup> ἐπιθυμίαις.

<sup>l</sup> διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετούντων ὀργάνων.

<sup>m</sup> τὰ δὲ καταλιπόμενα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἕως πρωὶ ἐν πυρὶ κατακαύσετε.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

He did not think it right that the sun should first shine upon the Passover <sup>a</sup> because of His completing a good thing <sup>b</sup> at night, as I have said.<sup>c</sup> And why this was at night has already been said, where the manifestations of deeds took place and the praises of the deeds. And it was commanded that the sacrifice be prepared at this time in order that all the limbs of the sacrifice might be consumed. For many of the necessary things are wont to be overlooked in an unexpected and hurried exodus, especially by those who are hurrying to make the exodus with great speed. (And) it was not proper for the unworthy and unclean hands of the Egyptians to touch the remains. Wherefore, taking care that they should not be defiled in any way, He handed them over to an undefiled king, the fire.<sup>d</sup>

\*19. (Ex. xii. 11) (Why) does He command (everyone) to eat, having a girdle and shoes and a staff? <sup>e</sup>

All the things mentioned are an indication of the manner of journeying of those who are in haste. For it is the custom of those who are about to travel a long way to wear shoes and to be girt with a girdle and to take a staff for their needs, because shoes protect the feet, while girding oneself makes movement easier for the legs, and a staff is useful to lean on and to drive away poisonous reptiles and other beasts. This, then, suffices for the explanation of the literal meaning.<sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> this must be said. The girdles represent drawing together <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τῶν διαβατηρίων, cf. QE i. 4.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπ' αἰῶνα, i.e. the judgment executed on the Egyptians.

<sup>c</sup> In QE i. 11, 13. See also QE i. 20 on Ex. xii. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Apparently fire is here called "an undefiled king" in implied contrast to the unclean king of Egypt.

<sup>e</sup> LXX οὕτως δὲ φάγεσθε αὐτό· αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμένοι καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ βακτηρίαι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑμῶν· καὶ ἔδεσθε αὐτὸ μετὰ σπουδῆς· πάσχα ἐστὶν κυρίως. Philo briefly allegorizes this verse in *Leg. All.* iii. 154 and *De Sacr. Abelis* 63. <sup>f</sup> τοῦ ῥητοῦ. <sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. (which begins here) has στάσιν, while the Arm. more closely renders συστολήν or the like.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and the coming together of the sensual pleasures and other passions,<sup>a</sup> which, being, as it were, released and let go, overtake all souls.<sup>b</sup> Wherefore not ineptly does He add that one must have a girdle about the middle, for this place is considered as the manger of the many-headed beast of desire within us.<sup>c</sup>

And the staves seem to represent a royal, disciplinary<sup>d</sup> and stable form, for the rod is a symbol of kingship and an instrument of discipline for those who are unable to act prudently<sup>e</sup> without being scolded.<sup>f</sup> And it is a figure<sup>g</sup> of unmoving and stable souls which abandon whatever inclines to either side and in two (directions). And the shoes indicate the covering and protection of one who is engaged in hurrying not on a trackless way but on a well-travelled and worn path which leads to virtue.<sup>h</sup> Wherefore that which is (here) said is contrary to what (actually) takes place. For, He says, they must have shoes "in their feet"<sup>i</sup> which is impossible and cannot be done, for the feet of the wearers are different from the shoes. But it seems from this and many other (passages) that He is recalling the mind to the contemplation of natural ideas.<sup>j</sup> For shoes are inanimate while feet are animate, just as is each of the various other parts of the body. And so, He says, let not the inanimate be a covering for that which

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., συναγωγὴν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly ἂν τέως ἀνεῖτο καὶ κεχάλαστο.

<sup>c</sup> Similarly the Greek frag. (which ends here), οὐκ ἀπὸ δὲ σκοποῦ προσέθηκε τὸ δεῖν ζώννυσθαι κατὰ τὴν ὀσφύν ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐκεῖνος εἰς φάτην ἀποκέκριται πολυκεφάλῳ θρέμματι τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

<sup>d</sup> Or "admonitory": Aucher "monitivam."

<sup>e</sup> σωφρονίζεσθαι.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 175 ἡ ῥάβδος . . . ἡ νουθεσία, ὁ σωφρονισμός, ἡ παιδεία.

<sup>g</sup> τρόπος *vel sim.*: Aucher "exemplar."

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>i</sup> For homiletical purposes Philo dwells on the literal meaning of the LXX phrase τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσίν.

<sup>j</sup> φυσικῶν ιδεῶν, *i.e.* religious-philosophical concepts.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

has a soul but, on the contrary, let the animate (be a cover) for the inanimate in order that the better may not be held and contained by the bad but the bad by the better. For the Creator has made the soul queen and mistress of the body, and the body the obedient servant and slave of the soul.

20. (Ex. xii. 12) (Why) does He say, "And on all the gods of the Egyptians I will take vengeance; I (am) the Lord" <sup>a</sup>?

(This is said) concerning all unstable and unworthy things, for (only) up to a certain point does the pretence of divinized idols <sup>b</sup> succeed by accidentally attaining knowledge in giving oracular responses <sup>c</sup> through persuasive words and parables and still other (devices) which have their source in chance. And these are all of short duration, for they never see the light of sacred truth, <sup>d</sup> by which alone the Creator of all, Who keeps created beings in security and is truly <sup>e</sup> their Lord, can naturally be comprehended. <sup>f</sup> And the comprehension <sup>g</sup> of Him immediately dissolves unstable and unworthy human beliefs and the power <sup>h</sup> by which men are overwhelmed because of the impotence within them. And so, just as are the words of idols, so in all things is the way of life of the foolish man. For he who has a false and erroneous opinion <sup>i</sup> concerning the best, (namely) God, also has an erroneous and false way of life. And as for those who have true knowledge without

<sup>a</sup> Philo here comments on only the last part of the verse which reads in full in the LXX text *καὶ ἐλεύσομαι ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ καὶ πατάξω πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ποιήσω τὴν ἐκδίκησιν* (Heb. "judgments"): *ἐγὼ κύριος.*

<sup>b</sup> *τύφος* (*vel sim.*) τῶν θεοπλαστηθέντων εἰδώλων.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "in places of questioning."

<sup>d</sup> Aucher, disregarding the Arm. word-order, renders, "sanctum lumen veritatis."

<sup>e</sup> ὄντως: Aucher "solus."

<sup>f</sup> καταλαμβάνεσθαι πέφυκε.

<sup>g</sup> ἡ κατάληψις.

<sup>h</sup> τὴν δύναμιν.

<sup>i</sup> δόξα.

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error concerning the Existent One,<sup>a</sup> their truthfulness is honoured in every other matter.

\*21. (Ex. xii. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "I will bring out your force from Egypt"<sup>b</sup>? Why does He not say "you"<sup>c</sup>?

"Force" is the godly piety of the seeing nation.<sup>d</sup> Now, so long as those who have this force dwell in cities and villages, the cities and villages act well and properly, for they are adorned at least with the virtue<sup>e</sup> of others if not with their own.<sup>f</sup> But when (these inhabitants) depart, the portion of common good fortune is changed. For good men are the pillars of whole communities, and they support cities and city-governments as if they were great houses.<sup>g</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>h</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> it is this. Just as, when health leaves the body, illness immediately seizes it, so also, if godly piety, the force of the soul, departs, one must necessarily expect its waiting house-mate,<sup>j</sup> impotence and impiety, for not even a seed of decency<sup>k</sup> remains, but even if there is a small remaining spark, this too is driven out, and there supervenes a great and most severe affliction.

22. (Ex. xii. 22c) What is the meaning of the words,

<sup>a</sup> *περὶ τοῦ ὄντος*: Aucher "de Deo."

<sup>b</sup> Philo here comments on only part of vs. 17, of which the LXX text reads *καὶ φυλάξετε τὴν ἐντολὴν* (Heb. "unleavened bread") *ταύτην ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐξάγω* (Heb. "I brought out") *τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῶν* (Heb. "your hosts") *ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ποιήσετε τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην εἰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν νόμιμον αἰῶνιον.*

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* instead of "your force."

<sup>d</sup> *δύναμις ἐστὶ ἢ τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ γένους (i.e. Israel) θεοσεβεία.*

<sup>e</sup> ἀρετῆ.

<sup>f</sup> *ταῖς οἰκείαις.*

<sup>g</sup> So, with one addition, the Greek fragment (which contains only this sentence), *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, τροπικώτερον εἰπέιν, κίονές εἰσι δῆμων ὄλων, ὑπερείδοντες, καθάπερ οἰκίας μεγάλας, τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς πολιτείας.*

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "satellitum domesticum."

<sup>k</sup> *καλοκάγαθίας.*

## EXODUS, BOOK I

“ And no one shall go out through the doors of his house until morning ” <sup>a</sup> ?

As for the literal meaning, <sup>b</sup> this must be said, (namely) that God wishes to accomplish His benefactions solely by His own hand without any human operator <sup>c</sup> both in punishing those who deserve every curse and in helping those to whom unjust and violent things happen. <sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>e</sup> “ morning ” is a figure of sense-perceptible light, <sup>f</sup> for the mind <sup>g</sup> until that time dwells in itself <sup>h</sup> alone, leaving the tumult of the senses. And sometimes, permitting itself to use the senses, it is wont to go about everywhere. Now this going about produces for it error and tracklessness, <sup>i</sup> for the doors, by which I understand the senses, <sup>j</sup> are opened to the streams of sense-perceptible things, <sup>k</sup> into which the mind throws itself down, as if from some high precipice, from the perfect, intelligible and incorporeal ideas. <sup>l</sup> But he who does not go out through the doors of the soul and experiences a good fear, sees only those things worthy to be seen, which shine forth <sup>m</sup> from thoughts stripped of the senses. Wherefore (Scripture) adds, “ The Lord will pass over the door, ” <sup>n</sup> by which I understand both the senses and all sense-perceptible things. For so long as the senses are released

<sup>a</sup> LXX ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθε ἕκαστος τὴν θύραν τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἕως πρωῆ.  
<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher “ cooperatore.”

<sup>d</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, “ illos vero qui omnem maledictionem merent punire volens aut quibus iniqua quaedam per vim inferenda sint, id mediantibus aliis prosequi.”  
<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> σημεῖον τροπικόν (vel sim.) ἐστὶ φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. demonstr. pron. here seems to be used as a reflexive. Aucher boldly renders, “ in corpore.”

<sup>i</sup> πλάνην καὶ ἀνοδίαν.

<sup>j</sup> τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

<sup>k</sup> Slightly emending the Arm. which lit. = τῶν αἰσθήσεων instead of τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

<sup>l</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν τελειῶν καὶ νοητῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher “ oriuntur.”

<sup>n</sup> See LXX of Ex. xii. 23b καὶ παρελεύσεται κύριος τὴν θύραν.

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and apart by themselves,<sup>a</sup> they belong to the mind.<sup>b</sup> But when they descend into the body, they give admittance to a baser idea, imitating, in a way, the nature of irrational creatures.<sup>c</sup>

23. (Ex. xii. 23c) (Why) does (Scripture) say that He will not let "the destroyer enter your houses to strike"<sup>d</sup>?

It weaves into the whole legislation<sup>e</sup> the faithful and worthy sentiment<sup>f</sup> that we are not to make the Deity the cause of any evil.<sup>g</sup> For when it says that He will not suffer the destroyer, it makes plain that corruption and destruction are brought about through certain others as ministers but not through the sovereign King.<sup>h</sup> There you have the literal meaning.<sup>i</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>j</sup> this must be said. Into every soul at its very birth<sup>k</sup> there enter two powers,<sup>l</sup> the salutary and the destructive.<sup>m</sup> If the salutary one is victorious and prevails, the opposite

<sup>a</sup> ὅσον ἀφεται εἰσι καὶ ἴδιαι καθ' ἑαυτὰς αἱ ἰδέαι: Aucher "quantum liberi sunt et in se collecti sensus."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "they are of the mind": Aucher "mentis sunt."

<sup>c</sup> ἀλόγων ζώων φύσιν.

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσει τὸν ὀλεθρεύοντα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ὑμῶν πατάξαι. Philo quotes this passage and comments on it very briefly in *Leg. All.* ii. 34.

<sup>e</sup> νομοθεσία.

<sup>f</sup> γνώμην: Aucher "voluntatem."

<sup>g</sup> That God is not responsible for any evil is stated by Philo in several places, e.g. *De Confus. Ling.* 161, 182. Sometimes, however, he admits that God sometimes Himself inflicts evil as a punishment, see Wolfson, *Philo*, i. 282, 382.

<sup>h</sup> διὰ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>k</sup> ἅμα τῇ γενέσει.

<sup>l</sup> δυνάμεις.

<sup>m</sup> ἡ μὲν σωτηρία, ἡ δὲ φθοροποιός. These powers are not to be identified with the two chief powers or attributes of God, the βασιλική or κολαστήριος δύναμις and the εὐεργέτης or ποιητική δύναμις, on which see *QG* ii. 51, iv. 2, *QE* ii. 68 et al. They correspond more closely to the good and evil cosmic powers, identified with good and bad angels (or demons) respectively.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

one is too weak to see.<sup>a</sup> And if the latter prevails, no profit at all or little is obtained from the salutary one. Through these powers the world<sup>b</sup> too was created. People call them by other names: the salutary (power) they call powerful and beneficent, and the opposite one (they call) unbounded<sup>c</sup> and destructive. Thus, the sun and moon and the appropriate positions of the other stars and their ordered functions and the whole heaven together come into being and exist through the two (powers). And they are created<sup>d</sup> in accordance with the better part of these,<sup>e</sup> namely when the salutary and beneficent (power) brings to an end<sup>f</sup> the unbounded and destructive nature. Wherefore also to those who have attained such a state and a nature similar to this is immortality given. But the nation<sup>g</sup> is a mixture of both (these powers), from which the heavens and the entire world as a whole have received this mixture. Now, sometimes the evil becomes greater in this mixture, and hence (all creatures) live in torment, harm, ignominy, contention, battle and bodily illness together with all the other things in human life, as in the whole world, so in man. And this mixture is in both the wicked man and the wise man<sup>h</sup> but not in the same way. For the souls of foolish men have the unbounded and

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. inf. may be either active or passive, hence we may here render "to be seen." Moreover, the verb *tesanem* renders *φροντίζειν* as well as *ὄρᾶν*, hence Aucher here renders, "ad aliquid sibi providendum." I suspect, however, that the original reading was not *ὄρᾶν* "to see" but *ὄρμᾶν* "to attack."

<sup>b</sup> ὁ κόσμος.

<sup>c</sup> Prob. *ἄπειρον*, perhaps here used in the sense of the indeterminate, inferior principle of the Pythagoreans.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *stanam* here renders *κτίζειν* rather than *κτᾶσθαι*, as Aucher supposes, see the next note.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, "acquiritur autem melior eorum pars."

<sup>f</sup> Form and meaning of the verb *katarem*, which usually renders *τελειοῦν*, are here not certain: Aucher "subigit."

<sup>g</sup> It is not clear whether this refers to the nation (*γένος*) of Israel, as the Arm. glossator supposes, or to the human race.

<sup>h</sup> ἐν τῷ σοφῷ.



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destructive rather than the powerful and salutary (power), and it <sup>a</sup> is full of misery when it dwells with earthly creatures. But the prudent and noble (soul) rather receives the powerful and salutary (power) and, on the contrary, possesses in itself good fortune and happiness, <sup>b</sup> being carried around with the heaven because of kinship <sup>c</sup> with it. Most excellently, therefore, does (Scripture) say that He will not let "the destroyer enter your houses to strike," and this is what (actually) happens, for the force which is the cause of destruction strives, <sup>d</sup> as it were, to enter the soul, but is prevented by the divine beneficences <sup>e</sup> from striking (it), for these are salutary. But those from whom the favours and gifts of God <sup>f</sup> are separated and cut off suffer the experience of desertion and widowhood. <sup>g</sup> The meaning is somewhat as follows. Into this soul there extend and enter visible appearances <sup>h</sup> which are mixed in accordance with various kinds of involuntary traits of character, <sup>i</sup> sometimes naked and unarmed, and sometimes armed and in a certain manner <sup>j</sup> threatening death, and they inflict mighty blows upon the thoughts. <sup>k</sup> Now, these blows are the admission <sup>l</sup> of appearances. But perfect good is not obtained from any of these.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "which," referring to the destructive power rather than to the salutary one.

<sup>b</sup> Or "good fame."

<sup>c</sup> συγγένειαν.

<sup>d</sup> φιλοτιμείται *vel sim.* : Aucher "inhibetur."

<sup>e</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν θείων ἐνεργειῶν.

<sup>f</sup> αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες καὶ δωρεαί.

<sup>g</sup> ἐρημίας καὶ χηρείας.

<sup>h</sup> φαντασίαι : Aucher "imaginationes."

<sup>i</sup> ἀκουσίων τρόπων *vel sim.* : Aucher "mores involuntarios."

<sup>j</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>k</sup> τοὺς λογισμούς.

<sup>l</sup> συγχώρησις *vel sim.* : Aucher "admissio."

## BOOK II <sup>a</sup>

\*1. (Ex. xx. 25b) What is the meaning of the words, "If thou strike thy hand-tool against it, then it is defiled" <sup>b</sup>?

Those who presume to lay hands upon nature and transform the works of nature by their own undertakings defile the undefiled.<sup>c</sup> For the things of nature are perfect and full and are not in need of any excision or addition or anything at all.<sup>d</sup>

\*2. (Ex. xxii. 21)<sup>e</sup> Why does (Scripture) in admonishing, "Thou shalt not oppress a sojourner," add, "For ye were sojourners in the land of the Egyptians" <sup>f</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> Book II of the *Quaestiones in Exodum*, which is about three times as long as Book I, probably contains most, if not all, of what were, in the original Greek, Books III-V. See the Introduction.

<sup>b</sup> The whole verse reads in LXX εὖν δὲ θυσιαστήριον ἐκ λίθων ποιῆς μοι, οὐκ οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτοὺς τμητούς. τὸ γὰρ ἐνχειρίδιόν σου (Heb. "thy knife") ἐπιβέβληκας ἐπ' αὐτούς (Heb. "if thou lift against it"), καὶ μεμίανται (Heb. "then thou wilt defile it"). The Greek frag. reads more briefly τί ἐστι "τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρίδιόν σου" καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς;

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag., οἱ τὴν φύσιν παρεγχειρεῖν τολμῶντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς φύσεως ἐγχειρήμασιν ἰδίους μεταμορφοῦντες τὰ ἀμίαντα μαινοῦσι.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly τέλεια γὰρ καὶ πλήρη τὰ τῆς φύσεως, προσθήκης οὐδεμιᾶς δεόμενα.

<sup>e</sup> Heb., Ex. xxii. 20.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ προσήλυτον (Heb. *gēr* originally meant "sojourner" or "guest," "client," etc., later "proselyte" as in the LXX) οὐ κακώσετε οὐδὲ μὴ θλίψετε αὐτόν· ἦτε γὰρ προσήλυτοι ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ.

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(Scripture) first makes it clearly apparent and demonstrable <sup>a</sup> that in reality <sup>b</sup> the sojourner <sup>c</sup> is one who circumcises not his uncircumcision but his desires and sensual pleasures and the other passions of the soul.<sup>d</sup> For in Egypt the Hebrew nation was not circumcised <sup>e</sup> but being mistreated with all (kinds of) mistreatment by the inhabitants in their hatred of strangers, it lived with them in self-restraint and endurance, not by necessity but rather of its own free choice,<sup>f</sup> because it took refuge in God the Saviour, Who sent His beneficent power and delivered from their difficult and hopeless situation those who made supplication (to Him).<sup>g</sup> Therefore (Scripture) adds,<sup>h</sup> "Ye yourselves know the soul of the sojourner." But what is the mind of the sojourner <sup>i</sup> if not <sup>j</sup> alienation from belief in many gods <sup>k</sup> and familiarity with honouring the one

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly ἐμφανέστατα παρίστησιν.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. (see next note but one) has nothing corresponding to the Arm. *isk* = "in reality" or the like.

<sup>c</sup> Here, as usually, Philo takes προσήλυτος in the sense of "proselyte."

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag. (with one change of word-order), ὅτι προσήλυτός ἐστιν, οὐχ ὁ περιτμηθεὶς τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γὰρ τὸ Ἑβραῖον γένος οὐ περιτέμνητο.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., κακῶθ' ἐν δὲ πάσαις κακώσεσι τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων περὶ τοὺς ξένους ὠμότητος, ἐγκρατεία καὶ καρτερία συνέβιον οὐκ ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθειλοσίου γνώμη.

<sup>g</sup> So the Greek frag., διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν καταφυγὴν, ὃς ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀμηχάνων ἐπιπέμψας τὴν εὐεργέτιν δύναμιν ἐρύσατο τοὺς ἰκέτας.

<sup>h</sup> In Ex. xxiii. 9, of which the LXX text reads καὶ προσήλυτον οὐ θλίβετε· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ προσήλυτου· αὐτοὶ γὰρ προσήλυτοι ἦτε ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ.

<sup>i</sup> So the Greek frag., τίς δὲ προσήλυτου διάνοιά ἐστιν; Note the shift from LXX's ψυχὴ to Philo's διάνοια.

<sup>j</sup> The words "if not" are omitted in the Greek frag., see next note but one.

<sup>k</sup> Aucher amplifies in rendering, "a voluntate serviendi multis Diis."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

God and Father of all? <sup>a</sup> In the second place, some call strangers "newcomers." <sup>b</sup> But strangers are also those who by themselves have run to the truth, not <sup>c</sup> in the same way as those who made their sojourn in Egypt. <sup>d</sup> For these are newcomers to the land, <sup>e</sup> while those are (newcomers) to laws and customs. <sup>f</sup> But the common name of "newcomers" is ascribed to both. <sup>g</sup>

\*3. (Ex. xxii. 22) <sup>h</sup> Why does (Scripture) prohibit mistreating every widow and orphan? <sup>i</sup>

It <sup>j</sup> does not permit doing wrong to anyone, male or female, even among strangers. <sup>k</sup> It does, however, give a better and special share of thoughtfulness to widows and orphans, <sup>l</sup> since they are deprived of closely related helpers and caretakers—the widows of their husbands, and the orphans of their parents. <sup>m</sup> It therefore wishes them to

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. reads ἀλλοτριώσεις τῆς πολυθέου δόξης, οἰκείωσης δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἕνα καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων τιμῆς.

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek frag., δεύτερον ἐπήλυδας ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τοὺς ξένους.

<sup>c</sup> The negative is omitted in the Greek frag., see next note.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. reads ξένοι δὲ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτομοληκότες, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ξενιτεύσασιν.

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήλυδες χώρας.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., ἐκεῖνοι δὲ νομίμων καὶ ἔθῶν εἰσι.

<sup>g</sup> So the Greek frag., τὸ δὲ ὄνομα κοινὸν ἑκατέρων "ἐπηλύδων" ὑπογράφεται.

<sup>h</sup> Heb., Ex. xxii. 21.

<sup>i</sup> The first of the two Greek fragments of the beginning and end of this section reads χήραν καὶ ὄρφανὸν ἀπείρηται κακοῦν: LXX πᾶσαν χήραν καὶ ὄρφανὸν οὐ κακώσετε. Philo cites the verse and briefly allegorizes it in different fashion in *De Congressu* 178-179, see also *De Cherubim* 50.

<sup>j</sup> The Greek frag. has "the Law" as subject, see the next note.

<sup>k</sup> So the Greek frag., οὐδένα μὲν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε ἄρρενα οὔτε θήλειαν, ἀφήσιν ἀδικεῖν ὁ νόμος.

<sup>l</sup> The Greek frag. reads similarly but more smoothly ἐξαιρέτου δὲ προνοίας μεταδίδωσιν χήραις καὶ ὄρφανοῖς.

<sup>m</sup> So the Greek frag., ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους βοηθοὺς καὶ κηδεμόνας ἀφήρηται, χήραι μὲν ἄνδρας, ὄρφανοὶ δὲ γονεῖς.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

enjoy their natural partnership and have their deficiencies supplied by those who <sup>a</sup> are in (a state of) abundance.<sup>b</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>c</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>d</sup> such souls <sup>e</sup> as love themselves honour the mind <sup>f</sup> as a husband and as a father,—as a husband perhaps because it sows in them the powers of the senses <sup>g</sup> by which the sense-perceptible object <sup>h</sup> is attained and seized ; and (they honour it) as a father because it is thought to be the parent of disciplines and arts.<sup>i</sup> But those who are free of self-love <sup>j</sup> and hasten to God obtain from above His visitations <sup>k</sup> and care as from a father, and as from a husband (they obtain) the sowing of good thoughts and intentions <sup>l</sup> and words and deeds. But it happens customarily among men that the opposite thing comes about, for when a man comes in contact with a woman, he marks the virgin as a woman.<sup>m</sup> But when souls become divinely inspired,<sup>n</sup> from (being) women they become virgins, throwing off the womanly corruptions which are (found) in sense-perception and passion.<sup>o</sup> Moreover, they follow after and pursue the

<sup>a</sup> Arm. *ayk'* is a misprint for *ork'*, the plural of the rel. pron.

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek frag., *βούλεται γὰρ τῇ φυσικῇ κοινωνίᾳ χρωμένους, τὰς ἐνδείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἀναπληροῦσθαι*. Here the first Greek frag. ends ; the second begins with the sentence reading " But when souls become divinely inspired, etc."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>e</sup> ψυχαί.

<sup>f</sup> τὸν νοῦν.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *De Migratione* 3 πατὴρ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς σπείρων . . . τὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις.

<sup>i</sup> παιδείων καὶ τέχνων.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ αἰσθητόν.

<sup>j</sup> φιλαυτίας.

<sup>k</sup> ἐπισκοπὰς *vel sim.* : Aucher " visitationes."

<sup>l</sup> Aucher omits the second noun.

<sup>m</sup> As a woman with sexual experience, cf. *De Cherubim* 50 ἀνθρώπων . . . σύνοδος τὰς παρθένους γυναῖκας ἀποφαίνει.

<sup>n</sup> The second Greek frag. (which begins with this sentence) has *προσκολληθῶσι θεῷ*, of which the Arm. *astouacazgestk'* (usu. = ἔνθεοι or θεοφόροι) seems to be a free rendering.

<sup>o</sup> So the Greek frag., *ἐκ γυναικῶν γίνονται παρθένοι, τὰς μὲν γυναικῶδεις ἀποβάλλουσαι φθορὰς τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ πάθει*.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

genuine and unmated virgin, the veritable wisdom of God.<sup>a</sup> And so, rightly do such minds<sup>b</sup> become widows and are orphaned of mortal things<sup>c</sup> and acquire for themselves and have as husband the right law of nature, with which they live.<sup>d</sup> And (they have) the same (as) father to tell them with higher thoughtfulness, as though (they were) his sons, what they ought to do.<sup>e</sup>

\*4. (Ex. xxii. 23) <sup>f</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "Ye shall not with badness mistreat the widow and the orphan" <sup>g</sup> ?

The word <sup>h</sup> "mistreat" is used properly <sup>i</sup> (in some cases) and is also used improperly <sup>j</sup> in other cases. (It is used properly in reference to deeds of badness which are peculiar to the soul, and improperly of other cases in which harm is done to possessions and bodies.<sup>k</sup> Accordingly (Scripture) did not mention the latter evils, as not being great mis-

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. reads a little differently *τὴν δὲ ἄψανστον (ἄψευστον conj. Pitra from the Arm.) καὶ ἀμυγῆ παρθένον, ἀρέσκειαν θεοῦ, μεταδιώκουσι.*

<sup>b</sup> One expects "souls" as in the Greek frag., see the next note but one.

<sup>c</sup> This clause is omitted in the Greek frag.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly *κατὰ λόγον οὖν αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ χηρεύουσιν, ἄνδρα τὸν τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸν νόμον προσσυμβιοῦσιν.*

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., *καὶ πατέρα τὸν αὐτόν, ἃ χρὴ πράττειν παραγγέλλοντα καθάπερ ἐγγόνους μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω κηδεμονίας.*

<sup>f</sup> Heb., Ex. xxii. 22.

<sup>g</sup> Philo here paraphrases the LXX text which reads more fully *ἐὰν δὲ κακία κακώσετε αὐτοὺς (Heb. "him") καὶ κεκράξαντες καταβοήσουσι (Heb. "if crying he cries out") πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀκοῇ εἰσακούσομαι τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν (Heb. "his cry").*

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "name" or "noun."

<sup>i</sup> κυρίως.

<sup>j</sup> καταχρηστικῶς.

<sup>k</sup> The fragmentary paraphrase in Procopius reads *καὶ κακοῦν ἀπαγορεύει οὐ τοσοῦτον τὴν σωματικὴν κάκωσιν ὅσον τὴν ψυχικὴν.*

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fortunes at all.<sup>a</sup> But knowing that the harm of badness overturns entire lives by their roots from their foundation, it first says that one should not be to anyone a teacher of folly or licentiousness or injustice or anything similar and of a cursed intention but should destroy the devices <sup>b</sup> of such things.<sup>c</sup> But one should likemindedly build schools of thoughts of wisdom and justice and the other virtues <sup>d</sup> for the improvement of children in order that their natures, before they have become hard and tough, may be able easily to receive the shapes and forms of good things.<sup>e</sup>

5. (Ex. xxii. 28a) <sup>f</sup> Why does (Scripture) say, "gods thou shalt not revile" <sup>g</sup> ?

Do they <sup>h</sup> then still accuse the divine Law of breaking down the customs of others ? <sup>i</sup> For, behold, not only does it offer support to those of different opinion <sup>j</sup> by accepting and honouring those whom they have from the beginning believed to be gods, but it <sup>k</sup> also muzzles and restrains <sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "posterius istud, quia nihil magnum est malum, vix memoravit."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "sedes."

<sup>c</sup> Procopius' paraphrase reads more briefly ὀρφανοῖς γὰρ γινέσθω μηδεὶς ἀφροσύνης ἢ ἀκολασίας διδάσκαλος.

<sup>d</sup> λογισμῶν σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν διδασκαλεῖα συμφώνως οἰκοδομεῖν.

<sup>e</sup> Procopius' paraphrase reads more briefly ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων (sc. διδασκαλος γινέσθω), ἐν ᾧσιν τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπαλὰς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θείων χαρακτήρων ὑποδοχὴν.

<sup>f</sup> Heb., Ex. xxii. 27a.

<sup>g</sup> LXX θεοὺς (Heb. 'elōhîm = "God" or "gods" or "judges") οὐ κακολογήσεις. Philo comments on this half-verse in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 203-205 and *De Spec. Leg.* i. 53, see Colson's notes on these passages.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. opponents of the Jews.

<sup>i</sup> i.e. of the Gentiles.

<sup>j</sup> τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις.

<sup>k</sup> The unexpressed subject may be Moses as well as Scripture, here as elsewhere.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher renders the two verbs by the single verb "coercet."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

its own disciples,<sup>a</sup> not permitting them to revile these with a loose tongue, for it believes that well-spoken praise<sup>b</sup> is better. In the second place, those who are in error and are deluded about their own native<sup>c</sup> gods and because of custom believe to be inerrant truth what is a falsely created error, by which even keen and discerning minds are blinded, are not peaceful toward or reconciled with<sup>d</sup> those who do not gladly accept their (opinion). And this is the beginning and origin of wars. But to us the Law has described the source of peace as a beautiful possession. In the third place, he who speaks evil (of others) must of necessity receive the contrary reproach in similar matters. Accordingly, those who have in mind a concern for dignity<sup>e</sup> will refrain from reviling other gods, in order that the power<sup>f</sup> of the truly certain and existent (God)<sup>g</sup> may be well spoken of and praised in the mouths of all. For (thus) we shall seem not to be hearing but to be speaking, as others use our voice.<sup>h</sup> For there is no difference between saying something oneself and inviting others to say it in any way.

\*6. (Ex. xxii. 28b)<sup>i</sup> Why, after first saying that one is not to revile gods, does (Scripture) straightway add, "nor rulers"<sup>j</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, *i.e.* the Jews.

<sup>b</sup> εὐφήμον ἔπαινον. <sup>c</sup> ἐγχωρίους ἢ πατρίους.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "implacabilem hostilitatem colunt."

<sup>e</sup> Or "holiness": Aucher "dignitatis."

<sup>f</sup> δύναμις.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. lit. = τοῦ ὄντως σαφούς καὶ ὄντος. Perhaps the Arm. translator misread σαφῶς as σαφούς; if so, we should render, "the truly and clearly existent (God)"; elsewhere Philo refers to God as ὁ ὄντως ὢν but never as σαφής. Aucher renders more briefly, "veri Entis."

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* if we cause others to praise God, we shall be praising Him vicariously.

<sup>i</sup> Heb., Ex. xxii. 27b.

<sup>j</sup> ΙΧΧ καὶ ἄρχοντας (*v.l.* ἄρχοντα: Heb. "ruler") τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς.



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As the poets say, rulers are closely akin and near in lineage to and of the same seed as the gods, for leaders and rulers are, as these <sup>a</sup> say, able to do good or evil by virtue of their own power. In the second place, it takes thought for all other men in order that they may not incur irremediable punishments.<sup>b</sup> For when rulers hear evil things said (about themselves), they do not punish the speakers by judicial process but unrestrainedly use their power for utter destruction.<sup>c</sup> In the third place, (Scripture) does not seem to legislate about every ruler but hints in many ways that he who is (ruler) of the whole people and belongs to the Hebrew nation has been appointed as a virtuous ruler and leader.<sup>d</sup> For reviling is foreign to a good man while praise is most congenial.<sup>e</sup> For nothing is so conducive to thoughtful care<sup>f</sup> as well-spoken praise.<sup>g</sup>

7. (Ex. xxii. 29, xxiii. 15c) <sup>h</sup> What is the meaning of the

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "ipsi."

<sup>b</sup> Slightly different is the reading of the first Greek frag. of this section, *προνοείται τῶν ιδιωτῶν ὡς μὴ περιπίπτειεν ἀνηκέστοις τιμωρίαις.*

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag., *οἱ γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούσαντες ἄρχοντες τοὺς εἰπόντας οὐ μετὰ δίκης ἀμυνοῦνται· καταχρῆσονται δυναστείας εἰς πανωλεθρίαν.*

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. reads somewhat differently *ἐπεὶ, φησίν, οὐ περὶ παντὸς ἄρχοντος ἔοικε νομοθετεῖν ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦδε ἢ ἔθνους ἡγεμόνα σπουδαῖον ὑποτίθεται, διὰ πλειόνων.* It adds *καταχρηστικῶς δὲ δυνάτους ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ προφῆτας ἢ ἁγίους ἄνδρας ὡς Μωυσέα.* "Ἴδου γάρ, ἔθηκά σε θεὸν Φαραῶ," ἐλέχθη πρὸς Μωυσήν.

<sup>e</sup> So the second Greek frag., *τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ βλασφημία μὲν ἀλλότριον, ἔπαινος δὲ οἰκειότατον.*

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "thoughtfulness of care." The Arm. translator apparently read *πρόνοιαν* instead of *εὐνοίαν*, which is the reading in the Greek fragments.

<sup>g</sup> Slightly different is the reading of the third Greek frag., *οὐδὲν οὕτως εὐάγωγον εἰς εὐνοίαν ὡς ἡ τῶν εὐεργετημάτων εὐφημία.*

<sup>h</sup> Philo here combines parts of two separate verses.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

words, "Thou shalt not appear with empty hands before Me" <sup>a</sup> ?

The literal meaning <sup>b</sup> is this, (namely) that those who approach the shrines <sup>c</sup> of God should come near with full hands, bearing the first-fruits of every living thing in which there is no blemish. <sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, <sup>e</sup> there is no prohibition, <sup>f</sup> for even though He said, "Thou shalt not appear," still He did not say it by way of prohibition, as is altogether reasonable. <sup>g</sup> For it is impossible for anyone who comes into the sight of God to be empty but (rather must he be) full of every good. For just as one who comes near the light is straightway illumined, so also is filled the entire soul of him to whom God has appeared. A spiritual light, however, is called by other names, (namely) knowledge and wisdom. <sup>h</sup>

8. (Ex. xxii. 30) <sup>i</sup> Why does He command that the offspring of cattle be left with their mothers for seven days? <sup>j</sup>

(This is said) in order that there may not be one and the same time for birth and destruction but that the generation of life may keep its due place <sup>k</sup> for some time. In the second place, because the mercy of love abounds in mothers at

<sup>a</sup> LXX (Ex. xxiii. 15c) οὐκ ὀφθήσῃ ἐνώπιον μου κενός (Heb. "And not shall be seen my face empty").

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> Or "altars": Aucher "aram."

<sup>d</sup> Cf. LXX (Ex. xxii. 29 = Heb. xxii. 28) ἀπαρχὰς ἄλωνος καὶ ληνοῦ σου οὐ καθυστερήσεις· τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν υἱῶν σου δώσεις ἐμοί.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> ἀπαγόρευσις.

<sup>g</sup> ὡς πάντως εἰκός *vel sim.*: Aucher "quovis modo."

<sup>h</sup> ἐπιστήμη καὶ σοφία: Aucher "intelligentia et sapientia."

<sup>i</sup> Heb., Ex. xxii. 29 (cf. Lev. xxii. 27).

<sup>j</sup> LXX οὕτως ποιήσεις τὸν μόσχον σου καὶ τὸ πρόβατόν σου καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιόν σου· ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἔσται ὑπὸ τὴν μητέρα, τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδώσῃ μοι αὐτό. Philo comments similarly but more fully on this verse in *De Virtutibus* 126-130.

<sup>k</sup> τὴν τάξιν: Aucher "ordinem."

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the very beginning of birth, wherefore their breasts, being filled, flow abundantly and pour out in (the form of) milk unlimited nourishment for desire.<sup>a</sup> For in the course of time love, like everything else, diminishes, but at the very beginning of birth it possesses great strength. Accordingly, He considers it very cruel and senseless to separate (the offspring) from its mother immediately upon birth, while it is still naturally attached and united to her.

\*9. (Ex. xxiii. 1a) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt not admit a false rumour" <sup>b</sup> ?

Nothing vain is to be admitted whether through hearing or any other sense, for very great harm follows the deception of falsehood.<sup>c</sup> Therefore it has been ordained by some legislators that one should not testify by hearsay, on the ground that what is believed through the eyes is true but through hearing is false.<sup>d</sup>

\*10. (Ex. xxiii. 3) Why does (Scripture) say, "To the poor thou shalt not be merciful in judgment" <sup>e</sup> ?

Poverty in itself is in want of mercy for the redress of its need, but when it comes to judgment it uses the law of

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* as much as their young desire.

<sup>b</sup> LXX Οὐ παραδέξῃ ἀκοὴν ματαίαν (Heb. "empty" or "baseless report"). Philo quotes this half-verse and comments on it briefly in *De Confus. Ling.* 141 and more fully in *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 59-61.

<sup>c</sup> Slightly different is the wording of the Greek frag., μάταιόν φησιν οὔτε ἀκοαῖς οὔτε ἄλλῃ τινὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων προσιτέον· ἐπακολουθοῦσι γὰρ ταῖς ἀπάταις αἱ μεγίσται ζημίαι.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag., διὸ καὶ παρ' ἐνίοις νομοθέταις ἀπείρηται μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοῇ, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀληθές ὄψει πιστευόμενον, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος ἀκοῇ. In the parallel passage, *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, Philo attributes this view to "some of the Greek legislators who copied it from the most sacred stelae of Moses."

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ πένητα οὐκ ἐλεήσεις (Heb. "thou shalt not favour") ἐν κρίσει. Philo quotes this verse and comments on it a little more fully in *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 72-74.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

equality as judge.<sup>a</sup> For justice is divine and incorruptible, wherefore it is well said by some <sup>b</sup> "judgments are of God."<sup>c</sup>

\*11. (Ex. xxiii. 4) Why does (Scripture) command one who encounters the straying asses <sup>d</sup> of an enemy to bring them back and give them back? <sup>e</sup>

It is an excess of gentleness if in addition to not harming an enemy one even tries to be of help.<sup>f</sup> In the second place, it is a prohibition and shaming of greed.<sup>g</sup> For he who is not willing to harm even an enemy, whom else will he wish to harm for his own profit? <sup>h</sup> In the third place, it removes quarrels and fights from (our) midst, being a

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., *πενία καθ' εαυτήν μὲν ἐλέου χρήζει εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, εἰς δὲ κρίσιν ἰούσα βραβευτῆ χρηταί τῷ τῆς ἰσότητος νόμῳ.*

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. reads more intelligibly *ἐν ἑτέροις, i.e.* in Deut. i. 17.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. reads somewhat differently *θεῖον γὰρ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀδέκαστον ὄθεν καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις εὖ εἴρηται ὅτι "ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ δικαία ἐστίν."* The wording of the last clause is obviously incorrect, see the preceding note.

<sup>d</sup> The fragment from John of Damascus *ap. H. Lewy* has *ὑποζυγίῳ*, see next note.

<sup>e</sup> LXX *Ἐὰν δὲ συναντήσης τῷ βοῖ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου ἢ τῷ ὑποζυγίῳ αὐτοῦ* (Heb. "his ass") *πλανωμένοις, ἀποστρέψας ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ.* The fragment from Procopius quotes only the first part of the verse, ending with *ἐχθροῦ σου*. Philo comments on this verse in *De Virtutibus* 117-118.

<sup>f</sup> So the two Greek fragments, *ἡμερότητας ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔτι καὶ συνωφελεῖν (v.l. ὠφελεῖν) πειρᾶσθαι.*

<sup>g</sup> This sentence is missing from both Greek fragments. Lewy reconstructs the Greek, somewhat freely, I think, as *δεύτερον δὲ παραίτησις πλεονεξίας.*

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag. from John of Damascus (which ends here), *ὁ γὰρ μηδ' ἐχθρὸν ζημιῶν ὑπομένων τίνα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθέλησειεν ἂν βλάπτειν ἐπ' ὠφελεία <ἰδία>;* Procopius reads more briefly *τίνα δὲ καὶ ἀδικήσειεν <ἂν> ὁ μηδὲ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ζημιῶν;*

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protector of peace,<sup>a</sup> whose possessions it depicts and shows in many ways. Accordingly, it regards the giving back of the asses as the beginning of offerings of peace and reconciliation.<sup>b</sup> For he who gives (something) back, performing a work of love, is in some manner made gentle in soul,<sup>c</sup> while he who receives (it), if he is not completely ungrateful, puts aside the rancour that seeks revenge.

12. (Ex. xxiii. 5) Why, if one sees the ass of an enemy fall under a burden, does (Scripture) command one not to neglect to raise it up with him? <sup>a</sup>

(This is) a confirmatory addition to the preceding, since there is much said on this subject which is to be connected with this, including what was previously said about one who gives back (something lost).<sup>e</sup> But it must be said in addition that it shows an extraordinary abundance of humaneness and gentleness,<sup>f</sup> inasmuch as it exhorts (us) not only to be useful to an enemy but also to lighten the

<sup>a</sup> Procopius reads slightly differently *ἔτι δὲ καὶ στάσιον καθαιρεῖ καὶ δυσμένειαν προκατάρχων εἰρήνης*. The next two sentences in the Procopius fragment do not correspond closely to the Armenian.

<sup>b</sup> Or "friendship," but *cf. De Virtutibus* 118.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "ex animo familiaris demonstratur." The Greek verb was prob. *ἡμεροῦται*.

<sup>d</sup> LXX Ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃς τὸ ὑποζύγιον (Heb. "ass") τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου πεπτωκός (Heb. "crouching") ὑπὸ τὸν γόμον αὐτοῦ, οὐ παρελεύσῃ αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ συνεγερεῖς αὐτὸ μεθ' αὐτοῦ (Heb. "thou shalt desist from abandoning it; thou shalt surely help [?] with him"). In *De Virtutibus* 116 Philo paraphrases the LXX text as follows, *κἂν ἐχθρῶν ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφοροῦντα τῷ βάρει πιεσθέντα προπέσῃ, μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀλλὰ συνεπικουφίσει καὶ συνεγείρει*. In the latter passage Philo deals only with the literal meaning and not with the symbolism as here.

<sup>e</sup> This is the best sense I can extract from the obscure Arm. sentence. Aucher's rendering is not too clear either, "intensio additamenti anteriorum est, unde et plura quidem dicta est adaptare super hoc, ex iis nimirum quae de reddente sunt dicta."

<sup>f</sup> *φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἡμερότητος*.

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heaviness of the burden of irrational animals, especially when they have already fallen under the pressure of a very heavy weight. For who would disregard any human being, with whom he has a single natural kinship,<sup>a</sup> when he has been taught by the divine Law and is accustomed not to disregard even a beast? That is the literal meaning.<sup>b</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> the ass is symbolically<sup>d</sup> our body,<sup>e</sup> and (this) is altogether errant and roving. For the sake of bringing profit to its kindred sensual pleasure,<sup>f</sup> it loads itself with much unmixed (wine) and various foods and a variety of dishes and still other drinks and foods in immense profusion. Accordingly, it is necessary for one who is smitten by wisdom<sup>g</sup> to lighten (his) heaviness through the related virtues of frugality and contentedness<sup>h</sup> and to lead the errant (man) into inerrant constancy by accustoming him to give up his anxious pursuit of avarice and, instead, to follow the richness of nature, which is ascendant and self-sufficient.<sup>i</sup>

\*13. (Ex. xxiii. 20-21)<sup>j</sup> What is the meaning of the words, "Behold, I am sending My angel<sup>k</sup> before thy face, that he may guard thee on the way, in order that he may lead and bring thee to the land which I have prepared for thee. Give heed and listen and do not disobey. For he

<sup>a</sup> μία συγγένεια φύσεως.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>e</sup> In *De Sacr. Abelis* 112 the ass is said to be a symbol of πόνος, in *De Cherubim* 32 of ἡ ἄλογος προαίρεσις τοῦ βίου, in *De Migratione* 224 of ἡ ἄλογος φύσις, in *De Mut. Nom.* 193 of ἄνοια.

<sup>f</sup> τῇ συγγενικῇ ἡδονῇ.

<sup>g</sup> τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς σοφίας πληχθέντα: Aucher "qui amore sapientiae captus sit."

<sup>h</sup> ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις ἀρεταῖς, ὀλιγοδεία καὶ εὐκολία. These two virtues are coupled in several other passages in Philo.

<sup>i</sup> ἀνωφερῆς (vel sim.) καὶ αὐτάρκης: Aucher "quae feracissima est (vel, superiora tendit) et sibi sufficiens."

<sup>j</sup> This section should follow § 15, which deals with Ex. xxiii. 18.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "messenger," see next note but one.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

will not show consideration for thee,<sup>a</sup> for My name is upon him ”<sup>b</sup> ?

An angel is an intellectual soul<sup>c</sup> or rather wholly mind,<sup>d</sup> wholly incorporeal, made (to be) a minister of God,<sup>e</sup> and appointed over certain needs and the service of the race of mortals, since it was unable, because of its corruptible nature, to receive the gifts and benefactions extended by God. For it was not capable of bearing the multitude of (His) good (gifts). (Therefore) of necessity was the Logos appointed as judge and mediator,<sup>f</sup> who is called “angel.” Him He sets “before the face,” there where the place of the eyes and the senses is, in order that by seeing and receiving sense(-impressions) it<sup>g</sup> may follow the leadership of virtue,<sup>h</sup> not unwillingly but willingly. But the entry into the previously prepared land is allegorized<sup>i</sup> in the several (details) of the above-mentioned (statements) in respect of the guarding<sup>j</sup> of the way, (namely) “giving heed,” “listening,” “not disobeying,” “not showing consideration,” “setting His name upon him.” This, however, must first be examined. Those who incautiously travel a

<sup>a</sup> Aucher “non verebitur te,” see next note.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου (Heb. “my messenger”) πρὸ προσώπου σου ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὅπως εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν (Heb. “place”) ἣν ἠτοίμασά σοι (Heb. om. “for thee”). πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ εἰσάκουε αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀπειθῇ αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ὑποστείληταί σε (Heb. “he will not suffer thy disobedience”), τὸ γὰρ ὄνομά μου ἐστὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ (Heb. “within him”). Philo cites the first part of this passage in *De Agricultura* 51, and the entire passage in *De Migratione* 174 in verbal agreement with the LXX but without extended commentary in either place.

<sup>c</sup> νοερά ψυχή: Aucher “spiritus intellectualis.” Philo several times speaks of angels as ψυχαί but never, I think, as πνεύματα. On his doctrine of angels see Wolfson, *Philo*, i. 366-385.

<sup>d</sup> νοῦς: Aucher “intellectus.”

<sup>e</sup> γενόμενος ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ.

<sup>f</sup> μεσίτης.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. the human race.

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετῆς.

<sup>i</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται: Aucher “allegorice adaptatur.”

<sup>j</sup> Aucher “observationem.”

## EXODUS, BOOK II

road go astray from the right and genuinely broad road, and many times turn aside into trackless, impassable and rough places.<sup>a</sup> And similar to this is it when souls experience something juvenile and pious,<sup>b</sup> for when one is without a share of discipline one is borne along like unimpeded streams where it is unprofitable.<sup>c</sup> And the second thing was the entry into the land, (that is) an entry into philosophy,<sup>d</sup> (which is), as it were, a good land and fertile in the production of fruits, which the divine plants, the virtues,<sup>e</sup> bear. Therefore it is proper that he who wishes to enjoy these fruits should receive training in exercising caution; but caution is the supervision of the counselling mind<sup>f</sup> and readiness to listen. For just as a lover puts aside all other things and hastens to his desire, so also does one who hungers and thirsts for the knowledge of the disciplines and for learning what he does not know put away his concern for other things and hasten to listen, and by night and by day he watches the doors of the houses of the wise.<sup>g</sup> Thus, to give heed is (referred to) in these (words). But (next) in order is to listen, and it is naturally mentioned

<sup>a</sup> The first of the two Greek fragments of this section (which begins here) reads only slightly differently οἱ ἀφυλάκτως ὁδοιποροῦντες διαμαρτάνουσιν τῆς ὁρθῆς καὶ λεωφόρου ὡς πολλάκις εἰς ἀνοδίας καὶ δυσβάτους καὶ τραχείας ἀτραποὺς ἐκτρέπεσθαι.

<sup>b</sup> The text is obviously corrupt, see next note.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. (which ends here) reads more intelligibly τὸ παραπλήσιόν ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν νέων παιδείας ἀμοιροῦσιν, καθάπερ βέϋμα ἀνεπίσχετον ὅπη μὴ λυσιτελεῖς βεμβεύονται. Possibly the Arm. translator mistook νέων for the gen. plural of νεώς "temple."

<sup>d</sup> φιλοσοφίαν.

<sup>e</sup> αἱ ἀρεταί.

<sup>f</sup> ἢ τῆς βουλευτικῆς διανοίας προστασία *vel sim.*: Aucher "praesidentia consilii (*sic*) mentis."

<sup>g</sup> The second Greek fragment (which contains only the second part of this comparison) reads only slightly differently ὁ πεινῶν καὶ διψῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἂ μὴ οἶδεν, τὰς ἄλλας μεθίμενος φροντίδας, ἐπείγεται πρὸς ἀκρόασιν, καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν θυρωρεῖ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν οἰκίας.



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in connexion therewith.<sup>a</sup> For he who listens with the tips of his ears is able to get (only) a somewhat vague perception of what is said, while to him who listens carefully the words enter more clearly and the things heard travel on all the paths, so that they form his mind<sup>b</sup> with deep impressions,<sup>c</sup> as if (it were) wax, lest it easily become stupid and (the impressions) leap away.<sup>d</sup> After this comes (the statement) that it is not right to disobey. For some men receive within them the appearances of words and, after receiving them, [do not] become disobedient<sup>e</sup> but display a quarrelsome and rebellious nature. Such men He shames,<sup>f</sup> wishing to admonish them by preparing lawful and constant declarations of good things.<sup>g</sup> But whenever the word of God is announced, it is altogether good, beautiful and precious. For to him who does not obey He says, "he<sup>h</sup> has no respect for thee," and (this is said) most naturally. For when conviction<sup>i</sup> is established in the soul and perceives it inclining to wickedness, it reproaches (the soul) and becomes its accuser, and by scolding and threatening,

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in connexion with giving heed.

<sup>b</sup> τὸν νοῦν or τὴν διάνοιαν.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "forms."

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders, "ne facile insipidum videatur et foras resiliat," apparently taking "mind" to be the subject of both verbs (in spite of the neuter gender of the pred. adj. "insipidum").

<sup>e</sup> Either we must eliminate the negative particle or emend "disobedient" to "obedient." Aucher renders more freely, "nec tamen revera recipientes, dissentiunt."

<sup>f</sup> δισσωπεῖ.

<sup>g</sup> The meaning is obscure, partly because of the diverse meanings of the verb (here a ptc.) ἀρτ'εῖ, which I have rendered "preparing." Aucher renders, "monere volens, ut sibi concilient bonorum enarrationes legitimas ac constantes."

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* the angel.

<sup>i</sup> ἔλεγχος, *cf. e.g. Quod Deus Immut. Sit 135, De Decalogo 87*, where ἔλεγχος has the force of "conscience" or inward "monitor" (as Colson there renders). It is symbolized by an angel in *De Fuga* 1-6 and elsewhere.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

puts it to shame. For he within whom it is, is apprehended by his own judgment as being altogether foolish. And in contrast to all the counsellors<sup>a</sup> who are in the various cities<sup>b</sup> it is obliged not to show respect or to admonish with fear but with both wisdom and freedom of speech.<sup>c</sup> And a very clear proof of this is that the divine name is called upon the angel. And this is the most sovereign and principal (being) which the heaven and earth and the whole world knows.<sup>d</sup> And he who has so great a power<sup>e</sup> must necessarily be filled with all-powerful<sup>f</sup> wisdom.<sup>g</sup>

\*14. (Ex. xxiii. 18a) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt not sacrifice with leaven the blood of the victim"<sup>h</sup>?

In another passage also<sup>i</sup> He has ordained something similar to this, commanding that upon an altar upon which victims are offered in sacrifice leaven is not to be brought.<sup>j</sup> He indicates through two necessary symbols<sup>k</sup> that one

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς συνέδρους.

<sup>b</sup> The context obliges us to correct the Arm. text which reads "and by (or "among") all the counsellors who are outside in the various cities."

<sup>c</sup> καὶ σοφία καὶ παρρησία.

<sup>d</sup> Apparently Philo means that the angel here represents the Logos.

<sup>e</sup> δύναμιν.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "all-free."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "ut sit sapientia potentissimus (vel, liberrimus)."

<sup>h</sup> LXX οὐ θύσεις ἐπὶ ζύμῃ αἷμα θυμιάματός μου. Philo allegorizes this half-verse, without quoting it literally, in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 293-295, cf. ii. 182-185.

<sup>i</sup> Lev. ii. 11, where honey is also proscribed.

<sup>j</sup> Somewhat different is the wording of the Greek frag. preserved in three Catenaes, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ δεῖ ζυμωτὸν παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιαζομένων ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ προσαγόμενα εἰς θυσίαν ἦτοι προσφορὰν ἄζυμα δεῖ εἶναι.

<sup>k</sup> Prob. the original reading is preserved in the Catenaes, αἰνίττεται δὲ διὰ συμβόλου δύο τὰ ἀναγκαῖότατα. Procopius reads more briefly αἰνίττεται δὲ διὰ συμβόλου.

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should despise sensual pleasures,<sup>a</sup> for leaven is a sweetener of food but not food (itself).<sup>b</sup> And the other thing (indicated) is that one should not be uplifted in conceit by common<sup>c</sup> belief.<sup>d</sup> For both are impure and hateful, (namely) sensual pleasure and arrogance (or) foolish belief, (both being) the offspring of one mother, illusion.<sup>e</sup> But the blood of the sacrificed victims is a sign of the souls which are consecrated to God. Moreover, it is not right to mix the unmixed.<sup>f</sup>

\*15. (Ex. xxiii. 18b) What is the meaning of the words, "The fat of My festival shall not lie<sup>g</sup> until morning"<sup>h</sup>?

The literal text<sup>i</sup> gives the command that the fat shall be consumed the same day, having become material for the divine fire.<sup>j</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>k</sup> the nature

<sup>a</sup> So Procopius, καταφρονεῖν ἡδονῆς. The Catenaes read more fully ἐν μὲν τὸ καταφρονεῖν ἡδονῆς.

<sup>b</sup> So Procopius and the Catenaes, ζύμη γὰρ ἡδυσμα τροφῆς, οὐ τροφή.

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. translator mistakenly read κοινῆς instead of κενῆς οἰήσεως "empty belief," see next note.

<sup>d</sup> Procopius καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὑπὸ κενῆς φυσωμένους οἰήσεως αἶρεσθαι: the Catenaes read ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἐπαίρεσθαι φυσωμένους διὰ κενῆς (v.l. καινῆς) οἰήσεως.

<sup>e</sup> Procopius lacks this sentence. The Catenaes read more briefly ἀνίερον γὰρ ἐκάτερον, ἡδονή τε καὶ οἴσις, μητρὸς μιᾶς ἀπάτης ἔγγονα. Philo, like some of the early Christian writers, uses ἀπάτη in the sense of "illusory worldly pleasure."

<sup>f</sup> So Procopius and the Catenaes, τὸ δὲ αἷμα τῶν θυσιῶν δεῖγμα ψυχῆς ἐστι σπενδομένης θεῶ· μινύναι δὲ τὰ ἄμικτα οὐχ ὄσιον.

<sup>g</sup> Or "sleep," see next note.

<sup>h</sup> LXX οὐδὲ μὴ κοιμηθῆ στέαρ τῆς ἑορτῆς μου ἕως πρωῆ. There seems to be no other direct comment on this half-verse in Philo's other works but cf. *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 123-124.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>j</sup> The Catenaes read similarly but omitting the subject, κελεύει τὰ στέατα αὐθήμερον ἀναλίσκεσθαι, γινόμενα ὕλην ἱερᾶς φλογός. Procopius has preserved only the words ὕλη τε τῆς ἱερᾶς γινέσθω φλογός.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

of fat brings oiliness <sup>a</sup> to the entrails and other (parts), and surrounding these with its fatness, prevents them for ever, when dried, from very quickly dissolving and melting away.<sup>b</sup> For one who has the moisture of fatness receives the moisture as most vital nourishment. Accordingly, He wishes to show through a symbol <sup>c</sup> that every soul which piety fattens with its own mystical and divine piety is sleepless and watchful for the vision of things worthy to be seen.<sup>d</sup> Now this experience is the festival of souls and the greatest of festivals, an occasion of true joy,<sup>e</sup> which not unmixed (wine) but sober wisdom <sup>f</sup> produces. For one of these is the cause of drunkenness and delirium,<sup>g</sup> while the other (is the cause) of soberness and of properly accomplishing all things. And so, if it also happens that some mortal seed has passed, (it is) an unfortunate accident, that is, the sleep of the mind, which will not last long.<sup>h</sup>

\*16. (Ex. xxiii. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "If hearing thou wilt hear My voice and thou wilt do all

<sup>a</sup> λίπος, cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 146.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning of the second clause is obscure, chiefly because of the presence of the pass. ptc. "dried." Aucher renders more briefly, "ne arescens celeriter dissolvatur."

<sup>c</sup> διὰ συμβόλου.

<sup>d</sup> Slightly different is the wording of the Greek frag. from the Parallels of John Monachus (*ap.* Harris, p. 101), first identified by Früchtel, ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἦν εὐσέβεια λιπαίνει τοῖς ἰδίους ὀργίοις, ἀκοιμήτως ἔχει πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ διανίσταται πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῶν θέας ἀξίων.

<sup>e</sup> Again the Greek frag. (which ends with "joy") differs slightly, τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἑορτῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ καιρὸς ἀψευδῆς εὐφροσύνης.

<sup>f</sup> νηφάλιος σοφία.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "petulantiae."

<sup>h</sup> The meaning of the sentence is not clear to me but seems to refer to a nocturnal emission. Aucher, confessing in a footnote that he is not sure of the meaning, renders, "quod si etiam superveniet, id quod transactum est, et aliquod semen mortale, improspertitatis erramentum, id est mentis somnus, non longius durabit."

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that I say to thee, I shall be an enemy to thine enemies and I will oppose those who oppose thee " <sup>a</sup> ?

Because some men do not hearken when hearing or, rather, pretend not to have heard, He has specified in this passage, " If hearing ye <sup>b</sup> will hear My voice," (which), it must be supposed, refers to the angel mentioned a little while ago. <sup>c</sup> For the prophet of Him Who speaks is properly an angel. <sup>d</sup> For it is necessary for him who " hearing hears," that is, with firmness <sup>e</sup> receives what is said, to carry out in deed also what is said, for the deed is proof of the word. <sup>f</sup> Now he who is obedient to what is said and carries out in deed what has been ordered by declaration, necessarily acquires his teacher as ally and protector, who, as it seems, is helping his disciple but in truth (is helping) his own ruling doctrines, <sup>g</sup> which his opponents and enemies desire to destroy. <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> LXX εὖν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσητε (v.l. ἀκούσης) τῆς φωνῆς μου (Heb. " his voice ") καὶ ποιήσητε πάντα ὅσα ἂν εἶπω σοι, ἐχθρεύσω τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου καὶ ἀντικείμενοι τοῖς ἀντικείμενοις σοι. Philo paraphrases the verse in *De Praemiis* 79.

<sup>b</sup> Sic (change from sing. to plural).

<sup>c</sup> In § 13. Most of the present section (from " voice " on) is preserved in the Catenae and paraphrastically in Procopius. The former read, in this sentence, φωνὴν θεοῦ τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ λεχθέντα ἄγγελον ὑπονοητέον μνηύεσθαι.

<sup>d</sup> So the Catenae, τοῦ γὰρ λέγοντος ὁ προφήτης ἄγγελος κυρίως (v.l. κυρίου) ἐστίν. Procopius paraphrases, τὸν προφήτην φασὶ τινες καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ λαλοῦντος φωνὴν, οὐ παρακελεύεται εἰσακούειν. <sup>e</sup> Aucher " constanter."

<sup>f</sup> So the Catenae, ἀνάγκη (l. ἀνάγκη) γὰρ τὸν ἀκοῇ ἀκούοντα, τουτέστι τὸν τὰ λεγόμενα βεβαίως παραδεχόμενον, ἔργοις ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ λεχθέντα λόγου γὰρ πίστις ἔργον. Procopius has preserved only the words λόγου δὲ πίστις ἔργον.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher " voluntate legis."

<sup>h</sup> So the Catenae, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καταπειθῆς καὶ ἐνεργῶν τὰ ἀκόλουθα, σύμμαχον καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔχει τὸν διδάσκαλον, ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν, βοηθοῦντα τῷ γνωρίμῳ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῖς αὐτοῦ (l. αὐτοῦ) δόγμασι καὶ παραγγέλμασι, ἅπερ οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ βούλονται καθαιρεῖν. Procopius reads more briefly ὁ δὲ καὶ πεισθεὶς καὶ πράξας ἕξει πάντως ὑπερασπιστὴν τὸν διδάσκαλον συμμαχοῦντα δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰδίῳις δόγμασι, ἅπερ οἱ ἐναντίοι βούλονται καθαιρεῖν.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

\*17. (Ex. xxiii. 24c) What is the meaning of the words, "Destroying thou shalt destroy and shattering thou shalt shatter their pillars" <sup>a</sup>?

The "pillars" are symbolically the accepted opinions <sup>b</sup> which seem to have been established and firmly supported.<sup>c</sup> But of (these) pillar-like <sup>d</sup> accepted opinions some are good, and for these it is right to be erect and to have a firm position, while there are others which are reprehensible, and of these it is profitable to cause the destruction.<sup>e</sup> And <sup>f</sup> such are those which folly decrees in opposition to prudence,<sup>g</sup> and intemperance to temperance,<sup>h</sup> and injustice to justice,<sup>i</sup> and in general whatever it is that evil opposes to virtue.<sup>j</sup> But the words "Destroying thou shalt destroy and shattering thou shalt shatter" suggest something like the following sense.<sup>k</sup> There are some things which

<sup>a</sup> LXX καθαιρέσει καθελεῖς (*v.l.* and Heb. add "them") καὶ συντρίβων συντρίψεις τὰς στήλας (A.V. "images") αὐτῶν.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "gratae leges," see next note.

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag. (preserved in the Catenae and Procopius), στήλαί εἰσι (Procopius omits the first two words) τὰ δόγματα συμβολικῶς, ἅπερ ἔσταναι καὶ ἐρηρεῖσθαι δοκεῖ.

<sup>d</sup> Or "posted-up": Aucher "statuae instar erectarum." The Arm. translator had difficulty in rendering κατεστηλιτευμένων, see next note.

<sup>e</sup> So the Catenae, τῶν δὲ κατεστηλιτευμένων δογμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀστείᾶ ἔστιν, ἃ καὶ (Procopius omits ἔστιν ἃ καὶ) θέμις ἀνακείσθαι καὶ βεβαίαν ἔχειν τὴν ἰδρυσιν, τὰ δὲ ἐπίληπτα ὦν τὴν καθαίρεσιν ποιέσθαι λυσιτελές (Procopius τὰ δὲ ἐπίληπτα καθαιρέσθαι ὡς μὴ πάλιν ἀναστησόμενα μηδὲ ἀρμοσόμενα—the last words being a paraphrase of the end of the section).

<sup>f</sup> The following sentence is missing in the Catenae and Procopius.

<sup>g</sup> ἀφροσύνη . . . φρονήσει.

<sup>h</sup> ἀκολασία . . . σωφροσύνη.

<sup>i</sup> ἀδικία . . . δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>j</sup> κακία . . . ἀρετῇ.

<sup>k</sup> So the Catenae, τὸ δὲ "καθαιρῶν καθελεῖς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίψεις" τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν. Procopius (ending with this sentence) paraphrases, τοιαύτη γὰρ ἔμφασις ἢ τοῦ "καθαιρῶν καθελεῖς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίψεις."

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(people) destroy only to raise them up another time, and shatter as if they would again put them together.<sup>a</sup> But it is His will that those things which are opposed to the good and beautiful, when once they have been destroyed and shattered, shall not again undergo repair but shall always remain destroyed.<sup>b</sup>

\*18. (Ex. xxiii. 25b) Why does He say, "I will bless thy bread and water,<sup>c</sup> and I will turn away illnesses from thee"<sup>d</sup>?

He indicates food and health—food through "bread and water," and health through "turn away illnesses."<sup>e</sup> In the second place, He speaks of the self-control of endurance here in mentioning only the receiving of necessary foods,<sup>f</sup> for bread is a plain food without anything extra, and flowing water<sup>g</sup> is (a similarly plain) drink, and upon these (depends) health. In the third place, He makes mention of both life (in general) and a good life, for bread and water are necessary for living, while freedom from

<sup>a</sup> So the Catenae, *ἐνὰ τινες καθαιροῦσιν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες, καὶ συντριβούσιν ὡς αὔθις ἀρμολόμενοι.*

<sup>b</sup> So the Catenae, *βούλεται δὲ τὰ καθαιρεθέντα ἅπαξ καὶ συντριβέντα μηκέτι τυχεῖν ἀνορθώσεως ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν ἠφανίσθαι τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ καλοῖς.*

<sup>c</sup> Philo agrees with Heb. against LXX in omitting "and wine" after "bread."

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ εὐλογῆσω (Heb. "He will bless") τὸν ἄρτον σου καὶ τὸν οἶνόν σου καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ σου καὶ ἀποστρέψω μαλακίαν ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

<sup>e</sup> So Cat. Lips., *τροφὴν καὶ ὑγίειαν αἰνίττεται τροφὴν μὲν δι' ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος· ὑγίειαν διὰ τοῦ μαλακίαν ἀποστρέφειν. Procopius condenses, τροφὴν καὶ ὑγίειαν ἐπαγγέλλεται.*

<sup>f</sup> So the Catena, *δεύτερον, ἐγκράτειαν εἰσηγείται, τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετουσίαν μόνον ἐπιπέων. Procopius reads more briefly καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων μόνων μνησθεὶς ἐδίδαξε τὴν ἐγκράτειαν (with this clause the Greek fragments break off, to resume with the sentence beginning "In the fifth place").*

<sup>g</sup> *ναματιαῖον ὕδωρ*: Aucher "aqua scaturiens."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

passion <sup>a</sup> and health (are necessary) for living well. In the fourth place, Scripture <sup>b</sup> seems to declare that plain simplicity in food is the cause of health. For wine-drinking and cookery which are done with insatiability and gluttony, because of their being artificial <sup>c</sup> produce illness and the causes of greater illnesses. But simplicity in necessary foods is productive of health. <sup>d</sup> In the fifth place, it teaches us a most worthwhile lesson and one that is in order, showing that neither bread nor water gives nourishment by itself alone, <sup>e</sup> but that there are times when they do more harm than good, <sup>f</sup> (namely) if the divine Logos does not graciously bestow upon them his helpful powers. <sup>g</sup> For this reason, indeed, He says, "I will bless thy bread and thy water," as if they were not sufficient to give nourishment by themselves alone without the loving friendship and care <sup>h</sup> of God. <sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ἀπάθεια.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ γραφή. This is one of the very few passages in the *Quaestiones* in which Philo expressly mentions Scripture rather than God or Moses as authority, although of course the three terms are interchangeable.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "ob abusum expletionis."

<sup>d</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits to render this sentence.

<sup>e</sup> Slightly different is the text of Catena Lips., πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, μάθημα ἡμᾶς αἰσιώτατον ἀναδιδάσκει, δηλῶν ὅτι οὔτε ἄρτος οὔτε ὕδωρ καθ' ἑαυτὰ τρέφουσιν. Procopius reads more briefly καὶ μάθημα δὲ παρέδωκεν αἰσιώτατον, ὡς οὐδὲν τούτων τρέφει καθ' ἑαυτό.

<sup>f</sup> So Cat. Lips., ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ βλάπτουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελούσιν. Procopius condenses, βλάπτει δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελεί.

<sup>g</sup> So (with the exception of one word) Cat. Lips., εἰάν μὴ θεῖος λόγος καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεται τὰς ἀφελητικὰς (l. ὠφελητικὰς) δυνάμεις. Procopius paraphrases, μὴ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν ὠφελητικὴν διὰ τῆς εὐλογίας παρέχοντος.

<sup>h</sup> Emending Arm. *hogoy* (= "spirit" or "soul") to *hogoy* (= "care"): Aucher "sine divina conciliatione cum anima."

<sup>i</sup> Cat. Lips. is defective, ὡς οὐχ ἰκανὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ τρέφειν ἄνευ θείας [noun missing] καὶ ἐπιφροσύνης. The sentence is missing in Procopius.



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

\*19. (Ex. xxiii. 26a) Why does He <sup>a</sup> say, "There shall not be in thee anyone infertile or barren" <sup>b</sup> ?

He <sup>c</sup> places infertility and barrenness among the curses,<sup>d</sup> (and) says that they shall not be (found) among those who act with justice and lawfulness.<sup>e</sup> For (as) a prize to those who keep the divine writing of the Law He offers the more ancient law of immortal nature, which was laid down for procreation and the begetting of sons for the perpetuity of the race.<sup>f</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>g</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> no one will find any evil greater than childlessness and infertility of soul.<sup>i</sup> And this is ignorance and lack of education,<sup>j</sup> which make barren the deliberative mind.<sup>k</sup> But fecundity and abundance of children come about through learning and knowledge,<sup>l</sup> so that those who have an abundance of learning have an abundance of children, and those who are learned in the knowledge of good and excellent things <sup>m</sup> have good children. And

<sup>a</sup> See below, note *c*.

<sup>b</sup> LXX οὐκ ἔσται ἄγονος οὐδὲ στείρα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς σου. In *De Praemiis* 108 Philo quotes freely, οὐδεὶς ἄγονος οὐδὲ στείρα γενήσεται.

<sup>c</sup> The context indicates that God is the subject although the Greek frag. supplies Μωυσῆς.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag., ἀγονίαν καὶ στείρωσιν ἐν κατάραις τάττων Μωυσῆς.

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., οὗ φησιν ἕσσεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νόμιμα δρῶσιν.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag. (which ends with this sentence), ἀθλον γὰρ τοῖς τὸ ἱερόν γράμμα τοῦ νόμου φυλάττουσι παρέχει τὸν ἀρχαιότερον νόμον τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως, ὃς ἐπὶ σπορᾷ καὶ γενέσει τέκνων ἐπέθη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονήν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "of souls"—ψυχῶν.

<sup>j</sup> ἀμαθία καὶ ἀπαιδευσία.

<sup>k</sup> τὸν βουλευτικὸν νοῦν *vel sim.*: Aucher "consiliarium intellectum."

<sup>l</sup> διὰ μαθήσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "qui bonae optimaecque intelligentiae periti sunt."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

childless are they whose natures are sluggish and dull and at the same time unlearned.

\*20. (Ex. xxiii. 26b) What is the meaning of the words, "The number of thy days I will fill" <sup>a</sup> ?

That it is most excellent and fine that the lives of His worshippers should be reckoned not by months nor by numbers <sup>b</sup> but by days.<sup>c</sup> For they are really of equal value with eternity when taken into account and number,<sup>d</sup> for he who is of no account and has no number is to be altogether condemned.<sup>e</sup> But it is well that an addition has been made to the passage, (namely) "I will fill," because of the intervals empty of thoughtfulness and virtue in the soul of him who wishes to progress.<sup>f</sup> For He wishes him who philosophizes in accordance with Him to be a harmony of all sounds like a musical instrument with no discord or dissonance in any part but with one and the

<sup>a</sup> LXX τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν σου ἀναπληρώσω. In *De Praemiis* 111 Philo quotes the half-verse as here except for the personal ending of the verb, which there appears as ἀναπληρώσεις (*v.l.* ἀναπλήσεις).

<sup>b</sup> The original prob. had "years," as in Procopius, see next note.

<sup>c</sup> Somewhat different is Procopius' reading, πάγκαλον δέ φασι τὸ μήτε μῆσι μήτε ἐνιαυτοῖς καταριθμεῖσθαι τὸν βίον τῶν ἰκετῶν.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. is obviously corrupt, see end of note. Procopius reads more intelligibly τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἐκάστου σοφοῦ ἡμέρα ἰσότιμος ἐστὶν αἰῶνι. Similar is the wording in *De Praemiis* 112: ὅθεν ἰσότιμον καλῶ (καὶ ὄλω conj. Colson) βίῳ σοφοῦ καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι κατορθουμένην. I suspect that Arm. *i hamar ankeal ew i t'iw* "taken into account and number" is a corruption of *hančarakani mi t'iw* (*vel sim.*) "one day of the intelligent (man)."

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *De Praemiis* 111 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθῆς καὶ ἔκνομος "οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ," φασίν, "οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ." The sentence is missing in Procopius.

<sup>f</sup> Slightly briefer is Procopius' text, εὖ δὲ καὶ τὸ "ἀναπληρώσω" διὰ τὰ κενὰ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐν ψυχῇ διαστήματα τοῦ προκόπτοντος.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

same consonance and harmony, of will with word and of word with deed and of deed with both of these.<sup>a</sup>

\*21. (Ex. xxiii. 27a) Why does He say, "Fear will I send to go before thee" <sup>b</sup> ?

The literal meaning is clear,<sup>c</sup> for a strong force to <sup>d</sup> terrify the enemy is <sup>e</sup> fear,<sup>f</sup> by which more (easily) the force of adversaries is taken and conquered.<sup>g</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> there are two reasons why men honour the Deity, (namely) love and fear,<sup>i</sup> and love is later, being in the elder ones,<sup>j</sup> while fear comes earlier,<sup>k</sup> so that not ineptly is it said that fear is the leader, for love, which comes after, is also acquired later.<sup>l</sup> And may it not be

<sup>a</sup> Procopius reads more briefly *ὃν βούλεται καθάπερ μουσικὸν ὄργανον διὰ πάντων ἡρμόσθαι πρὸς μίαν συμφωνίαν βουλημάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων.*

<sup>b</sup> LXX (and the Greek frag. in the Catena) *καὶ τὸν φόβον ἀποσπελῶ ἡγούμενόν σου* (Heb. "My fear will I send before thee").

<sup>c</sup> *τὸ μὲν ῥητὸν ἐμφανές*, as in the Catena.

<sup>d</sup> The preposition *ἰ* "to" or "in" has fallen out of the Arm. text, probably by haplography.

<sup>e</sup> Emending Arm. *ew* "and" to *ē* "is."

<sup>f</sup> So the Catena, *εἰς κατάπληξιν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχυρὰ δύναμις ὁ φόβος.*

<sup>g</sup> The Catena and Procopius (whose excerpt begins here) read somewhat differently; the Catena have *ὕψ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ (ἢ Wendland) τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐφόδου ῥώμη ἀλίσκεται*: Procopius *ὕψ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ῥώμης οἱ πολέμοι ἀλίσκονται.*

<sup>h</sup> *τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν* as in the Catena, which add *οὕτως.*

<sup>i</sup> So the Catena (for Procopius' condensed paraphrase see below), *δυοῖν οὐσῶν αἰτιῶν, ὧν ἕνεκα τὸ θεῖον ἄνθρωποι τιμῶσι, ἀγάπης καὶ φόβου.*

<sup>j</sup> Presumably meaning "in mature persons," *cf.* Procopius *ἐν τοῖς τελείοις.* The Catena read more briefly *τὸ μὲν ἀγαπᾶν ἐστὶν ὀψίγονον* (*v.l.* *ὀψέως*).

<sup>k</sup> So the Catena, *τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι συνίσταται πρότερον.*

<sup>l</sup> Only slightly different is the reading of the Catena (which end here), *ὥστε οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ λελέχθαι τὸ ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν φόβον, τῆς ἀγάπης ὕστερον καὶ ὀψέ προσηγομένης.* Procopius condenses the whole sentence, *προηγείται δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ φόβος, ἢ τοῖς τελείοις ἐγγίνεται. δι' ἀμφοῖν γὰρ τιμᾶται θεός.*

## EXODUS, BOOK II

that one who fears does so rightly and properly ?<sup>a</sup> For just as imprudence is younger than prudence,<sup>b</sup> so is fear (younger) than love, since fear is born in a worthless man,<sup>c</sup> while love (is born) in a virtuous one.<sup>d</sup>

22. (Ex. xxiii. 27b) What is the meaning of the words, " I will terrify all the nations into which thou wilt come " <sup>e</sup> ?

The (expression) " I will terrify " in the literal sense <sup>f</sup> is equivalent to " I will strike with fear," which He earlier spoke of sending down for the destruction of their adversaries' force,<sup>g</sup> for fear is the cause of weakness.<sup>h</sup> In the second place, He seems to bear testimony to the surpassing virtue <sup>i</sup> of the nation <sup>j</sup> in that it would convert <sup>k</sup> not only its own (members) but also its enemies ; and by " enemies " I mean not only those who commit acts of war but also those who are heterodox.<sup>l</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>m</sup> this must be said. When there comes into the soul,<sup>n</sup> as into a land, the prudence <sup>o</sup> of a keen-eyed and seeing nature,<sup>p</sup> all the Gentile laws which are in it become mad

<sup>a</sup> The text is suspect. Aucher renders, " ne forte timere quoque sit jure digneque."

<sup>b</sup> ἀφροσύνη . . . φρόνησις.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher " in contempto."

<sup>d</sup> ἐν σπουδαίῳ.

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ ἐκστήσω (Heb. " I will confuse ") πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς οὓς σὺ εἰσπορεύῃ εἰς αὐτούς.

<sup>f</sup> πρὸς τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> See the preceding section.

<sup>h</sup> ἀσθενείας.

<sup>i</sup> τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀρετήν.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. the Hebrew nation.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *darzouçanel* sometimes renders ἐπιστρέφειν, which seems to have been the verb used in the Greek, although it is not listed in Leisegang's *Index Philonis*. Aucher here renders, " convertat."

<sup>l</sup> τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους.

<sup>m</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>n</sup> Lit. " souls "—τὰς ψυχάς.

<sup>o</sup> εὐβουλία.

<sup>p</sup> Philo here, as often elsewhere, alludes to the etymology of " Israel " as " seeing (God)."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

and rage and turn aside <sup>a</sup> from worthy thoughts, for evil things are unable to dwell and live <sup>b</sup> together with good ones.

23. (Ex. xxiii. 27c) What is the meaning of the words, "I will make <sup>c</sup> thine enemies fugitives" <sup>d</sup>?

He declares more certainly (and) clearly what was said earlier.<sup>e</sup> For he who has supervened <sup>f</sup> makes a beginning of flight. That is the literal meaning.<sup>g</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>h</sup> He speaks of acceptable laws,<sup>i</sup> which are unknown to youths and (which) He Himself <sup>j</sup> knows. For every foolish man is without a home or dwelling and is, as it were, a fugitive, driven from the city of virtue,<sup>k</sup> which must be thought of as the native place of wise and virtuous souls.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Philo plays on the ἐκστήσω of LXX as being the causative of ἐξίστασθαι in the sense of "be beside oneself" and "stand out of the way," *i.e.* "turn aside."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "stare," evidently mistaking *keal* "to live" for *kal* "to stand."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "give," as in the LXX, which reflects Heb. idiom.

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ δώσω πάντας (a few mss. om. πάντας) τοὺς ὑπεναντίους σου φυγάδας (Heb. "And I will give all thine enemies to thee a neck"—an idiom meaning "and I will cause all thine enemies to turn their backs to thee"—*i.e.* "to flee from thee").

<sup>e</sup> In the preceding verses.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. verb *i veray gal* may render ἐπιγίγνεσθαι (which is, it seems, not used by Philo), but in exactly what sense is not clear. Aucher here renders, "supervenerat."

<sup>g</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>i</sup> νόμους εὐαρέστους *vel sim.*: Aucher "leges gratas."

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *ink' n = autós*, but this is evidently a corruption or translator's misreading of ἀστείος (see below). The original must have meant "and (which) the wise man knows."

<sup>k</sup> ἐκ πόλεως ἀρετῆς, *cf. Leg. All. iii. 1 πόλις οἰκεία τῶν σοφῶν ἢ ἀρετῆ.*

<sup>l</sup> πατρὶς ψυχῶν ἀστείων καὶ σπουδαίων. Here, as elsewhere, Arm. *astí* renders ἀστείος "wise," not "constant" as Aucher renders.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

\*24. (Ex. xxiii. 28) Why does He say, "I will send the wasp before thee and I will drive out thine enemies" <sup>a</sup> ?

Wasps fly upon one from nowhere <sup>b</sup> without first being seen, and after wounding with their stings they withdraw ; and they wound the principal parts, <sup>c</sup> the face, the eyes and the head. <sup>d</sup> And the fearful noise made (by them) in the air penetrates <sup>e</sup> the ears. And so, from the very beginning alliance (and) help are not <sup>f</sup> to be cut off, inasmuch as one is to do the enemy much harm through the smallest (animals), <sup>g</sup> especially when God commands, by which <sup>h</sup> even very weak men are innervated <sup>i</sup> and form an army with invincible power. <sup>j</sup> And allegorically it is to be said <sup>k</sup> that the wasp should be considered a symbol of unhoped

<sup>a</sup> Philo here paraphrases the LXX καὶ ἀποστελῶ τὰς σφηκίας (Heb. "the wasp," a collective singular: A.V. "hornets") προτέρας σου καὶ ἐκβαλεῖς (v.l. ἐκβαλῶ: Heb. "it will drive out") τοὺς Ἀμορραῖους (Heb. omits "the Amorites") καὶ Εὐαίους καὶ Χανααῖους καὶ τοὺς Χετταίους (v.l. + καὶ τοὺς Φερεζαίους καὶ τοὺς Γεργεσαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους) ἀπὸ σοῦ. Procopius cites only the first half of the verse, καὶ ἀποστελῶ τὰς σφηκίας προτέρας σου. In *De Praemiis* 96 Philo briefly alludes to this verse without quoting LXX or commenting in detail.

<sup>b</sup> ἐξ ἀφανοῦς, as in Procopius.

<sup>c</sup> τὰ κυριώτατα (rendered by two Arm. words): Procopius τὰ καιριώτατα.

<sup>d</sup> Procopius condenses the sentence, οἱ σφήκες ἐξ ἀφανοῦς οὐ προειδομένους τιτρώσκουσι τὰ καιριώτατα, κεφαλὴν τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ.

<sup>e</sup> Or "wounds."

<sup>f</sup> One Arm. ms. omits "not."

<sup>g</sup> The text seems to be corrupt, especially the phrase "from the very beginning." The Arm. glossator paraphrases, "one ought not to reject the help of God even though it be small." Procopius adds, either on his own or some post-Philonic authority, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν οὖν οἶδε θεὸς καὶ διὰ τῶν μικροτάτων καταγωνίζεσθαι ὡς καὶ σκνιπῶν τε καὶ βατράχων τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους . . . φίλον γὰρ αἰεὶ θεῷ διὰ μικρῶν περιγίνεσθαι.

<sup>h</sup> Or perhaps "through Whom."

<sup>i</sup> νευροῦνται.

<sup>j</sup> There is no Greek parallel to the second half of this sentence.

<sup>k</sup> ἀλληγορητέον.

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for and unexpected power<sup>a</sup> divinely sent.<sup>b</sup> And when it inflicts blows with great force from the upper regions, it does not miss its mark with the blows, and after striking, it does not suffer any counter-(blow) at all.<sup>c</sup>

\*25. (Ex. xxiii. 29) Why does He add the reason why not all enemies are to be driven out all together at one time but little by little, (namely) "that the land may not be made desolate and many animals congregate"<sup>d</sup>?

The literal sense<sup>e</sup> does not require a long discussion, for beasts flee from man as from their natural lord, wherefore they do not enter cities when these are populous; but if they become small, (the beasts) move about with the inhabitants.<sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> if from one who has just<sup>h</sup> for the first time been introduced (to know-

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "inexpectatae subitanaeque virtutis."

<sup>b</sup> Similar is the text of the Catena (which begins here), σύμβολον δὲ ὑποληπτέον εἶναι τοὺς σφῆκας ἀνεπίστου δυνάμεως θεία πομπῇ σταλησομένης. Procopius (resuming here) paraphrases, σημαῖνοι δ' ἂν καὶ θείαν πομπὴν ἀνεπίστου δυνάμεως στελλομένης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> Slightly different and in part corrupt is the text of the Catena (the sentence is lacking in Procopius), ἦτις ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων κατ' ἄκρον τὸ οὐδὲν ὑποφέρουσα τὰς πληγὰς, εὐστοχῆσει πᾶσι ταῖς βλήμασι, καὶ διαθείσα οὐδὲν ἀντιπесεῖται τὸ παράπαν. Mangey has emended ἀντιπесεῖται το ἀντιπείσεται. We must further (on the basis of the Arm.) emend κατ' ἄκρον τὸ οὐδὲν ὑποφέρουσα το κατὰ κράτος ἐπιφέρουσα.

<sup>d</sup> LXX οὐκ ἐκβαλῶ αὐτοὺς (v.l., with Heb., adds ἀπὸ προσώπου σου) ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ ἐνί, ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ γῆ ἔρημος καὶ πολλὰ γένηται ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς (Heb. "and the beasts of the field increase against thee"). Procopius quotes only the words οὐκ ἐκβαλῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ ἐνί.

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>f</sup> Procopius condenses and paraphrases, τὰ γὰρ θηρία φεύγει τὰς τῶν πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων οἰκήσεις ὡς ἡγεμόνων τῇ φύσει καὶ τὰς ἐρήμους πληροῖ. <sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. reads "not then," but we must correct this from the Greek, see next note but one.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

ledge) and is learning you take pains to cut away all his errors and to cause disciplined knowledge to dwell in him all at once, you will achieve the opposite of that which <sup>a</sup> is in your mind.<sup>b</sup> For he will not stand up under the removal (of error), if it is done at one time, nor will he hold the immense stream and flow of teaching,<sup>c</sup> but in both respects, by the cutting away and by the adding, he will be afflicted and suffer pain and will be carried away.<sup>d</sup> But (if) one quietly and measuredly and little by little removes ignorance and adds instruction proportionate thereto, it would admittedly become the cause of profit.<sup>e</sup> For not even a good physician would seek to restore all his health in one day to one who is ill, knowing that (thereby) he would do harm rather than good.<sup>f</sup> But measuring the

<sup>a</sup> Here again we must correct the Arm. which read οὐ instead of οὐδ.

<sup>b</sup> The Catenae (which begin here) read similarly (except for the two places mentioned in the preceding two notes) ἐὰν τοῦ ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰσαγομένου καὶ μανθάνοντος σπουδάσης, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀμαθίαν ἐκτεμών, ἀθρόαν ἐπιστήμην εἰσοικίσει τὸναντίον οὐδὲ διανοῇ πράξεις. Procopius condenses, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν εἰσαγομένων ψυχὰς ἔστιν ὑφ' ἐν ἀπαλλάττειν ἀγνοίας καὶ πληροῦν ἐπιστήμης.

<sup>c</sup> So the Catenae, οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ἐνὶ καιρῷ γινομένην ὑπομενεῖ, οὔτε τὴν ἄφθονον ρύμην καὶ φορὰν τῆς διδασκαλίας χωρήσει. Again Procopius paraphrases, οὐ φέρουσι γὰρ οὔτε τὴν ἐκείνης ἀφαίρεσιν οὔτε τὴν ἄφθονον τῆς διδασκαλίας φορὰν.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "resiliet." In the Catenae the clause reads similarly except for the last verb ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάτερον τό τε ἐκτεμνόμενον καὶ προστιθέμενον ὀδυνηθεὶς καὶ περιαλγήσας ἀφηνίασει (v.l. ἀπεράσει).

<sup>e</sup> So the Catenae, τὸ δὲ ἡσυχῇ καὶ μετρίως ἀφαιρεῖν μὲν κατ' ὀλίγον (v.l. omits κατ' ὀλίγον) τι τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, προστιθέναι δὲ τῆς παιδείας τὸ ἀνάλογον ὠφελείας γένοιτ' ἂν ὁμολογουμένης αἴτιον.

<sup>f</sup> So the Catenae, ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρός οὐ μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῷ νοσοῦντι πάντα ἀθρόα τὰ ὑγιεινὰ προσφέρειν (v.l. ἐπιφέρειν) ἂν ἐθελήσειεν, εἰδὼς βλάβην ἐργαζόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὠφέλειαν (v.l. ὑγίειαν).



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times, he administers the cure at intervals,<sup>a</sup> and by applying different things at different times he gently brings about health.<sup>b</sup> But he who is impatient<sup>c</sup> and presumptuous and insists upon cutting away (ignorance) all at once, and insists upon adding instruction all at once, increases rather than lessens the illness.

\*26. (Ex. xxiii. 33b) Why does He call the service of heterodox gods<sup>d</sup> "a stumbling-block"<sup>e</sup>?

Just as those who stumble on whole feet<sup>f</sup> because they are unable to walk a long way<sup>g</sup> fall short of the end of the road, having earlier given up, so also the soul, being led to piety, is prevented from completing (its journey)<sup>h</sup> when it has earlier come upon the trackless places of impiety.<sup>i</sup> For these are obstacles and the cause of stumbling, by

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "managing he apportions the cure"; the Arm. ptc. and verb probably render *ἐπιδιανέμει*, as in the Greek frag., see next note.

<sup>b</sup> So the Catenae (which end with this sentence), *ἀλλὰ διαμετρησάμενος τοὺς καιροὺς ἐπιδιανέμει τὰ σωτήρια καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα προστιθεὶς πρῶως ὑγίειαν ἐμποιεῖ.*

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "trenchant": Aucher "importunus."

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* of the gods of the Gentiles.

<sup>e</sup> LXX *ἐὰν γὰρ δουλεύσης τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν, οὗτοι ἔσονται σοι πρόσκομμα* (Heb. "snare").

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* on even feet, see the Greek text (below), in which this phrase occurs more appropriately in the following clause.

<sup>g</sup> Here again the order of words in the Arm. is to be corrected from the Greek which places "a long way" in the clause beginning "fall short."

<sup>h</sup> In the Greek (see next note) it is the road, not the soul, which leads to piety.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. (from John of Damascus) reads more smoothly *ὡσπερ οἱ προσπταίσαντες, ἀρτίους βαίνειν ποσὶν ἀδυνατοῦντες, μακρὰν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τέλους ὑστερίζουσι προσκάννοντες* (*l. προκάννοντες?*), *οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν πρὸς εὐσεβίαν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν ἀνείν κωλύεται, προεντνυχάνουσα ταῖς ἀσεβείαις ἀνοδίαῖς.* Procopius (covering only this sentence) condenses and paraphrases, *τοῦτο γὰρ παθὼν ὁδοιπόρος προκάννει, πρὶν εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐλθεῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ψυχὴ πρὸς θεὸν ὁδεύειν ἐθέλουσα δυσσεβείαις ἀνοδίαῖς τῆς εὐθείας ἀπείργεται.*

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which the mind is lamed and falls short of the natural road.<sup>a</sup>  
Now this road is that which ends in the Father.<sup>b</sup>

27. (Ex. xxiv. 1a) What is the meaning of the words,  
“ And He said to Moses, Go up, thou and Aaron<sup>c</sup> and  
Nadab<sup>d</sup> and Abihu<sup>e</sup> ” ?

You see indeed that the number of those gathered together for ascending was worthy of God,<sup>g</sup> (namely) the tetrad,<sup>h</sup> which is the essence<sup>i</sup> of the decad,<sup>j</sup> while seventy<sup>k</sup> is produced by multiplying seven by ten or ten by seven.<sup>l</sup> But one should recognize that through the literal meaning<sup>m</sup> this passage is allegorized.<sup>n</sup> For Moses is the most pure and God-loving mind,<sup>o</sup> while Aaron is his word, which is

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., αὐται γάρ εἰσιν ἐμπόδιοι καὶ προσπται-  
σμάτων αἰτίαι, δι' ὧν κυλλαίνων ὁ νοῦς ὑστερίζει τῆς κατὰ φύσιν  
ὁδοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> After “ the Father ” we should prob. add “ of all things ”  
as in the Greek frag., which reads ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν  
πατέρα τῶν ὄλων τελευτῶσα.

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *Aharon* (as in Heb.).

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *Nabad*.

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *Abioud* (as in LXX).

<sup>f</sup> LXX Καὶ Μωυσῆ εἶπεν, Ἀνάβηθι πρὸς τὸν κύριόν σου, σὺ καὶ  
Ἄαρὼν καὶ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιούδ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν πρεσβυ-  
τέρων Ἰσραήλ. Philo's commentary refers to the seventy  
elders, of whom there is no mention in the lemma. In *De*  
*Migratione* 168 Philo quotes the LXX text except that for  
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων he has τῆς γερουσίας.

<sup>g</sup> θεοπρεπή.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. Moses and his three companions.

<sup>i</sup> οὐσία.

<sup>j</sup> Cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 47 and *De Plantatione* 123, where  
four is said to be the source or potentiality of ten, i.e. the sum  
of 1, 2, 3, 4 = 10.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. the seventy elders.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher's rendering adds, after the “ seventy,” the words  
“ mysterium cernis ” in parenthesis, though there is nothing  
corresponding in the Arm.

<sup>m</sup> διὰ τοῦ ῥητοῦ.

<sup>n</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

<sup>o</sup> διάνοια or νοῦς. Both terms are used in the parallel, *De*  
*Migratione* 169-170, see notes below.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

the unlying interpreter of the truth.<sup>a</sup> And Nadab is voluntary vision, for (his name) is to be interpreted as “voluntary.”<sup>b</sup> And Abihu is truth from God,<sup>c</sup> for it is this to which the name refers.<sup>d</sup> Thus you see a soul adorned with all the ornaments that lead to virtue<sup>e</sup> so as to please God, (namely) a worthy mind,<sup>f</sup> a true word,<sup>g</sup> one who is voluntarily pious<sup>h</sup> and one who guards them (like) a barrier and wall, (namely) help from God.<sup>i</sup> But the power of the number four will be subordinated to a commander consisting of one,<sup>j</sup> for there are three ornaments of the one prophetic mind which is acquired by you. The powers of the seventy elders are honoured with seniority, not by length of many years but by the ascension of perfect numbers, which are worthy of honour and are privileged.

\*28. (Ex. xxiv. 1b) Why does He say, “they shall worship the Lord from afar”<sup>k</sup>?

Just as those who are near a fire are burned, while those

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Migratione* 169 Ἰαρωὺν . . . ὁ γεγωνὸς λόγος προφητεύων διανοία.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Migratione* 169 Ναδάβ δὲ ἐκούσιος ἐρμηνεύεται ὁ μὴ ἀνάγκη τιμῶν τὸ θεῖον.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher “divinitus veritas.”

<sup>d</sup> This far-fetched etymology is apparently based on the Arm. translator’s reading ἀλήθεια instead of βοήθεια “help,” see below. In *De Migratione* 169 Abihu is more accurately etymologized as πατήρ μου. Heb. ’abīhū lit.=“he is my father.”<sup>e</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>f</sup> Symbolized by Moses.

<sup>g</sup> Symbolized by Aaron.

<sup>h</sup> Symbolized by Nadab.

<sup>i</sup> Symbolized by Abihu.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. text is not altogether clear. Aucher renders, “caeterum cum duce militiae quaterno numero ordinetur virtus unitatis comprehensae.” More intelligible is the parallel in *De Migratione* 170, αἶδ’ εἰσὶν αἱ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀξίου νοῦ δορυφόροι δυνάμεις.

<sup>k</sup> LXX καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν μακρόθεν τῷ κυρίῳ (Heb. omits “the Lord”).

## EXODUS, BOOK II

who stand apart at a distance measured by a long interval attain to security, so it is with the soul; whatever soul comes too near in desiring the vision of God, does not perceive when it is being consumed.<sup>a</sup> But as for that (soul) which stands far off at a distance, no longer do the tongues of flame <sup>b</sup> burn it but warming it moderately, they kindle <sup>c</sup> it with vitality. This <sup>d</sup> is said in reference to the dissolution and rapture of the most perfect and prophetic mind,<sup>e</sup> for which it is fitting and lawful to enter the dark cloud <sup>f</sup> and to dwell in the forecourt <sup>g</sup> of the palace of the Father. Wherefore also there are some animals which move and dwell in fire, by which others are destroyed, and they are called "fire-born."<sup>h</sup>

29. (Ex. xxiv. 2) Why does He say, "Moses alone shall come near to God, and they shall not come near, and the people shall not go up with them" <sup>i</sup> ?

O most excellent and God-worthy ordinance, that the prophetic mind <sup>j</sup> alone should approach God and that those

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. (which extends only to the end of the sentence) seems to be paraphrastic, οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τοῦ πυρός ἡ δύναμις τοῖς μὲν ἀφεστηκόσι μεμετρημένον διάστημα παρέχει φῶς (Arm. = ἀσφάλειαν), κατακαίει δὲ τοὺς ἐγγίζοντας; ὄρα μὴ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθης τῇ διανοίᾳ, μὴ σε ὁ πολὺς πόθος ἀδυνάτου πράγματος ἀναλώσῃ.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "sparks (or "effulgences") of rays": Aucher "radiatorum splendor."<sup>c</sup> ζωπυροῦσι.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. the statement about souls that draw near to the fire.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ τελειοτάτου καὶ προφητικοῦ νοῦ: Aucher "secundum dissolutionem et avulsionem perfecti propheticique intellectus."

<sup>f</sup> τὸν γνώφον, cf. *De Vita Mosis* i. 158 on Ex. xx. 21.

<sup>g</sup> αὐλῆ vel sim.: Aucher "atrio."

<sup>h</sup> πυρίγονα, cf. *De Gigantibus* 7 et al., and also Aelian, *De Nat. An.* 2. 2. 231 on salamanders.

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ ἐγγιᾶ Μωσῆς ὁ μόνος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν (Heb. "YHWH"), αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγγιούσιν ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐ συναναβήσεται μετ' αὐτῶν (Heb. "with him").

<sup>j</sup> τὸν προφητικὸν νοῦν.

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in second place <sup>a</sup> should go up, making <sup>b</sup> a path to heaven, while those in third place and the turbulent characters of the people <sup>c</sup> should neither go up above nor go up with them but those worthy of beholding should be beholders of the blessed path above. But that “ (Moses) alone shall go up ” is said most naturally.<sup>d</sup> For when the prophetic mind becomes divinely inspired and filled with God,<sup>e</sup> it becomes like the monad, not being at all mixed with any of those things associated with duality. But he who is resolved into the nature of unity,<sup>f</sup> is said to come near God in a kind of family relation,<sup>g</sup> for having given up and left behind all mortal kinds,<sup>h</sup> he is changed into the divine, so that such men become kin to God and truly divine.

30. (Ex. xxiv. 4b) Why does Moses, rising early in the morning, build an altar below the mountain and twelve stones for the twelve tribes of Israel? <sup>i</sup>

Either the altar was built of only twelve stones in order that all the tribes of the nation together might in some way <sup>j</sup> be a sacred altar to God, or the twelve stones were set up separately apart from <sup>k</sup> the altar, in order that some, although they might be missing from the daily service,<sup>l</sup> might seem to be there, for the absence of some would be

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς δευτέρους.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “ cutting.”

<sup>c</sup> Aucher “ tertius vero populares mores conturbatos.”

<sup>d</sup> φυσικώτατα, i.e. “ most philosophically.”

<sup>e</sup> ἐνθουσιᾷ καὶ θεοφορεῖται.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 288 (Moses) μετακληθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃς αὐτὸν δυάδα ὄντα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, εἰς μονάδος ἀνεστοιχείου φύσιν.

<sup>g</sup> κατὰ συγγενῆ τινα οἰκειότητα: Aucher “ cognativa quadam familiaritate.”

<sup>h</sup> πάντα θνητὰ γένη.

<sup>i</sup> LXX ὀρθρίσας δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ πρῶτῃ ᾤκοδόμησεν θυσιαστήριον ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος καὶ δώδεκα λίθους (Heb. “ pillars”; v.l. in LXX adds ἔστησεν after λίθους) εἰς τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

<sup>j</sup> τρόπον τινα.

<sup>k</sup> χωρίς.

<sup>l</sup> τῆς καθ’ ἡμέραν λειτουργίας vel sim.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

filled by the permanent setting up <sup>a</sup> of the twelve stones, which would be a suitable memorial of the tribes, which he wishes always to be present as ministers to the Father.

31. (Ex. xxiv. 5a) Why does he send young men, not the elders? <sup>b</sup>

Since the elders, numbering seventy, had brought the nation to the foot of the mountain,<sup>c</sup> performing (this) service at the ascent of the prophet, it would have been unsuitable and strange to summon them again to another work when they had already been summoned earlier to the sight,<sup>d</sup> and if he had commanded their contemporaries to offer sacrifice, he would have been held in low esteem by those who were not offering (sacrifice) with them. In the second place, (it was) because the elder generations were a kind of first-fruits and new (offerings), as if performing a bloodless sacrifice, which is more appropriate to elders of advanced age. But as for those who as young men in the flower of their youth were sent to offer sacrifice, because there was much blood in them by reason of their flourishing youth it was profitable <sup>e</sup> for them to offer every offering of sacrifice with blood, as a thankoffering <sup>f</sup> to God and Father, using their youth to lead their desires to piety <sup>g</sup> and not to the madness of unrestrained desires. That is the literal meaning.<sup>h</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>i</sup> the allwise and God-beloved soul <sup>j</sup> has in itself both

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "constanti erectione."

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ἐξάπέστειλεν τοὺς νεανίσκους τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "quoniam senes numerum gentis septuaginta praeseferentes obtulerunt ad radices montis."

<sup>d</sup> i.e. of what was to take place on the mountain.

<sup>e</sup> λυσιτελής vel sim. : Aucher "expediebat."

<sup>f</sup> εὐχαριστίαν.

<sup>g</sup> τὰς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς εὐσέβειαν.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>i</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *ogi* (= ψυχή) is here exceptionally provided with a plural ending, although it governs a singular verb. Possibly the plural ending here is analogous to that of *mitk'* (νοῦς), a *pluralia tantum*. Aucher too renders, "anima."

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elderly and youthful principles,<sup>a</sup> all (of them) holy. Now the elderly ones are used in the contemplation of nature <sup>b</sup> and of those things which are therein, while those which are vigorous (are used) for the power <sup>c</sup> of worthy deeds, so that the life of those who are excellent in these ways, in both the contemplative and the practical, is publicly posted and widely famed.<sup>d</sup>

32. (Ex. xxiv. 5b) Why do the young men who were sent offer whole-burnt-offerings <sup>e</sup> and sacrifice calves as victims? <sup>f</sup>

Calves of tender years <sup>g</sup> are offered by the hands of youths of tender years in order that the sacrifices which are offered may preserve a correspondence of age <sup>h</sup> with those who make the offering. Not lambs and not kids (are offered), for these animals are weaker than calves, whereas he seems to make the sacrifice from more powerful (animals). Therefore the youths <sup>i</sup> who <sup>j</sup> perform the sacrifice offer sacrifices of whole-burnt-offerings and salutary offerings <sup>k</sup> in their prime vigour. The third (kind of offering, namely) the sin-offering is not (made) inasmuch as that place does not admit of any transgression at all because of the visible appearance of the Father. For in that place there was

<sup>a</sup> λόγους.

<sup>b</sup> τῆς φύσεως.

<sup>c</sup> δύναμιν: Aucher "in virili occupatione."

<sup>d</sup> στηλιτεύεται καὶ διαφημίζεται *vel sim.*

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. *oljakēzs* reflects LXX ὀλοκαντώματα = Heb. *ólót* (A.V. "burnt offerings").

<sup>f</sup> LXX (abbreviated here) καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν ὀλοκαντώματα καὶ ἔθυσαν θυσίαν σωτηρίου (Heb. "covenant-offerings": A.V. "peace offerings") τῷ θεῷ (Heb. "to YHWH") μοσχάρια (Heb. "oxen").

<sup>g</sup> ἀπαλοί.

<sup>h</sup> Variant "equality" or "community."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "the youth" (collective abstract)—ἡ νεότης.

<sup>j</sup> A different division of words yields the variant "the new youth" for "the youths who."

<sup>k</sup> τὰ σωτήρια, which is the LXX rendering of Heb. *š'elāmim* "covenant-offerings," see above, note *f*.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

not anything to oppose (Him).<sup>a</sup> For when the sun rises, darkness disappears and everything becomes filled with light. Moreover, when God appears or is about to appear, is not every form and substance <sup>b</sup> of sin first to be destroyed and removed? Accordingly, the two kinds of sacrifice are here the best that can be <sup>c</sup> performed, (namely) the whole-burnt-offering in honour of the unbribable and unbought <sup>d</sup> Father, which is made for no one else but Him Who is honoured, and the salutary offering, which is made for our sake, in return for the fact that good things have happened to us <sup>e</sup> and that we experience and await them. For it is to God Who gives them to the race of mortals that we render the sacrifices of health and salvation and all good things in general.

33. (Ex. xxiv. 6) Why did Moses take half of the blood and pour it into mixing-bowls,<sup>f</sup> and pour half upon <sup>g</sup> the altar? <sup>h</sup>

He divides the blood in a manner appropriate to its worth,<sup>i</sup> desiring that some of it should be a sacred offering to God and that some should be a sacred unction <sup>j</sup> in place of oil for sanctity and perfect purity, and, if one must speak

<sup>a</sup> A variant omits the negative. Aucher renders, "quae illico ipsi opponebat sese," and as (a free) alternative, "cui illic illud peccatum non poterat sese opponere." The Arm. glossator takes the text to mean "there was no sin there, which is opposed to God."

<sup>b</sup> εἶδος καὶ οὐσία.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "that are."

<sup>d</sup> The two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adjective ἀδεκάστου: Aucher "dona vix accipientis."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "beneficia probavimus."

<sup>f</sup> κρατήρας, as in LXX, see note h.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "circa."

<sup>h</sup> LXX λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος ἐνέχεεν εἰς κρατήρας· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος προσέχεεν πρὸς (v.l. ἐπί: Heb. "upon") τὸ θυσιαστήριον. Philo cites the LXX text of this verse (omitting Moses' name) in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 182-185 and allegorizes it in somewhat the same manner as here but without Pythagorean number-mysticism.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "legitimo ordine."

<sup>j</sup> χρίσμα.



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the truth, in order that (men) may be inspired <sup>a</sup> to receive the holy spirit.<sup>b</sup> But the mixing-bowls are symbols of the mixed and composite nature,<sup>c</sup> which is ours. For the divine (nature) is pure and unmixed, whereas all such things as through generation come into existence from contraries are necessarily receptacles, in part of a good, in part of a bad form.<sup>d</sup> Accordingly, that which belongs to the better is assigned to the part of God, for He acquires this through His simpler and more lucid essence,<sup>e</sup> while that which belongs to the worse (is assigned) to the race of mortals. But one should begin with the incorporeal and intelligible things,<sup>f</sup> which are the measures and models of sense-perceptible things.<sup>g</sup> Now the principle <sup>h</sup> of all things arises from numbers, some of which are odd, having the status of active causes,<sup>i</sup> and some even, (having the status) of matter.<sup>j</sup> It is therefore necessary to attribute the idea <sup>k</sup> of the odd (number) to God because of His connexion <sup>l</sup> with activity,<sup>m</sup> whereas the even (is to be attributed) to the race of mortals because of its familiarity with suffering and passion.<sup>n</sup> The same (distinction holds) for

<sup>a</sup> Prob. *ψυχοῦσθαι*: Aucher "in spiritum verti."

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, which is not Philonic usage, though Philo often speaks of a θεῖον πνεῦμα. Possibly the Arm. translator has here substituted "holy" for "divine."

<sup>c</sup> τῆς μικτῆς καὶ συνθέτου φύσεως, cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 183: Aucher "sibi invicem compactae naturae."

<sup>d</sup> Prob. εἶδος rather than ἰδέας: Aucher "ideae."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "qui ergo melioris statûs est, partum Dei sortitus est per simpliciores lucidioremque essentiam." The parallel in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 183 and the present context indicate that it is God's essence which is meant here.

<sup>f</sup> τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς. <sup>g</sup> παραδείγματα τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

<sup>h</sup> Or "origin"—ἀρχή. <sup>i</sup> δραστηρίων αἰτίων λόγον ἔχοντες.

<sup>j</sup> Cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 13 ἄρρεν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὔσι τὸ περιπτόν, τὸ δ' ἄρτιον θῆλυ (where "male" connotes "active," and "female" connotes "passive" and "material").

<sup>k</sup> Or "form." <sup>l</sup> συγγένειαν.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "doing" or "making."

<sup>n</sup> Aucher renders more briefly, "ob familiaritatem ad patiendum."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

equality and inequality, similarity and dissimilarity, identity and difference, unity and separation.<sup>a</sup> As for equality, similarity, identity and unity, they are to be ordered under the better class, as it were, with God, while the unequal, the dissimilar, the different and the separate (are to be ordered) in the worse (class), of which mortal (nature) has obtained the greater part. It is (possible), however, to see the equivalent of this (distinction) not only in incorporeal and intelligible things but also in sense-perceptible natures. For even in the cosmos heaven itself and everything in heaven are found worthy of the divine and best essence<sup>b</sup> and come near to God and are consecrated to Him. But that which is sublunary<sup>c</sup> belongs to the more material and denser part and is assigned to the race of mortals. Moreover, in us ourselves the soul<sup>d</sup> consists of the rational and the irrational.<sup>e</sup> And the rational, being the better, is consecrated to the better nature, while the irrational, being worse, (is consecrated) to the inferior,<sup>f</sup> which we, the untaught and incontinent and undisciplined,<sup>g</sup> have received. Nevertheless, one who considers the mortal body with good judgment will say that the sovereign head is consecrated to the holy Creator and Father, while (the part) from the breast to the feet belongs to material substance. This (part), therefore, he reckons to the mixing-bowls symbolically,<sup>h</sup> because it is mixed and composite, while he consecrates the pure and unmixed (part) by making it an offering to God.

34. (Ex. xxiv. 7a) What is the meaning of the words, "Taking the book of the covenant, he read to the ears<sup>i</sup> of all the people"<sup>j</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> Prob. *διαίρεσει*.

<sup>b</sup> Or "substance"—*ουσίας*.

<sup>c</sup> *τὸ μετὰ σελήνην*.

<sup>d</sup> *ἡ ψυχή*.

<sup>e</sup> *τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου*.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "lesser": Aucher "minori."

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* those of us who are untaught, etc.

<sup>h</sup> *συμβολικῶς*.

<sup>i</sup> So LXX and Heb. literally (A.V. "audience"), see next note.

<sup>j</sup> LXX καὶ λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης ἀνέγνω εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Concerning the divine covenant we have already spoken in detail,<sup>a</sup> so that it is not proper to discuss the subject again at the present time. However, some notice must be taken of (the words) "reading to the ears." Now this takes place without separation and interruption, for the air is not agitated from without as the sound reaches the hearers but (the voice of) the speaker resounds in them without separation or distance<sup>b</sup> like some pure and lucid voice which is extended.<sup>c</sup> And there is no third thing interposed, by the intervention of which the reception<sup>d</sup> becomes less but the sound echoes more surely in an only purer form when the hearers and the word come together without any separation between them. That is the literal meaning.<sup>e</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>f</sup> since it was impossible for anyone to reach such a multitude of hearers<sup>g</sup> or to come near and speak to their ears,<sup>h</sup> it is necessary to hold the opinion that the teacher and the pupil<sup>i</sup> were there. One of them speaks privately<sup>j</sup> to his disciples<sup>k</sup> without concealing anything, not even things not to be spoken of,<sup>l</sup> and the other is the recipient who offers himself as one worthy of voluntarily being a repository of the divine Law<sup>m</sup> and a guardian of those things which it would not be proper to interpret<sup>n</sup> to the many, whatever may happen.

<sup>a</sup> ἡμῶν ἠκρίβωται. Philo here apparently alludes to his (lost) work *Περὶ Διαθηκῶν* in two books, see *De Mut. Nom.* 53.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "sed dicentis vox immediate in eas sonans."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "expansa."      <sup>d</sup> Aucher "perceptio."

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.      <sup>f</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "ut vox unius cujusdam in tantae multitudinis aures perveniret."

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "aut ipse ad singulorum accedens aures loqueretur."

<sup>i</sup> ὁ γνώριμος : Aucher "auditor."

<sup>j</sup> ἰδίως ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν : Aucher "seorsum."

<sup>k</sup> τοῖς μαθηταῖς.      <sup>l</sup> ἀπόρρητα *vel sim.*

<sup>m</sup> The meaning of the clause is not quite clear : Aucher "praestans se dignum divina traditione legis voluntariae."

<sup>n</sup> ἀποδίδοσθαι : Aucher "referre."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

35. (Ex. xxiv. 8a) Why did he take that blood which (was) in the mixing-bowls <sup>a</sup> and sprinkle (it) over the people? <sup>b</sup>

By indicating that the blood of all (was) the same and that their kinship <sup>c</sup> (was) the same, he wishes to show that in a certain way <sup>d</sup> they were animated by one idea and nature, <sup>e</sup> for on many occasions he puts the blood in the same class as the soul. <sup>f</sup> Even if they are separated from one another by their bodies, they are nevertheless united by mind and thought, <sup>g</sup> and they share together the divine sacrifices and victims, being brought from estrangement to community <sup>h</sup> and to the concord <sup>i</sup> of distinguished blood.

36. (Ex. xxiv. 8b) Why does he say further, "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord commanded you concerning all these words" <sup>j</sup>?

(He does so) because the blood is a symbol <sup>k</sup> of family kinship. <sup>l</sup> And the form <sup>m</sup> of kinship is twofold <sup>n</sup>: one is that among men, which has its origin in ancestors, while that among souls <sup>o</sup> has its origin in wisdom. <sup>p</sup> Now he did not mention the kinship of ancestors and offspring, because

<sup>a</sup> See *QE* ii. 33 on Ex. xxiv. 6.

<sup>b</sup> LXX λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ αἷμα κατεσκεδάσεν τοῦ λαοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> τὴν συγγένειαν.

<sup>d</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>e</sup> μιᾷ ψυχουῦσθαι ἰδέα καὶ φύσει.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς. Cf. Lev. xvii. 14 (*et al.*) "the blood of it is its life."

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "by the mind of thoughts": Aucher "per consilia mentis."

<sup>h</sup> ἐξ ἀλλοτριώσεως εἰς κοινωνίαν.

<sup>i</sup> Or "sincerity" or "singleness": Aucher "concordiam."

<sup>j</sup> LXX καὶ εἶπεν, Ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο (Heb. "cut," i.e. "made") κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων.

<sup>k</sup> σύμβολον ἢ σημεῖον.

<sup>l</sup> συγγενικῆς οἰκειότητος.

<sup>m</sup> Or "species"—εἶδος.

<sup>n</sup> Lit. "of two faces": Aucher "duplex."

<sup>o</sup> ψυχῶν.

<sup>p</sup> σοφίαν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

it is also common to irrational animals, but from the other (kind of kinship) as from a root grew wisdom.<sup>a</sup> Now wisdom is the font of words and the voluntary laws <sup>b</sup> which the teacher has proclaimed and taught to lovers of learning as being most necessary, (namely) concord and community.<sup>c</sup> But this cannot be acquired by polytheists,<sup>d</sup> because they put forth variant opinions distinguished for difference and diversity,<sup>e</sup> and they become the cause of quarrelling and fighting. But an harmonious adjustment to one (opinion) is the agreement of all who are ministers and servants of the work.

\*37. (Ex. xxiv. 10) What is the meaning of the words, "They saw the place where the God of Israel was standing, and under His feet (was something) like the work of a plinth of sapphire and like the form of the firmament of heaven in purity" <sup>f</sup>?

All this is, in the first place, most suitable to and worthy of the theologian,<sup>g</sup> for no one will boast of seeing the invisible God, (thus) yielding to arrogance.<sup>h</sup> And holy and

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. translator may have misunderstood the Greek here. One expects "but the other (kind of kinship) grew from wisdom as from a root."

<sup>b</sup> τῶν ἐκουσίων νόμων, cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 26.

<sup>c</sup> ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κοινωνίαν vel sim.

<sup>d</sup> τῶν πολυθέων.

<sup>e</sup> The construction is not wholly clear but Aucher is wrong, I think, in rendering, "quia honoratae huic distinctioni disjunctiores opiniones oppositas faciunt."

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔργον πλίνθου (v.l. λίθου) σαφείρου καὶ ὡσπερ εἶδος στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Heb. "and like the very heaven") τῇ καθαριότητι. Philo quotes the first clause (to Ἰσραήλ) in *De Somniis* i. 62 and ii. 222, and the rest of the verse in *De Confus. Ling.* 96 ff., where the mss. of Philo read λίθου for πλίνθου but the commentary (as in this section of the *Quaestiones*) requires πλίνθου (see also notes below).

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ θεολόγου, i.e. Moses.

<sup>h</sup> The brief Greek frag. (which contains only this clause) reads similarly οὐδεὶς ἀυγήσει τὸν ἀόρατον θεὸν ἰδεῖν, εἴξας ἀλαζονεία.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

divine is this same place alone in which He is said to appear, for He Himself does not go away or change His position but He sends the powers,<sup>a</sup> which are indicative of His essence.<sup>b</sup> And if it is right (to say so, we may) say that this place is that of His Logos,<sup>c</sup> since He has never given a suspicion of movement but of always standing, for the nature of the Father remains fixed and unchanged<sup>d</sup> and more lucid and simpler<sup>e</sup> than the (number) one which alone is a form of likeness.<sup>f</sup> Now he has represented the unchanged and immutable nature of God (as) the oneness of unity because of His substance.<sup>g</sup> And the whole heaven altogether was under His feet, for its colour indeed was rather like a sapphire. And the "plinth" is a figure<sup>h</sup> of the stars as one group,<sup>i</sup> harmoniously arranged in an order of numbers,

<sup>a</sup> τὰς δυνάμεις.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "essentiam." Although Arm. *ζουτ'ιυν* renders both *ουσία* and *υπαρξις*, the context favours the rendering "essence" rather than "existence" in spite of Philo's statement in *De Poster. Caini* 169 *αἱται γὰρ (sc. αἱ δυνάμεις) οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὴν δ' ὑπαρξιν ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελουμένων αὐτῷ παριστάσι*. Philo here (in *QE*) seems to mean that God's powers merely indicate His essence but do not make this fully known to man. The rendering "essence" seems preferable to "existence" also because of the Heb. *'esem* in this verse (see above, note *f* on p. 78), which means something like "essence."

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *βαναωροουτ'ιυν* = *λογιότης* rather than *λόγος* (Aucher renders, "rationalitatis"), but other passages in Philo, e.g. *De Confus. Ling.* 96, show that the Logos is meant here.

<sup>d</sup> βεβαία καὶ ἄτρεπτος.

<sup>e</sup> ἀπλουστέρα.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "simpler than (the number) one to which unity is a form of likeness": Aucher "simplicior unitate, quae unica est forma similitudinis."

<sup>g</sup> The construction and meaning are not wholly clear: Aucher "unam autem unitatis invariabilem immutabilemque naturam Dei propter substantiam indicavit."

<sup>h</sup> The original was *πλυνθιον* or *πλυνθίς*: Aucher "laterculus." I have here rendered it by "figure" rather than "small brick" because Philo seems to be playing on the metaphorical meaning of *πλυνθιον*, "musical scale."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "at one time": Aucher "simul."

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proportions and progressions,<sup>a</sup> that is, (as) a constant likeness and image of an incorporeal form.<sup>b</sup> For it is a very holy and lucid sense-perceptible type-form<sup>c</sup> of the intelligible heaven and is a worthy portion of the divine essence, of which I have spoken earlier.<sup>d</sup> Therefore is it said, "Like the form of the firmament<sup>e</sup> in purity," for incorporeal forms are most lucid and pure inasmuch as they have obtained a share of unmixed essence and of that which is most simple. Accordingly, he says that the sense-perceptible heaven, which he calls "firmament," is distinct from the intelligible form because of its purity.

\*38. (Ex. xxiv. 11a) Why does (Scripture) say, "Of the chosen seeing ones<sup>f</sup> there differed<sup>g</sup> not even one"<sup>h</sup>?

The literal text has a clear interpretation, (namely) that

<sup>a</sup> ἀριθμῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ἀναλογιῶν: Aucher "numerorum, rationum et collationum."

<sup>b</sup> ἀσωμάτου εἶδους.

<sup>c</sup> τύπος εἰδῶν.

<sup>d</sup> Text slightly emended (by removal of superfluous verb εἶ "is"): Aucher "siquidem intelligibilis caeli sensibile hoc typus est purus et lucidus omnino, illius, quam jampridem dixi divinam essentiam ac portionem meruisse."

<sup>e</sup> In the quotation from Scripture in the heading of this section we read "of the firmament of heaven."

<sup>f</sup> Philo here, as often elsewhere, substitutes "the seeing one(s)" for "Israel."

<sup>g</sup> More literally "was separated": variant (as in Arm. O.T.) "was consumed," see next note.

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς (Heb. reads quite differently "and upon the nobles of the Israelites He laid not His hand"). Although the LXX translators meant διεφώνησεν as "perished," Philo took it to mean "differed" or "was discordant," as is shown by the rest of this section and also by the parallel in *De Confus. Ling.* 56 γένος γὰρ ἔσμεν τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὀρώντος Ἰσραὴλ ὧν διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς, ἵνα . . . ὁ κόσμος πᾶς ταῖς ἀρμονίαις μουσικῶς μελωδῆται. R. Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1929), p. 116, concludes too hastily that Philo here took διεφώνησεν to mean "perished."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

all were preserved whole.<sup>a</sup> But as for the deeper meaning, immortal in soul is the chosen race to which has come wisdom<sup>b</sup> and every virtue<sup>c</sup> and, above all, piety, the queen of the virtues.<sup>d</sup> For dissonance from decency<sup>e</sup> and disharmony are death to the soul. Therefore it is well said that "no one differed," (meaning) that as in an all-musical chorus with the blended voices of all<sup>f</sup> one should play music in harmonious measures of modulation and with skilled fingers, seeking to show (this harmony) not so much in sound as in mind.

39. (Ex. xxiv. 11b) What is the meaning of the words, "They appeared to God in the place<sup>g</sup> and they ate and drank"<sup>h</sup>?

Having attained<sup>i</sup> to the face of the Father, they do not

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., τὸ μὲν ῥήτὸν διήγημα φανερὰν ἔχει τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ὡς ἀπάντων σώων διατηρηθέντων.

<sup>b</sup> σοφία.

<sup>c</sup> πᾶσα ἀρετή.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. summarizes this sentence and the rest of the section very briefly, τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν τὸ πάντας περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν συμφώνους εἶναι καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαφωρεῖν. See also Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* p. 117, note 4.

<sup>e</sup> πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν *vel sim.* : Aucher "ad probitatem."

<sup>f</sup> ἐν παμμουσῶν χορείᾳ καὶ πάντων συμφωνίᾳ.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "apparuerunt Deo in eo loco." For a possible different rendering see the next note.

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ ὠφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ (so Arm. O.T. : Heb. "and they saw God") καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον. Although the Arm. reflects ὠφθησαν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ (as Aucher and I have rendered), it is possible that, with a change in word-order, it agrees with LXX in reading "they appeared in the place of God," since the Arm. *astouacoy* may be either genitive or dative. I suspect that the Arm. translator inadvertently wrote "God" after "they appeared," and that Philo originally agreed with the LXX in reading ὠφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ and did not read ὠφθησαν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, as the Arm. suggests.

<sup>i</sup> The text is slightly uncertain but the variant (*hasanin* for *hanen*) does not change the meaning greatly.



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remain in any mortal place at all, for all such (places) are profane and polluted, but they send and make a migration <sup>a</sup> to a holy and divine place, which is called by another name, Logos. <sup>b</sup> Being in this (place) through the steward <sup>c</sup> they see the Master <sup>d</sup> in a lofty and clear manner, envisioning <sup>e</sup> God with the keen-sighted eyes of the mind. <sup>f</sup> But this vision <sup>g</sup> is the food of the soul, <sup>h</sup> and true partaking <sup>i</sup> is the cause of a life of immortality. <sup>j</sup> Wherefore, indeed, is it said, "they ate and drank." For those who are indeed very hungry and thirsty did not fail <sup>k</sup> to see God become clearly visible, but like those who, being famished, find an abundance of food, they satisfied their great desire.

\*40. (Ex. xxiv. 12a) What is the meaning of the words, "Come up to Me to the mountain and be there" <sup>l</sup>?

This signifies that a holy soul <sup>m</sup> is divinized <sup>n</sup> by ascending not to the air or to the ether or to heaven (which is) higher than all but to (a region) above the heavens. And

<sup>a</sup> ἀποικίαν.

<sup>b</sup> A similar idea is expressed in a passage from Procopius cited by R. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (see preceding section), p. 117, note 4, τὸ δὲ φαγεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ πιεῖν τὴν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνωθεὶς ὑποσημαίνει τρυφήν.

<sup>c</sup> διὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου (ὁρ ἐπιτρόπου ἢ διοικητοῦ): Aucher "per dispensatorem," *cf.* Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* p. 119.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "leader" or "chief": Aucher "principalem."

<sup>e</sup> φανταζόμενοι: Aucher "invisentes." (Incidentally, Aucher's punctuation in the Arm. text differs from that in his Latin rendering). <sup>f</sup> τοῦ νοῦ.

<sup>g</sup> φαντασία: Aucher "apparentia."

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "souls"—ψυχῶν.

<sup>i</sup> κοινωνία.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher disregards the word-order in rendering, "et vera participatio vitae causa est immortalitatis" instead of "et vera participatio vitae immortalitatis causa est."

<sup>k</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "non fuerunt prohibiti."

<sup>l</sup> LXX (καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν) Ἀνάβηθι πρὸς με εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἴσθι ἐκεῖ. <sup>m</sup> ψυχὴν ἁγίαν.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher "deificari." Arm. *astouacanal* usu. renders θεοῦσθαι, a word that seems not to occur elsewhere in Philo. Perhaps the original here was θεοφορεῖσθαι.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

beyond the world <sup>a</sup> there is no place but God. And He determines <sup>b</sup> the stability of the removal <sup>c</sup> by saying "be there," (thus) demonstrating the placelessness <sup>d</sup> and the unchanging habitation of the divine place. For those who have a quickly satiated passion for reflexion fly upward for only a short distance under divine inspiration <sup>e</sup> and then they immediately return.<sup>f</sup> They do not fly so much as they are drawn downward, I mean, to the depths of Tartarus.<sup>g</sup> But those who do not return from the holy and divine city, to which they have migrated, have God as their chief leader in the migration.<sup>h</sup>

41. (Ex. xxiv. 12b) Why are the commandments written on "tablets of stone" <sup>i</sup> ?

Tablets and written documents are hand-made things,<sup>j</sup> and what is written in them is easily destroyed, for in tablets there is wax, which is easily rubbed away, and in papyrus-rolls <sup>k</sup> the writing is sometimes spread out <sup>l</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> μετὰ τὸν κόσμον : Aucher "post mundum."

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "seals" : Aucher "decernit."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "constantiam transmigrationis."

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *antel* lit. = *ἄτοπον* : Aucher "loco carentem."

<sup>e</sup> From the reading of the Greek frag. (which begins with this sentence, see next note) it appears that the Arm. phrase "fly upward . . . under divine inspiration" takes the ptc. ἀναπτεροφορηθέντες as a combination of ἀναπτεροῦντες and θεοφορηθέντες.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. reads ἐνίοις ἀψίκωρος ἐγγίνεται λογισμός, οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναπτεροφορηθέντες αὐτίκα ὑπενόστησαν.

<sup>g</sup> So the Greek frag., οὐκ ἀναπτάντες μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποσυρέντες εἰς ταρτάρου, φησίν, ἐσχατίας.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "in habitationem constantem." The Greek frag. reads more briefly εὐδαίμονες δὲ οἱ μὴ παλινδρομοῦντες.

<sup>i</sup> LXX (καὶ δώσω σοι) τὰ πυξία τὰ λίθινα, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς (ἂς ἔγραψα νομοθεῆσαι αὐτοῖς).

<sup>j</sup> χειροποίητα.

<sup>k</sup> ἐν στήλαις . . . ἐν χαρτιδίοις, cf. *Quod Omnis Probus* 46, *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 149 *et al.*

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "spargitur." Possibly Philo means that the writing is so erratic or cursive as to be illegible.

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sometimes seems obscure.<sup>a</sup> But stones are the work of nature and are easily converted into tablets ; and also the forms on polished stone tablets <sup>b</sup> and the writings on them are permanent and fixed because of the strength of the material. In the second place, it was not possible for the divine commandments to remain concealed in any recess and to avoid meeting those who were eager to see and learn (them), but (they had) to be published abroad and to be openly circulated. But those things which were to be proclaimed abroad were in need of hard material because of the burning heat of the sun and the falling of rain, so that later the stone tablets were placed in the ark. In the third place, the tablets were of stone, for stone signifies permanence, while a tablet (signifies) impermanence, for a tablet is written on and erased with ease.<sup>c</sup> And this is a symbol <sup>d</sup> of the preservation <sup>e</sup> and dissolution of the law. What is written (is a symbol) of preservation, what is erased (is a symbol) of dissolution, since for those who transgress commandments, one would truly say that there is no law at all.

42. (Ex. xxiv. 12c) Does God write the Law ? <sup>f</sup>

Since God is a legislator <sup>g</sup> in the highest sense of the term,<sup>h</sup> it is necessary that the best law, which is called the true Law,<sup>i</sup> should be laid down by Him and be written in writing, not of hands, for He is not of human form, but at His command and nod. For if at His word <sup>j</sup> the heaven and earth and the entire world were created and the whole of substance received its form from the divine principles

<sup>a</sup> ἀμυδρά *vel sim.* : Aucher "subobscuré."

<sup>b</sup> ἐν πλαξί *vel sim.* : Aucher "in lapidibus."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "nam tabula tam facile scribitur quam deletur."

<sup>d</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>e</sup> Or "observance."

<sup>f</sup> LXX τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἃς ἔγραψα νομοθετῆσαι αὐτοῖς.

<sup>g</sup> νομοθέτης.

<sup>h</sup> κατὰ τὸν ἀνωτάτω λόγον *vel sim.* : Aucher "secundum supremam rationem."

<sup>i</sup> ὁ ἀψευδὴς νόμος : Aucher "infallibilis lex."

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "saying."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

(as) fashioners,<sup>a</sup> then when God says that the Law should be written, were not the writings immediately to be obeyed ?<sup>b</sup> In the second place, this world is a great city<sup>c</sup> and is a legal one.<sup>d</sup> And it is necessary for it to use the best law of state.<sup>e</sup> And it is fitting that it should have a worthy author<sup>f</sup> of law and legislator,<sup>g</sup> since among men He appointed the contemplative race<sup>h</sup> in the same manner (as the Law) for the world.<sup>i</sup> And rightly does He legislate for this race, also prescribing (its Law) as a law for the world,<sup>j</sup> for the chosen race<sup>k</sup> is a likeness<sup>l</sup> of the world, and its Law (is a likeness of the laws) of the world.

43. (Ex. xxiv. 13) Why does Moses, who has been summoned alone,<sup>m</sup> go up not alone but with Joshua ?<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ἐκ τῶν θείων λόγων (v.l. = τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου) τῶν συμπλεκτικῶν vel ἀρμοστώντων : Aucher "a verbo divino efficaci."

<sup>b</sup> I render freely, since the Arm. lit. = "were not the writings immediately obedient" (or "ministering"). Evidently the Arm. translator should have written *spasaworescēn* instead of *spasawor linēin*. Aucher, too, renders freely, as the context requires, "obsequi debet liber."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 34 τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς μεγαλόπολιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον.

<sup>e</sup> πολιτείας.

<sup>d</sup> νόμμος.

<sup>f</sup> κτίστης.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "atque aequum est et conveniens ut sit ei legislator ac legisdator."

<sup>h</sup> i.e. Israel.

<sup>i</sup> The syntax and meaning are not clear. Aucher renders, "et cum hominem (*sic*) genti contemplativae legem daret, daret quoque ipsi mundo," adding in a footnote "Sic explicavimus locum incertum." The Arm. glossator takes it to mean "gentem Dei videntem (*sive*, Israel) tamquam legem alteram Deus mundo dedit."

<sup>j</sup> καὶ κοσμικὸν νόμον διαγράφων vel sim. : Aucher "delineans etiam legem mundi."

<sup>k</sup> τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν γένος.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "forma."

<sup>m</sup> See *QE* ii. 40 on Ex. xxiv. 12a.

<sup>n</sup> LXX καὶ ἀναστὰς Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ παρεστηκὼς αὐτῷ (Heb. "his servant") ἀνέβησαν (Heb. "and Moses went up") εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ θεοῦ.

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The two are potentially <sup>a</sup> one, since no one would say that those who are of like mind and like sentiments with one another are the same single (person) except in respect of another species.<sup>b</sup> For "Joshua" <sup>c</sup> is to be interpreted as "salvation."<sup>d</sup> But is being saved by God more appropriate <sup>e</sup> to anyone else than the inspired soul, in which prophecy resounds,<sup>f</sup> since even in (Moses') lifetime he was over the rulers<sup>g</sup> and at (Moses') death he was his successor.<sup>h</sup> ? Rightly, therefore, does he go up as an assurance <sup>i</sup> of two most necessary things: one, of the election of the contemplative race,<sup>j</sup> and the other, that the Law should be considered not as an invention of the human mind but as a divine command and divine words.<sup>k</sup> But perhaps, according to the unspoken meaning of what is said,<sup>l</sup> Joshua too was openly summoned (to go) up and was not

<sup>a</sup> δυνάμει.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning is not altogether clear: Aucher "etenim nemo est qui eundem solum dixerit sibi invicem unanimes ac concordēs, verum etiam secundum aliam speciem."

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *Yisūs* (Heb. *Y'hōšū'a*).

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *De Mut. Nom.* 121 τὸν Ὡσηε μετονομάζει Μωυση̄ς εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν ποιὸν εἰς ἕξιν μεταχαράττων. Ὡσηε μὲν ἐρμηνεύεται ποιὸς οὗτος, Ἰησοῦς δὲ σωτηρία κυρίου, ἕξεως ὄνομα τῆς ἀρίστης.

<sup>e</sup> μᾶλλον οἰκέϊον.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν ἣ ἕξηχει ἡ προφητεία: Aucher "et inflatae ipsi prophetiae," in his footnote, "flaveritque in eum prophetia." Apparently Philo means that Joshua is the sounding-board of Moses' prophecies.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. of Israel.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. *De Virtutibus* 68 (on Num. xxvii. 18-23) ὁ δὲ τῆς . . . ἐπιτροπῆς διάδοχος οὗτός ἐστιν αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ.

<sup>i</sup> εἰς πίστιν: Aucher "ad fidem faciendam."

<sup>j</sup> i.e. Israel.

<sup>k</sup> Cf. *De Decalogo* 15 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδει πίστιν ἐγγενέσθαι ταῖς διανοίαις περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐρήματα ἀνθρώπου τοὺς νόμους ἀλλὰ θεοῦ χρησμοὺς σαφεστάτους εἶναι, πορρωτάτω τῶν πόλεων ἀπήγαγε τὸ ἔθνος εἰς ἐρήμην κτλ.

<sup>l</sup> κατὰ τὰ ἡσυχασθέντα τῶν εἰρημένων vel sim.: Aucher "sub silentio intelligendum in dictis."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

thought worthy of being called earlier to go up because (God) deemed the prophet <sup>a</sup> worthy of this honour and great prerogative.<sup>b</sup>

44. (Ex. xxiv. 14) Why did he leave Aaron and Hur <sup>c</sup> below with the elder judges? <sup>d</sup>

Just as a navy,<sup>e</sup> if it has no commander,<sup>f</sup> is in need of commanders from time to time for taking care of and equipping the entire fleet, so also to an infantry force, which has no commander-in-chief, the secondary officers, such as company-commanders and squadron-commanders,<sup>g</sup> being in second place,<sup>h</sup> supply necessary and useful things.<sup>i</sup> And when nations have been reduced to obedience by the great king,<sup>j</sup> he grants them many things for whatever lawful purposes may be fitting, and in the various states appoints those whom it is customary to call satraps.<sup>k</sup> And as the prophet, who was about to go on an ethereal and heavenly journey, was well and rightly concerned about such things, he was careful to leave in his place overseers and supervisors. And (as) a sign of victory for those who were in doubt he offered the just man as an arbitrator

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>b</sup> *προνομίας*. The text seems not to be in good order, but the general meaning seems to be that God left it to be understood that Joshua was to go up with Moses, although originally He specifically commanded only Moses to go up (in Ex. xxiv. 12).

<sup>c</sup> Arm. *Օր*.

<sup>d</sup> LXX *καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις εἶπεν, Ἐσυχάζετε αὐτοῦ ἕως ἀναστρέψωμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἰααρὼν καὶ Ἰϋρ (Heb. *Hur*) μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐάν τι συμβῆ κρίσις, προσπορευέσθησαν αὐτοῖς.*

<sup>e</sup> *στρατῶ νηυτικῶ vel sim.*: Aucher "navi classicae."

<sup>f</sup> *ναύαρχος*.

<sup>g</sup> *λοχαγοὶ καὶ ταξίταρχοι*.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "praesentes." The text appears to be corrupt.

<sup>i</sup> For a rather remote parallel to the preceding see *De Decalogo* 14.

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* of Persia.

<sup>k</sup> *σατράπας*.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

of the laws.<sup>a</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>b</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>c</sup> there are two brothers in one—the mind and the word.<sup>d</sup> Now Moses, who is called by another name, mind, has obtained the better part, (namely) God, whereas the word, which is called Aaron, (has obtained) the lesser (part, namely) that of man. And the word of an unrighteous and wicked man is very dark, for even if it reaches great men,<sup>e</sup> it is obscured.<sup>f</sup> But (the word) of him who is of the Lord is very lucid,<sup>g</sup> even though there is no very well adapted instrument<sup>h</sup> in his mouth and tongue.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The meaning of this sentence is far from clear, partly because of the plurality of senses of the word *aristē*, which renders such diverse Greek terms as *πρόξενος*, *μεσίτης*, *πρύτανις*, *ὑπόθεσις* and *ἀφορμή*. Aucher renders, “atque victoriae signum adhibens dubio animo haerentibus, conciliat legitime justum.” Possibly the original of “those who were in doubt,” *τοῖς ἀμφιβαλλομένοις*, meant “for matters in dispute” or was a corruption of *τοῖς ἀμφισβητούμενοις*. At any rate the “victory” seems to have been a judicial victory, not a military one as the Arm. glossator explains.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς (ὁ ἢ διάνοια) καὶ ὁ λόγος.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. “greatly,” but Arm. *meçapes* seems to reflect *μεγάλους* corrupted to *μεγάλως*.

<sup>f</sup> The text is probably not in order: Aucher “verbum autem vilioris ac improbi obscurius est, quamvis enim magnifice consecutus fuerit (verbum), obnubilatum est.” The general sense seems to be that ordinary speech or reason is obscure unless it is illuminated by the light of truth (symbolized by Hur, see the following).

<sup>g</sup> Aucher “Domini vero (verbum) lucidissimum est.” But he ignores the word *oroγ*, which is the gen. case of the rel. pron. If my rendering is correct, Philo means that in contrast to ordinary or wicked men Aaron, who is the word of Moses, the man of God, is enlightened. See also next note but one.

<sup>h</sup> ὄργανον οὐ σφόδρα εὐάρμοστον.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher, construing wrongly, I think, renders, “etsi in ore sit atque lingua instrumentis haud nimis coaptatis.” If my rendering is correct, Philo means that in Aaron Moses had a worthy interpreter, even though he (Moses) had a defect of speech, cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres 4* on Ex. iv. 10.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

Indeed <sup>a</sup> it is because of this that he associates Hur, who is to be interpreted as "light," <sup>b</sup> with the wise man, <sup>c</sup> showing through a symbol <sup>d</sup> that the word of the wise man is luminous, <sup>e</sup> for he reveals his beauty not in words but in deeds performed. <sup>f</sup>

\*45. (Ex. xxiv. 16a) What is the meaning of the words, "And the glory of God came down upon Mount Sinai" <sup>g</sup>?

(Scripture) clearly puts to shame those who whether through impiety or through foolishness believe that there are movements of place or of change in the Deity. <sup>h</sup> For, behold, what is said to come down is clearly not the essence of God, which is understood only as to its being, but His glory. <sup>i</sup> And the notion of glory (*doxa*) is twofold. <sup>j</sup> On the one hand, it denotes the existence of the powers, for the armed force of a king is also called "glory." <sup>k</sup> On the other hand, (it denotes) only a belief in and counting on

<sup>a</sup> Arm. *kam* = ἡ, which here seems to be a corruption of ἦ.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 45 *στηρίζονται ὑπό τε Ἁραράν, τοῦ λόγου, καὶ Ὄρ, ὃ ἐστὶ φῶς.* The etymology is based on Philo's fanciful equation of Ὄρ with Heb. 'ôr "light."

<sup>c</sup> τῷ σοφῶ. <sup>d</sup> διὰ συμβόλου. <sup>e</sup> φωτοειδῆ.

<sup>f</sup> ἔργοις ἐνεργουμένοις *vel sim.*: Aucher "in rebus expositis."

<sup>g</sup> LXX καὶ κατέβη (Heb. "dwelt") ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινά.

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag. from the *Catena*e, *ἐναργέστατα δυσωπεῖ τοὺς ἐγγύς [?] ὑπὸ ἀσεβείας εἴτε ἡλιθιότητος οἰομένους τοπικὰς καὶ μεταβατικὰς κινήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ θεῖον.* Procopius briefly paraphrases, *ἐλέγχει τοὺς οἰομένους μεταβατικὰς δυνάμεις εἶναι περὶ θεόν.*

<sup>i</sup> So the *Catena*e and Procopius, *ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐμφανῶς οὐ* (Procopius *οὐ γὰρ*) *τὸν οὐσιώδη θεὸν τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον ἐπινοούμενον κατεληλυθῆναι φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ.*

<sup>j</sup> So the *Catena*e (Procopius omits), *Διττὴ δὲ ἡ περὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐκδοχή.*

<sup>k</sup> So the *Catena*e and Procopius, *ἡ μὲν παρουσίαν ἐμφαίνουσα τῶν δυνάμεων* (Procopius *ἡ δυνάμειων παρουσίαν ἐμφαίνων*), *ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέως λέγεται δόξα ἡ στρατιωτικὴ δύναμις* (Procopius *δύναμις στρατιωτικῆ*).



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the divine glory,<sup>a</sup> so as to produce in the minds of those who happen to be there an appearance of the coming of God,<sup>b</sup> Who was not there,<sup>c</sup> as though He were coming for the firmest assurance of things about to be legislated.<sup>d</sup> The mountain, moreover, is most suitable to receive the manifestation<sup>e</sup> of God, as the name "Sinai" shows, for when it is translated into our language,<sup>f</sup> it means "inaccessible."<sup>g</sup> Now the divine place is truly inaccessible and unapproachable, for not even the holiest mind is able to ascend such a height to it<sup>h</sup> so as merely to approach and touch it.<sup>i</sup>

\*46. (Ex. xxiv. 16b) Why is the mountain covered with

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "altera, quatenus opinionem causat solam putandi videre gloriam divinam." The Catenae read ἡ δὲ τῇ δοκήσει αὐτοῦ μόνου καὶ ὑπολήψει δόξης θείας: Procopius ἡ δόκησιν αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ δόξης θείας ὑπόληψιν.

<sup>b</sup> So the Catenae, ὡς ἐνεργάσθαι (sic) ταῖς τῶν παρόντων διανοίας φαντασίαν ἀφίξεως θεοῦ. Procopius paraphrases, ἡ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τὴν φαντασίαν ἐτύπωσεν.

<sup>c</sup> This clause is missing from the Catenae and Procopius.

<sup>d</sup> So the Catenae and Procopius (which end here), ὡς ἤκοντος (Procopius adds θεοῦ) εἰς (Procopius πρὸς) βεβαιοτάτην πίστιν τῶν μελλόντων νομοθετεῖσθαι.

<sup>e</sup> τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν *vel sim.*: Aucher "apparitionem."

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders freely, "aliam linguam."

<sup>g</sup> ἄβατον *vel sim.* Philo does not elsewhere etymologize the name "Sinai." I imagine that the present etymology is based upon a fanciful connexion between *Sinai* and Heb. *sēneh* (the "burning bush" of Ex. iii. 2), which is translated βάτος in LXX. In *De Fuga* 161-162 Philo plays on the words βάτος and ἄβατος (-ον); commenting on the biblical phrase, ὁ βάτος καίεται, he writes, . . . τὸν γὰρ ἄβατον οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖ χῶρον, θείων ἐνδιαίτημα φύσεων.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher, construing differently (and failing to recognize a genitive absolute construction), renders, "ita ut neque purissimi intellectus tanta celsitudo ad eum ascendere queat."

<sup>i</sup> So the Greek frag. from John of Damascus, ἄβατος καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστος οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ θεῖος χῶρος, οὐδὲ τῆς καθαρωτάτης διανοίας τοσοῦτον ὕψος προσαναβῆναι δυναμένης ὡς θίξει μόνον ἐπιψαῦσαι.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

a cloud for six days, and Moses called above on the seventh day? <sup>a</sup>

The even <sup>b</sup> number, six, He apportioned both to the creation of the world and to the election of the contemplative nation, <sup>c</sup> wishing to show first of all that He had created both the world and the nation elected for virtue. <sup>d</sup> And in the second place, because He wishes the nation to be ordered and arrayed in the same manner as the whole world so that, as in the latter, it may have a fitting order in accord with the right law and canon of the unchanging, placeless and unmoving nature of God. <sup>e</sup> But the calling above of the prophet is a second birth better than the first. <sup>f</sup> For the latter is mixed with a body and had corruptible parents, while the former is an unmixed and simple soul of the sovereign, <sup>g</sup> being changed from a productive to an unproductive <sup>h</sup> form, <sup>i</sup> which has no mother but only a

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτὸ ἢ νεφέλη ἕξ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐκάλεσεν κύριος (Heb. "He") τὸν Μωυσῆν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἐκ μέσου τῆς νεφέλης. <sup>b</sup> Lit. "equal."

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag., τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν ἀπένειμε καὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀρατικοῦ γένους ἐκλογῇ, τὴν ἐξάδα. On "the contemplative nation," *i.e.* Israel, see *QE* ii. 43 *et al.*

<sup>d</sup> Somewhat different is the reading of the Greek frag. βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξει ὅτι αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησε καὶ τὸ γένος εἴλετο.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν νόμον καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἀτρέπτου καὶ τόπον μὴ ἐχούσης (*vel sim.*) καὶ ἀκινήτου φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. This sentence is not found in the Greek fragment.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., ἢ δὲ ἀνάκλησις τοῦ προφήτου δευτέρα γένεσις ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀμείνων.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "ista vero incommixta simplexque anima principalis (*vel*, spiritus principis)." The wording of the original Greek (this sentence and the next are missing from the Greek frag.) was probably "the former is an unmixed and simple sovereign part of the soul," *i.e.* the mind, since Moses symbolizes the pure mind, and is elsewhere called ὁ καθαρῶτατος νοῦς.

<sup>h</sup> Prob. ἄγονον rather than ἀγένητον "unproduced": Aucher "ingenitam."

<sup>i</sup> εἶδος *vel sim.*: Aucher takes the noun "animam" to be understood.

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father, who is (the Father) of all. Wherefore the calling above or, as we have said, the divine birth happened to come about for him in accordance with the ever-virginal nature of the hebdomad.<sup>a</sup> For he is called on the seventh day,<sup>b</sup> in this (respect) differing from the earth-born first moulded man,<sup>c</sup> for the latter came into being from the earth and with a body, while the former (came) from the ether<sup>d</sup> and without a body.<sup>e</sup> Wherefore the most appropriate number, six, was assigned to the earth-born man, while to the one differently born (was assigned) the higher nature of the hebdomad.<sup>f</sup>

\*47. (Ex. xxiv. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "The form of the glory of the Lord (was) like a fire burning before the sons of the seeing one"<sup>g</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> On the *ἀειπάρθετος ἑβδομάς* or *ἑβδόμη* of the Pythagoreans see *Leg. All.* i. 15, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 210 *et al.*

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "For he (or "it") is called the seventh day" (pred. nominative), an obvious error. The Greek frag. reads *ἑβδόμη δὲ ἀνακαλεῖται ἡμέρα.*

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly *ταύτη διαφέρων τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου.* On the creation of the earth-born "moulded" man on the sixth day, and that of the heavenly man, created in God's image on the seventh day, see *Leg. All.* i. 5, 31, 88 *et al.*

<sup>d</sup> This detail is omitted in the Greek frag., see next note.

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. reads only slightly differently *ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ μετὰ σώματος συνίστατο· οὗτος δὲ ἄνευ σώματος.*

<sup>f</sup> Again the Greek frag. differs slightly, *διὸ τῶ μὲν γηγενεῖ ἀριθμὸς οἰκείος ἀπενεμήθη ἑξάς· τούτῳ δὲ ἡ ἱερωτάτη φύσις τῆς ἑβδομάδος.*

<sup>g</sup> Philo omits one phrase of the biblical text, *LXX τὸ δὲ εἶδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου ὡσεὶ πῦρ φλέγον* (Heb. "devouring" or "consuming") *ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους ἐναντίον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.* On the substitution of "the seeing one" for "Israel" see the preceding sections. Note, too, that below Philo has in mind the Heb. text "fire consuming" although he quotes the *LXX πῦρ φλέγον.*

## EXODUS, BOOK II

(This is said) because, as has been said before,<sup>a</sup> the glory of God is the power<sup>b</sup> through which He now appears; the form of this power is like a flame or rather, it is not but appears (to be so) to the spectators,<sup>c</sup> for God showed not that which pertained to His essence<sup>d</sup> but what He wished to seem to be to the amazement of the spectators.<sup>e</sup> And so, (Scripture) adds, "before the sons of the seeing one," indicating most clearly that there was an appearance of flame, not a veritable flame.<sup>f</sup> In the second place,<sup>g</sup> because He showed<sup>h</sup> the mountain (to be) inaccessible and unapproachable<sup>i</sup> to the people, He extended the appearance of a flame-like fire around it<sup>j</sup> in order that no one, even if he wished, might be able to come near in disregard of his own safety.<sup>k</sup> For they are silly and at the same time frivolous in belief<sup>l</sup> who believe that the fire<sup>m</sup> is the essence

<sup>a</sup> In *QE* ii. 45.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ δύναμις: Aucher "virtus."

<sup>c</sup> Slightly different is the wording of the Greek frag. from the *Catenae*, τὸ δὲ εἶδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου φησὶν ἐμπεφέστατον εἶναι φλογί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ εἶναι ἀλλὰ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ὄρωσι.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. translator here uses two nouns to render οὐσίαν: Aucher "essentiam."

<sup>e</sup> Here again the wording of the Greek frag. is slightly different, τοῦ θεοῦ δεικνύντος ὅπερ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωμένων κατάπληξιν, μὴ ὦν τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., ἐπιφέρει γοῦν τὸ "ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ," ἐνεργέστατα μηνύων ὅτι φαντασία φλογὸς ἦν ἀλλ' οὐ φλόξ ἀληθής. Procopius briefly paraphrases the preceding two sentences, εἰδείκνυε δὲ πῦρ θεός, οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ὁ δηλῶν ἐπήνεγκεν "ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ."

<sup>g</sup> The following sentences, down to "just as the flame consumes," are missing from the Greek frag. and Procopius.

<sup>h</sup> One expects "in order that He might show."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher condenses the two adjectives into one, "inaccessum."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher, construing a little differently, renders, "flammi-formis ignis apparitionem extendebat circa eum."

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "of his taking care": Aucher "visitatione."

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "faciles putandi."

<sup>m</sup> I follow Aucher in reading *hour* "fire" with the margin of Cod. A rather than *hawr* "father" with Codd. A and C.

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of God when (Scripture) clearly proclaims that it is the form of the glory and power of God which appears but not the truly existing One,<sup>a</sup> and that the fire is not His power but only His glory<sup>b</sup> and that in the opinion of the spectators it appeared to their eyes not to be what it was,<sup>c</sup> because of the reasons mentioned. That is the literal meaning.<sup>d</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>e</sup> just as the flame consumes all the material that comes its way, so, too, when the thought of God clearly reaches the soul, it destroys all the heterodox thoughts of piety,<sup>f</sup> bringing the whole mind<sup>g</sup> into (a state of) holiness.<sup>h</sup>

48. (Ex. xxiv. 18a) Why does Moses enter into the midst of the cloud?<sup>i</sup>

He had been called from its midst and therefore he rightly followed the voice.<sup>j</sup> In the second place, it was

<sup>a</sup> τὸν ὄντως ὄντα: Aucher "veri Entis."

<sup>b</sup> Philo seems to mean that God's power was only *like* His glory (symbolized by the flame) but not identical with it, and that neither God's essence nor His power actually appeared.

<sup>c</sup> The syntax of the last clause is not wholly clear to me: Aucher "at videntibus phantastice apparens sicut non est qui est."  
<sup>d</sup> τὸ ῥητόν. <sup>e</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. translator read εὐσεβείας in place of ἀσεβείας, which is the reading of the Greek frag., see below. Aucher tacitly corrects the Arm. by rendering, "omnem cogitationem a pietate alienam."  
<sup>g</sup> Lit. "mind of thought(s)."

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. from the Catena reads similarly but more smoothly Ὡσπερ δὲ ἡ φλόξ πάσαν τὴν παραβληθείσαν ὕλην ἀναλίσκει, οὕτως, ὅταν ἐπιφοιτήσῃ εἰλικρινῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔννοια τῇ ψυχῇ, πάντα τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους ἀσεβείας λογισμοὺς διαφθείρει, καθοσιούσα τὴν ὅλην διάνοιαν. Procopius, as before, briefly paraphrases the last sentence, τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ὅτι δαπανητικὸν τὸ θεῖον λογισμῶν ἀσεβῶν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὕλης τὸ πῦρ.

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Μωυσῆς εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς νεφέλης καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος.

<sup>j</sup> *i.e.* God had called him from the midst of the cloud (a detail not commented on by Philo in *QE* ii. 46 on Ex. xxiv. 16), and therefore it was right for him to follow God's voice into the midst of the same cloud.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

natural that a division was made in that part of the cloud by the noise of the speech, and when the two sides had been condensed,<sup>a</sup> it was easy to pass through.

\*49. (Ex. xxiv. 18b) Why does Moses remain on the mountain forty days and the same number of nights? <sup>b</sup>

Concerning the number forty and its place in nature <sup>c</sup> a detailed account was given earlier,<sup>d</sup> so that one need not speak further of this at length. Perhaps, however, it is necessary to add that the migrant generation was about to be condemned and waste away in corruption for forty years in all after receiving many benefactions and showing ingratitude in many ways.<sup>e</sup> And so, he remains there above for the same number of days as these years, reconciling the Father to the nation <sup>f</sup> by prayers and intercessions,<sup>g</sup> especially at the very time when the laws were given by God and there was constructed in words <sup>h</sup> the portable temple, which is called the Tent of Testimony.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> πυκνωθέντων.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας. In *De Somniis* i. 36 and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 70 Philo alludes to this verse and adds the unscriptural detail that Moses was without food and drink during his forty-day stay on the mountain. <sup>c</sup> πῶς ἐν τῇ φύσει ἔχει.

<sup>d</sup> In *QG* i. 25, ii. 14, iv. 154.

<sup>e</sup> So (with only slight differences) the Greek frag. from the *Catena*, ὅτι ἔμελλε κατάκριτος ἔσσεσθαι ἢ ἀποικισθεῖσα γενεὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτια φθείρεσθαι μυρία μὲν εὐεργετηθεῖσα, διὰ μυρίων δὲ ἐπιδειξαμένη τὸ ἀχάριστον. Procopius paraphrases, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ μένει τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας ἐν ὄρει Μωυσῆς ὅσα ἔμελλεν ἔτη τῶν εὐπαθόντων ἢ ἀγνώμων φθείρεσθαι γενεά.

<sup>f</sup> The phrase "to the nation" is omitted in Aucher's rendering.

<sup>g</sup> Procopius condenses, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἰσαριθμοῖς ἡμέραις ἰκέτευε τὸν πατέρα.

<sup>h</sup> The original prob. read "at His word."

<sup>i</sup> ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, see LXX Ex. xxvi-xl. Procopius again condenses, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ δίδονται νόμοι καὶ φορητὸν ἱερόν, ἡ σκηνή.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

For whom, then, were the laws (given)? Was it, indeed, for those who were to perish? And for whose sake were the oracles <sup>a</sup> (given)? Was it for those who were to be destroyed a little later? <sup>b</sup> It seems to me, however, that someone may say, "Is it possible that <sup>c</sup> he had foreknowledge of the judgment that was to come upon it <sup>d</sup>?" But he who says this should bear in mind that every prophetic soul is divinely inspired <sup>e</sup> and prophecies <sup>f</sup> many future things not so much by reflecting as through divine madness and certainty.<sup>g</sup>

\*50. (Ex. xxv. 1-2) Why does He command (them) to take first-offerings <sup>h</sup> from all those of willing heart? <sup>i</sup>

In the present passage <sup>j</sup> (Scripture) uses "heart" instead of <sup>k</sup> "sovereign (mind)." <sup>l</sup> Accordingly, it wishes to introduce the first-offerings (as) the willing dispositions of those

<sup>a</sup> Procopius (see next note) has *θυσίαι*.

<sup>b</sup> So (except for the word noted) Procopius, *Τίσι γὰρ οἱ νόμοι; ἀρά γε τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις; Ὑπὲρ τίνων δὲ αἱ θυσίαι; ἀρα τῶν μικρὸν ὕστερον φθαρησομένων;*

<sup>c</sup> *μήποτε vel sim.*: Aucher "ne" (though "num" seems to be required).

<sup>d</sup> Here the pronoun apparently refers to the nation. Procopius reads more briefly *προήδει γὰρ ὡς προφήτης τὰ ἐσόμενα*. (According to Wendland, Procopius does not make use of Philo beyond this point.)

<sup>e</sup> *πᾶσα προφητικὴ ψυχὴ ἐπιθειάζει.*

<sup>f</sup> *προθεσπίζει*: Aucher "praescribit."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "divino oestro securus."

<sup>h</sup> *ἀπαρχάς*, as in the LXX, see next note.

<sup>i</sup> LXX *Καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν, λέγων, Εἰπὸν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ λάβετε (v.l. ἀναλαβέτωσάν μοι) ἀπαρχάς παρὰ πάντων οἷς ἂν δόξη τῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ (v.l. omits καὶ) λήμψεσθε τὰς ἀπαρχάς μου.* Philo quotes the LXX text verbatim in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 113 and allegorizes it at some length.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "now."

<sup>k</sup> *i.e.* "in the sense of."

<sup>l</sup> Similarly the first Greek frag. (from Cod. Vat. 1553), *τὴν καρδίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ παρείληφεν ἢ γραφῆ.*

## EXODUS, BOOK II

who bring them,<sup>a</sup> for the Deity is in need of nothing.<sup>b</sup> But he who unwillingly brings an offering is forgotten and deceives himself, for even if he offers silver or something else, he does not bring first-offerings, in the same way as he who unwillingly makes a sacrifice is thought to offer unsacrificed meat to the fire rather than a (real) sacrifice.<sup>c</sup>

51. (Ex. xxv. 7 [Heb. 8]) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt make for Me a sanctuary, and I shall appear among you" <sup>a</sup>?

Clear indeed is the literal meaning,<sup>e</sup> for the shrine is spoken of (as) the archetype of a sort of shrine, (namely, as) the tent.<sup>f</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>g</sup> God always appears in His work, which is most sacred; by this I mean the world.<sup>h</sup> For His beneficent powers<sup>i</sup> are seen and move around in all its parts, in heaven, earth, water, air and in

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders differently, "vult ergo primitias voluntaria indole oblatas introduci." Similar in thought but different in wording is the (misplaced) last sentence of the second Greek frag. (from John Monachus), οὐ γὰρ ἐν ὑλαῖς ἀλλ' ἐν εὐσεβείῃ (Mangey's correction of εὐσεβείᾳ) διαθέσει τοῦ κομιζόντος ἢ ἀληθῆς ἀπαρχῆς. (Harris is mistaken in thinking the Greek to be a gloss.) <sup>b</sup> ἀπροσδεής.

<sup>c</sup> Considerably different is the wording of the Greek frag., ὁ μὴ ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀπαρχῶν θεῶ, καὶ ἂν τὰ μεγάλα (μέταλλα conj. Harris) πάντα κομίζῃ μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν, ἀπαρχὰς οὐ φέρει. In favour of the partial genuineness of the Greek is the reference to precious metals, stones, etc., in Ex. xxv. 3-7.

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις (Heb. "make"—imperative plural) μοι ἅγιασμα καὶ ὀφθήσομαι ἐν ὑμῖν. <sup>e</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>f</sup> This is a literal rendering of the Arm., which is evidently corrupt: Aucher "quoniam templum (*Graecus*, sanctuarium vel sacellum, ἱερόν) dicitur templi prototypus quidam tabernaculum." The original may have been "for the tent (of testimony, see above, *QE* ii. 49) is spoken of in a certain sense as an archetypal shrine," see next note but one.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. *De Plantatione* 50 τὸ τὸν κόσμον εὐτρεπῆ καὶ ἔτοιμον αἰσθητὸν οἶκον εἶναι θεοῦ . . . τὸ ἅγιασμα, οἶον ἀγίων ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχετύπου. <sup>i</sup> αἱ εὐεργετικαὶ δυνάμεις.



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what is in these. For the Saviour <sup>a</sup> is beneficent and kind,<sup>b</sup> and He wishes to except the rational race <sup>c</sup> from all living creatures. He therefore honours them with an even ampler gift, a great benefaction in which all kinds of good things are found, and He graciously grants <sup>d</sup> His appearance, if only there be a suitable place, purified with holiness and every (kind of) purity. For if, O mind,<sup>e</sup> thou dost not prepare thyself of thyself, excising desires, pleasures, griefs, fears, follies,<sup>f</sup> injustices and related evils,<sup>g</sup> and dost (not) change and adapt thyself to the vision of holiness, thou wilt end thy life in blindness, unable to see the intelligible sun.<sup>h</sup> If, however, thou art worthily initiated <sup>i</sup> and canst be consecrated <sup>j</sup> to God and in a certain sense <sup>k</sup> become an animate <sup>l</sup> shrine of the Father, (then) instead of having closed eyes,<sup>m</sup> thou wilt see the First (Cause) <sup>n</sup> and in wakefulness thou wilt cease from the deep sleep in which thou hast been held. Then will appear to thee that manifest One,<sup>o</sup> Who causes incorporeal rays <sup>p</sup> to shine for thee,

<sup>a</sup> ὁ σωτήρ.

<sup>b</sup> Slightly emending the text (in which the second adjective has the article). Aucher renders more literally, "propitius est salvator et benefactor."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ λογικὸν γένος, i.e. Israel, or perhaps, pious men in general.

<sup>d</sup> χαρίζεται.

<sup>e</sup> ὦ νοῦ or διάνοια : Aucher "O anime."

<sup>f</sup> Before "follies" the Arm. repeats the participle "excising."

<sup>g</sup> ἐκτέμνων ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονάς, λύπας, φόβους, ἀφροσύνας, ἀδικίας καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ κακά.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν νοητὸν ἥλιον, i.e. the divine light, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 231 *et al.*

<sup>i</sup> εἰάν δ' ἀξίας τελεσθῆς τελετάς *vel sim.*

<sup>j</sup> Or "initiated" (*bis*): Aucher "consecrari."

<sup>k</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>l</sup> Or "spiritual"—ἔμφυχον or πνευματικόν : Aucher "animatum (*vel*, spirituale)."

<sup>m</sup> ἀντὶ τοῦ καταμύειν *vel sim.*

<sup>n</sup> Variant "the first (things)"; Aucher "primum."

<sup>o</sup> ὁ ἐπιφανής *vel sim.* : Aucher "visibilis," adding in a footnote "*vel*, qui appariturus est *aut* mirabilis ille."

<sup>p</sup> ἀσωμάτους ἀγάς.

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and grants visions of the unambiguous and indescribable things of nature <sup>a</sup> and the abundant sources of other good things. For the beginning and end of happiness is to be able to see God. But this cannot happen to him who has not made his soul, as I said before, a sanctuary and altogether a shrine of God.

52. (Ex. xxv. 8 [Heb. 9]) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt make, according to all that I shall show thee on the mountain, the patterns of the tent and the vessels" <sup>b</sup> ?

That every sense-perceptible likeness has (as) its origin an intelligible pattern in nature (Scripture) has declared in many other passages as well as in the present one.<sup>c</sup> Excellently, moreover, has it presented (as) the teacher of incorporeal and archetypal things <sup>d</sup> not one who is begotten and created but the unbegotten and uncreated God.<sup>e</sup> For it was indeed proper and fitting to reveal to an intelligent man the forms <sup>f</sup> of intelligible things and the measures of all things in accordance with which the world

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders more freely, "datis etiam visionibus naturae inexpectatis ac inenarrabilibus."

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις μοι (Heb. omits the first three words) κατὰ πάντα ὅσα (v.l. + ἐγώ) δεικνύω σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει (Heb. omits "on the mountain"), τὸ παράδειγμα (v.l. hic et infra υπόδειγμα) τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα πάντων τῶν σκευῶν αὐτῆς οὕτως ποιήσεις (Heb. "ye shall make"). Philo alludes to this verse in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 74-75.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 74 ἔδει καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς καὶ νοητῶν παραδειγμάτων αἰσθητὰ μιμήματα ἀπεικονισθῆναι.

<sup>d</sup> διδάσκαλον ἀσωμάτων καὶ ἀρχετύπων: Aucher "magistrum incorporeorum et a principio existentium."

<sup>e</sup> τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀγέννητον θεόν. Aucher inadvertently writes "patrem" instead of "Deum." The same thought is differently expressed in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 74 σκηνὴν . . . ἧς τὴν κατασκευὴν θεοφάτοις λογίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Μωυσῆς ἀνεδιδάσκετο.

<sup>f</sup> Or "ideas"—εἰδη or ἰδέας.

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was made.<sup>a</sup> For these reasons also the prophet <sup>b</sup> alone was called and taken above, in order not to deprive the race of mortals of an incorruptible vision <sup>c</sup> and not to spread abroad and publish to the multitude these divine and holy essences.<sup>d</sup> And he was taken up to a high mountain, ascent to which was vouchsafed to no others. And a dense and thick cloud covered the whole place, hindering reception <sup>e</sup> through these places, not as if the nature of invisible things could be seen by corporeal eyes but because the multi-symbolism <sup>f</sup> of intelligible things is described through the clear vision of the eyes, (namely) how one who learns by seeing rather figuratively <sup>g</sup> can, by attributing certain forms to certain symbols, achieve a correct <sup>h</sup> apprehension of them.<sup>i</sup>

53. (Ex. xxv. 9 [Heb. 10]) Why is the ark of " undecaying wood " <sup>j</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> Aucher, construing differently, renders, " quoniam conveniens utique erat ut intelligens referret ideas intellectualium mensurasque universorum, ad quarum formam mundus factus fuit." In support of the rendering which makes " the intelligent man " (Moses) the indirect object of the infinitive " to reveal," one can cite the parallel in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 75 *προσῆκον γὰρ ἦν τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρχιερεὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατασκευὴν ἐπιτραπήναι κτλ.*

<sup>b</sup> ὁ προφήτης.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher " facie."

<sup>d</sup> οὐσίας.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher " perceptionem."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. " much symbol " : Aucher " multum signum."

<sup>g</sup> τροπικώτερον *vel sim.* : Aucher " utcumque typice."

<sup>h</sup> The two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adjective ὀρθήν.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher " potest secundum symbolum aliquam formam adaptando, directe et apposite eorum rationem attingere."

<sup>j</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις κιβωτὸν μαρτυρίου ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων : Heb. " and make (imperative plural) an ark of *šittim* (" acacia ") wood." Both LXX and Heb. proceed to give the dimensions of the ark, to which Philo does not refer here, but see *De Vita Mosis* ii. 96.

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In the same manner in which the head is the principal (part) of living creatures is the ark (the principal kind) of divine vessels, wherefore it has merited the best and holiest places, being placed alone and by itself within the inner sanctuary,<sup>a</sup> wherefore also it was natural that the material of which it was made should by some necessity<sup>b</sup> be unlikely to decay and be corrupted,<sup>c</sup> since the Law, of which it was the repository,<sup>d</sup> was also incorruptible. In the second place, the sanctuary<sup>e</sup> and all the order of things arranged in it were ordained not for a limited time but for an infinite age.<sup>f</sup> For this reason the artificer, (namely) the divine Logos,<sup>g</sup> chose the most lawful<sup>h</sup> material, especially that which could remain permanently with it.<sup>i</sup> That is the literal meaning.<sup>j</sup> But this is the deeper meaning.<sup>k</sup> In reality nothing terrestrial is undecaying or incorruptible. Accordingly, when (Scripture) says "undecaying wood," it alludes symbolically<sup>l</sup> to the parts of the world attached to one another, of which it consists and is compacted and which hold fast to one another. To me it seems that (this property is found) also in the rational virtues of the soul,<sup>m</sup> each of which happens to be unwithered and unaging and incorruptible.

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῷ ἁδύτῳ.

<sup>b</sup> ἀνάγκη τιμί.

<sup>c</sup> Both Arm. adjectives are compounded with *dzowar* = Gr. *δυσ-*: Aucher "imputridam ac incorruptibilem."

<sup>d</sup> ἀποθήκη *vel sim.*

<sup>e</sup> τὸ ἱερόν, *i.e.* "the tent of testimony."

<sup>f</sup> οὐ πρὸς ὀρισμένον χρόνον ἀλλ' ἄπειρον αἰῶνα *vel sim.*

<sup>g</sup> ὁ τεχνίτης, ὁ θεῖος λόγος.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "magis convenientem." Arm. *ὄριναwor* usu. = νόμιμος, but here the context calls for a different adjective in the original.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* with the Law.

<sup>j</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>k</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>l</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>m</sup> Or "in the virtues of the rational soul(s)"—the original may have been either ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς τῶν ψυχῶν ἀρεταῖς or ἐν ταῖς τῶν λογικῶν ψυχῶν ἀρεταῖς (Arm. adjectives are not inflected in agreement with their nouns): Aucher "in rationalibus animi virtutibus."

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54. (Ex. xxv. 10a [Heb. 11a]) Why does he overlay (the ark) with pure gold within, and with gold without? <sup>a</sup>

Others falsify the external appearance with deceit, while they leave the inside concealed and without care or attention. Moreover, they adorn the outside with variegated adornment for the sake of magnificence or to cause astonishment among spectators. But the divine (and) holy Moses adorns the inside before the outside with due adornment, (namely) with gold, the prime material and the most precious of all, and furthermore with gold that is pure, cleansed and refined for purity of substance. That is the literal meaning.<sup>b</sup> But this is the deeper meaning.<sup>c</sup> In nature there is a species<sup>d</sup> which is invisible and one which is visible. The invisible and unseen one consists of incorporeal things,<sup>e</sup> and this (species) is in the intelligible world.<sup>f</sup> But the visible one is made of bodies, and this is the sense-perceptible world.<sup>g</sup> These two (species) are the inner and the outer. The one who created them made the incorporeal inner (species) and the corporeal outer (species) undecaying and incorruptible,<sup>h</sup> and, in addition, also seemly and noble<sup>i</sup> and precious. Accordingly, the precious gold is allegorically used<sup>j</sup> of the human structure and,

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ καταχρυσώσεις αὐτήν χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν (v.l. ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν : Heb. "within and without") χρυσώσεις αὐτήν. Philo obviously took the text to mean that pure gold was used inside the ark and ordinary gold outside. In parallel allusions to this verse, although he follows the reading ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν as here, he does not stress the difference between inside and outside, see *De Ebrietate* 85, *De Mut. Nom.* 43-44, and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 95, where he says, ἡ δὲ κιβωτός . . . κεχρυσωμένη πολυτελῶς ἔνδοθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>d</sup> εἶδος.

<sup>e</sup> ἐξ ἄσωμάτων.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ αἰσθητός κόσμος.

<sup>h</sup> The syntax is not altogether clear : Aucher "interna, incorporea ; et externa, corporea ; quas qui fecit, imputridas efficit" (sc. "species").

<sup>i</sup> The two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adj. σεμνός.

<sup>j</sup> ἀλληγορεῖται.

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as is proper, of the soul.<sup>a</sup> But this is invisible and with every virtue, as with gold, it adorns the dispositions<sup>b</sup> and the movements of the visible body. For that way of life<sup>c</sup> is perfect<sup>d</sup> which consists of two (kinds of things), of a pure mind,<sup>e</sup> which is invisible, and of irreproachable and blameless deeds, of which there are many spectators.

\*55. (Ex. xxv. 10b [Heb. 11b]) What is the "wreathed wave" which He commands (them) to construct round the ark?<sup>f</sup>

By the "wave" He indicates<sup>g</sup> the stars, for they circle and roll around, some in the same way as<sup>h</sup> the whole heaven, and others with a particular motion which has been assigned to them as peculiarly their own.<sup>i</sup> For in the same way as a rotating axle does not change its position and, as it goes around by itself, does not move away, so also does the heaven revolve without change of place. In the second place, the "wreathed wave" is similar to the corruption of the soul<sup>j</sup> and the body, for the mind<sup>k</sup> keeps turning in different directions and does not possess stability, and the body, which is always flowing like a stream at (various) stages<sup>l</sup> and with the (various) illnesses that over-

<sup>a</sup> Again the syntax is not clear: Aucher "sicut oportet esse animam."

<sup>b</sup> τὰς ἕξεις: Aucher "habitus."

<sup>c</sup> βίος or διαγωγή.

<sup>d</sup> τέλειος.

<sup>e</sup> νοῦ or διανοίας.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις αὐτῇ κυμάτια στρεπτὰ χρυσᾶ (Heb. "wreath of gold": A.V. "crown of gold") κύκλω.

<sup>g</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "by themselves together with." Evidently the Arm. translator read κατὰ ἑαυτὰ instead of κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ as does the Greek frag., see next note.

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. from John Monachus (the first of two belonging to this section) reads only slightly differently Οἱ ἀστέρες στρέφονται καὶ εἰλοῦνται κύκλον· οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ, οἱ δὲ καὶ κινήσειν ἰδίαις <ᾶς> ἔλαχον ἑξαιρέτοις.

<sup>j</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>k</sup> ὁ νοῦς or ἡ διάνοια.

<sup>l</sup> ἡλικίας.

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take it, is wont to undergo change. In the third place, the course of human life is to be likened to a broad sea (which) experiences storms and rolling disturbances of all kinds in accordance with (varying) fortunes.<sup>a</sup> For nothing on earth is stable but (everything) vacillates this way and that and is tossed about like a ship sailing the sea against contrary winds.<sup>b</sup>

56. (Ex. xxv. 11 [Heb. 12]) Why does he fit four rings to <sup>c</sup> the ark, two on one side and two on the other side? <sup>d</sup>

It so happens that there are two sides in existing things,<sup>e</sup> one the intelligible and one the sense-perceptible (side),<sup>f</sup> each of which (in turn) is sealed with two seals.<sup>g</sup> For there are two sections of the intelligible (side), one being a sign of immortal things, and one a sign of mortal things. The sense-perceptible (side), moreover, is divided into two (parts), one of which is light and of an upward-tending

<sup>a</sup> One Arm. ms. has "not good fortunes," the other "good fortunes." The Greek frag. (see rest of note) prob. has the correct reading. The second Greek frag. (preserved in three different sources: Dam. Par., Anon. Flor. Cod. Barocc. and Cod. Reg.) reads similarly *ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος, ὁμοιούμενος πελάγει, κυματώσεις καὶ στροφὰς παντοίας προσεπιδέχεται (v.l. προσδέχεται, προσενδέχεται) κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας καὶ κακοπραγίας* (Cod. Barocc. om. καὶ κακοπραγίας).

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. agrees closely, *ἴδρυται γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν γηγενῶν ἀλλ' ὧδε καὶ ἐκεῖσε διαφέρεται, ὅσα σκάφος θαλαττεύον ὑπ' ἐναντίων πνευμάτων* (Dam. Par. πραγμάτων).

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "upon."

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ ἐλάσεις αὐτῇ τέσσαρας δακτυλίου χρυσοῦς καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα κλίτη (Heb. "feet" or "corners") δύο δακτυλίου ἐπὶ τὸ κλίτος τὸ ἓν, καὶ δύο δακτυλίου ἐπὶ τὸ κλίτος τὸ δεύτερον (v.l. ἕτερον).

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "in the ears," which cannot be the reading of the Greek original. Evidently the Arm. translator read ὡσί instead of (original) οὔσι.

<sup>f</sup> τὸ μὲν νοητόν, τὸ δ' αἰσθητόν.

<sup>g</sup> Philo says "sealed" because of the LXX δακτυλίου, which can mean "seal-rings."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

substance,<sup>a</sup> to which the air and ether belong, and the other heavy and extending downward, to which earth and water belong. In the second place, some take the two sides (to represent) the equinoxes,<sup>b</sup> of which the four seasons are divisions. There are two warm and fair <sup>c</sup> (seasons), summer and autumn; and two are cold, winter and spring. These <sup>d</sup> have the status <sup>e</sup> of perfect and stable acts <sup>f</sup> in the sense-perceptible world, while (they have that) of signs and hints <sup>g</sup> in the intelligible (world).

57. (Ex. xxv. 12 [Heb. 13]) What were the "bearing-poles," which were of "undecaying wood" <sup>h</sup> ?

(This statement) indicates two divine principles <sup>i</sup>: one, the pillar and base and stability <sup>j</sup> of the intelligible world,<sup>k</sup> and the other (those) of the sense-perceptible,<sup>l</sup> on which, as if on a foundation, it <sup>m</sup> is set up with stability. For each of these bears its own arrangement <sup>n</sup>; although it is very heavy, the heaviness is, as it were, very light. The principles,<sup>o</sup> moreover, are undecaying, since they are the utterances of God.

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "naturae."

<sup>b</sup> τὰς ἰσημερίας, here taken to include the solstices as subdivisions.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "ethereal": Aucher "pro sereno."

<sup>d</sup> i.e. the two sets of rings.

<sup>e</sup> Or "reckoning"—λόγον: Aucher "calculum."

<sup>f</sup> Or "works"—ἔργων: Aucher "operum."

<sup>g</sup> αἰνιγμάτων vel sim., i.e. symbols.

<sup>h</sup> LXX ποιήσεις δὲ ἀναφορεῖς ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων (v.l. ξύλα ἀσηπτα) καὶ καταχρυσώσεις αὐτὰ χρυσίῳ: Heb. "and thou shalt make staves of *šittim* (acacia)-wood, and overlay them with gold."

<sup>i</sup> λόγους: Aucher "verba," in footnote, "vel, . . . rationes."

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "columnnam ac fulcrum constantiae."

<sup>k</sup> τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου.

<sup>l</sup> τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ.

<sup>m</sup> i.e. each of the two worlds.

<sup>n</sup> κόσμον or διακόσμησιν: Aucher "ornamentum."

<sup>o</sup> οἱ λόγοι: Aucher "verba."



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

58. (Ex. xxv. 13 [Heb. 14]) Why are the bearing-poles fitted to the rings for lifting the ark? <sup>a</sup>

There are two principles <sup>b</sup> of the two worlds, <sup>c</sup> which (Scripture) calls "bearing-poles." Being attached by seals, <sup>d</sup> they show the fated and necessary order of events, <sup>e</sup> which is the harmonious nexus <sup>f</sup> of things integrating single (events) into order. Accordingly, in the visible world they <sup>g</sup> are a likeness and form, but in the intelligible (world they are) signs and archetypes of rank and orders of things which progress and retrogress in accordance with the consistent order of nature. <sup>h</sup>

59. (Ex. xxv. 15 [Heb. 16]) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee" <sup>i</sup>?

Now since the ark is a symbol of the incorporeal world, <sup>j</sup> and it is necessary that this world be a sign of the laws <sup>k</sup> which He has called "testimonies," rightly and fittingly has He said that in word they should be placed in the ark

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ εἰσάξεις τοὺς ἀναφορεῖς εἰς τοὺς δακτυλίους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς κλίτεσι τῆς κιβωτοῦ αἶρειν τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

<sup>b</sup> λόγοι.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the intelligible and the sense-perceptible worlds.

<sup>d</sup> Here again, as in *QE* ii. 56, Philo plays on the LXX word δακτυλίους, which can mean "seal-rings."

<sup>e</sup> Slightly emending the Arm. text, which has "events of orders." The original was something like τὴν εἰμαρμένην καὶ ἀναγκαίαν τάξιν τῶν συμβαινόντων. Aucher renders more briefly, "praescriptum ac necessarium eventum."

<sup>f</sup> εἰρμός.

<sup>g</sup> Although the verb is singular, the context requires a plural pronoun to be supplied, referring to the two bearing-poles.

<sup>h</sup> κατὰ τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀκολουθίας *vel sim.*: Aucher "secundum naturae concinnationem."

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ ἐμβαλεῖς εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν τὰ μαρτύρια ἃ ἂν δῶ σοι. Philo briefly alludes to this verse in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 97 εἰς γὰρ ταύτην κατατίθεται τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια.

<sup>j</sup> σύμβολον τοῦ ἄσωμάτου κόσμου.

<sup>k</sup> τῶν νόμων.

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but in deed <sup>a</sup> in the intelligible world <sup>b</sup> in order that it <sup>c</sup> may be attached to them <sup>d</sup> in all its parts and extend (throughout).<sup>e</sup>

60. (Ex. xxv. 16a [Heb. 17a]) What is the "mercy-seat" <sup>f</sup> and why did He call it a "cover" <sup>g</sup>?

The "mercy-seat" is mentioned as a symbol of the propitious and beneficent power.<sup>h</sup> And it is called "cover" because it stands over and is established over the intelligible world.<sup>i</sup> But since the perfect form <sup>j</sup> is above, rightly is the propitious power (said to be) up above, since all things are established and stand firm upon it.

61. (Ex. xxv. 16b [Heb. 17b]) Why does the mercy-seat have only length and breadth but not depth? <sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δέ.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the intelligible world.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. the laws.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "ut cunctis suis partibus illic jacens perseverabit."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "propitiatory (instrument)" = LXX *ἱλαστήριον*, see next note; "mercy-seat" is here used because it is the familiar A.V. term.

<sup>g</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ. The two Greek nouns render the single Heb. noun *kappōret*, which means both "cover" and "propitiation" or "atonement." It seems to have been a gold plate fastened to the top of the ark and serving as a floor for the Cherubim, as Philo assumes in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 97 τὸ δ' ἐπίθεμα τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἱλαστήριον βάσις ἐστὶ πτηνῶν δυοῖν, see also *De Fuga* 100.

<sup>h</sup> τῆς ἰλέω καὶ εὐεργετικῆς δυνάμεως σύμβολον.

<sup>i</sup> διὰ τοῦ στήναι αὐτὸ καὶ ἰδρῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου *vel sim.* Aucher renders, "quia superpositus est firmiter intelligibilis mundus," but in a footnote he gives an alternative and better rendering, "*vel*, super intelligibilem mundum positum est." <sup>j</sup> Prob. εἶδος: Aucher "visione."

<sup>k</sup> i.e. why does Scripture give only two of its dimensions? LXX δύο πήχεων καὶ ἡμίσεος τὸ μῆκος, καὶ πήχεος καὶ ἡμίσεος τὸ πλάτος. In *De Vita Mosis* ii. 96, Philo allegorizes this question somewhat differently, see last note on this section.

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A magnitude lacking depth and seen only in length and breadth is called a "surface" <sup>a</sup> by geometricians. And the "surface" <sup>b</sup> of the Existent One <sup>c</sup> is seen also through other powers, <sup>d</sup> especially through the propitious and beneficent ones. <sup>e</sup> But those who receive good, immediately thereupon see the Benefactor appear before their eyes together with His virgin daughters, the graces. <sup>f</sup>

\*62. (Ex. xxv. 17a [Heb. 18a]) What are the cherubim? <sup>g</sup> ("Cherubim") is to be interpreted as "great recognition," in other words, <sup>h</sup> "knowledge poured out in abundance." <sup>i</sup> But they are symbols of the two powers, the

<sup>a</sup> ἐπιφάνεια.

<sup>b</sup> Philo plays on the double meaning of ἐπιφάνεια as "surface" and "(divine) manifestation." <sup>c</sup> τοῦ ὄντος.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "other virtues and powers," but the two Arm. nouns prob. render the single Greek noun δυνάμειον: Aucher "per alias virtutes."

<sup>e</sup> διὰ τῆς ἕλεω καὶ εὐεργετικῆς, see the preceding section.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. acts of divine grace. The "virgin graces" of God are also mentioned in *De Poster. Caini* 32. The general idea of this section is partially paralleled in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 96 ὅπερ ἔοικεν εἶναι σύμβολον φυσικώτερον μὲν τῆς ἕλεω τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμειος, ἠθικώτερον δὲ διανοίας πάλιν, ἕλεω δ' ἑαυτῆ, τὴν πρὸς ὕψος ἄλογον αἴρουσαν καὶ φυσῶσαν οἴησιν ἀτυφίας ἔρωτι σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ στέλλειν καὶ καθαιρεῖν ἀξιούσης.

<sup>g</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις δύο χερουβείμ (v.l. χερουβεῖν: Heb. *kerūbīm*). Philo allegorizes the cherubim of the ark in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 97-100, and the cherubim of the Garden of Eden in *De Cherubim* 21-29. The whole of the present section has been preserved in Greek (in Cod. Vat. 379).

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "names."

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. reads more smoothly τὰ χερουβείμ ἐρμηνεύεται μὲν ἐπίγνωσις πολλή, ἣ ἐν ἑτέροις ὄνομα ἐπιστήμη πλουσία καὶ κεχυμένη, cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 97 χερουβείμ ὡς δ' ἂν Ἑλληνες εἴποιεν ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή. According to Edmund Stein, *Die allegorische Exegese des Philo aus Alexandria* (Giessen, 1924), p. 52, Philo's fanciful etymology is based on the combination of the two Heb. words *hakkīr* "to recognize" and *bīn* "knowledge," but the second word may be *rabbīm* "much," "many."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

creative and the royal.<sup>a</sup> The creative (power), however, is the elder according to (our) thinking,<sup>b</sup> for though the powers around God are of the same age, still the creative (power) is thought of before the royal one.<sup>c</sup> For one is king not of that which does not exist, but of that which already exists.<sup>d</sup> And the creative (power) has been given the name "God" in the sacred<sup>e</sup> Scriptures, for the ancients<sup>f</sup> spoke of creating as "placing,"<sup>g</sup> while the royal (power) is called "Lord," since "Lord of all" is (the name) consecrated to the king.<sup>h</sup>

\*63. (Ex. xxv. 17b [Heb. 18b]) Why is the chasing of gold?<sup>i</sup>

Gold is a symbol of a precious substance,<sup>j</sup> while the

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag. (except that it adds "of the Existent One" to "powers"), *σύμβολα δέ ἐστι δυνεῖν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων ποιητικῆς τε καὶ βασιλικῆς*, see also *De Vita Mosis* ii. 99. On these two chief divine attributes see *QG* ii. 51, iv. 2, *De Cherubim* 27 *et al.*

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek frag., *πρεσβυτέρα δὲ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν*.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. reads slightly more fully *ισήλικες γὰρ αἱ γε περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅπαναι δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ προεπινοεῖται πως ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς*.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag., *βασιλεὺς γὰρ τις οὐχὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ γεγονότος*.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "sacred and divine," but the two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adjective *ἱεροῖς*, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* the ancient Greeks.

<sup>g</sup> So the Greek frag., *ὄνομα δὲ ἔλαχεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ θεός, τὸ γὰρ ποιῆσαι θεῖναι ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοί*. Philo makes the same etymological connexion between *θεός* and *θεῖναι* in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 99 *et al.*

<sup>h</sup> The Greek frag. reads only slightly differently *ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κύριος ἀπάντων ἀνακεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ*.

<sup>i</sup> So the Greek frag., *Διατί χρυσοῦ τορευτά: LXX (καὶ ποιῆσεις δύο χερουβείμ) χρυσᾶ τορευτά (v.l. χρυσοτορευτά)*.

<sup>j</sup> The Greek frag. has the superlative form of the adjective, *ὁ μὲν χρυσὸς σύμβολον τῆς τιμιωτάτης οὐσίας*.

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chasing (is a symbol) of an artful and skilled nature.<sup>a</sup> For it was proper that the chief powers of the Existent One should be ideas of ideas and partake of a substance that is most pure and unmixed and most precious and, in addition, most skilful.<sup>b</sup>

\*64. (Ex. xxv. 17c-18 [Heb. 18c-19]) Why did He fit the cherubim to the two sides of the altar? <sup>c</sup>

(This indicates that) the bounds of the whole heaven and the world are fortified by the two highest guards, one being that (power) by which God created all things, and the other that by which He is ruler of existing things.<sup>d</sup> For (each power) was destined to look out for (the world) as its most proper and related possession, the creative (power seeing to it) that the things made by it should not be destroyed,<sup>e</sup> and the royal power that nothing be in excess, mediating the victory by law as a sign of equality,

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., ἡ δὲ τορεία τῆς ἐντέχνου καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς φύσεως.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. differs only slightly, ἔδει γὰρ τὰς πρώτας τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις ιδέας ιδεῶν ὑπαρχούσας καὶ τῆς καθαρωτάτης καὶ ἀμιγροῦς καὶ τιμαλφεστάτης καὶ προσέτι τῆς ἐπιστημονικωτάτης φύσεως μεταλαχεῖν.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently the Arm. translator has erred in using *selan* "altar" instead of *hashtaran* "mercy-seat." The Greek frag. reads Διατί ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλιτῶν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τὰ χερουβίμ ἤρμωττε: LXX καὶ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτὰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλιτῶν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ποιηθήσονται χερουβ εἰς ἕκ τοῦ κλίτους τούτου καὶ χερουβ εἰς ἕκ τοῦ κλίτους τοῦ δευτέρου τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου καὶ ποιήσεις τοὺς δύο χερουβεῖμ ἐπὶ τὰ δύο κλίτη.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag., τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου δυσὶ ταῖς ἀνωτάτω φρουραῖς ὠχυρῶσθαι, τῇ τε καθ' ἣν ἐποίηε τὰ ὅλα θεός, καὶ τῇ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει τῶν γεγονότων. On the cherubim as symbols of the two highest divine attributes, corresponding to the names "God" and "Lord," see above, *QE* ii. 62, notes.

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., ἔμελλε γὰρ ὡς οἰκειοτάτου καὶ συγγενεστάτου κτήματος προκῆδεσθαι, ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ ἵνα μὴ λυθείη τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς γενόμενα.

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by which things eternally endure.<sup>a</sup> For through excess and inequality (come) occasions for war, the destroyers of existing things.<sup>b</sup> But good order and equality are the seeds of peace and the causes of salvation and perpetual survival.<sup>c</sup>

\*65. (Ex. xxv. 19a [Heb. 20a]) Why does He say that the cherubim shall extend their wings to overshadow (the mercy-seat) ?<sup>d</sup>

All the powers of God are winged, striving for and desiring the path upward to the Father.<sup>e</sup> And that, like wings, they overshadow the parts of the universe indicates that the world is protected by guards, (namely) by the two powers (already) mentioned,<sup>f</sup> the creative and the royal.<sup>g</sup>

\*66. (Ex. xxv. 19b [Heb. 20b]) Why do the faces of the

<sup>a</sup> Here apparently the Arm. translator has clumsily rendered the original which, according to the Greek frag., read ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ ὅπως μηδὲν μήτε πλεονεκτῆ μήτε πλεονεκτῆται, νόμῳ βραβευόμενα τῷ τῆς ἰσότητος, ὑφ' ἧς τὰ πράγματα διαιωνίζεται.

<sup>b</sup> Here again the Greek frag. reads more smoothly πλεονεξία μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνισότης ὀρμητήρια πολέμου, λυτικά τῶν ὄντων.

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag., τὸ δὲ εὐνομον καὶ τὸ ἴσον εἰρήνης σπέρματα, σωτηρίας αἴτια καὶ τῆς εἰσάπαν διαμονῆς.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag., Διατί φησιν “ ἐκτείνει τὰς πτέρυγας τὰ χερουβὶμ ἵνα συσκιάζῃ ”; LXX ἔσονται οἱ χερουβὶμ ἐκτείνοντες τὰς πτέρυγας ἐπάνωθεν, συσκιάζοντες ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου.

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., αἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσαι δυνάμεις πτεροφυοῦσαι, τῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὁδοῦ γλιχόμεναί τε καὶ ἐφείμεναι.

<sup>f</sup> See above, QE ii. 62 and notes.

<sup>g</sup> Only slightly different is the wording of the Greek frag., συσκιάζουσι δὲ οἱ πτέρυξι τὰ τοῦ παντός μέρη· αἰνίττεται δὲ ὡς ὁ κόσμος σκέπαις καὶ φυλακτηρίοις φρουρεῖται, δυσὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις δυνάμεσι τῇ τε ποιητικῇ καὶ βασιλικῇ.

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cherubim look at each other, and both (look) at the mercy-seat? <sup>a</sup>

Most excellent in a way and seemly is the form of what is said, <sup>b</sup> for it was proper that the powers, the creative and the royal, <sup>c</sup> should look in the direction of each other, beholding their own beauty and at the same time both conspiring together for the advantage of created things. <sup>d</sup> In the second place, since God is one (and is) both Creator and King, <sup>e</sup> rightly did they receive divided power. <sup>f</sup> For they were indeed usefully divided in order that one might create and the other rule, for they are distinct. <sup>g</sup> And they were joined together in another way by the eternal attachment of names to one another, <sup>h</sup> in order that the creative (power) might be a spectator of <sup>i</sup> the royal, and the royal

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., Διατί τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν χερουβιμ εἰς ἄλληλα ἐκνεύει καὶ ἄμφω πρὸς τὸ ἰλαστήριον; LXX καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλληλα· εἰς τὸ ἰλαστήριον ἔσονται τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν χερουβείν. In *De Cherubim* 25 Philo paraphrases Scripture as follows, καὶ γὰρ ἀντιπρόσωπά φησιν εἶναι νέοντα πρὸς τὸ ἰλαστήριον πτεροῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἀντικρὺ μὲν ἔστιν ἀλλήλων, and he adds the brief comment νένευκε δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν τὸ μέσον τοῦ παντός, ὧ καὶ διακρίνεται.

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek frag., παγκάλῃ τίς ἐστι καὶ θεοπρεπῆς ἢ τῶν λεχθέντων εἰκῶν. <sup>c</sup> See the preceding sections.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag., ἔδει γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις, τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν, εἰς ἀλληγορίαν (*l. cum edd.* ἀλλήλας) ἀφορᾶν, τὰ σφῶν κάλλη κατανοούσας καὶ ἅμα πρὸς τὴν ὠφέλειαν τῶν γεγονότων συμπνεούσας.

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., δεύτερον ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεός, εἰς ὧν, καὶ ποιητῆς ἐστι καὶ βασιλεύς.

<sup>f</sup> Here the Arm. translator either had a different text or misunderstood the original. The Greek frag. reads εἰκότως αἱ διαστάσαι δυνάμεις πάλιν ἔνωσιν ἔλαβον, "rightly did the divided powers again receive unity."

<sup>g</sup> So the Greek frag. (except for the pronoun added at the end), καὶ γὰρ διέστησαν ὠφελίμως ἵνα ἡ μὲν ποιῆ, ἡ δὲ ἄρχῃ· διαφέρει γὰρ ἑκάτερον.

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag. (except for the phrase "to one another" added in the Arm.), καὶ ἡρμόσθησαν ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων αἰδίων προσβολήν.

<sup>i</sup> Greek frag. (see next note) "might hold to."

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of the creative.<sup>a</sup> For both rightly look at each other and at the mercy-seat,<sup>b</sup> for if God were not propitious to those things which exist together,<sup>c</sup> He would not have made anything through the creative (power) nor would He have been a lawgiver<sup>d</sup> through the royal (power).<sup>e</sup>

\*67. (Ex. xxv. 21a [Heb. 22a]) What is the meaning of the words, "I shall be made known to thee from there" ' ?

The most lucid and most prophetic mind receives the knowledge and science of the Existent One not from the Existent One Himself, for it will not contain His greatness, but from His chief and ministering<sup>g</sup> powers.<sup>h</sup> And it is admirable<sup>i</sup> that from these His splendour should reach the soul in order that through the secondary splendour<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Greek frag. differs in the verb, *ὅπως καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἔχρηται.*

<sup>b</sup> Again the Greek frag. differs slightly (omitting "at each other and"), *ἀμφότεραι γὰρ συννεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ἰλαστήριον εἰκότως.*

<sup>c</sup> The Arm. translator evidently read *τοῖς συνοῦσιν*, instead of *τοῖς νῦν οὔσιν*, as in the Greek frag. (see next note but one).

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "neque disposuisset."

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. differs slightly (see also note c), *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς νῦν οὔσιν ἰλεως ὁ θεός, οὔτ' ἂν εἰργάσθη τι διὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς οὔτ' ἂν εὐνομήθη διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς.*

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., *τί ἐστι* "γνωσθήσομαί σοι ἐκεῖθεν"; LXX *καὶ γνωσθήσομαί σοι ἐκεῖθεν* (Heb. "there").

<sup>g</sup> The Greek frag. reads more concretely "body-guard," see next note.

<sup>h</sup> So (except for the word mentioned in the preceding note) the Greek frag., *γνώσιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὁ εἰλικρινέστατος καὶ προφητικώτατος νοῦς λαμβάνει τοῦ ὄντος οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος, οὐ γὰρ χωρήσει τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόρων δυνάμεων.*

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "loved," but this prob. renders the same word as in the Greek frag., *ἀγαπητόν.*

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. translator uses the same word to render *φέγγους* here as he used to render *αὐγάς* above, see next note.



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it may be able to behold the more splendid (splendour).<sup>a</sup>

\*68. (Ex. xxv. 21b [Heb. 22b]) What is the meaning of the words, "I will speak to thee <sup>b</sup> above from <sup>c</sup> the mercy-seat, between the two <sup>d</sup> cherubim" <sup>e</sup> ?

By this He shows first of all that the Deity is above the propitious and the creative and every (other) power.<sup>f</sup> Next, (He shows) that He speaks rightly <sup>g</sup> in the midst of the creative (power).<sup>h</sup> And this the mind conceives somewhat as follows.<sup>i</sup> The divine Logos, inasmuch as it is

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν φέρεσθαι τὰς αὐγὰς ἵνα δύνηται διὰ τοῦ δευτέρου φέγγους τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀγνοεῖσθαι θεάσασθαι.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. omits "to thee," which is found in LXX and Heb. and in other passages of Philo, see below.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. "from above."

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. omits "two," which is found in LXX and Heb. and in other passages of Philo, see next note.

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. reads slightly more briefly τί ἐστι. "λαλήσω ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου ἀνά μέσον τῶν χερουβίμ"; LXX καὶ λαλήσω σοι ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου ἀνά μέσον τῶν δύο χερουβείν τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ (v.l. omits καὶ with Heb.) κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐντείνωμαι σοὶ πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ. In *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 166 and *De Fuga* 101 Philo quotes part of the LXX in the same wording as here, and comments more briefly than here. On the symbolism of the cherubim see the preceding sections in *QE* ii.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., ἐμφαίνει διὰ τοῦτο (l. τούτου) πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἰλεω καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως ὑπεράνω τὸ θεῖον ἐστι.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "quasi." The word, which is missing in the Greek frag., is perhaps the Armenian translator's device for conveying the force of the superlative ending in μεσαίτατον,<sup>h</sup> see next note.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. text is apparently defective. The Greek frag. reads more intelligibly ἔπειτα ὅτι λαλεῖ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς τε ποιητικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς.

<sup>i</sup> So the Greek frag., τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνει νοῦς.

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appropriately <sup>a</sup> in the middle, leaves nothing in nature empty, <sup>b</sup> but fills all things and becomes a mediator and arbitrator for the two sides which seem to be divided from each other, bringing about friendship and concord, <sup>c</sup> for it is always the cause of community and the artisan of peace. <sup>d</sup> Now the particular features of the ark have been spoken of, <sup>e</sup> but we must also summarily resume and review for the sake of finding out what things these are symbols of. <sup>f</sup> Now these symbols are the ark and the ordinances stored in it and the mercy-seat upon it and, upon the mercy-seat, the cherubim, as they are called in the Chaldaean <sup>g</sup> tongue, and directly above them, in their midst, the voice and the Logos and, above it, the Speaker. <sup>h</sup> And so, if one can accurately view and understand <sup>i</sup> the natures of these, it seems to me that one should renounce all the other things that are eagerly sought after, being captivated by their godlike beauty. <sup>j</sup> But let us consider what

<sup>a</sup> Or "chances to be": Aucher "est conveniente."

<sup>b</sup> The Greek frag. reads slightly more briefly *ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος μέσος ὧν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει καταλείπει κενόν.*

<sup>c</sup> The Greek frag. reads similarly but a little more smoothly *τὰ ὅλα πληρῶν καὶ μεσιτεύει καὶ διαιτᾷ τοῖς παρ' ἑκατέρα διεστάναι δοκοῦσι, φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐργαζόμενος.*

<sup>d</sup> The Greek frag. reads more briefly *ἀεὶ γὰρ κοινωνίας αἴτιος καὶ δημιουργός* (Grossmann add. *εἰρήνης*).

<sup>e</sup> So the Greek frag., *τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν κατὰ μέρος εἴρηται.*

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., *δεῖ δὲ συλλήβδην ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβόντα τοῦ γνωρίσαι χάριν τίνων ταῦτά ἐστι σύμβολα διεξελεθῆναι.*

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* Hebrew.

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag., *ἦν δὲ ταῦτα συμβολικά: κιβωτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ θησανριζόμενα νόμιμα καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου Χαλδαίων γλώττῃ λεγόμενα χερουβίμ, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὸ μέσον φωνὴ καὶ λόγος καὶ ὑπεράνω ὁ λέγων.*

<sup>i</sup> The Greek frag. omits "and understand," see next note.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher, taking the participle, here rendered "being captivated," to agree with "all the other things" rather than with the impersonal subject of the verb "should renounce" (infinitive in the Arm. text), renders, "caetera omnia quaecumque aemulationem merent deiformi pulchritudine circum-

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each (of these things) is like.<sup>a</sup> In the first place (there is) He Who is elder than the one and the monad and the beginning.<sup>b</sup> Then (comes) the Logos of the Existent One, the truly <sup>c</sup> seminal substance of existing things.<sup>d</sup> And from the divine Logos,<sup>e</sup> as from a spring, there divide and break forth two powers.<sup>f</sup> One is the creative (power), through which the Artificer placed <sup>g</sup> and ordered all things; this is named "God."<sup>h</sup> And (the other is) the royal (power), since through it the Creator rules over created things<sup>i</sup>; this is called "Lord."<sup>j</sup> And from these two

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data." The Greek frag. agrees closely with the Arm. as rendered above (except for the omission mentioned in note <sup>i</sup> on p. 115), *εἰ δὲ τις ἀκριβῶς δυνηθείη κατανοῆσαι τὰς τούτων φύσεις, δοκεῖ μοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποτάξασθαι ὅσα ζηλωτά, κάλλεσι θεοειδεστάτοις περιληφθεῖς.*

<sup>a</sup> So the Greek frag., *σκοπῶμεν δὲ ἕκαστον οἶόν ἐστι.*

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek frag., *τὸ πρῶτον ὁ καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ μονάδος καὶ ἀρχῆς πρεσβύτερος.*

<sup>c</sup> The adverb (= Gr. *ὄντως*) is missing in the Greek frag., and may reflect a mistaken repetition of *ὄντος* or *ὄντων* in the Arm. translator's Greek text, see next note.

<sup>d</sup> So the Greek frag. (except for the omission mentioned in the preceding note), *ἔπειτα ὁ τοῦ ὄντος λόγος, ἡ σπερματικὴ τῶν ὄντων οὐσία.*

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. *yēn* (= *ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος*) is prob. a corruption of the usual contraction, *ayin*, of the adjective *astouacayin* "divine." Aucher renders, "ex ente vero Verbo," adding in a footnote the theological comment "Judaeus noster Philo Entem fassus est ipsum Verbum, sicut Patrem suum, etc."

<sup>f</sup> The Greek frag. reads slightly more briefly *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θείου λόγου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς, σχίζονται δύο (αἱ δύο edd.) δυνάμεις.*

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* "created." Philo uses *ἔθηκε* for the sake of explaining the etymology of *θεός*, the name of the creative power, see *QE* ii. 62 notes.

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag., *ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε τὰ πάντα καὶ διεκόσμησεν ὁ τεχνίτης, αὕτη θεὸς ὀνομάζεται.*

<sup>i</sup> Variant "He rules over things created by the Creator."

<sup>j</sup> So the Greek frag., *ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ, καθ' ἣν ἄρχει τῶν γεγονότων ὁ δημιουργός, αὕτη καλεῖται κύριος.*

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powers have grown the others.<sup>a</sup> For by the side of the creative (power) there grows the propitious, of which the name is "beneficent," while (beside) the royal (power there grows) the legislative, of which the apt name is "punitive."<sup>b</sup> And below these and beside them (is) the ark; and the ark is a symbol of the intelligible world.<sup>c</sup> And the ark symbolically contains all things established in the innermost sanctuary, (namely) the incorporeal world and the ordinances which He has called "testimonies" (and) the legislative and punitive powers (and) the mercy-seat<sup>d</sup> (and) the propitious and beneficent (powers and), up above, the creative (power), which is the source<sup>e</sup> of the propitious and beneficent (powers), and the royal (power), which is the root of the punitive and legislative (powers).<sup>f</sup> But there appears<sup>g</sup> as being in their midst the divine Logos and, above the Logos, the Speaker.<sup>h</sup> And the

<sup>a</sup> So (except for omission of the article before "others") the Greek frag., ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν δυεῖν δυνάμεων ἐκπεφύκασι ἕτεραι.

<sup>b</sup> So the Greek frag., παραβλαστάνει γὰρ τῇ μὲν ποιητικῇ ἢ ἱλεως, ἧς ὄνομα εὐεργέτις, τῇ δὲ βασιλικῇ ἢ νομοθετικῇ, ὄνομα δὲ εὐθύβολον ἢ κολαστήριος.

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag., ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας καὶ περὶ ταύτας ἢ κιβωτός· ἔστι δὲ κιβωτός κόσμον νοητοῦ σύμβολον.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *haštakan* "propitious" is an obvious miswriting of *haštaran* "mercy-seat."

<sup>e</sup> The Greek frag. has *πίστις*, an obvious corruption of *πηγή* (so the Arm.), which occurs in the same connexion earlier in this section.

<sup>f</sup> So (with the exception of the word mentioned in the preceding note) the Greek frag., ἔχει δὲ τὰ πάντα ἰδρυμένα ἐν τοῖς ἐσωτάτοις ἀγίοις συμβολικῶς ἢ κιβωτός, τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, τὰ νόμιμα ἃ ἐκέκληκε μαρτύρια, τὴν νομοθετικὴν καὶ κολαστήριον δύναμιν, τὸ ἱλαστήριον, τὴν ἱλεω καὶ εὐεργέτιν, τὰς ὑπεράνω τῆν τε ποιητικὴν, ἧτις ἐστὶ *πίστις* (l. *πηγή*) τῆς ἱλεω καὶ εὐεργέτιδος, καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν, ἧτις ἐστὶ *ρίζα* τῆς κολαστηρίου καὶ νομοθετικῆς.

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *araweleal ē* "there is multiplied" is evidently a corruption of *ereweli ē* "there appears," as in the Greek frag., see next note.

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag., ὑπεμφαίνεται δὲ μέσος ὧν ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὁ λέγων. Philo here repeats an earlier part of this section.

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number of the things here enumerated amounts to <sup>a</sup> seven, (namely) the intelligible world and the two <sup>b</sup> related powers, the punitive and beneficent <sup>c</sup>; and the two other ones preceding these, the creative and the royal, have greater kinship to the Artificer than what is created <sup>d</sup>; and the sixth is the Logos, <sup>e</sup> and the seventh is the Speaker. <sup>f</sup> But if you make the beginning <sup>g</sup> from the upper end, (you will find) <sup>h</sup> the Speaker first, and the Logos second, and the creative power third, and the ruling (power) fourth, and then, below the creative, the beneficent (power) fifth, and, below the royal, the punitive (power) sixth, and the world of ideas seventh. <sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "is filled up," see the next note but one.

<sup>b</sup> The Arm. lit. = δι' οδ, an obvious error for δύο, as in the Greek frag.

<sup>c</sup> So the Greek frag., ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν κατελεγεμένων ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομάδι συμπληρούμενος νοητὸς κόσμος, καὶ δυνάμεις δύο συγγενεῖς ἢ τε κολαστήριος καὶ εὐεργέτις.

<sup>d</sup> Here we must emend the Arm. on the basis of the clearly better readings of the Greek frag., καὶ ἕτεραι πρὸ τούτων δύο ἢ τε ποιητικὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλική, συγγένειαν ἔχουσαι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν δημιουργὸν ἢ τὸ γεγονός. The Arm. lit. = συγγένειαν ἔχει μᾶλλον ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ τὸ γένος, which makes no sense.

<sup>e</sup> Here again we must correct the Arm. from the Greek frag., which reads καὶ ἔκτος ὁ λόγος. The Arm. = καὶ ἕκαστος ὁ λόγος, which is meaningless.

<sup>f</sup> So the Greek frag., καὶ ἕβδομος ὁ λέγων. With this list of seven cosmic symbols compare the list of ten cosmic parts in *QG* iv. 110.

<sup>g</sup> The Armenian translator appears to have read καταρχήν instead of καταρίθμῳ, as in the Greek frag., see next note but one.

<sup>h</sup> The Arm. lacks a verb to govern the following nouns, which are in the accusative case.

<sup>i</sup> So (except for the two variants mentioned in the preceding two notes) the Greek frag., εἰάν δὲ ἀνωθεν τὴν καταρίθμῳ ποιῆ, εὐρήσεις τὸν μὲν λέγοντα πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον δεύτερον, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ποιητικὴν δύναμιν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν ἀρχήν, εἶτα δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῇ ποιητικῇ πέμπτην τὴν εὐεργέτιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἕκτην τὴν κολαστήριον, ἕβδομον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμον.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

69. (Ex. xxv. 22 [Heb. 23]) What is "the table" and why is it "of pure gold" <sup>a</sup>?

Having spoken symbolically of incorporeal things, <sup>b</sup> when He was discoursing divinely <sup>c</sup> about the ark in the inner sanctuary, <sup>d</sup> He now begins to speak of those things which are in sense-perception, <sup>e</sup> rightly and appropriately beginning with the table. Since the table is a vessel <sup>f</sup> for food and (since) nothing intelligible <sup>g</sup> is given food but only those who have been allotted the nature of corporeality, He makes the table a symbol of sense-perceptible and body-like substance. <sup>h</sup> Not only that but also because the table indicates a kind of communion <sup>i</sup> among those who receive a common share <sup>j</sup> of salt and sacrifices. For (this) leads to loving one's fellow <sup>k</sup> for one's own sake. <sup>l</sup> But there is nothing anywhere so lovable as the parts of the world made from their own substance. <sup>m</sup> For one who is about to eat and to be made glad by the Father, (Who is) the begetter of these (foods), is taught from above to give in exchange

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τράπεζαν χρυσῆν (v.l. omits χρυσῆν) χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ, δύο πήχεων τὸ μήκος καὶ πήχεος τὸ εὖρος καὶ πήχεος καὶ ἡμίσεως τὸ ὕψος. Instead of "a table of gold" Heb. has "a table of *šiffim* (acacia)-wood," but adds "and thou shalt overlay it with pure gold."

<sup>b</sup> περὶ ἀσωμάτων διαλεξάμενος συμβολικῶς.

<sup>c</sup> ἐθεολόγει.

<sup>d</sup> ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις.

<sup>e</sup> ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει (v.l. ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι).

<sup>f</sup> σκεῦος: Aucher "receptaculum."

<sup>g</sup> νοητόν.

<sup>h</sup> αἰσθητῆς καὶ σωματοειδοῦς οὐσίας.

<sup>i</sup> κοινωνίαν τινά.

<sup>j</sup> Here the Arm. uses a different word for *κοινωνίαν*.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "one's like."

<sup>l</sup> The syntax and meaning are not clear: Aucher "si-quidem est adducens similem in dilectionem propter (vel, per) se."

<sup>m</sup> This sentence is also obscure. Aucher in a footnote cites the interpretation of the Arm. glossator, who takes "their own" to mean "one another's," and thinks that Philo is referring to the changing of the four elements into one another.

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and return the benefit as if to brothers by the same father and the same mother.<sup>a</sup> Moreover, the table was of pure gold because the entire substance of the world was of the tested and chosen part, for everything, whatever it was by its own substance and nature, was about to receive even greater perfection.<sup>b</sup>

70. (Ex. xxv. 23 [Heb. 24]) Why are there "wreathed waves" around the table?<sup>c</sup>

The corporeal substance<sup>d</sup> of all things undergoes turning<sup>e</sup> and change<sup>f</sup> for the genesis of the parts of which the world was constituted.

71.<sup>g</sup> (Ex. xxv. 28 [Heb. 29]) Why are there, upon the table, cups and censers and libation-bowls and ladles?<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. glossator takes this sentence to mean that the elements of the world have been taught to give parts of themselves to one another in gratitude to the divine powers from which their substance is derived.

<sup>b</sup> τελειότητα.

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις αὐτῇ στρεπτὰ κυμάτια χρυσᾶ (*v.l.* στρεπτὸν κυμάτιον χρυσοῦν): Heb. "And thou shalt make for it a wreath (A.V. "crown") of gold around." See above, *QE* ii. 55 (= Ex. xxv. 10) on the "wreathed waves" around the ark.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ σωματικὴ οὐσία.

<sup>e</sup> στροφὴν.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders both nouns by the single word "mutationem," but this obscures Philo's point, which is that the "turning" (*i.e.* twisting) of the "wreathed waves" symbolizes the changing of the elements into one another, mentioned in the preceding section.

<sup>g</sup> The four verses of Scripture here passed over in silence speak of the gold rings to be made for holding the staves by which the table is to be carried, see above, *QE* ii. 56 (= Ex. xxv. 11) on the gold rings made for the ark.

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τὰ τρύβλια αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς θύσκας καὶ τὰ σπόνδια (*sic*) καὶ τοὺς κιάθους, ἐν οἷς σπείσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ ποιήσεις αὐτά.

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The cups were symbols of foods, and the ladles of banqueting, since unmixed wine <sup>a</sup> is measured by them, and the censers are vessels of incense, and the libation-bowls are for wine which is poured as a libation. Accordingly, through the food and the unmixed wine (Scripture) indicates <sup>b</sup> the graciousness <sup>c</sup> of the greatness and munificence of God, Who gives not only necessities <sup>d</sup> but also whatever pertains to the abundant and ample enjoyment of munificence. And through the incense and libation (Scripture indicates) the pleasure of those to whom good things happen. For those who are nourished by visible food <sup>e</sup> in the form of allegory <sup>f</sup> also say that every soul desirous of moral excellence <sup>g</sup> is a libation, that is if one first pours out and dedicates one's virtue <sup>h</sup> to God.<sup>i</sup> And this is an act desirable and agreeable <sup>j</sup> and pleasing to the heart of the Father, just as is the most sweet-smelling incense by its fragrance.

72. (Ex. xxv. 29 [Heb. 30]) Why does He say, "Thou shalt place upon the table bread before Me continually" <sup>k</sup> ?  
The loaves of bread <sup>l</sup> are symbolical of necessary foods,

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ἄκρατον.

<sup>b</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>c</sup> τὰς χάριτας.

<sup>d</sup> τὰ ἀναγκαῖα.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "constantibus cibis."

<sup>f</sup> ἀλληγορίας.

<sup>g</sup> καλοκάγαθίας : Aucher "probitatis."

<sup>h</sup> ἀρετήν.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher, construing slightly differently, renders, "libamen est, profundens dedicansque virtutem Deo." A similar idea is expressed by Philo in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 184 τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν ἀμυγῆς καὶ ἄκρατον μέρος ὁ ἀκραιφνέστατος νοῦς ἐστίν, ὅς . . . ὅλος εἰς ἱερὰν σπονδὴν ἀναστοιχειωθείς ἀνταποδίδοται.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "to the mind."

<sup>k</sup> LXX καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἄρτους ἐνωπίους (Heb. "bread of face" : A.V. "showbread") ἐναντίον μου διὰ παντός. Philo refers to the showbread briefly in *De Congressu* 168, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 104 and *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 161.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "the breads."



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without which there is no life ; and the power <sup>a</sup> of rulers and peasants <sup>b</sup> by the ordering of God (consists) in the necessities of nature, (namely) in food and drink. Wherefore He adds, " before Me continually thou shalt place the loaves of bread," for " continually " means that the gift of food is continual and uninterrupted, while " before " (means) that it is pleasing and agreeable to God both to be gracious <sup>c</sup> and to receive gratitude.<sup>d</sup>

73. (Ex. xxv. 30a [Heb. 31a]) Why is the lampstand " turned " (and) of pure gold " <sup>e</sup> ?

The lampstand is a symbol of the purest substance, (namely) the heaven.<sup>f</sup> For this reason it is said later <sup>g</sup> that it was made of one (piece of) gold. For the other parts of the world were wholly made through the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire, but the heaven of (only) one, (this being) a superior form,<sup>h</sup> which the moderns <sup>i</sup> call " the quintessence."<sup>j</sup> And rightly has (heaven) been

<sup>a</sup> Variant " equality."

<sup>b</sup> Or " commoners " : Aucher " villicorum."

<sup>c</sup> χαρίζεσθαι.

<sup>d</sup> εὐχαριστίαν.

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις λυχνίαν (Heb. *m<sup>e</sup>nôrāh* : A.V. " candlestick ") ἐκ χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ, τορευτήν (*v.l.* τορνευτήν, which seems to have been Philo's reading, see below) ποιήσεις τὴν λυχνίαν. The cosmic symbolism of the lampstand is also dealt with in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 102-103, *cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 182 and *B.J.* v. 217.

<sup>f</sup> σύμβολον τῆς καθαρωτάτης οὐσίας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

<sup>g</sup> At the end of this verse, see the following section.

<sup>h</sup> εἶδος.

<sup>i</sup> οἱ νεώτεροι, perhaps the Aristotelians, but see next note.

<sup>j</sup> Or " fifth substance," τὴν πέμπτην οὐσίαν. Curiously enough, in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 283 Philo ascribes the notion of the quintessence to " the ancients," πέμπτη γάρ, ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἔστω τις οὐσία κυκλοφορητική, τῶν τεττάρων κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον διαφέρουσα, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τε ἀστέρες καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς ἔδοξε γεγενῆσθαι.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

likened to the lampstand in so far as it is altogether full of light-bearing stars. And rightly does He describe it <sup>a</sup> as "turned," for the heaven was made and illuminated <sup>b</sup> by a certain turner's art <sup>c</sup> in accordance with periodic cycles,<sup>d</sup> each of which is accurately and clearly <sup>e</sup> turned,<sup>f</sup> and the natures of the stars are all described by divine skill.<sup>g</sup>

74. (Ex. xxv. 30b [Heb. 31b]) Why is it that the shaft and the branches and the bowls <sup>h</sup> (and) the knops and the lilies were all "of that" <sup>i</sup>?

(Since) the theologian <sup>j</sup> was all-wise,<sup>k</sup> he clearly knew in his wisdom that the heaven itself is a harmony and union and bond <sup>l</sup> of all those things which are in heaven, just as the limbs which are arranged in the body are all adapted (to one another) and grow together.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the lampstand.

<sup>b</sup> Or "adorned": Aucher "illustratum."

<sup>c</sup> Prob. *τορνευτικῆ τινι τέχνῃ* rather than *τορευτικῆ τινι τέχνῃ* "by a certain chaser's art," although LXX and Heb. refer to chasing or embossing (A.V. "beaten work") rather than lathe-turning.

<sup>d</sup> The Arm. apparently uses two nouns to render *περιόδους*.

<sup>e</sup> The latter adverb also means "accurately." Aucher renders both adverbs by the single word "accurate."

<sup>f</sup> *τορνοῦται*.

<sup>g</sup> *θεία ἐπιστήμη*.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "holders" but here reflecting LXX *κρατῆρες*. Below, in *QE* ii. 76, a different Arm. word is used, meaning "water-jar."

<sup>i</sup> LXX *ὁ καυλὸς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ καλαμίσκοι καὶ οἱ κρατῆρες καὶ οἱ σφαιρωτῆρες καὶ τὰ κρίνα* (Heb. "flowers") *ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσται*. Apparently Philo took *ἐξ αὐτῆς* to mean "all of a piece" or the like.

<sup>j</sup> *ὁ θεολόγος*, *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>k</sup> *πάνσοφος*, an adjective elsewhere applied by Philo to the patriarchs as well as Moses.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher renders the three Arm. nouns by only two, "conjunctio colligatioque."

<sup>m</sup> Aucher "sicut connexa in corpore membra coaptata sunt naturaliter."

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75. (Ex. xxvi. 31 [Heb. 32]) What were the six branches which went out from either side, three equally <sup>a</sup> ? <sup>b</sup>

Since it is not in a straight line but obliquely <sup>c</sup> that the zodiac <sup>d</sup> lies over and glancingly comes near the summer and winter solstices, <sup>e</sup> He says that the approach <sup>f</sup> to them is from the side, (and) the middle place is that of the sun. <sup>g</sup> But to the other (planets) He distributed three positions <sup>h</sup> on the two sides ; in the superior (group) <sup>i</sup> are Saturn, <sup>j</sup> Jupiter <sup>k</sup> and Mars, <sup>l</sup> while in the inner (group) <sup>m</sup> are Mercury, <sup>n</sup> Venus <sup>o</sup> and the moon. <sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in two identical sets of three. The form of the lampstand (*menorah*) may be schematically represented as



<sup>b</sup> LXX ἐξ δὲ καλαμίσκοι ἐκπορευόμενοι ἐκ πλαγίων, τρεῖς καλαμίσκοι τῆς λυχνίας ἐκ τοῦ κλίτους αὐτῆς τοῦ ἐνός, καὶ τρεῖς καλαμίσκοι τῆς λυχνίας ἐκ τοῦ κλίτους τοῦ δευτέρου. Philo comments on the two "triads" of branches in *De Congressu* 8, where they represent the two chief attributes of God, see also below, *QE* ii. 78, 79 on Ex. xxv. 37.

<sup>c</sup> οὐκ εὐθυβόλως ἀλλὰ πλαγίως.

<sup>d</sup> ὁ ζωφόρος (κύκλος), *cf. De Opif. Mundi* 112.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "quoniam zodiacus non recte sed oblique jacet juxta tropica aestatis et hiemis." Philo is apparently referring to the obliquity of the ecliptic.

<sup>f</sup> ἀγωγή or φορά : Aucher "inductio."

<sup>g</sup> The general sense is that the light on the central shaft of the lampstand represents the sun, while the side-lights represent the planets.

<sup>h</sup> τάξεις : Aucher "ordines."

<sup>i</sup> The "superior" or "outer" planets are those whose orbits are farther from the sun than is the earth's.

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *ereveli*, lit. "visible" or "bright" = Gr. φαίνων.

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *lousnt'ag*, lit. "light-crowned" = Gr. φαέθων.

<sup>l</sup> Arm. *hravor*, lit. "fiery" = Gr. πυρόεις.

<sup>m</sup> Aucher "inferius" (possibly a misprint for "interius"). The "inferior" or "inner" planets are those whose orbits are nearer the sun than is the earth's.

<sup>n</sup> Arm. *p'aylol*, lit. "coruscating" = Gr. στίλβων.

<sup>o</sup> Arm. *arousek*, lit. "dawn-bearer" = Gr. φωσφόρος.

<sup>p</sup> The ancients counted the moon (and sun) among the seven planets.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

76. (Ex. xxv. 32 [Heb. 33]) Why are there, on each of the three branches, bowls <sup>a</sup> modelled into the form of nuts and knops and lilies? <sup>b</sup>

At each season of the year the sun completes (its course) through three zodiacal signs,<sup>c</sup> which He has called "mixing-bowls," since three powers,<sup>d</sup> distinct and separate from one another, undergo a unified mixing to make up the time of one year. For example, the spring (consists of) Aries,<sup>e</sup> Taurus,<sup>f</sup> Gemini<sup>g</sup>; and, again, in the summer (we have) Cancer,<sup>h</sup> Leo,<sup>i</sup> Virgo<sup>j</sup>; and in the autumn, Libra,<sup>k</sup> Scorpio,<sup>l</sup> Sagittarius<sup>m</sup>; and in the winter, Capricorn,<sup>n</sup> Aquarius,<sup>o</sup> Pisces.<sup>p</sup> And He likens the form and nature of the zodiacal signs to those of a nut, perhaps because a nut first sends out a bud<sup>q</sup> and afterwards flowers. It seems that (this comparison is made) also because harmonious sounds are set in motion, for I am not unaware that the name of the nut is mentioned in (the festival of) Heralds,<sup>r</sup> for its shell is wont to make a sound of rattling.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "water-jars," but here = *κρατῆρες*, see above, *QE* ii. 74 note *h*.

<sup>b</sup> *lxx καὶ τρεῖς κρατῆρες ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρύσκους* (Heb. *m<sup>e</sup>šuyqādīm* "almond-shaped" [?]) *ἐν τῷ καλαμίσκῳ σφαιρωτῆρ καὶ κρίνον* (Heb. "flower"): *οὕτως τοῖς ἐξ καλαμίσκοις τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ τῆς λυχνίας.* <sup>c</sup> *ζωδίων.*

<sup>d</sup> *δυνάμεις*: Aucher "virtutes."

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *woy* "ram." <sup>f</sup> Arm. *çoul* "bull."

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *erkaworeakk'* "twins."

<sup>h</sup> Arm. *wexgeti* "crab."

<sup>i</sup> Arm. *ariuc* "lion."

<sup>j</sup> Arm. *koyš* "virgin."

<sup>k</sup> Arm. *louc* "yoke."

<sup>l</sup> Arm. *karič* "scorpion."

<sup>m</sup> Arm. *alełnawor* "archer."

<sup>n</sup> Arm. *ayceljiurn* "goat-horn."

<sup>o</sup> Arm. *jrhos* "water-pourer."

<sup>p</sup> Arm. *zkounk'* "fishes."

<sup>q</sup> *βλαστόν.*

<sup>r</sup> Since no such festival seems to be known, one may suppose that the Arm. translator mistook *Καρνατείας* for a noun derived from *κηρύττειν* "to herald," and that Philo actually

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And (the bowls) are modelled in the form of spheres,<sup>a</sup> since whatever is in heaven is wholly spherical, being given a perfect form just as is the world.<sup>b</sup> And the lily (is mentioned), perhaps because of its whiteness—since it is luminous,<sup>c</sup> and the stars, moreover, are brilliant—perhaps also because there are radiant axes around a lily<sup>d</sup>—since each of the stars gives off radiance. The statement<sup>e</sup> also contains a description of character.<sup>f</sup> The lily has a certain contrariety to other flowers, for (of these) some send out buds in winter, and (some) in spring, but the lily (buds) with the coming of summer, when other (flowers) wither. And (it is) a symbol<sup>g</sup> of the distinction between the human and the divine, and between profane or polluted and holy sacrifices, and between the imperfect and the perfect. For (other flowers) blossom when they are irrigated by streams of water, but the lily (blossoms) with the dog-star and after the dog-star, when the sun is flaming-hot. Wherefore some prophet says that the contemplative nation<sup>h</sup> shall blossom like the lily,<sup>i</sup> indicating<sup>j</sup> that it does not enjoy

referred to the festival of Artemis Karyatis, celebrated at Karyai on the border of Arcadia and Laconia, where Artemis was associated with a nut-tree, *cf.* Lactantius on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 225 (cited by M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 196).

<sup>a</sup> LXX σφαιρωτήρες (A.V. "knops").

<sup>b</sup> ὁ κόσμος.

<sup>c</sup> φωτειδές.

<sup>d</sup> Or "they are circling axes of lily-like radiance": Aucher "propter axes splendoris instar lilium circumdantes."

<sup>e</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>f</sup> ἠθοποιῖαν.

<sup>g</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ ὀρατικὸν (or θεωρητικὸν) γένος, *i.e.* Israel, so referred to in several other passages of Philo.

<sup>i</sup> Hosea xiv. 5, LXX ἔσομαι ὡς δρόσος τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, ἀνθήσει ὡς κρίνον καὶ βαλεῖ τὰς ρίζας αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ λίβανος. Philo quotes from Hosea three times, from Isaiah four times, from Jeremiah three times, from Ezekiel twice, from Zechariah once, and in only one passage does he refer to the prophet (Jeremiah) by name.

<sup>j</sup> αἰνιττόμενος.

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prosperity at the same time (as other nations) but that at the time when others have passed their prime, (Israel) begins (to flower) without the things it ought to have as inducements,<sup>a</sup> for its flowering without water, when the sun is flaming, is not to be compared with what is usual.<sup>b</sup>

77. (Ex. xxv. 33-36 [Heb. 34-36]) Why are there four (mixing-)bowls on the lampstand? <sup>c</sup>

Each branch constitutes <sup>d</sup> one season of the year through three zodiacal signs,<sup>e</sup> as has been said,<sup>f</sup> while the lampstand (represents) the seasons of the year, which are four. Now these undergo a certain mixing to produce a year, for a year is nothing else than the completion of four seasons, of which it is mixed and consists. For the nature <sup>g</sup> of the seasons is not unmixed and inharmonious but has a harmony of mixture and a community <sup>h</sup> of interchanging (elements). For the completion of the preceding (season) happens to be the beginning of that which follows it.

78. (Ex. xxv. 37a) Why are there seven lamps on the lampstand? <sup>i</sup>

It is clear to all that the seven lamps are symbols <sup>j</sup> of

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "without convenient things and persuasions"; Aucher "sine convenientibus expectatisque mediis."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher, in a footnote, renders, "*sive, praeter opinionem est, vel, vix credi potest.*"

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ ἐν τῇ λυχνίᾳ τέσσαρες κρατῆρες ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρυσκοῦς . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ λυχνίᾳ τέσσαρες κρατῆρες ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρυσκοῦς (*sic*: many LXX mss. and Heb. omit the repeated half-verse). These four "bowls" (*i.e.* ornaments shaped like almond-blossoms) were distinct from the "bowls" placed at the ends of the six branches and on top of the central shaft to hold the lamps.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "completes": Aucher "perficit."

<sup>e</sup> ζῳδίων.

<sup>f</sup> In *QE* ii. 76.

<sup>g</sup> ἡ φύσις.

<sup>h</sup> κοινωνίαν.

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τοὺς λύχνους αὐτῆς ἑπτὰ.

<sup>j</sup> σύμβολα.

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the planets, for the holy hebdomad belongs to those things reckoned as divine.<sup>a</sup> And the movement and revolution of these through the zodiacal signs<sup>b</sup> are the causes, for sublunary beings,<sup>c</sup> of all those things which are wont to take place in the embrace of concord,<sup>d</sup> in the air, in the water, on the earth and in all mixtures<sup>e</sup> from animals to plants.<sup>f</sup>

79. (Ex. xxv. 37b) Why does He say that the lampstand shall give light "from one side"<sup>g</sup>?

The planets do not travel around all parts and sides of the celestial sphere but only in one part, in the south, for their motion is, as it were, near our zone,<sup>h</sup> whence the

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly emended: Aucher "septenario numero in connumerationem cum divinorum sacro calculo conscriptorum." For the thought cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 225 ἐπίγειον οὖν βουλευθεὶς ἀρχετύπου τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν σφαίρας ἑπταφειγγοῦς μίμημα παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ τεχνίτης γενέσθαι πάγκαλον ἔργον προσέταξε τὴν λυχνίαν δημιουργηθῆναι, but in the latter passage Philo also makes the lampstand a symbol of the soul.

<sup>b</sup> ζωδίων.

<sup>c</sup> τοῖς μετὰ σελήνην.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "causa . . . conciliandi in osculum concordiae."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "temperamentis."

<sup>f</sup> Text slightly emended, reading *minç* (= ἕως) instead of *mišt* (= ἀεί): Aucher "animalium plantarumque semper."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "ex una regione": LXX καὶ ἐπιθήσεις τοὺς λύχνους (v.l. adds αὐτῆς), καὶ φανοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς προσώπου (v.l. adds αὐτῆς): Heb. "and thou shalt make its lamps seven, and they shall put up its lamps and cause it to give light over against its face." Philo understands the last obscure phrase to mean that the lampstand was to be placed in one part (the south) of the tabernacle, see next note.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher notes that his text represents a conflation of the two mss. in this sentence, but he does not give their separate readings. For the thought cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 102 τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις, δι' ἧς αἰνίττεται τὰς τῶν φωσφόρων κινήσεις ἀστέρων· ἥλιος γὰρ καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολὺ τῶν βορείων ἀφροστῶτες νοτίους ποιοῦνται τὰς περιπολήσεις.

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shadow <sup>a</sup> falls not on the southern but on the northern side. For this reason He has said not ineptly that the lampstand shall give light from one part, indicating (thereby) that the revolution of the planets is in the southern regions.

80. (Ex. xxv. 38) What are the "uplifters" <sup>b</sup> of the lampstand, and the "bases" <sup>c</sup> ?

The "uplifters" are so named from "lifting up," <sup>d</sup> for the oil, which kindles the light, is lifted upon the lamps, <sup>e</sup> while to the light-bearing stars all their light happens to be brought from the celestial sphere. <sup>f</sup> For just as whatever is luminous in the eyes is irrigated <sup>g</sup> by the soul, for souls are most luminous, so is the radiance of light in the stars wont to receive its illumination from the most pure ether. <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cast by the noon-day sun in the northern hemisphere.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "tegmina": Arm. *verarkouk'* usu. = ἀναβολαί, περιβόλαια and the like: LXX ἐπαρυστήρα "vessels for pouring (oil)": Old Lat. "suffusorium": Heb. *malqāhēhā* "its snuffers" (A.V. "tongs"): Arm. O.T. *bazamkakals* = ἐπαρυστήρας. Apparently Philo read ἐπαρυστήρα and fancifully took it to be connected with ἐπαίρειν "to lift up" as well as ἐπαρύειν "to draw a liquid from above." It should be noted, moreover, that in the papyri ἀρυστήρ means "dipping-pail" or the like, such as was used in irrigation-machines, cf. Claire Préaux in *Chronique d'Égypte*, xxv. (1950), p. 352.

<sup>c</sup> LXX τὰ ὑποθέματα: Heb. *mahtôtēhā* "its coal-pans" (A.V. "snuff dishes"): Arm. O.T. *neçouks* = τὰ ὑποθέματα.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders freely, "Tegmina seu Anabola nomen sortita sunt ab ἀναβάλλειν, *supermittere*."

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "eoquod sicut lucernis ad lumen excitandum oleum supermittitur."

<sup>f</sup> See above, *QE* ii. 78, on the cosmic symbolism of the lamps.

<sup>g</sup> ἄρδεται (with a play on ἐπαρύειν), cf. *Leg. All.* i. 28 πηγῆς δὲ τρόπον ἄρδει τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>h</sup> ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου αἰθέρος.



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81. (Ex. xxv. 39) Why did He assign to the lampstand the weight of "a talent of pure gold" <sup>a</sup>?

The ark, the table and the censers He described by giving their dimensions but in the case of the lampstand He does not mention the dimensions but indicates the weight, <sup>b</sup> for the reason that, as I said a little while ago, <sup>c</sup> it is a symbol <sup>d</sup> of the whole heaven. Now heaven, (being) a sphere, <sup>e</sup> is unprovided with work-tools and unequal measures, <sup>f</sup> being adapted to the rule of equality <sup>g</sup> in accordance with its figure and the rest of its nature. <sup>h</sup> But it does have weight, since everything ponderable is after it. <sup>i</sup> For nothing sublunary <sup>j</sup> (stands) by itself, but everything small or large is wont to be elastic, <sup>k</sup> as if (affected) by the wonderful artificer, the invisible Logos in heaven. <sup>l</sup> And the talent

<sup>a</sup> LXX πάντα τὰ σκεύη ταῦτα τάλαντον (Heb. *kikkār*) χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν ὀγκήν.

<sup>c</sup> In *QE* ii. 73-80.

<sup>d</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>e</sup> σφαίρα.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. lit. = ὀργανικῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀνίσων μέτρων ἀμέτρος ἐστὶ but is apparently a misunderstanding of the Greek. The original may have been ὀργάνων καὶ ἀνισοτήτων, as Prof. I. A. Post suggests, citing Plato, *Tim.* 33.

<sup>g</sup> ἰσότητος κανόνι, as in *De Aeternitate Mundi* 108.

<sup>h</sup> κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην φύσιν *vel sim.*: Aucher "secundum figuram et diversam naturam."

<sup>i</sup> Apparently this means that the weight of objects on earth is determined by the weight of heaven.

<sup>j</sup> μετὰ σελήνην.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "sinew-stretching"—νευροτενές. Prof. Post thinks that this refers to the commutation of the four elements, as in Stoic doctrine; he cites Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxvi. 50-53.

<sup>l</sup> Syntax and meaning not clear: Aucher "sed omne quidquam pusillum ac magnum, tamquam ab admirabili artifice secundum caeli rationem invisibilem, vigorem praeferre consuevit." The Arm. glossator, cited in Aucher's footnote, paraphrases, "sicut oculorum delusores mira quaedam apparentia figurant, sic et luminaria invisibiliter demutant elementa mundi: nec non Verbum divinum prae manibus gerens universum, sicut auriga habenas."

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is likened to unity (because) the heaven is one and is not like anything else in its shape or powers.<sup>a</sup> For the four elements<sup>b</sup> have a kinship<sup>c</sup> to one another both in substance and in their movement<sup>d</sup>—in substance when they are transformed into one another, and in their movement in that fire and air are confined to a rectilinear motion upwards from the centre, while water and earth (move) downwards from the centre.<sup>e</sup> But heaven moves not in a straight line but in a circle, having a figure that is equal on all sides and most perfect. May it not be, then, since the parts of the earth, according to those who study astrology,<sup>f</sup> are said to measure sixty,<sup>g</sup> that He appointed the talent (to be) its form, for the talent consists of sixty minas?

32. (Ex. xxv. 40) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt make (them) according to the pattern which has been shown to thee on the mountain"<sup>h</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> δυνάμεις: Aucher "vires."

<sup>b</sup> στοιχεῖα.

<sup>c</sup> συγγένειαν or possibly οἰκείωσιν, cf. F. C. Robbins in Loeb Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p. 65 n. 3.

<sup>d</sup> καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ κατὰ περιφορὰν (?).

<sup>e</sup> Arm. *kēt* = both κέντρον and στιγμή: Aucher "centro," adding in a footnote, "*proprie punctum sonat.*" For the upward movement of the two lighter elements and the downward movement of the two heavier elements (ἡ ὁδὸς ἄνω and ἡ ὁδὸς κάτω) see, among other passages in Philo, *De Aeternitate Mundi* 110.

<sup>f</sup> κατὰ τοὺς τῆ μαθηματικῆ σχολάζοντας, here meaning philosophical astronomers like Plato in the *Timaeus*.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *QG* iv. 164, where, however, Philo speaks of the sixty parts of the cosmos rather than of the earth.

<sup>h</sup> LXX ὅρα ποιήσεις (*v.l.* + πάντα) κατὰ τὸν τύπον (Heb. "their form") τὸν δεδειγμένον (Heb. "which thou art shown") ἐν τῷ ὄρει. The verse is quoted in *Leg. All.* iii. 102 in slightly different wording κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει πάντα ποιήσεις. There Philo quotes it to show that Moses was the artificer of the archetypes, while Bezaleel was the artificer of the objects made in accordance with these.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Through the "pattern" He again indicates <sup>a</sup> the incorporeal heaven, the archetype of the sense-perceptible,<sup>b</sup> for it <sup>c</sup> is a visible pattern and impression <sup>d</sup> and measure. He testifies to these things by saying "See," <sup>e</sup> (thereby) admonishing (us) to keep the vision of the soul sleepless<sup>f</sup> and ever wakeful in order to see incorporeal forms,<sup>g</sup> since, if it were (merely a question of) seeing the sense-perceptible with the eyes of the body, it is clear that no (divine) command would be needed for this.

83. (Ex. xxvi. 1a) What is the tabernacle? <sup>h</sup>

Having first of all alluded to the incorporeal and intelligible world <sup>i</sup> by means of the ark, and the substance of the sense-perceptible (world) <sup>j</sup> by means of the table, and heaven by means of the lampstand,<sup>k</sup> He begins to represent <sup>l</sup> in order those things which are sublunary,<sup>m</sup> (namely) air, water, fire and earth, making the tabernacle represent their nature and substance. For the tabernacle

<sup>a</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>b</sup> τὸν ἀσώματον οὐρανόν, ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. heaven.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. seal-impression—σφραγίς: Aucher "signum."

<sup>e</sup> It is not necessary to suppose that the word "see" has accidentally been omitted from the lemma of this section, since Philo occasionally takes it for granted that his readers will be able to supply for themselves words omitted from the verses he quotes.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* i. 289 τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκοιμήτοις ὄμμασι.

<sup>g</sup> εἶδη or ἰδέας: Aucher "species."

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ τὴν σκητὴν ποιήσεις κτλ. Philo refers to the cosmic symbolism of the tabernacle in *De Congressu* 116-117, cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 74-88. In several other passages, e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 46 and *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 112, he makes the tabernacle a symbol of wisdom or virtue.

<sup>i</sup> αἰνιζόμενος πρῶτον τὸν ἀσώματον καὶ νοητὸν κόσμον.

<sup>j</sup> τὴν τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ οὐσίαν.

<sup>k</sup> See *QE* ii. 53-81 on Ex. xxv. 9-40.

<sup>l</sup> ἀπεικονίζεσθαι vel sim.: Aucher "describere." The same verb, *ἠμανερούσανελ*, is used at the end of the sentence.

<sup>m</sup> τὰ μετὰ σελήνην.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

is a portable temple <sup>a</sup> of God and not a stationary or fixed one. And (similarly) those things which are below heaven <sup>b</sup> are mutable and changeable, while heaven alone is unchangeable and self-consistent <sup>c</sup> and similar to itself. But this statement <sup>d</sup> also reveals a certain delineation of character. <sup>e</sup> Since they were passing through a wilderness where there were no courts <sup>f</sup> or houses but (only) tabernacles, <sup>g</sup> which were made for necessary purposes (such as) giving the help of warmth against the cold, he <sup>h</sup> thought it right that there should be a most holy temple to the Father and Creator of all things. Moreover, he showed that the divine name, which is in need of nothing, <sup>i</sup> dwelt together, so far as one might believe, with those who were in need of a tabernacle, to receive piety and worthy holiness. <sup>j</sup> Now, as for those who saw the structure of the divine tabernacle likened to their own dwelling, <sup>k</sup> what would they have been likely to do <sup>l</sup> other than to bow down in return for what was done <sup>m</sup> and bless the Overseer and

<sup>a</sup> φορητὸν ἱερόν, as it is called in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 73.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "behind heaven"—τὰ μετ' (instead of ὑπ') οὐρανόν, apparently on the analogy of τὰ μετὰ σελήνην.

<sup>c</sup> καθ' ἑαυτόν: Aucher "stante per se."

<sup>d</sup> λόγος. <sup>e</sup> ἤθοποιῶν τινά.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher "porticus." The same Arm. word (*srah*) is used to render LXX ἀνλαίας "curtains" in the next section. Here it prob. renders ἀνλαί, cf. *De Congressu* 116.

<sup>g</sup> σκηναί.

<sup>h</sup> Presumably Moses.

<sup>i</sup> ἀπροσδεές.

<sup>j</sup> The syntax is uncertain, and the sense is obscure. More intelligible is the corresponding passage in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 73 (Colson's translation), "But, as they were still wandering in the desert and had as yet no settled habitation, it suited them to have a portable sanctuary, so that during their journeys and encampments they might bring their sacrifices to it and perform all their other religious duties, not lacking anything which dwellers in cities should have."

<sup>k</sup> Variant "nature."

<sup>l</sup> τί ἔμελλον πράττειν *vel sim.*

<sup>m</sup> The meaning of the prepositional phrase is not clear: Aucher renders freely, "pro viribus suis (*vel*, propter similitudinem visam)."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Guardian and Curator of His power? <sup>a</sup> And familiar <sup>b</sup> to God is His power, O ministers! <sup>c</sup>

84. (Ex. xxvi. 1b) Why does the tabernacle have 10 <sup>d</sup> curtains? <sup>e</sup>

Many a time has much been said about the number ten in other places,<sup>f</sup> which for those who wish to prolong the discussion it would be easy to transfer here. But brevity of speech is liked by us, and it is timely and sufficient that whatever has been said be remembered.<sup>g</sup>

\*85. (Ex. xxvi. 1c) Why are the curtains (made) of woven linen and of hyacinth and of purple and of woven scarlet? <sup>h</sup>

What is spoken about is the workmanship of the (materials) woven together, which are four in number and are symbols of the four elements,<sup>i</sup> earth, water, air and fire, of which sublunary things<sup>j</sup> are made, while the

<sup>a</sup> τὸν ἔφορον καὶ ἐπίτροπον καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως *vel sim.*

<sup>b</sup> Or "peculiar," as Prof. Post suggests.

<sup>c</sup> Or "worshippers."

<sup>d</sup> Written as a numeral letter.

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ποιήσεις δέκα αὐλαίας κτλ. Philo comments on the ten curtains as symbols of the perfect number in *De Congressu* 116 and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 84.

<sup>f</sup> For various passages on the decad in Philo's writings (including the *Quaestiones*) see Staehle, pp. 53-58.

<sup>g</sup> The exact sense of the clause is not clear. Aucher renders more smoothly but more freely, "et quod olim dictum fuit, satis juvat ad memoriam."

<sup>h</sup> LXX ἐκ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης καὶ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίου κεκλωσμένου. The interpretation of the four colours (linen being equated with white by Philo) is also found in *De Congressu* 116-117 and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 84-88. There is also a brief paraphrase of this passage in Theodoret's *Quaestiones in Exodum* (Migne, 248 D).

<sup>i</sup> Cf. *De Congressu* 117 ἃ τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων σύμβολά ἐστιν. <sup>j</sup> τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

celestial sphere <sup>a</sup> (is made) of a special substance, <sup>b</sup> of the very most excellent things which have been brought together. <sup>c</sup> For (Scripture) indicates <sup>d</sup> the earth by "linen," for linen <sup>e</sup> is earthly and from the earth; and water by "purple," since water is the producer of this <sup>f</sup>; and air by "hyacinth," for the air is black <sup>g</sup> and has no illumination in itself, wherefore it is illuminated by another light <sup>h</sup>; and fire by "scarlet," for its colour is fiery. <sup>i</sup> And so he <sup>j</sup> thought it right that the divine temple of the Creator of all things should be woven <sup>k</sup> of such and so many things as the world was made of, (being) the universal temple <sup>l</sup> which (existed) before the holy temple. <sup>m</sup>

86. (Ex. xxvi. 1d, 3) Why does He say in addition, "Work of weaving thou shalt make the curtains which are woven together with one another" <sup>n</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν σφαίρας.

<sup>b</sup> ἐξ ἐξαιρέτου οὐσίας: Aucher "ex separata substantia."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders less literally, "optimisque rebus constante" (for "constantibus").

<sup>d</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>e</sup> Here the Arm. renders βύσσος by *vouš*, whereas elsewhere in this section he uses the word *behez*.

<sup>f</sup> Philo explains this more fully in *De Congressu* 117 τὸ γὰρ τῆς βαφῆς αἴτιον ἐκ θαλάττης, ἢ ὀμωννουμῶσα κόγχη (prob. the murex).

<sup>g</sup> So *De Congressu* 117 and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 88 μέλας γὰρ οὗτος φύσει. By "black" Philo means "dark blue."

<sup>h</sup> This further explanation is omitted in the parallels.

<sup>i</sup> πυροειδῆς *vel sim.*, cf. *De Congressu* 117 ἐμφερέστατον γὰρ φλογί: *De Vita Mosis* ii. 88 διότι φοινικοῦν ("bright red," not "purple") ἐκάτερον.

<sup>j</sup> Moses.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. constructed.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ πανίερον.

<sup>m</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 88 ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἱερόν χειροποίητον κατασκευάζοντας τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντός τὰς ὁμοίας λαβεῖν οὐσίας αἷς τὸ ὄλον ἐδημιούργει.

<sup>n</sup> Philo here combines the last clause of vs. 1 and vs. 3, and paraphrases: LXX χερουβείμ ἐργασία ὑφάντου ποιήσεις αὐτὰς (sc. τὰς αὐλαίας) . . . πέντε δὲ αὐλαῖαι ἔσονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεναι ἢ ἑτέρα ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας καὶ πέντε αὐλαῖαι ἔσονται συνεχόμεναι ἑτέρα τῇ ἑτέρα.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

It <sup>a</sup> has such a nature as to be perfected <sup>b</sup> (as) one out of many. Such too is the substance of the world,<sup>c</sup> for it was mixed of the four elements,<sup>d</sup> and these were, after a fashion,<sup>e</sup> woven together <sup>f</sup> with one another to produce one completely worked texture.<sup>g</sup>

87. (Ex. xxvi. 2) Why was the length of (each) curtain 28 <sup>h</sup> cubits, and the breadth 4 (cubits)? <sup>i</sup>

The doctrine <sup>j</sup> of the number four is divine and holy and most apt (and) has been allotted the proper praise pertaining to numbers.<sup>k</sup> But at the present time the natural virtue <sup>l</sup> of the number 28 must be set down. Now it is the first perfect number equal to its parts,<sup>m</sup> and it has the matter of its substance from three,<sup>n</sup> and especially for this

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the tabernacle, see *QE* ii. 88.

<sup>b</sup> τελειοῦσθαι. <sup>c</sup> ἡ τοῦ κόσμου οὐσία.

<sup>d</sup> ἐκ τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων.

<sup>e</sup> τρόπον τινά.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher "contextus est," apparently taking "world" to be the implied subject of the verb instead of "elements" as the context demands (neut. pl. subj. with sing. verb).

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. = πρὸς ἑνὸς ὑφάσματος τελειουργουμένου γένεσιν *vel sim.* : Aucher "ad unius staminis perfecti productionem."

<sup>h</sup> This and the following numbers, unless they are otherwise rendered, are numeral letters in the Arm. text.

<sup>i</sup> LXX μῆκος τῆς ἀυλαίας τῆς μιᾶς ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι πῆχεων, καὶ εὖρος τεσσαρῶν πῆχεων ἡ ἀυλαία ἡ μία ἔσται μέτρον τὸ αὐτὸ ἔσται πάσαις ταῖς ἀυλαίαις. There are parallels to this section in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 84 and *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 40, *cf. De Opif. Mundi* 101. <sup>j</sup> ὁ λόγος.

<sup>k</sup> The meaning is not wholly clear: Aucher "eoquod numerorum condignam benedictionem sortitus fuerit," adding in a footnote "*vel*, in sermone nostro de numeris laudem propriam."

<sup>l</sup> ἡ φυσικὴ ἀρετὴ, *i.e.* the philosophical force.

<sup>m</sup> *i.e.* equal to the sum of its factors,  $1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28$ ; *cf. De Vita Mosis* ii. 84 τὸν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμὸν τέλειον ἴσον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι.

<sup>n</sup> Possibly this means that 28 is a cubic number,  $1 \times 4 \times 7$  or  $2 \times 2 \times 7$ .

## EXODUS, BOOK II

reason is it concordant with the first six,<sup>a</sup> for six is the first (digit) equal to its parts.<sup>b</sup> Accordingly, this number has one good (quality). And it has still another essence<sup>c</sup> through the number seven, since it is composed of units which go singly from one to seven, as follows : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, making 28. And the third (property) is that it multiplies the number seven, being four times seven or seven times four. Now the number four is also related in species<sup>d</sup> to the number seven, and there is nothing more perfect.<sup>e</sup> By these numbers the theologian<sup>f</sup> says the tabernacle was erected, making the length of the ten curtains twenty-eight cubits (each) and the total two hundred and eighty, while the (total) breadth was forty.<sup>g</sup> And the power<sup>h</sup> which the number forty brings to living beings<sup>i</sup> has already been spoken of.<sup>j</sup> As for the number two hundred and eighty, it is forty multiplied by seven, and the number seven is dedicated to God.

88. (Ex. xxvi. 6) Why does He say, " And the tabernacle shall be one " ?<sup>k</sup>

Someone may say, " But, Master Theologian,<sup>l</sup> who does not know that many are not one, especially since you<sup>m</sup> have already said,<sup>n</sup> ' The tabernacle shall be made of ten curtains ' but not ' the tabernacles ' ? " May it not be, therefore, that the tabernacle's being " one " is a firmer

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the digit six.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* to the sum of its factors,  $1 + 2 + 3 = 6$ .

<sup>c</sup> οὐσίαν, possibly a corruption of φύσιν.

<sup>d</sup> συγγενῆς εἶδει.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* than the number seven.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ θεολόγος, *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>g</sup> Each of the ten curtains being four cubits broad.

<sup>h</sup> ἡ δύναμις.

<sup>i</sup> τοῖς οὐσι.

<sup>j</sup> In *QG* iv. 154.

<sup>k</sup> LXX (end of verse) καὶ ἔσται ἡ σκηνὴ μία.

<sup>l</sup> ὦ κύριε ὁ θεολόγος, *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>m</sup> Speaking in God's name.

<sup>n</sup> See *QE* ii. 84 on Ex. xxvi. 1.



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

seal indicating <sup>a</sup> the unities of sublunary things? <sup>b</sup> For even though earth is distinct from water, and water from air, and air from fire, and fire from each of these, nevertheless all are adapted to one determined form.<sup>c</sup> For it is natural that the matter <sup>d</sup> which was perfected out of so many things should be one, especially since the interchange of the elements <sup>e</sup> with one another clearly demonstrates their common nature.<sup>f</sup>

89.<sup>g</sup> (Ex. xxvi. 28) What is the meaning of the words, "The middle bar between the pillars shall reach from one side to the other side" <sup>h</sup>?

Above this straight line of the single walls there is a bar between the twenty pillars to take firmer hold of their joining.<sup>i</sup> For by "the bar" He indicates <sup>j</sup> the Logos <sup>k</sup> ascribed to necessity,<sup>l</sup> which in heaven above tends toward

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. = σφραγὶς βεβαιότερα αἰνιττομένη *vel sim.*, meaning "confirms the impression given by (earlier) indications" or the like.

<sup>b</sup> τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην.

<sup>c</sup> εἰς ἐν ὠρισμένον εἶδος.

<sup>d</sup> τὴν ὕλην.

<sup>e</sup> τῶν στοιχείων.

<sup>f</sup> τὴν κοινωνίαν : Aucher "communioneum."

<sup>g</sup> Ex. xxvi. 7-27, on which Philo does not comment here, describes the covering and framework of the Tabernacle.

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ ὁ μοχλὸς ὁ μέσος ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν στύλων (Heb. "frame" : A.V. "boards") διῦκνείσθω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς κλίτους εἰς τὸ ἕτερον κλίτος. Philo seems to allude to this verse in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 77-79.

<sup>i</sup> The syntax and meaning are uncertain, but *cf. De Vita Mosis* ii. 78 "for the length (of the tabernacle) the craftsman set up forty pillars, half of them, twenty, on each side, leaving no interval between, but fitting and joining each to the next in order that it might present the appearance of a single wall."

<sup>j</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>k</sup> Aucher "rationem." Arm. *ban* here prob. means the cosmic Logos rather than the individual reason, *cf. QE* ii. 90.

<sup>l</sup> So Aucher, "necessitati adscriptam" (the margins of the Arm. mss. have "Fate" for "necessity"), but the meaning escapes me.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

heavenly things. For by these <sup>a</sup> everything is held together as by an indissoluble bond.

90.<sup>b</sup> (Ex. xxvi. 30) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt erect <sup>c</sup> the tabernacle according to the pattern shown to thee on the mountain" <sup>d</sup> ?

Again He indicates <sup>e</sup> the paradigmatic essences of the ideas <sup>f</sup> by saying "according to the appearance <sup>g</sup> which was shown to thee on the mountain." But the prophet <sup>h</sup> did not see any corporeal thing there but all incorporeals.<sup>i</sup> And it is said that the tabernacle is to be erected directly before (their) faces,<sup>j</sup> for sublunary things <sup>k</sup> have been granted a lower place <sup>l</sup> but are again raised above and elevated and established and set up upon the divine Logos,<sup>m</sup> for the divine Logoi <sup>n</sup> are the foundations and bars <sup>o</sup> of the security <sup>p</sup> of all things. Do you not see that earth and

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "per istam (*i.e.* rationem)," but the pron. is plural.

<sup>b</sup> A similarly framed question is asked in *QE* ii. 82 on Ex. xxv. 40.

<sup>c</sup> Reading *yarousces* with Codd. A, C : marginal variant *arasces* "thou shalt make."

<sup>d</sup> LXX καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σκηνὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι (Heb. "which thou wast shown") ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

<sup>e</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>f</sup> τὰς παραδειγματικὰς οὐσίας τὰς τῶν ἰδεῶν *vel sim.* : Aucher "indicativas essentias specierum."

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *tesil* = εἶδος, ἰδέα, ὄψις, etc. : Aucher "visionem." Note that in the Question a different word (*orinak*) is used.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ προφήτης, *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>i</sup> πάντα ἀσώματα.

<sup>j</sup> κατέναντι ἐκ προσώπου *vel sim.* : Aucher "directe . . . in conspectu."

<sup>k</sup> τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην.

<sup>l</sup> Lit. "part."

<sup>m</sup> Aucher, construing slightly differently, renders, "elevata fundataque super divinum verbum erectum."

<sup>n</sup> Or "words" : Aucher "verba."

<sup>o</sup> μοχλοί, *cf.* *QE* ii. 89.

<sup>p</sup> Aucher "constantiae."

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

water, inasmuch as they are in the midst of all air and fire, with the heaven surrounding (them), are not firmly fixed by anything at all other than their holding to each other, as the divine Logos binds them with all-wise art and most perfect adaptation? <sup>a</sup>

91. (Ex. xxvi. 31a) What is "the veil" <sup>b</sup>?

By the veil the inside (of the tabernacle) is set off and separated from the things outside, for the inside is holy and truly divine,<sup>c</sup> while the outside, though it is also holy, does not attain the same nature or a similar one. Moreover, it indicates <sup>d</sup> the changeable parts of the world which are sublunary <sup>e</sup> and undergo changes of direction,<sup>f</sup> and the heavenly (region) which is without transient events <sup>g</sup> and is unchanging. And (it shows) how they are set off and separated from one another, for the ethereal and airy substance is, as it were, a covering.<sup>h</sup>

92. (Ex. xxvi. 31b) Why does He command that the veil be made "of hyacinth and of purple and of scarlet and of woven linen" <sup>i</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> συνδέοντος αὐτὰ τοῦ θείου λόγου πανσόφω τέχνη καὶ τελειοτάτῃ ἁρμονία *vel sim.* For the thought see Wolfson, *Philo*, i. p. 338.

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις καταπέτασμα.

<sup>c</sup> ὄντως θεῖον.

<sup>d</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>e</sup> ὑπὸ σελήνην.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "turnings"—στροφάς or τροπάς: Aucher "variationem."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "caret casu."

<sup>h</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθερίας καὶ ἀερίας οὐσίας ὡς καλύμματος *vel sim.*: Aucher "mediante aetherea aereaque essentia." While Arm. *aragast* can mean "partition" or the like as well as "covering," the latter seems to be indicated by the partial parallel in *De Vita Mosi* ii. 101 πρόναον εἰργόμενον δυσὶν ὑφάσμασι, τῷ μὲν ἔνδον ὃ καλεῖται καταπέτασμα, τῷ δ' ἔκτος ὃ προσαγορεύεται κάλυμμα.

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις καταπέτασμα ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου κεκλωσμένου καὶ βύσσου νενησμένης· ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποιήσεις αὐτὸ χερουβείμ. Here, as in *QE* ii. 85 on Ex. xxvi. 1, Philo omits any reference to the woven designs of cherubim.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

Just as He commands the ten curtains of the tabernacle to be woven of four mixtures, so also (He commands) the veil (to be made). For the curtains are veils in a certain sense,<sup>a</sup> (although they are) not above the entrance but throughout the whole tabernacle. And these, as I have said,<sup>b</sup> are tokens and symbols <sup>c</sup> of the four elements.<sup>d</sup>

93. (Ex. xxvi. 32a) Why does He command the veil to be placed above four pillars at the end of the tabernacle? <sup>e</sup>

The four columns <sup>f</sup> are made solid,<sup>g</sup> but in the tabernacle everything is a symbol of corporeal things,<sup>h</sup> while incorporeal things stand above the tetrad.<sup>i</sup> The point <sup>j</sup> is ordered in accordance with the monad, and the line in accordance with the dyad, and the surface in accordance with the triad, while the solid <sup>k</sup> (is ordered) in accordance

<sup>a</sup> τρόπον τινά or, as in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 87, σχεδόν.

<sup>b</sup> In *QE* ii. 85.

<sup>c</sup> The two Arm. words prob. render the single word σύμβολα.

<sup>d</sup> τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων.

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων στύλων ἀσήπτων κεχρυσωμένων χρυσίῳ. By "at the end of the tabernacle" Philo means the inner sanctuary at the western end of the tabernacle.

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. translator here uses a different word from that rendered "pillars" in the Question.

<sup>g</sup> Prob. στερεοῦνται, anticipating the reference to the solid (τὸ στερεόν) below: Aucher "firmatae sunt."

<sup>h</sup> σύμβολον σωμάτων.

<sup>i</sup> This may mean that the objects in the inner sanctuary, concealed by the veil over the four columns, are symbols of the heavenly and incorporeal bodies (see the preceding sections) which stand over corporeal and sublunary bodies composed of the four elements.

<sup>j</sup> The Arm. text reads *nšanaki* "of a symbol" but this word is obviously meaningless here. Either the Arm. translator's eye must have fallen upon the word σύμβολον in the preceding sentence or he must have misread or misinterpreted στίγμα as σημεῖον. Aucher renders, "signum (puncti)."

<sup>k</sup> τὸ στερεόν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

with the tetrad, upon which stands the substance of incorporeal things.<sup>a</sup> Or by solidly drawing the progressions<sup>b</sup> after the intelligible,<sup>c</sup> you will lead to the sense-perceptible form,<sup>d</sup> as<sup>e</sup> all the visible columns of the tabernacle altogether amount to fifty, omitting the two hidden in the corners. And their power is that of a right-angled triangle.<sup>f</sup>

94. (Ex. xxvi. 33b) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt set apart<sup>g</sup> the veil between the Holy of Holies"<sup>h</sup>?

I have said<sup>i</sup> that the simple holy<sup>j</sup> (parts of the tabernacle) are classified with the sense-perceptible heaven,<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ἡ τῶν ἀσωμάτων οὐσία.

<sup>b</sup> ἀναβάσεις (?): Aucher "egressum."

<sup>c</sup> μετὰ τὸ νοητόν.

<sup>d</sup> εἰς τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἶδος. The meaning of the clause escapes me.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "ita ut."

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 79-80, "Thus the whole number of pillars visible in the tabernacle, leaving out the two in the corners hidden from view, amounted to fifty-five. . . . But if you choose to exclude the five in the propylaeum . . . there will be the most sacred number fifty, the square of the sides of the right-angled triangle, the original source from which the universe springs." As Colson notes, " $50 = 3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2$ , and 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primary form of the right-angled triangle." Cf. also *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 176.

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "facias dividere," see next note. The Arm. translator seems to have omitted the words "the holy (place) and" after "between," as the present text is obviously defective.

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ διοριεῖ (v.l. διοριεῖς) καταπέτασμα ὑμῖν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων. Philo briefly alludes to the veil separating (ὅπως διακρίνηται) the Holy of Holies from the "holy place" (the longer chamber of the tabernacle) in *De Mut. Nom.* 43, 192. The preceding clause in Ex. xxvi. 33 states that the ark is to be placed "within the veil," i.e. in the Holy of Holies. <sup>i</sup> In *QE* ii. 91.

<sup>j</sup> τὰ ἀπλᾶ ἅγια, i.e. the "holy place," contrasted with the Holy of Holies.

<sup>k</sup> τᾶπτεται κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανόν.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

whereas the inner (parts), which are called the Holy of Holies, (are classified) with the intelligible world.<sup>a</sup> The incorporeal world is set off and separated from the visible one by the mediating Logos<sup>b</sup> as by a veil. But may it not be that this Logos is the tetrad, through which the corporeal solid<sup>c</sup> comes into being?<sup>d</sup> For this<sup>e</sup> is classified with the invisible intelligible things,<sup>f</sup> while the other (part of the tabernacle)<sup>g</sup> is divided into three<sup>h</sup> and is connected with sense-perceptible things, so that there is between them something (at once) invisible and visible of substance.

95. (Ex. xxvi. 35) Why does He command the table and the lampstand to be placed "outside the veil"?<sup>i</sup>

I have shown earlier<sup>j</sup> that by the table He indicates sense-perceptible substance, and by the lampstand, the sense-perceptible heaven.<sup>k</sup> And they are placed<sup>l</sup> outside the veil because the things in the inner recess<sup>m</sup> are invisible and intelligible,<sup>n</sup> whereas those which are more external are visible and sense-perceptible.

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον.

<sup>b</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ μεθορίου λόγου, cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 205.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ σωματικὸν στερεόν.

<sup>d</sup> See the preceding section.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. the Holy of Holies.

<sup>f</sup> τὰ ἀόρατα νοητά.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. the "holy place."

<sup>h</sup> Prob., as the Arm. glossator explains, the table of showbread, the lampstand and the altar of incense.

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ θήσεις τὴν τράπεζαν ἔξωθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος, καὶ τὴν λυχνίαν ἀπέναντι τῆς τραπέζης ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον· καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θήσεις ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς σκηνῆς (Heb. om. "of the tabernacle") τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν.

<sup>j</sup> In *QE* ii. 69 and 73.

<sup>k</sup> αἰνίττεται . . . τὴν αἰσθητὴν οὐσίαν καὶ . . . τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανόν.

<sup>l</sup> The Arm. verb is sing.

<sup>m</sup> ἐν τοῖς ἐσωτέροις μυχοῖς vel sim., i.e. in the inner sanctuary or Holy of Holies.

<sup>n</sup> ἀόρατα καὶ νοητά.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

96. (Ex. xxvi. 36) Why does He call the outer (hanging) <sup>a</sup> “ a covering ” and not “ a veil,” as in the case of the inner one ? <sup>b</sup>

Since those things which are within (the sanctuary) incline toward the nature of incorporeal things,<sup>c</sup> which is winged and upward-tending, their substance <sup>d</sup> stands near to God. Now the veil is brought in (as derived) from “ spreading wings.” <sup>e</sup> In the second place, moreover, it has propinquity to the sense-perceptible things outside,<sup>f</sup> and is rightly (called) “ a covering,” for the sense-perceptible hardly ever tends toward flying upward, since it is indeed less winged than incorporeal things, and in the same manner as that which is covered,<sup>g</sup> it has an unclear comprehension.<sup>h</sup> And may (this) not be because every-

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the hanging at the entrance to the sanctuary or “ holy place ” contrasted with the hanging at the entrance to the Holy of Holies. In *De Vita Mosis* ii. 87 Philo calls the former κάλυμμα, while LXX calls it ἐπίσπαστρον and uses κάλυμμα for the hanging at the entrance to the court of the tabernacle. The Heb., however, uses the same word, *māsāk*, for the hanging at the entrance to the tabernacle as well as for that at the entrance to the court (Ex. xxvii. 16). The various lists may be seen in this scheme :

### 1. Hanging at Entrance to Holy of Holies

Heb. *pārōket*                      LXX *καταπέτασμα*                      Philo *καταπέτασμα*

### 2. Hanging at Entrance to Tabernacle

Heb. *māsāk*                      LXX *ἐπίσπαστρον*                      Philo (*De Vita Mo-*  
*sis*) *κάλυμμα*

### 3. Hanging at Entrance to Court

Heb. *māsāk*                      LXX *κάλυμμα*                      Philo (*De Vita Mo-*  
*sis*) *ποικίλον ὕφα-*  
*σμα*

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις ἐπίσπαστρον (*v.l.*, following Heb., adds τῆ θύρα τῆς σκηνῆς) ἐξ ὑακίνθου κτλ.

<sup>c</sup> πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἀσωμάτων.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ οὐσία.

<sup>e</sup> Philo plays on the resemblance between *καταπέτασμα* and *καταπετᾶσθαι vel sim.*

<sup>f</sup> τοῖς ἕξωθεν αἰσθητοῖς.

<sup>g</sup> Or “ concealed.”

<sup>h</sup> ἄδηλον κατάληψιν, *i.e.* it is not clearly apprehended.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

thing sense-perceptible is experienced <sup>a</sup> through sense-perception, and sense-perception is unstable and related to false belief, <sup>b</sup> while the intelligible (is related) to reason, <sup>c</sup> and the mind <sup>d</sup> is inerrant and a friend of knowledge? <sup>e</sup>

97. (Ex. xxvi. 37) Why is the "covering" placed upon five columns? <sup>f</sup>

Most excellently and carefully <sup>g</sup> has He assigned the pentad to the second covering <sup>h</sup> since this part (of the tabernacle) looks toward sense-perceptible substance. <sup>i</sup> For the pentad is the number of the senses. <sup>j</sup> But to the former and inner (hanging <sup>k</sup> He has assigned) the tetrad, as I have said, <sup>l</sup> because it touches incorporeal things, <sup>m</sup> and incorporeal things come to an end with the tetrad. <sup>n</sup>

98. (Ex. xxvii. 1a) Why does He call the altar *thysias-terion*? <sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "receives experience": Aucher "probationem (vel, experimentum) habet." <sup>b</sup> ἀβεβαία καὶ ψευδεῖ δόξῃ συγγενής. <sup>c</sup> λογισμῶ: Aucher "consiliis." <sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς ἢ ἡ διάνοια.

<sup>e</sup> φίλος ἐπιστήμης: Aucher "intelligentiae amantissimus."

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τῷ καταπέτασματι πέντε στύλους κτλ. The word καταπέτασμα in this verse refers to the same hanging as that called ἐπίσπαστρον in the preceding verse, see the notes to *QE* ii. 96. In *De Vita Mosis* ii. 82 Philo refers to the bronze bases of these columns as symbols of the five senses. For other Philonic references to the symbolism of the pentad see Staehle, pp. 31-32. <sup>g</sup> παγκάλως καὶ ἐπιμελῶς.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. the hanging at the entrance to the tabernacle, contrasted with the veil (mentioned in the last sentence of this section) at the entrance to the Holy of Holies.

<sup>i</sup> τὴν αἰσθητὴν οὐσίαν.

<sup>j</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 81 ἡ πεντὰς αἰσθήσεων ἀριθμὸς ἐστίν.

<sup>k</sup> i.e. the veil, see note *h*.

<sup>l</sup> In *QE* ii. 93.

<sup>m</sup> τῶν ἀσωμάτων.

<sup>n</sup> This prob. means that the tetrad is the boundary between the ethereal and the sublunary regions, see *QE*, ii. 93, 94.

<sup>o</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις θυσιαστήριον ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων κτλ. On the symbolism of this altar see *De Vita Mosis* ii. 106 and *De Spec. Leg.* i. 274.



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Only this altar does not consume victims but preserves them.<sup>a</sup> For the flesh is consumed by fire but the holiness of the sacrifice remains, for sacrifice is not flesh but the pure and unstained life of a holy (person).<sup>b</sup>

\*99. (Ex. xxvii. 1b) Why was the altar quadrangular,<sup>c</sup> and its length five cubits and its breadth equal?<sup>d</sup>

(This is) because it is made for sense-perceptible and bloody (sacrifices), and the pentad is the number of the sense-perceptible class,<sup>e</sup> as I have said.<sup>f</sup> In the second place, it has equal length and breadth because all the sacrificial victims which are offered by the heart of a pious mind<sup>g</sup> ought to be equal, whether one offers a hundred bulls or brings (merely) roasted wheat. For the Deity does not like wealth nor does He turn away from poverty.<sup>h</sup> In the third place, the quadrangle<sup>i</sup> is a symbol of the fact that he who offers a sacrifice should stand firm in all respects<sup>j</sup> and in no way be deficient or lame in soul but with

<sup>a</sup> Philo fancifully etymologizes *θυσιαστήριον* as a compound of *θυσίας* "sacrificial victims" and *τηρεῖν* "to preserve," cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 106 τὸν δ' ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸν εἴωθε καλεῖν θυσιαστήριον ὡσανεὶ τηρητικὸν καὶ φυλακτικὸν ὄντα θυσιῶν τὸν ἀναλωτικόν.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *ibid.* αἰνιττόμενος οὐ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν ἱερουργουμένων, ἅπερ δαπανᾶσθαι πυρὶ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ προσφέροντος.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* with a square top.

<sup>d</sup> LXX πέντε πήχεων τὸ μῆκος καὶ πέντε πήχεων τὸ εὖρος· τετράγωνον ἔσται τὸ θυσιαστήριον κτλ.

<sup>e</sup> τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ γένους: Aucher "sensibilis generationis" (l. "generis").

<sup>f</sup> In *QE* ii. 97.

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. lit. = ὑπὸ καρδίας νοῦ (or διανοίας) εὐσεβοῦς.

<sup>h</sup> So the Greek frag. (which begins and ends with this sentence), οὔτε πλοῦτον ἀσπάζεται τὸ θεῖον οὔτε πένιαν ἀποσρέφεται.

<sup>i</sup> Or "square."

<sup>j</sup> βέβαιον παντελῶς *vel sim.*: Aucher "constanter omnino."

## EXODUS, BOOK II

sound and full reason should make a thank-offering of those things which belong to a sound life.<sup>a</sup>

100. (Ex. xxvii. 1c) Why is the height of the altar three cubits? <sup>b</sup>

The literal meaning <sup>c</sup> (refers to) the service of the several priests, that they may easily be able to perform their office by standing on a firm base, hiding their bellies and the things within their bellies, because of that many-headed beast, desire,<sup>d</sup> and the farther <sup>e</sup> (part) around the heart, because of anger, the counsellor <sup>f</sup> of evil,<sup>g</sup> that it may be <sup>h</sup> superior to the head. And the head is the temple of the mind,<sup>i</sup> in which firmly dwell thoughts <sup>j</sup> and the ministering senses.<sup>k</sup> But as for the deeper meaning,<sup>l</sup> the triad is a three-tiered, dense and full number,<sup>m</sup> having no emptiness but filling up whatever is drawn apart <sup>n</sup> in the dyad. And

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders the last clause somewhat freely, I think, "sed integro plenoque consilio, recte tendente ad gratiarum actionem."

<sup>b</sup> LXX καὶ τριῶν πήχεων τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ. <sup>c</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>d</sup> διὰ τὸ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, cf. *De Somniis* ii. 14, where ἡδονή is compared with "the many-headed hydra" (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 588 c). In the present passage Philo seems to mean that the altar is just high enough to conceal the lower part of the priest's body.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "farthest."

<sup>f</sup> The Arm. uses two words for "counsellor."

<sup>g</sup> Aucher "malum consiliarium."

<sup>h</sup> Apparently the original was "may not be."

<sup>i</sup> τοῦ νοῦ. <sup>j</sup> λογισμοί: Aucher "consilia."

<sup>k</sup> αἱ ὑπηρετίδες αἰσθήσεις, cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 81 αἰσθησις . . . ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς νοῦν ὑπηρετίς οὐσα . . . αὐτοῦ.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>m</sup> τρίβολος (?) καὶ πυκνὸς καὶ πλήρης ἀριθμὸς: Aucher omits the first adjective (ptc. in Arm.) in rendering, "condensus plenusque numerus." For other mystical explanations of the number 3 see Staehle, pp. 25-26.

<sup>n</sup> Aucher "discerptum." I suspect that the Arm. translator has here misinterpreted διαστατόν "having dimensions" as "torn apart" or has confused διαστατόν with διάσπαστον.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

so He symbolically indicates <sup>a</sup> the height of the soul which sacrifices, thinking it right that this should be utterly and completely <sup>b</sup> crowded and full, not having in itself any desert-emptiness which might admit some evil or act of passion. <sup>c</sup> But bear in mind that when the dimensions of the altar are multiplied, (namely) five by five by three, the number seventy-five is produced, concerning which something has been said before. <sup>d</sup>

101. (Ex. xxvii. 2) Why does the altar have horns not attached from above <sup>e</sup> but united (to it) ? <sup>f</sup>

(This is) because it is not proper to sacrifice any of those (animals) which do not have horns, neither those which are offerings nor anything else. <sup>g</sup> Accordingly, those which are to be offered as sacrifices are the following three (kinds): the sheep, the ox and the goat. But beside these there are seven other (kinds permitted) for food : gazelle, deer, wild goat, buffalo, white-rumped antelope, oryx and giraffe <sup>h</sup> ;

<sup>a</sup> συμβολικῶς αἰνίττεται.

<sup>b</sup> πᾶσαν διὰ πάντων.

<sup>c</sup> πάθους.

<sup>d</sup> This may be a reference to Philo's lost book Περὶ Ἀριθμῶν, since there seems to be no reference to the number 75 either in the *Quaestiones* or in the extant Greek works of Philo.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "supercusa."

<sup>f</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τὰ κέρατα ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γωνιῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔσται τὰ κέρατα, καὶ καλύψεις αὐτὰ χαλκῶ. Philo stresses the words ἐξ αὐτοῦ and takes them to mean that the horns, as it were, grow out of the altar, see the last sentence of this section.

<sup>g</sup> The syntax of the last clause is not clear : Aucher " nec sacrificare neque alio modo offerre."

<sup>h</sup> δορκάς, ἔλαφος, τραγέλαφος, βούβαλος, πύγαργος, ὄρυξ, καμηλοπάρδαλις. This list is based upon Deut. xiv. 5, which names the same animals in slightly different order. In *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 105 Philo gives a list of ten kinds of animals (quadrupeds) permitted as food, consisting of the above seven plus the three kinds mentioned above (also in Deut. xiv. 4) as sacrificial animals, or rather the young males, the lamb, calf and kid.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

each of these has horns. For He wishes to specify <sup>a</sup> those (animals to be used) for food, for even though they are not to be offered as sacrifices, still they are similar to those which are to be sacrificed. Wherefore those who use them for need <sup>b</sup> will not offer anything opposed to or unworthy of or alien to a sacrifice. In the second place, the horns (of the altar) incline and face toward the four sides of the world, toward the east, toward the west, toward the south and toward the Dipper, <sup>c</sup> for it is proper that those who are in all parts (of the world) should all altogether bring their first-fruits and new (offerings) to this one altar, and sacrifice victims to God, the Father of the world. In the third place, (this is said) symbolically, <sup>d</sup> for in place of defensive weapons He has given a crop of horns to animals which grow horns. Just as the (animals) to be sacrificed, (namely) the ram, the ox and the goat, <sup>e</sup> repel their enemies with their horns, so also did He wish to rebuke the impious <sup>f</sup> who presume to offer sacrifices, by teaching that the divine Logos <sup>g</sup> opposes and repels the enemies of truth, goring every soul as if with horns and showing up in their nakedness its unclean and unworthy deeds, which a little while before it had been concealing. For these reasons the horns are not to be placed upon (the altar) from outside but by His command are to be united to the altar itself to extend it, <sup>h</sup> since sacrificial animals have their horns growing out of themselves.

102. (Ex. xxvii. 3) Why does He command all the vessels of the altar to be made of bronze? <sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "distinguere."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits the words "for need" in his rendering. <sup>c</sup> *i.e.* the north. <sup>d</sup> *συμβολικῶς.*

<sup>e</sup> Or "the calf and the kid": Aucher "taurus et hircus." Philo uses the name of the young animal interchangeably with that of the full-grown animal.

<sup>f</sup> *τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς.*

<sup>g</sup> *ὁ θεῖος λόγος*: Aucher "divinum verbum."

<sup>h</sup> See note *f* on p. 148.

<sup>i</sup> LXX (end of verse) *καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις χαλκῶ.*

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The altar is an altar of bloody offerings,<sup>a</sup> for men give thanks both by sacrificing victims and (by making) offerings of first fruits; and they offer new (portions) of grain together with fine flour,<sup>b</sup> and offerings of wine with oil, in which the fine flour is dipped and mixed,<sup>c</sup> and with a basket of fruit. And all these are of the species<sup>d</sup> of bronze and iron.<sup>e</sup> For gold belongs to incorporeal and intelligible things,<sup>f</sup> while silver belongs to the sense-perceptible heaven,<sup>g</sup> but second bronze<sup>h</sup> belongs to things of earth, where wars are made. For among the ancients bronze was the material of weapons of war. Homer indeed shows this in (his poem about) the Trojan war, introducing (characters) who used weapons of bronze before there was iron.

103. (Ex. xxvii. 20) <sup>i</sup> Why did He command that the

<sup>a</sup> *θυσιαστήριον ἐναίμων.* Here the Arm. uses two different words for "altar," *selan* and *bagin*, both of which sometimes render *βωμός*, sometimes *θυσιαστήριον*; in addition, *selan* sometimes renders *τράπεζα*. In Philo's passages on the altar of the Tabernacle in *QE* ii. 98 ff. the Arm. translator uses *bagin* as the more generic term, and *selan* to designate the altar of the Tabernacle.

<sup>b</sup> *σεμιδάλει.*

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "cui farina tincta immiscetur."

<sup>d</sup> *τοῦ γένους.*

<sup>e</sup> The Arm. glossator comments, "from where fruits are produced, (namely) the earth, from there come iron and bronze."

<sup>f</sup> *ἐν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς.* On the cosmic symbolism of gold see *QE* ii. 69, 73.

<sup>g</sup> *κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανόν.*

<sup>h</sup> I suspect that *erkrord*, the Arm. word for "second," is here a scribal error for *erkat* "iron." The original was probably "bronze and iron." The Arm. glossator adds "bronze is second to iron."

<sup>i</sup> The verses of Ex. xxvii (4-19) not commented on by Philo in this work describe the fittings of the altar and hangings of the pillars and gate of the tabernacle's court.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

oil in the lamps be (made) from olives and without sediment? <sup>a</sup>

He has ordained that it is not proper to bring near to the holy (place) anything foreign, <sup>b</sup> for He has considered as foreign the manufacture of oil <sup>c</sup> of other kinds, (namely) from sesame, from the date, from the nut or the like. Therefore, as the name shows, <sup>d</sup> the (oil made) from olives is appropriate and natural. <sup>e</sup> For the name *elaion* is given to every species (of oil), this being derived from *elaia*, and this conveys the true sense. <sup>f</sup> In the second place, every other (kind), although adulterated <sup>g</sup> with a mixture of other (ingredients) and crushed, is put into the class of olive-oil, whereas olive-oil is distinct by itself, for the olive, when pressed, distils (oil), just as the fruit of the vine makes wine without any admixture. Excellent, moreover, is (His saying) "without sediment" and that the preparation is to be of pure and refined material, for it was fitting and appropriate that everything in the holy (place) should be luminous and shining, especially the oil prepared for the light, since it was of a very pure substance and, in a way, <sup>h</sup> without sediment. For what among existing things can be found more refined and luminous than light? What is more, it illuminates other things, but first of all itself. There you have the literal meaning. <sup>i</sup> But the symbolical meaning <sup>j</sup> of light is wisdom, <sup>k</sup> through which all things

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ σὺ σύνταξον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ λαβέτωσάν σοι ἔλαιον ἐξ ἐλαιῶν ἄτρυγον καθαρὸν (Heb. "pure olive-oil") κεκομμένον εἰς φῶς καῦσαι ἵνα κήγται λύχνος διὰ παντός.

<sup>b</sup> The negative seems to be misplaced in the Arm. which reads lit. "anything foreign not has He ordained that it is proper, etc.": Aucher "alienum quidquam non ordinavit, etc."

<sup>c</sup> τὴν ἐλαιουργίαν.  
<sup>d</sup> ἔλαιον "oil" from ἐλαία "olive," as Philo explains in the next sentence.

<sup>e</sup> οἰκείον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν.  
<sup>f</sup> ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν κυριολογεῖται.

<sup>g</sup> Arm. *pitaceal* "being in need" is prob. to be emended to *pitakaceal* "being adulterated": Aucher "studiose usurpata."

<sup>h</sup> τρόπον τινά: Aucher "quasi."

<sup>i</sup> τὸ ῥήτόν. <sup>j</sup> τὸ συμβολικόν.

<sup>k</sup> σοφία.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

in nature are known,<sup>a</sup> while olive-oil is the material and preparation of wisdom. Such are numbers, geometry, musical art, school studies,<sup>b</sup> the pursuit of philosophy<sup>c</sup> and, in first place, the discipline of the virtuous man,<sup>d</sup> and these have nothing like sediment in them.

104. (Ex. xxvii. 21c) <sup>e</sup> Why does He command that the lamps burn "from evening until morning" <sup>f</sup>?

(He does so) not in order that they may provide light for those who are within (the holy place)—for who was in the holy (place) within the veil? <sup>g</sup>—no one at all remained within—, but because the lamps are symbols of the light-bearing stars.<sup>h</sup> Now the stars shine from evening until morning, serving in the necessary service of the whole world.<sup>i</sup> And He thought it fitting to make the lamps bear a resemblance to the chorus of heavenly stars from evening until morning.<sup>j</sup>

\*105. (Ex. xxvii. 21b) <sup>k</sup> Why does He command Aaron and his sons to light the lamps? <sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> πάντα γινώσκειται ὅσα ἐν τῇ φύσει ἐστί.

<sup>b</sup> τὰ ἐγκύκλια, cf. QG iii. 19, 21.

<sup>c</sup> ἡ τῆς φιλοσοφίας σπουδή.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ τοῦ σπουδαίου παιδεία vel sim.: Aucher "honesta disciplina."

<sup>e</sup> According to the order of the three parts of vs. 21 in LXX and Heb., § 104 should come after § 105, and the latter after § 106.

<sup>f</sup> LXX καύσει . . . ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἕως πρωῆ ἐναντίον κυρίου.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. within the Holy of Holies, see below, § 106.

<sup>h</sup> τῶν φωσφόρων ἀστέρων εἰσὶν οἱ λύχνοι σύμβολα.

<sup>i</sup> τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπηρεσίαν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου. Philo uses the phrase ἀναγκαία ὑπηρεσία in *De Sacr. Abelis* 98 and *Quod Omnis Probus* 142.

<sup>j</sup> The above is one of three allegorical explanations of the verse given in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 296-298.

<sup>k</sup> This section belongs after § 106 and before § 104, see note *e* above.

<sup>l</sup> LXX καύσει (Heb. "shall put in order") αὐτὸν Ἰααρὼν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

He represented <sup>a</sup> Aaron as one possessed by God and by the prophetic spirit, <sup>b</sup> (thereby) rebuking and shaming <sup>c</sup> the indolence <sup>d</sup> of the high priests after him, who because of negligence entrusted the performance of the holy service to second and third (assistants), <sup>e</sup> since they themselves did not feel inexpressible pleasure in carrying out all (forms) of the ministerial service. For there is nothing more delightful or pleasant or seemly or noble <sup>f</sup> than to be a servant to God, which surpasses the greatest kingship. <sup>g</sup> And it seems to me that the early kings were at the same time high priests who by their acts showed that those who rule over others should themselves be servants in ministering to God. <sup>h</sup>

106. (Ex. xxvii. 21a) <sup>i</sup> Why does He say that they shall

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "accepted": Aucher "suscepit." Apparently the Arm. translator has confused *παραδεικνύναι* with *παραδέχεσθαι*.

<sup>b</sup> ἐνθουσιῶντα (οἱ ἐπιθειάζοντα) καὶ μετὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher renders the two participles by the single word "reprehendens."

<sup>d</sup> τὸν ὀκνον: Aucher "negligentiam."

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Wolfson, *Philo*, ii. p. 344 "The reference is undoubtedly to the actual practice in the Temple of Jerusalem, as Philo himself observed it there, of assigning the task of lighting the perpetual lamp to one of the subordinate priests by means of lots." Wolfson cites Mishnah, *Tamid* iii. 1, 9 and *Yoma* ii. 3.

<sup>f</sup> The four Arm. adjectives are prob. doublets of the two Greek ones, see next note.

<sup>g</sup> The Greek frag., which begins here, reads slightly more briefly οὐδὲν οὔτε ἥδιον οὔτε σεμνότερον ἢ θεῷ δουλεύειν, ὁ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην βασιλείαν ὑπερβάλλει.

<sup>h</sup> Slightly different (see end of this note) is the reading of the last part of the Greek frag., καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτοι βασιλεῖς ἅμα καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς γενέσθαι, δηλοῦντες ἔργοις ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων δεσπόζοντας δουλεύειν τοῖς λατρεύουσι θεῷ. The Arm. translator apparently read *δουλεύειν λατρεύοντας*.

<sup>i</sup> This section should come before § 105 and § 104, see notes to the latter.



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

light the lamps " outside the veil which is over the covenant " ? <sup>a</sup>

May it not be because the things within (the veil) were incorporeal and intelligible <sup>b</sup> and had no need of sense-perceptible light, <sup>c</sup> for they were themselves their own light and more luminous stars than those which are seen ? But the one within the veil He calls " of testimony," <sup>d</sup> symbolically indicating <sup>e</sup> that the covenant of God is the only true one, and that those which (men) write in testaments <sup>f</sup> are permanent and secure in themselves and are similar. <sup>g</sup> And this is the measure of all things in common, the ideas and intelligible forms. <sup>h</sup> Now external things are also secure but still not in the same way, since they have a sense-perceptible and changeable nature and do not have

<sup>a</sup> LXX ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου (Heb. " of meeting ") ἔξωθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διαθήκης (" the testimony ") καύσει κτλ. Scripture here refers to the veil between " the holy place " and the Holy of Holies in which " the ark of testimony " (*i.e.* the covenant) stood. In *De Spec. Leg.* i. 296 Philo, in dealing with this verse, speaks of the lampstand being " within " (εἴσω) the veil. If the text there is sound, it would seem that he thinks of two lampstands, one within the veil, the other outside, but see below, note *d*.

<sup>b</sup> ἀσώματα καὶ νοητά.

<sup>c</sup> αἰσθητοῦ φωτός.

<sup>d</sup> The syntax and meaning are obscure : Aucher " quod autem internum velum testimonii vocat." Among other things it is not clear whether Philo here refers to another lampstand within the veil or to the ark within the veil. That he refers to the *veil* as a " veil of testimony " seems rather doubtful.

<sup>e</sup> συμβολικῶς αἰνιττόμενος.

<sup>f</sup> The word διαθήκη has in Scripture the meaning " covenant " as well as the secular meaning " testament."

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* similar to the covenant associated with the ark in the Holy of Holies.

<sup>h</sup> The last two nouns are nom. plurals but their syntactic relation to the preceding nouns is not clear. The general idea, however, seems to be that all the parts of the world are kept in order by a sort of covenant, which is the work of the Logos, see, *e.g.*, *QE* ii. 90.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

permanence in themselves as do incorporeal things, and they make use of external bonds, some of which are in themselves altogether eternal, but others only dissolve during long periods.

\*107. (Ex. xxviii. 2) Why does He say that they shall make a sacred stole <sup>a</sup> for the high priest "for honour and glory <sup>b</sup> " <sup>c</sup> ?

These statements are (made) about the radiant and sumptuous ankle-length stole,<sup>d</sup> not about the linen (garment),<sup>e</sup> for the latter is made not "for honour and glory" but for still greater and more perfect honour and glory. For he <sup>f</sup> wears it when he enters the innermost Holy of Holies, whereas (he wears) the ankle-length (garment) when he performs the service outside in the manner of the sense-perceptible world <sup>g</sup> before man, among whom precious things <sup>h</sup> are considered matters of glory. But those things which are in truth (glorious), being unkempt and unbeautified and adorned (only) by nature, are honoured by the Father. But may it not be that "honour" is to be distinguished from "glory" ? For glory is the

<sup>a</sup> Philo here as elsewhere (*e.g. De Ebrietate* 85) uses *στολή* in the generic sense of "garment," as does LXX.

<sup>b</sup> Farther on in this section Philo interprets *τιμή* as "price" rather than "honour," and *δόξα* as "opinion" rather than "glory."

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις στολήν ἁγίαν Ἰααρὼν τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου εἰς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν. Philo treats the cosmic symbolism of the high priest's garments at some length (and somewhat differently) in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 109-135 and *De Spec. Leg.* i. 84-97.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the robe which Philo calls *ὑποδύτης* in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 109, and *ποδήρης χιτῶν* in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 85, *cf.* Ex. xxviii. 4 where LXX has *ποδήρη χιτῶνα κοσμηβωτόν*.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* the *χιτῶν λινοῦς*, *cf.* *De Spec. Leg.* i. 84.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* the high priest.

<sup>g</sup> *κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον* (possibly, however, *κόσμον* here = "array").

<sup>h</sup> *τίμια*, meaning both "honoured" and "expensive."

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being praised by men, while honour is the being received among those who are truly <sup>a</sup> most honourable; and most honourable are divine matters,<sup>b</sup> so that when the high priest is arrayed in the ankle-length (garment), there is a participation <sup>c</sup> in two things, (namely) in proud dignity before God,<sup>d</sup> and in a favourable reception <sup>e</sup> among men. That is the literal meaning.<sup>f</sup> But this is the deeper meaning.<sup>g</sup> The ankle-length (garment) is a symbol<sup>h</sup> of that which is woven of many and various things. But "glory,"<sup>i</sup> as the ancient saying has it, is false opinion, and insecure opinion is by itself alone incomplete.<sup>j</sup> But if opinion is mixed with truth, it becomes true opinion,<sup>k</sup> being converted to honourableness.<sup>l</sup> Accordingly, He wishes to show that the life of the wicked man belongs to opinion, being dominated by and dependent upon <sup>m</sup> false opinion, while (the life) of the wise man and true high priest <sup>n</sup> is honourable because it is productive of truth, by which he changes and adapts falsehood to his better nature.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ὄντως.

<sup>b</sup> θεῖα πράγματα *vel sim.*

<sup>c</sup> κοινωνία.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "venerationis apud Deum gloriosae." The exact meaning is not clear, partly because the Arm. adj. *xrowtali*, here rendered "proud," usually means "boastful" or "arrogant," partly because the force of the prep. *αρ*, here rendered "before," is uncertain. However, the original of the last three words was prob. τῆς περὶ θεὸν σεμνότητος.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher "securae susceptionis."

<sup>f</sup> τὸ ῥητόν.

<sup>g</sup> τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

<sup>h</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>i</sup> δόξα, here meaning "opinion."

<sup>j</sup> The Greek frag., consisting of only one sentence, reads more briefly δόξα, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ψευδὴς ἐστὶ ὑπόληψις καὶ δόκησις ἀβέβαιος.

<sup>k</sup> ἀληθὴς δόξα (or ὑπόληψις): Aucher "certa opinio."

<sup>l</sup> τιμιότητα: Aucher "honorabile (*vel*, pretiosum)."

<sup>m</sup> Aucher "pendens acprehendens."

<sup>n</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ ὄντως ἀρχιερέως.

<sup>o</sup> εἰς τὴν βελτίονα φύσιν *vel sim.*

## EXODUS, BOOK II

108. (Ex. xxviii. 7) <sup>a</sup> Why are the two shoulder-pieces, <sup>b</sup> which are joined together, attached in two parts? <sup>c</sup>

The shoulder-pieces <sup>d</sup> designate serious labours, <sup>e</sup> for they are a part of the sacred garment, and sacred things are serious. <sup>f</sup> And there are two <sup>g</sup> forms of labour: one is the desire of pleasing <sup>h</sup> God, and of piety <sup>i</sup>; the other is being beneficent to men, which is called kindness and love of man. <sup>j</sup> He therefore exhorts (us) to devote ourselves to every labour and to put our shoulders to it. <sup>k</sup> The theologian <sup>l</sup> wishes (these) two things to be known in order that what has been said in another place <sup>m</sup> may be confirmed by deeds, (namely) "With God thou wast strong

<sup>a</sup> In vss. 3-6 (on which see *De Vita Mosis* ii. 111-126, of which *QE* ii. 108 is only a partial parallel) Scripture names the high priest's garments and specifies the colours of the ephod.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* of the ephod. LXX uses the word ἐπωμῖς both of the ephod and of each shoulder-piece, while Heb. uses a different word for the latter (*kātēph*, lit. "shoulder"). Philo seems to be following Heb. in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 111-112, where he calls the ephod ἐπωμῖς, and the shoulder-pieces ἀκρόμια, see below, note *d*.

<sup>c</sup> LXX δύο ἐπωμίδες συνέχουσαι ἔσονται αὐτῶ ἐτέρα τὴν ἐτέραν, ἐπὶ τοῖς δυοῖ μέρεσιν (Heb. "ends": A.V. "edges") ἐξηρητισμέναι.

<sup>d</sup> Since the Arm. noun *grapank'*, a plural form, is followed by the verb in the singular number, it is probable that it renders the Greek neuter plural ἀκρόμια, see above, note *b*.

<sup>e</sup> Prob. ἔργα σπουδαῖα: Aucher "labores honestos."

<sup>f</sup> The two Arm. adjectives used here prob. render the single Greek adj. σπουδαῖα: Aucher "honesta et studium merentia."

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "two twofold."

<sup>h</sup> Or "serving": Aucher "placitum."

<sup>i</sup> εὐσεβείας.

<sup>j</sup> χρηστότης καὶ φιλανθρωπία.

<sup>k</sup> A play on ἐπωμῖς and ἐπ' ὤμοις φέρειν *vel sim.*, cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 130 τὸν γὰρ ὤμον ἐνεργείας καὶ πράξεως ποιεῖται σύμβολον.

<sup>l</sup> ὁ θεολόγος, *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>m</sup> *i.e.* of Scripture.

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and with men thou shalt have power.”<sup>a</sup> But of the two shoulder-pieces one must be on the right, and the other on the left. Now the one on the right was given its place for the sake of pleasing God—a labour worthy of zeal, while that on the left (was given its place) for the sake of helpfulness to men and for kindness of thought concerning them.<sup>b</sup>

109. (Ex. xxviii. 9-12) What are the two emerald stones, in which are inscribed the names of the twelve patriarchs?<sup>c</sup>

In each of them are six impressions,<sup>d</sup> of the two hemispheres,<sup>e</sup> of that above the earth and of that below the earth. As evidence of this statement there are three things to cite. One is their shape, for the stones are round, just as the hemispheres are. The second is their colour, for the emerald is similar to the heaven in colour. The third is the number (of the names) engraved in them, for in each of the hemispheres there happen to be six zodiacal signs,<sup>f</sup> some of them above the earth, and some below the earth, (and) the halves of the zodiac<sup>g</sup> give light. And rightly did He call the inscribing “impressions,”<sup>h</sup> for all the immobile stars in the zodiac are types and type-

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxii. 29 (explaining the name “Israel”), ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός (Heb. “thou hast striven with God and with men, and thou hast prevailed”).

<sup>b</sup> Aucher “et suavitatem apud istos opinionis (vel, aestimationis).”

<sup>c</sup> ΙΧΧ καὶ λήμψη τοὺς δύο λίθους, λίθους σμαράγδου (A.V. “two onyx stones”), καὶ γλύψεις ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. ἐξ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἕνα καὶ τὰ ἐξ ὀνόματα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν δεύτερον . . . γλύμμα σφραγίδος διαγλύψεις τοὺς δύο λίθους, κτλ.

<sup>d</sup> σφραγίδες: Aucher “sigilli.”

<sup>e</sup> τῶν δυοῖν ἡμισφαιρίων, symbolized by the two sets of six names. The threefold cosmic symbolism of the two stones is discussed by Philo in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 122-123 and more briefly in *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 176.

<sup>f</sup> ζῳδία.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ ζωοφόρου.

<sup>h</sup> Referring to ΙΧΧ γλύμμα σφραγίδος.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

impressions,<sup>a</sup> while the sublunary (bodies)<sup>b</sup> are in movement.

110. (Ex. xxviii. 15)<sup>c</sup> What is the Logeion,<sup>d</sup> and why does He call it "of judgments," and why is the Logeion made after the texture of the shoulder-piece<sup>e</sup> ?<sup>f</sup>

As its very name shows, it is a symbol of *logos*.<sup>g</sup> And *logos* is double (in meaning); one (meaning) is that found in natural thoughts,<sup>h</sup> and the other is "utterance."<sup>i</sup> And it is the principle<sup>j</sup> of judgments, since everything is determined and distinguished by *logos*—intelligible things<sup>k</sup> by that (*logos*) which is in natural thoughts, and sounds by (the *logos* of) differentiated speech.<sup>l</sup> Most

<sup>a</sup> The Arm. lit. = *τύποι καὶ τυπωθεῖσαι σφραγίδες*: Aucher "normae ac typi sunt ut sigilli." <sup>b</sup> τὰ μετὰ σελήνην.

<sup>c</sup> In vss. 13-14, passed over here, Scripture mentions the gold clasps (A.V. "ouches") and gold chains attached to the high priest's garment.

<sup>d</sup> So Philo elsewhere (see below) spells *lxx* *λόγιον*.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* the ephod; the Arm. translator has taken *lxx* *ἐπωμῖς* in the sense of "shoulder-piece" (of the ephod) instead of the ephod itself, see *QE* ii. 108, note *b*.

<sup>f</sup> *lxx* καὶ ποιήσεις *λόγιον τῶν κρίσεων* (Heb. "ornament (?) of judgment"; A.V. "breastplate of judgment"), *ἔργον ποικιλτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ῥυθμὸν* (Heb. "work" or "workmanship") *τῆς ἐπωμίδος* (Heb. "ephod") *ποιήσεις αὐτό· ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ὑακίνθου, κτλ.* Philo allegorizes the Logeion similarly in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 112-115, 127-130, *cf. De Spec. Leg.* i. 87-88 (see also *QE* ii. 112-114).

<sup>g</sup> *λόγον σύμβολον, cf. De Spec. Leg.* i. 88 *καλεῖται λογεῖον ἐτύμως ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα λόγοις καὶ ἀναλογίαις δεδημιούργηται.*

<sup>h</sup> ἐν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως λογισμοῖς *vel sim.*; Aucher "in naturae consiliis." In *De Vita Mosis* ii. 128 Philo speaks of ὁ τῆς φύσεως *λόγος*. The reference is to the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*, as the Stoics called thinking or reason.

<sup>i</sup> Another Stoic term, the *λόγος προφορικός* or speech, often referred to by Philo. Both terms occur in the parallel, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 129.

<sup>j</sup> *λόγος* again: Aucher "verbum." <sup>k</sup> τὰ νοητά.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "vocalia autem sermone privato."

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excellently, moreover, is its workmanship said to be "after the texture of the shoulder-piece," for one ought to form and adorn one's words by deeds (as if) fitting them together,<sup>a</sup> for everything without workmanship <sup>b</sup> is imperfect and lame.

111. (Ex. xxviii. 16) Why is the Logeion <sup>c</sup> square and twofold and a span <sup>d</sup> in length and a span in breadth? <sup>e</sup>

The Logeion is twofold, in the first place because it has two *logoi* <sup>f</sup>; one, which has the force of a spring, is in natural thoughts, and the other, (namely) utterance, is an effluence thereof.<sup>g</sup> And the latter is twofold, inclining partly to truth and partly to falsehood. And in the second place, (it is twofold) because the mind sees two (kinds of object), divine and mortal. And the voice <sup>h</sup> attempts to be adorned by these two,<sup>i</sup> in interpreting both of them. And the Logeion is square symbolically,<sup>j</sup> for the *logos* should be stable and immobile in all respects and not

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "texendo." Philo means that words and deeds are to be fitted together like threads in a texture.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "working."

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* the high priest's "breastplate of judgment," see *QE* ii. 110.

<sup>d</sup> Arm. *ἑῖς* renders both *σπιθαμή* (as here in LXX) and *παλαστή*, which is one-third of the *σπιθαμή*, see notes *b* and *c* on p. 161.

<sup>e</sup> LXX *τετράγωνον ἔσται, διπλοῦν σπιθαμῆς τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ καὶ σπιθαμῆς τὸ εὖρος*. The symbolism of the breastplate is discussed by Philo, in part as here, in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 127-130.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* (reason) and the *λόγος προφορικός* (speech), see next note.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 127 *ὁ μὲν οἶά τις πηγῆ, ὁ δὲ γεγωνῶς ἀπ' ἐκείνου ῥέων*. The phrase "in natural thoughts" corresponds to *ὁ τῆς φύσεως λόγος* in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 127-129, cf. *QE* ii. 110.

<sup>h</sup> Or "speech."

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "et vox his duabus exornari nititur." The sense is not clear, but the original prob. meant that speech attempts to be in harmony with nature and the mind.

<sup>j</sup> *συμβολικῶς*.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

waver,<sup>a</sup> whether in thought or in interpreting by tongue and mouth. And its length is a span and its breadth a span<sup>b</sup> for the reason that the span is a sixth part of a cubit,<sup>c</sup> for the cubit is of six spans, so that it is one-sixth in length and breadth. And this symbol gives this kind of appearance.<sup>d</sup> And the mind<sup>e</sup> is one and is a uniter of different intelligibles,<sup>f</sup> as if a harmony of these same things. And the uttered *logos*<sup>g</sup> is one, and again is similarly the uniter of different intelligibles, (namely) of letters into syllables, of syllables into words, and of many words into compositions and long discourses.<sup>h</sup> For what is vastly and diffusely extended in these is held together by natural bonds.<sup>i</sup> And the mind too has length and breadth, for it is extended and prolonged to all intelligibles in apprehension, just as speech<sup>j</sup> (has) both (dimensions), for this too is amplified in length and breadth in accordance with the words uttered.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 128 σχῆμα δ' ἀπέειπεν ὁ τεχνίτης τετράγωνον τῷ λογείῳ, πάνυ καλῶς αἰνιττόμενος ὡς χρῆ καὶ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βεβηκέναι πάντη καὶ κατὰ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν κραδαίνεσθαι.

<sup>b</sup> Arm. *k'îl*, like *t'îz* (see note *d* on p. 160), renders both *σπιθαμή* and *παλαστή*.

<sup>c</sup> Philo must here be using *σπιθαμή* as the equivalent of *παλαστή*, unless he is following a system of measurement different from the one used by other Greek writers. The latter commonly reckons the cubit (*πήχυς*) as = six palms (*παλασταί*) and twenty-four fingers (*δάκτυλοι*), whereas the span (*σπιθαμή*) = twelve fingers. Thus it is the palm, not the span, which is one-sixth of a cubit.

<sup>d</sup> Aucher "symbolum autem hujusmodi praestat argumentum." The sense is not clear. <sup>e</sup> ὁ νοῦς.

<sup>f</sup> ἐνωτικὸς διαφόρων νοητῶν.

<sup>g</sup> ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος.

<sup>h</sup> στοιχείων . . . συλλαβῶν . . . λέξεων εἰς συνθέσεις καὶ μακρολογίας.

<sup>i</sup> φυσικοῖς ἀρμόττεται δεσμοῖς: Aucher "per naturalia adaptatur ligamina." <sup>j</sup> λόγος.

<sup>k</sup> κατὰ τοὺς προφορικοὺς λόγους *vel sim.* Aucher renders freely, "secundum sermonum varietatem atque vastitatem."



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

112. (Ex. xxviii. 17-20a) Why is there on the Logeion <sup>a</sup> a texture <sup>b</sup> of four rows, and in each row are three (precious) stones placed? <sup>c</sup>

The four rows are an indication of the four seasons of the year,<sup>d</sup> each of which consists of an element.<sup>e</sup> And the three stones are symbolically <sup>f</sup> three months, into which each season is divided.<sup>g</sup> For the zodiac consists of twelve constellations <sup>h</sup> divided into four (seasons) of the year, through which the sun revolves and produces the seasons of the year through the three constellations.<sup>i</sup> And there is a "texture" since all the seasons happen to hasten to one end, inasmuch as the fullness of all (the seasons), which are woven together, is summed up <sup>j</sup> in the year. The passage also contains a certain description of character.<sup>k</sup> Each of the four virtues <sup>l</sup> consists of an element of three things,<sup>m</sup> (namely) habit, the thing had and having,<sup>n</sup> just as is the case with the senses,<sup>o</sup> for example, sight and the

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the high priest's "breastplate of judgment," see *QE* ii. 110.

<sup>b</sup> ὕφασμα, as in *LXX* (see next note) = Heb. "setting."

<sup>c</sup> *LXX* καὶ καθυφανεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ὕφασμα κατάλιθον τετράστιχον, κτλ. (there follow the names of the twelve precious stones, three in each of the four rows). The passage is cited in *Leg. All.* i. 81-82, and explained partly as here, *i.e.* as symbolical of the zodiac, in *De Fuga* 184-185 and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 124-126.

<sup>d</sup> μήνυμα τῶν τεττάρων ἐτησίων ὥρων.

<sup>e</sup> ὧν ἐκάστη <*sc.* ὥρα> ἐκ στοιχείου συνέστη *vel sim.* : Aucher "quorum singula <*sc.* tempora> singula elementa sortita sunt." The "element" here refers to a moral element, see below.

<sup>f</sup> συμβολικῶς.

<sup>g</sup> Slightly emending the Arm. text, which reads "which are divided into the several seasons" and is so rendered by Aucher.

<sup>h</sup> ὁ γὰρ ζωφόρος συνέστη ἐκ δώδεκα ζωδίων.

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* of each season.

<sup>j</sup> κεφαλαιοῦται *vel sim.* : Aucher "reducitur."

<sup>k</sup> ἡθοποιῶν τινά, *cf.* *QE* ii. 76.

<sup>l</sup> ἀρετῶν.

<sup>m</sup> *i.e.* has three aspects.

<sup>n</sup> ἔξεως (in the sense of "state of being") καὶ τοῦ ἔχομένου καὶ τοῦ ἔχειν : Aucher "habitudine, habendo et habere."

<sup>o</sup> αἱ αἰσθήσεις.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

thing seen and seeing, and again, audition and the thing heard and hearing. And similarly (there is) knowledge <sup>a</sup> and the thing known and knowing, just as (there is) moderation <sup>b</sup> and the thing moderated and moderating. And again (there is) courage <sup>c</sup> and the thing courageously done and having courage, which is more commonly called "being manly." <sup>d</sup> The same applies to justice <sup>e</sup> and the just act and having justice, which is called "acting justly." <sup>f</sup>

113. (Ex. xxviii. 20b) Why is each of the rows <sup>g</sup> covered and bound with gold? <sup>h</sup>

Thus it is with the four rows which make up <sup>i</sup> the annual seasons in the zodiac. <sup>j</sup> Each (row) has ether <sup>k</sup> around it, setting off the three <sup>l</sup> and, again, bringing them together

<sup>a</sup> Arm. *gitout'ion* usu. = *γνώσις* or *ἐπιστήμη*, but here perhaps *φρόνησις*, which Philo usually includes among the four cardinal virtues, as enumerated by Plato and the Stoics. Aucher here renders, "scientia."

<sup>b</sup> *σωφροσύνη*.

<sup>c</sup> *ἀνδρεία*.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps *ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι*: Aucher "fortificari."

<sup>e</sup> *δικαιοσύνη*.

<sup>f</sup> *δικαιοπραγεῖν*: Aucher "justificari (*δικαιοπραγία*, actio justa)."

<sup>g</sup> *i.e.* the four rows of precious stones in the high priest's "breastplate of judgment" (Logeion), each of which contained three stones.

<sup>h</sup> LXX *περικεκαλυμμένα* (*v.l.* *περικεκλωσμένα*) *χρυσίῳ* καὶ *συνδεδεμένα ἐν* (*v.l.* *om. ἐν*) *χρυσίῳ, ἐστῶσαν κατὰ στίχον αὐτῶν*. Heb. reads more briefly "they shall be woven (*i.e.* "attached") with gold to their settings."

<sup>i</sup> Lit. "complete": Aucher "perficiunt."

<sup>j</sup> *τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἐν τῷ ζωδιακῷ <κύκλῳ>*, cf. *De Vita Moysis* ii. 124-126, *QE* ii. 112 notes. <sup>k</sup> *αἰθέρα*.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher amplifies slightly in rendering, "distinguentem tres alios." "The three" seems to mean three constellations. Perhaps, however, it means the three divisions of the year, cf. *QG* iii. 3, where Philo counts the two equinoxes as one to make up, with the two solstices, "three cycles" of the sun each year.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

with one another. For not only do those stars adhere to one another which are near the termination,<sup>a</sup> when a season terminates and the following one begins, but, as I have said, there is between them an intervening space and interval of clear and pure ether, which surrounds<sup>b</sup> the three and binds (them) with gold, in the likeness of which the ether is represented because of its precious substance.<sup>c</sup>

114. (Ex. xxviii. 21) Why are the stones<sup>d</sup> named after the phylarchs,<sup>e</sup> having seal-engravings of their names?<sup>f</sup>

Because the twelve stones are representations of the twelve animals which are in the zodiac,<sup>g</sup> and are a symbol<sup>h</sup> of the twelve phylarchs, whose names He cuts and engraves in them, wishing to make them stars<sup>i</sup> and, in a certain sense,<sup>j</sup> to apportion one constellation<sup>k</sup> to each, or rather (to make) each patriarch<sup>l</sup> himself become a constellation (and) heavenly image in order that the tribal leaders and patriarchs may not go about on the earth like mortals but

<sup>a</sup> *πέρας vel sim.*: Aucher "terminum." Here it seems to mean one of the seasonal divisions such as a solstice or equinox.

<sup>b</sup> Correcting the Arm. which lit.= "has around itself," see above.

<sup>c</sup> *διὰ τὴν τιμίαν (vel sim.) οὐσίαν*: Aucher "propter nobilem essentiam."

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the twelve precious stones of the high priest's breastplate (the Logeion), representing the twelve tribes of Israel.

<sup>e</sup> *ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλάρχων.*

<sup>f</sup> *LXX καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἔστωσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραὴλ δέκα δύο (v.l. δώδεκα) κατὰ τὰ ὀνόματα (v.l. τὰς γενέσεις) αὐτῶν γλυφαὶ σφραγίδων ἕκαστος (v.l. ἐκάστου) κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα ἔστωσαν εἰς δέκα δύο (v.l. δώδεκα) φυλάς.*

<sup>g</sup> *τῶν ἐν τῷ ζωοφόρῳ.*

<sup>h</sup> *σύμβολον.*

<sup>i</sup> *ἀστροποιεῖν vid.* (the Arm. is a factitive-denominative verb derived from *astl* = *ἄστρον*): Aucher "stellas reddere."

<sup>j</sup> *τρόπον τινά*: Aucher "quasi."

<sup>k</sup> *ζώδιον*: Aucher "signum."

<sup>l</sup> *πατριάρχην.*

## EXODUS, BOOK II

become heavenly plants<sup>a</sup> and move about in the ether,<sup>b</sup> being firmly established there. And He says that their names are "seals,"<sup>c</sup> (that is) something unchangeable and unalterable, which always remains in the same likeness. For just as the seal, while stamping many substances with its designs, itself remains imperishable<sup>d</sup> and unchangeable and, while giving a share of its own possession of designs to many other (substances), is not at all affected by anything,<sup>e</sup> so also has He seen fit to immortalize each of the patriarchs as (an ideal) form<sup>f</sup> and make him eternal, so as not to be affected by any accident but, while changing and moving, to be confirmed in the virtues<sup>g</sup> which are similar to the tribe<sup>h</sup> and are apportioned to the (various) ranks of the nation.

115. (Ex. xxviii. 26b [Heb. 30b])<sup>i</sup> Why is the Logeion,<sup>j</sup> on which were the names,<sup>k</sup> upon the breast of the high priest when he enters the sanctuary?<sup>l</sup>

The breast is the place of the heart, and it is there that

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Deterius* 85 φυτὸν οὐράνιον ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον εἰργάσατο.

<sup>c</sup> σφραγίδες.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν αἰθέρι.

<sup>d</sup> ἄφθαρτος.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* is not affected by the material upon which it is pressed.

<sup>f</sup> ἀθανατίζειν . . . ὡς εἶδος (or ἰδέαν): Aucher "tamquam formam immortalitate donare."

<sup>g</sup> τὰς ἀρετὰς.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "quae imitantur tribum."

<sup>i</sup> This section belongs after § 116 according to the order of Scripture.

<sup>j</sup> The high priest's breastplate, see *QE* ii. 110 ff.

<sup>k</sup> Of the twelve tribes, engraved on the precious stones of the breastplate.

<sup>l</sup> LXX καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους (Heb. "heart") Ἰσραὴλ ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐναντίον κυρίου (Heb. "in his entering before YHWH") καὶ οἴσει Ἰσραὴλ τὰς κρίσεις (Heb. "the judgment") τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους (Heb. "his heart") ἐναντίον κυρίου διὰ παντός. Philo quotes this passage in part in *Leg. All.* iii. 118-119 (reading εἰσέρχεται for εἰσπορεύηται).

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anger <sup>a</sup> dwells, and anger especially has need of the controlling and directing reason. <sup>b</sup> For when it <sup>c</sup> is left without a controller and director, it is borne hither and thither in confusion and tossed about as though by stormy waves, and overturns the entire soul like a ship without ballast, <sup>d</sup> the body being overturned with it. Moreover, it is with care and cautiousness that He says not that the Logeion is to be upon his breast always but (only) when he enters the sanctuary. For the sanctuary is the place of piety and holiness and every virtue, <sup>e</sup> and when the mind <sup>f</sup> reaches this, it altogether acquires perfect reason, <sup>g</sup> which controls and directs and seizes the reins so as to restrain the passions, <sup>h</sup> especially anger, <sup>i</sup> which is wont to be refractory toward it.

116. (Ex. xxviii. 26a [Heb. 30a]) <sup>j</sup> Why are the Revelation and Truth <sup>k</sup> placed upon the Logeion? <sup>l</sup>

Because the reason <sup>m</sup> in it is twofold, one residing in thought, and the other uttered and revealed. <sup>n</sup> And

<sup>a</sup> θυμός.

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "rationis regentis et temporantis," cf. *Leg. All.*

iii. 118 ήνίοχον και κυβερνήτην . . . τόν λόγον .

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the heart.

<sup>d</sup> ανεργάτιστον: Aucher "basi carentem."

<sup>e</sup> θεοσεβείας και αγιότητος και πάσης ἀρετῆς.

<sup>f</sup> ό νοῦς or ή διάνοια. <sup>g</sup> τέλειον λόγον. <sup>h</sup> τὰ πάθη.

<sup>i</sup> Aucher "cupiditates," but Arm. *srtmtout'iu* = θυμός, not ἐπιθυμία.

<sup>j</sup> According to the order of Scripture this section should come before § 115.

<sup>k</sup> These abstract nouns denote the Urim and Thummim, the oracular device attached to the high priest's breastplate. Philo usually calls them δήλωσις και ἀλήθεια, following LXX, but sometimes σαφήνεια και ἀλήθεια. For other references to them see *Leg. All.* iii. 132, 140, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 113, 128-129 and *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 69.

<sup>l</sup> LXX και ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν και τὴν ἀλήθειαν. <sup>m</sup> ό λόγος.

<sup>n</sup> i.e. the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος (reflexion) and the λόγος προφορικός (utterance), see next note.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

rightly did He apportion the two virtues, (one) to each of them, (namely) truth to that (form of reason) which is in thought, and revelation to that which is uttered.<sup>a</sup> For the mind of the virtuous man ought not to consider anything to be more appropriate or more related <sup>b</sup> to it than truth,<sup>c</sup> which one must with all power endeavour to find, while speech has no greater necessity than to reveal (things) clearly by making plain in clear speech what is signified.<sup>d</sup>

\*117. (Ex. xxviii. 27 [Heb. 31]) Why is the double <sup>e</sup> hyacinthine stole <sup>f</sup> called "undergarment" <sup>g</sup> ? <sup>h</sup>

They say that since the hyacinthine stole is a symbol <sup>i</sup> of the air, because the air is almost black,<sup>j</sup> it was rightly called "undergarment," since it was under <sup>k</sup> the garment which was upon his breast,<sup>l</sup> for the air is placed below heaven and the ether.<sup>m</sup> But I wonder at and am struck with

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 129 *δυσὶ λόγοις τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν, τῷ τε προφορικῷ καὶ ἐνδιαθέτω, δύο ἀρετὰς ἀπένειμεν οἰκείας, τῷ μὲν προφορικῷ δῆλωσιν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀλήθειαν.*

<sup>b</sup> οἰκειότερον ἢ συγγενέστερον.

<sup>c</sup> Philo phrases the same idea somewhat differently in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 129 *ἀρμόζει γὰρ διανοία μὲν μηδὲν παραδέχεσθαι ψεῦδος.*

<sup>d</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "quam evidententer declarare revelata artificioso apparatu."

<sup>e</sup> Or "second": Aucher "duplex" (in footnote, "aliis torta"), see *QE* ii. 119.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher "tunica," but see *QE* ii. 107, notes *a* and *d*.

<sup>g</sup> ὑποδύτης.

<sup>h</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις ὑποδύτην ποδήρη (Heb. "the robe of the ephod") ὄλον ἰακίνθινον. Philo alludes to this garment in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 110 and to its cosmic symbolism in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 95, cf. *De Fuga* 110.

<sup>i</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>j</sup> Aucher "subniger." Philo means that it is dark blue, see *QE* ii. 85, note *g*.

<sup>k</sup> Lit. "stood after."

<sup>l</sup> i.e. the ephod, to which the "breastplate of judgment" or Logeion was attached, see the preceding sections.

<sup>m</sup> Cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 94 *ὁ ἀπὸ μέλας ὦν τὴν μετ' οὐρανὸν δευτέραν τάξιν κεκλήρωται.*

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admiration by the theologian's <sup>a</sup> allegorizing of his philosophical beliefs.<sup>b</sup> For he has likened the whole heaven to the breast, wherefore in his statements he has ornamented the breast of the high priest with the two emerald <sup>c</sup> stones which stand on his shoulders,<sup>d</sup> and with the twelve stones on the Logeion, arranged in four rows of three. Now, (he indicates) the air by the second hyacinthine stole (called) "undergarment," and by the other parts <sup>e</sup> he indicates <sup>f</sup> earth and water. ["But where, O theologian," someone may say, "is the head of the world? Teach us, for you have brought us as far as the breast, which you have shown to be a likeness of heaven." To me it seems that he would reply to this with silence, for it is plain to those who are not foolish but are wont to help their minds with well ordered (thoughts). If, however, there is anyone heavy of understanding, let him listen. The head of all things is the eternal Logos of the eternal God,<sup>g</sup> under which, as if it were his feet or other limbs, is placed the whole world, over which He passes and firmly stands.<sup>h</sup> Now it is not because Christ is Lord that He passes and sits over the world, for His seat is with His Father and God, but because for its perfect fullness the world is in need of the care and superintendence of the best ordered dispensation, and for its own complete piety, of the Divine Logos, just as living creatures (need) a head, without which it is impossible to live.]<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> τὸν θεολόγον, *i.e.* Moses.

<sup>b</sup> τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀλληγοροῦντα τὰ δόγματα *vel sim.* : Aucher "una cum philosophia allegorice usum sententia."

<sup>c</sup> Aucher inadvertently omits rendering of "emerald."

<sup>d</sup> See *QE* ii. 109 on Ex. xxviii. 9-12.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* the flowers and bells of the robe, see *De Vita Mosis* ii. 120.

<sup>f</sup> αἰνίττεται.

<sup>g</sup> λόγος αἰώνιος (or ἀίδιος) τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ.

<sup>h</sup> Aucher "super quem transiens constanter stat."

<sup>i</sup> How much of the last part of this section (from "But where, O theologian") is the work of a Christian scribe is not clear. The whole passage has here been bracketed to warn the reader that some part of it, perhaps all, has been revised by Christian hands.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

\*118. (Ex. xxviii. 28 [Heb. 32]) Why does the opening <sup>a</sup> in the middle of this very same ankle-length garment have a hem <sup>b</sup> "that it may not be ruptured" ? <sup>c</sup>

Of the elements <sup>d</sup> some are by nature heavy, (such as earth and water, and others are by nature light, (such as air and fire. Accordingly, from the beginning the air, which had heaviness, was placed near water.<sup>e</sup> And because of the contrariety of heavy to light there was fear that one (element) might suffer rupture <sup>f</sup> from the other, and the world might be imperfect in harmony and unity if this obstacle were present. For that reason there was need of an opening <sup>g</sup> suitable to the middle region, that is, of the divine Logos as a mediator,<sup>h</sup> for this is the strongest and most stable bond <sup>i</sup> of all things, in order that it might bind and weave together <sup>j</sup> the parts of the universe and their contraries, and by the use of force bring into unity and communion and loving embrace those things which have many irreconcilable differences by their natures. Moreover, this passage also presents a description of character,<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "that near the mouth": Aucher (following LXX) "peristomium."

<sup>b</sup> Aucher "gyrum."

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ ἔσται τὸ περιστόμιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέσον ὡς ἔχον κύκλω τοῦ περιστομίου, ἔργον ὑφάντου, τὴν συμβολὴν συννυφασμένην ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ ῥαγῇ: Heb. "and the mouth of its top shall be in its middle, a hem shall be around its mouth, the work of the weaver; like a breastplate it shall be to it that it may not be torn."

<sup>d</sup> τῶν στοιχείων.

<sup>e</sup> The original must have meant that air, the heavier of the two light elements, was placed next to water, the lighter of the two heavy elements.

<sup>f</sup> ῥήξιν, based on LXX μὴ ῥαγῇ: Aucher "ne laedatur unum ab altero."

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "mouth": Aucher "peristomium (*sive*, oreficium)."

<sup>h</sup> μεσίτου τινός, τοῦ θείου λόγου.

<sup>i</sup> δεσμός.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. "and mix together by weaving." The cosmic weaving reflects the mythology of Plato's *Timaeus*, see below.

<sup>k</sup> ἡθοποιῖαν.



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for the hem is a hard and dense woven work <sup>a</sup> and very compact, <sup>b</sup> and he thought it proper that the opening should be in it in the middle. Now the mouth <sup>c</sup> is an organ of two things, (namely) of food and speech. <sup>d</sup> As Plato says, it has the entrance of mortal things into itself, (namely) food, while speech is the exit of immortal things. <sup>e</sup> And both (functions) must be practised in such a way that they do not suffer a rupture, <sup>f</sup> which is what happens to gluttons and babblers, for out of loquacity they rupture, in a sense, that which ought to be kept quiet, and <sup>g</sup> they pour into the ears (of others) <sup>h</sup> things not fit to be heard. <sup>i</sup> And those who are intent upon wine-bibbing and overindulgence break out into belchings and burst with insatiable fullness. And he admonishes those who philosophize with him <sup>j</sup> to place restraints upon the belly and the tongue.

119. (Ex. xxviii. 29 [Heb. 33]) Why does He command that in the lowest part of this undergarment there shall be

<sup>a</sup> ὕφασμα. In *De Spec. Leg.* i. 86 Philo describes the ephod, worn over the ankle-length robe of the high priest, as ὕφασμα θωρακοειδές. It is not clear how he thought of the ephod as related to the "opening" and "hem."

<sup>b</sup> Or "compressed": Aucher "rigidus."

<sup>c</sup> Philo plays on the resemblance between περιστόμιον and στόμα.

<sup>d</sup> λόγου.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *De Opif. Mundi* 119 στόματι δι' οὗ γίνεται θνητῶν μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Πλάτων, εἴσοδος, ἔξοδος δ' ἀφθάρτων, a paraphrase of *Timaeus* 75 D-E εἴσοδον τῶν ἀναγκαίων . . . τῆν δ' ἔξοδον τῶν ἀρίστων.

<sup>f</sup> Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "et utrique obsequendum est (vel, ambo observanda sunt) ne laceratur (sic)."

<sup>g</sup> The Arm. has a superfluous indef. pronoun = τινες.

<sup>h</sup> Lit. "pour into the inside," but the Arm. translator obviously misread εἰς ὦτα (see next note) as ἐσώτατα.

<sup>i</sup> Similarly the brief Greek frag., οἱ λάλοι, τὰ ὀφείλοντα ἡσυχάζεσθαι ῥηγγύντες, τρόπον τινὰ ὑπὸ γλωσσαλγίας προχέουσιν εἰς ὦτα ἀκοῆς οὐκ ἄξια.

<sup>j</sup> i.e. Moses: Aucher "hac in parte,"

## EXODUS, BOOK II

pomegranate-shaped (tassels) as if from flowering pomegranates? <sup>a</sup>

That the undergarment was a double hyacinthine (robe) and in the likeness of air has been shown. <sup>b</sup> And as water is lower than air, the pomegranate-shaped (tassel) was rightly (placed) in the lowest part of the undergarment, as was the flower of the pomegranate, which is (so) called from "flowing" and "being liquid." <sup>c</sup> Now, as for that which is primarily in (the class of) flowing liquids, what else indeed would it be but water?

120. (Ex. xxviii. 30 [Heb. 34]) Why does He place a bell (and) flower <sup>d</sup> around (the hem) beside the pomegranate-shaped (tassel)? <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λῶμα τοῦ ὑποδύτου κάτωθεν ὡσεὶ ἕξανθούσης ῥόας ῥοῖσκους ἕξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου διανενησμένου καὶ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης ἐπὶ τοῦ λώματος τοῦ ὑποδύτου κύκλω· τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος ῥοῖσκους χρυσοῦς καὶ κώδωνας ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων περικύκλω· Heb. "and thou shalt make upon its hem pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet, upon its hem round about, and bells of gold between them round about." For parallels to Philo's allegorical comment see *De Migratione* 103, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 119 and *De Spec. Leg.* i. 93.

<sup>b</sup> In *QE* ii. 117, where, however, it is not clear whether Philo means a "second" or a "double" hyacinthine garment.

<sup>c</sup> Philo plays on the resemblance between ῥόα "pomegranate" and ῥεῖν "to flow," or ῥύσις "flowing," cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 119 οἱ δὲ ῥοῖσκοι <σύμβολον> ὕδατος, παρὰ τὴν ῥύσιν λεχθέντες εὐθυβόλως.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "flowering bell" but Philo treats bell and flower separately in his commentary and in the parallels. See also LXX, next note.

<sup>e</sup> LXX παρὰ ῥοῖσκον χρυσοῦν κώδωνα καὶ ἄνθινον ἐπὶ τοῦ λώματος τοῦ ὑποδύτου κύκλω· Heb. "a gold bell and a pomegranate, a gold bell and a pomegranate (*sic, bis*) upon the hem of the robe round about." Philo allegorizes this verse similarly (see below) in *De Migratione* 103, *De Vita Mosis* ii. 119 and *De Spec. Leg.* i. 93.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

In the earlier (passages) <sup>a</sup> He has represented heaven by the shoulder-piece <sup>b</sup> and the (object) on the breast, which He has called "pectoral," <sup>c</sup> and (has represented) the lower region, <sup>d</sup> (namely) the air, by the double hyacinthine (robe), <sup>e</sup> and then water, which is below the air, by the symbol <sup>f</sup> of the pomegranate-shaped (tassel). Now, however, He mentions the flowers in addition to the pomegranate-shaped (tassels), and by them He indicates <sup>g</sup> the earth, since everything flowers and grows from the earth. <sup>h</sup> But the bell has an intermediate position between the pomegranate-shaped (tassel) and the flower, and indicates the harmony and community of the elements. <sup>i</sup> For if there had not been produced in the world the harmonious blending into a symphony of antiphonal voices as if of a choir sounding as one, it would not have received its full perfection. <sup>j</sup> But since there are four elements, <sup>k</sup> He has spoken very circumspectly <sup>l</sup> in distinguishing and separating the bell from fire and air, for the movement of the soul is only from itself, as is generally agreed, especially by the philosophers of the Stoa. But it <sup>m</sup> has united earth with water, for earth and water are themselves the body of the

<sup>a</sup> Aucher "imprimis."

<sup>b</sup> ἐπωμίδος, see *QE* ii. 110.

<sup>c</sup> περιστήθιον.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "the following (region)."

<sup>e</sup> See the preceding three sections.

<sup>f</sup> συμβόλον.

<sup>g</sup> αἰνιττόμενος.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. *De Vita Mosis* ii. 119 τὰ μὲν ἄνθηνα σύμβολον γῆς, ἀνθεῖ γὰρ καὶ βλαστάνει πάντα ἐκ ταύτης.

<sup>i</sup> In *De Migratione* 103 the bells symbolize the sense of hearing, in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 119 they symbolize the harmony of earth and water, in *De Spec. Leg.* i. 93 they symbolize the harmony of the parts of the world (ἁρμονίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν καὶ συνήχησιν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν). In the present passage Philo combines the three kinds of symbolism.

<sup>j</sup> τελεσιουργίαν: Aucher "perfectionem."

<sup>k</sup> στοιχεῖα.

<sup>l</sup> Aucher "accurate."

<sup>m</sup> i.e. the bell as a symbol of the unity of earth and water.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

world.<sup>a</sup> Now, the body itself is inanimate and unmoving,<sup>b</sup> and it was in need of that Logos,<sup>c</sup> which, by the art of music,<sup>d</sup> adapted and reformed it into a harmony and oneness of all things.<sup>e</sup>

121. (Ex. xxviii. 32a [Heb. 36a]) What is "the leaf" of pure gold?<sup>f</sup>

The leaf has a fine<sup>h</sup> construction and also lacks depth, and so it appears to be a surface.<sup>i</sup> Now, a surface is incorporeal.<sup>j</sup> And may it not be that it is called "leaf" from "flying,"<sup>k</sup> so that it may be a symbol of incorporeal and intelligible forms of substance?<sup>l</sup> That which is always borne upward becomes winged and never turns toward a downward course. Wherefore He has also called it "pure," as being unmixed and luminous, for sense-perceptible things<sup>m</sup> are mixtures which are brought together from many things. For the forms which weave

<sup>a</sup> τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σῶμα.

<sup>b</sup> ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον.

<sup>c</sup> Aucher "rationis illius."

<sup>d</sup> τῆ μουσικῆ τέχνη.

<sup>e</sup> Aucher renders more briefly, "in harmoniam reduceret illud pro concordia universorum."

<sup>f</sup> i.e. the plate (πέταλον) on the forehead of the high priest.

<sup>g</sup> LXX καὶ ποιήσεις πέταλον χρυσοῦν καθαρόν. Philo briefly discusses its symbolism in *De Migratione* 103 and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 114-116.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. thin or light: Aucher "subtilem." But note that in *De Vita Mosis* ii. 114 Philo says that it "is wrought into the form of a crown."

<sup>i</sup> ἐπιφάνεια.

<sup>j</sup> ἀσώματος.

<sup>k</sup> Philo plays on the resemblance between πέταλον "leaf" and πέτεσθαι "to fly."

<sup>l</sup> σύμβολον ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν ἰδεῶν οὐσίας. Although Arm. *niut'* usu. = ὕλη, I have rendered the last word as if the original were οὐσίας rather than ὕλης "of matter," since the former is not only required by the context but is also confirmed by the parallel in *QE* ii. 124, where the Arm. translator uses *gougout' iun* = οὐσία.

<sup>m</sup> τὰ αἰσθητά.

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together things not (previously joined) with one another <sup>a</sup> also have purity, being like a lamb.<sup>b</sup>

122. (Ex. xxviii. 32b [Heb. 36b]) Why does He say, "Thou shalt express <sup>c</sup> in it <sup>d</sup> the expression of a seal-impression, 'Holiness to the Lord' " <sup>e</sup> ?

It pleases Him that the incorporeal and intelligible substance <sup>f</sup> should be unimpressed by itself and without shape but be formed and shaped like a seal-impression by the Logos of the eternally Existing One.<sup>g</sup> Excellently, therefore, has He represented the seal-impression as an "expression," <sup>h</sup> for there are expressed in them in part <sup>i</sup> the forms which the patterns <sup>j</sup> had. But the divine Logos, which is established over all things, is immaterial,<sup>k</sup> being, as it were, not impressed upon them but expressed,<sup>l</sup> for

<sup>a</sup> Aucher renders more literally, "quae non sunt invicem."

<sup>b</sup> The sense escapes me. Perhaps the last phrase "being like a lamb" is a scribal addition.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* "engrave" or the like. I have rendered literally in order to make clearer Philo's allegorical interpretation.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* in the gold plate worn on the high priest's forehead.

<sup>e</sup> LXX καὶ ἐκτύπώσεις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτύπωμα σφραγίδος ἀγίασμα κυρίου (*v.l.* κυρίῳ : Heb. "to YHWH"). Philo briefly discusses this half-verse in *De Migratione* 103 (reading κυρίῳ) and *De Vita Mosis* ii. 114-115, 132, where he deals with the mystical number of the letters of the Tetragrammaton.

<sup>f</sup> τὴν ἀσώματον καὶ νοητὴν οὐσίαν, *cf.* *QE* ii. 121, note *l*.

<sup>g</sup> τῷ τοῦ αἰὶ (*vel sim.*) ὄντος λόγῳ. The idea is more clearly and fully expressed in *De Migratione* 103 ἐκείνη μὲν ἢ σφραγὶς ἰδέα ἐστὶν ἰδεῶν καθ' ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐτύπωσε τὸν κόσμον, ἀσώματος δῆπου καὶ νοητῆ.

<sup>h</sup> ἐκτύπωμα.

<sup>i</sup> The original prob. referred to the various parts of the cosmos.

<sup>j</sup> οἱ τύποι, *i.e.* the archetypes.

<sup>k</sup> ἄυλος.

<sup>l</sup> οὐκ ἐντυπωθεῖς ἀλλ' ἐκτυπωθεῖς, but contrast *De Vita Mosis* ii. 132 τῶν τεττάρων αἰ γλυφαὶ γραμμάτων ἐνεσφραγίσθησαν. Philo has slightly modified his allegorical interpretation to make it conform more closely to the literal meaning.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

it is external to all substances and to all corporeal and incorporeal elements.<sup>a</sup>

123. (Ex. xxviii. 33a [Heb. 37a]) Why is the leaf <sup>b</sup> placed over the double hyacinthine (robe) ? <sup>c</sup>

Because the double hyacinthine (robe) is almost black,<sup>d</sup> and black is the colour of ink and is opaque. But the forms <sup>e</sup> are not visible, and the leaf presents a symbol <sup>f</sup> of the forms, since it is the substance of the invisible and intelligible.<sup>g</sup>

124. (Ex. xxviii. 33b-34 [Heb. 37b-38]) Why is the leaf <sup>h</sup> (placed) upon the forehead of the high priest but not upon his head ? <sup>i</sup>

The head is an assemblage of hair, skin and bones, while the place of the brain <sup>j</sup> is in the front of the head. Now, the theologians <sup>k</sup> say that the sovereign part (of the mind) <sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Aucher " quae excellet omnes materias corporeas et incorporeas."

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the gold plate (πέταλον) on the high priest's forehead.

<sup>c</sup> LXX καὶ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτὸ (sc. τὸν πέταλον) ἐπὶ ὑακίνθου κεκλωσμένης (Heb. " braid of blue "), κτλ. On the problem of the " double " hyacinthine robe see *QE* ii. 117, notes.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* dark blue, see *QE* ii. 85, 117.

<sup>e</sup> αἱ ἰδέαι ἢ τὰ εἶδη.

<sup>f</sup> σύμβολον.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ νοητοῦ οὐσία ἐστίν, cf. *QE* ii. 121.

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* the gold plate (πέταλον).

<sup>i</sup> LXX καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τῆς μίτρας· κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς μίτρας ἔσται. καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου Ἰααρῶν, κτλ. Contrast *De Migratione* 103, where Philo says that the gold plate is on the high priest's head, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς. Here, as in some of the preceding sections, Philo's allegorical interpretation is based upon a more literal reading of Scripture than are the interpretations in his fuller and earlier commentary on the Pentateuch.

<sup>j</sup> τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου.

<sup>k</sup> οἱ θεολόγοι, *i.e.* the Greek philosophers.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

has its settled habitation <sup>a</sup> in the brain.<sup>b</sup> For this reason it was in the front of <sup>c</sup> the principal and sovereign (part) of the soul, to which the mind and the reason <sup>d</sup> have been allotted, that the leaf was placed (as) a symbol of intelligible substance <sup>e</sup> (and as) <sup>f</sup> a likeness of the divine Logos and (as) an expressed seal-impression,<sup>g</sup> (namely) the form of forms.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "constancy of habitation": Aucher "constantem habitationem."

<sup>b</sup> Philo sometimes follows Aristotle and the Stoics in locating the mind in the heart, but more often follows Plato in locating it in the brain, as, e.g., in *QG* i. 5, ii. 5, *QE* ii. 100. See, for the various passages, Helmut Schmidt, *Die Anthropologie Philons von Alexandria* (Würzburg, 1933), pp. 51, 143.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "before": Aucher "in regione."

<sup>d</sup> ὁ νοῦς (or ἡ διάνοια) καὶ ὁ λόγος.

<sup>e</sup> σύμβολον νοητῆς οὐσίας, cf. *QE* ii. 121, note *l*.

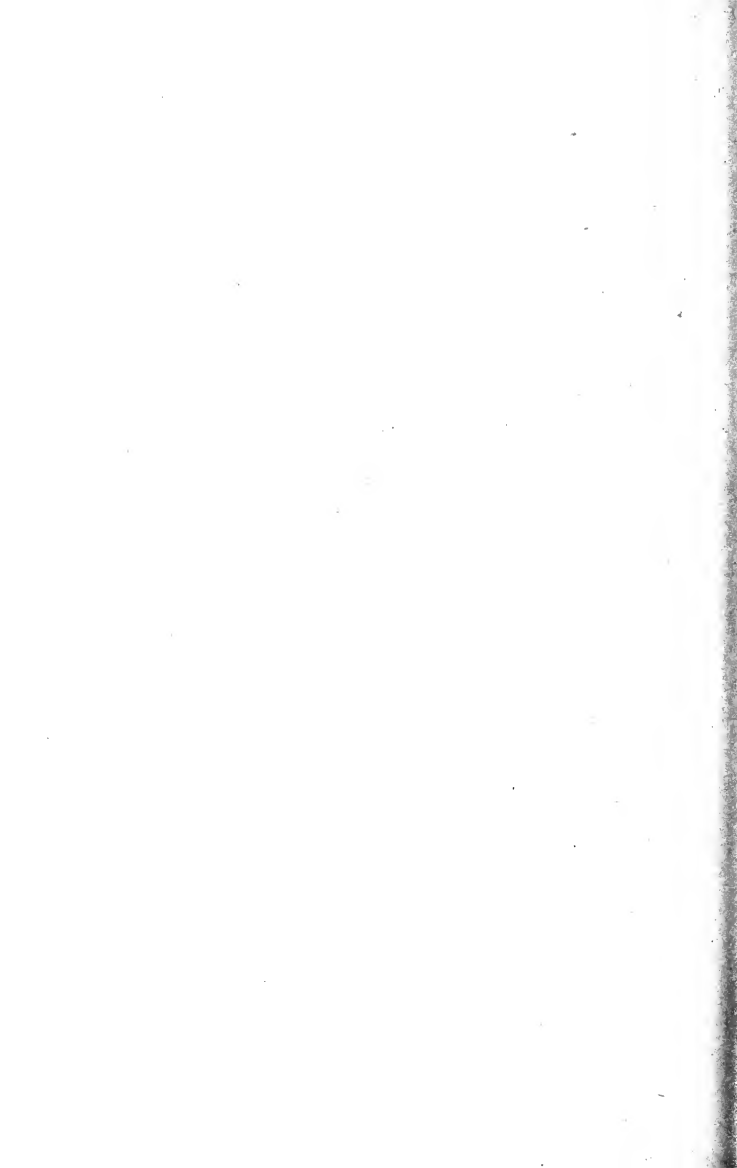
<sup>f</sup> Aucher inserts "praeseferens."

<sup>g</sup> ἐκτυπωθεῖσα σφραγίς, cf. *QE* ii. 122.

<sup>h</sup> ἰδέα ἰδεῶν, cf. *De Migratione* 103, *QE* ii. 122.

## APPENDIX A





## APPENDIX A

### GREEK FRAGMENTS OF THE QUAESTIONES

Although Philo's *Quaestiones in Genesin et Exodum* has survived as a whole (or in large part) only in the ancient Armenian version, the original Greek text of parts of about two hundred sections has been preserved in the works of some of the Church Fathers like John of Damascus or Byzantine chroniclers like Leo Grammaticus or antiquarians like Johannes Lydus or the anonymous authors of catenae arranged in the order of Scriptural verses. A number of these fragments (some of them being rather paraphrastic than literal) were collected by Mangey in his edition of Philo's works published in 1742. Since that time other scholars have added to their number. While it may be expected that future research will discover more fragments of the *Quaestiones* as well as of other lost works of Philo, it still seems worth while at the present time to bring together the fragments of the *Quaestiones* which have been collected by various scholars and published in half a dozen separate works. It should be noted in passing that Dr. Ludwig Früchtel of Ansbach, Germany, to whom we owe the identification of several fragments (published by Harris) formerly unlocated in the *Quaestiones*, proposes to bring out a more complete collection of the fragments of Philo's various lost works and has, as he informed me in 1949, already located a few more hitherto unidentified fragments of the *Quaestiones*.

The fragments (or paraphrases) reproduced from the various modern collections listed below are here given without an English translation, partly because the differences between them and the Armenian have already been mentioned in the footnotes to the translation of that version, and partly because many of the fragments are such free quotations of the original that it might be misleading to translate them

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

and thus make them appear to be of equal weight with the translation of the Armenian version.

The six modern works from which the Greek texts are reproduced are herewith listed in order of publication.

Harris, J. Rendel, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*. Cambridge, 1886 (includes fragments earlier published by Mangey, Mai, Pitra and Tischendorf).

Wendland, Paul, *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos.* Berlin, 1891 (consists mostly of selections from Procopius, including those published earlier by Mai).

Praechter, Karl, "Unbeachtete Philonfragmente," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, N.F. 9 (1896), 415-426 (gives nine fragments from Leo Grammaticus and Pseudo-Polydeuces with parallels in other Byzantine chroniclers).

Stahle, Karl, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandria*. Leipzig-Berlin, 1931 (gives about a dozen fragments from Johannes Lydus).

Lewy, Hans, *Neue Philontexte in der Uebearbeitung des Ambrosius mit einem Anhang: Neu gefundene griechische Philonfragmente*. Berlin, 1932 (gives about a dozen fragments from the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus and the *Catena*).

Früchtel, Ludwig, "Griechische Fragmente zu Philons Quaestiones in Genesin et in Exodum," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. 14 (1937), 108-115 (locates several fragments listed by Harris as "unidentified").

Three of Harris' "unidentified" fragments have been located by Emile Bréhier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925.

The reader is asked to overlook some inconsistencies in abbreviations, forms of citation, etc., in the following pages. They are largely due to the fact that I have in most cases followed the style set by the modern authorities listed above.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

1. (Gen. ii. 4) Διὰ τί τὴν κοσμοποιῖαν ἐπιλογιζόμενος φησὶ Μωϋσῆς· “ αὐτὴ ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο ”; Ἐὐὐ μὲν “ ὅτε ἐγένετο ” ἀόριστον<sup>α</sup> ἔοικε χρόνον ἐμφαίνειν τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ἔλεγχος δυσωπῶν τοὺς συγκεφαλαιουμένους ἀριθμὸν ἐτών, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸν κόσμον οἶονται γενέσθαι· τὸ δὲ “ αὐτὴ ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως ” ἤτοι δεικτικὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τεύχους, ὃ τὴν κοσμοποιῖαν περιέχει· <ἐν ἐκείνῳ γὰρ> ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῶν εἰρημένων περὶ τῆς κοσμοποιίας πρὸς τὰ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας γεγονότα.

Lewy, p. 55, from *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus, Cod. Hierosolymitanus S. Sep. fol. 124<sup>r</sup> and Cod. Constantinopolitanus Metochion 274, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

17. (Gen. ii. 18)

Φίλους ἡγητέον τοὺς βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀντωφελεῖν ἐθέλοντας καὶ ἂν μὴ δύνωνται. φιλία γὰρ <οὐκ> ἐν τῷ χρειώδει μᾶλλον ἢ κράσει καὶ συμφωνίᾳ βεβαίῳ τῶν ἡθῶν, ὡς ἕκαστον τῶν συνελθόντων εἰς φιλικὴν κοινωνίαν τὸ Πυθαγόρειον ῥῆμα ἐπιφθέγξασθαι, ὅτι “ ἀρά ἐστὶ φίλος ἕτερον ὡς ἐγώ.”

Harris, p. 12, from Dam. Par. 788 (Cod. Rupef. f. 275) ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων. “ The first sentence (with change to the singular number) in Maximus (ii. 548) and Anton Melissa, col. 849.”

20. (Gen. ii. 19)

Ἄνδρὸς δὲ ἐπιστημονικωτάτου καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντος οἰκειότατον τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· οὐ σοφῶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ γηγενεῖ<sup>δ</sup> τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡ θέσις· ἔδει γὰρ ἡγεμόνα μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίου, βασιλέα δὲ τῶν γηγενῶν πάντων καὶ τοῦτο λαχεῖν γέρας ἐξαίρετον

<sup>α</sup> ἀόριστον ex Arm. Lewy : ἄριστον codd.

<sup>δ</sup> γηγενεῖ ex Arm. Harris : εὐγενεῖ codd.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

ἵνα, ὡσπερ πρῶτος ἦδει τὰ ζῶα, καὶ πρῶτος ἀξιωθῆ τῆς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρχῆς καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγητῆς καὶ εὐρετῆς γένηται τῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν. Ἄτοπον γὰρ ἦν ἀνώνυμα αὐτὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπό τινος νεωτέρου προσονομασθῆναι ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμῆς τε καὶ εὐκλείας.

Harris, pp. 12-13, from Dam. Par. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b)  
 "with reference to the questions on Genesis."

21. (Gen. ii. 19) Ἦγαγεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ζῶα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐνδύαζει θεός· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ νοῦν ἔδωκε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ πρωτογενεῖ καὶ σπουδαίῳ καθ' ὃ ἐπιστημονικὸς ὢν πέφυκε λογί-  
 ζεσθαι, καθάπερ ὑφηγητῆς γνώριμον κινεῖ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν οἰκίαν  
 καὶ ἀφορᾷ τὰ ἄριστα αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔγγονα. Φανερώς δὲ πάλιν  
 καὶ διὰ τούτου πᾶν τὸ ἐκούσιον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν διατυποῖ, τοὺς πάντα  
 κατ' ἀνάγκην εἶναι λέγοντας δυσωπῶν. Ἦ ἐπεὶ ἔμελλον οἱ ἀνθρω-  
 ποι χρῆσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρωπον αὐτὰ θέσθαι προσέταττεν.

Harris, p. 13, from Dam. Par. p. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b),  
 ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητούμενων.

24. (Gen. ii. 21)

Ὁ ὕπνος κατὰ τὸν προφήτην ἔκστασις ἐστίν, οὐχὶ κατὰ μανίαν,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὕφεισιν καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ  
 λογισμοῦ. Τότε γὰρ αἱ μὲν αἰσθήσεις ἐξίστανται τῶν αἰσθητῶν,<sup>a</sup>  
 ὃ δὲ οὐκέτι νευροσπαστῶν οὐδὲ παρέχων κίνησιν αὐταῖς ἡρεμεῖ, αἱ  
 δὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἀποτετμημένοι τῷ διεξεῦχθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
 ἀκίνητοι καὶ ἀργαὶ ὑπεκκλύονται.

Harris, pp. 13-14, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 667 =  
 Cod. Rupef. f. 265), and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 342 b.

27. (Gen. ii. 21)

Ἀποικίαν στέλλεται γυνὴ τὴν ἀπὸ γονέων πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· διὸ  
 προσήκει τὸν μὲν ὑποδεξάμενον ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν τῶν δεδωκότων  
 εὐνοίαν, τὴν δὲ μετελθοῦσαν, ἣν τοῖς σπείρασι τιμὴν παρείχε, τῷ  
 λαβόντι διδόναι· παρακαταθήκην γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐγχειρίζεται γυναικᾶ  
 παρὰ γονέων, γυνὴ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῶν νόμων.

Lewy, p. 55, from Dam. Par. Rec. Rupef. f. 243<sup>v</sup>, Φίλωνος.

<sup>a</sup> Post αἰσθητῶν verba καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς ἀναχωρεῖ ἐκ τῶν  
 αἰσθήσεων ex Arm. suppl. Harris.

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28. (Gen. ii. 23)

Ὡς προφήτης φησίν, οὔτε γεγονέναι ἐκ συνομιλίας οὔτε ἐκ γυναικός, ὡς οἱ μετέπειτα, ἀλλὰ τινα φύσιν ἐν μεθορίῳ καθάπερ ἀπὸ ἀμπέλου κληματίδος ἀφαιρεθείσης εἰς ἑτέρας ἀμπέλου γένεσιν.

Harris, p. 14, from Dam. Par. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

29. (Gen. ii. 24) Διό φησιν “Ἐνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσονται δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν”;

. . . τὸ εὐαφέστατον καὶ αἰσθητικώτατον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἀλγεῖν καὶ τὸ ἡδεσθαι.

Harris, p. 14, from Dam. Par. 748 (Mangey ii. 654 = Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

31. (Gen. iii. 1)

Φρόνιμος δὲ ἐκλήθη ὁ ὄφης ὅτι τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγγινοῖα διαφέροντα ἕξαπατᾶν ἔμελλεν.

Praechter, p. 420, from Ps.-Polydeuces, pp. 30, 25-32, 1 (cf. Theod. Mel. p. 7, 31-32, Cedr. p. 10, 10-12).

32. (Gen. iii. 1)

\*Ἄρα δὲ καὶ ὁ ὄφης τῷ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγῳ ἐχρήσατο; οὐ πάντως, ἀλλ’ οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι ἅτε κακίας ὄντες ἀμιγεῖς ἀκριβεστάτας εἶχον τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἡμετέρων διαλλατούσας ὥστε τὴν ἀκοὴν αὐτῶν πάσης ὑπάρχειν φωνῆς ἀκουστικὴν.

Praechter, pp. 416-417, from Ps.-Polydeuces, p. 32, 8-12 (cf. Sym. Log. p. 910, 16-20, Theod. Mel. p. 8, 4-8, Cedr. p. 10, 12-16).

41. (Gen. iii. 7)

Ὡς γὰρ ἡδὺς ὁ καρπὸς τῆς συκῆς, τραχὺ καὶ πικρότατον τὸ φύλλον, οὕτως πᾶσα ἁμαρτία ἐν τῇ πράξει δείκνυται ἡδεῖα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὀδύνην παρέχει τῷ πεπραχότι.

Praechter, p. 417, from Ps.-Polydeuces, p. 36, 13-16 (cf. Sym. Log. pp. 911, 28-912, 2, Theod. Mel. p. 9, 10-13, Cedr. p. 14, 19-21—“stark verflacht”).

51. (Gen. iii. 19) Τί ἐστίν “ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέφαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν

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ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθησ'"; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ γῆς διεπλάσθη μόνον ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ καὶ θείου πνεύματος.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ διέμεινεν ἀδιάστροφος, προστάξεως θείας ἠλόγηκε καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος μέρους ἀποτεμνόμενος οὐρανομίμητον πολιτείαν ὄλον αὐτὸν προσένευε τῇ γῇ. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῆς, ἣτις ἀθανατίζει, ἐραστῆς ἐγένετο, πάντως ἂν ἐλάμβανε κλήρον τὸν οὐρανόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡδονὴν ἐζήτησε, δι' ἧς ψυχικός θάνατος ἐπιγίνεται, τῇ γῇ προσενημήθη.

Harris, p. 15, from Dam. Par. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 20 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

### 55. (Gen. iii. 22)

Οὔτε ἐνδυσασμὸς οὔτε φθόνος περὶ θεόν· χρήται δὲ πολλάκις ὀνόμασιν ἐνδυσαστικαῖς ἢ διανοητικοῖς κατ' ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ "ὡς ἄνθρωπος" κεφάλαιον. Διτὰ γάρ, ὡς πολλάκις ἔφην, ἐστὶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω κεφάλαια· τὸ μὲν "οὐκ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός," τὸ δὲ "ὡς ἄνθρωπος παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν." Τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἐξουσίας, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον παιδείας καὶ εἰσαγωγῆς ἐστίν.

Harris, p. 15, from Parallels of Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 669=Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν=ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

"Ἄλλος δὲ φησὶν ὡς οὐκ ἐνδοιάζει τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἐνδοιαστικοῖς ὀνόμασι χρήται. Διτὰ γάρ ἐστὶ τὰ ἀνωτάτω κεφάλαια, τὸ μὲν "οὐκ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός," τὸ δὲ "ὡς ἄνθρωπος παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν, οὕτως κύριος ὁ θεὸς παιδεύσει σε." Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον ἐξουσίας ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον παιδείας καὶ ἐξαγωγῆς, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον παρεισέλθῃ. Τὸ γὰρ "μήποτε" οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπαμφοτερισμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἀναφορὰ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐπαμφοτεριστὴν τῇ φύσει καὶ μῆνυμα τοῦ περὶ ἐκείνον πάθους· ὅταν γὰρ προσπέσῃ τινὸς φαντασία, τρία εὐθὺς ἐπιγίνεται, ἄφορμὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανέντος, ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὸ φανέν, τρίτον ἐνδοιασμὸς ἀμφικλινῆς ἀντισπωμένης τῆς ψυχῆς, εἴθ' αἰρετέον εἶτε μῆ. Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρίτον τὸ "μήποτε" ἀναφέρεται.

Wendland, pp. 36-37, from Procopius 225 B.

### 59. (Gen. iv. 2)

"Ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἐν μὲν τῇ γενέσει τὸν Κάιν προέταξε κατὰ τάξιν

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τὴν χρονικὴν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι προτάττει τὸν δίκαιον· τὰ γὰρ ἐμφυχα τῶν ἀψύχων τῷ τῆς φύσεως λόγῳ διαφέρει, καὶ ἡ ποιμαντικὴ προοιμιάζεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχὴν. Οὐκ ἐρρήθη δὲ γεωργός ὁ Κάιν, ἀλλ' ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀστείως κατὰ τὸν Νῶε, ὅστις γεωργός, οὐκ ἐργάτης εἴρηται.

Wendland, p. 37, from Procopius 233 v, “. . . aber Pr. oder sein Gewährsmann benutzt vielleicht am Schluss ein verlorenes Stück der Quaest.”

### 60. (Gen. iv. 34)

“Ορα τοίνυν φιλαύτου καὶ φιλοθέου διαφορὰν· ὁ μὲν μεθ' ἡμέρας ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθύς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τούτων ἐστὶ διανομεὺς πρὸς θεόν· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ θυσία· ὁ δὲ τὰ πρωτότοκα μηδὲν μελλήσας καθιεροῖ καὶ τοῦ προσενεχθέντος παντός παραχωρεῖ τῷ θεῷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ<sup>α</sup> γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ δωρητικὸς, οὐ διανομεὺς γεγονώς. “Ορα δὲ καὶ ὅτι ὅσον ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἀρξαμένου πρώτου, τοῦ Κάιν δευτέρου μέμνηται λέγων “ἐπεὶ δὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ “Ἀβελ, ἐπὶ δὲ Κάιν καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχεν.”

Wendland, p. 38, from Procopius 236 λ.

Οὕτως οἶμαι τὰ πρωτότοκα καθιερώων ὁ “Ἀβελ<sup>β</sup> φιλόθεον μᾶλλον ἢ φίλαντον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνίστησι προαίρεσιν. Ἐαυτῷ δὲ ὁ Κάιν ἀπονέμων τὰ γεννήματα καὶ τῶν δευτεριῶν<sup>γ</sup> ἀσεβῶς τὸν θεὸν ἀξιῶν τῷ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἀλλὰ μὴ εὐθέως προσενεγκεῖν φίλαντος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεος ἐξελέγχεται.

Praechter, p. 418, from Leo Grammaticus, pp. 244, 34–245, 21 (cf. Theod. Mel., pp. 11, 18–12, 13, Ps.-Polydeuces, pp. 44, 8–46, 11).

### 61. (Gen. iv. 4-5)

Οὕτως οὐχ ἡ τάξις τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀλλ' ἡ γνώμη χαρίζεται.

Wendland, p. 38, from Procopius 236 λ.

<sup>α</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ Wendland : ἐπεὶ δὲ codd.

<sup>β</sup> καθιερώων ὁ “Ἀβελ edd. : καθιεροῦν(τα) τὸν “Ἀβελ codd. : καθιέρωσεν “Ἀβελ Sym. Log., Cod. Vind. 91.

<sup>γ</sup> δευτεριῶν corr. Praechter.



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62. (Gen. iv. 4-5)

Ζητῶν τίνοι διαφέρει δῶρον θυσίας, εὐρίσκω ὅτι ὁ μὲν θύων ἐπιδιαιρεῖ, τὸ μὲν αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ προχέων, τὰ δὲ κρέα οἴκαδε κομίζων· ὁ δὲ δωρούμενος ὄλον ἔοικε παραχωρεῖν τῷ λαμβάνοντι· ὁ μὲν οὖν φίλαντος διανομεὺς οἶος ὁ Κάιν, ὁ δὲ φιλόθεος δώρηται οἶον<sup>a</sup> ὁ Ἄβελ.

Harris, p. 15, from Cramer, *Catena in Heb.*, p. 580 (Cod. Paris, 238).

Διαφέρει δὲ δῶρον θυσίας, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θύων ἐπιδιαιρεῖ τὸ μὲν αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ προσχέων, τὰ δὲ κρέα οἴκαδε κομίζων, ὁ δὲ δωρούμενος ὄλου<sup>b</sup> ἔοικε παραχωρεῖν τῷ λαμβάνοντι.

Wendland, p. 38, from Procopius 237 B (cf. Gennadius, *Cat. Lips.* 108).

Ἔοικε γὰρ ἐπιδιαιρεῖν ὁ θύων καὶ τὸ μὲν αἷμα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προχέειν,<sup>c</sup> τὰ δὲ κρέα οἴκαδε ἀποκομίζειν,<sup>d</sup> ὁ δὲ δωρούμενος πάντη<sup>e</sup> τῷ λαμβάνοντι παραχωρεῖ τὸ δῶρον.

Praechter, p. 418, from Leo Grammaticus, pp. 244, 34-245, 21 (cf. Theod. Mel. pp. 11, 18-12, 13, Ps. - Polydeuces, pp. 44, 8-46, 11).

64. (Gen. iv. 7)

(a) Ὁρθὴ δὲ διαίρεσις καὶ τομῆ<sup>f</sup> οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ τάξις καθ' ἣν ὁ κόσμος δεδημιούργηται. Καὶ ταύτην δεῖ κατὰ πάντα τοῦ βίου μιμεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν χαρίτων ἀμοιβαῖς.

Wendland, p. 39, from Procopius 237 D.

(b) Τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸ<sup>g</sup> ὀρθῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ μήτε πρῶτον μήτε ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων ἀπαρχόμενον ψεκτόν. Οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ μὲν πρεσβεῖα τὴν γένεσιν ἑαυτῇ, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα τῷ ἀγενήτῳ προσ-

Τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν θεῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὀρθῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ μήτε πρῶτον μήτε ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων ἀπαρχόμενον ψεκτόν. Οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ μὲν πρεσβεῖα ἐν τῇ γενέσει τιθέναι,<sup>h</sup> τὰ δὲ δεύτερα τῷ δωρησαμένῳ θεῷ προσ-

<sup>a</sup> δωρητικός οἶος con. Harris.

<sup>b</sup> ὄλον Mai.

<sup>c</sup> προσχέων Theod. Mel. et Cod. Vat. 163.

<sup>d</sup> κομίζειν Ps.-Polydeuces.

<sup>e</sup> edd. : παντὶ codd.

<sup>f</sup> τομῆ Wendland : τὸ μὴ codd.

<sup>g</sup> ἑαυτὸ Wendland : ἑαυτὸν codd.

<sup>h</sup> ἑαυτῷ τιθέναι con. Harris.

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νέμειν, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχαριστέιν.

Wendland, p. 39, from Procopius 237 D (continuing frag. (a)).

### 65. (Gen. iv. 7)

Τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν μέγιστον ἀγαθόν· τὸ ἀμαρτάνοντα ἐντραπήναι συγγενές ἐκείνου, νεώτερον, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, παρὰ πρεσβύτερον. Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐπὶ ἀμαρτανομένοις ὡς ἐπὶ κατορθώμασι ἀγαλλόμενοι δυσίατον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνίατον νόσον ἔχοντες.

Harris, p. 16, from Dam. Par. 751 (=Cod. Rupef. f. 46 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζήτουμένων.

φέρειν. Ἦδε ἐστὶν ἐπίληπτος διαίρεσις, ἀταξίαν τινὰ τάξεως εἰσηγουμένη.

Harris, p. 16, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 668 = Cod. Rupef. f. 269 b).

Μέγιστον μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν τὸ μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἐντραπήναι τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν· ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀτιμίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν λελύπητο.

Wendland, p. 39, from Procopius 237 D.

### 66. (Gen. iv. 7)

Οἷς ἀντιλέγοντες ἕτεροι οὐ περὶ τοῦ θεοσεβοῦς λέγειν φασίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ πραχθέντος ἔργου. Φησὶ γὰρ αὐτῶ ὅτι τούτου τοῦ ἀσεβήματος ἡ ἀποστροφή καὶ ἡ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς σέ ἐστίν, ἵνα τὸ ἐκούσιον παραστήσῃ· “καὶ σύ,” φησίν, “ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ,” πρῶτος γὰρ ἀσεβεῖν ἤρξεν<sup>a</sup>. ἔπεται δὲ ὡς κρηπίδι τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλημμελήματα ὡς ἔξαρχον καὶ ἡγεμόνα παντὸς ἀδικήματος ἐκουσίου τούτου<sup>b</sup> εἶναι.

Wendland, p. 40, from Procopius 240 B.

### 68. (Gen. iv. 9) Πυνθάνεται θεός· ποῦ Ἄβελ ὁ ἀδελφός σου;

Οὐχ ὡς ἀγνοῶν· τοιγαροῦν ἀρνούμενον ἠλεγξεν· ἀλλ' ἐπισκοπῆς πρὸς ἰατροίαν αὐτὸν ἀξιώων καὶ ἐφιστῶν αὐτὸν τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πλημμελήματος καὶ πρόφασιν μετανοίας διδοῦς καὶ δεικνὺς δι' ὅλης τῆς νομοθεσίας ὡς παρ' ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ τὰδικήματα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄκων πρᾶξας ὁμολογεῖ συγγνώμην αἰτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐκὼν ἀρνεῖται.

Wendland, pp. 40-41, from Procopius 240 D (“Das philo-

<sup>a</sup> ἤρξας ex Arm. con. Wendland.

<sup>b</sup> τοῦτο Cod. Aug.

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nische Original ist zum Teil erhalten in Barberinus VI 8 f. 82 unter dem falschen Titel *φίλωνος επισκόπου: οὐχ ὡς ἀγνοῶν τοιγαροῦν τὸν ἀρνούμενον* bis *διδούς* ohne Abweichungen vom Texte des Pr.”).

69. (Gen. iv. 9) Ὡς δὲ τῆς μετανοίας ἠλλάξατο τὴν ἀναίδειαν εἰπὼν ἀγνοεῖν καὶ μὴ φύλαξ εἶναι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

Καίτοι τεττάρων ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, οὐς εἰκὸς ἦν μηδὲ πόρρω λίαν ἀλλήλων καθίσασθαι, καὶ παντὸς μᾶλλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν φυλάττειν ὀφείλοντος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄθεον δεικνύντος ὑπόληψιν τῷ μὴ νομίζειν πάντα τὸν θεῖον ἐφορᾶν ὀφθαλμόν.

Wendland, p. 41, from Procopius 241 A.

70. (Gen. iv. 10)

Τί δ' ἐστὶν “ φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου βοᾷ πρὸς με ἐκ τῆς γῆς ”;

Δογματικώτατόν ἐστιν τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ὁσίων μὲν ὑπακούει, καὶ τελευτήσωσι, ζῆν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνον τὴν ἀσώματον ζωὴν, εὐχὰς δὲ φαύλων ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ εὐεξία χρήσονται, νομίζον αὐτοὺς τὸν ἀληθῆ βίον τεθνάναι, τὸ σῶμα οἶον τύμβον περιφέροντας, ᾧ τὴν πανάθλιον ψυχὴν ἐγκατώρυξαν.

Lewy, p. 55, from Dam. Par., Cod. Len. f. 27v, Φίλωνος Ἑβραίου (cf. Cod. Barb. f. 82<sup>v</sup>, Cod. Mosqu. 124<sup>r</sup>).

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Φησὶν ὁ θεός· “ φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου βοᾷ πρὸς με.”

Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ αἶμα ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνταῦθα εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ ἔστι δογματικώτατον τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ὁσίων μὲν ὑπακούει, καὶ τελευτήσωσι, ζῆν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνον τὴν ἀθάνατον ζωὴν, εὐχὰς δὲ φαύλων ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ εὐεξία χρήσονται, νομίζον αὐτοὺς τὸν ἀληθῆ βίον τεθνάναι.

Wendland, p. 41, from Procopius 241 A.

Δικαίων γὰρ ἐπακούει (sc. ὁ θεός), καὶ τελευτήσαντες ὦσιν, ἀδίκων δὲ καὶ αὐτὰς ἀποστρέφεται τὰς εὐχὰς· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τεθνεώτας νενόμικε ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας τὴν ἀληθῆ κέκρικε τεθνηκέναι ζωὴν.

Praechter, p. 419, from Leo Grammaticus, p. 245, 27-30 (cf. Theod. Mel. p. 12, 18-20, Ps.-Polydeuces, p. 46, 15-17).

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72. (Gen. iv. 12)

Λόγιον δέ, φασίν, ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο καθολικώτατον· παντὶ γὰρ φαύλω τῶν κακῶν τὸ μὲν ἤδη πρόσσεσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλει· τὰ μὲν οὖν μέλλοντα φόβους, τὰ δὲ παρόντα λύπας ἐργάζεται.<sup>a</sup>

Wendland, pp. 41-42, from Procopius 241 D ("Das philonische Original ist erhalten in Barb. VI 8 f. 83").

73. (Gen. iv. 13)

Οὐκ ἔστι συμφορὰ μείζων ἢ τὸ ἀφεθῆναι καὶ καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ.

Wendland, p. 42, from Procopius 243 B.

74. (Gen. iv. 14) Τίνα δὲ δέδοικεν ὁ Κάϊν μηδενὸς ὄντος πλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονέων;

Προσεδόκα δέ, φασί, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ κόσμου ἐπίθεσιν ἄπερ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ γενόμενα<sup>b</sup> οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀμύνεται τοὺς πονηροὺς, εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἄπερ ἢ φύσις ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἀδίκων ἐγέννησεν.<sup>c</sup> Ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων τίσιν ὑπονοεῖ, οἷς κοινὸν πένθος προσέβαλεν ἀγνοοῦσι τὸν θάνατον.

Wendland, p. 42, from Procopius 245 A.

76. (Gen. iv. 15)

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τελευτῆσαι τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πονηρῶν ἐπάγει τὴν κατάπαυσιν· τὸ δὲ ζῆν ἐν φόβῳ καὶ λύπῃ μορίου ἐπάγει τοὺς συν αἰσθήσει<sup>d</sup> θανάτους.

Praechter, p. 419, from Leo Grammaticus, p. 246, 11-13 (cf. Theod. Mel. p. 13, 10-12).

77. (Gen. iv. 23)

Ὁ μὲν Κάϊν,<sup>e</sup> ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἄγους ἠγνόησε, τοῦ μηδέποτε περιπεσεῖν θανάτῳ, τιμωρίας δίδωσιν ἀπλουστέρας. Ὁ

<sup>a</sup> ἀπεργάζεται Cod. Barb.

<sup>b</sup> γενόμενα Wendland : γινόμενα codd.

<sup>c</sup> τίνα . . . ἐγέννησεν, cf. Cat. Lips. 112, Ἀδήλου.

<sup>d</sup> συναισθήσει Theod. Mel. : ἐν συνεσθήσει Sym. Log., Cod. Vind. : ἐν αἰσθήσει con. Praechter.

<sup>e</sup> add. ἴσως Cod. Reg.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

δὲ μιμητῆς ἐκείνου, μὴ δυνάμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν<sup>a</sup> ἀπολογίαὶν τῆς ἀγνοίας συμφυγεῖν,<sup>b</sup> δεκαπλᾶς<sup>c</sup> εἰκότως ὑπομένει δίκας. . . . Διὰ τοῦτο “ ἐκ δὲ Λάμεχ ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτὰ ”· διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν, καθ’ ἣν ὁ δευτέρος ἀμαρτῶν καὶ μὴ σωφρονισθεὶς τῆ τοῦ προηδικηκότος τιμωρία τὴν τε ἐκείνου παντελῶς ἀναδέχεται ἀπλουτέραν οὖσαν, καθάπερ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς αἱ μονάδες ἔχουσι, καὶ πολυπλασιωτέραν,<sup>d</sup> ὁμοιουμένην ταῖς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς δεκάσιν. ἦν γνωσιμαχῶν Λάμεχ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ.<sup>e</sup>

Harris, p. 17, from Dam. Par. 776 (Cod. Rupef. and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 356 b).

79. (Gen. iv. 26)

Ἐλπίς ἐστὶ προπάθειά τις χαρᾶς<sup>f</sup> πρὸ χαρᾶς, ἀγαθῶν οὖσα προσδοκία.

Harris, p. 17, from Anton Melissa (*Patr. Gr.* 136, col. 789).

81. (Gen. v. 3)

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκ Κάιν γένος μέχρι τούτου μνήμης τῆς ἐν βίβλοις ἠξίεται, τοῦ δὲ<sup>g</sup> ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πατέρων<sup>h</sup> ἀποκεκήρυκται, ἵνα μηδὲ τοῖς πρώτοις εἶη συνταττόμενος μηδὲ τῶν ἐξῆς ἀφηγουμένοις,<sup>i</sup> διὰ δὲ τὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἄγριον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλογον ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ἐξώριται.

Praechter, pp. 419-420, from Ps.-Polydeuces, p. 54, 9-14 (cf. Leo Grammaticus, p. 246, 26-29, Theod. Mel. p. 13, 24-27).

85. (Gen. v. 23-24)

Ἦδη τινὲς ἀψίκοροι γευσάμενοι καλοκάγαθίας καὶ ἐλπίδα παρασχόντες ὑγείας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπανέστρεψαν νόσον.

Harris, p. 17, from Dam. Par. 784 (“ apparently as ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων, an easy confusion ”).

<sup>a</sup> αὐτὴν om. Cod. Reg.

<sup>b</sup> καταφυγεῖν Cod. Rupef.

<sup>c</sup> διπλᾶς Cod. Rupef.

<sup>d</sup> τιμωρία . . . πολυπλασιωτέραν] τιμωρία οὐ μόνον τῆ ἐκείνου παντελῶς ἀναδέχεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλειότεραν Cod. Reg.

<sup>e</sup> ἦν . . . ἑαυτοῦ susp. Harris.

<sup>f</sup> Harris: χαρὰ codd.

<sup>g</sup> τοῦ δὲ Praechter cum par.: καὶ τοῦ Ps.-Polydeuces.

<sup>h</sup> πρώτων Sym. Log. et Leo Grammaticus.

<sup>i</sup> ἀφηγούμενος mal. Praechter cum Sym. Log. et Leo Grammatico.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

89. (Gen. vi. 1)

Ἄει φθάνουσι τὴν δίκην αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες. Ἔργον γὰρ αὐτῶ προηγούμενον τὸ εὐεργετεῖν, τὸ δὲ κολάζειν ἐπόμενον. Φιλεῖ δέ, ὅταν μέλλῃ μεγάλα συνίστασθαι κακά, μεγάλων καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονία προγενέσθαι.

Harris, p. 18, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 670), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητουμένων.

92. (Gen. vi. 4)

Πνευματικαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐσαί· εἰκάζονται δὲ πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ἰδέαις, πρὸς τὰς ὑποκειμένας χρείας μεταμορφούμενοι.

Harris, p. 18, from Dam. Par. 309, 772, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

93. (Gen. vi. 6)

Ἔνιοι νομίζουσι μεταμέλειαν ἐμφαίνεσθαι περὶ τὸ θεῖον διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων· οὐκ εὖ δὲ ὑπονοοῦσι. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, οὔτε τὸ “ἐνεθυμήθη” οὔτε τὸ “ἐνενόησεν” δηλωτικὰ μεταμελείας ἐστίν—τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἄτρεπτον—ἀλλ' ἀκραίφνους λογισμοῦ περιεσκεμμένου τὴν αἰτίαν, ἧς ἔνεκα ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Harris, p. 18, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 669), ἐκ τῶν β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

94. (Gen. vi. 7)

Διὰ τί ἄνθρωπον ἀπειλῶν ἀπαλεῖψαι καὶ τὰ ἄλογα προσδιαφθείρει;

Διότι οὐ προηγούμενως δι' ἑαυτὰ γέγονε τὰ ἄλογα ἀλλὰ χάριν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπηρεσίας, ὧν διαφθειρομένων εἰκότως καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνδιαφθείρεται, μηκέτι ὄντων δι' οὓς γέγονε. [Ἐκ τούτου δηλον ὅτι διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πάντα τὰ

Διὰ τί ἀπειλῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπαλεῖψεν<sup>a</sup> καὶ τὰ ἄλογα<sup>b</sup> προσδιαφθείρει;

Ἔτι οὐ προηγούμενως δι' ἑαυτὰ γέγονεν τὰ ἄλογα ἀλλὰ χάριν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπηρεσίας, ὧν διαφθειρομένων εἰκότως καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνδιαφθείρεται, μηκέτ' ὄντων τῶν δι' οὓς γέγονε, συμμετροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωθησομένων

<sup>a</sup> e Cod. Barb. Wendland : ἀπαλεῖψαι vulg.

<sup>b</sup> λοιπὰ Mai, Aug.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

ζῶα ἐγένετο· διὸ καὶ ἀπολλυ-  
μένου τοῦ δεσπότου συναπόλ-  
λυται καὶ αὐτά, συμμετροῦντος  
τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σω-  
θησομένων ζώων πρὸς τὴν  
χρείαν τῶν φυλαχθησομένων  
ἀνθρώπων ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ ἀπ’  
ἀρχῆς δύο δύο ἔκτισεν.]<sup>a</sup>

Harris, pp. 18-19, from  
Cat. Ined. Cod. Reg. 1825  
(Mangey ii. 675), and Cat.  
Mus. Britt. Cod. Burney 34,  
f. 35, Φίλωνος Ἑβραίου, cf.  
Cat. Lips. 1, col. 141, “where  
it is attributed to Procopius.”

ἀνθρώπων, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ ἀπ’  
ἀρχῆς δύο δύο ἔκτισεν.

Wendland, p. 47, from  
Procopius 272 B (cf. Theo-  
doret, *Quaest. in Gen.* 1,  
Chrys. Cat. Lips. 142).

### 95. (Gen. vi. 7)

Ὅτι δὲ τῆς κακίας κολαζομένης ἡ ἀρετὴ διασώζεται Νῶε  
δεδήλωκεν.

Wendland, pp. 49-50, from Procopius 292 A.

### 96. (Gen. vi. 8) . . . ὃς λέγεται χάριν εὐρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

Ὡς τῶν ἄλλων δι’ ἀχαριστίαν ἀπολωλότων οὐ γὰρ ὡς χάριν  
λαβῶν ἐκ θεοῦ—κοινὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πάντων ἀνθρώπων—ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ  
μόνος εὐχάριστος διεφάνη. Ἔδει δὲ καὶ χάριτος ἀξιωθῆναι θείας  
τὸν τοῦ νέου γένους κατάρξαντα· μεγίστης γὰρ χάριτος ἀρχὴν καὶ  
τέλος ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. Διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτὸν  
γενεαλογεῖ· τοῦ γὰρ σπουδαίου τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γένος ἐστὶν ἀρετῆ.  
Πρὸς ὃν καὶ φησι· “καιρὸς παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἦκει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ.”  
Ὅντως γὰρ οὐδὲν ὡς ἀδικία πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐναντίον.

Wendland, p. 50, from Procopius 292 A.

### 99. (Gen. vi. 12)

Καλῶς δὲ καὶ σάρκα κινουμένην λέγει τὴν ἐν φθορᾷ· κινεῖ γὰρ  
τὰς ἡδονὰς ἢ τὰς σαρεῖς καὶ κινεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἧτις κινήσεις αἰτία  
γίνεται φθορᾶς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὡς ἡ ἐγκράτεια σωτηρίας.

Wendland, pp. 55-56, from Procopius 269 D.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐκ τούτου . . . ἔκτισεν] e Cod. Barb. vi. 8 add. Wend-  
land.

## GENESIS, BOOK I

100. (Gen. vi. 13)

(a) Οὐδὲν ἐναντίον καὶ μαχόμενον ταῖς ὀσιωτάταις τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεσιν ἔστιν οὕτως ὡς ἀδικία.

Harris, p. 70 (identified by Früchtel), from Dam. Par. 787 (Cod. Rupef. f. 238), ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

(b) Ὁ καιρὸς παρὰ τοῖς φανλοτέροις νομίζεται εἶναι θεὸς τὸν ὄντα ὄντως παρακαλυπτομένοις . . . καὶ θεοπλαστούντων καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας τιθέντων τῷ ἀληθεῖ θεῷ τὸ λέγειν τὸν καιρὸν αἴτιον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων εἶναι. Τοῖς γὰρ εὐσεβέσι οὐ καιρὸν ἀλλὰ θεὸν παρ' οὗ καὶ οἱ καιροὶ καὶ οἱ χρόνοι· πλὴν αἴτιον οὐ πάντων ἀλλὰ μόνων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀρετήν· ὡς γὰρ ἀμέτοχος κακίας, οὕτω καὶ ἀναίτιος.

Harris, p. 19, from Cod. Rupef. f. 193, Φίλωνος περὶ κοσμοποιίας. "The last sentence also in Pitra (*Anal. Sacr.* ii. 307), from Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 238, and again in Rupef. 222 b."

Ἐπάγει δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐναντιώσεως αἴτιον τὸ πλησθῆναι τὴν γῆν ἀδικίας. Καὶ ἐπεὶ θεὸς ὁ καιρὸς παρὰ τοῖς φανλοῖς νομίζεται, δείκνυσιν ὡς καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων αὐτὸς ποιητῆς καὶ τούτοις ὄρον ἐντίθησιν, ὥστε καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φησιν "ἀφέστηκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν."<sup>a</sup> Τὸ δὲ "καιρὸς ἦκει" σημαίνει τὴν οἰονεὶ συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, μεθ' ἣν ὁ τῆς δίκης καιρὸς.

Wendland, pp. 50-51, from Procopius 292 A (Wendland adds a passage as "vielleicht . . . auch aus Philo," but this seems doubtful).

<sup>a</sup> Num. xiv. 9.



## GENESIS, BOOK II

### 5. (Gen. v. 15)

(a) Ὅτι ὁ τριάκοντα ἀριθμὸς φυσικώτατός ἐστιν, ὃ γὰρ ἐν μονάσι τριάς, τοῦτο ἐν δεκάσι τριακοντάς. . . . Συνέστηκεν ἐκ τεσσάρων τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐξῆς τετραγώνων ἀ' δ' θ' ις'.

Staehele, p. 63, from Joh. Lydus, p. 55, 10-13.

(b) Δυνατὸν ἐν τριακοστῷ ἔτει αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον πάππον γενέσθαι ἢ βῆαν μὲν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἡλικίαν, ἐν ἣ σπείρει, τὸ δὲ σπαρὲν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ γενόμενον, πάλιν πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει τὸ ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ γενῆαν.

Harris, p. 20, from Dam. Par. 314.

### 9. (Gen. vi. 17)

Cf. *QG* i. 94.

### 10. (Gen. vi. 18)

Ἄνθρωποι μὲν κληρονομοῦνται ὅταν μηκέτι ὦσιν ἀλλὰ τεθνώσιν,<sup>a</sup> ὁ δὲ θεὸς αἰδῖος ὢν μεταδίδωσι τοῦ κλήρου τοῖς σοφοῖς [ζῶν ἀεὶ]<sup>b</sup> εὐφραϊνόμενος αὐτῇ τῇ περιουσίᾳ.<sup>c</sup>

Lewy, p. 56, from Dam. Par. Cod. Rupef. f. 136<sup>v</sup>, Φίλωνος.

### 11. (Gen. vii. 1)

(a) Πρῶτων ἐναργῆς πίστις ὅτι δι' ἓνα ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι σώζονται. Δεύτερον ἐπαινεῖ τὸν δίκαιον ἄνδρα ὡς μὴ μόνον ἑαυτῷ περιπεποιηκότα ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ σωτηρίας ἀξιοῦνται. Παγκάλως δὲ τουτὶ προσετέθη ὅτι “σε εἶδον δίκαιον ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ.” Ἐτέρως γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> ἀλλὰ τεθνώσιν ex Arm. et Ambros. ins. Lewy.

<sup>b</sup> ζῶν ἀεὶ (ex marg. ad αἰδῖος) recte secl. Lewy.

<sup>c</sup> αὐτῇ τῇ περιουσίᾳ] αὐτῶν τῇ κτίσει ex Arm. con. Lewy.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

ἄνθρωποι δοκιμάζουσι τοὺς βίους καὶ ἑτέρως τὸ θεῖον, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν φανερῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀοράτων λογισμῶν.

Wendland, p. 48, from Procopius 280 B-C, Cod. Barb. vi. 8, f. 101.

(b) Καὶ τὸ “ ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ,” ἵνα μήτε τὰς πρότερον κατακρίνειν δοκῇ μήτε τὰς αὐθις ἀπογινώσκειν.

Wendland, p. 52, from Procopius 293 B.

12. (Gen. vii. 2-3)

(a) Ὁ γὰρ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἀριθμὸς ἀμιγῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμήτωρ, μήτε γεννῶν μήτε γεννώμενος ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ἐν τῇ δεκάδι ἀριθμῶν. Ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι Ἀθηνᾶ τὴν ἐπτάδα ἀνατίθενται.

Staehele, p. 36, from Joh. Lydus, p. 43, 2-5.

(b) Ὡστε ὁ δύο ἀριθμὸς οὐ καθαρὸς, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κενός ἐστι καὶ οὐ ναστός, τὸ δὲ μὴ πλήρες οὐ καθαρὸν . . . ἀρχὴ δὲ ἀπειρίας καὶ ἀνισότητος, ἀπειρίας μὲν διὰ τὴν ὕλην, ἀνισότητος δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἑτερομήκεις. . . Ὅθεν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὡς ὕλην καὶ ἑτερότητα τὴν δυάδα παραλαμβάνουσι.

Staehele, p. 23, from Joh. Lydus, p. 24, 7-12.

(c) Ἡ ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ κακία διδυμοτοκεῖ. Διχόνους γὰρ <καὶ> ἐπαμφοτερῆς ὁ ἄφρων, τὰ ἄμικτα μίγνυς, καὶ φύρων καὶ συγχέων τὰ διακρίνεσθαι δυνάμενα, τοιαῦτα ἐν ψυχῇ χρώματα ἐπιφέρων, οἷάπερ ὁ λεπρὸς ἐν τῷ σώματι, μιαίνων καὶ τοὺς ὑγιεῖς λογισμοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θανατούντων ἅμα καὶ φωνώντων.

Harris, p. 20, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 663 = Cod. Rupef. f. 125 and 138 b).

(d) . . . Τὸ<sup>a</sup> τὴν ἡμετέραν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν γεώδη ὑπάρχουσαν μὴ εἰσάπαν περιοραθῆναι χρῆ πνευματικῆς καὶ σωζούσης ἐπιμελείας<sup>b</sup> οἰνοφλυγίαις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀψοφαγίαις καὶ λαγνεῖαις καὶ συνόλωσ ὑγρῶ καὶ διαρρέοντι βίῳ χρώμενοι νεκροφοροῦμεν σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποστραφῶμεν τῶν παθῶν τὸν βομβυσμόν, ζωηφοροῦμεν καθ’ ἑκάτερον.<sup>c</sup>

Lewy, p. 57, from Dam. Par. Cod. Const. f. 501<sup>v</sup>, Φίλωνος (“ mit christlicher Tendenz überarbeitet ”).

<sup>a</sup> ἠθικώτατον γὰρ τὸ ἐξ Arm. con. Lewy.

<sup>b</sup> περιοραθῆναι ὡσπερ ζῶων ἔρημον ἐξ Arm. con. Lewy.

<sup>c</sup> ἐὰν δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσας ἀποστρέψῃ τῶν παθῶν τὸν κατακλυσμόν καὶ ξηρὰν ἀπεργάσῃται τὴν ψυχὴν, ἄρξεται ζωογονεῖν καὶ ψυχῶν τὸ σῶμα καθαρωτέρα ψυχῇ, ἧς ἡ σοφία κυβερνήτης ἐστὶν ἐξ Arm. con. Lewy.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

### 13. (Gen. vii. 4, 10)

Μεθ' ἑπτὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν ἡμέρας ὁ κατακλυσμὸς γίνεται, τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτοῖς ἀναχώρησιν εἰς μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτημάτων ὁρώσιν αὐτόχρομα πλήρη τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀντίμιμον γῆς· καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς δείκνυται τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πολυετῆ μοχθηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιλυομένου τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸς ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἐναργῶς δηλοῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἰμι καὶ τότε κοσμοποιῶν καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἄγων εἰς τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα διαφθεῖρων. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αἴτιον ἀγαθότης ἐμῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων ἀσέβεια.

Wendland, p. 53, from Procopius 296 v.

Διὰ τί μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας διαγιγνσκονται, μεθ' ἃς ὁ κατακλυσμὸς;

Πρῶτον ἀναχώρησιν δίδωσιν ὁ Ἰλωσ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἵνα θεασάμενοι τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀντίμιμον γῆς ἔνεκα τοῦ καιροῦ γενομένην καὶ τὰ τῶν ζώων γένη ταμειύουσαν, ὧν ἔφερεν ἡ γῆ τὰ κατὰ μέρος εἶδη, πιστεύσωσι μὲν τῷ περὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ κηρύγματι τὴν διαφθορὰν εὐλαβηθέντες, καθέλωσι δὲ ἀσέβειαν καὶ κακίαν ἅπασαν. Δεύτερον τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐπιεικείας τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ εὐεργέτου παρίστησιν ἐναργῶς τὸ λόγιον τὴν πολυετῆ μοχθηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιλυομένου τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις.

Wendland, p. 53, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 103<sup>v</sup>, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

### 14. (Gen. vii. 4, 12)

Ὁθεν καὶ Ἄρτεμις λέγεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρτιου καὶ ὕλικου ἀριθμοῦ (*sc.* δευτέρα ἡμέρα). Τὸ γὰρ ἄρτιον μέσον διασπᾶται διαιρουμένον τοῦ ἐνός. Μόνος δὲ ἀδιαίρετος ὁ περιττός. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄρρην ἀριθμὸς . . . τετράγωνος, αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς ἐξ ἰσότητος πλευρῶν συνεστῶς, ὁ δὲ θῆλυς ἑτερομήκης, νύκτα καὶ σκότον ἔχων διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα. Ὁ δὲ ἑτερομήκης τὴν μὲν ἐλάττονα πλευρὰν ἐλάττονα ἔχει ἐνί, τὴν δὲ μείζω περιττοτέραν ἐνί.

Staeble, p. 23, from Joh. Lydus, pp. 23, 21–24, 7.

### 15. (Gen. vii. 4)

(a) Τί ἐστι· “ἐξαλείψω πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξανάστασιν ἣν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς”;

## GENESIS, BOOK II

Τί φασι οὐκ “ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ” ἀλλ’ “ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς γῆς ”; τουτέστι τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἵνα ἐν τῷ βάθει ἡ ζωτικὴ δύναμις τῶν σπερμάτων ὄλων οὕσα φυλάττηται σῶα καὶ ἀπαθῆς παντὸς τοῦ βλάπτειν δυναμένου τῆς γὰρ ἰδίας προθέσεως οὐκ ἐπιλέλησται ὁ ποιητῆς· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄνω καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιφανείαν κινούμενα φθείρει, τὰς δὲ ρίζας βυθίου<sup>a</sup> ἔᾶ πρὸς γένεσιν ἄλλων.

Harris, p. 21, from Cat. Burney, f. 35 b and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 144, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

(b) Θεοπρεπῶς γὰρ τὸ “ ἐξαλείψω ” ὡσπερ τῶν ἀπαλειφομένων τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἀπαλείφονται, αἱ δέλτοι δὲ διαμένουσιν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβῆς γενεὰ ἐξήλειπται, τὸ δὲ κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῆς οὐσίας γένος διετηρήθη, ὡς δίκαιον.

Harris, p. 21 (= Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 313), from Cod. Vat. 748, f. 23 and Cod. Vat. 1657, f. 23.

Θεοπρεπῶς γὰρ τὸ “ ἐξαλείψω ” γέγραπται. Συμβαίνει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν <ἀπ>αλειφομένων τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἀφανίζεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δέλτους ἢ βίβλους διαμένειν. Ἐξ οὗ παρίστησιν ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπιπολάζουσαν γένεσιν διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἀπαλείψει δίκην γραμμάτων, τὴν δὲ χώραν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφυλάξει πρὸς τὴν αὐθις σποράν.

Wendland, p. 54, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 105.

<sup>a</sup> βυθίας Cat. Lips.

Πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐξαλείψειν ἀλλ’ “ ἀπὸ προσώπου,” λέγει, “ τῆς γῆς,” τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας, ἵνα ἐν τῷ βάθει ἡ ζωτικὴ δύναμις τῶν σπερμάτων ὄλων φυλάττηται.

Τὰς γὰρ ρίζας βυθίου ἔᾶ πρὸς γένεσιν ἄλλων.

Wendland, p. 54, from Procopius 296 c.

“ Ἀπαλείψω ” δέ φησιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπαλειφομένων τὰ γράμματα μὲν ἀφανίζεται, αἱ δέλτοι δὲ διαμένουσιν· ὅθεν ἐκτρίβων τὴν ἀσεβῆ γενεὰν τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ γένους ἐφέισατο.

Wendland, p. 54, from Procopius 296 c.

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(c) Διὸ καὶ “ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ” φησιν· ἀναστάσει δὲ ἀντίπαλον καθαίρεισι, τὸ δὲ καθαιρεθὲν οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν ἀπόλλυται.

Wendland, p. 54, from Procopius 296 c.

### 16. (Gen. vii. 5)

Ἐπαινος δὲ τοῦ δικαίου τὸ πάντα ποιῆσαι τὰ προσταχθέντα, δεύτερον τὸ ἐντέλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν ἢ κελεύειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεόν· ἐντέλλονται μὲν γὰρ φίλοι, κελεύουσι δὲ δεσπότες· ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, εἰ καὶ μέγα τὸ δεύτερον.

Wendland, p. 55, from Procopius 296 c.

Μέγας ἔπαινος τοῦ δικαίου ὅτι τὰ προσταχθέντα πάντα ἐπετέλεσεν ἰσχυρογνώμονι λογισμῷ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ διανοίᾳ· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἐθέλει κελεύειν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐντέλεσθαι. Κελεύουσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προστάττουσι δούλοις δεσπότες, ἐντέλλονται δὲ φίλοι. Θαυμασὴ μὲν οὖν δωρεὰ καὶ τὸ ταχθῆναι τὴν ἐν δούλοις καὶ θεράπουσι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τάξιν, ὑπερβολὴ δὲ εὐεργεσίας ἐστὶ τὸ καὶ φίλον γενηθῆναι γενητὸν ἀγενήτῳ.

Wendland, p. 55, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 101, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

### 17. (Gen. vii. 11)

Κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἰσημερίας καιρὸν ἐπισκῆπτει ὁ κατακλυσμός ἐν ἧ καὶ τὸν τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέτην διαπεπλάσθαι φασίν· ὁ δὲ ἔβδομος μὴν λέγεται καὶ πρῶτος καθ' ἑτέραν καὶ ἑτέραν<sup>a</sup> ἐπιβολήν· διὸ καὶ ἡ

Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἰσημερίας καιροῦ γέγονεν ὁ κατακλυσμός ἐν τῇ πάντων αὐξήσει καὶ γενέσει τῶν ζώων φοβερωτέραν τὴν ἀπειλήν ἐπάγοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀσειβείας εἰς ἔλεγχον. Τότε δὲ καὶ γε-

Εὐλογον γὰρ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀρχηγέτην<sup>b</sup> Ἄδὰμ διαπεπλάσθαι τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἔαρινῆς ἰσημερίας.<sup>c</sup> Ἰσημερία δ' ἔαρινῆ γίνεται καὶ τῷ ἔβδῳ μῆνι· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λέγεται καὶ πρῶτος καθ' ἑτέραν

<sup>a</sup> καθ' ἑτέρας καὶ ἑτέρας Cod. Burney.

<sup>b</sup> ἢ γενάρχην ἢ πατέρα ἢ ὅπως δεῖ καλεῖν τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκείνον ex Arm. add. Lewy.

<sup>c</sup> ὅτ' ἦν κατάπλεως ἡ γῆ φυτῶν ex Arm. add. Lewy.

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τοῦ Νῶε πρόσοδος ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ πρώτῳ γηγενεὶ ὡς ἀρχὴ συστάσεως δευτέρου κόσμου.

Harris, p. 22, from Cod. Burney, f. 36 a, Φίλωνος, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 149.

γονέαι τὴν δημιουργίαν εἰκὸς καὶ πεπλάσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Τῷ οὖν Ἀδάμ ἐξομοιοῦται καὶ Νῶε, γενεᾶς ἀνθρώπων δευτέρας ἀρχόμενος.

Wendland, p. 55, from Procopius 296 D.

καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπιβολήν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν<sup>a</sup> ἀρχὴ γίνεται δευτέρας ἀνθρώπων σποράς, ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ πρώτῳ γηγενεῖ.<sup>b</sup>

Lewy, p. 57, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 106<sup>v</sup> and Cat. Mosq. f. 157<sup>v</sup>, Φίλωνος.

26. (Gen. viii. 1) Πῶς δὲ “ τοῦ Νῶε μνησθεῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ θηρίων,” γυναικὸς ἢ τέκνων οὐ μέμνηται;

“ Ὅπου συμφωνία πάντων, ὀνομάτων οὐ χρεία πολλῶν· σὺν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἀνάγκη συνυπακούεσθαι.

Wendland, p. 56, from Procopius 296 D.

28. (Gen. viii. 1) Καὶ “ ἐπήγαγε,” φησί, “ πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ κεκόπακε τὸ ὕδωρ.”

Οὐκ ἀνέμῳ<sup>c</sup> ὕδωρ μειοῦται, κυμαίνει δὲ<sup>d</sup> καὶ ταράττεται· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πελαγῶν ἐξανάλωτο. Πνεῦμα τοίνυν τὸ θεῖον φησιν, ᾧ δὴ πάντα καὶ γίνεται καὶ λωφᾶ· οὐκ ἦν γὰρ εὐλογον ὕδωρ τοσοῦτον ἀνέμῳ παυθῆναι, ἀοράτῳ δὲ καὶ θεία δύναμις.<sup>e</sup>

Wendland, p. 56, from Procopius 296 D, with variants of Cat. Lips. p. 148, Ἀδήλου.

29. (Gen. viii. 2)

Δῆλον δὲ ἔστιν ὡς ταῖς μὲν πρώταις μ' ἡμέραις ἄλεκτος<sup>f</sup> ἢ τῆς ρύμης τῶν ὑδάτων ὑπῆρχε φορά, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ρ' καὶ ν' ἔχουσα

<sup>a</sup> καὶ Νῶε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ φθορὰν πρώτη τοῦ γένους ex Arm. add. Lewy.

<sup>b</sup> καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν ex Arm. add. Lewy.

<sup>c</sup> ἀνέμοις Cat. Lips.

<sup>d</sup> κυμαίνεται Cat. Lips.

<sup>e</sup> πάλαι . . . δύναμις] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα, ὃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος Cat. Lips.

<sup>f</sup> Wendland: ἄλεκτος codd.

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πρῶως οὐκέτι πρὸς αὐξήσιν, πρὸς διαμονὴν δὲ τῆς ἀνακαλύψεως<sup>a</sup> καὶ τοῦ ὕψους συνεβάλλετο. “μεθ’ ἡμέρας” γάρ φησιν, “ρὺ ἐπικαλυφθῆναι τὰς τε πηγὰς καὶ τοὺς καταράκτας”. ἐνήργουν ἄρα πρὸ τῆς ἐπισχέσεως. Μετὰ ν’ δὲ καὶ ρ’ ἡμέρας ἤλαττοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ. Ἄρα τὰς προειρημένας, ἐν αἷς ὑψοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἢ μετὰ τοσαύτας ἐτέρας οὐκ εὐδηλον.

Wendland, pp. 56-57, from Procopius 296 D.

### 34. (Gen. viii. 6)

Αἱ αἰσθήσεις θυρίσιν εἰκόασι. Διὰ γὰρ τούτων ὡσανεὶ θυρίδων ἐπιεσέρχεται τῷ νῷ ἢ κατάληψις τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ πάλιν ὁ νοῦς ἐκκύπτει δι’ αὐτῶν. Μέρος δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν θυρίδων, λέγω δὴ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ἢ ὄρασις, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχῆς μάλιστα συγγενής, ὅτιπερ καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ὄντων φωτὶ οἰκεία, καὶ ὑπέρτης τῶν θείων. Ἦτις καὶ τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὁδὸν ἔτεμε τὴν πρώτην. Θεασάμενος γὰρ ἡλίου κίνησιν καὶ σελήνης καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων περιόδους καὶ τὴν ἀπλανῆ περιφορὰν τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὴν παντὸς τοῦ λόγου κρείττονα τάξιν τε καὶ ἁρμονίαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ κόσμου μόνον ἀψευδέστατον κοσμοποιόν, διήγγελλε τῷ ἡγεμόνι λογισμῶ ἃ εἶδεν. Ὁ δὲ ἐν ὄμματι ὀξυδερκεστέρῳ θεασάμενος καὶ παραδειγματικὰ εἶδη τούτων<sup>b</sup> ἀνωτέρω καὶ τὸν ἀπάντων αἰτιον, εὐθύς εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε θεοῦ καὶ γενέσεως καὶ προνοίας, λογισάμενος ὅτι ὅλη φύσις οὐκ αὐτοματιθεῖσα γέγονεν,<sup>c</sup> ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη ποιητὴν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα, κυβερνήτην τε καὶ ἡγίοχον, ὃς καὶ πεποίηκε καὶ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ σώζει.<sup>d</sup>

Harris, pp. 22-23, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 665 = Cod. Rupef. f. 221), ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ κοσμοποιίας. The two variants in the footnotes, printed by Harris on p. 70 among “unidentified fragments” and located by Früchtel, also come from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 669), ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημ.

<sup>a</sup> ἀναλύσεως Cod. Aug.

<sup>b</sup> παραδειγματικὰ . . . τούτων con. Mangey : παραδείγματι καὶ εἶδει διὰ τούτων codd.

<sup>c</sup> ὅτι . . . γέγονεν] ἀμήχανον ἁρμονίαν καὶ τάξιν καὶ λόγον καὶ ἀναλογίαν καὶ τοσαύτην συμφωνίαν καὶ τῷ ὄντι εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπαντομοτιθεῖσαν γενέσθαι Joh. Monach. in alio loco.

<sup>d</sup> ἀλλ’ . . . σώζει] ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναι ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα, κυβερνήτην τε καὶ ἡγίοχον, ὃς γεγέννηκεν καὶ γεννηθέντα σώζει Joh. Monach. in alio loco.

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### 39. (Gen. viii. 9)

Σύμβολα δὲ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ὅ τε κόραξ καὶ ἡ περιστέρα. Εἰ γὰρ αὕτη δευτέρα ἐξεληθοῦσα οὐχ εὗρεν ἀνάπαυσιν, πῶς ὁ κόραξ; Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ζῶον ἔστιν ὑδρόβιον. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἡ κακία τοῖς κυμαίνουσιν ἐφήδεται, ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ τούτων ἀποπηδᾷ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην δυσχεράνασα θεάν, ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ βάσιν ἐν τούτοις οὐχ ἔχουσα.

Wendland, pp. 57-58, from Procopius 297 c (cf. Cat. Lips. 150, Ἀδήλου).

### 41. (Gen. viii. 10)

Ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου τρόπος καὶ ἂν ἐν ἀρχῇ σκληραύχενας ἴδη φύσει, οὐκ ἀπογινώσκει τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβολὴν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρός οὐκ εὐθύς ἐπιφέρει τὴν θεραπείαν ἅμα τῷ κατασκήψαι τὴν νόσον ἀλλ' ἀναχώρησιν τῇ φύσει δούς ἵνα προανατέμῃ τὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν ὁδόν, τηνικαῦτα χρῆται τοῖς ὑγιεινοῖς καὶ σωτηρίοις φαρμάκοις, οὕτω καὶ σπουδαῖος λόγοις κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ δόγμασιν.

Harris, p. 100, from Cod. Rupef. f. 137 (located by Früchtel).

### 47. (Gen. viii. 14)

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γέγονεν ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τῆς ἔαρινῆς ἰσημερίας, ἡ δὲ μείωσις ἐβδόμῃ μετὰ ταύτην μηνὶ τῇ μετοπωρινῇ ἰσημερία, ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνός. Οὗτος γὰρ πέρασ μὲν τῆς πρώτης ἰσημερίας, ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς δευτέρας, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀπὸ τούτου ἕβδομος πέρασ τῆς δευτέρας, ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς πρώτης, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἡ γένεσις.

Wendland, p. 57, from Procopius 296 d.

### 48. (Gen. viii. 15-16)

Εὐλαβῆς ὧν ὁ Νῶε ἀκόλουθον ἠγήσατο μετὰ τὸ κοπάσαι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναμείναι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταξιν ἰν', ὥσπερ χρησιμοῖς εἰσελήλυθεν εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, χρησιμοῖς πάλιν ὑπεξέλεθη, εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Νῶε· “ἐξελθε σὺ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Wendland, p. 58, from Procopius ap. Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 108, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

### 54. (Gen. viii. 21)

(a) Ἡ πρότασις ἐμφαίνει μεταμέλειαν, ἀνοίκειον πάθος θείας δυνάμεως. Ἀνθρώποις μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς αἰ γινῶμαι καὶ ἀβέβαιοι, ὡς τὰ πράγματα πολλῆς γέμοντα ἀδηλότητος. Θεῶν δὲ οὐδὲν ἀδηλον, οὐδὲν ἀκατάληπτον· ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος γὰρ καὶ βε-



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βαιότατος. Πῶς οὖν τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπόουσης αἰτίας, ἐπιστάμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅτι ἐγκτεται ἢ διάνοια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκ νεότητος, πρῶτον μὲν ἔφθειρεν τὸ γένος κατακλυσμῶ, μετὰ δὲ ταυτὰ φησιν μηκέτι διαφθεῖρειν, καίτοι διαμενούσης ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς αὐτῆς κακίας; Λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι πᾶσα ἢ τοιαύδε τῶν λόγων ἰδέα περιέχεται ἐν τοῖς νόμοις πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν διδασκαλίας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας. Διττῶν γὰρ ὄντων κεφαλαίων ἃ κείται διὰ πάσης τῆς νομοθεσίας· ἐνὸς μὲν καθ' ὃ λέγεται, “οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός”. ἐτέρου δὲ καθ' ὃ “ὡς ἄνθρωπος” παιδεύειν λέγεται νίον. Τὸ μὲν πρότερον τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστὶν ὄντως γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὡς ἥλιος οὐδὲ ὡς οὐρανὸς οὐδὲ ὡς κόσμος αἰσθητὸς ἢ νοητὸς ἀλλ' ὡς θεός, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο θέμις εἶπειν. Ὁμοιότητα γὰρ ἢ σύγκρισιν ἢ παραβολὴν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὸ μακάριον ἐκεῖνο, μᾶλλον δὲ μακαριότητος αὐτῆς ὑπεράνω. Τὸ δὲ ὕστερον τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ ὑφηγήσεως, τὸ “ὡς ἄνθρωπος,” ἔνεκα τοῦ παιδεῦσαι τοὺς γηγενεῖς ἡμᾶς ἵνα μὴ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μέχρι παντὸς ἀποτείνωμεν ἀσπόνδως καὶ ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντες.

Harris, pp. 23-24, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 304 (e Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 220 b), Φίλωνος ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ κοσμοποιίας γ' κεφαλαίου (also in Cod. Rupef. f. 205 b, Φίλωνος, “with much variation”).

(b) Τὸ οὖν “διενόθη” ἐπὶ θεοῦ οὐ<sup>a</sup> κυριολογεῖται, τοῦ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν βεβαιότατου.

Harris, p. 24, from same source as Frag. (a) above.

(c) Ἡ τυχοῦσα τῆς κακίας γένεσις δουλοὶ τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ ἂν μῆπω τέλειον αὐτῆς ἐκφυτῆσθαι τὸ γέννημα. Ἴσον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν λεγομένῳ “πλίνθον πλύνειν ἢ δικτύῳ ὕδωρ κομίζειν” τὸ κακίαν ἐξελεῖν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς. “Ὅρα γὰρ αἰς ἐγκεχάρακται πάντων ἢ διάνοια, ὡς φησιν, “ἐπιμελῶς” καὶ οὐ παρέργως· τοιούτων συγκεκόλληται καὶ προσήρμοσται. Τὸ δὲ σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ φροντίδι κατεσκευασμένον ἐστὶ καὶ διηγορευμένον<sup>b</sup> εἰς ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ἀλλ' “ἐκ νεότητος”. μονονουχὶ λέγων, “ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν σπαργάνων,” ὡσπερ τι μέρος ἠνωμένον.<sup>c</sup>

Harris, pp. 24-25, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 663 = Cod. Rupef. f. 138 a, ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ μετονομαζομένων).

<sup>a</sup> οὐ om. Cod. Coislin. vid.

<sup>b</sup> διηρευνημένον ex Arm. conieci.

<sup>c</sup> ἠνωμένον ex Lat. con. Mangey : τεινόμενον Codd.

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59. (Gen. ix. 4) Τί ἐστίν· “ ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς κρέας οὐ φάγεσθε ”;

Ἔοικεν διὰ τούτου δηλοῦν ὅτι ψυχῆς οὐσία αἱμά ἐστίν· ψυχῆς μέντοι τῆς αἰσθητικῆς<sup>a</sup> οὐχὶ τῆς κατ’ ἐξοχὴν γενομένης ἧτις ἐστὶν λογικὴ τε καὶ νοερά. Τρία γὰρ μέρη ψυχῆς· τὸ μὲν θρεπτικόν, τὸ δὲ αἰσθητικόν, τὸ δὲ λογικόν. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν λογικοῦ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα οὐσία κατὰ τὸν θεόλογον, φησὶν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς· τοῦ δὲ αἰσθητικοῦ καὶ ζωτικοῦ τὸ αἷμα οὐσία, λέγει γὰρ ἐν ἑτέροις ὅτι ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς τὸ αἷμά ἐστίν· καὶ κυριώτατα ψυχὴν σαρκὸς αἷμα εἴρηκεν, περὶ δὲ σάρκα ἢ αἰσθησις καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐχ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς μνηνύει ὅτι ἕτερόν ἐστιν ψυχὴ καὶ ἕτερον αἷμα, ὡς εἶναι ψυχῆς μὲν ἀψευδῶς οὐσίαν πνεῦμα, μὴ καθ’ αὐτὸ δὲ χωρὶς αἵματος τόπον ἐπέχειν ἀλλ’ ἐμφέρεσθαι καὶ συγκεκράσθαι αἵματι.

Harris, pp. 25-26, from Cod. Reg. 923, f. 376 b and Cod. Rupef. f. 279 b.

62. (Gen. ix. 6) Διατί, ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου θεοῦ, φησι τὸ “ ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ” ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ;

Παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς τουτὶ κεχρησμώδηται. Θνητὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεῦτερον θεόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐκείνου λόγος. Ἔδει γὰρ τὸν λογικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ τύπον ὑπὸ θεοῦ λόγου χαραχθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεὸς κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις· τῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ βελτίστη καὶ τινι ἐξαιρέτῳ καθεστῶτι ἰδέα οὐδὲν θέμις ἦν γεννητὸν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι.

Harris, p. 26, from Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vii. 13, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου μοι κείσθω τῶν Φίλωνος ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων.

64. (Gen. ix. 13-17)

(α) Τινὲς δὲ φασι· μήποτε παρὰ τὴν Ἰριν ἕτερα ἄττα μνηνύει, τουτέστιν ἀνεσις καὶ ἐπίτασις τῶν ἐπιγείων μήτε τῆς ἀνέσεως εἰς ἔκλυσιν ὑφιεμένης παντελῆ καὶ ἀναρμοστίαν μήτε τῆς ἐπιτάσεως ἄχρι ῥήξεως ἐπιτεινομένης ἀλλὰ μέτροις ὠρισμένοις ἐκατέρας δυνάμεως σταθμηθείσης. Ὁ γὰρ μέγας κατακλυσμὸς ῥήξει γέγονεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν· “ ἐρράγησαν αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου ” ἀλλ’ οὐκ

<sup>a</sup> αἰσθητικῆς καὶ τῆς ζωτικῆς ex Lat. con. Harris.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

ἐπιτάσει ποσῆ τινι.<sup>a</sup> "Ἄλλως τέ φασιν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὄπλον τὸ τόξον ἀλλ' ὄργανον ὄπλου, βέλους τιτρώσκοντος, ὅπερ καθικνεῖται τοῦ πόρρω, τοῦ πλησίον ἀπαθοῦς διαμένοντος. Οὕτως οὖν, φησί, οὐ πάντες κατακλυσθήσονται, κἄν τοῦτό τις ὑπομένειν συμβῆ. Τὸ οὖν τόξον συμβολικῶς θεοῦ δύναμις ἐστὶν ἀόρατος ἐκάτερον κυβερνώσα, καὶ τὴν ἐπίτασιν καὶ τὴν ἄνεσιν, τῷ ἀέρι ἐκ θεοῦ ἐνυπάρχουσα.

Wendland, pp. 59-60, from Procopius 300 c-d.

(b) "Ἔστιν οὖν θεοῦ δύναμις ἀόρατος συμβολικῶς τὸ τόξον, ἣτις ἐνυπάρχουσα τῷ ἀέρι ἀνειμένω κατὰ τὰς αἰθρίας καὶ ἐπιτεινομένη κατὰ τὰς νεφώσεις οὐκ ἐὰν τὰ νέφη δι' ὄλου εἰς ὕδωρ ἀναλύεσθαι τῷ μὴ γενέσθαι καθόλου κατακλυσμόν. Κυβερῶν γὰρ καὶ ἡνιοχεῖ τὴν πύκνωσιν τοῦ ἀέρος, πεφυκός μάλιστα τότε ἀπαυχενίζει καὶ ἐνυβρίζει διὰ πλησμονῆς κόρου.

Harris, pp. 26-27, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 160, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου, "also in Cod. Burney, fol. 37 b, with frequent inaccuracy of transcription."

### 65. (Gen. ix. 18-19)

Εἰ δὲ μνησθεῖς τετάρτου τοῦ Χαναὰν ἐπήνεγκε· "τρῆς οὗτοι υἱοὶ τοῦ Νῶε," δέον, φασίν, εἰπεῖν τέσσαρες, οὐκ ἀλόγως. Διὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁμοιοτροπίαν εἰς ἓν συλλαμβάνει τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱόν. Οἱ καὶ φασιν ὡς εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ Χάμ ὑπογράφει τὴν γενεὰν εἰς ἔμφασιν τοῦ ὅτι πατὴρ ἤδη γεγωνῶς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα οὐκ ἐτίμησεν οὐδὲ μετέδωκε τῷ γεννήσαντι ὧν ἂν παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡξίου τυχεῖν, καὶ ὡς νεωτεροποιὸν πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν ἐκάλεσεν εἰκότως νεώτερον. Ἐπίτηδες δὲ ἴσως ἐμνήσθη καὶ τοῦ Χαναὰν τοῦ τῶν Χανααίων οἰκιστοῦ πόρρωθεν ἐλέγχων τὸ δυσγενές, ὧν τὴν γῆν ἀφελὼν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ παρέσχε λαῶ.

Wendland, p. 61, from Procopius 301 d, 304 a.

### 66. (Gen. ix. 20)

Ἐξομοιοῖ δὲ τὸν Νῶε τῷ πρώτῳ διαπλασθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ. Ἐξῆλθε γὰρ ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν τοῦ παραδείσου, ὁ δὲ τῆς κιβωτοῦ. Ἄρχι γεωργίας ἐκάτερος μετὰ κατακλυσμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει τρόπον τινα κατεκέκλυστο ἡ γῆ. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγε· "συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν μίαν καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά."

Wendland, p. 63, from Procopius 305 a.

<sup>a</sup> ποσῆ τινι] περιττῆ con. Wendland.

## GENESIS, BOOK II

68. (Gen. ix. 20)

Εἶποι δ' ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν ῥητῶν ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν οἶνον ὄλον ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου πίνει δι' ἐγκράτειαν, δι' ἣν ἐμέτρει τὴν χρῆσιν, τοῦ ἀκρατοῦς οὐκ ἀπαλλαττομένου τῶν συμποσίων πρὶν <ἂν> ὄλον ἐκτίη τὸν ἀκρατον· εἶτα καὶ τῷ μεθύειν ἢ γραφή νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς οἰνώσεως κέχρηται. Διττὸν γὰρ τὸ μεθύειν, ἢ τὸ παρ' οἶνον ληρεῖν, ὅπερ ἀμάρτημα καὶ φαύλου ἴδιον, ἢ τὸ οἰνοῦσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ εἰς σοφὸν πίπτει.<sup>a</sup>

Wendland, p. 63, from Procopius 305 A. The variant to the last sentence, given in the footnote, is printed by Harris, p. 27, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 104, from Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

71. (Gen. ix. 22)

Τοῦ δὲ Χάμ αὔξει τὸ ἔγκλημα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπεριδεῖν, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τοῦ εἰπεῖν καὶ οὐχ ἐνὶ μόνῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν<sup>b</sup> ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέροις· εἰ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἦσαν, ἅσασιν ἐξέλαλησεν ἂν διαχλευάζων πρᾶγμα οὐ γλεύης ἀλλ' αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας ἄξιον ὄν. Εἶτα οὐκ ἔνδον ἀλλ' ἔξω διήγγειλεν ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει τὸ μὴ ἀκηκοῦναι μόνον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω περιεστῶτας ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας.<sup>c</sup>

Wendland, p. 62, from Procopius 304 C. The variant to the last sentence, given in the footnote, is printed by Harris, p. 27, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 163, also from Cat. Burney, f. 37 b, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

72. (Gen. ix. 23)

Ὁ εὐχερῆς καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτος τὰ ἐπ' εὐθείας καὶ πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν μόνον ὄρα· ὁ δὲ φρόνιμος καὶ τὰ κατόπιν, τουτέστι τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς περ γὰρ τὰ ὀπίσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὑστερίζει, οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῶν ἐνεστῶτων. Ὡν τὴν θεωρίαν ὁ ἀστείος μέτεισιν, αὐγαίως<sup>d</sup> πάντοθεν ὀμματωθεῖς· πᾶς οὖν σοφὸς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος

<sup>a</sup> Διττὸν . . . πίπτει] Διττὸν τὸ μεθύειν· ἐν μὲν τὸ ληρεῖν παρ' οἶνον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ φαύλου ἴδιον ἀμάρτημα· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ οἰνοῦσθαι, ὅπερ εἰς σοφὸν πίπτει Cod. Vat.

<sup>b</sup> Post ἀδελφῶν verba τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκούσιον ἀμάρτημα ex Arm. suppl. Wendland.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ μὴ ἀκηκοῦναι . . . γυναῖκας] οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀκηκοῦναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἄνδρας ἔξω ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκας Cat. Lips.

<sup>d</sup> Λυγκέως <δίκη> ex Arm. con. Harris : Ἄργος ὡς con. Post.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

ἀλλὰ νοῦς καταθεώμενος καὶ περιθρῶν περιπέφρακται πρὸς τὰ ἐνεστώτα καὶ τὰ ἀδοκῆτως κατασπιλάζοντα.

Harris, p. 28, from Cod. Rupef. f. 142, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

77. (Gen. ix. 27) Καὶ πῶς Χάμ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἀσεβῆς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέσχε κατάρας;

Ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ὡς ὁ μὲν Χαναὰν ἔλαβε τὴν κατάραν οὐκ ὢν ἀλλότριος τῆς πατρικῆς προαιρέσεως, ὁ δὲ Χάμ εἰς πατέρα ἀμαρτήσας εἰς υἱὸν κατηράθη ἄξιον ὄντα καὶ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν τῆς κατάρας. Ἄλλὰ καὶ μειζόνως ἤλγει διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς τιμωρούμενος· μείζω γὰρ ὢν <αὐτοῖ> πάσχομεν τὰ τῶν παίδων ἐστὶν εἰς συμφορὰν, καὶ<sup>α</sup> μάλιστα ἤνίκα γινώσκομεν ὡς ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῶν κακῶν αὐτοῖς βουλευμάτων γεγόναμεν.

Wendland, pp. 60-61, from Procopius 301 c-d and Theodoret, *Quaest.* lviii. (cf. Cat. Lips. 165-166).

<sup>α</sup> Post καὶ lacuna est quam per verbum ἀνώμεθα suppl. Wendland.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

### 3. (Gen. xv. 9)

Ἀτόπως δρῶσιν ὅσοι ἐκ μέρους τινὸς κρίνουσι τὸ ὅλον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐναντίον<sup>α</sup> ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος. Οὕτω γὰρ ἄμεινον καὶ σῶμα<sup>β</sup> καὶ πρᾶγμα δογματίζοιτο ἄν. Ἔστιν οὖν ἡ θεία νομοθεσία τρόπον τινὰ ζῶον ἠνωμένον, ἦν ὅλον δι' ὅλου χρή μεγάλους ὄμμασι περισκοπεῖν, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῆς συμπάσης γραφῆς ἀκριβῶς καὶ τηλαυγῶς περιαθρεῖν, μὴ κατακόπτοντας τὴν ἁρμονίαν, μηδὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν διαρτῶντας. Ἐτερόμορφα γὰρ καὶ ἑτεροειδῆ φανέεται τῆς κοινω- νίας στερούμενα.

Harris, p. 29, from Dam. Par. 774, from Cod. Rupef.

### 7. (Gen. xv. 11a)

Πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην φύσις μεστὴ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἐμφυλίων ἐστὶ καὶ ξένων.

Harris, p. 29, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 98, from Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ γ' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

### 8. (Gen. xv. 11b)

Ἔνεκα μὲν τῶν φαύλων οὐδεμία πόλις ἠρέμησεν ἄν. Δια- μένουσι δὲ ἀστασίαστοι δι' ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦντος<sup>α</sup> οὐ ἡ ἀρετὴ τὰς πολιτικὰς<sup>α</sup> νόσους ἰᾶται, γέρας ἀπονέμοντος τοῦ φιλαρθροῦ<sup>α</sup> θεοῦ καλοκάγαθίας<sup>α</sup> τοῦ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὠφελείσθαι.<sup>α</sup>

Harris, pp. 29-30, from Mangey ii. 661, from Joh.

<sup>α</sup> οὐ τὸ ἐναντίον con. Harris.

<sup>β</sup> ὄνομα con. Harris.

<sup>α</sup> οἰκοῦντος Cod. Rupef. : συνοικοῦντος Anton Melissa.

<sup>α</sup> πολεμικὰς Joh. Monachus.

<sup>α</sup> φιλανθρώπου Joh. Monachus.

<sup>α</sup> καλοκάγαθῶν Cod. Rupef.

<sup>α</sup> ὠφελεῖν Anton Melissa.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

Monachus (=Cod. Rupef. f. 33 b), and from Anton Melissa, col. 1105.

### 11. (Gen. xv. 15)

Ἐναργῶς ἀφθαρσίαν ψυχῆς αἰνίττεται μετοικιζομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος. Τὸ<sup>α</sup> γὰρ τῷ τελευτῶντι φάσκειν “ἀπελεύση <πρὸς τοὺς> πατέρας σου” τί ἕτερον ἢ ζῶν ἕτεραν παρίσθησι τὴν ἄνευ σώματος, καθ’ ἣν ψυχὴν μόνην συμβαίνει ζῆν. Πατέρας δὲ Ἄβραάμ οὐ δῆπου τοὺς γεννήσαντας αὐτὸν πάππους καὶ προγόνους παρείληφεν· οὐ γὰρ πάντες ἐπαινετοὶ γεγονόασιν· ἀλλ’ ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι πατέρας οὓς ἑτέρωθι καλεῖν ἀγγέλους εἴωθεν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀβελ καὶ Ἐνῶς καὶ Σήθ καὶ Ἐνῶχ καὶ Νῶε φήσεις, οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ<sup>β</sup> τοῦ πρέποντος . . . μακρὸν γὰρ αἰῶνα τείνουσι<sup>γ</sup> μυρίοι τῶν ἀφρόνων, καλὸν δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖον μόνος ὁ φρονήσεως ἐραστής.

Wendland, pp. 67-68, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 128, Φίλωνος Ἐβραίου . . . φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου (cf. Cat. Lips. 209, Ἀδήλου).

### 12. (Gen. xv. 16)

Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον καπὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ἐστὶ συνιδεῖν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ζώων γενέσεσι· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ σπέρματος καταβολή, δεύτερον δὲ ἢ εἰς τὰ γένη διανομή, τρίτον αὐξήσις, καὶ τέταρτον τελείωσις.

Staeble, p. 30, from Joh. Lydus, p. 29, 7-11.

### 18. (Gen. xvi. 1)

Στείρα ἢ τοῦ ἔθνους μήτηρ εἰσάγεται, πρῶτον μὲν<sup>α</sup> ἵνα παράδοξος ἢ τῶν ἐγγόνων σπορὰ φαίνηται θαυματουργηθεῖσα, δεύτερον δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μῆ<sup>ε</sup> συνουσία μᾶλλον ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ’ ἐπιφροσύνη<sup>φ</sup> θεία συλλαμβάνειν τε καὶ τίκτειν.<sup>θ</sup> Τὸ γὰρ στείραν οὖσαν ἀποκύειν οὐ γενήσεως ἀλλὰ θείας δυνάμεως ἔργον ἦν.<sup>η</sup>

Wendland, pp. 68-69, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 129 (cf. Theodoret, *Quaest.* lxxv), and Procopius 349 c.

<sup>α</sup> τὸ Wendland : τῷ codd.

<sup>β</sup> Wendland : ἁμαρτήσεις codd.

<sup>γ</sup> Wendland : τίνουσι codd.

<sup>δ</sup> πρῶτον μὲν om. Procopius.

<sup>ε</sup> δεύτερον . . . μῆ] καὶ ἵνα μῆ Procopius.

<sup>φ</sup> ἐπιφροσύνη Cat. Barb.

<sup>θ</sup> θεία . . . τίκτειν] θεοῦ συλλαμβάνη καὶ τίκτηη Procopius.

<sup>η</sup> τὸ γὰρ . . . ἦν om. Procopius vid.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

### 20. (Gen. xvi. 2)

Ὁρᾶς ταύτης τὸ σῶφρον καὶ τὸ ἄφθονον προσέτι καὶ φίλανδρον καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ τὴν ἀπάθειαν.

Wendland, p. 69, from Procopius 352 A (cf. Cat. Lips. 213, Ἀδήλου).

### 21. (Gen. xvi. 3)

Οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἀσελεγεῖς ὀλιγωρία τῶν ἀστῶν<sup>α</sup> ἐπὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας ἐκμαίνονται. Ὁ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τότε βεβαιότερος περὶ τὴν σύνοικον, ὅτε παλλακίδι χρῆσθαι παρήγγελλον οἱ καιροί, καὶ τότε ταύτην εὔρε γυναικα παγιωτέραν, ὅτε παρεισῆλθεν ἑτέρα. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὴν παλλακίδα μίξις ἦν σωμάτων ἕνεκα παίδων γενέσεως, πρὸς δὲ τὴν γαμετὴν ἔνωσις ψυχῆς ἀρμοζομένης ἔρωτι θείῳ.

Wendland, p. 69, from Procopius 352 A (cf. Cat. Lips. 215, Εὐσεβίου: "Philonische Gedanken sind durch eine vermittelnde Quelle, Eusebius, übergegangen").

### 22. (Gen. xvi. 4)

Κατὰ καιρὸν κυρίαν ἐκάλεσεν, ὅτε τῆς παρὰ τῆς θεραπαίνης<sup>β</sup> ἠλάττωται. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς πάντα διατείνει τοῦ βίου τὰ πράγματα: κυριώτερος<sup>γ</sup> γὰρ ὁ φρόνιμος πένης ἄφρονος πλουσίου καὶ ὁ ἄδοξος ἐνδόξου καὶ ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνοντος. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ σὺν φρονήσει πάντα κύρια, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ δοῦλα καὶ ἄκυρα. Οὐκ εἶπε δὲ "ἠτίμασε τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῆς" ἀλλ' "ἠτιμάσθη ἡ κυρία." Οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει κατηγορεῖν, δηλῶσαι δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός.

Wendland, pp. 69-70, from Procopius 352 B (cf. Cat. Lips. 215, Ἀδήλου).

### 23. (Gen. xvi. 5)

Τὸ "ἐκ σοῦ" οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὑπὸ σοῦ" . . . ἀλλ' ἔστι χρονικὸν τῷ ἐξῆς συναπτόμενον: ἐξ οὗ σοι καὶ ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου ἐγὼ "δέδωκα τὴν παιδίσκην μου." Οὐ γὰρ γυναικα εἶπεν ἢ γαμετὴν τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύουσαν.

Wendland, p. 70, from Procopius 352 B (the next two sentences in Procopius do not belong here).

<sup>α</sup> ἀστείων ex Arm. con. Wendland.

<sup>β</sup> θεραπαίνης τιμῆς con. Wendland.

<sup>γ</sup> κυριώτερον Mai.



## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

### 24. (Gen. xvi. 6)

Ἐπαινον ἔχει τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ σοφοῦ μήτε γυναῖκα μήτε γαμετὴν ἀλλὰ παιδίσκην εἰπόντος τῆς γαμετῆς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύουσαν.

Wendland, p. 70, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 130, Φιλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

### 26. (Gen. xvi. 6)

Οὐ γὰρ<sup>a</sup> πᾶσα ψυχὴ δέχεται νουθεσίαν ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἴλεως ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ἐλέγχους καὶ τοῖς παιδεύουσι μᾶλλον οἰκειοῦται, ἡ δὲ ἐχθρὰ μισεῖ καὶ ἀποστρέφεται<sup>b</sup> καὶ ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους, τῶν ὠφελεῖν δυναμένων προκρίνουσα.

Wendland, pp. 70-71, from Procopius 352 v = Harris, p. 30, from Cat. Lips. col. 216, Προκοπίου.

### 29. (Gen. xvi. 8)

Καὶ τὸ εὐγνωμον δὲ αὐτῆς παρίσταται ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν Σάρραν κυρίαν καὶ μηδὲν περὶ αὐτῆς φαῦλον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἠθους δὲ ἀνυπόκριτον πῶς οὐκ ἐπαινετόν; ὁμολογεῖ γὰρ ὁ πέπονθεν, ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπον, λέγω δὲ τὴν φαντασίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας, καταπέπληκται καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας βασιλικόν οὐ γὰρ ὑπομένει τὸ ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος θεωρεῖν ἀλλ' ἀποδιδράσκει ἔνιοι γὰρ οὐ μίσει τῷ πρὸς ἀρετὴν φεύγουσιν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' αἰδοῖ κρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀναξίους συμβιοῦν τῇ δεσποίνῃ.

Wendland, p. 71, from Procopius 354 v.

### 30. (Gen. xvi. 9)

Τὸ ὑποτάττεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσιν ὠφελιμώτατον. Ὁ μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν εὐθὺς μαθάνει. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὸ κράτος ἀνάψοιτό τις, ἄρχων ἂν εἴη πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, εἰ μὴ μάθοι καὶ προπαιδευθεῖ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι.

Harris, p. 30, "The first sentence from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 103, e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἐν τῇ Γενέσει ζητημάτων. Also Dam. Par. 359 and Cod. Reg. 923, fol. 74, in each case referred to Greg. Nazianz. The last part in Dam. Par. 359 as from Philo, and in Cod. Reg. *l.c.*, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων."

<sup>a</sup> γὰρ om. Cat. Lips.

<sup>b</sup> καὶ ἀποστρέφεται om. Procopius.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

38. (Gen. xvi. 16)

(a) Ὁ γὰρ ἐξ ἀριθμὸς γεννητικώτατός ἐστιν ὡς ἀρτιοπέριττος, μετέχων καὶ τῆς δραστικῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τὸν περιττὸν καὶ τῆς ὑλικῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄρτιον. Ὅθεν καὶ ἀρχαῖοι γάμον καὶ ἀρμονίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν.

Staehele, p. 33, from Joh. Lydus, p. 32, 4-8.

(b) Μακαρία φύσις ἢ ἐπὶ παντὶ χαίρουσα καὶ μηδενὶ δυσαρροστοῦσα τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ παράπαν,<sup>a</sup> ἀλλ' εὐαρροστοῦσα<sup>b</sup> τοῖς γινομένοις ὡς καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως γινομένοις.

Harris, p. 97 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), from Dam. Par. 372 and 675, also Cod. Reg. 923, f. 38 b, and Georgius Monachus, col. 1116.

40. (Gen. xvii. 1-2)

Ἡ ὡς μήπω ἀμέμπτω ἢ ὡς τοιούτῳ μὲν, δεομένῳ δὲ αἰεὶ ἐνεργεῖν τὸ ἀμεμπτον, ὡς ἂν διὰ παντὸς ἀμεμπτος ᾦ. Τὸ δὲ "θήσομαι τὴν διαθήκην μου" ὡς περὶ ἄθλου ἐπαγγελία, καὶ αὐτῆς διδομένης τῷ εὐαρροστούντι ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένῳ ἀμέμπτῳ. Ἐπάγει δὲ καί: "πληθυνῶ σε σφόδρα."

Wendland, p. 71, from Procopius 353 c ("die philonische Vorlage hat Pr. wohl auch hier . . . nicht selbst benutzt; denn die Uebereinstimmung ist keine wörtliche").

41. (Gen. xvii. 3)

Τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ τὸ τὸν θεὸν ἀξιοῦν αὐτοῦ θεὸν εἶναι καταπλαγεῖς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον.

Wendland, p. 72, from Procopius 356 b, "passt durchaus in philonische Gedankenkreise."

48. (Gen. xvii. 12)

Οἴησις, ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἐστὶν ἐκκοπή προκοπῆς· ὁ γὰρ κατοϊόμενος βελτίωσιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται.

Harris, p. 99 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), from Dam. Par. 704 ("note that on p. 629 this is given to Cyril, and so in Cod. Reg. 923, f. 36 b").

<sup>a</sup> τῶν . . . παράπαν om. Georg. Mon.

<sup>b</sup> εὐχαριστοῦσα Georg. Mon.: τῶν . . . εὐαρροστοῦσα om. Cod. Reg.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

52. (Gen. xvii. 14)

Οὐδὲν τῶν ἀκουσίων ἔνοχον ἀποφαίνει ὁ νόμος, ὅποτε καὶ τῷ φόνον ἀκούσιον δρᾶσαντι συγγινώσκει. . . . Τὸ δὲ ὀκτῶ ἡμερῶν μετὰ γέννησιν βρέφος εἰ μὴ περιτέμνηται, τί ἀδικεῖ ὡς καὶ θανάτου τιμωρίαν ὑπομένειν; Ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φασι ἀναφορικὸν εἶναι τὸν τῆς ἐρμηθείας<sup>a</sup> τρόπον ἐπὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, καὶ ἐκείνους κολάζεσθαι οἴονται δεινῶς, ὡς ὀλιγωρηκότας τῆς τοῦ νόμου διατάξεως. Ἔνιοι δὲ ὅτι ὑπερβολῇ χρώμενος κατὰ τοῦ βρέφους, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, ἡγανάκτησεν, ἵνα τοῖς τελείοις καταλύσασι<sup>b</sup> τὸν νόμον ἀπαράιτητος ἐπάγηται τιμωρία<sup>c</sup>· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔργον τῆς περιτομῆς ἀναγκαῖον ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἀθετεῖται, τοῦ σημείου, δι' οὗ γνωρίζεται, μὴ πληρουμένου.

Harris, p. 31, from Cat. Ined. Cod. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 675), and Cat. Burney, f. 45, Φίλωνος Ἑβραίου, also Cat. Lips. 1, col. 225 ("the last sentence looks like an added gloss").

Οὐδὲν τῶν ἀκουσίων ἔνοχον ἀποφαίνει ὁ νόμος, ὅποτε καὶ τῷ φόνον ἀκούσιον δρᾶσαντι συγγινώσκει. Τί οὖν ἀδικεῖ τὸ ὀκτῶ ἡμερῶν βρέφος, εἰ μὴ περιτεμνῆσεται; ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκληπτέον κολαζομένους, εἰ μὴ περιτέμοιεν τὸ παιδίον, ἢ γοῦν ὑπερβολικῶς κατὰ τοῦ βρέφους, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, ἡγανάκτησεν, ἵνα τοῖς τελείοις ἀπαράιτητος γίνηται.

Wendland, pp. 72-73, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 98<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 357 A).

58. (Gen. xvii. 19) Καὶ ἰδοὺ Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ σου τέξεται σοι υἱόν.

Ἡ ὁμολογία, φησὶν, ἡ ἐμὴ κατάφασίς ἐστὶν ἀκραιφνῆς, ἀμυγῆς ἀρνήσεως καὶ ἡ σὴ πίστις οὐκ ἀμφίβολος ἀλλ' ἀνευδοκίματος, αἰδοῦς καὶ ἐντροπῆς μετέχουσα. Ὅθεν ὁ προεὶληφας γενησόμενον διὰ

<sup>a</sup> τιμωρίας Catt. Lips., Burney.

<sup>b</sup> καταλύουσι Cat. Lips.

<sup>c</sup> ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπάγηται τιμωρίας Cat. Burney.

## GENESIS, BOOK III

τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστιν, γενήσεται πάντως· τοῦτο γὰρ μηνύει τὸ  
“ναί.”

Wendland, p. 73, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 98<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 358).

61. (Gen. xvii. 24-25)

Ὁ γὰρ τῶν δεκατριῶν ἀριθμὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων  
δυοῖν τετραγώνων, τοῦ τέσσαρα καὶ τοῦ ἐννέα, ἀρτίου τε καὶ περιτ-  
τοῦ, πλευρᾶς ἐχόντων τοῦ μὲν ἀρτίου τὸ ὑλικὸν εἶδος δυάδα, τοῦ  
δὲ περιττοῦ τὴν δραστήριον ιδέαν τριάδα. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἢ  
μεγίστη καὶ τελειοτάτη τῶν ἐορτῶν γέγονε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις<sup>a</sup> ἐπι-  
τήρησις.

Staeble, p. 59, from Joh. Lydus, 45, 12-18.

<sup>a</sup> ἀρχαῖος Staeble.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

8. (Gen. xviii. 6-7)

(a) Μεγίστη δὲ ἡ τῆς τριάδος καὶ κατ' αἰσθησιν δύναμις. Ὁ γὰρ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀριθμὸς τοῖς γενητοῖς ἐπιδέδωκε γένεσιν, αὔξησιν, τροφήν, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἶρηται "τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται." . . . Διὰ μὲν τοῦτο οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τριάδα μὲν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἐν δὲ σχήμασι τὸ ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον ὑποτίθενται στοιχείον τῆς τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως. Ἐν μὲν οὖν μέτρον ἐστί, καθ' ὃ συνέστη ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς κόσμος. Δεύτερον δὲ μέτρον, καθ' ὃ ἐπάγη ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὐρανός, πέμπτην λαχὼν καὶ θειοτέραν οὐσίαν, ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβολον. Τρίτον δὲ καθ' ὃ ἐδημιουργήθη τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην, ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων δυνάμεων, γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἐπιδεχόμενα.

Staeble, pp. 25-26, from Joh. Lydus, pp. 25, 12-16 and 28, 8-16.

(b) Οὐ θέμις τὰ ἱερά μυστήρια ἐκλαλεῖν ἀμνήτοις ἄχρι ἂν καθαρθῶσιν<sup>a</sup> τελεία καθάρσει, ὃ γὰρ ἀνοργίαστος καὶ εὐχερής, ἀσώματον καὶ νοητὴν φύσιν ἀκούειν ἢ βλέπειν ἀδυνατῶν, ὑπὸ τῆς φανερᾶς ὄψεως ἀπατηθεὶς μωμῆσεται τὰ ἀμώμητα. Τοῖς ἀμνήτοις ἐκλαλεῖν μυστήρια καταλύοντός ἐστι τοὺς θεσμοὺς τῆς ἱερατικῆς τελετῆς.

Harris, p. 69 ("unidentified," but located by E. Bréhier), from Dam. Par. 533 (cf. Dam. Par. 782 = Cod. Rupef. f. 189, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 25 b, "by the last two expressly referred to *II. Quaest. in Gen.*").

10. (Gen. xviii. 8) Αὐτὸς δὲ παρειστήκει αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ δένδρον.

Αὐτουργῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ὃ τῆ' καὶ δέκα κεκτημένος οἰκογενεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀργυρωνήτους τὴν θείαν ὑπόνοιαν περὶ αὐτῶν δείκνυσιν οὐ συγχωρῶν οἰκέταις τὴν ἱερατικὴν θεοῦ διακονίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταύτην, εἰ καὶ πρεσβύτης, ἀναδεχόμενος.

Wendland, p. 74, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 100<sup>v</sup> (cf. Ἀκακίου, Cat. Lips. 234).

<sup>a</sup> ἄχρι καθαρσῶσι Cod. Reg.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

20. (Gen. xviii. 16)

Μόλις διαζεύγνυται δυσασπασίτως ἔχων, ὡς βούλεσθαι καὶ ἀποδημῆν. Ἄμεινον δὲ τοῦ πέμπειν κοινωνικώτατον ἦθος ἐμφαίνον.  
Wendland, p. 74, from Procopius 368 B.

24. (Gen. xviii. 21)

Ἡμᾶς τοίνυν διδάσκει μὴ ἐπιτρέχειν πίστει κακῶν μέχρις ἂν πεισθῶμεν τῇ θεᾷ.

Wendland, p. 74, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 101<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 368 c, cf. Cat. Lips. 239 B-Γ).

30. (Gen. xix. 1)

Τῷ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ φαίνονται τρεῖς, καὶ μεσημβρίας· τῷ δὲ Λὼτ δύο, καὶ ἐσπέρας. Φυσικώτατα διάφορον εἰσηγείται ὁ νόμος τελείου καὶ προκόπτοντος· ὁ μὲν οὖν τέλειος τριάδα φαντασιούται ἐν ἀσκήῳ φωτὶ καὶ μεσημβρινῷ, μεστήν διηλεκτῆ καὶ πληρεστάτην οὐσίαν· ὁ δὲ δυνάδα, διαίρεσιν καὶ τομῆν καὶ κενὸν ἔχουσαν ἐν ἑσπερινῷ σκότει.

Harris, p. 32, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 23 e Cod. Coislin. 276 (?), f. 10 "with heading, φησὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ὁ ἐν λόγοις ἐξαιρέτος Φίλων."

Πρὸς μὲν Ἀβραὰμ οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ μεσημβρίας, εἰς Σόδομα δὲ οἱ δύο ἄγγελοι καὶ ἐσπέρας.

Wendland, p. 74, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 102<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 370 c = Cat. Lips. 241-242, Ἀδῆλου).

33. (Gen. xix. 2)

(a) Τῷ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ εὐχερῶς ἐπέισθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λὼτ μετὰ βίας.  
Wendland, p. 75, from Procopius 370 D.

(b) Στενοχωρεῖται πᾶς ἄφρων, θλιβόμενος ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας καὶ φιληδονίας καὶ τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων ἅπερ οὐκ εἶ τὴν δianoian ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ διάγειν.<sup>a</sup>

Harris, p. 32, from Dam. Par. 362, ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει, and Cod. Reg. 923, ἐκ τῶν δ', "also Cod. Barocc. 143 . . . (Mangey ii. 674), and in Cod. Rupef. f. 73 b without a title."

<sup>a</sup> διαβαίνειν Cod. Barocc.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

40. (Gen. xix. 10)

Νόμος ἔστω κατὰ τῶν σεμνὰ καὶ θεία οὐ<sup>α</sup> σεμνῶς καὶ θεοπρεπῶς ὁρᾶν ἀξιούντων, κόλασιν ἐπιφέρειν ἁρασιᾶς.

Harris, pp. 32-33, from Dam. Par. 341, "where it is ascribed to Clem. Alex.," and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 62 b, ἐκ τοῦ δ' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

43. (Gen. xix. 14)

Οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀφθόνοις χορηγίαις πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ ἐν ὑγιείᾳ καὶ εὐαισθησίᾳ σώματος καὶ εὐεξίᾳ ζωῆς καὶ τὰς διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἡδονὰς καρπούμενοι<sup>β</sup> νομίζοντες τῆς ἄκρας εὐδαιμονίας ἀφίχθαι,<sup>γ</sup> μεταβολὴν οὐ προσδοκῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι πάντα περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτὸς ἐπικαίρως ἔχει, γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην τίθενται.

Harris, p. 33, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 101 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῶν δ' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

44. (Gen. xix. 16)

. . . τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἄρα λόγοις μόνον ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ πρὸς ἁμαρτίας ἀποφυγῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεργὸν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν χαρίζεται.

Wendland, p. 75, n. 1, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 102<sup>v</sup> = Migne, p. 371 B ("wahrscheinlich geht auf Philons Einfluss zurück").

47. (Gen. xix. 18-20)

Ὁ σοφὸς ἡρεμίαν καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ σχολὴν μεταδιώκει<sup>α</sup> ἵνα τοῖς θείοις θεωρήμασιν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐντύχη. Ὁ φαῦλος πόλιν τε καὶ τὸν κατὰ πόλιν ὄχλον τε καὶ φυρμὸν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων μεταδιώκει. Φιλοπραγμοσύναι γὰρ καὶ πλεονεξίαι, δημοκοπίαί τε καὶ δημαρχίαι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τιμαί, τὸ δὲ ἡσυχάζειν ἀτιμώτατον.

Harris, p. 33, "the first sentence is Dam. Par. 376, also Cod. Reg. 923, f. 85, where it is ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει, and Maximus ii. 599 . . . the last part is found in Anton Melissa (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 136, col. 1193 . . .)."

<sup>α</sup> μὴ Cod. Reg.

<sup>β</sup> Harris (p. 110): κρατούμενοι codd.

<sup>γ</sup> Harris: ἠφίχθαι codd.: ἐφικέσθαι prop. Harris.

<sup>α</sup> καὶ σχολὴν μεταδιώκει] διώκει Maximus.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

51. (Gen. xix. 23)

(a) Διὰ τί, “ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ Λὼτ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Σηγῶρ ”;

Καὶ φησιν· Ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος γίνεται καὶ τοῖς προκόπτουσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνιάτως ἔχουσι πρὸς κόλασιν. Καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ δὴ ἡμέρας εὐθὺς ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν δίκην ἐπάγει, βουλόμενος δεῖξαι ὅτι ἥλιος καὶ ἡμέρα καὶ φῶς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα<sup>a</sup> ἐν κόσμῳ καλὰ καὶ τίμα μόνοις ἀπονέμεται τοῖς ἀστείοις, φαύλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀθεράπευτον κακίαν ἔχόντων.

Harris, p. 34, from Cat. Ined. Cod. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 675), Cat. Burney, f. 37 and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 251.

(b) Ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐξ οὗ γίνονται οἱ ἐτήσιοι χειμῶνες καὶ ἕτοι πρὸς αὔξησιν τῶν φυομένων, ὅσα σπαρτὰ καὶ δένδρα πρὸς γένεσιν καρπῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων τροφάς, καταραγῆναί φησι τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ φθορᾷ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀπάντων ἢ ἐπιδείξεται ὅτι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων αἴτιος οὐθ' ὁ οὐρανὸς οὐθ' ὁ ἥλιος οὐθ' αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων χορεῖαι καὶ περιπολήσεις, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ πατέρος δύναμις.<sup>b</sup> Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ τεθραυματοουργημένη πρᾶξις οὐ

<sup>a</sup> ἄλλα om. Cat. Burney.

<sup>b</sup> ἐφεδρεύοντος μὲν ὡς ἄρματι πτηνῷ σύμπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ, ἡνιοχοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν ὡς βέλτιστ' ἂν νομίσειεν ex Arm. add. Lewy.

Οὐ μεσημβρίας γίνεται ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ὄρθρου ὅτε καταψύχει πως ὁ ἀήρ . . . ὅρα δὲ πάλιν ἱστορικώτερον, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος γίνεται καὶ τοῖς προκόπτουσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνιάτοις εἰς κόλασιν. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκάτερον γέγονεν.

Wendland, p. 75, from Procopius 373 A and Cod. Aug. f. 104<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 375).

Ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ τὸ πῦρ πρὸς φθοράν, ὅθεν ἕτοι πρὸς ζωήν, ὡς ἂν δευχθῆ μὴ τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος ὑπάρχων οὐρανὸς καὶ ἀστέρες ὡς οὐδὲ τῶν ὄμβρων, ἀλλ' ὁ πέμπων τούτους θεός, ὅς γε καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀντὶ τούτων ἀπέστειλε παρὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω πεμφθέν.

Wendland, p. 75, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 104<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 375).



## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

τὸ καθεστὸς<sup>a</sup> ἐπὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἔθος ἀλλὰ τινα δύναμιν αὐτοκρατῆ καὶ αὐτεξούσιον μεταστοιχειοῦσαν, ὡς ἂν προέλθῃται, τὰ σύμπαντα.

Lewy, p. 58, from Catt. Len. f. 63<sup>r</sup>, Barb. f. 141<sup>v</sup>-142<sup>r</sup>, Mosq. f. 217<sup>r-v</sup>, Φιλ. ἐπισκ.

(c) Φύσει μὲν γὰρ κοῦφα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ ἐστὶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄνω φοιτᾷ· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς κεκαιουρρημένον ἤλλαξε πρὸς τούναντίον τὴν κίνησιν ἄνωθεν κάτω βιαζόμενον ἐνεχθῆναι τὰ κουφότατα ὡς τὰ τῶν ὄντων βαρύτερα.

Lewy, p. 58, from Catt., as in (b) above.

Φύσει μὲν κοῦφα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς κεκαιουρρημένον ἤλλαξε πρὸς τούναντίον τὴν κίνησιν.

Harris, p. 34, from Cat. Burney, f. 46 b, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου, and Cat. Lips. col. 252, Ἀδῆλου.

### 52. (Gen. xix. 26)

Οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι παραγγέλλουσι μὴ ἀποκλίνειν ὀπίσω. "Ἦιδεσαν γὰρ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἴσως ἐφροσθήσονται ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἰδόντες—χαίρειν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐτέρων<sup>b</sup> ἀτυχίαις εἰ καὶ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον· τὸ γὰρ μέλλον ἀδηλον—, οἱ δὲ ἴσως μαλακισθήσονται καὶ πλέον τοῦ μετρίου δυσανασχετήσουσι περιαλοῦντες ἠττώμενοι φίλων καὶ συνηθείας. Καὶ πάλιν αὕτη τρίτη αἰτία· θεοῦ γάρ, φησὶν, ὧ<sup>c</sup> ἀνθρώποι, κολάζοντος μὴ κατανοεῖτε. Ἀπόχρη γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῦτο γνῶναι, ὅτι ὑπέμειναν τιμωρίαν οὐς ἔχρη<sup>d</sup>. τὸ δὲ πῶς ὑπέμειναν<sup>e</sup> περιεργάζεσθαι προπετείας καὶ θράσους, οὐκ εὐλαβείας ἂν εἴη.

Wendland, p. 76, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 104<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 375). The phrase χαίρειν . . . ἀνθρώπινον is also in Harris, p. 34, from Dam. Par. 509, ascribed to Nilus, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 154 b, ascribed to Philo, and Mai, *Script.*

<sup>a</sup> ex Arm. Lewy : καθ' ἕκαστον codd.

<sup>b</sup> ἐχθρῶν Cod. Reg.

<sup>c</sup> ὡς Catt. Lips., Burney.

<sup>d</sup> ἀπόχρη . . . ἔχρη] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τιμωροῦνται ἔχρη γνῶναι Catt. Lips., Burney.

<sup>e</sup> ὑπέμειναν om. Catt. Lips., Burney.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

*Vet.* vii. 102, from Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ γ' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων. The last part, θεοῦ γάρ . . . εὐλαβείας (ἂν εἴη), is also in Harris, pp. 34-35, from Cat. Lips. col. 248 and Cat. Burney, f. 46 b, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

54. (Gen. xix. 29) Ἐμνήσθη δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ ἐξ-  
απέστειλε τὸν Λῶτ.

Ὡστε διὰ τὸν Ἀβραάμ διασέσωσται (καὶ αὐτὸς τι μέρος εἰσ-  
ενεγκῶν).

Wendland, p. 76, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 104<sup>r</sup>.

56. (Gen. xix. 31-32) Ἐπότισαν δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν οἶνον ἐν  
νυκτί.

. . . δι' ὧν δέ φασι “ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὃς εἰσελεύ-  
σεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς,” δεικνύουσιν ὡς οὐ πάθος ἀκολασίας ἤλασεν  
αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ φειδῶ τοῦ γένους, ὅθεν εὐσύγγνωστοι. . . .  
Οὕτως οἰκονομία τις ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ Λῶτ, ἐπειδὴ  
μὴ δι' ἀκολασίαν καὶ παίδων ἐπιθυμίαν τὸ γεγονός.

Wendland, p. 77, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 104<sup>v</sup>  
(Migne, p. 378 A, cf. Theodore, Cat. Lips. 255) and Procopius  
474 A.

64. (Gen. xx. 4-5)

Οὐχ ὡς τὸ ἐκουσίως ἀμαρτάνειν ἐστὶν ἄδικον, οὕτω τὸ ἀκουσίως  
καὶ κατ' ἀγνοίαν εὐθὺς δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τάχα που μεθόριον ἀμφοῖν,  
δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου, τὸ ὑπὸ τινων καλούμενον ἀδιάφορον. Ἀμάρ-  
τημα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔργον δικαιοσύνης.

Harris, p. 35, from Dam. Par. 520 and Cod. Reg. 923. See  
also Wendland, p. 78, who prints a brief paraphrase from  
Procopius 380 A, ὁ μὲν δίκαιος οὐκ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμη.

67. (Gen. xx. 10-11)

Οὐ πάντα ἀληθῆ λεκτέον ἅπασιν ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ὁ ἀστείος ὄλον  
οἰκονομεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα μεταθέσει καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆ τῶν ὀνομάτων.

Harris, p. 35, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106 = Cod. Vat.  
1553, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

69. (Gen. xx. 16)

Τὸ δὲ “ πάντα ἀλήθευσον ” ἀφιλοσόφου καὶ ἰδιώτου παράγγελμα·

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων βίος εὐώδει μηδὲν παραδεχόμενος ψεῦδος, εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ παντὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀληθεύειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπόκρισις ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ<sup>a</sup> δυναστεύει καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος παραπέτασμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστί, τέχνης δεὶ τῷ σοφῷ πολυτρόπου, καθ' ἣν ὠφελῆσει μιμούμενος τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς οἱ ἄλλα λέγοντες ἕτερα δρῶσιν ὅπως δασύσωσιν οὓς δύνανται.

Harris, p. 35, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106 = Cod. Vat. 1553.

73. (Gen. xxiii. 2-3)

Προπάθεια καὶ οὐ πάθος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ διὰ τούτων δεδήλωται. Οὐ γὰρ εἴρηται ὅτι ἐκόψατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦλθε κόψασθαι. Τοῦτο δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ "ἀνέστη Ἀβραάμ ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ," μὴ προλεχθέντος τοῦ "ἐκόψατο."

Wendland, p. 78, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 110<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 394, cf. Cat. Lips. 285, Εὐσεβίου).

74. (Gen. xxiii. 4)

Οὕτως γὰρ ὁ σοφίας ἐραστῆς οὐδενὶ τῶν εἰκαιστέρων, καὶ ἂν συμπεφυκῶς τυγχάνη, σύνεστιν ἢ συνδιατρίβει πονηροτάτῳ, διεζευγμένους τῶν πολλῶν διὰ λογισμῶν, δι' οὓς οὔτε συμπλεῖν οὔτε συμπολιτεύεσθαι οὔτε συζῆν λέγεται.

Harris, p. 69 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), from Dam. Par. 754 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τοῦ ε' τῶν αὐτῶν.

76. (Gen. xxiii. 5-6)

Τῶν μὲν ἀφρόνων βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς, καὶ ἂν τὸ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀνάψῃται κράτος· μόνος δὲ ὁ ἀστεῖος καὶ θεοφιλῆς, καὶ ἂν τῶν παρασκευῶν καὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν ἀμοιρῆ, δι' ὧν πολλοὶ κρατύνονται τὰς δυναστείας. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τῷ κυβερνητικῆς ἢ ἰατρικῆς ἢ μουσικῆς ἀπείρω παρέλκον πρᾶγμα οἶακες καὶ φαρμάκων σύνθεσις καὶ αὐλοὶ καὶ κιθάραι, διότι μηδενὶ τούτων χρῆσθαι πρὸς ὁ πέφυκε, κυβερνήτῃ δὲ καὶ ἰατρῷ καὶ μουσικῷ λέγοιτο ἂν ἐφαρμόζειν· δεόντως οὕτως, ἐπειδὴ τέχνη τίς ἐστι βασιλική καὶ τεχνῶν ἀρίστη, τὸν μὲν ἀνεπιστήμονα χρήσεως ἀνθρώπων ἰδιώτην νομιστέον, βασιλέα δὲ μόνον τὸν ἐπιστήμονα.

Harris, p. 36, the first few lines (to θεοφιλῆς) from Dam. Par. 396 and 776 = Cod. Rupef. f. 115 b, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν

<sup>a</sup> ex Arm. Harris: ἐκατέρω codd.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

Γενέσει ζητημάτων, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 97, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει, the rest of the passage from Dam. Par. 776.

80. (Gen. xxiii. 9, 11)

Τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν δύο εἰσὶν ἀνθρώδεις ὑπωρείαι· ἡ μὲν ἐκτός, ἡ δὲ εἴσω· ἡ δὴ δύο περίβολοι· ὁ μὲν περιέχων, ὁ δὲ περιεχόμενος.

Harris, p. 36, from Cat. Lips. col. 288, Προκοπίου.

81. (Gen. xxiii. 11)

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ μόνον τὸ σπήλαιον αἰτοῦντος ὁ Ἐφρών ὀρώων αὐτοῦ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, οἰόμενος δεῖν ἀφθόουως ἐπιδαμνιλέεσθαι χάριτας.

Wendland, p. 78, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 110<sup>r</sup> = Cat. Lips. 288, Ἀδήλου.

86. (Gen. xxiv. 2)

Λεχθείη δ' ἂν καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μνηστείαν καὶ γάμον πέμπων τὸν παῖδα ὁ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ τῶν γαμικῶν ὀργάνων ἐξώρκισε, καθαρὰν ὀμιλίαν καὶ γάμον ἀνεπίληπτον, αἰνιττόμενος οὐχ ἡδονὴν τὸ τέλος ἀλλὰ γνησίους ἔχοντα παῖδας.<sup>a</sup>

Wendland, pp. 78-79, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 110<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 365, cf. Theodoret, *Quaest.* lxxiv).

88. (Gen. xxiv. 3) Διατί δὲ μὴ τῷ υἱῷ παραγγέλλει μὴ λαβεῖν Χανανίτιν, ὡς περ ὕστερον τῷ Ἰακώβ οἱ γονεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδί;

. . . καίτοι τελείου τυγχάνοντος Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἡλικίαν ἔχοντος γάμου . . . καὶ εἰ μὲν ἤμελλε πείθεσθαι, εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον παρεγγυᾶν· εἰ δὲ ἀπειθεῖν, περιττὴ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡ διακονία. Τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι, χρησμῶ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθὼν, πέμπειν εἰς αὐτὴν οὐκ ἤξιον τὸν υἱόν, [εἰ καὶ εὐλογον, ὅμως ἀπαρέσκει τισί] διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἂν τὸν Ἰακώβ, εἰ τοῦτο ἦν ἀληθές, ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἐνταῦθα πεμφθῆναι.

Harris, p. 37, from Cat. Lips. col. 292, Προκοπίου.

99. (Gen. xxiv. 16)

(a) Διαγράφει τὸ κάλλος ἵνα μᾶλλον τὴν σωφροσύνην θαυμάσωμεν. Οὐ τὸ κάλλος γὰρ πάντως ἀσελγές, ὡς οὐδὲ σῶφρον ἡ

<sup>a</sup> γνησίων παιδῶν γένεσιν scripsisse Philonem ex Ambr. *De Abr.* i. 83 con. Wendland.

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ἀμορφία. Οὐ σῶμα γὰρ τούτων ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις αἴτιον. Διπλασιάζει δὲ τὸ "παρθένος ἦν," τὸ κατ' ἄμφω σῶφρον ἐμφαίνουσα. "Ἔστι γὰρ ἀσελγείαις διεφθάρθαι ψυχὴν, ἀκραίου τοῦ σώματος μένοντος.

Wendland, p. 79, from Procopius 398 B ("zum guten Teile philonisch erscheint mir die Stelle").

(b) Ἄναιδὲς βλέμμα καὶ μετέωρος αὐχὴν καὶ συνεχῆς κίνησις ὀφρῶν<sup>a</sup> καὶ βάδισμα σεσοβημένον καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ τῶν φαύλων ἐρυθριᾶν σημειᾶ ἔστι ψυχῆς αισχίστης, τοὺς ἀφανεῖς τῶν οικείων ὀνειδῶν τύπους<sup>b</sup> ἐγγραφούσης τῷ φανερῷ σώματι.

Harris, p. 37, from Dam. Par. 658 and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 292, ἐκ τοῦ ε' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει, also Cramer, *Anec. Oxon.* iv. 254 e Cod. Bodl. Clark, f. 11 b, Maximus ii. 633, Anton Melissa (*Patr. Gr.* 136, col. 1225), referring to Greg. Nazianz., and Tischendorf, *Philonea*, p. 154 e Cod. Cahirino.

### 100. (Gen. xxiv. 16)

Φυσικώτατα ταῦτα δέδεικται κατὰ βᾶσιν μὲν ψυχῆς τὴν δι' οἴσσεως ἀνάβασιν, ἀνοδὸν δὲ καὶ ὕψος τὴν ἀλαζονείας ὑπονόστησιν.

Harris, p. 102 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), from Cod. Rupef. f. 264.

### 102. (Gen. xxiv. 17)

Ἄξιον ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸ μηδενὸς ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ δυνάμιν· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ συμμετρίαν ἔχον, ἐπαινετόν . . . ἀναγκαῖον οὖν τῷ μὲν εὐφυεῖ πλείους εἶναι τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἐλάττους δὲ τῷ ἀφυεῖ διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις<sup>c</sup> ἀρίστην ἰσότητα . . . καὶ τοῦτό γέ ἔστι τὸ βιωφελέστατον ἴσον.

Harris, p. 38, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106, from Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

### 104. (Gen. xxiv. 18)

Οὐχ ὡς δύναται διδάσκειν ὁ διδάσκαλος, οὕτω καὶ μαθάνειν ὁ γνῶριμος, ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν τέλειος, ὁ δὲ ἀτελής ἔστιν. "Ὅθεν προσήκει στοχαζέσθαι τῆς τοῦ παιδευομένου δυνάμεως.

Harris, p. 38, from Dam. Par. 435 and Cod. Reg. 923, f.

<sup>a</sup> ὀφθαλμῶν Dam. et Cod. Reg.

<sup>b</sup> τόποις Dam. et Cod. Reg.

<sup>c</sup> ἀναλογίαις ex Arm. conieci.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

116 b, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῆς ἡ' τῶν νόμων ἱερῶν ἀλληγορίας, also Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 99, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ θ' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

110. (Gen. xxiv. 22)

(a) Ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐργάσασθαι· μανθάνομεν γὰρ οὐ τοῦ μαθεῖν χάριν ἀλλὰ τοῦ πράξει.

Harris, p. 38, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 99.

(b) Διαφέρει δὲ μονὰς ἐνὸς ἢ διαφέρει ἀρχέτυπον εἰκόνας· παράδειγμα μὲν γὰρ ἢ μονάς, μίμημα δὲ τῆς μονάδος τὸ ἐν.

Stahle, p. 19, from Joh. Lydus ii. 6, p. 23, 6.

(c) . . . ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ διακεκρίσθαι καὶ μεμονῶσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀριθμῶν καλεῖται μονάς.

Stahle, p. 19, from Theon of Smyrna, p. 19, 12 f. (cf. Joh. Lydus, p. 21, 20 and Moderatus ap. Stob. *Ecl.* i. i. 8).

130. (Gen. xxiv. 52-53)

Δεῖ γὰρ πάσης πράξεως καθαρῶς ἀρχὴν [εἶναι] ἤτην πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τιμὴν· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ παῖς προσκυνεῖ πρότερον, εἶτα χαρίζεται τὰ δῶρα.

Harris, p. 38, from Cod. Vat. 746, f. 53, Φίλωνος, cf. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* ii. 314.

131. (Gen. xxiv. 55-56)

Μετανοήκασιν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ λέγοντες· “Ἴδου Ῥεβέκκα ἐνώπιόν σου λαβὼν ἀπότρεχε.”

Lewy, p. 59, from Cat. Barb. f. 146<sup>v</sup>, Φιλ. ἐπ., and Cat. Len. f. 93<sup>v</sup>, Φίλωνος.

144. (Gen. xxiv. 66) Διὰ τί δὲ ὁ παῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρου πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἑτέρῳ ἀποπροσβεύει; “διηγήσατο γάρ,” φησί, “τῷ Ἰσαάκ.”

Εὐαγγελίζεται τούτῳ δι' ὃν ἐπέμφθη. Καὶ προτέρῳ δὲ ἐνέτυχε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. Πάντως δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ εἶπεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ γέγραπται.

Wendland, p. 79, from Procopius 404 A.

145. (Gen. xxiv. 67) Διὰ τί δὲ<sup>a</sup> οὐκ εἰς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκον ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν τῆς μητρὸς εἰσέρχεται λέγεται Ἰσαάκ ἐπὶ γάμῳ;

<sup>a</sup> δὲ om. Cat. Barb.

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᾽Οτι ὁ μὲν πατὴρ πλείους ἀγαγόμενος γυναῖκας, δυνάμει<sup>α</sup> καὶ πλείους<sup>β</sup> ἔσχεν οἴκους. Οἶκος γὰρ οὐ μόνον λέγεται<sup>γ</sup> τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκ γαμικῆς συζυγίας<sup>δ</sup> καὶ τέκνων σύστημα.<sup>ε</sup> ἥ<sup>ς</sup> δὲ μέχρι τελευταίης ἐπέμεινε τῷ κουριδίῳ, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἓνα οἶκον ἔσχηκέναι δοκεῖν.<sup>ϛ</sup>

Wendland, p. 80, from Procopius 404 A, and Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 166<sup>v</sup>, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου; also, in part, Harris, p. 39, from Cat. Lips. col. 305, Προκοπίου.

148. (Gen. xxv. 5-6)

Διαφορὰν δὲ φασιν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ δομάτων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σημαίνει τὰ κτήματα καὶ ὅσα βέβαια τῶν κειμηλίων, δόματα δὲ τὰ χειρόδοτα καὶ ὧν ἡ χρῆσις ἐφήμερος.

Wendland, p. 80, from Procopius 405 B.

152. (Gen. xxv. 8)

Οὐδεὶς κενὸς πλήρης εἶναι μεμαρτύρηται ἡμερῶν.

Wendland, p. 80, from Procopius 405 B and Cat. Lips.

153. (Gen. xxv. 8)

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ προστίθεται τοῖς μὴ οὖσιν, ἄλλος δὲ προστίθεται, φησί, λέγεται λαῶ μήπω γεγονότι. Ἄρχῃ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ προπάτωρ τοῦ γένους ἐστί. Τὸν οὖν μέλλοντα δι' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ὡς ἤδη γεγονότα χαριζόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ θεοπροπέι τῶν ἀρετῶν ιδρύεται ᾧ<sup>η</sup> καὶ λέγεται<sup>ι</sup> προστίθεται.

Wendland, p. 81, from Procopius 406 C.

165. (Gen. xxv. 27)

Ἰακώβ δὲ ἄνθρωπος “ ἄπλαστος οἰκῶν οἰκίαν,” τουτέστι μηδὲν

<sup>α</sup> δυνάμει om. Cat. Lips.

<sup>β</sup> πλείστους Cat. Barb.

<sup>γ</sup> λέγεται om. Procopius.

<sup>δ</sup> ἐκ γαμικῆς συζυγίας] ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς Cat. Barb.

<sup>ε</sup> οἶκος . . . σύστημα] λέγεται γὰρ οἶκος καὶ τὸ ἐκ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων σύστημα Cat. Lips.

<sup>ς</sup> ὁ Cat. Barb.

<sup>ζ</sup> ὁ δὲ . . . δοκεῖν om. Cat. Lips.

<sup>η</sup> ὡς Nicephorus.

<sup>ι</sup> Wendland : λέγεσθαι codd.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

ἔχων ἐπίπλαστον ἢ ἐπίσακτον κακόν . . . καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ-  
του τοῦ ἀπλάστου ἤθους διδάσκει λέγων ὅτι οὐκ ἐρέμβετο ἕξω.  
Ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀντιδιαστέλλει τῷ κυνηγέτῃ Ἡσαῦ καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ  
διάγοντι.

Wendland, p. 81, from Procopius 410 A, cf. Cyril ap. Cat.  
Lips. 315 and Theodoret, *Quaest.* lxxvi.

166. (Gen. xxv. 28)

Τίς δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀγάσαιτο τὸ “ἠγάπησε τὸν Ἡσαῦ· ἡ δὲ  
Ῥεβέκκα ἠγάπα τὸν Ἰακώβ”; Τὸ μὲν γὰρ παρελήλυθε· τὸ  
δὲ πάρεστιν αἰεὶ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀποδοχὴ τοῦ φαύλου κἂν συμβῆ  
ποτε, ὀλιγοχρόνιός ἐστι καὶ ἐφήμερος· ἡ δὲ τοῦ σπουδαίου ἀθανατί-  
ζεται.

Harris, p. 39, from Cat. Lips. col. 315, Προκοπίου.

167. (Gen. xxv. 28)

Καὶ τὸ μὲν σπουδαῖον οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τι ἀγαπᾶται· τὸ δὲ μὴ  
τοιοῦτον, ἐκ τῶν χρειῶν ἠγάπησε γὰρ φησιν ὅτι ἡ θήρα αὐτοῦ  
βρώσις αὐτῷ.

Harris, p. 39, from Cat. Lips. col. 315, Προκοπίου.

168. (Gen. xxv. 29)

Καὶ τὸ ῥητὸν τῆς διηγῆσεως ἔλεγχον ἔχει ἀκολάστου πρὸς νο-  
θεσίαν τῶν θεραπεύεσθαι δυναμένων· ὁ<sup>a</sup> γὰρ τοῦ τυχόντος ἕνεκα  
προεφήματος<sup>b</sup> ἐκστὰς τῶν πρεσβείων τῷ νεωτέρῳ καὶ δούλος  
γαστρὸς ἡδονῆς ἀναγραφεῖς εἰς ὄνειδος προκείσθω τῶν μήποτε  
ζῆλον ἐγκρατείας λαβόντων.

Harris, pp. 39-40, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 318, Φίλωνος  
("but the editor remarks ἴσως τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ  
Ἑβραίου οὐχ εὑρίσκεται"), also Cat. Burney, f. 55, Φίλωνος  
ἐπισκόπου, and Cod. Palat. 203, f. 110 ap. Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.*  
ii. 311.

169. (Gen. xxv. 29)

Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων ἡ ἔκλειψις εἶναι λέγεται πρόσθεσις·  
ἐκλείποντες γὰρ τὸν θνητὸν βίον ἀθανάτῳ ζωῇ προστίθενται· ὁ δὲ

<sup>a</sup> οὐ Arm.

<sup>b</sup> προεφημένων Cat. Burney : προσλήμματος Cod. Palat.



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φαῦλος ἔκλειψιν ἀναδέχεται μόνον<sup>a</sup> λιμὸν ἀρετῆς ὑπομένων ἀδιάστατον μᾶλλον ἢ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν.

Wendland, p. 82, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 115<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 410).

### 172. (Gen. xxv. 31)

Τὸ μὲν ῥῆτὸν οἶα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐμφαίνει πλεονεξίαν νεωτέρου σφετερίζεσθαι<sup>b</sup> ἀδελφοῦ δίκαια ποθοῦντος. Ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος οὐ πλεονέκτης ἄτε ὀλιγοδείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας ἐταῖρος. Σαφῶς οὖν ὁ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι αἱ ἄφθονοι περιουσίαι τῶν φαύλων χορηγοὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, ἀναγκαιότατον ἡγείται τὴν προσαναφλέγουσαν ὕλην, ὡς πυρός, τῆς κακίας ἀφαιρεῖν εἰς βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν ὅπερ οὐ βλάβην ἀλλὰ μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν περιποιεῖ τῷ ζημιουῦσθαί δοκοῦντι.

Harris, p. 40, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 316, and Cat. Burney, f. 55, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

Δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ ῥῆτὸν πλεονεξίαν ἐμφαίνειν τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὅπερ ἄλλότριον σπουδαίου, εἴπερ ὀλιγοδείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας ἐταῖρος καὶ ὠφελητικὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα. Σαφῶς οὖν ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι αἱ ἄφθονοι περιουσίαι παντὶ φαύλῳ χορηγοὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων εἰσίν, ἀναγκαιότατον ἡγείται τὴν προσαναφλέγουσαν ὕλην, ὡς πυρός, τῆς κακίας ἀφαιρεῖν εἰς βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν ὅπερ οὐ βλάβην ἀλλὰ μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν περιποιεῖ τῷ ζημιουῦσθαί δοκοῦντι.

Wendland, pp. 82-83, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 115<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 412).

173. (Gen. xxv. 32) Ἴδοῦ ἐγὼ πορεύομαι τελευτᾶν. Λόγιόν ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον. Ὅντως γὰρ ὁ τοῦ φαύλου βίος ἐπὶ θάνατον σπεύδει. Οὐ φησὶ δὲ “ἵνα τί μοι πρωτοτόκια,” μετὰ προσθήκης δὲ τοῦ “ταῦτα,” ὃ ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἄγοντα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν. Ἐχω γάρ, φησὶ, ἑξαιρέτα ἕτερα τὸ ἡδεσθαι, τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν, τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν, τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφά.

Wendland, p. 83, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 115<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 411).

### 174. (Gen. xxv. 34) Καὶ ἐφάυλισεν Ἡσαῦ τὰ πρωτοτόκια.

Κακίζει γὰρ ὡσπερ ὁ ἀστείος τὰ τοῦ φαύλου, καὶ ὁ φαῦλος τὰ

<sup>a</sup> μόνον om. Nicephorus.

<sup>b</sup> + ἀδικῶς Cat. Burney.

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τοῦ ἀστέιου καὶ βουλευματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ λόγους. Ἄσύμφωνον γὰρ ἁρμονία πρὸς ἀναρμοστίαν.

Wendland, p. 83, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 115<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 411).

179. (Gen. xxvi. 3)

Μεῖζον ἀνθρώπῳ κακὸν ἀφροσύνης οὐδέν ἐστι, τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ λογιστικοῦ γένους, τὸν νοῦν, ζημιωθέντι.

Harris, p. 69 ("unidentified," but located by E. Bréhier), from Dam. Par. 363 and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 76, "in both cases as from the *sixth* book of the Questions on Genesis."

180. (Gen. xxvi. 36)

(a) Ἀδιαφοροῦσιν ὄρκων λόγοι θεοῦ· καὶ κατὰ τίνος ἂν ᾤμοσεν ὁ θεός, ὅτι μὴ ἑαυτοῦ; λέγεται δὲ ὁμνῦναι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντων ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου διαφέρειν λόγων ὄρκους, οὕτως ἐπὶ θεοῦ. . . .

Harris, pp. 40-41, from Cat. Lips. col. 319, Προκοπίου.

(b) Ἐπαινεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὡς πατρώας ἄξιον εὐεργίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν βεβαιοτέρων ἰδρύετο τὰς μεθ' ὄρκων γεγενημένας ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογίας τῷ υἱῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τούτῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν προσεμαρτύρει.

Wendland, p. 84, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. 117<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 414 A).

184. (Gen. xxvi. 5)

Διαφέρει δικαιώματα νομίμων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πως δύναται συνίσθασθαι (*sic*) φύσει, τὰ δὲ νόμιμα θέσει· πρεσβύτερα δὲ τῶν θέσει τὰ φύσει, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον νόμου.

Lewy, p. 59, from Cod. Rupef. 148<sup>r</sup>, τοῦ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Φίλωνος).

188. (Gen. xxvi. 8)

Ἐβραῖοι δὲ φασιν εὐσχημόνως εἰρήσθαι τὸ "παίζειν" ἀντὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου.

Wendland, p. 84, from Procopius 416 B.

189. (Gen. xxvi. 12)

Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ παρὸν ὅτι τῷ σπουδαίῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωργίαν

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καὶ τὰλλα <τὰ> περὶ βίον εὐοδεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα πολλαπλάσια τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γίνεται.

Wendland, p. 84, from Procopius 416 v.

191. (Gen. xxvi. 15)

(a) Τοῖς γὰρ ἀβούλοις ἔθος ἐστὶ μήτε στήλας μήτε μνημείον τι ἀπολιπεῖν τῶν καλῶν εἰς εὐδοξίαν συμβαλλόμενον, ἢ ὅτι ῥηγνύμενοι φθόνῳ καὶ βασκανία τῆς τε περὶ ἐκείνους<sup>a</sup> εὐπραγίας ὀλιγωροῦσι καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ὠφελείας ἄμεινον ἡγούμενοι βλάπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑφ' ὧν οὐκ ἔτι<sup>b</sup> θέλουσιν εὐεργετῆσθαι.

Harris, p. 41, from Cat. Burney, f. 55 b, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 323, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

Οἱ δὲ ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ τὰ μνημεία τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐξαλείφουσι, κἂν τύχωσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφελούμενοι, προτιμῶντες βλάβην μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐξ ὧν μὴ θέλουσιν εὐεργέσιαν. Ὡφέλου γὰρ αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ τῶν Φυλιστιέμ τοὺς βουλομένους κεχρησθαι.

Wendland, p. 84, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 415).

(b) Τί γὰρ ἐκώλυεν, εἴποι τις ἂν, ὃ πάντων ἡλιθιώτατοι, τὰς πηγὰς εἶσαι, ἃς ἕτερος εὗρεν πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς δεομένων χρῆσιν; Ἄλλ' ἀποκρίνεται τις: "Μὴ ζήτηε παρὰ βασκάνων ἀπολογία εὐγνώμονα,<sup>c</sup> ζημίαν ὑπολαμβανόντων τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων προτεινομένης χάριτας."

Lewy, p. 59, from Cat. Len. 124, f. 76<sup>v</sup>.

193. (Gen. xxvi. 18) Τὰ ἐμφραγέντα φρέατα πάλιν ὤρυξεν.<sup>d</sup>

Ἔστι φύσει φιλόανθρωπος ὁ ἀστεῖος καὶ εὐμενὴς καὶ συγγνώμων, οὐδενὶ μνησικακῶν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ νικᾷν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀξιών ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ μᾶλλον ἢ βλάπτειν.

Harris, p. 41, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 323, and Cat. Burney, f. 55 b.

Ἰσαὰκ ὡς πᾶσιν ἂν εὐμενὴς καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ἐν τῷ εὐεργετῆσαι σπουδάζων νικᾷ τὴν ἐκείνων κακίαν.

Wendland, p. 85, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 415).

<sup>a</sup> ἐκείνων Harris.

<sup>b</sup> εὖ Cat. Burney: del. Wendland.

<sup>c</sup> εὐγενῆ Arm.

<sup>d</sup> ὀρύσσει ὁ Ἰσαὰκ Catt. Lips. et Burney.

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194. (Gen. xxvi. 18)

Καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὀνόματα τίθεται, τιμῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα καὶ μὴ συγχωρῶν εἰσάπαν τῷ φθόνῳ νικᾶν.

Wendland, p. 85, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 415).

[195, see Appendix B.]

198. (Gen. xxvii. 3-4)

Δυοῖν ὄντων υἱῶν, τοῦ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ὑπαίτιου, τὸν μὲν ὑπαίτιον εὐλογῆσειν φησὶν· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ σπουδαίου προκρίνει τοῦτον ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκείνον οἶδε δι' αὐτοῦ κατορθοῦν δυνάμενον, τοῦτον δὲ τοῖς ἰδίῳις τρόποις ἀλυσκόμενον, μηδεμίαν δὲ ἔχοντα σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, εἰ μὴ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ πατρός· ὧν εἰ μὴ τύχοι, πάντων ἂν εἴη κακοδαίμονέστατος.

Harris, p. 43, from Cat. Ined. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 676), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 330, Φίλωνος, ἴσως ἐπισκόπου, and Cat. Burney, f. 56 b, Φίλωνος ἑβραίου. (Harris also gives two Latin fragments, one from Cat. Zephyri, p. 83, the other from Cat. Lippomani, f. 288 b).

Ὁ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ οὐ προτιμῶν τοῦ Ἰακώβ τὸν Ἡσαῦ αὐτὸν ἠθέλησεν εὐλογεῖν. Πῶς γὰρ ὧν σπουδαῖος προτιμῶν ἀνείχετο τὸν ὑπαίτιον; ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ὡς ἐκείνος μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων τρόπων ἔχει τὴν εὐμένειαν οὗτος δὲ μίαν ἔχει σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ πατρός.

Wendland, p. 86, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118<sup>v</sup>.

200. (Gen. xxvii. 8-10)

(a) Ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶ μαθεῖν τὸ τοῦ σώματος μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἐκ κατασκευῆς φυσικὴν εὐεξίαν· ὁ γὰρ ἐν γήρᾳ δύο πίοσιν ἐρίφοις κεκρημένος προσηγήμασι, τίς ἂν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ νεότητι; καὶ ταῦτα ὧν ἐγκρατὴς καὶ οὐκ ἄπληστος.

Harris, p. 44, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 331, Προκοπίου.

(b) Οὐ διαμάχονται δὲ κατὰ τοὺς οὕτω νομίσαντας τῶν γονέων αἱ γνῶμαι, πρὸς ἐν δὲ τέλος ἐπείγονται, τῆς μὲν βουλομένης τὸν

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ἀγαθὸν τυχεῖν ὦν ἄξιος ἦν, τοῦ δὲ τοῦ σκαιοῦ, τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐπαποροθώσασθαι τῷ ἑλέω τῷ εἰς αὐτόν.

Wendland, pp. 86-87, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118<sup>v</sup> = Cat. Lips. 331 Γ, Ἀδῆλου (cf. Ambros. *De Jacob.* ii. 7).

### 202. (Gen. xxvii. 12-13)

Ἄξιον καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς εὐνοίας θαυμάσαι, τὰς κατάρας ὁμολογοῦσαν εἰσδέξασθαι<sup>a</sup> τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου. Καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς<sup>b</sup> τιμῆς. Ἀνθέλκεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἐκάτερον εὐσεβείας· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πατέρα ἐδεδίει, μὴ δόξῃ φενακίζειν καὶ ὑφαρπάζειν ἑτέρου γέρας, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, μὴ καὶ ταύτης νομισθῇ παρακούειν λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένης· ὅθεν ἄγαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ ὁσίως φησὶν οὐχ “ὁ πατήρ με καταράσεται” ἀλλ’ “ἐγὼ τὰς κατάρας ἐπ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἄξω.”<sup>c</sup>

Harris, p. 44, from Cat. Inedit. Reg. 1825, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 331, and Cat. Burney, f. 56 b.

Θαυμαστὸς τῆς πρὸς ἄμφω τοὺς γονεῖς εὐσεβείας, τὸν μὲν ἵνα μὴ κινήσῃ, τῆς δὲ μὴ παρακούσῃ. Καλῶς δὲ τὸ “ἐπ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἄξω.” Κἂν γὰρ ἡσυχάζῃ φιλοστοργία τῇ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸ συνειδὸς ἐπιμέμψεται ὡς ἄξια κατάρας ἐργασάμενον. Θαυμαστὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἡ μήτηρ.

Wendland, p. 87, from Procopius 418 v.

### 204. (Gen. xxvii. 16)

Ὡσπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ὁ ἀστείος, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καθαρῶς ἐπιτετηθευκῶς, ἐάν ποῦ ταύτην ἐπισκιάζῃ χάριν, καιρῶν οἰκονομία χρῆται, μένων μὲν ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθέσεως οὐκ ἀναχωρῶν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀβουλήτων συντυχίας ἐναλλάττων ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ μορφήν ἑτέραν ὑπὲρ ὠφελείας τῶν ὀρώντων· ἰατρὸς γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων ὁ ἀστείος, ὃς ἕνεκα τῶν καιρῶν φρονίμως ἐνεργεῖ τὰ ἀφροσύνης, καὶ σωφρόνως τὰς ἀκολασίας καὶ τὰς δειλίαις ἀνδρείως καὶ δικαίως τὰς ἀδικίας· καὶ γὰρ ἐρεῖ ποτε τὰ ψευδῆ οὐ ψευδόμενος καὶ ὑβρίσει μὴ ὦν ὑβριστής.

Harris, p. 45, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ δ’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

<sup>a</sup> Harris: ἐκδέξασθαι Cat. Reg.

<sup>b</sup> τοὺς γονεῖς add. Harris.

<sup>c</sup> ἄξω Cat. Lips.

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206. (Gen. xxvii. 18-19)

(a) Πάλιν ἀπατεῶν εἶναι δόξει τοῖς μὴ τὴν κατ' ἀρετὴν σκοποῦσιν οἰκονομίαν. Ἡ δὲ οἰκονομία πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀναξίοις δίδουσθαι τὰ καλά. Λεγέτω καὶ κατὰσκοπος συλληφθεῖς οὐκ εἰμὶ πολέμιος ἢ ὡς ἡὔτομολῆκα.

Wendland, pp. 87-88, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118<sup>v</sup>.

(b) Λεγέτω καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἢ τὰ πολεμοποιούντα εἰρήνην πραγματευόμενος ἢ τὰ εἰρήνης πολεμῆν διανοούμενος· ὑποδύσθω καὶ βασιλεὺς ἰδιώτου σχῆμα εἰ μὴ δύναιτο ἑτέρως τὸ συμφέρον τῇ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις λαβεῖν καὶ ὁ δεσπότης δούλου, εἵνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἀγνοῆσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν δρωμένων.

Harris, p. 45, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ δ' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

Λεγέτω καὶ στρατηγὸς τὰ πολεμοποιούντα εἰρήνην πραγματευόμενος ἢ τὰ εἰρηναῖα πολεμῆν ἐγνωκῶς. Οὐδὲν κωλύσει καὶ βασιλέα ἰδιώτου σχῆμα λαβεῖν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὸ συμφέρον θηρώμενον καὶ τὸν δεσπότην οἰκέτου μηδὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἐθέλοντα τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον δρωμένων.

Wendland, p. 88, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118<sup>v</sup>.

207. (Gen. xxvii. 20)

Οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασε χρόνον προσήκοντα κυνηγέτη.

Wendland, p. 88, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 119<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 419).

208. (Gen. xxvii. 20)

Ὁ δὲ θεοφιλῆς ἐπὶ θεὸν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνάγει διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως.

Wendland, p. 88, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 119<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 419).

210. (Gen. xxvii. 22)

Τὴν εὐσεβῆ φωνὴν οὐκ ἂν λεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαῦ τὴν “ὁ παρέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐναντίον μου” ἐπιγνοὺς Ἰσαὰκ εἶπε τὸ προκείμενον, ᾧ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν εἴκειν ἢ γραφῇ φάσκουσα περὶ μόνων τῶν χειρῶν ὅτι “ἦσαν αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ Ἰακώβ ὡς αἱ χεῖρες Ἡσαῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δασεῖαι,” οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ περὶ φωνῆς τὸ ὅμοιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδιότητι προφορᾶς ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἦν ἡ φωνή.

Wendland, pp. 88-89, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 119<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 419).

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211. (Gen. xxvii. 23)

Τὰ αὐτὰ καθήκοντα<sup>a</sup> πολλάκις ἐνεργούσιν ὃ τε ἀστεῖος καὶ ὁ φαῦλος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας ἀμφότεροι<sup>b</sup>. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κρίνων ὅτι καλόν, ὁ δὲ μοχθηρὸς<sup>c</sup> μνώμενός τι τῶν εἰς πλεονεξίαν.

Harris, p. 70 ("unidentified," but located by E. Bréhier), from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 100 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῶν δ' ἐν Γεν. ζητημ., and from Cod. Rupef. f. 337 b.

227. (Gen. xxvii. 34)

Οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν<sup>d</sup> τῶν εὐλογιῶν οὕτω δυσχεραίνει ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ<sup>e</sup> ἀξιωθῆναι. Βάσκανος γὰρ ὢν ἐπιμελέστερον προκρίνει τῆς ἰδίας ὠφελείας τὴν ἐκείνου ζημίαν. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τοῦ μέγα καὶ πικρὸν ἀνοιμῶσαι<sup>f</sup> καὶ ἐπιλέγειν "Εὐλόγησον δὴ<sup>g</sup> καὶ ἐμέ, πάτερ."

Harris, p. 46, from Cat. Ined. Regia, 1825 (Mangey ii. 676), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 339, Προκοπίου, and Cat. Burney, f. 57 b, Φίλωνος ἐβραίου, also in Wendland, pp. 89-90, from Procopius 421 c.

228. (Gen. xxvii. 35)

'Ἄλλ' εἶ γε μετὰ δόλου ἔλαβεν, εἴποι τις ἄν,<sup>h</sup> οὐκ ἐπαινετός. Τί οὖν φησί: "Καὶ εὐλογημένος ἔσται<sup>i</sup>"; 'Ἄλλ' ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος ὅτι οὐ πᾶς δόλος ὑπαίτιός ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ληστὰς νυκτοφύλακες, καὶ πολεμίους στρατηγούς, οὓς ἀδόλως συλλαβεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐνεδρεύοντες κατορθοῦν δοκοῦσι. Καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα στρατηγήματα τοιοῦτον λόγον ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀγωνίσματα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ ἀπάτη νενόμισται

Πῶς οὖν ἐπιφέρει: "Καὶ εὐλογημένος ἔσται"; Αἰνίττεται τοίνυν ὡς οὐ πᾶς δόλος ὑπαίτιος. Τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα στρατηγήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὁμοίως οἱ μετὰ δόλου νικῶντες θαυμάζονται στεφανούμενοι· οἷς ἰσοδυναμεῖ τὸ "μετὰ δόλου" τῷ "μετὰ τέχνης." Οὐδὲν δὲ ἀτέχνως ὁ σπουδαῖος ποιεῖ.

Wendland, p. 90, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 121<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> καθηκόντως Cod. Rupef.

<sup>b</sup> ἀμφότεροι om. Cod. Rupef.

<sup>c</sup> μοχθηρῶς Cod. Rupef.

<sup>d</sup> + φασί Procop.

<sup>e</sup> αὐτῶν Procop.

<sup>f</sup> ἐκβοῆσαι Cat. Lips. : βοῆσαι Cat. Burney.

<sup>g</sup> δὲ Procop.

<sup>h</sup> εἴποι τις ἄν] ἴσως εἴποι τις Catt. Lips. et Burney.

<sup>i</sup> ἔστω Catt. Lips. et Burney.

## GENESIS, BOOK IV

τίμιον, καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπάτης περι-  
γενόμενοι<sup>a</sup> τῶν ἀντιπάλων, βρα-  
βείων ἀξιοῦνται καὶ στεφάνων.  
Ὡστε οὐ διαβολὴ τὸ “μετὰ  
δόλου” ἀλλ' ἐγκώμιον ἰσοδυνα-  
μοῦν τῷ “μετὰ τέχνης.” Οὐδὲν  
γὰρ ἀτέχνως πράττει ὁ σπου-  
δαῖος.

Harris, p. 46, from Cat.  
Ined. Regia, 1825 (Mangey  
ii. 676), and Cat. Lips. 1, col.  
340, Ἀδήλου, and Cat. Burney,  
f. 57 b.

<sup>a</sup> περιγινόμενοι Catt. Lips. et Burney.



## UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS FROM QUAESTIONES IN GENESIN<sup>a</sup>

1. Τῶν φαύλων πλούσιος οὐδεὶς καὶ ἂν τὰ πανταχοῦ μέταλλα κέκτηται· ἀλλ' εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ ἄφρονες πένητες.

Harris, p. 69, from Dam. Par. 362 and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 76, "in each case with reference to II Quaest. in Gen."

2. Μελέτη τροφὸς<sup>b</sup> ἐπιστήμης.

Harris, p. 69, from Dam. Par. 405, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 105, and Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 99 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

3. Ὡσπερ κίονες οἰκίας ὄλας ὑπερίδουσιν, οὕτω καὶ αἱ θεῖαι δυνάμεις τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ ἄριστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον γένος.

Harris, p. 69, from Dam. Par. 749 = Cod. Rupef. f. 29, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

4. 'Εάν τις κατ' οἰκίαν ἢ κώμην ἢ πόλιν ἢ ἔθνος γένηται φρονήσεως ἐραστής, ἀνάγκη τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ἀμείνوني βίῳ χρήσασθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀστεῖος κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἅπασιν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προτείνων ὠφελείαν.

Harris, p. 69, from Dam. Par. 750 = Cod. Rupef. f. 33 b, "from I Quaest. in Gen."

5. Ἀνθρώποις τὸ εὐμετάβλητον διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀβε-

<sup>a</sup> Omitting the six fragments located by Früchtel and Bréhier, and printed above. The unidentified fragments, which are unnumbered in Harris, have been numbered by me.

<sup>b</sup> + ἐστὶν Codd. Reg. et Vat.

## GENESIS, UNIDENTIFIED

αιότητα συμβαίνει ανάγκη. Οὕτω γοῦν φίλους ἐλόμενοι πολ-  
λάκις καὶ βραχύν τινα αὐτοῖς διατρίψαντες χρόνον, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν  
ἔχοντες ἀπεστράφημεν ὡσεὶ ἐχθρῶν.

Harris, pp. 69-70, from Dam. Par. 776 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ  
τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

6. Τὸ ἐπαισθάνεσθαι τῶν ἐσφαλμένων καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καταμέμφεσθαι  
πρὸς δικαίον ἀνδρός· τὸ δὲ ἀνεπαισθήτως διακείσθαι—ἀργαλεώτερα  
ποιεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ δεινά—πρὸς κακοῦ ἀνδρός.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par. 777 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν  
αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων).

7. Ἐπειδὴ πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τυφλὸς ὁ τῶν μὴ  
πεφιλοσοφηκότων νοῦς, χρηστέον<sup>α</sup> τοῖς βλέπουσι τὰς τῶν πραγ-  
μάτων ιδέας πρὸς ὁδηγίαν.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par. (Cod. Reg. 923, f. 315 b),  
“referred to Philo on Genesis,” and John Monachus (Mangey  
ii. 667)=Cod. Rupef. f. 256 b, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητ.

8. Ἐν θεῷ μόνον τὸ τέλειον καὶ ἀενδεές, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ<sup>β</sup> τὸ  
ἐπιδεές καὶ ἀτελές. Διδασκὸς γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἂν γὰρ σοφώ-  
τατος ἄλλος ἀπ’ ἄλλου,<sup>γ</sup> ἀλλ’ οὐ ἀδιδάκτως οὐδὲ αὐτοφυῶς· καὶ  
εἰ ἐπιστημονικώτερος ἕτερος ἐτέρου, οὐκ ἐμφύτως ἀλλὰ μεμαθη-  
μένως.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par.=Cod. Reg. 923, f. 335,  
“from Quaest. in Gen.,” and John Monachus (Mangey ii.  
667)=Cod. Rupef. f. 262 b.

9. Εἰώθασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκ πλουσίων γενόμενοι πένητες  
ἐξαίφνης ἢ ἐξ ἐνδόξων καὶ μεγάλων ἄδοξοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ ἢ ἐξ  
ἀρχόντων ιδιωταὶ ἢ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων δούλοι, ταῖς τύχαις συμμετα-  
βάλλειν τὰ φρονήματα, φάσκοντες οὐ προνοεῖσθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
πραγμάτων τὸ θεῖον, οὐ γὰρ ἂν χρῆσασθαι μεγάλας καὶ ἀπροσδοκή-  
τοις μεταβολαῖς καὶ κακοπραγίαις· ἀγνοοῦντες πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι  
τούτων οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κακὸν οὐδὲ γὰρ τάναντία ἀγαθὰ, ὅτι μὴν τὸ

<sup>α</sup> χρητέον Cod. Reg.

<sup>β</sup> ἀνθρώποις Cod. Reg.

<sup>γ</sup> σοφώτατος . . . ἄλλου] σοφώτερος ἄλλος ἀλλήλου Cod.  
Reg.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

δοκεῖν οὐκ ἀλήθεια· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι πολλάκις ταῦτα συμβαίνει διὰ νοουθεσίαν, ἕνεκα τῶν ἀδιαφόρων ἐξυβριζόντων· οὐ γὰρ πάντες φέρειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ δύνανται· τρίτον δέ, ὡς ἔφη, πρὸς ἀπόπειραν ἡθῶν· ἀκριβεστάτη γὰρ βάσανος οἱ πρὸς ἐκάτερα καιροί.

Harris, p. 70, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 101 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημ.

10. Τὸ ἐπιорκεῖν ἀνόσιον καὶ ἀλυσιτελέστατον.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par. 784 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων, "also Dam. Par. 751 (Cod. Rupef.), apparently referred to the Questions on Exodus."

11. Οἱ ἑαυτῶν μόνον ἕνεκα πάντα πράττοντες φιλαυτίαν,<sup>a</sup> μέγιστον κακόν, ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὃ ποιεῖ τὸ ἄμικτον, τὸ ἀκοινώνητον, τὸ ἄφιλον,<sup>b</sup> τὸ ἄδικον, τὸ ἀσεβές. Τὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ φύσιν κατεσκεύασεν οὐχ ὡς τὰ μονωτικὰ θηρία ἀλλ' ὡς ἀγελαῖα καὶ σύννομα, κοινωνικώτατον, ἵνα μὴ μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ ζῆῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ<sup>c</sup> καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις, καὶ δημόταις καὶ φυλέταις<sup>d</sup> καὶ πατρίδι καὶ ὁμοφύλοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ παντός, καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ<sup>e</sup> καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι, εἶγε ὄντως ἐστὶ λογικὸς, κοινωνικόν, φιλόκοσμον, φιλόθεον ἵνα γένηται καὶ θεοφιλῆς.<sup>f</sup>

Harris, p. 71, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 662), and Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 108 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημάτων, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 20 b, Φίλωνος. "Maximus (ii. 686) gives the first sentence . . . Further in Dam. Par. 721 the whole passage is ascribed to the Abbot Isaiah."

12. Τρεπτοὶ πολύτρεπτον διαπερῶντες βίον, καὶ συμφορὰς καθήμεραν ἐνειλούμενοι, ἤκιστα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἠφίχθαι<sup>g</sup> τινα πρὸ τέλους ὑπολαμβάνομεν.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 102 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημ.

<sup>a</sup> φιλαυτία τὸ Cod. Vat. : φιλαυτίας Maximus.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ἄφιλον om. Cod. Vat. <sup>c</sup> καὶ μητρὶ om. Cod. Vat.

<sup>d</sup> καὶ φίλοις . . . φυλέταις om. Cod. Vat.

<sup>e</sup> ἔτι . . . κόσμῳ om. Cod. Vat.

<sup>f</sup> δεῖ γὰρ . . . θεοφιλῆς om. Cod. Vat.

<sup>g</sup> ἀφίχθαι con. Harris.

## GENESIS, UNIDENTIFIED

13. Συγκρίπτεται διὰ φιλίαν νόθου πράγματος καὶ ἀδόκιμον<sup>a</sup> τὸ γνήσιον καὶ δοκιμώτατον.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 103, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ δ' τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημ.

14. Τοὺς ἄρξαντας εἶτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶτε καὶ πονηρῶν βουλευμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐφαρμόσῃ τοῖς βουλεύμασι τὰ ἔργα, ἴσους ἡγητέον τοῖς καὶ τελειώσασι αὐτά· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ φθάσαι πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἔλθειν, ἕτερα καὶ πολλὰ αἷτια· ἡ δὲ γνώμη καὶ σπουδὴ τῶν προελομένων ἐφθακεν δυνάμει καὶ πρὸς τὸ πέρας.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 105 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημ.

15. Ὁ εὐλαβέστερος τρόπος οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγαθοῖς γέγηθεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πέλας κακοῖς ἀνιᾶται ἢ φοβεῖται· ἀνιᾶται μὲν ὅτ' ἀνάξιος ὢν ἀτυχῆ, φοβεῖται δὲ ὅτ' ἂν ἐπιτηδέως κακοπαθῆ.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 107, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ δ' τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημ.

16. Τί οὖν ἐνεθυμήθη; ὅτι διὰ τὸ εὐαρεστεῖν πεποιήται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐ κατ' ἀντιστροφήν, διότι ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ ἐμμεῖναν τὸ ποίημα τῇ εἰς εὐαρέστησιν ποιήσει. Πρὸς οὖν τὸ ποίημα ὁ λόγος, ὡσπερ σοφιστῆς διαλογεῖται, οὐ διότι πεφύτευκεν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' ὅτι προελθὼν διὰ ῥαθυμίαν διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως.

Harris, p. 71, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 307 = Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 221, ἐκ τῶν εἰς Γεν. ζητημ.

17. Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἀριστεία δίδωσι τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἀπαρχάς. Ἱεροπρεπεστάτη δὲ καὶ ἀγνωτάτη πασῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἡ δεκάτη διὰ τὸ παντέλειον εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ νεωκόροις αἱ δεκάται προστάξει νόμον καρπῶν καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀποδίδονται, ἄρξαντος τῆς ἀπαρχῆς Ἀβραάμ, ὅς καὶ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέτης ἐστίν.

Harris, pp. 71-72, from Cramer, *Catena in Heb.* p. 580, e Cod. Paris 238, “. . . seems to belong to the Questions on Genesis xiv. 18, being found in a codex which quotes the Questions on Gen. iv. 4 and seems to have no other Philonea. This part of the Questions is lost in the Armenian.”

<sup>a</sup> 1. ἀδοκίμου (?).

## EXODUS, BOOK I

### 1. (Ex. xii. 2)

“Όταν οἱ τῶν σπαρτῶν καρποὶ τελειωθῶσιν, οἱ τῶν δένδρων γενέσεως ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἵνα δολιχεύωσιν αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες τὸν αἰῶνα, παρ’ ἄλλων ἄλλαι διαδεχόμεναι καὶ συνάπτουσαι τέλη μὲν ἀρχαῖς, ἀρχὰς δὲ τέλεσιν, ἀτελεύτητοι ὦσιν.

Harris, p. 47, from Dam. Par. 789 = Cod. Rupef. f. 142 b, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ.

### 6. (Ex. xii. 4b)

Ἵπερβολαὶ καὶ ἐλλείψεις ἀνισότητα ἐγέννησαν. Ἴανισότης δέ, ἵνα αὐτὸς μυθικώτερον χρῆσωμαι<sup>a</sup> τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, μητῆρ ἀδικίας ἐστίν, ὡς ἐμπαλιν ἰσότης δικαιοσύνης· ὑπερβολῆς δὲ καὶ ἐλλείψεως μέσον τὸ αὐταρκές· ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερόν γράμμα περιέχεται τὸ “μηδὲν ἄγαν.”

Harris, p. 47, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

### 7. (Ex. xii. 5a)

(a) Λέγεται ὑπὸ φυσικῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον εἶναι θῆλυ ἢ ἀτελές ἄρσεν.

Harris, p. 47, from Dam. Par. 777 = Cod. Rupef. f. 134, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων, and Anton Melissa, Migne, col. 1088.

(b) Ἐνιοὶ προκόψαντες ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ὑπενόστησαν πρὶν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ τέλους, τὴν ἄρτι φυομένην ἀριστοκρατείαν ἐν ψυχῇ καθελούσης τῆς παλαιᾶς ὀλιγοκρατείας,<sup>b</sup> ἢ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἡρεμήσασα πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μετὰ πλείονος δυνάμεως ἀντεπέθετο.<sup>c</sup>

Harris, pp. 47-48, from Dam. Par. 343, and Cod. Reg. 913,

<sup>a</sup> edd. : χρῆσωμαι Cod. Vat.

<sup>b</sup> παλαιᾶς ὀλιγοκρατείας] ὀχλοκρατίας Anton Melissa.

<sup>c</sup> ἐναπέθετο Dam.

## EXODUS, BOOK I

f. 84, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξαγω [sc. Ἐξαγωγῆ = Ἐξόδῳ] ζητημάτων, and Anton Melissa (Migne, col. 1117).

19. (Ex. xii. 11)

Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ζῶναι στάσιν ἐμφαίνουσι καὶ συναγωγὴν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ἃ τέως ἀνείτο καὶ κεχάλαστο· οὐκ ἀπὸ δὲ σκοποῦ προσέθηκε τὸ δεῖν ζώνυσθαι κατὰ τὴν ὁσφύν· ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐκεῖνος εἰς φάτνην ἀποκέκριται πολυκεφάλῳ θρέμματι τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

Harris, p. 48, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 313 e Cod. Vat. 1611, f. 181.

21. (Ex. xii. 17)

Ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, τροπικώτερον εἰπεῖν, κίονές<sup>a</sup> εἰσι δήμων ὄλων, ὑπερείδοντες, καθάπερ οἰκίας μεγάλας, τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς πολιτείας.

Harris, p. 48, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 661) = Cod. Rupef. f. 33 b, ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ μέθης, and Cod. Rupef. f. 200 b, and Anton Melissa (Migne, col. 1105).

<sup>a</sup> κρείττονές Cod. Rupef.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

1. (Ex. xx. 25b) Τί ἐστι “τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρίδιόν σου” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς;

Οἱ τὴν φύσιν παρεγχειρεῖν τολμῶντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς φύσεως ἐγχειρήμασιν ἰδίοις μεταμορφοῦντες τὰ ἀμίαντα μαινοῦσι. Τέλεια γὰρ καὶ πλήρη τὰ τῆς φύσεως, προσθήκης οὐδεμιᾶς δεόμενα.

Harris, p. 49, from Cat. Ined. Regia, 1825 (Mangey ii. 677), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 785, Φίλωνος ἑβραίου.

2. (Ex. xxii. 21 [Heb. 20])

Ἐμφανέστατα παρίστησιν ὅτι προσήλυτός ἐστιν, οὐχ ὁ περιτμηθεὶς τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν ἀλλ’ ὁ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γὰρ τὸ Ἑβραῖον γένος οὐ περιτέμνητο, κακῶθεν δὲ πάσαις κακώσεσι τῆς παρά τῶν ἐγχωρίων περὶ τοὺς ξένους ὠμότητος, ἐγκρατεῖα καὶ καρτερία συνεβίον οὐκ ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθελουσίῳ γνώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα θεὸν καταφυγὴν, ὃς ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀμηχάνων ἐπιπέμψας τὴν εὐεργέτιν δύναμιν ἐρρύσατο τοὺς ἰκέτας.<sup>a</sup> Διὰ τοῦτο προστίθῃσιν “Ἵμεῖς γὰρ οἶδατε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ προσηλύτου.” Τίς δὲ προσηλύτου διάνοια ἐστίν; Ἀλλοτρίωσις τῆς πολυθέου δόξης, οἰκείωσις δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἕνα καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων τιμῆς. Δεύτερον ἐπήλυδας ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τοὺς ξένους. Ξένοι δὲ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτομοληκότες, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ξενιτεύσασιν. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήλυδες χώρας, ἐκείνοι δὲ νομίμων καὶ ἐθῶν εἰσι,<sup>b</sup> τὸ δὲ ὄνομα κοινὸν ἑκατέρων “ἐπηλύδων” ὑπογράφεται.

Harris, pp. 49-50, from Cat. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 677), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 810, Φίλωνος ἑβραίου, and Cat. Burney, f. 13 b. The variant reading is in Wendland, p. 95, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 217<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 622).

<sup>a</sup> οἰκέτας Cat. Lips.

<sup>b</sup> οὗτοι μὲν . . . εἰσι] οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ χώρας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἰόντες νόμων καὶ πολιτείας Procopius.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

### 3. (Ex. xxii. 22 [Heb. 21])

(a) Οὐδένα μὲν, οὐδέ<sup>a</sup> τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε ἄρρενα οὔτε θήλειαν, ἀφήσιν ἀδικεῖν ὁ νόμος.<sup>b</sup> Ἐξαιρέτου δὲ προνοίας μεταδίδωσιν χήραις καὶ ὀρφανοῖς,<sup>c</sup> ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους βοηθοὺς καὶ κηδεμόνας ἀφήρηνται, χήραι μὲν ἄνδρας, ὀρφανοὶ δὲ γονεῖς.<sup>d</sup> Βούλεται γὰρ τῇ φυσικῇ κοινωνίᾳ χρωμένους τὰς ἐνδείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἀναπληροῦσθαι.<sup>e</sup>

Harris, p. 50, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 104 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 32 b, and Cod. Rupef. f. 220 b, and Cat. Ined. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 678), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 805, and Cat. Burney, f. 136. The variant to the first part of the second sentence is in Wendland, p. 95, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 217<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 622).

(b) Ψυχαὶ δέ, ὅταν προσκολληθῶσι θεῷ, ἐκ γυναικῶν γίνονται παρθένοι, τὰς μὲν γυναικῶδες ἀποβάλλουσαι φθορὰς τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ πάθει· τὴν δὲ ἄψευστον<sup>f</sup> καὶ ἀμιγῆ παρθένον, ἀρέσκειαν θεοῦ, μεταδώκουσι· κατὰ λόγον οὖν αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ χηρεύουσι, ἄνδρα τὸν τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸν νόμον προσσυμβιοῦσιν καὶ πατέρα τὸν αὐτόν, ἃ χρὴ πράττειν παραγγέλλοντα καθάπερ ἐγγόνους μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω κηδεμονίας.

Harris, p. 51, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 308 e Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 183.

### 4. (Ex. xxii. 23 [Heb. 22])

Καὶ κακοῦν ἀπαγορεύει οὐ τοσοῦτον τὴν σωματικὴν κάκωσιν ὅσον τὴν ψυχικὴν. Ὀρφανοῖς γὰρ γινέσθω μηδεὶς ἀφροσύνης ἢ ἀκολασίας διδάσκαλος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐν ὧσιν τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπαλὰς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θείων χαρακτήρων ὑποδοχὴν.

Wendland, p. 95, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 217<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 622).

### 6. (Ex. xxii. 28b [Heb. 27b])

(a) Προνοεῖται τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς μὴ περιπίπτουεν ἀνηκέστοις

<sup>a</sup> οὐδένα . . . οὐδέ] οὐ δυναμένου δὲ Cod. Vat.

<sup>b</sup> οὐδένα . . . νόμος om. Codd. Reg., Rupef., et Catt. Ined. Reg., Lips., Burney.

<sup>c</sup> ἐξαιρέτου . . . ὀρφανοῖς] ἐξαιρέτου δὲ προνοίας διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν μεταδίδωσιν ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις Procopius.

<sup>d</sup> ἐπειδὴ . . . γονεῖς om. Catt. Lips., Burney.

<sup>e</sup> βούλεται . . . ἀναπληροῦσθαι om. Cod. Vat.

<sup>f</sup> ex Arm. Pitra : ἄψευστον Cod. Coislin.



## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

τιμωρίας· οἱ γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούσαντες ἄρχοντες τοὺς εἰπόντας<sup>a</sup> οὐ μετὰ δίκης ἀμνούνται· καταχρήσονται δυναστείαις εἰς πανωλεθρίαν. Ἐπεὶ, φησὶν, οὐ περὶ παντός ἄρχοντος ἔοικε νομοθετεῖν ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦδε ἢ ἔθνους ἡγεμόνα σπουδαῖον ὑποτίθεται,<sup>b</sup> διὰ πλειόνων, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ δυνατοὺς ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ προφήτας ἢ ἀγίους ἄνδρας ὡς Μωϋσέα. “Ἴδου γάρ, ἔθηκά σε θεὸν Φαραῶ,” ἐλέχθη πρὸς Μωϋσῆν.

Harris, p. 51, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 805, Φίλωνος ἑβραίου, and Cat. Burney, f. 136.

(b) Τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ βλασφημία μὲν ἀλλότριον, ἔπαινος δὲ οἰκειότατον· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως εὐάγωγον εἰς εὐνοίαν ὡς εὐφημία.

Lewy, pp. 59-60, from Dam. Par. = Cod. Const. Metoch. 274, Φίλωνος.

Οὐδὲν οὕτως εὐάγωγον εἰς εὐνοίαν ὡς ἢ τῶν εὐεργετημάτων εὐφημία.

Harris, p. 51, from Anton Melissa (Migne, col. 1149).

### 9. (Ex. xxiii. 1a)

Μάταιον φησιν οὔτε ἀκοαῖς οὔτε ἄλλη τινὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων προσεῖόν· ἐπακολουθοῦσι γὰρ ταῖς ἀπάταις αἱ μεγίσται ζημίαι. Διὸ καὶ παρ' ἐνόις νομοθέταις ἀπείρηται μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοῆ,<sup>c</sup> ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ὄψει πιστευόμενον,<sup>d</sup> τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος<sup>e</sup> ἀκοῆ.

Harris, pp. 51-52, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 807, and Cat. Burney, f. 136 b. The second sentence is in Wendland, pp. 95-96, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 218<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 623).

### 10. (Ex. xxiii. 3)

Πενία καθ' ἑαυτὴν μὲν ἐλέου χρήζει εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, εἰς δὲ κρίσιν ἰούσα βραβευτῆ χρῆται τῷ τῆς ἰσότητος νόμῳ. Θεῖον γὰρ ἢ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀδέκαστον· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις εὖ εἴρηται ὅτι<sup>f</sup> “ἢ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ δικαία<sup>g</sup> ἐστίν.”

Harris, p. 52, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825, and Cat. Lips. 1,

<sup>a</sup> ἀπόντας Cat. Burney.

<sup>b</sup> ὑπερτίθεται Cat. Burney.

<sup>c</sup> διὸ . . . ἀκοῆ] διὸ παρ' ἐνόις ἀπείρηται νομοθέταις ἀκοῆν μαρτυρεῖν Procopius.

<sup>d</sup> πιστούμενον Procopius.

<sup>e</sup> ψευδὲς Procopius.

<sup>f</sup> ὅθεν . . . ὅτι] διὸ καὶ εἴρηται Procopius.

<sup>g</sup> δικαία om. Procopius, cf. Wendland ad loc., “fehlt in fast allen mss. der Cat. Lips.”

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col. 807, and Cat. Burney, f. 136 b. The second sentence is in Wendland, p. 96, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 218<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 623).

### 11. (Ex. xxiii. 4)

Ἡμερότητος ὑπερβολή πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔτι καὶ συνωφελεῖν πειρᾶσθαι δευτερον δὲ παραίτησις πλεονεξίας<sup>a</sup>. ὁ γὰρ μὴδ' ἐχθρὸν ζημιοῦν ὑπομένων τίνα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθέλησειεν ἂν βλάπτειν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἰδία;

Lewy, p. 60, from Dam. Par.=Cod. Const. Metoch. 274, Φίλωνος.

Ἡμερότητος ὑπερβολή πρὸς τῷ μὴ βλάπτειν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔτι καὶ ὠφελεῖν πειρᾶσθαι. Τίνα δὲ καὶ ἀδικήσειεν <ἂν> ὁ μὴδὲ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ζημιῶν; Ἔτι δὲ καὶ στάσιν καθαιρεῖ καὶ δυσμένειαν προκατάρχων εἰρήνης. Φιλικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἐφέλκει τὸν μὴ λίαν ἀγνώμονα. Διδαχθεῖς δὲ τις μὴδὲ βοσκήματων ὑπερορᾶν πρὸς τίνα τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἂν εἴη φιλάνθρωπος;

Wendland, p. 96, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 218<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 623).

### 13. (Ex. xxiii. 20-21)

(a) Οἱ ἀφυλάκτως ὁδοιποροῦντες διαμαρτάνουσι τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ λεωφόρου ὡς πολλάκις εἰς ἀνοδίας καὶ δυσβάτους καὶ τραχείας ἀτραποὺς ἐκτρέπεσθαι. Τὸ παραπλήσιόν ἐστι ὅτε καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν νέων<sup>b</sup> παιδείας ἀμοιροῦσιν,<sup>c</sup> καθάπερ ρεῦμα ἀνεπίσχετον<sup>d</sup> ὅπη μὴ λυσιτελὲς ρεμβεύονται.

Harris, p. 52, from Cod. Reg. 923, f. 302 b, "from the Quaest. in Exod."

(b) Ὁ πεινῶν καὶ διψῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἂ μὴ οἶδεν, τὰς ἄλλας μεθιέμενος φροντίδας, ἐπείγεται πρὸς ἀκρόασιν, καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν θυρωρεῖ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν οἰκίας.

Harris, p. 52, from Dam. Par. 613=Cod. Reg. f. 230.

<sup>a</sup> δευτερον . . . πλεονεξίας ex Arm. con. Lewy.

<sup>b</sup> νεῶν Harris.

<sup>c</sup> Harris: ἀμοιρῶσιν Cod. Reg.

<sup>d</sup> Harris: ἀνεπίσχετο Cod. Reg.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

### 14. (Ex. xxiii. 18a)

Ἐναντίον τοῦ οὐ δεῖ ζυμωτὸν παρῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιαζομένων ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ προσαγοόμενα εἰς θυσίαν ἢ ποσφορὰν ἄζυμα δεῖ εἶναι, αἰνίττεται διὰ συμβόλου δύο τὰ ἀναγκασιότατα· ἐν μὲν τὸ καταφρονεῖν ἡδονῆς, ζύμη γὰρ ἡδυσμα τροφῆς, οὐ τροφή· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἐπαίρεσθαι φυσωμένους διὰ κενῆς<sup>a</sup> οἰήσεως. Ἄνιερρον γὰρ ἐκάτερον, ἡδονή τε καὶ οἰήσις, μητρὸς μιᾶς ἀπάτης ἔγγονα. Τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυσιῶν δείγμα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ σπενδομένης θεῶ, μιγνύναι δὲ τὰ ἄμικτα οὐχ ὄσιον.

Harris, p. 53, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 678), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 816, and Cat. Burney, f. 138.

### 15. (Ex. xxiii. 18b)

(a) Κελεύει τὰ στέατα αὐθήμερον ἀναλίσκεσθαι γινόμενα ὑλὴν ἱερᾶς φλογός.

Harris, p. 53, from Cat. Burney, f. 138, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 816, Ἀδῆλου.

(b) Ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἦν εὐσέβεια λιπαίνει τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀργίοις, ἀκοιμήτως ἔχει πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ διανίσταται πρὸς τὴν θείαν τῶν θεῶν ἀξίω. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἑορτῇ μεγίστη καὶ καιρὸς ἀψευδῆς εὐφροσύνης.

Harris, p. 101 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), from Cod. Rupef. f. 153 b.

### 16. (Ex. xxiii. 22)

Φωνὴν θεοῦ τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ λεχθέντα ἀγγελον ὑπονοητέον

Αἰνίττεται δὲ διὰ συμβόλου καταφρονεῖν ἡδονῆς—ζύμη γὰρ ἡδυσμα τροφῆς, οὐ τροφή—, καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὑπὸ κενῆς φυσωμένους οἰήσεως αἰρεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ αἷμα τῶν θυσιῶν δείγμα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ σπενδομένης θεῶ. Μιγνύναι δὲ τὰ ἄμικτα οὐχ ὄσιον.

Wendland, pp. 96-97, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 220<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 627).

Ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς γινέσθω φλογός.

Wendland, p. 97, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 220<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 627).

Τὸν προφήτην φασὶ τινες καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ λαλοῦντος

<sup>a</sup> καινῆς Cat. Lips.

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μηνύεσθαι. Τοῦ γὰρ λέγοντος ὁ προφήτης ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐστίν. Ἀνάγκη<sup>α</sup> γὰρ τὸν ἀκοῆ ἀκούοντα, τοὔτέστι τὸν τὰ λεγόμενα βεβαίως παραδεχόμενον, ἔργοις ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ λεχθέντα. Λόγου γὰρ πίστις ἔργον· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καταπειθῆς καὶ ἐνεργῶν τὰ ἀκόλουθα, σύμμαχον καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔχει τὸν διδάσκαλον, ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν, βοηθοῦντα τῷ γνωρίμῳ, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς τοῖς αὐτοῦ δόγμασι καὶ παραγγέλμασιν, ἅπερ οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ βούλονται καθαιρεῖν.

Harris, p. 54, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 678), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 818, and Cat. Burney, f. 139, "glossed by a Christian commentator."

### 17. (Ex. xxiii. 24c)

Στῆλαί εἰσι τὰ δόγματα συμβολικῶς, ἅπερ ἐστάναι καὶ ἐρρηεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. Τῶν δὲ κατεστηλιτευμένων δογμάτων ἀστείά ἐστιν, ἃ καὶ θέμις ἀνακεῖσθαι καὶ βεβαίαν ἔχειν τὴν ἴδρυσιν· τὰ δὲ ἐπίληπτα, ὧν τὴν καθαίρεισιν ποιεῖσθαι λυσιτελές. Τὸ δὲ "καθαίρων καθελεῖς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίψεις" τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν. Ἐνιά τινες καθαιροῦσιν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες, καὶ συντρίβουσιν ὡς ἀθῆς ἀρμοσόμενοι· βούλεται δὲ τὰ καθαιρεθέντα

φωνήν, οὗ παρακελεύεται εἰσακούειν. Λόγου δὲ πίστις ἔργον. Ὁ δὲ καὶ πεισθεὶς καὶ πράξας ἔξει πάντως ὑπερασπιστὴν τὸν διδάσκαλον συμμαχοῦντα δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς δόγμασιν, ἅπερ οἱ ἐναντίοι βούλονται καθαιρεῖν.

Wendland, p. 97, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 221<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 630).

Τὰ δόγματα συμβολικῶς, ἅπερ ἐστάναι καὶ ἐρρηεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. Τῶν δὲ κατεστηλιτευμένων<sup>β</sup> δογμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀστεία θέμις ἀνακεῖσθαι καὶ βεβαίαν ἔχειν τὴν ἴδρυσιν, τὰ δὲ ἐπίληπτα καθαιρεῖσθαι ὡς μὴ πάλιν ἀναστησόμενα μηδὲ ἀρμοσόμενα. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἔμφασις ἢ τοῦ "καθαίρων καθελεῖς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίψεις."

Wendland, pp. 97-98, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 221<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 630).

<sup>α</sup> 1. ἀνάγκη.

<sup>β</sup> Wendland : κατεστηλευμένων Cod. Aug.

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ἅπαξ καὶ συντριβέντα μηκέτι  
τυχεῖν ἀνορθώσεως ἀλλ' εἰς  
ἅπαν ἠφανίσθαι τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς  
ἀγαθοῖς καὶ καλοῖς.

Harris, pp. 54-55, from  
Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Man-  
gey ii. 678), and Cat. Lips.  
1, col. 820, and Cat. Burney,  
f. 139.

### 18. (Ex. xxiii. 25b)

Τροφήν καὶ ὑγίειαν αἰνίτ-  
τεται τροφήν μὲν δι' ἄρτου καὶ  
ὑδατος ὑγίειαν διὰ τοῦ μαλα-  
κίαν ἀποστρέφειν. Δεύτερον,  
ἐγκράτειαν εἰσηγεῖται, τὴν τῶν  
ἀναγκαίων μετουσίαν, μόνον  
ἐπειπών . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις,  
μάθημα ἡμᾶς αἰσιώτατον ἀνα-  
διδάσκει, δηλῶν ὅτι οὔτε ἄρτος  
οὔτε ὕδωρ καθ' ἑαυτὰ τρέφου-  
σιν ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ βλά-  
πτουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελοῦσιν, ἐὰν  
μὴ θεῖος λόγος καὶ τούτοις  
χαρίσῃται τὰς ὠφελητικὰς<sup>a</sup> δυ-  
νάμεις ἧς χάριν αἰτίας φησὶν  
“εὐλογῆσω τὸν ἄρτον σου καὶ  
τὸ ὕδωρ,” ὡς οὐχ ἰκανὰ καθ'  
ἑαυτὰ τρέφειν ἄνευ θείας<sup>b</sup> καὶ  
ἐπιφροσύνης.

Harris, p. 55, from Cat.  
Lips. 1, col. 820, Ἀθήλου.

### 19. (Ex. xxiii. 26a)

Ἄγωνίαν<sup>c</sup> καὶ στείρωσιν ἐν κατάραις τάττων Μωϋσῆς οὐ φησὶν  
ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νόμιμα δρῶσιν· ἄθλον γὰρ τοῖς τὸ  
ἱερὸν γράμμα τοῦ νόμου φυλάττουσι παρέχει τὸν ἀρχαιότερον

<sup>a</sup> Wendland : ἀφελητικὰς Cat. Lips.

<sup>b</sup> post θείας lacunam esse stat. Harris.

<sup>c</sup> Harris : ἀγωνίαν Cod. Vat.

Τροφήν καὶ ὑγίειαν ἐπαγγέλ-  
λεται, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων  
μόνων μνησθεῖς ἐδίδαξε τὴν  
ἐγκράτειαν. Καὶ μάθημα δὲ  
παρέδωκεν αἰσιώτατον, ὡς οὐ-  
δὲν τούτων τρέφει καθ' ἑαυτό,  
βλάπτει δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελεῖ,  
μὴ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν ὠφελητικὴν  
διὰ τῆς εὐλογίας παρέχοντος.

Wendland, p. 98, from  
Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 221<sup>r</sup>  
(Migne, p. 630).

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νόμον τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως, ὅς ἐπὶ σπορᾷ καὶ γενέσει τέκνων ἐτέθη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονήν.

Harris, p. 55, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 105 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει [sic] ζητημάτων.

### 20. (Ex. xxiii. 26b)

Πάγκαλον δέ φασὶ τὸ μήτε μῆσι μήτε ἐνιαυτοῖς καταριθμῆσθαι τὸν βίον τῶν ἱκετῶν. Τῶ γὰρ ὄντι ἐκάστου σοφοῦ ἡμέρα ἰσότημός ἐστιν αἰῶνι. Εὖ δὲ καὶ τὸ “ἀναπληρώσω” διὰ τὰ κενὰ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐν ψυχῇ διαστήματα τοῦ προκόπτοντος, ὃν βούλεται καθάπερ μουσικὸν ὄργανον διὰ πάντων ἡρμόσθαι πρὸς μίαν συμφωνίαν βουλημάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων.

Wendland, pp. 98-99, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 221<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 629).

### 21. (Ex. xxiii. 27a)

Καὶ τὸν φόβον ἀποστελῶ ἡγούμενόν σου.

Τὸ μὲν ῥητὸν ἐμφανές· εἰς κατάπληξιν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχυρὰ δύναμις ὁ φόβος, ὑφ' οὗ μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐφόδου ῥώμη ἀλίσκεται. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν οὕτως· δυοῖν οὐσῶν αἰτιῶν, ὧν ἕνεκα τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώποι τιμῶσιν, ἀγάπης καὶ φόβου, τὸ μὲν ἀγαπᾶν ἐστὶν ὀψίγονον· τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι συνίσταται πρότερον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπο σκοποῦ λελέχθαι τὸ ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν φόβον, τῆς ἀγάπης ὕστερον καὶ ὀψὲ προσγενομένης.

Harris, p. 56, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 313 e Cod. Palat. Vat. 203, f. 261, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 822, and Cat. Burney, f. 139 b.

Καὶ τὸν φόβον μου ἀποστελῶ ἡγούμενόν σου, ὑφ' οὗ μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ῥώμης οἱ πολέμιοι ἀλίσκονται. Προηγείται δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ φόβος, ἡ τοῖς τελείοις ἐγγίνεται. Δι' ἀμφοῖν γὰρ τιμᾶται θεός.

Wendland, p. 99, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 222<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 629).

### 24. (Ex. xxiii. 28)

Σύμβολον δὲ ὑποληπτέον εἶναι τοὺς σφῆκας ἀνελπίστου δυνάμειως θεία πομπῇ σταλησο-

Οἱ σφῆκες ἐξ ἀφανοῦς οὗ προειδομένους τιτρώσκουσι τὰ καιριώτατα, κεφαλὴν τε καὶ τὰ

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μένης, ἥτις ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων  
κατὰ κράτος ἐπιφέρουσα<sup>a</sup> τὰς  
πληγὰς, εὐστοχῆσει πᾶσι τοῖς  
βλήμασι, καὶ διαθείσα οὐδὲν  
ἀντιπέσεται<sup>b</sup> τὸ παράπαν.

Harris, p. 56, from Cat.  
Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii.  
679), and Cat. Lips. I, col.  
823, and Cat. Burney, f. 139 b.

ἐν αὐτῇ . . . σημαῖνοι δ' ἂν καὶ  
θείαν πομπὴν ἀνεπίστου δυνά-  
μεως στελλομένης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

Wendland, p. 99, from  
Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 222<sup>r</sup>  
(Migne, p. 629).

### 25. (Ex. xxiii. 29)

(a) Ἐὰν τοῦ ἄρτι πρῶτον  
εἰσαγομένου καὶ μανθάνοντος  
σπουδᾶσης, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀμάθειαν  
ἐκτεμῶν, ἀθρόαν ἐπιστήμην  
εἰσοικίσει τὸναντίον οὐ διανοῆ  
πράξεις· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν  
ἐνὶ καιρῷ γινομένην ὑπομενεῖ,  
οὔτε τὴν ἀφθονον ρύμην καὶ  
φορὰν τῆς διδασκαλίας χωρήσει,  
ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάτερον τὸ τε ἐκ-  
τεμνόμενον καὶ προστιθέμενον  
ὀδυνηθεῖς καὶ περιαλγῆσας ἀφη-  
νιάσει.<sup>c</sup> Τὸ δὲ ἥσυχῆ καὶ με-  
τρίως ἀφαιρεῖν μὲν τι<sup>d</sup> τῆς  
ἀπαιδεύσιας, προστιθέναί δὲ τῆς  
παιδείας τὸ ἀνάλογον ὠφελείας  
γένουτ' ἂν ὁμολογουμένης αἰτίον.

Harris, pp. 56-57, from  
John Monachus (Mangey ii.  
663)=Cod. Rupef. f. 137,  
and Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 312  
e Cod. Palat. 203, f. 261, and  
Cod. Vat. 1553, f. 129. "The  
latter ms. seems to be the one  
used by Mai, *Script. Vet.*  
vii. 100. . . ."

Τὰ γὰρ θηρία φεύγει τὰς τῶν  
πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων οἰκήσεις  
ὡς ἡγεμόνων τῇ φύσει καὶ τὰς  
ἐρήμους πληροῖ. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς  
τῶν εἰσαγομένων ψυχὰς ἔστιν  
ὑφ' ἐν ἀπαλλάττειν ἀγνοίας καὶ  
πληροῦν ἐπιστήμης. Οὐ φέρουσι  
γὰρ οὔτε τὴν ἐκείνης ἀφαίρεσιν  
οὔτε τὴν ἀφθονον τῆς διδασ-  
καλίας φορὰν.

Wendland, p. 100, from  
Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 222<sup>r</sup>  
(Migne, p. 629).

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ κράτος ἐπιφέρουσα ex Arm. conieci: κατ' ἄκρον τὸ  
οὐς ὑποφέρουσα codd. <sup>b</sup> Mangey: ἀντιπεσείται codd.

<sup>c</sup> ἀπεράσει Cod. Vat. (vid.) ap. Mai.

<sup>d</sup> τι] κατ' ὀλίγον Mai.

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(b) Ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρὸς οὐ μᾶ ἡμέρα τῶ νοσοῦντι πάντα ἀθρόα τὰ ὑγιεινὰ προσφέρειν<sup>a</sup> ἢ ἐθελήσειεν, εἰδὼς βλάβην ἐργαζόμενος μᾶλλον ἢπερ ὠφέλειαν,<sup>b</sup> ἀλλὰ διαμετρησάμενος τοὺς καιροὺς ἐπιδιανέμει τὰ σωτήρια καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα προστιθεὶς πρᾶως ὑγίειαν ἐμποιεῖ.

Harris, pp. 57-58, from Cod. Rupef. f. 137, and Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 100 e Cod. Vat. 1553, f. 129 (*vid.*), and Dam. Par. 567, and Cod. Reg. f. 210 b.

### 26. (Ex. xxiii. 33b)

Ὡσπερ οἱ προσπταίσαντες, ἀρτίοις βαίνειν ποσὶν ἀδυνατοῦντες, μακρὰν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τέλους ὑστερίζουσι προκάμνοντες<sup>c</sup>. οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀγούσαν ὁδὸν ἀνύειν κωλύεται, προεντυχάνουσα ταῖς ἀσεβέσιν ἀνοδίαις. Αὗται γάρ εἰσιν ἐμπόδιοι καὶ προσπταισμάτων αἰτίαι, δι' ὧν κυλλαίνων ὁ νοῦς ὑστερίζει τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὁδοῦ. Ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων τελευτῶσα.

Harris, p. 58, from Dam. Par. 774=Cod. Rupef., ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

Τοῦτο γὰρ παθὼν ὁδοιπόρος προκάμνει, πρὶν εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐλθεῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ψυχὴ πρὸς θεὸν ὁδεύειν ἐθέλουσα δυσσεβέσιν ἀνοδίαις τῆς εὐθείας ἀπείργεται.

Wendland, p. 101, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 222<sup>v</sup> (Migne, p. 631).

### 28. (Ex. xxiv. 1b)

Οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ δύναμις τοῖς μὲν ἀφεστηκόσι μεμετρημένον διάστημα παρέχει φῶς, κατακαίει δὲ τοὺς ἐγγίζοντας; Ὅρα μὴ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθης τῇ διανοίᾳ, μὴ σε ὁ πολὺς πόθος ἀδυνάτου πράγματος ἀναλώσῃ.

Harris, p. 58, from Dam. Par. 748=Cod. Rupef. f. 22 b.

<sup>a</sup> ἐπιφέρειν Dam. et Cod. Reg.

<sup>b</sup> ὑγίειαν Mai.

<sup>c</sup> προκάμνοντες ex Arm. et Procop. conieci : προσκάμνοντες Cod. Rupef.



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37. (Ex. xxiv. 10)

Οὐδείς αὐχῆσει τὸν ἀόρατον θεὸν ἰδεῖν, εἷζας ἀλαζονεία.<sup>a</sup>

Harris, p. 59, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 662) = Cod. Rupef. f. 55.

38. (Ex. xxiv. 11a)

Τὸ μὲν ῥητὸν διήγημα φανερὰν ἔχει τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ὡς ἀπάντων σώων διατηρηθέντων, τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν τὸ πάντα περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν συμφώνους<sup>b</sup> εἶναι καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαφωρεῖν.

Harris, p. 59, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 679), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 829, and Cat. Burney, f. 141.

40. (Ex. xxiv. 12a)

Ἐνίοις ἀψίκωρος ἐγγίνεται λογισμὸς, οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναπτεροφορηθέντες αὐτίκα ὑπενόστησαν, οὐκ ἀναπτάντες μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποσυρέντες εἰς ταρτάρου, φησὶν, ἐσχατίας. Εὐδαίμονες δὲ οἱ μὴ παλινδρομοῦντες.

Harris, p. 59, from Dam. Par. 784 = Cod. Rupef., Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζήτημάτων.

45. (Ex. xxiv. 16a)

(a) Ἐναργέστατα δυσωπεῖ τοὺς ἐγγὺς ὑπὸ ἀσεβείας εἴτε ἡλιθιότητος οἰομένους τοπικὰς καὶ μεταβατικὰς κινήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ θεῖον. Ἴδου γὰρ ἐμφανῶς οὐ τὸν οὐσιώδη θεὸν τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον ἐπινοούμενον κατεληλυθέναι φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. Διττὴ δὲ ἡ περὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐκδοχὴ ἢ μὲν παρουσίαν ἐμφαίνουσα τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέως λέγεται δόξα ἢ στρατιωτικὴ δύναμις· ἢ δὲ τῇ δοκῆσει αὐτοῦ μόνου καὶ ὑπολήψει δόξης θείας, ὡς ἐνεργᾶσθαι ταῖς τῶν παρόν-

Ἐλέγχει τοὺς οἰομένους μεταβατικὰς δυνάμεις εἶναι περὶ θεόν. Οὐ γὰρ τὸν οὐσιώδη θεὸν τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον ἐπινοούμενον κατεληλυθέναι φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ἢ δυνάμεων παρουσίαν ἐμφαίνων—ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέως λέγεται δόξα δύναμις στρατιωτικὴ—, ἢ δόκησιν αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ δόξης θείας ὑπόληψιν, ἢ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τὴν φαντασίαν ἐτύπωσεν ὡς ἡκοντος θεοῦ πρὸς βεβαιοτάτην πίστιν τῶν μελλόντων νομοθετεῖσθαι.

Wendland, p. 101, from

<sup>a</sup> ἀλογιστία Mangey.

<sup>b</sup> σύμφωνος Cat. Reg.

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των διανοίαις φαντασίαν ἀφίξεως θεοῦ, ὡς ἤκοντος εἰς βεβαιοτάτην πίστιν τῶν μελλόντων νομοθετεῖσθαι.

Harris, p. 60, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 679), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 382.

Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 224<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 633 ?).

(b) Ἄβατος καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστος ὄντως ἐστὶν ὁ θεῖος χώρος, οὐδὲ τῆς καθαρωτάτης διανοίας τοσοῦτον ὕψος προσαναβῆναι δυναμένης ὡς θίξει μόνον ἐπιψαῦσαι.

Harris, p. 60, from Dam. Par. 748 = Cod. Rupef. 22 b, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἦτοι τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητουμένων.

### 46. (Ex. xxiv. 16b)

Τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν ἀπένειμε καὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀρατικοῦ γένους ἐκλογῇ, τὴν ἐξάδα βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξει ὅτι αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησε καὶ τὸ γένος εἴλετο. Ἡ δὲ ἀνάκλησις τοῦ προφήτου δεύτερα γένεσις ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀμείνων. Ἐβδόμη δὲ ἀνακαλεῖται ἡμέρα, ταύτη διαφέρων τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ γῆς καὶ μετὰ σώματος συνίστατο· οὗτος δὲ ἄνευ σώματος· διὸ τῷ μὲν γηγενεῖ ἀριθμὸς οἰκείος ἀπενεμήθη ἐξάς· τούτῳ δὲ ἡ ἱερωτάτη φύσις τῆς ἐβδομάδος.

Harris, pp. 60-61, from Cat. Lips 1, col. 832, Προκοπίου.

### 47. (Ex. xxiv. 17)

Τὸ δὲ εἶδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου φησὶν ἐμφερέστατον εἶναι φλογί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ εἶναι ἀλλὰ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ὀρώσι· τοῦ θεοῦ δεικνύντος ὅπερ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωμένων κατάπληξιν, μὴ ὦν τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο. Ἐπιφέρει γοῦν τὸ “ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ,” ἐναργέστατα μηνύων ὅτι φαντασία φλογὸς ἦν ἀλλ’ οὐ φλόξ ἀληθής. Ὡσπερ δὲ ἡ φλόξ

Ἐδείκνυε δὲ πῦρ θεός, οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἠβούλετο δοκεῖν ὁ δηλῶν ἐπήνεγκεν “ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.” Τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ὅτι δαπανητικὸν τὸ θεῖον λογισμῶν ἀσεβῶν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὕλης τὸ πῦρ.

Wendland, p. 102, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 224<sup>r</sup> vid.

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πάσαν τὴν παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀναλίσκει, οὕτως, ὅταν ἐπιφοιτήσῃ εἰλικρινῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔννοια τῇ ψυχῇ, πάντας τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους ἀσεβείας λογισμοὺς διαφθείρει, καθοσιούσα τὴν ὄλην διάνοιαν.

Harris, p. 61, from Cat. Ined. Reg. 1825, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 832 (Mangey ii. 679).

### 49. (Ex. xxiv. 18b)

(a) Ὅτι ἔμελλε κατάκριτος ἔσσεσθαι ἢ ἀποικισθεῖσα γενεὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα φθείρεσθαι μυρία μὲν εὐεργετηθεῖσα, διὰ μυρίων δὲ ἐπιδειξαμένη τὸ ἀχάριστον.

Harris, p. 61, from Cat. Ined. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 680), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 833.

Τεσσαράκοντα δὲ μένει τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας ἐν ὄρει Μωϋσῆς, ὅσα ἔμελλεν ἔτη τῶν εὐπαθόντων ἢ ἀγνώμων φθείρεσθαι γενεά.

Wendland, p. 102, from Procopius (Migne, p. 635 a).

(b) Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἰσαριθμοῖς ἡμέραις ἰκέτευε τὸν πατέρα καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ δίδονται νόμοι καὶ φορητὸν ἱερόν, ἢ σκηνή. Τίσι γὰρ οἱ νόμοι; ἀρά γε τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις; Ὑπὲρ τίνων δὲ αἱ θυσίαι; [ἀρα] τῶν μικρὸν ὕστερον φθαρσομένων; προῆδαι γὰρ ὡς προφήτης τὰ ἐσόμενα.

Harris, p. 62, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 834, Προκοπίου. (Cf. Wendland, p. 102, " Von hier an folgt Pr. dem Philo nicht mehr als Quelle ").

### 50. (Ex. xxv. 2)

(a) Τὴν καρδίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ παρείληφεν ἢ γραφή.

Harris, p. 62, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 103 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

(b) Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ὕλαις ἀλλ' ἐν εὐσεβεῖ<sup>a</sup> διαθέσει τοῦ κομίζοντος ἢ ἀληθῆς ἀπαρχῆ. Ὁ μὲν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀπάρχων θεῶ, καὶ ἂν τὰ

<sup>a</sup> Mangey : εὐσεβεία codd.

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μεγάλα<sup>a</sup> πάντα κομίζη μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν, ἀπαρχὰς οὐ φέρει.

Harris, p. 62, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 670), ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων. (I have transposed the order of the two sentences to agree with the Armenian. This makes it unnecessary to accept Harris' suggestion that the last sentence [οὐ γὰρ . . . ἀπαρχή] is a gloss.)

55. (Ex. xxv. 10b [Heb. 11b]).

(a) Οἱ ἀστέρες στρέφονται καὶ εἰλοῦνται κύκλον· οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ, οἱ δὲ καὶ κινήσειεν ἰδίαις <ἀς> ἔλαχον ἐξαιρέτοις.

Harris, p. 63, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 670), ἐκ τοῦ β' ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

(b) Ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος, ὁμοιούμενος πελάγει, κυματώσεις καὶ στροφὰς παντοίας προσεπιδέχεται<sup>b</sup> κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας καὶ κακοπραγίας.<sup>c</sup> Ἰδρῦται γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν γηγενῶν ἀλλ' ὥδε καὶ ἐκείσε διαφέρεται, οἷα σκάφος θαλαττεῦον ὑπ' ἐναντίων πνευμάτων.<sup>d</sup>

Harris, p. 63, from Anon. Coll. Florilega Cod. Barocc. 143 (Mangey ii. 674), and Dam. Par. 506, "ascribed to Nilus," and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 156 b, "ascribed to the ii. Quaest. in *Genesisim* [*sic*]."

62. (Ex. xxv. 17a [Heb. 18a]) Τίνα τὰ χερουβίμ;

Τὰ χερουβίμ ἐρμηνεύεται μὲν ἐπίγνωσις πολλή, ἧ<sup>e</sup> ἐν ἑτέροις ὄνομα ἐπιστήμη πλουσία καὶ κεχυμένη. Σύμβολα δέ ἐστι δυνεῖν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων ποιητικῆς τε καὶ βασιλικῆς. Πρεσβυτέρα δὲ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν. Ἰσηλικες γὰρ αἶγε<sup>f</sup> περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅπασαι δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ προεπινοεῖται πως ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς· βασιλεὺς γάρ τις οὐχὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ γεγονότος· ὄνομα δὲ ἔλαχεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ

<sup>a</sup> μέταλλα con. Harris.

<sup>b</sup> προσδέχεται Dam. : προσενδέχεται Cod. Reg.

<sup>c</sup> καὶ κακοπραγίας om. Cod. Barocc.

<sup>d</sup> πραγμάτων Dam.

<sup>e</sup> ἧ ins. Harris.

<sup>f</sup> Harris : αἶτε eodd.

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θεός, τὸ γὰρ ποιῆσαι θεῖναι ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοί· ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κύριος ἀπάντων ἀνακεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Harris, pp. 63-64, from Tischendorf, *Philonea*, p. 144 e Cod. Vat. 379, f. 385 ("This and the following passages [to § 99] were first edited by Grossmann in an inaugural dissertation, Leipsic, 1856").

63. (Ex. xxv. 17b [Heb. 18b]) Διατί χρυσοῦ τορευτά;

Ὁ μὲν χρυσὸς σύμβολον τῆς τιμιωτάτης οὐσίας, ἡ δὲ τορεία τῆς ἐντέχνου καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς φύσεως· ἔδει γὰρ τὰς πρώτας τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις ἰδέας ἰδεῶν ὑπαρχούσας καὶ τῆς καθαρωτάτης καὶ ἀμιγυῶς καὶ τιμαλφειστάτης καὶ προσέτι τῆς ἐπιστημονικωτάτης φύσεως μεταλαχεῖν.

Harris, p. 64, from Tischendorf, *Philonea*, p. 144.

64. (Ex. xxv. 17c-18 [Heb. 18c-19]) Διατί ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλιτῶν τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου τὰ χερουβὶμ ἤρμωτε;

Τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου δυσὶ ταῖς ἀνωτάτω φρουραῖς ὠχυρῶσθαι, τῇ τε καθ' ἡν ἐποίει τὰ ὅλα θεός, καὶ τῇ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει τῶν γεγονότων. Ἐμελλε γὰρ ὡς οἰκειοτάτου καὶ συγγενεστάτου κτήματος προκῆδεσθαι, ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ ἵνα μὴ λυθεῖ τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς γενόμενα, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ ὅπως μηδὲν μῆτε πλεονεκτῆ μῆτε πλεονεκτῆται, νόμῳ βραβευόμενα τῷ τῆς ἰσότητος, ὑφ' ἧς τὰ πράγματα διαιωνίζεται<sup>α</sup>. Πλεονεξία μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνισότης ὀρηγνῆρια πολέμου, λυτικὰ τῶν ὄντων· τὸ δὲ εὖνομον καὶ τὸ ἴσον εἰρήνης σπέρματα,<sup>β</sup> σωτηρίας αἷτια καὶ τῆς εἰσάπαν διαμονῆς.

Harris, p. 64, from Tischendorf, *Philonea*, "ut supra."

65. (Ex. xxv. 19a [Heb. 20a]) Διατί φησιν "ἐκτείνει τὰς πτέρυγας τὰ χερουβὶμ ἵνα συσκιάζῃ";

Αἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσαι δυνάμεις πτεροφνοῦσι, τῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὁδοῦ γλιχόμεναί τε καὶ ἐφιέμεναι· συσκιάζουσι δὲ οἷα πτέρυξι τὰ τοῦ παντὸς μέρη· αἰνίττεται δὲ ὡς ὁ κόσμος σκέπαις καὶ φυλακτηρίοις φρουρεῖται, δυσὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις δυνάμεσι τῇ τε ποιητικῇ καὶ βασιλικῇ.

Harris, p. 65, from Tischendorf, *Philonea*, p. 146. "John Monach. (Mangey ii. 656), referring to ii. Quaest. in Gen., gives the first sentence, as also Pitra, *Anal. Sac.* ii. p. xxiii e Cod. Coislin. (?), f. 60, with the same reference."

<sup>α</sup> διαμονίζεται Grossmann.

<sup>β</sup> τέρματα Grossmann.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

66. (Ex. xxv. 19b [Heb. 20b]) Διατί τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς ἄλληλα ἐκνεύει καὶ ἄμφω πρὸς τὸ ἱλαστήριον;

Παγκάλῃ τίς ἐστὶ καὶ θεοπρεπῆς ἡ τῶν λεχθέντων εἰκὼν· ἔδει γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις, τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν, εἰς ἀλλήλας<sup>a</sup> ἀφορᾶν, τὰ σφῶν κάλλη κατανοούσας καὶ ἅμα πρὸς τὴν ὠφέλειαν τῶν γεγονότων συμπνεούσας· δεύτερον ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεός, εἰς ὧν, καὶ ποιητής ἐστὶ καὶ βασιλεύς, εἰκότως αἱ διαστάσαι δυνάμεις πάλιν ἔνωσιν ἔλαβον· καὶ γὰρ διέστησαν ὠφελίμως ἵνα ἡ μὲν ποιητὴ, ἡ δὲ ἄρχῃ. Διαφέρει γὰρ ἑκάτερον· καὶ ἡρμόσθησαν ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων αἰδίων προσβολὴν ὅπως καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἔχῃται. Ἀμφότεραι γὰρ συννεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱλαστήριον εἰκότως· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς νῦν οὖσιν ἕλωσ ὁ θεός, οὐτ' ἂν εἰργάσθη τι διὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς οὐτ' ἂν ἐνομήθη διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς.

Harris, p. 65, from Tischendorf, *Philonea*, p. 147.

67. (Ex. xxv. 21a [Heb. 22a]) Τί ἐστὶ “γνωσθήσομαί σοι ἐκεῖθεν”;

Γνώσιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὁ εἰλικρινέστατος καὶ προφητικώτατος νοῦς λαμβάνει τοῦ ὄντος οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος, οὐ γὰρ χωρήσει τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόρων δυνάμεων. Καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν φέρεσθαι τὰς αὐγὰς ἵνα δύνῃται διὰ τοῦ δευτέρου φέγγους τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ αὐγοειδέστερον θεάσασθαι.

Harris, p. 66, from Tischendorf, *Philonea*, p. 148.

68. (Ex. xxv. 21b [Heb. 22b]) Τί ἐστὶ “λαλήσω ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν χερουβὶμ”;

Ἐμφαίνει διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἕλωσ καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως ὑπεράνω τὸ θεῖόν ἐστίν· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι λαλεῖ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς τε ποιητικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς· τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνει νοῦς<sup>b</sup>. ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος μέσος ὧν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει καταλείπει κενόν, τὰ ὅλα πληρῶν καὶ μεσιτεύει καὶ διαιτᾷ τοῖς παρ' ἑκατέρω διεστάναι δοκοῦσι, φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐργαζόμενος· αἶε γὰρ κοινωνίας· αἴτιος καὶ δημιουργὸς εἰρήνης. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν κατὰ μέρος εἴρηται· δεῖ δὲ συλλήβδην ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβόντα τοῦ γνωρίσαι χάριν τίνων ταῦτά ἐστι σύμβολα διεξελεθῆναι ἦν δὲ ταῦτα συμβολικά. Κιβωτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ θησαυριζόμενα νόμιμα καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ

<sup>a</sup> edd. : ἀλληγορίαν codd.

<sup>b</sup> νοῦν Grossmann.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου Χαλδαίων γλώττη λεγόμενα χερουβίμ, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὸ μέσον φωνή και λόγος και ὑπεράνω ὁ λέγων. Εἰ δέ τις ἀκριβῶς δυνηθεῖη κατανοῆσαι τὰς τούτων φύσεις, δοκεῖ μοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποτάξασθαι ὅσα ζηλωτά, κάλλεσι θεοειδεστάτοις περιληφθεῖς. Σκοπῶμεν δὲ ἕκαστον οἶόν ἐστι. Τὸ πρῶτον ὁ και ἐνός και μονάδος και ἀρχῆς πρεσβύτερος. Ἔπειτα ὁ τοῦ ὄντος λόγος,<sup>a</sup> ἡ σπερματικὴ τῶν ὄντων οὐσία: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θείου λόγου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς, σχίζονται αἱ<sup>b</sup> δύο δυνάμεις. Ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε τὰ πάντα και διεκόσμησεν ὁ τεχνίτης, αὕτη θεός ὀνομάζεται: ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ, καθ' ἣν ἄρχει τῶν γεγονότων ὁ δημιουργός, αὕτη καλεῖται κύριος. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν δυεῖν δυνάμεων ἐκπεφύκασιν ἕτεροι παραβλαστάνει γὰρ τῇ μὲν ποιητικῇ ἡ ἴλεως, ἥς ὄνομα εὐεργέτις, τῇ δὲ βασιλικῇ ἡ νομοθετικὴ, ὄνομα δὲ εὐθύβολον ἡ κολαστήριος: ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας και περὶ ταύτας ἡ κιβωτός: ἐστὶ δὲ κιβωτός κόσμον νοητοῦ σύμβολον. Ἔχει δὲ τὰ πάντα ἰδρυμένα ἐν τοῖς ἐσωτάτοις ἀγίοις συμβολικῶς ἡ κιβωτός, τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, τὰ νόμιμα ἃ κέκληκε μαρτύρια, τὴν νομοθετικὴν και κολαστήριον δύναμιν, τὸ ἱλαστήριον, τὴν ἴλεω και εὐεργέτιν, τὰς ὑπεράνω τὴν τε ποιητικὴν, ἥτις ἐστὶ πίστις<sup>c</sup> τῆς ἴλεω και εὐεργέτιδος, και τὴν βασιλικὴν, ἥτις ἐστὶ ρίζα τῆς κολαστηρίου και νομοθετικῆς. Ὑπεμφαίνεται δὲ μέσος ὢν ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὁ λέγων: ἐστὶ δὲ και ὁ τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομάδι συμπληρούμενος νοητὸς κόσμος, και δυνάμεις δύο συγγενεῖς ἡ τε κολαστήριος και εὐεργέτις, και ἕτεροι πρὸ τούτων δύο ἡ τε ποιητικὴ και ἡ βασιλικὴ, συγγένειαν ἔχουσαι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν δημιουργὸν ἢ τὸ γεγονός: και ἕκτος ὁ λόγος και ἑβδομος ὁ λέγων: εἰ δὲ ἄνωθεν τὴν καταριθμῆσιν ποιῆ, εὐρήσεις τὸν μὲν λέγοντα πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον δεύτερον, τρίτην<sup>d</sup> δὲ τὴν ποιητικὴν δύναμιν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἶτα δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῇ ποιητικῇ πέμπτην τὴν εὐεργέτιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἕκτην τὴν κολαστήριον, ἑβδομον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ιδεῶν κόσμον.

Harris, pp. 66-68, from Tischendorf, *Philonea*, pp. 148-152.

### 85. (Ex. xxvi. 1c)

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀλουργικόν, τὸ δὲ ῥοδοειδὲς ἡ κοκκοβαφές, τὸ δὲ ὑάκινθω προσεικός, ἡ δὲ βύσσος τὴν λευκὴν εἶχε χροιάν. Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἦν αἰνίγματα. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑάκινθος τῷ ἀέρι προσέοικε, τὸ δὲ ῥοδοειδὲς ἡ κοκκοβαφές τῷ πυρί, τὸ δὲ ἀλουργικόν μηνύει τὴν θάλατταν—ἐκείνη γὰρ τρέφει

<sup>a</sup> λόγου Grossmann.

<sup>c</sup> πηγῆ ex Arm. coniecti.

<sup>b</sup> αἱ add. Tischendorf.

<sup>d</sup> τρίτος Harris.

## EXODUS, BOOK II

τὸν κόχλον, ἐξ οὗ τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται χρώμα—, ἣ δὲ βύσσος τὴν γῆν ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ φύεσθαι λέγεται.

Wendland, pp. 107-108, from Theodoret, *Quaest. in Exodum*, Migne, p. 284 d.

99. (Ex. xxvii. 1b)

Οὔτε πλοῦτον ἀσπάζεται τὸ θεῖον οὔτε πενίαν ἀποστρέφεται.

Harris, p. 68, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 308 e Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 208.

105. (Ex. xxvii. 21b)

Οὐδὲν οὔτε ἥδιον οὔτε σεμνότερον ἢ θεῷ δουλεύειν, ὃ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην βασιλείαν ὑπερβάλλει. Καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτοι βασιλεῖς ἅμα καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς γενέσθαι, δηλοῦντες ἔργοις ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων δεσπόμενους δουλεύειν τοῖς λατρεύουσι θεῷ.

Harris, p. 68, from Dam. Par. 775=Cod. Rupef. f. 113, ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

107. (Ex. xxviii. 2)

Δόξα, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ψευδῆς ἐστὶ ὑπόληψις καὶ δόκησις ἀβέβαιος.

Harris, p. 68, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 102 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

117. (Ex. xxviii. 27 [Heb. 31]).

Διά τοι τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ ἀέρος ὁ ποδῆρης εἶχε τὸ χρώμα. Ὑάκωθος δὲ ἦν, ὡς ἂν καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀφορῶν μετάρσιος γένηται.

Wendland, p. 108, from Theodoret, *Quaest. in Exodum*, Migne, p. 285 v.

118. (Ex. xxviii. 28 [Heb. 32])

Οἱ λάλοι, τὰ ὀφείλοντα ἠσυχάζεσθαι ῥηγνύντες, τρόπον τινὰ ὑπὸ γλωσσαλγίας προχέουσι εἰς ὧτα ἀκοῆς οὐκ ἄξια.

Harris, p. 68, from Dam. Par. 576, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 231, "in each case headed Φίλωνος."



## UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS FROM QUAESTIONES IN EXODUM<sup>a</sup>

1. Ἀμήχανον ἀνθρωπίνη φύσει τὸ τοῦ ὄντος πρόσωπον θεάσασθαι. Τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ κυριολογεῖται, παραβολὴ δὲ ἐστὶν εἰς δήλωσιν τῆς καθαρωτάτης καὶ εὐκρινεστάτης τοῦ ὄντος ιδέας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπος οὐδενὶ γνωρίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ προσώπῳ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ποιότητα καὶ μορφήν. Οὐ γὰρ φησιν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι “οὐκ εἰμι ὁρατὸς τὴν φύσιν”—τίς δὲ μᾶλλον ὁρατὸς ἢ ὁ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα γεννήσας ὁρατὰ;—“πεφυκῶς δὲ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁρώμαι” φησι. Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ἢ ἀδυναμία τοῦ γενητοῦ. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ περιπλέκων μηκύνω θεὸν γενέσθαι δεῖ πρότερον—ὅπερ οὐδὲ οἷόν τε—ἵνα θεὸν ἰσχύσῃ τις καταλαβεῖν. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ μὲν τις τὸν θνητὸν βίον, ζήσῃ δὲ ἀντιλαβὼν τὸν ἀθάνατον, ἴσως ὁ μηδέποτε εἶδεν ὄψεται. Αἱ φιλοσοφίαι πᾶσαι κατὰ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον ἀκμάσασαι, ζητοῦσαι τὰ φύσεως, οὐδὲ τὸ βραχυτάτον ἠδυνήθησαν τηλαυγῶς ἰδεῖν. Σαφῆς δὲ πίστις αἱ διαφωνίαι, αἱ διαμάχαι καὶ ἑτεροδοξίαι τῶν ἐκάστης αἰρέσεως ἀνασκευαζόντων καὶ ἀνασκευαζομένων μέρη· καὶ πᾶσιν ὀρμητήρια πολέμων γεγόνασιν αἱ τῶν αἰρεσιομάχων σκιαί,<sup>b</sup> τυφλοῦσαι τὸν δυνάμενον βλέπειν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ταῖς ἀντιλογικαῖς ἔρισι, ἀμηχανοῦντα τίνα δεῖ προσέσθαι<sup>c</sup> καὶ τίνα διώσασθαι. Δεῖ τὸν βουλόμενον φαντασιωθῆναι τὸν τῶν ὄλων ἄριστον, στήναι τὸ πρῶτον κατὰ ψυχὴν, ἰδρυνθέντα παγίως γνώμῃ μιᾷ, καὶ μηκέτι πρὸς πολλὰ πλάζεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ στήναι ἐπὶ φύσεως καὶ γνώμης ξηρᾶς καὶ ἀγόνου πάντων,<sup>d</sup> ὅσα φθαρτά· ἐὰν γὰρ προσήσεται τι τῶν μαλακωτέρων, σφαλῆσεται τῆς προθέσεως. Ἀδυνατήσῃ καὶ τὸ ὀξύπεστατον βλέπον ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀγένητον, ὡς τυφλωθῆναι πρότερον ἢ θεάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ὀξυαύγειαν καὶ τὸν ἐπεισερόντα<sup>e</sup> χεῖμαρρον τῶν μαρμαρυγῶν.

Harris, pp. 72-73, from Dam. Par. 748=Cod. Rupef. f. 22 b, ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἑξόδῳ ζητουμένων.

<sup>a</sup> The sections have been numbered by me.

<sup>b</sup> Harris: οἰκίαι codd.

<sup>c</sup> Mangey: προσέσθαι codd.

<sup>d</sup> Harris: παντός codd.

<sup>e</sup> Mangey: ἀπεισερόντα codd.

## EXODUS, UNIDENTIFIED

2. Ἡ φορὰ τῶν κακιῶν ἀνακυκᾶ καὶ στροβεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἔλιγγον αὐτῇ περιτιθεῖσα τὸν καλύπτοντα καὶ καμμύνει ἐκβιαζόμενον τὴν φύσει μὲν πρόπουσαν ὄψιν, ἐπιτηδεύσει δὲ τυφλουμένην.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 751 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

3. Λί περι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρετῶν ἐναγώνιοι ζητήσεις βελτιοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἀθλοῦσιν ἄθλους ἡδίστους ἅμα καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτους, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν μή, ὡς οἱ νῦν, τὴν ψευδῶνυμον κλήσιν ὑποδύομενοι μέχρι τοῦ δοκεῖν ὑπερμαχοῦσι τῶν δογμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάθει γνησίῳ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ἰχηλατοῦσιν ἀλήθειαν.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 774 (Cod. Rupef.), "referred . . . to the first . . . book of the Questions on Exodus."

4. Τὸ ἐμμελὲς καὶ εὐρυθμον οὐκ ἐν φωνῇ μᾶλλον ἢ διανοίᾳ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πειρωμένους. Ὁ τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγος οὐκ ἐν ῥήμασι ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασιν ἐπιδείκνυσιν τὸ κάλλος.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 774 (Cod. Rupef.), "referred . . . to the second . . . book of the Questions on Exodus."

5. Τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν οὐ δεῖ συλλαβομαχεῖν ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων τὴν διάνοιαν σκοπεῖν, καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τρόπους, καθ' οὓς ἕκαστα λέγεται. Πολλάκις γὰρ αἱ αὐταὶ λέξεις ἐτέροις καὶ ἐτέροις πράγμασιν ἐφαρμολοῦσιν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον διαφέρουσαι λέξεις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τιθέμεναι πράγματος συνάδουσιν.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 774 (Cod. Rupef.), "referred . . . to the last book of the Questions on Exodus."

6. Περιέχει τὰ πάντα, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς περιεχόμενος. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ τόπος περιεκτικὸς σωμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγή, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος περιέχει τὰ ὅλα καὶ πεπλήρωκεν.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 752 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

7. Ἐντὸς φέρει τὸν ὄλεθρον ὁ τῇ κακίᾳ συζῶν ἐπεὶ σύνοικον ἔχει τὴν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον. Ἰκανὸς γὰρ πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἢ

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

τοῦ φαύλου συνείδησις, οἴκοθεν ὡς ἐκ πληγῆς δειλίαν προτείνουσα τῇ ψυχῇ.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 782 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητουμένων.

8. Τοῦ φαύλου ὁ βίος ἐπίλυτος καὶ περιδεής, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐνεργεῖ φόβοις καὶ ὀδύναις ἀνακέκρται.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 782 (Cod. Rupef.), "referred to Quaest. in Exod."

9. Αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες οὐ μόνον ἀναγκαῖα παρέχονται ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιττὴν καὶ δαιμιλεστέραν ἀπόλαυσιν.

Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 789 = Cod. Rupef. f. 277, "from ii. Quaest. in Exod."

10. Μυρία γε, οὐ λέγω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βραχυτάτων εἶναι δοκούντων, ἐκφεύγει τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν.

Harris, p. 73, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 662), ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητ.

11. Μία ἀνάπαυσις ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ κρατίστη εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ ὄντος πόθον, ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι θεῷ καὶ βουλευμάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων. . . . Πέρασ εὐδαιμονίας τὸ ἀκλινῶς καὶ ἀρρεπῶς ἐν μόνῳ θεῷ στήναι.

Harris, pp. 73-74, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 669) = Cod. Rupef. f. 178 b, ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημ.

12. Πολλὰ ἀσωμένοις καὶ ἀδημονοῦσιν ἔθος ἐστὶ ψεύδεσθαι, τῶν παθῶν οὐκ ἐπιτροπευόντων ἀληθεύειν εἰ τὸ ψεῦδος οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 96 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

13. Τὸ τῶν φαύλων ἄκριτον καὶ ἀνίδρυτον ἐν γνώμασι διασυνίστησιν μαχομένους μὲν λόγους ἀλλήλοις, μαχομένας δὲ πράξεις καὶ μηδέποτε συμφωνοῦσας ἑαυταῖς.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 100 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημ.

## EXODUS, UNIDENTIFIED

14. Τὰ βουλήματα τῶν ἀγαθῶν δεῖ βεβαιοῦσθαι τελευτησάντων οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ ζώντων.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 101 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημ.

15. Τὸ μὲν “ πρωτότοκον ” πρὸς τὸ μητρῶον γένος, τίκτει γὰρ γύνη· τό τε “ πρωτογενές ” πρὸς τὸ πατρῶον, γεννᾷ γὰρ ἄρρεν· τὸ δὲ “ διανοίγον πᾶσαν μήτραν ” ἵνα μὴ γενομένης πρωτοτόκου θυγατρὸς, εἴθ' ὕστερον ἐπιγενομένου υἱοῦ, τὸν υἱὸν ἐν πρωτοτόκοις καταριθμήσει τίς, ὡς τῆς ἄρρενος ἄρχοντα γενεᾶς· ὁ γὰρ νόμος φησὶν, οὐ διοίγνυσι τὴν μήτραν ὁ τοιοῦτος τὴν εὐθύς ἐκ παρθενίας.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 105 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ δ' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημ. “ The passage evidently belongs to Exod. xiii. 2.”

16. Τὰ μέτρα πλεονάζοντα τὸν ὄρον ὑπερβαίνει ὡς γίνεσθαι τὴν μὲν ἄμετρον φρόνησιν, πανουργίαν· τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην, φειδωλίαν· τὴν δὲ ἀνδρίαν, θρασύτητα.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημ.

17. Ἡ εὐφυΐα πλεονάζουσα τῇ ρύμη τῆς φορᾶς πρὸς πολλὰ δὴ τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν εἴωθε χωρεῖν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις οὐκ ἐλάττω τὰ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστί· διὸ προσήκει τὸν ἔφορον καὶ ψυχῆς ὑψηγητήν, ὡσπερ γεωργὸν ἀγαθόν, τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα περικόπτειν.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 108 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

18. Ὁ σοφιστικός, γνώμης ὦν ἐτέρας, λόγοις οὐ συνάδουσι χρῆται· διέξεισι μὲν γὰρ ἀπνευστὶ τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἐκάστης ἐπαίνους, οἷα λόγῳ πολὺς ἐπὶ θήρα τῶν ἀκουόντων· ὁ δὲ βίος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν πάντων ἀνάπλευς ἀμαρτημάτων· καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ἐπὶ σκηναῖς ὑποκριτῶν διαφέρειν οὐδέν, οἱ πολλάκις ἡμελημένοι καὶ ἄφρονες, ἄνθρωποι διεφθαρμένοι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ θεραπεύοντες, εἰς ἥρωας ἀσκοῦνται· μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἀποθέμενοι τὴν σκευήν, τὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀδοξίας ἀναφαίνουσι σημεῖα.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

## APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

19. Ὅρασις παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις καὶ ταύτη διαφέρει ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐγκαταμίνυνται, ὅσον ἢ γεύσις ἀνακιρνᾶται τοῖς χυμοῖς καὶ ἡ ὄσφρησις τοῖς ἐπαναδιδομένοις ἀτμοῖς καὶ αἱ ἀκοαὶ ταῖς φωναῖς ἐκδυομέναις εἰς τὰ ὕψα· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὴ διὰ τοῦ βάθους τῶν σωμάτων χωρεῖ, ψαύει δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανειῶν μόνον κατὰ τὴν προσβολήν, οὔτε τὰ σώματα εἰς τὴν ὄψιν εἰσδύεται.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 109 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

20. Οὐ πάντων κοινωνητέον πᾶσιν οὔτε λόγων οὔτε πραγμάτων καὶ μάλιστα ἱερῶν· πολλὰ γὰρ προϋπάρξαι δεῖ τοῖς ἐφιεμένοις τῆς μετουσίας τούτων· πρῶτον μὲν, τὸ<sup>α</sup> μέγιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον, πρὸς τὸν ἓνα καὶ ὄντως<sup>β</sup> ὄντα θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὀσιότητα, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι καὶ ξοάνοις καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρύμασι, τελεταῖς τε ἀτελέστοις καὶ μυστηρίοις ἀνοργιάστοις, ἀνήνυτον πλάνην ἀπωσαμένους· δεύτερον δὲ καθαρθῆναι τὰς ἀγνευτικὰς<sup>γ</sup> καθάρσεις κατὰ τε σώμα καὶ ψυχὴν διὰ νόμων πατριῶν καὶ ἡθῶν· τρίτον ἀξιόπιστον τοῦ συνασμενισμοῦ παρασχέιν ἐνέχυρον ἵνα μὴ τραπέζης<sup>α</sup> μεταλαβόντες ἱεράς, ἀσώτων μειρακίων τρόπον, ὑπὸ κόρου καὶ πλησμονῆς ἐναλλοιωθῶσιν ἐμπαρουνοῦντες, οἷς οὐ θέμις.

Harris, p. 75, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 308 e Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 205, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων, and Dam. Par. 782 (Cod. Rupef.).

21. Φθαρτὸν καλῶ τὸν μὴ ἐφιεμένον ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλ' ὄστρέου τρόπον ἐνειλούμενον ὄστρακοδέρμῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σωματικὸς ὄγκος καὶ ὁ τῶν θνητῶν βίος.

Harris, p. 75, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 308 e Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 245, ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων, and Cod. Rupef. f. 240.

22. Μάταιον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀκοαῖς οὔτε ἄλλῃ τινὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων προσιτέον· ἐπακολουθοῦσι γὰρ ταῖς ἀπάταις μάλιστα τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ ζημίαι.

Harris, p. 75, from Cod. Rupef. f. 45, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητουμένων.

23. Πρὸς τούτοις, εἶποι τις Ἐθέλει δὲ μηδὲ χωρὶς ἀγῶν, οὐκ ἐβούλετο αὐτοὺς κατα-  
νων τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέ-

<sup>α</sup> καὶ Dam.

<sup>γ</sup> ἀγνευούσας Dam.

<sup>β</sup> ὄντως om. Dam.

<sup>α</sup> τροφῆς Dam.

## EXODUS, UNIDENTIFIED

πεσεῖν εἰς τὸ ῥάθυμον καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας κατακληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν ἀγώνων χωρὶς<sup>a</sup>. τὰ γὰρ πόνω κτηθέντα παρὰ τοῖς ἔχουσι τίμια· τὰ ἀπόνως κτηθέντα καταφρονεῖται ῥαδίως· ὅθεν βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς νήφειν καὶ ἐργηγορέναι καὶ ὡς ἔχοντας ἐχθροὺς πρὸς τε τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται,<sup>b</sup> ὁμοῦ καὶ γυμνίζων<sup>c</sup> αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἀντίστασιν ἐχθρῶν. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ νοητῶς ὀρώμεν γινόμενον· ψυχὴ γὰρ διὰ τῆς θείας συνεργείας ἀπαλλαγείσα παθῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὸ ῥάθυμον ὀλισθήσει, ὡς μηκέτι παθεῖν ὑποπτεύουσα, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ πονηρῶν πνευμάτων περιστοιχίζεται δίκην κυνῶν<sup>d</sup> αὐτῇ ἐπιθρῶσκόντων καὶ σφοδρότερον πολεμούντων· ὅθεν καὶ λόγιον ἡμᾶς διδάσκει μὴ πιστεύειν ἐχθρῶ.<sup>e</sup>

Harris, pp. 103-104, from Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.* ii. 312 (*vid.*) e Cod. Pal. 203, f. 261, Cod. Vat. 1553, f. 129, Cat. Lips. 1, col. 823, Cat. Burney, f. 140. "The previous passage is found attached to an extract from ii. Quaest. in Exod. xxv."

<sup>a</sup> χωρὶς τινων Cat. Burney.

<sup>b</sup> ποριεῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται Cat. Burney.

<sup>c</sup> γυμνάζων Cat. Burney.

<sup>d</sup> κυνῶν e Cat. Barb. iv. 56 add. Wendland.

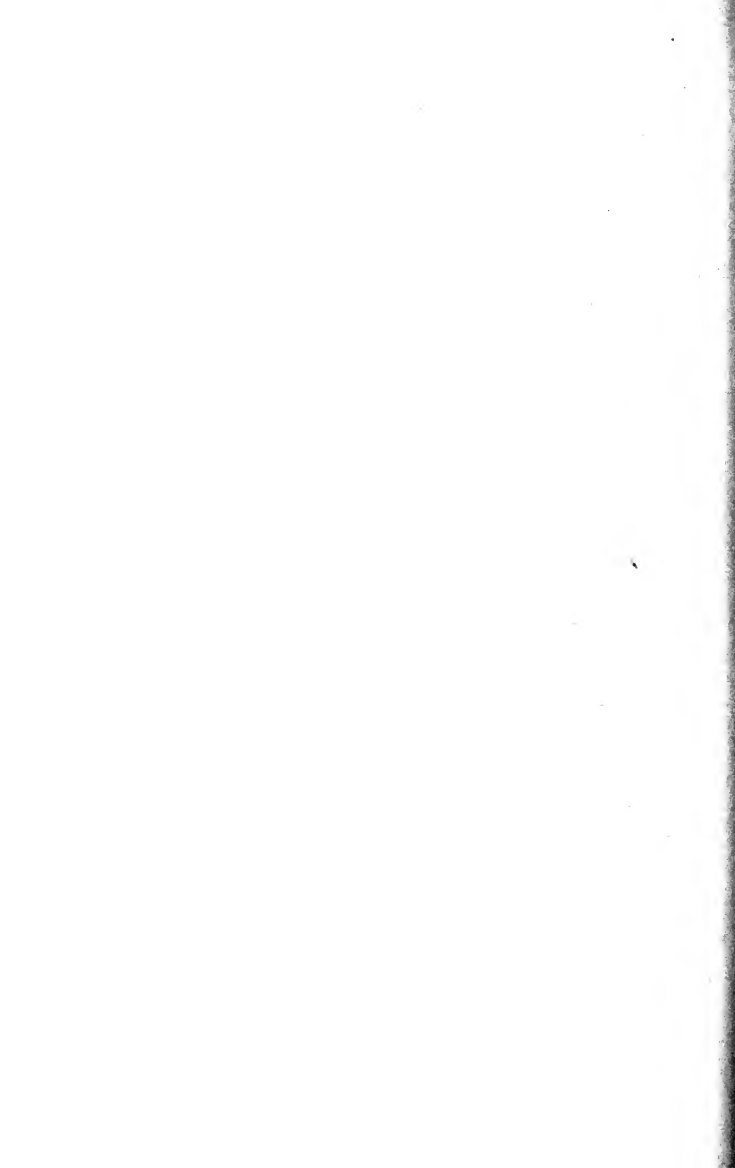
<sup>e</sup> cf. Ecclesiasticum xii. 10. post ἐχθρῶ add. Cat. Burney: ἐπὶ τὰ γὰρ πονηρίαὶ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ (cf. Prov. xxvi. 25, Luc. xi. 26).

<sup>f</sup> ὄρα August. (*vid.*).

<sup>g</sup> cf. Wendland, "Es folgt eine Beziehung auf Luc. 11, 26."

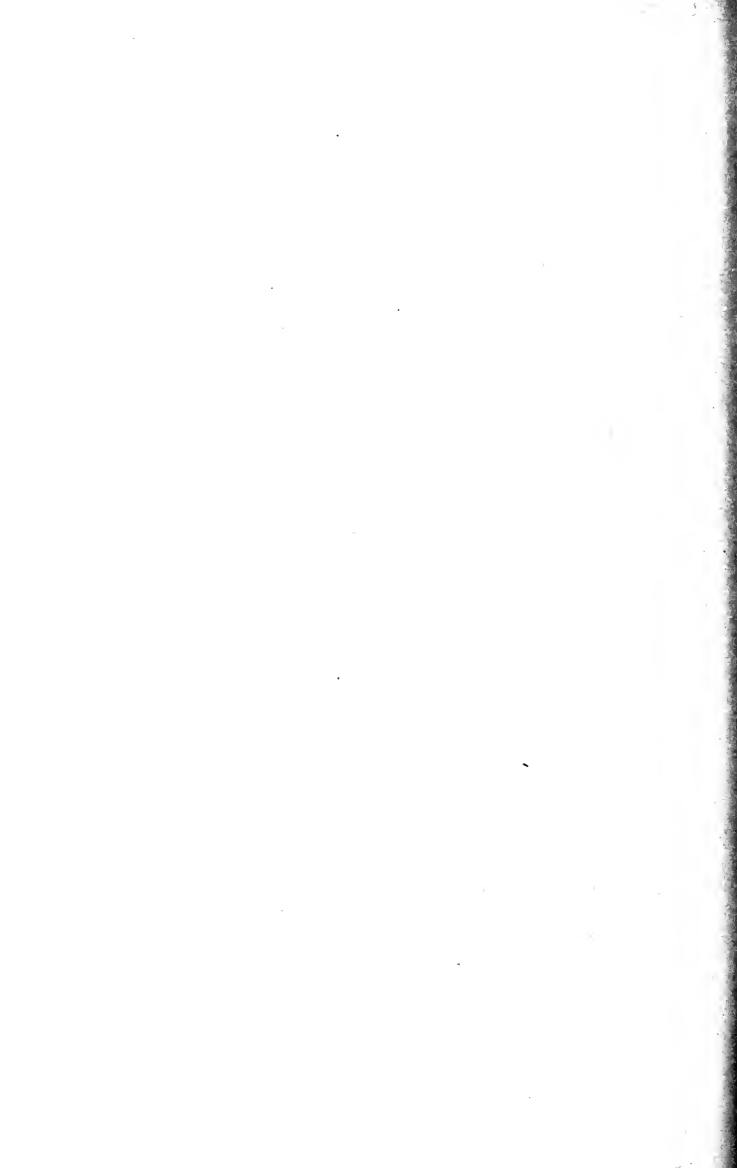
σθαι τῆς γῆς. Τὰ γὰρ πόνω κτηθέντα παρὰ τοῖς ἔχουσι τίμια, καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἐπιστρέφει πᾶς ἐναγώνιος ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σωθῆναι δεόμενος. Καὶ ψυχὴ δὲ ἀκονιτὶ γινομένη παθῶν ἐλευθέρα πρὸς ῥαθυμίαν ὄρμα<sup>f</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀοράτως πολεμοῦσι περιστοιχίζεται.<sup>g</sup>

Wendland, p. 100, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 222<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 629) *vid.*



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### ADDITIONS IN THE OLD LATIN VERSION

Selected Bibliography :

Cohn, Leopold in L. Cohn and P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera*, etc. (Berlin, 1896), pp. l-lij, "De antiqua versione latina."

Conybeare, Fred. C., *Philo About the Contemplative Life* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 139-145, "The Old Latin Version."

Pitra, J. B., *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata* (Florence, 1884), Tom. ii, pp. 319-320, "De vetere Philonis interprete Latino."

Wendland, Paul, *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos* (Berlin, 1891), p. 85, n. 2.

In the year 1520 there appeared in Paris a volume entitled *Philonis Iudaei centum et duae quaestiones et totidem responsiones morales super Genesin*. Beside the Old Latin version of the *Quaestiones in Genesin* iv. 154-245, the volume contained the Old Latin version of the *De Vita Contemplativa* (by the same translator, according to Conybeare), Jerome's Latin translation of the *De Nominibus Hebraicis*, Budaeus' translation of the *De Mundo*, and the *Liber Antiquitatum* of Pseudo-Philo. A second and improved edition of this work was published in Basel in 1527 and was reprinted there in 1538, 1550 and 1599. It is from the edition of 1538 that Aucher took the text of the version of *QG* iv. 154-245, which is printed at the bottom of pp. 362-443 of his edition of the Armenian version of the *Quaestiones*.

The date and character of this Old Latin version have been carefully studied by the scholars mentioned above. They agree that it was made in the fourth century A.D. and that in spite of its uncouthness and freedom it is a useful check

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on the ancient Armenian version, which is more faithful and more intelligible throughout.

This Old Latin version is of further interest because it contains several *Quaestiones* missing in the Armenian, namely eleven sections on Gen. xxvi. 19-35, which appear at the end of *QG* iv. 195, and three fragments added to the translation of *QG* iv. 203, 210 and 232 (beside a few glosses to other sections, which are not included here). That this group of eleven sections contains genuine material from Philo's *Quaestiones* is clear from their contents and from the fact that three of these sections (vii, viii and ix) have parallels in the Greek fragments from Procopius and the *Catena*e, where they are ascribed to Philo. Wendland, in particular, calls attention to the "echt philonisch" character of sections iv, vi, vii and xi; he identifies the discussion of the number four in section ii as an interpolation from Philo's lost work *Περὶ ἀριθμῶν*.

The additional sections are reproduced below from Aucher's reprinting of the 1538 edition. Considerably more work should be done on the text of the Old Latin version throughout, but here, as in the footnotes to the translation, I have corrected only a few of the more obvious misprints or scribal errors.

### ADDITIONS TO *QG* IV. 195 (AUCHER, PP. 395-398)

i. (Gen. xxvi. 19-22) Quare in primo dimicantur, secundo judicantur, in tertio cessant. Et primum vocatur injuria, secundum inimicitia, tertium spaciositas? <sup>a</sup>

Haec pignora sunt industriae utpote aliquo in studiosam inducto disciplinam. Est enim dimicatio, dum amatores doctrinae ad institutores conferunt opposcentes magistros torpori animae. Cum autem fuerit obstinatissima perseverantia, et studiosa exercitatio, jam non litigium, sed judicium est, cessante laesura congrue rationis est altius examen requirere. Profecto nanque amatore disciplinarum, infirmantur alienigenae moris eruditionis abdicato litigio atque judicio, ac per hoc merito prima momenta pro injuriis accepta sunt. Patimur enim injuriam desiderantes, amor obtinet firmitatem. In secundo autem inimicos sentimus eos, non

*l. speciositas.*

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praevalentibus nocere alienigenarum moribus, inanem exaggerantibus inimicitiam. Tertia igitur speciositas et quia perfecta melioratio confusionem affert inimicis, inanis enim revelata est et pravitas injuriarum, et inimicitiarum insolentia.

ii. (Gen. xxvi. 23) Quid est : Ascendit inde ad puteum, sed suspensum ?

Qui enim adhuc docetur, licet promoverit et creverit, nihilominus religionis moras<sup>a</sup> sortitur. Cur autem perfectis approximaverit, altiores facit commemorationes. Ait enim. Puteus quaterni numeri, et in ipso numero fallit.<sup>b</sup> Puteus enim juramenti filia septima est, quod Hebraice legitur Bersabace<sup>c</sup> Berfilia Sabeae septima. Jam pervide quanta est unitas in Mathematico tractatu, et hic in prioribus translatis libris ex aperto dicente Philone quarta in omnibus corporibus et incorporalibus preciosa est pro numero quidem qui accensus est decem : in figuris autem quod secundum eam soliditatis natura constat, post signum et elogium, secundum Musicos vero omnes armonias continet, quadrilateralitatem pertinacitate, in dimidialitatem et per omnes in duplicitate et bis per omnes in quadruplicatione haec inquit in incorporalibus. Corporalibus vero elementa mundi quatuor totidem anni momenta, debuit prius corporalia pandere, postmodum incorporalia. Hic enim ipse pro incorporalibus prosequendo coitum viri et mulieris quatuor habere vices, quod turpissimum est interpretare, ne forte quidam servi dei amatores esse eorum existiment.<sup>d</sup> Videtur mihi Philo ritum Judeorum sectavisse, linguam imprauisse. Si enim septimum composuisset, viginti et octo metas pacis invenisset. Denique post momenta lamentationis titulum pacis enixa est Bersabee. Quapropter inquit Moses, laudando quartum numerum sanctum et gloriosum protestatur. Ut quid autem juramentum dicitur, in opere ipso declarabo post modicum in familiari capitulo, totus liber translatus nihil tale continuit, sed coetus<sup>e</sup> effugere conatur.

iii. (Gen. xxvi. 24) Ut quid in nocte dominus visitatur, et ait : Ego sum deus patris tui, ne timeas, tecum enim sum ?

<sup>a</sup> l. mores (?).

<sup>b</sup> marg. verba sunt interpretis, quisquis hic tandem fuerit.

<sup>c</sup> l. Bersabaeae vel sim.

<sup>d</sup> l. existimentur (?).

<sup>e</sup> marg. coactus.

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Familiarissimum tempus animae speculatoriae, nox vagis erroribus meridianis, et vanis aspectibus liberata, ac per hoc nec metus pulsatur, nec vacillat cogitatus absente timore, caret autem timore pacatissima mens, cum divinitati pervigilat perseveranter. Habet tamen lectio necessarium modum, ne quis procerum praesumat facile occasionibus, sed prioris acquirit meritis, digne enim dicendo: Ego sum deus patris tui, generis censuram declaravit. Tecum autem sum pro tua et ipsi vigilantia, cujus causa non indignatur universorum pater indignum visitare eum invisibilis animarum medicus.

iv. (Gen. xxvi. 24) Quare Dominus<sup>a</sup> visitatus ostendit semetipsum deum?

Dominus quidem regni et dominatoris nomen est. Deus autem appellatur pro beneficiis, quibus certius manifestatur, quoniam sapientiam non inter subjectos ut rex, sed inter amicos benefaciendo dinumerat. Poterat Philo pluribus invehere, nisi computo uteretur Mathematico.

v. (Gen. xxvi. 24) Quare dicendo benedixi te, adjecit, et multiplicabo semen tuum propter patrem tuum?

Spontaneae disciplinae titulus perfectus, ob nullam aliam causam divinam promeretur gratiam, nisi pro se ac pro sua suavitate. Juvenior autem moribus et adhuc erudiens non propter se, sed pro meritis provecta doctrinae, cujus sapientia pro principali exemplo discentibus praeponitur, ad nanciscendam spem meliorem. Possunt enim hac aemulatione parentibus simulari.

vi. (Gen. xxvi. 25) Quare aedificando illic altarium, non obtulit sacrificium, sed invocato nomine domini fixit tabernaculum suum?

Sacrificia prae omnibus bonis sine sanguine, et victima animalium pronorum participatio sapientiae alienarum esse credunt, qui puro pectore placere deo desiderant, cujus gratia sufficere credit invocationis auctoris virtutem, qua princeps atque dominator est universitatis, nullius egens. Ita illic figere dicitur tabernaculum suum, suam nempe virtutem, in

<sup>a</sup>  *marg.* Dominus Deus.

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qua puritas illa animae inhabita commoratur,<sup>a</sup> firmiter sciens, dominum universorum principem sine ulla esse penuria. O pura credulitas, quae factas pridem frugum centesimas ex-cellit.

vii. (Gen. xxvi. 26)

Quare post quartam putei fossuram a pueris factam, exiit Abimelech ad eum, et Acho<sup>b</sup> thalami praepositus, et Phicho princeps militiae?

Videntur mihi exploratores potius, quam pro foedere amicitiarum advenisse, in utroque parati ad praelium, si infirmum viderint: ad pacem, si potentiorum. Sensu tamen subtiliori intelligitur quartus, ut tamen in numeris insignis est, in quo constitutus studiosus per omnem felicitatem provehitur. Sequitur tamen etiam valde perfecto contraria virtus praestolanti et observanti ad incurrendum. Et est hujus fortitudo tres animae partes: mentis acumen ratio-

Ἐκπορεύεται δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀβιμέλεχ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κατάσκοποι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑνσπονδοὶ γενησόμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερον παρεσκευασμένοι, πόλεμον μὲν, εἰ ἀσθενούντα κατίδοιεν, εἰρήνην δέ, εἰ δυνατώτερον ἑαυτῶν.

Wendland, pp. 85-86, from Procopius, f. 118<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 415); also, except for beg. (ἐκπορεύεται . . . αὐτοῦ), in Harris, p. 42, from Cat. Ined. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 675), and Cat. Burney, f. 56, Φίλωνος ἑβραίου, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 325 "with the remark that this and the three following passages are not among the edita of Philo and do not seem to belong to him."

nabile, et animositas, et desiderium. Pro acumine quidem<sup>c</sup> rex, animositate princeps militiae, concupiscentia Phichol, qui libidinis videtur esse provisor. Ocholach quidem regna parentur<sup>d</sup> ex utraque manu stipatus, hinc atque hinc suo protectu prohibendus, obtinente enim iracundia ut princeps militiae operatur, eo amplius pandimus dictum ex nominum translatione, est Abimelech Alido,<sup>e</sup> Phichol iracundia.

viii. (Gen. xxvi. 29-30) Quare dicentibus et nunc benedictus a domino facit coenam; et manducaverunt et biberunt?

<sup>a</sup>  *marg.* inhabitare commemoratur.

<sup>b</sup>  *marg.* Acoza.

<sup>c</sup>  *marg.* ergo.

<sup>d</sup>  *marg.* parenter.

<sup>e</sup>  *marg.* Ocholach.

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Non pro laude sua hospitio rogat, nec novit blandire strenuus, aut procacem medelam sapiens affectatur, sed propositis iracundiis quibus exagitati praesidere terrens sortiti sunt, nunc confitetur unum universitatis deum, benedictum eum confitentur, sed continuatione sermonis etiam praeteritum aevum declarant, quoniam et nunc et a principio ipse est sine immutatione, vel diminutione benedictionis, quem nos ipsi suspectum habuimus, nunc vero absit omnis invidia. Suscepta igitur eorum poenitentia, mensura participantur dulcedines pro existimatione, pro veritatis autem allegoriae, pro hospitio quid ipse facit convocando esse trans vos,<sup>a</sup> qui non perdurant in delictis, ut pote propitialis et clementissimae naturae, hoc modo eos suscipiendo pro cibis et potis disciplinae, atque sapientiae spectaculis saginant, quarum esuriam et sitim confessi, jam nunc fruniscuntur, ut qui destinati perrexerunt, cum salute venerunt. Quidam adversarii mores ad animam nocendam, sed ex contagio virtutis sine dispendio etiam profecerunt, unde cum salute liberatos, a plurimis vitiorum nexibus insinuat curatos, praecipue et uno medicamentorum remedio pietatis.

ix. (Gen. xxvi. 32) Quare pergentibus pueris Isaac, venientes qui quartum puteum foderunt, dixerunt non invenisse aquam?

<sup>a</sup> *margin.* strenuos.

<sup>b</sup> φιλοφρονείται . . . αὐτοὺς *om.* *Catt.*

<sup>c</sup> ἀλῶν . . . μεταδίδωσι *om.* *Catt.*: *v rba σωτηρίαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρκων (ἀνθρώπων Bur.) ἔχοντες add. Catt. Lips. et Burney.*

Φιλοφρονείται δὲ ταῖς εὐωχίαις αὐτοῦς<sup>b</sup> οὐ διὰ τὸν ἔπαινον· οὐ γὰρ κολακείαν ἢ τὴν ἄμουσον θεραπείαν ὁ σοφὸς ἀσπάζεται ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀλῶν καὶ τραπέζης μεταδίδωσι.<sup>c</sup>

Wendland, p. 86, from Procopius, f. 118<sup>r</sup> (Migne, p. 415); also in Harris, p. 42 (with omissions and variants indicated in footnotes), from Cat. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 675), and Cat. Lips. coll. 326-327, and Cat. Burney, f. 56.

Harris adds a Latin frag. from Cat. Zephyri, p. 82 (= beg. of section):

Non quod laudaretur ab illis; nullo enim obsequio vel adulatione sapiens commovetur, sed illorum poenitentiam amplexatus.

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Quod et juramentum vocat, et civitatem, puteum juramenti, fallit. Post juramenta auctoris, quicquid agit justus, hoc foedere firmari sperat secundum quadrinitatis virtutem. Unde etiam valde ait severissimam vocamus virtutem, spectatissimam ad capessendum intellectum: obscure autem sensuality occupantem pro incertis eorum momentis, cunctantur enim, et immutationem capiunt variis conditionum nutibus. Nuntiat itaque divinus sermo post nativitatem quarti filii, stabilitatem non sterilitatem in creatione maxime incorporalis et intelligibilis substantiae: haec etenim ad quartum usque tenditur. Sensualis vero quinione incipit, quam non sine mercede nominavit. Naturaliter itaque quoniam finis incorporalium usque in quarto est, totius autem rei, et totius disciplinae terminus hominum incertus est, deo autem manifestus, ideo in quarto puteo non inveniunt aquam. Sicut enim puteum fodientes aquam requirunt, ita enim disciplinam sectantes finem explorant, quod est impossibile hominibus revelari. Et quidem superbi metientes, solent affirmare se summos esse Musicos, summos grammaticos, transisse vero et Philosophiae grumos, et sapientiae et totius disciplinae et virtutis metas. Astutus vero, et non sui cultor vel sui laudator, confitetur ex aperto quantum deest a fine, et juratus tali foedere conscientiam commendat, quod nihil perfecte homo nosse potest. Hic aliena loquitur qui tot capitulis se existimat tantum scire, finis enim scientiae deo tantum recondita est. Quem etiam testem animae vocat, quoniam pura conscientia confitetur suam ignorantiam. Sola enim novit anima, quoniam nihil novit firmiter. Juramentum igitur nihil est aliud: testimonium dei fidele, atque solidissimum. Si fidele est, certum est, nec placet illi incerta credulitas.

Ἀμήχανον ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης τῆς οἰασοῦν ἐπιστήμης τὸ τέλος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἄκρως οἶδεν ἀλλ' οἶεται μόνον εἰδέναι· τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς γνώσεως ἀνάκειται μόνῳ θεῷ.

Harris, p. 43, from Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. 107 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

x. (Gen. xxvi. 34) Quare Esau quadragenarius accepit uxorem Judith filiam Beher Cethei, et Barhatnath filiam Elom Heuaei?

Nulla quaestio requiritur ex dicto, relatio autem intelligi-



## APPENDIX B

bilis<sup>a</sup> naturaliter continet. Primo quod aequiparatus annorum numerus nuptiis aptus est, et in hoc festinat pervenire. Quis enim non optabit usque ad verbum vel ad quantum videtur imitare potiora. Ut ita similitudinem rerum attingat, ita in hoc pravus et commentis eruditus subornatur insignium rerum titulis, cum sit denotationis non extraneus. Primus gradus ambitur per fallaciam deferendo, et utpote ignorando insipiens lucem et tenebras, nigrum et splendidum, bonum et malum, et alia hujuscemodi aequa ipse per numerum, possibilitate vero non solum disparia, verum etiam contraria. Et haec quidem digna zelo<sup>b</sup> tartareo. Inde putans prima sua commenta dirigi, et altera superducit consilia, quorum reatum verborum suffragio caelat. Accepit ergo duas uxores, quas Chaldaei vocant Judith et Basemath. Quarum una interpretatur laudatrix, secunda nominata. Vides qua festinat viri similitudo? Se laudari atque nominari. Ego non negabo Hebraica lingua, et Syrorum loquela Basemath, suaviter interpretari. Nominata autem Sema dicitur, non Basemath. Hoc ergo pravus ambitur, non veritate, sed fictis alatus argumentis. Nigrae enim generationis est Cetheus qui excessus interpretatur, cujus merita sectando, nomine scilicet tantum et vanae gloriae, digno domicilio habetur bestiarum. Hevet enim serpens interpretantur, excelsus atque mentis Cetheus et bestiarum merita figurae sunt ferarum, quibus cari sunt famuli iracundiae et concupiscentiae, adeo aptissimae interpretantur imas atque inferiores sortitus concupiscentiae regiones. Alterius autem uxoris nominatae pater Elom arietis est impetus, pro auspicio furiae.

xi. (Gen. xxvi. 35) Quare has ipsas dixit contendere Isaac et Rebeckae?

Non utique ex consensu, nec enim consonat pondus figurae et concupiscentiae auctori mentis. Veruntamen consistere conantur litigia adversus bonorum perseverantiam, quae est Rebecka, et turbelas et contentiones opponant, scientes illorum regimen suam esse dissipationem.

Addition to *QG* iv. 203 on Gen. xxvii. 15 (Aucher, pp. 406-407).

Quos solet philosophia summos vocare secundum malitiam et virtutem. Videtur ergo de industria dixisse, et ex aperto :

<sup>a</sup> *l.* intelligibilia.

<sup>b</sup> *margin.* caelo illo.

## OLD LATIN ADDITIONS

rurali vero stolam aptam non esse, ideo apud matrem fuit, necdum illi donata, sed justo reservata. Tu si unam habere speciem laudabilem quasi spectabilem aut pretextam, vel urbanam censuram caeteris omnibus vituperabilis constitutus. Fautrix vero mater animae perseverantia, decernens nequando imbrui depereat, simul et unifaria contingat ruina, apud se reservando et custodiendo stolam asseverantur, qua accepta ornat palaesticum quem sollicite applicat ut patri. Et sicut est familiarissima res musicae cithara, gubernatori temonum retinaculum et medico collyrium non tempeloxii plenum,<sup>a</sup> qui cupiunt etiam naves aureas habere, et medicamentorum horrea plena, ita certa censura est, et elegans pulchritudo, quasi non quidem proprium praedium alterius, sed proprium artificis digne et prospere utentes.<sup>b</sup>

Addition to *QG* iv. 210 on Gen. xxvii. 22 (Aucher, pp. 412-413).

Manus autem possunt esse indocti ad effecturam, multa enim inofficiose tentant agere, non ex integritate cordis, aliquoties enim et religata sibi pravi resistunt, et senectuti deferunt, et amicitiae jura conservant. Sed haec pro sua avaritia gerunt, ut captata opportunitate quosdam amplius decipiant. Ita falluntur minus sobrii modico testimonio seducti, et frivola mirantes. Cautus autem et gerendorum causas, et consilia rerum requirit, vituperabilia reprehendo, doctus et responsis divinae scripturae quae permittit justitiarum titulos juste sectari quam injuste.

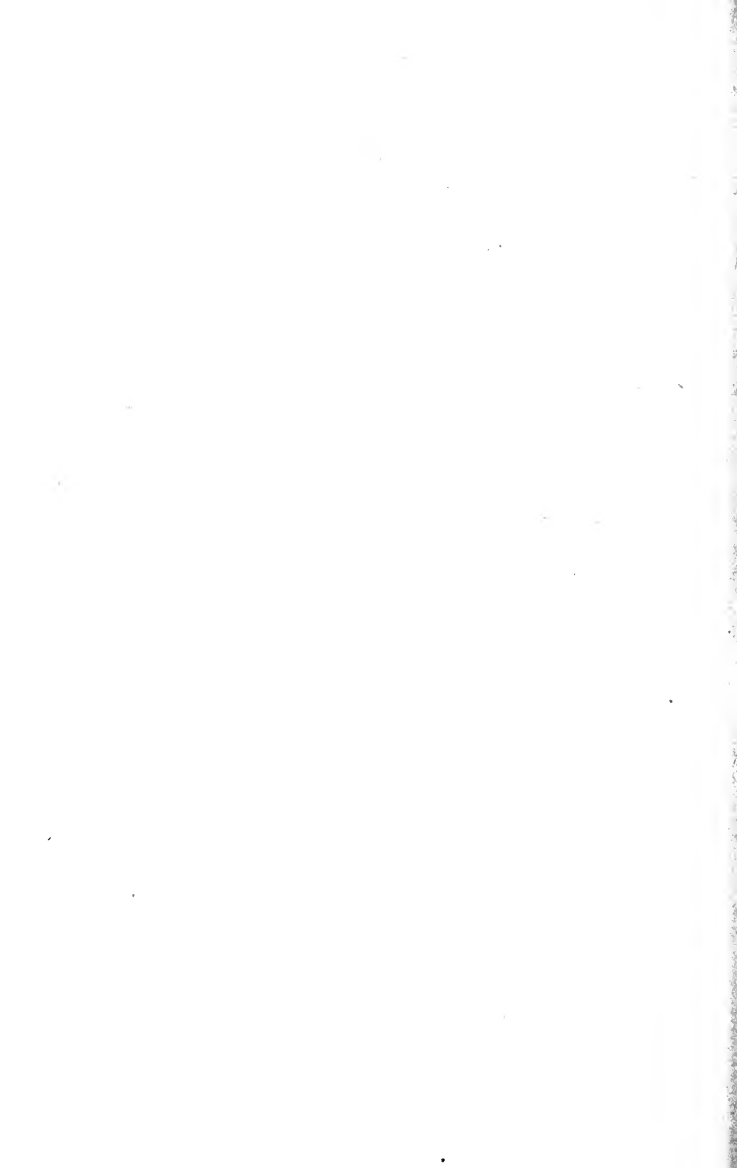
Addition to *QG* iv. 232 on Gen. xxvii. 38 (Aucher, p. 430).<sup>c</sup>

Ego me confiteor legisse in Hebraeo compunctionem et taciturnitatem eiisdem literis declaratam: et aliud incredibile in psalmoza lxiiii. Non habet tibi dicit hymnus, sed tibi silet hymnus deus in Sion. Et aliud mirum non est dictum soli stare, sed tacere ejisdem aspibus quibus etiam hymnus tacet. Vide quantam allegoriam compunctio requirit.

<sup>a</sup>  *marg. in utroque exemplari ita legebatur; forte non tantopere locupletum erat legendum.*

<sup>b</sup>  *l. utentis.*

<sup>c</sup>  *Aucher: "Addit Interp. ex se."*



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### ABBREVIATIONS

*E* = *Quaestiones in Exodum*

fig. = figurative

*G* = *Quaestiones in Genesin*

gen. = general

lit. = literal

misc. = miscellaneous

n. = note

sym. = symbolizes, is symbolized

- Aaron, sym. joy, *G* iv. 16 ;  
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